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A Grammar of Chilliwack Halkomelem

By

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A.B. (University of California) 1965
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DISSERTATION

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DEGREE CONFERRED JUNE 18, 1977.....

Dedication

This work is dedicated to the Indian people of the Stalo Nation, who have worked to keep their language and culture alive; to my grandmother, Viola, who met an Indian chief on the banks of the Willamette River as a child, whose trip to B.C. showed that it could be made, and whose father was a pioneer of the Pacific Northwest; to my parents, Joan and Quince, whose trip to B.C. in 1969 and support and interest and encouragement made my field work possible and my study enjoyable; and to my wife, Wendy, whose support and encouragement and patience made my writing and typing and completion of this grammar possible.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the financial support of the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages, at the University of California at Berkeley, which funded my field work in 1970, 1971, 1972 and 1973, and the moral and financial support of Coqualeetza Education Training Centre at Sardis, B.C., which encouraged my work and supported it especially for the last six months. Without the help of Coqualeetza and the Survey this first grammar of Halkomelem could never have been completed.

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INTRODUCTION

The Halkomelem-speaking people of the Fraser River, B.C. and its tributaries are called the Stalo. Upper Stalo dialects of Halkomelem are spoken along the Fraser River from Yale, B.C. to Chehalis, B.C., Deroche and Chilliwack, B.C. The Upper Stalo dialects share certain phonological and morphological features which allow them to be considered as a unit in contrast to Lower Stalo dialects and Vancouver Island dialects of Halkomelem.

Within the Upper Stalo area are the Tait, Chehalis, and Chilliwack River dialects. Within each of these are microdialects or subdialects whose differences are so far not well documented; Tait may include Yale, Hope-Katz, Seabird Island, Laidlaw-Cheam; Chehalis may include Chehalis and Scowlitz; and Chilliwack River includes Chilliwack Landing (Pilalt), Sardis-Tzeachten, and Soowahlie-Cultus Lake (perhaps). This grammar will only differentiate between Tait, Chehalis (Cheh.), and Chilliwack River (Chill. or Chwk.) dialects. In the Nooksack-Everson-Deming area of Washington, some members of the Nooksack Tribe speak the Chilliwack River dialect (Sardis-Tzeachten) and some speak a dialect of Lower Stalo (Kilgard/Sumas and Matsqui microdialects). Actually the terms Upper and Lower Stalo are not very sat-

isfactory because of connotations of Upper and Lower; perhaps Upriver and Downriver Halkomelem are better. At present there seem to be about 50 to 75 fluent speakers of Upper Stalo or Upriver dialects, almost all over 60 years of age.

My field work on Halkomelem began in August 1970 with Mrs. Mary "Amy" Cooper of the Soohwahlie Reserve. That year I worked with her for one month. In 1971 we worked again, from September to December; in 1972 I had only a week in the area but met the Stalo Heritage Projects Elders Group and worked with some of them twice; in 1973 Amy and I worked together from August to December; during that period I also visited on several occasions Mrs. Mary Charles of Seabird Island and Mrs. Cecilia Thomas of Seabird Island who was able to tell us a number of stories in Halkomelem. I also met with Mrs. Nancy Phillips of Chehalis who was teaching the language in the Chehalis Day School. Amy, her husband Albert and I also made a trip to Yale and visited with Mrs. Margaret Emory of Yale (who speaks only Halkomelem and Thompson). At the end of the year I gave a speech in Halkomelem at a large spirit dance; the speech was in honor of the chief who put on the dance and also encouraged the preservation and revival of the language. Amy had corrected my grammar on the speech and gave me stylistic pointers. Amy was

good to work with, patient, dilligent, always willing to work and always willing to travel with me to visit others. She would even call people up to track down particular words she could not remember.

During summer of 1974 I was employed by the Nook-sack tribe to work with a group of their elders who were meeting weekly in a Halkomelem Workshop. In January 1975 I was employed by Coqualeetza Education Training Centre at Sardis, B.C. to set up lessons, classes and other Halkomelem language programs. This has involved, among other things, teaching Halkomelem classes on three different reserves and at Coqualeetza and giving a teacher training course to ten Halkomelem speakers, three of whom have now taught their own courses (one, Nancy Phillips, was already teaching Halkomelem).

The Stalo Elders Group was still meeting every week to speak and preserve the language and was now called the Coqualeetza Elders Group. I have been fortunate to work with them for several hours weekly on the language ever since. I also work once a week with the Halkomelem Workshop in Deming, Washington, sometimes eliciting, sometimes teaching Halkomelem spelling, words discovered from the Coqualeetza Elders Group, or Halkomelem grammar.

Through several grants at different times Coqua-

leetzta was able to employ Wilfred Charliè, Tillie Gutiérrez, and Edna Bobb to help with language research and file-slipping. Tillie is fluent in the Tait dialect (Katz) and Edna is fluent in the Chehalis dialect; Wilfred knows a little of the Chilliwack (Sardis) dialect. Edna and I especially worked together from November 1975 to October 1976; as a result I recorded and she file-slipped several thousand Chehalis forms from her as well as all the forms from the weekly Elders Meetings since 1975, and we also translated a number of songs and stories. Wilfred and Edna each also helped me transcribe some tapes of Elder's Meetings going back to 1972, though many remain to be transcribed. My work at Coqualeetza is continuing. The Elders Group is our most valuable group in preserving and saving the language and culture. Their talent and dedication and humor make every meeting rewarding and enjoyable.

Through the help and kindness of Casey Wells I was able also to copy tapes which his late brother, Oliver Wells, had made with two of the best speakers of Sardis Halkomelem alive between 1962 and 1965, Bob Joe (1884-1970) and Daniel Milo (1867-1967), as well as with a number of other speakers. I was able to transcribe several of the tapes with Bob Joe and Dan Milo, and they provided a good balance and perspective

on the dialects of Halkomelem. This grammar is based on Chilliwack Halkomelem but has considerable data and comparisons from Tait and Chehalis dialects as well.

A number of people have worked with me, sharing their knowledge of Halkomelem (they are identified by their initials in the grammar):

Chilliwack dialect: Amy (Mary Laurencetto) Cooper (1886-1975)(Vedder Crossing, Soohwahlie Reserve)(AC), Nancy Phillips (Sardis, now of Chehalis)(NP), Lawrence James (Chilliwack Landing), Danny Charlie (Chilliwack Landing), Susan Jimmie (Sardis, now of Everson, Wash.) (SJ), Marie Villanueva (Sardis, now of Everson), Mamie Cooper (Sardis, now of Everson area)(MC), Roy Point (Sardis)(RP), Richard Malloway (Sardis)(RM), Philomena Solomon (of Everson area, now deceased), (I have only worked with tapes of Dan Milo (Sardis, Scowkale Reserve) (DM) and Bob Joe (Sardis, Tzeachten Reserve)(BJ)).

Chehalis dialect: Ed Leon Sr. (Chehalis)(EL), Dolly Felix (Scowlitz, now of Chehalis), Hank and Maggie Pennier (Scowlitz and Chehalis respectively)(HP, MP), Lizzie Johnson (now of Seabird Island), Edna Bobb (Chehalis, now of Seabird Island)(EB), Teresa Michell (now of Cheam Reserve), Philomena Kelly (Deroche).

Tait dialect: Cecilia and Henry Thomas (Cheam, now of Seabird Island)(CT, HT), Susan (Josh) Peters (Union

Bar or Yale, now of Seabird Island)(SP), Amelia Douglas (Cheam Reserve)(AD), Tillie and Al Gutierrez (Katz) (TG, AG), Agnes Kelly (Laidlaw)(AK), Joe Laurencetto (Laidlaw, now of Boston Bar)(JL), Mary Peters (now of Chilliwack and Seabird Island)(MP), Philomena Seymour (now of Seabird Island), Maggie Emery (Yale), Stanley Jones (Laidlaw, deceased).

Sumas/Kilgard dialect: Jeanne Silver (now of Vedder Crossing), Peter "Speedy" Bolan, Ella Reid (Kilgard, now of Everson area), Alice Hunt (Matsqui, now of Everson area).

All but RM, DM, and BJ are or were members of the Coqualeetza Elders Group or the Halkomelem Workshop at Deming. All of those listed are fluent speakers, but this is not a complete list of the members of the two groups, nor of all the fluent speakers. It is a list of those from whom I have had specific forms or interviews.

One other use of initials should be mentioned. In the first chapter I have used ES as an abbreviation for the article by William W. Elmendorf and Wayne Suttles: "Pattern and Change in Halkomelem Salish Dialects," in Anthropological Linguistics, vol.2, no.7, 1960, pp.1-32. And in the same chapter I referred to JH as an abbreviation for Jimmy Gene Harris: "The Phonology of Chilliwack Halkomelem," M.A. thesis, 1966,

University of Washington (unpublished). To have used footnotes every time I mentioned these two sources would have made Chapter 1 too complex and difficult to read.

The name Halkomelem, /həlq'əmɛ́ylem/, derives from the Upriver pronunciation of the name of Nicomen Island, /ləq'émɛ́l/ with the addition of the continuative prefix *hə-*, the *-i'l ~ -éyl* suffix 'go, come, get' (which replaces any preceding *əl*), and *-əm* 'middle voice'. Although the derivation of *ləq'émɛ́l* is less certain, it seems to have root *ləq'* 'level' and *-á·mél* 'member, part' (see Chapter 5); this would give it a meaning like 'level part', which is a good description of Nicomen Island in the Fraser River. /həlq'əmɛ́ylem/ would then have come from a meaning like 'going/coming/getting to a level part' or 'going/coming/getting to Nicomen Island'.

There is also a tradition that the people of the Chilliwack River (before 1800 according to Captain John Sualis in Hill-Tout (1902)) used to speak the Nooksack language, *hə́čələsəm*. Some time around 1800 or before, the people of the Chilliwack River began to adopt the language of Nicomen Island. Some *hə́čələsəm* place names in the Chilliwack River Valley are quoted by Amy Cooper in evidence, *st'əpt'óp* '(perhaps Ryder Lake Creek or a ridge nearby)' and *səlísí* or *syəlísí* 'Mt. Slesse' (said

to mean 'fang' in ɬéčələsem). This deserves further research from a linguistic viewpoint.

Chilliwack, /sc'elx^wéyeq^w - sc'elx^wiq^w/ derives from sc'éléx^w 'quieter water, backwater, slough' + -iq^w 'on top of the head, hair'? (possibly metaphor for a delta or many twisting channels). In canoes, upriver or downriver travellers could take a rest by going through Hope Slough or some of the other sloughs which had quieter water than the Fraser and were connected to the Chilliwack River. In the days before 1875 when a great logjam changed its course, the Chilliwack River flowed west from Chilliwack Lake, then north to the Fraser River through what is now Vedder Crossing, Sardis (by the present Chilliwack River Road), and Chilliwack Landing. At first the villages were on the upper reaches of the Chilliwack River, but as landslides wiped out villages there and enemy slaving raids decreased with the influence of the white man on the Fraser River spreading, new villages were established further down the Chilliwack River, eventually including several in the Sardis area and at Chilliwack by the 1850's. That brings us to the time of the first white settlement in the area.

Finally, I should mention that the chapters were written in the order presented, the first chapter being written several years before the last. Thus although

I have done some revision on the early chapters, a few inconsistencies may occur for example in spelling of Halkomelem words. For any of these inconsistencies, the information later in the grammar is probably more definitive.

CHAPTER 1. PHONETICS AND PHONEMICS

1.1. Phonemes. The consonant phonemes of Chilliwack Halkomelem are shown below. The points of articulation given are applicable to the allophones. The phonemes /k/ and /k'/, parenthesized, are found only in borrowings. Apico-alveolar [n], retroflex [r], voiced bilabial [b], and others, are found in a few temporary borrowings from English, like [t^həwə] 'town', [k^wʃrtr̥] 'quarter', and [búʃ] 'Butch', but they do not form part of the phonemic system. Since every speaker of Chilliwack Halkomelem is bilingual in English, it is clear (in the cases found to date) that the words so "borrowed" are cases of code-switching (language switching) rather than real borrowings.

The dental-alveolar consonants are pronounced between the roots of the upper teeth and the front of the alveolar ridge. Only /k'/ is pronounced at the bend at the back of the alveolar ridge.

Alveolar-palatal consonants each have a lamino-alveolar allophone and a lamino-palatal allophone.

/e'/ and /k'/ were chosen instead of the symbols tθ' and tʃ' to demonstrate the unit nature of these affricates. /c/ and /c'/ were chosen as phonemic symbols because their allophones cover both [ç] and [ʃ], and [ç'] and [ʃ'] respectively. /ɛ/ was chosen instead of e because its allophones are [æ] most frequently, [ɛ] next most frequently, and [e]

least frequently ([e] is relatively uncommon).

Consonant Phonemes:

		Apico-				Dorso-						
		Bilabial	Interdental	Dental-alveolar Plain	Dental-alveolar Lateral	Lamino- Alveolar-palatal	Palatal	Velar Plain	Velar Labialized	Postvelar Plain	Postvelar Labialized	Glottal
Stops	vl. p		t				(k)	k ^w	q	q ^w		
	glottalized p'		t'				(k')	k' ^w	q'	q' ^w		ʔ
Affricates	vl.					c						
	glottalized		θ'		ʃ'	c'						
Spirants	vl.		θ		ʃ	s	χ ^v		χ ^w	ʒ	ʒ ^w	h
Nasal	vd. m											
Semivowels	vd. w				l		y					

and • (length) and : (double length)

Vowel Phonemes:

	<u>Front</u> <u>Unrounded</u>	<u>Central</u> <u>Unrounded</u>	<u>Back</u> <u>Unrounded</u>	<u>Back</u> <u>Rounded</u>
High	i			u
Mid	ɛ	ə		o
Low			a	

Suprasegmental Phonemes:

- ˈ (high and high-falling pitch stress) # (word boundary)
- ˘ (mid pitch stress) # # (sentence boundary)
- unmarked (low pitch, unstressed)

For functional reasons and convenience the table of phonemes can be summarized as follows:

Obstruents											
plain	p	t	c	(k)	k ^w	q	q ^w	.	:		
glottalized	p'	t'	c'	(k')	k' ^w	q'	q' ^w	?			
Spirants		θ	ɬ	s	x ^y	x ^w	ɬ ^w	h			
Soncrants	m		l	y	w						
High				i	u						
Mid				ɛ	ə	o					#
Low					a		unmarked				# #

It is worth noting here that Chilliwack Halkomelem is unusual among languages of the world in that it has only one nasal, which is /m/. There are no other nasal phones than [m] and [m̥], both allophones of /m/. This solitary /m/ violates one of the universals proposed by Ferguson¹ to the effect that, "If in a given language, there is only one primary nasal consonant, it is /n/, that is, its most characteristic allophone is apical." Also worth noting here are the prominent glottalized, labialized, and post-velar series, which are characteristic of languages of the Northwest Coast.

1. Ferguson, Charles A.: "Assumptions About Nasals: A Sample Study in Phonological Universals," in Universals of Language, edited by Joseph H. Greenberg, 2nd ed. 1966, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Mass.

1.2. Allophones and Phonetics.

Consonants.

1.2.1. Voiceless stops have unaspirated allophones in two positions: s__V (prevocally after [s]) and __C (before syllabic consonants, i.e. before [ŋ] or [l]). For example: [spâ·θ] 'black bear', [stâ·lo] 'river', [skû·k^hs] 'her cooking', [sk^wt^héx^w] 'the inside', [sqemâ·] '(female) breast; milk', [sq^wst^hxIm] 'fog; mist', [místUx^w] 'bring (fetch) something, give me something', [ʔalâstex^wIs] 'they are/were in a canoe', [ʔiméxstUx^w] 'make someone walk; take someone for a walk', [ʔâ·y^hstUx^w] 'chasing something', [šx^weq^wlôq^hstIl] 'nose-ring' (DM); [ʔâ·pl] 'ten', [ʔét·tl] 'to eat', [p^háysIk_l] 'bicycle', [k^wlâ·t^h] ~ [k^{hw}·lâ·t^h] 'hold s-th' (s-th is an abbreviation for 'something'; s-o will abbreviate 'someone'), [mâ·q_l] 'human hair', [θáy^oq^wl_s] 'digging'; and [tmk^w·k^wes] (tm- ~ t^hem-, o· ~ a·) 'summer; hot time', [k^wlUx^w] ~ [k^{hw}·UmlUx^w] 'root', [sîéq^w·m] ~ [sîéq^{hw}·m] 'breath (noun)'.

Voiceless stops elsewhere are aspirated. For example: [p^hâp^h·q^w·m] 'puffball; Popkum', [š^{hw}·f·m] 'red', [k^h·éq^h·t^h] 'be long', [stét^hew] 'light, illumination', [mêq^h·ét^h] 'swallow s-th', [spapleq^{hw}·ité^h·a] 'screech owl, pigmy owl; little ghost', [t^h·lâ] ~ [tlâ] 'this', [t^h·â·k^h·t^h·é] 'doctor' (NP), [k^h·â·p^h·tl] 'captain' (NP). [k^{hw}] was occasionally transcribed [k^h] before rounded vowels, but in actuality the rounding is still present, only obscured in the more prominent rounding of the following vowels (as in [k^h·ôx^w·éθ]

'coho salmon' for example). From here on aspiration will not be written in phonetic transcriptions.

1.2.2. /θ'/ has allophones [θ'] after [s], and [tθ'] elsewhere. For example, [tθ'əx^vát] 'wash something', [p'á·tθ'ís] 'baby basket, basketry cradle', [sp'á·tθ'] 'Indian currant', [sθ'í·m] 'berry, fruit', [sθ'á·qel] 'bullrush; bullrush mat'. There is no unglottalized affricate version of this affricate; cases of /tθ/ which occur are clusters of /t/ plus /θ/ since they invariably have the t aspirated ([t^hθ]). /θ'/ and /θ/ are interdental in the sense that the air is released in the spaces between the upper teeth; the tongue rests on the back of the upper teeth, not between the upper and lower teeth.

1.2.3. /ʔ'/ is the phonemic symbol for [tʔ'] or [t^hʔ'] (equivalents except that [t^hʔ'] would probably have less spirantal release than [tʔ']). I began my field work trying to hear a difference and using both symbols, but it soon became obvious that there was either free variation or I could not hear the difference. There is no plain /ʔ/ because clusters of /tʔ/ and /t^hʔ/ feature aspirated t^h except when the /l/ is syllabic, i.e., [t^hʔ_l] and [t_lʔ].

1.2.4. /ç/ has the following allophones:

[ç] freely varies with [č] in the environment $\underline{\text{t}}, \text{s} _ \text{I}, \text{e}$

[ç] elsewhere before I, e, l, m, all consonants but x^w,

and finally ($_ \text{ʃ}$)

[č] elsewhere (before the other vowels and x^w).

Examples: [ʔi·lʃIt] ~ [ʔi·tʃIt] 'we were', [qá·tʃe] 'juice', [sʃIčʃ] ~ [sčIčʃ] 'be on top', [tɛmtɛmIsčɛ] 'when will it be?'; [lɛmʃIl] 'I go, I'm going', [ʔá·á·ʃe] 'that will be', [xá·ʃe] 'lake', [ʔɛlxʷi·ʃl] 'be in the middle, between', [(ʔ·əp)ʷIl·əp] 'wagging its tail', [lɛʃt] 'we're going', [lɪpɛʃt] 'send something', [ʃčɛxʷ] 'to get a wife', [ʃkʷi·m] 'red', [ʃqá(·)lə] 'be thirsty', [ʃqʷə·y] 'yellow, green', [ʃqʷi(·)x] 'black', [ʃqʷiɥqʷəxɛl] ~ [ʃqʷiyUxʷ] 'brown', [sʷIʃʷIʃ] 'stuttering', [ʃmItθ] 'blue', [kʷʷʃlUxʷ] 'see something', [ʔá·lməʃə·mə] 'waiting for you', [ʃɪlɛ·m] 'step-parent', [ʃIl ʃsəθá·m] 'I told you'.

[čičɛɪ] ~ [čí·čɛɪ] 'be above, high', [sčí·t] 'first-born', (DM has [ʃxʷčəčéyItəwtxʷ] 'smokehouse' and [čəčé·yIt-tɛl] 'fish ready to dry'), [ʃčɛlɪx] 'hand', [ʃlɪqčUxʷčɛ] 'you'll fall down, drop', [ʔəwəčəp] 'you (pl.) didn't, you (pl.) don't', [yʃqʷlčɛp] 'light a fire', [čɪlɛqɛɪ(Iɪ)](I·e) 'yesterday', [sčutɛɪ] 'son-in-law, daughter-in-law', -[čUxʷ] 'you (sg. subj.)', [sqʷəčU·m] 'a boil' (BJ), [sčowát] 'know how to', [čá·kʷ] 'be far away, distant', [lɪčxʷ] 'do you?', [xʷowəčxʷ] 'you're not yet', [čxʷUtɛ] 'swelling'.

There is some idiolectal variation among speakers of the Chilliwack dialect, mainly in the direction of increasing free variation. AC has [ʃ] and [č] in the environments listed above. DM and BJ have the same distribution in most instances but have some examples of free variation before I, e and ʃ. RM and SJ appear to have [ʃ] in free variation

with [č] everywhere. English provides pressure against complementary distribution via loans like [č'ikəl] 'chicken' and [kə'p'ɪč] 'cabbage' (both NP citations).

1.2.5. /c'/ has the following allophones:

[č'] in free variation with [č'] in the following environments²: # __ (i, i·, é(·), é·, í, é, ə)

s __ (ε, é·, á·)

w __ I

± __ (í, é·)

[č'] elsewhere.

For example: [č'iyəqtəl] ~ [č'iyəqtəl] 'fish trap' (also placename 'Tzeachten')(DM), [č'f·taléč'ɪl] ~ [č'f·taléč'ɪl] 'I thank you (pl.)', [č'e(·)yx^w] ~ [č'é(·)yx^w] 'dry', [č'ə·x^wt] ~ [č'ə·yx^wt] 'dry s-th' (é· ~ é·)(AC, DM), [č'Imət] ~ [č'Imət] (í ~ é) 'bite on s-th', [č'špeq] ~ [č'špeq] ~ [sθ'špeq] 'skunk' (/c'/ ~ /θ'/ is here micro-dialectal variation), [sč'ε'f·ləs] ~ [sč'ε'f·ləs] 'Chehalis, B.C.', [sč'ə·xt] ~ [sč'ə·xt] 'branch, limb of tree' (AC, BJ), [sč'á·tɛ] ~ [sč'á·tɛ] 'leaf' (AC, BJ), [həwč'ɪɾ'] ~ [həwč'ɪɾ'] 'falling off, dropping off', [wɪč'ɪɾ'] ~ [wɪč'ɪɾ'] 'fall off, drop off', [č'ɪč'ə·] ~ [č'ɪč'ə·] 'be on top of'. The above are attested examples of free variation.

All examples of [č'] found so far have been in variation with [č']. In other environments, especially before conson-

2. Items set off by commas and contained within parentheses are alternatives; a single item within parentheses is optional in this system of rule notation. Thus A → B: C __ D (E, F)(G) is to be read "A is realized as B in the environment after C and before D followed by E or F and optionally by G."

ants (syllabic or non-syllabic) and word-finally, the only variety recorded is [ɣ']. For example: [ɣ'əp'ɪ] 'very', [ɣ'q'wɛɪp] 'spruce', [sxɪllɣ'] 'feather', [ɣ'ɔxá.yɛl] 'jaw (incl. chin)', [ɪəp'tɪ] 'knife', [sɪ'ɣ'eɪp] 'vine maple', [lɛɣ'ɛ] ~ [lɛɣ'e] 'one (in counting), one thing', [lɪlɪɣ'] 'bile; gall-bladder', [mɛɣ'ɪ] ~ [mɛɣ'ɛl] 'black hawthorn berry'.

There are also cases of idiolectal or microdialectal variation, in which one speaker prefers one alternate and another speaker prefers another alternate. If a word is only attested once or only by one speaker and the attestation is with [ɣ'], there remains a possibility that it also has a [ç'] variant. This possibility and idiolectal preferences may account for a few cases of [ɣ'] in [ç'] ~ [ɣ'] environments (such as [ɣ'ɪ.sɛm] 'to grow' and [ɣ'ɪɣ'ɪə.m] 'to hear').

1.2.6. /s/ has allophones [š] before [x^w], and [s] elsewhere (including before [x^w]). For example: [šx^wUmlɪ.k^w] 'parents', [šx^wâ.x^wtɛ'] 'crazy', [lUx^wšx^wɪyɪθeqɛl] 'gossiping', [ʔə.šx^w] '(hair) seal'; [sɪsɛm.Ux^w] 'rain (noun)', [sɪɣ'ɛs] 'cut and dried salmon'; [sɪ'sɪ] 'to be afraid', [sx^wó.sɔ] 'soapberry; Indian ice cream', [st'ɪ.lɛm] 'song', [ɪsɛq'] 'half; half-breed; half-dollar', [k^wUmlUx^ws] 'its root'.

At times /s/ before /t/ sounds somewhat like [š], but close hearing shows this to be more the sound of [t̥] after an [s] than the [š] allophone. A few borrowings have [š]

not before a [x^W]. For example: [k^Wəšú•] 'pig' (< Chinook jargon) and [šú^Wa] 'sugar' (< English) and [hěšú(w)] 'to sneeze' (beside native [hěs•əm] 'to sneeze'). These will be considered outside the phonemic system. The alternative would be to say /s/ → [š] also before [u], but examples (not borrowed) like [qěsu] 'and so' forbid that.

1.2.7. /x^V/ is everywhere realized as fronted [x̘] (or [x̘^V]). There is no plain velar [x]. Examples include: [x̘•ysem] 'ant', [swl̘ix̘eq(')] 'marsh blueberry', [sx̘épx̘ll] 'fish tail', [tθ̘'ěx̘^Wl̘l•ém] 'wash one's feet', [ʔ̘m̘l̘] 'to walk', [sč̘'ě•xt] ~ [sč̘'ě•xt] 'branch, limb of a tree'.

1.2.8. /k/ appears only in loanwords but in a number of loanwords that have been otherwise adjusted to eliminate non-Chilliwack phonemes. /k/ appears in borrowings from other Indian languages and from Chinook jargon and French as well as from English. Some examples: [kIn̘IkIn̘Ik] 'Kinnickinnick, Indian tobacco, bearberry', [kap̘ú•] 'coat' (< Chinook, or French "capote"), [les̘ák] 'sack' (< French "le sac"), [ləkl̘] 'key' (< French "le clef"), [k̘á•pt̘l̘] 'captain' (< English).

1.2.9. /k̘/ appears very rarely and has a similar status to /k/. The words found to date with /k̘/ are: [sk̘'lk̘'eyé̘p] (the first [k̘'] ~ [n]) 'coyote' (< Thompson language), [sk̘'ak̘'ěWə] 'Saskatoon berries (usually dried)' (< Thompson language), and [p̘'ísk̘'ě] 'hummingbird' (BJ) (< Thompson [p̘'ěsk̘'v̘ey] 'hummingbird').

A slight de-labialization appears to take place for

all labialized consonants ($/k^W, k'^W, q^W, q'^W, x^W, x'^W/$) before rounded vowels ($/u, u^{\circ}, o, o^{\circ}/$). This produced a few cases of $[k]$ and $[k']$ (in addition to $[q, q', x, x']$) in my transcriptions. For example, $[k\acute{a}\cdot tIs]$ 'he fetched it, he got it', $[k\acute{o}x^W\acute{e}\theta]$ 'coho salmon', $[sk'\acute{o}\cdot lm\acute{U}x^W]$ 'blackberry', $[q'\acute{o}\cdot l]$ 'ear', $[x\acute{o}w\acute{a}']$ 'not yet', $[sx\acute{o}s\acute{e}m]$ 'soapberry', and $[q\acute{a}\cdot lq^W]$ 'all talking'. However, close listening reveals some labialization still present, and all such cases have been phonemicized with labialized consonants.

ES also mentioned a $[k^Y]$, which I have so far found in only one word, $[k^Y\acute{a}\cdot k^Y]$ 'younger sibling (pet name for $[sq\acute{a}\cdot q]$ 'younger sibling')'. The feeling AC had for this implied that it was a baby-word, perhaps only used in her family. At any rate, with the pressure from loan words and from $/x^Y/$, there is pressure to fill in the hole in the pattern and develop a $/k/$ and a $/k'/$. But at present the latter are both peripheral to the Chilliwack system.

1.2.10. $/x^W/$ has allophones $[W]$ (voiceless bilabial spirant) which occurs occasionally in allegro or normal-speed speech and lenis articulation, and $[x^W]$ which occurs elsewhere. $[W]$ is so far attested only in 21 words (six percent of the words with $/x^W/$), and in each case a slower or more careful pronunciation has yielded $[x^W]$. The surrounding allophones do not determine this allophony. In careful and slow speech only $[x^W]$ occurs. Some examples: $[l\acute{i}\acute{c}w\ \acute{?}\acute{e}y\ \acute{?}al]$ 'How are you?' (lit. 'Are you just fine?'),

[sɔ'ɫɪwɛyUq^W] 'Chilliwack', [Wɪ'á·qtɛs] 'long face; morose', [Wáwá] 'lightweight', [WɪməWɛwt] (lenis and fast) ~ [x^Wɪmɛx^Wɛwtɪx^W] (citation form) 'Indian house'. [W] occurs only sporadically even in lenis or fast speech, while [x^W] occurs in all careful, slow, or citation-speed speech and in most lenis or fast speech words. In a few other cases it seems that /x^W/ has an allophone [w] after [š] preceding a syllable beginning with [w], for example: [šwŪwɛ] 'cougar' and [šwɪwá·li] 'parents'. But later hearings of these words sounded more like a [šx^W] was detectable.

1.2.11. /m/ and /l/ can be considered together because they have similar allophony in similar environments.

/m/ has allophone [m̥] and /l/ has allophone [l̥] in the following remaining environments (where C is any non-syllabic consonant, V is any vowel, and C^{-s,š} for example means any consonant except [s] or [š]):

$$\begin{aligned} &\#(C)C^{-s,\acute{s}}___ \\ &C___(C^{-m,l})\#___ \\ &CC___V \\ &C___C^{-m,l}(C,V). \end{aligned}$$

In addition, /l/ has syllabic allophone [l̥] in the following environments: $\# ___ \#$ and $\acute{V}(p,m,w,s)___(\acute{e},I)$ (for BJ and DM this last environment should instead be $\acute{V}C^W___(\acute{V},V)$ where C^W is any labialized consonant).

Elsewhere /m/ has allophone [m] and /l/ has allophone [l].

It is interesting to note that [m̥] and [l̥] can occur with stress (/ˈ/ or /ˌ/), for example as in [kʷm̥lUxʷ] 'root', [sl̥kʷa] 'older, oldest (of children)', [kʷqʷm̥] 'axe' (DM), and [q̥q̥l̥] 'thief'. The last two of these examples highlight the effect of /ə/ deletion which occurs in normal-speed and fast speech--the words have no vowels in them, only syllabic consonants. /ə/ deletion results in a zero grade of ablaut and is sometimes an option when it is not a morphological process.

The remaining consonant phonemes not yet discussed, /pʷ, tʷ, kʷ, qʷ, ʔ, θ, ɬ, ʃ, ʃʷ, h, y, w/, have the phonetic values indicated by the phonemic symbol chosen.

1.2.12. /ˈ/ is lengthening and /ː/ is superlengthening. /ˈ/ can occur after any vowel but /ə/ and is so far attested after the following medial consonants: /t, q, s, θ, m, l, w, y/. For example: [xʷétˈəs] 'heavy', [l̥q̥əm] ~ [l̥q̥em] (the [q̥] may be erroneous) 'to dive', [qəʔˈasʷísˈu] 'and so', [yílθˈà·m] 'poison you, you got poisoned' (/yélθˈà·m/ < //yélθ-θ-à·m//, compare [le yílθem] 'he got poisoned'). Examples of long resonants are somewhat more common³:

[témˈúxʷ] 'earth, land, dirt', [sx̥élˈə] 'leg, foot', [sx̥éyˈəs] ~ [sx̥éyəs] ~ [sx̥áyˈəs] (AC, BJ) 'head', [syêwˈə] ~ [syôˈwə] 'fortune-teller, seer'. Examples of long vowels

3. ES has 39 examples (with /ˈ/ only after vowels or resonants /m, l, w, y/), including some with word-final length; in a number of examples ES /éwˈ/ corresponds to my /éˈ/ and ES /éyˈ/ to my /iˈ/.

are plentiful: [ʔi·] 'be here', [sɪ·lə] 'grandparent', [ʔê·y] 'be good', [xê·yʔ] 'be cold', [xê·m] 'weep', [q'ê·mi] 'adolescent girl (10 to 15 years old)', [tû·x^W] 'nine', [lə k^Wâ·tɪs] 'he got (fetched) it', [q^Wô·l] 'ear', [sk^Wô·lmUx^W] 'blackberry', [qâ·] 'water', [slâ·s] ~ [slô·s] 'fat', [sk^Wô·wɪʔ] ~ [sk^Wâ·wɪʔ] 'sturgeon'. In all cases primary stress must occur on the syllable lengthened (on the long vowel or on the vowel immediately before the long consonant).

/:/ can occur after any vowel, including /ə/, and is not attested after any consonant; /:/ is a morpheme of emphasis (as in English), which can be translated as 'really' and can be applied to any stressed vowel. For example: [qê·x tɛ q^Wê·l] 'really a lot of mosquitoes', [su yê·t] 'so he really threw up' (CT), [lâ·m ʔimɪx tûx^W a # ʔi·mɪx] 'he went really walking; he walked and walked' (CT).

Vowels.

1.2.13. /i/ and /i·/ (front high unrounded) receive schwa off-glides before postvelars (the symbol Q can be used for q, q^W, q', q'^W, x, x^W). With /i·/ the effect is often so great that a y-glide precedes the schwa glide, making it difficult to distinguish /i·q/ [i^yq] for example, from /iyeq/ [iyeq]. For /i/ the result is a plain glide, as in [i^əq]. Examples: [swi^yqɛ] /swi·qɛ] or [swiyeqɛ] /swiyeqɛ/ 'a man; male', while on the other hand [θiy^əq^Wɛls] 'dig' is /θiy(ə)q^Wɛls/ because of [θây^əq^Wɛls] /θây(ə)q^Wɛls/

'digging'; [syi^oq] /syiq/ 'a snowfall', [yi^oq] /yiq/ 'have a snowfall', [yiyəq] ~ [yi'yəq] /yi(·)yəq/ 'having a snowfall'; [sqi^oqəwətə] /sqiqəwətə/ 'rabbit', [q^wi^oq^wɪlɛʃ] 'gossiping', [q^wi^oq^wəná·ə] 'fishing with a line', [θi^oɸ] 'spring (of water)', [ʔi^oɸwət] 'sweep s-th, clean s-th'.

Elsewhere than beside postvelars /i/ has the allophone [i] and /i·/ appears as [i·]. For example: [sɪ·si] 'be afraid', [wiyáθ] 'always', [sɪsəmayɛ] 'bee', [k'ík^wəl] 'pea, bean', [šx^wix^wáx^wtə] 'stupid'. It is also possible to hear [əy] in some words, so /i/ is best left separate from /əy/. For example, [q^wəyílɪx] ~ [q^wəyílɪx] 'to dance', and [ʔa^wəyálewɪt] 'doing s-th, managing s-th'.

Harris (1966) says that /i/ has allophones [i] adjacent to [ʃ, ʃ', k', k, x, y] and [I^ˆ] in free variation with [e] elsewhere, and similarly that /i·/ has allophones [i·] adjacent to [ʃ, ʃ', k', k, x, y] and [i·] in free variation with [e·] elsewhere. My data contradicts this with minimal pairs like [ʔiyɪs] 'female friend', [ʔéyɪs] 'fun, pleasant, to have fun', and [ʔéy] 'good', [ʔi·] ~ [ʔi·] (which could also be interpreted [ʔiy]) 'be here'. In my data neither [I] nor [i] are in free variation with [e], and I find no [I^ˆ] in my field notes. In addition, my [I] occurs precisely adjacent to [ʃ, ʃ', x, y] (among other consonants) where Harris found only [i].

1.2.14. /ɛ/ has allophony which is difficult to state because it involves a combination of free variation and

complementary distribution. Its allophones are [e] upper-mid front unrounded, [ɛ] mean-mid front unrounded, and [æ] upper-low front unrounded.

a.) /ɛ/ has allophones

[e] in the environment (Q,ʔ,h,l) (^ˈ)_y

[e] in free variation with [æ] in the environment
(p,m,w) (^ˈ)_y

[æ] elsewhere before y

[æ] in variation with [ɛ] elsewhere, with the

the following strong tendencies in the speech of AC:

b.) [æ] when stressed (^ˈ or ^ˈ) before C^{-y}, and

[ɛ] when unstressed before C^{-y}

The tendencies in b.) hold for every occurrence of [æ] and [ɛ] except the following:

[ɛ]: (ʔ,x^w,h,m,y) (^ˈ)_l, (x,m) (^ˈ)_x, (t',k',č',z) (^ˈ)_m,
(ʔ,z,x) (^ˈ)_z, (p',m) (^ˈ)_{tθ'}, m (^ˈ)_θ, w (^ˈ)_θ, (q,x^w) (^ˈ)_w, ʔ (^ˈ)_{k'},
(x,w) (^ˈ)_#

[æ]: (k',ʔ,x^w,h,l) (^ˈ)_l, (k'^w,q',ʔ) (^ˈ)_s, č (^ˈ)_p, (l,m) (^ˈ)_m,
(p,x,m) (^ˈ)_t, k' (^ˈ)_{t'}, k' (^ˈ)_w, z (^ˈ)_x, k' (^ˈ)_ʔ, (t,č,q,tθ',k'^w,
q',ʔ,s,z,l) (^ˈ)_#

c.) Other tendencies are the following in AC's speech:

[ɛ] occurs (^ˈ)_{tθ',ʔ,θ,z,x,x^w,h,m)}

(^ˈ)_{x^w,h,m,y)} (^ˈ)_l

(^ˈ)_{č,č',x,y)} (^ˈ)_#

[æ] occurs (^ˈ)_{s,y,č,č',p,p',w,t,t',k',K,Q)}

elsewhere (^ˈ)_{l,#)}

(^ˈ)_{some (θ,z,x,m)}

Environments allowing [ɛ̃, ɛ, æ̃, æ] are (ʔ, h, m)___l

Cases with [ɛ̃] in free variation with [æ̃] are

? ___ ɳ', (m, p') ___ tθ', and q ___ w.

d.) In a.) the solution for prediction of [æ̃] and [ɛ̃] not before y is variation. In b.) the solution is [æ̃] under stress and [ɛ̃] unstressed. In c.) the solution is [æ̃] before certain consonants and before l and # after certain consonants, [ɛ̃] before other consonants and before l and # after other consonants.

Solutions b.) and c.) show that [ɛ̃] and [æ̃] are nearly in a state of complementary distribution with each other; the problem is that there are exceptions (as given) to both environments. If solution a.) is chosen it must be noted that the variation between [æ̃] and [ɛ̃] is not free variation but variation conditioned by the environments in b.) and c.) and conditioned in the cases of the exceptions by idiolectal preferences within free variation (and possibly by sociolinguistic and semantic factors as well).
e.) /ɛ̃/ occurs but is always stressed and therefore only has allophones [ẽ] and [æ̃].

[ẽ] occurs (q, q', ʒ, h) ___ y

[ẽ] is in free variation with [æ̃]: (y, m, w, ʒ') ___ y

[æ̃] occurs elsewhere.

Examples of /ɛ̃/ and /ɛ̃/ follow:

[ʔɛ̃ɪqey] 'snake', [q'ɛ̃yq'ɛxəl] 'getting black',

[Wɔq^vɛ̃yɪlŋ] 'downriver', [ʒɛ̃ypət] (ES has p') 'scrape s-th,

scratch s-th', [xéyet] 'fight s-o', [ʔéyçUx^W] 'you're good',
 [ɕ(')ehéyItâ·wtx^W] 'church (building)', [léyleyIm] 'laughing';
 [xəpéy] ~ [xəpáy] 'cedar (material or wood from)', [méyt] ~
 [máyt] 'help s-o', [swéyIl] ~ [swáyIl] 'day'; [qəlqê·yil]
 'dirty', [q'é·yt'ə] 'swing', [xê·yâ'] 'be cold', [hé·yUq^W]
 ~ [héyUq^W] 'fire'; [siyâ·yɛ] ~ [siyé·yɛ] 'friend',
 [sq^W(t)mê·y] ~ [sq^W(t)mâ·y] 'dog', [sx^Wtwê·ys] ~ [sx^Wtwâ·ys]
 'his parents', [ç'é·yx^WtIs] ~ [ç'â·yx^WtIs] 'he's drying it';
 [x^Wi^ox^Wiyáye] (AC) ~ [x^Wex^Wiyáye] (AD of Agassiz, TG of Katz)
 'small fly', [sxáye] '(younger) co-wife', [sk^Wáy] 'impos-
 sible, be impossible'.

The next examples are arranged in pairs showing [ɛ] and [ə] in the same or similar environments, differing only by stress. [təntəm] 'when?, what time?', [tɛlqi] 'to soak (dried fish)' and [tɛlqi] 'soaking (dried fish)', [lɛm, lɛ, lɛt, lɛɕ], [lɛt] are unstressed forms of the verb 'go' which always appear immediately before a stressed word, compare [lɛm] 'go', [lɛ] 'go', [sp'âk'mɛlɛ] 'pipe' (DM, BJ), [sqəlɛt] 'diapers', [tɛq'lɛɕ] 'hip', and many others; [q^Wáyɛl] 'be yellow', [ʔeyálewɛt] 'do s-th, manage s-th', [sɕ'elɛx^Wem] (ɛ ~ ə) 'spirit dancer', [sɕ'ɛlɛstɛl] 'chair', [qâ·tɕɛ] 'juicy', [tɛlímɛtɕɛ] 'it will be you (pl.)', [hɛlp'ɪx] 'eating (like an animal, without hands)', [hɛlq'éméyɛm] 'Halkomelem', [çálmɛl] 'Chinese person', [k^Wi·k^Wemɛl] 'turning red', [mɛlqlɛx^W] 'forget s-th', [sxImɛl] 'enemy', [tɛlUwɛ] 'it's you (sg.)', [táɛ(s)]

'dollar', [x^wɛtɛ̃lɪm] 'be cloudy', [yiẽs̃] 'they, them', [ʔɛ̃ʔẽlθẽ] 'it's me', [ʔẽlɔ̃ʔẽ] 'where?', [ʔɛ̃lθẽ] 'it's me', [ʔɛ̃lɪx̃] 'sibling', [tɛ̃] 'the (present, visible, masc. or sex unspecified)', [tɛ̃] 'your (sg.)(present, visible, masc. or sex unspecified)', [ʔowŭtɛ̃] 'nobody', [sɔ̃xɛ̃tɛ̃] 'the same thing', [tɛ̃k^wʔɔ̃k^wɛ̃s] 'hot time, summer', [ptɛ̃mɪt] 'ask s-th, ask s-c', [ʔɛ̃x^wĩl] 'be small', [ʔɛ̃x^wɛ̃t] 'give s-th', [ʔɛ̃k^wq̃] 'be outside', [sʔɛ̃k^wq̃] (ɛ̃ ~ ɛ̃*) 'the outside', [smɛ̃tθ^wq̃ẽl] (ɛ̃ ~ ɛ̃, ɛ̃ preferred) 'brain', [smɛ̃tθ^wẽlɔ̃x̃^w] 'you're smart' (EK), [p^wɛ̃tθ^wt̃l] 'needle', [p^wɛ̃(•)tθ^wɛ̃l] 'I sew', [q̃ɛ̃wɔ̃] 'steelhead trout' and [sq̃ɛ̃wθ] 'potato, Indian potato (wapato or broad-leafed Arrowhead [*Sagittaria latifolia*])'.

[ʔɛ̃•y] 'keep on going', [slɛ̃•y] 'fir bark', [k^wɛ̃•y] 'bluejay', [k^wx̃ɛ̃•m] 'counted', [hɛ̃•wɛ̃] 'to hunt (animals)', [sp^wɛ̃•tθ^wẽɪp] 'Indian currant bush (probably *Ribes sanguineum* 'flowering red currant' which has red to pink flowers and blue berries)', [q^wɛ̃•mi] 'adolescent girl', [q^wɛ̃•q̃•mi] 'little girl', [sɛ̃lɛ̃k̃•li] 'women', [ɛ̃i^{yə}q̃^wɛ̃•ls] 'dig'.

1.2.15. /ə/ has allophones determined by the speed of speech and by three sets of consonants: Y = [l, ɛ̃, x̃, y, s, ʔ, ɛ̃'] (the palatal and alveolar consonants except [ɛ̃']), W = [m, w, k^w, k^w, x^w, q^w, q^w, ɛ̃^w] ([m], [w] and labialized consonants), and X = [p, t, ɔ̃, q, p^w, tθ^w, t^w, ɛ̃^w, q^w, ʔ, θ, ʃ, ɛ̃, h] (remaining consonants). The allophones of /ə/ are [ɛ̃] central unrounded lower-high vowel, [ɪ] front unrounded

lower-high, [U] back rounded lower-high, and [ə] central unrounded mean-mid (stressed or unstressed).

/e/ → [ɛ] in allegro unstressed syllables, especially adjacent to a stressed syllable with length (long vowel or long consonant) (cited in phonetic quotations throughout as [ɛ] instead of more cumbersome [ɛ̃]).

At normal speed → [I]: (x,ϕ)__, __x, y__m

At normal speed → [U]: k^wϕ, x^wl

At normal speed → [ə]: X__X, (Y,W,X)__, l__(ϕ,ϕ')

At normal speed elsewhere → [I] in free variation with [ə]: (Y,W,X)__, Y__X

At normal speed elsewhere → [U] in free variation with [ə]: (Y,W,X)__, W__X

The free variation is noticeable especially with different speakers (in a given word for example one speaker might use [U] adjacent to [q^w] while another speaker might use [ə]). The free variation is also noticeable in citations of a word on different dates by the same speaker. In comparing the occurrences of [I] in the speech of different speakers, there appear to be a few differences in conditioning environments. The statements above are for the speech of AC. In the speech of DM, BJ and RM [ϕ] and [č] are nearly in free variation, and as a result [č] is a member of the palatal set, Y, which conditions /e/ → [I]. Also in the speech of DM and BJ, the environment l__ϕ conditions

/e/ → [I] (instead of [e] as in the speech of AC). In the speech of AC, DM and BJ the borrowed phones [k] and [k'] function as member of the palatal set Y in conditioning [I].

Among the words analyzed for this chapter there are 993 examples with [e], 321 with [I], and 96 with [U] in the speech of AC. In the prime environment for [I], Y__Y, [e] occurs in 30 examples and [I] in 130 examples; in the prime environment for [U], W__W, [e] occurs in 32 examples at most and [U] in 32 examples. These figures provide further guidance for the free variation at normal speed. The frequency of these allophones in the words gathered from DM and BJ is the same (615 examples with [e], 140 with [I], and 61 with [U]). The proportions are similar to those for AC in the W__W environment, about equal numbers of examples with [e] as with [U], but in the Y__Y environment BJ and DM have 64 examples with [I] (71 if one includes 1__ɛ as Y__Y) and only 18 examples with [e] (22 if one includes 1__ɛ as Y__Y). So it appears that the environments in which [I] can occur produce [I] more dependably in the speech of BJ and DM than in the speech of AC.

Examples of /e/:

[sw'ɪxɪq(')] 'marsh blueberries', [sq'wɛtɪm] 'fog, mist', [ʔi'ɪɪt] 'we were (here)', [k'wɪɛt] 'count s-th', [ʃx'wɪɪntɛl] 'belt', [sɛɪm] 'it hurts', -[ɛɪl] 'I (subject)', -[ɛɪs] 'hand', -[ɪl] 'foot'.

[k'w'UɛlUx'w] 'see s-th, see s-o', [x'w'UlmUx'w] 'Indian', and all inflected forms of these words.

[y^ll·ís] ~ [y^ll·ís] 'tooth, teeth', [ʃílláqeií:] ~ [čílláqeií:] 'yesterday', [lílíp'lxIs] ~ [lílíp'eyxIs] 'he is eating (without hands, like an animal)', [we'á·íIs] 'if they get into a canoe', [xíxIx'ǫ] 'it stinks', [sílíləǫ'] 'two different things', [k^wsIs] 'so that he, (subordinate 3rd person subject)', [šx^wq'éyǫ'asIǫ] 'netting shuttle for making nets' (DM), [ǻ'ik^wiyIǫ] 'pea vines, bean vines', [ʔéyIs] 'to have fun', [sǫ'^wIlx^wéyUq^w] ~ [sǫ'^wIlx^wiyUq^w] 'Chilliwack', [ǫ'^wi·ǫ'^wIsem] 'growing up'; [lǫǫ'^wes] 'one dollar', [ʔisá·les] 'two dollars', [wetíses] 'when it reaches, when it gets up to', [sése] 'pintail duck' (BJ), [seliyǫip] 'short Oregon grape bush', [sxáy·es] ~ [sxáy·Is] (a ~ e ~ e) 'head', [sǫ'^welǫx^wem] 'seasoned spirit dancer', [sk^w'f·lǫǫ'] 'lame hip (esp. if congenital)', [ʔelǫǫ'] 'where?'.
 [mIstíyUx^w] 'person', [místUx^w] 'bring s-th, give me s-th', [míle] ~ [móle] 'child (son or daughter)', [tekwíleǫ] 'it's you, you're the one that', [k^wíls] ~ [k^wíls] 'that I, for me to', [k^wIlíx] 'shoot (with gun or bow and arrow)', [tíIs] 'get up to, reach', [tíl má·l] 'my father' (tíl ~ tǫ), [θíl tǫ·l] (θíl ~ θǫ) 'my mother', [x^wíl] ~ [x^wel] ~ [x^wǫ] 'still, yet', [ʔíǫ'it lǫm] 'we went', [sʔíǫ'íǫ] (normal speed) ~ [sʔǫǫ'ǫǫ] (hyper slow) 'stuttering', [spíxǫel] 'prairie, open grassland', [sá·tIǫ] 'north-east wind', [q^wéq^wIlǫǫ] 'to gossip', [ííptíl] 'eyelash', [yíθest] 'tell s-th', [síǻ'ǫtíl] 'older sibling', [mámet'Is] 'pointing', [mát'es]

'point at, aim', [č'áɫɫítə'xɫɫ] 'short-legged runt';
 [welámes] 'if he goes, when he goes', [meyəaməʃɫɫ] 'I help
 you', [təʃáləqel] 'bump your head', [téləx^wɪs] ~ [tél·ex^wɪs]
 'he understands it, he finds s-th out', [q^wəʔəpɛɪp] 'crab-
 apple tree, apple tree', [q^wéɫs] 'to make boil', [xéyəθáxɫɫɪs]
 'he fought me', [ɟ'ɛɟ'í·ɟ'əɫ'] 'short'.

[x^wUm] ~ [x^wém] 'hurry', [šx^wUwe] 'cougar', [témUx^w]
 ~ [tém·Ux^w] 'earth, land, dirt', [sə'ék^wUk^w] 'blue elder-
 berry', [q^wUq^wmí·ɫ] 'rattles (used in spirit dancing)',
 [x^wUq^wátɫɫɪs] 'he dragged him', [čaléx^wUm] 'to bleed',
 [tɛɫUwe] ~ [tɛléwe] 'it's you (sg.), you're the one that',
 [háyUq^w] ~ [háyeq^w] 'fire', [sɪéx^wéɫ] ~ [sɪ·Ux^wéɫ] 'canoe
 (any type); transportation', [sUq^wemí·ws] 'inner cedar bark'
 (AC from LH), [-ɫUx^w] 'do accidentally to s-o, manage to or
 happen to do to s-o', [-stUx^w] 'make s-o do, cause s-o to do',
 [-čUx^w] 'you (sg.)(subject)', [p'Uk^wəi·ləm] 'throw together
 a light snack' (SJ et al), [st'Uwók^w] ~ [st'əwók^w] 'white
 clay (used for paint or coloring)', [tə'Ux^wtə'Ux^w] -
 [tə'ék^wtə'əx^w] 'osprey', [θUk^w] 'pulled out, straight',
 [θek^wUt] 'pull s-th', [ʔowÚtɛ] ~ [ʔowstɛ] 'nobody, nothing',
 [sə'íwUq^w] ~ [sə'íwéq^w] 'red elderberry', [ʔá·x^wUst] -
 [ʔá·x^wəst] ~ [ʔá·x^wɪst] 'give s-th', [sk^wUlwÚs] 'child's
 in-laws', [sk^wek^wɫwɪs] 'children's in-laws'.

[spepelál] 'bunch of small crows', [stəqtə·ɫ] 'doorway,
 door of a longhouse', [yśq^wlčəp] 'light a fire', [swáqəθ]
 'husband', [p'əq^w] 'white', [t'ət'ətə'əm] 'sour, fermenting',

[tθ'əxtθ'əx] 'stinging nettle', [sɬ'ep'él·əʃ] (1· - 1)
 'tail', [č'əpeq] (č' - ʒ' - sθ') 'skunk', [q'eq'mástel]
 'dip net (on a pole)', [ʔepə·le] 'ten (people)', [θət]
 'he says', [xə'á·θ] 'four' or [xəθ₀lxə] 'forty', [spehəls]
 'wind (noun)', [qəx] 'be many', [xət'əs] 'he says',
 [(s)č'ič'ə] 'to be on top of', [qəɬ'asɪsu] 'and so',
 [čičix^w] 'swollen'; [ʔeləpə] 'where?', [ləʒ'ə] - [ləʒ'ə]
 'one'; [sɪ·lə] 'grandparent', [sə'iyáyə] 'twins', [sése]
 'pintail duck' (BJ), [k^wUp'lamə] 'see you (sg.)', [ʔəwə]
 ~ [ʔəwə] 'no, not, to be not', [k^wə] 'the (near but out of
 sight)', [k^wə] 'the (distant, hypothetical, not concrete)',
 [x^wə] 'to get somewhere, arrive', [tə] 'the (present in
 sight, masculine or sex unspecified)', [θə] 'the (present,
 visible, female, human)', [qə] 'and', [tə'ə] 'to, at' (as
 in [tθ'ə sq^weyllɪx] 'to/at the dance'), [spaleq^witθ'ə]
 (ə - ə) 'ghost; corpse', [q'ə(·)yt'ə] ~ [q'ə(·)yt'a]
 'swing (noun or verb)', [ɬ'ə] 'by (instrumental preposition
 used with passive)', [q'ə] 'but'.

Besides the examples of [ɪ] seen above (written [i]):
 [sɪf'ɪs] 'out and dried salmon', [yɪwə·lmɪs] 'before',
 [mənəyɪt] (ə - i) 'helping s-o', [sk^wɪxə's] 'month; moon',
 [sq^wimə·y] ~ [sq^wmə·y] 'dog' (/sq^wəmə·y/ - /sq^wmə·y/),
 [pɪwɪtɪ] (i possibly [i·]) 'get frozen', [sə·sq'ɪʒ] 'Sas-
 quatch', [sə'ɪmɪwɪ] (ɪ ~ ə) 'core (of plant, rock, tree, etc.),
 nut, seed, pith', [stɪtɪ's] 'near'.

/ə/ never occurs before /·/.

1.2.16. /u/ always appears as high back rounded [u] but is relatively uncommon (about 25 per 2000 words). In the environment y_w , /u/ frequently varies with /i/ (for example, /syúwəl/ - /syíwəl/ 'spirit song'). /u/ appears both in borrowings ([kapú] 'coat' < Chinook Jargon in turn from French "capote", [státúlo] 'creek' < Nooksack, [šúk^wa] 'sugar' < English) and in native words. Some examples of native words with /u/ are: [túx'á·] 'it's him, he did, he's the one who' (a ~ a, and rarely u ~ u· here), [túx'á·] 'it's her, she did, she's the one who' (a ~ a and u ~ u· as above), [yux'á·ləm] 'it's them (sex not given), they did, they're the ones who', [qəx'asísu] or [qəsu] 'and then', [k^wú·tIs] ~ [k^wútIs] 'he gets (fetches) something'.

/u/ always appears as [u·] and is also relatively uncommon. It occurs in a few borrowings ([k^wešú·] 'pig' < Chinook Jargon, [spú·l] 'spoon' < English (NP)), and in native words: [tú·x^w] 'nine', [tú·x^wlsxə] 'ninety', [s'á·met] 'lazy', [p'elyú·s] - [p'elyú·s] 'bark (of a tree)', [q^wú·lq^wl] 'all talking'.

1.2.17. /o/ always appears as upper-mid back rounded [o] and is somewhat more frequent than /u/ (about 45 per 2000 words). /ew/ is phonetically distinct from /o/ and /ow/ in most cases, although the three sometimes alternate morphophonemically. ES phonemicized [o] as /ew/ for the Cowichan, Musqueam and Chilliwack dialects of Halkomelem and [o·] as /ew·/ for the Chilliwack dialect. This may work reasonably

well for Cowichan and Musqueam where [o·] is very rare, but it is awkward for Chilliwack where [o] and [o·] are more common and well-established. Chilliwack seems to have been influenced in this regard (see Introduction) by the Nooksack language, which has a very prominent /o/ (see Amoss 1961). Phonemicization of [o] as /ew/ and [o·] as /ew·/ would 1.) obscure the phonetic differences between [ew], [Uw], [o] and [ow], 2.) make more difficult the statement of the phonemics of [U] before w, of [l̥] and [m̥] after w, and of delabialization of labialized consonants before rounded vowels, and 3.) make more difficult the statement of root shapes (canonic shapes). In addition, the comparison of Musqueam and Cowichan cognates shows that the use of /ew, ew·/ for Chilliwack would add a /w/ not present in words in the other dialects (for example, ES has Cowichan and Musqueam /qʷi·nʷ/, Chilliwack /qʷéwəl/[qʷó·l] 'ear'; Cowichan /há·nʷ/, Musqueam /héwnʷ/[hó·nʷ], Chilliwack /héw·leye/(Amy Cooper has [hó·liye]) 'humpback salmon'; Cowichan /wélʷ/[wó·lʷ], Musqueam /wí·lʷ/, Chilliwack /wéw·lʷ/ (Amy Cooper has [wó·ll]) 'tule').

Most cases of /o/ are adjacent to labial or labialized consonants, although some are not. Examples of /o/: [mókʷ] 'all', [stá·lɔ] 'river', [ʷéwə] - [ʷówə] 'no, not, be not', [kʷóxʷəθ] 'coho salmon', [xʷowé] 'not yet', [wóqʷ] 'drown, float face down', [pʷówi·təs] 'patch s-th up', [skʷí·tɔ] 'parent-in-law', [sʷoxʷiyám] (o - e) 'fable, story'.

Compare the following examples of /ew/[əw]: /ləwe/ [ləwe] ~ [lUwe] 'you (sg.)', /spipew/ 'frozen', /státew/ 'light (illumination)', /yewə·l/ [yUwə·l] ~ [yewə·l] 'first, preceding', /ʔəwəls/ '(a dog) barks', /sqəweqs/ 'raven', /st'əwók^w/ [st'Uwók^w] ~ [st'əwók^w] 'white clay powder', /ləc'əwec/ [ləc'əwUc] 'hundred', /əwá·ləm/ 'play'.

/o·/ only occurs stressed and always adjacent to labial or labialized consonants or [l]. Besides the examples above, the following can be cited: [čewō·tɔp] 'cottonwood', [tə'ó·ltə'iyəɔp] 'tall Oregon grape', [sx^wó·sem] 'soapberry; Indian ice cream', [sk^wó·lmUx^w] 'blackberry', [ləc'ó·mUx^w] 'different tribe, tribe', [q'əx^wó·weɔ] 'ocean-going canoe'.

1.2.18. /a/ has two allophones before length, [o] (lower-mid back rounded) and [a] (low back unrounded). [o] appears infrequently in the speech of AC (only in a dozen words attested so far), and in those environments [a] is always an acceptable alternate pronunciation. [o] appears more frequently in the speech of BJ (28 words out of 522 attested) but appears only once ([ʔó·q^wləɔ] 'back (human)') in the 195 words from DM; in the speech of BJ [a] is always an acceptable alternate.

For AC, /a/ → [o] $\frac{f}{x}$ [a]: C^w·C^{-y,x}, C^w·C^w, l·s
 → [a^v]: $\frac{x}{x}$
 → [a]: elsewhere

(C = any consonant, C^w = labialized consonants, C^{-y,x} = any consonant but y or x)

This means that [ɔ] only occurs preceding length, under primary stress (including [˘]) and adjacent to a labialized consonant (length may intervene) or $l_\cdot s$. And when [ɔ] occurs in this environment it varies freely with [a] but appears only 30 percent of the time. Examples: [kʷɔ̇kʷəs] ~ [kʷâkʷəs] 'hot, be hot', [sqʷɔ̇ls] ~ [sqʷâls] 'something to boil in', [ʔɔ̇qʷlɛʃ] ~ [ʔâqʷlɛʃ] (and ɔ̇ probably also ~ â) 'back (of a person)', [skʷɔ̇wiʃ] ~ [skʷâwiʃ] 'sturgeon', [lɔ̇s] ~ [lâs] 'to be fat'. Also note the y-glide before [x], as in -[θaʷx] 'me (verb object)'; I have omitted this glide in phonetic citations throughout.

For BJ /a/ → [ɔ] $\frac{1}{2}$ [a]: (C^W, C_{lab}, C_{pv}) $_\cdot$ C^W, x̄,
 C $_\cdot$ ·(C^W, C_{lab}, C_{pv}), l $_\cdot$ ·θ
 → [aʷ]: $_\cdot$ x̄
 → [a]: elsewhere

(C_{lab} = labial consonants, C_{pv} = postvelar consonants)

For BJ then, [ɔ] only occurs preceding length, under primary stress and either adjacent to labialized, labial or postvelar consonants or $l_\cdot\theta$. [ɔ] occurs in this expanded environment in 30 out of 70 cases of /a/ (43 percent), while [a] occurs in the remaining 40 cases. [ɔ] thus is more frequent in BJ's speech than in AC's speech. Examples from BJ: [kʷɔ̇kʷəs] 'warm, hot, be hot', [x̄ʷɔ̇x̄ʷlâ·ɪp] 'a little willow tree; Yale, B.C.', [tʷɔ̇qʷ] 'cough', [spɔ̇l] 'crow', [ʔɔ̇peɪ] 'ten', [hamɔ̇] 'pigeon', [skʷɔ̇wiʃ] 'sturgeon', [qɔ̇] 'water', [spʷɔ̇qʷəs] 'bald-eagle', [x̄ɔ̇çɛ]

'lake', [q'ɔ̄·q'əy] 'be sick; dying', [lɔ̄·θ̄] 'big trough (for cooking), (wooden) dish'. All cases of [ɔ̄] vary with [ā] here.

The speech of AC seems to occupy a middle ground between the speech of DM and that of BJ regarding the frequency and privileges of occurrence of [ɔ̄]. It seems natural enough that labialized consonants might contribute some rounding to [a] in the speech of AC and BJ, yielding [ɔ̄].

Examples of [ā] in the speech of AC include:

[sá·x̄^wl̄] 'grass; hay', [čâ·k^w] 'be far away', [q^wâ·m] 'moss', [x̄^wâ·q^w] 'sawbill, fishduck, merganser', [t'â·k^w] '(go) home', [sqemâ·] '(female) breast; milk', [pát̄Is] 'he blew s-th', [p'át̄θ'ís] 'baby basket, basketry cradle', [qâ·] 'water', [xâ·x̄é] 'little lake', [q'â·w] 'to howl', [q'â·q'ey] 'be sick, dying', [θâ·θ̄] 'mouth', -[ʔâ·l̄] - -[ʔâ·l̄] 'young (human or animal)', [syâ·ys] 'work', [sk^wx̄â·s] 'month; moon', [ʔ'â·] 'it's him, it's her, that's ____; he/she/it did; he's the one that ____, she's the one that ____'.

Examples of [a] in the speech of AC: [x^wax^wa] 'light-weight', [q^wâq^wɛt] 'hit s-th', [máls̄m] 'swamp blueberry (tall ones, grow at mouth of Fraser River)', [swáwələs] '(adolescent) boys', [spápi] 'crooked', -[əam] 'you (sg.) (object of verb)', [sč̄iláyeθ̄al] 'upper lip', [láləp'ə] 'one (person)', [t'át'əlm̄] (BJ has [ā]) 'flea', [yáswe]

'perhaps; I don't know', [sčowát] ~ [sčewát] 'know how to, good at'.

1.2.19. The Chilliwack dialect of Halkomelem has three degrees of phonemic pitched stress: /^o/ primary or high-pitch stress, /[^]/ secondary or mid-pitch stress, and (unmarked) low-pitch unstressed.

/^o/ has several allophones, conditioned by length (in the syllable in question) and by stress (on the other syllables within the word):

/^o/ → [⁶], loud stress with high and level pitch which seems to be about the musical interval of a sixth above the unstressed low pitch. This allophone occurs only on short vowels immediately preceding a weakened word boundary⁴; the short vowel is always the end of a monosyllable (demonstratives and particles which otherwise occur unstressed, the only words which can occur unstressed). The environment can be stated as over the vowel in $\#(C)CV(\#)$, where ($\#$) stands for weakened word boundary and (C) is an optional consonant.

/^o/ → [[^]], loud stress with high falling pitch

4. Weakened word boundary, ($\#$), is characterized by a very faint pause or no pause at all; it usually follows vowel allophones [I], [U] and [\pm], which cannot otherwise occur word-finally. For example, [tí⁶($\#$)] and [tI($\#$)] 'the (present, visible, masculine or unmarked sex)' frequently precede nouns beginning with [s]-, the nominalizing prefix; [I] occurs in the environment t__s but not in the environment t__ $\#$; if we consider the weak phonetic nature of ($\#$), then [tí⁶($\#$)s] and [tI($\#$)s] become explainable.

which starts about the musical interval of a fifth above unstressed low pitch and falls to low pitch. This allophone occurs on long vowels in word-final syllables, and in free variation with ['] (see below) on the last long vowel in a word in non-final syllables.

/ʔ/ → ['], loud stress with high level pitch varying between about a fifth and a fourth above low pitch; this allophone occurs elsewhere (wherever [ʔ⁶] and [ʔ[^]] do not). ['] can occur more than once within a word. ['] has its pitch a fourth above low pitch when following [ʔ⁶]; however, usually the downstepping⁵ is so strong that /ʔ/ → /ʔ³/ ([ʔ³] after [ʔ⁶]) (see Morphophonemics).

Examples of /ʔ/ include: [li#tI⁶(#)sq'əp] 'at the gathering', [lɛ#vəlɔɛ#tɔ⁶(#)siə·li] 'Where is the woman?', [tI⁶(#)laplās] 'the board', [li·#stətɪ·l#tɔ⁶(#)təmUx^w] 'Is the land cleared?', [tmtəm#k'wəs#tɔ⁶(#)θi·t] 'When did you make it?'; [k^və·y] 'bluejay', [sqəmā·] '(female) breast; milk', [sɪ·sil] 'be afraid, scared', [yə·t] 'to vomit', [spə·θ] 'black bear', [xə·ysem] 'ant', [pɪ·k^wɪl] 'barbecue sticks, split roasting sticks (for cooking salmon)', [ɣ'ɪə·mɪt] ~ [ɣ'ɪə·mɪt] 'hear s-th', [ʔə·yɪlUx^w] (BJ) ~ [ʔə·yɪlex^w] (AC) 'alive'; [yɪl·ɪs] ~ [yɪl·és] 'tooth, teeth', [sq'əm·əl] 'canoe paddle', plus numerous examples already cited of words with single ['].

5. See the articles listed on the following page

for a discussion of downstepping and tonal systems:
William E. Welmers: "Tonemics, Morphotonemics, and
Tonal Morphemes," in General Linguistics, vol. 4, no.1;
pp. 1-9, University of Kentucky (1959), and the follow-
ing: J.M. Stewart: "The Typology of the Twi Tone System"
(pp. 1-27), Paul Schachter: "Some Comments on J.M. Stew-
art's 'The Typology of the Twi Tone System'" (pp. 28-42),
J.M. Stewart: "Reply" (pp. 43-48), and William E. Welmers:
"A Further Note on the Typology of Tonal Structures"
(pp. 49-67), all in Bulletin of the Institute of African
Studies, vol. 1, no. 1 (1965).

1.2.20. /[˘]/ has no complex allophony; it is level mid pitch (about a third above unstressed low pitch) with loudness ranging from moderate to loud. It is transcribed phonetically [˘]. More than one [˘] can appear within a word, and /[˘]/ can be flanked by /[˘]/, /[˘]/ or unstressed syllables. ES reports some words with /[˘]/ as the only stress while JH does not; I find words with only /[˘]/ stress in sentences where morphophonemic downstepping has changed the stress from its usual citation form /[˘]/. But I have also found a few words with /[˘]/ as the only stress in citation forms. ES gives the following words with /[˘]/ stress only: /t'á·x^W/ 'white fir', /k^Wəmləx^W/ 'root', /spiù/
'ice', /təm·əx^W/ 'earth', /sç'i·m/ 'berry', /x̣è·m/ 'cry', /m̩t̩q̩/ 'snow', /səley̩/ '"lay" spirit power', /s̩x̣^Wat̩i·x̣^Y/ 'helldiver', and /x̣^Yá·ysem/ 'ant'.

JH has only /t'á·x̣^W/ 'white fir' and /x̣éysem/ 'ant' among these words. My recordings of these words are: /k^Wəmləx̣^W/ 'root', /spi·w/ 'ice', /təm·əx̣^W/ ~ /təm·əx̣^W/ 'earth', /sə'i·m/ ~ /sə'i·m/ 'berry', /x̣é·m/ ~ /x̣è·m/ 'cry, weep', /m̩t̩q̩/ (AC) ~ /m̩t̩q̩/ (BJ) 'snow (on the ground)', /s̩ʔəliye/ '(ordinary) dream, vision (seen by an average person)', /s̩x̣^Wat̩ix̣^Y/ (BJ) 'helldiver, grebe', /x̣^Yé·ysem/ 'ant'.

While my recordings only confirm (partially) two of the ES words with /[˘]/ stress, I have a few examples myself stressed only with /[˘]/: /sc'əl·əx̣^W/ 'eddy', /q̩^Wəq̩^Wáy̩t̩s/
'orange color' ~ /q̩^Wiq̩^Wáy̩t̩s/ 'orange (fruit)(and color?)',

/ə'əwé·lɪ/(BJ) ~ /ə'əwé·lɪ/(AC) 'Soowahlie (place name)',
 /wɛy·əlès/ ~ /wɛy·əlès/ ~ /wɛy·əlès/ 'tomorrow', /q^wəl·ès/
 (prompted, AC) ~ /q^wəl·ès/ (BJ), ES /q^wəl·ès/, JH /q^wəl·ès/
 'whale', and /q^wə·l/ 'speak, talk'.

Another difference between the present grammar and ES and JH is our frequent disagreement with stress patterns involving /·/. ES might have ˘ on one word which JH cites as ˘ and I have as ˘˘; another example might show ES ˘˘, JH ˘˘, BG ˘˘, or ES ˘˘, JH ˘˘, BG ˘˘. It seems likely that at least some of these differences are idiolectal or free variation.

Examples of /·/ besides those already cited, include:
 [músmIsá·lɪ] 'calf', [ʔi·ʔəx^wi·l] 'small, little',
 [tə'əx^wɪl·ém] 'wash one's feet', [ɪà·q^wɪəx^wɪs] 'he slapped me',
 [ʔá·əələm] 'I was called', [pí·wətələmçə] 'you folks will get frozen'.

Unmarked low unstressed syllables have a pitch level of one, relative to [˘] (3̄), [˘] (4,5) and [˘] (6̄). Many examples have already been given.

1.2.21. Some minimal pairs:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1.) [k ^w â·l] 'to hide' | 6.) [môq ^w] 'to burst' |
| [q ^w â·l] 'mosquito' | [môk ^w] 'all' |
| [qâ·l] 'to steal' | [mék ^w] 'stout' |
| [q'â·l] 'believing' | [mêq'] 'filled with
food' |
| [q ^w â·l] 'to speak' | [mâ·q ^w] 'bird' |
| 2.) [p'ók ^w] 'float, come to the
surface' | [wôq ^w] 'drowned,
drift face down' |
| [p'ók'] 'white' | 7.) [q ^w ôl] 'cooked;
ripened' |
| 3.) [t'êq ^w] 'it broke (of rope)' | [qôl] 'bad' |
| [t'êq ^w] 'get muddy' (e ~ U) | [k ^w el] 'my (near,
invisible)' |
| 4.) [k ^w âs] 'demonstr. + you (sg.)' | [k ^w el] 'my (far,
invisible)' |
| [k ^w âs] 'burned (of a person)' | |
| 5.) [k ^w e] 'the (near, invisible)' | 8.) [x ^w â] 'turn into',
'hungry' |
| [k ^w e] 'the (far/invisible)' | [q ^w â] 'get a hole' |
| [q'ê] 'but' | [q'â] 'or' |
| [qê] 'and' | [k ^w â] 'your (sg.)
(near, invisible)' |
| [x ^w ô] 'get somewhere, arrive' | [k ^w â] 'your (sg.)
(far, invisible)' |
| [ôê] 'the (near, visible, female)' | |
| [tê'ê] 'to, at (in 'at a dance)' | |
| [â'ê] 'by (instrumental preposi-
tion used with passive)' | |
| [tê] 'the (present, visible)' | |
| [mê] 'evidently' | |
| [wê] 'if; when' | |
| [lê] '3rd person syntactic past
marker' | |

- 9.) [t'á(·)t'ə́m] 'jumping flea'
[t'á(·)tə́'ə́m] 'chilled'
- 10.) [spə·θ] 'black bear'
[sp'ə·tə́] 'Indian currant'
- 11.) [t'ət] 'taste; try'
[tət] ~ [tə́·t] 'mother
(speaker's own)'
[tə́'ət] 'chew s-th'
[θə́·t] 'dark(ness)'
- 12.) [ʔ'í] 'difficult'
[lí] 'be there; to, at'
- 13.) [ʔ'í/It] 'we're difficult'
[ʔ'í·é/It] 'sneak up to s-o'
[í·é/It] 'cut s-th'
- 14.) [sxə́l·ə] 'leg, foot'
[sxɪ́le] 'penis' (BJ)
- 15.) [x^wə'í·t] 'what is it?'
[x^wə'í·t] 'wedge'
- 16.) [ʔə́·wə] 'seagull' (BJ)
[hə́·wə] 'to hunt'
[xə́·wəq] 'wild carrot,
carrot'
- 17.) [ʔ'í·Il] 'I'm here'
[ʔ'í·é/Il] 'lazy'
- 18.) [mɪ́x/Il] 'chickadee'
[mɪ́x/Il] 'louse'
- 19.) [t'ə́·yɪ] 'jealous'
[t'ə́·yəq] 'angry'
- 20.) [lí] 'be there;
to, at'
[lí·] 'interrogative'
[lə́] - [lɛ] 'go'
[lə] '3rd person
syntactic past marker'
[lá] 'this'
- 21.) [lɔ́ɪ] 'already, 3rd
person subject'
(< //lə-wəɪ//)
[lə́ɪ] 'go (do s-th)!'
- 22.) [q'wə́l] 'cooked; rip-
ened'
[q'wə́·l] 'ear'
[q'wə́lq'wə́l] 'over-
ripe'
[q'wə́·lq'wə́l] 'all talk-
ing'
- 23.) [tə́x^w] 'mid-, half-'
[tú·x^w] 'nine'
- 24.) [ʔá·plə] 'ten'
[ʔə́·plə] 'maggot' (BJ)
- 25.) [ʔimɪ́x] 'walk'
[ʔimɪ́x] 'walking'
- 26.) [q'wə́yɪ́lɪ́x] 'dance'
[q'wə́yɪ́lɪ́x] 'dancing'
- 27.) [ʔiyɪ́s] 'female
friend, pet name
for a girl friend'
[ʔéyɪ́s] 'fun, plea-
sant'

- 28.) [ʔəy] 'be good'
 [ʔəy] 'keep going'
- 29.) [k^wəlô·ws] 'his skin,
 her skin, its hide'
 [p^ʷelyf·ws] 'bark (of tree)'
- 30.) [q^ʷâ·w] 'howling'
 [q^ʷáwə] '(walking) cane'
- 31.) [ɬex^wéɬçə] 'spits'
 [ɬéx^welçə] 'spitting'
- 32.) [k^wUçlaméçII] 'I see you'
 [k^wUçlá·mèt] 'you were seen'

CHAPTER 2. MORPHOPHONEMICS

2.0. Introduction. Since morphophonemics is the prediction of the alternations of phonemes from their phonemic and morphemic environments, it seems appropriate to begin this chapter with phonotactics, which describes and predicts phoneme distributions and clusters from the phonemic environment.

2.1. Phonotactics. There are no clusters of vowels and no vowel-initial words in Chilliwack Halcomelem. All vowel phonemes can occur medially and finally in a word. All consonant phonemes can occur initially and intervocalically, and all but /h/ can occur finally (though /ʔ/ is so far attested finally only in one word, /ʔá.ʔ/ 'bowel movement' which could well be phonologically deviant). Borrowed phonemes /k/ and /k'/ are omitted in the present treatment of phonotactics because their distribution depends on the phonotactics of the language from which they are taken.

Consonant clusters of two and three members occur initially, medially, and finally; four-consonant clusters occur only medially and finally. DM had an idiolect which tolerated many more initial consonant clusters than the speech of AC. Thus Harris (1966) has phonotactics which differ from mine in this regard. The present treatment is based mainly on the speech of AC but includes all material I have from DM, BJ,

NP, CT, etc.

Consonant clusters (initial, medial, or final), so far attested, do not begin with glottal phonemes /ʔ, h/ nor with /p'/. I suspect the absence of /p'/ is accidental and that it may be found beginning consonant clusters in words not yet elicited. Initial consonant clusters cannot begin with sonorants (/m, l, y, w/) or glottals (/ʔ, h/), and final consonant clusters cannot end with sonorants or glottals. Other features common to clusters in more than one position will be summarized at the end of this section (2.1.).

#CC. In initial position /s/ is attested before all consonants but /s/. Only a few geminates occur initially (re-articulated): /q'q'/(DM) and /cc/([ǽǽ]). There is only one case of an initial glottalized consonant followed by its plain equivalent (/c'c/[ǽ'ǽ]) (DM), with no case of the reverse. Spirants /s/ and /x^w/ are the only initial consonants that can precede glottal consonants (/ʔ/ and /h/). Also no cases were found of an initial consonant followed by its labialized version or vice versa. Few consonants are found before glottalized consonants: /s/ or /x^w/ precedes /k'/, /c/ precedes /θ'/, /θ, s, c'/ precede /k'^w/, /s, c, c', θ, θ', ɬ, x^y, q'/ precede /q'/, and /s, t', c', ɬ/ precede /q'^w/. Except for /t'/ and /q'/, C₁ is either a spirant or an affricate when C₂ is glottal-

ized. Only /s/ precedes glottalized consonants other than / λ' , θ' , k^w , q' , q'^w /. C_2 is most often /s/, / \pm / or / q' /, and it can be a sonorant or a glottal as well as anything else (a stop, spirant or affricate). ["Most often" here means appearing in more different clusters than other consonants.] C_1 is most often /s/ and next most often /c, \pm , x^w / or /c'/; other consonants are less frequent as C_1 . Other than the patterns mentioned so far, there don't seem to be any patterns operating to limit the combinations of consonants in initial two-consonant clusters.

#CCC. The initial three-consonant clusters attested (all across morpheme boundaries) are: /s(ts, t \dot{z} , t \dot{x} , k^w t, k'^w x \dot{y} , q^w m, q' x, θ x, \pm q')/(AC) and /stq/(DM), /sq w q w , s θ q/(CT); /sx w (\dot{z} , θ , m, l, w)/(AC) and /sx w (t, θ' , c, q^w , q' , h)/(DM), /sx w (\pm , λ')/(CT). C_1 must be /s/. C_2 is often / x^w / but can also be a number of other spirants and stops. C_2 is not a sonorant, labial, glottal or sibilant; there are also no examples of / x^y , x , x^w / as C_2 ; the other gaps seem accidental (no / θ' , λ' , q / or / q'^w / as C_2). C_3 can be anything that C_2 is not (sonorant, labial, glottal, sibilant, / x^y , x / and probably / x^w /, and / θ' / and / q / as well. In addition C_3 can also be /t, q' , q^w , θ /. DM even has an /h/ as C_3 in #CCC. The principle seems to be for C_1 to be /s/ and C_2 and C_3 to be mem-

bers of nearly mutually exclusive sets and as dissimilar to each other as possible. There is also an avoidance of glottalized consonants in C_1 position and of glottals, labials and /y/ in C_1 or C_2 .

-CC-. Medial two-consonant clusters do not begin with /p', ʔ, h/ but begin with all others and can end with any consonant. Sonorants (/m, l, w, y/) can occur before any consonant, and /s/ and /ʔ/ can occur before the next largest number of consonants (13 and 12 respectively). All or most consonants can occur before /t, c, l/, and many can occur before /θ, q/ and /s/ (14, 13, and 11 respectively). Where C_2 is a glottal, C_1 can be /s/ or /m/; it also can be /l/ or /c/ if the glottal C_2 is /ʔ/. C_2 can also be a sonorant, among other things. Length /·/ also appears as C_2 after sonorants and /s, θ, t, q/. Whenever a medial geminate might be produced by affixation, a rule converts the second member to length /·/; this rule only operates intervocally. When C_2 is glottalized, C_1 is a spirant, sonorant, or, rarely, a stop (/p, k^w, q^w/). There are two cases of a glottalized consonant followed by its plain version, /c'c/ and /q'q/(CT) (as in /ʔéc'ces/ 'cut one's hand' and /sʔéq'qel/ 'way upriver' (CT)). There are no cases of the reverse, a plain consonant followed by its glottalized version. There is one case of a labialized consonant being followed

by its plain version, /q^wq/ (as in /x^wəq^wqé·yləm/ 'stick something down one's throat'). There are no cases of the reverse unless one considers /x^y/ the plain version of /x^w/ (/x^yix^yx^wəlèwə/ 'fish air bladder' SP, HP).

-CCC-. Medial three-consonant clusters almost all occur over morpheme boundaries. Those attested so far are: /l(s(t,θ,c,l,x^y), q(t,c,l), x^y(c,t), x^w(c,ɛ), θ(t,·), tɛ, c'θ); y(s(t,θ,c), t(x^y,ɛ), q^wt, x^wt, l(t,x), x(θ,t), ɛθ); x^w(sɛ, st, sx^w), m(st,tɛ,sc), w(tx^w, q't,θc), t(sθ, st, ɛq^w), ɛ(st, cx^w), p(sc, ɛx), x^y(st, sθ), s(tw, tx^w), k^wtɛ/ and /qst/(DM) and /k^wst/(CT). The pattern here is that C₁ can be a sonorant (/m, l, y, w/), stop (/p, t, k^w, k^w, q/) or spirant (/s, ɛ, x^y, x^w/) but most often is /l/ or /y/. C₂ is most often /s/ or /t/ but also /θ, ɛ, x^y, x^w, x, c, c', q, q', q^w, l/(stops, spirants, or affricates or /l/). C₃ is most often /t, c, θ, ɛ, x^y, l/ (similar to the most frequent set for C₂ in -CC-) and occasionally is /x^w, x, q^w, w/. C₁ does not include affricates, glottals, glottalized consonants (except /k^w/), /x/ or /x^w/. C₂ does not include labials, glottals, most glottalized consonants (only /c'/ and /q'/ appear) or /y/. C₃ does not include glottals, glottalized consonants, labials (except /w/) or /y/. The avoidance of glottals and glottalized consonants seems to hold for all three positions, C₁, C₂, and C₃.

The avoidance of labials and /y/ seems to hold for C₂ and C₃.

-CCGC-. Only two four-consonant clusters have been found so far, /yx^wtc/ (/c'ε·yx^wtcεl/ 'I dry something', /c'ε·yx^wtcεx^w/ 'you dry something', etc.) and /tstx^w/ (/θεtstx^wεs/ 'he/she/it/they said to him/her/it/them'). Each cluster occurs across morpheme boundaries. These clusters follow the same patterns of occurrence and avoidance for C₁, C₂, and C₃ as above for medial three-consonant clusters. C₄ appears to follow the C₃ pattern of -CCG-.

CC#: Final two-consonant clusters attested so far do not begin or end with /p', t', ʔ, h/, and do not end with sonorants. Probably as a result of chance these clusters also do not begin with /c', x, x^w/ and do not end with /k^w, q'/. Sonorants, especially /l/ and /y/, are most frequent as C₁, while /s/ and /t/, then /ʔ/ and /x^w/ are most frequent as C₂. Where C₂ is a consonant other than the four most frequent ones, C₁ is almost always a sonorant. There are no cases of a glottalized or labialized consonant being followed by its plain version word finally. And there are no cases of the reverse, a plain consonant being followed by its glottalized or labialized version. When C₂ is glottalized, C₁ must be either a sonorant or (in one case) /x^w/. There are no final re-articulated

geminates, and C_2 can never be length.

CCC#. Final three-member consonant clusters attested (most across morpheme boundaries) are: /l(st, x^vt, qs, x^ws), w(tx^w, q't), y(x^wt, lt, θt, ɛp), x^v(ts, tɛ), q^wx^wt, pxt, cx^wɛ, ɛcx^w/. These fit into the pattern for final two-consonant clusters in that C_1 is usually a sonorant and C_3 fits the C_2 pattern for CC#, most often /t, s, ɛ/ or /x^w/. C_2 has fewer restrictions than C_3 but includes /t, s, ɛ, x^w/ (as in C_2 for CC#) as well as /l, θ, c, x^v, q, q', x, x^w/. So in final three-consonant clusters C_1 resembles C_1 of two-member clusters, C_2 resembles an expanded C_2 of two-member clusters, and C_3 resembles more closely the C_2 of two-member clusters. There are no examples of a glottal, a glottalized consonant, or /x/ or /x^w/ as C_1 . There are no examples of a labial, glottal, glottalized consonant (except /q'/) or /y/ as C_2 . And there are no examples of glottals, glottalized consonants, labials or /y/ as C_3 . There is an avoidance of glottals and glottalized consonants in all three positions (C_1 , C_2 , and C_3), and there is an avoidance of labials and /y/ in C_2 and C_3 .

CGCC#. Only one final four-consonant cluster has been found so far, /wtx^ws/. It comes from the combination of two suffixes, {-ɛwtx^w} 'building, room' and {-s} 'third person possessive pronoun' as in

/cɛ̃tɛlɛ́wtx^ws/ 'his (her, their) smokehouse, his fish-smoking building', /cɛ̃hɛyɛkɛ́wtx^ws/ 'his (her, their) church', /lɛ̃mɛ́wtx^ws/ 'his (her, their) pub or bar', /x^wɛ̃lmɛ́wtx^ws/ 'his (her, their) Indian house', and a number of other examples that could be constructed. This cluster fits the pattern for CCC#, in that C₁ is a sonorant, C₂ is /t/ (as found most often in triple clusters), C₃ is /x^w/. C₄ fits the pattern for C₃ in final triple clusters since it is /s/. Here too there is an avoidance of glottals and glottalized consonants in all positions and an avoidance of labials and /y/ in the last three positions (C₂, C₃, and C₄).

Summary of the features common to consonant clusters in more than one position. Two- and three-consonant clusters occur initially, medially, and finally; four-consonant clusters occur only medially and finally. No cluster yet attested begins with glottals or /p'/. Initial clusters do not begin and final clusters do not end with sonorants or glottals. Geminate occur only before vowels. Initially, geminates are re-articulated (only two cases occur); medially, C₂ of a geminate is replaced by length (this is a morphophonemic rule); there are also some cases of C₂ being length for historical reasons, with no synchronic affixation being involved; neither length nor geminates can occur word-finally. No clusters are attested with a

glottalized or labialized consonant following its plain counterpart; a glottalized consonant preceding its plain counterpart is rare initially (only /c'c/) and medially (only /c'c/ and /q'q/) and not found finally. A labialized consonant preceding its plain counterpart is rare medially (only /q^wq/) and not found initially or finally. In two-consonant clusters C₂ can be a glottal or sonorant initially or medially but not finally. In medial and final three- and four-consonant clusters there is an avoidance of glottals and glottalized consonants in all positions and of labials and /y/ in all positions but C₁. In initial three-consonant clusters there is an avoidance of glottalized consonants in C₁ and of glottals in C₁ or C₂. In three-consonant clusters C₃ has roughly the same patterns of preference and avoidance as does C₂ in two-consonant clusters (initially: nearly all consonants occur; medially: most often /t, c, θ, l/; finally: most often /t, s, ʒ, x^w/). In four-consonant clusters C₃ fits within the patterns of preference of C₂ in three-consonant clusters (medially: /t/ most often; finally: /x^w/ among most frequent). In four-consonant clusters C₄ fits within the patterns of preference of C₃ in three-consonant clusters (medially: /c/ most often; finally: /s/ among the only five possible).

Finally, this section on consonant clusters should be concluded with a disclaimer. Statements about non-occurrence, although based on an extensive corpus, may need adjustment after an extensive dictionary has been compiled and surveyed for clusters. Until that point is reached new clusters will still be turning up (and in fact are). This is quite understandable when one realizes there are 27 consonant phonemes, 702 possible CC clusters and 19,656 possible CCC clusters, each in three positions (initial, medial, and final).

2.2. Syllabic Canon and Roots. Given the possibilities of consonant clusters, a one-syllable word has the shape $\#(s)(C)CV(\cdot)(C)(C)(C)(s)\#$. A two-syllable word has the following shape: $\#(s)(C)CV(\cdot)C(C)(C)(C)V(\cdot)(C)(C)(C)(s)\#$. Longer-syllable words can be predicted by adding $C(C)(C)(C)V(\cdot)$ after one of the optional length phonemes for each additional syllable. Syllables can be divided thus:

...CV(\cdot)-CV...

...CVC-CV...

...CVCC-CV... or ...CVC-CCV...

...CVCCG-CV... or ...CVCC-CCV...

There is no clear limit to the number of syllables allowed within a word, however, the longest found so far has nine syllables: / $\text{?}e1\text{?}6\text{liy}e\text{m}e\text{?}a\text{m}^c\text{e}l\text{c}e/$ 'I'll dream about you'.

Stress occurs impartially in open (vowel-final) or closed (consonant-final) syllables. And stress can occur on any syllable (first, second, third, etc., even seventh or eighth) counting from the front or from the end. The statements made about stress in the last two sentences apply also to vowel length and vowel phonemes of all qualities. The only qualifications appear to be the following: words with more than two successive long-voweled syllables are quite rare, words with more than two successive high-pitch stressed syll-

ables are quite rare, words with more than three successive mid-pitch stressed syllables are quite rare, and words with more than four successive unstressed syllables are quite rare. Words are most often stressed on the first or second syllable or on the last, second from last or third from last syllable. Long polysyllabic words are always inflected ones; where both root and inflection are polysyllabic there is a tendency for each to retain its own stress pattern (usually the stress pattern it has in combination with monosyllabic root or affix), but more will be said about this in 2.3.

Root shapes are most often CVC (averaging 53.1% of the words in a large sample of words), then CVCVC (averaging 19.9%), then CVCV (averaging 8.3%), CVCC (7%), CVCCVC (2.8%), CVCVGV (2.5%), CV (1.9% or a little higher) and CVCVCVC (1.8%). Remaining types were each found in less than .7% of the words: CVCVCC, CCVC, CVCCV, CVCCVCV, CVCVCCV, CCVCVC, CVCVCCVC, CCVCVCCVC, CCVCC. Some of these rarely found types will probably be eliminated as work proceeds on a dictionary and some of these words and types yield to derivational analysis.

It should also be mentioned that different percentages of root shapes are found if the body of words is limited in different ways, but the relative order

of the root shapes stays about the same. Thus a study of reduplicated words and their unreduplicated versions had CVC in 70% of the words, CVCVC in 13%, CVCV in 10%, and CVCC in about 5% (other shapes under 2%); a study of all the examples of ablaut showed CVC in 50.6% of the words, CVCVC in 17.6%, CVCV in 6.7%, and CVCC in 7.4% (other shapes under 4%); a study of all names of flora and fauna showed CVC roots in 38.6% of the words, CVCVC in 29.0%, CVCV in 8.3%, CVCC in 8.6%, and other shapes under 6%. I believe the averages of these differences, quoted at the beginning of the last paragraph, are representative of the language. The average for CV might be higher because a number of demonstratives have CV root shapes, and demonstratives were the only word class largely absent from the three sets of words studied.

2.3. Vowel, Length, and Stress Alternations.

2.3.0. Introduction. One of the consequences of the development of length in the upriver dialects of Halkomelem is the increase in the number of types of ablaut. This increase is due to the fact that simple vowels can now alternate with long vowels as well as with other simple vowels; long vowels can also alternate with each other. Since ablaut is affected by stress (for example, long vowels cannot appear unstressed) and alternations of stress often serve the same functions as ablaut (for example, aspect and derivation), it seems best to treat ablaut and stress together in this section. Most stress rules precede the ablaut rules:

2.3.1. Stress Assignment in Affixing. In the rules to follow, S represents an unstressed syllable, \acute{S} a mid-stressed syllable, and \acute{S} a high-stressed syllable.

.1. Before an unstressed or mid-stressed suffix (-S, -SS, -SSS, \acute{S} , \acute{S}) the stress pattern of the stem (root plus derivational affixes if any) remains unchanged, except in cases of $e1 \rightarrow iy / __ -e1p$ where stress is attracted to the /iy/. Prefixes and infixes, unstressed or mid-stressed, do not alter the stress pattern of the stem.

.2. Prefixes and infixes when high-stressed attract

the stress of the root (i.e. the root becomes unstressed); however, in a few cases root stress is retained when high stress becomes mid stress on long root vowels.

- .3. $\acute{S} \rightarrow s / _ _ \acute{S} \dots, -\acute{S}(s)$
 $\rightarrow \acute{S} / _ _ -\acute{S}\acute{S}$
- .4. $\acute{S}\acute{S} \rightarrow SS / _ _ -\acute{S}\acute{S}(s), -\acute{S}\acute{S}$
 $\rightarrow SS$ predominately, with some $\acute{S}\acute{S}$ and $\acute{S}\acute{S} / _ _ -\acute{S}(s)$
 $\rightarrow SS$ predominately, with some $\acute{S}\acute{S}$ and $SS / _ _ -\acute{S}\acute{S}$
- .5. $\acute{S}\acute{S} \rightarrow SS / _ _ -\acute{S}(\acute{S}\acute{S})$
 $\rightarrow \acute{S}\acute{S}$ predominately, with some $SS / _ _ -\acute{S}\acute{S}, -\acute{S}\acute{S}$
 $\rightarrow \acute{S}\acute{S} / _ _ -\acute{S}\acute{S}$
- .6. $\acute{S}\acute{S} \rightarrow SS / _ _ -\acute{S}$ (one example)
 $\rightarrow \acute{S}\acute{S} / _ _ -\acute{S}\acute{S}, -\acute{S}\acute{S}$
- .7. $\acute{S}\acute{S}\acute{S} \rightarrow SSS$ predominately, with some $\acute{S}\acute{S}\acute{S} / _ _ -\acute{S}$
 $\rightarrow \acute{S}\acute{S}\acute{S}$ predominately, with some $SSS / _ _ -\acute{S}\acute{S}$
- .8. $\acute{S}\acute{S}\acute{S} \rightarrow SSS$ predominately, with some $\acute{S}\acute{S}\acute{S} / _ _ -\acute{S}(s)$
 $\rightarrow \acute{S}\acute{S}\acute{S} / _ _ -\acute{S}\acute{S}$
- .9. $\acute{S}\acute{S}\acute{S} \rightarrow SSS / _ _ -\acute{S}$
- .10. $\acute{S}\acute{S}\acute{S} \rightarrow SSS / _ _ -\acute{S}\acute{S}$
- .11. $\acute{S}\acute{S}\acute{S}\acute{S} \rightarrow SSSS / _ _ -\acute{S}\acute{S}$
 $\rightarrow \acute{S}\acute{S}\acute{S}\acute{S} / _ _ -\acute{S}$
- .12. When suffixes are added after stressed suffixes, they do not modify the preceding stem stress pattern:
- .13. No examples were found of stressed affixes attached to stems of the following shapes: $S, SS, SSS, \acute{S}\acute{S}, \acute{S}\acute{S}\acute{S}, \acute{S}\acute{S}\acute{S}, \acute{S}\acute{S}\acute{S}\acute{S}$. Cases of unstressed suffixes are attested

after some of these stems (for example, S-S), but, as stated, unstressed suffixes do not alter the stress pattern of the stem. No examples were found of single suffixes of the following shapes: $\overset{\cdot}{-SSS}$, $\overset{\cdot}{-SS\acute{S}}$, $\overset{\cdot}{-SS\acute{\acute{S}}}$, or suffixes of greater than three syllables.

2.3.2. Types of Ablaut, Direction of Change, Conditioning of Change. Given the eleven varieties of root vowels, /i[•], i, ε[•], ε, ə, a[•], a, u[•], u, o[•], o/, there are 110 possible varieties of vowel change. So far only 31 types have been attested:

i → i [•]	cont., pl.	ε [•] → a	cont., deriv.
i → ε	deriv.	ε [•] → a [•]	deriv.
i → ε [•]	cont., pl.	ε [•] → u [•]	pl. cont., deriv.
i → ə	cont., pl., deriv.	ə → i	cont., deriv., recip. cont.
i → a	cont., pl.	ə → i [•]	cont., pl., deriv.
i → a [•]	deriv.	ə → ε	cont., pl., deriv.
i [•] → ε [•]	cont., pl., deriv.	ə → εy	cont., pl.
i [•] → ə	deriv.	ə → ε [•]	cont., pl., deriv.
ε → i [•]	cont.	ə → a [•]	cont., deriv.
ε → ε [•]	cont.	a → ε [•]	cont.
ε → ə	cont., pl., deriv.	a → ə	deriv.
εy → ə	deriv.	a → o	deriv.
ε → a	cont., deriv.	a [•] → ε	cont.
ε → a [•]	cont., deriv.	a [•] → ə	deriv.
ε [•] → i [•]	cont.	o → i	cont., deriv.
ε [•] → ə	cont., pl., deriv.		

The direction of ablaut vowel change is from base-form vowel to derived- or inflected-form vowel. In cases of derivation where only derived forms are attested, it is sometimes difficult to be sure of the base form. In cases of number and aspect, the singular and non-continuative largely provide the base forms, since the plural and continuative forms are the marked forms, inflected with affixes when they are not formed with ablaut or stress shifting alone. In many cases, nominalized forms seem to contain a continuative element of meaning; in these cases the non-continuative verb form provides the base form.

Ablaut is used to signify 'continuative' (53 examples), 'plural' (12 examples), and, most frequently of all, figures in word derivation (over 148 examples). It is found both within roots and within affixes. It can even co-occur with reduplication or plural infixes within the word. In cases of word derivation it is sometimes conditioned (set in motion) by specific suffixes. It is also sometimes conditioned by stress alternation, and it sometimes causes stress alternation. With this background, some further stress rules can be given with examples, as well as some rules for vowel deletion and length deletion.

2.3.3. Stress Alternation, Vowel and Length

Deletion, Continuatives.

2.3.3.1. $V \rightarrow V / \text{---}R_1$ (length after vowel is dropped before reduplication type one). In the following examples, forms to the left of the colon show the base form; forms to the right show the results of the rule. All forms are phonemic unless noted.

1. sɪ·lə 'grandparent': sɪsələ 'granny'
2. spɪ·w 'ice': spɪpow 'frozen'
3. ɪf·c'et 'cut s-th': sɪfɛc'əls 'a saw'
4. x^ɪf·pət 'carve s-th': x^ɪfɪx^ɪpəts 'a plane'
5. ck^wf·m 'red': ck^wfɪk^wəməl 'near red'
6. lɛ·c'əwtɪ^wəm 'visit': lɛlɛc'əwtɪ^wəm 'visiting'
7. mɛ·yt 'help s-o': mɛmɪyət 'helping s-o'
8. tɛ·y 'to canoe-race': tɛtɛy 'canoe racing'
9. t'ɛ·l 'go out of sight (of the sun or a person, etc.)':
st'ɛt'əl 'shade (of a tree, etc.)'
10. ɪɛ·w 'run away': ɪɛtɛw 'running away'
11. ɪɛ·q'ətəs 's-o lays s-th (on s-th)': ɪɛtɛq'ləm
'it was laying on s-th'
12. x^ɪá·k^wəm 'bathe': x^ɪáx^ɪək^wəm 'bathing'
13. tá·q^wəm 'to cough': tátɛq^wəm 'coughing'
14. q'á·y 'dead': q'áq'əy 'sick, dying'
15. pá·yt 'bend s-th': spápiy 'crooked, bent'
16. tá·l 'go down to the river', stá·lo 'river':
státəlo 'creek'

17. tá·lθət 'wonder': tatf·lθət (//ta·-tə-l-f·l-θət//)
 'wondering', tatf·lt 'learn, understand (s-th)',
 tatel(-)á·met 'understand(ing)'
18. pá·t 'blow': spápətes 'Katz riverbank (placename
 meaning (wind) blowing on the face (of the bank))'
2.3:3.2. #SS... → #SS... 'continuative'
- (S is syllable as in 2.3.1). Examples:
19. tɛx^wéɪtɛ 'spit': tɛx^wəɪtɛ 'spitting'
20. k^wɛx^yɛ·t 'count s-th': k^wɛx^ytəs 'he's counting
 s-th'
21. c'ətɛ·m 'crawl': c'étəm 'crawling'
22. k'əwəɪs '(dog) barks': k'éwəɪs 'barking'
23. c'əɪ·ém 'jump': c'é·k'əm 'jumping'
24. ?əmət 'sit down': ?á·(?ə)met 'sitting down'
25. tɛlqɪ 'soak, rehydrate': tɛlqɪ 'soaking'
26. k'əlɛx^w 'stopped; at home': k'élɛx^w 'stop(ping)'
27. θ'əx^wát 'wash s-th', θ'əx^wá·səm 'wash one's face',
 θ'əx^wx^yɛlém 'wash one's feet', θ'əx^wé·cəsəm 'wash
 one's (your?) hands': θ'éx^wəsəm 'washing one's
 face', θ'éx^wəlwətəm 'washing one's clothes',
 sɪx^wθ'éx^wəsəm 'wash basin, something to wash one's
 face in'
28. θq'ét 'spear a fish': θé·q'el 'spearing a fish'
29. pté·mət 'ask s-o': pətmət 'asking s-o'
30. cà·léx^wəm 'bleed': cá·l(ə)x^wəm 'bleeding' (x^w-x^w)
31. líyém 'laugh': lé·yəm 'laughing', slíyəm 'a laugh'

but beside this there is also the competing sets,
 léyem 'laugh' with léyleyem 'laughing', and
 lfilyeyem 'laughing'

32. cséθà·m 'you were told' (< //cəs-ét//): césətem
 'being told'

33. Əiyətcət 'make s-th for s-o': Əéyəcət 'making
 s-th for s-o'

34. x^wəθtéləm 'get cloudy': sx^w?éθtəl 'clouds'

35. sk^wiyəxəts 'what he did': sk^wé·yxtəm 'doings,
 things to be doing'

36. tətq^wé·ls 'boil': tá·tq^wəm 'is boiling, (being
 boiled)'

2.3.3.3. #SS → #SS' 'continuative', and

SS → SS' derivational before {-təl} 'device'
 and sporadically before some other suffixes. Examples:

37. λ'əx^ytəm 'diarrhea': λ'x^yétəm 'continuing diar-
 rhea'

38. k^wésuyəl 'throw out a drift net': k^wsé·yəl
 'drift-netting down the river'

39. sq^wélx^yəm 'dry snow that can drift': sq^wəlx^yámə
 'dry snow drifting in'

40. //tə-xéyl 'legs', -wəɪ 'canoe', -təl 'device'//:
 təxəlwəɪtəl 'thwarts, crosspieces in a canoe'

41. λ'élx^yəl 'spring salmon (generic)': λ'əlx^yéltəl
 'spring salmon net', λ'lx^yéltówsəɪ 'jack spring
 (salmon) with black nose'

42. //yəm 'wide strip', -é·wəs 'paddle', -təl//:
yəméwéstəl 'wide cedar root strips for baskets'
43. //t'á·l 'shade, disappear behind', -əs 'face',
-təl//: t'aléstəl 'blinds, window shades, blind-
ers'
44. ?əpá·ləs 'tenth moon': ?əpá·léstəl 'July, tenth
moon' (the Upper Stalo new year begins in Oct-
ober)
45. //-síl(ə)qs// 'nose, on the nose': sx^wəq^wəléstəl
'nose-ring'
46. t'élq^wəm 'warm': t'əléstq^wtəl 'Indian name of Old
Jack (lit. 'something that would be warm')'
47. x^wélməx^w 'Indian': x^wélməx^wqəl 'Indian language',
sx^wélməx^wə̀ 'in the Indian way'
48. sqéyəx 'mink (boaster)': sqéyəxəyəs 'pet name of
Mink (little boaster)'
49. təmə̀ 'red ochre, red paint': təméstə̀psəm 'large
red-headed woodpecker' (lit. 'red paint on back
of head or neck')

2.3.3.4. C₁VC₂ → C₁C₂ /#(C-)_-S...

This rule is sometimes optional in slow speech but
approaches the obligatory in more rapid speech.

Examples:

50. sə́·á·m 'bone': sə́·míwəl 'core, pith, seed, nut,
center of rock, etc.'
51. c^w·k^wéx^y 'number': k^w·x^yé·m 'count', k^w·x^yét
'count s-th'

52. $\text{ɪf} \cdot \text{x}^{\text{W}}$ 'three': $\text{ɪx}^{\text{W}} \text{é} \cdot \text{lə}$ 'three people', $\text{ɪx}^{\text{W}} \text{é} \cdot \text{ɪ}$
 'three times', $\text{ɪx}^{\text{W}} \text{é} \cdot \text{ɪp}$ 'three trees', $\text{ɪex}^{\text{W}} \text{əlsx}^{\text{Y}} \text{é}$
 'thirty'
53. $\text{ɪəq}' \text{ét}$ - $\text{ɪq}' \text{ét}$ 'wide', $\text{ɪəq}' \text{écəs}$ - $\text{ɪq}' \text{écəs}$ 'five'
 (lit. 'wide hand'), $\text{ɪəq}' \text{əcəlsx}^{\text{Y}} \text{é}$ 'fifty':
 $\text{ɪq}' \text{écéle}$ 'five people', $\text{ɪq}' \text{écsé} \cdot \text{ɪp}$ 'five trees',
 $\text{ɪq}' \text{écséwtx}^{\text{W}}$ 'five houses', $\text{ɪq}' \text{écsówəɪ}$ 'five canoes',
 $\text{ɪq}' \text{écsá} \cdot \text{ls}$ 'five fruit, five round things
 (rocks, balls, etc.)', $\text{ɪq}' \text{écsólwət}$ 'five garments',
 $\text{ɪq}' \text{écsówəs}$ 'five canoe paddles', $\text{ɪq}' \text{écséyiws}$
 'five pants'
54. $\text{st}' \text{éx}$ 'fork (in a tree, a river, etc.)': $\text{t}' \text{x} \text{óm}$ 'six'
 and all its derivative or inflected forms
55. $\text{sə}' \text{óp}$ 'deep': $(\text{s}) \text{ə}' \text{pí} \cdot \text{wəl}$ 'shirt, bra'
56. $\text{t}' \text{á} \cdot \text{q}^{\text{W}} \text{təm}$ 'Saturday': $\text{t}' \text{q}^{\text{W}} \text{á} \cdot \text{t}$ 'cut in half,
 split (of rope)'
57. $\text{sx}^{\text{Y}} \text{í} \cdot \text{x}^{\text{Y}} \text{éc}$ 'woods': $\text{x}^{\text{Y}} \text{c}' \text{í} \cdot \text{ləm}$ - $\text{x}^{\text{Y}} \text{éc}' \text{í} \cdot \text{ləm}$ 'go
 through the woods'
58. $\text{c}' \text{k}^{\text{W}} \text{éx}^{\text{Y}}$ 'twenty': $\text{c}' \text{ək}^{\text{W}} \text{x}^{\text{Y}} \text{éle}$ 'twenty people'
59. $\text{q}^{\text{W}} \text{éɪ}$ 'spill, tip over (of canoe)': $\text{q}^{\text{W}} \text{é} \cdot \text{y}$ 'drift-
 wood' (lit. tipped over wood and bark)
60. $\text{əq}' \text{ét}$ 'spear a fish'
61. $\text{ə} \text{éx}^{\text{W}}$ 'disappear': $\text{əx}^{\text{W}} \text{á} \cdot \text{tes}$'s-o-concealed s-th'
62. $\text{x}^{\text{Y}} \text{íx}^{\text{Y}} \text{éc}' \text{əm}$ 'stinking': $\text{x}^{\text{Y}} \text{c}' \text{í} \cdot \text{m} \text{ət}$ 'smell oneself
 repeatedly stink, bad smell (of spoiled meat)'
63. $\text{c} \text{ésətəm}$ 'being told': $\text{c} \text{é} \text{ə} \text{à} \cdot \text{m}$ 'you were told'

64. c'f.səm 'grow, grow up': c'sí.mtəs 's-o raised s-o,
s-o let s-o grow up'
65. θ'əx^w 'wash': θ'x^wá.səm ~ θ'əx^wá.səm 'wash one's
face'
66. xə́t 'hurt, ache': xíəm - xətíəm 'tired'
67. k'wá.q^wət 'hit s-o with club or stick-like object',
k'wá.q^wə́s 'red huckleberry picked by clubbing on
the hand', k'wá.q^wlə́ctəl 'axe' (Chehalis dialect):
(s)k'wq^wəm 'hatchet', k'wq^wəléc 'hit in the rump
(with a stick)', k'wq^wá.ləs 'hit in the eye(lid)',
k'wq^wələq^wt 'hit s-o in the head', k'wq^wé.lf.yə
'hit on the ear', k'wq^wf.ləs 'hit on the chest'
68. t̥c'ət 'cut s-th, cut s-o': t̥c'əlqsəl 'cut the
tip of the nose', t̥c'á.yəəl 'cut on the mouth'
69. c'əq^w 'poke': c'q^wə́t̥p 'spruce tree'
70. c'əmet 'bite into s-th': c'mx^yá.yəəl 'chin, jaw'
71. stəqté.l 'door': tqét 'close s-th'
- 2.3.3.5. C₁VC₂ → C₁C₂ / V(C)___-S...
- Examples are less common of this rule than of 2.3.3.4.
72. sc'əl.əx^w 'eddy': sc'əlx^wéyəq^w (é - í) 'Chilli-
wack'
73. sáx^wəl 'grass': səsx^wéyəl 'short grass'
74. sk^wətəx^w 'inside': k^wət^wf.ləm 'come inside',
sk^wət^wá.wə́t̥ t'á.məl 'carved post inside longhouse'
75. x^yəlá.k^w 'be round', x^yələk^wt̥t̥ə 'roll s-th up':
x^yəlk^wá.ləs 'round (fruit)'

76. $\text{h}w\text{f}\theta^{\circ}\text{e}$ 'naked' (< $\text{h-ow}\theta^{\circ}$ 'no', $-\text{f}\theta^{\circ}\text{e}$ 'clothes'):
 $\text{h}w\theta^{\circ}\text{é}\text{m}$ 'to undress'
77. $\text{cá}\cdot\text{k}^{\text{W}}$ 'far away, distant': $\text{cack}^{\text{W}}\text{á}\cdot\text{les}$ 'goatsbeard
 plant (Aruncus sylvester)'
2.3.3.6: $\text{C}_1\text{VC}_2 \rightarrow \text{C}_1\text{C}_2 / \text{S}__\text{S}\dots$
- This rule applies after high-stressed prefixes, of which the most common are diminutive reduplication R_4 - and continuative prefix $\text{h}\acute{\text{e}}-$ ~ $\text{h}\acute{\text{é}}-$ (see 2.3.3.7 for more examples than are given here). Examples:
78. $\theta\text{e}\text{q}\acute{\text{e}}\cdot\text{t}$ 'tree': $\theta\text{í}\cdot\theta\text{q}\text{et}$ 'little tree'
79. $\text{h}^{\circ}\text{e}\text{c}\acute{\text{e}}\text{s}$ 'island': $\text{h}^{\circ}\text{f}\text{h}^{\circ}\text{c}\text{es}$ 'little island'
80. $\text{s}\text{h}^{\circ}\text{é}\text{l}\text{e}\text{q}\text{em}$ 'Slalakum, supernatural creature':
 $\text{s}\text{h}^{\circ}\text{í}\cdot\text{h}^{\circ}\text{l}\text{e}\text{q}\text{em}$ 'little Slalakum'
81. $\text{x}^{\text{V}}\text{f}\text{x}^{\text{V}}\text{x}^{\text{W}}\text{el}\acute{\text{e}}\cdot\text{w}\acute{\text{e}}$ 'fish air bladder'
82. $\text{x}\acute{\text{a}}\cdot\text{c}\text{e}$ 'lake': $\text{x}\acute{\text{a}}\text{x}\text{c}\text{e}$ 'pond, small lake'
83. $\text{p}^{\circ}\text{é}\text{p}^{\circ}\text{x}^{\text{W}}\text{em}$ 'quiet, shy'
84. $\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\text{c}^{\circ}\text{e}$ 'one': $\text{l}\acute{\text{a}}\text{l}\text{c}^{\circ}\text{e}$ ~ $\text{l}\acute{\text{á}}\text{l}\text{e}\text{c}^{\circ}\text{e}$ 'one person'
85. $\text{k}^{\text{W}}\text{e}\text{x}^{\text{V}}\text{ét}$ 'count s-th': $\text{k}^{\text{W}}\text{é}\text{x}^{\text{V}}\text{tes}$ 'he's counting something'
86. $//\text{x}^{\text{W}}\text{e}-$ 'come', $\text{?í}\cdot$ 'here', $-\text{l}$ 'on purpose', $-\text{ex}^{\text{W}}$
 '3rd person object', $-\text{es}$ '3rd person subject'///
 $\text{x}^{\text{W}}\text{e}\text{?í}\cdot\text{l}\text{x}^{\text{W}}\text{es}$'s-o brought s-th'
87. $\text{l}\text{e}\text{x}\acute{\text{é}}\text{y}\text{w}\text{e}$ 'spear fish by torchlight': $\text{h}\acute{\text{é}}\text{l}\text{x}\text{e}\text{y}\text{w}\text{e}$
 'spearing fish by torchlight'
88. $\text{w}\acute{\text{ó}}\text{q}^{\text{W}}$ 'drown, float downstream': $\text{h}\acute{\text{é}}\text{w}\text{q}^{\text{W}}$ 'floating
 downstream'

2.3.3.7. hɛ- 'continuative; plural' has predictable allomorphy before a limited set of roots.

hɛ- → hɛ- / ___y, l in certain roots

→ hɛ- / ___m, w in certain roots:

This morpheme cannot be used with most roots to express 'continuative' as can reduplication -R₁- (see examples like yíyɛq 'snowing', lɛ́lɛc'ə̀wtɛx^wɛm 'visiting', memfɛt 'helping s-o' and wíwɛqɛs 'yawning'). {hɛ-}, like the stress-shifting rules also used for 'continuative; plural' (2.3.3.2 and 2.3.3.3), can only be used with certain roots. {hɛ-} is limited to the examples shown here, so far elicited.

89. yéq^w 'burn': hɛ́yq^w - hɛ́yɛq^w 'burning, fire'

90. yé·t 'to vomit': hɛ́yɛt 'vomiting', hɛ́yɛtɛ́lmɛ́l
'nauseated'

91. yéθt 'talk about s-o': hɛ́(·)yθt 'talking about s-o'

92. yéθɛst 'tell it': hɛ́(·)yθɛst 'telling it'

93. lɛ́p'ɛx^y 'eat': hɛ́lp'ɛx^y 'eating'

87. as above

94. lɛ́c'ɛ 'one', lɛ́lɛc'ɛ 'one person; alone':

hɛ́lc'ɛ́lɛ́(y) 'by themselves'

95. mɛ́q'ɛt 'to swallow': hɛ́mq'ɛt 'swallowing'

96. wɛc'ɛ́ɛ 'fall, drop (intransitive)': hɛ́wc'ɛ́ɛ
'falling'

88. as above

- 92a. yá·t 'warn s-o': hĕ·yá·t 'warning s-o'
- 92b. yéq'es 'file (abbrasively)': hĕyq'es 'filing'
- 92c. yáθet 'back up': hĕyθet 'backing up'
- 94a. léqem 'dive': hĕlqem 'diving'
- 94b. lék^W 'broken (of bone or stick)': hĕlk^W 'pocket
knife; being broken'
- 94c. ləxéywe 'to torchlight, spear fish from canoe by
torchlight, lantern or firelight, pitlamp for
fish': hĕlxeywe 'torchlighting, spearing fish
by torchlight, etc.'
- 95a. méx^Y 'take it off': hĕmex^Y 'taking it off (a
button for example)'
- 96a. weθ'ét 'tease s-o': hewθ'ét 'teasing s-o'
- 96b. wec'ĕ· 'get to the summit of a mountain':
hewc'ĕ· 'getting to the summit of a mountain'
- 96c. woq^Wéylem 'drift downstream': hĕwq^Welem
'drifting downstream'

2.3.3.8. $C_1\epsilon yC_3 + R_1 \rightarrow C_1\epsilon yC_1\epsilon C_3$ where C_1 is always post-velar. Examples:

97. q'Éyset 'tie s-th': q'Éyq'əset 'tying s-th'
 98. q'Éyq'xət 'he was contradicting s-o', q'Éyq'xátəl
 'they were contradicting each other'
 99. x^wÉy1eq^w or x^wÉ·y1eq^w 'bird' (Chehalis dialect):
 x^wÉyx^wə1eq^w 'small bird' (Chehalis dialect)
 100. xÉyp'et 'scratch s-o or s-th': xÉyxəp'f·ləp
 'rake' (lit. 'scratching the ground')
 101. q'Éyq'əlstələq 'deceive'
 102. xÉymət 'grab s-th or s-o': xÉyxəməls 'burdock'
 103. q'Éyxəl 'get black': q'Éyq'əxəl 'getting black'
 104. q'Éyq'əlc'iyásem spəh́(·)ls 'whirlwind'
 105. xÉyxəc'əm 'itching', xÉyxəc'əmθət 'real itching'
 (Tait dialect)

2.3.3.9. {-ámə} 'you singular object of verb' and {-á1ə} 'you plural object of verb' have similar stress shifts in the same environment: before {-cəl} 'I subject' and before {-cət} 'we subject'. Thus,

- {-ámə} → -aḿ / ___-cəl, -cət
 {-á1ə} → -aĺ / ___-cəl, -cət.

Examples will be found plentifully in the chapter on pronouns (k^wəclámécəl 'I see you (sg.)', etc.).

2.3.3.10. {-əm} 'passive' → -əm in the environment before {-ət} 'negative or impossibility marker on passive'. Examples:

ʔəwəʔte sk^wfyex^təmət 'nothing could be done',
 ʔəwəʔte k^ws k^wetəx^wəmət 'nobody was inside',
 sk^wɛy k^wes mɛytəmət 'he/she/it/they (3rd person)
 can't be helped', sk^wɛy k^wes k^wɔcləmət 'he, etc.
 can't be seen', sk^wɛy k^wes q^wəlstəmət 'he, etc.
 can't be spoken to'. More examples can be found in
 the chapter on pronouns.

2.3.3.11. Sporadically stress is shifted onto
 the syllable before a subject or possessive pronoun.
 This seems more common before {-cət} 'we, our' than
 before other pronouns. I have not been able to find
 a way to predict when it will take place. Some
 examples are: sq^wələwəlcət 'our thought, we think',
 ʔətətəlstəx^wcət 'we feed him', tə lələmcət 'our house',
 t^f·lémcəl 'I sing', t^f·lémcex^w 'you sing', t^f·lémcət
 'we sing', t^f·lémcəp 'you (pl.) sing', t^f·lémɛ
 'sing!'. It could be that sociolinguistic factors
 or features of emphasis or citation are involved here.

2.3.3.12. e (within R₁) → i /

This rule may be related to rule 2.4.1, q.v. Examples:
 t^fɛ(·)yeq^w 'angry (once)': t^fɛt^wiyeq^w 'angry (contin-
 uous)'

mɛ·yt - mɛyt 'help s-o': mɛmíyet 'helping s-o'

lfiyém 'laugh': lfliyəm 'laughing'

pá·yt 'bend s-th': spápiy 'bent, crooked'

ə'iyk^wá(·)stəl 'wink': ə'iə'iyk^wástəl 'winking',

θ'fθ'iyk^wasθáx^yes 'he's winking at me'

2.3.3.13. e (within R₁) → o / ___w

Examples:

spí·w 'ice': spípow 'frozen'

cé·cow 'beach, shore'

síflowe 'seagull' (Chehalis dialect)

téwel 'become light': stétow 'light, illumination'

lé·w 'run away': lélow 'running away'

2.3.4. Ablaut. This section will begin with examples of each type of ablaut and will conclude with the analysis and discussion. As in the previous section, examples to the left of a colon show the base form or base vowel, and examples to the right of the colon show the results of the rule, the ablaut vowel. All examples are in phonemic transcription unless hyphenated (morphophonemic) to show affixation or enclosed in double slashes (morphophonemic) or unless enclosed in violin brackets, { }, to show morphemes.

i → i·

ʔimex^y 'walk'¹: ʔi·mex^y 'walking'

siyálex^w 'old person': si·yálex^w 'old people'

sciwtéɬ 'son- or daughter-in-law': sci·wetéɬ

'children-in-law'

siyé·m 'person of high rank, chief': si·yé·m 'high people, chiefs'

ʔítət 'sleep, go to sleep': ʔi·tət 'sleeping, asleep'

i → ε

p'fə't 'squeeze s-th': p'έθ't 'sew s-th', p'έθ'təl 'needle'

yíq 'to fall (of snow)': q'əlsiyéqem 'snowdrift'

1. A gloss like 'walk' is ambiguous in English; the word could be a noun or a verb. When the Halkomelem form is a verb the gloss will be given as 'walk' or 'to walk', although a verb with 3rd person subject is usually implied. When the Halkomelem form is a noun the gloss will be given as 'a walk'.

i → ε·

θiyt 'make s-th': θé·yt 'making s-th'

θiyśt̄c̄et 'make s-th for s-o': θé·yēśt̄c̄et 'making s-th
for s-o'

sk^Wifo 'in-law (parent-, child-, sibling-)':

sk^Wé·to ~ sk^Wéleto 'in-laws'

līyém 'laugh': lé·yem 'laughing' (note alternates

lēyém ~ léyem 'laugh' and līleyem ~ léyleyem

'laughing')

sk^Wiyéx̄θets 'what he did', sk^Wifyəxt̄em 'to be done':

sk^Wé·yxt̄em 'doings, things to be doing'

i → e

q^Weyf̄lex̄y 'dance': q^Weyé1·ex̄y 'dancing'

sq^Wiq^Wem̄sy 'puppy': sq^Wéq^Wem̄sy 'puppies'

sq^Wem̄ 'peel cedar bark': s̄əq^Wem̄f̄ws 'cedar bark
skirt'

mī ~ ?em̄f̄ 'come': méstex^W 'bring s-th, give me s-th'

(< mī + -st̄ 'causative' + -ex^W '3rd person obj.')

yīq 'to fall (of snow)': yeq̄elsx̄ȳé·y 'first snow'

ɛ̄fl̄θet 'bail it (water)': ɛ̄élt̄el 'a bailer'

?f̄x̄w̄et 'sweep s-th': ?éx̄w̄tel 'broom'

x̄^Wix̄^Wiyém 'telling stories': sx̄^Wex̄^Wiyém 'story'

i → a

θiyeq^Wé·ls 'dig' (θiy 'make', q^Wé· 'hole', -é·ls

'intransitive'): θáyeq^Wels 'digging'

p'f̄θ'et 'squeeze s-th': p'áθ'ēs 'basketry cradle,

baby basket' (< p'fθ' + -əs 'face')

swíwələs 'adolescent boy (10-15 yrs.)': swáwələs
'adolescent boys (10-15 yrs.)'

i· → ε·

sx^wəmlí·k^w 'parent's sibling': sx^wəmlé·lək^w 'parent's
siblings'

c'f·x^wtəs 's-o dries s-th': c'é·x^wtəs 's-o is drying
s-th' or,

c'f·yx^wtəs 's-o dries s-th': c'é·yx^wtəs 's-o is dry-
ing s-th'

ɪf·c'et 'cut s-th': ɪé·c'tel 'knife', ɪè·c'telélé
'knife-handle'

i· → e

sci·ɪ 'first born', cíceɪ 'above, high': sceɪá·yθel
'upper lip'

ɪeqlí·sem 'to button', luɪ sɪeqlí·s 'it's buttoned':
ɪeqléstel 'a button'

ɪf·k^w 'hook, catch on hook': ɪék^wtəl 'fish hook',
ɪék^wx^yél 'to trip' (hook the foot)

selí·c' - selí·c' 'full': lec'ét 'fill s-th up',
le léc' 'it's filled'

sx^yf·x^yec' 'woods': x^yec'f·lem 'go through the woods'

ɪf·x^w 'three': ɪèx^welsx^yé 'thirty', ɪex^welsx^yá·s
'thirty days'

x^yf·pet 'peel bark or root of tree': x^yepá·lst 'peel
fruit, vegetable or vegetable root' (-á·ls 'fruit')

ʔi·c'et 'cut s-th': léc'cēs 'cut one's hand'

ε → i·

ʔéʔtel 'eat a meal': ʔi·ʔtél 'eating a meal'

léləm 'house': li·ləm 'little house, cabin'

ε → e

sʔéliy ~ sʔéliy 'woman, female': sʔéliyá·liʔ 'girl
child, young female'

ʔ'eléx^W 'stopped; at home, (stop, action completed)':

ʔ'éléx^W 'stop, (stopping, action not completed)'

c'éx^Welʔe 'shut up!': sk^Wéy k^Wēs c'ex^Welá·yθels

'he can't shut up' (he or any third person)

sk^Wéc 'eyesight', k^Wécet 'look at s-th': k^Wéclex^W

'see s-o or s-th', sk^Wecá·stél 'window, mirror'

(lit. 'device to look at or see a face'),

k^Wécewi·cēm 'look back'

q'éq'et'em 'sweet flavor': q'et'emé·yēʔp 'balsam tree'

(lit. 'sweet bark tree' because of sweet sap)

méqε 'fallen snow': mēqá·s 'fallen snow season, moon

of fallen snow, December'

ʔeq'ét 'a bluff (cliff)': sʔeq'ʔéq'et 'a little bluff'

ʔ'ecés 'big island': ʔ'íʔ'cēs 'small island'

cséə·m 'you were told': csetēm 'being told'

possibly suffixes like: -ét ~ -et '3rd person object',

-éle ~ -ele 'people', -léc ~ -léc 'rump, bottom',

-íθ'è ~ -íθ'e 'clothing', -ép ~ -ep 'ground, dirt'

(see 2.3.6. for alternative explanation).

ey → e

q'éyset 'tie s-th', q'éyq'əsət 'tying s-th',
 sx^wq'éyq'əsəcəl 'netting shuttle (for making nets)',
 q'ésq'əs(ə)cəl 'spider' ('the tier, net-maker'),
 q'əsí·ltəl or q'əsíyeltəl '(woven) tumpline'
 sɣéyɣə - sɣé·ɣə 'sacred', sɣəɣəsýwəs 'bluejay, the
 sacred fortune-teller': sɣəɣəíft 'Sunday'
 ɣéyp'et 'scratch s-o or s-th': sɣəp'f·cəl 'chipmunk'
 (lit. 'striped back'), sɣíɣəp' 'stripes, marked
 line' (belongs here if R₄- 'diminutive' is here)
 ɣé(·)ylt 'write s-th', sɣé·yltəls 'footprints, tracks',
 ɣəylɣéliyá·səm 'it is written (in the sky)':
 ɣéltəl 'writing instrument, pencil, pen', sɣəlɛ·ls
 'writing'

e → a

q'éyq'ɣət 'he was contradicting s-o': q'əyq'ɣátəl
 'they were contradicting each other'
 q^wéyəl 'gone yellow': q^wáq^wəyəl 'getting yellow',
 q^wiq^wáyəls 'orange, orange (the fruit)'
 t'épiθət 'it's dead (of a tree)', st'épi θəqé·t
 'dead and broken tree': t'ápiθət 'it's going
 dead (of a tree)'
 yéyətəl 'made friends', siyéyə 'friend': yáyətəl
 'making friends'
 ɣéɣ' 'rough, turbulent (of wind or water)': ɣáɣ'θət
 'windy'

ε → a·

ɣɛɣʰ 'be cold', ɣɛɣʰɛ́lθ 'grizzly bear'; sɣá·kʰθet
'brave, cranky, aggressive, ready to fight'

kʰwɛ́cet 'look at s-th': kʰwá·kʰwɛ́cet ~ kʰwákʰwɛ́cet
'looking at s-th' (2.3.3.1 optional here)

swéqəθ 'husband': swá·wəqəθ ~ swáwəqəθ 'married woman
(*'having a husband'*)' (2.3.3.1 optional)

ɣʰɛ·lɛ·ɬp 'willow (tree or bush)': ɣʰá·ɣʰlɛ·ɬp 'a
small or lone willow tree; Yale'

ε → i·

kʰɛ·l 'hide oneself': kʰɛkʰi·l 'hiding' (with R₅-)

ε → ə

θiyəqʰɛ·ls 'dig': θáiyəqʰɛls 'digging'

cʰstɛ·m 'crawl': cʰɛtəm 'crawling'

θɛ·t 'darkness': θɛtí·l 'go dark, be dark'

lɛ·cʰ 'be different': lɛcʰó·mɛxʰ 'different people',
sɛlɛ́lɛcʰ 'two different things'

θəqɛ·t 'tree': θí·θəqɛt 'little tree', θəqəθəqɛt 'for-
est, thicket'

λʰɛ·qt 'long, be long': λʰəqtá·mɛθʰ 'tall (of people)'

ɬəqʰɛ·cɛs 'five': ɬəqʰɛclɛ·ɬ ~ ɬəqʰɛcɛsʰɛ·ɬ 'five
times', ɬəqʰɛcɛlsxʰɛ 'fifty', ɬəqʰɛcɛlsxʰá·s
'fifty days'

təqʰɛ·cɛ 'eight': təqəcɛlsxʰɛ 'eighty'

qɛ·l 'steal': qɛ́lqɛl 'thief'

qʰɛ·l 'talk': sqʰɛ́lqʰɛl 'talking (noun)', qʰɛ́lá·yθɛtɛl

'musical instrument' (lit. 'talking lips device'),
 q^wəlq^wəlá·yθəl 'talks too much, gabby, gossipy'
 (lit. 'repeatedly talking lips or jaw'), q^wəlstə̀m
 'you are talked to', q^wəlstex^wes 's-o spoke to s-o',
 q^wəlayθf·ləm '(birds, etc.) making music, moon of
 March'

q^wə́·y (< //q^wə́-é·y//) 'driftwood': q^wə́q^wə́iy
 (< //q^wə́-R₁-əy//) 'lots of little pieces of
 driftwood'

pté·met 'ask s-o', pipté·met 'asking s-o': spét·əm
 'asking (noun)', also a competing form pétmet
 'asking s-o'

ε· → a

q^wə́·l 'talk': q^wáq^wəl 'talking', q^wáq^wə́lsə̀·m 'you are
 being talked to'

xé·m or xè·m 'cry, weep': xamá·θ·iyε 'name of youngest
 sister of Mt. Cheam ("cries because she can't see
 the Fraser River so lots of creeks run together
 there")'

k^wé·t 'let s-o or s-th go', k^wé·θáx^yes 's-o let me go'
 shows root k^wé· + -T '3rd person object':
 k^wálex^wes 's-o dropped s-th'

ε· → a·

xé·m or xè·m 'cry, weep', xəhé·met 'cried for it':
 xəhá·məθet 'cry for oneself'

κ'é·qt 'long, be long': x^wκ'á·qtəs 'long face, morose'

- ʔisɛ̄.lə 'two': ʔisá.ləs 'two dollars'
 ʔeq'ɛ̄.cəs 'five': ʔeq'á.cəs 'five dollars'
 taqɛ̄.ce 'eight': t(ə)qá.cá.s 'eight dollars'
 ɛ → u
 q^wɛ̄.l 'talk': q^wú.lq^wəl ~ q^wó.lq^wəltəl 'talking
 together, all talking'
 ʔɛ̄.w 'run away': kú.wmət 'run away from s-o'
 e → i
 sq'ɛ̄p 'a gathering': sq'eq'íp 'gathered'
 q^wáq^wəlɛ̄c 'to gossip': q^wíq^wəlɛ̄c 'two of them gossip-
 ing, gossiping together'
 tés 'get up to, come near': stətís 'near s-th, be near',
 stətisəáx^y 'near me'
 sélsəl ~ sélsəltəl 'wool spindle, spinner': sɪlceptəl
 'firedrill' (-cep 'firewood')
 e → i
 ʔewá.ləm 'play': ʔí.wálem ~ ʔí.wá.ləm 'playing'
 ʔéx^yəl 'to paddle': ʔí.x^yəl 'paddling'
 ɔ'ɛ̄p'ayeq^w 'great great grandparent or -child':
 ɔ'əɪf.p'ayeq^w ~ ɔ'əθ'í.p'ayeq^w 'great great grand-
 parents or -children'
 ʔɛ̄.x^westəs 's-o is giving gifts to s-o': ʔɛ̄.x^wí.təl
 'they're sharing' (-təl 'reciprocal')
 e → ɛ
 p'ɛ̄k^w 'float, come to the surface': p'ɛ̄p'ɛ̄k^w 'floating'
 ɔ'ɛ̄q'əm 'drip': ɔ'ɛ̄q'əm 'dripping'

- λ'ewéls 'bark (of dog)': λ'éwels 'barking' (beside
 these are alternative forms, λ'éwels 'bark' and
 λ'éwλ'ewels 'barking' with iterative reduplication)
- k^wex^yét 'count s-th', k^wx^yé·m 'count', c^wk^wéx^y
 'number': k^wéx^ytés 's-o is counting s-th'
- k^weléx^yt 'shoot s-th': sèk^weléx^y 'gun, arrow'
- θéqelè·m 'to wait for fish with a dip net': θéqélè·m
 'a waiting dip net', sθéqélè·m 'place where one
 waits with dip net for fish'
- x^wék^w 'get narrow, get wedged in': s^wx^wék^w 'canyon
 (narrow, walled in with rock)'
- q^wélèx^wè·m 'you are not known or recognized': q^wélx^w
 'unfamiliar'
- cólq 'fall': cólq 'falling'
- x^wét^w·e 'said to s-o': x^wét^wéstèx^w·es 'they told him, s-o
 told s-o'
- λ^wélx^w·el 'spring salmon (generic)': λ^w·elx^wélólówé·t
 'jack spring salmon (small adult) with black nose'
- e → ey
- q^w·emás 'to dip-net': q^w·éyq^w·emas 'dip-netting'
- s^wx^wéle 'leg, foot': s^wx^wéy^wle 'legs', t^wx^wéyléx^w 'stand
 up'
- qep^w·á·s 'face down': qèyqep^w·éyá·tè 'lay on one's sto-
 mach'
- e → e·
- sél^w·a 'older, oldest (of children)', sél^w·ètèl 'older

sibling': sɛ·ʌ'ətɛl 'older siblings, older cousins'

c'əʌ'ém - c'fʌ'ém 'jump': c'ɛ'ʌ'ém 'jumping', c'ɛc'əʌ'-
-f·m 'jumping up and down, jumping along, jumping repeatedly'

x^wámx^yeləm 'run, race': x^wəmx^yɛ'eləm 'running, racing'

θq'ət 'spear a fish': θɛ'q'el 'spearing (a fish)'

q'élmɛt 'believe s-o': q'ɛ'l 'believing'

q^wɛls ~ q^wáls 'boil, cook': ɛtq^wɛ'ls 'to boil'

e → a·

hɛq^wlɛx^w 'smell (with nose)': há·q^wlɛx^w 'smelling',
há·q^wɛt 'smell s-th purposely'

q^wɛls 'boil', ɛtq^wɛ'ls 'boil': sq^wá'ls 'pot', q^wá'ls
(in one citation) 'boiling', ɛá·tq^wɛm 'is boiling,
being boiled'

pək^wém 'be dusty': sp'á·lk^wɛm 'dust'

p'óq' 'white, be white', p'əq'ólqel 'mountain goat'
(probably 'white nose'): sp'á·q'əs 'bald eagle'
('white face')

?á·pəl 'ten': ?əpá'les 'ten dollars', ?əpá'léstɛl ~
?əpáléstɛl 'tenth moon, July'

?əmɛt 'sit down': ?á·mɛt ~ ?á?əmɛt 'sitting down'

x^yá·k^wɛm 'bathe', x^yáx^yək^wɛm 'bathing': x^yíx^yk^wá·m
'swimming' (x^yí- is diminutive reduplication R₄-)

?íyɛs 'amusement, having fun' (< ?ɛy 'good', -əs 'face'):
?iyá·sθɛt 'a whole bunch having fun'

sq^Wélx^Yem 'dry snow that can drift' (cp. also sq^Wétx^Yem
'fog'): sq^Welx^Yá·mē 'dry snow drifting in or
coming in'

méqsəl 'nose', Ꞥc'élqsəl 'cut tip of one's nose':
smétá·qsəl 'snot', sṭaq^Wéá·qsəl má·q^W 'wild turkey
(lit. 'snot-hanging-down-nose bird')

sóltsel(təl) 'spindle for wool': sá·lēs 'get drunk,
get dizzy' (lit. 'spinning face')

x^Yelók^Wtṭē 'roll s-th up!', x^Yelk^Wá·ls 'round (of
fruit, etc.)': x^Yelá·k^W 'be round'

t'ólēsəax^Yṭē 'sit beside me!': st'elá·stəl 'sitting
side by side'

x^Wém 'hurry': x^Wá·mx^Yeləm 'run' (lit. 'hurry foot')

k^Wésces 'burned hand', k^Wés- 'scald, burn':

k^Wá·k^Wēs 'hot'

a → ε·

?áx^Westēs 's-o gives s-o a gift': ?é·x^Westēs 's-o is
giving gifts to s-o', ?é·x^Wf·təl 'they're sharing'

a → o

x^Wáq^Wət 'pole a canoe', x^Wáx^Weq^Wət 'poling a canoe':
sx^Wóq^Wtəl 'a canoe pole'

a· → ε

s'á·wə 'be in a hurry': s'éwə 'hurrying'

a· → ə

má·q^W 'bird': mí(·)meq^W 'little bird'

- x^yá·k^wem 'bathe': x^yíx^yek^wam ~ x^yix^yk^wá·m 'swimming'
 sθ^yá·m 'bone': sθ^yemí(·)wəl 'core, pith, seed, nut,
 center (of rock or anything)' (lit. 'bone inside'),
 sθ^yemələ·xəl 'elbow' (lit. 'arm bone'),
 θ^yemí·wécx^yəl 'lower leg' (lit. 'bone in (back?)
 of leg')
- q^wá·m 'moss': q^wemcá·ls 'cranberry', má·q^wem 'swamp,
 marsh; Indian tea plant'
- ʔá·pəl 'ten': ʔepé·lə 'ten people', ʔepá·ləs 'ten
 dollars', ʔepá·ləstəl 'tenth moon, July'
- θ^yá·k^ws 'seven': θ^yək^wsəlsx^yé ~ θ^yək^wecəlsx^yé 'seven-
 ty', θ^yək^wsəlsx^yá·s 'seventy days', θ^yək^wsé·lə
 'seven people', θ^yək^wséí 'seven times'
- xəʔá·θəl 'four': xəθəlsx^yé 'forty'
- x^wá·mx^yələm 'run': x^wəmx^yé·ləm 'running'
- qá· 'water', qá·qə - qáqə 'drink', qəqá· 'high water',
 qá·ice 'juicy': sqəʔá·ls 'juicy fruit', qəʔá·ləs
 'tear (lit. eye water)', qemá· 'suckle; breast;
 milk'
- stá·lo(w) or stá·ləw 'river', tá·l 'go down to the riv-
 er', státəlo(w) or státələw 'creek, stream':
 teltələwé·m 'lots of little streams (like on a hill
 after a rain)', teltí·t or teltíyt 'upriver dialect,
 (specifically) Tait dialect'
- sá·x^wəl 'tall grass, hay': səx^wéyəl 'short grass'
- t^yá·k^w 'home, go home': t^yək^wstəx^wes 'they took him

home, s-o takes s-o home'

yá·k'wət 'break s-th, crumple s-th': yék'wlex'w 'broke
s-th by accident'

θ'ex'á·səm 'wash one's face': θ'ék'wəsəm 'washing one's
face', sx'θ'ék'wəsəm 'wash basin, s-th to wash
one's face in'

sq'á·mθ' 'lump': q'émx'wces 'lump on hand, lump of wrist',
q'émx'w'x'él 'lump of ankle', q'émq'w'émx'wces 'all the
knuckles and joints on the hand' (Chehalis dialect)

sá·les 'get drunk, get dizzy': sólés 'getting drunk,
getting dizzy'

tá·lθət 'wonder', tatí·lθət 'wondering', tatí·lt
'learn, understand', tatélá·mēt 'understand':
telá·mēt 'understand', tél'ex'wəs 'he understands
it, he finds it out'

possibly suffixes like: -á·s ~ -əs 'face', -á·s ~ -əs
'moon, cyclic period', -á·yθəl ~ -əyθəl 'lip, jaw',
-á·mēθ' ~ -əmēθ' 'height', -á·lɬ ~ -əlɬ 'young',
-lá·mēt ~ -ləmēt 'oneself (reflexive)', and
-á·mex'y ~ -əmex'y 'appearance, -looking'

o → i

mók'w ~ mék'w 'all, everything, everybody', mok'wá·t
'take it all': səmík'w 'all of them (of people)'
x'wox'wiyém 'tell some stories': x'wix'wiyém 'telling
stories'

The examples above are all the examples found of ablaut to date. A number of approaches were tried searching for a phonological, morphological, or semantic way to predict ablaut without listing roots. (Let us call a stem by the vowel which will change with ablaut: $\Theta i y$ -t 'make s-th' would be an "i-stem"; and let us call varieties of ablaut by the resulting vowel, shown after a capital A: thus "A*é*." can be read as "é. ablaut". $\Theta i y$ -t for example is an i-stem with 'continuative' A*é*.; another way of putting it is, $\Theta i y$ -t has $i \rightarrow \acute{e}$.; thus $\Theta i y$ -t becomes $\Theta \acute{e} y$ -t 'making s-th'.)

One can see the influence of phonological rules given in preceding sections (particularly that of stress rules upon $\varepsilon \rightarrow e$, $\varepsilon \rightarrow \acute{e}$, $e \rightarrow \varepsilon$, $e \rightarrow \varepsilon \cdot$). But given the stress pattern and phonological descriptions of roots, one still cannot predict more than a few cases of ablaut. Even roots which have quite similar shapes can take different ablaufs. For example, among i-stems: $\Theta i y$ -t 'make s-th', $\Theta i y$ - $\acute{e} t c$ -et 'make s-th for s-o', and $\Theta i y e$ -q^w $\acute{e} \cdot$ -(e)ls 'dig' (lit. 'make a hole' since q^w $\acute{e} \cdot$ means 'get a hole, be a hole') become $\Theta \acute{e} y$ -t 'making s-th', $\Theta \acute{e} y$ - $\acute{e} t c$ -et 'making s-th for s-o', and $\Theta \acute{e} y e$ -q^w \acute{e} -ls 'digging'; also compare p' $\acute{i} \Theta$ '-et 'squeeze s-th', p' $\acute{e} \Theta$ '-et 'sew s-th', and p' $\acute{a} \Theta$ '-es 'basketry cradle' (lit. 'squeezes the face'); all

from the same root.

Among ε -stems we have $\text{t}\varepsilon\text{-}\text{x}\acute{\varepsilon}\text{y}\text{l-}\text{ex}^{\text{V}}$ 'stand', $\text{x}\acute{\varepsilon}\text{y}\text{l-t}$ 'write s-th', $\text{x}\acute{\varepsilon}\text{t}$ 'turbulent (of wind or water)', $\text{x}\acute{\varepsilon}\text{y}\text{t}$ 'be cold', compared with $\text{t}\varepsilon\text{-}\text{x}\acute{\varepsilon}\text{.y}\text{l-}\text{ex}^{\text{V}}$ 'standing', $\text{s-x}\acute{\varepsilon}\text{l-t}\text{-}\text{t}\text{el}$ 'a writing instrument', $\text{x}\acute{\varepsilon}\text{t}$ - tet 'windy', and $\text{s-x}\acute{\varepsilon}\text{.y}\text{t}$ - tet 'cranky, aggressive, brave', respectively.

Among ε -stems there are $\text{t}\varepsilon\text{-}\text{q}\text{t}$ 'long' and $\text{q}^{\text{W}}\text{t}\text{-}\text{l}$ 'talk, speak' which compare with $\text{t}\varepsilon\text{-}\text{q}\text{t-}\acute{\varepsilon}\text{.m}\text{e}\text{t}$ 'tall', $\text{x}^{\text{W}}\text{-}\text{t}\varepsilon\text{-}\text{q}\text{t-}\text{es}$ 'long face; morose', $\text{q}^{\text{W}}\text{t}\text{-}\text{l-st-}\text{ex}^{\text{W}}$ 'speak to s-o', $\text{q}^{\text{W}}\text{t}\text{-}\text{l-st-}\text{ex}^{\text{W}}$ 'speaking to s-o' ($-\text{q}^{\text{W}}\text{t-}$ is infix reduplication), and $\text{q}^{\text{W}}\text{t}\text{-}\text{l-q}^{\text{W}}\text{t}\text{-}\text{l}$ 'talking together, all talking' ($\text{t}\varepsilon\text{-}\text{q}^{\text{W}}\text{t}\text{-}\text{l}$ is suffixed reduplication).

Among ε -stems contrast $\text{t}\varepsilon\text{-}\text{ew}\acute{\varepsilon}\text{-}\text{l-}\text{em}$ 'play', $\text{t}\varepsilon\text{-}\text{em}\text{t}$ 'sit down, sit up', $\text{q}^{\text{W}}\text{t}\text{-}\text{l-}\text{ex}^{\text{W}}$ 'not know s-o, not recognize s-o', $\text{q}^{\text{W}}\text{t}\text{-}\text{l-m-}\text{et}$ 'believe s-o', $\text{q}^{\text{W}}\text{t}\text{-}\text{l-}\acute{\varepsilon}\text{.m}$ 'to dip-net', $\text{k}^{\text{W}}\text{t}\text{-}\text{l-}\acute{\varepsilon}\text{.m}$ 'hold s-th (in one's hands)', $\text{q}^{\text{W}}\text{t}\text{-}\text{l-s}$ 'to boil' with $\text{t}\varepsilon\text{-}\text{f}\text{-}\text{w}\acute{\varepsilon}\text{-}\text{l-}\text{em}$ 'playing', $\text{t}\varepsilon\text{-}\text{m}\text{et}$ - $\text{t}\varepsilon\text{-}\text{m}\text{et}$ 'sitting down, sitting up', $\text{q}^{\text{W}}\text{t}\text{-}\text{l-x}$ 'unfamiliar', $\text{q}^{\text{W}}\text{t}\text{-}\text{l}$ 'believing', $\text{q}^{\text{W}}\text{t}\text{-}\text{l-}\text{em-}\acute{\varepsilon}\text{.m}$ 'dip-netting', $\text{k}^{\text{W}}\text{t}\text{-}\text{l-}\acute{\varepsilon}\text{.m}$ 'hold or contain s-th' (relevant only if $< \text{k}^{\text{W}}\text{t}\text{-}\text{l-}$ 'hold in hand' + $-\acute{\varepsilon}\text{.m}$ or if $< \text{k}^{\text{W}}\text{t}\text{-}\text{l-}$ 'hold' + $-\acute{\varepsilon}\text{.l}\acute{\varepsilon}$ 'container', but not if $< \text{k}^{\text{W}}\text{-}$ (stem formative) + $-\acute{\varepsilon}\text{.l}\acute{\varepsilon}$ 'container'), and $\text{q}^{\text{W}}\text{t}\text{-}\text{l-s}$ 'boiling'. This last set shows similar members of pairs of roots taking $\text{t}\varepsilon\text{-}$ and

Aá·, Aé and Aé·, and Aéy, Aé· and Aá·; all but one example had the same ablaut function, 'continuative'. These sets dispose of the notion that, given the stem vowel which ablauts and given its adjacent consonants, one can predict the type of ablaut a stem may take.

Rules like $i \rightarrow i \cdot / C_a _ C_b$
 $\rightarrow \varepsilon / C_d _ C_e$
 $\rightarrow \varepsilon \cdot / C_c _ C_f$
 $\rightarrow \text{e} / C_g _ C_h$

etc. cannot be written for these ablaut types. Neither can rules dependant only on the consonantal environment, like $V \rightarrow i \cdot / C_a _ C_b$

$\rightarrow \varepsilon / C_c _ C_d$
 $\rightarrow \text{e} / C_g _ C_h$

etc., as will be seen in the next paragraphs;

Another method of phonological prediction tried began with arranging all the examples by ablaut type (regardless of stem vowel). Thus all examples of Aí· were compared with each other, then all examples of Aí, Aé, Aéy, Aé·, Ae, Aá, Aá·, Aí·, and Aó. This did not reveal complete predictability of ablaut types, but it did reveal some things about ablaut types. The first thing noticed was that all types of ablaut, except Ae, appear to either attract high stress to the changed vowel or to retain the high stress of the original vowel or to occur in conjunction with a rule which

shifts high stress onto the position of the ablaut vowel (as often does 2.3.3.2). All resulting ablaut vowels are thus stressed except //e//. From now on, stress will not be written on ablaut types. With Aø, 19 out of about 100 examples had a stressed é, but 15 of these were monosyllabic roots with suffixes which are stress-repellant (never found with stress). The remaining four cases cannot be surely explained as yet: q^weyíl-ex^y 'to dance': q^weyél-ex^y 'dancing'; ðeqlf·s-em 'to button': ðeqlés-tel 'a button'; sq^wíq^wemey 'puppy': sq^wéq^wemey 'puppies'; sál-es 'get drunk, get dizzy': sél-és 'getting drunk, getting dizzy'.²

The second thing noticed from arrangement by ablaut types was that one cannot predict ablaut type just from the consonantal environment. There are many consonantal environments which enclose a variety of ablaut types. For example, ?__m has Ai· and Aa·,

2. sq^wíq^wemey comes from s- 'nominal', C₁f- 'diminutive' reduplication, -q^weméy 'dog', and q^weyíl-ex^y may come from q^wéyɣ 'to shake', -í·l 'go, come', -ex^y 'standing'. It is possible that these stressed affixes must retain stress even if ablauted. The case of sél-és may be a simple mis-transcription for sel-és (though the stressed version of -es 'face' is usually -á·s)(root sál is itself derivationally ablauted from sel 'to spin').

k^w_l has Ai^* , $A\varepsilon^*$, and Aa , $q^w_q^w$ has Ai , $A\theta$, and Aa , p'_θ has $A\varepsilon$ and Aa^* , θ_q has $A\varepsilon$ and $A\varepsilon^*$, q_l has $A\varepsilon$ and $A\theta$, q'_l has $A\varepsilon$ and $A\varepsilon^*$, q'_q has $A\varepsilon\gamma$ and $A\theta$, \ddot{z}_c has $A\varepsilon^*$ and $A\theta$, q^w_l has $A\varepsilon^*$, $A\theta$, Aa^* , and Au^* , l_s , λ'_qt , q'_c , and q_c each have $A\theta$ and Aa^* , and sw_w has Aa and Aa^* . Prediction is still impossible if we consider adjacent syllables in the search for environmental patterns.

The third thing noticed from arrangement by ablaut types is the relative frequency of each ablaut type. 50 percent of the over 200 examples are $A\theta$, about 15 percent are Aa^* , about ten percent are $A\varepsilon^*$, from seven to five percent are $A\varepsilon$, Aa , and Ai^* , and less than four percent are Ai , $A\varepsilon\gamma$, Au^* , and Ao . In suffixes true ablaut is not common, but wherever there is allomorphy involving vowels, schwa is one of the vowels and a stressed vowel (not a schwa) is usually the other.

The only way in which some predictability of ablaut type is achieved is by considering the stem vowel and the ablaut function. No predictability is achieved from considering ablaut function alone because 'continuative' is signified by all ablaut types but Ao , 'plural' by all but Ai , Aa^* , Au^* , and Ao , and derivation by all but $A\varepsilon\gamma$; these gaps are only in the least common ablaut types and most likely are accidental.

Some predictability of ablaut type can be achieved by looking at the stem vowel which gets changed. The following ablaut types are attested with the following stem vowel types:

i-stem: Ai*, Aε, Aε*, Aə, Aa, Aa*

i*-stem: Aε*, Aə

ε-stem: Ai*, Aε*, Aə, Aa, Aa*

εy-stem: Aə

ε*-stem: Ai*, Aə, Aa, Aa*, Au*

e-stem: Ai, Ai*, Aε, Aεy, Aε*, Aa*

a-stem: Aε*, Aə, Ao

a*-stem: Aε, Aə

o-stem: Ai

Unfortunately there doesn't seem to be any systematic patterning at work behind the above sets. Some ablaut types however are limited to specific functions:

<u>derivation</u>	<u>continuative</u>	<u>plural</u>
i → ε, e, a*	i → i*, ε*, ə, a	i → i*, ε*, ə, a
i* → ε*, ə	i* → ε*	i* → ε*
ε → ə, a, a*	ε → i*, ə, a, a*	ε → ə
εy → ə		
ε* → ə, a, a*, u*	ε* → i*, ə, a, u*	ε* → ə
ə → i, i*, ε, ε*, a*	ə → i, i*, ε, εy, ε*, a*	ə → i*, ε, εy, ε*
a → ə, o	a → ε*	
a* → ə	a* → ε, ə	
o → i	o → i	

There is nothing particularly systematic about the above limitations. However the tables do allow statements to be made like:

- a.) When an i-stem has derivational ablaut it will be Aε, Aə, or Aa*,
- b.) When an i-stem has continuative or plural ablaut it will be Aε*,
- c.) When an o-stem has ablaut it will be Ai, and
- d.) Plurals of stems in εy, a, a*, or o are formed only by means other than ablaut (i.e., reduplication or infixing -əl-).

There are, finally, a few lexical suffixes which trigger specific types of ablaut. These suffixes are not the only causes of these types of ablaut, but do account for a fair number of cases:

1. ε(·) → á· / ___...-əs 'dollars, money'
 2. ε → á· / ___C^{-y}(x, #) ...-(ə)θət 'for oneself'
 3. some (ə, ε·, i) → á· / ___...-á's ~ -əs 'face'
 4. some ε → á· / ___...-á's ~ -əs 'moon, cyclic period'
- (It is quite probable that the suffixes in 1, 3, and 4 are actually a single suffix, 'round things'.)
5. unrounded vowel → e / ___...-əlsx^yé 'times ten'
 6. vowel → e / ___...-á·yθəl 'lip, jaw', -f·ləs 'chest'
 7. ε(·)(y) → e / ___...-f·l 'go, come'
 8. some vowels → e / ___...-təl 'device'

The "... " means anything intervening except word bound-

ary. The changes shown apply to all vowels of the correct shape, anywhere in the stem preceding the suffix. For example, /teqé·cc/ 'eight' → /teqecəlx^Wé/ 'eighty' and /teqá·cá·s/ 'eight dollars'. More examples of each suffix will be found in the chapter on lexical suffixes.

2.3.5. Vowel Combination and Metathesis.

2.3.5.1. There are some cases of insertion of glottal stop or glottal spirant to prevent vowel mergers. {-á·lɪ} 'young' and {-é·lé} 'container of' have both ʔ and h insertion in rules to be found in 2.3.6. {-elep} 'second person plural possessive' has ʔ inserted after a preceding vowel; for example, tɛ k^Wešúʔelep 'you folks's pig' and tɛ šúk^Weʔelep 'you folks's sugar'. Other examples of ʔ-insertion occur between vowel-final morphemes and vowel-initial suffixes {-é·ləws} 'leaf', {-é·ltəl} 'medicine', {-í·ləs} 'chest', {-óleq^W} 'head', {-á·ls} 'fruit, round object', {-á·ləs} 'eye', {-íwét} 'rump', {-íwəl} 'insides, inside', and unique cases of {-é·wtx^W} 'house, building' and {-éle} 'people' (which normally have vowel merger). The examples found are (in phonemic transcription): c'ak^Weʔé·ləws 'skunk cabbage leaf', x^Weq^Wələʔé·ltəl 'hangover medicine', ɕ'ələʔé·ltəl 'heart medicine, juniper', sc'ɛʔí·ləs 'Chehalis', sqəʔóleq^W 'soft spot on a baby's head' (Tait dialect), sqəʔá·ls 'soft spot on a baby's head'

(Chilliwack dialect), sqəʔá·ls 'juicy fruit' (homophonous), qəʔá·ləs 'tear' (qá· 'water', qéyqə 'soft'), st'aleʔá·lestəl 'eyeglasses', ləmɛʔfíwét 'kick in the rump' (ləmɛt 'kick s-o'), sq^wɛʔí·wəl 'hollow', x^wəʔí·wəl 'generous, kind-hearted', tɛləʔé·wtx^w 'bank' (tɛlə 'money, dollars'), and tɛqéccʔéle - tɛqéccé·lə 'eight people'. Apparently ʔ-insertion is morpheme-dependant and takes place across morpheme boundary. Very few examples have been found of ʔ-insertion within a morpheme: x^wɛtɛlɛm 'get cloudy': sx^wʔéɛtəl 'clouds' is one example. Such insertion is apparently derivational and has nothing to do with preventing vowel mergers.

2.3.5.2. Whenever insertion of ʔ or h does not occur, two adjacent vowels combine or merge according to the following rules:

$$V_1 + V(·)_2 \rightarrow V_1$$

$$V_1 + V_2 \rightarrow V_2$$

$$V_1 + V_2 \rightarrow V_2$$

Examples:

sx^wí· + -əlɛ·xəl: sx^w(ʔ)í·lə·xəl 'armpit' - 'right arm'

qá· + -éɛc: qá·ɛc 'juicy'

s-təʔé· + -í·wəl - -əwəl: stəʔé·wəl 'think, thought'

x^wəá· + -əq^w: x^wəá·q^w 'big head'

s(x^w)əf· + -əqəl: s(x^w)əf·qəl 'loud (voice)'

s-q^wə-q^wé· + -əls: sq^wəq^wé·ls 'a borer'

- s-q^wɛ̄ + -ɛ̄p ~ -əp: sq^wɛ̄·p 'mountain lake on the south-east side of Mt. Cheam' (lit. 'hole in the ground')
- ?isɛ̄·(lə) + -ɛ̄·ɪp: ?isɛ̄·ɪp 'two trees'
- θiy(ə) + q^wɛ̄ + -ɛ̄·ls: θiyəq^wɛ̄·ls 'dig'
- s-q^wɛ̄ + -ɛ̄·lɛ̄: sq^wɛ̄·lɛ̄ 'area around base of Little Mountain where there's an Indian graveyard'
- t'ɛ̄·qə - t'ɛ̄·qə + -ɛ̄·ɪp: t'ɛ̄qə·ɪp 'salal plant'
- ?əlɪlə + -ɛ̄·ɪp: ?əlɪlə·ɪp 'salmonberry plant'
- cəlq-á·mə + -ɛ̄·ɪp: cəlqá·mə·ɪp 'blackcap bush'
- léc'ə + -ɛ̄·x^w: lec'ɛ̄·x^w 'once'
- sí·lə, mɛ̄lə, sí·sələ, sɛ̄sɪ́·lə + -ɛ̄·ɪ: (respectively)
 sí·lè·ɪ 'late grandfather', mɛ̄lè·ɪ 'late child',
 sí·sələ·ɪ 'late grandmother', sɛ̄sɪ́·lè·ɪ 'late
 grandparents'
- mɛ̄·qə + -á·s: məqá·s 'moon of fallen snow, December'
 (this derivation includes Aə)
- léc'ə + -ɛ̄·wəs: 'one canoe paddle'
- ɪ-ówe + -íθ'ɛ̄ ~ -íθ'ə: ɪwíθ'ɛ̄ ~ ɪwíθ'ə 'naked'
- θ'əlɛ̄cə ('name of elder Wealick brother') + -iyə ('diminutive') + -təl: θ'əlɛ̄ciystəl 'name of Richard Malloway Sr.'
- əlsx^yɛ̄ + -ɛ̄lə: -əlsx^yɛ̄lə as in ɪəx^wəlsx^yɛ̄lə 'thirty people', and also as in 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, and 90 people.
- léc'ə + -əs: léc'əs 'one dollar', s-léc'əs '1:00'
- ?isɛ̄·lə + -əs: ?isɛ̄·ləs '2:00', (+Aa·) ?isá·ləs 'two dollars'

2.3.5.3. Remaining forms showing vowel and stress alternations can be described by metathesis or by three rules for each one (two kinds of ablaut and one stress shift). The metathesis explanation seems simpler:

/ʔiyá·təl/ 'fight': /ʔá·ytəl/ 'fighting'

/k^wésuyəl/ 'throw out a drift net': /k^wsé·yəl/ 'drift-netting down the river'

/k'ékx^ytəm/ 'diarrhea': /k'x^yétəm/ 'continuing diarrhea'

/k^wex^yé·t - k^wx^yé·t/ 'count s-th': /k^wékx^ytəs/

'counting s-th'

/t'élq^wəm/ 'warm (glow of fire), lukewarm':

/t'əléq^wtəl/ 's-th warm, Indian name of Old Jack'

2.3.6. Suffix Allomorphy Involving Vowel Alternations. In proceeding from semantics to phonetics, these rules follow the numeral allomorphy rules (see chapter on numbers) and precede the stress rules (as they assign stress to the suffixes).

1. // -éle // 'people'

→ -éle / yéys, t'xém__

→ -ə / xəθfl__

→ -éle / ___ (elsewhere)

2. // -əɪp // 'tree, plant'

→ -é·ɪp / ɪx^w, ɪq'écəs__

→ -é·ɪp / V__

→ -éɪp / #C(C)__

→ -əɪp / ___

3. // -é·wtx^W // 'house, building'
 → -əwtx^W / CV·C___
 → -é·wtx^W / ___
4. // -léc // 'rump, bottom'
 → -léc / sq'óp, q^Wéq^Wə(1), k'óp, íéq',
 st'ós̄, c'ós___
 → -élec / k'élqt, (s)k'óp', s̄, θíy, k'^Wəq^W,
 k'^Wés, spé·θ, čókel___
 → -ələc / ʔá·k^W, x^Wák^W, sx^Wʔéθ, yéq, θéy,
 θ'q'óm, ʔəq'ét, slók(')^W___
 → -(ə)léc / θ'(əc)___x^Wel
 → -léc / sθ'óm, k'^Wá·q^W, swók', θ'óməx^W,
 sq'ów, sk'^Wf·, (s)c'é, lóθ'i,
 q'é, sk^Wó, ííəlté___ (i.e. ___)

(In the last line the preceding morphemes could each end in /l/, as they are not independantly attested:)

5. // -á·s // 'face' shows dissimilation
 → -əs / (á·, ó, í, éy)C, éy___
 → -á·s / əC, iy, #CC___
6. // -á·s // 'cyclic period, moon'
 → -əs / V̇C___
 → -á·s / əC, V___
7. // -é(1)qsəl // 'nose, point'
 → -əqs / sq'ów, p̄^Wfíy, yéq^W, s'ól,
 sx^Wéq'^Wel___
 → -əlqs / íí^Wk'___
 continued

- //-s(1)qsəl// → -əqsəl / qeláθ, témk^w, xéyp', pəpəx^wfy___
 → -sqsəl / m, tel. ___
 → -s1qsəl / t̄éc', c'əpx___
 → -qsəl / sθ'ém, sq^welq^wél, s'él, V___
8. //-f.wəl// 'insides, inside'
 → -əwəl / sq^wél___
 → -f.wəl / ___
9. //-á.yθəl// 'lip, jaw'
 → -əyθəl / ___-f.l
 → -á.yθə / ___-təl
 → -á.yθəl / ___
10. //- (1)é.lwəs// 'stomache'
 → -(1)élwəs / qél___
 → -(1)é.lwəs / xé±___
11. //-əlé.xəl// 'arm'
 → -yé.xəl / sk^wél___
 → -əléxəl / #q'___
 → -əlé.xəl / ___
12. //-á.məθ'// 'height'
 → -á.θ' / xé.m-Aa___
 → -əməθ' / c'f.κ'___
 → -á.məθ' / κ'əqt___ (i.e. ___)
- possibly related to or → -é.méc' / ?isélə, ?iy___
13. //-ówəs// 'canoe paddle'
 → -əwəs / ?əpél___
 → -é.wəs / Cl, V___
 → -ó(·)wəs / ___

14. // -qəl // 'language'
 → -qəyl / ___-əm
 → -qəl / _ _ _
15. // -á·lɪ́ // 'young'
 → -ʔá·lɪ́ / C⁻¹,ɻV ___
 → -há·lɪ́ / (1,ɻ)ə ___
 → -eɪ / stɛ·x^w, skʰfɪkʰeə ___
 → -á·lɪ́ / C ___ (i.e. _ _ _)
16. // -é·lɛ́ // 'container of, receptacle for'
 → -əle / x^wfyeə^w ___
 → -éle / θʰés, xɛ́ləw ___
 → -ʔé·lɛ́ / C⁻¹,ɻV ___
 → -hé·lɛ́ / (1,ɻ)ə ___
 → -è·lɛ́ / VC((C)VC) ___
 → -é·lɛ́ / _ _ _
17. // -ṽ·weɪ́ // 'vessel, container'
 → -ó·weɪ́ / cʰəq^w ___
 → -é·weɪ́ / cʰicʰəm, x^y ___
 possibly → -á·weɪ́ / sk^wətɛx^w ___
 → -weɪ́ / _ _ _
18. // -əq // 'male'
 → -é·q / #θ ___
 → -əq / _ _ _
19. // -fə'è // 'clothing'
 → -θʰé / ɪówe ___-é·m
 → -fə'è ^f -fə'e / _ _ _

20. // -é̄p // 'ground, dirt'
 → -é̄p / sθíy, sq'é̄x___
 → -í̄p / sq^wé̄l, k'és___
 → -əp / V̇·(C)___
 → -é̄p / V̇C, VC___ (i.e. ___)
21. // -lá·met // 'oneself (reflexive)'
 → -lemet / ɬisté(1)___
 → -lá·met / ___
22. // -é̄y // 'bark and wood'
 → -é̄y - íy / sləw___
 → -əy - iy / V̇C(V)C___
 → -é̄y / ___
23. // -è̄ɬ // 'deceased'
 → -é̄yɬ / swé̄lm___ (< s-wé̄lém + Aə deriv.)
 → -è̄ɬ / V___ (i.e. ___)
- possibly related to //-(ə)ɬ// 'past'
24. // -təl // 'device, instrument for'
 → -tél̄ / stəq, possibly p'íp'ək^w___
 → -təl / ___
25. // -f̄·ls // 'tool, device'
 → -əl / lá·θ, sɬəc'f̄·m___
 → -f̄·ls / θ'é̄x^w, sx^vá·x^w, yé̄q^wəqs,
 x^wə[?]f̄q^wəw___
 → -əls / ___
26. // -é̄·m // 'strength' shows dissimilation
 → -é̄·m / Cé̄C___
 → -ém̄ / Cé̄C___

27. // -á·mex^y // 'appearance, -looking'

→ -əməx^y / CV·C__

→ -á·mex^y / ___

28. // -é·ls // 'intransitive' → -əls only under 'continuative' ablaut. // -x^yel // 'foot, leg' → -x^yél only under 'continuative' or derivational ablaut. // -ex^y // 'upright, standing, erect' → -éx^y and -áx^y only under 'continuative' or derivational ablaut.

See the chapter on lexical suffixes for examples of all the above thirty suffixes.

The above rules show all the lexical suffixes with independent vowel alternations which have come to light so far and most inflectional ones with such vowel alternations. In each case one allomorph has a stressed vowel (í·, é·, é, á·, or á) and another allomorph replaces it with a schwa in that position (usually unstressed). As a result of the above rules and the stress rules in 2.3.1, the stressed allomorphs occur after an unstressed syllable or after a word-initial consonant or consonant cluster; the unstressed allomorphs occur after a stressed syllable. The stress of the preceding syllable cannot be used to predict complementary distribution of all the lexical suffixes above without recasting the stress rules in 2.3.1 and adding many more (ad hoc) rules to predict the stressed allomorphs of each root. And one is still left with a

healthy number of suffix rules to predict the allomorphs of suffixes which have more than one stressed or more than one unstressed allomorph.

A few more sets of allomorphic rules have been omitted from this chapter (for example those for numeral roots and for pronoun affixes) because they can be presented more clearly in conjunction with the chapters showing their morphological systems.

2.4. Consonant Alternations and Combinations.

One of the most interesting consonant alternations is $l \rightarrow y$. Since this change involves a vowel and stress shift as well, it can be characterized as

1. //əl// \rightarrow íy / ___-əɣp

Some examples of this (in phonemic transcription) are:

méc'əl 'black haw berry' \rightarrow mec'íyɣp 'black hawthorn tree'

ʌ'ík^wəl 'pea, bean, Kinnickinnick berry' \rightarrow ʌ'ík^wíyɣp
'pea or bean vine, Kinnickinnick or Indian tobacco plant'

ə'stəl 'metal nail' \rightarrow ə'stíyɣp 'poplar tree' (so called because it resembles an upright nail)

ə'q^wí.wəl 'open sores inside legs or rump, hemorrhoids'
 \rightarrow ə'q^wí.wíyɣp 'swamp gooseberry' (used for medicine for open sores and hemorrhoids)

*ə'ɔ̄.lə'əl (unattested but clearly reduplicated) \rightarrow
ə'ɔ̄.lə'íyɣp 'tall Oregon grape bush'

* $\theta^{\prime}\acute{\epsilon}\acute{x}^w\acute{e}l$ (unattested but $\theta^{\prime}\acute{\epsilon}\acute{x}^w$ 'wash' + $-\acute{e}l$ 'intransitive' probably occurs) $\rightarrow \theta^{\prime}\acute{\epsilon}\acute{x}^w\acute{f}y\acute{e}\acute{i}p$ 'red osier dogwood' (used as a purgative to wash out impurities or worms in one's system)

2. // $\acute{e}l$ // $\rightarrow \emptyset$ / ___- $f\cdot l$ 'come, go': As in the last rule (2.4.1), the change applies to any morphophonemic sequence of // $\acute{e}l$ // (with one exception, $q\acute{e}lq\acute{e}l\cdot l$ 'destroy, break (and throw away)'). Some examples:
 $sq\acute{e}m\acute{e}l$ 'pit house' + $-f\cdot l \rightarrow sq\acute{e}m\acute{f}\cdot l - sq\acute{e}m\cdot l$ 'inside a pit house'

$q^{\prime}\acute{\epsilon}$ 'together' + $-x^y\acute{e}l$ 'foot' + $-f\cdot l$ 'go, come' + $-T$ '3rd person object' $\rightarrow q^{\prime}\acute{\epsilon}x^y\acute{f}\cdot l\acute{t}$ 'go with, come with, be partner with s-o' (cp. $s-q^{\prime}\acute{a}\cdot-x^y\acute{e}l$ 'partner')

$q\acute{e}l$ 'bad' + $-\acute{e}y\theta\acute{e}l$ 'lips, jaw' + $-f\cdot l$ 'go, come' + $-\acute{e}m$ 'medio-passive' $\rightarrow q\acute{e}l\acute{e}y\theta\acute{f}\cdot l\acute{e}m - q\acute{e}l\acute{y}\theta\acute{f}\cdot l\acute{e}m$ 'say bad words, swear, curse'

$q^w\acute{e}l$ 'talk' + $-\acute{a}\cdot y\theta\acute{e}l$ 'lips, jaw' + $-f\cdot l + -\acute{e}m \rightarrow q^w\acute{e}l\acute{a}y\theta\acute{f}\cdot l\acute{e}m$ 'making music; March (when birds begin making music)'

3. //T// $\rightarrow \theta$ / ___- $\acute{a}x^y$ '1st person singular object, me', $-\acute{a}m\acute{e}$ '2nd person singular object, you'
 $\rightarrow t$ / ___.

This morphophoneme appears in several very common verbal inflections: //T - $-\acute{e}T - \acute{e}T$ // 'do purposely' and //sT// 'causative, cause to do s-th'. I have used

the symbol T following Wayne Suttles². For examples of this morphophoneme see the pronoun chapter:

4. //θ'// sporadically appears as /c'/ instead of /θ'/. For example, 'skunk' /sθ'ɛpəq/ ~ /sc'ɛpəq/, 'medium-sized woodpecker with red under wing (red-shafted flicker)' /θ'f.q/ can probably be equated to 'small red-headed woodpecker (red-breasted sapsucker?)' /c'f.q/, 'osprey, fishhawk' /θ'ɛx^wθ'ex^w/ ~ /c'ɛx^wc'ex^w/, and 'swamp gooseberry' /θ'q^wf.wfyeɪp/ ~ /c'q^wf.wfyeɪp/. When questioned on this alternation, native speakers seem to regard /θ'// as more basic and pronunciations of /c'/ as idiolectal or dialectal variation, lenis pronunciation (perhaps sociolinguistically inferior) or error. It is unclear whether this variation is restricted to certain morphemes or can occur with any morpheme containing //θ'// if the sociolinguistic conditions are right.

5. Glottalization and deglottalization have a derivational function in a few sets of examples but are too unsystematic to be given the status of a morphophonemic rule. Examples:

p → p' as in s-λ'ep 'deep, down', λ'ep-f.l 'go down, descend' beside s-λ'ep'-ɛl.əc 'tail', λ'ep'-ɛl.əc-əm 'wagging its tail'; also sq'ɛp 'together, a gathering' beside sq'ep'á.lθetel 'knee'

2. Wayne Suttles: Unpublished grammatical notes on Musqueam Halkomelem for Anthropology 407, Winter 1969, Portland State University, Portland, Oregon.

θ → θ' as in θéx^W 'disappear', θəx^W-á·t-es 's-o concealed s-th' beside θ'éx^W 'burn out, go down (of sun, moon, fire)' (unless the later is a semantic extension of θ'éx^W 'wash')

k^W → k'^W as in k^Wfıx^Y-et 'name s-o or s-th' beside k'^Wəx^Y-ét 'count s-o or s-th'; also p'ék^W 'float, come to the surface' beside pek'^W-ém 'be dusty' or s-pá·lk'^W-əm 'dust' (this would show p' → p deglottalization as well)

q → q' as in qá·m 'dip or get water' beside q'əm-á·s 'to dip-net'

p' → p as in s-p'élx^W-əm 'lungs' beside s-pəx^Wə(1)-ɛ·l-əm 'breathe air out from lungs, sigh'

θ' → θ as in θ'él·le 'heart' beside θéθəl-mət 'admire, wish for s-o or s-th'

q' → q as in c²-q'éyɣ 'black', q'éyɣ-əl 'turn black' beside qéyɣ-es 'blind', qéyqəyɣələ· 'shadow'; also seq' 'split in half' beside seq-f·ws or seq-éyiws 'pants' (-f·ws 'covering')

6. Labialization is used derivationally also but is not common.

q' → q'^W as in c²-q'éyɣ 'black' beside q'^Wéyɣ^W-es - k'^Wfıɣ^W-es 'negro' ('black face' - 'brown face'), c²-k'^Wfıɣ^W 'brown?', c²-q'^Wfıɣ^W 'gray?', c²-q'^Wfıq'^Wəx^W-əl 'brownish-black' (-əl '-ish')

q' → k'^W and x → x^W may be illustrated in the above as well.

7. Backing and fronting are used derivationally too:

$k^W \rightarrow q^W$ as in $cá \cdot k^W$ 'be far off, distant' beside
 $cá \cdot ləq^W$ 'backwoods'; also $t'ək^W$ 'get muddy'
 beside $θ'əq^W - śtɕɛ$ 'mudpuddle, dirty pond' ($-śtɕɛ$
 is 'unclear liquid')

$k^W \rightarrow q^W$ as in $k^W f \cdot$ or $k^W f y$ 'climb' beside
 $təm - q^W f y - l - əs$ 'time when (everything) comes up,
 springtime'

Examples of $q' \rightarrow k^W$ fronting can be seen in 2.4.6.

8. There are a few examples of affrication as a derivational process:

$t' \rightarrow θ'$ as in $t'ək^W$ 'get muddy', $t'ək^W t'ək^W$ 'muddy'
 beside $θ'əq^W - śtɕɛ$ 'mudpuddle, dirty pond'; also
 $t'əq^W - ǎ \cdot t$ 'cut s-th in half' beside $θ'iq^W - ślɕɛp$
 'split (fire)wood, chop wood' ($-ślɕɛp$ or $-ɕɛp$
 means 'firewood')(this example is not applicable
 if $θ'iq^W ślɕɛp < θ'f q^W - et$ 'punch or hit s-o or
 s-th').

9. Some consonant cluster simplification occurs, especially with sonorants and sibilants. Several rules can be observed:

.1. Sonorant_a $\rightarrow \emptyset$ in free variation with length after sonorant_a. Examples: $təl$ 'understand' + $-l$ 'purposefully' + $-ex^W$ '3rd person object', $-es$ '3rd person subject' $\rightarrow təl \cdot ex^W es$'s-o understands s-th'; $təl$ 'understand' + $-lá \cdot met$ 'by oneself' $\rightarrow təl á \cdot met \sim təl \cdot á \cdot met$

'understand'; q^Wáq^Wəl 'talking' + -Ae- derivational ablaut + -léc 'rump, bottom' → q^Wéq^Wəléc 'to gossip'; ʔe- (meaning unclear) + q'él 'believe' + -l 'purposely' + -ex^W '3rd person object' → ʔeq'él·ex^W - ʔéq'él·ex^W - ʔéq'el·ex^W 'know s-th'.

.2. s → ∅ / s__ . Examples: all third person possessives of stems ending in s as in músməs 'cow' + -s '3rd person possessive' → músməs 'his cow, her cow, their cow'; stá·ləs 'wife' + -s → stá·ləs 'his wife'; etc.

.3. (c, t) + s → c / __C, #

Examples: θét 'to say' + -sT 'causative' + -ex^W '3rd person object' + -əs '3rd person subject' → θéctex^Wəs 's-o told s-o'; qelét 'again, another' (root shape unclear, stem includes -éT '3rd person object') + -s (probably) '3rd person subject' + -ce 'future' → qelécce [qeláéččé] 'do it over, try it again'; ʔá·k^Wələc 'back (of body)' + -s '3rd person possessive' → ʔá·k^Wələc 'his back' along with other examples of c-final noun stems suffixed with -s.

.4. T → ∅ / __c in one example found to date: ʔeq'él·t 'be wide' + -ces 'hand' → ʔeq'él·ces 'five'. I mention that this is of limited occurrence (unlike 2.4.9.1 through 2.4.9.3) since there are a number of cases of T → t / __-ce 'future' (there, /t/ is aspirated due to phonemic rules).

2.4.10. A number of allomorphic rules involve consonant alternations, but they are so morpheme-dependent that they are best listed in the lexicon. A sample of these might include:

1. $\{-x^y\text{el}\}$ 'foot, leg' $\rightarrow -x^ye / __-(\text{e})\text{T}$
2. $\{-q\text{el}\}$ 'language' $\rightarrow -qe / __-(\text{e})\text{T}$
3. $\{\lambda'\acute{e}qt\}$ 'long' $\rightarrow \lambda'\acute{e}lqt / __-\acute{e}lec, -\acute{e}le$
4. $\{q'\acute{e}m\acute{e}l\}$ 'paddle' $\rightarrow q'\acute{e}m\acute{o}\cdot w / __-\acute{e}ip$
(cp. $s-q'\acute{e}m\acute{e}l$ 'canoe paddle')
5. $\{c'\acute{e}m\}$ 'bite' $\rightarrow c'\acute{e}mx^y / __-\acute{a}\cdot y\theta\text{el}$
6. $\{h\acute{a}\cdot y\}$ 'finish' $\rightarrow h\acute{a}\cdot / __-\acute{a}\cdot y\theta\text{el}$
7. $\{?\acute{e}y\}$ 'be good' $\rightarrow ?\acute{e}y / __-\text{derivational suffix}$

2.5. Reduplication.

2.5.0. Types of Reduplication. Reduplication occurs prefixed, suffixed, and infix. One of the infix types is extremely productive. Some types of reduplication are stress attracting; others are always unstressed but occur in predictable locations in regard to stress. The range of meanings conveyed by reduplication also shows some patterning, sometimes predictable by word class, sometimes by semantic domain, sometimes unpredictable.

Reduplication will be considered here as defined solely on a phonological basis: all examples are considered in which at least a consonant of the root word was duplicated in an adjacent syllable. As a result, the examples include (besides productive types of reduplication) a number of non-productive types and a number of examples in which no clear meaning has been isolated for the reduplication (through lack of an unreduplicated form). The latter examples may be crystallized forms in which there was originally a verb plus continuative or noun plus diminutive or the like, which has since lost its literal meaning and its unreduplicated counterpart. This process can be seen taking place in at least one example ('Scotch thistle'). In addition to including such examples, the selection process may have also included forms whose apparent

reduplication is the result of historical merger or derivational affixation as yet undetected.

Examples will be quoted in morphophonemic transcription with affixes segmented. Ten types of reduplication (R) have been classified on the basis of shape and position regarding the root. Each type is given a subscript number and hyphenated to indicate whether prefixed, infix, or suffixed. The consonant reduplicated is numbered in the description of each type to correspond with the position of the consonants in the root. Thus $-R_1-$ is the first type of reduplication, an infix with the shape $-C_1e-$, where C_1 is the first consonant of the unaffixed root and e is the phoneme or morphophoneme e . (Wherever a phoneme is not covered by a morphophonemic or allomorphic rule it can be transcribed morphophonemically by the phonemic symbol and called a morphophoneme on the morphophonemic level.) Since reduplication is defined in terms of roots, it may be helpful here to note that a root is a morpheme with lexical meaning, which has been stripped of all affixes.

2.5.1. $-R_1-$ infixes $-C_1e-$ after the first vowel of the root (prefixes, such as $s-$, x^w- or tex^w- , of course are not part of the root). The infix is unstressed and follows a high-stressed syllable. $-R_1-$ encompasses the following meanings: 'continuative', 'diminutive', 'pet name', 'verbal adjective'

and 'comparative'. This type of reduplication is very productive; over 150 examples have been obtained without even trying. Here are some examples showing the unreduplicated form to the left of the colon and the reduplicated form to the right. Examples without a colon will be reduplicated forms for which I have not yet found corresponding unreduplicated forms.

x^yá·k^w-əm 'bathe': x^yáx^yək^w-əm 'bathing'
 yíq 'fall (of snow)': yíyēq 'falling (of snow)'
 k^wf(·)m-əl 'get red': k^wík^wəm-əl 'getting red'
 t'f·l-əm 'sing': t'fít'əl-əm 'singing'
 s-t'f·l-əm 'song': s-t'fít'əl-əm-s 'his singing'
 p'éθ 'sew': p'ép'əθ 'sewing'
 má't'əs 'point, aim': má'mət'əs 'pointing'
 q^wè·l 'talk': q^wéq^wəl 'talking' (also has Aa)
 q'éyχ-əl 'gone black': q'éyq'əχ-əl 'getting black'
 (see 2.3.3.8 for this and similar forms)
 s-pàleq^w-fθ'ε 'ghost, dead body': s-pàpələq^w-fθ'ε
 'screech owl; little ghost'
 q'é·mi 'adolescent girl': q'éq'əmi 'little girl (4
 years old or so)'
 s-tá·lo(w) 'river': s-tátelo(w) 'creek'
 χá·cε 'lake': χá(·)χcε 'little lake'
 s-tí·θ 'skinny': s-títəθ-əl 'puny'
 sí·le 'grandparent': sísele 'granny (pet name)'
 té·l 'mother': tétel 'Mom (pet name)'

- mɛːl 'father': mɛmɛl 'Dad (pet name)'
 s-c'áːmɛq^w 'great grandparent; great grandchild':
 s-c'ác'ɛmɛq^w 'great grandparent or great grand-
 child (pet name for both)'
 s-píːw 'ice' (cp. pí(·)w-ət 'freeze s-th'): s-píːpɛw
 'frozen'
 ɔ'áːɪ-əm sq'áq'əy 'a cold (lit. chill sickness)':
 ɔ'áθ'ɛɪ-əm 'chilled, being chilled'
 λ'ɛɪ-əm 'salt': λ'ɛλ'ɛɪ-əm 'salty'
 k^wɛs 'get burned': k^wá(·)k^wɛs 'hot'
 t'ɛt'əθ'-əm 'fermenting, sour (of apples, half-ripe
 fruit)' (~ t'ɛt'ec'-əm)
 sɛsɛx-əm 'bitter (of rancid peanuts, medicines, roots,
 cascara bark, etc.)'
 q'ɛq'et'-əm 'sweet-tasting'
 c'ɛc'əs-əm 'tasty, good-tasting (of meat, nuts, etc.
 but not a sweet taste)'
 s-cíːɪ 'first born', s-cɛɪ-áːyθɛl 'upper lip':
 ciceɪ 'high, top, above'
 s-θíː-ɛqɛl 'loud voice (lit. big throat)': θíθɛ
 'bigger, larger', θiθɛ-hɛlɛq 'getting bigger'
 c'ɛc'ɛl 'very'

In nouns and verbal adjectives there often seems to be a 'continuative' -R₁- (no longer translated as such) in examples of crystallized reduplication. For example: yɛq'-ət 'fell a tree': s-yɛyɛq' 'a.log'

sk^Wúk^Welstðleq 'teacher' (probably < sk^Wú·l 'school')
 íf·c'-eT 'cut s-th': s(-)x^W-íffæc'-els 'a saw'
 x^Yíp-əT 'carve s-th': s-x^Yíx^Yəp 'a planer'
 pí(·)w-əT 'freeze s-th': pípewəls 'freezing cold'
 sx^Yéx^Yem 'shallow water'
 s-qém 'quieter water, died down a little': sqéqem 'calm
 water, quiet water'
 t'él·l 'go out of sight (of sun, person, etc.)':
 st'ét'el 'shade (of a tree, etc.)'
 x^éx^{el} 'frost'
 θ'éθ'el 'crystal'
 p'ép'x^W-em 'shy, quiet'
 q'éq'əκ' 'fit(s), convulsion(s)'
 t'át'ətəm 'flea'
 θá·θel 'mouth'
 cécew 'beach, shore'
 s-θéθəyél ~ s-θéθiyél 'blood'

A dozen or so examples have the high stress shifted away from the syllable before the reduplication, due to a high stressed suffix. This is predictable from rules which have already been given. Some examples: s- 'nominal' + íátek^W 'flying' + -í·wəl 'inside(s)' → sáátek^Wí·wəl 'surprised, stupified'; cá·k^W 'be far away, be distant' + -R₁- 'continuative'? + -á·les 'eyes' → cack^Wá·les 'goatsbeard plant' (since its white blooms can be seen from a great distance);

mè·θ'əl-qǝyl-əm 'lie, prevaricate' + -R₁- 'continuative'
 → mènəθ'əlqǝyləm 'lying'; ɬəwq-f·m 'medium-sized
 gray swamp blueberries' + -R₁- 'diminutive' →
 ɬèɬəwqf·m 'small gray swamp blueberries'.

2.5.2. -R₂ suffixes -C₁əC₂ after C₂ of the root. This suffix is unstressed and follows a high-stressed syllable. The semantic area covered is a sort of 'inherent continuative' (so continuative that it extends the meaning of the root), 'inherent plural', perhaps a few examples of plain 'continuative' and 'plural', and a number of examples of flora and fauna in which the reduplication is petrified or crystallized and its meaning is not clear. As in other types of reduplication the stress pattern is sometimes changed because of high-stressed suffixes (added here after the reduplication). In some of these cases, where stress is shifted and where the root vowel is e, it is difficult to tell whether the example has -R₂ or R₃-.

-R₂ is a less productive type of reduplication, so all the examples found to date have been included in what follows:

q^wɛ̣·l 'talk': s-q^wɛ̣lq^wɛ̣l 'language, talk', q^wɛ̣lq^wɛ̣l
 'rowdy', s-q^wɛ̣lq^wɛ̣l-ɛ̣·wtx^w 'language room' (modern
 coinage), q^wɛ̣lq^wɛ̣l-á·yθɛ̣l 'talkative, talks too
 much' ("rowdy mouth"), q^wú·lq^wɛ̣l ~ q^wɛ̣·lq^wɛ̣ltɛ̣l
 'they were all talking, talking together'

- lɛq'ɛ·lq'əl 'travel', lɛq'ɛ·lɛq'əl 'travelling'
 lúʔ q'wəl 'become ripe, get ripe': lúʔ q'wəlq'wəl
 'gone overripe'
 s-ʔɛcʔɛc 'stuttering (noun)', ʔɛcʔɛc 'stuttering (verb)'
 (as AC explained it there is no non-continuative
 form because "you can't stutter just once")
 c'ɔq'w 'poke': c'ɛq'w c'ɛq'w-T-áx^y-es 'it's poking you'
 q'wɛyflɛx^y 'to dance': q'wɛyq'wɛyflɛx^y 'a dancer'
 qəl 'be bad': qəlqəl-f·l 'break and destroy s-th'
 mɛlmɛl 'blunder, make a mistake', mɛlmɛl-á·yθɛl 'blun-
 der in speaking'
 root sɛl- 'spin': sɛlsɛl ~ sɛlsɛltɛl 'wool spindle'
 cɔwɛw 'away from the shore, toward the river' (be-
 comes [čŮwčŮw] as result of phonemic rules)
 q'ɛyɣ-ɛl 'get black, go black': q'ɛyqɛyɣɛlà (which can
 also be interpreted q'ɛyqɛyɣɛlà) 'shadow',
 qɛyqɛyɣɛlásɛm 'ray of sun between clouds'
 ʔ'ɛwɛl 'bark': ʔ'ɛwʔ'ɛwɛl 'barking (of dog(s))'
 ɣɛlɛq't 'open one's eyes': ɣɛlɣɛlɛq't 'lightning,
 (Thunderbird) opening his eyes'
 tɛy 'to canoe-race': ʔistɛytɛyɛl 'a group of canoes
 travelling upstream (moving camp to fish or dry
 fish)' (could also be derived from root tɛyt 'up-
 river')
 ɣɛylɣɛlɛm-á's 'fleecy wave clouds'
 s-ɛm-x^yɛl ~ ɛm-tɛl ~ s-ɛmɛm 'dew' (cp. ɛm-ex^w 'to

rain')

yéq'-əT 'to fell a tree', s-yéyəq' 'a log': s-yéq'(ə)yəq'

'a lot of logs'

ə'éx^W 'wash': ə'éx^Wə'əx^W 'fishhawk, osprey'

mék^Wmək^W 'bumblebee' (CT)(possibly < mék^W 'stout, strong')

wéθwəθ - wíθ-iyε 'snipe'

s-k^Wśə'k^Wəθ' - s-k^Wśəθ' 'willow grouse'

q'ésys-əT 'tie s-th': q'ésq'es(ə)cəl 'spider (the weaver
or net-maker)' (cp. also sx^W-q'éyq'esecəl 'netting
shuttle, a shuttle for making nets')

q'əwq'əwə 'Kawkawa Lake', q'əwq'əw-əlécə 'name of a male
loon', q'əwq'əw-əlá't 'name of female loon'

ə'éxə'əx 'stinging nettle'

xémxəm 'mushroom'

s-q'ésq'əz 'muskrat'

músmes 'cow' (fits pattern though < Chinook jargon)

təw-éle 'sloping floor': təwtəw-éle 'name of a moun-
tain near Yale' may fit here too.

2.5.3. R₃- prefixes C₁əC₂- to C₁ of the root.

This prefix is unstressed and immediately precedes a high-stressed syllable (except with the word for 'dog').

As in -R₁- and -R₂ high stress is sometimes shifted to a high stressed suffix. The meaning is 'plural' in all but two or three cases (once 'diminutive', once 'eldest', and in four cases crystallized without a non-reduplicated counterpart attested). All examples found are

cited here:

- sf·le 'grandparent': selsf·le 'grandparents'
 ?f·mæθ 'grandchild': ?æm?f·mæθ 'grandchildren'
 s-ɪ́·li(y) 'woman (16 yrs. or older)': sɪ́·li(y)
 'women (16 yrs. or older)'
 ?élæx^y 'sibling': ?əl?él·læx^y 'siblings'
 sx^w-?élæx^y 'husband's sister, (possibly also woman's
 brother's wife)': sx^w-?əl?él·læx^y 'husband's
 sisters'
 s-tá·les 'wife': stə́·læs 'wives'
 s-x^wæmθiyé·ɪ́ (possibly -è·ɪ́) 'deceased uncle, aunt or
 grandmother, or someone else deceased who is res-
 ponsible for ego directly or indirectly':
 sx^wæmx^wæmθiyéɪ́ 'deceased uncles, aunts or grand-
 mothers, or others deceased who were responsible
 for ego directly or indirectly'
 s-mé·lt 'rock, mountain': smə́·lt 'rocks, mountains'
 θəqé·t 'tree': θəqə́·t 'trees'
 s-q^wəmé·y 'dog': sq^wəmq^wəmé·y 'dogs'
 t'él·lów 'arm': t'ə́·lt'él·lów 'both arms'
 θámél 'eyebrow': θə́·mámél 'both eyebrows'
 q^wilós ~ q^weylós 'hair on body': sq^wəlq^wéylos 'body
 hairs', sq^wəlq^wél·qsəl 'hair(s) in nose',
 q^wəlq^wél-x^yəl 'tufted leg hair on horse (like on
 a Clydesdale)'
 s-q'əlq'élp-əq^w 'curly hair'

sx^w-ʔíle 'cheek': sx^wʔəlʔíle 'both cheeks'

q^wémx^w-ces 'wrist bone, lump of wrist': (Chehalis dialect) q^wəmq^wémces 'hand and finger joints (collectively)', (Chehalis) q^wəmq^wém-x^yel 'foot and toe joints (collectively)'

q^wá·mθ 'lump': q^wəmq^wá·mθ 'lots of anthills'

t(ə)q-ét 'close s-th (door, etc.)': steqtéq 'jampile, logjam'

p'élq'-əm 'sparkling, glinting': p'elp'èlq'əm-é·lews 'poplar (lit. sparkling leaves)' (-é·lews 'leaf')

c'ésq^w 'poke': c'eq^wc'ésq^w 'thorn' also 'Scotch thistle'

st'elt'ələxəl 'a square' (-ələxəl 'arm')

c'ə·ém 'jump': ə·emə·ém-x^yel 'grasshopper' (probably a back-formation)

s-tá·lew 'river': teltelwé·m 'lots of little streams (like run down a hill after a rain)'

s-xéle 'leg': sxələxéle-s te s-yá·q(')^wəm 'shafts of light (lit. legs of the sun)'

yél·es 'tooth': yelyélisəm 'many icicles', syelyélisəm 'icicle' (this gloss and the ε may be in error)

k^wəlqéylém 'cave': k^wəlk^wəlqéylém 'caves' (probably has -qéyl 'throat and mouth')

s-xəq'xéq'ət 'a little bluff'

(Tait dialect) ɬəx^wɬéx^w 'choke cherry' (cp. ɬəx^w-éɬce ?

- 'to spit', -éice 'unclear liquid')
- lép'ex^y 'eat': lép'lép'ex^y 'eat it all'
- lék^w-x^yél 'break a leg': lék^wlék^wet 'break s-th into small pieces (like kindling)'
- yéq^w 'burn': yéq^wyéq^w 'burned up', s-yéq^wyéq^w 'something which burned up', yéq^wyéq^w-f'ws 'name of village now Yakweakwoose Reservation (lit. repeatedly burnt out covering (either houses or grass))'
- seq'-ét 'split s-th': seq'séq'et - séq'et 'splitting them up, chopping them up'
- s-mélméiq^w 'rough (of wood)'
- xéym-el - xim-el 'grab': xémximels - xémxéymels 'hawk, chickenhawk' (grabs things)
- s-c'á·meq^w 'great grandparent, great grandchild' (probably has -eq^w 'head' in metaphorical sense): sc'émc'á·meq^w 'eldest great grandchild'
- ?el?éliye 'dream, dreaming' (AC)
- é'é·ye - c'é·ye 'in-law after death of connecting relative': c'eyc'é·ye 'in-laws after death of connecting relative'

2.5.4. R₄- prefixes C₁f- to C₁ of the root and has the meaning 'diminutive': It attracts the high stress of the word in all cases but those with high-stressed suffixes and five other examples. With some examples it is also hard to tell root vowel i + -R₁-

from root vowel e + R₄-. Another feature which may be related to R₄- (or to the fact that R₄- is high stressed) is frequent ablaut of root vowel after R₄- is prefixed.

Following are the examples found to date of R₄-:

sqewéθ 'big rabbit, rabbit': sqíqewèθ 'small rabbit'

sk^wél 'waterfall': sk^wík^wél 'small waterfall'

sk^welyéxél 'bat': sk^wík^welyèxél 'young bat'

θeqé·t 'tree': θíθeqet 'little tree' (~ θíθqet)

pehamó·z 'bullfrog, big pretty-colored frog': pípehá·m
'frog'

x^yá·k^w·em 'bathe': x^yíx^yék^w·am 'swimming'

s·yeq^w·f·l 'lamp, lantern': yíyeq^w·f·l 'small light,
candle'

?ex^w·f·l 'small': ?í?ex^w·l 'smaller'

má·q^w 'bird': mí·meq^w 'small bird'

sq^weméy 'dog': sq^wíq^wemey 'puppy'

sx^wá·x^wθ 'crazy, insane': sx^wix^wá·x^wθ 'stupid, not
all there'

q^wéy·él 'gone yellow': q^wíq^wáy·éls 'orange (color and
fruit)'

smímeyèθ 'butterfly', smímexèθ 'caterpillar'

?elíle ~ ?elíle 'salmonberry' (cp. lí·lé·cés 'little
berry basket (tied around waist, used first then
dumped into big berry basket)', this Tait dialect
form means "salmonberries in hand")

swíwe 'eulachon, candlefish'

st'əx 'fork (in tree, stream, etc.): st'it'əx-eye
 'Ruby Creek (lit. 'little fork')', st'it'x-əyeq
 'fork in roots or tree', t'it'x-á·yeq 'crutch'
 possibly q^wíq^wi 'copper'
 (Chehalis dialect) sk^yík^yək^y 'chickadee' (k^y endearing)
 sqé·q 'younger sibling': k^yék^y - k^yík^yék^y 'little
 sister, darling or dear (mother to little girl)'
 wík^yε - wiwík^yε 'darling or dear (mother to boy)'
 x^yéweq 'wild carrot': x^yíx^yewíyeq 'little carrots'
 mémələhá·lɩ 'bird's egg' (< mémələ 'children' < mélé
 'child'); smímələhá·lé·lé 'little bird's nest'
 ɩél-təl 'a bailer': ɩíɩəltéléc 'island in front of
 Union Bar (only cut off from land during high
 water time)' (lit. little bailer at bottom)
 séq(·)ws 'pants': siseqíws 'short pants, little pants'
 hɛwt 'rat': hihɛwt 'small rat' (cp. hɛhəlɛwt 'a few
 little rats')
 x^wíx^wək^w 'mountain blueberry resembling s^wx^wéx^wíx^wéq
 but sweeter'
 sp'é·θ 'red-flowering currant, Indian currant':
 spípehè·θ 'speckled trout or landlocked salmon
 (which is said to hatch from Indian currant ber-
 ries which drop into the water)'
 cə́,éyɣ 'black': cə́,íq^wəx^w-əl 'brownish-black'
 t'it'ələ 'fawn'
 λ'əp 'deep, below, under': λ'íλ'əp-l-əyíws 'man's

underpants', $\lambda'ik'ep-l-élwet$ 'man's underclothes'
 $x^y'ec'-f.l-em$ 'go through the woods': $sx^y'ix^y'ec'$ 'small
 bush, woods'

$x^y'fx^y'x^w'elè.wè$ 'fish air bladder'

$q^w'iq^w'e\ddot{z}$ 'mountain ash' (possibly < $q^w's\ddot{z}$ 'spill out')

$\Theta's\ddot{x}^w-met \sim \Theta'f\Theta'e\ddot{x}^w-met$ 'compassion, pity'

$s\lambda'f\lambda'e\ddot{q}e\ddot{z}$ 'child (generic)'

$sw\ddot{f}we\lambda'es$ 'adolescent boy'

$sk^w'fk^w'ex^y'el$ 'baby sockeye'

possibly $s\ddot{f}s\ddot{e}m$ 'feel creepy, fear s-th behind': $s\ddot{f}.s\ddot{i}$

'be afraid, nervous'

2.5.5. R_5 - prefixes C_1e- to C_1 of the root,
 remains unstressed, and precedes the high-stressed syl-
 lable. Its meaning is 'continuative', 'inherent con-
 tinuative', 'plural' and 'diminutive' and
 'distributive': The examples found are as follows:
 $x^w'f$ 'wake': $x^w'ex^w'f$ 'waking', $s-x^w'ex^w'f$ 'awakened'
 $x\ddot{e}yl-t$ 'write s-th, draw s-th': $x\ddot{e}x\ddot{e}ylt$ 'writing,
 drawing'

$k^w'f(y)$ 'climb': $k^w'ek^w'f$ 'climbing'

$k^w'f(\cdot)m-el$ 'get red': $k^w'elk^w'imel-es-em$ 'blushing,
 one's face is red' (-el- infix unclear)

$x^w'É$ 'starve, be hungry': $x^w'ex^w'É$ 'starving'

$t'\acute{e}mél$ 'chip', $t'\acute{e}mél's$ 'chop with axe': $t'\acute{e}t'\acute{e}mels$
 'chopping; a chisel'

$qemá$ 'suckle': $qeqemá$ 'suckling'

- k^wé·l 'to hide': k^wék^wf·l 'hiding'
 c'íé·mēt 'hear (s-th)': c'éc'íé·mēt 'hearing'
 tés 'approach, get near': stéts '(be) near, close'
 q^wé 'get a hole': s-q^wéq^wé 'a hole'
 s-q'ép 'a gathering': sq'eq'íp 'gathered' (with Ai)
 t'et'á·sθet 'walk quietly, creep', t'et'ésθet 'walking
 along quietly, creeping along', t'et'ésx^yélem
 'creeping (more than one)'
 peq^w-át 'break s-th': spēpíq^w 'broken'
 mélec'-mēT-á·yθel 'mixed up in speaking': memflec'
 'mixed up'
 se'əθ'ík^w 'sores'
 s^xéle 'leg, foot': s^xəx'éyle 'legs, feet'
 q'eq'ély 'guts, intestines'
 s-c'á·m-eq^w 'great grandparent, great grandchild',
 s-c'elá·meq^w (-əl- 'plural' infix) ~ sc'ec'elá·meq^w
 'great grandparents, great grandchildren'
 spá·l 'crow': spēpelál 'bunch of small crows'
 < spelál 'small crow'
 s^xwéyé·m 'myth' (from Elmendorf + Suttles 1960):
 s^xwéx^wéyém 'story, fable'
 x^wéx^wé·yé 'big fly, blowfly', x^wéx^wiyé·yé ~ x^wix^wiyé·yé
 'housefly' (glosses may be exchanged in error)
 x^wéx^wiyé 'worm in salmonberries'
 xə'á·θel 'four': xəxə'á·θel 'four to each' (AC says
 this may be Nooksack; no other distributives among

the numerals):

q^weq^wé·l 'small float for nets (made from singed cedar)'

2.5.6. -R₆- infixes -əC₂- before V₁ (root vowel):

It is unstressed and occurs before a high-stressed syllable. It seems to have two meanings, 'diminutive' and 'plural', but like the remaining types of reduplication it is very rare. The few examples found are given here.

spá·l 'crow': spelá(·)l 'small crow'

x^wex^wé·ye 'large fly' (already with R₅-):

x^wex^wiyé·ye 'housefly, small fly' (R₅-x^wR₆é·ye)

(iy < //ey//)

s-c'iyáye (< //s-c'eyáye// < //s-c'R₆éye//) 'twins'

selé·c' 'different': selélec' 'two different things'

(the latter form could have plural infix -əl- instead of -R₆-)

2.5.7. R₇- prefixes C₁é- to C₁ of the root. It attracts the high stress of the root except when a high-stressed suffix causes stress shifting. It has 'plural', 'diminutive' and 'emphatic' meanings in the few examples found so far:

méle 'child (kinterm), offspring': méméle ~ mé·méle
'children (kinterm)'

tex^w-mélem 'stepchild': tex^w-mémélem ~ tex^w-mé·mélem
'stepchildren'

mémeléhá·l̄l̄ 'bird egg' (-há·l̄l̄ 'young')

yiləw 'after': yəyiləw 'a little after'

ʔəlθə - ʔəlθə 'I, me, it's me, I'm the one who':

ʔəlθə 'I, me, it's me, I'm the one who (all
emphatic uses)'

possibly ɬəlθəl 'in the back, inside'

2.5.8. R₈- prefixes C₁ɛ- to C₁ of the root,
remains unstressed, and precedes the high-stress syll-
able. It is rare. It means 'continuative' in one
example, 'plural' in another, and is crystallized in
an animal name in the third. The examples found:
p'ək^w 'float, come to the surface': p'ɛp'ək^w 'float-
ing' (notice ɛ in addition)
s-tf.wəl 'sibling's child': stɬf.wəl 'sibling's
children'

cɛf.qəl 'martin (possibly mink)'

2.5.9. -R₉- infixes -C₁é(-) after the root vowel
V₁. This infix attracts the high stress of the word.
Its meaning is 'continuative' in process of crystal-
lizing, or 'continuative' and 'verbal adjective'. Only
three examples have been found:

c'ɪk'-əm 'jump': c'ic'ɪk'-əm 'jumping' (other speakers
than AC have other ways of forming this continua-
tive)

s-θək^w - θək^w 'straight', θək^w-ət 'pull s-th':

s-θəθək^w 'stretched, straight, pulled tight'

ɬək^w 'get narrow, wedged in': s-ɬəɬək^w 'canyon'

(narrow, walled in with rock)'

These last two examples could also be accounted for by ablaut plus R_5^- :

2.5.10. R_{10} - prefixes $C_1\acute{a}$ - to C_1 of the root and attracts the high stress of the root. It is a numeral classifier for 'person' with the number 'one' and may appear crystallized in two other examples:

$l\acute{e}c'e$ 'one': $l\acute{a}l\acute{e}c'e$ 'one person'

$q'e'f\cdot l\acute{e}m$ 'ancient, wise': possibly $syil\acute{a}l\acute{e}m$ 'year'
possibly $s-\acute{t}\acute{a}\acute{t}a$ 'brown thrush'

2.5.11. Residual cases. Less than two dozen cases of apparent reduplication remain as residue. Some of these are not reduplication at all, but roots which begin and end with the same consonant:

x^w- 'big' + $t\acute{t}$ 'upstream' + $-f\cdot m$ 'repeatedly' \rightarrow
 $x^w\acute{t}i\acute{t}i\cdot m$ 'eddy water'

$q'\acute{e}lq'-\acute{e}T$ 'answer s-o, reply to s-o', $q'\acute{e}lq'-\acute{e}y\acute{l}s$
'answer, write a letter' (- $\acute{e}y\acute{l}s$ 'intransitive')

$x^w\acute{e}x^w-$ 'sudden' + $-f\cdot l$ 'come, go' + $-\acute{e}x^w$ 'standing' \rightarrow
 $x^w\acute{e}x^w\acute{f}\cdot l\acute{e}x^w$ 'get up with sudden motion'; also,
with $s-$ 'nominal' and $-\acute{a}\cdot s$ 'face', $sx^w\acute{e}x^w\acute{a}\cdot s$
'thunder, Thunderbird'

x^w- $pap-\acute{a}\cdot s$ 'hair all over the face'

$?i'ay\acute{a}m$ 'walk slowly' is perhaps more a case of a petrified phrase, $?i' \acute{a}y$ 'keep on' (response to a story-teller) + $\acute{a}\cdot y\acute{e}m$ 'slow, late'.

s-x^wəmlf·k^w 'parent's sibling': sx^wəmlé·lək^w 'parent's
siblings' is a case of Ac· + 'plural' infix -lə-.

The remaining cases do seem to have reduplication; they
will be given with possible analyses:

?əmf·məl ~ ?əməməl 'a small bit' may have ?ə- prefix +
R₄- 'diminutive' + root məl; or ?ə- + root mf·l
+ -R₁-.

s-θéθqi 'sweet green shoots of thimbleberry, salmonberry,
fireweed, etc.' may have -R₁- crystallized.

s-wéx^yix^yéq 'low small gray mountain blueberry' either
has a stressed prefix + R₄- or crystallized -R₆-
'diminutive'.

qá· 'water': tem- 'time' + qeqá· 'high water' →
temqeqá· 'high water time; June' and s- 'nominal'
+ qeqá· 'high water' + -qəl 'head' → sqeqá·qəl
'a clear pond' both show qeqá· which is not other-
wise attested. qeqá· probably features R₅- with
'plural', 'inherent continuative' or 'continuative'
meanings.

s-k^wak^wqé(·)q 'robin' could be analyzed as -R₁- +
root k^wáq + -é(·)q (unattested) or as new types
of reduplication.

q'ayíyec 'elk' may have crystallized -R₁- (with prefix),
R₄-, R₅- or -R₆- (the last two would require stress
shifting as well and are less likely).

k^wé·t'əl 'mouse': k^wəlák^wt'əl 'a few mice' seems to

show Aa + -əl- 'plural' infix + 'diminutive' -R₁-.
 cəyiyəx 'big gray lizard' may have a prefix and -R₁-.

ʔélel ~ ʔélel 'magpie' may show -R₆-.

mək^W-á·mél-x^Yél 'big toe (lit. stout member of foot):

k^Wəm^Wá·mélx^Yél 'little toes' shows 'diminutive'
 by getting rid of the me of mək^W 'stout, strong'
 and 'plural' by R₃-.

tótəθ 'vein, veins' is uncertain in form, gloss and
 type of reduplication.

Finally, four cases seem to fit -R₁- except in their
 stress patterns:

mé·y-T 'help s-o': mèméy-əT 'helping s-o'

míməq^W 'little bird': mamél·yləq^W 'flock of little
 birds' (the a may be reflective of má·q^W 'bird')

sqəwéθ '(large) rabbit', sqíqəwèθ 'small rabbit':

sq^Wəq^Wəwéθ 'bunch of rabbits', and

x^Yix^Yq'ə·m 'mouth open'.

The second and third forms seem to be modifications of
 already-reduplicated words.

2.5.12. Allomorphy of Reduplication.

The following tables show the range of meanings of
 each type of reduplication and the range of types which
 express each meaning.

- R₁- (-C₁e- after V₁) 'continuative', 'diminutive',
'pet name', 'verbal adjective', 'comparative',
crystallized in flora and fauna
- R₂ (-C₁eC₂) 'continuative', 'inherent continuative',
'plural', 'inherent plural', crystallized in flora
and fauna
- R₃- (C₁eC₂-) 'plural' in almost every case, once
'diminutive', once 'eldest', four times crystal-
lized in flora and other domains
- R₄- (C₁i-) 'diminutive'
- R₅- (C₁e-) 'continuative', 'inherent continuative',
'plural', 'distributive', 'diminutive'
- R₆- (-eC₂ before V₁) 'diminutive', 'plural'
- R₇- (C₁é-) 'plural', 'diminutive', 'emphatic', and
crystallized in one dubious example
- R₈- (C₁ε-) 'continuative', 'plural', crystallized
in fauna
- R₉- (-C₁é(·)- after V₁) 'continuative', possibly
'verbal adjective'
- R₁₀- (C₁á-) classifier 'person', crystallized in
two words (one fauna)

'continuative'	R ₁ , R ₂ , R ₅ , R ₈ , R ₉
'inherent continuative'	R ₂ , R ₅
'plural'	R ₂ , R ₃ , R ₅ , R ₆ , R ₇ , R ₈
'inherent plural'	R ₂
'diminutive'	R ₁ , R ₃ , R ₄ , R ₅ , R ₆ , R ₇
'pet name'	R ₁
'verbal adjective'	R ₁ , (R ₉)
'comparative'	R ₁
crystallized in flora + fauna	R ₁ , R ₂ , R ₃ , R ₇ , R ₈ , R ₁₀
'eldest'	R ₃
'distributive'	R ₅
'emphatic'	R ₇
'person' classifier	R ₁₀

Allomorphs of a single morpheme must be semantically identical or similar --allosemes-- and must be in complementary distribution predictable on the basis of phonemic or morphemic environments or both. Of the 13 meanings for reduplication shown above, the meanings connected in the following by plusses are similar enough to be allosemes of a single morpheme:

Sememe

- /'continuative'/ 1.'continuative' + 'inherent continuative' + 'verbal adjective'
 /'plural'/ 2.'plural' + 'inherent plural' + 'distributive'
 /'diminutive'/ 3.'diminutive' + 'pet name'
 /'augmentive'/ 4.'comparative' + 'eldest' + 'emphatic'
 /'person classifier'/ 5.'person classifier'

Where reduplication is crystallized in names for flora and fauna, I believe the original meaning of the reduplication probably fit within 1., 2., or 3.

Further, as will be demonstrated in the morphosememic chapter, /'continuative'/ and /'plural'/ (1. and 2.) are morphosememically related, closely enough to form a single morphosememe, /'continuative/plural'/.

It appears from the last two paragraphs that R_1 is three homophonous morphemes, R_2 is two morphemes, and so forth, as seen in the next chart (sememes are numbered as in the last chart):

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----------|------------------------|
| 1. | R_1 | R_2 | | R_5 | | R_8 | R_9 | $R_{10}?$ | /'cont./' |
| 2. | | R_2 | R_3 | R_5 | R_6 | R_7 | R_8 | | /'pl./' |
| 3. | R_1 | | R_3 | R_4 | R_5 | R_6 | R_7 | R_{10} | /'dim./' |
| 4. | R_1 | | R_3 | | | | R_7 | | /'aug./' |
| 5. | | | | | | | | R_{10} | /'person
classif./' |

(Abbreviations only to fit glosses in chart.)

Considering each type of reduplication to be phonemically similar enough to each other type to be prospective allomorphs, it remains to see if we can predict any allomorph relationships on the basis of phonemic or morphemic environments.

The lists, already given, of examples of each type (leaving R_1 with the elsewhere environment) are predictive on the level of morphemic environment (as a last resort). But perhaps the phonemic environment can be helpful. C_1 and C_2 of the root show no correlation with reduplication type but root vowel V_1 does.

A noticeable feature of roots taking $-R_1-$ is that so few of them have e as V_1 . Out of over 150 examples only nine have e as V_1 :

1. q'əmə's 'to dip net': q'əyq'əmas 'dip-netting'
2. θ'əx 'burn out (of fire, sun, moon)': θ'əθ'əx
'burning out'
3. lex^w- 'always' + p'əq' 'white' + $-R_1-$ 'inherent
continuative' + -əs 'face' → lex^wp'əp'əq'əs
'name of mountain on northwest side of Fraser R.
between Hope and Yale'
4. s-ləx-cəs 'finger': slələxces 'all the fingers'
5. s-ləx-x^vəl 'toe': slələx^vəl 'all the toes'
6. q^wəɪəy 'driftwood': q^wəq^wəɪəy ~ q^wəɪq^wəɪəy 'lots
of little pieces of driftwood'
7. sqiqəwəθ 'little rabbit' or sqəwəθ '(big) rabbit':

sq^wəq^wewéθ 'bunch of rabbits'

8. x̄éx̄el 'frost'

9. ɛəwqí·m 'medium-size gray mountain blueberry':

ɛ̀ə̀ɛəwqí·m 'small gray mountain blueberry'

We can even dispose of some of these: 1. changes its vowel e → ey by rule 2.3.3.8; 2. stress pattern may be θ'əθ'éx̄ (pointing to R₅- instead); 4. and 5. are just as plausibly analyzed as having -lə- infix 'plural' (as in a number of other words) instead of -R₁-; 6. has Aə and stress shifting anyway besides the fact that q^wéq^weɛəy could be an error for q^wéɛq^weɛəy (-R₂ or R₃-) which is also attested; 7. has labialization and could have Aə of diminutive R₄- vowel (in sqíqewéθ); 9. could also be written as ɛə(w)qí·m: ɛə-ɛə(w)qí·m with R₅- 'diminutive'. Only 3. and 8., with crystallized reduplication, are left with -R₁- of a e root (out of over 150 examples).

R₅- also has surprisingly few roots with e. Nine examples out of 25 have e as V₁, but six of these have ablauted the e to i (perhaps a motivation for this ablaut), while the seventh ablauts the e to ey. This leaves only two examples (8. and 9. below) with e.

1. tés 'approach, get near': stətís 'be near'

2. sq'ép 'a gathering': sq'əq'íp 'gathered'

3. pəq^w-át 'break s-th': spəpíq^w 'broken'

4. méléc'-məT-á·yθel 'mixed up in speaking': məmflec'

'mixed up'

5. $\text{x}^w\text{ex}^w\text{é}\cdot\text{ye}$ 'big fly': $\text{x}^w\text{ex}^w\text{iyé}\cdot\text{ye}$ 'housefly'
6. $\text{sx}^w\text{əyé}\cdot\text{m}$ 'myth': $\text{sx}^w\text{ex}^w\text{iyém}$ 'story, fable, tale'
7. sxéle 'leg, foot': sxəxéyle 'legs, feet'
8. $\text{qəmə}\cdot$ 'suckle': $\text{qəqəmə}\cdot$ 'suckling'
9. $\text{t}'éméls}$ 'chop with axe': $\text{t}'ət}'éméls}$ 'chopping; a chisel'

On the other hand, $-R_2$ appears with roots that have e as V_1 86 percent of the time. Four derivations of $\text{q}^w\text{è}\cdot\text{l}$ 'talk' have Ae , and both $\text{x}'éwéls}$ 'bark': $\text{x}'əw\text{x}'éwéls}$ 'barking' and $\text{q}'éys}\text{-əT}$ 'tie s-th': $\text{q}'ésq}'es(\text{ə})\text{cəl}$ 'spider' also have Ae . This leaves $\text{ləq}'é}\cdot\text{lq}'əl}$ 'travel', $\text{q}'éyq'əy\text{x}ə\text{là}$ 'shadow', $\text{syéq}'(\text{ə})\text{yəq}'$ 'lots of logs', $\text{x}ə\text{yl}\text{x}ə\text{ləmá}\cdot\text{s}$ 'fleecy wave clouds', and $\text{?ist'éy}\text{təyəl}$ 'group of canoes going upstream' (possibly not $-R_2$ but t'iyt 'upstream' may be root).

R_3 and R_4 have roots with any vowel as V_1 ; examples are so sparse for the other types, it is hard to tell for them, but all have at least some examples with e and some with non- e vowels as V_1 .

It seems that R_2 and R_1 could be allomorphs of one 'continuative' morpheme, or R_2 and R_5 could be allomorphs of 'continuative' and 'plural' morphemes; these allomorphs would be in complementary distribution depending on V_1 being e or not e , with a few morpheme-dependent rules to cover exceptions.

$R_{1/2}$ 'continuative' $\rightarrow R_1 / (q'əmás), (\theta'ésx), p'ésq' \underline{\quad}$
 $\rightarrow R_2 / V_1 = e \underline{\quad}$
 $\rightarrow R_1 / V_1 \neq e \underline{\quad}$ (i.e. $\underline{\quad}$)

or

$R_{2/5}$ 'continuative' and 'plural'
 $\rightarrow R_5 / qəmá•, t'éméls \underline{\quad}$
 $\rightarrow R_2 / V_1 = e \underline{\quad}$
 $\rightarrow R_5 / V_1 \neq e \underline{\quad}$ (i.e. $\underline{\quad}$)

Approaching reduplication from the semantic direction there is more predictability. From the tables at the beginning of this section it can be seen that 'pet name', 'verbal adjective' and 'comparative' are expressed by R_1 and no other type, 'eldest' (dubiously) by R_3 and no other type, 'distributive' by R_5 only, 'emphatic' by R_7 only, and 'person classifier' by R_{10} only. In addition, R_1 conspicuously lacks the meaning 'plural' among the things it expresses, R_3 is almost exclusively 'plural', and R_4 is exclusively 'diminutive'. The semantic and sememic patterns in all this will be considered in more detail in the chapters on sememics and morphosememics.

2.5.13. Relationship of Reduplication to Ablaut.

There are a number of similarities between reduplication and ablaut in Ghilliwack and Upriver Halkomelem: the fact that both reduplication and ablaut cover 'continuative' and 'plural' (see the chapter on morphosememics),

the fact that several types of reduplication and all types of ablaut involve infixing, and the fact that several types of reduplication (like ablaut) involve adding vowels different from the root vowel or irrespective of the root vowel. These similarities in shape and meaning made it plausible to check into the possibility that reduplication and ablaut are allomorphs of a 'continuative' or a 'plural' morpheme.

Upon examination this possibility of allomorphy seems remote, for two reasons. One reason is the presence of examples with ablaut and reduplication simultaneously. The other reason is the presence of phonologically similar roots, one of which takes 'continuative' ablaut, the other of which takes 'continuative' reduplication; pairs of phonologically similar roots were also found in which one member has 'plural' ablaut and the other has 'plural' reduplication. Examples:

1. q^wè·l 'talk': q^wáq^wel 'talking' has Aa and R₁
both 'continuative'
2. q^wéy^wel 'turn yellow': q^wáq^wéy^wel 'turning yellow'
has both Aa and R₁ 'continuative'
3. k^wés· 'burned, scalded': k^wá·k^wés '(be) hot'
has both Aa· derivational and R₁ 'verbal adjective'
4. k^wím·el 'get red': k^wík^wem^wel 'getting red' beside
?ím·ex^y 'walk': ?i·mex^y 'walking'

5. líyém 'laugh': lé·yem 'laughing' beside alternatives
léyem 'laugh': léyleyem or líleyem 'laughing'
6. stí·wəl 'neice or nephew': ststí·wəl 'nephews, neices'
beside sciwtéł 'child-in-law': scí·wətéł 'child-
ren-in-law'
- possibly 7. sƏék'^w 'straight': sƏəƏék'^w '(being)
straight, stretched, pulled tight' beside
Əék'əm 'drip': Əék'əm 'dripping'.

The most fruitful area for study of the relationship between ablaut and reduplication seems to be sememic and morphosememic. The relationship will be dealt with further in those chapters.

CHAPTER 3. OUTLINE OF MORPHOLOGY

The morphology will be dealt with in chapters four through ten. These chapters will cover derivation and inflection of the Chilliwack and Upriver Halkomelem word classes: personal pronouns, verbs, particles, nominals, demonstratives, and numerals. Chapter five on lexical affix sets will deal further with derivation, as will the chapter on morphosememics. The morphological chapters will include some information on allomorphy which belongs in morphophonemics (as mentioned in chapter two) and some information that belongs in morphosememics.

The ten sets of personal pronouns include subject affixes (preposed or suffixed), object affixes (suffixed), possessive affixes (some suffixed to previous word, some to the thing possessed, some to both), a different set of subject suffixes used with verbs prefixed with {we-} 'when; if' and with verbs preceded by negative verb {ʔéwa} 'not to be', a different set of object suffixes for the 'passive voice', and five sets of independent word personal pronouns: verbal ('it's me' for example), nominal (like 'he' and 'her' in 'he hit her'), reduplicated emphatic ('it's me' is the only member), emphatic possessive ('ours, our own' for example), and independent object of prepositional verb. Interrogative pronouns belong rather in the

discussion of verbs (for example 'who (is it)?' and 'what (is it)?' are verbs). Subordination is shown through nominalizing the first word of the sentence or clause and then using possessive pronoun affixes to indicate the subordinated subject ('your seeing us is our want' → 'we want you to see us'). Thus subordination will be discussed under personal pronouns. There are also several affixes which are attached to personal pronouns to inflect personal pronouns (tε-, k'ε-, R₇-, -àt). And there are two reflexive suffixes which can be added to verbs, {-lá·met} 'oneself' and {- (ə)θet} 'for oneself, for itself'.

Verbs are affixed with lexical and derivation affixes before being affixed with personal pronouns and future tense (if applicable). There are several intransitive suffixes ({-é·ls} and {-el} are the most common). There are three main transitive suffixes. They do more than just transitivize; their function is more indicating control of the action. The three suffixes are {- (ə)T} 'do purposely', {-l} 'do accidentally, happen to do, manage to do', and {-sT} 'causative, cause s-o to do, make s-o do'. {-mεT} is another transitive suffix. After the transitive suffixes come object pronoun suffixes (including passive), then non-passive subject pronoun affixes, then future tense. Active voice is unmarked. Verbs are inflected

for two aspects: continuative and non-continuative. Non-continuative is unmarked; continuative is marked by ablaut or reduplication or in some cases by a prefix {hě- - hě-}. Verbs are sometimes inflected for plural object by reduplication R_3 - and sometimes for 'diminutive', 'verbal adjective' and 'comparative' by reduplication of various types. Verbs can also be prefixed with {we-} 'when; if' and then they take a new, abbreviated set of subject pronouns. Verbs are sometimes suffixed with {-e} 'interrogative' before the subject suffix is added. However, the predominant interrogative is verb root {lɪ} which can be inflected for pronoun subject in the usual way. Other suffixes which can be considered inflections are the two reflexive suffixes mentioned above, and {-tel} 'reciprocal' and {-f.m} 'repeatedly'. English adjectives, prepositions, adverbs, and even the negative are translated into Halkomelem as verbs and are so inflected. Probably a majority of nouns have verb roots at their base and are nominalized verbs roots with {s-} 'nominalizer'.

Nominals are derived by ablaut and lexical and derivational affixes, rarely by crystallized 'plural' or 'continuative' reduplication. The nominalizer par excellence is the {s-} prefix. This prefix is sometimes preposed (suffixed to the preceding word, usually to {k^W} or {k^W}) to nominalize subordinate

clauses or sentences. Another mark of nominals is a preceding demonstrative article {tə, ʔe, k^wʔe, k^we, k^wʔe}, etc. Nominals can also be simple underived nouns. Nominals can be inflected for plural (most are not) by ablaut, reduplication or the {-el- - -le-} infix. Nominals can also be inflected for 'diminutive', 'pet name', and 'eldest' by reduplication. They can be inflected of course for 'possessive' by the possessive pronouns, and such inflection would follow any other nominal inflection done.

Particles are a small catch-all class of uninflectable words (conjunctions and modals (usually unstressed), interjections (which can be stressed) and perhaps some unstressed adverbials). There are other unstressed words (such as many demonstratives) which do not belong in this class. Particles, to give a sample, include: qe 'and, but, or', qes 'and', su 'so, then', qe(w) __-e 'until', combinations of qe and k^wá with su; t^we 'must', c^we ~ ʔ^we 'it is said, they say', k^wé 'anyway', ʔiyá·lēm 'can, could', yáswe 'maybe, perhaps'; qéléméx^y 'oh my goodness!', ʔé·cele 'gee!, good grief!', léw 'say!, hello!'; and perhaps adverbials like weł 'already' and x^wel 'yet, still'. Others are listed in the chapter.

Halkomelem demonstratives exist in several sets. Some, often two words, serve as typical demonstratives ('this', 'that', etc.); some serve as demonstrative verbs ('be here', 'be there') which are the Halkomelem equivalent of adverbs; some serve as obligatory demonstrative articles which must appear with each nominal or nominalized phrase or sentence. The latter set of demonstratives consists largely of unstressed roots, which have a shape $C_1(C_2)(\emptyset)$. These roots are inflected with possessive pronouns to show possession of the following nominal. When the following nominal is a nominalized phrase or sentence, the possessive pronoun indicates the subject of the phrase or sentence and must be followed by an -s nominalizer (for example, $sk^w\acute{e}(\cdot)y$ 'it is impossible', k^w 'abstract demonstrative', - $\acute{e}l$ 'my', -s 'nominalizer', $k^w\acute{e}c$ 'see', -l 'happen to', - $\acute{e}x^w$ '3rd person object' $\rightarrow sk^w\acute{e}y k^w\acute{e}ls k^w\acute{e}clex^w$ 'I can't see (him, her, it, them)'). The demonstrative-article roots express 'presence/presence not specified', 'nearness' or 'distance', 'visibility' or 'invisibility/abstractness', and 'masculine/gender not specified' or 'feminine sex gender'. For example, { $t\acute{e}$ } is 'the (present/presence not specified, visible, masculine/gender not specified)'. Some of these roots (like { $t\acute{e}$ }) are single portmanteau morphemes, and some contain two morphemes. But every time a nominal is used

one must choose a demonstrative root expressing the degrees of nearness and visibility and the gender. 'Generic' vs. 'specific' may also be involved. When used before names, demonstratives are not translated. When the 'gender not specified' or the 'abstract' demonstrative root is used, it can be translated 'the'.

Numerals are based on the decimal system with traces of a quaternary influence in the stems under 'eleven' that can be derived. The major inflection for numerals is a set of 15 or so lexical suffixes. These suffixes could also be called numeral classifiers but for the fact that almost all of them appear with some non-numeral roots as well. The suffixes express things like 'o'clock', 'day of the week', 'times ten', 'people', 'times', 'trees', 'dollars', 'canoes', 'canoe paddles', 'houses', 'garments', and 'piles of things'. Some can be applied to numbers beyond 'ten', some stop at 'ten', 'nine', 'five' or 'two'. There are no ordinals, and only one sporadic distributive has been found ('four to each'). Numbers by tens are made by suffixing {-elsx^yé} 'times ten' to roots 'three' through 'nine'. Other numbers over ten are made up additively: 'eleven' is 'ten' + 'and' + 'the' + 'one', i.e., {ʔá·pəl qes tē léç'ə}; 'ninety-nine' is {tùx^welsx^yé qes tē tí·x^w}. 'Twenty' {c'k^wex^y - c'k^wéyx^y} may have {k^wéx^y} 'count' as its root.

{léc'ewec} 'one hundred' has root {léc'} 'be different' while 'two hundred' is merely 'two' + 'one hundred'. The other hundreds are formed on the same model. 'One thousand' is {ʔá·pəl k^ws léc'ewec} ("ten hundred"), with the function of {k^ws} unclear.

The chapter on lexical affix sets will present examples of the lexical affixes along with some morphological and semantic analysis. The discussion of semantics, sememics, and morphosememics involved will be largely reserved for chapters twelve and thirteen. Lexical affixes in Upriver Halkomelem are very productive, very concrete semantically, and very interesting. For example, one set of suffixes covers body parts, and its suffixes are distinct in many cases from the independent words for the same body parts; body part suffixes are sometimes extended semantically to metaphorical uses, and they are widely used with verbs as well. Other lexical affixes do not form as coherent a set as do body part suffixes.

CHAPTER 4. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

4.0. There are two reflexive suffixes and ten sets of personal pronouns in Chilliwack Halkomelem: independent pronouns (three sets), emphatic independent pronoun, subject pronouns, object pronouns (which follow the transitive control suffixes: purposive, accidental, and causative), possessive pronouns (two sets: affixed and independent (emphatic)), subject pronouns with {we-} 'if; when' and with auxiliary verbs after negative verb {ʔéwe} 'not to be', and object pronouns in the passive voice.

Subordination will be dealt with in a section on the use of possessive pronouns as verb subjects for: 'can', 'can't', 'want', 'think, feel emotionally', infinitives, verbs after question words, and verbs following and dependent on the first verb in a sentence.

4.1. Independent pronouns, set one. This set has a verbal function. Each member of the set can be translated in four ways, as in the first person singular member {ʔé1θε} 'it's me, I did, I'm the one that ___, I'm the one to ___'; to get the translation of the second person singular, {léwe}, substitute 'you', 'you', and 'you're' for 'me', 'I', and 'I'm' (respectively) from {ʔé1θε}. Translations of the other members can be obtained in the same way. This is mentioned because later citations of pronouns from this set will sometimes

avoid the long cumbersome gloss by using 'etc.' within the gloss. The variation in this set is all free variation between phonemic citations. Person is abbreviated '1', '2', '3' and number 'sg.' and 'pl.'

1 sg. {ʔé1θε} /ʔé1θε/ ~ /ʔé1θe/ 'it's me, I did, I'm the one that __, I'm the one to __'

2 sg. {lówə} /lówə/ ~ /lúwə/ 'it's you, you did, you're the one that __, you're the one to __'

3 sg. {ʔ'á } /ʔ'á/ 'it's him, it's her, that's it, that's __; he did, she did, it did; he's the one that __, she's the one that __, it's the one that __, that's the one that __; he's the one to __, she's the one to __, it's the one to __, that's the one to __'¹

1 pl. {ɬlíməɬ} 'it's us, we did, we're the ones that __, we're the ones to __'

2 pl. {ɬwóləp} 'it's you folks, you folks did, you're the ones that __, you're the ones to __'

3 pl. {ʔ'á·ləm} /ʔ'á·ləm/ ~ /ʔ'áləm/ 'it's them, they did, they're the ones that __, they're the ones to __'

These words are used all by themselves to answer questions like, 'Who's there?', 'Who made this?', or

1. This gloss could be abbreviated 'it's (him, her, it), that's __, (he, she, it) did, (he's, she's, it's, that's) the one (that, to) __'.

'Who wants to go?'. They are also used in sentences like: *ɪwélep-cɛ lém*. 'It will be you folks that go.' (the speaker may be dividing a group), and *lɛ sʌ'f--s k'wɛ-s ʔɛlθɛ-s k'wɔc-l-ɔx^w*. 'He wants me to see it.', and *lɛ s-tɛʔɛ--wɛl tú-ʌ'á k'wɛ-s ʔɛlθɛ-s-cɛ lém*. 'He thinks I'm the one to go.', *ʌ'á-cɛ (tɛ) Bill k'wɛ mɛy-T-ámɛ wɛ-x^wɛ'f--s*. 'It will be Bill that helps you when he gets here.', and *ʌ'á ʔɛ mɛ·l*. 'That's your father.'

4.2. Independent emphatic pronoun. For more emphasis {ʔɛʔɛlθɛ} //R_γ-ʔɛlθɛ// (/ʔɛʔɛlθɛ/ - /ʔɛʔɛlθɛ/) can be used in place of {ʔɛlθɛ} with the same meaning plus a little emphasis. This might be shown by the following exchange: "Who's there?"

"It's me." (ʔɛlθɛ)

"Really?"

"It's me!" (ʔɛʔɛlθɛ)

4.3. Independent pronouns, set two. This set has a nominal function, as we can tell from the demonstrative article prefixes (tɛ-, tú-, and θú-) and the use and position of these pronouns in sentences (following the verb). This set is more common than 4.1 and 4.2 and is derived from those sets by prefixing tɛ- or, in the case of {ʌ'á} and {ʌ'á·lɛm}, by prefixing tú- 'male/gender unspecified' or θú- 'female'. This produces the following set:

(note that this set has the same free variation and in verbal contexts the same system of glosses as the sets in 4.1 and 4.2)

1 sg. {tɛʔɛlθɛ} 'I, me', {tɛʔɛʔɛlθɛ} 'I, me'

2 sg. {tɛlɔwə} 'you (sg.)'

3 sg. male {túʔ'à} 'he, him'

3 sg. female {θúʔ'à} 'she, her'

3 sg. gender unspecified {túʔ'à} 'it'

1 pl. {tɛɬlímɛɬ} 'we, us'

2 pl. {tɛɬwólɛp} 'you folks, you (pl.)'

3 pl. male {túʔ'à·lɛm} 'they (male), them (male)'

3 pl. female {θúʔ'à·lɛm} 'they (female), them (female)'

3 pl. gender unspecified {yúʔ'à·lɛm} or {yúʔ'à·lɛm}
'they, them'

3 pl. gender unspecified but speaker knows them {ʔɛ·ɬtɛl}
'they, them'

The third person members of this set are especially frequent since the third person subject and object suffixes on verbs do not distinguish number or gender and since normal declarative word order is verb subject object. Some examples follow:

lém θúʔ'à 'she goes' and lém túʔ'à· 'he goes'

(By itself lém means 'he goes, she goes, it goes, they go'. When talking about something without gender or when it's not important to state the sex or one is not sure, {túʔ'à} can mean 'it'.)

Third person pronouns from this set can also be used to clarify the object of a verb. Since $k^w\acute{e}c\text{-}et\text{-}es$ means '(3rd person) looked at (3rd person)', the sentence $k^w\acute{e}c\text{-}et\text{-}es\ te\ swiyeqe$ means 'He, she, it, they, they (male), they (female) looked at the man.' (A lone nominal after a verb with 3rd person subject and 3rd person object is taken as the object.) To make it clear that a female is the subject ('she looked ...') you add the pronoun { $\acute{e}u\acute{a}$ 'à } in the subject slot (before $swiyeqe$). Halkomelem can even specify in the pronoun that the man looked at several females; this is done only with great awkwardness in English.

$k^w\acute{e}c\text{-}et\text{-}es\ te\ swiyeqe\ \acute{e}u\acute{a}'\grave{a}\text{-}l\acute{e}m$. 'The man looked at them (female).'

If the man was not supposed to look at other women the following sentence might be next:

$q^w\acute{a}q^w\text{-}et\text{-}es\ \acute{e}\acute{e}\ st\acute{a}\text{-}l\acute{e}s\text{-}s\ t\acute{u}\acute{a}'\grave{a}$. 'His wife hits him.'

	VERB	SUBJECT	OBJECT
'he she it they	} hit	{ 'him' 'her' 'it' 'them'	'female' 'wife' 'his'

Further, the sex and number of both subject and object can be given with these pronouns.

$k^w\acute{e}c\text{-}et\text{-}es$ VERB	} looked at	$t\acute{u}\acute{a}'\grave{a}$ SUBJECT	$\acute{e}u\acute{a}'\grave{a}$ OBJECT	. 'He looked at her.'
'he she it they	}	{ 'him' 'her' 'it' 'them'	'he' 'her'	

In addition to the uses above, the pronouns of this set can be used to emphasize the subject. They follow the verb directly in such examples.

lém-cəp tɛɪwóləp. 'You folks go.'

lém-cəp alone means 'you folks go'. Notice that in these cases there is also a subject pronoun (here -cəp) attached to the verb as part of the verb word. So the set 4.3 pronoun is not really needed unless the speaker wants to emphasize the subject or clarify the third person subject or object.

4.4. Subject pronouns attached to verbs. This set is used largely with the first verb in a sentence. The third person pronoun differs in three ways. (Let Vi stand for intransitive verb and Vt for transitive verb.)

<u>With Vi</u>	<u>With Vt</u>	<u>Before verb</u>	<u>Translation</u>
-cəl [ɔ̄l]	-cəl	cəl	'I'
-cəx ^w [ɔ̄Ux ^w]	-cəx ^w	cəx ^w	'you (sg.)'
nothing added	-əs	lə	'he, she, it, they'
-cət [ɔ̄It ^h]	-cət	cət	'we'
-cəp [ɔ̄əp ^h]	-cəp	cəp	'you folks'

Some examples will help make these clear:

lémcəl 'I go'	meyəaməcəl 'I help you'	cəl lém 'I went'
lémcəx ^w 'you go'	meyəax ^y cəx ^w 'you help me'	cəx ^w lém 'you went'
lém 'he, she, it goes, they go'	meyəax ^y es 'he, she, it helps, me, they help me'	lə lém 'he, she, it, they went'

lémcep 'you folks go'	meyθáx ^y cep 'you folks help me'	cep lém 'you folks went'
--------------------------	--	-----------------------------

Notice that putting the pronoun as a separate word in front of the verb tends to give the verb a past meaning (cəl lém 'I went'). Less often the same combination is translated in the present however (cəl lém 'I go'). The surest way of phrasing past tense keeps the subject pronoun before the main verb but suffixes it to an initial {ʔi·ɪ} 'past tense' auxiliary. Thus, ʔi·ɪcəl lém or ʔi·ɪ cəl lém both mean 'I went'. (ʔi·ɪ may < ʔi· 'be here' + -ɪ 'past').

4.5. Object pronouns attached to active verbs.

These pronouns are attached to the verb after transitive control suffixes and before subject pronoun suffixes. As with 4.4, the third person affix has several alternates depending on what it follows.

After {-(ə)T} 'do purposely'	After {-l} 'do accidentally, manage to do, happen to do' or after {-sT} 'cause to do, make s-o do'	Translation
-áx ^y	-áx ^y	'me'
-áme	-áme	'you (sg.)'
nothing added	-ex ^w	'him, her, it, them'
-álx ^w	-álx ^w	'us'
-ále	-ále	'you folks'

It is important to note that these object pronouns only occur after one of the three: {-(ə)T} 'do purposely', {-l} 'do accidentally, happen to do, manage

to do', or {-sT} 'causative, cause to do, make s-o do'. These meanings are often not directly translated but are contained in the meaning of the verb itself. For examples, see below. //T// → θ / ___-áx^y 'me', -áme 'you' (as seen in 2.4.3). As a result the combinations come out as:

	<u>purposely</u>	<u>accidentally</u>	<u>causative</u>
'me'	-əáx ^y	-láx ^y	-səáx ^y
'you'	-əáme	-láme	-səáme
'him, her, it, them'	-t	-ləx ^w	-stəx ^w
'us'	-tálx ^w	-lálx ^w	-stálx ^w
'you folks'	-tále	-lále	-stále

Some examples will show these in action:

məyəáx ^y cəx ^w 'you help me'	k ^w əcláx ^y əs 'he sees me'	ʔiməx ^y səáx ^y əs 'he makes me walk'
məyəámécəl 'I help you'	k ^w əclámécət 'we see you'	ʔiməx ^y səámécəl 'I make you walk'
méytəs 'he helps him'	k ^w əcléx ^w cəp 'you folks see him'	ʔiməx ^y stéx ^w cəl 'I make him walk'
məytálx ^w cəx ^w 'you help us'	k ^w əclálx ^w əs 'he sees us'	ʔiməx ^y stálx ^w əs 'he makes us walk'
məytaalécət 'we help you folks'	k ^w əclalécəl 'I see you folks'	ʔiməx ^y stalécəl 'I make you folks walk'

'He' or 'him' here stands for third person. Notice rule 2.3.3.9 operating here to shift stresses.

Examples of each type of verb control suffix will illustrate the types and meanings involved:

<u>Purposely</u>	<u>Accidentally</u>	<u>Causative</u>
k ^w éçetəs 'he looked at him'	k ^w éçlɛx ^w əs 'he sees him'	ʔi ^w esəðáx ^y əs 'he taught me'
q ^w eq ^w əəðáx ^y əs 'he hit me intentionally'	q ^w eq ^w láx ^y əs 'he hit me accidentally, unintentionally'	ʔimex ^y səaməçel 'I make you walk'
ɬic ^w ət 'cut s-th'	ɬéc ^w láx ^y əs 'he cut me accidentally'	ɬet ^w esəðáx ^y əs 'he argued with me, maintained to me'
píx ^w əəðáx ^y əs 'he brushes me off'	sí ^w siláməçel 'I scare you'	lə ^w əmɛstɛx ^w əs 'she took him, brought him'
k ^w é.tálx ^w əs 'he lets us go'	həq ^w láx ^y əs 'it smelled me'	ʔéystex ^w əs 'he likes her'
t ^w ífləməəðáx ^y əs 'he sings it for me'	lícx ^w sɬəq ^w əl.áx ^y 'do you know me?'	qəlstɛx ^w çel 'I don't like it'
ɬəθ ^w əəðáx ^y 'push me'	lícx ^w pətəláx ^y 'do you recognize me?'	ʔax ^w estálx ^w əs 'he gives it to us'
ʔəl ^w əðəliyəməəaməçelçə 'I'll be dreaming of you'	lícx ^w təl.áx ^y 'do you understand me?'	
(ʔé.y 'keep on going')	ʔé.yələx ^w 'he's alive'	ʔé.ystex ^w əs 'they're chasing them, etc.'

Note the instances of //l-1-áx^y// → /l.áx^y/ according to morphophonemic rules.

A peculiarity of Halkomelem is that the combination of 3rd person subject (he, she, it, they) with 2nd person object (you, you folks) does not occur. So -əáməs, -táles, -lámes, -láles, -səáməs, -stáles do not occur. A different set of endings (passive) or a different combination of words using pronouns from 4.1-4.3

must be used to express meanings like 'he hit you', 'they saw you folks' or 'she brought you'. For example, the combination, $\lambda'á\epsilon\epsilon\ \theta\acute{u}\lambda'á\ \acute{m}\acute{e}y\theta\grave{a}m\grave{o}$. 'It will be her that helps you.' can be used instead of the passive.

4.6. Possessive pronoun suffixes. The interesting thing about this set is that not all of the suffixes are attached in the same place.

Attached:

<u>to word before</u>	<u>to thing owned</u>	
{-e1} -e1 ~ -l		'my'
{-é} -é ~ -?é		'your (one person's)'
	{-s}	'his, her, its, their'
	{-cet}	'our'
{-é} -é ~ -?é	{-e1ep}	'your, you folks''

When what precedes the thing owned is a word ending in a consonant or a vowel other than ϵ ($\lambda'á$, $lí$, $\acute{?}í(\cdot)$, and $lí\acute{s}$ are especially common), then allomorph $-l$ or $-?é$ is attached for 'my', 'your' and 'you folks''; when what precedes the thing owned is a word ending in ϵ allomorphs $-e1$ and $-é$ are attached. Notice also that the 2nd person plural possessive requires two morphemes, the 2nd person $\{-é\}$ and the pluralizer $\{-e1ep\}$. Examples:

$t\epsilon1\ m\acute{e}\cdot1$ 'my father', $\lambda'á1\ m\acute{e}1\epsilon$ 'that's my child'

$\theta\acute{e}\ t\acute{e}\cdot1$ 'your mother', $t\acute{e}\ m\acute{e}\cdot1$ 'your father'

$t\epsilon\ m\acute{e}\cdot1s$ 'his/her/its/their father'

$t\epsilon\ m\acute{e}\cdot1cet$ 'our father'

$t\acute{e}\ m\acute{e}\cdot1e1ep$ 'you folks' father, your (pl.) father'

Since the word preceding a nominal is usually a demonstrative article (tə, θə, se, k^wse, k^wθə, or k^wə), possessive pronoun suffixes are usually attached to them. The suffixed pronouns are the ordinary way of showing possession. For example:

ʔax^wesθáx^ves tel mé·l tə sq^weméys. 'My father gave me his dog.'

4.7. Independent possessive pronouns. These are constructed by using the morpheme {swé} 'own (?)' as a noun stem and inflecting it with the previous set of possessive pronoun suffixes. Thus:

(ə)l swé	'mine, my own'
ʔé swé	'yours, your own (sg.)'
swés	'his, hers, its, their, his own, her own, its own, their own'
swécet ~ sʔáɪ	'ours, our own'
ʔé swéʔelép	'you folks', 'you folks' own, yours (pl.), 'your own'

Examples:

ʔáɪ swé 'that's mine', (ə)l swé mémələ 'my own children'

ʔé swéce 'it will be yours'

ʔá swés 'that's his/hers/its/theirs'

ʔá swécet 'that's ours', ʔá sʔáɪ 'that's ours'

ʔá ʔé swéʔelép 'that's yours (you folks)'

Apparently swécet and sʔáɪ are in free variation. The independent set has more emphasis in meaning than the suffixed set of possessives and can also occur

alone as a complete answer to a question or preceded only by { λ' á }. Thus an answer to, $t\acute{e}w\acute{e}t\ sq^w\acute{o}m\acute{e}y?$ 'Whose dog?' might be, $(\acute{o})l\ sw\acute{e}$. 'Mine.' or, λ' á $l\ sw\acute{e}$. 'That's mine., He's mine., etc.' The emphatic use is shown in the following: $?f\cdot w\acute{e}st\acute{a}lx^w\acute{e}s\ t\acute{e}s\ ?\acute{a}t\ m\acute{e}\cdot l$. 'Our (own) father taught us.', and, λ' á $sw\acute{e}c\acute{e}t\ m\acute{e}\cdot l\ k^w\acute{e}s\ ?f\cdot w\acute{e}st\acute{a}lx^w\acute{e}s$. 'It's our father that teaches us.'

4.8. Subordination using possessive pronouns.

This special use of pronouns of set 6 occurs in examples like:

- a. $sk^w\acute{e}y\ k^w\acute{e}l\text{-}s\ k^w\acute{e}clex^w$. 'I can't see it.'
 $sk^w\acute{e}y\ k^w\acute{e}l\text{-}s\ k^w\acute{e}clex^w$. 'You can't see it.'
 $sk^w\acute{e}y\ k^w\acute{e}s\ k^w\acute{e}clex^w\text{-}s$. 'He/She/It/They can't see it.'
 $sk^w\acute{e}y\ k^w\acute{e}s\ k^w\acute{e}clex^w\text{-}c\acute{e}t$. 'We can't see it.'
 $sk^w\acute{e}y\ k^w\acute{e}l\text{-}s\ k^w\acute{e}clex^w\text{-}\acute{e}l\acute{e}p$. 'You folks can't see it.'
 (Often $k^w\acute{e}s$ instead of $k^w\acute{e}l\text{-}s$ in the 2nd person pl: since $\text{-}\acute{e}l\acute{e}p$ alone shows 'you folks'.)
- b. $sk^w\acute{e}y\ k^w\acute{e}s\ k^w\acute{e}cl\acute{a}m\acute{e}\text{-}c\acute{e}t$. 'We can't see you.'
- c. $sk^w\acute{e}y\ k^w\acute{e}l\text{-}s\ l\acute{e}m\text{-}\acute{e}l\acute{e}p$. 'You folks can't go.'
- d. $sk^w\acute{e}y\text{-}\acute{e}\ k^w\acute{e}l\text{-}s\ k^w\acute{e}clex^w?$ 'Can't I see it?'
- e. $l\acute{u}w\ ?iy\acute{a}l\acute{e}m\ k^w\acute{e}l\text{-}s\ k^w\acute{e}clex^w$. 'I can see it.'
- f. $?f\cdot\acute{z}\ ?iy\acute{a}l\acute{e}m\ k^w\acute{e}l\text{-}s\ ?\acute{e}t\acute{e}l$. 'I could have eaten.'
- g. $l\acute{u}w\ ?iy\acute{a}l\acute{e}m\ k^w\acute{e}l\text{-}s\ l\acute{e}m$. 'I can go.'
- h. $l\acute{f}\ ?iy\acute{a}l\acute{e}m\ k^w\acute{e}l\text{-}s\ l\acute{e}m?$ 'Can I go?'
- i. $?\acute{e}w\acute{e}\ l\acute{f}s\ ?\acute{e}\ s\acute{a}'f\text{-}\acute{e}l\acute{e}p$. 'You folks don't want it.'
- j. $w\acute{e}\text{-}l\acute{f}s\text{-}l\ s\acute{a}'f$ 'if I want it'

- k. ?ewés lís-l sà'f 'if I don't want it'
- l. ?f·təx^W səf·qəl k'^W-és-s ?f·t ləyem. 'You were laughing loudly.'
- m. ?éwe lís-l sà'f k'^W-és-s líyém. 'I don't want you to laugh.'
- n. x^Wə?f·t-?é-s ?éwət q^Wélsə̀x̄? 'Why don't you speak to me?'
- o. sà'f-cət k'^W-és-s k'^Wéclàlx^W. 'We want you to see us.'
- p. ?éwe lís-l sq^Wélewəl k'^W-és-s lé́m. 'I don't think you should go.'
- q. təmtém k'^W-és-s lé θíyt? 'When did you make it?'
- r. lə sà'f-s k'^W-əl-s k'^Wécləx^W θə stáles-s k'^Wə-s θíyəq^W-t-s tē sé·q. 'He wanted me to see his wife digging fern roots.'

The problem is only that the translations given here are not strict translations, word for word. Strict translations of these sentences are too awkward in English but show the Halkomelem way of thinking about them more clearly. Thus the first example could perhaps be translated 'It is impossible my happening to see it.' ('I can't see it.):

sk'^Wéy k'^W -əl -s k'^Wéc -l -ex^W;
it is impossible the my noun see happen to it (obj.)

This construction is the standard way of translating 'can't' (that is, using s'^Wéy + k'^W + possessive pronoun suffix + -s nominalizer + verb without subject affix):

Notice the -s after the pronoun in all the examples.

This -s makes the verb which comes after it into a nominal. To show this change in an English translation is very awkward: we must use 'my sight of it' or 'my seeing it'. Once the verb is nominalized it can be possessed and have a possessive pronoun. It also needs an article, as discussed above. However, with these verbs made into nominals, the only article allowed is k^we 'abstract demonstrative' (I have not found examples like *sk^wéy tels k^wéclex^w). As we shall see in the chapter on nouns, an s- is frequently attached to verbs elsewhere to form nouns (thus t^f·lēm 'to sing' becomes s-t^f·lēm 'song'). That may have been the case here too, but most of the time with this special use of pronouns, the /s/ is pronounced at the end of the pronoun.

The other examples in a. work like the first example, as do b., c., and d. For example, d. is more literally 'Is it impossible, my seeing it?' (or considering the verb subject object word order, 'Is my seeing it impossible?'). Examples e. through h. use ?iyálem 'it is alright, possible', so that f. could be translated more closely by 'My eating was alright.' This is apparently the standard way of expressing 'can'. As a result, both 'can' and 'can't' require this type of construction:

Examples i., j., k., m., o., and r. show that 'want' usually requires the possessive construction too.

For example, m. could be translated 'Your laugh is not my want.' and thence 'I don't want you to laugh.' Notice the two possessives in this one. When English uses an infinitive ('to' followed by a verb), Halkomelem usually uses the possessive pronouns as here. The person shown as possessor is the person who would actually be doing the action. Thus 'I don't want you to laugh.' is thought of as 'Your laugh is not my want.' Example

r: also shows this: le s- k'í -s k'w -əl -s
 past noun want his the my noun
 3rd person abstract
his want wasmy.....
 k'wec -l -ex^w ʔe s- tá·les -s k'we -s
 see happen to her the noun wife his the noun
 female present abstract
 happening to see herhis wife.....
 ʔíyeq^w -t -s te sé·q.
 dig it her the bracken fern root.
 (obj.) pres.
 unspec. gender
 her digging it .the bracken fern root.

'He wanted me to see his wife digging bracken fern roots.'

The special use of possessive pronouns of set 6 also occurs after question words as in example n., 'Why is it, your not speech to me?' and example q., 'When is it, your past making it (action not continuing, -ing to show nominalization only)?'. And this use also occurs with every verb dependent on the first verb and following it in the sentence. Thus example l., 'You were loud, your

past laughing.', example p., 'It is not my thought, your going.', and others. It can be seen then, in summary, that the suffixed possessive pronouns of set 6 are used as verb subjects for: 'can', 'can't', 'want', infinitives, verbs after question words, and verbs following and dependent on the first verb in a sentence. All are very common, and there may be other uses as well.

4.9. Subject pronouns with we- 'if; when', and with verbs after negative verb ?éwe 'not to be'.

			After auxiliary verb ending in /i/	
'I'	-él	-l	in lfl or ?fl	
'you (one person)'	-ex ^w	-x ^w	lfx ^w	?fx ^w
'he, she, it, they'	-es	-s	lfs	?fs
'we'	-et	-t	lft	?ft
'you folks'	-eləp ~ -ép	-p	lfp	?fp

It appears that this set of pronouns is used when there is doubt, uncertainty, or negation (something has not happened). Some examples will show how they are used.

wə-lém-əl 'if/when I go'

wə-lém-ex^w 'if/when you go'

wə-lém-es 'if/when he/she/etc. goes'

wə-lém-et 'if/when we go'

wə-lém-eləp 'if/when you folks go'

?éwecəp lém-ép q'á·θet. 'You folks don't go mix with them.'

- yá·swe we-lém-èl. 'I might go., I don't know if I
could go.'
- yá·swe we-sk^Wéy-es k^W-el-s lém. 'I don't know if
it's impossible for me to go.'
- ?éwecel lém-èl. 'I don't/won't go.'
- ?éwecex^W lém-ex^W. 'You don't/won't go.'
- ?éwə (k^W-s) lém-es. 'He/She/It doesn't/won't go.,
They don't/won't go.'
- ?éwecet lém-et. 'We don't/won't go.'
- ?éwecəp lém-eləp. 'You folks don't/won't go.'
- ?éwecel sc'ələx^Wəm-él. 'I'm not a spirit dancer:' (cp.
alternate below)
- ?éwecex^W sc'ələx^Wəm-ex^W. 'You're not a spirit dancer.'
- ?éwə sc'ələx^Wəm-es. 'He/She is not a spirit dancer.,
They're not spirit dancers.'
- ?éwecet sc'ələx^Wəm-et. 'We are not spirit dancers.'
- ?éwecəp sc'ələx^Wəm-əp. 'You folks are not spirit dancers.'
- ?əwɛ́cəl sá'íá'əqə́-él. 'I wasn't a child.' (less common)
- ?əwɛ́cəl lí·l sá'íá'əqə́. 'I wasn't a child.' (more
common)
- ?éwecel lí·l sc'ələx^Wəm. 'I'm not a spirit dancer.'
- cəx^W méyθáx^Y k^Wəls ?éwə(cəl) líyəm-él. 'You helped me
not to laugh.'
- cəx^W məytálx^W k^Ws ?éwəct líyəm-et. 'You helped us not
to laugh.'
- cəl méyt k^Wes ?éwəs líyém-és. 'I helped him not to
laugh.'
- cəl méytailə k^Ws ?éwəp líyém-eləp. 'I helped you folks

'not to laugh.'

sk^Wéy k^Wes mɛytálx^Ws wɛlémet sóq'tàlè. 'He can't help us find you folks.'

?éwe s^hífs k^Wes mɛytálx^Ws wɛlémet sóq'tàlè. 'He won't or doesn't want to help us find you folks.'

yéθes-cex^W te swíyeqə wə-?əmé-st-ex^W-es θe stá·lēs-s.
'You ask the man to bring his wife.'

wə-təmpxéy^h-es 'when it is winter, in wintertime'

lícx^W s^héq'el·ex^W wə-lém-es-cə? 'Do you know if he'll go?'

(Occasionally the e is dropped from -cex^W, -cət, -es and a few other suffixes; see stress rules.)

Examples with auxiliary verb lí - lí:

?éwecəl líl s^híflsəàmè. 'I don't like you.'

?éwecx^W líx^W s^híflsəàx^y. 'You don't like me.'

?éwe lífs s^híflsəàx^yes. 'He/She/etc. doesn't like me.'

?éwecət lí·t s^híflstàlè. 'We don't like you.'

?éwecəp líp s^híflsəàx^y. 'You folks don't like me.'

?éwe lífs l s^hí·f. 'I don't want it.'

wə-lís l s^hí·f 'if/when I want it'

?éwecəp lí·p q^Wélstàlx^W. 'You folks didn't speak to us.'

?éwe lífs yéθesəèlèm. 'I wasn't told.'

?əwé lífs yéθestàlèm? 'Weren't you folks told?'

?éwecəl lí·l lém. 'I didn't go.'

?éwecət lí·t lém. 'We didn't go.'

?éwecət lí·t sté·x^Wə±. 'We're not children.'

?əwés lífs s^hí·fəcət 'if we don't want it'

le sq^wélewəl k^wses ?éwes lfs ?iyá·ləm k^wels lfm.

'He thinks it's not alright for me to go.,

He thinks I shouldn't go.'

Examples with auxiliary verb ?i ~ ?i:

x^wewécel ?i·l x^wé siyá·ləx^wə. 'I'm not old yet., I
haven't become old yet.'

x^wewécx^w ?ix^w x^wé siyá·ləx^wə. 'You're not old yet., etc.'

x^wewé ?is x^wé siyá·ləx^wə. 'He's not old yet., etc.'

x^wewéct ?i·t x^wé siyá·ləx^wə. 'We're not old yet., etc.'

x^wewécep ?i·p x^wé siyá·ləx^wə. 'You folks aren't old yet.,
etc.'

stém te ?ix^w k^welé·t? 'What is it you're holding?'

stém te ?ix^w θé·yt? 'What are you making?'

?ewéicel ?il s^w·í^w·əqət. 'I wasn't a child.'

stém k^wə ?ix^w k^wə sí·simet? 'What are you afraid of?'

tewét k^wə ?ix^w θéyeicət té swóltel? 'Who are you mak-
ing your fishnet for?'

x^wewécx^w ?i·x^w q'ə·ílem. 'You're not ancient yet.'

x^wewécx^w ?i·x^w tatelá·met. 'You don't understand yet.'

4.10. Object pronouns in the passive. These are

used when the person involved in an action is not doing
the action but having it done to him; And the person
doing the action is never stated in the verb itself:

As with the object pronouns in 4.5, the object pronouns
here must follow the transitive control suffixes {-(e)T}
'do purposely', {-l} 'do accidentally, happen to do,
manage to do', or {-sT} 'causative, cause to do, make
s-o do'.

The passive object pronouns are:

- èlè̀m 'I'
- à·m 'you (one person)'
- em 'he, she, it, they'
- álx^Wes 'we'
- àlè̀m 'you folks'

There is actually no passive for 'we', so the -álx^Wes from set 5 serves instead, literally 'he/she/it/they (did s-th to) us'.

The Halkomelem passive is translated as in English examples such as 'I am told', 'we were sent' and 'you'll be seen'. But it is also translated often with an impersonal third person subject. Thus ?á·θà·m 'you are called, you were called' can also be translated, 'he called you, they called you'. This is especially true when 'you' or 'you folks' is the object since they never occur with a third person subject in set 5. So passive forms often substitute. A final translation of the passive is a sort of middle voice when in third person; this is found most often in the verbal adjectives, but also elsewhere.

Examples with {-(e)T} 'do purposely':

- ?á·θè̀lè̀m 'I was called'
- ?á·θà·m 'you were called'
- ?á·təm 'he/she/it was called, they were called'
- ?á·tàlx^Wes 'we were called'

ʔá·táləm 'you folks were called'

le mɛyθələm 'I was helped'

le mɛyθà·m 'you were helped'

le mɛytəm 'he, etc. was helped'

le mɛytálx^wes 'we were helped'

le mɛytàləm 'you folks were helped'

pí·wəθələm 'I'm frozen'

pí·wəθà·mce 'you'll get frozen'

pí·wetàlɛmce 'you folks will get frozen'

k^wex^yɛ·θələm 'I'm counted'

le k^wex^yɛ·θà·m 'you're counted, he counted you'

le x^yá·k^wəθələm 'I was bathed'

le ɬí·c^wəθələm 'he cut me, I was cut'

k^wík^wex^yetəm 'he, etc. is named'

Examples with {-l} 'do accidentally, etc.':

k^wɛclələm 'I was seen'

k^wɛclà·m 'you were seen, he saw you'

k^wɛcləm 'he, etc. was seen'

k^wɛclálx^wes 'we were seen'

k^wɛclàləm 'you folks were seen, he/they saw you folks'

ɬɛc^wlà·mce 'you'll get cut'

ɬí·lɛm 'it fell'

k^wɛclà·mce te spɛ·θ 'the bear will see you'

Examples with {-sT} 'causative, make s-o do, etc.':

sk^wetɛx^wstəm 'they were brought inside'

?áx^westem 'he was given s-th'
 xét'esθà·m 'you were told'
 ?éysθèlè̀m 'I was liked'
 ?éysθà·m 'you were liked'
 ?éyستم 'he, etc. was liked'
 ?éystàlx^wes 'we were liked'
 ?éystàlè̀m 'you folks were liked'
 ?éwe lís yésθesθèlè̀m 'I wasn't told'
 ?éwe lís yésθesθà·m 'you weren't told'
 ?éwe lís yésθestem 'he, etc. wasn't told'
 ?éwe lís yésθestàlè̀m 'you folks weren't told'

When a passive is the first verb after a negative
or sk^wéy k^wes ('impossible' or 'can't') add {-èt} to
the end of the passive object pronoun. Thus:

<u>with -T</u>	<u>with -l</u>	<u>with -sT</u>	
-θèlè̀m-èt	-lè̀lè̀m-èt	-sθèlè̀m-èt	'I'
-θàm-èt	-là·m-èt	-sθàm-èt	'you (one person)'
-tè̀m-èt	-lè̀m-èt	-stè̀m-èt	'he, she, it, they'
-tàlè̀m-èt	-là̀lè̀m-èt	-stàlè̀m-èt	'you folks'
(-álx ^w es isn't a true passive so -èt is not added)			'we'

Examples:

sk^wéy k^wes méyθè̀lè̀mèt 'I can't be helped'
 sk^wéy k^wes méyθàmèt 'you can't be helped'
 sk^wéy k^wes méytè̀mèt 'he/she/it/they can't be helped'
 sk^wéy k^wes méytàlè̀mèt 'you folks can't be helped'

sk^Wéy k^Wes məytáíx^Wes 'we can't be helped, they can't
help us'

sk^Wéy k^Wes k^Wéclèlèmət 'I can't be seen'

sk^Wéy k^Wes k^Wéclà·mət 'you can't be seen'

sk^Wéy k^Wes k^Wéclèmət 'he, etc. can't be seen'

sk^Wéy k^Wes k^Wécláíx^Wes 'we can't be seen, they can't
see us'

sk^Wéy k^Wes k^Wéclàlèmət 'you folks can't be seen'

sk^Wéy k^Wes q^Wélsəèlèmət 'I can't be spoken to'

sk^Wéy k^Wes q^Wélsəàmət 'you can't be spoken to'

sk^Wéy k^Wes q^Wélstəmət 'he, etc. can't be spoken to'

sk^Wéy k^Wes q^Wélstáíx^Wes 'we can't be spoken to, they
can't speak to us'

sk^Wéy k^Wes q^Wélstàlèmət 'you folks can't be spoken to'

ʔewéte sk^Wíyəxtəmət. 'Nothing could be done.'

ʔewéte k^Ws k^Wətéx^Wəmət. 'Nothing was inside.'

ʔewéteɪ sɪəq'əlemet tə sk^Wíx^Ws. 'Nobody knows his name.'

Wiyáθ k^Ws wəcəsetəmət k^Ws ləms x^Wá·k^Wəm. 'He was
always told to go bathe.' (may show -ət required
by {wə-} 'when; if')

sk^Wéy k^Wes x^Wlélé.ms túk'à k^Ws ləs ɣéɣəwətəmət wələmes
ə'ɣ^Wá·sem. 'He wouldn't listen to being warned not
to go wash his face.'

4.11. {k'(ə)-} 'independent object of prepositional verb'. {k'- - k'ə- - k'ε-} is prefixed to independent pronouns of set 4.1 and 4.2 but only to the first or second person pronouns. This produces the following set:

/k'əʔé1θə/ $\frac{1}{2}$ /k'εʔéʔé1θε/ ~ (Cheh.)/k'éʔé1θε/ 'me'
 /k'ələwə/ $\frac{1}{2}$ /k'1léwə/ 'you'
 (/túʔá'á/ 'him', /θúʔá'á/ 'her', /yuk'á1əm/ 'them', etc.)
 /k'ə11fimeɬ/ $\frac{1}{2}$ /k'ə11fimeɬ/ 'us'
 /k'ε1wó1ep/ ~ (Cheh.) /k'ε1léwep/ 'you folks'

This set is used after verbs translated as prepositions in English; the pronouns are the objects of the prepositional verbs. Thus:

stetís k'εʔéʔé1θε	'near me'
stetís k'1léwə	'near you'
stetís k'ə11fimeɬ	'near us'
stetís k'ε1wó1ep	'near you folks'
stetís yiθé	'near them (those people)'
stetís te t'ámel	'near the wall'
micx ^w stetís k'εʔéʔé1θε	'come near me!, you come close to me'
le wé1x ^y es te sq'émél stetís k'əʔé1θə.	'He threw the paddle near me.'
le xəθ'ésates te sq'émél telí k'əʔé1θə.	'He pushed the paddle away from me.'

(lálec'ə tɛlʲ tɛlʲɪmɛɪ 'one of us (one person from us)' may be a contrasting case if not mistranscribed.)

This set however is relatively infrequent; AC gave only the seven examples above with {ʰ'(ə)-}. Besides these examples, AC also gave the more common alternatives stɛtʲsəx̣ɪ 'near me', stɛtʲsəɦə 'near you', etc., which add the {-T} transitivizer ('do purposely to something') and the object pronouns (set 4.5).

It seems that the {ʰ'(ə)-} forms are merely an alternative way (less common than 4.5) of expressing pronoun objects of prepositional verbs. The {ʰ'(ə)-} is prefixed to sets 4.1 and 4.2 to form 4.11, like the demonstrative article /tə/ - /tɛ/ is prefixed to 4.1 and 4.2 to form set 4.3. {ʰ'(ə)-} even has the allomorph ʰ'ɛ- parallel to the tɛ- in 4.3. Set 4.11 is replaced by demonstrative article + noun whenever a noun is the object of the prepositional verb (stɛtʲs tɛ t'áɦɛl 'near the wall', stɛtʲs tɛ x̣áɦɛ 'near the lake', etc.).

Work with EB from Chehalis, B.C. and other speakers of Chilliwack, Chehalis and Tait dialects confirmed AC's examples and showed the {ʰ'(ə)-} construction with a few more prepositional verbs: tɛlʲ 'from, away from' (usually in the form /tɪf/[tʲɪf]), x̣^wɛlɛ - x̣^wɛlɛɦ

'from, (coming) from', sq'á '(together) with', ?á '(along) with'. For example:

k^wútes t(ə)lɪ ʎ'ɛ'ʔɛlθɛ 'he took it from me'

k^wútes t(ə)lɪ ʎ'lówə 'he took it from you'

k^wútes t(ə)lɪ ʎ'ɛ:lɪmɛɪ 'he took it from us'

k^wútes t(ə)lɪ tʉʎ'á 'he took it from him'

?áx^westcex^w x^wəlɛ(m) ʎ'ɛ'ʔɛlθɛ 'you give it to him
from me, give it to him from me!' (sic)

?áx^westcex^w θúʎ'á x^wəlɛ(m) ʎ'(ə)lówə 'you give it to
her from you, give it to her from you!' (sic)

(EB translates x^wəlɛ(m) as 'from' here, but it is really 'toward', here best translated '(intended) for'.)

mɪs sq'á ʎ'ɛ'ʔɛlθɛ 'he came with me' (beside this is
the equivalent sq'eq'ámeθáx^v 'together with me')

mɛɪ yə sq'á ʎ'ɛ'ʔɛlθɛ 'come along with me!'

?ɪstɛx^wcex^w ?á ʎ'ɛ'ʔɛlθɛ (in more rapid speech:
?ɪstɛx^wcex^wá ʎ'ɛ'ʔɛlθɛ) '(you) leave it here with me(!)'

The benefactive, {-ɛɪc}, is another inflection that relates to pronouns, but it precedes the control suffixes and is best considered in the chapter on verbs.

4.12. Derivation of personal pronouns.

The following page has a chart comparing the forms of the personal pronoun sets.

Indep. verbal	Indep. emph.	Indep. nom.	Obj. prep.	Subj.	Obj.	Poss. Subord.	Poss. emph.	Subord./dubit. neg./dubit. obj.	Subord.Subj. Pass.	
4.1	4.2	4.3	4.11	4.4	4.5	4.6	4.7	4.9a	4.9b	
sg 1 ʔé10e	ʔéʔe10e	te-	ʔ'ε-~ ʔ'(e)- ʔ'(e)-	-ce1	-áxʔ	-e1	e1 swé	-é1	-1	-è1èḿ
2 ləwe	te-	te-	~ tú-	-cexʔ ^w	-áme	-é	ʔε swé	-ex ^w	-x ^w	-à'm
3m ʔ'á	tú-	tú-	tú-	∅--es	∅--ex ^w	-s	swés	-es	-s	-em
3f ʔ'á	é- to	é- to	é- to	-le ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
3un ʔ'á	tú- ts	tú- ts	tú- ts	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
pl 1 ʔlɬmeɪ	te- 4	te- 4	ʔ'ε-~ ʔ'(e)- ʔ'(e)-	-cet	-álx ^w	-cet	swécet	-et	-t	(-álx ^w es)
2 ʔwélep	te- and	te- and	ʔ'ε-~ ʔ'(e)- ʔ'(e)-	-cep	-ále	-e-elep	~ sʔáɪ ʔε swéʔelép	-elep	-p	-àlèḿ
3m ʔ'á.ləḿ	tu- 4	tu- 4	tu- 4	∅--es	∅--ex ^w	-s	swés	-es	-s	-em
3f ʔ'á.ləḿ	tu- 4	tu- 4	tu- 4	-le ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
3un ʔ'á.ləḿ	yu- 4	yu- 4	yu- 4	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
3ku	ʔé-itel									

(3un means "third person gender unspecified")

(3ku means "third person known to speaker but gender unspecified")

(animate means "used with animate nominals only")

There are clear similarities between sets of personal pronouns in Halkomelem. These similarities are synchronic derivation to the extent that the native speakers go through a process mentally of building one set or set member from another. They are diachronic derivation to the extent they are not built by the speaker but accepted as already made. Without making immediate judgements as to which type of derivation is involved, the following similarities can be seen:

4.12.1. Independent group.

Set 4.2 derives from 4.1 by reduplication R_7 -.

Set 4.3 derives from 4.1 and 4.2 by prefixing $t\epsilon$ - to first and second person forms, tu - to third person forms for masculine or unspecified gender, θu - to third person forms for feminine gender and yu - to third person plural forms for plural unspecified gender. The form $\{? \acute{e} \cdot \acute{t} \acute{e} l\}$ for 'third person plural familiar to speaker, gender unspecified' has a root of unclear origin; it probably has $-tel$ 'reciprocal' to indicate the speaker knows them and vice versa.

Set 4.11 derives from 4.1 and 4.2 by prefixing $\acute{\lambda}'\epsilon$ - - $\acute{\lambda}'(\epsilon)$ - to first and second person forms. The third person forms are taken from 4.3.

Notice the initial laterals in each member of

4.1: sg. 1 or 2 (-)l-
 pl. 1 or 2 ɬ-
 3rd person k'-

If these laterals represent or once represented a morpheme, it is difficult to establish. They do seem to show membership in the set.

Notice also in 4.1 (and derived 4.3 and 4.11) the pluralizing infix {-l- ~ -əl- ~ -le-} in all plural forms:

1 pl. ɬ-l-ímeɬ
 2 pl: ɬ-w-él-ep
 3 pl. k'-á'-le-m.

The Chehalis dialect has 2 pl. {ɬlówep} which may derive through metathesis from {ɬwéllep} by analogy with 2 sg. {lówé} and the ɬl- in 1 pl. {ɬlímeɬ}, or the reverse may be true with {ɬlówep} < ɬ- set prefix + lówé '2 sg.' + -p '2 pl.' as in 4.9b, leaving the Chilliwack form ɬwéllep derived by metathesis from the older Chehalis form (by analogy with -elep in 4.6 or 4.9a).

Finally notice some similarities between 4.1 {ʔélíθe} and other 1 sg. forms: 4.9 -él ~ -l, 4.10 -éləm, 4.6, 4.7 and 4.8 -el, and 4.4 -cəl.

4.12.2. Subject group:

Set 4.9b has the consonantal roots from which

4.4, 4.6, 4.7, 4.8 and 4.9a all ultimately derive.

Set 4.9a may either derive from 4.9b or vice versa. Within 4.9a, the ϵ - in 1 sg. {- $\acute{\epsilon}$ l} possibly was influenced by 4.1 { $?\acute{\epsilon}$ l θ c}. The ϵ - in 2 pl. {- $\acute{\epsilon}$ p} possibly shows influence of the second person - $\acute{\epsilon}$ in 4.6, 4.7, and 4.8. The $\acute{\epsilon}$ l- in 2 pl. {- $\acute{\epsilon}$ lp} may be the plural infix {- $\acute{\epsilon}$ l-} seen above and also used with nouns.

Set 4.4 derives from 4.9a minus ϵ in 1 sg. and using ϵ from 2 pl. alternate - ϵ p. In addition, non-third person forms all have a {c-} prefix which could be either a) 'active mood' (neither passive, negative, dubitative, nor subordinate), b) 'participant in the conversation', or c) 'non-third person'. The third person { \emptyset } is perhaps an innovation in line with a language universal dealing with the frequency of \emptyset as a marker of 3rd person subject.

Set 4.6 (and so 4.8) derives from 4.9a minus 1 sg. ϵ , plus extending ϵ 2 pl. to ϵ 2 sg. and 2 pl. and marking pl. with 4.9a 2 pl. {- $\acute{\epsilon}$ lp}.

Set 4.7 derives from 4.6 using sw $\acute{\epsilon}$ (meaning unknown unless 'emphatic', probably also has s- nominalizer) as noun root.

Set 4.1 2 pl. {i $\acute{\epsilon}$ w $\acute{\epsilon}$ lp} may derive from 4.9a - $\acute{\epsilon}$ lp plus a root w- and set prefix i-. 2 sg. w could relate

to 4.9b $-x^w$; the 2 sg. w may then have influenced or spread to 2 pl. w in {ɬwálep}: These are merely possible lines of development or influence.

4.12.3. Object group:

Set 4.5 purposely has little resemblance to sets in the two preceding groups because it must be quite distinct to function; the only similarity seems to be that 4.4 and 4.5 both have a third person $\{-\emptyset\}$.

Set 4.10 derives from set 4.5 by addition of $-(e)m$ and pitch shift to ` on all suffix vowels except in third person. The derivation is as follows:

4.10 2 sg. $-\grave{a}\cdot m$ < 4.5 2 sg. $-\acute{a}me + \text{'-}m$ ($> -\grave{a}m\grave{e}m >$
 $-\grave{a}mm > -\grave{a}\cdot m$)

4.10 3rd person $-\emptyset m$ < 4.5 3rd person $-\emptyset + -\emptyset m$

4.10 1 pl. $-\acute{a}lx^w\acute{e}s$ is overtly 4.5 1 pl. $-\acute{a}lx^w$ plus
 3rd person subject $-\acute{e}s$ from 4.4

4.10 2 pl. $-\grave{a}l\grave{e}m$ < 4.5 2 pl. $-\acute{a}le + \text{'-}m$

4.10 1 sg. $-\grave{e}l\grave{e}m$ has $\text{'-}\emptyset m$ applied possibly to 1 sg.
 root $-\acute{e}l$ from 4.9a; it therefore seems derived
 from a root outside of set 4.5.

4.13. Distribution of personal pronoun affixes (what they can be attached to).

Personal pronoun sets 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.7, and 4.11 are not affixes and so cannot be affixed to any other Halkomelem word class.

Set 4.4 can be suffixed to set 4.5 pronouns, to verbs, to particles which have auxiliary verb features (i.e. {mə₁} 'come to pass, come to happen', {lə} 'inceptive, go'), to nominals (which then lose any preceding demonstrative article and function as stative verbs, as in //x^wélméx^w-cəl// 'I am an Indian'), to numerals with person classifiers (//yéysele-cet// 'we are two people, there are two of us'), and possibly (but unattested) to verbal demonstratives:

Set 4.5 can only be suffixed to transitive verbs.

Set 4.6 can be suffixed to nominals, to demonstratives and probably to classified numerals:

Set 4.8 can be suffixed to set 4.5 pronouns, to nominals, to demonstratives; in third person and in plural set 4.8 members can be suffixed to verbs, and in second person and first person singular set 4.8 members can be suffixed to interrogative verbs.

Set 4.9a can be suffixed to set 4.5 pronouns, to verbs, to nominals (which lose preceding article to function as stative verbs), probably to inflected or classified numerals, and possibly to verbal demonstratives.

Set 4.9b can be suffixed only to auxiliary verbs {ʔf(·)} and {lf(·)} as described in 4.9.

Set 4.10 can be suffixed only to transitive verbs

as a passive but as a middle voice can be suffixed
also to intransitive verbs.

CHAPTER 5. LEXICAL AFFIXES

5.0. Lexical affixing is widespread and very productive in Upper Stalo dialects of Halkomelem and is the principal means of word derivation. Most of the lexical affixes in these dialects are suffixes--over a hundred lexical suffixes have been found so far. In contrast, there are only a handful of lexical prefixes (only 13 have turned up to date) and no lexical infixes (reduplication is inflectional in meaning and function, and ablaut types which are derivational do not add recurring lexical meanings). New affixes are still coming to light, so the sets given here are probably an incomplete collection.

In the sections following, first the lexical prefixes will be given with examples, then the lexical suffixes with examples. Lexical suffixes can be subdivided in several ways: a locative set which refers to parts of the body (somatic suffixes), a set which can be used with numerals (where it has the function of numeral classifiers, although half of its members can also be used with nouns and verbs), other lexical suffixes, and marginal cases.

It is pointless to divide lexical affixes into those that can be added to nominals, those that can be added to verbs, etc. because most can be added to

several different syntactic or semantic classes. It is also not very productive to divide lexical affixes into sets which nominalize, which verbalize, or the like because most often these affixes do not change the word class of the stem; only a few examples have been found of lexical affixes nominalizing, etc. (for example, $\text{lex}^{\text{W}}\text{-}$ 'a person that always (X)es, a person that's always (X)ing'; téy 'to canoe-race' + $-\text{owe}\dot{\text{z}}$ 'canoe' > $\text{téyowe}\dot{\text{z}}$ 'a canoe for racing, a race canoe'; and cák^{W} 'be distant' + R_1 'continuative' + $-\acute{\text{a}}\cdot\text{les}$ 'in the eye' > $\text{cack}^{\text{W}}\acute{\text{a}}\cdot\text{les}$ 'goatsbeard plant' ("plant being distant in the eye" because one can see its whitish blooms from a great distance).

Allomorphy involving these affixes is discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.3.6.

5.1. Lexical prefixes:

$\text{lex}^{\text{W}}\text{-}$ 'always'	$\text{tex}^{\text{W}}\text{-}$ 'mid-, step-'
$\text{lex}^{\text{W}}\text{s-}$ 'person that always'	tla- 'this'
c- 'c'- 'be the color'	tem- 'time, season'
tel- 'from'	ye- 'travelling by'
we- 'get to (?)'	$\dot{\text{z-}}$ 'using a long object?, lacking?'
$\text{x}^{\text{W}}\text{e-}$ 'go, come'	
$\text{x}^{\text{W}}\text{-}$ 'pertaining to the head'	
$\text{sex}^{\text{W}}\text{-}$ '-in-law'	

$\text{lex}^{\text{W}}\text{-}$ 'always' and $\text{lex}^{\text{W}}\text{s-}$ 'a person that always (Xes), a person that's always (Xing)'. The /s/ in the

second prefix can probably be equated with the {s-} nominalizer; however, a human semantic component is added with $\text{lex}^{\text{W}}\text{s-}$ which prompts its separate listing here. Both prefixes seem to be attached only to intransitive verb roots.

Examples: $\text{lex}^{\text{W}}\text{-?éy}$ 'generous, always good', $\text{lex}^{\text{W}}\text{-qé1-weṣ}$ 'cranky, crabby, dirty-minded' (root qé1 'bad; dirty'), $\text{lex}^{\text{W}}\text{-mḗlq-ewṣ}$ 'forgetful; passed out (if drunk)', $\text{lex}^{\text{W}}\text{-sḗ'ḗp}$ 'always deep', $\text{lex}^{\text{W}}\text{-sṣḗm}$ 'always choking on liquid' (Chehalis dialect also has $\text{lex}^{\text{W}}\text{-sx}^{\text{W}}\text{sṣḗm}$ 'choking on liquid', where $\text{sx}^{\text{W}}\text{-}$ apparently has no more nominalizing force than s- in sṣḗm or sḗ'ḗp ; sḗ'ḗp 'deep' and $\text{sx}^{\text{W}}\text{sḗ'ḗp}$ 'deep' are independently attested as adjectival verbs).

$\text{lex}^{\text{W}}\text{s-hé'we}$ 'a person that always hunts', $\text{lex}^{\text{W}}\text{s-t'f'lem}$ 'a person that always sings', $\text{lex}^{\text{W}}\text{s-?ú'met}$ 'a person that's always lazy', $\text{lex}^{\text{W}}\text{s-?f'c'el}$ 'a person that's always temporarily lazy', $\text{lex}^{\text{W}}\text{s-x}^{\text{W}}\text{iyṣṣeḗqel}$ 'a gossip', $//\text{lex}^{\text{W}}\text{s-sf'si}//$ ($//\text{lex}^{\text{W}}\text{sf'si}/$) 'a person who is always scared, coward', $\text{lex}^{\text{W}}\text{s-q'w'eyfléx}^{\text{Y}}$ 'a person that always dances, someone who likes to dance'. The ḗeq- in ḗeq-q'áq'w'el 'speaker, master of ceremonies' may be a new prefix or merely misheard or misspoken for $\text{lex}^{\text{W}}\text{-}$.

c- c' - 'be the color' (c' - seems to be an allomorph used before glottalized consonants). This

prefix is unrelated to the c- which derives verbs. Words for color changes ('get red', etc.) drop the c- and add -el - -i·l 'get, go, come'.

Examples: c'-q'Éyɣ 'black, be black', c-q^wÉy 'green, yellow, be yellow or green', c-méθ' (sometimes c'-méθ') 'blue, be blue', c-k^wi·m 'red, be red', c-k^wi·m-eq^w 'red-head(ed)', c'-mæθ'-á·les 'blue eyes', c'-k^wíyɣ^w 'be brown (?)', brown (?), c-k^wík^wem-el(-i·wel) 'reddish-brown, be reddish-brown', c-x^wík^w 'gray, be gray', c'-q^wíq^wex^w-el 'brownish-black, be brownish-black' (-el is '-ish' in this word and in 'reddish-brown'), c-téwél 'bright-colored' (téwel 'bright, light').

(Note that not all colors have this prefix: p'Éq' 'white, be white', q^wíq^wáyels 'orange, be orange; an orange', s^wík^wesel 'dark gray, dark color').

tel- 'from'. Examples: tel-tíyt 'from upriver', tel-íá·s '(from) downriver', tel-íeíá·s 'warm wind (from downriver)', tel-?eléce - tel·éce 'from where?' (?eléce - ?eléce - léce 'where?'), telí 'from' (prepositional verb < root lí 'be there' demonstrative).

wec- 'get to (?)'. A questionable prefix found in wec'É· 'get to the top or summit of a mountain' (< c'É· 'top, on top') and possibly in wec'Ék' 'fall, drop' (root may be related to that in c'ík^wem 'jump').

x^we- 'go, come'. Examples: x^we-?Éy-em 'clear

(of river water)' (root ʔéy 'good'), x^We-híwél 'go upstream' (ʔéhíw 'upstream'), x^We-wq^W-éyl-ém 'go downstream' (wóq^W 'drift downstream; drown'), x^W-tiyt-f·m 'eddy water' (go + upstream + repeatedly), x^W(e)-cél·l 'where is someone going?' (cá·l-t 'follow behind someone'), x^W(e)-cák^Wel 'where is s-o headed?'

x^W- '(pertaining to the head or its parts)'; mainly used sporadically with body part suffixes of the head -es 'on the face', -eq^W 'on top of the head', -á·θel 'on the mouth', perhaps -eqel 'of the throat' and -é·lí·yε 'of the ear'.

Examples: x^W-θ-á·q^W 'big head', x^W-θ-á·s 'big face', x^W-θ-á·θel 'big mouth' (all with root θ 'big'), x^W-á·á·qt-es 'long face, morose', x^W-pap-á·s 'hair all over the face', (x^W-)mék^W-eθ-t 'kiss s-o' (x^W- optional), (x^W-)mék^W-eθel 'kiss s-o on the lips (mouth)' (mék^W 'stout' is root), x^W-líyém-és 'smile' (líyém 'laugh'), s-x^W-ʔáθes-ces 'palm of hand' (s-ʔáθes 'face'), s-x^W-ʔáθes-x^Wel 'sole of foot', x^W-t'áx^W-es-ces 'hollow of the hand' (x^W- '(head)' + t'áx^W 'going downriver' + -es 'on the face', -ces 'of the hand'), x^W-t'áx^W-es-x^Wel 'arch of the foot', x^W-mélk^W-es 'get hit in the face by s-th falling', x^W-lélé· 'listen hard' and x^W-lélé·-m 'listen' (l may be root, -slé· may be related to somatic suffix -é·lí·yε 'in the ear'), possibly s-x^W-θí·-qel

'loud voice' (root ʔf· 'big' + -əqel 'in the throat'), possibly s-x^W-ʔf·le 'side of head' ~ 'cheek' (root meaning unknown).

sex^W- '-in-law' may well be an error for tex^W-; it has been found only in sex^W-sf·le 'grandparent-in-law'.

tex^W- 'mid-, step-': tex^Wmśle(m) 'stepchild', tex^W-méməle 'step-children', tex^W-mələ-m 'adopt a child', tex^W-swé·yəl ~ téx^W-swèyèl 'noon, mid-day', téx^W-slè·t 'midnight'. (There is a remote chance that téx^Wʔeə 'tongue' may belong in this set; this would be an alternate analysis to the one given later in this chapter with lexical suffix -éx^Wʔeə 'on the tongue'.)

tla- 'this' (possibly a preposed demonstrative instead of a prefix): tlawéyél ~ tláwèyèl 'today', tlaqé·ys 'now', tla x^Welé·lt 'tonight' (maybe tla-).

tem- 'time, season' (not thought to be borrowed from English): tem-q^Wfles 'springtime' (time for things to come up), tem-k^Wák^Wes 'summer' (hot time), tem-hilálx^W 'fall, autumn' (time for leaves to fall, see hfi-em 'to fall, tumble down'), tem-xéyá^W 'winter' (cold time), tem-pá·k^W 'moon of October, time for Chehalis River spring salmon', tem-á^Wf·q'-es 'moon of February, time one gets stuck or trapped (in pithouse

by the snow)', tem-t'elém-ces 'moon of February, time things stick on the hand (with cold)', tem-k^wfk^wex^yel 'moon of April, time for baby sockeye salmon', tem-?elife 'moon of May, time of salmonberries', tem-t'émx^w 'moon of June, gooseberry time', tem-qaqá· 'moon of June, high-water time', tem-q^wé·l 'moon of July, mosquito time', tem-θéqi 'moon of August, sockeye time', tem-k^wá·lax^w 'moon of September, dog salmon time', tem-té·m 'when?'

ye- 'travelling by ...': ye-lá·i 'travelling by canoe, (nowadays also by car, boat or train)', ye-?f·mex^y 'travelling by foot' (sometimes also yi[?]f·mex^y), ye-c'ec'é· 'travelling by horse', ye-x^wé-wq^welem 'travelling by going downriver', ye-x^wáx^weq^wet 'poling along (in calm water), travelling by poling a canoe'.

i- has a meaning which is hard to isolate; most examples seem to involve 'using a long object' and a few others seem to involve 'without, lacking'. Examples: i-p'á·k'em 'smoke a pipe' (p'á·k'em 'to smoke'), i-xéyl-éx^y 'stand (on one's legs)' (using long object + legs + upright), i-xéyl-ép-tel 'floor' (standing or using legs + dirt/ground + device), i-séq' 'half, be half, half-breed' (< seq'-ét 'split it, crack it'), i-é-mx^yc'el-tel 'fine-toothed comb, de-lousing comb' (using long object + louse (méx^yc'el) + device);

ɪ-qá--le (Cheh.) - c-qá--le (Chill.) '(be) thirsty'
 (root qá· 'water'), ɪ-ow-íθ'ε 'naked' (possibly
 'without' + 'no' + 'clothes')(more likely is a root
 like ɪow or ɪew, not yet attested); ɪ-q'él-lex^w 'know
 it' (< q'él·1 'believe').

5.2. Lexical suffixes.

5.2.1. Somatic suffixes.

Below are the lexical suffixes found so far which refer to body parts (somatic suffixes). They are present in many of the words of the domain of anatomy, even in many of the independent words equivalent to the suffixes. They are also quite productive outside of anatomical words, sometimes also having a figurative meaning. At the present it is unclear whether the anatomical lexical suffixes developed historically from the independent words which have equivalent meaning or vice versa. It is important to note here that the Upper Stalo somatic suffixes are usually locative in nature, best translated by 'on or in the (body part)' everywhere except in body part words where they are best translated as partitive, 'of the (body part)' and in body function words where they are best translated by '(body part)' (usually subject of the verb root they are attached to). Further treatment of the somatic suffixes will be found in the sememic and morpho-

sememic chapters. Allomorphy has been dealt with in the morphophonemics but allomorphs are relisted here for reference.

-f·ws, -ews 'on the body, on the skin, on the covering'

-eq^w, -(e)leq^w, -fq^w, -á·q^w 'on top of the head, on the hair, (head of a river; head of descendants)'

-qel 'in the head, (at head or source of a river; the inside head = inlet of river; head of an island)'

-éleqel 'in the head'

-élmél 'in the mind'

-weɿ, -wíɿ 'in the mind, -minded, disposition'

-á·les 'on the eye(s), in the eye(s), (on the eyelids)'

-á·s, -es 'on the face, (face of the hand or foot; face of a mountain; face of a basket; opened surface of a salmon; bow of a canoe or boat; probably 'face of the moon is source of -es 'cyclic periods')'

-é·lí·yɛ 'on the ear, in the ear'

-é(1)qsel, -e(1)qs 'on the nose, in the nose, point or end of a long object (pole, tree, knife, candle, land), (nose of geographic features such as an island, a mountain)

-á·θel, -(e)θel 'on the mouth, in the mouth'

-á·yθel, -eyéθel, -eyθ(í) 'on the lip, on the jaw, in speech, (in music)'

- śl·es, -ślfs 'on the teeth'
- śx^wθe± 'on the tongue'
- epsem 'on the back of the head and back of the neck,
(a neck of land)'
- iē±, -iēl 'on the front of the neck'
- eqel 'in the throat, (throat of a cliff or mountain;
language; voice)'
- f·les 'on the chest, in the chest'
- elēxēl 'on the arm, in the arm, (arm of multiple
blowing = thunder wind; arm of a bat; possibly
related to -ēxēl 'side (of a house, a square, or
a river)')'
- ces 'on the hand or finger, in the hand or finger,
(limb of a tree)
- ewīc 'on the back (of a person), in the back (of a
person), (the back of a foot = the top of a foot;
backward)'
- f·cel 'on the back'
- śwēx 'on the ribs, (slats)'
- ē·lwes, -ēlwes 'on the stomach, in the stomach,
(courage: 'cowardly' < 'bad in the stomach' and
'brave' < 'good in the stomach')'
- (e)γá·že 'on the stomach or ventral surface of body'
- ē·q, -eq 'on the genitals, on the penis or male'
- (e)lec, -lēc 'on the rump, on the bottom (of anything),

(animal dung; stern of a canoe or boat)'

-f·wel, -f̄wel, -ewel, -ewi·l 'in the rump or anus,
on the inside, (inside parts; core; inside the
head; inside a plant or fruit or canoe, etc.)'
(-f·wel, -f̄wel refer mainly to the anus or inside
of the rump, and -ewel, -ewi·l refer mainly to
the more general inside of anything; the two sets
do not seem to separate into two morphemes easily
because there is also overlapping in the meanings)
-x^vel, -x^vé·l 'on the foot or leg, in the foot or leg,
(tail of fish; leg of other animate creatures,
rays of light)'

-á·mél 'member or part (of the body)'

(?) -étmel 'fin'

-éllqel, -éllqel 'wool, (feather)'

Examples:

-f·ws: ɪq'-f·ws 'half the body', slx^w-f·ws
'(living) body', k^ws-f·ws 'single hairs off skin',
qet-f·ws-em 'take a sweatbath (water one's body)',
q^wem-f·ws 'plucked (of a bird)', q^wem-éws-t 'pluck
it (of a bird)', sèq^wem-f·ws 'cedar bark skirt' (<
sɪq^wem 'peel cedar bark'), seq-f·ws ~ sq-f·ws 'pants'
(seq- may be 'penis' or 'male'), sléw-f·ws '(woman's)
dress' (probably < 'opening' + 'covering'), p^wely-f·ws
'bark of tree', yeq^wyeq^w-f·ws 'Yakweakwioose (a village

near Sardis); covering (of grass) burnt out repeatedly', s-háy-ews 'spirit dancing costume' (probably 'final covering' < háy 'finish').

-(el)eq^w: k^wq^w-éleq^w-t 'hit s-o on top of the head (with a club or stick-like object)', yeθ-éleq^w 'pointed head', s-q^wát-eleq^w 'crown of head', s-t'ém-leq^w 'scalp, top of head', xéym-leq^w-t 'grab s-o by the hair', c-k^wf-m-eq^w 'red-headed, red hair', yá·s-eq^w 'hat', cfí-eq^w 'bushy and uncombed hair' ("high hair"), k^wx^w-f-q^w-tél 'kerchief' (cover + on top of head + device), íc'-eq^w-em 'get one's hair cut', x^w-θ-á·q^w 'big head', θfθ-eq^w 'big heads', s-c'á·m-eq^w - s-θ'á·m-eq^w 'great grandparent/-child', ?ék^wiy-eq^w 'great great grandparent/-child', θ'ép'ey-eq^w 'great great great grandparent/-child', támiy-eq^w 'great great great great grandparent/-child'.

-qel: s-x^wśk'-qel 'pillow (rolled bullrush mat)' (nominal + rolled + for the head), mé·-qel 'hair' (probably 'comes out of' + 'in the head'), s-méθ'-qel 'brain' (nominal + blue + in the head), s-xács-qel 'Chilliwack Lake' (lake + at the head (of the river)), s-q'ów-qel 'Seabird Island' (turn in river + at the head (a head-shaped mountain or head of the slough or head of the island)), s-k^wetéx^w-qel 'inlet' (the inside + in the head), (Tait) céíqel - (Chill.) céíqéyl 'palate, roof of mouth and inside upper lip'.

-éłéqel: xei-éłéqel 'headache', tēs-éłéqel 'bump one's head', smelt-éłéqel 'kidneys' (probably < smélt 'stone', "stone in its head").

-élmél: télmél 'the mind', hēyet-élmél 'nauseated' (vomiting + in the mind), t'ek^W-élmél 'home-sick' (go home + in the mind).

-wēi: lex^W-qél-wēi 'cranky, crabby, dirty-minded' (always + bad; dirty + -minded), x^We-?éy-wēi 'kind, generous' (become + good + -minded, in disposition), x^W-qél-wēi 'stingy', s-qel-wfi-mēT 'hate s-o'.

-á·les: qe?-á·les 'tear' (qe? < qá· 'water'), k^Wq^W-á·les 'hit on the eye(lid)(with a stick-like object)', st'elmex^W-á·les 'eye medicine', q'eyx-á·les 'pupil of eye, black of the eye', s-k^Wec-á·s-tel-á·les 'eyeglasses' (sk^Wecá·stel 'window, mirror'), c-meθ^W-á·les 'blue eyes'.

-á·s: θ'e^Wx^W-á·s-əm 'wash one's face', θ'q^W-á·s 'punched in the face', x^W-θ-á·s 'big face', xéy-p'-es 'scraped on the face', s-k^Wec-á·s-tel 'window, mirror' (nominal + see + face + device), qéyt-es 'headband', qéyx-es 'blind', ?fy-es 'fun, having fun' (good + in the face), x^W-t'áx^W-es-x^Yel 'arch of the foot' (pertaining to head + go downriver + on the face + of the foot)(references to head and face because the sole of the foot < pertaining to head + face + of the foot),

x^w-t'áx^w-es-ces 'hollow of the hand', s-tiyt-á's
 'Promontory Mountain' (upriver + face), s-x^wé1-es
 'basket design' (nominal + mark, design + on face),
 s-ífc'-es (Chill.) - sx^w-ífc'-es (Cheh.) 'scored wind-
 dried salmon' (nominal + cut + on face), x^wíq'^w-es-t
 'hang s-o', íq'á't-es 'wide face'.

-é·lí·ye: k'^wq^w-é·lí·ye 'hit on the ear with a
 stick-like object or club', s-tellél-p'-é·lí·ye 'sloppy
 or flabby ears', sq^welq^wel-é·lí·ye 'hair in the ears',
 t'émx^v-é·lí·ye 'braid hair (over the ears or side of
 head)'.

-(e)(l)qs(él): íc'-élqsél 'cut on the tip of the
 nose', méqsél 'nose', íf·ík'^w-élqs 'hook-nose (of peo-
 ple and also the name of a mountain near Agassiz)',
 x^véy-p'-eqsél 'scraped on the nose', s-x^weq'^w-eléqs-tél
 'nose ring', sθ'ém-qsél 'bridge of nose', smétá-qsél
 or smét-éqsél 'snot', s'él-qsél or s'él-lqsél 'point of
 nose, point of land', s'él-eqs or s'-(e)qs 'point of
 a knife', témk^w-eqsél 'blunt (of poles)', yèq^w-eqs-f·ls-
 -cel 'I'm lighting the light (candle, lantern, etc.)'
 (burn + point + go, come or device + I (subject)),
 x^vép-qs-t 'sharpen a point', ?éx-qs-t 'strike it (of
 a match)' (scratch + on the point + 3rd person object).

-á·θel: x^w-θ-á·θel 'big mouth', θá·θel 'mouth',
 q'^wiq'^wem-á·θel 'fishing with hook + line, trout-fishing',

s-qép'-à·θél 'flying squirrel' (nominal + cover + on the mouth--so-called because of stories the animal will land against one's mouth when one is walking at night in the woods and smother one), sq^wiq^wey-á·θel 'jack-rabbit, big older rabbit' (also see 'harelip' below):

-á·yθel: c'əm-x^v-á·yθel 'jaw' (bite + object + jaw, lip), s-ceł-á·yθel 'upper lip', s-λ'ep-á·yθel 'lower lip', λc'-á·yθel 'cut on the lip or jaw', q^wil-eyθel 'beard, mustache', k^wes-á·yθel 'burned on the lip(s)', melmel-á·yθel 'blunder in speaking', melq-el-eyθel-em 'forget in speaking, forget one's words', móléc'-mēθ-á·yθel 'mixed up in speaking', sqe[?]fy-eqel-á·yθel 'not fluent in speaking' (not know + language + in the lips), há·yθel 'finish eating' (blend of há·y and -á·yθel), q^wel-ayθel·l-em or q^wel-ayθel·f·l-em 'making music', q^wel-áyθe-tel (or //q^wè·l-á·yθel-tel//) 'musical instrument' (l → ∅ before -tel), qsyqewáθel-á·yθel 'harelip, cleft palate'.

-él·es: yél·és 'tooth, teeth', sλeq^w-él·es 'gums' (flesh + in the teeth), xaxelc'-elís-em 'grinding one's teeth'.

-éx^wθeł: téx^wθeł 'tongue', s-xèem-el-éx^wθeł 'wild tiger lily' (nominal + crying +? + on the tongue--this is a description of the flower's petals--tears on the tongue or crying on the tongue).

-épsəm: tépsem 'back of head and back of neck',
 teméɬ-épsəm 'red-headed woodpecker' (red ochre, Indian
 paint fungus + on back of head and neck), ʔéqt-épsəm
 'long neck', q^weʔíq^w-épsəm 'scrawny neck, thin neck',
 ʔeh-épsəm 'big neck', lek^w-épsəm 'break one's neck'.

-ɬɛɬ: sq^wel-ɬɛɬ 'front of neck', sx^weh-á·mél-ɬɛɬ
 'adam's apple', p'ie'-ɬɛɬ-t 'choke s-o' (squeeze +
 front of neck + purposely (+ 3rd person object)).

-əqel: c'f·yx^w-əqel 'dry in the throat',
 k^wés-əqel 'burned in the mouth and throat', smélq^w -
 smélq^w-əqel 'uvula', s-əf.-əqel (//s-əf.-əqel//) 'loud
 (voice)' (big + in throat), x^wiyə-əqel 'interpret,
 repeat what is said', x^wéyə-əqel 'interpreting',
 x^wíyə-əqə-əáx^y 'interpret for me' (l → ∅ here before
 //T//), x^wetiy-əqel 'to answer, reply, answer back'
 (compare x^wtíy-cəs 'fight back'), x^wtél-qə-əáx^y 're-
 peat after me', x^welméx^w-qel 'Indian language',
 x^wəlftem-qel 'white man's language, English',
 cəlməl-qel 'Chinese language', s-x^w-méo'el-qel 'liar'
 and méo'el-qéyl-em 'to tell a lie' (root seems to be
 méo'el 'be proud'); the last five examples may show
 suffix -qel 'language' possibly from -qel 'in the
 head' instead of from -əqel 'in the throat', but in
 'loud' we see loss of the first /e/ and in 'interpret'
 and 'answer' we see the -əqel suffix referring to.

'language'. Further figurative extensions of -əqel can be seen in k^wfy-əqel 'climb a hill or mountain' (if this is not -qel 'in the head' used figuratively) and (s)q^wəl-əqel 'cliff, vertical rock face'.

-f·les: k^wq^w-f·les 'hit on the chest (with a stick-like object)', sʔf·les '(human) chest', t^wk^w-f·lés 'choke on food', t^wək^w-ələs 'choking on food' (t^wək^w 'mired'), (s)t^wɪ-f·lés-tel 'collarbone' (t^w - λ')(t^wɪ - t^wéɪ '(go) across, span'), q^wemθ'-f·les 'big breasts; name of Mt. Ogilby near Hope' (< q^wá·mθ' 'large lump'), sɛəq^w-f·les 'breast' (sɛf^wq^w 'flesh').

-eləxəl: k^wq^w-eləxəl 'hit on the arm (with a stick-like object)', sx^w-ʔi-ləxəl 'armpit', s-θ^wem-x^w-eləxəl 'elbow' (bone + ? + in arm), ɛec'-eləxəl 'cut one's arm', lek^w-eləxəl 'break an arm', sk^wely-əxəl or sk^w-elyəxəl 'bat', p'fp'əθ'-eləxəl 'bat' (squeezing + arm), s-patpet-eləxəl 'thunder-wind (wind that precedes a thunderstorm)' (thunder is thought of as a bird--the thunderbird, sx^wex^wá·s--and the wind may be analyzed as 'nominal' + 'repeated blowing' (< pá·t 'blow' + iterative reduplication) + 'arm'). This suffix may be related to -əxəl 'end or side of a house (inside or outside)'.

-ces: k^wés-ces 'burned on the hand or fingers', léc'-ces 'cut on the hand', θ^wex^wé·-ces-em 'wash one's

hands', s-lóx-cēs 'finger', q'w^wx^wé1-cēs 'fingernails', q'w^wém-x^w-cēs 'wrist bone (lump of hand)', λ'f'q'-(e)cēs 'one's hand jammed or stuck', sθ'fk^we-cēs 'left hand, left-handed', lf·lē-cēs 'little berry basket attached to waist (it holds what the hand picks and when full is dumped into a large berry basket on one's back)' (< ?elf·lē 'salmonberries'; the words are sometimes pronounced lf·lēcēs and ?elf·lē), xpé·y-cēs 'cedar limb', Siyé^wm-cēs 'proper name of the youngest Wealick brother in a legend; now the name of Frank Malloway' (said to mean 'chiefly hand' or 'rich hand').

-ewíc: k'w^wq^w-ewíc 'hit on the back (with stick-like object)', xek'w-áles-ewíc - xek'w-áles 'backbone', lek^w-ewíc 'break the spine or back; have a hunchback', k'w^wec-ewíc-em (Tait dialect) 'look back'.

-f·cēl: sxep'-f·cēl 'chipmunk' (scratch or scrape + on back), s-xēxep'-f·cēl 'chipmunk with multiple stripes on his back', sq^wám-ēcēl 'hunchback, lump on the back' (< s-q^wám 'lump'), possibly cī-fcēl-x^yēl 'top of the foot' (upper + back + foot) and q'ēw-ecēl 'dorsal fin (long fin on back of fish)'.

-ówéx: lówéx 'ribs', θ'ówéx 'cedar slat basket', θ'ówéx-iyē 'name of cannibal ogress who caught children in a cedar slat basket'.

-é·lwēs: xēi-é·lwēs '(have a) stomach-ache',

θ^q·^wξ·lwes-t-em 'he was punched in the stomach',
 qel-élwes 'cowardly, afraid to try', ?iy-é·lwes 'brave'
 (good + in the stomach), possibly íé^w-elàw 'ruptured
 belly button' (root may be íe^w 'spit out').

-(e)γá·íe: qeyqep'-(e)γá·íe 'lay on one's sto-
 mach' (the only example so far of this suffix; the
 root is qep' 'cover', the gloss should probably be
 continuative).

-eq: q^wéyl-eq 'pubic hair', θ-é·q 'big penis',
 ?iyés-eq 'dear male friend' (compare ?iyés 'dear
 female friend').

-(e)lec: k^wq^w-élec 'hit on the rump (with club
 or stick)', s-k^wfy-lec 'lame; to limp' (nominal +
 climb + rump), íeq'-léc 'hip, hind leg' (wide + of
 rump), ?á·q^w-elec (á· - é - ó) 'back' (comes out above
 + rump), k^wes-élec 'burned on the rump', sî-élec
 'rump' (may be //s-íé1-lec// with root meaning 'folded
 over' as in s-íé1-p' 'sloppy' (probably 'nominal' +
 'folded over' + 'on itself')), s-λ'ep'-élec 'tail',
 (deep + in rump), s-c'é(·)-lec-tel 'chair, bench'
 (nominal + on top of + rump (subject) + device >
 'device the rump is on top of'), yéq-elec-em 'change
 one's seat, change one's chair' (change + rump + one's
 (middle voice)), sx^w-?éθ-elec 'bottom of anything',
 λ'ep-léc 'bottom of creek', s-q'ep-léc 'bush bunched

up tight at bottom, thick crowded tight underbrush',
 sk^W-élec (or sk^Wé(1)-lec) 'coiled bottom of basket
 before the sides are on', spè·θ-élec 'bear dung',
 cèkel-élec 'chicken dung', θ'émex^W-lec 'tail of Seabird
 Island'.

-f·wél: c'iyx^W-f·wél 'constipated, dry in the
 rump', x̄ex̄ek^W-f·wél 'constipated, wedged tight in the
 rump', t'ek^W-f·wél 'constipated, mired in the rump',
 (s)c'ep(x̄)-f·wél 'dirty asshole', sq'eyx̄-f·wél 'black
 asshole', θ'q^W-f·wél 'open sores in rump, hemorrhoids',
 st'elmex^W-f·wél 'love medicine (medicine for genitals)',
 sc'elx^W-f·wél 'insides (all the organs inside an animate
 being)', m'éθ'ei-q-lwél 'woodtick' (pus + closable con-
 tainer + inside), t'em-ewf·l-t 'chop the inside of it
 out', x^yep-ewf·l-t 'plane it out inside', sθ'em-fwél
 'core, pith, seed, nut, center (of rock or anything)',
 sq^Wε-?f·wél 'hollow' (hole + on inside), sq^We-h-f·wél
 'tunnel, hole, hollow', (s)k'(e)p-f·wél 'shirt, under-
 shirt, bra' (below or deep + on inside), sim-fwél
 'strong feelings or mad all the time but won't fight'
 (scary or bad or evil + on insides), zek^W-f·wél 'be
 surprised' (fly + on insides), x^Way-f·wél 'happy,
 happy inside', sq^Wé1-ewél 'thoughts, feelings' (talk
 or speech + on insides).

-x^yél: zék^W-x^yél 'trip, stumble' (hook + on foot),

e'ə̀x̄^w-x̄^yé1-ém 'wash one's feet', s-1éx̄-x̄^yel 'toe',
 s-x̄^yéc'-x̄^yel 'splinter or sliver in foot', ɛ́c'-x̄^yel
 'cut on the foot', q^wém-x̄^w-x̄^yel 'ankle' (lump of foot),
 sə́ém-x̄^yel 'shin' (bone in leg), sq'ep-áleq^w-tel-x̄^yel
 'kneecap', lek^w-x̄^yé.1 'broke a leg', q^wɛ́f-y-x̄^yel
 'shoe(s)' (driftwood + on foot), θelíwé-x̄^yel -
 celíwé-x̄^yel 'snowshoe(s)', lé-x̄^yel 'fishing platform
 (for still-dipnetting)', x̄^wá.m-x̄^yel-em 'run',
 x̄^wem-x̄^yé.1-em 'running' (some speakers of Tait and
 Chehalis dialects say the glosses are reversed on the
 last two words)(root x̄^wém 'hurry, be fast' undergoes
 derivational fronting of the x̄^w to x^w), sq^welq^wé1-x̄^yel
 'tuft(s) of hair on a horse's legs', sx̄ép-x̄^yel 'fish
 tail', k'emk'ém-x̄^yel 'grasshopper' (repeatedly jumping
 foot or leg), pí-t-x̄^yel 'salamander', k'élx̄-x̄^yel 'spring
 salmon (generic)' (spotted + foot), s-ɛ́ém-x̄^yel -
 ɛ́ém-tel - s-ɛ́émɛm 'dew' (respectively, 'rain or mois-
 ture on the foot', 'rain device', and 'repeated or plural
 rain or moisture'), sq'á-x̄^yel 'partner' (together + in
 foot), sθeqel-x̄^yé1-ém 'rainbow' (see also sx̄əlɛ́le-s
 te syá.q^wem 'visible beams or rays of light', literally
 "legs of the sun").

-á.mél: mek^w-á.mél-x̄^yel 'big toe' (stout + member
 + of foot), mek^w-á.mél-ces 'thumb', (Tait dialect)
 mé-t'es-emél 'pointing finger, first finger',

s-x^weh-ámél-íəz 'adam's apple' (upstream(?) + member + of front of neck).

-štmeł: q'štmeł 'fin, neck fin', 0'štmeł 'belly fin';

-élqeł: metú.-?élqeł ~ metú.lqeł 'sheep wool' (lmetú. ~ metú. 'sheep'), sq^w(ə)mé.y-élqeł 'dog wool', p'q'-élqeł 'mountain goat' (white + wool), sɬ'p'-élqeł 'long feathers' (deep + (derivational glottalization as in 'tail') + wool).

5.2.2. Numeral classifier affixes.

So far 20 lexical affixes have been found which can be added to numerals. The chapter on numerals will cover them in more depth and will cover the extensive numeral allomorphy involved. These affixes are listed here because over half of them can also be affixed to roots which are not numerals. Eight of them can also be affixed to the numerical interrogative verb, k'^wf.l 'how many?'. With numerals they seem to function in the same manner as numeral classifiers in other languages; some must be and the rest can be affixed to numeral roots in order to count certain nouns; nouns with identical lexical meaning to the classifier suffix cannot occur within the same syntactic phrase with it, but nouns with more specific reference than the classifier suffix can occur within

the same syntactic phrase with the suffix.

Numeral classifier affixes were apparently used more extensively in pre-contact times or even 70 years ago than they are now. Only the oldest, most fluent speakers remember many of them and use them obligatorily. The range of numbers they can be used with also varies with the affix. In the following table the numeral classifier affixes are listed with range of affixability (those with greatest range are listed first), affixability to $k^w f \cdot 1$, affixability to non-numeral roots, and whether they are obligatory or optional. For allomorphy of the affixes see the chapters on morphophonemics and numerals. A brief set of examples follows the table.

-es 'dollars': with 1-99, $k^w f \cdot 1$, non-numerals, obligatory

- $\xi i e$ 'people': with 3-99, $k^w f \cdot 1$, obligatory, but exact count often replaced by $q6x$ 'many' over 49

s- -s 'o'clock': with 1-12, $k^w f \cdot 1$, obligatory, related to s- -s '-th day of the week', probably deriving from s- nominalizer + -es 'cyclic period' rather than a circumfix

- $\acute{o}wes$ 'canoe paddles, paddlers': with 1-11 (the largest race canoe has 11 paddlers), $k^w f \cdot 1$, non-numerals, optional?

-éɪ 'times': with 1 (allomorph -éx^W) and 3-10,
k^Wf·l, obligatory

-íq^W 'fish (heads)': (apparently fish are counted by
the head)(this suffix has dissimilatory allomorph -eq^W
after íC(C) where C = consonant): with 2-9, non-numerals
(as somatic suffix -eq^W 'on top of the head'), optional?

-elsx^yé 'times ten, -ty': with 3-9 (yeilding 30-90),
non-numerals (one example), obligatory

-eíp 'trees': with 1-5, k^Wf·l, non-numerals,
obligatory for single owner

-má·t 'piles': with 1-5, obligatory

s- -s '-th day of the week': with 2-5, obligatory

-élwet 'garments': with 2-5, non-numerals, optional?

-é·wtx^W 'houses': with 2-5, k^Wf·l (-tx^W allomorph),
non-numerals, obligatory for single owner

-óweɪ 'canoes': only with 5 so far, k^Wf·l, non-
numerals, optional?

-éyiws 'pants' (possibly < -éy 'bark' + -í·ws 'on
the body, covering'): only with 5 so far, non-numerals,
optional

-á·ls 'spherical objects, fruit': only with 5 so
far, non-numerals, optional?

-eqel 'containers': only with 5 so far, (possibly
related to -eqel 'in the throat'), obligatory?

-á·lɪ 'young': only with 5 so far, non-numerals,
optional

-é·ltex^W 'wives': only with 2 so far, possibly related to -é·wtx^W - ltx^W - tx^W 'house(s)'

-émec' (probably - émeθ[?]) 'upright, poles': only with 2 so far, non-numerals, obligatory

-ewec (gloss uncertain): used as formative only in léc'-ewec '(one) hundred', may be related to -ewic 'in the back' since the root of 'hundred' is léc' '(be) different' and 100 is different at its back from the tens by an extra zero at the back.

Examples: (?isé·le 'two', ðeq'écés ~ ðq'é·cés 'five', teqéce 'eight'; in the examples to follow numerals are not spelled out (to save space), and the forms involving the root for 'five' ðq'é·cés usually have this form in variation with /ðq'é·cs/) ðq'á·c-es '5 dollars', teqá·cé·s '8 dollars', ðq'é·c-éle '5 people', s-ðq'é·c-es or s-ðq'é·cés-s '5 o'clock', s-teqé·cés-s '8 o'clock', ðq'écés-ó·wes '5 canoe paddles, 5 paddlers', ðq'écés-éð '5 times', ðq'écés-íq^W '5 fish', ðq'éc-élsx^W '50', ðq'écés-éðp '5 trees (belonging to one person)', ðq'écés-má·t '5 piles', s-ðeq'éc-es or s-ðeq'écés-s 'Friday', ðq'écés-élwet '5 garments', ðq'écés-é·wtx^W '5 houses or buildings (belonging to one person)', ðq'écés-ó·weð '5 canoes (belonging to one person)' (compare ðq'écés sléx^Weð '5 canoes (belonging to different people)'),

ɪq'escs-éyiws '5 (pairs of) pants', ɪq'escs-á·ls '5 fruit,
 5 spherical things (5 rocks, 5 balls, etc.)', ɪq'éc-əqel
 '5 containers (like baskets, etc.)', ɪq'écsc-(?)á·lɪ
 '5 young', ?isl-é·ltex^W 'man with two wives',
 ?isél-émec' 'two poles standing upright', léc'-əwec
 'one hundred, hundred'.

5.2.3. Other lexical suffixes (arranged alphabetically by gloss).

-é·y (-ey -iy) 'bark and wood': p(ə)q^W-é·y
 'rotten wood' (péq^W 'split, broken, busted', páq^W-θet
 'get mouldy, decayed'), p(ə)q^W-é·y-θet 'wood decays',
 q^Wɪ-é·y 'driftwood' (q^Wəɪ 'fall in water, tip over in
 canoe'), x(ə)p-é·y 'red cedar wood', sləwɪ 'inner
 cedar bark' (root ləw- 'inside or into an opening'),
 or cedar bark mat
 ɪq^W-é·y 'cedar bark skirt (or peeled bark)' (ɪeq^W-á·t
 'peel any bark'), slé·y 'Douglas fir bark', lé·y-əɪp
 'Douglas fir tree', c's-é·y 'fir log or wood',
 θ'é·x-ey 'bleached grass for basketry designs'
 (θ'é·x-et 'scald it'), q'et'em-é·y-əɪp 'balsam, larch'
 (q'éq'et'em 'sweet-tasting' shows root; the tree has
 sweet sap on outside of bark), sék^Wem-iy 'birch',
 q^Wéq^Wəɪ-iy 'lots of little pieces of driftwood'.

-á·me 'berry': cəlq-á·me 'blackcap berry' (cəlq
 'fall off, drop'), k^Wx^W-á·me-ls 'mountain black
 huckleberry (Vaccinium membranaceum)'.

-é(·)wtx^W, -ewtx^W, -(é)ltx^W, -(el)tx^W 'building,
 house': x^Welmex^W-éwtx^W 'smokehouse, longhouse' (lit.
 Indian house), ʔελ'qel-é·wtx^W 'outhouse, bathroom'
 (outside + house), lé̄m-é·wtx^W 'bar, pub, liquor store'
 (lé̄m 'liquor' < English "rum"), cé̄itel-éwtx^W 'smoke-
 house, dried fish house' (dried fish + house),
 ʔítex^W-éwtx^W 'plank house' (plank + house),
 ceh̄éyε̄-éwtx^W 'church building' (prayer + house),
 t̄éle-ʔéwtx^W 'bank' (t̄éle 'money' < English "dollar"),
 sil-éwtx^W 'tent' (síl 'cloth' < Chinook/English "sail"),
 sléx^Wε̄-é·wtx^W 'canoe shed', siyá̄-é·wtx^W 'woodshed',
 sak^Wem-éwtx^W 'bark house', q^Wéyíléx^W-éwtx^W 'dance hall',
 smítε-ʔéwtx^W 'spirit dancing house', w̄é·c-éwtx^W 'out-
 house (for solid waste)', mék^Wem-éwtx^W 'second-hand
 store' (mék^Wem 'use second-hand'), ʔítet-é·wtx^W
 'hotel, bedroom', spē̄píl-éwtx^W 'root cellar (covered
 with earth, separate from house, kept potatoes, apples,
 etc.)', θi·y-éwtx^W-em 'build a house' (make + house +
 middle voice), lé̄·c'-ewtx^W 'next-door, different house',
 lé̄·c'-ewtx^W-em 'visit', c̄-éltx^W 'upper portion of pit
 house or any house', sʔi·ltex^W 'cedar planks on roof
 or side of house', Swelím-eltx^W '(Indian name of Ed
 Leon Sr. of Chehalis)', qiq^W-éwtx^W 'jail', + see 5.2.2.
 -ó(·)wē 'canoe', -(V)wē 'vessel, container':
 q'ex^W-ó·wē 'war canoe, largest canoe', té̄y-owē

'racing canoe', pot-óweɪ 'row-boat', x^vix^vep-óweɪ
 'planing a canoe', qep'-ás-oweɪ 'canoe turned upside
 down (on land)', t'ék^w-oweɪ (k^w - q^w) "'corking a
 canoe", caulking a canoe', ɪéq-oweɪ 'patching a canoe',
 tɔ^w-óweɪ 'tow a canoe (through rough water)',
 x^wok^w-óweɪ 'drag a canoe', ?ilem-óweɪ 'carry a canoe
 on shoulders', ?él-wéɪ 'middle of a canoe (on inside),
 middle paddler(s)', ɪex-el-wéɪ-tel 'cross-piece in
 canoe, thwart'; c'eq^w-óweɪ 'weave a cedar root bas-
 ket' (c'éq^w 'poke, pierce'), sɪéq^w-oweɪ 'lower back'
 (wide part? + canoe), q^wéɪ(1)y-óweɪ (ó - ú) 'carved
 wooden spoon' (compare q^wéɪ(1)fy-x^vel 'shoe'),
 x^véweɪ 'vulva, vagina'.

-áɪ 'canoe': yek^w-áɪ-em "'breaking one's canoe",
 last spirit dance of the season' (yé^k^w-et 'break
 s-th up'), compare ?áɪ 'be aboard (a canoe)'.

-íɪ 'child, young, baby' (see also -á.lɪ 'young',
 may be case of l-y alternation if // -éyɪ//):

x^vatəm-íɪ 'baby-sitter' (x^váɪ-met 'take care of s-o'),
 s-k^wem-íɪ-em 'adopted child' (k^wém 'raise (a child)').

-iyás 'in a circle': q'eyq'elc'-iyás-em spéhé'ls
 'whirlwind' (spéhé'ls 'wind'), siselc'-iyás-em 'turn
 around in a circle'. (probably < sɪsel- 'spinning',
 -elc' 'around, over, turning', -iyás 'in a circle',
 -em 'middle voice'), xéylɔ́él-iyás-s-em 'it is written
 (in the sky)(as striped clouds)'.

-fə'è, -fə'e 'clothes': k'wəq^w-él-fə'è (e ~ o)
 'Coqualeetza (a place in present-day Sardis, B.C.)'
 (club + ? + clothes; at least two different stories
 account for the origin of this placename from 'club'
 + 'clothes'), (AC) ðow-fə'e - (DM) ðew-fə'è 'naked',
 ðow-ə'él-m 'to undress', ?fə'em 'get dressed', s-?fə'em
 'clothes, clothing', spaleq^w-fə'è 'corpse, ghost'
 (probably clothing of the spirit), s-qel(-)él-fə'e
 'west wind' (possibly 'dirties' + 'clothes'). See
 also the suffix for 'garment'.

-él.lél, -élél, -ələ 'container for, receptacle for':
 (over 30 examples have been found, including the fol-
 lowing:) sx^w-həyq^w-ələ 'firepit' (container for burn-
 ing), s-x^wə^h-qel-él.lél 'pillow case' (container for
 pillow, pillow < rolled thing under head), sqelx^w-él.lél
 'throat, gullet' (greedy + container), s-x^wiym-élél
 'store' (nominal + sell + container for), sx^wlém-élél
 'bottle' (sx^wlém 'medicine man' or sx^w-lém 'something
 going'), sx^w-mélə-hél.lél 'fishing basket, bait basket'
 (nominal + bait + container for), ðè·c'-tel-élél
 'knife handle' (cutting + device + container for),
 s-p'ə^həm-élél '(tobacco) pipe' (smoke + container for),
 s-p'ə^həm-él.lél-tel 'smokehole', smok^w-ə-?él.lél 'grave-
 yard' (smók^w 'grave'), spatel-élél 'mast' (spát-(t)el
 'sail'), sc'ex^yt-élél 'knothole' (branch + container for),

sx̣^wé·ye-hè·lè 'Squia-a-ala (Chilliwack Indian Reserve #7, a village in pre-contact times)' (x̣^wé·y 'many people perished together'), sax̣^we-ʔéíé 'bladder' (urine + container for), k^wél(·)ε 'stomach', x̣elw-éle 'horn rings for dip nets' (x̣élew 'spoon').

-eqel 'container': ʔiʔex^wíl-eqel (Tait and Cheh. have ʔεʔex^wíl-eqel) 'small container', mímel-eqel 'small container' (ʔémímel 'a little bit'), mémel-eqel 'small containers' (e-ablaut plural of /i/ in diminutive reduplication is regular), t'il-éqel 'salmon after spawning when its eggs are loose' (? lonely + container).

-á·s, -es 'cyclic period, moon, season': (probably related to -á·s ~ -es 'face') peláq-es 'torch moon (in January), (time to spear fish by torchlight)' (peláqel 'torch'), tem-ʔ·f·q-es 'moon (when one) gets jammed in (from snow)(in February)' (time + jammed in or stuck in a trap + moon or cyclic period), welók'-es 'little frog moon (in March)', x̣emt(ʔ)áles 'spring showers moon (in April)' (if not -es then -á·les 'in the eyes'), ʔepál-és-tel 'tenth moon (in July)', meq-á·s 'fallen snow moon (in December)' (mé·qe 'fallen snow'), sk^wex^y-á·s 'moon, month' (k^wex^y- 'count'), wé·yéí-és 'tomorrow' (wé·yel 'come daylight'), ʔim-ex^y-á·s-em 'go for a walk' (walk in a circle with-

out destination), $\text{ɬak}^{\text{Wem}}(-)\acute{\text{a}}\cdot\text{l}(-)\text{es}$ 'when the first fall storm comes' ($\text{ɬá}\cdot\text{k}^{\text{W}}$ 'to fly', $-\acute{\text{a}}\cdot\text{les}$ 'in the eyes' may be the suffix here instead of $-\text{es}$).

$-\acute{\text{a}}\cdot\text{lk}^{\text{W}}\text{ɬ}$ 'spirit dancer': $\text{x}\acute{\text{e}}\text{ws}-\acute{\text{a}}\cdot\text{lk}^{\text{W}}\text{ɬ}$ 'new spirit dancer' ($\text{x}\acute{\text{e}}\text{ws}$ 'new').

$-\text{e}\acute{\text{i}}\text{t}$ 'day of the week': $\text{s}\acute{\text{x}}\acute{\text{e}}\text{x}\acute{\text{e}}-\text{i}\acute{\text{t}}$ 'Sunday' (sacred + day of the week), $\text{yil}\acute{\text{e}}\cdot\text{w}-\text{e}\acute{\text{i}}\text{t}$ 'Monday' (passed or after + day of the week).

$-\grave{\text{e}}\cdot\text{ɬ}$ 'deceased' (or perhaps merely the past tense suffix attached to nominals): $\text{s}\acute{\text{i}}\cdot\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\cdot\text{ɬ}$ 'late grandparent, deceased grandparent' ($\text{s}\acute{\text{i}}\cdot\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}$ 'grandparent'), $\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}-\grave{\text{e}}\cdot\text{ɬ}$ 'late or deceased child' ($\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}$ 'child'), $\text{s}\acute{\text{i}}\cdot\text{s}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}-\grave{\text{e}}\cdot\text{ɬ}$ 'late grandmother' ($\text{s}\acute{\text{i}}\cdot\text{s}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}$ used by AC for grandmother), $\text{s}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}\text{s}\acute{\text{i}}\cdot\text{l}-\grave{\text{e}}\cdot\text{ɬ}$ 'late grandparents' ($\text{s}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}\text{s}\acute{\text{i}}\cdot\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}$ 'grandparents'), $\text{s}\text{x}^{\text{Wem}}\text{em}\text{θiy}-\grave{\text{e}}\cdot\text{ɬ}$ 'deceased uncle/aunt/grandparent/someone responsible for you directly or indirectly', $\text{s}\text{x}^{\text{Wem}}\text{em}\text{x}^{\text{Wem}}\text{em}\text{θiy}-\acute{\text{e}}\cdot\text{ɬ}$ 'deceased uncles/aunts/ etc.', $\text{s}-\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\text{stiy}-\acute{\text{e}}\text{ɬ}$ 'sibling of deceased parent' ($\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\text{stiy}-\text{ex}^{\text{W}}$ 'person'), $\text{sw}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}\text{m}-\acute{\text{e}}\text{y}\text{ɬ}$ 'child of a dead sibling' (< $\text{(s)w}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\text{m}$ 'orphan'); compare $-\text{e}\acute{\text{t}}$ in $\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\cdot\text{t}-\text{e}\acute{\text{t}}$ 'morning' (< $\text{s}-\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\cdot\text{t}$ 'night' + 'past'), $\text{x}^{\text{W}}\text{e}\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}\text{t}-\text{e}\acute{\text{t}}$ 'last night' ($\text{x}^{\text{W}}\text{e}-\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}\text{t}$ 'evening' < root $\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\cdot\text{t}$ 'night'), $\text{w}\acute{\text{e}}-\text{ɬ}\acute{\text{i}}\cdot\text{θ}-\text{e}\acute{\text{t}}$ 'a long time ago' (< $\text{ɬ}\acute{\text{i}}\cdot\text{θ}$ 'a long time'), and $-\text{ɬ}$ past tense on verbs.

-tel 'device, implement, thing used for' (over 90 examples found to date, a few of which follow):
 ?éx^w-tel 'broom' (?íx^w-et 'sweep it'), x^wél-tel 'pen, pencil, writing instrument' (x^wéyl-t 'write s-th'),
 éc'-tel 'knife' (í'c'-et 'cut s-th or s-o', éc'-
 'cut'), s-k^wíy-tel 'ladder (native notched pole or any modern kind)' (k^wíy 'climb'), s(x^w)-c'é--lec-tel
 'chair, bench' (nom. + on top, astride + rump + device),
 s-x^wóq^w-tel 'canoe pole' (x^wáq^w-et 'pole it (of a canoe)'),
 sí'-tel 'basket (generic)', q'eléc'-eq^w-tel
 'umbrella' and q'aléc'-tel 'square dressing room of blankets for s^wáy^wey dancers' (q'eléc' 'rainshelter, *protection'),
 sx^w-yém-tel 'belt, sling, strap' (nom. + wide strip + device),
 s^wéqi-tel 'sockeye net', k^wóx^wé-tel 'coho net',
 λ'élpx^wel-tel 'spring salmon net', s-wél-tel 'net, web',
 θ'és-tel '(metal) nail' and θ'es-éls-tel 'arrow pouch, quiver' (θ'ís-et 'nail it',
 -éls - -é'le 'container'), sx^w-θ'é·i-tel 'fine cedar root strips for baskets' (root unknown),
 sx^w-t'élí-tel 'bridge made of big log, big bridge' (sx^w-t'élí 'bridge made of small log') and (s-)t'í-flés-tel
 'collarbone' (root probably means 'span, go across'),
 má't'es-tel 'first finger, pointer finger' (point, aim + device),
 s^wé^wε-tel (ε - e) - sex^wé-?é'lé 'bladder' (s^wé^wé (e - ε) 'urine'),
 s-mélè-tel 'womb, uterus'

(mélè - mèle - mèle 'child (kinterm)'), 0'élx-tel (0' - c') 'rattlesnake', s-q^wél-tel 'word, language' (q^wè·l 'talk, speak'), sp'ak'em-é·lé-tel 'smokehole' (smoke + container + device). This suffix sometimes conditions the dropping of the last l in the preceding suffixes -á·y0el 'in the lips', -x^yel 'in the foot, leg', -elélxel 'in the arm', maybe others: q^wel-á·y0e-tel 'musical instrument', élx-x^ye-tel 'rug', and q'ep-elélx-tel 'armband'.

-els 'device, tool, thing for, person for' (used mostly with continuative forms of the verb; possibly related to -é·ls ~ -els 'intransitivizer'):

(s-)hífec'-els - sx^w-hífec'-els 'a saw' (híf'et 'cut it'), x^yix^yep-els 'a plane (the tool)' (x^yif'p-et 'carve s-th, plane it'), t'et'ém-els 'a chisel' (t'em- 'chip or chop with sharp tool'), s-t'et'ém-els 'adze, (prob.) D-adze', sq^weq^wé·ls 'a borer (to make holes)' (sq^weq^wé· 'hole' + -els), qíqeq'-els 'policeman' (qíq' 'apprehend'), híyeq^w-els (i ~ ε) 'one who burns at a burning ceremony' (híyeq^w ~ héyeq^w 'burning'), sc'á·q^w-els 'fork' (c'eq^w 'pcke, spear, pierce'), sx^w-0'émq-els 'scissors', s-wé·ls 'scramble-giving, scramble' (compare wé·l-x^y 'throw upwards' and s-wél-tel 'net').

-f·ls 'device, tool' (perhaps questionable):

s-x^yá·x^wf·ls 'a borer or auger' (x^yá·l-t 'to bore'),

yəq^w-əqs-f·ls-cel 'I'm lighting the light' (burn + pointed object, nose + device? + I (subj.)), only 2 exx.

-iye 'diminutive': ?iyés-iye or tá?-iye 'darling, dear (mother to little girl)' (?iyés 'dear female friend', tá? 'dear mother'), sqsyéx-iye 'pet name of Mink; a little bragger or boaster' (sqsyéx 'Mink'), wíθ-iye - wéθweθ 'snipe', t'é^m-iye 'little winter wren', t'é^m-iye 'hermaphrodite baby' (homophonous with 'wren'), q'ayé^k-iye 'snail', sθ'ím-iye 'small (landlocked) coho salmon' (said to hatch from berry that drops in lake, thus < sθ'í·m 'berry' + -iye 'diminutive'), possibly hó·l-iye (o· ~ u) 'humpback salmon' and swet-íyé (t ~ t') 'porcupine' and siyémiyem (CT)(é - AC's é here) 'pregnant' (possibly siyé^m 'leader, chief' + -iye 'little' + -em 'carry, use'), st'ft'əx-əye 'Ruby Creek (near Seabird Island)' (st'é^x 'fork in s-th'), xam-á·θ'-iye 'youngest sister of Mt. Cheam' (xə·m 'weep, cry' + -á·mēθ' 'standing, height' + -iye; so-called because lots of creeks run together from her because she cries since she can't see the Fraser River), sláx-iye 'Indian name of Celia Thomas', x^wemíc-iye 'Indian name of Lucy, mother or other close relative of Celia Thomas', swalés-iye 'Indian name of Al Gutierrez and his great grandfather Bill Swalésiye', se^tém-iye 'Indian name of Jeanne McIntire (of Seabird)'.

-áye 'diminutive' (related to -iye): sisem-áye 'bee' (compare si(·)sem 'feel creepy, fear s-th behind'), s(-)x^y-áye 'co-wife, female rival of wife' (s- nominizer + x^y- 'genitals' + -áye 'little'), s-x^y-ayé·-s(-)eq 'ex-wife's husband, wife's ex-husband, male rival of husband' (-eq or perhaps here -seq 'male').

-f·lóp, -éylóp, -elep, -ép, -íp, -óp 'dirt, ground' (allomorphy seems to be -éylóp and -ép after postvelars, the other allomorphs elsewhere, -f·lep after CVCVC, other stressed allomorphs after CVC (monosyllabic unstressed roots), -elep after a stressed syllable; but two of the 16 examples don't fit this pattern): leq'-éylóp 'level ground' (léq' 'level'), k'x^w-éylóp 'hard ground' (k'éx^w 'hard'), kex-éylóp-tel 'floor' (this is an alternate analysis to that given in lexical prefixes under the prefix k-; cp. kex-owéi-tel 'thwarts, of a canoe', kex-x^ye-tel 'rug' and kex-éyl-éx^y 'stand up'; it seems there is a root kex - kex, not clearly attested yet semantically or as a verb; -éyl in 'stand up' may be related to -f·l 'come, go'; the other suffixes are clear as already explained), syíc'em-flóp 'sand bar' (syíc'em 'sand'), sqátem-flép 'hill' (root meaning unclear), tewéle(-)h-f·lóp 'sloping ground' (tewéle 'sloping'), xéyxep'-f·lep 'a rake' (éy - f)(xéy-p'-et 'scratch or scrape s-th and leave a mark'),

ǝáyx^W-f·lep-t-es 'he was softening the ground' (this was done to some places to insure a good growth of wild vegetables)(ǝáyq^Wels 'digging'), c'esém-elep 'weeds' (c'fsem 'grow', thus 'weeds' are 'growing dirt'), sx^W-λ'ésx^Y-elep 'a plow' (λ'ésx^Y 'rip or break apart'), s-q^Wel-íp '(black) beard moss, black moss bread' (nom. + boil + dirt; this moss is cooked underground and becomes a sweet licorice-tasting loaf), λ'es-íp 'licorice fern' (roots are edible and grow in dirt-like accumulations on the bark of maple trees; root meaning unclear), s-q'ex-ép 'stump (of tree)' (root meaning not clear), sq^Wé·p (//s-q^Wé·-(é)p//) "'hole with water at (foot of?) Mt. Cheam on the side away from the Fraser River," lake or waterhole on Mt. Cheam' (s-q^Wé· 'hole'), sǝiy-ép - sǝiy-ép 'loincloth' (nom. + ǝiy 'make'? + 'dirt'), s-qel-ép or s-qél-ép 'garbage' (qél 'bad, dirty').

-ewí·ls 'dishes': ǝ'ex^W-(ǝ)wí·ls 'wash dishes' (ǝ'ésx^W 'wash'), sx^W-ǝ'ax^W-ewí·ls (a probably sic for ǝ) 'sink, dishpan', x^Wǝ-?íq^W-ewí·ls 'drying dishes' (?íq^W-es-em 'wipe one's face').

-áǝ 'edge': ?iy-áǝ 'sharp(-edged)' (?iy is an unstressed allomorph of ?éy 'good'), qel-áǝ 'dull (-edged)', qel-áǝ-eqsel 'blunt (of a point or pole)', seml-áǝ-el 'riverbank' (seml(-)él-iyel 'a set net, a

stationary net', mfl-iyel 'to set a net'), s-məq'-əé 'extra food which guests can take home' (which may be mistranscribed) may belong here (még' 'be filled or stuffed with food').

-elcep 'firewood': ɐ'iq'^W-élcep 'split (fire)wood' (ɐ'iq'^W-et 'punch s-o or s-th'), yéq^W-elcep 'make a fire, burn wood' (yéq^W 'burn'), sɪ·lcep-tel (DM) 'a firedrill' (root sɪl- 'spin'), q'^Wé·y-cəp 'cinders, real fine powdery ashes (light, soft, dust-like)' (q'^Wé·y-t 'burning pitch onto a canoe').

-elsx^yé 'ten times, -ty; first time' (see numeral classifier affixes for all examples except the following): yiq-elsx^yé-y 'first snow of winter' (yiq 'to fall (of snow)').

-éléqep, -éleqep 'fragrance, smell, odor':
 ʔey-éleqep 'good smell', qél-əqep 'bad smell',
 sɛlcím-éléqep 'how does it smell?' (sɛlcím 'how is it?, how?'), qelqéyl-éléqep 'turn bad in smell' (qelqéyl 'turn bad'), sim-éléqep ~ sim-éleqep 'bad stink' (root unknown unless sím as ín sísem 'feel creepy, fear s-th behind').

-á·ls 'fruit, spherical': s-qeʔ-á·ls 'juicy fruit' (qá· 'water'), x^yelk'^W-á·ls 'spherical' (x^yelá·k'^W 'round', x^yelék'^W-t 'roll s-th up'), x^yep-á·ls-t 'peel fruit or vegetable or vegetable root' (x^yf·p-et

'peel bark or tree root, peel it (of bark or root)'),
 k^waq^w-iy-á·ls 'lacrosse' (club + bark + spherical),
 c^f·c^q·q^wel-à·l(s) 'grass shinny' (root uncertain),
 c^q-á·ls 'Hope, B.C.' (the Fraser River turns in a
 circle around the site; however this etymology may be
 dubious), also see this suffix as numeral classifier
 affix.

-elwet 'garment, clothing': θ^éx^w-elwet-em
 'wash(ing) one's clothes' (θ^éx^w 'wash'), sx^w-θ^éx^w-
 -elwet-em 'washtub, washing machine', s-x^wátq^w-elwet-em
 'washboard' (root meaning unclear), λ^ík^íep-l-élwèt
 'men's underclothes' (diminutive R-, λ^íép 'deep, under-',
 probably -le- 'plural'), yéq-elwét-em 'change clothes'
 (yéq 'change', -em 'middle voice'), also appears as a
 numeral classifier affix and may appear as a woman's
 personal name suffix, both q.v.

-f·l, -el 'go, come, get (become)' (conditions
 preceding -el → ∅, see morphophonemics): x^yec'-f·l-em
 '(go) through the woods' (s-x^yí·x^yec' 'woods'),
 k^wetx^w-f·l-em 'come inside, go inside' (s-k^wetéx^w 'in-
 side (a house)'), λ^íp-f·l 'descend' (λ^íép 'down, deep'),
 q^íε-x^y-f·l-t (//q^íá·-x^yel-f·l-T//) 'go with, come with,
 or be partner with s-o' (s-q^íá·-x^yel 'partner', s-q^íeq^íá·
 'together with'), sqem-f·l 'inside a pit house' (sqémél
 'pit house'), θet-f·l 'gone dark' (θé·t 'darkness'),

k^wf·m-el 'go red, get red' (c-k^wf·m 'red'), q^wé·y-el
 'go yellow (or green), get yellow' (c-q^wé·y 'yellow,
 green'), p'eq'-éyl (or p'eq'-f·l) 'go white, get white'
 (p'éq' 'white'), q'éyɣ-el 'go black, get black'
 (c'-q'éyɣ 'black'), meθ'-f·l 'go blue, get blue'
 (c-méθ' 'blue'), meθ'-f·l-t 'make it blue; dye it,
 color it (any color)', ləw-f·l-em 'go into an opening',
 ʔiy-f·l-em 'clear up, turn fine' (ʔéy 'good'), s-yeq^w-f·l
 'lamp, lantern' and yfyeq^w-f·l 'small light, candle'
 (things that go burning), q'əs-f·l-təl 'tumpline'
 (q'éys-et 'tie s-th', thus a device that goes tied),
 possibly qel-iyθ-f·l-em 'say bad words, swear, curse'
 and q^wel-ayθ-f·l-em 'making music; March moon' (qél
 'bad', q^wé·l - q^wel- 'talk, speak', -á·yθel 'in the
 lips or jaw', -em 'middle voice').

-mel 'location around a house': ʔex^velés-mel
 'in front (of a house)', cəlk^w-éxəl-mel 'behind or
 back of a house', sʔčk'q-mel 'outside (of a house)',
 céi-mel 'on top of a house', sʔeléc - (s-)ʔeléc-mel
 'bottom of a tree (trunk) or house (foundation)' (all
 examples occur without the -mel and correspondingly
 lack the meaning '(of a house)').

-éxəl, -əxəl 'end of a house (inside or outside)' (maybe
 related to somatic suffix -elxəl 'on the arm'):
 s-tiyt-éxəl 'upper (upriver) end of house (inside or out)',

(tíyt 'upriver'), s-əwq^W-éxəl 'lower (downriver) end of house (inside or out)' (wóq^W 'drift downriver, drown'), cucuw-éxəl 'front end of house (inside or out)' (cúcuw 'away from shore, towards the middle of the river, in front'), s-celk^W-éxəl 'back end of house (inside or out)' (possibly cá·lek^W (k^W - q^W) 'toward the woods, away from the river, in the backwoods'), celk^W-éxəl-mel 'behind or back of a house', q'el-éxəl 'fence' (root meaning unknown), s-t'elt'el-éxəl 'a square' (root meaning unknown), sélc'-əxəl 'to circle around the outside of a house' (sélc' 'go around in a circle').

-lə 'need, lack': c-qá'-lə 'thirsty' (Chehalis: ɛ-qá'-lə)(c- and ɛ- verb formatives, qá' 'water')(this seems to be the only example, but it is a clear one).

-é·lews 'leaf, leaves': p'əlp'èlq'əm-é·lews 'poplar; sparkling leaves' (p'élq'əm 'sparkling'), x^Wes-é·lews 'fallen leaves' (x^Wis-ət 'shake leaves or fruit off a tree or bush'), c'ak^Wə-?é·lews 'skunk cabbage leaf or leaves' (c'ák^Wə 'skunk cabbage'), q'əmó·w-əɛp-é·lews 'maple tree leaf' (q'əmó·w-əɛp 'maple tree'), cewó·w-əɛp-é·lews 'cottonwood leaf or leaves' (cewó·w-əɛp 'cottonwood tree'), pipeham-é·lews 'plantain' pípehà·m 'frog', the plant is always called "frog leaf", never translated "plantain").

-éle 'leg' (related to -x^yel 'leg, foot', somatic suffix): λ'elqt-éle 'deer' (λ'éqt 'long', -l- infix 'plural', -éle 'leg'), s-x^y-éle 'penis' (s- nom. + x^y 'genital' + -éle 'leg').

-eice 'unclear liquid' (gloss approximate):
 iex^w-éice '(to) spit' and iéx-eice 'spitting' and
 s-iéx^w-eice 'spit, saliva' (i(e)x^w-á·t '(to) spit'),
 0'eq^w-éice 'mudpuddle, dirty pond' (root meaning unclear),
 qá·-ice 'juicy' (qá· 'water'), s-wí·ice 'Cultus Lake'
 (root meaning + shape unclear).

-á·mex^y, -emex^y '-looking, appearing': ?iy-á·mex^y
 'good-looking, handsome, beautiful' (?éy 'good'),
 qel-á·mex^y - qel-ei-á·mex^y 'ugly' (some say qeleiá·mex^y
 means 'clumsy' instead)(qól 'bad'), ?ely-á·mex^y '(plu-
 ral/all) good-looking' (-l- infix 'plural'), te?-á·mex^y
 '(to) look like, resemble' (s-te?é - s-te?é 'be like,
 be similar to')(Chehalis + Tait have st'et'-á·mex^y 'look
 like, resemble' and root st'é 'be like, be similar to'),
 selcf·m-emex^y 'how does it look?, what does it look like?,
 what color is it?' (selcf·m 'how is it?').

-i '(material for)': s-yéq^w-i-èlè 'firepit, fire-
 place' and s-yeq^w-i-é·ltel 'tinder, material used to
 start fire (fine dried cedar bark)' (yéq^w 'burn', -èlè
 'container', -é·ltel 'medicine'), possibly mamíye-i-tel
 'helper' (méy-t 'help s-o', mamíye-t 'helping s-o',

-tel 'reciprocal').

-é·ltel 'medicine': x^weq^wéle-ʔé·ltel 'hangover medicine' (probably x^weq^wéle 'scouring rush, horse-tail fern'), ʰé·el-ʔé·ltel 'heart medicine; juniper' (ʰé·éle 'heart'), and syeq^wé·ltel 'tinder' as seen in the last suffix set.

-elá·t 'female name' (this and the next three suffixes probably show -á·t, -át 'female name'): q'ewq'ew-elá·t 'name of a female loon in a story' (compare q'ewq'ew-eléce 'name of the male loon in a story', and q'ówq'ewe 'Kawkawa Lake'), qewéstelàt 'kind of deer (probably female)', c'símtelát 'name of one of Mt. Cheam's sisters, now a name of Celia Thomas' (c'sím-t'grów s-th'), siyé·m-telát 'Indian name of Teresa Michell' (siyé·m 'leader, chief'), ʰt'fstelát 'Indian name of Mary Andrew (Susan Peter's deceased sister, wife of David Andrew of American Bar)', k^weléx^y-telát 'Indian name of Mabel Peters' (< k^welx^yámé 'fine snow that drifts in windows or doors'). All examples but the first probably are better analyzed with -tel (gloss uncertain here) + -á(·)t or -at 'female name'.

-elát 'female name': x^wáyí·t 'Indian name of Amy Cooper's mother's mother', ʔálm-elát - ʔélmə-íà·t 'Indian name of Amy Cooper's father's mother and of Amy's granny Laurencetto's oldest twin', k^wax^wí·t

'Indian name of Miss Susanna Jim from Katz, grandmother of Mrs. Duncan (Dorothy) Wealick'.

-emat 'female name': x^wiyél-emat 'Indian name of Tillie Guttierrez', siyé-m-át 'Indian name of Susan Peters', siyá-m-át 'Indian name of Philomena Kelly', c'ek^wzál-emat 'Indian name of Mary (of Tzeachten, wife of Casimir of Chehalis, great grandmother of Nancy Phillips of Chehalis)'.

-ewat 'female name': ?á-y-ewat 'baby sister of Mt. Cheam; also Indian name of Amy Cooper'.

-elwet 'female name' (probably = -elwet 'garment, clothes'): ?aláx^w-elwet 'sister of Mr. Cheam', t'elíx^w-elwet 'Indian name of Isabel (Mrs. Jimmy Church); Indian name of Darlene Guttierrez', q^watás-elwet 'Indian name of Mary Anne (of Chehalis); Indian name now of Jennie Peters (daughter of Nancy Phillips)', peláq^w-elwet 'Indian name of Annie, wife of Charlie Siyamelélex^w'.

-elécs 'male name': q'ewq'ew-elécs 'male loon in a story', t'ix^w-elécs 'Indian name of Chief Albert Louie's father', θ'-elécs 'Indian name of second oldest Wealick brother', θ'-eléc-iyetel 'Indian name of Richard Malloway Sr. (of Sardis)', lēx-elécs 'Indian name of Jimmie Swfweles'.

-iyetel 'male name': ?aláx^w-iyetel 'male name ver-

sion of ?aláx^W-elwet', xamáθ'-iyetel 'male version of Indian name xamáθ'-iyc', seléq'-ayetel 'Indian name of David (Matilda David's husband)', θ'eléc-iyetel 'Indian name of Richard Malloway Sr. (prominent chief in Sardis)'.

-elélex^W, -elèlèx^W 'male name': siyam-elélex^W 'Indian name of Charlie Siyamelélex^W, (said to mean) head of the house, superior of the house',
 há·k^W-elèlèx^W 'Indian name of Dan Milo's great grandfather' (há·k^W '(to) fly', the man was said to have arrived one day in the village by flying there).

-éylém, -flém 'male name': yex^W-éylém 'Indian name of the 3rd from oldest original Wealick brother' (yéx^W 'untied'), qeyp-flém 'Indian name of August Billie'.

-θet 'male name' (probably = -θet 'verbalizer' or -θet '-self, reflexive'): há·yá'-θet 'Indian name of Peter Williams of Chehalis (died about 1921, great grandfather of Tillie Phillips)', siyálowe-θet 'Indian name of Roy Point from Scowkale'.

-eleq 'male name' (probably = -eleq 'one who, a ___-er');
 xéyt-eleq 'Indian name of an old man from Kilgard (a strong warrior and Indian dancer, in a battle he once punched through a man's chest)' (xéyléx 'war, fight war', xéy-t-əm 'growl (of a person)').

-(fm)elitx^W 'male name' (possibly means 'house' or

'wives'): swelfm-eltx^w 'Indian name of Ed Leon Sr. (of Chehalis, B.C.)' (cp. suffixes for 'house').

-é·yel, -iyel 'net', -ú·yel 'trap, net': mfl-iyel 'set a net', semlél-iyel 'a set net, stationary net' (cp. seml-áθ(-)el 'riverbank'), mes-fyel-tel 'anchor (probably for nets)', q^ws-é·yel 'throw a net out' (q^wés 'fall overboard, fall in the water'), q^ws-é·w-iyel 'set a net and drift with it' (the -é·w may mean 'on top of itself', see 5.2.4), q^wés-el-iyel 'drifting a net in different places' (-el- probably 'plural'), q^wes-ú·yel 'drop net into water' (gloss perhaps doubtful), ?is-téyt-iyel 'group of canoes travelling upstream (moving to fish drying camp)' (tíyt 'upriver'), pεθ-ú·yel 'bear trap' (s-pé·θ 'bear'), k^wec-ú·yel 'check a trap or net (for animal or fish [or bird])'.

-em '(nominalizer)': k^wq^w-ém 'small hatchet, small axe' (k^wá·q^w-et 'club s-th or s-o, hit s-th (or s-o) with stick-like object'), c-q^wé·y-em 'lemon extract' (color + yellow + whatever -em means), c'-q^wéy_x-em 'vanilla extract' (color + black + ?), q^wéy(é)_x-em 'whirlpool' ('black' + -em), s-yelyelís-em 'icicle' and yelyelís-em 'many icicles' (yélés and -elís 'tooth, teeth'), q^wels-yéq-em 'snowdrift' (twisting + snow + ?), qeyqey_x-elá-s-em 'ray of sun from between clouds' (qeyqey_x-elá 'shadow' + unclear suffixes), possibly

x^wéyem 'rope, thread, string' and a few others.

-p' 'on itself, within itself' and -q' 'on s-th else, within s-th else' (these two suffixes are discussed together because two pairs of words show their difference in meaning): q'elq'ól-p' 'tangled on itself (for ex. a net in the water)', q'elq'ól-q' 'tangled on s-th else, snagged (as a net on a log or branch)', q'elq'ól-q'-t 'coil it', s-q'el-é-w 'coiled (of a snake)' (-é-w and -f-w '(on top of itself)', see below), q'elq'el-p'-f-w 'inchworm' (-f-w is preferred to the version with -f-ws 'on the body' given as an example under the later somatic suffix), s-q'elq'ól-p'-eq^w 'curly hair', xéy-p'-et 'scratch it (and leave a mark), scrape it, claw it', xéy-q'-et 'scratch it (to itch it)', xéy-m-et 'grab it', s-íel-p'-á.yeel 'sloppy lips, flabby lips' and s-íel-íel-p'-é-lf.ye 'sloppy ears' (compare s-íel-lec 'rump, buttocks' (/síel.ec/) which must mean something like '(fold(ed) at the bottom)' while s-íel-p' means something like '(folded on itself)').

-éleq 'one who, -er': ?í.wes-éleq 'a guide' (?í.wes-t 'guide s-o, teach s-o, show s-o'), íélew-éleq 'a healer, an Indian doctor or medicine man at work' (íélew 'working or curing (of an Indian doctor on a patient)', sk^wuk^wel(-)st-éleq 'school teacher' (sk^wú.l 'school'), perhaps slec'-éleq 'spouse's sibling's spouse' - 'step-

sibling' (léc' - lec'- 'different');

-é· 'overly': k^wes-é· 'overheated' (k^wá·k^wes 'hot', k^wes- 'get burned'), sel-é· 'tight' (sí·l- sel- 'spin').

-ó·wes, -ówes, -é·wes 'canoe paddle': x^vec'-ó·wes 'store canoe paddles away' (x^vec'-ét 'store s-th away'), x^vec'-ó·wes-tel 'January moon, time to store canoe paddles away', pot-ówes 'oar' (pót < English boat), x^wel-x^v-ówes 'lift a paddle (while paddling)' (x^wél-x^v 'lift s-th'), c'elc'el-óws-em - c'élc'el-ces 'repeatedly switching sides in paddling' (R 'plural' + c'el- 'switch' + -ówes 'paddle' + -em '(middle voice), one's own', or plural + switch + in the hand), yem-éwés-tel 'wide cedar root strips for baskets' (yem- 'wide strip'), and see also under numeral classifier affixes (this suffix is so used) and numerals.

-éyiws 'pants' (probably < -é·y 'bark' + -í·ws 'covering'); s(e)q-f·ws or sq-éyiws 'pants' and siseq-f·ws or siseq-éyiws 'short pants', k'ík'ep-l-é·yiws 'man's underpants' (k'ép 'down, deep, under-', 'diminutive' prefixed reduplication, -l- possibly 'plural'), kás-em-éyiws 'pants sliding down' (kás-em 'slide down (of clothes)'), and see numeral classifier affixes.

-é·mel 'part, member, nick-' (related to somatic suffix -á·mél 'part, member'): k^wek^wx^v-é·mel 'nickname'

(s-k^wix^v 'a name', thus 'nickname' < 'a part name').

-mex^w 'people': læc'-ó·-mex^w 'different people' (used for different tribes or nationalities)(lé·c' 'be different'), x^wé1-mex^w 'Indian' (x^wel 'just, only'), s'á·1-mex^w 'water babies, water pygmies', possibly st'ó1-mex^w 'medicine' (root meaning unclear), cí·t-mex^w 'big horned owl', and syíwlméx^w-ces 'rattle used at spirit dance by some dancers' (s-yíw-el 'spirit song, spirit power').

-tə̀ 'person': ?owé-tə̀ 'nobody' (only example).

-é(·)ỳ, -é(·)̀, -é̀ 'place to lay or rest or sleep': θiy-é·i-em 'make a bed or place to sleep or lay or rest' (θiy 'make, fix'), cew-é̀-em 'spawning' (cécew 'beach?'), λ'x^w-é·ỳ-em 'sit on eggs' (λ'ex^w 'cover over'), s-qel-é·̀ 'diaper' (qé1 'bad; dirty', used as euphemism for 'dung, feces').

-elecé·ls, -elesè·ls 'plants, grass': léc'-elecé·ls '(to) cut hay' (léc' '(to) cut'), lé·lt-elecé·ls 'spraying water on the garden' (lé·lt '(to) spray', lélt-es-t 'splash/spray/flip s-o with water in the face'), Chwk. s-pápeꞑ^w-elsè·ls, Tait: sx^w-pápeꞑ^w-elsè·ls 'spray-gun (for plants)' (páꞑ^w-et 'blow on a patient (done by Indian doctor)').

-émec', -éməθ', -á·məθ', -əməθ' 'pole, stature, upright, standing, height'(c' from idiolects which

usually replace θ ' with c ' in most words (EL, TM):
 ?isél-émec' 'two poles standing up' (quoted in section
 on numeral classifier affixes)(?isél-le 'two'),
 x^yelk^w-émecθ' 'round (of a pole)' (x^yelk^w-á-ls 'spher-
 ical'), s-qew-é·mécθ' 'side of tree first warmed (by
 sun)' (root means 'warmed'), s-ɣé·lc'-émecθ' 'grown
 twisted (of a tree)' (s- participial, ɣé·lc' 'twist'),
 ?ey-é·mécθ' - ?ey-é·mec' 'good figure, good shape;
 straight (of stick), smooth (of wood, etc.)', λ'eqt-á·mécθ'
 'tall (of a person)' (λ'é·qt 'long'), c'f·λ'-émecθ'
 'short person' (c'f·c'ek' 'short'), ɣam-á·θ'-iye 'baby
 sister of Mt. Cheam' (see under -iye above), and poss-
 ibly c'élélécθ'-x^yel 'short-legged runt' (insulting)
 (root form unclear unless c'él· 'on top of, astride').

-f·m 'repeatedly': c'éc'ek'-f·m 'jumping up and
 down, jumping along' (c'él·ek'em 'jumping'), tètí·m
 'hollering more than once' (tél·m 'holler, yell'),
 sx^w-tətí·m 'telephone', t'éc'-exel-f·m 'mistake in
 splitting roots (for basketry) by making them uneven'
 (t'éc' 'split stick for stretching salmon to dry'),
 x^w-tiyt-f·m 'eddy water (where one sets nets)' (tiyt
 'upriver'), x^welk^w-f·m 'an eddy' (x^welk^w 'to eddy'),
 s-lec'-f·m-él 'a comb' may belong here as may s-λ'eqt-
 -f·m(s) 'length' (λ'é·qt 'long') and x^yc'-f·m-θet
 '(smell oneself) always smell bad' (x^yix^yec'-em 'stink-

ing').

-áyeq 'trunk or root?': st'it'x-áyeq 'fork in a tree or root of a tree' (s-t'éx 'fork (in anything)') (only example).

-á.lweɛ 'side, -ward' (related to ?f.lweɛ 'side'): s-λ'ep-á.lweɛ 'below, underneath' (s-λ'ép 'deep, etc. '), s-ceɛ(-)s-á.lweɛ 'over s-th' (cícɛɛ 'above, high'), s-k^wetx^w-á.lweɛ (t'á.mél) 'carved post inside longhouse' (DM)(possibly 'inside wall' as t'á.mél is 'wall'), sle?-á.lweɛ 'on the other side' (sle?-áθel 'across', sle?-á'ies 'facing away, watchful', but ɛe'él 'go via, go through somewhere (en route)' suggests the root /l/ may be mistranscribed for ɛ in the preceding three words), sɛeq'-á.lweɛ 'one side of body (between arm and hip)' (ɛeq'-él.t 'wide'), also compare: s-?ey-f'ws ?f.lweɛ 'right side of the body' and s-θ'ík^we ?f.lweɛ 'left side of the body'.

-él.m, -ém 'strength': ?ey-ém 'strong' (?éy 'good'), qel-él.m 'weak' (qél 'bad'), xɛ-ém 'tired' (xɛɛ '(to) hurt, ache').

-te 'thing' (related to demonstrative article te): ?owé-te ~ wé-te 'nothing' (?ówe ~ ?éwe '(be) no, not') (only example).

-eɛp, -él.p 'tree, plant' (see morphophonemics for rule predicting -él.p allomorph)(see numeral classi-

fier affix section for the suffix in that function) (very productive, over 50 examples found so far):
 x̄é(·)yθ'-ēɪp 'alder tree' (x̄é(·)yθ' 'unripe'),
 q^weʔá·p-ēɪp '(crab)apple tree' (q^weʔáp '(crab)apple'),
 sk^wó·lmex^w-ēɪp 'blackberry vine (or bush)' (sk^wó·l-mex^w 'blackberry')(if a plant has fruit, the -ēɪp can be dropped to obtain the word for the fruit),
 cəlqá·m-é̄ɪp 'blackcap bush' (cəlq-á·mē 'blackcap'),
 mēc'f̄y-ēɪp 'black hawthorn tree' (mēc'el 'black hawberry'),
 x̄p̄é(·)y-ēɪp 'red cedar tree' (x̄p̄é·y 'red cedar bark and wood'),
 qé·lq-ēɪp 'wild rose bush' (qé·lq 'rose hip'),
 cewó·w-ēɪp 'cottonwood tree',
 t'é·c'-ēɪp 'pink spirea' (used for t'é·c' 'crosspieces for drying fish'),
 c'q^w-ēɪp 'spruce tree' (c'éq^w 'poke, pierce, stab'),
 ʔel̄f̄l-è̄ɪp 'salmonberry plant' (ʔel̄fle 'salmonberry'),
 θ'est̄f̄y-ēɪp 'poplar tree' (θ'és-tel 'metal nail'),
 s-θ-é̄ɪp 'big tree' (θ or θí- 'big').

-é̄lc', -elc' 'twist; turn around': x̄élc'-t 'turn or twist s-o or s-th', x̄-élc'-θet 'turn oneself over or around', s-x̄-é̄lc' 'turned around; turned the wrong way', s-x̄-é̄lc'-em̄eθ' 'grown twisted', s-t'émx^y-é̄lc' 'a braid' (t'éméx^y 'to braid'), q'eyq'-elc'-iyás-em spehé·ls 'whirlwind', siselc'-iyás-em 'turn around in a circle' (sisel- 'spinning' (sfl 'spin' + R) + -elc' 'twist or turn around' + -iyás 'in a circle' + -em

'middle voice (by or for itself)').

- $\acute{e}x^{\mathcal{Y}}$ 'upright, erect': $\text{?im-}\acute{e}x^{\mathcal{Y}}$ 'walk' ($\text{?i}(\cdot)\text{m-et}$ 'step on s-th', thus 'walk' < 'step upright'),
 $\text{t}\acute{e}x\text{-}\acute{e}y\text{-l-}\acute{e}x^{\mathcal{Y}}$ 'stand up' ($\text{t}\acute{e}x\text{-}$ unclear root seen in 'rug', etc., above + $\text{-i}\cdot\text{l}$ 'go, come, get' + $\text{-}\acute{e}x^{\mathcal{Y}}$ 'upright'),
 $x^{\mathcal{W}}\text{ex}^{\mathcal{W}}\text{-fl-}\acute{e}x^{\mathcal{Y}}$ 'get up with quick motion' ($x^{\mathcal{W}}\text{ex}^{\mathcal{W}}\text{-}$ 'sudden' (as in $\text{s-x}^{\mathcal{W}}\text{ex}^{\mathcal{W}}\text{-}\acute{a}\cdot\text{s}$ 'thunderbird, thunder' i.e. 'sudden face') + $\text{-i}\cdot\text{l}$ 'go, come, get' + $\text{-}\acute{e}x^{\mathcal{Y}}$), $q^{\mathcal{W}}\text{ey-fl-}\acute{e}x^{\mathcal{Y}}$ 'dance' (root uncertain unless related to $q^{\mathcal{W}}\text{iy}\text{-}$ 'shake'),
 $k^{\mathcal{W}}\acute{e}\text{l-}\acute{e}x^{\mathcal{Y}}\text{-t}$ 'shoot s-th' ($k^{\mathcal{W}}\acute{e}\text{l-}$ 'hold in hand'), $w\acute{e}\cdot\text{l-x}^{\mathcal{Y}}$ 'throw upward' ($\text{s-w}\acute{e}\cdot\text{ls}$ 'a scramble, scramble-giving' (gifts are thrown upward towards a crowd and they scramble for a piece)'), $t^{\mathcal{W}}\acute{e}\text{m-}\acute{e}x^{\mathcal{Y}}$ '(to) braid' (root unclear).

- \acute{e} , $-\acute{e}\text{m}$ 'using a ___': $q^{\mathcal{W}}\acute{e}\text{-}\acute{e}$ - $q^{\mathcal{W}}\acute{e}\text{-}\acute{e}\text{m}$ 'using a cane, walk with a cane' and $\text{s-q}^{\mathcal{W}}\acute{e}\text{-}\acute{e}$ 'person with a cane' ($q^{\mathcal{W}}\acute{e}\text{w}$ 'cane, staff'), $\text{t}\acute{e}x^{\mathcal{W}}\text{-m}\acute{e}\text{l-}\acute{e}\text{m-}\text{c}\acute{e}\text{l}$ - $\text{s-m}\acute{e}\text{l-}\acute{e}\text{m-}\text{c}\acute{e}\text{l}$ 'I adopt a child' ($\text{t}\acute{e}x^{\mathcal{W}}\text{-m}\acute{e}\text{l}\acute{e}$ 'step-child'), and $\text{e}^{\mathcal{W}}\acute{e}y\acute{e}\cdot\text{m}$ 'marry a sibling of deceased spouse' ($\text{e}^{\mathcal{W}}\acute{e}y\acute{e}$ 'sibling of deceased spouse').

- $\acute{e}\cdot\text{leq}$, $-\text{e}\text{leq}$ 'waves': $\text{e}^{\mathcal{W}}\text{eh-}\acute{e}\cdot\text{leq}$ 'waves are getting bigger' ($\text{e}^{\mathcal{W}}\text{eh}$ 'bigger', -h epenthetic), Seabird Island dialect: $\text{sm}\acute{e}\cdot\text{y-e}\text{leq}$ 'wave' (root meaning unclear), $x^{\mathcal{Y}}\text{et-}\acute{e}\text{l}\acute{e}q(\text{e})\text{-t}\acute{e}\text{l}$ 'sinker line' ($x^{\mathcal{Y}}\acute{e}\cdot\text{t}$ 'a sinker, lead weight, lead'), $\text{s}^{\mathcal{W}}\text{ep-}\acute{e}\cdot\text{leq}$ 'underskirt, underslip' (i.e. 'under-waves').

-eɪ 'according to the ways of the, in the way of the': s-x^welmóx^w-eɪ 'according to the ways of the Indian, in the way of the Indian, in the Indian way', s-x^welitem-eɪ 'in the white man's way, according to the ways of the white man'. (Only examples so far).

-(?)á·yɛɛ '(wooden?)': miməle-?-á·yɛɛ 'doll' (miməle 'baby, tiny child' (< R₄- 'diminutive' + məle 'child'); -á·yɛɛ may be related to s-yá·ɪ 'firewood, wood', s-yá·yɪ 'little firewood, little stick of wood', and s-yéyɛɪ 'gambling stick (in slehal)'). (Only example).

-á·lɪ, -?á·lɪ (-? epenthetic after vowel) 'young':
 (3-4 yrs.)
 swi(yə)qe-?-á·lɪ 'boy', siwí(yə)qe-?-á·lɪ 'boys' (< swí(yə)qe 'man, male'), sɛliy-á·lɪ 'girl child' and sɛllɪiy-á·lɪ 'little girls' (< sɛ·li(y) 'woman, female'), mɛmɛle-h-á·lɪ 'bird egg' (mɛmɛle 'children (kinterm)'), s-miməle-h-á·lɪ-é·lé 'nest of a little bird', stiqiw-á·lɪ 'colt, baby horse', músməs-à·lɪ 'calf', tɛpɛɪ-ɛlɪ 'board for stretching small hides (squirrel, etc.)' (tɛpá-t ʌ) 'prop it up').

-eɪ 'young' (obviously related to -á·lɪ and -íɪ 'baby, child, young'): s-ʌ'fʌ'əq-eɪ 'child' (R₄- 'diminutive', root meaning unclear), s-té·x^w-eɪ 'children' (root meaning unclear)(this suppletive pair are age terms not kinterms).

5.2.4. Marginal cases.

-q '(closable container)': qp'é--q-et 'cover it

with a lid, close it (of a box, etc.)' (qep'ε-lac-tel 'a cover or lid', qep'-á·yθ-θà·m 'you get covered on the mouth'), x^w-mε·-q-et 'open it (box, bottle, closable container)' (x^w-mε·-x^y 'open it (door, gate, anything)'), mεθ'eł-q-f·wel 'woodtick' (pus + inside container + on the insides).

-ámet 'costume': s-ləw-ámet 'entire costume of a dancer (spirit dancer--old or new, s_x^wá_x^wey dancer, etc.) from head to toe' (s-ləw-ly 'inner cedar bark' may be root)(this is only example).

-el '-ish' (this semantic element may be signaled by reduplication in the examples ; then -el would have to be 'verbal' or < -f·l'gɔ): c-q'^wfq'^wex^(w)-el 'brownish-black' (c-k'^wfyex^w 'brown', c-q'^wéyx 'black'), s-q'^wfq'^wex-el 'getting blackish', qeyqeyx-el-á 'shadow' (c-q'^wéyx 'black' ?), s-q'^wáq^wiy-el 'yellowish' (q'^wáy-el 'get yellow, be yellow' has -el < -f·l 'go, come, get' and Aa (a-ablaut) from c-q'^wé·y 'color yellow'), stitəθ-el 'puny' (stí·θ 'thin, skinny'):

-á·l 'just, (exactly)' (related to ?ál 'just, (exactly)'): ?iy-á·l-em 'okay, right, correct, alright' (?iy- is bound form of ?éy 'good').

-é·lx^w '(leaves)': tēm-hil-é·lx^w 'autumn, fall' (hf·l-em '(to) fall (tumbling)').

-é·w '(on top of itself)': s-q'^wel-é·w 'coiled (of

snake)' and s-q'elq'el-é·w 'coiling (of a snake)(ready to strike)' (cp. q'elq'él-q'-t 'coil it', q'elq'él-q' 'tangled on s-th else', and q'elq'él-p' 'tangled on it-self'), q'elq'el-p'-f·w 'inchworm', q^ws-é·w-iyel 'set a net and drift with it'.

-ét 'one out of': mek^w-ét 'somebody' (mék^w 'anybody').

-eθ '(stripes?): s-k^wim-eθ 'little roundmouthed sucker-fish (many have red stripes)' (c-k^wim 'red color'), s-xé·m-eθ 'cottonwood sap' (- c'ic'em-é·wex) (xè·m 'crying').

One-fourth of all the lexical suffixes found in this chapter begin with el, ε(·)l or a(·)l, including: -élólqel, -élmél, -á·les, -é·lí·yε, -(e)(l)qs(el), -él·es (~ -elís), -eléxel, -é·lwes ~ -élwes, -(e)lec, -élqel ~ -elqel, -elsx^yé, -elwet, -é·ltex^w, -(ε)ltx^w ~ -(el)tx^w (~ -é·wtx^w), -á·lk^w±, -elep ~ -f·lep (etc.) ~ -ép (etc.), -(el)cep, -élólqep, -é·lews, -é·ltel, -elá·t, -elécε, -elélex^w, -elεq ('male name' and 'one who ___'), -elócé·ls, -á·lwe±, -é·lc' ~ -elc', -é·leq ~ -elεq, and -á·ll±. Some of the initial vowel + l elements show signs of being optional. It seems like the vowel + l may have been a grammatical marker of some kind whose meaning can no longer be recovered.

CHAPTER 6. VERBS

6.0. Introduction.

6.0.1. Verb versus nominal. Halkomelem word classes have already been contrasted and defined to some extent in Chapter 3. But since some Salish languages have been described as having shadowy if not non-existent borderlines between verbs and nouns or nominals, it seems appropriate here to contrast further the Upriver Halkomelem verbs and nominals. The traditional semantic criteria can be used, i.e., words for people, animals, things are nominals, while words for doing things, being something or things happening are verbs. Thus x^wélmex^w 'Indian', mémele 'children', Méli 'Mary', sqelé·w 'beaver', músmes 'cow', lélem 'house' and swéyəl 'day' are nominals; léṃ 'go, going, go to, going to', ?iwálem 'playing', xè·m 'weep(ing), cry(ing)', ?éleε 'it's me', ?éy 'be good', stetís 'be near', p'əq'éyl 'get white, turn white', and θ'áθ'elem 'getting chilled, being chilled' are verbs. Semantic criteria can be used because the distinction is semantic in part and because words are classed into the same word classes (N or V) by morphological and syntactic criteria as well.

Morphologically, some affixes can be added only to derive or inflect nominals, and some can be added

only to derive or inflect verbs. Thus if a word has one of these affixes it can be classed as a nominal or a verb. For example, words with the following affixes added last in their derivational or inflectional histories are nominals: s- 'nominalizer' (except where used with R to derive participial verbs), sx^w- 'nominalizer', -təl 'device, tool', -eɪp 'plant, tree', -é·lews 'leaf', -(?)á·lɪ 'young', -á·t 'female name', -eléc 'male name', -R₁- 'pet name', -s '3rd person possessive pronoun'; words with the following affixes added last are verbs: subject or object pronoun affixes, we- 'when; if', transitivizers (including control suffixes), intransitivizers, continuatives R, A and hɛ- - hɛ-, -təl 'reciprocal', reflexives -lá·met and -(e)θet, -ce 'future', -eɪc 'benefactive'. These are not exhaustive lists.

Syntactically, a nominal (unless used vocatively) is always preceded by a demonstrative article; the article (and in some persons the nominal) can be inflected for possession. However, a verb or verb phrase must first be nominalized to be treated thus. Verbs on the other hand can be inflected with subject and object pronouns and many other inflectional suffixes; nominals cannot be inflected with any of these strictly verbal suffixes. (Subject pronoun suffixes can be suf-

fixed to nominals but only to animate nominals, and when this is done the nominal becomes a verb:

$x^w\acute{e}lmex^w$ 'Indian', $x^w\acute{e}lmex^wcel$ 'I am an Indian'; the $-cel$ converts $x^w\acute{e}lmex^w$ to a verb, 'be an Indian'.)

Thirdly, in the simple declarative sentence (or phrase) with both nominal and verb, the verb precedes the nominal. For example: $l\acute{e}m\ te\ m\acute{u}smes$. 'The cow is going.'

is going the cow

V N

$k^w\acute{e}c$ $-l$ $-ex^w$ $-cel$ te $x^w\acute{e}x^w\acute{e}ye$. 'I see a fly.'
 see happen it I the fly
 -----to-v-obj-subj. N

$q\acute{e}x$ te $q^w\acute{e}l$ $stet\acute{e}s$ $te?$ $c\acute{e}lex^y$. 'There are
 are the mosquito near your hand many mosqui-
 many toes near
 V N V N your hand.'

$l\acute{e}p$ $-ex^y$ $-es$ te $-l$ $m\acute{e}le$ te $s-$ $k^w\acute{o}lmex^w$.
 eat them he the my child the (nom.) blackberry
 obj. subj.
 V N N N

'My child eats the blackberries.'

This order even obtains in some questions:

$lf-cx^w$ $k^w\acute{e}c$ $-l$ $-ex^w$ $\acute{e}e$ $S\acute{u}s\acute{e}l$ lf te $x^y\acute{e}t$.
 do you see happen her the Susan in the path
 to obj. (f.)
 V V N V N

'Do you see Susan in the path?'

6.0.2. Transitive versus intransitive. Within the verb word class in Halkomelem there is a very dis-

tinct division into transitive verbs (Vt) and intransitive verbs (Vi). All verbs without an overt transitive suffix are intransitive verbs. Many intransitive verbs are also overtly marked by an intransitive suffix. Unlike English (where transitivity and intransitivity are largely shown only by syntax and where many verbs can be either Vt or Vi depending on syntax), Halkomelem has only a tiny handful of verbs that can be either Vt or Vi without changing suffixes. Further differing from English, Halkomelem treats the following as intransitive verbs: adjectives (including participles), noun-statives (translated by 'be' + noun), adverbs, interrogatives, some sets of personal pronouns, some demonstratives, and most verbs with lexical object affixes. Each of these types will be dealt with in a separate section in this chapter.

Lexical affixes sometimes have a nominalizing effect (táy 'to canoe-race' + -owet 'canoe' → táyowet 'a race canoe', cák^w 'be distant, far' + R₁ + -á·les 'in the eye' → cack^wá·les 'goatsbeard plant (whose blooms can be seen from far away)'), but more often they do not change the word class of the stem (k^waq^w 'hit with stick-like object' + -á·les 'in the eye' → k^wq^wá·les 'hit in the eye with a stick-like object', k^wes 'burned (of skin)' + -á·yθel 'on the lip or jaw'

→ k^wesá·yθel 'burned on the lips'). An interesting paradox is the fact that lexical affixes often provide verbs with semantic objects (hit eye with stick) but do not make verbs transitive syntactically. One cannot say *k^wq^wá·les te qélém or *k^wq^wá·les te Bill (where te qélém is 'the eye'); in fact k^wq^wá·les cannot take a syntactic object of any kind unless it is first transitivized (k^wq^wá·les-T-es túx'á te Bill 'he hit Bill in the eye with a stick'). The fact that it can be transitivized (and must be to take an object) shows that the lexical affix is morphologically intransitive. Many lexical affixes can be attached to nominals as well as to verbs (qá· 'water' + -á·les 'in the eye' → qe'á·les 'tear', s- 'nominalizer' + ceɬ 'above, high' + -á·yθel 'lip, chin' → sceɬá·yθel 'upper lip').

6.0.3. Types of verbs, roots, and stems. A root is what remains when all derivational and inflectional affixes have been removed from a word. A stem is what remains when only the inflectional affixes have been removed. Verbs can be classified according to the word class of the root (root type), according to the type or combination of types of its derivational affixes (stem type), and according to the syntactic and semantic function of the verb (verb type).

As seen in 6.0.2, the verb types include:

1. Vt (sub-grouped by which transitivizer they have),
 2. plain Vi (sub-grouped by the lack of or type of
 intransitivizer they have), 3. adjectival Vi, 4. pre-
 positional Vi, 5. adverbial Vi, 6. interrogative Vi,
 7. personal pronoun Vi, 8. demonstrative Vi, and
 9. auxiliary Vi. These nine verb types will be dis-
 cussed in 6.1 and following.

Root types. Verb roots without derivational
 affixes are plentiful. These include most types of
 intransitive verbs, for example: yéq^W 'burn', ʔá·ḷ
 'get aboard', t'éyεq 'be angry', hí·k^W 'be big',
 ʔéwe - ʔówe 'be not, not be', yewé·l '(be) first',
 qé·ys 'lately, recently', lí 'at, to, in', telí 'from;
 than', ʔeléce 'where (is it)?', k^W·f·l 'how many (are
 they)?', selcí·m 'how (is it)?', ʔélθe 'it's me', léwe
 'it's you' (ʔélθe and léwe are actually personal pro-
 nouns with Vi qualities), ʔí· 'be here', lí· 'be there',
 lí(·) and ʔí(·) auxiliaries.

Verb roots with derivational affixes come from all
 word classes except the particles. A number of verb
 roots are only attested with one derivational affix
 and never without a derivational affix; for these the
 word class of the root is unclear sometimes, unless
 the affix is attached only to predictable word classes
 or never changes the word class. More frequently verb

roots are attested in other derivational environments or as stems themselves. Most of the time these roots are shown to be verbs; less often they are nominals; a handful each are demonstratives or personal pronouns, and one is an attested numeral (it can be assumed that the other numerals can function the same way). Some examples follow.

Verbs as verb roots: *cíi-* 'high' (as in *cíi-eq^W* '(high hair), bushy and uncombed hair') + *-R₁-* → *cícei* 'be above, be high', *c'ég^W* 'poke, pierce' + *-ó·weí* 'canoe, vessel, (basket)' → *c'eq^Wó·weí* 'weave a fine cedar root basket', *pá·y-* 'bend' + *-T* 'purposeful control transitivizer' + *∅* '3rd person object' → *pá·yt* 'bend it', *pá·y-* 'bend' + *s-* and *R₁* 'participial' → *spápiy* 'crooked', *k^Wág^W-* 'club, hit with stick-like object' + *-əT* 'purposeful control transitivizer' + *∅* '3rd person object' ⇒ *k^Wág^Wet* 'club s-o, hit s-th or s-o with a stick', *-tém* 'what?' + *s-* 'nominalizer(?)' → *stém* 'what?, what is it?', *-tém* 'what?' + *tem-* 'time' → *temtém* 'when (is it)?', *yéq'-* 'fall (of a tree)' + *R₁* 'continuative' + *-əls* 'intransitivizer' → *yéyeq'əls* 'falling (of a tree)', *yéq'-* 'fall (of a tree)' + *-əT* 'purposeful control *V_t*' + *∅* '3rd person object' → *yéq'et* 'to fall/fell a tree', *t'ók^W* 'be mired' + *-f·les* 'in the chest' → *t'ək^Wf·les*

'choke on food'.

Nominals as verb roots: q'ewét 'a drum' + -em
 'intransitivizer' → q'ewétem 'to drum (for s-o)',
 Ө'ýε 'sibling of deceased spouse' + -é·m 'to use' or
 'intransitivizer' → Ө'ýé·m 'to marry sibling of
 deceased spouse', sqemél 'pit house' + -f·l 'go, come'
 → sqemf·l 'be inside a pit house', qá· 'water' + -em
 'intransitivizer' → qá·m 'dip water, fetch or pack
 water', mé·le 'bait (nominal)' + -(ə)T 'purposeful
 control Vt' → mé·let 'bait it', mék^W - mók^W 'all,
 everyone, everything' + -ét 'purposeful control Vt'
 → mék^W·ét - mok^W·ét 'take it all, pick it all up',
 Өé·t 'darkness' + -f·l 'go, come, get' → Өetf·l
 'go dark, get dark', qá· 'water' + derivational R₁ →
 qá·qe 'to drink'.

Personal pronouns as verb roots: ?élθε 'it's me'
 + R₇- 'emphasis' → ?é?élθε 'it's really me', lówe
 'it's you', etc.

Demonstratives as verb roots: ?f· 'be here' +
 x^We- 'become, come to' → x^We?f· 'come to be here,
 come here, arrive' + -l 'happen to, manage to (control
 transitivizer)' + -ex^W '3rd person object' → x^We?f·lx^W
 'bring s-th here', similarly lf· 'be there' + x^We- + -l
 + -ex^W → x^Welf·lx^W 'bring s-th there, get s-th there'.

Numerals as verb roots: ?ápel 'ten' + A + -es

'dollars' → ?epá·les 'ten dollars' + -sT 'causative (control transitivizer)' + -ex^W '3rd person object (meaning neutralized?)' + -es '3rd person subject' → ?epaléstx^Wes 'it costs ten dollars' (possibly 's-o causes s-th to be ten dollars').

Stem types. If transitivizers and intransitivizers are considered derivational (as they seem at times), then this section would have the task of cataloguing and exemplifying their various combinations with lexical affixes and the derivational infixes R, A, and K. But we are saved the trouble because transitivizers and intransitivizers are inflectional instead, for a number of reasons: they are obligatory (with Vt's and participles for example), they form contrasting oppositions with each other, and they interact with pronominal suffixes ('3rd person object' is -ex^W after -l and -sT, -Ø after -T, -mæT, etc.).

Verb stems then consist of roots plus (or minus) combinations of lexical affixes, derivational infixes of R, A, or K, and in a few cases petrified transitivizers. There are no cases of roots being suffixed with transitivizers and then with intransitivizers and no cases of the reverse process. The few cases of petrified transitivizers are as close as one comes, and these may well be part of the root and not affixes

at all: q^wécet 'belch', xeléq't 'open one's eyes',
 ɛeq'ét - ləq'ét ' (be) wide', qelét 'again', ?é.y(ə)lex^w
 'alive' (cp. ?é.y 'keep on going'), ?é.y(ə)lex^w-sT-əx^w
 'keep s-o alive', and ?é.y(ə)lex^w-lex^w 'bring s-o back
 to life, revive s-o'.

Vi stem types include naked roots and roots
 affixed with: R, R + -X (where X = lexical affix),
 R + A, X- + A (+ -X), K + -X, X-, and (X-) + -X (+ -X).
 That means that no more than two lexical suffixes
 have been found so far on a single stem, but stems
 have been found with one or two lexical suffixes plus
 a lexical prefix. Vt stem types include naked roots
 and roots affixed with: R, A, X- (+ -X), -X (+ -X),
 and probably others. Here again never more than two
 lexical suffixes are found on one Vt stem. Many exam-
 ples of various stem types can be found in the chap-
 ters on lexical affixes and on morphophonemics (under
 reduplication, vowel ablaut, and consonant ablaut).

6.1. Verb Inflection. Outline:

- 6.1.1. Personal Pronouns: as in Chapter 4,
 6.1.2. Transitivity (Control Suffixes) + Intransitiv-
 izers,
 6.1.3. Beneficiary Suffixes: benefactive, reflexives,
 reciprocal,
 6.1.4. Aspect: continuative, non-continuative,

- 6.1.5. Participles,
- 6.1.6. Voice: active, middle, passive,
- 6.1.7. Mood: subjunctive (when, if, uncertainty, negation), imperative, interrogative,
- 6.1.8. Tense: present, past, future,
- 6.1.9. Plural and Diminutive: plural object, plural subject, plural action, plural action completive, repeatedly; diminutive,
- 6.1.10. Internal Syntax and the Co-occurrence of Verb Inflections.

6.1.1. Personal Pronouns. Subject and object pronouns are suffixed onto verbs as seen in Chapter 4 (sections 4.4, 4.5, 4.8, 4.9, and 4.10). Little more needs to be said except to point out in a few cases those inflectional endings which require or exclude certain pronoun sets (this will be done in 6.1.5—6.1.9) and to specify where the pronoun sets fit in the internal syntax of the verb (this will be done in 6.1.10).

6.1.2. Transitivity (Control Suffixes) and Intransitivity.

6.1.2.1. Control suffixes are transitivity suffixes which indicate whether the subject had full control of the verbal action (did it purposely), had little control of the verbal action (did it accidentally, happened

or managed to do it), or had control over someone else's action and caused someone to do it. The control suffixes are the only transitivity devices in Upper Stalo dialects of Halkomelem. Since they are obligatory with all transitive verbs (Vt) and a decision as to degree of control must be made for each Vt, control suffixes have the status of grammatical inflection rather than derivation. The six that have been found so far are:

- (ə)T - -éT - -á(·)T - -é(·)T 'do purposely to s-o/s-th'
- l 'do accidentally, happen to do, manage to do to s-o or s-th'
- sT 'cause it (or s-o) to do, make s-o or s-th do'
- (e)x^y 'do purposely to s-th or s-o (especially to an inanimate object)'
- meT 'happen (with little control) to do an action not directly affecting s-o or s-th'
- (e)les '(accidentally, happen to, manage to) do to s-o or s-th'

The meanings given for these suffixes are seldom overtly translated as given here. The usual case is for these semantic elements to combine with the root or stem meaning, to yield a gloss more succinct than the sum of its parts. For example, ?é·y-st-ex^w 'chase s-o or s-th' < 'keep on going' + 'cause to' +

'3rd person object', $m\acute{e}-x^{\check{y}}$ 'take it off (of a button, etc.)' < 'come off' + 'do purposely to inanimate object', $t^{\check{y}}f\cdot l\acute{e}m-t$ 'sing it' < 'sing' + 'do purposely to s-th'. As can also be seen from some of the examples, the control suffixes are often translated as mere transitivizers with the degree of control more implied than overtly stated (but definitely present semantically). Control suffixes are immediately followed by object personal pronoun suffixes.

The stressed allomorphs of control suffixes must be accounted for by morphophonemic rules with morphemic conditioning. Out of about 350 transitive verbs, only the following show stressed control suffixes:

$-á(\cdot)T$: $peq^w\acute{a}t$ 'break it in two', $x^w\acute{e}k^w\acute{a}t$ 'drag s-o', $\theta^w\acute{e}x^w\acute{a}t$ 'wash s-th (or s-o)', $\acute{t}eq^w\acute{a}\cdot t$ 'bark it (of a tree)', $\acute{t}x^w\acute{a}\cdot t$ 'spit (s-th)', $\acute{t}x^w\acute{a}\theta\acute{a}x^{\check{y}}es$ 'he spit me out', $scewa\acute{a}\cdot t$ 'know how to do s-th', possibly $?\acute{e}h\acute{a}\cdot t$ 'wrap s-th up', (probably not $?á\cdot t$ 'call (s-o)' and $y\acute{a}\cdot t$ 'warn s-o' which seem to have $-T$).

$-é(\cdot)T$: $tq\acute{e}t$ 'close s-th', $k^w\acute{e}x^{\check{y}}\acute{e}(\cdot)t$ 'count s-th (or s-o)', $k^w\acute{e}l\acute{e}\cdot t$ 'hold s-th (in hand)', $k^w\acute{e}\acute{t}\acute{e}t$ 'spill it', $k^w\acute{e}\acute{t}\acute{e}\theta\acute{a}x^{\check{y}}es$ 'he spilled me (from a canoe)', $seq^{\check{y}}\acute{e}t$ (\sim $s\acute{e}q^{\check{y}}\acute{e}t$) 'split it, crack it', $we\theta^{\check{y}}\acute{e}t$ 'tease s-o', $we\theta^{\check{y}}\acute{e}\theta\acute{a}m\grave{e}$ 'tease you', $l\acute{e}m\acute{e}\cdot t$ 'kick s-o (or s-th)', $ce\acute{e}\acute{e}\cdot t$ 'send s-o', $x^w\acute{t}\acute{e}t$ 'tear s-th', (probably not

$k^w\acute{e}t$ 'set s-o free'). Just as $k^w\acute{e}t$ can mean 'spill s-th' or 'spill s-o', the choice of 's-o' or 's-th' or of both 's-o/s-th' depends mostly on the context; I have thus glossed the words in these paragraphs as I obtained them, and the s-o or s-th should be understood to depend somewhat on context. Also it might be noted that a number of these verbs are also attested without the transitivizers (for example, $k^w\acute{e}t$ 'spill', $k^w(e)x^y\acute{e}m$ 'count', and $\acute{x}^w\acute{e}t$ 'tear').

- $\acute{e}t$: $l\acute{e}c^{\acute{e}t}$ 'fill it up', $m\acute{e}k^w\acute{e}t$ 'pick it all up', $\theta\acute{e}k^w\acute{e}t$ 'pull s-th', $\acute{x}\theta\acute{e}^{\acute{e}t}$ 'shove s-th/s-o', $\acute{x}\theta\acute{e}^{\acute{e}t}\acute{x}^y\acute{e}s$ 'he shoved me', $\theta\acute{e}\acute{x}^{\acute{e}t}$ 'push s-th (or s-o)', $q^w\acute{e}m\acute{e}t$ 'pull s-th up by roots', $x^y\acute{e}c^{\acute{e}t}$ 'store or put s-th away', $\theta q^{\acute{e}t}$ 'spear it (esp. fish)', $\acute{x}^{\acute{e}t}$ 'beat s-o up (lit. 'hurt s-o')', $\lambda^{\acute{x}^w\acute{e}t}$ 'cover s-o or s-th (with s-th cloth-like)', $\lambda^{\acute{x}^w\acute{e}t}$ 'win it (race, game, etc.)', $q^p\acute{e}t$ 'gather or collect s-th, pick it up', $q^w\acute{s}^{\acute{e}t}$ 'launch or push s-th into water, push s-o into water', $q^w\acute{s}^{\acute{e}t}\acute{x}^y\acute{e}s$ 'he pushed me into the water', $x^w\acute{p}^{\acute{e}t}$ 'pick s-th up from floor or ground', $\acute{x}t^{\acute{e}t}$ 'put a spell on s-o', (probably not $\acute{x}\acute{e}y^w\acute{e}t$ 'scold or advise s-o, warn s-o', $q^{\acute{e}w\acute{e}t}$ 'pay s-o').

The roots in all these examples (excluding those in parentheses) are C_1eC_2 or C_1C_2 ; in other derivations or inflections of these roots, the roots always

have the shape C_1C_2 or C_1eC_2 or at most C_1eC_2 (usually when the root appears uninflected or word finally). For example: $péq^W$ 'broken in two', $\theta'éx^W$ 'wash', $\pm'éx^W-eice$ 'spitting' (where the stress shift to root is 'continuative'), $s-teq-té1$ 'door', $\pm-séq$ 'half', $x^Wét$ '(to) tear', $xé\pm$ 'hurt', $\lambda'éx^W$ 'covered', $s-q'ép$ 'a gathering', $q^Wés$ 'fall into water'. So it seems that these roots are zero-grade or schwa-grade roots. As such they cause an affix vowel to be stressed whenever affixed with a vowel-containing affix. Confirming this is the remainder of transitive verbs in $-(e)T$ which all feature stressed roots or stressed stems.

There doesn't seem to be any way to predict which roots take $-á(\cdot)T$ instead of $-éT$ or $-é(\cdot)T$ instead of $-ét$, other than listing the roots. However it seems that those taking $-á(\cdot)T$ all end in a labialized consonant (C^W), w , or h , while those taking $-é(\cdot)T$ never end in C^W , w , or h . It is too early to say whether this is co-incidence or a phonological class. Roots taking $-éT$ seem to include those with final C^W as well as those without.

A handful of transitive examples have an abnormally stressed 3rd person object suffix after the control suffix: $xé\pm-l-éx^W$ 'hurt s-o or s-th (by accident)'

(cp. $\text{x}\text{e}\text{i}-\text{l}-\text{á}\text{x}^{\text{Y}}-\text{es}$ 'he hurt me (by accident)', $\text{x}\text{e}\text{i}-\text{l}-\text{ém}$ '(he got hurt), s-o hurt him, he was hurt'), $\text{l}\text{e}\text{k}^{\text{W}}-\text{l}-\text{é}\text{x}^{\text{W}}$ 'break a bone, break it (of a bone or sticklike object)' (cp. $\text{l}\text{e}\text{k}^{\text{W}}-\text{l}-\text{ém}$ 'he got a bone broken', $\text{l}\text{e}\text{k}^{\text{W}}-\text{l}-\text{é}\text{x}^{\text{W}}-\text{es}$ tel $\text{c}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}\text{é}\text{x}^{\text{Y}}$ 'he broke my hand (accidentally)'), $\text{c}'\text{e}\text{q}^{\text{W}}-\text{l}-\text{é}\text{x}^{\text{W}}$ 'hit s-th or s-o accidentally with a piercing projectile', $\text{x}'\text{e}\text{q}-\text{l}-\text{é}\text{x}^{\text{W}}$ 'complete s-th', $\text{e}\text{x}\text{q}-\text{l}-\text{é}\text{x}^{\text{W}}$ 'discover s-th'; $\text{k}^{\text{W}}\text{e}\text{l}-\text{l}-\text{é}\text{x}^{\text{W}}$ 'catch s-th (ball, animal, disease)', $\text{c}\text{e}\text{m}-\text{l}-\text{é}\text{x}^{\text{W}}-\text{es}$ 'he met up with her'; $\text{q}'\text{e}\text{l}-\text{s}\text{t}-\text{é}\cdot\text{x}^{\text{W}}$ 'fooled s-o' (cp. $\text{q}'\text{e}\text{l}-\text{s}\text{e}-\text{á}\text{x}^{\text{Y}}-\text{es}$ 'he fooled me'), $\text{s}\text{i}\text{s}\text{i}-\text{s}\text{t}-\text{é}\text{x}^{\text{W}}-\text{es}$ 'he's scaring them'. These cases are peripheral to control suffixes but seem explainable in the same way (zero- or schwa-grade roots causing stress and ablaut of suffix vowel which is usually unstressed e). The exceptions are $\text{c}\text{e}\text{m}-\text{l}-\text{é}\text{x}^{\text{W}}-\text{es}$ which is related to $\text{c}\acute{\text{a}}\cdot\text{m}-\text{t}\text{e}\text{l}$ 'meet up with each other, elope' and $\text{s}\text{i}\text{s}\text{i}-\text{s}\text{t}-\text{é}\text{x}^{\text{W}}-\text{es}$ ($\text{s}\text{i}\text{s}\text{i} < \text{s}\acute{\text{i}}\cdot\text{s}\text{i}$, certainly not a zero-grade or schwa-grade root).

Some idea of the semantic effect of control suffixes can be obtained from the examples given in 4.5 of Chapter 4, from the examples given in the six preceding paragraphs (especially the first four paragraphs), and from the examples which now follow.

{-(e)T} 'do purposely to s-o or s-th': $\text{t}\acute{\text{a}}\text{s}-\text{e}\text{t}$ 'mash s-th (berries, etc.)' ($\text{t}\acute{\text{a}}\text{s}$ 'get hit by s-th mov-

ing, bumped, mashed'), sîx-et 'move s-th over' (cp. sox-éyl-əm 'move over'), lépéc-t 'send s-th' (lépéc 'send'), leq'él-cēs-t 'turn the tables on s-o', ?fîk^W-et 'throw s-th away, discard s-th' (?fîk^W 'lost'), θîy-t 'make s-th, fix s-th' (θîy 'make, fix'), k^Wtéx^W-t 'let s-o in' (s-k^Wetéx^W '(be) inside (a house or cave)'), xéym-leq^W-t 'pull s-o's hair' (xéym-et 'grab s-o/s-th'), q'á·y-t 'kill s-th or s-o' (q'á·y 'die'), qíq'-et 'apprehend s-o, catch s-o' (qíq' 'apprehended, caught, grounded').

{-l} 'do accidentally, happen to do, manage to do to s-th or s-o': wec'ék'-l-ex^W 'drop s-th by accident' (wec'ék' 'drop down (of an object or person)'), célq-l-ex^W 'dropped it' (célq 'fall'), mélq-l-ex^W 'forget s-th/s-o', (Chwk.) (s)îé-q'əl-l-ex^W - (Cheh., Tait) î-q'él-l-ex^W 'know s-th' (q'él 'believe'), xéyxel-l-ex^W 'insult s-o' (xéyl-ex 'make war'), xei-wîl-l-àmè 'disappoint you' (xèl-wîl 'disappointed'), θ'ép-l-ex^W 'blink', q'ep'-l-áx^V-es 'he infected me, he passed a sickness on to me, he got me addicted (to an activity, food, drugs, etc.)', ?ák^W-l-ex^W 'lose s-th' (?fîk^W 'lost'), yéq'-l-ex^W-es 'he fell a tree, he managed to fell it' (yéq'et 'fall it (of a tree)', s-yéyeq' 'a fallen tree, log').

{-sT} 'cause s-th or s-o to do, make s-o or s-th do':

qéx-st-ex^W 'make it thick, make it lots' (qéx 'be lots, many'), ?ówe-st-ex^W '(to) deny s-th' (?ówe 'be not, not be, no'), ?é·yēlex^W-st-ex^W 'keep s-o alive',
 θ'q'ēixamé-st-em 'he was made to kneel' (θ'q'ēixém 'kneel'), mé-st-ex^W 'bring s-th, fetch s-th' (me - mí - ?emí 'come'), xéyxē-st-ex^W 'make s-o ashamed' (xéyxē 'ashamed'), ?epalé-st-ex^W-es 'it costs ten dollars' (?epáles 'ten dollars'), tēqtá·lé-st-ex^W 'join s-th together', s-x^Wá·x^We-l-st-ex^W 'holding s-th up' (x^Wá·x^We 'lightweight'), xté·-st-ex^W 'do it',
 ?iyá·lēm-st-ex^W 'obey s-o' (?iyá·lēm 'alright, correct, okay, can').

-(ə)x^Y 'do purposely to s-th or s-o (especially to s-th)' (including all examples found so far):
 léw-ex^Y-es 'he put it in' and léw-ex^Y-em 'it was put in' (lī·w 'inside (s-th)', lew-f·l-em 'go inside a hole'), lép'-ex^Y 'eat s-th' (lép'-eT 'eat s-o'),
 tē·l-x^Y 'track s-th (or s-o), follow tracks of s-th',
 k^Wé·l-x^Y 'hide s-th (an object, not a person)' (k^Wé·l 'hide (oneself)'),
 λ'p-ī·l-x^Y 'bring it down (from upper shelf or upstairs)' (λ'p-f·l 'descend, go down'),
 wé·l-x^Y-es 'he threw it (upwards)' (wé·ls 'throw to a crowd, scramble-give' (['throw a pole or blankets to a crowd at a winter ceremony; the thrower gives each person a gift proportionate to the portion of

pole or blanket he is able to hold onto']'),
 há·k^w-ex^y-es 'he used it', x^wé1-x^y-es 'he lifted it',
 x^we-mé-x^y 'open s-th (a door for ex:)' and mé-x^y 'take
 it off (from something it is attached to)' and memé-x^y
 'to separate or split up people fighting' (all compared
 with memé 'it came off (a button, etc.)'), tém-ex^y
 'desire s-th, wish for s-th', t'ém-ex^y 'braid it'.

-meT 'happen to do an action (with little control)
 not directly affecting s-o or s-th' (including all ex-
 amples found so far): éél-met 'look after s-o' and
 éééel-met 'admiring s-o' (< é'élle 'heart?'), k'ólá·el-
 -met 'get used to it', k^wéck^w·éc-met 'expect s-o,
 look for s-o', s-fwél-met 'sense s-th/s-o' (-fwel
 'thoughts, feelings, insides'), st'ewél-met 'thinking
 about s-th' (ste[?]él-wel (AG) ~ st'él-wel (EB, CT) 'guess,
 think'), ?éliye-met 'dream of s-o' (?éliye '(to) dream'),
 sí·si-met 'be afraid of s-th/s-o' (sí·si 'be afraid'),
 q'él-met 'believe s-o' (q'él·l 'believe'), x^wlélél·-met
 'listen to s-o/s-th' (x^wlélél· 'listen'), sq'eq'á-met
 'stay together with s-o' (sq'eq'á 'together'), íéw-met
 'run away from s-o' (íé·w 'run away; cured', ífw - k'fw
 'run away'), é'fwél-met 'be fed up with s-th/s-o'
 (é'-fwél 'annoyed'), é'éx^w-met 'pity s-o', wawístéleq-
 -met 'jealous of s-o' (wawi-stéleq 'jealous'), x^yáí-met
 'look after s-o, take care of s-o', q^wáq^w·el-met 'bawl

s-o out' and $q^w_{el}q^w_{\acute{e}l}$ -met 'scold s-o' ($q^w_{\acute{e}l}q^w_{el}$ 'rowdy', $q^w_{\acute{a}q^w_{el}}$ 'talking'; these two examples alone do not fit the gloss proposed for -met 'happen to do action not directly affecting object').

-(e)les '(accidentally, happen to, manage to) do to s-o or s-th' (including all examples found so far): $m_{\acute{e}l}q$ -eles 'forget s-o or s-th', $sk^w_{\acute{e}.y} k^w_{els}$ $m_{\acute{e}l}q$ -eles- $\acute{a}me$ 'I'll never forget you', $h_{\acute{e}k}^w$ -eles 'remember s-o or s-th', $h_{\acute{e}k}^w$ -eles- $\acute{a}x^y$ -es 'he remembered me', $\lambda^w_{i\cdot}$ -ls- $\acute{a}x^y$ -es '(s)he loves or likes me' (s- $\lambda^w_{i\cdot}$ 'want, desire'), $\gamma_{\acute{e}.y}$ -eles- $\acute{a}x^y$ -es 'he left me' and $\gamma_{\acute{e}.y}$ -eles-es 's-th/s-o went away from s-o/s-th' ($\gamma_{\acute{e}.y}$ 'keep on going'; these last two examples may be from $\gamma_{\acute{e}.y} + -el - -i\cdot l$ 'go, come, get', i.e. < $\gamma_{\acute{e}.y}el$ 'go away, get away', but the -es is unexplained), $p_{\acute{e}tem}$ -es- $\acute{a}x^y$ -es 'he asked for me' ($p_{\acute{e}tem}$ -et 'ask s-th'). This -(e)les suffix may involve mental or emotional action and this should possibly be reflected in its gloss:

6.1.2.2. Intransitivizers (-em, - \acute{e} .ls ~ -els, and possibly -(e)θet and -i\cdot l ~ -el).

{-em} 'intransitive' (and {-em} 'middle voice' as well) appears to have several allomorphs, namely -m (after vowels), - $\acute{e}m$ (after l or y which follows a high-stressed vowel, i.e. \acute{V} (l,y)___), - $\acute{e}m$ (after l

or y which follows a mid-stressed vowel, \check{V} (1,y)___),
 -é·m (after a few morphemes which are either vocalic-
 ally a weak or zero grade or which become so before
 the stressed suffix), and -à·m (after a few morphemes
 with root vowel á· which metathesizes to the -em suf-
 fix). Examples of all these are found in 6.1.6 but
 not in an organized way, so some will be given here.
 (For further discussion and examples see 6.1.6, where
 -em 'intransitive' is disentangled from -em 'middle'
 and -em 'passive'.)

-m: Ө'ém - c'ém 'chew' (Ө'ét - c'ét 'chew s-th'),
 x^wlélé·m 'listen' (x^wlélé· 'listen hard'), qá·m 'dip
 water, pack water, fetch water' (qá· 'water'), lém
 'go, going, go to, going to' (lé 'go(ing)(to)').

-ém: q^wéíém 'barbecue, roast, put in oven' (q^wéí
 'cooked; ripe'), q'élém 'to camp', leqéíém 'dirty (of
 water)', hílém 'tumble, fall and tumble', lewí·lém
 'go into an opening' (lí·w 'inside (s-th)', lówex^ves
 'he put s-th in'), heqílé·m 'crawl underneath', t'élém
 'stick to s-th or s-o', líyém '(to) laugh', Өíyém
 'bake bread, fix food' (Өíy 'make, fix'), x^wáyém 'sell',
 ?áyém 'slow', spex^weé·lém 'breathe, sigh, blow or puff
 air from throat', méӨ·elqéylém (//méӨ·el-qel-f-l-em//)
 'tell a lie, to lie'.

-è·m: ?exá·yèí·lém 'shave oneself' (?íx 'scraped,

scratched'), spéx^weíè·lè·m (variant form of 'breathe, sigh')

-é·m: c'esté·m 'crawl', c'íé·m - c'ic'íé·m 'hear', c'á'ém - c'á'ém 'jump', θ'q'eíxé·m 'kneel', x^wiyx^wiyé·m 'tell stories' (the i here and in the next word could be analyzed as //e//), k^wíyè·m 'refuse, be stingy' (k^wíyé·t 'refuse s-o s-th', sk^wíyk^wiy 'stingy'), q'θé·m 'have a short memory', possibly x^welém 'over to, towards' and x^wlém 'through'; it seems that k^wx^yé·m 'counting' has its stress and vowel through 'continuative' stress shift and metathesis (cp. k^wéx^yém 'count', k^wx^yé·t 'counting it', and k^wéx^yet 'count it').

-à·m: x^yíx^yk^wà·m 'swimming' (x^yá·k^wém 'to bathe (oneself)'), x^yíx^ypà·m 'whistling' (x^yá·pém 'to whistle'), x^yíx^yq'è·m (dubious recording of vowels, probably sic for x^yíx^yq'à·m) 'one's mouth hanging open' (x^yéq'á·θet 'hang s-th up'), θ'q'^wà·mθet 'rotted' (θ'á·q'^wém 'to rot')(-θet in this example and in words like x^yéx^yéc'émθet 'real itching' seems to trigger stress shift to last vowel before -θet).

It should also be noted that -ém occurs in four examples (out of the 20 which could be cited) after consonants other than l or y; however, it seems all four have had stress shifting for aspect or derivation or have weak grade vowel roots, accounting for

the -ém: x̄əȳx̄ec'émθet 'real itching' (x̄éȳx̄ec'em 'itching'), p(e)k'Wém 'fly or burst (of airborne seeds or dust), dusty' (probably better glossed as 'blowing of light dust, fluff or snow')(cp. pák'Wem 'blow (of plant fuzz, airborne seeds, or light snow)'), tx'ém 'be early' (téx'Wem 'being early', cp. x̄'Wém 'hurry, be fast'), k'x'Wém 'win a contest' (k'x'Wéleq also 'win a contest').

For a discussion and examples of -(e)θet 'get, become, go' (which acts somewhat like an intransitivizer) see 6.1.3 in which it is derived morphosemically from -(e)θet //'reflexive'//. For a discussion and examples of -f.l - -el 'go, come, get' see the chapter on lexical suffixes; it is still unclear whether -f.l - -el is a very productive lexical suffix or a productive intransitivizer; it is included in lexical suffixes because it adds a clear lexical meaning, as well as either intransitivizing or not changing the intransitivity of the root.

In addition to -em 'intransitive' and perhaps {-f.l} and {-(e)θet}, the suffix -é.ls - -els is also an intransitivizer. The following examples show -é.ls - -els:

ɬetq'Wé.ls 'boil' (ɬá'tq'Wem 'is boiling, (being boiled)'), yeq'Wé.ls 'burn at a ritual, perform a burning'

and h́eyeq^Wels '(performing a) burning at a ritual' (ýeq^W 'burn', h́eyeq^W 'burning'), ɔiyq^Wé·ls 'dig' and ɔ́yq^Wels 'digging' (ɔ́iyq^Wt 'dig s-th up'), x^Weq^Wé·ls 'drag (for ex. 'drag the river for a body')' (x^Weq^Wát 'drag s-o or s-th')(EB has k^W instead of q^W), ɛ́ek^Wé·ls 'hook (fish for ex.)' (ɛ́f·k^W 'hooked, gaffed', ɛ́fk^Wet 'hook it, gaff it'), k^Wx^Wéls ~ k^Wx^Wè·ls (é probably mis-recorded for é·) 'knock (once), rap' and k^Wák^Wex^Wels 'knocking, rapping' (k^Wák^Wex^Wem 'rapping, knocking (in distance)', k^Wák^Wex^Wecēsəm 'knocking with one's hand', k^Wáx^Wet 'beat or rap on it (drum, wood, etc.)'), ɔq'é·ls 'to spear' and ɔé·q'els 'spearing (fish for example)' (ɔq'ét 'spear s-th', ɔéq'tes 'he's spearing s-th'), ?elqé·ls 'buy' (?iléqet 'buy s-th'), ɣet'k^Wé·ls 'carve in wood' and ɣét'k^Wels 'carving, whittling', ɛ́c'é·ls 'cut (for ex. wood with a saw)' (ɛ́c'cēs 'cut on the finger', ɛ́fc'et 'cut s-th (off)(for ex. meat, hide, etc.)'), c'ek^Wɣéls 'fry' and c'ék^Wɣels 'frying' (c'ék^Wɣt 'fry s-th', c'ék^Wɣt 'frying s-th'), ɣt'é·ls 'cast or throw a spell' (ɣt'ét 'cast or throw a spell on s-o'), yeq'é·ls 'to file (abrasively)' (ýeq'et 'file s-th'), q'etɣé·ls 'to rattle (cans, etc.), to shivaree or wake newlyweds' (q'étɣəm '(make) a scraping or rattling sound (dishes, metal pots, food off dishes, wagon on gravel, etc.)', q'étɣtes 'he's rat-

tling s-th (dishes, etc.)'), pehè·ls 'to blow (of the wind)' (pá·t 'blow with mouth' prob. < *pehá·t, cp. also spehé·ls 'the wind'), possibly ɬé·lt-elec-é·ls 'spraying (in garden)' (ɬélt 'sprinkle or splash s-th with water' (this last word may not belong since -elecé·ls may be a lexical suffix).

pípewels 'freezing cold' (píwet 'freeze s-th/s-o', spípew 'frozen'), qétxels 'feeling around' (qétxt 'feel s-th/s-o (with hands)'), k'émq'^Wels 'making a crunching/crackling noise (ice breaking, eating an apple, etc.)', xépk'^Wels 'gnawing, nibbling' (xépk'^Wt 'gnaw s-th', k'^W or k'^W uncertain, cp. also xépk'^Wem 'brittle'), xéyxéq'els 'scratching (without breaking surface)' (xéyq'et 'scratch s-th (w/o breaking surface)', xéyxéq'et 'scratching s-th'), yéyeq'els 'falling (of trees)' (yéyeq'et 'falling s-th (a tree)', yéq'et 'fall it (a tree)'), ɬéɬeq'els 'laying down, putting down (bricks, foundation, prob. anything)' (ɬéɬeq'et 'putting s-th down'), ɬéɬewels '(an Indian doctor) working, curing' (ɬé·wet 'cure s-o by Indian doctoring', ɬé·w 'cured by Indian doctoring (by a medicine man)'), t'ésqels 'farting' (t'ésq 'to fart'), c'étx'^Wels '(mice) chewing (a wall, a box, etc.--esp. the sound)', t'éséq'^Wels 'scratching to get in' (t'éséq'^Wtés 'he scratched on s-th'), t'ə̀t'éséq'^Wels

'scratching repeatedly to get in' (t'əlt'ətəq^wtes 'it has scratched s-th up'), há·q^wels 'smelling, sniffing (of dog, other animals)' (há·q^wem 'smell, give off smell', há·q^wet 'smell s-th on purpose', há·q^wlex^w 'happen to smell s-th, catch scent of s-th'), sé·yt'els 'tickling' (sé·yt'em 'being tickled', sé·yt't 'tickling s-o', síyt't 'tickle s-o'), k'éwels 'barking (of a dog)' (? k'ewéls 'to bark (of animal)'), t'éméls 'to adze, chop' (should gloss be continuative?).

The above examples explain the nature of this suffix's phonological alternation. -é·ls occurs in non-continuative forms and -els occurs in continuative forms, consistently. Since continuatives are inflected forms and the non-continuatives are the base forms, it follows that -é·ls is the base form of this intransitive suffix; then, since most of the examples here form their continuatives by ablaut and stress-shifting (2.3.3.2), it is natural to expect -els as the unstressed version of -é·ls. The stress-shifting even takes place in the continuatives formed by reduplication because morphophonemic rule 2.3.3.4 operates to de-stress, downgrade to schwa and drop root vowels before stressed suffixes like -é·ls.

The semantics of {-é·ls} is also interesting. All the examples show: the subject is a semantic agent,

doing the action on purpose (except where the agent is inanimate), and the semantic focus is upon the activity not upon its results. Of these elements, the 'on purpose' element is most interesting because in the few examples where there is an -em intransitive with the same verb root, the -em intransitive has the meaning 'not on purpose, happen to, accidentally'. The 'not on purpose' meaning for -em 'intransitive' is seldom found in the examples in 6.1.6; it seems that either this semantic element is inconsistently present in -em 'intransitive' or it is present only in verbs which also have contrasting -é·ls forms, or the intransitive examples in 6.1.6 still need further sorting out. At any rate, {-é·ls} would seem in part to be the intransitive equivalent of purposeful control transitivizer {-(e)T}!

6.1.3. Beneficiary Suffixes (benefactive, reflexives, reciprocal):

- (e)ꞑc 'benefactive, for s-o' (precedes control suffixes)
- lá·met 'reflexive, oneself'
- (e)ꞑet 'reflexive, oneself, itself' (replace control suffixes and object pronouns)
- təl 'reciprocal'

The benefactive is a suffix which was attested only three times in my material from AC; it appeared in a number of examples from EB, at first as -(e)ꞑ

because the consonant clusters it produces are difficult to pronounce with $-(e)ɪc$ (noticed during elicitation). However after several elicitation sessions these examples were corrected to $-(e)ɪc$ and Edna began to use the benefactive quite productively. A number of these examples were also verified with the Coqualeetza Elders Group. As examples 16 and 17 will show, $-(e)ɪc$ can also be used as a malefactive but with somewhat humorous force as in the English constructions. $-(e)ɪc$ follows the stem (i.e. follows all the lexical suffixes) and precedes the control suffix $-(e)T$; it might also, in the shape of $-(e)ɪ$, precede the control suffix $-sT$, but this is poorly attested and doubtful. The schwa is dropped from $-(e)ɪc$ after vowel-final stems; otherwise it is present ($-eɪc$); it is stressed after Θiy 'make, fix'. The examples found so far are:

1:(AC) Θiy - $\acute{e}ɪc$ - et 'make it for s-o',
 (AC) $\Theta \acute{e}y$ - $eɪc$ - et 'making it for s-o'

2:(AC) $qá$ - $-ɪc$ - $\Theta \acute{a}x^V$ - es te $qá$ 'he brought me the water'
 (cp. $qá$ - m 'fetch water, pack water')

3. (remaining examples by EB:) Θiy - $\acute{e}ɪc$ - et - $ɪs$ 'make it for him!, fix it for him!'
 $\lambda'e$ - s Θiy - $\acute{e}ɪc$ - t - es te
 sq^w $\acute{e}m\acute{e}$ - y 'he made it for the dog', Θiy - $\acute{e}ɪc$ - t - em te
 $swfyeqe$ 'the man made it for s-o' (sic 'it was made for the man'), Θiy - $\acute{e}ɪc$ - $\Theta \acute{a}x^V$ ($-cax^w$) '(you) make it for me'

4. cel/cet ?ilóq-eíc-et 'I/we bought it for him',
 ?ilóq-eíc-et-iz 'buy it for him!',
 k'es ?ilóq-eíc-t-es te sq^wemé.y 'he bought it for the dog',
 k'es ?ilóq-eíc-t-es k' Bill te sq^wemé.y 'Bill bought it
 for the dog',
 ?ilóq-eíc-t-cex^w 'you buy it for him(!)',
 ?ilóq-eíc-θáx^y(-cex^w) '(you) buy it for me(!)' (can be
 either declarative or imperative with -cex^w),
 ?ilóq-eíc-θáx^y-iz 'buy it for me!',
 ?ilóq-eíc-tá.lx^w-iz 'buy it for us!'
5. k^wé.lx^y-eíc-θáx^y-iz 'hide it for me!'
 k^wé.lx^y-eíc-θáx^y-es θúk'à 'she hid it for me'
 k^wé.lx^y-eíc-t-em θúk'à 'it was hidden for her'
 k^wé.lx^y-eíc-θáme 'hide it for you'
 k^wé.lx^y-eíc-θamé-cel 'I hide it for you'
6. c^wek^wx-eíc-θáx^y(-cex^w) '(you) fry it for me(!)'
 7. q^wem-ews-eíc-θáx^y(-cex^w) '(you) pluck it for me(!)':
 8. q^wels-eíc-θáx^y(-cex^w) '(you) boil it for me(!)'
 q^wéls-eíc-t-iz 'boil it for s-o (him, her, etc.)!'
 q^wéls-eíc-t-es te swíyēqe '(s)he boiled it for the man'
 q^wéls-eíc-t-es θe síélí te swéqeθ-s 'the woman boiled
 it for her husband'
9. pfx^w-eíc-t-iz 'brush it for s-o!'
 pfx^w-eíc-t-es te swíyēqe '(s)he brushed it for the man'
 pfx^w-eíc-t-es θe síélí te swíyēqe 'the woman brushed
 it for the man'

- pɪx^W-eɪc-t-em te swɪyeqe 'it was brushed for the man'
 10. ɪfc'-eɪc-θáx^Y-cex^W k^We sméyeθ 'cut off some meat
 for me!'
 ɪfc'-eɪc-θamé-cel-cɛ te sméyeθ 'I'll cut off the meat
 for you'
 ɪfc'-eɪc-et-cel-cɛ te sméyeθ 'I'll cut off the meat
 for him/her/it/them'
 11. cel yéq^W-eɪ(c)-t 'I burned it for s-o (him/her/etc.)'
 yeq^W-eɪ(c)-θáx^Y-cex^W '(you) burn it for me(!)'
 (cp. yèq^W-eɪcep-θáx^Y-ɪɛ 'make a fire for me!')
 12. p'ówiy-eɪc-θáx^Y-cex^W te(1) s(ə)qíws 'patch my pants
 for me!'
 13. petém-eɪc-θáx^Y-cex^W we?ésuɪ x^We?ɪf. tel s?á·m 'ask
 for me if my order is in!'
 14. mè·lɛ-ɪc-θáx^Y-cex^W '(you) bait it for me(!)'
 15. k^Wú-ɪc-θáx^Y-es 'he took it for me'
 16. celéq-eɪc-t 'divide it in half with s-o (for s-o)'
 17. qá·qe-ɪc-θáx^Y-es tel tɪ '(s)he drank my tea on me'
 18. cex^W lek^Wá-ɪc-θáx^Y tel sɪéle 'you broke my leg for me'
 19? ?i-ɪ-st-ex^W-cex^W (?)à te sq^Wemé·y 'leave it here
 for the dog!', k^Wes ?f-ɪ-st-ex^W-es te sq^Wemé·y 'that's
 what he left here for the dog' (?f-st-ex^W 'leave s-th
 here')
 20? q'ɛw-eɪ 'pay for s-th' (cp. q'ɛw-éT 'pay s-o')

-lá·met and -(e)θet are the two reflexivizing suffixes in Upper Stalo Halkomelem. Both replace control suffixes and following object pronoun suffixes. -lá·met is less common of the two and seems to contain the -l control suffix, 'do accidentally, happen to do, manage to do'. It also has allomorphs -là(·)mèt (when high stress precedes in the word), -lémét (after $\text{ɛisté}(l)-$) and -lá(·)mèt (elsewhere). The allomorph -là·mèt is homophonous with the -l control + 2nd person sg. passive (after 'negative' and 'impossible' constructions), but the syntactic environments of the two rule out equating the two. Examples include:

c'físemlà·mèt 'grow up, raise oneself' (c'fí·sem 'grow')

ɣéyɣelà·mèt 'shame oneself, be embarrassed' (ɣéyɣe 'be ashamed')

q^wá·lámèt 'make it through the winter'

ʔitetlámèt 'fall asleep' (ʔitet '(to) sleep')

ɛɣyléx^ylámèt 'stand up by oneself' (ɛɣyléx^y 'stand')

k^wemlá·mèt 'raise oneself, pull through (illness, crisis, or childhood)' (k^wémèt 'raise s-o')

tél·á·mèt ~ tatel·á·mèt 'understand' (tél·ex^w 'understand s-th, learn s-th, find s-th out', tǎ·l-θet 'wonder, think about s-th')

sí·silámèt 'scare oneself, do s-th dangerous and get even more scared than expected'

λ'ewlámèt 'escape, get oneself free (like from a trap)'

(λ'íw 'run away, escape')

wec'É·lámèt 'bring oneself to a summit (of mountain),
masturbate'

x^we?flámèt 'manage to get here'

ɛ́l·ámèt 'get to the shore (from water), land'

ɛ́stélémét 'feel sorry for oneself'

There are many more examples of -(e)θet:

lá·sθet 'get fat, make oneself fat' (lá·s 'be fat')

q'áyθet 'kill oneself' (q'áy 'die')

q'^wíyθet 'shake oneself, shake itself (for ex. of the
earth in earthquake), bob about (of canoe for ex.)'

?iyá·qθet 'change oneself' and ?íyεqθet 'get out of the
way, dodge' (?iyÉ·q-T 'change s-th/s-o')

qelqelí·lθet 'go get oneself dirty' (qel 'bad, dirty')

χélc'θet 'turn (oneself) over or around' (χ-élc' 'twist,
turn over or around')

x^vá·ɛmθet 'take care of oneself' (x^vá·ɛmT 'look after
s-o, take care of s-o')

χehá·mθet 'cry for oneself' (χché·met 'cry for s-th',
χè·m 'weep, cry')

ɛ́flθet 'bail (water), bail (oneself out)' (ɛ́f·lt 'bail
s-th')

q'á·lθet 'come back' (q'élstəx^w 'bring s-th back',
q'eq'á· 'be together with')

- páq^wθet 'get decayed, mouldy' and pq^wé·yθet 'wood decays' (póq^w 'split in two, broken', pq^wé·y 'decayed wood, broken wood', pəq^wát 'break s-th in two')
- xéylθet 'mark oneself' (xéyl-t 'write s-th, mark it')
- x^wfθet 'wake (oneself) up' (x^wf-x^y-əT 'wake s-o up')
- lec'éθet 'fill oneself' (lec'ét 'fill s-th')
- x^wéθet 'make oneself famished, starve oneself' (x^wé 'starved')
- θiyθet 'fix oneself up' (θiy 'fix, make')
- q'éyλ'θet 'heal up' (sq'éyλ' 'a scar')
- q'epéθet 'gather themselves' (q'pét 'gather it')
- θex^wá·θet 'disappear on purpose' (θéx^w 'disappear')
- léx^wəθet 'cover oneself up' (léx^wət 'cover s-o/s-th')
- k^wek^wiyəθet 'training oneself (to be a shaman, spirit dancer, canoe-puller (canoe racer), etc.)' (k^wek^wiy 'climbing up')
- k^wq^weméθet 'drop oneself into a seat angrily, throw oneself on the floor or ground in a tantrum, throw a tantrum' (k^wáq^wəT 'club s-o/s-th')
- q'eq'á·θet and q'á·θet 'mix, associate or go with s-o' (sq'eq'á· 'together with')
- ?át'eθet 'to stretch out (oneself)' (?át'əT 'stretch s-th')
- qexáθet 'to slide (purposely slide oneself as in skating, sledding, playing)' (qéyæm 'to slip, skid')

x^yélx^w-θet 'to cool off (of a person)'

təmí·lθet 'to cool off (of food)'

χέyχeθet 'shame oneself' (cp. χέyχelà·mèt above)

It is tempting to propose that the -(e)θ in -(e)θet represents the purposive control suffix -(e)T and that the final -et in -(e)θet might be equated with that in {-l-á·met} as the reflexivizer. But neither proposition can be conclusively supported by the evidence; in fact, some words inflected with -(e)θet seem to have accidental and causative translations (or implications) in addition to some which have purposive implications.

A number of examples, not cited above, seem to either have a homophonous suffix -(e)θet '(verbalizer), get, become' or to have extended the semantic content of reflexive -(e)θet to include these meanings. For example: x^yá·mθet 'got shallow' (sx^yéx^yem 'shallow'), hí·k^wθet 'get big' (hí·k^w '(be) big'), χέ·yλ[·]θet 'getting colder', k^wásθet 'get warm, get warmer' (χέyλ[·] 'cold', k^wák^wes 'warm, hot'), páyθet 'went crooked (like a nail)' (páy-t 'bent it'), t'épiθet 'go dead or die (of a tree)' (st'épi 'dead (of a tree)'), χalémθet 'getting/turning gray (of hair)' (χálem 'gray (of hair)'), (s)χáyλ[·]θet 'aggressive, ready to fight, cruel' (χέyλ[·] 'cold'), θ'q^wá·mθet 'getting rotten

(berries for ex.)' ($\theta'á(\cdot)q^wem$ 'rotten' + continuative metathesis), $xáx'\theta et$ 'windy' ($xéx'$ 'turbulent, rough (of wind or water)'), $q'eq'á\cdot\theta et$ 'mix, associate or go with s-o' ($q'eq'á\cdot$ 'be together with'), $tf\cdot l\theta et$ 'to clear land' ($tf\cdot l-t$ 'clean it, clear it (of a table, etc.)'), $?á\cdot l\theta et$ 'to groan', $?áw\theta et$ 'to be in a hurry, to hurry'.

Some of these examples could have a reflexive element ('getting gray (by itself)', 'getting rotten (by itself)', 'mix with s-o (bring oneself together with s-o)'), but others seem to lack any reflexive force ('to clear land', 'windy', 'got shallow'). The most likely rule to account for all this is a morpho-semantic rule: // 'reflexive' // \rightarrow // 'get, become' // in the environment: // 'inanimate' //. Also in support of a single $-(e)\theta et$ suffix is the fact that in both the clearly reflexive examples and those with 'get, become' the suffix seems to be accompanied by $\epsilon \rightarrow a$ ablaut; it seems unlikely that this ablaut would be found co-incidentally in two homophonous suffixes.

The reciprocal suffix, $-tel$, is an easier matter. When not overtly translated with 'each other, one another', words containing this suffix still can be seen to have this reciprocal meaning present. The

suffix is homophonous with lexical suffix *-tel* 'device, thing for', but the two are easily kept apart (one is used in verbal context and one is used in a nominal context) (*-tel* 'reciprocal' could be numbered {-tel₂} if need be). *-tel* 'reciprocal' may have allomorphs *-f·tel* and *-tá·l*, *-tà·l* (the latter set seems used in contests, perhaps meaning 'against each other'), but there are not enough examples yet to predict their occurrence. Examples are not too numerous, but the suffix seems productive:

- q^wślq^wəltel - q^wó·lq^wəltel '(a lot of people) talking together' (q^wé·l 'talk' (~ q^wel in derivations) + R plural subject)
- q^weq^wátel 'to meet' (q^weq^wá· 'be together with')
- əəθk^wf·tel 'tug-of-war' (əśk^w 'pull', R 'continuative', possibly əəθk^wfytel with *-fy* 'wood, bark' if the tugged item was cedar with the rope, poles, etc.)
- qeqemátel 'having the same parents' (qemá· 'suckle', R 'continuative', *-tel* here 'with each other')
- qelá·qtel 'be siblings (to each other), be cousins (to each other)' (s-qé·q 'younger sibling', *-el* 'plural' as in sqelé·q 'younger siblings')
- sə́k^wətel 'elder sister', sél^w·k^wətel 'elder sisters' (sélk^w·a 'oldest (of children)')
- k^wəltá·l 'wrestle'

- sk^wek^wátel 'to separate in marriage'
 k'f^wox^wtà.1 'beating one another (in contest), compet-
 ing' (k'ox^w 'beat')
 q'eyq'xátel 'contradicting each other' (q'éyq'xàt
 'contradicting s-o')
 ?iyá.tel 'fight', ?á.ytel 'fighting'
 yéyetel 'make friends', yáyetel 'making friends'
 (siyéye (or better, s-yéye) 'friend')
 le st'elá.stel 'they were sitting side by side (beside
 each other)' (t'élés-T 'sit beside s-o')
 ?é.x^wf.tel '(they're) sharing' (?é.x^west-es 'he's giv-
 ing gifts to s-o')
 memf-y-éi.tel 'helping one another' (memfyet (< me-me-y-eT
 with R₁) 'helping s-o', -éi meaning uncertain)
 xéyēsłátel 'wild ginger (asarum caudatum)(lit. 'facing
 one another', referring to the paired, facing leaves)'

6.1.4. Aspect (continuative, non-continuative).

The 'continuative' aspect is marked by reduplication (see 2.5), ablaut (see p. 82 and preceding in 2.3.4), stress-shifting (2.3.3, especially 2.3.3.2 and 2.3.3.3), metathesis (see 2.3.5.3), and prefixing {hé-} //hé- - hé-// (see 2.3.3.7). The 'non-continuative' is unmarked and contrasts with the 'continuative' by its lack of the five processes and affixes mentioned; Continuative and non-continuative are mutually exclusive;

'inceptive' is not and can occur with either of the two aspects (thus 'inceptive' suffixes like -f·l and -(ə)θet and inceptive auxiliary {mə} 'come to, become' are not grammatically aspect inflections).

Since complete lists of examples have been given in the previous sections referred to in the last paragraph, only a brief sampling of examples is necessary here. In the following list, first the process or affix is given which indicates 'continuative', then the non-continuative example, and last its continuative counterpart.

R₁: t'f·lēm 'sing': t'f't·elem 'singing'
 k^wf(·)mēl 'get red': k^wf^wk^wemēl 'getting red'
 s-t'f·lēm-s 'his song': s-t'f't·elem-s 'his singing'

R₂: q^wé1 'ripe': q^wé1q^wé1 'over-ripe'
 xéleq't 'open one's eyes': xélxéleq't 'opening his eyes (of Thunderbird esp.)' (as in xélxéleq't te sx^wex^wá's 'Thunder(bird) opening his eyes, lightning')
 (k'éwels 'bark (of a dog)': k'éwá'ewels 'barking (of dog(s))')

R₅: x^wf 'wake': x^wex^wf 'waking'
 xéy1t 'draw s-th, write it': xəxéy1t 'writing s-th, drawing s-th'
 x^wé 'starve': x^wex^wé 'starving'

R₈: p'ék^w 'to float, surface': p'əp'ék^w 'floating'
 (also has Aε)

R₉: c'fɬ'em 'jump': c'ic'ɛɬ'em 'jumping' (AC)
 s-θɛk^w - θɛk^w 'straight': s-θəθɛ·k^w 'stretched,
 straight, pulled tight'

Ai: q^wɛq^wəlɛc 'to gossip': q^wiq^wəlɛc 'gossiping
 together, two of them gossiping'
 x^wox^wiyém 'tell some stories': x^wix^wiyém 'telling sto-
 ries'

Ai.: ?imex^y 'walk': ?i·mex^y 'walking'
 ?ɛɪtel 'eat a meal': ?i·ɪtel 'eating a meal'
 ?ɛx^yel 'to paddle': ?i·x^yel 'paddling'

Aɛ: θɛq^wem '(to) drip': θɛq^wem 'dripping'
 sʔá·wθ 'be in a hurry': sʔéwθ 'hurrying'

Aɛ.: θiyt 'make s-th': θɛ·yt 'making s-th'
 c'ek'ém - c'fɬ'em 'jump': c'ɛ·k'em 'jumping'
 x^wámx^yelem 'run': x^wemx^yɛ·lem 'running'
 ?áx^westes 'he gives s-o a gift': ?ɛ·x^westes 'he's
 giving s-o a gift'

Aɛy: q'emás 'to dip-net': q'ɛyq'emàs 'dip-netting'

Aɛ: q^wəyílex^y 'to dance': q^wəyél·ɛx^y 'dancing'
 csɛθà·m 'you were told': cɛsetem 'being told'
 c'etɛ·m 'crawl': c'ɛtem 'crawling'
 sá·les '(get) drunk, (get) dizzy': sélés 'getting drunk,
 getting dizzy'

Aa: θiy(ə)q^wɛ·ls 'dig': θáy(ə)q^wɛls 'digging'
 t'ɛpiθet 'it's dead (of a tree)': t'ápiθet 'it's going
 dead (of a tree)'

q^wɛ̃·l 'talk': q^wáq^wɛ̃l 'talking' (with R₁ as well)

Aa.: k^wɛ̃cɛt 'look at s-th': k^wá(·)k^wɛ̃cɛt 'looking at s-th'

hɛq^wlɛx^w 'smell s-th': há·q^wlɛx^w 'smelling s-th'

Au.: q^wɛ̃·l 'talk': q^wí·lq^wɛ̃l - q^wó·lq^wɛ̃lɛtɛl
'talking together, all talking'

#SS... → #SS... (where S = syllable):

ɛ̃ɛlqí 'soak, rehydrate': ɛ̃ɛlqí 'soaking, rehydrating'

λ'ewɛ̃l 'to bark (of dog)': λ'ewɛ̃l 'barking'

ɛ̃ɛx^wɛ̃ɛɛ 'spit': ɛ̃ɛx^wɛ̃ɛɛ 'spitting' (x^w ~ x^w)

cá·lɛx^wɛ̃m 'bleed': cá·l(ə)x^wɛ̃m 'bleeding'

#SS → #SS: λ'ɛx^yɛ̃tɛm 'diarrhea': λ'x^yɛ̃tɛm 'continuing diarrhea'

k^wɛ̃suyɛl 'throw out a drift net': k^wsɛ̃·yɛl 'drift-netting down the river' (k^w probably sic for q^w in each case)

sq^wɛ̃lx^yɛ̃m 'dry snow that can drift': sq^wɛ̃lx^yáme 'dry snow drifting in'

metathesis: examples above with λ'ɛx^yɛ̃tɛm and k^wɛ̃suyɛl (q.v.)

?iyá·tɛl 'fight': ?á·yɛtɛl 'fighting'

k^w(ə)x^yɛ̃·t 'count s-th': k^wɛ̃x^yɛ̃tes 'he's counting s-th'

{hɛ̃-}(hɛ̃- __l,y ; hɛ̃- __m,w):

yóq^w 'burn': hɛ̃y(ə)q^w 'burning'

lɛp^y'ex^y 'eat': hɛ̃lp^y'ex^y 'eating'

méq'et 'swallow (s-th)'; hémq'et 'swallowing (s-th)'
 wec'ék' 'fall, drop (intransitive)'; hécw'ek' 'falling'

The phonological details of the above processes have already been described in Chapter 2 in the sections mentioned. Morphologically, all transitive verbs and most simple or lexically affixed intransitive verbs can be and must be inflected for continuative or left non-continuative. On the other hand, interrogative, personal pronoun, demonstrative, and auxiliary intransitive verbs are never inflected for continuative, while many adverbial and prepositional Vi's are. For participles (see 6.1.5) continuative inflection by reduplication is almost obligatory. Participles function as adjectival Vi's, but adjectival Vi's which are not participles (hí·k^w 'be big', etc.) are seldom if ever inflected for continuative.

The co-occurrence of the continuative with other verb inflections and the internal syntax of verb inflections will be covered in 6.1.10. The allomorphy, semantics and sememics of /'continuative'/ have been discussed in 2.5.12 and 2.5.13. Only a few more remarks are necessary on the semantics of /'continuative'/ and /'non-continuative'/. /'Continuative'/, usually glossed by adding be + -ing to the non-continuative, implies that the action of the root continues

for a moderate length of time after onset (if a time of onset is implied or stated within the speech event) or before conclusion (if a time of conclusion is implied or stated within the speech event). In absence of implication or statement of onset or conclusion, the 'continuative' action is assumed to be continuing indefinitely. It would be inaccurate to gloss the 'continuative' as 'non-completive' and the 'non-continuative' as the 'completive' in Upper Stalo Halkomelem because the focus of aspect here is on duration not completion.

Several affixes and constructions could be termed 'inceptive' and have some semantic features of aspect, for example -f·l - -el 'go, come, get, become' (see 5.2.3, pp. 206-207), -(e)θet //'reflexive'/'/'get, become, go'/ in the environment 'inanimate', see 6.1.3), and pre-posed auxiliary verb me 'come to, become' (see 6.2.8). But they are better considered not as aspect inflection because they can co-occur with both 'continuative' and 'non-continuative' aspects.

6.1.5. Participles: Participles can be derived from many verb roots by inflection (usually with s-plus reduplication, often plus -əm 'middle voice'). It seems best to consider Halkomelem participles inflective rather than derivational because 1.) the com-

bination of affixes used simultaneously is more typical of an inflection than a derivation, 2.) participles can be formed fairly productively, and 3.) Halkomelem participles are translated and used much like English participles. The Halkomelem participle however is used like an adjectival intransitive verb and may be classed as a subtype of adjectival verb syntactically. Most participles should be strictly translated with an initial 'be' in the gloss as they are stative in nature; this 'be' is omitted however when participles are used as adjectives in front of nominals (tə st'épi 0eqét 'the dead tree'), and it is omitted in the following lists to avoid tedious repetition.

The most typical and productive type of participle inflection is s- plus reduplication (R probably adds a 'continuative' element): spápiy 'crooked' (pá·y-t 'bend s-th'), spípew 'frozen' (píw-et 'freeze s-th'), stétew 'light (in illumination)' (tétw-él 'get light'), s0e0é·k^w 'stretched, straight, pulled' (0ék^w 'pulled'), scéce^w 'got a wife' (céx^w 'wife, mistress'), sx^wex^wf(y) 'awake' (x^wflàmèt 'wake (oneself) up'), sšàtek^wf·wél 'stupified, dumbfounded, surprised' (šá·k^w 'fly', -f·wél 'insides'), sk^wf^wk^wex^y 'wild (of animals)', sšéšeq 'laying on the ground' (léq'-et 'lay s-th down'), spēp0 'spread out', sš'š'el 'stuck

(like burdock in shirt for ex.)', stət·l 'cleared (of land)' (t·l-t 'clear it, clean it (of a table, land, etc.)'), sət·təl 'tied up (of a canoe)' (t·l·àmət 'land (in a canoe)', when a canoe is landed or beached it is tied up), sk'wfk'wiy 'stingy' (k'wiy-ət 'refuse s-o s-th'), sc'éc'ex^w 'silent, quiet' (c'éc^w-əl 'get quiet, get silent, shut up'), spēp·l 'buried' (p·l-t 'bury s-th'), sq'wēq'wif·l 'already cooked' (q'wél 'cooked; ripe'), sp'fp'ət 'flattened (can, bread, etc.)' (p'fz-ət 'flatten s-th'), sq'éc'əθ 'leaning backwards', slf·leq^w '(too) loose', sp'ēp'fz 'sober' (p'ēz 'become aware, come to oneself, sober up'), sk'wək'wá·təl 'separated in marriage', s'iz'ehá - s'ehá 'wrapped up' (?ehá·t 'wrap it up'), s'f'k'esel 'dark-colored', s'x'eyxep' - s'f'xep' 'striped' (x'ēyp'-ət 'scratch/scrape s-o or s-th'), sk'wák'wex^w 'boxed, put in a box' (k'wák'wə 'a box'), sə'əθif^w or sə'əθif^w 'clean (of house for ex.)' (ə'ēx^w 'wash'), st'elt'ólq 'spotted with many spots' (plural R)(st'él·lq 'spotted'), sət·tēx 'stiff (in body)' (t·xstēm is also 'stiff (in body)')

Some examples also occur with s- plus R which are translated more as adjectives than participles, but this may be only fluent translation, and most likely the following are participles as well (at least in

origin): stíteθel 'puny' (tíθ-el 'get skinny', s-tí·θ 'skinny, thin'), smēiméiq^w 'rough (of wood)', sx^yéx^yem 'shallow' (x^yá·mθet 'got shallow'), sx^wá·x^wθ 'crazy, insane', sx^wix^wá·x^wθ 'stupid, a little crazy', (s)lí·leq 'easy', sxéy^xθ^əs 'shamefaced' (xéy^xθ 'ashamed'), sx^wúx^w 'ambitious', syémyem 'pregnant'.

A number of examples are also found with s- alone or reduplication alone indicating their participial nature; see the next two paragraphs. (Some whose translation is more adjectival than participial have been included too; this seems to include most of those with reduplication alone).

st'épi 'dead (of a tree)' (t'épiθet 'die (of a tree)'), s^kép (AC) - sx^wκ'ép (Cheh., Tait) 'deep', sc'éyx^w 'dried' (c'éyx^wt 'dry s-th'), scélé·l 'fading (of eyesight)', slíc' or selíc' 'full' (lec'-ét 'fill it'), smók^w 'found', scəwát 'smart, good at, know how to' (also a plain Vi), sk^wíy-lec 'lame' (k^wíy 'climb'), slék^w-lec 'lame' (lek^w- 'break (a bone)'), s^ʔú·met '(always) lazy' (perhaps ʔémét 'sit'), sqe^ʔfy-əqel-á·yθel 'not fluent in speaking', stí·θ 'skinny, thin', slé or selé 'tight, tightly' (adverbial Vi as well), st'elá·stel 'sitting side by side' (t'éləs-T 'sit beside s-o'), sθí·-qel (Sardis, AC) - sx^wκ'á·s (Cheh.) 'loud' (θí·- 'big'), s^ʔá·wθ 'in a hurry, in a rush'

(possibly adverbial), stf·m 'hard (of exertion), done hard' (tí·m-ət 'do it hard(er)'), sqayóx-iye 'bragging, extravagant in claims, bull-headed', sxáyλ'-θət 'aggressive, touchy, hot-headed', sq^wε-ʔf·wəl 'hollow' (q^wé 'get a hole'), sx^wátk^w-ewel 'hollow', st'áyx^w 'brooding' (t'éyeq 'angry'), syemyá 'cheap', sʔf·k^w 'lost (and presumed dead)' (ʔf·k^w 'lost (of a person or an object)'), scák^weits 'borrowed, nick- (as in 'nickname')' (cák^weits 'borrow'), sx^wemé 'open at the top' (x^we-mé-x^y 'take s-th off that's fastened, (unfasten s-th)', memé (possibly me mé) 'come off, (come unfastened)'), sméθ'el 'proud', st'é·y^w 'sad, worried', sλ'épx 'scattered all over' (λ'epx-t 'scatter s-th'), scolé·w 'turned inside out' (celéw-t 'turn s-th inside out'), sc'épx 'dirty (of body, house, etc.)', st'é·lq 'spotted', steʔé (Chwk., Sardis), st'é (Tait, Cheh.) 'same, similar (to), like', st'elék^w 'circular; a circle' (also nominal), sxé·lc'-emeθ ' (grown) twisted (of a tree)' (xélc' 'twist'),

cecix^w 'swollen', xexək^wfwel 'constipated (wedged in rump)' (xék^w 'to wedge'), xéy^w (- xíxe occasionally) 'ashamed', x^yix^yq'á·m '(mouth) hanging open' (x^yeq'- 'hang'), qéyqə 'soft', wàwistéleq 'jealous', c'f·c'ek' 'short', c'f·c'λ'-emeθ 'short (of a person)' (-emeθ 'stature, standing'), θ'eθ'emí·l 'thin (of

material, string, dough, etc.)', x^wax^weyí·wəl and x^wayí·wəl 'happy', q^wáq^wəl 'tame (of an animal)', met·mót 'supple, easy to bend (of things, esp. roots)', cǐcǐ 'be above, high' (cǐǐ-əq^w 'bushy and uncombed hair ("high hair")'), k^wá·k^wəs or k^wák^wəs 'hot' (k^wás-θet 'get warm(er)'), q^wáq^wey 'sick; dying' (q^wá·y 'die, dead'), θíθe 'larger, bigger' (θí--stex^w 'make it big'), x^wáx^wa or x^wáx^we 'lightweight', t^wék^wt^wək^w 'muddy' (t^wék^w 'get mired in mud'), k^wek^wís - k^wək^wís 'narrow', k^wámk^wəm 'strong (of a person)', səpsǐp 'stubborn', ɣé·ɣə 'sacred'.

Only a few of the examples with reduplication seem to be translated as true participles; in the other examples reduplication forms simple adjectives (often adding a somewhat 'augmentive' meaning to the root, where the root is attested). However a number of examples with reduplication plus -em (probably 'middle voice') seem to be more often translated as participles in the English; there are no examples of participial s- plus -em, perhaps significantly. Examples with R plus -em include: θ^wáθ^wéǐem 'chilled, cold (of body)' (θ^wáǐem 'chilled, cold'), ɬ^wéɬ^wéǐem 'salty' (ɬ^wéǐem 'salt' (nominal)), sǐsǐxǐem 'bitter', t^wét^wéθ^wem 'sour (of half-ripe fruit), fermenting', x^wíx^wec^wem 'stinking', q^wéq^wet^wem 'sweet-tasting', c^wéc^wesem 'tasty, good-

tasting (of meat, nuts, etc., not sweet things)',
 p'ép'x^wem (x^w or x̄^w) 'shy, quiet, not talkative',
 pápeq^wem '(getting) mouldy (taste or smell)' (páq^wet
 'to rot'), 0'á0'e^wem 'rotten' (0'áq^wem 'to rot'),
 qéyqexem ~ qíqexem (Cheh.) 'slippery' (qéy^wem 'slip,
 skid, slide'), xéyxesem 'creepy', títex^wem 'slimy'
 (stíx^wem 'fish slime'), p'ep'ék^wem 'smooth (water),
 calm' (p'ep'ék^w 'floating', pék^w 'to float, surface'),
 (?f·tetem 'sleepy' has continuative + -em though not
 reduplication).

Functioning in a similar way but possibly not
 participles are the words inflected with -tem 'be in
 a state of (verb)-ness' (probably not from -T + middle
 or passive because all examples lack purposeful con-
 trol): xé·p'q^wtem 'aching; rheumatism' (also a nominal),
 x^wák^weltem 'numb' (x^wák^wel 'get numb'), x^wá·x^w0'tem
 'sexy' (sx^wá·x^w0' 'crazy, insane'), ?át'etem 'stretched'
 (?á·t' 'stretch'), sé·lc'tem (c' - 0') 'dizzy' (sel-
 'spin', -élc' 'around, in circles'), q'0é·mtem 'absent-
 minded' (q'0é·m 'have a short memory'), x̄x̄óttem 'stiff
 (in body, as of arm, leg, etc.)' (cp. synonym s̄t̄é̄x̄),
 q'é·lptem 'cramped' (but cp. q'ólptem 'to cramp, have
 cramps' and q'éq'elptem 'cramping'), syól0tem 'poison-
 ed' (participial gloss may be from s-; yól0 'to poi-
 son'), cx^wóttem 'swelling (of infected sore, balloon,

etc.)' (cp. cecix^w 'swollen'), télstém 'get staggered' (télstém 'staggering' and $\text{x}^w\text{ex}^w\text{elá.stém}$ 'staggering'), and three marginal examples: $\text{x}^w\text{éx}^y\text{tém}$ '(have) diarrhea' (but cp. $\text{x}^w\text{x}^y\text{étém}$ 'continuing diarrhea', root may be x^wex^y- 'ripped apart'), tétxtém 'tremble' (but tétxtém 'trembling, (thus) shiver, shivering' and $\text{tétxtém}\text{é.lem}$ 'I'm trembling' seems to point to 'passive'), $\text{tateq}^w\text{á.mestém}$ 'tuberculosis' ($\text{táteq}^w\text{em}$ 'coughing') may fit here although it seems nominal.

6.1.6. Voice (active, middle, passive). The major question of this section is the middle voice. The active voice in Halkomelem is perhaps best defined as non-passive and non-middle voice. The inflectional affixes and paradigms of the active voice are given and discussed in the chapter on pronouns (4.4, 4.5, 4.8, 4.9, 4.12, and 4.13). The passive voice can be defined as a verb with an object pronoun being acted upon by an unspecified subject pronoun. The inflectional affixes and paradigms of the passive voice are also given and discussed in Chapter 4 (4.10, 4.12, and 4.13). The middle voice can be defined as a verb with a subject pronoun acting on or for itself without an object pronoun. Should this include reflexives and also many intransitives which have a patient (semantically) as subject? In fact, it is difficult to decide

whether there is a middle voice in Halkomelem. In reviewing a list of about 850 intransitive verbs, almost 200 were found with the suffix -em (~ -m - -ém - -é·m - -à·m)(see 6.1.2.2 for this allomorphy). None of the 200 examples are passives. The question is, are all these middle voice or reflexive or intransitivized or are there some of each? Is this -em an intransitivizer, a reflexive, or a middle voice, or several of these (two or three homophonous suffixes with the shape -em, in addition to the passive -em)?

There is no use setting up a "middle-passive" or "medio-passive" -em because the nearly 200 examples of the "middle (?)" take pronoun subjects (whether patient or agent semantically) from 4.4 and 4.9, whereas the 'passive' takes its pronoun affixes from 4.10. Compare especially the first and second persons, which contrast clearly in this regard. The term "middle-passive" or "medio-passive" has been used up to now (when used) for third person forms where -em 'middle' and -em 'passive' forms are homophonous and the voice is unclear, but the terms "middle-passive" or "medio-passive" are probably misleading for Halkomelem.

The nearly 200 examples with -em fall into several groups according to their glosses. The first group fits the classical definition of middle voice best

but also fits as a reflexive:

Group A: x^yá·k^w·em 'take a bath, bathe (oneself)'
 (x^yá·k^w·eT 'bathe s-o', x^yix^y·k^w·à·m 'swimming'),
 qep'ásem 'to bend (with one's head down), stoop down,
 put one's face down' (qep'ás 'face down'), spex^weáé·lém
 - spēx^weáé·lém 'breathe, breathe heavily, sigh, blow
 out one's breath', ?f·θ'em 'to dress (oneself)',
 θ'ex^wá·sem 'wash one's face' (θ'éx^wesem 'washing one's
 face', θ'éx^w 'wash'), éé·xem - k^wé·lém 'serve one-
 self (food, drink)', píwsem 'cross oneself, make the
 sign of the cross', x^wáyeq^wem 'wash one's head' (-eq^w
 'on top of head, hair'), t'ewók^wesem 'paint one's
 (own) face' (st'ewók^w 'red clay powder for paint'),
 x^wámx^yelem 'run (hurry one's feet)' (x^wemx^yélem 'run-
 ning', x^wém 'hurry; fast'), how^θém 'undress (oneself)'
 (h-owe-iθ'ε-m), k'ep'élécem 'wagging its tail' (cp.
 s-k'ep'-élec 'tail'), éfc'eq^wem 'cut one's (own) hair'
 (éfc'-eT 'cut s-o/s-th'), ?fq^wesem 'wipe one's face'
 (x^we-?fq^w-ewí·ls 'wipe the dishes', ?fq^wem 'rubbed
 off'), seqí·wsem - heqí·wsem 'put on one's pants'
 (seqí·ws 'pants', -í·ws 'on the body (or covering)'),
 q^weyxélecem 'shake one's hips' (q^wéyx 'shake'),
 tex^yqéylém 'comb one's hair' (tex^yqéylT 'comb s-o's
 hair'), ?exá·yθilém - ?exá·yθílélem 'shave oneself (on
 the jaw)' (?f^x 'scratch' + -á·yθel + -í·l + -em),

sʔaθ'á·mēwsem 'put on a shawl (shawl oneself)' (cp. sʔaθ'á·mes 'a shawl (for the head)' + -ews 'on the body' instead of -es 'on the face', root probably < s-ʔiθ'e-m 'clothes' + Aa and Aá·), leqèlèlèm 'go underwater, submerge oneself' (léqem 'dive (into water)'), and possibly q'Wíq'Wélémqel 'changing one's voice (of an adolescent boy), one's voice is changing' (q'Wáq'Wél 'tame (of an animal)', -ém ('one's own'), -qel 'voice, throat').

More examples could be cited. In all of them the subject is both agent and patient (semantically) and is animate. Most of the examples have somatic suffixes. Other examples which may marginally belong in this set include the remaining examples with somatic suffixes + -em as well as a few without somatic suffixes:

Group B: melqí·wsem 'to faint' (mélq 'forget', -í·ws 'body', -em '(one's own)'), k'Wecewí·cèm 'look back' k'Wec 'look', -ewí·c 'on the back (of a person)', -em '(one's own)', xéyxec'èm 'to itch', sexéylem 'move (oneself), move (oneself) over' (síxeT 'move s-th/s-o (over)'), c'élecem 'take a seat, be seated' (c'é 'on top of', -lec 'rump', -em '(one's own)'), qéyxem 'slip, skid (as of kids on ice or snow for ex.)', θ'ik'Wá·lésem and θ'ifθ'(i)k'Wá·sem 'winking' (-á·les, -á·s),

yeqelcálēm 'take his place' (yéq 'change, trade', -lēc 'rump', -ól 'go', -ēm 'one's' > 'go trade one's seat'),
 qeliyθí·lēm 'swear, curse, cursing' (qel 'bad', -á·yθel
 - -eyθel 'lip, jaw', -f·l 'go', -ēm 'one's'),
 q^welayθí·lēm 'make music' ('talk' + 'lip' + 'go' +
 'one's'), q^welíθ·lēm 'grumble, talk under one's breath'
 ('talk' + 'in throat' + 'one's')(cp. q^welq^wélēm 'grum-
 ble').

If the examples in group B are reflexive they are more covert (semantically) than examples in -lá·met or -(e)θet. However they all seem to have subjects that are simultaneously both agent and patient and are animate. The alternate explanation to an -ēm 'reflexive, one's, oneself' in the examples of the last two paragraphs would be an -ēm 'middle voice'. The examples (especially group A) match examples of middle voice from other languages fairly closely. In any case, it seems that the -ēm of groups A and B is more than just an intransitivizer or else θ'ex^wá·sem, for example, would be 'wash on the face' instead of 'wash one's (own) face'.

A larger group of examples (group C) could be interpreted as reflexives or middles by a stretch of the imagination: in some sense all can be interpreted as action by the subject upon itself or as a state of

being (adjectival, participial) developed by and upon the subject itself with no perceived outside agent. The subject can be agent or patient, animate or inanimate. This group (C) includes the whole list of 15 participles cited in the next to last paragraph of 6.1.5 above (those with $-R_1-$ plus $-em$). Semantically the following group (C) includes a large number of words for tastes, sounds and visual effects, with some words for smells and tactile feelings and a number for involuntary physical actions (as well as other semantic areas). Omitting those already listed in 6.1.5 (largely tastes ('bitter', 'sour', 'sweet', etc.), smells ('stinking', 'mouldy', etc.), and tactile feelings ('chilled', 'slippery', 'slimy', etc.)), these marginal middles include:

Group G: $\theta' \acute{e} \cdot c \acute{e} m$ 'to jingle, rattle, clatter, peal, toll', $k^w \acute{a} \cdot t \acute{x}^w e m$ 'make a banging noise (hammering, banging), roar (falls, etc.), rumble (thunder, quake, slide, for ex.)', $\lambda' \acute{e} \cdot y \acute{x} e m - \lambda' \acute{e} \cdot l \acute{x} e m$ 'to crackle (of fire, firecracker)' ($\lambda' \acute{e} \cdot y \acute{e} x^w e m$ ($y \sim l$) 'crackling'; the variation is unexplained, probably includes errors), $\acute{x} \acute{e} p k^w e m - \lambda' \acute{e} m q^w e l s$ 'make a crunching or cracking noise (like ice breaking, chewing apples)', $l \acute{a} \cdot p \acute{x}^w e m$ '(make) noise', (possibly $k^w \acute{a} k^w e x^w e m$ 'rapping, knocking (in the distance)'), $k^w \acute{e} m$ 'to thud (dull, outside)',

(possibly sɛ·wɔ'em 'sharp rustling (leaves, paper)' and x^wát'k^wem 'soft rustling (of material), shuffling'), qɛ·yá'em 'squeaking sound (tree, chair, shoe, etc.)', q^wét'c'em 'gurgling, (make) sound of water sloshing or gurgling inside', t'ɛx^wqem 'suction sound of s-th pulling out of mud', c'ɛwq'em 'sizzling (of grease for ex.)', t'ɛyɛ'em 'fizzing (of soda, etc., of s-th dropped into water)', c'ɛtɔem - ɔ'ɛtɔem 'clinking, tinkling (of glass, metal, dishes, ice in glass, etc.)', wɛlwɛlɛ·m 'echoing'; p'ɛlq'em 'sparkle, glitter, flash', ɛ'ɛ·wq'em 'to glitter', c'ɛ·lc'em 'dazzling'; tá·q^wem 'to cough', ɔ̀·m 'cry, weep' and ɔ̀yɔ̀·m 'sob', hɛs·em 'to sneeze', ɔ̀^wf^wem 'snore', yá·q^wem 'to sweat', k^wécem 'to scream', ɔ̀yɛlɛm 'to growl (animals)', ɔ̀yɛtem 'to growl (people)' (ɔ̀yɛtɛT 'growl at s-o'), k^wá·yɔ̀^wem 'to growl (of stomach)', (q^wɛlq^wɛlɛm 'grumble' may belong here), q'ɛ·m 'have a short memory'; yá·k^wem 'it broke, to break (of its own accord)(car, ice, plank, etc.)', pɛk^wɛm 'burst or fly into dust (of airborne seeds, dust, snow), get dusty', x^wɛ'ɛyem 'clear (of river)', t'ɛ·lk^wem - t'ɛlq^wem 'warm, lukewarm (of food, drink)', lɛq^wem 'warmer (of day)', p'ɛq'em 'to bloom', pɛɔ̀^wem 'fall off a plant (of petals, seed fluff, etc.), blow from plant', lɛqɛlɛm 'dirty (of water, river)'; q'ɛ'f·lɛm

'ancient (of person or thing)', c'f.sem 'grow (of anything animate for ex.)' (c'sí·mt 'grow s-th planted'), Ө'ǵq'wem 'to rot (fruit, animal, etc.)', p'á·l'əm 'to smoke' (belongs here when subject is patient; when subject is agent belongs more with intransitivized set)(cp. p'á·ám't 'to smudge or smoke s-th out (mosquitoes, flies, etc.)', xǵpk'wem 'brittle', xǵlc'íwélém 'twisted'; x^wǵtélém 'to cloud up' (sx^wǵtél 'a cloud'), p'áq'wem 'to foam' and p'áp'ǵq'wem 'foaming; beer', p'ǵ·yc'em 'give off spark(s), sparking' (aspect unclear), Ө'ém 'subside, go down (of water or tide)'; siselc'iyásem 'turn(ing) around in a circle', q'ewǵ·ylém 'turn around; turn or go around a bend', pálx'wem 'to steam' (pá·lǵx'wem 'steaming'); c'stém 'crawl', lǵqem 'dive (in)' (hǵlqem 'diving'), lém 'go, go to, going (to)' (lǵ is auxiliary verb 'go, going, go(ing) to'), k^wǵtx^wí·lém 'go inside, come inside' (sk^wǵtǵx^w 'be inside (a house, cave, etc.)'), lǵwí·lém 'go into an opening', x^wǵwq'wǵylem 'go downstream', x^wǵeck^wí·lém '(go) far away' (cák^w '(be) far'), ?imǵx^vǵásem 'go for a walk' (< walk (step + upright) + in a circle + middle/reflexive), t'f·c(')em 'swim (of a person)', x^vǵstem 'swim(ming)(of a fish)', síx'wem 'to wade', Ө'q'ǵǵǵ·m 'kneel', x^vá·pəm 'whistle' (cp. x^vǵǵx^vpà·m 'whistling'), x^wǵǵf·yǵ·qǵpəm '(to) joke'

(x^we- 'go, become', possibly x^weʔi- 'arrive, get here', yé·q 'change'); q^wém 'come out (at roots)(of plants, hair, etc.)', θ^wá·tēm 'chilled, cold (of animate being)', sísem 'feel creepy, fear s-th behind one' (sí·si 'fear, be scared'). All of the examples above (group C) could be alternatively analyzed as intransitivized by an -em 'intransitivizer'.

The next group shows an -em 'intransitivizer' which cannot be middle or reflexive. All the examples have subjects which are agents and implied objects which are patients not equivalent to the agent subject. The agent is usually animate. The fact that the agent and patient are different from each other proves that these are neither middle nor reflexive:

Group D: q^wól(·)ém 'to barbecue', tēqlí·sem 'to button' (lúí sēqlí·s 'it's buttoned'), síq^wem 'peel (cedar bark)', θ^wém ~ c^wém 'chew' (θ^wét ~ c^wét 'chew s-th'), k^wx^wé·m 'count' (k^wx^wét 'count s-th', k^wx^wé·ls 'count'), qá·m 'dip/pack/fetch water', í·m 'pick (fruit, leaves), picking', t^wí·lēm 'sing', x^wi(y)x^wiyém 'tell (children's) stories', lé·c·əwtx^wem 'visit, drop in', x^wec^wí·lēm '(go) through the woods', k^wf^w·m 'get off a canoe' (possibly < k^wf^w 'climb'), tē·lx^wem 'tracking, following footprints', cé·lqem 'following (a person)', t^wəlí·lésem 'get side by side',

heqflém 'crawl underneath', x^wcémés 'he met the place
 he started' (-es 'in a circle' here; cá·mtel 'meet
 each other, elope'), x^weq^wqé·ylém 'stick (s-th) down
 one's throat', táx^wesem 'pull a canoe (by rope)(usu-
 ally in rough water)', p'ek^weθflém 'eat a snack,
 throw a meal together of leftovers', cθ'élylém 'spear-
 ing silver spring salmon (sq^wéxem) in clear water
 after waiting for them', θíyém 'bake (bread), fix
 (food)' (θíyθet 'fix oneself up', θíy 'fix, make'),
 k^wfk^wec'em 'butchering', λ'x^wé·ylém 'sit on eggs,
 brood eggs' (λ'éx^w 'cover'), k^wél·em 'get, fetch'
 (k^welét 'hold s-th'), θiyéltx^wem 'build a house, make
 one's home', ?é·x^wem 'give, giving' (aspect unclear),
 θ'élyé·m 'marry a sibling of one's deceased spouse'
 (θ'élye 'sibling of deceased spouse'), cémem 'pack on
 one's back' (cémēT 'pack s-th on one's back', cmé·T
 'packing s-th on one's back'), cémem̄ε 'pack some (on
 your back)!', pack a bit (on your back)!', k^wíyè·m
 'stingy of food, refuse to give (food)' (k^wíyetes
 'he refuses s-o s-th', hék^welém 'remember' (cp.
 hék^weles 'remember s-o/s-th'), x^wáyém 'to sell'
 x^wá·y-met 'sell s-th'), λ'x^wém 'win a contest' (pos-
 sibly cp. λ'éx^w 'cover' or λ'éx^wt 'take advantage of
 s-o'), θ'éx^welwetem 'wash clothes', yelk^wátem
 'close up a meeting , wind up or complete a meeting,

"break the canoe" (give last spirit dance of the season in a given longhouse)', csélem 'send for s-th, send with a message' (csÉT 'send s-o').

In addition to group D (and possibly group C), the remaining verbs in -em may be examples of an -em 'intransitivizer' as well:

Group E: hátq^wem 'boiling, boil (?) (of water)', hém - hÉ·m 'finished (of a story), over', x^wmÉ·m 'empty', caléx^wem 'bleed', ?iyá·lem 'right, correct, alright, okay, can', (mə) tx^wém 'early', ?á·yem (e - é) 'late, slow' (possibly related to ?É·y 'keep on'), há·q^wem 'give off smell' (há·q^wÉT 'smell s-th/s-o', há·q^wlex^w 'catch scent of s-th', háq^wels 'smelling, sniffing (of an animal)'), Ө'eq'ém 'drip (once)' and Ө'Éq'em 'dripping continuously', p'á·k'em 'to smoke' (belongs here when agent is human subject and the implied object is a cigarette, pipe, etc.), k'Épexem 'fall down and scatter, drop and scatter (apples, seeds in planting, etc.)', kÉqem 'whisper' and kÉkexem 'whispering', hflém 'fall and tumble, tumble', méӨ'elqÉylém 'tell a lie, lie' and məӨ'Élem 'bluff, pretend one knows' (smÉӨ'el 'proud', -qel 'speech, language' + -f·l 'get, go, come'), ?ewálem 'play', tÈ·m - tÉ·m 'shout, yell, holler', sé·yem 'ache, hurt, sore', Өqélem - ӨqÉ·lem 'to still-dip with dip-net' (one or the other is 'con-

tinuative'), ʔiʔayá(·)m 'walk slow', q'élém 'to camp, make camp', ʔf·yá·sem 'having fun', qəliyθílem 'swear, curse', q'əwétəm 'drumming (for s-o)' (q'əwét 'a drum').

So it seems that there is quite probably a middle voice (if not a reflexivizer) -əm, distinct from the -əm intransitivizer and from -əm 'passive (3rd person)'. The active voice is best defined as non-passive and non-middle. And the passive is used for avoiding specification of subject agent (or for focusing on the object patient), for expressing an impersonal subject (especially with non-second person objects), and for expressing a third person subject with a second person object.

The three voices can also be looked on as Halliday does¹, to paraphrase: a middle clause has only one inherent participant (an actor) ("Hector sneezed", "the cat washed"); a non-middle clause has two inherent participants (actor and goal) but one or the other may not be actualized: the active may lack a goal ("Mary is washing (the clothes)") and the passive may lack an actor ("the clothes have been washed").

1. M.A.K. Halliday: "Language Structure and Language Function", pp. 146-165 in New Horizons in Linguistics, edited by John Lyons, 1970, Penguin Books, Baltimore, Md.

6.1.7. Mood (subjunctive ('when, if, uncertainty, with negation), imperative, interrogative). As discussed in detail in 4.9 of the pronoun chapter, with many examples, there is a special set of pronoun suffixes which are used as subject pronouns of verbs prefixed with we- 'if; when', with verbs after negative verbs ?éwe 'not be, be not', ?ewé 'if not', x^wewé 'not yet', and with auxiliary verbs after some interrogative verbs. This inflectional set (4.9) can be called the subjunctive mood, since the term subjunctive mood is used in many other languages for similar syntactic and semantic purposes (hypothetical, negative, and uncertain). It further fits well as a "mood" because it contrasts with the other traditional declarative, imperative and interrogative moods. All four moods are mutually exclusive within a verb; they do not affect object inflection, that is, the same object affixes can be used in all four moods. More will be said of the subjunctive in the syntax chapter, but little needs to be added here to what has been given in discussion, paradigm and example in 4.9. It could be added that even nominals used as verbs (swíyeqecel 'I'm a man') can be made subjunctive: (EB) weswíyeqé's qe wesíélfíyes 'if it's a man or a woman' and (AG) welalec'é's 'if it was one person' (both examples show

the morphophonemic rule of vowel combination $e + e \rightarrow \acute{e}$).

A declarative mood can be set up and defined as inflectionally non-subjunctive, non-imperative, and non-interrogative. Most of the verbs given so far in this grammar have been in the declarative mood. More will be said of the declarative in the chapter on syntax since moods have a tendency to be syntactically and semantically transferred to whole phrases and sentences. But here we are discussing verb inflection and there is no overt 'declarative' morpheme (it cannot be the -c- in first and second person subject pronoun suffixes). The declarative verb is merely one which lacks subjunctive, imperative and interrogative morphemes or inflections.

The imperative mood gives a command to the hearer or hearers and has several inflective suffixes:

- t̄ε [t̄æ] 'imperative, you (sg.) subject' (not used with negative or auxiliary verbs)
- c̄t̄ε [ǣt̄æ] 'imperative, you (pl.) subject' (not used with negative or auxiliary verbs)
- t̄ (EB has -t̄t̄) 'imperative, you (sg.) subject, mildly urging' (used with auxiliary verbs l̄ε(m) 'go(ing)(to)' and m̄ε - m̄í 'come, coming')
- cex^w 'you sg. subject' substitutes for -t̄ε imperative

- (most frequent in Cheh. and Tait, less common in Chill. where $-t\epsilon$ is preferred; used also with auxiliaries $l\epsilon(m)$ and $m\epsilon - m\acute{f}$, and used with $ʔ\acute{o}w\epsilon$ or $ʔ\acute{e}w\epsilon$ 'not, don't' in all three dialects; Cheh. and Tait frequently have a more emphatic form $-cx^w\acute{x}$ 'you just ...!' < $-cx^w$ $ʔ\acute{a}l$ ($ʔ\acute{a}l - ʔ\acute{a} - ʔ\acute{e}l$ 'just' as in English "you just do it!"). Also note that since $-cx^w$, $-c\acute{e}p$, and $-c\acute{e}t$ are used as imperatives their initial $-c-$ cannot be a declarative morpheme.)
- $-c\acute{e}p$ 'you pl. subject' substitutes for $-c\acute{t}\epsilon$ imperative (most frequent in Cheh. and Tait, less common in Chill.; used also with auxiliary and negative verbs in all three dialects)
- $-c\acute{e}t$, $-c\acute{t}$ 'we subject' substitutes as a first person plural imperative when it follows auxiliaries $l\epsilon$ and $m\epsilon$ ($l\acute{e}c\acute{e}t - l\acute{e}c\acute{t}$ 'let's' and 'we're going to', $m\acute{e}c\acute{e}t - m\acute{e}c\acute{t}$ 'let's (come and)' and 'we're coming to')
- $-\acute{a}w\acute{e}\acute{t}$ (Chill.), $-\acute{e}w\acute{e}\acute{t}$ (Cheh., Tait) 'polite imperative?, you sg. subject' (rare, used only in a few phrases: $h\acute{a}y\acute{a}w\acute{e}\acute{t} - h\acute{a}y\acute{e}w\acute{e}\acute{t}$ 'goodbye (leaver to stayer)' (almost like 'stay well!', $h\acute{a}y$ means 'finish'), $l\acute{e}m\acute{a}w\acute{e}\acute{t} - l\acute{e}m\acute{e}w\acute{e}\acute{t}$ 'goodbye (stayer to leaver, leaver to leaver), go ahead (polite)! (like "go well!"), $ʔ\acute{e}ʔ\acute{e}\acute{a}w\acute{e}\acute{t}$ 'you're welcome' ($ʔ\acute{e} \cdot ʔ\acute{e}$ 'yes'),

ʔɔʔawə̀ɪ 'I'm listening)(said while listening to stories)' (AG)

-ɪq^we 'polite imperative?, you sg. subject' (dubious, only one example: ʔemét-ɪq^we 'Sit down (polite command)!' which contrasts with ʔemét-ɪɛ k^wé 'Sit down then!' which includes k^wé 'then').

These imperatives and pronouns used as imperatives are always final in the verb word when they occur. They can be preceded by any intransitivizer, beneficiary suffix (benefactive, reflexive, reciprocal), transitivizer (except -l 'happen to, ...'), object suffix, or voice (except passive). Imperatives have not been attested with continuative aspect, -l transitivizer, participles, nor in the passive, and imperatives cannot co-occur with past or future tense affixes nor with subjunctive or interrogative affixes. Imperative suffixes function in part like subject suffixes and so perhaps also belong in the chapter on pronouns.

The lack of imperatives with -l control verbs and some intransitive verbs (prepositional, adverbial, interrogative, personal pronoun, demonstrative, and some verbs whose action a subject cannot do on command) is quite interesting; it seems the result of morphosememic and/or syntactic incompatibility. The -l

verbs in particular are verbs over which the subject does not have complete control and therefore cannot be ordered to do (see examples below). Examples:

1.(AC): (?ə)mí-ɪɛ '(you sg.) come!', mfy-ɛɪɛ '(you pl.) come!', ?emət-ɪɛ '(you sg.) sit down!' (also 'sit up!'), ?emət-ɛɪɛ '(you pl.) sit down!/sit up!', ɪexɛyl-ɛx^y-ɪɛ 'stand up!', pɪx^w-et-ɪɛ 'brush it!', mey-θ-áx^y-ɪɛ 'help me!', mey-θ-áx^y-ɛɪɛ '(you folks) help me!', ?ɛyelex^w-ɪɛ 'get well!' (not -l control, cp. ?ɛyelex^wlex^w 'keep s-o alive'), k^wx^yɛ·m-cex^w 'you count! (said if you already told him once and he stands there stupidly)'

2.(EB): ?áɪ-st-ex^w-ɪɛ 'put it on board!', pɪx^w-et-cex^w 'brush it!', mey-θ-áx^y-cex^w 'help me!', cém-ət-ɪɛ 'pack it (on your back)!', cém-əm-ɪɛ 'pack some!, pack a bit (on your back)!', c'ek^wx-ɛ·ls-ɪɛ 'fry some!, fry a bit!', θiy-ɛɪc-ət-ɪɛ 'make or fix it for him!', p'ówiy-ɛɪc-θ-áx^y-cex^w 'patch it for me!', ?í-ɪc-st-ex^w-cx^wá '(just) leave it for him!', sθehí-θet-cx^wá 'just you be careful!', tesé-θet-ɛɪɛ ~ mfy-ɛɪɛ teséθet '(you folks) come near!, (you folks) sit in (with us) and eat!' (teséθet 'come close or near', tés 'get up to, approach'), yəq^w-əlcep-θ-áx^y-ɪɛ 'make a fire for me!', can't say *k^wɛl-l-ex^w-ɪɛ 'find it!' nor *k^wɛc-l-ex^w-ɪɛ 'see it!' (AC agrees)(one

must use k^Wéc-et-iz 'look at it!')

3.(AC): lɛ-ɪ x^Yá·k^Wem 'go bathe!', lɛ-ɪ mɛ·yt 'go help him!', lɛ-ɪ ʔé·yel 'go away!', lɛ-ɪ t'á·k^W 'go home!', lɛ-ɪ zeq'ét tɛ x^Yéɪ '(go) widen the path!', mɪ-tɪ q'ax^Yelθáx^Y 'come with me!', mɛ-ɪ q'á·l-θet 'come back!', mɛ-ɪ qá·l-t tɛ qá· 'come get/dip the water!'

4.(EB): lém-tɪ k^Wél-l-əm tɛ s(i)yáɪ 'go fetch the wood!', lém-tɪ ʔé·yel 'go away!', mɛ-tɪ ye-sq'á - mɪ-tɪ ye-sq'á 'come along!' (vs. mɪ-iz 'come!' and mɪy-ɛzɛ '(you folks) come! (telling them they have to)'), x^Yáim-θet-cex^W 'take care of yourself!', ʔówe-cx^W tátɛs-et-ex^W 'don't touch it!'

5.(AC): ʔówe-cɛp lém-ép q'á·-θet 'don't you folks go mix (or associate) with them!', ʔówe-cx^W (wɛ)lém-ex^W qəlqəl-f-l-θet-ex^W 'don't (when you go) go get yourself dirty!', ʔówe-cx^W x^Wɪyθ-əqe-θáx^Y-ex^W 'don't you repeat what I say!', lɛ-ct ʔéɪtɛl 'let's go eat (a meal)!', lɛ-ct hɛ·wɛ 'let's go hunting!', lɛ-ct t'á·k^W 'let's go home!; we're going home', lɛ-ct mɛy-t-áɛ 'we're going to help you folks'

6.(EB): mɛ-ct ʔé·yelex^W-stex^W tɛ s-q^Wè-l-ctɛt 'let's keep our language alive!', lɛ-ct ɪí·m 'we're going to pick (fruit, etc.), we're going picking', lɛ-ct ʔimex^Y-ás-əm 'we're going to go for a walk' (AC 'let's

go for a walk!)

(lɛ-ct t'á·k'^W (AC) in 5 above could be seen as having the imperative interpretation, 'let's go home!', if the speaker intends first person plural inclusive, and having the declarative interpretation, 'we're going home', if the speaker intends first person plural exclusive.)

The interrogative mood, like the other moods, has syntactic and morphosememic jurisdiction over the whole sentence, and more will be said of it in both Chapters 11 and 13. The most common method of forming interrogatives is syntactic, using interrogative auxiliary verb lɛ at the beginning of the sentence. There are also interrogative verbs which form a distinct set (see 6.7 in this chapter) but which are not inflections. Here we are dealing only with inflections, and the only interrogative inflection found in Upper Stalo Halkomelem is {-ə} // -ə - -ɛ - -ɛ // 'interrogative'.

Interrogative {-ə} is found in the nine morphological contexts given below. Although only third person sg. is glossed in 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6, all other persons, numbers, and genders occur as interrogative subjects; other persons and numbers are likely in 5 and 8 but are not yet attested.

1. lí(·) ~ lí^o ~ líye (+ pronoun suffixes 4.4)

'Does he ...?, Did he ...?, Is he ...?' (the latter gloss with statives). lí^o and líye are not frequently found, mainly occurring in slow or hyperslow pronunciation; lí(·) seems to be acceptable in all cases instead, waxing historically while {-e} is waning. The answer to lí(·) (and lí^o or líye) questions can be simply lí 'He does., He did., He is.' (Note that lí(·) also means 'Does she/it/they ...?, etc.' and with suffixes 4.4 interrogates other persons that third person (fór ex. lí(·)-cəl 'Do I...?, Did I ...?, Am I ...?'). 'He' in 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6 is only an abbreviation for these possibilities.)

2. lí(·)-ī-e ~ lí(·)-ī-ε (+ 4.4 suffixes) 'Was he ...?' This is the same interrogative lí(·) as in 1., but when past tense -ī is suffixed the {-e} follows the -ī. -e also varies with -ε, mainly in slower pronunciations of AC. The answer can be lí(·)ī 'He was.'

3. léme (+ 4.4 suffixes) 'Is he going?, Is he going to ...?' Alternates with lí(·) lém which is translated identically. The answer can be lém 'He is going., He is going to ...?'

4. sk'^wé(·)ye ~ sk'^wéye ~ k'^wé·ye ~ k'^wé·yeε (+ k'^w(e) + 4.8 affixes) 'Can't he ...?' Again the -ε variants seem to appear in slower speech, but otherwise the forms

seem to be in free variation. AC hinted that some people prefer the forms with s- and some do not, but it is unclear whether this is idiolectal or dialectal variation. *lf(·) sk^Wé(·)y is not permitted. The declarative is sk^Wé(·)y (+ k^W(ə) + 4.8 pronouns) 'He can't ..., It's impossible that he ...'

5. ?ε sɬ'iye 'Do you want ...?' The use of {-ə} with sɬ'f(y) is only attested in 2nd person singular so far. sɬ'f(y) is a nominal in Halkomelem but a verb in English; it takes possessive pronoun inflection to show its subject in English (?ε sɬ'f(y) is literally 'my want', and becomes 'I want' in smooth English translation). The interrogative lf(·) ?ε sɬ'f 'Do you want ...?' is much more common than ?ε sɬ'iye; ?ε sɬ'iye seems like a remnant of a once more common inflection.

6. ?ewé (+ 4.4 pronoun suffixes) 'Doesn't he ...?'
 ?ewé-ɬ (+ 4.4 pronouns) 'Didn't he ...?'
 (?ə)wé·tɛ (+ 4.6 pronouns) 'Doesn't he have any ...?' All three interrogatives are based on ?éwe 'is not, does not, etc.' + -é(·); the second adds -ɬ 'past tense' before the interrogative; the third adds -tɛ '-body, -thing'. Compare ?éwe 'he is not, he doesn't', ?éweɬ 'he didn't, he wasn't', and (?ə)wé·tɛ 'none, nobody, nothing'. *lf(·) ?éwe (+ 4.4), *lf(·) ?éweɬ (+ 4.4), and *lf(·) (?ə)wé·tɛ are not permitted.

7. $\lambda^{\prime}\acute{a}$, possibly $\lambda^{\prime}\acute{a}^{\circ}$ or $\lambda^{\prime}\acute{a}^{\circ}e$ 'Is that ...?, Is it ...?' Compare $\lambda^{\prime}\acute{a}$ 'that is ..., it is ...'. The traces of $-e$ - $-e$ here are very tenuous but apparently present.

8. $lew\acute{e}$. 'Is it you?' was recorded twice from AC and seems to indicate the interrogative suffixed to pronominal verbs. Compare $lew\acute{e}$ 'it is you'.

9. $sp\acute{e}\cdot\theta e$ 'Is it a bear?' and $sc^{\prime}\acute{a}\cdot\ddot{e}^{\circ}$ 'Is it a leaf?' were each recorded once from AC. They seem (if not errors) to indicate that nouns used as verbs can be made interrogative with $\{-e\}$. Compare $sp\acute{e}\cdot\theta$ (used all by itself) 'It is a bear.' and $sc^{\prime}\acute{a}\cdot\ddot{e}$ (used alone) 'It is a leaf.' The cognate construction in Musqueam dialect Halkomelem is $sp\acute{e}^{\circ}e\theta$ $^{\circ}e$ 'Is it a bear?' with $^{\circ}e$ 'interrogative'.² It should be noted however that this construction is not common in Upper Stalo dialects. And the alternates $l\acute{i}\cdot sp\acute{e}\cdot\theta$ (or $l\acute{i}ye sp\acute{e}\cdot\theta$) are found 95% of the time instead.

Examples (from AC except where marked):

1. $l\acute{i}ye\text{cex}^W k^{\prime}w\acute{a}mk^{\prime}w\acute{e}m$ (slow) 'Are you strong?'
 $l\acute{i}cx^W l\acute{e}yem$ (normal), $l\acute{i}ye\text{cex}^W l\acute{e}yem$ (slow) 'Are you laughing?'

2. Wayne Suttles: Unpublished grammatical notes on Musqueam Halkomelem for Anthropology 407, Winter 1969, Portland State University, Portland, Oregon.

- lɪyɛ mɛ k^wɛtx^wf.lɛm tɛ sq^wɛmɛy 'Is the dog inside?'
 lɪyɛɔl sɪ.silɛmɛ 'Did I scare you?'
 lɪ^vɔ qɛx 'Is there a lot?' (lɪ. qɛx 'There is a lot.')
- (EB) lɪyɛcɛx^w hɛk^wɛlɛs 'Do you remember?'
 2. lɪ(ɔ)ɛɔɔl mɛmɪyɛt ɔɛ Mary 'Was I helping Mary?'
 lɪ.ɛɔɔɔɔl mɛmɪyɛt ɔɛ Mary 'Were we helping Mary?'
 lɪɛɔɔx^w mɛmɪyɛt ɔɛ Mary 'Were you (sg.) helping Mary?'
 lɪ.ɛɔɔɔɔp mɛmɪyɛt ɔɛ Mary 'Were you folks helping Mary?'
 lɪɛ mɛmɪyɛtɛs tɪ.ɔ.ɔ 'à ɔɛ Mary 'Was he helping Mary?'
 (EB) lɪɛɔɔɔp lɛm k^wɛ tɔwɛl 'Did you folks go to town?'
 (Cp. lɪ.ɛɔɔɔl 'I was.' and lɪ.ɛɔɔɔɔl 'We were.')
3. lɛmɛɔɔl 'Am I going?'
 lɛmɛɔɔx^w 'Are you going?'
 lɛmɛ ɔɛ.ɔɔɔl 'Are they going?'
 lɛmɛ yɪɔɛ 'Are those people going?'
 (AC,NP) lɛmɛɔɔx^w t'ɔ.k^w 'Are you going home?'
 (EB) lɛmɛɔɔɔp tɔwɛl 'Are you folks going to town?'
 (Cp. lɪ. lɛm ɔɛ.ɔɔɔl 'Are they going?' and lɪ. lɛm
 'Is he going?')
4. sk^wɛyɛ k^wɛlɛs k^wɛɔɔɔɔx^w - sk^wɛyɛ k^wɛlɛs k^wɛɔɔɔɔx^w
 'Can't I see it?'
 sk^wɛyɛ (~ sk^wɛyɛ) k^wɛs k^wɛɔɔɔɔx^w 'Can't you see it?'
 sk^wɛyɛ k^w(ɛ)s k^wɛɔɔɔɔx^ws 'Can't he see it?'
 sk^wɛyɛ k^wɛs k^wɛɔɔɔɔx^wcɛt 'Can't we see it?'
 sk^wɛyɛ k^wɛs k^wɛɔɔɔɔx^wɔɛɔp 'Can't you folks see it?'

- k^wé·ye k^wes k^wécləx^w 'Can't you see it?'
- k^wé·ye k^wes k^wécləx^wəlep 'Can't you folks see it?'
- (Gp. sk^wé·y k^wels k^wécləx^w 'I can't see it.', etc.
and lí ?iyá·ləm k^wels k^wécləx^w 'Can I see it?')
5. ?ε sà·íye k^we qá· 'Do you want some water?'
- lí ?ε sà·í k^we qá· 'Do you want some water?'
6. ?əwé líf yéəestàləm 'Did(n't) they tell you folks?,
Weren't you folks told?'
- ?əwé ?ε sà·íyes k^wes k^wécləx^wcət 'Don't you want
us to see it?'
- ?əwéí le t·ílemeθàm tə syúwéls 'Didn't he ever sing
his spirit song to you?'
- wé·tε ?ε sméyóθ 'Have(n't) you got any meat?' (lit.
'Is it none, your meat?')
- ?əwéte k^we le q^wélsəà·m 'Did nobody/Didn't anybody
speak to you?' ('Is it nobody that spoke to you?')
- (EB) wé·tε st·élmex^w 'Do(n't) you have any medicine?'
(lit. 'Is it none, the medicine?')(a more strict
translation would be 'Is(n't) there any medicine?')
- (Gp. ?éwe líf yéəestàləm 'They didn't tell you folks.,
You folks weren't told.', ?éweí le k^wéclà·m 'He
didn't see you., You weren't seen.', and ?əwéte
k^we le q^wélsəà·m 'Nobody spoke to you.')
7. à·gá· k^wel méle 'Is that my child? (you're talking
about' (unclosed parenthesis within a gloss indi-

cates semantic context)

λ'á. (- λ'á^o) k'w^e spēłxəl 'Is it the prairie?'

λ'á'ε su léms yiθé 'Are those people going?' (λ'á. 'εsu?)

(Cp. λ'a tel mólé 'That's my child.')

8. lewé. 'Is it you?'

lewé., ídí 'Is it you, Edie?'

(Cp. léwe 'It's you (sg.)')

9: spē·θe 'Is it a bear?' (rare)

sc'á·łé^o 'Is it a leaf?' (rare)

(Cp. spē·θ 'It's a bear.', sc'á·łε 'It's a leaf.',

and lí· spē·θ 'Is it a bear?' (AC, MC, etc.))

6.1.8. Tense (present, past, future). Present

tense is the catch-all tense, used to indicate present action (which must be continuing as the speaker speaks --continuative aspect), habitual action (which may be spread over past, present, and future), momentaneous action (which the speaker is about to perform -- non-continuative aspect), and past action (historical present in narratives, legends, etc.). Present tense is the unmarked tense. Past tense is marked by {-ł} on a preposed auxiliary verb or syntactically by preposing subject pronoun affixes of 4.4. It can refer to past time of any depth, duration or iteration. It can also be used interchangeably with historical present in narratives or stories. Future tense is

marked by verb final {-ce} or syntactically by auxiliary *le* 'going to' (as in English "I'm going to go."). It can refer to future action of any depth, duration or iteration, but it cannot begin momentaneous to the time of speaking -- that is, the action may be imminent in five minutes, five hours or fifty years but not in five seconds with the actor already poised to begin (that would be present non-continuative). Future is also translated by 'will' + verb + 'in a while'. The same pronoun sets are used for all three tenses. Some examples will contrast the tenses: p'εθ'cel 'I sew, I'm going to sew (momentarily, holding the needle)', p'εθ'celce 'I'll sew (in five minutes, five hours, or tomorrow)', p'εp'εθ'cel 'I'm sewing', p'εp'εθ'celce 'I'll be sewing', (?f.±)cel p'ε.θ'et 'I sewed s-th', (?f.±)cel p'εp'εθ'et 'I was sewing s-th'.

Many examples of the present tense have been given already in this chapter and chapter 4; since there is no inflection for the present, not much need be added here.

Similarly, the inflection for future is quite straightforward: -ce is added as the last suffix on the verb word. There are no complications except for the auxiliary future: *le* + subject pronoun suffix

(set 4.4) + verb (as in læcəl mɛyθàmə 'I'm going to help you.'). In this latter construction some displacement from the site of the speech event is usually also implied -- that is, the speaker is literally going somewhere to perform the action. It is unclear at present whether this displacement is future or momentaneous present or either one; AC implied that it could be either one. Some examples of the -cs future follow, showing its co-occurrence with most of the other verb inflections:

p'ék^wce 'it will float'

ɬ'ácc 'that will be, it will be (him, her, them)'

səlčímcə 'how shall ...?, how should ...?'

sk^wéyce k^wels mɛlqles 'I'll never forget s-o/s-th'

(lit. 'it will be impossible that I forget s-o/s-th')

líccə sp'sp'ék^w 'Will it float?'

líyce ləm 'Will he go?' (Mamie Cooper)

ʔéweccə mɛ k^wɛclɛlɛmèt 'I won't be seen., Nobody will see me.'

wéccə læmɛl yewé. '(Won't you take me along?), Will you take me along?, Can I go along?'

ə'fɪq^wəθamécəlcc 'I will punch you'

q^wáq^wlamécəlcc 'I'll hit you accidentally'

stɛʔéstex^wescə 'they will follow him, they will do like him' ('they' and 'him' could be replaced in other

contexts than the one in which $st\epsilon^? \acute{e}st\acute{o}x^w\acute{e}sc\epsilon$ was elicited by 'he/she/it/they' and 'her/it/them')
 $?el^? \acute{e}liysm\acute{o}\theta am\acute{e}c\acute{e}l\acute{c}\epsilon$ 'I'll dream about you'
 $\acute{\lambda}^? f^? \acute{e}l\acute{s}\acute{a}x^y\acute{e}sc\epsilon \sim \acute{\lambda}^? f^? \acute{e}l\acute{s}\acute{e}l\acute{s}\acute{a}x^y\acute{e}sc\epsilon$ 'he/she/they will like me'
 $\acute{z}f\acute{c}^? \acute{e}l\acute{c}\theta am\acute{e}c\acute{e}l\acute{c}\epsilon$ 'I'll cut it off for you'
 $t^? ft^? \acute{e}l\acute{e}m\acute{c}\acute{e}l\acute{c}\epsilon \sim \acute{c}\acute{e}l\acute{c}\epsilon t^? ft^? \acute{e}l\acute{e}m$ 'I'll be singing' (AC uncertain on this)
 $m\acute{e}l\acute{q}f^? w\acute{s}em\acute{c}\acute{e}l\acute{c}\epsilon$ 'I'll faint'
 $\acute{x}\acute{e}y\acute{w}\acute{e}\theta\acute{a} \cdot m\acute{c}\epsilon$ 'you'll be warned, s-o will warn you'
 $k^? w^? \acute{e}cl\acute{a} \cdot m\acute{c}\epsilon$ 'you'll be seen'
 $? \acute{e}ys\theta\acute{e}l\acute{e}m\acute{c}\epsilon$ 'I'll be liked'
 $l\acute{f}c\acute{x}^w s\acute{z}\acute{e}q^? \acute{e}l \cdot \acute{e}x^w w\acute{e}l\acute{e}m\acute{e}sc\epsilon$ 'Do you know if he'll go?'
 There are no examples with imperatives. No examples have yet turned up of $-c\acute{e}$ with reflexives or participles but they are likely to occur.

The inflections for past are somewhat more complex. The following constructions and inflections are employed for past tense:

1. Present forms can be translated as past in a narrative context (as mentioned above), even narrative in conversation, and after past time adverbial verbs (like 'before', 'long ago', etc.).
2. A past tense is formed by pre-posing subject pronouns in set 4.4 as independent words in front of

the verb (see pronoun chapter under 4.4); this is sometimes also translated by present tense, perhaps depending on context.

3. Subject pronouns 4.4 can be suffixed to a meaningless auxiliary verb $\text{ʔé} \frac{\text{f}}{\text{t}} \text{ʔé}$ ([ʔI] - [ʔÉ]) and remain pre-posed to the main verb; this construction seems to be used like the past tense in 2 just above. Also {ʔé} + t'we 'must' + weɩ 'already' (//ʔé t'we weɩ// → /ʔét'wo(w)ɩ/ ~ /ʔét'wo(w)ɩ/ 'must have, must have been'.

4. Subject pronouns 4.4 can be affixed to the past tense suffix -ɩ; -ɩ usually is affixed to an auxiliary or negative or interrogative verb preceding the main verb. There are many types of these constructions, and none can be translated with present tense:

- 4.1. ʔf·-ɩ-4.4 m.v.(=main verb) past tense
 ʔf·-ɩ-4.4 t'we m.v. 'must have, must have been'
 ʔf·-ɩ ʔiyá·lem k'^W-4.8-s m.v. 'could have'
- 4.2. d.a.(=demonstrative article) ʔf·-ɩ 4.6 s-subord.verb
 past relative (as in 'what you folks wanted')
 d.a. ʔf·-ɩ (lɛ) subord.verb past relative
 (as in 'the one who escaped')
 d.a.-4.8-s ʔf·-ɩ subord.verb past subordinate
 (as in 'it was loud, your past laughing')
 d.a.-4.6 sx^W-subord.verb-ɛɩ past relative (as

in 'where I used to walk')

- 4.3. $l\dot{f}\cdot\dot{z}\text{-}4.4$ m.v. past tense
- 4.4. $l\dot{f}\cdot\dot{z}\text{-}\varepsilon\text{-}4.4$ m.v. past interrogative
- 4.5. $l\dot{\varepsilon}m\text{-}\dot{z}\text{-}4.4$ m.v. auxiliary past with $l\dot{\varepsilon}(m)$
 $m\dot{f}\cdot\dot{z}\text{-}4.4$ m.v. auxiliary past with $m\dot{f}\cdot$
- 4.6. $?\dot{\varepsilon}w\dot{e}\text{-}\dot{z}\text{-}4.4$ m.v. ~ $?\dot{\varepsilon}w\dot{e}\text{-}4.4\text{-}\dot{z}$ m.v. nega-
 tive past habitual, 'never'
 $?\dot{\varepsilon}w\text{-}\dot{\varepsilon}\dot{z}\text{-}4.4$ ($?\dot{f}\cdot$, $l\dot{f}\cdot$)-4.9b m.v. negative past
 habitual, 'never'
 $?\dot{\varepsilon}w\text{-}\dot{\varepsilon}\dot{z}\text{-}4.4$ m.v.-4.9a negative past habitual,
 'never'
 $?\dot{\varepsilon}w\text{-}\varepsilon\text{-}4.4\text{-}\dot{z}$ ($?\dot{f}\cdot\text{-}4.9b$) m.v. neg. past habitual,
 'never'
- 4.7. $?\dot{\varepsilon}w\text{-}\dot{\varepsilon}\text{-}\dot{z}\text{-}4.4$ ($l\dot{\varepsilon}$) m.v. neg: past interrogative
- 4.8. adverbial $Vi\text{-}\dot{z}$ past adverbial
 ($w\dot{e}\dot{z}$ 'already' is an adverbial verb or particle which
 may have $\text{-}\dot{z}$ 'past' or lack it; its derivation is un-
 clear. $l\dot{\varepsilon} w\dot{e}\dot{z}$ m.v. is a completive construction gen-
 erally in the past because of pre-posed $l\dot{\varepsilon}$ (note that
 $l\dot{\varepsilon} w\dot{e}\dot{z}$ always \rightarrow / $lu\dot{z}$ /); but $l\dot{f} w\dot{e}\dot{z}$ (the interroga-
 tive version of $l\dot{\varepsilon} w\dot{e}\dot{z}$) shows present is possible as
 well as past: $l\dot{f} w\dot{e}\dot{z} l\dot{\varepsilon}m$ 'Is he already gone?, Has
 he already gone?'. $w\dot{e}\dot{z}$ is often merged with preceding
 unstressed words and becomes $\text{-}w\dot{z}$ or $\text{-}u\dot{z}$ (as in $lu\dot{z}$,
 $k^w\dot{e}w\dot{z}i\theta\dot{e}\dot{z}$ (AC) - $k^w\dot{u}\dot{z}i\theta\dot{e}\dot{z}$ (EB, et al), $?\dot{\varepsilon}t^w\dot{e}w\dot{z}$ -
 $?\dot{\varepsilon}t^w\dot{o}(w)\dot{z}$).

Examples:

1. yéestex^wce^w 'you told him, you tell him'
 yéestálx^wes 'he told us, he tells us'
 lícx^w x^we?í·lx^w 'did you bring it?'
 lí· lε hēwe 'has he gone hunting?'
 líye méyθà·m 'were you helped?'
 ?éysθèlè^m 'I was liked, I am liked' (Passives are usually translated with past tense. Questions often are too.)
 ?íi xét'è k'^wes x^we?í·s k'^we s^wéxèè^t 'He said he'd come on Sunday.'
 ?í·ícx^w xét'è k'^wes me méyθà^y 'You said you were coming to help me.'
 íí lís íeq'él·ex^w 'She knew long ago.'
 yeléw s^wéxèè^t k'^wes x^we?í· 'He came after Sunday.'
 yewélmels k'^wes x^we?í· tē x^weíftem 'before the white man came'
2. cel ?á·x^west 'I gave it'
 cel yéestex^w 'I told him'
 lé petláx^yes 'he recognized me'
 lé lè^m 'he went'
 lé lè^m tlàwéyél 'he went today'
 lé lε hēwe ^f lé lè^m hēwe 'he's gone hunting'
 ?íícx^w tus?éy?èl k'^wes lé léyem 'you were laughing softly'

teṁtém k^wés lə ɔfyt 'When did you make it?'

(Normally subordinated past uses lə (in any person).)

cel k^wéclámè 'I saw you'

lə c^wemeθáx^ves 'he bit me'

lə méyèà·m 'you were helped'

lə méytem 'he was helped'

lə méyèèlèm 'I was helped'

lə k^wéclèlèm 'I was seen'

lə q^wáq^wel 'he was talking'

lə q^wó·lq^weltel 'they were talking together'

(The next four examples show present translation in spite of inversion.)

cel ʔf·k^welà 'I'm here'

lə ʔf·k^welà 'he's here'

cel t^wft^welem 'I'm singing'

cel ʔf·m 'I'm picking (fruit)'

lə ʔéɪtel 'he (she, etc.) ate a meal'

lə ʔf·ɪtel 'he's (she's, etc.) eating a meal'

ʒ. ʔécel lèm 'I went' (cp. cel lèm 'I went')

(ʔécel, ʔécex^w, ʔécet, ʔécép) ʔéɪtel '(I, you, we, you folks) ate a meal'

(Note: ʔó is not found in third person, only lə.)

ʔécel ʔf·c^w 'I got cut'

ʔécex^w x^vá·lɪ·s 'you went into fatal shock'

ʔécel k^wécléx^w 'I saw him, I see him'

- ʔécel 0'á·tém 'I got cold'
 ʔécel 0'á0'eíem 'I'm still cold'
 (ʔé)cel cá·léx^wem 'I'm bleeding'
 ʔécex^w x^weʔíyet (or x^weʔí·t); ʔéwecelí tel·á·met 'What
 did you say?; I didn't understand.'
 ʔécel sí·silàlè 'I scared you folks'
 ʔét'wo(w)í lèm 'He must have gone., He/She/It/They
 must be gone.'
 4.1. ʔí·í lèm 'he's gone, he went'
 (ʔí·ícel, ʔí·ícex^w, ʔí·ícet, ʔí·ícép) lèm '(I, you,
 we, you folks) went'
 ʔí·í xét'e 'he said'
 ʔí·ícex^w ʔí·k^welà 'you were here'
 ʔí·ícex^w lí· tí k^wes t'ít'eíem 'you were over there
 singing'
 ʔí·ícel t'ít'eíem 'I was singing'
 ʔí·ícex^w lé·y0àx^v 'you were laughing at me'
 ʔí·í(cel, -cex^w, -cet, -cep) q'áq'ey '(I, you, we,
 you folks) was/were sick'
 ʔí·í q'áq'ey 0úx'á 'she was sick'
 ʔí·ícel x^wéy0eíel 'I was interpreting'
 ʔí·ícex^w ʔelóce 'where have you been?, where were you?'
 ʔí·ícex^w x^weʔí·(y)et 'what were you doing?'
 ʔí·ícel t'we ʔí·tet 'I must have been sleeping/asleep'
 ʔí·í ʔiyáíem k^ws ʔéítelélep 'you folks could have

- eaten' (lit. "it was alright that you folks eat")
- 4.2. te ʔi·ɛ ʔε skʰiyelep 'what you folks wanted'
 te ʔi·ɛ le kʰi·w 'the one who escaped'
 x^wayiwel tel sq^wélewel kʰ^wes le tés te ʔi·ɛ ʔε sk^wá·l
 'I'm happy (my thoughts/feelings are happy) that
 it has come to (the occasion of) your past birth.'
 (translation by NP of the Happy Birthday song)
 ʔi·ɛcex^w sθi·qel kʰ^wes ʔiɛ lé(·)yem 'You were laughing
 loudly.'
 tel sx^wʔi·mex^wɛɛ 'where I used to walk' (from a song
 as sung by CT)
- 4.3. li·ɛ(cel, -cex^w, -cet, -cɛp) qʰáqʰey '(I, you,
 we, you folks) were sick'
 liɛ qʰáqʰey (túʰ·à, θúʰ·à, yeθé) '(he, she, they)
 was/were sick'
 liɛcel hɛ·we 'I've been hunting'
 li·ɛcel le tʰákʰ^w 'I went home'
 li·ɛcel 'I was'
 li·ɛcet 'we were'
 li·ɛ ʔéysθà·m 'you were helped'
 li·ɛcel qʰ^weyól·ex^y 'I was dancing'
 li·ɛcel le qʰ^weyól·ex^y 'I went dancing'
- 4.4. li·ɛ(cel, -cx^w, -cet, -cɛp) memfiset θe Mary
 '(Was I, Were you, Were we, Were you folks) helping
 Mary?'

lí·tɛ məmíyɛtɛs tú·k'á ʔə Mary 'Was he helping Mary?'

lí·tɛ lí· yíθé 'Were they (those people) there?'

lí·tɛ lí· ʔé·ítɛl 'Were they there?'

lí·tɛcɛx^W lí· 'Were you there?'

lí·tɛcɛx^W ʔè·m 'Were you crying?'

lí·tɛcɛp lɛm k'^Wə táwɛl 'Did you folks go to town?'

4.5. lí·mɛtɛcɛl mɛyθámè 'I was going to help you'

lí·mɛtɛcɛx^W mɛyθàx^Y 'You were going to help me'

mí·tɛcɛx^W mɛyθàx^Y 'You were coming to help me'

4.6. ʔéwɛcɛlɪ q'^Wélstàámè 'I don't speak to you., I

never speak to you.'

ʔéwɛcɛx^W q'^Wélstàx^Y 'You don't speak to me., You never
speak to me.'

ʔéwɛt q'^Wélstàx^Yès (tú·k'á, θú·k'á) '(He, She) doesn't
speak to me., (He, She) never speaks to me.'

ʔéwɛcɛtɪ q'^Wélstàámè 'We (don't, never) speak to you.'

ʔéwɛcɛpɪ q'^Wélstàlx^W 'You folks (don't, never) speak
to us.'

ʔéwɛcɛlɪ lɛm 'I never go'

ʔéwɛcɛlɪ lɛ q'á·θɛt 'I never go mix (with them)'

ʔéwɛt lɛ k'^Wéclà·lɛm 'He doesn't see you folks., You
folks are never seen.'

ʔéwɛt lɛ k'^Wéclèlɛm 'I wasn't seen., (I was never seen)'

(cp. ʔéwɛ lɛ k'^Wéclèlɛm 'I wasn't seen.')

(ʔéwɛcɛlɪ, ʔéwɛcɛtɪ) tɛl·á·mɛt '(I, We) don't under-

stand.'

ʔéwɛɪ̯ tɛl.á.mɛt 'He doesn't understand.'

ʔá.ák^Wsɛlci.ms/x^Weʔit ʔɛs ʔéwɛɪ̯ q^Wɛlsə̀x̄^Y 'Why is it
you don't talk to me?' (ʔɛs probably sic for k^Wɛs)

(The next five examples are from EB:)

ʔéwɛɪ̯cɛl k^Wɛ̯.y (and ʔéwɛɪ̯cɛl k^Wá.k^Wɛy) 'I'm never
hungry.'

ʔéwɛɪ̯cɛl x^Wlɛlɛ̯.m 'I never listen.'

ʔéwɛɪ̯ ʔítɛt 'He never sleeps.'

ʔéwɛɪ̯ x̯̄.m 'He never cries.'

x^Wʔit k^Wɛ́(ʔɛ)s ʔéwɛɪ̯ nɛ̯.k^Wɛles 'Why don't you (ever)
remember?' (k^Wɛ́ʔɛs is hyperslow equivalent of k^Wɛs
and is found in EB's idiolect but not in AC's)

(The remaining examples are from AC unless noted.)

ʔéwɛɪ̯cɛl ʔil s̄.ɪ̯k^Wɛqɛɪ̯ ^f ʔéwɛɪ̯cɛl s̄.ɪ̯k^Wɛqɛɪ̯ɛl 'I
wasn't a child., (I wasn't ever a child.)'

ʔéwɛɪ̯cɛx^W líx^W s̄.ɪ̯k^Wɛqɛɪ̯ 'You weren't a child.'

ʔéwɛɪ̯cɛl lí.1 lí 'I was never there.'

ʔéwɛ̯.cx^Wɪ̯ tɛl.á.mɛt 'You don't understand.'

ʔéwɛ̯.cɛpɪ̯ tɛl.á.mɛt 'You (pl.) don't understand.'

4.7. ʔéwɛɪ̯ lɛ t'fɛlɛə̀ə̀.m tɛ syúwɛls 'Didn't he ever
sing you his spirit song?' (This is the only example
of 4.7 but is convincing because ʔéwɛ́ is negative
interrogative, as in ʔéwɛ́cx^W lé̯mɛx^W 'Will you go?'
or ʔéwɛ́cx^W t'fɛlɛmɛx^W 'Will you sing?, (Won't you

sing?')

4.8. $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$ 'used to' as in $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$ $\text{x}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$ $\text{y}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$ $\text{x}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$
 'the people used to say'(EB) and (EB) $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$ $\text{w}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$
 $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$ $\text{y}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$ $\text{x}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$ $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$ 'The (Indian) peo-
 ple used to pray all the time long ago.' (AC would
 have $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$ 'pray'; $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$ < $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$ $\text{w}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$ $\text{h}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$ - e
 'what' + 'already' + 'is a long time' + past tense)
 (AC) $\text{l}^{\text{e}}\text{t}^{\text{e}}$ 'morning' (s- $\text{l}^{\text{e}}\text{t}$ 'night', $\text{l}^{\text{e}}\text{l}^{\text{e}}\text{t}$ or $\text{l}^{\text{e}}\text{l}^{\text{e}}\text{t}$
 'getting night', - e 'past')

(AC) $\text{s}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$ 'last year'

(AC, EB) $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$ 'yesterday' and $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$ 'it was
 yesterday' (latter is used in sentences more than
 the former)

6.1.9. Plurals and Diminutive (plural subject, plural object, plural action, plural completive, repeated action, and diminutive). In something over 1200 verbs, 53 were found with special inflections for plurality. Since all but one or two were volunteered without being asked for the pattern is apparently quite productive in the language. Most of the forms came from the Coqualeetza Elders Group or EB; few came from AC but she also knew fewer nominal plurals. The pattern for pluralizing verbs is much the same as for pluralizing nominals: reduplication R_3 -, less often $-R_2$, and sometimes infix $-le-$ or $-el-$. The suffix

-f·m 'repeatedly' (treated as a lexical suffix in the previous chapter) seems to also belong here. These inflections can semantically pluralize the subject, the object or the action; this pluralizing often includes a 'continuative' aspect; an additional type will also be cited in which pluralization includes a 'completive' meaning.

When the subject or object is pluralized, the corresponding pronoun must be plural too if possible (unless the semantic subject or object is a body part). Note that subject and object pluralizing is done in the examples only with R₃- or -el- -le-. Action pluralizing is done with -R₂, R₃-, or -f·m.

.1. Plural subject (agent):

ʔemʔif·m 'lots of people picking' (ʔif·m 'pick, picking (fruit, leaves, etc.)')

lilek^yá·lte 'a bunch playing cards' (lek^yá·lte 'one person playing cards (solitaire or patience)' (-le- and Ai))

possibly peipéʔ 'get crowded out' (péʔ 'get crowded')

.2. Plural subject (patient):

ʔ^weʔ^wéʔepx^yel 'slip with both feet, lose balance with both feet' (ʔ^wéʔepx^yel 'slip off or lose balance with foot', ʔ^wéʔepx^yel 'slipping off with foot')

sʔek^wʔf·k^w 'a lot of people lost and presumed dead'

- (sʔi.k^W 'one person lost and presumed dead', ʔi.k^W 'lost')
- meq^Wméq^W 'squished, crushed (of round plural objects, like berries)' (méq^W 'squished, crushed (of round object)')
- ʔá.leq^W 'a lot rubbed off' (ʔiq^Wem 'smear, rub (bed off, fade (of material)')
- ə'elfə'əplex^W '(lots of) eyes being closed; wineberries' (both ə' - c')(ə'fə'əplex^W 'one eye being closed, closing one's eye')
- ʔel(ə)yámex^Y '(plural) good-looking' (as in ʔel(ə)yámex^Y səlɬé.lf 'good-looking women')(ʔeyámex^Y '(sg.) good-looking')
- possibly lec'lá.c'tel 'be of different colors, be variegated' (lé.c' 'be different')
- possibly st'elt'élq 'spotted with lots of spots' (st'él.lq 'spotted')
3. Plural object:
- peq^Wpéq^Wet 'break it in pieces (with hands)' (peq^Wát 'break it in half with hands (apple, orange, etc.)')
- peq^Wpéq^W 'broken off in pieces (riverbank, etc.)'
- seq'séq'et 'chopping lots of wood' (séq'et 'chop wood', seq'ét 'split s-th', sfsq' 'kindling')
- lemíemet 'fold things (like the laundry)(pl. obj.)'
- x^Weyx^Wiyém 'tell stories' (x^Wiyém 'tell a story')

ɬáleq^wet 'wetting many things' (ɬáq^wet 'wet s-th',
ɬéq^w '(be) wet')

ɬéleq^wet 'put down several objects' (ɬéq^wet 'put/lay
s-th down, put down one object')

.4. Plural action:

x^wex^wemx^yelf·m 'running on and off' (x^wámx^yelem 'run-
ning')

For derivation of other examples in -f·m 'repeatedly',
c'éc'ə̀f·m 'jumping up and down, jumping along, jump-
ing repeatedly', tètí·m 'hollering more than once,
shouting repeatedly', t'éc'ə̀xelf·m 'splitting roots
unevenly', x^wtiyí·m 'eddy water, to eddy upstream'
(become upstream repeatedly), x^welk^wf·m 'an eddy'
(nominal < petrified verb), x^yc'if·mθet 'repeatedly
smell oneself stink', see lexical suffixes under -f·m
'repeatedly'.

Inflection by reduplication:

t'ə̀t'éséq^wels 'scratching repeatedly to get in'
(t'éséq^wels 'scratching to get in')

t'ə̀t'éséq^wetes 'it has scratched s-th up' (cp.
t'éséq^wetes 'he scratched on s-th')

t'ə̀lt'elem 'continuing on singing (songs)'

k^wámk^wem 'thudding of footsteps on ground (person,
horse, etc.)' (k^wém 'to thud (dull, earthen sound)')

ɬ'élɬ'eleq^w 'making continuous explosions or shooting

or popping sounds' (ʔ'óləq^W 'to explode, make a pop or shot')

q'él·yq'ey 'always sickly' (q'áq'ey 'sick; dying')
 ʔémʔémex^W 'rainy (off and on)' (ʔémex^W 'to rain')
 yólyešesem '(have) a steady toothache' (yólš 'tooth')
 ə'əpə'əplex^W 'blinking' (ə'əplex^W 'blink once, close eyes once')

q^Welq^Wéləm 'grumble', q^Wólq^Wel 'be rowdy', and
 q^Welq^Welá·yəel 'talk(ing) too much' (q^Wè·l 'talk')
 lfyliyem '(doing) lots of laughing' (lfyém 'to laugh')
 ləmləmɛ·tes 'he kicked them around (shoes, for ex.)'
 (ləmɛ·tes 'he kicked s-th')

k^Wéck^Wéc(məT) 'expect (s-o)' ("look repeatedly (for s-o)")

wólwəlè·m 'echoing'

ʔécʔéc 'stuttering'

possibly qəlqəlf·ləet 'get oneself dirty' (qól 'bad, dirty', R₃ 'plural, repeatedly', -f·l 'go, get, become', -ləet 'oneself')

.5. Plural > 'completive' (often translated by past participle + 'up')

ʔ^Wetʔ^Wét 'torn up (in pieces)' (ʔ^Wét 'torn (as of clothes, etc.)')

lék^Wlek^W 'all broken up (of sticks, of bones (in multiple breaks like in accident))' (lék^W 'broken (of

bone or stick)')

ʔəpʔəpʔk^Wtes 'he chewed up s-th hard' (ʔəpʔk^Wtes 'he
chewed s-th hard')

q^Wéiq^Wel 'overripe' (q^Wéi 'ripe; cooked')

possibly pəpəpəi 'get crowded out' and t'əit'əiəq^Wetes
'it has scratched s-th up', both cited above (in
.1 and .4 respectively)

ʔ^Wex^Wʔ^Wéx^Wtem 'badly beaten, really lost (a contest)'

In a few examples there is stress shifting which
may be derivational but seems to play no consistent
part in the pluralizing process. (Incidentally it
seems that both yéiyələsəm and ʔ^Wéiʔ^Wələq^W have CVCVCV
roots and must have stressed R₃ since R₂ is suffixed
to roots.)

.6. Diminutivization:

A few examples have also turned up of diminutivized
verbs, using R₄- as their inflection just as nominals
do. The process is so much like pluralizing that the
examples may as well be given here:

ʔiʔi^m 'picking a little (bit)' (ʔi^m 'pick, picking
(fruit, leaves)')

qíqel 'be a little bad, be naughty' (qéi 'be bad')

k^Wik^Wek^Wcé^m 'scream a little, squeal' (k^Wek^Wcé^m 'to
scream')

ʔi[?]əxiθ 'little baby lying down' (ʔéxiθ 'lie down',

- ʔɛ·xəθ 'lying down')
- qiqelɛ·m 'weak' (qəlɛ·m 'weak', presumably more so than qiqelɛ·m))
- sx^wix^wáx^wə 'be stupid, be a little crazy' (sx^wáx^wə 'be insane, be crazy')
- xíxè·m 'to sob' (xè·m 'to weep, cry')
- sesí·si 'scared a little' (sí·si '(be) scared', R₅- or a dissimilation from *sisí·si)
- q^wíq^wəlɛc 'to gossip' (little talk on the rump)

As with the pluralized verbs, the diminutive sometimes applies to the subject (?iʔəxíθ), sometimes to the object (ííí·m), and most of the time to the action (all the rest of the examples, perhaps including ííí·m). There is more stress shifting here than in the pluralized examples since R₄- is supposed to be stressed.

6.1.10. Internal Syntax of the Verb and Co-occurrence of Verb Inflections. Verb inflections are prefixed, infix and suffixed, and these processes are sometimes combined for one inflection. Where there is more than one prefix, more than one infix, or more than one suffix they can be seen to be added in particular sequences. Infixing processes are used for continuative (6.1.4), participles (6.1.5) and pluralized verbs (6.1.9) and include R, A, stress shift,

vowel metathesis, and -el- ~ -le-. It seems these processes occur in a certain order as processes, regardless of the inflections they are used for. From examples like 0'elɬ'eplex^w 'eyes being closed', ɬilɬim 'picking a little', ?i?exɬe 'little baby lying down', and so on, we can infer the order of these processes to be: first reduplication, then ablaut or vowel metathesis, then -el- ~ -le-, then stress shift. Examples from nominal inflection confirm this order.

The following prefixes are used in verb inflection: {hɛ-} 'continuative', R₅- and R₈- 'continuative', s- and s- + R 'participle', we- 'subjunctive', R₃- 'plural', and R₄- 'diminutive'. There are few examples of any of these occurring together (like sx^wix^wá(·)x^w0' 'a little crazy, stupid'), but several things can be noted from what occurs and what does not. There are no examples of reduplication prefixed twice in the same word; there are no examples of participles prefixed with {hɛ-}; participles are all continuative semantically whether reduplicated or not, but if the participial R is continuative prefixed R₅- or R₈-, as it sometimes is, note that the participial s- always precedes it. Since the following pairs do not co-occur, {hɛ-} and R-, {hɛ-} and s-, R- and R-, the internal syntax of verb prefix inflections can be summed up as:

s- precedes R- ('diminutive', 'continuative', 'participial'), and we- 'subjunctive' precedes s- 'participial' or he- 'continuative' or R- ('continuative', 'participial', 'plural' or 'diminutive').

There are many more verb suffixes than prefixes and infixes, but their internal syntax can be described by charts after grouping them in the following sets:

Subj. = pronoun sets 4.4, 4.8 (3rd person, 1st and 2nd persons pl.), 4.9a

Obj. = pronoun set 4.5

Pass. = pronoun set 4.10

Trans. = control transitivizer in 6.1.2.1 $(-(\text{e})\text{T}, -\text{l}, -\text{sT}, -(\text{e})\text{x}^{\text{V}}, -\text{meT}, -(\text{e})\text{les})$

Intr. = intransitivizers in 6.1.2.2 $(-\text{em}, -\text{é}^{\text{ls}}, -\text{θet})$

Ben. = benefactive $-\text{e}^{\text{tc}}$ in 6.1.3

Refl. = $-\text{lá}^{\text{met}}$ and $-(\text{e})\text{θet}$ in 6.1.3

Recip. = $-\text{tel}$ in 6.1.3

Cont. = $-\text{R}_2$ in 6.1.4 (the only continuative suffix)

Ppl. = participle suffixes $-\text{em}$ (probably 'middle') and $-\text{tem}$ in 6.1.5

Ppl. (R_2) = participle suffix $-\text{R}_2$ in 6.1.5

Mid. = $-\text{em}$ 'middle voice' in 6.1.6

Imper. = imperative suffixes in 6.1.7 $(-\text{t}^{\text{e}}, -\text{e}^{\text{t}^{\text{e}}}, -(\text{t})^{\text{t}}, -\text{cex}^{\text{W}}, -\text{cep}, -\text{cet}, -\text{àw}^{\text{t}^{\text{t}}} - \text{-èw}^{\text{t}^{\text{t}}}, -\text{t}^{\text{q}^{\text{W}^{\text{e}}})$

Interrog. = $-\text{e} - \text{é} - \text{é}^{\text{e}}$ as in 6.1.7

Past = $-\text{t}$ (i.e. $-\text{t} - \text{-e}^{\text{t}} - \text{-e}^{\text{t}}$) as in 6.1.8

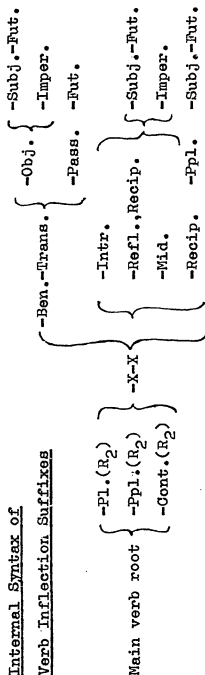
Fut. = $-\text{ce}$ as in 6.1.8

Pl. = pluralizer $-\text{R}_2$ as in 6.1.9

X = lexical suffix

Aux. = $?\text{f}^{\text{e}}, \text{lf}^{\text{e}}, \text{lém}, \text{mí}(\cdot), ?\text{éwe}$

Adv.Vi = adverbial intransitive verbs

Internal Syntax ofVerb Inflection Suffixes

Aux. (-Past, -Interrog.)

If. -Past-Interrog.

?ewé ('never') -Past

?ewe(-Past, -Interrog.(-Past))

?ewe(-4, 4-Past, -Interrog. -te)

some Adv. Vi-Past

((s)k, wé, y, sá, f(y), k, á, l, éwe (other 4.1?), rarely stative nom.)-Interrog.

(A) = A is optional

(A, B) = A or B is obligatory

Co-occurrence of Verb Inflections Within the Main Verb Word.

(Here Cont. = any continuative affixes; Ppl. = any participle affixes; Sbjn. = subjunctive affixes; Pl. = any plural affixes and the diminutive prefix; ? = unattested but probable; +A = +A and -everything else.)(notes on p.319).

	Subj. +Obj.	Trans.	Intr.	Ben.	Re- fl.	Re- cip.	Cont.	Ppl.	Voice (A,M,P)	Sbjn.	Im- per.	Inter- rog.	Put.
Trans.	+												
Intr.	+Subj.	- ³											
Ben.	+	+	-										
Refl.	+Subj.	-	+	-									
Recip.	+Subj.	-	+?	-	-								
Cont.	+	+	+	+	+	+							
Ppl.	+Subj.	-	+	-	-?	+	(+)						
Voice	+	+	+A	+	+A	+A		+A,M -P?					
Sbjn.	+	+	+	+?	+?	+?		+?	+				
Imper.	- ⁴	+ ⁵	+	+	+	+			+A -M,P?	-			
Interrog.	+Subj.	-	+lem	-	-	-				-			
Put. ⁶	+	+	+	+	+	+				+		+	
Pl.	+	+	+	+?	+	+	+ -f.m	+	+A,M +P?	+?		-?	+

Notes to chart on preceding page:

3. + only if one considered -mēT 'transitivizer' as -m 'intransitivizer' + -ēT 'transitivizer (purposeful control)'.
 4. or +Subj. (2nd person sg./pl., 1st person pl.)
 5. but minus -l and -(e)les

6. If past tense -ī were substituted in this row the row would read nearly as the row above it does (all entries minus except +Subj. in column one)(Past + Interrog. would be plus while Past + Pl. would be minus).

6.2. Types of Intransitive Verbs (Vi's).

6.2.1. Plain Vi. This type corresponds to the English intransitive verb. In Halkomelem there are several groups: unaffixed, intransitivized, and derived but not intransitivized.

Unaffixed: t'əq^w 'it broke (rope, breath), to break, run out (of breath)', pəq^w 'break in two, split', yəq^w 'burn', məq^w 'burst or pop (of balloon), smashed (of spherical object)', ʔá·t̄ 'get aboard, get in a canoe (or later: in a wagon, car, etc.)', k^wfy 'climb (tree or ladder)' (k^wfyəqəl 'climb a rock or mountain'), m̄f - ʔəmf 'come', ʔəxəθ 'lie down', x^wfy 'wake, open (of plants)', θəx^w 'go out of sight, disappear', ʔəliyə 'to dream', wəq^w 'drown', c'əyx^w 'to dry', cəlq 'fall (through air), drop' (cp. h̄lém 'fall and tumble, tumble' and wec'əh̄ 'fall off, drop down'), t̄ás 'to drift-net', p'ək^w 'to float', t̄á·k^w 'to fly', q'əp 'gather', t̄és 'get near', ləhél 'play slahal'. These are plentiful; nearly one-fifth of the intransitive verbs appear to be of this type (for example, about 150 out of a list of 850 Vi's).

Intransitivized: See 6.1.2.2 for examples with -ə·ls (-əls), 6.1.6 and 6.1.2.2 for examples with -əm (-m - -əm - -ə·m - -à·m), 6.1.3 for -(ə)θet (possibly an intransitivizer) and 5.2.3 for -f̄.l - -əl 'go, come,

get, become' (another possible intransitivizer). Many examples are given in these sections and include some derived intransitivized forms as well as underived ones.

Derived but not intransitivized: *sí·sí* 'to fear, be afraid, be scared' (R), *x^wətíyéqel* 'to answer, reply' (-əqel), *c'əq^w·wé·wəɬ* 'weave a fine-cedar-root basket' *c'əq^w* 'poke, pierce, weave fine cedar roots', -*wé·wəɬ*), *t'(ə)k^w·f·lēs* 'choke on food' (-*f·lēs*), *q^w·wəyí·lɛx^y* 'dance' (-*f·l*, -*ex^y*), *k^w·f·mél* 'get red, turn red' and *məθ'·f·l* 'get blue, turn blue' and *θətí·l* 'go(ne) dark, get dark' (these three examples belong here unless -*f·l* ~ -*el* is an intransitivizer), *qá·qə* 'drink' (R), *wec'əɬ* 'fall off, drop down' (*wə-*), *ɬ'(ə)pí·l* 'go down, go downstairs' (-*f·l*), *ɬex^w·éɬcə* 'spit' (-*éɬcə*), *θ'iq^w·éɬcəp* 'split or chop firewood' (-*éɬcəp*), *ɬək^w·x^y·el* 'to trip (hooked on foot)' (-*x^y·el*), *x^w·əhíwəl* 'go upstream' (*x^w·e-*, -*el*), *wí·qes* 'to yawn' (-*es*), *x^w·əx^w·á·s* 'to thunder' (-*á·s*), *ɬec'·əlɛ́·xəl* 'cut on the arm' (-*əlɛ́·xəl*), *x^y·ec'·ó·wəs* 'store away canoe paddles' (-*ó·wəs*). These verbs are also numerous. They have the same intransitive force as the unaffixed intransitives.

6.2:2. Adjectival Vi. Participles function as adjectival Vi's, and many examples have been given in 6.1.5. Other adjectival verbs are also found in good

numbers; some are unaffixed and some are derived (with lexical affixes, etc.), but both sets are used the same way syntactically and semantically. Adjectival verbs are stative ('be' + adjective); they can be inflected for subject, tense, etc., but only the participles can be inflected for aspect. Adjectival verbs can also precede nominals after a demonstrative article, just as English adjectives can; in such a case the 'be' is omitted. For example, *méstex^W tē ck^{Wf}·m sūk^We* 'bring (or fetch) the brown sugar, give me the brown sugar', *tē hík^W x^Wétes mestiyex^W* 'a big heavy person', *q^Wáq^Wel tē ʔiyá·mex^Y sté·lí* 'the pretty woman is talking', *tē λ'í syá·ys* 'the difficult work'. Comparatives and superlatives (except in a few cases like *éíθe* 'bigger') are formed syntactically; they are described in the syntax chapter. In a sample of 850 Vi's, 282 of them were adjectival (including participles). Here are some examples of non-participle adjectival verbs (from a list of about 125):

ʔéy 'be good', *qél* 'be bad, be dirty', *hf·k^W* 'be big', *ʔex^{Wf}·l* 'be small', *qéx* 'be many, lots, a lot of', *zéq^W* 'be wet', *λ'éqt* 'be long (in length)', *ʔé·yelex^W* 'be alive', *t'éyeq* 'be angry, mad', *ʔiyá·mex^Y* - *ʔsyá·mex^Y* 'be good-looking, pretty, handsome', *k^Wés* 'be scalded, burned on skin', *xéyλ* 'be cold (of a

thing)', q^wél 'be dull (of an edge or point)', leq'él±
 'be in the way', p'éq' 'be white' (and the other color
 words listed under lexical prefix c'- - c-), x^we?íywe±
 ~ x^we?éywe± 'be generous, kind-hearted', ±séq' 'be
 half', k'í 'be difficult, hard', x^wét(·)es 'be heavy',
 k^wé·y ~ k^wé·y 'be hungry', θe?í·t 'be true, it's
 true', ?í(·)k^w 'be lost', xé·ws 'be new, fresh',
 x^yelá·k^w 'be round', x^yelk^wá·ls 'be spherical',
 mék^w 'be stout, thick (around)' (EB méq^w), ?éyém 'be
 strong', qelé·m 'be weak', k'eqtá·meθ' (á· - é·) 'be
 tall (of a person)', p±é·t 'be thick', cqá·le 'be
 thirsty' (EB kqá·le), xéyθ' 'be unripe', leq'él·t 'be
 wide', k^wescés 'be burned on the hand', ?el(e)yá·mex^y
 'be (plural) good-looking', q'élx 'be unfamiliar, not
 known or recognized', k'óp 'be low, deep', léq' 'be
 level', tewéle 'be tilted', q'áy 'be dead, paralyzed'
 (also a plain verb 'to die'), lex^wsí·si 'be always
 afraid', θíθe 'be larger, bigger', we'ál 'be more':

6.2.3. Prepositional Vi. There are a small number of verbs which express orientation toward nominals or pronouns, in a way similar to English prepositions. In Halkomelem they are intransitive verbs. They can have noun phrase objects or independent pronoun objects but are not inflected for object; when they are inflected for subject (which is rarely) they are translated

as stative verbs. For example, *təfɪcəl kʷe pɛstəl* 'I'm from the United States', *kʷútes təfɪ kʷɛʔɛlɛ* 'he took it from me' (note the use of pronoun set 4.11 after prepositional verbs), *kʷútes təfɪ tɛ kʷáxʷe* 'he took it from the box', *lɛ lá.kʷ təfɪ tɛ cá.kʷ* 'he flew from far away'. Not all of these verbs are as straightforward as *təfɪ* 'from, be from'; some are inflected as participles; some also share features of nominals or adverbial Vi's. More research remains to straighten out these latter features. Some prepositional verbs are:

1. *lɪ* 'at, to, in' (EB sometimes replaces this with *lɛ*; both may indicate (besides the gloss given) some displacement from the speaker or actor. Tait and Chelalis dialects also have *ʔf* in place of *lɪ*, perhaps indicating no displacement from the speaker or actor; almost certainly *lɪ* and *lɛ* and *ʔf* are historically < *lɪ*(·) 'be there', *lɛ*(m) 'go(ing)(to)', and *ʔf*(·) 'be here', respectively.)
2. *təfɪ* 'from, be from; than (with comparatives)' (related to lexical prefix *tɛl-*)
3. *ʔəʔɛ* 'via, by way, through'
4. *xʷɛlɛ*(m) 'over to, as far as, towards, against, through (?), for (?)'
5. *yɛlɛw* 'past, after' ($-x^y$ ~ $-T$ 'pass by s-th/s-o')

6. *yewé·lməls* 'before'
7. *statís* 'near, close, beside' (-T 'be near s-o')
8. *sc'əc'és* 'on top of, astride'
9. *sq'á, sq'əq'á* 'together, with' (-məT 'stay together with s-o'), (*q'e*)*q'á·θət* 'mix/associate/go with s-o')
10. *slf'w* 'inside (a container)'
11. *sk^Wetéx^W* 'inside (a house, cave)' (*k^Wtéx^{WT}* 'let s-o in (a house)')
12. *stəʔés* 'similar to, like' (Tait, Cheh. *st'εʔés - st'és*) (*stəʔéstex^W* 'follow s-o, do like s-o')
13. *sə'epá·lwež* 'below, under, underneath; the underside'
14. *səətsá·lwež* 'over (in the air), above; the upper side'
15. *sləʔá·lwež* 'on the other side, across; the other side'
16. *sləʔá·θəl* 'across'

Some examples of these verbs in action:

1. *lí tē sə'epí·wəl* 'in the shirt', *lí tē sqəlx^Wéles* 'in his throat', *k^Wécetes lí k^Wθe lélem* 'he saw it in your house', *lí tē sq'ép* 'at the gathering', *lí k^We sə'á·mes* 'in Victoria', *lí tē ʔəlx^Wícel* 'in the middle', *le k^Wíyēqəl lí tē cícəž* 'he climbed up high (up a rock or mountain)', *lí tē cá·k^W* '(way) far away, in the distance'; *le žá·k^W tē má·q^W lé tē θəft* 'the bird

flew to the tree' (EB), le ɬá.k^W te má.q^W ?f tel
 sceɬ(s)á.lwɛɬ 'the bird flew over me' (EB), ɬéxɛm ?f
 tel láθel 'serve yourself (lit. oneself) in my plate'
 (CT, Tait).

2. Besides examples above and in 4.11: telf k^We
 sq'ewqɛyl k^Wels le ?imex^J qɛk'álsu tés k^We θ'ewɛlf
 'I walked from Scowkale to Soowahlie' (lit. "from the
 (distant) Scowkale that-I walked and-I-so got-to the
 (distant) Soowahlie"; both Scowkale and Soowahlie were
 villages on the Chilliwack River), le xɛθ'ɛtes te
 sq'émɛl telf k'ɛ?élθe 'he pushed the paddle (away)
 from me', lek^Wɛ.tem telf te qíq'ɛwtx^W 'he was let go/
 set free/turned loose from jail, they let him go from
 jail', cel θíyt te swóq^Wɛɬ telf te stýs te p'eq'élqel
 'I made a blanket of/from the wool of the mountain
 goat'; hík^W telf k^We spelwɛɬ 'bigger than last year',
 yalɛwɛl qél telf k'ɛ?ɛlθɛ 'he's worse than me',
 yalɛwɛl k'ɛqt tel xóltel telf tɛ? swɛ 'my pencil is
 longer than yours'

3. le ye-ɬe?ɛ k^We sq'ɛwlec 'he went via (by way of)
 Scowlitz' (Scowlitz was and is a village at the mouth
 of the Harrison River), cel ye-ɬe?ɛ k^We sq'ɛwlec 'I
 went via Scowlitz' (ye- is probably the lexical prefix
 'travelling by'), lí ɬe?ɛ k^We là 'Did he go through
 there?'

4. $x^w_{el\acute{e}} \frac{f}{f}$ $x^w_{el\acute{e}m}$ can be seen in the following examples (besides those in 4.11): $le\ x^w_{el\acute{e}(m)}\ te$ Agassiz 'he got to Agassiz (instead of going all the way), he reached Agassiz (the speaker is at Agassiz)' (EB), $lem\acute{e}lstex^w_{es}\ \lambda'$ Bill $te\ sq'\acute{e}m\acute{e}l\ x^w_{el\acute{e}m}\ \lambda'$ Bob 'Bill (absent) threw the paddle over to Bob (absent)', $le\ \acute{e}k^w\ te\ m\acute{a}\cdot q^w\ x^w_{el\acute{e}m}\ te\ sc'\acute{e}x^w_{t}$ 'the bird flew toward the branch', $le\ \theta\acute{e}k^w\ x^w_{el\acute{e}}\ te\ s^w_{em}?\acute{a}m\acute{e}l\acute{e}$ 'she was pulled toward (influenced by) the Thompsons' (note $s^w_{am\acute{e}l\acute{e}}$ 'Thompson Indian'), $tiy\acute{e}l\acute{e}stcex^w\ te?\ q^w_{\acute{e}we}\ x^w_{el\acute{e}m}\ te\ t^w_{\acute{a}m\acute{e}l}$ 'lean your cane against (towards) the wall!' ($tiy\acute{e}l\acute{e}s-T$ 'lean s-th'), $x^w_{l\acute{e}m}\ te\ m\acute{e}q\acute{e}$ 'through the snow' (as in driving through the snow on a sleigh), $l\acute{e}c^w_{\acute{e}}\ x^w_{l\acute{e}m}\ te\ siy\acute{e}m,\ q\acute{e}s\ te\ l\acute{e}c^w_{\acute{e}}\ x^w_{l\acute{e}m}\ \theta\acute{e}\ s\acute{e}\cdot l\acute{f},$ $q\acute{e}s\ te\ l\acute{e}c^w_{\acute{e}}\ x^w_{l\acute{e}m}\ te\ s\lambda^w_{f\lambda}\cdot\acute{e}q\acute{e}\acute{t}\ te\ \lambda^w_{\acute{e}l\acute{e}x^w}\ st\acute{e}t\acute{is}\ te\ x^w_{\acute{e}l\acute{e}}\acute{t}$ 'One for the master, and one for the dame, and one for the little boy that lives in the lane' (translation of "Baa Baa Black Sheep" by Alice Hunt of the Deming Halkomelem Workshop).

5. $yel\acute{e}w\ te\ sy\acute{e}y\acute{e}q^w$ 'past the log', $yel\acute{e}w\ (k^w_{\acute{e}})$ $sx\acute{e}x\acute{e}t\acute{e}t\ k^w_{ses}\ x^w_{\acute{e}}?i^w$ 'after Sunday he came'

6. $yew\acute{e}lm\acute{e}l\ k^w_{\acute{e}}\ sx\acute{e}x\acute{e}t\acute{e}t$ 'before Sunday', $yew\acute{e}lm\acute{e}l\ k^w_{\acute{e}}\ 1910$ 'before 1910'; (also used as adverbial Vi or as conjunction (the rest of which are particles or demonstratives)): $yew\acute{e}lm\acute{e}l\ k^w_{\acute{e}l\acute{e}(m)}\ ?\acute{e}\cdot yel$ 'before

I go away', wé·lx^ycex^w yewé·lmels k^wes wec'š^h 'throw it before you fall off!', luž q^wáyel te s'áoes yewé·lmels k^wses melqí·wsem 'her face is turning green (or yellow) before she faints'

7. Besides examples in 4.11: le wé·lx^yes te sq'émól stetís k'e'žélθe 'he threw the paddle beside (or near) me'

8. sc'ec'é te yá·seq^w lí te (letém, sc'électel, sx^wžéž^θ) 'the hat is on (top of) the (table, chair, bed)', sc'ec'é te stiqíw 'on top of the horse, astride the horse' (cp. wə-c'é 'get to a summit or top')

9. Besides examples in 4.11 (q.v.): žítel sq'eq'á te sq^wemé·y 'he's eating with the dog' (other ways of using this root as Vt include: sq'amežáx^y 'with me' and q'ex^yf·lθàx^y 'with me' as in mítž q'ex^yf·lθàx^y 'come with me!' (q'á + Ac + -x^yel + -f·l + -T))

10. cel slí·w te k^wáx^we 'I'm inside a box', (EB) slí·w ží te k^wáx^we 'it's in the box', stém k^we slí·w ží te sk^wá·wes 'what's in the pail?' (necessity for ží is unknown)

11. lí sk^wetéx^w 'Is he inside?', sk^wetéx^w te lélém 'inside the house' (EB sk^wetéx^w lí te lélém)

12. stəžécet 'like we are; we are similar', stəžé te k^wešú 'like a pig', stəžécel te x^yé·ysem 'I'm like the ant', stəžé te k^wešú te Doug 'Doug is like a pig'

13. cel sá'epá·lweɪ lí tɛ q'eléc'eq^Wtel 'I'm under the umbrella' (incidentally, cp. sq'elác'eq^W-cel 'I'm under an umbrella', sq'elác'eq^W 'be under an umbrella' < q'eléc' 'rainshelter', -eq^W 'on the top of the head', s- participial inflection), le há·k^W tɛ má·q^W sá'ep-á·lweɪ tɛ sc'ɛx^Yt 'the bird flew under the branch'

14. le há·k^W tɛ má·q^W scoɛsá·lweɪ tɛ sc'ɛx^Yt 'the bird flew over the branch', lémcet scoɛsá·lweɪ tɛ spɛɪxɛl 'we're going over (above) the prairie'; but beside these EB also has le há·k^W tɛ má·q^W ʔí tel scoɛsá·lweɪ 'the bird flew on top of me' which seems to show scoɛsá·lweɪ as a nominal.

15. cel sleʔá·lweɪ tɛ k^Yá· 'I'm on the other side of the car', lí k^Wes sleʔá·lweɪ tɛ lélem 'on the other side of the house', sleʔá·lweɪs tɛ k^Yá· tɛ lepɛl 'the shovel is on the other side of the car', sleʔá·lweɪs tɛ Bill 'behind Bill (if Bill is facing)(lit. on the other side of Bill)'

16. lémcet sleʔá·θel tɛ spɛɪxɛl 'we're going across the prairie', cel sleʔá·θel tɛ stá·lo 'I'm across the river' (sleʔá·lweɪ can't be used with 'river')

At the same time, many of the prepositions used with English verbs are included semantically within Halkomelem transitives or are not expressed at all. For example: k^Wécet 'look at s-th', ʔéclex^W 'hear

about s-th', ɛ́c'la·mcs te ɛ́c'tel 'you'll get cut by the knife', le c'ək'cmstcs te q'elɛ́ɛl 'he jumped over the fence' (lit. 'he jumped the fence'), c'ək'cməθáx^yes 'he jumped over me', le wec'ók' te sá'fá'qeqɛ́ lɛ́ te sx^wt'ɛ́ɛ́ 'the child dropped off a bridge' (wec'ók' 'drop off, fall off'), k^waq^wəθáx^yes te lepɛ́.l 'he hit me with a shovel', lém 'go(ing), go(ing) to (some-where, or to do s-th)':

6.2.4. Adverbial Vi. These words modify the verb and usually directly precede or follow the verb. They are glossed as adverbs or statives in English but are verbs since they are inflected for subject and tense like Vi's (though not for continuative aspect). About 50 of them turned up in a sample of 850 Vi's. As some English prepositions are semantically included within the Halkomelem plain verbs, so are some English adverbs (usually in verbs with middle voice): yák^wem k^wəel k^yá· 'my car broke down', q^wém 'come out (at the root)', x^wəθɛ́lɛm 'to cloud up', ?éxəθ 'lie down', ləqem 'dive, dive in', xɛ́ɛ́t 'beat s-o up'. Control transitivizers also communicate somewhat adverbial ideas like 'purposely', and 'accidentally'. But none of these are syntactically adverbial in Halkomelem. Here are some of the adverbial Vi's found:

1. c'éc'el '(be) very' (often plus -ew intensifier)
2. EB: k^wəɬtu '(be) very' (also has c'éc'el)
3. ʔéé'eí '(be) really'
4. yewé.l '(be) first'
5. ɬiyá.q^wt '(be) last, after, behind'
6. ʔəhíw '(be) upstream' (cp. x^wəhíwél '(go) upstream')
7. woq^wéyɬəm 'downstream' (x^wewq^wéyɬəm '(go) downstream')(woq^wéyɬəm may not belong here because it may be mistranslated for 'go downstream' since -éyɬ probably < -f.l 'go, come, get' and since there appears to be a continuative, h́éwq^wáɬəm 'going downstream')
8. telhá.s 'from downriver'
9. sɬéq'qel 'way upriver'
10. tɬytəxəl 'way upriver', teltɬyt 'from upriver'
11. tá.l ~ cúcu 'toward the river, (if on a river) away from shore' (cp. stá.lo 'river')
12. cá.leq^w 'away from the river, toward the backwoods'
13. cá.m 'away from the water'
14. cá.k^w '(be) far, far off, far away', telcá.k^w 'from far away'
15. t'á(·)k^w '(go?) home, homeward' (t'ék^wstex^w 'take s-o home')
16. ʔ'eléx^w '(be) at home; stop'
17. c'fmel '(be) almost, near'

18. x^wé·lq 'almost; almost die' - x^wé·lqi 'almost'
19. sx^wé·ye 'in the middle or center'
20. numerals lec'éx^w 'once', 0amé 'twice', etc.
21. qelét 'again'
22. ye± 'just, now'
23. qé·ys 'lately, recently'
24. tlaqé·ys 'now (this instant), right now'
25. ?fiuàý 'the last time' (also conjunction)
26. téx^w ~ tóx^w '(be) later, in a while'
27. ìéq'è± 'used to' (< ìéq' 'sometimes' + -è± 'past')
28. hí·0 'a long time'
29. wèí·0(è±) 'a long time ago' (wèí-hí·0-è±)(~ (EB)
k^wuwí0è± and (GT,AG) k^wèí0è±)
30. cəĺéqè± 'yesterday'
31. tlàwéyél 'today'
32. wéyeles 'tomorrow'
33. léc (AG) ~ (Cheh.) ìéq' ~ (Cheh.) ìíq' 'sometimes'
34. (wə)təntémes(cə) 'someday; whenever'
35. wətésescə k^wə/k^ws tés 'until (?)'
36. x^wəl 'still, yet'
37. wə?ál(-ew) 'too (overly)'
38. wiyá0 'always'
39. wəláy 'only, just'
40. yáswe 'possibly, perhaps, might, maybe'
41. ?el 'just, simply' (Cheh. ?ál - ?à - -à (most common))

42. weɪ 'already'
 43. θeʔf·t 'for sure, truly; it's true' (also adjectival)
 44. yewé 'along, also'
 45. sq'eq'á 'along, together'
 46. tusʔéyʔel 'softly, quietly' (probably compounded)
 47. s(ə)lɛ 'tightly, tight' (also adjectival)
 48. tx^wém 'early' (adjectival too)(cp. ʔáyem 'late')
 49. ʔ^wém 'fast; hurry' (also plain verb)
 50. ʔéʔ·qel '(go) outside' (probably belongs elsewhere)
 51. yeléwɛl 'just past, over, more'
 52. -q^wɛs 'how __!', really __!'

It is unclear whether the negative verbs belong here or with auxiliaries; the negative verbs include:

53. ʔéwe '(be) not, no'
 54. ʔewé 'if not' - 'isn't?, doesn't?'
 55. ʔewéɪ 'never'
 56. x^wewé '(be) not yet'

Examples of adverbial Vi's in action (the following list is thorough because it will be used for the syntax chapter as well):

1. (Chill.) c'éc'el k'^wák'^wes tlàwéyél ~ (Cheh.)(EB)
 c'éc'el-ew k'^wák'^wes tlàwéyél (both mean) 'It's really hot today., It's very hot today.', (EB) c'éc'el-ew
 sθewát 'very smart' (the θ is idiolectal for a /c/ in this word; other speakers of upriver dialects have

- scewát or scewá·t '(be) smart, know how to'), (AC)
 c'éc'elcel m'eq' 'I'm very full.'
2. (Cheh.) k^wé̄tu ctéwól tē s'fē'oms 'her dress is really bright', (Cheh.) k^wé̄tu (θé·t, x^wém, s'ú·met, hí·k^w) 'very (dark, fast, lazy, big)'
3. ?éθ'elcx^w (x^wém, ?áyem) 'you're really (fast, slow)',
 ?éθ'elce wéhíθ k^wes hák^wex^y 'you'll use it a really long time'
4. ses yewél 'he's to be first', léwe yewél 'you're the first', lém yewé·l ~ lē yewé·l 'go ahead, (go first)'
5. ?é?elθe híyáq^wt 'I'm last', yehiyá·q^wt tē Bill
 'Bill is last, Bill is behind', yehiyá·q^wt k^wes x^we?f.
 'he arrived last'
6. lémcel k^we ?ehíw 'I'm going upriver' (nominal),
 mecex x^wehí·wel 'you people come upstream', lémecex^w
 x^wehíwel 'are you going upstream?', lē x^wehíwel yēé
 'those people are going upstream', lcel (x^wehíwel,
 x^wewq^wé̄ylēm) 'I'm going (upstream, downstream)',
 x^wáx^weq^wet x^wehíwel 'poling (a canoe) upstream'
11. lē tá·l 'he went down to the river or away from shore', x^wém̄tē tá·l 'hurry down to the river!', lém
 k^we cúcu 'go toward the river or away from the shore'
 (nominal)
12. Contrary to the consistently adverbial gloss of

the word in isolation I only have examples as nominals:

1e yóq^W k^We cá·leq^W 'the backwoods are burnt'

13. læcæl cá·m 'I'm going away from the water', læcx^W

cá·m qe téscex^W ?à te smé·lt 'you go away from the water till you (just) get to the mountain'

14. lf· cá·k^W 'Is it far?', lf k^We sʔéʔ·q qe ?éwe
?fs cá·k^W 'it's outside but not far'

15. læcæl/lémcel t'á·k^W 'I'm going home', læt t'á·k^W
'go home!' (cp. læt ?é·yel 'go away!')

16. lf ʔ·éléx^W (k^Wθel mè·1, sel tè·1) 'Is your (father,
mother) home?'

17. weʔ c'ímel ʔ·é·k^W·el 'it's nearly going out (of a
fire)', wec'ímeləs te Christmas 'when it's nearly Christ-
mas'

18. x^Wé·lqi tás tē k^Wá· 'he almost got hit by a car',
x^Wé·lqcel líl lém 'I almost went', x^Wé·lqcx^W lém, ?éti
'you almost went, didn't you?', x^Wé·lqcel 'I almost
died', x^Wé·lqi yóq^W 'nearly burned', x^Wé·lqi ?ú·k^W
(EB)(AC substitutes ?ó·k^W) 'nearly empty, nearly run
out', x^Wé·lqi lé·c 'nearly full (of a container)'

20. lec'éx^W ses yáys 'he only worked once', lx^Wé·t ses
xéyæθàx^Wes 'three times he hit me', xéθlé·t ses
xéyæθàx^Wes 'four times he hit me', (EB) cel xè·m
lec'éx^W - lec'éx^W k^W·wəlsé xè·m 'I cried once'

21. ?ewéte sʔéq·alex^W wetəntémescə k^W·wes ?éitelcət qelét

'No-one knows when we'll eat again.'

22. *yeɪ sʔes məqʔetes* 'he just swallowed it', *yeɪ sʔes tɛcəl* 'now he comes', *yeɪ sʔes qʷəl* 'they're just ripe', *yeɪ sʔes lə pɪltes tə spɪls* 'he's just gone to plant his crop', *yeɪcəl xʷəʔf.* 'I just arrived', *weyɛhəl ses θɪyt* (EB) 'I just started to make it', *yeɪhəl ses cʰqʷɔ̄.wəɪ* 'I started to make a basket' (EB), *yeɪhə ses cʰqʷɔ̄.wəɪ* 'she started to make a basket' (EB) (the nature of EB's (wə)yeɪhə 'start to, begin' is unclear; her use of *ses* in 1st person seems odd also as *sʔes* - *ses* serves elsewhere as nominalizer + 3rd person possessive for subordinate clauses--see Chapters 7 and 9)

23. *qɛ̄.ys lə qʰɛy kʷθel sɪ.lə* 'my grandfather just died recently/lately', *qɛ̄.ys mə xʷəʔf.* 'recently/just got here', *qɛ̄.ysà* 'just now' (EB) as in *qɛ̄.ysà lə cʰəqʷɔ̄(·)wəɪ* 'he just now made a basket'

24. *cət ʔf.ɪtəl tlaqɛ̄.ys tə Bill qəs tɛʔɛlθɛ* 'Bill and I are eating right now'

25. *ʔfiuɪày kʷθclàmə* 'the last time I saw you' (EB, whose *-cəl wəɪ* tends to > *-uɪ*)

26. *tɛxʷcɛ* (*xʷ* - *xʷ*) 'it will be in a while, later on, after a while', *tɛxʷcəlɛ kʷθclàmə* 'I'll see you later, I'll see you in a while'

27. *ɛsqʰeɪ xətʰe yɔ̄ xʷəlməxʷ* 'the (Indian) people used

- to say', $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{q}^{\text{e}}\text{t} \text{wi}^{\text{y}}\text{á}\text{e} \text{c}^{\text{f}}\text{.y}^{\text{e}}\text{t} \text{y}^{\text{e}} \text{x}^{\text{w}}\text{é}\text{l}\text{m}^{\text{e}}\text{x}^{\text{w}} \text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{u}^{\text{i}}\text{f}\text{e}\text{e}\text{t}$
 'the people used to pray all the time, long ago' (EB)
 28. $\text{?é}^{\text{w}}\text{e} \text{h}^{\text{i}}\text{e}\text{s} \text{'soon, not long'}$, $\text{h}^{\text{i}}\text{e} \text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{e}\text{s} \text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{e}\text{l}^{\text{e}}\text{t}$
 'you'll have it a long time', $(\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{s}) \text{h}^{\text{i}}\text{e}\text{s}\text{c}^{\text{e}} \text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{e}\text{s}$
 $\text{h}^{\text{á}}\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{e}\text{x}^{\text{y}} \text{'you'll use it a long time'}$, $\text{w}^{\text{e}}\text{t} \text{?i}^{\text{y}}\text{á}\text{l}\text{e}\text{m} \text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{e}\text{s}$
 $\text{x}^{\text{w}}\text{f}(\text{y})\text{x}^{\text{y}}\text{e}\text{t} \text{--} \text{w}^{\text{e}}\text{t} \text{?á}\text{l}\text{e}\text{w} \text{h}^{\text{i}}\text{e} \text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{s} \text{?i}\text{t}\text{e}\text{t}\text{s} (\text{?á}\text{l}\text{e}\text{w} \text{sic for}$
 $\text{w}^{\text{e}}\text{?á}\text{l}\text{-e}\text{w}) \text{'it's alright for you to wake him up -- he's}$
 $\text{already slept too long'}$, $\text{?é}^{\text{w}}\text{e} \text{l}^{\text{é}}\text{m}\text{e}\text{s} \text{h}^{\text{i}}\text{e} \text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{s} \text{l}\text{e}\text{s}$
 $\text{l}\text{e}\text{q}^{\text{e}}\text{é}\text{l}\text{é}\text{q}^{\text{e}}\text{l} \text{'he's not going to be long on his travels'}$,
 $\text{w}^{\text{e}}\text{t} \text{h}^{\text{i}}\text{e} \text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{s}\text{e}\text{s} \text{m}^{\text{i}}\text{q}^{\text{e}} \text{'he was underwater a long time'}$,
 $\text{w}^{\text{e}}\text{t} \text{h}^{\text{i}}\text{e} \text{y}\text{e} \text{m}\text{e} \text{q}^{\text{e}}\text{p} \text{'the gathering lasted a long time'}$,
 $\text{w}^{\text{e}}\text{t}^{\text{i}}\text{e} \text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{e}\text{s} \text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{e}\text{l}^{\text{e}}\text{t} \text{'he'll have it a long time'}$, $\text{h}^{\text{i}}\text{e}$
 $\text{l}^{\text{i}}\text{s} \text{s}^{\text{t}}\text{é}\text{q}^{\text{e}}\text{l}\text{.e}\text{x}^{\text{w}} \text{'she knew all along (long ago?)'}$,
 $\text{h}^{\text{i}}\text{e} \text{l}^{\text{i}}\text{x}^{\text{w}} \text{s}^{\text{t}}\text{é}\text{q}^{\text{e}}\text{l}\text{.e}\text{x}^{\text{w}} \text{l}^{\text{i}}\text{s} \text{?e}\text{l}^{\text{é}}\text{c}\text{e} \text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{e}\text{l} \text{l}^{\text{é}}\text{l}^{\text{é}}\text{m} \text{'you knew}$
 $\text{all along where my house was'}$
 29. see example in 27.
 30. $\text{c}\text{e}\text{l} \text{l}^{\text{é}}\text{m} \text{c}\text{e}\text{l}^{\text{é}}\text{q}^{\text{e}}\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{t} \text{'I went yesterday'}$, $\text{?i}^{\text{f}}\text{c}\text{e}\text{l} \text{l}^{\text{i}}\text{f}$
 $\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{e} \text{c}\text{e}\text{l}^{\text{é}}\text{q}^{\text{e}}\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{t} \text{'I was there yesterday'}$
 31. $\text{l}^{\text{é}}\text{m}\text{c}\text{e}\text{l} \text{t}^{\text{l}}\text{á}\text{w}^{\text{é}}\text{y}^{\text{é}}\text{l} \text{'I'm going today'}$, $\text{l} \text{s}\text{q}^{\text{w}}\text{é}\text{l}\text{e}\text{w}\text{e}\text{l} \text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{s}$
 $\text{m}\text{e}\text{s} \text{t}^{\text{é}}\text{m}\text{e}\text{x}^{\text{w}} \text{t}^{\text{l}}\text{á}\text{w}^{\text{é}}\text{y}^{\text{é}}\text{l} \text{'I think it's going to rain today'}$
 32. $\text{l}^{\text{é}}\text{m}\text{c}\text{e}\text{l} \text{w}^{\text{é}}\text{y}\text{e}\text{l}\text{e}\text{s} \text{'I'll go tomorrow'}$, $\text{?é}\text{t}\text{e}\text{l}\text{c}\text{e}\text{x}^{\text{w}}\text{c}\text{e}$
 $\text{w}^{\text{é}}\text{y}^{\text{é}}\text{l}^{\text{é}}\text{s} \text{'you'll eat tomorrow'}$ ($\text{w}^{\text{é}}\text{y}^{\text{é}}\text{l}^{\text{é}}\text{s} \sim \text{w}^{\text{é}}\text{y}\text{e}\text{l}\text{e}\text{s}$),
 $\text{?é}\text{t}\text{e}\text{l}\text{c}\text{e} \text{y}^{\text{i}}\text{e}\text{é} \text{w}^{\text{é}}\text{y}\text{e}\text{l}\text{e}\text{s} \text{'they (those people) will eat}$
 tomorrow'
 33. $\text{l}^{\text{é}}\text{c} \text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{e}\text{s} \text{s}^{\text{t}}\text{é}\text{l}^{\text{i}}\text{s}$, $\text{l}^{\text{é}}\text{c} \text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{e}\text{s} \text{s}\text{w}^{\text{i}}\text{y}\text{e}\text{q}\text{e}\text{s} \text{'sometimes}$

it's a woman, sometimes it's a man' (AC), ɪq'cəl -
 ɪq'cəl 'sometimes I do' (EB), ɪq' st'ɛ 'Sometimes.,
 Sometimes yes: (answer to a question)' (EB), (RM of
 Sardis: ɪq' 'yes' (- ʔɛ.ʔɛ 'yes') but no ɪq' 'some-
 times')

34. $\text{wətəntɛmesɛ x'wɛftɛsɛ k'wɛs k'wɛclɛx'}$ (x'wɛftɛsɛ
 may be sic for wɛftɛsɛ) 'someday somebody will see
 it' (also used as conjunction in ex. 21 above)

36. $\text{ɪf x'wɛl ʔɛ.yɛlɛx'}$ 'Is he still alive?', lɛ x'wɛl
 xɛyθ 'they're still unripe', $\text{x'wɛl sc'ɛc'ɛ tɛ stiɔw}$
 'he's still astride/on top of the horse', ʔu x'wɛl
 hɪyɛq' 'it's still burning' (EB)

37. $\text{wɛʔálwɛ-l sʔf(y)-l siyɛ.yɛ}$ 'I like my friend a
 lot', ʔálewɛ lápɔ'wɛm '(making) too much noise', ʔálewɛ
 x'wɛtɛs ʔɛsu mɪq' 'it was too heavy and it sank', ʔɛwɛ
 $\text{ʔɪs ʔálewɛ k'wákw'wɛs}$ 'lukewarm, it's not too hot',
 $\text{wɛʔálwɛ tsá's tɔ'á ʔasɛsu sq'ɛq'ámetɛs θɛ stá'les}$
 'he felt so poorly that he stayed with his wife',
 wɛʔálwɛ qɛx' 'too much', $\text{wɛʔálwɛ qɛx' tɛ stɛx'wɛtɛs}$
 'an awful lot of (lit. too much) spit', wɛʔá'lew qɛx'
 tɛ sc'áɪɛ 'too many leaves', wɛʔálewɛ ɪq'w 'too wet'
 (EB prefers ʔálewɛ , AC prefers wɛʔáɪ(ɛ)wɛ)

38. $\text{wiyáθ k'wɛs ɪɛx'wɛtɛs tɛ siyáɛlex'wɛ}$ 'the old man is
 always spitting', $\text{wiyáθ k'wɛls su mɛmɛlɔɪɛx'wɛ}$ 'I'm
 always forgetting', $\text{wiyáθ k'wɛls su mɛlɔɪɛx'wɛ}$ 'I always

forget', k^we wiyáθ(ce) ?à - k^we hélémce ?à 'forever'
(a nominal)

39. weláy (tɛʔéʔɛlθɛ, tɛlɛwɛ, túk'á, tɛɪlímɛɪ, tɛɪwólɔp)
'just (me, you, him, us, you folks)'

40. yáswe k'ás tɛ mɛ·lɛ 'maybe it's his father',
yásweɛl lɪl wɛlɛ·m 'I might go', yásweɛl x^wɛ·lɔ
(ʔɛ li (?)) mɛlqí·wɛm ~ yáswe x^wɛ·lɔɛl mɛlqí·wɛm
'I guess I nearly fainted', yáswe ʔɛ 'maybe yes' (EB)

41. cɛl x^wlɛlɛ· ʔɛl 'I just listened', wɛʔf·mɛx^y ʔɛl
qɛ (k'ásɛsu, lɛ) hɪ·qɛl 'He was just walking and he
dropped dead.', sθɛhíθɛt-cx^w-à 'just you be careful!'
(EB, who has -à frequently, see 22, 23 and 46 also in
this section)

42. lícx^w wɛɪ ʔɛɪtɛl 'Have you already eaten?', cɛl
k^wɛ wɛɪ (mɛ ɪɛ·m, lɛm) 'I began to (cry, go)', wɛɪ
k'ák^wɛl tɛ hɪyɛq^w (EB) 'the fire's (already) gone out',
lɪ wɛɪ lɛ ʔɛ·yɛl 'has he gone away?', luɪ mɛθ'f·l
'they're gone blue' (luɪ < luwɪ < lɛ wɛɪ), luɪ c'ɛtɛ·m
tɛl mɪmɛlɛ 'my baby's already (been) crawling', luɪ
(c'ɛ·yx^w, slíc') 'it's (already)(dry, full)', (EB has
ʔuɪ frequently for wɛɪ or luɪ, and cuwɪ for cɛl wɛɪ
as in ʔuɪ lɛ·m 'he's already gone' and cuwɪ hɪyáθámɛ
'I (already) warned you'; there are frequent examples;
it is too early to tell if this is true for Cheh. as
a dialect.)(see also examples 17, 28 and 43).

43. cəl ʔəʔf·t sʔéq'el·ex^W k^Wses wəʔ ləm 'I know for sure he's gone', c'éc'əl wəl ʔəʔf·t s'ú·met 'he's really truly lazy!' (wəl ʔəʔf·t 'it's really true', c'éc'əl wəl ʔəʔf·t 'it's really true!')(ʔówe lís ʔəʔf·t 'it's not true')
44. lscəl yəwé 'I'm going along', sʔ'í k^Wels lə yəwé 'I want to go along', wéce ləmél yəwé 'Can I go along?, Will I go along?'
45. lícx^W lə y(ə)sq'eq'á 'Did you go together?'
46. ʔífcex^W tusʔéyʔəl k^Wes ʔfʔ láyem 'you were laughing softly', tusʔéyʔəl k^Wes me ʔəʔéəʔax^V (you) push me softly', lə wəʔéy ʔà k^Wəel mólə 'my child is fine', lícx^W wəʔéy ʔəl (Chill.) - lícx^W wəʔéy ʔà - lícx^W wəʔéyà (Cheh.) 'how are you?, (lit. 'are you going gently/softly?', tusʔéycex^W ʔəl 'go gently!, go slowly! ', tusʔéycex^W 'you be careful', tusʔéycəl 'I'm careful', cəl tusʔéyà 'I was careful'
47. q'éyset k^Wes selé ^f selé k^Wes q'éyset 'tie it tightly'
48. me tx^Wém x^Weʔf· ' (he) got here early', me tx^Wém q^Wél te ʔəlflə 'the salmonberries are ripe early' (cp. (tu) ʔá·yem k^Ws mes q^Wél te ʔəlflə 'the salmonberries are ripe late')
49. ʔ^Wém (k^Wels, k^Wes, k^Wses) me ʔé·yəlex^W '(I, you, he) got well fast'

50. ləɪ ʔɛk'qel 'go outside!', lə ʔɛk'qel tɛ sq^wəmɛɣ
'the dog went outside', wɛlɛmɛx^w ʔɛk'qel 'when you go
outside'

51. yɛlɛwɛl lās tɛlɪ k'ɛʔɛlθɛ 'he's fatter than me',
cɛl yɛlɛwɛl lās tɛlɪ k'ɛlɛwɛ 'I'm fatter than you',
yɛlɛwɛl xɛɣk' tɪlɛwɛɣɛl tɛlɪ k'^wɛ cɛlɛqɛɪ(ɛɪ) 'today
is colder than yesterday', yɛlɛwɛl qɛl 'worse', yɛlɛwɛl
k'ɛqt tɛl xɛlɛtɛl tɛlɪ tɛʔ swɛ 'my pencil is longer
than yours'

52. yú·wq^wɛɛ - ʔɛɣq^wɛɛ 'how beautiful!', really beauti-
ful!', yú·wq^wɛɛ tɛʔ q^wɛɪɣx^vɛl 'you have really beauti-
ful shoes!' (yú·w 'beautiful! (said while admiring
s-th)')

Several things should be noted before concluding with examples of negative verbs. Several of these adverbial Vi's are unstressed and could be particles functioning as adverbial Vi's since I have no examples of them being inflected (k^wɛtu, wɛɪ, yɛɪ, x^wɛl, ʔɛl). With others the Vi either begins in we- 'subjunctive' ((wɛ)tɛmtɛmɛɔɛ), wɛtɛsɛsɛ k^ws tɛs) or in an unexplained we- (wɛʔálewɛ - wɛʔálew - ʔálew, wɛláy, wiyáɛ (could be //wɛyáɛ//), wɛɪ, wɛɪf(ɛɪ)). There is also an unexplained unstressed particle, tu, which may well be adverbial. Some of the listed adverbial Vi's have not been elicited in sentences yet but seem suspiciously adverbial in translation.

Negative constructions will be dealt with in the syntax chapter, and negative verb inflection has been covered in the pronoun chapter, but a few examples of each of the negative verbs are given here to show why they might be considered adverbial Vi's (they modify the verb, occur adjacent to the verb or verb auxiliary, their inflection is limited with no continuative or object inflection allowed, etc.).

53. ?éwecel lémə̀l 'I don't go, I won't go'
 ?éwe lémes 'he/she/it doesn't/won't go'
 ?éwe sc'eléx^wemes 'he's not a spirit dancer'
 ?éwecx^w líx^w k'filsə̀ax^y 'you don't like me'
 cel méytale k'^wes ?éwep liyémelep 'I helped you folks
 not to laugh'
54. ?ewé líf yə̀està̀lè̀m 'Weren't you folks told?, Didn't
 they tell you folks?'
 ?ewé ?ε sək'íyes k'^wes k'^wéclex^wcet 'Don't you want us
 to see it?' (sək'íyes sic for sək'í)
 wéce lémə̀l yewé 'Won't I go along?'
 ?ewés líf-l sək'í 'if I don't want it'
 ?ewés líf sək'ífs ?ewéyex^w (ʔ) ?áx^wesə̀ax^yes 'If he doesn't
 want it, will he give it to me?'
 ?ewés líf (ʔε) sək'íyelep lecel k'^wá.t 'If you folks don't
 want it, I'll take it.'
55. ?éwecelḷ q'^wélsə̀ax^y 'I don't/I never speak to you'

ʔéwəɪ̯ lə kʷéclɛlɛ̯m 'I wasn't seen'

ʔéwəɪ̯cəl kʷɛ̯.y 'I'm never hungry'

ʔéwəɪ̯ ɣɛ̯.m 'he never cries'

ʔewé̯ɪ̯cəl lɪ̯.l lɪ̯ 'I was never there'

ʔewé̯ɪ̯cəl sʰɪ̯kʷəqəɪ̯ɛ̯l 'I wasn't (ever) a child'

56. xʷewé̯cxʷ ʔɪ̯.xʷ xʷé̯ siyá̯.lexʷə 'You're not old yet.,

You haven't yet become old.'

xʷewé̯cxʷ ʔɪ̯.xʷ tətəlá̯.met 'You don't understand yet.'

xʷewé̯ ʔɪ̯s mɛ̯q 'He's not yet full (of food).'

xʷewé̯ ʔɪ̯.s mɛ̯ qʷé̯l 'They're not ripe (yet).'

6.2.5. Interrogative Vi. There are 14 or 15 of these verbs (not counting lexically suffixed versions of kʷɪ̯.l (there are eight) and sɛ̯lcɪ̯.m (there are two or three)). They fall into a separate class mainly because they are all interrogative. All are mainly sentence-initial (except sentence-final ʔɛ̯tɪ̯ 'tag-question'), and some are only attested sentence-initially (ʰakʷsɛ̯lcɪ̯.ms, lɪ̯, láyɛ̯xʷɛ̯). When sentence-initial they can be followed by subject pronouns and future tense (except láyɛ̯xʷə and the two words for 'why?'). A few can also occur after preposed pronouns or auxiliary + pronoun. None can be inflected for continuative or passive of course, but some can be inflected for subjunctive and used as relative interrogatives (tɛ̯l.é̯cɛ̯ 'where s-o is from',

x^wecé·l 'where s-o is going', x^wecák^wel 'where s-o is headed for', ?elécε 'where s-o is', tewét 'who s-o is', stém 'what s-th is', and possibly others; the glosses just given are those used when the words are used as relative pronouns; otherwise they have the interrogative glosses listed below).

The verbal status of interrogative Vi's is further borne out by their nearly exclusive occurrence before demonstrative articles (which occur before nominals or which nominalize verbal constructions that follow). Exceptions to this occurrence before articles include the following: tentém, láyéx^wε, and selcí·m attested before subjunctive verbs; lí before declarative verbs; ?elécε once before adverbial Vi wéyeles 'tomorrow'; and tewét before nominals in constructions like 'what man?', 'whose dog?'. A fuller and more definitive treatment will be found in the syntax chapter, but the above give the semantic and syntactic reasons for this class of verbs being set up. The interrogative verbs found so far are:

1. lí 'am/is/are __?', do/does __?' (sometimes inflected with interrogative -ə)
2. selcí·m 'how?, how is it?' (also affixed:
 selcí·mamex^y 'how does it look?, what does it look like?, what color is it?', selcí·méléqep 'how does

it smell?')

3. k^wf·l 'how many?, how much?' (also affixed:
k^wf·les 'how much money?, how many dollars?';
k^wflè 'how many people?', k^wflè·ip 'how many
trees?', k^walé± 'how many times?', k^wilówe± 'how
many canoes?', k^wilówes 'how many paddles?', te
sk^wf(·)ls (nominal) 'the hour', (Tait) k^wfltx^w
'how many houses?')
4. stém 'what?, what is it?'
5. x^we?f·t or x^we?fyet 'what is s-o doing?, what's
happening to/with s-o?, what's doing with s-o?;
what is s-o saying?'
6. tentém 'when?, when is it?'
7. ?eléce (EB of Cheh. usually has léce) 'where?, where
is it?'
8. x^wecé·l - x^wcé·l - x^wcè·l 'where is s-o going (leav-
ing for)?, which way did s-o go?'
9. x^wecák^wel - x^wcák^wel 'where is s-o going to (destined
for)?'
10. tel·éce - tel?eléce 'from where?, where is s-o from?'
11. tewét 'who?, who is it?' (used also in 'what's your
name?' and 'what man is it?')
12. k^wak^wselcf·ms 'why?, why is it?, how come?'
13. x^w?ft 'why?, why is it?' (can't be used as an inde-
pendent utterance unlike #12)

14. $\text{láyéx}^W\epsilon$ 'does one have to?, do I have to?' (a semantically reflexive interrogative, this verb has an impersonal subject 'one' which can also refer to the speaker, 'I')
15. ?étí (usually [?é\kappa]) 'tag-question' (always final in sentence)

Here are some examples of these interrogative verbs in sentences:

1. $\text{lícx}^W \text{yáyes}$ 'Are you working?', $\text{lícx} \text{sp}'\text{ep}'\text{é\kappa}^W$ 'Will it float?', $\text{lí} \text{we\kappa} \text{lém}$ 'Is he/Are they gone?', $\text{líye} \text{tí}$ 'Is it over there?'
2. (1e) $\text{selcí}\cdot\text{m} \text{k}'^W\text{és} \text{le} \text{?íyt}$ 'How did you make it?', $\text{selcí}\cdot\text{mce} \text{we}\cdot\text{mí}\cdot\text{-t} \text{?éméstex}^W$ 'How should we bring it?', $\text{selcí}\cdot\text{m} \text{k}'^W\text{s} \text{hí\text{G}s} \text{q\text{e}} (\text{ye\kappa} \text{s}'\text{es} \text{me} \text{x}'^W\text{é} \text{syémyem}, \text{k}'^W\text{el}\cdot\text{éx}^W\text{es} \text{te} \text{mélés})$ 'How long before she (came to be(come) pregnant, got her child)?', $\text{lécex}^W \text{selcí}\cdot\text{m} \text{welémex}^W \text{t}'\text{á}\cdot\text{k}'^W$ 'How are you going home?'
3. $\text{k}'^W\text{f}\cdot\text{l} \text{te} (\text{sk}'^W\text{ó}\cdot\text{lmex}^W, \text{scí}\cdot\text{ye})$ 'How many (blackberries, strawberries) do you have?', $\text{k}'^W\text{f}\cdot\text{l} (\text{s\text{e}}'\text{áq}^W\text{i}, \text{músmes}, \text{swé}\cdot\text{yel})$ 'how many (fish, cows, days)?', $\text{?ecx}^W \text{we\kappa} \text{k}'^W\text{f}\cdot\text{l} \text{m'éq\text{e}}$ 'How old are you? (lit. "You were already how many fallen snows?")', $\text{we\kappa} \text{k}'^W\text{f}\cdot\text{l} \text{syilálem} \text{k}'^W\text{és} \text{yáyes}$ 'How many years have you been working?', $\text{tés} \text{te} \text{sk}'^W\text{f}\cdot\text{ls}$ 'What time is it?' ('It's gotten up to what hour?')

4. stém te 0é 'What's that (visible, present)?', stém te ?f·x^W (k^Welé·t, 0é·yt) 'What is it you're (holding, making)?', stém te lf tí c'fc'esem 'What is that growing?', stém k^We s0'áq^Wi ?ε sx^Yélce 'What kind of fish did you catch (is your catch)?', stém te sq^Wélq^Wel 'What's your news?', stém k^We ?fx^W t'et'iyeq'émēt - stém k^We t'et'iyeq'émētex^W 'What are you mad at?'
5. x^We?f·tcex^W ~ cex^W x^We?f·t 'What are you doing?', ?f·tcex^W x^We?f·t 'What were you doing?', x^We?f·tcεp ~ cεp x^We?f·t 'What are you folks doing/saying?'
6. tēntémce welémex^W t'ák^W 'When are you going home?', tēntém k^Wes le 0íyt 'When did you make it?', tēntém k^Wes lém 'When are you going?', tēntém k^Wes ?éx^Yel lf te swítce 'When do you "pull" at Cultus Lake?' ('pull" is a popular term for 'to paddle in canoe-racing', ?éx^Yel is also the normal word 'to paddle')
7. ?eléce k^Wes le 0íyt 'Where did you make it?', le ?eléce 0e stélf 'Where is the woman?', ?elécecx^Wce wé·yeles 'Where are you going to be tomorrow?, Where will you be tomorrow?', ?eléce tel lém 'Where's my liquor?', cex^W ?eléce 'Where are you?'
8. x^W(e)cé·lcél 'Where am I going?', x^Wcé·l ?é·ítel 'Where/Which way are they going?', le x^Wcè·l 'Where is he going?', x^Wecé·lcex^W 'Where are you going?'
9. x^Wcák^Welcex^W 'Where are you going to?', ?εcx^W

ye-x^wcák^wel 'Where are you headed for?', ?ex^wyeɪ

x^wcák^wel 'Where are you going now (this time)?'

10. tel?eléce'tú^hà (CT) 'Where is he from?', (sub-junctive example, EB) cuɪ ɪq'éléx^w we?is tel?eléce

(- tel.éce) 'I know (already) where he came from.'

11. lówe (te)wét - tewétcex^w 'Who are you?', tewét

te(?) sk^wix^y (some prefer stém te sk^wix^y) 'What's your name?' (Chill. te, Cheh. + Tait te?), tewét te

swíyeqe 'Who is the man?', tewét swíyeqe k^wé ?ix^w sɛ·wq't 'What man are you looking for?', wét k^wé le

yééseəàmè 'Who told you?', tewét k^wé le yéq^welcep

'Who lit the fire?', tewét k^wé le ɪc'làmè 'Who cut

you?', tewét k^wé ?ix^w éé·yeɪcet te sléx^wéɪ 'Who are

you making the canoe for?', tewét k^wé ɪ'fils k^ws léms

'Who wants to go?', tewét sq^wemé·y 'Whose dog?'

12. ɪ'ak^wselcɪ.ms k^wes le ɪiyt 'Why did you make it?',

ɪ'ak^wselcɪ.ms k^wes le ?ewestálx^w k^ws k^wécléx^wcet

'Why is it you don't let us see it (lit. "deny us to")?',

ɪ'ak^wselcɪ.ms k^wes ?éwe ?i·p lém tsɪwólép 'Why didn't you folks go?'

13. x^w?ít k^wes ?éwe lɪx^w lém 'Why didn't you go?',

x^w?ít k^wes ?éweɪ (q^wélseàx^y, lèm) 'Why don't you

(ever)(speak to me, go)?', x^w?ít k^wes xté te éé 'Why

did he do that?', x^w?ít k^wé 'Why (do you)?, What for?

(reply to an assertion)', cex^w x^w?ít ?ese xté·stex^w

te θé 'What did you do that for?, Why did you do that?'
(?ese is a variant of k^wses)

14. láyéx^wε (xéws-es k^w k^vá.s, c-tíqíw-es) 'Does one
(or Do I) have to have (a new car, a horse)?', láyéx^wε
x^vix^vq'ém-es 'Does she have to have her mouth hanging
open?', láyéx^wε p'ap'eq'^wém-es k^ws séx^wes 'Does one

have to have foamy urine? (from drinking beer'

15. ?éwecx^w ?ix^w k'élk'elmet, ?étí 'You never get used
to it, do you?', x^wé.lqecx^w lém, ?étí 'You almost went,
didn't you?'

16. Subjunctive (relative pronoun-ized) examples from
EB of Cheh.:

cuí iq'éllex^w (westémes, wetewétes, wé?is léce, wəx^wcé.lés,
wé?is tel.éce) 'I (already) know (what it is, who it is,
where it is, where he's going, where he came from).',
cuí iq'éllex^w (wetewétes k^wé xtéstex^w te θé, westémes
k^wé le k^wú.tes) 'I know (who did it, what he took).',
?ewéte sx^welís wəx^wecé.lél 'no matter where(ever) I go',
welíx^w x^wecák^wel 'wherever you're going'.

Note: some of the interrogative Vi's are also
inflected and used as indefinite pronouns: tewétesà
'anybody', etc. (see nominal chapter).

6.2.6. Personal Pronoun Vi. This set includes
pronouns of sets 4.1 and 4.2. Nothing more needs to
be added here to the discussion + examples of Chapter 4.

6.2.7. Demonstrative Vi. This set includes ?f. 'be here' and lf. 'be there', and may also include their derivatives, x^we?f. 'come to be here, come here, get here, arrive' and x^welf. 'go there, get there'. ?f. and lf. are also used as prepositional Vi's and auxiliary Vi's; but while they seem related historically and semantically, they nevertheless are three distinct usages with distinct syntactic features and glosses. It seems best at present to consider them separately.

As demonstrative Vi's, ?f. and lf. can be inflected for subject, future tense, and subjunctive mood; past and interrogative suffixes must be attached to a preceding auxiliary; no continuative, imperative, participle, passive or pluralizing inflection is possible with these verbs. The reason ?f. and lf. form a special class of demonstrative Vi's, is that in addition to their demonstrative glosses they can precede and combine with demonstratives unlike other verbs. (x^we?f. and x^welf. cannot do this but do have demonstrative elements 'here' and 'there' in their glosses.) Some examples will illustrate:

cel ?f. - ?f.cel 'I'm here', cel lf. - lf.cel 'I'm there'
 ?f.ɪcel ?f. 'I was here', ?f.ɪcel lf. 'I was there',
 ?f.ɪ ?f. 'he/she/it was here, they were here'
 lf ?f. k^wεε mɛ̀.l 'Is your father here?'

weʔi·cəlce ʔé kʷe là qe xʷeʔi·cexʷce 'I'll stay (or be) right here till you get here.', weʔi·cəlce ʔé kʷe là qe tésce tɛ slécʷes 'I'll be here till one o'clock.' (function of we- unclear)

cel ʔi· kʷe là 'I'm here' (ʔi· kʷe là 'here, this place' (là 'this') is so frequent as a unit that it is pronounced and regarded as one word, and I have usually written it ʔi·kʷelà), liye ʔi·kʷelà 'Is it here?, Is he/she here?', le ʔi·kʷelà 'He's/She's here., etc.'

cel ʔi· tí 'I'm over here', cel lí· tí 'I'm over there', le lí· tí 'hé's over there'

cel ʔi· tɛ lélém 'I'm here at your house.', le ʔi· tɛ lélém 'He's here at your house.', le lí· tɛ lélém 'He's there at your house.' (The last three examples apparently show that lí 'at' is sometimes omitted after lí· 'there' or ʔi· 'here'.)

le xʷeʔi· 'he arrived, got here', ʔewéte kapú kʷses xʷeʔi· 'He came without a coat.', kʷács Bill kʷwe méyθàmè wexʷeʔi·s 'It will be Bill that helps me when he gets here.', le xʷlí· tɛ léléms 'they got to their house'.

6.2.8. Auxiliary Vi. This group includes: me ^f mí '(come to)' (< ʔemí - mí 'come'), le 'go, go to, going to' (< lém - lèm 'go(ing)(to)'), ʔi· '(here)',

and *lf* '(there)'. These verbs directly precede the main verb (of the phrase or clause) and can receive some of its inflective affixes, i.e., subject pronouns 4.4 and 4.9b, future *-ce*, past tense *-ī* (with *ʔf*, *lf* and *mí* only), imperative *-tī* ~ *-ī* (with *mē* and *mí* and *lε*), subjunctive *wε-* (with *ʔf*, *lf*, *mí*)(+ 4.9b pronouns).

Though all four verbs contain semantic oppositions of emplacement ('here', 'come to') and displacement ('there', 'go to'), these semantic elements are rarely translated (except for *lε*). Thus the glosses parenthesized are usually omitted, though often implied. As Edna Bobb explained it, *lε* means you have to go somewhere else to do the action; *mē* means you have to come to do the action. With *mē* ~ *mí*, '(come to)' also has the sense of 'come to pass, become' as in archaic English phrases like "and so he came to dwell there".

Plenty of examples have been given already of auxiliaries *ʔf* and *lf* in 6.1 and 4.9; some have also been given of *mē* ~ *mí* and *lε* in 6.1. A few more examples of *mē* ~ *mí* and *lε* will now be given:

cəl lε t'ák^w 'I went home'
cəl mē t'ák^w 'I came home'
lεcəl t'ák^w 'I'm going home'
mēcəl t'ák^w 'I'm coming home'

- cel me méstex^W te ?f.ɪ ?ε sʰɪf 'I brought what you
wanted'
- cel me qelɛ·mθet 'I'm getting weak' ("coming to get
weak")
- cel le x^yák^Wem lec'ɛx^W 'I went for a swim once'
- me x^yéywéθèlè̄m 'I was warned'
- me qelqéyl tel sq^Wɛ·lèwèl 'I lost heart, I became dis-
appointed or discouraged' (CT)
- mí hák^Wex^y te s(x^W)c'áq^Wels qesu mí c'q^Wét te sqé·wè
quesu mí ɪɛ·xem ?f tel láθel 'use a fork and poke
the potato and serve yourself in my plate' (CT)
- me cá·lqem 'come along after (without s-o knowing it),
follow'
- me k^Wú·θáx^yes 'he came to take me'
- lscuɪ yék^W 'I already hired' (EB)
- lscel qá·qet 'I drank it, I'm going to drink it'
- me ɪɛlétem te sɪémex^W '(the rain is) starting to sprin-
kle (come splashing)'
- cel le míliyèl 'I went to set a net'
- me q'á·lθet 'to return'
- me ?ɛ·yelex^W 'come back to life, revive'
- me p'ák^W 'rise/come to the surface (come float)'
- me k^Wéclelex^W 'catch sight of s-th'
- me p'ésɪ 'sober up' ("come to be sober")
- le ?ɛ·yel 'go away', and le ʰpí·l 'go down'

CHAPTER 7. PARTICLES

Particles are a small class of words which cannot be inflected and which includes subsets of interjections, conjunctions, modals, and adverbials. Not all conjunctions, modals or adverbials are particles in Halkomelem; many of them are intransitive verbs, and some conjunctions are Halkomelem demonstratives. But interjections are all treated like particles. In Halkomelem, conjunctions, modals, interjections, and adverbials are syntactic classes while particles, intransitive verbs, and demonstratives are inflectional classes. Within the class of particles, interjections are always stressed but conjunctions and modals seldom are and adverbials never are. Since particles can't be inflected there is little more to be said about them here except to list those found so far, with some examples. More will be said of them in the syntax chapter.

7.1. Interjections. These are mostly used in syntactic isolation; length can be stretched to : or even ::

(three morae). The following have been found so far:

qéléméx^y 'oh my goodness!', also lá qèlèməx^y -

ʔó qèlèməx^y 'oh my goodness!'

ʔé·cele 'gee!, good grief!, my gosh!'

ʔe1elf? 'yipes! , eek! (said to oneself or s-o else when

scared)' (some younger speakers (middle-aged, moderately fluent) say ʔənənɪʔ)

ʔǝǝ [ʔǝǝ] 'you're kidding! (slang popular at hop-picking 30 years ago)' (possibly < English slang, cp. "ish-kabibble", etc.)

lɛʔɛ 'hey!'

ʔɪʔ 'stop!, (you're close to) danger!' (slang)

qʷáqʷwɛlɛʔ 'excuse me!, watch out please!'

lɛ·lɛ 'well! (if surprised)'

yú:w 'how beautiful! (said when praising s-th beautiful you're admiring)', also yú:wqʷɛ and ʔéyqʷɛ 'how beautiful!, really beautiful!' (the -qʷɛ is an intensifier (adverbial) and may convert yú:w into a verb)

tu sʔáɪ kʷwɛɪɛ (perhaps tu sʔáɪ-qʷɛ ?) 'that's terrible! (of s-o's actions)' (tu is probably an adverbial particle with intensifying force as listed below; sʔáɪ may be the possessive pronoun 'our' or something entirely different)

ʔǝ 'oh!' as in ʔǝ tɛ ʔst'età 'oh the talking! (said when fed up with s-o talking too much)', ʔǝ tɛlɛwɛ sqʷmɛ·y '(oh) you dog!', ʔǝ tɛlɛwɛ spipɪyɪxʷɛl '(oh) you crooked leg (person)!', ʔǝ tɛlɛwɛ skʷɪkʷɪy 'oh, you're stingy!', or ʔǝ tɛ skʷɛkʷɪ(y)θ 'oh, the pitiful person! (used of kids when hurt, etc.)'

(sk^wék^wiθ 'pitiful person' may < sk^wíyεθ 'slave'
 so I have added a parenthetic (y), thus sk^wék^wi(y)θ)
 ?ε?é te swék' 'oh-oh, (here comes) the dandy!' (swék'
 's-o who overdresses, a dandy', swék'lec 'a show-off,
 comedian')

léw 'say! (said to get attention politely), hello
 (greeting)', also lé léw 'say! or hello! (to spouse)'

ɣ: '(a sound of glad greeting to see children, made
 while patting kids under chin with palm upright)'
 (used by the oldest generations now remembered --
 grandparents and great grandparents of today's eld-
 ers who are themselves great grandparents and grand-
 parents, but seldom used since)

?é·?ε 'yes' (sometimes even [^hɱ:ɱ]), also ?é (apparently
 when not initial in sentence) as in yáswe ?é 'maybe
 yes', lí t'we ?é 'must be', and lí ?é 'I guess so'
 lí ?é (Cheh.) ~ lí mè (Seabird Is.) ~ ɛéq' (RM of Sar-
 dis) 'I guess so' (lí is present in affirmative
 reply to yes-no questions, see next item)

lí 'I am, I do, yes, he is, he does, etc.' (affirmative
 reply to yes-no questions which have interrogative
 lí)

(?i?é·y ~ ?ó?áwəɛ 'uh-huh (keep on going)(said to a
 storyteller to show you are listening and awake)'
 (all upriver dialects have the first form, ?i?é·y

which is probably diminutive R_4- plus ʔé·y 'keep on (going)'; AC has it too but also uses ʔóʔàwèɪ (as do some others) in the same way as ʔiʔé·y ; since R_4- and $-\text{àwèɪ}$ ('polite imperative') are both inflections, neither word probably can be counted a particle.)

7.2. Conjunctions. Those which are particles include:

$qə$ 'and, but, or' (gloss depends on semantic environment though 'but' is also sometimes $qə-w$ or $qə __-w$) (conjoins verbs, phrases, sentences, and sometimes even nouns)(AC $qə \sim qə$)

$qəs$ 'and' (conjoins numerals, independent pronouns, and nouns (nominals); precedes demonstrative article)

su 'so, then'

(EB: $qəw __-ə \sim$ (AC) $qə __-ə$ 'until' (probably inflectable and not a particle))

Some of these can occur in combination with $qə$, modal əʔε , $wəɪ$, and inflectable ʔ'a and ʔe :

$qəsu$ 'and so, and then'

ʔəsu '(and) so'

$suɪ$ 'so (already)' (< $su + wəɪ$)

$qəwɪ$ 'and (already)'

$(qə)ʔ'a-__-su$ (pronoun set 4.8 can go in the blank) (used especially in narratives and stories)(the paradigm with 4.8 pronouns is as follows):

(qe)k'a-l-su 'and so I, and then I'

(qe)k'a-ʔe-su 'and so you, and then you'

(qe)k'a-(sʔé)s-su (~ (qe)k'a(sé)su) 'and so/then
he/she/it/they'

(qe)k'a-sʔéct-u 'and so/then we'

*(qe)k'a-sʔélep-su 'and so/then you folks' (not yet
attested)

k'ace su 'then he will, so it will be him that'

qe k'aθ'esésu 'and then they say he, and so it is said
he/she/it/they'

(ʔe)wés ... qe 'if not ... then'

Examples:

1. le ʔé k'qel qe ʔewéte ʔà kapús qe yíyeq 'He went
outside without a coat (lit. "and he just had no
coat") and it was snowing.'

le lemélstex^wes te Bill te sq'émél x^welém te Jim qe Bob
'Bill threw the paddle to Jim and Bob.'

cel k'^wacláme qe Bob 'I saw you and Bob.'

c'ec'ic'ek' qe mék^w 'short and stout'

k'acesu q^weyfléx^y qe t'í·lém tél siyé·ye 'My friends
will sing and dance.'

2. k'á swés ʔisélé sq^weméy qes te qéx pús 'He has two
dogs and lots of cats.'

cet ʔítel tlaqé·ys te Bill qes teʔéʔelθe 'Bill and I
are eating right now.'

cet ʔéɪtɛl tɛ Bill qɛs tɛʔéʔɛlɛs 'Bill and I ate.'

ʔápeɪ qɛs tɛ léɛ'e 'eleven'

tux^wɛlsx^vé qɛs tɛ tú·x^w 'ninety-nine'

slét qɛs tɛ swéyɛl 'night and day'

3. lí léɛ k^we Bill qɛ Bob 'Did Bill or Bob go?'

ʔáá Bob qɛ ʔáá Bill 'It's Bob or Bill.' (presumably

the second ʔáá would be absent if qɛ were 'and' here)

ʔáá· Bob qɛ ʔáá· Bill 'Is it Bob or is it Bill?'

ʔáá t^we Bob qɛ ʔáá t^we Bill 'Maybe it's Bob or maybe
it's Bill.'

lícx^w líyem qɛ lícx^w x̣ɛ·m 'Did you laugh or (did you)
cry?' (last five sentences by EB)

(AC) lí cák^w tɛ léléms qɛ lí stɛtís 'Is his house far
or is it nearby?'

(AC) lícx^w lí tɛ s^ʔɛhí·ws qɛ lícx^w ɛɛɛ·l 'Are you
on the outside (upriver side) or the inside (back
by the wall side)(of a bed)? (cp. lémcɛx^w tɛ ɛɛɛ·l
'you go to the back (near the wall)')

4. léɛɛɛɛɛɛ qɛ cɛl ʔéwɛ ʔá 'I was going but I'm not now.'

cɛl wɛk^wáá^wɛcɛt qɛ lɛ-w lép^vɛx^vɛs 'I was watching him
but he ate it.'

x̣éy^vɛwɛtɛm qɛ-w lɛ x̣áá^wɛm 'He was (being?) warned
but he bathed.'

The -w in the last two sentences may be an intensifier
suffix as with adverbial Vi's.

θ'ex^Wát qe ?éwecex^W c'éyx^Wtex^W 'Wash it but don't dry
it!'

qéx te k'ik^Wíyep qe ?ewéts k'fk^Wel 'There's a lot
of bean vines but no beans.'

5. su ?í.westes tú'a θú.k'á 'so she showed/taught him'
k^Wélex^Wtes tú'a su mí k^Wel.éx^Wes 'He shot it, so he
caught it.'

su x^We?í.lx^Wes te sméyeθs 'so he brought him his meat'

6. (next four sentences by EB, last three by AC):

xè.m ?à qew (léme t'á.k^W, mí ?e x^We?í. te té.ls) 'He
was crying until (he went home, his mother arrived).'
spípew te stá.lo qew léme x^Wlí te sle?á.θel 'The river
is frozen all the way across (until it goes/gets to
the other side).'

spípew te stá.lo qectu (hyper-slow qe cet-ew) léme
x^Wlí te sle?á.θel 'The river was frozen until we
got across.'

méqs qectu léme x^Wlí te smé.lt 'snow (all the way)
until we reached the mountain'

(AC) læcx^W cá.m qe téscex^W ?e te smé.lt 'You go away
from the water till you get to the mountain.'

we?í.celce ?e k^We là qe téscce ?e te sléc'es 'I'll be
here till one o'clock.'

we?í.celce ?e k^We là qe x^We?í.cex^Wce 'I'll stay right
here until you get here.'

7. qesu ləm 'and then he went'
 ʔəxqst tē mēces qesu yəq^wt k^we sɪsq' 'strike the match
 and light (burn) the kindling'
 c'q^wət tē sqé.wə qesu mē ɛɛ.χəm ʔi tel láθel 'poke
 the potato and put it/serve it on my dish'
 qesu tátel.à.met yuà'á.ləm 'and (so) they understand'
8. ʔesu ləm ye lí.k^w 'and so a few (people) came'
 ʔesu k'á sq^wélq^wels 'So that's their news/story/narra-
 tive'
 ʔesu θət tē sá.səq^wt, "k'ácc k^wel swé" 'So the young-
 est (sister) says, "That (man) will be mine."
 ʔesu lé:m yuà'á.ləm 'So they went and went.'
 ʔesésu mē hí.k^wθet tē qá. 'and then the water got big'
 ʔesésu k^wéclex^wes tē sq^weq^wé lí tē smé.lt 'then he
 saw the hole in the mountain'
 ʔesésu le θ'é.m 'then it subsided/went down (flood
 water)'
9. k'elsuɪ xè.m k^wels yeʔi.mex^y '(so) I cried when
 (while) I went walking'
 k'elsuɪ ləm t'á.k^w 'I have to go home.'
 suɪ mē k^wel.éx^wes 'so he's got it' ('already', 'come,
 come to' and 'happen to' are implied but not dir-
 ectly translated in this example)
10. su le k^wécet tē híyeq^w túà'a qewɪ lí tē híyeq^w
 'So he looked at the fire and it was already in the

fire.' (CT)

1e k^wécat x̄t̄é t̄í ǫúλ'a qew̄t̄ λ'ep'ólscem te stqá·ye
'She looked over there and the wolf was (already)
wagging his tail.' (CT)

qew̄t̄ l̄é·m 'and he went'

11. λ'alsu tés k^we ǫq'é·lec '(So) I got to Vancouver.'
λ'alsu c̄t̄é·met tel sk^wí·x̄^y. λ'alsu s̄t̄at̄ek^wíwel,

λ'alsu ǫet, "l̄éw, siȳéye" 'Then I heard my name.

I was dumbfounded, and so I said, "Hi friends"

c̄el l̄ém te stá·lo λ'alsu k^wécl̄ex^w te q̄óx̄ s̄ǫ'áq^wi

'I went to the river and saw a lot of fish.'

ʔécel tatí·lt te h̄elq'əm̄éylem sq^wè·l λ'alsu x̄s̄x̄é·ylt

'I'm learning the Halkomelem language and I'm writing it.'

1e lem̄elstex^wes te sq'ém̄él q̄eλ'alsu k^wól·óx^w 'He threw
the paddle to me and I caught it.'

12. λ'aʔesu l̄ém (ʔe - ʔe here) 'then you go'

m̄éx̄^ȳé te st'aleʔal̄éstel q̄eλ'aʔesu k^wécl̄ex^w 'Take off
your eyeglasses, and then you can see it.'

13. k^wútes te lep̄él λ'esu k^waq^wéǫáx̄^yes 'He took the
shovel and hit me.'

λ'asu tés te sm̄é·lt q̄esu l̄e k^wetx̄^wí·l̄em yuλ'álem 'and
so they got to the mountain and (they) went inside
(into a cave)'

λ'esu l̄e tés k^we s̄em̄éθ te q'ex̄^wówēt̄ 'Then the big canoe

got to Sumas.'

mók^w slét k^wes ?emf(s) te ləlémcet te ?iséle spé·θ
 λ'asu ?éttel(s) te q^we'áp 'Every night two bears
 come to our house and eat apples.' (parenthesized
 -s possibly errors).

qəλ'asu méytémət túk'a 'and so he was helped'
 (xéyet, hewθ'ét) qəλ'esu xè·ms '(fight him, teasing
 him) till he cries'

14. λ'as'ésu x^welméx^wqel lí te θé 'Then they spoke
 Indian language there.'

λ'asésu ?á·tes te mestiyex^w 'and so he called the peo-
 ple'

λ'asésu ?emí te stəqá·ye 'then the wolf came'
 (AC, hyper-slow) [le ?iyá·tel qé-λ'á-s'ís-su xè·m]
 'they had a fight and he/she cried'

le ?iyá·qθet te smíməxèè qəλ'as'ésu x^we (haliq^wát,
 smíməyèθ) 'The caterpillar changed itself into a
 (moth, butterfly).' (lit. "and so it became a moth/
 butterfly")

le hí·c'etem qəλ'as'ésu caléx^wem 'he was cut and he
 bled'

qəλ'asésu le x^wé (hyper-slow x^wé) mestiyex^w 'and so he
 turned into/became a person'

le θək^wétes qəλ'asésu xəθ'étes qəλ'asésu cəlq 'He
 pulled it and then pushed it and it fell.'

x^wámx^yélem qə̀k'asésu ɬ́ék'^wx^yəl qə̀k'asésu (wəc'ə̀k', cólq)

qə̀k'asésu lək'^wx^yél 'He was running and he tripped
and fell and broke his leg.'

15. k'aséctu wə̀ləm sq'eq'á 'so we'll go together'

ʔə̀wə lís ʔí qə̀k'aséctu ʔé̀təl 'He wasn't here and so
we ate (without him).'

16. k'ace su q'^weyíléx^y qə̀ t'f·lém tel siyé·ye 'my
friends will sing and dance'

17. qə̀k'a ɸ'ɛ sésu (lém, k'^wútəm) 'and then they say he
(went, was grabbed)'

18. wés k'ás te més qə̀ k'ás te ʔí·mées 'if it's not
his son, (then) it's his grandson'

7.3. Modals. Some particles have meanings associated with English modal auxiliaries (probability of action, obligation to perform action, etc.). A few words also have such meanings but can be used otherwise as inflected Vi's (yáswe 'maybe, perhaps', ʔiyá·lém 'can, could; (be) right, correct, okay', sk'^wé(·)y 'can't, be impossible; be wrong', and sk'í 'want'); these may be words used both as Vi's and particles (they will be marked as possible particles). The modal particles include: ɸ'ɛ - c'ɛ 'it is said, they (impersonal) say, so they say'

t'wə - t'wə 'must, should', also in combinations like:

ʔet'wəwɬ́ 'must have', lí t'wə 'I guess (uncertain)'

(probably contains interrogative *lf*), and *ʔéy t'we*
'it's better if, s-o had better'

k^wé 'anyway' (perhaps adverbial)

(related: *yáswe*, *sk^wé·y*, *sá·f*, and *ʔiyá·lem* (but cp.

lf ʔá·le 'Is that right?', *ʔiyá·lem* probably < *ʔiy-*
(affixed version of *ʔéy* 'good'), *ʔá·le* 'right, cor-
rect', *-em* 'middle voice' or < *ʔéy + ʔál* as in
tusʔéyʔál 'gently, softly' and *lícx^w weʔéyʔál* 'Are
you doing alright?')(modal but verbs not particles).

Some examples:

1. *c'ε* 'so they say' (in a story by Mary Peters)(EB *θ'ε*)

(EB) *θ'ε lém* 'they say he went'

(EB) *θ'ε ʔét'əstem k^wsəs k^wé·lem* 'they say he was seen'

(*ʔét'əstem* also means 'it is said')

2. *t'we ʔí·tet* 'he must be sleeping'

qéx t'we k^wε télé 'you must have a lot of money'

spaleq^wíθ'ε t'we 'it must be a ghost'

lí·z t'we 'must have been'

ʔí·zcel t'we ʔí·tet 'I must have been asleep'

yáswe t'we 'maybe it was' (?)

sk^wéy t'we k^wes léms θú·k'à 'It might be impossible
for her to go.'

sk^wéy t'we k^wes lémcet 'We might not go.'

3. *ʔét'wewz lém* 'He must have gone.'

yáswe ʔét'wewz há·yθel 'They may be finished eating.,

Perhaps they're finished eating.'

4. $l\acute{f} t^w\acute{e}$ 'I guess.' (only attested in isolation)
5. $\text{?}\acute{e}y t^w\acute{e} k^w\acute{e}l\acute{s} l\acute{e}m$ 'I'd better go.' (lit. "it must be good that I go")
6. $l\acute{e}m k^w\acute{e}$ 'he went anyway'
 $st\acute{e}m k^w\acute{e} k^w\acute{e} q^w\acute{a}l\acute{s}t\acute{e}s$ 'What is he boiling (anyway)?'
 $k^w\acute{e}k^w\acute{c}\acute{e}.m k^w\acute{e}$ "serves her right she's screaming now",
 probably 'she's screaming anyway'
7. $y\acute{a}(\cdot)swe$ ($w\acute{e}l\acute{e}m\acute{e}l$, $w\acute{e}l\acute{e}m\acute{e}x^w$, $w\acute{e}l\acute{e}m\acute{e}t$, $w\acute{e}l\acute{e}m\acute{e}l\acute{e}p$,
 $w\acute{e}l\acute{e}m\acute{e}s t\acute{u}.\acute{\lambda}'a/\acute{\theta}\acute{u}.\acute{\lambda}'a/y\acute{u}.\acute{\lambda}'\acute{a}l\acute{e}m$) '(I, you, we, you
 folks, he/she/they) might go.'
 $y\acute{a}.swe w\acute{e}l\acute{e}m\acute{e}l$ 'I don't know if I could go.'
 $y\acute{a}.swe w\acute{e}l\acute{e}l\acute{s} \text{?}iy\acute{a}l\acute{e}m k^w\acute{e}l\acute{s} l\acute{e}m$ 'I don't know if it
 is/would be alright for me to go.'
 $y\acute{a}sw\acute{e} k^w\acute{e}s\acute{s} \text{?}iy\acute{a}l\acute{e}m k^w\acute{e}s l\acute{e}m\acute{s} t\acute{u}.\acute{\lambda}'\acute{a}$ 'I don't know
 if it's alright/okay for him to go.'
 $y\acute{a}sw\acute{e} w\acute{e}k^w\acute{e}y\acute{e}s k^w\acute{e}l\acute{s} l\acute{e}m$ 'I don't know if I'm able
 to go., I might not (be able to) go.'
 $y\acute{a}sw\acute{e} w\acute{e}k^w\acute{e}y\acute{e}s (k^w\acute{e}s l\acute{e}m, k^w\acute{e}s l\acute{e}m\acute{s} \acute{\theta}\acute{u}.\acute{\lambda}'\acute{a}, k^w\acute{e}s$
 $l\acute{e}m\acute{c}\acute{e}t, k^w\acute{e}s l\acute{e}m\acute{e}l\acute{e}p)$ '(You, she, we, you folks)
 might not be able to go., It might be impossible
 for (you, she, we, you folks) to go.', (probably
 also 'I don't know if (you, she, we, you folks)
 are (un)able to go.')
8. $\text{?}i.\acute{z} \text{?}iy\acute{a}.l\acute{e}m (k^w\acute{e}l\acute{s}, k^w\acute{e}s) \text{?}\acute{e}t\acute{e}l$ '(I, you)

could have eaten.'

ʔi·ɪ ʔiyá·lem k^Ws (ʔéitels, ʔéitelcət, ʔéitelélép)

'(He/etc., we, you folks) could have eaten.'

9. For other examples of yá(·)swe 'perhaps', ʔiyá·lem 'can', sk^Wé·y 'can't', and sk^Wf 'want' see pronoun chapter, 4.8 and 4.9.

7.4. Adverbials. The following morphemes, listed as adverbial Vi's, are unstressed and uninflected and so may be particles: weɪ 'already', yeɪ 'just, now', x^Wel 'still, yet', ʔel 'just, simply', k^Wətu 'really', and tu '(intensive)'. For examples of these adverbial particles or Vi's see the chapter on verbs, section 6.2.4.

CHAPTER 8. NOMINALS

8.0. Nominals include many morphemes which are underived nouns, plain and simple (such as q^w6.1 'ear', 0(ə)qét 'tree', etc.). But even more common are words which have verb roots and a nominalizing prefix, s- or sx^w-. These function in every way like true nouns, but they are formed from verbs and are nominalized by the prefix just as even inflected verbs, verb phrases and sentences can be nominalized by the same prefix. So it seems best to call the whole class (including underived nouns) "nominals".

In addition to the s- and sx^w- prefixes, nominals can also be derived from other nominals or verbs by some lexical affixes (see Chapter 5). Verbs can also be relativized (nominalized?) by preceding them with a demonstrative article (təl sʔf.k^w 'what I lost', tə q'ɛq'et'em 'something sweet'), but that is a matter for syntax; pronoun sets 4.3 and 4.11 are nominalized in this way too from the pronominal verbs of 4.1 and 4.2. Some interrogative verbs are also nominalized by affix or article to form the indefinite nominals. Numerals are nominalized by lexical affix, s- prefix, or article pre-position. Particles are the only inflectional class which cannot be nominalized by any means.

With some nominals, once the s- or sx^w- nominal-

izer is removed the root cannot be identified as a verb or anything else; the root is no longer attested elsewhere. With other nominals the s- or sx^w- nominalizers are present in some dialects or idiolects and absent in others; in these cases the unprefix form is still a nominal and is a synonym with the s- or sx^w- prefixed form (or nearly so). Here are some examples of nominal derivation:

sp'á·k'əm 'smoke' < p'á·k'əm 'to smoke'

st'f·lēm 'a song' < t'f·lēm 'to sing'

sʔfθ'əm 'clothes' < ʔfθ'əm 'get dressed, dress oneself'

sq'ép 'a gathering' < q'ép 'gathered'

smék^wəm 'something second-hand' < mék^wəm 'use second-hand'

sk^wex^yé·m 'number' < k^wex^yé·m 'count'

sx^wqéyqəxáθət 'sled, toboggan, ice skate' < qéyqəxáθət
'slide oneself, make oneself slip or slide'

sx^wθá·yelcep 'fire poker' < θé·y 'making, fixing' + Aa·
+ -əlcep 'firewood'

(Chill.) sc'é·lectəl - (Tait) sx^wc'é·lectəl 'bench,
chair' < c'é· 'be on top of', -ləc 'rump, bottom',
-təl 'device'

sqəlé·w 'beaver' (root unattested elsewhere)

lex^ws-t'f·lēm 'a person that always sings' < t'f·lēm

cack^wá·ləs 'goatsbeard plant' < cák^w 'be distant, far'

+ R₁- 'continuative'? + -á·les 'in the eyes'
 ɬq'ɛ̄·c-ɛ̄le 'five people' < ɬq'ɛ̄·ces 'five' + -ɛ̄le
 'people'
 s-ɬq'ɛ̄·ces-s 'five o'clock' (/sɬq'ɛ̄·ces/) < ɬq'ɛ̄·ces
 teléwe 'you' < léwe 'it's you'
 sʔeyf·ws 'the right side' < ʔeyf·ws 'be on the right'
 (in turn < ʔéy 'good' + -f·ws 'on the body')
 steméstwe ~ k^wstémés 'something' and stámcele 'some-
 place, somewhere' < stém 'what is it?, what?'
 swátle 'somebody' < (tə)wét 'who?, who is it?'

Nominals cannot be inflected for case in Upriver Halkomelem; here case does not exist, not even the relative case found in some other Coast Salish languages. Syntax, prepositional verbs and co-ordination with pronoun affixes on the verb do the job of case. However, nominals can be inflected for possessive, diminutive, plural, and past tense. The sections to follow will treat derivation of indefinite nominals, then the inflections of possessive, diminutive, plural, and past.

8.1. Indefinite nominals.

1. k^w stémés, k^wə stémés, k^we stémés 'something'
2. təwétes 'someone, somebody (unknown)'
3. stéméstwe 'something' (probably 'something unspecified')
4. təwétestwe 'somebody' (probably 'somebody unspecified')

fied')

5. k^Wiléstwe 'unstated how many, "it doesn't say how many", an undetermined number'
6. swátle 'so-and-so, somebody known (whose name is not known), what's-his-name'
7. stámcele 'someplace, somewhere' (EB only)
8. tewétesà 'anybody'
9. k^W stémés 'anything'
10. ye lí·k^W (AG) - ye k^Wf·lès (EB) 'a few, several (people or animals)' (contrast ?emímel 'a little bit, a small amount, a few')
11. mek^Wstém 'everything'
12. mek^W(ə)wét(es) 'everybody'

From following examples it will be seen that the above are all nominals. They are all derived from interrogative verbs (stém 'what?, what is it?', (te)wét 'who?, who is it?', and k^Wf·l 'how many?, how many is it?'). Those deriving from stém and tewét could be said to be nominalized by s- and te- (though these are already present on the original verbs) because stém and tewét do have a nominal flavor as well and because tém (in temtém 'when?') and wét 'who is it?' are also found.

Indefinites 2, 3, 6, 7, 11, and 12 above are all attested following demonstrative articles. 1, 9 and 10

are not attested following demonstrative articles because they include the articles: 1 is really k^w , $k^w\theta e$ or $k^w e + stémés$, but is not an indefinite without the article; the citation form is $k^w stémés$. The same is true of 9 and 10; 10 includes the plural demonstrative article, and AC's form apparently has a metathesis of consonants deriving it from $k^w f \cdot l$. In addition to these features 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, and 9 have the suffix $-es$ which seems derivational but is otherwise unclear. 3, 4, and 5 have the suffix $-twe$ which seems to mean something like 'unspecified, unstated'; possibly it means 'uncertain' and relates to $t^w e$ as in $lí t^w e$ 'I guess so'. 6 and 7 have Aa (ablaut of root vowel e to a) as well as $-cele$ and $-le$ suffixes of uncertain significance; $-cele$ could be a metathesis of $léce$, EB's variant of $?eléce$ 'where?'. 8 ends with $-à$ 'just' (see adverbial Vi 's), and a similar variant of 9 may exist too. 11 and 12 both have either prefixed or preposed mek^w 'all, every' or use $stém$ and $wét(es)$ as suffixes.

Examples:

1. $cel hék^w eles k^w stémés$ 'I remembered something',
 $sétqetes k^w e stémés$ 'he lights something, he set something on fire' (cp. $sétqetes k^w e pípe$ 'he lights paper (on fire)'), $yéq^w t k^w e (stémés, sísq')$ 'burn (some-

thing, kindling)', c'q'wét k^wθe stémés 'poke something, pick something up by spearing, spear something', léwex^yes k^w stémés lf te sx^wátk^wewel 'he/she sticks something into something hollow', x^wéylémt k^w stémés 'measure something, weigh something' (x^wéylémt 'weigh/measure him/her/it/them' < x^wéylém 'rope, string, thread').

It may be good to retain abbreviation of transitive third person objects as "s-th/s-o" which really stand for "him, her, it, them" and to contrast these with "something" and "someone" (written out in full) which are only impersonal (and indefinite) as in k^w stémés and tewétes.

2. c'éc'eq^wlem k^w tewétes 'someone got shot', le tólstem k^w tewétes wels ye[?]f.mex^ys 'somebody stumbled while he was walking' (wels appears to be an adverbial Vi or adverbial particle), le q^welq^weléses tewétes 'he's telling on somebody' (sic lack of article)

3. k^welétes te stéméstwe 'he's holding something', lecx^w k^wét te stémést(')we 'let go of something', and stéméstwe ?eyá·θ xéyp'et k^wel ?áq^welec 'something sharp scraped/scratched my back' (it would seem xéyp'et followed by an article should begin this sentence; the syntax seems unusual)

4. tewétestwe sq^weméy 'somebody's dog' (cp. tewét

sq^weméy 'whose dog?')

5. ʔasésu le ʔepí·l k^wiléstwe yuʔ·álem swáweles
'And so the young men went down, it doesn't say how
many of them' (perhaps smoother in English: 'and so
an unstated number of young men went down/descended')

6. c'éc'eq^wlem k^w swátle 'so-and-so got shot,
what's-his-name got shot', cel wawistéleqmet te swátle
'I'm jealous of somebody', səiyép te swátle 'somebody
(who I know) is wearing a loincloth' (səiyép 'wearing
a loincloth' > or < səiyép 'loincloth, dog hair cloth
aprons'), (te) sk^wf·x^s te swátle 'somebody's name'

7. lémcél k^we stámcele 'I'm going someplace, I'm
going somewhere'

8. tewétesà k^we ʔiyem 'Anybody can do the baking.',
tewétesà k^we ʔemf sq'á 'Anybody can come along.',
tewétesà k^we ʔf·ls k^ws mes yesq'á 'Anybody that
wants to can come along.' (without preceding article
tewétesà may be a verb in these examples)

9. No examples in sentences, just the citation form
k^w stémés 'anything'

10. (AC) ʔesu lèm ye lf·k^w 'and so a few (people)
came', (EB) sʔf·k^w ye k^wf·lès 'several people were
lost (and presumed dead)' (k^wf·lès 'several (people,
animals)(exact number unknown)' as in k^wf·lès t'we
te músmes 'there must be several cows'. Incidentally

the latter example within this parenthetical note contrasts t^we with -twe quite clearly), (EB) ʔex^wəθáx^vcəx^w k^w ʔemínel 'give me a few (berries for ex.), give me a little bit (water for ex.)'

11. líq^wəl tə mək^wstém 'all is calm, everything is calm', t́ewəl tə mək^wstém 'all is bright', mək^wstém ʔéy k^wés θíyém 'you cook (fix/make) everything nice (good)' (syntax is a little odd), mək^wstém sx^wʔéys 'good for everything' (cp. ʔəwéte sx^wʔéys 'good for nothing'), mək^wà sx^wlís tə qá. 'There's water everywhere.' (sx^wlís 'where it is'). (mək^w - (AC) mók^w seems to be an adjectival verb '(be) all, (be) every' as seen in the following: mók^w slét 'every night', ləmlémətcx^w mók^w təl θ'x^wəlwétəm 'fold all my laundry!', sk^wéy k^wés mók^wələp lém 'you can't all go', qəʔ'asésu ʔá.ɪ mók^w yuʔ'álem 'and so they all got in the canoe/got aboard')

12. sʔ'ís k^we mək^wəwétes 'he likes everyone', wəɪ ʔiyá.lem k^we mək^wəwétes 'enough for everybody', mək^wəwét lém - mók^w lém 'everybody went', mək^wəwétes ʔ'əʔ'éx^veltəs 'he/she/they invited everybody', mək^wəwét lə ʔéyeles 'everyone left him'. Apparently mək^wstém and mək^w(ə)wét(əs) have some syntactic features still to be figured out.

13. Although they formally resemble indefinites,

relativized interrogatives do not belong here as they are clearly verbs: *westémescə k^Wes ʔéltəlcət* 'what we'll eat, what it will be that we eat', *ʔéweɪ le θét yuɫ'álem westéməs tə qá* 'They didn't say what the water was (fresh or salt water)', (EB) *cuɪ ɪq'ólɛx^W* (*westéməs, wətewétəs, wəʔis lécs, wɛx^Wcé·lɛs, wəʔis tɛl·ócs k^Wsɛs x^Weʔf·*) 'I know (what it is, who it is, where it is, where he's going, where he came from).'

14. *ʔewétə* 'none, nobody, nothing' either belongs here or with negative verbs ('be/have none/nobody/nothing'); its class is unclear as yet. Thus *ʔewétə mɛ x^Weʔf·* 'Nobody came.', *ʔewétə ʔf·* 'He's not here.', *ʔewétə-l-s ɪf·m* 'I didn't pick anything.'

8.2. Possessive Inflection. Possessive inflection has already been described in the chapter on pronouns; see 4.6 and 4.7. The third person possessive suffix is used instead of a genitive case: *tə sléx^Wɛɪs* *tə swɪyɛqə* 'the man's canoe' (lit. "the canoe-his the man"). Partitives use prepositional *Vi tɛlf* 'from': *tə lálec'e tɛlf tɛ swáwɛlɛs* 'one of the young men' (lit. "the one-person from the young men"), or *lálec'e tɛlf ɪ'ɛɪlɪmɛɪ* 'one of us'.

8.3. Diminutive Inflection. Diminutive inflections of nominals is done by several types of reduplication: most often by R_4 (C_1f-), but also by R_1 ($-C_1e-$

after V_1), R_3 (C_1eC_2-)(once), R_5 (C_1e-), R_6 ($-eC_2$ before V_1) and R_7 ($C_1\acute{e}-$). Since this has been treated in detail in the morphophonemics (2.5) only a few examples need be given here; 'pet name' belongs here as a morphosememic variety of 'diminutive'. There are also diminutive lexical affixes (for example $-iye$ in Chapter 5), but they are clearly derivational. Examples:

R_1 : $q'\acute{e}q'mi$ 'little girl' < $q'\acute{e}.mi$ 'adolescent girl', $státelo(w)$ 'creek' < $stá.lo(w)$ 'river', $\acute{x}\acute{a}xc\acute{e}$ 'little lake' < $\acute{x}\acute{a}.c\acute{e}$ 'lake', $húheliye$ 'small-sized humpback salmon' < $hú.liye$ - $hó.liye$ 'humpback salmon', $tétel$ 'Mom (pet name)' < $té.l$ - $tè.l$ 'mother', $sísele$ 'granny (pet name)' < $sí.le$ 'grandparent'

R_3 : $s\acute{x}eq'\acute{x}\acute{e}q'\acute{e}t$ 'a little bluff' < $\acute{x}eq'\acute{e}t$ 'a bluff, cliff'

R_4 : $sqíqew\acute{e}\theta$ 'small rabbit' < $sqew\acute{e}\theta$ 'big rabbit, rabbit', $\theta f\theta q\acute{e}t$ 'little tree' < $\theta(\theta)q\acute{e}t$ 'tree', $sq^w i q^w \acute{e}m\acute{e}y$ 'puppy' < $sq^w \acute{e}m\acute{e}(\cdot)y$ 'dog', $mim\acute{x}^w aye$ 'little navel' < $mó\acute{x}^w aye$ 'navel, belly button', $x^w i x^w \acute{e}lm\acute{e}x^w$ 'little Indian' < $x^w \acute{e}lm\acute{e}x^w$ 'Indian', $l\acute{f}l\acute{e}k^w w\acute{i}.l$ 'small cross' < $l\acute{e}k^w w\acute{i}.l$ 'cross (grave or rosary)', $\theta'i\theta'\acute{x}\acute{e}y\acute{t}$ 'bead' < $\theta'\acute{e}x\acute{e}t$ 'gravel (smaller than pebbles)', $sqíqem\acute{e}l$ 'puberty hut' < $sq\acute{e}m\acute{e}l$ 'pit house', $s\acute{x}'f\acute{x}'\acute{e}l\acute{e}q\acute{e}m$ 'little supernatural creature' < $s\acute{x}'\acute{e}.l\acute{e}q\acute{e}m$

'supernatural creature (generic)'

R₅: q^weq^wé·l 'small (singled cedar) float for nets',
sɣ^wex^wiyém 'story, fable' < (E + S) sɣ^weyé·m 'myth'

R₆: spelá(·)l 'small crow' < spá·l 'crow',
ɣ^wex^wiyé·ye 'housefly' < ɣ^wex^wé·ye 'big fly, blowfly'

R₇: mèmehá·lɩ́ 'bird egg' < mólé 'child', -há·lɩ́
'young'

Only R₄ and R₁ are still productive diminutive inflections.

8.4. Plural Inflection. Plural inflection of nominals involves a great variety of processes and affixes, most of which have already been dealt with in the morphophonemics (2.3 and 2.5, q.v.). Nominals can be pluralized by reduplication (R₂, R₃, R₅, R₆, R₇, and R₈), by ablaut (Ai·, Ae·, Aey, Aa, Ae) and by plural infix -əl- -le-.

Inflected plurals usually imply ['many'] not just ['more than one'] or ['a few'] (even with paired body parts). Since this is true, they are seldom used with the lower numbers -- for example, ɩx^wé·le siyá·lex^we 'three old people' uses the singular rather than the plural sí·yá·lex^we 'old people'. Further, not all nominals can be pluralized; those that cannot can be preceded by the plural demonstrative article ye or modified by qéɣ 'many' or some other verb or

context implying multiplicity. If the nominal is not pluralized by inflection, modification or context it can be assumed to be singular.

Diminutives with R_4 - are almost always pluralized by A_6 on the vowel /i/ in the reduplication; diminutives with other types of R tend to have plurals made with the -el- ~ -le- infix rather than an additional reduplication. Nominals with reduplication for other purposes (derivational, continuative, etc.) sometimes replace that R with R_3 plural reduplication. All these adjustments reflect a dissimilation of processes. Inflection (if possible) is preferred to other ways of indicating plurality of nominals. But AC had noticeably fewer inflected plurals than speakers of Tait and Chehalis dialects; it is unclear whether that is idiolectal or dialectal.

Following are some examples of nominals inflected for plural:

R_2 : syéq'yeq' 'a lot of logs' < syéyeq' 'a log', possibly st'élt'el 'person that sings all the time (any song), a singer' (probably pluralized action)

R_3 : qelqélem 'lots of eyes' < qélem 'eye', celcélex^y 'hands' < célex^y 'hand', st'élt'flém 'songs' < st'f.lém 'song', sewewálem 'games' < sewálem - s'ewálem 'game', x^weyx^wiyéiyásém 'movies, motion pic-

tures' (/ey// → /iy/ here) < s^xw^{iy}Gi 'image, picture, photo', s^tell^é·lⁱ '(lots of) women' < s^té·lⁱ 'woman, female', smetm^ftex^wtel 'husband's brothers, wife's sisters' < sm^ftex^wtel 'husband's brother, wife's sister', sp^eq^p·pⁱq['] 'white spots on skin' < sp[']i^q' 'white spot on skin', s^ə'ək[']w^ə'f^k'^w 'lots of sores' < s^ə'ə[']f^k'^w 'a sore', sq^wəmq^wá·mx^w 'lots of lumps (any size); anthills' < sq^wá·mx^w ~ sq^wá·m^ə 'lump', məx^yməx^yc[']·əl 'lots of lice' < məx^yc[']·əl 'louse', ɛəq^əɛq^ət 'trees, timber' < ɛ(ə)q^ət 'tree' + A^ə, smelm^é·lt 'rocks, mountains' < sm^é·lt 'rock, mountain', s[']əm[']am^él^ə 'Thompson Indian people' < s[']am^él^ə 'Thompson Indian'

R₅: s^xəx^éyl^ə 'legs, feet' < s^xé^lə 'leg, foot' + A^{əy}, spēpelá(·)l 'bunch of small crows' < spelá(·)l 'small crow', q[']əq[']əl^é·mi 'lots of little girls' < q[']éq[']əmi 'little girl' (diminutive R₁ → R₅ and infix -əl- is added), sk[']w^{ək}'^wflw^əs 'child's in-laws, in-laws from any side' < sk[']w^él^wés 'child's in-law, in-law from any side' + Ai

R₆: sc[']iyáye 'twins', sel^él^əc['] 'two different things' < sel^é·c['] 'different (thing)'

R₇: m^ém^əl^ə 'children (kinterm)' < m^él^ə 'child (kinterm), offspring', tex^wm^ém^əl^əm 'stepchildren' < tex^wm^él^əm 'stepchild'

R₃: stətí·wél 'sibling's children' < stí·wél 'sib-
ling's child (nephew, neice)', (EB only) ləlélém
'houses' - AC qéx̄ tē lélém 'houses, a lot of houses'
< lélém 'house'

Ai: sí·yá(·)lex^We (possibly ~ sí·yaléx^We) 'old
people' < siyá(·)lex^We 'old person; old', sí·yé·m
'high people, chiefs, leaders' < siyé·m 'chief, leader,
high person', sí·yé·yē 'lots of friends' < siyé·yē
'friend', sí·wíyēqē 'men' < swíyēqē 'man, male',
sci·wetéḥ 'sons-in-law, daughters-in-law' < sciwtéḥ
'son-in-law, daughter-in-law', θ'əlí·p'ayēq^W -
θ'eθ'í·p'ayēq^W 'great great grandparents or -children'
< θ'ép'ayēq^W 'great great grandparent/-child' + addi-
tional -əl- or R₅-

Aey: s̄x̄éx̄éyle 'legs, feet' < s̄x̄éle 'leg, foot' + R₅

Aε: sk^Wé·to ~ sk^Wéleto 'in-laws' < sk^Wíto 'in-
law (parent-/child-/sibling-in-law)', sx^Wemlé·lek^W
'parent's siblings' < sx^Wemlí·k^W 'parent's sibling'
(both this and the previous example have an additional
-le- plural infix), sé·k'ètel 'older siblings, older
cousins (children of older siblings of parent, etc.)'
< sék'ètel 'older sibling, older cousin'

Aa: swáweles 'adolescent boys' < swíweles 'adoles-
cent boy'

Ae: θeqθéqet 'trees, timber, forest, thicket' <

θ(ə)qét 'tree' + R₃, q^wéq^weáey 'lots of little pieces of driftwood' < q^wíé·y 'driftwood' or more likely from an R₄ diminutive of q^wíé·y so far unattested

Ae + diminutive: x^wéx^wélmex^w 'little Indians' < x^wíx^wélmex^w 'little Indian', sq^wéq^wemey 'puppies' < sq^wíq^wemey 'puppy', sq^wéq^weméyces 'pussy willow (lit. "puppies in the hand")' < sq^wíq^wemey, mémələqel 'small containers (a number of them)' < mímələqel 'small container', mémestiyex^w 'kids (slang)' < míməstiyex^w 'little person', sc'éc'eseem 'small plants' < sc'íc'eseem 'plants, things growing', qéqəmlà 'lots of minnows' (singular unattested yet)

-el- -le-: q'é(·)ləmi 'adolescent girls' < q'é·mi 'adolescent girl', sqələ·q 'younger siblings' < sqé·q 'younger sibling', sx^wəmlé·lək^w 'parent's siblings' < sx^wəmlí·k^w 'parent's sibling', (AC) sc'áləmeq^w ~ (Tait) sc'elá·meq^w ~ (Tait) sc'ec'elá·meq^w 'great grandparents, great grandchildren' < sc'á·meq^w 'great grandparent, great grandchild', θ'əlf·p'aye^w 'great great grandparents/-children' < θ'əp'aye^w 'great great grandparent/-child', sk^wéleto - sk^wé·to 'in-laws' < sk^wíto 'in-law', sqələ·qele 'babies' < sqé·qele 'baby' (< sqé·q 'younger sibling' + -ele 'lacking'), (Tait) cé·lex^w(s) 'wives' < cé·x^w 'wife', swé·leqeθ 'husbands' < swé·qeθ 'husband', sx^waləx^wiyé·m 'ancient

people (over a hundred years old, can't move, just lay there in pit house, take liquids; in spring they dig out the roof to get them out into the sun)' < $sx^w ex^w iyé \cdot m$ 'story, legend', $slélexces$ 'fingers' < $sléxces$ 'finger', $slélex^y el$ 'toes' < $sléx^y el$ 'toe', $steliqiw$ 'horses (like a herd or bunch)' < $stiqiw$ 'horse', $stelqáye$ 'wolves' (used of as few as four in one story) < $stqáye$ 'wolf', $\kappa'elqtéle$ 'deer (lit. "long legs")', $\kappa'elqtélec$ 'pheasant (lit. "long tails")', $\kappa'élleqtx^y el$ 'long legs, long-legged' as in $\kappa'élleqtx^y el q'ésq'esecel$ 'daddy long legs, long-legged spider' and $\kappa'élleqtx^y el q^w é \cdot l$ (~ $spelwé \ddot{x} q^w é \cdot l$) 'leatherjacket, long-legged mosquito (not actually a mosquito)' ($spelwé \ddot{x} q^w é \cdot l$ is lit. "last year's mosquito")

-el- - -le- + diminutive or other R:

$q'eq'elé \cdot mi$ 'little girls' < $q'élq'emi$ 'little girl' ($R_1 \rightarrow R_5$ 'diminutive'), $sc'emc'á \cdot lemeq^w$ 'eldest great grandchildren' < $sc'emc'á \cdot meq^w$ 'eldest great grandchild', $\check{c}eli\check{c}k^y elsá \cdot l\check{t}$ 'baby chicks' < $*\check{c}i\check{c}k^y elsá \cdot l\check{t}$ 'baby chick' (so far unattested) < $\check{c}ék^y el(s)$ 'chicken', $heheléwt$ or $heheléwt$ 'a few little rats' < $hihéwt$ 'little rat, small rat' < $héwt$ 'rat', $tel\check{f}leqs el$ 'baby ducks' < $teléqs el$ 'duck' (< $tá \cdot l$ 'go to the river' + Ae + $-éqs el$ 'nose', i.e. "nose goes to the river" or "river-nose")

8.5. Past Inflection. Nominals can be inflected with the same past tense suffix used with some verbs and auxiliaries, $-i$ ~ $-ei$ ~ $-ci$. Here it seems to have allomorph $-è\cdot i$ also, but this is probably from morphophonemic rules of vowel combination as it replaces final schwa in several vowel-final words ($e + è \rightarrow è\cdot$). The past morpheme has the alloseme ['deceased'] in the affixed environment of animate nominals (and demonstrative independent pronouns); with inanimate nominals it has the alloseme ['former']; it seems sometimes to combine a past tense meaning first with the verbal root of nominals which have clear verbal roots, rather than the adjectival meaning 'former' with the resultant nominal.

The past inflection seems to be used with nominals mainly for deceased animates; there it is optional, implying respect and reverence just as the words 'late' and 'deceased' do in English. However it is obligatory with three or four kinship terms where it has become derivational as a lexical affix (see Chapter 5). The past suffix also occurs on some nominals for time which can also be used as adverbial Vi's (i.e. without an article). Its use with inanimate nominals is only attested in two examples and seems rather rare; more frequent is the interposition of $?f\cdot i$ between the

demonstrative article and the nominal (and its possessive, if present)(see 6.1.8.4.2 examples).

Examples of past inflection of nominals (and of some demonstrative pronouns)(all examples from AC unless noted):

k^wθel sɪ.lè.ɪ 'my late/deceased grandfather' (CT gives the same forms and also gives k^wel sɪ.lè.ɪ 'my late/deceased grandfather')

k^wθel sɪ.səlè.ɪ 'my late/deceased grandmother' (CT gives instead k^wsəl sɪ.səlè.ɪ 'my late/deceased grandmother' with feminine article k^wsə; AC used k^wθe for both sexes at times and used sɪ.lə for 'grandfather' and sɪ.sələ for 'grandmother' at times).

k^wθel selsɪ.lè.ɪ 'my late/deceased grandparents'

k^wθel mólè.ɪ 'my late/deceased child'

k^wú.ʔ.à.ɪ 'that was him (deceased)' (demonstrative, q.v.)

k^wsú.ʔ.à.ɪ 'that was her (deceased)' (demonstrative)

k^wθú.ʔ.à.ləmèɪ 'that was them (deceased)' (dem.)

swelméyɪ (possibly sic for swelméɪ ?) 'child of deceased sibling' (< wéləm 'orphan')

smetiyéɪ 'sibling of deceased parent'

sx^wəmθiyé.ɪ - (Tait) qsyé.ɪ 'deceased uncle/aunt/
grandmother/s-o who is responsible for you directly

or indirectly'

(EB) sq^Wé·ls te? syuwé·leé 'words of your ancestors'

when used as nominals : spəlwéé 'last year' and

caléqeé(eé) 'yesterday'

lí me k^Wék^Wéé te stálo lí te sx^Wlíseé 'Is the river

flowing (spilling) into the old riverbed (former

place where it was)?'

(CT) tél sx^W?f·mex^Yéé 'where I used to walk, my former

place of walking' (EB, EL, and others from Cheh.

have 0e ne instead of tél as if the person who sings

this song had lived downriver and learned downriver

or island Halkomelem dialects).

8.6. Internal Syntax. From the examples and the nature of their inflections it can be concluded that if all nominal inflections were to occur within a word 'diminutive' would be first, then 'plural', then 'past', then 'nominalizer', and finally possession. The reasons for this conclusion are: 1. Plural inflections sometimes bisect and sometimes ablaut the diminutive inflection itself, but the reverse is not true, 2. Diminutive and plural are usually infixes or prefixes and when suffixed they are reduplication; past is only suffixed and suffixes occur after internal processes like reduplication and ablaut, 3. Nominalizers s- and sx^W- are added after diminutive and plural,

and if past is a verbal tense nominalization must follow it too, 4. Possessive inflection must be physically attached after nominalization because it precedes it in several persons and even attaches to nominalizing articles.

CHAPTER 9. DEMONSTRATIVES

9.0. There are six types of demonstratives in Upper Stalo Halkomelem: 1. Demonstrative Articles (required before every nominal but expressing sex gender, proximity, visibility, indefiniteness, genericness, and sometimes plural human or absent human), 2. Demonstrative Conjunctions (used to conjoin verbs and verb phrases but clearly related to the indefinite/abstract/distant article k^we), 3. Nominal Demonstratives (demonstrative morphemes with preceding articles, used as nominals such as 'this thing here' and 'that person (nearby)'), 4. Adverbial Demonstratives (demonstratives which modify verbs and can be conjugated like adverbial Vi's, these are compounded mostly of verbs ?f. or lf., followed by the nominal demonstratives (article + demonstrative morpheme)), 5. k'á 'that's __, it's/he's/she's __' (doesn't fit any of the other categories of demonstratives; it seems verbal but is not clearly a verb; however, it has a clear demonstrative translation), and 6. Pronominal Demonstratives/Demonstrative Pronouns (used as independent personal pronouns but derived from k'á + demonstrative articles and used to express sex gender, number, proximity, past (deceased), and diminutive of 3rd person personal pronouns). Each of these types

of demonstratives will be dealt with in a section of this chapter. The demonstrative system discussed is that of AC with confirmation by EB (Chehalis) and CT (Tait) in most cases.

Halkomelem demonstratives are hard to translate because most are indefinite and incomplete without a context. Furthermore, the context is seldom expressed within the sentence containing the demonstrative; it is often completed in other places in a text or conversation or by gestures or not at all. Most of the examples cited here of demonstratives in sentences or phrases are not from texts but were elicited as independent sentences. However, translations of the demonstratives were possible because, in addition to textual sentences, some of the sentences do contain the semantic context, and in other phrases or single-demonstrative elicitations the speaker gave parenthetical explanations of the semantic context. Especially helpful were demonstratives given in sets and contrasted with each other or in sentences identical except for changing demonstratives. Such examples will be given wherever possible.

9.1. Demonstrative Articles. These are used as articles in the true sense of the word: obligatory before nominals, translated by 'the', 'a', 'some', etc.

But the Halkomelem articles also express the following semantic components: masculine sex gender, feminine sex gender, gender unspecified, human, inanimate, present (in proximity), near, distant, proximity unspecified, visible, not visible, indefinite, generic, deceased, abstract or hypothetical, and plural. These components are combined into semantic bundles which are inflectional categories and can be indicated as follows (using abbreviations similar to those in Suttles¹): m. = masculine sex gender, gender unspecified, or inanimate; f. = feminine sex gender; h. = human and gender unspecified; p. = present and visible, or proximity unspecified; n. = near and not visible; r. = remote, distant (and not visible), abstract (or hypothetical), indefinite, generic, or past (perhaps also deceased); pl. = plural. These categories are combined paradigmatically in the demonstrative articles as seen in the following table:

	m.	f.	h.
p.	te	θe	---
n.	k ^w θe	se, k ^w se	ʔ'
r.	k ^w e	k ^w θe, k ^w se	ʔ'
pl.	any m.	any f.	ye

1. Wayne Suttles: *op. cit.*

Thus *tə*, for example, means 'the (masculine/gender unspecified/inanimate + present and visible/proximity unspecified)'. When appearing before a nominal which is already masculine (like *swiyəqe* 'man' or *swéqeθ* 'husband') the masculine component is merely in agreement; when appearing before an animate nominal which is not marked for sex otherwise (like *siyálex^we* 'old person' or *sá'fá'əqeɪ* 'child'), *tə* can specify the sex clearly (*tə siyálex^we* 'the old man') or remain ambiguous depending on the context and specificity of the speaker (*tə siyálex^we* 'the old person'). Again depending on the context and specificity or focus of the speaker, any of the preceding examples could be either present and visible or proximity unspecified. When used with an inanimate nominal (like *smé·lt* 'rock, mountain'), *tə* may also mean either present and visible or proximity unspecified, depending on the context or specificity desired. In some cases the context conflicts with either masculine or present and visible components and yet *tə* is still used; in these cases the unspecified alternates are called for (*tə stá·les* 'the wife', *lí tə cá·k^w* 'far away'). *tə* can also be used with human plurals though *ye* is the article for that especially (*tə sté·x^weɪ* 'the children'). Since *tə* can be either specific or unspecific it is some-

times ambiguous when the context is incomplete.

$k^w\theta e$ means 'the (masculine/gender unspecified/inanimate + near but not visible)'. With $k^w\theta e$, m. works the same way as it does with $t\theta$. The contrast is with 'near but not visible'. A few examples will illustrate: $l\acute{i} \text{ ?}f \cdot k^w\theta e \text{ m}\acute{e} \cdot l$ 'Is your father here?', $l\acute{i}$, $sk^w\theta e\acute{x}^w k^w\theta e \text{ l} \text{ m}\acute{e} \cdot l$ 'Yes, my father's inside.', $\text{?}e \text{ l}\acute{e} \text{ c}\acute{e} k^w\theta e \text{ l} \text{ ?}^w \text{ \acute{e}y} \text{ l}\acute{e} \text{ m}$ 'Where's my thread?', $l\acute{e} \text{ l}\acute{i} \text{ t}\theta$ $s \text{ ?} \acute{e} \cdot \text{?} \cdot q k^w\theta e \text{ l} \text{ m}\acute{o} \text{ l}\acute{e}$ 'My child is outside.', $c\acute{e} \text{ l} \text{ s}\acute{t}\acute{e} q \cdot \text{?} \text{ l}\acute{e} x^w k^w\theta e \text{ s}\acute{i} \cdot l\acute{e}$ 'I know your grandfather (absent).', $k^w\theta e \text{ l} \text{ s}\acute{i} \cdot l\acute{e} \cdot \text{?}$ 'my deceased/late grandfather' (AC also uses $k^w\theta e$ with 'deceased (past time) human').

$k^w\theta e$, like $t\theta$, can also be interpreted in a number of ways: 'the (masculine/gender unspecified/inanimate + distant (and not visible)/abstract (or hypothetical)/indefinite/generic/past), some, a'. (EB has $k^w\theta e$ ~ $k^w\theta e$). With respect to m., $k^w\theta e$ works much like $t\theta$. With respect to r., $k^w\theta e$ also depends on the context and the specificity or focus of the speaker. $k^w\theta e$ can imply 'distant (and not visible)' with subjects or objects of verbs (especially prepositional verb $l\acute{i}$ 'at, to, in'): $l\acute{i}(\text{?}) \text{ q}\acute{e} \text{ ?} k^w\theta e \text{ s}\acute{i} \text{ y}\acute{a} \text{ ?} \text{ l}\acute{i} \text{ k}^w\theta e \text{ l}\acute{e} \text{ l}\acute{e} \text{ m}$ 'Is there a lot of wood at your house?' ("Is it lots, the (distant) wood at your (distant) house?"), $\text{?} \cdot \text{?} \text{ l}\acute{e} \text{ s} \text{ k}^w\theta e \text{ ?} \text{ q} \cdot \text{?} \cdot \text{?} \text{ l}\acute{e} \text{ c}$ 'So I reached Vancouver',

lə qɛ.ltem k^W Bill 'Bill was robbed.' k^We is used for abstract nominals (and especially for conjoining dependent verb phrases and clauses, see 9.2): stɛm k^We sɛ'f 'What do you want?', stɛm k^We sk^Wix^Ys tɛ ʔi.le 'What is the name of this?, What is this called?'. When desired, k^We can be used as an indefinite article, translated by 'some', etc.: l sɛ'f k^We qá. 'I want water., I want some water.', lə ʧiyq^Wtɛs k^We sθ'ɛk^W 'He dug for worms.', lɪcx^W θɛ'yt k^We p'á.θ'es 'Are you making a baby basket/cradle?', mecx^W ʔi. k^Wəlɛt k^We sʔɛtɛl 'Come here and bring some food!', lɛ hɛ.we k^We spɛ.θ 'He went hunting for bear.' (EB: k^W stɛmɛs 'something', k^W sʔɛtɛl 'some food', as well as examples with k^We). k^We also seems generic at times (some of the preceding examples could be so interpreted as can the following): stɛʔɛ k^We sθ'á.q^Wi 'It's like a fish.', stɛʔɛ k^We sq^Wmɛy 'like a dog', tɛʔá.mex^Y k^We swiyeqe 'looks like a man', stɛʔɛ k^We stá.lo 'like a river'. k^We used for 'past' can be seen before some adverbial words which otherwise seem like adverbial Vi's: k^We cəlɛqeɪ(ɛɪ) 'yesterday', k^We spelwɛɪ 'last year' (EB: k^W spelwɛɪ, k^W cəlɛqeɪ(ɛɪ)); the k^We (or k^W) can be omitted with no change in meaning or syntactic position but perhaps with more of a verbal function. At any rate, tɛ and

$k^w\theta_e$ are not attested before these words. k^w_e 'past' also turns up in $yew\acute{e}lm\acute{e}l\acute{s}$ k^w_e 1910 'before 1910' and $yew\acute{e}lm\acute{e}l\acute{s}$ k^w_e $s\acute{x}\acute{e}\acute{x}\acute{e}\acute{i}\acute{t}$ 'before Sunday'. Wayne Suttles reports that k^w_e is used in the Musqueam dialect (at Vancouver) to show that a following human nominal is deceased²; CT has such forms in variation with $k^w\theta_e$ ($k^w_{e1}/k^w\theta_{e1}$ $s\acute{i}\cdot l\acute{e}\cdot \acute{i}$ 'my deceased/late grandfather'), though my notes for AC show only $k^w\theta_e$ with such past tense nouns (possibly more elicitation of past nominals would have turned up a k^w_e). When referring to deceased persons without using the past tense suffix AC, EB, CT, and others seemed to freely use any of the other articles. Perhaps k^w_e - $k^w\theta_e$ - k^w_{se} are only required in Upper Stalo dialects when the nominal has the $-\acute{e}\acute{i}$ (etc.) suffix (compare the pronominal demonstratives in 9.6 which shed additional light).

The *f.* articles are used only with animate nominals and are less complex. *p.* works with them as it does with *t\acute{e}*. There are few examples of the *n.* and *r.* forms, but it seems that se - k^w_{se} for *n.*, and $k^w\theta_e$ - k^w_{se} for *r.* Examples:

2. Wayne Suttles: op. cit.

k^wémet 0e s^h:f^h:e^qe^z 'raise a girl child', mey0áx^yes
 0e Mélf 'Mary (present and visible) helped me.', le
 x^wcák^wel 0e Mary 'Where is Mary going? (she's pre-
 sent)', cel stéq^oel^w 0e stá·les 'I know your wife
 (present or absent).', le lí k^we s0'á·mes 0el méle
 'My daughter is in Victoria.', cel k^wécl^w 0e
 stélf·lí ʔe (mémele, ʒék^yel) 'I saw your (daughters,
 hens).'; lí ʔf·sel tē·l 'Is my mother there (sic
 here)?', lí k^wel^w sel tē·l 'Is my mother (at)
 home?', líye sk^wet^wéx^w s0 Mary 'Is Mary inside?';
 cel k^wécl^w k^wse (sí·sela, stá·les, sx^wemlf·k^w,
 stí·wel) 'I saw your (grandmother, wife, aunt,
 niece).', (CT) k^wsel sí·selè·z 'my deceased grand-
 mother'; sté·lí (k^w)0e méles 'her/his child is a
 girl', lémc0el k^w0e scf·y^é·z^p 'I'm going to the
 strawberry patch.'

k^w means 'human, gender unspecified, absent';
 it is attested in 17 examples (AG and EB) but only
 before proper names. Some of the examples are:
 mey(-0áx^yes, -tálx^wes, -0ám, -tál0m)-ce k^w Bill
 wex^weʔf·s 'Bill will help (me, us, you, you folks)
 when he gets here.', le ʔemót k^we Albert st0fís
 k^we Amy 'Albert sat beside (near/next to) Amy.',
 le 0íytes k^we Oliver Wells qe Casey Wells te sq^wélt0els
 k^we Daniel Milo qe Bob Joe lí te machines te x^welítem

'Oliver Wells and Casey Wells made the voices of Daniel Milo and Bob Joe on the white man's machines.',
 λ'á te θé les ?ilóqelctes λ' Bill te sq^wemé·y 'That's what Bill bought for the dog.', mfyθáx^yes λ' Bill 'Bill (absent, even if in next room) helped me.', mfyθáx^yes λ' Mélif 'Mary (absent, even if in next room) helped me.', mfyθà·m λ' Mélif 'Mary (absent) helped you.'

ye means 'human, gender unspecified, plural' but in a few cases may be used with non-humans. It is apparently used quite sporadically. Sometimes it appears as yi, and sometimes as yé with stress at a higher pitch than any high stress on the following nominal (a feature shared with the other articles, see Chapter 1, section 1.2.19). Examples include: q'epéθet ye x^wélmex^w 'the Indians gathered', qél yé x^wəlməx^w 'bad people, the people are bad' (Indian people but at a time before other races were known, therefore also 'people'), íéq'ə́ xét'ə yé x^wəlməx^w 'the (Indian) people used to say', xét'estex^wes ye x^wəlitem "cave" 'White people call it "cave".', (NP) íf·m ye sɛllé·lí 'the women are picking (berries)', qéx ye q^wé·l 'lots of mosquitoes', ye lí·k^w k^we Kamloops 'some (people) from Kamloops', ?esu ləm ye lí·k^w 'and so a few (people) came',

sʔi.k^w ye k^wi.ləs 'several people were lost (and presumed dead)' (EB), yi θé - ye θé 'those people, them' (see 9.3), méyt yi θé (or ye θé) 'help those people', lícx^w k^wéclcx^w (yiθé, yi ʔi.mex^v) 'Did you see (them, them walking (those people))?', yu^hálem 'they, them (gender unspecified)' (see 9.6)(contrast ʔé.ítel 'they, them (known to speaker)(gender unspecified)'), qéx^h yi ʔá.ytel 'many people fighting', ʔé.y ye q^wáq^wel 'the speeches/talking went on (and on)', (EB) lə q'ep'láx^ves wiyáθə k^wsu háléms ye míme^h 'He got me addicted to always going to spirit dances.'. (From the examples seen it appears yi may be an allomorph before words beginning with /ʔ/ and in free variation with ye before θé.)

Before presenting some final examples contrasting the articles, a few more comments should be made about some uses of articles in general. Articles are seldom fully translated, especially in regard to proximity and visibility. They are not translated at all before proper names. Before nominals inflected by possessive pronouns the sex reference is translated when it is not redundant (tel sí.le 'my grandfather'), but the proximity is usually just implied, and of course an English article cannot be used (*'the my grandfather'). Similarly in constructing numerals

over ten and not even multiples of ten, the articles are required but are not translated (?ápel qes te ?isǎ·le - ?ápel qes k^we ?isǎ·le 'twelve', etc.); it is not clear yet whether they retain any implications of proximity (see Chapter 10). Hours are felt to be nominals and so are nominalized by s- and require an untranslated article (te s-ǎix^w-s 'three o'clock').

k^we is the article used to nominalize (relativize) verb phrases and sentences (which are probably considered abstract or not visible). But rarely te can be used also, perhaps when there is a concrete object or person which is present and visible which the verb phrase is semantically equivalent to:

ǎǎǎ·eq^wetǎs te q'ǎq'et'em 'he's sucking something sweet'

stǎm te ?f·x^w ǎǎ·yt 'What are you making?' (cp.

tewǎt k^we ?f·x^w ǎǎ·yǎǎcǎt te swǎltǎl 'Who are you making the net for?')

stǎm te ?f·x^w k^wǎlǎt 'What is it you're holding?'

(cp. tewǎt swǎyǎqǎ k^wǎǎ ?ǎx^w sǎ·wq't 'What man are you looking for?', ǎ'ǎ· k^wǎl mǎle k^wǎǎ ?ǎx^w hǎ·yǎt

'Is that my child you're talking about?', ǎ'ǎ k^wǎǎ

x^wǎ'ǎ·qtes 'That's the one with a long face.', and

cǎl k^wǎǎcǎlex^w k^wǎǎ luǎ lǎm 'I saw the one who went.')

(Notice how the syntactic structure differs when it is the object from when it is the subject of the subordinate verb that is nominalized/related:

main verb k^we/te(-4.8) verb = subject of subordinate verb is relativized/nominalized

main verb k^we/te lf./?f.(-4.9b) verb = object of subordinate verb is relativized/nominalized.

The second construction however is only in questions. See syntax chapter.)

qíq'etes te ?fí lɛ k'f.w 'He caught the one who escaped.'

k^wák^welx^yes te sqé.lɛ 'He's hiding what he stole.'

ceɪ tətí.lt tɛ sq^wɛ.ɪ 'I'm thinking of what you said (your words).'

Another point that might be mentioned here is that adjectival verbs can modify nominals in the following order: article adj.verb nominal. This means that articles can precede adjectival verbs; however the adjectival verb is never inflected for subject or tense in this position -- it behaves more like a traditional English adjective. For example: te hík^w spé.θ 'a big bear', te hík^w x^wétes mestíyex^w 'a big heavy person', te qél sq'áq'ey 'a bad sickness', θe ?iyá.mex^y sɛ́ɛ.lí 'the good-looking woman', s^wí.f.cet k^we qéx tɛ́le 'We want lots of money.'

Contrastive examples of demonstrative articles:

1. líye sk^wetéx^w k^wéε swíyεqe ?ε méle 'Is your son inside?'
líye sk^wetéx^w se Mary 'Is Mary inside?'
2. me stetís k^wéε yewé.l 'He came close to the first.'
3. cel k^wi·ls tel (mél, swéqeθ) 'I love my (father, husband).'
- cel k^wi·ls θel (téí, stá·les, q'é·mi) 'I love my (mother, wife, girlfriend).'
4. cel k^wécléx^w te (méméles te spé·θ, swéleqeθs) 'I saw the (bear's children, husbands).'
- cel k^wécléx^w θe (steltá·les, stéíí spé·θ, stéíí ?ε stí·wél, stélté·lí ?ε méméle, stéltéíí ?ε čák^vél) 'I saw (the wives, a female bear, your niece, your daughters, your hens).'
- cel k^wécléx^w k^wéε (sí·le, swéqeθ, k^wiyá·s, sx^wemlé·læk^w, selsí·le, méméle, stetí·wél) 'I saw your (grandfather, husband, uncle (ceremonial usage), parent's siblings, grandparents, children, sibling's children).'
- cel k^wécléx^w k^wε (sí·sele, stá·les, sx^wemlí·k^w, stí·wél) 'I saw your (grandmother, wife, aunt, niece).'
5. cel stéq^wélex^w (te sí·le, k^wéε sí·le, te méméle, θε stá·les) 'I know your (grandfather (present),

- grandfather (absent), children (present or absent), wife (present or absent)).'
6. ?f·ɪcel ɪf k'wə sc'əlx^wiyəq^w 'I was at Chilliwack.'
cel ?f· tə sc'əlx^wiyəq^w 'I'm here at Chilliwack.'
7. ɪə x^wəlɛm tə Agassiz 'He went to Agassiz instead (speaker is at Agassiz).'
- 1ə x^wəlɛm k'wə Agassiz 'He went to Agassiz instead (Agassiz is far away).'
8. ɪə x^wcák^wəl k'w Mary 'Where is Mary going? (she's not here) '
1ə x^wcák^wəl ʔə Mary 'Where is Mary going? (she's here with speaker)'
9. meyθáx^yes k' (Bill, Mɛɪf) '(Bill, Mary), absent even if in next room, helped me.'
meyθáx^yes (tə Bill, ʔə Mɛɪf) '(Bill, Mary), present, helped me.'
10. ɪm k'wə (cúcu, ?shíw) 'go (toward the water, upstream)'

9.2. Demonstrative Conjunctions. There are several conjunctions derived from the m.r. demonstrative articles k'wə and k^w(ə). All of them end with an -s which nominalizes the phrase that follows and is related to the s- nominalizer; all of them use pronoun set 4.8 to express the personal pronoun subject of the verb phrase nominalized. So the verb

phrase is first nominalized, then possessed by its subject pronoun. The k^w_e forms alternate freely with k^w forms in the third person. In addition the k^w forms (which seem to occur only in the third person) have another free variant, k^w_{ses} , with the possessive pronoun $-s$ attached to the conjunction after the $-s$ nominalizer, instead of being suffixed to the verb following the conjunction. This produces the following set:

1st person sg. k^w_e-l-s 'that I'

2nd person sg. k^w_e-s 'that you'

3rd person k^w_e-s $\frac{f}{-s}$ k^w_s $\frac{f}{-s}$ k^w_{ses}
'that he/she/it/they'

1st person pl. k^w_e-s $\frac{f}{-cet}$ 'that we'

2nd person pl. k^w_e-s $\frac{f}{-elep}$ 'that you folks'

The demonstrative conjunction 'because' is formed by prefixing λ^w_a- or λ^w_e- to the above set ($\lambda^w_{ak^w_{els}}$, $\lambda^w_{ak^w_{ses}}$, etc.).

The set glossed above as 'that I', etc. really has many glosses depending on the English syntax of the translation: 'that, to (infinitive), for, when (simultaneous), while, as' and sometimes not translated at all (especially after adverbial Vi 's). (The 'when' is simultaneous, not conditional like that of $we-$ 'subjunctive'; it is more synonymous with 'while'

or 'as'.) Besides the examples below, examples can be found in 4.8.

1. cəl ʔécləx^w k^wes q'ɛ·yləx^wes tə swiyeqe tə spɛ·θ

'I heard that the man killed a bear.'

ʔəwétəl stəq'ələx^w k^wes q'əpsce k^we ʔf·k^wəlà 'I

didn't know there was going to be a gathering here.'

sk^wɛ·y k^wels q'ɛ·l k^wes ləwes 'I couldn't believe

it was you.'

2. lɪ ʔɛ sʔf k^wes x^wiyéθəqeθáx^y 'Do you want to

interpret for me? ("Is it your wish that you interpret me?")'

scewát k^wəel məl k^wes k^wəlɛx^ys 'My father knows how

to shoot.'

lə ʔf·wesθáx^yes k^wels t'f·cəm 'He showed me how to

swim.'

3. lə sɪwəlməθàx^yes k^wels lə tɛmet 'He heard (sensed)

me when I hollered at him.'

lɪcx^w wəʔɛy ʔəl q^wáq^wəl k^wes mə[s] k^wetx^wɪlem tə

x^wəlftem 'Were you still talking softly when the white man came in?'

4. wiyáθ k^wes ʔf·wálems tə stɛ·x^wɛk, t'it·ələm k^wes

ʔf·wálems 'The children are always playing, singing as they're playing.'

5. wiyáθ k^wes ɪɛx^wɛɪccs 'He's always spitting.'

sk^wɛ·y k^wes k^wécləx^wcət 'We can't see it.'

sk^Wé.y k^Wes k^Wéclex^Welep 'You folks can't see it.'
 lf ?iyá.lem k^Wels k^Wéclex^W lf te 0é 'Can I see it
 from there (in that place)?'

s(ə)lé k^Wes q'éyset te x^Wéylem - q'éyset te x^Wéylem
 k^Wes s(ə)lé 'tie the rope tight' (no subject)
 x^Wém (k^Wels, k^Wes, k^Wses, k^Wssect, k^Ws(es)elep) me
 ?éyelex^W '(I, you, he/she/etc., we, you folks) got
 well fast.' (the k^Wssect and k^Ws(es)elep forms may
 be errors of AC or alternate forms)

6. cel s^Wéq'elep^W k^Wsés spé.0 - cel s^Wéq'elep^W k^Ws
 spé.0s 'I know it was a bear.'

(EB) (ə)l sq^Wélewel k^Ws mes lé^Wmex^W tlàwfyél 'I think
 it's going (lit. "coming") to rain today.'

(EB) ləcx^W cesé.t k^Ws ləs k^Wél.əm k^W s?é?itel 'Send
 him to get food!'

(EB) ?i.cə k^We là k^Ws q'elémcet 'This is where we'll
 camp., It will be here that we camp.'

7. le há.k^Wex^Wes 0el tē.l te x^Wéylem k^Wses p'ewíytes
 tel s?f.0'em 'My mother used the thread to patch
 up my dress.'

lé^Wmex^W k^Wses wəi háy te sléx^Wets 'It rained when
 their canoe was done (completed).'

x^Welméx^Wqel k^Wses q^Wáq^Wel 'he's speaking in Indian'
 (cel x^Welméx^Wqel 'I spoke Indian, I spoke in the
 Indian language')

temtém k^wses lém 'When did he go?'
 λ^wasésu tsá.s k^wses q'áy θe stá.les 'and so he was
 heartbroken/he felt really bad when his wife died'
 x^wlís k^wses céiq tē qá. 'where (it is that) the water
 is falling'

c'i.tcel mók^w yu^wálem k^wses ?i.wesθàx^wes x^welí.m te
 sx^welmóx^wéž s'i.wes 'I thank them all for teaching
 me about (toward) the Indian way of teachings.'

cel x^wlélé.met te siyálex^we k^wses t'i.lémt te swés
 syúwél 'I listened to the old man (or old person)
 sing his (own) spirit song.'

8. ləcel t'á.k^w λ^wak^wses ?ó.k^w tel t'éle 'I'm going
 home because my money ran out.'

(The remaining examples in number 8 here are from
 Mamie Cooper and Susan (Malloway) Jimmie, both speak-
 ers of Chilliwack Halkomelem originally from Sardis
 but now living near Deming, Washington.)

ləcel ?é.yel (λ^wek^wels, λ^wek^wes, λ^wek^wses) ?e
 t'ét'iyeq' 'I left because (I was, you were, he
 was) mad.'

cet lə (or ləcet) ?é.yel λ^wek^wcet t'ét'iyeq' 'We left
 because we were mad.'

cəp lə (or ləcəp) ?é.yel λ^wselep t'ét'iyeq' 'You
 folks left because you were mad.'

lə ?é.yel ?é.ɬtel λ^wek^wses t'ét'iyeq' 'They left

because they were mad.'

Q. x^w?ft k^wes ?éwe líx^w lém 'Why didn't you go?'

A. k^wak^wsés íémex^w 'Because it was raining.'

Q. stém k^we t'ét'iyeq'éméte^w 'What are you mad at?'

A. k^wak^wes qé·lséàx^v tel swíwe 'Because you stole
my oolicans (eulachons).'

9.3. Nominal Demonstratives.

te ?f·le 'this thing here, this one, this'

te là 'this (person here), this' (> tlà- or tlá- with
temporal words).

Ge là 'this (female person here)'

k^we là 'this (abstract thing, manner or place), here
(after mí 'come')

te éé (EB often has [t⁺éé]) 'that thing there, that
one (usually inanimate)'

k^we éé or k^wéé 'that person (near, perhaps visible)'

ye éé ~ yi éé 'those people (there), them (human)'

te lí· tí 'that one (yonder), that one over there
(probably inanimate)'

From the articles present and the nominal translations it is easy to see why the above are called nominal demonstratives. They are used as nominal subjects and objects of verbs; occasionally they are used as adjectives syntactically, but then nominals can be so used anyway (Ge síé·lí spé·é 'the female

bear', etc. -- see syntax). The core of these expressions seems to be a small group of demonstrative words: ?í·le, là, 0é and lí· tí. Only lí· tí 'over there' can appear without a demonstrative article (see 9.4), though all four words (without the articles) seem somewhat like Vadv's or Vaj's and both lí· tí and ?í·le seem to derive from demonstrative verbs (?í· 'be here' and lí· 'be there'). It may be less difficult to account for the demonstrative words separate from the articles when more examples are obtained; right now it is difficult to explain why te ?í·le, te 0é, and probably te lí· tí are inanimate and te là is animate; with more examples too perhaps all the articles would turn up before each of the four demonstrative words. At present it seems safest to treat (article + demonstrative word) in these cases as a single unit, a nominal demonstrative.

Examples:

1. tewét te ?í·le 'Who owns this?, Whose is this?',
 el sá'í te ?í·le 'This is the one I want.', á'á te
 ?í·le 'It's this one., That's this one.', stém k'wé
 sk'ix^ys te ?í·le 'What do you call this?, What is
 the name of this thing?', stém te ?í·le 'What's this?',
 tewét k'wé 0íyt te ?í·le 'Who made this?'

2. te là swíyeqe 'this man', te là mestíyex^w 'this

person', *tə* là 'he's here (present)', *ʔə* *méle* *tə*
 là 'Is that your child there (present + visible)?'
 ('that' probably sic for 'this'), *tləqé·ys* 'right now
 (this moment)', *tlá* *x^welé·lt* 'tonight, this evening',
tlàwéyél ~ *tláwèyèl* 'today (this day)'

3. *ə* là *sé·lí* 'this woman (near the speaker)',
ʔə là *sé·lí* 'Is it this woman? (pointing)'

4. *lə* *ʔét·estx^wes* *k^we* là *lí* *tə* *sqelx^wé·les* 'He
 was doing this in his throat (sticking a twig down it)',
 Q. How do you pick hops? A. *ʔét·estx^wes* *k^we* là
 'One does like this (gesturing).' (in both sentences
 so far *ʔét·estx^wes* is I believe an error for
ʔtéstx^wes 'he does s-th'), (EB) *st'é* *k^we* là 'like
 this' (vs. *st'é* *tə* *ə* 'like that'), (EB) *ʔə* *k^we* là
 'Is this it?', (AC) *míə* *k^we* là 'come here! (to s-o
 farther away who can see the speaker)', *mícel* *k^we* là
 'I'm coming here.', (EB) *cel* *mí* *k^we* là *k^w* *celéqəte*
qə *ʔéwəcx^w* *ʔix^w* *x^weʔi*. 'I came here yesterday and
 (= but) you weren't here (you didn't get here).'

5. (EB) *st'é* *t(ə)* *ə* 'like that', *íéltel* *tə* *ə*
 'that's a bailer', *ʔə* *tə* *ə* 'Is that the one?',
ʔə *tə* *ə* 'That's the one.', (EB) *ʔə* *tə* *ə* *les*
ʔiléqəctes *ʔ* Bill *tə* *sq^wemé·y* 'That's what Bill
 bought for the dog.', (AC) *ʔə* *tə* *ə* *lə* *ʔé·yystex^w*
tel *sq^wmé·y* 'Is that the one (a cow) that was chas-

ing after my dog?', stém tē θé 'What's that (visible)?', smé·lt tē θé 'That's a rock.', tē θé lí· tí 'that thing yonder', qéx tē téles tē θé swíyēqē 'That man has lots of money.'

6. λ'á k^we θé 'It's him (right out there, visible?)', λ'á· k^wθé 'Is that the one?', λ'á k^wθé 'That's the one.', stém k^wθé 'What's that?' (the context given for this is "you've got a fish caught in front of you" (near but invisible?)), k^we θé 'that's him (a person)' (cp. tē θé 'that's it (a thing)')

7. lē x^whíwēl yí θé 'Those people are going upstream.', λ'á yē θé 'that's them (if you see them)', yúk'á·lēm yē θé 'That's them there.', méyt yē θé 'help them (those people)', λ'á téls yí θé 'That's their mother.', stētís yí θé 'She's near/close to them.', lícx^w k^wéclēx^w yí θé 'Did you see them?'

8. tē lí· tí 'that's the one, that one over there (motioning)', stém tē lí· tí c'íc'ēsēm 'What's that growing (over there)?'

9.4. Adverbial Demonstratives.

?í· k^we là 'here, in this place' (often written

?í·k^welà and ?ík^welà)

lí λ'á là 'way over there'

lí tē θé 'there (close), over there, in that place'

lí k^we θé (EB lí k^we θé) 'there (distant)'

tí 'over there' (?)

?í· tí 'over here'

lí· tí 'over there'

possibly xté tí 'over there, around there' (?)

?í· 'be here' and lí· 'be there' belong here too but

have already been considered as verbs (see 6.2.7).

Adverbial demonstratives modify verbs and can be conjugated like adverbial Vi's (by inflecting the demonstrative verbs they contain, ?í· and lí·). They are compounded mostly of verbs ?í(·) and lí(·), followed by the nominal demonstratives (9.3); an exception to such derivation is tí which seems to be adverbial on its own account as well as in combination with ?í· and lí·. Another exception may be lí· k'á là because k'á, though demonstrative, is not a demonstrative article, and k'á là is not independently attested as a nominal demonstrative. It is interesting that combinations like *?í· te là, *lí· k'wè là, *lí· te tí, etc. have not been attested. With adverbial demonstratives the articles do not always express proximity in the same way as they do with nominals (the use of k'wè 'distant' with ?í· k'wè là or ?í·k'wèlà 'here' is a case in point). At any rate, adverbial demonstratives behave as adverbial phrases and are so positioned syntactically too.

Examples:

1. ɛ́q'et ʔík'wɛ̀là 'lay/put it down here',
 cel ʔí k'wɛ̀ là 'I'm here' (cp. cel ʔí - ʔí:cel
 'I'm here', cel ʔí tí 'I'm over here', cel lí tí
 'I'm over there'), cex^w ʔí k'wɛ̀ là t'ít'elem 'You're
 here singing.' (cp. ʔí:ɛ́cex^w lí tí k'wɛ̀s t'ít'elem
 'You were there singing. '), líye ʔí:k'wɛ̀là 'Is it
 here?', le ʔí:k'wɛ̀là 'He's over here.', ʔí:ɛ́cex^w
 (ʔík'wɛ̀là, lí tí) 'You were (here, there).', sk'wɛ́y
 k'wɛ̀s k'wɛ́clex^w ʔík'wɛ̀là 'You can't see it here.',
 me ɛ́k'wɛ̀ tɛ́lí k'wɛ̀ cák^w ʔ'esu ʔík'wɛ̀là k'wɛ̀s ɔ́iyéltx^wɔ̀m
 'He flew from far away and he makes his home here.',
 ʔewé́tɛ́l sɛ́q'ɛ́lex^w k'wɛ̀s q'ɛ́psce k'wɛ̀ ʔí:k'wɛ̀là 'I
 didn't know there was going to be a gathering here.'

2. ʔí:cɛ k'wɛ̀ là k'wɛ̀s q'ɛ́lémcɛt 'It will be here
 that we camp., This is where we'll make camp.',
 ʔí:cel ʔà k'wɛ̀ là 'I'm staying right here.' (ʔà ~ ʔè
 ~ ʔel 'just'), ʔí:cɛlcɛ ʔè k'wɛ̀ là qɛ x^wʔí:cex^wcɛ
 'I'll stay right here till you get here.', ʔí:cɛlcɛ
 ʔè k'wɛ̀ là qɛ tɛ́sce ʔè tɛ slɛ́c'ɛs 'I'll be here till
 one o'clock.'. But ʔík'wɛ̀là tɛ sc'á:k'wɛ̀ls 'This is
 a fork. (sic? 'The fork is here.') and ʔík'wɛ̀lɛ lílɛm
 'this house'; the latter seems ungrammatical (prob-
 ably an error), and the former was probably a mistran-
 slation.

3. No examples was obtained of lí k'á là in a sentence, just a citation as 'way over there'.

4. lí tē ʔé 'over there, there close' (cp. lí· tí 'there (a little farther), yonder, over there', and lí k'wē ʔé 'there (far away)'), lēc'ó·mēx^w lí tē ʔé, lēc'ó·mēx^w lí k'wē ʔé 'a different tribe here (lit. 'there (near)'), a different tribe there (far)', ʔí·tēcēl lí tē ʔé 'I was there.', cēl mēlqēles líf k'wí·l swéyel k'wes sk'wētēx^w lí tē ʔé yúk'á·lēm 'I've forgotten how many days they were inside there.', lí ʔiyá·lēm k'wēls k'w'óclex^w lí tē ʔé 'Can I see it from there (in that place)?'

5. See 4. above for examples of lí k'wē ʔé. EB has lí k'wē ʔé as follows: lí k'wē ʔé tlaqé·ys 'He's there now (speaker at Sardis, subject at Seabird Island, 20 miles away or so and not visible)', lí k'wē ʔé k'wes k'elēx^w 'He's living there.', tēwēt k'wē lí k'wē ʔé 'Who's there?' (and cp. lí tē cāk^w 'way far, far away' and tēlí k'wē cāk^w 'from far away')

6. lē hēl·ēm tí 'They're on their way there.'

7. cēl ʔí· tí 'I'm over here.'

8. cēl lí· tí 'I'm over there' (farther than lí tē ʔé, close than lí tē cāk^w), lē lí· tí 'It's over there., He's over there., etc.', líye tí 'Is it over there?', tē ʔé lí· tí 'that thing yonder', ʔí·tēcēx^w

lí· tí 'you were (over) there', ?f·ícex^w lí· tí k^wes
 t'ít'elem 'You were (over) there singing.', le q'eq'íp
 lí· tí 'They're together over there.', lí· tí te
 sc'électel 'The chair's over there.'

9. mec^w xeté· tí 'come around there!', xeté· tí
 'over there' (cp. x^w?ít k^wses xté t(ə) éé 'Why did he
 do that?' which implies that xté means 'do', cp. also
 xtéstex^wes 'he did s-th').

9.5. k'á 'that's ____, it's/he's/she's ____'.

This word is used to refer to animate things according
 to EB but even in her speech is sometimes used to refer
 to inanimate things. This seems true of AC and NP as
 well. In the semantic frame, 'That's a bailer.',
 ééltel te éé must be used and *k'á te ééltel is not
 allowed. But at the same time, k'á te éé 'that's the
 one, it's that one (inanimate)' and similar phrases are
 allowed, and k'á seems to conjoin abstract concepts
 and verb phrases as well (see chapter on particles).
 In addition to such examples, the following are typical
 examples, and show the kind of verbal demonstrative
 character which k'á has:

k'á sélk'a 'that's/he's/she's the older (sibling)'
 k'á sáseq^wt 'that's/he's/she's the younger (sibling)'
 k'á sél'etels 'that's her older sister'
 k'á téls yi éé 'that's their mother'

- ʔá ʔe swé 'that's yours'
 ʔá (ʔe swé, ʔe swéʔelép, sʔá) tél 'that's (your, you
 folks's, our) mother'
 ʔá túʔá 'that's him, it's him'
 ʔál (sʔáʔetel, sqé·q, stá·les) 'that's my (older sib-
 ling, younger sibling, wife)'
 ʔá ʔí memfyet 'that's the one that was helping s-o'
 ʔá te sʔeyí·wces 'it's his right hand'
 ʔá te (Bill, músmes, ʔʔéʔéye) 'that's (Bill, a cow,
 a fly)'

Notice that ʔá is always first in a sentence, and that it can allow the demonstrative article to be omitted before following nominals. ʔá can receive possessive pronoun inflection for the following nominal. Other examples have been given of ʔá inflected for future tense as well (ʔáʔe Bill 'it will be Bill').

9.6. Pronominal Demonstratives (or Demonstrative Pronouns). These words function as independent pronouns (several have been discussed already in 4.3 and in 8.5). Some of the less common ones are added here, showing inflections for 'absent', for 'deceased', and for 'diminutive'. I have not obtained any of these less common types in sentences, but I think they can be presumed to function syntactically like the more common ones, túʔá, ʔúʔá, yuʔá·lém, tuʔá·lém and ʔuʔá·lém. They

are listed as demonstratives or demonstrative because they change their demonstrative article prefixes (or roots?) to reflect sex gender, proximity and number. They begin with demonstrative articles which have their e → ú (u in plural forms); these articles are prefixed to demonstrative root $\lambda'á$ - $\lambda'á$. In the plural and diminutive a final -m is added as part of the root, and then the plural infix -le- ~ -el- is added, or diminutive reduplication -R₁- is added, or both. The past (deceased) forms are suffixed with -ɛ̄ ~ -eɛ̄ past tense suffix. AC readily produced all these forms, but I suspect they are reserved for formal usage (perhaps in speeches or texts) rather than being used in normal conversation.

	m.	f.	h.pl.
sg.	tú(ú)λ'á	θú(ú)λ'á	-----
pl.	túλ'álem	θúλ'álem	yúλ'á(·)lem
absent	k ^w θú·λ'á	k ^w sú·λ'á	k ^w θú·λ'álem
deceased	k ^w ú·λ'á·ɛ̄	k ^w sú·λ'á·ɛ̄	k ^w θú·λ'á·lè̀mè̀ɛ̄
diminutive	tú·λ'áλ'è̀m	(?)	λ'è̀λ'è̀lè̀m

(also diminutive pl. (m.?) túλ'è̀λ'è̀lè̀m)

These are translated:

tú(ú)λ'á 'that's him, he, him'

θú(ú)λ'á 'that's her, she, her'

túλ'álem 'that's them (male), they (male), them (male)'

- Өүл'álem 'that's them (female), they (female), them
 (female)'
 yuл'á(·)lem 'that's them (gender unspecified), they,
 them'
 k^wӨү'л'á 'that's him (absent), that's her (absent),
 it's him (absent), it's her (absent)'
 k^wсу'л'á 'that's her (absent)'
 k^wӨү'л'álem 'that's them (absent, not present)'
 k^wү'л'á·± 'that was him (deceased)'
 k^wсу'л'á·± 'that was her (deceased)'
 k^wӨү'л'á·lèмè± 'that was them (deceased)'
 тү'л'áл'ем 'that's a little one (male, about one to five
 years old)(insulting to use for old person)'
 л'áл'èл'эм 'that's them (little kids), they're little
 kids' (not used much says AC)
 тул'áл'èл'эм 'that's them (little ones)(male?)'

CHAPTER 10. NUMERALS

10.0. Introduction. The paragraph on numerals in Chapter 3 (pp. 134-135) serves as the best introduction to Halkomelem numerals and should be reread at this point. The lexical suffixes added to numerals as classifiers have been discussed, with their distributions, in 5.2.2 (pp. 190-194). Morphophonemic changes are numerous in the stems and even in some of the suffixes of numerals. Most have been mentioned in the morphophonemics chapter: stress shift (2.3.3.3), vowel deletion (2.3.3.4), ablaut (2.3.4)($\acute{e} \rightarrow e$, $\acute{e} \rightarrow \acute{a}$, $e \rightarrow \acute{a}$, $i \rightarrow e$, $\acute{a} \rightarrow e$, some of it triggered by specific lexical suffixes), ʔ -insertion (2.3.5.1), vowel combination (2.3.5.2), suffix allomorphy with vowel alternation (2.3.6). What remains in this chapter is to give the basic numeral system with analysis and derivation (10.1), the rules of allomorphy of the numeral roots when affixed (10.2), and samples of the sets of numerals for illustration.

10.1. The Basic Numeral System. The basic system could be called cardinal numbers, if there is any use for such a term here, or perhaps better, unclassified numerals. These are the numerals which are used to refer to anything not covered by the numeral classifier lexical affixes. Thus this set contains the

unmarked forms, used to refer to animals, mountains, leaves, days, years, etc.; these forms can even be used to refer to classified things like houses, garments, etc. when the nominal for house, garment, etc. follows or when a person wants to be less specific or emphatic. This is typical of unmarked forms. These forms also contain the base forms which yield the allomorphs and input to the morphophonemic rules.

léc'e 'one'

ʔisé·le 'two'

ɛf·x^w - lɛx^w 'three'

xəʔáθel - xəʔá·θel 'four'

ɛ(ə)q'él·ces 'five' (< ɛ(ə)q'él·t 'be wide', -ces '(in the hand)')

t'xém 'six' (probably < the root in s-t'ex-léc 'fork in a tree, fork at the bottom' and t'x-éθet 'forks in a stream')

θ'á·k^ws 'seven'

teqé·ce 'eight' (possibly related to teqé·t 'close s-th')

tú·x^w 'nine'

ʔá·pel - ʔápel 'ten'

θem- is a root for 'two' which appears in θemé 'twice, two times' and sθemélts 'Tuesday'

mós is a root which appears in the Tait dialect of SP

and AD, but only in s-mós, a rare alternate form for s_xeʔá(·)θeIs 'Thursday'; SP and AD reported that their parents used smós for 'Thursday' sometimes).

- ʔápel qes tə/k^We léc'e 'eleven' (ten and the one)
 ʔápel qes tə/k^We ʔisé·le 'twelve' (ten and the two)
 etc. 'thirteen' through 'nineteen'
- c'k^Wéx^Y 'twenty' (possibly c'-lexical prefix +
 k^Wex^Y- 'count'; the word for 'number' is
 s-k^Wex^Y-é·m, from the same root)
- c'k^Wéx^Y qes tə/k^We léc'e 'twenty-one'
 etc. 'twenty-two' through 'twenty-nine'
- ɛ̀ðx^Welsx^Yé '30'
- ɛ̀ðx^Welsx^Yé qes tə/k^We léc'e '31', etc.
- x̀ðθeIsx^Yé '40'
- x̀ðθeIsx^Yé qes tə/k^We léc'e '41', etc.
- ɛ̀ðq'ecelsx^Yé (~ (NP) ɛ̀q'ðcelsx^Yé) '50'
- ɛ̀ðq'ecelsx^Yé qes tə/k^We léc'e '51', etc.
- t'x̀ðmelsx^Yé (~ (NP) t'x̀ðmeIsx^Yé) '60'
- t'x̀ðmelsx^Yé qes tə/k^We léc'e '61'
- e'ðk^Wecelsx^Yé '70'
- e'ðk^Wecelsx^Yé qes tə/k^We léc'e '71'
- t̀ðqecelsx^Yé '80'
- t̀ðqecelsx^Yé qes tə/k^We léc'e '81'
- t̀ù·x^Welsx^Yé '90'
- t̀ù·x^Welsx^Yé qes tə/k^We léc'e '91'

lɛ̃·c'əwec '100' (< lɛ̃·c' 'different', -əwec 'in the back')

lɛ̃·c'əwec qes te/k'wə lɛ̃c'ə '101', etc.

lɛ̃·c'əwec qes te tũ·x'wəlsx'ɛ̃ qes te tũ·x'w '199'

ʔisɛ̃·lə lɛ̃·c'əwec '200'

etc. '300' through '900'

ʔápel k'wə lɛ̃·c'əwec '1000'

The system is a decimal system. Traces of a quaternary system can be seen in the facts that 'one' through 'four' are not analyzable at present but 'five', 'six', and 'eight' can be derived, and that 'eight' may signify a 'closing' from its derivation and since it is two cycles of four, the sacred number. (Things are often done four times in religious ceremonies, etc.) Many of the most fluent speakers could not count much above ten in Halkomelem; I believe this reflects the pre-contact situation too, since qéx̣ was and is used to replace any higher numbers the person does not know or doesn't want to specify; qéx̣ 'many, lots' is especially used (even by those who know the forms) to replace classified numbers over 40 people, over five times, etc.

The use of qes is explained in the chapter on particles (see section on conjunctions). The use of te or k'wə has been explained in the chapter on

demonstratives (see demonstrative articles). The function of k^w s in '1000' is unclear but it looks like a demonstrative (q.v.). It is also unclear why 'twenty' has the form and root it does (instead of $\text{ʔis}^{\acute{e}}\cdot\text{le}$ or θem-).

10.2. Allomorphy of Numeral Roots.

1. $\text{l}^{\acute{e}}\text{c}^{\circ}\text{e} \rightarrow \text{sl}^{\acute{e}}\text{c}^{\circ}\text{e} / \text{___} -\text{ə}^{\text{h}}\text{p}$
2. $\text{ʔis}^{\acute{e}}\cdot\text{le} \rightarrow \text{θem} / \text{___} -\acute{e}\text{ɪ}$
 - $\rightarrow \text{θem}^{\acute{e}}\text{lt} / \text{s-} \text{___} -\text{s}$
 - $\rightarrow \text{y}^{\acute{e}}\text{ys} / \text{___} -\acute{e}\text{le}$
 - $\rightarrow \text{ʔise} / \text{___} -\text{ə}^{\text{h}}\text{p}$ (which later $\rightarrow -\acute{e}\cdot\text{h}^{\text{h}}\text{p}$)
 - $\rightarrow \text{ʔisl} / \text{___} -\text{V}^{\text{C}}$ (related to rule 2.3.3.5)
3. $\text{h}^{\text{h}}\cdot\text{x} \rightarrow \text{h}^{\text{h}}\text{x}^w / \text{___} -\text{V}^{\dot{}} \dots$ (but not before $-\text{m}^{\acute{a}}\cdot\text{t}$)
 - (related to rule 2.3.3.4; perhaps all that's needed here instead of rule 3 is a statement that $\text{h}^{\text{h}}\text{x}^w\text{m}^{\acute{a}}\cdot\text{t}$ is an exception to rule 2.3.3.4)
4. $\text{x}^{\text{ə}}\text{ʔ}^{\acute{a}}(\cdot)\text{θel} \rightarrow \text{x}^{\text{ə}}\text{θ}^{\text{f}}\text{le} / \text{___} -\acute{e}\text{le}, -\text{f}^{\text{q}}\text{w}, -\text{ə}^{\text{h}}\text{p}, -\text{es}$
 - $\rightarrow \text{x}^{\text{ə}}\text{θ}^{\text{h}}\text{i} / \text{___} -\acute{e}\text{ɪ}, -\acute{ó}\text{wes}, (\text{prob. } -\acute{e}\cdot\text{wtx}^w,$
 $-\acute{e}\text{lwet})$
5. $\text{θ}^{\acute{a}}\cdot\text{k}^w\text{s} \rightarrow \text{θ}^{\acute{a}}\text{k}^w\text{əc} / \text{___} -\text{ə}\text{lsx}^{\text{y}}\acute{e}$
 - $\rightarrow \text{θ}^{\acute{a}}\text{k}^w\text{s} / \text{___} -\acute{e}\text{le}, -\acute{e}\text{ɪ}$
6. $\text{ʔ}^{\acute{a}}(\cdot)\text{pel} \rightarrow \text{ʔ}^{\text{ə}}\text{p}^{\acute{e}}\cdot\text{le} / \text{___} -\text{es}$
7. $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{k}^w\text{əx}^{\text{y}} \rightarrow \text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{k}^w\text{x}^{\text{y}}\acute{e} / \text{___} -\acute{e}\text{le}, -\text{es}$
8. $\text{əl}, \text{əs} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{___} -\text{ə}\text{lsx}^{\text{y}}\acute{e}, -\acute{e}\text{le}$
9. $\text{es} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{___} -\text{es}$
10. $\#C(C)V \rightarrow \#C(C)\text{V}^{\dot{}} / \text{___} -\text{ə}\text{lsx}^{\text{y}}\acute{e}$ (in addition to

unrounded vowel → e/ ___-elsx^yé (see rule 5,
p. 83, under ablaut triggering)

(Two additional rules are needed for affix allomorphy
not involving vowel alternation and not mentioned in
2.3.6:

11. -éle 'people' → R₁₂- 'person'/ léc'e___

12. -éɬ 'times' → -éx^w/ léc'e___
→ -é/ θem___)

10.3. Numeral sets with lexical affixes (or
classifiers). The lexical affixes for these sets
include: -es 'dollars', -éle 'people', s- -s 'o'clock',
s- -s 'day of the week', -ówes 'canoe paddles, padd-
lers', -éɬ 'times', -íq^w 'fish (heads)', -elsx^yé
'times ten, -ty', -əɬp 'trees', -má't 'piles', -élwet
'garments', -é·wtx^w 'houses', -óweɬ 'canoes', -éyiws
'pants', -á·ls 'spherical objects, fruit', -eqel 'con-
tainers', -á·lɬ 'young', -é·ltex^w 'wives', -émec'
'poles, upright', possibly -í·ws 'birds'.

Counting dollars: léc'és 'one dollar', ?isá·les
'two dollars', íf·x^wés 'three dollars', xəθíles 'four
dollars', íəq'á·cés 'five dollars', t'xémés 'six dol-
lars', θ'ák^wses 'seven dollars', tqá·cás 'eight dol-
lars', tú·x^wés 'nine dollars', ?epá·les 'ten dollars',
?epá·les qes k^we léc'és 'eleven dollars', c'k^w·x^yás
- c'ək^w·x^yás 'twenty dollars', íəx^w·elsx^yás 'thirty

dollars', ɣəθəlsxʲá·s 'forty dollars', ɪəq'ecelsxʲá·s 'fifty dollars', t'ɣəməlsxʲá·s 'sixty dollars', θ'əkw'ecelsxʲá·s 'seventy dollars', təqecelsxʲá·s 'eighty dollars', tū·xʷəlsxʲá·s 'ninety dollars', lé·c'ewec 'one hundred dollars', ɣəʔáθel lé·c'ewec 'four hundred dollars'. The count of cents is also interesting: ckʷí·m tɛle 'penny' (literally "red money", tɛle 'money' < English "dollar" via Chinook Jargon), léce ckʷí·m tɛle 'one penny', ʔisɛ·le ckʷí·m tɛle 'two pennies, two cents', ckʷəkʷəlɪ·m tɛle 'lots of pennies' (lots of little red money), ʃíkmel tɛle 'silver money' (ʃíkmel 'iron, silver' < Chinook Jargon)(cp. léc'es pípe tɛle 'one paper dollar'), mí·t 'dime, ten cents' (< Chinook Jargon < English "bit" in "two bits"), ɪsəq' mí·t 'a nickle, five cents' (lit. "half dime"), mí·t qes k'wə ɪsəq' mí·t 'fifteen cents', ʔisɛ·le mí·t 'twenty cents', ɪí·xʷ mí·t 'thirty cents', etc., and kʷá·te 'quarter, twenty-five cents' (< English "quarter").

Counting people: láléc'ə 'one person', yɛysele 'two people', ɪxʷɛle 'three people', ɣəθfle 'four people', ɪq'écɛle 'five people', t'ɣsmelə 'six people', θ'ekʷsɛle 'seven people', təqécɛle - təqécəʔɛle 'eight people', tuxʷɛle 'nine people', ʔəpɛle 'ten people', ʔəpɛle qes te láléc'ə 'eleven people', c'ekʷxʲɛle

fish', teqeciq^w 'eight fish', tux^wiq^w 'nine fish',
ʔápel 'ten (fish)'.

-elsx^yé isn't really a classifier at all since it has been attested with the 'dollars' and the 'people' classifier suffixes. Its forms have already been given in 10.1.

Counting trees: sléc'əp 'one tree', ʔisé'əp -
sʔisé'əp 'two trees', ɪx^wé'əp 'three trees', xəθíyēəp
'four trees' (note the same l → y/ ___-əp opera-
ting here as with plant terms)(2.4.1), ɪq'écəséəp
'five trees'.

Counting piles: lec'emá't 'one pile', ʔislémə't
'two piles', ɪx^wmá't 'three piles', xəʔáθelmə't
'four piles', ɪq'écəsmá't 'five piles'.

Counting garments: ʔislélwet 'two garments',
ɪx^wélwet 'three garments', xəθlélwet 'four garments',
ɪq'écəsélwet 'five garments'.

Counting houses of one person: ʔislé.wtx^w 'two
houses (of one person)', ɪx^wé.wtx^w 'three houses (of
one person)', xəθlé.wtx^w 'four houses (of one person)',
ɪq'écəsé.wtx^w 'five houses (of one person)' (all Tait).

Counting some other things (fragmentary sets):
ɪq'écəsóweɪ 'five canoes (of one person)' (contrast
ɪq'écəs sléx^wəɪ 'five canoes (of different people)'),
ɪq'écəséyiws 'five pants', ɪq'écəsá'ls 'five spherical

objects, five fruit, (five rocks, five balls, etc.)'
 ɛq'éc(s)eqel 'five containers', ɛq'écésʔá.lɛ 'five
 young (animates)', ʔislé.ltx^w 'man with two wives',
 ʔisélémec' 'two poles standing', ɛq'éc.cesí.wɛ '5 birds'.

Ordinals: there are none; only yewé.l 'first',
 stetís 'next' and ɛiyá.q^wt 'last'.

(The numerical interrogative verb k^wf.l can be
 inflected with the same lexical suffixes; see the ex-
 amples in 6.2.5, although they are verbs not numerals.)

CHAPTER 11. SYNTAX

11.0. Introduction. Considerable syntactic data (in the neighborhood of 700 sentences) and a moderate amount of syntactic analysis has already been given in the chapters on morphology (Chapters 3 through 10). Inflectional classes have been divided into syntactic classes. Some independent pronoun sets have been found to be syntactically nominal, some verbal, some either. Verbs have been divided into syntactic classes such as intransitive, transitive, adjectival, prepositional, adverbial, interrogative, auxiliary, etc. Particles were found to be syntactic interjections, conjunctions, and adverbials (modal particles are found in this chapter to be syntactically adverbial). Demonstratives were found to be syntactic articles, conjunctions, adverbials, nominals, pronouns which function like nominals, and semi-verbal λ' á. Numerals were found to include syntactic adverbials, adjectivals, or nominals. In this chapter we will also see how nominals can be used as verbs and adjectives, as well as how verbs can be nominalized and relativized.

This chapter will deal first with syntactic classes and abbreviations (11.0), then with nominal phrases and how they are expanded (11.1). 11.2 deals

with verb phrases and clauses and how VP's are expanded with subject and object NP's (11.2.1), how VP's are expanded with internal modifiers (11.2.2), how clauses and sentences are expanded with appositives and non-conjoined VP's (11.2.3), how clauses are expanded with dependent or subordinate VP's or clauses (11.2.4), how clauses are conjoined with co-ordinate conjunctions (11.2.5), and concludes with a discussion of comparatives and superlatives (11.2.6). 11.3 mentions interjections, and 11.4 discusses syntactic limits and how much phrases, clauses, and sentences can be expanded.

Syntactic classes, abbreviations, and cross references to syntactic information in the morphology:

Pron = pronoun (usually cited by number of the set)

Vpron = 4.1, 4.2, 4.7 (as Vaj)(verbal pronoun)

Npron = 4.3, 4.11, 4.7 (nominal pronoun)

-Pron = -4.4, -4.5, -4.6, -4.8, -4.9, -4.10 (pronoun suffix)(also shown as -S, -O, -Pass, -Poss)

-X = lexical affix (whether prefix, infix, or suffix)

(Chapter 5)

V = verb

Vi = intransitive verb

Vi plain = plain intransitive verb (6.2.1)

Vaj = adjectival verb (6.2.2)

Vprep = prepositional verb (6.2.3)
 Vadv = adverbial verb (6.2.4)
 Vneg = negative verb (6.2.4)
 Vq = interrogative verb (6.2.5, 6.1.7)
 Vpron = verbal pronoun or pronominal verb
 (6.2.6, 4.1, 4.2, 4.7)
 Vdem = demonstrative verb (6.2.7)
 Vaux = auxiliary verb (6.2.8)
 -Intr = intransitivizer (6.1.2.2)

Vt = transitive verb

-S = subject suffix (4.4)	S = subject NP
-O = object suffix (4.5)	O = object NP
-S ₃ = 3rd person subject suffix	S ₃ = 3rd person sub- ject NP
-S _{1,2} = 1st or 2nd person sub- ject suffix	S _{1,2} = 1st or 2nd per- son subject NP (from 4.1 for ex.)
-S _{pl} = plural subject suffix	S _{pl} = plural subject NP
-S _{2pl} = 2nd person plural sub- ject suffix	S _{2pl} = 2nd person plu- ral subject NP
-S _c ... S _c = subject corresponding in person + number	
-S _{-c} or -O _{-c} = subject or object not corresponding in person and number	

similarly with -O₃, -O_{1,2}, -O_{pl}, -O_{2pl}, -O_c ... O_c

and with O₃, O_{1,2}, O_{pl}, O_{2pl}

-Pass = passive (4.10)

-Sbjn = subjunctive (6.1.7, 4.9)

Other V inflections can be abbreviated as on p. 316

P = particle

Interj = particle interjection (7.1)

Pconj = particle conjunction (7.2)

Pmod = modal particle (7.3)

Padv = adverbial particle (7.4)

N = nominal

Nindef = indefinite nominal (8.1)

-Poss = possessive inflection (8.2, 4.6)

-Dim = diminutive inflection (8.3)

-Pl = plural inflection (8.4)

-Past = past tense inflection (8.5)

D = demonstrative

A = demonstrative article (9.1)

A-4.6 = article carrying possessive inflection
for following NPA-4.8-s = article carrying subordinate subject
inflection for following VPDconj = demonstrative conjunction (including
A-4.8-s)(9.2)

A D = nominal demonstrative (9.3)

Dadv = adverbial demonstrative (9.4)

κ'á = semi-verbal demonstrative κ'á (9.5)

Dpron = pronominal demonstrative or demonstrative
pronoun (9.6, 4.3)

Num = numeral (Chapter 10)

NP = nominal phrase (see 11.1 below)

VP = verb phrase (see 11.2 below)

11.1. Nominal Phrases (NP's).

11.1.0. NP's begin with a demonstrative article and end with something serving as a nominal. Unexpanded NP's include: A N, A D, A Num, A V, Dpron, Npron (4.3, 4.7, 4.11). With the pronouns the A is prefixed to the word in forming it, and so the A is not shown as a separate word. No examples of A P occur.

Except for 4.11 (which can only be object of a Vprep), all of these NP's can serve as subject or object of a verb without further modification. Syntactic position and agreement in person and number determine whether S or O is intended.

NP's are expanded by adding things either after the A or after the element serving as the nominal or after both.

11.1.1. NP Expansion With Modifiers. NP's which consist of A N can be expanded in a number of ways:

1. A (Vaj,N,D,Num) N (D is acting as N > Vaj; the first N and Num each are > Vaj. Also when a lower numeral (1, 2, or 3) modifies an N, the N need not be inflected for plural; the N is inflected for plural, if possible, after numerals 'four' and above.)
2. A (Vaj,D,Num)(Vaj,N) N (Note that an N acting as Vaj must immediately precede the original N of the NP,

also that the D must remain immediately following the A to retain its N > Vaj status; Num probably precedes N as well as Vaj before N. There are no examples of A Vaj Vaj Vaj N to date.)

3. A Vadv Vaj N (In superlatives like: l sʌ'f te weʔál c'ec'ic'wəʌ' x^wɛyləm. 'I want the shortest rope.' (AG), ʒe yelɛwɛl ʔiyá·mex^y q'ɛ·mi 'the prettiest girl', te yelɛwɛl k^wámk^wəm swíyɛqə 'the strongest man'.)

4. A-4.6 N-4.6 (4.6 is shown attached to both A and N because it is suffixed to the word before the N or to the N or to both, depending on the person and number of the possessor.)

5. A N-4.6 N-4.6 and probably A (Vaj,D,Num)-4.6 N-4.6

6. A 4.7 N (for emphasis of possession)

7. A N-4.6₃ A N (4.6₃ = 3rd person possessive -s. This construction is used to indicate when one A N (the first one) is possessed by another (the second). Apparently tewét and tewéttestwe do not require -4.6 in this construction, and the A of the second N is then also omitted: tewét sq^wemɛy 'Whose dog?' and tewéttestwe sq^wemɛy 'somebody's dog'.)

8. A N-4.6₃ A-4.6 N-4.6 (For example, te lélém-s tel mɛ·l 'my father's house'.)

9. A N telɪ NP (Partitive, as in te láléc'ə telɪ te swáwɛles 'one of the young men' or te láléc'ə telɪ

ʰ'ɛɪlɪmɛɪ 'one of us'.)

If the NP begins as A V, other expansions are possible, but they are covered in 11.2 because such constructions are nominalized VP's (see especially 11.2.4). A more favored way of adding Vaj's to an NP (after one or two have already been added) is adding them as dependent verb clauses (k^W-4.8-s Vaj-4.8 after the NP).

11.1.2. NP Expansion With Apposition.

1. 4.3 N

2. N 4.3 N

3. A N N (where the second N is a proper name)

Each of the three above can function as NP in several different contexts. For example in insults like ʔó tɛɪwɛ hɛwt 'Oh you rat!', ʔó tɛɪwɛ spiypíyx^Vɛɪ 'Oh you crooked-leg!', etc.; in sentences like ʰ'asɛsu lɛ ʰ'ɛpí.l k^Wilɛstwe yuʰ'áɪɛm swáwɛɪɛs 'And so an unstated number of them, young men, went down/descended.' (k^Wilɛstwe = Nindex used as Vaj; it cannot follow A because the A is included within yuʰ'áɪɛm; swáwɛɪɛs follows in apposition), su mɛ c^ʰɛm ɔuʰ'á sá·seq^Wt 'So/Then the youngest girl jumped.' (literally "So she came to jump, the youngest girl.')(CT), lɛ t'ɛk^Wstx^Wɛs yuʰ'á·lɛm q'ɛ·ɪɛmɪ tɛ swí·wɛɪɛs 'They, the girls, took the

young man home.' (CT), $\text{?}\epsilon\text{t}\epsilon\text{t}\epsilon\text{1st}\epsilon\text{x}^{\text{W}}\text{c}\epsilon\text{t k}^{\text{W}}\epsilon\text{ s}\epsilon\text{s}\epsilon\text{l}\epsilon$
 $\text{sc}'\text{f}\text{q}'^{\text{W}}$ 'We'll feed your grandfather $\text{Sc}'\text{f}\text{q}'^{\text{W}}$.'
 ($\text{Sc}'\text{f}\text{q}'^{\text{W}}$ is the name of the grandfather)(CT).

11.1.3. NP Expansion With Conjoining.

1. A N qe N : the A can be omitted after qe in conjoining NP's. For example, $\text{l}\epsilon\text{ l}\epsilon\text{m}\epsilon\text{1st}\epsilon\text{x}^{\text{W}}\epsilon\text{s t}\epsilon\text{ Bill t}\epsilon\text{ sq}'\epsilon\text{m}\epsilon\text{1 x}^{\text{W}}\epsilon\text{l}\epsilon\text{m t}\epsilon\text{ Jim qe Bob}$ 'Bill threw the paddle to Jim and Bob.', $\text{l}\text{f l}\epsilon\text{m k}^{\text{W}}\epsilon\text{ Bill qe Bob}$ 'Did Bill or Bob go?'
2. -O qe N : the A can also be omitted after qe in conjoining object pronoun suffix and object NP. For example, $\text{c}\epsilon\text{l k}^{\text{W}}\epsilon\text{cl}\epsilon\text{m}\epsilon\text{ qe Bob}$ 'I saw you and Bob.' (Presumably Vi-S could have its -S conjoined with an N in a similar fashion, Vi-S qe N. Vt-O-S could not conjoin its -S with an N however by adding qe N because the N (even with omitted A) would be interpreted as an O.)
3. A (4,7)(Num) N qes A Vaj N : the A is not omitted after qes in conjoining NP's or Num's. For example, $\text{k}'\text{a sw}\epsilon\text{s ?is}\epsilon\text{l}\epsilon\text{ sq}'\epsilon\text{m}\epsilon\text{y qes t}\epsilon\text{ q}\epsilon\text{x p}\epsilon\text{s}$. 'He has two dogs and lots of cats.' (A usually omitted after $\text{k}'\text{a}$).
4. A Num(-X) qes A (Num-X, Num N) : conjoining numerals which are nominal or adjectival. For example, $\text{t}\epsilon\text{ ?}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{l}\epsilon\text{ qes t}\epsilon\text{ l}\epsilon\text{l}\epsilon\text{c}'\epsilon$ 'the eleven people'.
5. A N qes 4.3 : conjoining NP and independent Npron.

For example, *cet ?fitel tlaqǽ·ys te Bill qes tǽ?ǽ?ǽlǽe* 'Bill and I are eating right now.' (probably permitted also are (Dpron,Npron,A(N,D,Num,V)) qes (Dpron, Npron,A(N,D,Num,V)), i.e. NP qes NP.)

6. A N-4.6₃ A N qe N : conjoining NP possessors of a single NP. For example, *le ǽiytes ǽ' Oliver Wells qe Casey Wells te sq^wǽltel-s ǽ' Daniel Milo qe Bob Joe lf te machines te x^wǽlǽtem* 'Oliver Wells and Casey Wells made (or fixed) the voices of Daniel Milo and Bob Joe on the white man's machines.'

11.1.4. Omission of the Article in NP's. The A is omitted before nominals (N, or D or Num or V functioning as N) with nominal status retained only in a few contexts:

1. A is omitted after conjunction *qe* 'and, but, or' (as seen just above).
2. A is omitted before NP's used vocatively. For example, *lǽmcx^w ?ay ?ǽ·y siyǽm* 'Keep on going (away), chief!' (said to a wolf), *lǽcep ?ay ?ǽ·y siyǽm* 'You folks keep on going, chief!', *lǽw sf·le* 'Hello grandmother/grandfather!', *mítǽ k^wǽtx^wf·lǽm l siyǽye* 'Come inside, my friend!'
3. A is omitted after *?ǽwǽts* 'be none, nothing, nobody, have no', *?ǽwǽtsǽ* 'be nobody' (AC only), and *?ǽwǽ(·)ts* 'is it none?, are they none?'. These words

nominalize what follows (frequently verbs) because the *-te* acts as an A, *ʔəwé-* acts like negative verb *ʔéwe*, and *ʔəwé(-)* is really negative verb *ʔéwe* plus interrogative suffix *-ə - -é*. Examples: *ʔəwéte kapú k^wsəs x^wəʔi* 'He came without a coat (The coat was none when he came).', *le ʔéʔ'qel qə ʔəwéte ʔà kapús qə yíyəq* 'He went outside without a coat and it was snowing.' (lit. 'He went outside and it was just none, his coat, and it was snowing.'), *qéʔ te ʔ'ik^wíyəʔp qə ʔəwéte ʔ'ik^wel* 'There's a lot of bean vines but no beans.', *ʔəwéte me x^wəʔi* 'Nobody came.', *(ʔə)wéte ʔi* 'He's not here.', *ʔəwéte-l s-í·m* (or) *ʔəwéte-l-s í·m* 'I didn't pick anything.' ('My picking is none.'), *ʔəwéte-l sʔéq'ələx^w k^wes q'əpsce k^wə ʔi·k^welà* 'I didn't know there was going to be a gathering here.', (Cheh.) *(ʔə)wéte-l íq'ələx^w* 'I don't know' (lit. 'My knowledge of it is none., I have no knowledge of it.'). *ʔəwéte sʔéq'ələx^w wetəntəmesce k^wes ʔéʔtelcət qəlét* 'No-one knows when we'll eat again.' (lit. 'The knowledge of it is none when it will be our eating again.'). *ʔəwéte sk^wíyəʔtəmət* 'Nothing could be done.', *ʔəwéteʔ sʔeq'ələmet te sk^wíx^vs* 'Nobody knows his name.', *wé·te ʔə sméyéθ* 'Do(n't) you have any meat?' (lit. 'Is it none, your meat?'), *wé·te st'élmex^w* 'Isn't

there any medicine?' (lit. 'Is it none, the medicine?').

4. A is omitted after demonstrative semi-verb $\lambda^{\acute{a}}$ 'that's ____, that's him/her' and verb $x^w\acute{e}$ ~ $x^w\acute{o}$ ~ x^we 'become' (probably because both involve existence, perhaps calling for $N > V$ (stative) and leaving the syntactic analysis as $\lambda^{\acute{a}} V$ and $x^w\acute{e} V$ instead of $\lambda^{\acute{a}} N$ and $x^w\acute{e} N$. For example: $x^we\acute{w}e\acute{c}e\acute{l}$?f.l $x^w\acute{e}$ $siy\acute{a}.l\acute{o}x^we$ 'I'm not old yet., I haven't become old yet.', $qe\lambda^{\acute{a}}as\acute{e}su$ le $x^w\acute{o}$ (hyper-slow $x^w\acute{e}$) $mestiyex^w$ 'And so he turned into/became a person.', le $\text{?iy}\acute{a}.q\acute{e}t$ te $smim\acute{e}x\acute{e}\acute{x}$ $qe\lambda^{\acute{a}}as\acute{e}su$ x^we $\text{?aliq}^w\acute{a}t$ 'The caterpillar changed itself into a moth.' (lit. 'The caterpillar changed itself and so it became a moth.'), $selc\acute{i}.m$ k^w s $hi\acute{o}s$ qe $ye\acute{x}$ $s^?es$ me x^we $sy\acute{o}myem$ 'How long before she came to be(come) pregnant?', le $x^w\acute{o}$ $s\acute{i}\acute{e}.li$ 'She became a woman.', le $x^w\acute{o}$ $swiy\acute{e}qe$ 'He became a man.'; $\lambda^{\acute{a}}$ $s\acute{o}\lambda^{\acute{a}}etels$ 'That's her older sister.', $\lambda^{\acute{a}}$ $t\acute{e}ls$ yi $\acute{e}\acute{e}$ 'That's their mother (the mother of those people).', $\lambda^{\acute{a}}$?e $sw\acute{e}$ 'That's yours.', $\lambda^{\acute{a}}$?e $sw\acute{e}$ $t\acute{e}l$ 'That's your (own) mother.', $\lambda^{\acute{a}}$ $t\acute{u}.k^{\acute{a}}\acute{a}$ 'That's him., It's him.', $\lambda^{\acute{a}}$ $st\acute{a}.les$ 'That's my wife.', $\lambda^{\acute{a}}$ te (Bill, $m\acute{u}smes$, $\text{?}^we\text{?}^w\acute{e}ye$) 'That's (Bill, a cow, a fly).', $\lambda^{\acute{a}}$ $\text{?i}\acute{x}$ $m\acute{e}m\acute{i}yet$ 'That's the one that was helping s-o.' (Note that even the A can be omitted which is the only marker nominalizing or here relativizing a VP!)

5. A related case follows where A is omitted and the words following are inflected as nominals for possessive, but the words function as verbs. This occurs when A is omitted before nominal verbs sʌ'f(·) 'want; like' and sq^wélewel 'think; thoughts, feelings'. These words function as regular nominals in some examples and follow a demonstrative article. However both words can also appear without the demonstrative article and are then translated as verbs 'want' and 'think'. The thing that makes them unique is that their subjects are indicated only by possessive pronouns of 4.6 without an article and never by 4.4. When not following an article (when not regular nominals), they also can (and must) take an object (NP or A-4.8-s V-4.8 for example) though neither is inflected for transitivity; in this respect they resemble Vprep's (see 11.2). sʌ'f has allomorph sʌ'fy before -ələp, -l, and -ʔε.

Examples as nominals: ʔéy tel sq^wélewel 'I'm glad., My feelings/thoughts are good.', ʔehítce^w te sq^wélewel 'Concentrate!, Keep your mind (thoughts) on what you're doing!', (Tait) cécε te sq^wélewels 'He (or She) is emotional.' (lit. 'His/Her thoughts/feelings are tender. '), x^weʔi·t te sq^wélewel 'What are you thinking about?' (lit. 'Where are they going, your thoughts?'), stém k^wε sʌ'f 'What do you want?'

As nominal verbs with omission of A (4.6a, 4.6b and 4.8a, 4.8b indicate possessive pronoun suffixes attached to word before and/or word possessed, depending on person and number):

1. 4.6a (sʔ'f, sq^Wé1əwəl)-4.6b k'^W-4.8a-s VP-4.8b
2. sʔ'f k'^W-4.8a-s VP-4.8b
3. 4.6a sʔ'f-4.6b NP
4. Vadv-4.6a sʔ'f-4.6b-4.6a NP-4.6b
5. 4.6a sʔ'fye-4.6b NP
6. 1f-4.6a (sʔ'f, sq^Wé1əwəl)-4.6b (4.3) k'^W-4.8a-s VP-4.8b
7. ?éwə 1f-s-4.6a (sʔ'f, sq^Wé1əwəl)-4.6b (4.3) k'^W-4.8a-s VP-4.8b
8. ?éwə-4.4 1f-4.9b-4.6a sʔ'f-4.6b
9. ?éwə-4.6a sʔ'f-4.6b k'^W-4.8a-s VP-4.8b
10. ?éwə sʔ'fises k'^W-4.8a-s VP-4.8b
11. ?ewé-s 1f-s-4.6a sʔ'f-4.6b, VP-4.4
12. ?ewé-?ε sʔ'fyes k'^W-4.8a-s VP-4.8b (sʔ'fyes sic? for sʔ'fí?)
13. V-4.4 wə-1f-s-4.6a sʔ'f-4.6b k'^W-4.8a-s VP-4.8b
14. 4.4 (Vaux) V-O A ?f.ɪ-4.6a sʔ'f-4.6b (The A is added to relativize the VP.)

These 14 structures represent over 80 elicited sentences with paradigmatic variations and also expansions of NP and VP. Many others are surely possible. An example of each type follows:

1. sʔ'fís k'^Wes ʔ'ás (yúʔ'á·ləm, k'^Wax^Wikát, θə stá·ləs)

k^Wes k^Wécləx^Ws 'He wants (them, K^Wax^Wiáat (Dorothy Wealick), his wife) to see it.'

sq^Wélewels k^Wes k^Wás túk^Wà lém 'He thinks he's the one to go.'

2. s^Wí k^Wels lə yewé 'I want to go along.'

3. l s^Wí k^We qá. 'I want some water.'

4. wəʔálwə-l s^Wíy-l siyé·ye 'I like my friend a lot.'

5. ?ε s^Wíyε k^We qá. 'Do you want some water?' (less common structure than lí ?ε s^Wí k^We qá. 'Do you want some water?')

6. lí ?ε s^Wí k^Wes x^Wiyéəəqəəáx^W 'Do you want to interpret for me?' (lit. 'Is it your want that you interpret/translate/repeat me?')

lí ?ε sq^Wélewəl k^Wes məs x^Wəθé1əm wéyélés 'Do you think it will be cloudy tomorrow?'

7. ?éwə lí-s-l s^Wí k^W-ε-s líyém 'I don't want you to laugh.'

?éwə lí-s-l sq^Wélewəl k^W-ε-s lém 'I don't think you should go.' (lit. 'It's not my thought that you go.')

8. ?éwec^W lí-x^W-l s^Wí 'I don't want you.'

9. ?éwə s^Wí-s k^Wes məytálx^W-s wəlémət sówq^Wtàlè 'He doesn't want to (or won't) help us find you folks.'

10. ?éwə s^Wíses k^Wels lə k^Wéceəàmè 'He doesn't want me to go see you.'

11. ?ewés lís (?ε) s^Wíyələp ləcel k^Wú·t 'If you folks

don't want it, I'll take it.'

12. ?ewé ?ε sʰ:íyεs kʰwεs kʰwéclexʷcεt 'Don't you want us to see it?'

13. lémcel we-lí-s-l sʰ:í kʰwεls lém 'I'm going when I want to go.'

14. cel mε méstexʷ tε ?í:í ?ε sʰ:í 'I brought what you wanted.'

11.2. Verb Phrases (VP's), Clauses, the Sentence.

11.2.0. A verb phrase consists of an inflected verb plus its subject and/or object NP's, if any (see 11.2.1), plus its internal modifiers if any (11.2.2). A VP can also consist merely of an inflected verb, if no subject or object NP's or modifiers are present. A VP which can stand by itself as a sentence is called an independent clause if it has subordinate VP's (11.2.4, 11.2.3), co-ordinate VP's (11.2.5), or words in apposition (11.2.3) attached within its sentence. A subordinate VP usually cannot stand by itself as a sentence because it is nominalized or subjunctivized.

11.2.1. Types of VP, Subject NP and Object NP.

Vi and Vt. Unless noted, all VP's follow the next rules on subject and object placement:

.1. Vi-S S. Vt-O-S S O. Vt-O-S O. Vt-O_{-c}-S_c S_c.
Vt-Pass O (S). Vt-Pass_{-c} S. In other words, a single NP after a Vi is the subject; a single NP after a Vt

is the object unless it corresponds in person and number only with the subject suffix, in which case the NP is the subject; if two NP's follow a Vt, the first is the subject and the second is the object; this order is reversed to indicate an agent after a passive Vt (Vt-Pass O S 'O was V-ed by S'); a single NP after a passive is the object if corresponding if corresponding in person and number with the passive object suffix, otherwise the NP is interpreted as agent (i.e. subject); a single NP after a passive can also be interpreted as agent (S) if the O has been defined differently as an NP in the preceding context.

.2. With benefactives, the O is the beneficiary (indirect object) when animate and the direct object when inanimate. In addition, when V-Ben-O_{1,2}-S is followed by NP, the NP is the direct object when inanimate; when V-Ben-O_{1,2}-S is followed by an animate NP (4.3) which does not correspond in person and number with the -O, the NP is the subject. (If two NP's follow V-Ben-O-S the order is V S O as expected; O is the beneficiary if animate, the direct object if inanimate. I was unable to elicit sentences with both direct and beneficiary objects, but I seem to remember having heard one with the direct object preceding the beneficiary object.)

.3. When Vi is a Vprep, Vi-S O (S) occurs; in fact Vprep's must have an O even though Vprep's are inflectionally Vi's. (An alternate analysis could class Vprep's as almost the only Vt's without a control suffix and object suffixes, the only Vt's to take 4.11 as pronoun object, and nearly the only Vt's to have V O S; ?əmí, lém, sʰí, and sq^wélewel might be the other Vt's having V O S order and lacking control and object suffixes.)

.4. (?ə)mí 'come (to), coming (to)' and lém 'go(ing) (to)' also allow Vi-S O (S) order when the NP following is a place (semantically). These verbs have allosemantic rules that read: (?ə)mí /'come (to), coming (to)'/ → ['come to, coming to'] and lém /'go(ing) (to)'/ → ['go(ing) to'] (both) in the environment before A N where N contains the semantic element ['a place']. As a result, a prepositional element becomes obligatory, and the A N following becomes the object of that preposition. A second NP following the A N becomes the subject of (?ə)mí or lém because both verbs are inflectionally Vi's.

.5. As mentioned in 11.1, sʰí 'want' and sq^wélewel 'think; thoughts, feelings' when not preceded by A must be followed by an O (either NP or subordinate clause k^w-4.8-s V-4.8), and this in spite of

the fact that they are inflectionally intransitive. With an NP subject the order is almost certainly V S O since sɤ'f-s and sq^wélewel-s would have to be followed by their NP possessors if present; but I have no examples to quote on this.

.6. In addition, some Vi's suffixed with -em intransitivizer (6.1.6 Group D) or -els - é·ls intransitivizer (6.1.2.2) can take O as well, and the syntax is then Vi O (no examples are attested of S with Vi O). The O always seems to be inanimate or dead, and the Vi always seems to be one requiring an animate or alive subject. Thus for semantic reasons an O is possible here. If the NP after these verbs is animate it is interpreted as the subject. There is a further refinement with -é·ls - -els verbs (and some -em verbs): a following O is often translated generically (without an article in English) thus joining V and N in a single activity repeated many times with accent on the activity ('burn food at a ritual', 'barbecue salmon', 'carve wood', 'fry bread', 'fetch wood', 'pick blackberries', 'chew gum', etc.).

.7. In all the above formulae -S may instead be preposed to the V (the ambiguous past tense) without otherwise changing the syntax.

.8. Though more examples and further work are

necessary, some tentative statements about the syntax of words like 'everything' and 'nothing' can be made here. These words include $m\acute{o}k^{w} \sim m\acute{o}k^{w}$ 'all, every; everybody, everything', $m\acute{e}k^{w}st\acute{e}m$ 'everything', $m\acute{e}k^{w}(e)w\acute{e}t(es)$ 'everybody, everyone', $m\acute{e}k^{w} t\acute{e}w\acute{e}t(es)$ 'everybody, everyone, (possibly) anyone', $?\acute{e}w\acute{e}t\acute{e}$ '(it is, there is) none, nobody, nothing', $?\acute{e}w\acute{e}t\acute{e} k^{w}st\acute{e}m$ 'nothing', and $?\acute{e}w\acute{e}t\acute{e} t\acute{e}w\acute{e}t$ 'nobody'. All these words are translated as pronouns and serve as NP subject or NP object of verbs but precede the verb (O Vt S or S V (O)). The situation can be summed up as follows ($E_1 = m\acute{e}k^{w}st\acute{e}m, m\acute{e}k^{w}ew\acute{e}t \sim m\acute{e}k^{w} t\acute{e}w\acute{e}t, ?\acute{e}w\acute{e}t\acute{e} k^{w}st\acute{e}m, ?\acute{e}w\acute{e}t\acute{e} t\acute{e}w\acute{e}t$; $E_2 = m\acute{e}k^{w} \sim m\acute{o}k^{w}$; $E_3 = ?\acute{e}w\acute{e}t\acute{e}$):

.8.1. E_1 (underlined) can occur as subject or object of a verb while preceding that verb; when E_1 is the object, the verb (or auxiliary $?f$ or lf before it) takes a subject suffix which appears to be subjunctive ($\underline{O} (?f, lf)-4.9b$ Vt-O. \underline{O} Vt-O-4.9a (S). $\underline{O}-es$ Vt-O-4.9a. are three sentence structures attested); when E_1 is the subject, the verb is lacking a subject suffix (\underline{S} Vt-O O. \underline{S} Vi. \underline{S} $l\acute{e}$ Vt-O. are attested). E_1 can also be preceded by an article and both then follow the verb ($s\acute{a}^{w}f-4.6$ A $\underline{O}-es.$); the $-es$ is unclear, perhaps the same $-es$ as derives Nindex's in Chapter 8.

.8.2. E_2 (underlined in this section) can occur preceding a verb as a sort of V_{pron} , or it can occur following a verb as part of the NP subject or object. $m\acute{e}k'^w$ (and for some speakers $\text{?ew\acute{s}t\acute{e}}$) can be inflected with 4.4_{pl} (and -4.8_{pl} in a subordinate clause), and somewhat like a pronominal verb (4.1 or 4.2) modify the subject or object of the verb that follows ($V_{pron}-4.4_{pl}$ V or $k'^w-4.8-s$ $V_{pron}-4.8$ V as a subordinate clause); an alternate structure is allowed, $Vi-4.4$ $m\acute{e}k'^w$ V_{adv} (instead of $m\acute{e}k'^w-4.4$ Vi V_{adv}) and is used interchangeably. $m\acute{e}k'^w$ can also serve as V_{aj} modifying the N in an NP, and then it precedes anything else in the NP, including the article ($Vt-4.4$ V_{aj} $A-4.6$ $N-4.6$. or $Vt-4.4$ V_{aj} A V_{aj} 4.6 $N-4.6$. or $Vt-O-S$ A N V_{aj} A N . or Vi V_{aj} 4.3_{pl} . or $Vt-O-S$ V_{aj} 4.3_{pl} $k^ws\acute{e}s$ $V-O-S$ V_{prep} A V_{aj} N .). An alternate structure is allowed here too with Vi 's: $m\acute{e}k'^w$ Vi A N where $m\acute{e}k'^w$ is a V_{aj} modifying the N and really part of the NP but even so preceding the verb.

.8.3. E_3 can occur as an independent verb all by itself (3rd person only): $\text{?ew\acute{s}t\acute{e}}$ 'It/There is nothing/nobody., There is/are none.' It can also occur inflected for interrogative, $(\text{?}\acute{e})w\acute{e}(\cdot)t\acute{e}$ 'Is it none?, Is there none?, Is there nobody/nothing?' (see Chapter 6). In either form E_3 only occurs first in the sen-

tence or independent clause. It can be followed immediately by an N with no A before the N; this N can be possessed or otherwise modified (E_3 -4.6 N-4.6, etc.) and serves as syntactic subject of E_3 (or it can be viewed as a nominal without A serving as a main verb which is modified adverbially by ?ewéte); the translation is rarely 'The N is none.' (for E_3 N) or '4.6's N is none.' (for E_3 -4.6 N-4.6) but usually is 'There is no N.' (for E_3 N) or '4.6 has/have no N.' (for E_3 -4.6 N-4.6). Subordinate clauses can of course expand these sentences further: E_3 N k^w ses V for example, 'There was no N when he V-ed., He V-ed without an N.' More common are: E_3 -4.6 s-V-4.6 '4.6 didn't V., 4.6 V-ed nothing.' (where E_3 is translated as a simple negative or as a negative object if the V is transitive), and E_3 k^w e V 'Nobody V-s.' (where k^w e V is syntactically a relative clause 'the one who V-s' as in 'The one who V-s is nobody.' > 'Nobody V-s.'). Even E_3 V occurs (where the V is expandable into an expanded VP, for example, E_3 me V); here the E_3 is translated as subject, 'Nobody V-s.' Finally E_3 , ?ewéte that is, also has partitive constructions: $\text{?ewéte } k^w$ e V $\text{teli } 4.11_{pl}$ - $\text{?ewéte } \text{teli } 4.11_{pl} k^w$ e V 'None of (us, you, them) V(-ed).' and $\text{?ewéte } k^w$ e V $\text{teli } A(-4.6) N(-4.6)$ - $\text{?ewéte } \text{teli } A(-4.6) N(-4.6)$

$k^w_e V$ 'None of (my, your, etc.) N's V(-ed).' (the N is inflectionally plural if possible).

Here are some examples of each of the sentence types above (the numbers correspond with the paragraph numbers above):

1. $?iwálem\ te\ mémele$ 'The children are playing.'
 - $k^w_{é}c-l-ex^w-es\ te\ swíyεqe\ te\ spé·θ$ 'The man saw a bear.'
 - $mey-θ-áx^y-es\ tel\ siyéye$ 'My friend helps me.'
 - $tés-l-em\ θúx'á\ te\ swíyεqe.$ 'She was bumped into by the man.' and $tés-l-em\ θúx'á\ te\ kár.$ 'She was hit by a car.' (cp. $téslex^w-es\ θúx'á\ te\ swíyεqe$ 'She bumped into the man.' and $téslex^w-es\ θúx'á\ te\ kár$ 'The car hit her.')
 - $?f.was-t-em\ (θúx'á,\ te\ swíyεqe)$ '(She, The man) is being taught.'
 - $k^w_{é}·lx^y-t-em\ θúx'á$ 'She was hidden., They hid her away.'
 - $lε\ k^w_{é}·lx^y-t-em\ ye\ síyε·ye-s$ 'She was hidden away by her friends.' (The NP is interpreted as agent S because the O has already been specified previously as $θúx'á$).
 - $k^w_{é}·lx^y-εic-t-em\ θúx'á$ 'It was hidden for her.'
 - $c'éc'εq^w-l-em\ k^w$ ($tewétes,\ swátle$) '(Someone, So-and-so) got shot.'
2. $Éiy-éic-t-es\ te\ sq^w_{ém}é·y$ 'He made it for the dog.'

ɬic'-əɬc-et-cel-cɛ te sméyɛθ 'I'll cut off the meat
for someone.'

qá·-ɬc-eθ-áx^y-es te qá· 'He brought me the water.'

k^wé·lx^y-əɬc-θ-áx^y-es θúʔ'à 'She hid it for me.'

píx^w-əɬc-t-es θe sɬélf te swíyɛqɛ 'The woman brushed
it off for the man.'

3. k^wéctetes líf k^wɛ lélɛm 'He saw it in your house.'

cel éiyt te swóq^wɛɬ telí te sé'ys te p'q'élqel 'I
made the blanket from the wool of the mountain goat.'

cel ye-ɬe'él k^we sq'élwlec 'I went/travelled through/
via Scowlitz.'

le líf te s'él·ʔ'q k^wɛəl mólɛ 'My child is outside.'

le líf k^we sθ'á·mɛs θəl mólɛ 'My daughter is in Vic-
toria.'

líf te x^yéɬ tel mólɛ 'My child is in the road.'

st'él k^we spé·θ te Bob 'Bob is like a bear.'

4. lém te smélt 'He went to the mountain.'

lém te stəqtéq túʔ'à 'He went to the jumpile.'

ʔəmí te lélémcət te ʔisé·le spé·θ 'Two bears come to
our house.'

5. l sʔ'í k^we qá· 'I want some water.'

ʔɛ sʔ'íyɛ k^we qá· 'Do you want some water?'

líf ʔɛ sʔ'í k^wɛs yáys 'Do you want to work?' (lit.

'Is it your want that you work?')

ʔéwe lísl sq'élwɛl k^wɛs lém 'I don't think you

should go.' (lit. 'It's not my thought/feeling
that you go.')

6. (All EB) q^wé1émcetce k^w sə'áq^wi 'We'll barbecue
salmon.'

q^weq^wé1ém tə sə'áq^wi 'barbecuing salmon'

k^wzém tə k^yápi 'pour coffee (lots, as a function or
activity)'

léntz k^wé1.əm tə siyáɬ 'Go fetch (some) wood!'

lɛcx^w cesé.t k^ws lɛs k^wé1.əm k^w qá. 'Send him to get
water!'

cel ɬf.m tə sk^wó.lmex^w 'I'm picking blackberries.'

əiyém tə səpif.l 'to bake bread'

c'ém tə k^wfx^w 'to chew gum'

ɬek^wé.ls tə sə'áq^wi 'He went hooking salmon (gaff-
ing)., He gaffed a fish.' (cp. ɬek^wé.ls tə swíyeqe
'The man went gaffing/hooking.')

híyeq^wels tə s'éɬtel 'He was burning food at a ritual.,
He was performing a burning.' (cp. híyeq^wels tə
swíyeqe 'The man was performing a burning.')

ɬet^wk^wéls tə siyáɬ 'He carves wood.' (cp. ɬet^wk^wéls
tə swíyeqe 'The man carves.')

cel c'ek^wxéls tə sə'áq^wi 'I fried (the) salmon (there
is lots).' (cp. cel c'ék^wxt tə sə'áq^wi 'I fried
the salmon.')

ʔf.ɬcel c'ék^wxéls tə səplf.l 'I was frying bread.'

le ɬe'ɛ̄·ls (- ɬifec'ɛ̄ls) te siyáɬ 'He's gone cutting wood.'

ceɬ ʔelqɛ̄ls te səplɪ·l 'I bought (the) bread.' (cp.

ceɬ ʔilɛ̄qet te səplɪ·l 'I bought the bread.')

(cp. k^wáx^wet te q'ɛ̄wet 'beat the drum' but *k^wx^wɛ̄·ls te q'ɛ̄wet; x^wek^wátes te Bill 0e Méɬɪ 'Bill drags

Mary.' but *x^wek^wɛ̄·ls te Bill 0e Méɬɪ; x^wáy-met-əs túɬ'a te s0'áq^wi 'He sold the fish.' but *x^wáyem túɬ'a te s0'áq^wi.)

7. See examples in past tense treated in Chapters 4, 6, and later in 11.

8.1. mek^wstém ʔɪl k^wɛ̄clɛx^w 'I saw everything.'

ʔewéte k^wstém ʔɪl k^wɛ̄clɛx^w 'I saw nothing.'

ʔewéte tewét (ɪɪl, ʔɪl) k^wɛ̄clɛx^w 'I saw nobody.'

ʔewéte tewét k^wɛ̄clɛx^wes te swíyɛqɛ 'The man saw nobody.'

mek^wewét k^wɛ̄clɛx^wes te swíyɛqɛ 'The man saw everybody.'

mek^wstém k^wɛ̄clɛx^wes yi siwíyɛqɛ 'The men saw everything.'

mék^w tewét (- mek^wewét) k^wɛ̄clɛx^wes 'He saw everybody.'

mek^wewét lép'ex^yes te ɬɛyɬ'ɛ̄l0 'The grizzly bear ate everybody.'

(lép'ex^yes te ɬɛyɬ'ɛ̄l0 mek^wewétes 'The grizzly ate

everybody (that was there).' and $\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\text{p}'\text{e}\text{x}^{\text{v}}\text{e}\text{s}$ $\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}$
 $\text{x}\acute{\text{e}}\text{y}\text{a}'\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}$ $\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\text{k}'^{\text{w}}\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{w}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}\text{e}\text{s}$ 'The grizzly ate anybody
 (that came along).' show normal V S O order is an
 alternative and also show a possible semantic dis-
 tinction between $\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\text{k}'^{\text{w}}\text{e}\text{w}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}(\text{e}\text{s})$ and $\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\text{k}'^{\text{w}}\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{w}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}(\text{e}\text{s}).$)
 $\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\text{k}'^{\text{w}}\text{e}\text{w}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}\text{e}\text{s}$ $\text{a}'\text{a}'\acute{\text{e}}\text{x}^{\text{v}}\text{e}\text{l}\text{t}\text{e}\text{s}$ 'He/She/They invited every-
 body.'

$\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\text{k}'^{\text{w}}\text{e}\text{w}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}$ $\text{k}'^{\text{w}}\acute{\text{e}}\text{c}\text{l}\text{e}\text{x}^{\text{w}}\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}$ $\text{s}\text{w}\text{í}\text{y}\text{e}\text{q}\text{e}$ 'Everybody saw the man.'

$\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\text{k}'^{\text{w}}\text{e}\text{w}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}$ $\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\text{m}$ - $\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\text{k}'^{\text{w}}\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\text{m}$ 'Everybody went.'

$\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\text{k}'^{\text{w}}\text{e}\text{w}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}$ $\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}$ (or $\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}?$) $\text{?}\acute{\text{é}}\text{y}\text{e}\text{l}\text{e}\text{s}$ 'Everyone left him.'

$\text{?}\acute{\text{e}}\text{w}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}\text{e}$ $\text{k}'^{\text{w}}\text{s}\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{m}$ $\text{s}\text{l}\acute{\text{i}}^{\text{w}}$ 'There's nothing in(side) it.'

$\text{s}\text{a}'\text{i}\text{s}$ $\text{k}'^{\text{w}}\text{e}$ $\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\text{k}'^{\text{w}}\text{e}\text{w}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}\text{e}\text{s}$ 'He likes (wants) everyone.'

$\text{w}\acute{\text{e}}\text{z}$ $\text{?}\text{i}\text{y}\acute{\text{a}}\text{.l}\acute{\text{e}}\text{m}$ $\text{k}'^{\text{w}}\text{e}$ $\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\text{k}'^{\text{w}}\text{e}\text{w}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}\text{e}\text{s}$ '(It's) enough for
 everybody.'

8.2. $\text{m}\acute{\text{ó}}\text{k}'^{\text{w}}\text{c}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}$ $\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\text{m}$ 'We're all going.'

$\text{m}\acute{\text{ó}}\text{k}'^{\text{w}}$ ($\text{q}'\acute{\text{á}}\text{y}$, $\text{w}\acute{\text{ó}}\text{q}'^{\text{w}}$, $\text{t}'\text{i}\text{t}'\acute{\text{e}}\text{c}'\text{e}\text{m}$) '(They're) all (dead,
 drowned, swimming).'

$\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\text{k}'^{\text{w}}$ $\text{s}\text{l}\acute{\text{é}}\text{t}$ $\text{k}'^{\text{w}}\text{e}\text{s}$ $\text{?}\text{e}\text{m}\text{i}\text{s}$ $\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}$ $\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\text{m}\text{c}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}$ $\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}$ $\text{?}\text{i}\text{s}\acute{\text{é}}\text{.l}\acute{\text{e}}$ $\text{s}\text{p}\acute{\text{é}}\text{.}\text{e}$
 'Every night two bears come to our house.'

$\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\text{k}'^{\text{w}}$ $\text{s}\text{w}\acute{\text{é}}\text{y}\text{e}\text{l}$ $\text{k}'^{\text{w}}\text{e}\text{l}\text{s}$ $\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\text{m}$ 'Every day I go.'

$\text{y}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}\acute{\text{é}}\text{w}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}$ $\text{l}\acute{\text{á}}\text{s}$ $\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}\acute{\text{i}}$ $\text{k}'^{\text{w}}\text{s}$ $\text{m}\acute{\text{ó}}\text{k}'^{\text{w}}\text{s}$ 'He's fattest of all.'

$\text{s}\text{k}'^{\text{w}}\acute{\text{é}}\text{y}$ $\text{k}'^{\text{w}}\text{e}\text{s}$ $\text{m}\acute{\text{ó}}\text{k}'^{\text{w}}\text{e}\text{l}\text{e}\text{p}$ $\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\text{m}$ 'You can't all go.'

$\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\text{c}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}$ $\text{m}\acute{\text{ó}}\text{k}'^{\text{w}}$ $\text{?}\acute{\text{é}}\text{y}\text{e}\text{l}$ $\text{a}'\text{e}\text{k}'^{\text{w}}\text{c}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}$ $\text{t}'\acute{\text{é}}\text{t}'\text{i}\text{y}\text{e}\text{q}'$ 'We all left
 because we were mad.'

$\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\text{m}\text{l}\acute{\text{é}}\text{m}\text{e}\text{t}\text{c}\text{x}'^{\text{w}}$ $\text{m}\acute{\text{é}}\text{k}'^{\text{w}}$ $\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}$ $\text{e}'\text{x}'^{\text{w}}\text{e}\text{l}\text{w}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}\text{e}\text{m}$ 'Fold all my laundry!'

- lemlémetcx^W mók^W yel ?é.wk^W 'Fold all my clothes
(lit. belongings).'
- lemlémetcx^W mók^W ye ck^Wi.m-1 ?é.wk^W 'Fold all my
red clothes.'
- k^Wéclcx^Wes te swíyqə mók^W yi sʔelʔéíí 'The man
saw all the women.'
- qəʔ.asésu ?á.ʔ mók^W yuk^Wálem 'And so they all got
aboard.'
- c^Wi.tcəl mók^W yuk^Wálem k^Wses ?i.wesəʔax^Wes x^Wəlé.m
te sx^Wəlméx^Wəʔ s^Wi.wes 'I thank them all for
teaching me (about) the Indian (way of) teachings.'
- mók^W ?i (tə)l mémələ 'My children are all here.'
- 8.3. wé.te st^Wélmex^W 'Is(n't) there any medicine?'
(?ə)wéte q^Wó.lə 'He has no ear(s)., They have no
ears.; It has no handle (especially of a cup).'
- wé.te ?e sméyóθ 'Do(n't) you have any meat?'
- qéx te ʔ'ik^Wíyəʔp qə ?ewéte ʔ'ik^Wəl 'There's a lot
of bean vines but no beans.'
- ?ewéte kapu k^Wses x^We?i. 'He came without a coat.'
(He had no coat when he arrived.)
- le ?éʔ.qəl qə ?ewéte ?à kapús qə yíyəq 'He went out-
side without a coat and it was snowing.'
(Chill.) ?ewéte-l sʔéq^W·el·ex^W - (Cheh., Tait) wéte-l
ʔq^W·él·ex^W 'I don't know.'
- ?ewéte-l sʔéq^W·el·ex^W k^Wes q^Wépsce k^We ?i.k^Wəlà

'I didn't know there was going to be a gathering here.'

?ewštε sɪšq'el·əx^W wetemtémesce k'^Wes ?éitəlcet qelét

'Nobody knows when we'll eat again.'

?ewštε-l s-ɪf·m 'I didn't pick anything.'

?ewštε s-k^Wfyəxtəmèt 'Nothing could be done.'

?ewštε-l sx^W?éy 'I'm good for nothing.'

?ewštε sx^W?éys 'He's good for nothing.'

(cp. mek'^Wstém sx^W?éys 'He's good for everything.')

?ewštε k'^We lém 'Nobody's going.'

?ewštε k'^Ws k^Wətéx^Wemet 'Nothing was inside (a building, esp. a house).'

?ewštε k'^We le q^Wélsə̀·m 'Nobody spoke to you.'

?ewštε k'^We le q^Wélsə̀·m 'Did nobody/Did(n't) anybody speak to you?'

?ewštε k'^We le m'éyə̀·m 'Weren't you helped?, Did(n't) anybody help you?'

wəx^Wémə̀·l wštε t'wə k^W k'^Wéclàx^W 'If I hurry, nobody will see me.'

(?ə)wštε ?i· 'He's not here., Nobody's here.'

?ewštε mē x^We?i· 'Nobody came/arrived.'

(cp. ?šwecəl lɪl k'^Wécləx^W tewét 'I didn't see anybody.' and ?šwə ?is ?i k'^Wécləx^Wes k^Wstéməs ʌ' Bill 'Bill didn't see anything.')

?ewštε k'^We lém tɛlf ʌ'ɛ:lɪmɛɪ - ?ewštε tɛlf ʌ'ɛ:lɪmɛɪ

k^wə(s) lém 'None of us went.'

(One speaker of the Chehalis dialect also gives

ʔəwétseɕp lém 'None of you folks went.' and

ʔəwétseɕət lém 'None of us went.' as alternatives.)

ʔəwétə k^wə lém təlɪ təl məmələ 'None of my children went.'

In addition to the eight rules above, it is also necessary here to make some statements about Vi's, Vt's, and types of Vi's which have their own syntactic properties. Excluded from these will be statements about syntactic properties of Vad_v, Pad_v, Pmod, Dad_v, Vaux, Vneg, auxiliary past, and lɪ questions; all of these will be treated in 11.2.2.

Other types of verbs and syntactic classifications:

9. Pronouns of set 4.7 can occur as verbs; 4.7 can be a complete sentence as can 4.7-ɕə; 4.7 is more nominal in the sentence type k^ʔá 4.7. Vpron's are those in sets 4.1 and 4.2. They can be used syntactically like other Vi's but are limited to 3rd person subject when inflected for subject by the other pronouns (4.4_z (unmarked), 4.6_z -s, 4.8_z -s, and 4.9 -s). Vpron can be inflected for future (-ɕə) as well as subjunctive (we-___-4.9a). Examples in sentences show that no k^w-4.8-s ___-4.8 is needed to conjoin

Vpron to a following VP; the VP is merely added without subject pronoun and the Vpron becomes the subject of the following VP. Thus iwélep-ce lém 'It will be you folks that go.', le sá'f--s k'wé-s ?éle-s k'wéclex^w 'He wants me to see it.', le sté?é.wel túx'à k'wé-s ?éle-s-ce lém 'He thinks (lit. 'guesses') I'm the one to go.' tawét can also follow 4.1 in examples such as léwe tawét 'Who are you?'

10. V-Reflex, V-Recip, and V-Mid function syntactically as Vi's.

11. V-Ppl functions as Vaj.

12. á 'that's ___, it's/he's/she's ___' is mainly verbal in syntax, but it also functions with particles to conjoin abstract concepts and VP's as well (see 11.2.5). á always occurs first in the sentence; it allows A to be omitted before N or even before V > N; it can receive possessive inflection for the following N when A is omitted; it can also receive -ce 'future', -e 'interrogative' and we-___-s 'if/when, subjunctive, 3rd person'.

13. Numerals behave syntactically like N's, Vaj's, or Vadv's depending on the affixes added to them, i.e., -éi 'times' on numerals produces Vadv's, -elsx^vé is only used internally within the class to produce more numerals (multiples of ten), and A can precede numerals

with all other affixes, yielding N's when no other N follows the Num. If A Num-X N is found, the Num is acting like a Vaj. Num + -éle 'people' is attested affixed with 4.4 and also with wə- 'if,when' + -4.9a 'subjunctive', in both cases as an N > V (a nominal being used as a verb). Num + s- -s 'o'clock, hour' or s- -s 'day of the week' are clearly N's with the s- nominalizing them. Numerals between 10 and 100 but not multiples of ten are formed like N's, using Num qes A Num, but they may be used as V's in the ways mentioned, without omitting the A after qes (?əpélecet qes tē láléc'ə 'We are eleven people., There are eleven of us.'). Num + -es 'dollars' is sometimes attested as an N without a preceding A; and two examples have been found of Num N acting together as a main verb before conjunctions (similar to the way mék^w slét 'every night' is used); the Num N is translated as an adverbial phrase. Since no examples of numerals in sentences were given in Chapter 10 the following are quoted:

méx^ycex^w k^wé léc'ə. 'Take one off!', cel θíyt k^wé (?isé'le, léc'ə). 'I made (two, one).', q^wé·1 tē láléc'ə. 'One person spoke/speaks.', lém tē láléc'ə. 'One person went.', metí ?áx^wesəx^y tú·x^wes! 'Give me nine dollars!', Num-éle-cet. 'There's Num of us.',

láléc'æcəl. 'I'm alone., I'm one person.', sk'wíy k'wes
 k'wíys welaléc'és ?e k'we θek'wét. 'He couldn't climb/
 get up if there was only one person to pull him.',
 láléc'e mestíyex^w telí k'we north. 'There was one
 person from the north.', k'á yáswe líf xə?áθel lé'c'ewec
 mestíyex^w lí te θé. 'There were maybe four hundred
 people there.', le x'wí.1 səs θe siyá·lex^we, lí íx'wé·le
 siyá·lex^we, ?á·met, qe sk'wé·y k'ws k'wéclex^w. 'He got
 there to the old people, is it three old people?, sit-
 ting, and they couldn't see.' (CT), ífx^w swíyəl k'wsəs
 yá·yəs túk'a 'He was working three days.' (CT),
 léc'e x'welé·lít su ?emí te stelqá·yε, l sq'wélewel k'wes
 xə?á·θel te stelqá·yε q'é·lemi. 'So one night (the)
 wolves came, I think it was four wolf girls (adoles-
 cent)' (lit. 'my thought is that the wolves adolescent
 virgin girls were four')(CT), ?áx^westem túk'à te
 xə?á·θel sθ'á·m. 'He was given four bones.', mók'^w
 slét k'wes ?emís te lelémcet te ?isé·le spé·θ. 'Every
 night two bears come to our house.', cet ?éx^wet te
 sq'wémíy te léc'e sθ'á·m. 'We gave your dog one bone.'

Some syntactic requirements due to inflection:

14. Reflexives: 4.4 usually precedes V-lá·met
 and often precedes V-(e)θet in forming the present
 tense.

15. Reciprocal: V-tel almost always requires S_{pl} if an S is present.

16. Pluralized verbs: agreement in number between verbs with pluralized subjects or pluralized objects and their -S, -O, S, and O is obligatory when these occur, but only as shown in the following formulae:

$$\begin{aligned} &V_{pl} S^{-O}-S_{pl} A N (A N_{sg,pl}, 4.3_{pl}) \\ &V_{pl} O^{-O}_{pl}-S (A N_{sg,pl}, 4.3_{pl}) \\ &V_{pl} S^{-S}_{pl} (A N_{sg,pl}, 4.3_{pl}) \end{aligned}$$

(As usual, items separated by commas within parentheses are alternatives, one of which must be chosen.

$V_{pl} S$ and $V_{pl} O$ stand for verbs pluralized (as in 6.1.9) for plural subject and plural object.)

17. Interrogative inflection (with the one exception noted in 26 below) does not change normal syntactic order or syntactic requirement, whether the V so inflected is $l\acute{e}m$, $sk'^w\acute{e}y$, $s\acute{a}'f$, $ʔ\acute{e}w\acute{e}$, $ʔ\acute{e}w\acute{e}\acute{t}$, $ʔ\acute{e}w\acute{e}\acute{t}\acute{e}$, $\lambda'\acute{a}$, 4.1, 4.2, or $N > V$. Thus, $l\acute{e}m\acute{e}$ still behaves as a main verb, $sk'^w\acute{e}y\acute{e}$ still requires $k'^w-4.8-s$ V-4.8, $s\acute{a}'f\acute{y}\acute{e}$ still requires NP or $k'^w-4.8-s$ V-4.8, $ʔ\acute{e}w\acute{e}$ still requires ($l\acute{f}$, $ʔf$)-4.9b V or V-4.9a (or 4.6 $s\acute{a}'f-s$ $k'^w-4.8-s$ V-4.8, etc.), $ʔ\acute{e}w\acute{e}\acute{t}$ still can be followed by a non-subjunctive verb (as $ʔ\acute{e}w\acute{e}\acute{t}$ can) despite being a Vneg, $ʔ\acute{e}w\acute{e}\acute{t}\acute{e}$ still can be followed by N or $V > N$ or the other constructions outline above

in 11.2.1.8.3, $\lambda^{\prime}á$ still can be followed by N without an article, and (4.1, 4.2, N)-e still stand as main verbs requiring $k^{\prime W}$ -4.8-s V-4.8 for subordinate verbs following.

Syntactic properties of Vq:

18. Vq are mainly sentence-initial (except $\text{?ét}\ddot{\text{t}}$ '(tag-question)' which is sentence-final).

19. Some Vq are only attested sentence-initially: $\lambda^{\prime}ak^{\prime W}selc\acute{f}ms$, $l\acute{f}$, and $láyéx^{\prime W}\epsilon$.

20. When sentence-initial, all Vq but $\lambda^{\prime}ak^{\prime W}selc\acute{f}ms$, $x^{\prime W}\text{?í}\acute{t}$ and $láyéx^{\prime W}\epsilon$ are attested followed by -4.4 and -cε.

21. A few Vq can also occur after preposed 4.4 ($x^{\prime W}e\text{?í}\acute{t}$, $\text{?el}\acute{e}c\epsilon$, $x^{\prime W}c\acute{e}\cdot l$, $x^{\prime W}\text{?í}\acute{t}$) or after Vaux-4.4 ($selc\acute{f}m$, $k^{\prime W}\text{f}\cdot l$, $x^{\prime W}e\text{?í}\acute{t}$, $x^{\prime W}c\acute{á}\acute{k}^{\prime W}el$)(Vaux here includes $l\epsilon$, ?e , and $\text{?í}\ddot{\text{t}}$).

22. Some Vq can follow Vadv (or Padv)(as in $w\acute{e}\ddot{\text{t}}$ $k^{\prime W}\text{f}\cdot l$ or $y\acute{e}\ddot{\text{t}}$ $x^{\prime W}c\acute{á}\acute{k}^{\prime W}el$), and $tew\acute{e}\acute{t}$ can follow $\text{?ew}\acute{e}\acute{t}\epsilon$ (a Vadv?) or 4.1 verbal pronouns.

23. Some Vq can be inflected for subjunctive and then used as relative interrogatives (as discussed in Chapter 6); these include: $tel\cdot\acute{e}c\epsilon$, $x^{\prime W}(e)c\acute{e}\cdot l$, $x^{\prime W}(e)c\acute{á}\acute{k}^{\prime W}el$, $\text{?el}\acute{e}c\epsilon$, $tew\acute{e}\acute{t}$, and $st\acute{e}m$; of these, $\text{?el}\acute{e}c\epsilon$, $tel\cdot\acute{e}c\epsilon$, and $x^{\prime W}(e)c\acute{á}\acute{k}^{\prime W}el$ are made subjunctive by following the subjunctivized auxiliaries ?í and $l\acute{f}$, that

is, wə-(ʔf, lf)-4.9b (ʔɛlɛ́cɛ, tɛl·ɛ́cɛ, x^w(ə)cák^wəl).

24. sɛlɛf·m and k^wf·l can be inflected with lexical affixes.

25. Vq occur almost exclusively before A (either in NP, subordinate VP, or relative clause), but exceptions include: tɛmtɛm and sɛlɛf·m before V-Sbjn, lf before declarative verbs, ʔɛlɛ́cɛ before wɛ́yɛlɛs (a Vadv), and k^wf·l and tɛwɛt before N in constructions like 'how many snows/years?', 'what man?', 'whose dog?'.
 26. When a Vq or interrogatively inflected verb is followed by a relative clause containing a Vt, and it is the object of the Vt which is relativized ('What is it that you're holding?'), the subject of the Vt is indicated by (ʔf, lf)-4.9b inserted between the A and the Vt. The marking of subject and object in relative clauses is discussed fully in 11.2.4, but the preceding construction is noted here because it is triggered by the interrogative (Vq or V + -ə 'interrogative').

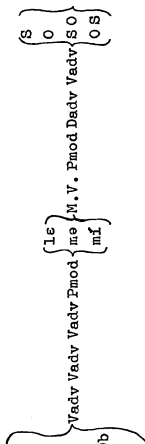
27. There are no examples of Vq in a subordinate clause other than those put into the subjunctive and tɛs tɛ sk^wf·ls 'What time/hour is it?' where k^wf·l is inflected with the lexical affixes for 'hour' and nominalized or relativized ('It approaches/gets up to what hour?').

Examples of everything discussed in 18. through 27. above are quoted in 6.2.5.

Syntactic properties of Vdem:

28. Vdem's have special characteristics in the way they combine derivationally with other demonstratives to form new demonstratives. This has been described in Chapter 9. Their only other special syntactic characteristic is that a Vprep, lf 'in, at, to', is omitted following a Vdem. Otherwise Vdem's behave syntactically just like ordinary Vi's: Vdem-4.4 (NP) is declarative, 4.4 Vdem (NP) is ambiguous past, ?f-4.4 Vdem (NP) is auxiliary past, lf-4.4 Vdem (NP) is interrogative, Vdem-4.4-ce is future, we-Vdem-4.9b is subjunctive, etc.

11.2.2. Expansion of the VP With Internal Modifiers: Vaux, Vadv, Padv, Pmod, Dadv, past tenses, Vneg, lf questions. A maximally-expanded VP would look like the following, showing the positions of the various possible modifiers (M.V. = main verb): (see chart on next page)

A maximally expanded VP:
 $(?f, lf) \text{-Past}(-\text{Interrog}) \text{-}4.4$
 $?6 \text{-}4.4$
 4.4
 $\text{Vneg}(-\text{Interrog})(-\text{Tense}) \text{-}4.4(-\text{Tense}) (?f, lf) \text{-}4.9b$
 $lf \text{-}4.4(-\text{Tense})$


Notice how the VP is defined by putting its -4.4 pronoun subject inflection at the beginning and its S or O at the end. If nothing is present before the first Vadv then the first Vadv that is not a Padv can receive the -4.4 and -ce. If no Vadv is present before the M.V., the le or me - mf auxiliaries can accept the -4.4, as well as -4.8, -Tense (but with le), -Imper, and (with mf only) -Sbjn.

This formula is not a complete one for all constructions and inflections; it would have to be modified in some cases discussed below, and alternate constructions exist which are not shown (especially for Vneg). But it is a good rough outline. Each type of modifier will now be discussed, from those added

closest to the verb to those added furthest.

11.2.2.1. Vaux: lɛ and me ~ mɪ; ?f(·), lf(·), ?ɛ.

Vaux's divide into two groups syntactically. The first group, lɛ and me ~ mɪ, directly precedes the main verb of a phrase and receives some of its inflections: -4.4, -4.8, -ce 'future', -ɪ 'past' (only with me ~ mɪ), -tɪ ~ -ɪ 'imperative', we- 'when, if' + -4.9b 'subjunctive' (with mɪ only). lɛ and me ~ mɪ add either an inceptive sense, a directional sense, or a future sense (auxiliary future) to the VP.

?f(·) and lf(·) are both used a.) to form an auxiliary past tense (as is ?ɛ) but suffixed with -ɪ 'past' before -4.4 is added, b.) in an alternate method of forming the subjunctive after negative verbs and some Vadv's of uncertainty (like yáswe), and c.) to carry the pronoun subject suffix in the structure (Vq, V-e) A __-4.9b Vt-O, where the object of the Vt (in the relative clause) is relativized to serve as the subject or object of the interrogative verb (main verb). ?ɛ is used only in the auxiliary past tense so far as attested.

With lɛ and me ~ mɪ the following are also attested (as well as other structures):

Vaux-Imper V (A N). (Imperative)

4.4 Vaux V. (Ambiguous past)

1f-4.4 1ε V. (Allowed even though it is Vaux Vaux V;
this construction establishes clearly the division
of Vaux's into the initial group and the group
immediately before the main verb.)

Vaux-4.4 Vq. (Where Vaux = 1ε, ?é, and ?í·-z, and Vq
= selcíf·m, k^wí·1, x^wé?í·t, x^wcák^wel.)

Vadv (1ε, mē) V (NP).

(1ε, mē) Vadv V (NP). (A departure from the order
listed above, either exception or error.)

(1ε, mē) V Vadv.

4.4 Vadv Vadv mē V.

1f-4.4 Vadv 1ε Vadv. (1ε is either Vaux or M.V. here;
if it is Vaux, the last Vadv is the M.V.)

11.2.2.2. Vadv. When a Vadv is the main verb
it can be expanded for tense, interrogative, subjunc-
tive, and so on, like any plain Vi. When Vadv is
modifying a main verb it usually precedes or follows
it directly. In this section ten types of structures
have been identified with Vadv's, based mainly on over
80 sentences cited in 6.2.4.

.1. Vadv as M.V.: Vadv-4.4 and 4.4 Vadv. (ambiguous
past) occur, as do 4.4 Vadv A N., Vadv-4.4₃ A N., and
ye-Vadv-4.4₃ A N.

.2. Vadv as M.V. but in expanded VP:
1f-4.4 Vadv (A N). (Interrogative)

ʔéwə-4.4 ʔf-4.9b Vadv. (Negative)

(wə-Vadv-4.9a A N. (Subjunctive); not the main verb but expanded subordinate VP.)

3. Vadv modifying a V:

Vadv-4.4(-cε) V (NP). (The Vadv can take the subject and tense inflection from the verb it modifies but not the object or other inflections.)

V-4.4(-cε) Vadv (NP).

V-Imper Vadv.

4.4 Vadv V (NP).

4.4 V Vadv (NP).

if V = sʔ'f : Vadv-4.6 sʔ'f-4.6 NP.

if V = V-Sbjn: wə-V-4.9a Vadv is attested.

From the examples in 6.2.4 it can be seen that Vadv's can be grouped into those which occur before the verb they modify and those which occur after the verb they modify (and perhaps a few that can occur in either place).

Those attested only before the verb they modify are: c'éc'el(-əw) 'very', k^weɪtu 'very', ʔéθ'el 'really', c'fɪmɛl 'almost, near(ly)', x^wé.lq ~ x^wé.lqi 'almost', yɛɪ 'just, now' (only before subordinate conjunction sʔes which precedes the verb modified), qé'ys 'lately, recently', ʔfɪuɪàɪ 'the last time', ɪéq'eɪ 'used to', hf'θ 'a long time' (only before

subordinate conjunction k^ws V-4.8), léc 'sometimes' (only before subordinate conjunction k^w-4.8-s V-4.8 so far as attested), íéq' 'sometimes', x^wel 'still, yet', wəʔál(-əw) 'too (overly)', wiyáə 'always' (with or without a following subordinate conjunction k^w-4.8-s V-4.8), yáswe 'possibly, perhaps, might, maybe', wəɪ 'already', ʔəʔf·t 'truly, for sure', tx^wém 'early', x^wém 'fast' (only before subordinate conjunction k^w-4.8-s V-4.8), yeléwel 'just past, over, more'.

Those attested only after the verb they modify are: yewé·l 'first', hiyá·q^wt 'last, after, behind', x^wehíwel '(go, come) upriver', woq^wéylem '(go, come) downriver', tá·l ~ cúcu 'toward the river, (if on a river) away from shore', cá·m 'away from the water', t'á(·)k^w '(go) home, homeward', qelét 'again', tlaqé·ys 'now (this instant), right now', celéqeɪ 'yesterday', tlàwéyél 'today', wéyeles 'tomorrow', ʔel ~ ʔà(l) 'just, simply', yewé 'along, also', sq'eq'á 'along, together', ʔék'qel '(go) outside'.

Those attested both before and after the verb they modify: several numerals + -éɪ 'times' are attested after and (when followed by subordinate conjunction k^w-4.8-s ___-4.8) before the verb they modify, and s(e)lé 'tightly, tight' is attested before and after the verb it modifies but in either case only conjoined

with Vq lf: lf-4.4 V Vadv or lf-4.4 Vadv V

with Vneg (so far): ?ewéte V Vadv

wé-cé V-4.9a Vadv

?éwe-4.4 ?f-4.9b Vadv V (This

latter example may negate the Vadv rather than the main verb ('It's not too hot.' for example), but see the last chapter for more discussion of this.)

4. Some Vadv's can or must be followed by k^W-4.8-s ___-4.8 when occurring before a V. This may be either a syntactic requirement or alternative for these verbs or it may be a process of focus, to emphasize the Vadv by making it the main verb of the clause and subordinating the following verbs to it. Not enough examples have been obtained yet to establish whether the present examples (in 6.2.4) show a syntactic requirement, a syntactic alternative, or syntactically expressed semantic emphasis. It seems alternative or emphatic with Num-éí and ye-íiyá·q^Wt because both can also appear directly after the main verb (the latter as íiyá·q^Wt). It also seems alternative or emphatic (though more common) with wiyáθ because wiyáθ can also (rarely) precede the main verb without k^W-4.8-s. It may be a requirement with yeí, hí·θ, léc, and x^Wém, since these are not attested otherwise as Vadv's syntactically; nevertheless, these could also be cases

of an alternative structure or emphasis if these Vadv's were to be attested without k^W-4.8-s __-4.8 in later data or following the main verb. s(e)lɛ is a peculiar case from the single attestation; it can either precede or follow the main verb but only conjoined to it with k^W-4.8-s; it may well be a Vaj rather than Vadv.

5. In some cases a Vadv requires (lɪ, ?fɪ)-4.9b between it and the main verb that follows, or requires ʔá-4.9b where ʔá is the main verb. This is often the case with yáswe 'possibly, perhaps, might, maybe', x^Wɛ·lq 'almost', and ɬiθ 'all along, long ago' (probably short for weɬi·θ < weɬ hí·θ 'a long time ago'). As explained in 4.9 and elsewhere the subjunctive is used where there is doubt, uncertainty or negation. This is clear after yáswe, and yáswe is attested in the following: yáswe-cel lɪ-l we-lèm - yáswe we-lèm-ɛl 'I might go.', yáswe we-sk^Wɛy-es k^Wɛls lèm 'It may be impossible for me to go.', yáswe (we-)ʔá-s te mè·ls 'Maybe it's his father.' The same explanation may be possible for x^Wɛ·lq found in the following example: x^Wɛ·lqcel lɪl lém 'I almost went.' (but cp. x^Wɛ·lqcx^W lém, ?étɬ 'You almost went, didn't you?'). It is so far unclear why ɬiθ requires the subjunctive, but several examples show it: ɬiθ lɪ-s sɬéq'el·ex^W 'She

knew all along (long ago?).', $\text{hí}\theta \text{ lí-x}^w \text{ sáq'el}\cdot\text{ex}^w$
 $\text{lí-s } \text{?é}1\text{é}c \text{ k}^w\theta\text{el } \text{lé}1\text{em}$ 'You knew all along where my
house was.', $\text{lí}\theta \text{ lí-s háy}$ 'It was finished long ago'.

6. Vadv + Vadv + V: The same rules seen above also apply to cases where the VP is expanded by two Vadv's: those Vadv's which precede the main verb still do, and those that follow still follow; VP with two Vadv's are expanded by negation, interrogation, and lé and $\text{m}\theta$ auxiliaries just as the single Vadv VP's are; those Vadv's which require $\text{k}^w\text{-4.8-s}$ before the main verb still require it; and those Vadv's needing subjunctive on following (lí , ?í , há) still use it. The following constructions are attested in 6.2.4:

Vadv V Vadv (as in $\text{c'éc'el } \text{k}^w\text{ák}^w\text{es } \text{tlàwéyél}$)

Vadv Vadv V (as in $\text{wé} \text{ c'ímel } \text{á'sk}^w\text{el}$ or c'éc'el
 $\text{wél } \theta\text{e?í}\cdot\text{t}$)

Vadv(-cē) Vadv $\text{k}^w\text{-4.8-s}$ V-4.8 (as in $\text{?é}\theta\text{'el-cē } \text{wéhí}\theta$
 $\text{k}^w\text{es } \text{há}k^w\text{ex}^w$ or $\text{wé} \text{ hí}\theta \text{ k}^w\text{ses } \text{míq'}$)

Vadv-4.4 Vadv V - Vadv Vadv-4.4 V (as in $\text{yáswe}c\text{el}$
 $\text{x}^w\text{é}\cdot\text{lq}(\text{?é}1\text{í}) \text{ m}\text{elqí}\cdot\text{ws}\text{em} - \text{yáswe } \text{x}^w\text{é}\cdot\text{lq}\text{c}\text{el } \text{m}\text{elqí}\cdot\text{ws}\text{em}$
($\text{?é}1\text{í}$ is possibly sic for $-\text{é}1\text{-i}$ or $\text{lí}\cdot\text{l}$))

4.4 Vadv? Vadv ($\text{m}\theta$) V (as in $\text{c}\text{el } \text{k}^w\text{é } \text{wé} \text{ lé}1\text{em}$ or cel
 $\text{k}^w\text{é } \text{wé} \text{ m}\theta \text{ x}^w\text{é}\cdot\text{m}$)

lí-4.4 Vadv V(or Vaux) Vadv (as in $\text{lí } \text{wé} \text{ lé } \text{?é}\cdot\text{yél}$)
Presumably either the first or second verb in each

of the above has a subject pronoun inflection (-4.4), but since -4.4 in the 3rd person is unmarked on Vi's one cannot be sure which verb is so inflected. When both modifying Vadv's occur before the verb, some may be required first and some second. There are too few examples in my data so far to say much, but those attested first are ?éθ'el, weɬ, c'éc'el, yáswe, probably ɬéq'eɬ, and k^Wé (if a Vadv); those attested second are híθ, c'ímel, x^Wé·lq, probably wiyáθ, and wel (if a Vadv). (For ɬéq'eɬ and wiyáθ see 7. below).

7. Vadv + Vadv + Vadv + V: Three examples of this construction have been attested so far, and everything said in 6. just above appears to apply here as well. Vadv Vadv V A N Vadv. (As in: ɬéq'eɬ wiyáθ c'í·yeɬ yé x^Wèlmèx^W k^Wuɬíθeɬ 'The people used to pray all the time long ago.'

Vadv Vadv Vadv k^W-4.8-s V-4.8. (in 3rd person k^W-4.8-s V-4.8 can be replaced optionally with k^Ws V-s or k^Wses V, as noted in Chapter 9). (As in the example: weɬ (we)?ál-əw híθ k^Ws ?ítet-s 'He's already slept too long.')

Vadv Vadv Vadv Vaj. (As in: c'éc'el wel θə?í·t s'ú·met 'He's really truly lazy.')

Again there are not enough examples to be definitive about whether certain Vadv's must occur first,

others second, others third when all three precede the main verb. In the examples found here weɪ and c'éc'el come first, (wə)ál-ew and wel come second, and híθ and θeʔí·t come third. The first example shows an additional example of the order of two Vadv's before a verb and sɪq'el and wiyáθ should be added to the statement of order in 6. just above.

8. Vadv's modifying verbs can occur also in dependent or subordinate VP's. Examples include:

ʔewéte V Vadv k'W-4.8-s V-4.8 Vadv: ʔewéte sɪq'el·ex^W
 wetemétescə k'Wəs ʔéitelcet qelét 'No-one knows
 when we'll eat again.'

l sq^Wélewel k'W me-s V Vadv: l sq^Wélewel k'W mes
 sémex^W tláwéyél 'I think it's going to rain today.'

4.4 Vadv V k'Wses Vadv V: cəl θeʔí·t sɪq'el·ex^W k'Wses
 weɪ ləm 'I know for sure he's gone.'

sə'f k'W-4.8-s V-4.8 Vadv: sə'f k'Wəls lə yewé 'I
 want to go along.'

All the examples show V Vadv in the subordinate VP except for one example of Vadv V; the same rules apply here as above regarding expansion with me and which Vadv's precede or follow the verb they modify. The first verb in the subordinate VP (whether Vadv or Vaux or Vt, etc.) receives a -4.8 suffix as expected if the subordinate VP has a third person or a plural subject

(i.e. k'^W-4.8-s V-4.8)(as usual -4.8 is only realized on the word preceding the first verb in singular 1st and 2nd persons, k'^W-el-s and k'^W-e-s).

9. Some Vadv's can be preceded by an article and still function adverbially: the A Vadv acts as a unit Vadv, occurring where its Vadv would occur and modifying the main verb of the VP. This combination of A Vadv never functions as an NP and can never be the subject or object of a verb except after Vprep where A Vadv can be the NP object. The best explanation may be to say that the A is prefixed and loses its function; the resulting Vadv would be treated as a variant of the original Vadv. Examples found so far include: ?shíw, cúcu, cá·leq^W, cá·k^W, wə́f·θ(ə́), cə́lqə́(ə́), and wéyələs. t̄l̄àwéyél functions in the same way at times but already has its A prefixed (tə-là-wéyél, see Chapter 9). Examples in sentences include:

lémcel k'^We ?shíw 'I'm going upriver.'

lém k'^We cúcu 'He's going toward the river (or away from the shore).'

le yə́q^W k'^We cá·leq^W 'The backwoods are burnt.'

k'^Wéclex^Wes te lélém lí te cá·k^W 'He saw a house in the distance/far away.'

ɛ́q'ə́ wiyáθ c'f.yə́ yé x^Wə́lmə́x^W k'^We-wə́fθə́ 'The people used to pray all the time long ago.'

cep ʔéɪtel (k^we) cəlɛqəɪ(əɪ) 'You folks ate yesterday.'

ʔɪcəl lɪ k^we cəlɛqəɪ(əɪ) 'I was there yesterday.'

lɪmcəlce k^we wɛyɛles 'I'll go tomorrow.'

yelɛwəl xɛyɪt^w tɫàwɛyɔɪ tɛɪ k^we cəlɛqəɪ(əɪ) 'Today is colder than yesterday.' or better (and lit.)

'It is colder today than yesterday.'

10. A few adverbial elements are affixes, namely -q^vɪs 'how __!', really __!', and -à 'simply, just' (< ʔeɪ ~ ʔà(1) with same meaning). These are merely affixed onto the verb they modify (whether it be Vadv, Vt, or the like); they are word-final. Examples can be found in 6.2.4.

11.2.2.3. Padv. Padv's function syntactically just like Vadv's (where they are described as Vadv's, see Chapters 6, 7, and 11.2.2.2 just above); the only difference is that Padv's cannot be inflected.

11.2.2.4. Pmod. Pmod's function syntactically like Vadv's but cannot be inflected. They modify the main verb and occur adjacent to it like Vadv's. Like Vadv's some Pmod's occur before the verb they modify, some after. ɔ'ɛ and ʔɛt^wwɛɪ occur before the verb they modify, while t^we ~ t^wɛ and k^wɛ occur after (there is one attestation of t^wɛ before, either an error or showing t^we ~ t^wɛ can occur in both places).

ʔət'wewɿ is a compound, but within it t'wɛ may be seen following a verb: ʔɛ is an auxiliary verb used with past tense (see Chapter 6); wɛɿ is left to precede the verb which follows the compound. Regarding the possibility that semantic groups help determine membership in groups of Vadv's (and Pmod's) which occur before and which occur after the verbs they modify, θ'ɛ and ʔət'wewɿ express "a degree of (un)certainty" and precede their verbs just like the similar group of Vadv's. But t'wɛ ~ t'wɛ fits this semantic area too and yet follows its verb. k'wɛ 'anyway' is semantically similar to ʔɛl 'just, simply' (both expressing intention or attitude) and like ʔɛl follows the verb it modifies. So three of the Pmod's confirm and one denies the idea of semantic determination of membership in classes which precede or follow the verb modified. If the single attestation of t'wɛ before its verb is multiplied in later data then it too would tend to confirm.

11.2.2.5. Dadv.

1. Dadv's modify V's and can be conjugated like Vadv's (by inflecting the Vdem's they contain). For example, Dadv-4.4-cɛ ʔà is really Vdem-4.4-cɛ ʔà (A) D since all Dadv's are really adverbial phrases consisting of Vdem (A) D. The one exception is tɪ, which is

unfortunately not attested with any suffixes yet (-ce or -4.4 for example). It is best to treat Dadv's as single syntactic units because they are positioned syntactically like Vadv's. Dadv's can be the M.V. or can modify other V's.

2. Some Dadv's are followed by k^W-4.8-s V-4.8 where the V is the V they modify. For example:

mə ɬák^W tɛlɪ k^We cák^W λ'esu ʔfík^Welà k^Wsəs

ɕiyɛltx^Wem 'He flew from far away and he makes his home here.'

lɪ k^We ʔɛ k^Wsəs λ'elɛx^W 'He's living there.'

3. Sometimes Dadv's are nominalized and continue to function adverbially (like some Vadv's). For example: ʔewɛtc-l sɬɛq'elɛx^W k^Wes q'ɛpsɛ k^We ʔf.k^Welà 'I didn't know there was going to be a gathering here.' and tɛwɛt k^We lɪ k^We ʔɛ 'Who's there?' (this may be relativized instead and not functioning adverbially, i.e., 'Who is it that is there.')

4. Sometimes A D is used adverbially (like some cases of A Vadv), as in k^We là after mɪ. For example: mɪ-lɛ k^We là 'Come here!', mɪcɛl k^We là 'I'm coming here.', and cɛl mɪ k^We là k^W cɛlɛqɛtɛɬ 'I came here yesterday.'

5. Like Vadv's some Dadv's occur before the verb they modify, some occur after, and some (when M.V.'s)

don't modify another verb. However the only Dav's which precede the verb modified are those followed by k^W-4.8-s V-4.8 (i.e., ?f.k^Welà and lí k^We 0é); when Dav's are not followed by k^W-4.8-s V-4.8 they can only modify a verb by following it. For example:

ɛéq'et ?f.k^Welà 'lay it/put it down here'

sk^Wéy k^Wes k^Wéclex^W ?f.k^Welà 'You can't see it here.'

lec'ó·mex^W lí te 0é, lec'ó·mex^W lí k^We 0é 'It's/

There's a different tribe here (lit. 'there (near)'),
a different tribe there (far).'

cel mélqeles lí k^Wf·l swéyél k^Wses sk^Wetéx^W lí te 0é
yuk'á·lem 'I've forgotten how many days they were
inside there.'

lí ?iyá·lem k^Wels k^Wéclex^W lí te 0é 'Can I see it
from there (in that place)?'

le hél·em tí 'They're on their way there., He's on
his way there., She's on her way there.'

le q'eq'íp lí· tí 'They're together over there.'

mex^W xeté· tí 'Come around there!'

6. Since all Dav's occur after the verb they modify and all have meanings having to do with direction (or location), they confirm the idea that semantic groups help determine which adverbials occur before and which after the verb they modify. All the Vadv's

attested with the idea of direction or location occur after the verb they modify.

11.2.2.6. Past Tenses. This is the place to mention the syntactically formed past tenses: a.) preposing 4.4 at the beginning of the VP, b.) $\text{?}\delta\text{-}4.4$ VP c.) $(\text{?}i(\cdot), li(\cdot))\text{-}\ddot{i}\text{-}4.4$ VP, d.) $li\text{-}\ddot{i}\text{-}\varepsilon\text{-}4.4$ V, (and $\text{?}i\text{-}\ddot{i}\text{-}4.4$ Pmod V). These have already been discussed and exemplified in Chapters 4 and 6 (q.v.). The main point to be made here is that all these past tenses are expansions to the VP, added at the beginning of the VP and modifying it. There are several syntactic complications that should be mentioned also:

1. The $\text{?}i\text{-}\ddot{i}$ past tense when found in subordinate clauses usually has $l\text{e}$ replacing $\text{?}i\text{-}\ddot{i}$ in any person (not just third), i.e., $k^w\text{-}4.8_{1,2,3}\text{-s } l\text{e } V$. This is attested after Vq , after $\text{?}i\text{-}\ddot{i}\text{-}4.4$ $Vadv$, and in numerous other examples. One example where $\text{?}i\text{-}\ddot{i}$ is retained is the example in 4.2 on p. 305.
2. The $\text{?}i\text{-}\ddot{i}$ auxiliary past can also separate $Vadv$ and the following main verb, as in $\text{?}i\text{-}\ddot{i}\text{-}4.4$ $Vadv$ $k^w\text{-}4.8\text{-s } V\text{-}4.8$ (examples also in 4.1 and 4.2 on pp. 304 and 305). The $\text{?}i\text{-}\ddot{i}$ doesn't separate them itself but causes the $k^w\text{-}4.8\text{-s}$ subordination, apparently.
3. Even Vq can follow $\text{?}\delta\text{-}4.4$ and $\text{?}i\text{-}\ddot{i}\text{-}4.4$ as well as preposed 4.4 past tenses.

11.2.2.7. Vneg. ?ewšts as explained earlier in this chapter can serve in several capacities and before a nominal without A can be seen either as an adverbial verb or as a main verb (see 11.2.1.8.3). ?ewšts seems to be a negative verb (perhaps only used in the 3rd person with -4.4₃ which is unmarked), but its status is still unclear. It is tentatively considered here with Vneg's. Negative verbs are also discussed and exemplified in 6.2.4. Inflection of negative verbs is discussed in 6.1.7 (subjunctive, imperative, and interrogative all are possible, as well as declarative), 6.1.8 (present, past, and future all appear with Vneg's), and 6.1.10 (internal syntax). The syntax of those constructions has been dealt with to some extent in the sections mentioned and will not be reviewed here. Instead, this section will concentrate on how Vneg's fit into the VP and the sentence and will round up whatever syntactic observations have not been made so far about negatives.

In most cases negative verbs modify a main verb, much like Vadv's do, but preceding any Vadv by occurring at the beginning of the VP. As discussed in the chapter on pronouns (4.9 especially), negative verbs for the most part take -4.4 subject inflection and require subjunctive subject inflection on the verb

following; the verb following can be the main verb or an auxiliary, ?f(·) or lf(·). When Vadv's are present before the main verb the auxiliary ?f(·) or lf(·) is obligatory; it, rather than the first Vadv, takes the subjunctive inflection; semantically this negates the Vadv, but in Halkomelem this negation also carries over the whole VP too. Double negatives are not used in Halkomelem.

Further indications that double negatives are not used are sentences like ?əwštɛ-1 s-ɪf·m 'I didn't pick anything.', and ?šwəcəl lɪl k'wšclex^w təwšt 'I didn't see anybody.'

Like most Vadv's, Vneg's take the -4.4 subject inflection of the VP and require no k'^w-4.8-s __-4.8 to be attached to the verb following, though they require the subjunctive -4.9 to be attached to the verb following. These observations are true even of ?šwə-Imper which is merely ?šwə-4.4₂ V-4.9. However, there is one case in which -4.9 is not applied to the verb following a Vneg. ?šwə-4.4-~~1~~ or ?šwə-~~1~~-4.4 can be followed by V without -4.9a on the V and without preceding the V with (lf(·), ?f(·))-4.9b. Examples can be found in 6.1.8.4.6.

11.2.2.8. lf Questions (Yes-No Questions). lf can be added in front of almost any independent verb

phrase to form yes-no questions; *lí* receives the -4.4 subject inflection. *lí*-4.4 of course cannot interrogate imperatives or subjunctives because they are mutually exclusive moods. It is unnecessary before other Vq's. And *lí*-4.4 is not found before negative verbs or *sk'Wéy* 'can't, impossible' or *ɬ'á* 'that's __, it's him/her', each of which can only be made interrogative by the interrogative suffix -e ~ -ɛ. (When *sk'Wéy* is used as Vaj meaning '(be) wrong' however it can be made interrogative by *lí*-4.4.) Other verbs which can be inflected for interrogative with -e ~ -ɛ are also attested with *lí*-4.4 interrogatives; this includes *lém*, *sɬ'f*, and *N > V*. *lí*-4.4 interrogative is also absent before past tense VP's; past interrogatives are formed inflectionally as follows:

(?í·, lí·)-ɬ-ɛ-4.4 VP. ?í· and lí· are auxiliaries which accept the past tense suffix -ɬ; then the interrogative suffix -ɛ is added and then subject suffix. So it seems that interrogative verb *lí* is not used otherwise in the past tense. Another way to form a yes-no question (even in past tense) is by using ?étɬ '(tag-question)' at the very end of the sentence.

Returning to *lí*-4.4 questions, they are only attested inflected further with -ce 'future' (*lí*-ce *sp'ɛp'ék^W* 'Will it float?', *líy-e-ce lém* 'Will he

go?', etc.). But *lɪ-4.4* can also interrogate VP's beginning with *Vadv* (*lɪ wəɪ lɛm* 'Is he (already) gone?') or VP's beginning with *Vaux* *lɛ* or *mɛ* (*lɪ lɛ hɛwɛ* 'Is he going hunting?' (or 'Did he go hunting?' with ambiguous past translation) and *lɪ(yɛ) mɛ k^wɛtx^wlɛm tɛ sq^wɛmɛy* 'Did the dog come in (into the house)?'). When *lɪ* interrogative is used with a VP it questions the whole phrase not just the word it precedes. Thus the answer can be affirmative (*lɪ.* or *ʔɛ.ʔɛ.*, etc.) if the hearer agrees with everything in the VP question; the answer can be negative (*ʔɛwɛ.* or some other *Vneg*) if the hearer disagrees with anything in the VP question.

11.2.3. Expansion of the Sentence With Appositives and Non-conjoined VP's (Prepositional phrases, Subjunctive phrases).

11.2.3.1. Apposition of N (Vocative) and VP (Parenthetical). Not many vocative constructions have been elicited, but a few have been heard at gatherings where *Halkomelem* is spoken (Elder's Meetings at *Coqualeetza*, spirit dances, funerals, banquets, etc.). On these occasions, as well as in the sentences recorded in field work, an N (usually proper name or kin-term) can be used vocatively by placing it without an article at the very beginning or end of any sentence.

The N may also be possessed, i.e. 4.6 N-4.6. Naturally an N can be so used as an entire utterance when calling someone, as well. Examples: ?iyésəq, méstex^W tə sk^Wáwes 'Son (or Male friend), bring over/fetch the pail.' (méstex^W is often used as an imperative without any imperative inflection), ?éy təl sq^Wélewəl k^Wəls sq^Wəq'á. k'əiwóləp l siyéə 'I'm glad to be with you, my friends.', léw, sí·lə 'Hello, grandmother/grandfather.'

Parenthetically a VP may rarely be appended to the end of a sentence as the following examples show: wiyáə k^Wəs ?í·wálems tə sté·x^Wət, t'ít'ələm k^Wəs ?í·wálems 'The children are always playing, singing as they're playing.' and cəx^W ?í k^Wə là t'ít'ələm 'You're here singing.' (cp. ?í·təcəx^W lí· tí k^Wəs t'ít'ələm 'You were (over) there singing.' which shows the more usual method of conjoining the parenthetical VP), and perhaps stém tə lí· tí c'íc'əsəm 'What's that (over there) growing?'

11.2.3.2. Prepositional Phrases. The composition of prepositional phrases has been mentioned in 11.2.1.3 (Vprep-4.4 O (S)). Vprep must be followed by an NP object (4.11 if pronominal) even though it is inflectionally a Vi; the syntax with an NP subject is Vprep-4.4 O S. Vprep-4.4 O (S) can be a complete

sentence or a main VP; as such it can be expanded like any other VP with a Vi. Prepositional phrases (when the Vprep is not a main verb) are attached at the end of another VP. They have the shape Vprep-4.4₃ O (4.4₃ is unmarked after Vi's). Such a phrase is a dependent VP attached after the main VP without any conjoining k^w-4.8-s ___-4.8. Vprep-4.4 O (S) cannot be a dependent VP.

teʔé 'via, through' often has ye- 'travelling by' prefixed to it; it remains a prepositional verb when so prefixed however and occurs in Vprep-4.4 O (S) or 4.4 Vprep O (S) (past tense). The latter constructions have Vprep as a main verb.

One additional peculiarity of Vprep's is that of lí 'in, at, to', which forms a dependent prepositional phrase but then is deleted after demonstrative verbs, leaving the Vdem to carry the obligatory object. Thus sentences like cel ʔí. te léléém 'I'm here at your house.' and le lí. te léléém 'He's there at your house.'

11.2.3.3. Subjunctive Phrases. Subjunctive phrases consist of wə-V-4.9 plus the remainder of the VP. The first V in the VP receives the subjunctive affixes whether it is a modifier or the central verb of the phrase. Subjunctive phrases are always dependent; they can either precede or follow the main VP

without further modification. When the main VP (independent clause) is followed by a prepositional phrase, the subjunctive phrase follows the prepositional phrase or precedes the main VP. Most types of verbs and VP's can be made into subjunctive phrases (even N's serving as V's). With Vq's however this subjunctive inflection makes them into relative constructions (as seen in 6.2.5, p. 349, q.v.); such relativization is attested for ?eléce, tel·éce, x^wecé·l, x^wecák^wel, tewét, and stém. Of these, ?eléce, tel·éce, and x^wecák^wel are made subjunctive with auxiliaries, i.e.

we-(?f, lf)-4.9b precedes them. These subjunctive relatives function as NP subjects or objects of the main verb according to the regular rules of subject and object placement, but they lack the article which relative clauses otherwise begin with. ?éwe can be made subjunctive too, as ?ewés (lf, ?f)-4.9b preceding the verb in its VP. Thus a few examples like the following were found: ?ewés lís (?ε) s^k'fyelep, ləcal k^wú·t 'If you folks don't want it, I'll take it.', and yeθestálx^wesce wélémet ?ewés mélqeleses 'He'll tell us when to go if he doesn't forget.'

A few more examples will illustrate the placement of subjunctive phrases:

yáswe wélémeł 'I might go., I don't know if I'm going.'

yáswe wesk^Wéyes k^Wels lém 'I don't know if it's
impossible for me to go.'

(?éwe sà'fs, sk^Wéy) k^Wes méytálx^Ws welénet sówq'tàlè
'(He won't/doesn't want to, He can't) help us when
we go find you folks.'

lfcx^W sàéq'el·ex^W welénesce 'Do you know if he'll go?'
témémce welémex^W t'ák^W 'When are you going home?'
(lit. 'When will it be when you go home?')

welís-l sà'f k^Wels lém, lémcel 'If I want to go,
I will go.'

wemí·p c'chéyət, ?éwecəp mí·p hák^Wex^Y tē s'fə'em
'When you come to pray, don't come to use your
clothes.'

welémex^W ?éà'qel, ?éwəcx^W lémex^W qelqelí·lθet 'When
you go outside, don't go get yourself dirty!'

à'áce Bill k^We méyθàx^Y wəx^We'f·s 'It will be Bill
that helps me when he gets here.'

(EB) cuì hq'ólex^W (wəwətes, wə'fís léce, wəstémes
k^We le k^Wú·tes) 'I (already) know (who it is,
where it is, what he took).'

(EB) welíx^W x^Wecák^Wel 'wherever you're going'

11.2.4. Expansion of the Sentence With Subordin-
ate Conjunction of VP's. VP's can be made into rela-
tive clauses (preceded by A or by A-4.6a and the
first word followed by -4.6b) or into regular subordin-

inate clauses (preceded by k^w -4.8a-s and the first word followed by -4.8b). In both cases the VP is nominalized and can be possessed by the pronoun suffixes to show its pronominal subject. The A also can be considered as a conjunction (for example see 9.2 where it is considered as a demonstrative conjunction or Dconj).

11.2.4.1. Relative Clauses. When a VP is relativized by a preceding A without -s nominalizer ($k^w\theta e$ $lu\ddot{z}$ $l\acute{e}m$ or te $q'\acute{e}q'$ $\acute{e}t'$ $\acute{e}m$ for example), it is interpreted as subject or object according to the usual rules for VP's (given in 11.2.1). Thus VP can take the place of N in the formulae such as: Vi-S A N (A N is subject, except after Vprep and a few other verbs noted in 11.2.1 when A N is object), Vt-O-S $A N_1 A N_2$ ($A N_1$ is subject, $A N_2$ is object), Vt-O-S A N ($A N$ is object unless the person and number differ between -O and -S; in the latter case $A N$ becomes either subject or object depending on which it agrees with in person and number (the -S or the -O)), Vt-Pass $A N_1 (A N_2)$ ($A N_1$ is object, $A N_2$ is agent, i.e. " $A N_1$ was Vt-ed by $A N_2$ "), Vt-Pass_c A N (where the passive object pronoun suffix does not correspond with the person and number of A N, the A N can be the agent). When VP substitutes for N, VP's subject (shown by -4.6) must agree in number and person

with the -S or -O.

Now, within the VP which is so relativized, the V can be a Vi or a Vt. If it is a Vi (including middles, etc.) there is no further syntactic adjustment required: *cel k'wéclex^w k'wə luž lém* 'I saw the one who went.' or *ə'áə'eq^wətes tē siyálex^w tē q'ég'et'əm* 'The old man is sucking something (that is) sweet.' Thus the subject of the Vi is relativized. The relative pronoun in the English translation refers to the grammatical subject of the Vi in the relative clause. (Even *tél s'í·k'w* 'what I lost', *tē sqé·ls* 'what he stole', and *tē sq'è·l* 'what you said, your words' probably work the same way. They appear to be loose translations, probably more accurately translated as 'my thing that was lost', 'his stealings', and 'your words, your talk'.)

If the V within the relativized VP is a Vt instead, the subject of the Vt is relativized with the added loss of the 3rd person possessive suffix which would normally show 3rd person subject. For example, *ə'á (tē) ?íž memíyet* 'That's the one that was helping her.' (*tē* usually omitted after *ə'á*). When the object of the Vt is what is relativized, the subject of the Vt is marked by (retained) possessive pronoun suffixes (4.6) when the main clause is not a question.

If the object of the dependent Vt is relativized,

the subject of the Vt (of whatever person) is marked by 4.9b suffixes when the main clause is a question. The 4.9b suffixes are further attached to the auxiliary $\text{ʔi}(\cdot)$, and both (i.e. $\text{ʔi}(\cdot)$ -4.9b) are inserted between the article and the Vt in the relative clause. For example: $\text{stém te ʔi}\cdot\text{x}^{\text{W}} \text{é}\dot{\text{é}}\cdot\text{yt}$ 'What are you making?', $\text{stém te ʔi}\cdot\text{x}^{\text{W}} \text{k}^{\text{W}}\text{elét}$ 'What is it you're holding?', $\text{tewét swiyeqe k}^{\text{W}}\text{éé ʔix}^{\text{W}} \text{sé}\cdot\text{wq}'\text{t}$ 'What man are you looking for?', $\text{ʔá}\cdot\text{k}^{\text{W}}\text{el méle k}^{\text{W}}\text{éé ʔix}^{\text{W}} \text{hé}\cdot\text{yét}$ 'Is that my child you're talking about?', $\text{tewét k}^{\text{W}}\text{éé ʔi}\cdot\text{x}^{\text{W}} \text{é}\dot{\text{é}}\cdot\text{yécet te swéltel}$ 'Who are you making the net for?'

When the main clause is a question but the relative pronoun refers to the subject of the Vt, the subject of the Vt is shown by possessive pronoun ($\text{tewét k}^{\text{W}}\text{éé ʔi}\cdot\text{l-s k}^{\text{W}}\text{s lé}\dot{\text{m}}\text{-s}$ 'Who is it that wants to go?') unless the construction is Vt- O_2 - S_3 . In the latter case (Vt- O_2 - S_3) the 3rd person possessive suffix is usually replaced by 4.4 (that is, le) preposed. For example, $\text{wét k}^{\text{W}}\text{éé le yéééséámé}$ 'Who told you?', or $\text{tewét k}^{\text{W}}\text{éé le éc}'\text{lámé}$ 'Who cut you?'. (This replacement is necessary because it may be recalled that a third person subject acting on a second person object is never realized with Vt- O_2 - S_3 but by passives and other circumlocutions.)

In all these relative clauses the relative pronoun refers only to 3rd person S or O so far as I have attestation.

Relative clauses produced with *wə-Vq-4.9* or *wə-(lɪ·ʔf·)-4.9b Vq*, as mentioned above, begin without an article. The *Vq* is intransitive and so the relative pronoun in English refers to the subject of the *Vq*. Sometimes however, a relative clause as described in this section, is conjoined to the *Vq*, as in the following sentence: (EB) *cuɬ iq'ɬlex^w westɛmes k^we le k^wɪ·tes* 'I (already) know what he took.' The 'what he took' is actually 'what it is' + 'something he took', and the *westɛmes* could be omitted without altering the translation.

11.2.4.2. Regular Subordinate Clauses. To subordinate a VP to another VP Halkomelem uses a *Dconj* to introduce the subordinate VP (i.e. the subordinate clause). The pronoun subject of the subordinate clause is never deleted, even if it is the same as that in the superordinate clause. In regular subordinate clauses the conjunction is *k^w-4.8-s -4.8* 'that, to, for, while, as' or *k^w·ek^w-4.8-s -4.8* 'because' (see Chapters 4 and 9). *k^w(ə)* can be seen as an article nominalizing the VP that follows, and the *-s* can be seen as a version of *s-* which also nom-

inalizes what follows. The -4.8 is shown within the conjunction (or attached to the article) and suffixed to the first word of the VP which follows because possessive pronouns of that set occur in either or both places depending on their person and number. The -4.8 suffix(es) substitute for the -4.4 subject suffixes which would occur if the VP were independent rather than dependent (subordinate). In the 3rd person, k^w ses or k^w s (-s) can substitute for k^w es ___-s. This is true for 'because' as well as for 'that, to, for, while, as'. No further modification of the VP is necessary in most cases when it is so subordinated; it may even include a full expanded VP or just a bare verb or anything in between permitted by the rules given for independent VP's. Only in a few cases (mentioned in the next paragraph) are further modifications required.

Dependent VP's with past tense can have structures like $(\lambda'e)k^w-4.8-s$?f·t-4.8 V ... or $(\lambda'e)k^w-4.8-s$?šwe·t-4.8 V ..., but more common is for le (preposed 4.4₃) in any person to replace the ?f·t, i.e., $(\lambda'e)k^w-4.8_{1,2,3}-s$ le 4.8 V For example, ?f·cex^w tus?šy?əl k^w es le léyem 'You were laughing softly.' or təmtəm k^w es le Əfyt 'When did you make it?'

Since the subject marker -4.8 is an integral part of the conjunctions or subordinating nominalizers, the question arises as to what subject markers passives (without subjects) take. It turns out that they have 3rd person 4.8 subject markers: ($\lambda^{\prime}\epsilon$)k^Wes __-s - ($\lambda^{\prime}\epsilon$)k^Wses - ($\lambda^{\prime}\epsilon$)k^Ws __(-s). Many examples can be seen in 4.10 and some in 9.2. Third person subject for passives is also required after negative verbs; questions with *li* and auxiliary past tense construction with passive could be seen as requiring 3rd person subject (unmarked) or as having no subject markers. This is all perfectly consistent with the translation of the passive, often given, with an impersonal 'they' subject; it is also consistent with the use of the passive second person object affixes as a substitute for (and often translated by) a third person subject plus a second person object (which inflectional combination is not permitted).

The k^W-4.8-s __-4.8 subordinate clause is used in the same circumstances as most English subordinate clauses. It is also frequent in some constructions which would not be expected from the English translation. These will be mentioned in the next paragraph. But first a word needs to be said about where k^W-4.8-s __-4.8 clauses occur syntactically in respect to

non-conjoined VP's and appositives. k^w -4.8-s __-4.8 clauses occur after: the main VP, a prepositional phrase, or another k^w -4.8-s __-4.8 clause. They occur before or after subjunctive phrases, and before appositives, when these occur after the main VP. 'Because' clauses follow everything mentioned as far as attested, probably including appositives.

Subordinate clauses with k^w -4.8-s __-4.8 are frequent after $sk^w\acute{e}y$ 'can't', $sk^w\acute{e}ye$ 'can't?, is it impossible?', and $?iy\acute{a}\cdot l\acute{o}m$ 'can, may' unless these are used as Vaj's (respectively 'be wrong; be impossible', 'be wrong?', and '(be) right, alright, okay'); after $s\acute{a}'f$ 'want' (and $sq^w\acute{e}l\acute{o}w\acute{e}l$ 'think'); when infinitives would be used in English with deleted subject; and after some Vadv's and Dadv's. These are a few of the places where English would perhaps not lead us to expect k^w -4.8-s __-4.8 subordinate clauses to be necessary.

11.2.5. Expansion of the Sentence by Co-ordinate Conjunction of Independent VP's. Independent VP's, clauses and sentences can be conjoined by preceding the one to follow with a Pconj (conjunctive particle or particle conjunction). These conjunctions are discussed in 7.2 and include $q\acute{e}$ 'and, but, or' (also means 'then' after an independent VP or clause begin-

ning with (?ə)wés 'if not'; thus (?ə)wés VP_{indep} qə VP_{indep} 'If not VP then VP'), su 'so, then', qəsu 'and so, and then', ?əsu '(and) so', su± 'so (already)', and qəw± 'and (already)', as well as (qə)λ'a-4.8-su 'and so/then 4.8 (subject)', λ'acə su 'then he will, so it will be him that', and qəλ'aθ'əsésu 'and then they say he/she/it/they, and so it is said he/etc.' The last three are not strictly particles but are conjunctions; they contain qə or su which are Pconj's but also contain -4.8 (and in one case -cə) inflections within. The -4.8 apparently must be placed entirely within the conjunction and may not be attached to the first word following in 3rd person or plural. However, these inflected conjunctions remove the necessity and possibility of -4.4 inflection and -cə inflection and θ'ε modification as VP expansion for the conjoined VP. After the inflected conjunction -4.4 is omitted, and -cə and θ'ε if present in the conjunction needn't be repeated in the VP to follow. Similarly, wə± 'already' needn't (and probably can't) be repeated as a verbal modifier after su± or qəw±.

The uninflected Pconj's quoted first however require normal -4.4 inflection in the VP's which they precede. Many examples have been given in 7.2. qə, su, qəsu, ?əsu and (qə)λ'a-4.8-su are the most common

co-ordinate conjunctions in texts and narratives and are even used to begin every sentence for long passages. Few speakers vary from one to the other for stylistic reasons very much.

11.2.6. Comparatives and Superlatives. Comparatives and superlatives have the syntactic structure of a VP or a VP followed by a prepositional phrase. Also within NP's, the N can be modified by a Vaj which is in turn modified by an augmentative Vad_v like c'éc'el(əw) 'be very, really' or several others; a bare handful of Vaj's may have inflectional comparatives with reduplication (əfθə 'larger, bigger' and ?f'ex^wi·l 'smaller' -- the latter only because diminutive reduplication can be added to the Vaj ?ex^wf·l 'small', making it 'smaller').

Comparative sentence structures found so far are:

yel'wəl-4.4 Vaj (NP) təl f (4.11, 4.7, A N)

Vaj-4.4 (NP) təl f (4.11, 4.7, A N)

4.4 yel'wəl Vaj təl f (4.11, 4.7, A N)

Superlative sentence structures found so far:

c'éc'el-4.4(-əw) Vaj təl f (4.11, A N, probably 4.7)

Vaj-4.4 k^wsu mók^wcət

Vaj-4.4 wə?ál (~ Vaj-4.4 ?u?ál (EB))

and even yel'wəl-4.4 Vaj (A 4.7)

and as an NP: A yel'wəl Vaj N

(Presumably NP would follow Vaj in the first, Vaj-4.4 in the second, and wəʔál in the third of the above superlatives.)

Examples:

yəlélwəl qəl təlɪ k'ɛʔɛlθɛ 'He's worse than me.'

yəlélwəl xáyλ tlawèyèl təlɪ k'wə cəlélqəɛ(əɛ) 'Today
is colder than yesterday.'

yəlélwəl k'ɛqt təl xəlɛtəl təlɪ tɛ(?) swé 'My pencil is
longer than yours.'

yəlélwəl p'ɛq' təl swéɛ 'My seater is whiter.'

yəlélwəl ʔéy təlɪ k'ɛʔɛlθɛ 'He's/She's/It's/They're
better than me.'

ʔéy təlɪ k'ɛʔɛlθɛ 'He's/etc. better than me.'

hík^w təlɪ k'wə spəlwéɛ 'He's/etc. bigger than last
year.'

(hík^w, ʔɛʔɛx^wi.1) təl sc'élɛctəl təlɪ tɛ swé 'My chair
is (bigger, smaller) than yours.'

cəl yəlélwəl lás təlɪ k'əlélwə 'I'm fatter than you.'

mí.sətɛ tɛ θíθɛ 'Pick out the larger one(s)!'

mí.sətɛ tɛ θíθɛ q^wəʔáp 'Pick out the larger apple(s)!'

θíθɛ tɛ (q^wəʔáps, sθ'áq^wi) '(His apple, The fish) is
bigger.'

θíθɛ tɛ sθéqi tlaqé.ys 'The sockeye is bigger now.'

yəlélwəl qəl 'It's worse.'

c'éc'el qəl 'It's real bad., It's the worst.'

- qól weʔál 'It's the worst., It's real worse.'
- c'éc'el-ew lás telif k'ɛllímeɬ 'He's the fattest of us.'
- ʔiyá·mex^v telif k^wsu mók^wcet 'She's the prettiest of all of us., He's the handsomest of all of us.'
- yeléwel lás telif k^ws mók^ws 'He's fattest of all.'
- (NP) ʔiyá·mex^v ʔu ʔál 'She's (the) prettiest.'
- (NP) ʔeyém ʔu ʔál 'He's (the) strongest.'
- yeléwel p'óq' te hiɬəqey 'Mt. Cheam is the whitest.'
- yeléwel qóɣ təl swé 'I've got the most.'
- yeléwel ʔiyá·mex^v q'ɛ·mi '(She's) the prettiest girl.'
- yeléwel k^wámk^wem swíyeqe '(He's) the strongest man.'
- k'á yeléwel ʔéy 'That's the best., That's better.'
- (AG) weʔál ɬeq'ét 'wider (of a person for example)'
(probably lit. 'too wide')
- (AG) weʔál sásəq^wt 'the youngest sibling'
- (AG) l sá'í te weʔál c'éc'íc'əɬ' x^wéylem 'I want the shortest rope.' (probably lit. 'I want the too short rope.')

It may be that forms with weʔál ~ ʔu ʔál are the preferred superlative in the Chilliwack dialect but not in the other dialects. Also note the blurring of the distinction between comparative and superlative in some constructions.

11.3. Interjections. Interjections occur in syntactic isolation (as a complete utterance) or followed by a nominal used as a vocative, or in cases of ?ó 'oh!' and ?ε?é 'oh-oh!' followed by A N (as attested so far). ?ó 4.3 (N, Vaj) also occurs; other constructions probably occur, but so far are not attested. It seems likely from the examples seen that interjections must be sentence-initial. ?étì '(tag-question)' can occur as a complete utterance and refers to the previous sentence spoken, after a considerable delay; however ?étì is more an interrogative verb than an interjection.

11.4. Syntactic Limits. Many of the processes of syntactic expansion described can be done cyclically. But there are limits on the number of cycles permitted by each process and combination of processes. These limits should probably be described as claiming only that a certain number of cycles for a particular process are rare -- because the line is hard to draw between what is not attested and what cannot occur. None of the following are attested in my data, thus suggesting syntactic limits or cyclic limitation rules:

*A Vaj Vaj Vaj N (Vaj's can be put into subordinate VP's)

*A Vadv Vaj Vaj N

*A Vadv Vadv Vaj N

*A N-4.6₃ A N-4.6₃ A N

*A N qe N qe N

*-O qe N qe N

*NP qes NP qes NP

(but Num qes A Num qes A Num qes A Num is permitted as
the highest number of conjoined numerals allowed,
as in '1999; '2000' and higher are unattested)

*A N qes 4.3 qes (A N, 4.3)

*A N-4.6₃ A N qe N qe N (conjoined possessors of a
single NP)

*Vadv Vadv Vadv Vadv (Pmod)(Vaux) M.V. ...

*M.V. (Pmod)(Dadv) Vadv Vadv (Vadv's can be put into
subordinate VP's)

*Pmod Pmod either before or after M.V.

*Dadv Dadv after M.V.

*VP, VP, VP (appended parenthetically as appositives)

*VP Vprep O Vprep O Vprep O (though VP Vprep O Vprep O
is attested)

*VP we-VP-4.9 we-VP-4.9 (perhaps one 'if' and one 'when')

*we-VP-4.9 VP we-VP-4.9

*we-VP-4.9 we-VP-4.9 VP

*Vt k^W-4.8-s VP₁-4.8 k^W-4.8-s VP₂-4.8 where
k^W-4.8-s VP₁-4.8 is S, and k^W-4.8-s VP₂-4.8 is O,
both for the same verb (Vt)

*No maximally expanded VP attested as given in the first paragraph of 11.2.2.

There has not been time to try to elicit these constructions; some may occur which are not rare, but I believe most will prove to be rare and many non-existent due to syntactic limits. For some (as noted) alternate constructions can be used; it may be that alternate constructions must be used because the unattested construction cannot occur due to syntactic limits. Future field work should shed some light on these limits if they exist in Upriver Halkomelem.

CHAPTER 12. SEMANTICS AND SEMEMICS

12.0. Introduction. This section contains an explanation of the theoretical and analytical approach used in Chapters 12 and 13. It is one I have developed in papers presented to several of the International Conferences on Salishan Languages held in the Northwest¹. Since it has not appeared in print elsewhere and introduces a few new terms and notations a discussion of it begins this chapter.

Both phonetics and semantics impinge on the real world (using "semantics" in a narrow sense parallel to phonetics from here on and retaining "semology" for the broader field parallel to phonology). Phonetics is the analysis and description of the physical sounds of language, while semantics is the analysis and des-

1. Brent D. Galloway: "Some Similarities Between Semology and Phonology (With Illustrations from Chilliwack Halkomelem)," a paper delivered at the Sixth International Conference on Salishan Languages (abbreviated ICSL), Aug. 16-18, 1971, Victoria, B.C.; Brent D. Galloway: "Reduplication in the Chilliwack Dialect of Halkomelem (With a Sketch of Phonemics)," a paper delivered at the Eighth ICSL, Aug. 13-15, 1973, Eugene, Oregon; Brent D. Galloway: "Two Lessons in Time in Upriver Halkomelem," a paper delivered at the Tenth ICSL, Aug. 14-16, 1975, Ellensburg, Wash., printed in *Lektos*, Fall 1975, University of Louisville, Ky.; Robert St. Clair (ed.), pp.56-66; Brent D. Galloway: "Anatomy in Upper Stalo Halkomelem, A Morphosememic Study," a paper delivered at the Eleventh ICSL, Aug.12-14, 1976, Seattle, Wash.

cription of the physical meanings of language. In both cases the linguist is faced with a continuum with a myriad of possible gradations. No matter how narrow a transcription he makes, a narrower one is always conceivable.

For example, Chilliwack [sx^w6sm] is glossed as 'soapberries, Indian ice cream' with notes that they are red berries, ripen in late June (late July in the mountains), last about a month or two, grow on the roadside from Hedley to Penticton, B.C. (the nearest spot from Chilliwack), taste like bitter cranberries, can be beaten with water to form a white lather (for soap in the old days and for "Indian ice cream" made by adding sugar to the foam or in the old days sweet berries). To this could be added their size and shape, shape of leaf, size of bush, and the botanical name *Shepherdia canadensis* (L.) Nutt., not to mention the type of terrain they prefer, how they are harvested, how they are stored, and more details on how the "ice cream" is made (what was used to whip it with and in, how no grease can be present and how wooden paddles were used to eat them), etc.

So the semanticist, like the phonetician, must set operational limits on how narrow a transcription (in general) is useful in the field. Then he should

use this narrowest semantic transcription, making careful inquiry into the meanings of each morpheme in its semantic context. This gloss is the semantic version of the phonetic symbol.

The similarity of distinctive features in phonology and semantic components (from componential analysis) in semology is fairly well known. All speech sounds can be described in terms of a finite set of articulatory or acoustic features. The success of semantic features or components has only been limited because the method has only been applied to a small number of tight semological sets (domains), such as kin terms, plant terms, color terms, classifiers, verbal paradigms, etc. But the domains are similar across languages to a certain degree, and the semantic features used in a given domain are often much alike across languages. This is very encouraging.

Perhaps the first step should be taking a complete inventory of the domains in a given language. In doing this, good anthropological descriptions (if available) can provide insight and many clues to the culturally relevant domains and probably also to some semantic distinctive features. A domain (like kinship terms, for example) may be analogous to the set of all stops or all spirants in a language. It also seems

to contribute its label ('plant term', 'kinship term', etc.) to the semantic components of each member.

Next each domain could be subjected to a componential analysis if allosemantic patterns cannot be seen without it. Domains with semantic features in common could be compared, and perhaps some domains could be combined (similar to categories like obstruent?). Or the division into domains may be comparable to the phonetic divisions of stress, pitch, length, consonant, and vowel (except more numerous). The features involved in these phonetic divisions can only be combined into a single unified set (if at all) by somewhat ad hoc means. So it may also be that we will have to be satisfied with largely domain-specific semantic components.

There are probably several reasons why linguists have been reluctant to tackle componential analysis of all the domains in a language. There appear to be a very sizable number of domains and semantic components involved, although the number is surely finite and probably not as large as it seems. It seems to me that we could use semantic features as we use phonetic features: in rules only when they are economical and called for, and in grids showing members of domains when necessary (like phones in phonetic grids), other-

wise using the semantic symbols or glosses (parallel to the phonetic symbols). In other words, it is uneconomical and profitless to over-use features, either of sound or of meaning.

Componential analysis sometimes helps us to see patterns in allosemes and sememes. But first, what is an alloseme or a sememe? Allosemes of a single sememe are meanings which are in complementary distribution in the semantic environment and are semantically similar. (An alloseme may also be the only meaning of a sememe.) Allosemes are narrow glosses (in the sense of narrow transcription), while sememes are the broad glosses from which the narrow glosses are predictable. The following notation seems best to distinguish these glosses and levels:

semantic ['narrow gloss'] or ['alloseme']

sememic /'broad gloss'/ or /'sememe'/ (or the sememe can be shown as /'alloseme; alloseme'/ or /'alloseme, alloseme'/)

morphosememic // 'morphosememe' // or // 'sememe'-'sememe' //

Several clear examples are the following:

/q^wɛl/ has allosemes ['cooked'] and ['ripened'],
 /x^wɛylem/ has allosemes ['rope (any kind, native or white)'] and ['string (any kind, native or white)']
 and ['stringy fiber from plant'] and ['thread (any

kind, native or white)'], and /sméyeθ/ has allosemes ['animal'] and ['meat']. With each of the three words the allosemes are in complementary distribution: ['ripened'] occurs only with 'plants' (harvested or not), ['cooked'] occurs with some of the same 'plants' when harvested and also with any other 'food caught or gathered' (including 'fish', 'meat', 'fowl', etc.); ['rope ...'] occurs with 'large objects that can be tied (like a canoe, an animal, a log or pole, etc.)', ['stringy fiber from plant'] occurs only with 'certain plants such as dogbane, cow parsnip, Indian rhubarb (dock), etc.', ['string (...)] occurs with 'smaller objects that are tied or wrapped', and ['thread'] occurs with 'things that are sewn, actions of sewing, needles'; ['animal'] occurs with 'living or dying mammals', ['meat'] occurs with 'dead mammals intended for food'. If these semantic environments are not provided within the sentence or speech event and cannot be inferred, the word in question remains ambiguous; if it is important to find out which alloeme is intended, the hearer must either ask the speaker about it or wait to see if the necessary environment occurs before the end of the speech event. On the speaker's part there are also cases of intentional ambiguity: conversations where the exact meaning is unnecessary

or undesired, puns, songs, normal conversation where implications of all allosemes are desired, etc.

Part of the information in allosemic rules is the distinctive combinations of meanings which each language groups together ('cooked' and 'ripened' for example are grouped together by Halkomelem but not by English). The other part is the semantic environments required to distinguish allosemes. In semantic domains patterns and pattern congruity can be seen in such combinations and environments.

A single morpheme can have several allosemes, but can several morphemes also be allosemes of a single sememe? The answer is unclear. With $\text{x}^{\text{c}}\text{y}^{\text{c}}\text{k}^{\text{c}}$ 'cold (of water, weather)' and $\text{e}^{\text{c}}\text{a}^{\text{c}}\text{t}^{\text{c}}\text{e}^{\text{c}}$ 'cold (of mammal or bird), chilled' the language keeps separate two similar and complementary meanings. If there are sememic or morphological reasons for this separation (such as pattern congruity with other animate vs. inanimate divisions) the two morphemes could be separate sememes related morphosemically. If there are no such reasons, they could conceivably be allosemes of a single sememe or merely unrelated sememes with similar meanings. More work needs to be done to determine which is the case here, as well as whether several morphemes can be allosemes of one sememe.

The criterion of semantic similarity for alloemes allows one to separate homophonous morphemes. Semantic similarity of alloemes probably extends to the same extent as phonetic similarity of allophones. For English /t/ we have allophones such as [t^h], [t], [ɾ] (voiced flap r), and even [ʔ]. The examples of Halkomelem alloemes above seem to show similar distance. In both cases too the speaker feels the "allo's" to be part of a single unit (the "eme").

Morphosememics forms a very important part of the semological description of a language. It is the chapter (or level) in which meaning changes as a result of derivational processes or inflectional processes should be described. These are often systematic, applying to large classes of morphemes and showing a high degree of structuring. All other systematic alternations of sememes resulting from combination with other morphemes, other lexemes (words), or taxemes (meaningful arrangements of order, meaningful transformations if the syntax is described with transformations) should be described here. Notice the word systematic. Small piecemeal alternations showing no pattern or structure are probably best left to the lexicon (just as some allomorphs are).

Thus when morphemes are attached to one another

to make up lexemes (words), either derivationally or inflectionally, the meaning changes (where they occur and especially where they are systematic) should be described. When words are combined into phrases, idioms, metaphors, etc., the meaning changes should be described (especially where systematic). When morphemes, words or phrases are combined with meaningful arrangements of order (taxemes, transformations; etc.), the meaning changes (especially where systematic) should be described. Morphosememics is the place for these descriptions.

For example, when {-eɪp} 'tree, plant' is removed from any words for 'fruit-bearing plant', the resulting word refers to the fruit (derivational morphosememics). When Vq's are inflected with the subjunctive we- + -4.9 they lose their 'interrogative' feature and become relativized (relative verbs or relative clauses) (inflectional morphosememics). A number of verbs (at least nine) combine with a following A-4.6 sq^Wélewel-4.6 to form idioms which express 'attitudes'; these are systematic shifts of meaning exemplified by ?éy tel sq^Wélewel 'I'm glad.' (< 'My thoughts or feelings are good.'), xéi tel sq^Wélewel 'I'm sorry.' (< 'My thoughts or feelings hurt.'), hík^W tel sq^Wélewel 'I'm conceited or proud.' (< 'My thoughts or feelings are big.'),

and me qelqéyl təl sq^wéleweł 'I'm discouraged., I've lost heart.' (< 'My thoughts or feelings have come to be destroyed.')(these exemplify phrasal morphosememics). The change to 'ambiguous past tense' when 4.4 pronouns are preposed rather than suffixed to the verb, the change to 'object' of the verb when NP₁ is exchanged with the following NP₂ after a Vt, and the 'emphasis' of a Vadv or Vaj when it subordinates the verb or nominal it precedes (respectively) and modifies--all these how syntactic morphosememics.

It is interesting to notice the many parallels between morphophonemics and morphosememics. We can almost take statements about morphophonemics, substitute "sem-" for "phon-", "meaning" for "shape", "shape" for "meaning", and "sememic alternant" for "allomorph" and have workable statements about morphosememics.

The branch of grammar which deals with the phonemic shape of morphemes, words, and constructions, without regard to their meaning, is morphophonemics. (2)

The difference in the phonemic shape of alternants of morphemes are organized and stated; this constitutes morphophonemics. (3)

2. Charles F. Hockett: "A System of Descriptive Phonology," in Language vol. 18, 1942, pp.3-21, reprinted in Martin Joos (ed.): Readings in Linguistics I, fourth edition, 1966, Chicago; the quote is on p.107 of the reprinted article.

3. Charles F. Hockett: "Problems of Morphemic Analysis," in Language vol.23, 1947, pp.321-343, reprinted in Joos: op. cit.; the quote is on p.230 of Joos.

Morphophonemics ...[covers] every phase of the phonemic shape of morphemes: the typical shapes of alternants, the types of alternation, and the various environmental factors (phonological or grammatical) which elicit one alternant or another of those morphemes which appear in more than one shape. (4)

Many of the morphemes have parallel sets of allomorphs with similar conditioning. It is, therefore, possible to make certain general morphophonemic statements which apply quite universally in the system. (5)

Within morphophonemics, processes such as assimilation, consonant or vowel merger, loss of consonant or vowel after an identical consonant or vowel, vowel harmony, affrication, and ablaut are described. Some of these have parallels in morphosememics: assimilation of sememes, merger of two sememes into one (common in derivation), loss of redundant sememes within phrases or sentences, and concord (agreement in gender or number) are parallel respectively to the first four morphophonemic processes mentioned.

Also within morphophonemics is the phonotactics or phonemic canon (treating permitted clusters of phonemes, phoneme distribution, and word and syllable structure). Within morphosememics similarly are found

4. Charles F. Hockett: "Peiping Morphophonemics," in Language vol.26, 1950, pp.63-85, reprinted in Joos: op. cit.; the quote is on p.315 of Joos.

5. H.A. Gleason, Jr.: An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics, revised ed., 1961, New York, p.116.

sememic co-occurrence restrictions, sememic structure of phrase and sentence, and distribution of sememes or classes of sememes within domains (showing what sememes are grouped into classes and domains, what sememic distinctions are made and emphasized, and how the world is divided up into sememes).

Some additional elements can be described in the semology: sound symbolism and onomatopoeia directly link semantic elements with phonetic ones. For example Upriver Halkomelem has: /q'á·w/ 'howl', /yé·t/ 'vomit', /pá·t/ [p^há·t^h] 'blow' and /hésẽm/ 'sneeze' (all four are verbs), /x^wét·es/ 'heavy' beside /x^wáx^we/ 'lightweight', and sound symbolic tastes: /sé̃sə̃xə̃m/ 'bitter', /q'é̃q'et'ə̃m/ 'sweet', /t'ét'ə̃ə̃m/ 'sour, fermenting', /c'éc'ə̃sə̃m/ 'tasty, good tasting but not sweet', etc. When these links are systematic they should be described in the grammar (when not systematic they can be mentioned in the lexicon). Also providing a direct link between phonetics and semantics are intonation and rhythm (for example super-lengthening 'really').

Meaning is also affected by things like "tone of voice", style-switching, and other sociolinguistic effects. Irony is the communication of a meaning opposite from the literal statement, through use of

such sociolinguistic effects. These could be described in the semology or in a chapter on sociolinguistic phenomena.

The semological system of a language clearly has effects on the other major levels of a language's structure: syntax (via meaningful changes in clause, word or morpheme order and via sememic co-occurrence restrictions), morphology (via semologically determined classes and allomorphs and via morphosememics), and phonology (via sound symbolism and lexical shapes). These effects have almost always been described in levels or chapters other than that of semantics and sememics or morphosememics. This is probably one reason why many grammars which lack semological chapters are nevertheless serviceable. There is enough semological information scattered throughout and of course in the dictionary or lexicon (where it is sometimes partially systematized) to enable the linguist and student to begin to comprehend the language.

The present grammar has much semological information scattered throughout previous chapters. Chapters 12 and 13 will organize some of it but not all. Chapters 12 and 13 will also be surveys of the semantics and sememics and the morphosememics of Halkomelem, rather than complete treatments. More in-depth treat-

ment of Halkomelem semology will follow this grammar along with a lexicon, but for now there is only time for a survey of the semology.

12.1. Semological Domains in Halkomelem. Some of the semantic areas which appear to be domains are listed in this section. They can usually be seen as domains more clearly in their morphosememic features than in their allosemic patterns. The word "functions" in the list below means actions or processes which the nominal members of that domain do as members in the domain (the examples will illustrate). Some domains have been listed together under headings combining them because they share semantic components; this is analogous perhaps to combinations like obstruents or front vowels in phonology. At the end of the list are some inflectional categories which also seem to be domains. The following list is tentative and is bound to be incomplete:

1. Land features and functions ('to rockslide', 'to cave off', etc.) and place names.
2. Weather features (of air, sky, sun, moon, stars) and functions ('to rain', 'stop blowing (of wind)', etc.).
3. Water features (mainly of rivers) and functions ('be turbulent', 'subside (of high water)', etc.).
4. Fire and its functions ('burn', 'go out', etc.).

5. Time periods and tense.
6. Flora (names, parts, functions).
7. Fauna (names, parts i.e. anatomy, somatic affixes, p^ésq^wtel 'body insults', body functions and dysfunctions).
8. Categories of humans (age terms, kinship terms, status terms (social, occupational, tribal, national), proper names, functions ('raise a child', 'marry spouses sibling', etc.).
9. Religion and the spirit (spirits and powers, ceremonies, spirit dancing, Christianity, Indian doctoring, functions ('train to be shaman', 'give a burning', 'pray', 'cross oneself', 'cast a spell on s-o', 'blow on patient', 'to spirit dance', etc.).
10. Man-made things (Indian and non-Indian), their parts and names, how to make them, their functions: buildings, constructions other than buildings, household goods (for furniture, food, grooming, misc. (such as 'flashlight' (< 'lantern being squeezed'), 'purse', 'umbrella')), clothing and ornaments, musical instruments; devices and their parts and functions: for hunting + processing the catch (including even weaving and tanning), for fishing + processing the catch, for gathering + processing the harvest (including 'digging stick', 'tumpline', 'picking (fruit or leaves)', etc.), tools for making things ('hammer', 'awl', 'needle',

'net measure and shuttle', etc.), baskets (types, parts, how to make them, functions), canoes and boats (types and parts, how to make them, equipment, how to repair them, how to use them, etc.), modern transportation.

11. Food (types, how to cook).

12. Games and play (including 'make a point in slahal (the bone game)', 'the feather game', 'footraces', 'doll', etc.).

13. Conversation and speech.

14. Emotions and feelings, attitudes and mental processes.

15. Senses and perceptions: visual and qualities of light, tactile perceptions, sounds, tastes, smells.

16. Other qualities (Vaj): descriptive, value judgments.

17. Directions and qualifiers (adverbials).

18. Demonstratives and Vaux's.

19. Personal pronouns.

20. Numerals.

21. Transitivity, intransitivity, benefactive.

22. Moods: interrogative, subjunctive, imperative, declarative.

23. Voice: active, middle, reflexive, reciprocal, passive.

- 24. Continuative and plural.
- 25. Vprep's.
- 26. Interjections.
- 27. Pconj's.
- 28. Perhaps verb domains like: travel and motion, acting toward, act on inanimates, act on animates, change physical state (inanimates).

Some words may have memberships in several domains, just as in phonetics an [n] can be classified as a sonorant, resonant, nasal, etc. There are perhaps as many alternate ways of dividing Halkomelem words into domains as there are sets of words with semantic components in common. All may be relevant to our thinking processes and therefore valid. I have tried in the above list to find those which also share morphological features. I am sure many domains have been omitted because more words have yet to be gathered, and much work remains to be done on those already gathered. My files contain 8000 to 9000 words at present, but Bloomfield⁶ estimates at least 20,000 to 30,000 words in the speech of the adult speaker of English and many more if the speaker knows technical and learned words.

6. Leonard Bloomfield: Language, 1933, New York, p. 277.

Jespersen⁷ cites a number of figures; for English, 25,000 to 35,000 and some as high as 50,000 words are used by the average speaker without college; one professor had his students use dictionaries to estimate words they could define without context, and the majority reported a little below 60,000 words; another professor counted all the words he knew in Webster's Dictionary and found his vocabulary was 33,456 words; linguists investigating speech of Swedish peasants and Danish and French dialects agreed that 26,000 is probably too small a figure in each case; and a missionary in Tierra del Fuego compiled a dictionary of 30,000 words in the Yaagan language. I have estimated that Kuipers has about 9600 words (excluding inflections) in his two volumes on Squamish⁸, and this is all from one speaker in a matter of a few years of field work.

Halkomelem had and has many technical and learned words, and a dictionary of 50,000 words might have been compiled a hundred years ago. But today even the most fluent speakers seldom get a chance to speak and

7. Otto Jespersen: Growth and Structure of the English Language, 9th ed., 1958, New York, pp.224-227 of Doubleday Anchor Books edition.

8. Aert Kuipers: The Squamish Language, vol. 1, 1967, The Hague, (dictionary pp.245-400) and vol. 2, 1969, The Hague, (lexicon pp.32-96).

hear their language more than several times a week, and the old crafts which required many technical and learned words have nearly died out, though some are being revived with non-speakers as students. I have been fortunate in having the weekly assistance of the Coqualeetza Elders Group (a majority of the fluent speakers of Upriver Halkomelem) and tapes of their weekly meetings since 1972 to gather vocabulary and texts. Through this group's efforts and the tapes of Oliver Wells who gathered vocabulary, ethnography and some stories, and my own field work, we may be able to preserve 30,000 words or so, eventually. This all goes to show that the list of domains above is bound to be incomplete and in need of later revision.

12.2. Allosemantic Patterns of Several Domains.

12.2.1. Categories of Humans. Kinship terms show the clearest structure of the domains within this group. The following terms have been found:

sc'á· /'relative of any kind'/(Cheh.)

yá(·)yetel /'blood relative'/

mè·l - mé·l /'father'/

tè·l - té·l /'mother'/

(mémel /'father (vocative), Dad (pet name)'/)

(tétel /'mother (vocative), Mom/Mum (pet name)'/; tét

can also be used, short for tétel; té? /'Mom, Ma

- (slang)(pet name)'/)
- mél(·)e (~ mél(·)ε - mél(·)e in some idiolects, less common) /'son, daughter, child (kinship term)'/
- (mímələ /'pet name for son or daughter'//)
- sí·lə /'grandparent, grandparent's sibling, grandparent's cousin'//
- (sísele /'grandparent (pet name), grandparent's sibling or cousin (pet name)'/)
- (sí·sí /'grandparent (pet name, perhaps baby talk)'/)
- ʔí·məθ /'grandchild'//
- sc'á·məq^W /'great grandparent, great grandchild'//
- (sc'á·c'əməq^W /'great grandparent (pet name), great grandchild (pet name)'/, sc'əmc'á·məq^W /'eldest great grandchild'//, sc'əmc'á·ləməq^W /'eldest great grandchildren'//)
- ʔók^Wiyeq^W (Chill.) ~ ʔók^Wiyeq^W (other dialects) /'great great grandparent, great great grandchild'//
- ə'əp'iyeq^W (~ ə'əp'ayeq^W) /'great great great grandparent, great great great grandchild'// (Note: a minority of speakers of Upriver dialects exchange the glosses on ʔók^Wiyeq^W and ə'əp'iyeq^W.)
- támiyeq^W /'great great great great grandparent, great great great great grandchild'//
- syewé·l /'ancestors, lineage'//
- sx^Wewélf /'parents, (ancestors)'/

- ʔélex^y /'sibling (Chill.), brother (Tait, prob. Cheh.)'/
- séla'a /'eldest child, (prob. also child of parent's eldest sibling)'/
- séa'ètel /'elder sibling, child of parent's elder sibling'/
- sqé·q /'younger sibling, child of parent's younger sibling'/
- (k^yé·k^y pet name for sqé·q; sqiqé·q /'little younger sibling, little child of parent's younger sibling'//)
- sá(·)seq^wt /'younger sibling, child of parent's younger sibling'/
- wé'á·l sáseq^wt /'youngest sibling, (prob. also child of parent's youngest sibling)'/
- sx^wemli(·)k^w /'parent's sibling, (possibly also parent's cousin)'/
- k^wiyá·s /'uncle or aunt (used in respect, especially in the longhouse)'/
- stí·wél /'sibling's child, (possibly also cousin's child)'/
- swéqeθ /'husband'/
- stá·les /'wife'/
- (Tait) cé·x^w /'wife (slightly disrespectful)'/
- sk^wíto(w) or sk^wítew /'spouse's parent, parent-in-law, (wife's brother also?)'/
- sciwté·í /'child's spouse, son-in-law, daughter-in-law,

- sister's husband' /
- səx^wsí·lə / 'grandparent-in-law' /
- smétex^wtəl / 'spouse's sibling, sibling's spouse' /
- sx^wʔé·lɛx^v / 'husband's sister, woman's brother's wife' /
- x^vcé·pθ / 'spouse of parent's sibling (i.e. uncle or
aunt by marriage)' /
- sk^wé·lwés / '(relative's/sibling's spouse's relative),
in-law's relative, in-law from any side' / (Cowichan
dialect has 'parent/sibling/grandparent of child-
in-law' for this word)
- slec'éléq / 'spouse's sibling's spouse (for ex. husband's
brother's wife), mothers-in-law of two sisters' /
- syé(·)təl / 'widow, widower' /
- wélém / 'orphan' /
- smestiyé·t / 'sibling of deceased parent' /
- swəlmé(·)y·t / 'child of deceased sibling' /
- é·é·y·e / 'relative of deceased spouse' / (for example,
mother, sibling, cousin or other relative of de-
ceased wife)
- c'·x·t·m / 'deceased son or daughter' / (root is x·t·m
'cry' because "your brother or sister is mourning
along with you for your lost child", c'·t- means
something like 'along with' as in c'·e·t(-)ʔé·y
'sweetheart, someone you keep going with' and
c'·e·t(-)x^wé·lmex^w 'neighbor')

sx^wemθiyé·i, (some use) qeyé·i /'deceased uncle/aunt/
grandmother/someone who is responsible for ego dir-
ectly or indirectly'/

çhilé·m /'step-parent'/

tex^wmélem /'step-child'/

sk^wemftem /'child raised by someone other than parents'/

slec'óweyei /'half-sibling'/

sx^vá·ye /'co-wife, female rival of wife'/

sx^vayé·seq /'ex-wife's husband, wife's ex-husband,
male rival of husband'/

?islé·ltex^w /'man with two wives'/

There are plurals for most of these and diminutives for some (indicated in parentheses), but they are inflections.

A number of allosemantic patterns can be seen here.

1. Of the above 58 kinterms, 44 have ['male'] ~ ['female'] allosemes. The ['male'] alloseme occurs after a 'masculine' article or swíyæqe 'male'; the ['female'] alloseme occurs after a 'feminine' article or stélfí 'female'; some other semantic environments can also determine which alloseme is present, for example gender-marked words in another phrase referring to the kinterm (such as 4.3 pronouns, sex-marked proper names, etc.). stí·wól /'sibling's child, (prob. also cousin's child)'/ → tē (swíyæqe) stí·wól 'the nephew' and θe

(sɪɛlf) stí·wél 'the niece'. The 14 kinterms which have only one gender are mɛ·l, tɛ·l, mɛnɛl, tɛtɛl, tɛt, tɛʔ; swéqəθ, stá·les, cé·x^w, sx^yá·ye, sx^yayé·seq, ʔislɛ·ltɛx^w; sx^wʔɛlɛx^y and Tait dialect ʔɛlɛx^y; these are all various words for 'father', 'mother', 'husband' or 'wife' except the last two words.

2. Words for ancestors more than two generations above ego each have an alloseme three or more generations above ego and an alloseme the same number of generations below ego; thus for each alloseme like 'great grandparent' there is one like 'great grandchild' for the same word. Since one alloseme is three, four, five or six generations above the other it is usually quite clear from the semantic context which alloseme is meant; such semantic factors as relative age, tense, actions which could be done only by a mature person or ancestor or by a child or descendant, matching reference to a person whose age is known to the hearer, etc. are diagnostic. This rule applies, of course, to sc'á·meq^w, ʔók^wiyeq^w, ɛ'ép'iyeq^w, támiyeq^w and their derivatives or inflections.

3. The word for 'grandparent', sɪ·le, has an alloseme 'grandparent's sibling' which is predictable from features in the semantic environment such as: gender of the article if the grandparent and the sibling are

of different sex (the gender of the article indicates the gender of the sibling), who the descendants, family, and associates of the person in question are, whether the person lives where the grandparent does or where the grandparent's sibling does; present or future tenses can even bear on the determination of alloemes if the grandparents are dead but a grandparent's sibling lives (or vice versa). The mind of the hearer searches all such aspects of the semantic environment and makes an interpretation the moment the relevant information is found.

4. The words for siblings and 'grandparent, grandparent's sibling' (with the possible exception of ?élex^{V}) each have an alloeme which refers to a 'sibling' and an alloeme which refers to the 'child of parent's sibling'; the sibling is modified in both alloemes by 'elder', 'younger', 'eldest', 'youngest', 'grandparent's' or whatever the gloss calls for. This applies then to: $\text{sél}^{\text{A}}\text{'a}$, $\text{sé}^{\text{A}}\text{'étel}$, $\text{sqé}\cdot\text{q}$, $\text{k}^{\text{Y}}\text{é}\cdot\text{k}^{\text{Y}}$, sáseq^{Wt} , $\text{wé?á}\cdot\text{l}$ sáseq^{Wt} , and $\text{sí}\cdot\text{le}$ and inflected versions of these words. (It may also apply to $\text{stí}\cdot\text{wél}$ and $\text{sx}^{\text{W}}\text{emlí}\cdot\text{k}^{\text{W}}$ as it does in the Cowichan dialect.) By the rules given, $\text{sqé}\cdot\text{q}$ has alloemes ['younger brother, younger sister, son of parent's younger sibling, daughter of parent's younger sibling'] for ex-

ample. The semantic environments determining which alloseme is meant would be similar to those seen in 3. just above. With $sq\acute{e}\cdot q$ for example a preceding feminine article, θe , would limit the allosemes to ['younger sister'] or ['daughter of parent's younger sibling']. The precise alloseme could then be selected if the hearer knew or could detect from the semantic environment of the speech event, for example, that no 'younger sister' existed, or that since the 'son of the parent's younger sibling' had just been discussed it must be the 'daughter of the parent's younger sibling' now being discussed.

5. There are nine terms for in-laws. One alloseme is reported by Elmendorf and Suttles⁹ but not yet attested in my data, ['wife's brother'] for $sk^w\acute{i}ow$. But a pair of in-law words follow one allosemic pattern: $sm\acute{e}tex^wt\acute{e}l$ and $sx^w\acute{e}l\acute{e}x^y$ both refer to sibling-in-law with two allosemes ['spouse's sibling'] and ['sibling's spouse']. It seems that $sx^w\acute{e}l\acute{e}x^y$ has the same allosemic pattern as $sm\acute{e}tex^wt\acute{e}l$ and even has the same gloss except that $sx^w\acute{e}l\acute{e}x^y$ also has a required ['female'] component (thus /'husband's sister,

9. William W. Elmendorf and Wayne Suttles: "Pattern and Change in Halkomelem Salish Dialects," in Anthropological Linguistics, vol.2, no.7, 1960, pp.1-32.

woman's brother's wife'/). The allosemes of *slēc'éléq* seem to require the *slēc'éléq* to be the same sex as ego, i.e. ['husband's brother's wife, wife's sister's husband, daughter-in-law's sister's mother-in-law (ego is female)']. It is unclear whether *slēc'éléq* also has allosemes ['son-in-law's brother's mother-in-law (ego is female)'] or whether ['father-in-law (ego is male)'] can replace ['mother-in-law (ego is female)'] or whether ['child-in-law's sibling's'] can replace ['daughter-in-law's sister's'] in the gloss of the term. Also needing comment is the allosemy of *sk'wélwés* including ['sibling's spouse's relative'], more generally ['relative's spouse's relative'] or ['in-law's relative'], and ['in-law from any side']. These are not all mutually exclusive terms and not all are clearly attested; some more elicitation seems required. The in-law terms can be divided into three groups: one including spouse's relatives (spouse's parent, spouse's grandparent, relative's spouse's relative, relative of deceased spouse), one including spouses themselves (child's spouse, parent's sibling's spouse, spouse's sibling's spouse), and one including both spouse's relatives and spouses themselves (spouse's sibling - sibling's spouse, husband's sister - woman's brother's wife). This last observation is perhaps

morphosememic rather than allosemic.

6. There are eight kinterms with a 'deceased' component present; in four cases the 'past' suffix is present, but it is derivational rather than inflectional here (as discussed in 8.5). Five of the eight terms refer to a surviving relative of a deceased person and three refer to the actual deceased relative himself. Thus $\text{sy}\acute{\epsilon}(\cdot)\text{tel}$ 'widow, widower' is componentially 'spouse of a deceased person', $\text{w}\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\lambda}\acute{\epsilon}\text{m}$ 'orphan' is componentially 'child of deceased parents', $\text{smestiy}\acute{\epsilon}\ddot{\text{z}}$ is 'sibling of deceased parent', $\text{sw}\acute{\epsilon}\text{lm}\acute{\epsilon}(\cdot)\text{y}\ddot{\text{z}}$ is 'child of deceased sibling' (the root is $\text{w}\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\lambda}\acute{\epsilon}\text{m}$ 'orphan' so the term may have implications of the death of the sibling's spouse as well, i.e. 'orphan child of deceased sibling'), and $\text{e}'\acute{\epsilon}\cdot\text{ye}$ is 'relative of deceased spouse'. $\text{c}'\ddot{\text{x}}\ddot{\text{e}}\cdot\text{m}$ remains as 'deceased son, deceased daughter', but I suspect the gloss is in error and should be more complicated than I have shown; $\text{q}\acute{\text{e}}\text{y}\acute{\epsilon}\cdot\ddot{\text{z}}$ - $\text{sx}^{\text{w}}\text{em}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{iy}\acute{\epsilon}\cdot\ddot{\text{z}}$ is 'deceased person (other than parent, such as uncle, aunt, grandmother) who is responsible for ego'. The Stalo way of viewing the first five of these terms is that you are related to a person who dies or you are related to a person through another person who dies. These terms are looked at as a process, perhaps as a suppletive inflection such as

(swéqəθ, stá·ləs, cé·x^w) → syé(·)təl
 mél(·)e → wélém
 sx^wəmlf·k^w → smestiyéɬ
 stí·wél → swəlmé(·)yɬ
 sk^wəlwés → θ'é·ye

7. sx^yá·ye and sx^yayé·seq show parallel allosemy: the first has allosemes ['co-wife'] and ['female rival of wife']; the second has allosemes ['wife's ex-husband'], ['ex-wife's husband'] and ['male rival of husband']. Both words combine multiple spouses with rivals.

8. A number of verbs share in some of the allosemic patterns mentioned and belong in the domain of kinterms as functions of the kinterms: θ'əyé·m 'marry one's θ'é·ye, marry a relative of one's deceased spouse', tex^wmélé·m 'to adopt', k^wómet 'raise s-o', qelá·qtəl 'be siblings to each other, be cousins to each other', x^yix^yyá·təl 'two co-wives jealous of each other', qəqemátel 'having the same parents (as each other)' (< qəqemá· 'suckling'), sk^wək^wátəl 'separate in marriage', melyí 'marry', and others.

Age and status terms show more morphosememic patterning than allosemic patterning. I have so far found about 14 age terms ('baby', 'adolescent boy', etc.) and 62 status terms (9 social, 11 nationality or race,

8 tribal, and 34 occupations or roles). Half of the age terms have sememes with only one sex gender possible; the others either are unmarked for gender or more likely have allosemes of each gender, determined by semantic environment as with kinterms (te siyá·lex^We 'the old man', ʰe siyá·lex^We 'the old woman', etc.). siyá·lex^We, swíyεqε, and sʰé·lɪf all have adjectival allosemes as well, respectively 'old person; old (with animate or inanimate nominals)', 'man; male (with human or other animates, even plants)', and 'woman; female (of human, animate, plant)'. Social status terms show no particular allosemic patterning, but siyé·m has an adjectival alloseme as well as its nominal ones, 'chief (a leading person in the community, generous, wise, sought for decisions and advice), upper-class person; boss (since coming of the whites); rich'. The terms of racial or national status all also have allosemes both nominal and adjectival, as with pɛlcmel 'Frenchman; French'. It is not certain yet whether tribal status terms also show nominal and adjectival allosemic patterning, but I believe they do. Occupational or role terms do not show any allosemic patterns that I can detect, though a few show interesting allosemes (x^ʷaɛmfi 'baby-sitter; "baby-sitter" of new spirit dancer during the dancer's initiation and

first winter dancing season, any of the workers who help initiate a spirit dancer').

Many verbs are related to the terms of social status and role or occupation. A verb like *yéyatel* 'make friends' seems to belong in the same domain as social status terms *siyé·yə* 'friend' and *sx^vəmél·l* 'enemy'. But many occupational or role terms belong in domains with the activities (as *tewít* 'expert hunter' and *lex^wshé·wə* 'a person that always hunts' appear to be grouped more productively with the domain of hunting than with that of occupations). Personal names (other than nicknames) may belong in the domains of categories of humans since they are usually marked for sex gender as seen in Chapter 5, q.v.); but this would include proper names of some fauna which are characters in stories and texts.

12.2.2. Flora. This domain shows patterning of alloemes as well as morphosememic patterning. The following plant terms each show alloemes of a native plant and of a plant brought in by the white man or non-Indian: *q^wəʔá·pə́p* 'crabapple tree (native), apple tree', *sk^wó·lmex^və́p* 'wild trailing blackberry (rubus ursinus)(native), evergreen blackberry (rubus laciniatus)(native), Himalaya blackberry (rubus procerus)(all three refer to the whole plant with -ə́p)',

má·lsem 'big marsh blueberry (native or commercial)',
 x^véwéq 'wild carrot (native), domestic carrot',
 ʌ·ik^w·fyeɛp 'kinnickinnick plant (native), pea vine,
 bean vine', sqé·wθ 'arrowleaf or wapato (sagittaria
 latifolia)(native), domestic potato (solanum tuberosum)'
 (but the 'arrowleaf or wapato' is also called by an
 exclusive name, x^woq^w·δ·ls), sʔá·yθeq^w·eɛp 'raspberry
 plant (rubus pedatus perhaps)(native), domestic rasp-
 berry', t'émá·sɛ 'wild rhubarb (dock, rumex occident-
 alis)(native), domestic rhubarb', qé·lqɛp 'wild rose
 bush (rosa nutkana)(native), domestic rose', and
 scí·yè·ɛp 'wild strawberry plant (fragaria glauca or
 fragaria virginiana)(native), domestic strawberry
 plant'. This pattern doesn't apply to all plants
 however because st'éx^vet 'wild onion (esp. nodding
 onion, allium cernuum)' and ʔényəls 'domestic onion',
 c'á·k^w·e 'skunk cabbage (lysichitum americanum)' and
 képec 'domestic cabbage' exist as pairs.

Further allosemy exists in that several terms
 include several varieties of native plant as does
 sk^w·δ·lmex^w·eɛp: t'é·mx^w·eɛp 'gooseberry (ribes divari-
 catum, ribes lobbi)', sá·x^w·el 'grass (any kind)',
 xémxɛm 'horsetail reed (equisetum arvense, equisetum
 fluviatile)', sk'éləq^w 'chocolate lily, rice root',
 méθeɛ 'dogbane, also a kind of grass used as hemp (as

dogbane is)', ?elflè·ip 'salmonberry plant (with yellow berries as well as one with red berries)', xəxq'elé·ip 'False Solomon's seal (smilacina racemosa), Twisted-stalk plant (streptopus amplexifolius), Hooker's fairy bells (disporum hookerii)' (the latter two varieties of xəxq'elé·ip are also known as sə'f.ms tə ?éiqey 'snakeberries').

Another feature is that several plants are prepared as food or craft material or medicine, and the preparation (an alloseme) is called by the same term as the plant. Thus: sɣ^wósem 'soapberry, Indian ice cream', Ө'é·xey 'white straw grass for basket designs (probably bluejoint reedgrass (calamagrostis canadensis))(used for both the growing grass and the scalded bleached product)', Ө'al?é·ltel 'juniper, heart medicine', sq^welíp 'beard moss, black moss bread (baked underground till it forms a licorice tasting black bread)', Ө'éxӨ'ex 'stinging nettle (the plant and the cooked shoots with stingers poured off; these shoots are sometimes called Indian spinach)', st'éx^vet 'wild nodding onion (plant or bulbs)', and perhaps others.

12.2.3. Fauna. As with flora this domain has a great deal of morphosememic structure. There are no large-scale patterns of allosemy in the names of fauna except that almost all terms have both male and female

allosemes; in all but a few cases these can be preceded by sɬɛ·ɪf 'female' or swɪyɛqɛ 'male' to disambiguate; kinship and age category words can be used too where applicable (for example, stá·lɛs 'wife', q'ɛlɛmi 'adolescent virgin girls', etc.).

Some allosemy is shown by q'ayɛk'iye 'snail, slug (rarely)', sɛ'ók^w 'worm, bug (rarely)', spapɛlɛq^wɪθ'ɛ 'screech owl, saw-whet owl, pygmy owl', smóq^wɛ 'heron, crane', xɛmɪmɛlɛs 'large hawk, chicken hawk', sq^wɪq^wɛyá·θɛl 'big older rabbit, jackrabbit', hɛ(·)wt 'rat, large vole', spɛ·θ 'bear (generic), black bear, (probably excludes the grizzly which has separate names)', smɛyɛθ 'animal; meat'. If there is any pattern in these it is in xɛmɪmɛlɛs, sq^wɪq^wɛyá·θɛl, and hɛ(·)wt which link allosemes of 'large (generic)' fauna with those of (large) 'specific varieties'.

Within the area of fauna anatomy (including human anatomy) and functions and dysfunctions of the body there are several systematic features of allosemy. With somatic suffixes, there are at least three allosemes for each suffix: ['(body part)'] (usually subject of the verb root they are attached to) in body function words and many place names, ['of the (body part)'] partitive in independent words for body parts, and locative ['on or in the (body part)'] elsewhere.

In addition to this overall pattern further allosemic patterns exist for sets of somatic suffixes.

In 'place names' or 'geographical features' the following suffixes take their figurative (and geographical) allosemes: -í·ws ['on the covering'], -eq^w ['head'] of a river, -qel ['at head or source'] of a river, and also ['head'] of an island, and also in ['inlet of river'] < ['the inside'] + ['at the head (of the river)'], -es ~ -á·s ['face'] of a mountain, -é(1)qsəl ['point or end'] of land/island/mountain, -á·θel ~ -(ə)θel ['mouth'] of a river, -epsem ['neck'] of land, -eqel ['throat'] of a cliff or mountain, -(ə)lec ~ -léc ['bottom'] of island, river, etc.

Some somatic suffixes have figurative allosemes with a number of other nominals (-á·s, -é(1)qsəl, -eléxəl, and -í·wəl have such allosemes, as do -á·yθel and -eqel). The latter two are systematic in this; -á·yθel ~ -eyéθel ~ -eyθ(í1) has allosemes ['in speech'] and ['in music'] with language and music environments, and -eqel has allosemes ['language'] in the environments of 'nationalities' or 'tribes' and ['voice'] in the environment of 'descriptive' words.

Some somatic suffixes have allosemes for more than one part of the body: -í·ws ['on the body, on the skin'], -eq^w ['on top of the head, on the hair'],

-ǎ·les ['on/in the eye(s), on the eyelids'], -ǎ·yθel ['on the lip, on the jaw'], -əpsəm ['on the back of the head and back of the neck'] (either a continuous area or ['on the back of the head, on the back of the neck']), -ces ['on/in the hand, on/in the finger(s)'], -ǎ·q ['on the genitals, on the penis/male'] (['on the penis'] may be subsumed under ['on the genitals']), -f·wel ['in the rump, in the anus, on the inside(s)'], -x^yel ['on/in the foot, on/in the leg']. Sometimes semantic compatibility determines which of these occur (xǎym-leq^w-t 'grab + on hair + on purpose + s-o' > 'grab s-o by the hair' since one is not likely to grab s-o by the top of the head), sometimes either one or both would fit (qet-i·ws-əm 'take a sweatbath'), and sometimes one is chosen over another for derivational purposes (to produce the word for a given thing). It should be noted that although these are lexical suffixes functioning derivationally so that one would expect morphosememic phenomena, the above rules are sememic to determine allosemes. When all the allosemes are selected and combined a new meaning sometimes results from morphosememic rules (qet-f·ws-əm ['warm up (by fire or steam)'] + ['on the body, on the skin'] + middle voice/'onself' → 'take a sweatbath').

I can find little systematic in the allosemy of

independent terms for body parts (human or other fauna) and pésq^wtel (body insult) words, unless it is the few words for body parts which can apply to different types of fauna (human, fish, animal, bird, insect and reptile, s^t'élēqem (supernatural creature)) and are translated by different words in different cases. For example, k^w'él·św 'skin, hide', q^w'x^w'élcēs 'finger-nail, claw', mélq^w 'human uvula, fish heart'. A few pairs of terms also behave systematically such as x^w'eθ'ég^w'cēs 'wrist joint, sprained wrist' and x^w'eθ'ég^w'x^y'el 'ankle joint, sprained ankle'. But otherwise all the patterning in these areas are morpho-semantic and will be covered in the next chapter where anatomy is treated in detail.

Functions and dysfunctions of the body show a little more systematic allosemy. Allosemes are listed with all the terms in Chapter 13. One of the most systematic is the use of many of these terms with animals, birds, and less often fish, insects and reptiles, as well as with humans. The terms are divided in Chapter 13 into the five categories of fauna mentioned but more for convenience (though some terms belong exclusively to one type of fauna). Many of the words are glossed the same way in some or all of the five categories of fauna; the creatures may perform the func-

tions in different ways (especially from humans), but we have no terms in English or Halkomelem to express this. With some of the words English does have separate words and these may be alloemes. Examples include: q^wè·l 'talk (of human), talk (of animal) (no better term applies in English), chirp/twitter/cheep/coo/caw/cluck/quack/etc. (of bird), croak (of frog)', q^wó·lq^wel 'talking together (humans), warning (birds such as ravens and owls, a different cry than q^wè·l)', q^welayθí·lem 'make music (of humans), sing (of birds), croak melodically (of frogs)', t^f·lem 'sing (of humans, birds), buzz (of insects, for ex. bee, mosquito, fly)', ʔéqem 'whisper (of humans), hiss (of snake)', k^weléx^yt 'shoot s-o or s-th (of human actors), sting s-o (of reptile or insect actors)'. Another systematic feature of alloemy in this domain is seen with terms of health or sickness: ʔé·yelex^w 'alive, in good health', me ʔé·yelex^w 'come alive, come back to life (literally and figuratively); get better, get well', q^fáq^fey 'sick; dying', sq^fáq^fey 'sickness; dead for awhile'. These terms join the alloemes of life and health together, and those of death and sickness together. q^fá·y also joins 'die, dead; paralyzed'.

12.2.4. Land features, Weather features, Water

features. These domains show small bits of allosemic patterning mainly in pairs of words. For example, $t\acute{e}mex^W$ has allosemes 'dirt, earth, land (in any quantity from a clump to a continent), world' and $sm\acute{e}\cdot lt$ similarly covers 'rock (any size larger than a pebble), mountain' (the pattern includes plural and diminutive inflections of $sm\acute{e}\cdot lt$, i.e., $smelm\acute{e}\cdot lt$ 'rocks, mountains' and $sm\acute{e}melet$ 'little rock, pebble, little mountain'). There are no smooth grassy hills in the Upper Stalo area, all hills and mountains are basically 'rocks'. Perhaps in similar fashion $sw\acute{e}y\acute{e}l$ has allosemes 'sky, weather, day'. Other than such bits of patterning there is little allosemic patterning observable yet; most of the semological patterning in these domains occurs in morphosememics.

12.2.5. Religion and the Spirit. There is morphosememic patterning in this domain as well as a little allosemic patterning. One allosemic pattern is for the following group of words to have secular and spiritual allosemes, that is secular words are used also for a number of spiritual things or actions where one might expect special terms: $smestiyex^W$ 'conscience, one's soul or spirit (which can be lost and recaptured)', $spaleq^W f\theta'e$ 'corpse, ghost', $l\acute{e}\cdot wet$ 'chase s-th away from s-o, cure s-o by Indian doctoring', $s^? \acute{e}liye$ 'a

dream (ordinary type), a spirit vision in which one's spirit power or guardian spirit comes to him or communicates', q'ěwe 'cane, staff (of s-o old or infirm for example), long staff or pole of a new spirit dancer (fashioned in special ways and decorated)', k'wáx'wé 'box (ordinary type), grave box (pre-white), coffin', x'átemfi 'babysitter (ordinary), babysitter or worker in the initiation of a new spirit dancer', sqéqele 'baby (ordinary), new spirit dancer during his/her first dancing season'. Of course there are also many special terms which only have religious, spiritual, or ceremonial allosemes.

Another pattern is for the following words to have allosemes referring to different spiritual roles or functions: k'wék'wíyēet 'training oneself to be an Indian doctor (shaman), training oneself to be an Indian dancer (spirit dancer)', hsywíleq'w 'a burning ceremony song, a s'x'áyx'w'ey song', syuwí'l 'power to do witchcraft for good or evil, a person with such power (witch)(he or she can shoot power or objects into people or remove these), ritualist (one who does burning ceremonies at funerals, purifies the longhouse or smokehouse upon its opening, etc.); an evil spell'. Perhaps similar is the word híxesem 'paint one's face red or black (for spirit dancing, Indian doctoring,

etc.)' since red paint implies a different power or strength of power or manner of obtaining power than does black paint. The word *syuwí·l* also shows a third pattern, words having both allosemes referring to a power or role or object and allosemes referring to a song, dance or spell done with same: *syuwí·l* (as glossed above), *syúwól* 'spirit power or guardian spirit; spirit song', and *sx̣^wáyx̣^wey* 'sx̣^wáyx̣^wey costume (with pegged-eye mask), sx̣^wáyx̣^wey dancer, sx̣^wáyx̣^wey dance or ceremony' (inherited, done on special occasions by groups of dancers as a chorus of women (or men) sings a special song).

12.2.6. Man-made Things and Their Functions.

This collection of domains is very extensive, and most of the domains contain a number of morphosememic patterns as well as some allosemic patterns. I will just give a sampling here from some of the domains.

With household goods (and other domains as well) non-Indian things or functions of things are sometimes expressed by new derivations coined specially, by words borrowed from other languages (especially English, French, and Chinook Jargon), and sometimes by new allosemes of a familiar pre-white word. The former two methods will be discussed in morphosememics, the latter method is a case of allosemic patterns.

For example: $sc'É\cdot l\acute{o}ct\acute{e}l$ had alloseme 'bench' and now also has 'chair'; $sk^w\acute{y}t\acute{e}l$ 'notched cedar pole ladder (to enter pit house, etc.), rope ladder' now also has 'wooden ladder, step ladder', $q^w\acute{\delta}\cdot l$ 'ear' now also has alloseme 'handle of a cup', $sk^w\acute{e}l\acute{x}^y$ has 'arrow' and 'gun', $x^y\acute{e}t$ has 'sinker (for net)' and 'lead weight, lead, bullet', $x^w\acute{a}q^w\acute{e}l\acute{o}c\acute{e}m$ has 'big high-bow canoe (lit. 'drags its behind')' and 'horse-car, streetcar, trolley'.

Among a number of words (of various derivations) for non-Indian man-made things (and their functions) are a number of words with multiple allosemes reflecting changing technology (since they were borrowed). These include for example: $sk^w\acute{e}c\acute{a}\cdot st\acute{e}l$ 'mirror, window', $(s)\acute{\lambda}'\acute{e}p\acute{i}\cdot w\acute{e}l$ 'shirt, undershirt', $sq\acute{e}m\acute{e}\cdot l\acute{e}$ 'bra, nursing bottle (lit. 'container of breast or milk')', $\theta^q\acute{w}\acute{a}\cdot l\acute{o}c\acute{e}$ 'gloves, mittens', $sx^w\acute{e}q^w\acute{e}l\acute{k}\acute{e}z$ 'necklace, scarf, neckerchief', $p\acute{e}p\acute{a}\cdot t\acute{e}m\ q^w\acute{e}l\acute{a}\cdot y\theta\acute{e}t\acute{e}l$ 'flute, wind instrument' (lit. 'blown musical instrument'), $q^w\acute{a}q^w\acute{i}$ 'fishing pole, fishing rod', $sx^w\acute{q}\acute{e}y\acute{q}\acute{x}\acute{a}\acute{e}t$ 'sled, toboggan, ice skate', $sx^w\acute{i}\theta\acute{i}$ ~ $sx^w\acute{e}y\theta\acute{i}$ 'likeness, portrait, statue, photo, (can include also 'mask' and 'totem pole (of other tribes))', $x\acute{e}l\acute{t}\acute{e}l$ 'pencil, pen, anything one writes with', $t^w\acute{a}l\acute{o}st\acute{e}l$ 'blinders on horse, blinds, window shades', $y\acute{e}q^w\acute{i}\cdot l$ 'lamp, lan-

tern, electric light', $sx^w\theta^w\epsilon x^w\epsilon w\epsilon\cdot l\epsilon$ 'sink, dishpan',
 $sx^w\theta^w\epsilon x^w\epsilon l w\epsilon t\epsilon m$ 'washtub, washing machine', $?it\epsilon t\epsilon w\epsilon t x^w$
 'hotel, bedroom', $l\epsilon m\epsilon w\epsilon t x^w$ 'bar or pub, liquor store'
 (< $l\epsilon m$ 'liquor' < English "rum").

Another pattern is seen in the domain of canoes and boats, where words for positions in a canoe and even numbers for counting canoe paddles all also have alloemes referring to paddlers (especially in racing canoes). Thus: $q^w\epsilon\epsilon l$ 'bow of canoe or boat, bowman, strokesman (in race)', $?\epsilon l w\epsilon\epsilon$ 'middle of canoe (on inside), middle paddler(s)', $?il\epsilon(\cdot)q$ 'stern of canoe or boat, sternman, skipper (in race)', $l\epsilon c^w\epsilon\cdot w\epsilon\epsilon$ 'one paddle, one paddler', $?isl\epsilon\cdot w\epsilon\epsilon$ 'two paddles, two paddlers', etc.

A number of terms of no particular semantic domain all have alloemes '(pattern in basketry design)' or '(pattern in weaving design)'. Perhaps this is a sign that they form a separate domain or category in basketry to so mark them. Some that have been attested for basketry patterns are: $t^w\epsilon x^w\epsilon l\epsilon$ 'arrowhead, arrowhead pattern in basketry design', $sk^w\epsilon\epsilon y\epsilon t\epsilon l$ 'ladder, ladder pattern in basketry design'; for weaving goat-wool/dog wool blankets ($sw\acute{o}q^w\epsilon\epsilon$): $q^w\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon l$ 'swallow (bird), swallow pattern in blanket weaving', $sm\epsilon\epsilon m\epsilon y\epsilon\epsilon$ 'butterfly, butterfly pattern', $sm\epsilon l m\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon l t$

'mountains, rocks, mountains pattern', x̄éleq't te
 sx^wex^wá's 'lightning (lit. 'thunder(bird) opens his
 eyes'), lightning pattern in blanket weaving'.

12.2.7. Feelings and Emotions, Attitudes and Men-
 tal Processes. Allosemic alternation is fairly exten-
 sive in this domain. The allosemes seem to follow a
 systematic pattern of variation which I can only char-
 acterize as "slightly different in degree" or having
 "slight emotional differences". The following words
 show this variation: sx̄éxcs 'got one's mind made up,
 determined', q'élmet 'believe s-o, trust s-o', x̄lém·et
 f̄ h̄cf·wsmet 'tired of s-th, bored with s-th',
 x^wayíwelstex^w 'make s-o happy, cheer s-o up',
 wawistóləqmet 'jealous of s-o, envy s-o', seceléc
 'eager, enthused' (Tait), (s)h̄ātək^wíwel 'dumbfounded,
 speechless, overwhelmed, overpowered', h̄ek^wíwel -
 lewé·t̄ 'surprised, shocked', t'ét'eyeq' 'angry, stir-
 red up, roused', q'əʔí·lés 'wise, sensible', t̄t̄eyex^w
 'getting carried away doing s-th, keep doing s-th in
 a hurry to finish', (Chill.) stək^wték^w - (Tait) stekték
 'in a daze, day-dreaming', sqelwí̄(met) 'hate (s-o),
 hold a grudge (against s-o)', sx^wúx^we 'ambitious, wil-
 ling', sx̄áȳh̄'əet 'hot-headed, violent', (s)x^w(ə)ʔéywēt
 'good-hearted, generous, kind; easy-going, good-natured',
 q^wax^wlámét 'get offended, get irritated' (q^wáx^wlax^w)

'offend s-o'), ɬəq'elámét 'know oneself, be confident', hɪq^wt 'coax s-o, persuade s-o, invite s-o (to go for a trip)' (not 'invite to gathering'), ʔéy tɛ sq^wélewel 'glad; grateful, thankful', lɛp 'learn a lesson, give up'.

12.2.8. The Senses: Visual Qualities, Tactile Feelings, Sounds, Tastes, Smells. I do not have extensive data yet on visual qualities, tastes, or smells (about 20 terms, 8 terms, and 11 terms respectively), but they show similar allosemic variations and morpho-semantic patterns to those shown by tactile qualities and sounds. Most of the words in these domains are verbs whose allosemes are clearly selected by their nominal subject. This selection by nominal is much clearer here than in many domains. The allosemes of a given sememe here seem to differ usually in onset or duration of action, in quality, or in intensity.

With sounds these differences and their selection by the nominal are shown in the following:
 ɒ'ɛ·cem 'toll or peal (of bell), ringing (of ear), jingle (of money, bells, etc.), rattle (of dishes, metal, a ceremonial rattle or deer-hoof rattle, etc.)',
 k^wá(·)tɣ^wem 'roar (of waterfall for ex.), rumble (of thunder, a quake, a slide), banging noise (of hammering or other banging, of waterfall)', ɣɛpk^wem and

ʰʰm̄q^wals both glossed as 'make a crunching or crack-
 ing noise (of s-o chewing apple, of ice breaking, for
 example)', q'étx̄em 'rattling (of dishes, metal pots,
 wagon on ground, for ex.), scraping sound (like food
 being scraped off dishes)', q^wét'c'əm 'sound of water
 sloshing around inside (bottle, canoe, etc.), gurgling',
 c'étx̄em - ʰ'étx̄em 'clinking, tinkling (of glass, ice
 in glass, glasses together, dishes together, metal to-
 gether)' (perhaps used of shells before the white man
 brought glass, dishes and metal), ʰ'él̄eq^w 'a pop, a
 shot' (ʰ'él̄'el̄eq^w 'continuous shooting or popping
 sounds (of guns, firecrackers, etc.)' and wəʰ'él̄eq^w
 'a shot, explosion'), l̄ét̄əm 'a blast or boom (and the
 earth shakes after)', k^wp̄éx^w 'make sudden noise when
 s-th falls to the ground (and the sound echoes from
 the ground), to thump, make a bang (when s-o falls)'.

With tactile sensations the following are attes-
 ted (alloemes differ mainly by quality here):
 sm̄m̄éq^w 'lumpy (of ground, stick, etc.), rough (of
 wood, opposite of smooth)', p̄é·ps̄ 'woolly, fluffy',
 ʰétk^wəm 'tingle (like arm waking up), stinging',
 ʰ'f̄'ek^wəm 'prickly (from s-th one is allergic to like
 fir bark, wool, etc.), irritated (tactilely)' (cp.
 s̄'f̄k^wəm 'tiny slivers of fir bark'), t̄éx^wəm 'beating
 (of heart), throbbing (of pain), throbbing pain',

ə'fə'eqel 'muddy, soft and rotting (of fish)' (cp. sə'fə'qel 'wet mud').

With smells: pápəq^wəm 'getting mouldy in taste or smell', pɛ́pəθ'əm ~ pɛ́pəc'əm 'animal smell (of bear, skunk, dog, etc.), human smell'.

With tastes: t'ɛ́t'əθ'əm (sometimes t'ɛ́t'ec'əm) 'sour (like berries or fruit), fermenting', c'éc'esəm 'tasty, good-tasting but not sweet (of meat, nut, etc.)', c'ícex^vəm 'bitter (of dried fish, anything), rancid (of butter, other things)' (unclear how this contrasts with sɛ́səxəm 'bitter (of rancid peanuts, of roots like cascara, medicines)').

12.2.9. Personal Pronouns. A number of allosemantic patterns are found in this domain, and most have already been mentioned in Chapter 4. Pronouns of set 4.1 each have four allosemes, as exemplified by the first person singular member {ʔɛ́lθɛ} 'it's me, I do, I'm the one that ____, I'm the one to ____'. The semantic environments distinguishing each of these are not yet completely catalogued (see 4.1, 9.5, 11.1.4.4, and 11.2.9), but the first two allosemes can occur as independent sentences (in answer to interrogative sentences with təwɛ́t for example), while the latter two cannot. The fourth alloseme is found mainly with semantic 'future' (in preceding VP, following in VP,

or attached inflectionally to 4.1); the third is found more with 'present' and 'past'; both must have a following VP, while a following VP is optional after the first alloseme; the second alloseme cannot apparently have a following VP attached within its sentence.

Pronouns of set 4.3 have both subject and object allosemes (for $\tau\epsilon^{\prime}\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon$ 'I, me'), which can be distinguished by syntactic placement which has semantic significance and by co-occurrence in the VP with either 4.4, 4.5, 4.9, or 4.10 of the same person and number (4.4 and 4.9 members are marked semantically as 'subject pronoun' and 4.5 and 4.10 members as 'object pronoun').

Pronouns of set 4.7 have two allosemes as seen in $l\ sw\acute{\epsilon}$ 'mine, my own', etc. The first alloseme cannot occur before a nominal, but the second can occur either before a nominal or not. (Syntactic categories are semantically marked.)

Each third person personal pronoun, except those in 4.3, have six allosemes including the following combinations of features: 'male sg.', 'female sg.', 'gender unspecified sg.', 'male pl.', 'female pl.', and 'gender unspecified pl.'. This is seen in pronoun sets 4.4, 4.5, 4.6, 4.7, 4.8, 4.9, and 4.10 (4.2 and 4.11 have no third person members of their own); with

4.1 the six alloemes are divided up between $\lambda^{\prime}á$ (singular alloemes) and $\lambda^{\prime}á(\cdot)l\text{em}$ (plural alloemes). These are disambiguated only if there are co-referential words with number and gender features marked ($\Theta\text{e stá}\cdot\text{les}$ 'the wife' for example, or 4.3 pronouns like $\Theta\text{u}\lambda^{\prime}á(\cdot)l\text{em}$ 'they (female)'). Actually it should be noted that the third person pronouns of sets 4.1 and 4.3 can also be considered (simultaneously) as members of pronominal demonstratives (see 9.6 and even 9.5).

12.2.10. Demonstratives. Demonstrative articles have been componentially analysed in 9.1. All the "m." articles ($t\text{e}$, $k^{\text{W}}\Theta\text{e}$ and $k^{\text{W}}\text{e}$) have alloemes with 'masculine sex gender' and 'gender unspecified' and 'inanimate'; all the "p." articles ($t\text{e}$ and Θe) have alloemes with 'present and visible' and 'proximity unspecified'; all the "r." articles ($k^{\text{W}}\text{e}$, $k^{\text{W}}\Theta\text{e}$, $k^{\text{W}}s\text{e}$, λ^{\prime}) have alloemes with 'remote', 'distant (and not visible)', 'abstract (or hypothetical)', 'indefinite', 'generic', and 'past (perhaps also deceased)'. So the "m.p." article $t\text{e}$ has alloemes: 'the (present and visible and masculine sex gender), the (proximity unspecified and masculine sex gender), the (present and visible and gender unspecified), the (proximity and gender both unspecified), the (present and visible and inanimate), the (proximity unspecified

and inanimate)'. 'The' is omitted (leaving the other features) in the environment of proper names or possessive pronouns. The other semantic features are shared with or transferred to the nominal which the article modifies. The semantic environments of these alloemes are given and discussed in 9.1 for each article and will not be repeated here.

Nominal demonstratives in 9.3 show the same alloemy to a certain extent since they contain demonstrative articles. Thus *tə là* has alloemes 'this (person here (masculine or gender unspecified)), this (present and visible)(inanimate)', *k^we là* has 'this (abstract thing, manner, or place)', and *k^wé* has 'that person (masculine or gender unspecified, near, perhaps visible)'

Two of the adverbial demonstratives in 9.4 also share the "p." vs. "r." distinction (*lí tə é* versus *lí k^we é*), but they do not share the alloemy.

The pronominal demonstratives in 9.6 also share the distinctions of m., f., h., pl., absent (as in r.), and deceased (as in 'past' in r.), but the absent and deceased forms are separate forms and therefore not alloemes. However the m. forms (*tú·k'è*, *tuk'áləm*, *k^wéú·k'á*, *k^wéú·k'á·è*, *tú·k'áləm*, and probably also *tuk'él'elà·m*) all share the alloemy described above

with 'masculine sex gender' - 'gender unspecified' - 'inanimate'.

Demonstrative conjunctions with k^w_e and k^w_e have numerous allosemes ('that, to (infinitive), for, when (simultaneous), while, as'), but these allosemes do not pattern with those of other demonstratives, though they are predictable from the semantic environment.

The demonstratives of 9.3 and 9.4 as well as *Vdem* and *Vaux* ('be here', 'be there', 'go(ing)(to)', 'come (to), coming (to)') all have semological features of 'here' vs. 'there' which may be the verbal equivalent of "p." and "n." vs. "r." seen in the demonstratives above. However this is an example of morphosememic structure rather than allosemic structure.

12.2.11. Other Domains. There are allosemes and sometimes allosemic patterns in all the other domains of *Halkomelem*. For example, within adverbial words (directions and qualifiers) there is the allosemic patterning of *tá·l* ~ *cúcu* 'toward the river, away from shore (if on a river)' and *cá·leq^w* 'toward the backwoods, away from the river (if on land)'. The domain of descriptive qualities and value judgements (*Vaj*'s) has many pairs of antonyms which show allosemic pat-

terning as well, but usually just within pairs of word, though larger patterns may turn up. The domain of prepositional verbs has three words with allosemantic patterning: *sł'epá·lwɛɛ* 'below, under, underneath; the underside', *sceɛsá·lwɛɛ* 'above, over (in the air); the upper side', and *sleʔá·lwɛɛ* 'across, on the other side; the other side'. Similar allosemes are conditioned by the same or similar environments here.

There are surely other allosemantic patterns in the domains not discussed yet, and as more data is gathered (additions to glosses, refinement of glosses, more words for the lexicon) more patterns will become apparent. Time does not permit any more analysis here.

CHAPTER 13. MORPHOSEMEMICS

13.0. Introduction. As discussed in the last chapter, morphosememics covers the description of meaning changes as a result of derivational or inflectional processes and the description of all other systematic alternations of sememes resulting from combination with other morphemes, other words, or meaningful arrangements of order. This includes the description of processes like assimilation of sememes, merger of two sememes into one (common in derivation), loss of redundant sememes within phrases or sentences, and concord (agreement in gender or number). Morphosememics also covers sememic co-occurrence restrictions, sememic structure of phrase and sentence, and distribution of sememes or classes of sememes within domains.

This chapter begins with a morphosememic analysis of the domain of fauna (including man), including names of fauna, parts (anatomy), and functions and dysfunctions of the body. This is rather lengthy because it is a fairly large domain and all the data is presented to show what is involved. Excluding fauna names, the domain might be called the domain of anatomy. After this comes brief sketches of most of the other domains (without listing all the data).

Then comes a discussion of the morphosememics of NP's (with and without expansions), VP's (with and without expansions), the sentence (with and without expansions), and the speech event.

13.1. Fauna (including Anatomy). Terms for fauna form the first part of this domain; they include human, animals, birds, fish, insects and reptiles, and supernatural creatures. Anatomical terms are numerous and form a distinct part of this domain. There are at least 120 independent words for parts of the body and nearly one quarter of these have lexical suffix equivalents. The independent words are morphologically and semologically analyzable to a surprising degree. The lexical somatic suffixes have already been listed in 5.2.1 and semantically analyzed in 12.2.3. Also part of the domain (besides terms for fauna, independent somatic words, and somatic suffixes) is a set of insult and joking words called p^sq^wtel, which describe parts of the anatomy. Another part of the same domain is the set of terms for the anatomy of non-human creatures: fish, birds, animals, reptiles and insects; a game was even played with terms for fish anatomy -- to see who could name all the parts of the fish (there are at least 35). A final part of this domain is the set of functions and dysfunctions of

the body (including body functions, body products, illnesses, curing, and death).

13.1.1. Names of Fauna.

Human:

mestiyəx^w 'human, person'

(see also the domain Categories of Humans)

Animals:

sméyəθ 'animal; meat'

(Chill.) p'ip'əθ'elɛxəl ~ (Cheh., Tait) sk'^welyɛxəl

'bat' (p'ip'əθ' 'squeezing' or 'squeezed', -elɛxəl
'on the arm')

sk'^wik'^welyɛxəl 'young bat' (Cheh., Tait)

spé·θ 'bear, black bear'

sxé·ylmət 'black bear with white spot on chest (male)
(part grizzly)' (xé(·)yl- 'mark, write')

sxéylmà(·)t 'female black bear with white spot on chest'

ck'^wf·m spē·θ - ck'^wimeqel spē·θ 'brown bear' (ck'^wf·m
'red, reddish-brown', -eqel 'on throat')

xəyɬ'élə - k'^wf·cel 'grizzly bear' (xəyɬ' 'cold',
possibly k'^wiy 'climb' or k'^wéy 'hungry')

syeq^wilmət 'name for male grizzly' (< yéq^w 'burn' be-
cause of burnt color of fur)

syeq^wilmətəlàt 'name for female grizzly'

sqelé·w 'beaver'

sqəc'ámes - sqc'ámès 'bobcat, wildcat'

sqəlác'əmes 'lynx' (regarded as a larger bobcat)

pú·s 'cat' (< English)

xəp'f·cel 'chipmunk' (xəyp'- 'scratch, stripe', -f·cel
'on the back') ("when they come out in winter and
shake their mats that's when the last snow has wide
flakes")

- sʰəxəp'f.cəl ~ xəxp'f.cəl 'chipmunk with more than
 two stripes'
 sx^wéwə 'cougar'
 músmes 'cow, bull' (< Chinook Jargon)
 músmesà.lɬ 'calf'
 slək'iyép ~ sk'ək'iyép 'coyote'
 ʰəɬqtéle 'deer' (ʰəqt 'long', -le- 'plural', -x^vél
 'leg' here >-éle)
 swíyəqə ʰəɬqtéle 'buck, male deer', sɬéɬf ʰəɬqtéle
 'doe, female deer', méwəɬ 'venison' (< Chinook Jar-
 gon)
 t'f't'ele 'fawn'
 qewéstelàt '(another kind of deer, perhaps female)'
 (possibly < qewés 'warmed face or side')(-telàt
 'female name')
 sq^w(ə)mé.y 'dog'
 sq^wf^wəməy 'puppy'
 q'ayí.c or q'ayíyec (sometimes c') 'elk'
 sx^wémecel 'fisher, possibly wolverine' (possibly -ecel
 'on the back')
 sʰəwél ~ sʰowél 'fox'
 p'q'élqel 'mountain goat' (p'éq' 'white', -elqel 'wool')
 sq^wf^wq^w ~ sq^wf.q^w 'groundhog, woodchuck, hoary marmot,
 whistler'
 stiqíw 'horse'
 stiqíwá.lɬ 'colt'
 xáqel 'marten'
 cəcí.q'el (also in stories: sqéyex) 'mink'
 speléwél 'mole' (píl-t 'bury s-th')
 sx^wiyéx^yk^yél 'moose; rack of horns' (prob. < Interior
 language)
 k^wét'el 'mouse'
 sécetec (or sétsetec) 'jumping mouse'
 sq'ésɬq'eɬ 'muskrat'

sq'él·k̄ 'otter'
 k^wəšú 'pig' (< Chinook Jargon < French cochon)
 sk'f·l 'pika, rock rabbit' (prob. < Interior Salish)
 swetf·yél ~ swet'f·yél 'porcupine' (t' possibly error)
 sqəwélθ 'rabbit'
 sqíqəwèθ 'small rabbit'
 sq^wiq^weyél·θel 'jackrabbit, big older rabbit'
 mél(·)és 'raccoon'
 hél(·)wt 'rat, large vole'
 qélqel h́wt 'packrat' (qélqel 'thief')
 lemətú· (some speakers have metú·) 'sheep' (< French
 le mouton)
 sθ'élpeq (a few say sc'élpeq) 'skunk, striped skunk'
 sq^wélθ·eł 'squirrel'
 sqép'á·θəl ~ qép'aθel 'flying squirrel' (qép' 'cover
 an opening', -á·θel 'on the mouth')
 ɛ(ə)c'él·m 'weasel' (perhaps < lec'- 'cut')
 steqáye ~ stqáye (final ə may be ε) 'wolf'

Birds:

má·q^w ~ (Cheh.) ɣ^wél·yloq^w 'big bird, (waterfowl
 in a few idiolects, especially Cheh.)'
 mí·meq^w ~ (Cheh.) ɣ^wíɣ^weloq^w or ɣ^wélɣ^weloq^w 'small
 bird'
 q'elélq'ε 'blackbird (probably Brewer's blackbird)'
 k^wél·y ~ ɣxəsyúwes 'bluejay, Steller's jay' (ɣélxə
 'sacred', syúwe 'fortune-teller')
 méx^vc'el ~ (Cheh.) sk^vfk^vek^v 'chickadee' ("when lots
 come you'll have visitors; if you listen to them
 they'll tell you how many children you'll have")
 čékel 'chicken' (< English)
 čəlíčkelsá·lł 'baby chicks'
 slf·m 'sandhill crane (taller than heron, some were on

- Sumas Lake, make odd sound when flying)'
- spá·l 'crow, big crow (Western crow)'
- spelál 'smaller variety of crow (Northwestern crow)'
- smélx^wéθ' ~ smélx^wec' 'dipper (little gray bird seen along creeks)'
- teléqsél 'duck (cover term), mallard' (tá·l 'go out in the river', -éqsél 'nose')
- telfleqsél 'baby ducks'
- lemélwex 'canvas-back duck'
- léqléqem 'diving duck of some kind' (léqem 'dive')
- sése 'pintail duck'
- ɣ^wá·q^w 'sawbill duck, merganser'
- q^wiwiɬ 'wood duck (has nest in stump)'
- yéx^wele 'eagle (any kind)'
- sp'á·q'és 'mature bald eagle' (p'ésq' 'white', -és 'face')
- sk^wé·lx 'young bald eagle (before head turns white)'
- c'ésqel 'golden eagle'
- ʔéxε 'goose, Canada goose'
- λ'ɣ^womélxel (é - é) 'big Canada honker goose' (λ'és^w 'stiff, hard', -élxel ~ -élxel 'feather, wool')
- λ'ék^wxel 'small goose, brant'
- mí·t' 'blue grouse'
- sk^wéθ·k^wéθ' ~ sq^wéθ·q^wéθ' ~ (Cheh.) sk^wéθ' 'willow grouse' (possibly cp. k^wéθ'ém 'tippy (of canoe)' referring to its flight, or q^wéθ'ém 'defecating (of a bird or chicken)')
- ɣemxéyméls ~ ɣemxíméls 'large hawk, chicken hawk (i.e. red-tailed hawk)' (ɣéym-ət 'grab s-o or s-th')
- ɣixemxéyméls ~ ɣixemxíméls 'small hawk'
- sɣ^watíx^y 'helldiver, pied-billed grebe'
- smóq^we 'heron (great blue heron, yellow-crowned night heron), crane'
- pésk'ε 'hummingbird' (probably < Thompson language)
- é'ec'él·e ~ c'él·e 'kingfisher'

- swák^wel 'loon'
 q'ewq'ewelá't 'female (name for) loon' (possibly q'áw
 'howl' + R 'plural action' + -elá't 'female name')
 q'ewq'eweléce 'male (name for) loon' (-aléce 'male
 name')
 ?élel 'magpie'
 pí·q' 'nighthawk, rain crow' (name imitates call, bird
 is disliked "because it always asks for rain")
 0'éx^w0'0x^w 'osprey, fishhawk' (probably < 0'0x^w 'wash')
 cítmex^w ~ cí·tmex^w 'horned owl, big horned owl'
 spapeleq^wfí0'ε (ε ~ 0) 'screech owl, pygmy owl, saw-whet
 owl' (spaleq^wfí0'ε 'ghost')
 sq^w0q^w0q^w 'white owl'
 λ'elqtólec ~ λ'0qtólec 'pheasant' (λ'0qt 'long', -le-
 'plural', -élec 'rump, bottom, tail')
 hemá· 'pigeon, wild dove'
 k^wéyl 'quail' (< English)
 sqéweqs ~ (Tait) skéweqs ~ (in story) sk^wáwéls 'raven'
 sk^wak^wqéq ~ sk^wok^wqéq 'robin (varied thrush)'
 sx^wéyk' ~ sx^wík' 'bush robin, winter robin, (probably
 the "snowbird")'
 (Chill.) q^welíteq ~ (Chill., Tait) ?é·we ~ (Cheh.)
 slílowε 'seagull'
 wí0iye ~ (Tait, Cheh.) wé0we0 'snipe (Wilson's or common)'
 sx^wé0x^w0 'sparrow' (Katie dialect, Lower Stalo)
 q^wsi·cəl 'swallow'
 sx^w0·qel 'whistling swan'
 síáta 'brown thrush'
 síáte^wélqsel má·q^w 'wild turkey' (síáte^wélqsel 'snot
 hanging from its nose')
 séwel 'whiskeyjack, grey jay, Canada jay' (séwel 'lunch,
 provisions')
 teméáépsəm and t'at'0p'fqsələm 'large red-headed wood-
 pecker' (témeá 'red ochre', -épsəm 'on back of head')

and neck', t'át'ep'els 'pecking', -éqsəl 'on the nose', -əm 'middle voice, its own')

θ'f'q 'medium-sized woodpecker with red under wing (probably red-shafted flicker)'

c'f'q (probably same word as the last one) 'small red-headed woodpecker'

t'émíyε 'wren'

t'ét'əmiyε 'baby wren'

(Tait) sɣ^wóɣ^wθε (Cheh. may replace θ with ð) 'type of larger brown wren'

Fish:

smá(·)tɣ^w 'small bullhead, stickleback' (said to be a tattletale on fishermen)

mecá's and ʔé'yt 'ling cod'

spá'lcep 'grayling, gray ling (cod)'

k^wátewi 'eel'

swí'wə 'eulachon, oolachen'

sθáq^wi (EB and others sθ'áq^wi) 'fish (any kind), salmon (any kind)'

c'ák^w 'minnow', qéqemlá 'lots of minnows'

k^wóɣ^wəθ - k^wóɣ^wəθ 'coho salmon (silver salmon)' (origin of the English term "coho")

sθ'fmiyε 'small adult coho' (sθ'f'm 'berry, fruit')

k^wá'lex^w 'dog salmon, chum salmon'

hóliyε - (Cheh., Tait) húliyε 'humpback salmon'

húheliyε 'small-sized humpback salmon'

sθéqi 'sockeye salmon' (origin of the English "sockeye")

θiθqi or θiθqey - césqey - sk^wfk^wex^yəl 'small sockeye salmon'

q^wecíwiyε 'Fall sockeye salmon that comes up Chehalis River'

á'élɣ^yəl 'spring salmon (all kinds), tyee salmon'

(á'əlɣ- 'spotted', -x^yəl 'on foot' > 'on tail')

- ʔelx^yfloweɬ 'jack spring salmon with black nose'
 pá·q,^w (sometimes pá·k,^w) 'big Harrison River or Chehalis River spring salmon'
 speq'és·s ~ sp'eq'és·s (- speq'és·s rarely) 'white Fraser River spring salmon' (p'ésq' 'white')
 spá·xəm ~ sp'éxəm 'March spring salmon, early spring salmon'
 sq^wéxəm 'silver Harrison and Chehalis River spring salmon'
 sθ'aláɬ 'May spring salmon that goes to Chehalis Lake and back to sea'
 sx^woq,^wó·ɬ or sx^woq,^wóweɬ 'Silver Creek spring salmon that runs in August'
 q'éywx 'steelhead trout'
 sk^wá(·)wec 'sturgeon'
 q'á·xəl 'big suckerfish, elephant sucker'
 sk^wímeθ 'little roundmouth sucker (many have red stripes)' (c-k^wf·m 'red')
 q,^wé·c 'little suckerfish with big salmon-like mouth'
 k,^wsí·c 'cutthroat trout (have red gashes by gills), rainbow trout'
 (s)θexá·c 'dolly varden trout'
 spípehè·θ' 'speckled trout' (sp'és·θ' 'berry of red-flowering currant')
 slák^wec 'white trout'
 q^wél·és 'whale'
 q'elɬálemècel 'killer whale' (-ecel 'on back', -ɬílem 'expelling air' < 'in one's throat')
- Fish?:
- sʔá(·)x^we 'clam' (some freshwater clams were had)
 ʔé·yx 'crab'
 ʔé·sx^w 'hair seal' (came up even to Harrison Lake, were hunted with special spears, etc.)

Insects and Reptiles:

- x^yé·ysem 'ant'
 t̩əq'ətíwəl 'bedbug' (t̩(ə)q'ét 'wide', -íwəl 'in the rump')
 sx^wəlítēmət̩ mək^yc'el 'bedbug' (s-x^wəlítēm-ət̩ 'of the white man, in the white man's ways', mək^yc'el 'louse')
 sisemáye - sisemáye 'bee'
 mək^wmek^w 'bumblebee' (mək^w 'stout, thick around')
 x̩əp'ícel sisemáye 'yellow-jacket' (x̩əp'ícel 'striped on back, scratched on back')
 s̩ə'ék^w 'worm, bug'
 smímayèθ 'butterfly'
 smimex̩éθ 'caterpillar'
 t̩ec'íméls t̩e pítx^yél 'centipede' (lit. 'comb of the salamander', t̩ec'ímél 'comb')
 tá·l̩íwə 'cricket' (tá·l 'go down to the river')
 k̩'éləqt̩x^yél q^wé·l, also sp̩əlwé̩t̩ q^wé·l 'crane fly (family Tipulidae), "leatherjacket"' (k̩'éləqt̩x^yél 'long-legged', q^wé·l 'mosquito', sp̩əlwé̩t̩ 'last year')
 k̩'éləqt̩x^yél q'ésq'és(ə)c̩əl 'daddy long legs, harvestman (spider)(order Phalangida)' (lit. 'long-legged spider')
 t̩ítlá·y̩s 'dragonfly'
 t'át'èz̩əm 'flea'
 x̩^wex̩^wéy̩e 'big fly, blowfly'
 semóléc' - smómeléc 'deer fly'
 x̩^wix̩^wiy̩éy̩e ~ x̩^wex̩^wiy̩éy̩e 'housefly'
 p̩x̩^wíqs or p̩x̩^wíy̩eqs ~ (Cheh.) k^wx̩^wí(y̩)qs 'no-seē-um fly, sandfly'
 pípehà·m 'frog'
 pehá·mó·t̩ 'bullfrog, big pretty frog'
 w̩elék' 'little green tree frog'

- wexés '(a kind of frog), (probably sound of a frog)'
 pepex^wf·qsél (or pepex^wiyəqsél) 'gnat'
 ʔ·emʔ·émx^vél 'grasshopper' (< cʔ·ʔ·ém 'jump', -x^vél
 'leg')
 qʔélqʔ·elpʔ·f·w 'inchworm' (qʔ·él-pʔ 'tangle on itself',
 R 'plural action', -f·ws 'on the body')
 stéfi 'ladybug' (< stéfi 'woman, lady')
 cəyí·yex 'big gray lizard, alligator lizard'
 pítx^vél 'salamander (small, red or brown)'
 mósx^vcʔ·él 'louse' (homophonous with 'chickadee')
 ʔépel - ʔé·pel 'maggot'
 q^wé·l 'mosquito'
 ʔaliq^wát (Cheh. ʔaleq^wát) 'moth'
 xéstʔ·él 'nits'
 kʔékʔ·eʔe 'pill bug (black and gray, striped, found in
 drying fish and in meat)'
 cʔéxtél 'rattlesnake' (cʔ·éx- 'sting', -tél 'device')
 ʔéleqé·y 'slow-worm ("a slow-moving foot-long snake")
 (actually a blind, legless lizard, *Anguis fragilis*)
 ("someone related or close to you will die soon af-
 ter you see it unless you throw it over your shoul-
 der and tell it to go to someone else and you name
 them")
 qʔ·ayéʔ·iyə 'snail, slug (rarely)'
 ʔéʔqey or ʔéʔqey 'snake'
 qʔ·ésqʔ·es(e)cél 'spider' (cp. sx^wqʔ·éyqʔ·esecél 'netting
 shuttle (device for making nets)', qʔ·éys-ét 'tie
 s-th', swéltel-s te qʔ·ésqʔ·escél 'spiderweb' < swéltel
 'net')
 pipehamá·lʔ 'tadpole, baby frog'
 tʔ·pí 'woodtick'
 mósʔ·eʔqʔ·wél 'woodtick' (mósʔ·eʔ 'pus', -q 'container',
 -íwél '(on) insides')
 x^wex^wíy 'worm in salmonberry' (x^wex^w- 'sudden')

13.1.2. Morphosememic Structure of Fauna Names.

The above list has 58 terms for animals, 73 for birds, 42 for fish, and 45 for insects and reptiles; this list is probably not complete but covers a good proportion of the names and all I have found to date. There are fewer words for fish and sea-life among Upper Stalo dialects than among Lower Stalo dialects because the Upper Stalo had little access to the sea (being about 60 miles away at the closest point).

One feature mentioned in the last chapter was the use of *sá·lɪf* 'female' and *swí·yæqə* 'male' as Vaj's to distinguish the sex of most fauna. The suffix *-á·lɪ* 'young' and several types of reduplication 'diminutive' can be used to indicate young fauna. A few terms have their own forms for male, female, or young, but these are the exceptions. Kinship terms and age categories can also be used with most fauna as with humans. *stá·ləs* 'wife', *swé·qəθ* 'husband', *q'ɛ·mi* 'adolescent virgin girl', *q'ɛ·ləmi* 'adolescent virgin girls', *məl·ə* 'son, daughter', *sqé·q* 'younger sibling, child of parent's younger sibling', and even *sex^w·sɪ·lə* 'grandparent-in-law' are all attested with animals such as bears and wolves.

Derivational analyses have been given for over a third of the words for fauna. About ten more words

are borrowed from Chinook Jargon, English, French, Thompson, or another Interior Salish language. The derivations discovered to date show the following morphosememic patterns:

1. Similar patterns are shown in all types of fauna.

2. Thirty-six of the terms are derived with somatic suffixes. The following occur in fauna names:

-eléxəl ~ -elyéxəl 'on the arm', -əqəl 'on the throat',
 -f·cəl ~ -ecəl 'on the back', -éle (irregular) ~ -x^yəl
 'on the foot or leg', -əs (possibly ~ -és) 'on the face',
 -élqəl 'wool, feather', -á·θəl (probably ~ -əθ) 'on
 the mouth', -əqs(əl) ~ -élqsəl ~ -íqs(əl) 'on the nose',
 -qəl 'in the head', -élec 'on the bottom, rump, or
 tail', -əpsəm 'on the back of the head and back of the
 neck', -f·wəl 'on the insides, in the rump', -f·ws
 (with the s dropped) 'on the body'. Other known af-
 fixes used include several for 'proper names', for
 'diminutive' and for 'plural': -met and -eléc 'male
 name', -mât and -metelât and -telât and -elá·t 'female
 name', -(él)wəɪ ~ -ó·wəɪ ~ -owəɪ 'canoe, vessel', -iye
 ~ -áye 'diminutive', R 'diminutive', R 'plural', deri-
 vational K (consonant ablaut without discernable mean-
 ing), all these in multiple examples, and -əl '-like,
 -ish' and -tel 'device, thing for' in one example each.
 All these sememes merge to form new sememes, the names

of the fauna.

3. Ten terms are compounds of two words (phrasal morphosememics): both terms for 'brown bear', both terms for 'crane fly', and terms for 'packrat', 'bluejay', 'wild turkey', 'daddy-long-legs', 'bedbug', and 'centipede'. All feature a Vaj (or N acting as Vaj) preceding and modifying an N; the sememes change and combine into a single sememe (except perhaps for the terms for 'brown bear').

4. All the currently analyzable terms for fauna are named for a.) roles or habits of the fauna, b.) descriptions of appearance of the fauna, or c.) origin of the fauna; four remaining terms are either borrowed by loan translation or fit into category a. uncertainly.

Thus terms named for roles or habits of fauna are the following: 'grizzly' ($k^w i \cdot c \acute{e} l$ may be $k^w i y \acute{e} l$ < 'hungry' or 'climbs' + unknown affix; $\chi \acute{e} y \acute{a} \acute{e} l \acute{e}$ may < 'cold' + unknown suffix (cold-blooded?, cold-hearted?)), 'mole' ('buries'), 'packrat' ('thief rat'), 'flying squirrel' ('covers the mouth', so called because of the tradition that it will fly down, land on one's mouth and cover it as one walks in the woods at night), 'bluejay' ('sacred fortune-teller'), 'duck, mallard' ('nose goes down to the river'), 'sawbill' (perhaps 'pole a canoe' if that describes its appearance as it

swims and catches fish), 'large hawk, chicken-hawk' ('grabbing many times'), 'osprey, fishhawk' (probably 'washing repeatedly'), 'large red-headed woodpecker' ('pecking with its own nose'), 'whiskeyjack' ('lunch, provisions' because it steals one's lunch or provisions), 'diving duck' ('diving into water many times'), 'killer whale' ('expelling air on the back'), 'frog' ('little blower', referring to blowing up of cheeks), 'bullfrog' ('blower (on a canoe?)', perhaps its canoe is a lily pad), 'no-see-um fly, sandfly' (possibly '(Indian doctor) blows on patient on the nose' since the no-see-um fly bites without being seen), 'grasshopper' ('jumps many times on legs'), 'rattlesnake' ('thing that stings'), 'spider' (perhaps 'net-maker' or 'tying many times'), and 'inchworm' ('repeatedly tangling on its own body').

Terms named for descriptions of appearance of fauna are: 'bat' ('squeezing (on the) arm' or 'squeezed arm'), 'black bear with white spot on chest' (male and female come from 'marked' + 'male name' and 'marked' + 'female name' respectively), 'brown bear' ('red, reddish-brown' + 'bear', second term is 'reddish-brown on the throat bear'), 'grizzly' ('gone burnt' + 'male name' and 'gone burnt' + 'female name', referring to the burnt color of fur), 'chipmunk' ('stripe on back'),

'chipmunk with more than two stripes' ('striped on back'), 'deer' ('long legs'), 'mountain goat' ('white wool'), 'moose' ('rack of horns'), 'canvasback duck' (possibly 'fold in middle of canoe', comparing the duck to a canoe), 'mature bald eagle' ('white face'), 'golden eagle' ('growing in the head' (no longer 'bald')), 'big Canada honker goose' (probably 'stiff feather'), 'screech owl, pygmy owl, saw-whet owl' ('little ghost' since it is tiny, hard to see except eyes, and gives a ghost-like call; this owl also is the bringer of news of impending death of someone close to the hearer), 'pheasant' ('long tail(s)'), 'wild turkey' ('snot-hanging-from-its-nose bird'), 'large red-headed woodpecker' ('red ochre on back of head and back of neck'), 'spring salmon' ('spot or spotted on foot (i.e. tail)'), 'jack spring salmon with black nose' ('spring salmon in canoe'), 'white Fraser River spring salmon' ('white' + 'face?'), 'little roundmouth suckerfish' ('red' + ?, because many have red stripes), 'bumblebee' ('stout, thick around' + 'plural?'), 'woodtick' ('pus container on inside(s)'), 'daddy-long-legs' ('long-legged spider'), 'crane fly, "leatherjacket"' ('long-legged mosquito'), 'bedbug' ('being wide in the rump', due to its flattened-out appearance'), 'slow-worm' ('a kind of snake', derivational consonantal ablaut removes it from being

glossed exactly as 'snake'), 'centipede' ('salamander's comb', from its appearance rather than its role).

Terms named for origins of fauna are: 'small adult coho' ('little berry', so called because of the tradition that this land-locked salmon originates as a berry dropped into the lake or water), 'speckled trout' ('little berry of red-flowering currant', so called because of tradition that it originates from the red-flowering currant dropping into the water), 'crane fly' ('last year's mosquito', because it resembles a giant mosquito), 'bedbug' ('white man's louse', presumably introduced by the white man), and 'yellowjacket' ('striped on back bee', may belong with terms named for appearance).

The term for 'ladybug' is apparently a partial loan-translation ('lady') with consonantal ablaut to shift meaning (sɛ́·lɪ > sɛ́·ɫɪ). The words for 'cricket' ('go down to the river' + ?, so called because "it calls you to go down to the river") and 'worm in salmonberry' ('little sudden thing' (?), possibly because it is noticed with sudden reaction when the berry is about to be eaten) may also be seen as expressing roles, as may the term for 'bee' (possibly 'little thing one is scared of behind one' < sɪsəm 'scared of s-th behind one').

5. The terms for fauna in Halkomelem divide up the world of fauna in different ways than does English. These differences will be briefly considered here. The terms are divided first into 'animal' (sméyæθ), 'large bird' (má·q^w ~ (Cheh.) x^wé·y^wleq^w), 'small bird' (mí·meq^w ~ (Cheh.) x^wíx^weleq^w), 'fish' (sθáq^wi, some say sθ'áq^wi), and 'worm, bug' (sθ'ék^w). There are remainders whose place in this classification is uncertain at present; ?é·sx^w 'hair seal' apparently belongs with fish but ?é·y^wx 'crab' and s'á(·)x^we 'clam' may not. With insects and reptiles there appear to be many types that have few members or go their own way. Thus sθ'ék^w includes five or six 'worms' (q'élq'elp'f·w 'inchworm', ?é·pél 'maggot', təc'fméls tē pítx^vél 'centipede', x^wex^wíys 'worm in salmonberry', sθ'ék^w 'earthworm, any other worm', and perhaps smimexéθ 'caterpillar'. But it is unclear at present which 'bugs' sθ'ék^w includes and whether all insects are 'bugs' in its definition or just non-flying ones are 'bugs'. ?é·qey 'snake' apparently includes ?eleqé·y 'slow-worm' (though zoologists claim it is a lizard), c'éxtél 'rattlesnake', and all other kinds of snakes. pípehá·m 'frog' apparently includes pehá·móweł 'bull-frog, big pretty frog', welék' 'little green tree frog', pípehá·lł 'tadpole, baby frog', and all other kinds

of frogs. *sisemáye* 'bee' seems also to include *xəxp'ícel sisemáye* 'yellowjacket' and *mék^wmék^w* 'bumblebee', while *q^wé·l* 'mosquito' may include both words for the 'crane fly' (*λ'élqtx^vél q^wé·l* and *spəlwéł q^wé·l*), and *q'ésq'eseceł* 'spider' includes 'daddy-long-legs' (*λ'élqtx^vél q'ésq'eseceł*). In addition to these classifications, both *csyí·yox* 'big gray lizard, alligator lizard' and *pítx^vél* 'salamander' are considered lizards although there is no cover term; also the area of flies is well-elaborated, with terms for 'big fly, blowfly', 'housefly', 'deer fly', 'nc-see-um fly, sandfly', and possibly 'gnat', though these lack a cover term as well.

With fish, terms for salmon are especially well developed, including 16 different types (and 18 names) at least. So far I have found two types of coho salmon, one of dog salmon, two of humpback salmon, three of sockeye salmon, and seven types of spring salmon with an eighth term as a cover term for spring salmon; there are likely more terms not yet elicited. Each salmon species (coho, dog (probably), humpback, sockeye, and spring) are divided into large and small (fry, small in size, or kokanee (landlocked)); the spring and sockeye (and perhaps others) have further terms specifying the time of year they run and the river

they spawn in or run up; color is sometimes mentioned in these glosses but is not consistently or diagnostically present. 'Steelhead trout' are sometimes classified as salmon by the Stalo. Salmon for such a substantial part of this sub-domain and the food cycle that the word sĕáq^wi is often translated 'salmon' by the Stalo people, though it includes all other types of fish as well (even 'eel' and 'hair seal', 'whale' and 'killer whale'). Other classification and specialization within the sub-domain of fish includes five types of trout (with no cover term) and three types of suckerfish (with no cover term); these are differentiated by description and for the suckerfish also by size and type of mouth. The trout found so far include steelhead, cutthroat or rainbow, dolly varden, speckled, and white trout; the suckerfish so far include big suckerfish or elephant sucker, little round-mouth sucker (with red stripes especially), and little suckerfish with big salmon-like mouth.

With terms for birds, the division into big birds or small birds is most noticeable; there is no term for 'bird (of any size)'. Although diminutive R or -iye can be applied to almost any words for fauna, the following birds have been specifically mentioned with both 'mature large' and 'mature small' varieties:

crow, goose, hawk, owl, robin, woodpecker, wren. From their diminutive inflections the 'chickadee', 'snipe', and '(larger) wren' also seem to be considered as $mí\cdot meq^W$ or $x^W íx^W e\lambda eq^W$ 'small birds'. It seems most likely that baby birds would also be classed as 'small birds' (for example: $\check{c}elí\check{c}k^V e\lambda sá\cdot l\check{z}$ 'baby chicks', $t\acute{e}l\acute{f}leqsel$ 'baby ducks', and $t'\acute{e}t'\acute{e}miys$ 'baby wren'). Also in the area of birds, $t\acute{e}l\acute{e}qsel$ 'duck' includes at least six types of ducks (and more whose Halkomelem names could not be recalled yet): canvasback duck, diving duck, mallard, pintail, sawbill duck, and wood duck. $y\acute{e}x^W e\lambda e$ 'eagle (any kind)' includes three types of eagles: young bald eagle (before head turns white; this occurs after a year or two), mature bald eagle, golden eagle (often mis-considered an immature bald eagle, thus its derivation). Notice the use of the criterion of maturity or color of head feathers. There are also three types of geese or two types and a cover term $?é\acute{x}e$; it is unclear which is the case yet, but the latter seems most likely. There are also five varieties of owls found so far, three varieties named in one case by a single term ($spape\lambda eq^W í\theta'\acute{e}$ 'screech owl, pygmy owl, saw-whet owl'); but there appears to be no cover term for owls. Loons are given proper names in two cases (in stories), but these don't seem

to be separate varieties of bird from swák^Wel 'loon'; the raven is also given a name in stories (sk^Wáwél), and other birds may also have personal names in stories.

With terms for animals, large and small varieties are only pointed out (by separate terms) in a few cases: sqelác'emes 'lynx' is considered a larger variety of sqec'ámes 'bobcat, wildcat', and there are three sizes of rabbit: sq^Wiq^Weyá·θel 'jackrabbit, big older rabbit', sqewéθ 'rabbit', and sqíqewèθ 'small rabbit' (unless sqewéθ is a cover term). Diminutive R, -iyɛ, and -á·lɩ provide the means of labelling the young of animals (sk^Wík^Welyéxɛl 'young bat', spcθá·lɩ 'bear cub', pupsá·lɩ 'kittens', músmesà·lɩ 'calf', sq^Wiq^Wemɛy 'puppy', stiqiwá·lɩ 'colt', k^Wik^Wešú 'little pig', híhèwt 'little rat, little vole', for example). But one suppletive term for young animal exists, t'ft'ele 'fawn'. Bears are especially elaborated. spé·θ covers black and brown bears and black bears with a white spot on the chest (part grizzly) but is said to exclude grizzlies. Black bears with a white spot on the chest (perhaps a special category because of a story which makes them ancestors of the Wealick family) can be named with two proper names (sxé·ylmɛt and sxéylmàt) as can grizzlies (syeq^Wílmɛt and syeq^Wílmɛtelàt). But other animals are also given

proper names (qewéstelàt '(kind of female deer)', sqéyex 'Mink', sc'iq'^W 'an old wolf grandfather in a story') as well as birds (as mentioned above). The wolf is also addressed as siyé·m 'chief (of the wild tribe)' when the old-time Stalo see it and tell it to go on its way. Returning to bears, the grizzly bear (which eats humans) and the brown bear (which does not) also have two other names apiece, probably just in free variation. At any rate this makes eight or nine terms for bears. Chipmunks can be differentiated as to how many stripes they (xəp'í·cəl vs. sɣxəp'í·cəl - xəp'í·cəl).

A number of terms for fauna originated as imitations of the noises made by the creatures. Few have been positively identified yet, but several can be mentioned: píq' 'nighthawk, the cry of a diving nighthawk', wəxés '(kind of frog?), the noise a frog makes', and probably sq^Wiq'^W 'hoary marmot, whistler, groundhog, woodchuck'.

Not mentioned in this section so far are the terms for sɬ'éləqəm creatures, which form a separate sub-domain perhaps. The terms are:

sɬ'éləqəm 'supernatural creature (often dwelling in lakes, if you see one you get x[√]á·lí·s 'go into shock upon seeing a supernatural creature and vomit

till one dies')'

sá'íx'eleqem 'a little supernatural creature'
scicí? (Tait; also scí? and cicí?) '(slang term for)
supernatural creature, monster'

sésq'ec 'Sasquatch (hairy giant)' (possibly < s'éq'
'split in half' (half-man, or referring to rocks
he splits by throwing))(this term is the origin of
the English term)

ə'ówxiye 'Cannibal Woman or Basket Ogress (catches
children, puts them in a cedar slat basket, ə'ówex,
on her back, and eats them in her cave)' (< ə'ówex
'cedar slat basket' + -iye 'diminutive')

sí'iqey 'supernatural two-headed snake (head at each
end, rolls up in the middle, lives in lakes)' (<
ʔis(éle) 'two' with metathesis + ʔé'iqey 'snake')

sx^wex^wá's 'thunder, Thunderbird (giant supernatural
bird, when he opens his eyes it produces the light-
ning, when he urinates it rains, when he shakes his
wings it thunders)' (a wind, spatpeteléxel precedes
him and is called 'thunderwind', lit. 'thing that
repeatedly blows from the mouth on the arm')
(sx^wex^wá's < s- 'nominal' + x^wex^w- 'sudden' + -á's
'on the face' or 'in the face' or 'face')

s'á·lməx^w 'dark-skinned water pygmies (about two feet
tall, have black hair, lived in a pool just below
the little wooden bridge over the Coquihalla River
with the sign "to Union Bar", near Hope; when Indi-
an people went to spear fish in that pool on the
Coquihalla, the pygmies would grab the spears and
hold on to them; thus the pool and river was called
k^wiyk^wiyé·le 'Coquihalla; stingy container'; such
water babies also live in Chilliwack Lake and have
been seen washed up on the beach and crying by

Stalo people now living)' (-mex^w 'people', root meaning unknown)

sx̄ex̄amó·ɪ 'huge pretty frog with supernatural powers' (no story or further information has been obtained yet on this creature)(< sx̄éx̄ə ~ sx̄éx̄ə 'sacred' + pehamó·ɪ or pehamóweɪ 'big pretty frog, bullfrog')

The derivations known of the above terms show 'Sasquatch' may < 'split in half' + ?, 'Cannibal Woman, Basket Ogress' < 'cedar slat basket' + 'diminutive', 'supernatural two-headed snake' < 'double snake', 'Thunderbird, thunder' < 'thing that's sudden in the face', 'water pygmies' < unknown root + 'people', and 'supernatural frog' < 'sacred big pretty frog, sacred bullfrog'. These may all fit into the categories of being named for role, habit, or appearance. They also include members related to most of the sub-domains of fauna: man-animal, woman, baby, bird, snake, frog.

13.1.3. Independent Words for Body Parts. In the following list, {s-} nominalizer is not listed in the analysis after the first few examples, and r.m.u. means root meaning unknown. Morphosememic patterns are described in 13.1.7.

- whole body s-lex^W-f·ws (s- nominalizer, r.m.u., -f·ws
'of the body')
- half of body ɬq'-f·ws (ɬseq' 'half', loss of s unexplained, -f·ws 'of the body')
- head sɣéy·es, sɣáy·es (s- nominalizer, r.m.u., -es
'of the face')
- crown of head, top of head s-q^Wát-ələq^W (r.m.u., -ələq^W
'of top of head')
- soft spot on a baby's head Tait: s-qe?-éleq^W, Chill.:
s-qe?-á·ls (qe? from qéyqe 'soft', -ələq^W 'of top of
head', -á·ls 'fruit; round thing'; the Chilliwack
word also means 'juicy fruit' from homophonous qe?-,
bound form of qá· 'water')
- scalp, top of head s-t'é-m-ləq^W (t'əm- 'chopped', -ələq^W
'of top of head')
- hair on head méqel (possibly mé '(come) off', -qel 'of
the head')
- red headed, red hair c-k^Wf·m-əq^W (c- 'color', k^Wf·m
'red, reddish-brown', -əq^W 'of top of head')(rare
Indians here were born with reddish-brown hair in pre-
contact times)
- grey hair s-ɣá·ləm (compare ɣá·ləm-θet 'turn grey (of
hair)')
- curly hair s-q'əlq'élp'-əq^W (q'əlq'élp' 'tangled (of
its own accord)', -əq^W 'of top of head')
- sideburns s-ɣəl-p-éle (ɣəl 'to mark', perhaps -p is

- 'hair', perhaps -éle is 'container', related to -éle
'container')
- a braid s-t'émx^y-é·lc' (t'émex^y 'to braid something',
-é·lc' 'twisting around')
- skull s-θ'á·m-eq^w (s-θ'á·m 'bone', -eq^w 'of top of head')
- forehead s-q'^wéméls (r.m.u. unless q'^wém 'come out at
roots (of hair)' and -els 'intransitive' are involved)
- back of head and back of neck t'épsəm (-əpsəm 'of back
of head and back of neck', r.m.u. or empty morph)
- side of head sx^w-?í·le (sx^w- nominalizer, possibly x^w-
'pertaining to head', r.m.u. unless ?í·le 'right here')
- eyebrow θá·mél (r.m.u.), eyebrows θəmθá·mél (C₁eC₂-
reduplication 'plural')
- eye qél·ém (r.m.u.)
- eyelashes t'ép-təl (r.m.u. unless related to θ'əp- in
θ'əplex^w 'blink', -təl 'device' or 'reciprocal')
- pupil of eye q'éyχ-á·lēs (q'éyχ 'black', -á·lēs 'of
the eye')
- blue eyes c'-məθ'-á·lēs (c'- 'color', məθ' 'blue',
-á·lēs 'of the eye')(rarely full-blooded Indians were
born with blue eyes)
- freckles, spotted face k'əl-k'élχ-as (C₁eC₂- 'plural',
k'élχ- 'spot', -á·s 'of the face')
- face s-?á·θ-es (r.m.u. unless -?á·θ 'edge, point', -es
'of the face')
- ear q'^wó·l

- hair in ear s-q^welq^wél-é·lí·yε (C₁eC₂- 'plural', q^wél-
'body hair', -é·lí·yε 'of the ear')
- nose m-éqsél (r.m.u. or empty, -éqsél 'of the nose')
- bridge of nose s-θ'ém-qsel (s-θ'ám 'bone', -qsel 'of
the nose')
- point of nose s-?élqsél (r.m.u. ?é or ?él, -(l)qsél
'of the nose' (also used figuratively for 'a point')
- nostrils (unattested except by Hill-Tout 1902 who has
what could be interpreted as sⁱéq^wéleqsél or sléq^wél-
eqsél, probably ⁱéq^w 'wet', -əl- or -le- infix 'plur-
al', -eqsél 'of the nose')
- hair in nose s-q^welq^wél-qsel (s-q^welq^wél 'hairs' as
above, -qsel 'of the nose')
- cheek s-ⁱéq^w-élε, sx^w-?fle (s-ⁱiq^w 'flesh', -élε 'con-
tainer', ?fle r.m.u.), cheeks sx^w-?el?fle (C₁eC₂-
'plural')
- mouth θá·θél (perhaps θ- 'big', -á·θél 'of the mouth')
- upper lip s-caí-á·yθél (caí 'above, upper', -á·yθél
'of the lip or jaw')
- lower lip s-λ'ep-á·yθél (λ'ep 'below, lower', -á·yθél
'of the lip or jaw')
- chin, jaw c'ém-x^y-á·yθél (c'ém - c'ém 'bite on, close
teeth on, put in mouth', possibly the -x^y < -ex^y
'transitivizer', -á·yθél 'of the lip or jaw')
- tooth, teeth yél·és (r.m.u. or empty, -él·és 'of the
tooth')

- gums s- $\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{q}^{\text{W}}$ - $\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}\cdot\acute{\text{e}}\text{s}$, s- $\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{q}^{\text{W}}$ - $\text{f}\text{l}\cdot\acute{\text{e}}\text{s}$ (s- $\text{t}\acute{\text{f}}\text{q}^{\text{W}}$ 'flesh', - $\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}\cdot\acute{\text{e}}\text{s}$,
- $\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}\text{f}\text{s}$ 'of the teeth', e and i metathesized in 2nd word)
- tongue t- $\acute{\text{e}}\text{x}^{\text{W}}\theta\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}$ (r.m.u. or empty, - $\acute{\text{e}}\text{x}^{\text{W}}\theta\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}$ 'of the tongue')
- uvula $\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}\text{q}^{\text{W}}$, s- $\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}\text{q}^{\text{W}}$ - $\acute{\text{e}}\text{q}\text{el}$ ($\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}\text{q}^{\text{W}}$ also means 'fish heart',
- $\acute{\text{e}}\text{q}\text{el}$ 'of the throat')
- beard, mustache, hair on face $\text{q}^{\text{W}}\text{il-iy}\acute{\text{e}}\theta\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}$ ($\text{q}^{\text{W}}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}$ or $\text{q}^{\text{W}}\text{il}$
'hair', - $\text{iy}\acute{\text{e}}\theta\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}$ < - $\acute{\text{a}}\cdot\text{y}\theta\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}$ 'on the lip or jaw')
- front of neck s- $\text{q}^{\text{W}}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l-}\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}$, possibly s- $\text{q}^{\text{W}}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l-}\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}$, some
say $\text{sx}^{\text{W}}\text{-}\text{?}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l-}\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}$ ($\text{q}^{\text{W}}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}$ 'talk', $\text{q}^{\text{W}}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}$ and $\text{?}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}$ r.m.u.,
- $\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}$ 'of front of neck')
- adam's apple s- $\text{x}^{\text{W}}\acute{\text{e}}\text{h-}\acute{\text{a}}\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l-}\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}$ ($\text{x}^{\text{W}}\acute{\text{e}}\text{h}$ r.m.u. unless 'big'
or 'upstream', - $\acute{\text{a}}\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}$ 'part or member', - $\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}$ 'of front
of neck')
- throat, gullet s- $\text{q}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}\text{x}^{\text{W}}\text{-}\acute{\text{e}}\cdot\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}$ (s- $\text{q}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}\cdot\acute{\text{e}}\text{x}^{\text{W}}$ 'greedy, eats
too much', - $\acute{\text{e}}\cdot\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}$ 'container')
- windpipe, air passage s- $\text{q}^{\text{W}}\acute{\text{e}}\text{-h}\acute{\text{a}}\cdot\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}\theta\acute{\text{e}}\text{q}^{\text{W}}$ (s- $\text{q}^{\text{W}}\acute{\text{e}}$ 'hole',
possibly - $\acute{\text{a}}\cdot\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}$ 'part or member')
- shoulder $\text{sx}^{\text{W}}\text{-}\text{?}\text{f}\cdot\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\cdot\text{m-}\acute{\text{e}}\cdot\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}$ ($\text{?}\text{f}\cdot\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\cdot\text{m}$ 'carry on one's
shoulder', - $\acute{\text{e}}\cdot\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}$ 'container')
- shoulder-blade $\text{k}^{\text{W}}\text{ak}^{\text{W}}\acute{\text{e}}\text{q}^{\text{W}}\text{-t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}$ or $\text{k}^{\text{W}}\text{e}\text{q}^{\text{W}}\text{-t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}$ (r.m.u.,
citations quite variable, but - $\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}$ ~ - $\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}$ 'recipro-
cal' or 'device')
- arm $\text{t}'\acute{\text{e}}\cdot\text{l}\acute{\text{ó}}\text{w}$, $\text{t}'\acute{\text{e}}\text{lt}'\acute{\text{e}}\cdot\text{l}\acute{\text{ó}}\text{w}$ 'arms'. (G_1eG_2 - 'plural')
- armpit $\text{sx}^{\text{W}}\text{-}\text{?}\text{i-}\text{l}\acute{\text{é}}\text{x}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}$ (r.m.u., - $\text{e}\text{l}\acute{\text{é}}\text{x}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}$ 'of the arm')
- elbow s- $\theta^{\text{W}}\text{-}\text{e}\text{m-}\text{x}^{\text{W}}\text{-}\text{e}\text{l}\acute{\text{é}}\text{x}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}$ (s- $\theta^{\text{W}}\text{-}\acute{\text{a}}\cdot\text{m}$ 'bone', - x^{W} meaning
unknown, - $\text{e}\text{l}\acute{\text{é}}\text{x}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}$ 'of the arm')

- wrist joint $x^w\theta^{\prime}éq^w$ -cés (also means 'sprained wrist')
 (r.m.u., -cés 'of the hand')
- wrist bone, lump of wrist $q^w\acute{é}mx^w$ -cés ($q^w\acute{é}mx^w$ 'lump',
 -cés 'of the hand')
- hand $céléx^y$
- right hand $s^{\prime}éyíw$ -cés (less common $s^{\prime}éyíws$ -cés)($s^{\prime}éyíws$
 'right (side)', -cés 'of the hand', $s^{\prime}éyíws$ itself
 < s- nominalizer, $éy$ 'good', -íws 'of the body')
- left hand $s-\theta^{\prime}íkw^e$ -cés ($s-\theta^{\prime}íkw^e$ 'left (side)', -cés
 'of the hand')
- knuckles and joints of hand Chehalis: $q^w\acute{é}mq^w\acute{é}mx^w$ -cés
 (C_1eC_2 - 'plural', $q^w\acute{é}mx^w$ 'lump', -cés 'of the hand or
 fingers')
- finger $s-léx$ -cés ($léx$ 'widen', -cés 'of the hand'),
 $slélexcés$ 'fingers' has -l- 'plural' infix)
- fingernail $q^w\acute{é}x^w\acute{é}l$ -cés ($c-q^w\acute{é}x^w$ 'gray', -el '-ish',
 -cés 'of the hand or fingers')
- thumb $mek^w-\acute{á}mél$ -cés (mek^w 'stout (in strength)', $-\acute{á}mél$
 'part or member', -cés 'of the hand')
- first finger (index finger) Tait: $mát^{\prime}es-\acute{á}mél$, Chill.
 and Cheh.: $mát^{\prime}es-tél$ ($mát^{\prime}es$ 'point, aim', $-\acute{á}mél$
 'part or member', -tél 'device, thing to, instrument')
- second finger $sx^w\acute{é}y$ -cés ($sx^w\acute{é}y^e$ '(in) the middle',
 -cés 'of the hand' or fingers')
- third finger $mélyí$ -cés (post-contact coinage)($mélyí$
 'marry, married', -cés 'of the hand or fingers')

- little finger Tait: saseq^Wt-ále-ces, Chill. + Cheh.:
 sáseq^W-ces (sáseq^Wt 'youngest child', -ále possibly
 related to we?álewe 'most', -ces 'of the hand, fingers')
- palm of hand sx^W-?áθes-ces (sx^W- nominalizer replacing
 s-, s?á·θes 'face', -ces 'of the hand')
- hollow of hand x^W-t'áx^W-es-ces (x^W- meaning uncertain
 here, t'áx^W 'going downriver', -es 'on the face', -ces
 'of the hand')
- collarbone s-t'i-flés-tel, t'i-flés-tel (t'eɪ - t'ɛɪ
 'go across', -f·les 'of the chest', -tel 'device,
 thing to')(t' ≈ k' in both citations)
- chest s?-f·les (s- nominalizer, ? probably empty root
 to allow suffix to be attached and to erase locative
 meaning in suffix, -f·les 'of the chest')
- breastbone θ'x-émél (r.m.u. but related to that in
 θ'x-f·les 'inside brisket of meat' where -f·les is
 'of the chest', -émél possibly related to -á·mél
 'part or member')
- woman's breast, nipple, milk s-qemá· (qemá· 'suckle'
 < qá· ór qə(?) - 'water, liquid', possibly relevant
 is the slang term má's 'milk' (· < *? before conson-
 ants)
- woman's breast s-q^Wemθ'-f·les (q^Wámθ' 'lump', -f·les
 'of the chest')
- stomach, belly k'^Wél·é (r.m.u., -él·é probably related
 to -é·Íé 'container')

- navel, belly button mɔx^wəye, mɔx^wəye (r.m.u.)
- side of body Cheh.: s-ɬəq'-á.lweɬ, Tait: s-ʔi.lweɬ
(ɬəq'- as in ɬəq'ét 'wide' or as in ɬəq'f.ws 'half the
body', -á.lweɬ - ʔi.lweɬ 'side')
- right side of body' sʔeyí.ws ʔi.lweɬ
- left side of body sθ'fk^we ʔi.lweɬ
- back ʔá.q^w-ələc, ʔəq^w-ələc (ʔá.q^w probably 'comes out
above or after', -ələc 'of the rump')
- lower back s-ɬəq'-oweɬ (ɬəq' as in ɬəq'ét 'wide',
possibly -oweɬ 'of a canoe')
- good figure, good shape ʔey-é:mec' (ʔéy 'good', -é:mec'
- é:məθ' 'standing up')
- brain s-méθ'-qəl (méθ' 'blue', -qəl 'of the head')
- heart θ'é.lé (r.m.u. or empty, -é.lé 'container')
- lungs s-p'élx^wəm (r.m.u., probably -əm 'passive')
- liver s-cél.ém
- insides s-c'əlx^w-íwəl (c'élx^w 'go into a quieter
slough or backwater', -í.wəl 'of the inside of the
body')
- gall bladder, bile lələc' (ləc' 'full', possibly -əl-
'plural')
- kidney smelt-éləqəl (s-mélt 'stone', -éləqəl 'in the
head', 'head' is used in a figurative sense too, like
'head of a river')
- intestines, guts q'əq'éy (r.m.u.)
- stomach (inside organ) x^wél.é (as above in 'belly')

- bladder $s\acute{e}x^w\epsilon\text{-t}\acute{e}l$, $s\acute{e}x^w\epsilon\text{-t}\acute{e}l$ (Jimmy Harris 1966 has $k^w\acute{e}\cdot s\acute{e}l$)($s\acute{e}x^w\epsilon$ 'urine', $\text{-t}\acute{e}l$ 'device, thing for', $s\acute{e}x^w\epsilon\text{t}\acute{e}l$ also means 'urinal'; $\cdot\text{-}\acute{e}\cdot l\acute{e}$ 'container'; Harris's word is unclear unless root is $k^w\acute{e}s$ 'burned (of a person)')
- flesh $s\text{-}\acute{t}\acute{i}q^w$
- blood $s\text{-}\acute{e}\acute{e}\theta i y\acute{e}l$ (r.m.u.)
- fat $s\text{-}l\acute{a}s$ (also means 'grease, lard, oil')($l\acute{a}s$ 'be fat')
- bone $s\text{-}\theta'\acute{a}\cdot m$
- marrow $s\text{-}l\acute{e}s\text{-}x^y\acute{e}l$ ($s\text{-}l\acute{a}s$ 'fat', $\text{-}x^y\acute{e}l$ 'of the leg')
- backbone $\acute{x}ek^w\text{-}\acute{a}l\acute{e}s$, $\acute{x}ek^w\text{-}\acute{a}l\acute{e}s\text{-}\acute{e}w\acute{i}c$ ($\acute{x}\acute{o}k^w$ 'narrow, wedged in', $\text{-}\acute{a}l\acute{e}s$ meaning uncertain unless 'eyes', $\text{-}\acute{e}w\acute{i}c$ 'of the back')
- rib $l\acute{o}w\acute{e}x$ (r.m.u. or empty, $\text{-}\acute{o}w\acute{e}x$ 'of ribs or slats')
- cord, nerve cord, tendon, muscle $\acute{k}'\acute{e}'\acute{i}m\acute{e}l$, $\acute{k}'\acute{e}'\acute{i}\cdot m\acute{e}l$ (r.m.u.)
- vein $t\acute{e}t\acute{s}\theta$ (r.m.u.)
- pulse $\acute{t}k^w\text{-}\acute{e}m\text{-}\acute{e}w\acute{s}$ ($\acute{t}\acute{a}\cdot k^w$ 'to fly', $\text{-}\acute{e}m$ 'strength', $\text{-}\acute{e}w\acute{s}$ 'of the body')
- skin, hide $k^w\acute{e}l\cdot\acute{e}w$, $k^w\acute{e}l\cdot\acute{o}w$
- hair on body $q^w\acute{i}l\text{-}\acute{e}w\acute{s}$, $q^w\acute{e}y\acute{l}\text{-}\acute{e}w\acute{s}$ ($q^w\acute{i}l$ ~ $q^w\acute{e}y\acute{l}$ 'hair', $\text{-}\acute{e}w\acute{s}$ 'of the body'), $s\text{-}q^w\acute{e}lq^w\acute{e}y\acute{l}\text{-}\acute{e}w\acute{s}$ 'hairs all over body' ($C_1\acute{e}C_2$ 'plural')
- hip $\acute{t}eq'\text{-}l\acute{e}c$ ($\acute{t}eq'$ 'wide', $\text{-}l\acute{e}c$ 'of rump or bottom')
- rump $s\text{-}\acute{t}\text{-}\acute{e}l\acute{e}c$ (r.m.u. or empty, $\text{-}\acute{e}l\acute{e}c$ 'of the rump or bottom')

penis s-x^yé1ə (possibly related to -x^yel 'of the leg or foot', possibly root x^y- refers to 'genitals' as in 'head of penis', 'have an erection' and 'vulva, vagina', see below)

head of penis (Jimmy Harris 1966 gives s-x^yκ'-f.q^w 'head of penis' and x^yá.κ' 'have an erection'; the latter is obviously the root of s-x^yκ'-f.q^w, while -əq^w 'of the top of the head' is probably the suffix)
foreskin (Jimmy Harris 1966 gives sx^w-ʔé.q' 'foreskin', root is related to ʔéq.əʔ 'choke on bone or something solid')

testicles mécəl (may be singular), s-mémécəl (may be plural)(r.m.u.)

vulva, vagina x^yé-wəʔ (x^y- or x^yé- probably 'genital', -wəʔ or -éwəʔ 'canoe or vessel')

pubic hair q^wéyl-əq (q^wéyl 'hair', -əq 'of the genitals')

womb, uterus s-mélè-təl (mélə - mélè 'child', -təl 'device, thing for')

afterbirth s-ʔá.q^w (ʔá.q^w probably 'comes out above or after')

thigh s-peté.lép (r.m.u.)

leg and foot s-xél.ə (r.m.u.), s-xəxéyle 'legs and feet' (irregular reduplication 'plural')

lower leg ɸ'em-f.wéc-x^yel (r.m.u. unless < s-ɸ'á.m 'bone', -f.wec meaning unknown unless related to -əwíc 'on the back', -x^yel 'of the leg and foot')

- knee s-q'ep'á·l-θe-tel (q'ep' 'cover over', -á·l unknown, -θe 'itself' or 'verbalizer', -tel 'thing for, device', compare q'ep'é·lectel 'a cover or lid')
- kneecap s-q'ep'á·l-eq^w-tel-x^yel (q'ep' 'cover over', -á·l unknown, -eq^w 'on top of head', -tel 'thing for', -x^yel 'of the leg')
- shin s-θ'ém-x^yel (s-θ'á·m 'bone', -x^yel 'of the leg')
- calf of leg q'éλ'el-x^yel (r.m.u. but probably related to q'éq'əλ' 'convulsions' via 'being wrung tight' or some such root meaning, -x^yel 'of the leg')
- ankle joint x^weθ'éq^w-x^yel (also means 'sprained ankle')
- Tait: x^wλ'-eléc-x^yel (r.m.u. in both cases, -elec 'on the bottom', -x^yel 'of the foot or leg')
- lump of ankle q^wémx^w-x^yel (q^wémx^w 'lump', -x^yel 'of leg or foot')
- joints in foot Cheh.: q^wemq^wémx^w-x^yel (q^wémx^w 'lump', C₁əC₂- 'plural', -x^yel 'of the foot')
- top of foot c±-ícel-x^yel (ce± 'top, above, upper', -ícel 'on the back, of the back', -x^yel 'of the foot')
- toe s-léx-x^yel (léx 'widen', -x^yel 'of the foot'), slélex^yel 'toes' (-le- 'plural')
- big toe mek^w-á·mél-x^yel (mək^w 'stout', -á·mél 'member or part', -x^yel 'of the foot')
- little toes k^wemk^w-á·mél-x^yel (r.m.u., possibly mək^w 'stout', unusual reduplication C₂ə- 'plural' or 'diminutive', -á·mél 'part, member', -x^yel 'of the foot')

- toenail q^wx^wé1-x^yel (q^wx^w-el 'grayish', -x^yel)
sole of foot sx^w-?á·θes-x^yel (sx^w- nominalizer replacing s-, s-?á·θes 'face', -x^yel 'of the foot')
arch of foot x^w-t'áx^w-es-x^yel (x^w- meaning uncertain here, t'áx^w 'going downriver', -es 'on the face', -x^yel 'of the foot')
heel θ'-eléc-x^yel (r.m.u., -eléc 'on the bottom', -x^yel 'of the foot'), θ'eceléc-x^yel 'heels' (r.m.u., 'plural' by irregular reduplication, -eléc and -x^yel as above)
No words yet obtained for: lines on the hand, waist, spleen, appendix, or clitoris.

13.1.4. Pésq^wtel 'anatomical insult'.

This category contains descriptions of the anatomy of people which are used as insults or jokes. Pésq^wt means 'to insult someone by referring to his body'. The list below is not complete since new examples are still turning up:

- x^wθá·q^w 'big head' (x^w- prefix used only with the head and its parts, meaning unclear, θ 'big', -á·q^w - -eq^w 'in top of head')
x^wθá·s 'big face' (x^w- m.u., θ 'big', -á·s 'in the face')
x^wθá·θel - θehá·yθel 'big mouth' (x^w- m.u., θ and θe 'big', -h epenthetic intervocalic, -á·θel 'in the mouth', -á·yθel 'in the jaws or lips')
sx^wθí·qel 'loud voice' (s- or sx^w- nominalizer, perhaps x^w- as above, θí· 'big', -eqel 'in the throat')

- ɕiθeq^w 'big heads' (θi· 'big', reduplicative infix -C₁ə-
 'plural', -eq^w 'on top of the head')
- ɕiθecəs 'big hands' (θi· 'big', -C₁ə- 'plural', -cəs 'in
 the hand')
- ɕiθex^yəl 'big feet' (θi· 'big', -C₁ə- 'plural', -x^yəl
 'in the foot')
- ɕiθehá·ləs 'big eyes' (θi·, -C₁ə-, -h as above, -á·ləs
 'in the eye')
- ɕiθehí·ws 'big bodied people' (θi·, -C₁ə-, -h as above,
 -í·ws 'in the body')
- ɕehíwel 'big rump, big asshole' (θe 'big', -h epenthetic,
 -íwel 'in the inside, in the anus')
- ɕehélec 'big rump' (θe, -h as above, -élec 'in the rump')
- ɕé·q 'big penis' (θ 'big', -é·q 'in the genitals' or 'in
 the male' or 'in the penis')
- sméqsəl 'big nose' (s- usually nominalizer but here 'big',
 méqsəl 'nose')
- sk^wé1·é 'big belly' (s- here 'big', k^wé1·é 'belly')
- q^wemθ^y·f·ləs 'big breast(s)' (q^wá·mθ^y 'large lump', -f·ləs
 'in the chest')
- Hík^w tɛ smé1q^wəqəl. 'Your uvula is big. = You talk too
 much.'
- qelá·mex^y ~ qeləhá·mex^y 'ugly, bad-looking, sloppy in
 looks, walk or dress' (qel 'bad', -əɛ̃ m.u., -á·mex^y
 'in looks, -looking')
- yəθé1əq^w 'pointed head' (y-á·θ 'point', -é1əq^w 'in the

- top of the head')
- sp'íp'ə̀ə̀q^w 'flat head, flattened head (as with cranial deformation done to babies by some Northwest Coast tribes)' (sp'íp'ə̀ 'flat, flattened' < p'í̄ 'flatten' + s- and -C₁ə- participial adjective, -ə̀q^w 'in the top of the head')
- cí̄ə̀q^w 'bushy and uncombed hair' (cí̄ 'high, upper, above', -ə̀q^w 'in the top of the head')
- x^wκ'á·qtəs 'long face, morose' (x^w- m.u., κ'έ·qt 'long', ablaut to a· derivational, -əs 'in the face')
- x^wpapá·s 'hair all over the face' (x^w- m.u., pé·ps 'woolly', -á·s 'on the face', Aa of ε vowels before -á·s)
- qé̄ləs 'bad face, cross face, bad expression on face' (qé̄l 'bad', -es 'in the face')
- c'é̄p̄xəs 'dirty face' (c'é̄p̄x 'dirty', -es 'in the face')
- sk^wawecá·ləs 'sturgeon eyes = blue eyes' (sk^wáwec 'sturgeon', -á·ləs 'in the eyes')
- mapelá·ləs 'marble eyes = blue eyes' (mápel 'marble (glass-type)', -á·ləs 'in the eyes')
- s̄ə̀l̄ə̀lp'é̄·l̄f·ȳe 'sloppy ears' (s-̄ə̀lp' 'sloppy, flabby', C₁ə̀C₂- 'plural', -é̄·l̄f·ȳe 'in the ear')
- s̄ə̀lp'á·ȳə̀l 'sloppy lips, flabby lips' (s-̄ə̀lp' as above, -á·ȳə̀l 'in the lip')(applies mainly to lower lip)
- c'ə̀p̄x̄é̄l̄q̄səl 'dirty nose' (c'ə̀p̄x̄ 'dirty', -é̄l̄q̄səl 'in the nose')
- í̄f·k̄^wə̀l̄q̄s 'hook nose' (í̄f·k̄^w 'to hook', -C₁ə- 'contin-

- uative', -əlqs 'in the nose')
- sp'ḑlqsəl 'flat nose' (s-p'ḑl 'flat', -qsəl 'in the nose')
- słáḑḑ^wḑlqsəl 'snot hanging from nose' (ḑḑ^wát 'to spit',
s- + -C₁e- participial adjective (thus sḑáḑḑ^w (with
metathesis) could be translated 'spat'), -ḑlqsəl 'in
the nose')
- smetmḑtḑqsəl - smetmḑtḑqsəl 'snotty nose' (s-metá·qsəl
'snot', C₁eC₂- 'plural')(s-metá·qsəl < r.m.u., -qsəl
'in the nose')
- Chet.: k^wamá·yḑel, Tait: k^wamá·yḑel 'round mouth' (k^wem
- k^wam must mean 'round', -á·yḑel 'in the lips')
- x^wemḑel 'eats too fast' (x^wem 'hurry, be fast', -ḑel
'in the mouth')
- sxḑyḑeḑ'á·yḑel 'ugly grin, ugly expression in mouth,
disappointed and angry look in mouth' (sxḑyḑeḑ 'dis-
appointed and angry looking', -á·yḑel 'in the lips')
- słḑmeḑel 'tooth or teeth missing, toothless' (s-łḑm
'spray or moisture', -eḑel 'in the throat')
- λ'ḑqtḑsem 'long neck' (λ'ḑqt 'long', e ablaut, -ḑsem
'in the neck')
- q^weḑiq^wḑsem 'small neck, scrawny neck' (q^weḑiq^w 'scrawny,
thin', -ḑsem 'in the neck')
- splycḑes 'crooked hand' (s-ply 'bent, crooked' (< páy
'make a bend or crook'), -cḑes 'in the hand')
- qelḑces 'dirty hand' (qel 'bad, dirty', -ḑ m.u., -cḑes
'in the hand')

- sə'émlec 'skinny rump' (sə'ám 'bone', derivational ablaut to e, -lec 'in the rump')
- sk^w'fylec 'lame (esp. hip from birth)'; (s- nominalizer, k^w'fy 'climb', -lec 'in the rump')
- s^h'əp'éléc 'tail' (q.v.) and spú? are both used in a slang sense for 'rump'
- c'epí·wél - sc'əpxí·wél 'dirty asshole' (c'əpx 'dirty', -f·wél 'in the anus or insides')
- sq'əyxi·wél 'black asshole' (s- nominalizer, q'əyxi 'black', -f·wél 'in the anus or insides')
- teq'tíwél 'wide rump' (teq'ét 'be wide', -f·wél 'in the anus')
- spiypíyx^vél 'crooked leg' (spíy 'bent, crooked', C₁eC₂- 'plural'?, -x^vél 'in the leg and foot')
- c'élílélc'x^vél 'short-legged runt' (c'éléc-əm 'sit down', possibly derivational glottalization of c, -əl- 'plural', -x^vél 'in the leg, on the leg')
- c'əpxx^vél, c'əpx^vél 'dirty foot' (c'əpx 'dirty', -x^vél 'in the foot')

13.1.5. Non-human Anatomy.

In the following lists H stands for "also in human anatomy", A for "also in animal anatomy", B "also in bird anatomy", F "also in fish anatomy", R "also in reptile anatomy", and I "also in insect anatomy".

Fish anatomy:

- sxáy·es, sxáy·es 'head' (HABRI)
 sxépeq^w 'gristle and everything else in head of fish'
 t'élwleq^w 'skin of fish head without gristle'
 qólé^m 'eye' (HABR)
 Əipóle 'fish cheek'
 sɬeq^wélɛ, sx^wíle 'cheek' (HABR)
 Əá·Əel 'mouth' (HABR)
 sceá·yƏel 'upper lip or jaw' (HAR)
 sɬ'epá·yƏel 'lower lip or jaw' (HAR)
 yél·és 'teeth' (HAR)
 c'əm^yá·yƏel 'jaw' (HAR)
 k^wél·éw 'skin' (HABR)
 sɬíq^w 'flesh' (HABR)
 x^yè·y 'gills and boot shaped organ attached to gills'
 sc'élc 'scales'
 stíx^yem 'slime'
 q'étmél 'fin, neck fin, possibly back fin'
 Ə'étmél 'belly fin'
 sxéɬxəɬ 'tiny fin above tail'
 se'ám 'bone' (HABR)
 se'əθ'elám 'small bones' (HABR)
 xək^wáles 'backbone' (HAB(R?))
 sxéwe 'dried fish backbone'
 sxépx^yəl 'fish tail'
 se'əθiyel 'blood' (HABR)
 sc'elx^wíwél 'insides' (HABR)
 x^yíx^weléwe 'air bladder'
 q^wayéq^w 'stomach, organ with filaments next to air bladder'
 mése^l 'fish gall bladder'
 mélq^w 'fish heart'
 k^wél·é 'belly' (HABR)

qól·éx, qéwx 'salmon eggs'
 sc'émex^y 'dried herring eggs (obtained in trade)'
 q^wú·lé 'buried fish eggs, "stink eggs"
 λ'fnè 'eulachon oil'
 λ'eq^wé·y 'fish milt'
 no word for 'brain', just s^wxépeq^w above

Animal anatomy:

c'f·stəl 'antlers, horn(s)'
 sé·y 'fur, animal hair, wool, yarn'
 (Hill-Tout 1902 has c'qéycəs or c'q'éycəs 'paw')
 words for 'foreleg' and 'hind leg' are said to exist but
 have not been elicited yet
 q^wx^wélcəs 'claw, fingernail' (HB)
 reportedly 'hind leg' is used instead of a word for 'rump'
 reportedly 'ribs' (lówéx)(HB) is used instead of 'chest'
 k^wél·éw 'hide, skin' (HFBR)
 sq^welq^wélx^yel 'tufts of hair on horse's legs (like on
 the Clydesdale)'
 s^wep'éléc 'tail' (BR)
 spéx^w 'animal tripe' (used in some dialects)

The remaining words confirmed in usage for animal anatomy
 are the same as the following words used for human
 anatomy (q.v.): head, eye, ear, nose, cheek, mouth,
 upper lip/jaw, lower lip/jaw, tooth/teeth, tongue,
 jaw, front of neck, back of head and neck, throat,
 breast, rib, belly/stomach, back, flesh, blood, bone,
 marrow, backbone, insides, guts, heart, liver, cord/
 tendon/muscle, penis, testicles, vulva/vagina; possi-
 bly also (but unconfirmed): brain, gums, lungs,
 bladder, vein.

Bird anatomy:

t'áp'els 'beak, bill; to peck'
 t'át'ep'els 'beak, bill; pecking'
 sq'áyes 'real fine feathers, down'
 sx'élc' 'small feather'
 sá'p'élqel 'long feather (from wing or tail)'
 sá'eq'él·l, sá'q'él·l 'wing' (I)
 mémelèhà·lì 'egg'
 sá'ep'éléc 'tail' (AR)
 'claw' not yet confirmed for birds

Also confirmed for birds are the following terms from human anatomy: head, eye, back of head and neck, chest, back, leg, skin, flesh, blood, bone, little bones, heart, stomach, guts; possibly also (but unconfirmed): brain, front of neck, throat, lungs, and backbone.

Reptile anatomy:

sá'ep'éléc 'tail' (BA)

Also confirmed for reptiles are the following terms from human anatomy: head, eye, jaw, tongue, back, leg/foot, flesh, skin, bone, blood, insides, stomach; possibly also (but unconfirmed): upper lip/jaw, lower lip/jaw, cheek (esp. for frog), chest, and backbone.

Insect anatomy:

sx'éy·es 'head' (HAFBR)
 sá'eq'él·l 'wing' (B)
 sx'él·e 'leg and foot' (HABR)
 qél·ém 'eye' (HAFBR)

13.1.6. Functions and Dysfunctions of the Body.

This semantic area can be subdivided into: human body functions, human body products, human body dysfunc-

tions (living or healthy/dead or sick, symptom/state/illness/disability, accident/injury, and possibly medicine/curing), and non-human body functions and dysfunctions. The following lists and analyses are not exhaustive. For example, emotions are omitted though many harmful ones are treated by Indian doctoring. Smells, sounds, looks, tastes and feelings are omitted because it is unclear that they belong in this domain. A number of grammatical affixes recur often and can be mentioned here to avoid repetition: -ət - t - -ét - -át 'action on purpose on third person object(s), him, her, it, them', -l 'happen to, manage to, accidentally', -st 'cause to' (the /t/ in this suffix and the first one listed becomes /θ/ when the object is first or second person singular), -ex^w (after -l or -st) 'third person object', -lá·met 'by oneself', -θet 'oneself', -təl 'each other, reciprocal', -em 'middle-passive voice', reduplication and ablaut of several types (see Chapter 2) 'continuative', 'plural', 'diminutive', s- + -C₁e- reduplication (infix after first vowel of root) 'participial verb', and -əls - -é·ls 'intransitive'.

13.1.6.1. Body Functions.

x^wé séməɛ 'bear a child', θə cméɛ 'someone having a baby' (méɛ ~ méle ~ méle 'child')

x^wé swíyεqə 'become a man'

x^wé sɛ́·lí 'become a woman'

q^wéc'et 'belch'

- q'élmet 'believe s-o, s-th', q'él·l 'believing'
 qep'á·sem 'bend or stoop down, bow from waist'
 q'Éyk'^Wet 'bite into it'
 c'émēt - c'émēt 'bite on it, put it in one's mouth or
 between the teeth'
 Ө'éplex^W 'blink', Ө'fíӨ'eplox^W 'close one's eyes' (-l-ex^W),
 Ө'éppӨ'eplox^W 'blinking' (reduplicative 'plural')
 pá·t 'blow'
 k^Wemk^Wímélésēm 'blushing', k^Wf·mél tē.s'á·Өēs 'his face
 got red' (k^Wf·m 'be red', -əl 'get, go, come', -əs
 (in) the face', C₁ӨC₂- 'plural')
 k^Wál 'be born'
 spex^Wətél·lém 'breathe' = pex^Wtélém 'breathe once' and
 pex^Wətélém 'breathing'
 q^Welít·lēm 'make breathy noise, grumble under the breath'
 (q^Wəl 'talk', -tél·l - -tél (in) front of throat')
 ?á·t 'call s-o' (s-o = someone, s-th = something)
 s'ák^Westex^W 'carry s-o or s-th on the arm' (purse, person,
 etc.)'
 cémēt 'carry it on one's back, pack it'
 ?í·lél·mt 'carry it on one's shoulder'
 Ө'ém 'chew, chewing', Ө'ét 'chew it', Ө'əӨ'ét 'chewing it'
 xÉyk'^Wet 'chew it (s-th hard, apple, candy, pill, etc.)'
 xÉpk'^Wt 'gnaw it, chew s-th hard', xÉpxÉpk'^Wt 'chew it up'
 (xÉpk'^Wem 'make a crunching or cracking noise, crunch-
 ing, cracking (like chewing apple or ice breaking)'
 is related; λ'émq^Wels is synonymous with xÉpk'^Wem)
 Ө'fíӨ'plex^W 'close one's eyes' (compare 'blink')
 (tex^Wqé·yít 'comb s-o's hair', tex^Wqéylém 'comb one's
 hair', tÉx^Wəlqéyít 'comb s-th, card it (of wool)')
 q^Wém 'come out (of hair)(as in comb, etc.)'
 x^Wélx^WӨet 'cool off (of a person)'
 t'et'ésӨet 'creeping along', t'et'ésx^Wələm 'creeping (of
 more than one)'
 xè·m 'cry, weep'

- ʔǵ·ʔ 'defecate'
- ʔéliye 'dream, have a vision, have a trance', sʔéliye
'dream, vision, spirit dream'
- qá·qe 'drink', qá·qet 'drink it' (< qá· 'water')
- lép·ex^y 'eat s-th' (-ex^y 'transitivizer, 3rd person obj^t')
- ʔéɬtel 'eat a meal' (perhaps -tel 'with each other')
- há·yθel 'finished eating' (blend word of há·y 'finished'
and -á·yθel '(in) lips or jaws' or -eθel '(in) mouth')
- lásθet 'get fat' (-θet may be the verb forming suffix
here instead of the reflexive)
- téq' 'to fart'
- qétɬt 'feel s-o or s-th', qétɬels 'feeling around'
- mélq 'forget', méliqléx^w 'forget s-th or s-o', mélqeles
'forget, forget s-o or s-th'
- x^wex^wíléx^y 'get up with quick motion' (x^wex^w probably
'sudden', -í·i 'go, come, get', -ex^y 'upright')
- c'f·səm 'grow'
- k^wá·yɬ^wem 'growling (of the stomach)'
- k^wemléx^wes 'he's grown up' (-l-ex^w, -es 'he (subj^t)')
(see also 'raise s-o or s-th')
- st'éwél, Chill.: stəʔéwél 'guess', st'éwélmet 'guess or
thinking about s-th' (stəʔé, st'é 'like, similar to',
-ewél '(in) the mind')
- c'ic'ɬé·m (some dialects c'ec'ɬé·m) 'hear, hearing',
c'ɬé·met 'hear it'
- hék'əɬ 'to hiccough' (imitative)
- k^welét 'hold s-th (in the hand)'
- x^yéʔet 'hold a baby in arms'
- sx^wá·x^welstex^w 'holding s-th up' (x^wá·x^we 'be lightweight',
-st 'cause to', -ex^w '3rd person object')
- qelwíls 'hug', qelwílst 'hug s-o'
- k^wé·y 'hungry', k^wák^wiy '(being) hungry'
- x^wix^wəʔé(t) 'imitating (s-o)' (-əʔé also in stəʔé 'similar')
- θíct 'have intercourse with s-o' (θícem 'have intercourse')
- k^wéλ 'have intercourse'

- c'x'ém 'jump'
 lemé·t 'kick (s-o)', lemlemé·t 'kick it around',
 lemé'fwét 'kick in the rump'
 mék^wəθ(t), x^wmék^wəθ(t) 'kiss (s-o)', (x^w)mék^wəθel 'kiss
 on the lips' (mék^w 'stout, thick', -əθel '(in) the mouth'
 with final -el lost before -t; x^w- 'pertaining to head
 or its parts')
 θ'q'ésixém 'kneel down'
 zq'él·ex^w ~ zéq'əl·ex^w 'know' (z- meaning unknown, q'él
 'believe', -l 'happen to, manage to', -ex^w 's-th, s-o')
 lfyém ~ leyém 'laugh', lé·yém 'laughing', lfyliyém 'lots
 of laughing' (root ?éy 'good')
 c'f·mēt 'lick s-th' (related to c'émēt 'put it in mouth
 or between teeth')
 k^we'fyəqel 'lie on one's back'
 ?éxəθ 'lie down' (?é·xəθ 'lying down')
 qəyqəp'əyá·tə 'lie on one's stomach' (qəp' as in 'bend
 over, bow from waist')
 x^wlélé· 'listen hard', x^wlélé·m 'listen', x^wélélé·m
 'listening', x^wlélé·mēt 'listen to s-o'
 k^wécat 'look at s-o or s-th' (cp. 'see it' and 'stare')
 lápx^wəmstəx^w 'make a noise' (lápx^wəm 'noise')
 x^wix^wə'á·s 'making a face' (cp. 'imitate')
 wéc'él·lámēt 'masturbate, bring oneself to a summit (of
 a mountain)' (wéc'él· 'get to top or summit of a mt.
 < c'él 'top, on top')
 x^vix^vq'á·m 'mouth hanging open' (x^veq'á·θēt 'hang s-th
 up' (-θēt 'verbalizer'), -m or -á·m 'middle-passive',
 C₁i- 'diminutive')
 səxéyləm 'move' (cp. síx-ət 'move s-th') (-éyl may < -f·l
 'come, go', -əm 'middle-passive')
 líq^wesəm 'nod one's head, bow once from neck', líləq^wesəm
 'nodding (in agreement)' (-əs 'face', -əm)
 xél·əq't 'open one's eyes' (q' ~ q), xélxələq't tə sx^wex^wá·s
 'lightning, thunder(bird) opening his eyes' (note that
 'thunder(bird)' is 'sudden' + '(in) face')

- (x^wmícesəm 'pass s-th by hand')
- (póləq^w 'peek over, rise (of sun)' (-əq^w 'top of head'))
- θ'±ék^w 'pinch'
- syémyəm 'pregnant'
- θəθif^w 'girl at puberty'
- k^wémet 'raise s-o or s-th'
- cséces 'reach with hand' (csét 'send it', -cəs 'hand')
- tél·ex^w 'realize it, learn it, understand it' (tél
'learn', -l (> · after l), -ex^w)
- hék^wələs 'remember, remember it'
- qé·w 'to rest, relax'
- yáq't 'rub it, rub s-th or s-o'
- x^wámx^wələm 'run' (x^wém 'hurry, be fast', derivational
ablaut to /a/, -x^wəl 'feet', -əm 'middle-passive'),
(x^wəmx^wéləm 'running, racing (of people, animals, etc.)'
shows 'continuative' ablaut even in suffix)
- xéyq'ət 'scratch s-th (to itch)' (cp. xéyp'ət 'scrape
s-th, scratch s-th (leaving marks)')
- k^wécəm 'scream', sk^wécəm 'a scream'
- k^wécləx^w 'see s-th or s-o'
- síwélmét 'sense s-th (that will happen)' (-f·wəl 'inside'
or -éwəl 'mind, thought', -mét 's-th (object)')
- (k^wələcsə·ləs 'shaking hands' (k^wəl 'hold in the hand',
-cəs 'hand', -é·ləs 'intransitive'), k^wələcést 'shake
s-o's hand')
- (q^wəyxólecəm 'shake or swivel one's hips' (q^wəyx 'shake',
-ələc 'rump, hips', -əm)
- sk^wéc 'sight'
- ?əmét 'sit, sit down (if standing), sit up (if lying),
squat'
- c'élécəm 'sit down, take a seat' (c'él 'on top', -ləc
'rump', -əm)
- ?ítet 'sleep; go to sleep', ?í·tet 'sleeping, asleep',
?ítetəm 'sleepy', ?ítətlámét 'fall asleep'

- há.q^wet 'smell it on purpose', há.q^wlɛx^w 'smell it accidentally, há.q^wem 'to give off a smell'
- x^wlɪyémɛs 'to smile' (x^w- 'pertaining to the head', lɪyém 'laugh', -ɛs 'face')
- hɛsɛm 'to sneeze' (imitative)
- x^wíq^wem 'to snore' (imitative)
- xɛyɔ̀ɛ.m 'to sob' (//xɪxɛ̀.ɛm//, C₁í- 'diminutive', xɛ̀.ɛm 'cry, weep')
- ɛx^wá.t 'spit it out', ɛx^wɛɪɛɛ 'spitting' (-ɛɪɛɛ 'unclear liquid')
- p'íθ'et 'squeeze it'
- ɛxɛylɛx^y 'stand up' (ɛ- meaning unknown, xɛyl- 'feet', -ɛx^y 'upright')
- k^wak^wɛɔ̃ɪɪs 'staring', k^wáɛst 'stare or look at s-o's face')
- ʔimɛt 'step on it' (cp. ʔimɛx^y 'walk')(cp. 'take a step') (st'ɛqsɛl 'stick out, protrude' (st'ɛ 'like, similar to', -qsɛl 'nose')(included as it shows one Stalo conception of the function of the nose)
- ʔát'ɛθet 'stretch oneself' (ʔát 'stretched')
- p'í.q^wt 'stroke it, pet it'
- θ'áq^wet 'suck it'
- qemá. 'suckle' (< qá. 'water' or its bound allomorph qɛ-)
- méq'et 'swallow it' (méq' 'full with food (in belly)')
- yá.q^wem 'to sweat'
- t'í.c()em 'swim', t'íft'ɛc()em ~ x^yíx^yk^wá.m 'swimming (of human)' (C₁í- 'diminutive', x^yá.k^wem 'bathe')
- tíq^yélóm 'take a step' (-x^yél is stressed version of -x^yɛl)
- q^wɛ.l 'talk, speak' (q^wáq^wɛl 'talking, speaking')
- t'ɛt 'taste, taste it, try, try it'
- tatɪlt 'thinking on it, pondering, studying, training' (tá.lt 'learn it', -C₁ɛ- 'continuative', -í.l 'go, come, get', -t '3rd person object purposive')

- sít't 'tickle s-o', sét'x^yt 'tickle s-o's feet' (-x^yel
 loses the el before -t 'purposive, 3rd person obj.')
- téslex^w 'touch or bump s-o accidentally', táset 'touch
 s-o on purpose'
- t'éc'lex^w 'turn or snap the eyes away (from s-c?) in
 disgust'
- tel.á.met 'understand' (tel- 'learn', -lá.met 'by oneself')
 (cp. 'thinking', 'realize')
- séx^we 'urinate; urine'
- q^wíq^welémqel '(a boy's) voice is changing' (q^wáq^wel
 'tame', derivational ablaut to /i/, -ém 'middle-passive'
 or possibly 'strength', -əqel 'throat')
- x^wíy 'wake', x^wíyət 'wake up', sx^wex^wíy 'awake' (the
 root is //x^wéy//), x^wíylá.met 'wake oneself', x^wíyx^yət
 'wake s-o up'
- ?ímex^y 'walk' (?ím 'step', -ex^y 'upright')
- ʔéqet 'whisper'
- x^yá.pem 'whistle', x^yíx^ypà.m 'whistling'
- ʔ'ík^wá.st 'wink at s-o', ʔ'ík^wá.stel 'wink at each
 other', ʔ'íʔ'ík^wá.səm 'winking', ʔ'ík^wá.lésem 'to
 wink' (-á.s 'face', -á.les 'eye', -tel 'reciprocal')
 (ʔ'éx^w 'wash', takes many somatic suffixes)
- wíqes 'yawn' (wíqet 'spread or widen it (of a canoe for
 example)', -es 'face')
- tḗ.m(ət) 'yell, shout, holler' (-ət is apparently not
 the purposive suffix here), stḗ.m 'a shout or yell'
- q^weyx^yelém 'to yell' (meaning may be too general)

13.1.6.2. Body Products.

- ləléc' 'bile; gall-bladder' (léc' 'full')
- sḗḗiyel 'blood' (s- + reduplication)
- sḗq^wem 'breath' (s-)
- s?á.ʔ 'excrement' (s-)
- stḗq' 'a fart'

- sxéyltel 'footprints, tracks' (s-, xéyl 'mark, write',
 -tel 'device, thing for')
 slás 'grease, fat, oil, lard' (s-)
 sqemá· 'milk; breast' (s-, qemá· 'suckle')
 má's 'milk (slang term)'
 sqíqew 'menstrual blood' (s-, qíqew 'menstruating')
 méθ'eθ 'pus'
 q'éyqeyxələ· 'shadow' (q'éyɣ 'be black', derivational
 deglottalization, reduplication, -ələ· unknown unless
 related to -é·lé, -éle 'container')
 sméteqsəl 'snot' (s-, r.m.u., -əqsəl 'in the nose')
 sɣ'ələhé·lqsəl 'dried-up snot' (s-, r.m.u., -qsəl 'in
 the nose')
 sɪéx^wətɕ(s) 'spit' (-s optional, s-)
 syá·q^wem 'sweat' (s-)
 qə'á·les 'tear' (qə(?) - ~ qá· 'water', -á·les 'in the eye')
 sq^wé·leweł 'thoughts, feelings' (s-, q^wé·l 'talk', sq^wé·l
 'words', -əweł 'in the mind')
 séx^we 'urine; to urinate' (s- disappears before s)
 syé·t 'vomit' (s-)
 (not yet elicited: 'sleep in the eye', 'ear-wax', 'sperm')

13.1.6.3. Body Dysfunctions.

13.1.6.3.1. Living or healthy, dead or sick:

- ʔé·yelex^w 'alive, in good health' (ʔé·y 'keep on going')
 me ʔé·yelex^w 'come alive, come back to life (lit. and
 figuratively), get better, get well' (me 'come')
 me ʔé·yelex^wstex^w 'keep s-o alive' (-st, -ex^w)
 me ʔé·yelex^wlex^w 'bring s-o back to life, save s-o's life'
 (-l, -ex^w)
 spaləq^wfə·e 'corpse; ghost' (s-, r.m.u., -fə·e 'clothing',
 perhaps spaləq^w represents a word for 'soul' or 'spirit')
 q'á·y 'die, dead'
 x^wé·y ~ x^wá·y 'died in a group (in epidemic, fire, etc.)'

- x^wé·lqcel 'I almost died' (x^wé·lq 'almost, nearly', -cel 'I (subject)')
- hí·qsel 'drop dead' (possibly root related to that in hí·em 'to fall from a height', suffix probably -qsel 'on the nose')
- wóq^w 'drown'
- lícx^w we?éy (?)a(1) 'how are you feeling?, are you doing good?', lícx^w wetu?éya 'are you feeling a little better?', cel tu ?éya 'I'm fine'
- q'éy^w·θet 'it healed up' (q'éy^w 'heal', -θet 'itself')
- q'á·yt 'kill s-th or s-o'
- s?í·k^w 'lost (and presumed dead)' (s-, ?í·k^w 'get lost')
- lə q'ép 'he passed on a disease, he got addicted (to anything)' (lə '3rd person subject, past tense')
- q'ép·lex^w 'pass on a disease to s-o, get s-o addicted'
- k^wemlá·met 'pull through (an illness), pull through or raise oneself (from childhood through puberty to maturity)' (k^wémét 'raise s-o', -lá·met 'oneself')
- (mə) ?i?éyel 'recover, get better' (mə 'come' optional, reduplication prefix function unclear, ?éy 'good')
- q'áq'ey 'sick; dying' (q'á·y 'die', -C₁ə- 'continuative')
- sq'áq'ey 'sickness; dead for awhile' (s- nominalizer or participializer)
- mə q'áq'eystex^w 'make s-o sick' (-st, -ex^w)
- q'áq'eyx^v·el 'sick foot or leg' (-x^v·el 'in foot or leg', just one example of many)
- x^wé 'starve (and die)'

13.1.6.3.2. Symptom/state/illness/disability:

(A common suffix is -(ə)təm which seems to mean 'state of (verb)' though it derives ultimately from the -ət transitivizer plus -əm 'middle-passive'.)

- sé·yem 'to ache, be sore, to pain'
- xé·p·q^wtəm tel sə'á·m 'my bones are aching'

- xʂi təl ʊ'è·lè 'my heart is aching'
 sɪ·si 'afraid, nervous'
 sə'á·q^wələq^w 'bald' (s-, r.m.u., -ələq^w 'on top of head')
 scɪyələxəl 'strawberry birthmark on arm' (scɪyɛ 'straw-
 berry', -ələxəl 'on arm')
 caléx^wəm 'bleed', cá·lx^wəm 'bleeding'
 qéyɣes 'blind' (q'éyɣ 'be black', derivational deglottal-
 ization, -əs 'in the face')
 qá·cá·m 'a blister', qáscəm 'be blistered'
 sq^wəcém 'a boil'
 ?ewéte sɛék^wəm (k^w ~ q^w) 'breathless, no breath'
 st'áyɣ^w 'brooding' (symptom of spirit sickness)
 t'fɣel 'be bruised', t'fɣel tə qəl·éms 'his eye is bruised',
 st'ít'əqel 'a bruise', st'ít'əqá·ləs 'black eye, brui-
 sed eye'
 q'əwém 'walk with a cane', sq'əwé 'person with a cane'
 (q'əwé 'cane', s-, -é unclear, -(ə)m or -ém 'middle-
 passive')
 sk^wéy 'can't, unable, impossible'
 k^wələx^wes tə sə'áɛtəm 'he caught a cold', k^wələx^wes tə
 stá·q^wəm 'he caught a cough' (k^wəl 'get', -l 'happen
 to, accidentally', -ex^w 'it', tə 'a, the', see below
 for 'cold' and 'cough')
 spəl·ex^w 'chickenpox'
 ʊ'áɛtəm 'chilled', ʊ'áɛ'əɛtəm 'being chilled'
 (s)ʊ'áɛtəm sq'áq'əy 'a cold' (lit: "chill sickness")
 q^wém 'come out (of hair)'
 xɛxək^wfɪwəl 'constipated' (xɛxək^w 'wedged in tight',
 -f·wəl 'in the anus or insides')
 c'iyx^wfɪwəl 'constipated' (c'iyx^w 'dry', -f·wəl)
 t'ək^wfɪwəl 'constipated' (t'ək^w 'mired', -f·wəl)
 q'éq'ək' 'convulsions, fits'
 tá·q^wəm 'to cough', stá·q^wəm 'a cough' (s-)
 q'élptəm 'to cramp, have cramps', q'él·lptəm 'cramped',

- q'élq'elptem 'cramping' (p - p' in each case)(compare q'élp't 'shrink it', q'élp'θet 'shrink', and q'elq'elp' 'tangled on its own (of net, hair, etc.)')
- sxá·lc'iyēθel 'to have a crooked jaw (from birth, injury, or from getting bumped by a ghost)' (s-, x'él·lc' 'turned the wrong way, twisted', -iyēθel < -á·yθel 'in the jaw')
- λ'ék^wal·ε (k^w ~ q^w ~ k^w) 'deaf' (r.m.u.)
- λ'éx^ytēm 'diarrhea' (possibly < λ'éx^y 'ripped apart'),
λ'x^yétēm 'continuing diarrhea'
- sé·lθ'tēm or sé·lc'tēm 'dizzy'
- séles 'dizzy; drunk' (səl 'spin around', -es 'in face')
- c'iyx^weqel 'dry in the throat', c'iyx^weqθélēm 'my throat is dry'
- sə̀ək^wf·wel 'dumbfounded, speechless, stupified, surprised' (s- + -C₁e- participial verb, ə̀ək^w 'to fly', -f·wel 'in the insides, in the anus; in the rump')
- sé·yem təl q'^wól 'I have an earache, my ear aches'
- scel'ól tē sk'^wéc 'eyesight is fading'
- məlqf·wsem 'to faint' (məlq 'forget', -f·ws 'in the body', -em 'middle-passive')
- q'θé·mtēm 'forgetful, absent-minded' (q'θé·m 'short (of memory, of reach, of food, etc.)')
- lex^wmélqewə̀ 'forgetful; passed out if drunk' (lex^w- 'always', mélq (~ mélq) 'forget', -əwə̀ 'in the mind')
- pələq^wf'θetēm 'he got ghosted' ('ghost' minus s- > pələq^w-f'θ'ε 'to ghost', -ət 'someone, he, etc.', -em 'passive')
- sméce 'goiter, lump on person or tree (burl)'
- xə̀xə̀lc'el'fsem 'grinding one's teeth' (x'élc' 'twist, turn around', -el'f 'teeth' or 'in the teeth', -em)
- ʔá·lθet 'to groan', ʔiʔá·lθet 'groaning' (compare ʔá·-t 'call s-o', -θet 'oneself')
- tséq' q'á·y 'half dead, half paralyzed'
- xə̀l·lólqel 'headache' (' ~ ') (xə̀l 'ache, hurt', -l·lólqel 'in the head')

- tsá's 'heartbroken, poor, destitute'
 yeq^wíles 'heartburn' (yeq^w 'burn', -f·les 'in the chest')
 0'k^wíwel 'hemorrhoids, open sores in rump or genitals'
 (compare s-0'0'0'fk^w 'open sore', -f·wel 'in the rump,
 anus, insides, genitals')(loss of vowel length seems
 to be due to speed of pronunciation and dialect; Tait
 dialect speakers seldom omit length even in rapid
 speech while Chehalis dialect speakers do much more
 readily, sometimes even in slow speech)
- t'émíye, t'émíye 'hermaphrodite baby'
 k^wák^wes 'hot' (k^wes 'get burned (of a person)')
 sq^wámècèl 'hunchback, lump on the back' (s-q^wám 'lump',
 -ècèl < -f·cèl 'on the back')
- ʔéí 'to hurt, ache (of head, ear, stomach, etc.)'
 sx^wá·x^w0' 'to be insane, crazy', sx^wix^wá·x^w0' 'a little
 crazy, stupid'
 sk^wéy k^ws ʔf·tət 'have insomnia, can't sleep'
 ʔéyʔec'em 'to itch', ʔéyʔec'ém0et '"real itching"
 lələc' 'jaundice, bile trouble; bile; gall-bladder' (ləc'
 'full')
- sk^wíyləc 'lame (of hip, esp. from birth)' (s-, k^wíy
 'climbs', -ləc 'on the rump (or hip)')
 slək^wələc 'lame hip or leg; to limp; cripple(d)' (s-,
 lək^w 'broken (bone)', -ələc 'in the rump (or hip)')
 q^wá·m0' 'lump', sq^wemq^wá·mʔ^w 'lots of lumps (any size);
 anthills')
- qí^w 'menstruate', qíqəw 'menstruating', sk^wx^yá·s sq'áq'ey
 'menstruation' (sk^wx^yá·s 'moon', sq'áq'ey 'sickness')
 sk^wéy k^ws q^wə·ls 'mute, he can't talk'
 h́eyetəlmól 'nauseated' (h́eyet or h́eyet 'vomiting', -əlmól
 'in the mind')
- sí·sí 'nervous, afraid'
 x^wák^weltem 'numb' (x^wák^wel 'get numb' (-el < -f·l 'get,
 go, come')), x^wák^welx^yel 'numb in the foot, one's

- foot is asleep'
 p^qwí·les 'out of breath, overtired and overhungry (simultaneously)' (peq^w 'split in half by hand' (like of an apple)', -í·les 'in the chest')
 t'ḡq^w te sḡk^wem (k^w ~ q^w) 'run out of breath, break one's breath' (t'ḡq^w 'break (of a rope)')
 k^wesḡ 'overheated' (k^wes 'burned (of a person)')
 t'ḡq^wḡḡḡ 'pass out, faint' (t'ḡq^w 'break or split (of a rope)', -ḡḡḡ 'in the throat')(see also 'faint' and 'forgetful')
 q'á·y 'paralyzed; dead, die'
 syḡlḡtem 'poisoned' (s-, yḡlḡ 'to poison', -t-em)
 xḡ·p'q^wtem 'rheumatism, aching (of bones)'
 ḡ'ḡq^wem 'to rot'
 ḡx^wḡlqsel 'runny nose! (ḡḡx^w 'to spit', -ḡlqsel 'nose' or 'in the nose')
 sq'ḡyḡ 'a scar' (s- nominalizer, q'ḡyḡ 'heal')
 ḡḡtḡtem 'to shiver, shivering, trembling' (see 'tremble'),
 ḡḡtḡḡḡ·lem 'I'm shivering'
 x^yá·l·f·s 'fatal shock (with vomiting)' (upon seeing a supernatural sḡ'ḡ·lḡqem creature)
 sx^yiyf·ws 'smallpox' (s-, root possibly x^yḡ·y 'fish scales', -f·ws 'on the body')
 p'ḡḡ, mḡ p'ḡḡ 'to sober up', sp'ḡp'fḡ 'sober, sobered up' (s- + -C₁e- participial verb)
 sḡ'ḡḡ'fk^w 'open sore', sḡ'ḡk^wḡ'fk^w 'open sores'
 xḡ'tḡls 'put/cast/throw a spell', xḡ'tḡt 'put or cast a spell on s-o'
 yewí·lt 'cast an evil spell on s-o', syewí·l 'an evil spell; power to do witchcraft and predict future',
 syḡ·wḡ 'witch, seer' (s-, yḡw ~ yḡ·w 'supernatural power', -f·l 'get, go, come')
 syḡwel sq'ḡq'ḡy 'spirit sickness' (s-yḡwel 'guardian spirit, spirit power, possession by spirit')(symptoms

of spirit sickness are: depression, insomnia, hearing songs and drumming not physically present, pain in the chest, and some others)

- x̄éysel 'get spooked, fear something behind one'
 sp'f̄q' 'white spotted skin' (s-, p'ḡq' 'white', + ablaut for derivation), sp'eq'p'f̄q' 'many white spots on skin'
 t'ḡ 'to sprain', t'at'ḡ tel s'f̄.lwəḡ 'sprain my side'
 c'ḡḡq'x̄^yel 'sprain one's ankle' (r.m.u.)
 x̄^wəḡ'ḡq'x̄^yel 'ankle joint; sprained ankle', x̄^wəḡ'ḡq'w̄ces 'wrist, hand joint; sprained wrist' (r.m.u.)
 tḡlstem 'get staggered', (yi)tḡ.lstem and x̄^wex̄^welá.ystem 'staggering' (r.m.u., -t-əm)
 x̄^wḡ 'to starve, starving'
 x̄əḡḡ.lwes 'have a stomach-ache' (x̄əḡ 'hurt', -ḡ.lwes 'in the stomach')
 q'á.y te ḡq'f̄.ws 'a stroke, half the body paralyzed'
 s'ḡc'ec 'stuttering', ḡc'ec 'to stutter' (compare ḡc-l-ex̄^w 'hear about it')(imitative reduplication)
 cx̄^wḡstem 'swelling (of infected sore, of balloon, etc.)', cecfx̄^w 'swollen'
 Cheh.: ḡqá.lə, Chill.: cqá.lə 'thirsty' (ḡ- ~ c- verb-forming, qá 'water', -lə unknown)
 k'w̄emḡet 'throw a tantrum, throw oneself on ground in a tantrum, drop oneself into a seat angrily' (k'w̄^qem 'to club', -ḡet 'oneself')
 tḡx̄^wem tel ḡ'ḡ.lḡ 'my heart is thumping'
 ḡcf̄.ws, x̄ḡém 'tired' (-f̄.ws '(in) the body', x̄ḡḡ 'hurt', -ém 'strength'), q'ayf̄.ws 'tired' (q'á.y 'dead or paralyzed', -f̄.ws 'in the body')
 memḡ (or me mḡ) te yḡl.ḡs 'the tooth came out' (mḡ 'come out, come off', me- reduplication or me 'come')
 yḡlyelesem 'a steady toothache' (reduplication is 'plural' or 'continuative', yḡl.ḡs 'tooth', -em verb-forming)
 sḡmeqel 'tooth/teeth missing, toothless' (s-, ḡem 'rain

- or spray' as in témex^w 'to rain', təntémex^w 'rain-showering off and on', and $\text{stémx}^w\text{él}$ 'dew'. ("rain on the feet"), $-\text{əqel}$ 'in the throat'; "rain in the throat" would refer to the juicier sound of speech by people with missing teeth)
- tétxtəm 'to tremble', tétxtəm 'trembling, shivering' ('shiver(ing)') is to tremble more than once)
- $\text{q}^w\text{əlélqel}$ 'trenchmouth' ($\text{q}^w\text{él}$ 'cooked; ripe', $-\text{éqel}$ 'in the throat')
- $\text{tateq}^w\text{ámestəm}$ 'tuberculosis' ($\text{tátəq}^w\text{əm}$ 'coughing', ablaut or $-\text{áməs}$ (meaning unknown) or $-\text{əs}$ '(in) the face', $-\text{t-əm}$)
- yé·t 'to vomit', héyst or héyət 'vomiting'
- $\text{sc}^w\text{épx}^w\text{él}$ 'wart' ($s-$, $\text{c}^w\text{épx}$ 'dirty', $\text{x} > \text{x}^w$ derivational?, $-\text{əl}$ unknown)
- qel^m 'weak' (qel 'bad', $-\text{é·m}$ 'strength', $?\text{eyém}$ 'strong' < "good strength")
- $\text{p}^w\text{éq}^w\text{éyl}$ $\text{tə s}^w\text{á·θəs}$ 'the face got white' ($\text{p}^w\text{éq}^w$ 'white', $-\text{éyl}$ < $-\text{f·l}$ 'go, come, get')
- $\text{sp}^w\text{íq}^w$ 'white spotted skin' as above

13.1.6.3.3. Accident/injury:

Most of the verb roots below can be used with most of the somatic suffixes. What follows is merely a cross-section. Analysis is evident from suffixes already listed previously.

- $\text{sq}^w\text{éyk}^w$ 'a bite' ($s-$)
- $\text{lek}^w\text{át}$ 'break a bone', $\text{slf}^w\text{·k}^w$ 'broken (of a bone)',
- $\text{lék}^w\text{lék}^w$ 'all broken up (of all or many bones, also of sticks)', $\text{lek}^w\text{əlélqel}$ 'break an arm', $\text{lek}^w\text{x}^w\text{él·l}$ 'broke a leg', $\text{lek}^w\text{épsəm}$ 'break one's neck', $\text{lek}^w\text{əwíc}$ 'break one's spine or back; have a hunchback'
- $\text{k}^w\text{és}$ 'get burned, got burned', $\text{k}^w\text{sf}^w\text{·ws}$ 'singe hairs off'

- skin', k^wesá.yθel 'burned on lips', k^wés(ə)qel
 'burned in the mouth' (it appears from this that -əqel
 'in the throat' includes the inside of the mouth too),
 k^wéscəs 'burned on the hand', etc.
- ʔéq^wəɬ 'choke on bone or s-th solid'
 t^wk^wf.lés - t^wək^wf.ləs 'choke on food', t^wék^wələs 'choking
 on food' (t^wək^w 'mired', -f.ləs 'in the chest')
 lex^wsɛ́m 'choke on water or liquid' (lex^ws- 'always',
 ɛ́m < ɛm 'to rain or spray')
 p^wiθ^wɛ́lt 'choke s-o' (p^wiθ^w 'squeeze', -ɛ́l - -ɛɬ 'in
 the front of the neck', -t 's-o')
 t^wémx^wel 'chop one's foot' (as with an ax), similarly
 t^wémcəs, t^wémqsel, etc.
 k^wéq^welɛ́xəl 'club on the arm', many others (see exx. of
 somatic suffixes)
- ɛ́c^wet 'cut s-th or s-o', léc^wlex^w 'cut s-o accidentally',
 léc^wcəs 'cut a hand or finger', sx^wɛ́c^wcəs 'a cut on
 the hand or finger', ɛ́c^welɛ́xəl 'cut one's arm'
 c^wéq^w 'hit (with bullet, arrow, s-th shot), wounded,
 poked', c^wéq^wléx^w 'hit (with arrow, etc.) accident-
 ally'.
 x^wmélk^wes 'get hit in the face by s-th falling'
 tétécs 'hit on the hand with a hammer, hammered on hand'
 lá·met 'hit s-th with s-th thrown', lá·m li te tépsem
 'hit in the neck with s-th thrown'
 mé·k^wɛ́ 'to get hurt, be hurt'
 θq^wét 'poke, prick, or stab s-o, spear s-th (for ex.
 fish), pierce s-th'
 θ^wíq^west 'punch s-o in the face'
 ɛ́íq^w 'run over (by car, train, etc.); get wedged (by
 falling tree), stuck in a trap'
 xéyp^wet 'scrape s-o or s-th, scratch it (and leave mark)'
 ʔíx te meqsel 'scratched on the nose, the nose is scratched'
 k^weléx^wt 'shoot s-o or s-th, sting s-o'

c'á·l təl c'élx^y 'skin my hand, peel the skin on my hand'
 sx^yéc'x^yel 'splinter or sliver in the foot', sx^yéc'c'es
 'splinter or sliver in the hand or finger'
 t'á 'to sprain'
 sx'él 'a wound' (s-)

13.1.6.3.4. Medicine/curing:

q'ép'et 'bandage it up, tie it up' (the latter meaning
 is the basic one--there is no specific word just mean-
 ing 'to bandage')
 q'šwe 'a cane'
 žé·w 'cured, healed', žé·wet 'cure s-o by Indian doctor-
 ing; chase s-th away from s-o', žé·wetem 'cured by
 Indian doctoring', žéžewels 'curing by Indian doctor-
 ing, a medicine man "working"'
 sx^wlé·m 'Indian doctor, medicine man, shaman'
 k^wék^wfyəθet 'training oneself to be an Indian doctor
 or spirit dancer' (k^wék^wfy 'climbing', -əθet 'one-
 self')
 tákte 'non-Indian doctor'
 q'éy^həθet 'it healed up' (q'éy^h 'heal', -əθet 'itself')
 c'élx^yetəl 'looking for lice in s-o's head' (perhaps
 'looking for lice in each other's head')(móx^yc'el
 'louse' + metathesis (derivational) > c'élx^y, -təl
 'reciprocal')
 cəl x'é·yləs 'I made it (if laxative finally works)'(r.m.u.)
 st'élmex^w 'medicine' (r.m.u., unless st'f·lém 'song')
 st'elmex^wá·lēs 'eye medicine'
 st'elmex^wf·wél 'love medicine' (-f·wél 'in genitals or
 insides')
 x^wəq^wələž'élitel 'hangover medicine' (possibly x^wəq^wéle
 'scouring rush, horsetail', -ž'élitel 'medicine' (incl.
 -təl 'device, thing for'))
 ə·elž'élitel 'heart medicine, juniper' (ə·éle 'heart',

- ʔé·ltel 'medicine'
 syé·ttel 'throw-up medicine' (s-yé·t 'vomit', -tel 'device
 or thing to')
 x^yáx^yəmet ʔe cméle 'looking after s-o having a baby,
 midwifing' (also without the reduplication)
 nórs 'nurse' (< English)
 sqiqemel 'puberty hut' (sqemél 'pit house', C₁f- 'diminu-
 tive')
 meʔél·éssem 'pulled out (of a tooth or teeth)' (me 'take
 out, come out', -ʔél·és 'tooth', -em 'passive')
 méx^yes te yél·és 'he took out or pulled the tooth' (mé
 'take out', -ex^y '3rd person object', -es '3rd person
 subject')
 Tait: mí ck^wéc, Chill.: mí sk^wéc 'recover sight, sight
 came' (mí 'come')
 sák^wem 'outer cedar bark splint' (the word may also mean
 'outer bark')
 qetf·wsəm 'take a sweatbath' (qe 'water', -t unknown here,
 -f·ws '(on) the body', -əm 'middle-passive')
 x^yex^yt·ǵ·les 'trillium' (cataract medicine, possibly <
 x^yét·-əm 'swim (of a fish)', -C₁e- 'continuative',
 -ǵ·les 'in the eyes'; this may also be the word for
 'cataracts')

13.1.6.4. Non-human Body Functions and Dysfunctions.

Fish:

- c^w·k^wém 'jump' (HABRI)
 t'iléqel 'a spawning salmon with eggs loose and dangling'
 k^wámex^w 'salmon after spawning (no eggs left)'
 xéyqeyε 'old salmon ready to die'
 cəwásem 'spawning'
 x^yét·em 'swimming (of fish)'
 probably plus some verbs also used for humans like
 k^wéclex^w 'see it', ləp'ex^y 'eat it', etc.

Animals:

- élec 'animal or bird droppings' (< -élec 'in the rump')
 k^wá·θet 'to gallop'
 ʔéylém 'to growl (of an animal)' (cp. ʔéytem 'to growl
 (of humans, under the breath)')
 qⁱé·w 'howl'
 q^wè·l 'talk' (HB and perhaps of frog also)
 q^wáq^w·wél 'tame'
 λ^w·ep'élecem (ε may ~ e) 'wagging its tail' (sk^w·ep'élec
 'tail', possible ablaut may be 'continuative', -em
 is verb forming suffix or 'middle voice')
 sk^w·fk^w·ex^y 'wild'
 plus many verbs also used for humans such as qⁱéyk^w·wét
 'bite into it', c'émét 'bite on it, put in mouth',
 lép^w·ex^y 'eat s-th', k^w·wécləx^w 'see it', tel·á·met
 'understand', qⁱ·á·y 'die', etc.

Birds:

- élec 'animal or bird droppings'
 ʔá·k^w 'to fly'
 λ^w·x^w·é·yžem 'hatch eggs, brood, incubate or sit on eggs'
 (λ^w·ex^w 'cover over', -é·yž unknown unless related to
 -ʔá·lž 'young', -em 'middle-passive')
 q^w·elayθ·f·lem 'make music' (q^w·el 'talk', -á·yθ·el 'in lips',
 -f·l 'go, come, get', -em 'middle-passive')
 smímelehá·lž·lé·lé 'little bird's nest' (s-, C₁í- 'diminu-
 tive', memehá·lž 'egg' (< mēmele 'children', -há·lž
 'young'), -é·lé 'container (of)')
 t'áp·əls 'to peck'
 t'f·lem 'sing'
 q^w·è·l 'talk', q^w·ó·lq^w·él 'warning (a different cry)'
 plus many verbs also used for humans such as lép^w·ex^y,
 k^w·wécləx^w, etc.

Insects:

q'ɛyk^wet 'bite s-o' (HAFBR)ɛk^w 'to fly' (B)

c'k'ém 'to jump' (HAFBR)

t'f'lem 'to sing (used in place of a word 'to buzz')

k^welɛx^yt 'sting s-o, shoot s-o or s-th' (k^welɛx^y 'shoot
(with arrow, gun, etc.)' < k^wel- 'hold in hand',
-ex^y 'upright')probably plus other verbs also used for humans like
k^wɛclex^w, lɛp'ex^y, etc.

Reptiles:

sq'elɛ·w 'coiled (of snake)' (s-, q'el as in q'elq'él-p'
'tangled (on itself)' or q'elq'él-q' 'tangled on s-th,
snagged', -ɛ·w unknown), sq'elq'elɛ·w 'coiling (of a
snake), ready to strike' (reduplication 'plural/cont-
inuative') q^wɛ·l 'talk, croak (of frog)' (HAB)

c'k'ém 'jump' (HAFBI) ɛqem 'hiss, whisper' (H)

probably plus other verbs also used for humans like
k^wɛclex^w, lɛp'ex^y, etc.13.1.7. Morphosememic Patterns of Anatomy.

In 5.2.1 the somatic suffixes were presented, showing that about a third of them have a suppletive relationship to their equivalent independent words; the remainder are etymologically related to the independent word equivalents. The somatic suffix system is extensive in that about a quarter of all the independent words for body parts have somatic suffix equivalents. The systematic morphosememic feature shared by these somatic suffixes is that they are morphosememically locative ('on

or in the (body part)') except when used in independent body part words; in the latter case the meaning shifts to become partitive ('of the (body part)');

In section 3 the independent words for body parts were presented and morphosemically analyzed. There are several systematic features that can be seen in the analysis. 1. As with somatic suffixes (for ex. -cēs 'on the hand or finger', -x^yel 'on the foot or leg'), the division of the body by the Halkomelem words is sometimes different from English divisions (tépsem 'back of the head and back of the neck', s^xél·ə 'leg and foot', etc.).

2. The independent words are extremely analyzable compared to the English equivalents.

3. There is marked morphosememic parallelism in the treatment of the parts of the hands and feet, of the knuckles, ankles and wrists, of the elbow and shin, of the hair (other than on top of the head), and of the genitals. Thus in both hands and feet: the fingers and toes 'widen' the limb, the thumb and big toe are the 'stout member' or 'stout part' of the limb, the palm and the sole are the 'face' of the limb, the hollow of the hand and arch of the foot are 'going downriver on the face' of the limb, and the nails of both hands and feet are the 'grayish' parts. The knuckles, ankles and wrists are 'lumps' and the joints of the ankle and wrist can both

be named by a root that also means they are sprained. The elbow and shin are both called the 'bone' of their limbs (arm and leg), while the penis, head of the penis, and vagina/vulva all begin with the same root, x^y, and prefix s-. The hair other than on the top of the head is differentiated by the somatic suffixes and pluralized by reduplication.

4. All the independent body part words can be fit within ten derivational types: a. unanalyzable at present (no suffixes detectable, about 22 cases), b. root meaning unknown (suffixes segmentable, about 22 cases), c. root semantically empty (with somatic suffixes whose locative meaning is cancelled out; examples include the nose, mouth, tooth, tongue, back of head and neck, chest, belly, rib, rump, and possibly heart and heel--with roots m-, θ-, y-, t-, t-, ʔ-, k^w-, l-, k-, and possibly θ'- and θ'-, respectively), d. verb roots describing an action or function of the body part (about 21 examples including: 'chop, mark, braid, come out (of hair), bite on, talk, greedy/eat too much, carry on shoulders, club, widen (2 cases), point/aim, marry, suckle, come out above (2 cases), go into quieter backwater, wedged in, fly strength, have an erection, and cover over'), e. adjectival verb roots of descriptive nature (about 15 examples including including: 'soft, red, tangled, black, blue (2 cases), spotted, wet, stout (3 cases), wide (3 cases),

good, full), f. adverbial verb roots (nine examples: 'above (2 examples), below, right, left, middle, down-river (2 cases), across'), g. body part roots (16 examples including only multiple examples of 'bone', 'hair', 'flesh', and 'face'), h. descriptive noun roots (about nine examples including five of 'lump', and one each of 'hole', 'half', 'stone' and 'fat'), i. noun kinterm root (one or two examples include 'youngest child' in 'little finger' and 'child' in 'womb'; if s-*mél* is 'have a child' then this latter example ('womb') belongs in group d.), and j. noun root to describe function (one example 'bladder' < 'urine container' < 'urine' root).

5. The suffixes used in the independent body part words are mostly somatic; the few that are not include: -*áls* 'round thing; fruit', -*éls* - -*é·lé* 'container', -*é·lc* 'twisting around', -*tél* 'device, thing to' or 'reciprocal', -*ámél* 'part, member', -*owet* - -*éwet* 'cane', -*é·mec* 'standing upright', -*ém* 'strength', possibly -*θet* 'itself'.

In section 4 we examined the *pésq^wtél*, the anatomical insult, and discovered 50 examples. These consist of an adjectival verb, a verb of another type or a noun, followed by a somatic suffix, with three exceptions ('big nose' and 'big belly' have prefixes on the independent body part word instead, and 'ugly' uses the suffix -*á·mex^y* 'looking, in looks, in appearance' which is not somatic but is close). The verb and noun roots have a morpho-

sememic pattern: they describe size and shape (32 examples including: 'big, sloppy, pointed, high, flat, long, hooking, round, scrawny, crooked, boney, wide, and short'), looks (nine examples including 'bad', 'cross' (< 'bad'), 'ugly' (< 'disappointed and angry looking'), 'dirty', and 'black'), anatomy (two examples, 'hairy' and 'snotty'); four examples use analogies (sturgeon eyes, marble eyes, climbing rump, and tail (> 'rump')), and three examples describe miscellaneous actions (fast mouth, spray or moisture in the mouth (> 'toothless, teeth missing'), and something spit out of the nose). The largest number of examples found with one root have the bound root Θi 'big', modified in several ways. $\Theta \sim \Theta e h$ 'big' sometimes appears (reduced ablaut grades), sometimes prefixed with x^W - 'pertaining to the head or part of the head', sometimes reduplicated for 'plural', $\Theta i \Theta e \sim \Theta i \Theta e h$. Θi only appears once (in 'loud voice') and is prefixed by x^W - 'pertaining to the head or part of the head' and then by s- 'nominalizer'. Still another variant exists for 'big' within the $p \acute{e} s q^W t \acute{e} l$, shifting the meaning of s- nominalizer to 'big' and prefixing it to two independent body part words ($m \acute{e} q s \acute{e} l$ and $k^W \acute{e} l \cdot \acute{e}$); this could be like calling someone 'The Nose' or 'The Belly' with the implication of huge dimensions. A final variant uses the normal word for 'big', $h k^W$, and applies it in a sentence to someone's uvulá; the implication is that the person's

mouth is open so much that his uvula appears huge.

Section 5 listed terms of non-human anatomy, along with some words that apply to human as well as non-human. For the fish there are 21 terms that apply only to fish plus 17 which can also refer to other living creatures. The 17 words have already been analyzed under human anatomy; the 21 words of exclusively fish anatomy contain two parallels: s-x̄ép-əq^w 'soft gristle and insides of fish head' and s-x̄ép-x̄^vel 'fish tail (including soft gristle)' both have the root s-x̄ép- which apparently means 'soft edible gristle of fish'; q'étmél 'fin, neck fin, possibly back fin' and Ө'étmél 'belly fin' both have a rare lexical suffix which may mean 'fin'. The other thing to note about the set of 38 words is that they include the following somatic suffixes, all semantically extended to apply to the fish: -əq^w 'of the top of the head', -á'yəel 'of the jaw or lip', -x̄^vel 'of the foot or leg', and possibly -es 'of the face' (in 'head').

Of animal body terms 32 apply to humans as well, while only eight or so do not: 'tuft of hair on horse's leg', 'fur, animal hair', 'horn, antler', 'animal tripe', 'tail', 'paw', 'hind leg', 'foreleg'. The total 40 words include the following somatic suffixes: -x̄^vel 'of the foot or leg', -ces 'of the hand or fingers', -íwél 'of the insides', -elec 'of the rump', -əwíc 'of the back', -á'yəel 'of the jaw or lip', -əl·és 'of the tooth or teeth', -əx̄^wəel 'of

the tongue', -*leɛ* 'of the front of the neck', and -*óweɣ* 'of the ribs'--all extended semantically to apply to animals.

There are about 24 words found so far for bird anatomy, eight of which do not also apply to human anatomy: 'egg', 'down, real fine feathers', 'small feather', 'long feather (of wing or tail)', 'wing', 'tail', and two words for 'beak, bill'. The sizing of feathers is a morpho-semantic feature of interest, as is the analysis of 'egg' as 'children' + 'young'. The somatic suffixes used in the set of 24 words are: -*elec* 'of the rump', -*íwel* 'of the insides', -*épsəm* 'of the back of head and neck', -*f·les* 'of the chest', and possibly -*élqel* which could mean 'of the wing' or just 'feather'.

Terms for reptiles found so far include 12 terms also applicable to humans and just one that is not, *sʰ'ep'ólec* 'tail' (applicable to humans however as a slang term). Somatic suffixes used are: -*elec* 'of the rump', -*á·yθel* 'of the jaw', -*éx^wθeɛ* 'of the tongue', and -*íwel* 'of the insides'. Confirmed parts of insects include only three words, of which only *sʰ'eq'é·l* 'wing' cannot also apply to humans. Neither the reptile nor the insect sets show anything systematic in semantic design.

In non-human anatomy there are a few interesting omissions: no word for brain of fish (just *sɣ'épeq^w* 'gristle and insides of head' is used), no word for rump

of an animal (just the word for 'hind leg' is used), and there is probably no word for chest of an animal (just the word for 'ribs' is used):

Section 6 covers functions and dysfunctions of the body. Most of these words are verbs; the main exceptions are body products, some illnesses and some medicines-- these and a few other body dysfunctions are nominals. Body products include those resulting from both functions and dysfunctions. Body dysfunctions include the following subdivisions: living or healthy/dead or sick, symptom/state/illness/disability, accident/injury, and medicine/curing. One interesting semantic feature of these subdivisions is that words relating to living and healthy are semantically linked (?ɛ.yelex^w 'alive, in good health', me ?ɛ.yelex^w 'get better, get well, come alive, come back to life'), as are words relating to dying and sick (q'áq'ey 'dying, sick', sq'áq'ey 'sickness; dead for awhile'). Another interesting feature is that what non-Indian doctors might regard as symptoms, dysfunctional body states and even psychological states are usually regarded as illnesses by the Upper Stalo and are treated by Indian doctors and by Indian medicines. Some of the psychological states are also treated by initiation into spirit dancing. The subdivisions of accident/injury and medicine/curing have been only sketched in outline here by very incomplete lists of words:

With the extensive use of somatic suffixes elsewhere one would expect much heavier use of them in the body function words than one finds. It seems there are a goodly number of body function roots which do not need (and do not allow) somatic suffixation. Those body function words which do use somatic suffixes show a clear morphosememic shift in the meanings of the somatic suffixes. The suffixes lose their locative meaning and become very nearly subjects of the verb root (for example, c'élēcəm 'sit down, take a seat' < c'é- 'be on top' + -lec 'rump' + -əm 'middle-passive'). In some cases it is difficult to tell whether the somatic suffix has a subject or an object function (for example, mék^wəθ 'kiss' --is it < 'the mouth gets thick' or 'get the mouth thick'?). With body dysfunctions this same shifting occurs except when the somatic suffixes are attached to roots that can also be used without somatic suffixes; this latter set needs the locativeness to specify the location of the dysfunction (for ex., q'áq'eyx^vəl 'sick in the foot', q'áq'ey 'sick'; lek^wəpsəm 'break one's neck', s-lík^w 'broken (of a bone)'). Somatic suffixes are used with almost all the accident/injury words and are there distinctly locative.

Morphosememic analysis of analyzable body function words shows several types of morphosememic derivation:

1. imitative, as in 'hiccough', 'sneeze', 'snore' and

possibly in 'blow', 'call s-o', 'cry, weep', 'defecate', 'growl (of stomach)', 'spit', 'whisper' and 'yawn'.

2. descriptive of appearance, as in 'stand up' < 'legs upright', 'walk' < 'step upright', 'yawn' < 'widen or spread face', 'kiss' < 'mouth thickens' or 'thicken the mouth', 'shake hands' < 'hold a hand (in one's hand)', 'smile' < 'laugh on face', 'stick out, protrude' < 'like a nose', 'make breathy noise' < 'talk in breath or throat', 'finished eating' < 'finish in lips or jaws', 'get up with quick motion' < 'suddenly go or come upright', and 'blushing' < 'getting red in face'.

3. description of function, as in 'swallow' < 'fill it with food', 'run' < 'feet hurry' or 'hurry the feet', 'thinking or pondering s-th' < 'go learning it on purpose', 'understand' < 'learn (by) oneself', 'realize it' < 'happen to learn it', 'know it' < 'happen or manage to believe it', 'sit down, take a seat' < '(put) rump on top, rump is on top', 'masturbate' < 'bring oneself to a summit', 'guess' < 'similar in the mind', 'one's voice is changing' < 'the throat is tamed' or 'tame the throat'.

4. diminutive, as in 'swimming' < 'little bathing', 'sob' < 'little cry(ing) or weep(ing)'.

5. pluralizing, as in 'expect' < 'look a number of times'.

Body products are mostly body function words nominalized with s- (at least eight and possibly 14 of the 19 words fit this description). The rest are mostly descrip-

tive of the product's function: 'thoughts, feelings' < 'talk in the mind' (incidentally a nice confirmation of the Whorf hypothesis), 'footprint' < 'thing that marks', 'milk; breast' < 'suckled thing'; three are descriptive: 'tear' < 'water of the eye', 'bile; gall-bladder' < 'full (+ unknown affix)', 'shadow' < 'black (+ unknown affix)'.

In the area of body dysfunctions, little other than anecdotal can be said about words relating to life/death/sickness/health: 'corpse, ghost' < 'clothing of (the soul?)', 'almost died' < 'almost' (verbal taboo?), 'drop dead' < '(fall?) on one's nose'.

Words relating to symptom/state/illness/disability, however, do contain some systematic morphosememic organization:

1. Fifteen of these words are formed with -tem 'state of (verb)', which derives morphosememicly from the -t 'third person object, on purpose' + -em 'middle-passive voice'; all are descriptive of physical appearance or feeling and can be inflected for first or second person subject by changing the passive ending (1 sg. -θèlèm, 2 sg. -θà·m, 1 pl. -tálx^wes, 2 pl. -tâlèm, 3 -tem). Thus kètχtem is '(third person) is/are trembling or shivering' and kètχθèlèm is 'I'm shivering or trembling'.
2. Related to this is the large number of words ending in -em 'middle-passive' without the -t; there are 14 or 15 of these words (which seem to be conjugated with active

subjects).

3. Words descriptive of feelings: 'weak' < 'bad strength', 'rheumatism' < 'aching', 'dizzy, drunk' < 'face spins around', 'dumbfounded, speechless' < 'rump or insides flying up', 'tired' < 'hurt strength' and also < 'dead in the body', 'nauseated' < 'vomiting in the mind', 'blind' < 'black in the face', 'headache' < 'hurt in the head', 'stomach ache' < 'hurt in the stomach', 'to cramp' < either 'tangled on its own accord' or 'shrunk', 'constipated' (three words) < 'wedged or tight in the anus', < 'dry in the anus' and < 'mired in the anus', 'heartburn' < 'burn (of a fire) in the chest', 'trenchmouth' < 'cooked in the throat', 'faint' < 'the body is forgotten', 'passed out drunk; forgetful' < 'always forgetful in the mind', 'pass out, faint (probably due to lack of air)' < 'break or split rope in throat', 'run out of breath' < 'break or split rope of breath', and 'simultaneously out of breath, overtired and overhungry' < 'split (in) the chest' (as to split apple by hand). The last five show two subsystems at work: 'faint' and 'pass out (if drunk)' are derived from the root 'to forget', and three 'out of breath' words are derived from 'break or split rope' or 'split (by hand)'.

4. Words descriptive of appearance: 'black eye' < 'bruised on eye', 'tuberculosis' < 'coughing face', 'jaundice' < 'bile' < 'gall-bladder' < 'full', 'lame'

< 'climbing rump', 'hunchback' < 'lump on the back', 'hemorrhoids' < 'open sores in rump', 'strawberry birth-mark on arm' < 'strawberry on arm', 'wart' < 'dirty (+ unknown affix)', 'diarrhea' < 'ripped up', 'have a crooked jaw' < 'jaw twisted or turned wrong way', 'smallpox' < 'gills on the body':

5. Words descriptive of actions: 'grinding one's teeth' < 'twisting or turning the teeth the wrong way', 'throw a tantrum' < 'club oneself', 'scar' < 'something healed', 'toothless, teeth missing' < 'moisture or spray in throat' (referring to the sound of spittle during talking), and 'runny nose' < 'to spit from nose':

6. Words descriptive of functions: 'paralyzed' < 'dead', 'stroke' < 'half of body dead or paralyzed', 'cripple, to limp' < 'broken rump or hip':

7. Plural-continuative derivation: 'shiver' < 'trembling' because a shiver is multiple trembles, 'steady toothache' < 'have a plural or continuous tooth', and 'stutter' has 'plural' reduplication because a stutter is a repetition.

8. Words requiring the word 'sickness': 'menstruation' < 'moon sickness', 'a cold' < 'chill sickness', and 'spirit sickness' < 'spirit power or possession sickness':

9. Words requiring 'can't, impossible to': 'mute' < 'can't talk' and 'insomnia' < 'can't sleep':

Words relating to accident/injury show no morpho-
sememic systems except that the roots are nearly all

verbs which can each be inflected with most of the somatic suffixes (the latter retaining their locative meaning as a set). A few anecdotal things are all that can be noted otherwise: 'choke on food' < 'mired in the chest' and 'hit (with arrow, bullet, etc.), wounded' < 'poked'.

Words relating to medicine/curing show several ways of expressing the sememe 'medicine': st'álmex^w, -ʔé·ltel, and -tel; the first is used with somatic suffixes to specify where the medicine is to work, the second is used with roots for body parts or roots showing functions of the medicine, the third is only attested with a root showing the medicine's function ('vomit medicine'). Another way of specifying medicines is by naming a plant for the disease it cures: 'swamp gooseberry' < 'hemorrhoid plant', 'trillium' < 'cataracts (?)' < 'swimming like a fish in the eyes'. The word for curing is also interesting since it refers only to an Indian doctor's curing and is related to or derived from the word 'chase something away'. I have not yet had access to much of the vocabulary of Indian doctoring, but another interesting word from that area is k'wék'w'iyəθet 'training oneself to be an Indian doctor or spirit dancer' < 'climbing oneself'. The training involves fasting, purification, and long hikes into the wilderness and so involves both physical and spiritual climbing of oneself.

Finally there is the area of non-human body functions and dysfunctions. This area shows a number of words specialized and generalized in different ways than in English. Greater specialization: three stages of spawning have distinct terms; 'swim (of a fish)' is a different word from 'swim (of a human)'; -ślēc with animals and birds means 'droppings' as distinct from human feces, sʔá.ʔ, and from the human suffix -ślēc, -(ə)lēc 'on the rump'; an animal 'growls' with a different word than a human (though the roots appear related). Greater generalization: animals and birds can q^wē.l ('talk') like humans; the word tʔf.ləm 'sing' can be used of birds and insects as well as of people and with insects refers to buzzing; an insect 'stings' and a snake 'hisses' with words a person uses to 'shoot' and 'whisper'; the vocabulary of bird eggs ('eggs', 'nest', 'sit on eggs') treats all three words by referring to the eggs as 'young children'. The corpus of words referring to non-human body functions and dysfunctions still is rather incomplete, but it shows some generalization of terms in the direction of considering fauna to have more human attributes than we do in English. This anthropomorphic trend is born out in legends, stories, and folk beliefs as well (for example in the legend of the Wealick brothers, the elder of whom became a bear, and in the refusal of some Stalo people to kill bears because they believe them to be people who

can take off their coats and become human, and in stories of wolves understanding and responding to human language).

13.2. Survey of the Morphosememics of Other Domains. There is no space here to go deeply into the morphosememic structure of each of the other domains mentioned in Chapter 12. There is no room to treat them in any detail nor to list the data. So this section will survey the structures of the following domains briefly (as outlined in Chapter 12): 1. Land features and place names, 2. Weather features, 3. Water features, 4. Fire, 5. Time periods and tense, 6. Flora, 7. Categories of humans and proper names, 8. Religion and the spirit, 9. Buildings and household goods, 10. Clothing, 11. Hunting and processing the catch, 12. Fishing and processing the catch, 13. Tools for making things, 14. Cedar root baskets, 15. Canoes and boats, 16. Emotions and feelings, attitudes and mental processes, 17. Senses: sights, touches, sounds, tastes, smells, 18. Adverbials: directions and qualifiers, 19. Demonstratives and auxiliaries, 20. Personal pronouns, 21. Transitive and intransitive and benefactive, 22. Mood (including interjections), 23. Voice, 24. Continuative and plural, 25. Numerals, 26. Prepositionals, 27. Pconj's. The other domains

have not been gathered together yet in list form to be surveyed. The features and functions named and elaborated in each domain show how the Upper Stalo perceive their environment.

13.2.1. Land Features and Place Names. As mentioned in the semantics, 'mountain (any size)' and 'rock (any size larger than pebble)' are named with the same term, smé·lt. There is no word for rolling hill, but there are sqatéméylep and tewèlshílep (< tewéle 'tilted'), both terms meaning 'sloping ground' and leq'éylep 'level ground' (< léq' 'level'). Terms for canyons and steep cliffs are elaborated (xéylés 'very steep slope, steep shore, steep dropoff' (< 'marked in face'), sxéxék^w 'canyon (narrow, walled-in with rock)' (< 'wedged'), (s)q^weléqel 'vertical rock face, cliff', xeq'ést 'bluff', 6éq 'steep', etc.). The suffix -ílep ~ -éylep 'ground, land' of course is common. A number of mountain features are elaborated (swéc'εʔé 'summit, top of mountain', wéc'é· 'get to summit', sx^wf·tél 'basin; morain lake; chamberpot', yélt 'to rockslide', yélt tē mé·qc 'have a snowslide, to avalanche', híteqy 'glacier, Mt. Cheam' (híteqy was originally the name of the woman (wife of Mt. Baker) who ran away and settled on the Fraser with her children and dog, all becoming mountains), k^welqéylém 'cave',

etc.). There are fewer terms for things in the flats (spéixel 'prairie, treeless area', máq^Wem 'swamp, bog, marsh; swamp tea, Labrador tea'). A 'point of land' is sʔéiqsəl and the 'tail of an island' is səʔəméx^Welec with somatic suffixes for 'nose, point' and 'bottom, rump'. Placenames also use many somatic suffixes, anthropomorphizing the geography if you will (-elec, -áθel, -es, -e(l)qs(əl), -əq^W - -íq^W, and -qel each appear in four or more placenames). sqʔew- 'a bend or turn (in river or road)' and s^xʔáy- (< x^Wè·y 'many people died at the same time') are common roots in placenames (found in at least four each). Areas named in placenames include: settlements, mountains and rocks, points on the river, turns in the river, mouths of creeks, many rock formations (often said to be people turned to stone by Xəxéls 'the Transformer(s)'), channels, rivers and creeks (usually two words: place name + stá·lo(w) 'river'), locations where plants or resources or animals are found (pápq^Wem 'Popkum, puffballs', ciyá·m 'Cheam village, wild strawberry place', x^Wax^Wəlél·ɩp 'Yale, Stalo village below Yale Creek' (< 'willow tree' because a single willow stood there for years), ʔəlqé·yem 'place on rock wall of Fraser where lots of snakes sun themselves (above xəqʔételec which is above American Bar)', etc.), lakes,

springs (q^wá·ls 'Harrison Hot Springs, boiling'), and waterfalls ('Elk Creek falls, spawning ground'). Places where things were done were also named (as in k^wéq^wélfé'ε 'Coqualeetza, place to club clothes or blankets', c^wiyéqtel 'Tzeachten, fish weir', t^wémiyehá·y 'Tamihi Mountain, hermaphrodite babies finish (such deformed babies were left to die on that mountain)', etc.). Some places are named for stories too long to explain here (c^wé'f·lós 'Chehalis, on top of the chest', é'ewé·lf 'Soowahlie, melted or wasted away', yeq^wyeq^wí·ws 'Yakweakwioose, repeatedly burnt out (village or grass covering)', s^wáx^wiyemé 'settlement near Katz Reserve, many people died in the past (an epidemic wiped out 36 pit houses)', etc.). Other features named include the following minerals: t^wémq^w·eθel 'jade, any agate' (< t^wém- 'chop' because jade was used as a whetstone), syí·c^w·em 'sand', (spá·lk^w·em 'dust', é'éxet 'gravel'), st^w·ewók^w 'white clay (used for whitening powder, with wool)', sθ^w·f·qel 'wet mud', é'éθé·eθ 'crystal', cikmel 'iron, silver (in silver money)' (< Chinook Jargon), x^wét 'lead, weight, sinker, shot, bullet', q^wíq^w·i 'copper', k^wí·l 'gold' (< English), sq^w·é1 'hard metal found in mines (used for arrowheads)'.

13.2.2. Weather Features. 100 terms for weather

(including 16 idiomatic phrases) have been found to date. Almost half of these are verbs, showing equal emphasis upon weather actions or functions and weather products. At least 20 of the nominal terms have corresponding verbal forms (sq^wétx^yem 'fog' + q^wétx^yem 'get fog(gy)', spéhé·ls 'wind' + pəhé·ls 'to blow (of wind)', even swéyel 'sky, day, weather' + wéyel 'become day' and wáweyel 'getting day, dawn').

The domain as a whole includes terms for: the sun and lighting effects (19 or 20 terms, including t'áltel 'an eclipse' and t'éltes 'to eclipse s-th' (< t'él 'go out of sight')), the moon and its periods (9 terms or phrases), stars and constellations (5 terms), clouds and fog (5 terms), wind (16 terms), warm or cold weather (7 or 8 terms), actions of Thunderbird (6 weather-causing actions), rain (9 terms), hail (4 terms), snow (7 terms), ice and sleet (6 terms), frost and dew (5 terms), and bad vs. good weather (4 terms).

Quite a few of these terms use somatic metaphors and somatic suffixes: sxelyéle-s te syá·q^wem 'rays of light' (< 'legs of the sun'), səəqelx^yélém ~ (Cheh. or Tait) swétex^yel 'rainbow' and (Chill.) əelq^xélém 'getting a rainbow' (-x^yel 'leg, foot', əsq 'steep', -el 'become, go, get', -l- 'plural' in the latter word,

qeyqeyxələsəm 'rays of sun from between clouds' (<
 qeyqeyxələ 'shadow' + -ás 'on the face', -əm 'middle
 voice'); sk^wex^yás 'moon' (< k^wex^y- 'count', -ás
 'face'); xeylxələmás 'fleecy wave clouds (resembling
 sheep)' (< 'repeatedly marked on the face');
 sk^welk^wélx^yél and q'eyq'elc'iyásəm spəhé·ls (both
 'whirlwind' (-x^yél 'leg', q'eyq'elc'- 'twisting', -ás
 'in the face', -əm 'middle voice'), spatpəteléxəl
 'thunder wind' (< 'repeated blowing with mouth' + (on)
 the arm'); actions of sx^wex^wás 'Thunderbird, thunder'
 (and sx^wex^w-ás itself as noted earlier): xələq't te
 sx^wex^wás 'to lightning' and xələxələq't te sx^wex^wás
 'lightning' (< xələq't 'open on: eyes', xələxələq't
 'opening one's eyes repeatedly'), q^wiyxtəs te xəptəls
 te sx^wex^wás 'lightning' and q^wiyxtəs te k'qé·ls te
 sx^wex^wás 'thunder' (q^wiyxtəs 'he shakes them', xəptəls
 'his eyelashes', (s)k'qé·ls 'his wings')(cp. also
 q^wiyxəet te téméx^w 'have an earthquake' < 'the earth
 shakes itself'), mə séx^wə te sx^wex^wás 'start to rain'
 (səx^wə 'urinate'); x^wémx^yél 'pouring (of rain)' (x^wém
 'hurry, fast', -x^yél '(in) legs or feet'), x^wéθ'x^yél
 ~ x^wéc'x^yél 'stop raining' (r.m.u. + -x^yél '(in) legs
 or feet'), himqéx^yél 'to rain and snow together (when
 the snow melts fast)' or 'raining and snowing together'
 (probably he- 'continuative', mé·qe 'snow', -x^yél as

in $x^w \acute{s}mx^y \acute{e}l$, etc.), $sk^w \acute{e}q^w \acute{x}^w \acute{a} \cdot s$ ($k^w \sim q^w$) 'the hail' and $k^w \acute{e}q^w \acute{x}^w \acute{a} \cdot s$ ($k^w \sim q^w$) 'to hail' ($k^w \acute{e}q^w$ 'to club with sticklike object', $q^w \acute{e}q^w$ 'to beat', $-\acute{a} \cdot s$ 'in the face')(the other words for 'hail' and 'hailing' appear to have $\acute{k}^w \acute{e}m-$ as root < $c^w \acute{k}^w \acute{e}m$ 'jump', cp. 'grasshopper'), $sy \acute{e}y \acute{e}l \acute{s}em$ 'icicles' < $y \acute{e}l \acute{s}$ 'tooth' + R 'many, plural'); one of the variants for 'dew' $s \acute{s} \acute{e}mx^y \acute{e}l$ < $s-$ 'nominal' + $\acute{i} \acute{e}m-$ 'moisture, rain' + $-x^y \acute{e}l$ 'on the foot' (actually underfoot).

Other morphosememic patterns to note are: the elaboration of words for rain and snow ($s \acute{s} \acute{e}m \acute{x}^w$ 'the rain', $\acute{i} \acute{e}m \acute{x}^w$ 'to rain', $\acute{i} \acute{e}m \acute{t}$ 'rainshower', $\acute{i} \acute{e}l \acute{s} \acute{e}m$ 'to sprinkle' (< 'one gets splashed'), $\acute{i} \acute{e}m \acute{s} \acute{e}m \acute{x}^w$ 'rain on and off', $x^w \acute{s} \acute{e}mx^y \acute{e}l$ 'pouring (of rain), raining hard', $x^w \acute{s} \acute{e} \acute{x}^y \acute{e}l$ 'stop raining', $h \acute{i} m \acute{q} \acute{e} x^y \acute{e}l$ 'raining and snowing together', $\acute{x}^w \acute{i} \cdot q^w \acute{e}l$ 'to sleet, rain freezing rain, silver thaw', $sy \acute{i} q$ 'falling snow', $m \acute{e} \cdot q \acute{e}$ 'snow on the ground' (~ 'to snow' in a few idiolects), $y \acute{i} q$ 'to snow', $q^w \acute{e}l \acute{s} \acute{i} y \acute{e} q \acute{e} m$ 'snowdrift' or 'to snowdrift' (?), and $sk^w \acute{e}l \acute{x}^y \acute{a} m \acute{e}$ 'fine snow that drifts in through cracks'); the compatibility of both $\acute{x} \acute{e} \acute{k}^w$ 'turbulent' and $l \acute{i} q^w \acute{e}l$ 'calm' with both wind and water, the words for cessation of wind and of rain (Cheh. $c \acute{e} m \acute{q}$ 'to stop blowing (of the wind)', $x^w \acute{s} \acute{e} \acute{x}^y \acute{e}l$ ($\acute{e} \sim c^w$) 'to stop raining', is there a word for 'to stop snowing'?), references

to the moon burning out and being new (xéws te sk'wex^vá.s 'first quarter of the moon' < xéws 'new' (the month begins on the first visible sliver after the blacked-out moon), 0'60'ex te sk'wex^vá.s 'the last quarter of the moon' < 0'60'ex 'burning out', 0'6x te sk'wex^vá.s 'the new moon (blacked-out)' < 0'6x 'burned out'), and the existence of constellations (in a few cases corresponding to ours, as in q'ayíec' 'the Elk (corresponding to the Big Dipper or Ursa Major)'; Hill-Tout (1902) and Wells (1965)¹ report others which I have not yet elicited but which seem transliterable as te lewámet 'Milky Way' (possibly < lewámet 'costume of any kind of dancer'), s'éle 'Pleiades' (possibly sí'le 'grandparent'), and wáweyel k^wásel 'morning star (usually Venus, but also can be Mars, Jupiter, or Saturn when rising before the sun)' (< wáweyel 'getting day, dawn', k^wásel 'star'))).

13.2.3. Water Features. This domain contains river features (about 85, a few of which may be used with other bodies of water), functions of water, and

1. Charles Hill-Tout: "Ethnological Studies of the Mainland Halkomelem," in Report of the 72nd Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1902, pp.355-490. And Oliver N. Wells: A Vocabulary of Native Words in the Halkomelem Language, second ed., 1965, published by the author, pp.1-47.

bodies of water other than rivers (about nine, largely unanalyzable, including k^wá^wk^wε 'ocean, sea', sk^wól 'waterfall', sk^wfk^wel 'small waterfall', θíx 'spring', máq^wem 'marsh, swamp, bog; swamp tea', xá·cε 'lake', xáxε 'small lake, pond', sqeqá·qel 'pond (with clear water)', θ'εq^wé±cε 'dirty pond, dirty puddle'). The Stalo people are named for the river, i.e. stá·lo(w) '(any) river, Fraser River, Halkomelem-speaking people of the Fraser River', and live too far from the ocean to make use of it. Thus it is not surprising that river terms are elaborated in Chilliwack and other Upper Stalo dialects. The only specializations (and analyzable terms) in non-river features are those of lakes and ponds; the only distinctions there are in size and clarity.

Functions of water have not been fully catalogued yet but include: q^wés 'fall into water', k^wé± 'spill (of liquid or solid, of river into dry area)', qá· 'water', pá·lx^wem 'to steam', píwels 'to freeze', spí·w 'ice', q^wéls - kátq^wem 'to boil', θ'q^wém 'a drop of water, to drip', p'áq^wem 'to bubble, to foam', t'eyíc^wem 'fizzing (of s-th dropped in water, of soda pop, etc.)', q^wét'c^wem 'sloshing sound, gurgling', k^wák^welem 'pouring a liquid', θ'éxet 'scald s-th', and the like, to give a sample. Some of these terms

also appear in other domains too (weather, sounds, preparing food, etc.).

River terms so far include: types of river (8 terms), parts of rivers (19 terms), midstream obstructions (5 terms), turbulence (15 terms), seasonal fluctuations (11 terms), directions (on and with respect to rivers)(21 terms), depth (5 terms), and clarity (2 terms). Types of rivers found so far include stá·lo(w) 'river', státelo(w) 'creek', teltelwém 'lots of little streams (as come down a mountain after a rain)', sc'éléx^w 'slough, backwater stream', teltélec 'channel (that makes an island)', and corresponding to each root in this set are verbs to travel on these, i.e., tá·l 'go toward or out in the middle of the river, go away from shore (in a canoe or boat)', c'éléx^w 'go into a slough or quiet backwater', and teltélecem 'go through a channel'.

Parts of rivers include shore features such as semláθel 'riverbank', péq^welēs 'riverbank caving off' (< peq^w 'split off' + 'tooth (?)'), stalowé·lé 'riverbed' (-é·lé 'container'), ?éθelec 'bottom (of river, lake, waterfall, basket, anything)', cécew 'beach, shore', syí·c'emílep 'sand bar', and probably features such as syí·c'əm 'sand', θ'éxet 'gravel', q^wémélep 'cottonwood bark driftwood (used to carve toy canoes)',

q^wɛ́·y 'driftwood; snag', q^wɛ́q^wɛ́y 'driftwood bits of small bits of wood and bark', etc. Parts of rivers also include features of shape: sk^wɛ́x^wqel 'inlet' (< 'inside' + 'in head'), sméye 'bay', sq'ɛ́wqel 'a bend or curve (in river, lakeshore or road)', q'ewqɛ́ylém 'go around a bend or curve (river, lakeshore, road)', and st'ɛ́x 'fork (in river, road, tree)'; these last three share compatibility with 'river' and 'road', and the last nine words mentioned before st'ɛ́x all probably share compatibility with 'lake' as well as 'river'. Midstream obstructions include items like ɛ́·océs 'island', ɛ́·fɛ́·ces 'small island', smé·lt 'rock', steqtéq 'jampile, logjam' (< téq- 'closed'), q^wɛ́·y 'snag; driftwood' and probably 'sandbar' as above. These are also compatible with 'lake' as well as with 'river' (except possibly steqtéq and syí·c'ém·flep).

Turbulence (and calmness) is an elaborated area like parts of rivers, and directions; it even includes a lexical suffix -ɛ́leq ~ -éleq 'waves' and a cover term(?) xɛ́ɛ́ 'turbulence (of wind or water)'. It also includes features like: 'wave' (Chill., Tait: syá·lc'ɛ, Seabird Is. syá·lec'ɛp, Cheh. smé·yeleq), 'waves are getting bigger' (θiθehéleq), 'eddy' (x^wɛ́lk'wí·m and x^wtiytí·m < x^w(ɛ)- 'go' + tiyt 'upriver' + -í·m 'repeatedly')

and 'to eddy' ($x^w\acute{e}lk^w$), $q^w\acute{e}yex\acute{e}m$ 'whirlpool' (possibly < $q^w\acute{e}yx-$ 'black'), $l\acute{e}x^w\acute{o}m$ te $q\acute{a}$ 'rapids, fast water', $\acute{z}\acute{a}l\acute{t}es$ 'spray', $sp^w\acute{a}q^wem$ 'foam', $sq\acute{e}m$ 'died down a bit (of water), quieter (of water)', $sq\acute{e}qem$ 'calm water' and $l\acute{i}q^w\acute{e}l$ 'calm or smooth'.

Seasonal fluctuations are expressed by verbs such as $sp\acute{i}pew$ 'frozen', $c^w\acute{i}yx^w$ 'dry', $\acute{h}^w\acute{p}\acute{i}l$ 'go down', (Tait) $\theta\acute{i}$ - (Chill.) $h\acute{i}k^w\theta\acute{e}t$ 'get big', or $k^w\acute{e}k^w\acute{i}y$ 'climbing, ascending' followed by te $st\acute{a}lo$ 'the river' or te $q\acute{a}$ 'the water'; but there are five specialized terms also used (less often): $l\acute{e}$ $\theta^w\acute{e}m$ 'subsiding, (water) going down, tide going out, be low tide', $m\acute{e}$ $q\acute{e}m\acute{e}l$ 'tide coming in', $sq\acute{e}m\acute{e}l$ 'tide' (cp. $q\acute{a}m$ 'fetch water' $m\acute{e}$ $l\acute{e}c^w\acute{l}\acute{e}c$ 'be high tide', $temqaq\acute{a}$ 'high water time'. There is little tidal fluctuation on the rivers, so snow runoff and summer heat produce most of these 'tidal' effects.

Directions show a great deal of morphosememic structure. These terms are of several types: directions toward and away from the river, upriver and downriver, both previous types used at once (regarding sides of a house), and for up and down movement in the river one pair of words ($p^w\acute{e}k^w$ 'float, come to surface' and $m\acute{i}q$ 'sink'). The river system is so central to the Stalo people that these terms are the

main set of general directional terms besides demonstratives and the phrase *lí tē smé·lt* 'to the mountain'. Reference to the mountains is less useful than to the river because there are mountains on three sides (north, south, and east below Hope, B.C., north, east, and west above). Terms for toward and away from the river have been analyzed in the last chapter (*cúcu* and *tá·l* (both) 'toward the river (on land), away from shore (on the river)' and *cá·leq^w* 'toward the backwoods, away from the river'). Upriver and downriver terms: *wóq^w* 'drift downstream, drown', *ká's* 'drift downriver', *?ehíw* 'upstream' and *tíyt* 'upriver (perhaps more upriver than *?ehíw*)' are the basic roots; they are suffixed with *-í·l* (~ *-éyl* ~ *-el*) 'go' and *-em* 'middle voice' or *-exel* 'way, -wards' and prefixed with *x^we-* 'go' or *he-* ~ *R-* 'continuative' or *tel-* 'from'. This produces: *hé-wq^w* and *wí-weq^w-áset* and *hé-wq^w-el-em* 'drifting downstream' (all three), *te-ká's* 'drifting downriver', *wóq^w-éyl-em* 'drift downstream', *x^we-wq^w-éyl-em* 'go downstream', *x^we-híw-el* 'go upstream', *x^we-híw-el-em* 'go(ing) upstream', *kás-exel* 'downriver (-way), down that way', *tíyt-exel* 'upriver way, up that way, way upriver', *tel-ká's* 'from downriver', *tel-tíyt* 'from upriver, people from upriver, dialect from upriver (i.e. Tait dialect)'. *s-kéq^w-qel* 'way

upriver' is not completely clear yet but may be related to $\text{teq}^{\text{e}}\text{wif}^{\text{f}}$ 'opposite side of house (on inside)'. For the sides or ends of a house $-\text{éx}^{\text{e}}\text{el}$ (related to $-\text{ax}^{\text{e}}\text{el}$) is added to both systems mentioned, as is s-nominalizer: $\text{cucuwx}^{\text{e}}\text{éx}^{\text{e}}\text{el}$ 'front end of house (inside or out)(side toward the river)', $\text{scelq}^{\text{w}}\text{éx}^{\text{e}}\text{el}$ (q^{w} - k^{w}) 'back end of house (inside or out)(side away from the river)', $\text{stiyt}^{\text{e}}\text{éx}^{\text{e}}\text{el}$ 'upper end of house (inside or out) (upriver side)', $\text{sewq}^{\text{w}}\text{éx}^{\text{e}}\text{el}$ 'lower end of house (inside or out)(downriver side)'.

The number of somatic suffixes used (with semological extensions of meaning) has not been mentioned. $-(\text{e})\text{lec}$ 'bottom', $-\text{á}\theta^{\text{e}}\text{el}$ 'mouth', $-\text{qel}$ 'head', and even $-\text{eles}$ 'teeth' (in $\text{péq}^{\text{w}}-\text{eles}$ 'riverbank breaking off') are used in the domain of river (or water) features. $\text{x}^{\text{w}}\text{e}-$ 'go' is found as well in areas besides directions ($\text{x}^{\text{w}}\text{e}-\text{?éyem}$ 'clear (of moving water)' < ?éyém 'strong', $\text{x}^{\text{w}}\text{tiy}^{\text{f}}\text{í}\cdot\text{m}$ - $\text{x}^{\text{w}}\text{elk}^{\text{w}}\text{í}\cdot\text{m}$ 'an eddy'). The domain of water features (especially river features) is of course closely related to that of canoes and canoeing.

13.2.4. Fire. This domain is not very completely compiled or analyzed, but some 40 words at least belong, not including words for types of cooking or curing. These 40 seem to fall in several categories: qualities and parts of a fire, technology of fire, lighting and

extinguishing of fire, and uses of fire. Qualities and parts of a fire include terms like p'é·yc'em 'to spark, a spark', x^wátk^wem 'a flame, have a flame', wáwəqem 'red blaze (of a fire)', yéq^w 'to burn', h'éyēq^w 'burning; fire', p'áá'em 'to smoke, to make smoke; to smoke (tobacco)', sp'áá'em 'smoke', p'ap'ek'é·ləqem 'smoky smell' (even p'elk'ámēz 'choked with smoke'), k'élīxem 'crackle or pop (of a log on fire, firecrackers, etc.)', sx^wiyéítel 'heavy dirty cinders, embers, charcoal', x^w(h)íyēq^welē 'soot', sc'é·s 'fine white ashes', etc. Note the specialization of words with smoke (others will be seen) and the three kinds of charcoal.

The technology of fire includes terms dealing with firewood, ingredients for starting a fire, and equipment for making and using fire. For example: siyá·z̄ or syá·z̄ 'firewood', syáy·z̄ 'little sticks of firewood', q'pét tē siyá·z̄ 'gather firewood', siyá·z̄·wtx^w 'woodshed', k^wíx^wēp 'pitchwood', ɔ'iq^wélcep 'chop wood' (ɔ'íq^w- 'punch', -elcep 'firewood'), syēq^wz̄é·ltel 'tinder (dried cedar bark pieces)', sísq' 'kindling' (séq' 'split', R- diminutive), sx^wh'éyēq^wélē 'firepit in house', sí·lceptel 'firedrill' (sí·l- 'spin', -elcep 'firewood', -tel 'device'), sx^wéá·yēlcep 'fire poker', sp'ak'émé·létel

'smoke-hole (built with covered cupola to keep out rain)', $\lambda^{\prime}\acute{e}c^{\prime}e\acute{q}$ 'torchlighting firebox, platform and shield for fire in canoe for torchlighting', $st\acute{u}^{\prime}p$ 'stove', $m\acute{e}c\acute{e}s$ 'match, matches', etc. Note the special lexical suffix $-elc\acute{e}p$ 'firewood' and the items which are not found in the white man's technology (firedrill, firebox, etc.) as well as items borrowed from white technology (stove, match, etc.).

Uses of fire also include terms not found in white technology (as well as some that are): $p^{\prime}\lambda^{\prime}ám\acute{t}$ 'to smudge (burn greens (esp. bracken fern) for smoke to get rid of mosquitoes)', $l\acute{e}x\acute{e}y\acute{w}\acute{e}$ 'spear fish by torchlight, to torchlight', $p\acute{e}l\acute{a}q\acute{e}l$ 'torch (made of dried sockeye head or pitchwood)', $p^{\prime}\acute{e}k^{\prime}w\acute{e}t$ 'smoke s-th (hides, salmon, meat)', $y\acute{e}q^{\prime}é\cdot l\acute{s}$ 'burn the belongings of one deceased in a funeral ceremony, burn food for the dead in burning ritual, "feed the dead", have a burning', $sy\acute{e}q^{\prime}é\cdot l\acute{s}$ 'food offered the dead at a burning ceremony', $\acute{z}p^{\prime}á\cdot\lambda^{\prime}em$ 'smoke a pipe', etc. In this domain it may turn out that Halkomelem has a more highly developed vocabulary than English does.

13.2.5. Time and Tense. Tense has already been considered in the chapters on verbs, nominals, and demonstratives. With independent words for time, the following periods are found: $syil\acute{á}l\acute{e}m$ 'year',

sk^Wex^Yá·s 'moon, month' (s- nominalizer, k^Wex^Y- 'to count', -á·s 'face')(used with quarters of the moon),
 ɪqé·lc 'moon, month' (use uncertain), tēm- 'season, time for', no word for 'week', swéyel 'day, weather, sky',
 sk^Wf·ls 'what hour?', no words for 'minutes' or 'seconds'.
 It is unclear how specific years were referred to but probably by description of some event; in giving someone's age, the number can precede either syilálem or mē·qe 'fallen snow(s)'. Each year began at about the first quarter of the moon in October. The moon beginning in October was the first of each year. There is no cover term for seasons but four are named:
 temq^Wíles 'Spring' (the root is said to mean 'plants coming up' but has not been attested otherwise),
 temk^Wák^Wes 'Summer, hot time', temhilélx^W 'Fall' (possibly < híl-em 'fall, tumble'), temxéy^W 'Winter, cold time'.

The quarters of the moon have been mentioned in weather features. There are names also for each month; each month was a lunar month (29.5 days) beginning on the first quarter of the moon visible after the dark moon. Each name refers to a time for some activity or happening: the moon beginning in October was called tempá·q^W (~ tempá·k^W) 'time for Chehalis spring salmon (time to catch and smoke-dry them)' or temcéítel

'time to dry fish'; the moon that began in November was x^yec'δ·westel 'time to store away canoe paddles (for the winter)' (x^yec'- 'store away', -δ·wes 'canoe paddles', -tel 'device (i.e. month)' or 'reciprocal') (paddles are stored with canoes because ice and rain or snow prevent most canoe travel) or telx^wfc 'leaves are falling'; the moon beginning in December was meqá's 'fallen snow season' (mē·qe 'fallen snow'); the moon of January was peláqes 'torch season' (< peláqel 'torch (used for torchlighting in January)'); the moon of February was tem^h'f·q'es 'time to get jammed in or stuck' (< h^h'f·q' 'jammed or stuck (as in a trap or under s-th fallen on top)', -es 'season' or possibly 'face'; so called because people lived in pit houses at this time in winter and with a heavy snow the entry hole at the top of the pit house might be jammed); the moon beginning in February could also be called tem^t'elómces 'time one's hand sticks to things (from cold)'; the moon beginning in March had two names, welék'es 'little frog season (when they begin talking)' or q^welayəf·lēm '(birds) making music'; the moon in April was tem^wfk^wex^yel 'time for baby sockeye salmon' or hēmtáles 'time of spring showers in the eyes'; the moon beginning in May was tem^oelife 'salmonberry time'; that in June was temqáqá· 'high water time' or

temt'émx^w 'time for gooseberries' (less common name); the moon beginning in July was ʔepáíéstel 'tenth moon' or temq^wé·l 'time for mosquitoes' or at Yale temcǎitel 'time to dry fish' (fish was wind-dried there as early as July); the moon in August was temθéqi 'time for sockeye salmon'; and the moon beginning in September was temk'^wá·lex^w 'time for dog salmon'.

Some years there were thirteen moons (the extra name probably taken from and during a multiply-named month), and some years, more frequently, there were twelve. The events described in the month names were probably taken as more important than the exact 29.5 day periods. And it seems people frequently disagreed over which moon it was. Only a few people took the exact count (one man tied knots long ago, and another at Yale used sticks stuck in the ground). At any rate, the morphosenemic patterns are pretty clear: eight of the terms relate to gathering and processing food, four relate to activities of fauna, seven relate to weather or are caused by weather directly, and one is numbered (allowing the calculation of when the year begins).

The days of the week and hours are given in the chapter on numerals. Days of the week were given names after the white man brought Christianity, as is obvious

from Sunday < 'sacred day'. The morphosememics of Saturday 'broken (of rope or string)' and Monday 'day after (Sunday)' is interesting but not systematic. The other days are named from numerals implying that Monday is the first day of the week and showing a preference for less-used allomorphs of numerals (Gem- in 'Tuesday' and mós as a rare variant in 'Thursday'). The system of hours and lesser periods was discussed and shows no morphosememic pattern except the use of numerals.

Other time periods include past, present, or future days, relative time periods (largely Vadv's), and divisions of the day other than hours. The first of these includes words and phrases like celé·qet(ət) 'yesterday', yewélmels k^we celé·qet(ət) 'day before yesterday', tlàwéyél 'today', tlà x^wəlél·lt 'tonight', wéyeles 'tomorrow', and yeléw k^we wéyeles 'day after tomorrow'. The present is denoted using tlà- ~ tlà 'this', the past using -ət 'past tense', and the future using -es (perhaps with 'cyclic period' alloeme to imply 'future'). For two days removed from present in either direction Vprep A N is used instead of swéyél Vprep A N (i.e., 'day before yesterday' < 'before yesterday' and 'day after tomorrow' < 'after tomorrow').

Relative time periods include words like qé·ys

'lately, recently', $hí·\theta$ - $wəif·\theta(e\ddot{z})$ 'long ago', $metx^w\acute{e}m$ 'early', $ʔá·yem$ 'late', and other words listed as Vadv's. $tlà-$ and tense suffixes sometimes play a role with these words as well.

Finally divisions of day other than hours includes terms like: $wáwey\acute{e}l$ 'dawn' (< 'being day'), $lé·t\acute{e}z$ 'morning' (< $lé·t$ 'be night' + $-e\ddot{z}$ 'past tense'), $téx^wsw\acute{e}y\grave{a}l$ 'noon, mid-day', $y\acute{e}lé·w\ t\acute{e}x^wsw\acute{e}y\grave{a}l$ 'afternoon' (< 'after mid-day'), $le\ \theta'ó\acute{x}\ t\acute{e}\ syá·q^wem$ 'sunset' (< 'the sun has burned out'), $\theta\acute{e}tí·l$ 'get dark', $\theta\acute{e}·t$ 'darkness', $x^w\acute{e}lé·lt$ 'evening' (< 'go being night' $x^w\acute{e}-$ + $lé·t$ + $-R_1-$ 'continuative'), $slé·t$ 'night', $lé·t$ 'be night', $téx^wsl\grave{e}·t$ 'midnight'. These show some interesting morphosememic patterns: 'morning' is the 'past tense' of 'night', 'dawn' is 'being day' and 'evening' is 'being night', 'noon' and 'midnight' are both formed in the same way, mid- + day/night. All these terms (and $\theta\acute{e}tí·l$ which is in the process of becoming $\theta\acute{e}·t$) can be seen to develop into each other much more as processes (becoming something > be something) than the terms in English. They are less like divisions of day and more like blendings. Another pattern is with 'sunset' which uses the same 'burned out' metaphor that 'new moon (i.e. dark moon)' does. $\theta'ó\acute{x}$ thus is compatible with 'fire', 'sun' and 'moon'.

13.2.6. Flora. This domain includes names of flora, classes and parts of flora, actions or processes of flora, and medicines. Harvesting and processing the harvest and food preparation could be considered under this domain or as related but separate domains; they are here considered separate domains. So far 136 names have been found for flora, and an additional 26 derivationally related terms are attested for specific fruit, bark, flowers, or pitch of some of the 136 flora. The derivation has been discovered for half of the 162 terms, so there is much fruit for study.

The 26 terms mentioned all show the same pattern: when {-əɪp} 'plant, tree' is attached to them, they form the word for the whole plant, but when -əɪp is absent they refer to the edible fruit (in four cases to the bark or wood, in two to the flower, and in one to the pitch) of the plant or tree. For example, q^weʔáp 'crabapple, apple', q^weʔápeɪp 'crabapple tree, apple tree' and sk^wó·lmex^w 'blackberry', sk^wó·lmex^weɪp 'blackberry plant'. To refer to the bark or wood, either an s- nominalizer is added (as with st'elém 'wild cherry bark' and slé·y 'Douglas fir bark') or the suffix -é·y 'bark, wood' is present (as with xpé·y 'red cedar bark and wood' and c'sé·y 'fir bark and

wood'), or both are done (slé·y). With 'wild rose' qé1q refers to the fruit ('rose hips') or the flower ('wild rose'); with 'dogwood' there is no fruit so q^wftx refers to 'dogwood flower'. The fruit of a 'pitch tree' k^wix^weip can only be k^wix^w 'pitch, sap'. It is certain that there are more than 26 such sets of fruit minus -eip and plant plus -eip; all of the (edible) fruit-bearing flora probably work this way. The 26 words attested in such pairs include: apple, blackberry, wild trailing blackberry, blackcap, blackhaw (berry), shiny black mountain huckleberry, blue elderberry, red elderberry, gooseberry, red-flowering currant (flower has separate name), June plum, kinnick-kinnick berry/pea/bean, short Oregon grape, raspberry, salalberry, salmonberry, saskatoon berry, wild strawberry, thimbleberry, and the seven words above referring to bark, flowers, or pitch. The other edible-fruit-bearing flora (five more kinds of blueberries/huckleberries, red huckleberry, two kinds of cherry, cranberry, soapberry, wineberries, hazelnut, and orange) probably follow the same morphosememic pattern because their fruits are all attested without -eip; it is merely that -eip forms for the whole plant have not been elicited yet.

Further morphosememic patterns can be seen in the

terms for flora which can be derived: 20 are named for their appearance, nine for uses as medicines, six for uses for devices, five for what the plant does, five for how it is harvested, three for its taste and two for how it is eaten, three for fauna that use it, and two for where the plant grows. These are named for their appearance: x̄ɛyθ'-əɪp 'unripe tree' (because of its white bark) > 'alder', x̄(ə)p-ɛ̄·y-əɪp 'striped or scratched bark tree' > 'red cedar tree', s-x̄ɛ̄·m-əθ 'tear(s) in the mouth' > 'cottonwood sap' (the sweet sap is eaten), q^wəmc-á·ls 'moss berry' > 'wild bog cranberry' (resembles moss), cack^wá·ləs 'being distant/far in the eyes' > 'goatsbeard plant' (flowers can be seen from way far off), s̄x̄əmelɛx^wəɪ 'tears on tongues' > 'wild tiger lily' (descriptive of spotted petals), sq^wəɪɪp 'hair in the dirt' > 'beard moss, black moss bread' (this moss, especially the black variety growing on spruce trees, does indeed resemble hair and is baked underground to make a sweet licorice-flavored loaf), q^wiq^wá·yɛls 'yellowish' > 'orange color, orange fruit', q^wəyɪlɛx^yəɪp 'tree that dances' > 'white pine', θ'əstɪyɛɪp 'metal nail tree' > 'poplar' (because it resembles a nail sticking out of the ground), p'əlp'ə̀lq'əmf·lɛws 'many-flashing leaves, many-sparkling leaves' or 'flashing or sparkling many leaves'

(unclear whether R is 'plural action' or 'plural object') > 'poplar', sʔá·yθeq^W possibly 's-th sharp on top of the head' (s- + ʔey-áθ + -eq^W) > 'raspberry' (some varieties of this berry are more pointed than any other berry), cʔesléc 'grows at the bottom' > 'saskatoon berry' (berries can be picked down to the base of the bush), pepqʔéyá·s 'being white (+ ?) in the face' > 'snowberry' (has white berries)(deglossalized p like in 'red cedar tree'), (Cheh.) qelémes 'eye in the face' > unidentified plant (good for asthma) with roots resembling eyes, qéyqemx^yel 'soft (+ ?) in the foot' > 'plant with round bulbs like potatoes (which taste like potatoes)', xéxek^W 'wedged' > "wild artichoke" (identity uncertain, a plant with edible bulb or root, could be eaten raw, cooked, or dried, grew on Seabird Island and by Chehalis)', cʔelícʔeplex^W (cʔ ~ θʔ) 'lots of eyes closed' > "wineberries, Japanese wineberries" (possibly 'red blackcaps')(leaves are twisted closed till just before the berries are ripe, then they open like eyes), (Tait) xéyeslátel 'facing one another' > 'wild ginger (asarum caudatum)' (large paired leaves face each other), and x^yeweqél 'carrot-like' > 'yarrow' (the leaf is very fine and carrot-like).

Named for uses as medicines: θʔex^Wiyetp (x^W may

be x^w) 'washing or cleansing (bark) plant' > 'red-osier dogwood' (the bark and berries are used to induce vomiting as a purgative), $\Theta^q \cdot \text{w}^i \cdot \text{w}^i \text{y} \text{e} \text{i} \text{p}$ 'sores-in-rump-or-on-genitals plant, hemorrhoids plant' > 'swamp gooseberry' (used as medicine for such sores), $\Theta^e \text{l} \text{?} \text{é} \cdot \text{l} \text{t} \text{e} \text{l}$ 'heart medicine' > (Tait) 'juniper' and (Cheh.) 'wild ginger', $\text{x} \text{e} \text{x} \text{q} \cdot \text{e} \text{l} \text{é} \cdot \text{i} \text{p}$ 'scratching (to itch)(medicine) plant' ($\text{x} \text{é} \text{y} \cdot \text{q} \cdot \text{e} \text{l} \text{s}$ 'scratching without leaving cuts, as in itching') > 'False Solomon's Seal' (used as medicine for dandruff), $\text{x}^y \text{e} \text{x}^y \text{t} \cdot \text{é} \cdot \text{l} \text{e} \text{s}$ 'swimming (fish-like) in the eye' > 'trillium' (used as medicine for cataracts), $\text{p} \text{é} \text{p} \text{e} \text{p} \text{à} \cdot \text{t} \text{e} \text{m}$ 'getting blown on by mouth' > 'rattlesnake plantain' (the top and bottom surfaces of each leaf separate and can be blown into and inflated; the inside surfaces are then applied as a poultice especially to open cuts and abrasions to promote healing), $\text{x}^w \text{á} \text{k} \cdot \text{w} \text{e} \text{l} \text{t} \text{e} \text{l}$ 'numbing medicine' > 'big-leaved avens', $\Theta^i \Theta^x \cdot \text{w}^i \text{m} \text{e} \text{l} \text{é} \text{l} \text{e} \text{w} \text{s}$ 'allergic reaction leaves' > 'big-leaved avens', $\text{x}^w \text{e} \text{q} \cdot \text{w} \text{e} \text{l} \text{e} \text{?} \text{é} \cdot \text{l} \text{t} \text{e} \text{l}$ 'hangover medicine' > 'alumroot'.

Named for uses in making devices: $\Theta^e \text{é} \cdot \text{x} \text{e} \text{y}$ 'scalded bark' > 'blue-joint reed-grass (bleachable grass)' (this grass is scalded and left in sun to bleach white, then it is split and used for white patterns on the outside of cedar-root baskets), $\text{q} \cdot \text{e} \text{w} \text{á} \text{w} \text{e} \text{i} \text{p}$ probably

'staff tree/plant' > 'hardhack' (used for staff or walking stick among other things), q'əmó·wəɪp 'canoe paddle tree' > 'broadleaf maple' (used to make canoe paddles), qé·θeɪp 'fish spear prong plant' (qé·θex^W 'prong of fish spear') > 'Oceanspray' (the prong is still made from Oceanspray wood), t'é·c'əɪp 'fish-drying stretcher plant' > 'pink spirea' (this wood is still used to make t'é·c' 'crosspiece or stretcher to hold open drying fish'), and t'éx^W·eɪp 'bow tree' > 'yew tree' (used to make bows).

Named for what the plant does: cəlqá·més 'berry that falls or drops' > 'blackcap berry', xéyxəməls 'grabbing' > 'burdock', θ'éxθ'eɪx (~ c'éxθ'eɪx) 'stinging many times' > 'stinging nettle' (cp. c'éxtel 'rattlesnake'), c'əq^W·c'əq^W 'poking many times; thorn' > '(Scotch) thistle', and c'q^W·éɪp 'tree that pokes' > 'spruce tree'.

Named for how it is harvested: k^Wx^Wá·mélis 'knock or rap the berry' > 'shiny black mountain huckleberry or blueberry', sk^W·éq^W·ces 'something clubbed on the hand' > 'red huckleberry', t'ələméɪp 'stick to tree' > 'wild cherry' (the outer bark is peeled off for designs on cedar root baskets, some left natural (reddish brown) and some dyed black with alder or iron; the green inner bark is peeled for medicine; both are

tricky to peel without ruining the outer bark which seems to stick to the tree), q^wemét^w 'pull up by the roots' (q^wemét 'pull up by the roots') > 'water lily' (use unknown), and possibly c'esléc 'grow at the bottom' > 'saskatoon berry' (to describe harvesting).

Named for use by fauna: pipehamé·léws 'frog leaf' and siéwels te pípehá·m 'frog's mat, frog's mattress' both > 'plantain', and siéwels te spé·θ 'bear's mattress' > 'sword fern' (because the female bear lies on this (and eats it) when she is going to give birth).

Named for taste: q'et'emé·yeíp 'sweet-tasting bark tree' > 'balsam' (the cambium was scraped and eaten), q'éyt'a 'sweet-tasting (+ ?)' > 'orange honey-suckle', and q'éq'et'em sqé·wθ 'sweet potato' > 'arrowleaf, wapato' (other names for this plant whose tubers were harvested in marshes and in Sumas Lake and eaten like sweet potatoes are (Chill.) x^woq^wó·ls and (Tait) sqeqewíθe±).

Named for how eaten: lex^wíéx^w 'spit out many times' > 'choke cherry' (actually rather tasty once one get used to it, but the huge stones must be spit out often) and c'ic'emé·we± 'licking a canoe' > 'cottonwood sap' (c' in both cases seems an error for θ', θ'ifθ'em 'licking', -é·we± 'canoe'; because the bark could be peeled off and the sap eaten out of it).

Named for where it grows: $c\acute{e}w\acute{o}\cdot\acute{i}p$ or $c\acute{e}w\acute{o}w\acute{e}i\acute{p}$
 'beach tree, shore tree' > 'cottonwood' (which grows
 along the $c\acute{e}c\acute{e}w$ 'beach, shore') and $m\acute{a}q^w\acute{e}m$ 'swamp' >
 'swamp tea, Labrador tea' ($m\acute{a}q^w\acute{e}m$ actually means both).

Other morphosememic patterns include elaborations
 of alders (2 kinds named), blackberries (2 kinds named),
 blackcaps (3 named), blueberries/huckleberries (7 kinds
 named [note: the terms 'huckleberry' and 'blueberry'
 are interchangeable in botany; I have used huckleberry
 when the actual color is specified other than blue]),
 cherries (3 named), elderberries (2 named), ferns (5
 kinds, 8 names), firs (2 kinds + cover term), fungus
 (3 kinds), gooseberries (2 kinds named) + one currant,
 grasses (2 named + cover term), plantains (2 kinds,
 3 names), reeds (4 kinds named), mosses (2 kinds named
 + cover term), Oregon grapes (2 kinds named). Diag-
 nostic features (perhaps componential and allosemic)
 which speakers refer to to differentiate the above
 elaborations are as follows:

tall/short: alder, blackberry, blueberry, Oregon grape

mt./anywhere/swamp: alder, blueberry, fern

color (black/blue/gray/red/white): blackcap, blueberry,
 elderberry, moss, fungus

fruit bunched/not bunched: blueberry, cherry

taste good/bad/poison: fern, (blueberry, elderberry,

cherry, etc.)

leaf shape: fern, wineberry

stickers many/normal/none: gooseberry and currant

where growing, ground/under spruce/on trunk/on limbs:

plantain, moss, fern, fungus

sharp/scaldable: grass

(unclear, possibly round (+ smooth) stem/serrated stem):

reeds

Thus: x̄ɛȳθ'əp̄ 'alder', w̄ɛsew̄sy 'small mountain alder'; sk'w̄ó·lm̄ex̄^w 'blackberry', sx̄^wel̄m̄éx̄^wə̄ sk'w̄ó·l-m̄ex̄^w 'wild trailing blackberry'; c̄elq̄á·m̄é 'blackcap', p̄'ɛ̄q̄ c̄elq̄á·m̄é 'whitecap (white blackcap)', c'el̄ic'ep̄lex̄^w (both c' may be θ') 'wineberry (probably red blackcap)'; m̄á·l̄sem̄ 'tall marsh blueberry', ɛ̄w̄q̄f̄·m̄ 'short gray marsh blueberry (with berry in bunches)', l̄éθ'ilec 'large gray mountain huckleberry', sx̄^w(?)ɛ̄x̄^vix̄^veq̄ 'small low-bush gray mountain huckleberry (grows on summits)(probably 'dwarf blueberry (vaccinium caespitosum))', x̄^wix̄^wek̄^w 'mountain blueberry resembling sx̄^wɛ̄x̄^vix̄^veq̄ but sweeter (oval-leaved blueberry, vaccinium ovalifolium)', k̄^wx̄^wá·m̄éls 'shiny black mountain huckleberry (vaccinium membranaceum)', sq̄é·le and sk'w̄éq̄^wces 'red huckleberry (vaccinium parvifolium)'; k̄^wík̄^wels '(bitter) cherry (prunus emarginata)(grows in bunches)', (Tait) ɛ̄x̄^wɛ̄x̄^w 'choke cherry (prunus

virginiana)(cherries in a line along branch)(grows at Yale and above)', t'eléməɪp 'wild cherry tree (probably prunus emarginata)'; ɕ'ik^wək^w 'blue elderberry', sɕ'íwəq' 'red elderberry'; ɕ'ók^wɕ 'mountain fern with wide top (now used by florists)', wəlók^wsɕ 'poison fern that grows in swampy places', pté·k^wəm 'bracken fern', sé·q 'bracken fern root (can be roasted and eaten)', (s)ɕxɕ·ləm 'sword fern (root can also be baked in ashes, peeled and eaten)', sɕwɕlɕ tɕ spé·θ 'sword fern', st'usláyɕ - (Cheh.) k'əsɪp 'licorice fern (grows on trunk and limbs of maple trees, perhaps on other trees, sweet licorice tasting roots chewed for colds, coughs and asthma)'; lé·yɕp 'Douglas fir', t'áq^wɕp 'white fir', ɕ'sé·yɕp 'fir tree'; q'ém·ɕ - q'émɕs 'big white mushroom that come out from under moss (edible)', s'ámá·q^wɕs 'bracket fungus (Fomes sp.) (grows perpendicular to trunk, edible from rotten alder logs, washed and cooked it tastes meaty like mushroom)', témɕɕ 'Indian paint fungus (probably a lichen)(red on rocks), red ochre, red paint', spápeq^w 'mould (on food, clothes, etc.)'; t'é·m^w 'gooseberry (ribes divaricatum, ribes lobtii)(found in marshes or swamps, has large spaced thorns)', ɕ'q^wí·wíyɕp 'swamp gooseberry (ribes lacustre)(has many thorns all over which can infect like devil's club thorns)', sp'é·θ 'red-flowering

currant (*ribes sanguineum*)(has no thorns)' (its flower is called q^welíyes); pex^yé·y 'sharp grass (which cuts a person)', Ө'é·xey or Ө'é·xey 'white straw grass (reedgrass, especially bluejoint reedgrass)', sá·x^wel 'grass (all kinds)'; pipehamé·lews - síéwels te pípehá·m 'plantain (common type)(grows most anywhere)', pepepá·tem 'rattlesnake plantain (grows under spruce trees)'; sӨ'é·qel 'bullrush (used to weave mats)', xémxem 'horsetail reed', x^weq^wél·ε 'scouring rush' (perhaps < 'drag' + '(in) container' for its use in cleaning bowls and dishes; this last-minute etymology was not entered with the others), wó·l 'round reed, tule'; mex^té·léls 'gray moss hanging on tree limbs', sq^welíp 'beard moss (gray, black when on spruce trees, grows on trunk and limbs), black moss bread', q^wá·m 'moss (any kind, on rocks or trees)'; selíyep 'short Oregon grape' (has term for fruit selíy), Ө'ó·lé'iyep 'tall Oregon grape' (lacks term for fruit).

Other areas of the domain of flora are classes of flora, parts, actions or processes, and medicines. Medicines will not be treated further here because many of them and recipes for them are family possessions not divulged outside a given family. They are still used today and many are quite effective, but only the most common are talked about generally.

Classes of flora include about 16 terms so far, characterized by frequent use of R 'diminutive' and -eɪp 'plant, tree' and with words for weeds by use of -eɪp 'dirt, earth, ground'. Terms found include: ʒeɟé·t - ʒeɟé·t 'tree', ʒeɟeɟet (- (Cheh.) ʒeɟeɟet) 'little tree', ʔeʔex^Wiyeɪp 'small tree', ʒeɟeɟeɟet 'many trees, thicket, forest, timber', sx^yix^yec 'the woods' (cp. x^yec'í·lem 'go through the woods'), c'sé·yeɪp 'fir tree', c'eq^Wc'ʒq^Weɪp 'thorn bush', ʒeɟ·meɪp 'berry bush, berry plant', spē·lx^W 'vegetable food (any kind, including bulbs, roots, stalks, etc.)', x^Wix^Wel (both x^W may be x^W) 'small bush, shrub, underbrush', sq'epléc 'dense underbrush' (< 'something gathered together at bottom'), sc'éc'esem 'small plants' ('something growing'), c'esémalep 'weeds in garden', sq'lép 'weeds; a lot of dirt; garbage', sá·x^Wel 'grass', and q^Wá·m 'moss'.

Parts of plants are perhaps more extensively developed (32 terms so far) and are characterized by: special terms for particular plants (14), frequent use of lexical suffix -é·y - eɟ - iy 'bark, wood' (9 terms) and somatic suffixes (8 or 9 terms) (especially with -cēs 'hand' > 'bough'), contrast between inner and outer barks, and sememic joining of ['fruit'] and ['berry'] (sɛ'í·m), ['bark'] and ['wood'] (-é·y), and

['nut'] and ['seed'] and ['heart of root'] and ['core (of anything)'] (sθ'emf.wel). Also notable are several interesting but unsystematic sememic and morpho-sememic developments ('sewing needle, bullrush mat needle, fir or pine needle', 'lump on tree (burl). lump on person (goiter, etc.)'; 'knothole' < 'container of branch', 'pussywillow' < 'puppies in the hand', etc.). Some of these terms for parts of plants are: s-θ'f.m 'berry, fruit', s-θ'em-f.wel 'nut, seed, heart of root (removed in root-splitting), core (of anything)', s-θ'θq-iy 'green inner shoots (of blackcap, salmonberry, thimbleberry, cow parsnip, wild rhubarb, fireweed, possibly others)(peeled and eaten raw in spring)', sáq^w 'outer part of stem or sprout (of cow parsnip, and perhaps other plants)', θ'θp-ey-aq^w 'inner part of berry (hull) left on bush when certain berries are picked (raspberry, blackcap, wineberry, thimbleberry, salmonberry, etc., not blackberry, etc.)' (< 'closed (of eye)' + 'bark, wood' + 'on top of head'), k^wémlex^w 'root', sc'é.x^vt 'branch', sc'éx^vt-cēs 'limb (of tree, bush)', sc'ex^vt-é.lē 'knothole', xpé.y-cēs 'cedar limb, cedar bough', s-lēw-iy 'inner cedar bark', sák^wem (q^w?) 'outer cedar bark, cedar bark splint', s-l-é.y 'Douglas fir bark or wood', c's-é.y 'fir bark or wood', sc'á:ž 'leaf', s-p'é.q'em 'bloom, flower',

p'éθ'-tel or p'éθ'-tel 'needle (fir, pine, sewing, mat)', (Tait) sc'ék' 'cone (of fir, pine, etc.)', p'el-y-i'ws 'bark', x^wéyləm 'vegetable fibres or strings, string, thread, rope', smécé 'lump (on tree or person), burl, goiter', k^wíx^w 'pitch, sap, gum', k^wíx^w-eáp 'pitchwood (usually fir)', sθ'íx^w-əm 'tiny slivers of fir bark', s'ε-léc 'bottom or trunk of tree', st'éx 'fork (in tree, river, road)', s-t'it'ex-áy-eq 'fork in root or tree', c'éq^wc'éq^w 'thorn', (Cheh.) sx^w-t'ém-ecel ~ (Tait) súsek^w (< Thompson [šíšek^w]) 'cedar sapling', sq^weq^weméy-ces 'pussy willow' (sq^wemé'y 'dog' + R- 'diminutive' > sq^wíq^wemey 'puppy' + Ae of i 'plural (of diminutive)' > sq^wéq^wemey 'puppies' + -ces 'in the hand' > 'puppies in the hand' > 'pussy willow'), s-qew-é·meθ' 'side of tree first warmed by sun' (cp. qew-éθet 'warm oneself by fire'), sq'xép 'stump'.

Actions and processes of flora include 19 terms at present (some derivations) and features -əm 'middle voice' and -θet 'reflexive' and s- (plus or minus R) 'participle'. -í(·)wəl 'insides', -əmeθ' 'pole, standing (tree)' and -é·lews 'leaf, leaves' are featured with living flora, while -iy - -é·y 'bark, wood' is featured with dying flora. Terms include: c'í·s-əm 'grow (of flora or fauna)', x^wí(y) 'uncurl, open shoots,

wake up (of flora or fauna)', p'ɛ·q'-em 'to bloom', xɛlc'-iwsɛl-ɔm 'twisted of a tree', s-xɛ·lc'-emeθ 'grown twisted (of a tree)', sɛ·wc'-em 'rustling (of leaves, papers, etc., a sharp sound only)', qɛ·yɤ'-em '(make) squeaking sound (of tree, chair, shoe, etc.)', smɛɛmɛɛɛq^w 'lumpy (of bark, ground, etc.)', x^wis 'fall off (of leaves, berries)' (cp. x^wis-et 'shake off leaves or berries'), x^wes-ɛ·lɛws 'leaves falling', piɤ^w and piɤ^w-em (possibly x^w) 'fall of or blow (of petals or seed fluff)', t'ɛp-iy-θet 'die (of tree or plant)' (t'ápiyθet 'dying (of tree or plant)'), st'ɛpiy 'dead (of tree or plant, i.e. of flora)', yɛq' 'fall (of tree)' (cp. yɛq'-et 'to fall a tree'), syɛyeq' 'fallen tree, log', pq^w-ɛ·y 'rotten wood, decayed and broken wood' (< pɛq^w 'break off, split off'), pq^wɛ·yθet 'wood decays'. Note the allosemic metaphor of the plant 'waking up'.

Terms for harvesting and processing the harvest are related closely to this domain and include terms like ɛq^wát 'to bark a tree', x^wiset 'shake off berries or leaves', ɛf·m 'pick(ing) fruit (especially berries), picking leaves', etc. They have been omitted here because they are not fully compiled and because they all involve action of humans or other fauna and are not functions of flora themselves.

13.2.7. Categories of Humans. Seven kinterms express relationships to a child whose parent or guardian (the connecting link) has died or left. This emphasizes the Stalo concern for orphaned children and the cultural fact that Stalo children are frequently raised by relatives other than parent. Several other terms also emphasize relationship even though a connecting link dies; perhaps connected is the fact that public response is much greater in attending funerals and helping a bereaved family that it is in the surrounding white society. A number of kinterms have alloemes linking more distant relatives to nuclear family members, and this may reflect extended family lodging in longhouses and pithouses. Social status terms show four classes: chief, other upper class person, average person, and slave; terms for tribes and nationalities are usually borrowed from the outside group as are terms for non-Indian occupations. Most native occupation terms tell what the person does, often using lex^Ws- or s- + R added to the verb root. Much interesting detail could be added to this summary.

13.2.8. Religion and the Spirit. This domain (100 terms attested so far) covers the categories mentioned in the last chapter. Many of the terms

have root *yuw-* or *yew-* 'possess power of a spirit' (*syéwe* 'seer, fortune-teller', *syúwél* 'spirit power, guardian spirit; spirit song', *syuwí·l* 'power to do witchcraft; witch; ritualist; an evil spell', *yewí·lt* 'cast an evil spell on s-o', *syéwméqces* 'large rattle used by some dancers at spirit dance', *heywíleq^w* 'a burning song; a *sx^wáyx^wey* song', *yuwí·leq^w* 'medicine song'). Several different spirits are recognized with separate terms (*sx^welí* 'life spirit', *smestiyex^w* 'soul, spirit which can be lost and returned while remaining alive', *syúwél* 'guardian spirit, spirit power', *slé·m* 'spirit power of an Indian doctor', and *spaleq^wíθ·e* 'ghost; corpse'). The words for 'Indian doctor' (*sx^wlé·m*) and his power (*slé·m*) seem to have root *lé·m* 'go, going', while *-í·l - -el* 'go' occurs in several of the words quoted with root *yew-* - *yuw-*; perhaps this is because all these words involve spirit-traveling to learn things, perform acts in other places, find other spirits, etc.

Other interesting metaphors involve 'climbing oneself' > 'training oneself to be an Indian doctor or spirit dancer' (*k^wek^wíyæθet*), *c'óléx^w* 'go into quieter water' > *sc'eléx^wem* 'experienced spirit dancer', *x^wáy* (or *x^wéy*) 'many people die' > *sx^wáyx^wey* 's^wáyx^wey mask or dance' (many people die in the

story of how the mask originated), '(rain)shelter device' > 'square dressing-room of blankets where the $sx^w\acute{a}y^w\acute{e}y$ dancers dress' (q'aléc'tel), 's-o is put away' > 'funeral' (qé·ylémtem), 'marking device' > 'carved grave pole' (xé·é'-ec-tel), and 'breaking one's canoe(s)' (yek^w-á·í-em, ye-l-k^w-áí-em) as well as $?ix^w\acute{e}\theta\acute{e}t$ 'sweep up oneself' both > 'have the last spirit-dance of the season, have "the sweep-up"'.

13.2.9. Buildings and Household Goods. This domain includes more non-Indian items now than Stalo items. It includes types of buildings (at least 27), parts of buildings (at least 25), kitchen utensils (at least 24), furniture (at least 17), other household items (at least 30 to 40), and how to make or use any of the foregoing (at least 33). Most of the types of buildings are listed in Chapter 5 under -é·wtx^w 'building'; some of the few that are not so suffixed are sqémél 'pit house', sqíqemél 'puberty hut, menstrual hut' (< 'little pit house'), qetí·wstél 'sweat house', $sx^w\acute{i}ym\acute{e}l\acute{s}$ 'store', and t'm-í·ws-è·ls 'log cabin' ('chop(ped)' + 'on outside covering, skin' + ?). Most of the -é·wtx^w terms describe with verb root the activity done within. Parts of buildings include things like 'main rafters' (< 'climbing up'), 'wall', 'housepost, carved inside post', 'roof plank, wall

plank, shake, covering of hole in pit house', etc.
 Kitchen utensils elaborate spoons (5 terms) and bowls
 or troughs (7 terms).

13.2.10. Clothing (including ornaments and glasses).

Some 52 terms have been found so far (all but nine completely analyzable). -tel 'device, thing for' is common (on 15 terms). 24 of the terms use 13 somatic suffixes to specify where the item is worn. Other lexical affixes include those natural with clothing: -f-ws 'covering, skin', -ślwet 'garment', -śyiws 'pants', (< 'bark covering'), -iy 'bark', -ś-ls 'container', etc. -ś-leq is used to describes 'waves' in an 'underskirt'. Few borrowings are found (only three, possibly five), in spite of the fact that most of the items were brought by the white man. Some cases of diminutive R occur. Roots describe the appearance (22 cases), function (11 cases), or material (5 cases). The same root is often used in pairs or larger sets of words, with a somatic suffix telling where the item is worn: 'gathered' > 'armband' and 'garter', 'strap' > 'belt' and 'shoelace', 'poke' > 'ear-ring' and 'brooch', 'hook' > 'nose-ring' and 'necklace, neckerchief, scarf', 'clothes' > 'dress' and 'shawl', 'deep, under' > 'shirt, undershirt' and 'modern skirt' and 'underclothes' and 'underskirt, slip' and 'underpants' (all these items are worn under

or are tucked under), 'dirt' > 'moccasin' and 'diaper' and 'menstrual pad', 'denim' (itself named from 'soft rustling of material, shuffling') > 'denim clothes' and 'denim pants, jeans', 'inner cedar bark' > 'dress', 'outer cedar bark' > 'cedar bark skirt', 'animal' > 'buckskin clothes'. 'Eyeglasses' has two terms (synonymous): s-t'ale-ʔá·les-tel 'lose sight of in eyes device' (cp. 'eclipse') and sk^wec-ás-tel-á·les 'window or mirror on the eyes' or 'device on the eyes for seeing faces'.

13.2.11. Hunting and Processing the Catch. This domain has not been compiled yet but includes terms for devices, methods, and verbs of hunting (at least four traps are named and paired with distinct verbs to set each, for example; also two slingshots, bow, arrow, quiver, parts of the arrow (feather for arrow, shaft, arrowhead) -- all are separately named); terms for butchering, preserving, and storing meat; for tanning hides and sewing; processing wool (carding, spinning, dyeing, weaving: verbs and devices or items). There are as many verbs as nominals in this domain, and they are often paired (verb and nominal). Weaving nets (from plant fibre), weaving mats (from bullrushes or cedar bark), and weaving baskets (from cedar roots and slats, cherry bark, reedgrass) all belong with Gather-

ing and Processing the Harvest.

13.2.12. Fishing and Processing the Catch. This domain is even more highly developed than the last. 75 terms have been gathered so far and cover methods of catching and processing fish (butchering, smoking, wind-drying, storing, etc.), equipment used, and parts of the equipment. At least 15 different methods (each named) of catching fish have been found (dip-netting, still-dipping (resting dip-net on river bottom), set-netting or gill-netting, setting a line from shore for sturgeon (gang-line or cross-line), spearing, spearing sq^wéxem, gaffing, torchlighting, pole-fishing, jerk-lining, scooping eulachon, drift-netting between two canoes, drift-netting between two canoes but for sturgeon, setting a net and drifting with it, and trapping fish by weir); these are distinct names too, not inflectional variations of one another. Each method has a number of verbs and associated nominals (bait a hook, mend a net, sliding bone rings for dip-net, etc.). There are nearly 40 terms for equipment and parts of equipment (attested so far)(8 nets including separate ones for spring salmon, sockeye, coho, etc.; a fish spear has: té·z 'detachable harpoon points', qéex^w 'prong of fish spear', s'élém 'shaft of spear', taléptel 'string or line attached to points of fish spear', and c'sícim 'spear pole knot (clove hitch)';

there is even p'ép'eʔ 'sturgeon spear' and shéłqs 'seal spear' beside tɛ·ɪ 'fish spear'). There are different methods of cutting and drying fish as well, each named. Much of the equipment is named with -tel 'device' (suffixed to each name for a type of salmon it yields 'coho net', 'sockeye net', etc.). Verb roots of this domain are more actions than descriptions.

13.2.13. Tools for Making Things. 29 terms have been found so far (18 pre-contact, 11 post-contact tools). Most have -tel ~ -els 'device' (q.v. in Chapter 5), s- ~ sx^w- 'nominalizer' and/or R 'continuative' (thus 'device or thing for doing an activity'). Roots are verbs describing what the item does in all cases but the few borrowings (łepyús 'hoe' < French la pioche 'pickaxe, mattock', łapél 'shovel' < French la pelle 'shovel', hémə 'metal hammer (for nails)' < English, mètekes 'mattock' < English).

13.2.14. Baskets and Basketry (especially cedar root). This domain includes types of baskets (cover term sítel 'basket' plus 14 types attested to date), parts (11 terms), and techniques (12 terms to date). Four tools used may also belong (mattock and adze for digging roots, awl and borer for making holes in weaving). Baskets are named for what they contain (nominal root + -é·łə 'container' as in: 'berry basket', 'bait

basket', 'clothes (belongings) basket', 'Indian ice
 cream basket', 'stink salmon egg basket') or what they
 do ('squeeze face' > 'basketry cradle, baby basket'
 (p'áθ'es), 'thing to fetch water' > 'water basket'
 (sx^wqá'm), 'salmonberries in the hand' (Tait) and
 'something poured' (Cheh.) both > 'little berry basket
 (tied around waist, berries from hand go into it, when
 it's full it is poured into the large berry basket
 (sθ'imèlè) on one's back)' (lí·lε-cēs (Tait), sk^wéi-em
 (Cheh.) respectively). θ'ówex - λ'pét 'cedar slat
 basket' (λ'óp 'deep, under') and sk^wé·m 'storage bas-
 ket' are probably descriptive in origin. Parts of
 baskets include: sk^wéloc 'coiled bottom of basket
 before the sides are on', yem-éwés-tel 'wide cedar
 root strips for baskets (wrapped around bundles of
 fine strips)', sx^we'é·itel 'fine cedar root strips
 for baskets (bundled and wrapped with yeméwéstel when
 the basket is constructed)', xp-á·y-s 'wide cedar
 slats from saplings (for θ'ówex baskets)', sxéles
 'basket design', st'elém 'cherry bark for basketry
 imbrication', (Tait) pélel - (Cheh.) c'q'éy·x st'elém
 'blackened cherry bark for basketry imbrication',
 θ'é·yey 'reedgrass bleached white (for basketry imbrication)',
 q'p'é·lectel 'lid, cover', yémqetel 'buck-
 skin strips zig-zagged over top of harvest as lid for

berry basket'. Techniques include: sc'əq^w 'fine cedar root weaving', c'əq^wδ·wəɬ 'to weave a cedar root basket', xpa'ys 'cedar slat work', siq^wəm 'peel off outer cedar bark' (< saq^wəm 'outer cedar bark'), seq'ət tə k^wəmlex^w 'split the root', x^yi·pet tə k^wəmlex^w 'peel the root, scrape the root, taper the root (with a knife), straighten (unevenly split) root', səx^w 'to split a root from the wrong end (the small end)', t'éc'exəlɪ·m 'to split roots an uneven thickness', ɛic'et 'split it open (with fingernail)(of white grass for basket designs or of thin inside bullrush for string)', q'əlq't 'wind it around s-th'. Terms used in techniques include four not specific to cedar root basketry.

13.2.15. Canoes. This domain includes types of canoes or boats (10 terms), parts of canoes or boats (8 terms), equipment for canoe or boat (7 terms), how to make a canoe (16 words or phrases, possibly plus 9 relevant tools), accidents and repairing a canoe (14 terms), and how to canoe (67 terms!). River conditions and counting canoes and canoe paddles are also related to this domain but not part of it.

Types of canoes and boats include sləx^wəɬ 'any canoe', q'ex^wδ·wəɬ 'war canoe, largest canoe made', x^wəq^wələcəm 'large river canoe with high bow' (< 'drags

its behind'), $\lambda^{\prime}el\acute{e}\cdot y$ 'shovel nose river canoe' (possibly < root in $\lambda^{\prime}el-l-ex^w$ 'stop' + $-é\cdot y$ '(in) bark, wood' referring to its ability to shovel onto shore so travellers could step ashore), $sq^w\acute{e}em$ 'canoe with shovel nose at each end', $t\acute{e}yowe\ddot{z}$ 'racing canoe', $t^{\prime}q^w\acute{e}\cdot lec$ 'canoe or boat cut off short in back (stern couldn't be repaired)', $\acute{e}^{\prime}t\acute{e}m\acute{e}$ 'raft', $pot\acute{o}we\ddot{z}$ 'row boat', and $stim\cdot\acute{o}t$ or $stim\cdot\acute{o}\cdot t$ 'steamboat'. Roots, except for borrowings, refer to appearance ('drag', 'broken (like string or rope)') and function ('stop', 'to canoe race'); two or three terms (if $sl\acute{e}x^w\acute{e}\ddot{z}$ is counted) use $-owe\ddot{z}$ 'canoe'; two refer to the "behind" ('stern') of the canoe with $-elec$.

Parts of canoes include $q^{\prime}\acute{z}\acute{a}l$ 'bow of canoe', $\acute{z}\acute{e}lwe\ddot{z}$ 'middle (on inside) of canoe', $\acute{z}il\acute{e}(\cdot)q$ 'stern of canoe' (these three with alloesmy already traced), $\acute{z}ex\cdot elw\acute{e}\acute{z}\cdot tel$ 'thwart or crosspiece in canoe' (< 'lay in middle of canoe device'), $\acute{z}ex\cdot ow\acute{e}s\cdot tel$ 'boards on bottom of canoe to set things on' (< 'lay paddle on device'), (s) $p\acute{a}tel$ 'sail' (< 'blow device'), (s) $pat\acute{e}l\cdot\acute{e}\cdot l\acute{e}$ 'mast', (Tait) $sx^w\acute{e}\acute{e}yelec$ ~ (Cheh.) $\acute{e}\acute{e}yelectel$ 'rudder' (< 'fixing in rear device').

Equipment includes: $sl\acute{e}x^w\acute{e}\acute{e}\cdot wtx^w$ 'canoe shed', $sq^{\prime}em\acute{e}l$ 'canoe paddle', $-ow\acute{e}s$ 'canoe paddle', $\acute{z}\acute{e}ltel$ 'canoe bailer', $sx^w\acute{o}q^w\cdot tel$ 'canoe pole', $pot\acute{o}w\acute{e}s$ 'oar

(for rowboat)', q'él-x^ye-tel 'canoe mat (to kneel on)', sîéwél '(bullrush) mat (used for sail, canoe mat, house mat, etc.)'. -tel and -owes are the common suffixes here, and roots (except for borrowed pot < English 'boat') express the activities done by the equipment ('bail device', 'pole (a canoe) device', 'protect leg device').

How to make a canoe (hè·y 'make a canoe') includes (in order of construction): yéq'et 'fall a tree', x^wéylemt 'measure it (by hanging strings to check levelness)', peq^w-íwé-t 'split it in half', t'ém-əqs-t 'chop the point or end of it, shape it (of a log by chopping its end)', Əiyq^w-íwé-t 'dig it out inside' or t'em-əwí·l-t 'chop the inside of it out' or t'əmt'émət qesu řeq^wát 'chop notches in it and remove them', x^yix^yəpówəł 'planing a canoe', x^yip-əwí·l-t 'plane it inside', q^wé·yt 'burn on pitch on it (of a canoe)(to keep it from cracking in the sun, burn off splinters, and apply pitch for better glide)', t'ét 'try it out' (to see if it is tippy, etc.), wíqet 'spread it wide (of canoe, by filling it with water and dropping red hot rocks in to boil the water; this spreads the canoe)', Əíyt te řəxelwéítel 'fix the thwarts or crosspieces', and x^yá·lt te řəxelwéítel lí te q'íál 'bore a hole in the thwart in the bow (so mast can be inserted at need)'.

In the subdomain just above, how to make a canoe, the roots are all activities of course; note the frequent use of *-iwel* ~ *-ewí:l* 'insides' in terms that would rarely be used outside of canoe-building. Some of the above terms are not limited to canoe construction, i.e. *yéq'et*, *t'emt'émet*, *ḥeq^Wát*, *t'ét*, *Ḑiyt*, *x^yá:it* and probably *x^Wéylómt*. Tools used here may fit in, for example, string, hatchet, broadaxe, wedge (used while chopping out the inside), hand-hammer (of stone), mattock (used now), elbow adze for canoe-making (*ḥéléy^tel* 'making canoes device', *-le-* 'plural object'), *x^yix^yepels* 'plane', especially *sq^Wemóx^W x^yix^yepels* 'horseshoe-shaped plane (bend blade with handles added) for canoe-making', and *x^yá·x^Wf·ls* 'a borer, auger'.

Canoes can be *x^Wáx^Wa* 'light', *x^Wét·es* 'heavy', or *k^Wéem* 'tippy' and can *k^Wéi* 'tip over, spill (of canoe, cup, anything)', *k^Wéep* 'capsize', *p'ix^W* 'leak (of a canoe)', *míq'* 'sink (of anything)', *qep'ás* '(be) turned over (of canoe in water and other things)', and everyone can *q^Wés* 'fall overboard, fall in water'. Repairs (*Ḑé·yt te sléx^Wei* 'fixing or repairing a canoe') seem to involve *-owe^t* in all terms: *qep'ásowe^t* 'canoe turned upside down on land', *qep'esówe^t* 'turning over a canoe (on land)', *t'ók^Wowe^t* or *t'ók^Wowe^t* 'caulking a canoe', *ḥéqowe^t* 'patching a canoe' (< *ḥeqét* 'patch it').

I will not quote all the terms for how to canoe, but here is a representative selection: ʔé·yx^Wf·lém 'canoe-riding, out canoe-riding' (< ʔé·y 'keep on going'), ʔíyx^Wf·lém 'go for a canoe ride', ʔistéy^Wtiyel 'group of canoes travelling upstream (in moving to camp for fish-drying)', t'ék^W·wél 'going across the river', t'é·y 'to race a canoe', ʔeq'áqel 'two canoes side by side drift-netting for sturgeon' (cp. ʔeq'ét 'wide'), x^Wíx^Wemél 'two canoes side by side drift-netting' (< x^Wám- - x^Wém- 'shallow'?), yéx^Wet 'untie it, loosen it (of tied-up canoe or anything)', ʔelá·± 'get aboard' (< ʔel 'middle (?)' as in ʔélwé±), ʔá·± 'be aboard', ʔá·ístex^W 'put s-th aboard' (last three words can refer also to car, wagon, etc.), q^Wsét 'launch it, push it (or s-o) into the water, put it into the water' (< q^Wés 'fall into water'), ʔæθ'ásém 'push out from shore (man in bow does this with paddle when crew is aboard)' (< ʔæθ'-ét 'shove s-th (i.e. sudden action)'), θæxásém 'push out from shore (in canoe)' (< θæx-ét 'push s-th (more steady action)'), híqet tē sléx^Wé± 'push out your canoe into the water', tá·l 'go out into the middle of the river, go away from shore (in canoe)', woq^Wéylem 'drift downstream' (and the set of directional words for upstream and downstream), x^Wáx^Wwéq^Wet x^Wehíwel 'poling upstream (in a riffle)', x^Wáq^Wet 'pole

a canoe', lex^ywe 'to torchlight (spear fish at night from canoe by torchlight or firelight or lantern)', láq^wex^y te pátel 'put up a sail', pátelem 'to sail', ?éx^yel 'paddle a canoe', ye-?i·x^yel 'paddling along, travelling by paddling', x^welx^y-ówes 'lift one's paddle while paddling', q'á·lés - q'á·lésem 'pry at bow to turn sharply (return paddle to edge of canoe and pry against it)', q'é·lec - q'é·lécem - q'é·lécel 'pry in stern to turn canoe sharply', hímes - hímesem 'pull in once (at bow) to turn wide or slowly (reach out with paddle and pull it toward canoe)', éé·yolec 'steering at stern to keep canoe straight (with paddle or rudder)(may involve switching sides)', c'élces 'switch sides in paddling', c'élc'el-ces - c'elc'el-ówes-em 'repeatedly switching sides in paddling', ?iyá'θet 'go backwards (of anything), back up, paddle backward, step backward, etc.', íélt-es-t 'splash/spray s-o with water, flip water into s-o's face (with paddle or anything)', íi·léet 'bail (a canoe)', q'ewqé·ylem 'turn around a bend, turn around to go back', yelé·wx^y 'pass by s-th', táx^wesem - t^xwóweš 'tow a canoe, pull(ing) a canoe by rope on bow through rough water (while a man with paddle stays in to push away from bank)', t'ók^w 'get stuck in mud, get mired (of anything)', x^wok^wóweš 'drag a canoe', x^wek^wóweš 'dragging a canoe', ?ilemóweš

'carry a canoe on shoulders' (cp. ?ilém-t 'carry s-th on shoulders'), c'óléx^W 'go into a quiet backwater', ɛ̀·l or ɛ̀·l 'land a canoe', q'^Wim 'get out of a canoe', q'^Wimels 'unloading a canoe, taking things out of a canoe', táx^Wet te sléx^Wɛ̀ 'pull up a canoe (on the beach)', q'Éyset 'tie it up (canoe, horse, laces, nets, etc.)', and x^vec'ó·wes 'store or put away canoe paddles (for winter)'. (See chapter on numerals for forms like k'^Wilóweɛ̀ 'how many canoes?', k'^Wilówes 'how many paddles (or paddlers)?', ɛ̀q'scesóweɛ̀ 'five canoes', ɛ̀q'scesówes 'five canoe paddles, five paddlers', and ?islé·wes 'two paddles (or paddlers)').

I have given many forms here because this specialization seems quite remarkable and interesting. Most of the terms apply only to canoeing (and boating in recent times). This specialization is understandable because the Stalo are a river people (as their name implies); perhaps it has been aided by the fact that canoe-racing has survived strongly and is very popular with all ages. The area of canoeing could be divided up into types of canoe travel, launching and landing, directions, strokes, portages, sailing and bailing and poling. Several morphosememic patterns can be seen in roots and in affixes. The distinction between xəθ'ásəm and θəx'ásəm apparently derives from that between 'shove'

and 'push' where the former implies ['single sudden action'] and the latter ['steadier, more prolonged action']. q'á·lēs(əm) and q'é·léc(əm) both derive from q'el- 'twist' as in q'el-q' and q'el-p' (see lexical suffixes chapter under -q' and -p'). ìm-es may < lî·m 'pick(ing)(fruit or leaves)' since both involve reaching out and pulling s-th back towards one. Өé·y-ələc < root Өé·y ['fixing'] alloseme rather than from ['making'], i.e. 'fixing (the direction of travel) in the stern'. ìl-əet 'bail' has the same root, 'spray, splash', as in ìltēs, ìá·ltēs 'spray' and ìlətēm 'sprinkling' (t is lost before -əet). The root in c'él-ces may be the same as in c'éléx^w 'go into quieter water' if the root means 'switch' and c'éléx^w is 'switch to quieter water'. As mentioned in the allosemy, -ás - -es has alloseme ['bow of canoe'] and -(ə)lec has alloseme ['stern of canoe'] in this domain (except with ìlt-es-t). -əwē 'canoe' seems to be used in all the words for portages; -í·l - -əl 'go' is common throughout the area of canoeing. And when 'repeatedly switching sides in paddling' ones can either switch hands (-ces) or switch one's body (-əws) to do it.

13.2.16. Emotions and Feelings, Attitudes and Mental Processes. A partial list of words elicited con-

tains about 86 terms. The allosemic variations of a number of these were considered in the last chapter. The domain expectedly contains many words with somatic suffixes referring to the mind (-íwel ~ -í'wel ~ -ewel 'in the insides (the mind and feelings)', -weš 'minded', -élmel 'in the mind'), with lex^W- 'always' and lex^Ws- 'one who always (verbs)' (reflecting attitudes), s- ~ (s-) + R 'participle' (reflecting a state of mind usually), with reflexive inflections (-θet and -lámet)(showing the internal nature of emotions, etc.), and -met 'transitivizer (which implies indirect effect upon the object)'.

As mentioned in 12.0, nine verbs can appear in the structure V A-4.6 sq^Wélewel-4.6 and morphosemically combine to yield attitude terms: ?éy tel sq^Wélewel 'I'm glad/grateful/thankful., I have good feelings.' (?éy 'be good'), x^Wayíwel tel sq^Wélewel 'I'm happy' (x^Wayíwel 'be happy'), xší tel sq^Wélewel 'I'm sorry' (xší 'to hurt'), θehít-cex^W te sq^Wélewel 'keep your mind on what you're doing!, concentrate!' (θehít 'be careful of s-th'), λ'épstex^W te sq^Wélewel 'be patient!' (λ'épstex^W 'cause s-th to be deep/under/low'), ?eyémstex^W te sq^Wélewel 'have courage!' (?eyémstex^W 'make s-th strong'), hík^W tel sq^Wélewel 'I'm conceited/proud' (hík^W 'be big'), me qelqéyl tel sq^Wélewel 'I've lost

heart, I'm discouraged' (qelqéyl 'be destroyed, get destroyed'), cécé te sq^wélewels '(s)he's emotional (cries easily, happy or sad)' (cécé 'be tender'), and yé·q tel sq^wélewel 'I change my mind' (yé·q 'to change').

sq^wélewel itself, a cover term for this domain, means 'thoughts, feelings, emotions' and derives from sq^wé·l 'talk, speech' + -əwel 'on the insides (in the mind)'; this is a nice confirmation of the Whorf hypothesis. In all nine cases then, the sememic structure is 'My (your, his, etc.) thoughts/feelings (Verb).' or 'My thoughts/feelings are (verb).', which then converts to the glosses above morphosemically.

Other systematic morphosememic patterns include ?iy-é·lwes 'brave' < 'good in the stomach' and qel-élwes 'cowardly, afraid to try' < 'bad in the stomach' (or -é·lwes - -élwes has alloeme ['in courage'] if one allows that much semantic distance between alloemes); (s-)x^we-?éy-we± ~ lex^w-?éy-we± 'generous, kind, good-hearted; easy-going, good-natured' < 'good-minded' and 'always good-minded', (x^w-)qé1-we± 'stingy' < 'bad-minded', s-qel-wi±(-met) 'hate (s-o), hold a grudge (against s-o)' < 'bad-minded' + ?, and lex^w-qé1-we± 'cranky, crabby, dirty-minded' < 'always' + 'bad, dirty' + '-minded'; t'ek^w-élmé1 'homesick' < 'go home in the mind'; s'ú·met 'lazy (by nature)' < ?á·met 'sitting';

státek^wíwel 'dumbfounded, speechless, surprised, overwhelmed, overpowered' and ik^wíwel·áx^y 'excited me' < íá·k^w 'fly' or s-íá·lek^w 'flown up' + -íwel 'on the insides (in the mind)'; and k'əlx^w-í·ws-əm 'quiet down (of a person)' < 'stop one's body'.

13.2.17. Senses. This domain divides into sights (visual effects), touches (tactile feelings), sounds, tastes, and smells; each is compatible with certain body function verbs (see 13.1). Allosemantic patterns have been outlined in 12.2.8 and a number of terms are listed there. As mentioned there, smells (11 terms so far), tastes (8 terms), and visual effects (20 terms) are not yet well-attested compared to sounds (76 terms) and touch (30 terms). Each area has cover terms (sháq^wəm 'a smell', t'és 'a taste', sk^wéc 'a sight', lápx^wəm 'a sound, a noise', and qétyməls 'a feeling'), but most members are verbs, often with -əm 'middle voice' or 'intransitivizer', often participles or reduplications.

Smells also have a lexical suffix -éléqep (~ -əqep ~ -éləqem once) 'smell, in smell' in four examples; most roots are also attested in other words (?əy-éləqep 'good smell', qél-əqep 'bad smell', qelqéyl-éléqep 'turn bad in smell' < qelqéyl 'destroy(ed)', səlcíméléqep 'how does it smell?').

Tastes so far all have $-R_1-$ plus $-em$, probably participles; a few have roots attested elsewhere (as $\lambda'É\lambda'e\dot{z}em$ 'salty' < $\lambda'É\dot{z}em$ 'salt' and $pápeq^Wem$ 'getting mouldy in taste or smell' < $páq^W-$ as in $páq^W-\dot{z}et$ 'get mouldy'); no lexical suffix for taste has been found yet.

Sights or visual effects have a lexical suffix (as seen in $seicim-amex^y$ 'what color is it?, what does it look like?', $?iy-\acute{a}.mex^y$ ~ $?ey-\acute{a}.mex^y$ 'good-looking', etc.) and a lexical prefix for most colors, $c-$ (q.v.); other terms are participial ($s-$ + R , as in $s\lambda'el\lambda'élx$ 'spotted', $sxéy\dot{x}ep$ ~ $sxí\dot{x}ep$ 'striped', $s\lambda'í\lambda'esel$ 'dark-colored', $lec'lác'tel$ 'many-colored'); some have $-em$ but are otherwise unanalyzable ($p'élq'em$ 'sparkle, flash, reflect, glitter, sparkle', $\lambda'É.wq'em$ 'bright', $c'É.lc'em$ 'dazzling', $\theta'élxem$ 'transparent').

No lexical suffix for touch has been found yet; many of the words of touch are participles (with R , $s-$ + R , R + $-em$) and many merely have $-em$ 'middle voice' or 'intransitivizer'; a number of the terms derive from nominals or verbs of similar meanings ($qíqexem$ 'slippery' < $qíxem$ 'slip, slide', $títex^yem$ 'slimy' < $s-tíx^yem$ 'slime, (esp.) fish slime', $\lambda'í\lambda'eq'el$ 'gummy, sticky' < $\lambda'íq'$ - as in $\lambda'íq'eces$ 'stick to the hand', $\theta'íq'eqel$ 'muddy' < $s\theta'íqel$ '(wet)

mud', smelmálx^W 'oily' < mólx^W-t 'oil it, grease it', etc.):

Sounds include many terms with unanalyzable roots; many of these seem sound symbolic (k^Wém 'to thud (dull, on ground)', k'émq^Wels 'make a crunching or cracking noise (like ice breaking or chewing apples)', wet'áleq 'to splatter', wet'émaq^W 'splash (once)', sé'wc'em 'make a sharp rustling sound (leaves, paper, etc.)', c'tés 'ringing sound when s-th drops (spoon, heavy ashtray, etc.)', ?á·lxem 'a murmur', k^Wpéx^W 'make a sudden thump when s-th falls to ground', t'éx^Wqem 'suction sound of s-th pulling out of mud', etc.). Over 20 of these words have -em 'middle' or -em 'intransitive', and some also have -éls - -els 'intransitive' (q'étxtes te léláel '(s)he's rattling the dishes', q'etxéls 'to rattle (cans, etc. to shivaree or wake newlyweds)', q'étxem 'rattling (of dishes, metal pots, wagon on gravel), scraping sound (like food off dishes)'; some of the same sounds can be made with wood, rocks, shells, etc. instead of post-contact metal and pottery). Many of these words can have continuative or plural R k^Wámk^Wem 'thudding (of footsteps, horse on ground, etc.)', k'élk'eleq^W 'continuous shooting or popping sounds' < k'éleq^W '(make) a pop, a shot'; some have a we- prefix of unclear meaning (wek'áleq^W 'a shot, explosion').

Two subgroups of sounds exist, one referring to the voice with -(e)qel somatic suffix: səf·qel 'loud (of a voice), a loud voice' (əf-- 'big'), stʰeʔéqel - stəqí·l 'sounds like (a person)' (stəʔé 'similar, like'), x^wiyáəqel 'sharp (in) voice, high pitch in voice or melody' (?iy-áə 'sharp' < 'good edge'), ?ayémqel 'slow (in) voice' (perhaps -qel 'language' instead here) (?áyém 'slow'), x^w?éyəqel 'clear voice' (x^wə- 'become, go', ?éy 'good'), ?iyésqel 'pleasant voice' (?iyés 'pleasant, fun'), tʰí·wqel 'high-pitched (and/or) slow words or talking' (tʰí·w 'slow beat'). A few words lack the suffix but fit in semantically: sx^w?íʔè‡ 'soft voice' (< x^w?íʔè‡ 'talk quietly'), kʰepílestex^w tə sqelx^wé·le 'lower one's voice in pitch', etc. The roots with these -(e)qel words are descriptive Vaj's in all cases. səlcí·mələqel 'what does it sound like?' may belong in this subgroup or the next.

The second subgroup has terms with -élqel 'sound' (which is homophonous with -élqel 'smell, in smell'): stéélqep 'a distant sound', səsetéélqep 'keep on hearing a distant sound', ?əhéélqep 'a faint sound carried by the air, sound within earshot or hearing distance' (< ?əh- as in ?əh-á·t 'wrap s-th up'), əx^wélqep 'a steady sound that's been stopped for a while' (< əx^w 'disappear'), cə^wélqep 'a loud sound' (wəláy əx^wələqep

'sound getting softer', mɪ x^wə cq^wɛlɛqep 'sound getting louder'), ʔiyaθɛlɛqep 'sharp sound', x^wemx^wemɛlɛqep 'talks fast (probably sic for 'fast sounds')'; the roots here too seem to be descriptive adjectivals.

13.2.18. Other Domains. The remaining domains mentioned at the beginning of this chapter are somewhat grammatical and somewhat syntactic, but grammatical and syntactic categories are morphosememic categories too. As such they are stored with the other semological information on each term in the speaker's brain. After all, the fact that a word is an adverbial (can modify a verb for example) or a personal pronoun (can be subject or object of a verb for example) or a reciprocal has semantic (and morphosememic) effects as well as grammatical ones, especially in sememic co-occurrence restrictions and in the morphosememics of phrase expansion (see 13.3).

Most of the data has already been given in other parts of the grammar, and some morphosememic information will also be found in those sections. Some of these domains and references include: 1. Adverbials (directions and qualifiers): 6.2.4, 7.3, 7.4, 9.4; 2. Demonstratives and auxiliaries: 9.1, 9.2, 9.3, 9.4, 6.2.7, 6.2.8; 3. Personal Pronouns: Chapter 4, 9.5, 9.6; 4. Transitivity, intransitivity and benefactives:

6.1.2, 6.1.3; 5. Mood (interrogative, subjunctive, imperative, declarative) and interjections: 6.1.7, 6.2.5, 7.1; 6. Voice (active; passive; middle, reflexive; reciprocal): 6.1.2.2, 6.1.3, 6.1.6 (also Chapter 4, especially 4.4, 4.5, 4.8, 4.9, 4.10); 7. Continuative and plural: 2.3, 2.5, 6.1.9; 8. Numerals: 5.2.2, Chapter 10; 9. Prepositionals: 6.2.3; 10. Conjunctive particles (and disjunctives, etc.): 7.2.

Besides having inflectional, grammatical, and syntactic features unifying them, these domains also have (other) morphosememic features of unity as well. Adverbials include Vadv, Padv, Pmod, and Dadv's; the terms cover the morphosememic areas of intensity of action or state (Vadv's #1, 2, 3, 37, 52 in 6.2.4), sequence (#4, 5), degree of action or state (#17, 18, 37, 39, 41, 51), direction and location (#6 through 16, 19, 50; all Dadv's), iteration (#20, 21), time (#22 through 36, 38, 42, 48, 49), accompaniment (#44, 45), quality of action or state (#46, 47), probability (#40, 43, several Pmod's), obligation to perform action or be in state (remaining Pmod's), and perhaps negatives (#53 through 56).

Demonstratives and auxiliaries are united into a domain because they work together to express nearness of state and destination of action towards or away from

subject; they also provide the carriers for a number of suffixes for verb or nominal.

Personal pronouns express the person, usually the number and often the gender of each subject and/or object of each verb phrase; they clarify these features when nominals are also present as subject and/or object; they also express person and usually number of the possessor of a nominal, and are capable of expressing emphasis of person, number, and gender of possessor, subject, or object.

Transitivizers, intransitivizers and the benefactive may be categories of a single domain because they specify the functions and intents of subjects and objects of each verb phrase. Thus these affixes spell out whether the subject caused the object to do something, did something to the object on purpose, did something for the object, did something accidentally to the object, did something purposely but just for the activity and not for an object in particular, etc. In other words, these affixes spell out the functions and intents of the pronouns required for every verb phrase.

Mood seems to be a domain indicating immediate purposes or attitudes of the speaker in making an utterance: asking a question (interrogative), admitting

uncertainty or dependence on time of action or state (subjunctive and some interjections), giving a command (imperative), making a statement (declarative), or expressing surprise or affirmation (interjections). In these morphosememic functions all varieties of interrogative for example (Vq, -e inflection, ?ét± tag-question, etc.) perform the function with similar effect; the only differences for interrogative would be whether the speaker expects a yes or no answer, an explanation, etc. Mood effects the entire sentence. An interesting morphosememic pattern is that interrogative verbs can be put into the subjunctive mood, but this annihilates both moods and produces verbs translated as relative clauses (as mentioned in earlier chapters).

The domain of voice is broader morphosememically than inflectionally. It specifies the direction of action between subject and object of a verb: the subject directs the action or experiences the state (active), the object is directed (acted upon) by a subject which may be unspecified (passive), the subject directs the action towards himself (middle, and reflexive), the subject and the object direct action at each other (reciprocal). The distinction between 'middle voice' and 'reflexive' is very delicate and is explored in 6.1.6 especially.

Continuative and plural are joined together in a morphosememic relationship for several reasons; ablaut and reduplication are both used to form plural for nominals and continuative for verbs; reduplication is also used to form plural subject, plural object, and plural action inflections of some verbs; continuative and plural are semantically similar in that they both enlarge the quantity of what they apply to; both A and R are complex processes with many phonological variations -- these are easier to treat and keep in mind with a linking of continuative and plural.

Numerals of course form a semantic domain because they alone count things exactly, and because certain affixes and alloemes occur only with numerals.

Prepositionals also form a domain with some morphosememic coherence: they include words of direction and location in relation to nominals (*yewé·lmels* 'before' and *stəʔé* 'similar to, like' are the only exceptions to this morphosememic categorization); prepositionals are also Vi's which require nominal objects (as discussed in the syntax) and which require special forms of independent pronoun (as discussed in 4.11).

Finally, conjunctive particles and the other members of Pconj (some are disjunctive ('or'), etc.) form a semantic domain, not only because of how they conjoin

syntactically, but also because they are the only terms which morphosemically join nominals, independent pronouns, numerals, verbs, phrases or sentences as 'co-ordinate' elements (other conjunctions subordinate what they conjoin).

13.3. Morphosememics of Phrases, Sentences, and Speech Events. This last section in Chapter 13 is more of a tentative nature than what has preceded. All the labels for morphosememic classes within domains would seem to be relevant in putting words into phrases and phrases into sentences. They can for example be used in determining semantic compatibility, as can parenthetical elements within glosses (λ'εmq^wels 'make a crunching or cracking sound (of ice breaking or eating apples)'). An example of using morphosememic classes in this way would be the observation that terms for basketry techniques would compatibly appear within the same phrase, sentence, or speech event with types of baskets, basket parts, or tools used for basketry. It follows in many domains (perhaps most) that one morphosememic class is compatible with the others in its domain, and that classes of functions or techniques (mostly verbs) are generally compatible within a verb phrase with classes of types or parts (mostly nominals) from the same domain.

13.3.1. Nominal Phrases (NP's) and Their Expansions. With unexpanded NP's of the shape A V (using abbreviations from syntax chapter throughout 13.3), A if marked for human or sex gender becomes 'someone (male/female) that'; if A is not marked for human or sex gender it becomes 'something that'; with the other unexpanded NP's containing an article (A N, A D, A Num), the semantic elements of the A set act as covert modifiers of the N, D, or Num; ['indefinite'] and ['generic'] components are overtly translated as 'a' and 'some' or by omitting the article with ['generic'] and putting the English noun in generic plural. Alternatively, the gender component may be transferred directly to the N, D, or Num if these are regarded as having no intrinsic gender rather than having alloemes of each gender. It should be kept in mind that the N, D, or Num is the item semologically modified in unexpanded NP's, and that the A is the semological modifier.

Only A N and A V are attested with modifiers, and A V expansion is to be treated as VP expansion which is then nominalized. A N expansion with modifiers merely adds more modifiers modifying the N in most cases. But with A Vadv Vaj N, the Vadv modifies the Vaj which in turn modifies the N. With A N-4.6₃ A N the second A modifies the N following and both in turn

modify the first A N (as already discussed in the syntax). With A N-4.6₃ A-4.6 N-4.6 similarly, the second A and its 4.6 modify the second N, and the combination in turn modifies the first A N.

When NP's are expanded by apposition, the second nominal is usually more specific semantically than the first, and the more specific term seems to semologically replace the less specific one as the thing modified. When 4.3 is involved in the apposition and is first or second person (thus identified with speaker or hearer) it becomes the more specific and seems to be the element modified.

When NP's are expanded by conjoining they are conjoined as equals and function jointly.

13.3.2. Verb Phrases (VP's) and Their Expansions.

The morphosememic function of subject and object are determined from syntactic placement of NP's, the transitivity (or lack of it) of the verb, the type of verb (for example, Vprep's require objects), and correlation of person and number of personal pronouns with person and number of NP's. When an NP is determined to be the subject (S) or object (O) of a verb it is marked as such semantically (semologically). When an NP is present and is matched up with a personal pronoun suffix as S or O, the NP morphosememicly re-

places the pronoun.

When the VP is expanded with internal modifiers, some morphosemically modify the main verb directly, and some modify it indirectly by modifying a modifier of the main verb. The main verb can be identified by syntactic placement in most cases; when it is not so identifiable and is not identifiable from inflection the VP is ambiguous.

The following modify the verb directly: Vaux's *ls* and *me - mī*, *Pmod*, and the *Vadv* physically closest to the main verb. When there are two *Vadv*'s preceding the main verb, the first or outer one modifies the second or inner one; where three *Vadv*'s precede the main verb there are too few examples to be certain, but it appears that the first modifies the second which modifies the third which modifies the main verb. It may be that such chains of modification account for how words or inflections can modify whole phrases; such words modify directly the word which follows and indirectly all the remaining modifiers and the main verb. It seems that tense, interrogative, and negative elements which precede other internal modifiers work this way too; the first element modifies the next modifier which modifies the next, etc., till the main verb is reached. Thus it is difficult to look at a sentence

containing Vneg-4.4-Tense (?f, lf)-4.9b Vadv Vadv M.V. and tell whether the negative modifies (negates) the first Vadv, the second Vadv, the main verb only, or everything. Morphosememically it is a chain of modification.

13.3.3. Sentences and Their Expansions. VP's can be sentences by themselves. As such they can be expanded with appositives and non-conjoined VP's (prepositional phrases and subjunctive phrases). N's added in apposition are vocative and are so marked morphosememically because they merely direct the conversation. VP's added in apposition are parenthetical in flavor and probably modify the main verb, but there are too few examples to be sure. Prepositional phrases and subjunctive phrases appear to modify the main verb in the same way as do Vadv's (of location and of time).

Sentences can also be expanded by subordinate conjunction of VP's (relative clauses and regular subordinate clauses). Relative clauses are VP's preceded by an A and morphosememically organized like the NP < A V. Thus the A marked for 'human' or sex gender becomes 'someone (male/female) that' and if not so marked it becomes 'something that'; as mentioned in the syntax, relative clauses can serve as S or O in the main VP; either the S or the O of the VP in the rela-

tive clause so serves actually, and the remainder of its VP modifies it. In other words, either the S or the O (or -S or -O) can be relativized with the rest of its VP modifying it adjectivally ('someone that I saw' or 'someone who saw me'); then the item relativized can serve as S or O of the main VP in the sentence ('I liked someone that I saw.' or 'I liked someone who saw me.'). A regular subordinate clause modifies the main verb but undergoes many translational shifts before a smooth English translation is obtained. There may be some morphosememic subtleties going on which there has not been time to study yet.

Sentences can also be expanded by co-ordinate conjunction of independent VP's. The VP so added does not combine morphosememicly with the preceding sentence or VP except to the extent that it is almost always indicated as an action subsequent to that in the preceding VP. This indication is done through the co-ordinating conjunction in most cases.

13.3.4. The Speech Event. Except for formal speeches, the morphosememic structure of each speech event is highly individualistic. It depends much on the style of the speaker, what the speaker and hearer know together about the topic (or know each other knows), how informative the speaker wishes to be, how open the

speaker is to questions from the hearer, etc. As mentioned in the last chapter ambiguities are often not resolved even at the end of the speech event. The stories and narratives obtained so far feature many sentences begun with co-ordinating conjunctions, sometimes continuing for a page or more. These indicate subsequent events and serve to carry on the narrative. They also serve as hesitation forms, especially the longer conjunctions like qəʔ'as'ésu. In the future as more stories and some conversations are obtained, transcribed, and studied, the morphosememic structure of speech events can be illuminated.

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