

## **Work on the Nooksack file slips of Paul Fetzer**

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In June 1950, Paul Fetzer, a graduate student of Melville Jacobs and William Elmendorf began linguistic field work on the Nooksack language. He gathered a tremendous amount of rich and valuable information both linguistic and ethnographic, but unfortunately died about 1952 before he could complete his Ph.D. thesis. His 7000+ file slips have now been entered, proofed and modern Nooksack phonemic practical orthography with corrections added on a separate line and extensive consistency checks done. This is a report on that work and some of the fascinating and extremely useful findings discovered from it so far, on all levels, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and comparative. I am also seeking a linguist with WordPerfect and a PC to aid in editing these files so a dictionary can be producing from them and two other boxes of file slips on Nooksack that I am starting to enter.

### **1 Introduction**

In about 1982 a considerable amount of linguistic field notes on the Nooksack language (Lhéchalosem) were made available to me by Pamela Amoss, Barbara Efrat, and Larry Thompson. These included not only their own field notes and tapes but also three boxes of tile slips from 1950 by Paul Fetzer, who died in 1952. These colleagues agreed that since the last two speakers of Nooksack, George Swanaset and Sindick Jimmy, were also fluent in Upriver Halkomelem and sometimes confused forms they gave or gave them with a slight Upriver Halkomelem accent or were sometime unsure whether a form was Nooksack or Upriver Halkomelem, it would be best if someone with expertise in Upriver Halkomelem would be able to interpret these Nooksack language materials. I have been working with these ever since (see bibliography). I also heard and transcribed some Lhéchalosem myself from Sindick Jimmy, the year before he died and from other partial speakers who attended the Halkomelem Workshops and elders meetings I conducted weekly with the Nooksack tribe from 1974 to 1980 and occasionally into the 1990's.

In 2002 George Adams, a member of the Nooksack Tribe, recently returned to the tribe, began working with me and with the copied Lhéchalosem tapes I presented that year to the tribe. As a result, by about 2005 or so he became increasingly fluent in the language (as did I), and by 2008 or 2009 we were corresponding by e-mail only in Lhéchalosem and talking on the phone also monolingually in Lhéchalosem. He has continued his work and is teaching

a second year Lhéchalosem language immersion class at the tribe and using little English in his daily work with tribal members. Last year, in 2011, in a ceremony presenting a book Allan Richardson and I had completed, *Nooksack Places Names, Geography, Culture, and Language* (UBC Press) to the tribe, Adams conducted the 90-minute ceremony all in Lhéchalosem with no English translation, and he also introduced three of his students, one of whom gave a short speech in Lhéchalosem.

In 2010 George Adams and I finished the first complete extended Lhéchalosem Classified Word List (400+ pages) with a grammatical sketch in the introduction which I wrote. A generic Classified Word List for B.C. Indian Languages was developed first in May and June of 1972 by Aert Kuipers with assistance from Randy Bouchard. Aert gave the list to his Dutch students to get them each started on linguistic descriptions of Salishan languages that year. Aert and his students completed lists for each of five languages and Randy Bouchard also completed them for some of those and for almost all the other B.C. Indian languages (making tapes of the lists as well). I met them at the Salish Conference that year and also obtained a copy of the list. I completed the list with many additions (expanded from about 2000 words to about 5000), as I worked with Upriver Halkomelem (Galloway 1980). The Lhéchalosem Classified Word List is now nearly complete (in the practical orthographies, which Word can handle) and includes comparative Upriver Halkomelem for most words as well as a number of cognates from Proto-Salish, and Samish. These helped in deciding the most correct form of Nooksack term when there were multiple or poorly recorded attestations. I also reconstructed some starred Nooksack forms when only attested with an Upriver Halkomelem accent or poorly recorded, or not recorded at all (in a few cases, with a differently asterisked form).

I am seeking a publisher for this and will send it to prospects this year. Many of the words in the List were provided from the file slips of Paul Fetzer which were entered through NEH grants to me several years before, entered in WordPerfect8 by three research assistants. For the past six months I have been working on these file slip entries with the original boxes, proofing both the typing of the IPA and the glosses and adding corrections and adding a line with the practical orthography transcriptions of the corrected forms. This is a report on that work and some of the many interesting kinds of discoveries I have made from this work.

I completed my work on Boxes 2 and 3 and have just now (April 2012) completed Box 1. At some time in the past, during the photocopying of the file slips by a commercial photocopy outlet, Box 1 was lost, either by the photocopiers or by one of my research assistants. I retraced all steps and was unable to find it. However, fortunately, there is a full digital entry of all the file slips in all three boxes. I worked on Boxes 2 and 3 first, proofing against the file slips, finding relatively few typos, to my great pleasure. With that experience I began working on Box 1. I found that most of the words in the data (more full sentences than single words) were familiar and well-attested in the other material already proofed. In addition, with over 5000 entries in our Classified Word List

from all three boxes and from all the material by all the other linguists and from my own field work, I have been able to provide corrections of the errors by typists in the IPA lines and add accurate practical orthography corrected lines (poc lines) for each entry in Box 1. There have been only a small handful of words for which there are two or three alternative possible spellings. As work continues even some of those may be resolvable.

Now that all three boxes are done, there remain a box each by Pamela Amoss, Larry Thompson, and Barbara Efrat to be done similarly. They have all been entered digitally and require less reinterpretation of phonetic characters, since in 1949 Fetzer was trained by Melville Jacobs then using more IPA characters from the Boas era and by Wm. Elmendorf, who had started to use the modern IPA Americanist characters. The file slips of Fetzer actually contain his lecture notes on Northwest Coast phonetics from lectures given him by both linguists. Fascinating.

In his short career, Fetzer gathered a tremendous amount of extremely valuable and comprehensive material on the Nooksack language and culture. Fortunately his materials are preserved in the Fetzer collection in the Northwest Linguistics Collection (Jacobs Collection) of the University of Washington library. Larry Thompson and a number of his students have also donated their linguistic collections to the same Northwest Linguistics Collection. I have done the same with mine as well, including my own notes and papers—about 30 boxes. I believe I only missed a few Salish Conferences up to then.

All the Lhéchalosem data has been entered in LEXWARE format in WordPerfect8 so that once complete I can use Bob Hsu's program tailored to WordPerfect to complete a thorough Nooksack language dictionary, using a similar but less detailed format than in my Upriver Halkomelem dictionary (2009). Until a full Nooksack dictionary can be completed, the Classified Word List is serving the tribe well enough and is used in learning and teaching the language.

## **2 Discoveries**

Through work on the Fetzer cards, there are discoveries about his methods, his accuracy, the wealth of information he gathered, the change from Boasian IPA to modern IPA, and many other specific matters about the language, such as etymologies, morphology and syntax, and of course a huge number of new words, including some not asked or attested in Upriver Halkomelem in my work on the language from 1971–2011 and many not attested anywhere else. Here are some of these discoveries.

I will begin with a few samples of the actual data and interpretation. For the Box 2 and 3 files I entered correction of typos in Fetzer's IPA without showing the mistakes by typists. In Box 1 I have been less certain so I show both, and here are a few excerpts:

(1)	.o	te á <sup>w</sup> kwilec nay woníl
	Ipac	te á <sup>w</sup> k <sup>w</sup> Λlec nay woníl
	poc	ta ókwelats (or óqwelats) nay weníl
	TR	back seat
	dim	
	pl	
	dimpl	
	L	PF
	S	GS
	N	NKF1.277
	CM	(P.68)
	D	July 18, 1950

For the LEXWARE dictionary program, each different type of information is given a separate line (band) with an abbreviation (band label), and the first band label of each entry begins with a period to show a separate entry. Those for the Fetzer material are .o (Fetzer's IPA as entered by the research assistants [with some typos]); Ipac (IPA with typos corrected), poc (practical orthography with corrections), TR (English translation), dim (diminutive), pl (plural), dimpl (diminutive plural), L (linguist initials), S (speaker's initials), N (tile slip number), CM (comments) and D (date on file slip). The linguist is Paul Fetzer, the speaker is George Swanaset, and the tile slip number here is NKF1.277 (Nooksack Fetzer box 1, tile slip 277). The first thing I had my research assistants do was to number each tile slip in each box to preserve the original order. Some subsets of cards are paradigms, etc.; some sets are paper clipped together (a fact also noted in the data entry, often showing paradigms). The paperclips have been retained on the cards.

The first example shows the research assistant (RA) often had trouble identifying [Λ] and often entered it as [i]. In Boxes 2 and 3 I had the original file slips and so corrected these. Fetzer also used the old style [ɿ] or [ɿ], the Boasian IPA for modern Americanist IPA [ɿ]. In addition he often started IPA letters such as [Λ] with a slight left curve as was done with handwritten <i> in those days. It turns out these characters were the source of most of the typos needing correction in the Ipac line/band. Another frequent typo was to type labialized characters, which Fetzer always wrote with superscript [<sup>w</sup>], as with plain [w]. I began correcting these at the start of proofing Box 2, but soon gave up, since there are eight labialized velars and uvulars in Nooksack and since plain velars and uvulars cannot ever be followed by the [w] semivowel phoneme. Thus I left quite a few of the typos for [<sup>w</sup>] as [w] alone. The rule just given predicts how to interpret these typos. In the practical orthography, similarly labialization is just written as non-superscript <w>.

In the example, it is not certain whether the word for 'back' has <kw> or <qw> since there are accurate attestations in other material both ways. Upriver Halkomelem (UHK) has <qw> in the cognate ('human back'). I have shown the variation in the Classified Word List for Lhéchalosem (together

with source of each attestation, incl. file slip number, etc., so I have shown variation here in the poc line. Like most linguists in their first year of field work, Fetzer was not always sure of word division. I have corrected errors in such in the poc line. Also it is crucial to note that the poc line is phonemic, since the orthography is phonemic. This allows more correct forms than might be possible if the line required narrow phonetics, since the allophones are sometimes at issue, but seldom the phonemes.

Fetzer used [a<sup>w</sup>] in the example above and elsewhere, sometimes for modern [ɔ] and sometimes for [aw] or [æw]. Here I have used comparisons with UHK and Proto-Salish (for example, Kuipers 2002 and my own first-hand work on Nooksack and comparative Salish, see bibliography) to tell whether there is an actual phoneme /w/ present. It turns out [ɔ] is a rare allophone of /o/ in Nooksack.

All the Fetzer cards record forms by George Swanaset, a very fluent speaker of Lhéchalosem or Nooksack, but he did have an Upriver Halkomelem accent, unlike Sindick Jimmy, the last fluent speaker of his day. Thus George had both [θ] and [θʰ] (like UHK) while Sindick and partial speaker Louisa George had [c] (= [ç] or [tʰ]) and [cʰ] (= [çʰ] or [tʰʰ]). George Swanaset also had some of the latter, but sporadically. Similarly George Swanaset often had [ç] and [çʰ] instead of [č] and [čʰ] which Sindick and Louisa had; though some of these might have been Fetzer accidentally omitting the hachek. UHK has partial complementary distribution and partial free variation between [ç] and [č]; the same is true between UHK [çʰ] and [čʰ]. This explains part of the UHK accent in George Swanaset's Nooksack, as I have described elsewhere.

The Fetzer file slips also show George Swanaset's use of [i] and [u] in positions where they are allophones of the schwa phoneme in UHK. In Lhéchalosem they are usually allophones of /i/ and /o/ in unstressed positions. In the file slips they occur there too.

In Lhéchalosem /o/ also has allophones [o] and [u], in free variation. However, in some words the choice is never seen in anybody's pronunciation as [o], but always as [u]. In those few cases I have used a practical orthography <u> (for example in <tuxw> 'nine'). One further item is the name of the Nooksack language. Since George Adams is now a new fluent speaker (since about 2005), he points out that the language name is better spelled Lhéchalosem since it is from a village, Lhechálos, and since Lhéchalosem would become pronounced as Lhéchelesem in UHK, which makes schwas out of most unstressed [æ] and [o]. And Lhéchelesem that is how all the UHK speakers who knew the language name pronounced it.

An interesting fact from the example 1 above is typical of discoveries from these file slips. That is the occurrence of a nominalizer <n-> which can be added to verb forms made 'continuative' in Nooksack by preposing or prefixing <ay> [æy] to the verb. That is the only way a form can be made continuative. So in the example, <nay weníl> is 'something for sitting' and the whole expression <ta ókwelats (or óqwelats) nay weníl> is 'back seat', literally "something for sitting of the back". After <ts> [c] the possessive <-s> is lost. Note also

that in unaccented Lhéchalosem, the word for ‘back’ would end in [č], so the original Nooksack might have the word with a final [čs] cluster.

(2)	.o	estís, k’losís maénʔma ó-x <sup>w</sup> h <sup>w</sup> εʔstís, kayíθi éʔma ó-x <sup>w</sup> h <sup>w</sup> ε estís
	Ipac	estís, k’losís ma énʔma ó-x <sup>w</sup> h <sup>w</sup> εʔstís, kayíθΛ éʔma ó-x <sup>w</sup> h <sup>w</sup> ε estís
	poc	astís tl’osés ma án7ma oxw xwa astís qayilhthe án7ma oxw xwa astís
	TR	close, closer now she’s getting closer
	dim	
	pl	
	dimpl	
	L	PF
	S	GS
	N	NKF1.280
	CM	P.68 [PF’s notation,reference unclear]BG

In example 2, a sentence that could be part of a dramatic story is given. It shows a comparative with <án7ma> ‘very, really’, but with <oxw> ‘go, going’ and <xwa> ‘become’ between the ‘very’ and the ‘close’ words. So the sentence literally is “is close + then so + really + going + to become + close + and-new info.-she + really + is going + to become + close”. (The hyphens in “and-new info.-she” here indicate morpheme breaks.) This not only shows a syntactic construction in comparative I have never seen before but also shows an interesting construction which is attested elsewhere in the Fetzer cards, <ílhtha> ‘new information’ ilh + tha ‘the (female present)’ an article, which is here used as the subject ‘she’. The masculine equivalent starts a number of sentences in this data as <ílhta> where the -ta is from ‘the (masculine or unmarked present)’ article used with a male subject. These articles seem like short forms for the pronouns <tamatl’ó> ‘he’ and <tsamatl’ó> ‘she’ [GS <thematl’ó>] which are much more common. Perhaps it is a way of foregrounding.

Another interesting thing is the use of <ilh> ‘new information’ late in the sentence. It is a very frequent particle in the huge body of Nooksack material collected by Fetzer (and by other linguists) but it usually appears at the beginning of the sentence. My theory of why it is so ubiquitous is that any sentence asked without relation to the previous sentence (and Fetzer’s material is overwhelmingly sentences rather than individual words), is a sentence with new information in it, i.e. not related to the previous sentence.

(3)	.o	sk'lipixéenis tíθét <u>k</u> wisíłs íł/ kayíł θíχnox <sup>wés</sup> θλmak'ló·
	Ipac	sk'lαpαxéenas tαθét <u>k</u> <sup>w</sup> asiłs íł/ kayíł θάχnox <sup>wés</sup> θλmak'λό·
	poc	stl'epexáns te thqat (kwesílłs ilh) qayíłł théχnoxwas thematl'ó
	TR	underneath and around the tree he found her
	dim	
	pl	
	dimpl	
	L	PF
	S	GS
	N	NKF1.282
	CM	(P. 69)
	D	July 18, 1950

The first typos in the .o line to correct are the cases of [Λ] mistyped as [i]. Since Swanaset was sounding out many of the words syllable by syllable for Fetzer, the first word also has two extra vowels, the extra [ε] and the vowel before the final [s]. These can be deleted since there are other attestations of both the word and the root and affixes in other original file slips, work by other linguists and the recordings that survived of the language. Also cognates show that the first word is clearly <s-tl'ep-exán-s> lit. “nominalizer + below/under + side/surface + 3rd person possessive”.

The word [tαθét] means ‘the tree’, since all the other words are accounted for and since many other attestations of ‘the’ and ‘tree’ have been found in the other boxes and other material. So it needs to be corrected to <te thqat>. When a word has only one vowel in Nooksack it gets primary stress so in the phonemic orthography stress does not need to be written on this word. Fetzer used narrow phonetic transcription (wisely) and did in fact often write it in such places. In early field work one is not always certain of word divisions and as transcribed here it was wise to write stress on the epsilon.

The word [k<sup>w</sup>asiłs] is attested in hundreds of sentences in all the data as [k<sup>w</sup>asiłs]. It is here followed by an extra [íł] and the same morpheme appears in the next word too. The morpheme means either ‘new information’ or ‘in’. Three occurrences of this morpheme are not found in a row elsewhere and it seems most likely to me that the second occurrence was a correction of the mispronunciation [k<sup>w</sup>asiłs] to [k<sup>w</sup>asiłs]. Further, when my research assistants began entering this data I told them to enter underdots under [x] whenever found (which can be done in WordPerfect but not Word) but to enter [k] with an underdot as an underlined [k]. At that point I was not sure if these were an alternate way of transcribing [q]; it turns out they are not. They are also probably not allophonic since Salish languages do not really have room for velars, backed velars, and uvulars, even as allophones. They were simply overtranscribing. Note that Fetzer has many examples of uvular consonants transcribed as velars in the actual file slips elsewhere, so the underlining in the IPA lines can be omitted.

The following [kayit] is underhearing for a form well-attested elsewhere [qayit] ‘and then’. This is born out by cognates and many examples. It is unclear whether this form is a final correction of [k<sup>w</sup>asiʔs] since two ‘new information’ constructions in a row are rare or non-existent elsewhere in the data. And further one need not keep the first one with -s since Swanaset changed his mind and inflected the following verb with the 3rd person subject suffix, here shown as [-es] in [θáχnox<sup>w</sup>és]. Incidentally, at the time x-underdot could only be entered with a macro with complex spacing commands and this resulted in the space between the x and the n in this word, the word for ‘he found her’ (or actually ‘3rd person found 3rd person’). Another point to note is that while Fetzer’s IPA has stress in this word on two vowels, the final stress is almost certainly an artifact of Swanaset sounding out the word slowly syllable by syllable and giving final stress to show the end of the word. This is found in many other places and recordings show him doing this, while other speakers I have heard personally (Sindick Jimmy and Louisa George) did not do this extra stress in normal or slow pronunciations. So in the poc line I have deleted the extra stress.

The final word is the independent pronoun for ‘she’ or ‘her’. The other speakers of Nooksack just mentioned had [ç] and [çʰ] instead of [θ] and [θʰ], so this word here shows an Upriver Halkomelem accent. Swanaset was very fluent in his language so it is likely that both the Halkomelem accented and non-accented Lhéchalosem were common among the Nooksack speakers, probably for at least a century or more (see Galloway 1985a).

- (4) .o ítoʔ ay léweté-s éliʔtan  
 Ipac  
 poc ílholh ay lháwatas álilhten  
 TR they were doctoring him  
 L PF  
 S GS  
 N NKF3.2  
 CM [lit. “new info.-past + contin. + 3rd person sg/pl cures  
 him + they”]BG  
 D Aug 7, 1950

Example 4 shows a past progressive/continuative form, as well as the ubiquitous particle <ilh> used as ‘new information’ and is also of interest as one of several sentences below that involve Indian doctoring or shamanism. The Fetzer cards are rich in such ethnographic information; other sets of sentences give much vocabulary about spirit dancing among the Nooksack.



- (5) .o      hiéčn ?mí· xwʌnen'ém  
 Ipac  
 poc      lhiyáchen ʔmi xwenaʔnám  
 TR      I came to listen (right on spot)  
 L      PF  
 S      GS  
 N      NKF3.3  
 CM      [lit. "I'm here + come to + listen"]BG  
 D      Jul 6, 1950

Example 5 shows a precise gloss for the deictic <lhiyá> 'here' as 'right on the spot' and fits it well into the deictic system.

- (6) .o      sk'áy k<sup>w</sup>θínos helínəs téa esxǎʔ  
 Ipac  
 poc      skw'ay kws thínoxws halínes tíya asxélh  
 TR      they couldn't cure him  
 L      PF  
 S      GS  
 N      NKF3.4  
 CM      [lit. "it's impossible + that + 3rd person manages to fix  
 it + his health + that + sick one"]BG  
 D      Aug 7, 1950

Example 6 shows the expression of 'couldn't' by use of <skw'ay> 'it's impossible' + <kws> 'that', + dependant subject suffix on the following verb <thínoxw> 'manage to fix him/her/it/them' with the partial control transitivizer <-noxw>. It also shows a binomial expression 'fix it + his health' = 'cure him' and shows a slightly mistranscribed possessive for 'his health' <halínes> for <halíns>. The latter word is interesting too in its derivation since the root is <halí> 'alive'. <-n> is not usually a nominalizer but may be one here. On the other hand, if it represents a control transitivizer <-Vn> and <-es> is 3rd person subject, the word could be a verb meaning something like 'he purposely made him alive'. Especially since Indian doctors were said to have this power and illnesses were often considered fatal unless treated.

- (7) .o téano šwonéem sk'á·y k̄<sup>w</sup>əs heli·ns téa esxáʒ.  
 Ipac  
 poc tíyano shxwoná7am skw'ay kwes halíns tíya asxélh  
 TR they couldn't cure him [that Indian doctor couldn't cure  
 that sick one]BG  
 L PF  
 S GS  
 N NKF3.5  
 CM  
 D Aug 7, 1950

Example 7 shows a variation on sentence 6 with the NP <tíyano shxwoná7am> 'that Indian doctor' semantically foregrounded or emphasized by putting it initial in the sentence. Nooksack sentences are always verb initial in their normal unemphatic form. It also shows the translation given sometimes omits items which can be filled in from the word-for-word translations.

- (8) .o i<sup>x</sup> léikwitwis twisótq'il  
 Ipac i<sup>x</sup> léik<sup>w</sup>At<sup>w</sup>As t<sup>w</sup>Asótq'Al  
 poc ilh líkwetxwes txws7étl'qel  
 TR he threw it outside  
 dim  
 pl  
 dimpl  
 L PF  
 S GS  
 N NKF1.386  
 CM  
 D June 28, 1950

Example 8, in week two of field work has some transcription errors. First we fix the typos of [i] for [ʌ] by the typist. Next we fix the first word with x-underdot for [ʃ], both voiceless spirants, but Nooksack has <ilh> 'new information' at the beginning of most elicited sentences. The second word has root [léyk<sup>w</sup>]. Next we fix [tw] to [tx<sup>w</sup>] <txw> to show the 'causative transitivizer'. The similar [tw] in the next word is actually also [tx<sup>w</sup>] <txw>, a prefix meaning 'toward' in Nooksack. In the same final word, the bound root is <7étl'q> 'outside' with nominalizing prefix <s-> and <-el> suffix meaning 'go'.

(9)	.o	p'έεκ <sup>w</sup>
	Ipac	p'έεκ <sup>w</sup>
	poc	pá7akw'
	TR	pipe smoke or stove, pipe
	dim	
	pl	p'ə̀k <sup>w</sup> p'έ·εκ <sup>w</sup> <pek <sup>w</sup> pá7akw'>
	dimpl	
	L	PF
	S	GS
	N	NKF1.982
	CM	[compare UHK free root <pékw' ~ péqw'> /'smoke puffing out, (puff out (dust, powder, plant spores, seed fluff, light snow, smoke), form puffs of dust)'; this root is origin of Nk 'pipe' <pá7akw'>]BG
	D	July 06, 1950

Example 9 shows an interesting lexical item, <pá7akw'> for 'pipe, stove, pipe smoke'. The Fetzer transcription shows glottalized [p'] but comparative work with Upriver Halkomelem shows that the first consonant is probably unglottalized. Other attestations in the Fetzer cards also show plain <p>. Over-hearing glottalization is common in early field work on Salishan languages; I had the same problem in my first month of fieldwork in 1970. In the first few weeks one underhears and misses some glottalization (in languages or speakers with soft glottalization especially). Then one progresses to hearing glottalization under every bush. This sometimes lasts for the next several months. I too went through this stage. On repeated elicitation with more experience one hopefully gets to the stage of hearing the glottalization more and more correctly. Another interesting feature of this lexical entry is its semantic scope; the Nooksack word may well also have the verbal meaning as in the UHK cognate, i.e. 'smoke puffing out, plant spores puffing out, puffing out of dust from light snow'.

(10)	.o	ḡ <sup>w</sup> oíḡ <sup>w</sup> ay
	Ipac	ḡ <sup>w</sup> oíḡ <sup>w</sup> ay
	poc	ḡwóyḡwey
	TR	feeble shaking (senile)(shaking all the time)
	dim	
	pl	ay'ḡ <sup>w</sup> oi ḡ <sup>w</sup> oi i ḡ <sup>w</sup> ay <ay' ḡwoyḡwoy7iḡwey>
	dimpl	
	L	PF
	S	GS
	N	NKF1.1359
	CM	[now called Parkinson's disease; could also be meaning behind the masked dance <sḡwóyḡwey> which involves shaking constantly while dancing around the circle]BG
	D	July 21, 1950

Example 10 is interesting for its double reduplication in plural as well as its semantic content. The meaning GS gives is quite precise, 'feeble shaking (senile) (shaking all the time)'. I believe this is probably now known as 'Parkinson's disease', so I have pointed that out. The singular form is reduplicated with CVC reduplication. The root is unclear to me so far, but is most likely <ḡwóy> as a full vowel stressed, while the second syllable has a schwa; also if the first vowel was in prefixed reduplication with <ó>, the root vowel would have to have the same vowel and it does not. The meaning given with constant shaking could imply a derivational plural reduplication, but a plural form is given below, so the reduplication could be a derivational continuative reduplication. The form given as the plural does indeed seem to be a plural and with the preposed <ay7> it is also continuative. The continuative is very regular in Nooksack, almost always formed simply with a preposed <ay> or <ay7>, a cognate to Upriver Halkomelem <á:y> 'keep on going' (which is never used as a continuative in UHK). Thus Nooksack avoids all the exceedingly complex reduplication, vowel ablaut, infixing, prefixing, lengthening, etc. that form an intricate ballet in Upriver Halkomelem continuatives, each permutation usually applied only to a lexically determined small set of verbs (see Galloway 1993, my Grammar of Upriver Halkomelem). I am not yet able to predict when the y is glottalized with <ay>.

The double reduplication is something I have discussed elsewhere for Nooksack (Galloway 1984b), but is interesting here since it is a prefixed full copy of the root plus an interesting little extra syllable <7i> infix. Other plurals have this infix in the Fetzer cards but they have a different prefixed reduplication, Cə-, as well. There are several dozen examples in the Fetzer cards and also in my paper cited earlier in this paragraph.

(11)	.o	esí-tə kwis k <sup>wé</sup> / ietł ayxek'lí/ wəsén/ k <sup>wé</sup> · steiqéo
	Ipac	esí-stə kwɔs k <sup>wé</sup> / ietł ayxek'lí/ wəsén/ k <sup>wé</sup> · steiqéo
	poc	asíste kwe skw'áyalh ay xatl'íwesán kwa stiqíw
	TR	horsefly
	dim	
	pl	
	dimpl	
	L	PF
	S	GS
	N	NKF1.1434
	CM	(gives the appearance of being/ like stinging bee/ biting horses flesh/horses)[PF]; [neither the word for 'sting' <t'ith> nor the word for 'bee' <semá7yo> are in this sentence; it is lit. "like + the + hungered thing + contin. + bite it on the body + the + horse", i.e. "like a hungered thing biting the body of a horse"]BG
	D	July 28, 1950

Example 11 shows how improved segmentation is necessary to make sense of many sentences. [kwɔs k<sup>wé</sup>/ ietł] <kwe skw'ayalh> and [ayx ek'lí/ wəsén] <ay xatl'íwesán> show how incorrect line divisions can be misleading. <kwes> 'that he/it' and <kwa7> 'let go' and <yalh> 'now' are not involved in the first phrase; instead it is <kwe> 'the, a' plus <s-kw'áy-alh> 'nominalizer -starve -resultative' i.e. "hungered thing". Similarly, the second phrase in the last sentence is not <ayx> 'crab' + <a tl'í> 'your desire' + <>wesán> a transitive verb with root <wes> + transitivizer <-an>; it is instead <ay> 'continuative' + <xatl'íwesán> 'bite -on the body -transitivizer'. Example 11 is also fascinating for the long sentence required to express 'horsefly'. It semantically expresses what a horsefly is quite exactly, but requires seven words to express one in English since it is a new creature to the Nooksacks. The morphology and syntax and semantics are all interesting. Fetzer's literal translation is helpful, though no stinging bee is actually found in the Nooksack words. The slashes were used by the typist to show a new line was used by Fetzer for the next words in order to fit them on the cards. He used large letters to write the IPA characters on the cards.

- (12) .o móoks kʌle sal  
 Ipac móoks kʌ lesél  
 poc móʔoqws kwe lesál  
 TR saddle horn  
 dim  
 dimpl  
 L PF  
 S GS  
 N NKF1.1889  
 CM [lit. “bird of + the + saddle”]BG  
 D June 27,1950

This example is interesting for showing a Nooksack metaphor: SADDLE HORN is a SADDLE BIRD. This is a good description of what the horn of a saddle looks like, so is quite natural. The word for ‘saddle’ is from Chinook Jargon which often borrowed words with the article <le> or <la> from French for new introduced cultural or material items.

- (13) .o meʔtsopʼ  
 Ipac meʔʔkopʼ  
 poc máʔlhkwop  
 TR to look for fire  
 dim  
 dimpl  
 L PF  
 S GS  
 N NKF1.1868  
 CM [compare Nooksack <-kwop ~ -áʔlhkwop> ‘fire’ & <ma> ‘take off’].BG  
 D June 26,1950

PF often glottalized final stops at word end perhaps because of how GS made a word boundary; we often do this in English too as native speakers.

- (14) .o mlíminq xʷʌsne stqwuéuets  
 Ipac mlíminq xʷʌ sne stqwuéuets  
 poc meʔímin q kwe snatsʼ te qwáwats  
 TR to sound alike but mean differently  
 dim  
 dimpl  
 L PF  
 S GS  
 N NKF1.1863  
 CM  
 D June 27,1950

This is a fascinating phrase to express ‘homophones’ . In my field-work I never thought to ask for a term for homophones, though the speakers and I found a number of them and discussed the fact in all three Salish languages I worked with (Nooksack, Halkomelem, and Samish). This phrase says exactly what they are.

- (15) .o      ʔc@comins təhlíqlisəʔs  
 Ipac    ʔic’omins təhlíqlisəʔs  
 poc     lhíts’omins ta lhílhets’als  
 TR      saw dust  
 dim  
 dimpl  
 L      PF  
 S      GS  
 N      NKF1.1826  
 CM     [lit. “the cut part of + the + saw”]BG  
 D      June 27,1950

Example 15 shows a terrible transcription and errors in typing. The first word cannot have [cc] and it is clear that the first c should be a vowel since it was followed by the @ sign which at the time of data entry the typist had to use for stress or sometimes apostrophe which was on the same key. The closest handwritten vowel to c is probably i. The root for ‘cut’ is surely the root in this word and has a glottalized [c’]. [-min] means ‘part, portion’ and the unstressed allophone of /i/ is [ɪ]. It is followed by suffix [s] <-s> ‘of, 3rd person possessive’. So the first word <lhíts’omins> means ‘cut part of’. Next the article can be separated from the following noun, presumably the word for ‘saw’, which is not attested anywhere else in any of my data. Fortunately the UHK word for a ‘saw’ is <lhílhets’als> so we are looking for something similar. The [hl] is an inexperienced way to show [ʔ] <lh>. [ql’] is how PF sometimes shows [ʔ] <tl’>; here since there is no apostrophe it seems to represent [ʔ] <lh>. The 3rd vowel could be a frequent typo of [i] for [ɪ] <e>. The last vowel [e] is variably used by Fetzer for either [æ], [ɛ], [ey], [i] or [ə]. Fortunately there is a well-attested Nooksack suffix [-æls] <als> ‘do as a structured activity’ (same form and meaning in Upriver Halkomelem, and ‘cutting’ is certainly something a saw does as a structured activity. So we now have both the words for ‘saw’ <lhílhets’als> and ‘saw dust’ <lhíts’omins ta lhílhets’als>.

The remaining items are all interesting for similar phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic reasons, which are expressed in the comment (CM) lines throughout. All are interesting for semantic reasons, such as how a term is expressed in literal terms which are different from how English speakers think of the terms or from the single-word term English speakers use. These literal meanings are seldom given by Fetzer and can only be discovered through a knowledge of the Nooksack language or its close sister languages such as Halkomelem. All the remaining examples fit this

description. In addition, many are for cultural complexities which I might not think to elicit and which were probably volunteered by GS. However, Fetzer did have a good education in anthropology from Northwest Coast experts and certainly asked knowledgeable questions leading to many of these terms. Some, such as example 22, express a surprising combination of alloemes (variant meanings of single terms), i.e. ‘bellow of a male elk’ and ‘whine of a dog’ are expressed by the same term. Of course, few of us non-hunters have heard the bellow of an elk, but it turns out they are similar high pitched sounds. It is also interesting that the root may be one that means ‘break out through a hole’, the hole being the creature’s mouth. I would never have guess this without a knowledge of Halkomelem. Such origins are hypotheses but once they also include a plausible meaning from a lexical affix, fit the context, and form a reasonable literal meaning for the term, they seem much more likely, as here. The phrase is also attested in example 23 below, and as often happens, the plural form helps greatly to discover the root and exact form of the singular, since plural reduplication only reduplicated the root.

(16) .o k’ayhélios  
 Ipac k’ayhélos  
 poc q’éyxálos  
 TR iris of eye  
 dim  
 dimpl  
 L PF  
 S GS  
 N NKF1.1692  
 CM [lit. “black of eye”]BG  
 D June 21,1950

(17) .o hxawsánóp  
 Ipac hxawsánóp  
 poc xawsenóp  
 TR fresh (rich) soil  
 dim  
 dimpl  
 L PF  
 S GS  
 N NKF1.1611  
 CM [lit. “new soil/dirt”]BG  
 D June 27,1950



- (18) .o húiyəxs  
 Ipac húiyəxs  
 poc hóyeqs  
 TR to die  
 dim  
 dimpl  
 L PF  
 S GS  
 N NKF1.1606  
 CM [lit. “finished in the nose”, i.e. no more breathing]BG  
 D June 23,1950

Example 18 is an interesting metaphor for ‘die’: “finished in the nose”. I did not immediately see how it worked, but on reflection I think found the connection.

Examples 19 and 20 show the same word has two alloemes, both words for ceremonial details I did not know about. The ceremonies referred to died out from about 1960–1990. I am not sure even now if they have been restored. They died out due to the potlatch ban or went undercover during that time and I am not aware if any such have been restored, though a number of similar ceremonies have been restored.

- (19) .o θ’axt’en  
 Ipac θ’axt’en  
 poc th’extán  
 TR singer at baby’s baptismal for high born (big feast and lots of people)  
 dim  
 dimpl  
 L PF  
 S GS  
 N NKF1.1524  
 CM  
 D June 23,1950

- (20) .o θ'ox̄t'ɛn  
 Ipac θ'ox̄t'ɛn  
 poc th'ox̄tán  
 TR fathers give puberty song also for naming ceremony  
 dim  
 dimpl  
 L PF  
 S GS  
 N NKF1.1523  
 CM  
 D June 21,1950
- (21) .o iθo-x<sup>w</sup>wé:ʒ'  
 Ipac iθo-x<sup>w</sup>wé:ʒ'  
 poc ilh oxw wítl'  
 TR scapegoat who left for another place to find peace  
 dim  
 dimpl  
 pl iθó-x<sup>w</sup>wuʒ'wé:ʒ' <ilh oxw wetl'wítl'>  
 L PF  
 S GS  
 N NKF1.1505  
 CM  
 D July 28,1950
- (22) .o ílayΛ k'<sup>w</sup>Λhóm  
 Ipac ílayΛ k'<sup>w</sup>Λhóm  
 poc ilh ay kw'ehóm  
 TR bellow of male elk and whine of dog  
 dim  
 dimpl  
 pl ílayΛ k'<sup>w</sup>ʒk'<sup>w</sup>hóm <ilh ay kw'ékw'ehóm>  
 L PF  
 S GS  
 N NKF1.1501  
 CM  
 D July 20,1950

- (23) .o      íʔayʌ kʷʌhóm  
 Ipac    íʔayʌ kʷʌhóm  
 poc     ilh ay kwʼehóm  
 TR      bellow of male elk and whine of dog  
 dim  
 dimpl  
 pl      íʔayʌ kʷʔkʷhóm <ilh ay kwʼékwʼehóm>  
 L       PF  
 S       GS  
 N       NKF1.1501  
 CM      [the verb root may be as in <me qwehályen> ‘just  
 breaking through, coming out of a hole (of plants in  
 spring for ex.)’ from stem <qwehá>, itself from <qwa>  
 ‘get a hole’]BG  
 D       July 20,1950
- (24) .o      íʔó-xʷtwənéc élos  
 Ipac    íʔó-xʷtwənéc élos  
 poc     ilh oxw txwenátsʼálos  
 TR      faded  
 dim  
 dimpl  
 pl      íʔó-xʷtwənéc nécé·los <ilh oxw txwenatsʼnátsʼálos>  
 L       PF  
 S       GS  
 N       NKF1.1492  
 CM      [lit. “new info. + going to + toward - different - in the  
 eye/in looks”]BG  
 D       July 31,1950

In 24 there is a complex way of expressing ‘faded’ which is quite ingenious and logical [lit. “new info. + going to + toward - different - in the eye/in looks”].

(25)	.o	íé·le k <sup>w</sup> ǝǝʔ
	Ipac	íé·le k <sup>w</sup> ǝǝʔ
	poc	iyálakwotlʔ
	TR	good sign (for future)
	dim	
	dimpl	
	pl	éʔeʔé·le k <sup>w</sup> ǝǝʔ <á7éy7álakwotlʔ>
	L	PF
	S	GS
	N	NKF1.1491
	CM	[the root is <7iy> ‘good’, an allomorph of <ha7lh> ‘good’ in some derived words; the rest of the word is so far unclear as to cognates or literal meaning]BG
	D	August 28,1950

Example 25 has the term for a ‘good sign (for future)’; the data also has one for a ‘bad sign’ which would be very useful in hunting, or many other activities, as well as in the work of ‘seers’ (<syówa>). In spite of a 1724-page dictionary of Upriver Halkomelem, I did not find such terms in Halkomelem.

Examples 26 and 27 have words for social positions I did not know existed, ‘leader (of village or tribe)’ different from <salhám> ‘chief, high class person/people’ which is more determined by wealth and birth; and ‘professional ear piercer,’ lit. “making hole in the ear”, which is a verb, not a noun; however to be used as a noun the phrase just needs an article to precede it.

(26)	.o	ayk <sup>w</sup> é·nk <sup>w</sup> ʌné·t kwuněčó·mix <sup>w</sup>
	Ipac	ayk <sup>w</sup> é·nk <sup>w</sup> ʌné·t kwuněčó·mix <sup>w</sup>
	poc	ay kwánkwenát kwe nach’ómixw
	TR	leader (of village or tribe)
	dim	
	dimpl	
	L	PF
	S	GS
	N	NKF1.1479
	CM	[lit. “holding many times the different people”; the people of a village or tribe as distinct people; this is different from <salhám> ‘chief, high class person/people’ which is more determined by wealth & birth]BG
	D	July 28,1950

- (27) .o aykwəhé·lim  
 Ipac aykwəhé·lim  
 poc ay qweháliyén or ay qwehálin  
 TR professional ear piercer  
 dim  
 dimpl  
 pl aykwə́l@kwəhé·lim <ay qwélqwháliyén>  
 L PF  
 S GS  
 N NKF1.1478  
 CM [lit. “continuative + make hole in the ear”, to be a noun  
 needs an article to precede it]BG  
 D July 28,1950
- (28) .o ayʔčé·nim  
 Ipac ayʔčé·nim  
 poc ayʔ chánem  
 TR females labor hut  
 dim  
 dimpl  
 pl ayícəncé·nem <ay chanchánem>  
 L PF  
 S GS  
 N NKF1.1475  
 CM [the word or phrase means ‘having (birthing) labor’, but  
 when preceded by an article can be used for the noun,  
 ‘labor hut, birthing hut’]BG  
 D July 28,1950
- (29) .o aí·číl  
 Ipac aí·číl  
 poc ay ích’íl  
 TR lazy person (who refuses another request)  
 dim  
 dimpl  
 pl ayíci·čír-l <ay ích’íich’íl>  
 L PF  
 S GS  
 N NKF1.1471  
 CM [compare UHK <í:ts’el> ‘temporarily lazy’]BG  
 D July 25,1950

The next two examples, 30 and 31, are interesting terms for ‘competitive game’ and ‘teaser in lili’. I did not know there would be a word for ‘competitive game’ as opposed to the word for ‘game’. It is an interesting word

deriving from a literal meaning of “being hard on each other”. And the term in 31 is for a role a participant plays in the game of <lili>, which I could not immediately identify. However, then I realized it was better spelled <liyliy> from Upriver Halkomelem <liyem> ‘laugh’ and must refer to the game that involves teasing each other to make them laugh. Nooksack has <nayem> for ‘laugh’ while UHK has <layem> ‘laughing’.

- (30) .o aył'xwítel  
 Ipac aył'xwítel  
 poc ay tl'xwítel or aytl'xwítel  
 TR game (for purpose of beating others)  
 dim  
 dimpl  
 pl aył'áł'əxwítel <aytl'étl'exwítel> or <ay tl'éxwtl'exwítel>  
 L PF  
 S GS  
 N NKF1.1469  
 CM [compare UHK <tl'exw> ‘hard’, thus Nk here is lit. “being hard on each other”, so a ‘competitive game’; since PF often writes [ay]<ay> ‘continuative, keep on’ as a prefix to the verb, it may have been considered as such by George Swanaset, especially here where it is part of the word used as a nominal]BG  
 D July 25,1950
- (31) .o ayha<sup>w</sup>θ'étes kwsł'ís k<sup>w</sup>λsnáy emnoxws  
 Ipac ayha<sup>w</sup>θ'étes kwsł'ís k<sup>w</sup>λsnáy emnoxws  
 poc ay hoth'átas kw stl'í7es kws náyamnoxws  
 TR teaser in líli [líyliy, the game to make a person laugh]BG  
 dim  
 dimpl  
 L PF  
 S GS  
 N NKF1.1466  
 CM [lit. “he/she is teasing him/her that wants to manage to make him laugh”]BG  
 D July 25,1950

- (32) .o ayhámokum k<sup>w</sup>Λisłəłó·q<sup>w</sup>  
 Ipac ayhámokum k<sup>w</sup>Λisłəłó·q<sup>w</sup>  
 poc ay hémoqwem kw eslhelhók<sup>w</sup>  
 TR hum of humming bird  
 dim  
 dimpl  
 L PF  
 S GS  
 N NKF1.1465  
 CM [lit. “the flying one is making a humming noise”]BG  
 D July 26,1950

Example 32 starts with a verb that is used to express ‘humming’ when a person is doing it or making an inarticulate noise with the mouth. Here it shows it can be applied to the sound of a hummingbird in night or in fact to other flying creatures.

- (33) .o ayk<sup>w</sup>énox<sup>w</sup>es  
 Ipac ayk<sup>w</sup>énox<sup>w</sup>es  
 poc aykwá7anoxwas  
 TR person who habitually fumbles objects  
 dim  
 dimpl  
 pl ayk<sup>w</sup>Λnk<sup>w</sup>énox<sup>w</sup>es <ay kwenkwá7anoxwas>  
 pl  
 L PF  
 S GS  
 N NKF1.1462  
 CM [the root is <kwa7a> ‘drop’ + <noxw> ‘accidentally do to something’ + <-as> ‘3rd person subject’; so the phrase or word means lit. “he/she is accidentally dropping things” and can take the nominal meaning when preceded by an article, such as <te> ‘the male/generic’ or <tse> ‘the female’]BG  
 D July 26,1950

A ‘person who habitually fumbles objects’ is a term that the average linguist would probably not think to elicit; I did not in my work from 1970–2009 with UHK. The literal meaning is interesting and very logical, “he/she is accidentally dropping things”.

In example 34 is a word for a ‘doe’s call for her fawn’, something only a very fluent speaker and/or a hunter would know or think to ask. Further information is added as to what kind of call it is, an imitation. This either means the doe is imitating the sound the fawn makes or that a hunter imitates the sound in order to attract deer. Not only is this interesting in itself: but the

word's literal meaning is also interesting, using the root that means 'fawn, immature quadruped (such as 'colt', etc.)' and adding the suffix <-iws> 'in the body'.

- (34) .o st'élius  
 Ipac st'élius  
 poc st'áliws  
 TR doe's call for fawn (an imitation)  
 dim  
 dimpl  
 L PF  
 S GS  
 N NKF1.2103  
 CM [root is <st'él7e> 'fawn, colt, baby quadruped', suffix <-iws> 'in the body']BG  
 D June 26,1950

Example 35 was typed meaning 'bull cap', which made no sense to me. In looking at the word, I found it had the suffix <-qin> 'on the head'. The root could be either <kwin, qwin, kw'in, or qw'in>; searching for these four as to plausible meaning I found only <qwin> 'hair'. Then it was clear that next was suffix <-áli> 'container of. That left only [-oʔ'] which could be either <-0tl'> (no meaning known), or <-olh>, either 'offspring' or 'sort of, -like'. The latter made perfect sense for a literal meaning "sort of container of hair on the head" for 'ball cap'. I had never obtained a term for 'ball cap' in UHK, NK or Samish since it is one of a huge number of acculturated items one seldom tries to ask exhaustively for any language. Now that everyone seems to wear them, not just baseball players, this is a very useful term to revive.

- (35) .o k<sup>w</sup>málioʔ'kin  
 Ipac k<sup>w</sup>málioʔ'kin  
 poc qwináli7otl'qin or qwináli7olhqin  
 TR bull cap [ball cap]  
 dim  
 dimpl  
 L PF  
 S GS  
 N NKF1.1670  
 CM [probably <qwin-áll-olh-qin> lit. "hair -container -like -on head"]BG  
 D June 22, 1950

Example 36 is the complex term for 'war chief. The mis-segmentation had to be corrected first to start to make sense of the term. Fortunately, all the words have been also found elsewhere. The only one that had not is the



next to last word, <t'exímew7s>. It seems to have root <t'ex> which is found in <st'ex> 'fork of a tree, fork of a road', so the root itself is a verb meaning something like 'to fork, to branch'. The first word could either be a) <kwenkwenát-s> 'its head man (of one family or village)', found only in NKF1.1658, a word I had not encountered or thought to ask anyone in my research since 1970 and found only in one card, or b) <kwenkwenates> 'he leads them'. Either is possible but the second choice is probably better, yielding a literal meaning for 'war chief as "he leads them + tribe + that + forks-repeatedly-in the body of + the war fight". This is a fascinating insight on what a 'war chief' actually did.

- (36) .o kwankwənét tʌsʌo h<sup>w</sup>ilmux k'lot'ʌhiməw's xʌlʌ  
 Ipac kwankwənét tʌs ʌo h<sup>w</sup>ilmux k'lot'ʌhiməw's xʌlʌ  
 poc kwenkwenátés ókw'elmixw tʌ'o t'exímew7s sɣeylex  
 TR war chief  
 dim  
 dimpl  
 L PF  
 S GS  
 N NKF1.1667  
 CM [lit. "he leads them + tribe + that + forks-repeatedly-in the body of + the war fight"; compare UHK <ō'kw'elmexw> 'a group of people, a tribe of people, several tribes'; NK <st'ex> 'fork (division)' & NK <x'éylex> 'to war, fight in war'; an alternate for word 1 is NK <kwenkwenát> 'head man of one family or village' in NKF1.1658, plus suffix <-es> 'of, 3rd person possessive', probably better, i.e. 'war chief' is lit. "head man of a family/village + tribe/several tribes/group of people + that + forks/divides the body repeatedly + fighting in war"; this is extremely accurate, as a war chief might lead either a group of warriors or a village or a tribe or several tribes in war fighting]BG  
 D June 21, 1950

- (37) .o k<sup>w</sup>éen nəstəst həs  
 Ipac k<sup>w</sup>éen nəstəst həs  
 poc kwáʔanes te sʰel  
 TR to draw disease out  
 dim  
 dimpl  
 L PF  
 S GS  
 N NKF1.1664  
 CM  
 D June 21, 1950

37 is an interesting example of words that show details of how a shaman or Indian doctor works.

- (38) .o kwuʔkwíʔ tэле  
 Ipac kwuʔkwíʔ tэле  
 poc kwetl'kwítl' tála  
 TR gold (red money)  
 dim  
 dimpl  
 L PF  
 S GS  
 N NKF1.1661  
 CM  
 D June 27, 1950

One would normally expect a term for 'gold' would be a borrowing from English, and indeed I did find <kwul> as such a word in Nooksack. However, later I also obtained the term in example 38, lit. 'red money' and in UHK <tskwám tále> "red money" 'gold'. There was no copper money in the days when this was coined. The second word in the binomial expression is Nooksack <tála> (UHK has <tále> both 'money' and from the English "dollar". The UHK term for copper 'pennies' is <tskwewelím tale> "little red money".

(39)	.o	k'əlénis
	Ipac	k'əlénis
	poc	qelánis
	TR	coarse bottle grain (wood)
	dim	
	dimpl	
	L	PF
	S	GS
	N	NKF1.1676
	CM	[lit. “bad in the teeth”, nice metaphor, grains in wood are teeth]BG
	D	June 27, 1950

Example 39 shows a nice metaphor within a word, where WOOD GRAINS are TEETH.

(40)	.o	h <sup>w</sup> Atíečs
	Ipac	h <sup>w</sup> Atíečs
	poc	xwtíyaches
	TR	to seek blood revenge and to return a blow
	dim	
	dimpl	
	L	PF
	S	GS
	N	NKF1.1621
	CM	[maybe lit. “always there in the hand”; also compare UHK <xwtíyaches> ‘fight back’]BG
	D	June 26, 1950

The last example, 40, shows an interesting double derivation of meaning. The literal meaning of the word is “always there in the hand” coming to mean ‘to return a blow’ (with UHK cognate meaning ‘fight back’). Then the second allosome or the word means ‘to seek blood revenge’, a further semantic extension and perhaps metaphorical from ‘to return a blow’. The literal meaning of ‘always there in the hand’ means that the desire to return the blow or seek blood revenge is always there in the mind and fist—the hand or fist is always ready.

### 3 Future work with the Fetzer cards

Now that the corrections and orthography lines are complete on all three boxes of cards (done at a clip of about 50 words a day (4–6 hrs./day), it will be possible to proceed to the next stage: corrections and orthography lines for the box of cards by Pamela Amoss and the box by Barbara Efrat and Laurence Thompson. Since the transcriptions require adequate phonetic

characters and have all been entered in WordPerfect8 which (unlike Word) allows this (for ex. stressed [óééúáéúá]), and since the LEXWARE program I have works on WordPerfect8 files (see my Upriver Halkomelem dictionary 2009 for a result), I have so far been unable to accept an offer of help from an interested student who might otherwise have been able to insert asterisks in English words to be indexed in the LEXWARE dictionary sort and help reorder the entries so that the practical orthography line precedes the Fetzer IPA line. The student has a MacIntosh computer, and though he can get WordPerfect for Macs, none of the entries in the PC files can be saved without many errors as Mac files. The stressed vowels rarely convert correctly or unambiguously. Conversely, if he edited the Mac files and sent them back, I could not convert them back to accurate WordPerfect files. My thanks to this student for his generous offer of help. An alternative of getting a program developed to convert back and forth is not feasible since Word cannot handle all the narrow IPA stressed vowels Fetzer used, and my health and patience are not equal to seeing such programming through.

It appears I will still have to complete the additions of asterisks and reordering of bands myself, as well as proof and add the poc lines for the Amoss, Thompson and Efrat file slips which have been digitally entered in WordPerfect. With each box I complete I have a better grasp of the language and more fluency. I have shared the files of each completed box with George Adams, who is now a very fluent speaker of the language and is teaching it in Nooksack Immersion classes at the tribal offices. As to when my Nooksack dictionary may be completed, it will be probably two or three years to the first LEXWARE run. Meanwhile as I make corrections in the Fetzer card IPA I am able to correct a few errors in the Nooksack Classified Word List before sending it out to a publisher. George Adams is using it as are his students. It has well over 5000 words, phrases, and sentences, is a little over 420 pages long.

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