

## **What a Nooksack story can tell us about morphology & syntax**

Brent Galloway, George Adams, Catalina Renteria  
First Nations University, Nooksack Tribe, Nooksack Tribe

Editing and analyzing a story told in the original Nooksack language by Sindick Jimmy has provided us with a rich source of information on Nooksack morphology and syntax. We have been able to define the parts of speech (all of which are found in the story) and have been able to analyze a number of different noun phrases, verb phrases, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, and sentences. In addition, the story has been helpful in helping us figure out multiple morphosyntactic functions of a number of words, and variant orders of words within phrases and sentences. Last but not least the text has provided some interesting insights and teachings into Nooksack culture and beliefs about spirits and ghosts. The story is titled *Ghost Catching*. A tape so labelled as one of the stories recorded, turned out to contain instead the next story we are working on, *Indian Doctor Training*.

### **1 Introduction**

While much of the phonology & some of the morphology of the original Nooksack language has been described (Amoss 1961, Galloway 1983, 1984, 1985, 1993), much remains to be done on morphology and syntax, not to mention semantics. One useful route is to transcribe stories which are on tape (now copied onto CDs) and to analyze them and those stories which are not taped but are transcribed by Fetzer, Amoss, Efrat, and Thompson in their field notes. Galloway 1996 did that for four short stories told by George Swanaset in 1950 and transcribed and partially analyzed by Paul Fetzer then. The three co-authors of this paper, working on a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, have begun transcribing, editing and analyzing Nooksack stories. Our first product is this story about *Ghost Catching*, told by Sindick Jimmy Nov. 20, 1956 to Pamela Thorsen Amoss and transcribed, edited, and analyzed by her in her field notebook 2. After working with this material and the next story in the book, *Training to Become an Indian Doctor*, we have found them a rich and interesting source of material on the morphology and syntax of Nooksack; we present what we have been able to discover of the morphology and syntax of Nooksack from this first story.

To clarify our roles in this work, we have all had training in linguistics

and can read the IPA transcriptions of Amoss, used in this story. Galloway brings insights from Upriver Halkomelem, his papers on Nooksack, and his work on the Samish dialect of Northern Straits and Proto-Central Salish. Adams brings his knowledge and fluency in the Lummi dialect of Straits, as well as his knowledge of Lushootseed, Halkomelem, and his independent transcriptions and study of Nooksack stories and tapes. Renteria brings her knowledge of Upriver Halkomelem and her pedagogical skills, and is the coordinator of the language programs at the Nooksack tribe. Both Adams and Renteria have extensive knowledge of Nooksack culture and continue many important traditional practices. All three of us have embarked on this project as part of reviving some knowledge and fluency of the Nooksack language, long after the last fluent speaker, Sindick Jimmy, died in 1977. All of us have heard Nooksack spoken by Sindick in person, and Galloway also did some field work with him before his death.

Our thanks go out to both the speakers and the linguists who did previous work and left such valuable tapes and field notes on Nooksack that we are able to continue this work. All three of us have copies of the tapes and field notes of Fetzer, Amoss, Efrat, Thompson and Galloway, and we also have been using copies of all previous published and unpublished papers to help us.

Galloway brought his laptop with the transcriptions and analysis of stories in the Amoss field notebook #2, as well as the computer entries for all of Fetzer's card files, those of Amoss, and Galloway, and the field notebooks of Amoss, Efrat, and Thompson. As we looked at the first story in the Amoss field notebook 2, Ghost Catching, we were able to look up words by English or Nooksack in the computer files (which also contained all of Galloway's papers on Nooksack). In addition, George Adams was often able to identify cognates with Lushootseed or Straits and Galloway and Renteria were able to identify cognates with Upriver Halkomelem. As a result, we were able to gloss almost all of the words which lacked word for word translation. We then added a line with the Nooksack words converted into the Nooksack Practical Orthography (see our alphabet chart in the pedagogy papers, and the key below); this is the system we worked out together several years ago and which Adams has been using in transcribing the recorded Nooksack material, located on CDs at the Nooksack tribe (another copy is at Galloway's home, along with copies of the original tapes used to make the CDs). As we did the orthographic line we corrected some of the transcriptions, based on our knowledge of cognates and our knowledge of first hand transcriptions of tapes with words in isolation or sentences or phrase, which we had completed.

After adding the orthography line and the literal translation line, we added a line showing the part of speech of each Nooksack word, and we added some occasional corrections to the fluent translations (in square brackets). After that Galloway entered the text on computer, in IPA and Nooksack orthography with the analysis and wrote up a first draft of the paper, with definitions of parts of speech, and comments on the morphology and syntax of the paper. He sent

this electronically to Adams and Renteria who made some additions and the paper reached its current form.

## 2 **Parts of speech in Nooksack**

Here is the set of definitions and discussions we used in deciding which part of speech each word in the story belonged to.

**Noun or nominal (N)** usually a word for a person, place, or thing, a word that is preceded by an article like *te* or *ta*, *kw'tse*, *yi*, *ti*, *kwi*, *kw'e*, *tse*, etc. (see under articles) Sometimes nouns or nominals can be preceded by demonstratives instead of articles, i.e. *lhíya*, *tíya* (as in *Halkomelem*). Many nouns have a nominalizer prefixed on them (nominalizers make nouns or nominals from either verbs or other parts of speech), such as *s-* or *shxw-*. A nominal is a noun derived from a verb (like *shxw-ná7am* 'medicine man' literally "someone who is going"), while a noun is a word whose root is a noun (like 'father').

**Article (Art.)** a word translated by 'the', 'a' or 'some' (plus features of distance and visibility) which precedes a noun or noun phrase and show if it is definite (the) or indefinite (a, some) as well, includes *te* or *ta* (the (male or sex unspecified, near & visible or distance and visibility unspecified), *kw'tse* (the male near not visible), *yi* (the human plural), *ti* (the unspecified gender, perhaps human pl.) before *stí7ixw*, *kwi* (the not visible unspecified gender plural), *kw'e* (the remote), *tse* (the female present & visible), etc.

**Adjective (Adj)** a word that can be a verb ('is red', 'are big') or can occur before a noun and add qualities that noun has; it is said to modify a noun in that way. To be a verb it usually has to be first in a sentence or phrase and no following an article. If it comes between an article and a noun it is working as a regular adjective, not a verb

**Verb (V)** a word for an action, process or state; there are two types, transitive verbs (Vt) which are actions or processed done to or affecting a person or thing—they take a grammatical object; and intransitive verbs (Vi) which are actions, processes or states that have no expressed object, just a subject, the person or thing that enacts the action or process or exists or undergoes a state.

**Adverb (Adv)** a word modifying a verb, often translated with *-ly* suffix in English (quickly, sloppily, soon, today); there are adverbs of manner, time, degree, etc. Adverbs can also modify adjectives (*ánma há7lh s7ílhen* 'very good food'), and in such places they usually occur within a noun phrase. Adverbs can occur before or after a verb, but sometimes are used as the first verb in a sentence and then are followed by a relative clause (a verb preceded by an article or conjunction, such as *kws*, *kwses*, *kw'ens*, etc.) with the main verb following that. So a literal translation would read "it was fast, the-my going" = 'I went fast'.

**Aspect (Asp)** is mainly one word, *ay7* which means 'continuative

aspect' and is related to the Halkomelem verb á:y 'keep on going'. This word preceded verbs in verb phrases.

**Pronoun (Pron)** a word that stands for a noun but doesn't name the noun; there are several types of pronouns: personal pronouns (I, me, my, you, your, he, him, she, her, we, us, our, you folks, they, them, their), demonstrative pronouns (this, that, these, those), indefinite pronouns (somewhere, someplace, someone, anyone, anywhere), and interrogative pronouns (who?, what?, where?, how?, etc.)(some interrogative or question words are conjunctions instead (like why?).

The personal pronouns have some subtypes as well, subject (I, he, she, they, we, etc.), object (me, her, him, them, us), possessive pronouns (my, your, his, etc.), and independent possessive pronouns (en swá 'it's mine, my own', etc. swá means 'own'). Subject and object pronouns in Nooksack are suffixed. Possessive pronouns are either prefixed or suffixed or circumfixed. Demonstrative pronouns either modify nouns or noun phrases or occur instead of nouns; they are independent words. Interrogative pronouns ask questions and are usually verbs, in first position in a sentence.

**Conjunction (Conj)** a word or sometimes group of words that connect (conjoin) phrases or sentences, like 'and', 'so', 'and then', 'and so it was that', 'that's why', 'or', 'but', etc. The most common one in stories is tl'os or tl'os ma, or tl'osés ma. Some conjunctions connect dependent clauses, such as kws, kwse, kw'ens, etc., and then they precede a verb phrase or a sentence. The subject of the verb phrase is often shown by suffixing the possessive pronoun to an article and adding a suffixed -s which makes what follows a kind of possessed nominal phrase in the Salish way of thinking of it (the possessive pronoun shows the subject of the following verb).

**Interjection (Interj)** an exclamation like 'ouch', 'damn' (though that rarely exists in Salish languages), 'hey!', etc. that indicate emotion usually; in Halkomelem, 'yes' is one of these, but 'no' is a verb (ówa 'is not, are not, etc. '), which can be shown as Vneg. Usually interjections are sentences in themselves. 'Hello' is another one (láv in Halkomelem).

**Preposition (Prep)** a word indicating direction or role of a noun or noun phrase; examples in English are: in, on, by, at, beside, through, to, for, with; they precede nouns or noun phrases which are the objects of the preposition, as in, ilh ta sháhl 'by/in the trail'. English has a number of expressions with verbs followed by prepositions "cleaned up", "clear out", where the resultant meaning is more than the sum of the parts (i.e. 'Clean thoroughly' or 'leave with all one's stuff'), but Lhéchelessem does not have such constructions (called phrasal verbs in English)

**Numerals/numbers (Num)**, these can work like verbs (néch'o7 'it's one') nouns (te nench'ó7 'one person') or adjectives (te nécho'7 swí7welos 'the one young man'), and they can have prefixes, suffixes, or infixes added to them to show what kind of thing or person is being counted (nench'ó7 'one person'). So they could be analyzed as types of verbs, adjectives or nouns.

Demonstrative (Dem) is a pointing word (as in English this, that, these, those, here, there, yonder) but they can sometimes also function as types of articles (where *lhiya* 'this' or *tiya* 'that' replaces *te* 'the' for ex.), pronouns (he gave this), or adjectives (this man) or adverbs (here, there, yonder), so this term is optional and mainly refers to the pointing or semantic quality. Thus we can have demonstrative articles, demonstrative pronouns, demonstrative adjectives, or demonstrative adverbs.

Auxiliary verbs (Aux) these are short verbs, like *ilh* (usually untranslated as an aux) or *oxw* 'go' or *ma* or *mi* 'come to', that precede other verbs and take their subject and sometimes their object suffixes, like 'go bathe', 'start to grow', etc.; there is a very limited number of them.

Tense (Tns), includes *kwem/kwom* 'future tense, will', follows verb or auxiliary if present; past tense *-olh* can be suffixed to nouns, adverbs, and some other parts of speech, but not to verbs usually—instead it is attached to the auxiliary verb *i-*, as in *ilh* and this precedes the main verb or sometimes another auxiliary before getting to the verb.

## 2.1 Overview of phrases and sentences

Noun phrases/nominal phrases (NP) (usually Art + N, or Art + Adj + N, or Art-Pron N or Art-Pron Num Adv Adj N; sometimes Pron or Dem Pron replaces these)

Prepositional phrases (PP)(Prep + NP)

Verb phrases (VP) (usually V or Asp V or Adv V or V Adv, or V Tns or Adv V Tns, but can also be Aux V or Aux V Adv, etc.). The work we are doing will help clarify what combinations can occur.

Types of sentences: NP's can be subjects or objects or verbs or prepositions, so one can get V or V S or V S O or Asp V S O (where S and O stand for subject or object NP's or Pronouns). Also one can get VP S O PP Adv or Conj VP S Conj S O Adv or VP conj VP conj VP or just Conj VP S.

If we analyze the subject and object pronouns that occur after a verb as if they were separate words, it makes the syntax much harder because transitivity markers like *-et*, *-at*, *-in*, *-an*, *-min*, *-txw*, *-nexw*, etc. occur between them and would have to be separate words too. Much better to say, as in Halkomelem that the verb has its transitivity markers then object pronouns then subject pronouns all suffixed to the verb, and only Vt's get the object so suffixed. Sometimes further NP's or Pron's follow the verb to give more specific information about the subjects and objects. In those cases we have V-O-S S(NP) O(NP), as in Halkomelem.

## 3 The Story

(The orthographic equivalents are pretty self evident from the alignment of the IPA and Orthographic lines. Those which deviate from the

general conversions are usually corrections, based on transcriptions of the various recordings as well as the card files and field notes of other utterances of the words.) Citation elicitation shows more glottal stops next to consonants, than are shown in the Amoss transcription. We have not inserted all these.)

Sindick Jimmy: Ghost Catching (PTA notebook 2, Nov. 20, 1956)

Line 1 PTA transcription converted to Lhéchelesem (Nooksack language)

Orthography

line 2 IPA Orthography, with morpheme hyphens

line 3 literal translations by PTA & BG/GA/CR (word for word translations)

line 4 syntactic class/part of speech of each word

line 5 fluent translation (Sindick's translation recorded by Amoos, with some corrections in square brackets])

1. Lhéq'olh ay	qsyátsemtóm	kwtsen	sí:la7ó lh.
ʔəq'-oʔ	æy q-s-yéc=əm-tóm	kwc-ən	sí'la-ʔóʔ
used to	ctv tell me	my m nr notvis	late grandparent.
Adv	Asp Vt	NP=Art-posspron	N

This is what my grandfather used to tell me.

2. Lhéq'solh ay	tsóntsalh	í:mashnítxw	te	sáyal óxwas	xwnánat.
ʔəq'-s-oʔ	æy có=n-cæʔ	í'mæš-nit-čx <sup>w</sup>	tə	sæyɛl óx <sup>w</sup> -ɛs	
used to	ctv tell us/we were told	you walk for it	the dusk	it goes	evening
Adv	Asp Vt	Vt	NP=Art N Vi	Adv(<V)	

He used to tell me to go out in the evenings, at night.

corr.: He used to tell us, "You walk for it at dusk, evening.

3a. Ímashnitchxw	ílh	kwm ts'íxwnitemchaxw	lhiyá	ilh óxw	lhwáltwalhen
í'mæš-n[it]-chxw	íʔ-ɛs	kwm ç'íx <sup>w</sup> -nit-əm-čex <sup>w</sup>	ʔiæ	íʔ óx <sup>w</sup>	ʔw=él-twæʔəŋ
you walk for it	if it	will you are pitied	by this	past go	left us (made
					run away from us)

Vt	Aux	Tense	Vt	Dem	Tns	Vi/Aux	Vt
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You walk and if this (dead spirit) will pity you, those that are gone (the ones that have left us),

3b. te q'ó:y	xwchém(w)	esnítxw	kwém	ílh	kw	néch'o	xwnánat.	
[tə]	q'ó:y	xwčém <sup>(w)</sup>	əs-nít-čx <sup>w</sup>	kwém	íʔ	k <sup>w</sup>	nəčo	xwná:næt
[the dead	meet them	you	will]			one	night	
Art	Nom(<V)	Vt	Tns	Prep	Art	Num	N	

the dead you will meet one night,

4. Ówachaxw ay sísay7nítaxw lhéq'olh ay tsónte chámwesnítaxw kwém.  
 ówæ-čex<sup>w</sup> æy sí=sæy-nít-ax<sup>w</sup> lǝq'-o† æ[y] có=n-tǝ čǝm wæs-nít-ax<sup>w</sup> kwǝm  
 don't you ctv you be afraid of it he used to ctv tell me when you meet it will  
 Vneg Asp Vt-sbjncsubj Adv Asp Vt Vt-sbjncsubj Tns  
 "don't be afraid of it," he used to tell me, "when you (will) meet it."

5. Ímashchxw kwem; chémusnitchxw kwem.  
 ímæs-čx<sup>w</sup> kwǝm čǝmus-nít-čx<sup>w</sup> kwǝm  
 walk you will meet it you will  
 Vi Tns Vt Tns  
 "You will walk; you will meet it."

6. Pónoxwchxw kwem.  
 pó=nox<sup>w</sup>-čx<sup>w</sup> kwǝm  
 see it you will  
 Vt Tns  
 You will see it.

7. Óxwchaxw chámusin; ówachaxw ot'axw lháw7nit.  
 ox<sup>w</sup>-čex<sup>w</sup> čǝmus-in ówæ-čex<sup>w</sup> at'-ax<sup>w</sup> †áw?-nit  
 go you meet it don't you run away from it  
 Aux Vt Vneg Aux Vt  
 Go right ahead, meet it; don't run away from it.

8. Óxwnitchaxw mís kwem ta7á tenwí.  
 ox<sup>w</sup>-nít-čex<sup>w</sup> mís kwǝm tæ7æ tǝ=nwí  
 go up to it you when it comes will to you  
 Vt Vi Tns Prep Pron  
 Go up to it when it comes us to you.

9. Óxwnitchaxw tl'ó7as má kwnán tl'ós ma t'kw'élhnilh mel7chxw kwem  
 oxw-nít-čex<sup>w</sup> †'o7 ɛs mǝ kwn=æn †'o-s mæ t'k<sup>w</sup>=ǝ†ni† mǝl7 čx<sup>w</sup>  
 kwǝm  
 go up to it then you grab it then faint just you will  
 Vt Conj t Conj Aux Vi Adv Tns  
 Go up to it and grab it, then you will just faint,

10. aslháq' í:lh ta shálh ma: kwem amí:tom ta skwáyal.  
 ɛs-†æq' í-† tæ šǝ† mǝ kwǝm ɛmí-tǝm tæ s=k<sup>w</sup>áyɛl  
 lay by the trail until will come the day(light)  
 Vi Prep Art N Aux Tns Vi Art N  
 (you'll) lay by the trail until the daylight comes.

11. Mesámchxw kwem; kwénoxwchxw kwem.  
 mēsám-čex<sup>w</sup> (kwəm) kwén=ox<sup>w</sup>-čex<sup>w</sup> (kwəm)  
 wake up you (will) receive/get it you (will)  
 Vi Tns Vt Tns

You'll wake up; you'll receive it.

12. Ílhchaxw pónoxw tematl'ó, ilh óxw q'ó:y yawánolh yi stíti7ixwolh.  
 íł-čex<sup>w</sup> pó=nox<sup>w</sup> tə=ma=ł'ó íł oxw q'óy yɛwæn-oł yi s=tí=tí7ixw-úł  
 you see it him/it go die/dead before the human pl. past/late people  
 Aux Vt Pron Conj Aux Vi Adv Art N

You see them, the old people (deceased) who went to die, the deceased people who went before.

13. Tl'ó: lhéq'olh ay siyattsímtoms kwatsán síla7olh.  
 ł'o- †əq'-oł æy siyɛtc=ím-toms k<sup>w</sup>æc-æn síla-oł  
 that's what used to ctv. tell me the near notvis my grandfather  
 Conj Adv Asp Vt Art N

That's what my late grandfather used to tell me.

14. Tl'ó kwem7as ts'íxwnitem tl'ó7as kwóxwanem.  
 ł'o kwəm7əs c'íx<sup>w</sup>-nit-əm ł'o7æs k<sup>w</sup>óx<sup>w</sup>=ɛn-əm  
 then will you be pitied and you be helped  
 Conj Tns Vt Conj Vt

Then you'll be pitied and helped.

15. Mókw' kwem stám syát'tsem t'ónoxwáxw.  
 mók<sup>w</sup> kwəm stəm syɛt'c-əm t'ó=noxw-áx<sup>w</sup>  
 all will things [told] understand and know it when you  
 Adj Tns Pron Adj<V Vt-PronSubjunctiveSubj

You will know and understand all things.

16. Ílhas kwem q'óy kw7anchá stí7ixw míchaxw kwem yatsemtóm tanwí.  
 íłəs kwəm k'óy k<sup>w</sup>=7ɛnčæ s=tí7ix<sup>w</sup> mí-čex<sup>w</sup> kwəm yɛcəm-tóm tɛ=nwí  
 if will die somewhere person come you will be told you  
 Conj Tns Vi Adv(IndefPron) N Aux Tns Vt Pron

If someone will die somewhere, it will come and tell you.

17. Asísta tíya ta lháq's tiye néch'o.  
 ɛs=ístæ tíyə tɛ †əq'-s tíyə néč'o  
 it was like that the lying of it that one  
 Vi DemPron Art Vi DemAj NNum

It was like that; that was one.



18. Sníchichims lhéq'olh ay syátsems ti stí7ixwolh.  
 s=níči=či=m-s †éq'-o† æy s=yεcəm-s ti s-tí7isw-ó†  
 [their story used to ctv they tell the (human pl.) people past/late]  
 V<N Adv Asp Vi Art N  
 It's the story the old people used to tell.

19a. Ówa ílhas óma7 kwá7as kwénoxw temat'ó:  
 ówæ í†-εs ómæ7 k<sup>w</sup>-æ7æ-s kwéñ=ox<sup>w</sup> tə=mæ=λ'ó·  
 [it's not early that you get it this thing  
 Vneg Aux Vadv Conj Vt DemPron  
 You don't get that in the morning, this thing,

19b. lhéq'olh ay tsónas kwi stí7ixwolhs áliye  
 †éq'-o† æy có=n-εs kwi s=tí=ti7ixw-o†-s ʔéliyē  
 used to ctv they call them the invisible people their spirit]  
 Adv Asp Vt Art Nsubj Nobj  
 what the old people used to call spirit.

20. Xwnánat kwá7as ímash tí'os ma chám7osnit temat'ó.  
 xw=náε=næt k<sup>w</sup>-æ7æ-s ímæš λ'o-s mæ čém7os-nit tə=mæ=λ'ó  
 [it's evening that you walk and then meet him him/it]  
 V<N Conj Vi Conj Vt Pron  
 It's evening that you walk, that you come meet him/it.

21a. Ílhas ts'íxwnitam tanwí nanch'ó swíwelos t'ónoxw  
 í†-εs c'íx<sup>w</sup>-nit-εm tε=nwí næ=nč'ó s=wí=wəlos t'okwəm\*  
 [ are pitied you one person young man understand  
 Aux Vt Pron NumAj N Vt  
 (\*"Jimmy thinks he made an error here should be t'onax<sup>w</sup> - understand";  
 then PTA notes the following words under t'ó kwəm\*: Skagit t'ók<sup>w</sup>ilæx<sup>w</sup>,  
 Nooksack t'ók<sup>w</sup>æx<sup>w</sup>)  
 If you're pitied, a young man, when you go home/understand

21b. así:sta temat'ótl'om skwáyal te xwnánat ay ímashchaxw  
 εs=í-stæ t'ə=mæ=λ'ó=λ'o[m] s=k<sup>w</sup>æyεl tə xw=náε=næt æy ímæš-čex<sup>w</sup>  
 like these day the evening ctv. walk you  
 Vi DemAdj N Art N Asp Vi  
 like these days, it's evening that you're walking.

22. Tí'ós ay ímash ílh ta xwnánat.  
 λ'ó-s æy ímæš í† tæ xw=náε=næt  
 [Then ctv walk in the evening]  
 Conj Asp Vi Prep Art N  
 Then he's walking in the evening.

23. Tl'ós ma [x]lhém kwa:s ay ímash ilh ta xwnánat.  
 λ'ó-s mæ c'óxwilax<sup>w\*</sup>/[†óm] k<sup>w</sup>æ:s æy ímæš i† tæ xw=næ=næt  
 Then so (you) are tired from ctv walk in the evening  
 Conj Vi Conj Asp Vi Prep Art N  
 [\*\*c'óxwilax<sup>w</sup> - Sk. tired, x) [=Halk.x†óm, †) [=Lhechelessem/Nooksack] †óm]  
 You are tired from walking all night.

24. Ílhchaxw ay púnoxw kwnet' stám ilh ta xwnánat kws tl'os tiye.  
 i†-čex<sup>w</sup> æy pún=ox<sup>w</sup> kwne†' stæm i† tæ x<sup>w</sup>=næ=næt kw-s λ'o-s tiyø  
 you ctv. see it everything at [the] night which it's that  
 Aux Asp Vt Pron Prep Art N Conj DemV DemPron  
 You will be seeing everything in the evening like that.

25. Lhéq'olh ay óxwnitas kwi stíti7ixwolh  
 †øq'-o† æy óxw-nit-æs kwi s=ti7=ti7ixw-ó†  
 [used to ctv go after the remote late/past people  
 Adv Asp Vt Art N  
 The old people used to go after it.

26. Qlhiyá ta7á néch'o skwáyal qilh háwkwa7il7.  
 q-†iæ tæ7æ néč'o s=k<sup>w</sup>æyɛl q-i† háwk<sup>w</sup>æ7=il7  
 as of this prep?/the one day [so it's become none]  
 Conj-V<Dem Art NumAj N Conj-Aux Vneg  
 As of this day it's all gone by.

27. Ílhchalh txwálitem.  
 i†-čø† t=x<sup>w</sup>ælitøm  
 we're white people  
 Aux V<N  
 We're just like the white people.

28. Tl'ós hóyis.  
 λ'o-s xóyis [hóy-is?]  
 that's it's finished  
 Conj Vi  
 That's all.

#### 4 Comments and analysis

Syntactic structures in the story by sentence number are as follows:.

1. Adv Asp Vt NP(Art N) (Vt has 1sg pron obj suffix, so NP is Subj)
2. Adv Asp Vt Vt NP(Art N) Vi Adv(<V) (Vt#1 has 1pl S suffix functioning as O suffix but is a verb of reporting and what follows is the start of

a long multisentence quote; Vt#2 is an imperative with 2sg subj; NP is used as Adv of time ([in] the evening); Vi is an aux with subjunctive subject 'when it goes to', and the final Adv (of time) could be an Adv ([in] evening) or a Vi ("becoming night"); the two final Adverbial expressions seem almost in apposition.

3a + b. Vt Aux Tns Vt Dem Tns Vi/Aux Vt NP(Art N<V) Vt Tns Prep NP(Art Num N).

Vt is imperative/statement with 2sg subj.; Aux has a subjunctive subject suffix and a meaning of 'if' and unusually tense occurs between it and the Vt which is a passive with 2sg subject ending ('you are pitied')—in Halkomelem such an expression would use a 2sg passive object ending (a separate set of endings as a passive conjugation, rather than a passive verb with regular subject endings as here. Dem starts a relative clause (Dem Tns Vi/Aux Vt) which is followed by a NP in apposition and functioning as object of the VP that modifies it (Vt Tns PrepP (Prep NP(Art Num N)). So the overall sentence is "You walk/Walk and if you will be pitied by this one that went and left us, the dead that you will meet one night, (line 4 concludes it:) don't be afraid of it", he used to tell me, "when you meet it." Thus it is a main verb conjoined by a conditional sentence beginning with "if" where 'you' is syntactic subject but semantic object, and the subject is a relative clause followed by another relative clause in apposition. This shows two kinds of relativization, the first clause has as head the subject of its verb, the second has as head the object of its verb.

4. The final part of the sentence (line 4) gives a negative command to be done under the conditions if 3a and 3b take place. The negative command is a polite imperative and is followed by another condition, "when you meet it". In between the command and the final condition is a sentence outside of the quote, which has a verb of reporting ("he used to tell me"). And the overall syntactic structure of 3a + 3b + 4 is the most complex and revealing I've seen in 35 years work with Salishan languages:

"MV1 and if S1 (Vpass Agt, Agt), MV2", S with Vreporting, "when S2."

5. Has two short sentences, which could be separated by a semicolon: Vi Tns; Vt Tns.

The subjects and the object are pronoun suffixes, there are no Np's.

6. Could also be joined by a semicolon to the last two sentences. Same structure: Vi Tns.

7. Two more short sentences which could be separated by a semicolon: Aux Vt; Vneg Aux-subjunctive subject suffix Vt. The subjunctive subject suffixes are shortened versions of the indicative set, so it could be said that the ch- in that set, as in Halkomelem, represents 'indicative'. As with Halkomelem, the subjunctive subjects are used on the first aux or verb following a Vneg and are used for 'when' or 'if' constructions. This is the typical use for subjunctives in the world's languages (with negation, doubt, uncertainty, not yet occurring actions). The auxiliary root is uncertain at present, /ot'/ or /at'/ in form, most likely the former, but of uncertain meaning so far.

8. The next sentence has the structure Vt Vi Tns Prep Pron, where the Vt is a polite imperative and the Vi is mi 'come' which can also serve as an Aux; here it has a subjunctive subject and thus is a 'when' or 'if' clause followed by the future tense and a Prepositional Phrase. The Prepositional Phrase is interesting since it has an independant pronoun instead of an NP; unlike Upriver Halkomelem which requires a special prefix on the independant pronoun (tl'e-), Nooksack just has the regular te- prefix used elsewhere on these pronouns.

9. This line also has some interesting syntactic structures: Vt Conj-subordsubj Vt Conj Aux Vi Adv Tns. The most frequent conjunction joining sentences in Nooksack is tl'os ma, translated by 'so then' or 'and so' or 'and then'. The tl'o can also function as a demonstrative in the text, 'that's' or 'it's that'; the ma seems similar to aux mi 'come', but we think is actually a different morpheme. Tl'os ma appears so often together that it seems a unit conjunction. The -s on the end of tl'os does not seem like a third person subordinate subject, but just indicates a sentence follows; that is shown in the example here since tl'o'as ma has -'a- the 2sg subordinate subject suffix attached before the -s. And elsewhere in the text tl'oses ma is also found, with -es being the 3<sup>rd</sup> person subordinate subject suffix, attached (as with possessives) at the end of the word (here, after tl'o-s). This works the same as in Upriver Halkomelem. An unexpected placement for the subject of the second Vi is found however, it is suffixed after the Adv mel7 'just'. It is possible that the Adv Tns could belong at the start of the next sentence, however, Tns usually follows the verb and Adv's often occur after a verb in Nooksack. In addition the translation suggests that they go with the Vi 'faint'. 'Faint' is cognate with a Halkomelem word, both sharing the root 'to break a rope' and the lexical suffix 'in the windpipe'.

10. The next sentence is Vi Prep Art N Aux Tns Vi Art N. Thus a VP PrepP Aux Tns Vi NP. The Prep i:lh has nearly the same form as ilh a conjunction, auxiliary, and perhaps past tense (see 3a and 3b for all of these uses and see 12 for it as a conjunction). But there are other examples of ilh or i:lh as a preposition elsewhere in the story too, 22, 23, 24, etc.). The initial Vi in line 10 is a stative with as- prefix 'stative', but while the subject is translated as 'you', there is no 2sg morpheme in the line. This makes it likely that line 10 is a continuation of the sentence started in line 9, merely by apposition, as that is the most likely way to carry over the same subject. The Conj after the Prepositional Phrase is ma:, translated as 'until'. This is probably the same morpheme as appears in the binomial conjunction tl'os ma, though there it can't really be translated as 'until'. Thus 'until' is one of its allosemes or variant meanings perhaps conditioned by the following Tns which also is in the semantic domain of TIME. The final Vi is an unexpected form, either with a stative or passive suffix -tom and root emi 'come'. It may be a word that is a -txw 'causative' plus passive, used in temporal expressions like 'comes the day', 'when daylight comes', as here.

11. has a straightforward structure, Vi Tns; Vt Tns. The word order is

typically Central Salish, but looking at the literal translations it strikes me as very like the English used by Yoda in Star Wars, "Wake up you will; receive it you will."

12. Line 12 has Aux Vt Pron Conj Aux Vi Adv Art N, which amounts to VP Conj VP NP. Interesting features are that the initial word is *ilh* with an indicative subject suffix before the main Vt; so here *ilh* serves as an Aux. Later it occurs as a Conj before another, more common Aux *oxw* 'go'. As a Conj it is translated in the fluent translation as 'who', which may be more a matter of English syntax than Nooksack real semantics. As in Halkomelem the independent Pron occurs as a third person object by default, though here there is a 2sg subject so a default is not necessary; *tematl'o* just cross references the 3<sup>rd</sup> person suffix on the Vt. As with Halkomelem the Adv as well as the N can and does take the past tense suffix *-olh* (Halkomelem has *-elh*). And as with Upriver Halkomelem, there is a set of articles that is used only with humans (Nooksack seems to have the cognate *yi*, but also has *kwi* and *ti* elsewhere in the story, always before *sti7ixw* or *stiti7ixwolh*. The implications of proximity and visibility have not been worked out with these, but they may be different for these three articles, as with the other articles. Upriver Halkomelem has only *ye-* with no distinctions of proximity and visibility with that human article.

13. has the structure Conj Adv Asp Vt Art N, so a simple Conj Vp NP. The Vi seems to have the same cognate *-ím* suffix that means 'repeatedly' in Upriver Halkomelem. The Art shows the set of several combinations of proximity and visibility exist here as well; *kwts-an* is cognate with Upriver Halkomelem *kwth-el* with the same attachment of 1sg possessive pronoun.

14. This line has a simple structure, Conj Tns Vt Conj Vt. Both the verbs are passives. At first glance it appeared each had a stative prefix *as-/ʔæs-/* (as with Upriver Halkomelem, word initial glottal stops are predictable before vowels, and so aren't written in the orthography or in the IPA transcriptions here). However, since both verbs were translated with 2sg subject 'you', it seems that the usually dependent subject affixes are used here with the

*-s* which indicates a sentence follows, as with *tl'o'as ma*, etc. The unusual feature here is that instead of being attached to *tl'o*, the first is attached to the tense marker *kwem*, making it look as if the Conj is functioning here as an Aux and getting the subject marker and Tns marker to follow it. In the second Conj, there is no intervening Tns marker, so the Conj works as usual, *tl'o'as*.

15. This line features Adj Tns Pron Adj(<V) Vt. This is a special word order, required (as in Upriver Halkomelem) by the adjective *mokw'* 'all', which is always sentence initial and works like a verb, never as an Adj or N in both languages. Upriver Halkomelem has *mokw'stam* 'everything' as a single word, a compound of *mokw'* and *stám* 'what' (with alloemes as interrogative and indefinite pronoun). Here the interesting thing is that the future Tns word *kwem* can intervene between the *mokw'* and the *stam* in Nooksack, showing *mokw'* is being used more as a verb here, perhaps. This combination is followed by a

word that modifies the previous VP and so is working as an Adv in Nooksack, but is translated as adjectival or participial since 'everything' works as an NP (or DP in generative parlance) in English. So we've shown this participle as an Adv in the Nooksack sense translated as a participle (pcpl) in English. The subject is a subjunctive 2sg subject marker -axw and seems to indicate a 'when' clause here.

16. has the structure Conj Tns Vi Adv N, Aux Tns Vt Pron  
The Conj is *ilh* and has the subjunctive 3<sup>rd</sup> person subject suffix, indicating here an 'if' clause (conditional). Again Tns precedes the verb in each clause, and the subject N or Pron follows the V in each case. The portion of the sentence Aux Tns Vt Pron, shows the result when the conditions of the 'if' clause are met.

17. has the structure Vi DemPron Art Vi DemAdj N(Num). The sentence is translated as "It was like that; that was one." which accounts for the two Vi's in the sentence but not their real translation. The second Vi appears to be *lhaq* 'to lie (as on the ground)' but could be related to the root in *lheq'olh* 'it used to be' which has -*olh* 'past tense' added to a root cognate with one that means 'sometimes' in Halkomelem. It is interesting that the same demonstrative is working as a pronoun in the first instance and as an adjective modifying a numeral used as a noun (this one). *Asista* 'to be like' (more correctly probably *As7ista* as it appears in careful speech) seems to have a stative prefix *as-* and a root *7ista*, probably cognate with Halkomelem *sta'á* 'to be like'.

18. has structure V(<N) Adv Asp Vi Art N, where a noun in sentence initial position becomes a (stative) verb. What follows is the sentence from which the N is extracted and in which it served as object.

19a and 19b. *Vneg Aux Vadv Conj Vt DemPron Adv Asp Vt Art Nsubj Nobj*. As expected the first Aux takes the subjunctive subject marker and the adverbial verb functions here as main verb 'is early'. The conjunction is an article *kw*, inflected with subordinate subject in the shape of possessive pronoun suffix (-*a7a*) and the nominalizer that subordinates the following sentence. The DemPron is the object of the Vt preceding it but it is also modified by everything that follows, thus 'what the old people used to call spirit. That embedded sentence shows the word order to be Vt S O, though the Object NP lacks an article.

20. *V(<N) Conj Vi Conj Vt Pron* begins with a noun (often used as an Adv) here fronted so it functions as a verb. The first Conj is the same relativizer, *kwa7as*, seen in line 19, The second Conj 'and then' conjoins the final Vt Pron in which the Pron is the object.

21a and 21b, *Aux Vt Pron AdjNum N Vt Vi DemAdj N Adv Asp Vi*, show a longer sentence beginning with a conditional (Aux *ilh* with subjunctive subject -*as*, which is probably a mistake for -*axw*). However since 2sg subject is desired this is corrected with the addition of the independent pronoun *tanwí* after the first Vt. The NumAdj N (one young man) is added in apposition to the

independent Pron tanwí, a nice case of an NP modifying a 2sg Pron. The notes are unclear as to whether t'onoxw 'understand' or t'okw'em 'go home' belong as the next word, but the fluent translation suggests the second ('when you go home'), which would be adverbial in nature. The first choice 'understand' could fit in as a young man 'who understands'. The next three words 'like these days' Vi DemAdj N also appear to be adverbial, modifying the previous verb, and the remainder of the sentence gives the result once the condition is met, i.e., "If X, then it's midnight that you're walking." Instead of texwnánat 'it's midnight', the sentence might have, instead, an NP used as an adverb, te xwnánat 'the evening'. Either seem possible here. Though xwnanat is often translated 'night' in the fluent translation, it derives from xw- become, na-reduplication (perhaps an old continuative as in Halkomelem xwlatat 'evening', literally "becoming night") plus root nat 'be night'. Texw= is a derivational suffix in Nooksack that means 'mid' as it does in Halkomelem.

22. Conj Asp Vi Prep Art N. By comparison with the last sentence, this is a simple VP followed by a Prepositional Phrase. The preposition ilh, here 'in', has been discussed above.

23. Conj Vi Conj Asp Vi Prep Art N, is Conj VP Conj VP PrepP. On first telling the story Sindick uses the Skagit word for 'tired', but when working with Amoss later to analyze the story he gives both the Halkomelem word and a Nooksack cognate. While Nooksack lhem may be correct, it has the same form as the root for 'rain', while x̄lhém has the root x̄elh 'hurt' and suffix -ém 'strength' in Halkomelem, and this is likely also the form of the Nooksack word. The first Conj is Tl'os ma, which often starts sentences; the second conj is kwa:s, probably sic for kwa7as, and is the relativizer with 2sg subordinate subject suffix.

24. Aux Asp Vt Pron Prep Art N Conj DemV DemPron. The first Pron kwnet' stam is a different binomial one from mokw'stam 'everything' but it is translated the same way. Further searching is needed to find it in the computerized Nooksack files. It is followed by a PrepP, then a relativizing conjunction (kws which seems more like a Halkomelem form, but could be Nooksack too) The DemV is tl'os, used as a verb, 'is that' or 'that is'. So the final part of the sentence has the literal translation of "which that is that" and the fluent translation, 'like that' as in 'in the evening like that'.

25. Adv Asp Vt Art N is much simpler in structure, a simple VP NP.

26. Conj-V(<Dem) Art NumAdj N Conj-Aux Vneg is an interesting structure. The prefixed conjunctions are q-...q-, which translate here 'as of...so'. The first V is really a Dem, which fronted becomes a Vi. So the literal translation of the sentence reads "As of it's this the one day, so it's become none/nothing." The Vneg means 'it is none, it is nothing'. So the sentence gets the fluent translation, in the story's context, "As of this day, it's all gone by."

27. can perhaps be analyzed in several ways, Aux V(<N) or Vi Art N. The first would be Ilhchalh txw=xwálitem, where ilh is an aux and txwalitem is a verb meaning 'toward the white man', with derivational suffix txw= 'toward',

attested elsewhere in the Nooksack materials. The second interpretation would have *ilh* being the main verb and the NP being *te xwáitem* 'the white man'. The first seems more likely to me, with deletion of the first *xw* at morpheme boundary.

28. Conj Vi is the last sentence, *Tl'os hoyis*, 'That's all.', literally 'it's that it's finished'. This is not an uncommon ending for Nooksack stories.

What remains to be done from our descriptive point of view is to collate the types of NP, VP, and PrepP, and the types of simple sentences and conjoined sentences (subgrouped by those that are relative clauses, appositions, etc.). This work may be presented with handouts at the conference, to conclude our findings from this one story. Galloway would also like to analyze the story in terms of semantic roles, and that may be possible as a handout too.

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