Anatomy in Upper Stalo Halkomelem,  
A Morphosememic Study

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1. Introduction.

Upper Stalo dialects of Halkomelem are spoken along the Fraser River from Yale, B.C. to Chehalis, B.C., De-roche 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 whose differences are so far not well documented; Tait may include Yale, Hope-Katz, Seabird Island, Laidlaw-Cheam; Chehalis may include Chehalis and Scowlitz; Chilliwack River includes Chilliwack Landing (Pilalt), Sardis-Tzeachten, and possibly Soowahlie-Cultus Lake. This paper will only differentiate between Tait, Chehalis, and Chilliwack River dialects. In the Nooksack-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 (Kilgourd, Sumas, and Matsqui microdialects).
Anatomical terms are numerous and form a distinct semantic 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 semantically analyzable to a surprising degree, and that analysis is the focus of this paper. Also part of the domain of anatomy (besides independent words and suffixes) is a set of insult and joking words called non-anatomical, 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).

If each morpheme has a meaning or range of meanings which are predictable from the semantic environment (allo-"semes), then the meaning of a morpheme can be called a sememe. As morphemes combine in derivation or inflection to form independent words, the shifts and adjustments in meaning and the resultant meanings can be described as morphosememic (Galloway 1971). Similar morphosememic shifts occur when words are combined in phrases, sentences and discourse. Meaningful word and sentence orders
and deliberate ambiguities have a function there too. In this paper space only permits the consideration of derivational morphosememics, not phrase or sentence morphosememics; the sememes will be taken as already established.

2. Lexical Suffix System.

Below are the lexical suffixes found so far referring 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 in section 3 where they are best translated by 'of the (body part)' and in body function words in part 6.1 where they are best translated by '(body part)' (usually subject of the verb root).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent word</th>
<th>Somatic suffix</th>
<th>(Examples)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sxêy'es, sxêy'es</td>
<td>-(el)aq^w</td>
<td>'on top of the head' (k'wq^w-şelq'wit 'hit s-o (someone) on top of the head (with a stick-like object'), ck'wf'maq^w 'red-headed')</td>
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<tr>
<td>Independent word</td>
<td>Somatic suffix (Examples)</td>
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<tr>
<td>sx'éy·es, sx'éy·es</td>
<td>-qel 'in the head' (sméq'qel 'brain' (blue in the head))</td>
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<tr>
<td>sx'éy·es, sx'éy·es</td>
<td>-âlqel 'in the head' (čexēlqel 'have a headache', tešēlqel 'bump one's head')</td>
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<tr>
<td>télmél</td>
<td>-âlmez 'in the mind' (hēyetlmez 'nauseated' (&lt; hēyet 'vomiting'))</td>
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<tr>
<td>télmél</td>
<td>-weql 'in the mind' (lēxw-qel-weq 'cranky, crabby, dirty-minded' (lit. 'always bad or dirty in the mind'))</td>
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<tr>
<td>q'el·ém</td>
<td>-âles 'on the eyes(lid), eyelids' (kwq'âles 'hit on the eye(lid)(with stick-like object)')</td>
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<tr>
<td>s?á·θes</td>
<td>-âs, -as 'on the face' (go w's 'punched in the face', čxyp'es 'scrapped on the face')</td>
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<tr>
<td>q'wel</td>
<td>-el'ye 'on the ear' (kwlec'we'yel 'hit on the ear (with a stick-like object)')</td>
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<tr>
<td>méqsel</td>
<td>-e(l)qesel, -e(l)qes 'on the nose'</td>
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<tr>
<td>(će'lqasel 'cut on the tip of the nose'; hīk'wels 'hook-nose')</td>
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<tr>
<td>eθ·čel</td>
<td>-âθel, -eθel 'on the mouth' (xwθ-eθel 'big mouth')</td>
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<tr>
<td>c'emx·γθel 'jaw'</td>
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<tr>
<td>sceæ·γθel 'upper lip'</td>
<td>-â·γθel, -ayel, -ayθel 'on the lip or jaw' (ćeǎyθel (no word for 'lips'))</td>
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<tr>
<td>sk'evæ·γθel 'lower lip'</td>
<td>'cut on the lip or jaw'</td>
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| yél·es | -âles, -elš 'on the teeth' (sžeq'wél·es 'gums (flesh in the teeth)'; čexěl·elšem 'grinding
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<tr>
<td>the teeth'</td>
<td>-έξέσεσ 'on the tongue' (σξέμελόξέσεσ 'wild tiger lily (&quot;crying on the tongue&quot;)')</td>
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<tr>
<td>téps̄em</td>
<td>-έπσ̄εμ 'on the back of the head and back of the neck' (τεμέλεπσ̄εμ 'red-headed woodpecker' &lt; τέμελ 'red ochre')</td>
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<tr>
<td>sqέλεσ</td>
<td>-έλεσ, -έέλ 'on the front of the neck' (p'έλεσ 'choke someone', sxέλόμελέσ 'adam's apple')</td>
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<tr>
<td>sqέλεσ̄ε</td>
<td>-έελ 'in the throat' (c'έλεσ̄ε 'dry in the throat')</td>
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<tr>
<td>sφέσ</td>
<td>-έσ 'on the chest' (κ'έφέσ 'hit on the chest (with stick-like object)')</td>
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<tr>
<td>t'έλεσ̄</td>
<td>-έλεσ̄ 'on the arm' (κ'έλέσ̄ 'hit on the arm (with stick-like object)')</td>
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<tr>
<td>cέλεσ̄</td>
<td>-έσ 'on the hand or finger' (κ'έσ̄ 'burned on the hand or fingers')</td>
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<tr>
<td>?ά'έεσ̄ε</td>
<td>-έεε 'on the back' (κ'έεε 'hit on the back (with stick-like object)')</td>
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<tr>
<td>?ά'έεσ̄ε</td>
<td>-έε 'on the back (of animal or bird especially)' (σξέπ'έε 'chipmunk (&quot;stripe or scratch on the back&quot;)')</td>
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<tr>
<td>lώέξ</td>
<td>-ώέξ 'on ribs or slats' (θ'ώέξ 'cedar slat basket')</td>
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</table>
| k'έλε | -έλες, -έλες 'on the stomach, in
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<tr>
<td>the stomach' (ጋ мехስ 'have a stomach ache')</td>
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<td>'have a stomach ache',</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ω q'wēlwestem 'he was punched in the stomach'</td>
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<td>'he was punched in the stomach',</td>
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<tr>
<td>qelēlweś 'cowardly, afraid to try' ('bad stomach')</td>
<td></td>
<td>'cowardly, afraid to try' ('bad stomach')</td>
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<tr>
<td>k'wōlē (?)</td>
<td>-eyá·tē 'on the stomach (?)' (only one example: aęyqep'eyá·tē 'lay on one's stomach')</td>
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<tr>
<td>sx'yōle or swiyeqe</td>
<td>-ē·q, -eq 'on the genitals' (Θē·q ('penis') ('male') 'big penis', q'wëyleq 'pubic hair')</td>
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<tr>
<td>sēlelec</td>
<td>-(ə)lec, -lec 'on the bottom, on the rump' (k'wōlelec 'hit on the rump (with stick)'), sk'wilelec 'lame', ṭeq'lelec 'hip' ('wide on rump')</td>
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<tr>
<td>sēlelec, sc'elxī·wel ṭ-ī·wel 'on the inside(s), in the rump, in the anus' (sq'wēkö·wel 'hollow, hole on the inside', c'iyxwē·wel 'constipated (dry in rump')</td>
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<tr>
<td>sx'elō</td>
<td>-x'wel, -x'ē·l 'on the foot or leg'</td>
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<tr>
<td>(ięk'wëx'el 'trip ('hooked on foot or leg'), lek'wëx'ē·l 'broken leg or foot')</td>
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<tr>
<td>slex'ī·ws</td>
<td>-ī·ws, -ews 'on the body, covering or skin' (ięq'ī·ws 'half the body', q'wemī·ws 'plucked (of a bird'), q'wemōwst 'pluck it (of a bird')</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Independent Words for Body Parts.</td>
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<td>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. Throughout the paper examples are given in phonemic transcription. Morphosememic patterns are described in the conclusion (part 7).</td>
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</table>
whole body  $s-\text{l}e\text{x}?\text{-}\text{f}\cdot\text{w}s$ (s- nominalizer, r.m.u., -f\cdot w's 'of the body')

half of body  $^1\text{q}'\text{-}\text{f}\cdot\text{w}s$ ($^1\text{seq}' 'half', loss of s unexplained, -f\cdot w's 'of the body')

head  $s\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}y}\text{\textperiodcentered}\text{es}$, $s\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}y}\text{\textperiodcentered}\text{es}$ (s- nominalizer, r.m.u., -es 'of the face')

crown of head, top of head  $s\text{-}\text{q}?\text{\textcircled{s}}\text{t}\text{-}\text{e}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}q}\text{\text{w}}$ (r.m.u., -eleq\text{w} 'of top of head')

soft spot on a baby's head  Tait: $s\text{-}\text{q}\text{e}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\text{w}}\text{\textcircled{s}}\text{t}\text{-}\text{e}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}q}\text{\text{w}}$, Chill.: $s\text{-}\text{q}\text{e}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\text{w}}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\text{w}}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\text{w}}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\text{w}}$ (\textcircled{\text{e}}\text{\text{w}} from q\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\text{w}}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}} 'soft', -eleq\text{w} 'of top of head', -\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\text{w}} 'fruit; round thing'; the Chilliwack word also means 'juicy fruit' from homophonous q\text{\text{w}}-, bound form of q\text{\text{w}} 'water')

scalp, top of head  $s\text{-}\text{t}\text{\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}m}\text{-}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}q}\text{\text{w}}$ (t\text{\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}m- 'chopped', -eleq\text{w} 'of top of head')

hair on head  $\text{m}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\text{q}}\text{e}\text{l}$ (possibly me ' (come) off', -qel 'of the head')

red headed, red hair  $c\text{-}\text{k}\text{\text{w}}\text{f}\cdot\text{m}\text{-}\text{e}\text{\text{w}}$ (c- 'color', k\text{\text{w}}f\cdot m 'red, reddish-brown', -eq\text{w} 'of top of head')(rare Indians here were born with reddish-brown hair in pre-contact times)

grey hair  $s\text{-}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}l}\text{\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}m}$ (compare \textcircled{\text{e}}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\text{w}}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\text{w}}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\text{w}} 'turn grey (of hair)'

curly hair  $s\text{-}\text{q}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}l}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}l}\text{\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}p}\text{-}\text{e}\text{\text{w}}$ (\textcircled{\text{e}}\text{\text{w}}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\text{w}}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\text{w}}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\text{w}} 'tangled (of its own accord)', -eq\text{w} 'of top of head')

sideburns  $s\text{-}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}l}\text{\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}p}\text{-}\text{\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}l}$ ($\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\text{w}}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\text{w}}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\text{w}}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\text{w}}\text{\textcircled{\text{e}}}\text{\text{w}} 'to mark', perhaps -p is
'hair', perhaps -ālē is 'container', related to -ēlē 'container')
a braid s-t'ēm-x'ēlē (t'ēm-x' 'to braid something', -ēlē 'twisting around')
skull s-θ'ā·m·eq (s-θ'ā·m 'bone', -eq 'of top of head')
forehead s-q'w'éqōls (r.m.u. unless q'w'éq 'come out at roots (of hair)' and -ōls 'intransitive' are involved)
back of head and back of neck tēpsēm (tēpsēm 'of back of head and back of neck', r.m.u. or empty morph)
side of head sx'f·le (sx' nominalizer, possibly x' 'pertaining to head', r.m.u. unless 'f·le 'right here')
eyebrow θ'ā·mōl (r.m.u.), eyebrows θēmθ'ā·mōl (C₁C₂ - reduplication 'plural')
eye qōlēm (r.m.u.)
eyelashes ʔōp-tēl (r.m.u. unless related to θ'ēp- in θ'ēpōx 'blink', -tēl 'device' or 'reciprocal')
pupil of eye q'ēyx-ā·lēs (q'ēyx 'black', -ā·lēs 'of the eye')
blue eyes c'-mēθ'-ā·lēs (c' - 'color', mēθ' 'blue', -ā·lēs 'of the eye')(rarely full-blooded Indians were born with blue eyes)
freckles, spotted face θ-āl-θ'āly-as (C₁C₂ - 'plural', θ'āly- 'spot', -ā's 'of the face')
face s-ʔā·θ-ēs (r.m.u. unless -ʔā·θ 'edge, point', -ēs 'of the face')
ear q'wōl
hair in ear  $q^W$el$w^W$el-$^\cdot$lf$^\cdot$ye ($C_1$,$C_2$- 'plural', $q^W$el-$^\cdot$lf$^\cdot$ye 'of the ear')
nose  m-$\Theta$sel (r.m.u. or empty, -$\Theta$sel 'of the nose')
bridge of nose  s-$\Theta$'m-$\Theta$sel (s-$\Theta$'m 'bone', -$\Theta$sel 'of the nose')
point of nose  s-$\Theta$'lsel (r.m.u. ?$\Theta$ or ?$\Theta$, -(l)$\Theta$sel 'of the nose' (also used figuratively for 'a point')
nasils (unattested except by Hill-Tout 1902 who has what could be interpreted as $sleq^W$el$\Theta$sel or $sleq^W$el$\Theta$ sel, probably $t\Theta q^W$ 'wet', -$\Theta$- or -$\Theta$- infix 'plural', -$\Theta$sel 'of the nose')
hair in nose  s-$q^W$el$w^W$el-$\Theta$sel (s-$q^W$el$w^W$el 'hairs' as above, -$\Theta$sel 'of the nose')
cheek  s-$\Theta$q$^W$-$\Theta$lf, sx$^W$-$\Theta$ifl (s-$\Theta$q$^W$ 'flesh', -$\Theta$lf 'container', -$\Theta$ifl r.m.u.), cheeks sx$^W$-$\Theta$ifl (C_1C_2- 'plural')
mouth  $\Theta$'el (perhaps $\Theta$- 'big', -$\Theta$'el 'of the mouth')
upper lip  s-\Theta$el-$\Theta$'el (\Theta$el 'above, upper', -$\Theta$'el 'of the lip or jaw')
lower lip  s-$\kappa$'en-$\Theta$'el ($\kappa$'en 'below, lower', -$\Theta$'el 'of the lip or jaw')
chin, jaw  c'en-$\Theta$'el (c'en $\sim$ c'em 'bite on, close teeth on, put in mouth', possibly the -$\Theta$'el < -$\Theta$'el 'transitivizer', -$\Theta$'el 'of the lip or jaw')
Tooth, teeth  $\Theta$l.$\Theta$ (r.m.u. or empty, -$\Theta$l.$\Theta$ 'of the tooth')
gums s-telq̓ʷ-él-ós, s-telq̓ʷ-íl-ós (s-šlfq̓ʷ 'flesh', -él-ós, -ós 'of the teeth', e and i metathesized in 2nd word)
tongue t-élxʷθəq̓ (r.m.u. or empty, -élxʷθəq̓ 'of the tongue')
uvula mélxʷ, s-mélq̓ʷ-eq̓əł (mélq̓ʷ also means 'fish heart', -eq̓əł 'of the throat')
beard, mustache, hair on face qʷil-iyəq̓əł (qʷəł or qʷil 'hair', -iyəq̓əł < -á'yəq̓ 'on the lip or jaw')
front of neck s-əqʷəł-íəq̓, possibly s-qʷəł-íəq̓, some say sxʷ-?əl-íəq̓ (qʷəł 'talk', qʷəł and əl r.m.u., -əq̓ 'of front of neck')
adam's apple s-xʷəh-áq̓əł-íəq̓ (xʷəh r.m.u. unless 'big' or 'upstream', -áq̓əł 'part or member', -íəq̓ 'of front of neck')
throat, gullet s-qəlxʷ-é·lé (s-qəl-éxʷ 'greedy, eats too much', -é·lé 'container')
windpipe, air passage s-qʷə-hə·məlθəq̓ʷ (s-qʷə 'hole', possibly -á·məl 'part or member')
shoulder sxʷ-ʔəl-é·lé·m (ʔəl-é·m 'carry on one's shoulder', -é·lé 'container')
shoulder-blade kʷəkʷəqʷ-tel or kʷəqʷəqʷ-tel (r.m.u. unless kʷəqʷ 'club, hit with stick', -tel 'reciprocal' or 'device')
arm t̓'el̓-ləw. +əlt̓'él̓-ləw 'arms' (Cəɬəʔ - 'plural')
armpit sxʷ-ʔi·ləq̓əł (r.m.u., -ələq̓əł 'of the arm')
elbow s-əq̓əm-xʷ-ələq̓əł (s-əq̓əm 'bone', -xʷ meaning unknown, -ələq̓əł 'of the arm')
wrist joint \( x^w \theta \ell_q - \text{ces} \) (also means 'sprained wrist')
(r.m.u., -\text{ces} 'of the hand')

wrist bone, lump of wrist \( q^w \phi_{\text{m}x^w} - \text{ces} \) (\( q^w \phi_{\text{m}x^w} \) 'lump',
-\text{ces} 'of the hand')

hand \( c\ell\ell_o x^y \)

right hand \( s^?\varepsilon\ell w - \text{ces} \) (less common \( s^?\varepsilon\ell w-s - \text{ces} \) \( s^?\varepsilon\ell w \)
'right (side)', -\text{ces} 'of the hand', \( s^-\varepsilon\ell -w s \) itself < \( s^- \) nominalizer, \( \varepsilon\ell y \) 'good', -\( \varepsilon\ell w s \) 'of the body')

left hand \( s^-?\ell' i_k^w - s - \text{ces} \) (\( s^-?\ell' i_k^w \) 'left (side)', -\text{ces}
'of the hand')

knuckles and joints of hand Chehalis: \( q^w \phi m q^w \phi_{\text{m}x^w} - \text{ces} \)
(\( C_{1 e C_{2}} \) 'plural', \( q^w \phi_{\text{m}x^w} \) 'lump', -\text{ces} 'of the hand or
fingers')

finger \( s^-l\ell_y - \text{ces} \) (\( l\ell_y \) 'widen', -\text{ces} 'of the hand'),
\( sl\ell_{a y} - \text{ces} \) 'fingers' has -\( l\alpha - \) 'plural' infix

fingernail \( q^w \phi_{\ell \omega} - \text{ces} \) (r.m.u., -\text{ces} 'of the hand or
fingers')

thumb \( m\ell_k^w - ?\ell_m - \text{ces} \) (\( m\ell_k^w \) 'stout (in strength)', -\( ?\ell_m \)
'part or member', -\text{ces} 'of the hand')

first finger (index finger) Tait: \( m\ell_{t's} - ?\ell_m \), Chill.
and Cheh.: \( m\ell_{t's} - t_{\ell} \) (\( m\ell_{t's} \) 'point, aim', -\( ?\ell_m \)
'part or member', -\( t_{\ell} \) 'device, thing to, instrument')

second finger \( s_x^w \ell - y - \text{ces} \) (\( s_x^w \ell - y \) 'in (in) the middle',
-\text{ces} 'of the hand or fingers')

third finger \( m\ell_y l - \text{ces} \) (post-contact coinage) (\( m\ell_y l \)
'marry, married', -\text{ces} 'of the hand or fingers')
little finger  Tait: saseqʷt-áłe-ces, Chill. + Cheh.: saseqʷ-ces (saseqʷt 'youngest child', -áłe possibly related to we?álwe 'most', -ces 'of the hand, fingers')

palm of hand  sxʷ-ʔáθes-ces (sxʷ- nominalizer replacing s-, ʔáθes 'face', -ces 'of the hand')

hollow of hand  xʷ-t'áxʷ-ès-ces (xʷ- meaning uncertain here, t'áxʷ 'going downriver', -ès 'on the face', -ces 'of the hand')

collarbone  s-t'í-flês-tel, t'í-flês-tel (t'el ~ t'én 'go across', -í·les 'of the chest', -tel 'device, thing to') (t' ~ n in both citations)

chest  sʔ-í·les (s- nominalizer, ?'probably empty root to allow suffix to be attached and to erase locative meaning in suffix, -í·les 'of the chest')

breastbone  θ'x-émól (r.m.u. but related to that in θ'x-í·les 'inside brisket of meat' where -í·les is 'of the chest', -émól possibly related to -á·mól 'part or member')

woman's breast, nipple, milk  s-qemá· (qemá· 'suckle' < qá· or qe(?)- 'water, liquid', possibly relevant is the slang term máʔs 'milk' (< *ʔ before consonants)

woman's breast  s-qʷemθ'í·les (qʷemθ' 'lump', -í·les 'of the chest')

stomach, belly  kʷál·é (r.m.u., -ál·é probably related to -ál·é 'container')
navel, belly button  mélwye, mélwye (r.m.u.)
side of body  Cheh.: s-šeq'-álwe1, Tait: s-?f·lwe1
(šeq' - as in šeq'et 'wide' or as in šeq'ës 'half the
tody', -álwe1 - ?f·lwe1 'side')
right side of body  s-šeyf·ws ?f·lwe1
left side of body  s-šikwe ?f·lwe1
back  šq'-el, šq'-el (šq' probably 'comes out
above or after', -el 'of the rump')
lower back  s-šeq'-oqw (šeq' as in šeq'et 'wide',
possibly -oqw 'of a canoe')
good figure, good shape  šey-š:me (šey 'good', -š:me
- -š:me 'standing up')
brain  s-më-š:qel (më 'blue', -š:qel 'of the head')
heart  ťck·še (r.m.u. or empty, -ck·še 'container')
lungs  s-p'olx·em (r.m.u., probably -em 'passive')
liver  s-cél·ën
insides  s-c'olx·isel (c'olx· 'go into a quieter
slough or backwater', -isel 'of the inside of the
body')
gall bladder, bile  1aléc' (léc' 'full', possibly -al-
'plural')
kidney  smel-šléqel (s-mel 'stone', -šléqel 'in the
head', 'head' is used in a figurative sense too, like
'head of a river')
intestines, guts  q'eq'ë (r.m.u.)
stomach (inside organ)  k·šol·ë (as above in 'belly')
bladder  sóxʷet tel, sóxʷet tel (Jimmy Harris 1966 has kʷe tel) sóxʷe 'urine', -tel 'device, thing for', sóxʷetel also means 'urinal'; -e tel 'container'; Harris's word is unclear unless root is kʷes 'burned (of a person)'

flesh  s-tfq'

blood  s-θéiyel (r.m.u.)

fat  s-lás (also means 'grease, lard, oil') lás 'be fat' )

bone  s-θ'a·m

marrow  s-lás-x'el (s-lás 'fat', -x'el 'of the leg')

backbone  ḷekʷ-áles, ḷekʷ-ales-ewic (ṽekʷ 'narrow, wedged in', -áles meaning uncertain unless 'eyes', -ewic 'of the back')

rib  lówóx (r.m.u. or empty, -wóx 'of ribs or slats')

cord, nerve cord, tendon, muscle  ḷ'e?mél, ḷ'e?m mel (r.m.u.)

vein  tóteθ (r.m.u.)

pulse ḷkʷ-ém-ews (ṽa·kʷ 'to fly', -ém 'strength', -ews 'of the body')

skin, hide  kʷsl·ów, kʷsl·ów

hair on body  qwil·ews, qʷcył·ews (qwil - qʷcył 'hair', -ews 'of the body'), s-əwelqʷcył·ews 'hairs all over body' (qʷcył - 'plural')

hip  ḷeq'-léc (⊔eq' 'wide', -léc 'of rump or bottom')

rump  s-áléc (r.m.u. or empty, -léc 'of the rump or bottom')
penis  \( s^{-x^V\dot{a}la} \) (possibly related to \( -x^V\dot{a}l \) 'of the leg or foot', possibly root \( x^V \) refers to 'genitals' as in 'head of penis', 'have an erection' and 'vulva, vagina', see below)

head of penis  \( \text{(Jimmy Harris 1966 gives } s^{-x^V\dot{a}k^-f\cdot q^w} \text{ 'head of penis' and } x^V\dot{a}k^- \text{ 'have an erection'; the latter is obviously the root of } s^{-x^V\dot{a}k^-f\cdot q^w}, \text{ while } -eq^w \text{ 'of the top of the head' is probably the suffix) } \)

foreskin  \( \text{(Jimmy Harris 1966 gives } sx^w\cdot ?\cdot q' \text{ 'foreskin', root is related to } ?\cdot q' \text{ 'choke on bone or something solid') } \)

testicles  \( m\acute{e}\cdot c\tilde{e}l \) (may be singular), \( s\cdot m\acute{e}\cdot m\acute{e}c\tilde{e}l \) (may be plural)(r.m.u.)

vulva, vagina  \( x^V\cdot \tilde{e}-\tilde{w}et \) (\( x^V \) or \( x^V\cdot \) probably 'genital', \( -\tilde{w}et \) or \( -\tilde{\acute{e}}\tilde{w}et \) 'canoe or vessel')

pubic hair  \( q^w\tilde{e}yl-\tilde{e}c \) (\( q^w\tilde{e}yl \) 'hair', \( -eq \) 'of the genitals')

womb, uterus  \( s\cdot m\acute{e}l\acute{e}-\tilde{t}el \) (\( m\acute{e}l\acute{e} \) - \( m\acute{e}l\acute{e} \) 'child', \( -\tilde{t}el \) 'device, thing for')

afterbirth  \( s^{-?\acute{a}\cdot q^w} \) (\( ?\acute{a}\cdot q^w \) probably 'comes out above or after')

thigh  \( s\cdot p\acute{e}\cdot \tilde{u}\cdot l\acute{e}p \) (r.m.u.)

leg and foot  \( s\cdot \tilde{x}\acute{e}l\cdot \tilde{\acute{e}}a \) (r.m.u.), \( sx\tilde{x}\tilde{f}y\tilde{e}l \) 'legs and feet' (irregular reduplication 'plural')

lower leg  \( \theta\cdot \tilde{e}m\cdot f\cdot w\acute{e}c-x^V\dot{a}l \) (r.m.u. unless \( s\cdot \Theta\acute{a}\cdot m \) 'bone', \( -f\cdot w\acute{e}c \) meaning unknown unless related to \( -\acute{e}w\acute{e}c \) 'on the back', \( -x^V\dot{a}l \) 'of the leg and foot')
knee    s-q'ep'á'l-á-te-tel (q'ep' 'cover over', -á'l unknown, -áte 'itself' or 'verbalizer', -tel 'thing for, device', compare q'ep'ále-tel 'a cover or lid')
kneecap  s-q'ep'á-l-áeq'-tel-áxYel (q'ep' 'cover over', -á'l unknown, -áeq' 'on top of head', -tel 'thing for', -áxYel 'of the leg')
shin    s-á'óm-áxYel (s-á'óm 'bone', -áxYel 'of the leg')
calf of leg q'éx'el-áxYel (r.m.u. but probably related to q'éq'el 'convulsions' via 'being wrung tight' or some such root meaning, -áxYel 'of the leg')
ankle joint xWeel-áeq'-xYel (also means 'sprained ankle')
Tait: xWeel-áelec-xYel (r.m.u. in both cases, -elec 'on the bottom', -áxYel 'of the foot or leg')
lump of ankle q'émw-áxYel (q'émw 'lump', -áxYel 'of leg or foot')
joints in foot Cheh.: q'émwq'émw-áxYel (q'émw 'lump', C₁C₂ 'plural', -áxYel 'of the foot')
top of foot cë-loel-áxYel (cë 'top, above, upper', -loel 'on the back, of the back', -áxYel 'of the foot')
toe    s-léx-áxYel (léx 'widen', -áxYel 'of the foot'), s léx xYel 'toes' (-lé- 'plural')
big toe    mëkw-á'mél-áxYel (mëk 'stout', -á'mél 'member or part', -áxYel 'of the foot')
little toes këwmëkw-á'mél-áxYel (r.m.u., possibly mëk 'stout', unusual reduplication C₂a- 'plural' or 'diminutive', -á'mél 'part, member', -áxYel 'of the foot')
toenail  \( q^Wx^W\dot{\omega}l-x^\gamma e\ell \) (\( r.m.u., -x^\gamma e\ell \) 'of the foot')
sole of foot  \( sx^W-\dot{\alpha}^W\dot{\alpha}es-x^\gamma e\ell \) (\( sx^W- \) nominalizer replacing \( s-\), \( s-\dot{\alpha}^W\dot{\alpha}es \) 'face', \( -x^\gamma e\ell \) 'of the foot')
arch of foot  \( x^W-\dot{t}^W\dot{\alpha}x^W-\dot{e}s-x^\gamma e\ell \) (\( x^W- \) meaning uncertain
here, \( \dot{t}^W\dot{\alpha}x^W \) 'going downriver', \( -\dot{e}s \) 'on the face',
\( -x^\gamma e\ell \) 'of the foot')
heel  \( \Theta-\dot{\alpha}l\dot{e}c-x^\gamma e\ell \) (\( r.m.u., -\dot{\alpha}l\dot{e}c \) 'on the bottom', \( -x^\gamma e\ell \)
'of the foot'), \( \Theta-\dot{\alpha}l\dot{e}c-\dot{\alpha}l\dot{e}c-x^\gamma e\ell \) 'heels' (\( r.m.u., 'plural'
by irregular reduplication, \( -\dot{\alpha}l\dot{e}c \) and \( -x^\gamma e\ell \) as above)

No words yet obtained for: lines on the hand, waist,
spleen, appendix, or clitoris.

4. \( \dot{P}\dot{e}\dot{q}^Wt\dot{e}l \) 'anatomical insults'.

This category contains descriptions of the anatomy
of people which are used as insults or jokes. \( \dot{P}\dot{e}\dot{q}^Wt \)
means 'to insult someone by referring to his body'. The
list below is not complete since new examples are still
turning up.
\( x^W\Theta\dot{\alpha}^Wq^W \) 'big head' (\( x^W- \) prefix used only with the head
and its parts, meaning unclear, \( \Theta \) 'big', \( -\dot{\alpha}^Wq^W - -eq^W \)
'in top of head')
\( x^W\Theta\dot{\alpha}s \) 'big face' (\( x^W- m.u., \Theta \) 'big', \( -\dot{\alpha}s \) 'in the face')
\( x^W\Theta\dot{\alpha}\Theta\dot{e}l-\Theta\Theta\dot{e}\Theta\dot{e}l \) 'big mouth' (\( x^W- m.u., \Theta \) and \( \Theta\dot{e} \) 'big',
-\( h \) epenthetic intervocalic, \( -\dot{\alpha}\Theta\dot{e}l \) 'in the mouth',
\( -\dot{\alpha}\cdot\dot{y}\Theta\dot{e}l \) 'in the jaws or lips')
\( sx^W\Theta\dot{\alpha}\cdot q^W l \) 'loud voice' (\( s- \) or \( sx^W- \) nominalizer, perhaps
\( x^W- \) as above, \( \Theta\dot{\alpha}\cdot \) 'big', \( -eq^W \) 'in the throat')
øffeq'W 'big heads' (øf· 'big', reduplicative infix -C₁e- 'plural', -eq'W 'on top of the head')
øffesces 'big hands' (øf· 'big', -C₁e- 'plural', -ces 'in the hand')
øffex'al 'big feet' (øf· 'big', -C₁e- 'plural', -x'al 'in the foot')
øfshá·les 'big eyes' (øf·, -C₁e-, -h as above, -á·les 'in the eye')
øfshí·ws 'big bodied people' (øf·, -C₁e-, -h as above, -f·ws 'in the body')
øehíwel 'big rump, big asshole' (øe 'big', -h epenthetic, -íwel 'in the inside, in the anus')
øehélec 'big rump' (øe, -h as above, -élec 'in the rump')
øf·q 'big penis' (ø 'big', -f·q 'in the genitals' or 'in the male' or 'in the penis')
sméqsel 'big nose' (s- usually nominalizer but here 'big', méqsel 'nose')
sk'wél·e 'big belly' (s- here 'big', k'wél·e 'belly')
q'wemé·f·les 'big breast(s)' (q'wá·mè· 'large lump', -f·les 'in the chest')
Hfkw te smálaweael. 'Your uvula is big. = You talk too much.'
qelá·mèx'Y - qelåå·mèx'Y 'ugly, bad-looking, sloppy in looks, walk or dress' (qel 'bad', -øl m.u., -á·mèx'Y 'in looks, -looking')
yséplx'W 'pointed head' (y-á·ø 'point', -plx'W 'in the
top of the head')

sp'ip'eq'w 'flat head, flattened head (as with cranial deformation done to babies by some Northwest Coast tribes)' (sp'ip'eq' flat, flattened' < p'ip' 'flatten' + s- and C₁eq- participial adjective, eq'w 'in the top of the head')

cifeq'w 'bushy and uncombed hair' (cif 'high, upper, above', eq'w 'in the top of the head')

xw'áqtes 'long face, morose' (xw- m.u., áqte 'long', ablaut to a· derivational, es 'in the face')

xwpapa's 'hair all over the face' (xw- m.u., r.m.u., á's 'in the face')

qelas 'bad face, cross face, bad expression on face' (qel 'bad', es 'in the top of the head')

c'ópxes 'dirty face' (c'ópx 'dirty', es 'in the face')

sk'awecá'les 'sturgeon eyes = blue eyes' (sk'áwec 'sturgeon', á'ales 'in the eyes')

mapelas 'marble eyes = blue eyes' (mapel 'marble (glass-type)', á'ales 'in the eyes')

stelelp'él'ye 'sloppy ears' (s-telp' 'sloppy, flabby', C₁eC₂- 'plural', el'ye 'in the ear')

stelp'á'yal 'sloppy lips, flabby lips' (s-telp' as above, -á'yal 'in the lip')(applies mainly to lower lip)

c'ópxelqsel 'dirty nose' (c'ópx 'dirty', elqse 'in the nose')

f'ik'welgs 'hook nose' (f'ik'w 'to hook', C₁e- 'contin-
uative', -elqs 'in the nose')
sp'6lqsel 'flat nose' (s-p'6l 'flat', -qsel 'in the nose')
s lášex 6lqsel 'snot hanging from nose' (šex'at 'to spit', s- + -C₁e- participial adjective (thus šášex (with metathesis) could be translated 'spat'), -élqsel 'in the nose')
smetmëteqsel - smetmëteqsel 'snotty nose' (s-métá·qsel 'snot', C₁eC₂- 'plural')(s-métá·qsel < r.m.u., -qsel 'in the nose')
Cheh.: k'wemá·yθel, Tait: k'wamá·yθel 'round mouth' (k'wem - k'wam must mean 'round', -á·yθel 'in the lips')
χ'wemá·yθel 'eats too fast' (χ'wem 'hurry, be fast', -ôθel 'in the mouth')
sσyğxøä·yθel 'ugly grin, ugly expression in mouth, disappointed and angry look in mouth' (sxgxø 'disappointed and angry looking', -á·yθel 'in the lips')
síomeqsel 'tooth or teeth missing, toothless' (s-íóm 'spray or moisture', -eqsel 'in the throat')
λ'ðgtepsem 'long neck' (λ'etat 'long', e ablaut, -epsem 'in the neck')
q'wə?ìq'wepsem 'small neck, scrawny neck' (q'wə?iq'w 'scrawny, thin', -epsem 'in the neck')
sfýces 'crooked hand' (s-pfy 'bent, crooked' (< pły 'make a bend or crook'), -ces 'in the hand')
sìelcès 'dirty hand' (sèl 'bad, dirty', -è m.u., -ces 'in the hand')
sθέmllec 'skinny rump' (sθα·m 'bone', derivational ablaut to e, -lec 'in the rump')

sk'wylec 'lame (esp. hip from birth)' (s- nominalizer, k'wi·y 'climb', -lec 'in the rump')
sθ'ep'éllec 'tail' (q.v.) and spē are both used in a slang sense for 'rump'
c'ep'wel - sc'epx'wel 'dirty asshole' (c'epx 'dirty', -f·wel 'in the anus or insides')
sq'ewf·wel 'black asshole' (s- nominalizer, q'eyw 'black', -f·wel 'in the anus or insides')
teq'tiwel 'wide rump' (teq'ēt 'be wide', -f·wel 'in the anus')

spiyp'x'wel 'crooked leg' (spiy 'bent, crooked', C₁eC₂- 'plural'? , -x'wel 'in the leg and foot')
c'elélec·x'wel 'short-legged runt' (c'elec-em 'sit down', possibly derivational glottalization of c, -el- 'plural', -x'wel 'in the leg; on the leg')
c'epx'wel, c'epx'wel 'dirty foot' (c'epx 'dirty', -x'wel 'in the foot')


In the following lists Η 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:

sx̄y'es, sx̄y'es 'head' (HABRI)
sx̄pəqʷ 'gristle and everything else in head of fish'
t'ewləqʷ 'skin of fish head without gristle'
qələm 'eye' (HABR)
θipələ 'fish cheek'
sitəqʷəle, sx̄wəfle 'cheek' (HABR)
θá·əel 'mouth' (HABR)
sələ·yəel 'upper lip or jaw' (HAR)
skə·əpə·yəel 'lower lip or jaw' (HAR)
yəl·əs 'teeth' (HAR)
c'əməx·yəel 'jaw' (HAR)
kʷə·əw 'skin' (HABR)
sitəqʷ 'flesh' (HABR)
x̄ə·y 'gills and boot shaped organ attached to gills'
scələc 'scales'
stiem 'slime'
q̄ətməl 'fin, neck fin, possibly back fin'
θ'ətməl 'belly fin'
sələxəel 'tiny fin above tail'
ələ·əm 'bone' (HABR)
ələ·əelə·əm 'small bones' (HABR)
χəkʷəle·əs 'backbone' (HABR)
sx̄we 'dried fish backbone'
sx̄pxəel 'fish tail'
sələiyəel 'blood' (HABR)
scələxʷəwel 'insides' (HABR)
x̄fəxʷəweləwe 'air bladder'
qʷəyəqʷ 'stomach, organ with filaments next to air bladder'
məsəl 'fish gall bladder'
məlqʷ 'fish heart'
kʷəl·ə 'belly' (HABR)
Fish anatomy cont.)
q̓əl̓éx, q̓əwx 'salmon eggs'
sć'əmexʷ 'dried herring eggs (obtained in trade)'
q'ɑ̓wx̱'lé 'buried fish eggs, "stink eggs"'
ƛ̓ən̓ 'eulachon oil'
ƛ̓əq̓ʷə̕j̓ 'fish milt'
no word for 'brain', just sx̑q̓ə̕p̓w above

Animal anatomy:
c'ɪ̱ẍst̓ə ̓l 'antlers, horn(s)'
sə̓j̓ 'fur, animal hair, wool, yarn'
(Hill-Tout 1902 has c'q̓əj̑es or c'q̓əj̑es 'paw')
words for 'foreleg' and 'hind leg' are said to exist but
have not been elicited yet
q̓əw̓x̱'wə̕l̓cəs 'claw, fingernail' (HB)
reportedly 'hind leg' is used instead of a word for 'rump'
reportedly 'ribs' (łəw̓əx) (HB) is used instead of 'chest'
k̓əw̓əl̓̓əw 'hide, skin' (HFBR)
sq̓ə̕wəl̓q̓ə̕lx̱'ə̕l 'tufts of hair on horse's legs (like on
the Clydesdale)'
sx̑əp̓ə̕l̓c̓ 'tail' (BR)
sə̓p̓x̱w '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; possibly 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'
sxý'elc 'small feather'
sk'élqé·l 'long feather (from wing or tail)'
sk'eq'él' 'wing' (I)
memeléhál 'egg'
sk'é·lec '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:

sk'é·lec '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:

sxéy'és 'head' (HAFBR)
sk'eq'él' 'wing' (B)
sxé·l' 'leg and foot' (HABR)
qél'ém 'eye' (HAFBR)

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: -et - -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 (after -l or -st) 'third person object', -lamet 'by oneself', -et 'oneself', -tel 'each other, reciprocal', -em 'middle-passive voice', reduplication and ablaut of several types (Galloway 1973) 'continuative', 'plural', 'diminutive', s- + -C₁ə- reduplication (infixed after first vowel of root) 'participial verb', and -els - -ëls 'intransitive'.


x^W^č sōmēlē 'bear a child', Æē cmālē 'someone having a baby' (mālē - mālē - mēlē 'child')

x^W^č swfyeqe 'become a man'
x^W^č sēč·lē 'become a woman'
q^W^č et 'belch'
q'élmēt 'believe s-o. s-th', q'él 'believing'
qep'ésem 'bend or stoop down, bow from waist'
q'éyk'wet 'bite into it'
c'émet - c'émet 'bite on it, put it in one's mouth or between the teeth'
θ'épēlex'w 'blink', θ'fē'epēlex'w 'close one's eyes' (-1-oxw'),
θ'spē'epēlex'w 'blinking' (reduplicative 'plural')
pēt 'blow'
k'emk'wimēlēsem 'blushing', k'fimēl tē s?ā'ēēs 'his face got red' (k'fim 'be red', -ēl 'get, go, come', -as (in) the face', O1sC2- 'plural')
k'wäl 'be born'
spe'wēčēlēm 'breathe' ~ pē'wēčēlēm 'breathe once' and
pe'wēčēlēm 'breathing'
q'wēčēlēm 'make breathy noise, grumble under the breath'
(q'wel 'talk', -ēl ~ -ēle (in) front of throat')
?ā't. 'call s-o' (s-o = someone, s-th = something)
s?āk'westex'w 'carry s-o or s-th on the arm' (purse, person, etc.)'
c'émet 'carry it on one's back, pack it'
?i'le'mt 'carry it on one's shoulder'
θ'ēm 'chew, chewing', θ'ēt 'chew it', θ'ē'ēt 'chewing it'
xe'yk'wet 'chew it (s-th hard, apple, candy, pill, etc.)'
xe'pk'wet 'gnaw it, chew s-th hard', xe'pē'pk'wet 'chew it up'
(xe'pk'wem 'make a crunching or cracking noise, crunching, cracking (like chewing apple or ice breaking)'
is related; xe'mq'wēls is synonymous with xe'pk'wem)
θ'fē'epēlex'w 'close one's eyes' (compare 'blink')
tex'qē'ylt 'comb s-o's hair', tex'qēylēm 'comb one's hair',
tex'yelqēylt 'comb s-th, card it (of wool)'
q'wēm 'come out (of hair)(as in comb, etc.)'
x'ēl'xē'tet 'cool off (of a person')
t'ētnēt 'creeping along', t'ētn'ēsx'yēlem 'creeping (of more than one)'
xē'm 'cry, weep'
?á. 'defecate'
?éliyé 'dream, have a vision, have a trance', s?éliyé 'dream, vision, spirit dream'
qá'qe 'drink', qá·qet 'drink it' (< qá 'water')
lóp'exY 'eat s-th' (-exY 'transitivizer, 3rd person obj')
vétael 'eat a meal' (perhaps -tel 'with each other')
há·yéel 'finished eating' (blend word of há·y 'finished' and -á·yéel '(in) lips or jaws' or -séel '(in) mouth')
láséet 'get fat' (-sét may be the verb forming suffix here instead of the reflexive)
táq 'to fart'
qéstet 'feel s-o or s-th', qétxéls 'feeling around'
mélq 'forget', méla·lax 'forget s-th or s-o', méla·léles 'forget, forget s-o or s-th'
xWexWlóexY 'get up with quick motion' (xWexW probably 'sudden', -f·l 'to, come. get', -exY 'upright')
c'f·sém 'grow'
kWá·yXwém 'growling (of the stomach)'
kWemlóexW 'he's grown up' (-l-exW, -es 'he (subj.)')
(see also 'raise s-o or s-th')
st'éwel, Chilk: stél?éwel 'guess', st'éwélmet 'guess or thinking about s-th' (stél?é, st'é 'like, similar to', -élmet '(in) the mind')
c'ic'ié·m (some dialects c'ic'ité·m) 'hear, hearing', c'ité·met 'hear it'
hék'et 'to hiccup' (imitative)
kWélét 'hold s-th (in the hand)'
xY?ét 'hold a baby in arms'
sxWá·xélstoxW 'holding s-th up' (sxWá·xW 'be lightweight', -st 'cause to', -exW '3rd person object')
qelwís 'hug', qelwísst 'hug s-o'
kWé·y 'hungry', kWák'wiy 'being hungry'
xWixWe?é(t) 'imitating (s-o)' (-o?é also in sté?é 'similar')
frst 'have intercourse with s-o' (frsém 'have intercourse')
kWék 'have intercourse'
c'äm 'jump'
lemél 'kick (s-o)', lemlemél 'kick it around',
lemé?iwet 'kick in the rump'
mékwe?et(t), x'mékwe?et(t) 'kiss (s-o)', (x')mékwe?etel 'kiss on the lips' (mék 'stout, thick', -we?etel 'in the mouth' with final -el lost before -t; x' - 'pertaining to head or its parts')
ēq'sixém 'kneel down'
ēq'êlêx 'know' (ê - meaning unknown, q'êl 'believe', -êl 'happen to, manage to', -ex 's-th, s-o')
liyém - leyém 'laugh', leyêm 'laughing', lifyiyêm 'lots of laughing' (root ?êy 'good')
c'i-met 'lick s-th' (related to c'i-met 'put it in mouth or between teeth')
k'we?ifyaqel 'lie on one's back'
qêxé 'lie down' (?êxé 'lying down')
qéyep'eyâle 'lie on one's stomach' (qêp' as in 'bend over, bow from waist')
x'welêle 'listen hard', x'welêlem 'listen', x'welêlem 'listening', x'welêlemet 'listen to s-o'
k'we?et 'look at s-o or s-th' (cp. 'see it' and 'stare')
láp'wemstex 'make a noise' (láp'wem 'noise')
x'wix'we?ad's 'making a face' (cp. 'imitate')
wec'êlâm 'masturbate, bring oneself to a summit (of a mountain)' (wec'ê 'get to top or summit of a mt.
< c'ê 'top, on top')
x'yix'yâlem 'mouth hanging open' (x'yôq'â-ôet 'hang s-th up' (-ôet 'verbalizer'), -m or -âm 'middle-passive',
cl - 'diminutive')
seyâlem 'move' (cp. sfâ-ôet 'move s-th') (-yâl may < -îl 'come, go', -ôm 'middle-passive')
lif'wesem 'nod one's head, bow once from neck', lifôc'wesem 'nodding (in agreement)' (-ôc' as 'face', -ôm)
âlôc't 'open one's eyes' (ôc' ~ âc'), âlôc'ôlôc't te sx'wex'âs 'lightning, thunder(bird) opening his eyes' (note that 'thunder(bird)' is 'sudden' + (in) face')
(xʷmícəsem 'pass s-th by hand')
(pəleqʷ 'peek over, rise (of sun)' (-eqʷ 'top of head'))
ə tískʷ 'pinch'
syémym 'pregnant'
θəθəxʷ 'girl at puberty'
kʷémet 'raise s-o or s-th'
cəcəes 'reach with hand' (cəsət 'send it', -cəs 'hand')
tól·eqʷ 'realize it, learn it, understand it' (tól 'learn', -l (> · after 1), -eqʷ)
hékʷeles 'remember, remember it'
gəw 'to rest; relax'
yəxʷq̕ət 'rub it, rub s-th or s-o'
xʷáməxʷəlem 'run' (xʷəm 'hurry, be fast', derivational ablaut to /a/, -xʷəl 'feet', -əlem 'middle-passive'),
(xʷemxʷəlem 'running, racing (of people, animals, etc.)' shows 'continuative' ablaut even in suffix)
x̏eqʷq̕ət 'scratch s-th (to itch)' (cp. x̏eq̕'ət 'scrape s-th, scratch s-th (leaving marks)"
kʷécem 'scream', skʷécem 'a scream'
kʷéxəxʷ 'see s-th or s-o'
sfəw̕əłət 'sense s-th (that will happen)' (-fəw̕əl 'inside' or -əw̕əl 'mind, thought', -ət 's-th (object)')
(kʷəlcsələs 'shaking hands' (kʷəl 'hold in the hand', -cəs 'hand', -əls 'intransitive'), kʷələcəlest 'shake s-o's hand')
(qʷəyəx̏ələcem 'shake or swivel one's hips' (qʷəyəx̏ 'shake', -əlec 'rump, hips', -əm)
skʷéx̏ 'sight'
ʔəmət 'sit, sit down (if standing), sit up (if lying), squat'
cələcem 'sit down, take a seat' (cəc 'on top', -lec 'rump', -əm)
ʔítət 'sleep; go to sleep', ʔí·tət 'sleeping, asleep', ʔítətem 'sleepy', ʔítətlámət 'fall asleep'
há·q'et 'smell it on purpose', há·q'lem 'smell it accidentally', há·q'em 'to give off a smell'
x'lfyéms 'to smile' (x' pertaining to the head',
lyéms 'laugh', -es 'face')
hésem 'to sneeze' (imitative)
x'fíq' 'to snore' (imitative)
x'éylé·m 'to sob' (x'fíx·m/, C1f' 'diminutive', x'é·m 'cry, weep')
x'yàt 'spit it out', x'éx'wèce 'spitting' (-èce 'unclear liquid')
p'fè'et 'squeeze it'
x'yélé·v 'stand up' (- meaning unknown, x'éyl- 'feet',
-x'é 'upright')
k'wak'wèce 'staring', k'wàcest 'stare or look at s-o's face')
?ímet 'step on it' (cp. ?ímex'y 'walk')(cp. 'take a step')
(st'qsel 'stick out, protrude' (st' 'like, similar to',
-qsel 'nose')(included as it shows one Stalo conception of the function of the nose)
?áte'et 'stretch oneself' (?áte 'stretched')
p'i·q'et 'stroke it, pet it'
qemá · 'suckle' (< qá · 'water' or its bound allomorph qe-)
méq'et 'swallow it' (méq' 'full with food (in belly)')
yá·q' 'to sweat'
t'í·c(')em 'swim', t'ít'ec(')em ~ x'fíx'y:k'wà·m 'swimming
(of human)' (C1f' 'diminutive', x'yà·k'wèem 'bathe')
tiqx'yélêm 'take a step' (-x'yél is stressed version of
-x'yel)
q'él 'talk, speak' (q'áq'wèl 'talking, speaking')
t'êt 'taste, taste it, try, try it'
tat'lt 'thinking on it, pondering, studying, training'
(tá·lt 'learn it', -C1e' 'continuative', -í·l 'go, come, get', -t '3rd person object purposive')
sít't 'tickle s-o', sít'xít 'tickle s-o's feet' (-xít loses the el before -t 'purposive, 3rd person obj.')
téselexít 'touch or bump s-o accidentally', táset 'touch s-o on purpose'
t'óc'exít 'turn or snap the eyes away (from s-o?) in disgust'
telámet 'understand' (tel- 'learn', -lámet 'by oneself')
(cp. 'thinking', 'realize')
sóxít 'urinate; urine'
q't'iq'télémqel '(a boy's) voice is changing' (q't'iq'tél 'tame', derivational ablaut to /i/, -ém 'middle-passive'
or possibly 'strength', -égel 'throat')
xít'y 'wake', xít'yét 'wake up', sxít'exít'y 'awake' (the root is //xít'y/), xít'yéláméet 'wake oneself', xít'yít'yet 'wake s-o up'
?ímexý 'walk' (?ím 'step', -exý 'upright')
thet 'whisper'
xít'á'pem 'whistle', xít'fix'nám 'whistling'
ôik'wá'st 'wink at s-o', ôik'wá'stel 'wink at each other', ôik'fôik'wá'sem 'winking', ôik'wá'lésem 'to wink' (-â's 'face', -â'les 'eye', -tel 'reciprocal')
(ôik'w 'wash', takes many somatic suffixes)
wítqes 'yawn' (wítqet 'spread or widen it (of a canoe for example)', -es 'face')
té'm(et) 'yell, shout, holler' (-et is apparently not the purposive suffix here), sté'm 'a shout or yell'
q'èxýèlém 'to yell' (meaning may be too general)

6.2. Body Products.
lelóc' 'bile; gall-bladder' (lóc' 'full')
sèñiyel 'blood' (s- + reduplication)
sèèq'em 'breath' (s-)
s?â'? 'excrement' (s-)
stéq' 'a fart'
sl€yltel 'footprints, tracks' (s-, š€yl 'mark, write', -tel 'device, thing for')
slás 'grease, fat, oil, lard' (s-)
sqemá: 'milk; breast' (s-, qemá: 'suckle')
má's 'milk (slang term)'
sqiqew 'menstrual blood' (s-, qiqew 'menstruating')
médo 'pus'
qéyqeyqeqelà: 'shadow' (q'éy 'be black', derivational
de-glottalization, reduplication, -elà: unknown unless
related to -é:lé, -éle 'container')
sméteqsøl 'snot' (s-, r.m.u., -qsøl 'in the nose')
sálelehlølqøsel 'dried-up snot' (s-, r.m.u., -qsøl 'in
the nose')
sléwølce(s) 'spit' (-s optional, s-)
syá:q1wem 'sweat' (s-)
qø?á:les 'tear' (qø(?) ~ qá: 'water', -á:les 'in the eye')
sqvé:lewel 'thoughts, feelings' (s-, qvé:l 'talk', sqvé:l
'words', -lewel 'in the mind')
séxw 'urine; to urinate' (s- disappears before s)
syé:t 'vomit' (s-)
(no word yet obtained for 'sperm')


6.3.1. Living or healthy/dead or sick:
?é:yelèxw 'alive, in good health' (?é:y 'keep on going')
me ?é:yelèxw 'come alive, come back to life (lit. and
figuratively); get better, get well' (me 'come')
me ?é:yelèxwstexw 'keep s-o alive' (-st, -exw)
me ?é:yelèxwelexw 'bring s-o back to life, save s-o's life'
(-1, -exw)
spalahw'é: 'corpse; ghost' (s-, r.m.u., -é: 'clothing',
perhaps spalahw represents a word for 'soul' or 'spirit')
q'á:y 'die, dead'
xwé:y ~ xwá:y 'died in a group (in epidemic, fire, etc.)'
xʷɛ·lqsel 'I almost died' (xʷɛ·lq 'almost, nearly', -cel 'I (subject)')
hf·qsel 'drop dead' (possibly root related to that in hfí·em 'to fall from a height', suffix probably -qsel 'on the nose')
wóqʷ 'drown'
lícxʷ wéʔy (ʔ)al 'how are you feeling?, are you doing good?', lícxʷ wētuʔyə 'are you feeling a little better?', cel tuʔyə 'I’m fine'
q’éyəʔet 'it healed up' (q’éyə 'heal', -əet 'itself')
q’á·yt 'kill s-th or s-o'
sʔí·kʷ 'lost (and presumed dead)' (s-, sʔí·kʷ 'get lost')
le q’ép 'he passed on a disease, he got addicted (to anything)' (le '3rd person subject, past tense')
q’ép’lexʷ 'pass on a disease to s-o, get s-o addicted'
kʷemlá·met 'pull through (an illness), pull through or raise oneself (from childhood through puberty to maturity)' (kʷem 'raise s-o', -lá·met 'oneself')
(me) ?iʔyəl 'recover, get better' (me 'come' optional, reduplication prefix function unclear, ?yə 'good')
q’áq’ey 'sick; dying' (q’á·y 'die', -C₁e- 'continuative')
sq’áq’ey 'sickness; dead for awhile' (s- nominalizer or participializer)
me q’áq’eystexʷ 'make s-o sick' (-st, -exʷ)
q’áq’eyxʷəl 'sick foot or leg' (-xʷəl 'in foot or leg', just one example of many)
xʷ’ɛ 'starve (and die)'

6.3.2. Symptom/state/illness/disability:
(A common suffix is -(e)tem which seems to mean 'state of (verb)' though it derives ultimately from the -et transitivizer plus -em 'middle-passive'.)
sé·yem 'to ache, be sore, to pain'
xé·p’qʷtem təl sʔá·m 'my bones are aching'
'my heart is aching'
si 'afraid, nervous'
se 'bald' (s-, r.m.u., -eleq 'on top of head')
sfylék 'strawberry birthmark on arm' (sfýye 'strawberry', -élék 'on arm')
caleb 'bleed', cálx 'bleeding'
qeyyes 'blind' (qeyye 'be black', derivational deglottalization, -es 'in the face')
qácá 'a blister', qácem 'be blistered'
qwe 'a boil'
qewete sélék 'breathless, no breath'
stáy 'brooding' (symptom of spirit sickness)
tfáqel 'be bruised', tfáqel te qéléms 'his eye is bruised', st'itéqáles 'black eye, bruised eye'
q'étem 'walk with a cane', sqéwe 'person with a cane'
(qéwe 'cane', s-, -é unclear, -(e)m or -ém 'middle-passive')
kwéy 'can't, unable, impossible'
kwelewes te sátem 'he caught a cold', kwelewes te stáq 'he caught a cough' (kwel 'get', -l 'happen to, accidentally', -ex 'it', te 'a, the', see below for 'cold' and 'cough')
spél 'chickenpox'
qétem 'chilled', q'étem 'being chilled'
(s)qétem sqáqey 'a cold' (lit. "chill sickness")
qwém 'come out (of hair)'
xekek 'constipated' (xekek 'wedged in tight', -f-wel 'in the anus or insides')
c'iyx 'constipated' (c'iyx 'dry', -f-wel)
ték 'constipated' (ték 'mired', -f-wel)
q'eq'ek 'convulsions, fits'
táq 'to cough', stáq 'a cough' (s-)
qélptem 'to cramp, have cramps', qé'lptem 'cramped'
q'élp't 'shrink it', q'élp'øet 'shrink', and q'élq'elp' 'tangled on its own (of net, hair, etc.)

sxá·lc'iyeøel 'to have a crooked jaw (from birth, injury, or from getting bumped by a ghost)' (s-, sx·lc' 'turned the wrong way, twisted', -iyeøel 'in the jaw')

k'élé·w·el·e (kw ~ qw ~ kw) 'deaf' (rm·u;)

k'xvétem 'diarrhea' (possibly < k'xvé 'ripped apart'), k'xvétem 'continuing diarrhea'

sé·lø'tem or sé·lc'tem 'dizzy'

sé·les 'dizzy; drunk' (sel 'spin around', -es 'in face')

c'fyx·eqsl 'dry in the throat', c'fyx·eqøølem 'my throat is dry'

stå·ek'w·wel 'dumbfounded, speechless, stupified, surprised' (s- - øøøø - participial verb, zd·kw 'to fly', -f·wel 'in the insides, in the anus; in the rump')

sé·yøm tel q'w·el 'I have an earache, my ear aches'

cél· té sk·w·ec 'eyesight is fading'

mélq'f·wsem 'to faint' (mélq 'forget', -f·ws 'in the body', -em 'middle-passive')

q'øø·mtem 'forgetful, absent-minded' (q'øø·m 'short (of memory, of reach, of food, etc.)')

lex·w·melqøøwøl 'forgetful; passed out if drunk' (lex·w- 'always', melq (~ melq) 'forget', -øøøø 'in the mind')

paleq'øø·tem 'he got ghosted' ('ghost' minus s- > paleq'øø 'to ghost', -øø 'someone, he, etc.', -øem 'passive')

smq·ce 'goiter, lump on person or tree (burl)'

xé·lc'elføsem 'grinding one's teeth' (xé·lc' 'twist, turn around', -elf's 'teeth' or 'in the teeth', -em)

?á·løøet 'to groan', ?i?á·løøet 'groaning' (compare ?á·t 'call s-o', -øøet 'oneself')

tsxq' q'á·y 'half dead, half paralyzed'

xé·lq·esl 'headache' ('-') (xøø 'ache, hurt', -øø·qøøl 'in the head')
tsá's 'heartbroken, poor, destitute'
yeq'w'les 'heartburn' (yeq'w 'burn', -les 'in the chest')
θ'k'w'wel 'hemmorhoids, open sores in rump or genitals' (compare s-θ'θ'θ'θ'k'w 'open sore', -θ'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's'míye, t's'míye 'hermaphrodite baby'
k'wák'w'es 'hot' (k'w'es 'get burned (of a person)')
sqw'mècel 'hunchback, lump on the back' (s-q'w'à'm 'lump', -ècel < -i·cel 'on the back')
χél 'to hurt, ache (of head, ear, stomach, etc.)'
sx'w'à'x'θ' 'to be insane, crazy', sx'wix'w'à'x'θ' 'a little crazy, stupid'
sk'wiy kW's ?f·tet 'have insomnia, can't sleep'
χèyèx'ec'em 'to itch', χèyèx'ec'emet 'real itching'
lelèc 'jaundice, bile trouble; bile; gall-bladder' (lèc 'full')
sk'w'ylec 'lame (of hip, esp. from birth)' (s-, k'w'iy 'climbs', -lec 'on the rump (or hip)')
slék'w'elec 'lame hip or leg; to limp; cripple(d)' (s-, lék'w 'broken (bone)', -elec 'in the rump (or hip)')
q'w'à'mè' 'lump', sq'w'emq'w'à'mè' 'lots of lumps (any size); anthills')
qìw' 'menstruation', qìqew 'menstruating', sk'w'x'y'à's sq'ág'èy 'menstruation' (sk'w'x'y'à's 'moon', sq'ág'èy 'sickness')
sk'w'èy kW's q'é·ls 'mute, he can't talk'
héyst'èlmèl 'nauseated' (héyst or héyst 'vomiting', -èlmèl 'in the mind')
sì·sì 'nervous, afraid'
x'wák'w'eltem 'numb' (x'wák'w'el 'get numb' (-el < -i·l 'get, go, come'), x'wák'w'elx'yèl 'numb in the foot, one's
foot is asleep
pq'les 'out of breath, overtired and overhungry (simultaneously)' (peqW 'split in half by hand' (like of an apple)', -les 'in the chest')
t'q'em te s'kek'em (kW - qW) 'run out of breath, break one's breath' (t'q'em 'break (of a rope)')
kWes 'overheated' (kWes 'burned (of a person)')
teqWlet 'pass out, faint' (teqW 'break or split (of a rope)', let 'in the throat') (see also 'faint' and 'forgetful')
quy 'paralyzed; dead, die'
sy'atem 'poisoned' (s-, yel 'to poison', -tem)
xepqWtem 'rheumatism, aching (of bones)'
epaqWem 'to rot'
xeqWlqse 'runny nose' (eqW 'to spit', -lqse 'nose' or 'in the nose')
sq'eyk 'a scar' (s- nominalizer, q'eyk 'heal')
xetxtem 'to shiver, shivering, trembling' (see 'tremble'),
ietxeylem 'I'm shivering'
x'eyl's 'fatal shock (with vomiting)' (upon seeing a supernatural s'eylqem creature)
sx'yiyw 'smallpox' (s-, root possibly x'yey 'fish scales', -w 'on the body')
p'el, me p'el 'to sober up', sp'ep'el 'sober, sobered up' (s- -e participial verb)
soe'elkW 'open sore', soekW'elkW 'open sores'
xtele 'put/cast/throw a spell', xtel 'put or cast a spell on s-o'
yewl 'cast an evil spell on s-o', syewl 'an evil spell; power to do witchcraft and predict future',
syewel 'witch, seer' (s-, yew - yel 'supernatural power', -el 'get, go, come')
syewel sq'aqey 'spirit sickness' (s-yewel '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)

χεψε̃l 'get spooked, fear something behind one'
sp'efq' 'white spotted skin' (s-, p'eq' 'white', + ablaut for derivation), sp'eq'p'efq' 'many white spots on skin'
t'á 'to sprain', t'at'ε tel s'f'lwε̃l 'sprain my side'
c'f'eq'wε̃l 'sprain one's ankle' (r.m.u.)
x'weθ'eq'wε̃l 'ankle joint; sprained ankle', x'weθ'eq'wes
'wrist, hand joint; sprained wrist' (r.m.u.)
tel'stem 'get staggered', (yi)tel'stem and x'wε̃x'welá'stem
'staggering' (r.m.u., -t-em)
x'wε̃ 'to starve, starving'
χελέ̃lwcš 'have a stomach-ache' (χε̃ 'hurt', -ě̃lwes 'in the stomach')
q'ά'y te țq'f'ws 'a stroke, half the body paralyzed'
s'ěc'eqc 'stuttering', s'eqc 'to stutter' (compare s'eq-c-exw 'hear about it') (imitative reduplication)
cx'wtem 'swelling (of infected sore, of balloon, etc.)',
cecxw 'swollen'
Cheh.: čqá:le, Chill.: cqá:le 'thirsty' (l - c- verb-forming, qá: 'water', -le unknown)
k'wemθet 'throw a tantrum, throw oneself on ground in a tantrum, drop oneself into a seat angrily' (k'q'wem 'to club', -θet 'oneself')
tex'w'em tel θεl̃le 'my heart is thumping'
țci'ws, χé̃m 'tired' (-f'ws 'in the body', χé̃ 'hurt', -ě̃m 'strength'), q'ayf'ws 'tired' (q'ά'y 'dead or paralyzed', -f'ws 'in the body')
memé (or me mé) te yél̃ės 'the tooth came out' (mé 'come out, come off', me- reduplication or mé 'come')
yélyelesem 'a steady toothache' (reduplication is 'plural' or 'continuative', yél̃ės 'tooth', -em verb-forming)
sémeqel 'tooth/teeth missing, toothless' (s-, íem 'rain
or spray' as in UNUSED 'to rain', UNUSED 'rain-showering off and on', and UNUSED 'dew' ('rain on the feet'), -eqel 'in the throat'; "rain in the throat" would refer to the juicier sound of speech by people with missing teeth.

qel 'to shake', qel 'shivering' ('shiver(ing)' is to tremble more than once)

tateq 'trenchmouth' (tateq 'cooked; ripe', -eqel 'in the throat')

tateq 'tuberculosis' (tateq 'coughing', ablaut or -es (meaning unknown) or -es '(in) the face', -t-em)

ye't 'to vomit', heyet or heyet 'vomiting'

qel 'weak' (qel 'bad', -el unknown)

qel 'bad', -el unknown)

qel 'weak' (qel 'bad', -el unknown)

p'eq'eqyl te s?á'es 'the face got white' (p'eq 'white', -eqyl < -f 'go, come, get')

sp'iq 'white spotted skin' as above

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.

sq'eqyk 'a bite' (s-)

lekw 'break a bone', slf 'broken (of a bone)',

lekw 'all broken up (of all or many bones, also of sticks)', lekw 'break an arm', lekw 'broke a leg', lek 'broke a leg', lekw 'break one's neck', lek 'break one's spine or back; have a hunchback'

k'wes 'get burned, got burned', k'wse'l 'singe hairs off
skin', $k^wes\acute{a}.y\dot{e}el$ 'burned on lips', $k^w\acute{e}s(e)q\dot{e}l$ 'burned in the mouth' (it appears from this that $-\dot{e}q\dot{e}l$ 'in the throat' includes the inside of the mouth too), $k^w\acute{e}sces$ 'burned on the hand', etc.

?\dot{e}q\dot{e}l 'choke on bone or s-th solid'

$te\acute{k}w\acute{l}\acute{e}s$ - $te\acute{k}w\acute{f}les$ 'choke on food', $te\acute{k}w\acute{e}les$ 'choking on food' ($te\acute{k}w$ 'mired', $-\acute{f}les$ 'in the chest')

$le\acute{x}w\acute{s}\acute{e}m$ 'choke on water or liquid' ($le\acute{x}w$ 'always', $\acute{s}e$m < $\acute{s}e$m 'to rain or spray')

$p'i\acute{e}\acute{e}\acute{t}$ 'choke s-o' ($p'i\acute{e}$ 'squeeze', $-\acute{e}l$ - $-\dot{e}l$ 'in the front of the neck', $-t$ 's-o')

$te\acute{s}m\acute{x}\acute{e}l$ 'chop one's foot' (as with an ax), similarly $te\acute{s}mc\acute{e}s$, $te\acute{s}mq\acute{e}l$, etc.

$k^w\acute{e}q\acute{w}e\acute{l}\acute{\acute{x}}\acute{e}l$ 'club on the arm', many others (see exx: of somatic suffixes)

$\acute{m}c\acute{e}t$ 'cut s-th or s-o', $\acute{l}\acute{e}c'le\acute{x}w$ 'cut s-o accidentally', $\acute{l}\acute{e}c'ces$ 'cut a hand or finger', $sx^w\acute{l}\acute{e}c'ces$ 'a cut on the hand or finger', $\acute{t}\acute{e}c'el\acute{e}\acute{x}\acute{e}l$ 'cut one's arm'

$c^\acute{e}q',w^\acute{e}$ 'hit (with bullet, arrow, s-th shot); wounded, poked', $c^\acute{e}q'w\acute{e}\acute{l}\acute{e}x^w$ 'hit (with arrow, etc.) accidentally',

$x^w\acute{m}\acute{e}l\acute{k}w^\acute{e}ses$ 'get hit in the face by s-th falling'

$t\acute{e}c\acute{c}ces$ 'hit on the hand with a hammer, hammered on hand'

$l\acute{a}\acute{m}et$ 'hit s-th with s-th thrown', $l\acute{a}\acute{m} li te t\acute{e}p\acute{s}\acute{e}m$

'hit in the neck with s-th thrown'

$m\acute{e}\acute{k}^w$ 'to get hurt, be hurt'

$\acute{\theta}q'\acute{e}\acute{t}$ 'poke, prick, or stab s-o, spear s-th (for ex. fish), pierce s-th'

$\acute{\theta}'\acute{i}q'w^\acute{e}st$ 'punch s-o in the face'

$k'\acute{i}q'$ 'run over (by car, train, etc.)', get wedged (by falling tree), stuck in a trap'

$\acute{x}\acute{e}y\acute{p}'\acute{e}t$ 'scrape s-o or s-th, scratch it (and leave mark)'

$?\acute{i}x$ te $m\acute{e}q\acute{s}\acute{e}l$ 'scratched on the nose, the nose is scratched'

$k^w\acute{e}\acute{l}\acute{e}\acute{x}^w't$ 'shoot s-o or s-th, sting s-o'
'skin my hand, peel the skin on my hand'
'splinter or sliver in the foot', 'splinter or sliver in the hand or finger'
'to sprain'
'a wound' (s-)

6.3.4. Medicine/curing:

'bandage it up, tie it up' (the latter meaning is the basic one--there is no specific word just meaning 'to bandage')
'a cane'
'cured, healed', 'cure s-o by Indian doctoring; chase s-th away from s-o', 'cured by Indian doctoring', 'curing by Indian doctoring, a medicine man "working"
'Indian doctor, medicine man, shaman'
'training oneself to be an Indian doctor or spirit dancer' (climbing', 'one-

'to non-Indian doctor'

'it healed up' (heal', 'itself')

'looking for lice in s-o's head' (perhaps 'looking for lice in each other's head')(louse' + metathesis (derivational) > 'reciprocal')

'I made it (if laxative finally works)'(r.m.u.)

'medicine' (r.m.u., unless 'song')

'eye medicine'

'love medicine' ('in genitals or insides')

'hangover medicine' (possibly 'scouring rush, horsetail', 'medicine' (incl. 'device, thing for'))

'heart medicine, juniper' (heart',
medicine')
syt'tel 'throw-up medicine' (s-yt 'vomit', tel 'device or thing to')
x'ax'mat the cm'le 'looking after s-o having a baby, midwifing' (also without the reduplication)
ners 'nurse' (< English)
sq'mel 'puberty hut' (sqemel 'pit house', c'1- 'diminutive')
me'el'6sem 'pulled out (of a tooth or teeth)' (me 'take out, come out', -el'6s 'tooth', -em 'passive')
mex'es te yel'es 'he took out or pulled the tooth' (m' 'take out', -ex'3rd person object', -es '3rd person subject')
Tait: mi ck'c, Chilk'y mi sk'c 'recover sight, sight came' (mi 'come')
sak'wem 'outer cedar bark splint! (the word may also mean 'outer bark')
qet'wsem 'take a sweatbath' (qe 'water', -t unknown here, -w's 'on the body', -em 'middle-passive')
x'ot'res 'trillium' (cataract medicine, possibly < x'ot' 'swim (of fish)', -c'1- 'continuative', -res 'in the eyes'; this may also be the word for 'cataracts')

6.4. Non-human Body Functions and Dysfunctions:

Fish:
c'k'em 'jump' (HABRI)
t'ilq'el 'a spawning salmon with eggs loose and dangling'
k'wamex'w 'salmon after spawning (no eggs left)'
x'eygeye 'old salmon ready to die'
see'lem 'spawning'
x'ot'em 'swimming (of fish)'
probably plus some verbs also used for humans like
k'w'clex'w 'see it', lép'ex' 'eat it', etc.
Animals:

-δελεκ 'animal or bird droppings' (< -δελεκ 'in the rump')
k'ʷάθετ 'to gallop'
χέλαμ 'to growl (of an animal)' (cp. χέλατεμ 'to growl (of humans, under the breath)')
q'ε'έω 'howl'
q'ʷελ 'talk' (HB and perhaps of frog also)
q'ʷάq'ʷελ 'tame'
χ'έπελεκεμ (ε may ~ ο) 'wagging its tail' (άκ'έπελεκ 'tail', possible ablaut may be 'continuative', -έεμ is verb forming suffix or 'middle voice')
sk'ʷίk'ʷέκε 'wild'

plus many verbs also used for humans such as q'έγκ'ʷέτ 'bite into it', c'έμετ 'bite on it, put in mouth',
lέπ'έκε 'eat s-th', k'ʷέκελέκ 'see it', τελέμετ 'understand', q'ά'γε 'die', etc.

Birds:

-δελεκ 'animal or bird droppings'
ξ'ά'κ'ʷ 'to fly'
χ'έκ'ʷέλεμ 'hatch eggs, brood, incubate or sit on eggs'
(άκ'έκ 'cover over', -έει unknown unless related to
-ά'εί 'young', -έεμ 'middle-passive')
q'ʷέλεμελέ 'make music' (q'ʷελ 'talk', -ά'γέει 'in lips',
-ίεν 'go, come, get', -έεμ 'middle-passive')
smέμελελά 'little bird's nest' (s-, Cί 'diminutive', mmέμελελά 'egg' (< mmέμελε 'children', ʰά'ℓά 'young'), -έες 'container (of)')
t'άπ'έλα 'to peck'
t'έλεμ 'sing'
q'ʷέλ 'talk'

plus many verbs also used for humans such as lέπ'έκε 'see it', k'ʷέκελέκ 'see it', τελέμετ 'understand', q'ά'γε 'die', etc.
Insects:
q'èyk'wet 'bite s-o' (HAFBR)
ζèk'w 'to fly' (B)
c'èk'ém 'to jump' (HAFBR)
t'èf'lem 'to sing (used in place of a word 'to buzz')
k'welèx'èt 'sting s-o, shoot s-o or s-th' (k'welèx'è 'shoot (with arrow, gun, etc.)) < k'wel 'hold in hand',
-èx'è 'upright')
probably plus other verbs also used for humans like
k'wèclex'è, lèp'èx'è, etc.

Reptiles:
sq'èlè'w 'coiled (of snake)' (s-, q'èl as in q'èlg'él-p' 'tangled (on itself)' or q'èlg'él-q' 'tangled on s-th, snagged', -è'w unknown), sq'èlè'èlè'w 'coiling (of a snake), ready to strike' (reduplication 'plural/continuative')
c'èk'ém 'jump' (HAFBR)
probably plus other verbs also used for humans like
k'wèclex'è, lèp'èx'è, etc.

7. Conclusion.

In section 2 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 morphosemically 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. -ces 'on the hand or finger', -xəl 'on the foot or leg'), the division of the body by the Halkomelem words is sometimes different from English divisions (təpso 'back of the head and back of the neck', syəl '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 have the same root, qʷəwəl-. 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 $m$-, $Θ$-, $γ$-, $τ$-, $τ$-, $?$, $k^w$-, $l$-, $ς$-, 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, downriver (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-měō 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: -ά·ls 'round thing; fruit', -ε·ls - ε·λ·ε 'container', -ε·λɛ 'twisting around', -τɛl 'device, thing to' or 'reciprocal', -άμɛl 'part, member', -ωεɛ - εωɛ 'canoe', -ɛ·mɛc 'standing upright', -ɛm 'strength', possibly -θɛɛt 'itself'.

In section 4 we examined the pέsq·wτɛl, 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 -ά·mɛɛv '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 θį: 'big', modified in several ways. θ ~ θeh 'big' sometimes appears (reduced ablaut grades), sometimes prefixed with xʷ- 'pertaining to the head or part of the head', sometimes reduplicated for 'plural', θēθe ~ θēθeh. θį only appears once (in 'loud voice') and is prefixed by xʷ- 'pertaining to the head or part of the head' and then by s- 'nominalizer'. Still another variant exists for 'big' within the nēsqʷtel, shifting the meaning of s- nominalizer to 'big' and prefixing it to two independent body part words (mēqsal and kʷel·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', hākʷ, and applies it in a sentence to someone's uvula; 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-χόμ-εξ e 'soft gristle and insides of fish head' and s-χόμ-ελ 'fish tail (including soft gristle)' both have the root s-χόμ- which apparently means 'soft edible gristle of fish'; ζέμελ 'fin, neck fin, possibly back fin' and θέμελ '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: εξ e 'of the top of the head', χυθέλ 'of the jaw or lip', ελ 'of the foot or leg', and possibly ές '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: ελ 'of the foot or leg', ές 'of the hand or fingers', έπε 'of the insides', ελ 'of the rump', εκ 'of the back', χυθέλ 'of the jaw or lip', έλ 'ες 'of the tooth or teeth', έξελ 'of
the tongue', -iel 'of the front of the neck', and -6weγ '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-sememic 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', -iwel 'of the insides', -6psem 'of the back of head and neck', -f·les 'of the chest', and possibly -61qel 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, sk'ep'slec 'tail' (applicable to humans however as a slang term). Somatic suffixes used are: -elec 'of the rump', -á·yθel 'of the jaw', -6x'θel 'of the tongue', and -iwel 'of the insides'. Confirmed parts of insects include only three words, of which only sk'eq'el '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 sy6peq'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 (\textit{\&y'elx} 'alive, in good health', me \textit{\&y'elx} 'get better, get well, come alive, come back to life'), as are words relating to dying and sick (\textit{q'eq'eq} 'dying, sick', sq\textit{q'eq} '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'ëlecém 'sit down, take a seat' < c'ë- 'be on top' + -lec 'rump' + -em 'middle-passive'). In some cases it is difficult to tell whether the somatic suffix has a subject or an object function (for example, mëkʷeθ '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'ąq'eyx̂el 'sick in the foot', q'ąq'ey 'sick'; lekʷepsem 'break one's neck', s-líkʷ '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
death' < '(fall?) on one's nose'.

Words relating to symptom/state/illness/disability,
however, do contain some systematic morphosememic orga-

1. Fifteen of these words are formed with -tem 'state of
(verb)', which derives morphosemically 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. -ëlmëm,
2 sg. -ële.m, 1 pl. -tála'was, 2 pl. -tálëm, 3 -tem).
Thus Itxšem is '(third person) is/are trembling or shiv-
ering' and Itxëlëm 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
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',
'hemmorhoids' < '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 continous 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 morphe-
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'elmexʷ, -ʔɛ·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'wek'weyəest '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)'; -ēlec with animals and birds means 'droppings' as distinct from human feces, s?á·?, and from the human suffix -ēlec, -(e)le·c 'on the rump'; an animal 'growls' with a different word than a human (though the roots appear related). Greater generalization: animals and birds can qWI·'I ('talk') like humans; the word t'f·lem 'sing' can be used of birds and insects as well as of people and with insects refers to buzzing; an insect uses the same word 'to sting' as a person uses 'to shoot (an arrow, gun, etc.)'; 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).

References
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