

References

- Boas, Franz. 1898. "The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians."
In Boas (ed.), *Memoirs of the American
Museum of Natural History*, Vol. II. New
York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Pp. 25-128.
- Davis, Philip W. and Ross Saunders. 1973. "Bella Coola Syntax."
Presented to the Eighth International Con-
ference on Salishan Languages. To appear in
Linguistic Studies of Native Canada, Eds.
Eung-Do Cook and Jonathan Kaye.
- Davis, Philip W. and Ross Saunders. 1975. "Bella Coola Nominal
Deixis." *Lg.* 51.845-58.
- McIlwraith, T. F. 1948. *The Bella Coola Indians*. Toronto:
University of Toronto Press. 2 Vols.
- Saunders, Ross and Philip W. Davis. 1975. "Bella Coola su."
Presented to the Tenth International Con-
ference on Salishan Languages. To appear in
IJAL:

Preparing dried fish - a Bella Coola text

Henk F. Mater, Boerhaavelaan 248

Leiden

The following text was volunteered by Mrs. Margaret Siwallace in the summer of '75. With her assistance, the recording was transcribed and translated.

Sandhi-phenomena are rendered by the symbol ^, which serves to mark two processes: contraction (c's = [c], s's = [s], s is morphologically /sʔs/) and elision (^wa = [w], ^ʔ = ø. ^ reads /ʔʔ/). When, as a result of ^-elision, two vowels come into contact, they fuse into a doubled vowel (see below) with the quality of the doubled variant of the second vowel involved in the process.

Hyphens separate free forms from clitical elements. The Arabic numbers written directly under the text-lines refer to the morphemes the words are composed of and correspond with the numbers in the grammatical analysis following the text.

The segmental phonemes of Bella Coola are:

p	p̣	m	ṁ	w	u
t	ṭ	n	ṇ		
o	ọ	s			a
	ʌ	ɬ	ɭ		
k	ḳ	x		y	i
ḳ	ḳ̣	x̣			
q	q̣	ṡ			
q̣	q̣̣	ṩ			
	ʔ	h			

Doubled plosives are released separately, whereas doubled fricatives, sonorants, and vowels are pronounced long, the doubled vowels having a more open quality than the single ones. Syllabic sonorants (ṁ, ṇ, and ɭ) are pronounced with a preceding schwa. Stops bordering on ʔ are, unless elision takes place, phonetically glottalized, there being no opposition between ṡ, ṩ, and ṩ̣ (ṡ = plosive).

Preparing dried fish

- 1 way 'aynuetimute'ska'alaciic 'at-ti-s'at'ayaki' 'ala-spiik'-ac
1 2-3-4-5 6-7-8-5 9-10-6-11-2-12-13 14-15-16
well, I'll try and tell how we prepare the fish,
'skstuti' spanyati'
6-17-18 6-19-18
how we fix and smoke them
- 2 naxliwatut-luu ti-k'puc-tayx kasi'ayakaw tx ska'uq'aw'-ala-tpx'-ac
20-21-22-23 10-24-25 7-26-2-12-27 28 6-7-29-27 14-30-16
we prepare the net they're going to use so they can drift downriver
- 3 kawtim 'ulxi' 'ula-'aaxi'-ac
31-32 33 34-35-16
they are taken (by car) to the upriver area
- 4 'uq'aw-c 'ala-tpx'-ac
29-27-36 14-30-16
then they drift downriver
- 5 qacancankaw-c'wa-nu'nus'-ac 'at-ti-mawa' ti-lalas-tayx
37-38-27-36 39-40-41-16 9-10-42-43 10-44-25
they keep throwing the net into the river, these two men on one boat
- 6 tixsla'aw'-ala-malap
45-46-27 14-47-48
sometimes they catch much,
- 7 tixcaciinaw-tuu'-ala-malap
45-49-27-50 14-47-48
sometimes just a little bit,
- 8 tixkax'aw-tuu'-ala-malap
45-51-27-50 14-47-48
sometimes nothing at all
- 9 kama'sla'icik wa-lapank sk'ntim-tuo xti-q'x'ntimut-tayx
52-46-53 39-54 6-55-32-56 57-10-58-25
when they've caught much, a car goes and collects them (the fish),
'in ti-lalas-tayx 'in-wa-k'puc'-ac
59 10-44-25 59 39-24-16
the boat, and the nets
- 10 'a'k'nin'-ula-txal'saaks'-wa-suks ti-lmsta-tayx wa'-at-lmi'
11-55-60 34-61-62 39-63-62 10-64-25 39-9-65
they take it to the back of somebody's house, whoever it is who's
wa'-anayk skakstx'-ax'-uomaw
39-66 6-7-67-27
willing to fix their food

- 11 soliti'-c 'ala-txal'saaks'-ac 'ula-nusx'uukstali'-ac
68-18-36 14-61-16 34-69-70-16
we put them in water, at the back of the house, in old bath-tubs
- 12 'ax' kawixs-tuu wa-lal'laasii'-ac'ska'umattu' skascliti' wa-spiik'-ac
71 7-72-62-50 39-44-75-16 6-7-74-21-22 6-7-66-18 39-15-16
if not a bath-tub, (we use) the dinkeys to put the fish in
- 13 xims'smakmatklicituti' 'ac
75-62 6-47-76-77-21-18 16
we keep them in there overnight
- 14 lapaki'-c xnasuksi' c ska'asya'
78-13-36 6-79-80-13 6-7-81-13
then we women start butchering the fish
- 15 'aktam'apx'aktuks ci-numaw-cayx
82-83-12-84 85-40-42-86
one of us puts them up
- 16 'altam'alaakas-tuu xa-slaq'-ac
82-87-12-38-62-50 89-89-16
in the smokehouse to dry
- 17 'asyns-c ci-numaw-cayx
81-62-36 85-40-42-86
one of us butchers the fish
- 18 'at'aytu'-ilucik xo'sq'alanaw'-ala-malap-c
11-2-21-22-90 57-91 6-92-27 14-47-48-91
we keep doing this until they're all done
- 19 'ax'-tuu q'alayakpti' 'ala-malap-c
71-50 92-12-93-18 14-47-48-91
sometimes we can't do them all in one time
- 20 'asx'aktuti'-c 'ac scusys c
11-94-43-21-18-36 16 6-95-62
we put a fire on in the evening
- 21 nulik'aaki'-tuo'wa-slaq'-ac 'ala-'inax'-ac
40-96-12-97-56 39-89-16 14-98-16
we turn the filets over in the morning
- 22 kstimuti'-tuc ska'asya' skaq'alatuti' 'ika'ax' kacayakpti'
99-13-56 6-7-81-13 6-7-92-21-18 7-71 7-100-12-93-18
we keep working till they're all done, that is if they hadn't been finished
- 23 nulix'ixsaks'-wa-slaq'-ac
40-101-102-103-62 39-89-16
the tips get dry
- 24 lapakmi'-tuo skack'naaki'
78-93-97-56 6-7-104-12-97
that's when we start pulling the bones out

- 25 kamak²ax²aytu² snusq²la²ts ti²apsta²ala-sq²i²ac²ala-slaqk²ac²
52-71 2-21-22 6-40-105-106-62 10-64 14-105-16 14-89-16
if we don't do this, a bone will stick in somebody's throat
ula-si²ai²aytu² sck²maaki²
34-26-11-2-21-22 6-104-12-97
that's why we pull the bones out
- 26 ax²ituk² ai²ayakaw²wa²ax²i²ac²
71-107 11-2-12-27 39-108-16
some people don't do this
- 27 ax²ck²maakit²
71 104-12-109
they don't pull the bones out
- 28 wixanaw²icik² wa²qicipii²ac²wa²ai²qtii² si²ai²aytu² sck²maaki² s²ax²i² o²
72-27-53 39-110-16 39-11-111-18 26-11-2-21-22 6-104-12-97 6-108-13
it's the children we think of, that's why some of us pull the bones out
- 29 kamak²upac²ll²sayxs²c²ac² ai²ays²c² xa²x²palusgliwatii²c²
52-40-112-113-114-62-36 16 11-2-62-36 88-115-116-18-91
when they're on the sticks we seem to just leave them that way
- 30 wayx sniix²tu²lu²k²uks² s²aygliwatii² ula²s²ai²lxaw²
117 6-113-21-22-23-119 120-116-121 34-6-101-102-27
we just keep a fire going all the time until they're dried
- 31 ai²lxaw²
101-102-27
(then) they're dried
- 32 ustx²tuti²
122-21-18
(then) we take them in,
- 33 txalustuti²c² skanpiti² ula²nuskliik²c²wa²amats²wa²knixii²c²ac²
123-124-21-18-36 6-7-125-18 34-40-126-127-36 39-128-62 39-129-13-36-16
cut them up, and put them in the deep-freeze, where we keep our food
- 34 ai²ays²c² o²
11-2-62-36 91
(it is so) nowadays
- 35 ai²xtun²k²uks² ala²ayk² sc²mayxaw² ai²xtutit² s²aytu² ula²amatakaw²
101-102-21-130-119 14-131 6-132-27 6-101-102-21-133 6-2-21-134 34-128-12-27
they really dried them long ago (and put them in-)to the one they store it in
- 36 sqawtit²wa²ayucmit² snuknumtanaw²
6-135-133 39-136-109 6-40-137-138-27
the one they called their knum-box
- 36 wix²ac²wa²sqknixii² wixii²wa²ayk² wa²knum²ac²
72 16 39-139-13 140-39-131 39-137-16
the knum has been our food since long ago

- 37 s²ai²ikp²tuu² ti²numaw²tx² slaqkps²
141-93-50 10-40-42-28 6-89-93-62
some dry the backbone and the filets,
- 38 pul²s²wa²skstlic²ac² ai²c²
142-62 39-143-16 9-91
and also the skin
- 39 ay² s²ays² umatakmi²
144-62 145-12-93-97
we fix it in (m)any way(s)
- 40 nuk²ai²iktii²ituk²ax²i²ac²
40-146-127-18-107 108 16
some of us can the fish
- 41 kamak²ti²ai²icik² s²ax² nuk²ai²iki²
52-147-70-53 6-71 40-146-127-97
when it's a dogsalmon, we don't can it
- 42 t²txalustuti² sqawti² ula²nuskliik²ac²
148-123-124-21-18 6-135-18 34-40-126-127-16
we just cut them up and put them in the deep-freeze
- 43 ay² s²ays² ti²umatakmi² ti²sqknixii² ti²sliix²tayx²
144-62 10-145-12-93-97 10-139-13 10-149-25
we fix it in any way, our fish-stew
- 44 stsaa²xi²tuu²wa²ax²i²ac² snuk²ai²ika² o²
150-97-50 39-108-16 6-40-146-38-13
we salt some when we can fish
- 45 stsaa²xi²
150-97
we salt it
- 46 snaws²tuu² ti²amii²tayx² sqsi² stsaa²xi²
42-62-50 10-151-70-25 6-152-13 6-150-97
only the springsalmon we really salt 'down'
- 47 ax² numus² ska²iptii² kaq²las² kaspik² ai²ti²amii²tayx²
71 153 6-7-154-18 7-155 7-15 9-10-151-70-25
we seldom take any other fish beside the springsalmon
- 48 was²ax² c²mayxs² skatmsla²xtui²tuu²ac²
156-71 132-62 6-7-148-46-21-22-50 16
we don't even make too much of this
- 49 al²am²latii²
11-157-97
we take just about enough
- 50 nusxmami²tuu²ac² ala²sutk²ac²
40-158-97-50 16 14-159-16
we crave for this in winter

- 51 ~~ʔala-kʰi~~
160-161-97
we're hungry for it
- 52 x^hp^hʰs tʰx^h ʔala-s^hp^hk-ʔac ʔala-knum-ʔac
162 163 14-15-16 14-137-16
that's all about the fish, the knum

Comments

- 1 way interjection: 'well, okay'
- 2 V^hay 'to act, do, be (so)'
- 3 -u(u)o somatic suffix: 'mouth'
- 4 -timut reflexive suffix, often meaning 'pretending to X, not really X-ing, try to X'
- 5 -o intransitive/possessive ending: 1st pers. sing.
- 6 s- nominalizing prefix: when preceding a finite verbal form, it functions as a factualizer: '(the fact) that..., his X-ing'. Occurring in forms following finite verbs, it can, depending on the context, be translated as 'and, while, when, because'. Nominalized verbs combined with the plural deictic /c/ (cf. 91) are reminiscent of the Latin ablativus absolutus.
- 7 (*i)ka- aspectual prefix: irrealis, unrealized (action), future, hypothetical
- 8 ʔalacii 'to tell'
- 9 ʔa- preposition, denoting location: 'on, at, with, by means of' (cf. 34, 140)
- 10 ti- article: neutral, sing. (cf. 85)
- 11 ʔa- aspectual prefix: 'be X-ing, in a X state' Before /s/ the allomorph ʔa- is found.
- 12 -a(a)k somatic suffix: 'hand'. In metaphorical use also: '(finished) work, (prepared) food'.
- 13 -i, -i- intransitive/possessive ending: 1st pers. plur. The allomorph -i- occurs after obstruents only.
- 14 ʔala- contraction of ʔa- (9) and wa- (39). Cf. 34.
- 15 s^hp^hk 'fish'

- 16 (-)ʔac independent and enclitical deictic: plur., near, visible. As enclitic always with wa- (39).
- 17 kstu- 'to make, fix, prepare'. A causative derivation from ks 'to pull' (cf. 21).
- 18 -ti- personal ending: -ti- 3^d pers. plur. obj. and -i 1st pers. plur. subj.
- 19 panya 'to smoke fish'
- 20 naxliwa 'ready, prepared'. Historically a compound, cf. -liwa '...-like' (cf. 116). A simplex *nax was not recorded.
- 21 -tu- causative suffix
- 22 -i causative personal ending: -i- 3^d pers. sing. obj. and -i 1st pers. plur. subj.
- 23 -lu(u) adverb: 'still, yet'
- 24 k^hpuc 'fishing net' (cf. V^hk^hp 'straight, right' ?)
- 25 (-)tʰayx independent and enclitical deictic: neutral, sing. visible, near. As enclitic always in combination with ti- (10).
- 26 si- grammatical prefix, replacing ʔa- (9) and x- (5). In relative constructions: kasi^hʔavakaw tx 'the one they'll use' copies the independent phrase ka^hʔavakaw ʔa- tx 'they'll use it'.
- 27 -aw, -naw, -anaw intransitive/possessive ending: 3^d pers. plur. The allomorph -naw is obligatory after vowels, optional after sonorants, while -anaw is used exclusively for the substitutes kul 'it's us/we', lup '(it's) you folks', and wix 'it's them/they'.
- 28 (-)tx independent and enclitical deictic: neutral, sing., determined. As enclitic with ti- (10).
- 29 ʔuq^h 'to drift downriver'
- 30 tʰx^h 'river'
- 31 kaw 'to brace, support'. Here specifically: 'to help, accompany'.
- 32 -tim passive ending: 3^d pers. plur.

- 33 'ulxi- adverb of direction: '(to the) upriver (area)'.
Etymologically related to 35.
- 34 'ula- contraction of 'ul- and wa- (cf. 14, 39).
'ul- is the preposition that denotes a direction
(cf. 9, 140) towards. Also: purpose, goal, end:
'upriver area'. Related to 33.
- 35 'aaxi- adverb: 'now; then'
- 36 -c(p) 'to throw the net into the river'. The reduplication
expresses a repeated action.
- 37 qeank intransitivizing suffix
- 38 -a article: plur. The category 'plural' in Bella Coola
is of a rather different nature than in English. The article wa- not only ex-
presses 'real' plurality, but is also applied to: (a) area-bound objects or lo-
cations' ('river', 'upriver area', 'house', 'place'); (b) temporal expressions
('season', 'morning', 'event', 'long ago'); (c) uncountable objects ('food',
'a catch', 'knum'). Verbs combined with 'plural' inanimate subjects and objects
preferably take the sing. verbal endings.
- 40 nu- (a) 'inside'; (b) 'human'
- 41 laus 'two'
- 42 maw, s-maw 'one' (cf. 47)
- 43 -at classifier: 'conveyance, boat'
- 44 lalas 'boat'. Diminutive: lallaa-i (cf. 73).
- 45 tix- verbalizing prefix: 'to catch'
- 46 slaŋ 'much, many'
- 47 ma- bound (suffix-carrying) form of 42
- 48 lap 'to go'. As a quantifying suffix it expresses
frequency: 'time(s)'. Cf. 54, 78.
- 49 caacii 'a little bit, few'. May go back to a reduplication
of caw 'all, that's all'.
- 50 -tuu adverb: 'however, but'
- 51 kar 'empty, nothing'
- 52 kamai- grammatical prefix: 'when, if'
- 53 -'icik adverb: 'next, subsequently'
- 54 lap-ank 'to catch, get' (cf. 48, 161)

- 55 k'p, 'to take'
- 56 -tuc adverb: 'again'
- 57 x- grammatical prefix: relative case. This prefix
is attached to: (a) the agent in passive constructions, (b) a third relation,
(c) the patient of an action expressed by an intransitive verb.
- 58 q'x'ptimut 'car'. From q'x' 'to move', -m (93), -timut (4).
- 59 'in 'and'
- 60 -im passive ending: 3^d pers. sing.
- 61 txalasaax 'back of house'. From tx- 'location', V'al's
'behind', -aax 'rear, back'.
- 62 -s intransitive/possessive ending: 3^d pers. sing.
- 63 suh 'house'
- 64 lapsta 'person'
- 65 kmix substitute: 'we, (it's) us'
- 66 'anayk 'to want'
- 67 kstx'ax'k'ucp 'to fix, prepare food'. A reduplication of
*/ks-tx'-ak-uc-ŋ/, cf. 17, 12, 3, 93.
- 68 scii 'to keep, put caught fish in water'
- 69 nusx'uuksta 'bath-tub'. From nu- (40), s- (6), x'u(u)k 'to
bathe', -(s)ta (138).
- 70 -li temporal suffix: 'previous, ex-, past, old, used'
- 71 'ax' ho(t)'
- 72 wix substitute: 'they, (it's) them'. Also introducing
expressions as: 'that's when/why/how'.
- 73 -ii diminutive suffix
- 74 'umat 'where it's taken to' (cf. 128)
- 75 xim 'morning'. From V'xi 'light, bright' and -m (93).
- 76 kmatk 'to stay overnight'
- 77 -lio somatic suffix: 'skin, body'. Here: '(the) fish'.
- 78 lap-ak 'to begin, start'. From lap (48) and -ak (12).
- 79 xnas 'woman'
- 80 -uks plural suffix
- 81 'asya 'to butcher fish'
- 82 'altam- aspectual prefix: iterative

- 83 'apx' 'to lift up'
- 84 -tuks personal ending: -tuks- 1st pers. plur. obj. and -s 3^d pers. sing. subj.
- 85 ci- article: female, sing. (cf. 10)
- 86 (-)cayx independent and enclitical deictic: female, sing., visible, near (cf. 25). As enclitic always in combination with ci- (85).
- 87 'lał 'to dry sth.' (cf. 101)
- 88 xa- contraction of x- (57) and wa- (39)
- 89 slaqk 'smoked salmon'
- 90 -'ilucik meaning unclear: ? -'i-lu-cik (cf. 23, 53)
- 91 (-)c independent and enclitical deictic: plur., determined. As enclitic always with wa- (39).
- 92 q'ala 'finished, all gone'. The /y/ in q'alayakptil is junctural.
- 93 -m verbal suffix performing a variety of functions.
- Followed by intransitive endings: (a) qctive-intransitive (mpck-m 'to be counting', kilqu-m 'to be chewing'); (b) shifted/specified/teasing (mus-m 'to spy', ciik-m 'to dig clams', suq-m 'to take bark off a tree': cf. mus 'to feel', ciik 'to dig', suq 'to skin'); (c) qctive (perform an action with (regard to) X') (sputx-m 'to get (catch) eulachon', slaqk-m 'to dry filets', k'umc-m 'to put dried clams on a stick', saq'la-m 'to use a raft', suk'waat-m 'to play cat's cradle', x'uta-m 'to fish with dipnet', from resp. sputx 'eulachon', slaqk 'filet', k'umc 'dried clams', saq'la 'raft', suk'waat 'cat's cradle', x'uta 'dipnet'); (d) qctive (1) resultative (the bare stem has a causative relation to the /-m/-expanded form: plik-m 'to capsize', sx'-m 'to (be) burn(ing)', x'up-m 'to sink in mud'. Cf. plik 'to turn sth. upside down', sx' 'to burn sth.', x'up 'to insert sth., put in a hole'), (2) 'to be X(ing)' (tup-m 'to bubble', q'up-m 'smoking', kay-m 'it's snowing', cf. s-tup-ł 'foam', s-q'up 'smoke', kay 'snow'), (3) reflexive (after somatic suffixes: muk'-us-m 'to paint one's face red' (muk' 'red', -us 'face'), s'x'-aa'uc-m 'to shave one's beard' (s'x' 'to scrape', -aa'uc 'beard'), mpok-lqsak-m 'to count one's fingers' (mpok 'to count', -lqsak 'finger(s)')).

- Followed by transitive endings: (a) transitive (pul-m 'to visit sb.', talawa-m 'to marry sb.', 'ax'-s-m 'to shout at sb.', fr. pul 'to come', talawa 'to get married', 'ax'-s 'to shout, holler'); (b) instrumental (after somatic suffixes: 'il'-aal-m 'to move sth. with one's foot' ('il' 'to stir, move', -a(a)ł 'foot'), mncaq'-s-allic-m 'to chew sth.' (mncaq'-s 'to squeeze', -allic 'teeth'), 'anuik'-m-ii'x'alstucak-m 'to have/put sth. onto one's elbow' (('anu)ik'-m 'to have sth. hooked on one's X', -ii'x'alstucak 'elbow'))).
- 94 sx' 'to burn sth.'
- 95 cusm '(early) evening, dusk'
- 96 lik' 'to turn sth. around'
- 97 -il personal ending: -i- 3^d pers. sing. obj. and -ł 1st pers. plur. subj.
- 98 'inax' 'morning'
- 99 ks-timut 'to work'. From ks 'to pull' and -timut (4).
- 100 cay 'all, finished'
- 101 'la 'dry' (cf. 87)
- 102 -lx inchoative suffix
- 103 -l'xs-ak, -ll'xs-ak somatic suffix: 'finger, tip'. From -l'xs 'tip, end' and -ak 'hand', cf. 115.
- 104 ok'm 'to pull sth. out'
- 105 sq'ł 'fishbone'
- 106 -all somatic suffix: 'throat'
- 107 -'ituk adverb: 'however'
- 108 'ax'ł 'some'
- 109 -it personal ending: -i- 3^d pers. sing. obj. and -t 3^d pers. plur. subj.
- 110 qiqipil 'child(ren)': /qi-qip-il/ (cf. 73)
- 111 'lq 'to think (of sb.)'
- 112 pač 'to pierce'
- 113 -l'xs, -ll'xs somatic suffix: 'nose'. In metaphorical use also: 'tip, stick' (cf. 103).
- 114 -ayx passive ending

- 115 x^p-alus-q 'to leave (the fish) (like that)'. From x^p 'to let go, leave (alone)', -alus 'meat, fish', -m active-intransitive (93). Cf. 124.
- 116 -liwa semblative suffix: 'X-like'
- 117 wayx unclear: either a variant of way (1) or 'new, fresh'
- 118 nliḵ 'fire'
- 119 -ḵ^uks adverb. Meaning not established.
- 120 s^ʔayp '(to) always (do)'
- 121 -tis personal ending: -ti- 3^d pers. plur. obj. and -s 3^d pers. sing. subj.
- 122 ^ʔustx^ʔ 'to go in, enter'
- 123 tx 'to cut sth.'
- 124 -alus somatic suffix: 'meat, fish'
- 125 nmp 'to put sth. inside, take sth. in'
- 126 skl 'cold'
- 127 -i(i)k classifier: 'container'
- 128 ^ʔarat '(place) where sth. is' (cf. 74)
- 129 knix 'to eat sth.'
- 130 -m passive ending: 3^d pers. sing. (causative paradigm)
- 131 ^ʔayk 'old; long ago'
- 132 cḵmayx '(to) really (do sth.)'. Contains a root cḵ, cf. cḵ-ḵ 'true, real', -m (93), -ayx (114).
- 133 -tit personal ending: -ti- 3^d pers. plur. obj. and -t 3^d pers. plur. subj.
- 134 -t personal ending: -ḵ- 3^d pers. sing. obj. and -t 3^d pers. plur. subj. (causative paradigm)
- 135 qav 'to store sth.'
- 136 ^ʔay-uc-q 'to call sth. sth.' From V^ʔay (2), -uc (3) and -m (93).
- 137 knum 'smoked fish'
- 138 -(s)ta derivational suffix: implement

- 139 syknix 'food'. Reduplication of ^ʔs-knix (cf. 6, 129).
- 140 wixḵ- preposition: motion away: 'away from; since' (cf. 9, 34)
- 141 sḵlik 'backbone'. Originally a compound, cf. -ik 'back'.
- 142 puḵ 'to come'. Here with -s (62): 'it comes', hence: 'is added: and, also'.
- 143 skatlic 'skin'. No doubt containing -lic 'skin'. Surprisingly, skat means 'charcoal'!
- 144 ^ʔay s^ʔay 'whatever, any'. Two separate words, since the first element can be followed by enclitics (^ʔay-k^ʔ s^ʔay, ^ʔay-c s^ʔaynaw). Probably V^ʔay (2) and s- (6).
- 145 ^ʔumat see 74
- 146 k^ʔḵ 'to fill, pour out'
- 147 tli 'dogsalmon'
- 148 tm- aspectual prefix: 'just, only'
- 149 sliḵ^ʔ 'salmon stew' (? sl-iḵ^ʔ, cf. sl 'to slice', -iḵ^ʔ 'head')
- 150 stsaaḵ 'to salt food'. From sts 'salt' and -aaḵ 'food'.
- 151 ^ʔamḵ 'springssalmon'
- 152 qs 'tight'
- 153 numus unclear. From English 'more'? (cf. 40, 62)
- 154 ^ʔip 'to grab, hold, take'
- 155 q^ʔlas 'different'
- 156 was- unique prefix, apparently meaning 'even'
- 157 mḵat 'to measure (off)'
- 158 sxm-amk 'to crave, be hungry for sth.' Possibly from sx 'bad' (cf. 93, 161).
- 159 sutk 'winter'
- 160 ḵkaḵ 'hungry'
- 161 -amk transitivizing suffix
- 162 x^p-ḵks 'end (of story)'. From x^p (115) and -ḵks (113).
- 163 (-)taḵ independent and enclitical deictic: neutral, sing. remote