

EYAK DICTIONARY

by

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## INTRODUCTION

The present work is a lexicon of the Eyak language, arranged by morpheme. It is preliminary and incomplete. To be added shortly is a supplement containing the following entries: 1) the verb stems ?a?ǝ 'plural go', a 'singular goes', (y)a general plural object classificatory verb stem, ya·? general plural act classificatory verb stem, with all their derived themes, also the postpositional stems g<sup>(w)</sup>a? 'like', (? )a· 'for, of', and the demonstratives ?el-?ǝ·- 'this', ?ew-?u·- 'that', ?ǝh- 'he, she', ɣi· 'yonder'; 2) the proclitic de 'ipse' and enclitics d 'interrogative, emphatic', ǝ 'interrogative', ǝ 'emphatic'; 3) about 75 prefixes and suffixes; 4) unanalyzable place-names, about 50, and personal names, about 90, largely of foreign origin; 5) cross-references and possible morphemes in uncertain analyses. For a somewhat outdated grammatical sketch, which includes many of the affixes, the user is referred to the author's "Eyak: a preliminary report" Canadian Journal of Linguistics 10.167-187, 1965.

For each morpheme included here virtually all information in the Eyak corpus is given. Nearly all occurrences in elicitations are cited, and all occurrences in texts are cited and/or referred to, by number of text and sentence (e.g. 25.38 is to be read Text 25, sentence 38). The present work thus includes a concordance to the Eyak Texts. For every citation or reference the source is also specified: abbreviations for the informants are L (Lena Nacktan), M (Marie Smith), A (Anna Nelson Harry), S (Mike Sewock), G (George Johnson). All interpretable forms in the 19th century sources (the Rezanov vocabulary of 1805 and Radlov's edition thereof, 1857, and the shorter Wrangell and Furuhjelm lists, ca. 1835 and 1861) are also cited, as well as all the forms published in The Eyak Indians of the Copper River

Delta, Alaska, Copenhagen, 1938, by Kai Birket-Smith and Frederica de Laguna, hitherto the best-known source of published Eyak material, abbreviated BSdL. The unpublished Eyak fieldnotes of John P. Harrington (1940), Fang-Kuei Li (1952), and Robert Austerlitz (1961), all of which were consulted and exploited during the course of this writer's fieldwork, are cited only where they present unduplicated information or certain unsolved problems.

For certain stems many (predictable) paradigmatic forms are listed, as these were elicited as data for discovering the paradigmatic structures of the language. More importantly, however, derivational possibilities were also rather fully explored for each stem. Especially in the case of stems attested only with derivational affixes, attempts were made to elicit the stem with fewer or no such affixes in order better to isolate the meaning of the stem. The phonological form of stems has been verified as far as the informants' memories would allow. In a few cases there remains some doubt as to the authenticity of a form, and this is of course noted. Forms verified <sup>as such</sup> by Lena Nacktan are virtually certain to be authentic.

The depth and nature of the analysis by which the morphemes have been identified as such is essentially the linguist's. No claim is made that the informant's analysis should correspond at all closely. In most cases the informant's analysis would certainly not be deeper or more "etymological", for the writer is also strongly interested in Eyak from a historical and comparative point of view, and has done the Eyak research with a view to its relationship with Athapaskan.

Considerable effort was devoted to eliciting as many different morphemes as possible of the Eyak lexicon surviving in living memory. Four methods were used: 1) random non-directed elicitation in the form of freely narrated text; 2a) semantically directed elicitation in the form of trans-

lation from English, e.g. "What is the Eyak word for 'water'"; 2b) semantically directed elicitation, less specific, e.g. "What kinds of seaweed are there?", "What are the parts of an arrow?"; 3) semantically and/or phonologically directed elicitation, by searching for cognates from Athapaskan lists, e.g. "Do you have any word that sounds anything like sici?", meaning anything like 'my head?' ("yes, sici?, 'my neck'"); 4) phonologically directed elicitation, by going systematically through all the 20000 or more phonologically canonic potential stem-forms, e.g. "do you have anything that sounds anything like 3a?k, ku3a?k, sdi3a?k?, 3u?k, ku3u?k, sdi-3u?k?" (with some maximally versatile affixes as a frame). This last method was used <sup>at the end</sup> with Lena Macktan, and succeeded ~~in~~ in adding perhaps fifty new stems (mostly of very low frequency) to the corpus of over 1000 stems. A computer extrapolation of the flattening curve expressing the slowing rate at which new stems accrued in the text as the corpus lengthened showed that as the number of pages in the text approached infinity, the number of different stems in it would approach an asymptote of 881.9. As well beyond that number had already been elicited, primarily by non-random elicitation, it seems likely that the present Eyak corpus ~~is~~ is nearly exhaustive of active memory, and probably fairly exhaustive of passive memory as well. How much has been lost with the recent decline of Eyak is another matter. Perhaps a lifetime spent amongst the nineteenth century Eyak could have yielded a substantial number <sup>of stems</sup> no longer remembered or not elicited. This writer feels that <sup>of</sup> the surviving Eyak speakers, though none are highly eloquent, some have a fairly good memory of the language, and that from them it has been possible to ~~pece~~ piece together a fairly full Eyak lexicon.

The entries are listed in an order which is designed to allow maximum juxtaposition of potentially related items, ac-

ording to the nature of Eyak phonology. Some adaptation of Roman alphabetical order would doubtless have been much easier for the non-specialist, but it is assumed that the present work will be of interest mainly to specialists, most of whom will have some familiarity with Athapaskan, and whose interests will be primarily comparative, such that maximum juxtaposition of potentially related forms is of high value.

Morphemes are ordered first by initial consonant, according to the following pattern:

b	24	d	1	λ	4	ʒ	8	ʒ	12	g <sup>(w)</sup>	16	ε	20	ʔ	29
		t	2	κ	5	c	9	ç	13	k	17	q	21		
		tʰ	3	κʰ	6	cʰ	10	çʰ	14	kʰ	18	qʰ	22		
				ʔ	7	s	11	ʂ	15	x <sup>(w)</sup>	19	ʃ	23		
(ʔ) <sub>w</sub>	25			(ʔ)l~(ʔ)n	27			(ʔ)y	28			∅	30		
(ʔ) <sub>m</sub>	26											h	31.		

Each initial is then subdivided into two major subsections, first canonic native morphemes, then forms which are not clearly analyzable and/or of demonstrably foreign origin.

Canonic native morphemes are next subclassified in order of increasing complexity, first those of the form C (consonantal), then CV (open), then CVC (closed), then CVCC (cluster-closed).

Closed stems are then ordered <sup>(not by vowel but)</sup> by final consonants (in the case of clusters first by the first consonant of the cluster). The final consonants are a subset of the obstruents, 1-23 above, the following, in order: d tʰ λ κʰ ʔ ʒ cʰ s ʒ ç ʂ g<sup>(w)</sup> kʰ x<sup>(w)</sup> ε qʰ ʃ.

All canonic morphemes thus ordered are then further subordered by vowel nucleus; first reduced vowels, in the order i e u; second full vowels in the order i e a u, each

of which is then further subordered by modifier, in the order V V' V· Vh V? V·? Y Y' Y· Yh Y? Y·?; third, vowel nuclei of the form VR(V), where R is a member of the set of sonorants w m l n y, subordered according to the order of the sonorants, as shown, then by vowel preceding the sonorant, then by vowel (if any) following. <sup>For example,</sup> canonic forms beginning with e are found in the following order: eih, ee·, ee?¹, ee?², ea·, ea?, eu?, eema·-eema?, eela?, eiyah, eehd, eahd, euhd-eu?d-euhd, eemed-eemeλ, ee·t, ee?t, ea?t, eemet, eu·ʒ, eec¹, eec², ee·c', eemec', eu?c', eeʒ, eahʒ, eu·c', eeš, ea·š, ea·š, eemek', eec¹, eec², eeht, ea·e, eahc, eu·e¹, eu·e², eeles, eeyes, ee?q, eu·x, eešk', ees, eesš, ei·qs, ee?qš. Thus juxtaposed are sets like eehd, eahd, euhd-, eemed-, involving meanings 'dandle, fondle', 'spruce-needle', 'knee', 'Achilles' tendon', with potential or probable interrelations, or eec¹ 'twist, wring', eec² '(type of) dried salmon', ee·c' 'spruce-root', eemec' 'twist, wring', eu?c' 'fish scales', or eeʒ 'act with stick-like instrument', eahʒ 'cause to resand by striking'.

All non-canonic and/or borrowed morphemes under each initial are further ordered simply by order of each element in linear order, i.e. by the vowel next to the consonant following that, etc; forms beginning with consonant clusters come last. Thus e.g. the non-canonic forms beginning with š come in the following order: šida·, šit-šeš, šedingue, šewe·na·-šewe·nah, šales, šuki·?ed, ša·še·n, ša·xeles, ša·leht, šuwu·, šdi·n, šdu·like, šgu·lihde, šgu·na·-šgu·na·.

The entry for each morpheme consists first of a heading, often followed in parentheses by remarks concerning the phonological form of the morpheme and possible relations with other morphemes, sometimes comparative remarks concerning Athapaskan, or the source in the case of loans, or possible analyses in uncertain cases, or remarks concerning doubtful

authenticity, blending or influence from other morphemes, etc. The subentries follow generally in order of increasing complexity, and are themselves often subdivided, <sup>and further subdivided</sup> but no rigid pattern was possible to follow, as each morpheme presented different problems, and these were handled very largely ad hoc.

The indices consist of three alphabetical lists. The first is of all English glosses found throughout the Dictionary, filed on nearly 10,000 slips. The references are to be read as follows, e.g. 'accumulate' ?ə3: i.e. a gloss 'accumulate' is found somewhere in the entry for the morpheme ?ə3; 'accumulate' d-?ya 2. indicates that this gloss is also found under the stem ?ya, but, since the entry for this is about 76 typewritten pages long, the subentry is also specified. The subentry d-?ya itself is nine pages long, but the gloss 'accumulate' occurs in subsection 2. of this. The inconvenience of having the English-Eyak reference section in the form of a bare index, which is in no way to be taken as a vocabulary in itself, has the advantage not only of avoiding duplication of the work devoted to the Eyak-English dictionary itself, but also has <sup>the advantage</sup> of forcing the user to discover the desired form only in some context and perspective, essential if comparative work is to proceed on any solid basis. The German and Russian indices following are for the Radlov edition of the Rezanov vocabulary and for the original Cyrillic manuscript.

Many pages have not been proofread, and it is realized that most of the pencilled corrections and additions are not legible in the present form of the work. The writer nevertheless wishes to make the Eyak materials available to his colleagues without further delay in their present state, with the hope that they may be found useful notwithstanding their unfinished condition.

The original form of this work is a typescript approximately 3,300 pages long, and a file of about 12,000 3"x5" slips. These were microfilmed at 24 and 23x reduction, then

printed by Xerox Copyflow at 12 and 13x magnification  
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d<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with d<sup>2</sup>, see further below)

o-d (postposition) 1. 'by o' (with ku-indefinite o only, as semantic S of certain transitives, probably not freely used; cf. e.g. Navaho "agentive passive" with -ʔa-di- following direct O in verb, < -ka-da-): Kud xusediʔkɛ 'something (specific) pinched me' L (O-dɪʔk 'S pinches O', cf. xusdidɪʔkɛ 'I got pinched (by something non-specific, indeterminate)'), Kud xukɪʔtɛ 'something is scratching me' L, Kud xusekɪʔtɛ 'something scratched me' L (O-kɪʔtɛ 'S scratches O'), Kud xuseqaʔɛ 'something is biting me' L, Kud ʔiqeʔqah 'something will bite you' L, Kud xuseqahɛ 'something bit me' L (O-qa 'S bites O'), Kudɛ ʔidaseɪʔe-kɛ 'is something peeving you?' L (O-d-ɪ-ʔe-k 'S peeves O'), Kud səlahkɪh 'something (especially land-otters) abducted him' 19.8L, Kud səlahkɪnu 'people taken by land-otters' L, Kud ʔiqeʔɪlah 'something will "take" you' L, Kud xuseɪlahɛ 'something got a hold of me' L (O-ɪ-la 'S saves, abducts O'), siɕahd Kud ʔi-lihsaʔyahɛ 'something gave me good luck' L (probably incorrect, irregularly derived from o-ɕahd ʔi-lih-ʔya 'S gives O good luck', see ʔi-lih-ʔya 2.).

2. 'by o' (o as middle agent or intermediate object of causativized transitive verb): o-d O-l-de'-g 'S teaches o O', o-d O-d-l-de'(-g) 'S teaches o O (linguistic skill)' (O-le-de' 'S learns, knows O'), o-d Ku-?-l-tuh--g 'S makes O lazy' (Ku-?-le-tuh--g 'S gets lazy'), o-d O-d-l-ča'q 'S lets o know O' (O-d-l-ča'q 'S hears O'), o-d O-?(l-)l-ga' 'S teaches o O' (O-?(l-)l-ga' 'S knows O'), o-d O-l-qa 'S grips O in, with o (e.g. pliers)' (O-qa 'S holds O in teeth'), o-d ?edwi?l ?i-d-l-i 'S wages war on o, makes o wage war' (?edwi?l ?i-d-l-i 'S wages war, ?i-d-le lb.), o-d O-l-la 'S gives o O to drink, makes o drink O' (O-de-la 'S drinks O'), o-d O-l-?e 'S puts O (covering, as cape) over o's shoulders', ?ed-d O-de-?e 'S puts O over own shoulders (as covering, cape)' (irregularly derived from \*O-(l-)?e 'S protects o').

d<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with d<sup>1</sup>, perhaps two semantically overlapping morphs; form under certain conditions perhaps -hd or giving rise to -Vh- in -V-d<sup>2</sup> > -Vh-d<sup>2</sup>, see below)

o-d (postposition) 'from (a point of contact with, emanating but maintaining or breaking the point of contact with) o, away, separating from o', frequently with reciprocal o, ?iɪd, ?iɪi·d, ?iɪiɪd 'apart': ?uxu? ?ud wusg 'its hair is falling out (from it)' L, ?ud wudi·?ah 'pan with handle' ('something extends from it') L, ?iɪd yileh 'they're together, with some distance in between, i.e. apart' L, ?iɪd si·ɪqa?K da·ʒ 'when you've split it apart' 65.41A, ɪiʃ siɪ ?iɪd waiya·kɪh 'he always (cust) splits (shares things) with me' L, see further instances under O-ɪ-ceʒ 4. 'S cuts O', O-xihs, O-ɪ-xihs 'S rips O', -qaʃ 'S cracks, splits', O-g-ɪ-təməʃ 'S twists O (thread)', O-ɪ-ʒəd 'S takes O apart', o-d (d)-?a 'S extends from a point on o', O--ɪ-(y)a 'S handles pl. O', especially frequent in o-d -leʒg- 'S unhands, leaves, releases, leaves o alone', with anatomical and class-marks: ?uded ?eleʒg 'unhand it (table):' L, ?uled ?eleʒg 'unhand it (hat):' L, ʃiyahd?a·nəd 'from a hat' L, ?u·nəd 'from it (l-class)' L, siyed sexihsɪ

'you ripped it (e.g. bandaid) off my hand' L,  
 caʔkti·nad 'from his glove' 56.2L; sid ʔəi-  
 qaʔ, sid səiqaʔ 'push it against, right to me!,  
 rub it against me!' M (L rejects for si-ʔ); sug-  
 gesting form -hd: tikiʔahd kuseiʔəʔi 'cut some-  
 thing off the tip of his bow' 34.92L (for tiki-  
 dad ?), ʔiʔiʔhd ʔaw səxiʔəʔi 'ripped it apart'  
 50.58, 59fnA (L corrects to ʔiʔi·d, cf. ʔiʔi·d  
 ʔədəce·ʔʔ 'they (cust) are cut apart' 65.3A,  
 ʔiʔi·d səiʔəd, ʔiʔd səiʔəd 'tear it apart!' L).  
 -d (final element to postpositions and preverbs) -  
 'at rest in, from a point at rest in (area desig-  
 nated by stem of postposition or preverb)', not  
 used with certain postpositions, and also lacking  
 with certain postpositions under certain conditions,  
 e.g. o-yeʔ under yaq<sup>2</sup>, where semantically ex-  
 pected from pattern with others, in some cases  
 apparently optional, semantically predictably rare  
 or non-occurring with certain mode-aspects, but  
 contrary to semantic expectations, also rare or  
 non-occurring with neuter perfective; very fre-  
 quent also as 'nominalization of (area designated  
 by stem of postposition or preverb)' in the forma-  
 tion of many nouns thus derived (e.g. -saʔ-d  
 'mouth'): regular use in e.g. ʔuyaʔd qaʔ sa·ʔ  
 'get up out of (from a position at rest in) it

(vessel)!' (cf. ʔuyaʔ qaʔ eaʔ 'get up out (of e.g. water) into it (vessel)!', distinguished from other finals as follows: '(simple) motion to' (zero final, also 'at rest in, etc.' in certain cases), 'motion within' (-x, -daʔ finals), '(continuous, repeated, incomplete) motion toward' (-ɕ, -ɕaʔ finals), '(continuous, repeated, incomplete) motion from' (-ɕahd final), 'arrival at' (-daʔ final)); for instances see the following: o-daʔ, daʔ, o-daʔ, (o-)d-daʔ, o-g-daʔ-, o--l-daʔ-, o-y-daʔ, o-ciʔ-daʔ, ʔd(1)-ciʔ-daʔ-d, -y-ciʔ-daʔ-d, -qiʔ-daʔ-d, -kuʃ-daʔ-d (daʔ<sup>1</sup>), daʔ- (daʔ<sup>2</sup>), o-daʔ- (daʔ<sup>3</sup>), ʔa·dʒʔ (dʒʔ), taʔ, o-taʔ, o-y-ʔa-taʔ-d, o-taʔ-x (taʔ-), o-ʔiʔɕ-, o-ʔah-, (o)-d-ʔaʔ, (o)-(g)-ʔaʔ, (o)-(g)-ʔaʔ-d (ʔah-), o-l-ciʔ-d, o-ciʔ-ʔ-, ʔe-ciyaʔ-, ʔi·caʔ- (ciʔ-), o-sɪh, o-lɪ-sɪh, dɪ-sɪh (sɪh<sup>2</sup>), o-saʔ, -saʔ-d, -saʔ-d-d (saʔ-), o-ɕ-ahd, o--ɕ-aʔ, o-ɕ-aʔ-d, o-i-ɕ-aʔ- (ɕ), ʔe-ʃaʔ- (ʃaʔ-), o-kaʔ-x (kaʔ-), o-i-qehx-d, o-yeʔ-da-qehx-d (qehx), qiʔ, qiʔeʔeʔd, ʔa· qiʔ, o-qaʔ, ʔiʔ--qaʔ-, -ʔa-qaʔ-d (qaʔ-qaʔ-qaʔ), quʔ-d, quʔeʔd (quʔ-quʔ), qenuh, o-d, o-l-d, o-dɪl-d, o-y--dɪl-d, o-y-d, o-dʒes-d (dʒes<sup>2</sup>), ʔiʔ-, o-ʔaʔ, ʔaʔdih-, o-y-ʔaʔ-d (ʔaʔ-), ʔaʔ(d) (ʔaʔ), o-l-ʔaʔ, o-wah-d, o-d-wah-d (wah<sup>1</sup>), o-lahɜ-,

ʒə-lahs-d, ʔi·ʒ-iʔ-, o-ʔi·ʒ--iʔ-d (lahʒ-),  
 lae, o-lae (lae<sup>2</sup>), o-liʔ, o-leh, o-laʔ-,  
 o-laʔ-d, o-ʒ-laʔ-, o-y-ʒ-laʔ-, o-;·naʔ-d  
 (laʔ-naʔ), lu·-d-i·ʔ- (lu·<sup>2</sup>), luʔ-d, o-luʔ,  
 ya·nuʔ (luʔ-nuʔ), yəna·ʔ-, <sup>ʔə·na·ʔ</sup> o·-na·ʔ, ʔi·na·ʔ-d -  
 (na·ʔ), yaq (yaq<sup>1</sup>), o-yaq, o-y-ʔe·q (yaq<sup>2</sup>),  
 o-yaʒ, o-i-yaʒ-, o-d-i-yaʒ (yaʒ<sup>3</sup>), o-yaʔ,  
 yaʔ-d, -ʒl-yaʔ-d, -qi·d-yaʔ(-d), -qe·s-d-yaʔ-d,  
 -qe·s-g-yaʔ-d, -qe·s-gy·d-yaʔ-d, -qeʔ-g-yaʔ-d,  
 -iʔ·ʔ-d-yaʔ-d (yaʔ<sup>4</sup>), -ya·-d, ya·-d (ya·),  
 yaʔ·ʔ, o-ʔa·g, o-ʔih (ʔih<sup>1</sup>), o-ʔeʔ, -y-ʔeʔ-d,  
 o-qi·dl-ʔe-ʔeʔ, -dl-(ʔe-)<sup>ʔeʔ-d</sup>, o-lɔd-e·ʔ, o-  
 la·ʒ-eʔ, ʔed-i-ʒ, o-d-i·ʔ-, (o-)d-i·ʔ-d (ʔeʔ-),  
 ʔdl-ʔa·w (ʔa·w<sup>1</sup>), la·ʔah, la·ʔahd (ʔah<sup>1</sup>), ʔə·-,  
 (ʔəl-), ʔu·-, ʒə-ya-ʔu·- (ʔəw-); as probable  
 final element in certain postpositions and preverbs  
 attested thus with -d final only, probably to be  
 analyzed as ...-d: o-ʔa·d, qid, often -hd:  
 o-dahd, ʔehd, o-lehd, o·-nahd, ya·nahd (nahd),  
 often -hd with clearly ablative or privative  
 meaning: ʒahd, o-ʒahd, o-y-ʒahd, o-d-ʒahd,  
 o-d-y-ʒahd, o-l-ʒahd (ʒahd<sup>2</sup>), yahd (yahd<sup>3</sup>),  
 o-yahd (yahd<sup>4</sup>), o-ʔ-ahd (ʔ); as non-final ele-  
 ment in complex finals of certain postpositions,  
 preverbs, and adverbs: o-dahd, o-daʔ (daʔ<sup>2</sup>),  
 -dih; compounded with further <sup>ʔə·ʒ</sup> <sub>ʔə·ʒ</sub> final; in -deʒ

final, see under  $\text{ɣ}^1 \text{ɣ}^2, \text{da}^2$

(-)d- (possible initial component of certain  
postpositions and preverbs) locative meaning:  
see e.g.  $\text{da}^1 \text{ɣ}$ ,  $\text{di}^1$ ,  $\text{da}^2$ ,  $\text{da}^3$ ,  $\text{dɔ}^1$ .

di·

di· (perhaps noun, syntactic status uncertain, attested with few themes, always in association with o-liʔ 'deeply into o') 'anger, grudge, spite': see o-liʔ 3., d-ʔya 3., ʔi-d-le 2b.; as o of o-gaʔ 'like o': o-liʔ di·gaʔ ʔi-leh- 'S is mad at o', see ʔi-leh- 2b. under le(?) -li; cf. also o-liʔ ʔi-d-i-a' 'S hates o', under which forms like o-liʔ ʔidi·- may have given rise secondarily to di· by phonological development o-liʔ ʔidi·- > o-liʔdi·- then restructured.

o-di·-č (postposition, with -č final only) 'unwisely with respect to, trouble from, in spite of o', attested only with theme -le 24. 'S acts unwisely with respect to o, heads, asks for trouble from o'.

o-d-di·-č (postposition, as above, with d-thematic, 'oral, noise') 'in spite of what o says': sidədi·č salit 'you didn't listen to what I said and got into trouble, "I told you so"' L.

dih (identity uncertain, element or elements in ʔeš-  
dih 'whereabouts unknown', Ka-dih 'absent', ʔaʔ-  
-dih 'visiting', see under ʔešdih, Ka-, ʔaʔ-;  
basic meaning perhaps 'presence, location'; perhaps  
ultimately d-ih)

de ((attested only with d-thematic 'bright'))

d-je-de 'S emits light': diideh̄ 'it's glowing, shining, a light is on' LM, deede-ḥ 'it's starting to glow' L, diideh̄ 'it flashed (once); a light went on' L, with yeḡ-progressive: yeḡ deede-ḡ 'it's shining about' ML, yeḡ diideh̄ 'it shines about' (neuter) L, diḡ yeḡ qudeke-de-i (or -dehs) 'it won't shine about' L; repetitive: deede-g 'it's flashing on and off' LM. Transitive (causative) O-d-ḥ-de 'S causes O to emit light, S turns O (light) on': deede? 'flash it!' M, 'turn light on!' L, di-ḥde? 'turn light on!' L, diideh̄ 'I flashed it (once)' M, di-de?ḥ diideh̄ 'I turned a lamp on' L, dixideh̄ 'I have a light on' L, diḡ ?iḡ da?ideh̄: 'I'm not shining it at you' L, siḡ kudeseh̄ 'someone shone a light on me' L, deexide-ḥ 'I'm turning a light on, making it start to glow' L, kudiideh̄ 'I turned something (a light) on' L, with yeḡ-progressive: yeḡ dexide-ḡ 'I'm shining a light around' M, yeḡ da-ḥde- 'shine it around!' M; passive: diideh̄ 'a light was turned on' L, repetitive: deede?ḥ deede-g 'a light is being turned, flashed on and off' L.

dide?ḥ(-de-) (noun, d-class) 'light, lamp, clamshell' *de-ḡ-de*

lamp, electric light', ~~deverbalized theme with~~  
-i-instrumental: 5.3, 5 (used metaphorically for  
'vital organ, heart'), 31.16L, Rezanov Тѣръ-экъъ  
'Тамдъаъ Leuchter', Galushia Nelson D: 'Dâtî or  
D: 'Dâ'tî 'clamshell lamp' BSdL 547, dide?ide-  
3u. ?u.d dese?ahî 'a pretty lamp is there' L;

← Kûie?xîga? ?i. 'teh dide?î (or de-) (noun, un-  
classified) 'light-bulb' ('light which is like a  
bladder') L; dide?î qî. 'as. 'îqâ. 'g (noun, <sup>d</sup>-class)  
← 'electric light wire' ('ropelike thing repeatedly  
causes light to burn') L. (Eyak lamps are discussed  
in BSdL 43.)

dese?ede.î (noun, d-class?) 'flashlight' L; (unclas-  
sified) 'smelt' ("because it's transparent") L. In-  
ceptive perfective nominalized.

dese?ede.î (noun, d-class?) 'flashlight' L; (unclas-  
sified) 'smelt' ("because they're shiny") L, dese-  
dede?î te?ya? 'candlefish, needlefish' (fish which  
is being made to shine') M. Passive inceptive per-  
fective nominalized.

yeç dese?ede.ç (noun, d-class?) 'flashlight' L. yeç--  
progressive active imperfective nominalized.

dedede.h (noun, d-class?) 'flashlight' L. Passive ac-  
tive imperfective nominalized.

de'

O-~~te~~-de' 1. 'S learns O, has, acquires O (skill, ability)'; O, where overt, is usually a gerundive;  
 de'a' ?aw kana?s kuqu?weše·čt' ?idehdah hiden  
 'for Wolverine really knew how to hunt' 15.3M, di-  
 ta'3 xšide?ž kusažg 'I learned long ago how  
 to paddle' 71.20ML, Rezanov Колятекъ Мастреъ  
 Meister, geschickt' Kušidih[ih] 'he (who) knows  
 how to do something' or Kušiden 'I know how to  
 do something', Тхтеъкъ-у? (with initial T  
 crossed out, x written above) Vmtem žm? verstehst  
 du?', hidenšuh 'do you know how?' L, ?əxəkih řu?  
 ?ele·lš hiden 'do you know how to make a canoe?' L,  
 Vxaxreъ Vmšo ich verstehe' ?aw xšiden... or  
 x<sup>w</sup>šiden... 'I know how to do it', diK' ?a'xšede·s  
 'I don't know how' L, ?isda·l sešede?žh 'he (ba-  
 by) is learning to sit' L, xšide?ž 'I learned how'

A.L.

Causative, attested only in repetitive o-d O--  
 t-de'-g 'S teaches o O': Rezanov Колятекъ Учта  
 lehren, unterrichten' Kulide'g (optative? 'he, you  
 should teach something, someone should teach it'),  
 Колятекъ Учх Lehre!\*, ?ud Ku'ide'gih (or Ka'ž-,  
 Ku-ž-) 'teach him something!' L, yəx ?iswe·ř sid  
 ?eide'g 'teach me to swim (about)' L, gah sid t-  
 de'gih 'he's teaching me to dance' L; indirect re-

\*Križ de'g', cf. Furučjela Khveta wader da. ?

[ ?isda·l k'ə' ud ?i:žde'g 'head of  
 (dog) to sit' L, ud k'ə' kulide'g 'head of  
 something' L,

flexive 'ed-d O-ia-de' (> 'ed-O-) 'S teaches self O, practises O': 'edqu'xiedeh 'I'll practise it' M, 'edxside' 'I practised it' M; usually repetitive 'ed-d O-ia-de'-g (> 'ed-O-): 'edxiede'g 'I'm practising it' M, 'edxiede'gK 'I (cust) practise it' M.

*O-d-ia-de'* ~~with~~ (With d-thematic 'oral, noise') ~~O-ia-de'~~ 1

'S has, acquires O (active or passive linguistic skill); S understands O('s speech)': 47b.30M, 68.-128 (neuter customary negative), 129, 69.11, 13, 14, 15 (active customary negative), 16, 17, 20A, dixideh (or dux-) 'I understand (what is being said)' LM, dexiede' 'I'm learning it; I'm catching on, beginning to understand' L, diK 'iqe'dexiede'sih (or -dehs-) 'he won't understand you' L, diK dexiede'ie 'I didn't learn it; I didn't understand' L, diK qa' da'iede'sih (or -dehs-) 'he doesn't understand us' L, xudide'B 'do you understand me?' M, diidehshuh 'do you understand?' L, dexiede'ixleh 'I want to learn it' L, 'idi'xiedeh da'x 'just as I was beginning to understand you (your language)' (active conditional), L; repetitive O-d-ia-de'-g 'S understands O intermittently': Rezanov Tyqarera Tayxoñ taub' duxiede'g 'I understand intermittently, snatches of it' L

(or perhaps a thematic negative *duxkade's* 'I'm unable to understand' ?), *'ida'xkade'g da'x* 'when I get to understand you somewhat' L. <sup>2</sup> Causative *o-d O-d-i-de'*; *'id qu'di'xideh* 'I'll make you understand' L, *sid deselde'it* 'he taught me it' L; usually repetitive *o-d O-d-i-de'-g* 'S teaches o O (linguistic skill)': *ci'dole'l sid di'ide'g* 'teach me to speak!' L, *'id dexide'g* 'I'm teaching you (word, speech)'; indirect reflexive repetitive *'ed-d O-d-i-de'-g (> 'ed-O-)* 'S practises O (word, speech)': *'edqu'dexkade'g* 'I'll practise (speech)' A, *'edkudexkade'g* 'I'm practising something (speech)' L, with *yeḡ*-progressive *yeḡ 'edkudekade'gxih* 'he's going around practising something (speech)' M. Passive repetitive *O-d-de-de'-g* 'O is partly intelligible': *di'dah xudedede'g* 'one understands me a bit, I'm intermittently fairly intelligible' L.

(*du'xideh* 'sandhill crane' a reshaping <sup>probably</sup> influenced by this theme, *Rezanov Туахере Таямма, птица* ' (not in Radloff), Tlingit *dúit* 'crane')

de.<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be analyzed d-e with d- interrogative element as in du\*, deḡ, cf. Minto daya (do) 'what (is it)?')

de (interrogative pronoun, probably always in construction with -d interrogative enclitic)

1. 'what?, which?, what, which', frequently used as relative 'what, that which, anything which':

2a.28M, 7.14, 11.115, 178, 20.6, 23.123, 28.94, 37b.17, 17, 49.136, 136, 50.48, 51.16, 29, 61.63, 69.10A, de·d 'what?' L, de·duw 'what is it?' M, de·d si·ʔeh 'what do you see?' M, de·d xuqaʔseh 'what'll kill me?' M, de·deʔew 'what's that?' M, de·deʔel 'what's this?' M, de· ʔe-wa·duw quʔseh 'which of them shall I kill?' M, de· ʔawa·duh ʔanahšokih ʔuxəʔi·leh, na·w da·ḡ gi·wa· 'which of them do you like (better), whiskey or beer?' L, Rezanov Tərokoxxa 'Čro okaxem? was sagst du?' de·duh quʔyixah 'what will you tell about?', de·duw ʔuʔyixah 'what are you telling about?' L, Rezanov Təro xetxix 'Čro dāxem? was machst du?' de·duh wəḡ yixih (?) 'what are you doing thus to?', de· ya·de-ʔew 'who does it belong to?' L (probably 'what thing is it?'), once in negative construction, 'anything', probably in error for dede·d: qa·l diḡ de·duw wəḡ dele·s 'now nothing is being

caught, no fishing is going on' 62.24G; with  
 -či- emphatic: de·či·da'aw 'what ever is  
 that?, what in the world is that?' L, with -s  
 interrogative enclitic: de·šduw '(I wonder)  
 what it is, what could it be?' 36.26A; as o of  
 postpositions other than o-ga?: de·ɣduw 'by  
 means of what?' L, de·ɣd ya·kibdah xuqu'yilih  
 'what will you pay me with?' 47c.35L, de·lahdɣh  
 'what (is he talking) about?' L, de·ya·qd yi-  
 kɪ'ɣ 'why are you crying?' 34.79L, ?aw qu?-  
 li·igihih de·lehdduw weɣ qi·daseliɪ 'he'll  
 know why your foot got thus' 51.81A, with -š in-  
 terrogative enclitic: de·lehšduw 'I wonder why,  
 because of what could it be?' 70.2, 3A, Rezanov  
 Tesara Ha vro? wozu?' de·wahdd 'why?' L, de·  
 wahdduw 'why is it?' L, 43.8M, siča·ɣ sa·? --  
 de·wahdd 'help me! -- with what?, to do what?'  
 21b.36A, de·wah ya· ku·diyahstabdew 'what good  
 is a rat-skin?' 28.137A, with -či- emphatic:  
 de·wahči·d weɣ yileh 'why in the world did you  
 do that?' M, used adjectivally: de·lah da·dd  
 'about what place (are you talking)?' L.

2. With proclitic de- 'ipse', 'anything,  
 either one': 9.35, 63, 11.62, 23.13, 25.150, 37b.-  
 41, 61.57A, de· ?awa·duh ?enahšekih ?uɣe'i·leh,  
 na·w da·ɣ gi·wa· -- dede·d, gi·wa·, na·w

'which do you like (better), beer or whiskey? --  
 either one, beer, (or) whiskey' L, *dəde·dɥh*  
*di·iɣəwɪhɪh* 'he believes anything' L, *dəde·d*  
*əəʂəh da·ɣ* 'when they kill anything' 25.31A,  
*ʔəl dəde·d* 'any of these things' 25.148A, of-  
 ten used as relative, 'anything which, whatever':  
*dəde·d yɪɪda·s* 'anything (which is) heavy' 65.-  
 13, 62A, *dəde·[dʔ] qa·ŋ ʔaʔɣəh* 'whatever he  
 told us' 51.14A, *dəde·d diŋ ʔi· ʔiləh ya·*  
*ʔəle·əyu·* 'anything which (pl.) does not concern  
 you' 51.24A, *dəde·duhnu· ɣəh* 'whatever they eat'  
 29.24A, with suffixed *-kih* 'diminutive': *dəde·=*  
*kihduw* 'any little thing at all (and he's sick)'  
 L, with suffixed *-yu·* 'plural': 9.75, 20.32, 32,  
 49:110A, *dəde·yu·duw ʔaduʔləkəɣa·ŋ* 'whatever  
 things he (cust) turns himself into' 9.75A; once  
 used adjectivally: *dəde·d əp·diʔiɪɣyū·qaʔəbəd*  
*ʔi·ʔe·ŋɪh* 'he (cust) marries from amongst any  
 (kind of) birds' 10.172A; very frequent in nega-  
 tive or prohibitive constructions, '(not) any-  
 thing': 18.71, 80L, 23.8, 13, 49.3, 41A, *diŋ də-*  
*də·d da·ləʔxiɣa·ə* 'I have nothing' L; as o of  
 postpositions other than *o-gaʔ*: *ʔuʔə·ɣ da·*  
*qaʔaʔəɪnu·*, *dəde·wəhdə* 'we'll help them, with  
 anything' 25.165A, *diŋ ʔiʔə·ɣ da· qeʔ quʔde-*  
*ʔaʔəʔt*, *dəde·wəhdə* 'we won't help you, with any-

thing' 10.60A, diK dede-laɣd ʔixsɫʔəhɫe 'I didn't see anything' 10.176A; with suffixed -kih 'diminutive': diK dede-kihduh ʔəʂe-kɛ 'he (cust) doesn't kill anything at all' 23.5A, diK dede-kihduhnu ʔahnu-ɕ ʔəɣya-ʔe 'he doesn't give them anything at all' 10.59A, as o of post-position: diK dede-kihlaɣd ʔixsɫʔəhɫe 'I didn't see anything at all' 10.176A; once with -ci- emphatic used as interrogative, perhaps incorrectly: dede-ci-d da daʔqeʔli-kɣa 'what ever will we have?' 11.54A.

de-g<sup>w</sup>aʔ--gaʔ (interrogative adverb, in construction probably always with -d interrogative enclitic; adverbialized de 'what?' as o of o--g<sup>w</sup>aʔ--gaʔ 'like o') 1a. 'how (much)?, to what extent?': de-gaʔd da-na daʔli-kɣah L, de-gaʔd da-na ʔiɣaʔ 'how much money do you have?' M, de-gaʔd ma-sɣa daʔli-kɣah 'how much butter do you have?' L, de-gaʔduh ʔi-kʔaʔ 'how tall is he?' M, de-gaʔduw qi-li-kʔaʔ 'how long is it (rope)?' M; de-gaʔduw səli-kʔaʔ 'how much time it's been' 54.12fnG; de-gaʔduw ʔidiya, ʔəw ɫaʔg, daʔəwgaʔ qəw daɣa-k 'however much it is in size, the firewood, it's that much (long) it will burn' 65.46A.

1b. Used as indefinite quantifier, 'quite

an amount, to quite an extent, quite a bit, a lot':  
 33.11A, de·gaʔduw ʔaw xuʔ ʔu·d qaʔ laʔəla·=  
 laʔe·ʔK 'the snow (cust) piles up there quite a  
 bit' L, de·gaʔduw qaʔ la·laʔe·ʔK 'quite a lot  
 of them (cust) accumulate' 25.207A, de·gaʔduw  
 ʔadiʔ ʔaw ʔəʔe·K 'he (cust) packs quite a lot  
 of them in home' 23.3A.

2. As 1b., but with reference to time, in  
 clause subordinated to da·ʔ 'and': de·gaʔ ʔaw  
 ʔaʔ wəʔ ʔi·təh da·ʔdɣuw ʔaw ʔaʔqə·ʔ 'he's  
 been living with it for quite some time and (then)  
 he tries it' 28.28A.

3. Written as subordinate to da·ʔ 'and,  
 when, if': a. 'when?; when, whenever, each time  
 that': Rezanov Токоракты 'Boerda immer' de·  
 gaʔda·ʔd 'when? (in past or future)' LM; attest-  
 ed, probably by chance, only with customary verbs:  
 de·gaʔda·ʔduw dətəx<sup>M</sup>e·gyu· qa·ʔ ʔaʔa·ʔK 'when  
 groundhogs (cust) come out' 23.55A, de·gaʔda·ʔd  
 teʔyaʔyu· qəʔ ʔədala·K 'when the salmon (cust)  
 come back' 21b.25A.

3b. With proclitic da- 'ipge', 'anytime;  
 anytime that, each time that, whenever': dədə·  
 gaʔda·ʔd 'anytime' M; dədə·gaʔda·ʔd taʔ ʔaw  
 ʔaʔa·kinu· 'each time they (cust) shoved them in  
 the water' 25.56A, ʔəwəʔ dədə·gaʔda·ʔd wəʔ

da· ʔi·lihsaliit 'just any time we felt like it'  
65.69A.

Ku-de· (negative pronoun, with Ku-negative, some-  
times Ke-) 'nothing': 23.13A, Kude· ʔedaht  
'there is nothing to eat' ('nothing is eaten') 41.4L.

Ku-de·-dah (negative adverb, Ku-de· above adver-  
bialized with -dah) 'impossible, no way, cannot,  
hopeless' 1.: 1a.14, 1b.20, 3.2M, 10.251, 252, 11.-  
44, 69, 128, 187A, 18.61L, 25.64, 148A, 26.2, 8L,  
28.140, 141, 37b.81A, 43.14, 25M, 57.7G, 60.23, 61.-  
4A, 63.21G, Kude·dah ʔaxʔa·e, Kude·dah ʔi·xi-  
ʔa·ga 'I can't see it' L, Kude·dah ʔawda·ʔ ʔe-  
xa·ga 'I can't help it' L, Kude·dah ʔawda·ʔ  
ʔa·ga:jh 'he can't help it' L, Kude·dah ʔa·ʔ  
ʔaxda·Ke 'I (cust) can't help it (help myself)  
L, with -s interrogative enclitic: Kude·dahSub-  
nu· ʔuqaʔ dəyph ʔaduʔla·ləya·Ke . 'isn't there  
any way you (cust) can turn into a person amongst  
them?' 10.238A.

2. With proclitic de- 'ipse' (cf. dik<sup>2</sup>):  
dikude·dah qeʔyiktehyed ʔeʔ qaʔ ʔada·Ke 'he  
(cust) can't get back out of the whale' 11.188A.

de·2

de·-, occurring only in de·su? 'sweatbath'; see  
su?. Perhaps < de-?e?; see ?e?.

de.3

-de', occurring only in gudde' 'nine'; see gud.

Perhaps < de-ʔeʔ or d-ʔeʔ; see ʔeʔ.

de.<sup>4</sup>

-de\*, occurring only in qaxde\*; see qax. Perhaps < de-ʔeʔ or d-ʔeʔ; see ʔeʔ.

de.6

-de· (defective verb, intransitive), occurring only with dawaʔd 'quickly': dawaʔd ʔaʔde· (qah) '(sg.) hurry up (finally)!' L, dawaʔd ʔaʔleʔde· (qah) '(pl.) hurry up (finally)!' 37b.64A, L, imperative only, probably neuter. Perhaps unlauted form of da, q.v. (cf. e.g. -da 6. ʔewyeʔ ʔaʔde· 'be dressed in that!'.)

ди'уаге сидахл + влч 12 want to stay  
just sit

da (perhaps related to da<sup>25</sup>, see also da.<sup>6</sup>)

-da la. 'sg. S (human) sits (is in, gets into sitting position)'; (cf. gu for pl. S)  
 (1) Active perfective, used with force of neuter 'sg. S is stationary in sitting position':  
 6.10M, 11.141, 20.47, 47, 49, 50, 21b.61, 23.6, 25.-71, 96A, 30.3, 5, 42.17L, 50.16A, Rezanov ОУТРАТА  
 'Сидитъ sitzen' sedah<sup>h</sup> 'he is, you are seated',  
 sidah<sup>h</sup> 'I'm seated' IM, si<sup>h</sup>·da<sup>2</sup>d ya<sup>h</sup> ?i<sup>h</sup>·dilah<sup>h</sup>  
 da·<sup>h</sup> sedah<sup>h</sup>ih 'he's sitting facing me' ('he's turned facing me and he's seated') M, si<sup>2</sup>e<sup>2</sup>d sedah<sup>h</sup>ih  
 'he's sitting in my place' L, qi<sup>2</sup> sedah<sup>h</sup>ida<sup>2</sup> ea<sup>2</sup>  
 'go to where she's sitting!' L, ?u·d<sup>h</sup> kusedah<sup>h</sup>  
 'is someone sitting there?', dik<sup>2</sup> ?axsдах<sup>h</sup> 'I'm not seated' L, qu·daxa<sup>2</sup>d sedah<sup>h</sup>ih 'he's sitting by the fire' M, ye<sup>2</sup>d sedah<sup>h</sup>ih 'he's sitting on shore' L, silahsd sedah<sup>h</sup>ih secu<sup>2</sup>dih<sup>h</sup> 'he who is sitting in front of me fell asleep' L, sidawa<sup>2</sup> sedah<sup>h</sup>ih 'he's sitting waiting for me' L; transitive (causative): passive: da<sup>2</sup>q<sup>2</sup>d xusidah<sup>h</sup> 'I've been made to sit right here' L. (2) Neuter perfective, usually with o-q 'on o': ?u·d<sup>2</sup> da·q<sup>2</sup> ?i·dah<sup>h</sup>ih 'he's sitting on something (a surface) there' L, gu·<sup>h</sup>xa<sup>2</sup>q<sup>2</sup> ?i·dah<sup>h</sup>ih 'sternman, captain (of boat)' ('he's sitting in the stern') L, sidahd ?i·dah<sup>h</sup>ih 'he's sitting up against (in contact with) me' IM. (3) Active imperfective, used in customary or ethical



indistinguishable otherwise from (1) and (4) above and 3. below, meaning ambiguously 'sg. S moves in- to certain location and into sitting position there', 'sg. S is in certain location and moves into sitting position there', or 'sg. S moves to certain location while in sitting position': sida·d sedah̄ 'you sat near me' L, sidaʔd sedah̄ 'he sat in front of me' L, sida·d sēdaʔ 'sit near me!' L, ʔidah̄ quʔxdah̄ 'I (sitting or standing) will sit up against (in contact with) you' L, ʔahnu·qaʔd sedah̄j̄h̄ 'he sat between them' L, ʔahnu·qaʔʕ sēda·j̄h̄ 'he's becoming seated between them' L, ʔuyaʔd sedah̄j̄h̄ 'he sat in it (e.g. canoe)' L.

becomes  
 1b. 'sg. S (animal, infant) is, stationary in non-prone position, (bird, insect) perches, alights' (cf. -qu for pl. S): (1) Active perfective, used with force of neuter: 11.34, 101, 20.8, 23.45A, 42.= 16L, 43.4M, s̄j̄·daʔd sedah̄ 'it (fly) is on my face' L, ʔud̄ʔub̄gd̄a·q̄ sedah̄ 'it (bird) is sitting on its eggs' L. (2) Neuter perfective, usually with o-q̄ 'on o': 10.36A, 42.21L, da·q̄ ʔi·dah̄ 'it (animal) is sitting upon something (tree)' L, ʔah̄d̄= da·q̄ ʔi·dah̄ 'it's sitting on top of a car' L. (3) As 1a.(5) above, 'sg. S (bird, insect) comes to rest at certain location, alights, perches': 10.32A, 47b.28M, siʕ̄p̄·da·q̄ sedah̄ 'it (fly) landed on my

forearm' L.

2a. 'sg. S (human or animal) stays, remains (within certain location, bodily position unspecified)', often indistinguishable from 1a. and 1b. above (for pl. S cf. qu): (1) Active perfective, used with force of neuter: 10.1, 2, 215A, 18.64L, 20.54, 55, 62A, 22.2L, 23.34, 25.98, 153, 37b.4A, saqe·cəkih ʔuyeqd sedah̄t 'a child was in her (she was pregnant)' 23.111A, dəʔəhyu· ʔihda·d sedah̄t̄ih 'menstruant' ('she who is staying in a different place from people') L, da·d sedah̄t 'where are you staying?' L, ʔədiʔd sedah̄t̄ih 'he's inside, staying indoors' L, dəʔeʔd sedah̄t̄ih 'he's on board (boat)' L, diK dəʔəhyu·ʔaʔ qeʔ ʔesde·dah̄t̄ih 'he (or she) is not staying with anyone anymore' (of marital separation, cf. 2b. below) L, ʔa·ʔəhd̄ sedah̄t̄ 'it's staying in den, hole' L, ʔa·d̄əʔd̄ sedah̄t̄ 'it (rodent) is staying in its hole, burrow' L; transitive (causative): 2b.2L; passive: dəʔəʔd̄ xusdidah̄t̄ 'I've been made to stay right here' L. (2) Neuter perfective, not frequent in this sense: ca·ʔyaʔ ʔi·dah̄t̄ih 'infant' ('he who is staying in baby-basket') L. (3) Active imperfective, used in customary or ethical sense: 21a.19L, ca·ʔa·yeʔ dah̄ 'it lives under a rock' L, diK ca·ʔa·yeʔ dah̄t̄ 'it doesn't live

under a rock' L, often with  $\text{'ad'e'd}$  'at home', indirect reflexive:  $\text{hi' 'ad'e'd dedihh}$  'he stays home all the time' L,  $\text{'ad'e'd xdedah}$  'I stay home all the time' L. (4) With  $\text{ya'}$  'completely, to a state of rest' in other aspects and modes, imperative apparently always active: 10.133, 134, 154 (repetitive inceptive imperfective negative), 190, 232, 253, 260, 11.54 (active conditional), 72, 73, 23.118, 69.11 (active conditional), 21 (inceptive conditional),  $\text{za'd ya' 'ade}$  'stay outside!' L,  $\text{'edi'd ya' 'ada}$  'stay inside!' L,  $\text{ya' 'ada'x 'u' delihh}$  'I told him to stay' L,  $\text{su'ye'd ka' ya' 'i-dah}$  'you should stay in the warmth' M,  $\text{di'de'i' 'a'dga' 'a'd ya' qu'xdah}$  'as long as you're here I'll stay here' L, with  $\text{'ad'e'd}$  'at home', indirect reflexive: 29.53A,  $\text{'ad'e'd ya' 'adede}$  'stay home!' L,  $\text{'ad'e'd ya' qu'xdah}$  'I'll stay home' L; transitive (causative)  $\text{ya' o-i-da}$  'S makes sg. O stay' (but cf. 10. below):  $\text{'edi'd ya' 'iqe'xidah}$  'I'll make you stay in' L; indirect reflexive (or passive?): 10.167A 'his wife however he (cust) makes stay home' (or 'his wife however is (cust) left staying home').

2b. With  $\text{o-'e'x}$  '(movement) in place of o' and  $\text{ye'x}$  'downward':  $\text{si'e'x ye'x sedahh}$  'he

*Handwritten notes:*  
 $\text{'ad'e'd}$  'at home'  
 $\text{ya' 'ad'e'd}$  'stay home'  
 $\text{ya' 'ad'e'd}$  'stay home'  
 $\text{ya' 'ad'e'd}$  'stay home'

married my former wife' (he settled down in my place') L.

3a. 'sg. S moves while in sitting position, *sida*tes' (for pl. S cf. *qu*); *qu*'*x*dah 'I'll *sida*ie' L, *saxda*'*h* 'I'm *sida*ting' L, *ʔ*aya'*u*'*ʔ* *ʔ*ede' (or *ʔ*eda'*ʔ*, *ʔ*eda'*ʔ*, *ʔ*ida'*ʔ*) 'move over (away from speaker)!' L, *ʔ*əʂləʔ *ʔ*ede' (or *ʔ*eda'*ʔ*, *ʔ*eda'*ʔ*) 'sit closer (to speaker)!' L, *sida*'*da*'*ʔ* *seda*'*ʔ* 'side over to close to me!' L, *sik*ah *seda*h<sup>h</sup>*ih* 'he *sida*led away from me' L, *qa*'*qa*'*ʔ* *seda*h<sup>h</sup>*ih* 'he *sida*led in between us', *ya*'*ʔ*'*ʔ* *seda*'*ʔ* (or *ʔ*ede') 'sit down lower!' L, repetitive: *xda*'*g* 'I keep *sida*ling' L, *di*k' *ʔ*axda'*g* 'I don't keep *sida*ling' L, with *ya*ʔ-progressive: *ʔ*u'*dax*yu' *ya*ʔ *dada*'*ʔ* 'he's writing and squirming all over in his seat (with anger)' L, *ya*ʔ *qu*'*x*dada' 'I'll sit around' L, *ya*ʔ *ʔ*idi-dah 'you may sit around' M (with no distinction in these latter cases between interrupted and uninterrupted sitting position).

3b. With *o*-*ʔ*a'*ʔ* 'wide of o': *ʔ*u'*ʔ*a'*ʔ* *sida*h<sup>h</sup> 'I sat down, missing it (the chair, so that I fell to the floor)' L.

3c. With *ya*'*ʔ* 'upward': *ya*'*ʔ* *seda*'*h* 'he's getting up (out of sitting position)' L

3d. With *ʔ*i'*ya*ʔ 'inside one another' and *ya*ʔ 'downward' 'S squats, crouches, moves while in

crouching position': ?i?yeq̄ yəʒ ?i-dahh̄j̄h 'he's squatting' L, ?i?yeq̄ yəʒ səda·h̄j̄h 'he's dancing in crouched position' L, ?i?yeq̄ yəʒ sədah̄j̄h 'he danced in squatting position' L.

4a. With yə·ʔ 'down' 'sg. S moves downward (from standing) into sitting position', imperative apparently always inceptive: 1b.18, 16.9M, 25.70A, 40.12, 47 .23L, 51.79A, 72.5L, Puruhelm iakhuvata 'sit' yə·ʔ quʔwedah 'he'll sit down', yə·ʔ quʔx-dah 'I'll sit down' LM, diK yə·ʔ quʔxda·s (or -dahs) 'I won't sit down' L, yə·ʔ sədaʔ 'sit down!' LM, yə·ʔ sidah̄h̄ 'I sat down' M, yə·ʔ s̄ səxda·h̄ 'I'm sitting down (moving into sitting position)' (also, as under 3a. 'I'm sitting further down') LM, ?uyaʔd yə·ʔ sədaʔ 'sit down in it (e.g. canoe, once already in)' L, ?ida·d yə·ʔ quʔx-dah 'I'll sit down close to you' L, ləʒqaʔd (or ləʒqaʔʒ) yə·ʔ quʔxdah 'I'll sit down between you' L. Transitive (causative) yə·ʔ 0-l-da 'S makes sg. O sit down' (but cf. 10. below): yə·ʔ s̄ idahh̄j̄h 'I sat him down' M, yə·ʔ ?iqeʔx̄dah 'I'll sit you down' M, yə·ʔ səidj̄ʔj̄h 'make him sit down!' L, yə·ʔ ?ix̄idahh̄j̄h 'I've got him sitting down' L; repetitive: yə·ʔ s̄ x̄ukda·ḡj̄h 'he keeps making me sit down', yə·ʔ s̄ ?i·ida·ḡj̄h 'you should keep sitting him down' L.

yə·ʔ səda·h̄j̄h 'he's dancing in crouched position' L,  
 yə·ʔ sədah̄j̄h 'he's dancing in squatting position' L  
 1b) yə·ʔ səda·h̄j̄h 'he's dancing in crouched position' L, with ʔi·yeq̄  
 yə·ʔ s̄ sədah̄j̄h 'he's dancing in squatting position' L.



transitive (causative): o-yeq̄ O-i-da 'S dresses  
sg. O in o': kayeq̄ 'iqe'xidah 'I'll dress you' M,  
'ewyeq̄ xida-kih 'I (cust) dress him in that' M.

7. With o-'e'd 'in the place of o', modes  
and aspects as in 2a. above, q.v. 'sg. S lives on,  
subsists on o': 33.23A, te'ya'e'd xdah 'I live  
on fish' L.

8. 'sg. S fares', modes and aspects as in 2a.,  
q.v.: (1) Transitive (causative): O-i-da 'S treats  
sg. O': kezu'dah xuseidahih 'he treats me well'  
L. (2) With ya' 'completely, to a state of rest':  
dik kezu'dah ya' qi'yida'e 'you won't end up  
well, won't fare well' 51.35A.

9. 'S (sg. or pl.) undergoes specific change  
in dimension': (1) With 'ilt'a'x̄ '(movement) be-  
hind one another, collection' 'S contracts': 'ilt-  
ta'x̄ sedah̄ 'it (cloth) shrank' A; transitive  
(causative) 'ilt'a'x̄ O-i-da 'S shrinks O': 'ilt-  
ta'x̄ siidah̄ 'I shrank them (clothes, by washing  
them)' L. (2) With (ya'x̄ 'up', and) qa' 'up,  
out' 'S expands upwards, rises': qa'e' seda-i  
'it (cake, bread) is rising' L, ya'x̄ qa' sedah̄  
'it (cake, bread) rose' L.

10. Transitive O-i-da, with ya' 'down' or  
sometimes ya' 'completely, to a state of rest',  
cf. the transitives of 1a. and 2a. above: (1) 'S

makes O (sg. or pl.) stop activity (especially undesirable activity, settle down, stop gallivanting, drinking': Rezanov *Мдараальтэку 'Даскософ* freundlich' ?idah ya? ?eidj?inu· 'make them behave well, settle down nicely!' L, ya? ?eidj?ih 'make him behave!' L, ya? ?eidj·hjh 'make him behave!' L, ya? xusekdahjh 'he made me stop, desist' L, ya? ?ixildahjh 'I've got him behaving, "on the straight and narrow"' L. (2) 'S stops O (activity)': xa'gih ya? seidahh 'he stopped the work' L. (3) 'S stops O (sg. or pl. fish) from running': 56.1, 3, 111.

?isda·l (gerundive) 'to sit (of one person)': ?ulax gedesiga?h ?isda·l 'my rump's too sore to sit' L, ?isda·l xuseiga?h 'I'm getting tired of sitting' ('sitting is tiring me') L, ?isda·l ka? ?u?di·i-de?g 'teach it (dog) to sit!' L, ?isda·l sehe-de?hjh 'he (baby) is learning to sit' L.

?uq' ?isda?h (in rapid speech often ?uq'esda?h) (noun, unclassified) 'chair' LM, 51.76, 68.92A. Derived from gerundive with *-i-instrumental*. sehesamek' ?uq' ?isda?h 'stool' ('round chair') L, ku?a·w ?uq' ?isda?h 'bench' ('long chair')<sup>L</sup>, yax' ?edeeha·hexut' ?uq' ?isda?h 'rocking-chair' M.

da?h (noun, unclassified?) 'small seat, loose bench for sitting on in canoe' L. Deverbalized stem with

-i-instrumental. BSdL 47 contains a description.  
seqe'cekih ?uyeqd dah (noun, unclassified) 'womb'  
( 'a child stays in it' ) A. Active imperfective of  
lb. or 2a. nominalized. Cf. seqe'ceyu' ?uyeqd  
quh 'womb'.

di?wey da'kya?e da'kih (noun, unclassified) 'in-  
fant' ( 'he who (cust) still stays in baby-basket' ) L.  
Nominalized active customary; cf. da'kya? ?i.dahih  
of 2a. (2).

ke-da 'sg. S (waterfowl) sits, swims, floats on sur-  
face of water' (cf. ke-qu for pl. S): ?u'e shi-  
dahh 'it (duck) swam thither (on surface)'<sup>L</sup> siya'x  
seleda'h 'it (duck) is paddling away from me (scared)'  
L, with ye'x-progressive: ye'x kedax 'it (duck) is  
swimming around' LM.

g-ke-da 'sg. S flees' (cf. g-ke-qu for pl. S): with —  
o-ya'x 'avoiding o': ya?yu' siya'x qu?guledah  
'don't be scared away by me' L, siya'x guskidahh  
'it ran away from me (scared)'. Transitive O-g-k-da  
'S chases sg. O': 9.167, 23.31A, 34.46L, 38.23ML,  
gu?hdih 'chase him!' L, xi'e gu'kda? 'chase it  
away!' L, ?a?d gusehdih 'chase him out' L, qu?=  
gu'xidah 'I'll chase it' LM, da' gusehdahh 'we  
chased him' L, ?u'dikah'e da' gu'lidah 'let's  
chase it away from there' L, xuseida'h 'he's chas-  
sing me' L, with ye'x-progressive: ye'x gu'kade'

'chase it about:' L, yeḡ guxšedax 'I'm chasing  
it about' LM, yeḡ guxšidahš 'I chased it about'  
L, yeḡ quḡguxšedah (or -da-) 'I'll chase it  
about' LM, ʔew yeḡ guḡšeda-ših 'he's chasing  
it all over (for a long time)' L.

gd-da-da 'sg. S flees' (meaning, <sup>perhaps, ʔ'wagʔ'</sup> not clearly distinct  
from that of g-še-da, from a passive of which it  
may be derived, with de-classifier reinterpreted;  
cf. gd-da-qu for pl. S): gedesexdeda-š 'I'm run-  
ning away (scared)' L, gedesededa-š 'he's running  
away (scared)' L. Transitive (causative) O-gd-š-da  
'S chases sg. O': gedi-šdaʔ 'chase it away (so  
it'll never come back):' L, ʔi-č gedi-šdaʔ 'chase  
it away:' L, ʔiqeḡgedi-xšdah 'I'll chase you' L.

dl-de-da 'sg. S is, runs short of food, starves' (cf.  
dl-da-qu for pl. S): quḡḡa-xšedah 'I'll run short  
of food' L, diK ḡa-xšedahš 'I didn't run short  
of food' L, with yaʔ 'completely': yaʔ quḡḡa-x-  
šedah 'I'll run out of food, starve' L, yaʔ ḡa-x-  
šidahš 'I ran out of food' L. Transitive (causa-  
tive) O-dl-š-da 'S starves sg. O': yaʔ ʔiqeḡxidah  
'I'll starve you' L; passive: xḡḡa-šidahš 'I'm  
being starved' L; reflexive: ʔeḡḡa-šidahših 'he  
fasted (for the hunt)' L, ʔeḡḡa-xšidahš 'I don't  
care to eat' L.

da·

-da·, occurring only in yeda· (also yida·, <  
 y-da·?, noun, unclassified) 'shaman's power,  
 clairvoyance' LM, Galushia Nelson y:Da· or  
 y:Da· 'shaman's power' BSDL 552, yida· ?u-  
 za? ?uda? sahih 'his (shaman's) power came  
 to him' L, ?ew yida·Siyah qe?ew 'it's that  
 evil spirit (shaman's power)' L, Ku?luw yida·  
 da?li·ixih 'she has great clairvoyance' L.

da.<sup>1</sup> (unrelated to homophonous Eyak stems or morphs,  
cf. Navaho da- 'distributive plural' verbal prefix  
in corresponding position)

da' (preverbal pronoun) 'we' (first person singular  
subject pronoun, not distinguishing inclusive  
from exclusive, or dual from plural, or distribu-  
tive from collective; clearly preverbal in posi-  
tion, always following postpositional phrases,  
tending to precede other preverbs; see grammar)

da.<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with da.<sup>3</sup> and derived by extension of use thereof, influenced by interrogative pronouns, or interrogative pronoun in origin, < d-a' with d-interrogative, cf. de.<sup>1</sup>, du', daʒ) da'-(...-d) (interrogative pronoun or locative, with -d interrogative enclitic apparently optional in construction, more frequently present under 1. than under 2., and more frequently present where not immediately preceded by -d final (or other final ending in -d), thus perhaps -d-d > -d, absent enclitic elsewhere thus analogically deleted, or deleted under influence of da.<sup>3</sup>, or absent because of origin in da.<sup>3</sup>; -d interrogative enclitic usually present under 1. not immediately preceded by -d final, present in majority of instances under 1. where immediately preceded by -d final and under 2. where not immediately preceded by -d final, and rarely or never under 2. where preceded by -d final; attested with -d, -č, -čahd, -daʒ finals, never zero final) 1. 'where?, where': with -d final, '(at rest) where?, at what place?': da'dd 'where?' L, 61.66A, da'dduh 'where (did you put it)?' L, da'dduh 'where (is he)?' L, da'ddeʔaw 'where is it?' 11.178A, ʔuʔlixigah da'dd ʔaxʒingus 'I know where ʔaxʒingus is' 47c.34L, also with -s interrogative enclitic: da'dsduh 'I wonder where

he could be' L, lacking -d interrogative enclitic:  
 da·d ʔaʔdihd 'where (are you going) to visit?' L,  
 da·d sedah̄ 'where are you staying?' L, da·d  
 wəʔ ʔi·ʔeh 'where do you live?' M, da·d sah̄  
 'where did you go?' (= da·ʔ sah̄) L, da·d ku-  
 s̄iyah̄ 'where things have been left' 9.144A,  
 da·duw ʔaʔ quʔxta· 'where shall I put it?' 21b.-  
 49A, with emphatic -ʔi·-: da·ʔi·d 'where ever?,  
 where in the world?' L; with -ʔ final, 'to where?,  
 whither?': 9.65, 126, 36.8, 49.30A, da·ʔd̄ȳh 'where  
 (is he going)?' L, da·ʔdaw gedasi·ta·i 'whither  
 are you steering?' L, ʔawdeg diK quʔli·iga·s  
 da·ʔd̄ȳh ʔiʔahd sah̄ 'nor will you know whither  
 she's gone and left you' 36.22A, lacking -d inter-  
 rogative enclitic: da·ʔ sah̄ (< da·ʔ s-; =  
 da·d sah̄) 'where did you go?' L; with -ʔahd fi-  
 nal, 'whence?, from what place?': 2b.13L, 4.11, 11M,  
 14.2L, 21b.7, 62A, 46.24M, 49.135A, da·ʔahdduw  
 'where (did you get that) from?' L, da·ʔahddəʔew  
 'where is that from?' L, da·ʔahd ʔa·dəʔew 'where  
 is that thing from?' L, 43.28M, da·ʔahdduwgaʔ o-  
 ʔaʔ ku-ʔe-tuʔ 'where did o get so much S from?', <sup>with -ʔi·ʔ final</sup>  
 Rezanov Тауагкессе 'Нкыга ниргедшин' da·-  
<sup>ʔd</sup>  
 ʔahd... (perhaps lacking -d interrogative enclit-  
<sup>ʔi·ʔahd?</sup>  
 ic); with -dəʔ final, 'by where?, by (motion within)  
 what place, route, par ou?': 9.60, 11.126A, da·dəʔd

Тауагкессе 'Нкыга ниргедшин' da·ʔi·ʔd

'which way (did he go)?' L, also with -s interrogative enclitic: di'ŋa'g si'ŋa' da'da'ŋdudw yesa'w-ya'z 'I wonder where my letter is travelling' M; nominalized with -d final as o of o-lah 'about o': da-delahd'uh 'about what place (is he speaking)?' L; de-lah da'dd 'about what place (is he speaking)?' L (perhaps incorrect, 'about what? place?').

2. With proclitic da- 'ipse', 'anyplace, anywhere': with -d final (apparently always lacking -d interrogative enclitic): dada'd lu'di'ʔd 'anywhere on the tide-beach' 10.30A, dada'd ya'ʔete' 'set it (animal) anywhere!' L, dada'd'uh dik dahs 'there's nowhere he won't sit' L, dik da-da'de 'nowhere' M; with -ʔ final: dik dada'ʔ qu'xahs 'I won't go anywhere' M; with -da'ŋ final: dada'da'ŋdudw 'isa'ky'ʔd'it da'ŋ 'it having grabbed you anyplace' 36.16A, 'ise'ʔt 'iya' qa'k'i'ʔt, da-da'da'ŋd 'she'll scratch your body, anywhere' 36.19A; with -da'ŋ final and suffixed -yu' 'plural' (cf. 'u'da'ŋyu' 'everywhere'), four times with and once lacking -d interrogative enclitic, once with further -ʔ final: dada'da'ŋyu'd ya'ŋ qu'xdah 'I'll walk around anyplace' L, dada'd-ŋyu' 'ew'e'ŋ ya'ŋ 'ile'ŋ'ŋ 'you're looking around for it everywhere' A, dada'da'ŋyu'dudw 'uq' kusa'ŋa'g 'mark it (box)

on either side (on all sides, all over)' M, da=  
da'daxyu'd wəʃ qi'yitəh 'wherever you live'  
16.26M, dada'daxyu' 'anyplace' L, dada'daxyu'ɕ  
qu'xah 'I'll go anyplace' L.

da.<sup>3</sup> (perhaps to be analyzed d-a' with d- postpositional 'at rest at' and -a' expanded augment, or to be identified with da.<sup>2</sup>)

o-da'- (postposition, never with zero final) 1.

(attested with -d, -da', -daʔ, -daʔ, -dʰ, -dʰahd, and -ʔ finals) a. 'near, by, at, close to, next to, in vicinity, area of o': with -d final 'at rest in, nominalization of': 16.9M, 33.42, 65.31, 55A,

ʔeʔda-d 'near the box' M, sida-d 'next to me' L, ʔuxi-yaʔda-d ʔawa liʔʔ weʔ ʔitʔhʔh 'his chin is dimpled' M, ʔida-d yʔʔ quʔxdah 'I'll sit down by you' L, sida-d sadaʔh 'you sat by me' L, sida-d sadaʔ 'sit by me (not touching):' L, ʔawda-d sataʔh 'it's close to it (touching or not)' L, ʔawda-d yʔʔ sataʔ 'set it down close to it:' L, sida-d sataʔh (= sida-ʔ sa-tahʔ) 'it's lying near me' L, ʔusuhdda-d sil-xutʔh 'I shot him in the knee' M, ʔuʂe-kda-d daʔd saixutʔh 'shoot him in the chest:' L, sida-d guseʔaʔʔh 'he's standing near me' M, sida-d kaʔ guʔiʔʔ 'stand by me' M, daʔu-d siʔʔayabdda-d yaʔ quʔxdah 'I'll stay right there in my home country' L, frequent with place-names as o: ʔi-ya-ta-d '((in) the vicinity of) Eyak (Village)' 68.1, 22, 36, 45, 46, 47A, Cordovada-d '(at) Cordova' 68.59, 62A, Ankauda-d 'at Ankau'

32.1A, sidgabda'd 68.124A, sidkeda'd, si'dka-  
 da'd '(at) Sitka' L, ?a'gabda'd 'Orca' L, ?ana-  
 yaneda'd 'at Aleanik' 68.1A, ya'keta'dda'd 'at  
 Yakutat' 32.1A, with verbal clauses containing qi'  
 'place where' as o: 1b.2, 2a.15, 18M, 9.149, 150,  
 10.227, 11.170A, 21a.13, 14, 30L, 24.21, 33.12A,  
 37a.7, 39.1L, 46.1, 25M, 47a.3L, 51.57A, 56.2L,  
 68.49A, Sa'se'n qi' dətahada'd 'at where cord-  
 wood is chopped' M, ʒi'd qi' ?iʒ li'ʔabda'd  
 'at yonder mountain-foot (where mountain extends  
 down)' L, with classified nouns as o: 6.10M, 50.-  
 51A, ?ow kuitahiti'leda'd, xiʒleʒadada'd, ku-  
 ʒe'iqi'leda'd, la'ʒqi'leda'd, i'e-skʒadada'd,  
 ʒihʒgedada'd, ca'la'da'd, caʒdada'd, ʒiyahdele-  
 da'd, teʒleda'd ʒa'ʔ ʒeta' 'set it down near  
 the feather, near a snowball, a rope, a cord, some  
 logs, the grass, a stone, a board, a hat, a hammer.'  
 L, with anatomical marks: sikuʒda'd 'near my low-  
 er leg' L, siyada'd ʒetahi 'it's right by my  
 hand' L, with adjectives and numerals as o: 11.170A,  
 kutuʒda'd ?edsiʒaʒgi 'it has many spots on it'  
 ('it has spotted itself in many places') M, ku-  
 tuʒda'd ʒaʒa' d-ʒya 'S accumulates in many piles  
 (piles up in many places)' (see d-ʒya 2c.), iʒhe-  
 da'd ʒa' 'one muddy spot' L, siʒ iʒheda'd wəʒ  
 ?i-tʒihʒ 'he's related to me' ('he lives in one

place with me') L, iħhda·d ?iħta? saka? 'pile them up in one place!' L, diK iħhda·de 'not in one place' 68.62A, la?da·d (< la?dda·d) 'two places' L, 25.80A, la?da·d səlahi ĩe?ŋ 'there are two boxes there' ('boxes which are in two places') L, la?da·d ?iħdabđ ?iħiyahi 'two together' ('they are in position against each other in two places') L, la?(d)da·d səselahi yahđ 'two houses there' L, la?dda·d ?iħdabđ diħiyahi yahđ 'two houses together' L, tũhiga?da·d 'three places' L, 25.80A, tũhiga?da·d ?əkceğ 'cut it in three places, three (four?) pieces!' L, (o)-Kihda·d '(in) a different place (from o)', see Kəyĭ·y-Kih, with reciprocal o: ?iħda·d 'side by side' M, ?iħda·d xədidid?ah 'they (logs, stripes) extend close and parallel' L, ?iħda·d səlahi 'they're near each other' L, ?iħda·d šiiyahi 'they've been put near each other' L; with various other forms as o: qi?ya·da·d 'somewhere, anyplace (indefinite)' L (see under qi?, cf. qi?ya·da·x), ?u·d xəya?u·dda·d 'there farther over near that place' L, xi·d xəya?deqehxqda·d 'there at the foot of the mountain' L, qa·da·d?ah Eyak man's name, analysis uncertain (see ?ah<sup>2</sup>); ?i·na·xda·d sa·? 'go up on a hill!' L, ?iħa·na·xda·d sa·? 'go up on the mountainside!' L both probably to be

corrected to -ɣ daʔd; with -daɣ final (rare)  
 'movement within area': dida·daɣ saħi 'it went  
 right by me (near me, at my side)' L, with y-anatomi-  
 cal 'hand': siyeda·daɣ saħi 'it went right  
 by my hand' L; with -daʔ final 'arrival at': ʔi-  
 da·daʔ quʔxəh 'I'll sit closer to you' L, si-  
 da·daʔ sədaʔ 'sit close to me!' L, sida·daʔ  
 saħiħ 'he walked right up to me' L, ʔida·daʔ  
 quʔxəh 'I'll come closer to you' L, ʔəwda·daʔ  
 saħiħ 'he went over to it, approached it' 30.2L,  
 ʔəwda·daʔ diK ʔəsahkəiħ, diK ʔəda·daʔ ʔəsahk-  
 əiħ 'he didn't go near it' L, sida·daʔ sə-ʔ  
 'some closer to me!' L, Kəbda·daʔ saqəħiħ 'he  
 boated to a different place' L; with -ɕ final  
 'continuous, repeated, or incompleting motion to-  
 wards': Kəbda·ɕ 'to a different place' 9.165,  
 10.161, 165A, Kəbda·ɕ saqə·ħiħ 'he's boating to  
 a different place' M, Kəbda·ɕ saqəħiħ 'he boat-  
 ed to a different place' M, ħəbda·ɕ ʔəw ləɣə-  
 ħya·K 'they (cust) put them (berries) in one place'  
 29.20A, with y-anatomical 'hand': siyeda·ɕ ʔətaʔ  
 'put it by my hand!' L; with -ɕəħd final 'from':  
 sida·ɕəħd 'from near me' L; with -ɣ final 'motion  
 within area' (meaning regular, cf. 2. below): si-  
 da·ɣ sətaħi 'it's lying near me' ('it has come in-  
 to position within my vicinity') L, ə-da·ɣ ʔəð

'əd-dl-lə-weʔə 'S sneaks past by o', ʔuda·ʔ  
 ʔəš ʔədquʔla·xleʔihh 'I'll sneak by him' L,  
 o-da·ʔ ʔəš ʔdl-ʔya 'S runs past by o', sida·ʔ  
 ʔəš sahhih 'he went right by me' L, sida·ʔ  
 ga·hih 'he's walking along beside me' L, ʔu=  
 kumahda·ʔ (cut) along its stomach, ventrally'  
 65.37, 37, 38, 39A, ʔuguleʔede·kda·ʔ yeʔ qiʔ=  
 yilceʔ 'you'll cut downwards along its spine'  
 65.39A, tūhigaʔda·ʔ ʔew saiceʔihh 'he cut it  
 in three pieces (places?)' L, qiʔ ʔikəduxda·ʔ  
 'by where he was trapping' 23.6A, ʔaʔq̄ qiʔ yeʔ  
 ʔihʔahda·ʔ 'outside where (when?) it's sunshine'  
 65.52A, ʔaʔd qiʔd yaʔ teli·ʔahda·ʔ daʔd ce=  
 xah da·ʔ 'when I climb up a very steep place' 36.=  
 40M, qiʔ kusep·ʔu·da·ʔ ..., qiʔ di·ʔgeleʔu·da·ʔ  
 siʔ yeʔ təkədux 'float ashore with me where there's  
 nice ground!, ... a nice gravel-beach!' 11.169, 170A,  
 qiʔ kusi·luʔda·ʔ 'where there was a hole' 2a.14M,  
 ʔaneʔeneʔda·ʔ deʔ saqehhinu· 'they boated up by  
 Aleganik' 68.10A, lixahda·ʔ ʔaʔq̄ ʔəla·saʔyahhih  
 'he ran out past the grizzly-bear' 19.27A (cf. 2c.  
 below), with reciprocal o: ʔiida·ʔ ʔidiʔah 'they  
 extend close and parallel' L, ʔahdi ʔiida·ʔ ʔəš  
 ʔəla·sdiʔyahhi '(two) cars ran past glancing against  
 each other' L, ʔiida·ʔ yeʔ ca·ʔi 'two boxes to=  
 gether' L, ʔiida·ʔ qi·ʔəla·diʔah 'internal organ



that of 2a., attested only in Ka'dih 'uda·ʔ, Ka'di'uda·ʔ 'it's useless, pointless (to ...)' (< 'there is no difference that ...'), usually followed by optative clause, see Ka'dih- 2. under Ka·; see also 2g. below.

2c. 'in the form of, (made, converted) into': 'aw qunnu· 'axəkihda·ʔ ʔə·ʔ səiit 'those they fashioned into canoes' 68.31A, ʔuhigi-da·ʔ 'aw ʔə·ʔ səiit 'fashioned them into shovels' 23.136A, da'ə·dɔda·ʔ wəʔ dale· 'fish-meat slabs are made of it' 65.8A, 'aw ʔə·t' čiyahda·ʔ kuta· detuh 'the skunk-cabbage is used as (in the form of) a hat' L, čiyahda·ʔ ʔu· daleh 'a hat is to be made of it' L, yahda·ʔ ʔu· daleh 'a doll is to be made of it' L, te'ya'da·ʔ 'in the form of, transformed into a fish' 21a.7L, dəxəhda·ʔ 'in human form, transformed into a person' 21a.16A, lixahda·ʔ 'ə·da· qe· qu'xdah 'I'll come back here in the form of a grizzly-bear' 19.13L (cf. lixahda·ʔ 'a·q' xəla·sa'yaħiħ 'he ran out past the grizzly-bear' 19.27L).

2d. With numerals, adjectives, adverbs, and certain other forms as o, meaning vague or uncertain, general adverbializer, perhaps more properly under 2c. and/or 2e., 2f.: tühiga'da·ʔ 'aw səi- ceħiħ 'he cut it into three pieces' L ('into form

of three'?, or perhaps 'in three places' under 1.), la<sup>o</sup>di<sup>o</sup>da·ɣ ʔi<sup>o</sup>da·ɣ wəɣ dələh 'there are two different ways to do it' ('thus is done to it into two contrasting forms, it can be made into two different things'?, la<sup>o</sup>di<sup>o</sup>da·ɣ for la<sup>o</sup>dih=da·ɣ or la<sup>o</sup>(d)da·ɣ under influence of Ma·di<sup>o</sup>=da· ʔ), ʔihsih( )da·ɣ 'one at a time' 34.83L ('in the form of one'?); Kuciɣg( )da·ɣ ya<sup>o</sup> ʔəi-caɣg 'I'm cutting it into strips' ('I'm cutting it up into narrow things'?, 'narrow and I'm cutting it up'?), Kuɣədə<sup>o</sup>a·w( )da·ɣ šiMa<sup>o</sup>gi 'long stripes are marked' L ('it's marked in the form of long stripes'?, 'long stripes and it's marked'), tē<sup>o</sup>q̄ida·ɣ, sətē<sup>o</sup>q̄ida·ɣ 'in a straight line', see tē<sup>o</sup>q̄.

2e. With meaning extended to time, with certain forms only, see 2f.: ne·ɣda·ɣ 'first, at first, original', see ne·ɣ; səhdɣ( )da·ɣ 'after, for a long while', see səhd<sup>2</sup>; qi<sup>o</sup>ya·da·ɣ 'sometime, anytime (indefinite)', see under qi<sup>o</sup>; de·ga<sup>o</sup>da·ɣd 'when?, when', see de·-g<sup>w</sup>a<sup>o</sup>- 3. under de·<sup>1</sup>; qi<sup>o</sup> qu<sup>o</sup>xsih( )da·ɣ qu<sup>o</sup>xsih 'when I die, I'll die' 23.154A, qi<sup>o</sup>dəɣ ʔənəhšəkihiya<sup>o</sup>ɣ da· ʔi<sup>o</sup>a<sup>o</sup>ɕ( )da·ɣ 'as soon as we get going having a good time' 30.9L (see under qi<sup>o</sup> 2b.).

2f. As 2e. above but written separately as

"conjunction", see separate subentry da·ʒ.

2g. In Ke·či·duh( )da·ʒ "what can I do about it, having no time to monkey with it" L, Rezanov Кеґуууууаха 'Даромъ unsonst' ('how in the world? and?', or perhaps < Ke·či·duh ʔu·da·ʒ 'how in the world (could that make) any difference?' as under 2b.).

3. With extended meanings, -d final only:

a. extended to time in ʔidehda·d 'at a good (propitious, convenient, proper) time, timely, at the right time' L, diK ʔidahda·d ʔq·daʔ ʔesahis, diK ʔidahda·da ʔq·daʔ sahik 'you came at a bad time' L.

3b. Meaning uncertain in o-ʒ-da·d 'without o, o-less' (probably < postpositional phrase o-ʒ 'in contact with o' as o of o-da·-d): Rezanov Аухууууу 'He ungeeignet bedarf nicht' ʔewʒda·duh 'it's never used, superfluous' ('(one can get along) without it!') L, Ka·diʔda· ʔawʒda·d yaʔ ʔi·dah, teʔyaʔ 'he's never without it, fish' A, siʒda·d ya·qaʔ sahik 'he went away without me' L, lihʒda·d 'quiet, inactive, silent', see lih- under le-, most frequently with theme -ie(?), see instances under -ie(?) lg.(3), 3e., nominalized and as o of o-wah-d 'for, because of o': dotelehʒda·dwahd 'out of wantonness, senselessness'

Ke·či·duh ʔu·da·ʒ 'what can I do about it?'  
for you to go about without your ribbon' 23.51A.

49.70A.

ɣdl-da'-ɣ (postpositional phrase, with ɣdl-thematic 'shore', attested with -ɣ final, as under o-da'- 1.) 'along shore': ɣəla'da'ɣ səxqə'ɣ  
'I'm boating along the shore, coastline' L.  
da'ɣ (conjunction, very general subordinator, originally postposition, see especially o-da'- 2e. above; written separately as phonologically unbound, e.g. frequently with pause preceding, and not attested with class-mark following classified noun, but still partly betraying postpositional origin, syntactically clearly constituent with preceding verbal clause rather than following, and with verb of preceding (subordinated) clause usually not showing -ɣh and -inu' third person suffixes; of extremely high frequency, excerpted only little from elicitations and only from first half of text corpus) 1. connecting noun and other non-verbal phrases a. 'and': sɣi'mahdɣ da'ɣ ma'sɣa' 'bread and butter' L, ʔi' da'ɣ xu' 'you and I' M, qe'ɣ da'ɣ kila'ʔ 'a man and a woman' 2a.5M (cf. 1b.), qe'ʔɣ da'ɣ gu'deg kə-yi'y sə'diɣiɣ 'Bluejay and again another bird' 6.1M, ɣə'gedi'yəh da'ɣ kuxa'ɣ 'Porcupine and Beaver' 16.1M, ɣi'lehɣiyah da'ɣ se'ɣgeɣeɣ 'Raven and Magpie' BSdL 261, 555, ʔəl ʔuyəqə'ɣ da'ɣ

?el ?uKahš 'his hands and feet' 23.139A, tühiga?  
 ga? xəN da'x tühiga? xeda' gah 'three nights  
 and three days' 25.81A, ?ew t'ikɨ da'x qu?ɨxa·di  
 siya? 'my arrows and bow' 27a.3L, optional and/or  
 with pause following and/or preceding: ?ew la·  
 qəya? da'x, c'iyuh, xela'g dat'a? yah yiteh,  
 wəx c'iyuhyu· la·qəya?yu· ?idisiyuh 'those  
 mountain-goats and, blackbear, in winter it is  
 difficult, thus for blackbear (and) mountain-goats  
 to be killed' 25.207A, ci·welahyu·, da'x, sah·  
 welahyu· 'mussel-people, and, cockle-people' 11·  
 62A, ya·?a'gəga? la·c'e·?ga? ?u·da·? ?əwa·  
 ?i·t'ihinu·, da'x, ʒi·da·de·welahyu· 'those  
 whose faces are half red, and, razorclam-people'  
 11.64A, in longer series: cədegit, qəxah, da'x  
 la?xɨt 'sun, moon, and stars' 2a.4, 14, 19M (per-  
 haps English influence), siya· da'x sita·?  
 da'x sidase·?əyu· 'my mother and father and  
 younger siblings' 18.41L, siya·qə?əyu· da'x  
 sica?kihe?əyu· da'x siqa·gə?əyu· 'my aunt's and  
 older sister's and uncle's people' 70.10A, see  
 also 10.230A (NP, NP, NP da'x NP, da'x, NP, NP,  
 da'x ?əwa·, NP, da'x NP, NP, NP, NP da'x, NP,  
 VP), 23.19A (NP da'x, NP da'x, da'x VP).

1b. Connecting noun and other non-verbal  
 phrases, 'or': de· ?əwa·duh ?ənahšəkih ?u·

ʒeʔi·leh, na·w da·ʒ gi·wa· 'which do you like  
 (better), whiskey or beer?' L, ɕp·ʔ ʒeda· da·ʒ  
 ɕj· ʒeda· gah 'five or six days' 2a.11M, diK  
 ʔaw ʔuʔdaxahs, de·dow yile·, ʔila·ʔ da·ʒ qeʔi  
 'it wasn't told of them which it was, a boy or a  
 girl' 2ʒ.12ʒA, deda·daxyu·d wəʒ qiʔyiteh, ca·=  
 la·yeʔd da·ʒ lisdəyeʔd 'wherever you live, under  
 rocks or under trees' 16.26M.

2. Connecting adjective or postpositional  
 phrase and verb phrase, 'and, after' (vague): ʒigt  
one hourgaʔ da·ʒ sasih̄t 'about one hour and he  
 was dead' 6ʒ.111A, deʔelgaʔkih da·ʒ yə·ʔɕ da·K-  
 ih '(he goes) just this little bit and he (cust)  
 sits down (tired)' 72.5L (cf. especially o-da·-  
 2e.), Kugy·tuʔ da·ʒ diʔda· ʔil̄da·ʒ ʔidit̄hinu·  
 qeʔi·səyu· 'many and quite a variety of women' 10·=  
 229A.

3. Connecting verbal clauses, a. following  
 clauses with all mode-aspects other than conditional  
 and inceptive imperfective, 'and, ...-ing, having  
 ...-en, as ..., while ..., when ..., but': immedi-  
 ately following verb, no pause preceding or fol-  
 lowing da·ʒ (q-) (often, in texts from A usual-  
 ly, followed by q-emphatic): 1b.10, 11, 11, 13, 14,  
 16, 18, 19, 2a.18M, 2b.18L, 3.4, 6, 7, 17M, 6.8L,  
 9.56, 67, 102, 159, 10.5, 68, 196, 197, 234, 262,

11.69, 78, 162, 175, 176, 195, 197, 201, 203A,  
 13.8, 12, 14.2L, 15.20, 21, 16.5, 7, 14, 15, 16,  
 23, 24M, 18.8, 15, 23, 23, 29, 31, 42, 45, 57,  
 58, 66, 80, 85, 19.18L, 20.19, 51, 61, 94A, 21a.-  
 3, 33L, 21b.56, 60, 61, 74, 23.9, 83, 132, 136,  
 24.80, 25.8A, 26.9, 27a.18, 19, 23, 26L, 27b.14,  
 16, 18, 52, 28.2, 4, 6, 18, 31, 42, 29.2, 4, 9,  
 18A, 30.2L, 32.45, 49A, yikda's da'x ku'luw  
 yileh 'it's heavy and it's big' M, sii'mahdi  
 silmahdi da'x ya' sega'li 'I baked bread but/-  
 and it turned out badly' L, kucih da'x ca'ih  
 'he's walking along singing, he's singing and he's  
 walking along' M, yax dekeqahax da'x ca'ih  
 'he's walking along stumbling' M, yax xda'x da'x  
 kuxcih 'I'm walking about and singing, as, while  
 I'm walking about I'm singing' L, 'pa'ca'ih da'x  
 sax<sup>M</sup>'ihih 'I see him coming, he's coming and I see  
 him, (as he's) coming I see him' L (also sax<sup>M</sup>'ihih  
 'pa'ca'ih da'x, see below), immediately follow-  
 ing verbs with -ih or -inu suffix (relatively  
 infrequent, especially in taped texts from A): 12.-  
 32G, 15.4M, 18.15, 29, 30, 56, 26.12L, 29.7, 17A,  
 37L; with pause following but no pause preceding  
 da'x (q-): 7.9, 12, 34, 37, 8.10, 12, 18, 55, 134,  
 168, 209, 10.5, 6, 9, 31, 49, 64, 68, 113, 144,  
 148, 161, 234, 11.11, 11, 21, 37, 40, 42, 43, 56,

88, 112, 117, 164, 172, 172, 175A, 12.5G, 19.11L,  
20.3, 6, 11, 12, 25, 47A, 21a.5, 6, 12, 23, 27L,  
23.23, 25, 30, 32, 55, 55, 87, 101, 115, 119,  
136, 24.17, 24, 75, 84, 92, 101, 25.6, 7, 12, 20,  
44, 48, 71, 72, 83, 84, 96, 104, 119, 123, 124,  
133, 144, 166, 186, 203, 28.11, 40, 48, 51, 51,  
84, 92, 97, 111, 121, 123, 132, 140, 32.5, 5, 10,  
29, 41, 49A, immediately following verbs with -ih  
or -inu\* suffix (rare): 22.6L; with pause pre-  
ceding, no pause following da'z (q-): 1a.9, 9,  
10, 10, 11, 12, 13, 13, 1b.5, 2a.6, 7, 23, 35M,  
5.3, 3, 10, 10L, 6.2, 10M, 10.38, 164, 223, 11.8,  
44, 44, 56, 78, 91, 127, 132, 138, 144, 162A, 14.-  
2L, 16.5, 6, 19M, 18.56, 19.18L, 20.47, 21b.25,  
23.133, 25.14, 106A, 27a.34L, 28.128, 29.33, 37A,  
30.1, 8, 31.12L, immediately following (pause fol-  
lowing) verb with -ih or -inu\* suffix (relative-  
ly frequent): 11.3, 6, 145A, 18.31, 37L, 23.130A,  
27a.19, 29.3A, 6L, 6, 6.30, 34, 41, 64A, 30.2L,  
with pause both preceding and following da'z (q-):  
11.65, 79, 158, 163, 175, 20.90, 25.14, 28.113A, im-  
mediately following (pause following) verb with  
-ih or -inu\* suffix: 9.46A; following epilogue  
to verbal clause or quotation (pauses more frequent  
preceding than following da'z (q-)): no pause  
preceding or following: 11.162A, 18.22L, 28.107A,

pause preceding but not following: 2a.7M, 9.33, 11, 91, 120, 121, 142, 143, 149, 170, 194A, 13.-12, 18.19, 20, 40, 41L, 20.60, 25.14, 27b.5, 28.-139, 29.30, 35, 45, 47A, 31.5L, preceding and following: 11.15, 37, 37, 75, 85, 86, 28.40, 84, 32.39A; with meaning 'but': 11.162, 163(?)A, 18.-85(?)L, 28.132(?), 139, 32.45, 68.125A; at end of sentence, subordinating clause functioning as epilogue: *sax<sup>w</sup>ʔihih ʔp.ɕ ɛa.ɪ da.ɣ* 'I see him coming' L, *ne.ʔ ʔilʔ ʔeɪdah ɕeʔ quʔdelihinu.*, *ʔuma.yu. ʔililiʔ ʔidiliyah da.ɣ* 'soon they'll be playing together again, while their mothers hate each other' 72.1L (cf. *yp.ʔ ʔixitehɪ da.ɣ ʔu.daʔ qiʔiyah* 'I'll be lying down when you get there' ('I'm lying down and you'll get there') L; with -d emphatic enclitic: *Ke.yu. ɕeʔ kusade=le.ɪ da.ɣdum*, 'just all kinds of further things were happening and!,' 11.133A; following negative inceptive perfective clauses introduced by *di.yeɣ* 'while not ... yet, before ...', see under *di.yeɣ*.

3b. Following inceptive or active conditional clauses, verb never with *-ih* or *-inu* suffix, never with pause preceding (though often following) *da.ɣ* (*ɕ-*): (1) subordinating inceptive conditional, 'if ..., when ...': no pause following: 9.22, 78, 10.80, 233, 235A, 12.31G, 21b.69,

76, 25.23, 79, 28.38A, daʔalgaʔkih ʔeah daʔx gaʔgih 'when he goes a little way like this he gets tired' L, diK ʔa-daʔ ea-e daʔx 'if he doesn't come, unless he comes' M, ʔalgaʔ ʔele-ʔaʔyah daʔx 'around this time of year' ('when time gets like this') M, followed by pause, then main clause: 10.237, 11.60A, 16.28M, 19.16, 17L, 20.38A, 21a.32L, 21b.69, 24.73, 25.27, 27, 138, 150, 163, 203, 28.25, 27A, sentence-final, subordinated conditional clause as epilogue: 10.239A, 13.13, 19.3, 16L, 20.70, 21b.34, 25.31, 52, 28.-52A; (2) subordinating active conditional, 'just as ..., as soon as ..., when ..., if ... starts to': no pause following: <sup>ii.iʔʔʔ</sup> 21a.15L, 21b.71, 72, 25.-76, 28.39A, ʔi-xgah daʔx yaʔʔ sedahh 'as I was just getting started dancing you sat down' L, yiʔiqah daʔx yaʔ ʔeʔaʔK 'just as it starts getting light the (winter) sun (cust) sets' L, followed by pause, then main clause: 11.89, 89, 117, 23.11, 12, 17, 25.17, 78A, 30.9L, sentence-final, subordinated conditional clause as epilogue: da-de-di-d daʔ daʔqeʔli-iyaʔ ʔediʔd yaʔ ʔexdah daʔx 'what ever shall we have if I start staying put indoors?' 11.54A.

3c. As 3b. above, but subordinating neuter conditional or neuter imperfective often used as

conditional, 'when ..., if ..., (just) as ..., and': formal neuter conditional: ?ayec wəʒ ?i·lihʔaʔtəh da·ʒ 'when they felt like it' 68.-48A, ?ənahšəkih ?i·lihʔaʔxtəh da·ʒ 'just as I was getting happy' L, neuter imperfective, clearly used as conditional: wəʒ ?i·ləh da·ʒ, daʔu·d ?uqaʔd yaʔ ?ədi·ʔinu· 'if you wish, go ahead and stay amongst them!' 10.190A, Ku·ʒu·dah ?i·lilah da·ʒ qa·ʒaʔ yaʔ qiʔyite· 'if you're handsome-faced you shall lie with us' 29.13A, Kudiʔlahə xihəh da·ʒ qa·dya·g ?iqeʔ·xiteh 'if I were a big chief I'd give you away into slavery' L, in epilogue, negative: diK de·ʒəhyu·liʔ ?idaʔyihə da·ʒ 'if you don't hate people, unless you hate people' 61.85A, probably conditional also in 23.17A, perhaps also in 25.-139, 132A, followed by -d interrogative enclitic in 28.28A.

3d. Subordinating verb clause in inceptive imperfective, sometimes used as conditional, 'when ..., if ..., and': clearly conditional: 23.44, 154.-A, in epilogue: ?iC qeʔ quʔxtah, ?əl qəʒ ?i·ʒaʔ, siʒaʔ wəʒ qiʔyitəh da·ʒ 'I'll give it back to you, your ribbon, if you'll live with me' 23.49A, perhaps conditional in 11.90A, 13.13L, 21a.20L, 21b.72, 24.40A, not conditional in 11.-

115A, 16.28M, 29.19A.

3e. Subordinating non-verbal clause: de=  
de·d 'iq da·ʔ 'if anything is on you' 36.10A.

dah (or da', in yelling)

-dah(--da'), occurring only in ?e-dah: ?edah 'father! LMA (vocative form only; cf. -ta'), Rezanov Ava Orem Vater', Wrangell 3r-ra'vater', Puruhjelm Atta 'father', Anna Nelson aDa' 'father (either sex speaking)' BSdL 565, ?eda' 'fatherrr!!' (in yelling) L. Probably a nursery-form of -ta' in origin; cf. N ~~and~~ -da', 'maternal uncle'.

cf. Tbigit 'a<sup>2</sup>da<sup>2</sup>wa<sup>2</sup> 'playing',  
'a<sup>2</sup> - 'playing',  
dau<sup>2</sup> = 'does',

dah<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with dah<sup>3</sup>)

ʔa<sup>2</sup>da<sup>2</sup> (adverb, to be analyzed ʔa<sup>2</sup>-da<sup>2</sup>, perhaps '6. da-verb')

further ʔa-<sup>2</sup>-, with <sup>2</sup>-classifier, in which case

stem -da<sup>2</sup> is not to be identified with dah, cf. X

ʔa<sup>2</sup>qah under qah<sup>3</sup>) 'playing', attested only

with -le 'S acts, does', see -le 6.

dah<sup>3</sup> (perhaps to be identified with dah<sup>2</sup>, perhaps once da· in 69.7A)

-dah (adverbializing enclitic, probably of limited productivity, occurring with a number of forms not attested in other constructions, probably never with forms of truly nominal origin) 1. in adverbs, always with zero final: to gerundives or deverbalizations, some with -h deverbializing suffix, or to stems which do not occur without -dah but appear to be old gerundives or deverbalizations: suhgdah 'serious injury' (see suhg), kahddah (injury' (see kahd-ka'd), ?uyax ?isyahddah 'annoyance' (see ?yahs), ča?nikddah 'funny' (see (?)nik), legehddah, legehddah 'lonely' (see g<sup>w</sup>ehs-), ?iāguddah, guddah 'deceitfully' (see guh-), gehddah, g<sup>w</sup>ehddah 'pitiful' (see gehh-), lexix<sup>w</sup>a'sdah 'scary', xa'sdah 'strange' (see xahs-), to other forms, probably deverbalizations in origin: xhdah 'woeful' (see xh<sup>1</sup>), sīa'dah 'beautiful' (see īa<sup>2</sup>), to adjectives: kuju'dah 'well' (see ju·), kuša'dah 'badly' (see šiyah-), ku?luwdah 'greatly' (see ?luw-), to numerals: hhdah 'still, in one place' (see hhs), la'dah 'in two ways' (perhaps once la?da· 69.7A, < la?d-dah, see la'd), tuhiga'dah 'in three ways' (see tuhī), to certain pronouns:

hiʔq̄ ya·yu·dah 'in all sorts of ways, all sorts  
 of things' (hiʔq̄ ya·yu· 'everything'), deʔu·=  
 dəɣya·kih̄dah 'something (of significance)' (de-  
 ʔu·dəɣya·kih̄ 'something'), ya·kih̄dah, dəya·kih̄-  
 dah 'payment' (see ya· ), Kude·dah 'impos- X  
 sible' (Kude· 'nothing', see de·<sup>1</sup>), to cer-  
 tain other forms, mainly adverbial or exclamatory:  
 ʔənik̄h̄dah 'scary, ridiculous, grotesque' (see  
 ʔənik̄h̄-), ʔənah̄h̄ək̄ih̄dah 'pleasant' (see ʔənah̄h̄-  
 ek̄ih̄), ʔiyah̄dah 'dirty' (see ʔi·yah̄-), h̄idah,  
 dəh̄idah 'constantly' (see h̄i-h̄iʔ), K̄a·dah 're-  
 markably' (see K̄a·), q̄e·dah 'outright (etc.)'  
 (see q̄e·), ʔəwəʔah̄dah 'thankyou', ʔəwəʔah̄luwdah  
 'many thanks' (see ʔah̄<sup>2</sup>); ʔidah, diʔdah (< də-  
 ʔidah), ʔideh̄dah (< ʔidah-ʔidah ?) 'fine, nice,  
 alright, well, proper, quite, really' (see ʔi ), X  
 also with -kih̄ 'diminutive': ʔidahkih̄, diʔdah-  
 kih̄ 'fairly well'; see also especially -le ʔ.--  
 ll., and other themes with stem -le, very fre-  
 quent with a variety of adverbs in -dah.

2. In certain forms above used as o of post-  
 positions or as preverb with postpositional finals  
 (rare): diK̄ ʔidahda·d ʔq̄·daʔ ʔəsaħ̄h̄e 'he did-  
 n't come at a good time' L, dəʔwəɣ geh̄sdaħ̄ɣ ʔəħ̄  
 dəcaħ̄ɣq̄·c̄iħ̄ 'he begs him just pitifully' 37b.34A,  
 hiʔq̄ ya·yu·ɣ ʔəħ̄ ya·kih̄dah̄ h̄i·K̄iħ̄ 'she (cust)

tries to pay him with all sorts of things' 37a.-  
16L, ya-kibdahč xhi-g 'I kept trying to pay  
him' 37b.61, 61A.

daʔ¹ (perhaps to be identified with one or more homophonous stems, meanings rather clearly united in covering semantic continuum 'aperture-side, front, face, facing, in front of', perhaps related to daʔ, daʔʔ, cf. widely attested Athapaskan daʔ (combinatory da) 'mouth, lip, beak' and related postpositions and verbal prefixes daʔ(?) 'before, front, opening, lid, top')

daʔ (preverb) 1. (with zero and -d finals) 'in the face': with -d final: ca·ʔi·naʔ daʔd ʔisikdeʔt 'I hit you in the face with a rock' L, daʔd xu-sataʔʔiʔh 'he kicked me in the face' L, daʔd xu-səktuxiʔh 'he spit in my face' L, uncertain in ʔuše·kda·d daʔd səlxutʔiʔh 'shoot him in the chest!' L; with zero final: xiʔgaʔ daʔ səxle·ʔ 'my face is turning white' L, usually requiring co-thematic with verb: xiʔgaʔ daʔ səxiteh 'my face is white' L, xiʔgaʔ daʔ quʔei·xtuh 'my face will turn white' L, o-gaʔ daʔ ei·tʔihinu· 'their faces are like o' 10.229A, daʔ səxiʔkʔiʔʔ 'my face is skinny' L, daʔ ei·kʔiʔʔiʔh 'his face is skinny' L, daʔ quʔei·xʔkʔiʔʔ 'my face will get skinny' L, in epithets: daʔ eiʔluw 'big-face!' L, 11.139A, 18.8L, daʔ sikeʔt 'box-face'.

2a. (with zero, -d, and -tʔ finals) 'into a vessel for storage, canning, preserving': with zero final· daʔ ləʔəsitiʔqaʔdgiʔ 'I canned (boiled)

berries (for preserving)' L, da? laʔəqaʔdg  
 'canned berries, jam, jelly, fruit preserves' L,  
 laʔmahd da? qaʔdg 'canned preserves' L, da?  
 ʔi-tiɕ '(salmon etc.) frozen for winter' L, with  
 -d final: ʔu-d daʔd satahɪ 'it's there in a  
 box' L, with -ɕ final: daʔɕ ʔəiya-ʔ 'put  
 them in a container!' L, daʔɕ ʔəxiya-ʔ 'I'm  
 putting them (canned goods) into storage for win-  
 ter' L, daʔɕ ʔəiqaʔdg 'can it (boil it for pre-  
 serving)!' L, laʔmahd daʔɕ laʔəxiqaʔdg 'I'm  
 canning berries' L.

2b. (with -d final only 'from a position  
 at rest') 'up out of vessel, up out' (relatively  
 rare, cf. qaʔ 'up out', yaʔ-d, o-yaʔ-d 'up  
 out of container with broad opening at top'): ʔu-ɕo-ɕ M, -  
 daʔd sahɪ 'he got up out of a boat (into water,  
 onto land); he went up on a hill' L, si-naʔq  
 daʔd ɕa-ɪ 'it (bug) is walking upwards on my  
 face' L.

o-daʔ (postposition, with zero and other finals)

'in front of, the facing surface of o' l. (with  
 zero, -d, -ɕ, and -x finals) with zero final: ʔu-ɕo-ɕ M, -  
 sidaʔ sedahɪ 'he's sitting in front of me' L,  
 perhaps to be interpreted as o-daʔ under daʔ<sup>2</sup>;  
 ʔidaʔ lixitaɪh 'my face is right up close to  
 you' M, ʔdu-lihɪdadaʔ qəw siyahɪ 'I walked

to the front of the table' 61.43A, si·daʔ, si·-daʔ 'northeastward' ('to (the front of and up) the creeks') see si·-si·; with -d final: ʔu-daʔd 'the front (facing surface or that which is generally regarded as the front) on it (e.g. of box)' M, sidaʔd setah̄ 'it's right in front of me' L; with -ɕ final: ʔeʔɕdaʔɕ 'towards the (front of the?) box' M, sidaʔɕ yeʔ laʔedelaʔ 'turn to face me (as we're prone)!' L, sidaʔɕ sa·h̄j̄h 'he's coming towards (the front of) me, encountering me (I stationary, he walking)' L, sidaʔɕ tɕda·h̄j̄h 'he's coming toward (the front of) me, we're encountering (he walking, I stationary or walking)' L, sidaʔɕ guʔeʔh̄j̄h 'he's standing facing me' L, qahs si·daʔ ʔidɕeʔaʔh̄ 'the clouds are moving northeast (to the front of and up the creeks)' L; with -ɣ final: sidaʔɣ disditux̄h̄j̄h 'he spat in my face' L, sidaʔɣ ʔeʔa·si·h̄j̄h 'he sneaked right into (the front of) me' L, si-daʔɣ sdiyah̄j̄h 'he came toward me, we encountered (I walking or stationary, he walking)' L.

2. As of of o-i-ɕ-a-d 'direction, side of o', o-daʔ-iɕa·d 'front side, bosom, in the direction of (the front side of) o': sidaʔiɕa·d yaʔ quʔxtah 'I'll keep it in my bosom' L, sidaʔiɕa·d 'my front side' L, si·daʔiɕa·d 'west side' 64.7G,

'windward side' M.

3. With reciprocal o in indirect reciprocal constructions (attested with zero and -ɣ finals, probably referring to the front side of o even where not explicitly so glossed): with zero final: ?iɫda? ɣəɫa·sdi?yahɫinu· 'they ran head-on into each other' L, ?iɫda? ?iɫiyahɫ name of Basket Pattern 10. ("together-eachother") BSdL 547; with -ɣ final: ?iɫda?ɣ sdi?a?ɕɫinu·, ?iɫi·da?ɣ sdi·a?ɕɫinu· 'they encountered, walked into each other' L, gu·daɣ ?iɫda?ɣ qe? sdi?a?ɕɫi 'they met again' 16.19M.

4. With sa-ɫ- 'extreme of series' as o, nominalized with -d final: səɫda?d 'the topmost (front?) one (of a series)' L.

(o-)d-da? (postposition and preverb, sometimes difficult to determine which, probably postposition in origin, often preverbalized, with d-thematic, perhaps thematized class-mark, but see under 2. below, or with da- indeterminate o; attested with zero, -d, -ɣ, -daɣ, -ɕ, and -Kah finals) 1. 'lid, cover (on top of o, receptacle, aperture); opening or closing (lid of o, receptacle, aperture)': with zero final, as postposition only, 'covering aperture of o': ?udada? Kusata? 'cover it up (hole, pot)!' L, kudada?ya? 'lid (of e.g. pot)' see un-

der ya<sup>?</sup>-aya<sup>?</sup>, see also 3. below; with -d final:  
 clearly as postposition, 'at rest, from a position  
 at rest covering aperture of o': Kuda<sup>?</sup>d ya<sup>?</sup>  
 'the top one' L, clearly as preverb: da<sup>?</sup>d 'aw  
 ʔeda<sup>?</sup>ʔakʔa<sup>?</sup>ʔi<sup>?</sup>h 'he jerked the lid off' 2b.17L,  
 uncertain, postposition or preverb: 'aw( )da<sup>?</sup>d  
 setah<sup>?</sup> 'it's lying on top' L, ( -)da<sup>?</sup>d o--  
 ʔd-(i-)ta 'S opens O (box) 2a.18M, 29.34A, di-  
 da<sup>?</sup>d, da<sup>?</sup>d '(box-)cover, lid' L, with -ʔ final,  
 probably postposition: 'awda<sup>?</sup>ʔ ya<sup>?</sup>ʔ ʔeda<sup>?</sup>ʔ  
 'it (fly) is landing on its lid' L, with -ʔ final,  
 probably postposition: 'awda<sup>?</sup>ʔ ya<sup>?</sup> ʔa<sup>?</sup> da<sup>?</sup>ʔ 'it  
 (fly) is walking around on its lid' L, probably as  
 preverb: 'aw da<sup>?</sup>ʔ ya<sup>?</sup> ʔakʔeh<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>h 'he tied the  
 cover down on him' 7.33, 34A, clearly as preverb:  
 da<sup>?</sup>ʔ ya<sup>?</sup> ʔikige<sup>?</sup>ʔwah<sup>?</sup>d 'so that the lids stick  
 down' 65.25A, da<sup>?</sup>ʔ ya<sup>?</sup> ʔaxiya<sup>?</sup>ʔ 'I (cust) put  
 the lids down on' 65.25, 25, 25A, with -da<sup>?</sup>ʔ final:  
 'awda<sup>?</sup>ʔda<sup>?</sup>ʔ (same as 'awda<sup>?</sup>ʔ) ya<sup>?</sup> ʔa<sup>?</sup> da<sup>?</sup>ʔ 'it  
 (fly) is walking around on its lid' L, with -kah  
 final or compounded as o of o-kah 'away from o':  
 'udada<sup>?</sup>ʔkah ku<sup>?</sup>ata<sup>?</sup> 'uncover it!' L.

2. '(covering) south, muzzle (of o)' (cf. also  
 da<sup>?</sup> 'face', o-da<sup>?</sup> 'front of o'; probably  
 here as postposition only, nominalized with -d fi-  
 nal; here perhaps with d-thematic 'oral'): 'awde-

daʔd ʔew saikyʔdiʃh 'he grabbed the muzzle of  
it (shotgun)' 61.54A, with deleted reflexive o in  
indirect reflexive construction: dɔdaʔd qɛhʃ ʔi=  
dileʔgiʃh 'he's covering his (own) mouth with his  
hand' L.

3. With so-i- as o, 'extreme of series':  
sɔdɔdaʔ ʔi-tahɪ 'it's (in position) on the top-  
most one' L.

o-g-daʔ- (postposition, with g-thematic, usually  
nominalized with -d final, once with -ʃ final, -ɣ final)  
'mouth, outlet of o (body of water)': with -d fi-  
nal, usually nominalized: Harrington 'Ukuta't  
'where the Copper River suddenly splits up into  
delta branches, whereas upstream of 'Ukuta't  
the Copper River is a single stream' G ʔugudaʔd  
'its outlet', ʔp-gudaʔd 'mouth of a river' M,  
'mouth of Copper River, Copper River Delta' 68.-  
48A, ma-gudaʔd 'outlet of a lake' M, ʔeta-sgu-  
daʔd 'mouth of Odiak Slough' L, ʔi-ya-sgudaʔd  
'mouth of Eyak River' L, ʔanaʔana-sgudaʔd 'mouth  
of Aleganik Slough' L, di-yaʔgudaʔd 'mouth of  
Yakutat Bay' L; with -ʃ final: ʔp-gudaʔʃ 'to the  
mouth of the river' 68.48A; with -ɣ final: ma-  
gudaʔɣ daʔ seqe-i 'we're paddling at the mouth  
of the lake' L.

o-l-daʔ- (postposition, with l-anatomical 'head',

never realized -la-, attested with -d, -č, and -ɣ finals only; cf. -l-daʔ under daʔ) 'o's head-front, face': with -d final 'at rest, nominalization': sɨ̌·daʔd 'the front of my head, my face' L, sɨ̌·daʔd sədaȟ 'it (fly) is sitting on my face' L, sɨ̌·daʔd yəɣ ʔɨ̌·dilaȟ 'he's facing me' L, yəȟdʔɨ̌·daʔd 'upper portion of front of house' M, with deleted reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction: ʔɨ̌·daʔd qəȟɣ sədaleʔg 'cover your face with your hands!' L, ʔɨ̌·daʔd wəɣ 0--kə-tə'--tu' 'S wears 0 on (own) head, face'; with -ɣ final: sɨ̌·daʔɣ dəseikəʔťi 'it (fly) landed on my face' L; with -č final: sɨ̌·daʔč dəseikəʔťi 'it (fly) is flying toward my face' L.

kɨ̌·daʔč 'preverbalized postpositional phrase, ku--l-daʔ-č 'continuous or repeated motion towards someone's head-front', with ku-indefinite o thematized) 'crossing self, praying' in kɨ̌·daʔč ʔi--g<sup>h</sup>a'- 'S crosses self, prays', kɨ̌·daʔč g<sup>h</sup>ah-'prayer'.

o-y-daʔ (postposition, with y-anatomical 'hand', attested with zero, -d, -č, -ɣ, and -ɖ finals) 1. 'on the palm, heel, back of o's hand, o's inside forearm, wrist' (vague, uncertain, or general): with zero final, nominalized: siyedaʔ 'the palm of my hand' M, 'my lower arm?, wrist?, the heel of

my hand, especially at wrist, the inside surface of my forearm' L, ?uyada? 'the heel of his hand' L, ?uyada? ?awa? səlkʲi?ɨ 'its arm is skinny' L, lixahyada? name of Basket Pattern 9. ("brown-bear ulna") BSDL 547; not nominalized: ?iyada? səla? 'carry them (e.g. sticks) on your inside forearms!' L; with -d final (probably optional), nominalized: siyada?d 'the back of my hand' M, not nominalized: siyada?d sədəhʲ 'it (fly) is sitting on my inside forearm' L; with -q final or as o of o-q 'on o', with deleted reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction, passive: yeda?q dəxa?č 'wristwatch' L, deverbalized: Rezanov Иракочоуаеалл 'Зарывае' (not in Radlov, 'cuff-fringe') yada?q x<sup>M</sup>a?čʲ 'tied on one's own wrist'); with -ɣ final 'motion within area', meaning regular: siyada?ɣ dəseəkKa?tʲ 'it (fly) landed on my inside forearm' L.

2. With -ɣ final only, meaning idiomatic, 'unsuspecting into the clutches of, as prey to, victim of o': o-y-da?-ɣ -?ya 'S plays easily into the hands of o, o obtains S effortlessly' (see. -?ya 13.), siyada?ɣ yisdi?yahʲ 'I got it (hunting)' L, 68.103A; frequently with ku-- indefinite o referring to dangerous beast, especially grizzly-bear: kūyada?ɣ qələsi?ya? 'watch

where you go, not to stray into the clutches of  
 a dangerous beast!' L, *kuyedaʔɣ ʔiːxədiyah̄*  
 'I fell into the clutches of a grizzly' L.  
*o-cjʔ-daʔ* (postposition, with archaic *cjʔ*-ana-  
 tomical 'head, neck' thematized, cf. Hupa *cidaʔ*,  
 Kato *-siʔdaʔ* 'crown of head', attested with  
 zero, *-d*, *-ɕ*, *-ɣ*, and *-ʂahd* finals) 'end, tip,  
 point, extremity of o': with zero final: *taː-*  
*(ɣədə)cjʔdaʔ daː seʔaʔɕi* 'we got to the end  
 of the road' L, *ʔəwcjʔdaʔ ʔidixaʔɕi* 'it's  
 tied to the end of it' L, with reciprocal *o* in  
 indirect reciprocal construction: *ʔiɕcjʔdaʔ*  
*ɣədəsəksid* 'set them (logs) end-to-end!' L,  
*ʔiɕcjʔdaʔ ɣədidsid* 'they (logs) are end-to-  
 end' L, with *-ɣ* final: *liscjʔdaʔ(ɣ) qəɣaʔyah*  
 'chickadees' (pl. fly at tree-tips'), *(ʔu)ɕəɣ-*  
*cjʔdaʔ(ɣ) dətuːɕ* 'new gull' ('(its) wing-tips  
 are black'), with *-d* final, usually nominalized:  
 Rezanov *ʔupɣɣara* 'Конец Ende' *ʔucjʔdaʔd* 'its  
 end' LM, *kucjʔdaʔd* 'point (of e.g. pencil)' M,  
*taːcjʔdaʔd* 'road's end' L, *ʔəwcjʔdaʔd ʔəwaː*  
*ʔaʔleʔg* 'grab the end of it!' L, *ʔəwcjʔdaʔd*  
*ʔəwaː yeɣ səkuɣi* 'the tip of it is broken off'  
 L, *siniːkədəcjʔdaʔd* 'the tip of my nose' L,  
*disaːcjʔdaʔdəɣuʔki* 'gaff' A, with *-ɕ* final:  
*taː(ɣədə)cjʔdaʔɕ daː seʔaʔɕi* 'we're coming to

the end of the road' L, with -čahd final: ta-  
(yədə)cij?da?čahd da' qe'yeʒ sdi?a?čk 'we got  
to the end of the road and turned back (from it)'  
L; see also -cij?da?ya? 'half, less than half'  
under ya?-əya?.

ɣd(1)-cij?-da?-d (postpositional phrase, attested  
only nominalized with -d final, with ɣd(1)--  
thematic 'shore') 'point of land': ɣəla·cij?da?d  
'point of land' L, Rezanov Xaremmrare 'Myca'  
(not in Radlov, 'promontory, cape') ɣedacij?da?d.

-y-cij?-da?-d (postpositional phrase, attested only  
nominalized with -d final, o-cij?-da?-d with y--  
anatomical 'hand') 'fingertips': siyecij?da?d  
'my fingertips' L.

-qi'-da?-d (postpositional phrase, attested only  
nominalized with -d final, with qi'-anatomical  
'foot') 'upper surface of foot': siqi·da?d 'the  
upper surface of my foot' M.

-kuš-da?-d (postpositional phrase, attested only  
nominalized with -d final, with kuš-anatomical  
'lower leg') 'front of lower leg, shin': sikuš-  
da?d 'the front of my lower leg' M.

daʔ² (perhaps to be identified with one or more homophonous stems, and/or to be analyzed d-aʔ, postpositional d 'at rest at' with -aʔ augment)

o-daʔ 1. (postposition, with zero final only, generally with verbs referring to locomotion) '(actual arrival) at, (motion all the way) to o' (with no clear reference specifically to 'front of o'); in texts: with theme -a 'sg. S goes': 2a.17, 24M, 2b.3L, 4.8M, 7.6, 8.11, 10.174, 192, 192, 262, 11.=75, 76, 102, 115, 127, 137, 20.89, 23.9, 47A, 26.=9L, 27b.51, 52, 28.42, 32.5, 7, 10, 12, 13, 14, 24, 32, 36, 33.71, 77, 79, 79A, 34.5M, 22, 22L, 48, 46.2, 47b.42, 44M, 47c.41, 51, 53, 55L, 51.77, 79A, 55.=6L, 63.4, 60, 69.23A, 71.11LM, with theme -ʔaʔʕ 'pl. S go': 11.175, 20.102, 25.158, 29.63, 49, 49A, with other themes (incompletely excerpted): 9.17, 22, 11.149A, 19.28L, 20.18, 19, 23.78, 25.181A, 26.5L, 29.22, 33.7, 21, 37b.70A, 38.4, 4, 21LM, 42.9, 10, 10L, 47b.8, 41M, 53.1L, 68.9, 69.11, 11A, elicitation: ʔidaʔ siʔtahi 'I carried it over to you' M, sidaʔ seʔtahi 'you brought it to me' L, ʔidaʔ kuʔqeʔgah 'someone will dance up to you' M, sidaʔ ʔisegaʔiʔh 'he danced over to me' LM, giyah ʔidaʔ saxqaʔ 'I'm bringing you water' L, giyah ʔudaʔ siqahiʔh 'I brought him water' L, ʔaw ʔawaʔ dekʔh ʔudaʔ saqahiʔh (or

'ahda? saqahî) 'the dog brought him a stick (in  
 its mouth)' L, sida? 'aiqex, sida? 'aiqex 'push  
 it (all the way over) to me (but not necessarily  
 touching me)' L, ge'le'a'g ya-da? sa'sa'yahî  
 'it's noon' L, ne'x ge'le'a'gda? qu'le'ah 'soon  
 it'll be high noon' L, sida? yasa'yahî 'it (let-  
 ter) got to me' M, qi? Sdišehîda? 'isih'ahî 'I  
 went to where he was killed' L, dexkida'daw 'isai-  
 ya'xî 'what time is it?' L, yida? 'uxa? 'uda?  
 sahhîh 'his shamanistic power came to him' L, si-  
 da? sahhî 'you came to me' L, sida? sa? 'come  
 right up to me!' L, diK sida? 'a'Kahî 'he (cust)  
 never comes to me' L, de'lehî diK sida? 'i-ya'Ké  
 'why don't you (cust) ever come to me?' L, 'a'd  
 Ka-di'da? sida? 'i-yihîh 'he never comes to me'  
 L, xawa? 'u'd 'uda? sahhîh 'a dog went to him  
 there' L, di'lehšiyah qi? gu'šgeleada? xa'dihda?  
 sahhî 'Where Old Raven visited Eagle' BSdL 25a, 559,  
 Kuša'xaya'x sida? 'u'dišhîca-qî 'it echoed back  
 to me' L, sida? 'u'dišhîca-qî 'a message about  
 it arrived (was heard) to me' L, gi'wa? sida?  
 saqa? 'bring me a keg of beer!' L, 'uda? silé'gî  
 'I moved my hand to it' L, Kudaš 'uda? 'exle-gKé  
 'I (cust) can't reach it' L, qi? gah Ku'lehda?  
 'axa'K 'I (cust) come out into where it's daylight'  
 L, Keyî'y gaqa? sida? gu'ia? (or gušala?)

'bring me some others (spruceroots):' L.

2. As final to other postpositions, prever-  
bialized postpositional phrases, or locatives, or  
with these compounded as o of o-da?, generally  
with zero final only): see o-da'-da? 'to a point  
near o, arrival at vicinity of o', dešida? 'full'  
(< daš-ʔeʔ-da? 'arrival at empty place above',  
also with -š final, perhaps with daʔ<sup>1</sup>, see deš  
2., ʔeʔ-, d-ʔya 2f.), o-lešada? 'arrival at  
point upland from o' (< o-leš-ʔeʔ-da?, see leš<sup>2</sup>,  
47b.3laM), o-ʔeʔ-da? 'to (empty) place of o, o's  
home' (see o-ʔeʔ la., lb), ʔi-ʔi-ʔeʔ-da? 'to the  
bow (of boat)' (see under lah3-), qiʔ-da? 'place  
to which' (see qiʔ lb.), o-ciʔ-ʔeʔ-da? 'arrival at  
point downhill below o' (see o-ciʔ-ʔeʔ under ciʔ-),  
ʔa-ciyaʔ-da? 'arrival at point at shore below'  
(see ʔa-ciyaʔ- under ciʔ-), ʔi-ʔaʔ-da? 'arri-  
val at bow of boat' (see ʔi-ʔaʔ under ciʔ-),  
o-sih-da? 'arrival at point hidden behind o' (see  
sih<sup>2</sup>), ʔada'qada? 'to the flats' (see o-ʔ 2d.(4)),  
o-ʔih-da? 'to o's house after o has left' (see o--  
ʔih 5, under ʔih<sup>1</sup>), ʔaʔ-dih-da? 'arrival on vis-  
it' (see ʔaʔ-dih- under ʔaʔ-ʔa.); with locatives:  
ʔi-ʔeʔ-da? '(arrival at) (way) over there, yonder'  
(see ʔi-ʔeʔ), ʔašəʔ-da? 'arrival at point closer to  
speaker here' (see ʔašəʔ-), extremely frequent in

texts and elicitation in ?u'-da? '(arrival)  
thither' (see under ?ew-), ?p'-da? '(arrival)  
hither' (see under ?el-); uncertain in cɪ.  
qid( )da? tɛ?a?ɪ 'clock hand is coming around  
to six' L; *compounded with -d form in qɪ-lahs-ada? (lahs-)*  
o-da?- (syntactically unique postposition combined  
with verb as verbal prefix, occurring in one theme  
only, o-da?-y-i-qa 'o is forced to camp over-  
night without food', q.v. under qa<sup>4</sup>)

daʔ<sup>3</sup> (perhaps more than one stem, to be identified with one or more homophonous stems)

(o)-daʔ (postposition, with zero final only, or perhaps more likely, because of form ku-ša'- as in adverbialized ku-ša'-dah, adverbializing suffix)

1. with adjectives as o, 'o luck, fortune': kuʔu-daʔ o-ʔ-el-ʔya 'O has period of good luck, fortune', kuʔu-daʔ o-leh el-ʔya 'o has year of good luck, fortune', kuša-daʔ o-ʔ-el-ʔya 'O has period of bad luck, misfortune', kuša-daʔ o-leh el-ʔya 'o has year of bad luck, misfortune', see el-ʔya 2b., o-ʔ-el-ʔya.

2. (with numeral as o, or adverbializing numeral) '(o) (number of) ways, methods': laʔdaʔ wey deleh 'there are two ways to do that' ('thus is done in two ways') L (probably < laʔd-daʔ).

da<sup>4</sup> (perhaps to be identified with one or more homophonous stems, especially da<sup>1</sup> 'face')

da<sup>2</sup> (preverb?, morph of uncertain classification and meaning) occurring only in da<sup>2</sup> subg-i-dah d-le 'S gives on a pain (with his annoying talk)', see under subg.

daʔ<sup>5</sup> (perhaps to be identified with one or more homophonous stems, or perhaps related to da of -da 'ag. S sits')

daʔ (noun, attested only as C, probably denoting activity, nursery term) 'poopoo' (defecation):

daʔ -le(?) 'S goes poopoo', see -le(?) ld:

daʔ<sup>6</sup> (perhaps more than one stem or morph, to be identified with one or more homophonous stems or morphs, cf. especially <sup>1</sup>daʔ<sup>7</sup>, <sup>2</sup>daʔ-daʔ, <sup>3</sup>da-daʔ; perhaps to be analyzed da-ʔ, da- to be identified as de-classifier or d-thematic)

ʔi-daʔ-yaʔ- (noun, attested only as o of comparative postpositions, with yaʔ 'thing', or perhaps < ʔi-da-ʔ-(ʔ)ya or ʔi-dʔ-ʔya) 'proper, tolerable amount, degree': ʔidaʔya-leʔ 'too much, excessively' (o-leʔ 'more than, beyond o', see leʔ), ʔidaʔya-ʔuʔ 'too little, insufficiently' (o-ʔuʔ 'less than, short of o', see ʔuʔ).  
 de-ʔe-daʔ-yaʔ (noun, cf. above) 'old (one)', see under ʔah-.

daʔʔ (perhaps < da-ʔ, and/or perhaps to be identified with daʔ-da· or da·-da)

ʔi-daʔ- (verbal prefixes, unlauding quʔ- 'future' to qeʔ-) indeterminate o in most semitransitive themes, see ʔi .

daʔ-daʔ (perhaps < da-ʔ, and/or perhaps to be identified with daʔ<sup>7</sup> and/or daʔ-da, or with one or more morphs of the shape daʔ)

daʔ--daʔ- (verbal prefix, daʔ- in negative neuter imperfective, daʔ- elsewhere, unlauting following quʔ- 'future' to qeʔ-) attested in one theme only, C daʔ-(1-)i-ʔaʔ 'S has, owns, obtains' C, see under ʔaʔ.

da·? (perhaps <sup>resembled from /s/</sup> ~~da·?~~, see especially ~~o-l-da·?~~, not of. ya·?)

~~-l-da·?~~, occurring only in ~~-da·?~~ (~~o-l-da·?~~ but  
(never actualized \*-l-da·?, noun, unclassified)

'face': Rezanov Камра 'Имѡ Gesicht' qa·?j·da·?  
'our face, human face' LM, Furuhjelm khveta 'face'  
\*k<sup>h</sup>·?j·da·? (cf. Rezanov Комаѣремъ under de), k<sup>h</sup>·-  
da·? 'someone's face' LM, Furuhjelm inta 'fore-  
head', ?j·da·? 'your face' 36.18A, ?p·da·? 'his,  
her, its, their face' LM, 10.229, 230, 11.63, 64,  
64, 96A, s<sup>i</sup>·da·? 'my face' LMA, 18.6L, ?q<sup>h</sup>·?j·da·?  
'his face' M, ləx<sup>i</sup>·da·? 'your (pl.) face' M, ?j·-  
da·?q wəx detuh, ?eyewihga? ?j·kilah 'it is worn  
over one's face, it is ?eyewih-like facially' (of a  
specific mask) L, s<sup>i</sup>·da·? siya· sequ?x<sup>i</sup> 'my face  
is getting chapped' L; ?p·da·?k<sup>h</sup>·d 'heads (side  
of coin)' L; yahd?j·da·? 'upper inside front gable  
of house' 21b.50fnA; lixah?j·da·? 'browbear-face  
(worn as mask)' 47b.36M, 47c.44L.

l-le-da·? 'S has face', occurring only in dəxuhga?  
?j·kida·? 'small owl (or hawk?) species' ('it has  
a face like a person's') LM, Nominalized neuter im-  
perfective (cf. l-le-la', especially dəxuhyu·ga?  
?j·kilah 'hawk species').

dph (perhaps to be analyzed as *da-ph* and related to *da'*)

~~occurring only in~~ ~~-y<sup>2</sup>-dph~~ (noun, unclassified) 'mother-in-law': siyedph 'my mother-in-law' LA, <sup>2</sup>uyedph 'his, her mother-in-law' L, Anna Nelson siyada<sup>n</sup> 'husband's mother (woman speaking)' BSDL 568.

-yo-dah (kinship noun, in *-yo-* prefix, or perhaps to be analyzed *-yod-ah*, see *yo, a'*) 'mother-in-law', perhaps also 'mother-in-law's sister' (see fieldwork 6 of F. de Laguna 1933):

dɔːʔ (perhaps more than one stem, one or more of which are perhaps to be analyzed d-ɔːʔ, cf. e.g. d<sup>2</sup>, ʔɔːʔ, ɣɔːʔ)

dɔːʔ (preverb, attested with zero and -ɛ finals only) 1. 'against obstacle': dɔːʔ saʔyahɪ 'it got stuck' L, siʔaʔ dɔːʔ saʔyahɪ 'it bumped against me' L, dɔːʔ ʔiʔyahɪ 'it's stuck, it's up against something and won't go any farther' L, dɔːʔ ʔɛlaːsaʔyahɪh 'he ran up against something' M, dɔːʔ siɪtahɪ 'I bumped it into something' L, dɔːʔɛ saʔyaːɪ 'it's getting stuck, coming to as far as it will go' L.

2. 'into trouble': dɔːʔ ʔɛlaːsaʔyahɪh 'he finally got (ran) into trouble' M.

dɔːʔ-ɪ-g<sup>W</sup>aʔ--gaʔ (adverb, dɔːʔ 'into obstacle' ? as o of o-g<sup>W</sup>aʔ- 'like o', probably with ɪ-classifier, cf. dawaʔdgaʔ 'quickly', but ɪ-classifier unique with o-g<sup>W</sup>aʔ- and inexplicable, stem conceivably dɔːʔɪ) 1. 'slowly': Rezanov Тааькка 'Тхо langsam, still, sachte' dɔːʔɪg<sup>W</sup>aʔ, dɔːʔɪ-gaʔ 'slowly' LM, Rezanov Арегааькка 'Тхо langsam, still, sachte (Comparativ)' ʔaʔd dɔːʔɪ-g<sup>W</sup>aʔ 'real slow' L, Rezanov Таьккаатсе 'Еграт laufen' dɔːʔɪgaʔ sahɪh 'he went (away) slowly'.

2. 'softly': dɔːʔɪgaʔ kuxɔɪh 'I'm singing softly' M.

λa·dɔ·ʔ (locative, with dl-thematic, cf. λa·ʔɔh  
under ʔɔh<sup>1</sup>) 'into hole, burrow (of rodent)';  
λa·dɔ·ʔ sahɿ 'it (rodent) went into its hole'  
L, λa·dɔ·ʔd sədahi 'it (rodent) sat, stayed  
in its hole' (= λa·ʔɔhd sədahi) L, λa·dɔ·ʔɕ  
ʔəla·saʔya·ɿ 'it (rodent) is running into its  
hole' L.

(o)-g-dɔ·ʔ (postposition or noun, with g-class--  
mark or -anatomical) '(along sides of o's) lower  
back and hips' (informants somewhat uncertain or  
vague): sigudɔ·ʔ, sigedɔ·ʔ 'my back, down  
along my sides' L, 'from my hips down' M.

du\* (perhaps to be analyzed d-u\*, with d- interrogative element as in de<sup>1</sup>, dəʒ, cf. Minto dəba (do) 'who (is it?)')

du\* (interrogative pronoun, always in construction with -d interrogative enclitic) la. 'who?, whom?':  
 du·d 'who?' L, 52.24L, Furuħjelm Tutua 'who'  
 du·deʔəh 'who is that?, who is he?' M, 29.10, 36.-2A, du·deʔəh wəʒ leh 'who did it?' M, du·deʔəh wəʒ dəleh 'who said it?' M, du·deʔəh ʔəw šə-šəh 'who killed it?' M, du·deʔəh šdišəh 'who got killed?' M, du·deʔəh xuqaʔəh 'who'll kill me?' M, du·d quʔxəh 'whom shall I kill?' M, du·deʔu·d 'who's there?' M, du·deʔi· 'who are you?' M, with -yu· 'plural': du·yu·deʔəhnu· 'who are they?' 10.82A, 47b.32M, 68.88A, with -ši·- emphatic: du·ši·dɸh ʔudəh quʔli·tah 'who ever will hear her?' 20.14A, du·ši·deʔəh 'who ever is that?' M, as o of postpositions: Rezanov Tyraax 'Češ? wessen?' du·yaʔd(e)el=..., du·yaʔdəl, du·yaʔdeʔəl 'whose is this?' L, du·yaʔ ʔəxədeʔəw 'whose boats are those?' L, du·šd 'to whom?' L, Rezanov Tyuaykocera 'Komʔ wem?' du·čaʔdɸw quʔyitah 'to whom will you give it?', du·čaħddɸw 'whom (did you get that) from?' L, du·kaʔd 'with whom (is he going)?' L, du·=lahdɸh 'about whom (is he talking)?' L, du·ʔa·d

daxa'gɪ 'whom are you working for?' M, du-  
ləʒa'd 'which one of you?' L, du'xduw ciʔ-  
di'leh 'to whom are you talking?' 9.58A.

1b. Used as relative, 'he who': du'd  
sahdɪ dəʒɪh yikeh 'an old person' ('he who  
has been a person a long time') 51.12A, du'd  
ʔadsɪlahɪ 'he who save himself' 54.8G, du'duw  
dəkiʃ ʔaʔʒaʔlahɪyɪkuwaʔna'e ʔəduʔləkəʒɪhinu-  
'anyone (pl.) who makes himself a constant friend  
of Tlingits' 69.14A, with -ɪ- emphatic: du'-  
ɪ'duw lawəʒgaʔ ʔi'teh 'anyone who is bashful'  
69.15A.

1c. In negative constructions, '(not) any-  
body': diK du'duh ʔəw kuʔaʔ ʔaʔtʃu'e 'not  
(just) anybody uses it' 28.95A, diK ʔənahɪkɪh  
ʔuʒeʔle'e du'dɪh qəlaʔ la'yilɪdɪʔɪg, du'dɪh  
qəlaʔ ʔi'lih 'she didn't want that anybody should  
slap their faces, that anybody should beat them up'  
49.27A, diK du'd ʔədleʒpʔ ʔədɛlɪkɪ 54.10G,  
diK du'dɪh ʔədleʒpʔ ʔədɛlɪkɪ 'no one avenged  
himself' 54.15G, diK du'dɪh ʔu'laʔkga'e 'no  
one knows' 54.12, 62.17, 20G.

2. With proclitic də- 'inse': a. 'anybody':  
dədu'd 'anybody' M, 10.172A, as o of postposition:  
dədu'ɬaʔd 'to anybody' M, with -yu' 'plural':  
liʃ megeɪ ʔidɛlɪhɪh, dədu'yudɪ 'he was always

playing checkers, with anybody' 44.4L; in negative constructions, '(not) anybody', as o of postposition: diK dədu·lah ya·duw ʔaʔie·s 'it's nobody's fault' 61.32A, with -yu· 'plural': diK dədu·yu·duhs 'not anybody, nobody' 49.28fnA.

2b. Used as relative, 'whoever, anybody who': dədu·d səsihi ʔahnu· ya·ɣ ʔəli·i·qə·gK 'whoever died they used (cust) to cremate' 28.116A.

Ku·du· (negative pronoun, with Ku-negative, also Ke-) 'no one, nobody': 28.116A, Kedu· ʔiya·ləʔəktehdələhd 'because no one dandles him for you' 8.6A, with -yu· 'plural' and as o of postposition: Kudu·yu·K ʔədewiʔi ʔeʔ ʔidələleh·sinu· 'they couldn't wage war with anyone anymore' 28.141A.

duh<sup>1</sup> (overlaps related to Thuyit da'w 'ground kelp')

point to Microcystis  
ratkeana

duh (noun, qdl-class) 'tubular kelp species' LM,  
'garden-hose' M, Galushia Nelson du' 'kelp'  
BSdL 541, duh si' qi'xi'?'a' 'give me a piece  
of hose-kelp' L, duh qi'xi'?'nuw 'a large piece  
of hose-kelp' LM.

Rigamir 18431770 'MBAKO flesh' / 10 Giduh 'flesh'

duh<sup>2</sup> (invariable?, classification uncertain, inconsistent and conflicting forms attested, influenced by analogy with O-dl-du<sup>?</sup> and O-l-sah, q.v.)

O-l-duh 'S fleshes O (skin)' (by scraping flesh and other organic matter from the inside of a newly-removed hide; not used of sealskin, for which see O-l-sah): 'ew leduhih 'he's fleshing it' L, lex-duh 'I'm scraping it (skin)' L, qe' li·duh 'flesh it some more!' L, ?i·siduhî, lisiduhî 'I fleshed it' L; passive: lisididuhî 'it's been fleshed' L, lididuhî 'it's fleshed' L. A number of forms with stem du<sup>?</sup> are also attested, but these are probably to be considered analogical. See G

Kuloduh (gerundive) 'act of fleshing a skin'<sup>L</sup> Derived from O-l-duh, active imperfective, with indefinite S or O.

Ky·duh (noun, ti·l-class?) 'unfleshed hide' L. Derived from O-l-duh, active imperfective, with indefinite S or O.

li·xduht. ?yleh 'I want to flesh it' L;

hybrid forms, with active and inceptive optative prefixes, and subjunctive suffix: la·xiduhî 'uxa'xle', la·giduhî 'wee'le' 'I want to flesh skin' L.

·w li·du<sup>?</sup> (a la·du<sup>?</sup>, la·gidu<sup>?</sup>) 'uk' dwehîh 'I bid him to flesh it (skin)' L (stem from a -logram).

du? (cf. O-i-du?K, which has no doubt had some analogical influence on themes with du?)

O-i-du? 'S stuffs O (into cavity in o)': 49.39, 40A, ?uyeq kusidu?i 'I stuffed it (animal)' ('I stuffed something into it') L, kudesede?e?d seidu? 'chink the crack in the wall!' ('stuff [it] into the wall--gap!') M. With l-mark for specific anatomical reference: ?uyeq ?i-sidu?i 'I stuffed its head' ('I stuffed [it] into its head') L.

O-dl-i-du? 'S stuffs, plugs O (into cavity in o)' (the difference in meaning, if any, from that of O-i-du?, is not clear): ?isa?x li? kuqu?xi-xidu? 'I'll stuff your mouth' ('I'll stuff something way back into your mouth') L; indirect reflexive: sa? ku-?a-kidu?ih 'his mouth is stuffed full (of food)' ('he has something stuffed in his own mouth' neuter imperfective) L.

O-dl-du? 'S stuffs, corks, chinks, caulks, plugs, stops up (hole in) O': Rezanov Тары 'Заткн stopfen, zustopfen (Imperat.)' xi-du? 'caulk it (boat)!' L, 'cork it (bottle)' M, ?a-sidu?i 'I corked, caulked it' L, ?a-sexdu?i 'I'm caulking it' L, qu?xi-xdu? 'I'll chink, cork, caulk it' L; passive: ?a-sididu?i 'it's been chinked' L. With o-x 'by means of o', o-x O-dl-(i-)du? 'S plugs (etc.) up (hole in) O by means of o': ?alx xi-i-

?a-xidu? ?uxa?xex ?uxat ... ('I want it  
that I should caulk with ...')

[Rezanov yexaxluy] (at home near by Rezanov, Ulysses with ...)  
U. of. ...

play ...

du?, ?elx λi·du? 'stuff it with this!'L.

?ux κuλa·dedu? (noun, unclassified?) 'cork, stopper,  
plug, chink' ('by means of it something is corked,  
plugged, chinked') M, Rezanov Οχταγery 'Προσκα  
Pfropfen, Korken' ?ux [κu]λa·dedu? or ?ux λa·  
dedu? ('by means of it it is corked, plugged').  
Nominalized passive active imperfective of O-dl-du?.

*bevidan*

dawa?, see dawa?d

dema? (perhaps to be segmented de-ma?, see ma?,  
de-prefix perhaps d-thematic 'oral, noise' or de-  
'ipse')

dema? (perhaps exclamation) 'suck, suckle!',  
said to baby, urging him to suckle L.

perhaps to be analyzed *de-leh*, but cf. *dele* 'horn'

deleh (occasionally also dileh L)  
 -deleh, occurring only in *-deleh* (< *-l-deleh*,  
 but never actualized *\*-ledeleh*, noun, unclassified)  
 'horn, antler': Rezanov Kymrexe, with  
 initial K crossed out, 'Pora Horn' *ʔp·deleh*  
 'its horn(s)', *kʔ·deleh* 'horn(s) (of moose,  
 mountain-goat, caribou, "anything")' LM, *kʔ·de-*  
*lehkih kuseleʔt* 'an animal is just getting its  
 horns' ('something is becoming horns (diminutive)')  
 L, *ʔp·delehy ʔikuʔ deseʒg* 'they (mountain-goats)  
 are butting each other with their horns' L, Galushia  
 Nelson *εú<sup>n</sup>Ddlé'* *citk* (or *εú<sup>n</sup>Ddlé'* *citk*) 'horn  
 spoon' (*kʔ·delehšil*), *kʔ·delehcaʔt* 'knife made  
 of animal horn' L, *deleh k'e-leh* 'bull' ('it has  
 horns') L.

de·leh (perhaps to be analyzed de·-leh, see de·<sup>5</sup>,  
leh )

X

o-de·leh (postposition, attested with zero final  
only) 'around, near, close to, visiting, fre-  
quenting o': ya<sup>7</sup>yu· side·leh qe<sup>7</sup> qu<sup>7</sup>yidah  
'don't come around me anymore' L, <sup>7</sup>ide·lehšəh  
sah<sup>7</sup> 'did he come visit you?' L, <sup>7</sup>ude·lehšəh  
sah<sup>7</sup> 'did you come close to it?' L, qa·de·leh  
sa·K '(cust) come visit us!' L, diK <sup>7</sup>uya·K  
... či·leh <sup>7</sup>ude·leh qe<sup>7</sup> <sup>7</sup>eda·gk<sup>7</sup> 'Haven  
isn't permitted by them to come around them any-  
more' 9.50A, diK kude·leh qe<sup>7</sup> <sup>7</sup>edaqah<sup>7</sup> 'they  
(wolves) cont' come around, near one anymore' 25.-  
212A, diK qe<sup>7</sup>šəyu·de·leh qe<sup>7</sup> <sup>7</sup>eda·k<sup>7</sup> 'he  
(cust) stays away from (doesn't come near) women  
(abstaining for hunt)' L.

da·l (possible stem, perhaps related to da) see

ya·ʔa·ge<sup>st</sup>eda·leyaʔ, unku ʔa·z, ʔaʔ·əyaʔ, ʔa·

(probably di·yaʔ, see yaʔ-o-yaʔ, di- unidentified)

di·yaʔ

di·yaʔ (noun, gl-class) 'salt water, salt' LM, 3.LM, Rezanov Ток Море Meer', Ток-гунууһууһах 'Coarse Salz' (probably di·yaʔ gy·ʕ[a·]x<sup>W</sup>i 'saltwater is silty'), Этэртук 'Coarse salzig' (...di·yaʔ), Furuhjelm Tia 'salt', Galushia Nelson Di·a', Old Man Dude Di·yd' 'salt water (also table salt or light blue)' BSDL 537, di·yaʔ ʔuʔlecekyaʔ 'salt it (fish)!' ('make it salty!') L, di·yaʔ ʔuq qu-geli·xiah 'I'll salt it (food)' ('I'll put salt on it') L, di·yaʔ ʔuq yaʔ quʔgy·xlewus 'I'll sprinkle salt on it' L, di·yaʔ siʕ geli·hyaʔ 'give me some salt (in a container)!' L, di·yaʔgelecahš 'coarse salt' M, di·yaʔgy·tuʔ 'lots of salt, lots of salt water' LM, lexkihgaʔ di·yaʔ yikeh 'it's a little too salty' M, Rezanov Токырта-окырта Сошокка Salzfass' di·yaʔ ʔuyaʔd ʔuʔ kutuʔi ('container in which there is salt'), di·yaʔ ʔuyaʔd gy·diyaʔ, di·yaʔ ʔuyaʔʕ gy·diyaʔ<sup>d·yaʔ-yaʔ-i ʔu·diyaʔh</sup> ('salt is put in it'), di·yaʔitah ('salt-container') are all terms used in the sense 'salt-shaker' L. The gl-classification ('liquid') even in the sense of 'table-salt' indicates that the primary meaning of di·yaʔ was 'salt water'. It also frequently occurs declassified as the o of pps. in a variety of expressions: with o-yaʔd '(in) o topographically as a body of water': Galushia Nelson Di·-

*conventual, also 'sump'!*

ya'ya't 'sea' BSdL 537, di·ya'ya'd 'sea, ocean' L,  
di·ya'ya'd senuh 'saltwater duck (generic)' L, with  
o-X 'with o': di·ya'X ?i·ksih 'salt-fish' ('it's  
rotted with salt') L, di·ya'X gudesu? 'salted  
dry-fish' L, with o-ga? 'like o (in taste)': diX  
di·ya'ga? qu?kagemihs 'it won't taste salty' L, or,  
frequently, 'like o (body of saltwater, in color)':  
66.10L, Rezanov Тѣхонѣре 'Зеленоѣ грѣн', Тѣхонѣре  
'Покрытоѣ hellblau', Galushia Nelson Di·ya' 'blue'  
BSdL 553, di·ya'ga? ?i·teh '(it's) green, light  
blue, bluegreen' LM, Galushia Nelson ya·kt Di·a'  
kə'i·tə' 'sky blue is' BSdL 558 ya·qđ di·ya'ga?  
?i·teh, Rezanov Тѣхонѣре 'Ещеѣ Glasperlen',  
di·ya'ga? ləxi·teh 'green beads' ('it (lx-class,  
'berry-like') is green') L, di·ya'ga? salit 'it  
turned green' L.

di·ya'gule'e'd 'place of salt water, place where salt  
water was (at one time)', a place-name, the location  
of which has been forgotten L. The Tlingit name of a  
village or camp at the mouth of Lost Creek, also gu=  
šané, near Yakutat, is doubtless derived from Eyak  
di·ya'guna'e'd. George Johnson told de Laguna (1952)  
is Eyak, meaning 'a change in the river course', and  
A (8/23/52) told her that di·ya'gule'e'd means  
'salt water comes in there.'

di·ya'guda'd 'mouth of a body of salt water' is a pos-

sible etymology for Tlingit *yag<sup>w</sup>dad* 'Yakutat'. Some of de Laguna's Yakutat informants told her that *yag<sup>w</sup>dad* meant 'by saltwater pond' (John Ellis 6/15/52), and "is not a Tlingit name. People from Katalla named it. It's the name of a lagoon found when the glacier started to melt away. Was a glacier here before" (Katy Dixon 6/30/52). If such is the case, the name must be of Eyak origin, with the *di-* for some reason dropped.

26 *yakwlaat* *this is good place way over  
jordan'*

dahd (probably to be analyzed d-ah-d, with final -d 'privative, ablative', in spite of semantics, there being probably no stems with simple apical stops d t t' in both initial and final position, cf. e.g. čahd, yahd, řahd, nahd, wah)

o-dahd (postposition, always with zero (-d) final)

1a. 'against, touching o (with some pressure)':  
 sidahd sədaʔ 'sit by me (touching)!' L, sidahd ʔi-dahk̄h 'he's sitting by me' M, sidahd sə-dahk̄h 'he sat by me' L, ʔidahd quʔxdah 'I'll sit by you' L, sidahd sə·ʔ 'come close by me!' M, sidahd sə·k̄h 'he's come against me (and is continuing, trying to push farther)' L, kudahd sah̄ 'he came up against something' L, o-dahd g-ke-ʔ·ʔ 'S leans (stands) against o', ʔiŋə-dahd ʔigali·k̄tah̄ place-name, see under ta, ʔudahd lix̄tah̄ 'I have my head right up against it' M; with indeterminate o: dadahd sah̄ 'he came up against something (non-specific)' L; with reciprocal o: ʔituhd ʔiḥdahd səkaʔ 'put your knees together!' L, laʔdda·d ʔiḥdahd ʔik̄iyah̄ 'two (e.g. boxes) together', laʔdda·d dik̄iyah̄ yahd 'two adjoining houses' L.

1b. In themes o-dahd ʔu-ʔ-(l-)ta 'S hears, listens to o' (< 'S puts head semitransitively against o'), o-dahd ʔu-ʔ-l-k̄-ya·ʔ 'S hears,

listens to o on several occasions', and in corresponding passives 'sound of o is heard, o makes sound'; sometimes with verbal clause subordinated as o: *giyah gy·kediigdahd ?u?ditah* 'sound of splashing water is heard' L, *deyuh-yu· cij?delehdahd ?u?setahijh* 'he heard the sound of people speaking' 30.2L, *da?u·deyya·kih kəqa?dahd ?u?li·tjih* 'he hears someone yelling' 45b.2M, with classified o: *ʒəhdədahd ?u?lixitah* 'I hear the sound of snowshoes' 15.-17M; by extension, 'voice of o', perhaps used as noun: *qa·dahd* 'our, human voice' L, with deverbalization as o: *qa?dahd* 'hollering voice' L.

2. With uncertain meaning, perhaps here ablative, 'from contact with o': a. *tikdahd kusekcejt* 'cut something off the tip of his bow' 34.92fnL, perhaps *tik-* 'bow-and-arrow', d-class, as o of o-d 'from o', but expected form would be *tik-da-d*.

2b. With postpositional phrase o-li? compounded as o of o-dahd, o-li?-dahd 'in huff at o, to spite o', see o-li? 3b.  
o-l-dahd (postposition, with l-anatomical head)  
'against o's head': attested only with deleted reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction:

ʔɪˌdabɪd dɪxɪleˈɡɪ 'I'm resting my head, chin  
on my hand' ('I have my hand against my head')

L.

dewaʔd (unanalyzable, but almost certainly segmentable, de-waʔd, dewaʔ-d, or de-waʔ-d, probably with de- 'ipaa' and/or -d final, there being no clearly authenticated unsegmentable stems in Eyak or Athapaskan with both initial and final apical stops, i.e. with d-, t-, or t'-initial and -d or -t' final; stem, if -waʔ-, perhaps related to wa-)

dewaʔd 1. (exclamation) 'hurry!, quickly!, fast!' L, 11.195, 195A, 15.23M, dewaʔd dewaʔd 'hurry hurry!' 61.106A, dewaʔd dewaʔd dewaʔd 'hurry hurry hurry!' 49.139A, with -uh emphatic as with imperative verb (or with -duh emphatic?): Rezanov Tyary 'Ckopo schnell', Tyary 'Toruoca sogleich' dewaʔduh 'hurry!, quick!' L, Artyary 'Ckopsa schnell (Comparativ)' ʔaʔd dewaʔduh 'very quickly!'.

2. (adverb) 'quickly, fast, in a hurry, immediately, soon, early, easily' L, 18.33, 58L, 21b.39, 32.20A, 47c.16L, 61.84, 69.16, 15A, de-waʔd ʔaʔde ʔah 'hurry!' L, dewaʔd ʔaʔleʔde ʔah 'pl. hurry!' L, 37b.64A, dewaʔd le siʔ delʔhʔh 'he told me to hurry' L, dewaʔd ʔixdeleh 'I'm hurrying' L, dewaʔd yaʔ quʔxdeleh 'I'll hurry around' L, ʔileʔ dewaʔd ʔew ʔiʔsilxahʔ 'I grew faster than you' L, dewaʔd ʔew eʔetugʔ 'it (greenery) is growing fast

(as if swelling)' L, ya'zu' dawa'd lah qu'=  
 'i'de'e'd 'don't twist your head around quickly'  
 L, dawa'd siyeda'x kusa'yah da'x 'if I get  
 it soon' ('if it plays quickly into my hands') L,  
 dawa'd siyeda'x sdi'yahh 'I got it quickly,  
 easily' L, dawa'dd'gahx sexicu'dK 'would that  
 I could (cust) fall asleep quickly, easily' L.

3. (treated as noun o of o-ga' 'like o',  
 used both adverbially and as exclamation, i.e.  
 as in 1. and 2.) with meaning as in 1. and 2.:  
 dawa'dga' 'quickly!' M, 25.97A, adverbial: 11.=  
 115A, 15.16, 16.29M, 21b.18, 51.96, 65.70A, de=  
 wa'dga' qu'q' kugala'se'kya' 'put a pot (con=  
 tainer of liquid) on the fire right away!' M,  
 hi'e' xe' dawa'dga' ya' 'i'te'K 'you should  
 (cust) go to bed early every night' L, hi'e' xe'  
 dawa'dga' ya'?' e'ete'gK '(cust) go to bed early  
 every night!' L.

redo

deX<sup>da</sup> (~~da~~ also acceptable, but rare, L prefers daX) perhaps reduced form of daX<sup>da</sup>,  
; see under ~~daX<sup>da</sup>~~ below

deX (noun, unclassified) 'physical injury, harm':  
attested only in deXyeza?c ea?ya·kih 'she's  
succumbing to old injury or disease (e.g. hus-  
band's old beatings, old tuberculosis)' L.

i-daX 'S<sup>at hurt</sup> ~~hurts~~ self (causes physical injury)': ~~daX~~

(o-a) i-daX: siuhd siya· seideXt 'my knee  
got hurt, I hurt my knee' L, ?axide·XX 'I (cust)  
get hurt, hurt myself' M; with mark for specific  
anatomical reference: yisideXt 'I hurt my hand,  
my hand got hurt' L. Transitive O-i-daX 'S hurts  
O (causes, does physical injury to O)': ?isideXt<sup>anatomical</sup>  
'did I hurt you?' M; with marks ~~for specific~~

*rewrite*

~~Leal... sicj? si-~~  
ya· gudeseideXt<sup>ih</sup> 'he hurt my neck' L, ?iqe?ge-  
di·xideX 'I'll hurt your rump' M; Reflexive: ?ed-  
sideXt<sup>ih</sup> 'she hurt herself (deliberately)', also  
~~seems~~ 'she caused herself to abort' M; <sup>reciprocal ?bu? g'e- gu-?adot</sup> Passive:  
sideXt<sup>ih</sup> 'he got hurt (by some agent)' L, edie-  
deXt 'someone got hurt, there was an injury' (in-  
determinate S) L. Susceptive neuter: xideXt 'I  
get hurt easily' L, yixideXt 'my hand gets hurt  
easily' L, qeideXt 'it gets hurt often, easily'  
M. No semitransitive L.

KuideXt (noun, unclassified) 'ptarmigan' AL. Ety-

Ku-3-daX-6

(willow, rock, white-tailed) (Lagopus lagopus,  
L. mutus, L. leucurus)

mology semantically obscure, ostensibly  $Ku\dot{d}e\lambda$   
'something is getting hurt, it's hurting some-  
thing, something is hurting it' +  $-c$  as in e.g.  
 $\dot{c}iya^?e$  'frog' and a few other fauna terms, or  
conceivably a thematic negative 'something that  
doesn't get hurt, it doesn't hurt anything, no-  
thing hurts it', ~~see also  $h'u\dot{d}iya^?e$~~   
~~or influenced in some way by~~  
 ~~$Atra\ K\dot{u}d:yan$  'ptarmigan' (etymology unknown).~~  
Perhaps the form exhibits a survival of the stem  
with an older meaning, referring to a character-  
istic motion of the bird; cf. PA  $*-de\lambda$ , Navaho  
 $-i-di\ddot{i}$  'to jar, shake violently', Hupa (Golla)  
 $-l-d:\lambda$  (impersonal) 'it shakes, quakes', Galice  
(Jacobs-Hoijer)  $-da\ddot{i}$  'shake (testicles in greet-  
ing)', Kutchin (Sapir-Haas-Golla)  $-i-dd\dot{i}$   
'shake, vibrate (tr. and intr.)', Minto  $hela$   
 $-l-de\lambda$  'to clap hands'; see also  $du^?e$

duʔɣ (confused with du·c, perhaps related to deɣ- =  
 diɣ, basic meaning perhaps 'quiver, shake', see below)  
 -lɣ-i-duʔɣ-g-i (noun, with lɣ-anatomical 'eye',  
 i-classifier, -g-repetitive thematized, and -i--  
 suffix, perhaps deverbalization of unattested verb  
 theme) 'part (inside corner?, lid?) of eye': at-  
 tested only on tape recorded by Constance Naish  
 7 April 1967 from A: siləʔəduʔɣgi 'the "top"  
 of my eye', form of stem undoubtedly correct, cf.  
 Minto -naxduɣaʔ 'eyelid', Ahtena -mɣduɣiʔ  
 'eyebrow'.

rebo

de: ~~(all also acceptable)~~; cf. dis)

de: (noun, usually gl-class) 'blood': 15.15M, 27b.20A,  
 Rezanov Тезаъ 'Крощъ', Wrangell Тезаъ, Furu-  
 hjelm Tall (1877 Tall), de: 'iya' galedu'dg  
 'it's sucking your blood' L, de: siyeq qa'ce  
 gula'ya'g 'I keep spitting up blood' L, de: 'u-  
 yaq qa' gy'sa'yahk 'he hemorrhaged' L, de:gu'neq  
 laqahzjh 'he's coughing blood' L, de:gu'neq xe'z  
 yex xia'z 'I have a bloody stool' L, de: -te(?)S  
 is bloody, bleeds': de: seke'zjh 'he got bloody,  
 he bled' M, xq'iq di' q' Ku'leh 'very bloody  
 place' M.

<sup>blood'</sup>  
 -de: (noun, possessed) A:L accepts possessed form  
<sup>my blood'</sup> sidei, which M rejects.

de·i

~~gubzade·i, -gubzade·i~~  
 -gl̥-de·i (noun, ~~possessive~~ unclassified) 'spine,  
 backbone' LMA; ~~galaxade·i, galaxade·i~~ 37b.25,  
 65.10, 39A, ?ugələxəde·i qəkaḥ qi?yilceḥ 'you'll  
 cut it (meat) off its spine' 65.29A. The meaning  
 of <sup>the</sup> stem, which can be elicited in this one  
 form only, is not clearly isolable, the prefix=  
 combination gl̥- itself referring specifically to  
 'back(bone)', as in kugələxə'a-w 'long-back(bone)d'  
 L, kugələxədik 'short-back(bone)d' L, yeḥ gl̥=  
 kug 'S's back breaks'; g-class 'filament-like' or  
 g-anatomical-thematic 'dorsal, caudal, tail-end',  
 l̥-class 'berry-like', probably with reference to  
 the vertebrae in a string-like series or in the back.

redo

deʔi (attested only in semitransitive verb themes, of two distinct but evidently related meanings, originally perhaps 'S controls O closely, possessively'; cf. certain Navaho themes with stem -de·i--de·i--di meaning 'to grab, payment for wife, to brood (eggs), to insist, be acquired, considered important')

0-ʔ-deʔi 1. 'S hoards, saves, keeps O': quʔxdeʔi 'I'll keep it and not give it away' L. Usually (self-benefactive) reflexive ʔed-ʔ-de-deʔi 'S saves up, hoards' (object not specified): ʔela·gwahd ʔaduʔdedeʔiinu· 'they're saving up [food] for the winter' 16.20M, diK siya· ʔaduʔadedeʔi:ih 'he didn't save any [liquor] for me' L; or, with object specified, o-ʔ ʔed-ʔ-ʔe-deʔi 'S saves up, hoards o': da·na·da·ʔ ʔaduʔadeʔi:ih 'he (cust) saves up money' L, ʔux ʔadaʔedeʔi 'hoard it!, keep it (as treasure)!' M.

~~2~~ 2. 'S bosses O': xuʔsedeʔi:ih 'he bossed me (about one thing)' L. Usually with yax-progressive yax 0-ʔ-de-deʔi-ʔ: yax kuʔdedeʔi:ih 'he's bossing one around, he's bossy', [nominalized: 'boss, square-dance caller' M.] ʔa·weyu· yax ʔidaʔdedeʔi:ih 'the ill-mannered fellow bosses everybody around' (with indeterminate O) M. (with d-thematic 'oral-noise')

← 0-ʔ-d-deʔi: xudesedeʔi:ih 'he told me what to say' L.

rewrite

[yax kuʔdedeʔi:ih

duh3

<sup>2</sup>duh3 <sup>A duh3, or</sup> (ds-duh3 ?) noun, ~~unclassified~~ unclassified, perhaps derived from verb theme) 'porch' L; ʔew deduh3q' 'on the porch' L, deduh33u· 'a nice porch' L. "The houses ... are constructed altogether on the Thlingit model, ... each with a platform in front, upon which the inhabitants pass much of their leisure time in summer," (I. Petroff in R. P. Porter Report on the Population and Resources of Alaska, 11th Census of the United States, Washington 1893, 65f., quoted in BSdL 32), but "[Galushia Nelson] denies the existence of the front porch" (BSdL 33).

0-i-duh3 'S makes 0 (a front porch)': quʔxiduh3  
 'I'll make a porch' L; Passive: sdiduh3ʔ 'a porch has been made' L.

daʔc (perhaps two stems, here interpreted as one, with basic historical meaning 'twist')

daʔc (noun, d-class) 'straws, grasses, or roots, dyed and woven into or embroidered onto the upper parts of the sides of baskets as decoration; patterned basket-decoration': <sup>Guluda Naha 2043t 'straw' BSL 549</sup> daʔcdaʔz 'by means of basket-decoration grass' 66.9L, daʔcdezu 'pretty basket-decoration' L, daʔc daʔdexʔik 'draw basket-decoration roots through your teeth (to split or peel them)!' A.

O-i-daʔc 'S makes O (basket-decoration)': ʔaidaʔc 'make a basket-decoration!' L.

O-d-i-daʔc 'S gathers O (straws etc. for basket-decoration)': diʔidaʔc 'pick grass for basket-decoration!' L; repetitive: dexidaʔcg 'I'm picking grass for basket-decoration' L.

O-l-daʔc 'S decorates O (basket)' (ʔeʔaʔc 'basket', l-class): ʔew ledaʔcʔinu 'they (cust) decorate them' (with daʔcdaʔz 'by means of basket-decoration grass' as an afterthought) 66.9L. o-z O-l-i-daʔc 'S decorates O (basket) by means of o': ʔewz qʔhnu ʔew leidaʔcʔ 'with that they (cust) decorate it' 66.10L. Passive: ʔiʔsɔidaʔcʔ 'it (basket) has design on it' L, ʔʔʔ leɔededaʔc daʔz 'when it's done being decorated' 66.11L, repetitive: yaʔ-ʔaʔdaʔd leɔededaʔcg (or, with expanded stem, yaʔ-

*Anna Nelson yáʔpá-t íngà-tʔs 'yáʔpá-t basket-straw' or 'Xhúʔat dɔʔʔ'*  
BSL 549.

*rewrite*

?a'gda'd lededa'cg) 'it's repetitively decorated at the middle (halfway up)', the name of basketry pattern 4 illustrated in ESdL 82.

ky'ida'c' (noun, unclassified) 'stump (of dead or felled tree)' 10.258, 258A, 30.2L. ~~Nominalized~~

verb theme, etymology semantically obscure: ku'l--  
-ky'--anatomical-thematic 'belly, widest part, base (of tree)', i-classifier, stem with unidentifiable archaic meaning, for which cf. perhaps Hupa (Golla)

0-i-das--dad' 'break off (a branch) by pulling', perhaps also related to Hupa (Golla) <sup>Maffole' -dis,</sup> -dis, Chip-  
ewyan -diθ, -dδδ, Sarsi -di'z, Navaho -dis 'twist', Navaho diz '(plant) debris washed by

floods' ky'ida'ckih 'little stump' 1a.6, 7, 12,

13, 13, 1b.6, 14, 15, 16, 19M, ky'ida'cyəquhyu'

'young little stumps' 10.258A, ky'ida'cdəyph

'stump-person (-woman)' 10.259A, ky'ida'cyəx

ciyuh 'cinnamon bear' (< 'blackbear under stump') A.

du·c' (perhaps partly confused with da'ʔ)

du·c' (noun, unclassified) 'dried nasal mucus' ML.

ie-du·c' 'S's nasal mucus dries', poetic, occurring only in a song: d'əlx skidu·c'əjh 'her nasal mucus has dried bone-like' 72.40M.

-l-du·c' (noun, unclassified?) 'skin of seal's face from nose to above eyes' (a delicacy) (l-anatomical-thematic 'face, head'); ?uledu·c' 'skin of its (seal's) face from nose to above eyes' L.

-lx-du·c' (noun, unclassified?) 'inside corner (?) of eye' (lx-anatomical 'eye', lx-class 'berry--like'), L certain of authenticity of form but not of its meaning: ?iləxədu·c' 'inside corner (?) of your eye' L. Perhaps in error for -lx-ʔduʔ-g, g.v. under duʔʔ, but cf. also Hupa -naadooseʔ, -naadonseʔ

des-dis (des more frequent than dis). Cf. det.

gl-*h*-des 'S (blood) clots' (or 'S's blood clots?'),  
with mark for gl-class 'liquid': elicited as a  
verb in one form only, gy-se*h*desi 'it (blood)  
clotted' (or 'his blood clotted?') L, reluctantly  
given, but this obsolete theme doubtless underlies  
the following form.

gy-*h*desi (noun, gl-class) 'clotted blood' ML, also  
the name of a Yakutat man, related to L L, gy-*h*-  
desi-gy-*?*naw 'large blood clot' L, gy-*h*desi-ga-  
*?*i-teh 'it's reddish in color (like dried blood)'  
L. The form is probably a nominalized neuter per-  
fective of the above verb theme, 'blood which has  
clotted'.

redo

da's

i-da's 'S is heavy': Rezanov ИЛТАСЪ 'Тяжело'

yilda's 'it's heavy' МЛ, АЛТАСЪКТО 'Легко'

[diK] ?a?ida's:duh 'it's not heavy at all' Л,

yilda'slehd 'because it's heavy' 9.105A, ~~neuter~~~~imperfective nominalized~~ yilda's 'that which is heavy, a heavy thing' 55.13, 62A, di'yeʒ 'owga'

saida's:ke (or ?a?saida's:ke) 'it's not heavy

enough yet' M, siq' saida's:le 'it's getting heavy

on me' L; Repetitive i-da's-g: ?a?d i-da'sg

'it's very heavy (as one repeatedly experiences in

trying to move it)' L, ~~with~~ class-mark ~~with~~:

di'ida's 'it (beard caλ) is heavy' L,

o-i-da's(-g) 'S weighs O' (~~usually~~ usually repetitive):

?iqe?xida'sg 'I'll weigh you' L, saida'sgʒ ?ix-

leh 'I want to weigh it' M; passive: xusdida's:le

'I've been weighed' L.

i-da's-G (thematic negative of preceding) attested only in neuter imperfective in probable reading of Rezanov АЛТАСЪКТО 'Легко leicht' probably to be read ?a?ida's:Gduh 'it's light indeed!'

schwer

leicht

neuter negative!

with thematic

'is light'

deh3

deh3 (noun, d-class) 'sandbar' LA deh3da'luw .

dece'e'k 'a large sandbar is forming' L.

daʔɕ

d-daʔɕ 'S drowns, asphyxiates, can't get air' (with  
 d-thematic 'oral'); desuxdaʔɕ 'I'm drowning,  
 choking, can't get air' M. Transitive (causative)  
 0-d-i-daʔɕ 'S drowns, asphyxiates O': ʔiqeʔdi-xi-  
 daʔɕ 'I'll drown you' L; reflexive ʔedquʔdaxi-  
 daʔɕ 'I'll drown myself' M; passive repetitive:  
 sahs qiʔ dededaʔɕg 'place where sea-otters are  
 (repeatedly) drowned', a placename in Prince William  
 Sound, outside of Strawberry Point on Hinchinbrook  
 Island L.

*di-xi-daʔɕ: reflexion d'air  
 drown 't' & (see 'eʔ')*

da·š

da·š (noun, unclassified) 'foam, froth, white foam  
 as found on beach, on beer' ML; Rezanov TAMB 'lha', *Schaum*  
 da·š ylieh 'it's foamy' L, da·š'a?luw 'big mass *na'*  
 of foam' M, da·šxahč gelecele·l 'foam (on liquid)  
 is subsiding' L.

da-da·š 'S foams': qa? sdiš·šl 'it foamed up' M.

*gross identity of S uncertain*

deg-dig-dug (variable reduced vowel often indistinct, L most often dug, often deg, rarely dig, M most often deg, once dig, A most often dig, often deg, once dug, G always dig, S once deg, Rezanov twice deg, Furuhjelm once deg; conceivably to be analyzed d-g, cf. -d emphatic enclitic, -gih- 'also')

-deg--dig--dug (enclitic) l. 'also, too, even'

(texts incompletely excerpted), to nouns: 9.132, 10.185, 11.167A, 12.23G, 18.31L, 20.38, 23.135, 160, 160, 24.98, 25.202, 33.19, 51A, 47b.12, 34, 47M, 47c.30L, 49.78, 80, 153, 156A, 52.16L, 57.19, 21, 22, 25G, 60.67, 61.13, 72A, 62.8, 14, 31, 35, 63.41G, 65.20, 76A, 67.5, 13G, 68.54, 120A, da-na-dag 'iyəʒa' disihah 'I lent you money too' M, to demonstrative pronouns: 12.17, 25G, 33.23, 37b.85A, 42.5L, 47b.46M, 47c.54L, 51.33A, 55.16, 20, 26L, 61.106A, 63.36, 64.2, 67.7G, 'ahdug 'him too' L, 'ahnu-dug 'they too' L, in construction with nouns with following possessive o-a' or o-ʒa', enclitic either to noun or to postpositional phrase: dakacia 'uʒa'dig 'his buoy too' 12.= 6G, i'i'd' ya-yu' siʒa'dug 'all my gear too' 47.= a.3L, sayəʒgugdig 'uʒa' 'his baidarka too' 12.= 22G, 'ah seqe'dəkihdig 'uʒa' 'his child also' 23.131A, 'el 'uʒelihdag 'awa' 'his arm too'

?uge?ahdag ?awa 'tis tail also' 65.9A, to ad-  
 verbs: qe'dahdig ?aw?a? ?a'K 'simply (cust)  
 comes upon it too' 9.144A, da?u'daxdeg Kaha ?uq  
 Ku'ieh 'even then, at that time also there were  
 quills on him' 16.4M, to verbal clauses (rare):  
 ?ilah dalehdag 'also says about you' 1b.9M,  
 Kutu? qu?yi'da'yu' Ku'iehdig 'also there are  
 plenty of edibles' 63.39G, to clause subordinated  
 to da'x 'and, when, if': ci?daleh?iya? ci'ie?  
 da'xdag 'also if you're a gossip-monger' 51.20A,  
 Ku?iyah ?ali'ta'K da'xdag 'also if you (cust)  
 live evilly' 51.35A, dekuqu?yi'yah da'xdig 'al-  
 so even when you eat' 61.23A, to negative adverb  
 diK 'not': diKdig ?ahsu'e Ku?iyah ?ula?y  
 di'?ya'Ks 'nor does he (cust) get mad at them'  
 50.39A, diKdag ?ane?ane?da'd dax?hyu' Ka?ie'e  
 'neither were there people at Aleganik' 68.1A,  
 diKdag Kutu? ?a?ie'e 'nor were they very many'  
 68.50A, with negative constructions: ?awdig diK  
 qu?li'iga'e 'that too you won't know' 36.32A,  
 ?aw ?awa'dag diK deKe'duw ?esli?e 'nothing  
 happened to the dog either' 49.122A, to independ-  
 ent personal pronouns: Furuhjelm Hutak 'I' xu'-  
 dag 'I too, even I' M, xu'dag ?idaxkih qe?aw  
 'I too am feeling the same way' L, loxi'la? dag  
 'you pl. also' L, cayaqa'dug L, seya?dag 'we

too' L, 14.7L, ?u'dax səyədəg diK ləʒa?  
 da' qe' kuqu?ta'yaha 'then we won't bother  
 you pl. anymore either' 25.137A, Rezanov  
 Koxraxryaxb 'Tome dasselbe' səyədəg də'wəʒ  
 'we too the same way', ?uyədəg, ?əyədəg,  
 ?uyədəg L, ?əyədəg 'they too' 25.194A, with  
 independent personal pronouns with enclitic -gih=  
 --gi- 'also', always following: xu'gidəg MS  
 (= xu'gih, xu'dəg M), xu'gidig 21b.74A, də=  
 xu'gidug 'me too' L, xu'gidug diK 'me neither'  
 L, də'i'gidəg 16.25M, ?i'gidig 72.19L, ?i'=  
 gidəg 'you too' 55.27L, ləʒi'gidig 55.34L,  
 ləʒi'gidug (not \*ləʒi'dug) 'you pl. too' L,  
 ?a'gidug, 21a.19L, ?a'gidig 'he, she too' 10.=  
 161, 20.90, 23.85, 161, 24.43, 49.153, 61.116,  
 119A, with -s interrogative enclitic, either pre=  
 ceding or following: ?a'dugəʃh 'he too?' L, ?əh=  
 əwədug qu'wah 'will he go too?' L, ?ələdəg,  
 ?ələdəg L, ?ələdəg 'this too?' A, ʒi'ʒinu'sdəg  
 'they too?' L, xu'gihədəg, xi'gidəgə 'me too?'  
 L, ?i'giədəg, ?i'gidugə 'you too?' L, səyədə=  
 dəg, səyədədəg, səyədədəg 'we too?' L.

2. In formation of exclamations a: enclitic  
 to adverb dəki' 'already', dəki'dug expression  
 of exasperation: dəki'dug ?əwqəəd ləxiqə'gih  
 'but I warned him not to:' L.

2b. With preceding -š interrogative enclitic, -š-dag- 'my!' (< 'that too?'): ?a?d wəʃšdug dəʃhišiyah 'my want a really awful person!' 9.28A, ?a?d qawšdig kəʃu-dah ?u?šəda-?eh 'it sure looks mighty good!' 9.88A, ši?šdag 49.89A, 72.35L, ?i?ši?šdag 72.7L, ši?šdag L, 72.12L, ?i?ši?šdag 'my goodness!, dear me!' L, ?ala-šdag ʃawa-xu?li-?eh 'he even called me a dog' M (< ?al-a-š-dag 'for this too?').

3. Enclitic to gu-, obligatory in gu-dag, gu-dig 'again': Rezanov Кытань 'Еще noch' gu-dag, for further instances see gu-; gu-dagš (not \*gu-šdag) 'again?' L.

redo

dik-dek (dik more frequent, dek slightly archaic; In Rezanov perhaps also duk or dek<sup>2</sup>)

-dik (adjective) 'short': Rezanov <sup>kurz</sup> ~~Яремь~~ <sup>А</sup> ~~Коротко~~ <sup>А</sup> ~~ya-dik~~, 28.78fnA, ya-dik saze?i 'it became short, shrank' M, ya-dik ?u?lesetxa? 'make it short!' M, ta-hedik 'short trail' L; ~~With various marks for noun-class or specific anatomic reference:~~ ya-qi-ledik ~~Kuxehi~~ 'short rope' L, ?exa-ya-dedik sdu-lih: 'my what a short (low) table!' L, sdu-lihededik 'short (low) table' L, guXah-dedik 'short-tail' (dog's name) A, kuSdedik 'short-legs' (epithet) L, kugelaxedik 'short--

Edl-dik

land, time): Rezanov <sup>наде</sup> ~~Катантими~~ <sup>нидрия</sup> ~~'Близко'~~ (seXa=dek(-?)), ~~Котлятокъ~~ <sup>нидрия</sup> ~~Близко~~ <sup>наде</sup> ~~'сеXa-duk' or -dek~~, ~~Катантими~~ <sup>наде</sup> ~~'Недалеко наде'~~ <sup>А</sup> ~~seXa-dik~~ 'near, short distance or time away' M.

-dik 'S is <sup>becomes</sup> short': sedik? 'it became short' M; with class-mark: qi-lecedik? 'it (rope) is getting short'

I-dik <sup>comparative prepositional phrase 'short of'</sup> <sup>With object of comparison c-?u?x</sup> ~~shorter~~ 'S is shorter <sup>with respect to length</sup> than that': ?el ?ow?u?x ?i-dik 'this is shorter than that' L; with class-mark ?ow?u?x li-ke dik 'one (oar) is shorter than the other' L

~~edl-thematic 'distance overlaid':~~ qi?dex seXa-dik

'place through which it is a short distance, shortcut' L; ya? edl-dik 'S is short (vertically),

low': ya? səli·dik 'it's short, low' L, ya?  
 səli·deK 'it's short, low' S, ya? səla·sedik  
 'it's getting low' L, ya? səla·sadeK 'it got  
 low' ("Minnie Stevens would say," implying that  
 the stem-variant -deK is somewhat archaic) L;  
 transitive (causative) ya? 0-əd1-ı-dik 'S  
 makes O short (low)': ya? səla·səidik 'make it  
 low!' L. (with gdl-thematic 'aquatic distance'):  
gdl-dik' dəki· ʔalgaʔkih yeʔeʔ ʔuʔa? gəla·sedik  
 'already the distance towards shore for her had short-  
 ened to this little bit' 25.48A.

reorganize

- dik' (adj.) 'short'
- dik' 'S is short'
- ı-dik' 'S is short with respect to something'
- Gdl-dik' (adj.) 'near, short a distance (overland)'
- Gdl-dik' 'S is near (overland)'
- gdl-dik' 'S is near (over water)'

dik<sup>2</sup> (probably to be analyzed di-K, with de- 'ipse' and -K related to ku 'negative', the labialization of which is uncertain, see ku-ke<sup>2</sup>, especially referred forms cited with de- 'ipse'; see also Kah, ka; cf. however the possible Athapaskan cognates in Apachean dō, Pacific Coast Athapaskan generally doo 'not', the correspondences, low tone in Apachean but no glottalization in Pacific Coast Athapaskan, requiring PA du-e, probably < de-C<sup>w</sup>e, note also Hupa dau 'no' in Goddard 1905, p.338; there is no evidence in the Eyak vowel of labialized final: all modern informants always diK, never \*duK, Rezanov Tax- five times, Tex- once, Wrangell Tex- once, Furuhjelm Tikh twice; Rezanov once Tax-, perhaps archaic deK, and once Teu-, probably mistranscribed; in 68.11A emphatically pronounced dī<sup>h</sup>-K; diK ku- > diKu- 28.37A)

diK (negative adverb) 'no, not, it isn't so, won't, can't, didn't' (expression of disagreement, denial, negation, but not of prohibition, cf. yaʔyʔ), 'yes' (in positive answer to negative question); asyntactic: Furuhjelm Tikh 'no' diK 'no' LMASG, yikaʔdiŋh -- diK(, diK ʔaʔkaʔdeŋh) 'is he sick? -- no(, he isn't sick)' L, diKŋh ʔaʔkaʔdeŋh -- diK(, yikaʔdeŋh) 'he isn't sick?' (i.e. 'isn't he sick?' or 'he isn't sick, is he?') --

yes(, he is sick)' L (cf.  $\text{ʔə}^2$ ), xu'gidug diK  
 'ne neither' ('I too not') L, ki' gali'xeh da'x  
 qa'l ʔawa' diK 'the water was formerly cold but  
 not anymore (now however not)' M, textual occur-  
 rences: 7.23, 9.24, 10.147, 226, 242, 11.59, 102,  
 104, 162, 24.36a, 39, 74, 25.63, 27b.21, 38, 28.=  
 78, 32.3, 36, 33.8, 30, 60, 37b.55, 87A, 46.27M,  
 49.15, 33, 51.13, 40, 61.58, 68.90A, ʔəh dəxəh  
 diK dəleh 'that person said no' 53.32L, speaker  
 correcting self: 11.81, 102, 24.39(?), 86(?),  
 27b.38, 49.33, 51.40A; syntactic, always with  
 negative suffix -e at end of construction: with  
 verb (mostly not excerpted for elicitations): diK  
 ʔiəuxʔe'e 'I don't see you' M, diK ʔulex ʔi=  
 əuxiʔe'x ʔixle'e 'I don't want to see him' M,  
 Rezanov Текекотаатлъанъ 'Полочо abschüssig'  
 diK ...daʔ ʔaʔie'e 'it doesn't reach ...',  
 Такекуяткотлъанъ 'Пустой leer' diK ʔuyaʔd Kaʔ=  
 ie'e 'there's nothing in it', Тъкохакуманъ  
 'Нежалъ nichtbedauern' diK ʔuyaʔ ʔaʔaʔəhə 'I'm  
 not stingy with it', Тъишъалъанъ 'Холостой un=  
 verheirathet' diK ʔisʔehic 'he didn't marry',  
 Тъкохоохиллъанъ 'Некому' (not in Hadlow, 'to no  
 one'), Тъкохоохиллъанъ 'Ничего недѣлаю ich mache  
 nichts' diK wəx kuʔxəle'e, Тъахуакохлинн =  
 екту 'Ненарочно unvorsätzlich' diK wəx kuʔx=

łane'sduh 'I didn't intend so about anything,  
 anyone!' (see C 0-?-ła-le(?)), Wrangell Tek=  
 cekozakazema 'Feind' diK sikuwa?na's ?a?ie's  
 'he's not my friend', Furuhejelm Tikhkhatliaaulekh  
 'near' diK səla?a'w ?a?ie's 'it's not far',  
 Galushia Nelson diK səda?ə'əjh yeʒ daku?dyjh  
 'unseen messenger' BSdL 310, 554 ('he who is not  
 seen who is sent about'), textual occurrences:  
 2a.2, 2, 2, 9, 17, 20, 28, 33, 37, 37M, 2b.3L,  
 3.1, 7, 4.12, 20M, 6.6L, 7.21, 41, 42, 8.14, 19,  
 9.7, 9, 12, 21, 29, 50, 73, 74, 74, 75, 76, 83,  
 83, 101, 118, 120, 120, 159, 159, 167, 10.11, 58,  
 59, 60, 61, 107, 117, 133, 136, 147, 159, 162,  
 176, 177, 200, 226, 267, 269, 11.13, 32, 59, 65,  
 127, 128, 130, 130, 146, 163, 166, 172, 187a, 13.=  
 8L, 15.24, 25, 16.10, 27M, 18.18, 19, 19.5, 15,  
 29L, 20.15, 23, 90, 102, 103, 104A, 21a.3, 26,  
 39L, 21b.5, 16, 20, 59, 69, 73, 76, 23.4, 5, 8,  
 9, 13, 15, 23, 38, 40, 43, 70, 93, 96, 104, 110,  
 110, 123, 128, 147, 149, 149, 24.45, 55, 56, 59,  
 60, 61, 65, 68, 70, 75, 80, 81, 84, 99, 100, 101,  
 102, 25.13, 25, 35, 57, 58, 73, 82, 94, 94, 104,  
 105, 106, 113, 125, 143, 135, 151, 152, 166, 173,  
 176, 198, 198, 199, 203, 205, 206, 211, 212A,  
 27a.13, 14L, 27b.16, 16, 16, 24, 29, 28.37, 52,  
 73, 86, 95, 97, 105, 109, 110, 114, 128, 128, 132,

29.25A, 31.5L, 32.3, 4, 15, 20, 24, 27, 38, 45,  
 33.25, 43, 61, 68, 80, 80A, 34.8, 12M, 17, 21,  
 26, 31, 34, 39L, 51, 56, 61, 75M, 91L, 36.18, 21,  
 22, 23, 25, 25, 35, 45A, 37a.3, 5, 23L, 37b.76,  
 84A, 38.25LM, 39.4, 6, 41.1, 11, 44.4, 6, 45a.5L,  
 45b.5, 46.8, 12, 47b.9, 16, 26, 37M, 48.4, 6L,  
 49.2, 3, 8, 24, 25, 27, 28, 41, 42, 50, 80, 121,  
 122, 123, 128, 149, 149, 158, 50.7, 17, 34, 38,  
 39, 63, 65, 51.3, 13, 14, 18, 24, 35, 35, 35, 48,  
 49, 56, 71, 84, 91, 53.11, 16, 35L, 54.4, 11, 14,  
 15G, 55.11, 56.13, 58.4L, 60.14, 32, 37, 37, 43,  
 47, 47, 47, 56, 57, 62, 61.4, 6, 9, 9, 32, 32, 33,  
 47, 50, 58, 83, 84, 102, 114, 120A, 62.7, 12, 13,  
 14, 16, 16, 20, 22, 23, 24, 63.41, 64.15G, 65.7,  
 25, 26, 30, 36, 37, 44, 57, 60, 64, 78, 68.1, 18,  
 19, 42, 50, 55, 58, 76, 78, 93, 115, 119, 123,  
 128, 69.9, 9, 9, 13, 15, 18, 70.2A, 71.2, 6, 16,  
 18LM, 72.2, 7, 11, 13, 14L, in negative conditional  
 clauses, 'if ... not': 21b.69, 76, 51.84A, 62.22G,  
 65.36, 64A, in other verbal clauses: ?u?li'igahšuw  
 ?ulehd diK kuliše'ke 'do you know why you don't  
 (cust) kill anything?' ('do you know it, that be-  
 cause of which you (cust) don't kill anything?')  
 23.9A, dade'd diK ?i' ?ilah ?ele'syu' 'any-  
 thing which (are things which) don't concern you'  
 51.24A, diK kuse?ə'səjh 'he's not blind' 27b.=

wda-da' d. i. ... diK ?ude-de' ...  
 Non-3'L, dade-dəh diK dake ?ahk ?u?le'le' ...

24A, selaxtah, diK 'qhm qu'yixahs 'that I'm  
 alive, you won't tell her' 49.129A (perhaps for  
 prohibitive, rare), diK xexye'x deqa'g: deqa'g  
 'a fire that does not burn all night (burns), a  
 not all-night fire burns' 65.44A, with -s inter-  
 rogative enclitic: diKsuw 'not?' 9.120, with en-  
 clitic -deg- 'also': diKdag 'nor' 50.39, 68.1,  
 50A, diK daleb ku'xale'ehdiyah 'no-good rude  
 person' 72.11L, diK 'ewe'ah le'ehdiyah 'no-  
 good ingrate' 72.13L; in non-verbal constructions,  
 -e suffixed to head: Rezanov Теужаракъ "Недолго,  
 некадолго kurze Zeit, auf kurze Zeit' probably to  
 be read diK sahdxs 'not long (time)' L, 47a.4L,  
 with nouns: 10.203A, 18.40, 43, 84L, 51.13, 68.1A,  
 diK la'xte'ehgs 'not unripe (berries)' L, diK  
 'uqa'e 'not her husband' 18.20L, diK Kala'eyax'  
 seqe'eyu'e 'not another's children' 24.32A, diK  
 'i'ehds qe'al 'this isn't your wife' 61.7A, diK  
 daxpkyu'e laxi' 'you aren't people' 31.13A, with  
 adjectives: diK Kuzu'e 'not good' 61.30A, diK  
 'aw tail 'ewa' ku'a'we 'their tails aren't  
 long' 24.63A, with adverbs: diK qa'le 'not now'  
 25.112, 114A, did xex, diK 'ewa' gahs 'only  
 at night, not by day' 25.18A, with pronouns: diK  
 dede'de 'not anything' 25.8A, diK xu'e 'not I'  
 L, diK 'ele 'not this' LM, diK 'awe 'not that'

LM, diK dedu·yu·dyhə 'not anybody' 49.28A,  
 diK dəʔa·s 'not (by) himself' 61.40, 54A, diK  
 ʔaʔd iʔqə 'by no means all' 69.3A, with loca-  
 tives and postpositional phrases: 9.146A, diK  
 ʔəyeʔu·de 'not (the one) farther over there' M,  
 diK ʔə·de 'not here' 11.128A, diK dəʔu·dəɣ-  
 ya·kih ʔə·de 'nothing here' 15.8, 14M, diK  
 iʔhida·de 'not in one place' 68.62A, diK dəɣɣh  
 qiʔ:(dəl) '(this is) a place where there is no  
 person' 51.53, 61.109A, diK ɣə·lgaʔə 'not like  
 now' 60.3A, diK ʔəwgaʔə ɣəw yileh 'you're ac-  
 ting unjustly' L, diK səla·ʔa·wə 'not far' LM,  
 diK səla·ʔa·wəʔə 'not (to) far' L, 28.63A, diK  
 səla·ʔa·wəde qiʔə də səʔaʔəʔi 'it's not far  
 where we're going to' 31.9L, diK dəɣɣh ʔu·d  
 ʔədiɣde 'there's no person inside there' 7.32A,  
 diK dəde·wahde 'not with anything' 10.60A, diK  
 səyeqa·qa·ʔə 'not of our tribe' 68.90A.

diKah (exclamation, probably to be analyzed di--  
 K-ah, see also Kah) 'no' LM, 23.10, 68.89A,  
 equivalent to asyntactic diK, not attested syn-  
 tactically.

diKa· (exclamation, probably to be analyzed di--  
 K-a·, see also Ka·, or phonetic expansion of  
 preceding) 'no' 68.108A.

di-Ku- (prefixes, də- 'ipse' and ku- 'negative'

to interrogative pronominal stems, see Ku-de',  
Ku-de-dah under de.<sup>1</sup>, Ku-du' under du',  
Ku-daḡ under daḡ)

duK (perhaps reduced form of du<sup>ʔ</sup>K ~~du<sup>ʔ</sup>K~~)

te-duK 'S is humped, has hump, lump on it': ski-

duK<sup>it</sup> 'S got a hump or lump on it' L, qi<sup>ʔ</sup> ski-

duk<sup>it</sup> qa<sup>ʔ</sup> se<sup>ʔ</sup>a<sup>ʔ</sup>ʔ<sup>it</sup> 'they climbed up on a hill-  
ock, hump (place which has a hump on it)' L.

seleduk<sup>it</sup> (noun, unclassified) 'mound, hillock,

hill' LM, nominalized inceptive perfective

~~above~~ seleduk<sup>it</sup>luw 'big mound, hill' LM, sele-

duk<sup>it</sup>kih 'small mound, hillock' LM, seleduk<sup>it</sup>ta's

'across, over a mound, hill' L.

du?K

redo

du?K (see also du?)

O-i-du?K 'S squeezes O, S squeezes O into or out of something': Rezanov ЧАУСЫТЫК 'Buzars' <sup>press</sup> f[s(iy)]-qa?c(?) i-du?K 'he's squeezing my hand(?)', xi-du?K 'I'm squeezing it, milking it' L, suxi-du?K 'I'm squeezing it' M, ?e-i-du?K 'squeeze it!, milk it!, express it (e.g. pus from boil, toothpaste from tube)!: L; with ya?y-progressive and indeterminate O: siq ya?y ?i-i-du?K 'he's squeezing all over on me' L; ~~passive lexe-i-du?K 'lemon'~~

~~(noun, 1st class) 'O of it' (berry-like) is squeezed with <sup>g-y?y</sup> in O and li? 'deeply in' or g-a? 'up out'~~

~~with~~: o-yeq li? O-i-du?K 'S stuffs O into o': kusahd ?ewyaq da li? i-du?K 'we (cust) stuff liver into it (codfish stomach)' L, repetitive ?ew-yeq li? ?e-i-du?K 'stuff, pack it into it (with repeated motions)!:'; o-yeq qa? O-i-du?K 'S expresses O out of o': ?ewyaq qa?c? suxi-du?K 'I'm squeezing it (e.g. toothpaste) out of it' L, with class-marks for O: ?aw qama? ?ewyaq qa? lexe-sa-i-du?K 'squeeze the roe out of it (salmon)!: L, ?uyaq ?aw qa? gy-sa-i-du?K 'he squeezed it (milk) out of it' L.

~~attested only from M~~ Kus-i-du?K 'I stuffed something (e.g. turkey seal intestines)', qu?x-i-

probably incorrect

du<sup>o</sup>X 'I'll stuff it' <sup>M.</sup> ~~will be stuffed~~

~~will be stuffed~~

lɔɔdɔdu<sup>o</sup>k' (noun, /ɔ/-class) 'lemon' L. Nominised  
passive active imperfective, with /ɔ/-class-mark  
for O, 'it (/ɔ/-class O) is squeezed'.

redo

dux-dex-dex<sup>w</sup> (IM dux, SG dex, A usually dux, occasionally dex<sup>w</sup>, Rezanov rux twice, rox perhaps once, rex six times, some instances of which are probably expanded de'x, or, conceivably, dix) *red Tëx ? for [tëx']?*

gl-dux meaning obscure, attested only in ?ew ce'y ?ida?ya·leḡ gu·seduxi 'the tea (gl-class 'liquid') has ... too much', i.e. 'the tea-leaves came floating up to the top' L, and possibly also in a form on a file-slip of Li, transcribed k'li·J'du' 'beaver-dam', perhaps geli·dux, but see also du?.

ḡe-dux 1. 'S floats, drifts along, away': ?u·deḡ seḡeduxi 'it was floating by there' 47c.58L, ski-duxi 'it floated away' M, with class-marks: ḡa·sḡiduxi 'it (net) drifted away' L, ?ḡ·sḡiduxi 'it (paddle) drifted away' L, with yaḡ-progressive: yaḡ ḡe-dux-ḡ 'S floats about': 10.14, 28.81A, ?ew ?ew te?ya?yeḡeḡi?ya? yaḡ ḡede·xḡ 'fish-guts (cust) float around' 60.1A, yeḡ xḡeduxḡ 'I'm floating around' IM, with various ~~preverbs~~ <sup>preverbs</sup> with yeḡ 'ashore' 5.8,9L, 10.16, 17, 27, 11.169, 170, 24.91, 92A, siḡ yeḡ seḡeduxi ((hortatory subjunctive) 'let it float ashore with me (in it)!' 10.14A, ta?iteḡ yeḡ ?iḡiduxi (neuter perfective) 'dead fish has floated ashore' L, with lahḡ 'forward, out from shore' 28.75, 80A, with li? 'downstream' ya·ḡ=

redo

ʔeqaʔ ʔu·deʔ liʔ seʔeduxɪ 'it (bottle) is floating along downstream there upside-down' L, with qaʔ 'up, out' 12.9G, qaʔ sɪiduxɪduh 'it (shot seal) floated to surface'; <sup>A</sup> Transitive (causative) O-ɪ-dux: ʔeɪdux 'set it afloat!' L; passive: sɪiduxɪ 'someone made, let it drift away' L; reflexive ʔed-ɪe-dux 'S floats, drifts (voluntarily, e.g. in boat)': 1a.4, 1b.2, 46.14M, tʂhʂeɪi·nahsɪ ʔahnu·dewa· ʔedseʔeduxɪ 'they were riding (holding position) outside the breakers waiting for her' 37a.21L, repetitive with qaʔ 'up, out' deʔu·d qʂ·ʕ ʔedɪeduxg 'it kept bobbing up right there' 10.95A, with yeʔ-progressive: da· yeʔ ʔedɪede·xk 'we (cust) go floating silently around (in a canoe)' L.

*(movement) downstream*

2. Repetitive with liʔ<sup>A</sup>: liʔɪ ɪeduxg 'tide keeps "drifting" (ebbing) down a bit' L.

3. With yeʔ 'downward': yeʔ ɪe-dux 'S loses horizontal support': (1) siqe·sgy·ɪsemedɪ siya· yeʔ sɪiduxɪ 'my ankle turned' L, yeʔ sɪiduxɪ (2) 'it got stranded at ebbtide' L, (3) 'it (e.g. roof) caved in' LM, (4) 'it fell in deadfall' (cf. 4. and duxɪ) L; <sup>A</sup> Transitive (causative) yeʔ O-ɪ-dux: yeʔ sɪɪduxɪ 'I trapped it in a deadfall' L.

4. Transitive (causative) <sup>A</sup> O-ɪ-dux 'S snaps O (deadfall); S traps O in deadfall': ʔeɪdux 'snap

redo

deadfall' L, qa' iduxinu' 'they trap us in deadfalls' 25.167A; with indeterminate O, detransitivized: ?iieduxinu' 'they were trapping (with deadfalls)' 23.1A, qi? ?iieduxda·x 'by where he was trapping' 23.6A.

5a. With ya? 'completely, to state of rest': ya? iē-dux 'S ceases undesirable behaviour, desists, behaves': Rezanov ~~Самостоятельно~~ 'Непрестанно aufhören ~~самостоятельно~~' ya?...iēdex (or optative ya? ?iiedex) or, with expanded stem, -de·x ?, ~~Самостоятельно~~ 'Поскольку мунтер, хейтер ~~самостоятельно~~' ya? ?ēiēde·xkih 'he (cust) quiets down obediently' M (or possibly a reflexive, q.v.), ya? ?ēiēdux 'don't do it!, settle down!, stop fooling around!, behave!' L, ya? ?ēiēdex 'behave!' S; transitive ya? O-i-dux: Rezanov ~~Самостоятельно~~ 'Непрестанно hörte auf ~~самостоятельно~~' ya? sēiēdexi 'he (or you) made him desist' or ya? siēdexi 'I made him desist', ya? siēduxih 'I made him stop, behave' L, ya? ?ēiēduxih 'quiet him down!' L; reflexive: Rezanov ~~Самостоятельно~~ 'Поскольку мунтер, хейтер ~~самостоятельно~~' possibly ya? ?ēiēde·xkih 'he (cust) quiets himself down obediently' M, or repetitive ya? ?ēiēdexgih 'he (repeatedly) quiets himself down, he keeps trying to quiet himself down'. Rezanov ~~Самостоятельно~~



customary -de'xk'), di'ta'ʃ dæxʰeduxg 'I stutter, speak hesitantly' L.

3. With d-thematic 'oral, noise' (?) d-ʰe-dux 'S drowns off': dæxʰeduxʰ 'I'm just about to fall asleep', di'ʔdahʰ dixʰiduxʰ 'did I drowse off?' L.

*3. instrumental derivatization, see ʒo-duxʰ.*

duxʰ (noun, unclassified) 'deadfall trap' LA, weasel trap' L (~~cf. ʒ, and ʰ. above~~), with -ʰ-instrumental suffixed to stem: 23.21, 26, 27A, duxʰʰaʰ= *duxʰʰaʰ* luw 'big deadfall' L, di'yuhyaʰ duxʰ 'deadfall for blackbear' L, lixahyaʰ duxʰ 'deadfall for brownbear' L, doxtʰ 'deadfall' (Galushia Nelson) BSDL 550. Types and uses of deadfalls are described in BSDL 100-102.

ʔaxʰ ʔadʰʰeduxʰ (noun, unclassified?) 'raft' (in Ansterlitz notes; nominalized active imperative of ʒo-dux 1., ~~ʰ~~ causative reflexive, 'it makes itself drift about'), not verified.

des (cf. lae, with which des shares certain formal and semantic peculiarities)

des (preverb, attested with zero, and -e' finals, and compounded as o of o-?e?, with -x final and as o of o-da?, also perhaps compounded with o-ya? or perhaps preceding preverb ya?, and in combination with qe?-qe'- as qe'-des) l. 'upstream, upriver, up inlet, bay, in-, upland via body of water': des sah:ih 'he went upriver' M, des seqe:ih 'he's boating upstream' L, see also 68.10A, lisyeq' des gali-?ah, -la l. (68.50A), des lah (la-na<sup>1</sup>), des ?iwe? 'swim upstream:' M, with qe?-qe'- 'back, again': ?i-ya-?ya?x qe'-des sdiyah: 'they boated (as fleet) back upstream into Eyak Lake' 68.36fnA, qe'-des sdiqeh-linu 'they boated back upstream' 68.37fnA; with -e' final: dese'e sa:ih 'he's going (walking) upriver' M; with -x final, only compounded as o of o-?e?, dese?x < des-?e?-x '(movement within area) upstream, up inlet': 9.152, 60.63, 68.100A, dese?x ?iqe? 'boat upriver!' L, dese?x gali-?ah 'tide's coming back in' L, dese?x sa:l 'he's going upriver' LM, dese?x sah: 'he went upriver' L, with qe?-qe'-: diX dese?x qe? ?e:deyah: 'they didn't boat (as fleet) back

upriver anymore' 68.18A.

2. Compounded as o of o-ʔeʔ 'in place of o', compounded as o of o-daʔ 'arrival at o', desidaʔ < dea-ʔeʔ-daʔ 'full' ('to place at top'): with zero final: 52.36L, Rezanov Tamra-a 'Hornes voll', verb theme always d-ʔya 2f., with -ʔ final: desidaʔʔ deaʔyaʔi 'it's getting full' L, desidaʔʔ leʔeʔaʔaʔyaʔi 'it's pretty full of berries' L.

3. Uncertain, probably compounded as o of o-yaʔ 'into o with broad opening at top' (or perhaps in combination with yaʔ 'vertically, to a state of rest') '(falling down) backwards (onto back, chest up)': deyaʔ (yʔ-ʔ) disliqaheliʔ 'he fell (down) backwards (landing chest up)' L, in combination with yaʔ 'to a state of rest' and taʔ-d '(at rest) in the water': deyaʔ taʔd ʔʔh yaʔ (or deyaʔ taʔd yaʔ ʔʔh, taʔd deyaʔ ʔʔh yaʔ) selesiʔh 'he pushed her down backwards in the water' L.

o-dea (postposition, with zero, -d, -ʔ finals, and with -deʔ final instead of compounded as o of o-ʔeʔ with -ʔ final, also in other compounds as listed below) 'above (on higher plane, farther upland than) o' 1. with zero final (rare, referring



24.23A, ʔewdedeɬd tah 'it belongs in position above it' L (see first example above), with l-- anatomical: si'deɬd, si'deɬd, sildeɬd 'above my head' L, with reciprocal o: ʔiɬdeɬd yiɬhiɬnu 'one's above, upstream of the other' L, with indeterminate o: dedeɬd setaɬk 'it's up above (something), e.g. on deck' L; with -ɬ final: sideseɬ qaʔ setaʔ 'put it up above me!' L, with -deɬ final: qy'dedeɬdeɬ ' (motion in area) above the fire' L.

2. Locationalized with ɬe- 'area' as o: with zero final: 33.36A, perhaps in compound: ɬe-deɬdeɬeyah 'fish-drying rack' L (ɬedeɬ deɬeyah 'pl. (d-class) O are placed above' or < ɬedeɬdeɬeyah 'pl. O are placed above'), ɬedeɬeyayʔ 'fish-drying rack' L (see under (y)a), ɬedeɬeyayʔ 'God' (Rezanov, see under yaʔ-eyayʔ), see also 2. and 3. below; with -d final 'at rest': ɬedeɬd 'yonder above, up high, upstairs, way upland, way upriver' 10.32, 11.52A, 18.72L, 25.96, 21b.34, 50A, 23.157, 159, 33.14, 45, 51.22, 60.61, 61A, 'up above on hill' L, 'above, in the interior of Alaska' N, 'in heaven' 61.9, 9A, ɬi'd ɬedeɬd yiɬhiɬnu 'those way up yonder inland, upland, upriver' (Ahtenas) 68.81A, qahs ɬedeɬd 'clouds

are high' N, ʔə·d ʔədəd 'up over here' L,  
 ʔədəd da·ʔ quʔdi·xəh 'I'll make a fish--  
 drying rack' ('I'll put pl. d-class O in contact  
 with something up above') L, ʔeʔt ʔu·d ʔədəd  
 da·ʔ ʔihixih 'a box is hanging (tied to some-  
 thing up above) from the ceiling' L, ʔədəd da·ʔ  
 dedekwahg 'plyboards for ceiling' L, ʔədəd  
 caʔx 'upland species of blueberry' G (Harrington),  
 ʔədəd ʔikuʔ ličeʔqə 'hang-up' ('(trees) hooked  
 through each other above') G (Harrington), ʔədəd  
 sičiyaʔ 'God' ('my master above, in heaven') G  
 (Harrington, cf. ʔədəsayaʔ above), ʔədədelah-  
 sayu· 'upper Copper River Ahtenas, interior Alaskan  
 Athapaskans' LM, ʔədəd ky·desəkəh 'cocktail  
 glasses' ('their thickest parts are at the top')  
 L, with -d final compounded as o of o-čəhd  
 'from o': ʔi·d ʔədədečəhd 'from up above (from  
 uphill, upland, interior)' 23.122, 25.55, 68.2A,  
 with -dəx final: ʔel ʔədədəx kulex ʔi·-  
 čihih 'God' ('this chief on high') 70.2, 4A.

2b. As above, compounded with locative stem  
 -u·- 'there' (cf. 3b.): with -d final: Rezanov  
 Xarraxyrə 'Bə səpxy Oben' ʔədəsu·d 'up there,  
 in upper position', ʔədəsu·d ya· ʔuxp·ləyah  
 'his upper teeth' L, with -č final: ʔədəsu·č

da·q̄ s̄etaʔ 'put it (on something) up there!'  
L, as o of o-i-ča·d 'on side of o': ʔədə=  
su·iča·d (ya·) ʔux̄p·iəyah 'his upper teeth'  
L, ʔədəcu·iča·d (ya·) ʔudəkuhd 'his upper  
lip' L.

2c. As 2a., compounded as o of o-ʔeʔ 'in  
place of o', compounded as o of o-d-q̄ 'on d-  
class o', ʔədəsida·q̄ < ʔe-dəe-ʔeʔ-d-q̄, with  
-d final 'at rest, nominalization': ʔədəsida·q̄d  
'upstairs, (in the) loft, ceiling' L, 2b.2L, 11.-  
34, 34, 36, 65.23, 58A, with -č final: ʔədə=  
sida·q̄əč 'to the loft' 65.19A, with -čahd final:  
ʔədəsida·q̄əčahd '(hanging) from the ceiling' 2a.-  
38.

3. With əe-i- (e-thematic, i-classifier)  
as o, 'of a series' a. with -d final: səidəed  
'in uppermost, highest, top position (of a series)'  
L.

3b. As above, compounded with demonstrative  
stem -u·- 'there' (cf. 2b.): with -d final:  
səidəcu·d 'way on top there, at the highest level  
there' M; with -č final: səidəcu·č ʔəw qaʔ  
s̄eta·iḥ 'he's putting it up to the highest  
level' M.

-dəe·ʔ (kinship noun, non-ascending, probably

< o-dae-ʔeʔ 'in place above, upland from o',  
 but conceivably < \*o-dae-ayaʔ, see Rezanov  
 forms, yaʔ-ayaʔ; cf. -caʔkih '(woman's) older  
 sister' < -caʔ-kih 'downhill, diminutive, af-  
 fectionate' and -;ʒ-kih '(woman's) brother' <  
 'forward of o, diminutive, affectionate') la.  
 'younger sibling' (i.e. man's or woman's younger  
 brother or younger sister', partly overlapping  
 with -;ʒ-kih '(woman's) brother', -ad--kih  
 '(man's) sister'): 9.68, 70, 73, 82, 82, 83, 100,  
 100, 101, 102, 102, 102, 23.36, 37, 46, 29.4, 7,  
 10, 16, 69, 71, 49.69, 72, 80, 50.30, 30, 32, 68.-  
 111, 111, 112, 112, 112A, Rezanov Сирокер 'Сестра  
 Schwester' perhaps to be read (archaic?) \*side=  
 :ayaʔ, Furuhjelm Setakheh 'younger brother;  
 younger sister', s:Daqaʔ 'younger brother (man  
 speaking), younger sister (woman speaking)' BSdL  
 566A sideʔeʔ 'my younger brother, my younger  
 sister' (man or woman speaking) LMS, used also as  
 vocative; Minnie Stevens spoke of Mrs. Shepherd  
 as sideʔeʔ but addressed her as ʔegiyah L,  
 kilaʔ sideʔeʔ 'my younger brother' ('my male  
 younger sibling') L, qeʔʔ sideʔeʔ 'my younger  
 sister' L, Rezanov Сиракенка 'Своиченица Schwä-  
 gerin' sideʔeʔqaʔ (or archaic? \*sideʔeyaʔqaʔ)

'my younger sister's husband', siḍaḡeiyaḡac  
 'older sister's son, older sister's daughter  
 (woman speaking)' BSdL 567A sidese·?yahš 'my  
 younger sister's child' (or archaic? sideseya·  
 yahš, or perhaps sidese·?ya? yahš, literally  
 'my younger sibling's doll'), siaḍaḡac 'wife's  
 younger sister' BSdL 567A si'ehdese·? 'my  
 wife's younger sibling', sitaḍaḡac 'husband's  
 younger brother' BSdL 567A siqa'dese·? 'my hus-  
 band's younger sibling' L, sitqaḍaḡacyetsi 'hus-  
 band's father's younger brother' BSdL 568A siqa·  
 dese·?ci· 'my husband's younger brother's daughter'  
 (or perhaps \*-deseya?-), with suffixed -šiyah  
 perhaps slightly pejorative or meaningless: si-  
 ḍaḡacia 'younger step-brother (man speaking?)'  
 BSdL 568A sidese·?šiyah 'my younger sibling,  
 pejorative(?)', with suffixed -kih 'diminutive,  
 affectionate': -dese·?kih 'little, kid brother,  
 sister' 9.13, 14, 19, 20, 23, 24, 34, 82, 49.10A.

1b. With suffixed -i-yu· 'personal, plural',  
 -dese·?seyu· 'younger siblings (collective)',  
 also, and perhaps more frequently 'siblings (col-  
 lective, both younger and older)': 18.41L, 34.6M,  
 42.19, 23L, 70.8A; with reciprocal possessor (or  
 perhaps o of postposition): ?iidese·?seyu·

'brothers, sisters, brothers and sisters, siblings (to each other)' L, 33.58, 64, 49.1A (in all these textual incidences, 'sisters').

2a. (noun, probably unclassified) 'after-birth, placenta': Kudece·? 'an afterbirth' LM.

2b. (noun, probably unclassified), in Kusahddece·? 'spleen?, pancreas?' ('liver's younger sibling'), see under sahd<sup>1</sup>.

-deceleh (perhaps < -des-) see deceleh Kude-  
cede·? (conceivably -des-) see ce·?.



dəʒ (probably to be analysed də-ʒ, with d- inter-  
 rogative element as in də<sup>1</sup>, du<sup>1</sup>, cf. also <sup>under ʒwɪw</sup> ʔwəʒ<sup>1</sup>  
 ʔləʒ, <sup>under ʒwɪw</sup> with postpositional final element -ʒ 'manner')  
 ← dəʒ-k<sup>1</sup> (interrogative numeral, probably always in  
 construction with -d interrogative enclitic, -k  
 indefinite numeral, see k<sup>1</sup>) 1. 'how many?, how  
 many, what(ever) number': with enclitic -ih--i-  
 not in construction with classified noun: 54.12fnG,  
 dəʒkɪd 'how many (bottles, dogs)?' M, dəʒkɪd  
 ʔəɪqah ʔiʒaʔ 'how many cards do you have?' L,  
 dəʒkɪh ʒəwa-d ʔiʒaʔ 'how many dogs do you have?'  
 L, dəʒkɪd sɪiʒaʔʔɪ 'what time is it?' L, as o of  
 postpositions: dəʒkɪdaʔdəw ʔisəiʒaʔʔɪ 'what time  
 is it?' L, diK ʔu-laʔxɪga-ə dəʒkɪ(h)ʒaʔd ʔe-ʔəh  
 quʔxdah/quʔxdəqeh 'I don't know what time I'll get  
 back home (on foot/by boat)' L, in construction  
 with classified nouns: dəʒk də-d da-naʔ 'how  
 much money?' L, dəʒk daʔ sɪdu-lihəd daʔli-ixah  
 'how many tables do you have?' L, dəʒk ləʒaʔ laʔ-  
 nahdd ʔiʒaʔ 'how many berries do you have?' L,  
 dəʒk guka-daʔəw 'how many strands is that?' L,  
 dəʒk a-na-d təsɪ daʔli-ixah 'how many hammers  
 do you have?' L, dəʒk a-na-d qəʒah sɪiʔahɪ 'how  
 many new moons?' L, with enclitic -nuʔ in con-  
 structions with nouns denoting humans: dəʒknu-d  
 seqe-ʔeyuʔ ʔiʒaʔ 'how many children do you have?'



times *kədəx*; see also *ʔədəx*) 'cannot, in  
 vain, nohow' 4.12M, 10.257A, 16.5M, 28.73A, 53.  
 20L, *kədəx* 'in vain, tried to but couldn't' L,  
*kədəx xcuʔde* 'I can't sleep' L, *kədəx yaʔ*  
*xdawe-ʔe* 'I can't swim', *kədəx ʔu'daʔ ʔex-*  
*we'ge* 'I can't swim to there' ('I keep trying  
 swimming thither to no avail') L, *kədəx gux-*  
*cu'xe* 'it can't thread it (needle)' L, *kədəx*  
*ʔexiky'ʔde* 'I can't grab it' L, *kədəx lah*  
*ʔedxiaʔya-ʔe* 'I can't move' L, *kədəx ʔudaʔ*  
*ʔaxle'gk'e* 'I (cust) can't reach it' L, *kədəx*  
*ʔeti'ya'e da-ʔ* 'if you can't eat it' L, *kədəx*  
*yicuʔde* 'can't you sleep?' L.

*ʔə-dəx* (probable analysis of *ʔədəx*, q.v., per-  
 haps by back-formation from *dikədəx* < *de-ku--*  
*dəx*, above with *de-* *ʔəse'*)  
 or *dəx* with *ʔə-* exclamatory prefix

da'x (perhaps postposition o-x 'in contact with, by means of, against o' with da- indeterminate o, though conceivably o-da'-x with deleted o, see o-da'- 1. under da.<sup>3</sup>)

da'x (preverb, with zero (-x?) final only) 1. '(movement) across': ma'ya? da'x '(movement crossing) across the lake' M, da'x sliḏahḏ 'it (duck) swam across' L, ?u'd-x da'x cewe·hḏh 'he's swimming across there' L, sili?daḏ da'x ʔəls·sa?yahḏ 'he ran across right behind me' L, ?awda·q da'x sahḏ 'he went across on it' L, da'x sahḏ 'he went across (e.g. street, creek, ice)' L, see further instances under O-ŋi 'S ferries O', -we 'S swims', -qe 'S goes by boat', -a 'sg. S goes on foot', with qe?-qe-- 'back, again': qe·da'x ?əh səḏihḏh 'ferried him back across' 53.25L, qahḏaya? qe·da'x xadiqehḏ 'I boated back across in a bark vessel' 53.28L.

2. Meaning uncertain, perhaps o-x with indeterminate o: (o<sup>1</sup>-lu?qa·) o<sup>2</sup>-ŋ da'x ?i-?-d-le 'S begs, pleads persistently with o<sup>2</sup> (for o<sup>1</sup>), see o-ŋ da'x ?i-?-d-le under le-.

3. Meaning perhaps 'across' but probably more clearly o-x 'in contact with, against o' with indeterminate o: da'x o-ʔd-ʒa? 'S strikes O (match)', see under O-ʒa?, da'x -ta 'S (skin) is on

stretching-frame', see under ta, da·ʒ 0-i-ya·ʔ  
'S stretches 0 (skins) on frame', ʒedəsd da·ʒ  
quʔdi·xiah 'I'll set up a fish rack' L ('I'll  
set them (d-class) across (?), in contact with  
indeterminate o (?) up above'); see these and  
further instances under o-ʒ<sup>1</sup> . under ʒ<sup>1</sup> .

11

daʔɣ (probably to be analyzed daʔ-ɣ, daʔ- to be identified with one or more homophonous stems, with -ɣ final; cf. Athapaskan -da(n) 'times') <sup>Timit - dachin</sup>

o-daʔɣ (postposition, or adverbializing suffix)

'o (number of) times (multiplicative)': with numerals as o: ɪjhsdaʔɣ 'once' L, also frequent in opening formula of texts, perhaps Anglicism: 2b.1, 5.1L, 8.1A, 13.1L, 15.1, 16.1M, 20.1A, 22.-1, 27a.1L, 29.1A, 30.1, 40.1, 41.1L, 43.1, 1M, 44.1, 45a.1, 10L, 49.1, 55.1, 56.1, 58.1L, 61.-4aA, laʔdaʔɣ 'twice' L (< laʔd-daʔɣ), 27b.-15, 38, 45, 50.20A, laʔdaʔɣ ʔi-ʔah 'two- (double-)pronged fish-spear' L, BSdL 549, laʔdaʔɣ ʔuʔaɪtahɪ 'I turned two pages' L, laʔdaʔɣ kuʔ-ɪtahɪ 'it (baby) took two steps' L, tʰuhgaʔ-daʔɣ 'thrice' L, qalahqaʔgʷaʔdaʔɣ 62.150, qalahqaʔgaʔdaʔɣ 'four times' 19.16, 16L, 27b.38A, ɕʰaʔdaʔɣ 'five times' L, ɕɪ-daʔɣ 'six times' L, qɛdɪɕɪ-daʔɣ 'seven times' 11.88A, guɕde-daʔɣ 'nine times' L, dɛsa-qdaʔɣ 'ten times' L, also in numerals for decades above twenty, o-daʔɣ dɛsa-q 'o-ty' ('o times ten'), see numerals tʰuhɪ, qalah, ɕʰaʔ, ɕɪ, ɛa; dɛɣkdaʔɣd 'whatever number of times' 33.23A, kuʔuʔdaʔɣ 'many times' L, 18.7L, ʔwɛɣdaʔɣ dɛsa-q 'thus many times ten' L.

duʔɿ (probably to be analyzed d-uʔɿ, see below and  
ʔuʔɿ)

dəduʔɿ-diduʔɿ-diʔduʔɿ (adverb, probably < də--  
də-ʔuʔɿ, postposition o-ʔuʔɿ 'short of, less  
than o' with də-indeterminate o and proclitic  
də- 'ipse', phonological development slightly  
irregular, perhaps influenced by diʔdah < də--  
ʔi-dah 'safely, fairly') 'almost, nearly, prac-  
tically' L, dəduʔɿ taʔ xsiʔəʒi 'I almost  
jumped in the lake' M, dəduʔɿ xuʒdiʒehi 'I  
almost got killed' M, diduʔɿ ʔahnu· ʒəʒehiʒ  
'they almost killed her' 52.21L, dəduʔɿ dəkiʔq  
liʒdiʔahi 'they've almost all died off' 69.2A,  
su·ʒihyu·dəʒəlehgaʔ dəduʔɿ səliʒ 'had almost  
become like wolves' minds' 25.137A, diʔduʔɿ diʔ  
ʔu·daʔ ʔəxswəhi 'I almost didn't get there  
(swimming)' M.

di·yaḡ-diyaḡ (former variant more frequent than latter; perhaps segmentable, e.g. da-(...)ya(-)ḡ, but analysis and identification of elements entirely uncertain)

di·di·yaḡ  
'before'

di·yaḡ-diyaḡ (negative adverb) 'not ... yet', attested once with active perfective verb: di·yaḡ ʔədaxsəkusiḡ 'I haven't washed myself yet (haven't finished)' L, otherwise always with verb in inceptive perfective: 21b.11, 24.46, 28.42, 36.39, 61.22A, di·yaḡ ʔədaxsəkusiḡ 'I haven't washed myself yet (haven't started)' L, di·yaḡ yaḡʔ səxtəḡḡ 'I'm not lying down yet' L, di·yaḡ ɣuʔ dətədələḡḡ 'it's never been planed yet' L, di·yaḡ ɣeʔ ʔisədəʔeḡḡḡḡ 'he's not getting remarried yet' L, di·yaḡ ɣəw ʔəwgaʔ (ʔaʔ)sədəʔḡḡ 'it's not big enough yet' LM, di·yaḡ ʔəwgaʔ (ʔaʔ)si·daʔḡḡ 'you're not big enough yet' LM, diyaḡ ʔəwgaʔ (ʔaʔ)səidaḡḡḡ 'it's not heavy enough yet' M, di·yaḡ ʔəwgaʔ sələdɣəḡḡḡ 'he's not strong enough yet' M, diyaḡ ʔəw dətətəḡḡ deḡḡḡḡḡ 'he's not learning to understand it yet' M, diyaḡ ʔəw ʔuʔsələdətəḡḡḡḡ 'he's not learning how to do it yet' M, diyaḡ ɣədəsəlʔəhdḡḡḡ 'they aren't dry yet' M, diyaḡ yaḡʔḡ yeḡ sələsəʔyaḡḡḡ 'tide hasn't started to ebb down yet' L; with clause subordinated to daḡḡ 'and, when', 'not ... yet ... and', before...': 9.106, 11.125,

23.136, 24.78, 28.30A, 34.47L, 57.2G, 61.1, 75A,  
 yaʔʁu· qaʔ quʔyiyah diyex taxsɨ·kɛ daʔɣ  
 'don't leave before I die (while I'm not yet  
 dead)' L; optional in clause subordinated to də-  
 wa· 'whereupon, while, as, when', 'not ... yet  
 ... whereupon, before ...': 18.61, 34.104L, yaʔ-  
 ʁu· quʔxi·yah di·yex yəʔ· ɛi·da·kɛ dəwa·  
 'don't eat before you sit down' L, ʔəixutʃh di-  
 yex ʔiʃ ʔisəlexutʃh dəwa· 'shoot him before  
 he shoots you (while he has not yet shot at you):'  
 L, ʔuʃ ʔaw ʔətʃʔih (di·yex) səki·ɣkɛ dəwa·  
 'give it to him before he cries!' L, (di·yex)  
 ʔəwKah lesi·ta·kɛ dəwa· 'before you forget it'  
 L, di·yex səhdɣs dəwa· 'before long' 24.24,  
 61.44A; with proclitic də- 'inss': dedi·yex  
 ʔulex kuʔsəiʔə·kɛ 'nobody yet ever saw it' L,  
 dedi·yex taʔ dəcəlxəhɛ daʔɣ 'before it  
 fell into the water' 61.75A.

duhsK

duhsK (noun, ɣd-class) 'fallen(?) riverbank' L. L  
 certain of authenticity of form, which exists  
 along~~side of~~<sup>with</sup> ?uhs q.v., but not certain of exact  
 meaning, especially as distinguished from that of  
 ?uhs: duhsKɣeda·qđ Miya? da· qa?qeh 'we'll  
 land at the riverbank' L.

ɣdl-duhsK (noun, ɣd-class?): ɣəla·duhsK 'fallen(?)  
 riverbank' L, difference in meaning from above, if  
 any, obscure.

It perhaps "cutbank" ↗

duhŋk'

duhŋk' (noun, unclassified) 'snipe' LNAS, 'black  
 turnstone' M, 'teeterass' in local English ('tee-  
 tertail, spotted sandpiper') M, same bird as ya-  
 gelesahs L; duhŋk'ekih 'small snipe' ML.

dameɣɔ (variant of qameɣɔ; L certain of authenticity,)

dameɣɔɪ (noun, d-class) 'soft rotten spot or hole  
 in ice over body of water' with -ɪ-instrumental  
suffix dameɣɔɪdaʔluw 'large treacherous spot in  
 ice' L, dameɣɔɪdeʔeʔ qeɪ:ya:s 'don't fall in  
 treacherous spot in ice!' (certain she has heard  
 this) L.

deskeʔeh (analysis uncertain, perhaps preverb des  
 'upland' and active imperfective verb theme ke-ʔeh,  
 of unknown meaning, see ʔe, or des perhaps Tlingit  
 dúc, díc<sup>w</sup> 'cottonwood', Harrington from G: "Yakutat  
 [Tlingit] tóq<sup>w</sup> 'cottonwood' = C[ordova Eyak] ditto,  
 knows"; and again "says Cordova taqʷ same as Yak.";  
 Li from A daq<sup>wh</sup> 'cottonwood'; see also tɛʷs-tɛʷs)  
 deskeʔeh (noun, perhaps d-class) 'kind of tree,  
 looks like cottonwood' A (identification with  
 cottonwood perhaps due to influence of Tlingit  
 dúc, díc<sup>w</sup>, unknown to L), Harrington taʷkeʔeh,  
 taʷkeʔeh 'Douglas beach pine or birch?' G, in  
 BAE ms. 4100: "the [Yakutat Tlingit] name iʷi  
 [of 'Pinus contorta, shore pine'] is equated to  
 Lh. [Tlingit] céexw [cf. Naish-Story séx<sup>w</sup>  
 'alder'], said to be the name of the same or a  
 similar Pine known [at Yakutat] only as driftwood  
 and used for making lasts for shoe cobbling, the  
 wood of these lasts having a dirty or non-white  
 color. Lh. [Tlingit] céexw is equated [by G]  
 to Atch. [Eyak] taʷkeʔeh, and since Betula  
 papyrifera ['paper birch'] is known to grow way  
 up Copper River, the Atch. [Eyak] have a name  
 for the tree, which is taʷkeʔeh".

deseleh (unanalyzable, originally segmentable, des-leh, de-seleh, or de-se-leh, stem seleh or leh, perhaps related to le(?) -li, le-(l)i-ni, or le, prefix d-thematic or d-s-thematic, or perhaps postpositional phrase o-dae 'above o')

(-)deseleh (noun, unclassified, morphological and syntactic use and classification irregular and vague, often lacking possessive prefix, and/or used preverbially) 'mind, spirit, mood, fancy, will, feelings, emotion, intellect, intelligence, (good) sense, mentality' LM, 25.137, 139, 139, 70.8, 10A, Rezanov СМТАКАЛЛЕ 'Жизнь Leben' si-deseleh 'my mind', ИТАКАЛЕКУКОТЛЕХ 'Помощь behalten, sich erinnern' perhaps to be read ?ide-seleh... 'your mind', ?ideseleh zu? ?u?dase-i?a? 'make up your mind!' L, sideseleh siya-yika?d 'I'm sorry, I'm worried' ('my mind hurts') L, Galushia Nelson itakale' iya qak'at 'you'll feel sorry' BSdL 284, 558 ?ideseleh ?iya qa? = kahd, sideseleh siya 3e-giga? ?i-?eh '(I have so much to do) I'm confused, in a tizzy' ('my mind is like a tangle') L, sideseleh siya ku8a-dah seiih 'he hurt my feelings' ('he treated my feelings badly') L, eu-3iyu-deseleh 'wolves' minds ( mentality )' 25.137A, de3yhyu-

daseleh 'people's minds (<sup>mentality</sup> personality)' 25.139A,  
hila-ʔgaʔ ʔudaseleh ʔawa salih 'her mind  
became like a man's' 49.55, 57A, as o of o-xah(-e)  
'(continuous) removal, loss of o': ʔudaseleh-  
xahʔ sele-ih 'he's getting senile' M, as o of  
o-yaq 'in o' with -le 'S pleases o, captures  
o's fancy, o likes S' ('S acts in o's mind') 10.-  
127, 129, 249, 11.49, 58, 100A, 34.70aM, 36.13,  
68.34A, in indirect reflexive construction: de-  
slehyaq ʔaxdale-K 'I (cust) please myself' L,  
daselehyaqʔeʔ sedele-ih 'he's getting proud of,  
pleased with himself' L, ʔudaselehyaq ʔaw se-  
tuʔi 'that pleased her' 34.98L (probably blend  
with following), as o of o-gaʔ 'like o', 'accord-  
ing to o's will, pleasure': de-wahdduhw ʔide-  
slehgaʔ ʔeʔʔ ʔah sete-i 'why did you let  
him (was it according to your will that he) take  
her out?' 23.146A, usually with -te--tu', 'S  
pleases o, o likes S': 34.8M, 34.17, 21, 26, 31,  
34, 39L, 34.51, 61M, sidelehgaʔ ʔi-teh 'it  
pleases me' M, in indirect reflexive construction:  
deselehgaʔ ʔaw ʔuʔaʔ skilih 'he did it on  
purpose' ('he acted upon it according to his own  
mind') L, in other constructions, as o of o-yaq:  
sidelehyaqʔ disliqah-i 'goes through (fell

into) my mind' 70.10A, sič 'udesəlehyəqd̪ kux-  
 sətah̪h̪ 'he's got something, a grudge against  
 me (that he's not saying)' ('something is in his  
 mind toward me') L, indirect reflexive: dəse-  
 lehyəqd̪ kuxs̪itah̪ 'I've got something on my  
 mind' L, 'idesəlehyəqd̪ kaʔ yaʔ 'idita 're-  
 member' ('you should keep it in your mind') L  
 (incorrect, either possessive prefix or vocalized  
 classifier to be deleted), as o of o-ʔ 'with o'  
 and 'i-d-le 'S (activity, phenomenon) occurs',  
 'S touches, affects, concerns, worries o('s mind)':  
 diK̪ 'udesəlehyə ʔaw 'idələ:s 'it didn't concern,  
 worry them, they didn't care' 28.110A, diK̪ də-  
 dəd̪uḥ 'udesəlehyə 'idələ:s 'nothing concerned,  
 worried her' 49.3A, with subjunctive clause: 20.-  
 69fnA, usually with -dəseleh as S of -t̪e'-  
 -t̪u': qaʔ səqa'g̪ 'udesəlehyə t̪h̪h̪ 'she has  
 a mind to, urge to bite us (humans)' 25.138A,  
 d̪idwəʔ 'ədədəs̪e:ʔ 'udesəlehyə ʔəwaʔ 'i-t̪h̪h̪  
 'his mind just dwelt on killing himself' 61.3A,  
 'idesəlehyə 'iyaʔ wəʔ 'i-t̪eh, 'ədədəs̪e:ʔ,  
 dəiɕ, 'idesəlehyə 'your mind is thus, on killing  
 yourself, all the time, your mind' 61.8A, with  
 o-ʔeʔ 'in place of (absent) o': ʔawʔeʔ si-  
 səleh 'I have my mind on it, my mind dwells on

it' A, as O in construction C O-ʔ-l-ḡ-ya' 'S causes O to be C' with adjective as C, but often irregular with -deseleh in preverbal position, following instead of preceding C: kuʒuʔ ʔide-  
 seleh ʔuʔlaʔyikḡah 'that you may have a content (happy) mind' 61.11A, kuʒuʔ ʔideseleh ʔiyaʔ ʔuʔlaʔxikḡah 'that I may make your mind content' 61.18A, ʔiʔ ʔideseleh kuʒuʔ ʔuʔlaʔyikḡah 'that you may have a content mind' 61.11A, si-  
 deseleh siyaʔ kuʒiyah ʔuʔliʔḡah 'I feel guilty' ('it's making my mind bad') L, as S in construction C -le(?), 'S is, becomes C' with adjective as C, but, as preceding, often irregular with -deseleh in preverbal position, following instead of preceding C, and often with possessor as independent S (or in apposition with possessive prefix) rather than as grammatical possessor:  
 ʔudeseleh ʔawaʔ kuʒiyah qiʔkeh 18.85L, ʔudeseleh ʔawaʔ kuʒiyah yikḡhinuʔ 'they were feeling sad, unhappy' ('their minds were bad') 29.38A (regular), kuʒiyah ʔudeseleh sekeʔ daʔḡ 'when she was in a bad mood' ('when bad was her mood?') 25.138A, kiʔq̄ deḡḡhyuʔ ʔudeseleh kuʒiyah ʔeḡeʔ 'all the people are (cust) unhappy' 62.-  
 220 (order regular, but either to be glossed

'everybody, their minds were unhappy' or 'everybody was mentally bad', or corrected to *hiq* *daʒuhyu·deseleh* 'everybody's mind'), *hiq* *ʔa·delaħsəyu·* *ʔudeseleh* *Kəzu·* *ʔəie·K* 'all the people here are (cust) happy' 62.21G (as preceding), *hiq* *daʒuhyu·* *Kəzu·* *ʔudeseleh* *ʔəie·K* 'everybody is (cust) in a good mood' 64.11G (as preceding, but with order of *-deseleh* if S, and adjective reversed), *Kəzu·* *qa·deseleh* *qa·ʔa·* *qəʔ* *ʔi·liħeʔwəhd* 'so that our spirits may be content again' 70.5A, *ʔu·daʒ* *ʔaʔd* *ʔənəħsəkih* *sideseleħ* *siya·* *qaʔħeʔ* 'then my spirit would be very content' 70.9A (order reversed), as C in C *-ħe(ʔ)* 'S is, becomes C, S is, becomes C-y': with *Ku--* indefinite as S, 'something is C, C exists', but often lacking possessive prefix as in indirect reflexive constructions above, and with personal suffixes therefore lacking grammatical antecedent: *Rezanov* *Təmətekojɾəp* *ʔmnoħ* *klug* *deseleh* *Ku·ħihinu·* 'they're smart, smart people' L, *deseleh* *Ku·ħihħ* 'he's smart' ('his intelligence exists') M (perhaps all to be corrected to *ʔudeseleh*), *ʔudeseleh* *Ku·ħihħ* 'a clever, smart person' 63.11G, *ʔudeseleh* *Ku·ħeh* cat's name ('it's smart') A, *diK* *ʔudeseleh* *Kaʔħe·e* 'she

isn't sensible, smart, is promiscuous' 49.2, 80A,  
 as o of o-ɣda'd 'without o': ʔudeselehɣda'd  
 ʔaʔiɣhinu 'promiscuous women (they who are with-  
 out sense)' L (with analogical negative verb--  
 prefix), Rezanov Takaxetraterse 'Дупака .Дупа  
 dum, Narr' deselehɣda'd yiɣeh 'he's got no  
 sense, is stupid' M (lacking possessive prefix),  
 ʔidaʔya-leɣ ʔudeselehɣda'd kaʔle'e 'she's too  
 senseless, wanton' 49.82A (ku-indefinite, and  
 negative prefix and suffix of verb probably all  
 analogical), see also following.

deselehɣda'd (noun, unclassified, deseleh as o  
 of o-ɣda'd 'without o', nominalized) 'senseless-  
 ness, stupidity, wantonness, promiscuity': dese-  
 lehɣda'dwahd 'for (out of) wantonness' 49.10A.  
 kudeselehkih (noun, unclassified, ku-deseleh-kih  
 'someone's mind, diminutive') 'small spider' L,  
 kudeselehkih ʔi·ɣiʔcɣ ɣa·ʔc ʔedeɣa·teɣwaʔi  
 'a spider is hanging down right over your head'  
 L (any small spider, especially that characteris-  
 tically hangs from a strand of web, a sign that  
 "someone's thinking about you", not to be harmed).  
 kudeselehɣu ʔa place-name, of mythical creek  
 ('happy mind river'), see ʔa.<sup>1</sup>

deqeda? <sup>partly</sup> (unanalyzable, <sup>see under g'ahn</sup> perhaps ~~de qe da?~~, ~~de 'isa?~~,  
 -qe- cf. q , qe-dah, qah-qe-, -da? cf. da? ,  
 or perhaps daq-da?, or de-qed-a?)

deqeda? (perhaps originally postpositional phrase)  
 'old', attested only as attribute to ya- 'thing':  
 Rezanov Toxorafta 'Crapoe alt (von Dingen)' de-  
 qeda? ya- 'old, something old' L, deqeda? ya-  
 'ex 'old boat' L, deqeda? ya- yahd 'old house'  
 L.

- W. Sebaleff *tuqatáḥ*  
 < sack fitting around  
 groin, seat >
- deqeta·ḥ (loan from Tlingit (Naish-Story) tuqatáḥ, <sup>< sack fitting around groin, seat ></sup>
- Yakutat Tlingit (Sampson Harry) tuqatáḥ 'trousers' <sup>h</sup>
- deqeta·ḥ (noun, unclassified) 'pants, trousers'
- LM, Galushia Nelson *Déqétá·tḥ* 'trousers' BSDL  
 550, deqeta·ḥ le·ḥguxah saxii·ḥ 'I'm removing  
 (loose) hairs from my pants' L, deqeta·ḥluw 'big  
 pants' L, as o of o-lah 'around o' with kušd--  
 anatomical '(lower) leg': deqeta·ḥkušdelah 'cuff,  
 lower end of pantleg' L; mašiduhdeqeta·ḥ 'bloom-  
 ers' ('codfish-roe pants') L ("because they look  
 like codfish eggs" L).

deɣɸ (unanalyzable, originally segmentable, perhaps de-ɣ-ɸ, deɣ-ɸ, or de-ɣɸ, de- perhaps de- classifier, or d-thematic, -ɸ perhaps third person singular of weak enclitics; informants unable to etymologize)

deɣɸ (noun, unclassified) 'person, man, human being' (male or female, as distinguished from non-humans) L, 7.32, 41, 9.88, 89, 93, 93, 10.219, 227, 228, 11.34, 39A, 19.22, 23L, 20.15, 78A, 21a.16L, 23.56, 73, 112, 115, 140, 24.27, 27, 36, 57, 57, 58, 84, 90, 98, 101, 25.85, 96A, 26.3, 9, 11, 13, 27a.1L, 28.27, 29.9, 44, 50A, 30.1L, 33.1A, 34.46, 37a.1L, 36.5, 37b.1, 17, 27, 31, 31, 55, 79, 81A, 41.1, 11L, 50.1, 51.35, 36, 36, 38, 55, 55, 63, 93A, 53.22, 55.1, 58.1L, 63.1, 11G, 68.104, 104A, Resanov Tarox̄ 'Старикъ alter Mann, Greis', Wrangell Torox̄ 'Mann', Galushia Nelson ɸəɣs̄<sup>n</sup>, ɸəɣs̄<sup>n</sup>, ɸəɣs̄<sup>n</sup>, ɸəɣs̄<sup>n</sup> 'human being (ordinary person)' BSdL 286, 542, 552, 556, 559, as head of various nominal constructions (frequent also in text): ?uɣ̄ ?iɰlah qe?xdelɰhɰh deɣɸ 'my friend' ('person who I love each other with him') L, ɰa?ɰ ɰulahe deɣɸ 'Kodiak Eskimo' ('person who is an island-dweller') L, ʃa?niKɰ deɣɸ 'funny person,

person who makes me laugh' L, *hila'ʔdeɣɸ*  
'male person' 34.84L, as pl. 'people' (rare):  
13.14, 21a.8L, 24.84A, with pejorative force  
'the fellow, guy, character': *ʔilɕi'ʂ diK*  
*deɣɸ ʔedewi'ʔɛgaʔ ʔi·lihtuhs* 'my goodness the  
guy sure isn't in any hurry!' L, *ʔi·yah ɕi'ʂ-*  
*dug deɣɸ ʔa'ʔd ʂa·qgaʔ ʔikuʔ qaʔ liʔ di-*  
*diguʂi* 'my goodness the fellow sure is tight-  
mouthed like a (hooked) bullhead!' 72.16L,  
*gehsdah ʔah deɣɸ* 'that poor fellow!' L, with  
force of indefinite pronoun, in negative con-  
structions, 'anybody, a soul': *diK deɣɸ kaʔ-*  
*ɛ·s* 'there wasn't a soul' (animal or human)  
25.73A, *diK deɣɸ qi'ɕ* 'place where there  
wasn't anybody' 61.109A, *diK deɣɸɸaʔ ɕeʔ*  
*ʔadedahɕiɸ* 'he, she's not living with anybody  
anymore (maritally separated)' L, *diK deɣɸɕ*  
*ɕeʔ ʔiqe'ʔe'ahɕiɸ* '(he's so uppity) he won't  
look at anybody anymore' L, with suffixed ad-  
jectives: *Rezanov Taroxymɸa* 'Myxosa Mann'  
*deɣɸ...ɕiyah, deɣɸhiɕiyah* 'old character, bad  
person' L, 9.28A, *deɣɸhi'low* 'huge person' 37b.-  
51A, *deɣɸhi'low* 'big person' LM, 'great man,  
big man' A, *deɣɸhiɕih* 'rotten guy' L, 72. L,  
*deɣɸhikih* 'little (miniature) person' 37b.34A,

with *-kih* 'diminutive' in optative construction: *dəʒp̄hkiḥḡahʒ siʔaʔ ei·ya·* 'I wish some (kind) person would come upon me' 10.218A, with *-yequh--yu·* 'young, offspring, pl.' (not normally of humans): *dəʒp̄hyequhyu·* 'little people, dwarves, homunculi' 7.22A, 37a.9L, 37b.27A, as C in construction *dəʒp̄h 0-ʔ-(1-)ḥ-ʒa·* 'S causes O to be a person': 11.26, 30A, usually reflexive, 'S turns self into a person': 7.7, 9.56, 10.239, 20.-25, 33.21A, *dəʒp̄h ʔeduʔḥiʒaʔḥ* 'he turned himself into a person' L, *kuḥiyah dəʒp̄h ʔeduʔ-lesəkəʒah da·ʒ* 'if you behave badly (make yourself be a bad person)' 51.18A, less literally: *ʔew du·ḥ siʒaʔ dəʒp̄h ʔeduʔḥiʒah* 'that cat of mine makes itself at home (is greedy and bold) with me' ('that cat makes itself a person with me') L, as C in construction *dəʒp̄h -ḥe(ʔ)* 'S is, becomes a person, anthropomorphic', literally: 18.16L, 20.79, 81A, 21a.31L, 23.56, 83, 113, 115, 24.37, 25.199, 49.108A, *daʔa· ʔadləʒade·ʔd dəʒp̄h sdiḥeʔḥ* 'in his own eyes he has become a person' L, *dəʒp̄h ʔeʔ sdiḥeʔḥiḥ* 'he turned back into a person' L, in more or less figurative meanings: *dəʒp̄h ʔeʔ sdiḥeʔḥiḥ* 'she (having been cut up) turned back into a (whole living)

person' 38.12ML, 'S is born': di·yeʒ dəʒuħ  
 səxiəʔi: 'I wasn't born yet' 57.2G, dəʒuħ sə-  
 heʔi 'you were born' M, 'S lives, conducts self,  
 behaves a certain way, is a certain kind of per-  
 son (morally)': ʔa·weyu· dəʒuħ yiʔiħinu·,  
 ʔa·weyu· dəʒuħ qi·iħinu· 'they're bad people'  
 ('they're a person barbarically') L, dəke·duħ  
 dəʒuħ yiħeh, dəke·yu·duħ dəʒuħ yiħeh 'what-  
 ever kind of person she is (morally)' L, siəʔ-  
 dah dəʒuħ yiʔiħiħ 'he's a wonderful person'  
 ('he's a person beautifully') L, kuša·dah dəʒuħ  
 yiʔiħiħ 'he's a bad person (a person badly)' 9.-  
 28, 49.9A, kuʒu·dah o-ʔ dəʒuħ -iə(?) 'S is nice  
 (to o)' 25.29, 49.5, 7, 51.84A, guʒgaʔ (qa·ʒaʔ)  
 dəʒuħ yiʔiħiħ 'he's treacherous, a doublecrosser,  
 liar (with us)' L, siɡaʔ dəʒuħ səiəʔ 'be like  
 me!' L, ta·ʒ ʔuʔeʔd dəʒuħ ku·iəhyu· qəʔew  
 'these are the things one used to live on in  
 olden days' 25.209A, teʔyaʔeʔd dəʒuħ xiħeh  
 'I subsist on fish' L, ʔədkuʔliiħigahwa·iħ qəw  
 dəʒuħ ku·iəh 'one behaves accordingly as one  
 knows oneself, by knowing oneself' ("you should  
 know what you're talking about") 50.63A, qeʔi-  
 səyu·kħda·d dəʒuħ yiʔiħiħ 'he stays away from  
 women' L, saħdʒ dəʒuħ xiħeh 'I've been around

(been a person) a long time, I'm old' L, sahdx  
 dexph yihh 'an old person' 51.12, 12, 18A,  
 xi' sahdx dexph yihhinu' 'those who have al-  
 ready lived long' 51.79A, dik' sahdx dexph  
 'eak'e'itsh 'she didn't live long' 20.90A, in-  
 stances ambiguously literal or figurative, of  
 anthropomorphized S: sahdx wex dexph yi-  
 ihh 'he (anthropomorphized whalehead) was a  
 person (lived?) thus for a long time' 29.26A,  
 te'ya'yu' xi'd xalahsd dexphyu' yikeh 'the  
 salmon live (are people?) yonder out to sea'  
 21a.18L, 'ida' dexph yike' 'how they (salmon)  
 live, what kind of people they are' 21b.23A, in  
 nominal construction: xi' sahdx dexph 'an old  
 person' ('already long a person') 60.24A, with  
 -yu' 'plural', 'people, humans' (as distinguished  
 from non-humans): Rezanov Toron 'Индк, народъ  
 Menschen, Leute, Volk', Furuhjelm Tahuiu 'Indians,  
 people', Galushia 'elson Ddx<sup>n</sup>fyd or Ddx<sup>n</sup>'fyd  
 'people' BSdL 542 dexphyu' 'people, any kind of  
 humans' L, 2a.20, 25, 30, 35, 36M, 5.10L, 7.1, 19,  
 9.38, 48, 49, 84, 104, 106, 107, 10.20, 38, 49,  
 178, 228, 11.18, 25, 28, 29, 29, 32, 55, 55, 55A,  
 13.6, 11, 12, 13L, 15.20M, 18.42L, 23.92, 92, 95,  
 96, 110, 110, 132, 132, 151, 24.55, 67, 67, 79,

83, 94, 97, 98, 25.30, 74, 83, 121, 134, 134,  
 158, 158, 181, 28.74, 48, 86, 93, 94, 97, 99,  
 130, 33.73, 36.45A, 37a.2, 3, 5L, 37b.17A, 41.2,  
 6, 44.2L, 49.72, 51.7, 33, 35, 37, 84A, 53.30L,  
 57.30G, 61.14, 15A, 62.9, 19, 22, 25, 64.11G,  
 65.34A, 67.11G, 68.1, 1, 2, 22, 85A, loosely,  
 of land-otters: 30.2, 3, 6L, 33.15, 21A, of other  
 more or less anthropomorphized non-humans: 10.=  
 231, 29.48, 58A, in various constructions, 'people,  
 humans': dik dəx̣p̣hyu·e 'not people, not humans'  
 18.84, 31.13L, dəxuʔya·x̣ (ʔugaʔ) dəx̣p̣hyu· 'real  
 people (like him)' 33.40, 52A, (da-)o-gaʔ da-  
 x̣p̣hyu· 'people (just) like o': 25.159, 160, 162,  
 181, 195, 196, 28.134, 137, 33.40, 50A, dəx̣p̣h-  
 yu·ḍiyaʔ 'chief' ('people's master') L, dəx̣p̣h-  
 yu·ḍetel̄eh 'people's, human mind' 25.139A, da-  
 x̣p̣hyu·ḍelih(yu·) 'people's, human bones' 28.85,  
 85A, dəx̣p̣hyu·K̄ihda·d̄ sedah̄iʔh 'menstruant'  
 ('she who stays in a different place from people')  
 L, D̄əx̄o<sup>n</sup>iyu t̄əyat̄i 'menstruating woman (?)',  
 menstrual hut' BSdL 542 dəx̣p̣hyu·K̄ah ʔi·ʔyah̄i  
 'menstruant' ('she's away from people') L, dəx̣p̣h-  
 yu·yaʔ 'that which belongs to humans' 9.86, 119,  
 140, 159, 160, 162, 10.186A, with suffixed adjec-  
 tives: dəx̣p̣hyu·Biyah 'some people' (sarcastic,

pejorative) M, xələhd dəxəhyu· "outside"  
 (overseas) people' L, ?ə·dədəxəhyu· 'proper  
 decent people' ('here-people') L, ?ə·dədəxəhyu·  
 diK wəx dəxəh ?a?ie·: 'people here aren't  
 like that' L, ?a?d dəxəhyu· 'real (not fake)  
 people' ('very much people') L, ?a·wəyu· dəxəh-  
 yu· 'barbarians, boors' ('barbarically people')  
 L, dəxəhga? ku·i?ə?g 'draw a man!' L, dəxəh-  
 ga? ?i·iida·? L, dəxəhyu·ga? ?i·iida·? 'small  
 owl species' ('has face like people's') LM, də-  
 xəhyu·ga? ?i·iilah 'hawk species' ('has face  
 like people's') M, 'small owl species' (same as  
 preceding) L, 'Eyaks' (as distinguished from all  
 other groups, or sometimes perhaps 'Indians,  
 natives' as distinguished from other races, fre-  
 quently of uncertain interpretation): 53.1L, 54.2G,  
 58.1L, 68.6A, 126 (and passim?)A, 60.75, 61A,  
 dəxəhyu·ga? cı?d-le 'S speaks Eyak (speaks like  
 Eyaks)' 69.3, 6, 10A, dəxəhyu·ga? wəx dətele·?  
 'say it in Eyak!' ('say thus like Eyaks!') L, də-  
 xəhyu·de?e? kuxcih, dəxəhyu·di·?q kuxcih 'I'm  
 singing an Eyak song (singing in native vocal  
 style)' L, dəxəhyu· dəi?ah 'old fashioned native  
 grease-lamp' L (see under ?a), as head of com-  
 pound with noun referring to animals or other

objects, perhaps poor usage, roughly equivalent  
 to -welah(-yu) 'spirits(s)', of mythical beings:  
 Galushia Nelson listáDáxs<sup>n</sup> or listáDáxs<sup>n</sup> 'tree-  
 man' BSdL 544 lisdədəx̄p̄h, listáDáxs<sup>n</sup>iyd 'Tree-  
 people' BSdL 308, 544 lisdədəx̄p̄hyu 'tree-  
 people' 37b.54A, c̄ihədəx̄p̄hyu 'alder-people'  
 34.1, 1M, sədəgilit̄e<sup>?</sup>dəx̄p̄hyu 'brass-people' 34.-  
 77L, ky·ida<sup>?</sup>dəx̄p̄h 'stump-person' 10.259A, ca·  
 la·dəx̄p̄h 10.220, 221, 229, 237, 238A, ca·dəx̄p̄h  
 'stone-man' 10.231A, sahxdəx̄p̄h 'cockle-person'  
 10.231, 245A, sahxdəx̄p̄hyu 'cockle-people' 10.-  
 231, 231A, šələdəx̄p̄h 'butterclam-person' 10.-  
 246A, šələdəx̄p̄hyu 'butterclam-people' 10.231A,  
 x̄edič̄e<sup>?</sup>dəx̄p̄hyu 'red-tip clam-people' 10.231,  
 231A, qe<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>əd̄x̄əi<sup>?</sup>əhdəx̄p̄hyu 'female horseclam-  
 people' 10.247A, c̄i·ydəx̄p̄h 'mussel-person' 10.-  
 247A, c̄i·ydəx̄p̄hyu 'mussels-people' 10.247A,  
 š̄i·da·dəsədəx̄p̄h 'razor-clam-person' 10.248, 249A,  
 Galushia Nelson ma<sup>n</sup>kn̄D̄it̄liāD̄ax̄s<sup>n</sup>iyu BSdL 304,  
 ma<sup>n</sup>kn̄D̄it̄liāD̄ax̄s<sup>n</sup>iyu 'around-the-lake people  
 (dwarfs)' BSdL 544 ma·gudəwelahdəx̄p̄hyu.

dewa'guh (loan from Tlingit, Yakutat (Sampson Harry) <sup>Walter Sakeloff</sup>)

dawágu 'snuff (e.g. "Copenhagen")', ultimately of European (probably not Russian) origin, perhaps through Chinook Jargon)

dewa'guh (noun, unclassified) 'snuff, ground mouth-tobacco' LAS (obsolescent, only older Eyaks used this word LA), Wrangell Tabaky 'Tabak', perhaps also in Rezanov Kyraxerъ 'Табакерма Tabakdose' perhaps to be read [dewa.]guhda?ke'd 'snuff-box', corresponding Tlingit entry Tokyraxerъ perhaps to be read daw[á]gu dakéd, see da?ke'd-da'-ke'd.

deldu·deh (loan from Ahtena d:ldud: 'squirrel', not  
used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)

deldu·deh (noun, unclassified) 'squirrel' LMA,  
same animal as cəik' L, deldu·dehta·? name  
of Eyak man S, same name as cəiketa·? L.

deni'gih (loan from Ahtena dɨnig: 'moose', not used  
in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)

deni'gih (noun, unclassified) 'moose' LA, 27b.2,  
26A.

di·t̥h-d̥i·t̥h (unanalyzable, to be segmented di·-t̥h if of Eyak origin, variant d̥i·- more frequent than di·-, but nasalization probably due to assimilation, conceivably neuter imperfective of verb theme d-t̥h with d-thematic, unidentifiable stem -t̥h, informants unable to etymologize)

di·t̥h-d̥i·t̥h (noun, unclassified) 'sea-parrot, sea-pigeon' i.e. 'tufted puffin (*Lunda cirrhata*, *Fratercula corniculata*)' and/or '(pigeon?) guillemot (*Cepphus columba*)' and/or '(rhinoceros?) auklet (*Cerorhinca monocerata*)': Rezanov ТЫТЪНЪ 'Иматка, птца' (not in Radlov, corresponding Tlingit entry Хокк), Тертема 'Топорокк, Итца' (not in Radlov, corresponding Tlingit entry Хекк, Naish-Storoy x̥ig 'puffin or rhinoceros auklet'), di·t̥h L, d̥i·t̥h 'sea parrot, sea pigeon' L̥ (same bird as Tlingit shw̥in A, see Krause ssavon 'guillemot, *Cepphus*').

digut-digut (loan from Chugach Eskimo tekeq 'index  
finger, thimble', not used by Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson  
Harry)

yidigut-yidigut (noun, unclassified, with y-anat-  
omical 'hand') 1. 'thimble' LM, Rezanov Krraxakx  
'Hanepocox Fingerhut' yidigut, yidigucluw 'big  
thimble' LM.

2. 'bogeyman' LM, 39.3, 4L.

de·qi·dca·s (M de·qi·ksa·s, later rejected by LA;  
 loan from Yakutat Tlingit deqidsáe 'jaeger' Sampson Herry)  
 de·qi·dca·s (noun, unclassified) '(parasitic)  
 jaeger (Stercorarius parasiticus)' LS, de·qi·k-  
 sa·s 'jaeger' LM (later rejected by LA).

de·qe·d (loan from Tlingit <sup>deq<sup>h</sup>ed<sup>h</sup></sup>, name of Tlingit  
 clan or sib of Eagle moiety from Yakutat northwestward)  
 de·qe·dyu·, attested only with -yu· 'plural',  
 name of Tlingit clan or sib of Eyak moiety extended  
 to the Eyak L, or (noun, unclassified) 'member  
 of the de·qe·d clan' L.

د. دامه

da'mah (loan from Russian DAMA, locally in 18th-19th century perhaps 'checkers' or 'king (at checkers)', to Eyak perhaps directly, or more likely through unidentified intermediate source, perhaps Yakutat Tlingit <sup>U. S. 63/1974 da'mah</sup> dama 'checkers' S (but see Kelly dā-wā 'checker'), rather than Chugach Eskimo tsamaq 'king (at checkers)')  
 da'mah (noun, probably unclassified) 'king (at checkers)' L, da'mah seṭeʔi 'it (checker) became king' L.

da'na' (loan from Tlingit *dána* 'silver, coin, money', borrowed also in *da'na'su'wu'* and *wa:da'na'*, ultimately from English 'dollar' probably through Chinook Jargon)

da'na' (noun, d-class) 1. 'silver' M, Old Man Dude  
Dana *ciłi* 'silver spoon ("money spoon") BSdL  
 546 *da'na'siłi* (construction either Eyak or intact borrowing from Tlingit *dána siłi* 'silver spoon').

2a. 'coin': *'ew da'na' sič di'ʔa?* 'give me that coin!' L.

2b. 'silver dollar, dollar-bill, dollar (value)': *'ew da'na' sič di'ʔa?* 'give me that dollar (single coin or bill)!' L, *łihə da' da'na'* 'one dollar' S, *deɣk da' da'na'* 'how much money?' ('how many dollars?') L.

2c. 'money' M, 62.8fn, 23G, *łihəih ta'wəən*, *'a'gʷa?* *da'na'* 'one thousand, that much money' 64.5G, *de'gaʔd da'na?* *'iɣa?* M, *de'gaʔd da'na'* *da'li'kɣəh* 'how much money do you have?' L, *da'na'detu?* LM, *kudetʔ da'na'* 'lots of money' L, *da'na'deg 'iyeɣa?* *disiləhɨ* 'I lent you money too' M, *da'na'* *'ič wəɣ dixik'feh* 'I owe you money' LM, *siqa?* *da'na'* *dətəi'ʔa?* 'put some money in with me on it!' L, *kudetʔ da'na'*

deɬeɬkaʔiɬh 'he inherited lots of money' L,  
ʔew da·na· qaʔ diʃiɬʃahɬ 'I dug the money  
up' L, da·na· siɬaʔ ɬedeweʔqɬ 'my money is  
running out' L, da·na·deɬaʔ xiʃah 'I'm stingy  
with money' L, da·na·deʔe·ɬ xuʔdi·ɬqeʔdɬiɬh  
'he's asking me for money' L, da·na·deluʔqa·  
siɬ da·ɬ ʔiʔdale·K 'he (cust) begs me for  
money' L, da·na·da·ɬ ʔeɬdah liɬinu· 'they're  
playing with money' L, da·na·ɬda·d xiɬeh 'I'm  
without money, broke' M.

da·na·deɬtah (noun, unclassified) 'coin-purse,  
purse, pocketbook' L ('money-, coin-container',  
see -ɬ-tah 3. under tah).

da·na·šu·wu· (loan from Tlingit dána šuwú 'half--  
dollar', see da·na·, šu·wu·, gudšuwu·)

da·na·šu·wu· (noun, d-class) 'half-dollar, fifty  
cents' L, da·na·šu·wu· sič di·ʔaʔ 'give me a  
half-dollar!' L.

daʔke·d-da·ke·d (da·ke·d A, later rejected by L, loan from Tlingit dakéd 'container', see also silke·d; in modern Eyak attested only in compound, which however is probably completely analyzable from a modern Eyak point of view, and occurring perhaps also in Rezanov as possessed noun or in another compound)

-daʔke·d--da·ke·d (noun, unclassified) 'container, bottle': na·wda·ke·d A (later rejected by L), na·wdaʔke·d 'whiskey-bottle' LM, Kútuʔ na·wdaʔke·d 'many whiskey-bottles' L, na·wdaʔke·d-luw 'big whiskey-bottle' L, na·wdaʔke·dgubdgkih 'tiny whiskey-bottle' L, ʔuʔ ʔidi·ʒiʒg na·wdaʔke·d 'narrow-necked whiskey-bottle' L, Rezanov Ку́такеръ 'Таба́керъка Tabaksdose' perhaps to be read Kúdaʔke·d 'container of something', corresponding Tlingit entry Tokytakerъ (see de-wa·guh), which suggests that the Eyak might also be interpreted [dawa·]guhdaʔke·d, 'tobacco--box'.

du·x̄ideh-du·ixideh (Rezanov implies du·ixideh, probably earlier form of which du·x̄ideh is a reshaping under the influence of O-ke-de'; for du·ix- cf.

Tlingit *dúł* '(sandhill) crane', -xideh of unknown origin, whole form perhaps loan from Tlingit)

du·x̄ideh (noun, unclassified) '(lesser) sandhill crane (*Grus canadensis canadensis*)' LM, Rezanov *Туххере* 'Туххэръ, Иркуа' (not in Radlov, 'fulmar', corresponding Tlingit entry *Тухъ*) to be read du·ixideh.

du·š (loan from Tlingit dúš 'cat', ultimately of European origin, 'puss', through Chinook Jargon)

du·š (noun, unclassified) 'cat' LMA, 36.3A, ɬih-sih du·š 'one cat' L, ?ew ɣawa· du·š seqaht 'the dog bit a cat' M, ?ew du·š ?u·d siɣa? deɣɣh ?edu?hiɣah 'that cat of mine there sure makes itself at home with me (is greedy, acts like a person)' L.

du·šema· woman's name L, name of Nellie (?)

Thomas (same as Tlingit dušya, 'cat's mother')

A.

ti· (perhaps related to tah; always preceding l--  
mark (-l---;-), which may account for unlaunting of  
-a- to -i-)

ti·l--tj'--ti'n- (class-mark, subposition C, always  
in combination with l-mark; sometimes ti'- with  
loss of nasalization, especially in forms from L;  
ti'le- always before prefixes beginning with  
vowel or e, otherwise ti'le- freely alter-  
nating with tj'-) referring generally to flat  
thin flexible natural objects such as broad leaves,  
feathers, skins, pelts, certain garments original-  
ly of soft leather (but not stiff leather, or  
cloth); nouns of ti·l-class include ((g)-l)'fahh  
'leaf, (plume) feather', -tah 'skin, pelt',  
ʒa't' 'skunk-cabbage(-leaf)', -sid' 'fish-skin',  
caʔK 'mitt, glove', kuhsh 'breechclout, apron',  
ti·lekihS 'rhubarb plant', ti·Siyah 'seaweed  
species', ʔj·lxewah, ʔj·ltewah 'red ribbon sea-  
weed'; with this class of nouns, moreover, classi-  
ficatory verb stem -ta is more strongly favored  
over -ʔa than with any other class of classified  
nouns; in verb-themes: ti·l-ta less frequently  
tiʔ-ʔa 'ti·l-class S is, gets in position', O--  
ti·l-(l-)ta less frequently O-ti·l-(l-)ʔa 'S  
positions ti·l-class O', ʔii-lah O-ti·l-ʔi 'S

bundles ti·l-class O together', o-yaʔy yaʔ  
 O-ti·l-cu·x 'S dips O (leaf, feather) down into  
 o', ti·l-cʔ·y 'S (skin) becomes tanned' O-(ti·l)-  
 i-cʔ·e--cʔ·y 'S tans O (skin)', O-ti·l-sihy 'S  
 scrapes O (skin)', O-ti·l-giʔ 'S causes O (fish-  
 skin) to shrivel by roasting', O-ti·l-gis 'S  
 roasts O (fish-skin)', yaʔ O-(ti·l)-i-we·i 'S  
 slices O (skin) into thongs', O-ti·l-yeʔ-g 'S  
 softens O (skin) by rubbing', ti-l-le 'something  
 happens to ti·l-class S' 48.6, llL, diK ʔewyahd  
 tʔ·sdeʔahis 'it (skin) wasn't wrested from them'  
 28.105L, ti·l-de-a' 'ti·l-class S is of certain  
 size', O-ti·l-i-(y)a 'S handles pl. ti·l-class  
 O', in one theme partly thematized: ʔed O-ti·l-  
 da-ʔe 'S puts, wears O (originally ti·l-class)  
 over shoulders as cape'; with adjectives -ti·=  
 laʔa·w, -ti·leʔuʔ, -ti·lekih, -ti·ʔnuw, -ti·=  
 leʔiyah, -tʔ·ʔiyah, epithet used as noun: ti·=  
 ʔiyah 'seaweed species'; in postpositional phrases:  
 ʔaw kuitʔahiti·leda·d ya·ʔ eetaʔ 'set it down  
 near that feather!' L, tʔahiti·naʔʔ 'with a leaf,  
 feather' L, kʔ·diyahstahti·naʔʔ 'with a rat-  
 skin' L, kutahti·naʔʔ ʔekdah lʔhinu· 'they're  
 playing with a skin' L, tʔahiti·naʔʔ 'on a leaf,  
 feather' L, kʔ·diyahstahti·leʔaʔ 'concerning

a rat-skin' 28.136A, *ɬy·diyahstahti·ləɣa·q* 'for  
 the sake of a rat-skin' L, *ʔutahti·leyeɣ qaʔ*  
*sah̄* 'went out of its skin' (dog turning human)  
 49.96A, *tah̄iti·neɕ* 'toward a leaf, feather' L,  
*Kutahti·ləlah* 'around a pelt' L, *Kutahti·leyeɣd*  
 'under a pelt' L, *ʔew Kutahti·ləluʔqa·* 'to get  
 the pelt' 28.110A, *seɛciʔtahti·naɣ* 'by means of  
 land-otter pelts' 33.74A; with numerals: *tuh̄igaʔ*  
*ti·na· seɛciʔtah ʔah̄ɕ ti·sələh̄ih̄* 'he gave  
 her three land-otter skins' 33.84A, *Keȳj·y ti·na·*  
 'a different one (skin)' L; with nouns: *Kuti·le-*  
*ɣəs caʔK* 'one of a pair of mitts' L, *ti·ləkih̄s*  
 'rhubarb'; in combination with thematic marks:  
 with O-ɣ-a 'S eats O': *tah̄ ɣeti·leȳjh̄ih̄* 'he's  
 eating leaves' M (to be corrected to *ɣeti·lj̄ih̄ih̄*),  
*ɣeti·lah* 'it's eating it (seaweed species)' L,  
*ʔew tah̄ ɣeti·li·ye·* 'eat those leaves!' L,  
 with d-ʔya 'S accumulates': *yeɣa ti·ɣi·ʔyah̄*  
 'they (skins) are piled up' L, *deɛidaʔ ti·ɣi·ʔ-*  
*yah̄* 'it's full of them (skins)' L, with O-dl--  
*ɬ-ʔe* 'S hides O': *ʔew Kutah̄ ti·ɣa·seɛʔeʔ*  
 'hide that skin!' L.

tjh

(kinship noun, ascending)  
 -tjh<sup>h</sup> 'uncle (father's brother)': vocative: ?ətjh  
 'uncle (father's brother)': LG, Anna Nelson ati<sup>n</sup>  
 'father's older brother (either sex speaking)',  
 ati<sup>n</sup>cia 'father's younger brother (either sex  
 speaking' (?ətjhšiyah) BSdL 565, tjhšiyah 'un-  
 cle (father's brother)!' (= ?ətjh, rejects ?e-  
 tjhšiyah and (?ə)tjhšah) L; Rezanov Curro  
 'Дядя Onkel' sitjh 'my uncle (father's brother)'  
 LA (M called L's uncle this L, presumably because  
 his name, xələhyəx?ə·K, was the same as M's fa-  
 ther Scar Stevens' (non-potlatch) name), Anna Nel-  
 son seti<sup>n</sup>seqəq 'father's older brother's son  
 (either sex speaking)' (sitjhseqə·s), seti<sup>n</sup>si  
 'father's older brother's daughter' (sitjhci·)  
 BSdL 566, Wrangell Nt-tem 'vetter' (may be  
 read either ?itjh 'your uncle' or ?ifjh 'your  
 (man's) sister's child').

*perhaps also father's sister's husband*

te

-te 1. 'sg. animate S lies, is prone, <sup>is</sup> in bed' (see tuʔɕ for pl. S): (1) Active perfective, used with force of neuter: 32.11, 50.28A, 55.12, 20L, 61.5A, 63.2, 3, 5G, Rezanov *Сиреѣхъры* 'Смаръ ich(?) schlieſ' seteh̄dub 'he's in bed indeed!', ʔu·d seteh̄ 'he, it is lying there (awake or asleep)' LM, siteh̄ 'I'm lying down (at rest)' M, seteh̄ seteh̄ 'it's prone (e.g. pup)' L, 'you're lying down' M, ʔahnu·qaʔʔ seteh̄j̄h 'he's lying between them' L, siliʔd seteh̄j̄h 'he's lying on wall side of me (in bed between me and wall)' M, heʔɕ·yaʔd seteh̄ 'it's lying in a box (e.g. pup)' L.  
 Transitive (causative): reflexive: ʔedxs̄iteh̄ 'I'm lying (for a short rest)' M. (2) Neuter perfective, usually with o-ɕ 'on o': ʔu·d da·ɕ ʔi·teh̄j̄h 'he's lying there on something (surface)' L. (3) Active imperfective, used in customary or ethical sense (see also nominalizations): xu· qiʔ xteh 'place where I (ordinarily) lie' L, diK ʔu·d saqe·ɕekih tehe 'it's not there that the child (ordinarily) sleeps' L. (4) With yaʔ 'completely, to state of rest', used mainly with subjunctives, optatives, inceptive imperfective, and active (but not other) imperative, 'sg. animate S gets into prone position, goes to bed; maintains prone posi-

tion, stays in bed': 21b.52, 29.12, 13, 50.4, 61.90A, Rezanov Jarre 'Спать schlafen (Imperat.)' ya? ?e-te', Jarre 'Ложьсь legen, sich (Imperat.)' yā? ?ete' 'lie down!' LM, 'take a rest!' (in daytime, to a person standing or lying) M, 'stay lying!' L, Kras-re 'Положсь legen, hinlegen' ?idah ya? ?e-te' 'lie down nicely, lie still nicely!', Yre-are 'Полож legen, hinlegen (Imperat.)' ?u·d yā? ?e-te' 'lie there!', de?u·d ya? ?ete' 'stay lying right there!' M, seiqa?x ya? ?ete' 'lie in between!' L, iic xex dawa?dga? ya? ?i·te·K 'go (cust) to bed early every night!' L, de?u·d ya? ?i·tjih nuh qah 'alright let him stay lying right where he is for all I care!' L, ya? ?exte·x ?ixleh 'I want to lie down' L; transitive (causative), see also O-i-te: ya? ?ekte' 'make him lie down!' L; reflexive: ya? ?edqu?xiateh 'I'll lay me down for a while (to rest)' L. (5) With ya·? 'down', 'sg. animate S moves into prone position, lies down, goes to bed', modes and aspects freely used, but imperative always inceptive: 18.30, 31, 31L, 21b.55, 25.-107, 110, 115, 27b. 34fn, 29.17, 49.132, 51.77, 93, 93, 96A, 55.6L, 61.23, 91, 93A, ya·? eete? 'lie down!, go to bed (at night)!' LM, silah3 (silahsd L) ya·? eete? 'lie down, sleep on outside (not wall-) side of me!' L, sili?x ya·? eete? 'lie

ya? ?exte·x ?ixleh 'I want to lie down' L; hybrid form, with active optative prefixes and subjunctive Jan and suffix: ya? ?i·t·ic·y· ?ixleh 'I want to lie down' L.

down on wall side of me!' M, siqesd yq'?' eate?  
 lie down with your head toward my feet!' L, yq'?'  
 sitehî 'I lay down' M, yq'?' eate-hî 'I'm ly-  
 ing down (moving into prone position)' LM, di.yax  
 yq'?' eate-hî 'I'm not lying down yet' L, yq'?'  
 qu'xteh 'I'll lie down' LM, dik' yq'?' qu'xteh  
 (or -te'e) 'I won't lie down' L, yq'?' 'eate-k'  
 'I (cust) lie down' M, yq'?' eate-x' 'ixleh 'I  
 want to lie down' L, dik' yq'?' 'a'xtehîs 'I  
 won't be lying down' (neuter perfective negative)  
 M, yq'?' 'i-tîhîh, yq'?' si-tîhîh 'let him lie  
 down, let him go to bed' L, yq'?' 'i-te-kîh, yq'?'  
 si-te-kîh 'let him (cust) go to bed' L, yq'?' qe'  
 qu'xdeteh 'I'll lie down again' M, yq'?' xsditehî  
 I lay down again' M, repetitive: iîc' xex' de-  
 wa'dga? yq'?' eate-gk' 'go (cust) to bed early  
 every night!' L; transitive (causative) (see also  
 0-1-te): yq'?' 'iqe'xîteh 'I'll make you lie down'  
 M, yq'?' eate? 'make him lie down!' L, repeti-  
 tive: yq'?' xîte-g' 'I keep making it (e.g. dog)  
 lie down' L; reflexive: yq'?' 'adxîtehî 'I'm  
 lying on bed (not in it)' (neuter perfective) M;  
 passive: yq'?' xusditehî 'I was put to bed (sick)'  
 L. (6) With ya'nabd 'flat down, covering some  
 surface': 20.33, 34, 36, 38, 38, 42, 27b.34fn, 28.-  
 24A.

2. 'sg. animate S moves while in prone position', modes and aspects freely used:  $\text{ʔeʔeʔu}\cdot\text{ʔ}$   $\text{ʔeteʔ}$  'move over (while in lying position, away from speaker)!' L,  $\text{ʔeʔeʔu}\cdot\text{ʔ}$   $\text{qu}\text{ʔxteʔ}$  'I'll move over (while lying, farther away)' L.

3. With  $\text{ye}\text{ʔ}$ -progressive, 'sg. animate S lies about' (no distinction between interrupted and uninterrupted prone position):  $\text{ye}\text{ʔ}$   $\text{xde}\text{te}\cdot\text{ʔ}$  'I'm lying around' M,  $\text{ye}\text{ʔ}$   $\text{qu}\text{ʔx}\text{de}\text{teʔ}$  'I'll lie around' M,  $\text{ye}\text{ʔ}$   $\text{ʔide}\text{te}\cdot\text{K}\text{ʔh}$  'he (cust) lies around' M.  $\text{ʔiste}\cdot\text{l}$  (gerundive) 'act of lying, being prone':  $\text{ʔiste}\cdot\text{l}$   $\text{xuse}\text{ʔga}\text{ʔ}\text{ʔ}$  'I'm getting tired of lying' ('lying is tiring me') L.

$\text{ʔu}\text{q}$   $\text{ʔiste}\text{ʔ}\text{ʔ}$  (noun, unclassified) 'thing to lie on, sleeping-place' L,  $\text{ʔu}\text{q}$   $\text{ʔiste}\text{ʔ}\text{we}\text{ʔ}$  'wide sleeping-place' L. Gerundive with  $\text{-}\text{ʔ}$ -instrumental and  $\text{o}\cdot\text{q}$  'on o'.

$\text{ye}\text{ʔ}$   $\text{ʔute}\cdot\text{ʔ}$  ( $\text{ye}\text{ʔ}$ -progressive gerundive, but  $\text{ʔu}$ -prefix not explained) 'act of lying about':  $\text{ye}\text{ʔ}$   $\text{ʔute}\cdot\text{ʔ}\text{ʔa}\text{ʔ}$   $\text{Ku}\text{ʔqu}\text{ʔ}\text{ʔetuh}\text{g}$  'it (e.g. dog) will get lazy from lying around' L.

$\text{qi}\text{ʔ}$   $\text{teʔ}$  (noun, unclassified) '(animal's) lying-place':  $\text{qi}\text{ʔ}$   $\text{teʔ}$   $\text{ʔuxa}\text{ʔ}$  'its lying-place, where it (ordinarily) lies down' L. Nominalized active imperfective.

$\text{ʔu}\text{q}$   $\text{Kuteʔ}$  (noun, unclassified) 'bed, sleeping-place, lying-place' ('one, something lies on it') L. Nomi-

nalized active imperfective.

?uyaqd̥ kuteh (noun, unclassified) 'sleeping-bag'  
( 'one lies in it' ) L. Nominalized active imperfective.

?uya? kuteh (noun, unclassified) 'sleeping-bag'  
( 'one lies in it (o with opening at top)' ) L.  
Nominalized active imperfective.

l̥-te 'sg. or pl. animate S lies dead or comatose',  
attested mainly in active perfective and in nominalized active and neuter imperfectives: ?u·d  
se̥t̥eh̥ 'he (dead or drunken man, dead dog) is lying there' M, 'it, they lie(s) there (e.g. dead dog or human, sg. or pl.)' L, la?dnu· ?u·d se̥t̥eh̥ 'two corpses or drunks are lying there' L;  
transitive; passive: ya·? xus̥t̥eh̥ 'I was put to bed (drunk)' L (cf. passive of causative transitive of -te 1(5) and of 0-l̥-te).

ta?k̥teh (noun, unclassified) 'dead spawned-out fish (any species)' L; ta?k̥teh yeq̥ ?ik̥idux̥ 'dead fish floats at shore' L. Nominalized active imperfective, with ta? 'in the water'.

qe?yik̥teh (noun, unclassified) 'whale' LS, 'Kayak Island' (place-name) LS (for which see also Text 12.):  
5.2, 3, 7, 11L, 10.3, 7, 7, 7, 21, 21, 21, 22, 34, 42, 46, 11.153, 154, 154, 157, 161, 164, 167, 169, 171, 188, 190A, 12.3, 5, 21G, 20.85, 86, 88, 95A, qe? =

yiłte' (rare variant) 11.162A, Rezanov Кнэлытэ  
 Кытэ Walfisch', qeʔyiłtehləxede-ʔx 'in the  
 whale's eye' 10.25, 11.177, 183A, qeʔyiłtehcəʔ  
 whalemeat' 10.40, 55A, Rezanov Кн<sup>3</sup>лытэцэ  
 'Китовина Walfisch-Fleisch', qeʔyiłtehlw 'big  
 whale' 10.184, 11.173, 185, 20.99, 100, 29.22A,  
 qeʔyiłtehleqah 'whalehead' 12.13G, 29.35A, ʔaʔd  
 kuʔlw qeʔyiłteh 'very big whale' 28.76A, Reza-  
 nov Кнэлытэмылаханко 'Уси китовые Walfisch-Bar-  
 ten, Fischbein' qeʔyiłtehlesəp.s[de]ɣuʔ 'whale-  
 whiskers' (literally, not 'baleen', for which see  
 ɬəʔ). Nominalized neuter imperfective of ɬ-te,  
 with unlauted qaʔ 'up, out'; "it lies right there  
 by shore, not rolling like a seal" L, which is un-  
 doubtedly the way Eyaks normally saw whales.

l-de-te 'sg. or pl. S is full (of food), eats fill':  
 14.2L, ʔewqəʃ da· quʔledete· 'we'll eat our  
 fill on it' 11.183A, Rezanov Экытэрыс Кытэ satt',  
 probably ʔi·x<sup>w</sup>s[d]itehɬ 'I've eaten my fill, I'm  
 full', ʔi·xsditehɬ (nasalization usually omitted),  
 lixsditehɬ 'I'm full, satisfied' L, qə·sditehɬ  
 (nasalization usually omitted), qəliəditehɬ 'they're  
 full (of food)' L, lesexdete·ɬ 'I'm getting full'  
 L, quʔlexdeteɬ 'I'll eat my fill' L, qiʔ la·xdi-  
 tehɬ kuquʔxi·xah 'I'll eat till I'm full' L, <sup>T</sup>tran-  
 sitive (causative): ʔəhɬ ləxiłi·itehɬ 'is he kee-

ping you pl. satisfied with enough food?' (neuter perfective) L; passive: xulisditeh̄ 'I've been made to eat my fill' L.

O-i-te 'S positions, moves, handles, carries sg. animate (live or dead) O', partly equivalent to the transitive (causative) of -te (and of i--te, but here applying only to sg. O), but here not necessarily implying that the O is prone while being handled (for pl. O see O-i-(y)a 'S positions (etc.) pl. O (animate or inanimate)'): 9.49, 10.105, 23.82, 28.74A, ku<sup>2</sup>xite·ʒ̄B ?ixleh 'do I want that I should be carrying (off) something?' (rhetorically, hungry Raven, in song) 72.39fnL, caxite·i 'I'm carrying it (e.g. dog)' M, qu<sup>2</sup>xiteh 'I'll carry it (e.g. dog)' LM, ?ixte? 'carry it (e.g. dog)' M, 'handle it (e.g. pup)!' L, 'put it in position!' M; <sup>v</sup>With yaʒ-progressive: yaʒ xite·ʒ̄ 'I'm carrying it around (e.g. dog)' M, yaʒ ?axite· 'carry it around!' LM, yaʒ qu<sup>2</sup>xiteh 'I'll carry it around' M, yaʒ caxite·i 'I'm carrying it around (all day)' L; <sup>v</sup>With ya? 'completely, to state of rest', ya? O-i-te 'S positions, sets, leaves sg. animate O': 25.150A, <sup>21a.17c.</sup> dada·d ya? ?axite· 'set it (animal) anyplace!' L, ?u·d ya? ?axite·hih 'set him there!' (rare non-umlauted form) L, yena·?d ya? ?axite· 'set



dog) back there!' L, xi·da? qe? siltehi 'I  
 carried it back yonder' L, ?u·da? qu?xiteh 'I'll  
 carry it over there' L. With ?edi? 'in(doors)':  
 (passive)  
 9.55, 81A, 21a.12L, 21b.48A. With li? 'deeply  
 in cavity': 28.3, 25 (indirect reflexives), 112  
 (passive), 49.38A; With Kuyexa? 'sending' ('on  
 the forearms of someone'), (o-č) Kuyexa? O-i--  
 te 'S sends sg. animate O (away) (to o)': ?i·zi?x  
 Kuyexa? siltehih 'I sent him "outside" (to Seattle)'  
 L, Kuyexa? xuseitehi 'he sent me away' L, ?ič  
 Kuyexa? qu?xitihih 'I'll send him to you' L; With  
 qa·dya·g 'into slavery(?)': qa·dya·g siltehih  
 'I got rid of him, gave him away (e.g. to another  
 tribe)' L, Kudi?lahc xiteh da·x qa·dya·g ?iqe?  
 xiteh 'if I were a chief I'd sell you into slavery'  
 (apparently a very strong expression) L; With qe?  
 'back, again', qe? O-i-te 'S finds, recovers sg.  
 animate O': 10.38 (hortatory inceptive subjunctive),  
 24.92, 93 (passives), 61.84, 85 (passives)A, qe?  
 siltehi 'I found it (e.g. pup)' L, qe? qu?xiteh  
 'I'll find it (dead thing on beach)' L, ?u·d qe?  
 siltehi 'I found it there' M; With ya·nu? 'be-  
 low surface', ya·nu? O-i-te 'S inters O': Reza-  
 nov Rymysareza (final 25 largely illegible)  
 'Morza Grab' ya·nu? seltehi 'he (or you) buried  
 it (animal)', ya·nu? seltehih 'he buried him' L;

With qa? 'up, out', qa? O-<sup>v</sup>l-te 'S lifts sg. ani-  
 mate O up (out of something)': 9.48 (passive), 28.  
 111A; With various other preverbs and postpositions:  
 16.6M, 21b.34, 46, 23.146, 37b.30, 60A, 37.8, 12 ML, 47b.20M, 53.24L, li?x qid se<sup>v</sup>ti?ih 'move him  
 (child) back from edge!' L, ?aw seqe-c<sup>v</sup>ekih ?u-c  
 delu? seite? 'put that child back in there (through  
 an aperture)!' L, ?u-d xa-?d iteh 'he puts him  
 outside there' (active imperfective used in customary  
 or ethical sense) L; Indirect reflexive, with ?ed-  
 deye<sup>v</sup>x 'under one's d- ('oral, noise') self', ?es  
 'completely by, past': ?eddeye<sup>v</sup>x ?es xskiteh<sup>v</sup>ih  
 'I really let loose and howled him out bad' L; Passive:  
 text occurrences listed above, ku<sup>v</sup>c skiteh<sup>v</sup>  
 'it (e.g. pup) was given away' ('to someone') L; L  
 makes a distinction between the passive of l-te  
 (O-l<sup>v</sup>e-te) and that of -te (O-de-te) in the case  
 of ?q-da? xus<sup>v</sup>iteh<sup>v</sup> 'I was brought here (dead  
 drunk)' and ?q-da? xus<sup>v</sup>diteh<sup>v</sup> 'I was brought here  
 (sick)'.

qi? ya-nu? kus<sup>v</sup>edete<sup>v</sup>h 'grave' L, Galushia Nelson  
 q<sup>v</sup>iyá<sup>n</sup>nd<sup>v</sup> edqe<sup>v</sup>st<sup>v</sup> 'grave ("in-ground place-for-  
 dead")' BSdL 546. Nominalized passive, -e- not  
 identified (inceptive subjunctive?): 'place where  
 someone is buried'.

qe?te<sup>v</sup>h, woman's name L, A's father's daughter Margaret  
 A. Deverbalized form, with qe?, 'find' (?).

te?

-k-te<sup>7</sup> (noun, unclassified) '(stick-like) handle',  
 with class-mark of noun with which it is compounded:  
 lacedeqa<sup>7</sup>ila<sup>7</sup>ite<sup>7</sup> 'stone-axe handle' L, te<sup>7</sup>ele-  
 ite<sup>7</sup> 'hammer-handle' L.

g-s-i-te<sup>7</sup> (or -s-i-te<sup>7</sup> ?) (noun, unclassified)  
 '(stick-like) handle': gusekte<sup>7</sup> 'handle (of axe,  
 hammer, etc., but not of pot etc.)' LM, gusekte<sup>7</sup>  
 ?u<sup>7</sup>da<sup>7</sup> qa<sup>7</sup> ?i<sup>7</sup>ah 'some kind of handle sticks  
 out there' L, ?usekte<sup>7</sup> 'its handle (of axe, sho-  
 vel, etc.)' L; in the light of this last form, the  
 gu- might perhaps be reread ku- 'indefinite pos-  
 sessor', though this has been carefully checked, or  
 at least be historically interpreted thus; if the  
 -s- be historically interpreted in a similar way, <sup>with the /s/ glottalization,</sup>  
 the whole form may be seen as an <sup>old</sup>verb-theme with o-q<sup>7</sup>  
 'on o', 'S ... on o'.

-xd-i-te<sup>7</sup> (noun, xd-class) 'rod': Galushia Nelson  
 tisá<sup>7</sup> xá<sup>7</sup>pitá<sup>7</sup> or tesa<sup>7</sup> etc., Old Man Dude  
 t<sup>7</sup>sá<sup>7</sup> xá<sup>7</sup>pitá<sup>7</sup> 'mast' BSdL 550, cisa<sup>7</sup>xedeite<sup>7</sup>  
 'mast' ('sail-rod') A, cisa<sup>7</sup>xedeite<sup>7</sup> si<sup>7</sup> xedi-  
 ta<sup>7</sup> (or -?a<sup>7</sup>) 'give me a mast!' L, cisa<sup>7</sup>xedei-  
 te<sup>7</sup>ya<sup>7</sup> gu<sup>7</sup>ká<sup>7</sup> 'boom' ('mast's crosspiece') A (L  
 rejects), cisa<sup>7</sup>xedeite<sup>7</sup> xé<sup>7</sup>ta<sup>7</sup> 'boom' L;  
 ta<sup>7</sup>q<sup>7</sup>xedeite<sup>7</sup> 'fishing-rod' (ta<sup>7</sup>q<sup>7</sup> 'small fish-  
 hook') L, ta<sup>7</sup>q<sup>7</sup>xedeite<sup>7</sup> si<sup>7</sup> xedi<sup>7</sup>ta<sup>7</sup> 'give me  
 a fishing-rod!' L.

te<sup>7</sup>u<sup>7</sup>l<sup>7</sup>?

teʔ² (perhaps to be identified with taʔ), see teʔwaʔi  
under waʔi².

perhaps related to *tab*;

ta (an extremely productive and frequently occurring stem, attested about 1,200 times in the Eyak corpus. It refers to the positioning or movement, which occurs as a single event<sup>and</sup> in an uninteresting or unspecified way, of a singular inanimate object not in a container. (If the object is plural, themes with *-i-(y)a* or *-i-ya'?* are used; if the event is repetitious, themes with *-i-ya'?* are usually used; if the object is animate, or dead but still regarded as a corpse rather than simply an inanimate object, themes with *-(i-)te* are used; if the event occurs in a specified interesting way, e.g. by throwing, kicking, falling, dragging, movement along the axis of length of an elongated object, themes with stems appropriate for specifying such events are used; if the object is in a container, themes with *-i-?ya* are used.) Both ta and ?a may be considered "classificatory" stems which refer to singular inanimate uncontained objects, thereby constituting in Eyak a secondary noun-classificatory system, a cross-classification with the primary system in Eyak of noun-classification by class-marks. The criteria for choice between ta and ?a have been rather carefully explored with L. For unclassified, or entirely unspecified hypothetical concrete objects, or abstractions, ta is almost exclusively used (as in translating 'give it to me!', or in 'he has something on his mind'). About 100 classified nouns have been attested

from L with ta and/or 'a. Usage falls into seven categories: I (9 examples) ta exclusively acceptable, II (8 examples) ta preferred to 'a, III (12 examples) ta attested, but no comment obtained on the acceptability of 'a, IV (31 examples) ta and 'a equally acceptable, V (21 examples) 'a attested, but no comment obtained on the acceptability of ta, VI (8 examples) 'a preferred to ta, VII (7 examples) 'a exclusively acceptable. It will be seen that the number of examples in each of the seven categories thus ordered suggests a roughly symmetrical bell-curve. Preferences or indifference have been interpreted from explicit statements by L and/or wavering or contradictory usages or statements. Exclusive correctness for ta or 'a is interpreted only where L makes an explicit statement to that effect. In many cases falling in category III or V there is probably strong preference or exclusive correctness for ta or 'a, but no certain evaluations can be made. The examples were elicited in two themes, S 'u'd setahî (or so'ahî) 'S is (in position) there' and O sič with some imperative form of O-(î-)ta (or O-(î-)'a) 'give me an O!'. The results with the two themes were largely, though by no means entirely, the same. The differences show no consistent pattern, which in itself is quite consistent with the general pattern, that there is a large middle ground in

cross-classification of classified nouns by ta and ?a in which L's usage varies freely, with or without a preference for ta or ?a. There does appear also a partial correlation between noun-classification by class and by ta or ?a: the use of ta clearly predominates with ti'l-, g-, and xd-class nouns, and predominates slightly with d-class nouns; usage with lx-d-, gd-, qi'd-, and qi'dl-class nouns appears to be evenly mixed; with l-, dl-, and lx-class nouns the use of ?a predominates; three minor classes, qi'dl-, xdl-, and yu'l-, are attested by one example with ?a used, ~~and one other, gdl-, is attested by one example with ta.~~ L seemed entirely unaware of any correlation between the choice of ta or ?a and the physical nature of the referents of the classified nouns. It does nevertheless appear in an examination of categories I through VII, both in general and in many of the individual noun-classes, that there is a more or less progressive, though weak, change in the predominant shape of the objects, from longish to roundish. From a historical point of view it can probably be considered clear that ta refers to longish objects and ?a to roundish. This is, however, by no means clear to L. Moreover, in those cases where there is no clear preference for either ta or ?a, and the classified noun refers to an object of variable shape, the choice of ta or ?a in no way, for L, seems to be related to

-paska a ylit } desetahk } l=noted, γ=, 5ug  
 } desetank } 'u'd'

the shape of that object: thus e.g. tic 'u'd dese-  
 tahk and tic 'u'd dese'ahk both mean 'a piece of  
 ice is there', with no implication that in the case  
 of dese'ahk the piece of ice is any rounder than in  
 the case of desetahk; there is moreover no clear pre-  
 ference of 'a over ta even if the piece of ice is  
 clearly round. Examples follow:

Unclassified nouns (I with very few exceptions)

I ky'ida'ckih 'little stump' la.6M, sahdg  
 'spruce-needle' ll.ll8A, qəλ 'pot', kə'f  
 'box', cik 'plate, dish', sili'mahdk '(loaf  
 of) bread', dekjh 'stick', ku'xi'd 'calico',  
 ?u'w 'driftwood' (declassified, either broken  
 up or of unusually complex shape), gahc 'sin-  
 ker (on net)', su'f 'blanket', sahx<sup>w</sup> 'cock-  
 le', sij'f 'shoe', sesu' 'dry-salmon',  
 ʒa'f'f 'crowbar', 'isəyah 'round mixing-bowl',  
 gud 'dime', gudsu'wu' 'nickel'.

III səsə 'quoit', ʒə'fa' 'adze'; wit 'wedge'  
 (varies between I-class and unclassified).

VI lesədəqa'f 'axe' (varies between I-class and  
 unclassified).

Classified nouns

I d-class: t'ik' 'arrow', 8gu'lhde: 'frying-pan';  
 ti'l-class: kuktahk 'feather, leaf', kutah  
 'skin (pelt)', ca'k 'glove, kusic' 'fish-

f=γ, l=γ, k=γ  
 k=γ, l=γ, k=γ

skin', kuhs̄t̄ 'apron'; ʔdl-class: l̄ēēs̄k̄t̄  
'pole', t̄aʔq̄t̄ēd̄ēk̄t̄eʔ 'fishing-rod'.

II d-class: l̄is 'spruce, tree', ʔahd̄t̄ 'sled,  
car'; dl-class: ʔahs̄t̄ 'needle'; ti-l-class:  
ʔʔ-t̄ 'skunk cabbage'; l-class: ʔuh̄t̄ḡt̄ 'sho-  
vel'; g-class: ēē-t̄ 'spruceroot', laʔ  
'string', k̄uʔ-t̄ 'tendon, sinew, vein, thread'.

III d-class: d̄ēēt̄ēwaʔt̄ 'door', ʔē-yuʔ 'hem-  
lock', c̄ēk̄ 'board', q̄ah̄k̄ 'bark' (varies with  
unclassified); ti-l-class: t̄ah̄t̄ 'feather, leaf';  
l-class: ḡiyah̄ʔdaʔl̄ēlah 'water-bucket'; g--  
class: ʔēwaʔḡūk̄eh 'net-cord', ʔideḡēdēleh  
'yarn', leʔt̄ 'hair'; ʔd-class: t̄aʔḡ 'fire-  
wood'. k̄uḡukaʔ 'bird-tail' (varies with un-  
classified)

IV d-class: ye-t̄ 'wild celery', ʔuʔʔ 'drift-  
wood', t̄ic̄ 'ice', ʔahd̄ 'snowshoe', s̄it̄  
'spoon', k̄uleq̄ah 'head', caʔt̄ 'knife', c̄j̄  
'mussel', k̄ah̄e 'porcupine quill', ḡeh̄ḡt̄  
'fish-spear', k̄uguʔah 'tail (not of bird)',  
ʔeʔʔe 'salmonberry-sprout'; dl-class: kih̄s̄t̄  
'dipnet', we-ḡs̄ḡ 'ulu', c̄j̄ 'branch'; ti-l--  
class: ʔj̄ix̄ewah 'ribbon-seaweed'; l-class:  
k̄ewas̄k̄t̄ 'paddle', t̄iyah̄d̄ 'hat', d̄a-ḡt̄ 'dip-  
per, bailer'; lʔd-class: s̄ah̄ 'fluff', kuh̄d̄t̄  
'moss'; g-class: saʔ 'resin fiber'; ḡd-class:  
k̄ih̄ʔ 'grass', ma 'lake'; qi-d-class: k̄u-  
s̄du-lihs̄ 'table'

Kahš 'foot'; qi·dl-class: duh 'tubular kelp';  
yd-class: sɨhɨ 'resin', ɬe·sk 'log', ʔi·  
ʔear-spear', da·ʔediʒaʔg 'match', cɨsa·ʔedeɬ-  
teʔ 'mast'.

V d-class: la·xga· 'store', Egu·na· 'schooner',  
gahc 'pitch', Kudeʔuhdg 'egg', dideʔɬ 'lamp',  
ɬaʔ 'alluvial mud', yʔ·ʔ deʔaʔɬ '(finger-)=  
ring', eeʔqɬ 'hoop, bracelet'; dl-class:  
ʔa·ɬɛ·ɬg 'quartz', gu·naca· 'gold nugget',  
eicɨɨ 'copper nugget', ʒeweɬ 'net', ʔa·ʔe-  
ʔɬ·d 'button'; l-class: Kuša·w 'head';  
lɨ-class: gahc 'bullet'; lɨd-class: xiʔ  
leʔedeq 'snowball'; gl-class: ma·sɨa· 'but-  
ter', di·yaʔ '(chunk of) salt'; qi·l-class:  
Kuʔehɬ '(piece of) rope'; ɨdl-class: ʔuhs  
'riverbank'; ɨu·l-class: Kuʔɨ·ɬeyah 'tooth'.

VI d-class: yahd 'house'; l-class: teɬ 'ham-  
mer', ʔeʔa·c 'basket', lecedeqaʔɬ 'axe'  
(varies with unclassified); lɨ-class: laʔmahd  
'berry', ʒug 'strawberry', yʔ·ʔ 'pill',  
ʔa·ʒ 'orange'.

VII dl-class: ca· 'stone', tewi·s 'stone axe';  
l-class: meʒiduhg 'codfish roe (sac)', qema·  
'salmon roe (sac)', Kuqɨɨ 'fat', ʔɬ·ditu·ɬ  
'black abalone', ʔɬ·ɬxi·ɬg 'red abalone'.

Like basic themes with ʔa, basic themes with ta show

an irregular relationship between the intransitives and transitives, in that the expected *k*-classifier for the transitive appears only in the active and neuter perfectives. For this reason, and because of the great length of the entries here, the basic intransitive and transitive themes will be listed separately. Derivative themes appear to fall into two groups, those transitives which (or intransitives, the transitives of which) follow this irregular pattern, and those transitives which (or intransitives, the transitives of which) have *k*- or zero-classifier throughout.)

-ta 1. 'sg. unclassified inanimate S (not in container) is in position, lies, remains': (1) Active perfective, used with force of neuter, 1a.6M, 11.118A, attested with a very large variety of locatives: *ʔu·d setah̄* 'it's lying there' 1M (examples of S attested with this form are given in the introduction to this article), *diʔləx ʔə·d setah̄* 'It's still here' L, *ʔu·d yina·ʔd setah̄* 'it's on the floor there' L, *ʔewq̄ setah̄* 'it's on it'<sup>L</sup>, similarly with *ʔewyaʔd* 'in it (o with opening at top)<sup>L</sup>, *ʔewyex̄d* 'under it'<sup>L</sup>, *ʔewlah̄d* 'in front of it'<sup>L</sup>, *ʔewda·d* 'near it'<sup>L</sup>, *ʔə·d siʔaʔd* 'here in my pocket'<sup>L</sup>, *siyeda·d* 'right by my hand'<sup>L</sup>, *dedaʔd* 'on top of the pile'<sup>L</sup>, *ʔewʔa·x̄d* 'under cover of it, concealed in it'<sup>L</sup>, *quʔq̄* 'over the fire'<sup>L</sup>, *quʔq̄d* 'in the fire'<sup>L</sup>, *siq̄·ʔd*

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'downhill below me' <sup>L</sup>, sisaʔd 'in my mouth' <sup>L</sup>, si-  
leʒaʔd 'right by my head' <sup>L</sup>, Kuliʔd, Kuliʔʒ 'be-  
hind something' <sup>L</sup>, Kusihd, Kusihʒ 'hidden behind  
something' <sup>L</sup>, ʔi·na·ʔd, ʔi·na·ʔqd 'up on a hill,  
steep place' <sup>L</sup>, seileed 'hindmost (of a series)' <sup>L</sup>,  
seilahsd 'foremost (of a series)' <sup>L</sup>, seikqaʔd 'in  
between' <sup>L</sup>, ʔi·ʒa·na·qd 'up on a mountain' <sup>L</sup>, luʔd  
'in a hole' <sup>L</sup>, ʒeleʔu·d 'way inside (cavity, closed  
space)' <sup>L</sup>, ʒayeʔu·d 'way over there (in open space)' <sup>L</sup>,  
ʔewyaʔd yina·ʔd 'way down at the bottom of it (o  
with opening at top)' <sup>L</sup>, ya·nuʔd 'underground, un-  
derwater' <sup>L</sup>, siyeʒe·qd 'in my hand (palm)' L, ʔew-  
yaqd 'in it (o with opening not at top)' L, siʒ  
ʔudeselehyeqd Kusetahʒ 'there is something on his  
mind against me (which he's not telling me about)'  
L, ʔewdaded 'above it', dedeed 'above some-  
thing' L, sidaʔd 'right in front of me' L, ʔu·d  
daʒalaʔʒ 'hanging on something there' <sup>L</sup>, ʔu·d ʒe-  
yaʔd 'in that depression, body of water there' L,  
ʔu·d yaʔd 'down there' L, dayeqd 'under some-  
thing' L, yaqd 'on shore' L, di·qd 'in something  
(with opening not at top)' L, ʒaleed 'above, up-  
stairs' L, ca·ʒa·leʒaʔd 'opposite a stone' L,  
ʔu·d seiʔd, ʔu·d sekuʔd 'way in behind' L, liʔ-  
ʒdaʔd 'right against the wall' L; with qeʔ 'back,  
again': ʔewyaʔd qeʔ sditahʒ 'it's back in it (o

with opening at top)' L; in the negative: diK  
 ?uya?d kustahis 'there's nothing in it' L, diK  
 de?u·de?ya·kih qi? ?estahis 'there's nothing  
 (left) there' 7.42, 10.50A, diK de?u·de?ya·kih  
 qa·?a? ?estahis 'we've nothing left' 11.32A.

(2) Neuter perfective, perhaps preferred with o-q  
 'on o', used with preverbs and postpositions, <sup>often</sup> lack-  
 ing -d 'state of rest' present with the active  
 perfective, and indicating a static state which is  
 more explicitly resultative of some previous event  
 than is the case with the active perfective: ?aw-  
 de?a?d ?i·tahis 'it's (perched) on the corner (edge  
 of box)' L, ci?dela?d ?i·tahis 'it's hanging on a  
 board' L, se?la?d ?i·tahis 'it's at the top of the  
 pile' L, de?ela?d ?i·tahis, de?ela?d ?i·tahis  
 'it's impaled on something' L, ?u·d ya·nahd ?i·  
 tahis 'it's down there (lying flat, covering some  
 surface)' L, ?aw sdu?liheda·d ?i·tahis da·?edi?a?g  
 ?i? qu?xtah 'I'll give you that matchbook which is  
 on the table' L, ?u·d da·d ?i·tahis 'it's up there  
 (on some surface)' L, ?awye? ?i·tahis 'it's under  
 it' L, ?awya? ?i·tahis 'it's in it (o with opening  
 at top)' L (cf. ?awye?d setahis and ?awya?d se-  
 tahis). (3) Active imperfective, used in customary  
 or ethical sense: Rezanov Ayretakta 'Заткнутъ  
 stopfen, sustopfen', perhaps ?awdede? tah 'it be-

longs in position above it' M, ?u·d tah qe?ew  
 'there's where it belongs, that's its place' L,  
 ?p·dšel diŋa?g ?iya? tah 'does your book be-  
 long here?' L, diŋ ?u·d tah: 'that's not its  
 right place' L, ?ewya?d tah 'it's (ordinarily  
 in it (o with opening at top' L. (9) *but right here by his head '36.250.*

2. With class-marks, 'eg. classified S (not  
 in container) is in position, lies, remains', eli-  
 cited from L in the active perfective in the form  
 S ?u·d M-setah̄ 'a S is, lies there': examples  
 of S are listed in the introduction to this article;  
 the verbal forms themselves with the class-marks  
 are desetah̄ (d-), ʎa·setah̄ (dl-), ?i·setah̄  
 or lesetah̄ (l-), ti·setah̄ or ti·lesetah̄  
 (ti·l-), leʎedesetah̄ (lʎd-), gusetah̄ (g-),  
 gudesetah̄ or godesetah̄ (gd-), qi·desetah̄  
 (qi·d-), qi·ʎa·setah̄ (qi·dl-), ʎedesetah̄ (ʎd-).  
 qu?ta?i (noun, d-class) 'floor' LM, Rezanov Коорѣааш  
 'Норѣ Fussboden' qu?...ta?i, first ʎb inexplic-  
 able, see also next entry; qu?ta?ide?a·gd 'mid--  
 floor' M, qu?ta?ida?luw 'big floor' L. Nominali-  
 zation with -i-instrumental and qu?, probably  
 'fire'.

ka·ta?i (noun, d-class) 'floor' L. Nominalized neuter  
 perfective (?) with indefinite S and -i-instrumental.  
 -ci?leʎa?d setah̄ (noun, unclassified?) 'pillow':

sicj'leʒaʔd setah̄t 'my pillow' ('it's right by my neck') L. Unusual nominalization of active perfective.

O-(i-)tal 'S positions, moves, handles, carries, leaves<sup>take, carry</sup> sg. inanimate unclassified O (not in container)', transitive of -ta, but i-classifier present only in active and neuter perfectives: 11.84, 33.10A, 38.16LM, Rezanov Mʔra-y 'Separate halten' ʔitaʔuh 'take it' M, Mʔra 'Heck tragen (Imperat.)' ʔitaʔ 'move it!', siltah̄t 'I moved a thing' L, ʔugaʔʒuh iicʔah qəl ʔi-tah 'are you strong enough to carry this?' L, ʔidaʔya-leʒ yilda's ʔixitah 'it's too heavy for me to handle' L; with yeʒ-progressive: yeʒ deta-x̄j̄h 'he's carrying it around' L, da' yeʒ ʔiditah 'let's carry it around' L, yeʒ quʔde-t̄j̄h 'he'll carry it around' L, diK yeʒ quʔxdeta's (or -taha) 'I won't carry it around' L, yeʒ ʔedete' 'carry it around!' L, diK yeʒ deta-x̄j̄h 'he's not carrying it around' L; attested with a very large variety of locatives, preverbs, and postpositions, <sup>mostly</sup> elicited with an entirely hypothetical unspecified O; with yaʔ 'completely, to state of rest': 10.208, 11.84, 21b.49A, yaʔ ce-taʔuh 'set it down!' L, sidaʔiʔa-d yaʔ quʔxtah 'I'll put it in my bosom' L, ʔu-d ʔilu-ʔedaʒaʔd

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ya? 'ete· 'put, leave it inside your cheek  
 (chewing tobacco)!' L, siyada·x̄ ya? 'ete·  
 'set it by my hand!' L, 'u·dax̄ ya? 'ete· 'set  
 it down by there!' L, qenuhd̄ ya? 'ete· 'put,  
 leave it in plain view!' L, 'ewyeq̄d̄ ya? qu?x-  
 tah̄ 'I'll keep it in it' L, 'ewya?d̄ ya? qu?x-  
 tah̄ 'I'll leave it in it (o with opening at top)' L;  
 with yq̄·? 'down', often o-q̄ yq̄·? 'down on o':  
 6.4, 9M, 33.10, 65.62A, 'u·d̄ yq̄·? siltah̄ 'I  
 laid it (e.g. blanket) down there' M, yq̄·? 'ew  
 sēitah̄jh̄ 'he set it down' L, yq̄·? 'ew qa?t̄jh̄jh̄  
 'he'll set it down' L, diK̄suw yq̄·? 'es̄itah̄k̄e  
 'didn't you set it down?' IM, xa·?d̄ yq̄·? seta?  
 'set it down outside!' L, 'ewq̄ yq̄·? seta? 'set  
 it down on it!' L, 'ewlahsd̄ yq̄·? seta? 'set it  
 down in front of it!' L, 'ewli?d̄ yq̄·? seta? 'set  
 it down behind it!' L, 'u·d̄ yq̄·? qa?t̄jh̄jh̄ (or  
 qu?wet̄jh̄jh̄) 'he'll set it down there for good' L,  
 ũiŕda·q̄ yq̄·? seta? 'set it down on the ice!' M,  
 'u·d̄ k̄utahti·na?q̄ yq̄·? seta? 'set it down on the  
 skin there!' M, 'ewqa?x̄ (or 'ewqa?d̄) 'ew yq̄·?  
 sēitah̄k̄e 'he set it down between them' L, 'u·d̄ hi-  
 ŕa·d̄ yq̄·? seta? 'set it down to one side there!'  
 L, 'u·d̄ x̄ele?u·d̄ yq̄·? seta? 'set it down a lit-  
 le way over (from the edge) there!' L, x̄aye?u·d̄  
 yq̄·? seta? 'set it down way far over there!' L,

siya'd yə'ʔ səltahk 'you set it down on my hand'  
 L, ʔawda'd yə'ʔ sətaʔ 'put it down close to it!'  
 L; with ya'nahd 'flat down, covering some sur-  
 face': ya'nahd sətaʔ 'set it down!' L, ya'nahd  
 ʔow səta'kjh 'he's setting it down' L; with ye-  
 na'ʔd 'down on bottom surface of something (e.g.  
 floor, ground)': ʔu'd yana'ʔd siltahk 'I put  
 it down on the floor there' L; with ya'nuʔ 'be-  
 low surface, underground, underwater': 10.209A,  
 ya'nuʔ sətaʔ 'put it underground, underwater'<sup>lyj.t'</sup> L;  
 with yeʔ 'downward': 11.90A, sitaʔʔ yeʔ silt-  
 tahk 'I put it (down) in my pocket' L; with yaʔʔ  
 'upward': 34c.66, 70M, yaʔʔ sətaʔ (or ʔete' or  
 ʔetaʔ) 'pick it up, lift it!' L, yaʔʔ səxta'k 'I'm  
 picking it up' L, yaʔʔu' yikda's yaʔʔ quʔyitah  
 'don't pick up a heavy thing' L, ʔukahšʔeʔd' yaʔʔ  
 sətaʔ 'lift it (e.g. chair) by the leg!' L, yaʔʔ  
 sextah da'ʔ 'if I pick it up' L, a large number of  
 subjunctives elicited <sup>from L</sup> with yaʔʔ and ʔixleh, ʔuxəʔ-  
 xleh 'I want to' or o-x' d-le 'S tells o to', as  
 yaʔʔ səxta'ʔ ʔixleh, yaʔʔ ʔixta'ʔ ʔuxəʔxleh 'I  
 want to pick it up', yaʔʔ si'ta'ʔ ʔix' dexleh 'I  
 told you to pick it up', etc.; yaʔʔ ʔexta'ʔ, ʔix-  
 ta'ʔ, ʔexta'ʔ 'that I should pick it up', yaʔʔ  
 ʔi'ta'ʔ, si'ta'ʔ 'that you should pick it up',  
 yaʔʔ ʔeta'ʔ, səta'ʔ 'that he should pick it up',

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'u'de qə' Gəta? 'left it up out (along) there!';

yaʔx ʔeləxta·x, ʔilexta·x, selexta·x 'that you pl. should pick it up'; with yaʔx and yeʔx-progressive 'reversal of motion': yaʔx yeʔx xdata·x 'I keep lifting it up and setting it down' L; with qaʔ 'up, out', frequently with other preverbs or postpositions with -d 'at rest in': 10.213, 11.121, 61.106, 108A, taʔd qaʔ sihtah̄ 'I picked it up out of the water; I rinsed it' L, ʔawqaʔd qaʔ setaʔ 'take; choose it from amongst them!' L, ʔewyaʔd qaʔ sehtah̄ijh 'he took it (e.g. bone) out of it (e.g. bowl of soup)' M, ʔewyaʔd qaʔ setaʔ 'take it out of it (e.g. boat, pot)!' L, ʔə·yaʔd qeʔ qaʔ sihtah̄ 'I fished it back out of the river' L, si-deseʔ qaʔ setaʔ 'put it up above me!' L, sehdese-u·ʔ ʔew qaʔ seta·ijh 'he's putting it up at the highest level' M, ʔew qaʔ setaʔ 'make it (e.g. outboard motor) go a little faster, accelerate it!' M (qaʔ also 'waking up; starting (of motor)' ('up, out of sleep, inactivity')), ʔewyeʔd qaʔ sihtah̄ 'I took it out of it (o with opening not at top)' L; with lu· 'ca. 180° turn': lu· sihtah̄ 'I turned it (e.g. paper, blanket) over' M, lu· setaʔ 'turn it over!' L, lu· quʔxtah 'I'll turn it over' L; with lah 'around (in circular motion)': lah ʔew seta·ijh 'he's turning it around, he's carrying it around (in a circle)' M, lah sihtah̄ 'I turned it

around (360° or more)' M; with *qe?* 'back, again, some more' and no other preverbal material specifying motion, 'S puts (etc.) sg. (etc.) O back; S finds, recovers sg. (etc.) O': *qe? seta?* 'put it back!' L, *qe? seitahšuh* 'did you find it?' L, *dikšuh qe? ?esitahš* 'didn't you find it?' L, *qe? silitahš* 'I found it' L; with *qenuh* 'in plain view', often with *o-š* 'to o' or *o-l<sup>3</sup>xeλa:š* 'to o's eyes, view', 'S shows sg. (etc.) O (to o)': 28.94A, 34c.65M, 37b.35, 51.80A, *?el ?iš qenuh qu?xtah* 'I'll show this to you' L, *dexi. ?iš qenuh qu?xtah* 'I'll "show" you' (belligerent threat, with *dexi.* 'already') L, *qenuh seta?* 'show it (to people)!' L, *qenuh seitahš* 'he put it, left it in open place (where people could see it)' L, *?ilaxeλa.š ?ew qenuh silitahš, ?iš qenuh silitahš* 'I showed it to you' L; with *ta?* 'in the water': 25.41, 41A, 45a.8L; with *qid* 'down off': 1a.13, 1b.16M; with *li?* 'deeply in cavity, far in from front', usually also with postposition such as *o-yeq* 'in o' or *o-yeq* 'under o': 37b.40A, *siyeq li? seta?* 'put it under me!' M; with *li?x* 'downriver': *li?x ?ew seitahših* 'he took it downriver' M, *li?x ?ew seta.ih* 'he's taking it downriver' M; with *lese?x* 'upriver': *lese?x ?ew seitahših* 'he took it upriver' M; with *ya.qa?* 'away (from general

area): liʔɣ ʔew ya·qaʔ səitah̄h̄ 'he took it  
 downriver' M, leceʔɣ ʔew ya·qaʔ səitah̄h̄ 'he  
 took it upriver' M; with o-ɕ '(continuous motion)  
 to o', S gives, brings sg. (etc.) O to o': 2a.12M,  
 9.90, 10.61, 62, 88, 23.96A (inceptive conditional),  
 34c.66M, 37a.17, 19L (declassified O), 37b.36, 63A,  
 41.9L, 49.132, 135A, Rezanov Аучуагге 'Даржа  
 schenken' ʔewɕ ʔete· 'give it to it!' (L objects  
 to this ablauted form because of homophony with  
 O-i-te, preferring here ʔetaʔ, but the -te· al-  
 lomorph in the active imperative is nevertheless well  
 attested, even from L), ʔewɕ ʔetaʔ 'give it to it!'

L, Rezanov Аучуагге 'Даржа ich schenke' ʔewɕ

sitah̄h̄ 'I gave it to it', probably with -ɕ > -ɕ  
 by progressive assimilation, Уучуагге 'Нечуа tragen'

ʔuɕ (or ʔu·ɕ) ʔitaʔ 'give it to it!' (or 'carry  
 it thither!'), siɕ ʔetaʔ 'give it to me!' LM,

'bring it to me!' L (attested with a variety of

specific unclassified O: suʔi 'blanket' M, de-  
 kih 'stick' L, diK 'dish' L, sahX<sup>M</sup> 'cockle' L,  
 si·i 'shoe' L, sesuʔ 'dry salmon' L, ʒa·t̄i

'crowbar' L, ʔiɕɣah 'mixing-bowl' L, guɕ 'dime'

L, guɕsu·wu· 'nickel' L, ʔew·ad̄u·liheda·q̄ ʔi·

tah̄h̄ da·ɣediʒaʔg 'that matchbook which is on the  
 table' L), siɕ setaʔ 'give it to me!' L, ʔiɕ

quʔxtah 'I'll give it to you' LM, diK ʔiɕ quʔx-

, wiɕ 'wedge' L, lecedaqaʔi 'axe' L, seses 'quoit' L, ɣew  
 ta· 'adze' L

ta:s (or -take) 'I won't give it to you' L,  
 ?ið siltah̄ 'I gave it to you' M, 'I brought it  
 to you' L, ?ið suxta-̄ 'I'm carrying it over to  
 you' M, 'I'm giving it to you' L, ?u-ð ?aw ce-  
 ta-̄h̄h 'he's carrying it thither' L, de?u-dep-  
 ȳ-kihð ?eta? 'give it to anybody!' L, dedu-ðd  
 ?eta? 'give it to anybody!' L, dedu-ðh̄h ?awa-  
 ?eta? 'give it to any one of them!' L, ?aya-ð  
 qu?xtah 'I'll give it to so-and-so, what's-his--  
 name' L, ðik læqa?ga? læð qu?xtah 'I'll give  
 you each a dish' L, ?ið ?exta-̄y ?uxə?xleh 'I  
 want to give it to you' L, ?u-ðda?ya? sið ?eta?  
 'give me about half of it!' L, h̄hsh̄h ?awa- sið  
 ?eta? 'give me one of them!' L, ya-?a-gega? ?awa-  
 sið ?eta? 'give me half of it!' L, ?aw ya-?a-gd  
 ya- sið ?eta? 'give me the middle one!' L, ?aw-  
 qa-?kih ?awa- sið ?eta? 'give me a little bit of  
 it!' L, also with qe? 'back, again', o-ð qe?  
 O-(i-)ta 'S gives, brings sg. (etc.) O back to o':  
 23, 36, 37, 44, 47, 49A, ?u-ð qe? sata? 'put it  
 back there!' L, ?u-ð qe? sɛxta-̄k 'I'm taking it  
 back thither' L, with λa-s̄h̄h 'in stealth': λa-  
 s̄h̄h sið ?eta? 'sneak it to me!' M, with diðid,  
 diðiv 'gratis': diðid ?ið siltah̄ 'I gave it to  
 you for free' A, diðiv ?ið qu?xtah 'I'll give it  
 to you for free' M, with kuyəpa? 'sending' ('on

you' (?) want to give it to you' L,

the forearms of someone'): ?iʃ kʷeʒaʔ quʔxtah  
 'I'll send it to you' M; with o-daʔ 'to (arri-  
 val at) o': 9.100, 10.207, 213A, ?idaʔ siitahʔ  
 'I carried it over to you' M, ?u-daʔ ?aw səi-  
 tahʔih 'he carried it over to there' L, ?u-daʔ  
 qeʔ siitahʔ 'I put it back there' L, ?u-daʔ  
 ?etaʔ, ?u-daʔ setaʔ 'carry it over there!' L,  
 diʔ ?q-daʔ si-ta-t da-x 'if you don't bring  
 it here' M, sidaʔ seitahʔ 'you brought it to  
 me' L; with o-ʃahd 'away from o': 49.135A,  
 ?q-ʃahd ?itaʔ 'take it away from here!' L, Re-  
 zanov Yuarxera 'Поднять aufheben' ?u-ʃahd (or  
 ?uʃahd) setaʔ 'take it away from there!' L (or  
 'from it'); with o-kah 'away from o': 36.39A,  
 Rezanov Yrakxera 'Поднять aufheben (Imperat.)'  
 ?u-idaʔkah(?) setaʔ 'take it away from there!';  
 with o-qekah 'off (from on) o': 37b.21A, suʔʔ  
 siqekah setaʔ 'take the blanket off me!' M; with  
 o of o-kah indeterminate; gu-saxkda-x dekah  
 setaʔ, saʔwahd 'separate, fan out cambium fibers  
 to obtain saʔ' A, saʔ dekah setaʔ 'remove the  
 saʔ (from cambium fibers)!' L, qahʔ dekah se-  
 taʔ 'remove the bark (from cambium fibers)!' L;  
 with ?elekah 'up off (from covering something)',  
 S opens O (like trapdoor)': 51.59, 60A; with o--  
 dedaʔ 'lid of o' (cf. dedaʔ O-yd-(t-)ta): ?u-

dada? kuseta? 'cover it up (e.g. pot of stew):' M,  
 ?udeda?kah kuseta? 'uncover it (e.g. hole, pot of  
 stew):' M; with o-sa? 'into o's mouth': sisa?  
 seta? 'put it in my mouth:' M, ?isa? seta? 'put  
 it in your mouth' (= sa? sedeta?) L, sisa?e? sex-  
 ta·i 'I'm moving it towards my mouth' (= sa?e? sex-  
 deta·i) L; with o-la?d 'on o, as clothing': ke-  
 na·?d sila?d seta? 'put a coat on me!, give me  
 a coat to wear:' M, su?i sila?d seta? 'put a  
 blanket over me:' M, ?ula?d kuseta? 'cover it up  
 (with something):' M, sila?de? kuseta·ih 'he's  
 putting some garment on me, he's giving me some gar-  
 ment to wear' M, sila?d seta? 'give me clothing!,  
 cover me up:' M, seila?d seta? 'put it (e.g. blan-  
 ket) on top:' L; with o-la?d 'draped over o,  
 hanging on o': ci\dele?d seta? 'hang it over a  
 board:' L, ci\dele?d ?ew seitahih 'he draped,  
 hung it over a board' L, ?ew ?uq ?isda?hla?d se-  
 ta? 'throw it over that chair:' M, sila?d seta?  
 'put it over me!, drape it over my back and shoulders:'  
 M, siyela?d seta? 'hang it over my arm:' L, de-  
 la?d qu?xtah 'I'll hang it up (over something)' L;  
 with o-la?x 'over the head of o': sila?x seta?  
 'put it on me (e.g. dress, over my head):' M, we-  
 seh ?ila?x siltah<sup>...put on</sup> 'I named you' ('I put a name  
 on over your head') M, dexela?x seta? 'put it on

(e.g. head on spear)!, impale it!, hang it up (e.g. on nail)!' L; with o-ya? 'into o (with opening at top): 37b.24A, 45b.8fnM, ?ewya? seta? 'put it into it (e.g. box)!' L, ?ewya? siltahk 'I put it in it (e.g. boat, pot)' L, ?ewya? de? siltahk 'I put it back in it' L; with o-yeq 'in o (not with broad opening at top)': 6.3M, 36.39A, ?uyeq seta? 'put it in it!' L, ?ewyeq siltahk 'I put it in it' L, ?ewyeqd siltahk 'I left it in it' L; with o-yeke'q 'into o's hand (palm)': siyeke'q seta? 'put it in my hand (palm)!' LM; with o-yez 'under o': ?ewyez seta? 'put it under it!' L, ?ugudeyez kxu?xtihh 'I'll diaper him' ('I'll put something under him gd-anatomically ('rump'))' L; with miscellaneous other postpositions: ?ewta'x qu?xtah 'I'll carry it under cover of it' L, ?ewta'x siltahk 'I put it under cover of it' L, ?ewta'x 'I put it behind it' L, siyexa? seta? 'hand it to me!' ('put it in my forearms!') L, ?iyexa? qu?xtah 'I'll hand it to you' L, siyexahd ?aw sehtahkh 'he took it out of my hand, wrested it from me' <sup>M</sup>L, siyahd ?aw sehtahkh 'he took it out of my hand' L, siyexahd ?aw seta-hh 'he's wresting it from me' M, siyeda'c' ?eta? 'put it by my hand!' L, xedesu-c' da'q seta? 'put it up there (on some surface way up above)!' L, sekqa'x

seta? 'put it in between!' L, ?ixa?da? siltahî 'I put it (food) where you can get at it' L, ?uxa?de? Kusexta?î 'I'm putting some (food) in range where it can get at it' L; with various postpositions and preverbs in more or less idiomatic use: ?ilyeq? Kuseitahî 'he closed his eyes' ('he put something inside one another') M, ?ilyeq? Ku- itahîh 'he has his eyes closed' M, ?ilyeq? Kuse- ta? 'close your eyes!' L. (cf. ?ilyeq? seta? 'put one (e.g. glass) inside the other!' L), ?ilyeq? xa? seta? 'open your mouth!' L, ?ilyeq? xa? ?i-îtahî 'he has his mouth open', ?ilyeq? xa? seitahî 'it opened its mouth; it (flower) opened up' L (cf. ?i- yeq? ?i-?e?î 'S spreads legs'), ?aw?e?î siltahî 'I traded it' ('I put it in place of it') L, Rezanov Kaxragerao 'Позкорта aufhängen' ?ilt'a?d ?ita?uh 'hang it up!' ('set it so that one side is (hanging down over something) behind the other'), Kaxragera 'Becexo freudig, erfreulich, vgl. aufhängen, vielleicht durch Verwechslung von Becexo mit Buciso oder Baxax entstanden?' ?ilt'a?d ?ita? 'hang it up', siqa? Kuseta? 'go in with me on it!, contribute a share along with me!' (o-qa? 'amongst o, mingled with o') L, ya?d siltahî 'I drank it up, emptied it' L, 'I emptied it (bottle, by drinking)' A (ya?d 'to emptiness'), dâ? siltahî 'I bumped

into something' (dǝ·ʔ 'up to obstacle, against something') L, ʔiǝ ǝe·yeʒ quʔxtah 'I'll give it back to you; I'll get even with you' M. Repetitive and customary (rare with this theme, stem usually replaced by -ya·ʔ): yaʔʒ xta·g 'I keep trying to lift it' L, yaʔʒ ǝeʔ ʔexta·ʔ 'I (cust) lift it back up' L. Indirect reflexive: ʔaʔd qaʔ sedetaʔ 'take it out of your pocket!' L, ʔaʔʒ yaʒ sedetaʔ 'put it (down) in your pocket!' L, ʔa·ʒ quʔxdeta· 'I'll put it under my coat' L, saʔ sedetaʔ 'put it in your mouth!' L (= ʔisaʔ setaʔ), saʔǝ sɛxdeta·ʔ 'I'm moving it towards my mouth' L (= sisaʔǝ sɛxta·ʔ), saʔd qaʔ sedetaʔ 'take it out of your mouth!' L, liʔǝ qaʔ sedetaʔ 'put it up behind you!' L, liʔǝ ʔew sedeta·ʔiʒ 'he's putting it behind himself' L, siʔǝ ʔew sedeta·ʔiʒ 'he's hiding it behind himself' L, ʔi·naʔd qaʔ sedetaʔ 'take it off (dress, over your head):' L, ʔi·nahd ʔew ʔilitahʔiʒ 'it hangs down in his face' ('he has it hanging down over his head' neuter perfective) L, dɛʒaʔ yaʔ quʔxdetah 'I'll keep it' L, qid ʔaʔ sɛxdeta·ʔ 'I'm taking it down (e.g. off wall, sideways) toward myself' L; deselehyeqd kaʔ yaʔ ʔidita· 'remember!' ('you should keep it in your mind') L, deselehyeqd ku·xɛkitahʔ 'I've got something on my mind' L (cf.

sidʷ ʔudeselehyəqəd̪ kusetah̪iḥ 'there's something  
 on his mind against me'). Passive: ʔu·d̪ s̪itah̪i  
 (or s̪itah̪i) 'it's been left there' L; with o-č̪  
 'to o': 49.133, 61.74, 82A (translated 'granted'),  
 ʔu·č̪ q̪eʔ quʔdetah̪ 'it'll be put back there' L,  
 ʔu·č̪ q̪eʔ s̪itah̪i 'it's been put back there' L,  
 kuč̪ s̪itah̪i (or s̪itah̪i) 'it's been given away'  
 ('it's been given to someone') L; with other postpo-  
 sitions: 28.105, 107A, dəʒəlaʔɣ̪ liʔ ʔiditah̪i  
 (that which) has been hung up on something (e.g. a  
 peg)' (neuter perfective) 9.84, 86A.

2. With -i-classifier elsewhere than in ac-  
 tive and neuter perfective, rare and not authenti-  
 cated with certainty in current usage: yaʔɣ̪ ʔəḥ-  
 taʔ 'pick it up!' L (elicited in connection with  
 yaʔɣ̪ ʔiita·ɣ̪ (or yaʔɣ̪ ʔi·iita·ɣ̪, personal name,  
 q.v.), ʔq̪·dsəl diʔaʔg̪ ʔiɣ̪aʔ yilitah̪ 'is this  
 where you (ordinarily) keep your book?' L (elicited  
 as transitive causative of ʔq̪·d̪səl diʔaʔg̪ ʔiɣ̪aʔ  
 tah̪ 'is this where your book belongs?').

3. With class-marks for O, 'S positions (etc.)  
 sg. classified O (not in container)'; in the texts  
 the class-marks are sometimes omitted, especially by  
 A; see notes to the texts and dictionary entries for  
 the objects: o-daʔ O-d-(i-)ta 'S brings sg. d--  
 q̪als̪ O to o': 27a.12L, 27b.18A; the elicitation

for this theme were all sg. active imperatives with *sič* 'to me', e.g. *Kayı'y guka· sič gu·taʔ* 'give me a different g-class O (e.g. apruceroot)!' L; for the O attested see the introduction to this article; only the imperative verbal forms themselves will be cited here: *d-: di·taʔ*, *ɣd-: ɣedi·taʔ*, *lɣd-: lɣedi·taʔ*, *dl-: li·taʔ*, *g-: gu·taʔ*, *gd-: gedi·taʔ*, *l-: ti·li·taʔ*, *ti·l-: ti·li·taʔ*, *qi·dl-: qi·li·taʔ*. Passive: *qaʔ disditahı* 'it (car *ɣahdı*) was pulled up out' 61.74A.

(d)-ta with optional d-thematic, with *qehɣ* 'open', *ɣehd* 'closed', *quʔq* 'on the fire', probably from partly thematized class-mark: cf. *deɣehwaʔı* 'door', *deɣa·g* 'fire', both d-class: *ɣehd ʔi·tahı* 'it (store) is open' L, *ɣehd di·tahı* 'it (door) is wide open' L; transitive (c<sub>s</sub>usative), where is clearer from the examples that the d-class-mark is at least in some cases optional: Rezanov Тæйрокæра Уоронæ Æффæн (Imperat.)', *ɣehd deɣetaʔ*, *ɣehd ɣetaʔ* 'open it!' M, *gusi·kih ɣehd yaʔ ʔeta·* 'leave it (door) a little open!' L, *qehɣ deɣetaʔ* 'close it!' LM, *qehɣ ɣetaʔ* 'close it (door)!' L, *qehɣ liʔ deɣetaʔ* 'close it (door) tight!' L, *quʔq ɣetaʔ*, *quʔq deɣetaʔ* 'put it on the fire!' L; also with *wəseh ʔilaʔɣ* (di)sihtahı 'I named you' ('I put a name on over your head') M (wəseh 'name' d-class);

in two examples of more idiomatic use of qehx 'closed', it is not certain that a d-mark is acceptable: qehx ʔew sohtah̄ 'they (beavers) dammed it up' L; passive: qehx sditah̄ 'it (alarm clock) has been turned off' L.

daʔ -ta 'S (skin, hide) is stretched on stretching-- frame' (daʔ probably 'across', but a ti-l-class-- mark is ordinarily expected for -tah̄ 'skin, hide', but this appears neither in the intransitive (for S) nor in the transitive (for O); along with the ordinary (causative) transitive, moreover, there appears a detransitivized transitive with indeterminate O): daʔ ʔi'tah̄ 'it's stretched on frame' L, diK daʔ ʔa'tah̄ 'it's not stretched on frame' L. Transitive (causative) daʔ O-(h-)ta 'S stretches O (skin) on frame': daʔ setaʔ 'stretch it (skin, on frame)!' L, daʔ quʔxtah̄ 'I'll stretch it (skin, on frame)!' L, daʔ sihtah̄ 'I stretched it (skin, on frame)' L; detransitivized, with indeterminate O: daʔ ʔixdetaʔ 'I'm stretching it (skin, on frame)' L, daʔ ʔi·e detaʔ 'stretch it (skin, on frame)!' (nasalization of ʔi·- missing) L, daʔ ʔiqeʔxdetah̄ 'I'll stretch it' L, daʔ ʔixs̄itah̄ (or ʔixsditah̄) 'I stretched it' L, daʔ ʔixh̄itah̄ 'I've got it stretching' L, repetitive: daʔ ʔixdetaʔg 'I'm

stretching it (skin, on frame, with repeated motions)' M; passive: da'x editah<sup>h</sup> 'it (skin) has been stretched (on frame)' M.

ʔuqac<sup>h</sup> da'x ʔitaʔ<sup>h</sup> (noun, unclassified?) 'stretching-- frame for skins' LM. Deverbalized transitive with indeterminate O, -i-instrumental, and o-qe<sup>h</sup> (continuous motion) onto o'. Rezanov ТАРТАДЪ 'Наш Нѣх-Рахмен zum Sticken von Mustern', either incomplete or to be read da'x taʔ<sup>h</sup>.

ʔista'l (gerundive): ʔu'c<sup>h</sup> ʔista'l ʔewa' xuceigaʔ<sup>h</sup> 'I'm getting tired of carrying it thither' ('carrying thither of it is tiring me') L.

sexic<sup>h</sup> seta:ʔih 'drummer' ('he (who) is carrying, handling a drum') L.

taʔd detah ʔedheyaʔ<sup>h</sup> (noun, unclassified?) 'pocket-- watch' ('watch which one keeps in his pocket') L. —

Relativized active imperfective indirect reflexive. —

xahd ʔuxelaʔx liʔ detah (noun, unclassified?) 'notch, groove at end of spear- or arrow-shaft for receiving head' L. Nominalized passive active imperfective.

deyeʔ ʔa'ditah<sup>h</sup> (noun, 1-class?) 'rain-bucket' ('d1-- class O is put under indeterminate o'). Passive neuter perfective nominalized. 1-class is expected for 'bucket', and the d-part of the max is inexplicable.

yeʔ dexukx qiʔ ya'muʔ ʔiditah<sup>h</sup> (noun, unclassified?) 'well' ('where a barrel, keg is put below the surface')

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①  
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ya'nahd tah (active imperfective used in customary or ethical sense, in nominalizations, cf. tah), with ya'nahd 'down, covering some surface':  
Galushia Nelson yáná<sup>n</sup>t Dətsá' or yá'nát Dətsá'  
'grass mat ("on-ground-?")' BSdL 546, perhaps to be read ya'nahd tah, ya'nahdtahju' 'nice rug'  
L, kú'ta'kda'q ya'nahd tah 'rug, carpet' ('it covers floor') L, šdu'lihəda'q ya'nahd tah 'table cloth' ('it covers table') L, yəxiya'q ya'nahd tah 'bedsheet' ('covers mattress') L, su'kq ya'nahd tah 'bedspread' ('covers blankets') L, diditú'č yahdda'q ya'nahd tah 'sheet iron' ('covers iron house') L.

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detah (passive active imperfective used in customary or ethical sense, in nominalizations), in xahd 'uxela'x li' detah (same as xahd 'uxela'x li' daya'?) 'groove at end of arrow- or spear-shaft where head is inserted' ('head is put deeply into, onto it') L, see also BSdL form in preceding, perhaps to be read ya'nahd detah 'it is put down covering some surface').

L. Passive neuter perfective nominalized.

?iŋq·dahd ?igeli·itahî pla e-name on Eyak River, at Mountain Slough, near Eyak Village, between ?iŋq·daya?d and cu·x; "water comes up close to mountain" L. ?iŋq·dahd 'up close to, against mountain', ?i-gl-(i-)ta 'gl-class ('liquid') S keeps indeterminate O in position' (here neuter perfective).

O-q-(i-)ta 'S carries small thing' (derisive): ?aw qexatîhîh 'he's carrying a ridiculously small thing'

L. Modes and aspects apparently not freely used; active perfective and inceptive imperfective could not be elicited.

O-x-(i-)ta 1. With o-qeč '(continuous motion) onto o', 'S blames O on o': siqeč ?aw xesetahîh 'he blamed me for it' L, ya?xu· siqeč ?aw qu?·xi·tah 'don't blame it on me' L.

2. With lah 'around', probably transitive, 'S switches sides (in paddling canoe)': lah qu?·xi·xtah 'I'll switch sides' L; with yax-progressive 'reversal of direction': lah yax xexdeta·x 'I keep changing sides' L

3. With lah 'around', indeterminate O, and o-ya?x '(motion within) o (with opening at top)', 'S stirs o': ?uya?x lah ?ixecexta·î 'I'm stirring it' L, ?uya?x lah ?iqe?xi·xtah 'I'll stir it' L, ?uya?x ?ixesitahî 'I stirred it' L (once

transcribed ʔuyaʔx lāh ʔi·siltah̄ L, probably incorrect.)

O-ɣd-(i-)ta 1. (Probably with ɣd-class-mark 'pole'-like' thematized) 'S aims O': 27b.5A, Kuča·q̄d ɣedixiltah̄ 'I've got it aimed at something' M, Kuča·q̄d ɣədəcetaʔ 'aim it at something!' M, ʔəw-ɕa·x ɣedixiltah̄ 'I'm aiming, pointing it (anything) at it' L.

2. dēdaʔd O-ɣd-(i-)ta 'S opens O (by lifting lid)' (cf. o-dēdaʔ O-(i-)ta): 2a.18M, 29.34A. ʔux dēdaʔd Kuɣədətaʔi, Rezanov Oɣterara koxo = reraru 'Ключ Schlüssel'. Deverbalized passive of above, 'by means of it something (e.g. box) is opened)', with -i-instrumental suffix. Not the modern word for 'key' (gelu·ɟ).

ɣdl-ta 'S lies crosswise (as bolt or beam)' (probably with ɣd-class-mark 'pole-like' thematized, but l--part of mark inexplicable): o-x ɣdl-ta 'S acts as bolt (crossbar) for o (door)': ʔəwɣ ɣəli·tah̄ 'it (door) is bolted, barred' L; transitive (causative) o-x O-ɣdl-(i-)ta 'S sets O as bolt for o': ʔux Kuɣəla·setaʔ 'bolt the door!' ('set something as bolt for it!') L, ʔel dəkiḥ ʔəwɣ ɣəla·setaʔ 'bar it with this stick!' ('set this stick on it as a bolt, crossbar!') L

ɣəla·tah̄ dəkiḥ (noun, unclassified) 'latch-stick,

bolt, bar' L. Intransitive active imperfective relativized.

?ux Kuxəla·detah (noun, unclassified?) 'latch'  
( 'something belongs put as latch on it' ) L. Passive active imperfective nominalized.

?ux Kuxə[la·]ta?h, possible reading of Rezanov  
Охкохерараъ 'Samokh Schloss'. Transitive deverbalized, with -i-instrumental. Cf. ?ux deda?d Kuxədetah?h.

d'isa·xədəkte?yəla·tah (noun, x-d-class?) 'boom' ('mast set crosswise') L. Passive active imperfective nominalized.

O-gd-(i-)ta 'S steers O (boat, car)' (with gd-anatomical 'rump' thematized): ?u·č gedī·te· (or gedī·ta?) 'turn, steer it thither!' L, ?u·č qu? gedī·xtah 'I'll turn, steer it thither' L, ?u·č ya? gedixiḥtahḥ 'I've got it steered thither' L, ?u·č gedisiḥtahḥ 'I turned, steered it thither' L, da·čdaw gedeci·ta·ḥ 'whither are you turning, steering it?' L, xu? gedəseta? 'straighten out its course!' L; with yeḥ-progressive: yeḥ gudux-deta·ḥ 'I'm steering it' L, yeḥ qu?gedaxdeta· 'I'll steer it' L, yeḥ gada·deta· 'steer it (boat, car)!' L, yeḥ gedixsditahḥ 'I steered it (about)' L, yeḥ gedəsexta·ḥ 'I'm steering it (a long time, all day, with no help)' L.

yeḡ kugededeta·ḡih deḡuh 'steersman' ('person who steers something about') L. yeḡ-progressive active imperfective with indefinite O, relativized.

ʔed-y-de(-ḡe)-ta (reflexive, with y-anatomical 'hand', ḡe-classifier in active and neuter perfective, de- elsewhere) 'S moves one hand (without touching another object)': ʔu·deḡ ʔedyisḡitahḡih 'he moved his hand along there' L, yaʔḡ ʔedyix-litahḡ 'I have my hand raised' L, qeḡḡ ʔedyese-detaʔ 'close your hand!' L, with yeḡ-progressive and o-ḡ 'with o, communicating with o', 'S signals to o with hand': ʔiḡ yeḡ ʔedyedeta·ḡih 'he's signalling to you with his hand' M, siḡ yeḡ ʔedyḡ·dete· 'signal to me with your hand!' L, ʔiḡ yeḡ ʔedquʔyexdetah 'I'll signal to you' L.

qi·d-ḡe-ta (with qi·d-anatomical 'foot', ḡe-- classifier apparently throughout) 'S moves one foot (without affecting another object)': ʔuḡeḡ qi·disḡitahḡ 'he put his foot on it', ʔewḡ quʔ=qi·dexḡetah 'I'll put my foot on it' L.

ʔed-gdl-ḡe-ta (reflexive, with gd-anatomical 'rump', probably yeḡ-progressive 'reversal of <sup>direction</sup>direction', attested only in active perfective, perhaps not ḡe-- classifier throughout) 'S somersaults': yeḡ ʔed-gəḡa·sḡitahḡ 'he somersaulted' M.

ʔed-ʔ-gdl-ḡe-ta (semitransitive of preceding) 'S rocks

or flips self part way over, does incomplete. somersault': *yeʒ ʔəduʔgəla·sɛitahɿ* 'he flipped or rocked himself part way over, but ended up back in original position, did an incomplete somersault' M, O-d-i-ta (with d-thematic 'oral, noise', i-classifier throughout) 'S says something to O to make O forget what O was going to say, S confuses O': *ʔidexɿta·ʔ* 'I (cust) say something to confuse you' M, *ʔidisiɿ-tahɿ* 'I made you forget what you were going to say by saying something that confused you' L, *ʔiqeʔdi·x=itah* 'I'll make you forget what you're going to say' L, *xudəsɛitahɿ* 'you made me forget what I was going to say' L.

*o-taʔ ʔi·lih-(de-)ta* (de-classifier apparently optional throughout; see also *qu* for pl. S) 'S counts on, depends on o': *ʔiʔaʔ da· ʔi·lihɿitahɿ* 'we're counting on you' L, *ʔiʔaʔ ʔi·lihxitahɿ* 'I'm counting on, depending on you' L, *ʔiʔaʔ ʔi·lihsitahɿ* 'I counted on you, became dependent on you' L, *ʔiʔaʔ qe·lihxdetah* 'I'll count on, depend on you' L, *siʔaʔ ʔi·libdetah*, *siʔaʔ ʔi·lihtah* 'he (child) is dependent on me' (active perfective in customary or ethical sense).

*l-ta* (with l-anatomical 'head'; see also *l-qui* for pl. S) 'S has head in position, S moves head'; attested with a large variety of preverbs and postpositions,

metaphorically): 7.28, 27b.35A, qe·ya·nahd lees-  
 deta? 'lay your head down again!' 27b.42A, ya·  
 nahd ?i·sitaḥ 'I put my head down (on some sur-  
 face)' L; Rezanov Яхчлехта 'Наклониться sich  
 bücken' yq·?e ?i·lexta? 'pl. lower your heads',  
 yq·?e li·ta? 'droop your head down!' L, yq·?e  
 lixitaḥ 'my head is bowed' L; ya·nu? ?i·setaḥ  
 'it put its head underwater' L; Rezanov Яхьта  
 'Поднимь голову hebe den Kopf' ya?x l...ta...,  
 ya?x leseta? 'lift up your head!' M, ya?x li-  
 xitaḥ 'my head is up straight (normal position)'  
 L; lu· leseta? 'turn your head around!' L, lu·  
 lixitaḥ 'my head is turned to side' L, lu· ?i·  
 sitaḥ 'I turned my head to side' L; with qa?  
 'up, out', qa? l-ta 'S sticks head out, shows  
 self, appears': qa? lesetaḥ 'it (e.g. seal)  
 stuck its head up out (of water)' L, ?ulahyeq qa?  
 ?i·setaḥ 'it (e.g. rat) came out of its hole' L,  
 ?u·deḥ qā? ?i·setaḥ 'it (e.g. rat) came out  
 there' L, ?q·deḥḡgahḥ siḥa? qa? leci·tiḥḥ  
 'would that he would appear to me here' (widowed  
 shaman chants after husband) 72.38fnL; la?d qa?  
 lixitaḥ 'my head is looking up' L, la?d qa?  
 lisitaḥ 'I raised my head (beyond normal position,  
 to look upwards)' L; with yeḥ-progressive and o-ga?  
 'like o': Kaga? yeḥ ?i·data·xiḥ 'he acts snooty,

Si T  
 Nedo shu yotim, in a Subdivisions

stuck-up, conceited' ('he goes around with his head  
 like someone, something') 72.10fnA; Rezanov *Имчъ  
 алыта* 'Повороткъа drehen, sich, sich wenden (Im-  
 perat.)' *siča? la?ta...*, *siča? la?te* 'turn  
 (your head) towards me!' L; *?ida? lixitaħi* 'my  
 face is right up close to you' M; *?udaħd lixi-  
 taħi* 'I have my head right up (pressing) against  
 it' M (cf. semitransitive); with *o-lah* 'around o':  
*?ow kuslah leta·K* 'they (cust) avert their heads  
 from the (bowl of) urine' 33.17A, *?ulah ?i·sitahħih*  
 'I looked him over, examined him' M (cf. semitransitive);  
 with *o-sa?* 'to o's mouth': Rezanov *Осца  
 алыта* 'Поцалуѣ küssen (Imperat.)' *siša? laesta?*  
 'kiss me!' S, 'let me kiss you!' ('put your head to  
 my mouth!') L; with *o-?e·x* 'in search of o', *o--  
 ?e·x l-ta* 'S misses o, notices o is missing': 28.-  
 43, 37b.44A, *?u?e·x laexta·ħih* 'I miss him' L;  
 with *o-kah* 'away from o', *o-kah l-ta* 'S for-  
 gets o': 21.b43, 25.175<sup>2</sup>, 176, 32.47, 49.89, 50.48,  
 51.36, 70.10, 10A (inceptive perfective 'S begins to  
 forget o'), Rezanov *Котлельта* 'vergessen  
 (Imperat.)', *Козклетакъ* 'Забилъ ?vergass', *Куах-  
 летакъ* 'Не забудь vergiss nicht!' (these forms,  
 especially the first, cannot be completely read; it  
 is probably simpler to supply *?u-* than a de-clas-  
 sifier for indirect reflexive forms; the last two

perhaps represent [ʔu]k<sup>W</sup>ah qela·yita·K 'let them (cust) forget it' (?), Комнотакъ Габуць ver-gessen [ʔu]k<sup>W</sup>ah ʔi·s[il]tah̄ (or -[ə]-) 'I (or you) forgot', ʔukah ʔi·s[il]tah̄ 'I forgot, I forgot it' LMA, ʔukah lisitah̄ 'I forgot, forgot it' L, ʔukah quʔli·xtah 'I'll forget it' LM, ʔukah laeetaʔ 'forget it!' L, (di·yeʔ) laei·ta·i·dewa· 'before you forget' L, ʔukah la·yita·K 'you (cust) forget it' L. Indirect reflexive: Kāh ʔi·aditah̄ 'he forgot himself, is happy, carefree' L, Kah ʔi·xeditah̄ 'I forgot my sorrows' L, susceptive neuter: ←  
 Kah lix̄itaʔʔ 'I'm forgetful, absent-minded' L, Kah liiitaʔʔih 'he's forgetful' L; ʔedq̄ lixditah̄ 'my head is inclined to side' ('on myself') L, taʔʔ yeʔ ʔi·ditah̄ih 'he has his head down on his chest, collar' L. Transitive (causative, i-classifier throughout): 32.49A, ʔukah ʔiqeʔli·x̄itah 'I'll make you forget', lah xalesēitah̄ih 'he made me turn my head' L, lah ʔiqeʔli·x̄itah 'I'll make you turn your head' L; passive: ʔukah xulis̄itah̄ 'I was made to forget' L.

yaʔʔ ʔi·iita·ʔ personal name, L's father LAS. "Puts head up" A. Probably a hortatory active subjunctive of the transitive yaʔʔ 0-1-i-ta, 'let him (A) raise his (B's) head, let him make him raise his head!'. L has variant yaʔʔ ʔiita·ʔ, which would also be a



o-dahd ʔu-ʔ-(l-)də-ta 'sound of o is heard, <sup>o</sup> sounds, <sup>o</sup> makes a noise': 21b.29, 30, 56, 25.124A, 34.118, 120, 122L, 51.53, 65, 60.8, 12, 22, 23, 23, 39, 43, 57A, Rezanov Көкөулята туудига Молния баястагыт es blitzt' qeʔgu·ldahd ʔuʔditah 'sound of thunder-(-bird) is heard' L, Утарекоудитаре 'Громъ гремитъ es donnert' ʔudahd...quʔdetah...(?), ʔudahd quʔdetah 'its sound will be heard, it'll make a noise' L, diK ʔudahd ʔuʔdetahs 'it makes no noise' L, giyah gy·lešilgdahd ʔuʔditah 'sound of splashing water is heard, water makes a splashing sound' L, diK Kuzu·dah ʔu·laʔdeta:s 'it (e.g. machine) doesn't sound good' L, ʔidaʔya·leʔ ʔudahd ʔuʔditah 'there's too much noise' L. (A few neuter perfective forms occur in elicitations from L, but the authenticity of these is doubtful: ʔudahd ʔuʔditahih 'he made a noise' (passive), diK ʔudahd ʔu·laʔxtahih 'I didn't hear him'.)

2. With o-lah 'around o, about o' (cf. o--lah l-ta 'S moves head about o, averts face from o, looks o over, examines o') 'S finds out about o, becomes aware of o, notices o, realizes about o': 8.12, 17, 9.153, 155, 163, 168, 10.81, 11.17, 17, 42, 111, 23.71, 72, 115, 128, 24.77, 80, 25.13, 20, 48, 28.121, 36.47, 49.41, 50.61, 61.81, 68.51, 69.9A, diK ʔewlah ʔuʔqelaʔta·sinu· (or ʔu·qelaʔta·sinu·,

qu·laʔta·cinu·) 'they haven't found out about it, haven't realized it, aren't aware of it' L; indirect reflexive: 23.62, 32.21A.

ʔed-ʔ-(1-)de-ta (reflexive of preceding, de-classifier throughout, overt 1-mark frequently absent in active perfective and neuter imperfective) 'S dries or smokes fish or meat, prepares winter food supply': 7.23, 25.141A, ʔedquʔlexdetah, ʔedquʔi·xdetah (with nasalization missing) 'I'll dry salmon' L, ʔeduʔlexdeta·M 'I (cust) smoke fish or meat' L, ʔeduʔla·detah 'smoke fish or meat!' L, ʔeduʔxdi-tah 'I've got fish or meat smoking in the smokehouse' L, ʔudeta·ʔd ʔeduʔxeditahʔ 'I smoked fish in there' L, ʔu·d ʔeduʔxeditahʔ 'I smoked fish there' L.

ʔudeta·ʔd ʔedquʔli·taʔi (noun, d-class) 'smokehouse' 7.5, 37b.73, 65.55A. Inceptive imperfective of preceding deverbilized, with -i-instrumental and o-d--ta·ʔ-d '(at rest) in the shelter of o (d-class)'.

qiʔ ʔedkuʔdetah (noun, d-class) 'smokehouse' 47b.4M, L. ('place where someone dries fish or meat')

0-ʔ-yl-ta (zero-classifier throughout, neuter in perfective) 'S expects O': ʔiʔyelixitahʔ 'I'm expecting you' LM, diM ʔi·yelaʔxtahʔ (or ʔiʔyelaʔxtahʔ) 'I'm not expecting you' L, xuʔ(qe)yeli·-tahʔinu· 'they're expecting me' M, diM xuʔ(qe)-

*dl. neta 1 utat 3 guli 1 1 2 3  
'name for drying fish' (not sure)*



leseta? 'fold it (e.g. paper, blanket)!' ('deeply  
 in cavity one behind the other', i.e. in halves,  
 then quarters, etc.?) L, ?uye?e-qd ?ik? qid  
 ?u?li-itahih 'he has his hands folded palms to-  
 gether (as in prayer)' L; passive: ?ik? ?u?qa-  
 ditah? (q-pluralizer, nasalization missing)  
 'they're folded' L, ?ik?a?y li? ?u?ditah? (or  
 ?u?liditah? 'it (e.g. blanket) is folded' L;  
 without reciprocal o of postposition: ?u?d ?u?-  
 sihtah? 'I turned a switch, turned a page' L, lu-  
 ?u?leseta? 'turn the page over' L, la?da?y ku?-  
 sehtah? 'he (baby) took two steps' ('moved, articu-  
 lated part of something twice') L, la?da?y ?u?siht-  
 tah? 'I turned two (e.g. pages)' L; with ye?-pro-  
 gressive 'reversal of direction': ye? ?u?ledeta?y  
 'you're turning pages' M, ye? ?u?la-dete? 'move  
 it back and forth!' M, 'something about a paddle' L,  
 ye? ?u?lexdeta?y 'I'm moving it back and forth  
 (attached to something)' L, ye? ?u?xsditah? 'I  
 turned the book's pages, turned a switch back and  
 forth' L.

2. With d-class-mark for ~~ca?i~~ 'knife': ?ik-  
 ?a?y li? ?u?la-seta? 'fold it (pocketknife)!'  
 ('deeply in cavity one part of d-class O behind the  
 other') L (ca?i 'knife', d-class), ?elekah ?u?-  
 la-seta? 'open it (hatch or trapdoor)!' (cf. e.g.

deceiwaʔi 'door', d-class, probably partly the-  
matized, as in (d)-ta; passive: ʔiɬaʔɣ liʔ  
ʔuʔʌ-ditahi 'it (pocketknife) is folded' L.

ʔiɬaʔɣ yəɣ ʔuʔʌ-detaʔɣ (caʔi) (noun, d-class)  
'pocketknife' LN, Реџанов Ехотлядетакъцаатъ  
'Ножикъ Taschenmesser' (under 'Messer'). Nominal-  
ized or relativized passive active imperfective  
(('d-class O is folded back and forth one part be-  
hind the other').



dah sela·yita·s 'I hope you're not mean' (rare negative optative, "sounds funny") L, lihxda·d seletihih 'he's a quiet, unobtrusive person' L, guga? qa·ya? seletihih 'he's treacherous' ('he acts deceitfully with us') L, ?ita·?k'ihyekp·dga? seleseta? 'live, be like your father's paternal grandmother's thumb!' (curse) A.

seleta·l (gerundive) 'life, living, way of life':  
61.33A, seleta·l xuseiga?i 'I'm tired of living' ('living is tiring me') L, seleta·lya? ?enahsekih ?ixleh 'I like life' L.

-ta?i (noun, unclassified?) 'soul, life': Galushia Nelson q3qá<sup>n</sup>·td·ti or q3qá<sup>n</sup>·tati 'life or soul' BSdL 552, kusa·ta?i 'soul' ("a person has three of these; when you get scared you lose one; when you lose the third you die. Shamans work on these to effect their cures.") L (This is perhaps also the "mind" discussed by Johnny Stevens in BSdL 231-232.), siq·ta?i 'my life, soul' LM. -i-instrumental suffix.

ta'

ta' (noun) 1. (unclassified) 'trail, path, road' LM, Rezanov Tpa 'Дорога Weg', ta'ʔeʔɣ ʔiyaʔ 'follow the trail!' L, lixahyaʔ ta'ʔeʔɣ sa-ʔ 'walking along a grizzly-bear trail' 18.4L, ta'lewaʔiq sa-ʔih 'he's walking alongside (along the edge of) the road' L, ta'heʔa'w 'long trail' L, ta'hewɣ 'wide trail, wide road' L, ta'ʔekih 'small road' LM, ta' qidgaʔ ʔi'ʔah 'end of the trail' ('as far as the trail extends') L (for further examples concerning extension of trails, see ʔa', sid, wes), ta'ciʔdaʔd 'end of the trail' L.

2. (ɣd-class, cf. e.g. ʔe-mk' 'log') 'corduroy road, bridge, pier, sidewalk': ʔɣ-d ta'ʔeda-d 'here on the pier' 61.67A, ta'ʔedayɣd 'under the bridge' L, ta' ʔeda:exɣuhɣt 'I'm shovelling the sidewalk' L, ta'ʔedeciʔdaʔd 'end of the (corduroy) road' L

ɣhddeyɣeta' (noun, unclassified?) 'Milky Way' ('trail under snowshoes') L (see ɣhd).

ta'yaʔ<sup>(1)</sup> (nominalization with o-yaʔ: 'in o (with opening at top)') 'doorway, vestibule': 11.13A, 55.17L, Rezanov Tarrā 'Дверь Thüre', Tarrā (replacing crossed-out Kappa, see gaʔd) 'Крыльцо Hausflur' ta'yaʔd, ta'yaʔd ʔiyaʔ qehɣ deɣeʔxi'ʔ 'tie your door shut!' L, ta'yaʔdeqad 'front (door or road)

*Handwritten notes:*  
 1) nominalization with o-yaʔ: 'in o (with opening at top)'  
 2) (replacing crossed-out Kappa, see gaʔd)

end of house' L, Galushia Nelson t'aiyatitced't  
or t'ai-iatitced't 'front of the house' BSdL 545,  
ta-ya'diCa'd 'front (door or road) side of house'  
LM.

ta.<sup>2</sup> (cf. ta.<sup>3</sup>)

ʔiṣ-ta (adverb, prefix ʔiṣ- or ʔi-ṣ- not identified, L rejects proposed \*ʔiṣta.<sup>3</sup>, or, with de- 'ṣṣe', \*diʔṣta.) 'long ago, olden times' L, 44.1L ("same as dita.<sup>3</sup>" L, but perhaps here not 'formerly, earlier during same lifetime', but 'in remote, ancestral past, when things were different'), as attribute to ya 'thing, one, that of': ʔel ʔiṣta ya seleta.l 'these old-time (old-fashioned, outmoded?) ways of life' 61.33A; ʔiṣta yṭ.hinu, ʔiṣta.lahyu 'old-time people' (same as ta.<sup>3</sup> yṭ.hinu, qa.dalyeṣ yṭ.hinu) L; as postpositional phrase with -d final: ʔiṣta.d 'long ago' L.

ʔiṣta.leṣmaʔ, see ṣmaʔ

<sup>...with</sup>  
 q. + ? tah

tah (probably related to ti·l-, perhaps also to ta)  
 -tah (noun) 1. (unclassified) 'skin (of human)':  
 Rezanov Karra Koxa Haut' qa·tah 'our skin, hu-  
 man skin' (Karra 'Haut' quoted from Wrangell in  
 Radlov, but no such item is found either in the  
 published Wrangell material or in the Rezanov manu-  
 script), sitah siya· sedexetl 'my skin is pee-  
 ling' L, ?utahxahc' sele·t 'his skin is peeling'  
 L, sitah siq' li? hqexg 'my skin is peeling' L.

2. (ti·l-class) 'skin, pelt, hide, peel' (na-  
 tural integument of animal, plant): 25.51, 28.83,  
 102, 110, 111, 37b.21, 65.9, 9, 9, 9 (of fish, but  
 cf. sid), 39A, 66.3L (of spruceroot, unclassified?),  
 h·diyahstah 'rat-skin' 28.95, 96, 102, 108, 113,  
 136, 138A, ?aw xawa· qe?aw ?utahti·leyeq qa?  
 sah 'the dog went out of its skin' (became human)  
 49.96A, selexetah 'land-otter-skin' 33.41, 41,  
 41, 72, 72, 74, 74A, tuhiga? ti·na· selexetah  
 ?ahc' ti·setahlih 'he gave her three land-otter-skins'  
 33.84A, ke?kietah 'mink-skin' 33.41, <sup>2</sup>73, 74A,  
 te?ya?tah 'fish-skin' M (but cf. sid), ?aw ku-  
 tahti·leyex xa·sele?e? 'hide it under that skin!' L,  
 ?aw kutah ti·xa·sele?e? 'hide that skin!' L, kutah-  
 ti·na?k' ?aidah lihinu· 'they're playing with a  
 skin' L, kutahti·lelu?qa· da· ?i·?a?c' 'let's go  
 get some skins' L, kutah ?u·d ti·setah (not

-ʔah̄) 'a skin lies there' L, k̄utah sič̄ ti·li·a  
taʔ (not -ʔaʔ, but once also recorded -ʔaʔ)  
'give me a skin!' L, k̄utahyahd 'skin-house' M.

3. (unclassified, or d-class?, with d-class=  
mark for e.g. lis 'spruce, tree', -deʔuhdg 'egg')  
'bark, shell': k̄udetah 'tree-bark' L, liadetah  
'spruce-bark' L, k̄udezu· k̄udetah 'nice piece of  
bark' L, ʔudetahxahč̄ sex̄i·i 'I'm peeling the  
bark off it' L, ʔewdetahxahč̄ ʔew səi·iḥ 'he's  
taking the shell off it (egg)' L (this form may be  
incorrect; cf. -d-i-tah below).

s̄iweʔi k̄utah, s̄iwe·i k̄utah (noun, qi·l-class?)  
'thong' ('skin which has been sliced') L (see weʔi),  
Galushia Nelson st̄iw̄i·tī s̄td̄ or st̄iw̄i·tī  
s̄td̄ 'thong ("cut skin")' BSdL 548.

-l-tah (noun, unclassified?, with l-anatomical 'head',  
not attested <sup>as in -l-tah</sup> however as -le-): k̄p̄·tah 'fish-head=  
skin' (may be eaten raw, very rich) L, ʔp̄·tah 'its  
(fish's) head-skin' L.

-i-tah (noun, unclassified) l. 'skin used as a con-  
tainer or covering; container': giyah̄itah 'water=  
skin, water-bucket' 46.22M, ʔi·siwaʔitah (< ʔi·a  
siwaʔi-itah) 'snuffbox' 56.10, 16L, Galushia Nelson  
t̄s̄'kt̄iitī t̄d̄ 'quiver ("arrow box")' BSdL 549,  
t̄ək̄iʔekt̄ah 'quiver' L, k̄uitah 'empty container' L,  
di·yaʔitah 'salt-shaker' L, gi·wa·itah 'empty beer

bottle' L, ci'lahitah (< ci'lahi-itah) 'pillow-case' L.

2. "hole" (pejorative): ya' di'yahitah  
qel Cordova 'this Cordova's a rain-hole' L.

3. With d-class-mark, 'container for d-class object': da'na-deitah 'coin-purse, purse, pocket-book' L, weida'na-deitah 'eyeglass-case' L.

-d-i-tah (noun) 'shell' (as natural integument): 1.  
(d-class) 'eggshell' (cf. -de'ubdg 'egg', d-class;  
cf. also -d-tah): Kudeitah 'eggshell' L, Kudehu'  
Kudeitah 'lots of eggshells' L.

2. (unclassified?) 'shell (of crustacean)'  
(most crustaceans, however, are not d-class): Ku-  
deitah 'shell of crustacean' L.

-dl-i-tah (noun, unclassified?, with dl-class-mark;  
cf. e.g. -la'ca' 'testicle' and ca' 'stone', dl-  
class) 'scrotum': si'la'itah 'my scrotum' S.

la'itah (noun, unclassified, see la') 'sack, bag,  
pouch, purse, pocketbook': 36.31, 38, 39A, Rezanov  
Habra 'Cyanka Tasche' na'itah, Habra 'Mizora  
Sack' la'itah 'sack, bag, purse' L, 'pocketbook'  
M, 'bag' A, 'purse, bag' S, la'itahluw 'big purse'  
LM, la'itahgeh' "ears" where top of sack is tied  
at corners' L.

?i'desela'itah (noun, unclassified?) 'fancy beaded  
sewing-bag' ('one pouch above the other') L, 'e.g.

shoe-bag with many pockets that hangs on wall' M,  
Galushia Nelson itáqálá·títá 'sewing bag' BSdL  
547, Galushia Nelson itáqálá·ítá 'married wo-  
man' BSdL 542 (L does not understand the reason,  
if any, for this gloss).

ta?

ta? (preverb) 'into (natural body of salt or fresh)  
 water' 1. With zero final: a. usual except with  
 repetitive, customary, and inceptive perfective:  
 ta? -ta 25.44A, ta? O-(t-)ta 25.41A, ta?  
 O-xi'c 'S soaks O in water', ta? O-t-cjhd 'S  
 throws pl. O in water', ta? O-cu'x 'S thrusts,  
 dips O into water', ta? O-dax 'S throws O into  
 water', ta? O-l-ga's 'S mixes O in water', ta?  
 d-ie-qahs 'S falls into water', ta? ke-qu 'pl.  
 S (ducks) land in water', ta? O-lee 'S pushes,  
 throws O into water', ta? ke-?e3 'S jumps in-  
 to water', ta? o-x -?a?c 'S goes into water  
 with o' 20.25A, ta? l-de-?a 'S disperses into  
 water' 50.62, 62A, ta? seia? 'put them in the  
 water!' 21a.23L, ta? l-de-a 'S goes mistakenly  
 into deep water', ta? sahî 'he went, walked  
 into the water' L, with qe?-qe'- 'back, again':  
 ta? qe? sdiyahî 'went back into the water' 21a.-  
 25L, ta? qe? seitahîh 'put it back in the  
 water' 45a.8L, gu'deg qe? ta? xsii?e3î 'I  
 jumped back into the water again' M.

1b. Occasionally also with customary: de-  
 de-ga? da'yd ta? ?ew ?e3a'kinu' 'each time  
 they shoved them in the water' 25.50A, Kude'dah

taʔ ʔa·kə 'he (cust) has no way to go into the water' 11.69A, with qeʔ-qeʔ-; gu·deg ʔew qeʔ-taʔ di·de·ʔkinu· 'again they (cust) throw it (head) back into the water' 53.14L.

1c. In certain non-verbal or nominalized forms: teʔyaʔ (< \*taʔ-yaʔ) 'fish, salmon', see yaʔ-, teʔwaʔi 'fish-trap, weir, rack', (see waʔi<sup>2</sup>), taʔk̄teh 'dead spawned-out fish' (see te).

2. With -d final 'at rest in', taʔd yaʔ ʔeda·k̄h ' (cust) sits in water' 50.14A, taʔd sedah̄ 'sits in water' L, 50.16A, taʔd ya·nuʔ ʔele·ḡk̄h ' (cust) reaches his hand down underwater' 56.2L, taʔd ʔuʔlixik̄yah 'I'm keeping it in water' L, deʔyaʔ taʔd yaʔ 0-leʔ 'S pushes O backward into water', taʔd qəlaʔnik̄ 'small water-bug or fish species', taʔd ʔi·iʔemah 'sponge, soaked fish-heads', taʔd yaʔ da·ʔ 'he's walking around in the water, wading' L.

2b. With -d final '(from a position of rest) in' and qaʔ-qaʔ- 'up out': taʔd qaʔ siktah̄ 'I rinsed it, took it out of water' L, taʔd qaʔ·ʕ ʔəseʔg 'wring it out!' ('twist it up out of water!') L, taʔd qaʔ ʔeqah taʔd qaʔ ʔeq̄hinu· 'they come up out of the water' L,

taʔd qaʔ -ʔaʔ 'S sticks up out of water',  
 taʔd qaʔ 0-i-(y)a, taʔd qaʔ-ʔ 0-i-(y)a, taʔd  
 qaʔ 0-i-yaʔ, taʔd qaʔ-ʔ 0-i-yaʔ 'S rinses  
 pl. 0', taʔd qaʔ sahih 'he came out of the  
 water' L, taʔd qaʔ ʔawe-skʔ 'it (cust) bobs  
 up out of water' 20.44A, with ʔeʔ-ʔeʔ-: taʔd  
 ʔeʔ qaʔ ʔedawe-skʔ 'it (cust) bobs back up to  
 the surface' LM.

3. With -ʔ final, 'repeated or continuous  
 motion to, toward': taʔʔ lexgaʔc 'I'm mixing it  
 with (river-)water' M, taʔʔ o-x d-ke-kihd 'S  
 shoves o into water', taʔʔ 0-i-cihd--ciʔd 'S  
 throws pl. 0 into water (one after another)' L,  
 12.6, 6, 17G (-ʔ in forms from G probably in-  
 correct), taʔʔ ʔeqah, taʔʔ ʔeqihinuʔ 'pl. S  
 go into water' L, 50.3A, taʔʔ seʔaʔciʔ 'they  
 went into (towards?) the water' 20.93, 94A, yahd  
 taʔʔ qaʔaʔʔ 'they'll go out to sea into the  
 water' (of loons, learning to swim) 24.40A, taʔʔ  
 sahi 'he went toward the water' L, with ʔeʔ-ʔeʔ-:  
 taʔʔ ʔeʔ daya-kʔ 'are (cust) put back into the  
 water' 45a.14L.

4. With -x final 'motion within': with  
 yeʔ 'downward': taʔx yeʔ 0-l-i-yaʔ 'S puts  
 pl. 0's heads down into water, baptizes pl. 0',

qa· taʔx̄ yəx̄ ʔi·kyj̄·ʔih̄ 'priest', taʔx̄ yəx̄  
xulisdicu·x̄i 'my head got thrust down into water'  
L, taʔx̄ 0-1-i-ʔa 'S baptizes (sg.) O', taʔx̄  
yəx̄ ʔi·diʔahkinu· 'baptized people', taʔx̄ yəx̄  
ʔəlugg 'keep dipping your hands in water!' L,  
with yəx̄-progressive: taʔx̄ yəx̄ da·x̄ih̄ 'he's  
walking around in water, wading' L, taʔx̄ yəx̄  
xdeleʔḡx̄ 'I work with my hands in water, move my  
hands about in water' L, taʔx̄ yəx̄ ʔadəwe·k̄  
'(cust) swim around in the water' 62.29G.

5. With -dəx̄ final 'motion within' (per-  
haps incorrect): taʔdəx̄ yəx̄ da·x̄ih̄ 'he's walk-  
ing around in water, wading' (same as taʔx̄ yəx̄  
da·x̄ih̄, taʔd̄ yəx̄ da·x̄ih̄) L.

ta'?

-ta' (kinship noun, ascending, for vocative see dah) 'father': 2b.6, 13L, 11.111, 129A, 18.41, 19.26L, 20.95A, 21a.12, 17, 20, 34.109, 112, 42.20, 23L, 43.14M, 49.12, 17A, 55.19L, ?utsa'?'siyah 'her old father' 49.77A, ?ah seqe-'dekihta' 'the child's father' 55.23L, sita' 'my father' LMA, ?idehdah sita' 'my real father' L, so'tay:ti:<sup>n</sup>i<sup>n</sup> 'step-mother' [sic] BSdL 568A, sita' ?yijih 'my stepfather' ('he who is my father') L, Rezanov Gwraaraa 'Дядя Grossvater' sita'?'ta' 'my father's father' (not a standard kinship term, see ?uh), Furuhjelm Imata 'woman', perhaps ?ima-ta' 'your mother's father' (not a standard kinship term, see ?we-š; also not a curse) L, sita'?'seyu' 'my father's relatives, my father etc. (my father and his side of the family)' L, sitqa<sup>n</sup>ta 'husband's father' (woman speaking) BSdL 568A siqa'?'ta' 'my husband's father' (not a standard kinship term, see -y-ta'?) L; a frequent element in personal names for men, see Appendix ; a frequent element in curses: ?ita'?'ma' 'your father's mother!' (not a standard kinship term, see Kih) L, ?ita'?'ma'ga' 'like your father's mother!' L, ?ita'?'ma'yeky'č 'your father's mother's thumb!' L, ?ita'?'ma'ga' ?i·lihše'e·Kf '(this wood, difficult to split) is crossgrained like your father's

mother!' (Billy Dade cursed) 72.36L, ?ita-?k̄ih= yeky-čga? sələsəta? 'live like your father's paternal grandmother's thumb!' A (I cannot explain the origin of these curses as such, but is not reluctant to repeat or discuss them).

qa-ta-? (noun, unclassified) 'God' ('our father') L, 46.31M, 51.6, 6, 7, 18, 18, 18, 18, 39, 70.2A, qa-ta-?q-? se?a-čkinu- 'those who have come upon Our Father' (i.e. those who have gone to heaven) 51.-73A, qa-ta-? ?u-nəʒ k̄udeda?ya-g 'Lent' ('Our Father's torment') L. *... the same as ...*  
-y-<sup>2</sup>-ta-? (kinship noun, ascending) 'father-in-law' (man's or woman's): 2a.34M, siyeta-? 'my father-in-law' LA, ?uyeta-? (not ?uwe-) 'his (or her) father-in-law' LM.

tqh

tqh (noun, unclassified) 'stuffing (grass) inside shoes, socks' L, 'shoe-stuffing, half-socks' A, tqhyeq' ?ixə? seie'e'ʒ 'put your stockings on' ('put your feet in your stockings!') L, tqh si-za? qi-delah qu'xdeʒih 'I'll wrap it (e.g. bur-lap) around my feet as stockings' L.

tqh (also tq in verb, probably analogical; noun tqh probably primary)

tqh (noun) 'wave' 1. (classification indefinite):  
 Rezanov Tama 'Eyyyma Brandung', Galushia Nelson  
 ta<sup>n</sup>, Old Man Dude ta<sup>n</sup> 'waves' BSdL 537, tqh  
 'wave(s)' L.

2. (xdl-class): as o of postposition: 37a.21,  
 72.39L, tqhxe<sup>l</sup>a'yeq' ye<sup>x</sup> dwe<sup>x</sup> 'it's swimming  
 around in the waves' L; with suffixed adjective:  
 tqhxe<sup>l</sup>i'nuw 'big waves' L; in compounds: tqh=  
 xe<sup>l</sup>a'yequh 'small waves' L, see also tqheyah<sup>s</sup>;  
 as S: tqh xe<sup>l</sup>a'qu'x' 'wave is breaking' L, tqh  
 xe<sup>l</sup>a'sii'ez<sup>h</sup> 'ocean swells rolled' L.

3. (dl-class, status uncertain, dl- perhaps  
 thematic as in dl-tqh, and/or in error for xdl-):  
 tci<sup>l</sup>dcia qi' ta<sup>n</sup> D<sup>l</sup>ina<sup>x</sup> q<sup>s</sup>t<sup>h</sup>d<sup>h</sup>.t<sup>h</sup> "'Where Old  
 Raven was walking behind the waves" (i.e. beach-  
 combing)' BSdL 261, 259 t<sup>h</sup>i-leh<sup>s</sup>iyah qi' tqh<sup>l</sup>i'-  
 ne<sup>x</sup> e(e<sup>h</sup>)a<sup>h</sup> (?, h-classifier not expected) 'where  
 Raven was walking in the waves', ta<sup>n</sup> t<sup>h</sup>iinaqt  
 qe<sup>x</sup>ia<sup>h</sup>.t<sup>h</sup> or ta<sup>n</sup> D<sup>h</sup>iinaqt q<sup>h</sup>au<sup>x</sup>ia<sup>h</sup>.t<sup>h</sup> "'I am going  
 behind the waves", (Raven's song (waves behind I--  
 am-going)' BSdL 261, 559 tqh<sup>l</sup>i'ne<sup>h</sup>d e(e<sup>h</sup>)a<sup>h</sup> 'I'm  
 walking along inside the breakers', cf. 72.39L; in  
 compound: tqh<sup>l</sup>a'yah<sup>s</sup> (= tqheyah<sup>s</sup>, tqhxe<sup>l</sup>a'yah<sup>s</sup>,  
 probably also influenced by ?qh<sup>l</sup>a'yah<sup>s</sup> and dl-tq)

'tidal debris' L; as S: t̄h q̄i? l̄e: λa'iyā'ʔ  
'where waves lap ashore' L (cf. dl-t̄h).

4. (unclassified): as S: t̄h qaʔ ʔi'ʔyah̄i  
'waves are rolling' M, 'a wave is coming' L, t̄h  
ʔid̄e:le'ɪ 'it's getting wavy' L, t̄h xiŋgaʔ  
se:ieʔi 'wave is getting white(cap)' L; in com-  
pound, see t̄həyah̄s.

t̄həyah̄s (also t̄hɛλa'yah̄s, t̄hλa'yah̄s, cf.  
ʔahλa'yah̄s) 'tidal debris (small debris, mainly  
vegetable, left ashore at floodmark)' ('waves' child')  
L, 56.22L, t̄həyah̄s kuʔuʔ q̄iʔ ku'leh 'where  
there are lots of tidal debris' L.

-t̄h (noun, unclassified?) 'wave (made by o)': ku-  
t̄h 'wave made by something' L.

dl-t̄h (stem-variation probably analogical) 'S (wave)  
moves': ʔu'ɕ λa'set̄h'ɪ 'a wave is coming there'  
L, ʔu'ɕ quʔλi't̄h 'a wave will come there' L,  
ʔu'd λa'set̄h'ɪ 'a wave came there' L.



tuh-tu' (form of stem cannot be established with certainty; only neuter imperfective and once perhaps an optative could be elicited without -g-repetitive; with the -g-repetitive L has -tuh- 35 times, -tu?- twice, and is reluctant to use -tu?- freely; M has -tuh- twice, -tu?- once; in the only repetitive elicited from A, however, the form is -tu?-; cf. *3a'-3ah*)

Ku-?-ie-tuh(--tu') (semitransitive with thematized

indefinite O Ku-) 'S is lazy': Rezanov *Козьмукъуа* *паметна-на, or -?*  
 'Jambouâ faul' Ku?hituh 'it's (or you're) lazy', *perhaps originally together with prefix,*  
 Ku?hituhh 'he's lazy, a lazy person' LA, diK *see IUPAL*  
 Ku?hetuhh 'he's not lazy' LM, Ku?xhituh 'I'm  
 lazy' LM, Ku?hituhj?luw 'big lazy lout' M, de-  
 ?u'd Ku?hituhh 'OK let him be lazy' L (active  
 and neuter optatives and neuter imperfective would  
 all be homophonous); with o-č 'toward o': ?awč  
 Ku?hituhh 'he's lazy about it' M; with y-ana-  
 tomical: ?uč Ku?yixhituh 'my hands are too lazy  
 to do it' ('I'm manually lethargic <sup>found</sup> about it') L.

Ku-?-ie-tuh(--tu')-g (as above, but -g-repetitive thematized, required in all modes and aspects except neuter imperfective and optatives) 'S becomes lazy': Ku?eietuhgih 'he's getting lazy' L, Ku?eietuhgih (or -tuhg-) 'he's getting lazy' M, diK Ku?eietuhgih 'he's not getting lazy' L, Ku?qu?xietuhg 'I'll ~~not~~ get lazy' L, Ku?qu?ie-

tuhgih (or Ku<sup>?</sup>qe<sup>?</sup>ketuhgih, which would imply a  
 theme ?i-ke-tuh-g with indeterminate O besides  
 the Ku-indefinite; L such prefers the form with  
 -qu<sup>?</sup>-, but claims she has heard others say -qe<sup>?</sup>-;  
 it is not unlikely that such analogical forms would  
 occur with this difficult theme) 'he'll get lazy'  
 L, diK Ku<sup>?</sup>qu<sup>?</sup>ketuhgih 'he won't be lazy' M,  
 Ku<sup>?</sup>saituhgih 'he got lazy' L, Ku<sup>?</sup>saitu<sup>?</sup>gih 'he  
 got lazy' A, diK Ku<sup>?</sup>xsketuhgke 'I didn't get la-  
 zy' L, Ku<sup>?</sup>seketuhg 'get lazy!' L, da<sup>?</sup> Ku<sup>?</sup>lituhg  
 'let's be lazy' L, gi<sup>?</sup>wa<sup>?</sup> ?exdelah da<sup>?</sup> Ku<sup>?</sup>-  
 xletu<sup>?</sup>gk 'when I start to drink beer I (cust) get  
 lazy' L; with o-xa<sup>?</sup>: ye<sup>?</sup> ?ute-xxa<sup>?</sup> Ku<sup>?</sup>qu<sup>?</sup>ke-  
 tuhg (or -tu<sup>?</sup>g) 'it (dog, child) will get lazy  
 from lying around' L, gi<sup>?</sup>wa<sup>?</sup> ?ulahxa<sup>?</sup> Ku<sup>?</sup>xski-  
 tuhgi 'I got lazy from drinking beer' L; with o--  
 lehd: ?ew gi<sup>?</sup>wa<sup>?</sup>lehd qahnu<sup>?</sup> Ku<sup>?</sup>seketuhgi 'it's  
 because of the beer they're getting lazy' L. The  
 causative of this theme is especially problematical,  
 formed in two or perhaps three different ways: (1)  
 Normally, with o-d 'o as middle agent in causative  
 construction', o-d Ku<sup>?</sup>-?i-tuh-g 'S makes o lazy':  
 sid Ku<sup>?</sup>sektuhgi 'it's making me lazy' L, ?i<sup>?</sup> sid  
 Ku<sup>?</sup>si<sup>?</sup>ktuhgi 'you are making me lazy' L, ?ida<sup>?</sup>ya<sup>?</sup>-  
 le<sup>?</sup> ?id Ku<sup>?</sup>sexktuhgkedewa<sup>?</sup> 'before I make you too  
 lazy' L. (2) Highly irregular and anomalous, but suf-  
 ficiently authenticated, Ku<sup>?</sup>-?o-i-tuh-g 'S makes O

lazy', with double O, personal O of fully transitive, and Ku-indefinite of semitransitive: Ku<sup>?</sup>-xuci·ituhgɿ 'you're making me lazy' L (verified on two different occasions), Ku<sup>?</sup>xusektuhgɿ 'it made me lazy' L, Ku<sup>?</sup>iqe<sup>?</sup>xituhg 'I'll make you lazy (by doing too much for you)' L. (3) With personal O replacing thematized Ku-, O-<sup>?</sup>-i-tuh-g 'S makes O lazy': xu<sup>?</sup>sektuhgɿ 'it's making me lazy' L (later rejected or accepted only reluctantly by L), ?iN<sup>?</sup> ci<sup>?</sup>dele·l xu<sup>?</sup>sektuhgɿ 'talking to you is making me lazy' L. The correctness of these in this form, without thematized Ku-, is quite doubtful.

tawah (perhaps blend of x<sup>w</sup>a-xa-xewa and ta')

ʔi·itawah (noun, ti·l-class) 'red ribbon seaweed, red laver, sea lettuce (Porphyra laciniata)' M,  
 ʔi·itawahti·letuʔ 'lots of ribbon seaweed' M.  
 M insists, on two separate occasions, on this form with stem-initial -t-, for which all other informants regularly give ʔi·ixewah; see x<sup>w</sup>a-xa-xewa. Perhaps influenced by, and/or related to ta', l-ta' 'S lives'.

ta?x təx

O-ta?x 'S kicks O': xuseita?xih 'he kicked me' L,  
 xta?x 'I'm kicking it' M, ?eta?x 'kick it!' M,  
 with <sup>anatomical</sup> marks ~~for specific anatomical reference~~: xugedeseta?xih 'he kicked me in the rump' L, ?i'-  
 sita?x 'I kicked it in the head' L; repetitive:  
 hi? ?ew ta?xgih 'he keeps kicking it all the  
 time' L; <sup>determinate</sup> with indeterminate O and c-? 'at o',  
 c-? ?i-de-ta?x 'S kicks at o': si? ?iedita?xih  
 'he kicked at me' L; with indeterminate O and ye?-  
 progressive: ye? ?ixdeta?x 'I'm kicking my foot  
 around' L; <sup>passive</sup>: xusdita?x 'I've been kicked',  
 reflexive, with <sup>anatomical</sup> mark ~~for specific anatomical reference~~  
~~etc~~: ?edgededeta?x 'she (promiscuous wife) is  
 sprucing herself up for a spree of loose behavior'  
 ('she's kicking herself in the rump') L (cf. English  
 'kicks up her heels', by which the Eyak has probably  
 not been influenced; cf. also ?ed-g-ke-?e?3) ~~passive~~  
 with ye?-progressive: ye? ?edgedeta?x 'she's  
 running around, behaving promiscuously' ('she goes  
 about kicking herself in the rump') L, ye? ?edge-  
 dedeta?x 'she (wife) (cust) gallivants, is pro-  
 miscuous, drinks' L.

O-?-ta?x 'S kicks at O' (<sup>of preceding</sup> semitransitive): xu?seta?x-  
 ih 'he kicked at me (may or may not have connec-  
 ted)' L, with <sup>anatomical</sup> mark ~~for specific anatomical reference~~:

xuʔgedesataʔxʔijh 'he kicked at my rump' L.

0-i-taʔx 'S kicks O (thereby affecting position or condition of O)': 21b.1A, sihtaʔxʔi 'I kicked it (so it moved)' L, ʔaʔq xusehtaʔxʔijh 'he (literally) kicked me out' L, yaʔ sihtaʔxʔi 'I kicked it all to bits' L, daʔd xusehtaʔxʔijh 'he kicked me in the face' L (i-classifier presumably because of the brutality of the act); with <sup>but cf. 0-3-tux</sup> yəʔ-progressive: yəʔ xietaʔxʔi 'I'm walking around kicking it along, I'm kicking it about' L, 50.5, 12, 32A 'S kicks O around (abuses, mistreats O)'; Indirect reflexive: ʔadʔ ʔew yəhd sihtaʔxʔijh 'she launched herself (in canoe) with a kick' ('she kicked it out to sea with herself') 25.46. 47A; passive: qid xushitaʔxʔi 'I've been kicked down, off' L.

le-taʔx 'S (folded or rolled) springs open': (qə)-yaʔ shitaʔxʔi 'it (folded or rolled) sprang (back) open' L.

-teʔ (also, but less frequently, -tiʔ L), reduced stem, occurring only in -qi'-teʔ (noun, unclassified) 'heel': Resanov Канеревъ Пята Персе' qa'qi'-teʔ (or -tiʔ ?) 'our-heel, human heel', siqi'-teʔ 'my heel' LMAS.

ta'3 (perhaps to be analyzed ta'-3, cf. ta'2)

ta'3 (adverb) 'formerly, in the past, long ago, in the old days, in olden times' (frequent as introductory formula in texts) L, 25.209, 28.114A, 34.1M, 36.25A, 40.1L, 51.8A, 54.2, 11, 11G, 61.1A, 63.15, 64.2, 15G, 65.80, 68.71, 85, 69.6A, ta'38 '(do you mean) in the old days?' 68.68A, ta'3 Kəzu· yihh, qə·l 'əwa· dik 'he used to be good (formerly), but not now' L, ta'3 xiŋga? 'i·təh 'it used (formerly) to be white' L, ta'3 xiŋga? di·təh 'it (house) used (formerly) to be white' L, ta'3 te'ya'e'd dəxəh xihəh 'I used to live on fish' L, Rezanov Aram 'Ämmo längst, vor langer Zeit' 'a'd ta'3 'very long ago', as attribute to ya· 'thing, one, that of': ta'3 ya· wəxəh 'old-time story' 12.1, 571G, dik ta'3 ya·g'a? 'a'tu·ə 'it's not like old times' 62.= 12, 14G, ta'3 yihinu· 'old-time people' (same as 'ista·lahyu·, qə·dəkyəx yihinu·, not \*ta'3-lahyu· or \*ta'3delahseyu·) L, 39.1, 66.1L, ta'3-delahseyu· 'old-time people' 63.26G ('inhabitants of old times', L rejects), frequently with də·'ipə: dita'3 'formerly, long ago, in the old days, in olden times' L, 5.1, 19.1L, 29.5A, 36.= 25A, 46.1M, 52.1L, 59.1 Galushia Nelson, 60.14A,

63.14G, 69.6A, 71.70LM, dita'3 'iX 'u'sixahî  
(or 'a'xah) 'aw yahd Kudešiyah 'I told you  
long ago that house was no good' L, 'a'd dita'3  
'very long ago' 1b.1M, 18.1L, 43.1, 2, 47b.1M.

tes-tis (L more frequently tis, M more frequently tes, S tes, Rezanov tes; expanded: L te's twice, ti's once, prefers te's)

da-tes(-g) (usually <sup>with -g-</sup> repetitive) <sup>flexionized</sup> 'S trembles, shakes, shivers': xdatəsg 'I'm trembling' MA, xdetiəsg 'I'm shivering, trembling, shivering (from drunkenness)' L, detəsgih 'he's trembling, shaking' IMA, detəsih 'he's trembling' M, səxdetiəsgɪ 'I'm starting to tremble (from sickness, cold, drinking)' L, qu'detiəsg 'it'll shake' LM, sditəsgɪ L, sditəsgɪ 'it shook' M, xdsitiəsgɪ 'I trembled (for no apparent reason)' L, kič detə'skiəgh 'he's (cust) always nervous, gets cold shivers, shudders' L; with ~~anatomical~~ <sup>marks</sup> anatomical ~~marks~~: yəxdetiəsg 'my hand is shaking' L, qi'dixeditiəsgɪ 'my leg got shaky' L. Transitive (causative) O-ɪ-tes(-g): ?əi-təsg 'shake it!' S, xuɪtiəsgih 'he's shaking me' L, frequently impersonal, 'O is nervous, shaky': Rezanov АТМІЛЪТАОЪ 'Трусѣа du furchtest' ?a'd (?i) ?iɪtes '(you,) you're very nervous (shaky)', ?a'd xusəi-təsgɪ 'I'm very nervous (shaky)' L; with class-marks for O: ləxə'i-tiəsg 'shake them (dice)!' L, kʌləxəi-tə'skiəgh (preferable to -ti's-) 'he (cust) plays dice' ('S (cust) shakes something of lɪ-class ('berry-like')), kʌqu?qi'li-xi-təsg 'I'll yoyo' ('I'll shake something of qi'l-class ('rope--

like')') M (L has never heard this term; cf. 3pnd  
for 'buzz-toy')

leḡedetiḡ L, leḡedetiḡ LA (noun, lḡ-class) 'die,  
dice': la'd leḡa' leḡedetiḡ 'two dice' L.  
Nominalized passive active imperfective of 0-lḡ--  
ḡ-tes-g.

Kuqi·lotḡḡ (noun, unclassified?) 'kind of yoyo' M.

L has never heard this form. <sup>3-21</sup>  
<sup>33.32 G A,</sup>  
le-tes-g 'S shivers (from cold)': xḡitiḡḡ 'I  
shivered (from cold)' L, contrasted with xḡi-  
tiḡḡ 'I shivered (for no apparent reason)' L, the  
only attestation of this theme. The validity of the  
contrast is in any case dubious, as de-tes-g is  
amply attested in the sense 'S shivers (for specific  
reason, including cold)'. The authenticity of this  
theme is uncertain; cf. le-sit' 'S shivers (from  
cold)', the influence of which may well account for  
this form.

ta's<sup>1</sup>

o-ta's (postposition) <sup>with zero final only</sup> 1. 'across, over, by, past  
 o': Rezanov Ayraca 'Уперез durch' ?ewta's  
 'across, over it', sita's 'over, across me' L,  
 often with ?eš 'completely by, past, through':  
 o-ta's ?eš ?ed-dl-ka-we?č 'S sneaks by, past o',  
 o-ta's (?eš) xdl-?ya 'S runs by (past) o', ma=  
 gedeta's (?eš) segehkinu' 'they boated across  
 the lake' 37b.67, 80, 80A, Kade'dah ?aw ma=  
 gedeta's ?eš ?esahle 'he had no way to get (walk,  
 wade) across the lake' 37b.81A, Kuta's ?i-?ah  
 'it extends across something (specific)' L, de=  
 ta's ?i-?ah 'it extends across (indeterminate  
 o)' L, further instances under o-ta's -?a' (-?a'  
 16.), o-ta's -sid 'pl. S extend across o',  
 ?ilta's ?idili?ah 'winds are crossed (across each  
 other)' L, o-ta's ?i-?e?y 'S steps over o',  
 ?ilta's ?isi?e?yi 'I sit cross-legged' L, o-ta's  
 ?ed-d-leš 'S jumps over, across o', ?ilta's  
 qa'č ?eddelesinu' 'they're playing leapfrog' L,  
 o-ta's qa? ?ed-ka-su'č 'S (pole-)vaults over  
 o', ?ita's qa'č ?edgeλa'xlexu'g 'I'm somer=  
 vaulting over you' L, ?uta's sa? 'walk over,  
 across it (ditch)!' L, ?uta's ?ixah da'x 'just  
 as I start to walk across it' L, ?q'geleta's

eəqe:ʔ 'she's boating across the river' 25.47A,  
 kufu? ya'galeta's desuxik'a?d da'ʔ 'when I  
 fly across many bodies of water' 34.38L, 'ixə'-  
 ta's M, 'ixələta's 'across, over a mountain'  
 25.77A, sələduk'ita's 'over a hill' L, Rezanov  
 Истрокатеры 'Образь usarmen' sita's sələ'g<sup>M</sup>,  
 sita's sələ'g 'put your arm around (over, across)  
 me!' LM, sita's ku'sa'əʒi 'someone threw a spear  
 past me (missed me)' L; with ʒə- 'area' as o,  
 'across an area', in place-names: 'əʒəkih qi?  
 ʒeta's dəya'ʔ place in canoe passage on Hawkins  
 Island, also a creek above Boswell Bay ('place  
 where canoes are taken across') L, as noun, o of  
 postposition: ʒeta'sya?d Odiak Slough ('o with  
 broad opening at top (body of water) across an  
 area') L, ʒeta'sguda?d mouth of Odiak Slough  
 ('mouth of body of water over an area') L.

2. 'instead of o': sita's 'instead of me'  
 L (cf. o-ʔeʔ, more frequent than o-ta's in  
 this meaning).

ta's (preverb, rare, perhaps incorrect, to be cor-  
 rected to deta's 'across indeterminate o', pre-  
 verb meaning 'across' normally da'ʒ) 'across':  
 ta's di-ʔah 'it (board) lies extended across' L.  
 ta'ssekah (noun, unclassified, etymology uncertain,

clearly with ta's 'across' as preverb, or perhaps postposition with zero reflexive o if indirect reflexive construction: perhaps ta's e-i-lah 'around-most (of a series) across' ?, or ta's e-ie-(y)a nominalized passive inceptive conditional indirect reflexive 'anything pl. which may be kept around oneself', but more probably expected form here would be ta's e-dayah, or ta's e-dayah, or perhaps ta's e-i-(y)a 'pl. are in position across, around' (with unidentified e-thematic) 'belt' LM, Rezanov Таскара 'Носок Gurt', ta's-e-lah xihx sil'ahh 'I started to make a belt' M, ta's-e-lahh'a'x (?uxa?) '(tucked) under (his) belt' 37b.30, 60A.

ta's-nahyu', see ta's-nah, separate entry.

ta's<sup>2</sup> (authenticity uncertain)

lesəita's (nominal form, attested only as C) 'older (grown up, mature, pubescent)'; attested only on Li file-slip, ləqəit'á's gálé'í 'he's getting older (boy)' to be read lesəita's səleʔí 'he's getting to be lesəita's', checked only with M, who does not recognize the form, and suggests lesəixa'íh 'he's growing (to certain extent, in certain way)'; it seems unlikely, however, that the form in Li here is a mistranscription, except in that it should perhaps be corrected to lesəita'sí, in which case the form is a nominalized inceptive perfective (rather than the rarely nominalized inceptive conditional) of a theme l-í-ta's, with same prefixes as l-í-x<sup>w</sup>a, and perhaps meaning 'S (male?) reaches sexual maturity', thus lesəita'sí səleʔí 'he is getting to be one who is beginning to reach sexual maturity'; cf. yah.

taʔɕ

-taʔɕ 'S becomes flat, collapses', especially with  
 laʔq 'thickness, deflation': siʔmahdɪ siʔaʔ  
 laʔq setaʔɕɪ 'bread went flat on me' L. Transi-  
 tive (causative): siltaʔɕɪ 'I flattened it out'  
 L, laʔq quʔxitaʔɕ 'I'll collapse it, crush it,  
 smash it down (e.g. box, can)' L.

tuʔɕ

-tuʔɕ 'pl. (or sg. with another involved) animate S lie, are prone, in bed, sleep': (1) Active perfective, used with force of neuter, 'pl. (etc.) S lie, are prone, in bed, sleep': 18.37L, 51.61A, setuʔɕ-linu· 'they're in bed' L. (2) Neuter perfective, usually with o-ɕ 'on o': ʔu·d da·ɕ ʔi·tuʔɕi-nu· 'they're lying (on something, surface) over there' L. (3) With yɕ·ʔ 'down', modes and aspects freely used, 'pl. (etc.) S lie down, go to bed': 18.25L, 25.27, 37b.8A, 39.2L, 49.1<sup>21</sup>8A, yɕ·ʔ ʔe-ləʔtuʔɕ 'pl. lie down!' LM, yɕ·ʔ da· qaʔtuʔɕ 'we'll lie down' LM, yɕ·ʔ setuʔɕy ʔuʔ dɛxlihi-nu· 'I told them to lie down' L, ʔiʔ yɕ·ʔ quʔx-tuʔɕ 'I'll go to bed with you sg.' L; transitive (causative): yɕ·ʔ quʔxituʔɕ 'I'll put them to bed' L, yɕ·ʔ ləʔiqeʔxituʔɕ 'I'll make you pl. go to bed' L. (4) With expanded stem, -tu·ɕ 'pl. (etc.) S lie (etc.) in successive acts' (not confined to the customary): active imperfective, used in customary or ethical sense: ʔɕ·dšəl saqe·soyu·tu·ɕ 'is it here the children sleep (ordinarily)?' L, ʔu·d da· tu·ɕ 'we (ordinarily) sleep there' L; with yaʔ 'completely, to state of rest', attested only in 49.71, 71fa, once apparently in the neuter imperfective repetitive, a very rare form;

customary: ?u'd da' tu'čk' 'we (cust) sleep  
there' L.

?istu'č (gerundive, with expanded stem) 'act of  
pl. animate subjects lying': qa' səiga?č ?el  
?istu'č 'we're tired of lying down' ('this lying  
has tired us') L.

?uya? ?istu'čč (noun, unclassified) 'blanket' L,  
Rezanov Яemryuak 'Očičao Bettdecke'. Derived  
from gerundive, with -č-instrumental, o-ya? 'in  
o (with opening at top)'. - ?

*Handwritten notes:*  
?u'd da' tu'čk'  
?istu'č

tug (expanded te·g twice, tu·g once)

ie-tug 'S swells up (with moisture)': sɛitugɫ 'it swelled up (in water, e.g. feathers, dried fruit, like rice)' L, daʔa· ʔu·d quʔɛtug 'it'll swell up by itself there' L, ʔəɛ ɛaʔyah da·ɣ ʔɛɛ=te·gK 'when it gets soaked it (cust) swells up' L, used figuratively in reference to natural abundance: ʔ2.29fn, 30fnL, repetitive: ɛetugg 'it keeps swelling up' L; with lɣ-class-mark ('berry-like') for S: lɛɛɛtug·gK 'it (rice) (cust) swells up' L, ɛɛɛ=ɛte·gK 'they (berries, rice) (cust) swell up' L; transitive (causative): quʔyɛtugɫuh 'will you make it swell?' L. Susceptive neuter: ɛitugɣ 'it swells up easy (e.g. macaroni)' L; with lɣ-class-mark, negative: diK lɛɛaʔɛtugɣɛ '(berries) that don't swell' L.

/N/

lɛɛɛtug (noun, lɣ-class) 'rice' IM. Nominalized active imperfective of above, with lɣ-class-mark. lɛɛɛ=ɛtug ʔuɟ ɣɣ·ʔɛ lɛɛaʔyah 'table for rice (in Russian Orthodox church)' ('rice is ready on it') L.

gl-de-tug. (verb theme attested only with gl-class-mark 'liquid'): <sup>if (liquid) = thick, strong</sup> gy·sɛitugɫ ka·ʔ 'thick soup (which has lots of stuff in it)' L, gy·sɛitugɫ ɛe·y 'strong tea (which has lots of leaves in it)' L.

tux

tux (noun, gl-class?) 'saliva, sputum, phlegm' M,  
'spit' L (never possessed L).

O-tux 'S spits on O': situxĭ 'I spit on it (accidentally)' L; with mark for specific anatomical reference: xulesetuxĭjh 'he spit in my face' L; with indeterminate O: siĉ yaʔʔ ʔisetuxĭjh 'he spit at my face' ('he spit upwards at me') L, indirect reflexive: yeʔe'q ʔiqeʔxdetux 'I'll spit in my hand (palm)' L.

O-ʔ-tux 'S spits at O' (semitransitive): with mark <sup>anatomical</sup>  
~~ʔisetsuxĭjh~~: xuʔlesetuxĭjh  
'he spit at my face (may or may not have connected)' L.

O-ĭ-tux 'S spits at O', attested only in daʔd xuseĭtuxĭjh 'he spit at my face' L, cf. daʔd O-ĭ-taʔʔ.

O-d-tux 'S spits (expectorates) O': xi'ĉ kudese-tuxĭjh 'he spit something out, away' L, ʔew de-setuxĭ 'he spit it out' L, qahʔʔ ʔidedi-tuxʔeʔʔ ʔiʔdi'ĭqeʔdxĭjh 'he (doctor) asks you <sup>about whether</sup> you're coughing-spitting' (qahʔʔ 'a cough' (noun) as O) L; with class-mark for O: ʔew ca' xi'ĉ ĭi-tux 'spit out that stone!' (d+dl) L.

d-de-tux 'S spits': Rezanov Тѣтухъ слезать  
spucken, speien' ~~ʔisetsuxĭjh~~ detux 'spitting', <sup>gerundive</sup>  
Хѣтъдетухъ 'Плюнь spucken, speien (Imperat.)'

xi·č da·datux 'spit over there!' M, Exoxə- =  
 areryxə 'He нельзя speie nicht', ya'xu· [qu'd]edetux ?  
 'Don't spit' M, disdituxə 'you spit' S, sida'x  
 disdituxəjh 'he spit in my face' L, sič (ya'x)  
 disdituxə 'he spit (upwards) at me' L, dixsdi-  
 tuxə 'I spit (anywhere)' L, 'ewč dixsdituxə 'I  
 spit at it' L, 'uxa·x dixsdituxə 'I spit wide of  
 it (missed)' L, ič dedetuxəjh deyxəh 'a person  
 who's always spitting' L (reluctant to expand stem  
 for customary form); indirect reflexive: ya'ke·q  
 qu'dexdetux 'I'll spit in my hand (palm)' L.

*datux (gerundive) 'act of spitting' attested in Reznan mly:*  
 TETyxə 'наевато spoken, speien' 'spitting',  
 Exoxə-areryxə 'He нельзя speie nicht!',  
 ya'xu· g'al datux 'no spitting!'.

*datux (gerundive) 'act of spitting' attested in Reznan mly:*  
 TETyxə 'наевато spoken, speien' 'spitting',  
 Exoxə-areryxə 'He нельзя speie nicht!' ya'xu·  
 g'al datux 'no spitting!'.

Exoxə-areryxə

te·k (perhaps rounded form of teʔk')

te·k (noun, d-class) 'some kind of bark?': remembered only in te·kdayaʔd da·ʔ seqehk 'he boat-  
ed across in (a craft made of) te·k' L. L not  
sure of meaning; not entirely certain even of the  
authenticity of the form. See taʔxc', qahλ, and  
53.27-28fnL. ~~Perhaps related to teʔk', of which  
it may be an expanded form.~~ Transcription by  
Li in notebook from George Johnson implies  
teʔk written over te·k, glossed 'pitchy gummy  
wood'.

te'k (perhaps related to te·k')

0-l-te'k 'S removes 0 (wet outer part of firewood, off dry part, by splitting or chopping)': 'ew qa' 'split it (wet part of firewood) off (the dry)!' L; repetitive: 'ewkah' 'split it (wet part of firewood) off (the dry)!' L; repetitive: 'ewkah' 'split it (wet part of firewood) off (the dry)!' L. These sparsely attested; ~~Perhaps related to~~

'see te·k

taʔk

O-taʔk 'S twists O': ʔotaʔk 'twist it!' L, quʔx-taʔk 'I'll twist it (e.g. rag, drape)' L; passive: sditaʔkɪ 'it's (been) twisted' L. This theme usually occurs with either g- 'filament--like' or qi-l- 'rope-like' class-mark for O, and refers especially to twisting strands together in making string, thread, yarn, rope, etc., by snapping motions between the thumb and third finger of both hands, in opposite directions L: guxtaʔk 'I'm spinning string, yarn, thread' L, kuquʔgu·xtaʔk 'I'll twist, spin something (string etc.)' L, kuqi·lextaʔk 'I'm twisting something (string, rope, etc.)' L, kuqi·sitaʔkɪ, kuqi·lisitaʔkɪ 'I twisted something (string, rope)' L, qi·lex<sup>w</sup>taʔk 'I'm twisting it (string)' S; passive gusditaʔkɪ 'it (twine) is twisted' L.

O-g-ɪ-taʔk, attested only in Resanov Кыргыз 'Сүзүк' zwrnen, Garn drehen', probably gu·ɪtaʔkuh 'spin it (yarn)!' (or -taʔk<sup>w</sup>?, but this reading is less likely in view of the fact that the final in the form elicited from S shows no labialization). L rejects this theme with ɪ-classifier.

dl-de-taʔk, attested only with dl-class-mark for S (ɜwəɪ 'net'), 'S (net) becomes untangled': deʔa·

λa·sditaʔkɪ 'it (net) got untangled by itself'  
L; transitive (causative): λa·sɪktaʔkɪ 'I  
untangled it (net)' L.

ta'xɔ' (transcribed ta'xɔ' from L, but clearly ta'xɔ',  
with some labialization of x, on tape from A)

ta'xɔ' (noun, d-class?) 'some kind of bark' (or  
tree)?: ta'xɔ'ɔ, with -ɔ-instrumental(?, or  
thematic), in first elicitations from L, later  
consistently without -ɔ: ta'xɔ'ɔ 'some kind of  
tree' (has definitely heard) L, ta'xɔ' "definite-  
ly has to do with a tree, part of it, perhaps the  
wet part that's removed" (see te'k and te'k) L,  
ta'xɔ' 'some kind of bark (not the tree itself)' L.  
The form on the tape from A, 68.14, 14, is clearly  
ta'xɔ', which is to be taken as the correct one.  
See the passage 68.12-16 and fns, in which it ap-  
pears that ta'xɔ' means 'wind-fallen trees' and is  
in any case the material of which the Eyaks first  
built their houses, before they learned to make su-  
perior ones of hemlock, ta'xɔ'eyahd 'ta'xɔ'-house'  
68.14, 14A, Galushia Nelson tɔ'dɔtsɔ yat or  
(tɔ'dɔtsɔ yat) 'Raven House, Gravina Bay ("the--  
one-we-burned-down-on-the-beach-house")' BSdL 545,  
mentioned also in BSdL 37, <sup>124,</sup> and recorded by de Laguna  
in 1933 field notebook 6, p. 1, first Da'uɔ, crossed  
out, then ta'tsɔt, also crossed out, then taɔ-  
tsɔyɔt "The one we burned down on the beach" --  
Gravina Bay -- little village' (the u in most of these

transcriptions indicating labialization of the  $\chi$ , which is therefore to be read as  $x^w$ ; 'the one we burned down on the beach' is of course to be taken as a historical remark rather than a gloss of the name),  $ta^w\chi^w\dot{\chi}eyahd$  'some kind of house, at Katala' (has heard) L,  $ta^w\chi^w\dot{\chi}eyahd$  'potlatch house at Bering River, made of  $ta^w\chi^w$ ' L; see also  $qah\lambda$  and  $qah\lambda eyahd$ . L remembers the form in one other context (for which see also  $te^wK$ ,  $qah\lambda$ , 53.27-28-fnL, 54.0fn):  $ta^w\chi^w\dot{\chi}deya^w q\dot{u}h da^w\chi^w seqeh\dot{t}$  'he ( $qa^w\dot{d}ewi^w\dot{n}ah$ ) boated across (from Hawkins Island) in (a makeshift craft of)  $ta^w\chi^w$ ' ('Heard Minnie Stevens say. He had no canoe. Must be some kind of tree or part of tree. Maybe a kind of cedar. Never heard of them around Alaganik') L,  $ta^w\chi^w\dot{\chi}deya^w\dot{d} da^w\chi^w seqeh\dot{t}$  'he boated across in (a craft made of)  $ta^w\chi^w$  (some kind of bark?)' L.

ti·x (loan from Tlingit tif 'dog salmon')

ti·x (noun, unclassified) 'dog, chum salmon (Oncorhynchus keta)' LM (this salmon was either unimportant or a very late introduction; I never heard of them in her youth, first heard of them from Billy Dude when she was grown), Galushia Nelson ti·tʰ 'dog salmon' BSdL 540.

teł-tił (teł more frequent, expanded te·i, loan from  
Tlingit (Sampson Harry) <sup>w. s. s. xat</sup> tół 'drill' <sup>bores</sup>)

teł (noun, unclassified) 'drill, awl' A, Rezanov  
Таааа 'Буровъ Bohrer', Galushia Nelson teti  
'drill', toti or teti 'awl' BSdL 547, teł'a?  
luw 'big drill' M, teł'ekih, tełekih 'little  
drill' M, Galushia Nelson sčyiti tati or  
sčyati tati 'fire drill ("string-drill")' BSdL  
547 Kuxehiteł.

O-i-teł--tił 'S drills, bores (hole in) O': ?ełteł,  
?ełtił 'drill it!' L, Kuxtełih 'he's drilling  
(something)' M, qu?xiteł 'I'll drill it' L, cus-  
tomary: da· ite·ik (rather than \*da· iti·ik)  
'we (cust) drill it' L, repetitive: itełgih 'he  
keeps drilling it' L, detransitivized with indeter-  
minate O and yač-progressive: yač ?i·itełič  
(to be corrected to -teł) 'drill a series of holes!'  
M.

?uč Kudetit (noun, unclassified) 'drill' L. Nomin-  
alized passive active imperfective, 'by means of  
it something is drilled'.

test (loan from Tlingit tíst 'hammer', perhaps diffused term of unknown origin) X

test (noun, 1-class) '(modern) hammer' M, 65.20A, Rezanov Татитоучитакъ 'Молота, Молотокъ Hammer (eiserer)' didit'u·č... test 'iron hammer', test sič li·ʔaʔ (or -taʔ, no preference) 'give me a hammer!' L, test sič li·taʔ 'give me some hammers!' L, test ʔu·d ʔj·seʔahk (or -tahk, perhaps slight preference for former) 'a hammer is there' L, test kuʔaʔ laʔiʔe· 'use a hammer!' IM, k̄ihs ʔa·na· test 'one hammer' M, deʔk ʔa·na· test daʔli·k̄yah 'how many hammers do you have?' L, testʔa·ʔnuw 'big hammer' L, Rezanov Таттээккэ 'Долото Meissel' testlekih 'little hammer' L (probably not 'chisel'), testʔi·neʔ (preferred to testʔa·neʔ L) xuleselčex̄l̄ih 'he threw a hammer at me' ('he struck me in the head by means of a (thrown) hammer' IM, testʔa·naʔq 'on a hammer' IM, testʔa·neč, testleč 'towards a hammer' L, testlelah 'around a hammer' L, testleda·d 'near a hammer' L; testʔeleiteʔ 'hammer-handle, shaft' L, see teʔ; Rezanov Нека такъ 'Дюэль Nagel' ...test, loan from Tlingit, corresponding Tlingit entry Нека такъ.

test leceʔe·i (noun, unclassified) 'large-bodied

spider' ("looks like it's packing a hammer along on its back") M.

O-tes̄ (derived from tes̄, but L once, Rezanov perhaps once, analogically, with stem -tes, as though noun were to be analyzed tes-i with -i-- instrumental) 'S hammers O, pounds on O with hammer, mallet': ?ates̄ 'hammer it!' L, qu?xtes, qu?xtes̄ 'I'll hammer it' L, diK qu?xtes̄ 'I won't hammer it' M, xtes̄, s̄xtes̄ (former preferred) 'I'm hammering it' L, with class-mark for O: Rezanov Яхутажкогитакъ 'He стучи klopfe nicht!' perhaps to be read with stem -tes, ya? -ju' ... qu?di·tes 'don't hammer it (d-class)', with ya? 'completely': ya? λa·ates̄ 'he's chipping it (stone) with a hammer' M, customary: ya? ?exte·siK 'I (cust) hammer it thoroughly' 65.20A; reflexive, with y-anatomical 'hand': ?edyix̄dites̄ 'I hit my hand with a hammer' L; detransitivized with indeterminate O and yeḡ-- progressive: yeḡ ?idotes̄iḡh 'he's hammering about here and there' L.

O-i-tes̄ 'S hammers O, pounds on O with hammer' (perhaps incorrect, meaning perhaps not distinguished from that of O-tes̄, or perhaps more precisely 'S fixes, affects position or condition

of O by hammering'): xite:k 'I'm hammering it'  
M, with ya? 'completely': ya? 'exite:siK 'I  
(cust) hammer it' A.

0  
0  
4  
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tewi's (loan from Tlingit *tayis* 'stone axe, rock chisel', perhaps widely diffused, e.g. Tsimshian *dawī's* 'axe') *ḥət t-ɣt tɔ-ɣt*: 'stone-axe'

tewi's (noun) 1. (dl-class) 'stone axe' L, *te-wi's* *λi'ʔnuw* 'big (stone) axe' L, *tewi's* *ʔu-d* *λa'seʔah̄* 'a (stone) axe is there' L, Rezanov *Цатятагыс* 'Топоръ американскоѣ Art, amerikische (steinerne)' *sa'λa'tewi's* 'stone-axe' L.

2. (ɣd-class) 'axe (of wood)': *tewi's* *xə=da'luw* 'big wooden axe' L, see also below.

3. (unclassified) 'axe (of iron)': *tewi's* *luw* 'big iron axe' L.

*tewi's* *ɣede'eɣ* (noun, unclassified) 'long-legged snipe' (same kind as *xi'c'de'a-w*) L ("means pounding a stone-axe", or perhaps '(a bird like a) stone-axe is pounding ɣd-class O (e.g. logs)', interpretation not clear, perhaps rather *tewi's* *ɣede'eɣ* 'it is pounding ɣd-class O with an axe').

tane·c' (probably loan from Ahtena, status in Eyak uncertain)

tane·c' (status uncertain) attested only from L, who heard Billy Dade say this, asked him what it meant, and he replied 'long', but Billy Dade didn't know Ahtena, has spent little or no time with Ahtenas L.

ta'snah (loan perhaps from Athapaskan, perhaps through  
Tlingit; not known to Ahtena informants)

ta'snah- perhaps originally place-name, in ta's-  
nahyu 'Scots, Irish' (not natives) L ("because  
they got belt", associated with ta'ssekah 'belt',  
< ta's-~~se~~-i-lah; but the form is clearly related  
to Tlingit tā'sna in Swanton 1909, p. 187 "At  
tā'sna, near the mouth of the Yukon (?), was a  
large village...", Sampson Harry tasnaq<sup>w</sup>an  
'people way up Copper River' (vague), Harrington  
from G ta'snd' 'name of a river way north in  
the Stick Indian Language, in 1909 G met a Stick  
Indian man in Valdez who said he came from  
thaasnaa..., call the people thaasnaaqhwaan;  
Ahtena (Pinart) tašne 'the Kenai Indians'),  
Harrington thaasnaa-tallahqayuu 'interior In-  
dians' G ta'sna-delahseyu'; the term probably  
referred generally to Athapaskans far in the in-  
terior or Athapaskans other than Lower and Middle  
Copper River Ahtena, such as the Tanaina, though  
originally probably to a specific group.

ta'wsen (loan from English 'thousand', perhaps not  
naturalized)

ta'wsen (numeral, or noun, unclassified) 'thousand'  
64.5G.

five .

big lake :

smaller, edat



t'e'-tu' (irregular ablauting stem, t'e in all neuters except neuter imperfective negative, tu in all inceptives and actives and in neuter imperfective negative; syntactically and semantically similar to le, attested in many of the same constructions as le, all of which include adverbs or certain postpositional phrases; the semantic difference is that le indicates activity whereas t'e'-tu' indicates a condition to be described; t'e'-tu' is accordingly very frequent in the neuter imperfective, le in the active imperfective; t'e'-tu' in the active imperfective has the force of the customary, and le is very rare in the neuter imperfective; in the inceptive and active perfectives, there is near-synonymy of t'e'-tu' and le in many of the constructions in which both are attested; t'e'-tu' is sharply differentiated syntactically from le<sup>h</sup>, which, among other things, requires a nominal complement.)

-t'e'-tu' 'S is <sup>in a certain way</sup> (a certain way)': 1. With Ke'-(di'-)d = 'how (ever)?': in neuter imperfective, 'how (ever) is S?, how (ever) does S (e.g. story) go?, what (in the world) is going on with S?, what (in the world) is the matter with S?': 10.97, 268, 21b.42A, 34.125L, Ke'd ?i'teh 'how are you?' (in greeting) L; in inceptive imperfective, 'what (in the world) will become of S?, how (ever) will S end up, turn out?': 21b.53, 23.14, 148A.

(see also -la fa.)

2. With wəx 'thus': a. 'S is thus, becomes thus, ends up thus, S (event) occurs as expected, S (deal) is on': 9.33, 34, 24.33, 67, 70, 29.28, 49.8, 67, 51.26A, 54.4, 57.15G, 61.25, 65.4, 69.28A, 71.4L, wəx qəw ʔi·təh 'that's how it is, it is so' M, dəʔu·d wəx ʔaʔli·təh 'let it be that way' M, wəx qəw sətuʔi 'that's how it turned out' L, wəx qaʔtuh, wəx quʔwətuh 'it'll be thus' L, diK wəx ʔəstəʔi 'it didn't turn out that way' L; transitive (causative): wəx siktəʔi 'I made it (be) that way' M.

2b. With wəx and locatives and postpositions, 'S lives, dwells, stays, is in place' (in active perfective, 'S settles, takes up residence'): 3.7M, 10.6, 57, 259, 11.160A, 12.2, 13G, 16.16, 26M, 21b.66, 25.= 139 (with qəʔ 'again' and de-classifier), 28.135, 33.6A, 42.4, 5L, 49.16, 107A, 56.6L (with qəʔ 'again' and de-classifier), 57.3G, 60.35, 35, 40, 61.116A, 62.3, 11, 19G, 68.13, 13, 14, 43, 44, 61 (with qəʔ 'again' and de-classifier), 63, 63, 64, 69.5, 13, tsiyúqət úxi·ti<sup>n</sup> 'living among black bears' BSDL 276, 558 tsiyuhqaʔd wəx ʔi·tʃihj, da·d wəx ʔi·təh 'where do you live?, where are you staying?' M, tseliʔd wəx ʔi·təh 'he lives downriver' L, siləc wəx ʔi·təh 'he lives upland of me' L, lahq wəx ʔi·tʃihj 'he lives in town' M, tsiqahyaʔd wəx

?i-tʃihʃh 'he lives at Bering River' L; frequently  
 with o-ʒaʔ 'in intimate relation with o', 'S  
 stays with o, S lives with o, S is married to o':  
 10.78, 79A, 17.4, 7, 71M, 20.28, 82, 21b.65, 23.49,  
 50, 24.5, 16, 17, 25.16, 102 (with ʒeʔ 'again'  
 and de-classifier, 'remarried'), 154, 28.17A, 34.4M,  
 42.1 (neuter subjunctive), 3, 48.1L (with ʒeʔ and  
 de-classifier, 'remarried'), 49.106, diʔ ?al qa-  
 ta-ʒaʔ wəʒ qiʔyitʃu:s 'you won't end up staying  
 with Our Father' (i.e. you won't go to Heaven) 51.18A,  
 ?ahʒaʔ wəʒ sətʃuʔihʃh 'he went to live with her' M,  
 siʒaʔ wəʒ ?i-tʃihʃh 'he (or she) is married to me,  
 he's living with me' L, diʔ ?iʒaʔ wəʒ quʔxtʃuhs  
 (or -tʃu:s) 'I won't marry you' (especially a woman  
 would say this, see ?e ) L; with o-ʒ 'with o', no  
 clear difference in meaning from, but less frequent  
 than, o-ʒaʔ: 10.131A, 47b.1M, 47c.42L, 49.96A; in-  
 direct reciprocal: 16.17M, giyahyaʔd ?iʔ wəʒ  
 ?iditʃeh 'they lived together in the water' 16.3M.

2c. Transitive (causative) wəʒ O-i-tʃe 'S  
 keeps O': 12.16G, 65.13A; indirect reflexive 'S  
 wears O': 47b.36M, 47c.44L, Rezanov андохкостальте  
 'однаваться ankleiden, sich' laʔd wəʒ kʰaʔkʰetʃeh  
 'wear something!' or laʔd kaʔ ?aʔkʰitʃeh 'you  
 should wear it', laʔd wəʒ ?aʔkʰetʃeh 'wear it!' L,  
 yaʔd wəʒ ?ixʔitʃeh 'I'm wearing it on my wrist'



kih (?) ?i-t'eh, di'dah ?i-t'eh 'that's quite alright, sort of OK, not really so bad' L; h'hadah ?a't'e 'sit still!' L, h'hadah setu'k'ih 'he suddenly stopped activity, froze stiff, became catatonic' L; see also zu', suhg, gehs-gehs, gehs, xah, sia', ca'nik', ?enikeh for further examples.

4. With ?a'weyu' 'indiscriminately, every which way': ?a'weyu' ?i-t'ih'ih 'he's a bad person, an ill-mannered fellow' L. *(see also -to 15.)*

5. With o-ga' 'like o': a. 'S resembles o, S is like o (in some respect)': 11.96, 23.139, 24.27, 38, 50, 53, 95, 97, 36.25, 27, 34, 36, 37b.39A, 38.7= IM, 50.49, 60.21A, 62.12, 14G, 69.15, 70.8A, 72.4L, \* 10.21  
from  
next  
page very frequent and productive in similes constituting more or less well-established idioms, many of which are nominalized as new coinages, e.g. ci'w'gga' ?i-t'eh 'flour' ('it's like ashes'), see also t'ic', xi't', xa', h'e'k'q', h'e'x'x', de', sah, xahs, se'g, ca'x', si'x', gust', gu', gehs, gemes, ku't', keyi'y, qe'k', qema', xa, xah, zu', nahcede', te'ya' and xa'q'eya' (under ya'), ?e-'g<sup>1</sup>; all color terms are idioms of this type, 'S resembles O (in color)', e.g. di-ya'ga' ?i-t'eh 'it's green' ('it resembles salt-water (in color)')L, di-ya'ga' setu'k' 'it turned green' L, di-ya'ga' qa'tuh 'it'll turn green' L, xu'ga' qi-t'eh 'they (e.g.

insert into preceding page at \* >

de'ewga? 'i-tēh 'it's the same' ('it's just like  
it') L, Koyi'yga? 'i-tēh 'it's different' ('it's  
like something different') M, diK kuta? 'a'diteh-  
ga? 'a'čū:s 'it's useless' ('it's not like it (that  
which) may be used') L,

pl. pups) are white' ('pl. are like snow') L, xuŋga?  
 ?a?li?teh 'let it be white' L, xuŋga? setu?i, xuŋ-  
 ga? ?a?setu?i 'it's turning white' L, see also dis,  
 di·ya?, tu·ŋ, iŋhd, ŋe·x, ce?d, de, da?, de-  
 ga·d, ča?ŋ, ce?, ce·?, xiŋ, qa, ni·ŋ; with class-  
 thematic, and anatomical marks for S: with da? and  
 c-thematic 'face': 10.229A, xiŋga? da? se?iteh  
 'my face is white' L, xiŋga? da? qu?ci·xtuh 'my  
 face will be white (I'll put lots of powder on)' L,  
 see also separate entry 1-te·tu', with qi·d-anato-  
 mical 'foot': siga? qi·di·t'ihjh 'he has feet like  
 mine' L, with gd-anatomical 'rump': siga? gedi·-  
 t'ihjh 'his rump is like mine' L, with d-class-mark:  
 di·ya?ga? di·teh 'it (house) is green' L, diŋ di·-  
 ya?ga? da?tu·e 'it (house) isn't green' L di·ya?-  
 ga? qu?di·tuh 'it (house) will be green' L, ta·3  
 xiŋga? di·teh 'it (house) formerly used to be white'  
 L, with lɣ-class mark: Rezanov Тмякольвете 'Eisera  
 Glasperlen' di·ya?ga? lexi·teh 'they (beads, beans)  
 are green' L, Rezanov Тмякольхэте 'Kрасника  
 Preisselbeere', Тмякольхита 'Брусника Preissel-  
 beere', λa·ce·?ga? lexi·teh 'they (berries) are  
 red' ('like red-snapper') M, deŋga? lexi·teh  
 'they (salmonberries) are maroon color' L, ce?ga?  
 lexi·teh 'brown beads' ('like feces') L, ku?e?xŋga?  
 lexi·teh 'grapes' ('like gallbladders') L, with yd--

thematic 'fish-flesh': čaʔdgaʔ yedi-tēh 'it (fish-meat) looks like red-salmon' L, see also separate entry gdl-tē-tuʔ; with o-dəcəleh as o of o-gaʔ, 'S pleases o' ('S is like, according to o's mind'): 34.8, 17, 21, 26, 31, 34M, 39L, 51, 61M, 70.8A, sidəcəlehgaʔ ʔi-tēh 'it pleases me' M, diK ʔedəx sidəcəlehgaʔ ʔew ʔaʔtu:ə 'that doesn't please me much though' M; indirect reciprocal, see separate entry ʔiigaʔ ʔiditēh.

5b. With o-y-gaʔ 'like, appropriate for o's hand': kuyegaʔ ʔi-tʃihh 'he's a pushover, easy to beat up, easy to handle' ('he conforms to one's hand') L.

5c. With o-d-gaʔ 'like, according to o's oral--noise': kudęgaʔ ʔi-tʃihh 'he's willing to do whatever he's asked, he's compliant' ('he conforms to one's voice') L.

~~6. With o-leʔe 'different from o': 21b.42, 24.30A, ʔewleʔe ʔi-tēh 'it's different', qeʔi-ssyu ʔewleʔe ʔi-tēh 'women are "having their periods" (menstruating)' ('women are different from it, abnormal') 23.17, 19A, ʔewleʔe ʔi-tʃihh 'she's "different, abnormal" (menstruating)' M.~~

5d. Transitive (causative): reflexive: cuʔdgaʔ ne-ʔ ʔedquʔxiətuh 'I'll nap a while' ('I'll make myself be like sleeping a while') L, ʔi-yah ʔi-dgaʔ ʔediiitʃihh 'whew! he (baby) sure has soaked himself'

L, see under separate entry l-t'e'-tu' for further examples.

6. With o-le'e' 'different from o': 21b.42, 24.30A, 'owle'e' 'i-t'eh 'it's different', qe'i-sayu' 'owle'e' 'i-t'eh 'women are "having their periods" (menstruating)' ('women are different from it, abnormal') 23.17, 19A, 'owle'e' 'i-t'ih' 'she's "different, abnormal" (menstruating)' M.

7. Indirect reciprocal, with 'ilda-x' 'in contrast with each other', 'ilda-x de-t'e'-tu' 'S are various, different, of different kinds': 10.229, 230A, kugala-tu' da-x 'ilda-x 'idit'eh 'lots of colors' ('many colors and they are different') M, see also gdl-t'e'-tu'.

8. With o-le-x' 'more than o', 'S is greater than o, S surpasses o (in size, power), S overcomes o': 20. 86, 50.56A, sile-x 'i-t'ih' 'he's stronger (or taller, etc.) than I am' L, xawa' ku-t'eh 'a'd 'owle-x q'uhnu' 'i-t'eh 'one is like a dog, it greatly exceed that' (i.e. people are awful, going to the dogs) L; with ku-indefinite as o, 'S is, becomes, chief, rich, powerful': 1b.21M, 26.13L, 36.48A, frequently nominalized, see separate entry kule-x 'i-t'ih'; 'ile-x kule-x 'ixit'eh 'I have more than you (am richer than you)' M; indirect reciprocal with d--thematic-oral-noise' and o-lah 'about o': kulah

ʔikley quʔdədetʔhinu: 'they're arguing about something' ('they will surpass each other vocally about something')-L.

910. With o-wahd 'for the sake of o': qe'-dah ʔewahd ʔi-tʔihih 'he's quite prepared, ready for it (to fight)' 7.20A.

11. With o-ʔaʔ 'in intimate relation with o': Rezanov Аycaxaore Эаш Bedauern' ʔew siʔaʔ ʔi-tʔeh 'it concerns me, it matters to me' (?), kuʔa'-dah ʔew siʔaʔ ʔi-tʔeh 'I'm sorry' ('that is ill with me') L; usually with ʔi-lih-, see separate entry ʔi-lih-tʔe'-tu'.

12. With o-č 'to o' and optional wəʔ 'thus', o-č (wəʔ) -tʔe'-tu' 'S is related (kin) to o': sič wəʔ ʔi-tʔihih 'he's related to me' IM, sič ʔi-tʔihih 'he's related to me' L, dič sič ʔaʔtu-tʔih 'he's not related to me' L, ʔič ʔixitʔeh 'I'm related to you' M, sič qaʔtʔihih 'he'll be related to me' (apparently, by marriage) L.

13. With o-y-č 'to o's hand', o-y-č -tʔe'-tu' 'S falls victimé to o, succumbs to o': 28.99, 50.6, 61.120, 121A, diduʔʔ ʔuyec siʔuʔi 'I almost fell into its clutches' L.

14. With o-dəwa', 'S waits for o': 15.22, 25M, 37b.44A, 48.16L, Rezanov Якоствавануэты 'He дожк = дамся warte nicht!' yaʔʔu' sidewa' quʔyitʔuh 'don't

wait for me' L,  $\lambda a \cdot \dot{c}e \cdot ?ga?$   $?i \cdot leh dawa \cdot ?ixit'eh$   
 'I'm waiting for it to turn red' M,  $?idawa \cdot ?ixi-$   
 $teh$  'I'm waiting for you' L,  $sidawa \cdot qa?t'ihjh$   
 'he'll wait for me' L,  $sidawa \cdot ?a?te \cdot$  'wait for  
 me!' L,  $sidawa \cdot ?a?lext'e \cdot$  'pl. wait for me!' L,  
 $?udawa \cdot ?a?t'ihjh$  'wait for him!' L,  $sidawa \cdot$   
 $tu \cdot k'jh$  'he (cust) waits for me' L,  $de?u \cdot d \cdot ?ude-$   
 $wa \cdot ?a?xt'e \cdot \gamma$   $si\dot{x}$   $del'jhjh$  'he told me to wait  
 right there for him' L.

*see also -le 17b.)*

14. With  $o \cdot xa?d$  'for o's eating': indirect  
 reflexive:  $xa?dega? \cdot ?a?te?e \cdot$  'cook (prepare) it  
 just right for yourself to eat!' L,  $hi?d \cdot ?el$   
 $de\gamma hyu \cdot xa?dewahd \cdot ?iit'ehyu \cdot$  'all these things  
 which people keep for themselves to eat' 11.11A;  
 passive:  $xa?dewahd \cdot ?idit'ehyu \cdot$  'things kept for  
 eating' 11.10A.

*see also -le 24.)*

15.  $o \cdot de?elehyeq \cdot -te' \cdot tu'$  'S pleases o' 34. =  
 98L. (Attested only once, perhaps analogical, cf.  
 $o \cdot de?elehyeq \cdot -le$  and  $o \cdot de?elehga? \cdot -te' \cdot tu'$ ,  $-le$ .)

16. With  $o \cdot de?eleh$  'o's mind' as S:  $kuzu \cdot -$   
 $dah \cdot sideteleh \cdot siya \cdot qe? \cdot cadetu \cdot da \cdot \gamma$  'when my  
 mind becomes content again' 70.10A; with  $o \cdot \gamma$ , 'S  
 (o's mind) dwells on o, is intent, bent on o', with  
 subordinated subjunctive clause as o of  $o \cdot \gamma$ : 25. =  
 138, 61.3, 8A.

*d - t'e' - ut'a (with d. marker (and voice) 'S is a certain way  
 normally': indirect reciprocal with  $?i \cdot l'oh$  and 'see from each  
 other' and  $o \cdot lah$  'concerning o':  $t'ileh \cdot ?i \cdot l'oh$  go  $?i \cdot l'oh$  to  
 (they) agree about something' L.*

reds + reorganize acc. to mode-aspect  
under categories under v. 7.12h

because

(see also 'idid.1a')

?i·lih-tē'ʔtu' 'S is emotionally (a certain way)';  
de'wəʒ ʔəyəs wəʒ ʔi·lihʔaʔtēh da·ʒ 'just when  
they themselves feel like it, are thus disposed'  
68.44A, ʔənahsəkih ʔi·lihʔaʔxtēh da·ʒ 'just  
as I was beginning to get happy' L, ʔidah ʔi·lih-  
xtuh 'I'm happy, satisfied, have no cares' M, 34.=  
20, 33, 38, 40, 46L, diK ʔidah ʔi·lihʔaʔtu·ejh  
'he's unhappy' M, kuzu·dah ʔi·lihxtuh 'I'm hap-  
py, satisfied' 34.25, 30L, kuzu·dah kaʔ ʔi·lih-  
ʔaʔlitēh 'do be happy' L, kuša·dah qe·lihwetʔhjh  
'he'll get mad' L, kuša·dah qe·lihxtuh 'I'll get  
mad' L, kuša·dah ʔi·lihʔaʔsetuʔijh 'he's getting  
mad' L, diK kuša·dah ʔi·lihʔestʔi·ejh 'he didn't  
get mad' L, diK ʔukuwaʔna·seyu·qaʔē qeʔ ʔi·lih-  
detu·s 'he no longer wants to go back among his rela-  
tives' 24.75A, ʔedewiʔigaʔ ʔi·lihʔaʔtē· 'get a  
move on!, hurry up!' (get emotionally excited!) L,  
ʔiʔiʔsdug dəʒuh diK ʔedewiʔigaʔ ʔi·lihxtuh  
'goodness the fellow sure isn't in any hurry' L,  
kuzu·dah siliigaʔ ʔi·lihxtuh 'I feel like I've  
done well' 34.50, 55, 60fnM; with o-ʒaʔ 'in inti-  
mate relation with o' and many of the preceding:  
kuša·dah ʔiʒaʔ ʔi·lihsetuʔijh 'he's getting dis-  
gusted with you, mad at you' M, ʔənahsəkih ʔuʒaʔ  
ʔi·lih(ʔaʔ)setuʔi (or ʔuʒhʔlih-) 'I'm getting to  
like it' LM, diK ʔənahsəkih qe·lihyituh 'you

won't like it' L, dik' ?enahšekih ?ewxh'lihsetu?k  
 'he didn't like it' L, ?elešgahx ?uxh'lih?a?lit'ihih  
 'I hope he likes it' L, ?enahšekih qe·lih(wə)t'uhih  
 'he'll like it' LM, ?elešgahx ?ew xewa·yu· ?enah-  
 šekih ?uxh'lih?a?xičeh 'I wish I could like those  
 dogs' M, dik' ?enahšekih ?ix'a? qe? ?i·lih'a?xde-  
 tuhs 'I don't like you anymore' L, ?enahšekih si-  
 xa? qe? ?i·lih(?a?)sedetu?k'ih 'he's getting to  
 like me again' L; indirect reciprocal: ?ix'a? ke-  
 zu·dah qe? qe·lihdet'uhinu· 'they'll make up, like  
 each other again' M; indirect reflexive, with o-xa?  
 alone, 'S is conceited, snobbish, <sup>cloze</sup> dressed-up': xh?  
 lih'a?sedetu?k'ih 'he's getting uppity' L, xa? qe·  
 lihdet'uhih 'he'll get uppity' L, xa? qe·lihxdet'uh  
 'I'll get dressed up fancy' L, da· xh'lih'a?dit'eh  
 'let's get all dressed up' L.

Ku·te·tu' (many of the preceding theses, with Ku-in-  
 definite S) 'something (weather, place, <sup>(see 51.57A)</sup> ambience) is  
 (a certain way): 51.57A, xe·ga? Ku·te'eh 'it (weath-  
 er) is calm' (i.e. the smooth surface of the sea re-  
 sembles seal-oil) L, legehsidah Ku·te'eh, legehsa?  
 Ku·te'eh 'it (place, calm still evening) is lonesome'  
 L, lox Ku·te'eh ?enahšekih ?uxh'xleh 'I like this  
 weather' ('I like it that it (weather) is this way')  
 M, ?idah Ku·te'eh 'it (weather) is fine, OK' L, di·  
 ye·xga? Ku·te'eh 'it (weather) is calm, no wind' L,

qahdah ku'teh 'it (place, where dead friends used to live) makes one feel like crying' L.

1-te'tu' l. With l-anatomical 'head, face' a. With li'x 'deep in cavity, depression', li'x 1-te'tu' 'S smiles': 47c.49L, li'x lixiteh 'I'm smiling' L, li'x la'te' 'smile!' L, li'x la'le'xe'te' 'pl. smile!' M, li'x qe' la'dote' 'smile again!' M, li'x qu'li't'ihih 'he'll smile', ?u'ehiga? li'x li't'ihih 'he's smiling from ear to ear' ('he's smiling like his ears') L, li'x la'xe'x (or -te'x) si'x delihih 'he told me to smile' L.

lb. Transitive (causative): reflexive: ku'adah ?edj'it'ihih 'he's frowning, making an evil menacing face' L, hi'c ku'adah ?edj'it'ihih 'he always is mean and bossy' L, ?enikehdah ?edj'it'ihih 'he's making faces (funny, scary), grimacing' L, di'k ?a'd de'ke'duh ?edla'le'tu'a 'he has no expression (of pain, anger) on his face' ('he's not making any very particular kind of face') L, hi'c siwa'ix ?edle'et'ihih 'he's always making mocking faces at me' ('he always makes faces in imitation of me') L, ?ilu? qa? ?j'sdixa'ciga? ?edj'it'ihih 'he looks real fierce and mean' ('he's making himself be facially like his face is tied in an overhand knot') 72.17fnL.

2. With l-class-mark for qexah 'moon' the-

matized, more frequently l-le than l-t'e'-tu':

ʔuʔ ʔi-sətuʔi 'the moon became full' L.

gd1-t'e'-tu' with gl-class-mark 'liquid' + d-thematic 'bright' thematized, 'S (dye, pigment) is (a certain color)': weʔ gəli-t'eh 'it's colored thus' M, gɣ-i-disəgaʔ gəli-t'eh 'it (dye) is a dark reddish color' ('like clotted blood') L; indirect reciprocal: ʔi-da-ʔ gəla-di't'eh 'it has different colors on it, the colors are different' M; nominalized: 66.10L, la'-t'e-ʔgaʔ gəla-di't'ehʔ ʔəlxəʔ 'paint it red!' ('paint it with red color:') M.

dlx-t'e'-tu' with dlx-thematic, probably containing lx-anatomical 'eyes', with o-ɕ 'to o', 'S looks at o, S watches o': 2a.32, 35M, 10.37A, 18.17L, 37b.4, 17A, 55.15L, Hezanov УЧИТАРАРА-ə 'Смотри sehen (Imperat.)' ʔuɕ la-ʔaʔt'eh 'look at it!' L, siɕ la-ʔaʔt'eh 'look at me!, watch me!' LM, ʔuɕ la'-ʔaʔləx't'eh 'pl. look at it!' L, siyeɕ la-ʔaʔt'eh 'look at (what I'm doing with) my hands!' L, siqi-dəɕ la-ʔaʔt'eh 'look at (what I'm doing with) my feet!' L, siyeqəʔ ʔ la-ʔəxi't'eh 'I'm looking at my hands' L, diK ʔiɕ la-ʔaʔxt'uhe 'I'm not looking at you' L, diK ʔuɕ quʔla-ʔi-xt'uhe (or -tu:ɕ) 'I won't look at it' L, ʔiɕ quʔla-ʔi-xt'uhe (preferable to -t'eh) 'I'll watch you' LM, ʔuɕ la-ʔə-sit'uʔi 'I looked at it' L, diKəʔgɕ la-ʔəxi't'eh

qa·lah wəx quʔtuʔɛ (noun, unclassified?) 'grave  
fence'<sup>L</sup>. Deverbalization with quʔ and -i-in-  
strumental, qa·lah 'around us, around people'.

o-xaʔ wəx ʔi·tʃihʃ (nominalization)<sup>60</sup> 'o's spouse'  
( 'he (or she) lives with o' ): ʔiʔaʔ wəx ʔi·tʃih-  
ʃh 'your spouse' (polite, frequent instead of -qaʔ,  
-ʔehd) L. Nominalization-of-2b.

qiʔ wəx -tʃeh (nominalization of 2b.) 'camp of S,  
S's habitation' ('where S lives, stays'): 9.49, 11.-  
200, 25.83A, 57.31, 64.9, 12, 13, 67.9 G (S either  
third person or ku-indefinite).

ʔiʃgaʔ ʔiditʃeh (noun, unclassified) 'suit of clothing'  
L ('they (jacket and trousers) are like each other') L.  
Nominalized indirect reciprocal neuter imperfective  
of a.

Kulex ʔi·tʃihʃ (noun, unclassified, nominalization of  
8.) 'chief, rich man, boss' LM: 2a.4M, 2b1, 2L, 11.-  
98, 103,<sup>104</sup> 119, 121, 21b.19, 36.38, 39, 47A, 52.15L,  
64.17, 18G (frequently articulated Kulexʔe·tʃihʃ  
by A in texts), Rezanov Колюкенте 'Тоенъ Hhuptling',  
Wrangell Кысакынте 'Hhuptling', Furuhjelm khunahete  
(Dall kŭmahete, 1877 khŭmahit) Kulex ʔi·tʃeh, Re-  
zanov Колюрете Богатоѣ reich', Колюхантены (with  
e crossed out and ɛ-ɛ added above) 'Игруппамъ Seeman,  
Matrose', Колюренте Ипанкенте Verwalter', sŭlŭxʔ·  
tʃ or sŭlŭxʔ·tʃ 'head chief or rich man' BGD 543,

me to use it' L, diK kufa? qu?xítuhs (or -tu's)  
 'I won't use it' M, repetitive kufa? xítu'g 'I  
 use it off and on' L; frequently with o-wahd 'for  
 the sake of o', 'S uses O for o, S keeps O for use  
 for o': 37a.24L, 47b.12M; with class-marks for O:  
 66.5L, tesì kufa? la?it'e' 'use a hammer!' L,  
 ?ew tesì kufa? lixik'feh 'I'm using that hammer'  
 L, tesì kufa? da' la-yik'feh (or -tuh) 'let's  
 use a hammer' L, ca?ì kufa? da?xít'e'z (or -t'ehz  
 or -tuhz) siK delih'h 'he told me to use a knife'  
 L, kufa? dixik'feh 'I'm using it (table)' L, 3phd  
 kufa? di-ìt'ih'h 'he's using snowshoes' L. Passive;  
 63.15fnG, ?ew 3q'v' ðiyahdda'z kufa? detuh 'the  
 skunk-cabbage is used as a hat' L, diK kufa? ?a?-  
 dit'ehga? ?a?tu's 'it's useless' ('it's not like it  
 (that which) may be used', passive neuter optative)  
 L, te?ya?wahd kufa? detuhyu' 'fishing-gear, tools  
 for fishing' ('things which are used for fish', pas-  
 sive active imperfective used with force of customary,  
 nominalized with -yu' 'pl.')

?uya?d wez kufu?ì (noun, unclassified) 'container' L,  
 Rezanov Уггухэхогуль Пocusда Gefäss, Geschirr, Dose',  
 Талуртэ-охартуль 'Сосонка Salzfass' di'ya? ?uya?d  
 wez ...tu?ì. Deverbalized passive of 2c., 'some-  
 thing is kept in it (o with opening at top)', with  
 -ì-instrumental.



sáléxí·tí tca·tcini<sup>n</sup> or sáléxí·tí tca·tcini<sup>n</sup>  
 'second chief (of same society as head chief)' Kulex  
 ?i·tíhíhča·č yí·híh 'the one who is next to  
 the chief', Rezanov Арколырегерлекты Ёдгнон  
 arm' ?a?d Kulex ?i·téh yíhíhduh 'he is a very  
 rich man indeed, he sure is a great chief', Халкыр =  
 колырегерлекты Государь Russen-Beherrscher, Kaiser'  
 (under 'EHauptling') ?eləhəd Kulex ?i·tíhíh "out=  
 side" (overseas) chief', ?ədədəx Kulex ?i·tíhíh  
 'God' ('the Great One up above') 70.2, 4A, Kulex  
 ?i·tíhíh 'God' L.

o-dewa· ?istú·l (gerundive) 'waiting for o': ?idewa·  
 ?istú·l xucəǰga?ǰ 'I'm getting tired of waiting for  
 you' ('waiting for you is tiring me') L.

li?ǰ l-tú·l (gerundive) 'smiling': li?ǰ letú·l xu=  
 cəǰga?ǰ 'I'm getting tired of smiling' ('smiling is  
 tiring me') L.

o-č dıx-tú·l (gerundive) 'looking at o, watching o':  
 ?i· ?ič ǰa·xətú·l qəl xucəǰga?ǰ 'it's this watch=  
 ing you that's tiring me' L.

qı? kuc kula·xətuh (nominalization) 'showhouse, mo=  
 vies' ('where one looks at something') L.

taʔ-tʃʰ-taʔ (perhaps related to taʔi-taʔɣ; tʃʰ in certain forms with -ɕ final and reciprocal o, taʔ in certain forms with -ɣ final, cf. e.g. qaʔ-qʃʰ-qaʔ, L rejects proposed \*(-)ʔabd)

o-taʔ (postposition, stem invariable with all finals) 1. '(protected, inaccessible, obstructed, stuck, stopped, impeded, slowed) behind, by o (as obstruction, impediment either to progress of or access to something else)'; with zero final; Rezanov Курра-аыра 'Тбоко eng, gedrangt' Kufaʔ saʔyahɨ 'it got stuck behind something, obstructed by something' L, ʔewtaʔ gyʔseʔaʔɨ 'it (stream of liquid) flowed (extended) to and got stopped by that' L, ʔiʔʔeletaʔ ʔew səɣahdɨɨh 'dragged it to behind a mountain' 9.131A, with -d final 'at rest' (see also 11.): 25.59A, Rezanov Курра<sup>a</sup>ra (second a superscript insert) 'Позади hinter (mir?)' sitaʔd 'behind me', laʔdetaʔd wəɣ ʔi-təh 'lives behind a glacier' 60.34A, ʔew giyahgeletaʔd 'behind that water(falls, as protection)' 25.59A, ʔewtaʔd ʔuʔyəsəkqahɨ 'she spent some nights behind it' 25.80A, ʔewtaʔd λaʔsəiʔeʔ 'hide it behind that!' L, nominalized with -d final: ʔuftaʔd Kuteh 'there exists a (place) behind it' 60.34, 34, 34A, qaʔtaʔd place-name,

East Arm of Eysak Lake ('behind us') LM, with -č final 'continuous or repeated motion to, towards', usual with repetitive, customary, inceptive imperfective: *Kuša'č sa'ya-i* 'it's getting stuck behind something' L, *'ew 'iχ'ələta'č 'ew 'əlyə-k* '(cust) takes them to behind that mountain' 9.127A, *'iχələta'č 'ew 'i-səi'ahliḥ* 'he made off with it all to behind a mountain' 9.110A, *sit'a-č ʒə-lə-sa'yahliḥ* 'he ran around to behind me' M (early transcription, to be corrected to *sit'a'č*), with -χ final 'motion within' (see also 8., 10.): 25.58A, *Kuša'χ 'i-'yahli* 'it's stuck (moving) behind something, won't go any further' L, *Kuša'χ yeχ səlyə?* 'move it downwards into an obstructed position behind something' L, *'ew'ta'χ siltahli* 'I put it behind that' L, *ta-sələhta'χ 'uχa? yeχ o-i-te* 'S puts, tucks (sg. animate) O down under his belt' 37b.30, 60A (see also 2. below), *'ew-gele'ta'χ li? 'i-yah* 'that she might go in behind it (waterfalls)' 25.79A, Rezanov *Хатахты-ахы* 'Подъ горюю ам Fusse des Berges' *ʒələ-t'a'χ* '(motion) in sheltered waters, channels, inside passages' L, *sit'a'χ* 'behind me, under me (as I'm prone)' M.

2. 'under o's clothing, in o's pocket', fre-

quently with zero prefix for reflexive o in in-  
 direct reflexive constructions: ?aw t'a? adid'eʒi  
 'jammed it into her pocket' 49.13A, t'a? xsdikihdi  
 'I quickly dipped my hand into my pocket' L, t'a?  
 ?eleya?, t'a? ?eleye 'put them in your pocket!' L,  
 t'a? xshiyahk 'I put them in my pocket' L,  
 with -d final: ?ʒ·d si'ta'd setahk 'it's here  
 in my pocket' L, t'a'd detah ?edieʒa?ʒk 'pocket--  
 watch' L, da?u·d ?i'ta'd ya? ?eie 'leave,  
 keep them right there in your pocket!' L, t'a'd  
 qa? sedata? 'take it out of your pocket!' L,  
 t'a'd qa? desaleya? 'take it (money) out of your  
 pocket!' L, si'ta'd qa? se?a?k 'it's starting  
 to show (extend) out of my pocket' L, ?i'ta'd qh?  
 ?i·?ah 'it's sticking out of your pocket!' M,  
 with -č final: t'a?č (not \*čʒ·č) xleya? 'I'm  
 putting them in my pockets' L, t'a?č ?eleya?  
 'put it (piece after piece) in your pocket!' L,  
 t'a?č ?ew seleya·kih 'he's putting them in his  
 pocket' L, with -ʒ final: Rezanov Čuraxra  
 'Sa Hazyxoŝ im Busen' si'ta?ʒ [ʔe]ta? 'put it  
 under my clothes!', or perhaps to be read si'ta·ʒ,  
 see o-t'a·-ʒ below, si'ta?ʒ 'anyplace under my  
 coat' L, si'ta?ʒ yeʒ siktahk 'I put it down  
 into my pocket' L, t'a?ʒ yeʒ sedata? 'put it

(downwards) under e.g. your coat!' L, t'aʔx yaʔ  
ʔi·diʔahh̄h 'he has his head hunched down into  
his coat, collar' L, siʔaʔx lah diʔiʔahh̄ 'I  
put them (eggs) around under my shirt' L.

3. Attested with zero final only, in one set  
of themes: o-t'aʔ ʔi·lih-(de-)ta 'sg. S counts  
on, depends on o', o-t'aʔ ʔi·lih-qu 'pl. S  
count on, depend on o'.

4. With indeterminate o and zero and -ʔ  
finals only, deʔaʔ(-ʔ), diʔaʔ(-ʔ) 'stuck, im-  
peded, stopped, difficult', see -ʔya 6b. and  
deʔaʔyah under ʔya, diʔaʔ geli·ʔyahh̄ 'tide is  
at high point' L, diʔaʔ gu·saʔyahh̄ 'tide is  
running' L, deʔaʔ(ʔ) d-ʔe-dux-g 'S stutters',  
diʔaʔ li·kxahh̄ 'it's not growing right, its  
growth is stunted' L, diʔaʔ sah̄h̄ 'it (clock)  
went slow' L, diʔaʔ ne·ʔ sa·ʔ 'stop (walking)  
a while!' L.

5. With ya· 'something, a thing' as o and  
-ʔ final only, only with theme ciʔd-le 'S  
speaks': ya·t'aʔx ciʔd-le 'S whispers'.

6. With ku-indefinite o, zero final only,  
only with O-ʔ-te'--tu', causative of -te'--tu'  
'S is, becomes a certain way': kuʔaʔ O-ʔ-te'--tu'  
'S uses O', see under te'-tu'.

7. With ku-indefinite o, zero final, with -xi·yaʔx 'chin, jaw': kuʔaʔ xi·yaʔx 'minicker, mocker, echo', see under xi·yaʔx.

8. With -x final only, a. 'while o is going on, (attention of someone) distracted by o, pre-occupied with o (and not noticing something else)', frequently with verbal clause nominalized as o: ʔaw iʔ·diyahslah ʔadewiʔi ʔidehihʔaʔx ʔawa·kusaiku·ʔdijh 'while they were distracted in their excitement over the mouse he grabbed one of them' 37b.29A, daʔewʔaʔx ʔah ʔilgiyijh ʔaʔd ʔeʔ sdiyahʔ 'their attention being diverted by that the witch went back out' 55.4L, ʔawʔaʔx ʔaʔd ʔadquʔla·xieʔeh 'I'll sneak out while he (baby) is being distracted by that' L, ʔi·kuʔi·yahʔaʔx quʔxah 'I'll go while you eat' L.

8b. As preceding, 'on o's behalf, covering up for o': ʔiʔaʔx ciʔdexleh 'I speak on your behalf, covering up for you' L.

9. With reciprocal o, zero and -ʔ finals, 'lined up in row one after (behind) the other' (cf. 10., 11. and ʔiʔ-taʔ--ʔaʔ--): ʔiʔʔaʔ 'together' N, ʔiʔʔaʔ ʔeʔya·ʔ 'set them in a row!' L, ʔiʔʔaʔ ʔi·ʔaʔʔinu· 'they (people) are lined up (went into a row)' L, ʔiʔʔaʔʔ (not

ʔiɬtʰa·d) səiəʔaʔtʰinu· 'they (people) are lining up, having a meeting' L (to be corrected to səde- or glossed 'they are making them line up'), ʔiɬtʰaʔd səxiə·k 'I'm setting them in a row' L, ʔiɬtʰaʔ ʔixiɬah̄ 'I have them lined up in a row' L.

10. With reciprocal o, -ɬ final 'jackknifed' ('one (part in motion) behind the other') a. generally with semitransitive verb themes, often with preverb liʔ 'into cavity', 'folded': ʔiɬtʰaʔɬ yeɬ ʔuʔʌa·dətə·ɬ 'pocketknife, jackknife' LM, ʔiɬtʰaʔɬ liʔ O-ʔ-(l-)(k-)ta 'S folds O', ʔiɬtʰaʔɬ O-ʔ-(l-)ɬiɬ 'S folds O, breaking rigidity of O, not breaking O apart', ʔiɬtʰaʔɬ O-k-(y)a 'S folds pl. O' 65.59, 59A, ʔiɬtʰaʔɬ liʔ ʔuʔlɔɬ-ɬya·ʔ 'I'm folding them one after another' L, ʔiɬtʰaʔɬ qaʔ ʔed-ʔ-gdl-ɬe-ʔa 'S gets self into jackknifed, knees-to-chest position'.

10b. As above, 'shrinking, contracting': ʔiɬtʰaʔɬ ɬe-ɬuʔe, ʔiɬtʰaʔɬ -da 'S shrinks, contracts', ʔiɬtʰaʔ sdiyah̄ 'it shrank' L (probably to be corrected to ʔiɬtʰaʔɬ sədahl̄).

11. With <sup>reciprocal o, -d</sup> -d final, 'hanging (draped over something with one side at rest behind the other)': ʔiɬtʰaʔd O-(k-)ta 'S hangs sg. O up', ʔiɬtʰaʔd

o-i-ya? 'S hangs pl. O up one after another',  
?iit'a?d o-l-(i-)?a 'S hangs all O up' ?iit'a?d  
qu?xx<sup>w</sup>eš 'I'll hang them up' A.

?iit'a?--t'a?- (postpositional phrase, with reciproc-  
cal o only, stem -t'a? with zero final, -t'a?-  
with -č final, -t'a?-č, not -t'a?č, cf. o-t'a?  
9. above) *usually used probably, i.e. of stacking things* '(gathering, stacking) together,  
collected, picked up': ?iit'a? li-quhš  
'they (fish) are in a school' L, ?iit'a?  
lasešqu? 'corral them together!' LM, ?iit'a?  
(?iit'a?-č) o-i-ya? 'S gathers pl. O one after  
another', lu-di?deš ?iit'a?-č kuyi?i?h 'he's  
beachcombing' L, ?iit'a?-č kuya? xusešga?š 'I'm  
tired of picking things up' L, ?iit'a? (?iit'a?-č)  
o-i-(y)a 'S gathers pl. O', ?iit'a? seša? 'pick  
them up!, stack them up!' M, šiheda?d ?iit'a?  
seša? 'pile them in one place!' L, ?iit'a?-č seš-  
ia?š 'I'm picking them up' L, ?iit'a? ?i-seš?ahš  
'gathered them all together' 7.11, 12, 11.7, 8,  
28A, ?iit'a? qu?li-x?ah 'I'll gather them all  
up' L, ?iit'a? ?i-?a?čšinu? 'they (people) have  
gathered, are having a meeting' L, ?iit'a? se?a?č-  
šinu? 'they (people) gathered' 52.22L, see also  
?iit'a? ?i-?a.

o-t'a?-q (postposition, with o-t'a? as o of o-q

'on o') 1. 'in back of o, behind o's back' (attestations rare and uncertain); with zero reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction:  $\text{t'a}^?q^? \text{'ad-}$   
 $\text{qu}^? \lambda \text{a} \cdot \text{t'a}^? \text{yah}$  'I'll lean back, recline' (sick person in bed speaking) L (perhaps used proverbially, cf.  $\text{t'a}^?q^? \text{e}^? \text{e}$  below, vocalic classifier required by verb, itself reflexive); with -d final:  $\text{si} \text{t'a}^?q^?d$   
 'behind or under me' M,  $\text{si} \text{t'a}^?q^?d \text{ y}^? \text{ si} \text{t'a}^?h$   
 'I (prone) put it down under me' M.

2. With y-anatomical 'hand', o-y-t'a<sup>?</sup>q 'the back of o's hand': nominalized with -d final:  $\text{si}$   
 $\text{ye} \text{t'a}^?q^?d$  'the back of my hand' L.

3. With qi'y-anatomical 'toe', o-qi'y-t'a<sup>?</sup>q 'the upper surface of o's foot': nominalized with -d final:  $\text{si} \text{qi} \cdot \text{ye} \text{t'a}^?q^?d$  'the upper surface of my foot' L (perhaps analogical with 2, and to be corrected to -qi·da<sup>?</sup>t'a<sup>?</sup>q-).

4. With -y-anatomical and - $\text{e}$ - (reduced postposition) 'bottom, innermost part of o's hand (palm)', o-y- $\text{e}$ -t'a<sup>?</sup>q 'back of o's hand': nominalized with -d final:  $\text{'uy} \text{e} \text{e} \text{t'a}^?q^?d$  'the backs of his hands' L, 23.65A.

$\text{t'a}^?q^? \text{e}^? \text{e} \text{-t'a}^?q^? \text{i}^? \text{e}$  (preverb, originally postpositional phrase, probably with zero reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction, but no longer functioning

cf. especially Navaho  $t^{\prime}a^{\prime}e$  'backward'

as such or requiring vocalic classifier, L regularly  $t^{\prime}a^{\prime}q^{\prime}e^{\prime}e^{\prime}$ , M regularly  $t^{\prime}a^{\prime}q^{\prime}i^{\prime}e^{\prime}$ , <  $t^{\prime}a^{\prime}e^{\prime}e^{\prime}$   $q^{\prime}e^{\prime}e^{\prime}e^{\prime}$ , compound postpositional phrase with (o-) $t^{\prime}a^{\prime}q^{\prime}$  as in preceding as o of o- $e^{\prime}e^{\prime}$  'in place of (absent) o' and  $-e^{\prime}$  final 'continuous or repeated motion to, towards', 'repeated, continuous motion toward the empty place of, behind S's own back') 'backward' (i.e. literally in the direction extending from o's vertical back, perhaps referring only to limited or forceful motion, and not loosely or figuratively retrograde, cf.  $q^{\prime}e^{\prime}e^{\prime}e^{\prime}(-a^{\prime}e^{\prime})$ ):  $t^{\prime}a^{\prime}q^{\prime}e^{\prime}e^{\prime}$   $^{\prime}isi^{\prime}e^{\prime}e^{\prime}i^{\prime}$  'I took a step backwards' L,  $t^{\prime}a^{\prime}q^{\prime}i^{\prime}e^{\prime}$   $sah^{\prime}i^{\prime}h$  'he walked backwards' M,  $t^{\prime}a^{\prime}q^{\prime}i^{\prime}e^{\prime}$  o--i-- $se^{\prime}g$  'S paddles o (boat) backwards, rows o (boat)',  $^{\prime}u^{\prime}q^{\prime}e^{\prime}$   $t^{\prime}a^{\prime}q^{\prime}e^{\prime}e^{\prime}$   $kud^{\prime}se^{\prime}g$  'oar' L,  $^{\prime}u^{\prime}q^{\prime}e^{\prime}$   $t^{\prime}a^{\prime}q^{\prime}e^{\prime}e^{\prime}$   $kuse^{\prime}g$  'oarlock' L,  $^{\prime}u^{\prime}q^{\prime}e^{\prime}$   $t^{\prime}a^{\prime}q^{\prime}e^{\prime}e^{\prime}$   $kui^{\prime}se^{\prime}g$  'helicopter' L,  $t^{\prime}a^{\prime}q^{\prime}e^{\prime}e^{\prime}$   $y^{\prime}a^{\prime}$   $dis^{\prime}liqah^{\prime}i^{\prime}h$  'he fell down backwards (chest up)' L,  $t^{\prime}a^{\prime}q^{\prime}e^{\prime}e^{\prime}$   $ca^{\prime}$   $xu^{\prime}di^{\prime}ga^{\prime}i^{\prime}$  'I got yanked backwards' L,  $t^{\prime}a^{\prime}q^{\prime}e^{\prime}e^{\prime}$   $y^{\prime}a^{\prime}$   $la^{\prime}se^{\prime}ga^{\prime}i^{\prime}$  'it fell over backwards' L,  $t^{\prime}a^{\prime}q^{\prime}e^{\prime}e^{\prime}$   $^{\prime}il^{\prime}yahd$  'pull (drag) it backwards!' L,  $t^{\prime}a^{\prime}q^{\prime}e^{\prime}e^{\prime}$   $^{\prime}ewi^{\prime}e$  'backwater!' L,  $t^{\prime}a^{\prime}q^{\prime}e^{\prime}e^{\prime}$   $t^{\prime}a^{\prime}q^{\prime}i^{\prime}e^{\prime}$   $^{\prime}ad^{\prime}dl^{\prime}i^{\prime}e^{\prime}$   $^{\prime}ya$  'S leans (causes self to lean) backward' (see dl- $^{\prime}ya$  5.).

o- $t^{\prime}a^{\prime}e^{\prime}$ - $\bar{x}$  (postposition, with  $\bar{x}$  final thematized,

*atad -in -yut, -d, -i, -de, +  
-l'ad' f'ade*

stem always -ta'-, perhaps expanded) 'behind, under (a covering, a sheltering) o' (partly overlapping in meaning with o-ta?, especially o-ta? 2., but here never with reference to obstruction or impediment): with zero (-x-Ø) final: ?ewta·x siltahî 'I put it under that (especially that which can cover it)' L, ?ewta·x la·seî'e? 'hide it behind it!' L, ?ewta·x qu?xtah 'I'll put, carry it in it (in bag, under cover)' L, ?ewta·x yeḡ ?a?i?eh 'put it (downwards) behind it (hanging cloth, drape)!' L, ?ewta·x yeḡ ?i·?ah 'it's showing (extending downwards) behind it' L, ?ita·x yeḡ ?i·?ah 'it's showing (hanging down) behind you' L, ?ita·x yeḡ kugu·?ah 'your slip is showing, it's showing down below your pants-cuff' L, ?iḡa·ta·x '(housed) inside a mountain' L, frequently with yahd 'house' (d-class) or other noun referring to a building: yahdda·ta·x 'into a house' 20.26A, 57.5fnG, yahdda?luwda·ta·x 'into a big house' 20.26A, with se-i- as o '-most of a series': seita·x 'undermost, innermost (of layers of clothes)' L, with zero reflexive o in indirect reflexive constructions: ta·x qu?xdetah 'I'll put it under my coat' L (cf. o-ta? 2. above), with -d final: ca·la·ta·xd 'under a stone (as

a house)' 20.27A, 'udeta·xd 'edu'xsditah̄ 'I  
 smoked meat in it' L, 'udeta·xd 'edqu'li·ta'̄  
 'smokehouse' 7.5, 37b.73, 65.55A, 'ewta·xd q̄hnu·  
 weḡ 'i·t̄eh 'they live in that' 68.13A, 'uta·xd  
 gah k̄u·̄eh 'inside it (whale) there was daylight'  
 11.156A, 'ewta·xd setah̄ 'it's under cover of,  
 concealed by that' L, k̄u·da'̄e' gah yahddeta·xd  
 'in church' 70.10, 11A, Rezanov Утѣхнодавко =  
 эреазе 'Церковь Kirche' 'udeta·xd k̄u·da'̄e' gah  
 'idaleh 'church' L, yahddeta·xd 'in a building'  
 L, 52.22L, yahdda'luwdeta·xd 'in a big house'  
 29.56A, q̄i' 'edk̄udaxah̄ta·xd 'in a sweatbath'  
 58.7L, 'ewta·x[dl] qa'̄ ski'nik̄ 'it (worm)  
 crawled out from under it' L, with -e'(-a') fi-  
 nal: ca·la·ta·xe'̄ sēta'nik̄ 'it's crawling un-  
 der a rock' L, yahdda'luwdeta·xe'̄a' ski'eh̄ih  
 'she married into a big house' 49.11A, 'udeta·xd  
 'edqu'li·ta'̄ideta·xe'̄a' 'into the smokehouse'  
 37b.73A, as o of o-ēah̄ 'away from o': c̄isa·=  
 yahdeta·xe'̄ah̄ k̄i·x̄ 'was crying (from) inside a  
 tent' 32.29A, with -deḡ final: c̄i·sa·yahddeta·x̄-  
 deḡ yeḡ la·seda'ya·̄ 'was tottering around in  
 the tent' 47c.57L; with -eya' 'that which is':  
 Rezanov Утѣ-аха̄я 'Подкладка Unterfutter, Unter-  
 lage' 'uta·xe'̄ya' 'its (garment's) lining' L,

kuŋa·ʒəyaʔ 'underwear' L, with ʒe-i- as o,  
'-most of a series': Rezanov Кыльтахан 'Рубашка  
Немд' ʒəŋa·ʒəyaʔ 'underwear' L.

tu (form uncertain: L tu unless the one inceptive perfective is analogical, in which case the stem is perhaps invariable tuh, as might be implied by L's rejection of -tu's as an alternative in the inceptive imperfective negative; M is inconsistent, once using -tuh-i in the active perfective, implying tu or invariable tuh, and twice using -tu?-i, implying tu', of which L disapproves, and which is perhaps influenced by te'-tu'.

L also disapproves of M's glosses in most cases; <sup>There are perhaps two different stems confused here.</sup>

- O-?-tu 'S makes fun of O, S scorns, disdains O' L,
- 'S finds O repulsive, disgusting' M (of which L disapproves): ?ah xu?wetuh, xa?tuphjh 'he's making fun of me' L, ku?wetuphjh dexuh 'a scornful person' L, ?i?xtuh 'I'm disgusted, repelled by you' M (L rejects gloss), diK ?i?xtuhs 'I'm not making fun of you' L, ?i?qe?xtuh 'I'll make fun of you' L, diK ?i?qe?xtuhs (not -tu's) 'I won't make fun of you' L, xu?setu'ljh 'he's making fun of me (all day)' L, xu?setu?ijh 'he's repelled by me, doesn't want to be around me' M (L rejects), xu?setuhjh 'he made fun of me' L, ?u?situhj 'I desisted from it (plan), changed my mind about it' M, 'I got to dislike it, all of a sudden didn't want to do it' L, da' ?u?lituphjh 'let's make fun of him' L, de?i'gih ?a?tuphjh 'make fun of him yourself too!' L; reflexive: ?u'c' ?edu?xsditu?i 'I

changed my mind about going there, decided not to  
go' M (L approves, but presumably would change the  
form to -tuhĩ); passive: ?u?detʰhĩh 'he's re=  
pulsive, one is repelled by him' M, ?i?detʰh  
'you're being made fun of' L, ?i?qe?detʰh 'you'll  
be scorned' L.

tu?

-tu? (adjective) 'many,' <sup>much</sup> ~~la~~ Independent or relativized, Kutu?: 2a.16M, 7.22, 9.128, 10.88, 11.24, 199A, 12.12G, 18.37, 39L, 23.152, 152, 24.72, 28.49A, 34.= 38L, 51.54A, 59.10 Galushia (or Anna?) Nelson, 62.6, 8, 8, 9, 13, 16, 20, 21, 63.34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 64.1, 2G, 65.23, 79, 80A, 67.5, 5, 6, 7, 10, 13, 13G, 68.= 41, 50A, Rezanov Kyry 'Mhoro viel', Furuhjelm khututu 'many, much' Kutu?duh 'lots indeed' (?), Kētū? adiŋugɪ 'lots of dough' M, Kutu? deŋew ka? ʔi.iah 'you should take lots of provisions' L, deŋew ka? kuta? ʔu?la-yikyah 'you should have your provisions plentiful' L, Kutu? sišahɪ 'I dug up many (clams)' L, attested also with ʔi.ikāʔʔ, keʔɪq, kaʔg, ciʔŋg, kuceʔ, sesecah, dʔhe, liŋusaʔ, siʔs, saʔŋeg, saʔh, deɪx, šahɪ, šeɪgɪ, gugug, ciyah, cuʔx, waʔw, gahe 'sinkers'; Kutu?yu 'lots of things' 7.22, 11.44, 24.61A.

1b. With class-marks; d-class: kudetu? weɪ desəliɪ 'they gathered many (eggs)' 68.8A, Furuhjelm khututu 'many, much' perhaps kudetu?, kudetu? daʔnaʔ 'lots of money' L, attested also with kaʔg, lis, caʔi, ciλ, sduʔlihe, yabd, kuciɪh, deŋaʔg, tiɪ, siɪx, ʔuʔŋ, deɪtuʔŋ; dl-class: kuλaʔtu?, attested with caʔ, λaʔeʔiʔʔ, ɹəwəɪ, λaʔdeŋaʔg, iɪʔ; tiʔl-class: kutiʔletu? 'lots of

skins' L; g-class: kugutu? se-d 'lots of spruce-roots' L, attested also with -y-ku?e, sa?, lis-gusa?; gd-class: kugedetü?, attested with ma', xihx; gdl-class: kugela-tü? 'lots of paint, colors' L; gl-class: kugeletü?, kugy-tü?, kugy-tü? ?u=da? geli-sid 'lots of streams run by there' L, attested also with giyah, na-w, gi-wa', qe3; ql-class: kuqi-letü? 'lots of ropes' L; xd-class: kuxedetü?, attested with ke-sk', da-xedi3a?g, gab, yax xedede?ah, xede3tu-3g; xdl-class: kuxela-tü? 'lots of waves' L; l-class: kuletü?, attested with tes3, -sa-w, kowesg3, qema', xuhig3, qexah, le3edeqa?3, ?3-ditu-3, ?3-ixi-3g, le3e3ki-g3g, -qe3; lx-class: kulexetu?, attested with 3i-3g, 3a?x, kowu-d, qema', -la-x, Old Man Dude colax-xato 'small barrel' BSdL 546 (a misunderstanding for 'many berries', the preceding item being la'mat, i.e. la?nahd 'berries', glossed 'barrel'); lxd-class: kulexedetü? 'lots of snowballs' L.

lc. With anatomical and thematic marks: l-anatomical: kuletü? 'lots of faces' L, y-anatomical: kuyetu? 'lots of hands' L, qi-d-anatomical 'feet': kuqi-detü? 'lots of tracks' L; with gl-, special mark for 'humans', used with this stem and lubd only, realized -gp-- always, L rejecting -gele-, see ke-tü? 2.: kugy-tü? or kugy-tü?inu 'many people' L,

2a.15M, 7.22, 10.189, 229, 11.109, 23.150, 151, 25.=  
 192, 28.106, 29.57A, 30.3, 39.12L, 51.68, 72, 68.=  
 17, 44, 46, 54, 65, 66, 71, 73, 75, 69.13A (in the  
 texts frequently referring to humanized animals),  
 Kugy·tʰʷinu· seqe·seyu· daʔlikʰihʰ 'she has many  
 children' L, Kugy·tʰʷinu· ʔu·daʔ qeʔ ʂdiʔaʔʂi  
 'many more people arrived there' L.

1d. With postpositions: Kutuʔdaʔʰ 'many times'  
 18.7L, L, Kutuʔda·d ʔedʂikʰaʔgʰ 'it's got lots of  
 spots on it' ('it has spotted itself in many places') M.

2. Dependent; a. Suffixed to unclassified nouns:

-ʔe·tuʔ (with forms including only one vowel): ʔeʰ-  
 ʔetuʔ 'many boats' L, attested also with cu·x, sʰ·s,  
 sa·qsg, sʰh, ʂedʰ, ʂaʔʂ, ʂihstʰ, ʂeʔ, ʂu·ʂ, wutʰ,  
 laʔʰʂi, ʔa·k, gu·n, sang, wa·w, ʂugʂg, gugʂg,  
 eʰhdgʰ, ʰuhʰ, ʂa·ʂ, ʂdi·n, ʂe·y, gud, ʂʰʔʰ; -tuʔ  
 (with forms including more than one vowel): ʰewa·tuʔ  
 ʔʰ·d Kusʰeʰi 'there are getting to be many dogs  
 here' L, attested also with sesecah, eideʰ, esuʔ  
 qi·yidiʂʰʰ, gewaʔʂ, ʂiʰmahdʰ, di·yʰh, ʂe·yuʔ,  
 dekʰh, -tuʔʂ, gedetemeʰ, xa·seʰeʔ, -ʰa·ʂ, -ʰuʔ,  
 ʂa·ʰeʰe, mege, ʂa·ʂga·, gudʂu·wu·, ʂa·ʂe·n.

2b. Suffixed to classified nouns; d-class: li=  
 detuʔ 'lots of spruce' L, attested also with ye·ʂ,  
 caʔidaʔluw, caʔideyequhyu·, da·na·, ʂugʂg, qahʰ,  
 ʰeʰʰe, ʂaʔʂ, gahc; ti·l-class: tʰahʰti·tuʔ 'many

feathers' L; g-class: le'igutu? 'many hairs' M, attested also with la'ɣ, se'd; gdl-class: ?u= gu'neɣ kuɣe'igula'tu? 'lots of paint' L; gl-- class: na'wgy'tu? 'lots of whiskey' M, gi'wa= gelatu? 'lots of beer' M, ce'ygy'tu?, ce'ygule= tu? 'lots of tea' LM, attested also with di'ya?, na'sla'; qi'l-class: kihɣqi'letu? 'lots of coarse twine' M; ɣdl-class: tɔhɣe'la'tu? 'many waves' L, attested also with guɣ; l-class: ?i'ic'iyat'klotu? 'lots of rotten fishheads' M; lɣ-class: da'ɣleɣe= tu? 'lots of blueberries' M, attested also with di'ɣg, wehx, kawu'd, ɣug, kihd, gahc.

2c. Suffixed to nouns indicating humans, with special gl-mark or with -?i-: ?i'yah da'nwa'ngp= tu? ?p'ɔ' ce'a'ɔ'ɔ'i 'my a lot of Chinamen are coming here!' L, Резанов Калыманту 'Oɣɔ sie', qe'it'eyu= ?itu?(yu) 'many women' L, Сухоментров 'Äbrɣ Kinder', seqe'teyu' ?itu?yu 'many children' L.

2d. Suffixed to o-q 'on o', with ei-thematic (L reluctant to use freely, but is certain she has heard): ?uq'esitu? 'many bundles of it, a bunch of them' L, ?i' ?iya? ?uq'esitu?, xu' siya? ya= luhdg 'you've got a big bunch, I (only) a few' L. ie-tu? 'S is numerous, plentiful'<sup>1</sup>: 9.105, 10.47, 25.- 20, 60.27A, ?ida?ya'leɣ ?ilitu? 'they're too numerous' L, ?ida?ya'leɣ slitu?i 'they became too

numerous' L, ʔidaʔya·ləx quʔlətuʔ 'it'll get too numerous' L, de·gaʔduw ʔixəʔ Kuituʔ 'how many do you have?' ('how abundant is something for you?') L, da·ʕahdduwgaʔ teʔyaʔ ʔixəʔ Kuituʔ 'where'd you get all those fish?' ('whence are fish that abundant for you?') L, ʔu·ʕahdqəwgaʔ siʔaʔ Kuituʔ 'that's where I have so much stuff from' L, ʔu·ʕahdqəwgaʔ si·xəʔ Kusituʔʔ 'that's where I got so much stuff from' L, ʔidaʔya·ləx ʔəwa· siʔaʔ silituʔʔ 'I got too much of it' ('there got to be too much of it for me' L; with class-mark for S; ʔa·sdituʔʔ 'there got to be (too)many (rocks)' L.

2. With thematic marks for human S; a. With l-thematic (l-anatomical 'face, head' ?), l-ke-tuʔ 'S (human) are numerous': 28.99A, ʔidaʔya·ləx ʔu·d ʔi·silituʔʔinu· 'there got to be too many people there' L.

2b. With special gl-mark (perhaps originally Ku-indefinite with l- as in 2a.), gl-ke-tuʔ 'S (human) are numerous': 60.27A, ʔidaʔya·ləx gula·ləxilituʔ 'there are too many of you' ('you pl. are too numerous') L, ʔidaʔya·ləx ʔu·d gulaʕəʕətuʔʔinu· 'there are getting to be too many people there' L (originally transcribed Ku-, perhaps correctly, though with indefinite S the -inu· suffix would not be expected).

təɪ (perhaps reduced form of tʰaɪ, attested in one form only)

təɪyeyɛ (noun, unclassified?) "little things that lie under the leaves of plants and flowers" A (as explanation for personal name; not entirely analyzable, o-yeyɛ 'under o'), Eyak woman's name (Jennie, wife of Charles Rosenberg, white trader at Alaganik) LAS.

Ek -

təh̄ (perhaps related to t̄h̄, and perhaps also to təh̄k-təʔt̄k)

təh̄ (noun) 1. (ti·l-class) 'leaf; (plume-)feather':  
 48.5, 6, 10L ('feather', but version in BSdL 303 has  
 'leaf'), təh̄ 'wing-feather' L, 'leaf' (dissocia-  
 ted from origin) LM, Galushia Nelson tə't̄t̄ or  
 tət̄t̄ 'leaves (or feathers)' BSdL 541, təh̄ sič  
 ti·li·ʔaʔ 'give me a leaf!' L, təh̄ ʔu·d t̄j·se-  
 təh̄ 'a leaf (or feather) is there' (ta clearly  
 preferred to ʔa) L, təh̄ti·naʔq̄ 'on a leaf (or  
 feather)' L, təh̄t̄j·tuʔ 'lots of feathers' L,  
 təh̄ ʔeti·l̄h̄h̄ 'he's eating leaves' M, ʔew təh̄  
 ʔeti·li·ye· 'eat those leaves!' L.

2. (Unclassified or declassified) 'leaf;  
 (plume-)feather' (especially as used collectively, as  
 'plumage, foliage', or as associated with magic; more  
 frequently 'leaf' than 'feather'); 2a.23M, 37b.38,  
 39, 63A, 38.5LM, təh̄ʔetuʔ 'lots of leaves' L,  
 təh̄ qid əaʔya·h̄ 'leaves are falling (autumn)' L.  
 ʔīl̄lah qeʔdeleʔ təh̄ (noun, ti·l-class?) 'leaves for  
 making love-potion' ('they love each other leaves') L  
 (L was unable to identify what species these might  
 be; see BSdL 201-202).

ʔəh̄i·naʔq̄ təh̄ (noun, unclassified?) 'plants (any spe-  
 cies with leaves on the ground)' ('leaves on the  
 ground') L.

qihda·qya? t'ah̄ (noun, unclassified?) 'plants

(species that grow on unforested meadow)' L.

-t'ah̄ (noun, unclassified) 'feathers, plumage' (anatomical, attested only once, perhaps not normal usage): si'tah̄ 'my feathers' 27b.35A.

-i-t'ah̄ (noun) 1. (ti·l-class) 'leaf; (plume-)feather' (associated with origin): Ku't'ah̄ (perhaps sometimes where glossed 'feather', especially in earlier elicitations, a mishearing for g-i-t'ah̄, q.v.)

48.11L, 'feather (of something)' LA, 'a certain thing's feather, a certain plant's leaf' L, Ku't'ah̄ti·lekih 'litte leaf' M, Ku't'ah̄ti·le'a·w 'long leaf' M, 'ew Ku't'ah̄ti·leda·d ya·? sota? 'set it down by that feather!' L, Ku't'ah̄ xeti·lihih 'he's eating leaves' L, Ku't'ah̄ 'u·d satah̄ 'a leaf (or feather) is there' L, galdu·xa·i't'ah̄ 'potato-leaves' L, na·xegit'ah̄ 'goose-feather' L, Galushia Nelson t'ektiiti t'i'ti 'arrow feather' BSDL 549 t'ek'i'eit'ah̄ (unclassified?).

2. (Unclassified or declassified) 'leaf; (plume-)feather' (especially as used collectively, as 'foliage, plumage', or as associated with magic; more frequently 'leaf' than 'feather'): Ku't'ah̄ xihih 'he's eating leaves' L, qu'seiyā·'i't'ah̄ 'leaves of edible shield-fern' L, 9.52, 55, 76A, d'ih'e'eit'ah̄ 'alder--leaves' 9.77, 80A, sug'eit'ah̄ka'd 'amongst the strawberry-leaves' 51.73A.

seleciŋya? yq'ʔitah̄i (noun, unclassified?) 'fire-  
weed' ('leaf of medicine against land-otter') L  
(-i-)perhaps in error).

g-l-tah̄i (noun, ti-l-class, with g-thematic 'fila-  
ment, appendage') 'plume-feather' (not 'leaf'): Re-  
zanov Комраць 'Леро (not in Radlov) guŋtah̄i  
(less likely, kuŋtah̄i), Galushia Nelson sŋtŋ-  
tŋ'ti or sŋtŋtŋti 'feathers' BSdL 548 (less  
likely, kuŋtah̄i), guŋtah̄i 'feather' (not leaf,  
dissociated from origin) L, kuti-leʔa'w guŋtah̄i  
'long feather' L.

-d-l-tah̄i (noun, unclassified, only marginally attes-  
ted) 'leaf, feather': quʔseŋya-ʔideŋtah̄i (hesita-  
tion-form, blend of -i-tah̄i and -d-l-tah̄i) 'leaf  
of edible shield-fern' 9.55A, Furuhjelm kutaital  
'feather' kudŋtah̄i (or perhaps gudŋtah̄i ?),  
Furuhjelm shavtaltal 'leaf' ...deŋtah̄i (shav-  
not identifiable).

-gl-l-tah̄i (noun, class?, perhaps with gl-class-mark  
never actualized -gula-  
'liquid', or including g- 'filament, appendage'<sup>x</sup>)  
'fin' (perhaps especially 'ventral fin', and perhaps  
also 'gill-covering'): kugy'tah̄i 'fins (of some fish)'  
LA, 'ventral fins' LA, 'gill covering' M.

O-tah̄i 'S makes love-potion to charm O': sitah̄iŋh 'I  
made a love-potion to charm him' L, quʔxtah̄iŋh 'I'll  
make a love-potion to charm him' L (leaves were used  
for this purpose; see ʔillah qeʔdoleʔ tah̄i).

ta'ɿ-ta'ɿ (form uncertain, perhaps ta', related to <sup>t'ɿ-t'ɿ-t'ɿ</sup> ta', postposition, -ɿ perhaps analogical, generalized from active imperfective <sup>ɿ</sup> yeɿ-progressive, <sup>ɿ</sup> ta' -ɿ analogical, generalized from perfective)

O-ɿ-ta'ɿ(--ta'ɿ) (or ta' for only attested non-progressive form, active perfective, the -ɿ of which could be the perfective suffix; -ta'ɿ attested only in yeɿ-progressive forms) 'dependent S ties O down with burden of responsibility': ?a'd xuseɿta'ɿɿh 'he (baby) has me very much tied down, I can't go anywhere now' L; usually with yeɿ-progressive, yeɿ O-ɿ-ta'ɿ--ta'ɿ 'S hangs dependently around O': ?a'd yeɿ xuseɿta'ɿɿh 'he hangs very dependently around me all the time' L, diK qe'yeɿ 'iqe'xɿ-ta'ɿ: 'I won't tie you down anymore, I won't bother you anymore, you can go wherever you wish now' L; yeɿ-progressive with y-anatomical 'hands' partly thematized, no effect on glosses: yeɿ xuseɿta'ɿɿh 'he ties me down' L, yeɿ 'iqe'yeseɿta'ɿɿh 'he'll tie you down (with responsibility)' L, yeɿ xuqu'yeseɿta'ɿɿh 'he'll tie me down' L (this form was then rejected, L seeming momentarily to reject all forms in -ɿ).

tuhî (attested only with -g<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup>, conceivably tuh-î, cf. dâ<sup>?</sup>-î-g<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup>)

tuhî-g<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup>(--ga<sup>?</sup>) (numeral; cf. qelah-qa<sup>?</sup>-g<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup>, probably with postposition o-g<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup> 'like o, appropriate amount for o'): 25.81A, 64.3, 10G, Rezanov Тооькоа '3', Wrangell Тооькоа 'Drei', Furuhjelm tulkva 'three', Galushia Nelson tû'tikd<sup>n</sup> '3.' BSdL 553, tuhîg<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup> 'three' S, tuhîga<sup>?</sup> xowa<sup>?</sup> 'three dogs' LM, tuhîga<sup>?</sup> ?î·sai<sup>k</sup>?î xowa·yu<sup>?</sup> 'three skinny dogs' L, tuhîga<sup>?</sup> xeda<sup>?</sup> gah 'three days' 25.9, 65.19A, tuhîga<sup>?</sup> ti·na<sup>?</sup> saicox<sup>t</sup>ah 'three land-otter skins' 33.-83A, tuhîga<sup>?</sup> da<sup>?</sup> yahddelah ca<sup>?</sup> 'go around three houses:' L, Rezanov Туькоахыькатыь 'Третьего дни vorgestern', tuhîga<sup>?</sup> yeseiqahî 'Wednesday; three days ago, three days have passed' L, îi· tuhîga<sup>?</sup> ?u<sup>?</sup>ahd yeseiqahî qi<sup>?</sup>dax saîhî 'he died three days ago' ('already three since it have dawned at the time he died') L, îi· tuhîga<sup>?</sup> ?â·d xu<sup>?</sup>yeseiqahî 'I've been here three days' ('already three have dawned on me here') L, ?aw tuhîga<sup>?</sup> ya<sup>?</sup> ?u·da<sup>?</sup> da<sup>?</sup> saqehî 'we got there (by boat) the third one (day)' 59.6 Galushia (or Anna?) Nelson, tuhîga<sup>?</sup>nu<sup>?</sup> 'three people' 49.156, 68.86, 106A, L, M, tuhîga<sup>?</sup>da<sup>?</sup>x 'three times, thrice' L, Rezanov Тооькоахтакакъ '30', Wrangell Туткое хаккъ 'Dreissig', tuhîga<sup>?</sup>da<sup>?</sup>x desa·q 'thirty' ('thrice ten') M, tuhîga<sup>?</sup>da<sup>?</sup>x ?aw saicox<sup>t</sup>ih 'he

(see also 62.276)

116.46.1 tuhîga<sup>?</sup> 'hinter' A

cut it in three pieces' L, tsh̥gaʔda·d ʔə̀ceɣ  
'cut it in three!' L, tsh̥gaʔda·d 'three places'  
25.80A, L, tsh̥gaʔd[ah] 'three ways' 69.23A.

ta'3

-ta'3 'S (place) becomes impassible': seta'3i 'it (place) became impassible (obstructed by dense brush, alders, fallen logs, etc.)' L (apparently not freely used, attested only in active perfective).

da-ta'3 'S (place) becomes impassible' (perhaps originally passive of above, not testable for transitivity, S other than third person being semantically inadmissible): sdita'3i 'it's rough going (obstructed by dense brush, etc.)' L, sdita'3idah yaʒ da'ʒ 'he's walking around where it's rough going' L (attested only in active perfective, not freely used, and partially fossilized, as with -dah adverbializer in last example).

t'ic' (L "has heard" t'ed', but "wouldn't say"; expanded  
t'i·c' or t'e·c')

t'ic' (noun, d-class) 'ice' LM, 16.5, 6, 7, 28M, 45a.-  
11L, 45b.11M, 50.20A, 57.9, 12, 22, 27, 62.28G, Re-  
zanov ТМУМ 'Ледъ Eis', Wrangell Трѣмъ 'Eis',  
Furuhjelm tits 'ice', tital 'thunder' (t'ic'...  
?), Galushia Nelson t'its, Old Man Dude t'itc  
'ice' BSDL 538, t'ic' yihēh 'it's icy' L, Kədətu?  
t'ic' 'lots of ice' M, Kuda?luw t'ic' 'big hunk of  
ice' M, t'ic' di·qū?Xē '(river-)ice is broken' L,  
t'ic' daxuhig 'I'm shovelling the ice (clearing for  
skating' L, t'ic' ?u·d desetahē (or -?ahē) 'a  
piece of ice is there' L, t'ic' siē di·ta? (or  
-?a?) 'give me a piece of ice!' L (choice of stem  
no indication of shape of piece of ice) L.

t'icga? ?i·tēh (noun, unclassified?) 'glass' ('it's  
like ice') M, Rezanov ТМКОЭТЕ ШТОФЪ schwerer  
Seiden-Stoff) t'icg<sup>M</sup>? ?i·tēh.

lɣ-t'ic' (noun, unclassified?) 'hail': Rezanov Наха-  
тѣмъ 'Градъ Hagel' naxet'ic', Galushia Nelson lā-  
xát'its or lāxát'its 'hail' BSDL 538, lexet'ic'  
'hail' M, Rezanov Нахатѣмъ яндасаямъ 'Градъ  
идѣтъ es hagelt', lexet'ic' yq·? desa?yahē 'it  
hailed' ('hail came down') LS. (Presumably lexet'ic'  
lɣ-class would mean 'hailstone'.)

gd1-t'ic' (noun, gd1-class) 'icicle': guka-t'ic'guka·-

'a·w seie'ē 'it's becoming a long icicle' L.  
 de-tīd 'S freezes': 50.22, 24A, 57.6, 86, 61.10A,  
 de'u·d 'iditīd 'let it freeze' L, qe' 'edetī·cK  
 'it (cust) freezes again' L, qa' editīd 'it's  
 frozen' L; with y-anatomical: yixeditīd 'my hand  
 froze, got frostbitten' L; with class-mark for S:  
 λa·editīd 'it (ʔah ground, ʔewē net) froze'  
 L; with id-thematic 'place': Rezanov Kari-<sup>3</sup>срстухъ  
 (3-3 superscript insert for crossed-out symbol, il-  
 legible, perhaps 3) He raxko rauh, uneben (nicht  
 glatt) 'editīd 'it (place) froze', edetede-  
 tīd 'it (place) is becoming frozen' L, qu'edede-  
 tīd 'it (place) will freeze' L, ededete·cK, ede-  
 detī·cK 'it (place) (cust) freezes' L. Transitive  
 (causative) O-ī-tīd 'S freezes O, makes O icy, turns  
 O to ice': qu'xītīd 'I'll make it icy' L, 'etīd  
 'make ice of it!' L.  
 sītīd (noun, unclassified?) 'rock-candy, sugar-candy'  
 (to be sucked with tea) L. Nominalized active perfec-  
 tive of passive of transitive (causative) of preceding.  
 ie-tīd 'S freezes in such a way that its position or  
 material relation with another object is affected':  
 'ewx 'iītīd 'it's frozen to it' L, 'ewya' sītīd  
 'it's frozen into it (o with broad opening at  
 top)' L, qa' sītīd 'it froze and came up out' L,  
 qa·c' setīd 'it's freezing and coming up'; with

class-mark for S: ya·neḡ diḡit'ic' 'it (ceḡ board)  
is frozen to the ground' L, 'iḡ diḡit'ic' 'they  
(ceḡ boards) are frozen together' L, qa' diḡi-  
tic' 'it froze so hard under it (ceḡ board) that it  
came up' L, ya·neḡ q'·ḡit'ic' 'it (kuxeh' rope)  
is frozen to the ground' L, 'iḡ leḡeḡit'ic' 'they  
(berries) are frozen together' L.

da' 'i·tic' (noun, unclassified?) 'frozen salmon roe,  
put up for winter' L. Nominalized neuter imperfec-  
tive (?) of these -tic', otherwise unattested, with  
da' 'into container for storage'.

teʔd

o-teʔd-e (postposition) 'suspended by o, by grip-  
ping o, as handle for o': 49.36, 51.21, 22A, da-  
xi· ʔiʒehʔteʔdɛ ʔiqeʔxiʒahd 'I'll drag you by  
your ear' (threat) L, ʔukahʂteʔdɛ ʔiitʔux 'grab  
it (e.g. chair) by the leg!' L, ʔukahʂteʔdɛ yaʔʒ  
setaʔ 'lift it (e.g. chair) by the leg!' L, ʔi-  
yeʒaʔdteʔdɛ da·ʒ ʔiqeʔxiʒih 'I'll tie you to  
something by the hand' L, ʔuteʔdɛ setetʔux 'hold  
onto it (to help you get up, etc.)!' L, diʔweʒ  
kuteʔdɛ kaʔ yeʒ ʔidiyah 'walk about by hanging  
onto things!' (to a weak convalescent) L.

ʔuteʔdɛ yaʔʒ kudaʔya·k (noun, unclassified?) 're-  
movable handle (for lifting tubs in cannery, etc.)'  
( 'by means of it things are (cust) lifted' ) L.

tič-teč (expanded ti·č)

tič-i-teč-(g)-i (noun, unclassified, with -i-instrumental, optional -g-repetitive) 'prop (especially small stick for propping open drying fish)': teč  
'stick, about 6 inches long, for propping open drying fish, made of alder' A, tečg LM, tečgi'a'luw  
'big fish-prop' M, tičg 65.5A.

O-tič(-i)--teč(-i) (-i-instrumental usually retained as part of the stem in verbal forms) 'S props O (especially drying fish, open)': 65.5A (expanded ti·č),  
si'tič 'I propped it (drying fish) open' A, qu'x-  
i'tič (i-classifier probably in error) 'I'll prop  
it (drying fish) open' L; with gl-class-mark for O  
and ya'z 'upwards', ya'z O-gl-tič-i--teč-i 'S  
props O (liquid) up' (magically): 11.91, 91A.

?i·aditičiga? ?i·iilihh nickname of a wide-cheeked  
Chugach woman, 'she has a face like it (her cheeks)  
have been propped apart (with a tič inside her  
mouth)' L. Active perfective passive of preceding with  
l-anatomical.

Lenaletič nickname of same woman as preceding L.

Bare theme suffixed.

tik-tək<sup>1</sup> (L always tik, A usually tik, G tik once, tək four times, M, S, Furuhjelm, Jacobsen, Galushia Nelson tək, Wrangell tek; M expands tē-k, but L prefers ti-k)

tik-i-tək-i (noun, with -i-instrumental) 1. (d-class)

'arrow': 7.26, 25.130A, 27a.11L, 27b.17A, Wrangell Texas 'Pfeil', Furuhjelm takl 'arrow', Galushia Nelson tē'ktē 'arrow' BSDL 549, Jacobsen tak'l 'arrow' cited in BSDL 104, təkē 'arrow' MAS, tikē-da-y səltik 'shoot it with an arrow!' L, tikē sič di-ta? 'give me an arrow!' L, tikē ?u'd desetahē (not -?ahē) 'an arrow is there' L, tik ?ulu? ?əš di-?ihih 'an arrow is sticking clear through him' L, Galushia Nelson tēktēitē tē'tē 'arrow feather', təkē?əitahē, tē'ktēitē tē 'quiver' təkē?əitah BSDL 549.

2. (Unclassified) 'bow-and-arrow': 27a.3L, 27b.-3A, 34.92, 12<sup>6</sup>L, 37b.1<sup>2</sup>A, 64.2, 3, 3, 14, 16G, Furuhjelm takhl 'bow' təkē.

0-i-tik--tək 'S shoots (and hits) 0 with arrow': 25.168A, 27a.5, 6, 7, 14, 16, 22L, 27b.8, 10, 14, 15, 16, 16, 16A, 64.14fnG, ?iqe?xētik 'I'll shoot you' L, ?əitētik 'shoot it!' L, tikēda-y səltik 'shoot it with an arrow!' L, siy kuseitēktēih 'his arrow grazed me' ('he shot something in punctual contact with me') M, lahē siltēktē 'I grazed it' ('I shot forward of it')

L, xult'e·KKih 'he (cust) shoots me' M, xulti·kCih  
 'he (cust) shoots me' (preferable to preceding) L,  
 repetitive: xit'ekgih 'I keeps shooting him' M;  
 with d-class-mark for O: da? qew desektik' 'it  
 was the mud your arrow hit' 27b.21A; with indeter-  
 minate O, ?i-l-tik 'S shoots arrow (not hitting  
 any specific O)': ?uxa·x ?isiltik' 'I shot and  
 missed it' ('shot wide of it') L, ?u'ca·q' ?isil-  
 tik' 'I aimed and shot straight at it' L, repeti-  
 tive: ya?x ?ixit'ikg 'I keep shooting arrows up  
 in the air' L, detransitivized with k-classifier:  
 ?ulu? ?es ?ixsilitik' 'I shot a hole through it'  
 L, ?u·dex ?es ?isilitik'ih 'he shot an arrow which  
 whizzed by there' L, repetitive: ?u·e' ?iqe'xket'ikg  
 'I'll keep shooting thither' L, with ye-x-progressive:  
 tik'ida·x ?a·weyu· ye-x ?iletik'x 'he goes around  
 indiscriminately shooting arrows' L, ye-x ?ilet'ek'ih  
 'he's shooting arrows (about)' M, Galushia Nelson  
 it'ixá<sup>n</sup>t yixs'it'it'ek'x<sup>a</sup> or it'ixá<sup>n</sup>· yixs'it'it-  
 ek'ix 'shooting match' BSDL 551 ?illexa·?d ye-x  
 ku'hit'ek'it(x) ('one is shooting arrows (about) in com-  
 petition with one another') (with analogical -x of  
 active imperfective of ye-x-progressive). Passive:  
 ?iqe'detik' (-teK M) 'you'll get shot' L, xusit-  
 tik', xusditik' (-teK- M) 'I got shot' (no prefer-  
 ence between -hi- and -di-) L, lah3 xusit'ik'

'I got grazed' L.

0-ʔ-i-tiK (semitransitive, attested only once) 'S  
shoots at 0 with arrow (may or may not hit 0)';

tikida·ʔ ʔuʔeetik 'shoot at it!' L.

0-gdl-i-tiK (attested only once, perhaps a momentary  
confusion with teq<sup>1</sup>, q.v.): yaʔʔ gəla·letik

'flick water with your fingers!' L.

tik<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with tik-tek<sup>1</sup>, sparsely attested)

ka-tik: Rezanov Cakra-sakъ 'Tpeчura platzen'  
 skičiki 'it cracked(?), it burst(?)'.

ya<sup>?</sup> d-i-tik (intransitive?, d-mark may be optional thematic with ya<sup>?</sup> 'completely' or d-class-mark for ča<sup>?</sup> 'alluvial mud flats'): ya<sup>?</sup> desetičiki '(dry expanse of mud flats) is cracked from parching' L.

tux (Rezanov rex and tox (?); expanded t'e-x)

-tux (basic intransitive, but not attested without class- or thematic marks; where S is unclassified or unspecified a gd-thematic appears, the g- and/or d- of which also appears, inconsistently and with no observable semantic effect, in combination with class-marks for classified S): gd-tux 'S is taut, tight, stretched': gedi·tuxi 'it's stretched tight' M, siq' gedi·tuxi 'they (clothes) are tight on me' L, diK' siq' gada?tuxi 'they (clothes) aren't tight on me' L, gada?tuxi 'it's getting tight, taut' M; with qi·l-class-mark for S: dide?i qi·la·iqa·g ?u·de? lea qi·li·tuxi 'electric light wires are strung (stretched) by there up (to Orca Cannery)' L (cf. transitives); qi·geai·tuxi 'it (rope, line) is tight' L (qi·l+gd-), qi·geia·setuxi 'line got tight' L (cf. transitives).

O-i-tux (causative transitive of above) 'S pulls O tight, S tugs on O, S holds O': 25.15, 15, 27b.5, 28.15, 15, <sup>28.11-17</sup>49.36, 51.78A, Rezanov Голытохан 'Заман рief' perhaps setuxi:h 'he's holding him' (but cf. dux), setuxi 'I'm holding it' M, ci?da?d setuxi:h 'he's holding the end of it' L, ?iltux 'hold it!' M, 'hang onto it!' L, ?ektux 'pull on it!' L, ya?x ?iltux 'hold it up!' L, ihedah ?iltux 'hold it still!' L, ?ukahste?de ?iltux

'grab it (chair) by the leg!' L, qu<sup>?</sup>xitux 'I'll hold it, I'll hang onto it' L, siša'w seituxi<sup>h</sup> 'he pulled my hair' L, ?aw ite-xk<sup>h</sup> 'he (cust) pulls on it' L (but L prefers unexpanded ?aw itux<sup>h</sup>), repetitive xituxg 'I keep tugging on it' L; with l-anatomical: ?ilyeq ?i'situxi 'I grabbed both his cheeks and pulled apart' (angry gesture) L; with class-marks for O: di'itux 'hold onto it (door)!' L, ?ilqesd di'itux 'push, hold the two ends apart!' L (d-class O ?), qi'li'itux 'hold onto it (rope)!' L, qa'yahd qi'li'le<sup>h</sup>itux 'pl. play tug-of-war against us!' ('pl. pull rope out of our hands!') L, repetitive: qi'lesaituxg<sup>h</sup> 'he tugged on it (rope)' L, lex qaw da' qi'la'ite-xk 'this is how we (cust) tighten it (rope)' L (qi'l-+d- or +dl-), qi'gəli'itux 'stretch it (rope, line) tight' L (qi'l-+gd-), da' qi'gəla'yik<sup>h</sup>itux 'let's pull it (rope) tight' L. (gd- or d- inconsistently combined with qi'l-, no observable semantic effect, cf. intransitives); with ye<sup>h</sup>-progressive: ye<sup>h</sup> qi'la'ietux<sup>h</sup> 'I'm fishing about with a line' ('I'm pulling a line about') L (L later considers this poor usage); indirect reciprocal: ?ilyahd qi'li'le<sup>h</sup>ietux 'pl. play tug-of-war!' ('pl. pull rope out of each other's hands!') L, ?iša'w seituxinu' 'they're pulling each other's hair' L; indirect reflexive: ča<sup>?</sup> ?ed<sup>h</sup>

səxiətuxiḥ 'I'm holding him (baby) close against  
 myself' L; passive: xusedetuxi 'I'm being held' L.  
 ʔe-tux 'S hold onto something for purpose of main-  
 taining own position, S clings, S clutches at some-  
 thing, S reaches, stretches self towards something':  
 49.70A (colorful example in neuter perfective, si-  
 milar to following), ʔəwa·ləgəhʔəʔ səxiətuxi  
 'she's clinging onto the underside of a dog-corpse'  
 (contemptuous for promiscuous woman) L, ʔux səxiə-  
 tuxi 'I'm clinging to it, hanging onto it' M, ʔu-  
 tʔəʔə səxiətux 'hold onto it (to help yourself get  
 up)!' L, ʔuʔ xskituxi 'I stretched to reach it,  
 reached out for it' L, ʔuʔ ʔəxiətux(g) 'reach (re-  
 peatedly) for it!' L, ʔuʔ ʔəxiətux(g) 'reach  
 (repeatedly) up high for it!' L, ʔuʔ ʔəxiətʔəx  
 'reach for it!' (with expanded stem, "some people  
 would use those words") L.

ʔədkudetux, ʔədgudetux (noun, unclassified) 'vest' L,  
 Rezanov Arkyrerexa 'Kofra' (not in Radlov). Both  
 forms appear well attested, each recorded twice from  
 L. The underlying theme is probably indirect reflex-  
 ive ʔəd-d 0-də-tux with Ku-indefinite S 'one pulls  
 it tight over self' (cf. ʔədti·dəʔəh under ʔe for  
 parallel construction with unexpected de-classifier  
 instead of ʔe-). The variant with -gu- is probably  
 analogical, influenced by ʔədgudesaʔq (q.v. under  
 saʔq), gđ-tux above, and perhaps gđ-anatomical 'rump'.

te's (perhaps < te'-s with thematic negative -s; cf. Hupa "teew 'something raw, uncooked... Perhaps \*te-y<sup>w</sup> 'cooked-not' (Edward Sapir) (-zero-te? 'to ripen [intr.]')", V. Golla, IJAL 30.2:112): *te's* (noun, unclassified, perhaps nominalization)

'raw, uncooked food, not dried (of fish-meat)' LMS, Rezanov Teska 'Čuroš feucht', te's yiksh 'it's raw' LM, Kutu? te's 'lots of raw food (especially fish-meat)' L, te's da'ž želežedah 'they (carrots) are eaten raw' L.

-te's 'S is raw, uncooked, undercooked': dik te'ss 'it's not raw' L; with class-marks for S: dete's Kuda?uhdg 'raw eggs' ('eggs which are raw') L, da-sete'si 'they (eggs) weren't cooked enough, came out raw, undercooked' L, lexete's geldu'xa' 'raw potatoes, undercooked potatoes' (not used of berries) L.

teq<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with teq<sup>2</sup>, and/or reduced form of va<sup>2</sup>q)

ie-teq 'small S jumps (in flitting hops)': qe<sup>2</sup>teq  
 'pl. small things are jumping' M, repetitive: qa<sup>2</sup>-  
 teqg '(tiny fish) keep jumping (up to surface)'  
 L, with ya<sup>2</sup>-progressive: ya<sup>2</sup> teqg 'it's jump-  
 ing around' LM, repetitive: ya<sup>2</sup> teqg 'it keeps  
 jumping around' L.

qe<sup>2</sup>teq, ce<sup>2</sup>teq (noun, unclassified) 'shrimp; nin-  
 now, or any tiny fish' LA, 'grasshopper (?)' M,  
 Galushia Nelson e<sup>2</sup>ti<sup>2</sup>teq or e<sup>2</sup>ti<sup>2</sup>teq 'sand flea'  
 BSDL 540. Both forms well authenticated, originally  
 probably more properly qa<sup>2</sup>-.

Q-d-i-teq (causative transitive of above, with d-them-  
 atic 'free fall'?): ya<sup>2</sup> ?aw dese<sup>2</sup>teq<sup>1</sup>ih 'he  
 flicked it away with his fingers' (third finger  
 against inside of thumb) (ya<sup>2</sup> 'up, trajectory')  
 L; repetitive, with gl-class-mark 'liquid' for Q:  
 si<sup>2</sup> ?aw ga<sup>2</sup>teq<sup>1</sup>gih 'he keeps splattering it  
 (water) at me by flicking open his hand' L (cf.  
 also gdl-ie-tik under tik-tek<sup>1</sup>).

place-name 'Cink Island' - Yakutat Bay  
 de Lyona ga<sup>2</sup>teq<sup>1</sup>, kut<sup>2</sup>teq<sup>1</sup>,  
 probably ga<sup>2</sup>teq<sup>1</sup>

teq<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with teq<sup>1</sup>, and/or reduced form of ta<sup>2</sup>q)

-d-i-teq-i (noun, unclassified, with -i-instrumental(?)): Kudeiteq<sup>1</sup> 'collarbone (of something), wishbone' IMA, 'collar' M, ku<sup>2</sup>luw Kudeiteq<sup>1</sup> 'big collarbone' L.

*'collarbone', see also 24.98A:*

te'q

-te'q 'S is straight, flat': ?i-te'q? 'it's straight'  
 L, diK 'uqa?ya? 'a?te'q?e 'she cheats on her hus=  
 band, isn't "straight" with her husband' L, yu?  
 se?te'q? 'it straightened out' L, se?te'q? 'it's  
 straight, it's flat (not wrinkled or warped)' LM,  
 inceptive perfective frequently subordinated to -da'x:  
 se?te'q?da'x sahijh 'he's walking in a straight line'  
 M, ?i?a'd se?te'q?da'x ye? gu?e?a??xinu' 'they're  
 standing about in a straight row (which points) in  
 your direction' M; with class-mark for S: qu?di-te'q  
 'it (board) will straighten out (lose its warp)' L.  
 Transitive (causative) O-l-te'q 'S straightens O,  
 spreads O flat': ?e?te'q 'spread it (blanket, can=  
 vas, etc.) out flat!' L, se?te'q 'straighten it out!'  
 L, se?te'q? 'I'm straightening it out' L, qu?xi=  
 te'q 'I'll straighten it out' L, si?te'q? 'I straight=  
 tened it out' L, ?aw ?e?te'q?ijh 'he (cust) straight=  
 tens it' L, repetitive: xi?te'q?g 'I'm straightening  
 it out (with repeated motions)' L, with class-mark  
 for O: ?a-si?te'q? 'I straightened it (n't) out' L;  
 with ye?-progressive: ye? ?ux?te'q? 'I'm going  
 along straightening something out' M; reflexive, with  
 y-anatomical 'hand': ?u? ?adya-?ete'q 'point at  
 it!' ('straighten your arm toward it!') L, ?u?  
 ?adya-?ete'q 'open your hand with it (in it)!': L;

passive: qu<sup>2</sup>de<sup>2</sup>q<sup>2</sup> (not -ke-) 'it'll be straight-  
tened out' L, zu<sup>2</sup> adite<sup>2</sup>q<sup>2</sup> (or -ki-) 'it's been  
straightened out' L.

ʔi·te<sup>2</sup>q<sup>2</sup> name of some Copper River or Eyak man L.

Neuter imperfective (?) or l-anatomical 'head' with —  
nasalization lost (?).

*ti'g'l (g'ut- l-anatomical) altho! say  
n. of outd. 2d. : 'te'g'idev' which 'is called on  
stays' his' 2d.*

taʔq (perhaps related to teq<sup>1</sup> and/or teq<sup>2</sup>)

taʔq-ɪ (noun, unclassified, with -ɪ-instrumental)

'fishhook (small type used for e.g. trout)': Re-

zanov Tɪ-aaxoxɪ ʋɪa Angel' teqɪ 'small fish-

hook' L, laʔdih taʔqɪ 'two small fishhooks' L.

taʔqɪxədəiteʔ 'fishing-rod' L.

O-l-ɪ-taʔq 'S hooks O (e.g. trout, with small hook)':

with qaʔ 'up, out': qaʔ ʔɪ·silitaʔqɪ 'I hooked

it (e.g. trout)' L; detransitivized with indeter-

minate O, ʔi-l-ɪ-taʔq 'S goes fishing (with small

hook, for e.g. trout)': ʔiqeʔlexɪtaʔq 'I'll go

fishing (for e.g. trout)' L, ʔilixsɪtaʔqɪ 'I

went fishing' L, ʔilexɪtaʔq 'I'm fishing' L,

ʔi·ɪtaʔq 'fish (for e.g. trout)!' (nasalization  
missing) L.

O-ʔ-l-ɪ-taʔq (semitransitive of preceding, attested

only once) 'S fishes (with small hook, for e.g.

trout)': kuʔləcəitɪq 'fish for something (e.g.

trout, with small hook)!' L.

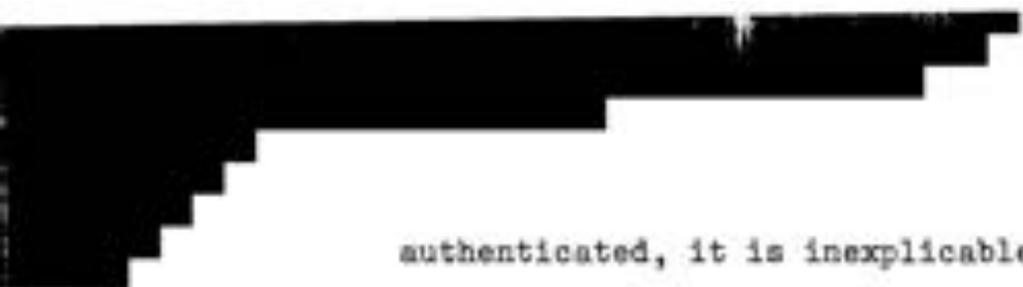
ʔiletaʔqɪ (gerundive of detransitivized fully transi-

tive with indeterminate O): ʔiletaʔqɪ quʔxqeh

'I'll go (by boat) fishing (with rod and small hook,  
for e.g. trout)' L.

tʰahk-tʰaʔik (perhaps related to tʰah)

- lɣd-i-tʰahk (noun, unclassified, prefixes probably including lɣ-mark for -la-x 'eye') 'eyelashes':  
 Rezanov Казхателбразамы 'Pochmu Augenlieder'  
 qa-leɣedeitʰahk 'our eyelashes, human eyelashes',  
 silɣedeitʰahk [k] (momentary confusion with tʰah,  
 later stated to be incorrect without -k) 'my  
 eyelashes' L, ʔileɣedeitʰahk 'your eyelashes' A,  
 leɣedeitʰahkʔa-w 'long-eyelashes' (epithet) L.
- lɣd-i-tʰaʔik 'S blinks, flutters eyelids': leɣedei-  
 tʰaʔik 'you're blinking' LM, 'you're winking, flirt-  
 ing' M, di k leɣdexʔsɛtʰaʔikɛ 'I didn't blink'  
 M, leɣdexiɛtʰaʔik 'I'm blinking' A, leɣeda-le-  
 tʰaʔik 'blink!' L.
- ɛ-iɛ-tʰaʔik 'S (bird) flaps wings, flutters wings':  
 24.54A (articulated -tʰaʔik-), ɛɛiɛtʰaʔik 'it  
 (duck) is flapping its wings, trying to fly' L.  
 This form also seems to occur as a place-name: de  
 Laguna fieldnotes, Yakutat, 23 August 1952 (Samp-  
 son and Anna Nelson Harry): Kɛiɛtʰaʔik 'Crab  
 Island' (a small island off the northeasternmost  
 point of Khantaak Island in Yakutat Bay, 'ducks  
 standing up and "shaking their wings"); Harrington  
 elicited from George Johnson, probably also in con-  
 nection with toponymy, kɛiɛtʰaʔik 'birds rest  
 and flap wings'. Though the ɛɛ- prefix seems well



authenticated, it is inexplicable; a ku- or  
gu-, as implied by the latter two transcriptions,  
would be easier to explain.

t'e'əš (A t'e'qš, recorded once) (t'e'əš)

dl̥-t'e'əš-g (noun, l̥-class, attested syntactically only as C, with thematic dl̥- and -g) 'unripe, green (of berries and fruit)': λa'x̥t'e'əšg 'unripe berries (any species, including apples)' L, λa'x̥t'e'əšg ləx̥iēh 'berries are unripe' L, λa'x̥t'e'qšg yikēh 'berries are unripe' A, diK λa'x̥t'e'əšgə 'not unripe (of berries, apples)' L.

perhaps including l̥-class

təʒs-təʒgs (S təʒs, LA təʒgs, A once təʒes, unknown to M; if təʒs, which L rejects, is originally the more correct, the form may be a regular development from the phonologically unusual Proto-Athapaskan-Eyak \*təʒs, and təʒgs may be the result of metathesis from təʒs-g; -ʒs or -ʒgs are in any case a highly irregular and unique stem-final cluster for Eyak; təʒs or təʒgs may be a loan from early Athapaskan, but not from modern Ahtena təʒas, which would be expected to yield Eyak \*təʒes; cottonwood is rare in the Cordova Eyak area, and the word is thought to be a loan; Tlingit dʒi<sup>w</sup>, dʒi 'cottonwood' may also have been in use in Eyak as a loan, see dɛʒi<sup>ʔ</sup>eh)

təʒs--təʒgs(-g) (noun, d-class, often with -g-repetitive thematized, frequent with nouns with stem-final cluster) 'cottonwood': təʒsg S, təʒsa A (L rejects), təʒsg LA, 68.39A, ("sounds better than təʒsg" L), təʒgs 'cottonwood' LA ("sounds like Copper River Language; didn't use to be any around Cordova, but some were moved down here from about Mile 26; there was one at Strawberry Point" L), təʒgsədəʒa<sup>ʔ</sup> da<sup>ʔ</sup> kʌqə<sup>ʔ</sup>hɛ<sup>ʔ</sup> 'we'll go berrypicking by the cottonwood (at Strawberry Point)' (L's mother used to say) L, təʒsgsa<sup>ʔ</sup> ʔəʒya<sup>ʔ</sup> li<sup>ʔ</sup> seqeh<sup>h</sup> 'they (ancestors of Eyaks)

descended (Copper River) in boats (made of some-  
thing) like cottonwood' 68.2A, Mada'luw tɛɣgag  
'big cottonwood' 68.30A.

tu'č (attested usually in expanded form tu'č, basic form tu'č perhaps analogical; widely diffused form of unknown origin, throughout Athapaskan, Tlingit, and further, at least as far as Tsimshian, perhaps to Eyak from Tlingit; present also in tu'čqa, ʔai-tu'č)

deit'u'č(-g)-diit'u'č(-g) (noun, d-class or unclassified, with optional thematized -g-repetitive, absent where form is o of o-gaʔ, probably nominalized active imperfective of basic intransitive, not otherwise attested, d-i-tu'č(-g) 'S turns black, charred', with d-thematic 'fire' or d--class-mark for S) 'charred, black substance': Rezanov Тальгучкэ 'Froh Kohle', Galusha Nelson tət̥iɬú'ts or ɬét̥itú'tck 'black' BSdL 553, diit'u'čg L, deit'u'čg 'black' M, ʔahnu'yaʔ deit'u'čg ʔewa' q̥hnu', ʔeʔt̥yaʔd ʔew yaʔ ʔeɬya'K 'their charred remains, they (cust) used to leave in a box' 28.117A, ʔudetuʔ deit'u'čg 'lots of charcoal' L, as o of o-yaʔ 'like o', standard color idiom for 'black': Rezanov Тальгучкэге 'Даба schwarzes, chinesisches Baumwollenzeug', Тальгучкэге 'Бутылка' (not in Radlov, 'bottle'), Тальгучкэге 'Синей dunkelblau', Кельгучь кэге 'Чорной schwarz',

Furuhjelm Iltuchkvaite 'black', probably all to be read *deit'u·ŋ<sup>W</sup>ā?* 'i·tēh 'it's black' S, Galushia Nelson *tetiDu·to kə'ʔi·tē' aʔa·ki?* 'black canoe' BSdL 558 *deit'u·ŋga?* 'i·tēh 'əʔe·kih, *deit'u·ŋga?* *gəli·tēh* 'black (liquid) dye' 66.10L, *dikt'u·ŋga?* 'u'cedə'eh 'it appears black' 14.4L, *deit'u·ŋga?* *səli?* 'it turned black' 51.-79A.

*kudeit'u·ŋg* (noun, as above, with *kū*-indefinite S, perhaps incorrect) 'charcoal' LM.

*ʔedeit'u·ŋg* (noun, *ʔd*-class, as above, with *ʔd*-class-mark for S) 'charred logs, charcoal' L, Rezanov *Хателъгучки 'Голозенька, розовая Kohlenbrand, Kienbrand'* *kuxedet'u?* *ʔedeit'u·ŋg* 'lots of charcoal, many charcoal logs' L.

*-ləʔeit'u·ŋi* (noun, perhaps *lʔ*-class, perhaps *-i*-deverbalization, or *-i*-suffix perhaps incorrect, with *lʔ*-anatomical) 'pupil (and iris?) of eye': *ʔiləʔeit'u·ŋi* 'the black (pupil, and iris?) of your eye' L.

*de-tu'ŋ* (attested only impersonally (third person), perhaps passive, or originally passive, see also below) 'S (bruise) turns black': *qu'detu'ŋ* 'it'll (bruise) turn black' L, *sdi'tu'ŋi* 'it (bruise) turned black' L, with expanded stem: *siya· sdi-tu·ŋi* 'I got bruised' ('part of me (bruise)

turned black') L.

ʔi-de-tuʔe (as above, but with inexplicable ʔi--  
prefix, perhaps originally from neuter perfective) *de-ka-st' de-t'j~*  
'S (part of person) turns bruised black', attested  
only with o-lɔd-ʔeʔ 'S's eye(-socket)': sila-  
ɔede-ʔ ʔiqeʔdetuʔe 'my eye (socket) will turn  
black' L, silaɔede-ʔ ʔisedetuʔeɕi 'my eye is  
turning black' L, silaɔede-ʔ ʔisdituʔeɕi 'I got  
a black eye' L, neuter perfective, which can also  
be interpreted as instance of de-tuʔe, with ex-  
panded stem: ʔilaɔede-ʔ ʔidituʔe L 'you have  
a black eye' L. Transitive (causative), perhaps  
incorrect: ʔilaɔede-ʔ ʔiqeʔxɛtuʔe 'I'll give  
you a black eye' L.

ʔidetuʔe (noun, 1-class, apparently nominalized  
active imperfective of preceding, from S only,  
perhaps incorrect) 'black gumboots' L.

ʔi-dituʔe (noun, 1-class, nominalized neuter or  
perhaps active (< -de-) imperfective of de--  
tuʔe with expanded stem and 1-thematic, -class--  
mark, or -anatomical) 'black gumboots, black  
abalone (chiton)' LMG, ʔi-dituʔe siɕ li-ʔaʔ  
(not -taʔ) 'give me a black gumboot!' L, ʔi--  
dituʔe ʔu-d ʔi-seʔahɛ (not -tahɛ) 'black  
gumboot is there' L, Kuletuʔ ʔi-dituʔe 'lots

of black gumboots' M, ku-?nuw ʔi-ditu-č 'big  
black gumboot' M, ʔi-ditu-člekih 'little black  
gumboots' M.

diditu-č (noun, unclassified, as above, but with  
d-thematic or -class-mark for S) 'iron' LM, Reza-  
nov Тетитучь 'Еахшо Eisen', Wrangell Тетитучь  
'Eisen', Rezanov Тетитучь охлекемь 'Еахшоѡ  
eisern' diditu-č weʔ skiniʔ, diditu-č weʔ  
skiliʔ 'iron has been treated, made, fashioned  
thus, it's made of iron' LM, diditu-č ʔuda-čd  
yahd 'cannery' ('house (d-class) with sheet--  
iron on top') L, diditu-č yahdda-č ya'nabd  
tah 'sheet-iron' ('iron which lies covering some  
surface on top of a house') L; diditu-čkuxehi  
'chain, Russian whip, knout' ('iron rope') L,  
Rezanov Тетиточитакль Мозора, Мозоромь (eisernen  
Hammer' diditu-čtasi.

ʔučəʔciʔdaʔʔ deʔu-č (noun, unclassified) 'kitti-  
wake', see under čəʔ; probably with active im-  
perfective of da-tu-č, stem expanded; 'its wing--  
tips are black'.

tú·čqa· (loan from Tlingit tʰč qá 'Negro, black man',  
see also túʔč, qa·)

tú·čqa· (noun, unclassified) 'Negro' LM, tú·čqa·=  
yu· 'Negroes' L.

la' (possibly stem) see la'qəya? under ya?-əya?

## lahs

- ɬə-lahs 'S explodes': with lahɜ 'forward': 61.6A,  
 lahɜ sɬilahsɬ 'it (gun) went off (by itself)' L,  
 with qaʔ 'up, out': qaʔ sɬilahsɬ 'it blew up  
 (by itself)' L, qaʔ quʔɬəlahs 'it'll blow up'  
 L. Transitive (causative) O-ɬ-lahs 'S explodes  
 O, S blasts O': sɬilahsɬ 'I blew it up (exploded  
 it with dynamite)' L, quʔxɬlahs 'I'll explode it'  
 L, with d-class-mark for O: qaʔ dəsɬlahsɬɬh 'he  
 blew it up (e.g. house)' L; passive: qaʔ dɛlahs  
 'it'll be blown up (by someone)' L, qaʔ sɬilahsɬ,  
 qaʔ sɬilahsɬ 'it was blown up (by someone)' L,  
 ʔuʔd kudelahs 'someone's blasting there' ('some-  
 thing is being blasted there') L.
- ɬəlahs (noun, unclassified) 'firecracker' L, kɛtuʔ  
 ɬəlahs 'lots of firecrackers' L; ɬəlaheluwɛyɛ  
 'dynamite' ('pl. big firecrackers') L. Nominalized  
 active imperfective of preceding.

λa'ɣ (except in one proper name, clearly lɣ-anatomical, -thematic, or -class-mark of subposition C combined with d-thematic of uncertain meaning of subposition A or B)

λa'ɣ- 1. λa'ɣta'ʔ Eyak man's name ('λa'ɣ-father').<sup>l</sup>

2. (dlɣ-thematic mark) a. with lɣ-thematic:<sup>^</sup>

λa'ɣtʃe'd 'nausea' (cf. lɣ-ɣeɪ 'S is dizzy, drunk').

2b. With lɣ-anatomical 'eye': o-d dlɣ--  
tʃe'-tu' 'S looks at, watches o'.

2c. With lɣ-class-mark: λa'ɣtʃe'ɛɬg 'unripe berries', λa'ɣkigɬg 'berry species', λa'-  
ɣe'ɣi'd 'button'.

## λσϛϛ

λσϛϛ-g (noun, unclassified, with -g-thematic) 'dirt'  
 (of any kind) LM, Resanov Тазкунке 'Ганна Lehm,  
 Thon', λσϛϛgyaqd 'in the mud' M, λσϛϛg Куqεε-  
 ie? 'there's dirt all over the place' L, ?ew  
 λσϛϛg ?εikū?d 'wipe that dirt (away)!' L.

εl-λσϛϛg (noun, unclassified?, with εl-thematic  
 'ground') 'mud' (regular mud on the ground, also  
 as <sup>o</sup>pposed to alluvial mud in flats) LM, xε?iq  
 εq·λσϛϛg Ku·ieh 'it's very muddy, there's much  
 mud' L.

εe-λσϛϛg 'S is dirty, gets dirty' (cf. ?id, "maybe  
 -λσϛϛg is dirtier, worse than -?id" L): εkileεεgε  
 'it got dirty' L, diK ?εεkελσϛϛgε 'it didn't  
 get dirty' M, qu?εελσϛϛg 'it'll get dirty' L, ?i-  
 εa·w ?iya· εkileεεgε 'your hair got dirty' L,  
 ?iεehε ?iya· εkileεεgε 'your ears got dirty' L;  
 with anatomical marks: yiεkileεεgε 'your hands got  
 dirty' L, yεεεkileεεgε 'my hands are getting dir-  
 ty' L, qi·diεkileεεgε 'your feet got dirty' L, ge-  
 diεkileεεgε 'your rump got dirty' L, liεkileεεgε,  
 ?i·εkileεεgε 'your face got dirty, your face is dir-  
 ty' L. Transitive (causative): εikileεεgε 'I dir-  
 tied it' LA, repetitive: diK xileεεggε 'I don't  
 keep getting it dirty' L.

λəse (-lə with səyəs, by haplology)

λəse- (prefix attested only with independent personal pronouns) 'alone, all alone by self': λəsexu· 'I all alone, just me' LM, 11.44A, λəseʔi· 'you all alone, just you' LM, λəseʔi·s ʔila·ʔ yiləh 'are you the only man there is?' 10.188A, λəseʔa· 'he alone, she alone, all by himself, all by herself' LM, 10.163, 215, 216A, 16.16M, 20.16, 25.157, 32.11, 49.16A, 55.13, 19L, λəseyəs (< \*λəse-səyəs, presumably by haplology; L once approved λəseyəs, later rejected it) 'we all alone, all by ourselves' LM, 49.107A, λəseləxi· 'you pl. all alone, all by yourselves' LM, ʔid λəseʔəyəs 'just they all alone, all by themselves' L. (L disapproves prefixation of λəse- to any other type of pronoun, e.g. to the demonstrative ʔəh 'he, she', or of any combination of it with e.g. də- 'ipse'.)

xi'-hi' (variant hi' less frequent and never with de-  
'iɾɿɿ', L rejecting proposed \*dəhi')

(de-)xi'-hi' (adverb, frequently with de- 'iɾɿɿ',  
sampling only of occurrences in text and elicitations  
cited, dəxi' most frequent, hi' least  
frequent) 1. with perfectives or in nominal clauses:  
'already, previously, by now, by then, ago now':  
Puruhjelm Tlehatitu 'tomorrow' perhaps to be  
read xi' xəɬduh '(it's) already night!', xi'  
xəɬ '(it's) already night, by now it's dark' L  
(cf. xi-xəɬ below), dəxi' 20.53, 21b.10, 23.=  
78, 28.41, 33.76, 61.116, 118A, dəxi' ʔuʔsiɿqəʔi  
'I already counted it' L, dəxi' siɬ ʔəw ʔuʔ-  
səxəhi 'you already told me that' L, dəxi' yeɣ  
xsdiwehi 'I already went swimming' L, ci-ʔehɿ,  
dəxi' ʔəw ʔi-səɿmaʔiɿh 'you see? he's already  
ruined it' L, dəxi' yəsaʔyahɿ 'it (letter) is  
already on its way' L, dəxi' qəw ʔəwgaʔ qə-  
diyaʔi 'by now they're big enough' L, hi' tʰə-  
hgaʔ ʔuʔəhɿ yəseɿqəhɿ qiʔdəɣ səɿhi 'he died  
three days ago now' ('already by now three have  
dawned since then, the time he died') L, hi'  
tʰəhgaʔ ʔə-d xuʔyəsəɿqəhɿ 'I've been here three  
days now' ('three have dawned on me here by now,  
already') L, dəxi' xəɿə-dəʔ ʔi-yahɿ 'he's

already come close' L, səi'ihd ya' side'u'e  
 qəl dəxi' 'this is already my last breath' ('my  
 last breath this already', dramatic) 20.22A, xi'  
 33.57,59A, xi' se'ɪ '(it's) already evening'  
 37b.75A, xi' səhdɔ dəɣɣh 'old person' ('by  
 then a person for a long time') 60.24A, dəxi'  
 səhdɔ ya' yəhd 'an old house' L, dəxi' (or  
 ɪi') xuseɪga'ɪ 'it's already tiring me, I'm  
 getting tired of it by now' L, dəxi' 'p'e sə=  
 qe'ɪnu'duhnu' 'they're already coming (here by  
 boat)!' L, dəxi'ɬuh 'ewga? 'a'ɬexda'ɪ 'am I  
 getting big enough by now?' L, ɪi' səhdɔ qəl  
 da' sə'a'ɬɪ 'this is a long time we've been going  
 along already, by now' 31.8L.

2. With active and neuter imperfectives,  
 'previously, by now, already': ɪi' kula'e 'ɪhɪh  
 'another married her already, by now' 33.57A, də=  
 xi', dəxi' 'idekɛh 'by now it's happening al=  
 ready' 61.117A, dəxi'ɬuh qɔw 'əl qa'ta'ʔ 'uɰ  
 cɪ'ɬəlɪhɪh 'apparently God had already, previously  
 been talking to him' 51.39A, dəxi' yəhd ɣu'  
 ɬəlɪhɪh 'he's already building, finishing a house'  
 L, dəxi' qɣh qe' ɬəca' 'already she wants to  
 go home' L, dəxi' kuxɪhɪh 'he's (started) eating  
 by now, already' L, xi' geli'xɛh da'ɣ qə'l 'əwa'

diK 'it used (previously) to be cold but not now  
though' L, deki' ?ix ?u?xileh 'I'm aware of  
what you did already, by now' L, ki' qphuw diK  
?enahSekih ?ahnu?ye?le:s 'by now they don't like  
him' 9.74A.

3. With inceptive imperfective, 'about to, on  
the verge of': deki' qphuw ?uda?u:s ?awa' qu?=  
lade?ah 'her life-breath is about to run out' 61.-  
103A, deki' da' kuqu?xi-wah 'we're about to eat'  
L, frequently in belligerent threats: deki' ?iC  
qenuh qu?xtah 'I'll "show" you!' L, deki' qid  
?iqe?xleza? 'I'm going to pull your head off!'  
(to dog) L, deki' ?iqe?li-xihshx 'I'm going to  
split your head open!' L, deki' lah ?iqe?ge?li-x-  
samed 'I'll wring your neck!' L, deki' ?ihshx=  
?e?de ?iqe?xihahd 'I'll drag you by the ear!' L,  
ki' didu?x ?iqe?li-xihshx 'I'll really let you  
have it, am going to just about do you in!' L.

4. With enclitic -dug 'also, too', 'but!,  
damnit!': deki-dug ?owqead hexkqa-gih '(but  
damnit) I told him not to!, warned him against  
that! (and yet he went ahead and did it)' L.  
ki--hi-dewa (adverb, ki--hi as noun, o of o--  
dewa 'pending, (temporally) upon, before o')  
'early, in the morning, early in the morning':

Rezanov Тихтава 'Заря утренная Morgenröthe',  
 Тихтава 'Утро Morgen' xi·dewa· 'in the morning,  
 early in the morning' L, 11.174, 23.21, 102, 36.3,  
 50.2, 61.23A, xi·dewa· (as preceding) 10.49A,  
 18.32L, 49.46A, yeqe·ɣ xi·dewa· 65.47A, yeqe·ɣ  
 xi·dewa· 'tomorrow morning' M, yeqe·ɣ xi·dewa·  
 'early the next day' 9.143, 23.21, 25.114, 150,  
 61.94A,, xi·dewa· M, xi·dewa· 'every  
 morning' L, 33.63A, xi·dewa· 'edlexdek<sup>w</sup>es  
 'every morning I wash my face' S; xi·dewa· ya·  
 'breakfast' ('morning one, morning thing') L; with  
 de- 'ipse': dexi·dewa· 'very early' L, 18.50,  
 58L; compounded with adverb qa·l 'now': Rezanov  
 Калетхмьтава 'Pano frühe' qa·l...xi·dewa· 'this  
 morning'.

xi·ɣeɣ (adverb, compound of xi· as nouns and ɣeɣ  
 'night'; never \*dexi·ɣeɣ L) 'yesterday, last  
 night' L, Rezanov Тэхатаь 'Gestern gestern', Furu-  
 jelm Tlehatl 'yesterday', Tlehatltu 'tomorrow'  
 (last to be read either xi·ɣeɣduh 'yesterday!'  
 or xi· ɣeɣduh, '(it's) already night!'), for  
 further instances see ɣeɣ under ɣe·ɣ-ɣeɣ.

ka' (rarely ia')

ka' (locative adverb, attested in only one type of construction, with qi' 'place where' and verb in optative) 'if indeed such a place does exist' (implying strong skepticism): 10.219A, ka' qi'ɕ da' ?i'ʔa'ɕ 'let's go (at least) somewhere' L (cf. o-ɕ da' ?i'ʔa'ɕ 'let's go to o'), ka' qi'ɕahd giyah ?ixdilah 'where ever would I get any water to drink?' ('whence if such a place does indeed exist, would I drink water?') L.

ka'ɣ (probably ka' <sup>with</sup> o-ɣ <sup>(movement)</sup> '(movement) within o (area)', functioning, though without -d-interrogative except with -ɕi'-, as an interrogative) 'where?' (usually, but not always, implying strong skepticism, disbelief, or denial that S does indeed exist anywhere): 7.40, 10.175, 11.22, 39A, 18.16, 16, 16, 16, 73, 77L, 20.80, 23.103, 33.65 (ka'ɣ), 37b.48A, Rezanov Тлэхо Тдб? wo?' ka'ɣuh, ka'ɣ ?aw 'where is it?' L, ka'ɣuh, ka'ɣ ?ah 'where is he?' LS, ka'ɣuhnu', ka'ɣ ?ahnu' 'where are they?' L, ka'ɣ ?awyu' 'where are those things?' L, ka'ɣe?i' 'where are you?' M, ɕid i:hs ti'na' ca'K, ka'ɣ ?aw ti'leɖes '(there's) only one mitten, where's the other?' L, ka'ɣuh ?aw qi'ɕ sa'i 'where's that place he's going to?' L;

ka'x-ci'-d 'where (in the world)?': ka'xci'd  
sita'ʔ 'where ever is my father?' 42.20L.

kəh (never \*kəh L)

kəh-kih (adverb, attested only with -kih 'diminutive' and kə? 'it would be a good thing that..., please do...') 'would that': 10.124, 124A, kəhkih kə? ?ixi?eh 'I wish I were married' (man speaking) (= ?ələŋgəh? ?ixi?eh, ?u-dkih kə? ?ixi?eh) L.

keʔɣ-kɪʔɣ (kɪʔɣ is perhaps an expanded form of keʔɣ, but the alternation eʔ-iʔ is unique; never \*keʔɣ or \*kɪʔɣ L)

-keʔɣ 1. 'S (fish) swims rapidly, slithers': ce-keʔɣɪ 'it (fish) is swimming' M, 'it (fish) is swimming fast and straight' L, ɣi-daʔ sekeʔɣɪ 'it (fish) swam fast to way over there' M, with yaʔ-progressive: yaʔ dekeʔɣ (< de-keʔɣ-ɣ) 'it (fish) is swimming around' LM, with leʔ 'ashore': la.9M, leʔ qaʔkeʔɣ 'it (fish) will flip itself ashore' M, with yaʔ 'ashore': lb.10M, 10.9B, 10B, 11.143, 148, 149A.

2. Transitive (causative) O-i-keʔɣ 'forcefully causes O to move through or over surface of water': leʔ ʔew seʔkeʔɣɪɪh 'he pulled it (canoe) ashore (through the mud)' L, siʔ leʔ seʔkeʔɣ 'pull it (canoe) ashore with me (in it)!' L; passive: siʔ ʔew leʔ sdiʔkeʔɣɪ (or sɪkeʔɣɪ) 'it (canoe) was pulled ashore with me (in it)' L, leʔ sɪkeʔɣɪ 'it (canoe) was pulled ashore' L; with dl-class-mark for O (ca. 'stone') (thematized?): la-siʔkeʔɣɪ 'I skipped it (a stone) over the surface of the water' L.

leeʔkɪʔɣ (noun, unclassified) 'halibut' LA, 9.122, 122, 123, 125, 129, 130, 131, 131, 132, Rezanov Лексикон 'Плутычъ Riesenbutte (Pleuronectes)',

leəkɪ·ɣdeʔe·dɔ ʔhalibut-seat-slabsʔ 9.124A.  
Nominalization of active imperfective of -keʔɣ  
(with expanded stem?, which normally would be ex-  
pected to be keʔɣ), with leɔ ʔashoreʔ. M has  
variant leəkɪʔɣ, and Harrington recorded from  
George Johnson lɔqɔ-tʔeɔɣ (implying -keʔɣ ?),  
both of which are rejected by L.

ke·sya·si·sya·-ke·sya·si·sya·-ke·sya·si·sya·-ke·sya·ke·sya·

ke·sya·si·sya·-ke·sya·si·sya·-ke·sya·si·sya·-ke·sya·ke·sya·

(for variations see below, loan from Tlingit (k)qaš:s-  
xáw 'dragonfly', Yakutat Tlingit kqaš:sxáw G, Samp-  
son Harry, qaš:sxáw S; deformation in Eyak from un-  
identified influence)

ke·sya·si·sya· (noun, unclassified), ke·sya·si·s-  
ya· (former preferred) L, ke·sya·ke·sya· A,  
ke·sya·si·sya· (rejected by L) 'dragonfly' M,  
also 'helicopter' M.

ke'qa' (loan from Tlingit keqá 'twenty' < ke-qá 'one-man (all digits)', see also tu'čqa', kena'qa')

ke'qa'- (numeral) 'twenty' 1. With final -g, or for S -g<sup>w</sup>: ke'qa'g 'twenty' LMA, Rezanov Таскакс '20.', Wrangell Таскакс 'Zwanzig', ke'qa'g<sup>w</sup> 'twenty' S, Wrangell Таскакс ласкакс 'hundert' deca'q' ke'qa'g 'ten twenty'.

2. With final -g apparently optional:

ke'qa'ka'd i'hc'ih M, ke'qa'gka'd i'hc'ih 'twenty-one' LM.

kaʔʒaʔ (unanalyzable, to be segmented, if of Eyak origin, kaʔ-ʒaʔ, kaʔ conceivably a variant of ʒaʔ<sup>1</sup> 'glacier' as o of o-ʒaʔ 'by o', as is widely thought by both Eyak and Tlingit informants, but though there is some initial variation of k--ʒ- in certain forms, e.g. ʒi--ʒi-, kaʔ is not otherwise known as a variant of ʒaʔ, which, moreover, is d-class, so that 'I camp by a glacier' is ʒaʔdeʒaʔ xlah, and this etymology is therefore rather unlikely; perhaps loan from Tlingit kaʒa- of place-names in Yakutat Bay, see below)

kaʔʒaʔ- (element in Tlingit place-names in Yakutat Bay) de Laguna 1952 ms. G[eorge] J[ohnson] June 9, 'The Eyak name for Yakutat was tšá'ʒá't (tšá' = glacier, ʒa't' (land-near), but the Tlingit couldn't pronounce it', John Ellis July 23, 26 tšáʒá'ta "an old sealing camp below Point Latouche (Eyak, in Tlingit would be ʒ[í]tdiya)" [sít' 'glacier'], and the name of Yakutat Bay is kaʒayig, Swanton (1908, p. 397) ʒaxayí-k 'inside ʒáxa (an island)'; G in Harrington ká'ʒá't 'Yakutat?', ká'ʒá't-yá't 'Ankau'.

kaʔʒaʔlahs (noun, unclassified, for -lah-s see la-na<sup>1</sup>) 'Tlingit (of any group, from Controller Bay, Yakutat, or further)' LMA, Galushia Nelson tšá'ʒá'lá'q or (tšáʒá'lá') or (qšá'ʒá'láq)

'Tlingit' BSdL 543, t̥iá'x̥d'lá'q̥éiy̥d or q̥iá'=  
x̥d̥l̥d̥q̥éiy̥d 'Tlingits (Glacier-people)' BSdL 543  
ka'ʔa'lahsəyu' 'Tlingits' LS, 69.16A, ka'ʔa'lah=  
səyu'kuwa'na'ə 'a friend of Tlingits' 69.14A,  
ka'ʔa'lahsəyu'ga' (ci'ʔd-le) '(S speaks) Tlingit  
language' ('like Tlingits') 69.6, 3, 14, 17A.

xu'3 (loan from Chinook Jargon, probably through Tlingit)

*not used in actual Tlingit,  
w. Sakliff*

xu'3 (noun, unclassified) 1. 'woman' L (thinks  
"maybe they used to call women that long ago",  
has heard Jargon word kloooh(man) 'woman' in  
local English).

2. xu'3 'queen' (at cards) L.

xu'3qa' (noun, unclassified) 'king' (at cards,  
'husband of queen') L.

ŋ (perhaps related to ŋah-ŋaʔ-ŋe-ŋ, see also qe-ŋ, ne-ŋ)

o-ŋ (postposition) 'with o': 20.2A, 27a.47L, 62.-  
11G, siŋ 'with me' L, with reflexive o ʔadŋ,  
with reciprocal o ʔiŋ, once ʔiŋi-ŋ: ʔiŋi-ŋ  
ciʔdedelɪhinu. 'they're speaking together' L,  
with classified nouns as o, class-mark having fi-  
nal d-, -da-ŋ: daʔa-gda-ŋ ʔax 'steamship'  
( 'boat with fire'), ɣahɬda-ŋ 'with a sled' L,  
gehɣda-ŋ 'with a fish-spear' 21a.1L, ʔiŋda-ŋ  
'with an arrow', 25.130A, da-ɣediʃaʔgɣeda-ŋ 'with  
a match' L, ɣahsɣeda-ŋ 'with the clouds' L, with  
class-marks having final l-, -naʔ-ŋ: ʔiyahdʔa-  
naʔŋ 'with a hat' L, ʔewʔa-naʔŋ 'with it (hat)'  
L, ʔaʔd siʔusɪʔa-naʔŋ ʔidɛleh 'it touches my  
heart deeply' L, ɣewuɣi-naʔŋ 'with a net' 62.-  
4fnL, ʔahɬti-naʔŋ 'with a leaf, feather' L,  
ɪp-diyahsti-naʔŋ 'with a rat-skin' 28.113A, ɣe-  
gu-naʔŋ 'with seal-oil' L, with anatomical marks:  
siqi-da-ŋ 'with my foot', siya-ŋ 'with my hand'  
L, see also o-y-ŋ below; where o is pronoun,  
frequently syntactically irregular, in preverbal  
position, following certain preverbs; in certain  
verb-themes distinguished for singular and plural  
S by stem, 'sg. or pl. S ... with o', requiring

stem for pl. even where grammatical S is sg.:

ʔiX yq.ʔ quʔxtuʔʕ 'I'll lie down to sleep with you' L, o-X -ʔaʔʕ 'sg. or pl. S goes with o' (frequently ambiguous, also 'o goes with S', also 'S abducts o, o abducts S', also where o is inanimate object being taken or carried along, as well as animate object going along, willingly or unwillingly; cf. o-kaʔ): siX ʔi.ʔaʔʕ 'take me along:' L, siX ʔa.ʕih 'seducer' ('he who persistently takes me along') L, siX ʕeʔaʔʕi 'he's abducting me' L, 9.116, 10.144A, 15.2M, 18.23, 47L, 20.26, 26, 23.91, 92, 122, 126, 128, 25.7, 75, 101A, 27a.27, 29L, 27b.36, 39, 47, 48, 28.10, 40, 41, 42, 48, 29.47A, 31.6L, 33.85A, 34.42M, 38.10, 111M, 40.11L, 51.63, 77, 79A, 52.9, 14, 559L, in preverbal position: 20.25, 28.11, 51.77A, o-X d-ʔaʔʕ 'S gets o lost', o-X l-qu 'sg. S runs with o', only once, certainly in error, with stem for sg.S: 34.75M, various other verb-themes referring to motion or travel, where stem is same for sg. or pl. S, 'S goes (in certain way) with o (animate or inanimate, along)', attested with ʔe-caʔ, ʔed-X O-dl-ʔe-le, -qe, -we, -la, y-ʔya, ʔi-i-ʔe-ʔ-ʔ, with various other themes, usually translatable as 'with o', often 'with o

along, including o, with o (passively, helplessly  
 involved, trapped) in it, included': see -keʔɣ 2.,  
 O-guʔk, O-kɪhd, d-i-Kaʔt, y-ɪe-dəq d-ʔya lb.,  
 ɪe-ʔa, ɪa-dux, O-i-taʔk, O-dl-i-ɣaʔk, O-d-cuʔx,  
 ɪ-xiʔ- l., -xui- 6.13M, 10.19, 19A, ɣdl-də  
 27a.47L, 28.113A, O-i-ɣeʔɣ 25.6A, lɣdl-ɪe-ʔəɣ,  
 yaʔ O-(d-)cəɣ 10.195-6A, in certain impersonal  
 constructions: 'affecting o': o-kʔ ʔi-d-le 'S  
 (event) concerns o', o-kʔ ʔi-d-suʔ 'o sweats,  
 it is warm for o', Meh o-kʔ ʔi-ʔ-d-ʔya 'o gets  
 chill', o-kʔ ɛd-ʔa' 'o is trapped in steep place',  
 o-kʔ ʔi-xəwaʔs 'S itches o', see also O-guʔk,  
 O-kɪhd, 23.54A, occasionally 'by means of o' (where  
 o-ɣ might more properly be expected, and probably  
 more precisely to be glossed 'with o along (but  
 not directly by means of o)': xutʔiʔ siɣ ku-ɪ-  
 yahɪh 'he's bothering me with a gun' L, 25.130,  
 37b.35, 35, 63, 63A, ʔuʔ kudəxə-gɪ 'tools' M  
 (uncertain), with various verb-themes referring  
 to mixing: O-l-gaʔ, O-gdl-i-ʔya, O-d-ʔiɪ,  
 O-səmeɔ, with various other verb-themes, usually  
 translatable as 'with o': 65.23A, ʔi-gaʔ, ʔiɪyaʔ  
 yeɣ O-lɣ-də-dəɣ-ɣ, o-kʔ l-də-Məhɣ, ʔi-ɪ-də,  
 ɕiyahd da-ʔ-(l-)i-ɣaʔ, C O-ʔ-(l-)i-ɣaʔ, də-  
 ɣɪh -ɪe(?), -ʔya 18d., 38., -ʔaʔ 2., O-i-

cɨ's, di'yaʔɨ ʔi'ɨaih, di'yaʔɨ gadesuʔ 'salt=  
 fish' ('fish with salt'), o-ɨ O-ɨ-a 'S eats O  
 with o' (i.e. 'with o's company' or 'eats o also'),  
 -le ɨB., o-ɨ ʔəɨdah-le 'S plays with o' (o as  
 plaything or playmate), o-ɨ megeɨ ʔi-d-le ɨb.  
 'S plays checkers with o', o-ɨ ʔənahʔekih ʔi-  
 d-le ɨb. 'S has fun with o', o-ɨ ʔədawiʔɨ  
 ʔi-d-le ɨb. 'S wars with (on side of), against,  
 over (concerning) o', o-ɨ ʔwəɨ -tə--tu (never  
 ʔwəɨ o-ɨ) 'S lives with o', o-ɨ x-de-xa'g-ɨ  
 'S works on o, with o', with verb-themes referring  
 to communication, symbolic expression, 'with, at,  
 to o': o-ɨ yeɨ ʔəd-y-de-ta-ɨ 'S signals to o  
 with hand', o-ɨ d-de-ɨɨ'ɨ 'S begs o', o-ɨ O-  
 cahg 'S tells o legend of O', o-ɨ ɨu-ci 'S  
 sings to o', o-ɨ -gus 'S lies to o', o-ɨ d-  
 ɨe-x'e'g 'S whistles to, at o', o-ɨ ɨɨd-de-ɨɨd  
 'S winks at o', o-ɨ O-ʔ-ɨa 'S tells o of O',  
 o-ɨ d-le 'S says to o' (o-ɨ ʔwəɨ d-le, ʔwəɨ  
 o-ɨ d-le, latter where o is pronoun, in pre-  
 verbal position), o-ɨ ciʔd-le 'S speaks to,  
 with o', o-ɨ ɨiʔɨ ɨ-le 'S smiles at o', o-ɨ  
 da'ɨ ʔi-ʔ-d-le 'S begs o', o-ɨ ɨaʔ y-de-le  
 'S beckons o to self with hand', in certain in-  
 direct reciprocal constructions: siɨ ʔiɨd səɨaʔ



'split it with me!' M, *hič siX ʔiɪd kʷiɪya·kʷih*  
 'he always (cust) splits, shares it with me' L, and  
 also where o of o-X is also one of the reciprocal  
 o of another postposition: *ču·X giyah ʔiɪqaʔ*  
*gəla·siɪyahɪ* 'I mixed baby formula' ('I mixed  
 water with milk amongst each other') L, *ɣəwa·X*  
*ʔiɪč ʔahnu· səɪihɪ* 'they tied her together with  
 a dog' ('they tied them (dog and woman) with a  
 dog (same dog)' 49.86, 87A, *ɣəwa·X qʷh ʔiɪč*  
*ʔi·sdiɪihɪ* 'they (woman and dog) were tied heads  
 together with a dog (same dog)' 49.94A, *ɣəwa·X*  
*qʷhnu· ʔiɪkʷah ʔqʷh səɪceɪɪ* 'they cut her (them,  
 woman and dog) apart (away from each other)(from  
 with a dog (same dog)' 49.93A, *ʔahnu·X ʔiɪləh*  
*qeʔsɪleʔɪ* 'they fell in love' ('they had emo-  
 tional arousal concerning each other with them')  
 47c.16M, *ʔuX ʔiɪləh qeʔxdəlɪhɪh dəɣɣh* 'my  
 friend' ('person who I have emotional arousal con-  
 cerning each other with him') L, *siX ʔiɪkʷeʔde-*  
*lɪhɪh* 'my sweetheart' ('he has emotions, concern  
 for each other with me') L, in certain non-verbal  
 constructions: *ʔəɪɪŋeɪ ɪiʔq̄ ya·yu·X ʔuxaʔ*  
*kʷa·dih* 'ʔəɪɪŋeɪ with all his belongings was  
 gone' 47b.23M, o-X *yɪ·hɪh* 'o's companion' ('the  
 one with o', see ya· ), o-X *yɪ·hinu·* 'o's

companions'; -X-la' 'cross-cousin' (see la'-na.<sup>1</sup>).

o-y-X (postposition, with y-anatomical 'hand'):  
siya-X 'with my hand' L, usually 'with o's permission', occurring only in negative or prohibitive clauses: ya?xu' ?iya-X ?iqe?lexut?ih 'let him not shoot (with your permission)' L, ya?xu' ?iya-X qu?lexi-x?ai 'let me not get drunk (with your permission)' L, diK ?uya-X wəx xle?e:ih 'he doesn't let me do that' ('I don't do thus with his permission') L, diK ?uya-X yq.? ku-xiya-?e, diK ?uya-X yq.? kuxiya-k?ih 'I can't set anything down because of him' N, diK ?uya-X ?q.ʕ qe? qa?da?e:ih 'he isn't allowed by him to come back here' 21b.20A, diK ?uya-X ʕi-leh ?ude-leh qe ?ada-k? 'they didn't let Raven (cust) come around them anymore' 9.50A.

de?owX (postpositional phrase used adverbially, ?ew 'that' with de- 'ipse' as o of o-X 'with o', 'even with that, with that itself') 'nonetheless, nevertheless, notwithstanding, anyway, in spite of that' 9.101, <sup>19.2/1, 247,</sup> 28.17A, 40.3L, 68.60A, de?owX sah?ih 'he went anyway' (cf. de?owX ʕe-?a?ʕ?ih 'he went even with that'), <sup>with that very thing</sup> lex?qa-g?ih, de?owX (sili?dabd) sah?ih 'I tried to dissuade

him, but he went anyway (in spite of me)' M,  
giyah geli·Xeh, da'əwX da· yax sdiwehX 'the  
water was cold, but we went swimming anyway' M,  
da'əwX qəw 'ahnu·Ca·X sə'a'Ci 'nevertheless  
they helped him' 10.119A, da'əwX 'nevertheless  
(just to be sure)' 33.44A.

xi (perhaps related to xela<sup>1</sup> and xela<sup>2</sup>)

O-xi 1. 'S ties, wraps, binds, bundles O': xuxexi·? 'tie me up (bind me, not to something else)!' M, xexi·? 'tie it!; put it in canoe!' L (see O-xi 2.), with yax 'downward': yax xexi·? 'tie it down!' L.

1a. With o-č 'to o', o-č O-xi 'S ties O (directly) to (against) o': lišdeč xew xexi·? 'tie it (directly) to (against) a tree!' L, xud xisda<sup>2</sup>č xisi<sup>2</sup>xih<sup>2</sup> 'I tied you (directly) to a chair' L, with indeterminate o of o-č: deč si-xih<sup>2</sup> 'I tied it up (directly to something)' M, deč xexi·xinu· 'tie them up!' L, with reciprocal o of o-č: 49.88, 137A, xih<sup>2</sup> si<sup>2</sup>xih<sup>2</sup> 'I tied them together (directly)' L, xukah<sup>2</sup> xew xih<sup>2</sup> xexi·? 'tie its legs together' L, xel la-xqi·nex xih<sup>2</sup> xexi·? 'tie them together with this string!' L, with o-x<sup>2</sup> xih<sup>2</sup> 'together to o': 49.86, 87A, with y-anatomical: xih<sup>2</sup> xuyexexi·? 'tie my hands together!' L; passive, with o-x<sup>2</sup> xih<sup>2</sup> 'together to o', and l-anatomical: xewa·x qphew xih<sup>2</sup> x<sup>2</sup>·sdi-xih<sup>2</sup> 'she was tied heads-together (directly) to a dog' 49.94A.

1b. With o-č 'on o' and indeterminate O: xud xixexi·? 'bundle them up!' ('tie something on them!') 21a.20L.

interpreted 'they tied her down to a paddle' rather than 'they held her down by means of a paddle to which they had tied her?'), 51.45A, *lisda·x səh-ŋi·ʔ* 'tie it to a tree (e.g. dog, tethered, not necessarily directly against the tree)!' L, with g-class-mark for O: *se·d ʔawx gəsəiŋihh̄ih* 'he tied sruceroots to it' 34.103L, frequently with indeterminate o of o-x, *da·x O-k-ŋi* 'S ties O up (to something), moors, tethers O, hangs O': Rezanov *Тарантхань Чаньк* 'binden, zusammenbinden (Imperat.)' - *da·x ʔəiŋi·ʔuh* 'tie it up (e.g. boat, dog, to something)!' L, *da·x ʔəiŋi·ʔih* 'tie him up!' L, *ʔew ʔəwa· da·x səhŋi·ʔ* 'tie that dog up!' L, *ʔiyə-qa·dʔe·də da·x ʔiqe·xh̄ih* 'I'll tie you up by your hands' L, *diK da·x qu·xh̄ihə* (or *-ŋi·ə*) 'I won't tie it up' L, *da·x səxh̄i·h̄* 'I'm tying it up' L *da·x ʔixih̄ih* 'let me tie it up' L, *da·x ʔixh̄ih da·x* 'just as I was starting to tie it up' L, *ʔew lisdeč ʔew ʔəwa· ʔəl la·ʔqi·neŋ da·x səhŋi·ʔ* 'tie the dog to that tree with this string' (mixed form, probably poorly-formed sentence) L, in active imperfective, with ethical or customary force: *ʔu·d da·x xh̄ih* 'that's where I (normally) tie it (dog)' ('I normally have it tied up there') L, *diK ʔu·d da·x xh̄ihə* 'that's not where I (normally) have it tied' L, with reciprocal o of o-x: 11.82A,

across' L, da·x̣ ʔiqeʔx̣iŋ 'I'll ferry you  
 across' L, da·x̣ siŋiŋiŋiŋ 'I ferried him across'  
 L, with yeŋ-progressive: yeŋ kudeŋi·x̣ 'you're  
 transporting something around (in canoe)' L, da·  
 yeŋ ʔidiŋiŋ 'let's take it around (in canoe)' M,  
 yeŋ quʔx̣deŋiŋ 'I'll transport it about (in ca-  
 noe)' L, ʔiŋyaʔ yeŋ x̣deŋi·x̣ 'I'm ferrying it  
 back and forth' L; passive: 33.73A, ʔq·daʔ qeʔ  
 ʔiqeʔdeŋiŋ 'you'll be ferried back here' L.

O-ŋ-ŋi la. With o-x̣ 'in (spatially or temporally)  
 punctual contact with o', o-x̣ O-ŋ-ŋi 'S ties O  
 to o (not necessarily directly, e.g. connected to  
 o by some length of rope)' (The postpositional  
 phrase o-x̣ as glossed above does not normally re-  
 quire an ŋ-classifier with zero-classifier transitive  
 themes, but such is typical of o-x̣ 'by means of o'.  
 The ŋ-classifier here is perhaps to be explained  
 thus historically, i.e. 'S ties (immobilizes, re-  
 stricts movement of) O by means of o (to which it  
 is tied)', or, equally plausibly, 'S affects loca-  
 tion restricts movement) of O by tying'; cf. ʔal  
 la·x̣qi·neŋ ʔiŋŋe seŋi·ʔ 'tie them together by  
 means of this string!' L, with zero-classifier, o-x̣  
 meaning 'by means of o' rather than 'to o', and in  
 which there is no reference to restricting the (ab-  
 solute) location of O by tying to o'): 49.37 (to be

deʔi·k 'it (cust) curls itself up into a ball' L;  
passive; Keʔu·dah ʔiʔah deʔi·k 'they're (cust)  
folded nicely together' 65.60A, with class-marks  
for O (neuter perfective): ʔiʔah gudiʔihʔ 'ball  
of yarn, it (filament-like) has been rolled up in=  
to a ball' L, ʔiʔ(1)ah tʔ·diʔihʔ 'they (skins)  
have been rolled up together' L.

1d. Indirect reflexive with o-laʔʔ 'over  
o's head', yeʔ 'downward', and d-thematic ('bright'  
?): laʔʔ yeʔ Kudidiʔihʔih 'he has a scarf on;  
he's (still) covered with his amnion' ('he has some=  
thing (bright?) tied down over his own head', neu=  
ter perfective) L, laʔʔ yeʔ diʔidiʔihʔ 'I have  
a kerchief on my head' ('I have it (something bright?)  
tied down over my head') M, laʔʔ yeʔ Kudidiʔihigaʔ  
ʔuʔedeʔeh 'weather is bad' ('it looks like it has  
something "draped over its face") L.

2. 'S transports O by boat' (O being inactive,  
animate or inanimate, perhaps (originally) as in a  
bundle): 9.36A, 21a.23fnL, 25.185, 33.74A, 42.9, 10,  
12, 53.25, 30, 31L, ʔeʔi·ʔ 'put it in canoe!' L,  
ʔiʔi·ʔ 'tie it!; put it in canoe!' L (see O-ʔi 1.),  
ʔew ʔeʔi·ʔ, ʔow ʔiʔi·ʔ 'take it (away, in canoe):'  
L, siyq·ʔ xuʔi·ʔ 'take me to my mother (in canoe):'  
L, kuʔeʔ ʔq·daʔ seʔihʔ 'you brought some meat  
here (in canoe)' L, da·ʔ seʔi·ʔ 'I'm ferrying it

lc. With o-lah 'around o', o-lah O-ŋi  
 'S ties, wraps O around o': 21a.12, 23fn, 29L,  
 28.113, 49.33, 33A, diŋaʔg caʔdelah seŋiʔ  
 'wrap paper around the knife!' L, siŋaʔdelah  
 seŋiʔ 'wrap it (bandage) around my arm!' L,  
 ʔulah kuŋeŋiʔ 'wrap it!' ('wrap something  
 around it!') M, with indeterminate O: ʔulah ʔi-  
 seŋiʔ 'wrap it up!' ('wrap indeterminate O  
 around it!') M, with reciprocal o of o-lah,  
 ʔiʔ(1)ah O-ŋi 'S ties, wraps, rolls, folds,  
 coils O (one part around the other, one part over-  
 lapping the other)': ʔiʔ(1)ah seŋiʔ 'fold it  
 up!, tie it up (in a bundle)!, roll it up (e.g.  
 cloth, blanket (up tight), measuring tape):' L,  
 'roll it up!, fold it up!, wrap it up!' M, ʔiʔah  
 quʔxŋih 'I'll fold it up, tie it up' L, ʔiʔah  
 siŋih 'I folded it up, tied it up' L, with class-  
 mark for O: ʔiʔah guʔŋiʔ 'roll it up (into a  
 ball, e.g. twine):' L, ʔiʔlah qiʔliʔŋiʔ 'coil  
 it (rope):' L; indirect reflexive: ʔah siʔaʔ  
 qiʔdelah quʔxdeŋih 'I'll wrap my stocking-material  
 around my feet, legs' L; reflexive: 20.11, 12A,  
 ceʔleʔxquh qel silah ʔedidiŋih 'this octopus  
 has wrapped itself around me' 20.20A, ʔiʔ(1)ah  
 ʔedidiŋih (or ʔede-) 'he has curled himself  
 into a ball, is all huddled up' LM, ʔiʔah ʔede-

Rezanov Илхаталкыо 'Связать binden, zusammenbinden'  
ʔilɣ ʔe[ɪ]ʔi·ʔuh 'tie them together!', ʔilɣ seɪ-  
ʔi·ʔuh 'tie them together!' L; passive: 10.7, 7,  
11.162, 51.20, 22A, da·ɣ ʔiliʔihɪ, da·ɣ ʔidiʔihɪ  
'it has been tied up' L, da·ɣ skiʔihɪ 'it got  
tied up' L, keʔt ʔu·d ɣədəd da·ɣ ʔiliʔihɪ  
'a box hangs suspended from the ceiling (above)' L.

1b. Indirect reflexive, with ʒeɣ (reduced  
form of -ʒehɣ 'ear', serving as postposition, o--  
ʒeɣ-ɣ ?): ʒeɣ kuʔiʔihɪɣ 'he's wearing earrings'  
( 'he has something tied to his own ears' ) L.

2a. With qehɣ 'closed' and d-class-mark for  
O (door): ta·yaʔd ʔiɣaʔ qehɣ dseɪʔi·ʔ 'tie  
your door shut!' L.

2b. Reflexive, with yaʔɣ 'upwards', and g--  
anatomical 'hem': yaʔɣ ʔedgu·keʔi·ʔ 'she (cust)  
ties her skirt-hem upwards' (of a promiscuous wife  
on a spree) L (cf. Text 72.24, 25).

ʒeɣ kuʔiʔihɪ (noun, unclassified?) 'sun halo, aure-  
ola' ('it is wearing earrings')<sup>1</sup>. Nominalized neuter  
perfective of indirect reflexive O-i-ʔi 1b. above.

ʒeɣ kuʔeʔiʔihɪ (noun, unclassified) 'butterball  
duck' ('it is wearing something of lɣ-class (berry--  
like) as earrings') L. Nominalized neuter perfective  
of indirect reflexive O-i-ʔi 1b. above.

ʒeʔeʔiʔɪ (noun, unclassified?) 'earrings' LM, Rezanov

<sup>1</sup>Common and/or 'Borisov's goldmidge (Borephala  
Ungula, sp. islandica)', perhaps also 'butterflies' (cf.  
albatra)?

Чехорлеэль 'Серги Ohrgehänge', Galushia Nelson  
tođá' t'it̄ or tođá' t'it̄ 'earrings' BSdL 551  
(BSdL 61-62 contains a discussion of ear-ornaments).  
With ʒə, reduced form of -ʒəhə 'ear' and -t̄--  
instrumental.

KuSʷi'ɔ̄ (noun, unclassified) 'garter' LM, Rezanov  
Костлеэль 'Тесьма Band, Fitzelband', Костлиэль  
'Подвязка Binde', Кустлетльащраче Ченты sei-  
denes Band' KuSʷi'ɔ̄...ciɔg..., KuSʷi'ɔ̄ciɔgkih  
'small narrow garters' L, Катакыльчекостляль  
'Позументъ Posument' sedegit̄eʷ KuSʷi'ɔ̄ 'brass-  
(-colored, 'sun-excrement') garters' M. With Kuš,  
reduced form of -kəhš 'foot, lower leg', and -t̄--  
instrumental.

laʷə yəʷ dedeʷih (noun, unclassified?) 'kerchief'  
M. Nominalization of passive active imperfective of  
C-ʷi la. above.

ʷi'ɔ̄ (noun, unclassified?) 'leg' (leg) found ...

xi. (also xi. in Li's transcriptions from G, and from Galushia Nelson in BSdL)

xi. (noun, xd-class) 'spear' (heavy type used for hunting mammals, described in BSdL 102) LAS, 19.30L, 25.19A (unclassified), 34.107, 111L, 37.17, 19, 24, 26L (declassified, 'miniature spear'), 63.1, 1, 2, 9, 15, 28G (form xi., unclassified), Galushia Nelson xi. 'harpoon (type used for ice-hunting)' BSdL 549, tʰi<sup>n</sup> or tʰi 'bear spear' BSdL 549, tʰi<sup>n</sup> sɪ<sup>n</sup>təiyə or tʰi. tsɪ<sup>n</sup>təiyə 'point of bear spear' BSdL 549 xi.[xədə]ci<sup>?</sup>da<sup>?</sup>ya<sup>?</sup> 'extremity of hunting-spear', ?ew xi. si<sup>?</sup> xədi.ta<sup>?</sup> (or -?a<sup>?</sup>) 'give me that spear.' L, xi. ?əyu. 'spears' 19.22L.

Xe'

Xeh (noun, unclassified) 'cold, chill': ?el Xeh  
 'this cold, this is such cold that...' L, as S of  
 ?i-?-d-?ya 'S changes distance to another moving  
 thing' with o-? 'contact with o': Xeh si? ?i?-  
 desa?ya:ɬ 'I'm catching cold' ('cold is catching  
 me') L, Xeh si? ?i?di-?yahɬ 'I have a cold, I  
 caught a chill, the beginning of a cold' L, Xeh  
 si? ?i?desa?yahɬ 'I caught a cold' L, 'I got a  
 chill' M, Xeh si? ?i?qe?di-?yah 'I'll catch a  
 cold' L, Xeh ?edxdəgəwih (or ?edxgəwih) 'I feel  
 the cold, I have a cold' L, Xehga? ?ədu?xdəgəwih  
 'I feel (like) cold' L, as o of o-y-za? 'in the  
 forearms of o, victim to o', Xehyəza? -?ya 'S  
 succumbs to the cold (dies of cold, gets badly  
 chilled)': 11.177, 177<sup>3</sup>, 61.79A.

-Xe' 'S is cold': 4.9M, Rezanov ЧИТАЕМА 'Одмръза  
 frieren', ЧИТАЕМА 'Замерзало gefroren' səXe?ɬ  
 'it (or you) got cold', Атекутисе 'Одмръза ?fror'  
 ?a?d...səXe?[ɬ] 'it (or you) got very cold' ?,  
 siXe?ɬ 'I got cold, I'm cold' L, səxXe?ɬ 'I'm  
 getting cold' L, qu?xXeh 'I'll get cold' L, ?i-  
 da?ya-le? səxXe?ɬedəwa 'before I get too cold'  
 L; with class-marks for S: geli-Xeh 'it (water)  
 is cold; cold water' L, gɣ-səXe?ɬ 'it (water) got  
 cold' L, qu?geli-Xeh 'it (water) will get cold' L,

gelesseŋeʔi 'it (water) is getting cold' L, gela·  
 yiŋehwahd 'so that it (water) will cool off' L, qiʔ  
 gela·yiŋehč 'until it (water) cools off' L, gele-  
 seŋeh da·ʔ 'when it (water) gets cold' L, geli·  
 ŋe·k 'it (water) is (cust) cold' L, ʔa· di·ŋeh  
 'northwind is cold' L, <sup>with ed-thematic 'place'}</sup> sed·ŋeh Od. A'e  
 57.4, 4, 5G, 61.78A, 63.39G, Rezanov Karemʔse  
 'Холодно kalt', Wrangell Kogmʔaxa 'Kalt' sedi·ŋeh  
 'it (place) is cold, it's cold (weather)' L, Puru-  
 hjeŋa Itetlia 'morning', Ittetle 'winter' [e]e-  
 di·ŋeh (? , cf. suʔ), Khatitleuva 'cold' sedi·ŋeh  
 ʔawa· 'the one of them (places, seasons) which is  
 cold', or perhaps sedi·ŋehwah[d] '(e.g. preparing)  
 for cold weather (winter)' L, diK sedaʔŋehs 'it  
 (place) isn't cold' L, sedeseŋeʔi 'it (place) is  
 getting cold' L, sedeseŋeʔi 'it (place) got cold'  
 L, quʔsedi·ŋeh 'it (place) will get cold' L, diK  
 quʔsedi·ŋehs (not \*-ŋe·s) 'it (place) won't get  
 cold' L, sada·liŋeh 'let it (place, weather) get  
 cold' L, qiʔsuh sedi·ŋeh 'is it a cold place?' L,  
 ʔu·dš sadaŋe·k 'does it (cust) get cold there?' L,  
 repetitive: sodeŋeʔg 'it (place) gets cold inter-  
 mittently' L. Transitive (causative): ʔeiŋeʔ,  
 ʔeiŋeh 'make it cold!' L, geli·iŋeʔ 'make it  
 (water) cold' L, sedeseiŋeʔ 'cool it (place)!' L.  
 d-i-ŋe', with d-class-mark for S (or O?), attested only

in dasaiŋeʔɪ 'they (eggs) got cold (and will  
never hatch)' L, perhaps transitive as above, 'it  
chilled them (eggs)' (O-d-ɪ-ŋeʔ).

Ḥah-Ḥaʔ-Ḥe-Ḥ (Ḥ apparently in one construction only; perhaps ultimately to be analyzed Ḥ- + -ah, -aʔ, -e, perhaps related to Ḥehd, Ḥaʔq<sup>1</sup> and/or Ḥaʔq<sup>2</sup>, variations irregular, basic meaning clearly 'rear, back end')

-g-Ḥah (noun, d-class, with g-mark 'filament-like' or 'caudal?') 'tail' (generic, including tail of fish, but not of bird): 10.93, 11.140A, 16.12, 22M, 23.32, 33, 24.84 (mistakenly used of bird), 28.13, 44, 62, 64, 65, 79, 112, 113A, 31.12, 45a.6, 8, 11, 12, 14L, 45b.6, 8, 11, 12, 46.7, 20M, 65.9, 31A (in many of the textual occurrences the d-class-marks are lacking), Rezanov Кытас 'Хвостъ Schwanz' -guḤah, siguḤah 'my tail' S, kuḤahdaʔluw 'big tail' L, kuḤahdaʔaʔw 'long tail' LM, kuḤahdaʔuʔ daseʔahḥ 'a tail is there' L, kuḤahdaʔsiʔ diʔaʔ (or -taʔ) 'give me a tail!' L, ʔuguḤah lah deḤyaʔ 'it (dog) is wagging its tail' L, in epithets: guḤahdaʔaʔw 'long-tail' L, guḤahdaʔluw 'big-tail' L.

ḤyʔdiyahsguḤah (noun) 'grass species' (green, about 10" high, smells good, dried for winter, medicinal: boiled for soaking rheumatic limbs in; same as ḤewaʔguḤah; 'rat-tail') L (perhaps 'yarrow' or 'dog-fennel', cf. Tlingit gneʔag Ḥidi 'rat's tail', gneʔagḤidi 'yarrow (Achillea borealis)').

ʒəwa·guʒah (noun) 'grass species' (same as ɪy·di-  
yahsguʒah; 'dog-tail') L.

guʒahta·ʔ man's name, a Copper River Indian chief  
at Chitina, who talked some Eyak, 'tail-father'  
(cf. Goodlitoe, Goodlitaw, a common Copper River  
Indian (Ahtena) surname) LMS.

guʒahdedik dog's name ('short-tail') A.

ʔiguʒahdekih dog's name ('your little tail') A.

-g-ʒa- (form uncertain) attested in Rezanov only  
Какутлячи 'Задница der Hintere' qa·guʒa... 'our  
..., human ...'

o-ʒah- (postposition, attested with -d and -č  
finals only) 'uppermost end, head (of body of water)'  
(sparsely attested, with classified nouns, but al-  
ways lacking class-marks): ʔʒ·ʒahd 'at the head  
of the river' 67.10G, ma·ʒahd place-name, head  
of arm of Eyak Lake at Mile 5 L, ʒəʒəlihʒahd  
place-name, head of Gravina Bay L, head of Nelson  
Bay (Orca Inlet?), near Shepard Point M, ma·ʒahč  
da· seqe·ɬ 'we're boating to the head of the bay  
(arm of lake)' L.

(o)-d-ʒa·ʔ (postposition, or noun, unclassified,  
with d-thematic) l. 'edge, corner (of o)' (junc-  
tion of two lines or surfaces forming an angle):  
ʔudaʒa·ʔ 'it's edge, corner (e.g. of box, corner

of table)' L, *Kudaŋa?* 'corner (of box)' L,  
*ʔawdeŋaʔɣ* *la-xsiʔeɣi* 'I bumped my head against  
the corner, edge of it' L, *ʔawdeŋaʔq* *ʔi-tahi*  
'it's sitting (perched) on the corner, edge (of  
box)' L, *sisaʔedeŋa?* 'the corner of my mouth'  
L, *Kulu-ʕedeŋaʔd* 'inside cheek at corner of  
mouth' L, *ʔu-d* *ʔilu-ʕedeŋaʔd* *ya?* *ʔete* 'leave,  
put it (tobacco) inside your cheek!' L.

2. (with d-thematic, perhaps 'oral') 'corner  
of (o's) mouth': *sideŋaʔd* 'the corner of my  
mouth' L, *ʔideŋaʔɣ* *yeɣ* *gulesaʔya-h* (or *Ku-*  
*geŋa-saʔya-h*) 'you're drooling' ('something liquid  
is running down by the corner of your mouth') L,  
*-d-i-ŋa?* (noun, with d-thematic and i-classifier)  
'handle': *ʔudeiŋa?* 'its handle (of axe, knife,  
door)' M.

*-ky-d-i-ŋa?* (noun, as preceding, with *ku-l--ky--*  
anatomical 'belly, base, thickest part') 'stock':  
*ʔuky-deiŋa?* 'its stock (of gun), part of handle  
nearest head of it (e.g. of axe)' L.

*(o-)(g-)*ŋa? (noun or postposition, prefixes uncer-  
tain, irregular and confused, at most only partly  
due to mistranscription, alternation mainly between  
*Ku*-indefinite o or possessor and g-thematic, L  
rejects proposed postposition *\*si-ŋaʔ-d-*) 1. o-g--

ʔaʔ 'behind o': ʔiiguʔaʔ ʔidiquhʔ place-names  
'Observation Islands' ('they're situated one be-  
hind the other') L (originally transcribed ʔiik-,  
clearly to be corrected to ʔiig-).

2. (o)-g-ʔaʔ-q- (with -q final 'on'):  
ʔuguʔaʔqđ 'its stern' L, siguʔaʔqđ ʔadaʔ 'sit  
to the stern of me, by my sternman!' L.

3. g-ʔaʔ-q 'stern, in stern': guʔaʔq ʔi-  
dahʔih 'sternman, captain' ('he who is sitting at  
the stern') L, guʔaʔqđelaha 'captain' ('sternman')  
L, guʔaʔqđeʔ ʔaʔih 'he's going to the stern' L.

4. Rezanov Kyrasware Koppa Schiffs-Hinter-  
heil' to be read guʔaʔq... kuʔaʔq... 'stern'.

5. g-ʔaʔ-d 'stern of o': kuʔaʔd ʔewaʔ  
ʔeʔkyʔd 'grab its stern', probably to be corrected  
to gu-, in agreement with ʔewaʔ 'of it'.

6. (o)-ʔaʔ-q-ayaʔ 'rudder': Rezanov УТЯКАЯ  
'Руль Steuerruder' ʔuʔaʔqđayaʔ 'its rudder' ('that  
which is at its stern') MA, Galushia Nelson qđt-  
iʔqđiyá or qđtʔiʔqđiyá 'steering paddle or rud-  
der' BSdL 550 kuʔaʔqđayaʔ 'a rudder' MA.

7. -ʔaʔ-q 'stern': kuʔaʔqđ 'stern' M,  
'in the stern' L, kuʔaʔq ʔi-dahʔih, kuʔaʔqđelaha  
'captain' L.

ʔeʔaʔq ʔaʔeʔah, see under ʔaʔ-ʔaʔ

- $\text{Xe}$ - (element in compound postpositions, usually nominalized with  $-d$  final) 'back end' (especially of cavity, recess, indentation): with  $o\text{-qa}^?--\text{qa}^?$  'amongst, between o':  $-\text{Xe-qa}^?--\text{qa}^?$  'buttocks, cleft of buttocks, anus, rectum', also in  $ya\text{'}\text{X}\text{e}\text{qa}^?$ ,  $ya\text{'}\text{X}\text{e}\text{qa}^?\text{'}$  'upside-down', see  $qa^?--\text{qa}^?\text{'-qa}^?$ , with  $gd$ -class-mark and  $o\text{-lah}$  'around o':  $o\text{-gd-Xe-lah}$  'around the back end, head (of bay, arm) of a (lake)', see  $ma^?$ ,  $lah\text{-nah}$ ; with  $-y$ -anatomical and  $o\text{-ta}^?\text{'-q}^?\text{'-d}$  'on behind side of o':  $-y\text{-Xe-ta}^?\text{'-q}^?\text{'-d}$  'back of hand (as cavity)', see  $ta^?\text{'-ta}^?\text{'-ta}^?$ ; with  $-y$ -anatomical and  $o\text{-yeq}^?$  'in o (not with broad opening at top, as cavity)':  $o\text{-y-Xe-q}^?$  (<  $o\text{-y-Xe-yeq}^?$ ) 'in the palm of o's hand, in o's hand', see  $yeq^?^2$ .

$\text{Xe}^?a^?e$  (probably to be analyzed  $\text{Xe-}^?a^?e$ ) see  $^?a^?e^1$ .

$-\text{X}$ - (element in compound postpositions, probably further reduced form of  $-\text{Xe}$ - rather than to be identified with  $o\text{-X}$ ) attested only in  $o\text{-Xp}^?\text{'-X--gd}\text{-qa}^?$  (with  $-\text{Xp}^?$ -anatomical 'teeth', and  $o\text{-qa}^?$  'between o' with  $gd$ -thematic) 'in (the interstices) between o's teeth', see  $qa^?\text{'-qa}^?\text{'-qa}^?$ .

Ma>1

O-i-Ma? 'S strikes O (a sharp blow, with a sharp instrument?)': <sup>heel of hand</sup> ?aiMa? 'hit it hard (once)!' M, 'chop it!', "bust 'em up!" L, qu?xiMa? 'I'll hit it' L, siMa?i 'I hit it', xiMa-K 'I (cust) hit it' L, with ya? 'completely': ya? Ku-iMa? 'chop it (something) hard!, chop it (something) clean through!' M, with l-anatomical: ?i-ge?li-xiMa? 'I'll chop your head' (Billy Dade used to say; a strong expression, normally said to e.g. a dog rather than to people) L.

O-i-Ma?-g 'S makes marks, spots (on O), S draws, writes (on O)', repetitive of preceding, frequently with O (usually third person for L, Ku-indefinite for M) thematized: Rezanov Азырары Тимм schreiben (Imperat.)' ?aiMa?g 'write!' ('spot it up!, mark it up!, strike it with repeated sharp blows!') L, Rezanov Коунтары 'Писарь schreiben' Ku-[i]-Ma?g, Ku-iMa?g 'write!, make marks on something!, leave message or signs on something!; leave stick pointing as indicator!' (this last probably by modern extension) M, Rezanov Кырары 'Заниска Schreiben, beschriebener Zettel' also Ku-[i]Ma?g ?, Ku-iMa?g 'I'm writing' M, diK xiMa?ge 'I'm not writing' L; with O (third person or Ku-indefinite) clearly thematized, semantic O represented both as

O and as o of postposition: ?uq' kuqu?xi?a?g 'I'll spot it up' ('I'll spot it on it') M, ?awqec' ?aw sa?i?a?gledowa 'before he writes on it' L, with indeterminate O: ?ux' ?iqe?xi?a?g 'I'll spot it up' ('I'll spot indeterminate O in contact with it') L; with o-ga? 'like o', O thematized, o-ga? O-i--?a?-g 'S draws (the likeness of) o' ('S marks up O with the likeness of o'): ?e?uga? ?ai?a?g 'draw a square!' ('mark it with the likeness of a box:') L, dex?hga? ku-i?a?g 'draw (a picture of) a man!' ('mark something with the likeness of a person:') L; with l-anatomical: ?iqe?li-xi?a?g 'I'll paint your face (with make-up)' L. Reflexive, ?ed-?e-?a?-g 'S makes marks on self; S has marks, spots on it, S is spotted' (not necessarily the result of any action on the part of S): ?edski?a?gi 'it's spotted' M, kutu?da-d' ?edski?a?gi 'it has lots of spots on it (e.g. leopard)' ('in lots of places') M, ?edski-?a?gi ?awa 'spotted dog' L; with l-anatomical: ?edle?e?a?gih 'she's painting her (own) face (with face-paint)' LM. Passive: Rezanov Цытлэклькоете Пестроф bunt' sdi?a?gig<sup>W</sup>? ?i-teh, Слхтлэклькоете Пестредь Buntheit' ski?a?gig<sup>W</sup>? ?i-teh 'it looks like it has been marked, spotted, written on', ski?a?giga? ?i-teh 'it looks like writing' L, Rezanov Кослхтлэклькоете (with Кослхтлэкль-

crossed out and Xacqex- written in above, see  
ʔawa'-ceʔq) Xacqex gelb' Kusʔiʔaʔgʔiʔg<sup>W</sup>ʔ ʔi-ʔeh  
'it looks like something which has been marked,  
spotted, written on', ʔiʔa-d sdiʔaʔgʔi 'it has  
been written on on one side' L.

deʔaʔg (or diʔaʔg) (noun, unclassified) 'paper,  
book, page, written material', <sup>letter</sup> LMS, Rezanov Тх-  
тама 'Eymara Papier', diʔaʔgʔi ʔa-ʔaxiʔeh 'I'm  
reading' ('I'm looking at written material') L, ʔaw  
daxih ʔaw diʔaʔgqaʔ liʔ secu-x 'poke that stick  
into the book!' ('in between the pages, papers') L,  
diʔaʔg caʔʔdalah ceʔi-ʔ 'wrap paper around the  
knife!' L. Nominalized passive active imperfective  
of O-i-ʔaʔ-g.

ʔuʔʔabʔd ʔidaʔdaxah diʔaʔg (noun, unclassified)  
'newspaper' ('paper, written material from upon  
which accounts are told') L.

ʔux Kuʔaʔgʔi (noun, gl- or gdl-class?) 'ink': Rezanov  
Охкотаяма 'Чернила Tinte'. Deverbalized passive with  
-i-instrumental, 'by means of it something is marked,  
written on'. *(Handwritten note: "ink" = "writing")*

ʔadi-ʔaʔgʔi (noun, unclassified?) 'face-painting':  
ʔʔi-ʔid-kʔi "face-painting" (Basket Pattern 5) A  
BSdL 54ʔ (Eyak basket-patterns are described in BSdL  
82-83, face painting 59-61). Probably deverbalized re-  
flexive with l-anatomical and -i-instrumental, or  
gerundive.

ʔala<sup>1</sup> (perhaps related to ʔala<sup>2</sup> and ʔi, in sense of 'S keeps O immobile by binding')

-ʔʔ<sup>1</sup>-i-ʔala<sup>1</sup> (noun, unclassified?, with ʔʔ<sup>1</sup>--ʔu<sup>1</sup>-- anatomical 'teeth' and i-classifier) 'gums': si-ʔʔ<sup>1</sup>-i-ʔala<sup>1</sup> 'my gums' LM.

ʔelaʔ<sup>2</sup> (perhaps related to ʔelaʔ<sup>1</sup> and ʔi, in sense of 'S keeps O immobile by binding')

O-d-i-ʔelaʔ 'O gets tired of S (any food), S (monotonous diet) sates O, cloyes O's appetite', with d-thematic 'oral'?, 'bother'?: xudeselʔelaʔi 'I got tired of it (any food eaten over and over), I'm tired of it (food, not other things)' L, xu-quʔdi-iʔelaʔ 'I'll get tired of it (same food)' L.

gl-i-ʔelaʔ 'S (water) gets stale, spoiled (from standing)': giyah gʔ-selʔelaʔi 'water got stale (from lying around too long, doesn't taste right)' L, quʔgeli-iʔelaʔ 'it (water) will get stale' L.

Perhaps a transitive O-gl-i-ʔelaʔ 'S (impersonal) spoils O (water)'.

Ŋe·yuʔ

Ŋe·yuʔ (noun, d-class) 'hemlock' LM, 68.15, 15, 15A, Furuhjelm Tleiu 'pine', Galushia Nelson tʃi:ydʔ or tʃi:ydʔ 'hemlock' BSdL 541, tʃi:yuʔ 'hemlock bark' BSdL 548 (L rejects this gloss), Ŋe·yuʔdaʔ-luw 'big hemlock' LM, Ŋe·yuʔdekih 'small hemlock' M, Ŋe·yuʔ siɕ di·taʔ 'give me a hemlock, piece of hemlock!' L.

Mehd (perhaps to be analyzed Meh-d, Meh- perhaps related to Mah-Ma?-Me-M, conceivably earlier \*Māhd with vowel shift under influence of qehx; L rejects proposed \*-i-Mehd parallel with -i-qehx)

Mehd (preverb, with zero (-d?) final only) 'open'  
 M, Mehđ ʔi-ʔyahı̄ 'it's open' M, Mehđ ʔi-ʔ-  
 yahı̄, Mehđ ʔi-tahı̄ 'it (store) is open (for  
 business)' L, Mehđ di-tahı̄ 'it (door) is open,  
 wide open' L, Mehđ detaʔya-ı̄ 'it (door) is  
 opening' L, Mehđ setaʔ 'open it (e.g. box):'  
 M, Rezanov Тазрокара 'Открыть двери (Imperat.)'  
 Mehđ desetaʔ 'open it (door)' M, gusi-kih Mehđ  
 ʔeta-ʔ 'leave it a little open:' L, Mehđ kugg  
 'it's (fairly) bursting (repeatedly) open (with  
 abundance of food)' 49.137, 138A, Mehđ seiʒa-t̄  
 'pry it open, unlock it:' L, Mehđ siʒa-t̄ı̄,  
 Mehđ sdi-ʒa-t̄ı̄ 'it's been unlocked' L, ʔux  
 Mehđ kuʔı̄ʒa-t̄k 'key' L, giyah qiʔ Mehđ de-  
 xuı̄g 'water faucet' L.

Ket' (perhaps a reduced form of K<sub>1</sub>'t)

Ket'-g (noun, unclassified?, with -g thematic)

'clitoris': Ket'g 'clitoris' A. Recorded without possessive prefix, but it is possible that the form should be a possessed noun.



Xeʔx

Xeʔx-s (noun, d-class) 'young salmonberry bushes or sprouts' LMA: Xeʔxʔedetuʔ 'lots of young salmonberry bushes' M, Xeʔxʔe siʔ di-taʔ (or di-ʔaʔ) 'give me a salmonberry sprout!' L, Xeʔxʔe di-xeʔ 'peel a salmonberry sprout!' L.

ʔah3-ʔaʔ3 (ʔah3<sup>?</sup> in neuter imperfective, ʔaʔ3<sup>?</sup> elsewhere)

-ʔah3--ʔaʔ3 'S is tightly packed, firm, rigid, stiff, hard, intractable, immobile': Rezanov ИТРАСАҢ  
 'Еетко hart' yiʔaʔ3 'it's hard (etc.)', silaʔʔ  
 yiʔaʔ3 'my tongue is tied (I can't pronounce it)'  
 LS, sisaʔd yiʔaʔ3 'my mouth is stiff (I can't  
 pronounce it)' L, silaʔʔ seʔah3ʔ 'my tongue got  
 stiff (I became unable to pronounce it)' L, ʔi-  
 ʔah3ʔ 'it's packed hard, tight' (neuter perfective,  
 resultative) L. Transitive (causative): quʔxiʔah3  
 'I'll pack it tight' L, silʔah3ʔ 'I packed it  
 hard, tight' L, repetitive: xiʔah3g 'I keep pack-  
 ing it tight' L, with lʔd-class-mark for O: lex-  
 disilʔah3ʔ 'I packed it (snowball) hard' L; pas-  
 sive: ʔuʔd ʔilʔah3ʔ 'it's packed in tight there'  
 L; reflexive: ʔedseʔeʔah3ʔ 'I'm bracing myself,  
 steadying myself (in tipping canoe, swerving car)'  
 L, ʔedsilʔah3ʔih 'he steadied himself, braced him-  
 self' L.

Mic-Med (perhaps reduced form of Mi-d; L Mic 8 times, Med 3, M and A each Mic once, Med once; see also Meš, <sup>ca</sup>deš, <sup>ca</sup>deš, all apparently somewhat confused with Mic-Med)

Mic(-g)-Med(-g) (noun, unclassified, with, for M, optional -g thematic) 'dirt, dirtiness, dust':  
 Mic, Med 'dirt, "dirty" (such as found on clothes, dishes, etc., "not really filthy like <sup>ca</sup>dešg") L,  
 Midg, Medg 'dirt, dust' M, Med yikēh 'it's dirty (not exactly filthy)' A, Micxah eš-seliš 'the ground became free of mud' L.

be-Mic 'S is dirty': šikMidē 'it got dirty' L,  
 šikMidlinu 'dirty people' A, repetitive (probably optional thematic, with no semantic force): xšikMidgē 'I got dirty' L; transitive (causative): repetitive (probably thematized): šikMidgē 'I dirtied it, soiled it' L (L not entirely satisfied with this form, prefers šik<sup>ca</sup>dešgē, "Mic probably not as dirty as <sup>ca</sup>dešg").

lx-(š-)Mic(-Med) (noun, unclassified?, with lx-class--mark thematized, status of š-classifier uncertain; see also Meš) 'slush, wet snow': Galushia Nelson lāxātšēts or lāxātšēts 'wet snow on the ground' (š-classifier apparently absent), lexēšMic, lexēšMed 'slush' (same as Meš) L, lexēšMed yā-? di-? 'yahē 'wet snow is coming down' L.

qa·saʔedeʔeʔ (noun, 1ʔ-class) 'lowbush cranber-  
ries' ("dirty-mouth") L. qa·- 'our, human',  
-saʔ- 'mouth' (ed-class), <sup>1ʔ-class</sup> ~~—eʔeʔ—~~ used here ei-  
ther adjectivally or as a possessed noun, *part of the same construction.*



ꨀꨃꨆ (perhaps related to ꨀꨃꨆ-ꨀꨃꨆ)

O-ꨀꨃꨆ 'S soaks O', attested only with taꨆ 'in water': taꨆ ꨆixiꨀꨃꨆꨆ 'I have it (e.g. garment) soaking in water' L, taꨆ siꨀꨃꨆꨆ 'I soaked it in water' L (transcribed se-, perhaps in error for si-, or the gloss is perhaps in error, for second person singular or third person S; the form might also be a basic intransitive, 'it has soaked in water', incorrectly glossed, in which case the preceding form, certainly a transitive, may be transcribed in error for O-ꨆꨀꨃꨆꨆ, thus taꨆ ꨆixiꨆꨀꨃꨆꨆ). The use of classifiers as attested in the transcriptions of all themes with ꨀꨃꨆ appears quite irregular, inconsistent, and problematic.

(O-?)ꨆꨀꨃꨆꨆ 'S (O?) is soaked', perhaps a separate theme from the preceding, intransitive ꨆꨀꨃꨆꨆ 'S soaks', or transitive O-ꨆꨀꨃꨆꨆ 'S soaks O', or perhaps a passive of unattested O-ꨆꨀꨃꨆꨆ 'S soaks O'; attested only with taꨆ 'in water': taꨆ sꨀiꨀꨃꨆꨆꨆ "soaked dirty clothes, so dirt comes loose; soak or dunk stuff in water", e.g. "dunk toast in coffee, soak out saltfish" L.

gl-ꨀꨃꨆꨆ 'S (coffee, tea) is strong', with gl-class--mark for S 'liquid', attested only in active perfective: gyꨆseꨀꨃꨆꨆꨆ 'it (coffee, tea) got strong' L.

gl-*le*-*xi*·*c* 'S (coffee, tea) is strong', perhaps separate these from preceding, or (originally?) a passive of O-gl-*i*-*xi*·*c*: *gy*·*li**xi*·*c* 'it (coffee, tea) is strong' ('has been made strong?') L, *gy*·*si**xi*·*c* 'it (tea) got (too) strong' L.

O-gl-*i*-*xi*·*c* 'S makes O (coffee, tea) strong', transitive (causative) of either gl-*xi*·*c* or gl-*le*-*xi*·*c*: *gule**se**xi*·*c* 'make it (coffee, tea) strong!' LM, *qu*?*geli*·*xi**xi*·*c* 'I'll make it (coffee, tea) strong' LM (but not of whiskey, berry-juice, or even of other infusions M); passive: *gy*·*si**xi*·*c* 'it (tea) has been made strong (by someone)' L.

*xi*·*c* (noun, unclassified?) 'something thoroughly soaked', attested only as o of o-ga? 'like o' in ?i-yah *xi*·*c*ga? ?*edi**it*·*h*·*h* 'whew! he (baby) sure has soaked himself (urinated)!' L.

ʔiʔd-ʔiʔd (nasalized vowel of variant due to regressive assimilation to that of prefix)

-l-ʔiʔd--ʔiʔd-ɛ--d (noun, unclassified, or perhaps postposition, with l-thematic prefix, probably thematized l-anatomical mark 'head', never actualized -lɛ-, L sometimes denasalizing, most frequently with unidentified -ɛ suffix, cf. ʔeʔd, or sometimes, perhaps incorrectly, -d final as with postposition 'at rest, nominalization') 'summit, crown, top, peak' (attested only with l-class--nouns or with meaning 'of head'<sup>'top, crown, summit'</sup>): Rezanov <sup>^</sup>Сынтанке 'Terra Scheitel' sɪ·ʔiʔdɛ..., sɪ·ʔiʔdɛ L, sɪ·ʔiʔdɛ 'the top, crown of my head' Lɔ, Kudeleleh-kih ʔi·ʔiʔdɛ (perhaps to be corrected to -ʔiʔdɛɛ or -ʔiʔdɛd) yʔ·ʔe ʔedseλa·selewaʔɪ 'a spider is hanging over the top of your head' L, ku·ʔiʔdɛ L, kʔ·ʔiʔdɛ 'top of something's head' A, Rezanov Утанколиткагетехоэге 'Сонна сь огнем' (not in Radlov, 'volcano with fire') probably to be read ʔʔ·ʔiʔdɛ... kʔhd ...g<sup>w</sup>aʔ ʔi·ʔeh 'it's like ... smoke ... its summit', ʔʔ·ʔiʔd[d] ʔaʔdeʔe kʔseɟg L, ʔʔ·ʔiʔdɛ ʔaʔdiʔ kʔseɟg 'helicopter' ('it rows backward at the top of its head, the top of its head rows backward') M, Rezanov Четрентанка 'Tylas Boden der Mütze'

ʕiyahdʔ<sub>1</sub>·ʕiʔd<sub>1</sub> 'crown of hat', ʔixʕ·ʕiʔd<sub>1</sub>  
'summit of mountain' M, ʔəwʔʕ·ʕiʔd<sub>1</sub>ʕahd 'from  
its (mountain's) summit' 23.157A (-ʕ- perhaps  
analogous to preceding, perhaps to be corrected  
to ʔəwʔ<sub>1</sub>-).

№3-№13<sup>1</sup> (№13 less frequent; see also №10-№11 and №12, with which this stem is partly confused)

№3(-g) (noun, unclassified?) 'slush, soft wet snow; swamp': №3g 'slush, soft snow' LM, 'snot, jelly' M (confused with №10), №3 'slush, wet snow' LA (= lexai№10 A), 'swamp' L.

da-№3--№13 'S is covered with (wet?) snow': q1-  
 λa'ce'e? ?iθdi№3t (or -№13-) 'the track is  
 covered with (wet?) snow' L (?i- inexplicable un-  
 less transcribed in error) cf. λa'ce'e', λa'ce'e'

№3-№13<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with №3-№13<sup>1</sup>; at-  
tested only with g-mark 'caudal, appendage' or 'fila-  
ment-like')

-g-№3--№13 (noun, unclassified?) 'rump, hindquar-  
ter, tailbone': 24.97A (-№13), Rezanov Якутлях  
'Задница der Hintere' qa'gu№3... 'our rump,  
human rump', Kugə№13 'rump, hindquarter' L, Ku-  
gə№3 'tailbone' LA, sigə№3 'my rump' L, ?i-  
gə№13 'your tailbone' A.

№ 8 (№ 8 only once from L, № 8 6 times from L, 5 times from A, 3 times from M, once from G, Rezanov ТЗЕУ ; partly confused with № 8-№ 8<sup>1</sup>)

№ 8-g (noun, unclassified?) 'nasal mucus, gelatinous substance': Rezanov ТЗЕУ 'Боэрн Ротз', № 8, № 8 'snot' L, № 8 'snot' A, № 8 'snot, slush, jelly (congealed fat, gelatin?)' M (confused with № 8-№ 8<sup>1</sup>).

da-№ 8(-g) (or -№ 8- ?) 'S (fat, soup) congeals, is gelatinous': da№ 8 'congealed fat' M (nominalization? of active imperfective), sdi№ 8 'it (fat) congealed' L, seds№ 8 (or -№ 8-, which L seems to prefer) 'it (fish-soup) is turning gelatinous' L, repetitive (thematized?): sdi№ 8g (or -№ 8-, which L seems to prefer) 'it (fish-soup) has turned into gelatin' L.

gl-№ 8-g (or -№ 8- ?) (noun, unclassified?, with gl-class-mark 'liquid' thematized, not attested actualized gule-) 'jellyfish': gy·№ 8 'jellyfish' LA. Also transcribed from M once gy·i№ 8g, from A once gy·№ 8g, and by Harrington from G kútMítkh, kútMítkę 'jellyfish, meaning gelatinous'.

NoS-Xis<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with Xis<sup>2</sup>)

d-la-XeS(-g)-Xis(-g) (attested only with d-thematic  
 'bright') 'S is shiny': deSeleXis<sup>1</sup> 'it's get-  
 ting shiny' M, qu<sup>2</sup>deSeXis 'it'll shine (be shiny)'  
 M, with -g-repetitive thematized: deSeXeSg, de-  
 leXisg 'it's shiny, glossy' LM, diSiXisg<sup>1</sup> 'it's  
 shiny, glossy' (neuter perfective) L, diSiXeSg<sup>1</sup>  
 'it got shiny' M; transitive (causative): di·i-  
 Xisg, di·iXeSg 'shine it up!' LM, deSeXis  
 'make it shiny:' M, dexiXe·SK 'I (cust) shine it'  
 M; passive: didiXisg<sup>1</sup> 'it has been shined (made  
 shiny, glossy)' (neuter perfective) L.

ʔux KudeXisg (noun, unclassified) 'something you  
 use to shine things with' L. Deverbalized passive  
 'by means of it something is shined'. Transcribed  
 -Xisgʔ, with -ʔ probably in error.

Xis<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with Xes-Xis<sup>1</sup>)

-qi'y-Xis (noun, unclassified, with qi'y-anatomical 'toes') 'toes': si'qi'yiXis 'my toes'  
L, siqi'yeXisqa<sup>2</sup>d 'between my toes, the interstices between my toes' L.

-qi'y-i-Xis-i (noun, as above, perhaps a momentary lapse for -qi'y-Xis) 'toes': siqi'yi-i-Xis-i 'my toes' L.

qi'yeXisqa<sup>2</sup> ku'keh ca<sup>2</sup>X (noun, ti'l-class?)  
'gloves (with fingers)' ('mitts which have interstices between the toes'). Cf. the following. The meaning of Xis<sup>2</sup> either refers primarily to the toes and is extended by analogy to the fingers here, or the qi'-anatomical 'foot' part of the mark is analogical to the preceding forms.

-y-Xis (noun, unclassified, with y-anatomical 'hand'), attested only in ?ew ca<sup>2</sup>XyeXisqa<sup>2</sup>d  
'(interstices) between the fingers of the glove'  
L.

xug (Rezanov тѣх, implying xeg, xig, or expanded xe'g, unless read тѣх, implying xeg<sup>W</sup>; L expands xe'g or xu'g)

O-xug 'S kneads O; S makes O (bread)' (< 'S handles dough-like mass' ?): kuqu<sup>?</sup>xug 'I'll knead something (e.g. clay, dough)' M, ?i<sup>?</sup> ?exug 'you knead it!' LM, ku<sup>?</sup>xu'g<sup>?</sup> 'he (cust) kneads something' L, hi<sup>?</sup> ku<sup>?</sup>xe'g<sup>?</sup> 'she's (cust) always making bread' L, repetitive: xugg 'I kneading it (with repeated motions)' L, Rezanov кыргак-такатерн 'Bock's Wachs' perhaps kutu<sup>?</sup> (?ewa<sup>?</sup>) we<sup>?</sup> da<sup>?</sup> qa<sup>?</sup>xeg<sup>W</sup> (or -xeg, -xig, -xe'g) 'we'll knead lots (of it) thus' (~~but see also we<sup>?</sup>~~); passive: sdi<sup>?</sup>xug<sup>?</sup> 'it's been kneaded' LM.

sdi<sup>?</sup>g<sup>?</sup> (noun, unclassified) 'dough' LM, kutu<sup>?</sup>  
sdi<sup>?</sup>xug<sup>?</sup> 'lots of dough' M, Rezanov Стѣлакъ  
'Хѣба' (not in Radlov) sdi<sup>?</sup>xeg<sup>W</sup> (or -xeg- etc.).  
Nominalized passive active perfective.

ʔe·x<sup>w</sup>-ʔe·x

ʔe·x<sup>w</sup>-ʔe·x (noun, unclassified?) of uncertain meaning, remembered by L only as o of o-ga? 'like o' in ʔe·x<sup>w</sup>ga? (or ʔe·x-) ʔp·da·? ʔawa· ʔi·tʃh= <sup>sallow,</sup> ʃh 'her face is pale and yellowish (sickly-looking)' L, ʔe·xgā<sup>^</sup> ʔi·tʃh 'you look pale' A.

No. 2, see Mah-Na<sup>2</sup>-No-N, yaq<sup>2</sup>.

Maʔq<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with Maʔq<sup>2</sup>, perhaps  
 to be analyzed Maʔ -q, related to Mah-Maʔ-Ma-X or  
 to Maʔ, with postposition o-q 'on o')  
 Maʔq (preverb) <sup>with 3rd 1-3rd final o-1</sup> 'harm, injury, badly' (?), attested  
 in Maʔq 1-da-ʔa 'S gets hurt, comes to grief,  
 has misfortune' and causative thereof Maʔq 0--  
 1-(k-)ʔa 'S spoils, breaks, ruins (functioning?)  
 O', see 1-da-ʔa 2. and 0-1-(k-)ʔa 2. under  
 ʔa.

Naʔq<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with and analyzed as

Naʔq<sup>1</sup>)

*... ʔaʔ (-ʔ) ʔaʔ ʔaʔ*

Naʔq (preverb) 'duration, for a long time', attested only in S Naʔq -ʔaʔ 'S (season, process, event) lasts, takes long', S Naʔq ʔaʔw 'S (season) is long', see -ʔaʔ 10, under ʔaʔ-ʔaʔ and -ʔaʔw 3, under ʔaʔw<sup>1</sup>.

q. most Attopushan K'ax' or A'ux' 'grass', <sup>Kihx<sup>1</sup></sup>

cf. also Tlingit K'Éx  
'brown fungus'

Kihx<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with Kihx<sup>2</sup>)

Kihx (noun, gd-class) 'grass' (generic) LMS, 12.17,  
24G, Rezanov Tæxæ 'Trapa Gras, Kraut', Wran-  
gell Tæxæ 'Gras', Furuhjelm Tleh 'grass',  
Galushia Nelson tihx 'grass (or green)' BSdL 541,  
553, tihx qa'o'pa'qa'p'e: lis "green (grass)  
looks-like tree" (i.e. tree is green)' BSdL 558  
Kihxga? ?u?desede?eh lis 'a tree which (literal-  
ly) looks like grass (in color)', Kugedešiyah  
Kihx 'bad grass' L, Kugedetu? Kihx 'lots of  
grass' M, Kihx ?u'd gedese?ahš (or -tahš) 'a  
piece, blade of grass is lying there' L, Kihx  
sič gedi?a? (or -ta?) 'give me a piece, blade  
of grass!' L, Kihx sič gedi.ka? 'give me some  
grass!' L, Kihx sič gedi.kya? 'give me some  
grass (in a container)!' L, Kihx guxedihih 'he's  
eating grass' LM, Kihx guxedi.ye. 'eat grass!' L,  
Kihxgedelu?qa. da. ?i?a?č 'let's go get some  
grass' L, Kihxgededa.d ya.? seta? 'set it down  
near the grass!' L, Kihxguda.q da.x sa.š 'he's  
walking across the (expanse of) grass, lawn' L.

Kihx qi? Ku.keh 'place where there's grass', place-  
name at or near Eyak Lake, by Mile 5(?) L.

Harrington H.2.12 6/22/1904

Mihx<sup>2</sup> (both L and M tend to identify Mihx<sup>2</sup> with  
Mihx<sup>1</sup>, "maybe because nests are made of grass")

-d-i-Mihx-i (noun, unclassified?) 'nest (of bird)':

Rezanov Угелбракхуах 'Tribago Nest' ?udeiMihxi

'its nest', KudeiMihxi '(bird's) nest' LM.

KudeiMihxi '(birds') nest(s)', name of West

Branch of upper Situk River near Yakutat, Sampson

Harry KudeiMihxi.

Хиһ<sup>3</sup>

Хиһ- (noun, unclassified) 'left', attested only as  
 o of o-i-ča' 'o side, direction of o': 61.47A,  
 Rezanov Тэҕерээһуары 'Ha xabo links', Хиһеһ=  
 Ča-d, ХиһиһČa-d 'left side' LM.

and 8

X  
 -

ʔihɣ<sup>4</sup>

ʔihɣ (preverb) 'start, beginning', attested only with O-(ɬ-)?a, O-ɬ-(y)a and O-ɬ-ya'?: 34.69M, 66.7L, ʔiya· ʔihɣ kuxexʔa·ɬ 'I'm starting something for you (e.g. a basket, beginning the weaving at the center of the bottom)' L, ta·s- səlah ʔihɣ sɪɬʔahɬ 'I started (to make) a belt' M, kuɬiyah qɸhew dexi· ʔihɣ səɪʔahɬ 'he's already started to make trouble' L, ʔiya· ʔihɣ qesɪɬʔahɬ 'I started them for you (any type of objects that one can make or activities that one can carry on)' L.

ʔihst (perhaps also ʔihst)

ʔihst (noun, unclassified) 'devilclub' LMA, 11.79, 79, 80, 82, 84, 84, 90, 90A (with a number of hesitation-forms), Galushia Nelson tʔict or Kʔict 'devilclub' BSdL 541, ʔihstʔaʔluw 'big devilclub' M, kuʔaʔw ʔihst 'long devilclub' M, kuʔuʔ ʔihst 'many devilclubs' L. Also, in isolation, ʔihst, as transcribed by Austerlitz from M, by Li from A, and by Harrington from G (ʔihst, qihst). See Text 11.0fn, 79-92, and BSdL 202, 204-5, 218, 280 for accounts of the importance of the use of devilclubs in magic practises.

Xe·kus (unanalyzable, to be segmented Xe·-kus, -kus perhaps to be identified with kus, name not known to Tlingit informants)

Xe·kus (noun, probably unclassified) 'horsetail, goosegrass, duckweed (Equisetum arvense)' L ("a grassy plant, duckweed or goosegrass, about two feet tall, comes apart easily, young fowl eat it"), 'young shield-fern sprouts, funny-colored plant ("same as na·xeg ?ew xah 'geese eat them") A, Harrington from G Xeeh<sup>w</sup>as 'horsetail, scouring rush', Xe·kustu? 'lots of goosegrass' M.

11., see 11-11.

hi-hi? (perhaps related to hihe, and/or to hi; hi? in hi?d only, perhaps more properly to be analyzed hi-?d)

hič (adverb, hi- as o of o-č 'to, continuous or repeated motion toward o'), frequently with da- 'ipse': dehič, and/or with -a? augment, hiča?, dehiča?, dihiča?, but hiča? (without da- 'ipse') attested<sup>in Rezanov only</sup> 1. 'always, usually, often, frequently, all the time' (attested with most verbal mode-aspects, except for active perfective, and especially frequent with imperatives, repetitive, and customary, citations sampling only from elicitations and complete for textual occurrences only through text 10.): hič 2a.1, 21M, 13.2, 19.2L, 20.32A, 47b.5, 7M, dehič 10.156A, dihič 19.7L, dehiča? 9.37, 11.55, 24.33, 61.22, 69.27, 70.11L, ?u?yiliditahč dehič 'it was expected at any time' 37b.79A, Rezanov ТМЧБ-а 'Macro oft' hiča?, hič ?isux?eh 'I see you all the time' M, hič 'often' M, ?exa? hič ga?gih 'my how he always gets tired' L, dihiča? dihič 'always' L, dihič ?ed ka? ti-li?di?e'g 'you must always wear it on your shoulders' L, hič ?edašeg<sup>v</sup>e-čih 'he (cust) lies all the time' S, dihiča? ?isədəxama?i 'it's always growling' A,

Rezanov Танчары-эры 'Помощь Диаррöhe' hiča?  
yeʔʔ 'often outside', hič yeʔʔ yeʔ da-ʔih  
'he often goes (about) outside (close to house, to  
excrete, and back in)' L.

2. With active perfective or inceptive imper-  
fective, 'forever, for good, permanently' (here  
usually with de- 'ipse'): dehič 9.167, 20.101,  
32.7, 13, 15, 23A, dihič 53.18L, dehič ʔa-de-  
Kah da- qaʔaʔč 'we'll go away from here for  
good' L, qahdaqew hič yaʔ (or yeʔ) sekugł  
'it's finally broken for good' L, hič yeʔ ši-  
duxi 'it caved in for good' L.

3. With inceptive conditional, 'each time,  
every time': dehič, dehičaʔ 9.78A, hič qeʔł  
ʔadiʔ sah da-ʔ kaʔ ʔuʔeʔčahd yaʔ gu-kiya-  
Kih 'every time a woman comes in you should (cust)  
stand up to make room for her' L.

4. As attribute to nouns referring to periods  
of time, used adverbially, 'every': hič gah  
'every day' 3.16M, 38.14, 14fnLM, 47b.14, 21, 29M,  
47c.27L (cf. 2a.21M), hič se-ł 'every evening'  
9.79A, hič yeʔ 'every night' 39.4L, dihič  
hi-dewa- L, hič hi-dewa- 'every morning' 33.-  
63A, dihič hi-dewa- yeʔ sda-k 'take a walk  
every morning!' L, hič hi-dewa- ʔedlexdek<sup>W</sup>es

'I wash my face every morning' S,  $\text{h}i\text{c}$  (not  $\text{h}i^?q$ )  
gah  $\text{ku}i\text{c}\text{q}\cdot\text{g}i\text{h}$  'she tans skins every day' L,  
 $\text{h}i\text{c}$  xah 'every summer' L; but see also  $\text{h}i^?q$  3.  
at end.

$\text{h}id\text{ah}$  (adverb,  $\text{h}i-$  with  $-\text{dah}$  adverbializer)  
'always, continually, persistently' L, 1a.1, 13,  
1b.15, 2a.10, 29, 35M, 10.96, 96A, 19.21, 40.3L,  
 $\text{h}id\text{ah}$   $\text{h}i\text{c}\text{e}^?g$  'the fire always keeps going out'  
LM,  $\text{h}id\text{ah}$   $\text{x}\text{q}\text{ah}\text{h}$  'I keep choking (on a bone)' L,  
 $\text{h}id\text{ah}$   $\text{si}\text{k}\text{ah}\text{c}$   $\text{y}\text{e}\lambda\text{a}\cdot\text{y}\text{a}\cdot\text{K}i\text{h}$  'he (cust) keeps run-  
ning away from me' L, with  $\text{de-}$  'ipss':  $\text{de}\text{h}id\text{ah}$   
 $\text{K}\text{ud}\text{el}i\text{h}i\text{h}$  'he's continually drinking' L.

$\text{h}i^?q$  (numeral, probably to be analyzed  $\text{h}i-$  as o  
of  $\text{o-}(\text{?})q$  'on o'), frequently with  $\text{de-}$  'ipss'  
(citations sampling only of occurrences in text  
and elicitations): 1. independent, not as attri-  
bute to nominal, 'all, every, each one, both, the  
whole, everything, everybody':  $\text{h}i^?q$  2a.31M, 2b.-  
16L, 6.8M, 9.28, 116, 10.63, 148A, 15.6M, 25.197A,  
34.98, 40.14, 52.2L, 59.3 Galushia Nelson, 67.14G,  
68.96A,  $\text{de}\text{h}i^?q$  67.6G,  $\text{h}i^?q$   $\text{de}\text{y}\text{p}\text{hyu}\cdot\text{qa}^?c$   $\text{?i-}$   
 $\text{lex}^?a^?c$  'all of you go to amongst humans!' 13.12L,  
 $\text{h}i^?q$   $\text{si}\text{k}\text{h}^? \text{?i}\text{lex}^?a^?c$  'all of you come with me!'  
9.114A,  $\text{h}i^?q$   $\text{?udaya}^? \text{da}\cdot \text{qa}^? \text{se}^?a^?c\text{h}$  'we all  
boarded it' 59.11 Galushia Nelson,  $\text{h}i^?q$   $\text{de}\text{lex}^?e\cdot\text{g}$

yi:ih:ih 'she is all a groundhog' 22.7L, hi'd  
 hila'weyu' 'they're all males, all are males'  
 34.90L (cf. 25.100 below), hi'd de:phyu'  
 'all were people' 18.42L (cf. below), wuqa'z  
 y'i'hinu', diK 'a'd hi'de 'some of them, by  
 no means(?) all' 69.3A, de:hi'd 'both of them'  
 67.4G, hi'd wa:z siK de:leh 'they both said  
 thus to me' 68.117A, Galushia Nelson De:tiK 'all  
 or everybody' BSdL 544 de:hi'd, Rezanov Tyaxaxex  
 'Beagb Uberall', Tyaxaxex 'Bo: Alle', Tyax-  
 xex 'Bo: Alle', Furuhjelm Tuuhlekh 'all' de'=  
 wa:z hi'd 'still, just all, everything, everyone,  
 all yet'.

2. Used adverbially, perhaps incorrect: ca'  
 qi' hi'd ku:ieh 'place where it's all muddy  
 everywhere' L (perhaps to be corrected to ... yi=  
 ieh), hi'd 'a'd xu'lidigah 'I'm well (all)  
 known here' L (perhaps to be corrected to hi'd  
 'a'd xu'li:igah 'all know me here'), hi'd 'a'd  
 qa' wu'lidigah 'we're well known here' L (per-  
 haps to be glossed 'we're all known here', or  
 corrected to ... wu'li:igah 'all know us here').

3. As attribute to nominal phrase, always  
 initial member of construction, 'all of, the whole,  
 every, each, both, all sorts, kinds of': 10.45,

48, 230, 11.12, 15, 164, 25.200A, 62.21G, dəi'q  
 11.162A, dəi'q dəɣɣhyu· 64.11G, hi'q dəɣɣhyu·  
 'everybody, all people' M, 2a.25, 30M, 9.162,  
 62.19, 22, 25, 67.11G (cf. 18.42 above), dəi'q  
 hiila'wəy· 'all the menfolk' 25.11A (cf. 34.90  
 above), dəi'q ya·yu· L, 11.1A, hi'q ya·yu· 'every-  
 thing, all sorts of things, all kinds of stuff' M,  
 5.4L, 7.4, 30, 9.160, 11.27, 70, 25.30A, 47b.12, 23M, <sup>25.200, 25.21, 25.22, 25.23, 25.24, 25.25, 25.26, 25.27, 25.28, 25.29, 25.30, 25.31, 25.32, 25.33, 25.34, 25.35, 25.36, 25.37, 25.38, 25.39, 25.40, 25.41, 25.42, 25.43, 25.44, 25.45, 25.46, 25.47, 25.48, 25.49, 25.50, 25.51, 25.52, 25.53, 25.54, 25.55, 25.56, 25.57, 25.58, 25.59, 25.60, 25.61, 25.62, 25.63, 25.64, 25.65, 25.66, 25.67, 25.68, 25.69, 25.70, 25.71, 25.72, 25.73, 25.74, 25.75, 25.76, 25.77, 25.78, 25.79, 25.80, 25.81, 25.82, 25.83, 25.84, 25.85, 25.86, 25.87, 25.88, 25.89, 25.90, 25.91, 25.92, 25.93, 25.94, 25.95, 25.96, 25.97, 25.98, 25.99, 25.100</sup>  
 23M, <sup>25.200, 25.21, 25.22, 25.23, 25.24, 25.25, 25.26, 25.27, 25.28, 25.29, 25.30, 25.31, 25.32, 25.33, 25.34, 25.35, 25.36, 25.37, 25.38, 25.39, 25.40, 25.41, 25.42, 25.43, 25.44, 25.45, 25.46, 25.47, 25.48, 25.49, 25.50, 25.51, 25.52, 25.53, 25.54, 25.55, 25.56, 25.57, 25.58, 25.59, 25.60, 25.61, 25.62, 25.63, 25.64, 25.65, 25.66, 25.67, 25.68, 25.69, 25.70, 25.71, 25.72, 25.73, 25.74, 25.75, 25.76, 25.77, 25.78, 25.79, 25.80, 25.81, 25.82, 25.83, 25.84, 25.85, 25.86, 25.87, 25.88, 25.89, 25.90, 25.91, 25.92, 25.93, 25.94, 25.95, 25.96, 25.97, 25.98, 25.99, 25.100</sup> dəi'q ya·yu·dah 11.140A, hi'q ya·yu·dah  
 'everything, all sorts of things, in every way,  
 just about everything in the book' (adverb) 9.64, X  
 102, 102A, dəi'q ?əl ya·yu· 10.230, 20.41A,  
 hi'q ?əl ya·yu· 'all these things' 10.235A, 'v.44A,  
 dəi'q ?əwəy· 23.20A, hi'q ?əw ya·yu· 'all  
 those things, all that stuff' 9.112, 23.19A, hi'q  
 ?əl ya· 'this whole thing' 11.162A, hi'q ?əl  
 dəɣɣhyu· xa'dəwahd ?i:hi'hyu· 'all these things  
 which people keep for themselves to eat' 11.11A,  
 dəi'q la'mahdyu· 'all kinds of berries' 63.=  
 33G, hi'q ?əhnu· səsehlinu· 'killed them both'  
 47a.7L, hi'q ?uleɣ ?isik'qəh 'I saw them all'  
 L, c'ik hi'q leɣqa'ga' leɣ' qu'xtah 'I'll  
 give each and every one of you a dish' L; with  
 noun referring to period of time, probably in-  
 correct, see hi' 4. above: hi'q hi· dəwa·

la'g 'awa' dahič 'aiya'kjh 'every morning  
he always (cust) brings wood (several trips) for  
it' M.

*zi-l-a-*

ie(?) (irregular stem: *ie?* in all inceptives and actives, and in neuter perfective, but *ieh* in neuter imperfective and perhaps neuter optative (attested only once), and *ie'* in neuter imperfective negative and probably neuter imperative (attested only once), neuter conditional and subjunctive not clearly attested; the only other stem showing this type of variation is *le(?)*, to which *ie(?)* is conceivably related (< *k-le(?)* ?); themes with *ie(?)* show a de-classifier where expected, never *k-* or *ie-*, and are all intransitive; the theme *0-?- (1)- k-za'* may be considered to function as the causative of *-ie(?)*; all themes with *-ie(?)* and *0-?- (1)-k-za'* require a complement, abbreviated C)

*-ie(?)* la. C *-ie(?)* 'S is, becomes (substantively an instance of) C': 2a.23, 3.17M, 9.35, 35, 36, 137, 138, 139, 10.124, 124<sup>13</sup>, 11.103, 123A, 12.10, 11, 16, 18, 21, 22, 23G, 16.24, 25M, 19.10L, 20.-27, 67A, 22.1, 7, 8L, 23.67, 68, 70, 123, 124, 125, 138, 24.6, 19, 28, 36, 46, 54a, 76, 78, 96, 25.56, 121, 139, 207, 28.98A, 34.91L, 36.3, 39, 47, 37b.3, 33A, 42.2L, 47b.2M, 47c.55, 58, 60L, 49.154, 156, 50.20, 64, 51.7, 8, 20, 23a, 24A, 56.21L, 61.32A, 63.23, 45G, 65.71, 68.47, 53, 55, 55, 56, 57, 75A, Rezanov *Atkolygetetlentu*  
'Вадной arm' ?a?d kulex ?i'teh yilijihduh

'he sure is <sup>rich</sup>, powerful', Wrangell Tekceko.  
 naxaxekɛ 'Feind' diK sikuwaʔna:ɛ ʔaʔke:ɛ  
 'he is (or you are) not my friend, fellow-clans-  
 man, relative' L, Galushia Nelson ɬətɬəx<sup>W</sup>ɬək  
 sətɬəʔtɬif 'he turned into a groundhog' BSdL 559  
 deɬex<sup>W</sup>e:g səleʔiɬh, tɬ'ya' ɬeqeq<sup>W</sup>i:ɬət 'I  
 turned into a fish' BSdL 273, 559, probably to  
 be read teʔyaʔ ...ɬe..., ɬeseʔi:ɬ ɬilaʔ  
 yiɬeh 'are you alone a male (do you think you're  
 the only man there is)?' 10.188A, de:duw yiɬe',  
 ɬilaʔ da:x qeʔi 'which it was, boy or girl'  
 23.123A, ɬilaʔ səleʔi 'it's a boy (born)'  
 ('it became a boy'), 'he reached puberty, became  
 a male' L, ɬeniʔiʔluw səleʔi 'he became a big  
 boy' L, kudiʔlahs xiɬeh da:x 'if I were a big  
 chief' L, ʔulex xi:l ʔahnu' yiɬehlehd 'be-  
 cause he was more of a shaman than they' 56.21L,  
 lah qeʔ sdiɬeʔi 'it became another village'  
 68.54A, lixah səleʔiɬh 'he's turning into a  
 grizzly-bear' L, ki:ʔeɬiyaʔ yiɬeh 'you're a  
 crybaby' L, kuqəɬ ʔidaʔxiɬiɬh yiɬiɬiɬh 'he's a  
 tattle-tale' L, ʔeleɬgahx siʔehd si:ɬeʔ 'I  
 wish you'd be my wife (marry me)' L, Keyi:y sə-  
 ɬeʔiɬh 'he's turning into a different thing' L,  
 deluʔqaʔyah səleʔi 'it formed a boil' L, deɬɬ  
 yiɬeh 'it's a sandbar' L, ye-t dəkɬh səleʔi

'wild celery is turning to wood' L, see also  
 te's, iah3, ŋiŋ, qəɣda', yah for further  
 examples; with dəɣɣh 'person' as C: dəɣɣh  
 -lə(?) 'S is, becomes a person': 19.16L, 20.=  
 79, 81A, 21a.18, 31L, 23.56, 57, 83, 113, 114,  
 24.37, 29.8A, dəɣɣh qə? sələ?lə 'he turned  
 back into a person' L; dəɣɣh -lə(?) is also  
 often used idiomatically 'S lives, behaves (lives  
 a certain way), is born': some of the textu-  
 al occurrences may be interpreted both/either  
 literally and/or idiomatically: 25.199, <sup>29.20</sup>49.10 A,  
 other textual occurrences clearly idiomatically:  
 9.28, 20.90, 21b.23, 23.115, 25.29, 209A, 38.12-  
 LM, 49.5, 7, 9, 50.63, 51.12, 12, 18, 74, 84A,  
 57.20, dəɣɣh sələ?lə 'you were born' M, səhɣ  
 dəɣɣh xiləh 'I'm old, I've been around a long  
 time' L, ?q·dəɣ yɪ·hinu· diK wəɣ dəɣɣh ?a?  
 -lə's 'people hereabouts aren't like that, don't  
 act that way' ('those around here are not people  
 thus') L, dəke·(yu·)ɣɣh dəɣɣh yiləh 'whatever  
 kind of person he is' L, siŋa? dəɣɣh sələ?  
 'be like me!' L, guŋga? dəɣɣh yilɪhɪh 'he's  
 a doublecrosser, liar' L, guŋga? qa·ɣa? dəɣɣh  
 yilɪhɪh 'he's treacherous, deceitful with us' L,  
 siŋa?dɔh dəɣɣh yilɪhɪh 'he's a wonderful person'  
 L, ?a·wayu· dəɣɣh qi·ɪhɪnu· 'they're bad,

ill-mannered people' L, ta'3 te'ya'e'd dəyɥh  
 xiləh 'I used to live on fish' L. With class-  
 marks for S and/or C (with classified nouns as  
 S and/or C class-marks are apparently optional,  
 and perhaps are more frequently absent than pre-  
 sent, many classified nouns thus attested with  
 no class-marks attested): λa'x'e'e'əsg ləxi'ləh  
 'they (berries) are unripe' L, deŋda'luw də-  
 səle'ɬ 'it (already a sandbar?) is becoming a  
 large sandbar' L, dəkɥh dəsele'ɬ 'it (wild  
 celery) has turned to wood' L (cf. ye'e' dəkɥh  
 səle'ɬ 'wild celery is turning to wood'), də-  
 qəda'ya' dəsele'ɬ 'it (car) is getting old' L,  
 ka'ʔəgəhɥ di'ləh 'I wish it were an island'  
 47c.59fnL (either d-class S, e.g. ʔu'x 'drift-  
 wood', implied, or d-class-mark through influence  
 of C, ka'ʔ 'island'); with yd-thematic for  
 'fish-meat': ča'ʔ yedi'ləh 'it's red-salmon  
 meat' L, əj'qa'dəe yedesele'ɬ 'salmon-meat is  
 getting ripe-red' L, xəxg yedi'ləh 'fish-meat  
 is fresh' L, kaɥu' yedi'ləh 'salmon-meat is  
 good' L.

1b. C -lə(ʔ) 'S consists of C, S functions  
 as C': 25.51, 68.111A, sia<sup>n</sup>yitk<sup>n</sup>i<sup>n</sup> 'step-fa-  
 ther' B3dL 568A siyɥ yilɥhɥh 'step-mother'  
 ('she (who) 'is' my mother')<sup>J</sup>, so'fayitk<sup>n</sup>i<sup>n</sup> 'step-  
 mother' sita'ʔ yilɥhɥh 'step-father' ('he (who)

'is' my father') L (cf. sita·ʔ qəʔəh 'he's my (real) father').

lc. C -lə(ʔ) 'S is, becomes C-y, S has (much) C on it, C is (characteristically or adventitiously) present on S, S is "full of" C (in certain cases, especially with nouns denoting natural phenomena or conditions, it is not clear whether the interpretation falls under la. above or lc: see lahʒ, cɪʔt, gust, ka·st, kihʒ, ku·y, xiʔt, qe·t, qeməʔt, qəyɪ·y, xuʔt, wehs, waʔd, di·ye·ʒ under yeʒ ): 10.33A, 16.= 13M, 41.1, 2, 45a.7L, 65.56, 57, 70A, Rezanov Чукотка 'Печуанце мѣсто sandige Stelle' či·ʒg yləh 'it's sandy', Иракотсем 'Здоровь gesund' ʔidah qəʒ yləh[ɪh] 'he's quite plump' ('he's nicely endowed with body fat') L, cɪ· yləh 'it has branches' M, tɪt sələʔɪ 'it got icy' L (cf. tɪt sələʔɪh 'he turned to ice' 50.= 20A), ʒesɪ yləh 'it has a carved design on it' L, da·s yləh 'it has foam on it, is foamy' L, giyah xa·g yləh 'water is steaming' L, ku· ləʒəʒes xləh 'I'm one-eyed' M, dət sələʔɪh 'he got full of blood, he got bloody, he bled' L, ləʒkihgaʔ di·yaʔ yləh 'it's a little too salty' M, səhs yləh 'it's slimy' L, kuysəʔeʔd yləhɪh 'she has marks, evidence on her' M, caʔlədeʔeʔd

yik̄h̄h̄h̄ 'she has knife-marks on her' M, ʔaʔx̄ye-  
 ʔeʔd̄ yileh̄ 'it (pelt) has toothmarks on it' L;  
 ɕaʔ -le(?) 'S is, becomes muddy' (extensive pa-  
 radigmatic elicitations of this were recorded, a  
 sample of which follows): ɕaʔ yileh̄ 'it's mud-  
 dy, you're muddy' L, ɕaʔ da· yileh̄ 'we're mud-  
 dy' L, ɕaʔ lex̄ileh̄ 'you pl. are muddy' L, ɕaʔ  
 yil̄h̄inu·, ɕaʔ qil̄h̄inu· 'they're muddy' L,  
 dik̄s̄uw ɕaʔ ʔaʔle·s̄ (or ʔeʔle·s̄) 'isn't it mud-  
 dy?' LM, dik̄s̄ ɕaʔ ʔaʔx̄le·s̄ 'aren't I muddy?'  
 LM, ɕaʔ quʔ(qe)lex̄leʔ 'you pl. will get muddy'  
 L, dik̄ ɕaʔ qaʔleʔs̄ 'it won't get muddy' L,  
 ɕaʔ da· (qe)seʔleʔh̄ 'we got muddy' L, ɕaʔ ʔe-  
 le·k̄ 'it (cust) gets muddy' L, dik̄ ɕaʔ ʔaʔ-  
 le·ke 'it's not (cust) muddy' L, ɕaʔs̄uw seʔleʔh̄  
 'is it getting muddy?' LM, ɕaʔ (qe)selex̄leʔh̄  
 'you pl. are getting muddy' L, ɕaʔ seʔleʔ 'be  
 muddy!, get muddy!' L, ɕaʔ ʔileʔ 'be muddy!'  
 M, ɕaʔ ʔix̄ileʔ 'let me be muddy' L, ɕaʔ da·  
 qa·lileʔ, ɕaʔ da· ʔi·leʔ 'let's be muddy' L,  
 ɕaʔ ʔi·leʔ 'let it be, get muddy' L, ɕaʔ ʔaʔ-  
 lileh̄ 'let it be muddy' L (only attested neuter  
 optative, stem form uncertain, should perhaps be  
 leʔ), ɕaʔ qeʔ dileh̄ 'it's muddy again' M,  
 dik̄ ɕaʔ ʔaʔdele·s̄ 'it's not muddy anymore' M,  
 ɕaʔ qeʔ ʔidileʔ 'let it get muddy again' M.

With class-marks for S and/or C (these are apparently optional, absent in a number of attestations above with classified nouns as S and/or C): *tʰid* *di·leh* 'it (board) is icy' M, *diK* *tʰid* *daʔle·s* 'it (board) isn't icy' M, *gahs* *di·leh* 'it (tree) is pitchy, pitchy place on tree' L, *su·ɣ* *guli·leh* 'it (water) is full of bugs' L, *qeməɣʃ* *deseleʔi* 'it (ice) is getting rotten spots in it' L; occasionally, perhaps incorrectly by analogy, class-marks for classified C appear with unclassified S: *sede* *qey·y* *lexi·leh* 'it's foggy' L, *qaʔtʰyequh* *lexi·leh* 'it's full of moth larvae' L; with anatomical marks: *ɣes* *lexedi·h̄h̄h̄* 'his eyes are pussy' M, *Kahs* *ʔi·səleʔi* 'its (dog's) face got full of porcupine quills' L, *daʔ* *lixileh* 'my face is muddy' L, *daʔ* *li·leh* 'its, your face is muddy' L, *daʔ* *da·* *(qə)li·leh* 'our face(s) are muddy' L, *daʔ* *(qə)la·lexileh* 'your pl. face(s) are muddy' L, *daʔ* *lesi·keʔi* 'your face is getting muddy' L, *daʔ* *(qə)la·lexsəleʔi* 'your pl. face(s) got muddy' L, *daʔ* *ʔi·sileʔi* 'my face got muddy' L, *daʔ* *li·xte·K* 'my face is (cust) muddy' L, *diKS* *daʔ* *laʔyile·s* 'isn't your face muddy?' IM, *daʔ* *la·xileʔɣ* *ʔixleh* 'I want to have a muddy face' L, *daʔ* *da·* *(qə)la·*

yiie? 'let's have muddy faces' L, diKs ča?  
 guda?x<sup>w</sup>ie? 'isn't my rump muddy?' L, ča?  
 gada·xiie? 'let my rump be muddy' L (also re-  
 corded -ieh, typical of analogical forms es-  
 pecially frequent in optative), ča? qi·deci·  
 ie?i 'your feet are getting muddy' L, ča?  
 qi·dixiieh 'my feet are muddy' L, ča? qi·  
 di·xie·K (or qi·da·xie·K) 'my feet (cust)  
 get, are muddy' L.

ld. With certain nouns denoting special  
 activities as C, 'S does, C': kus ?sie? 'urinate!,  
 go pipi!' IM, kus seie? 'go pipi!' L,  
 da? seie? 'defecate!, go poopoo!' L, da? qa?  
 ki?ih 'he'll go poopoo' L, da? seie?ih 'he  
 messed his pants' L, didu?x da? siie?i 'I  
 almost messed my pants' L, ?emi·n seie? 'pray!'  
 L, ?emi·n qu?xie? 'I'll pray' M, ?emin siie?i  
 'I prayed' L, ki?q hu·l seie?i 'it's all sold  
 out' L.

le. With adjectives as C (in these cases  
 class-marks for classified S or anatomical marks  
 appear with the adjective, not with the verb):  
 3.13, 17M, 9.23, 10.88, 117, 230, 239, 244, 11.-  
 64, 65A, 18.85L, 20.91, 92, 24.40, 74, 74, 25.15, 134,  
 138, 28.37, 91, 124, 131, 29.38, 58A, 34.102L,  
 37b.7A, 43.9, 13M, 49.29, 30, 51.74A, 57.30G,

60.21, 42, 62, 61.13A, 62.6, 8, 13, 16, 20, 21,  
 21, 22, 63.34, 40, 64.11G, 65.7, 23, 68.7, 34,  
 44, 46, 50, 54, 58, 65, 66, 71, 71, 75, 70.5A,  
 Rezanov Коуэгле 'Высоко hoch' ku'a-w yitsh  
 'it's long', Копахетле 'Ва пору, Ва пропорцо  
 passend, nicht zu eng' kuweχ yitsh 'it's wide'  
 M, Ягучькеслемь 'Дитя, Реденокъ kind' ya=  
 kučg(kih) yiljhih 'he's small', ya·kučg(kih)  
 yiljhih 'he's small' L, Якучметленке Маль=  
 чикъ Knabe' ya·kučg(kih) yiljhihkih 'small  
 youngster' (nominalized, with -kih diminutive),  
 Galushia Nelson eu'lu y:tki<sup>n</sup>hi<sup>n</sup> 'big man' BSdL  
 553 ku'luw lijhih 'he (who) is big', χa'ʔd  
 kušiyah yitsh 'weather is lousy' M, kušiyah·  
 səkeʔi 'it spoiled, it (e.g. bread) turned out  
 badly' L, ya'χu·šgahχ χa'ʔd kušiyah qa'leʔ  
 'I hope it won't be nasty out' L, ʔa'q̄ siləi  
 deʔa· kušiyah yitsh χəwa· 'I threw it out be-  
 cause it's a bad dog' ('dog which is bad') L,  
 ta·ʔ kuʒu· yiljhih 'he formerly used to be  
 good, pleasant, healthy' L, kuʒu· sičaʔ yi-  
 jhih 'he's nice to me' L, kəʒu· səkeʔi  
 'he got well' L, siɬmahdɬ siɬmahdɬ da·χ kə-  
 ʒu· səkeʔi 'I baked bread and it turned out  
 well' L, kuʒu· səleχleʔ 'pl. be good!' L,  
 kuʒu· ʔilχaʔ qeʔ sdiieʔlinu· 'they made up

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The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry, no matter how small, should be recorded to ensure the integrity of the financial statements. This includes not only sales and purchases but also expenses, income, and transfers between accounts.

The second part of the document provides a detailed breakdown of the accounting cycle. It outlines the ten steps involved in the process, from identifying the accounting entity to preparing financial statements. Each step is explained in detail, with examples provided to illustrate the concepts.

The third part of the document discusses the various types of accounts used in accounting. It distinguishes between assets, liabilities, equity, revenue, and expense accounts, and explains how they are classified and balanced. It also covers the concept of debits and credits, and how they are used to record transactions.

The fourth part of the document discusses the importance of internal controls in accounting. It explains how internal controls help to prevent errors and fraud, and how they can be designed to ensure the accuracy and reliability of financial information.

The fifth part of the document discusses the role of accounting in business decision-making. It explains how financial statements provide valuable information to management and other stakeholders, and how this information is used to make informed decisions about the future of the business.

The sixth part of the document discusses the importance of ethics in accounting. It explains how accountants have a responsibility to act ethically and to provide accurate and unbiased financial information. It also discusses the consequences of unethical behavior and the importance of maintaining high standards of integrity.

The seventh part of the document discusses the role of accounting in the economy. It explains how accounting provides a common language for business transactions, and how this helps to facilitate trade and economic growth. It also discusses the importance of accounting in the development of financial markets and the overall health of the economy.

The eighth part of the document discusses the role of accounting in social responsibility. It explains how accountants can help to promote transparency and accountability in business operations, and how this can lead to improved social and environmental performance.

The ninth part of the document discusses the role of accounting in the digital age. It explains how technology is changing the way accounting is done, and how accountants are adapting to these changes. It also discusses the importance of data security and privacy in accounting systems.

The tenth part of the document discusses the role of accounting in the future. It explains how accounting is evolving to meet the needs of a global and interconnected world, and how accountants are playing a key role in shaping the future of the profession.

The following table provides a summary of the key concepts discussed in the document.

Concept	Description
Accounting Cycle	A series of ten steps used to record and summarize business transactions.
Debit and Credit	Two sides of an account used to record transactions.
Assets	Resources owned by the business that have economic value.
Liabilities	Debts or obligations of the business to other parties.
Equity	The owner's claim on the assets of the business.
Revenue	Income earned from the sale of goods or services.
Expense	Costs incurred in the process of generating revenue.
Internal Controls	Procedures designed to prevent errors and fraud.
Ethics	Moral principles that guide the behavior of accountants.
Accounting in the Digital Age	The use of technology to improve accounting processes.

(reconciled)' L, Ke'd 'i-t'eh -- Ku'zu x'ieh  
 'how are you? -- I'm fine' L, Ku'zu si 'ie?  
 da-x 'if you're good' L, 'elešgahx (xa-?d)  
 Ku'zu si-'ie? 'I hope it's nice (out)' L, 'e-  
 lešgahx Ku'zu si-'i'?'ih 'I hope he's nice, heal-  
 thy' L, Ku'zu 'a?'ie (qah) 'be good (finally)!' L  
 (only attested neuter imperative), Ku'zu 'eie-?  
 'be good!' L, 'u-d Ku'zu qe? qu?deie? 'you'll  
 get well again there' L, ya-diK seie?'i 'it  
 shrank' ('it became short') M, ya-diK qa?'ie?  
 'it'll get short' L, Ku'luw x'ieh da-x 'if I  
 were big' L, Ku'luw(kih) 'iie? da-x 'just as  
 it's getting (slightly) big, grown up' L, ya-  
 ʃiʃg yi'ih'ih 'very slim person' L; with classi-  
 fied S or anatomical marks: Ku'ti-lešiyah seie?'i  
 'it (e.g. skin, rhubarb) is turning bad' L, giyah  
 ya-guleguh'g seie?'i 'water's getting very low' L,  
 giyah Ku'ge'li-?'nuw seie?'i 'water got very high'  
 L, ta'p'e'li-?'nuw seie?'i 'waves are getting big'  
 L, Ku'ky-?'nuw yi'ih'ih 'he's big-bellied' M,  
 ku-daku'g yi'ieh 'it (tree) is small at base' L,  
 gi-wa-lehd \p-?'nuw seie?'i 'he's getting big-  
 bellied because of (drinking) beer' L, ya-qi-de-  
 ku'g yi'ieh 'your feet are small' M.

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 page

Ku'šiyah seie?'i-dewa 'before it spoils, turns bad' L,

1f. With numeral as C: 8.4, 10.157, 179,  
11.80, 23.149, 32.2, 68.106A.

1g. (1) With certain types of adverbs as  
C: with Ka·dih 'absent, lost, missing, gone,  
vanished': 20.53, 23.53, 73, 25.116A, 27a.23L,  
28.9, 29.37, 54, 37b.44, 44, 45A, 38.24LM, 47a.<sup>vanagel</sup>  
4, 55.7L, 61.55A (all these textual forms are <sup>KATAKUNNY</sup>  
cative perfective), Ka·dih<sup>3</sup> iē·gKinu· deŋp<sup>3</sup>  
yu· 'people who (cust) keep disappearing' 28.  
86A (repetitive customary, only repetitive attes-  
ted with this stem), Ka·dih səke? 'get lost!'  
L, Ka·dihsgahy ?i·ie?, ?ələsgahy Ka·dih si·  
ie? 'I hope you get lost' M, Ka·dih qe? səde-  
ie? 'get lost again!' M, Ka·dih ?ixiie?i 'I'm  
lost' LM (L rejects neuter imperfective with Ka·  
dih; this and the following are the only neuter  
perfective forms attested with -ie(?)), diK  
Ka·dih ?a?xle?ie 'I'm not lost' L, Ka·dih ?i·  
ie?ih 'he's lost, absent' L, Ka·dih qe? ?ix-  
dile?i 'I'm lost again' M, Ka·dih xdiēh 'I'm  
lost, absent again' M (neuter imperfective, which  
L rejects); with ?əšdih 'absent, away, out of  
sight, whereabouts unknown': 10.175A, 15.9, 47b.  
14M, 56.14L (all these textual forms are neuter  
imperfective), 56.4L (inceptive conditional), ?əš-  
dih yiēih 'he's out of town' M; with deqi·kih



nose' L, ʔudeselehɣda'd ʔaʔiʔhinu' 'promiscu-  
 ous women' ('they have no sense') L, ʔudeselehɣ-  
 da'd yiʔeh 'he's got no sense' M, da'na'ɣda'd  
 xiʔeh 'I've got no money' M, sɟi'ɣda'd xiʔeh  
 'I'm without shoes' M (see also 3<sup>d</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> be-  
 low); with various other postpositional phrases  
 as C (see also 2a., 2b., and 3<sup>rd</sup> below); with  
 o-lax 'more than o' (cf. -t'e'-tu', which also  
 occurs in this construction): ʔuleɣ ʔaw yiʔiʔih  
 'it's too much for him, bigger than he' 10.103A,  
 ʔileɣ yiʔeh 'it's too much for you' 10.138A,  
 Rezanov АЛМХАЭТЭ 'Bzse hoch (Comparat.)' pro-  
 bably to be read ʔahleɣ (or ʔuleɣ, ʔelleɣ,  
 ʔawleɣ) ʔah (or ʔaw) yiʔeh 'he (or it) is  
 bigger than, too much for him (or it, this, that)';  
 with o-gaʔ 'like o' (attested only once, from M,  
 rejected by L; cf. -t'e'-tu'): ɕaʔgaʔ ʔete'x 'it  
 (cust) gets soft' M (should be -le'x?); with  
 o-yaʔ 'belonging to o': ʔi' ʔiyaʔ seʔeʔi 'it's  
 (become) yours' L; with o-daʔ 'arrival at o':  
 Rezanov ТЕРЕКОНААРЫБА 'Нороче abschussig' per-  
 haps to be read diʔ ʔu'daʔ ʔaʔe's 'it (e.g.  
 road) doesn't reach there' L; with o-ka'ɣ 'catch-  
 ing up with o': sika'ɣd yiʔiʔih 'he's trying to  
 catch up with me' L; with o-y-ɣa'd 'dependent on  
 o, grâce à o': ʔuyɣa'd seʔeʔi 'I became complete-

not yidya-  
 on last  
 and 1/2  
 - 1/2

ly dependent on him for food' L; with e-thematic  
 and o-yeq' 'inside of o (not with opening at top)':  
 ?uyeq' li? ?isi'leh 'it has a deep hole, cavity  
 inside' L, ku?luw ?uyeq' ?isi'leh 'it's big in-  
 side' L. (4) A number of more or less problematical  
 instances occur with various preverbs or postposi-  
 tional phrases as C, in many of which the third  
 person (definite) S would be more easily explained  
 as in error for ku-indefinite S (cf. 3b.-g. be-  
 low): ?ewa.yu. dexphyu.qa?d yileh 'dogs are  
 amongst humans' 13.14L, ?a'ca'c ya'li?d yileh  
 'next to here is a sleeping-room' 11.131, 131A,  
 ?ulu?luw seie?i 'it got a big hole in it' L,  
 ?uqehxlu? seie?i 'it got a hole in its bottom'  
 (or ?uqehx lu? seie?i 'its bottom became a  
 hole' ?) L, ?ulu?c seie?i 'a hole is forming  
 in it, it's getting a hole in it' M, ?ewya?d yax  
 deqehxqd seie?i 'it's getting down to the bottom  
 (e.g. of barrel of fish)' (?uya?d 'its inside (of  
 o with opening at top)', yax 'downward', de-  
 qehxqd 'at rest, or nominalization of) on bottom  
 of indeterminate o') L, ya'x seie?i 'it (e.g.  
 my nice new blanket) got messed up with something'  
 (ya'x 'destruction' ?, or ya' 'a thing' as o of  
 o-x 'in contact with o, by means of o') L, didi-  
 tu'c ?uda'qd yileh 'cannery' ('sheet-iron is its

(d-class o's) top, roof', or 'it is (consists of, is covered with) sheet iron on its top, roof') L, Kəzu· laʔ ʔi·ləʔ 'good luck!' L (see laʔ ).

2. Indirect reflexives and indirect reciprocals (there is apparently some option and/or irregularity in the use of de-classifier in these themes):

a. Indirect reflexive (de-classifier is perhaps optional where the postpositional phrase with reflexive o is not necessarily to be interpreted as C, and is otherwise obligatory): ʔədʔeʔʔ ʔəʂdih yiləh 'he's away from home' M; ʔədʔeʔd quʔxələʔ 'I'll be home' L, ʔədʔeʔd xdiəh 'I'm home' L, dəʔa· ʔədələʔede·ʔ dəxəh diiəh 'in his own eyes he's a person' 23.56A, dəʔa· ʔədələʔede·ʔd dəxəh ədi· iəʔi 'in his own eyes he has turned into a person' L.

2b. Indirect reciprocal (no de-classifier where postpositional phrase with reciprocal o functions as C, de-classifier otherwise obligatory): ʔiikʔ yiləh 'they're stacked up' ('on top of one another') L, ʔiikd yiləh 'they're together' (with some space between them, i.e. apart)' L, ʔiikdeəd yiləh 'they're one above (upstream of) the other' L; diK kuzə· ʔiikʔəʔ ʔaʔdələ·əinu· 'they are not on good terms with each other' L, kule· xə·ne· ʔiikʔ diəh 'they're partners with each

other' 16.1M.

3. With *ku*-indefinite as S: C *ku-ie(?)*  
'someone, one, people, something is, becomes  
C' or, by extension of 'something is C', 'C  
exists': a. C *ku-ie(?)* 'someone, one, people,  
something is, becomes C': 25.209A, 34.91L, 50.-  
63A, *ɣələhsλa·əeyu· kuseieʔi* 'one is becoming  
White Men (Eyaks are assimilating)' (Billy Dude  
said) 72.9L (cf. *ʔəl ɣələhsλa·əeyu· kuseieʔi*  
'there got to be these White People (present,  
Whites arrived on the scene)' 68.63A), Rezanov  
*ɣabakose 'Дурно hässlich' ɣəwa· ku·ieh* 'one  
is a dog (people act like dogs, times are bad)'  
72.6L; some instances may be interpreted either  
way: 61.13, 68.44A, *ʔuʒaʔ kusiyah ɤeʔ kusdi-  
ieʔi* 'people became belligerent over it again',  
'there arose trouble over it again' 28.124A, *ku-  
gy·tuʔ kuseieʔi* 'one (Eyaks) became many', 'a  
large population came to exist' 68.44A.

3b. With *ku*-indefinite as S and unpossessed  
noun as C: (1) C exists substantively, there is such  
a thing as C ('something is substantively an in-  
stance of C'): 2a.2M, 25.202A, 64.150, *diK kaʔ-  
ie·c* 'there is no such thing' L, *diK Santa  
Claus kaʔie·c* 'there is no Santa Claus' L, *ʔɤ·  
dəɣuʔya·ʔ Santa Claus ku·ieh* 'yes, Santa Claus

does indeed exist' L, ?ulah ya' q'uh kuseie?i  
 'he got into trouble' ('a thing concerning him  
 came about') L, silah ya' ku'ieh 'I've got-  
 ten into trouble; it's my fault' L, kulah ya'  
 kuseie?i 'someone's getting into trouble' L.  
 (2) 'C is present (exists at a certain time and/  
 or place)': 7.41, 10.230A, 16.4M, 24.20, 25.58,  
 73, 28.124A, 39.1, 47a.3, 47c.23L, 51.8A, 57.28G, — ?  
 60.14, 61.13A, 62.7, 16 (inceptive customary nega-  
 tive), 22, 23, 63.39, 64.15G, 68.1, 44, 49, 63A,  
 Galushia Nelson ká'túti? or kátúti? 'sick-  
 ness' BSDL 552 káh kú'ieh 'sickness is present',  
 xawa-tu? ?q'd kuseie?i 'there are getting to be  
 many dogs here' L, frequently with qi? 'place  
 where': <sup>30.1, 44c 3, -?c.21c)</sup> kú?luw kuya?e?d qi? kú'ieh 'area in  
 which a large grizzly-bear den is present' L,  
 xq?i?q di? qi? kú'ieh 'very bloody place' L,  
 ča? qi? i?i?q kú'ieh 'place that's all muddy'  
 L, xq?i?q qi? qa? kuseie?i 'place that got  
 very bushy' L, tšəyahš kútu? qi? kú'ieh  
 'where there's lots of driftwood' (good place to  
 camp, place-name?) L, giyah qi? gəla'səi'a-i-  
 ya?d qəw sahx kú'ieh 'where water forms small  
 puddles is where cockles are' L; place-names are  
 frequently of this type: see sahx<sup>w</sup>-sahx, či's,  
 ča's, čihš, če-yu?, giyah, lis, ye-t', Nihx

frequent also with nouns denoting certain natural phenomena, especially weather and seasonal conditions: 2a.21, 4.6M, 11.156A, 19.18L, 23.119, 28.=41A, 34.116, 117L, 60.14A, 63.40G, Rezanov ХАМН-КОКОКОРЗАМ 'Осень-Herbst' ꞑala'g Kusele'ꞑ 'it is getting to be winter' L, ?a'ꞑd Kusiꞑyah ꞑala'g Kusele'ꞑ 'there came a very bad winter' L, gesi'kih gah ku'leh 'it's twilight, slightly daylight' L, qih ya'ꞑd Kusele'ꞑ 'clouds are drifting apart, there'll be good weather' ('a clearing is forming in the sky') L, ꞑahs Kusele'ꞑ 'it got completely clouded over' L, qehsq' kuqa'le? 'there'll be moonlight' L, kihd'a'ꞑluw Kusele'ꞑ 'there got to be much dry snow' L, qi' gah ku'lehda? ?axa'K 'I (cust) come to where it's daylight' L, sedeqoyꞑ'ysgahꞑ ku'lihe? 'let it be foggy (let there be fog)' L.

3c. With ku-indefinite S and possessed noun as C, 'possessor's C exists, possessor has C': 8.=3, 4, 10.164, 179, 24.65, 68, 69, 84, 25.200, 32.=39, 37b.59, 49.2, 80A, 62.31, 63.11G, Rezanov Такалекойрꞑо 'ꞑuꞑeꞑ klug' (?u)deseleh ku'ꞑihinu 'they're smart, have sense; smart people' L, ?u=deseleh ku'leh cat's name 'it's smart' A, di'wax side'u's ku'leh 'I'm still alive' ('my breath still exists') L, ?uxꞑ'leyah Kusele'ꞑꞑih

'he's getting teeth (teething)' L, *Ky-delehkih*  
*Kuseie?i* 'animals are getting their horns' ('some-  
 thing's small horns are coming into existence') L,  
*qeqga? ?uni?K ?owa? ku-i?hinu? saqe?eyu?*  
 'children who have noses like loons' 24.26A, fre-  
 quent in nominalizations; *?ulexei?elih ku-?eh*  
 'cherries; prunes' ('they have pits') L, *?uleqah*  
*ku-?eh* 'straight pin' ('it has a head') L, *diK*  
*?uqa? ka?te?sih* 'woman who has no husband' L,  
 see also Sid-Sed.

3d. With *Ku*-indefinite S and postpositional  
 phrases as C: *?ufa?d ku-?eh* 'there is a place  
 behind it' 60.34, 34A, Rezanov *Тарекурт-орзек*  
*'Тычро? leer'* *diK ?uya?d ku-?eh* 'it (o with  
 opening at top) has nothing in it' L, *?uyeq li?*  
*ku-?eh* 'tube' ('it (o with opening not at top)  
 has a deep interior'), 'it's hollow inside' M,  
*?uyeq ves ku-?eh* 'it (e.g. tube) has a hollow  
 (space) all the way through' L, *qi?dex delu?*  
*ku-?eh* place-name for "Cutoff" (cance passage  
 through Hawkins Island) 'where there is a passage  
 through' M, *?uqa? delu? ku-?eh* place-name for  
 passage by Channel Islands 'there's a passage be-  
 tween them' L, *qi?ye?i?i?qa? ku-?eh ca?K* 'gloves'  
 ('mitts which have interstices between the toes')  
 L, *?u?exela?qa?? ku-i?h?ih* 'he (or she) is wear-

ing earrings' ('he has ear-interstices') L, Galushia Nelson osi<sup>n</sup>htkatka name of Gus Nelson BSDL Genealogical Table ?usjhd Ku'ieh 'there is a hiding-place behind it (him?)' L.

3e. With Ku-indefinite S and o-xda'd 'without o' as C (these occur both with negative prefix and one also with negative suffix; cf. lg. (3) above, by which these seem to be influenced): ?ida?ya'lex ?udeselehxda'd Ka?ie'e 'she's too senseless' 49.82A (blend of diK ?udeseleh Ka?ie'e 'she has no sense' and ?ida?ya'lex ?udeselehxda'd ?a?ieh (or yieh) 'she's too senseless'), giyahgelexda'd ?uq' Ka?ieh name of Little Mummy Island "no water on it" L (blend of diK giyah ?uq' Ka?ie'e 'there is no water on it' and giyahgelexda'd ?uq' ?a?ieh (or yieh) 'it is without water on it, its surface is waterless').

3f. With Ku-indefinite S and a pronoun to function as C, the C takes the form of the postpositional phrase o-x, 'o exists, comes into existence', usually 'o is born': 2a.11M, diK dita'3 ?uq' Ka?ie'e 'in olden times it didn't exist' 36.25A, ?u'd qew sij Kusete?i 'that's where I was born' L.

4. With thematic prefix combination qe-- plural and x-thematic, 'many small', requiring



1a\*, see ka\*

keh (perhaps to be identified with ke(?), though form expected would be ke? unless neuter imperfective, and prefixes for neuter imperfective are lacking; perhaps <sup>re-ke'</sup> to be identified with -k-le, <sup>ke-ye'</sup> but expected form would be kih)

-keh (attested in two forms only): with khd 'smoke': khdieh (noun) 'tobacco, cigar, cigarette' L; with zowu 'net' and g-class-mark 'filament-like' thematized: zowukueh (noun, g-class) 'yarn, twine, cord (e.g. for nets)' L (see zowu for examples).

active imperfective (only attestations thereof  
with this stem) instead of neuter imperfective:  
deqa·yu· leʒ yaʔʒ deqi·kihč qəxəleʔ 'some-  
times it (rainbow) dwindled (by degrees) away  
upwards this way to nothing' 51.10A, λeɕg  
kuqəxəleʔ 'there's dirt all over the place'  
( 'dirt is present (in many bits, over and over) ' )  
L.

kqh (attested only in Harrington ms. from G, unknown to L and M)

kqh (noun) 'bark': George Johnson in Harrington ms. kqh, kkh 'bark', l<sup>h</sup>s-yi'-kqh 'spruce bark' lisa? kqh, ts<sup>h</sup>ittsh<sup>h</sup> ya' kqh 'fir bark' c<sup>h</sup>.cihya? kqh, khláq<sup>h</sup> l<sup>h</sup>x<sup>h</sup> 'moss or lichen on spruce bark, lit. "that which grows on the bark"', perhaps to be read k<sup>h</sup>leq<sup>h</sup> le<sup>h</sup>-x<sup>h</sup>ah, with l-class-mark, which more correctly however would be k<sup>h</sup>h(?)a-na-q<sup>h</sup> le<sup>h</sup>x<sup>h</sup>ah, or is perhaps in error for k<sup>h</sup>hda-q<sup>h</sup> with d-class-mark. Neither L nor M could recall having heard kqh; cf. k<sup>h</sup>y-k<sup>h</sup>, k<sup>h</sup>y, k<sup>h</sup>.

lœ gusa'ya'k 'weather (tide and shoreline) is  
lovely' ('tide is rising beautifully') L, s̄a'  
dah ʔi·k̄il̄h̄j̄h̄ 'a pretty-faced person' A, with  
-kih 'diminutive': s̄a'dahkih ʔi·k̄il̄h̄j̄h̄ 'a  
cute-, pretty-faced person' A.

ia<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be analyzed i-a<sup>2</sup> or ie-a<sup>2</sup> and related to a<sup>2</sup>, or perhaps < i-sa<sup>2</sup> with metathesis from unattested verb-theme with stem -sa<sup>2</sup> and i-- classifier, cf. du·xlideh)

sia<sup>2</sup>dah (adverb, with -dah adverbializer, probably to be analyzed s-ia<sup>2</sup>-dah with unidentified s- prefix, or i-sa<sup>2</sup>-dah; once ia<sup>2</sup>dah from A, but rejected by L) 'beautiful(ly), pretty(ly), nice(ly), lovely, kindly' (prettier or nicer than kugu·dah, but not so pretty or nice as qe<sup>2</sup>-dl--ia-a' L), ?a<sup>2</sup>d sia<sup>2</sup>dah qi<sup>2</sup> ku·teh 'a place where it's very beautiful' 5l.57A, sia<sup>2</sup>dah ?i·-teh 'it's pretty' M, ?el ?ewleɣ sia<sup>2</sup>dah ?i·-teh 'this is prettier than that' M, ia<sup>2</sup>dah ?i·tjɨh 'she's pretty (has a nice body, figure)' M (L rejects, corrects to sia<sup>2</sup>dah), la<sup>2</sup>dnu·sia<sup>2</sup>dah ?u<sup>2</sup>ɕede<sup>2</sup>ɨhinu· qe<sup>2</sup>ɨeyu· 'two pretty women' M, ?idehdah sia<sup>2</sup>dah ?u<sup>2</sup>ɕede<sup>2</sup>eh yəh 'a very pretty house' M, sia<sup>2</sup>dah<sup>s</sup> xu<sup>2</sup>ɕede<sup>2</sup>eh 'do I look pretty?' M, diK sia<sup>2</sup>dah ?i<sup>2</sup>ɕede<sup>2</sup>ɣ·e 'you don't look pretty' M, sia<sup>2</sup>dah deɣɨh yi·ɨɨh 'she's a nice, kind person' (not necessarily pretty, but virtuous) ('she's a person beautifully') L, sia<sup>2</sup>dah ɕeɨɣe<sup>2</sup>ɨ 'it's a nice night' ('it's nighting beautifully') L, sia<sup>2</sup>dah

14' (perhaps loan from Tlingit)

14' (noun) 'plant species?' L. L is fairly certain she has heard the term, but hardly remembers its meaning; at one point she seemed to recall that it referred to "some black thing that grows in lakes, seems like it's a plant, a long thing that comes up from the bottom", which she saw in her youth, near Alaganik, at evening-time; cf. se'v. Cf. also Tlingit id'n 'bark of hemlock or cottonwood' (Boas), 'adluni 'its bark' (Naish-Story).

iɣ·ʔ

-iɣ·ʔ (noun, unclassified, or (archaically?) d--  
 class) 'thigh, upper leg': 37b.23, 23A (unclas-  
 sified), Rezanov Karamun 'Iɣɣɣɣ Lenden' qa·  
 iɣ·ʔ 'our, human thigh, upper leg', Galushia  
 Nelson ɔtɪa<sup>n</sup>· or ɔtɪa<sup>n</sup>· 'leg (whole, or  
 thigh only?)' BSDL 542, siɪɣ 'my leg (upper)'  
 siɪɣ·ʔ, ɔxɣ 'his leg' ʔuiɪɣ·ʔ unpublished in  
 de Laguna fieldnotes, siɪɣ·ʔ 'my thigh, upper  
 leg' L, kɪiɣ·ʔluw 'big thigh' LM, ʔuiɪɣ·ʔ  
 ʔewa· ɔɪkɪʔi 'his legs (thighs) are skinny'  
 L, ɕiyaʔkɪiɣ·ʔ 'frog-legs' L; d-class: iɣ·ʔ=  
 daʔluw 'big-thighs' (epithet) L, ʔiɪɣ·ʔdoyaʔd  
 'your crotch' L.

14

14 (noun) 'baleen, whalebone' Rezanov, 'plastic' L, 'fungus sp.' LA, 'hemlock, "alchuck"' M. Rezanov Тазань Кэромсе юм Walfisch-Barten, Fischbein'. Modern informants are very uncertain of the meaning of this form, the existence of which, however, is well remembered. M: 'hemlock, or "alchuck" (ólčšk, hard to tell from hemlock, very strong, fine grain, thick needles)', probably incorrect, influenced by 14'y-14', 14', 1a'x, q.v. A: "white stuff in rotting tree". L: "some kind of plastic"; Minnie Stevens asked L if her comb was made of it: 14'se'ew 'is that 1a?'; L thinks that 1a' might also refer, as A says, to a very white skinlike fungus that grows on rotted dead logs, of which L used to make doll-moccasins.

k̥i'y-k̥i' (form uncertain)

k̥i'y-k̥i' (noun, dl-class?) "some kind of tough wood, any kind of hard wood?" L (has definitely heard, but does not remember what it is: "may have to do with a tree"), k̥i'y la'g 'k̥i'y wood' L (heard Billy Dede say, "some kind of wood, found on the other side of Hawkins Island, i.e. not ordinarily found in the immediate Cordova area, cedar?"), k̥i'yʃe'ew 'is it k̥i'y?' L (has heard, "some kind of spruce?"), k̥uʌa-tu' k̥i'y 'lots of k̥i'y' L (perhaps influenced by ci'y 'branches', dl-class).

hid-ɬed<sup>1</sup> (hid more frequent than ɬed; perhaps to be identified with hid-ɬed<sup>2</sup>)

de-hid-g (with thematic -g-repetitive) 'S (tree, bush, branch) is dead and dried': sdiɬidgɬ 'it (tree) is dead; dry wood' L (the latter gloss is probably the more appropriate, active perfective nominalized), Kudeɬidgɬa<sup>?</sup>luw 'big dead tree' M (active imperfective nominalized as d-class noun), Harrington taɬɬɬtk 'dead dried tree' G deɬidg 'it (tree) is dying, drying', active imperfective nominalized; with d-class-mark for S, more frequent than without, and frequently nominalized, as d-class-noun: disdiɬidgɬ 'dead trees or bushes' L, disdiɬidgɬ si<sup>?</sup> di<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup> 'give me a piece of dry wood!' L, qediɬidgɬ 'something about lumber' M ('pl. (wood) are dead and dry'), qu<sup>?</sup>-dedeɬidg 'it (tree) will die' L; with dl-class-mark for c<sup>?</sup>y 'branch': ɬa<sup>?</sup>-sdiɬidgɬ 'dead dry branches' L.

O-ɬd-(ɬ-?)ɬed-g uncertain form, attested only once, with ɬd-class-mark for O, < -ɬ-ɬed-?: qu<sup>?</sup>ɬedi<sup>?</sup>x=ɬedg 'I'll split (?) wood' M.

*ɬidguxa j*

hid-ɬed<sup>2</sup> (hid more frequent than ɬed; perhaps to be identified with hid-ɬed<sup>1</sup>; expanded ɬe·d and ɬi·d)

O-gd-hid(-ɬed)-g (with thematic -g-repetitive and mark including g-class-mark 'filament-like') 'S braids O, S braids O's hair'; xugedi·ɬidg 'braid my hair!' L, gudeɬi·dɬinu· 'they (cust) braid their (not own) hair' L, gedi·ɬidg, gedi·ɬedg 'braid it (hair, wick)!' L; reflexive (where de- classifier indicates that classifier of basic theme is zero): ?edgeda·deɬedg 'braid your hair!' A, ?edgudedehidgɬh 'she's braiding her (own) hair' L, ?edgededeɬe·dɬinu· 'they (cust) braid their (own) hair' L.

gudeɬidg (noun, gd-class or unclassified) 'braid (of hair)' L, gudeɬidggude?a·w 'long braid' L, gudeɬidg siɕ ?eta? 'give me a braid!' L.

iqhd

iqhd (noun, unclassified) 'smoke' LM, 3.5M, 18.10, 82, 27a.37L, 33.19, 36A, 47b.31M, 47c.32L, 65.18, 56, 57A, Rezanov Тазыра Тазар (not in Radlov), Galushia Nelson тiа<sup>n</sup>.t, Old Man Dude тiа<sup>n</sup>.t 'smoke, dark blue' BSdL 538, 553, iqhd(?)a?luw 'big smoke, lots of smoke' LM, iqhd du?dgih 'he's smoking' ('he's sucking smoke') L, ?i.li.ʔ qyhw iqhd wex kih 'he's pretending to smoke (tobacco)' ('it's (just) in intent that he's doing thus to smoke') (iqhd wex kih 'he's smoking') L, iqhd ?ediʔd ?iseiʔe?si 'smoke is getting thick indoors' M, iqhd ?u?leseiʔa? 'fill it (room, etc.) with smoke!', 'make it smoky!' L, for movement and position of smoke see ?i-d-(i-) ?a and ?i-d-i-?a? ; iqhdga? ?i.ʔeh 'it's blue' ('it's like smoke (in color)') L; Galushia Nelson Owa.tlxʔDca? ka<sup>n</sup>.t 'signal ("signal-smoke") BSdL 552 ?uwa.iz ?u?daga? iqhd 'smoke according (by close attention) to which it is known' (Galushia Nelson) (the word is used in the sense of 'smoke' and 'smoking')  
 iqhdleh (noun, -leh not clearly identified, probably related to iqhd wex kih above, and to following entry) 'tobacco, cigar, cigarette' L.  
 iqhdwey? ((wex) deleh) (noun) 'smoking-pipe' (< iqhd ?uweʔ wex deleh 'smoke is acted thus upon in it'): Furuhjelm Liataiahkhahtale 'pipe' iqhd-

hi qhd  
 from its summit  
 smoke ...  
 iqhd ...  
 (194)

ayəc' [w]ləx dələh, Old Man Dude ɬətceyux'tɛlə —  
 unpublished, no gloss, in fieldbook of Frederica  
 de Laguna ɬəhd[ə]ly[ə]wəx dələh, Harrington  
 ɬəht yɬ'q' talləh 'smoking-pipe' G, ɬəhdəyəq'  
 dələh, ɬəhdəyəq' 'smoking-pipe' L.  
 ɬəhdəyəq' qəʔah (noun) 'chimney' L, (<sup>'vəne-t-pe' A</sup>< ɬəhd ʔuyəq'  
 qəʔ ʔah 'smoke rises in it'), Rezanov Трѣхре-  
 еккара 'Трѣха Schornstein', Old Man Dude tɬaʔt-  
 ɬəq'a'd 'smokehole' ESdL 545.

O-(ɬ-ʔ)ɬəhd(-g) 'S smokes O' (with optional thematic  
 -g-repetitive): ʔəɬəhd 'smoke it (fish)!' L, ɬid'  
 xah teʔyaʔ da' ɬəhdg 'every summer we smoke  
 fish' L; passive: sdɬəhdgɬ 'it (fish) has been  
 smoked' L.

ieʔtʰ

ieʔtʰ (noun) 1. (unclassified) 'box' M, 'box; coffin; square' L, 2a.4, 10, 12, 18M, 2b.16, 16L, 28.117, 118, 119, 121, 29.34, 35, 65.27, 59, 63, 64, 67, 76, 76A, Rezanov Tables 'Ящикъ Кasten', Galushia Nelson iätʰ or iät 'box' BSdL 546, sotsä yaʰ iät 'meat box ("meat's box")' BSdL 546, ieʔtʰaʰluw 'big box' LM, ieʔtʰekih 'little box' M, ieʔtʰyaʰd setahʰ 'it's in a box (with opening at top)' L, ieʔtʰyaʰd setahʰ 'it's in a box (with opening not at top)' L, ʔaw ieʔtʰ seäʰaʰ 'set the box on its side!' L; ieʔtʰgaʰ ʔäiʰaʰg 'draw a square!' ('mark it with the likeness of a box!') L.

2. (gdl-class?) 'diamonds (suit at cards)':  
 ieʔtʰ ʔaʰ? gəlaʰsaʰyahʰ 'I got a trump in diamonds (in "66" card-game)' ('diamonds have become complete', with gdl- probably class-mark 'dye, color' < gl- 'liquid' + d- 'bright') L.  
 -ieʔtʰ, attested as verb only in daʰ siieʔtʰ, nickname for a white man with a square face, 'box--face', with combination of daʰ preverb and si-thematic 'face'.

ieʔi-ieʔiq (free variation between ieʔi-s and ieʔiq;  
 on one occasion L rejected ieʔis in favor of ieʔiq,  
 but in the transcriptions of Li and Harrington ieʔe  
 rather than ieʔiq is clearly implied)

ieʔi-s-ieʔiq (noun, unclassified) 'down-feathers':

ieʔiq LMA, 2a.6M, 19.17, 31L, 25.12, 75A, ieʔis  
 LMA, 21b.58, 25.74, 75A, 38.9ML, Rezanov Тлеэмэн  
 'Пухъ Даunen', ieʔiqʔetuʔ 'lots of down-feathers'  
 N; ieʔiegaʔ ʔi-ʔeh 'it's light(-weight)'  
 ('it's like down-feathers') LM.

ieʔieciʔlahʔ (noun) 'feather-pillow' L, Rezanov

Тлеэмэкирмэньтэ Подушка Kopfkissen', also ieʔiq-  
 ciʔlahʔ, ieʔiqcuʔlahʔ, ieʔieciʔlahʔ, ieʔiescuʔ-  
 lahʔ M.

more

łuhł (perhaps loan from Tlingit, Naish-Story łół  
'fireweed')

łuhł (noun, d-class) "some kind of bark" L, L has  
definitely heard, perhaps a water-plant species,  
"brown stalks, some reach the surface of the  
water, pull out, good to eat" (see łp\*), łuhł=  
daya? da·x saqehł 'he boated across in a (craft  
made of) łuhł' L (vaguely remembered, see also  
ta?xd), transcription by L; in note book from  
G implies łuhł, glossed 'spruce bark'

lah3

lah3 (noun), remembered only in lah3 yieh  
'hard, knotty (or wet?) wood, which burns long'  
( 'it is lah3' ) L.

kaʔč

-kaʔč (noun, unclassified) 'stomach' (internal organ): 28.84, 85, 88, 88A, Rezanov Котлярь Ты = запъ Blase' Kuaʔč 'stomach' LMA, Kuaʔčkih 'small stomach' M, Kuaʔčluwyu· 'big stomachs' (not used literally, but of insects with large abdomens) 14.2, 6, 7L, Galushia Nelson siʔxutʔix eštʔā'ʔc or siʔxutʔix eštʔā'ʔc 'bladder for harpoon ("inflated stomach")' BSL 549 siʔxuʔx=(g)ʔ Kuaʔč or siʔxuʔx(g)ʔ Kuaʔč 'a stomach which has been inflated'.

de-kaʔč, attested only in ʔedkaʔni·qgaʔ ʔidi=kaʔčih 'he's voracious' ('he has a stomach like a seagull's', neuter perfective) L.

kuʔɕ

kuʔɕ (noun, unclassified) 'blister, swelling, bump  
("goose egg" from blow, insect bite)' LM, kuʔɕ-  
ʔaʔluw 'big blister' LM.

de-kuʔɕ 'S swells, gets swelling': sodekuʔɕɪ 'it's  
swelling' L, quʔdekuʔɕ 'it'll swell' L, often  
with qaʔ 'up out': qaʔ sdiʔkuʔɕɪ 'a blister  
has formed, it's swollen up' L, qaʔ sdiʔkuʔɕgi  
'a blister formed' (with -g-repetitive thematized)  
A, with anatomical marks: lesexdekuʔɕɪ 'my cheek  
is swelling (from e.g. bad tooth)' L, lexedixsdi-  
kuʔɕɪ 'my eye swelled up (from e.g. mosquito bite)'  
L.

O-(ɪ-?)kuʔɕ (perhaps derived from preceding, transi-  
tive (causative) thereof), attested only in laʔq  
quʔxkuʔɕ 'I'll break it (blister, with e.g. a  
needle)' L (laʔq 'thickness, deflation').

cf. *Ferrous* laʔg<sup>w</sup>

laʔg<sup>w</sup>-laʔg (archaic final -g<sup>w</sup> well attested)

laʔg<sup>w</sup>-laʔg (noun, unclassified, or, sometimes for L, d-class) 'wood, firewood': laʔg 36.3, 4, 4, 65.46A, 'wood (any kind)' L, 'firewood' M, Rezanov Танкы 'Арена Holz', Old Man Dude tlaq<sup>w</sup> 'firewood' BSDL 548 laʔg<sup>w</sup> 'wood' AS (-g<sup>w</sup> with labialization very clear, especially for S), laʔg<sup>w</sup> ʔaɪsəŋg 's<sup>a</sup>w wood!' S, Kadesiyah laʔg 'bad wood' L, laʔgdaʔluw 'big (hunk of) wood' L, kufuʔ laʔg 'much wood' IM, ya-luhdg laʔg 'not much wood' M, sdiʔliʔdʔ laʔg 'wet green wood' L, liqadʔ laʔg 'wood that's liable to split' L, laʔg wəʔ ʔaxi·k 'I (cust) gather firewood' L, laʔg qid qaʔ di·ʔyahɪ 'wood is piled up' M, laʔg ʔadiʔiʔ ʔəkyə·ʔ 'bring in wood (pl. pieces, pl. loads)!' M, laʔg ʔadiʔiʔ ʔəkaʔ 'bring in wood (pl. pieces, one load)!' M.

ihh (perhaps related to <sup>2</sup>ih, therefore to be analyzed \*ih-na)

ihh (numeral) 'one': With -ih (abstract, or associated with unclassified nouns), ihh<sup>1</sup>ih, often also translatable as 'a certain',<sup>1</sup> or, contrastively, 'other': 2b.16L, 8.15, 16, 9.129<sup>2</sup>, 10.43, 75, 77, 157A, 18.4, 50, 61, 67, 77, 78, 19.22, 21a.10L, 21b.24, 23.2, 4, 53, 149, 24.47, 25.53, 54, 119, 144, 27b.14, 28.1A, 30.3, 8L, 33.67A, 34.2M, 34.85L, 37a.1, 122, 38.6, 14, 16, 19LM, 39.4, 41.1L, 46.17<sup>3</sup>, 47b.9, 42, 44M, 47c.49, 50, 51, 53, 48.10L, 49.2, 4, 8, 15, 32, 32, 51.38A, 52.3, 7, 53.4, 5, 10, 31, 55.8L, 61.84A, 62.15, 63.1, 64.5, 10G, 65.13, 13, 68.-43, 86, 99, 69.11, 12A, 71.11LM, Rezanov ТЯЖКЪ-9 '1.', Wrangell ТЯЖКЪ 'Eins', Furuhejm Ikhí 'one', Galushia Nelson tih<sup>n</sup>ke '1.' BSDL 552, ihh<sup>1</sup>ih yawa<sup>4</sup> 'one dog' LM, ihh<sup>1</sup>ih du<sup>8</sup> 'one cat' L, ihh<sup>1</sup>ih sisah<sup>1</sup> 'I dug up one (clam)' L, ihh<sup>1</sup>ih leya<sup>4</sup> 'one of you pl.' L, ?ah ihh<sup>1</sup>ih Kusiyah ?ula?x di-?yah<sup>1</sup>ih qe?hda? sahh<sup>1</sup>ih 'he went over to that one angry women (of two)' 47.c51L, ?ah ihh<sup>1</sup>ih qe?hda? sahh<sup>1</sup> 'he went over to that other woman' 47c.53L, ?ah ihh<sup>1</sup>ih ?ahdah<sup>1</sup> guhiya<sup>4</sup>?i 'one (person) is leaning against the other' ('that one is standing



month' M, *h̄h̄sa·na· ʔiʔ* 'one mountain' L,  
*h̄h̄sa·na· teɬ* 'one hammer' M, *h̄h̄s da·*  
*da·na·* 'one dollar' S, *h̄h̄s gɛda· ma·* 'one  
 lake' M, *h̄h̄s guka· le·ɬ* 'one hair' LM,  
*h̄h̄s guka· la·ʒ* 'one piece of string' L,  
*h̄h̄s guka· te·d* 'one strand of spruceroot' L,  
*h̄h̄s ti·na· kuʒah* 'one pelt' M, *h̄h̄s qi·na·*  
*kuʒeh̄i* 'one piece of rope' M, *h̄h̄s qi·da· ku·*  
*Kah̄* 'one (anatomical) foot' LM, *h̄h̄s leʒa·*  
 'one (berry)' M, *h̄h̄s leʒa· siʔ leʒaʔaʔ* 'give  
 me one (berry):' L, *h̄h̄s leʒa· kula·ʒleʒaʔluw*  
 'one big eye' L. With *-nu·leʒaʔ*, *h̄h̄h̄nu·leʒaʔ*  
 'one pair', with no overt class-marks even in as-  
 sociation with classified nouns: *h̄h̄h̄nu·leʒaʔ*  
*sah̄eʒi·ɬ* 'one pair of socks' L, *h̄h̄h̄nu·leʒaʔ*  
*caʔʔ* 'one pair of mittens' L. As *o* of postpo-  
 sitions, with adverbial function in sentence:  
*h̄h̄h̄daʔʒ* 'once, one time' L (often as an opening  
 formula for stories, but probably under English  
 influence; see Texts, Introduction 0.1); 2b.1,  
 5.1L, 8.1A, 13.1L, 15.1, 16.1M, 20.1A, 22.1, 27a.-  
 1L, 29.1A, 30.1, 31.1, 40.1, 41.1L, 43.1, 1M, 44.-  
 1, 45a.1, 10L, 49.1A, 55.1, 56.1, 58.1L, 61.4aA;  
*h̄h̄h̄da·d̄* 'to one place' 29.20A, *diʔ h̄h̄h̄da·de*  
 'not in one place' 68.62A, *h̄h̄h̄da·d̄ daʔ* 'one  
 spot muddy' ('mud in one place') L; with *-dah*

adverbializer, *h̄hedah* 'still, motionless,  
without movement, without change of location':  
*h̄hedah seʔuʔh̄h* 'he suddenly "froze", suddenly  
ceased activity, became catatonic' L, *h̄hedah*  
*ʔaʔe* 'sit still!' L, *h̄hedah ʔih̄tux* 'hold  
it still!' L.

laʔq

-laʔq 'S (plant) dies, withers': səlaʔqʔ 'it  
 (flower, grass, tree) is dying' L, qaʔlaʔq  
 'it (plant) will die' L, səlaʔqʔ 'it (plant)  
 died' LA, ʔəlaʔqʔ 'they (plants) (cust) wither  
 and die' L.

le·sk'

le·sk' (noun, ʔd-class) 'log (hewn or cut), plank, block (of wood), railroad tie' IMAS, Rezanov

Тягачекхатарокочке 'Бревно Balken' le·sk'...ʔede-kuʔg..., le·skʔedekucʔgkih 'small little log' M, le·sk' ʔu·d ʔedesetahʔ, ʔʔ·ʔ ʔediʔkʔyahd 'a log is lying there, drag it here!' L, le·sk' siʔ ʔedi·taʔ (or -ʔaʔ) 'give me a log, plank, block (of wood)!' L, le·skʔedaʔluw 'big railroad ties' M, le·skʔeda·ʔ xuʔlesekʔexʔih 'he threw a log at me' L.

le·skʔyahd (noun, d-class) 'log-cabin' ('log-house')  
L.

leʔx<sup>m</sup>leʔx<sup>m</sup> (leʔx<sup>m</sup> attested from A and S)

-leʔx<sup>m</sup>--leʔx<sup>m</sup> (noun, unclassified) 'bladder (urinary), gallbladder': Kuteʔx<sup>m</sup> 'gallbladder' LM, 'bladder' L, Kuteʔx<sup>m</sup> 'gallbladder' A, "piss--bag" S, Kuteʔx<sup>m</sup>aʔluw 'big bladder' L.

Kuteʔx<sup>m</sup>gaʔ ʔi·təh (dideʔ) (noun) 'electric light bulb' ('(lamp) which is like a bladder') L.

Kuteʔx<sup>m</sup>gaʔ leʔi·təh (noun, lɿ-class) 'grape' ('they (lɿ-class, berry-like) are like gallbladders') L.

leʔx<sup>w</sup>d-leʔxcʔ (leʔx<sup>w</sup>d attested from A and Rezanov)

leʔx<sup>w</sup>d(-leʔxcʔ)-i (-i-suffix apparently absent in Rezanov) (noun, unclassified) 'wart': leʔxcʔi  
 'wart' LM, Rezanov Трехушь 'Бородашка  
 Warze', leʔx<sup>w</sup>cʔi 'wart' A, leʔxcʔiʔaʔluw 'big  
 wart' LM.

de-leʔxcʔ 'S has wart', attested only with ana-  
 tomical marks: ʔideyiʂah gedisdileʔxcʔi 'he's  
 so stingy he has warts on his rump' (a standard  
 expression) L, with qaʔ 'up out': qaʔ yixsdi-  
 leʔxcʔi 'I got a "blister" on my hand' A, 'I got  
 a wart on my hand' L.

hila'? (perhaps to be segmented hi-la'?, perhaps nominalized neuter imperfective of unidentified verb-- these la-la'? or, if < hila'?, active imperfective; informants unable to etymologize or inflect; perhaps related to heni'?) <sup>perhaps verb hila'?</sup>

hila'? (noun, unclassified) 1. 'man, boy, male (as opposed to female, human or otherwise)' LS, 2a.5, 22, 3.6M, 18.29, 31, 41, 19.1L, 24.1, 6, 19, 27, 27, 27b.56, 28.1, 3, 6, 29.2, 32, 64, 68A, 31.8, 10, 12, 13L, 34.73L, 34.87L, 36.3A, 37a.13, 17, 42.1, 44.1, 45a.1L, 45b.1M, 47a.1, 47c.1, 22, 48.1L, 49.6, 7, 38A, 52.3, 7, 14, 19, 53.5, 19, 22, 55.19, 58.1L, 61.123, 68.86, 99, 102, 104A, Furuhjelm Lilia 'man', Galushia Nelson t̥hila' or t̥hila' 'man' BSdL 542, hila'ʔheʔgh 'is it (newborn) a boy?' L, de'duw yihe', hila'ʔ da'ɣ qeʔh 'which it is, a boy or a girl' 23.123A, hila'ʔ səkeʔh 'it's (it, newborn, became) a boy' L, 'he (pubescent, with changing voice) became a man' L, hila'ʔ xiheh da'ɣ ʔiqeʔli'xguʔK 'if I were a (grown) man I'd punch you in the face' LM, hila'ʔ ʔiʔh̥h̥h̥ 'the man is married' L, hila'ʔ cis̥h̥h̥ 'a man is copulating with her' S, ʔəssəʔi'ʔ hila'ʔ yiheh 'are you alone a man?' (i.e. 'you're not the only man in the

world') 10.188A, dik' ihsih kila'ʔ ʔe'e'e  
 'there's not only one man' (i.e. as preceding)  
 23.149A, Rezanov Кодельчакалкаяк "Человек  
 Mensch' perhaps to be read kudekča·q'ih kila'ʔ  
 'deaf man' L, ku'ʔnuw kila'ʔ 'big-bellied man'  
 L, la'ʔq' yida'ʔs kila'ʔ 'man with thick hands'  
 Farnjelm Koolina 'young', perhaps in a sense of old/young? *subis for*  
 L, q'a'l kila'ʔ 'young man, man in his prime'  
 ('now a man') 53.6L, kila'ʔgaʔ ʔudeleleh ʔawa·  
 selih 'her mind became like a man's' 49.55, 56,  
 57A, with suffixed adjective, connective -i-,  
 kila'ʔi'luw 'big man' L, with suffixed -i-yu·  
 'personal, pl.': kila'ʔeeyu· 'men, menfolk,  
 males' L, 10.23, 25.17, 100, 130A, 38.2LM, 49.=  
 71A, 66.3L, la'ʔdnu· kila'ʔeeyu· 'two men' 23.=  
 1A, ʔi·sekyahinu· kila'ʔeeyu· 'old men' 28.=  
 128A, q'a'l kila'ʔeeyu· 'young men, men in their  
 prime' ('now men') 28.129A, hi'ʔq' kila'ʔeeyu·  
 'they're all males' 34.90L, 'all the men' 52.2L,  
 kila'ʔeeyu·yaʔ meges "men's" side of checker  
 game' L, used as attributive: Galushia Nelson  
 thilá'ʔ seqá·tsáki 'boy ("man-child")' BSdL  
 542 kila'ʔ seqe·d'ekih 49.156A, la'ʔdnu· kila'ʔ  
 seqe·eeyu· 'two male children' 18.49L, kila'ʔ  
 daxuh 'a male person' 34.84L, kila'ʔ ʔawa·  
 'male dog' L, kila'ʔ siyahs 'my son (male child)'

(woman speaking) L, hila·? sidete·? 'my  
younger brother (male younger sibling)' L, at-  
tribute to d-class-noun: dehila·? ye·t' 'male  
part of wild celery plant' L.

2. 'jack, knave' (at cards) L.



kənes-kənis-kines-kinis (loan from Tlingit kənís 'nose--ring')

kənes-kənis-kines-kinis (noun, unclassified) 'nose--ring, padlock': Galushia Nelson t̄inís 'nose ring' BSDL 551 k̄inis, k̄enis 'padlock' N, k̄ines 'nose--ring, padlock' A, k̄ines̄ l̄isdīeʔ̄k̄ 'his nose is ringed with a nose-ring' A, k̄enesluw 'big padlock' LM.

ia'ɣ (loan from Tlingit iáɣ 'red cedar')

ia'ɣ (noun, probably d-class) 'red cedar (Thuja plicata)' LMA (not well known at Cordova, probably only as driftwood L), ia'ɣda'luw 'big red cedar' M (L uncertain), xi'gM' ?i'teh ia'ɣ 'yellow cedar' ('white red cedar') A.

ɬɥ·diyahs-ɬɥ·diya's (-ya's S and once L, regularly -yahs, unanalyzable, to be segmented perhaps ɬɥ·diyahs or ɬɥ·-de-yahs, for ɬɥ·- cf. Athapaskan \*ʁunʔe 'mouse, small rodent', -diyahs or -de-yahs not identifiable, entire form perhaps loan from Athapaskan)

ɬɥ·diyahs-ɬɥ·diya's (noun, unclassified) 'mouse, rat, vole' (apparently any small mouse- or rat-like rodent other than shrew): ɬɥ·diyahs 'rat, mouse' LMA, 10.83, 83, 85A, 17.11M, 28.4, 42, 52, 37b.8, 9, 11, 14, 15, 18, 26, 29A, Rezanov Трѣ-тѣакъ 'Мамъ Maus', Galushia Nelson tɬu<sup>n</sup>tiyas 'mouse' BSdL 539, ɬu·diya's 'mouse' S, ʔedshiʔ=yahɬi ɬɥ·diyahs 'monster rat' 28.66, 76A, Galushia Nelson tiú<sup>n</sup>tiyasleu 'giant mouse' BSdL 289, 553 ɬɥ·diyahsluw 'huge rat' LM, 28.7, 16, 66, 70, 87A, ɬɥ·diyahstah 'mouse-skin, rat-skin' 28.96, 96, 102, 108, 113, 136, 137A, ɬɥ·diyahsɬuʔ 'rat-fur' 28.79A, ɬɥ·diyahsɬaʔe 'rat-stomach' 28.88A, ɬɥ·diyahsceʔ 'mouse-meat' 37b.=22A, ɬɥ·diyahsɬiʔ 'mouse-thigh, -haunch' 37b.=24A, ɬɥ·diyahsguleʔade:ɬi 'rat-spine, -rack' 37b.25A, ɬɥ·diyahsguʔah 'rat-tail' 28.112, 113A, ɬɥ·diya'sguʔah 'plant-species (dog-fennel, yarrow?)' (same as ɬawa·guʔah, q.v. under ʔah-) L.

34h

34h (noun) 'buzz-toy' L. BSdL 238 contains a description.

34hqe3a' name of some winter month L, 'April?' A ('buzz-toy month').

?i-ke-34h (detransitivized form with indeterminate O, 'S buzzes at things' ?, of unattested O-k-34h): ?ike34h 'it's making a buzzing sound' L, ?ixke34h 'I'm buzzing a buzz-toy' M, repetitive: ?ike34hg 'it (hummingbird) is humming L.

O-qi'l-34h 'S makes O (qi'l-class 'rope') buzz', with ku-indefinite O; kuqi'lex34h 'I'm buzzing a buzz-toy' L, 'kind of yoyo' (nominalized) M.

?ike34h (noun, nominalization of ?i-ke-34h) Old Man Dude i34tes<sup>n</sup> 'humming-bird, gas boat' BSdL 539, 550: 1. (unclassified) 'hummingbird, yoyo, buzzing sound' L.

2. (d-class) 'motorboat, skiff with outboard motor' L, ?ike34hda?luw 'big gas boat' M, ?ike-34h sič di'ʔaʔ 'bring me a gas boat!' L.

?ike34hkih (noun, preceding with -kih diminutive) 'hummingbird' L.

3u' (probably related to 3u<sup>?</sup>1, of which it is perhaps an expanded form)

-3u' (adjective) 'good, nice, pretty, favorable, kind, just, pleasant, friendly, well (healthy), in good condition, on good terms' 1. Independent or relativized, a. Not in association with classified nouns, Kuzu': 3.13, 17M, 9.90, 10.-239, 244, 11.5A, 16.19M, 28.91A, 31.5, 47c.23L, 49.4, 5A, 57.28, 30G, 61.11, 11, 18A, 62.21, 64.-11G, 68.34, 70.5A, diK Kə3u:s 'not good' 61.-30A, Rezanov Kə-ya komu ʔəreʔə nonyʔəoʔ gunstiger Wind' ku'y... Kuzu' 'wind is favorable', Furuhjelm Kutzuuva 'good', ʔew Kuzu' ʔewa' 'the good one, the best one of them' L, ta'3 Kuzu' yiləhəh 'he used to be good' L, Kə3u' kaʔ ʔeduʔla-kəhəh 'you should be good (behave well)' L, xu' siyaʔ ʔewa' Kə3u' 'my dog is good' L, Kuzu' xah 'nice summer' M, Kuzu' ʔəʔ 'nice night' M, Kuzu' cɨ'3 'nice dream' L, Kə3u' cahgə 'nice legend' M, Kuzu' gah 'nice dance' L, Kuzu' dəqew 'good lunch' L, Kuzu' qəla'K 'pretty shirt' L, Kuzu' we-ʔah 'good news' L; a number of additional instances are listed under ke(?) le.; with qah 'finally' and də- 'ipse': qahdəKə3u' 'real good' M.

lb. With class-marks (in association with classified nouns): *Kuleʒəzu· laʔmahd* 'good berries' 29.20A, *Kudeʒu·* 'good (eggs)' 68.8A, *Kudeʒu· cɨ·y* 'pretty song' L, *Kudeʒu· wəʃeh qeʔew* 'that's a nice name' M, *Kudeʒu· lisdətah* 'good spruce-bark' L, *Kuʒu·ʒu· giyah* 'Holy Water' L.

lc. With cl-thematic 'ground': 10.12, 11.-169, 170, 170A, *qɨʔ Kuʒə·ʒu·* 'where it's good ground (for camping)' L.

ld. As o of certain postpositions; with *o-wahd* 'for the sake of o': *Kuʒu·wahd* 'for good (luck)' 35.2, 37a.24L, 'good luck!' L; with *o-laʔ*, *o-daʔ* 'luck, fortune from o, omen, portent of o': Galushia Nelson *qətsú·lá* 'good weather! (called out in connection with magic rite)' BSdL 555, *Kəʒu·laʔ* 'good luck' L, *Kuʒu·laʔ Kaʔ ʔi·ʔeʔ* 'good luck!' L, *Kəʒu·daʔ qa· ʔuʔəq·saʔyahʔ* 'we got rich, lucky' L, *Kəʒu·daʔ ʔiʔqeʔəli·ʔyah* 'you'll have good luck' L, *Kuʒu·daʔ xəqə·saʔyahʔ* 'I had a year of good luck' L; with *o-da·d* 'near o, place of o': 5.8, 9L, 11.170A, 47c.8L; with *o-daʔ* 'arrival at o': 47b.11M.

le. As o of *o-ʔəa·d* 'side of o': Rezanov *Кузубчара* 'На право rechts' *Kuʒu·ʔəa·d* 'right

side' M, kuzu·k̄ca·d ya' 'the right one' (as opposed to left) 51.78, 80, 61.45, 46, 46, 55A, kuzu·k̄ca·d yeṣ dexieleʔgɣ 'I'm right-handed' L, "When the right side twitches it means good luck" (BSdL 221).

1f. With -dah adverbializer: 1b.13, 3.-14M, 9.88, 136, 10.130, 11.45, 21b.68, 73, 24.-11, 25.29, 39A, 26.12, 27a.35L, 29.13, 16, 32.-28A, 34.7, 25, 30L, 50, 55, 60, 64M, 37a.25L, 43.26, 47b.9, 16M, 49.5, 7, 103, 106, 51.15, 35, 35, 57, 73, 73, 84A, 58.1L, 61.16, 22, 65.60, 69.22, 70.6, 10A, 71.20LM, kuzu·dah ḡegemih 'it's sweet' ('it tastes good') M, kuzu·dah ḡe-ḡah 'it smells good' L, kuzu·dah ʔuʔsexʔeh 'it looks good to me' L, kuzu·dahḡ xuʔaḡicahḡ 'am I dressed up nicely, prettily?' L, kuzu·dah ʔuʔ-dihicahḡ 'they (e.g. Easter eggs) look pretty' L, diK kuzu·dah kucḡ·k̄eḡh 'he (cust) doesn't sing well' L, diK kuzu·dah ʔudahḡ ʔu·laʔdeta·s 'it doesn't sound good' L, kuzu·dah ʔuxaʔ ʔi·lih-xilḡhinu· 'I'm happy with them' L, kuzu·dah ʔi·lihxileh 'I'm in a good mood' M, kuzu·dah xuseḡdahḡh 'he treated me well' L, kuzu·dah ya·kihḡdah xuseḡiḡ 'he paid me well' L, kuzu·dah ḡḡh seḡiḡ 'you treated him right, fairly, justly, kindly, fittingly' L, kuzu·dah seḡiḡ

'he did something nice, kind' L, *kʷuʒu·dah* *yəʒ*  
*gəda·dətə·* 'steer well!' A, *kʷuʒu·dah* *ʔisi-*  
*ciʔ·ʒi* 'I had a good dream' L, *kʷuʒu·dah* *səi-*  
*seʔi* 'it's a nice evening' ('it's becoming eve-  
 ning nicely') L, *kʷuʒu·dah* *ʔəduʔxdəgewih* 'I  
 feel well' L, *kʷuʒu·dah* *xuʔəq·saʔyahk* 'I had  
 a good year (of weather)' L, *kʷuʒu·dah* *sidi* *kʷu-*  
*ʒəda·k* 'I (cust) get fed well' L.

2. Dependent (suffixed to nouns). a. Suf-  
 fixed to unclassified nouns (*-(ʔ)ə-ʒu·* with  
 forms containing only one vowel): *ʒəwa·ʒu·* 'good  
 dog' L, *xahʔəʒu·* 'nice summer' L, *ʒəxʔəʒu·*  
 'nice night' L, *sə·iʔəʒu·* 'nice evening' L,  
*yəʔəʒu·* 'good medicine' M, *yə·nahdtaʒu·* 'nice  
 rug' L, *ca·ləʒəkʒu·* 'nice beach' L, Galushia  
 Nelson *ədtəkəlitaθ'a<sup>n</sup>*, *ədtəkəlīt* *tsθ'a<sup>n</sup>* 'Creek  
 Where We Feel Better' BSdL 273, 559 *kudəselehʒu·*  
*ʔə* 'good (frame of) mind River' (see also Swan-  
 ton Tlingit Myths and Texts 302, 312 "Amusement  
 Creek").

2b. Suffixed to nouns denoting humans, *-ʔi-*  
*ʒu·* or *-ʒu·*, in both attestations also with *-kih*  
 diminutive: *ʔeni·ʔiʒu·kih* 'nice boy' L, *qəʔi-*  
*ʒu·kih* 'pretty girl' L.

2c. Suffixed to classified nouns: *sdu:liht-*  
*dəʒu·* 'nice table' L, *wəʒəhdəʒu·* 'nice name' L,

dideʔideʒu· 'pretty lamp' L, daʔddeʒu·  
'nice basket-design' L, yʒ·ʔgeleʒu· 'good  
medicine (liquid)' M, du·guʔu· 'good milk'  
L, gahʒedeʒu· 'lovely day' L, yʒ·ʔleʒeʒu·  
'good medicine (pills)' M.  
-ʒu· 'S is good' (rare as verb, attested only  
once): ʒeʒu· da·ʒ 'if it's good (weather)'  
65.52A.

3u<sup>1</sup> (probably related to 3u<sup>.</sup>, perhaps also 3u<sup>2</sup>)

le-3u<sup>?</sup> 'S improves (his lot) somewhat': se-xie-

3u<sup>?</sup> 'I'm improving my lot a bit' L, qu<sup>?</sup>xie-

3u<sup>?</sup> 'I'll improve my lot a bit' L, xsi<sup>?</sup>3u<sup>?</sup>

'I steadily improved my fortune'; with x<sup>d</sup>-

class-mark for S: gah xedese<sup>?</sup>3u<sup>?</sup> 'the sun

is coming out a little on a cloudy day' ('the

day is improving slightly') L, gah qu<sup>?</sup>xede-

ie<sup>?</sup>3u<sup>?</sup> 'the day'll get a bit better' L.

3u<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with 3u<sup>1</sup>, sarcastic)

ĭ-3u? 'S does something very annoying' (extremely strong expression): with weḡ 'thus' and qe? 'again, more': gu·deg weḡ qe? ĭə3u? 'there you go again! (doing the very thing I told you not to do anymore)' L, ya?ɣu· weḡ qe? qu?· ĭə3u? 'don't you do that again!' L, gu·deg weḡ qe? sĭ3u?ĭh 'he did the same damn thing again!' L; with (?ĭ-)ke·-d 'how (the hell)?, what (the hell)?': ?ĭke·duh ĭ3u?siyah 'what's that lousy thing doing?! (dog running in and out of here all the time, I'm sick of it)' L, ke·duhnu· ĭ3u? 'what the hell do they think they're doing?!' L; with d-class-mark for S: ?ĭke·duh dəĭ3u? 'what the hell's that thing doing?! (boat going by here all the time, I'm sick of it)' L.

ε-ĭ-3u? 'S does something very annoying' (as above, with ε-thematic of uncertain meaning, attested only in active perfective): gu·deg weḡ qe? εεĭ-3u? 'there you go again doing the same annoying thing' L.

d-ĭ-3u? (with d-thematic 'oral, noise') 'S makes very annoying noise, says something very annoying' (extremely strong expression): ke·duhnu· dəĭ3u? 'what the hell do they think they're doing (making noise like that)?!' L, ?ĭke·duh dəĭ3u?, ke·duh

da:ɣu? 'that damn noise keeps bothering me' L.  
da-i-ɣu? 'S makes very annoying noise, says some-  
thing very annoying' (as above, with s-thematic  
of uncertain meaning included in mark, attested  
only in active imperfective): gu'dag 'ewle'e-  
ɕe? de:ɕe:ɣu? 'there you go asking me still  
another (different) annoying question, you're  
pestering me (vocally) for still other things  
(favors, candy, etc.)' L, gu'dag wəɣ ɕe? de-  
ɕe:ɣu? 'there you go asking me for the same  
damn thing again!' L.

3qhd

3qhd (noun, d-class) 'snowshoe', 3qhddehd  
 ?u?lixitah 'I hear the sound of snowshoes' 15.-  
 17M, Galushia Nelson tso<sup>n</sup>kt or tso<sup>n</sup>kt 'snow-  
 shoe', Daki<sup>n</sup> tso<sup>n</sup>kt 'wooden snowshoe' BSDL  
 550 dekij3qhd, 3qhdde?luw 'big snowshoes' LM,  
 3qhd ?u·d desetah<sup>h</sup> (or -?ah<sup>h</sup>) 'a snowshoe  
 is there' L, 3qhd ku?a? di·t'ijih 'he's  
 using snowshoes' L, 3qhddeya? ea·ijh 'he's  
 walking on snowshoes' L, la?d da· 3qhd 'two  
 snowshoes' L.

3qhddeyaxeta· (noun) 'Milky Way' ('trail' under  
 snowshoes') L (Harrington ms. has tsqahii-  
 ttlaaqqa'et 'Milky Way ("snowshoe trail") from  
 George Johnson, 3qhdqi·la·ce?e?d 'snowshoe  
 tracks', but L's form is probably the more au-  
 thentic term); cf. Tlingit (Nash-story)  $\int$ g'xyak'<sup>h</sup>  
 x'us?iti 'Milky Way' [ $\int$ g'xyak'<sup>h</sup>: (mythic here,  
 see Eyde Tart )] 's foot-trail' (= 67ak  
 -ji·la·6e?e?d), but Veniaminov ЧАЧУГАУТ'и  
 'Млечный путь, т. е. дорога, по которой  
 бьют о-бш прощелье како-то человека'  
 jafi...?iti 'snowshoe ... track', on which 6's form  
 is more closely patterned than L's)

3uhd (perhaps ephemeral, cf. suhg)

d-3e-3uhd (with d-thematic 'noise' and/or 'fire')

'S makes sizzling noise': d3e3uhd (it's making) a sizzling noise' A, 'it (e.g. wet wood) is making a sizzling, crackling noise' M (rather glibly), L uncertain of authenticity of form, "maybe a noise".

## 3q·t'

3q·t' (noun, usually ti·l-class, occasionally unclassified) 'skunk cabbage' LM, Galushia Nelson  
 tso<sup>n</sup>·t or tso<sup>n</sup>·t' 'skunk cabbage' BSdL 541,  
 3q·t'čiyahd 'skunk-cabbage(-leaf)-hat' 52.28L,  
 ?ow 3q·t' čiyahdda·ʒ kuta? detuh 'the skunk-  
 cabbage is used as a hat' L, 3q·t' ?u·d tɰ·sə-  
 tahi (probably preferable to ?ahi) 'a skunk-  
 cabbage (leaf) is there' L, 3q·t' sič ti·li·ta?  
 'give me a skunk-cabbage!' L (Harrington ms. has  
 from George Johnson sqač (q dull, w-like),  
 tɰqo'č' 'skunk-cabbage', sqač ya'xittaa 'skunk  
 cabbage efflorescence ("file")' 3q·t'ya? xeta'  
 'skunk-cabbage's file', perhaps a calque on Tlin-  
 git, and tsqač ya'qietš 'skunk cabbage roots'  
 3q·t'ya? se·č' 'skunk-cabbage's (spruce-)roots').  
 Uses of the skunk cabbage are also mentioned in  
 BSdL 87, 96.

3a?X

3a?X(-g)(-i) (noun, with -g-repetitive and/or -i-instrumental optional) 'peg, stake' (also chisel?, perhaps any rigid object to be forcibly driven into something): 3a?X 'peg, stake' L, 3a?Xg, 3a?Xi 'peg' L, 3a?Xgi 'stake' L, 3a?X'a?luw 'big chisel' LM.

O-3a?X 'S chisels O, S chisels hole in O': ?ew 3a?Xih 'he's chiselling it' L, ?e3a?X 'chisel it!' L, with ya? 'completely': ya? ?e3a?X 'poke a hole (e.g. in bottom of clam-basket) in it (with e.g. a chisel)!' L, ya? e3a?X 'chisel it!' L.

O-i-3a?X 1. 'S drives a rigid O (e.g. peg, stake, piling) into something, so that O is fixed in position; S fixes O in position by pegging': Rezanov Утыхалекольцатла 'Прѣбѣтъ что аннагелн, anschlagen' ?u-dex ?el... e3a?X 'peg this in there!, fix this there by pegging!', otherwise attested only in repetitive: ?u-dex yex e3a?Xg 'pound it (e.g. stake) down in', ?e3a?Xg 'peg it!' L, qu?x3a?Xg 'I'll peg it' L, yq'?e e3a?Xg 'peg it down in!' L.

2a. With qa? 'up out', 'S chisels O out of something; S chisels something out of O': ?u-dex qa? e3a?X 'chisel it out of it!' L.

2b. 'S chisels O, S chisels hole in O', not clearly distinguished from O-zaʔʔ: ʔə̀k=zaʔʔ 'poke a hole in it with a chisel!, chisel it!' L, yaʔ sə̀kzaʔʔ 'chisel it!' ("seems same as yaʔ sə̀zaʔʔ") L.

O-dl-i-zaʔʔ 1. 'S drives poles, pilings, stakes in O (ground); S drives O (poles, pilings, stakes) in ground', not clearly distinguished from O-i-zaʔʔ 1., dl- perhaps thematized class-mark for O (ʔə̀h 'ground') or thematic 'in series', though series here are not always implied: ʔuʔ ya·nuʔ ʔa·sə̀kzaʔʔ 'drive it (e.g. paddle) in ground as a stake for it!' L (ya·nuʔ 'below surface', ʔuʔ 'with it'), yə·ʔʔ ʔa·silzaʔʔʔ 'I drove a stake down (into the ground)' L, repetitive: yə·ʔʔ ʔa·silzaʔʔʔgʔ 'I drove it (e.g. stick) down (into the ground); I hammered in pilings, poles, stakes' L, yaʔ kə̀quʔ i·kzaʔʔʔg 'it'll drive in piles' L; passive: ya·nuʔ ʔa·kzaʔʔʔ 'it (e.g. telephone pole) is planted in the ground' (neuter perfective) L; with expanded stem: yə·ʔʔ qə̀ʔa·silzaʔʔʔ 'I drove in a lot of stakes' L.

2. 'S chisels hole in O', not clearly distinguished from O-i-zaʔʔ 2b., attested only once, perhaps in error: ʔə̀w ʔa·sə̀kzaʔʔʔh 'he chiselled

a hole in it' L (series of holes?).

ʔux kuzəʔk(g)ɪ, ʔux kudeʒəʔk(g) (noun) 'chisel'  
( 'by means of it something is chiselled' ); Reza-  
nov okkoʒaʔkɪ 'Cɚpʏʔɪ Nobel' ʔux kuzəʔkɪ  
'chisel' M, ʔux kuzəʔkɪgɪ, ʔux kudeʒəʔk, ʔux  
kudeʒəʔkɪg 'chisel' L. Forms with -ɪ-instrumen-  
tal lack de-classifier present in forms without  
-ɪ-instrumental; deverbalization or nominaliza-  
tion of passive of O-ʒəʔk.

3aʔɛ (perhaps to be analyzed 3aʔ with -ɛ-instrumental)

-l-3aʔɛ (noun, with l-thematic, never realized -le-) meaning uncertain: kʷ·3aʔɛ 'milt, semen (of king salmon only)' A (cf. tuh).

-gl-3aʔɛ (noun, unclassified?, with gl-class-mark 'liquid' thematized, never actualized -gule-) meaning uncertain: ʔel ʔugy·3aʔɛlyu· ʔewa·, ya·xah dale·k "that dark red stuff along its spine", they are (cust) removed' (thus explained by L, probably the kidneys, which are not recognized as such in salmon) 65.3A, kʷgy·3aʔɛ 'back fin' A, "that black red stuff by fish backbone" L.

zewuž (also zewuž)

zewuž (noun, dl-class, occasionally also unclassified or g-class) 'net, gillnet' (not dipnet): 21a.9L, 49.33A, 62.4G, Rezanov Цанотъъ 'Kemoga Nets, Sacknets' zewuž 'net (not dipnet)' M, 'gillnet' LMA, Kula'siyah zewuž 'bad net' L, zewuž<sup>h</sup>i-<sup>h</sup>n<sup>h</sup>uw 'big net' L, zewuž<sup>h</sup>λa-<sup>h</sup>a-w 'long net' L, zewuž <sup>h</sup>u-d λa-se<sup>h</sup>ah<sup>h</sup> 'a net is there' L; unclassified (perhaps incorrect): <sup>h</sup>ow te<sup>h</sup>ya? <sup>h</sup>ow zewuž<sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup>ideh<sup>h</sup>dah lah adie<sup>h</sup> me<sup>h</sup>ž 'that fish really got twisted up badly around with the net' M (for verb see *semet*); g-class (perhaps influenced by zewužgužeh): zewužga<sup>h</sup>luw 'big net' LM, ya-gekud<sup>h</sup>g zewuž 'small net' L; q<sup>h</sup>i-yeleč<sup>h</sup>ahya? zewuž 'spiderweb' L.

zewužgužeh (noun, g-class) 'net-cord, piece, ball of twine, yarn' L, zewužgele<sup>h</sup>hga<sup>h</sup>luw 'big roll of twine' L, zewužgužeh sič<sup>h</sup> gu-ta? 'give me a piece of net-cord!' L.

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-d-i-3i8-i (noun) 'receptacle and/or calyx, sepals, "stem" (of berry)': kudei3i8i 'the green petals attached to strawberries, salmonberries, etc., with or without the part that is attached inside the berry, the small stem immediately attached to the blueberry, unwanted parts often remaining attached to a picked berry' L, ?udei3i8i 'its (berry's) calyx (etc.)' L.

0-l3-i-3i8 'S removes calyx (etc.) from 0 (berry)':  
 lexexi3i8 'I'm removing the calyx (etc.) from them (berries)' L.

34·c

d-de-34·c (attested only with d-tematic 'oral, noise') 'S pleads, implores, begs, prays': da-de-34·c 'plead (e.g. with God)!' MA, qu'xds-34·c 'I'll implore' L, dixediz4·c't 'I implored' L, repetitive: dexde34·c'g 'I keep imploring' L; with o-x 'with o' and o-wahd 'for the sake of o, in order for o': ...wahd 'u' dex-de-34·c 'I beg him to ...' (with optative clause as o of o-wahd) L, with o-q' 'on o': 70.3A (customary), 'uq' da' de-34·c da-x 'if we pray for it' 70.3A; indirect reflexive: 61.-22A, 'edq' da-di-34·c 'you must pray for yourself' 61.23A.

(O?)d-i-34·c 'S begs (O?)', transitivity uncertain, -i-classifier perhaps due to presence of o-x 'by means of o': de'we'x gehsdah'x 'qh de-34·c'tih 'he was begging him quite pitifully' 37b.34A.

3ux (expanded 3e·x or 3u·x)

0-3ux 'S stabs, pierces, spears, pokes O': 10.106, 107, 145, 146A, 17.2M, Rezanov Стычься Кольца stechen' sə3uxɫ 'you stabbed it', Амьхы Кольца stechen (Imperat.)' ?ə3ux<sup>w</sup> or ?ə3uxuh 'stab it!', ?ə3ux 'stab it!' L, si3uxɫ 'I stabbed it' L, ?əh sə3uxɫɪh 'he poked him' M, qu?x3ux 'I'll stab it, I'll spear it (e.g. bear, fish)' L, ?əw ?ə3e·xɫɪh M, ?əw ?ə3u·xɫɪh 'he (cust) stabs it' L (L prefers 3u·x to 3e·x), Əi·leh8iyah xusə3uxɫ 'I got a piercing pain in my side' ('Raven stabbed me') L, repetitive: 25.-169A, hič xuxuxɪh 'he keeps poking me' L, reciprocal: ?iku? ədi3uxɫinu· 'they stabbed each other' L; passive: 63.22, 27, 29,30G (customary, with stem unexpanded), ?iqe?də3ux 'you'll get stabbed' L, xusdi3uxɫ 'I got stabbed' L.

0-(d-)3ux, d-thematic optional with ya? 'completely', 'S stabs O much, S pierces hole in O' (d-thematic perhaps preferable in former meaning): ya? di3uxɫ 'I stabbed it lots of times' L, ya? di·3ux 'stab it lots!' L, ya? ?ə3ux 'pierce holes in it!' L, ya? si3uxɫ 'I poked holes in it' L, with d-class-mark for O (not thematic?): ya? di3uxɫ 'I poked holes in it (e.g. board)' L; passive: ya? di3uxɫ 'it (e.g. can, buck-

et) has had lots of holes poked in it' L.

O-(i-)ɣux, i-classifier optional with o-ɣ 'by means of o', 'S stabs O with o': ?ew ʔi·ɣ qa·yaʔ iɣu·xkinu· 'they (cust) stab <sup>through</sup> <sub>with</sub> spears' 25.170A, ?ew ʔi·ɣ ?ew seɣuxiɰh 'he stabbed it with the spear' 63.22G (with Tlingit o-ɣ, equivalent of Eyak o-ɣ, also often requiring Tlingit i-classifier), gehɣida·ɣ siɣuxɰ 'I speared it with a fish-spear' L.

O-i-ɣux 'S pokes O out of position': ?u·dikah quʔ= xɰɣux 'I'll poke it out of there' L, ?eɣux 'poke it jabbingly!' L ('out of position?'); with laʔq 'deflation' and lɣ-anatomical 'eye': laʔq laɣeɣeɣuxɰ 'it's poking his eye out' L.

?ed-gd-de-ɣux (reflexive of O-ɣux, with gd-anatomical 'rump') 'S moves rump buttingly': with yɣ·ʔ 'down': yɣ·ʔ ?edgu[di]xɰdiɣuxɰ 'I sat down fast' L (-di- almost certainly to be supplied), repetitive, with o-ɣ 'in contact with o': ?ux ?edgedexdeɣuxg 'I'm butting it with my rump' L.

ɣux-i (noun, with -i-instrumental) i. (unclassified) 'spearhead, sharp piercing instrument' (also perhaps 'pole, piling'): ɣuxɰ 'head of spear' A, 'tent pole, pier piling' L (but cf. ɣaʔN, ɣihs, eɣK), ɣuxɰʔaʔluw 'big spearhead' IM, laʔdih ɣuxɰ 'two sharp piercing instruments' L.

2. (d-class) 'spear (head and shaft together)':  $\text{ʒuxida}^{\circ}\text{luw}$  'big spear (whole thing)'  
L.

$^{\circ}\text{ux}$   $\text{Kuzuxi}$  (noun) 'awl' L, Rezanov  $\text{OXKOQOXIA}$   
 $\text{EMO}$  Able (Pfrieme)', Deverbalization with  
-i-instrumental of  $^{\circ}\text{ux}$   $\text{Kudezux}$  'by means of  
it something is pierced'.

3jhe (probably related to 3ahs-3qhs, with inexplicable vowel alternation)

ʔed-ɪə-3jhe (reflexive of unattested 0-ɪ-3jhe)

'S moves self along in boat by poling': ʔed-  
 səɪə3jheɪ 'you're poling yourself along in a  
 boat' L (L later partly disclaims the authenticity of this form, later again accepts it; A thinks she has heard the form; cf. 3ahs-  
 3qhs, cu·x).

-l-3jhe(-ɪ) (noun, with l-thematic, never actualized -lə-, cf. səsk<sup>tent</sup> 'pole': ɕisa·yahd-  
 ʔɪ·3jhe 'tent poles' A, kɪ·3jhe 'poles (e.g. of a tent)' A, used unpossessed: ʔɪ·3jhe, ʔɪ·  
 3jheɪ 'tent poles' L.

3ahs-3qhs (probably related to 3jhs, with inexplicable vowel alternation; nasalization perhaps not original, influenced by 3jhs, 3qhd; L always 3ahs, Rezanov, Galushia Nelson 3ahs, M 3ahs and 3qhs, A 3qhs)

d-3ahs-3qhs-ɨ (noun, d-class (A), unclassified (M; L uncertain)) 'cane, staff, walking-stick, prop, wand': 23.18A (-3qhs-, d-class), 34.66, 66, 70M (hesitation between -3qhs- and -3ahs-, unclassified), Rezanov Тецакы 'Палка', Тецакы Трость Stock, Stab', Galushia Nelson Dít'ed'ktɨ 'wand used for slow dances' BSDL 552, də3ahsɨ 'cane' LM, 'prop used to hold things up' L, də3qhsɨ 'cane, walking-stick' M, də3ahsɨdaʔluw 'big cane' M, də3ahsɨkih, ya'kudʒ də3ahsɨ 'small cane' M.

ʔed-ɨe-3ahs-3qhs (reflexive of unattested 0-ɨ-3ahs-3qhs) 'S moves self with cane, stick': 34.62M (-3qhs-), ʔedseke3ahsɨ 'you're walking with a cane, you're pushing yourself along (e.g. on a sled along ice)' L. (The yeɣ-progressive form yeɣ ke3qhdɣɨh is also attested from L, glossed 'he's walking (about) with a cane', influenced by 3qhd 'snowshoe'; it should probably be read yeɣ ʔedke3ahsɣɨh.)

31·31· (unanalyzable, probably onomatopoeic and/or borrowing from Tlingit or Ahtena)

31·31· (noun, unclassified) 'sandpiper', attested only in Harrington from G tziitzii 'semipalmated sandpiper', Yakutat Tlingit hiin xaqwatziitzi (hiin xaq<sup>w</sup>3131), because of call "tziitzitzi"; <sup>clearly</sup> not attested in published Tlingit word-lists, perhaps loan from Ahtena 3131 'bird (generic)'; unknown to L and A, M "has heard".

W. Solovoff hiinxistakizizi  
 'sandpiper' e'izizi floating on  
 surface of water, but no  
 meaning to 3131

ci'-ci'y (usually ci', but ci'y also fairly frequently attested)

-ci'--ci'y (kinship noun, descending) '(man's) daughter, (man's) brother's daughter': 2b.1L, 11.99, 103, 109, 121, 68.111, 112, 112, 112A, s:tsi' 'my daughter (man speaking)' sici' LA, soti<sup>n</sup>mi 'father's older brother's daughter (man or woman speaking)' BSdL 566 sitjhci', sitsicia 'younger brother's daughter (man speaking)' BSdL 567 sici'siyah 'my daughter, my brother's daughter' (man speaking, angrily) L, sici'y 'my daughter' (man speaking) A, sici'luw, '~~my big daughter~~' (man speaking) LMA sici'yluw 'my big daughter' (man speaking) LMA, sici'kih 'my little daughter' (man speaking) M, 'my daughter' (man speaking, affectionately) L, sici'qa? 'my son-in-law (daughter's husband)' (man speaking; not -ci'y- L, though -ci'y- is elsewhere also recorded from L) L, ?ici'qa? LM, ?i'ci'yqa? 'your (man's) daughter's husband' LA.

di:ye'xi' 'Calm Weather's Daughter' L, Galushia Nelson Dixi'tsi BSdL 300<sup>547</sup>, Mythological personage.

ciya?xi'ci' name of Mary Thomas ('frog's daughter') LA.

3/20/2004  
4/1/2004

ciʔ-ciʔ-ciʔ-ceʔ-caʔ-ciyaʔ (perhaps related to ciʔ;  
highly complex variations largely predictable, but only  
on morphological basis, fairly clear original basic  
meaning throughout, 'head, front, downhill toward water')

-ciʔ (noun, gd- or, perhaps in combination with l-  
anatomical 'head', gdl-class, perhaps also un-  
classified) 'neck, nape': Galushia Nelson eʔtsiʔ  
or (eʔtsiʔ) 'neck' BSdL 541 kuciʔ 'neck, nape'  
LMA, Galushia Nelson iʔ; tsi 'your neck' ?i.  
?iciʔ 'your neck', qeiyeqa tsi 'our necks'  
seyeqa-ciʔ 'our necks', laʔei-laʔ tsi 'your  
(pl.) necks' BSdL 557 leʔi. leʔciʔ '(pl.) your  
necks', ?uciʔqəʔahd 'from on its neck' 12.156  
(unclassified, perhaps incorrect), kuciʔ ?u.d  
gudeseʔahʔ 'a neck is there' L, kuciʔ siʔ gu-  
di-ʔah (or guʔi-ʔah) 'give me a neck!' L, si-  
ciʔ siya. gudeseʔdeʔiʔh 'he hurt my neck' L,  
kugudeʔahʔ kuciʔ 'a thick neck' M, kuciʔgudaʔ-  
luw 'a big neck' L, ciʔgeʔi-ʔnuw 'big-neck' L  
(pejorative epithet), ciʔgeʔa-ʔa-w 'long neck'  
L (epithet), siʔgedekʔt 'my neck-tendons' L.

ciʔ--ciʔl- (also ciʔl-, probably analogically;  
-l- perhaps archaic class-mark or l-anatomical,  
or perhaps phonological development \*cinʔ- >  
ciʔn- > ciʔl-, Rezanov once ciʔn; classifi-

cation uncertain, apparently anatomical mark and/or  
 attribute in compounds, sometimes thematized) 'head,  
 neck, nape': in postpositional phrases: o-ciʔl--  
 yaʔ, o-ciʔl-yeʔ 'inside of o's head, back of o's  
 head, neck' (Rezanov Карпунхертэ 'Зарматовъ Nacken'  
 qa-ciʔnayeʔd 'our napes, human nape'), o-ciʔl--  
 ʔaʔ-d '(at rest) near o's head', sicʔleʔaʔd  
 setahʔ 'my pillow' ('it's in position near my head,  
 nape') L, o-ciʔ-daʔ 'tip, extremity of o', o-ciʔ--  
 daʔ-yaʔ 'half, lesser part, tip of o', in ciʔ=  
 lahʔ 'pillow, comb', see ʔlahʔ, in verbs, at=  
 tested only in a few themes: o-ciʔ(l)-ʔlahʔ 'S  
 combs O's hair', ʔaʔ-ʔ ciʔ(l)-ʔa 'S bows head',  
 in combination with d-thematic, 'oral, noise':  
 ciʔd-le 'S speaks'.  
 o-l-ciʔ-d (postposition, with -l-anatomical 'head')  
 '(at rest) above, beyond o's head (on horizontal  
 plane with o prone)': sileciʔd yaʔ ʔede 'sit  
 (on floor) above, beyond my head!' L.  
 o-ciʔ- (postposition) '(motion to) downhill closer  
 to shore than o, downhill past o': lb.5M, o--  
 ciʔ-d '(at rest) downhill below o (closer to  
 water, in water)': sicʔd 'downhill below me'  
 LM, sicʔd setahʔ 'it's downhill below me' L,  
 sicʔd selahʔh 'he lives downhill below me' L,

kuškəŋa·wci·ʔd place-name, Hartney Bay ('downhill below Jay-Head') L, o-ci·ʔ-daʔ '(arrival) at a point downhill below o': sicj·ʔdaʔ sa·ʔ 'go downhill below me!' L, o-ci·ʔ-daʔ, o-ci·ʔ-ʔ '(motion with)in area downhill below o (closer to, in water)': sicj·ʔdaʔ Kiyaʔ seqeʔ, sicj·ʔʔ Kiyaʔ seqeʔ 'land (in canoe) downhill below me!' L, sicj·ʔʔ sahj 'he walked (by) downhill below me' L, saʔəʔgug ʔuci·ʔʔ ʔəʔ saʔya·hjh 'a kayak went by down below him' 22.3L, ʔuci·ʔʔ ʔixəce= qe·hinu· 'some people were boating along below him' 23.58A, o-ci·ʔ-ʔ '(continuous motion) to downhill below o': qa·ci·ʔ-ʔ sahjh 'he went further down below us' L.

ceʔ-ʔ (preverb, attested only with -ʔ final 'motion within area', L rejects e.g. proposed \*ceʔ-d) 'motion within area downhill near water, toward water, near shore': 9.106, 20.12, 27b.28, 32A, ceʔʔ qeʔ 'back down towards shore' 49.97A, ceʔʔ ʔew saʔəʔahd 'drag it down to shore!' L, xi·d ceʔʔ ʔiyaʔ 'walk down to the water!' L, ceʔʔ sa·ʔ 'go down (to bottom of hill below us):' L, ceʔʔ sahjh 'he went down (to bottom of hill, shore)' L, ceʔʔ sa·hjh 'he's going down (to bottom of hill, shore, but not into water)' L.

ʔə-ciyaʔ- (postpositional phrase, always with ʔə-

*attested with -d, -deɣ, -ɣ, and -i' finals*

'area' as o, L rejects e.g. proposed \*ciyaʔɣ,  
\*ciyaʔd 'down at shore of body of water' with  
-d final, ɣaciyaʔd '(at rest) down at shore,  
at shore of lake, at landing place, down at bottom  
of hill' LM, 9.125, 24.72, 73, 25.20, 33.63A, 42.=  
16L, Rezanov Хаццара 'Берега Уфер' probably to  
be read ɣac[iy]aʔd rather than \*ɣacaʔd, Xare-  
цэаскыртэ 'Сосна Nachbar' probably to be read  
ɣaciyaʔd (rather than \*ɣədəciyaʔ) səlahɣih 'he  
who lives down by shore' L, ɣaciyaʔd yɣ.ʔ de-  
sədahɣ 'it (car) is parked down at the bottom of  
the hill' L, ɣaciyaʔd sədahɣih 'he's sitting,  
staying down at the beach below' L, with -ɣ, -deɣ fi-  
nals 'motion within area': ɣaciyaʔɣ ʔidəsələ-  
yeqɣɣi 'was breaking open mussels down at shore'  
lb.LM, ɣaciyaʔdeɣ yeɣ da.ɣih 'he's walking  
about on the shore' L, with final -ɕ 'continuous  
motion toward': ɣaciyaʔɕ ʔiyaʔ 'walk down to  
the shore!' L, with -daʔ final 'arrival at':  
ɣaciyaʔdaʔ səqəhɣih 'he boated to shore down  
below' L. *... in some final only*

caʔ 1. (preverb) 'downhill towards and/or past  
shore' (not as steeply as qid L), 9.117, 10.=  
73, 187, 11.62, 25.83, 84, 101A, 27a.2L, 33.42A,  
43.29M, 47c.47L, caʔ qeʔ 10.74, 25.101A, qeʔ

ca? 'back down' 10.70, 37b.48A, ca? de-xəʒ  
 'water recedes' 10.227, 233, 235A, (o-da?) ca?  
 l-qu 'pl. S run down (to o)' 25.181, 37b.69, 60.-  
 5A, o-da? ca? ʔdl-ya? 'sg. S runs down to o'  
 10.99, 11.149A, (o-ʔ) ca? lʔdl-ʔe-ʔəʒ 'S (snow)  
 avalanches down (with, over o)' 23.135, 135, 135,  
 136A, ʔəbqʔ saʔaʔtʔ 'pl. descended in the vil-  
 lage' 25.119, 122A, ne-ʔ ca? quʔdeʔəqəhʔ, ʔəw  
 nuʔs 'soon it will "out" (come tumbling downhill),  
 the news' 61.42A, ca? saʔ 'go downhill' (not  
 necessarily toward water) L, ca? ʔedi-ʔəʒ,  
 ca? ʔəda-ʔəʒ 'carry them (logs, on your shoul-  
 ders, in several trips) down! L, ca? səxa-ʔ  
 'I'm walking down the hill, walking deeper into the  
 water' (also ceʔʔ in first meaning, but not in  
 second) L, qidga? ca? dəxe-ʔkʔ 'low-water mark'  
 ('as far as the water (cust) recedes') (same as  
 qidga? lahʒ dəxe-ʔkʔ) L, ʔu-dəʒ ca? ʔədqi-  
 dəsaʔəcu-xʔ 'he's plodding along there' ('he's  
 thrusting his own feet downhill along there', idio-  
 matic) L, ca? ʔuʔ saʔyahʔ place-name, see  
 under ʔya.

2. (noun, unclassified) Rezanov Ица 'Ты -  
 бонго Tief' ca? 'deep' LM, attested most frequent-  
 ly as C in ca? -ʔe(?) 'S (body of water, mud,

but not cavity) is, becomes deep': 23.134A, ca? yileh 'it's deep' M, 23.136A, ?ida?ya-le? ca? yileh 'it's too deep' M, 37b.82A, ca?suw yileh 'is it deep' M, diK ca? ?a?le'e 'it's shallow' M, ?al ?awle? ca? yileh 'this is deeper than that' M, (?a?d) ?idehdah ca? yileh 'it's really (very) deep' M, (?a?d) xq?lq ca? yileh 'it's (very) very deep' M, as o of o-ga? 'like o': ca?ga? ?u?ede?eh 'it looks deep' M, as o of o-qa? 'amongst o': ca?qa? ?i?sdiyahi?h 'he got stuck in a deep spot' L, as o of o-ya?-? '(motion with)in o (with broad opening at top)': ca?ya?? ye? dela-? 'it (fish) is swimming at a deep level' L.

le-ca? 'S (body of water, mud, but not cavity) is, becomes deep': se?eca?i 'it's getting deep' L, ?idah se?eca?i 'it's getting to be of the right depth' L, ?idah qu?kaca? 'it'll get to be of the right depth' L, ?idah skica?i 'it got to be of the right depth' L, ?ida?ya-?u?? ?ikica? 'it's too shallow' L (neuter imperfective).

-ca?-kih (kinship noun, non-ascending, with thematized -kih 'diminutive, affectionate') '(woman's) older sister' (cf. -dese-? 'younger sibling' < o-des-?e? 'in place above, upland from o' and

-i3-kih '(woman's) brother' < 'forward of o, diminutive'): Furuhjelm Tchaakhi 'elder sister' [-]ca?kih, Rezanov Kocaxa-yə 'Tetka Tante' probably to be read sica?kih (corresponding Tlingit entry AXMERA, probably to be read ?aʔ-əidʒ 'my older sister' (woman speaking)), sitsa'ki' 'older sister (woman speaking)' BSdL 566A, sitsaki 'wife's older sister (man speaking)' BSdL 567A (gloss probably incorrect) sica?kih 'my older sister' (woman speaking, also used in direct address) LA, sica?kihəyū 'my sisters' (woman speaking) L, 'my older sister's people' 70.10A, sica?kihluw 'my big older sister' L, sista<sup>n</sup>kiqa 'older sister's husband' BSdL 567A sica?kihqa?, ?uca?kihqa? 'her older sister's husband' 29.73A, sitsaqəiyac 'older sister's son or daughter (woman speaking)' BSdL 567A sica?kihyahš 'my older sister's child' (woman speaking), ?əh Kuca?kih 'the older sister' 9.83, 101, 23.50, 29.71A, ?uca?kih 'her older sister' 23.146, 148, 156, 29.7, 8, 10, 70A.

o-l-ca? (postposition, with l-thematic, probably thematized l-anatomical 'head', attested only as -i'-ca?,) 'in front of o in boat, closer to bow of boat than o': si'ca? ceda? 'sit (move sitting, side to) in front of me (in boat)!' L.

ʔɨ·caʔ- (noun, unclassified, derived from preceding, with zero o and -d, -daʔ, -ɣ, and -ɕ finals) 'bow, front (of boat, canoe)': with -d final 'at rest, nominalized': Резанов Кну́ра 'Hocz y Бау́рау Schnabel der Baidare' ʔɨ·caʔd 'bow, front (of boat, canoe)' LM, ʔɨ·caʔd sa-dahɨ 'he's sitting in the bow' L, ʔɨ·caʔd ʔawa-ʔeɨky-ʔd 'grab its bow!' L, with -ɕ final 'continuous motion toward': ʔɨ·caʔɕ sa-ɨɨh 'he's going toward the bow' L, with -daʔ final 'arrival at': ʔɨ·caʔdaʔ sa-ʔ 'move up to the bow!' L, with -ɣ final 'motion within': ʔɨ·caʔɣ yaʔ qaʔ sa-ʔ 'get (up out of the water) in(to boat at) the bow!' L.

cɨ-cɨ'y (cɨ'y only in noun)

cɨ'y-cɨ'-cɨh (noun, d-class, or, especially with verb O-cɨ, unclassified) 'song': Rezanov Цыг 'Цыгна Gesang, Lied' cɨ'y..., cɨ'y 'song' LM, cɨ' 'song' L, Kudegu' cɨ'y L, Kugu' cɨ'y 'nice song' M, de' cɨ'yduh cɨh 'what song is he singing?' L, xi'lya? cɨ'y cɨhɨh 'he's singing a shaman's song' L, xi'lyu'ya? cɨh 'shamans' song' M, Rezanov Цыгэнгохохтэжэнь 'Еутить шпассен, scherzen' cɨ'y...ya?ɣ wəɣ xɨɨhɨh 'I'm doing it to him while singing', cɨhya?ɣ wəɣ xɨih 'I'm doing it (to it) while singing' M.

-cɨh (noun, attested only with ku-indefinite as prefix) 'song': Galushia Nelson sɨ'tsɨ<sup>n</sup> (or utsɨ<sup>n</sup>) 'song' BSdL 551, Kucɨh 'song' LMA, 'phonograph record' A, 'record player' L.

O-cɨ (two yeɣ-progressive forms show invariable -cɨh, but stem is otherwise well established as variable -cɨ) 'S sings O (song)': Rezanov АЦ = цыг 'Цыгь singen' perhaps to be read ?ecɨ' 'sing it!' or ?əh cɨh 'he's singing it', de-xɨhyu'de?e? xcɨh 'I'm singing a native song' L, de'dɨh sɨcɨhɨ 'what did he sing?' L, xi'lya? cɨ'y cɨhɨh 'he's singing a shaman's song' L; otherwise with ku-indefinite O (not thesitized,

verb consistently treated as transitive): 5.8, 10L, 10.11, 12, 12, 11.169, 169, 185A, 38.12LM (howling of wolves), 47b.28M, 55.3L, 57.17, 18G, 70.11A, qe? kucjh 'sings again' 10.20, 11.-173A, qe? kuqu?xcjh 'I'll sing again' L, de-ryhyu·di·?q kuxcjh 'I'm singing a native song' ('I'm singing something in native style') L, xq?kq kuxcjh 'I'm singing loud' M, dā·?kga? kuxcjh 'I'm singing softly' M, siyewex?a· kuxcjh 'I'm singing for (to) my brother' L, a number of forms of this these are given in BSdL 561, which will be identified here only by the glosses in parentheses: kuxcjh 'I'm singing' M ('I sing'), ku·cjh LM, ku·cĭ· 'sing!' L (?i· k- 'you, sing!'), ku·cĭ·se?ew 'are you singing?, is that singing you're doing?' L (ku·cĭ·s 'are you singing?'), ?qh kucjh 'he's singing' ('he sings'), Furuhjelm Kutzgi kucjhjh 'he's singing' L, se-yea da· kucjh 'we're singing' ('we sing'), le-xi· kuləxcjh 'you pl. are singing' ('you pl. sing'), ?ahnu· kucjh 'they're singing' ('they sing'), kusicjhĭ 'I sang' LA ('I sang'), ?i· kusəcjhĭ 'you sang' ('you sang'), ?qh kusəcjhĭ 'he sang' ('he sang'), seyae da· kusəcjhĭ 'we sang' ('we sang'), lexi· kuləxcəcjhĭ 'you pl. sang' ('you pl. sang'), ?ahnu· kusəcjhĭ 'they sang' ('they

sang'), Kūqu<sup>2</sup>xcj̄h 'I'll sing' ('I will sing'),  
ʔi· Kūqi<sup>2</sup>yicj̄h 'you'll sing' ('you will sing'),  
ʔəh Kūqa<sup>2</sup>cj̄h 'he'll sing' ('he will sing'),  
səyəs da· Kūqa<sup>2</sup>cj̄h 'we'll sing' ('we will sing'),  
ʔəhnu· Kūqa<sup>2</sup>cj̄h 'they'll sing' ('they will sing'),  
dik Kū·cjhə 'you're not singing' ('I don't sing'),  
ʔi· dik Kū·cjhə 'you're not singing' ('you don't  
sing'), ʔəh dik Kūcjhə 'he's not singing' ('he  
doesn't sing'), səyəs dik da· Kūcjhə 'we're  
not singing' ('we don't sing'), lex̄i· dik Kūlex̄-  
cjhə 'you pl. aren't singing' ('you pl. don't sing'),  
ʔəhnu· dik Kūcjhə 'they aren't singing' ('they  
don't sing'), dik Kūxcjhə 'I'm not singing' L,  
dik Kūcjhəjh 'he's not singing' L, Kūsec̄j̄·h̄jh  
'he's keeping on singing' L, 'he's singing' M,  
Kū·licj̄hjh 'let him sing' L, dik Kūzu·dah Kū-  
c̄j̄·K̄jh 'he (cust) doesn't sing well' L, Kū·x-  
c̄j̄·x̄ siK̄ dəlj̄hjh 'he told me to sing' L, re-  
petitive: Kūc̄j̄·ḡ 'it (record player) is playing'  
L, da· Kūc̄j̄·ḡK̄ 'we (cust) sing' M, with yəx̄-pro-  
gressive: yəx̄ Kūdec̄jh̄jh, yəx̄ Kūdec̄j̄·x̄jh (for-  
mer analogical) 'he's singing here and there' LM,  
(silah) yəx̄ Kūdec̄j̄·x̄ 'it (mosquito) is buzzing  
about (around me)' L, yəx̄ Kū·dec̄jh 'sing about!'  
M; indirect reciprocal: Galushia Nelson ʔh̄s̄'q̄d  
c̄óḍ̄ət̄s̄<sup>h̄</sup> ʔnd 'derision song ("against-song-two")'

BSdL 551 'illexp-? Kudecjhinu- 'they're singing  
in competition with each other'; indirect reflexive:  
with o-l-yeq-č '(continuously) into o l--  
anatomically': leyedč Kudecjhjh, 'edleyedč  
Kudecjh 'he's humming' L, dexu- leyedč Kux-  
decjh, 'edleyedč Kuxdecjh 'I'm humming' L;  
passive: 70.11A, Kudecjh 'someone is singing'  
( 'something is being sung') L, qi? Kudecjh  
'place where they sing (in church)' L.

O-č-cj 'S has O (song) sung' (causative of above,  
presumably with middle object as o of o-d):  
'eicjh 'make it sing!' M (should probably be  
'ud ku-icjh); indirect reflexive: 'edKuxiecih  
'I'm humming' M (< 'ed-d K-, 'I'm making myself  
sing something, appear to be singing').

Kuci·l (also Kucjh M, gerundive of O-cj, with  
Ku-indefinite O) 'singing': Kuci·l xusełga?č L,  
Kucjh xusełga?č 'I'm getting tired of singing'  
( 'singing is tiring me') M, Kuci·lya?č ea·čjh  
'he's walking along singing' L, Kuci·lya?č yeč  
da·čjh 'he's walking about singing' M.

cɨ'-ci'-cɨ'y (cɨ' probably preferred, but other forms also frequent, probably influenced by ci'-ci'y and ci'y-ci'-cɨ'y-cɨ': cɨ' transcribed ten times from L, twice from M, twice from A, twice from S, three times (by Harrington) from G; ci' implied by Rezanov (?), transcribed three times from L; cɨ'y once from L, once from M, five times from A) <sup>probably related to ci'cih</sup>

cɨ'-ci'-cɨ'y (noun, dl-class) 'branch, limb (of tree), knot (in wood)': cɨ' LMAS, 11.144, 144A, Rezanov  $\text{H}\mu\text{z}$  'Hynzo' (not in Radlov, perhaps here to be interpreted 'hollow in tree trunk, knothole'), ci' L, cɨ'y 'limb, branch (of tree), knot (in wood)' LMA, 50.21, 21, 21A, cɨ'y $\lambda$ a'se'e'd 'knothole' A, cɨ' $\lambda$ i'?'nuw 'big branch' L, la'd  $\lambda$ i'na' cɨ' 'two branches' L, cɨ'  $\text{ʒ}\lambda$ i'y $\text{ʃ}$ h 'branches are sharp (at ends)' L, cɨ' 'u'd  $\lambda$ a'se'ah $\text{h}$  (or  $\lambda$ a'setah $\text{h}$ , but  $\lambda$ a'se'ah $\text{h}$  perhaps preferred) 'a branch is there' L, cɨ' si'e  $\lambda$ i'?'a' (or  $\lambda$ i'ta', but  $\lambda$ i'?'a' perhaps preferred) 'give me a branch!' L.

ciʔ (perhaps earlier ciʔ; perhaps related to ciʔ--  
 ciʔ-ceʔ-caʔ-ciyaʔ, but semantic relation not clear;  
 cf. also Navaho preverb (Position 1. thematic adverb)  
 ciʔ--ci- 'uncertainty, confusion, wildness, fear',  
 Hupa (Golla) ci-n t:(s-pf)-...-i-kʷod/-l-d:i, -d:iʔ  
 'sg./pl. flee for life')

ciʔ(-l)- (thematic mark, subposition C, either in  
 combination with l-thematic, \*ciʔ-ne-, or with  
 l-mark as phonological development, \*cinʔ- >  
 ciʔn-, ciʔ-l-) 'disorder, confusion', attested  
 only in O-ciʔl-i-yaʔ 'S moves "bits of junk"  
 bit by bit', ciʔ(l)-(de-)ʔa 'S is, gets in dis-  
 order', O-ciʔ(l)-(i-)ʔa 'S jumbles, scatters O',  
 in combination with lʔ-class-mark for O: O-ciʔlʔ--  
 (i-)ʔa 'S scatters O (berries)'.

ce?

-ce? (noun, unclassified) 'meat, flesh' (of any animal, but not of fish or fruit): Kuce? 'meat' LM, 9.105, 110, 113, 117, 119, 10.43, 45, 48A, 27a.42L, 37b.22, 76A, 63.36G, Furuhjelm Kutze 'meat, flesh', Galushia Nelson sotsĭ, sŭtsĭ', sŭ'tsĭ' 'meat' B3dL 546, 548, Kuce?yu' 'meats, quantities of meat' 27a.47L, 29.65A, Kuce?luw 'large quantity of meat' 10.49A, 'big hunk of meat' L, Kuce?kih ?a?wĭh 'he's chewing a (small) piece of meat' M, čiyuhce? 'blackbear-meat' 9.119, 49.123A, 63.36G, Ke?Kuce? 'mink-meat' 33.23, 24A, Rezanov Kĭ<sup>2</sup>xarene (with a inserted above) 'Kĭromka Walfisch-Fleisch' qe?yiltehce? 'whale-meat' 10.40, 56, 68A, ĭu'diyahs-ce? 'mouse-meat' 37b.23A, g<sup>w</sup>e-ĭta-gce? 'seal-meat' 63.36G, Kuĭa-ſgce? 'beaver-meat' 63.36G, ĭa'qə=ya?ce? 'mountain-goat-meat' 49.123A, 63.36G, ĭa'=qəya?ce?yu' 'quantities of mountain-goat-meat' 7.4A, diK Kuce? da' ĭa'Kĭg 'we (cust) don't eat meat' L, ?ediĭi'ĭč'a'd Kuce? 'meat (kept) indoors' <sup>indoors</sup> M, <sup>indoors</sup> ĭa'?d Kuce? 'meat (kept) outdoors' L, <sup>my</sup> sice? 'my flesh' L, 18.71L, ?ice?xahč' si'le-ĭ 'you're losing weight' L, ?uce?xah qi'liĭ 'they're skinny' (more polite than Kĭ?) L.

0-l-ĭ-ce? 'S fattens O, "puts some meat on" O' (see Kĭ? and qəx for similar thematic prefixes): ?i= qe?li'xice? 'I'll feed you up, I'll "put some meat on you"' L.

ca<sup>1</sup>

O-?-ca 'S buys O (with cash, not on credit)': ?a?-  
 ce· L, ?a?cah M, ?u?seca? 'buy it!' LM (both  
 L and M prefer the latter, inceptive, to the ac-  
 tive, L finding the inceptive milder and more po-  
 lite), ?u?sele?ca?, ?a?le?cah 'pl. buy it!' M,  
 ?u?qeseca? 'buy them (all)!' L, ?ewa· ku?seca?  
 'buy some!' L, ?ewa· qe? ku?seca? 'buy some  
 more!' L, hi?d' ya·yu· ?u?seca·h̄h̄ 'he's buying  
 everything' L, ?u?sicah̄ 'I bought it' LM, ?u?-  
 qesecah̄inu· 'they bought them (several things)'  
 M, ?aw ?u?qesecah̄ 'they bought it, he bought  
 them, they bought them' L, diK ?aw ?u?qesecah̄h̄h̄  
 'he didn't buy them' M, diKsuh ?a?scah̄h̄ 'didn't  
 you buy it?' LM, diK ?u?xscah̄h̄ M, diK ?a?xs-  
 cah̄h̄ 'I didn't buy it' L, diKsuh ?ewa· ka?se-  
 cah̄h̄, diKsuh ?ewa· ku?scah̄h̄ (former preferred)  
 'didn't you buy any?' L, diK ?ewa· ku?xscah̄h̄  
 'I didn't buy any' L, diK ku?xscah̄h̄ 'I didn't  
 buy anything' L, ?ewa· ku?secah̄h̄h̄ 'did you buy  
 any?' L, ku?secah̄h̄h̄ 'did you buy anything?' L,  
 qu?xoah 'I'll buy it' LM, ?ewa· ku?qu?xoah  
 'I'll buy some' L, diKsuh qu?yicah̄h̄ 'won't you  
 buy it?' L, ?ele?gah̄ ?i· ?u?ei·cah 'I wish  
you'd buy it' L, ?u?xicahwahd 'so I may buy it'  
 L, ?u?i·cahwahd, ?u?licahwahd 'so you may buy

it' L, ?u?licahwahd 'so he may buy it' L, da'  
 ?u?licah 'let's buy it' L, ?ew ?u?cexca·x̄ siŋ  
 delj̄h̄h̄ 'he told me to buy it' L, ?a?xca·k̄ 'I  
 (cust) buy it' L, ?a?ca·k̄j̄h̄ 'he (cust) buys it'  
 L, ?u?qeca·kinu· 'they (cust) buy them' L, ?u?  
 lica·k̄ '(cust) buy it!' L, repetitive: ?u?caca·gk̄  
 '(cust) buy it!' L; with class-marks for O: de?aw-  
 deqa·? ca?ī ?u?disicah̄ 'I bought that same kind  
 of knife' L, de?awleḡeqa·? la?mahd ?u?leḡesicah̄  
 'I bought that same kind of berries' L. Passive:  
 64.4G, 65.77A (both cust), ?u?edicah̄ 'it's been  
 bought' L, ?awa· qe? ku?edicah̄ 'some more have  
 been bought' L.

ku?waca·gk̄ (gerundive of repetitive with ku-indefi-  
 nite O) 'shopping': ku?waca·gk̄ da· yoḡ le?a?c̄y  
 'we're going shopping' L.

ca<sup>2</sup> (Kenny, of base form O-...-ca, suppletive for themes of form O-...-ca in male-speakers other than active imperfective)

O-?-l-ia-ca (with l-anatomical 'head, face' thematized) 'S stares (penetratingly) at O, looks hard at O' (considered poor manners by L): xu<sup>?</sup>lii-cahih 'he's looking at me piercingly, he's staring at me' L, diK xu-la<sup>?</sup>hacahic 'he's not looking at me' L, ?u<sup>?</sup>lixhicaht 'I'm staring at it' L, xu<sup>?</sup>lihihcahih (not xu<sup>?</sup>sii-) 'he stared at me' L, xu<sup>?</sup>lasehaca<sup>?</sup>hih 'he's staring at me, looking at me, trying to stare me down, to make me uneasy' L, ?i<sup>?</sup>lasehaca<sup>?</sup>hih 'he's looking hard at you' L, ?u<sup>?</sup>la<sup>?</sup>haci<sup>?</sup>hih, ?u<sup>?</sup>lasehaci<sup>?</sup>hih (latter, inceptive, preferred) 'stare at him!' L, da<sup>?</sup> ?u<sup>?</sup>la<sup>?</sup>hihih 'let's stare at him' L, hiC ku<sup>?</sup>lasehacinu<sup>?</sup> 'they're watching something all the time' (active imperfective) L.

O-ia-ca 'O is, becomes (clearly) visible, O shows' (passive, not attested in first or second person for O or for possible S, but considered passive in accordance with the semitransitive below): sicaht 'it became visible' L, ?u<sup>?</sup>lasehaca<sup>?</sup>hi 'it's becoming visible, starting to show there' L, qu<sup>?</sup>hacah 'it'll become visible' (also interpretable as semitransitive) L, ?ig ?u<sup>?</sup>lasehaca<sup>?</sup>hi da<sup>?</sup> 'just as it was becoming visible' L, ?ide-dih ?ihica<sup>?</sup>ega<sup>?</sup> 'in such a way that it doesn't

show, isn't visible' L (non-negative prefixes problematical); with class-mark for O: ?aw ca' ?u-ŋ  
ʎa'ʂeʂeca'ɨ 'that rock is beginning to show there'

L. (passive)

O-?-ʂe-ca 'O is, becomes (indistinctly) visible, O  
appears, seems, looks (a certain way)': 65.10A,  
?u'ʂeʂeca'ɨ 'it's starting to show' M, 'it's be-  
coming somewhat visible' L, gusi'kih ?u'ʂeʂicahɨ  
'it became a bit visible' L, often with qenuh  
'in sight': qenuhŋ ?u'ʂeʂeca'ɨ 'it's beginning  
to be visible (e.g. through fog)' L, qenuh ?u'ʂe-  
ʂicahɨ 'it became visible' L; with o-ga' 'like  
o': ʂewa'ga' xu'ʂeʂicahɨ 'I took on the appear-  
ance of a dog' L, ʂewa'ga' ?i'qe'ʂeʂcah 'you'll  
look like a dog' LM, ?iga' ?u'ʂeʂeca'ɨh 'she's  
taking after you (in looks)' L, ʂeyɨ'ɣga' ?u'ʂe-  
qu'ʂeʂcah 'it'll be (look) different' M; with -dah  
adverbializer: ʂuʎu'dah ?u'ʂeʂeca'ɨ 'it's get-  
ting to look nice' L, ʂuʎu'dah ?u'ʂeʂicahɨ 'it  
turned out to look good' L, ʂeʎu'dah xu'ʂeʂicahɨ  
'as I dressed up nicely?' ('have I taken on a nice  
appearance?') L; with class-mark for O: ʂuʎu'dah  
?u'diʂicahɨ 'they (Easter eggs) look nice' L.

ca-cah (perhaps related to ca' and ca'ɔ̃)

O-ɔ̃d-ca--cah (most forms from L, who hesitates between variable ca and invariable cah; ɔ̃d-thematic 'sharp', perhaps originally a thematized class-mark for O) 'S sharpens O (at end, point)': ɔ̃di'cah (or ɔ̃di'ca', ɔ̃di'ce', both later rejected by L) 'sharpen it (at point)!' L, ʔilq̃esd ɔ̃di'caʔ, ʔilq̃esd ɔ̃di'cah (latter, but not former, later verified) 'sharpen it (e.g. stick) at both ends!' (indirect reciprocal) L, ɔ̃desəcaʔ 'sharpen it (e.g. pencil)!' IM, ɔ̃desəxca'ɔ̃ 'I'm sharpening it' L (elicited twice, later rejected by L), ɔ̃dexcah 'I'm sharpening it' L, ɔ̃disicahɔ̃ 'I sharpened it' L, quʔɔ̃di'xcah 'I'll sharpen it' L, diK quʔɔ̃di'xcahs (or -ca'e, not later verified) 'I won't sharpen it' L, da' ɔ̃da'licah, da' ɔ̃desi'cah 'let's sharpen it' L, ɔ̃dexca'K 'I (cust) sharpen it' L; repetitive (strongly favors invariable cah): ɔ̃di'cahg (or -ca'g, not later verified) 'sharpen it!' L, quʔɔ̃di'xcahg 'I'll sharpen it' L, ɔ̃dexcahg 'I'm sharpening it' (later verified) L. Passive: ɔ̃disidicahɔ̃ 'it's been sharpened' L, ʔilq̃esd ɔ̃didicahɔ̃ 'it (stick) has been sharpened at both ends' (neuter perfective, indirect reciprocal) L.

x̄d-cah-ī (noun, form uncertain, attested only in  
 Rexanov): Хотенцахаъ Ножница Scheere', im-  
 plying approximately x̄dī'cahī, perhaps with  
 -ī-instrumental, but ex in prefixes unexpec-  
 ted. (Normal -ī-instrumental deverbalization of  
 passive 'by means of it something is sharpened  
 (at end)' would be ?ux̄ k̄ux̄edeca?ī or ?ux̄  
 k̄ux̄edecahī.)

sesecah (noun, unclassified, with s- and s-the-  
 matic) '(wood-)shavings' LM, sesecahū?, k̄utū?  
 sesecah 'lots of shavings (for fire)' M, sese-  
 cahkih 'small shavings' M, sesecahlw 'big  
 shavings' L.

\ e.g. Gost Gah GāI under CahCa, —  
 Gostaxoxe.c' under G x e.c',  
 Gost(d)g-a.v.(L) under g-a.v. - g-a.v.

ca' (perhaps related to ca-cah and/or caʔi)

ca' (noun, dl-class; archaically l-class, see sub-entries ca·le·xquh, ca·ləxəh, ca·ləqəx) 'stone, rock, skerry': 10.38A, 12.10, 30, 31G, 16.26M, 20.46, 47, 50A, 35.3L, 50.51, 65.12, 20A, Rezanov Цаа 'Камень Stein', Wrangell Туа 'Stein', Puhruhjelm Tsha 'stone, rock', Old Man Dude tʃa·'rock' BSDL 537, Rezanov Цаа охсленель 'Каменной steinern' ca' wəx 'sinih, ca' wəx silih 'rock has been made (treated, fashioned) thus' M, Хотклекъ-аца 'Пуля Flinten-Kugel', Хотлккаца 'Зарядъ Flinten-Ladung' xut(g)lyəq ca' 'stone in gun', ca·la·kih 'little stone' M, ca·li·ʔ-nuw 'big rock' L, 'big stone' M, ca·li·nəx sih·seh̄ 'I killed him with a stone' M, ca·li·nəx ʔiqeʔli·x̄dəx 'I'll throw a stone at you' L, ca·li·nəx sih̄dəx̄ 'I pounded it with a rock' L, yaʔxu· ca' quʔli·dəx̄ 'don't throw stones' L, see further examples under dəx, ca' sih̄ li·ʔaʔ (not -taʔ) 'give me a stone!' L, ca' ʔu·d la·seʔah̄ (not -tah̄) 'a stone is there' L, ca·la·luʔqa· da· ʔi·ʔaʔ 'let's go get some rocks' L, ʔəw ca·li·naʔq̄ yə·ʔ ɛtaʔ 'set it down on that stone!' L, ca·li·naʔq̄ qaʔ desaʔyah̄ 'it (ship) ran aground on a rock' L, ca·la·yəx dah 'it lives, stays under a rock' L, ca·la·tʃa·

ʔeɕ seiaʔnikɪ 'it (bug) is crawling under a rock'  
 L, ca' ʔəli·yɪh 'stone is sharp' L, ca' ʔu·deɕ  
 ʔeɕ la·seɕeɕɪ 'a stone whizzed by there' L, ʔuɪ  
 ca' la·decah 'pickaxe' ('by means of it stones  
 are chopped') L, as first element in compounds:  
 ca·la·deɪh, ca·deɪh 'stone-man' 10, 220, 221,  
 229, 231, 237, 238A, Резанов Нараягармса 'Топора  
 американской американische (steinerne) Axt' ca·  
 la·təwi·s 'stone axe' L, other such compounds  
 listed separately below.

ca·la·ʔeʔ (noun, gl-class) 'kerosene' ('stone-oil')  
 L, 'coal-oil' M, Kugu·ʔnuw ca·la·ʔeʔ 'large  
 quantity of kerosene' L.

ca·la·guɕuh (noun, lɛ-class?) '(modern gaming-)dice'  
 L, also place-name: name of "Dice Island" or Govern-  
 ment Rock near Pt. Whited L,

ca·la·xix M, ca·la·xix IM, ca·la·xixɪ L, place-  
 name: "White" (?) Island, "Grass" (?) Island, a  
 small bare islet near Government Rock IM.

gu·neca· (noun, dl-class) 'gold nugget, rock with  
 gold in it' ('gold-stone') L, gu·neca· ʔu·d la·  
 seʔahɪ 'a gold nugget is there' L.

ya·ɕeca· (noun, dl-class?) 'some kind of lucky stone'  
 ('sky-stone') L.

-dl-ca· (noun) 'testicle': ʔula·ca· 'his testicles'  
 L, si·la·ca· 'my testicles' S.

ca·le·xquh, ce·le·xquh (noun, unclassified, latter form occurs only in rapid speech) 'octopus, devilfish' LM, 20.8, 20, 24, 29, 30, 36, 37, 47, 61, 70, 72, 79, 88A, Rezanov Цалехко 'Каракайка Sepia', Galushia Nelson tsálexqá 'devilfish' BSdL 540, diX ce·le·xquhə 'not an octopus' 20.78A, ce·le·xquhlw 'big octopus' 20.67A, ce·le·xquhyəquh-yu· 'octopus-young' 20.73, 73, 92A. (< ca·-l-yəx-quh, nominalized active imperfective 'pl. stay under rock', with ca· archaically l-class.)

ca·lexə̀t̚ (noun, unclassified) 'small stones on beach' L, 47a.3L, 'gravel' A, Galushia Nelson tsá·lǎx̄d̚·t̚ 'gravel' BSdL 537, Old Man Dude tsá·lǎx̄d̚·t̚ 'small rocks on ground' (unpublished in fieldnotes of de Laguna), ca·lexə̀t̚·yu· 'nice gravel(-beach)' L; ca·lexə̀t̚·luw <sup>('big gravel(-beach)')</sup> place-name: Gravina? M, fish camp on Mountain Slough L, stretch on coast between Pt. Whitshed and Crystal Falls L (later and more certain), Galushia Nelson tsá·lǎx̄d̚·t̚·t̚əu 'Fish Camp on Mountain Slough' BSdL 544. See also discussion in Eyak Texts 68.54fn. (Meaning and grammatical class of x̄t̚ uncertain, ca· archaically l-class.)

ca·leq̄əx̄ (noun, form uncertain, attested only in Rezanov): Rezanov Цалехках̄ 'Ракъ Krebs' (corresponding Tlingit form is ḷə-ray s̄kw 'Dungeness crab'), perhaps to be read thus, 'rock-fat'

with ca' archaically l-class; cf. Harrington  
BAE ms. 4100 part I (typescript): Tlingit thá[yle  
thaa[yl]ii 'sea anemone' lit. 'fat on the rock',  
Eyak tshaaquqax lit. 'fat on the rock', in ms.  
[G] "would translate the Tl. as tsháaquqáx  
'fat on the rock'". L and M do not remember a  
term for sea-anemone or recognize ca'leqəx,  
ca'ceqəx or the like as a term referring to  
sea-anemone or any crab species. See also 77-448-27L  
and 77-448-27M.

ca<sup>21</sup>

0-1-ca<sup>2</sup> 'S gives 0 (possession of deceased) away at  
 potlatch'; with e-č 'to o': sič<sup>2</sup> ?aw seica<sup>2</sup>kinu<sup>2</sup>  
 'they gave it (dead person's possession) to me at a  
 (funeral) potlatch' L, ?ič<sup>2</sup> qu<sup>2</sup>xica<sup>2</sup> 'I'll give  
 it to you at a potlatch' L.

ca<sup>2</sup> (cf. Tlingit -cáy 'to ask to go', G. L. Story  
A Morphological Study of Tlingit, Unpublished M.A.  
 Thesis, University of London, 1966, p. 93)

ie-ca? 'S manifests desire to go, wants to go,  
 asks to go': dexi' qph qe? ieci'ih 'already  
 she wants to go home' L; with o-x' 'with o':  
 ?ux' xshica'ih 'I asked him to go with me, I  
 asked to go with him' L, ?ux' xieci'ih 'I want  
 to go (anyplace) with him' L, ?ux' ?aieci'ih  
 'ask to go with him!' L, si' qe? ieca'ih (non-  
 unlaute) 'he wants me to go (move) back home with  
 him' L; with other postpositional phrases: 54.8G,  
 ?uxahd xieci'ih 'I want to go without him' L,  
 ka'q'q'e' qu'xieca? 'I'll ask to go to the island'  
 L; with yax-progressive: sika? yax ieca'ih  
 'she wants to go along with me all about (every-  
 where I go)' L. Use of this these by G in 54.8,  
 and in a number of forms recorded on file-slips  
 from G by L1, indicates that for G the meaning may  
 be simply 'S goes, moves'; the forms on the slips  
 also show much uncertainty in the use of the clas-  
 sifiers (ie-, i-, zero).

ci'y-ci'-ci'y-ci' (ci'y probably preferred, but other form also frequent, probably influenced by ci'-ci'y and ci'-ci'-ci'y: ci'y implied by Rezanov, transcribed twice from L, twice from M, three times from A, twice (by Harrington) from G; ci' four times from L, three times from M, twice from A; ci'y once from L, three times from A; ci' five times from L)

ci'y-ci'-ci'y-ci' (noun, d-class) 'mussel': Rezanov  
 : Имя 'Ракушка Muschel' ci'y..., ci'y LMA, 10.-  
 230, 247A, ci' LMA, la.2M, 11.62A, ci'y L,  
 10.230, 230, 247A, ci' 'mussels' L, ci' sič  
 di'ʔaʔ (or di'taʔ, but di'ʔaʔ perhaps pre-  
 ferred) 'give me a mussel!' L, ci' ʔu'd de-  
 seʔah̄t (or desetah̄t, but deseʔah̄t perhaps  
 preferred) 'a mussel is there' L, ci'daʔluw  
 'big mussels' LM, ci' diłix̄ah̄t 'mussels are  
 meaty' L, ci' quʔdi-x̄lyqʔšg 'I'll open mus-  
 sels' L, ci-welahn̄w 'mussel's people (mythical)' 11.62 A.

ci·ye· (informants unable to analyze, probably to be taken as a simple broken stem)

ci·ye· (noun, attested only as C) 'industrious, diligent, energetic, hardworking, willing worker':  
 36.3A, ci·ye· yil̩h̩h̩h̩ 'he's not lazy, willing to do anything, works all the time, doesn't procrastinate, ready to go after things' (a good quality) L, diK ci·ye· ?a?le·c̩h̩ 'he's not industrious' L.

cjhđ

0-đ-cjhđ 'S throws, flings pl. 0': attested with a variety of preverbs and postpositional phrases:

?a?đ 'out (of the house)' 9.78A (customary), qid 'down' 15.6M, o-ya?đ lahđ 'forward out into o' 46.1M, xi-đ 'away' 16.23M, xi-đ đe? ?ekcjhđ 'throw them away again!' L, ta? 'into the water' 12.6, 15, 17, 24G, 28.130A, ta? siđcjhđđ 'I threw them in the water' (pl. 0, in one container, pl. containers, or no container) L; frequently repetitive: with qid: 15.11M, o-ya?đ 'out of o': 25.12, 14A, xi-đ: 38.91M; with yeđ-progressive: yađ ?ekcjhđ 'scatter, strew them around, sow it!' M; with class-marks for 0, including repetitives: da? ya?đ đedekđ-dđ 'we (cust) throw them (sticks, in stick-game)' L, ya?đ đedi-đ-cjhđđ, ya?đ đeda-đcjhđđ (former preferable) 'throw them up (sticks in stick-game)!' L, siđ ya?đ đecjhđđđđ 'he's throwing them (eggs) up to me (one at a time)' L, qđ-siđcjhđđđ 'I threw it (rope)' M, kuxehđ siđ ya?đ qđ-seđcjhđđđđ 'he threw the painter up to me' L; reciprocal: ?iku? ya?đ siđcjhđđđđ 'they threw each other down' (wrestling) L; passive: with ta?: 28.126, 133A, ta? siđcjhđđđ, ta? sđicjhđđđ 'they've been thrown in the water' L, ?u-dexyu? ?ikqa?đ ?idicjhđđđ

'they've been strewn, scattered all over' (indirect reciprocal, neuter perfective) L. With expanded stem: *li'q' ya·yu· ta'č xicj·d* 'I'm throwing all the things one after another into the water' L.

*ʔuʔ yaʔd decjhdg* (noun) 'pier' ('by means of it pl. O are flung one after another, emptying something (with opening at top, boat)') L. Nominalized passive repetitive. (Transcribed *ʔuʔ yaʔd kuya· decjhdg*; *kuya·* is probably to be read *kuyaʔ* 'into something (else)' as part of this term, or *kuya·ʔ*, for alternative term, see *ya·ʔ*.)

*yaʔʔ xedecjhdj* (noun) 'throwing-sticks, stick--game' L. Deverbalized passive of *O-i-cjhd*, with *-i*-instrumental and *xd*-class-mark for O. See BSdL 239-240 for a detailed description of this game.

*yaʔxedecjhdjqexah* name of (winter?) month, 'throwing-stick month' L.

*yaʔʔxededecjhdgqexah* name of month, same as above, August? A. With nominalization instead of deverbalization with *-i*-instrumental as above.



## cuʔd-cuhd

cuʔd (noun, unclassified) 'sleep' M, 51.52A, Wrangell Hy-yʔb 'Schlafen', Furuhjelm Trut 'sleep', cuʔd silgaʔɩ 'I'm sleepy' ('I need sleep') LM, cuʔdyəqʻ yəʔ xdaʔɩ 'I'm walking (about) in my sleep' L, cuʔdyəʔaʔɕ xyaʔg 'I keep dozing off' ('I keep succumbing to sleep') L; used adverbially: Rezanov Hydeʔbʔexa 'ʔəbʔa Gähnen', cuʔd dəɩ-ɕeʔɩh 'he's yawning from drowsiness' L, cuʔd diɩiɩɕeʔɩ 'I yawned sleepily' A.

cuʔd-ɩ (noun, with -ɩ-instrumental, or -ɩ-gerundive?) 'sleep': cuʔdɩgaʔ neʔʔ ʔedquʔxiətʊh 'I'll nap a while' ('I'll make myself be like - sleeping a while') L.

-cuʔd-ɕuhd (-cuʔd correct in all forms; -cuhd acceptable alternative only in perfectives, though attested also (analogically?) in a few inceptive imperfectives; -cuhd is preferred in the active imperfective repetitive, but in active imperative repetitives only -cuʔd is attested; exemplification given rather fully) 'S sleeps, goes to sleep': inceptive perfective: ɕecuʔdɩh LIM, ɕecuhdɩh 'he's falling asleep, going to sleep' LL, ɕexcuʔdɩ L, ɕexcuhdɩ 'I'm falling asleep' L, gaʔyeʔɩ ɕecuʔdɩh 'he's been sleeping all day' L, ɩəʔyeʔɩ ɕecuhdɩh 'he slept all night

long' L; active perfective: 29.17, 18, 33A, 56.-  
 25L (all -cu'd-), sɛcuhdɛjɪh 'he fell asleep'  
 LLL, sɛcu'dɛjɪh 'he fell asleep, he slept' LML,  
 sicuhdɛ 'I slept' M (L also, but L momentarily  
 prefers sicu'dɛ), yɛq̄ sicuhdɛ 'I fell fast  
 asleep' L, sicu'dɛ 'I slept, I fell asleep' L;  
 neuter perfective: yɛq̄ ʔixicu'dɛ 'I'm fast  
 asleep' L; inceptive imperfective: quʔxcu'd 'I'll  
 fall asleep' LLM, 'I'll sleep' LMLL (not -cuhd  
 MLL), diK̄ quʔxcu'dɛ 'I won't sleep' LM, qaʔ-  
 cuhdɛjɪh 'he'll fall asleep' L (analogical, elici-  
 ted immediately after perfectives), Resanov Rxo-  
 xnyenyɛ 'He cmm schlafe nicht!' (also listed, er-  
 roneously, under 'lache (spotte) nicht:') yaʔɣu'  
 quʔyicu'd 'don't go to sleep' L; active imperfec-  
 tive: 2a.20, 25M, 23.101, 25.2, 6, 42, 42, 43, 71A,  
 63.43G (all -cu'd-), xcu'd 'I'm sleeping, I'm  
 asleep' LMM, yicu'd 'you're sleeping' L, diK̄  
 xcu'dɛ (not -cuhd-) 'I'm not sleeping' L, K̄udɛɣ  
 xcu'dɛ 'I can't sleep' L, diK̄ yicu'dɛ 'can't  
 you sleep?' L, cu'dɛjɪh (not cuhd-) 'he's sleep-  
 ing, he's asleep' LL, diK̄ cu'dɛjɪh 'he's not  
 sleeping' L; inceptive optative: ɛɛxicu'dɛgahɣ  
 'I wish I could fall asleep' L; active optative:  
 ʔixicu'd 'let me sleep' L, daʔ ʔi'cu'd (not  
 -cuhd) 'let's sleep' L; inceptive imperative:

§, to sleep!

?ecu?d (not -cuhd) MLL; active imperative:  
 Rezanov АУУрѣ 'Снарѣ schlafen' ?ecu?d 'sleep!,  
 go to sleep!' LMLMLL (not -cuhd LML), ?ecu?d  
 qah 'go to sleep finally!' LL (not -cuhd L);  
 inceptive conditional: 25.27A, 56.23L (both  
 -cu?d); inceptive subjunctive: saxcu?dɣ ?ix=  
 leh 'I want to sleep' L; active subjunctive:  
 ?excu?dɣ ?ixleh (preferred to inceptive) 'I  
 want to sleep' LL, ?ecu?d[ɣ] ?iljɣh 'he (bas-  
 by) is sleepy' ('he wants to sleep') A, ?ecu?dɣ  
 ?uɣ dɣljɣh 'I told him to sleep' L; repetitive:  
 active imperfective: qɣ·ɕ xcuɣdg 'I keep dozing  
 off' LMLL, 'I'm drowsing, almost asleep' L, qɣ·ɕ  
 xcu?dg 'I keep dozing off' ("OK too") L; custom-  
 ary (with and without repetitive): gah ?ecu·dKɣh  
 'sleeps by day' 25.6A, xɣɣ cu·dKɣh 'sleeps by  
 night' 25.28A, gah cu·dK 'sleep by day' 29.29A,  
 qe·dah ?ecu·dKɣh 'he (cust) just sleeps' LM,  
 cu·dK L, ?ecu·dKɣh 'he (cust) sleeps' M, diK  
 ?ecu·dKɣh, diK cu·dKɣh 'he (cust) doesn't  
 sleep' M, sahɣ xcu·dK 'I (cust) sleep late' M,  
 xcu·dK LL, ?axcu·dK 'I (cust) sleep' ML, diK  
 ?axcu·dKɣ 'I (cust) don't sleep' M, da· cu·dK  
 'we (cust) sleep' L, da· ?ecu·dgK 'we (cust)  
 sleep' M, yicu·dK 'you (cust) sleep' L, yicu·dKɣ  
 'do you (cust) sleep?' M, diKɣ yicu·dKɣ 'do'nt

you (cust) sleep?' M, ləɣcu·dK 'you pl. (cust)  
sleep' L, ?ələɣcu·dgKə 'do you pl. (cust) sleep?'  
M, ?əcu·dgKinu·, qəcu·dgKinu· 'they (cust)  
sleep' M, ?ixicu·dKwəhd 'so that I may (cust)  
sleep' LM, ?i·cuhdKwəhd 'so that you may (cust)  
sleep' M, 'so that he may (cust) sleep' M, də=  
wə?dəgəhɣ səxicu·dK 'I wish I could (cust) fall  
asleep quickly' L (rare inceptive optative custo=  
mary). Transitive (causative): ?əɣcu?djh 'put  
him to sleep!' M, səɣcu?djh 'put him to sleep:'  
M, repetitive: ?əicu?dgjh 'make him drowse!' M,  
'put him (baby) to sleep!' LM; reflexive: ?ədqu?=  
xləcu?d (not -cuhd) 'I'll doze' ('I'll make my=  
self sleep, look asleep') L, ?ədqu?xləcu?d ne·X  
'I'll nap a while' L; passive: xusəlicuhdɨ, xu=  
sdicuhdɨ 'I've been put to sleep' L.

ceλ-ciλ (perhaps originally ced-cid with -i-instrumental, but attested actualizations clearly -λ rather than -di; no form ced-cid could be elicited)

ceλ-ciλ (noun, d-class) 'board, plank, lumber':

21b.51 (ceλ), 65.12A (ciλ), Rezanov *Нетас*

'*Дочка Brett*', Galushia Nelson *tsət̩* 'drill--

hearth or board' BSdL 547, ceλ 'boards' LMS,

ciλ 'boards' L, ceλdaʔluw 'big boards' M, laʔd

da· ceλ 'two boards' M, ʔew ceλda·q̄ ya·ʔ se-

taʔ 'set it down on the board!' LM, ceλdec̄iʔdaʔd

'tip, end of board' L, ceλ sič̄ di·ʔaʔ, ceλ sič̄

di·taʔ 'give me a board!' L, ceλ ʔu·d desetah̄,

ceλ ʔu·d deseʔah̄ 'a board is there' L, dāiaʔq̄d

ya· ceλ 'outside board (of construction), facing' L.

ciλeyah̄ (noun, d-class) 'lumber house (plank-house)' L.

ciλ dēk̄xa·d̄i (noun, unclassified) 'duck species, smaller

than, but like dēq̄i·q̄, good eating' L, 'teal

duck' LM, ceλ dēk̄xa·d̄i 'teal (or female mallard?)

duck, always running about with its young, like drag-

ging boards' M. ('it's dragging boards')

ciλ desēxe·i (noun, unclassified) 'small fish species,

looks like dead wood' L, 'small bug species

in water' (correction of preceding) L. ('it's carrying

boards on its back'.)

ceλdec̄iʔ name of Anna Nelson Harry's father (= ʔene-

sih) LA, *tsət̩* *ḍatse*<sup>n</sup> 'Chief Joe' BSdL Genealogical

Table, ('board-dish'.)

ceX-ciX (expanded ciX and ceX)

-ceX-ciX 'S slides, slips': ceciX 'it's sliding along' M, ?u-dex seceX 'it's sliding along there' L, ceciX 'slide along!' M, siyeqa?x ciX, siyeqa?x ceX 'it's slipping between my fingers' M, with yeX-progressive: ?u-dex yeX deceX 'it's sliding around there' L, with d- class-mark for S: ?ahd? deceX 'a car is going along' (like sled sliding) L, repetitive: ?u-dex qid ceX 'it keeps sliding down there' L, ?u-dex yeX ciX 'it (window) keeps sliding down there' L, si-na?d li? ceX 'it (scarf) keeps sliding down off my head' L. Transitive (causative): siC ?eXceX, siC ?eXciX 'slide it to me!' L, ?u-dex ya?x qa? ceXciX 'open it (window)! ('slide it up out along there!') L, with ?ikya? and yeX-progressive: ?ikya? yeX ?eXciX 'slide it back and forth!' L, ?ikya? ?aw yeX ?eciXinu, ?ikya? ?aw yeX ?eciXinu (repetitive) 'they're sliding it back and forth' L, ?ikya? ?aw yeX ceXciXinu 'they're keep- ing up sliding it back and forth' L; reflexive ?ed- = ?e-ceX-ciX 'S slides self, S skates, S sails (in boat)': 64.96 (customary, expanded ciX), ?ed- qu?x?eXceX 'I'll slide, sail' L, with yeX-progres- sive: yeX ?ed?eciX?ih 'he's sliding, skating

siyeqa?x ceX  
ca?k? /?pagan-?u  
?aw? /?pagan-?u  
slide along  
hand-?u? /?pagan-?u

around' LM, yeḡ ʔedx̄ləciḡ 'I'm skating around'  
M, yeḡ ʔeda·ləciḡ 'slide, skate around:' L,  
yeḡ da· ʔed̄ləciḡ, da· yeḡ ʔed̄ləciḡ 'we're  
sliding, skating around' L, da· yeḡ ʔed̄ləci·ḡḡ  
'we (cust) slide, skate around', repetitive: yeḡ  
ʔedx̄ləciḡg, yeḡ ʔedx̄ləceḡg 'I'm skating around'  
L ("sounds more like 'trying to skate, sliding  
around without skates'" M); passive, d-thematic op-  
tional with qid 'down': qid diḡləciḡ 'it's  
been slid down' L.

seḡləceḡ-seḡləciḡ (noun, unclassified) 'land-otter':  
32.17, 33. 21, 25, 33, 49, 53, 54A, 67, 6G, Rezanov  
Kazemḡḡ 'Buxpa Otter', Wrangell Karsenḡḡ  
'Fischotter', Galushia Nelson q̄t̄ləs̄t̄ or q̄-  
ləs̄t̄ 'land otter (or "to slide")' BSDL 286,  
539, 559, seḡləciḡ, seḡləceḡ 'land-otter' ("be-  
cause he slides") L, seḡləceḡluw 'big land-otter'  
LM, seḡləceḡyu· 'land-otters' 32.17A, seḡləceḡtah,  
seḡləciḡtah 'land-otter skin' 33.41, 41, 72, 72,  
74, 74, 84A, seḡləciḡḡa? yḡ? 'fireweed roots'  
( 'medicine against land-otter') L, seḡləciḡḡa?  
yḡ?it̄ah̄ 'fireweed' ('leaves of medicine against  
land-otter') L.

yeḡ ʔed̄is̄ciḡ (gerundive of yeḡ-progressive re-  
flexive causative) 'skating': yeḡ ʔed̄is̄ciḡ  
xuseḡga? 'I'm tired of skating around' ('skating

around has tired me') L.

?uya? ye? ?adisciŋ? (noun, above gerundive with  
?uya? 'in them (o with opening at top)') 'ice-  
skates' L.

ku'na?d? li? ce'ŋ (noun) 'meat that's left on fat  
of skinned seal' M, 'meat left on sealskin'  
("sounds like 'slides off our head'") L. Nominal-  
ized active imperfective with expanded stem, ku'-  
na?d? 'down over one's head', li? 'deeply, along  
back from head towards tail', cf. si'na?d? li?  
ce'ŋg.

cɨʔx

cɨʔx-g (noun, unclassified, with -g-repetitive thematic) 'ashes' IMA, 'soot' A, Rezanov Цѣмъмъ  
 'Зояа Аsche, Lauge', Kutuʔ cɨʔxg 'lots of ashes'  
 IM.

cɨʔxggaʔ ʔiʔteh (noun) 'flour, meal' ('it's like  
 ashes') IM, Rezanov Цѣмъмъкооере Пpонѣаъ,  
 Мѣка Mehl', cɨʔxggaʔ ʔiʔtehyuʔ 'quantities of  
 flour' 52.36L.

ie-cɨʔx-g 'S makes ashes': ʔaxaʔ siicɨʔxgʔ 'it  
 (stove) sure has made lots of ashes!' L.

caʔɨ (perhaps to be analyzed ca with -ɨ-instrumental, related to ca-cah and/or caʔ)

caʔɨ (noun, 4-class) 'knife' LMS, 26.9L, 28.58, 32.8, 14, 22A, Rezanov Иа<sup>x</sup>ъъ (with x inserted above) 'Ножикъ Messer', Puruhjelm Zall 'knife', Galushia Nelson tsatɨ 'man's knife' BSdL 547, caʔɨdekɨh 'small knife' M, 38.8, 14LM, 66.5L, caʔɨdegutɨg 'tiny knife' L, caʔɨdeyequhyu·deɨʔ 'lots of little knives' L, caʔɨdeɨʔ 'many knives' L, caʔdaʔluw 'big knife' LM, caʔɨdeʔeʔd yɨɨɨɨɨɨ 'she has knife-marks on her' M, caʔɨdeɨʔaʔ '(cutting-)edge of knife' L, deʔowdeɨʔaʔ caʔɨ ʔuʔdi-sicahɨ 'I bought the same kind of knife' L, caʔɨ ʔuʔd deseʔahɨ (or -tahɨ, but -ʔahɨ probably preferred) 'a knife is there' L, caʔɨ siɨ di·ʔaʔ (or -taʔ, but -ʔaʔ probably preferred) 'give me a knife!' L, kɨ·delehcaʔɨ 'knife made of animal horn' L, ʔɨɨɨɨɨɨ yəɨ ʔuʔɨa·deta·ɨ caʔɨ 'pocketknife' ('knife which folds together') L, Rezanov Хотлядетахцаатъ 'Ножикъ складной Taschenmesser'.

ca'ʔɿ (perhaps to be analyzed ca'ʔ with -ɿ-instrumental)

ca'ʔɿ (noun, unclassified) 'food-box, large wooden food-storage box, chest; kerosene or coal-oil can, jerrican' LMA, 7.28, 36, 9.145, 146, 147, 11.16, 36, 37, 37, 29.6, 7A, Rezanov Царьсь 'Бочка Тonne', Galushia Nelson tsa'tɿ 'box', tsa'tɿ 'water-tight box or basket' BSdL 259, 546, 558, laʔdih ca'ʔɿ 'two food-boxes' L. BSdL 78-80 contains a description and illustration of ca'ʔɿ.



mark for S: *Šdu·liha laʔq̄ daciɜg* 'table is thin (of thin wood)' L, *laʔq̄ di·ciɜg* 'it (board) is thin (perhaps wide, but not thick)' M; with *lɣ*-class-mark, partly thematized: *lɣe-ciɜg* 'fine (grain)' M, 'real soft cloth' L (both nominalized). A number of forms occur in Resanov which may be read either as *laʔq̄ -ciɜ-g* or *lɣ-ciɜ-g*: *Кунтлетьякшарке 'JentH seidenes Band, seidene Bänder' kušɣiʔt̄ laʔq̄ ciɜg(kih)* or *lɣeciɜg(kih)* 'thin (little) garters', *Нехтялякшарке 'Шоковой матерки seidenes Tuch' niha· laʔq̄ ciɜg* or *lɣeciɜg* 'kerchief is thin', *Лякшарке кащакъ Китайка chinesisches Seidenzeug, chinesisches Baumwollenzug'*, *Лякшарке ащекъ 'Фанза Crepp' (both listed under Seide, Leinwand, Strumpfe')* *laʔq̄ ciɜg* (or *yiciɜg*, *ʔi·ciɜg*) *seɟeɟ* (or *ɟeɟeɟ*), or *lɣeciɜg seɟeɟ* (or *ɟeɟeɟ*) 'piece of thin cloth', *Лякшарке калякшарке (first and last two letters partly illegible, reading uncertain) 'Шоковая матерка Seiden-Zeug' lɣeciɜg* (or *laʔq̄ ciɜg*, *laʔq̄ yiciɜg*) *ku·laʔq̄eɟaʔ* (or *qa·laʔq̄eɟaʔ*) 'thin clothing'.

*laʔq̄ ciɜg* (noun, unclassified) 'flounder' LS, '(flat) flask' L, *laʔq̄ yiciɜg*, *laʔq̄ ʔi·ciɜg* 'flounder' M, Resanov *Лякшарке 'Камбула, рыба*

Butte'. Nominalized active and neuter imperfectives, 'it's thin'.

ya-ʔʃ kədəciɜg (noun) 'ten-pound lard-can' ('narrow at bottom') L. Nominalized active imperfective, 'something (of d-class?) narrows toward bottom'.

ɛə-ciɜ-g 'S is thin' (-g-repetitive thematized, attested only in inceptive perfective, with laʔq, meaning not clearly distinguished from that of laʔq -ciɜ-g in active and neuter imperfective):  
kuʂxi-ʔ laʔq sələciɜgɛ 'cloth is thin' L, with d-class-mark for S; laʔq dəseləciɜgɛ ciɜ 'thin boards' 65.12A.

cɨ̌·ʒ¹

cɨ̌·ʒ (noun, unclassified) 'dream': Rezanov Һъмъ  
 'Комъ Traum', Galushia Nelson sti<sup>D</sup>·ts 'dream'  
 BSdL 552, Һъзу· cɨ̌·ʒ 'a nice dream' L, cɨ̌·ʒ  
 ʔix̩aʔ siŋ ʔaʔxe· 'tell me your dream!' L.

ʔi-cɨ̌·ʒ 'S dreams' (with indeterminate O thematized): 19.32L, 32.35A, ʔix̩cɨ̌·ʒ 'I'm dreaming'  
 LM, ʔa·daʔ sah̩ ʔix̩cɨ̌·ʒ 'I dreamt you came here' L, ʔisecɨ̌·ʒt̩ 'did you dream?' L, Һъзу·dah ʔisicɨ̌·ʒt̩ 'I had a pleasant dream, I had a dream of good portent' L, Һъзу·dah Һaʔ ʔi·licɨ̌·ʒ 'have a pleasant dream' L, Һъзу·dah Һaʔ ʔi·licɨ̌·ʒK '(cust) have pleasant dreams' L, ʔi·cɨ̌·ʒK̩ 'do you (cust) dream?' L, xu·dik̩ ʔix̩cɨ̌·ʒK̩ 'I (cust) never dream' L, with ʔeʃ-progressive: ʔa·weyu· ʔeʃ ʔix̩decɨ̌·ʒK̩ 'I (cust) have scary dreams, nightmares' L; causative O-i-cɨ̌·ʒ 'S makes O dream': xuseɨ̌cɨ̌·ʒt̩h 'he made me dream' L.

O-ʔ-l̩-ɨe-cɨ̌·ʒ 'S dreams about O': 19.11L, ʔiʔ=lex̩ex̩ecɨ̌·ʒ 'I'm dreaming about you' L, ʔiʔqeʔ=lex̩ex̩ecɨ̌·ʒ 'I'll dream about you' L, xu· Һaʔ xuʔlex̩a·ɨicɨ̌·ʒ 'dream about me' L, Һuʔlex̩ex̩e-cɨ̌·ʒ 'I'm dreaming about someone' L, du·d xuʔ=lex̩ex̩ecɨ̌·ʒ 'who'se dreaming about me?' L, du·d ʔuʔlex̩ex̩ecɨ̌·ʒ 'whom are you dreaming about?' L,

reciprocal: ?iku? ?u?lexeteci?ginu? 'they're  
dreaming about each other' L; passive: xu?lexe=  
adici?3iga? ?ed<sup>\*</sup>xgewih 'I feel like someone I've been  
dreamt about me' L.

ʒɿ·ʒ²-ʒɿ·ʒ²-ʒɿ·ʒ²

cɿ·ʒ² (authenticity very doubtful, cf. cɿʒʒ, cɿʒʒ, cɿ·ʒʒ)

d-ʒe-cɿ·ʒ 'S makes high-pitched squeaking sound' (with d-thematic 'noise'): dɿcɿ·ʒ 'it (e.g. eagle) is screeching, it is squeaking, he's making a nasal wheezing sound in his sleep' M (L rejects, except perhaps for 'nasal wheezing sound in sleep', perhaps only in deference to cɿ·ʒ¹).

cis

O-cis 'S copulates with O' (term very objectionable to L and M); Rezanov Коупца 'Совокупляться begatten, sich' Macis 'it is copulating with something, something is copulating with it' (not polite) LM, ?ixicis 'I'm copulating with you' (neuter imperfective) S, kila-? cisjh 'she's copulating with a man' S; passive: decisjh 'he, she's being copulated with, is having sexual intercourse' S.

cahg<sup>1</sup>

cahg(-i) (noun, unclassified, with -i-instrumental M, no -i-instrumental L) 'legend, myth': Galushia Nelson tsa'q 'story' BSdL 551, cahg 'legend' L, cahgezu' 'good legend' L, cahgi 'legend' M, Kuzu' cahgi 'good legend' M. See Eyak Texts, Introduction, for discussion.

O-cahg 'S tells legend about O': ci-lehšiyah qa?-cahgih 'he'll tell a legend about Raven' L, with o-x' 'with o': ci-lehšiyah ?iX qu?xcahg 'I'll tell you a legend about Raven' L, repetitive: iic' ci-lehšiyah cahggih 'he always keeps telling Raven-myths' L; detransitivized, with indeterminate O: ?iX ?iqe?xdecahg 'I'll tell you a legend' M, ?ixdicahgi 'I told a legend' LM, ?i-decahg 'tell a legend!' LM, ?ideca'gkjh 'he (cust) tells legends' L.

cahg<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be analyzed cah with -g-repetitive)

0-i-cahg (attested only from A, who does not explain the meaning clearly. L uncertain): sih-cahg<sup>2</sup> 'I made (cut?) it (a thing with several fibers together, e.g. closed flower, multi-strand cord, tassel, with separate fibers clinging together and evenly cut)' A, qu<sup>2</sup>xihcahg 'I'll make (cut?) it (tassel)' A; passive: shihcahg<sup>2</sup> 'it (e.g. tassel) has been made (cut?)' A.

hicahg<sup>2</sup> (noun) 'plant species, yellow flower, grows in wet places' A. Nominalized passive neuter perfective.

se-cahg (noun) 'starfish' LA ("because it has lots of little lumps on it" A). se- not identified.

cug (expanded ce'g or cu'g)

cug (noun, attested only in Rezanov) 'swelling':

Rezanov Ицккк 'Берегъ Geschwulst (Purunkel)',

de-cug 'S swells': Rezanov Стмуккк 'Пачукас  
geschwollen' sdicugĭ 'it has swollen, it's  
swollen' LM, 'it (bread) has risen' M (L rejects  
this use), qu'decug 'it'll swell' L, decu'gĭ  
'it (cust) swells' L, with qa' 'up out': qa'  
sdcugĭ 'a bump, "gooseegg" has formed' A (L  
prefers ĭu'č' for this), with anatomical-marks:  
ʔĭ'xsdicugĭ 'my face is swollen' L, qi'dixsdi-  
cugĭ 'my feet are swollen' L, qi'dexdece'gĭ  
'my feet (cust) swell' L. Transitive (causative):  
ʔĭĭgiyĭĭĭh ʔe'ah xuqi'deseĭcugĭ 'it's a witch  
that made my feet swell' L; passive: xuqi'disiĭ-  
cugĭ, ʔĭĭgiyĭĭĭhʔe'ed leĭ salĭĭ 'my feet  
have been made to swell, this is the work of a  
witch' L.

cu·x

O-cu·x 'S thrusts O, shoves O (into something)':

attested with a variety of preverbs and postpositional phrases: 34.83, 85, 93L, 47b.39, 39M, yq·ʔeʔ qeʔ sicu·xɪ 'I pushed it down again, some more' M, yq·ʔ qeʔ quʔxou·x 'I'll push it back down' M, yq·ʔeʔ ʔecu·x 'push it (e.g. stick) down (in e.g. ground)!' L, taʔ sicu·xɪ 'I dipped it in the water' L, ʔuleʔede·ʔ ʔew secu·xɪh 'stick it in his eye!' L, yad secu·x 'push it (boat) out!, launch it!' L, ʔikqaʔy yeʔ secu·x 'shuffle them (cards)!' ('thrust them down between each other', indirect reciprocal) A, ʔewqaʔeʔ sexcu·xɪ 'I'm pushing it between them' L, Rezanov Итсекаку 'Накпәтәbedecken' ʔilyeʔ ʔecu·x 'stack them up!' ('thrust them one below the other!', indirect reciprocal) L, ʔewluʔ sicu·xɪ 'I poked it through it' M, ʔew dekɪh ʔew diʔaʔgqaʔ liʔ secu·x 'poke this stick into the book' ('deeply between the papers') L; with class-marks for O: d-class: 23.18, 27b.18, 28.13A, ti·l-class: 48.5, 10L, g-class, partly thematized: ʔahɪleʔede·ʔy gu·cu·x 'thread a needle!' (O is kuʔeʔ, g-class) M, gu·cu·x 'thread a needle!' L, quʔgu·xou·x 'I'll thread a needle' L, gasicu·xɪ 'I threaded a needle' L, kudeʔ guxcu·xe 'I can't thread a needle' L, da· gu·licu·x 'let's thread a needle' L, l-class:

33.14, 36, 45A, ca?dayeq ?ew ?i?secu·xì 'he  
 shoved it (paddle) into the mud' L, dl-class;  
 λa·8a?è λa·sìcu·xì 'I put in a fence' L, see  
 also O-dl-cu·x; with anatomical marks: ?uya?y  
 ye? ?iqe?li xcu·x 'I'll shove your head down  
 into it (e.g. bucket)' L; reflexive, with ana-  
 tomical marks: yq·?è ?edgedexdecu·x 'I'm doing  
 deep knee-bends' ('I'm thrusting my rump down') L,  
 yq·?è ?edgedelècu·xgìh 'he's doing knee-bands,  
 he keeps squatting' A (repetitive, è-classifier  
 from influence of form which A was trying to iden-  
 tify, from M, yq·?è ?edgedelècu·3gìh 'he's mo-  
 ving his rump up and down', which neither L nor A  
 accept, as also sìx ?edgedelècu·3gìh 'he's but-  
 ting me with his rump' M, which should probably  
 be sìx ?edgededècu·xgìh), with qì·d- 'foot':  
 51.78, 79A, ?edqì·dìxèdicu·xì 'I moved my foot'  
 M, ?u·dax ca? ?edqì·daxèdecu·xì 'he's walking  
 very slowly, plodding, dawdling along there' ('he's  
 thrusting his feet downhill along there') L; pas-  
 sive: ?ewlu? sèdicu·xì 'it has been poked through  
 it' L, with xì-class-mark for O: ye? xèdisdi-  
 cu·xì 'they (candles) have been thrust down (into  
 their sockets) L, with l-anatomical: ts?y ye?  
 xulìdicu·xì 'my head got ducked down into the  
 water' L.

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 p. 3

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ʔp·ʔc ʔaddecu·xginu· 'they keep crouching low  
(in water)' (repetitive, see cu·ʔ),

O-d-cu·x 'S thrusts O, shoves O (into something)'  
(with d-thematic, meaning not clearly distinguished from that of O-cu·x): 47c.48L, 49.34, 34A (not d-class O), ya? qe? desecu·x 'set it up straight again!' L.

O-dl-cu·x 'S bastes (in sewing)' (probably with dl-class-mark for O žahək 'needle' thematized):  
λa·sexcu·xē 'I'm basting with a running stitch' L,  
λa·sīcu·xē 'I basted' L.

lɔxədəcu·x (noun) 'musket (old gun)' L. Probably nominalized passive active imperfective, 'lɔ-class O (shot, pellets) are thrust (into it)'.

O-ž-cu·x 'S moves O by thrusting with e.g. stick':  
ʔeḵcu·x 'pole it (boat)!' L, ʔew ʔexekih ʔu·č  
quʔxīcu·x 'I'll pole the canoe there' L, ʔič  
quʔxīcu·x 'I'll push it to you (with e.g. a stick)' L.

cɨhɛ

O-cɨhɛ 'S handles, grabs, carries (quantity of) O by hand, in handful': ?ecɨhɛ 'grab a bunch of them!, grab a mass of it!' L, ?ewya?d qə·ɕ ?ecɨhɛ 'clean it all up out of it (o with opening at top) with your hands!' L, ʒi·da? ?ew sə-cɨhɛtɨh 'he carried it (e.g. dirt) over there in his hands' L; with class-marks for O: leɣa·cɨhɛ 'grab a bunch, handful of them (berries)!' L, ?u·ɕ leɣi·cɨhɛ 'carry them (berries) thither in your hands!' L, siɕ di·cɨhɛ 'bring me a bunch, handful of them (eggs) in your hands!' L.

O-ɨ-cɨhɛ 'S carries (quantity of) O in hands a long distance' (uncertain, attested only once, with lɣ-class-mark for O): qu?leɣi·xɨcɨhɛ 'I'll carry them (berries) a long distance in my hands' L.

cɨhɛtɨh-? nən's hən L (also cɨ·G-, sɨhɛ- ,  
A cɨhɛ- )

cɨʔe (perhaps to be analyzed cɨʔ with -e-negative  
thematized)

- d-cɨʔe 'S is naked' (attested only in neuter im-  
perfective, third person): di·cɨʔe 'he's naked'  
IM, usually nominalized: diʔ di·cɨʔe ʔaʔhe·cɨh  
'he's not naked' L, used adverbially: di·cɨʔe  
yeʔ ʔəʎa·daʔya·ʔ 'he's running around naked' L.
- O-ɨ-cɨʔe 'S undresses O, strips O naked': eɨ=  
cɨʔeɨh 'undress him!' L; reflexive: ʔɨxɨicɨʔeɨ  
'I'm naked' ('I've undressed myself') L, ʔedɨi=  
cɨʔeɨh 'he took his clothes off' M, ʔedquʔxɨe=  
cɨʔe 'I'll take all my clothes off' L.

## ceʔq

-ceʔq (noun) 'urine': Kuceʔq 'urine' (of any species, not considered for washing, cf. kus) LM, xawa-ceʔq 'dog-urine' LS, Rezanov Xao = цехноете (Xaoceh- written above crossed-out Кослителюк-, see Kaʔ) 'gelb', Galushia Nelson xdwā tsē-t 'urine, yellow

('dog urine') BSDL 542, 553, xawa-ceʔqgaʔ *see also 23.67A*  
 ʔi-tēh 'it's yellow' ('it's like dog-urine') L.

ceʔq (noun, unclassified) 'urination': Rezanov Цеххуселькатль 'Mochu (written over Mochitska) harnen' ce q xu' siigaʔt 'I need to urinate' M.

-ceʔq 'S urinates': hiʔ ceʔq 'it (baby) is wet (urinates) all the time' L, quʔxceʔq 'I'll urinate' L, qaʔceʔq 'it'll urinate' L, laʔxcʔt seceʔqʔt 'a meteor fell' ('a star urinated', later rejected, see cəq) L; indirect reflexive, with o-yəx 'under o': yəxəʔəpəh qəw dəce-ʔkʔih 'he apparently (cust) wets his bed' 50.10A, yəx ʔidece-ʔkʔ 'he (cust) wets his bed' 50.11A.

## сөз

-сөз 'S is cut' (not freely used, attested only once, active perfective): сәсөз 'it's cut, it has a hole in it' L.

O-1-сөз 'S cuts O' (perhaps causative of preceding): 25.23, 24, 25A, 34.9L, 38.15, 17LM, 49.43, 44, 52, 53, 53, 54, 55, 58, 59, 67, 65.39A, Резанов Альцахъ 'Пилл сдген (Imperat.)' ?әксөз 'cut it!' L, Резанов Альцахъ 'Пилл сдген' ?әксөз(±), Альцахъ 'Рзаатъ schneiden', хомольцахъ 'Портной Schneider' ху? күксөзih 'he cuts things to (finished) form', сиксөз 'I cut into it' L, су-зй-га?з ?әксөз 'cut it at the joint!' L, түһга?да-з ?әу сәксөзih 'he cut it in three (pieces, places)' L, with o-d 'from o': ?ud күсәксөз 'cut something (a piece) off it!' L, ?ild сәксөз 'cut them apart!' (indirect reciprocal) L, with o-kah 'away from o': 49.93, 95A (indirect reciprocals), with o-qekah 'off from on o': 65.28, 29, 30A, with o-qečahd qa? 'up out from on o': 12.15G, with ?ika?d 'in layers, strips' (indirect reciprocal): 37b.77, 65.47A, with yež 'apart, in two', or 'downward': 65.31, 39A, yež сәксөз 'cut it in two!' L; repetitive: түһга?да-д ?әксөзг 'cut it in three (places, pieces)!' L; with class-marks for O: qı-lisikсөз 'I cut it (rope)' M,

yeṣ qí·laseṣiceṣ 'cut it (rope) (through)!' L,  
 le·ṣ 'iṣa? yeṣ qu?gu·xiceṣ 'I'll cut your  
 hair' L; with anatomical marks: xuyeseṣiceṣiḥ  
 'he cut my hand' L, 'iqe?li·xiceṣ 'I'll cut  
 your hair' L; with 'i·li·ṣ and vocalized clas-  
 sifier: 'i·li·ṣ xuqu?yeṣiceṣiḥ 'he tried to  
 cut my hand' L; reflexive, with anatomical marks:  
 'edi·xiceṣ·ṣK 'I (cust) cut my hair' L, 'edla·  
 ṣiceṣ 'cut your hair!' L, 'edyixṣiceṣiḥ 'I cut  
 my hand' L; passive: 65.3, 4, 4, 9, 9, 10A, 'iṣ-  
 qeḥah seṣiceṣṣahd 'after it's been cut apart (in  
 layers)' (indirect reciprocal, inceptive condi-  
 tional) 65.11A, 'u·na?qeḥ Kusiceṣiḥ 'its (dog's)  
 nose has been cut' ('something has been cut back  
 along its head'; procedure makes good hunting-dog  
 of poor one) L, ṣiceṣiḥ, seṣiceṣiḥ 'it's been  
 cut' L, qu?deceṣ (not -ṣe-) 'it'll get cut' L.  
 O-(d-)ṣ-ceṣ 'S cuts O' (with d-thematic, optional,  
 usually with preverbs ya? and qid, presence of  
 d- having no clear effect on meaning); d-thematic  
 present with neither ya? nor qid, nor d-class  
 O, perhaps analogical: ~~de?e·ṣṣe·ṣewa·, 'u·diḥah~~  
~~de·dece·ṣK 'ito seat-ṣeḥe, they are (cust) cut~~  
~~away from there' 65.4A, ya?d qa? diṣiceṣiḥ 'I~~  
 cut a hole in it, I cut a piece out of it' L; with  
 ya? 'completely': O-ṣ-ceṣ: 65.36A, ya? 'eḥiceṣ,

ya? səiceɣ 'cut it up!, slice it!' L, ya? səiceɣɪ 'I'm slicing it up' L, ya? qu?xɪceɣ 'I'll slice it, I'll cut it to pieces' L, repetitive: ya·ciɣ da·ɣ ya? xiceɣg 'I'm slicing it up thin (babiche)' LM, 0-d-i-ceɣ: 10.38, 38, 25.167A, 38.11, 15fn, 17fnM, Rezanov Кестельцарь 'Распороть auftrennen' qe? ya? d...iceɣ 'S cuts up O some more' (?), Кестельцарь-у 'Распорки auftrennen (Imperat.)' qe? ya? di·iceɣuh 'cut it up some more!'; with qid 'down off': 0-i-ceɣ: 5.5L<sup>42/45A</sup>, Rezanov Уваркельцарь 'Pflanz schneiden (Imperat.)' ?uɕahd qid (?) səiceɣ 'cut it down off it!', ?uɕahd qid kuseiceɣ, ?uɕahd qid ku·iceɣ 'cut something off it!' L, qid siiceɣɪ 'I cut it off (of something)' L, with l-class-mark for 0 (no d-): 11.168A, with d-class-mark for 0 (and/or d-thematic): 5.3, 26.2L, 29.3, 65.39A, 0-d-i-ceɣ (with d-thematic, 0 not d-class): 11.164, 65.74, 76A, qid deiceɣ 'cut it off!' L, Passive: with neither ya? nor qid, d-thematic perhaps analogical, 0 not d-class: de?e·ɣg ?əwa·, ?u·dikah da·dece·ɣk 'its meat-slabs, they are (cust) cut away from there' 65.4A; with ya?: 11.196, 196, 196A (no d-thematic), with qid: 65.9, 9A (d-class 0 in both).

O-gdl-i-ceḡ 'S cuts O's throat, S beheads O'  
(usually with qid 'down off'; in careful  
usage the meaning without qid is probably  
'S cuts O's throat , with qid 'S beheads O'):  
21a.35, 53.10L, qid xugəla·seḡceḡiḡh 'he  
cut my throat, he cut my head off' L, ?iqe?  
gəli·xi·ceḡ, qid ?iqe?gəli·xi·ceḡ 'I'll cut  
your throat, I'll cut your head off' L, qid  
gəla·siḡceḡiḡh 'I cut his head off' L.

O-x-i-ceḡ 'S cuts up O to bits' (with ya·x  
'destruction', requiring x-thematic): ya·x  
qu?xi·xi·ceḡ 'I'll cut it all up' L.

O-?dl-i-ceḡ 'S cuts O open': 10.29, 30, 31, 31,  
25.11, 12, 28.84A, 38.9LM, 65.28, 38, 39A,  
?u?gəla·seḡceḡiḡ 'she cut them (pl.) open' 25.-  
40A, with ku·l-anatomical 'belly': ?ew ?u?  
ku·la·seḡceḡ L, ?u?kɸ·la·seḡceḡ 'cut its  
belly open!' M, xu?ku·la·seḡceḡiḡh L, xu?  
kɸ·la·seḡceḡiḡh 'he cut my belly open' M,  
?iqe?ku·li·xi·ceḡ L, ?iqe?kɸ·di·xi·ceḡ 'I'll  
cut your belly open' M, ?u?gəkɸ·la·seḡceḡinu·  
'cut their bellies open!' M, ?u?ku·la·siḡceḡiḡ  
'I cut its belly open' L; passive: 65.37A,  
?u?la·siḡceḡiḡ 'it's been cut open' 11.190,  
191, 191A, with ku·l-anatomical: ?u?kɸ·la·  
siḡceḡiḡ 'its belly's been cut open' L.

ʔuɣ kuceɣɪ (noun, unclassified) 'scissors' L,  
Resanov Axkoɣaxɪ 'Emɪa Sɪge', kuʔluw ʔuɣ  
kuceɣɪ 'big scissors' L. Deverbalized passive  
of o-ɣ O-i-ceɣ 'S cuts O by means of o',  
with -i-instrumental.

caʔik

ɛl-(da-)caʔik 'S pecks (?) at ground' (meaning un-  
 certain, ɛl-thematic 'ground'): ɛp·caʔik, ɛɛl=  
 dɛcaʔik 'it (sparrow) is pecking' L.

ɛp·caʔik (noun, unclassified) 'sparrow' LMAS, 10.-  
 110A, 34.9fnL. Nominalization of preceding.

*ɛp·caʔik, b·caʔik*

l-thematic, and i-classifier, inexplicable, perhaps to be analyzed instead ca? 'deep, downhill', with unidentified Keleè, perhaps stem, or perhaps to be analyzed Ku-lii with Ku-indefinite and unidentified stem lii.

caʔk (loan from Tlingit cáx 'mittens')

caʔk (noun, ti·l-class) 'mittens, gloves' LMA, 56.2, 6L, Galushia Nelson tsa·q 'mitten' BSDL 550, caʔk sič ti·li·ʔaʔ, caʔk sič ti·li·taʔ (former later rejected) 'give me a glove!' L, caʔk ʔu·d tɨ·setah̄ (not -ʔah̄) 'a glove is there' L, čid īh̄s ti·na· caʔk, xa·ʔ ʔew-ti·leq̄s 'there's just one mitten, where's its mate?' L, k̄uti·leq̄s caʔk 'one mitten of a pair' L, īh̄enu·leyaʔ caʔk 'one pair of mittens' L, laʔdnu·leyaʔ caʔk 'two pairs of mittens' L, caʔk̄ti·ʔnuw 'big gloves' M, qa·yeqaʔɨ caʔk caʔk '(finger-)gloves' ('mitts which slip between our fingers, through our hand-interstices') L, ʔuye-qaʔɨ caʔk 'his (finger-)gloves' ('mittens through his hand-interstices') L, qi·yeʔīsq̄aʔ k̄u·ieh caʔk '(finger-)gloves' ('gloves whose foot-digit-interstices exist') L, ʔew caʔk̄yeʔīsq̄aʔd '(at rest) between the fingers of the glove' L.

caʔk̄na· personal name, Jenny Charles (same as Tlingit cáx xa, 'glove mother') LS.

caʔk̄eleima· personal name of Eyak woman L (not same as preceding; '... mother', but here L does not identify first elements as containing caʔk 'glove', -alēt̄, resembling l-class-mark or

## ceqs

- y-i-ceqs-g-i (noun, unclassified, with y-anatomical 'hand', i-classifier, -g-repetitive thematized, -i-instrumental) 'fingers': yei-ceqsg<sup>i</sup>'a-w 'long-fingers' (epithet for octopus) 20.11A, Rezanov Kae<sup>h</sup>uaxce 'Палец Finger' qa'yeiceqsg..., Furu<sup>h</sup>jelm Khaiatzkhu 'fingers' qa'ye[i]c[e]q[s]g[i] 'our fingers, human fingers', Furu<sup>h</sup>jelm Iakhatztakhe 'toes' (badly garbled form), Galushia Nelson qai: 'finger' qa'ye[i]ceqsg<sup>i</sup>, k:iy:titse'qskti 'finger' BSdL 542 k<sup>h</sup>eyiceqsg<sup>i</sup> 'someone's fingers', k<sup>h</sup>uyiceqsg<sup>i</sup> ku'a-w 'long fingers' M, siyiceqsg<sup>i</sup> 'my fingers' LMA, siyiceqsg<sup>i</sup>qa'd 'between my fingers' L.
- qi'y-i-ceqs-g-i (noun, as above, with qi'y-anatomical 'toes', attested only in BSdL): Galushia Nelson e<sup>h</sup>d<sup>h</sup>q<sup>h</sup>i<sup>h</sup>y<sup>h</sup>it<sup>h</sup>tsa<sup>h</sup>q<sup>h</sup>skti or q<sup>h</sup>d<sup>h</sup>q<sup>h</sup>i<sup>h</sup>y<sup>h</sup>it<sup>h</sup>tsa<sup>h</sup>q<sup>h</sup>skti 'toes' BSdL 542 kuqi'yeiceqsg<sup>i</sup>.
- O-i-ceqs-g 'S cuts O into fringes, S makes O (fringes)' (attested only with ya? 'completely', -g-repetitive probably thematic): ya? siiceqsg<sup>i</sup> 'I made fringes' L; passive: ya? siiceqsg<sup>i</sup> 'it's been cut into fringes' L.

ceik-ciik (latter less frequent; widely diffused form of unknown origin, widespread in Northern and perhaps Pacific Coast Athapaskan, Tlingit ciig, Haida too'lgf, and perhaps further)

ceik-ciik (noun, unclassified) 'squirrel': ciik L, ceik 'ground squirrel' LMA (same squirrel as deldu-deh LA, "sounds like an Ahtena word" L, perhaps being replaced by deldu-deh, a more recent loan), Rezanov Цазьке 'Еврапка Zieselmaus (Spermophilus citillus)', Galushia Nelson tsetik 'ground-squirrel' BSdL 538, Rezanov Тумькехазьке 'Парка Winterkleidung (Parka) von Spermophilus-Fellen' ceikqela-k 'squirrel (-skin)-shirt' L, ceiketa-?, ceiketa-? name of Eyak man, same as deldu-dehta-? ('squirrel's father') L.

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caʔk (loan from Tlingit cáx 'mitten')

caʔk (noun, ti·l-class) 'mitten' LMS, 56.2, 6L,  
 Galushia Nelson tsa·q 'mitten' ESDL 550, caʔk-  
 ti·ʔnuw 'big mittens' M, caʔk siɕ ti·li·taʔ  
 (or -ʔaʔ, former preferred) 'give me a mitten!'  
 L, caʔk ʔu·d tʃ·setahɬ (not -ʔahɬ) 'a mitt  
 is there' L, ɕid iʃhɬ ti·na· caʔk, ka·ʔ ʔaw-  
 ti·leqas '(there's) just one mitt, where's its  
 mate?' L, kʊti·leqas caʔk 'one mitt (of a pair)'  
 L, iʃhnu·loyaʔ caʔk 'one pair of mitts' L,  
 laʔdnu·loyaʔ caʔk 'two pairs of mitts' L, caʔk-  
 ekih 'little mittens' M (either declassified or  
 incorrect in lacking ti·l-class-mark), ʔuyəqaʔ  
 caʔk 'gloves' ('between-its fingers-mittens') L,  
 qa·yaqaʔ caʔk caʔk 'gloves' ('mittens which  
 slide between our fingers') L, qi·yəxišqaʔ kʊ·  
 leh caʔk 'gloves' ('mitts which have finger-in-  
 terstices') L, ʔew caʔkyəxišqaʔd 'between the  
 fingers of the glove' L; caʔkma· name of Jenny  
 Charles (same as caʔkka· < Tlingit cáx ka,  
 'glove-mother') LMS; caʔkələkma· woman's name  
 (not same as caʔkma·) L (perhaps caʔk-ələk--  
 ma·, not so analyzed by L, perhaps caʔk-ələk--  
 ma·).



'eight (people)' 49.64A; q'edici·daʔɣ 'eight  
times' 11.88A; q'edici·daʔɣ dɔca·q 'eighty'  
( 'eight times ten' ) L, Furuhjelm Khatatzi Ta=  
khakh: 'thirty' q'edici·[daʔɣ] dɔca·q; dɔca·q b'and  
q'edici· 'eighty' A.

de?

gunuxde? (noun, unclassified) 'waterproof material for rainwear made of dried bear-intestines' LMA, eñuqtsá' or eñuqtsá' 'dried intestines' BSGL 548, gunuxde?luw 'big beargut rainwear' LM, gunuxde?ga? ?i'teh 'cellophane' ('it's like gunuxde?') L. gunux- is probably a loan from Chugach Eskimo, but -de? certainly is not; -de? does not, however, occur in other forms.

de·? (status as stem uncertain, see below)

Kudesede·? (noun, unclassified) 'crack or gap between logs or planks of house; smokehole' LMA, Kudesede·?luw 'big crack, big smokehole' LM, Kudesede·?e·?d saidu? 'chink the crack!' M, Kudesede·?e·?x ?uđ λa·xextuhinu· 'I'm looking at them through a crack in the wall' M. To be analyzed either Ku-des-de·? 'de·? above something' (o=des 'above o', with Ku-indefinite o), or, <sup>... probably,</sup> Ku=des-ed-?e? 'place (empty) of something which has been twisted' (no longer recognized as such, as shown by the use of Kudesede·? itself as o of o-?e? 'place of (absent) o').

čaʔ (cf. Tlingit ší 'glacial mud' (Boas), sít 'clay'  
(Naish-story))

čaʔ (noun, d-class) 'clay, mud, silt (alluvial mud  
in mud-flats)' LMA, 27b.18, 21A, Rezanov 𐌆𐌆  
'ᑦᑦᑦᑦ Koth', 𐌆-𐌆 'Kəŋ Leim' perhaps also to  
be read čaʔ, Galushia Nelson tʃəʔ or tʃəʔ  
'mud (or gray)' BSdL 537, čaʔdaʔluw 'large ex-  
panse of mud-flats' LM, čaʔ ʔuʔd dəseʔah̄ 'a  
hunk of mud is there' L, čaʔdəyeq ʔew ʔiʔse-  
cuʔx̄ 'he pushed it (paddle) into the mud' L,  
čaʔdeluʔqaʔ daʔ ʔiʔaʔč 'let's go get some  
mud' L, čaʔdəxaʔ daʔ ʔiʔaʔč 'let's go after  
mud' L, čaʔ yih̄eh 'it's muddy' L (see further  
instances under ɬeʔ)), čaʔ quʔliʔk̄x̄ah̄ 'you'll  
get it muddy' M, čaʔgaʔ ʔiʔčeh̄ 'it's gray'  
( 'it's like alluvial mud (in color)' ) M.

čaʔdiʔq̄əyaʔd (noun) place-name 'Marten River' LA  
(nominalized o-yaʔ 'in o (with broad opening at  
top, e.g. body of water)', with čaʔ-d-ʔeʔ-d̄ as  
o, 'on place of alluvial mud').

-čaʔ--ča (latter form probably analogical, attested  
only once) 'S is, becomes muddy': with qaʔ 'up  
out': Rezanov Kacm̄ar̄aʔ ʔᑦᑦᑦᑦ koth̄ig, schmutz-  
ig' qaʔ sədaʔiʔ 'it got muddy' L, qaʔ ʔiʔčaʔiʔ  
'it's gotten all muddy (with alluvial mud)' (neuter  
perfective) L, qaʔč̄ sədaʔiʔ 'it's getting muddy'  
L (implying -ča). Transitive (causative): ʔēičaʔ

'spread mud on it:' M, qu<sup>?</sup>xīcā<sup>?</sup> 'I'll spread mud  
on it' L; passive: sdičā<sup>?</sup> 'it (pipe) has been  
plugged, it (window) has been glazed (with putty--  
like material to stop leak)' L.

el-de-čā<sup>?</sup> (with el-thematic 'ground') 'S (ground)  
is, becomes muddy': s<sup>?</sup>adičā<sup>?</sup> 'it (floor, ground)  
is, got muddy' L, with <sup>?</sup>edi<sup>?</sup> 'indoors' and ye<sup>?</sup>--  
progressive: <sup>?</sup>edi<sup>?</sup> ye<sup>?</sup> selesedečā<sup>?</sup> 'floor (in-  
doors) is getting muddy (here and there)' L, <sup>?</sup>edi<sup>?</sup>  
ye<sup>?</sup> s<sup>?</sup>dičā<sup>?</sup> 'floor (indoors) is muddy (here and  
there)' (neuter perfective) L.

ca'?

ca'? (noun, d-class) 'umbilical cord (the part of the cord remaining after cutting)' L, Galushia Nelson tsa' 'umbilical cord' BSDL 542, di'wex ca' ?uxa? ?ux di'ah 'its (seal pup's) umbilical cord is still attached' ('its umbilical cord still extend from (in contact at one point with) it') L. Not a possessible anatomical noun.

dɔ' (perhaps related to dɔ's and/or to dɔ's)

ke-dɔ' 'S is strong, powerful, tough': neuter imperfective: 57.10, 23, 63.26G, xɪdɔh 'I'm strong' LM, 'I was strong' L, diK ʔaʔxɪdɔhɔ (or -dɔ's) 'I'm not strong' LM, dɛʔ xɪdɔh 'I'm strong again' M, kɪdɔh 'you're strong' LM, diK ʔaʔkɪdɔhɔ (or -dɔ's) 'you're not strong' LM, kɪdɪhɪh 'he's strong' LM, diK ʔaʔkɪdɔhɪh (or -dɔ's-) 'he's not strong' LM, da' kɪdɔh, da' qɛkɪdɔh 'we're strong' L, lɛxɪdɔh 'you pl. are strong' LM, diK ʔaʔlɛxɪdɔhɔ (or -dɔ's) 'you pl. aren't strong' LM, qɛkɪdɔh, qɛkɪdɪhɪnu' 'they're strong' LM, diK qaʔkɛdɔhɪnu' (or -dɔ's-) 'they aren't strong' LM; <sup>inceptive imperfective:</sup> quʔxɪdɔh 'I'll get strong, I'll be strong' LM, diK quʔxɪdɔhɔ (or -dɔ's, but here L prefers the former, -dɔ's "is dragging your words") 'I won't be strong' L, quʔkɛdɔh 'you'll be strong' LM, 'it'll be strong (hard to break)' M, quʔkɛdɪhɪh 'he'll be strong' L, inceptive perfective: sɛxɪdɔʔɪ 'I'm getting strong' LM, diK sɛxɪdɔʔɪ 'I'm not getting strong' M, sɛkɛdɔʔɪ 'you're getting strong' LM, sɛkɛdɔʔɪhɪh 'he's getting strong' L, da' sɛkɛdɔʔɪ, da' qɛsɛkɛdɔʔɪ 'we're getting strong' L, sɛlɛxɪdɔʔɪ, qɛsɛlɛxɪdɔʔɪ 'you pl. are getting strong' L, sɛkɛdɔʔɪ, qɛsɛkɛdɔʔɪ 'they're getting strong' L, active perfective: 49.67fnL, xɪkɪdɔʔɪ

'I got strong' LM, qe? xslicq?i 'I got strong  
 again' LM, diK 'exslicq?i 'I didn't get strong'  
 LM, slicq?i 'you got strong, it got strong' LM,  
 diK 'eslicq?i 'you didn't get strong, it didn't  
 get strong' M, da' slicq?i, da' qeslicq?i 'we  
 got strong' L, lexslicq?i, qalexslicq?i 'you  
 pl. got strong' LM, diK 'alexslicq?i 'you pl.  
 didn't get strong' M, qeslicq?kinu 'they got  
 strong' L, inceptive imperative: eslicq? 'get  
 strong' LM, eslexicq? 'pl. get strong!' L, neu-  
 ter imperative: ?a?ledqah M, ?a?ledqah 'be strong!'  
 L (but L prefers the inceptive imperative), incep-  
 tive optative: esxlicqahwahd 'so I may get strong'  
 L, ?alesgahx esxlicqah 'I wish I were strong' L,  
 ?alesgahx eslicqihih 'I hope he's strong' L, ?al-  
 esgahx eslexicqah 'I hope you pl. are strong' L,  
 active (in preference to neuter) optative: ?ixli-  
 cqahwahd 'so I may be, get, stay strong' L, ?ihli-  
 cqahwahd 'so he may be, get, stay strong' L, ?al-  
 esgahx ?ihicqihih 'I hope he's strong' L, ?a?d  
 ka'di?da' qe? ?ihicqihih 'he'll never be strong  
 again' M, neuter perfective (often avoided in favor  
 of active perfective, probably because of hesitation  
 in the formation of the prefixes): ?alesgahx ?a?-  
 licqihih 'I hope he's strong' L (such prefers the in-  
 ceptive optative to this), ?alesgahx licq? ?a?xli-

d'ah 'I hope I'm always strong' L, hič Ka?  
 ?a?hičah 'always be strong' L (certain of cor-  
 rectness of form), hič Ka? ?a?lexhičah 'pl.  
 always be strong' L, inceptive conditional: se-  
 xiečah da'x 'when I get strong' M, customary:  
 qeiečah'K 'they're (cust) strong' M, repetitive  
 customary: xiečah'gK 'I keep getting strong' M;  
 with o-ga? 'like o': diK ?ewga? ?a?xiečah'e  
 'I'm not that strong' M, ?uga? xhičah da'x  
 'if I were strong enough for (e.g. to lift) it'  
 L, di'yač ?ewga? seiečah'hejh 'he's not strong  
 enough (for it) yet' M, ?uga?šuh hičah qal  
 ?i-tah 'are you strong enough to carry this?' L,  
 with o-lax 'more than o': ?ilex xhičah 'I'm  
 stronger than you' L; with class-mark for S: di-  
 hičah 'it (table) is strong' L, ?elešgahx da-  
 seiečah 'I hope it (table) is strong' (inceptive  
 optative) L, ?a?d Ka-di'da' qe? da'hičah 'it  
 (table) will never be strong again' (active opta-  
 tive) M, ?elešgahx ?aw sdu'lihe da?hičah 'I  
 hope that table is strong' (neuter optative) L  
 (but L much prefers the inceptive optative; neu-  
 ter optative definitely not \*da?yiki- or \*da?-  
 liki- etc.), gelihichah 'it (liquor, tea) is  
 strong' M, gų'hičah giyah 'hard liquor' ('wa-  
 ter which is strong') L, diK gų'iečah'e M, diK

gulaʔkedaʔs 'it (liquor, tea) is not strong' LM  
 (L rejects M's active imperfective form), diK  
 guʔkedaʔke 'it (liquor, tea) is (cust) not  
 strong' LM; with y-anatomical: hiʔ kaʔ yaʔhi-  
 dʔh 'always have strong hands' (neuter optative)  
 L. Transitive (causative): ʔeidiʔ 'make it  
 strong!' L, seidiʔiʔh 'make him strong!' M,  
 ʔixidiʔh 'I'm making you strong' (active imper-  
 fective) L, ʔiqeʔxidiʔh 'I'll make you strong'  
 M; reflexive: indirect reciprocal with ʔii-leʔ  
 'more than one another': ʔiileʔ daʔ ʔedquʔke-  
 dʔh 'we'll wrestle' ('we'll make ourselves  
 stronger than one another') L; passive: sidiʔʔ-  
 iʔh deʔh 'a person who's been made strong' L,  
 ʔuʔd ʔeʔ xuquʔdedʔh 'I'll be made strong again  
 there (e.g. at hospital)' L, ʔuʔd ʔeʔ ʔiqeʔ-  
 dedʔh 'you'll be made strong again there' L.

ʔi-lih-ke-dʔ 'S is emotionally strong, brave,  
 stout-hearted, hard-hearted, unsympathetic, strict,  
 stoic, insensitive to pain (good or bad quality)':  
 ʔi-lihidiʔiʔh 'he's hard-, stout-hearted' LM, diK  
 ʔi-lihkedaʔhiʔh 'he's not hard-, stout-hearted'  
 (negative of active imperfective) L, ʔi-lihqeki-  
 dihinuʔsiyahyuʔ 'mean hard-hearted people' (with  
 -siyah-yuʔ 'bad pl.') L, ʔilah ʔe-lihxiedʔh  
 'I'll be hard-hearted with you' M, ʔe-lihxiedʔh  
 'I'll be brave' L, hiʔʔ ʔahnuʔ saqeʔcoyuʔ ʔeʔ-

lihqelédjhinu· 'all those kids will be hard-  
 hearted' L, ?i·lihseleđq· IM, ?i·lihseleđq·?  
 'be brave!' L, hiđ ?i·lih?a?leđq· 'always be  
 stout-hearted!' (neuter imperative) L, hiđ  
 ?i·lih?a?lexleđq· 'pl. always be stout-hearted!'  
 (neuter imperative) L, ?alešgahx ?i·lihsexki-  
 đah 'I wish I were stout-, hard-hearted (I wish  
 it wouldn't bother me so)' L, hiđ Ka? ?i·lih-  
 ?a?hiđah (or -đq·) 'always be stout-hearted'  
 (neuter optative) L, hiđ Ka? ?i·lih?a?lexhiđah  
 (or -đq·) 'pl. always be stout-hearted' (neuter  
 optative) L

l-le-đq· (with l-thematic, cf. l-le-đq·s) 'S does  
 not weep easily': ?i·hiđhjh 'he never cries,  
 is stout-hearted, brave' L.

d-le-đq· (with d-class-mark for da·na· 'dollar,  
 coin, money' thematized) 'S is expensive, S costs':  
 Rezanov Taxxna 'Doporo theuer' dihiđah (not  
 deki-) 'it's expensive' M, nominalized, 'silver':  
 Rezanov Taxxny 'Серебро Silber', diK da?le-  
 đah 'it's not expensive' M, deleđq?i 'it's  
 getting expensive' M, dihiđq?i 'it got expen-  
 sive' M, diK deleđq?i 'it didn't get expen-  
 sive' M, deleđq·K 'it's (cust) expensive' M,  
 ?alešgahx ?ewga? da?hiđah 'I hope it costs that  
 much' (correct neuter optative) M, ?alešgahx di-

ličqā M, ʔelešgahʔ diʔličqā 'I hope it's  
expensive' L (both with incorrect analogical  
prefixes).

ʔiscq·l (gerundive of le-cqʔ) 'strength':  
ʔiscq·lčiyaʔ 'Strength-Master' 50.20A (in  
50.15A the form occurs as discq·lčiyaʔ, with  
d- probably analogical from d-le-cqʔ).

*form - sub uncertain, perhaps ča r-čú'*

čú·-čuh (čú· in noun, čuh in verb)

čú· (noun) 1. (1-class) 'breast, teat, nipple' LM, Rezanov Игъ 'Грудь Brüste, weibliche', čú·-ʔa·ʔnuw 'big breasts' LM, čú·lekih 'small breasts' M, čú·lekah seleʔgłih 'she weaned him' ('she took him away from the breast') L.

2. (gl-class, occasionally unclassified) 'milk' LM, Rezanov Игъ 'Молоко Milch', čú·-gu·ʔnuw 'lots of milk' L, čú·gų·ʔu· 'good milk' L, čú· gų·seisiʔi 'milk soured' L, čú· ga-li·ičųhjih 'he loves to guzzle milk' L; unclassified: čú·ʔ giyah ʔilqaʔ gela·siljahi 'I mixed water with milk (baby formula)' L.

čú·lewaʔ (noun, unclassified) 'ice cream' L. See O-l-i-waʔ 'S grinds, strains O'; čú· here treated as unclassified.

čú·dełah woman's name, Minnie Johnson (at Yakutat)

LA. čú· treated as unclassified; analysis of -dełah uncertain, perhaps O-d-i-la, causative of O-de-la 'S drinks O' with de-classifier reinterpreted as d-thematic 'oral', *as you have noted in the field of theme with*

-čú· (noun, form uncertain, attested only in Rezanov) 'breast, teat': Rezanov Кагъ-y 'Сосокъ, сосокъ Zitze' perhaps Kučú· 'breast, teat' (possessed, with Ku-indefinite as possessor). See also O-čuh.

O-čuh 'S (especially infant) sucks O': with indeter-

minate O, 'S suckles': ?içp̄h̄h̄ 'he's suckling' M,  
 diK̄ ?içuh̄h̄h̄ 'he's not suckling' M, ?iæçuh̄h̄h̄  
 'he's starting to suck' M, ?iqeçp̄h̄h̄ 'he'll suck-  
 le' M, ?içp̄h̄h̄ 'let him suck' M, ?içduh̄ 'suck!'  
 (said to baby) M, ?iæçdu? 'suck!' M (rejected by  
 L, who objects to the use of the inceptive, not to  
 the analogical stem-form -çdu?), Rezanov Kanyç  
 'Cocara saugen', prefix not identifiable, perhaps  
 qa'çu', possessed noun with qa'- 'our, human' as  
 possessor. Transitive (causative): ?q̄h̄ içp̄h̄h̄  
 'she's nursing him' M, sæiçuh̄h̄h̄ 'she suckled  
 him' M.

læçedçuh̄ (noun, l̄ç-class) 'orange' (same as ?q̄ç)  
 L. Nominalized passive active imperfective of pre-  
 ceding, with l̄ç-class-mark for O ('l̄ç-class O is  
 sucked').

O-gl-içduh̄ (attested only in neuter imperfective and  
 with gl-class-mark for O 'liquid') 'S loves to guz-  
 zle O, S is constantly guzzling O': çu' geli-iç-  
 çp̄h̄h̄ 'he loves to guzzle milk' L, çe-y geli-iç-  
 çp̄h̄h̄ 'he loves to guzzle tea' L, ?axa' ?ew ge-  
 li-içp̄h̄h̄ 'my how he loves to guzzle it (e.g.  
 whiskey, milk)!' L.

delih-del (unique type of noun-stem variation; delih in possessed form, also archaically in non-possessed form; del in non-possessed form, rarely also in possessed form, probably analogically)

del(-delih archaic) (noun, unclassified) 'bone' (anatomical, not as part of food): del 'bone' MS, 'bone (of any kind, including fish, but not bone left after eating)' L, Rezanov ИХУУХ 'Epa-40' (not in Radlov, 'shin, tibia') perhaps to be read delih, Furuhjelm Zali 'bone', del'a?luw 'big bone' LM, del'ekih 'small bone' LM, delx skidu-d'ih 'her nasal mucus has dried into bone' 72.40M (song), delyaqya? xe 'marrow' ('grease of bone-interior') L.

sa?sedelah del (noun, unclassified) 'walrus'

('bones around mouth') M. (noun, unclassified)

-delih(--del rare, probably analogical), 'bone' (anatomical): 28.85, 85, 118, 121, 127, 130, 133, 49.-119A, Kudelih 'bones (of someone, something)' L, Galushia Nelson qat'sulif ydt 'Eagle House, Eyak' ("skeleton-house") BSdL 545 qa-delihyahd 'our, human bones-house' (name of potlatch house at Eyak village), 'oflitsdl' name of Basket Pattern 11. ("raven-bone") BSdL 547 (described and illustrated BSdL 82) ci-lehdelih, sicela?delih, sicela?del 'my shoulderblade, shoulder-bone' L.

-i-deli(-del rare, probably analogical) (noun, <sup>unclassified</sup>) 'bone (anatomical), shell, pit, structural hard part of animal or fruit' (except for one uncertain textual occurrence, attested only with anatomical or class-mark for possessor): qa-i-delihiyahyu ' (nasty) old human bones' 34.122L (should perhaps be qa-deli-); with d-class-mark partly thematized, -d-i-deli 'outer shell (of egg, crustacean, insect), skull': -le-qahde-i-deli 'skull' ('head-bone, -shell') 28.88, 33.10A, Kude-i-delihi 'eggshell' M, Kude-i-deli '(empty) shell (of egg)' A, Rezanov Yrase-naxya 'Скорына Eierschale' i-deli 'owa' 'its shell (of egg)' L, Kude-i-delihiyaq qa? sah 'it hatched' ('it came out of the shell') M, Galushia Nelson qo-di-i-silf' kyu-t or qo-di-i-silf kyu-t 'shell bead' BSdL 551 Kude-i-delihi-kowu-d (or -keyu-d), apparently also d-class in meaning 'eggshell': Kude-i-delihi si? di-?a? 'give me an eggshell!' L, Kude-i-delihi Kude-i-luw 'eggshell is big' M; with i-class mark for possessor, -i-i-deli 'pit, seed (of fruit, berry)': see i-delihi ku-i-h below; with l-class-mark for possessor: i<sup>n</sup>-tlyick i<sup>n</sup>-titsel' or i<sup>n</sup>-tlyick i<sup>n</sup>-titsel' name of Basket Pattern 2. ("amphineura-shells") BSdL 547 (described and illustrated BSdL

82) ʔi·ixi·ʔgʔi·dɛliɪh 'red abalone shell' L;  
with qi·d-anatomical: siqi·dɛiɛliɪh 'my foot--  
bones' L, with y-anatomical: siyeiɛliɪh, siyei-  
ɛel 'my finger-bones, my knuckles(?)' L.

ʔudeiɛliɪh ku·iɛh (noun, unclassified) 'brown  
bug species (lives under moss)' L or M (Auster-  
litz). Nominalization of 'it has a shell'.

ʔuleɣeiɛliɪh ku·iɛh (noun, lɔ-class) 'cherry;  
prune' L. Nominalization of 'it has a pit'.

*Haemulon* 'ataɪɛliɪh 'funtle' 'wɛɪɛliɪh

c'ela?¹ (perhaps to be identified with c'ela?²)

c'ela? (noun, unclassified) 'smashed salmon roe,  
put up in pot for winter' L, c'ela?luw 'large  
mass of potted roe' M.

O-i-c'ela? 'S makes O (potted roe)': qu?xic'ela?  
'I'll make potted roe' L.

čelaʔ² (perhaps to be identified with čelaʔ¹, or related to čelih-čel)

Kadačelaʔ (noun, unclassified) 'kettle, pot' (same as ʒi·ni·wee) L, Kuʔluw Kadačelaʔ 'big kettle' L. Analysis uncertain: perhaps noun with Ku-indefinite possessor and d-thematic, or intransitive verb with Ku-indefinite as S and d-thematic or declassifier, or, especially if stem is to be identified with čelaʔ¹, passive of O-čelaʔ, 'something (potted roe) is made (in it?)', nominalized.

čiyuh

čiyuh (noun, unclassified) 'blackbear' LMS, 9.103, 103, 104, 111, 25.148, 150, 178, 207, 28.79A, 34.48M, 37b.26, 26, 71, 86A, 63.17, 18, 20, 22, 67.6G, place-name 'Tsiu River' S, Furuhejm Tsiu 'black bear', Galushia Nelson tšiyd' or tšiyd, Old Man Dude tsiyu<sup>n</sup> 'black bear' BSdL 538, čiyuhyu' 'blackbears' 25.207A, čiyuhluw 'big blackbear' LM, čiyuhya? duxi 'blackbear--trap' L, Galushia Nelson tšiyúqát úxi'ti<sup>n</sup> 'living among black bears' BSdL 276, 558 čiyuh=qa?d weʒ ?i'tšihh 'she (who) is living amongst blackbears', ?enikēh čiyuh qe?ew 'that's a scary blackbear' L, čiyuh ?edu?qu?xleʒah 'I'll turn myself into a blackbear' L, čiyuh xu?qu?lele? 'you'll think me a blackbear' M, čiyuhce? 'blackbear-seat' 9.119, 49.123A, 63.36G, čiyuh=qu? 'blackbear-fur' 25.207A.

ky-ida?čyeʒ čiyuh (noun, unclassified) 'cinnamon bear' ('blackbear under stump') A.

la?dečiyuh (noun, unclassified) 'glacier-bear' LA.

čiyuhya? la?mahd (noun, lɣ-class) 'berry species (inedible, grow on big long-stemmed bushy plants near trees, with funny leaves, white blossoms appear in late June, then fall off, berries then appear, first green, then pretty red)' ('blackbear's berries') L, 'same berry as če·č' A (see če?č).

čid-čid (former more frequent, perhaps also čit', cf. Yakutat Tlingit čis, Boas čas, čas 'only', see also 63.15, 25, 64.16G)

čid-čid (adverb) 'only, just, merely' LMA, čid 7.20, 38, 8.7, 13, 9.22, 10.77, 11.26, 29, 29, 192A, 22.5L, 23.60, 24.19, 19, 71, 25.18, 44, 50, 28.98, 101, 49.154, 50.20, 61.10, 46, 46, 65.60, 81, 68.74, 110, 115, 116, 129, 70.10A, čid 9.130, 10.118, 157, 157, 11.29A, 18.78L, 23.24, 97, 24.= 19, 44A, 40.14L, 49.70, 50.30A, 53.18L, čid xu' 'just me' M, čid ?i' 'just you' L, čid ?a' we? ?aw ?ih 'just he is doing thus to it' M, čid ce?es 'just we' M, čid le?i' 'just you pl.' M, čid ?ahnu', čid ?e?es 'just, only, merely they' M, čid le?e?e?es 'just they alone' L, čid la?dih sič ?e?is? 'give me just, at least, at most two!' L; čidwe?-čidwe? (< čid-čid + ?we? 'thus', L rejects proposed \*čid-le?) 'only, just, merely' LMA, čidwe? la.l, 2a.34M, 7.30, 10.116, 237, 11.23, 38, 40, 42A, 15.8, 15, 19, 16.24, 25, 28M, 24.28, 66, 25.151, 208, 28.96, 128, 33.4, 26A, 34.2M, 42.9L, 49.35, 60.3, 61.3, 122, 65.32, 40, 68.106, 127, 69.2, 10A, čidwe? 11.34, 23.139, 28.62A, 59.4 Galushia Nelson, čidwe? ?ida?ə'da? qe? adiyah? siX

de-čid 'he only told me he came back here' L.  
de-čid (also -čit' once from A and M, L rejects;  
L also rejects \*dičid, with de- 'ipae') 'gratis,  
for free, for nothing, in vain': dičid 'for free,  
free of charge' L, di'wey dičid qew ?u-da?  
siyahî 'I went there for nothing (gratis, or on  
wild-geese-chase)', dičid qew ?ahnu- kxa-gî  
'he made them work for nothing' 10.55A, dičit'  
?ič' qu?xtah 'I'll give it to you gratis' M, de-  
čit' ?ič' sihtahî 'I gave it to you gratis' A.

dit, see cid-cid

dɿʔt

-dɿʔt (probably not freely used, attested mainly in active perfective, with yeʒ 'downward', meaning not clearly distinguished from that of yeʒ ɿ-dɿʔt) 'S sinks, settles': yeʒ sɛdɿʔtɿ 'they (e.g. tea--leaves) settled to the bottom' L, 'it (sugar in water) settled to the bottom' M, yeʒ qaʔdɿʔt 'it'll sink' L.

ɿ-dɿʔt 'S (fish) flops (on land)', (with preverbs indicating downward motion) 'S sinks, settles' (basic meaning perhaps 'S founders, flounders (out of natural element)'): with yeʒ 'downward': 25.50, 52A (cust), 48.20L, yeʒ sɛdɿʔtɿ 'it (e.g. sugar in water) settled, it (e.g. seal, boat) sank' L, yeʒ sɛdɿʔtɿ 'it's sinking' L, yeʒ sɛxɿdɿʔtɿ 'I'm sinking' L, yeʒ ʔɛdɿʔtɿkyaʔ 'lest it (cust) sink' L, with d-class-mark for S: yeʒ dɛsɛdɿʔtɿ 'it (car) sank' 61.65A, repetitive: 11.119A, 38.18LM, yeʒ xɿdɿʔtɿg 'I keep sinking' L; with ya·nuʔ 'below surface': ya·nuʔd ʔɛdɿʔtɿ 'he (cust) sinks' 24.44A; with yeʒ-progressive: yeʒ ɿedɿʔtɿ 'it (fish) is flopping about on land' L. Transitive (causative) yeʒ 0-ɿ-dɿʔt 'S sinks O': yeʒ sɛdɿʔt 'sink it!' L, yeʒ sɛxɿdɿʔtɿ 'I'm sinking it' L, sɿdɿʔtɿ 'I sank it' L, yeʒ qaʔ quʔyɿdɿʔt 'you'll sink us' L.

čəλ-čəʁ (form uncertain, perhaps spurious, arising out of confusion with ʁic-ʁed (metathetized) and čel-čil or related to ča·ʁ<sup>2</sup>, ča·ʁ<sup>1</sup>, čaʔʁ<sup>1</sup>, of which it would be a reduced form)

čəλ-č--g, čəʁ (noun) 'dirt': Furuhjelm Tsatlkh <sup>included</sup>  
 'earth, land', attempts to relicit which elicited  
 the following: čəλg, čəλc 'dirt, dust' M (re-  
 jected by L), čəʁ yish 'it's dirty (not exact-  
 ly filthy)' L (rejected by M; L later rejects this  
 and all similar forms: čəλ, čil, čəʁ, čilʁ,  
 čəλg, čilg, čəʁg, čilg, čəλc, čilc, čəʁc,  
 čilc).

ci·X-cj·X (ci·X more frequent, cj·X not attested from A)

ci·X-s (noun) 'seaweed species, long and brown, grows on rocks, resembles gowa?d' A (uncertain, elicited in attempt to analyze ci·Xsa·leh; M thinks she has heard; unknown to L).

ci·Xsa·leh-cj·Xsa·leh (noun, unclassified) 'crane or heron species' (exact identification uncertain, perhaps 'great blue heron'; see discussion in Eyak Texts 26.1fn.): ci·Xsa·leh 26.1, 7, 12L, 'small crane or heron' LA, 'long-legged crane' L, cj·Xsa·leh 'small crane or heron' M, 'long-legged crane' L, ci·Xsa·lehlw 'big crane' LM, Harrington sítʔqáalleh, satʔqáalee 'Canada crane' G. Analysis uncertain.





reflexive, with anatomical marks: ?adlixsticij?Mg<sup>h</sup>  
'I slapped my (own) face' L, ?edyexietcij?Mg 'I'm  
clapping my hands' L, ?edyetecij?Mg<sup>h</sup> 'he's clap=  
ping hands' LA, ?edya<sup>h</sup>ietcij?Mg 'clap your hands!'  
L; passive, with anatomical marks: ?iqe?lededcij?Mg  
'you'll get your face slapped' L, xugedisticij?Mg<sup>h</sup>,  
xugedisidicij?Mg<sup>h</sup> 'I got spanked' L, ?iqe?gedede=  
cij?Mg (not -gedete-) 'you'll get your rump  
slapped' L, with ya? 'completely': ya? ?iqe?=  
gededecij?Mg (not -gedete-) 'you'll get spanked  
hard' L.

O-?-l-t-cij?M-g (semitransitive of preceding, with l--  
anatomical) 'S slaps at O's face, tries to slap O's  
face': xu?lesetdicij?Mg<sup>h</sup> da?x ?uya?x ?ij<sup>h</sup>xshixa?M<sup>h</sup>  
'he tried to slap my face but I dodged it' L.

da·x<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with da·x<sup>2</sup> and expanded form of da·x<sup>1</sup>, earlier meaning 'moss', in which infants were bedded, the modern Eyak term for 'moss' being kuhdî 'wiper'; cf. Navaho -dâ-l

'cradle', Sarsi cā·l 'baby's moss-bag; cradle', Chipewyan tōdî 'moss', l-tōdî 'to be watery'; cf. also Indo-European cognates 'moss', 'moss'.

da·x(-g)(-î) (noun, 1-class or unclassified, with optional -g-repetitive and/or -î-instrumental)

'baby-basket, cradle, cradleboard': da·xheleya?î  
 'in baby-baskets' (1-class) 23.12A, da·xg 'cradle for infant' LMA, da·x 'cradle, cradleboard' L, da·xî 'cradle' LM, da·xgî 'cradle' L, da·xî-?a?luw 'big cradle' LM, Furuhjelm Tsatlkhijanak 'infant' \*da·xgya?nahe, da·xya?lahe 'baby' ('one who stays in cradle') L, da·xya?lahsəyu· 'babies' L, di?wəx da·xya?c da·xîh 'infant' ('he who still (cust) stays in cradle' L, da·xya? ?i·dahîîh 'infant' ('he who stays (neuter perfective) in cradle') L.

da·x<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with da·x<sup>1</sup> and expanded form of da<sup>o</sup>x<sup>1</sup>)

da·x-g (noun, with -g-repetitive, uncertain, attested only in Furuhelem; see also daλ-dəx)  
 '(muddy, mossy, wet?) terrain': Furuhelem Tzatikh  
 'earth, land', to be read da·xg? (Attempts to relicit this form from L and M elicited instead daλ-dəx.)

ɛl-da·x-g (uncertain, attested only on L1 file-slip, not verified by L, M, or A; with ɛl-thematic 'ground' and -g-repetitive, either noun or active imperfective verb): L1 qə·tsá·tʰk' 'muddy', implying ɛq·da·xg.

caʔx<sup>1</sup> (perhaps related to ca·x<sup>2</sup> and ca·x<sup>1</sup>, or to be identified with caʔx<sup>2</sup>; see also caʔx)

caʔx-g (noun, unclassified, with -g-repetitive)  
 'drop (of liquid)': Rezanov Канна 'Kanna  
 Tropfen' caʔxg 'drop' M, iʔheih caʔxg 'one  
 drop' M.

i-caʔx-g (with -g-repetitive thematized) 'S (li-  
 quid) drips, leaks (by drops)': Rezanov Kexrax-  
 нана 'Kanax-tröpfeln' qiʔdeʔ [i]caʔxg (pre-  
 sumably with i-classifier to be supplied), qiʔdeʔ  
 icaʔxg 'where it's dripping' M, ʔu·d icaʔxg  
 'it's dripping there' L, diʔ ʔeicaʔxge 'it's  
 not leaking' L, gusi·kih icaʔxg 'it's dripping  
 a bit' IM, seicaʔxgi 'it's leaking, dripping' L,  
 qaʔicaʔxg 'it'll leak' (not of canoe) L, ʔu·deʔ  
 seicaʔxgi 'it leaked (through) there' L; with  
 gl-class-mark for S (clearly optional, perhaps  
 poor usage, attested only from M): gela·yikaʔxg  
 'let it (water, juice) leak, drip' M. With ex-  
 panded stem: qiʔdeʔ ica·xg 'where it's dripping,  
 leaking (in many places?)' L, geleica·xg 'it  
 keeps leaking (in many places?)' M.

daʔx<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with daʔx<sup>1</sup>)

d-ɬa-daʔx-g (with d-thematic 'oral, noise' and -g=  
 repetitive thematized) 'S makes clicking, clucking  
 sound': dexɬedaʔxg 'I'm making a clicking noise'  
 (apical click, same as xqʰa-ʔsg, see qʰa-ʔs) L,  
 dexɬedaʔxg 'it (bird) is clucking' L.

c'el-cił (c'el more frequent)

c'el-cił (noun, unclassified) attested only as o of  
 o-qa? 'between o, amongst o, interstice in o' in  
 c'elqa?sedı·? ( < c'el-qa?-ıd-?e?-) 'smokehole':  
 c'elqa?sedı·qd 'smokehole, in the smokehole' L,  
 11.34A, Galushia Nelson tsıtıqá'ceDfiqt or  
 tsıtıqqaDfiqt 'smokehole' BSdL 545, c'elqa?-  
 sedı·?ı 'through the smokehole' 11.14, 34, 36,  
 42A. Earlier forms from L were c'ełqa?sedı·qd,  
 c'ıłqa?sedı·qd, 19.20L, later corrected, verify-  
 ing A's forms. Smokeholes are described and illus-  
 trated in BSdL 40.

cɿʔɔ-dɿʔɔ-dɿʔɔ-dɿʔɔ (form uncertain, perhaps spurious;  
 cf. cɿʔɔ, dɿʔɔ, sɿʔɔ)

d-ɿe-cɿʔɔ(-etc.)-g (with d-thematic 'noise' and -g--  
 repetitive thematized) 'S makes a squeaking, creak-  
 ing, hissing, or rubbing noise': deɿeɿʔɔg 'it's  
 hissing' A, deɿeɿʔɔg, deɿeɿʔɔg, deɿeɿʔɔg 'it  
 (e.g. door) is making a squeaky, creaky, or rubbing  
 noise' M (uncertain of form; L is doubtful of the  
 authenticity of all these forms).

de?c

de?c (noun, unclassified) 'berrymash' LMAS (food made of smashed highbush white currants boiled down, mixed with smashed salmon-roe, boiled again, without sugar, allowed to ferment and kept for winter), de?c'a?luw 'big pile of berrymash' M, ku?u? de?c 'lots of berrymash' L, de?c qe-max?c? se?e?i 'berrymash is getting bubbles in it, fermenting' L. Berrymash is mentioned in BSdL 97.

O-i-de?c (basic meaning 'S squeezes or crushes O', but attested mainly in various specialized or idiomatic uses, often with class-marks for O partly thematized) 1. 'S smashes, mashes, squeezes, expresses O': a. With l-anatomical: ?iqe?li-x? de?c 'I'll smash your head' (strong expression) L. b. With dl-class-mark for O, ca' 'rock', partly thematized: ?i-i?de?c 'pick up (heated) stone with tongs!' L, ?ew ?a'seide?c?i?h 'he's holding it (hot rock) with tongs' L, ?ewya?c ?ew ?a-i?de-c?kinu' 'they (cust) lift them (hot rocks) into it (vessel, with tongs)' L, ?a-i?de?c 'lift a hot rock with tongs!' A; with dl-class-mark missing, probably incorrect: ?e?de?c 'lift a hot rock with tongs!' A. c. With gl-class-mark for O (liquid) combined with d-thematic ('mouth?'):

Q?k.

?u-deʒ ?ew qa? gɔla-sɛɪde?dʒ 'he squirted it  
 (water) up there (with e.g. water-pistol)' L,  
 ʒi-dʒ ?ew guɫa-sɛde?dʒɪh 'he squirted it (water)  
 out (of his mouth)' L (ɪ-classifier missing, prob-  
 ably in error), with yəʒ-progressive: ?ew yəʒ  
 guɫa-ɪde?dʒɪh 'he's squirting it (water) around'  
 L. d. With lɪ-class-mark for O ('berries'), 'S  
 44 prepares berries in making berrymash': Kuleʒi-ɪ-  
 de?dʒ 'make berrymash!' ('crush something lɪ-class!')  
 L, Kuleʒi-de?dʒ 'bust berries!' L (ɪ-classifier  
 missing, probably in error), leʒɛɪde?dʒ 'I'm  
 boiling berries for berrymash' L, with ya? 'com-  
 pletely': ya? leʒɛɪ-de?dʒ 'smash berries!' A.

2. 'S makes O (berrymash)': ?ɛɪde?dʒ 'make  
 berrymash!' L, 'lift it (hot rock) with tongs' A  
 (probably in error), sɪɪde?dʒ 'I made berrymash'  
 L, qu?xɪde?dʒ 'I'll make berrymash' L; detransi-  
 tivized with indeterminate O: ?iqe?xɪde?dʒ 'I'll  
 cook berries in roe:(make berrymash)' A, da- ?i-  
 ɪde?dʒ 'we (cust) make berrymash' L; passive:  
 sɪde?dʒ 'berrymash has been made' L.

?uʒ yəʒ kuɫa-dɛde?dʒ (noun) 'tongs for handling  
 hot rocks in cooking' L (nominalization of passive  
 active imperfective with yəʒ-progressive of O-ɪ-  
 de?dʒ lb. above, 'by means of it something (dl-class)  
 is squeezed and handled about'). These tongs are de-

scribed in BSdL 94.

d-de-déʔé 'S spits tobacco-quid' (with d-thematic 'oral', cf. intransitive d-de-tux 'S spits'); with xi·é 'away': xi·é disdideʔéɬih 'he spit a quid of tobacco' L.

dé·é (noun, lɣ-class; expanded stem; authenticity uncertain) 'red berry species, same as éiyuhyaʔ laʔmahd' A (L rejects, recognizing only déʔé 'berrymash').

cu'c

0-cu'c-g (with -g-repetitive thematized) 'S sucks O (draws O into mouth by suction)': Kucu'cgih 'he's sucking something' M, ?aw cu'cgih 'he's sucking it (nipple)' L, ?ahd cu'cgih 'he's smoking (sucking smoke)' L, frequently idiomatic 'S smokes': Ku-cu'cgs 'do you smoke?' L, qu'xcu'cg 'I'll smoke a cigarette' L, with gl-class-mark for O; del ?iya gelecu'cg 'it (mosquito) is sucking your blood' L; with expanded stem: de?u-denuh ?aw ?i-cu'cgih 'I give up: let him smoke (them, many cigarettes)' L; Rezanov *Ужаскымыке* 'Труба кыраман' (not in Radlov, 'smoking-pipe') ?u-ye? Kucu'cgih 'he's smoking (sucking) something in it'.

giyah gelecu'cg (noun) 'boat pump' ('it sucks water') L.

?uyef galededu'c (noun) 'sucking-tube': Galushia Nelson *dyedjedliditsd'ts* or *dyedje:oliditsd'ts* 'sucking tube' BS4L 546 (nominalization of passive active imperfective with gl-class-mark for O, 'in it liquid is sucked').

sa? sededu'cg (noun, unclassified) 'suckerfish' M (ed-thematic with *o-sa?* 'cave-mouth', used adverbially).

d-je-cu'c(-g) (with d-thematic 'oral, noise' and usu-

ally with -g-repetitive) 1. 'S makes sucking sound, squeaking sound': dəkəduʔd̥g 'it's making a hissing sucking sound' L, 'it (e.g. door) is squeaking' LMA, quʔdəkəduʔd̥g 'it'll squeak' A, diʂikəduʔd̥gɪ 'it squeaked' A, diʂikəduʔd̥ɪ 'it (weasel) made its (characteristic) noise' (non-repetitive) L, ʔeʔ=lewah dəkəduʔd̥g 'weasel is making its (characteristic) sound' L; with expanded stem: dəkəduʔd̥g 'it makes a kissing sucking sound' (imitated by means of an ingressive glottalized bilabial fricative) 2la.11L, 'it (door) is squeaking' L, 'sucking squeaking sound' A.

2. With o-ɣ 'in (punctual) contact with o', 'S adheres to o by suction': attested mainly in neuter and active perfectives, with and without -g-repetitive: ʔiyaʔɣ diʂikəduʔd̥ɪ 'it's stuck to your hand' L, siqiʔdaʔɣ diʂikəduʔd̥gɪ 'it stuck to my foot' L, siʔneɣ diʂikəduʔd̥gɪ 'it stuck to my face' L, siqiʔdaʔd̥ daʔɣ diʂikəduʔd̥gɪ 'it stuck (to a surface) on my foot' L, indirect reciprocal: ʔiɪɣ diʂikəduʔd̥gɪ 'they're stuck together (by suction)' L; with expanded stem: daʔɣ diʂikəduʔd̥ɪ 'it's stuck on something (indeterminate o), it adheres' L.

0-d-ɪ-duʔd̥-g (semantically irregular causative of d-ɪe-duʔd̥-g) 'S calls O (weasel, with kissing suck=

ing sound): di·īc̄uʔc̄g 'call a weasel!' L.  
da·x̄ dāīc̄uʔc̄g (noun) 'bloodsucker, leech' M,  
'barnacle; anything that adheres like a leech or  
a suction-cup' L (nominalized active perfective  
of d-īs-c̄uʔc̄-g 2. above with indeterminate o  
of c-x̄).

dīīc̄uʔc̄ḡaʔ ʔī·īl̄īh̄īh̄ Eyaks' nickname for a  
certain White man ('suckerface') L.

## điyaʔd

k-điyaʔd 'S reaches extreme degree of decay, rottenness, putrefaction, decomposition, mouldiness':  
 with yaʔ 'completely': yaʔ səkđiyaʔdɨ 'it (e.g. meat, food, clothing) got completely rotten or mouldy, went to pieces' L, with lɣ-class--mark for S: lɣəsəkđiyaʔdɨ 'it (fruit) got completely spoiled' L, yaʔ lɣi·kđiyaʔdɨ qəxəsi·ya·s 'don't eat any badly rotten fruit!' L (neuter perfective nominalized).

qa·xaʔ kđiyaʔd giyah (noun, attested only in Rezanov) 'vodka, brandy': Rezanov Kaxaaxɣpɣɣɣɣ<sup>ɣ</sup>·kax  
 (with ɣ- inserted above) 'Водка Brandtwein' ('water which decays very badly for ("on") us').

c'is

ni·l'c'isɨ (noun) 'porcupine's hole in rock crevasse'

LA. Etymology unknown: perhaps a nominalized neuter perfective of an unknown verb theme (O-)l-ɨ-c'is, but with unique prefix-initial n-, perhaps archaic form of l-thematic or class-mark, but, according to L, never actualized li·ɨ- or ?ɨ·ɨ-.

## c'ahs

- O-ł-c'ahs 'S partly dries O (fish)' (i.e. semi-dries  
 fish, cut any style, for relatively short time):  
 ʔełc'ahs 'dry fish partly!' L, quʔxłc'ahs 'I'll  
 semi-dry fish' L, sılłc'ahsł 'I semi-dried fish  
 (cut any style)' L, da' łc'a'ak 'we (cust) semi-  
 dry fish' L; passive: sılłc'ahsł, sđıłc'ahsł 'fish  
 has been semi-dried' L.
- sełc'ahsł (noun, unclassified) 'semi-dry fish':  
 sełc'ahsł ʔexah 'I'm eating semi-dry fish' L (ac-  
 tive perfective nominalized).

da'g (cf. c:ik.)

O-i-da'g 'S bails O (boat)': ?eida'g 'bail it (canoe)!' M, ya'd ?eida'g 'bail it out (empty)!' L, qu?xida'g 'I'll bail it' M, siida'g 'I bailed it' M, repetitive: iic xida'gg 'I keep bailing all the time' L; detransitivized with indeterminate O: iic ?ikeida'gih 'he's bailing all the time' L.

da'g-i (noun, i-class or unclassified, with -i--instrumental) 'bailing-basket, dipper, bucket' LM, 'tin can' L, 65.36, 36, 36, 36A, Galushia Nelson tsa'qi or tsa'qi 'bailing-basket for canoe' BSDL 546, da'gi?a?luw 'big bailer' LM, ?aw da'giz ya?z teqa? 'scoop it (liquid) up with that dipper!' L, da'gi siic li'ta? (or li'?a?, but li'ta? perhaps preferred) 'give me an (empty) bucket, dipper!' L, da'gi ?u'd ?i'setah? 'an (empty) bucket is there' L.

O-da'g-i 'S bails O (boat)', attested only from S, probably incorrect, with i-classifier missing and -i-instrumental from noun analogically retained: ?eida'gi "'bail 'em out!'" S.

ci·k

i-di·k 'untended sore on S ulcerates': seidi·k  
'it ulcerated (of untended sore)' L; with y-anatomical: yesexidi·k 'my hand is ulcerating (with untended sore)' L.

of. ʔhɪŋ d x dʰɪkʷ-d 'kai, mɔŋ hɪ 's dɪʔk

dɪʔk

O-dɪʔk 'S pinches O, S holds O between thumb and forefinger, S handles O in pinches'; Rezanov  
 xʉwɔkɔ ʔɔnɔrɔ kniefen' xʉ-dɪʔk 'pinch me!' L,  
 xʉdɪʔk 'it's pinching me' M, ʔɔdɪʔkɪh 'pinch  
 him!' LA, xʉɔdɪʔkɪh 'he pinched me' S, sɪ-  
 dɪʔkɪh 'I pinched him' L, ʔɪqɛʔxɪʔk 'I'll  
 pinch you' L, kʉd xʉɔdɪʔkɪ 'something pinched  
 me' (with kʉ-indefinite o of o-d serving as S) L,  
 with yɛʔ-progressive: yɛʔ dɛdɪʔkɪ 'you're (mo-  
 ving it about) holding it between thumb and fore-  
 finger' L; repetitive, 'S is bitter, tart, piquant  
 to O's taste': kʉdɪʔkɪ 'it's bitter-tasting, tart,  
 "hot" (to someone, people)' MA; with lɪ-class-mark  
 for O, 'S picks O (berries) one by one', hence al-  
 so 'S picks only few (berries)': lɛxɛxɪʔk 'I'm  
 getting only a few berries' (derisive) L; indirect  
 reflexive, repetitive, with o-saʔ 'to o's mouth':  
 dɛʔwɛʔ saʔʔ ʔɔdɛdɪʔkɪ 'just take it (snuff) in  
 small pinches (there being little left)!' L; pas-  
 sive: xʉsdɪʔkɪ (not. xʉstɪ-) 'I got pinched'  
 L, lɛxɛsdɪʔkɪ 'they (berries, being few) were  
 picked one by one' L, lɛxɛdɛdɪʔk 'berries are  
 poor picking' L.

O-d-dɪʔk (d-thematic optional (?) with qɪd 'down  
 off'): qɪd dɛɔdɪʔk 'pinch it (part of some-  
 thing) off!' L.

daʔk

ʔu·nabɔ qeʔiɔaʔk month name LM, 'April (when water  
 drips down from trees)' A, L, M, and A all associ-  
 ate this with the theme ɔ-daʔk-g under daʔk<sup>1</sup>.

The underlying theme, however, is probably <sup>with the prefix required by 'u-nabɔ' in its sense, which means, unloading</sup>  
 qaʔ 'up out' and either a transitive verb ~~0-ɔ-a~~  
<sup>ɔaʔ 'up out' ɔa ɔaʔ.</sup>  
 daʔk with indeterminate O, or intransitive ~~ɔ-daʔk~~  
 in neuter perfective.

ɔ-daʔk (uncertain: L may have offered this theme as  
 justification for her analysis of the preceding)  
 'S leaks': ʔu·dax səɔɔaʔkɪ 'it leaked (through)  
 there' L (meaning the same as that of ʔu·dax  
 səɔɔaʔkɪ L).

## cú·x

cú·x (noun, unclassified) 'barnacle' LM, cú·x-

?a?luw 'big barnacle' LM.

de-cú·x (attested only with dl-class-mark for S,

ca· 'rock') 'S (rock) becomes heavily encrusted

with barnacles': λa·sdi cú·xɪ 'it (rock) got

full of barnacles' L.

ɪ-cú·x (attested only with l-anatomical) 'S gets

lump or cyst on face': ?ɪ·seɪ cú·xɪ 'he got a

lump, cyst on his face' L.

-d-ɪ-cú·x(-ɪ) (noun, with d-thematic ('oral?'),

ɪ-classifier, and optional -ɪ-instrumental)

'philtrum, vertically dimpled center of upper

lip': si deɪ cú·x, si deɪ cú·xɪ 'the dimpled cen-

ter section of my upper lip' L.

## diyux

diyux (noun, unclassified) 'mosquito' LMS, 14.2, 3L, Rezanov Иаха 'Myxa Fliege', Kowapa Mücke', Furuhjelm Zaiuh 'fly', diyuxluw 'big mosquito' LM, diyuxyu' 'mosquitoes' 14.1, 3L, diyuxxa?de?e?d 'mosquito-bite' L.

diyuxluw (noun) 'crane-fly' ('big mosquito') L.

diyuxyequh (noun) 'gnat, no-see-um, midge' ('mosquito young') L.

diyuxxa? ya' (noun, unclassified) 'mosquito-bar; cheesecloth' ('thing for mosquitos') L.

c̣i·s (perhaps expanded form of c̣ihs)

- 0-1-c̣i<sup>h</sup>ē 'S dips fingers in O to lick O off fingers, S dips O (fish) in sealoil to eat': 10.24A, ?ēic̣i·s 'dip it (piece of fish in sealoil, to eat)!' LM, ṣic̣i·ēē 'I dipped it (fish in sealoil)' L, Kuxi-c̣i·s 'I'm dipping something (fish in sealoil)' M  
 ʒe·gu·na?N x̣ic̣i·s 'I'm (dipping it, fish in seal-oil and) eating it with sealoil' L, with ya?d 'empty': ?ew ya?d ṣic̣i·ēē 'he dipped it empty' L; detransitivized with indeterminate O: 11.183A, same with yeḡ-progressive: 10.25A, ?ewya?ḡ yeḡ ?ix̣ic̣i·sḡ 'I dip my fingers in it (o with opening at top, to get indeterminate O to eat)' L, detransitivized with indeterminate O, repetitive, with lah 'around, in circular motion': 11.175A; reflexive, with y-anatomical: ?edyex̣ic̣i·s 'I'm licking my fingers (for food)' L; passive, with ya?d 'empty': ya?d ṣic̣i·ēē, ya?d ṣic̣i·ēē 'it (food) has been dipped out (vessel empty)' L, ya?d qu?w-dēc̣i·s (not qu?le-) 'it'll be dipped out empty' L.  
 ?ic̣i·s (gerundive of preceding) 'dipping': detransitivized with indeterminate O and yeḡ-progressive: qe?yiltēhlex̣ede·?ḡ yeḡ ?ic̣i·sḡa? 'from dipping about (for food) in a whale's eye' 11.177A.

c̣jhe (perhaps two or three different homophonous stems, semantic connections very vague, perhaps also related to c̣j·s)

c̣jhe (noun, unclassified) 'alders' LM, 16.21M, Galushia Nelson ṭsɛn 'alders' BSdL 541, c̣jheʔaʔ=luw 'big alders' LM, c̣jheʔəɬfah̄ 'alder-leaf' 9.77, 80A, c̣jhedəx̣p̣hyu· 'Alder People' 34.1, LM, Galushia Nelson ṭsɛn wula'iyu 'alder people' BSdL 541, c̣jhewəlahyu· 'Alder People' 34.119, 126, 127L, c̣jheqaʔ ʔj·sdiyah̄j̄h 'he got entangled in alders' L.

-y-(ɬ-)c̣jhe(-ɬ) (noun, with y-anatomical 'hand' and ɬ-classifier and/or -ɬ-instrumental) 'fifth (or fourth?) finger': Galushia Nelson ḳoyiṭṭ-ṭsɛɬ<sup>n</sup>kṭṭ or ḳoyiṭṭsɛɬ<sup>n</sup>kṭṭ 'fourth finger' BSdL 542 ḳuyəɬc̣jheɬ, siyəc̣jheɬ 'my little finger' L, 'my fourth finger' A, 'my fingers (excluding thumb)' M, siyəɬc̣jheɬ, siyəɬc̣jhe 'my little finger' L (L fairly certain the meaning is 'fifth finger' rather than 'fourth finger')

O-(l-)ɬ-c̣jhe (with l-thematic absent in the presence of another mark) 'S marks O' (less frequent than the semitransitive below, no clear difference in meaning): lisɬc̣jheɬ 'I marked it, I blazed it, put a sign up' LM; with indeterminate O and yəx̣-progressive: yəx̣ ʔiləx̄c̣jheɬ 'I'm

going around marking things, I'm blazing trails' M; passive, with  $\chi$ d-class-mark for O (l-mark absent):  $\chi$ edisid'ihet 'it (log) has been marked' L, O-?- (l-)-d'ihc(-i) (with l-thematic often absent in active and neuter perfectives, -i-instrumental (?) sometimes analogically retained) 'S marks O': Rezanov УАЗЫМАТААКЪ 'Báčka wágen' perhaps to be read  $\text{?u?li}\cdot\text{ic}'ihc$  'mark it!' (or conceivably  $\text{?ew li}\cdot\text{ic}'i\text{?}k$  'slap it!, you're slapping it' especially if Báčka is to be corrected Báčka 'to infuriate'),  $\text{?u?li}\cdot\text{ic}'ihc$  'mark it!' L,  $\text{qu?li}\cdot\text{xic}'ihc$  'I'll mark it' L,  $\text{?u}\cdot\text{dexyu}\cdot$   $\text{ku?li}\cdot\text{ic}'ihc$  'blaze marks along the way!' ('mark something all along there!') L,  $\text{?u}\cdot\text{dex}$   $\text{ku?sex}\cdot\text{c}'ihc$  'I'm blazing a trail (marking something) along there' L,  $\text{ku?qu?li}\cdot\text{xic}'ihc$  'I'll blaze a trail' L,  $\text{?u}\cdot\text{c}$   $\text{ku?lisic}'ihc$  'I marked it (to indicate location)' L,  $\text{?u?lixic}'ihc$  'I have it (card) marked' (neuter perfective) L, with  $\text{yex}$ -progressive:  $\text{?u}\cdot\text{dex}$   $\text{yex}$   $\text{ku?qu?lexic}'ihc$  'I'll blaze a trail about along there' L, repetitive:  $\text{?u?li}\cdot\text{ic}'ihcg$  'mark it!' M,  $\text{qu?li}\cdot\text{xic}'ihcg$  'I'll mark it' M,  $\text{ta}\cdot$   $\text{?u?lexic}'ihcg$  'I'm blazing a trail' L; with d-class-mark for O:  $\text{?u?}\lambda\text{a}\cdot\text{sic}'ihc$  'I marked it (tree)' L; reflexive, with  $\text{y}$ -anatomical:  $\text{?iya}\cdot$   $\text{?edu?yexic}'ihc$  'I'm mark-

ing my hand for you' (cheating at cards) L; pas-  
sive: ?u?ədicʰsɛ̌, ?u?sɛ̌icʰsɛ̌ 'it (place) has  
been marked' L, ?u?dɛ̌x kʰu?dicʰsɛ̌ 'it's blazed  
along there' (neuter perfective) L, with dl-class-  
mark for 0: ?u?λa?ədicʰsɛ̌, ?u?λa?sɛ̌icʰsɛ̌ 'it  
(stone) has been marked' L.

?uɣ kʰu(?)lə(ɛ̌)ɕʰsɛ̌ (noun, correct form uncertain)  
'marker, signet, cachet': Rezanov ОХКОМКУМКАРЬ  
ГОВАРЬ Petschaft' ?uɣ kʰu...l...ɕ...ɛ̌..., prob-  
ably to be read -ɕʰsɛ̌- (cf. e.g. ПУМ ɕʰɛ̌), de-  
verbalization of preceding, transitive or semitrans-  
itive, classifier dropped with -ɛ̌-instrumental,  
?uɣ kʰələɕʰsɛ̌ 'marker, signet, cachet' M (per-  
haps more correctly ?uɣ kʰu?ləɕʰsɛ̌, deverbalized  
passive semitransitive with -ɛ̌-instrumental, 'by  
means of it something is marked').

*cʰhɔ-ta-? nain nain A (cʰhɔ-, cʰ-ɔ-, sʰhɔ- L)*

c'ahs

-c'ahs 'S is extremely soft and flimsy, is disintegrating, on the verge of disintegrating (upon being touched, from e.g. boiling or soaking)', attested only with ya? 'completely': ya? s'c'ahs 'it came apart or will fall apart at the slightest touch (from being boiled or soaked too long)' L.  
 Transitive (causative): ya? s'c'ahs 'mash them!' M, ya? s'c'ahs 'I mashed them (e.g. potatoes)' M, 'I boiled them too long, too soft' L.

- dʒʰs (perhaps to be identified with dʒʰs-dʒʰʒ, or to be analyzed dʒʰ-s, thematic negative of dʒʰʒ) <sup>66</sup> tʰk-l )
- ie-dʒʰs 'S (duck) moults': kuseiedʒʰsʰ 'something (duck) is starting to moult' (not the same as ku-sələdʒʰsʰ 'something is getting weak') L.
- iedʒʰs (noun, unclassified) 'moulting duck' IM.  
Nominalized active imperfective of preceding.
- ʔu-nahd ʔiedʒʰs month name L, July ('ducks are hatching and moulting') A. ʔi- prefix not-identified, required by ʔu-nahd 'moult month'.

čq'ə-čq'x (both forms well attested, in free variation; perhaps to be identified with and/or influenced by čq'ə and/or čq'x)

čq'ə (noun, attested only in Rezanov) 'tanned (and depilated?) hide of (land?) mammal': Rezanov  
 ЧААНКА 'Помыръ' (not in Radlov, omitted perhaps because of difficulty of Russian gloss).

(ti·l-)čq'ə--čq'x (with optional ti·l-class-mark for S) 'S (hide, pelt) is, becomes tanned': Rezanov  
 ЧУУАКА 'Иаурака' (not in Radlov, 'dressed hide of sea mammal (e.g. seal); baidarka covering made of dressed sea mammal hide' ti·čq'x 'tanned hide' (active imperfective nominalized), ti·se-čq'x'i 'skin has become tanned' L. Transitive (causative) 'S tans O, dresses O (skin)': ?əičq'x 'tan it (skin)!' L, ?əi ti·li·ičq'ə 'tan this (skin)!' L, qu?xičq'x 'I'll tan it' L, ti·lexi-čq'ə (or ti·lexičq'x) 'I'm tanning it' L, xi-čq'x 'I'm tanning it' L, sičq'x'i, ti·lisičq'ə'i 'I tanned it' L, repetitive: hič qah kuli-čq'ə:gih 'she keeps tanning (something, skins) every day' L, kuli·ləičq'ə:gih 'she keeps tanning (something, skins)' L; passive: sdičq'x'i, si-čq'x'i, sdičq'ə'i, sičq'ə'i, ti·sičq'ə'i 'it (skin) has been tanned' L, kuju·dah ti·sičq'x'i 'it (skin) has been tanned well' L, kuju·dah

qu<sup>o</sup>dečq<sup>o</sup>·s 'it (skin) will be tanned well (by  
someone)' L, siya· qu<sup>o</sup>dečq<sup>o</sup>·s (not qu<sup>o</sup>le-,  
and not qu<sup>o</sup>dečq<sup>o</sup>·z, but the sudden rejection  
of the stem-form čq<sup>o</sup>·z is very unexpected and  
inconsistent with much of the preceding, elicited  
on several widely spaced occasions) 'it (skin)  
will be tanned for me' L.

c'eq<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with c'eq<sup>2</sup>)

-c'eq 'S moves very swiftly through air': se'ceq<sup>1</sup>  
 'it (meteor) fell, they ("fireballs", larger than  
 shooting star) fell through the air (at night,  
 said to be shaman travelling)' L; with dl-class--  
 mark for S; ca' ?u'dax ?eS λa'se'ceq<sup>1</sup> 'a stone  
 sped, whizzed past by there' L.

deq<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with deq<sup>1</sup>)

Kudekdeq (noun, gd-class) 'young grass' IM, Ku-

dekddeq guxedah 'it's eating young grass' L.

To be analyzed either as noun -d-i-deq with

d-thematic and i-classifier, attested only with

Ku-indefinite possessor, or as nominalized active

imperfective verb (O-)d-i-deq with Ku-indefi-

nite S or O.

dɔʔɔ

dɔʔɔ (noun, unclassified) 'soft feces, runny stool  
 (human or animal)' L, dɔʔɔʔəʔuʔ 'lots of soft  
 feces' LM, dɔʔɔ siŋaʔi 'I have diarrhoea (need  
 to have a runny stool)' M.

dax<sup>1</sup>

dax- (probably noun, unclassified), meaning unknown,  
occurring only in daxtiqa'x, see qa'x.

dax<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with dax<sup>3</sup> and/or dax<sup>4</sup>)  
 sedax, qedax (noun, unclassified, prefix not identified, both forms well attested) 'cloth'; Rezanov  
 Мацахсынгъа 'Чужки Strümpfe' sedaxsɨ'ɨ (or qe-)  
 'cloth shoes', Ляхецацке мацаха 'Китанка chi-  
 nesisches Seidenzeug, chinesisches Baumwollenzug',  
 Ляхаццке ацехъ 'Фанза Crepp', see under cɨɨ  
 for reading of these, Хитлякогегеаццке 'Холстына  
 Leinwand' xɨŋgɨ' ʔi-tɨh [sɨledax (or [q]e-)  
 'cloth which is white (like snow)'; attested from  
 modern informants only as o of --p-qa-ʔ 'some of  
 o, piece of o, kind of o': sedaxqa-ʔ 'rags' A,  
 qedaxqa-ʔ 'piece of rag, any kind of rag' L.

; Wrangell L'ax :

dax<sup>3</sup> (perhaps to be identified with dax<sup>2</sup> and/or dax<sup>4</sup>)

sidx (noun, si- prefix not identified) 1. (unclassified) 'copper' LM, Wrangell Kekuax 'Kupfer', sidxtu? 'lots of copper' LM.

2. (dl-class) 'copper nugget': sidx ?u·d  
 λa'sa?ahî 'a copper nugget is there' L.

dax<sup>4</sup> (perhaps to be identified with dax<sup>2</sup> and/or dax<sup>3</sup>)

0-dax 1. 'S throws, hurls (usually sg.) O: x<sup>o</sup>dax  
 'I'm throwing it' N; attested with a variety of  
 preverbs and postpositional phrases, not all in-  
 stances of which will be cited; with ya<sup>o</sup>x 'up-  
 wards' (often 'normal parabolic trajectory of pro-  
 jectile'): 63.7G, ya<sup>o</sup>x sedax 'throw it up!' L,  
 Rezanov Xexaxax 'Брось werfen (Imperat.)' ya<sup>o</sup>x  
 ?edax 'throw it (up)!' L, with o-č 'to o':  
 46.22M, Galushia Nelson t<sup>o</sup>eilacia q<sup>o</sup>ito t<sup>o</sup>sa-ti  
 uxax setsaxti 'Where Old Raven threw his box'  
 BSdL 259, 558 č<sup>o</sup>i-lehšiyah q<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup>č ca<sup>o</sup>?i ?uxax<sup>o</sup>  
 sedaxti 'place towards which Raven threw his box',  
 sič ya<sup>o</sup>x sedax 'throw it up to me!' LM, su<sup>o</sup>?i  
 ?uč ya<sup>o</sup>x sičaxtih 'I threw a blanket up to him'  
 M, sič ya<sup>o</sup>x qe<sup>o</sup> sedax L, sič qe<sup>o</sup>-ya<sup>o</sup>x sedax  
 'throw it back up to me!' LM, ?uč ?aw da<sup>o</sup> qe<sup>o</sup>  
 ?i<sup>o</sup>-daxtih 'let's throw it back up to him' M, with  
 qa<sup>o</sup> 'up out': sič qa<sup>o</sup> sedax 'throw it up to  
 me (from e.g. down in hole)!' L, sič qa<sup>o</sup> qe<sup>o</sup>  
 sedax, sič qe<sup>o</sup>-qa<sup>o</sup> sedax 'throw it back up to  
 me!' L, with xi<sup>o</sup>-č 'over there, away': 29.3 (d-  
 class O), 51.30 (d-class O, indirect reflexive),  
 51.32A (cust), 63.7G, Rezanov Xexaxax 'Бросать  
 werfen' xi<sup>o</sup>-č ?edax L, xi<sup>o</sup>-č sedax 'throw it  
 over there!, throw it away!' L, diK xesi<sup>o</sup>-ya<sup>o</sup>-s  
 da<sup>o</sup>-x, xi<sup>o</sup>-č ?i<sup>o</sup>-dax 'if you don't eat it, you

should throw it away' L, with 'a'q' 'out (of the house)': 49.146A, 'a'q' sedex 'throw it out!' M, 'a'q' qu'xdex 'I'll throw it out' M, ya'xu' 'a'q' qi'yidex 'don't throw it out' M, 'a'q' sidexi 'I threw it out' M, with ta' 'in the water': 28.122, 123, 29.36, 39A, 53.12, 14L (last four all with d-class 0), ta' kusidexi 'I threw something in the water' L, with qid 'down off': 15.5M, sid' qid sedex 'throw it down to me!' L, with ya'?' 'down': ya'?' sedex 'throw it down!' L, sid' ya'?' sedex 'throw it down to me!' M, with o-ya' 'into o (with opening at top)': 'a'guleya' sedex 'throw it in the river!' L, 'awya' qe' sidexi 'I threw it back in there' L, with o-i 'in (punctual) contact with o': 34.86L (cust); with class-marks for 0; d-class: 29.3, 36, 39, 51.30A (indirect reciprocal), 53.12, 14L, dl-class: sid' ya'x' la'sedex 'throw it (stone) up to me!' L, 'aw ca' ta' la'sidexi 'I threw the stone in the water' L, ya'xu' ca' ya'x' qu'li'dex 'don't throw stones' L, a problematical form, in which 0 ('stone') is perhaps treated as l-class: 12.-29-32fnG, qi'l-class: qi'lesedex 'throw a rope!' M, lx-class: sid' ya'x' lexesedex 'throw it (apple) up to me!' L, ya'?' lexesedex 'throw it (apple) down!' L, sid' qe' lexidex 'throw it (ball) back to me!' L, with 'ikya' and yax'-progressive 'back and forth' (indirect reciprocal): 'ikya' yax' ku-

qu?ləxədədəxiṅu· 'they'll play catch' ('they'll throw something lṅ-class back and forth') M, ?iṅ-ya? siṅ yeṅ Kuleṅṅ·dədəṅ 'play catch with me!' M, ?iṅya? yeṅ Kuleṅṅ·ləxədədəṅ 'pl. play catch!' M; indirect reflexive: 49.131, 51.30A; passive: xi·ḑ sdiḑeṅṅ 'it's been thrown away' L, ta? la·sdiḑeṅṅ 'it (stone) was thrown in the water' L.

2. From some textual occurrences it appears that the meaning of O-ḑeṅ might be extended to 'S places, puts O hurriedly': de?u·ḑ giyahitah ?uxa? səḑeṅṅ 'she dropped her water-bucket right there' 46.22M, ?ew ta? sdiḑeṅṅ 'she jammed it in her pocket' (indirect reflexive) 49.131A.

3. Primarily in Rezanov (archaically?), O-ḑeṅ is attested with the same meaning as O-ḑ-ḑeṅ; see remarks with passives and indeterminate O under O-ḑ-ḑeṅ and O-?- (1-)ḑ-ḑeṅ; Rezanov АУУАХА 'Kyš schmeden (Imperat.)' ?eḑeṅ 'pound it!', АУУАХА 'Kobax schmeden' ?eḑeṅuh 'pound it!' L. See also the following nouns.

Kuḑeṅṅh (noun, unclassified) 'smith' ('he's pounding something') L, Rezanov Kox-axe 'Kyšox Schmieḑ'. Nominalized active imperfective of O-ḑeṅ 3.

qi? Kuḑeḑeṅ (noun) 'smithy' ('place where something is pounded') Rezanov Kexyṅeṅaxa 'Kyšṅṅ Schmieḑe'. Nominalized passive active imperfective of O-ḑeṅ 3. or of O-ḑ-ḑeṅ.

ʔuqəʃ kʉdəxʔ (noun) 'anvil', attested as such only in Resanov Охоткучакъь Наконькъь Amboss', de-verbalization with -ʔ-instrumental of passive active imperfective of either O-dəx 3. or O-ʔ-dəx; ʔuqəʃ kʉdədəx 'anvil' ('something is pounded on, against it') L (without -ʔ-instrumental de-verbalization).

tewi·s xədədəx (noun, unclassified) 'long-legged snipe' L. Exact analysis difficult: tewi·s (stone) axe' is attested both as dl- and xd-class; L suggests that the xd-class-mark is for O 'logs', thus '(a bird like) a stone hammer is pounding logs', with theme O-dəx 3, see further note on tewi·s.

O-d-dəx 'S throws O' (with d-thematic optional with quʔq 'on the fire'): quʔq dəsedəxʔ 'he threw it in the fire' L, quʔq dəsedəx 'throw it on the fire!' L.

yeʔ ləxədədəx (noun, lɣ-class) 'ball' L. Nominalized passive active imperfective of O-dəx 1. with lɣ-class-mark for O and yeʔ-progressive (< -dəx-x, 'it (lɣ-class) is thrown around').

O-ʔ-dəx 'S strikes, hits, pounds, breaks O (with held or thrown object)' (meaning not clearly distinguished from that of O-dəx 3.; presence of ʔ-classifier perhaps due to the frequent presence of o-x 'by means of o' in the construction (o-x) O-ʔ-dəx 'S strikes O (with o)'): ʔəʔdəx 'break it (cockle)!' L.

L, siɬdɛxɪ 'I broke it (e.g. clamshell)', 'I  
 pounded it (with something, not my hand)' L, ʔɛɬ=  
 dɛxuh 'pound it!' L, with yaʔ 'completely':  
 yaʔ ʔɛɬdɛx, yaʔ sɛɬdɛx 'smash it (with e.g.  
 rock)!:, break it up!' L, yaʔ siɬdɛxɪ 'I smashed  
 it all to pieces' L; with o-x 'by means of o',  
 'S strikes, hits, pounds, breaks O with (held or  
 thrown) o, S throws o at O (striking O), attested  
 mainly with anatomical marks for O: l- 'head', part-  
 ly thematized (not necessarily strongly specifying  
 'head') in the absence of other anatomical marks:  
 12.30G, 43.11, 33M, ca·li·neɣ ʔiqeʔli·xidɛx 'I'll  
 throw a stone at you (and hit you)' L, ca·li·neɣ  
 xulesɛɬdɛxɪh 'he threw a stone at me' M, ca·li·=  
 neɣ ʔɪ·siɬdɛxɪh 'I hit him with a rock (held or  
 thrown)' L, ca·li·neɣ kɛquʔli·ɬdɛxɪh 'he'll hit  
 something with a stone' L, ca·li·neɣ leɛɛɬdɛx  
 'hit him with a rock!' L, ca·li·neɣ yaʔ leɛɛɬdɛx  
 'pound him with a rock!' L, teɛɪʔi·neɣ xulesɛɬ=  
 dɛxɪ 'he threw a hammer at me' M, teɛɪʔa·neɣ xɣ·=  
 sɛɬdɛxɪh 'he threw a hammer at me (and hit me)' L,  
 ɛ·skɣeda·x xulesɛɬdɛxɪh 'he hit me in the face  
 with a (held or thrown) log' L, xiɰləɣeda·x xulɛɬ=  
 dɛ·xɰh 'he (cust) throws snowballs at me (and hits  
 me)' LM, repetitive: xiɰləɣeda·x xulɛɬdɛxɰh 'he  
 keeps pelting me with snowballs' L, with no anatomic-  
 al mark and preverb daʔd 'front' specifying 'face':

ca·λi·neṣ daʔd ʔisiḷdeṣḷ 'I hit you in the face  
 with a rock' L, with other anatomical marks: ca·  
 λi·neṣ xugedeseḷdeṣḷih 'he hit me in the rump  
 with a (thrown) stone' L; with l-anatomical themat-  
 ized, no o-x: de·wahdduw di·leh li·ḷdeṣ 'why  
 do you pelt Haven?' 43.8M; reciprocal, with l-ana-  
 tomical thematized: ca·λi·neṣ ʔikuʔ ʔi·siḷdeṣḷ-  
 inu· 'they hit each other with rocks' L, ca·λi·  
 neṣ ʔikuʔ quʔleḷdeṣḷinu· 'they'll hit each other  
 with rocks' L; passive (de-classifier apparently  
 preferred in active perfective when no o-x is  
 present, but also acceptable in presence of o-x):  
 yaʔ sdiḷdeṣḷ 'it's been smashed' L, ca·λi·neṣ  
 yaʔ siḷdeṣḷ 'it's been smashed with a rock' L,  
 ca·λi·neṣ sdiḷdeṣḷ 'it's been pounded with a rock'  
 L, with l-anatomical: xulisiḷdeṣḷ 'I've been hit  
 in the head (with something thrown)' L, ca·λi·neṣ  
 xulisiḷdeṣḷ (or xp·sdi-) 'I've been hit on the  
 head with a rock' L, diḷ ca·λi·neṣ xp·sdeṣḷiḷ  
 'I didn't get hit on the head by (any of the thrown)  
 rocks' L; with indeterminate O and yeṣ-progressive  
 (some of these forms are problematical in showing  
 de- instead of ḷe-classifier, again suggesting the  
 theme O-deṣ 3.), o-x yeṣ ʔi·ḷe-deṣ-x (or ʔi--  
 de-deṣ-x) 'S hits indeterminate O here and there  
 with thrown o, S throws o around (at things)': xiḷx  
 yeṣ ʔiḷdeṣḷih 'he's throwing snow around' 43.3M,

ya<sup>?</sup>xu<sup>?</sup> ca<sup>?</sup>li<sup>?</sup>ne<sup>?</sup> ye<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>iqe<sup>?</sup>le<sup>?</sup>de<sup>?</sup> 'don't throw  
 stones (about, at things)' L, ca<sup>?</sup>li<sup>?</sup>ne<sup>?</sup> da<sup>?</sup> ye<sup>?</sup>  
<sup>?</sup>iqe<sup>?</sup>de<sup>?</sup>de<sup>?</sup> 'we'll throw stones' L, ca<sup>?</sup>li<sup>?</sup>ne<sup>?</sup> ye<sup>?</sup>  
<sup>?</sup>ile<sup>?</sup>de<sup>?</sup>xi<sup>?</sup>h (or <sup>?</sup>ide-, -de<sup>?</sup>xi<sup>?</sup>h) 'he's throwing  
 rocks' L; with indeterminate O, o-x 'by means of  
 o', and o-x 'in (punctual) contact with o' with  
 indeterminate o: 34.89, 94, 95L, repetitive: 34.83L.  
 O-<sup>?</sup>(1-)<sup>?</sup>i-de<sup>?</sup> (semitransitive of preceding, with 1--  
 anatomical partly thematized usually present except  
 where other anatomical marks are present) 'S throws  
 something at O, tries to hit O (success not explicit)';  
 43.7M; with o-x 'by means of o', o-x O-<sup>?</sup>(1-)<sup>?</sup>i--  
 de<sup>?</sup> 'S throws o at O (may or may not hit O)': 43.5M,  
 dek<sup>?</sup>ix<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>le<sup>?</sup>se<sup>?</sup>de<sup>?</sup>xi<sup>?</sup>h 'throw a stick at him!' M,  
 le<sup>?</sup>ak<sup>?</sup>ya<sup>?</sup>da<sup>?</sup>x<sup>?</sup> xu<sup>?</sup>le<sup>?</sup>se<sup>?</sup>de<sup>?</sup>xi<sup>?</sup>h 'he threw a log at my  
 face' L, ca<sup>?</sup>li<sup>?</sup>ne<sup>?</sup> xu<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>se<sup>?</sup>de<sup>?</sup>xi<sup>?</sup>h (or xu<sup>?</sup>le<sup>?</sup>se<sup>?</sup>-)  
 'he threw a stone at me' L, ca<sup>?</sup>li<sup>?</sup>ne<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>li<sup>?</sup>si<sup>?</sup>-  
 de<sup>?</sup>xi<sup>?</sup> 'I threw a stone at you (perhaps hit you)' L,  
 ca<sup>?</sup>li<sup>?</sup>ne<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>le<sup>?</sup>se<sup>?</sup>de<sup>?</sup> 'throw a rock at it!' L,  
 ca<sup>?</sup>li<sup>?</sup>ne<sup>?</sup> ku<sup>?</sup>qu<sup>?</sup>li<sup>?</sup>de<sup>?</sup>xi<sup>?</sup>h 'he'll throw stones at  
 something' L, with other anatomical marks: dek<sup>?</sup>ix<sup>?</sup>  
<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>qi<sup>?</sup>de<sup>?</sup>se<sup>?</sup>de<sup>?</sup>xi<sup>?</sup>h 'throw a stick at his foot!' M,  
 dek<sup>?</sup>ix<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>ge<sup>?</sup>de<sup>?</sup>de<sup>?</sup>xi<sup>?</sup>h 'throw a stick at his rump!'  
 M; reciprocal: ca<sup>?</sup>li<sup>?</sup>ne<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>se<sup>?</sup>de<sup>?</sup>xi<sup>?</sup>linu<sup>?</sup>  
 'they threw stones at each other' L; passive (de--  
 classifier in active perfective, as in O-i-de<sup>?</sup>):  
 xu<sup>?</sup>li<sup>?</sup>si<sup>?</sup>de<sup>?</sup>xi<sup>?</sup> 'something was thrown at my head' L,

ca·li·neḡ xuʔliedidəḡt 'a stone was thrown at my  
head' ('there was an attempt at striking my head  
with a (thrown) stone') L.

d̪ə·ʃ (perhaps to be identified with d̪ə·s-d̪ə·ʃ)  
 -d̪ə·ʃ (noun) 'eyebrow': Rezanov Karyax̄ (y  
 raised slightly above line, but not an insert)  
 'Брови Augenbraunen' qa·d̪ə·ʃ 'our eyebrows,  
 'human eyebrows', sid̪ə·ʃ 'my eyebrows' LMA.

c'ahik<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with c'ahik<sup>2</sup>)

i-c'ahik 'S throbs': siya' ic'ahik 'it (part of  
me) throbs' L, siyeqa'c' siya' ic'ahik 'my  
hand throbs me' L, siyeqa'c' siya' seic'ahik  
'my hand is starting to throb' L, with anatomical  
mark; qi'dexic'ahik 'my feet are throbbing' L.

dahik<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with dahik<sup>1</sup>)

-g-i-dahik (noun, with g-thematic 'caudal, appendage' and -i-classifier) 'tailbone, tail (of seal)':

Kugukdahik 'seal's tailbone' LA, Kugeidahik  
'tailbone, seal's tail' L.

dehɣk (form uncertain, perhaps dehɣk)

-dehɣk (noun, unclassified) 'inside of pelt':

ʔuc<sup>e</sup>dehɣk ʔewa kugu 'its inside (of hide) is  
good' (this can be determined only after fleshing,  
when the skin is on stretching-frame) L. L once  
or twice pronounced the form also de·xk, appears  
uncertain which is right, but seems to favor

-dehɣk.

did' (perhaps loan from Tlingit: Naish-Story s'us' 'harlequin duck', Boas s'us' (Swanton). 'a water-bird', Krause tsutsk 'Anas histrionica')

did(-g) (noun, unclassified, sometimes with -g-repetitive) 'duck species' (probably 'western harlequin', not well remembered by L and M): did', didg 'some kind of saltwater duck' L, 'some kind of duck or gull' M, didg 'small black and brown duck, lives at shore, same as Tlingit s'us' A (probably correct).

c'isa'-c'esa' (loan from Tlingit *c'isa* 'cloth', see 64.9fnG)

c'isa'-c'esa' (noun, unclassified) 'canvas, sail, tarpaulin': Galushia Nelson *tisá* or *tésá*, Old Man Dude *t'sísá* 'sail (or canvas)' BSdL 550, *c'esa* 'canvas' M, *c'esa-luw* 'big tarpaulin' LM, *c'isa-yahd* 'tent' ('canvas-house') L, 32.29A, 47c.-21L, (see further instances under *yahd*<sup>2</sup>), Galushia Nelson *tisá* *ʔəpítitá* or *tésá* etc., Old Man Dude *t'sésá* *ʔáDítłé* 'mast' *c'isa-ʔədəkteʔ* 'mast' ('sail-pole, -handle') LA (for further instances see under *teʔ*), *c'isa-ʔədəkteʔyaʔ* *ʔukł* 'boom' ('mast's crosspiece') A, *c'isa-cjʔdaʔdeʔukł* 'gaff' ('crosspiece at tip of sail') A.

čes (cf. Yakutat Tlingit čičč 'real black paint, made from nex:nté', form present in Yakutat Tlingit but not attested elsewhere in Tlingit, Constance Naish, personal communication, 18 April 1967)

čes-č (noun, with -č-instrumental?, occurring only as o of o-ga? 'like o'), meaning not known, probably a substance only the color of which is remembered: česčga? ʔi-təh 'it's blackish (color of e.g. lake surface, cloud, smoke; not of dog, cat, bird)' L, čahs česčga? ʔedesele-č 'cloud is getting black' L, česčga? lex-i-təh 'they (salmonberries) are ripe maroon color' L, česčga? ʔu?sede?eh 'it (e.g. boat) look indistinct in color (too far away to see well)' L.

*Anders Wallace, of Juneau, tells me, 8 June 1969, that čičč is known and used in Juneau Tlingit, 'black', pigment made from nex:nté 'graphite'.*



c'ega·d-c'iga·d (loan from Tlingit (Naish-Story) *shg<sup>w</sup>ád*  
 'brown (thick hemlock bark)', (Sampson Harry) *shgád*  
 'brown substance resembling hemlock bark which drifts  
 ashore, often ground into a powder (for pigment?)')

c'ega·d-c'iga·d (noun, d-class or unclassified) '(un-  
 identified) brown substance' (see above): Galushia  
 Nelson *tsécs·t* or *stécs·t* 'brown (can be ap-  
 plied to overcast sky)' BSdL 553, c'ega·dga?  
 ?i·téh 'brown' (a "fancy name", 'it's like c'e=  
 ga·d') L, c'iga·dga? ?i·téh *su?h* 'brownish (?,  
 tan?) blanket' L.

dax<sup>w</sup>e·i-dexe·i (loan from Tlingit dax<sup>w</sup>éi 'crow')

dax<sup>w</sup>e·i (noun, unclassified) L, dexe·i '(north-  
western) crow (Corvus caurinus)' M, dax<sup>w</sup>e·i=  
yaquh 'young crows' 28.48A.

c̣i·cih (occasional variant c̣i·cih probably with regressive assimilation of nasality, or perhaps originally c̣i·cih, unanalyzable, to be segmented, if of Eyak origin, c̣i·-cih, c̣i·-cih, -cih perhaps related to c̣i·-ci·-ci·y)

c̣i·cih (noun, perhaps d-class or unclassified)

'subalpine fir (Abies lasiocarpa)', only vaguely identified by most informants: c̣i·cih, c̣i·cih 'pitchwood' (vague, "burns like candle, from inside of some kind of cut tree") L, c̣i·cih 'alder' S, 'spruce branches broken and dried, good for tinder' A, c̣i·cih, ʒi·ci· M ("has heard, perhaps old wood in water, e.g. encrusted with barnacles"), Harrington from G tṣiittsḥī, tṣiitsḥīh, tṣiittsḥīi 'fir', BAE ms. 4100 tṣiitsḥīh, Flin-git īeeyis 'Subalpine fir (Abies Casiocarpa). Known only [in Yakutat, probably also in Cordova] as a sp. which drifts ashore, but its name is known. A little piece of bark 5 inches long and much weathered by the ocean was picked up on the beach and was recognized [by G] at once as a piece of the Subalpine fir.', c̣i·cihya? gaḥe 'pitch of pitchwood', Harrington tṣiittsḥī ȳa'ḳh, tṣiitsḥī ȳa'ḳh 'fir bark' c̣i·cihya? ḳh.

81'

ʔ-si' 'S rots, spoils, putrefies, becomes foul':  
 səsiʔ, ʔəsiʔ 'rot!' L, qaʔʔsih, quʔwəsih  
 'it'll rot' L, diK qaʔʔsihs, diK quʔwəsihs  
 (former preferred in negative) 'it won't rot' L,  
 ʔiʔsih, siʔsih 'let it rot' L, Rezanov  
 Сашымау 'Kuczo sauer' səsiʔʔ 'it rotted, is  
 rotten (and offensive-smelling)' LM, teʔyaʔ səsi  
 siʔʔ daʔx goməgaʔ sətuʔʔ 'fish rotted so it  
 got like mud' L, ʔiʔsiʔʔ 'it's spoiled' L,  
 diK ʔaʔʔsiʔʔ 'it's not spoiled' L (neuter per-  
 fectives), səsiʔʔ 'it's getting rotten, starting  
 to rot' L, ʔəsiʔ·K 'it (cust) spoils' LM, active  
 imperfective, often used in curses and adjectival-  
 ly: Galushia Nelson inya<sup>n</sup>·ʔaʔtsi 'your mother  
 has a rotten vagina' BSdL 555 ʔiyʔ·ʔaʔ sih 'it  
 is rotting "on" your mother' (curse) L, ʔaʔʔd  
 sihšiyah 'rotten lousy weather!' ('outside it's  
 rotting-bad', with suffixed adjective -šiyah  
 'bad') L, dəxhiših 'nasty person!' (with ʔ-  
 sih suffixed as adjective) L, šiʔšdug dəxhiših  
 daʔ suhgidah dəleh 'that rotten guy (drunk)  
 sure gives one a pain!' L; with class-marks for S:  
 guliših·K 'it (urine) (cust) sours' 33.13A, duʔ  
 gy·səsiʔʔ 'milk soured' L. Transitive (causa-  
 tive): teʔyaʔ səsiʔ, teʔyaʔ ʔəsiʔ (former

preferred) 'make fish rot!' L; passive: s̄isiʔi  
'fish that has been made to rot' L.

sēisiʔi (noun, unclassified) 'rotten fish' (buried  
in ground, eaten) L, 58.3L. Nominalized active  
perfective.

sēisiʔiʔekih dog's name ('little foul one') A.

ʔi·k̄sih (noun, probably 1-class) 'rotten fish--  
heads' (eaten, same as ʔi·k̄siyaʔk̄) L. Nominal-  
ized active imperfective with 1-anatomical 'head'  
for S.

di·yaʔk̄ ʔi·k̄sih (noun, unclassified) 'salt-fish'  
L. di·yaʔk̄ 'with salt', ʔi·k̄sih either a  
nominalized neuter imperfective or, more likely,  
same as preceding, lacking nasalization.

si'

g-si'-kih (adverb, with g-thematic (class-mark  
 'filament-like?') and -kih 'little') 'a bit,  
 slightly, a little, somewhat': 2a.27M, 23.127A,  
 27a.31L, 27b.41, 28.41, 65.15, 36, 68.83A, ge=  
 si·kih gah k'u·leh 'there's a little daylight'  
 L, gusi·kih ya·ʔ di·ʔyahh 'it's coming down  
 (raining) a little' S, gusi·kih kehɔ ʔeta·  
 'leave it (door) slightly open!' L, gusi·kih  
 ʔuʔsɛicahh 'it became somewhat visible' L,  
 gusi·kih qid kʉqɔɔg 'he keeps biting off  
 little pieces' L, gusi·kih hcaʔŋg 'it's  
 dripping slightly' M, gusi·kih geli·ʔah  
 'there's a slight flow, trickle' M.

sɨh<sup>1</sup> (invariable, except for a few analogical forms in  
 inceptive perfective and inceptive imperative) *perhaps to be identified with sɨh<sup>2</sup> - same as construction*

-sɨh 1. '(animate) S dies': active perfective, *not clear*  
 'S died, S is dead': 5.1L, 8.18, 19, 11.167,  
 20.90, 90, 23.130, 131, 132, 145, 155, 161, 24.87,  
 90, 101, 25.210, 211, 213, 32.45A, 40.15L, 47b. =  
 18M, 47c.22L, 49.12, 24, 27A, 53.18, 56.30L,  
 61.105, 111, 68.120, 121A, Rezanov СЫСЫННА  
 'Умеръ gestorben', Galushia Nelson səs:<sup>n</sup>tɨ  
 'dead' BSdL 55\* səsɨhɨ 'it's dead, it died' L,  
 Rezanov СЫСЫННАХ 'Мертвоѡ todt', СЫСЫННАХ  
 'Дѣвоца Teufel' (cf. Wrangell Кареленкы Ka-dih  
 yiɨɨhinu.) səsɨhɨh 'he died, he's dead' M, diK  
 ?əsɨhɨ 'it's not dead, it didn't die' L, Ke-  
 dɨh səsɨhɨ 'how did he die?' M, Kusesɨhɨ 'some-  
 one died' L, used also where S is clearly plural,  
 often many: Kugy-tu<sup>o</sup>inu səsɨhɨ 'many people  
 died' 28.106A, ɨi<sup>o</sup>q dəɨɨhyu səsɨhɨ 'all the  
 people have died' 67.11G, ɨi<sup>o</sup>q səsɨhɨinu  
 'they're all dead' 67.14G, dəqi-kih, səsɨhɨinu  
 'all gone, they're dead' 67.15G, qəsəsɨhɨinu  
 'they both died' 68.122A, qəsəsɨhɨ 'they (dogs)  
 died, are dead' L, diK qəsɨhɨ 'they didn't  
 die' L, ?əwa Kugesəsɨhɨ 'some of them died' L,  
 with o-ɨa<sup>o</sup> 'on' o (in intimate relation with o):  
 ?əhɨa<sup>o</sup> səsɨhɨlehd 'because it had died on her'

8.18A, ?uma ?uxa? sesihhahd 'after their  
 mother died on them' 20.97A, siya? sesihh 'it  
 (pet) died on me' L, with o-yahd 'away from o,  
 leaving o': ?uma ?uxahd sesihh 'their mother  
 had died from them' 20.94A, ?ahnu siyahd se-  
 sikhinu 'those who have died from me, leaving  
 me' 70.10A, in other syntactic constructions:  
 dadu'd sesihh 'anyone who died' 28.116A, ?ulex  
 ?isihh?shihh sesihhidelyex (should be ?essihh-?)  
 'I saw him before he died' M, wey ku?ihhshihh  
 sisihh 'he thinks I'm dead' L, Galushia Nelson  
 ssi<sup>2</sup>tihnd y<sup>w</sup>uxdu or ssi<sup>2</sup>tihnd y<sup>w</sup>uxsu 'ghost  
 ("dead-person picture") BSDL 552 sesikhinu-weya-w  
 ('dead people's souls, images'), sesikhinu-ya?  
 la?mahd 'berry species' ('dead people's berries',  
 not to be eaten) LM, sesikhinu-ya? ye-t 'water  
 hemlock (Cicuta)' ('dead people's wild celery',  
 poisonous?) L, sesikhinu-ya? xawa 'moth'  
 ('dead people's dog') MA; neuter perfective, 'S  
 is dead': Rezanov Коуцикккк (with кк written  
 over к) 'Умереть sterben' ku-sihh 'someone,  
 something is dead' (perhaps first qu?wesih 'it  
 is going to die'), ?i-sihh 'it's dead' M, ?i-  
 xisihh 'I'm dead' L, dik ?a?xsihh 'I'm not  
 dead' L, qi-sihh 'they're dead' (surprising) L,  
 dik qa?sihhe 'they're not dead' (surprising) L,

*Handwritten notes:*  
 (Cicuta) (Strophopus) (Cicuta)  
 also other berries  
 included not to  
 be eaten  
 ?i?ya?, ?i?y?

?i·sɨhɨ da·ʒ kusekeʔɨ 'it was born dead, still-  
 born' M; inceptive perfective: tuxsɨhɨ 'I'm dy-  
 ing' L, si·sɨhɨ 'you're dying' L, sɨxsɨ·ɨ (or  
 -sɨhɨ) (former analogical) 'I'm dying' M, qese-  
 sɨ·ɨ (analogical) 'they're dying' M, sɨsɨhɨ  
 'it's dying' L (four times), M, 'she's dying'  
 61.106A, sɨsɨhɨhɨ 'he's dying' LA, ?uɕ ʒaʔ-  
 dihɕ quʔxɨhɨhɨ sɨsɨhɨdeɨyeʒ 'I'll visit him  
 before he dies' M, yaʔʒu· qaʔ quʔyiyah di·yeʒ  
 sɨxsɨ·ɨ da·ʒ (analogical stem-form) 'don't go  
 away before I die (while I'm not yet dead)' L,  
 sɨxsɨhɨdewa· 'before I die' L; negative active  
 imperfective, 'S doesn't die' (in repeated attempts  
 to kill it): 53.11, 16L; inceptive imperfective:  
 qiʔ quʔxsɨhɨ da·ʒ quʔxsɨhɨ 'when I die I'll die'  
 (resignedly) 23.154fnA, qaʔsɨhɨhɨ 'he was going  
 to die' 47a.2L, 'he'll die' L, qaʔsɨhɨ, quʔwesɨhɨ  
 'it'll die' M, diʔweʒ dexa·gɨdewa· qaʔsɨhɨhɨ  
 'he'll work til he dies' ('he'll die still work-  
 ing') L, diK qaʔsɨhɨ (-sɨ·sɨ "sounds funny")  
 'it won't die' L, diK quʔxsɨ·sɨ (or -sɨhɨ) 'I  
 won't die' M, yaʔʒu·sɨgahɨ qaʔsɨhɨhɨ 'let him not  
 die' L, hiʔd quʔqi·sɨhɨ, hiʔd qeqaʔsɨhɨ (former  
 preferred) 'they'll all die' L; active optative:  
 ?i·sɨhwahd 'so they'd die' 49.94A, da· qaʔɨ-  
 waʔdɨhɨ qiʔ ?i·sɨhɨɕ 'we'll whip him to death

(till he dies)' 53.33A, qí? 'ixisjhc qu'xdaxa'gí  
 'I'll work till I die' L, qí? 'ixisjhc 'ilah  
 qe'qe'xle? 'I'll love you till I die' L, qí?  
 'i'sjhc silah qe'li'j'h 'he loved me till he  
 died' L, 'i'sjhjh 'let him die' L, 'ixisjh  
 'I wish I were dead' L, qa'lisjh (not qa'yi-)  
 'let them die' L, hi'q' da' qa'lisjh 'let's  
 all die' L, da' 'i'sjh 'let's die' L; incept-  
 tive optative: ei'sjhjh 'let him die' L, se-  
 xisjh 'I wish I were dead' L; inceptive impera-  
 tive: sesj? (analogical stem-form) 'die!' L;  
 active conditional: 'isjh da'x 'before he dies,  
 just as he's about to die' L; inceptive condition-  
 al: sexsjh da'x 'if I die, when I die' 47b.17M,  
 47c.7L, ei'sjh da'x 'if you die, when you die'  
 51.18A; inceptive hortatory subjunctive: sesjhjh  
 'let him die!' L; customary: 'esi'k 'it (cust)  
 dies' LM; with d-class-mark for S: desesjhí 'it  
 (tree) died' L (see <sup>1.4-1.11</sup> ka'q', usually used for  
 plants). Transitive (causative): reflexive, 'S  
 plays dead': 'edsisjhí 'it's playing dead' L,  
 cedegí 'edsisjhí 'sun is eclipsed' ('sun is  
 playing dead', Minnie Steven said) L.

2. 'S (inanimate) stops, ceases to function':  
 'ow batterydig 'ewa' sesjhí 'its battery also  
 died' 60.47A, 'ow le'diyuh sesjhí 'the radio

went on the blink' L, siləxahd xu'siyaʔ yedaʔd  
 dexaʔd səsih̄h̄ 'I thought my watch had stopped' L.  
 O-ī-sjh̄ (semantically irregular causative of -sjh̄)  
 'S puts O in a deep sleep, S anaesthetizes O':  
 səsiʔjh̄, ʔəsih̄jh̄ 'put him in a deep sleep!' L,  
 da· si·sih̄jh̄, da· ʔi·sih̄jh̄ 'let's put him in  
 a deep sleep' L, ʔixi·sih̄jh̄ 'let me put him in a  
 deep sleep' L, quʔxi·sih̄jh̄ 'I'll put him in a  
 deep sleep' L, səsih̄h̄jh̄ 'he put him in a deep  
 sleep (anaesthesia)' L, xuse·sih̄h̄ 'he anaesthe-  
 tized me' L; passive: s̄sih̄h̄jh̄, s̄dis̄h̄h̄jh̄ 'he's  
 been anaesthetized, put into a deep sleep' L, diK  
 ʔəs̄dis̄h̄h̄jh̄ 'he hasn't been put in a deep sleep'  
 L, ədis̄h̄h̄jh̄ 'he's being put into a deep sleep,  
 being anaesthetized' L, neuter perfective: ʔidi-  
 s̄jh̄h̄jh̄ 'he's been put into a deep sleep, he's  
 anaesthetized' L, diK ʔaʔdis̄h̄h̄jh̄ 'he's not  
 anaesthetized' L.

sɿh<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with sɿh<sup>1</sup>, semantic connection not clear) *at the end of the line -sɿh, -sɿh<sup>2</sup>, -sɿh<sup>3</sup>, -sɿh<sup>4</sup>, -sɿh<sup>5</sup>*

o-sɿh (postposition) '(motion to position) hidden behind o': ?usɿh sahɿ 'it went in hiding behind it' L, kʉsɿh sahɿ 'it hid behind something (specific)' L, desɿh sahɿ 'it hid (behind indeterminate o)' L, kʉsɿh saʔyahɿ 'it got hidden behind something' L, caʔʌsɿh 'hidden behind a rock' L, ?aw ?iʔp-sɿh sɿiʔahɿ 'sun went down (hidden) behind that mountain' L, qahsɿdesɿh sɿiʔahɿ 'sun went out of sight behind the clouds' L, with -d final 'at rest, nominalization': ?usɿhd sedahɿ 'it sat, stayed hidden behind it' L, kʉsɿhd sedahɿ 'it's sitting behind something' L, ?iʔlesɿhd 'behind a mountain' M, ss:<sup>n</sup>ntkatia BSDL Genealogical Table ?usɿhd kuʔkeh name of Gus Nelson ('a place to hide behind him exists') LM, selsɿhd yaʔ 'the one (of a series) hidden behind' L, with -ɿ final 'motion within': qahsɿdesɿhɿ '(moving hidden, flying) behind, above the clouds' L, kʉsɿhɿ setahɿ 'it's hidden (somewhere?) behind something' L, kʉsɿhɿ saʔkɿh 'he's going, going along hidden behind something' L, with -daʔ final 'arrival at': kʉsɿhdaʔ sahɿ 'it went (and arrived)

in hiding behind something' L, with -č final  
'continuous motion': kusihč sah̄t 'it went  
(started off to) hiding behind something' L,  
sijhč ʔaw sedeta.kih̄h 'he's hiding it behind  
himself' L (indirect reflexive).

*attributed with zero and -d final*  
o-l̄x-sijh (postposition, with l̄x-anatomical 'eyes')  
'hidden from o's view': Rezanov СЕМРАСОММ 'Заче-  
мужь einholen, erreichen' (mis-translation of Rus-  
sian, 'you're blocking my view of it, standing in  
my way') silaxesijh 'out of my view', with -d  
final 'at rest, nominalization': silaxesijhd  
yih̄eh 'it's hidden from my sight' L.

*attributed with zero and -d final*  
dl-sijh (preverb, or locative, with dl-thematic,  
cf. dl-ʔq̄h) 'in hiding, into den, lair, cave,  
hole, burrow': λa.sijh 'in hiding, behind, under'  
M, λa.sijh sič ʔetaʔ 'sneak it to me!' M, λa.s-  
sijh sah̄t 'it went in hiding, it's hibernating  
(bear in den, cave)' LM, λa.sijh ʔuʔdiskiʔq̄h̄t  
'he, it went in hiding out of sight' L, with -d  
final 'at rest, nominalization': λa.sijhd sedah̄t  
'it (bear) is in den, hibernating' L.

saʔ¹

saʔ (noun, usually g-class, sometimes unclassified) 'inner bark, <sup>peel, cambium</sup> cambium, and sap, especially of hemlock, scraped in spring, dried flake-like, and kept in sealoil for winter food' LM, ll.36, 37A, Galushia Nelson sa' 'sap' BSdL 541, sa'h 'hemlock sap' BSdL 548 ("In the spring the sap from the inner bark of the hemlock was scraped off in mussel-shells. It was dried and served as a sweet dessert," BSdL 97. See also He·ŋ.), saʔ guʔiʔiʔh 'he's eating saʔ' LM, kugetuʔ saʔ 'lots of saʔ' L, saʔ siŋ gu·ʔaʔ (or -taʔ) 'give me a piece of saʔ!' L, saʔ dekaʔ setaʔ 'split wood for saʔ!' ('remove the saʔ!') L, saʔca·ʔi 'saʔ-storage box' ll.36A; liɣusaʔ 'tree-saʔ' or perhaps 'saʔ of spruce' ("means same as saʔ") L, kugetuʔ liɣusaʔ 'lots of saʔ on tree' M.

O-i-saʔ 'S makes O (saʔ)'; saʔsaʔiʔsuʔ 'did you make saʔ?' L; passive: sdiisaʔi 'saʔ has been made' L.

sa'-sa' (sa' only with -q-d final)

sa' (preverb, requiring <sup>at the mouth</sup> ed-thematic) 'at the mouth':

sa' sedixika'd 'my mouth is sore, hurts' ('I hurt, am sore at the mouth') L, xewa' sa' ca= di'qesit 'the dog has his mouth wide open (is agape at the mouth)' L, sa' sedecetig 'white-fish' (see under <sup>white</sup> cetig), sa' sedecu'cg 'sucker-fish' (see under <sup>sucker</sup> cu'c); perhaps also in sa' de'ah, sa' lexede'ah, see under 'a, sa' yax 'ela'ieqesixih, see under qes.

-sa' (noun, derived from preverb, requiring ed-thema-

tic as if class-mark, used mainly as o of postposi- tions, in certain compounds, and in epithet with adjective) 'mouth': sisa'sede'ka' 'the corner of my mouth' L, 'isa'sedelah 'iya' ya' qa'qu'x 'your lips will get chapped' ('it'll break up around your mouth') L, sa'sedelah cel 'walrus' M (probably to be corrected to 'usa'sedelah cel 'bones around [its] mouth'), qa'sa'sede'x'ed' 'low-bush cranberries' (see under xic-x'ed'), sa'ca= da'luw 'big-mouth' (pejorative epithet) L, la.7M.

<sup>into</sup> e-sa' (postposition) l. 'into, to o's mouth': 'aw= sa' 'into its mouth' L, sisa' seta' 'put it in my mouth:' M, 'isa' seta' 'put it in your mouth:' L, Rezanov Сисальката 'Поцалуйт kissen (imperat.)'

sisa? læceta? 'let me kiss you!' ('put your head  
 to my mouth!') LS, Rezanov Иццээнотакоутланин  
 'Царсмань күссен' ?iksɛ? ?ɟ·sɔiqubɬinu· 'they're  
 kissing' ('they put their heads mouth to mouth')  
 L, siɣɣ·ləyah sisa? səɬgu?kɬɪh 'he punched my  
 teeth out (into my mouth)' L, ?usa? ?isəgu?kɪh  
 'punch him in the mouth!' ('slap at his mouth!')  
 M, ?isa? ?iqe?xɪɔ?ɣg 'I'll slap you in the  
 mouth' M, sisa? yəsa?yahɪ 'I got it to eat  
 effortlessly' ('it wandered into my mouth') L,  
 sisa? ?a?ɪ?e· 'put (extend) it into my mouth!' L,  
 in indirect reflexives: sa? sədeta? 'put it in  
 your mouth!' L, sa? kɯɬa·ɪɪdu?ɪɪh 'he's stuffed  
 his mouth full' ('he's stuffed something into his  
 (own) mouth') L, sa? kɯɬa·ɪisa·sɪɪh 'he's  
 stuffed his mouth full of food' ('he's stuffed  
 something (food) into his (own) mouth') L, ya?ɣu·  
 sa? kɯqu?ɬa·ləsa·s 'don't stuff your mouth with  
 food!' L, sa? xsɔɪ?ahɪ 'I put it in my mouth' L,  
 sa? də?ah 'Black Bull tobacco', sa? læxədə?ah  
 'candy', see under ?a, with -d final 'at  
 rest, from a position of rest' (also in nominali-  
 zation, often indistinguishable from noun, see  
 -sa?-d below): sisa?d 'in my mouth' M, si-  
 sa?d sətahɪ 'it's in my mouth' L, ?usa?d ?ew

ɬəxəɣ 'it quivers in his mouth' 33.32A, diK  
 ʔusaʔd ʔaw lah daʔyah 'it doesn't move in his  
 mouth' 33.43A, ʔulaʔt ʔusaʔd qaʔ ʔi-ʔihh 'his  
 tongue is hanging out of his mouth' M, Rezanov  
 Казанка 'Слюна Speichel' qa'saʔd giyah 'sa-  
 liva' ('water in our mouths, human mouth', but also  
 interpretable as compound qa'saʔdgiyah 'our mouth-  
 water'), Kusaʔd giyah (or Kusaʔdgiyah) 'saliva'  
 M, in indirect reflexives: saʔd ʔədəčes 'use a  
 for (in your mouth)' L, saʔd yeɣ ɬa'naʔtɣ 'he  
 pushes it around inside his mouth without eating  
 it' L, saʔd qaʔ sedataʔ 'take it out of your  
 mouth!' L, with -ɣ final 'movement within' and liʔ  
 'from open front end to closed back end, deeply  
 into': sisaʔɣ liʔ disihqahɬ 'it fell into my  
 mouth' L, ʔisaʔɣ liʔ kuquʔɬi-xduʔ 'I'll stuff  
 (something into) your mouth' L, with -č final  
 'continuous motion to' (also interpretable as noun):  
 sisaʔč sedata'ɬ 'I'm moving it toward my mouth' L,  
 ʔawsaʔč Kuleɣ ʔisɬɬʔahɬ 'she saw something in  
 its mouth' 43.18M, in indirect reflexives (prob-  
 ably not interpretable as noun): saʔč sedata'ɬ  
 'I'm moving it toward my mouth' L, deʔweɣ saʔč  
 ʔədəč'iʔKɣ 'just take small pinches of it (e.g.  
 snuff, into your mouth)' L, with final -čahd

'away from', indirect reciprocal: saʔʕahd ʔi·ʕ  
da· dade·ʔk 'we'd (cust) (take it) out of our  
mouths (and) throw it away' 51.30A.

2. 'into o (trap)': weʔisaʔ saħ 'it got  
caught in a snare' L, ʔawsaʔ 'into a trap' M,  
ʔusaʔ saħ 'it got caught in it (trap)' L, desaʔ  
saħ 'it fell, got caught (went into) a trap (in-  
to mouth of indeterminate o)' LM, desaʔ siyahħ  
'I got caught in a trap' L, with -d final 'from  
a position of rest': ʔawsaʔd 'out of it (trap)'  
L.

-saʔ-d (noun, unclassified, postposition o-saʔ  
nominalized with -d final) 'mouth': Furuħjelm  
Khusat 'mouth', Galushia Nelson eúsdʔt 'mouth'  
BSdL 541 kusaʔd 'mouth' M, kusaʔdluw 'a big  
mouth' (not epithet) LM, Galushia Nelson i' sa't  
'your mouth' ʔisaʔd, a<sup>n</sup> sa't 'his mouth' BSdL  
557 ʔahsaʔd, ʔusaʔd 'his mouth' 23.140A, ku-  
saʔdlah 'around the mouth' M, Rezanov Kacapa-JA  
'Pora Mund' qa·saʔdlah 'around our mouths, human  
mouth', kusaʔdyaʔd place-name, perhaps of bay  
across from Ocean Point ('a mouth, as body of water,  
o with broad opening at top') M, sisaʔdekah ʔaw  
sekyahħh 'he took it (e.g. cigarette) out of my  
mouth' L, sisaʔd yiʔaʔʔ 'my mouth is stiff (I

can't pronounce it)' L, ?usa?d yeʒ λs·kəqəʒxjɪh  
'he's moving his jaw from side to side, distorting  
his mouth about' L, sisa?d siya· adicəmetʔ 'my  
mouth puckered (from eating sour fruit)' L.

o-gaʔ kə-sa?d (verb derived from noun -sa?-d)

'S has mouth like o': ?igaʔ ?iʔisa?dɪh 'he has  
a mouth like yours' L.

-sa·-q-d (noun, probably unclassified, derived from  
postposition with -q final 'on (top of)' and -d  
final 'at rest, nominalization') 'palate, velum,  
roof of mouth'; Rezanov Касаккэ Гедо но пры  
Gaumen' qa·sa·q-d 'our palates, human palate',  
sisa·q-d 'the roof of my mouth (palate and/or  
velum)' L, ma·sa·q-d place-name, pond at Mile 6  
( 'lake-palate'?) L.

səh<sup>1</sup> (also sə· in compound; perhaps to be identified with səh<sup>2</sup>)

səh (noun, lɔd-class or unclassified) 'fluff, cotton grass (Eriophorum, "Alaska cotton")' IM, kʉ-tu<sup>?</sup> səh, səhləʒedətu<sup>?</sup> L, səh<sup>?</sup>ətʉ<sup>?</sup> 'lots of fluff' IM, səh ʔu·d ləʒədəsəʔah̄ (or -tah̄) 'a piece of fluff is there' L, səh si<sup>?</sup> ləʒə-di·ʔa<sup>?</sup> (or -ta<sup>?</sup>) 'give me a piece of fluff!' L; Rezanov Canxyera 'Mərkə weich' səhga<sup>?</sup> ʔi·wəh 'it's soft (like cotton grass fluff)' L.

səh(ʔ)əs̄i·i, sə·s̄i·i (noun, unclassified or qi·d--class) 'stockings, socks, hose' ('cotton-shoes'): səh<sup>?</sup>əs̄i·i, səhəs̄i·i L, sə·s̄i·i MA (MA reject L's forms, which are, however, probably the more conservative), səh(ʔ)əs̄i·i ʔiya· ʔiqe<sup>?</sup>di·x̄ih 'I'll knit some socks for you' L, kʉ<sup>?</sup>luw səhəs̄i·i, kʉqi·da<sup>?</sup>luw səhəs̄i·i 'big socks' L, i<sup>?</sup>hənu·ləya<sup>?</sup> səhəs̄i·i 'one pair of socks' L, la<sup>?</sup>dnu·ləya<sup>?</sup> səhəs̄i·i 'two pairs of socks' L.

sah<sup>2</sup> (invariable except for analogical form in inceptive imperative)

O-l-sah 'S scrapes fat and flesh from O (sealskin)' (not used of land-animal skins, for which see O-l-duh<sup>2</sup>): li-sah, la-sah (former preferred) L, lecesah<sup>?</sup> L (analogical), lecesah 'flesh it (sealskin)!' LM, qu<sup>?</sup>li-xсах 'I'll flesh it' LM, diK u<sup>?</sup>li-xсах<sup>s</sup> (not -sah<sup>s</sup>) 'I won't flesh it' L, ʔi-sisah<sup>h</sup>, lisisah<sup>h</sup> 'I fleshed it' M, kulexсах 'I'm fleshing (something, sealskin)' L, diK kulexсах<sup>s</sup> 'I'm not fleshing' L, da- la-yisah 'let's flesh it' L, li-xсах-K 'I (cust) scrape fat off (sealskin)' L; passive: ʔi-sdisah<sup>h</sup> 'it (sealskin) has been fleshed' L.

su?

O-su? 'S makes O (dry-salmon<sup>1</sup>, "newspaper-fish", S cuts, dries and smokes O (salmon, into "news paper-fish")' (see Eyak Texts 65.1-6, 68-76 and fns, BSdL 95-96 for description and discussion): si-su? 'I made dry-salmon<sup>1</sup>' L, qu?xsu? 'I'll make dry-salmon<sup>1</sup>' L; passive: sdisu? 'news-paper-fish' have been made, are hung up, drying' L.

sesu? (noun, unclassified, with se-prefix not clearly identified) 'smoked salmon<sup>1</sup>, old-style "news-paper-fish"' LMAG, 29.65, 60.3, 3, 4A, 63.31, 35, 45G, 65.1, 2, 6, 34, 34, 65, 68, 68, 68, 71, 72, 76A, Rezanov Kacy 'Koxa getrocknete Fisch', Galushia Nelson qásu' or qásu' 'salmon dried with backbone hanging out' BSdL 548, sesu?kih 'little bit of dry-salmon<sup>1</sup>' 51.15, 15A, sesu?tu? 'lots of dry-salmon<sup>1</sup>' LM, sesu?luw 'big "news-paper-fish"' L, sesu? sič ?eta? 'give me a dry-salmon<sup>1</sup>:' L, sesu? xjhx 'he's eating "newspaper-fish"' L.

O-gd-su? (perhaps with gd-anatomical 'rump') 'S makes O (dry-salmon<sup>2</sup>, "necktie-fish"), S cuts, dries and smokes O (salmon, into dry-salmon<sup>2</sup>)' (see Eyak Texts 65.28-36 and fns, BSdL 95-96 for description and discussion): gedi·su? 'make dry-salmon<sup>2</sup>:' LM, qu?gedi·xsu? 'I'll make dry-salmon<sup>2</sup>, I'll cut salmon in dry-salmon<sup>2</sup>-style' L,

'I'll dry fish (dry-salmon<sup>2</sup>)' LM, da· gedasu·ŋ  
'we (cust) make dry-salmon<sup>2</sup>' L; passive: godindis-  
su?i 'dry-salmon<sup>2</sup> have been made' L.

gd-su? (noun, unclassified, perhaps also gd-class)  
'dry-salmon<sup>2</sup>'; gudesu? 'dry-salmon<sup>2</sup>' LMA, 65.=  
28, 28, 34, 36A, ya·gda·ddelahaeyu·, weŋ ?ew  
?u?li·?eh, nigta·y cesu?, ... ?ew gudesu?  
'Yakutaters, thus they call it, necktie-dry-sal-  
mon<sup>1</sup>, that dry-salmon<sup>2</sup>' 65.34A, ku?u? gudesu?  
'lots of dry-salmon<sup>2</sup>' L, gudesu? ŋihih 'he's  
eating dry-salmon<sup>2</sup>' L, gudesu?guda?luw 'big  
dry-salmon<sup>2</sup>' (gd-class) L, di·ya?ŋ gudesu?  
'salted dry-salmon<sup>2</sup>' ('dry-salmon<sup>2</sup> with salt') L.

siyu-su-siyuh-suh-si' (perhaps related to suhg; variants extremely irregular, informants very inconsistent and uncertain; at least two types of variation are represented, 1) alternation between broken siyu(h) and unbroken su(h), a type not widely enough attested in the modern morphology to permit recognition of clear patterns, and 2) variation between s(iy)uh-s(iy)u' and invariable s(iy)uh, usage clearly vacillating between variable s(iy)u and invariable s(iy)uh: broken siyuh seems favored by L and A in the active imperfective, active optative, and inceptive imperfective, and unbroken suh is clearly favored by L, M, and A in the active perfective, both forms implying either s(iy)u or s(iy)uh; in the inceptive perfective L favors siyu' or su' and A siyu', both implying s(iy)u, whereas M favors suh, implying s(iy)uh (M generally seems to prefer unbroken invariable suh); L's and A's apparent preference for siyuh in the active imperative and, especially, in the repetitive, implying s(iy)uh, unexpectedly agrees with M's treatment of the inceptive perfective, rather than their own; L's siyu? and M's su? in the inceptive imperative imply s(iy)u, but analogical glottalization of otherwise invariable CVh-stems in the inceptive imperative is extremely frequent, perhaps more so than the retention of CVh; in the cus=

tomary, always with lengthened vowel, L favors an expected *siyu*·, but M and A clearly favor an unexpected form *si*·, and *su*· is not attested)

O-*siyu*-*su*(-etc.) 'S kills pl. O, S hunts pl. O (game, successfully)': active imperfective: -*siyuh* 28.94A, *qa*· *siyuhinu*· 'murderers' ('they kill us, people' L, inceptive imperfective: -*siyuh* 53.4, 8L, *leʔa*· *kuquʔwesiyuh* 'will hunt (kill pl. something, game) for you pl.' 20.56A, *quʔqi*·*xsiyuh* 'I'll kill them' L, *diK* *quʔqi*·*xsiyuh* 'I won't kill them' L, *leʔiqeʔxsiyuh* 'I'll kill you pl.' L, *ʔawa*· *kuquʔxsiyuh* 'I'll kill some of them' L (could also be interpreted 'I'll kill some things for them'), *quʔxsiyuhinu*· 'I'll kill them' LA, active perfective: -*suh̄* 7.22, 22, 25.178, 179, 184, 28.128, 128, 128 (negative), 129A, 42.23L, 49.32, 33, 33, 68A, 55.12L, -*siyuh̄* 53.9L, *ʔahnu*·*ʔuhnu*· *qesəsuh̄* 'did he kill them?, did they kill them?' M, *qesəsuh̄inu*·*ʔuhnu*· 'did you kill them?' M, *qesisuh̄*, *sisuh̄inu*· L, *sisiyuh̄*, *sisiyuh̄inu*· 'I killed them' A, inceptive perfective: *qesi*·*su*·*̄* (or -*siyu*·*̄*) 'you're killing them' L, *ʔexsiyu*·*̄**inu*· (or -*siyuh̄* or -*si*·*̄*, but first form apparently preferred) 'I'm killing them' A, active imperative: *ʔəsiyuhinu*· 'kill them!' L (uncertain), A,

inceptive imperative: qesasiyu? 'kill them!' L,  
 customary: -si·K 9.121, 121, 24.82, 83, 25.159  
 (inceptive), 166 (negative), 166, 171, 190 (incep-  
 tive), 193, 28.19A, Kusi·Kih M, Kusi·Kih 'he  
 (cust) kills people' L, -si·yu·K 24.7, 25.164  
 (inceptive), 37b.35A, repetitive: lex· Kuqa?-  
 siyuhg 'will hunt (kill some things) for you pl.'  
 20.56A (out of context could also be interpreted  
 'will kill some of you'), ?aw k̄y·diyahsluw si-  
 yuhginu· qe?ahnu· 'they're the ones the giant  
 rat had been killing' 28.87A; reciprocal: in-  
 ceptive imperfective: 61.101A (-siȳhinu·, with  
 analogical umlaut), ?iku? qu?desuhinu· M, ?iku?  
 qu?desiyuhinu· 'they'll kill each other' L, 61.-  
 100A, ?iku? da· qu?desiyuh 'we'll kill each  
 other' L, active imperfective: ?iku? desiyuhinu·  
 'they're killing each other' L, active perfective:  
 ?iku? Kusdisuh̄ 'some people killed each other'  
 M, ?iku? edisuh̄inu· 'they killed each other'  
 M, inceptive perfective: ?iku? sedesuh̄inu· M  
 (twice), ?iku? sedesiyu·h̄ 'they're killing each  
 other' L, repetitive: ?iku? desi·ginu·, ?iku?  
 desiyuhginu· (latter preferred) 'they keep kill-  
 ing each other' L; passive: active imperfective:  
 -siyuh 11.6A, inceptive imperfective: -siyuh 28.-  
 110A, lex̄iqe?desiyuh 'you pl. will get killed' L,

active perfective: -suh̄ 10.67, 25.131A, 34.73M,  
qa' sdisuh̄ 'we got killed' M, sdisuh̄, sdi=  
suh̄inu' 'they got killed' L.

O-ḡ-siyu--su(-etc.) (ḡ-thematic with ya'ḡ 'de=  
struction') ya'ḡ O-ḡ-siyu--su(-etc.) 'S kills  
O all off, S massacres O': ya'ḡ quʔxi·suh̄inu'  
'he'll kill them all' LM, ʔahnu' ya'ḡ ḡese=  
suh̄ 'she massacred them' 49.64A, ya'ḡ ḡese=  
suh̄inu' 'he killed them all' L, ya'ḡ ḡese=  
su·h̄inu' (or -suh̄) 'he's killing them all' M,  
ya'ḡ ḡesesuʔinu' M, ya'ḡ ḡesesiʔinu' 'kill  
them all!' L; reciprocal: ʔihuʔ ya'ḡ ḡesede=  
siyuh̄inu' (or -su·h̄inu', former preferred)  
'they're killing each other all off' L; pas=  
sive: ya'ḡ ḡedisuh̄inu' 'they all were killed' M.

O-ḡ-siyu--su(-etc.) (ḡ-classifier with o-ḡ 'by  
means of o') o-ḡ O-ḡ-siyu--su(-etc.) 'S kills  
pl. O by means of o': xuf̄ḡ siḡsiyuh̄inu' 'I  
killed them with a gun' L, ca·ḡi·neḡ siḡsiyuh̄inu'  
'I killed them with a rock' L; passive: ca·ḡi·neḡ  
leḡiḡeʔdesiyuh̄ 'you pl. will get killed with a  
rock' L, ca·ḡi·neḡ sḡisuh̄niu' 'they got killed  
with a rock' L.

ʔux̄ Kḡsiyuh̄yū' (noun, unclassified) 'weapons, hunt=  
ing-gear' L. Nominalization of preceding, active im=  
perfective, with Ku-indefinite S or O and -yu'

'plural'; ?uX da' Musiyu·X 'that which we  
(cust) kill things with' 37b.35A is a similar  
nominalization, but with o-X 'with o' instead  
of the probably more standard o-x̣. See also  
Se for similar nominalizations.

perhaps reduced form of sahd<sup>2</sup>

sid (expanded se·d)  
 -sid 'pl. S (of definite length) extend' (for sg. S see 'a', now used also for pl. S, especially with indirect reciprocal): 'q·cahd 'i·sid 'they (sticks) extend from here' L, ta· 'u·c 'i·sid 'roads reach there' L, ta· 'q·cahd sesidh 'roads start (have come to extend) from here' L, ta· 'u·daḡ sesidh 'roads go by there' L; with class-marks for S: ya'ḡ di·sid 'they (boards) stick up' L, sič di·sid 'they (boards) extend towards me' L, siḡahč di·sid 'they (boards) extend away from me' L, qid di·sid 'they (boards, or d-thematic optional with qid ?) extend off (beyond) edge' L, kuḡ·tu' 'u·daḡ geli·sid 'many streams run by there' L, 'ewlu' geli·sid 'it (water) runs through several holes in it' L, 'q·cahd qi·li·sid 'ropes extend from here' L, 'u·daḡ yeḡ qi·li·sid 'ropes hang down by there' L, qid qi·li·sid 'ropes hang down' L, 'u·da' qi·li·sid 'ropes reach there' L, with ḡd-class-mark (see also ḡd·sid with ḡd-thematic): 34.107L, 'ewta·s ḡedi·sid 'they (logs) lie across it (creek)' L, 'u·da' ḡedi·sid 'they (logs) extend thither' L; with ḡd-anatomical 'rump', partly thematized: ya·ḡ Neqa' ḡedi·sid 'they (things) are upside-down' L, with l-anatomical: 'ewyahd qa' qi·sidinu· 'their (pl.) heads are sticking up from

ya'ḡ ḡedi·sid 'they (logs) lie across it' L, 34.107L



zor-class' (same as ʒi·da·da:) ('their pl. noses extend up out') L.

ʔiḷqaʔʒ (qə)desid (noun, qi·l-class or unclassified) 'chain': Rezanov *Ураканаречуръ* 'Цѣпочка kleine Kette, Uhrkette' ʔiḷqaʔʒ qədesid 'chain' ('they're linked together, they extend amongst each other') L, Rezanov *Ураканаречуръ* 'Цѣпочка Kette' ʔiḷqaʔʒ qədisidluwa... 'big chain' (unclassified), ʔiḷqaʔʒ desidqi·ʔnuw (uncertain) 'big chain' L. Nominalized neuter (Rezanov) and active (L) imperfectives, indirect reciprocal, optional q-pluralizer.

ʔikuʔ dose·d name of Old Man Dude LMAS, Galushia Nelson *tḷuʔD:sḷt* 'Old Man Dude' BSDL Genealogical Table. Nominalized active imperfective with expanded stem, indirect reciprocal with ʔiḷ-luʔ 'through (holes in) each other', which A interprets 'it is bent loop-like into a hook' and L 'linked together'.

ʒd-sid 'pl. S (of definite length) extend' (meaning not clearly distinguished from that of -sid; used with S definitely not ʒd-class; the ʒd-thematic is probably the combined result of <sup>several</sup> two influences: ʒd=<sup>ʒd-thematic</sup> class-mark for S (frequently e.g. 'logs', and ʒ-thematic with q-pluralizer, also frequent in themes with -sid): ʔq·ḷabd ʒedi·sid 'they (sticks, unclassified) extend from here' L, qid ʒedi·sid 'they (sticks) extend beyond edge, down' L, with yaʔ 'completely, to a state of (vertical) rest':

yaʔ qəxədi·sid 'they (trees, d-class) are high'  
(neuter imperfective) L, yaʔ qəxədəsid 'they  
(sticks) stick up' (active imperfective, normal  
with q-x-thematic) L.

ʔdl-sid, attested only with yaʔx 'up', 'pl. S <sup>only L. to be corrected to</sup> yaʔ 'vertical',  
extend upward': yaʔx ʔəli·sid 'they stick up'  
L (cf. following).

ʔdl-sid, attested only with yaʔ 'completely, to  
a state of (vertical) rest', 'pl. S are high':  
yaʔ ʔəli·sid 'they're tall, high' M (L uncertain,  
cf. preceding).

ʔgdl-sid (with gdl-thematic 'aquatic length', inclu-  
ding gl-class-mark 'liquid') with yeʔ 'downward':  
ʔu·d yeʔ ʔigeʔli·sid 'several waterfalls are  
there' L.

ʔi-sid (ʔi-classifier with comparative postpositional  
phrase o-gaʔ 'like o', apparently optional with  
themes with -sid, cf. indirect reciprocals under  
-sid) 'pl. S extend comparatively': indirect recipre-  
cal: ʔiʔgaʔ ʔiʔisid 'they're the same length'  
( 'they extend like each other', same as ʔiʔgaʔ  
ʔiʔiʔah) L.

sɨ̌·d-sɨ̌·t̚ (some uncertainty, both forms apparently well attested, sɨ̌·d from LMA in elicitation, sɨ̌·t̚ from LM in elicitation and A in text; but L later rejects sɨ̌·t̚ in favor of sɨ̌·d, and transcription by L1 from Scar and/or Minnie Stevens in notebook and file-slip implies sɨ̌·d)

-dl-sɨ̌·d--sɨ̌·t̚ (noun, with dl-thematic 'series' ?)  
 'ribs, ribs together with spine': ʔuʌa·sɨ̌·t̚ 'its spine and ribs, ribcage (including meat)' 37b.25A, Rezanov Катаскура 'Рёбро Rippe, Seite' (in Rezanov also with 'Бокъ', but crossed out) qa·ʌa·sɨ̌·d (or -t̚) 'our, human ribs', siʌa·sɨ̌·t̚ M, siʌa·sɨ̌·d 'my ribs' LMA, kuʌa·sɨ̌·t̚ 'ribs (of person, animal, canoe)' L.

sehđ

O-sehđ 'S trips, stumbles over O': Kusisehđä 'I  
stumbled over something' L, 'aw sisehđä 'I  
tripped over it' L, 'aw qesi-sehđe 'watch out  
you don't trip over it!' (cautionary negative  
imperative) L.

sahd<sup>1</sup>

-sahd (noun, unclassified) 'liver': Kusahd 'liver'  
 IMA, 42.1, 9, 10, 23L, Kusahd 'ewyaq da' li?  
 idu·KK 'we (cust) stuff liver into it (codfish  
 stomach)' L, Kusahdluw 'big liver' LM, Ku-  
 sahdece·? 'spleen' M, 'spleen (? , or pancreas?,  
 dark bluish organ, much smaller than liver, not  
 eaten)' ('liver's younger sibling') L.

sahd<sup>2</sup> (perhaps related to sid)

sahd-ɣ (adverb, always with -ɣ-thematic suffix)

'for a long time': 9.166, 10.240A, 15.9M, 25.16A, 27a.19L, 28.17A, 34.5M, 34.47, 56.4, 14L, 60.5, 68.2A, with verbs 'to go', 'for a long time, a long distance': 18.15, 23, 27a.19, 31.7, 8L, 49.-45A, sahɣ dəɣɣh (-ɣe(?)) 'S (is) a person for a long time, old person': 20.90, 24.86, 29.26, 51.12, 18, 60.24A, ɣi· sahɣ 31.8L, ɣi· sahɣ 60.24A, dəɣi· sahɣ 'for a long time already' 20.53, 21b.10, 24.17, 36.6, 61.116A, dəɣi· sahɣ ya· yahd 'old house' ('house (which is) already one for a long time') L, ʔidah sahɣ salisitaʔɣ 'I've lived long enough' L, diK sahɣ quʔɣeli·xta·ɣ, diK sahɣ quʔdiʔxɣeʔu·ɣɣ 'I won't live long' L, see further instances under al-ta', d-(ʔi-)ɣe-ʔuʔɣ, ɣl-qu', sahɣ xcu·dgK 'I (cust) sleep late' M, diK (sahɣ) ɣaʔq qaʔ=ahɣ 'it won't last, take long' L, Rezanov Теку-сары 'Курса, Курса kurze Zeit, auf kurze Zeit' probably to be read diK sahɣɣ 'not for long', sahɣ da·ɣ 'after a long time, a long time (went by) and' 26.11, 41.3L, diK sahɣɣ da·ɣ 'not long afterwards, not a long time (went by) and' 47a.4L, di·yeɣ sahɣɣdewa· 'before

long, before a long time (had passed)' 24.24, 61.-  
44A, deg<sup>w</sup>a' sahdɣ 'for long enough' 25.139A,  
ʔidaʔya·ləɣ sahdɣ 'for too long', 17b.14M, with  
suffixed -kih 'diminutive': sahdɣkih da·ɣ  
'after a little while, a little while (passed)  
and' 61.7, 19A.

sit (never \*sat L; expanded se·t)

le-sit-g (with -g-repetitive thematized) 'S  
 shivers, shudders, shakes (from cold)': xhesit  
 'I'm shivering, shuddering (from cold)' LM, 'my  
 teeth are chattering' M, sexhesitg 'I'm get-  
 ting shaky (from cold)' L, xhesetgk 'I (cust)  
 shiver' LM; with ɣp·dl-anatomical 'teeth': si-  
 ɣp·loyah siya· ɣp·la·xhesitg 'my teeth are  
 chattering' L.

su·t̚

O-su·t̚ 'S sips, slurps O (noisily, impolite)':  
 Kuxsu·t̚ 'I'm sipping something, I'm slurping  
 (noisily, bad manners)' LM, Ku·su·t̚ 'sip!' M,  
 ?ew su·t̚h 'he's slurping it noisily' L, si-  
 su·t̚i 'I sipped it' M, Kusu·t̚h 'he (cust)  
 slurps' LM, with li? 'deeply in cavity':  
 li? ?esu·t̚ 'slurp it down!, swallow it!' L,  
 with gl-class-mark for O (clearly optional):  
 geli·su·t̚ 'slurp it (liquid)!' L, repetitive  
 (partly thematized): Ku·su·t̚g 'slurp!' L,  
 Kuqu?xsu·t̚g 'I'll slurp' L; indirect reflex-  
 ive, with o-li? 'deeply in o': li? dasu·t̚  
 'you're slurping it up, sucking it in (e.g.  
 spaghetti)' (with ingressive ep<sup>h</sup>-noise) M.

seʔi-seʔi (seʔi in verb, seʔi in noun)

seʔi (noun, unclassified) 'evening, twilight, dusk'

IM, 25.83, 37b.75A, frequently used adverbially

'in the evening, at dusk': 9.79, 23.8, 32.10A,

47b.9M, 59.4 Galushia Nelson, Rezanov Coz-asz

'Beuery Abend', seʔiʔəjuʔ 'nice evening' L;

with de- 'ipse': deseʔi 'just for the evening'

65.45A; Rezanov Сэмьякоа 'Ужинать zu Abend

essen' seʔiKowah 'evening meal, supper' L.

i-seʔi 'S (impersonal) becomes evening, twilight

falls': 11.112, 25.84, 109, 65.15, 54A (active

conditional), seʔeʔi 'it's getting to be even-

ing' LA, Kuzudah seʔeʔi 'it's a nice even-

ing' ('it's getting to be evening nicely') L,

qaʔiseʔi 'it'll be evening' LA, ʔiʔiseʔi, di-

ʔwoj gah Kuʔeh 'it's evening (neuter perfec-

tive), there's still daylight' L, seʔeʔi 'it

became evening' L, ʔeʔeʔiK 'twilight (cust)

falls' IM.

suh3 (M prefers suʔd, but this is rejected by L and A, influenced probably by duʔd, cf. also dɿʔd-dɿʔd--dɿʔd-dɿ3 and ɣuhd)

O-suh3-g (with -g-repetitive thematized) 1. 'S makes O (hissing, sizzling, boiling noise)', with Ku-indefinite as O: ʒi-nig Kusuh3g 'teakettle is hissing' L, Kusuh3g 'it's sizzling, boiling' LA, Kusuʔdg 'it's sizzling' M (rejected by L), ɣpʔ Kusuh3gɿ 'it stopped (finished) hissing or sizzling' L.

2. 'S puts O (baby) to sleep by making hissing noise at it' (also perhaps 'S blows on O'): ʔaw suh3g 'I'm blowing on it' M, xsuh3gɿh 'I'm hissing him (baby) to sleep' L, ʔəsuh3gɿh 'hiss him (baby) to sleep!' LA, ʔiqeʔxsuh3g 'I'll hiss you to sleep' L, sisuh3gɿh 'I hissed him to sleep' L.

de-suh3-g (with -g-repetitive thematized, perhaps passive of preceding, attested only with gl-class--marks for S (or O?)) 'S (O?) sizzles': quʔgelede-suh3g 'it (water) will sizzle' A.

sid' (never \*səd L)

-sid' (noun, ti·l-class) 'skin (of fish)': Kusid'  
 '(fish) skin' LMS, 65.32, 32A, ?usid' 'its  
 skin (of fish)' L, Kusid'ti·?nuw 'big fish  
 skin' L, Kusid' ?u·d t̃·setah̃ (not -?ah̃)  
 'a fish skin is there' L, Kusid' sid' ti·li·=  
 ta? (not -?a?) 'give me a fish skin!' L.

sɨ's

sɨ's (noun, unclassified) 'mold' LM, sɨ'sʔetʉʔ  
'lots of mold' L.

lisda-qʉciʔsɨ's (noun) 'beard lichen or moss, us-  
nea' (gray tree fungus, hangs in bunches, same as  
lisgusɨ'k)' L. lis-d-q' 'on tree', eiʔ-thematic  
with o-qʉ.

g-sɨ's (noun, probably g-class, with g-class-mark  
'filament-like' thematized) 'gray hair': Rezanov  
Кыссуа 'Съаоа̄ grau(haarig)' gusɨ's 'a gray  
hair' L.

de-sɨ's 'S gets moldy': sdisɨ'sɨ 'it got moldy'  
L, 4l.2, 4L (nominalized, 'moldy food'), quʔde-  
sɨ's 'it'll get moldy' LM, sedesɨ'sɨ 'it's  
getting moldy' L, desɨ'sk' L, ʔedesɨ'sk' 'it  
(cust) gets moldy' 65.70A, diK ʔedesɨ'sk' 'it  
(cust) doesn't get moldy' 65.26A; with l-anatomic-  
al 'head': lesedesɨ'sɨh 'his hair is turning  
white' L, lesedesɨ'sɨ 'I'm getting gray-  
haired' L, quʔɨ'desɨ's 'you'll get gray-haired'  
M, ʔɨ'xsdisɨ'sɨ 'I got gray-haired' L. Suscep-  
tive neuter: lisɨ'sx 'it gets moldy easily' L.

## sahs

- sahs (noun, unclassified) 'sea-otter' IMAS, 12.-  
 29., 64.1, 1, 10, 10, 11, 14, 18G, Rezanov Caacɔ  
 'Бобъа морскоѦ Seebiber', Galushia Nelson sa's  
 'sea-otter' BSdL 539, sahs'a'luw 'big sea-  
 otter' LM, sahs'əkih 'little sea-otter' M,  
 sahs'ciya' 'master sea-otter hunter' 64.6G.
- sahs qi' dededa'ŋg place-name, area outside of  
 Strawberry Point (Hinchinbrook Island) ('place  
 where sea-otters are (repeatedly) drowned') L.

suhg (perhaps to be analyzed sub-g with -g-repetitive, related to siyu-su, as L suggests)

suhg-i (noun, perhaps i-deverbalization or gerundive, perhaps of siyu-su, attested mainly with -dah adverbializer) 'severe injury, severe illness' (strong expression): suhgidah si-lii 'something real bad happened to me' L, suhgih ah sele? 'get sick!' L, suhgidah si-ii 'I hit him real hard, hurt him real bad' L, suhgidah sehi? 'really let him have it!' (heard Scar Stevens say, a very strong expression) L, suhgidah ?i'teh 'it hurts (sensation upon striking funny-bone)' L, suhgidah yese-i?ih 'really hurt his hand!' L; as o of o--wahd 'for the sake of o, in order that o', suhgidewahd, with -de- either d-class-mark, or, more likely, reduction of -dah: suhgidewahd yese-i?ih 'really hurt his hand!' (meaning same as that of preceding) L; also with da? preverb (? , of limited occurrence, not clearly identified): Rezanov Тасукьлататкья 'Шажь du lārast', Тасукьлататекля 'Шумь lārmen' da? suhgidah di-leh 'you give one a pain (with your talk, noise)' L, ši?šdug deşhiisih da? suhgidah deleh 'that rotten guy (drunk) sure gives one a pain (with his noise, talk)! ' L.

sik (expanded si·k, uncertain)

d-i-sik (with d-thematic 'oral, noise') 'S hic-  
coughs, S has hiccoughs': Resanov Тохъсакъ  
'Ххавъ schlucken, Aufstossen haben' duxisik  
'I'm hiccoughing, I have the hiccoughs' LMA,  
qu?di·xisik 'I'll get hiccoughs' LM, disik=  
sik 'I hiccoughed' A, daxisi·kk 'I (cust)  
hiccough' L, deisi·kkih 'he (cust) hiccoughs'  
L (now uncertain).

sɨ·k (earlier siq, phonologically ungrammatical, and si·q transcribed from L and A, but S and later L fairly certain of sɨ·k; siK implied by transcription by Harrington from G; vowel -ɨ- conceivably influenced by sɨ·s)

-g-sɨ·k (noun, probably with g-class-mark 'filament-like' thematized, attested only as second element in compound with lis 'tree, spruce'):  
 lisgusɨ·k 'usnea, beard moss or lichen' ('gray hairlike moss that hangs in bunches from spruce')  
 LS, same as lida·qəsi?si·s L, Harrington  
 liiskussɨ·k (implying lisgusiK) 'moss or lichen hanging on spruce, poultice for eyes, usnea' G.

sahx<sup>w</sup>-sahx (sahx<sup>w</sup> LA, sahx LMA; sa·x<sup>w</sup> is the form used by S, who says it is the same as the Tlingit; Harrington's transcription from G also implies sa·x<sup>w</sup>, G "says that we have only one name for this in both languages. Later says that sáax<sup>w</sup> is really supposed to be C[ordova, Eyak] language, but that it is used in Y[akutat, Tlingit] too." Constance Naish, personal communication, 7 April 1967, states that sáx<sup>w</sup> is used only in Yakutat, Tlingit elsewhere yáku·lé·d. It is not clear whether the Yakutat form is a loan from Eyak or the Eyak is a loan from an older Tlingit form retained in Tlingit only at Yakutat)

sahx<sup>w</sup>-sahx (noun, unclassified) 'cockle, pecten':  
 sahx<sup>w</sup> LMA, 20.41A, sahx 'cockles' LA, 10.235, 235A, sahx<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup>luw 'big cockles' LM, sahx sid<sup>?</sup> 'eta<sup>?</sup> 'give me a cockle!' L, sahx <sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>ya<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup> 'cockle is meaty' L, sahx<sup>w</sup>eyu· 'cockles' 20.41, 68.52A, sahxwelahyu· '(mythical) cockle-people, cockle-spirits' 11.62, 62, 29.43A, sahxdəyph 'cockle-person' 10.231, 245A, sahxdəyphyu·, sahx<sup>w</sup>dəyphyu· 'cockle-people' 10.231, 231A, Galushia Nelson sah<sup>w</sup>ya<sup>?</sup> or sa<sup>w</sup>ya<sup>?</sup> 'cockles' BSDL 540, probably given in connection with the following, sa<sup>w</sup>ya<sup>?</sup> cat<sup>?</sup> 'clam stick' BSDL 548 sah<sup>w</sup>ya<sup>?</sup> sa<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup> 'digging-stick for cockles', sáx·oya<sup>?</sup>c 'small clam like a cockle' ("cockle's ba-

by\*) BSdL 540 sah<sup>w</sup>eyah<sup>s</sup> (perhaps species other than cockle, but unknown as such to L), sáx yá' qáqáiyá' or sáx yá' qáqáiyá' name of Basket Pattern 3. ("cockle's meat") BSdL 547A (discussed and illustrated in BSdL 82) sah<sup>w</sup>yeqesi'ya' ('cockle entrails') L, sah<sup>w</sup>de'e'ʔ<sup>s</sup> 'dried cockles strung on a string (good eating, but tough)' L, sah<sup>w</sup> qi' wəx dəleh 'place where cockles are gotten' (perhaps a place-name) L.

sah<sup>w</sup> qi' ku'leh place-name "near Bering River", but "this side of Katalla" (which would be near Softuk) ('place where there are cockles') L.

sah<sup>w</sup>leed place-name, Softuk (sa'xleed S). o--  
lec-d 'upland, inland from o' nominalized.

saʔq

ʔedgudesaʔq, ʔedkudesaʔq (noun, unclassified)  
 '(woman's) dress': ʔedgedesaʔq 'dress' L,  
 kuʔluw ʔud kudesaʔq 'big dress' L (various  
 forms transcribed from L: ʔedgedesaʔq, ʔed=  
 kudesaʔq, ʔud gedesaʔq, ʔud kudesaʔq, ku=  
 desaʔq, but L finally favors the first, from  
 the -gu- of which the forms with ʔud and  
 ku- can perhaps be most simply explained by  
 phonological change and morphological reshaping.  
 L cannot analyze the form, a nominalization of  
 a verb-theme, perhaps ʔed-d ku-de-saʔq, in=  
 direct reflexive, cf. ʔedkudetux, ʔedgudetux  
 'vest', or reflexive active imperfective of  
 O-g-saʔq with thematized g-anatomical or class=  
 mark 'caudal, appendage, hem' or 'filament-like'.  
 It is in any case difficult to assign any clear  
 meaning to the stem, which is remembered in this  
 form only.)

siyeq-siyaʔq-saʔq (form uncertain: siyeq L 6 times, M 3 times, A twice, siyaʔq L 4 times, M once, saʔq L four times, A once; perhaps influenced by sik; expanded siye·K LM, implying siyeq)

(d-)t-siyeq--siyaʔq--saʔq (with d-thematic 'oral, noise', perhaps optional and/or due to influence of d-t-sik) 'S belches': dexisiyeq, dexisiyaʔq L, xtsaʔq A, duxtsiyeq 'I'm belching' LMA, deksiyeq, deksiyaʔq 'it's belching' L, deksiyaʔq (not -siyeq) 'it's belching' M, quʔxtsaʔq L, quʔdi·xtsiyeq 'I'll belch' M, ʔtsaʔq, deʔtsaʔq, di·tsiyeq, di·tsiyaʔq L, da·tsiyeq 'belch!' LM, sxtsaʔq, disixsiyaʔq, disixsiyeq 'I belched' M, seʔsiyeqʔh 'he belched' A, dexisiye·qK 'I (cust) belch' LM.  
(Note: infants were not belched L.)

sɨhɨ<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with sɨhɨ<sup>2</sup> and/or related to sɨʔɨ)

O-sɨhɨ(-g) (with -g-repetitive partly thematized)

'S scrapes, shaves, planes O (either removing O from something or removing something from O)':

xsɨhɨg 'I'm shaving it' LM, kuxsɨhɨg 'I'm planing (something) M, kuxsɨhɨ 'I'm scraping something' L, ʔesɨhɨg 'scrape it!' L, Rezanov  
 Халккоммачоохъ 'Ерѣзон rasiren, sich' ʔile-  
 sɨʔsɨhɨg 'shave your whiskers!' L, ʔɨh  
 ʔileʔsɨhɨg ʔaʔsɨhɨg 'he'll shave your whiskers' M, with class-marks for O: ʔew gahs ʔu=  
 diKah di·sɨhɨ 'scrape that gum away from there!' L, ʔew sdu·lihɨ di·sɨhɨg 'scrape that table!' L, kuti·luxsɨhɨg 'I'm scraping something (skin)' LM, quʔti·li·xsɨhɨg 'I'll scrape it (skin)' L, with l-anatomical: xulesesɨhɨgɨh 'he shaved my face' L; reflexive, with l-anatomical: ʔedj·xdesɨhɨg 'I'm shaving my face' LM, ʔedla·desɨhɨg 'shave your face' M, ʔedlexdesɨ·ɨK 'I (cust) have my face' LM; passive: tɨ·sdisɨhɨgɨ 'it (skin) has been scraped' L, ʔila·disɨhɨgwahd 'so that your face may get shaved' L.

ʔuda·ɨ ʔedlesɨhɨgɨ (noun, d-class) 'razor' L. -ɨ=- instrumental deverbalization of O-sɨhɨ-g, reflexive with l-anatomical and o-d-ɨ 'by means of o (d-class, e.g. 'knife').

qa·lətə·sdeʁuʔ sɪhɣɪ (noun, d-class?) 'razor',  
attested only in Rezanov Калькомшахосэмкль  
'Бритва Rasirmesser'. Deverbalization of 0-sɪhɣ-g  
with -ɪ-instrumental, 'instrument for shaving our  
whiskers'.

ʔux Kuti·lədesɪhɣ (noun) 'skin-scraper' L. Nomi=  
nalized passive active imperfective, 'by means of  
it something (skin) is scraped'.

sɨhɣ<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with sɨhɣ<sup>1</sup> and/or related to sɨʔɣ)

sɨhɣ (noun) 1. (ɣd- or d-class, or unclassified)  
 'resin (hardened sap inside grain of wood of any tree, highly flammable, used for tinder or kindling)' LM, 33.14, 47A (perhaps d-class in texts, or the d-mark with the verbs may be optional d-thematic with quʔq 'on fire'), 'tar' L, kʉtuʔ sɨhɣ L, sɨhɣ kʉdetʉʔ 'lots of resin' M, sɨhɣ ʔuʔd ɣedesetahɩ (or -ʔahɩ) 'a piece of resin (resinous log?) is there' L.

2. Attested only in Harrington: sɨhɣ 'willow species with catkins, Salix alexensis' G (unknown to M).

maʔyaʔyaʔ sɨhɣ (noun) 'green scum on pond' ('sɨhɣ belonging on lake') A.

yaʔnuʔ sɨʔsɨhɣ (noun) 'algae(?)' A, 'green scum on mud' L. With yaʔnuʔ 'below surface, underwater (where water has been)' and sɨʔ-thematic.

sɿʔɿ (perhaps related to sɿhɿ<sup>1</sup> and/or sɿhɿ<sup>2</sup>)

0-k-sɿʔɿ 'S pets, strokes, rubs, caresses O':

xɿsɿʔɿ 'I'm petting it' L, 'I'm caressing it,  
petting it (by moving skin, not by patting)' M,  
with y-anatomical for O: xuyi-k-sɿʔɿ 'rub my  
hand!' LM, ʔiqeʔyi-k-sɿʔɿ 'I'll rub your hand'  
LM, yisik-sɿʔɿkɿh 'I rubbed his hand' LM, xu-  
ye-k-sɿʔɿkɿh 'he (cust) rubs my hand' LM, repeti-  
tive: xuyek-sɿʔɿgɿh 'he keeps rubbing my hand'  
LM; passive, with l-anatomical: ʔiqeʔledesɿʔɿ  
'you'll get petted on the head' L.

ʔqʔ xɿsɿʔɿ woman's name, of L's mother Sophie,  
L's daughter Rosie ('I'm petting something soft')  
L, Galushia Nelson ʔco<sup>2</sup>xɿkɿɿ (name of L's  
maternal aunts, Galushia Nelson's sisters) ESdL  
Genealogical Table.

sɨ·q̄s (earlier sɨ·q̄ rejected in favor of sɨ·q̄s, but  
cf. sɨ·q̄s, from which there may be some influence)

d-da-sɨ·q̄s-g (with -g-repetitive thematized, d-thematic 'oral, noise') 'S (dog) whimpers, whines':

disdisɨ·q̄sgɨ 'it (dog) whimpered, whined' L

(earlier stem-form in dedesɨ·q̄ 'it (dog) is  
whimpering, whining' L later rejected by L).

sa'q's

sa'q's-g (noun, unclassified, with -g-thematic) 'dulse  
 (Rhodymenia palmata)': sa'q'sg 'edible green, sil-  
 ver or black seaweed, lettuce-like, that grows on  
 rocks, black when dried for eating' LMA, Galushia  
 Nelson sa'q'sk 'black seaweed' BSDL 541, Kutu?  
 sa'q'sg 'lots of dulse' M, sa'q'sgde'ehdg 'dulse  
 pressed and dried into hard block for winter,  
 soaked to eat' L.

silke·d (so read from only attestation in BSdL, probably to be identified as loan from Tlingit *sankéd* 'dancing apron', cf. Tlingit *kasín* 'his waist', *ʔuskéd* 'dancing leggings', *duʔús* 'his foot, leg', Eyak *daʔke·d-da·ke·d*)

silke·d (noun, perhaps *ti·l*-class) 'goatskin shield', attested only from Galushia Nelson *tsílqá·t* or *tsílqát* or (*tsilkát*) 'goatskin shield' BSdL 549, initial interpreted as *s-* rather than *ts-* in spite of rarity of mistranscription of *s-* as *ts-* in BSdL (see however *inyá<sup>n</sup>·ʔáʔtsi* 555 for *ʔiyá·ʔaʔ* *ʔsih*, and the converse is fairly frequent, see *qátlésətʔ* 539, *éšísətʔ* 286, 539, 559 for *éšéceʔ-éšeciʔ*, *tʔi<sup>n</sup> si<sup>n</sup>táiyá·* 549 for *ʔi·ciʔdaʔyaʔ*), because Tlingit *s-* > Eyak *c-* would be unique, and none of the Eyak informants recognized the form, which was proposed to them only as *cilke·d*, Tlingit *-s-* > Eyak *-i-* and Tlingit *-n-* > Eyak *-l-* are normal.

sendi· (loan from English 'Sunday')  
*perhaps through Chinese/Japan*

sendi·- (noun, unclassified), perhaps not naturalized as 'Sunday', see 61.37A, but clearly naturalized as o of o-qaʔ-d '(nominalization of) between o' in sendi·qaʔd (noun, unclassified) 'week' LM, k̄h̄eih sendi·qaʔd 'one week' 62.15G.

*cf. 71.15j s̄indixʔag 'weekdays' (between Sundays)'*

seng-seneg (loan from Tlingit (Sampson Harry) seng  
 'silk', from English 'silk', perhaps directly, or through  
 Chinook Jargon) <sup>N. f. s. s. l. f. f. s. l. n. g.</sup>

seng-seneg (noun, unclassified) 'silk': seng  
 'silk' L, seneg?etu? 'lots of silk' LM.

sa'dgeɛ (probably loan from Chugach Eskimo, perhaps  
of Russian origin)

sa'dgeɛ (noun, probably unclassified) 'cassock,  
priest's robe' L.

sa'g (loan from Tlingit sa'g 'eulachon')

sa'g (noun, unclassified) 'eulachon, candlefish  
(Thaleichthys pacificus)' (locally 'hooligan')

LMAS, Galushia Nelson sa'k 'eulachon (candle-  
fish)' BSDL 540; sa'gqəxah month-name ('hooli-  
gan-month') L, 'February' A.

move

sa'w (loan from Tlingit possessed form sayi, savi  
'name, namesake')

-sa'w (noun, unclassified) 'namesake': sisa'w

qə'əh 'he's my namesake, named after me' L.

?isa'wə'əh 'is she named after you?' L.

sla'wa'dih (loan from Russian *слава* - 'glory', probably through Chugach Eskimo, not used by Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)

sla'wa'dih (noun, perhaps d-class or unclassified)  
'some kind of song in the Russian Orthodox Church, perhaps having to do with Christmas' L.

3e·? (conceivably 3e·?i; also 3e·?(i) MA, under obvious strong influence of 3e·?, 3e·?, but L is fairly certain of 3-)

-d-i-3e·?((-)i) (noun, unclassified, with d-thematic, perhaps d-class-mark for possessor 'egg' thematized, and -i(-instrumental?) suffix, or perhaps part of the stem, present in the one elicitation from M and two from A, five of seven from L) 'yolk':  
 Kudei3e·? L (once), Kudei3e·?i MA, Kudei3e·?i  
 'eggyolk' L (five times), A, Kudei3e·?i (twice,  
 or Kudei3e·?i once, preferred) ?iiah gula·=  
 sdi?yah? 'it (the white) has gotten mixed together  
 (around each other) with the yolk (in an unbroken  
 egg)' L.

3a?

O-3a? 1. 'S moves O with abrupt violent jerking motion, S jerks O': with various preverbs and postpositional phrases in text: 9.95, 10.100, 102A, 18.67, 69, 73L, 28.62A, 39.5L, 45b.12M, 50.27, 29, 30A, *dede-ga?da-xd ta? ?aw ?e3a-kinu* 'each time they (cust) shoved them (canoes) in the water' 25.50A, *?u-dikah ?e3i?ih* 'throw him out!' ('jerk him away from there!') L, *ya-nu? se3a?ih* 'he jerked him underground' L, *siyahd qa? se3a?ih* 'he snatched it out of my hand' L, *si3a-da-x xu-se3a?ih* 'he grabbed me, yanked me by the arm' L, with *ye3*-progressive, 'S shakes O (about roughly)': *ye3 ?ede3a?* 'shake it!' L, *ye3 ?ede3i?ih* 'shake him!' M, *ye3 xde3a?x* 'I'm shaking it around' M, *ye3 ?ixde3a?x* 'I'm shaking you' IM, *ye3 ?iqe?xde3a?* 'I'll shake you' L, *ye3 xude3a-kih* 'he (cust) shakes me about' L, repetitive: *xu3a?gih* 'he keeps grabbing me' M, *xu-3a?g* 'pull on me!' M, *?iqe?x3a?g* 'I'll yank you' L, *dik x3a?ge* 'I'm not jerking it' L (see also O-3a? 2. below); with class-marks for O: *qi-li-3a?* 'pull it (rope)!' M, *?aw qa? la-se3a?i* 'he yanked it (branch) out' 50.21A, with *da-x* 'in (punctual) contact with indeterminate o': *da-x qu?xedi-x3a?* 'I'll strike it (match)' L, with

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<sup>100</sup>  
 yeḡ 'break, apart': yeḡ qi·leḡaʔ 'break it  
 (rope)': LM, repetitive: ʔew qi·leḡaʔg 'it  
 (fish) is tugging on it (line)' M, le·t siḡaʔ  
 guḡeḡaʔgḡh 'he pulled my hair' M; indirect re-  
 flexive, with dl-class-mark for O: ʔedleḡahd ʔew  
 ʔeye: quhnu· ʔew qaʔ la·Bdiḡaʔt 'they thought  
 themselves the ones who had pulled it (branch) out'  
 50.31A; reflexive, with l-anatomical and yḡ·ʔd  
 'downward': yḡ·ʔd ʔedla·deḡaʔ 'duck!' ('jerk  
 your head down!') L, with yeḡ-progressive: yeḡ  
 ʔededeḡaʔḡ 'it's jerking (itself about)' M; pas-  
 sive: qaʔ ʔidiḡaʔ 'that it might be pulled out'  
 (active optative) 50.26A; passive and indirect re-  
 flexive: taʔqeʔd ʔaʔ xuḡdiḡaʔt 'I got yanked  
 backward (by someone, towards himself)' L.

2. In certain figurative uses, 'S arrests O,  
 S mistreats O': repetitive, with lahḡ 'forward':  
 ʔah lahḡ ḡaʔg 'they keep mistreating him' ('they  
 keep jerking him forward') 50.35A (see fn); passive:  
 ʔiqeʔdeḡaʔ 'you'll get arrested' L (see qa·  
 ḡaʔgḡh below).

qa· ḡaʔgḡh (noun, unclassified) 'policeman' LS.

Nominalized repetitive active imperfective, 'he  
 (who) arrests us, nabs us (repeatedly jerks us)'.

yeḡ deḡaʔḡ xuḡt (noun, unclassified) 'pump-loading  
 (-cocking) shotgun' ('gun which is jerked about') L.  
 Relativized passive active imperfective with yeḡ--

progressive.

da·ʔedeʒaʔg, da·ʔediʒaʔg, da·ʔedeʒaʔg (noun, ʔd-class) 'match, matchstick': da·ʔedeʒaʔg, da·ʔediʒaʔg L, da·ʔedeʒaʔg 'match' LMS, da·ʔedeʒaʔg sič ʔedi·ʔaʔ (or -taʔ) 'give me a match!' L, da·ʔediʒaʔg ʔu·d ʔedesetah̄ 'a match is there' L; declassified, 'matchbook': ʔew šdu·liheda·q̄ ʔi·tah̄ da·ʔediʒaʔg sič quʔxtah̄ 'I'll give you that matchbook which is on the table' L. Probably nominalized active imperfective repetitive with da·ʔ 'in (punctual) contact with indeterminate o' and ʔd-class-mark for O', da·ʔedeʒaʔg 'you jerk (strike) it against something (repeatedly [necessary with early matches?])', the structure no longer clearly recognized.

qid O-d-ʒaʔ (d-thematic with qid 'down off') 'S jerks O down off': 23.41A (O definitely unclassified), 10.9A (O 'heart' normally l-class, either shifted to d-class for 'lamp' or class-mark omitted).

qid O-gdl-ʒaʔ 'S jerks O's head off': deki· qid ʔiqeʔgeʔli·xʒaʔ 'I'll yank your head off' (to dog, strong expression, 'I'm already about to jerk your head down off') L,

O-ʔd-ʒaʔ l. (ʔd-thematic (class-mark?) for O 'line')  
With yeʔ-progressive and ʔa·weyu· 'indiscriminately': ʔa·weyu· yeʔ ʔedexdeʒaʔʔ 'I'm drawing a jerky line' L; passive: ʔa·weyu· yeʔ ʔedišdi-

ʒaʔɪ 'a funny zigzag line has been drawn' L.

2. Stem -ʒaʔ replacing -ta in these da-  
daʔd O-ɣd-(ɪ-)ta 'S opens O (by lifting lid)';  
didaʔd ʔaw ɣədəsəʒaʔɪh 'he yanked it open (by  
jerking up lid)' 2b.17L.

O-ɪ-ʒaʔ 'S plucks O': Kaxɪʒaʔ 'I'm plucking some-  
thing (feathers, flowers)' M, ʔəɪʒaʔ 'pluck it!' L,  
ʔaw sənuh ʔəɪʒaʔ 'pluck that duck!' L.

ɪ-ʒaʔ 'S breaks (suddenly)': with yeɣ 'break, apart':  
ɪ8.5L, ʔuɣəʔ ʔaw yeɣ səɪʒaʔɪh 'I broke off in  
his hand' 23.33A, with qi·l-class-mark for S 'rope':  
yeɣ qi·la·yɪɪʒaʔ 'let it (rope) break' M, yeɣ  
qi·səɪʒaʔɪ L, yeɣ qi·səɪʒaʔɪ, yeɣ qi·ləsəɪʒaʔɪ  
'it (rope) broke' LM, diK yeɣ qi·ləsəɪʒaʔɪ (or  
qi·səɪʒaʔɪ, former preferred) 'it (rope) didn't  
break' M, yeɣ quʔqi·li·ɪʒaʔ (not -qi·ɪ-) 'it  
(rope) will break' M, yeɣ qi·ləsəɪʒaʔɪ 'it (rope)  
is breaking, starting to break' M; indirect recip-  
rocal with ʔɪɪq 'on each other, one part onto the  
other': ʔaw ʔuɣaʔ ʔɪɪq səɪʒaʔɪ "it bust to-  
gether on him" (L's translation, approximately  
'imploded') 23.30A (ɪe-classifier expected in indi-  
rect reciprocal in intransitive theme, perhaps  
treated here as transitive).

*qi·ləʒaʔɪ nɣa ɪaʔ ɪaʔ ɪaʔ ɪaʔ L - descriptive noun*

ğilah (also ğilahn̄ A twice in text, L once, under influence of ğilahn̄, but ğilah in Rezanov and Wrangell, M five times, A once in elicitation, three times in text, L twice)

-ğilah (noun, ɣd-class, attested only with ya- 'something, a thing' or 'world' as possessor):  
 ya-ğilah 'rainbow' LMA, 51.1, 10A, Rezanov  
 Свѣтъла 'Padyra Regenbogen', Wrangell Һауыла  
 'Nordlicht', ya-ğilah ku-ñeh 'there's a rainbow' 51.8A, ya-ğilahɣeda?luw 'big rainbow' M, ya-ğilahɣede?a-w 'big (long) rainbow' L, ya-ğilahn̄ 'rainbow' LA, ya-ğilahn̄ yɣ-? ɣedese-wusɩ 'a rainbow formed (grew downward)' 51.5A, ya-ğilahn̄ yiñeh 'it's a rainbow' 51.7A.

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O-ʔ-ʒiʔd 'S guesses at O': ʔuʔceʒiʔd 'guess at  
it!' L, quʔxʒiʔd 'I'll guess at it' L, ʔuʔsi=  
ʒiʔdɬ 'I guessed at it' L, ʔidah ʔuʔsiʒiʔdɬ  
'I guessed it right' L. (Semitransitive only.)

## 3a'ē

-3a'ē 'heavy S is immovable, stuck': ʔu'd ʂe-

ʂa'ē 'it (big heavy thing) is stuck there (too heavy to move)' L.

O-3a'ē 'S pries O loose (without displacing it)':

ʔeʂa'ē 'pry it!' M, with yaʔx 'up': yaʔx

quʔxʂa'ē 'I'll pry it up (but not remove it)' L.

O-i-3a'ē 1. 'S pries O loose (presumably displacing

it)': ʔeʂa'ē 'pry it up!' L, ʔiʂa'ē 'pry it

(keep moving it by prying)!' L, siʂa'ē 'I

pryed it' M, ʔu'dikah siʂa'ē 'I pryed it

away from there' L, yaʔx quʔxʂa'ē 'I'll pry

it up' L, with qaʔ 'up out': qaʔ seʂa'ē

'pry it up, dig it up!' L, repetitive O-i-3a'ē-g

'S repeatedly pries O, tries to pry O loose':

xʂa'ēg 'I'm prying it' M, da' iʂa'ēg 'we

keep prying it' LM, quʔxʂa'ēg 'I'll pry it' M;

passive: yaʔx siʂa'ē 'it got pried up' L.

2. With qeʂx 'closed' or ʂeʂd 'open',

'S opens or closes O (with lock, bolt, latch)':

qeʂx ʔow seʂa'ēʂinu' 'they bolted, barred it

(door, from inside) shut' 19.20L, qeʂx seʂa'ē

'lock it up!' L, ʂeʂd seʂa'ē 'open it up!' L;

indirect reflexive, with o-ē 'at o', and in-

determinate O: qeʂx ʔedē ʔixsiʂa'ē 'I

locked myself out' L; reflexive: daʔa' qeʂx

ʔedškiʒa-tʃi 'it locked by itself (of lock, bolt, latch of any kind)' L; passive: ʔehd skiʒa-tʃi, ʔehd sdiʒa-tʃi 'it's been unlocked' L.

ʒa-tʃi (noun, unclassified, with -i-instrumental) 'crowbar, lever' LM, ʒa-tʃiʔaʔluw 'big crowbar' M, ʒa-tʃi sič ʔataʔ 'give me a crowbar!' L.

ʔuʒ ʔehd ʔuʔiʒa-tʃg (noun, unclassified?) 'key' (obsolescent, replaced by gelu-ʒ) L. Form (or transcription?) uncertain: -ʔ- not explained, nominalized active imperfective of apparent o-ʒ ʔehd o-ʔ-i-ʒa-tʃ-g 'S (repeatedly, semitransitively) unlocks O by means of o', with ʔu-indefinite S or O.

O-d-i-ʒa-tʃ (d-thematic perhaps thematized d-class-mark for O, e.g. yahdeyaʔdaʔʒ 'rowboat, skiff') 'S puts lever under O (grounded boat) to free it': di-iʒa-tʃ 'put a stick under it (grounded boat) to loosen it' L (cf. su-tʃ).

ʒiʔx

-ʒiʔx-g (noun, unclassified, with -g-thematic)

'navel, bellybutton': Rezanov Каука...кь

(letter, or perhaps two letters between ж and

к illegible, identified by Radlov as ж) 'Ным

Набел' qa·ʒiʔxg 'our navel, human navel', ku-

ʒiʔxg 'bellybutton' IM, siʒiʔxg 'my navel' L,

kuʒiʔxgluw 'big navel' L.

ʒiɪ (ʒeɪ attested only once, in BSdL; widely diffused word, with irregular correspondences: Tlingit ʒiɪ 'storehouse' (N-S), tɔaɪ, tɔaɪ 'cache' (B, former misprint), Hupa daŋʒiɪ 'shelves in house for storage', Ninto dɔɔdɔɪ 'platform cache'; perhaps also to be identified with ʒiɪ- in ʒiɪqah; see also ʒiɪ and ʒi·ʒe·d)

ʒiɪ (noun, unclassified) 'platform, bed, (platform-)cache, shelf' LMS, Rezanov ЧУМАНЬ 'Horo-  
 жомъ Decke des Zimmers', Old Man Dude tɔaɪ  
 'roof' BSdL 545, Galushia Nelson tɔ:tɪ, Old  
 Man Dude tɔ:tɪ 'bed (modern)' BSdL 546, ʒiɪ-  
 ?a?luw 'big shelf' LM, Ku?luw ʒiɪ 'big plat-  
 form' L, ?əw ʒiɪ Kuʔa? ?ixiɪtɔh 'I'm using  
 that bed' M, siyɔɔɔɔ? ?idiyah ʒiɪ qu?xɔaɪ  
 'I'll buy a bed the right size for (under) me'  
 L; as possessor of -yequhyu· 'pl. offspring,  
 small': Rezanov ЧУМАНЬ 'Horka Fach, Repo-  
 sitorium', ЧУМАНЬ (with ɾ and ɾ-  
 superscript inserts) 'Horka Schrank' ʒiɪyequh-  
 yu· 'shelves' L, 'little shelves' M.

O-ɪ-ʒiɪ 'S makes O (platform, shelf, bed)': ?əɪ-  
 ʒiɪ 'make a shelf, bed!' L, qu?xɪʒiɪ 'I'll  
 make a platform, shelves' L; passive: qu?deʒiɪ  
 'platform will be made' L.

O-d-ʒiɪ (with d-class-mark for O (boards) thema-

tized?) 'S makes O (platform cache), S makes O in-  
to platform-cache': Kudeceji 'make a platform--  
cache:' 18.72L.

didiji (noun, d-class?) 'platform-cache' L,  
Galushia Nelson DiDitcfti 'platform cache'  
BSdL 546. Nominalized passive active perfective  
of preceding.

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-ʒiʒ (adjective, with -g-repetitive thematized)  
 'very narrow thin, skinny': yaʒiʒg yilɪhɪh  
 'a real skinny slim person' L.

-ʒiʒ-g (with -g-repetitive thematized) 'S is very  
 narrow, thin, skinny': with Kuʒd-anatomical  
 'lower leg': Kuʒdiʒiʒg 'skinny leg, spindle-  
 shanks' ('lower leg is very narrow', neuter im-  
 perfective) L; ʔux ʔidiʒiʒgɪ naʔwdaʔkeʔd  
 'narrow-necked bottle' L (problematical form,  
 perhaps mistranscribed, evidently neuter perfec-  
 tive with d-thematic (should be -di- instead of  
 -di'-, de-classifier?) and ʔux 'in-(pectual)  
 contact with it' or 'by means of it'). 'along it' ?

4. ʔiʒiʒ ʔaʔaxɪɪʒɪʒ 'near', or ʔ-instrumental  
 demarcation in deleted phrase, 'by means  
 of it...')

ʒi·ʒ (perhaps related to ʒiʒ)

ʒi·ʒ- (noun, probably unclassified) attested only as possessor of -dekuhd 'lips' iir ʒi·ʒdekuhd (noun, unclassified) 'fireweed (Epilobium)' ('roots are medicine for land-otter, grows mostly on rocks, about 3' high, has red star-shaped flowers') L (M and A have heard the term, but cannot identify the plant, and none can identify the meaning of ʒi·ʒ-), Mutuʔ ʒi·ʒdekuhd 'lots of fireweed' L.



ʒe-ʒ (cf. Tlingit -djétc, -djétc, -djétc 'to depress, surprise' B, not known, however, to Sampson Harry of Yakutat)

-ʒe-ʒ 'S is amazed, surprised' (pleasantly, not depressed): ʒeʒe-ʒʔ 'they were amazed' 2a.32M, quʔyiʒe-ʒ 'you'll be surprised' (not depressed) M. More frequently transitive (causative) 0--  
 ʔ-ʒe-ʒ 'S amazes O, surprises O (generally pleasantly)': xusəʔʒe-ʒʔ 'I'm surprised (pleasantly)' ('it surprised me') LM, ʔaʔd xu-ʔʒe-ʒ-  
 ʔʔh 'he amazes me greatly' ('he keeps me in a continuous state of great amazement', neuter perfective) L, səʔʒe-ʒʔh 'surprise her!' LM; reflexive, 'S surprises self (pleasantly), is self-satisfied, proud, smug, S boasts, brags, gloats, exults': ʔidə:səʔʒe-ʒ da-ʔ ʔədquʔxəʒe-ʒ 'if I understand you (your speech) I'll be surprised, proud of myself' L, ʔədʔʒe-ʒʔʔh 'he's proud' (neuter perfective) M, ʔədʔxəʒe-ʒʔ 'I surprised myself (by doing something great)' L, diʔ ʔədʔəʒe-ʒʔʔh, diʔ ʔədʔəʒe-ʒʔʔh 'he's not surprised (by himself)' L, ʔədquʔʔəʒe-ʒʔh (not ʔəda-) 'he'll surprise himself' L, with o-ʔ 'by o, at o': yaʔxu- kuleʔ ʔileʔiʔehʔ ʔədquʔləʔəʒe-ʒ 'don't brag that you have more than the other fellow' 1b.21M; passive: sʔʒe-ʒʔh 'he was surprised' M, xusdiʒe-ʒʔ 'I got surprised' L.

3eme3 (cf. Chipewyan -suz 'to make a ringing noise  
(of a small bell, or bunch of small pieces of metal,  
dry leaves, etc.) (1[-classifier])')

3eme3- attested only with -kih diminutive in  
personal name (or epithet), of talkative girl  
in Alder-Sun Myth Cycle, 34.97L (see detailed  
discussion in 34.0fn), Galushia Nelson Dji-  
mitcokf' or Djin'tcokf 'talkative (name of  
Sun's daughter in Tale 16)' BSDL 554, and the  
exclamation ?i-yah ?i-yah 3eme3okih 'what  
a chatterbox you are!' L (either literary al-  
lusion or at origin of name).

ʒiʒ (perhaps related to ʒi·ʒqe·d; cf. also ʒiʒ)  
 O-ʒiʒ 'S makes O (platform, or rack for drying  
 fish?); ʔeʒiʒ 'make a platform!' M (at first  
 rejected by L, then later acknowledged; unknown  
 to A; M's form ʔeʒiʒ of same meaning, re=  
 jected by L, is probably influenced by O-ʒiʒ=  
 ʒiʒ); passive: ʒdiʒiʒiʒ 'a rack for drying fish  
 has been made' M, quʔdeʒiʒ 'a platform will be  
 made' L.

## 318

3ig(-i) (adverb) 'just, exactly': 3ig<sup>h</sup> one hour=  
 ga<sup>o</sup>de<sup>o</sup> səs<sup>h</sup>h<sup>h</sup> 'she had been dead for just about  
 exactly one hour' 6l.111A (only attestation from  
 A, L always 3ig), 3ig si<sup>o</sup>ow <sup>o</sup>u<sup>o</sup>da<sup>o</sup> səh<sup>h</sup>h<sup>h</sup>  
 'he got there just exactly the same time I did' L,  
 3ig ge<sup>o</sup>le<sup>o</sup>a<sup>o</sup>g<sup>o</sup>ow kuxa<sup>o</sup>kinu<sup>o</sup> 'they (cust) eat at  
 noon sharp' L, 3ig <sup>o</sup>u<sup>o</sup>da<sup>o</sup> siyah<sup>h</sup> da<sup>o</sup>ʔ səs<sup>h</sup>h<sup>h</sup>h<sup>h</sup>  
 'I had just arrived there and he died' L, 3ig  
 ʔiqe<sup>o</sup>xgah da<sup>o</sup>ʔ ... 'I was just about to dance  
 and ..., when ...' L, 3ig ye<sup>o</sup> sekug<sup>h</sup> da<sup>o</sup>ʔ  
 ya<sup>o</sup>ʔ s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>o</sup>ə<sup>h</sup> 'just as it (e.g. bridge) broke he  
 jumped off' L, 3ig ya<sup>o</sup>a<sup>o</sup>gdə<sup>o</sup> ye<sup>o</sup> sekug<sup>h</sup> 'it  
 broke exactly in half, exactly along the middle' L,  
 3ig <sup>o</sup>ew<sup>o</sup>a<sup>o</sup>q ye<sup>o</sup> sekug<sup>h</sup> 'it broke right along  
 it (line, mark)' L, 3ig <sup>o</sup>u<sup>o</sup>a<sup>o</sup>q siyah<sup>h</sup>h<sup>h</sup> 'I  
 ran right into him, met him quite unexpectedly' L.  
 (L never heard <sup>o</sup>u<sup>o</sup>ə<sup>h</sup>ig (da- 'ipse').)

## 3e'g

-3e'g 'S is tangled, jumbled, mixed up, confused':  
 šə3e'gɪ 'it's all tangled, mixed up' L, Galushia  
 Nelson outcäkt 'cat's cradle ("tangled up")'  
 BSdL 551, probably gu- (g-class-mark for S,  
 'string') and -3e'g-, perhaps gu'3e'gɪ 'it  
 (string) is tangled' (neuter perfective). More  
 frequently transitive (causative) o-i-3e'g 'S  
 tangles, jumbles O, mixes O up': with ya' 'com-  
 pletely': ya' səi3e'g 'tangle it up!' L, ya'  
 qu'xi3e'g 'I'll tangle it up' L, with class--  
 marks for O: qi'lesəi3e'gɪ 'you tangled it up  
 (rope)' L; passive: ya' səi3e'gɪ 'it got all  
 tangled up, mixed up (by someone)' L, qi'liši-  
 3e'gɪ 'it (cord) is tangled' L, indirect recip-  
 rocal: ?iäqa' guäi3e'gɪ 'they (strings) are  
 tangled together (amongst each other)' (neuter  
 perfective) L, ?iälah guäi3e'gɪ 'it (string) is  
 tangled' (neuter perfective) L (?iä-lah 'around  
 each other, one part around the other', form ei-  
 ther intransitive or passive).

3e'g-i (noun, with -i-instrumental?, or gerundive)  
 'tangle, jumble, confusion', attested only as o  
 of o-ga' 'like o': 3e'giga' ?i'teh 'things  
 lie around all over' ('it's like a tangle, confu-  
 sion') L, sideseleh siya' 3e'giga' ?i'teh

'(I've so much to do that) I'm all confused,  
flustered, je ne sais plus où tourner la tête'  
( 'my mind is like a tangle' ) L.

ʒuʔk (transcribed also ʒuk, but carefully verified with L, who is certain of ʒuʔk)

ʒuʔk-ɪ (noun, unclassified, with -ɪ-instrumental)  
 'crosspiece (of canoe), thwart': ʒukɪ LMA,  
 ʒuʔkɪ 'crosspiece, thwart' LM, laʔdih ʒuʔkɪ  
 'two thwarts' L, ʒuʔkɪʔaʔluw 'big crosspiece'  
 LM; cɪsa-ɣədəkteʔyaʔ ʒukɪ 'boom' A (rejected  
 by L, see teʔ), cɪsa-cɪʔdaʔdeʒukɪ 'gaff'  
 ('sail-tip-crosspiece') A.

O-ɪ-ʒuʔk 'S makes or installs O (thwart, cross-  
 piece)': ʔeɪʒuʔk 'make, install a thwart!' L,  
 quʔxiʒuʔk 'I'll make, install a thwart' L, siɪ-  
 ʒuʔkɪ 'I made, installed a thwart' L.

ʒahs (not attested without -i-suffix, probably to be interpreted in synchronic terms as unanalyzable ʒahsɪ)

ʒahs-i (noun, dl-class, with -i-instrumental)

'needle': Rezanov ЧААКЪБ 'Ирса, крошка Nah-nadel', Galushia Nelson tco'ktɪ 'needle' BSdL 547, ʒahsɪ 'needle' LM, ʒahsɪλi·ʔnuw 'big needle' LM, ʒahsɪλa·kih 'little needle' M, ʒahsɪλa·kudg 'small needle' M, ʒahsɪ ʔu·d λa·=setahɪ (or -ʔahɪ, former preferred) 'a needle is there' L, ʒahsɪ siʔ λi·taʔ (or -ʔaʔ, former preferred) 'give me a needle!' L; declassified, as possessor of -la·x 'eye' or -lexede·ʔ 'eye-hole': Rezanov ЧАХЛЕАХУЛ 'Ушки въ нрѣх Nadel--Oehr' ʒahsɪla·x 'eye of needle' LM, ʒahsɪlexede·ʔx gu·cu·x 'thread a needle!' ('thrust a thread through a needle-eye-hole!') LM. "Formerly the Eyak had no needles. Holes for the thread were punched with a bone awl" BSdL 91; but the Rezanov forms (1805) either contradict this, refer to early trade-items, and/or mean still 'sewing-instrument' and 'needle-eye-hole' (in skin or cloth, not in needle); note also that the latter term is not a calque on the Russian 'earlet on needle', and the persistent retention of what may be the -i-instrumental as part of the stem throughout the verb-forms, including those in Rezanov, suggesting deri-

vation of the verb from the noun.

O-ʒahs-i (-i retained throughout as part of the stem) 'S sews, mends O': 25.53A, 38.19LM, Rezanov Аучакъ 'Починять flicken', Аучакъ 'Ее! нӀhen (Imperat.)' ?əʒahsɨ 'sew it!' IM, Алн-смаачакъ 'Почини flicken (Imperat.)' ?el... siya' ?əʒahsɨ 'mend this for me!', ?el siya' ?əʒahsɨ 'sew this for me!' M, Кончакъ 'Этъ нӀhen' Kuʒahsɨ, Kuʒahsɨ 'young<sup>o</sup>e sewing (something); sew (something)!' M, Kuxʒahsɨ 'I'm sewing something' M, quʔxʒahsɨ 'I'll sew it' IM, Kuʒa-sɨkɨh 'he (cust) sews (something)' M, ?aw ?awɕ ?əʒahsɨ 'sew it to that (parts of same thing)!' L, ?ugulah siʒahsɨ 'I sewed its hem, I hemmed it' (o-g-lah 'around o's hem') L, ?awlah ?as ?əʒahsɨ 'sew it with a stitch over the edge (overcast whipstitch)!' ('sew it around it through!') L, xeliʔdex ?əʒahsɨ 'sew it along inside from edge (without stitched that go over edge)!' (xeliʔdex 'motion within area distant from front thereof') L; indirect reciprocal: ?iɨliʔx (or ?iɨliʔx) ?əʒahsɨ 'sew it with backstitch (not going over edge)' (?iɨliʔx 'motion deeply within each other, far from front edge of each other') L

O-g-ʒahs (with g-class-mark for O 'thread' thematized), attested only with yeʒ-progressive, yeʒ

O-g-de-ḡahs-i-ḡ 'S tatooes, embroiders' ('S sews O (thread) about'; tatooing was done with thread, see BSDL 61): yeḡ guḡdiḡahs-i 'you did embroidery, tatooing' L; 'uya·q' yeḡ kuḡdiḡahs-i 'her wrist is tatooed' L (either passive 'something (thread) has been tatooed (sewn about) on her wrist', or non-passive 'someone has tatooed on her wrist').

O-(d-)i-ḡahs-i (d-thematic, apparently optional, not explained) 'S sews O (two separate pieces together), S joins (entirely separate) O by sewing': 'sew 'sew it to that (two separate pieces)!' L; indirect reciprocal: 'iḡ de saḡḡahs-i 'sew them together!' ('iḡ 'in contact with each other') L, repetitive: 'iḡqa·ḡ (or 'iḡqa·ḡ) kuḡdi·iḡahs-iḡ 'you're making a crazy--quilt' ('you're (repeatedly) sewing (separate) things amongst each other') L, 'iḡqa·ḡḡ kuḡdi·i-ḡahs-iḡ 'are you making a crazy-quilt?' L.

-ḡahs(-i?) (attested only in what may be neuter perfective, -i therefore perhaps interpretable as perfective suffix) 'S is pointed': with yaḡḡ 'upward': saḡḡqa·ḡ yaḡḡ 'i·ḡahs-i 'hollerer' (mythical fish) has pointed head' (head that comes to a point at top, "like a needle") (traditional epithet) 35.3, 4L (see ins to Eyak Texts 35. for

discussion), yaʔɣ ʔi·ʒahɛɪ 'cap that has point sticking up, parka hood' L; indirect reciprocal: ftitáq i<sup>n</sup>tcákɪ name of Basket Pattern 1. ("above--each-other pointed"), ʔikdeɪ ʔi·ʒahɛɪ (absence of de-classifier problematical, if there is taken to be intransitive). These forms can be interpreted as neuter perfective, and the -ɪ suffix identified as that of the perfective, these simply -ʒahɛɪ, suggesting that the earlier meaning is 'pointed', rather than 'needle, sew', in spite of L's suggestion regarding yaʔɣ ʔi·ʒahɛɪ "like a needle". However, if the nasalization, frequently missing in L's pronunciation, especially of prefixes, in the BSDL form is taken as original, these themes may be interpreted as neuter or active imperfective with l-anatomical 'head' or l-class-mark for S (čiyahd 'hat' or -ša·w 'head'), in which case the -ɪ suffix would be the same as that of the preceding entries.

gilahc (best-authenticated form, also ʒelahc, ʒilehc,  
ʒelahc, ʒiʔlahc, ʒiʔlehc)

gilahc (noun, unclassified) 'root of Kamchatka lily,  
black lily (Pritillarium), "Indian rice, wild rice",  
paste or pudding made from Kamchatka lily roots  
boiled and mixed with seal oil (as described in BSdL  
96-97), jelly, gelatin (any gelatinous substance)';  
Rezanov Чмльмхк 'Pana Rûbe', Чмльмхк 'Сарана  
Sarana', Galushia Nelson ʒilâxq 'plant with  
three black petals (Kamchatka lily?)' BSdL 541,  
gilahc 'kamchatka lily roots, "Indian rice" pud-  
ding' LMA, also (less frequently, attested from L  
only) ʒilehc, ʒelehc, ʒelahc, the last perhaps  
represented in Galushia Nelson tculaq 'root of  
Kamchatka lily' BSdL 541, Kutuʔ gilahc 'lots of  
"Indian rice"' L, Rezanov Хетлькоеречмльмхк  
Тѣсоѣ хѣбѣ Brot, weisses' xixʒ<sup>W</sup>ʒʔ ʔi-ʔeh ʒi-  
lahc 'white pudding', Чмльмхкaroхту Картофель  
Kartoffel' gilahc... .

-laqahyeʔe:ʔgilahc (noun, unclassified?) 'brain'  
(('pasty substance inside head', e:ʔ-thematic with  
o-yeʔ 'in o', attested as such only from L, but  
probably the correct form): sileqahyeʔeʒiʔlahc A,  
sileqahyeʔeʒilahc M, sileqahyeʔe:ʔgilahc 'my  
brain' L, ʔileqahyeʔeʒiʔlahc A, ʔileqahyeʔe:ʔ-  
gilahc 'your brain' L, Kuleqahyeʔeʒiʔlahc

'brains' LM (early elicitation). The -ʔ- in  
the forms attested from M and A can be accounted  
for as due to the influence of the missing ɛiʔ-  
attested in L's forms.

3a·q

3a·q (noun, unclassified) 'bullhead, sculpin (Hemilepidotus)' LM, 3a·x̄ S (influenced by Tlingit wéx̄ 'bullhead'), Galushia Nelson tea·x̄ 'bullhead' BSdL 540, 3a·qʷaʷluw 'big bullhead' LM, ʷi·yah ʃiʷsduŋ dəx̄p̄ ʷaʷd̄ 3a·q̄gaʷ ʷiʃuʷ qaʷ liʷ didiguʃ̄k̄ 'my how the guy sure is awful tight-lipped (taciturn)' ('keeps his mouth clamped shut just like a bullhead (on a hook)', neuter perfective) 72.16L, 3a·q̄ q̄iʷdəx̄ səla·k̄ name of a certain constellation, "bunch of small stars together somewhere," which I cannot identify ('where a bullhead is moving along') L, also 3a·q̄ ʷu·dəx̄ səla·k̄ ('a bullhead is moving along there') L, 3a·q̄ yəx̄ dəla·x̄ ('a bullhead is swimming about') L, 3a·q̄ ya·q̄dəx̄ yəx̄ dəla·x̄ ('a bullhead is swimming about in the sky') L, perhaps 'Pleiades', cf. Swanton 26th Ann. Rep., B. P. E., 1904-1905, p. 427., 'the Pleiades were called W̄x̄q̄ ("sculpin)", Harsh. Story w̄x̄q̄ 'bullhead, sculpin'.

0-L-3a·q̄ (<sup>Archaic</sup> L rejects, probably from of 0-ll-3a·t̄ and 0-l-cc̄ʷʷ) 'Kooka Offish': with gaʷ 'input': gaʷ ʃəʃə·q̄ 'kooka - fish' !!, gaʷ ʃəʃə·q̄ʷ ʷəʃəʃə·q̄ʷ 'fish' !!.

## 3ehx-3ex (3ex reduced form)

- 3ehx (noun, unclassified) 'ear': Rezanov Kavexh  
 'Уши Ohren', Furuhielm Khachikh 'ear' qa-3ehx  
 'our ears, human ears', Galushia Nelson e5tcāx or  
 e5tcāx 'ear' BSdL 541 ku3ehx 'an ear, ears' A,  
 ?ew3ehx eeqa-iinu 'they're biting their ears'  
 60.27A, ?ewa-3ehx, ?ewa-yu-3ehx 'dogs' ears'  
 60.26, 26A, ka-? si3ehxluw 'where are my big  
 ears?' 18.16L, ku3ehxluw 'big ears' LMA, ?i3ehx  
 ?iya- shiλe:dg̃t 'your ears got dirty' L, ?u3ehx  
 saltuxāh 'he's pulling his ears' L, ?u3ehx  
 su?ih 'he's holding (warming) his ears' L, daki-  
 ?i3ehxte?de ?iqe?xiyahd 'I'm about to drag you by  
 your ear' L, ?u3ehxga? li?x li-t'ihih 'he's smi-  
 ling from ear to ear' ('he's smiling like his ears')  
 L, ?i3ehxyeqd 'the inside of your ear' LM, iif  
 ?u3ehx ?ewa- eexqa-iih 'I'm always biting his  
 ear (harping at him, trying to make him obey)' 72.2L,  
 ?əya- ?u3ehx ?ewa- ku?tga? ?i-t'ihih 'my how his  
 ears are like tendon!' ('tough-eared, thick-skinned,  
 doesn't care and isn't ashamed about what people say  
 of him') 72.4L; 'ear' ('earlike upper corners of e.g.  
 tied potato-sack'): la-itah3ehx 'sack-ears' ('where  
 it's tied and corners stick out, easy to grip') L.  
 ku3ehx (noun, -3ehx 'ear' with indefinite possessor)  
 1. (unclassified) 'dried apricots' A.

2. (lɣ-class) 'berry species', same as ɣəwə-  
ʒehɣ below, L.

ɣəwə-ʒehɣ (noun, lɣ-class) 'berry species, plant and  
fruit something like blueberry, leaves sticky (hairy?),  
fruit whitish or yellowish, waxy, mealy, insipid,  
eaten only by children, "Russian candle" (Menziesia  
ferruginea?)' ('dog's ear') L.

-d-ʒehɣ (noun, d-class, with d-thematic, perhaps the-  
matized class-mark for possessor, e.g. šdu-lih  
'table', ceɣ 'board') 'corner' (viewed externally  
as a point; cf. Tlingit -góg 'ear', góg-š 'cor-  
ner' (N-S), Old French corne 'corner, horn'): kude-  
ʒehɣ 'corner' L, ʔudeʒehɣ 'its corner, point  
(e.g. of box, square)' L, laʔd da- kudeʒehɣ  
'two corners' L.

le-ʒehɣ 'S has ears', occurring only with o-gaʔ  
'like o': sigaʔ ʔiliʒehɣih 'he has ears like  
mine' (neuter imperfective) L.

(O-?)g-de-ʒehɣ (perhaps a passive, with g-class-mark  
for O or S 'thread') 'O (or S) (thread) (accidental-  
ly) gets a small loop or knot in it in sewing': si-  
ɣaʔ gušdiʒehɣi 'my thread got a little loop in it'  
(good omen, means item will sell easily) L.

-ʒəɣə- (noun, limited use in certain archaic con-  
structions) 'ear' l. (unclassified or dl-class, as o  
of certain postpositions): siʒəɣəyəqʔ ʔəw dihi-  
ʒə-ɣi 'it is (constantly) heard (audible) in my ears'

(neuter perfective) 70.11A, siʒəʒəyəqđ 'my ear-hole, my inner ear, inside my ear' L, kuʒəʒəyəqđ, kuʒəʒəla·yəqđ 'inside ear' L, ʒəʒəyəqđ liʔ ʔəd-yiʒiʔiʒiʒi 'he's got his fingers in his ears (to shut out noise)' (indirect reflexive) L, ʔuʒəʒə-la·qaʔʒ ku·iʒiʒiʒi 'he is wearing earrings' ('he has ear-interstices, there is something amongst his ears') L.

2. (dl-class) With adjectives in epithets, possessive prefix zero: ʒəʒəli·ʔnuw 'big ears' (pejorative) LM, 18.8L, ʒəʒəla·ʔa·w 'long-ears' (epithet for rabbit, alert dog) L; in compounds: ʒəʒəla·kuʔʔ 'tough-ears, thick-skinned shameless person' ('ear-tendon', cf. ʔuʒəʒə ʔəwa· kuʔʔgaʔ ʔi·tʒiʒiʒi under -ʒəʒə) L, ʒəʒəʒiʔi (noun, unclassified) 'earrings', see main entry under ʒi.

3. Homophonous forms to some extent identified with -ʒəʒə- 'ear' by informants, but probably not of Eyak origin: see place-names ʒəʒəlihyəʔd and ʒəʒəlihyəʒd, and kuʒəʒəya·s 'marten'.

ʒəʒ (syntactic class undetermined, perhaps preverb, or noun, unclassified; not freely used, occurring only in certain archaic constructions) 'ear': o-ʒ ʒəʒ o-i-ʔya 'S hears o at distance, becomes aurally aware of o': ʔuʒ ʒəʒ siʒyahk 'I heard it (at a distance), I became aware of it (by ear)' L, kuʒ

ʒəʒ siiyah̄ 'I think I heard something' L, qa'ʒ  
ʒəʒ qaʔiyah̄ 'he'll hear us (become aware of our  
presence)' L (o-ʒ 'in contact with o', O-i-ʔya<sup>1</sup>  
'S gets O in situation or condition', identity of  
O not clear, unless ʒəʒ, thus 'S has O (ear) in  
contact with o', but the word-order is then unusual,  
the o-ʒ normally following the O.)

-ʒəʒ (perhaps as above, but more likely postposition,  
attested only with zero-allomorph of reflexive o,  
possessed noun as o of o-ʒ 'in contact with o',  
zero-allomorph also of -ʒ, thus zero-ʒəʒ-ʒ 'on  
one's own ear') 'ear': ʒəʒ Kulix̄ih̄j̄h̄ 'he's wear-  
ing earrings' L, ʒəʒ Kuləʒəʔiʔih̄ 'butterball  
duck' ('it's wearing ball-like earrings') L (see on L A' )

3enu'g (loan from Tlingit or Chinook Jargon)

3enu'g (noun, unclassified?) 'Chinook Jargon' LS.

ʒi·da·dəe (loan from Chugach Eskimo ciḡtaataq 'razor-  
clam', not used by Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)

ʒi·da·dəe (noun, unclassified) 'razor-clam' IMS,  
10.230, 230, 248, 11.62, 133A, Galushia Nelson  
ʒi·da·dəe 'clam' 540, same clam as ?uni·k ?ewa·  
qa? qi·sid L, ʒi·da·dəskih 'little razor-  
clams' M, ʒi·da·dəsluw 'big razor-clams' L,  
ʒi·da·dəe ?iixqhi 'razor-clam is meaty' L,  
ʒi·da·dədəxph 'razor-clam person' 10.248, 249A,  
ʒi·da·dəwelahyu· 'razor-clam people' 11.64, 66,  
29.49A, ʒi·da·dəwelahqe?i 'razor-clam person-  
woman' 11.92A.

ʒi·ʒqe·d (loan from Tlingit ʒiʒqedi, name of Tlingit clan or sib of Eagle moiety, represented only from Controller Bay northwestward; perhaps related to ʒiʒ, ʒiʒ, name perhaps ultimately of Athapaskan origin, see Eyak Texts 55.5-6fn, 57.3fn)

ʒi·ʒqe·d, name of Tlingit clan or sib of Eagle moiety extended to the Eyak, of which L's mother and G were members L, 67.2G, or (noun, unclassified) 'member of the ʒi·ʒqe·d clan' 54.6G, ʒi·ʒ-qedyu· 'members of the ʒi·ʒqe·d clan' L, 54.1G.

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ʒi·ni·g-ʒi·nig (loan from Chugach Eskimo cainik 'tea-kettle, teapot with spout', from Russian чайник, not used by Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)

ʒi·ni·g-ʒi·nig (noun, unclassified) 'teapot (with spout, for serving), teakettle' LM, 56.27L, 1a?  
 dih ʒi·ni·g 'two teapots' 56.28L, ʒi·nig  
 Kusuhɜg 'the teakettle is hissing' L, ʒi·  
 ni·gluw 'big teakettle' LM.

ʒi·ni·wəe (loan from Chugach Eskimo csiniyuaq 'tea=  
kettle', partly from Russian чайник-, not used by  
Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)

ʒi·ni·wəe (noun, unclassified) 'teakettle, kettle'  
L, same as k'udac'ela? L.

3a\* (loan from English 'jar', perhaps not naturalized)

3a\* (noun, unclassified) 'jar' 65.24, 25A.

ʒa·beni· (loan from nineteenth-century English 'Japanese,  
Japanee' /ʒahpɒni/ ?)

ʒa·beni· (noun, unclassified) 'Japanese' L, ʒa·  
beni·yu· 'Japanese (pl.)' LA.

ci'-ci? (variation inexplicable, ci' with interrogatives, ci? in exclamations, perhaps two different stems, but evidently related semantically)

-ci'- (enclitic, syntactically unique, emphasizer with interrogatives) 'ever, in the world': with de'-...-d 'what?', de'-ci'-d 'what ever?, what in the world?': de·ci·de'ew 'what in the world is that?': L, dede·ci·d da· da'qe'li·k'xah 'what ever will we have (in the way of possessions)?' 11.54A, with postposition: de·wahci·d we'x yileh 'what ever did you do that for?' M, with du'-...-d 'who?', du'-ci'-d 'who ever?, who in the world?': du·ci·de'qah 'who ever is that?': M, du·ci·duh 'udahd qu'li·tah 'who ever would hear her?' 20.-14A, du·ci·duw lewe'ga? 'i·teh 'whoever is kind of bashful' 69.15A, with da'-...-d 'where?', da·ci·d 'where?': L, with xa'x 'where?', -d-- interrogative enclitic not normal with xa'x but suffixed to -ci'-: xa'xci·d sita'?' 'where ever is my father?' 42.20A, with ke'-...-d 'how?': ke'-ci·d 'how ever?, how in the world?, how about?, what about?': Bezanov Ke'xindudax' 'Darom' umsonst' ke·ci·duhda·x 'what ever (could I do about it, having no time to fool with it)?' L, ke·ci·d di·leh 'what did you say?' M, further examples:

10.236, 11.182, 20.10, 21b.38, 42, 53, 23.14, 148A,  
30.8L, 33.67A, 34.9, 13M, 19, 22, 28, 32, 35, 43L,  
48, 53, 54, 57, 59M, see under *ke'-d*.

(ʔiɪ-)ɕiʔ-ɕ(-deg-) (exclamation, stem *ɕiʔ-*, often  
with *ʔiɪ-* exclamatory prefix, and always followed  
by *-ɕ*-interrogative enclitic, usually combined  
with enclitic *-deg-* 'also, too', frequent in ex-  
clamations, \**ɕiʔɕ* alone not attested) 'my good-  
ness!, dear me!, my heavens!, God!, gosh!, ça  
alors!' (expression of disgust, dismay, irritation,  
alarm): *ʔiɪɕiʔɕ*, *ʔiɪɕiʔɕdug*, *ɕiʔɕdug* 'my good-  
ness!' L, *ʔiɪɕiʔɕdeg* *dəɣɣh* *dik* *ʔədewiʔɕgaʔ*  
*ʔi·lihtuhs* 'my goodness! the guy sure isn't in  
any hurry!' L, *ɕiʔɕdug* *dəɣɣihisih* *daʔ* *suhgɕ-*  
*dah* *dələh* 'God! that rotten guy (drunk) sure is  
a pain!' L, *ɕiʔɕdug* *ya·ɣ* *səɕeʔɕ* 'gosh! it (my  
nice new blanket) got all messed up!' L, *ɕiʔɕ-*  
*dug* *ɣa·ʔd* *ɕiɕ* *ya·ɣwəqəʔd* *gedihɪʔahɪ* 'God!,  
what lousy (arse-end-up) weather!' 72.35L, *ʔi·-*  
*yah* *ɕi·ɕdug* *dəɣɣh* *ʔaʔd* *ɣa·dgaʔ* *qaʔ* *liʔ* *di-*  
*diguɕɕ* 'God! the guy sure is tight-lipped (like  
a hooked bullhead)!' 72.16L, *ɕiʔɕdug* *ʔukah*  
*ʔi·sitahɪ* 'dear me! I forgot it!' 49.89A.

če'

d-če' (attested only with d-thematic 'oral') 'S is, becomes hungry': active perfective, 'S is (became) hungry': 10.217A, 46.26M, Wrangell TAMM-merzā  
 'Essen (эсть есть)' dišičeʔi 'I'm hungry' LM, diK duxšičeʔi 'I'm not hungry' M, dešičeʔi 'are you hungry?' LM, diKš dešičeʔi 'aren't you hungry?' LM, dešičeʔi 'it's hungry' L, dešičeʔi-ɬh 'he's hungry' M, diK dešičeʔiɬh 'he's not hungry' M, da·ləxšičeʔi 'are you pl. hungry?' L, diKš da·ləxšičeʔi 'aren't you pl. hungry?' LM, dešičeʔiɬinu·, qadešičeʔiɬinu· 'they're hungry' L, ʔuqaʔɬ yɬ·ɬinu· kudešičeʔi 'some of them are hungry' L, inceptive perfective, 'S is becoming hungry': detexčeʔi 'I'm getting hungry' LM, de·ci·čeʔi 'are you getting hungry?' LM, diKš de·ci·čeʔi 'aren't you getting hungry?' LM, neuter perfective and imperfective, 'S is (constantly) hungry': šič di·čeʔiɬh, dešič di·čihɬh 'he's always hungry' L, inceptive imperfective: quʔdi·x·čeh 'I'll be hungry' L, diK quʔdi·x·čeh (not -če·s) 'I won't be hungry' L, quʔdi·čehš 'will you be hungry?' M, diKš quʔdi·čeh 'won't you be hungry?' M, active optative: da·xičeh 'let me be hungry' L, da·ličeh, da·yičeh 'it's OK for you to be hungry' L, qeda·yičihinu· 'let them be

hungry' L, da·lexičeh, qeda·lexičeh 'it's OK for  
 you pl. to be hungry' L, with qe? 'again, some  
 more' and de-classifier: ?a?d ka·di?da· qe? da·  
 dičeh 'you'll never be hungry anymore' M, inceptive  
 optative: deci·čeh 'it's OK for you to get hungry'  
 L, inceptive imperative (L unwilling to use other  
 imperatives): deseče? 'stay hungry!, be hungry!,  
 get hungry!' L, customary: dexče·K 'I'm (cust)  
 hungry' LM, deče·kya·x 'lest he be hungry' L,  
 repetitive: dexče?g 'I'm hungry off and on' M,  
 'I keep getting hungry' L, inceptive subjunctive  
 (transcribed first summer, stem-form probably in-  
 correct, should be -čeh-): desexče·x size?līhīh  
 'he wants me to be hungry' L, deci·če·x ?iye?xleh  
 'I want you to be hungry' L, deseče·x ?uže?xlīhīh  
 'I want him to be hungry' L, qedeseče·x ?uža? ?i-  
 xlīhinu· 'I want them to be hungry' L. Transitive  
 (causative): xudesi·kče?k 'you're making me hun-  
 gry' M, qu?di·xkčīhīh 'I'll make him hungry' M,  
 xudeseče? 'make me hungry!' M.

deče·l (gerundive of preceding) 'hunger', as o of  
 o-ya?x '(movement) in o (with broad opening at top)'  
 with O-?·y-k-qa 'day dawns on O, O overnights':  
 deče·lya?x xu?yesečqahī 'I had to camp overnight  
 hungry' L, as o of o-y-ya? 'on forearm of o, in-  
 to clutches of o' with -?ya 'S involuntarily gets

into situation, condition': deče·lyeṣa? si'yah̄  
'I got real hungry, I went hungry' L, deče·lyeṣa?  
suh sa'yah̄ 'did he go hungry?' L, deče·lyeṣa?  
seiya? 'make him go hungry!' L, as o of o-č  
'towards o' with ?i·lih-le 'S has emotional ex=  
perience': deče·lč ?i·lihseližh 'he recovered  
his appetite (suddenly got hungry again, e.g. after  
long illness)' L.

ča (form uncertain, perhaps čə, čaʔ, or čəʔ, occurring only in čaʔniKt), see (? )niK.

čq' (perhaps related to čq')

čq' (noun, probably unclassified) 'bait' LM.

O-čq' (stem-form also čq'?, L uncertain about variation of this type of stem in verbs) 'S baits O (hook, trap)': sičq'ɨ, sičq'ʔɨ (no clear preference) 'I baited it (hook, trap)' L, quʔxčq'ʔ 'I'll bait it (hook, trap)' L, sečq'ʔ 'bait it!' L.

čq' (ča? in some syntactically ill-defined non-verbal forms; čq' well established in verbs, but strongly influenced, for L and M, by Class I variable stem patterns)

ie-čq' 'S smells, has odor, stinks' (similar to English 'smell', generally implying unpleasant odor unless otherwise specified): imperfectives (always -čqh):

iečqh 'it smells bad' LM, 'it smells' L, diK ie-čqh 'it doesn't smell' L, Kuŋu'dah iečqh 'it smells good' L, Kuša'dah iečqh 'it stinks' L, Rezanov Komarzewam 'Соняерь stinken' Kušiyah iečqh 'something bad stinks', iečqhšiyah 'smells--nasty' (epithet, with suffixed adjective 'bad') lb.9M, qu?iečah 'it'll smell' L, with class-marks for S: 27b.20A, lexiečah 'any berry or flower that has a pungent odor' M (see separate entry), sla?dah gq'iečah 'perfume' ('liquid smells beautiful') M, with qi'd-anatomical: qi'deiečihih deryh 'a person with smelly feet' L; perfectives.(-čq?-): ši-čq?i 'it got stinky' A, seiečq?i 'it's getting stinky' A, Kuša'dah seiečq?i 'it's starting to smell bad' L; repetitive (stem-form analogical, should be -čq?-): seiečqhg 'it's smelly on and off' L.

lexiečah (nominalized active imperfective of preceding, with lq-class for S 'berry-like' at least partly thematized, apparently used in reference to

any vegetable or plant with a disagreeable or pungent odor, but also as the name or epithet for certain specific flora items) 'onions' ('when onions first came to Alaganik trading post, the Eyaks would buy them, and children would chase each other about with them, crying *lexələčəh*; this word was used for a while for 'onions' until replaced by *ye·k̄təxi·* from the Tlingit') L, 'any berry or flower that smells, especially *səŋh̄inu·ya?* *la?mahd'* M, Harrington *lɔp̄äitcə,* *lax̄p̄äitcə* 'wild currant, *Ribes laxiflorum?*' G, *lax̄p̄äitcəh̄* 'wild onion' G.

*qi·yələčəh* (noun, unclassified) 'daddy longlegs, harvestman' LM, 40.14L, *qi·yələčəhya?* *ʒewuk* 'spiderweb' L. Nominalized active imperfective with *qi·y-* anatomical, 'its toes stink'; apparently considered a loathsome and sinister creature by the Eyak.

*o-i-čə?* (perhaps semantically irregular causative of *ke-čə?*) 'S smells O': 25.62, 27b.19fnA, *xičəh* 'I smell it, I'm smelling it' LM, *qu?xələčəh* 'I'll smell it' LS, *diK qu?xələčəhə* (not *-čə?ə*) 'I won't smell it' L, *sələčəh̄ədəwa·* (stem-form analogical) 'before he smells it' L, *sələčə?i* 'I smelled it' L, Rezanov *Калеальча 'Нохка̄ riechen', Калеальчы 'Нохка̄ riechen (Imperat.)'* *q̄ələ?* *?ələčəh(uh)* 'now smell it!', *?ələčəh* (not *-čə?*), *sələčə?* 'smell it!' L, *da· ?i·ləčəh* 'let's smell it'

L, ?ew hɔp·K 'he (cust) smells it' M, ?ew ?axi-  
 ɕəhɣ siX dəlɪhɪh 'he told me to smell it' L, re-  
 petitive: kuxiɕə?g 'I smell something on and off'  
 L, with d-class-mark for O: 27a.15L, 27b.19fnA, with  
 qi·d-anatomical for O, 'S smells O's foot, S (dog)  
 tracks O': xuqi·daseɪɕəhɪ (stem-form analogical)  
 'it sniffed my foot' L, ?iqi·daseɪɕə?ɪ 'it (dog)  
 is tracking you' L, with l-anatomical, 'S kisses O'  
 ('S smells O's face'): 47b.42M, 47c.51L (active op-  
 tatives), xu·li·hɔh 'kiss me!' M, li·hɔɪhɪh  
 'kiss him!' L, with yeɣ-progressive and qi·d-anatom-  
 ical: yeɣ xuqi·deɪeɕə?ɣ (or -ɕəhɣ, analogical)  
 'it (dog) is tracking me down' L, yeɣ xuqu?qi·de-  
 ɪeɕəh 'it (dog) will track me down' L, yeɣ xuqi·  
 diɕiɕə?ɪ 'it (dog) tracked me down' L, detransi-  
 tivized with indeterminate O: siqi·la·se?e?ɣ ?i-  
 seɪeɕə?ɪ 'it (dog) is sniffing along my track' L,  
 ?uqi·la·se?e?ɣ ?i?ɪeɕɪ?ɪh 'smell his track!' (to  
 dog) L, with yeɣ-progressive: yeɣ ?iɪeɕəhɣ M,  
 yeɣ ?iɪeɕə?ɣ 'it's sniffing around' MA, siq' yeɣ  
 ?iɪeɕə·ɣ (analogical stem-form) 'it's sniffing  
 around on me' L, yeɣ ?ixɪeɕəhɣ, yeɣ ?ixɪeɕə?ɣ  
 (no preference, former analogical) 'I'm sniffing  
 around' L, da· yeɣ ?ɪ·ɪiɕəh 'let's sniff around'  
 L, yeɣ ?isɪiɕə?ɪ 'it sniffed around' L, with el-  
 thematic 'ground': yeɣ ?iɕə·ɪeɕə·ɣ (stem-form ana-

- logical) 'it (dog) is sniffing around on the ground'  
 L; reciprocal, with 1-anatomical: ?i?u? la?e?i?hinu·  
 'they're kissing each other' ('they're smelling each  
 other's face') L.
- ?ow la?i?a·K man's name, A's brother (son or uncle)  
 w?·do?isan, "maybe just a nickname for him" L ('he  
 (cust) kisses it').
- ?i?a? woman's name ("has to do with smell") L (pre-  
 fix perhaps indeterminate O), ?i?a?K S (L considers  
 this probably incorrect; perhaps influenced by the  
 preceding).
- Ku?a? personal name L (does not know whether man's or  
 woman's; prefix indefinite S, O, or possessor).
- qi·de?e?a? pejorative epithet 'stinky-feet' L.
- ?ana·?ahi?a? (noun, unclassified) 'flower of Kamchatka  
 lily' ('smelly flower') L (-i-?a? perhaps adjectival).

čú·

- čú· (kinship noun, ascending) '(maternal) grandmother, (maternal) grandmother's sister': sitcu· 'mother's mother's older sister (man speaking)' BSdL 566A, sičú· 'my mother's mother' (man or woman speaking) L; with suffixed adjective -šiyah (here without any clear meaning, perhaps respectful) '(maternal) grandmother, (maternal) grandmother's sister': 17.1M, 25.115, 116, 153, 155, 155, 156, 29.30, 60A, 40.6, 16L, sitcucia 'mother's mother's younger sister (man speaking)' BSdL 566A, sičú·šiyah 'my mother's mother' (man or woman speaking, same as sičú·) L, ?ičú·šiyah 'your mother's mother' L; with suffixed -(se-)yu· 'pl., etc., et al.', 'maternal grandmother, her siblings and their families', perhaps also 'mother's parents': ?ičú·šiyahyu· 'your grandmother's people, your mother's mother etc.' 18.82L, šičú·yu· 'my grandmother's people' 57.2G, sičú·seyu· 'my mother's mother's people' L. Vocative (no prefix, unbroken form of suffixed adjective): čú·šah (not -šiyah) 'grandmother!' L, 17.9M, tcucia 'mother's mother (either sex speaking)' BSdL 565A, *tu'ča' some of Glavic names*
- čú·-kih (kinship noun, descending, reciprocal to preceding, with -kih 'diminutive, affectionate')

'(woman's) daughter's child', probably also '(wo-  
man's) sister's daughter's child': 61.29fnA (here  
'(man's) sister's daughter's child'), sitsuki  
'daughter's child' (woman speaking) BSdL 567A  
siču·kih 'my daughter's child' (woman speaking,  
also used in direct address) M.

## šiyah

šiyah (noun, lɣ-class) 'dentalium' LA, Galushia  
Nelson tciyd 'dentalium shell' BSDL 551, ši-  
yah laʔɣ ləxəla-iʔyahɪɣh 'he's wearing a  
dentalium necklace' L.

čid-čed (L prefers čid, M prefers čed, expanded či·d)

čid-č-čed-č (noun, unclassified, with -č-thematic)

'nits, louse-eggs': Rezanov Чехъ 'Гнѣза Nisse',  
 čed<sup>č</sup> ML, cid<sup>č</sup> 'nits' L (prefers latter form, not  
 possessible), čed<sup>č</sup>?eč<sup>č</sup>? 'lots of louse-eggs' LM.

-čid-č (-č-thematic retained as part of stem) 'S be-  
 comes nitty, infested with nits': Sečid<sup>č</sup> 'it got  
 full of louse-eggs' L. Transitive (causative, per-  
 haps also of (O-?)de-čid-č below, if that is not  
 a passive) 'S (louse) infests O with nits': qa<sup>č</sup>č-  
 čid<sup>č</sup> 'they (lice) will lay eggs (on it?)' L.

(O-?)de-čid-č (perhaps passive of causative above)

'S (or O?) becomes nitty': Sečid<sup>č</sup> 'it got full  
 of louse-eggs', same as Sečid<sup>č</sup> above L.

de-čid-č-čed-č 'S (louse) lays eggs': Sečid<sup>č</sup>

'it (louse) laid eggs' L, qu<sup>č</sup>dečed<sup>č</sup> 'it (louse)  
 will lay eggs' M, ?aw gugsgeyu· deči·č<sup>č</sup>

'those lice (cust) lay eggs' L.

ča'd

-ča'd (noun, unclassified) 1. 'fin': kuča'd  
 'fins (any fin, of any fish)' L, kuču? ʔuča'd  
 ʔawa qa? ʔi-ʔah 'lots of (dorsal) fins are  
 sticking up out (of water), fish are running  
 abundantly' L.

2. 'hump (of humpback salmon)': ʔuča'd  
 'its (humpback salmon's) hump' L, kuča'dluw  
 'big hump (of humpback salmon)' LM.

-ča'd (verb theme attested only in neuter perfec-  
 tive) 'S has swelling, hump': ʔi-ča-dī 'it has  
 a hump, swelling on it' L.

0-i-ča'd 'S cuts off O (hump of humpback salmon):  
 ʔeiča'd 'cut it off (hump of humpback salmon):'  
 L; passive: šiča-dī 'hump of humpback salmon  
 (cut off)' (a delicacy; active perfective nominal-  
 ized) L.

## čahd

ka-čahd-g (with -g-repetitive thematized) 'S (starving, ill, very fatigued) walks staggering, reeling, to destination': sexkečahdgɪ 'I'm barely making it (struggling along on foot)' L, qaʔxkečahdg 'I'll try to stagger there (walk along, very weak, from sickness, hunger, fatigue, reeling or staggering)' L.

d-ka-čahd-g (with -g-repetitive thematized, d-thematic 'oral, noise') 'S (emotionally overcome, sobbing) talks with great difficulty': deka-čahdgɪh 'he (child, sobbing) is stammering, blubbing' L.

l-de-čahd-g (with -g-repetitive thematized, l-thematic) 1. 'S (supply of food, fuel) runs out, runs short, fails': with o-xaʔ 'in intimate relation with o, "on" o': sixaʔ ʔɪ.ʂdičahdgɪ 'my food ran short' L, with o-qaʔx 'amongst o': ʔuqaʔx ʔɪ.ʂdičahdgɪnu 'there isn't enough food for (to distribute amongst) them' L.

2. 'S keeps travelling in spite of failure of food-, fuel-supply': diʔweʔ ʔu.daʔ ʔɪ.xʂdi-čahdgɪ 'I barely made it there, I still arrived there somehow, though out of gas' L.

## čaʔx

čaʔx (noun) 1. (lx-class) 'blueberries' LMA, 'huckleberries' M (probably most local *Vaccinium* species except *V. vitis idaea*, *V. oxycoccum*), 20.1A, Rezanov Чаярлы 'Чепанка' (not in Radlov, 'bilberry'), čaʔxləxətuʔ 'lots of blueberries' M, ʔu·d ʔi·na·d kuləxətuʔ čaʔx 'there are lots of blueberries on the slope there' L, čaʔx ya·x ləxəseleʔgi 'he's eating up all the blueberries' L.

2. (unclassified or declassified) 'blueberry--bush', (in certain constructions) 'blueberries': 20.2A, čaʔx ʔi·saʔmahdɪ 'blueberries ripened' L, čaʔxdsiqaʔ 'stem of blueberry plant' L; as o of o-gaʔ 'like o': 66.10L, čaʔxgaʔ ʔi·təh 'it's dark blue color, black-and-blue color; a bruise' IM. ʔədəčaʔx (noun, lx-class) 'real blue blueberry species' ('genuine blueberries, blueberries par excellence') L.

xədəsd čaʔx (noun, lx-class, attested only in Harrington from G, xəddəqht-tchə'q, q frequently misheard for x in Harrington) 'large blueberry species' ('upstream blueberry'), unknown to L.

<sup>2</sup><sub>^</sub>č-čaʔx 'S (bruised) turns black-and-blue': sdičaʔxɪ  
'it (bruise) turned bluish' L.

cič<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with čič<sup>2</sup>; expanded čič or čič)

O-čič 'S breaks O': with yaž 'break, apart, in two': 9.40, 41, 42A, Rezanov Экмацкчк 'Гнуть biegen' yaž qa'čičih 'he'll break it', Кх-каукччч 'Зломать brechen, zerbrechen (Transitiv)' yaž qa'čič 'he'll break it', yaž sečič 'break it (e.g. stick)!' L, yaž qu'xčič 'I'll break it' L, 'ew dakih da' yaž čičč, 'ew dakih da' yaž čičč ("some people would say" the former, "but I would say" the latter) 'we (cust) break the stick' L, 'uqa'ž ya-yu' 'awa' yaž qačičičč 'I broke some of them' L, 'ucuhdčičč 'ew yaž sečičih 'he broke it over his knee' L, inceptive (and active) subjunctive: 'ew yaž sečičč (or 'exčičč, but L prefers the former, inceptive) sičč dalihih 'he told me to break it' L, repetitive (partly thematized): yaž sičičč 'I broke it (e.g. stick)' L, yaž sečiččih 'he's breaking it' M; with ya' 'completely': ya' qu'xčič 'I'll break it in many pieces' L, ya' sečič 'break it all up!' L, 'ucuhdčičč 'ew ya' sečičih 'he's breaking them (bunch of sticks) all up over his knee' L; passive, with yaž and d-class O: yaž dičičičč 'it's been broken (e.g. board, by someone)' L; susceptible neuter, with yaž: yaž hičičč 'it breaks

easily' L.

qid 0-gdl-điđ 'S breaks 0's head off': repetitive:  
50.46A.

0-ʔ-(1-)điđ 'S breaks 0 part way through, cracks 0  
so that 0 loses its rigidity at cracked point':  
with yeḡ 'break, apart': yeḡ ʔuʔsiđiđ 'I  
broke it (e.g. twig, not into two separate pieces)'  
L; indirect reciprocal, with ʔilʔaʔḡ 'one (part)  
behind the other, folded': ʔilʔaʔḡ ʔuʔleceđiđ  
'fold it, bend it (till it snaps, but not into two  
separate pieces)!' L, repetitive: 18.22L.

cič<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with cič<sup>1</sup>)

ɣd-cič(-g)(-ɫ) (noun, unclassified, with ɣd-thematic, perhaps thematized ɣd-class-mark, and optional -g= repetitive and/or -ɫ(-instrumental?)) 'corner (viewed from inside)': Rezanov Хареҕууһа 'From Ecke' ɣedečičɫ 'corner' LM, also ɣedečičg L, ɣedičičgɫ 'corner (e.g. of a room)' M, la<sup>o</sup>dih ɣedečičɫ 'two corners' L.

čaʔč

- čaʔč (noun, unclassified) 'red salmon, sockeye salmon (*Oncorhynchus nerka*)' LMASG, 65.68, 70A, 67.13G, Rezanov Чануа Красная рыба *Salmo lycaodon*, Galushia Nelson tcaʔc 'red or sockeye salmon' BSdL 540, čaʔčʔaʔluw 'big sockeye' L, čaʔčʔetuʔ 'lots of red salmon' M, čaʔč yedi-ieh 'it's sockeye meat' L, diʔweʔ čaʔč yedi-ieh 'it (salmon-meat) is still red' L, čaʔčgas yedi-čeh 'it (fish-meat) looks like (that of) sockeye' L.
- čaʔčqexah name of month ('red salmon month'),  
 "around May" L, "June" A.

ci·s

ci·s-g (with -g-thematic sometimes omitted, when following morph begins with g, q, ʃ) (noun) 1. (lʃ-class) (loose) sand, gravel': Resanov Чума 'Песок Sand' ci·sg 'sand' LMA, 'gravel' L, Resanov Чумкерсе 'Песчаное место sandige Stelle' ci·sg yileh 'it's sandy', ci·sgleʃetuʔ, Kule-ʃetuʔ ci·sg 'lots of sand' M, ci·sg siʃ lo-ʃi·laʔ (or leʃa·laʔ) 'give me some sand!' L, ci·sg ta·qʔ ʔilqa·ʃ leʃe:expuhʃk 'I'm spreading (shovelling) sand about on the road' L; declassified, as o of o-gaʔ 'like o': ci·sgaʔ se-liʃ (not ci·sggaʔ) 'it broke into smithereens, because pulverized' L.

2. (l-class (in text from A, cf. archaic l--classification of ca· 'stone'), ʃd-class (in text from M, cf. ʃd-class-mark and ʃd-thematic with nouns and constructions referring to 'bank, shore'), lʃ--class (in elicitations from M, probably influenced by ci·sg 1. and l- and ʃd-class-marks for ci·sg 2.) 'sandbank, sandy beach, gravel-beach': ci·s(g)-ʃada·qʔ 'on gravel-beach' 1.3, 3.3, 6.2M, ci·sga·naʔqʔ 'onto gravel-beach' 10.12, 27A, ci·sgleʃaʔluw 'big sandbank' M, ci·sgleʃaʔa·w 'long sandbank' M; Furuhsjelm Tchiishk 'town, village' ci·sg, see ci·s qiʔ ku·leh below.



cihš

- cihš 'S (trapped prey) escapes, gets away': še-  
 cihšš 'it (animal, fish) got away' L, with o-ya?  
 'in intimate relation with o, "on" o': siya? še-  
 cihšš 'it got away from me (game, fish, when I  
 was sure I had it)' L.

čahš-čaʔš (čaʔš clearly preferred in neuter imperfective and (analogically?) in neuter perfective, čahš generally preferred elsewhere, including in adjective)

-čahš (adjective) 'thick (in least dimension), coarse':

1. Independent or relativized: Rezanov Kyč-aam  
'Tomro dick' kučahš (not -čaʔš LM) 'a thick thing' M, 'thick' L, kučahš xihst' 'thick devil-club' M, kučahš dekjh 'thick stick' L, Rezanov Ayzax kyč-aam 'Tomro dick (Comparativ)' ʔawlex kučahš '(something) thicker than that', with class-marks in association with classified noun: kugədə-čahš kucjʔ 'thick neck' L, kulaxəčahš 'coarse (grain)' M.

2. Suffixed: dekjhčahš 'thick stick' L, to classified noun: di·yaʔgelečahš 'coarse salt' M.

3. With laʔq 'thickness': with d-class-mark: 57.270, sdu·lihs laʔq dečahš 'thick table (made of thick boards)' L, xđ-class-mark: laʔq yədečahš 'thick (log)' L, with anatomical marks, in pejorative epithets: laʔq qi·dəčahš 'thick-feet' 18.8L, laʔq yečahš 'thick-hands' 18.8L.

lexečahš (noun, unclassified) 'gunnysack' ('coarse-grained (cloth)') L.

-čahš--čaʔš 'S is thick (in least dimension), coarse', usually with laʔq 'thickness': neuter imperfective (usually -čaʔš, clearly preferred to -čahš): 18.=

16, 19, 19L (all -čahš, perhaps mistranscribed),  
 65.4A, laʔq̄ yičaʔš L (twice), laʔq̄ ʔi·čaʔš 'it's  
 thick' LMA (A four times), diK̄ laʔq̄ ʔaʔčaʔš: (not  
 -čahš-) 'it's not thick' L, ʔəx̄a· laʔq̄ ʔi·čaʔš  
 (or -čahš) kušxi·d 'my what thick cloth!' L, with  
 class-mark for S: q̄ahš laʔq̄ ʔedi·čahš 'clouds are'  
 thick' L, laʔq̄ di·čahš 'it (board) is thick' M  
 (both the preceding perhaps mistranscribed), laʔq̄  
 li·čaʔš 'it (fat on seal) is thick' L, diK̄ laʔq̄  
 laʔčaʔš: 'it (fat on seal) isn't thick' L, with y--  
 anatomical: laʔq̄ yi·čaʔš k̄ila·ʔ 'mans with thick  
 hands' L; neuter perfective: laʔq̄ ʔi·čaʔšš 'it's  
 (become) thick (as a result of something)' L (stem--  
 form perhaps analogical); inceptives and actives  
 (-čahš generally preferred, at least by L): laʔq̄  
 qaʔčaʔš IM, laʔq̄ qaʔčahš (not -čaʔš L, contra-  
 dicting self) 'it'll get thick' LM, laʔq̄eč̄ sečaʔšš  
 M, laʔq̄ sečaʔšš (or -čahšš) 'it's getting thick'  
 L (twice), laʔq̄ sečahšš (not -čaʔšš, contradic-  
 ting self) 'it's getting thick; it's getting calloused'  
 L, laʔq̄ sečaʔšš IM, laʔq̄ sečahšš 'it got thick'  
 L, with d-class-mark for S: 57.9G. Transitive (caus-  
 ative): laʔq̄ seičaʔš 'make it thick!' M; with l̄x--  
 class-mark for O (thematized?): lex̄eč̄ičahš 'make  
 it coarse!' M, da· lex̄eiča·šK̄ 'we (cust) make it  
 coarse' M.

## čehg

-čehg (not freely used, attested only in active perfective) 'S rots (crumbles, disintegrates, without putrefaction)': šəčehgɨ 'it got rotten' L, with yaʔ 'completely': yaʔ šəčehgɨ 'it rotted and disintegrated' L.

ʔə-čehg 'S rots (crumbles, disintegrates, without putrefaction)': škičehgɨ 'it got rotten' L, 'it crumbled' M, yaʔ škičehgɨ 'it rotted away' L, quʔəčehg 'it'll rot (vegetable or plant, not animal)' LM; with d-class-mark for S (tree, perhaps partly thematized): dələčehg 'rotten wood' (active imperfective nominalized) LM, diškičehgɨ 'rotten wood' (active perfective nominalized) S, yeʔedqaʔ diškičehgɨ 'old hollow tree is rotten' (neuter perfective) L, quʔdələčehg 'it (wood) will rot' M, dələče-gkʔ 'it (wood) (cust) rots' M; with d-class-mark and kuʔ-l-anatomical 'thickest part': kuʔdələčehgɨ 'it (tree at base) is rotting' L, kuʔ-diškičehgɨ 'it (tree at base) rotted' L. Transitive (causative): with d-class-mark for O: yaʔ dəsečehg 'make it (wood) rot!' M; passive: yaʔ šdičehgɨ "sounds like someone made it rot" ('it has been made to rot') L.

dəčehg(ɨ) (noun, probably d-class) 'rotted dead tree': dəčehg 'rotten wood' M, Harrington tətčənk.ɨ 'dead tree' G. Deverbalization, perhaps with -ɨ-instrumental (or gerundive?).

če·k-če·k-če·k (L uncertain, prefers če·k, A če·k)

k-če·k 'S is, becomes toothless': ?i-čē·kijh 'he (baby or old person) has no teeth' (neuter perfective) L, šaiče·kz 'you lost all your teeth' L (?i-čē·kz and šaiče·kz also recorded on both occasions this stem was elicited from L. -če·k- on both occasions was the first and most spontaneous form; on the second occasion L for a while thought that "-če·k-" sounds better than "-če·k-", but finally returned to her preference for -če·k-), form from A (recorded on tape by Constance Naish 7 April 1967) šaiče·igijh 'he lost his teeth', with -g-repetitive thematized, may be the correct form, but there has been no opportunity to check L's reaction to it.

čes (final -q definitely not acceptable)

-čes 'S uses a fork', attested only in indirect reflexive with de-classifier (perhaps in error for le-classifier, indirect reflexive of O-čes); with o-saʔd 'in o's mouth': saʔd ʔadečes 'use a fork (putting food in your (own) mouth)!' L.

O-čes 'S lifts, handles O with a fork': ʔačes 'fork it!' M, 'pitch it (e.g. fish) with a fork!' L, quʔxičes 'I'll fork it' M, sičesč 'I forked it' M, da' kčesč 'we (cust) fork it' M.

česč (noun, unclassified, with -č-instrumental) 'fork, forked stick, table-fork' LMA, laʔdih česč 'two forks, two table-forks' L.

čeʔq (final -s definitely not acceptable)

0-š-čeʔq 'S hooks O': ʔəščeʔq 'hook it!' L, quʔ-xščeʔq 'I'll hook it' L, šščeʔqš 'I hooked it' M, with indeterminate O and yəx-progressive: yəx ʔšščeʔqšh 'he's going about hooking things here and there' L; passive: 63.42fnG, xuššičeʔqš 'I got hooked' L.

ʔədəsd ʔišuʔ šščeʔqš (neuter perfective nominalized, either direct reflexive 'they have hooked each other above' or indirect reflexive (<ʔiš-luʔ) passive 'they have been hooked through each other above') attested only in Harrington ʔuttəqt 'Iššú'-ššičeʔqš 'tree caught (lodged) in fork of other tree in falling, Eng. "a hang-up"' G.

čeʔqš (noun, unclassified, with -š-instrumental)

'hook' LMS, 63.42G, 'halibut hook' S, Galushia Nelson ʔcā'ktš 'hook-like spear or rake for eula-chon', Old Man Dude tcaktš 'halibut hook' BSdL 549 (descriptions in BSdL 120-121), čeʔqšʔaʔluw 'big hook' LM.

čəxč (L momentarily also čəxč, but fairly certain of čəxč)

-x-i-čəxč-i (noun) attested only with -suhd 'knee' as possessor in -suhdxəičəxčič 'kneecap': siuhd-xəičəxčič 'my kneecap' (momentarily also -čəxčič, but finally rejected in favor of -čəxčič) L (unable to analyze).

čeq-čeq-čeq-čeq (form and status uncertain, čeq, čeq probably incorrect, perhaps loan from, or cognate with, Athapaskan -čeq<sup>x</sup> 'genitals, testicles')

-čeq--čeq--čeq--čeq (noun) 'genitals, penis, vulva':

Rezanov Уччукъ 'Дѣтородномъ удѣ женскоѣ Glied, weibliches' conceivably to be read ?učeq 'her genitals', (but probably to be read as a loan from Eskimo, Yupik ucuk 'genitals', cf. Уччукъ

'Дѣтородномъ удѣ мужскоѣ Glied, mannliches' probably to be read Eskimo ucua 'his, her genitals', Galushia Nelson étociq 'penis' BSDL 542 probably to be read kučeq 'someone's penis, genitals', "Johnny Stevens" Ahtena wife used a word -čeq<sup>x</sup> or something like that for -guč ('penis')" A, Sampson Harry, not known to LM.

čá·š (probably loan from Ahtena cas [čá·š] 'edible (Hedysarum alpinum) root', widely diffused and phonologically irregular form of unidentified origin, Minto troš, Tlingit cá3)

čá·š (noun) 1. (unclassified) '(Hedysarum alpinum) plant' L, Galushia Nelson tcac 'artichoke-like plant' BSdL 541 ("Another plant, said to resemble an artichoke, was dug in early spring on the mud flats. It has branching roots. Only the main part of the root was eaten. It is now dug with an axe. The root was eaten raw or roasted and is said to have a sweet taste" BSdL 97), čá·š-ʔaʔluw 'big Hedysarum plant' LM, čá·š ʔuyaʔd Kú·ieh place-name, or Alaganik Slough, first place on way up towards Alaganik ('there are Hedysarum plants in it (o with broad opening at top, body of water)') L, čá·šdákʔaʔ 'Hedysarum stem' L.

2. (lɿ-class) 'edible (Hedysarum) root, Indian potatoes' LM (L knows the Ahtena "had the same word"), čá·šləʔaʔluw 'big Indian potato' M.

ča·šgeš (loan from Chugach Eskimo [čaškaq], from Russian чашка, Eyak aspirated initial probably due to influence of ča·šga·, q.v.)

ča·šgeš (noun, unclassified) 'cup' LA (same as ča·šga·, and preferred to ča·šga· LA).

- ča·šga· (loan from Yakutat Tlingit (Sampson Harry)  
 čášga 'cup', from Russian чашка; see also ča·šgeš)  
 ča·šga· (noun, unclassified) 'cup' LA (same as  
 ča·šgeš, which L and A prefer), ča·šga·tú?  
 'lots of cups' LM.

če·y-ča·y (ča·y S only; ča·y perhaps loan from Chugach Eskimo cai, though aspirate initial irregular, cf. ʒi·ni·g-ʒi·ni·g, ča·ʒgeʔ, perhaps influenced by če·y; če·y perhaps loan from Yakutat Tlingit čey, obsolescent in Yakutat, Sampson Harry; če·y "real Eyak", ča·y "not real Eyak" L; one or both perhaps direct loan from Russian ча́й *čáj* 'tea')

če·y-ča·y (noun) 1. (unclassified) ča·y S, če·y 'tea(-leaves)' LM, če·yʔətuʔ 'lots of tea(-leaves)' LM, če·yeyu· 'quantities of tea' 52.36L.

2. (gl-class) 'tea (beverage)': če·y da·ʒi·ʒk 'we (cust) drink tea' M, ʔəl če·y siʒaʔ yaʔd quʔxiʒiʒ 'I'll drink this tea of mine up' 61.68A, če·y gali·içəhʒh 'he loves to guzzle tea' L, ʔaw če·y gali·iqaʔd 'boil that tea:' L, če·ygy·tuʔ, če·ygeletuʔ 'lots of tea' LM, če·yguʔəʔ xdəle·gk 'I (cust) [get the urge to?] drink tea' L, ʔaw če·y ʔidaʔya·ləʒ gy·seduxi 'that tea has (too many) leaves floating into it, floated to the top' L, gy·sditugi če·y 'tea with lots of leaves in it'.

*from Yagka 'cup', probably through  
Rijit, but not known to*

ča'ngu' (probably loan from Tlingit, source not identified. Substantive  
fied, perhaps ultimately Russian, e.g. <sup>from</sup> ~~uaw~~ <sup>alpha cup</sup> 'vat')

ča'ngu' (noun, unclassified) 'drinking-glass' L.

čá'nwa'n-čá'newa'n (loan from Tlingit čánwan 'China-  
man', from English, perhaps directly, or through Chinook  
Jargon)

čá'nwa'n-čá'newa'n (noun, unclassified) 'Chinese,  
Chinaman': čá'newa'n 'Chinaman' L, ?iyah čá'n-  
wa'nyu·gu·tu? ?ə·č se?ə?čik 'xy there are a lot  
of Chinamen coming here!' L, čá'nwa'nyu· 'China-  
men' L; čá'newa'nyu·ya? (or čá'nwa'n-) čiyahč  
'toadstool' ('Chinamen's hat') L, čá'nwa'nyu·ya?  
na·w 'a certain alcoholic beverage' ('Chinamen's  
whiskey') L.

8 (postpositional stem, final element to postpositions, preverbs, locatives, and certain other forms, and initial element in postpositions o-č-a?, o-č-a', o--i-č-a'-, o-č-ahd, so analyzed and identified on the strength of clear semantic grounds, cf. especially the sets d<sup>2</sup>, da?, da<sup>3</sup>, dahd, and ɣ<sup>1</sup>, ɣa?-ɣa', ɣahd, not so analyzed only because insufficient semantic clarity)

o-č (postposition) 1. 'to, at, towards o' (with verbs referring to motion of any kind '(motion) setting out towards but no necessarily reaching, continuous motion, repeated motion to, towards o'; with transitive and similar classificatory verbs, O-i-te, O-(i-)ta, O-(i-)?a, O-i-?ya, O-i-ya'?, O-i-(y)a, especially without other postpositional phrases or preverbs, 'giving to o'; with verbs referring to passage of time, 'to, towards, until o'; with verbs referring to fixation of position, 'adherence to o'; with other verbs, referring to relatively stationary activity or process, especially communicative, vocal, perceptual or emotional, or passage of time, or position with directional orientation, '(communication) with, perception of, attitude or emotion with regard to, orientation towards, continuous or repeated activity or process or passage of time at o'), occurring with probably

all verbal mode-aspects, but especially frequent  
 or usual with inceptive perfective, repetitive,  
 customary, rather frequent also with imperfectives,  
 optatives, imperatives, conditionals, subjunctives,  
 but with active perfective usually only where re-  
 ferring to motion setting out toward but clearly  
 not specified as reaching o; occasionally attested  
 with reflexive o, o never deleted, ?edč, with  
 indeterminate o, dač, frequent with reciprocal  
 o, ?ižč (never \*?iži-č L); rather irregular with  
 class-marks the last element of which is -l-; -l-č  
 usually > -'neč, in certain cases -'č, occasi-  
 onally but perhaps less correctly -lač, and with  
 giyah 'water' (gl-class) as o, consistently giyah-  
 gy'č (-;č); with marks the last element of which  
 is not -l-, -C-č regularly > -Coč, never  
 \*-Ca'č: for semantically regular instances see d--  
 že-de (causative), -da, O-ta?č, O-tux, d-de--  
 tux, O-ž-te, O-(ž-)ta, žd-ta, O-gd-(ž-)ta, O--  
 ?-(ž)-(ž-)ta, že-tux, -če'č, O-ž-čed, -če'-tu'  
 2d., 1l., dlž-če'-tu', O-ži la., 2., O-ž-ži la.,  
 O-ž-cjhd, O-ž-coč, O-ž-cu'x, O-cjhs, O-ž-ca?  
 (ca?l), O-čex l. (čex<sup>4</sup>), -sid, žy'dl-ž-gihž-g,  
 žu-l-ž-gy's, O-ž-gahs, že-gexč, ?i-ga', -kjhđ,  
 o-ž-ky'č, O-kahž, d-ž-ka?č, ?i-že-xuč, O-xu?č=  
 (-g), -xui- (causative), že-xui, O-ž-qeč, lžd--

qameɣd-k, -qe, O-qa (qa<sup>1</sup>), O-qa (qa<sup>2</sup>), y-k-qa  
 (qa<sup>3</sup>), k-e-qa-ʔ, l-qu, O-qeɣ l., O-ɣahd l.,  
 O-k-ɣahd l., O-ɣuʔd, d-k-e-ɣuʔe, O-ɣe, gid---  
 waʔk- (causative), l-wehs-g, O-(k-)wus-, -leʔg  
 2., ʔ., O-leɣ, ʔi-leh- l., d-le lb., ʔi-lib-le,  
 yaɣ l-de-la-ɣ (la-na<sup>2</sup>), k-e-ʔniK, da-ʔyahe 2.,  
 -ʔya 4., ʔa., d-ʔya 2e., ʔa., el-ʔya 8., o--  
 ɣ yl-de-ʔya, ɣdl-ʔya, k-ʔya (causative), O-k--  
 ya-ʔ, ʔik-ɣ O-ʔ-l-k-ʔe-ʔ (ʔeʔʔ), -ʔaʔɣ, k-e-ʔaʔɣ,  
 O-dl-k-ʔe l., ʔi-k-ʔe--ʔa l., 8., O-(k-)ʔa l.,  
 16., -ʔa' 2., 6b., 11., O-k-(y)a, O-ʔ-(l-)k-(y)ɣ  
 -a, k-e-a; with class- and anatomical marks: ʔu--  
 neɣ 'towards it (l-class)' L, teɣka-leɣ, teɣka-neɣ  
 (latter preferred) 'towards a hammer' L, teɣkelaɣ  
 ea-k, teɣka-neɣ ea-k 'it (fly) is walking towards  
 the hammer' L, ɣiyahdʔa-neɣ 'towards a hat' L,  
 ʔiʔa-neɣ 'towards a mountain' L, ɣahiti-neɣ 'to-  
 wards a feather, leaf' L, kuxehki-leɣ 'towards a  
 rope' L, ʔi-neɣ daseiKaʔti 'it's flying towards  
 your head' L, ca-li-neɣ 'towards a stone' L, ca-  
 leɣ ʔi-kʔaʔ 'look at the stone!' M, see also o--  
 lɣdl-ɣ below, giyahɣy-ɣ (consistently throughout),  
 caʔideɣ 'towards a knife' L, deɣa-gdeɣ ʔidaʔ  
 'move (sitting) towards the fire!' L, ʔew lideɣ  
 ʔew ɣawa ʔal la-ɣqi-neɣ da-ɣ seiʔi-ʔ 'tie  
 the dog up to that tree with this string!' L, lis-

deč ʔi·lʔaʔ 'look at the tree!' M, ʔahdidač  
 sa·liħ 'he's walking to the car' L, ʔewuŋguleħ-  
 geč 'towards the ball of yarn' L, ʔihygedač  
 'towards the grass' L, siqi·dač 'towards my foot'  
 L, siqi·dač ʔa·ʔaʔteħ 'watch (what I'm doing  
 with) my feet!' L, siyeč ʔa·ʔaʔteħ 'watch (what  
 I'm doing with) my hands!' L, siyeč deŋeħkaʔti  
 'it's flying towards my hand' L, see also o-y-č  
 below, kuŋedač dexuŋg 'outboard motor' ('it con-  
 tinuously revolves at something's rump') L; with  
 reflexive o: ʔedč ʔa·ʔaʔdaŋuh 'look at your-  
 self!' L, qeħy ʔedč ʔixsiħa·ti 'I locked my-  
 self out' L (probably preverbialed); with inde-  
 terminate o: dač o-ŋi 'S ties O up (to indeter-  
 minate o)', dač dagaŋč 'bandage' ('it is made to  
 adhere to indeterminate o') L; instances of special  
 semantic interest, some of which do not clearly fall  
 into the semantic categories described above: o<sup>1</sup>-č  
 o<sup>2</sup>-deŋeleħ-yeŋ-d ku-ta 'something is on o<sup>2</sup>'s mind  
 against o<sup>1</sup>', o-č ku-ʔ-ŋe-tuh 'S is too lazy for,  
 to do o', o-č d-ŋe·k 'S is peeved at o', o-č  
 ʔi·liħ-ŋe 'S recovers desire for o' o-č d-ʔyaħe  
 'S yearns for o', o-č yaʔ -ʔya 'S gets used, ha-  
 bituated to o', o<sup>1</sup>-č kuŋiyah o<sup>2</sup>-ŋaʔ d-ʔya 'o<sup>2</sup>  
 is angry with o<sup>1</sup>', o-č d-ʔa·t 'S tires of o  
 (food)', o<sup>1</sup>-yaʔ o<sup>2</sup>-č -ŋa' 'S is stingy towards

o<sup>2</sup> about o<sup>1</sup>, o-č d-le 'S addresses, answers o' (cf. o-ŋ d-le 'S says to o'), ?awč ?əixuɬ 'screw it in(to it)!' L, o-č -le?g 'S bothers, molests, hurts, touches (moves hand to) o', o<sup>1</sup>-č o<sup>2</sup>-d -le?g 'S leaves, grants o<sup>1</sup> o<sup>2</sup>', o-č d-?ya 'there are extra S for o', o-č da-ɣawi 'S has good luck from o', o-č (?weɣ) -t'e'-tu' 'S is related to o' ('S is thus, lives towards o', -t'e'-tu' 11.).

2. With optative verbal clause, usually containing qi? 'place where, time when', subordinated as o, 'until': see qi? 2a.; perhaps also, infrequently, without qi?: ɣə? ?ixiɬiɬč 'until I finish making it (canoe)' L (perhaps incomplete), ?u?la-xiɬgahč 'until I know' L (perhaps incomplete), qi? ?əwga?kih ?a?diyahč, ?ixi?ehga? ?a?diyahč 'until she's old enough, old enough for me to marry her' 9.27A.

o-y-č (postposition, with y-anatomical 'hand' thematized) 'into o's clutches, victim to o': see -t'e'-tu' 12., Kušiyah ?iyəč dəwədəleh 'you're getting yourself bad luck by playing with fire' L; once apparently o-y-y-č with Ku-indefinite o and thematized y-anatomical 'dangerous beast', perhaps incorrect: Kuyeyəč qu?yiyah 'you'll fall victim (go into the clutches of) a wild beast' L.

o-lydl-č (postposition, with mark including ly- or  
lyd-anatomical 'eye', always realized o-loxə=  
λa·č) 'in presence, view, sight of o': o-lydl-č  
qənuh o-(i-)ta 'S shows o O', o-lydl-č 'i-ga'  
'S dances for (in presence of) o'.

o-d-č (postposition, with d-thematic 'oral, noise')  
'in order to hear o': attested only in personal  
name of Marie Smith 'udač k'uqəxə'a'č 'people go  
to hear her' M.

-č (final element to postpositions, preverbs, loca-  
tives, and certain adverbial forms) meaning and u-  
sage as for o-č; probably occurring as final to all  
postpositions, preverbs, locatives, and adverbs ad-  
mitting the suffixation of any final, but not suf-  
fixed to forms ending in a consonant other than -ʔ  
or -h without the interposition of -e-, e.g.  
o-q-č > o-qəč; with certain postpositions and  
preverbs ending in -aʔ-, requiring or optionally  
conditioning expansion and nasalization, -aʔ-č >  
-q·č: see 'it-taʔ-, qaʔ-, y-qaʔ- (qaʔ-qə·),  
'it-qaʔ-, ya·x-ŋə-qaʔ- (qaʔ-qə·-qa·); for all  
instances see dəč, o-dəč, o-di·-č, o-d-di·-č,  
daʔ, o-daʔ, (o-)d-daʔ, o-g-daʔ-, o-l-daʔ-,  
k'y·daʔč, o-y-daʔ, o-cjʔ-daʔ (daʔ<sup>1</sup>), da·- (da·<sup>2</sup>),  
o-da·- (da·<sup>3</sup>), də·ʔ, λa·də·ʔ, taʔ, o-taʔ, 'it-  
-taʔ-, taʔqəʔč-, o-ta·-x (taʔ-), o-ŋah-, o--

ci<sup>1</sup>?, xe-ciya<sup>2</sup>-, ?i<sup>1</sup>ca<sup>2</sup>- (ci<sup>2</sup>-), o-sih, o--  
 sa<sup>2</sup>, o-<sup>2</sup>a<sup>1</sup>, o-i-<sup>2</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-, hi-<sup>2</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-, xe-<sup>2</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-,  
 o-ka<sup>1</sup>-x (ka<sup>2</sup>-), o-Kah, ?ele-Kah, Miya<sup>2</sup>, o--  
 xah, o-d-x<sup>2</sup>ah-, qid, qi<sup>2</sup>, ka<sup>1</sup> qi<sup>2</sup>, qa<sup>2</sup>-,  
 y-qa<sup>2</sup>- (qa<sup>2</sup>-qa<sup>1</sup>), o-qa<sup>2</sup>, ?ih-qa<sup>2</sup>-, ya-x-<sup>2</sup>a<sup>1</sup>--  
 qa<sup>2</sup>- (qa<sup>2</sup>-qa<sup>1</sup>-qa<sup>1</sup>), qasuh, o-q<sup>1</sup>, o-l-q<sup>1</sup>, o-d<sup>1</sup>l-q<sup>1</sup>,  
 (o-)q<sup>1</sup>eyah, xi<sup>1</sup>-, o-xa<sup>2</sup>, xa<sup>2</sup>-dih-, o-y-xa<sup>2</sup>, o--  
 xa<sup>1</sup>-x (xa<sup>2</sup>-), xa<sup>1</sup>?, x<sup>2</sup>?, o-x<sup>2</sup>?, o-l-x<sup>2</sup>?,  
 xu<sup>2</sup>, ?i<sup>1</sup>z-i<sup>2</sup>- (lahz-), let, o-let (let<sup>2</sup>),  
 la<sup>2</sup>q (la<sup>2</sup>q<sup>2</sup>), li<sup>2</sup>, o-li<sup>2</sup>, o-leh, lah (la--  
 na<sup>1</sup>), o-lah (la-na<sup>2</sup>), o-la<sup>2</sup>, o-la<sup>2</sup>q (la<sup>2</sup>-na<sup>2</sup>),  
 lu<sup>1</sup> (lu<sup>2</sup>), o-lu<sup>2</sup>, ya<sup>1</sup>mu<sup>2</sup> (lu<sup>2</sup>-mu<sup>2</sup>), yana<sup>2</sup>  
 (na<sup>2</sup>), yaq (yaq<sup>1</sup>), o-yaq (yaq<sup>2</sup>), yaq (yaq<sup>3</sup>),  
 qe<sup>1</sup>ya<sup>2</sup> (ya<sup>2</sup>), o-ya<sup>2</sup>, o-i-ya<sup>2</sup>, o-d-i-ya<sup>2</sup>  
 (ya<sup>2</sup>), ya<sup>2</sup> (ya<sup>2</sup>, ya<sup>3</sup>), o-ya<sup>2</sup>, ya<sup>2</sup> (ya<sup>4</sup>),  
 ya<sup>1</sup>-q, y<sup>2</sup>?, o-<sup>2</sup>a<sup>1</sup>g, ?a<sup>2</sup>q, o-<sup>2</sup>ih- (?ih<sup>1</sup>), o--  
 ?e<sup>1</sup>-<sup>2</sup> (?e<sup>1</sup>), o-<sup>2</sup>e<sup>2</sup>, o-la<sup>1</sup>-e<sup>2</sup>-, ?ad-i-x, (o--  
 )d-i<sup>2</sup>-q (e<sup>2</sup>-), sdl-<sup>2</sup>a<sup>1</sup>w, la<sup>1</sup>qah (?ah<sup>1</sup>), o--  
 ?<sup>2</sup>?, ?<sup>2</sup>- (?al-), ?u<sup>1</sup>-, xe-ye-<sup>2</sup>u<sup>1</sup>- (?aw-),  
 to certain adverbs: see da<sup>2</sup>ida<sup>2</sup> (da<sup>2</sup>), -dah 2.  
 (dah<sup>3</sup>), hi<sup>2</sup> (hi-hi<sup>2</sup>), ka<sup>1</sup>-dih- (ka<sup>1</sup>), da<sup>2</sup>qi<sup>1</sup>-kih  
 (qi<sup>1</sup>); occurrences of special semantic interest:  
 ?u<sup>1</sup>-<sup>2</sup> o-dah<sup>2</sup> ?u<sup>2</sup>-<sup>2</sup>l-ta 'S hears o there' 21b,29A,  
 34.118, 120, 122L, xi<sup>1</sup>-d ya<sup>1</sup>mu<sup>2</sup>-<sup>2</sup> ?ahmu<sup>1</sup>-dah<sup>2</sup> ?u<sup>2</sup>-  
 liditah, "giyah ai<sup>2</sup>ga<sup>2</sup>i ..." da<sup>2</sup>ihimu<sup>1</sup>, xi<sup>1</sup>-d  
 ya<sup>1</sup>mu<sup>2</sup>-<sup>2</sup> 'way yonder down below (surface) they are

heard, "I'm thirsty ..." they're saying, way down  
 below' 51.65-66A, səla'ʔa-wɔ̃ ɬaʔ yilɛh 'it's  
 a glacier in the distance' 61.34A, ʔu-ɕ ʔəɕdih  
 yilɛh 'is missing there' 15.9M, ʔuyəqəɕ Kucihɬ  
 'is singing inside it' 11.185A (see also 10.13,  
 11.169A and cf. ʔəwyəqəɕahd Kucih 'sings from  
 inside it' 10.12A), da-ɕduw ki-ɬih 'where is  
 it crying?' 36.7A, qiʔɕ Kuciʔdeleh 'where some-  
 one is talking' 37a.4, 7L.(see also 30.3L), ʔu-ɕ  
 qədədaʔa-tinu· 'they're crying there' 24.24A (cf.  
 ʔu-d qədədaʔa-tinu· 'they're there crying, they're  
 crying there' 24.25A, ʔu-d ki-ɬih 'cries there'  
 23.64A), (ɬi-d) ɬəhd qiʔɕ tedeʔeh '(way yon-  
 der) where smoke is visible' 18.82, 47c.42L, teʔə-  
 yaʔguʔah ʔu-ɕ səʔihɬih 'she sees a fishtail there'  
 46.7M, ʔəwsaʔɕ Kuleɬ ʔisətʔəhɬ 'she saw some-  
 thing in its mouth' 43.18M, ʔu-ɕ ʔuʔələcəh da-ɬ  
 'when it shows there' 65.10A, dəde-d ʔu-ɕ ɬi-yah  
 'you may eat anything there' 11.162A, dəɬkih ʔu-ɕ  
 ʔuleh sələtaʔya-ɬ da-ɬdɬuhw 'a number of years are  
 passing for her there and' 25.40A, ʔahnu· ʔuqaʔɕ  
 silɛh sə-saʔyahɬinu· 'those amongst whom I spent  
 a year' 25.183A, o-qaʔ-ɕ ʔi-ʔəɕ 'S (male) marries  
 amongst o' 11.3, 21b.67, 32.17A, ʔu-ɕ ʔisiʔəhɬ,  
 ʔahnu-qaʔ 'he married there, amongst them' 11.4A  
 (cf. dəde-d sə-diɕiɕgwələhyu-qaʔɕahd ʔiʔə-ɬih

'he (cust) marries (from) amongst any sort of bird-people' 10.172A), daʔu·ɕ ʔəhd sələʃih 'he left her alone there' 4.19M, daʔu·ɕ ʔahnu·-kəh sələʔgi 'they let her be there' 20.57A, daʔa·ɕ sid sələʔgi 'they let me be here' 20.-66A (cf. ʔid ʔud quʔxleʔg 'I'll grant it to you 6l.11, 18A, daʔu·d ʔəwkəh ʔələʔg 'leave it be there!' 21b.31A), daʔu·ɕ ʔahnu· sələʃih 'they abandoned her there' 49.49A, daʔə·ɕ ʔələxləʃih 'pl. abandon her here!' 49.81A; in certain cases where preverb itself refers to motion and mode-aspect is not one which is usual with -ɕ final, -ɕ final may mean 'further': see especially yəʔ.

-ɕ-i 'suffixes to verb stem, probably -ɕ- with -i gerundive, attested with class I open stems only, stem long) '(in order) to, for (purpose of)', clearly attested in only two deverbalizations: kuquʔwəʃe·ɕi, kuqaʔʃe·ɕi, kuʃe·ɕi 'hunting, to kill something', kuwa·ɕi 'to eat', requiring k-- classifier in construction with verbs of locomotion; possibly also in le·ɕ, q.v.

o-ɕ-aʔ (postposition, o-ɕ with -aʔ augment) meaning exactly as for o-ɕ, far less frequent than o-ɕ (though relatively frequent in Rezanov) except with proper and place-names and for-

eign words as o, and with deleted reflexive o in indirect reflexive constructions: Rezanov Ам-ча 'Дать geben' ?əhča? 'to him', Хужича 'Дай geben (Imperat.)' xu siča? 'to me!', Тучару-носера Кому? wem? du-ča?duw ... 'to whom ...?', dedu-ča? ?ata? 'give it to anybody!' M, siča? ?əhča?, siča? əhča? 'push it to me!' M, Rezanov Чичьяхкателья 'Обернись sich drehen, wenden (Imperat.)' siča? təx .ədala? 'turn to face toward me!', Шичьялята 'Поворотись drehen, wenden (Imperat.)' siča? la?teh 'turn close to me (in bed)!' L, Rezanov Хенхичагта 'Велх' (not in Radlov, 'order!, command!') xj-xjhcə? ?ita? 'take it to him!', Mollyča? ?ide?ehj 'you're invited to Molly's' L, ?u?se?ehj, siqə-dča? 'invited them, to Chilkat' 57.3G, Head of the Bayča? səxəh 'they boated to the Head of the Bay' 68.102A, qi? wəx ku-təhča? 'to camp' 64.9G, qi? wəx ?i-təhča? 'to where they lived' 57.31G; sič ?ata?, never \*siča? ?ata? 'give it to me!' L; see also 11.125A; probably also in čə?wj?ih, perhaps also in ča?; with deleted reflexive o in indirect reflexive constructions (?ədč or ča?, never \*č L, ?ədča? not attested): ča? 0-?-de-?ehj 'S invites, summons, calls O over (to self)', ča? (?əd-č) 0-i-u?g- 'S holds O tight against

self' (see O-*h*-u<sup>o</sup>g la., 2a. under le<sup>o</sup>g-), *ča*<sup>o</sup>  
*ʔedɣ səxɬetʰuxiɬ* 'I'm holding him tight against  
me' L, *ča*<sup>o</sup> *sədəse<sup>o</sup>giɬ dəɣp* 'a person becom-  
ing stooped (towards self, with age)' L, *ʔuɣ ča*<sup>o</sup>  
*yexdeliɬ* 'I motion him towards myself with my  
hand' L, *qid ča*<sup>o</sup> *səxdeta.ɬ* 'I'm taking it (e.g.  
gun) down (sideways, off the wall, towards myself)'  
L, *qid ča*<sup>o</sup> *səxdəɣabdɬ* 'I'm taking it (e.g. gun)  
down (lengthwise, off the wall, towards myself)' L,  
*ča*<sup>o</sup> *di<sup>o</sup>səle<sup>o</sup>ʔu<sup>o</sup>c* 'take a deep breath!' L, *ʔu.čabd*  
*ča*<sup>o</sup> *xɬdikɬdɬ* 'I jerked my hand quickly away from  
there (towards myself)' L, *tə<sup>o</sup>də<sup>o</sup>č* *ča*<sup>o</sup> *xusdi-*  
*ɣa<sup>o</sup>ɬ* 'I got yanked backwards' L.

-*č-a*<sup>o</sup> (final element to postpositions, locatives,  
and certain adverbial forms, probably also to pre-  
verbs, though not so attested) meaning and usage  
exactly as for -*č* final, but far less frequent  
(except in Rezanov), perhaps slightly emphatic;  
suffixed, as -*č*, with interposed -*a-* to forms  
ending with a consonant other than -*ʔ* or -*h*;  
with postpositions: *ʔəwqəča*<sup>o</sup> *yəhd seqehɬiɬ* 'he  
boated out onto it' 12.4G, *kə<sup>o</sup>tqəča*<sup>o</sup> *də<sup>o</sup> ʔide-*  
*liɬinu* 'they wanted to get back (on)to the is-  
land' 57.11G, *yəhdə<sup>o</sup>luwdə<sup>o</sup>tə<sup>o</sup>ɣəča*<sup>o</sup> *sii<sup>o</sup>ehiɬ* '■  
'she married into a big house' 49.11A, *ʔudə<sup>o</sup>tə<sup>o</sup>ɣd*  
*ʔədqu<sup>o</sup>li<sup>o</sup>.tə<sup>o</sup>ɬdətə<sup>o</sup>ɣəča*<sup>o</sup> *ʔəw ʔiɬtə<sup>o</sup>d səɬəɬ*

'they (took them to and) hung them up in a smoke-house' 37b, 73A, ʔa·yaʔcaʔ ʔaxiya·k 'I (cust) put them in ʔarsʔ 65.24A. (cf. ʔa·yaʔcʔ 65.25A), ma·yaʔcaʔ sahʔih 'went to the lake' 25.87A; with locatives: ʔu·caʔ quʔxah 'I'll go over there' L, ʔu·caʔ· 'thither' 25.97, 98, 28.69, <sup>60.18</sup> 61.51A, Rezanov Токуда 'Куда нибудь irgend wohin' daʔ...caʔ, ʔa·caʔ ʔa)a·leʔe·k 'he (cust) sneaks hither' 9.69A, ʔi·caʔ qa· ʔuʔsdiʔehʔi 'we're invited yonder' L, Rezanov Хвѣ-аа 'Туда dorthin' ʔi·caʔ 'way over thither', Таѣ-ара 'Куда? wohin?' da·caʔd 'whither?', Тауатхецце 'Нкуда nirgendshin' da·caʔd ...; hiʔcaʔ, daʔhiʔcaʔ, diʔhiʔcaʔ 'always' (= hiʔ, daʔhiʔ, diʔhiʔ), see under hi·hiʔ.

o-ʔ-a· (postposition, with expanded augment, attested with zero, -d, -ʔ, -cʔ, and -cahd finals) 'in general direction of, oriented, moving towards (without reaching) o' l. with zero final (relatively rare): -a.  
ʔu·caʔ sahʔ 'you went right towards it (without seeing it), you got "hot"' L.

lb. With reciprocal o, 'in a row, consecutively': Rezanov Илъчаклъхакъ 'Всююй дѣнь tǎglich' ʔiʔca· yaʔqa·g 'days in a row' ('days keep dawning consecutively') M.

2. With -d final (uncertain): ʔiʔca·d se·teʔqida·ʔ yaʔ guʔeʔaʔcʔinu· 'they're standing in

a straight line (towards you)' M (perhaps for ?iḥ-  
ḥa'd 'in a row').

3. With -ḥ final: a. siḥa-ḥ sa-ḥiḥ 'he's  
walking towards me' L, ?iḥp-ḥa-ḥ sa-ḥiḥ 'he's  
going towards the mountain' M, siḥa-ḥ saḥqeḥ,  
siḥa-ḥ ?aḥqeḥ 'push it in my direction!' M, ?i-  
ḥa-ḥ qi-ḥah da-ḥ Ka? ?al daḥahḥ ?uḥa-ḥ ya?ḥ  
?i-tah 'as it starts to burn towards you you should  
hold up this staff towards it' 34.66M, siḥa-ḥ yaḥ  
laḥadala? 'turn around towards me!' M, with demon-  
strative locatives as o: 68.85A, ?p-ḥa-ḥ ?a-?,  
?p-ḥa-ḥ ?iya? 'come over here!' L, ?u-ḥa-ḥ saḥ-  
ḥiḥ 'he went in that direction' L, ḥi-ḥa-ḥ saḥiḥ  
'he went in yonder direction' L, ḥi-ḥa-ḥ yaḥd sa-  
qeḥiḥ 'he boated way out yonder' L, ḥi-ḥa-ḥ sa-  
qe-ḥiḥ 'he's boating way thither' L.

3b. Idiomatic, 'next to, next after o (in or-  
der, rank, not physical proximity)': 10.246, 247,  
11.62, 63, 63, 63A, kūlax ?i-ḥiḥiḥa-ḥ yḥ-ḥiḥ  
'second chief ~~of opposite moiety~~' BSdL 543, siḥa-ḥ  
yḥiḥ 'my next oldest sibling after me' L, saḥ-  
dalyax laḥa-ḥ yḥ-ḥiḥ siḥwax 'my next-to-oldest  
older brother' (man speaking) L, kūdi?lahḥa-ḥ  
yḥ-ḥiḥ 'second chief of opposite moiety' BSdL 543,  
?pḥa-ḥ xu 'I'm the next (sibling) after him' L;  
with demonstrative locative as o: ?p-ḥa-ḥ ya-li?d

yilēh 'next to here is a sleeping-room' 11.131, 131A.

3c. With reciprocal o: ?ilča·č 'lined up in a row' L.

4. With -x final: a. Rezanov Ивчара на =  
проткма gegenüber (mir)· silča·x '(moving within  
direction) towards me', ?əčča·x xədaxiltahî 'I'm  
aiming, pointing it at it' L, Rezanov Оуварашь-  
хотъ 'Нѣкнъ sielen' ?əčča·x ?əlxut 'shoot  
straight at it!', see also o-č-a·-q below; with  
demonstrative locative as o: xi·čča·x yax da·x  
'he's moving around across (bay) there' L.

4b. Idiomatic, 'helping o': o-čča·x yax  
da-a·x 'sg. S guards, protects o', o-čča·x -a  
'sg. S helps o', o-čča·x -?a?č 'pl. S help o',  
o-čča·x ?i·lih·?ya 'S is for (pro) o, on o's side,  
in favor of o, sides with o'; frequently with de-  
leted reflexive o in indirect reflexive construc-  
tion: čča·x da-a 'S helps self, controls self,  
has control over situation, can "help it"' (often  
negative).

4c. Perhaps in proper name of Jerry Nelson,  
Eyak man, čča·xələh LMAS ('moving around point'  
LM, see xələh and o-lah, but more likely <  
čča·x lah 'helper', see lah 2b. under la-na<sup>1</sup>).

5. With -čahd final 'from', with locative

as o: ?a·ča·čahd 'from this direction' 65.4,  
68.109A.

o-č-a-č (postposition, o-č-a· compounded as o  
of o-č 'on o', attested with zero and -d finals)  
1. 'in a straight line towards, aimed straight at  
o': with zero final: ?uča·č ?isikik? 'I aimed  
and shot (arrow) stright at it' L, ?awča·č ?i-  
səlxut? 'he got a direct hit (with gun) on it' LM,  
with -d final: 27a.4L, siča·čd 'even with me,  
lined up with me' L, kuča·čd ?edixikta? 'I'm  
aiming it (at something)' M, kuča·čd ?edəcəta?  
'aim it (at something)!' M, ?awča·čd ?u?lixik-  
?ah 'I'm aiming it at it' L, ?awča·čd ?u?ləcə-  
?a? 'aim it at it!' L.

2. 'at, along o (mark)': ?ig ?awča·č ya?  
səku? 'it broke exactly along, at it (mark)' L.

3. 'unexpectedly encountering ("running  
straight into") o': ?ig ?uča·č siyah?h 'I  
ran right into him, met him unexpectedly' L, si-  
ča·č səh?h 'he encountered me' L.

4. Perhaps in personal name, of Eyak man,  
qu?iča·čta·?, see qu?i.

5. With reciprocal o, 'in (a straight) line  
with each other': with zero final: Rezanov K...  
Eaxuax (crossed out, replaced with Htra ?idah  
'alright') 'Hpaao gerade' ?iča·č, ?iča·č qe-

ʔiɣah̄, ʔiɣa·q̄ qeɣdiyah̄, ʔiɣa·q̄ qeɣdiyah̄  
'they've been lined up straight in a row' L, with  
-d final: ʔiɣa·q̄d̄ qeɣeɣah̄ 'they're lined up  
in a straight row' L.

o-i-ɕ-a'- (postposition, with -d, -ɣ, -ɕ, and -ɕah̄d  
finals) 'side of o' (usually one of two opposing  
sides or directions, as left/right, upper/lower,  
inside/outside, front/back, frequently with post-  
positions or preverbs as o; not directly suffixed  
to forms ending in -ɣ, where interposed -ʔi---iʔ--  
-i---a- is required, probably reduced forms of  
ʔeʔ-) 1. with -d final 'at rest, nominalization':  
Rezanov Tserexɣara 'Ha also links' ʔiɣiɣa·d̄  
L, ʔiɣeɣa·d̄ 'left side' M, Rezanov Kyɣɣɣara  
'Ha upaso rechts' Kuɣu·iɣa·d̄ 'right side' M, Ku-  
ɣu·iɣa·d̄ ya· '(the one on the) right (side)' (of  
hand, foot, boot) 51.78, 80, 61.45, 46, 46, 46,  
55A, Kuɣu·iɣa·d̄ yaɣ dex̄eɣeʔgɣ 'I'm right-hand-  
ed' L, ɣeɣa·ḡiɣa·d̄ 'autumn' M (L rejects), x<sup>w</sup>ah-  
deɣa·d̄ 'towards summer' 33.40A, ɣeɣeɣu·iɣa·d̄  
(ya·) ʔuɣɣ·ɣeɣah̄ 'his upper teeth' L, ɣeɣeɣu·i-  
ɣa·d̄ ya· ʔuɣeɣuɣd̄ 'his upper lip' L, ɣeɣeɣu·i-  
ɣa·d̄ (ya·) ʔuɣɣ·ɣeɣah̄ 'his lower teeth' L, ɣe-  
ɣeɣu·iɣa·d̄ ya· ʔuɣeɣuɣd̄ 'his lower lip' L, ɣe-  
ɣeɣu·iɣa·d̄ ya· diK 'the lower ones not' 28.78A,  
(ɣi·d̄) ɣeɣeʔu·iɣa·d̄ '(yonder) way over (on the)

farther (side)' 11.179, 61.77A, *sidaʔiɕa-d* 'my front side' L, *sidaʔiɕa-d yaʔ quʔxtah* 'I'll put it in my bosom' L, *sidaɣa-naʔqɕiɕa-d* 'my back side' L, *ʔp-da-ʔiɕa-d* 'heads (face) side (of coin)' L, *siwa-iɕa-d yɿ·hɿh* 'the one (sibling) next after me (in age)' L, *ɣeliʔiɕa-d* 'back, behind-side of area; downriver side' L, *si-daʔiɕa-d* 'west side' 64.7G, 'windward side' M, *ʔediɣiʔiɕa-d* 'interior side, inside surface' LM, *ʔediɣiʔiɕa-d kuceʔ* 'inside seat' M, 'diaphragm' G, *ta-yaʔdiɕa-d* (perhaps for *ta-yaʔiɕa-d*) 'front, doorway-side (of house, facing road)' M, BSDL 545, *ʔiɕleɣɣ-ʔiɕa-d* 'both sides (opposing sides, e.g. of paper)' L, *ya-ʔa-geɣada-leyaʔiɕa-d ya-* 'fourth finger (one on side of middle finger)' L; with -ɣ final: *diɕ ɣihɣeɕa-ɣ yeɣ deɕeleʔɣɣɿh* 'he's not left-handed' 61.47A, *ɣi-d ɣeyeʔu-iɕa-ɣ ɕew yeɕ sawehɿ* 'he swam ashore yonder way over on the far side' 61.77A, *ɣeliʔiɕa-ɣ* '(moving up from the) downriver (side)' L; with -ɕ final: *yeɣʔiɕa-ɕ* 'northwestward' 32.26, 26A, *ɣeʔɣʔiɕa-ɕ lah saqehɿh* 'he (boating) turned out oceanward' M, *ʔe-diɣiɕa-ɕ lah saqehɿh* 'he (boating) turned in shoreward' M, *ɣi-d ɣeyeʔu-iɕa-ɕ lah saqehɿh* 'he boated around over yonder to the other side (of point)' M, 43.31M, *ɣeyeʔu-iɕa-ɕ ʔidateɕʔa-i*

'smoke is going farther away' L; with -čahd final: yaṣʔičā·čahd 'from the Northwest' 68.109A.  
 hi-č-a-- (postpositional phrase, with adverbial hi-  
 'one'? as o (see under hi-hiʔ), attested with -d,  
 -č, and -ṣ finals) 'one side, aside': with -d final:  
 hičā·d 'aside (out of the way)' L, ʔu·d  
 hičā·d ya·ʔ setaʔ 'set it down aside!' L, hi--  
 čā·d sdiṣaʔgḥ 'it's written on one side' ('one  
 side is spotted') L; with -č final; 'to one side,  
 sideways, aslant; over (to the other side, to the  
 revers, obverse side)': hičā·č ya·ʔa·g lesaliḥ  
 'moon is getting back to half-full' L, hičā·č  
 yahd 'hunter's lean-to' ('one-sided house') ESdL  
 545, L, hičā·č leṣi;xuḥ 'his eyes are turned to  
 one side' L, hičā·č qid d-ʔa', hičā·č yaʔ  
 d-ʔa' 'S stands (extends) aslant', hičā·č ya·ʔ  
 la·seṣaʔḥ 'it fell over sideways' L, čid hi-  
 čā·č yaṣ dekeleʔgḥiḥ 'he uses only one hand' L,  
 yaṣ ʔadax<sup>h</sup>e·iḥ, hičā·č 'it's (cust) turned over,  
 to the other side' 65.10A, hičā·č ʔaḥ ʔaiya·ʔ  
 'move them over to the other side!' L, nominalized:  
 ʔaw hičā·č ʔawa· ya·nuʔ qesecu·xḥ 'he thrust  
 the other ends of them into the ground' 47b.39M  
 (perhaps for hičā·d); with -ṣ final: hičā·ṣ ʔu-  
 guleṣade·ḥ ʔawa· ʔu·č ʔuʔeṣečah da·ṣ 'when  
 its spine shows along one side there' 65.10A, hi-



ʔu·d qiʔ kudadaʔehdgʕahd ʔaw yaʔy saʔehh  
'he picked it up onto his back from where things  
were being dried there' 9.156A, qiʔdaʔ ʔuxsʔ  
liʔ ʔəla·saʔyahhʕahd 'from where she had run in  
by him' 23.35A, ʔaw giyahyaʔ qiʔ sahhʕahd  
'from where she went into the water' 25.63A (or  
'after she went into the water', see 2b. below).

1c. With various more or less extended  
meanings: o-ʕahd ʔi·lih-ʔya 'S gives o good  
luck' ('S is mentally situated emanating from o'),  
qəq yihhinu·, ʔuni·kʕahd 'they're grebes,  
(judging) from their noses' 24.36A, saqe·sayu·  
daʔseʔyaʔihh, ʔuqaʔʕahd 'she had children, by  
her husband' 49.23A, ʔaw lihʕahd qeʔ ʔə·ʔ sa-  
hhiinu· 'they made new ones from (out of) spruce'  
68.35A, qa·ta·ʔʕahd '(rainbow is) from God' 51.6A.

2. 'from (time of) o, after, since o', a.:  
1912ʕahd 'since 1912' 62.11G, hihhʕahd ya·-  
ʔa·g '1:30' ('half after one') L, dsa·qʕahd  
ya·ʔa·g '10:30' L, laʔdih ʔəla·g ʔuʕahd ʔi·-  
ndiʔahh 'two winters are over since that' L, ʔu-  
ʕahd leh əp·saʔyahh 'a year ago' ('a year has  
passed since that') L, tuhigaʔ ʔuʕahd yəsaʔqahh  
qiʔdaʔ saʔihh 'he died three days ago' ('three  
since then have dawned, the time he died') L.

2b. With verbal clause subordinated as o,

'after ..., since ...': in semantically non-customary context, subordinated verb in active perfective: 2a.11M, 20.97, 25.211, 51.77A, 59.10 Galushia Nelson, ?əw səʃhiʃəhd, ?əw səxəʃiʃəhd, ?əwəhd ?iʃəʃəhə ?'after he killed it, after he cleaned it, he made a fire for it' 1b.12M, twice active imperfective: 47b.38M, 47c.32L, once inceptive imperfective: 60.63A; in formally and/or semantically customary context, subordinated verb in conditional: neuter conditional: ?wəʃ ?aʔxiʃəhd qəw, ?iʃəʃəhə ?əxiʃəhə ?'after I've kept them thus, I (cust) ahng them up' 65.13A, inceptive conditional: 56.4L, 65.11, 21, 50A; with qiʔ 'place where, time when' in subordinated clause, perhaps incorrect, perhaps redundant, or perhaps specifically 'ever since when': qiʔ ?əʃəʃəhə ?iʃəʃəhə yikaʔdih 'ever since he came here he's been sick' L, ?əw giyahyaʔ qiʔ səhiʃəhd 'from where she went into the water', or perhaps '(ever) after she went into the water' 25.63A.

-ʃəhd (final element to postpositions, preverbs, and locatives, suffixed to forms ending in -ʃ, -qʔ with interposed -ə- or -i-, as for -ʃəhd meaning same as that of o-ʃəhd: attested with o-cʔʔ-dəʔ (dəʔ<sup>1</sup>), o-dəʔ- (dəʔ<sup>3</sup>), o-təʔ-ʃ (təʔ-), o-səʔ, o-ʃəhə, o-h-ʃəhə-, qiʔ kəʔ

qi<sup>?</sup>, o-qa<sup>?</sup> (qa<sup>?</sup>-qa<sup>?</sup>-qa<sup>?</sup>), o-q<sup>?</sup> 1f., li., 3d.,  
3f., o-dɣl-q<sup>?</sup>, ya<sup>?</sup>-nu<sup>?</sup> (lu<sup>?</sup>-nu<sup>?</sup>), o-yeq<sup>?</sup> (yeq<sup>?</sup>),  
o-ya<sup>?</sup> (ya<sup>?</sup>), <sup>?</sup>ed-i-ɣ<sup>?</sup> (<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup>-), with locatives:  
da<sup>?</sup>- (da<sup>?</sup>), ɣi<sup>?</sup>-, <sup>?</sup>q<sup>?</sup>- (<sup>?</sup>al-), ɣe-ɣq<sup>?</sup>-,  
<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>- (<sup>?</sup>ew-).

-deɣahd (final element to postpositions locativized  
with ɣe- 'area' as o, -d final with -ɣahd final)  
meaning same as that of o-ɣ-ahd; ɣi<sup>?</sup>-d ɣedəde-  
ɣahd 'from way above' 23.128, 25.55A, ɣalahade-  
ɣahd <sup>?</sup>i-d-ɣ-<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup> '(offshore) wind comes (shore-  
ward) from out in Gulf of Alaska'.

če<sup>2</sup>1 (for L also če<sup>2</sup>?; <sup>probably</sup> perhaps to be identified with  
če<sup>2</sup>2 and/or related to če<sup>2</sup>?)

ʔed-de-če<sup>2</sup> (attested only in reflexive) 'S is, be-  
comes rusty': ʔedsidiče<sup>2</sup>? (also -če<sup>2</sup>? L) 'it's  
rusted' LMA, ʔedsadeče<sup>2</sup>? (or -če<sup>2</sup>? L) 'it's  
getting rusty' LMA, ʔedqu<sup>2</sup>deče<sup>2</sup>? (or -če<sup>2</sup>? L)  
'it'll get rusty' LMA, ʔedidiče<sup>2</sup>? (expanded  
stem?) 'it's got lots of rusty spots on it' (neu-  
ter perfective) L, with class-marks for S: ʔedqi-  
liidiče<sup>2</sup>? 'it (chain) rusted' L, ʔedqu<sup>2</sup>dedeče<sup>2</sup>?  
'it (knife) will rust' L, ʔedisidiče<sup>2</sup>? (< ʔed-d-)  
'it (knife) rusted' L.

(Veniaminov) атақтау 'окислять',  
of Тлэгъ (Naish-story) Gaye's haki  
'rust' ('iron-dung'), 'ig haki 'wrecker'  
(copper-dung), (Bonas) haki 'dung'



"sleep" (dried mucus particles normally accumulating  
 in inside corner of eye)' ('eye-excrement') L.  
 lɔd-(de-)ʃeʔ (de-classifier apparently optional) 'S's  
 eyes become "sandy"' (see above): kiʃ lɔxedi-ʃeʔi-  
 ɬh 'his eyes are always "sandy"' (neuter perfective)  
 L, lɔxediɬdiʃeʔi 'my eyes got full of "sleep"' L.  
 -ʃeʔ 'S defecates': Rezanov Aue 'Испражняться  
 Cacare' ʔeʃeʔ 'defecate!', yiʃeʔ 'you're defeca-  
 ting' M, with yex-progressive: yex deʃeʔɬ 'it's  
 defecating all about' M, ʃe-K 'it (cust) defecates' M.  
 qiʃʃ kuʃeʔ (noun) 'toilet' L. Nominalization of ac-  
 tive imperfective with ku-indefinite S, 'place at,  
 toward which one defecates'.  
 d-de-ʃeʔ (with d-thematic unexplained) 'S is, becomes  
 befouled, covered with feces': diʃdiʃeʔi 'it got  
 full of feces' L.

in - 20 fe·ʔ

- ĉe·ʔ (perhaps expanded form of ĉeʔ<sup>1</sup> and/or ĉeʔ<sup>2</sup>)
- lɣ-de-ĉe·ʔ (attested only with lɣ-class-mark for S)
  - 'S (berries) turn red': lexədəĉe·ʔ 'they (salmonberries) are turning red on one side' L, quʔ=
  - lexədəĉe·ʔ 'they (berries) will turn red' L.
- ʔed-l-da-ĉe·ʔ (attested only reflexive with l-anatomical 'head, face') 'S rouges face': ʔedj·dəĉe·ʔ= jh (non-umlauted), ʔedj·dəĉj·ʔjh 'she's rougeing her face' L.
- ni·Kədəĉe·ʔ (noun, unclassified, with d-class-mark for ni·K- 'beak, nose') 'shag, (double-crested?) cormorant' ('red-beak') IM, *see also ni·ga·dəĉe·ʔ, cf. also*
- ʔj·daʔ diĉe·ʔ (noun, unclassified) 'kingfisher' (same as ni·ga·dəĉe·ʔ, 'front is red') A (name not known to L).
- ɣədəĉe·ʔ, ɣediĉe·ʔ (noun, unclassified, with ɣd-thematic, perhaps thematized class-mark; latter form more frequent) 'red-tip clam' L, 10.230, 11.63A, ɣediĉe·ʔdəɣɣhyu· 'red-tip clam people' 10.231, 231A, ɣediĉe·ʔwələhyu· 'red-tip clam people (mythical spirits)' 11.63, 63, 29.46A, Kuʔuʔ ɣediĉe·ʔ 'lots of red-tip clams' L.
- sɨ·daʔ lexj·ʔĉe·ʔ (noun, probably d-class) 'small hemlock' ("because it's half red") A (name unknown to L; sɨ·daʔ 'to the creeks, northeastward', lɣ--thematic probably thematized class-mark 'berry-like',

They? ɣvɣuʔ 'red-tipped' ('red-crest')

*with 2nd class - 2nd person*  
i-classifier and -i?-aspectival-modal prefix, none  
of which is easily explained).

-d-i-če-ʔ(-i) (noun, unclassified, stem more correctly  
je-ʔ, q.v.) 'yolk': kudeiče-ʔi A, kudeiče-ʔ  
'egg yolk' M.

λa-če-ʔ (noun, unclassified, with dl-class-mark, prob-  
ably for 'rock', thematized) 'red snapper (red rock-  
fish)' LM; as o of o-gaʔ 'like o', with -čē-tu'  
or -le, 'S is, becomes red (like red snapper in  
color)': 10.229, 11.63, 64, 96A, 66.10L, Rezanov  
Тячегуида Желтокъ личной Eidotter' λa-če-ʔgaʔ  
ʔi-tēh 'it's red' M, Тячеколыта 'Брусника',  
Тячеколыхере Красника Preiselbeere, Vaccinium  
vitis idaea' λa-če-ʔgaʔ lexi-tēh (any kind of) red  
berries' LM, Galushia Nelson slá-tčē-ʔ or slá-tčē-  
'red' BSDL 553, slá-tčē-ʔ kēʔ-tē-ʔ qəlaq "'red ap-  
pears shirt"' BSDL 558 λa-če-ʔgāʔ ʔi-tēh qəla-k  
'red shirt', λa-če-ʔgaʔ sele-i 'it's turning red'  
M, λa-če-ʔgaʔ ʔi-seli-ih 'his face turned red,  
he blushed' L.

ča?

-ča? attested only in kuča?čiya? 'warrior' M,  
not verified. ku-indefinite prefix.

čpʔ

čpʔ (noun, unclassified) 'soft fluffy substance'  
 (no specific substance identified) LM, Rezanov  
 Qua 'Тыра Feuerschwamm, Zunder' perhaps to be  
 read čpʔ, čpʔ xisjʔʔ woman's name ('I'm pet-  
 ting something soft') see sjʔʔ; often as o of  
 o-gaʔ 'like o': 65.20A, čpʔgaʔ əle·k 'it's  
 getting soft' M, čpʔgaʔ əexi·k 'I'm softening  
 it' M, for further instances see le.

Kučpʔ (noun, unclassified, apparently with ku-in-  
 definite possessor, not attested with other pos-  
 sessors) 'baby seal' ("because it's soft and fluf-  
 fy") L; Kučpʔyequh 'seal pup; pussy-willow (cat-  
 kins of Salix alexensis); anything soft and f

čq.ʔ (perhaps related to čəlih-čq.ʔ, cf. Tlingit keʒin, kiʒin 'five', -ʒin 'arm')

čq.ʔ (numeral) 'five': čq.ʔih (abstract or with unclassified nouns) 'five' LMS, 65.25, 25A, Rezanov Čaam-ə '5.', Wrangell Hoam-ə 'fünf', Furuhjelm Tchai 'five', Galushia Nelson tco<sup>n</sup>.<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> '5.' BSDL - (11/24)  
553, čq.ʔih xəwa 'five dogs' L; čq.ʔih yəseɪ-qah̄ 'Friday' ('five, the fifth dawned') L; čq.ʔ manigaʔ 'about five minutes' 65.25, 25A; with classified noun: 2a.11M; čq.ʔnu 'five people' LM; čq.ʔdaʔx 'five times' L; Rezanov Čaamxax-raxax '50.' čq.ʔdaʔx deesə-q 'fifty' ('five times ten') M, laʔdičq.ʔdaʔx deesə-q 'one hundred' (uncertain) M; doɬə-xhʔa d ʔq.ʔih 'fifteen' A.

cu?

O-cu? 'S steals O': 9.85, 98, 11.87, 118 (with de-ip=se?), 198, 201A, 34.55M (inceptive conditional), with o-xa? 'in intimate relation with o', here 'from o': 9.84, 119A, with o-šahd 'from o' (perhaps under English influence): ?ušahd kušcu?ih 'he's stealing (something) from them' L, sešcu? 'steal it!' M, šicū?i 'I stole it' L, xu- qu?xšcu? 'I'll steal it' L, qa?šcu?ih 'he'll steal it' L; with indeterminate O: ?iya- ?iqe?xšcu? 'I'll steal for you' 17.12M, Galushia Nelson itcú<sup>n</sup>?i 'theft' BSDL 552 ?išcu?ih 'he's stealing' LM, ?išcu-kih 'he (cust) steals, he's a thief' M, with ya- progressive: ya- ?ida-šcu?ih 'he's going around stealing' M; with d-class-mark for O: 11.118 (O 'money', lapse?), da'na- šix-ša? dešēšcu?ih 'he stole my money' L; passive, with d-class-mark for O: da'na- šix-ša? diššicū?i 'my money's been stolen' L.

O-x-šcu? 'S steals much, many O': with ya? 'completely': 11.204A, more frequently with ya-x 'destruction, consumption': 11.27A, ši?q ya-x qu?xi-xšcu? 'I'll steal everything' L.

?išcu?šiya? (deverbalization with indeterminate O, and -šiya? 'master') 'thief' M, 'camp robber, Canada jay' (mother, Minnie Stevens, called it that) M.

le-i gušcu? (noun, unclassified, 'it steals hair', g--class O) 'hummingbird' MA, 'dragonfly' L.

čeliḥ-čq' (čeliḥ in noun, čq' in anatomical mark;  
perhaps related to čq'?)

-čeliḥ (noun, unclassified) 1. 'arm, forearm': 24.-  
51, 51A, Galushia Nelson kŭčeliḥ' or kŭčeliḥ  
'arm' BSdL 541 kŭčeliḥ LM, x<sup>w</sup>usi t̄c:li or s:  
t̄c:li 'my arm' BSdL 556 (xu·) sičeliḥ, i':  
t̄c:li 'your arm' ?i· ?ičeliḥ, a<sup>n</sup> t̄c:li 'his  
arm' BSdL 557 ?əhčeliḥ, kŭčeliḥ<sup>?</sup>a·w 'long arm'  
M, kŭčeliḥluw 'big arm' M.

2. 'sleeve': Rezanov yuezax Pyxaba Aermel'  
?učeliḥ 'its sleeve', ?učeliḥdik 'its short  
sleeves' L; non-possessed (epithetical?): čeliḥ-  
luw 'big-sleeves' L, čeliḥ<sup>?</sup>a·w 'long-sleeves' L,  
čeliḥwəx 'wide-sleeves' L.

?učeliḥda·d yileh M, ?učeliḥda·d ?a<sup>?</sup>leḥ (noun,  
unclassified) 'vest' ('it's sleeveless') L, Rezanov  
yuezaxrarerze 'Ezaxer Camisol, Weste'.

čq'-d- (anatomical mark, <sup>mark</sup> occurring only in combination  
čq'-d-, with d-<sup>mark</sup> thematic perhaps archaic d-class-  
mark for čq') 'arm, forearm', not in frequent use,  
occurrences listed in full: in verbs: yəx čq·di-  
sikug<sup>?</sup> 'my arm broke' L, yəx qu<sup>?</sup>čq·di·kug 'you'll  
break your arm' L, lah xučq·dasesed<sup>?</sup>iḥ 'he twist-  
ed my arm' L; with postpositions: sičq·da·q̄ 'on  
my arm' L, sičq·da·q̄ sedah<sup>?</sup> 'it (fly) alighted  
on my arm' L, sičq·delah səxi·? 'wrap it (band-

age) around my arm!' L, sičq·da·x̄ xušejaʔiḥ  
'he grabbed, jerked me by the arm' L; in epithet:  
čq·deʔa·w 'long-arms' L.

## či·leh

či·leh (noun, unclassified) 'Raven' la.9, 13, 2a.3, 6, 7, 17, 22, 35, 3.1, 7, 10, 16, 4.1M, 5.1, 8L, 6.1, 5, 7, 9, 12M, 7.6, 30, 32, 38, 44, 8.8, 9.11, 26, 38, 41, 44, 50, 51, 56, 59, 63, 84, 87, 89, 96, 106, 108, 123, 138, 154, 155, 10.7, 31, 33, 34, 36, 44, 53, 56, 64, 67, 74, 79, 80, 80, 80, 81, 92, 96, 127, 135, 157, 163, 169, 195, 211, 237, 254, 254, 264, 11.18, 26, 30, 39, 49, 99, 100, 120, 122, 125, 137, 141, 142, 149, 150, 151, 162, 163, 163, 166, 168, 169, 185, 192, 197, 204A, 12.2G, 'raven' 10.= 170, 188, 11.137A, 42.16L, 43.4, 6, 8, 11, 33M, Rezanov čuxe 'Bopoma Krähe, Rabe', Wrangell činxu 'Raabe', Galushia Nelson čcild 'raven' BSDL 539, či·lehšiyah '(Old) Raven' la.14, 1b.1, 4, 11, 14, 15, 16, 20M, 2b.4, 8, 18L, 7.28, 8.1, 5, 14, 18, 9.1, 1, 35, 64, 10.1, 9, 11.1, 6, 144A, Galushia Nelson čcildacia, čcildcfa 'Raven' BSDL 257, 259, 259, 259, 259, 261, 261, 264, 558, 558, 559, 559, 559, či·lehšiyah xuseguxi 'I got a sharp pain in my side' ('Raven stabbed me') L, či·lehšiyah qi? kusəina:i 'where Raven made a lake' L, či·lehkudg-siyah 'Little Old Raven' la.1M, či·lehyequh 'young of raven' 28.48, 55, 56, 57A, či·lehyequhyu· 'pl. young of ravens' 28.59A, Galushia Nelson čc:layu 'Raven Man' BSDL 543 či·lehyu· 'ravens', čcili-

tsəlí' name of Basket Pattern 11. ("raven bone")  
BSdL 547A (illustration in BSdL 82) čí-lehčélih;  
Resanov ЧАЛЕТАНКАЛЬ 'Цвѣтъ Blumen' probably to  
be read čí-lehka-sa?k 'Raven-fort, Raven-fence'  
(though L has never heard of any plant or flower  
so named), corresponding Tlingit entry Eaxtare  
yeitáyi 'onion' ('smell like raven').

čí-lehyahd name of Raven potlatch house at Eyak  
( 'Raven-house' ) L, Galushia Nelson tci-lá yát  
'Raven House, Eyak', tci-láyát 'Raven potlatch  
house' BSdL 545, also čí-lehya? yahd ('Raven's  
house') L, as distinguished from tci-lácia ya'  
yat 'Old Raven's House' BSdL 545 čí-lehšiyahya?  
yahd 'Raven's house (in myth)'.

ka-t' + ya'wəya' ?)

čiya?

-čiya? (noun, unclassified) 'master, owner, expert, person who is apt at something': with ku-indefinite as possessor: kučiya? 'hunter, good hunter, great hunter' LM, 9.35, 35, 36, 137, 138, 138A, 19.1L, 24.6, 37b.33A, 42.2L, 47b.2M, 'chief, warrior-chief' 34.121L, with other possessors: qa'čiya? 'president, chief' ('our master') L, ?u'čiya? 'their warrior-chief' 34.118L, ?u'čiya?yu' 'their chiefs' 38.10LM, Harrington ɣattáqt cittčiyá' 'God' G ɣədəsd šičiya? 'my Master above', dəɣɣhyu'čiya? 'chief' ('master of people') L, sahsčiya? 64.6G, sahs'ečiya?yu' 'master sea-otter hunters' L, la'xga'dəčiya? 'storekeeper, store owner, trader' L, ?ə'gulačiya?saqe'e '(mythical) river-chief's son' 29.52A, kuča'čiya? 'warrior' M, qa'nu'čiya? 'big fighter, ready fighter' L, with deverbalizations: cɨ'dəle'čiya? 'gossip--monger, blabbermouth, big talker' 51.20, 23aA, disdɨ'lčiya?, ?isdɨ'lčiya? '(mythical) master of strength' 50.15, 20A, Rezanov Хакльч-эя Тлсot = нжа Arbeiter (Zimmermann)' xa'gɨčiya? 'master worker', Хакльчелера Работал arbeiten (Imperat.)' xa'gɨčiya?lew... 'great master worker', ?iču'čiya? 'thief; camp robber (Canada jay)' M, kuwahčiya? 'big eater' L, kɨ'ɣəčiya? yikɨhɨh 'he's a cry-

baby' M, yax 'isa-x'ciya? 'good walker, one who  
walks all over' L, dequ-lexa'ah'ciya? 'tough guy,  
very fierce person' L, deqe-x'ciya? 'fierce, ill-  
tempered irascible person' L.

če·yu? (perhaps related to ču·q)

če·yu? (noun, unclassified) 1. 'wild celery turned to wood' (perhaps 'seacoast angelica, cowparsnip', or 'false hellebore') L, Galushia Nelson čoiyd 'tube for popgun' BSdL 551 (probably made from the woody hollow stalk of "wild celery" or hellebore), kútu? če·yu? 'lots of wild celery turned to wood' L.

2. "'alderberry" bushes (red-berried elder, Sambucus)' M, če·yu?tu? 'lots of "alderberry" bushes' M, če·yu?luw 'big "alderberry" bushes' L; če·yu?ya? la?mahd "'alderberries" (elderberries)' LMA (same as ču·qya? la?mahd and sesihinu·ya? la?mahd L).

cid, see cid-cid

## ċiyahd

ċiyahd (noun) 1. (1-class) 'hat' LMS, Rezanov Чеара  
 'Manka Mütze', Galushia Nelson ċciyāċ or ciāt  
 'hood (cap or hat)' BSdL 550, Rezanov Четрентажика  
 'Tyas Boden der Mütze' ċiyahdʔi·ʔiʔd̄... 'crown  
 of hat', ċiyahddešid 'brim of hat' L, Galushia  
 Nelson ōnd̄iċft̄d̄-t̄ka' ċciyāċ or ōnd̄iċft̄d̄-t̄ka'  
 ċciyāċ 'cap with a peak' BSdL 550 ʔy·dešid ku·=  
 ieh ċiyahd 'peaked cap' L, leseqe·t̄ ċiyahd  
 'high-hat, fedora' ('oblong hat') L, lesešeseneK̄  
 ċiyahd (peakless) round hat' L, ʔq·t̄ċiyahd 'skunk--  
 cabbage(-leaf)-hat' 52.28L, kuḡa·sgċiyahd 'beaver--  
 (skin-)hat' L, ċiyahdʔa·ʔnuw 'big hat' M, ċiyahd=  
 lakih, ċiyahdʔelekih 'little hat' M, ċiyahdʔele=  
 gaʔk̄ 'old beat-up worn-out hat' L, ċiyahd siċ  
 li·ʔaʔ 'give me a hat!' L, ċiyahd ʔu·d ʔi·seʔah̄  
 (or -tah̄, but -ʔah̄ clearly preferred) 'a hat  
 is there' L, ʔq·d ʔel ċiyahd siḡaʔ lexʔah 'here's  
 where I keep my hat' L, ʔew ċiyahd siḡaʔ ʔi·se=  
 se:sḡi 'my hat got out of shape' L, ċiyahd silaʔd  
 leseqeʔeš̄ 'the hat is tight on my head' L, ċiyahd  
 laʔḡ lix̄iʔah̄ 'I have a hat on' M, ċiyahd ʔiḡ  
 daʔqeʔli·t̄ḡah 'I'll marry you' ('I'll get a hat with  
 you', reference to Russian Orthodox ritual, modern  
 church wedding) 17.5M, ʔq̄h qeʔt̄ḡ ċiyahd daʔlesex̄t̄=  
 ḡahḡ -siḡ del̄ih̄ih 'he told me to marry that woman'

L (ċiyahd here in preverbal position), ċiyahd daʔləsexiḡahḡ ʔixleh 'I want to get married' (man or woman speaking) L, ʔahḡ ċiyahd daʔseḡḡaʔḡḡh 'he married her' M (ċiyahd here in preverbal position), ċiyahd daʔqeʔli·ḡḡah 'they'll get married' M, ċiyahd daʔli·ḡḡḡḡinu· 'they're married' ('they have a hat') M, ċiyahdlogaʔ 'like a hat' M, ċiyahdloyeḡd 'inside of hat' M, seḡ ċiyahdloyeḡḡeḡahd qaʔ seḡḡahdḡḡh 'he pulled a rabbit out of a hat' M, ċiyahdʔa·naʔḡ ʔeḡdah ḡḡḡḡinu· 'they're playing with a hat' L, declassified: ċiyahdwah ya· 'the makings of a hat' L.

2. (unclassified?) 'shellfish species', same as yahḡyaʔ ċiyahd L.

-d-l-ċiyahd (noun, probably l-class, see also ċiyaʔḡ) attested only in Kulehdəḡċiyahd 'rain-hat' L.

yahḡyaʔ ċiyahd (noun, unclassified?) 'shellfish species' (same as ċiyahd 2., 'round, maximim I'-diameter, shell very thin, stuck to rocks', perhaps 'slipper limpet') ('doll's hat') L.

ċiyaʔḡyaʔ ċiyahd (noun, unclassified?) 'mushroom' ('frog's hat', perhaps influenced by Eng. 'toad-stool', see also ċiyaʔḡ<sup>ḡ</sup>) L.

ċa·n(e)wa·nyu·yaʔ ċiyahd (noun, unclassified?) 'toad-stool' ('Chinamen's hat') L.

k'ulehḡaʔ ċiyahd (noun, unclassified?) 'mushroom' ('rain-hat') G. (Harrison).

čič-čēt (L prefers čič)

-l-čič--čēt (noun, attested only with l-anatomical <sup>class?</sup>  
 'head', here not usually, if ever, realized -le-)  
 'forehead' (of humans only): Rezanov КАННУМТ  
 'Jogā Stirne' qa·čič 'our foreheads, human  
 forehead' M, si·čič LA, si·čēt 'my forehead' LM,  
 (L prefers former; "may have heard" -lečič).

## če-č

ʔed-ke-če-č (attested in reflexive only) 'S jokes, is playful, silly, foolish, disobedient, mischievous, naughty' (reflexive perhaps in sense of 'S purposely makes self a certain way' or 'pretends to be a certain way' or 'acts a certain way with ulterior motive'): 43.2M, ʔedskiče-čh 'he was silly, foolish, didn't obey' M, 'he's silly' L, diK ʔedše-če-čh 'he's not silly' L, ʔedikiče-čh 'he's playful (by-nature)' (neuter perfective) M, ʔedquʔ-xiče-č 'I'll play a joke' M, with yeṣ-progressive: yeṣ ʔedšeče-č 'horse around!' M, repetitive: ʔed-keče-čh 'he keeps joking' M.

če-čšiyah (noun, lṣ-class) 'lowbush "stump" currants, gooseberries (Ribes laxiflorum, <sup>F.</sup> hudsonianum?)' LMA (with suffixed adjective 'bad', informants unable to explain če-č-, but associate it with the preceding).

čiyaʔx

čiyaʔxə (noun, unclassified) 'frog' (perhaps also 'toad') IMASG, 10.125, 136, 152, 154, 156A, 34.5, 71, Galushia Nelson teidəq 'frog' BSdL 540, čiyaʔxəluw 'big frog' LM, čiyaʔxəhəʔ 'frog=legs' L, čiyaʔxəqeʔi 'frog-woman' 10.128A, qeʔi čiyaʔxə 'female frog' 10.125A.

čiyaʔxəci· woman's name, Mary Thomas ('frog's daughter') LA.

čiyaʔxəyaʔ čiyahd (noun, unclassified?) 'mushroom' ('frog's hat', cf. below) L.

čiyaʔxəyaʔ ʔəmbə·l (noun, unclassified?) 'mushroom' ('frog's umbrella', cf. below) L.

-d-i-čiyaʔxə (noun, unclassified, cf. čiyahd) attested only in Kulehdəčiyaʔxə 'umbrella' (carefully rechecked and verified) L, Kuʔluw Kulehdəčiyaʔxə 'big umbrella' L. *J. Alexander*

ča·ɿ<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with ča·ɿ<sup>2</sup>)

-y-ča·ɿ (noun, unclassified, with y-anatomical 'hand')

'index finger': Galushia Nelson Kōiyátcá-tē or  
 qōyátcá-tē 'first finger', Kōyí'tcá-tē 'thumb'  
 BSdL 542 Kuyəča·ɿ 'index finger', šiyəča·ɿ 'my  
 index finger' IMA; ?iyəča·ɿkih 'little finger' A  
 (with -kih 'diminutive', in Li fieldnotes, not  
 verified).

čihŋ-čihš (authenticity uncertain, rejected by L; see čič<sup>2</sup>)

čihŋ-čihš (noun, probably d-class) 'wild celery turned to wood' (has hollow stem; 'seacoast angelica, cowparsnip, sea lovage', or perhaps 'false hellebore');  
 čihŋ 'dead celery' A, 'some kind of alder' S (vague),  
 čihš 'wild celery turned to wood, hollow' L (M has heard, 'some kind of plant'), čihš qi? ku-łeh  
 'place where there's wild celery turned to wood' (place-name?, location not remembered) L (cf. čič čič qi? ku-łeh, by which this is probably influenced).  
 L later rejects čihŋ-čihš completely, in favor of čičičaxah.

čiŋ

-čič (noun, unclassified?) 'elbow': Rezanov КАРУКУМ  
 'Jonora Ellbogen' qa'čič... 'our elbows, human  
 elbow', ?ičič 'your elbow' IMAS.

0-čič 'S elbows O': ?isičiči? 'I elbowed you' L;  
 passive: xušičiči? 'I got elbowed' L.

?ed-ke-čič (attested in reflexive only, theme 0-1--  
 čič would presumably mean 'S moves O out of position  
 by elbowing it') 'S puts hands on hips, elbows out':  
 ?adxšičiči? 'I put my hand(s) on my hip(s), elbow(s)  
 out' L.

ciċ-ciġ (perhaps to be identified with ciċ<sup>1</sup> and/or ciċ<sup>2</sup>, or with ciġ; ciġ less frequent, but apparently also correct)

ɛp·diċiċg (or -ciġ-) (noun, unclassified, probably nominalized active imperfective of otherwise unattested theme da-ciċ with -g-repetitive and el-thematic 'ground', 'S does (something repetitive) on ground', -i-vowel of classifier probably by assimilation to stem-vowel; informants unable to specify meaning of underlying theme) '(any) small non-aquatic songbird' 6.1M, 10.48, 68, 110, 11.26, 26, 29, 29A, 17.11M, 34.119, 47c.41, 42L, 51.54, 61.20, 20, 21A, with -yu· 'pl.': ɛp·diċiċgyu· 10.54, 62, 119, 120, 172, 11.3, 5, 7, 49A, with -kih 'diminutive': ɛa·di·ciċgkih 34.9, 43.17, 21, 47b.28M, 47c.33, 34, 37L, with -yaquh-yu· 'small (young of), pl.': ɛp·di·ciċgyequhyu· 7.22 (-ciġ), 11.23, 29, 24.70 (-ciġ-), 25.203, 51.53A, with -welah-yu· 'people (mythical spirits of), pl.': ɛp·diċiċgwelahyu· 11.3, 3, 49, 25.202A, ɛp·diċiċgni·k 'bird's beak (nose)' 2.23M; ʔami·nyaʔ ɛp·diċiċg 'violet-green swallow' ('church-prayer-bird', because they build nests and fly about the church, considered to be bearers of religious message) 61.20A, ʔami·nyaʔ ɛp·diċiċgyequhyu· 'little church-swallows' 61.26A; kɔ·daʔg gahyaʔ ɛp·diċiċgyequhyu· (same as preceding) 'little church-birds' 61.21A.

cič<sup>1</sup> (perhaps reduced form of ču'č-ču'č, or to be identified with čič<sup>2</sup> and/or, as suggested by L, with čič-čič) 0-gd-čič-g (with -g-repetitive thematized and gd-thematic including g-class-mark for 0 'spruceroot') 'S ties excess length of 0 (spruceroot) into neat bundle (to keep it at handy length during weaving; coiled or folded back and forth, then tied loosely around middle)': gadaxčičg 'I'm tying them (excess length of spruceroots) into neat bundles' L.

ciē<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with ciē<sup>1</sup>; see also  
cihŋ-ciŋhā)

ciē- attested only in ciēciāxah (noun, probably d-  
class; for 'iāxah see <sup>ciēciāxah</sup> xa) 'wild celery turned to  
wood' (has hollow stem; 'seacoast angelica, cowpar-  
snip, sea lovage', or perhaps 'false hellebore') L,  
ciēciāxah seie'ī 'it (wild celery) turned to wood'  
( 'it (plant) became ciēciāxah' ) L (unable to analyze).

8178

8178x (noun, unclassified, with -x-thematic) 'shark'

LM ("has very rough skin" L), Galushia Nelson

toitcx 'shark ("rough") BSdL 540, 8178 ?a?luw

'big shark' LM; 8178xyequh 'young of shark', also

'small shark species (dogfish?)' L, xiŋga? ?i'teh

8178x 'white shark species (mud-shark?)' ('white shark') L.

i-8178-x (with -x-thematic) 'S is rough', attested only from A and with d-class-mark for S (thematized?):

di·i8178x 'it (e.g. board?) is rough' (neuter imperfective) A.

0-i-8178-x (with -x-thematic, probably causative of preceding) 'S abrades, roughens O, S scrubs, brushes

O (e.g. table, floor) with a stiff brush', attested only with d-class-mark for O (thematized?):

di·i-8178x 'brush it (board, with a stiff brush)!' M,

daxi8178x 'I'm abrading it with a wire brush (in scrubbing motion)' L, di8i8178xi 'I scrubbed it

(table, floor) with a scrubbrush' L.

?ux se8e8178x (noun, unclassified?) 'scrubbrush' A.

Deverbalized passive of preceding with s1-thematic

'ground, floor', -i-instrumental missing, perhaps

because of retention of -x-thematic ('by means of it it (ground, floor) is scrubbed').

?ux Kuseleie8178g, ?ux Kuseq·ie8178g (noun, unclas-

sified?) 'scrubbrush' L. Nominalized passive active  
imperfective of O-i-š<sup>1</sup>š-x with Ka-indefinite O,  
al-thematic, and -x-thematic replaced by -g-repeti-  
tive ('by means of it something (ground, floor) is  
scrubbed').

gadišidičū·čī 'I got pinched on the rump (by someone)' L,  
 -čū·čī (not freely used, attested only in neuter per-  
 fective) 'S is bent, crumpled, twisted, contorted,  
 gnarled': with ya? 'completely': ya? ?i·čū·čī  
 'it's all bent up (been that way a long time)' L.  
 še-čū·čī (meaning not clearly distinguished from that  
 of preceding) 'S is bent, crumpled, twisted, contort-  
 ed, gnarled': ?išičū·čī 'it's all bent up' (neuter  
 perfective) L, diK ?a?šičū·čī 'it's not all bent  
 up' L, with ya? 'completely': ya? ?išičū·čī 'it's  
 all bent up', ya? šičū·čī 'it's (become) all bent,  
 crumpled up' LM, with y-anatomical: ya? yixšičū·čī  
 'my hand's (become) all twisted up, gnarled' L. Transi-  
 tive (causative): ya? šičū?čī M, ya? šičū·čī  
 'bend it all up!' L (would not use M's form, though  
 she thinks she has heard it), ya? qu?xšičū?čī 'I'll  
 bend it all up' M, repetitive: ya? xšičū?čī 'I'm  
 crumpling it up' M, detransitivized with indeterminate  
 O: ya? ?ixšičū·čīK 'I (cust) crumple things up' M,  
 with yaḡ-progressive: ?uq̄ yaḡ ?ixšičū·čī 'I'm  
 bending things on it here and there' M; passive: ya?  
 šidičū·čī, ya? šičū·čī 'it got all bent up (by  
 someone)' (latter homophonous with intransitive, "not  
 so sure (in the case of šičū·čī) that someone did  
 it (as in the case of šidičū·čī), could have gotten  
 that way itself") L.

*perhaps related to ʔiʔeʔe*

cuʔe-cuʔe (non-expanded form cuʔe apparently obsolescent)

cuʔe (noun, unclassified) 'snail, conch' LM, cuʔe-  
ʔeʔuʔe 'lots of snails' L.

cuʔelekih (noun, unclassified, with -kih 'diminutive'  
and l-anatomical 'head', thus 'little snail-head',  
or perhaps archaic class-mark for cuʔe 'snail',  
thus 'little snail') 'small bird species, about 3"  
long, brown-gray, like sparrow, found out in flats' L.

-cuʔe (noun) in -ni-kedeʔuʔe (with d-class-mark for  
-ni-k 'nose') 'dimpled place where snout runs on upper  
lip (philtrum?): sini-kedeʔuʔe 'place where snout  
runs on my upper lip' A. See cuʔx.

-l-cuʔe (noun, with l-anatomical 'head, face') 'soft  
part (hollow) of cheek (part that can be sucked in)':  
sileʔuʔe 'the soft part of my cheek' L. See luʔe,  
suʔe.

o-cuʔe 'S pinches O': xuseʔuʔe 'he pinched me' L,  
ʔiqeʔxʔuʔe 'I'll pinch you' L (once pronounced  
-cuʔeʔ, lapse?), with qaʔ 'up out' (mostly from M):  
qaʔ ʔisiʔuʔe 'I pinched you' M, qaʔ ʔiqeʔxʔuʔe  
'I'll pinch you' M, qaʔ xuseʔuʔe 'pinch me!' M,  
repetitive: qaʔe ʔixʔuʔeʔg 'I'm pinching you (with  
a twisting pulling motion)' LM, qaʔe xʔuʔe ʔgkih  
'she (cust) pinches me' M, with indeterminate O and  
yeʔe-progressive: yeʔe ʔidaʔuʔeʔkih 'he's going about  
pinching people' M; passive, with gd-anatomical: xu-

če·k

-če·k (not well remembered or not freely used) 'S (a certain kind of wood) is very knotty, cross-grained (and hard to split, long-burning)'; se-če·kī "probably means the same as ?i·lihšeče·kī" L.

?i·lih-če·k 'S (person) is unpleasant, cranky, irascible, cross-grained, hard to deal with', also, apparently, by transfer (in the opposite direction of Eng. 'cross-grained'), 'S (a certain kind of wood) is very knotty, cross-grained (and hard to split, long-burning)'; ?ita·?ma·ga? ?i·lihšeče·kī 'damn! it's hard to split' ('like your father's mother it (a certain kind of wood) is (has become) cross-grained', Billy Dude said) L, nominalized: ?i·lih-šeče·kī 'a certain kind of wood with a very gnarled grain, hard to split, burns long; a cranky mean nasty person' L.

## čpʔk

ʔi-de-čpʔk (attested only detransitivized with indeterminate O, underlying theme O-čpʔk) 'S clambers' (probably 'S clutches, claws, gropes at indeterminate O'): ʔu·daʔ ʔixsdičpʔkɛ 'I clambered thither' L, with yeɣ-progressive: yeɣ ʔixdečpʔkɛ 'I'm scratching, clambering around' L, yeɣ ʔi·dečpʔk 'clamber around!' L, yeɣ ʔixsdičpʔkɛ 'I clambered around' L.

ʔed-ke-čpʔk (attested only in reflexive) 'S (prone) moves self by grasping, clawing, clutching, S clambers', with yeɣ-progressive: yeɣ ʔedkečpʔkɛjh 'he's clambering around' M.

qi·yedečpʔk, qi·yidičpʔk (noun, unclassified) 'Dungeness crab' LMB, qi·yidičpʔkɛtuʔ 'lots of Dungeness crabs' LM. Nominalized active (and neuter?) imperfective of qi·y-de-čpʔk with qi·y-anatomical 'toes', 'S's claws clutch'.

ɕiyaʔk<sup>w</sup>-ɕiyaʔk (S clearly -k<sup>w</sup>, LMA -k)

ɕiyaʔk 'S smarts, burns, stings (pain)' (attested with this meaning mainly in inceptive perfective, indicating that such a pain is part of a process leading to a certain condition, perhaps fermentation or rottenness): seɕiyaʔkɕi 'it burns, smarts' MA, sini·k siya· seɕiyaʔkɕi 'my nose burns me, is raw' L, qaʔɕiyaʔk 'it'll burn, smart' M, with anatomical marks: yeɕexɕiyaʔkɕi 'my arm burns' L, leɕexɕiyaʔkɕi 'my face burns, smarts' L, leɕexɕiyaʔkɕi 'my eyes smart, burn' L. Transitive (causative): ʔiqeʔxɕiyaʔk 'I'll make you smart' LM; passive, with l-class-mark or -anatomical (see below): ʔi·sɕiyaʔkɕi 'rotten fishheads have been made' L.

ʔi·ɕiyaʔk<sup>w</sup>ɕi S, ʔi·ɕiyaʔk (noun, l-class) 'rotten fishheads' (a piquant food, "same as ʔi·ɕih L) LMA, ʔi·ɕiyaʔkɕetuʔ 'lots of rotten fishheads' M, ʔi·ɕiyaʔk siɕ li·ʔaʔ 'give me a rotten fishhead!' L. Nominalized active or neuter imperfective (or, S's form, neuter perfective) of preceding with l-anatomical 'head' or class-mark for S, -sa·w 'head'.

ča·x<sup>w</sup>-ča·x (Rezanov GS ča·x<sup>w</sup>, LM ča·x)

ča·x (noun, probably gl-class) 'muddy silty water' L.

ča·xya<sup>ʔ</sup>d place-name, North Arm of Eyak Lake, Power  
Creek L.

gl-ča·x<sup>w</sup>--ča·x 'S (water) is, becomes silty, muddy':

gy·seča·x<sup>w</sup> 63.41G, gy·seča·x<sup>i</sup> 'it (water) got  
muddy, silty, cloudy' LM, Rezanov Тѣа-рѣхѣхѣа

'Cosъ Salz' di·ya<sup>ʔ</sup> gy·ča·x<sup>w</sup> 'saltwater is sil-

ty' (neuter perfective), qu<sup>ʔ</sup>geli·ča·x 'it (water)

will cloud up' L, geleča·x<sup>w</sup> 'it (water) (cust)

clouds up' LM, neuter perfective nominalized: gy·-

ča·x<sup>w</sup> S, guli·ča·x<sup>w</sup> S, geli·ča·x<sup>i</sup> 'muddy wa-

ter' L, active imperfective nominalized: guleča·x

'muddy water' LM. Transitive (causative): gele-

seiča·x 'make it (water) cloudy!' LM.

geleča·xya<sup>ʔ</sup>d place-name, "slough where we pick ber-

ries" (location forgotten, perhaps same as ča·x-

ya<sup>ʔ</sup>d) L.

čq'c (associated by informants with čq', to which it is perhaps related, to be analyzed čq'-c, with -c-negative thematized)

ie-čq'c 'S is, becomes weak': neuter imperfective:  
 xličq'c M, ?a?xličq'c (with negative prefix) 'I'm weak' L, ?a?iečq'c:ih 'he's weak' L, active imperfective: xličq'c 'I'm weak' L; perfectives: səx-  
 iečq'c:ih 'I'm getting weak' LM, sisuhd siya' sə-  
 iečq'c:ih 'my knees are getting weak' L, xsičq'c:ih  
 'I got weak' LM, diK ?exsličq'c:ih 'I didn't get  
 weak' L; səiečq'c 'get weak!' M; with class-marks  
 for S: dəiečq'c 'it (table) is weak' L, diK də-  
 iečq'c:c 'it (table) isn't weak' L, dəseiečq'c:ih 'it  
 (table) is getting weak' L, diK dičq'c:ih 'it (table)  
 got weak' L, gulesəiečq'c:ih 'it (beer) is getting  
 flat' L. Transitive (causative): xuičq'c:ih 'it  
 (cust) makes me weak' M.

sličq'c:ih (noun, unclassified) 'moulting duck' L, sli-  
 čq'c:ihlu?qa' qu?xqeh 'I'll go (by boat) to get some  
 moulting ducks' L. Nominalized active perfective of  
 preceding, 'it has gotten weak'; see čq'c.

d-ie-čq'c (with d-class-mark for da'na' 'money' the-  
 matized) 'S is cheap, S is (financially) poor, S is  
 a cheapskate': da?iečq'c:ih 'cheapskate, poor man'  
 (nominalized neuter imperfective, with negative pre-  
 fix) 28.97A, diK dičq'c:ih 'it's cheap' (neuter perfec-

tive) L, diK daʔleɕq.ɛkɛ 'it's not cheap' L,  
 deɛleɕq.ɛkɛ 'it's getting cheap' L, diɕiɕq.ɛkɛ  
 'it is (got) cheap' LM, diK daʔsleɕq.ɛkɛ 'it's  
 not cheap' (analogical, negative prefixes for neu-  
 ter and active perfective both present) L, diK  
 deɛleɕq.ɛkɛ 'it's (cust) not cheap' L.

ɛl-ɛ-ɕq.ɛ (with ɛl-thematic 'passage of time', cf.  
 ʔq.ɛ) 'S is, becomes feeble with old age': ɛq-  
 xɕiɕq.ɛkɛ 'I've become feeble with old age' L.

l-ɛ-ɕq.ɛ (with l-thematic, cf. l-ɛ-ɕq) 'S is a  
 crybaby, weeps readily': laʔleɕq.ɛkɛ 'he's a cry-  
 baby' (neuter imperfective, with negative prefix) L.

ʔi-lih-ɛ-ɕq.ɛ 'S is emotionally weak, cowardly,  
 faint-, soft-, tender-hearted, sympathetic, senti-  
 mental, S breaks down, gives in to feelings, is  
 broken-hearted, despondent': ʔi-lihʔaʔleɕq.ɛ 'he's  
 soft-, faint-hearted' (neuter imperfective, with  
 negative prefix) L, diK ʔi-lihʔaʔleɕq.ɛkɛ 'he's  
 not soft-, faint-hearted' L, ʔi-lihxɕiɕq.ɛkɛ 'I  
 broke down (my emotional resistance broke)' L, diK  
 ʔi-lihsleɕq.ɛkɛ 'he didn't break down, didn't give  
 in' L, qe-lihxleɕq.ɛ 'I'll give in, break down,  
 get soft-, faint-hearted' L. Transitive (causative):  
 xu-lihsleɕq.ɛkɛ 'he broke me down, made me give  
 in, broke my heart' L.

ča·q

O-d-i-ča·q (with d-thematic 'noise') 'S hears O, S listens to O, S heeds, obeys O': 10.220A, 13.8, 44.4L, Rezanov Тохъуааха 'Самарь hören' duxi-ča·q 'I hear it', Тохъуаак<sup>b</sup>-ry (b- superscript insert) 'Самы ich hören' duxiča·qduh 'I hear it!', Тохъуакъу 'Самсамък? hörst du?' di·iča·qduh 'do you hear it?', ?iduxiča·q, ?idexiča·q 'I hear you' M, ?idexiča·q ?idedi·leh 'I heard what you said' L, ?ida· da· deseliḥ di·iča·q 'did you hear what we said?' M, with yeḥ-progressive: yeḥ dexiča·qḥ 'I hear it about, I'm following this sound about' M; passive: 46.13, 18M (see also below), siḣeyeyeq ?ew diiča·qḥ 'it is (constantly) audible in my ears' (neuter perfective) 70.11A, qa· qu?dedeča·q 'we'll be heard' L. Causative, with intermediate object as o of o-d, o-d O-d-i-ča·q 'S lets o know' ('S causes o to hear O'): ?id qu?-di·xiča·q 'I'll let you know' L, sid ?ew deseḥ-ča·qḥ 'he let me know' L.

Ku-d-i-ča·q (with ku-indefinite O thematized, theme treated as intransitive, ḥe-classifier with qe? 'again, some more') 'S hears something, S can hear, S listens, is obedient, heedful': 39.4L, 46.9, 18M (ḥe-classifier with qe?, also interpretable as passive), de?u·čahd diK ?ewa· qe? kuduxiča·q-

sinu· 'since then I haven't heard any more of them'  
68.123A, Rezanov Korotb-uoxe (a apparently writ-  
ten above second o, partly illegible) "чиркош"  
(not in Radlov, 'sharp-sensed, sharp-eared') Kudei-  
ča·qih 'he hears something, he can hear', Kuduxi-  
ča·q 'I hear something' M, ?isega?i kudaxiča·q  
'I hear you danced' L; with o-x 'in (punctual) con-  
tact with o', o-x ku-d-i-ča·q 'S hears of, about  
o': 47a.6, 56.20L, ?i·gahx kudaxiča·q 'I hear you  
dancing' L, de?edxa?d ?ux kudisičiča·q? 'I heard  
something unexpected' ('I heard something unexpected-  
ly of it') L, ?ix kudaxiča·q, ?ix kudisičiča·q?  
'I heard (something) about you, of you' L.

O-?·d-i-ča·q 'S hears O in a qualified way, vaguely':  
?u?disičiča·q? 'I sort of heard it, I heard it go by  
at a distance' L; with indeterminate O: wəx ?ida?  
disičiča·q? 'well, that's the way I heard it' ('I  
heard things thus') L, with o-?e·x 'in search of o'  
and ye-x-progressive: ?a?d ?idah ?aw?e·x ye-x ?i-  
da?di?leča·q? 'he (cust) listens around very care-  
fully for it' 36.7A, ?u?e·x ye-x ?ida?dexičeča·q?  
'I'm listening around for it' L; passive, with o-da?  
'arrival at o': sida? ?u?disičiča·q? 'I was sent a  
message' ('hearing (indirectly) of it arrived at me')  
L, kuča?xəya?x sida? ?u?disičiča·q? 'my echo came  
back to me, it echoed back to me' L.

O-d-i-ča-q-e (with -e-negative thematized) 'S is deaf to O, unable to hear O': Rezanov Тоухъуах-аху 'He слышу ich höre nicht' duxiča-q'eduh 'I can't hear it!' M; usually with ku-indefinite O: Rezanov Кодъуахалма 'Человекъ Mensch', probably to be read kudeliča-q'ejh hila'?' 'deaf man' L, kudexiča-q'is (probably in error for -ča-q'is) 'I'm getting deaf' L.

čú·q̄ (perhaps to be analyzed čú·(?)-, perhaps related to  
 čé·yuʔ, as o of o-q̄ 'on o')

čú·q̄- (noun, perhaps 'red-berried alder (bush)'), at-  
 tested only as o of o-yaʔ 'belonging to o' in  
 čú·q̄yaʔ laʔmahd "alderberries" ('elderberries,  
 Sambucus racemosa)' (inedible, same as čé·yuʔyaʔ  
 laʔmahd, sesihlinu·yaʔ laʔmahd) LA, 348.30L.

čiyeq (perhaps to be analyzed č-yeq)

o-ku·l-i-čiyeq (apparently treated as postposition, perhaps under influence of o-yeq if not to be analyzed thus, with ku·l-anatomical 'belly, widest part', actualized here always -kų-, and i-classifier) 'abdomen of o': sikų·ičiyeq 'isegu?kî 'he punched me in the belly' L; usually with -d-nominalizer; Rezanov ~~Какорьчехртъ~~ (written above crossed-out ~~Карачохртъ~~, see sî·d-sî·t') 'Бокъ' not in Radlov, 'side') qa·kų·ičiyeqđ 'our abdomens, human abdomen', kųkų·ičiyeqđ 'abdomen, meat at side of abdomen' L, sikų·ičiyeqđ 'my abdomen' LMA.

ḥeḥ

-ḥeḥ (noun, unclassified) 'wing': 60.20, 22, 50A,  
 Rezanov Куууаха Крале Flügel' Kuḥeḥ 'wing' LM,  
 Kuḥeḥ'a-w 'long wings' M, Kuḥeḥluw 'big wings' L,  
 ?uḥeḥ ?ewa· 'its wings' L; as o of o-i-yeḥ-d  
 'under o', -ḥeḥeḥyeḥd 'armpit (of humans), under-  
 arm, vulnerable spot under foreleg of game animals':  
 27b.5, 7, 10L, 63.9G, Harrington c̣ittḥaḥḥaḥyaḥt  
 Kuḥḥḥḥ 'my armpit hair' G siḥeḥeḥyeḥd Kuḥu? 'the  
 hair in my underarm'.

(?u)ḥeḥeḥi?da?ḥ deḥu·ḥ (noun, unclassified) 'new gull'  
 ('(its) wing-tips are black') L.

ḥeḥa?gedelah ḥeḥ (noun, unclassified) 'bat' ('wings  
 around rump') LM.

(Larus canus)

*Spelopates* Sabine's gull (*Larus sabini*),  
 and *Larus argentatus* (herring gull) (*Larus argentatus*).

ḥeḥeḥeḥi?da?ḥ, possible etymology of *Yeh-tut* ~~ḥeḥeḥ~~  
*ḥeḥeḥeḥi?da?ḥ* 'convent', same kind as *geḥeḥeḥeḥ*,  
 for *Sapua* *ḥeḥeḥeḥ*, but which he could not  
 etymologize ('sharp-winged'), not confirmed in other  
*ḥeḥeḥeḥ* sense.

## čehx

d-čehx (with d-thematic 'oral') 'S opens mouth':

di·čehxɨh 'his mouth is open' (neuter perfective)

L, dik' da'čehxɨh 'his mouth isn't open' L,

di'čehx 'open your mouth!' LMA, dečehx 'open

your mouth!' L, qe' dečehx 'open your mouth

again!' L, ya'xu' qu'di·čehx 'don't open your

mouth' L, qu'di·xčehx 'I'll open my mouth' M,

dečehxɨh 'he's opening his mouth' L, dišičehxɨ

'I opened my mouth' LA, repetitive: dečehxɨh 'he

keeps opening and closing his mouth' M. Transitive

(causative): dečehxɨh 'open his mouth!' L.

d-če·x (stem expanded, with d-thematic 'oral') 'S

yawns': deče·xɨh 'he's yawning' M, dexče·x

'I'm yawning' L, deče·xɨh 'he's yawning' L. Tran-

sitive (causative): xudi·iče·x 'you're making me

yawn' L; reciprocal: ?i'u' da' deče·x 'we're

making each other yawn' L.

d-ī-če·x (meaning not clearly distinguished from that

of preceding, ī-classifier perhaps originally in con-

nection with frequent use of cu'd 'sleep', now ad-

verbial, perhaps originally as O of transitive theme)

'S yawns': dexiče·x 'I'm yawning' (same as dexče·x)

L, deiče·xɨh 'he's yawning' A, dexiče·xk 'I (cust)

yawn' A, with cu'd 'sleep' used adverbially: Reza-

nov Пудеаьчохъ 'Sinnart Gähnen' cu'd deiče·x 'it's

yawning sleepily', cu<sup>o</sup>d dei<sup>o</sup>ce·xih L, cu<sup>o</sup>d de<sup>o</sup>-  
cehxih (M now rejects expanded stem) 'he's yawning  
(from sleepiness)' M, cu<sup>o</sup>d dexi<sup>o</sup>ce·x 'I'm yawning'  
L, cu<sup>o</sup>d disixi<sup>o</sup>ce·xi 'I yawned' A.

dist (expanded di-st)

dist (noun, unclassified) 'fly-eggs' LM, dist'etu'  
'lots of fly-eggs' LM.

de-dist 'S (blowfly) lays eggs': qu'de-dist 'it  
(fly) will lay eggs' M.

O-i-dist 'S (blowfly) blows (lays eggs on) O': ?ew  
kuce? qa'idist 'they (flies) will lay eggs on  
that meat' L, ?ew idist 'it (fly) is laying eggs  
on it' M; passive: ?ew kuce? sdist 'that  
meat got flyblown' L, dik ?esdist 'it's not  
flyblown' M, de-di-st 'it (cust) gets flyblown' L.

Kuidist (noun, unclassified) 'blowfly, bluebottle  
fly, housefly' LMA. Nominalized active imperfective  
of preceding, with ku-indefinite O, 'it lays fly--  
eggs on something'.

## čugš

čugšg (noun, unclassified, with -g-thematic) 'roots of a plant resembling skunk-cabbage' (probably 'false hellebore') LMA, 'hellebore? (same as Tlingit č'igš)' A, Galushia Nelson teukck 'plant used for medicine that looks like a skunk-cabbage' BSdL 541, 280, Kutu? čugšg 'lots of "skunk-cabbage-" roots' L. "This plant is rare. It is like a skunk cabbage; the wrinkled leaves grow in radiating groups along the stalk. It has a green flower which turns black when it goes to seed. The natives use the roots for medicine" BSdL 280fn. According to L the roots are chewed as heart medicine, or an infusion thereof is drunk for serious illness; if the patient keeps it down, he will recover, if he vomits, he will die; the roots will also cure tuberculosis, if good ones are found. According to M also medicine for bruises.

čed̥i·q̥ (probably loan from Yakutat Tlingit čə́ɣiŋx̣ S)

čed̥i·q̥ (noun, unclassified) 'mallard (Anas platyrhynchos)' LA, 'duck (generic)' L, 'goose' M (gloss rejected by L), Furuhjelm Ichikhekh 'mallard duck', čed̥i·q̥yu· 'mallards' 68.52A.

čed̥i·q̥ta·ʔ Eyak man's name ('mallard's father')  
L.

ʔədəčed̥i·q̥ (noun, unclassified) 'mallard' ('real mallard, duck par excellence') L.

čihde-čihde (čihde A twice, L once, M once, čihde L twice, M once, Galushia Nelson; perhaps loan from Tlingit čidsá 'skate', or perhaps more probably, especially if čihde is originally the more correct variant, diffused term of unknown origin, see also e.g. Haida (Swanton 1911) tc:í'tga 'skate'; after Eyak stem-initial ʒ-, č-, č-, š-, non-nasalized modified -i- is much more frequent than nasalized, so that čihde is accordingly less likely to be due to analogical influences than is čihde; cf: kučí·d-kučí·d-kečí·d for the converse)

čihde A (noun, unclassified), Galushia Nelson  
 čci<sup>n</sup>tq or čci<sup>n</sup>tq 'skate' BSDL 540, čihde  
 'skate, ray' LM (L first heard of these when no longer a child), čihde qə<sup>ə</sup>w ʔəʔ ʔu<sup>ə</sup>li·kəh  
 'rays it was they (land-otters) had for canoes'  
 33.33A, čihde<sup>ə</sup>ʔluw 'big skate' M (L uncertain).

čpʷiʔih (partly unanalyzable; articulated čpʷoʷiʔih with unique phone oʷ, velar nasal with incomplete closure and slight rounding, or as nasalized w with velar stricture more prominent than labial stricture, M once čaʷoʷih probably incorrect; probably to be analyzed as postpositional phrase o-č-aʷ 'to o', with nominalized active imperfective third person singular of theme -waʷ, -weʷ, --wiʷ, or -ʷwaʷ, -ʷweʷ, -ʷwiʷ, with vowel nasalized and perhaps unlauted by -ih suffix, stem not further identifiable, 'he who ... to o')

-čpʷiʔih (kinship noun, non-ascending) 'sibling--in-law (of same sex as possessor)': c:tcəʷiʔih  
 'older or younger brother's wife, husband's older or younger sister (woman speaking), older sister's husband, wife's older or younger brother (man speaking)' BSdL 567-568A, sičaʷoʷih M, sičpʷiʔih 'my husband's sister, brother's wife' (woman speaking), 'my wife's brother, sister's husband' (man speaking) LA, used also as vocative L, ʔičpʷiʔih 'your brother-in-law' 20.63A, lexčpʷiʔih 'your pl. brother-in-law' 20.56A, with -s-yu 'personal pl.': sičpʷiʔihəeyu 'my siblings-in-law' L, 25.75A.

Abstractly, with likely -wa?

~~cf.~~ cf. Navaho

wa' gi'-...ba?w (a  
r's-?...wa?) 'Sahad to?',

Golice -ba? 'pity, have pity for'

(cf. Nav <sup>from</sup> u-a: gi'-...lin

(a-l-ni) 'Stunts o',

~~cf. Hupa~~ Mattre

o-3'o-...ni 'S help o?',

Hupa o-o'o (w-pf)...-?

no- 'S help o?')

see further certain Atsugub

(wship terms, especially

for father's sister, Hupa AA

58.2, ~~pp. 22~~ (1956), pp.

22, 23, 25 = p. 226)

Si'-Si' (Si' LMSG, Si' A only)

Si'-Si' (noun) 1. (gl-class) 'creek' LM, Old Man Dude  
 ci' 'stream' BS&L 537, Si-gu-'nuw 'big creek' LM,  
 Si' yeḡ geli-'ah 'waterfall' ('creek extends  
 downward') M.

2. (unclassified) as o of o-da? 'to, arrival  
 at (front of) o', Si-da?, Si-da? 'to the creeks,  
 up the creeks', i.e. 'toward the northeast, eastward,  
 southwesterly, westerly' (most creeks and small rivers  
 in Eyak territory flow generally southwest or west-  
 southwest into the Gulf of Alaska): Si-da? Ku'y A,  
 Si-da? Ku'y 'westerly wind' LS ('wind to, up the  
 creeks' L), qahs Si-da?č ʔideseʔa'ḡ 'clouds are  
 moving northeast' L, Si-da?ḡča'd 'west side' 64.-  
 70, 'windward side' M, Si-da? lexi'ḡče-ʔ 'small  
 hemlock, half red' A ('berries red on windward, west  
 side?', see če-ʔ).



son c:icätʔ:, c:icätʔ:, c:icätʔʔ' in 'murdered man',  
 'murder', 'to kill a member of the opposite society'  
 BSdL 543, 552, 554 səseh̄h̄ 'he killed him', si-  
 seh̄h̄ 'I killed it, then' L, xu· siseh̄h̄ 'I killed  
 it' M, ʔi· səseh̄h̄ 'you killed it' L, səseh̄h̄ 'you,  
 it killed it' L, da· səseh̄h̄ 'we killed it' L, ləxə  
 səseh̄h̄ 'you pl. killed it' L, ʔisiseh̄h̄ 'I killed  
 you' L, ləxiseh̄h̄ 'I killed you pl.' L, xuseseh̄h̄  
 'you, it, they killed me' L, xuseseh̄h̄h̄ 'he killed  
 me' M, xulexseh̄h̄ 'you pl. killed me' L, du·daʔəh̄  
 ʔəw səseh̄h̄ 'who is it that killed it?' M, qiʔ si-  
 seh̄h̄h̄ 'where I killed him' M, ʔəh̄ səseh̄h̄h̄ 'he  
 (who) killed him' L, səseh̄h̄suh L, səseh̄h̄suh 'did  
 you kill it?' IM, ləxseh̄h̄suh 'did you pl. kill  
 it?' L, siseh̄h̄suh 'did I kill it?' L, qa· siseh̄h̄  
 'I killed a person' M, qa· səseh̄h̄ 'it killed a hu-  
 man, us' L, diduʔə xuseseh̄h̄h̄ 'he almost killed me'  
 L, ʔəh̄ qiʔ siseh̄h̄ʔ da· ʔi·ʔaʔʔ 'let's go to the  
 place where I killed him' L, ʔəh̄ siseh̄h̄h̄ʔ da· ʔi·  
 ʔaʔʔ 'let's go to him whom I killed' L, ɣəwa· ʔuxəʔ  
 səseh̄h̄h̄ 'he killed his (own or another's) dog' L,  
 ʔisiseh̄h̄ kuʔxileh̄ 'I intended to kill you, I thought  
 I'd killed you' L, negative: 8.19, 10.200A, 27a.13L,  
 28.128A, diK ʔəxsseh̄h̄ 'I didn't kill it' L, diK  
 ʔəssseh̄h̄ 'you didn't kill it' L, diKsuh ʔəssseh̄h̄  
 L, diKsuh ʔəssseh̄h̄ 'didn't you kill it?' IM, diK-

Suh ləxʃʃeh̄h̄ə 'didn't you pl. kill it?' L, diKʃuw  
 ʔaxʃʃeh̄h̄ə 'didn't I kill it?' LM, with qeʔ, 'S  
 kills another, some more O': 55.16, 21, 26L, with  
 o-a' '(to provide) for o': 20.99, 100A, inceptive  
 imperfective: 1a.5, 1b.3M, 18.59, 61, 19.23L, 20.95,  
 37b.12A, 52.5, 55.27, 27L, yaʔxu· xuqaʔʃe·, yaʔ=  
 xu· xuqaʔʃihinu· 'let them not kill me' 20.68,  
 68A, quʔxʃeh, quʔxʃe· 'I'll kill it, them' L,  
 quʔyiʃeh 'you'll kill it, them' L, qaʔʃeh 'it'll  
 kill it' L, da· qaʔʃeh 'we'll kill it' L, quʔləx=  
 ʃeh 'you pl. will kill it' L, ʔiqeʔxʃeh 'I'll kill  
 you' L, ləxʃiqeʔxʃeh, ləxʃiqeʔxʃe· 'I'll kill you  
 pl.' L, xuquʔyiʃeh 'you'll kill me' L, xuqaʔʃeh  
 'it'll kill me' L, ʔiqeʔʃeh 'it'll kill you' L, qa·  
 quʔyiʃeh 'you'll kill us' L, qa· qaʔʃeh 'it'll kill  
 us' L, ləxʃiqeʔʃeh 'it'll kill you pl.' L, da· ʔiqeʔ=  
 ʃeh 'we'll kill you' L, da· ləxʃiqeʔʃeh 'we'll kill  
 you pl.' L, xuquʔləxʃeh 'you pl. will kill me' L,  
 qa· quʔləxʃeh 'you pl. will kill us' L, qa· quʔ=  
 yiʃeh (or qiʔyiʃeh) 'you'll kill a human, us' M,  
 ʔiʔq quʔqi·xʃeh 'I'll kill them all' M, ʔew qaʔ=  
 ʃih̄h̄, ʔew quʔwəʃih̄h̄ 'he'll kill it' L, du·d  
 quʔxʃeh 'whom shall I kill?' M, du·deʔəh̄ xuqaʔʃeh  
 'who is it that'll kill me?' M, de·deʔew xuqaʔʃeh  
 'what is it that'll kill me?' M, de· ʔewa·duh quʔx=  
 ʃeh 'which one shall I kill?' M, ʔəh̄qəʔəh̄ xuqaʔʃeh

'he's the one that'll kill me' M, qu<sup>?</sup>yi<sup>?</sup>seh<sup>?</sup>suw 'will  
 you kill it?' LM, xu<sup>?</sup>qi<sup>?</sup>yi<sup>?</sup>se<sup>?</sup> 'will you kill me?' M,  
 xuqa<sup>?</sup>seh ku<sup>?</sup>xi<sup>?</sup>li<sup>?</sup>hi<sup>?</sup>h 'he intends to kill me' L, <sup>?</sup>i=  
 qe<sup>?</sup>x<sup>?</sup>seh ku<sup>?</sup>x<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>leh 'I think I'll kill you' L, nega-  
 tive: di<sup>?</sup> x<sup>?</sup>ewa<sup>?</sup> qu<sup>?</sup>x<sup>?</sup>se<sup>?</sup> 'I won't kill the dog'  
 L, di<sup>?</sup>suw qi<sup>?</sup>yi<sup>?</sup>se<sup>?</sup> 'won't you kill it?' LM, di<sup>?</sup>  
 qu<sup>?</sup>x<sup>?</sup>se<sup>?</sup> (or -se<sup>?</sup>) 'I won't kill it' L, di<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>ah  
 qu<sup>?</sup>x<sup>?</sup>se<sup>?</sup> ku<sup>?</sup>x<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>leh 'I thought I wouldn't kill him,  
 I didn't intend to kill him' L, with o-a<sup>?</sup> '(to pro-  
 vide) for o<sup>?</sup>: 17.3, 10, 11M, with qe<sup>?</sup>, 'S kills an-  
 other, some more O<sup>?</sup>: 37b.16A, inceptive optative: da-  
 si<sup>?</sup>seh<sup>?</sup>gah<sup>?</sup> 'I wish we'd kill it' L, active optative:  
<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>si<sup>?</sup>hi<sup>?</sup>hwah ya<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup> 'looking for someone to kill'  
 51.2L, <sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>seh<sup>?</sup>wah<sup>?</sup> 'in order to kill him' 56.28L,  
 xy<sup>?</sup>li<sup>?</sup>si<sup>?</sup>hi<sup>?</sup>h 'let him kill me' L, xy<sup>?</sup>li<sup>?</sup>si<sup>?</sup>hi<sup>?</sup>nu<sup>?</sup> 'let  
 them kill me' LM, <sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>xi<sup>?</sup>si<sup>?</sup>hi<sup>?</sup>h 'let me kill him' L,  
<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>xi<sup>?</sup>seh 'let me kill it, it's OK for me to kill it' L,  
<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>seh 'it's OK for you, him to kill it' L, <sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>le<sup>?</sup>xi<sup>?</sup>-  
 seh 'it's OK for you pl. to kill it' L, qa<sup>?</sup>li<sup>?</sup>seh,  
 qa<sup>?</sup>yi<sup>?</sup>seh 'it's OK for them to kill it' L, <sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>le<sup>?</sup>xi<sup>?</sup>seh  
 ka<sup>?</sup> 'you pl. should kill it' L, da<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>seh 'let's  
 kill it' LM, inceptive imperative: se<sup>?</sup>se<sup>?</sup> LM, se<sup>?</sup>se<sup>?</sup>  
 (prefers latter) 'kill it!' L, active imperative: <sup>?</sup>e-  
 se<sup>?</sup>, <sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup>se<sup>?</sup> (latter less frequent) 'kill it!' L,  
 xu<sup>?</sup>se<sup>?</sup> 'kill me!' L, xu<sup>?</sup>le<sup>?</sup>se<sup>?</sup> 'pl. kill me!' L,  
<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup>si<sup>?</sup>si<sup>?</sup>hi<sup>?</sup>h 'kill him!' L, <sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup>le<sup>?</sup>se<sup>?</sup>si<sup>?</sup>hi<sup>?</sup>h 'pl. kill him!'

L, inceptive conditional: 20.38, 25.31A, xutələxšeh  
 da·x 'if you pl. kill me' 19.17L, xuci·šeh da·x  
 'if you kill me' L, ?isəxšeh da·x 'if I kill you'  
 L, inceptive subjunctive: 20.69fnA, ?ahnu· səšə·x  
 ?iljijh 'they want to kill him' 56.21L, ?əw səšə·x  
 ?uX dəxljijh 'I told him to kill it' L, ?əw qə-  
 səšə·x ?iləh 'they want to kill it, then, it wants  
 to kill them' L, ci·šə·x ?iʔə·xleh 'I want you to  
 kill it' L, qəci·šə·x ?iʔə·xleh 'I want you to  
 kill them' L, active subjunctive: 54.2fnG, xu·w  
 šə·x qəhəw ?iləh 'he wants to kill me' L; active  
 imperfective, with indeterminate 0 and yəx-progress-  
 ive: yəx ?idəšə·xjəh 'he's going around killing' L;  
 reflexive: active perfective: ?ədxšədišəh 'I killed  
 myself' L, inceptive imperfective: ?ədqʔxdəšəh 'I'll  
 kill myself' L, yaʔə· ?ədqʔxdəšəh 'don't let me  
 kill myself' L, ?ədqʔdəšəh 'you'll kill yourself,  
 it'll kill itself' L, da· ?ədqʔdəšəh 'we'll kill  
 ourselves' L, ?ədqʔləxəšəh 'you'll kill yourselves'  
 L, ?ədqʔdəšəjəhinu· 'they'll kill themselves' L, in-  
 ceptive imperative: ?ədsədəšə·ʔ 'kill yourself!' L,  
 active imperative: ?ədədəšə·ʔ 'kill yourself!' L,  
 ?ədələxəšə·ʔ 'kill yourselves!' L, inceptive condi-  
 tional: ?ədsədəšəh da·x 'if you kill yourself' 61.9,  
 10A, inceptive subjunctive: ?ədsədəšə·x '(intending)  
 to kill yourself' 61.8A, active subjunctive: ?ədədə-

auxiliary:  
 ci·šə·x  
 ?əw qə-  
 ?iʔə·x  
 A

še·x '(intending) to kill himself' 61.3, 4A; recip-  
 rocal: inceptive imperfective: ?i?u? da· qu?dešeh  
 'we'll kill each other' L, ?i?u? qu?le?dešeh (or  
 -še·) 'you'll kill each other' M; passive: inceptive  
 perfective: xusedeše·? 'I'm getting killed' L, ?i=  
 cedeše·iš 'are you getting killed?' L, cedeše·?i?h  
 'he's getting killed' L, qa· cedeše·? 'we're get-  
 ting killed' L, le?icedeše·? 'you pl. are getting  
 killed' L, qesedeše·? 'they're getting killed' L,  
 active perfective: 9.103, 103, 111, 28.108A, 34.6M,  
 xušdišeh? 'I got killed' L, ?išdišeh? 'you got  
 killed' L, qa· šdišeh? 'we got killed' M, šdi=  
 šeh?i?h 'he got killed' L, qi? šdišeh?da? ?isiš=  
 ?ah? 'I went to where he got killed' L, du·de?ah  
 šdišeh? 'who is it that got killed?' M, didu?x xu=  
 šdišeh? 'I almost got killed' M, inceptive imper-  
 fective: lixah qu?deše· 'a grizzly-bear is to be  
 killed' 63.24G, xuqu?dešeh 'I'll get killed' LM,  
 ?iqe?dešeh 'you'll get killed' LM, qu?dešeh 'it'll  
 get killed' LM, qa· qu?dešeh 'we'll get killed' LM,  
 le?iqe?dešeh 'you pl. will get killed' M, qa?qede=  
 seh 'they'll get killed' L, ?u·d qi? qa· qu?de=  
 seh 'there's where a person will get killed' L, ?i·=  
 li·x q?h xuqu?dešeh 'he's trying to get me killed'  
 L, active optative: x?·dišeh 'let me get killed' LM,  
 qa· ?idišeh, qā· ?idišeh 'let's get killed' L,

?i·dišeh 'it's OK for you to get killed' L, ?idi-  
 šihh 'let him get killed' L, lexidišeh (should  
 be lexī-- ) 'it's OK for you pl. to get killed' L,  
 inceptive conditional: 64.11G. With Ku-indefinite  
 S or O (with Ku-indefinite O 'S kills something,  
 S makes a kill, is successful in hunting'; see also  
 further examples under customaries): active perfec-  
 tive: Kušišehh 'I killed something' 9.114A, Kušē-  
 šehh 'it killed something, something killed it' L,  
 Kušēšehhjh 'he killed something, someone, someone,  
 something killed him' M, ?i·na·?d da· Kušēšehh  
 'we hunted, killed something on the mountainside' L,  
 with o-a· 'of o': ?ahnu·?a· Kušēšehhjh 'he  
 killed some of them' 49.31A, ?awa· Kušišehh 'I  
 killed some of them' M, ?awa·šuh Kušēšehh 'did  
 you kill any' M, negative: diK ?awa· Kušēšehhjh  
 'he had no success in hunting, didn't kill anything'  
 9.118, 23.18A, inceptive imperfective (with Ku-in-  
 definite O, frequently 'S is hunting'): Kuqu?wešjh-  
 jh iila·? 'a hunting man' 47c.1L, Kuqu?yišeh,  
 Kuqi?yišeh 'you'll kill someone, something' M, Ku-  
 qu?wešjhjh 'he'll kill something' L, ?uK Kuqu?x-  
 seh'tahh 'my hunting-leaf' ('leaf with (not 'by means  
 of' but 'having which along with me') which I hunt,  
 will kill something') 37b.63A, Furuhjelm Khukuvashēh  
 'kill' Kuqu?wešeh 'it'll kill something, someone,

something, someone will kill it' (frequently nominalized, see separate entry), with *q'e?* 'some more, another': *q'e? kuqu'xseh* 'I'll kill another, something else' 10.158, 158A, active optative: *ku'xišeh-yaʔx quʔxah* 'I'll go hunting' ('I'll go for something I might kill') L, inceptive imperative, with *o-a* 'of o' and *o-a* '(to provide) for o': *siya-ʔawa kusešeh* (stem irregular, *-se(.)ʔ* expected) 'kill some for me!' 25.149A, inceptive conditional: *kusešeh daʔx* 'when he made a kill' 19.3L; reflexive: *qiʔ ʔedkušdišeh* 'place where someone killed himself' L, *ʔedš kušdišeh* 'did someone kill himself?' L; passive: *qiʔ kušdišeh* 'place where something got killed' 10.66A, *ʔawa kušdišehinu*, *ʔu-qaʔx yjʔhinu* *ʔawa kušdišeh* 'some of them got killed' L. Customary: inceptive (relatively frequent with this theme, especially in the sense 'S tries to kill O, is bent on killing O'): 8.16, 17A (repetitive), *xuqaʔse-kjh* 'he's trying to kill me' L, *qa qaʔse-kjh* 'he's trying to kill us' L, *kuqaʔse-k* 'he (cust) hunts' 23.18A, active: 64.14G, *deʔhyu se-kjh* 'he (cust) kills people' L, *kuxse-k* 'I (cust) kill something' M, *ku-se-k ʔileh* 'they want (cust) to kill something' 20.69A (probably should be subjunctive *ku-se-kʔ*), *diK ku-se-ke* '(cust) doesn't kill anything, is (cust) unsuccessful in hunting' 23.4A,

diK ku-liše·Kə 'you (cust) don't kill anything,  
 are (cust) unsuccessful in hunting' 23.9, 16A, diK  
 dəde·kihduh ʔeše·Kə 'he (cust) kills nothing at  
 all' 23.5A; passive: active: ʔədəše·K 63.22G, *is killed by*  
 dəše·K 'is (cust) killed' 63.28, 64.3, 10G, *of them*  
 de·dah ʔədəše·Kə 'it's impossible to kill them *(of them)*  
 (for them to be killed)' 63.21G. *64.3 for*

2. (figurative) a. 'S "kills" (inanimate) O':  
 60.44, 45, 46 A (lightning "kills" a radio).

2b. 'S hurts O badly': Rezanov Комеменъ  
 'Мучить qušlen' xušəšəh̄ 'you, it really hurt me',  
 Архомеменъ 'Пробить кого Jemanden schlagen' ʔaʔd  
 xušəšəh̄ 'you, it really hurt me badly', Брокуаме  
 'Не мучь qušle nicht' yaʔʔu quʔyišəh̄ 'don't kill  
 it' M, Ame 'Мучь' (not in Hadlov, 'torment:')  
 ʔeše·ʔ 'kill it!, hurt it bad!'; with y-anatomical:  
 xuyəšəšəh̄ 'it (e.g. heavy burden) is killing my  
 arms' L, with yaʔ 'completely': ʔəhdeʔəw yaʔ  
 xuyəšəšəh̄ 'it finally just about killed my arms' L.  
 O-d-še (as 2b. above, with d-thematic 'oral, noise')  
 'S kills O's voice': ʔiʃ ʔiʃqa·ʔ xudəšəšəh̄ 'I  
 yelled my lungs out at you' ('yelling at you just  
 about killed my voice') L.  
 o-ʒ O-(i-)še (i-classifier preferred with o-ʒ 'by  
 means of o') 1. 'S kills O by means of o': 19.30 L  
 (classifier zero), siyəʔaʔəʒ šišəh̄ (or šišəh̄)

'I killed it with my hands' LM, siKahSɣ siʔsehɬ  
 (or siʔsehɬ) 'I killed it with my foot' LM, si-  
 xɣ'kəyahɣ siʔsehɬ (or siʔsehɬ) 'I killed it with  
 my teeth' LM, ca'ʌi'nəɣ siʔsehɬ (or siʔsehɬ) 'I  
 killed it with a rock' LM, dəkiɣ ʔeʂe'ʔ 'kill  
 it with a stick!' LM, ca'ʌi'nəɣ qu'xɬseh (or qu'x-  
 xseh 'I'll kill it with a rock' L; reflexive: xutɬɣ  
 ʔədʂiʂehɬ 'he killed himself with a gun' L, dəkiɣ  
 ʔadqu'xdeʂeh 'I'll kill myself with a stick' LM;  
 passive: ʔux kudeʂe-K 'by means of it something  
 (game) is (cust) killed' 63.160.

2. (figurative) indirect reflexive with o-y-x  
 'by means of o's hand': ya-x xʂiʂehɬɬh 'I beat  
 him up good' L, ya-x ʔiqe'xdeʂeh 'I'll beat you  
 up' ('I'll practically kill you with my (own) hands') L.  
 Kuqu'weʂeh, Kuqa'ʂeh (latter less frequent; noun, un-  
 classified, nominalized inceptive imperfective with  
 Ku-indefinite O (and/or S?) 'someone will kill it,  
 something, one hunts it') 'hunnable animal, game' L,  
 13.1, 4L, Kuqa'ʂehɣa'ɣ yeɣ qu'xdah 'I'll go around  
 for game' 9.16a

ʔux Ku-qu'-(ɬ-)ʂeh-yu' (noun, unclassified; nominal-  
 ized inceptive imperfective with Ku-indefinite O, in-  
 flected for S translating as possessor, with -yu'  
 'pl.', ɬ-classifier optional with o-x 'by means of  
 o', 'by means of them (pl.) S will kill something')

'weapons, hunting-gear': ?uʒ kuquʔxiʂehyu· 'my weapons' 37b.31A, 47c.10L, ?uʒ kuqiʔyiʂehyu· 'your weapons' 37b.48A, ?uʒ kuquʔweʂehyu· 'hunting-gear' 47c.25L.

Kuqaʔʂe·l (-l-gerundive with ku-indefinite 0 and retaining inceptive imperfective prefix) 'hunting':  
Kuqaʔʂe·lʒaʔ 'for hunting, to hunt' 26.18A ("guess that's alright" L).

Kuquʔweʂe·ʂi, kuqaʔʂe·ʂi (latter less frequent, attested only in 25.17, 33.2A; gerundive with ku-indefinite 0, inceptive imperfective prefix retained, suffixed -ʂ 'toward' and -i-gerundive) 'hunting': used adverbially, requiring i-classifier with verbs of motion: 15.=2, 29 (de-classifier with verb in error for i-), 15.=4M, 19.2, 4L, 20.47, 25.17, 33.2A, 37a.1, 26, 42.6L, 47b.1M, 47c.2, 14L, kuquʔweʂe·ʂi ʔiʒaʔ 'go hunting!' M, kuquʔweʂe·ʂi da· ʔi·iʔaʔʂ 'let's go hunting' L; (noun, unclassified) as C: kuquʔweʂe·ʂi yiʂiʂiʂi 'he's hunting, he's a hunter' M, as O: 15.3M, as o of o-wahd 'for the sake of': 47b.12M, of o-ʒaʔ 'for o': 47b.38M; ?uʒ kuquʔweʂe·ʂiyu· 'weapons' 47b.20M (probably blend with ?uʒ kuquʔweʂehyu·).

Kuʂe·ʂi (as above, lacking inceptive imperfective prefix, attested only once, perhaps in error) 'hunting':

Kuʂe·ʂiʒ quʔxiʂah 'I'll go hunting' L of *you ʔi·re·tʂiʂ*

*Bill likely for form with ku ʔi·re·tʂiʂ  
ʔuʒ da· ʔi·re·tʂiʂ?*

8eh

wešeh (noun, d-class or unclassified) 'name' LM, Puru-  
 hjelm Washshéh 'name', xu· siyaʔ wešeh 'my  
 name' L, wešehdeʒu· 'nice name' L, xudeʒu· wešeh  
 qəʔow 'that's a nice name' M, wešeh ʔilaʔɣ siṭ-  
 tahḥ (or disihṭahḥ) 'I named you' ('I put a name  
 on over your head') M, wešeh ʔulaʔɣ siṭʔahḥ 'I  
 named it' L, wešeh ʔulaʔɣ quʔxʔihḥ 'I'll name  
 him' L, de· wešehd laʔɣ ʔiliʔahḥ 'what's your  
 name?' ('what name do you have on over your (own)  
 head?') L.

-wešeh (possessed form of preceding, probably incor-  
 rect) 'name': siwešeh 'my name' M (M later verifies  
 form, but L again definitely rejects it).

Sa-Sa'-Siyah (Siyah probably expanded form, attested in active imperfective only; considerable hesitation for all informants between Sa and Sa': implying Sa: Sah in active perfective L 6 times, M 3 times, A 4 times, Sa' in inceptive perfective L 3 times, M once, Sa' in yex-- progressive active imperfective L once; implying Sa': Sa? in active perfective L once, M once, A 3 times, Sa? in inceptive perfective M once, A twice, Sah in subjunctive L once)

O-Sa--Sa' 'S digs for O, S makes hole in ground for O (to remove or to plant, bury O), S digs O (clam)':  
 sišahk 'I dug (for it)' A, with qa? 'up out': ?ew qa? šešahk 'dug it up' 6.7M, da' qa? ?i-šah 'let's dig it up (clam)' L, k̄heih qa? sišahk 'I dug up one clam' L, kutu? qa? sišahk 'I dug up many clams' L, qa? ceša? 'dig it out!' L, with ya-nu? 'below surface': ya-nu? qu?xšah 'I'll bury it' L, ya-nu?š cešahk 'I'm burying it' L, with class-marks for O: gušešahk 'he dug them (spruce-roots)' A, ?u-dikah la-ceša? (or -šah?) 'dig them (stones) out of (away from) there!' L; passive: kutu? sekei?h qi? ya-nu? ?idišahk 'place where lots of rotten fish have been buried' 58.3L.

O-dl-Sa 'S digs series of holes in ground for O, S makes O (fence, palisade, stockade, corral, fort), S fences O in', with lah 'around, in a circle':

lah λa·soša·ʔ (or -šaʔ) 'make a fence!, fence it in!' L, lah λa·šišah̄ 'I made a fence' L, lah λa·soxša·š̄ 'I'm making a fence' L.

O-gdl-ša (as above, with gl-class-mark for O 'liquid' thematized) 'S digs O (drainage ditch)': ʔu·dəx ge-λiʔšaʔ 'dig a drainage ditch along there!' L, ʔu·dəx geλa·šišah̄ 'I dug a drainage ditch along there' L.

O-el-ša--ša' (with el-thematic 'ground') 'S digs in ground for O, S digs ground': ll.23, with qaʔ 'up out': qa·č̄ selesoša·š̄j̄h 'he's digging (the ground up)' M; detransitivized with indeterminate O: ʔicq·xədəšah 'I'm digging in the ground' L, qiʔ kuʔeq·xədəšah 'place where people are digging' L; with yeḡ--progressive (also derivable from el-de-ša--ša'): yeḡ eq·dəša·x̄j̄h 'he's digging around' L; passive: qaʔ eq·š̄disaʔš̄ 'it (ground) has been dug (up)' M.

el-de-ša--ša' 'S digs in ground, S digs a hole': 6.2, 3M, selesədəša·š̄j̄h 'he's digging in the ground' L, qa·č̄ selexdəša·x̄ 'I (cust) dig holes' L, sela·xədəšah̄ siḡ del̄j̄h̄ 'he told me to dig' L; with yeḡ--progressive: see O-el-ša--ša' above.

O-i-ša--ša' 'S digs for O, S digs O (removing it from the ground), S digs clam' (meaning not always clearly distinguished from that of O-ša--ša', but emphasis here appears to be on removal of O from its place in the ground): ʔeš̄šaʔ 'dig (e.g. for clams)!' L, seš̄šaʔ

'dig (for it, dig it out)!' L, da' ?i-ĩšah 'let's dig (clams)' L, šaiša?ĩ, šaišahĩ 'he dug it' A, Kuqu?xĩšah 'I'll dig for something' L, diK Kuqu?-xĩšah (or -ša's) 'I won't dig (for anything)' L, Kuxĩšah 'I'm digging for something' L, Kušĩšahĩ 'I dug for something' L, diK ne-ŋ Kuxĩšah 'I'm not digging (for anything) just yet' L, lu'di-?d Kušĩh-ĩh 'he's digging (for clams) on the tide-beach' L, with qa? 'up out': 23.137A, with class-marks for O: se-d' gušša-kinu 'they (cust) dig for spruceroots' 66.2L, se-d' ʔa-? guššah da-ʔ 'when they're done digging spruceroots' 66.3L, se-d' da' guššah 'we're digging spruceroots' L, se-d' guššĩhĩh 'he's digging spruceroots' L, se-d' guššĩhinu 'they're digging spruceroots' L, ?ow da-na' qa? dišĩšahĩ 'I dug the money up' L.

O-ł-ł-ša' (with ł-thematic 'ground') 'S digs O (ground)', attested only with yeʔ-progressive: yeʔ sela-šša? 'dig around!' M, yeʔ selašša?ĩnu 'they're digging around' M, yeʔ qu?ša-xišša (stem irregular) 'I'll dig around in the ground' L.

O-ł-šiyah (stem probably expanded, used only in active imperfective) 'S digs many O (removing one after another from the ground), S digs O habitually': šelec ššiyĩhinu '"they dig clams all the time"' L, with g-class-mark for O: 37a.9L, se-d' guššiyĩhinu 'they



i.e. 'stack, chimney (geol.)'

columnar monolith at shore or standing in sea near cliff, or (more recently?) ridge of boulders and pebbles along a river bank, formed by the thrusting action of river ice', the Eyak here perhaps referring to such in the Yakutat area, or perhaps to the preceding, localizing the Rezanov vocabulary in the Cordova area); Furuhjelm Tliausha 'hill, mountain' perhaps to be read  $\lambda a \cdot \dot{\text{S}}a \cdot \text{?} \dot{\text{t}}$  and referring to the above and/or Mt. Eccles; Harrington  $\text{hann} \dot{\text{u}} \text{ccii}$   $\text{yá} \cdot \text{?} \dot{\text{t}} \dot{\text{a}} \cdot \text{ca} \cdot \text{?} \dot{\text{t}}$  'Russian Fort at Ankau' (near Yakutat) G  $\text{?} \text{enu} \cdot \text{Si} \cdot \text{ya} \cdot \text{?} \dot{\text{t}}$   $\lambda a \cdot \dot{\text{S}}a \cdot \text{?} \dot{\text{t}}$  'Russian's Fort'.

$\lambda a \cdot \dot{\text{S}}i \dot{\text{S}}a \cdot \text{?} \dot{\text{t}}$  (or  $-\dot{\text{S}}a \dot{\text{t}}$ ) attested only in BSdL, Galushia Nelson  $\text{eláct} \dot{\text{h}} \text{icá} \cdot \text{t} \dot{\text{t}}$  'fort, fish wier' BSdL 545, 549. Nominalized passive active perfective of  $\text{O-dl-} \dot{\text{t}} \text{-} \dot{\text{S}}a \text{-} \dot{\text{S}}a \cdot$ , cf.  $\text{O-dl-} \dot{\text{S}}a$ ).

$\text{Ku} \dot{\text{S}}a \text{h}$  (gerundive of  $\text{O-} \dot{\text{S}}a \text{-} \dot{\text{S}}a \cdot$  or  $\text{O-} \dot{\text{t}} \text{-} \dot{\text{S}}a \text{-} \dot{\text{S}}a \cdot$  with  $\text{ku}$ -indefinite  $\text{O}$ ) 'digging':  $\text{Ku} \dot{\text{S}}a \text{h}$   $\text{xu} \text{se} \dot{\text{t}} \text{ga} \cdot \text{?} \dot{\text{t}}$  'I'm getting tired of digging' ('digging is tiring me') L.

$\text{se} \cdot \text{?} \dot{\text{t}} \dot{\text{S}}a \text{h}$  (noun,  $\text{se} \cdot \text{?}$ - not identified as occurring elsewhere, perhaps  $\text{sa} \cdot \text{?} \dot{\text{t}} \text{-} \text{?} \dot{\text{t}} \text{-} \text{si} \cdot \text{?}$ -, neuter perfective with  $\text{si} \cdot \text{?}$ -thematic, unexplained) 'cemetery, graveyard' L.

Sa'-Sah (A Sa' only, L and M hesitate between Sa' and Sah; perfectives from LA always with -g-repetitive)

-Sa'--Sah 'S is stingy, possessive, jealous': neuter <sup>cf. tahn-tu'</sup> <sub>perhaps related to Eryak-ich-ia</sub>  
 imperfective: x<sup>w</sup>išah S, xišah 'I'm stingy' LM,  
 diK 'a'xšahs 'I'm not stingy' LM, yišah 'you're stingy' LM, diK 'a'šahs M (probably incorrect),  
 diK 'a'yišahs 'you're not stingy' L, lexišah 'you pl. are stingy' LM, diK 'a'lexšahs 'you pl. aren't stingy' L, yišihih 'he's stingy' LM, diK 'a'šahs-  
 sih 'he's not stingy' LM, yišihinu 'they're stingy' M, 'ideyišah gedisdile'xdž 'he's so stingy he has warts on his rump' (standard expression) L, inceptive imperfective: qu'xšah 'I'll be stingy' M, ya'xu' qi'yišah 'don't be stingy' M, diK qu'wešahsih, diK qa'šahsih 'he won't be stingy' M, inceptive imperative: seša' 'be stingy!' M, inceptive perfective: suxšahž 'I'm getting stingy' M, repetitive: sešahgih L, seša'gih 'he's getting stingy' LA, active perfective: šišahž 'I got stingy' M, diK 'ešša'žih 'he didn't get stingy' M, repetitive: sešahgih L, seša'gih 'he got stingy' LA; with o-ža' 'in intimate relation with o', 'S is stingy, possessive, jealous about, over o': Rezanov Тажоуауамакә 'Bemass nichtbedauern' diK 'uža' 'a'x<sup>w</sup>šahs 'I'm not stingy, possessive, jealous about it', da'na'deža' xišah 'I'm stingy with money' L, da'na'deža'

yišihh 'he's stingy with money' M, diK da'na'de-  
xa? 'a?šahsijh 'he's not stingy with money' M, 'ah=  
xa? yišihh 'he's jealous, possessive of her' M,  
diK 'uxa? xša-Ke 'I'm (cust) not stingy with it'  
L, with o-č 'toward o': 'udese-'xa? 'ahč yišah=  
xa? 'because he (A) is possessive of his (A's) young-  
er sister towards him (B)' (won't give him his younger  
sister) 9.71A; indirect reflexive: la'č 'uxa? xdi-  
šah 'I'm too stingy to wear it' ('I'm stingy about  
it toward my (own) head, covering') L.



Suh (M also Suhx, Sux, probably imitative, rejected by L; L occasionally Su', but LMA generally favor invariable Suh except for frequent analogical Su' in inceptive imperative; perhaps related to Su')

ya'x xdl-Suh (attested only with x-thematic with ya'x 'destruction, consumption' and d-thematic 'fire, bright', also sometimes d-class-mark for 'fire, lamp' or xd-class-mark for 'match, candle')  
 'S (fire, light) goes out': 34.67M, ya'x qu'xeli'-Suhx M, ya'x qu'xeli'-Suh 'fire will go out' L, ya'x xela'-seSuhk 'fire is going out' L, ya'x xela'-seSuhxk M, ya'x xela'-seSuhk 'fire went out' LM, 'light went out' A, repetitive: ya'x xela'-Suhxg M, ya'x xela'-Suhg 'fire keeps going out' LM, with qe' 'back, again': ya'x xela'-SdiSuhk '(fire) went back out' 34.69M. Transitive (causative) 'S extinguishes, puts, blows O (fire, light) out': Rezanov *Хватилкалык* *Гачк* auslöschten (Imperat.)' ya'x xela'-seiSu' 'put out the fire!, blow it out!, turn off the light!' 68.94, 94A, LMAS, ya'x xela'-seiSuhx 'put the fire out!' M, ya'x xela'-seiSux 'blow it (candle, match) out!' M, ya'x xela'-seiSuh 'put out the fire!, blow it out!' L, ya'x qu'xeli'-xiSuh 'I'll put out the fire, I'll blow it out, I'll turn it (light) off' L, dik ya'x qu'xeli'-xiSuhk (or -Su's, analogical) 'I

won't blow it out' L, ya·ʒ ʒəla·ʒiʒsuʔi L  
(analogical, implying ʒu'), ya·ʒ ʒəla·ʒiʒsuhxi  
M, ya·ʒ ʒəla·ʒiʒsuhxi 'I put out the fire,  
lamp' LM, da· ya·ʒ ʒəla·yiʒsuh 'let's blow  
it out' L, ya·ʒ ʒəla·ʒəxiʒsuhxi siʔ dəlihih  
'he told me to extinguish it' L.

Siyah-Sah-Sa' (Sah in certain vocatives of kinship nouns and one personal name, Sa' with -dah adverbializer, with one postposition, and in one personal name; also Siya' in song and in one personal name)

-Siyah (adjective) 'bad, evil, anger, offense, ugly, mean, unclean, spoiled, naughty, nasty, queer, sickly, disgusting' (general pejorative, term of disapproval, disfavor, or contempt, sometimes with very much weakened meaning) 1. Independent, with ku-indefinite prefix. a. not in association with classified nouns: asyntactic or as S: 43.12M, 61.13A, ku-Siyah o-laʔx d-ʔya 'o is, becomes angry' ('anger comes over o') (see ʔya<sup>1</sup>), Rezanov Коммьят Худо schlecht' kušiyahd..., Puruhjelm Kushiatu 'bad' kušiyahduh 'that's bad!', Rezanov Аркоммьят Хуже schlecht (Comparat.)' ʔaʔd kušiyahd... 'very bad', Коммьят 'Еечного' (not in Radlov, 'unclean'), Galushia Nelson kəciy: 'bad or ugly' BSdL 554, Rezanov Коммьятлечань 'Вонмьят stinken' kušiyah ʔəcəh 'something bad smells', kušiyah ʔiyəc̣ dəsədəleh 'you're getting yourself bad luck (by playing with fire)' L, kušiyah ʔuxaʔ ʔuyəq̣d ʔiʔtaʔ ʔiseʔahʔiʔh 'the offenses against him he contains (are gathered) within himself' L, as O: kušiyah q̣uhəw dəxi' ʔiʔx səiʔahʔi 'he's already started trouble' L, as C: ʔəwdig kušiyah 'that too is bad, evil' 51.33A,

ʒaʔd Kuʒiyah 'bad (weather) out' LM, ʒala'g Ku-  
 Œiyah 'winter is bad, hard' M, ʔi. ʔiyaʔ Kuʒiyah  
 'yours is no good' L, Kuʒiyah ʔiŒeʔ da'ʒ 'as  
 they (spruce-needles) begin to turn old and rotten'  
 11.117A, ʒaʔd Kuʒiyah yiŒeh 'it was bad (weather)  
 outside' M, 60.42A, Kuʒiyah seŒeʔi '(I baked bread  
 and) it turned out badly, it was a failure, it got  
 spoiled (too bad to eat), he became bad' L, Kuʒiyah  
 seŒeʔhadewa. ʒa'ne. 'eat it before it spoils!' L,  
 deʔa. Kuʒiyah yiŒihih 'because he's no good' M,  
 deʔa. Kuʒiyah yiŒeh ʒawa. 'because it's a bad  
 dog' ('dog which is bad') L, -deŒeleh o-a. Kuʒiyah  
 -Œe(?) 'o's mind is unhappy, o is sad, unhappy, in a  
 bad mood' 18.85L, 25.38, 29.38A, 62.22G, Kuʒiyah  
 ʔuʔliŒiʒaʔi 'I wrecked it' M, Kuʒiyah ʔeduʔŒi-  
 ʒaʔih 'he acted, got bad (deliberately)' ('he made  
 himself bad') L, ŒideŒeleh Œiya. Kuʒiyah ʔuʔli-  
 ʒah 'I feel guilty' ('it's making my mind unhappy')  
 L, as o of postpositions: Kuʒiyahyaʔʒ 'in anger, in  
 a fury, in a fit' 47b.35M, Kuʒiyahlaʔ 'bad luck' L,  
 preceding (unclassified) nouns (relativized): Kuʒi-  
 yah qeʔi 'evil woman' 21a.34, 48L, Kuʒiyah seqe-  
 ʒekih 'naughty child' 51.18A, Kuʒiyah deʒuŒ 'bad  
 person' L, 51.18, 35A, ʔaʔd Kuʒiyah ʒala'g ʔide-  
 ŒeliŒ 'a very bad winter ensued' L, 45a.9L, ʔaʔd  
 Kuʒiyah ʒala'g KuʒaŒeʔi 'there was a very bad win-

ter' L, Kušiyah Mahd 'bad disease, syphilis' L.

1b. With class-marks: Kudešiyah 'no good, bad' (of wood, board, mussel, phonograph record, house, boat, knife, ice) L, Kudešiyah lis 'bad tree' L, Kudešiyah la'g 'bad firewood' L, ?aw yahd Kudešiyah 'that house is no good' L, Kulexešiyah 'no good, bad' (of sand, rice, berries, eyes) L, Kugy·šiyah 'no good, bad' (of water, milk, seal oil, whiskey) L, Kutı·šiyah 'bad skin (poor pelt)' LM, Kuti·lešiyah seke?ı 'it (skin, rhubarb) is turning bad' L, Mihz Kugedešiyah 'grass is bad' L, Kugušiyah 'no good, bad' (of thread, yarn, sinew) L, Kugeła·šiyah 'bad paint' L, Kula·šiyah zewuk 'bad net' L, Kuqi·lešiyah 'bad rope, chain' L, Kuşedešiyah 'bad' (of day, log) L.

2. Dependent, as suffix a, not with classified nouns (often with more or less weakened pejorative meaning, "old", indicating only mild disapproval, irritation, or contempt, even good-humored tolerance): di·lehšiyah '(Old) Raven' (standard name for mythological 'Raven', as distinguished from generic 'raven') (see di·leh), zawa·šiyah 'old dog, mutt' 33.9, 49.101, 101, 108A, 'bad dog, lousy mutt' L, qa'ic'elihšiyahyu· 'old human bones' 34.122L, ze·?ahšiyah 'old slave' (pejorative) 49.84, 88, 115A, we'gšešiyah sixa? 'my old ulu' 49.89A, -yahše-

šiyah '(woman's) child, brat, kid' 49.131, 133, 143A, Galushia Nelson seqé'tsšciy: 'baby-ugly, bad baby ("baby-bad")' BSDL 259, 554 seqe·dəšiyah (seqe·də- does not otherwise occur without -kih 'diminutive'), Rezanov Таромыкша Мыкша Mann' dəxhišiyah 'nasty fellow' 9.28A, 'old guy, character' (person one doesn't like) L, te'ya'šiyah 'old fish' (contemptuous) 21b.5A, 'əw yida·šiyah qə'əw 'it's that (evil) shaman's power' L, keni·'šiyah 'bad boy' L, dəxhyu·šiyah "people" (with sarcastic tone, like "some people") M, with certain kinship nouns (in more or less pejorative sense, see also -šiyah--šah below): -'əhdešiyah 'old lady (wife)' 10.271, 11.1, 2A, 'uqa'šiyah 'her old man (husband)' 11.48, 50A, 'uma·šiyah 'her old mother' 49.76, 78A, 'uta·'šiyah 'her old father' 49.77A, 'i'la·šiyahyahš 'your old (female) cousin's child' 61.102A, suffixed to nominalizations, exclamations, other adjectives (often epithets): 'əxə· xə'dəliħ-ħšiyah 'my what an old snob, dandy!' L, 'a·wəyu· 'i·sexahħħšiyah 'he's a badly boorishly brought--up person' L, 'əxə· di' dəleħ kə'kəle·tħšiyah 'what a disrespectful forward person!' L, 'i·ħilħ-ħšiyah (-šiya· in song) 'funnyface, uglymug' (children's taunt) L, xə·'d ħsiħšiyah 'weather is rotten lousy' L, 'i'ke·duħ ħzu'šiyah 'what in

God's name does that (lousy mutt) think it's doing?'  
 L, ?q·ya·šiyah exclamation of anger at someone L,  
 ?uhšiyah exclamation of slight or mock irritation  
 LM, ?ihšiyah exclamation of extreme disgust or con-  
 tempt M (L rejects), ʕi·lehkuḡšiyah 'Little Old  
 Raven' la.LM, se·ḡeḡeḡkuḡšiyah 'Little Old Mag-  
 pie' 9.9, 48A, ?ahgaʔkih ?i·ḡkuḡḡhkuḡšiyah 'a  
 poor little guy like him' 9.44A, ka·dahkuḡšiyah  
 'a remarkably clever little youngster' M, ba·ša·-  
 kuḡšiyah man's name, Paul Alec LM, kuweḡluwšiyah  
 'big fat old thing!' lb.9M, keleweḡšiyah 'old fat--  
 head!' lb.9M, keḡahšiyah 'old stinky!' lb.9M, le-  
 quhiḡeḡšiyah 'old fat-cheeks!' 10.96A, with special  
 meaning: ʕe·tešiyah 'lowbush currants' LM (see  
 ʕe·ʕ), la·qəyaʔšiyahyu· 'sheep, mountain-sheep'  
 ('bad, queer mountain-goats') L, la·qəyaʔgaʔ ?i·-  
 teḡšiyahyu· 'mountain-sheep' ('bad, queer ones which  
 are like mountain-goats') L, kena·qa·šiyahyu· (same  
 as kena·qa·yu·) 'Greeks' L.

2b. with classified nouns: šdu·lihdešiyah  
 'no-good table' L.

-šiyah--šah (suffixed to kinship nouns, -šah with  
 certain vocatives): according to L, the ascending  
 kinship nouns for parents' parents and parents' sib-  
 lings can be followed by suffixed -šiyah which is  
 entirely without meaning, and, in the case of those

for the grandparents, suffixed *-šah* or *-šiyah* is required in the vocative; L seemed quite certain of these forms, and also of the slight irregularities in the vocatives of the terms for parents' siblings, all of which were later rechecked and verified: *-ču·šiyah* 'mother's mother' (same as *-ču·*, vocative *ču·šah*), *-kīhšiyah* 'father's mother' (same as *-kīh*, vocative *kīhšah*), *-ʔuhšiyah* 'father's father' (same as *-ʔuh*, vocative *ʔuhšah*), *-ʔwe·šcešiyah* 'mother's father' (same as *-ʔwe·šc*, vocative *we·šcešah*), *-ya·qeʔšiyah* 'mother's sister' (same as *-ya·qeʔ*, vocative *ya·qeʔ*, *ya·qeʔ=šah*, *ya·qeʔšiyah*), *-ʔahdešiyah* 'father's sister' (same as *-ʔahd*, vocative *ʔahd*, *ʔahdšah*, *ʔahdešiyah*), *-tīhšiyah* 'father's brother' (same as *-tīh*, vocative *ʔətīh*, *tīhšiyah*), *-ga·gšiyah* 'mother's brother' (same as *-ga·g*, vocative *ʔe=ga·g*, *ga·gšah*); once however, L contradicted herself in part, stating that in the grandparent terms the *-šiyah--šah* has no pejorative connotation whatsoever, but that in those for the parents' siblings, and all other kinship nouns, *-šiyah* (never reduced to *-šah*) retains some pejorative meaning, thus *sitīhšiyah* 'my uncle (father's brother) (who e.g. "looks funny")' L. In the kinship terms from A in BSDL 565-568, suffixed *-šiyah* is used to dis-

Siya? (occasionally also Siya' implied by some inceptive  
 imperfective forms from L, but L clearly prefers invari-  
 able Siya?) *Siya? siya? siya? siya? siya? siya? siya? siya? siya? siya?*

-Siya? 'S is, becomes exhausted, tired out, very fa-  
 tired': SiSiyahì 'I'm exhausted' LM, SeSiya?ì  
 'it's exhausted' M, seSiya?ìh 'he's (become) ex-  
 hausted' L, seSiya?ì 'you're exhausted' L, sex-  
 Siya?ì L, suxSiya?ì 'I'm becoming exhausted, all  
 tired out' LM, qu?xSiya?, qu?xSiyah (former pre-  
 ferred) 'I'll get, be exhausted' L, qu?yiSiyah  
 'you'll be exhausted' L, de?u'd ?ixiSiya? 'al-  
 right let me be exhausted' L, Transitive (causa-  
 tive): xuseSiya?ìh 'he exhausted me' M, selex-  
 tah xuse[ì]Siya?ì 'I'm tired of living' ('(that)  
 I'm living has exhausted me') LM, ?iqe?xiSiya?  
 'I'll exhaust you' L, seSiya?ìh 'exhaust him!'  
 L, ?aw da' ?i-ìSiya? 'let's tire it out' L,  
 Kp-ìSiya-K 'it's exhausting' ('it (cust) exhausts  
 one') L.

tinguish the younger sibling from the older in  
 atcia, akicia 'father's younger sister' (see  
 ʔahd, tʃh), aqacia 'mother's younger brother'  
 (see ga'g), yaq'cia 'mother's younger sister',  
 yaq'caɣac 'mother's younger sister's son or  
 daughter' (see ya'qəʔ), siucia 'father's fa-  
 ther's younger brother' (see ʔuh<sup>1</sup>), s:tcucia  
 'mother's mother's younger sister' (see ču·),  
 s:<sup>2</sup>skicia 'younger brother (woman speaking)' (see  
 :3), s:<sup>1</sup>tkicia 'younger sister (man speaking)',  
 sitqetkicia 'husband's younger sister' (see yid-  
 yed-wud); in certain others suffixed -šiyah dis-  
 tinguishes the children of a man's younger brother  
 from those of his older brother (which are not dis-  
 tinguished from his own children): s:saq:qcia  
 'younger brother's son (man speaking)' (see -se-  
 qe'-c 'man's son, man's brother's son'), s:tsicia  
 'younger brother's daughter' (see ci·-ci·y 'man's  
 daughter', and cf. sici·šiyah 'my daughter', man  
 speaking, angrily L); in others -šiyah distinguish-  
 es a man's stepbrothers from his blood brothers: sta-  
 wuxcia 'older stepbrother' (see -qewəʔ 'man's ol-  
 der brother'), s:Daq:acia 'younger stepbrother'  
 (see -dase·ʔ 'younger sibling'); the glosses for  
 aqacia 'mother's older sister's son (man speaking)',  
 siqacia 'mother's older brother's son (man speak-

s: ʔəy:dkih (šiyah) 1/5 dL 569

ing)', and qacia or qácia 'mother's father's older brother (either sex speaking)', probably all forms with -ga'g 'mother's brother' and -šiyah, are almost certainly incorrect.

Kuša·dah (adverb) 'badly (etc.)': Kuša·dah dəxuh -ie(?) 'S is a bad person' ('S is a person badly, S lives evilly') 9.28, 49.9A, Kuša·dah əl-ta' 'S is a bad person, mean' ('S lives badly') 9.29, 51.-35A, L (see ta'), Kuša·dah ?əd-?-də-gwi'--gew 'S feels badly, ill' 47c.6L, 69.27A, Kuša·dah 0--?-gwi'--gew 'S feels (0) badly' L (see gwi'-gew), Kuša·dah -le 'S turns bad, spoils' 48.11L, Kuša·dah d-le 'S speaks evil, says something mean' 61.-14A, Rezanov Комарачаканъ 'Криво schief, krumm' Kuša·dah secečt 'you twisted it badly', Kuša·dah ie-gemi'--gen 'S tastes bad' (see gemi'-gen), Kuša·dah ie-čq 'S smells bad' (see čq'), Kuša·dah ?i'æx'eh 'you look pretty sickly to me' L, læx-la·x læxa? Kuša·dah ?u'leʒeçede'eh 'your pl. eyes look pretty bad' L, kič Kuša·dah xu'li·?ihih 'he always calls me bad names' L, Kuša·dah secečt 'it's ripped bad' L, Kuša·dah ?edj·ličihih 'he's making a snarling frowning face, he's a mean bossy person' L, sidæleħ miya· Kuša·dah sekičih 'he hurt my feelings' L, ?udeʒa·d Kuša·dah da· deħ 'we're having trouble because of what he said' L,

Kuša·dah ʔi·lih-tē'-tū', Kuša·dah ʔi·lih-le  
'S is angry, disgusted' (see tē'-tū', le), Ku-  
ša·dah 0-ʔi·lih-ti (-t-le) 'S angers, disgusts  
0' (see le), Kuša·dah yəʔ ʔedi·lihkaʔya·ʔih  
'he's thinking angry thoughts' L, Kuša·dah leh  
selesaʔya·k 'there's a bad winter' ('a year is  
passing badly') L.

Kuša·daʔ (postpositional phrase) 'bad luck' in Ku-  
ša·daʔ o-leh el-ʔya 'o has a bad year (year of  
bad luck)' (see ʔya<sup>1</sup>).

ʔedyaʔlešiyah (noun, unclassified) 'good-for-nothing,  
ne'er-do-well' L, 50.41A. ʔedyaʔ 'in intimate re-  
lation with self'; le- may represent l-thematic,  
or is perhaps a reduced form of -le 'S acts', but  
deverbalized, as otherwise de-classifier would be  
expected with the indirect reflexive; also called  
ʔedyaʔlih "for short" L.

ti·šiyah (noun, probably ti·l-class, with ti·l--  
class-mark thematized, not actualized ti·le-, and  
nasalization missing) 'seaweed species' (resembles  
ribbon seaweed (Porphyra) in shape, but much broader  
and very long, heavy, same color as gewaʔd (Fucus),  
must grow way out to sea, and some drift ashore; no  
good for people to eat, though deer eat it) L. (U/iva<sup>2</sup>)

šiyah (epithet) in šiyah lah lah 'here, here,  
here's something for you' (to dog) L; also dog's

U/iva<sup>2</sup>  
Lah-lah  
šiyah  
dog's

name L.

qeʔiʂah woman's name L (qeʔi 'woman', also woman's name).

qeʔiʂa·kih woman's name, Annie Johnson A (as above, with -kih 'diminutive').

ʔq·deʂsiya· woman's name LA (unable to analyze, ʔq·deʂ perhaps 'along here', and -siya·, probably variant of -siyah; see also ʔq·dexuʔ).

Sa'w (perhaps a loan from Tlingit du-Sá 'his head',  
 ʔad-Sáyi 'its head'; not felt in any case by L or M  
 to be of foreign origin)

-Sa'w (noun) 1. (1-class) 'head' (of human or any  
 creature): Rezanov Emare 'Foxosa Kopf' SiSa'w...,  
 Furuhjela Sishag 'head' siSa'w 'my head', ʔu=  
 Sa'wa'naʔdeʔabá 'from on her head' 23.41A, ʔiSa'w  
 'your head' M, laʔd ʔa'na' KuSa'w 'two heads' M,  
 KuSa'w ʔu'd ʔi'seʔahí 'a head is there' L, Galu-  
 shia Nelson táya'caw 'head (of fish, shrimps etc.)'  
 teʔyaʔSa'w 'fish-head' M, teʔyaʔSa'w sič li'ʔaʔ  
 'give me a fish-head!' L, Sa'w(?)a'ʔnuw 'big-head'  
 (pejorative epithet) LMA, 1b.6M; di'yəhSa'wʔelekih  
 (noun, unclassified) "native canary" (small song-  
 bird so named because of its call, "little stickle-  
 back-head") M (see under yə'); KusKeSa'w place-  
 name ('bluejay-head') Big Point at Hartney Bay L (see  
 KusK).

2. (unclassified) 'head of hair' (human): si-  
 Sa'w seítuxíjh 'he pulled my hair' L, ʔiʔSa'w se-  
 leítuxílinu' 'they're pulling each other's hair' L,  
 ʔiSa'w ʔiya' SiʔesSgí 'your hair is dirty' L, si-  
 Sa'w quʔxkus 'I'll wash my hair' LM, Sa'w quʔxde-  
 kus 'I'll wash my hair' (indirect reflexive) L (see  
 kus for further examples); KuSa'wluw 'big head of  
 hair' M, Sa'wa'ʔnuw 'big head of hair' (epithet) L

(1-class-mark perhaps incorrectly retained, or gloss perhaps incorrect).

Sid-Sed (Sid more frequent than Sed)

-d-Sid (noun, unclassified, d-thematic usually treated as constituent with stem rather than with other marks, or as de-classifier, combining with e.g. l-mark to form -;d- rather than -λ-, but in one instance treated as constituent with l-mark, -λ-) 'edge, rim, brim, flare, flange': Rezanov Урэмэре Ыккэ Саҕар - оуноа Öffnung der Baidare' ?udešid 'its edge' LM, 'its hatch (of baidarka)' L, Kudešid 'edge, rim (e.g. of glass)' LM, na'wdešid 'funnel' L (influenced by na'wsida'), Čiyahdešid (or -Sed) (with l-class-mark for possessor missing) 'brim of hat' L, Galushia Nelson óndšcited·tšá' tšiyát' or óndšcít·ed·tšá' tšiyát' 'cap with a peak' BSdL 550 ?u·dešid Ku·leh Čiyahd (with l-class-mark for possessor) L, ?u·dešidqa?x Ku·lšhšh 'she's wearing a labret' ('there is (something in) an interstice in her face' (with l-anatomical, nasalization missing) L; Ku?uš-λa·šed (d-thematic treated as constituent with l-class-mark for possessor) 'white part near heart of animal' ('thymus' or 'fatty tissue'?) A.

ya?x dešid Ku·leh (noun, probably unclassified) 'pitcher with spout' L. Status of dešid not clear, treated as verb with ya?x 'upward', ya?x dešid as noun, 'there is a flaring upward'.

- 8e·t (probably expanded, full or reduced form not attested)
- 0-8e·t 'S scrapes 0 (inner side of bark, to obtain sa?)': ?e8e·t 'scrape it, shave it (bark, for sa?):' L, ?ew qahdi ?e8e·t 'scrape that bark (for sa?):' (not \*sa? ?e8e·t) L, x8e·t 'I'm scraping it' L, qu?x8e·t 'I'll scrape it' L, kux8e·t 'I'm scraping something (bark, for sa?)' L; passive: ku8di8e·t 'something (bark) has been scraped (for sa?)' L.
- ?uda·x ku8e·t (noun, probably d-class) 'spoon for scraping sa? from inner bark' (made of tablespoon with handle removed, edge of bowl sharpened) L. Deverbalized passive of preceding with ku-indefinite 0 and o-x 'by means of o' with d-class-mark for 'it (spoon)'.
- qa? lexı?8e·t (noun) 'plant species' (grows in swamp, has long black stringy stem, thick as a finger, the inside part of which is good eating, perhaps 'marsh marigold, cowslip (*Caltha palustris*)' or, less likely, Pallas buttercup (*Ranunculus pallasii*), 'willow (*Salix alexensis*)', or 'yellow pond lily') L. Nominalization of these with qa? 'up out', lı-class-mark for 0 'berry-like', and -ı?-aspectival-modal prefix, probably in connection with expanded stem, cf. 8ı·da? lexı?ı8e·?; L does not definitely associate the stem with that of 0-8e·t above, but the inside of the stalk may be scraped for food.

## Saʔtʰ

-Saʔtʰ (not freely used, attested only in active perfective) 'S becomes soft, pliable, soggy': šešaʔtʰi 'it's gotten old and soft, soggy, its tone is gone' (uncertain) L.

lə-Saʔtʰ(-g) (with optional -g-repetitive partly thematized) 'S is, becomes pliable, flexible, soft, soggy, wrinkled, sags, droops': šišaʔtʰgi 'it bends easily' L, sešəšaʔtʰgi 'it's getting pliable, flexible' L, with yaʔ 'completely': yaʔ šišaʔtʰi 'it's become soft and flexible, it (e.g. stem of cut plant) has drooped' L, with l-anatomical: ʔi·šišaʔtʰgi 'his face has gotten wrinkled' L, yaʔ quʔə-la·ləxəšaʔtʰg 'your pl. faces will get wrinkled' LA, yaʔ ʔi·šišaʔtʰgih 'his face is wrinkled' (neuter perfective) L, yaʔ lešəšəšaʔtʰgi 'your face is getting wrinkled' L, with class-marks for S: yaʔ ləxəšəšəšaʔtʰgi (or -Saʔtʰi) 'it (orange) is getting old and soft' L, with yeʔ 'downward': yeʔ dešəšəšaʔtʰgi 'it (board) is sagging' L, yeʔ ʔedəšəšəšaʔtʰgi 'it (candle) is drooping' L. Transitive (causative): yaʔ sešəšaʔtʰg 'wrinkle it (cloth) up!' L. Susceptive neuter: Rezanov Тезатка Творца biegsam' probably to be read šišaʔtʰgy 'it's flexible, pliable (liable to lose its rigidity, bend)'.

## su·t'

O-i-su·t' basic meaning uncertain, perhaps 'S moves O in an arc by means of a pole, one end of which is fixed': with class-marks for O: di·i·su·t' 'lift, loosen, pry, free it (boat) with a stick, lever:' L (cf. ʒa·t'), da· qid quʔedi·i·su·t' 'we'll slide them (logs) downhill' L (end over end?, but cf. Hupa -Wuʔ, Navaho -ʒo·d, Minto -zud 'to slide'); reflexive: with yaʔʔ 'upward': yaʔʔ ʔedxi·i·su·tʔi 'I jumped up (with a pole, pole-vaulted)' L, with o-ta·s 'over, across o' and qaʔ 'up out': ʔew-ta·s ʔedxi·i·su·tʔih 'he pole-vaulted over it' L, repetitive: kuta·s qa·ʔ ʔedie·su·tʔih 'he's pole-vaulting (over something)' L.

*perhaps not used from 3 to 4*

SiX-SeX (SiX more frequent than SeX; expanded Si-X)

-SiX--SeX 'S wears thin (by abrasion)': SeSiX 'it's thin, it's worn thin' M, qa'SiX M, qa'SeX 'it'll get thin' A, seSiX<sup>h</sup> 'it's wearing thin' L; with l-anatomical 'head', 'S is, becomes bald': Rezanov  $\text{KaxexereraM}$  'Laxxexox kahlkõpfig 'j-SeSiX<sup>h</sup> L, laSeSiX<sup>h</sup> 'he's (become) bald' M, with la'q' 'thickness' and qa' 'up out': la'q' qa' li-SiX<sup>h</sup> 'he's bald' (neuter perfective) L. Transitive (causative) O-i-SiX(-g) (usually with -g-repetitive thematized) 'S files, grinds, saws, abrades O, S wears O thin': 'eSiX, 'eSiXg 'file it!' M, la'g<sup>M</sup> 'eSeXg 'saw wood!' S, qu'xSiXg 'I'll saw it' M, SiSiXg<sup>h</sup> 'I sawed it' M, seSiX<sup>h</sup> 'he's grinding, abrading it, wearing it thin' L, xSiXg 'I'm grinding it' M; passive: Rezanov  $\text{Kaxexerexex}$  = xoxe 'Laxoxo platt' SiSiXg<sup>M</sup> 'i-<sup>h</sup> 'it's like it's been ground (smooth)', SiSiXg<sup>h</sup> 'it's been sawed, smoothed' M, with ya' 'completely': ya' SiSiX<sup>h</sup>, ya' SiSiX<sup>h</sup> (former preferred) 'it's been sawed through' L.

O-SiX--SeX (meaning not clearly distinguished from that of O-i-SiX(-g), causative of preceding; less frequently attested, perhaps in error) 'S files, grinds, saws, abrades O, S wears O thin': SeSiX<sup>h</sup> 'you rubbed it' M, KuSi-X<sup>h</sup> 'he (cust) saws (something)' L.

ʔux kuʂəŋgɪ A, ʔux kuʂiŋgɪ (noun, unclassified)  
'saw' IM, ʔux kuʂiŋgɪluw 'big saw' IM. Deverbal-  
ized passive of O-(ɪ-)siŋ-g with -ɪ-instrumental,  
ku-indefinite O, 'by means of it something is sawed'.

lɪ-siŋ(-g) (with lɪ-class-mark 'berry-like, granular'  
thematized, meaning apparently not clearly distin-  
guished from that of -siŋ--səŋ) 'S wears thin (by  
abrasion)': ləʂəsəsiŋɪ 'it (garment) is wearing  
thin (e.g. at knees, elbows, seat)' L. Transitive  
(causative) (lɪ-mark may here refer to granular por-  
duct) 'S grinds, grates O': kuleʂəxiŋɪ 'I'm gra-  
ting something (e.g. cheese, potatoes)' L (lɪ-class-  
mark regular for 'potatoes', but not for 'cheese').

kuleʂəxiŋɪ (noun, probably lɪ-class) 'sawdust' IM.  
Nominalized transitive of preceding, -ɪ-suffix, per-  
haps gerundive, not easily explained with retention  
of ɪ-classifier.

O-ɣd-ɪ-siŋ-g (with ɣd-thematic 'sharp', -g-repetitive  
thematized) 'S files, grinds O sharp': 18.10L, 28.57,  
58A (may include d-class-mark for O 'knife'), kuleʂə-  
xiŋɪ 'I'm filing something (sharp)' L, ɣedi-ɪsiŋ  
'grind it sharp (knife)!' M, ʔiɪqəsɪ ɣedi-ɪsiŋ  
'sharpen it (double-bladed axe) at both <sup>ends of reciprocals!</sup> edges!' L.

O-ɣd-siŋ-g (as above, ɪ-classifier missing, as in O--  
siŋ--səŋ) 'S files, grinds O sharp': ʂi-ʔeyu- ɣeda-  
ləʂsiŋɪ 'pl. sharpen bear-spears!' (may include ɣd--  
class-mark for O) 19.22L.

8a?X (probably related to 8i?X-8j?X)

O-8a?X 'S sweeps O (removing O from something or removing something from O)': ?e8a?X 'sweep it!' M, with ?a?d 'out (of house)': ?a?d ?iqe?x8a?X 'I'll sweep you out' L, with lɣ-class-mark for O: ?a?d lə-ɣa·8a?X 'sweep them (berries) out!' L, repetitive and indirect reciprocal with ?iɬta? 'behind one another, together': ?iɬta? qu?leɣi·x8a?Xg 'I'll sweep them (berries) together' L; passive: 8di8a?Xɬ 'it (floor) has been swept' L.

8l-de-8a?X (with 8lthematic 'ground, floor') 'S sweeps the floor': 8ela·de8a?X (not 8a·de-) 'sweep the floor!' LM, 8ela·leɣde8a?X (not 8a·la-) 'pl. sweep the floor!' L, 8elede8a?Xɬh, 8a·de8a?Xɬh 'he's sweeping the floor' LM, 8a·xde8a?X 'I'm sweeping the floor' M, 8elix8di8a?Xɬ, 8a·x8di8a?Xɬ 'I swept the floor' LM, diK 8elax8de8a?Xɬe, diK 8a·x8de8a?Xɬe 'I didn't sweep the floor' LM, da· 8ela·di8a?X (not 8a·li-) 'let's sweep the floor' LM, 8elaxde8a·XK 'I (cust) sweep the floor' M, 8elede8a·XK 'you (cust) sweep the floor' L, 8ela·de8a·XK '(cust) sweep the floor!' L, 8ela·di8a·XK 'you should (cust) sweep the floor' M, with lahɣ 'forward': lahɣ 8ele8ede-8a?X 'sweep the floor from back to front (toward the door)!' M, with yeɣ-progressive: yeɣ 8elede8a?Xɬɬh 'he's going along sweeping the floor' M, ɣa·? yeɣ

calidiša<sup>o</sup>χ 'he's finished going along sweeping  
the floor' M.

ʔux ešeša<sup>o</sup>χi (noun) 'broom' L. Deverbalization  
of preceding with -i-instrumental, 'by means of it  
the floor is swept'.

šii<sup>1</sup> (expanded še·i)

gl-šii-g (with -g-repetitive thematized, attested only with gl-class-mark for S) 'S (water) splashes, makes splashing noise': giyah gešiiḡ 'water is splashing, splashing, sloshing, swashing, making such a sound (as with the paddling of a canoe)' L.

gl-še-šii-g (as above, meaning not clearly distinguished from that of preceding) 'S (water) splashes, makes splashing noise': nominalized as o of o-daḥd 'sound of o': giyah gʷ·šešiiḡdaḥd ʔuʔdiṭah 'sound of splashing water is heard' L.

še-šii(-g) (usually with -g-repetitive, partly thematized) with qaʔ 'up out', 'S (bunch of small fish, e.g. herring, trout) swarm at surface of water (as around bait), making splashing sound': ʔu·d qaʔ ʔiḡiḡiḡi 'they (a bunch of fish, e.g. herring, trout) are swarming busily at surface, making a splashing sound' (neuter perfective) L, qaʔ ʔəše·iḡ 'they (bunch of small fish) (cust) swarm at surface (around bait)' L, qaʔ·ē šiiḡ (repetitive not thematized) 'they (small fish) are swarming at surface, making splashing sound' L, qaʔ šiiḡiḡi 'they (small fish) swarmed at surface (around bait)' L.

SiS (L never heard SeS; expanded Si·S)

O-SiS 'S sips, drinks O (tea or coffee), S has tea':  
 6l.6l, 70A (with ku-indefinite S or O), MuxSiS  
 'I'm sipping something, having tea' M, qu?xSiS  
 'I'll drink it (coffee, tea)' M, ?eSiS 'drink it!'  
 MA, 'sip tea!' S, ?axSi·SK L, xSi·SK (L prefers  
 latter) 'I (cust) sip it' LA, ce·y da· Si·SK  
 'we (cust) drink tea' M, with yaç-progressive: yaç  
 KudeSiSxih 'he's going about (from house to house)  
 having tea' M.

O-gl-SiS (with gl-class-mark for O thematized) 'S  
 sips, drinks O (tea or coffee) from saucer': geli·  
 SiS, gala·SiS (former preferred) 'sip it (tea)  
 from saucer!' L.

O-t-SiS 'S sips, drinks O (tea or coffee), finishing  
 it': SeSiSik 'you drank it (tea, coffee) all up'  
 M; usually with ya?d 'empty': ?al ce·y siça?  
 ya?d qu?xiSiS 'I'll drink this tea of mine down'  
 6l.68A, ya?d SeSiSik (not SeSiSik) 'you drank  
 it up' L, ya?d qu?xiSiS 'I'll drink it up' L;  
 passive: ya?d SiSiSik, ya?d SiSiSik 'it's been  
 drunk up' L, ya?d qu?deSiS (not -ke-) 'it'll  
 get drunk up' L.

Sig (authenticity doubtful)

Sig (noun) 'long moss in water' A (A apparently certain, but unknown to M, and L definitely never heard; A later, 7 April 1967 with Constance Naish, no longer recognized the form).

Se'g-Sug (reduced form Sug implying full Se'g<sup>M</sup>)

-Se'g 'S<sup>is</sup> becomes bent, crooked': seSe'g<sup>h</sup> 'it's getting crooked' M, with d-class-mark for S: di'-Se'g<sup>h</sup> 'it (arrow) is crooked' (neuter perfective) L; indirect reflexive: ʕa' seSeSe'g<sup>h</sup> dəʔuʔ 'a person who is becoming stooped (bent over toward himself, with age, not voluntarily)' L, ʕa'q<sup>h</sup> seSe'g<sup>h</sup> 'he's leaning backwards' M (probably incorrect, da-classifier also missing). Transitive (causative): seSe'g 'bend it!' LM, 'bend it over!, make it into a hook!' L, qu'xiSe'g 'I'll bend it' M, da' qa'xiSe'g 'we'll bend it' M, qu'lexiSe'g 'you pl. will bend it' M, SiSe'g<sup>h</sup> 'I bent it' M, sexiSe'g<sup>h</sup> 'I'm bending it' M, si'xiSe'g<sup>h</sup> 'you're bending it' M, selexiSe'g<sup>h</sup> 'you pl. are bending it' M, qesexiSe'g<sup>h</sup> 'they're bending it, then, it's bending them' M, ʔaw seSe'g<sup>h</sup> ʔuʔ dəliʔiʔ 'I told him to bend it' L, with yʔ'ʔ-ʕ 'downward': yʔ'ʕ ʔi'liSe'g 'let it bend you over' L, yʔ'ʕ x<sup>h</sup>liSe'g 'let it bend me over' L; passive, with d-class-mark for O: diSiSe'g<sup>h</sup>, diʕiSe'g<sup>h</sup> 'it (arrow) has been bent (by someone)' L, ʔewluʔ ʔi'-ʔah ʔeʕ ʔʔ'd ʔidiSe'g<sup>h</sup> 'that which sticks through it has ben bent through here (of tongue-clasp through tab with hole)' L.

O-Se'g (stem expanded, ʔ-classifier lacking, perhaps

in error) 'S bends O in several places': *šiše'gɨ*  
'I bent it in lots of places' L.

*da-še'g* (treated as non-passive, perhaps in error,  
attested from M only) 'S is, becomes bent over,  
stooped': *xšdiše'gɨ* 'I'm bent over' M, *ʔi· šdiš*  
'you are bent over' M, *leɣšdiše'gɨ* 'you pl. are  
bent over' M, *da· šdiše'gɨ* 'we're bent over' M.

*deceiešugɨ* (noun, probably d-class) 'curved knife  
for carving wood' LMAS. Only attestation of reduced  
stem; nominalized inceptive perfective with d-class=  
mark for S 'knife'.

šug (perhaps loan from Tlingit, present at Yakutat but apparently not in all Tlingit dialects: Yakutat šuk ó šok 'Presas' (Malaspina 1791), Союку 'Клубника' (Davydov 1802-3), šeg<sup>w</sup> (Sampson Harry), šig<sup>w</sup> 12.12fnG, Juneau šeg<sup>w</sup> (Amos Wallace), Sitka máx 'Земляника года' (Veniaminov 1846))

šug (noun, lɣ-class) 'strawberries' LMAS, šugləxə-  
 šu? 'lots of strawberries' LM, šug ?p'd ləxəse-  
 ?ahì 'a strawberry (intact) is here' L, šug ?p'd  
 ləxəsetahì 'a strawberry (split) is here' L; de-  
 classified, 'strawberry plant' or 'strawberry (no  
 longer in berry form)': 12.12fnG, 37b.39, 51.74,  
 74A, šug?əit'ahì 'strawberry-leaf, -leaves' (as  
 magic miniature weapon) 37b.39A, (in heavenly gar-  
 den) 51.73A, šugla'ʔəhdg 'strawberries pressed  
 together into a brick and dried for winter (soaked  
 to eat)' L.

šug ìle'šìh woman's name, wife of Junior Nelson  
 Harry at Yakutat (not an Eyak woman) A (unknown to  
 L) 'she's picking strawberries'.

## se·k

-se·k (noun, d-class or unclassified) 'chest, thorax': Rezanov Камека 'Грудь Brust' qa·se·k 'our chests, human thorax', Galushia Nelson есчк·к 'chest' BSdL 542 Куше·к, Сисе·к 'my chest' LM, ?ise·k 'your chest' S, Rezanov Камекатехъ Sky = трешня' (not in Radlov, here evidently 'thoracic cavity') qa·se·kedi·?q 'our chest-cavities, human thoracic cavity', sise·kedi·?q yəʒ kəkəhdʒ 'I have a shooting pain all around inside my chest' L, ?ise·kqəč di·kuʔ 'warm (against) your chest (with a hot-water-bottle)!' L, Куше·клуw 'big chest' LM.

SeʔK

i-SeʔK 'S, weeping, sobs, chokes, gasps for breath':

iSeʔKih 'he's sobbing, gasping for breath while  
 crying' L, ʔideki-ʔ (or ʔidededeʔa-t) qe-dah  
 iSeʔK 'he (baby) is crying (or bawling) so hard  
 he's simply gasping' L.

Sux (expanded ʒe·x)

d-ʒe-Sux (attested only with unexplained d-thematic)

'S puts, keeps legs extended and parallel': dixʒi-Suxi 'I straightened my legs out' L, doʒe·Kʒh 'he (cust) straightens his legs out' L, with lu· 'over, ca. 180° turn': lu· dixʒiSuxi 'I turned over (in bed) by swinging one leg over the other, shifting weight' L. Transitive (causative): ʔi-qeʔdi·xiSux 'I'll straighten, stretch your legs out' L.

## Sahc

Sahc (noun, gl-class or unclassified) 'slime' LMAS  
 (mainly that on fish, but also elsewhere M), also  
 'slaver (as on dog's or horse's mouth), bile' M,  
 21b.39 (unclassified), 65.42A (gl-class), Sahc=  
 ?a?luw 'big gob of slime' LM, ku?u? Sahc 'lots  
 of slime' M, ?ew Sahc ?ewa? ?uxq? ye? ?i-i=  
 sidwahd 'to make their slime run down off them  
 (fish)' M, ?ew Sahc ?ewa? ?uxq? ye? kqexg  
 'their slime is sliding (running) down off them  
 (fish)' L, Sahc yileh 'it's slimy' L.

Si'q (related forms present in Tlingit, sdx, and widely in Alaskan Athapaskan, e.g. Minto srux, but apparently only sporadically attested elsewhere, e.g. Carrier soh)

Si'q (noun, unclassified) 'robin' LMA, 10.203, 206A, 34.27L.

Si'qya'd place-name, Sheep Bay in Prince William Sound M (uncertain, probably influenced by English 'sheep').

## šəx

de-šəx-g (with -g-repetitive thematized) 'S is, becomes frosted': sdišəxg̃ 'it's frosted' M, eede-šəxg̃ 'it's getting frosted' L, quʔdešəxg̃ (-i--suffix analogically retained from noun) 'it'll frost up' M, deše-x̃ ( -g-repetitive dropped) 'it (cust) frosts up' M, with class-marks for S: ʌa·sdišəxg̃ 'it (rock) is frosted' L, dišdišəxg̃ 'it (ice) has frost on it' L.

əl-de-šəx-g (as above, with əl-thematic 'ground') 'ground is, becomes frosted': əlišdišəxg̃, əp·-sdišəxg̃ 'ground got frosty' LM, quʔəp·dešəxg̃ 'there'll be frost on the ground' L.

šəxg̃ (noun, unclassified, with -g-repetitive thematized and -i-gerundive?) 'frost, hoarfrost, rime' LM, šəxg̃ʔaʔluw 'big frost' L, šəxg̃ʔetuʔ 'lots of frost' M.

## Sehɣ

O-i-Sehɣ 'S splits O (small land animal, killed) open  
 (to dry)': ʔaɪsehɣ 'split it (porcupine, rabbit)  
 open to dry!' L, siɪsehɣ 'I laid it open, split  
 it in half (to dry)' L; with l-anatomical: deɪ·  
 ʔiqeʔli·xisehɣ 'I'm going to split your head open  
 already!' (threat) L.

Sida\* (loan from Tlingit -Sida, occurring only in  
na-wSida\*, and probably associated by informants with  
Eyak sid-šed)

Sił-Sel (Sel from S only, perhaps non-assimilated

Tlingit form; loan from Tlingit Sił 'spoon')

Sił-Sel (noun, d-class) 'spoon': Sel S, Rezanov

Esrał 'Löffel', Galushia Nelson citk, Old

Man Dude citk 'spoon' BSdL 546 Sił 'spoon'

LMA (same as, but much preferred to lu'aga L),

Sił ʔu·d desetahk (or -ʔahk) 'a spoon is

there' L, Siłdaʔluw 'big spoon' LM, Old Man Dude

Dana citk 'silver spoon ("money spoon")' BSdL

546 da·na·Sił (see da·na· l.), Galushia Nel-

son s<sup>h</sup>u·d<sup>h</sup>ilé' citk (or s<sup>h</sup>u·n<sup>h</sup>d<sup>h</sup>ilé' citk) 'horn

spoon' BSdL 546 ky·delehSił, D<sup>h</sup>eki<sup>h</sup> citk 'wooden

spoon' BSdL 547 dakihSił.

Sedinge (loan from Chugach Eskimo setinkaq 'pig',  
from Russian свинья, not used by Yakutat Tlingit,  
Sampson Harry)

Sedinge (noun, unclassified) 'pig' L, Sedin-  
geqdeq 'bacon' ('pig-fat') L.

Sewe·na·-Sewe·nah (Sewe·nah less frequent, perhaps incorrect; loan from Tlingit (Naish-Story) Šayéna, (Sampson Harry, S) Šayéna 'anchor')

Sewe·na·-Sewe·nah (noun, unclassified) 'anchor':

Sewe·nah L, Sewe·na· 'anchor' LMA, Sewe·na·-  
 luw 'big anchor' LM, Sewe·na·iḡahd̥, Sewe·na·č  
 qí·gə́la·ʔah 'anchor-chain' L.

Seles (loan from Chugach Eskimo salaq 'butterclam',  
not used by Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)

Seles (noun, unclassified) 'clam (generic), butter-  
clam' LM, 3.12M, 10.230, 11.63A, Seleskih 'little  
clams' M, Selesluw 'big clams' L, Seles iSi=  
yihinu 'they're digging clams' L, Selesdaxph  
'butter-clam person' 10.246A, Selesdaxphyu 'but-  
ter-clam people' 10.231A, Seleswelahyu 'butter-  
clam people' 11.62, 62A.

Suki·ʔed (so read from only attestation in BSdL, probably to be identified as loan from Tlingit Sukiʔáá 'dance hat with ermine tails')

Suki·ʔed (noun) 'wand'(?): attested only from Galushia Nelson cukiñt 'wand' BSdL 552.

Sa·Se·n (loan ultimately from Russian сажень 'sagene', unit of linear measure of about seven feet, direct source of Eyak loan probably through intermediate Tlingit, apparently unknown to modern Yakutat Tlingit informants)

Sa·Se·n (noun, unclassified) 'cordwood' LMA,

Sa·Se·ntu? 'lots of cordwood' M, Sa·Se·n qid

qa? di·?yahk 'cordwood is piled up' M, Sa·Se·n

qi? deahsda·d 'at place where cordwood is chopped' M.

Sa·yəleə (loan from Chugach Eskimo sasRalaq 'sugar'  
 from Russian сахар, not used by Yakutat Tlingit, S,  
 Sampson Harry)

Sa·yəleə (noun, unclassified) 'sugar' LMAS, 51.31,  
 31A, Sa·yəleə qa·yəə? ʔi·sdiʔah̄ 'we're out of  
 sugar' L, Sa·yəleə siyəə? leədeʔa·h̄ 'I'm run-  
 ning out of sugar' L, ʔew Sa·yəleə quʔli·xʔah  
 'I'll use up all the sugar' L, Sa·yəleəluʔqa·  
 əa·h̄ 'he's going to get sugar' L, Sa·yəleətuʔ  
 'lots of sugar' LM.

Sa·yəleəgaʔ leyəgemih (noun, l̄x-class) 'candy'  
 ('it (l̄x-class) tastes like sugar') L.

Sdim (loan from Tlingit (Sampson Harry) <sup>W. Schmitt</sup> Sdin 'steel',  
 from English, perhaps directly, or through Chinook Jar-  
 gon)

Sdi'n (noun, unclassified) 'iron, a hard metal' M  
 ('steel?'), 'bullets?, something hard like iron'  
 L, Sdi'n'et'u? 'lots of steel' LM.

Sa-lehs (loan from Chugach Eskimo saaliq 'shawl', from Russian мах, not used by Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)

Sa-lehs (noun, unclassified) 'shawl' L, Sa-lehs-luw 'big shawl' LM.

Su·wu· (loan from Tlingit Suwú 'part of', occurring  
only in loans da·na·Su·wu·, gudSu·wu·)

Sdu·lihs (loan from Chugach Eskimo *stuuluq* 'table',  
from Russian *стол*, not used by Yakutat Tlingit, Samp-  
son Harry)

Sdu·lihs (noun, d-class) 'table' LM, 61.43, 65.12,  
20A, frequently used in eliciting constructions  
with d-class-marks: Sdu·lihs ʔu·d *daʔetah̄*  
(or *-ʔah̄*) 'a table is there' L, ʔeleʔgah̄  
ʔew Sdu·lihs *daʔkic̄q̄h* 'I hope that table is  
strong' L, ʔew Sdu·lihs *siʔ di·taʔ* (or *-ʔaʔ*)  
'bring me that table!' L, ʔew Sdu·lihs *di·-*  
*s̄ih̄ȳg* 'scrape the table!' L, ʔew Sdu·lihs *di·-*  
*k̄u·d* 'wipe the table!' L, Sdu·lihs *ʔuʔ daʔteh*  
'make a table!' L, ʔew Sdu·lihs *ʔa·sāʔeʔ* 'hide  
that table!' L, *deʔk̄ da·* Sdu·lihs *daʔki·t̄ȳah*  
'how many tables do you have?' L, Sdu·lihedaʔluw  
'big table' L, Sdu·lihede<sup>ku</sup>g, Sdu·lihede<sup>ki</sup>h  
'little table' L, Sdu·lihede<sup>gu</sup>· 'good table' L,  
Sdu·liheda<sup>si</sup>yah 'no-good table' L, Sdu·lihs=  
deʔa·w 'long table' L, *ya·dedik̄* Sdu·lihs,  
Sdu·lihede<sup>dik̄</sup> 'short table' L, Sdu·lihs *yaʔ*  
*sāʔa·ʔa·w* 'table is high' L, Sdu·lihs *yaʔ*  
*sāʔa·dik̄* 'table is low' L, Sdu·lihede<sup>ci</sup>ʔg 'nar-  
row table' L, Sdu·lihede<sup>wə</sup>ʔ 'wide table' L,  
Sdu·lihs *laʔq̄ de<sup>ci</sup>ʔg* 'table is (of) thin  
(wood)' L, Sdu·lihs *laʔq̄ de<sup>ca</sup>h̄* 'table is

'table is (of) thick (wood)' L, sdu-lihsde-guhdgkih 'tiny, miniature table' L, [de]se-  
legemek sdu-lihsda?luw 'big round table' L,  
deseqe?i sdu-lihs 'oval table' L, sdu-lihs-  
deyezd 'under the table' L, ?ew sdu-lihsda-q  
?i-tah? da-xedi?a?g ?i? qu?xtah 'I'll give  
that matchbook that's on the table' L, sdu-lih-  
sde?ahd qid dis?iqah?i 'it fell from the table'  
L, sdu-lihsda-qe?ahd qid dis?iqah?i 'it fell  
from the table-top' L, sdu-lihsdelu? qa-? sex-  
kuwah?i 'I'm pounding a nail into (through) the  
table' L, sdu-lihsde?a-gd 'mid-table' M; sdu-  
lihsda-q ya-nahd tah 'tablecloth' ('it lies on  
a table (covering some surface)') L.

Sgu·lihdeə (loan from Chugach Eskimo skuulutaq 'frying pan, skillet', from Russian сковородка, not used by Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)

Sgu·lihdeə (noun, d-class) 'frying-pan, skillet'  
 LM, Sgu·lihdeə ʔu·d deətəh̄ (not -ʔah̄) 'a  
 frying-pan is there' L, Sgu·lihdeədaʔluw 'big  
 skillet' LM.

šgu·na·-šgu·na· (šgu·na· M and Galushia Nelson only,  
 perhaps incorrect; loan from English 'schooner' or per-  
 haps Russian ШУНА , perhaps through Tlingit or Chugach  
 Eskimo, for initial cf. šdin) *Tlingit šgu·na· M. Scholoff*

šgu·na· (noun, d-class) LM, šgu·na· (L rejects  
 form) 'schooner' M, 59.10 Galushia Nelson, šgu·na·  
 ?u·d dəse?ah̄ 'a schooner is there' L, šgu·na·=  
 da?luw 'big schooner' M.

*non verbalized*

3 gahc

gih-gi (perhaps related to gu· and/or to g<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup>-ga<sup>?</sup>)

-gih (enclitic, suffixed to independent personal pronouns only) 'also, too': xu·gih 'me too' 1M, 46.18M, xu·gihš, xu·gihšdeg 'me too?' L, diKš xu·gih 'not me too?, (can't) I too?' L, ?i·gih 'you too' L, də?i·gih ?a?tuħjh '(you too) make fun at him (back)!' L, lexī·gih 'you pl. too' L; L rejects proposed \*?əħgih 'he too', see below.

-gi- (enclitic, as above, with other enclitics, -deg- 'also', and/or -š-interrogative suffixed thereto) 'also, too': xu·gidig 21b.74A, xu·gi·deg 'me too' MS (same as xu·gih, xu·deg M), dəxu·gidug 'me too' L, xu·gidug diK 'me neither' ('I too not') L, xu·gidegš 'me too?' L, ?i·gidig 72.19L, ?i·gideg 55.27L, də?i·gideg 'you too' 16.25M, ?i·gišuh 41.7L, ?i·gisdug, ?i·gidugš 'you too?' L, lexī·gidug L, lexī·gidig 'you pl. too' 53.34L, ?a·gidug (not \*?əħgidug) L, 21a.19, 48.9L, ?a·gidig 'he too, she too' 10.161, 20.90, 23.85, 151, 24.43, 49.= 153, 61.116, 119A.

g<sup>w</sup>a'-ga<sup>1</sup>

ʔi-g<sup>w</sup>a'-ga<sup>1</sup> (with indeterminate O thematized, treated as intransitive) 'S dances': active imperative: ʔi-gah M, ʔi-gah 'dance!' L, ʔi-loxgah 'pl. dance!' L, inceptive imperative: ʔisegaʔ 'dance!' L, active imperfective: ʔixg<sup>w</sup>ah S, ʔixgah 'I'm dancing' LM, 'I was dancing' L, diK ʔixgahs 'I'm not dancing' L, ʔudexah ʔixgihinu 'they're making me dance' ('I'm dancing at their command') L, ʔowa ʔixgihih 'I'm dancing for her (spectator)' L, ʔi-gah 'you're dancing' M, ʔi-gahs 'are you dancing?' L, ʔi-gahx kudexiʔaʔ 'I hear that you're dancing' L, ʔig<sup>w</sup>ihih S, ʔigihih 'he's dancing' LMA, ku-gokaʔ ʔigihih 'he's dancing with an (eagle-)tail' L, ʔiloxgahs 'are you pl. dancing?' L, ʔigihinu 'they're dancing' MA, 55.3L, ʔuqaʔy yihinu ʔowa ʔiqegihinu 'some of them are dancing' L, kuʔgah 'someone, some people are dancing' L, diK kuʔgahs 'no one is dancing' L, ʔowa kuʔgihinu 'some of them are dancing' L, inceptive imperfective: ʔiqeʔxg<sup>w</sup>ah SG, ʔiqeʔxgah 'I'll dance' LM, 'I was going to dance' L, ʔig ʔiqeʔxgah 'I was just about to dance' L, diK ʔiqeʔxgahs 'I won't dance' L, yaʔ-xu ʔiqeʔyigah 'don't dance' M, ʔiqeʔyigahs 'will you dance?' L, ʔiqeʔg<sup>w</sup>ihih S, ʔiqeʔgihih 'he'll dance' LM, ʔiqeʔloxgahs 'will you pl. dance?' L,

Rezanov Ижеокуинну Чалона, игрушка Tanz, Festge-  
 lage' ?iqe?g<sup>w</sup>ihinu' 'they'll dance, ku?qe?gah  
 'someone, some people will dance' LM, ?ida? ku?-  
 qe?gah 'someone will dance over to you' M, with  
 qe? 'again, some more' (de-classifier showing treat-  
 ment of theme as intransitive): qe? ku?qe?degah M,  
 gu'dag qe? ku?qe?degah 'someone will dance again' L,  
 active perfective: ?isiga?h 'I danced' L, diK  
 ?ixsga?h 'I didn't dance' L, ?isega?hS 'did you  
 dance?' L, diKS ?isga?h 'didn't you dance?' L, ?i-  
 sega?h kudexiCa.q 'I hear you danced' L, sidM? ?i-  
 sega?hjh 'he danced over to me' LM, da' ?isega?h  
 'we danced' L, ?ilexsga?h 'you pl. danced' L, ?i-  
 lexsga?hS 'did you pl. dance?' L, diKS ?ilexsga?h  
 'didn't you pl. dance?' L, ?isega?hinu', ?iqesega?h-  
 inu' 'they danced' L, ku?sega?h 'someone, some peo-  
 ple danced' L, inceptive perfective: siC' ?isega?hjh  
 'he's dancing over to me' L, active optative: ?i'xi-  
 gah 'let me dance' L, ?iX' ?i'xigah 'let me dance  
 with you' L, Rezanov Мамкоа 'Мамок танзен (Imperat.)'  
 perhaps to be read ?i'lig<sup>w</sup>ah, ?i'ligah 'you may  
 dance' L, de?u'd ?i'gah 'alright you may dance' L,  
 da' ?i'ligah 'let's dance' L, ?i'lexigah 'you pl.  
 may dance' L, de?u'd ?i'gihinu', de?u'd ?i'ligih-  
 inu' 'alright let them dance' L, de?u'dSgahx ku?-  
 ligah (not ka-li-) 'I hope someone dances' L, ac-

2.1. 'ixgahx 'i.e. 'I don't want to dance' L  
(a. preceding)

tive conditional: ?i'xgah da'x, ?i'xgah da'x  
'just as I was getting started dancing' L, incep-  
tive conditional: ?isaxgah da'x ?axga'K 'if, when  
I dance I (cust) get tired' L, active subjunctive:  
?i'xgahx ?ixleh (also ?i'xigahx, but prefixes  
probably optative) 'I want to dance' L, ?i'xgahx  
si'K delihih 'he told me to dance' L, ?ulexaxa'c  
?i'ligahx 'you should dance for him (in his presence,  
view)' (hortatory) L, inceptive subjunctive: ?isax-  
gahx si'K delihih 'he told me to dance' L, custo-  
mary: ?ixga'K 'I (cust) dance' M, di'K ?ixga'Ka  
'I (cust) never dance' L, da' ?iga'K 'we (cust)  
dance' M, deqa'yu' qi' Ku'ga'K 'place where one  
(cust) dances sometimes' L, with yax-progressive:  
yax ?idega'x, yax ?idega'xih (or -gahxih, stem-  
form analogical) 'he's dancing around' M, yax ?i-  
dega'xinu' 'they're dancing around' L, yax ?i-  
dega'x 'you're dancing around' L, yax xu' ?ixde-  
ga'x 'I'm dancing around' L, yax ?ixdega'x (or  
-gahx, analogical) 'I'm dancing around' L, yax  
Ku'dega'x 'someone's dancing around' L, qe'yax  
?idega'xih 'he's dancing around again' L, silah  
yax ?idega'xih 'he's dancing (around) around me' L,  
yax ?i'dega' (stem-form uncertain) 'dance around:'  
M, da' yax ?iqe'degah 'we'll dance around' M,  
da' yax ?idiga'x 'we danced around' M. Transi-

tive (causative, indeterminate O dropped): ?eɪgah  
'make it dance:' M, 'make him dance:' L, xu:ɪgah  
'make me dance:' L, ?owa ?eɪgihih 'make him  
dance for her' L.

Kp·daʔɕ ?i-g<sup>w</sup>a'--ga' (as above, with ku-l-daʔ-ɕ  
'(continuous movement) towards the front of ku-in-  
definite o's head') 'S crosses self, makes sign of  
the cross, prays' (theme ?i-g<sup>w</sup>a'--ga' perhaps ear-  
lier meaning 'ceremonial hand movement' rather than  
dance in the modern sense, with emphasis on foot  
movement): Kp·daʔɕ ?i·leɪgah 'pl. cross your-  
selves!' 51.9A, Kp·daʔɕ ?isegaʔ M, Kp·daʔɕ ?i·  
gah 'cross yourself:' IM, Kp·daʔɕ ?ixgah 'I'm  
crossing myself' L, Kp·daʔɕ ?igihih 'he's cross-  
ing himself' IM, Kp·daʔɕ ?iqeʔxgah 'I'll cross  
myself' IM, Rezanov Угъаытуконтатъ-асукотъъ Те =  
икъаы hierathen' ?uʔehdɣ Kp·daʔɕ ?iseg<sup>w</sup>aʔɪ 'he  
crossed himself (prayed in church) with his wife',  
Kp·daʔɕ ?isegaʔɪih 'he crossed himself' L, Kp·  
daʔɕ dɪ· ?iga·k 'we (cust) cross ourselves' 51·  
10A, Kp·daʔɕ ?igah da·ɣ 'as we crossed ourselves'  
51.10A.

?i-g<sup>w</sup>ah--gah (perhaps gerundive, but probably incor-  
rect, better g<sup>w</sup>ah-gah below) 'dancing, dance':  
Furuhjelm Ikva 'dance' ?i...g<sup>w</sup>ah (exact form not  
identifiable), ?igah xuseɪgaʔɪ 'I'm getting tired

of dancing' ('dancing is tiring me') L.

g<sup>w</sup>ah-gah (noun, unclassified, perhaps gerundive)  
'dance, dancing': Rezanov Koa Тлэоара танзен'  
g<sup>w</sup>ah, Galushia Nelson sa' 'dance', ed'itē·lē  
or ed'itēlē 'dancing' BSDL 552 gah 'idēleh 'a  
dance is taking place', gah 'iqe'di·leh 'a dance  
will take place' LA, Kuzu· gah xəX 'ideselē  
'there was a nice dance last night' L, gah 'iqe'  
di·iḡhinu· 'they'll put on, hold, have a dance' L,  
gah xə' qə'yah 'there'll be a dance' ('a dance  
will be done, accomplished') M, gah sid 'ekde'g  
'teach me to dance!' L, gah sid lde'gḡh 'he's  
teaching me to dance' L, diKs deqa·yu· gah' yəx  
'ada'ya·sKs 'don't you sometimes (cust) get the  
urge to dance?' L, gahyəq yəx sa'k 'he's doing  
a fancy dance' ('he going down in a dance') L.

Ky·da'č g<sup>w</sup>ah-gah (noun, unclassified, perhaps gerun-  
dive) '(act of) crossing oneself, sign of the cross,  
prayer': Rezanov Угачькоктеле 'Образъ, крестъ  
Heiligenbild, Kreuz' [K]y·da'č g<sup>w</sup>ah 'idēleh 'pray-  
er, crossing oneself is taking place', Угетакодач-  
коктеле 'Церковь Kirche' 'udəta·xḡ Ky·da'č g<sup>w</sup>ah  
'idēleh 'in it (building) prayer, crossing oneself  
takes place'; Ky·da'č gahya' əq·dičlčgḡyequhyu·  
'little prayer-birds' ('swallows', same as 'əmi·n-  
ya' əq·dičlčgḡyequhyu·) 61.21A; Ky·da'č gahyah  
'church' ('prayer-house') LM, 70.10, 11A.

Rezanov Ky·da'č ... [K]y·da'č g<sup>w</sup>ah,  
[K]y·da'č g<sup>w</sup>ah, [K]y·da'č g<sup>w</sup>ah, Fest

g<sup>w</sup>a'-ga'-2 (even LM often g<sup>w</sup>a')

l-de-g<sup>w</sup>a'-ga' (attested only with postpositional phrases referring to absention from area, without which the original meaning is seen to be clearly related to that of -l-g<sup>w</sup>ah 'corpse' below, '(very irritating) S dies away, ceases irritating presence'; verbal themes with g<sup>w</sup>a'-ga'-2 are considered to be very strong and contemptuous language, and the informants are somewhat reluctant to respond freely with them in elicitation): ?u-dikah la-deg<sup>w</sup>a? 'get the hell away from there!, beat it!' L, ?a-dekah la-deg<sup>w</sup>a? (or -g<sup>w</sup>ah, -ga?, -gah) 'clear out of here' L, ?iyah ya'qa? lecedega? 'oh go away!, oh beat it!' L, ?a-dekah qu?ledeg<sup>w</sup>ah, ?a-dekah qu?i-deg<sup>w</sup>ah 'you'll clear out of here' L.

ya? dl-de-g<sup>w</sup>a'-ga' (cf. preceding, with additional d-thematic 'oral, noise' and ya? 'completely') 'S shuts up' (very strong and contemptuous): ya? la-degah L, ya? la-dega? L, ya? la-deg<sup>w</sup>ah 'shut up!' LMASG (also known even to some non-Eyak speaking Yakutat Tlingits; L prefers stems ending in -h to those ending in -? for the active optative in this particular theme; L also claims personally to prefer the forms with non-labialized eg-, though she does not follow this in practise; M also adds that her mother, who "talked pretty deep," seemed "real mad"

when she said -g<sup>W</sup>ah, and would talk that way to  
 M's father, but would say, apparently more gently,  
 -gah to M), ya<sup>?</sup> la<sup>?</sup>sedeg<sup>W</sup>a<sup>?</sup> 'shut up!' L, ya<sup>?</sup>  
 qu<sup>?</sup>la<sup>?</sup>degih<sup>h</sup> 'he'll shut up' L, di<sup>?</sup> ya<sup>?</sup> qu<sup>?</sup>-  
 la<sup>?</sup>xdegah<sup>?</sup> (not -ga<sup>?</sup>) 'I won't shut up' L, ya<sup>?</sup>  
 la<sup>?</sup>sdig<sup>W</sup>a<sup>?</sup>i<sup>h</sup>, ya<sup>?</sup> la<sup>?</sup>sdiga<sup>?</sup>i<sup>h</sup> 'he shut up' L,  
 ya<sup>?</sup> la<sup>?</sup>sedega<sup>?</sup>i<sup>h</sup> 'he's shutting up' L, ya<sup>?</sup> la<sup>?</sup>-  
 digih<sup>h</sup> 'let him shut up' L. Transitive (causa-  
 tive): ya<sup>?</sup> 'iqe<sup>?</sup>li<sup>?</sup>xig<sup>W</sup>ah 'I'll make you shut  
 up' L, ya<sup>?</sup> qu<sup>?</sup>li<sup>?</sup>xig<sup>W</sup>ih<sup>h</sup> 'I'll make him shut  
 up' L, ya<sup>?</sup> la<sup>?</sup>siig<sup>W</sup>a<sup>?</sup>i 'I made him shut up' L.  
 -l-g<sup>W</sup>ah--gah (noun, unclassified) 'corpse' (perhaps  
 contemptuous): Kulegah LM, Kuleg<sup>W</sup>ah 'corpse'  
 LMS, Galushia Nelson e<sup>?</sup>le<sup>?</sup>ed or e<sup>?</sup>le<sup>?</sup>ed or e<sup>?</sup>-  
 le<sup>?</sup>ed or e<sup>?</sup>le<sup>?</sup>ed 'corpse' BSAL 543, zawa<sup>?</sup>legahye<sup>?</sup>  
 li<sup>?</sup> 'i<sup>?</sup>ituxi 'you're clutched onto the underside  
 of a dog-corpse' (contemptuous, of promiscuous wo-  
 man) 49.70A, zawa<sup>?</sup>legahye<sup>?</sup> e<sup>?</sup>ietuxi 'she's  
 holding onto the underside of a dog-corpse' (as  
 preceding) L.

ga'1 (g<sup>w</sup>a' sporadically, LG only, under influence of g<sup>w</sup>a'=  
ga'1,2; S and Rezanov regularly ga')

-ga' 1. 'S is, becomes tired, sore, weary, bored': ac-  
tive perfective: sig<sup>w</sup>a'ʔ G, Rezanov СЫККАТ  
'Усраат миде' siga'ʔ 'I'm tired' LMAS, 'I got tired'  
L, 'I'm sore' M, ʔuleʃ siga'ʔ kuxa'xayah 'I'm too  
tired to eat' L, ʔidasiga'ʔ, diʔdesigna'ʔ, ʔida'  
siga'ʔ, diʔda' siga'ʔ 'I'm so tired that ...' L,  
xʔʔiʔ sig<sup>w</sup>a'ʔ 'I'm very tired' G, ʔediʔd siga'ʔ  
'I'm bored, tired (of being) indoors' L, diK ʔexs-  
ga'ʔe 'I'm not tired, I didn't get tired' L, se-  
ga'ʔe 'are you tired?' M, diK ʔesga'ʔe 'aren't  
you tired?' M, sega'ʔ 'he got tired' 5l.50A, se-  
ga'ʔih 'he's tired' L, sigu'a'ʔ siya' sega'ʔ 'my  
haunch is tired, sore' L, diK ʔələʃga'ʔe 'aren't  
you pl. tired?' LM, qahdequnnu' sega'ʔ 'they're  
tired by now' L, neuter perfective (note also neuter  
imperfective): xiga'ʔ, ʔixiga'ʔ (on one occasion  
L rejects former in favor of latter, on another, lat-  
ter in favor of former, and on two others showed no  
preference) 'I'm all tired out, I'm always tired' L,  
diK ʔa'xga'ʔe 'I'm not always tired, I'm not tired'  
L, inceptive perfective: səxga'ʔ 'I'm getting  
tired' LM, diK səxga'ʔe M, diK səxga'ʔe 'I'm  
not getting tired' L, ʔediʔd səxga'ʔ 'I'm getting  
tired (of being shut in) indoors' L, sega'ʔ 'she's

getting tired' 47c.58L, neuter imperfective (both forms later rejected by L): ?ixigah qah 'I'm tired!' L, diK ?a?xgahs (or -ga?+) 'I'm not tired' L, other mode-aspects: qu?xgah 'I'll be tired' M, diK qu?xgahs 'I won't get tired' L, qu?yigah 'you'll get tired' L, qa?gihih (no labialization of -g-) 'he'll be tired' S, de?u'd ?i.gihih 'alright let him be tired' L, ?ele?gahx ?i.g<sup>h</sup>ihih, ?ele?gahx ei.g<sup>h</sup>ihih (labialization slight) 'I wish he'd get tired' L, ?axga?K 'I (cust) get tired' LM, diK ?axga?Ks (or ?ix-, x-, no preference) 'I (cust) don't get tired' L, qu?xga?K 'I'll (cust) get tired' L, repetitive: xga?g 'I get tired easily' L, ?axa? hi? ga 'my how easily he always gets tired!' L, de?elga?kih sah da?x ga?gih 'when he goes just a little ways like this he keeps getting tired' L, qu?xga?g 'I'll get tired easily, I'll keep getting tired' L, qu?yiga?g 'you'll keep getting tired' L; with anatomical marks: gedesiga?h 'my rump is sore' L, ?ulex gedesiga?h ?isda?l 'my rump is too sore for sitting' L, ?i?sigah?h 'my head is tired' L, yisi-gah?h 'my hand is, got tired' L, yesaxga?h 'my hand is getting tired' L, ya?xiga?h (prefixes apparently optative, in error for yixi-) 'my hand is always tired' (neuter perfective) L, diK ya?xga?hs 'my

hand isn't always tired' L, yexga·K 'my hand (cust) gets tired' L, diK yexga·Ks 'my hand (cust) doesn't get tired' L. Transitive (causative, note also O-i-ga' below): xuseiga?i 'you tired me out' L, si·iga?i 'you're tiring it out' M, qi?yikgah 'you'll tire it out' M, seiga? 'tire it out!' M, xutga·Kih 'he (cust) tires, wearies, bores me' M, qahdaqaw xusi·iga?i, ?aw Kulah ?ixa? 'you're making me sick and tired by now, (of, with) that drinking of yours' L, ?aw siyah xuseiga?i 'I'm tired of that food' ('that food has tired me') L, giyah xuseiga?i 'I'm tired of water' L, ?isda·l xuseiga?i 'I'm tired of sitting' ('sitting has tired me') L, attested also with a number of other gerundives, see coX-ciX, ci·s, xa·g, le, la<sup>2</sup>, ?ya<sup>1</sup>, ya·?, a<sup>1</sup>, a<sup>2</sup>, q·?, qa· seiga?i, ?al ?istu·d 'we're tired of lying down' ('it has tired us, this lying') L, ?isda·l xuseiga?i 'I'm getting tired of sitting' ('sitting is tiring me') L, attested also with a number of other gerundives, see ta', te·tu', ci·ci·y, Sa-Sa·Siyah, g<sup>w</sup>a'-ga<sup>1</sup>, ki·z, x<sup>w</sup>a-xa-xewah, qe<sup>1</sup>, qa<sup>1</sup>, qa', qu, ze, we, le, le(?), la<sup>1</sup>, la<sup>2</sup>, ?ya<sup>1</sup>, ya·?, ?a?X, ?e-?q<sup>1</sup>, a<sup>1</sup>, a<sup>2</sup>, ya-a, ?isda·l xuqa?ikgah 'I'll get tired of sitting' IM.

2. With ya? 'completely', 'S is, becomes ruined, wrecked, botched, turns out badly, doesn't work,

is a failure, is in trouble, difficulty, goes wrong, haywire': ya? sega?i 'it turned out badly, didn't work, it's botched, ruined, got spoiled, didn't come out right' L, 'it's busted' S, sɛi'mahdɛ silmahdɛ da·ɣ ya? sega?i 'I baked bread and it turned out badly (though not so badly as in the case of kusiyaḥ seke?i)' L, ya? da· sega?i 'we got into marital difficulty, our marriage is on the rocks' L, ya? ?i·ga?i 'it's ruined' (neuter perfective) L, diK ya? ?a?ga?ɛ 'it's not ruined' L, ya? qa?gah 'it won't come out right' L, ya? sega?i 'it's not coming out right, something is going wrong with it' L, ya? ?ega·K 'it (cust) never comes out right' L, with class-marks for S: ya? ɣa·sega?i 'it (net) went haywire, something's wrong with it (wheel)' L, ya? ləxadi·ga?i 'it (snowball) isn't right' (neuter perfective) L, diK ləxada?ga?ɛ 'it (snowman) isn't ruined' L, with y-anatomical: ya? yisiga?i 'something is wrong with my hand' L. Transitive (causative): ya? seiga?, ya? ?eigah (not -ga·) 'ruin it!' L, ya? qu?xigah 'I'll ruin it' L, diK ya? qu?xigahɛ (not -ga·ɛ) 'I won't ruin it' L, ya? seiga?i L, ?ew ya? seiga?ɛh 'he ruined it' S, ?i·xgah da·ɣ siqa? ?ew ya? seiga?i 'I was just getting started dancing and my husband spoiled it' L, ya? xuseiga?i 'you made trouble for me' L, ya?

səɬgaʔiɰh 'he's ruining it' L, yaʔ səxɪgaʔi 'I'm wrecking it' L, yaʔ ʔəw ʔi-ɪgɪɰhɪh, yaʔ ʔəw ɛi-ɪ-  
gɪɰhɪh 'let him ruin it' L.

O-i-ga' (apparently transitive, somewhat confused with causative of -ga' 1. above) 'S has, gets physical need of O, of ingesting or excreting O': with cuʔd 'sleep' as O: cuʔd səɬgaʔi 'he got sleepy' 5l.52A, cuʔd siɬgaʔi 'I'm sleepy' LM, diK cuʔd ʔəxsi-gaʔi 'I'm not sleepy' L, with giyah 'water' as O: 2b.1L, giyah siɬgaʔi 'I'm thirsty' LS (S twice, with no labialization), 1l.107, 5l.65, 66, 69, 70, 7 A, 'I got thirsty' L, giyah da- səgaʔi 'we're thirsty' L, giyah səxɪgaʔi 'I'm getting thirsty' L, giyah quʔxɪgah 'I'll be, get thirsty' L, diK giyah quʔxɪgah (not -ga's) 'I won't get thirsty' L, giyah qaʔɪgɪɰhɪh 'he'll be thirsty' S, giyah ʔi-ɪgɪɰhɪh 'let him be thirsty' L, giyah ɛi-ɪgɪɰhɪh 'let him be, get thirsty' L, giyah ʔixigaʔi 'I'm thirsty "a long time"' (neuter perfective) L, diK giyah ʔaʔxɪgaʔi 'I'm not thirsty' L, diK giyah ʔəxɪga-ke 'I'm not (cust) thirsty' L, Rezanov .Ке-рыоуаыкагы .Игы trinken' perhaps to be read giyah kuseɪgaʔi 'someone is thirsty' M, or, with gl-class-mark for O, giyah gɪ'seɪgaʔi 'you're thirsty' M, or giyah xuseɪgaʔi 'I'm thirsty' L (gloss presumably in error for 'I'm tired of water', but cf. be-

low), or, perhaps, *giyah xu· siigaʔi* 'I'm thirt=ty', with *ceʔq* 'urine, urination' (indelicate) as O: *ceʔq siigaʔi* 'I have to urinate' L, Rezanov Цезьхуцезьхатаъ Мову (over crossed-out Мовуцаъ ) barnen' perhaps to be read *ceʔq xu· siigaʔi* 'I have to urinate', or perhaps *ceʔq xuseigaʔi*, which presumably should be glossed 'I'm tired of urine, urination' (cf. above), with *kus* 'urine, urination' (polite) as O: *kus siigaʔi* 'I have to urinate' LM, with *ɕaʔq* 'soft feces, runny stool' as O: *ɕaʔq siigaʔi* 'I have diarrhoea' M.

*d-ga'* (with d-thematic, 'oral, noise') 'S is, gets vocally tired': *desuxgaʔi ʔiŋ ɕiʔdele·l* 'I'm getting tired, talking to you' L (*ʔiŋ ɕiʔdele·l* in loose syntactic relationship, not S or O).

*gah* (exclamation) "when you sit down tired, you say *gah*, with a sigh (not *g<sup>w</sup>ah*)" L.

*-i-gaʔ-i* (perfective stem with perfective suffix and i-classifier, used as suffixed adjective) 'old and battered, worn-out, beat-up': *kena·ʔdigaʔi* 'old worn-out beat-up coat' L, *si·iʔeigaʔi* 'old beat-up worn-out shoes' L, with l-class noun: *ɕiyahdʔe·leigaʔi* 'old battered hat' L.

ga<sup>2</sup> (probably related to gah<sup>2</sup>)

0-?--(1-)-ga' (with 1-thematic absent frequently in active perfective and reflexive neuter imperfective, rarely absent elsewhere) 1. 'S knows, recognizes, learns, realizes, finds out about O': neuter imperfective: textual occurrences, positive, with 3rd person O: 1st person sg. S: 47c.34L, 54.17, 32G, 61.50A, 2nd person sg. S, interrogative: -gahšuw 23.9A, -gihšiph 52.24L, 3rd person S: 20.71, 25.145, 146, 147A, 53.4, 29L, -ga' 25.127A, negative: 1st person pl. S: 23.104, 25.199A ('didn't know'), 62.16G, 3rd person S: 2a.9, 24, 33, 37M, 10.134, 20.104, 28.86A, 47b.46M, 49.121, 51.56A, 54.12, 62.17, 20G, 68.119, 70.2A, ?u?lixilgah 'I know (it)' LM, ?u?lixilgihh 'I know him' L, ?ew weyah ?u?lixilgah 'I know that story' L, ?u?lixilgah Ke'd qu?xleh, ?u?lixilgah ?idequ?xleh 'I know what I'll do' L, ?u?lixilgah de'd qu?xcah 'I know what I'll buy' L, ?u?lixilgah Ke'd yileh, ?u?lixilgah ?ideyileh 'I know what you're doing' L, ?u?lixilgah Ke'd selih, ?u?lixilgah ?ideselih 'I know what you did' L, ?u?lixilgah ?ew ?u? ?u?seyahkih 'I know what you told him of it, that you told him of it' L, ?u?lixilgah ?qh silah ci?deleh 'I know he's talking about me' L, ?u?lixilgah ?ida' (or ?idesilah) deleh 'I know what he's saying about me' L, ?u?lixilgah

?u?li-?gah 'I know you know' L, ?u?lixil?gah ?q-da?  
 (or ?ide?q-da?) qe? sdiyah? 'I know he came back'  
 L, ?ida? Kudexut? ?u?lixil?gah, ye? K?texut? ?u?  
 lixil?gah 'I know how to shoot' M, yahd ?ide?u? de-  
 le-l ?u?lixil?gah 'I know how to build a house' L,  
 ?u?lixil?gah ye? ?iswe-?i? 'I know how to swim' L,  
 ?ideKudeqah ?u?lixil?gah 'I know how to count' L,  
 deqi?dga? ?u?lixil?gah 'that's as far as I know' M,  
 ?u?xil?gah 'I know (it)' (same as, but much less fre-  
 quent than ?u?lixil?gah) L, ?ew yahddelah ?i?q  
 Ku?lixil?gah 'I know everything about that house' L,  
 ?i?lixil?gah 'I know you' S, ye? ?iswe-?S ?u?li-?gah  
 'do you know how to swim?' L, ye? K?texut?S  
 ?u?li-?gah 'do you know how to shoot?' L, ?u?li-?-  
 gahSuh 'do you know (it)?' L, ?u?li-?gih?h?h?h 'do  
 you know him?' L, ?u?li-?gahS Ke-d da? qa?leh  
 'do you know what we should do?' L, ?ida? da? se-  
 li?S ?u?li-?gah 'do you know what we did?' M, ?u?  
 lixil?gah ?u?li-?gah 'I know you know' L, xu?li-?-  
 gahS L, xu?li-?ga-S 'do you know me?' L, 10.225A,  
 ?u?li-?gih?h 'he knows' L, da? ?u?li-?gih?h 'we  
 know him' L, diK ?u?la?x?ga-? (normal only in slow  
 deliberate tempo) 'I don't know' IMAS, ?ida? da?  
 (or ?ideda?) qa?leh diK ?u?la?x?ga-? 'I don't  
 know what we'll do' M, diK ?u-la?x?ga-? (normal  
 in all tempos) 'I don't know' IMG (G slight labiali-

zation of -g-) diK ?u·la?xiga·sijh 'I don't know  
 him' L, diK ?u·la?xiga·s Ke·?wəɣdɣh (xə?kɣ) Ku-  
 ɣah (or Mɣa·K) 'I don't know why he's eating  
 ((cust) eats) so (very) much' LM, diK ?u·la?xiga·s  
 qi?deɣ (or deɣkihɣa?d) qe·?əh qu?xdeqeh (or  
 qu?xdah) 'I don't know what time (what hour) I'll  
 get back home (by boat, on foot)' L, diK ?u·la?xi-  
 ga·s ?ida· ?ə·da? qu?wah 'I don't know if he'll  
 get here' L, diK ?u·la?xiga·s qi?deɣ (qu?xah) 'I  
 don't know the way (I'll go)' L, diK ?i·la?xiga·s  
 'I don't know you' L, 10.226A, diKšuh (or -šuw)  
 ?u·la?yilga·s 'don't you know (it)?' L, diKšuh  
 ?u·la?yilga·s 'don't you know him?' L, diKšuh  
 ?u·la?yilga·s ?əh ?ida· ?ilah deleh (or ?əh  
 ?ilah ?ida· deleh, ?əh ?ide?ilah deleh, ?əh  
 ?ilah ?idedeleh) 'don't you know what he's saying  
 about you?' L, diKš xu·la?yilga·s 'don't you know  
 me?' L, diK ?u·la?iga·sijh 'he doesn't know' L,  
 diKšuh (or -šuw) ?u·la?leɣiga·s 'don't you pl.  
 know?' L, inceptive imperfective: ?u?qu?li·xigah  
 'I'll learn it' M, qu?li·xigah 'I'll learn it, I'll  
 find out' L, ?ew qu?li·igijih 'he'll find out' S,  
 21b.22, 51.81A, diK qu?li·igahs 'you won't know'  
 36.22, 23A, diK qu?li·igahs (or -ga·s, former  
 preferred) 'he won't learn (it), won't find out' L,  
 diK ?ew qu?li·igahsinu· (or -ga·s-, former pre-

ferred) 'they won't find out' L, diK ?i?qe?li·i= gahsinu· (or -ga·i-, former preferred) 'they won't know you' L, active perfective: ?u?seiga?i 'found out, realized, recognized' 10.17A, 18.20, 57, 48.12, 52.27L, ?u?lisiiga?i?h 'I got to know him' L, ?u?= siiga?i, ?u?lisiiga?i (apparently not ?u?i·sih-) 'I learned how' L, inceptive perfective: ?u?lesexi= ga?i 'I'm learning it' L, ?aw ?u?leseiiga?i?h 'he's finding out' L, neuter imperative: ?u·la?igah qah 'learn it finally!' L, inceptive imperative: ?u?= leseiiga? qah 'learn it finally!' L, active optative (neuter optative apparently avoided): ?eleš= gahx ?u?la·xiigah 'I wish I knew' L, ?u?la·xi= gahč 'until I know' L, ?elešgahx ?u?la·yiigah 'I wish you knew, I hope you know' L, ?u·dkih Ka? ?u?la·yiigah 'if only you knew how' L, da· ?u?la·= yiigah 'let's find out, let's learn it' L, inceptive optative: ?elešgahx ?u?lesexiigah 'I wish I knew' L, ?elešgahx ?u?lesi·igah 'I hope you know' L, active conditional: ?u?li?xigah da·x ?q·čahd ya·qa? sahč 'just as I was getting to know her she went away from here' L, inceptive subjunctive: ?u?= lesexigahx ?uxexleh 'I'd like to know him' L, ?u?= lesexigahx ?ixleh 'I want to learn it' L, customary: ?u?leiga·K 33.18A, ?u?li?iga·K 'he (cust) know, recognizes' 33.34A, diK ?ahnu· ?u?leiga·K 'they

(cust) don't know' 9.75A, qu<sup>2</sup>li·lga·K<sup>2</sup>h 'he (cust)  
 learns' (inceptive customary) M; with class-marks  
 for O: ?aw yahd ?u<sup>2</sup>la·xilgah 'I know that house'  
 L, ?u<sup>2</sup>lexexilgah 'I know them (berries)' L, ?u<sup>2</sup>=  
 gulixilgah 'I know it (beverage)' L, with qi·d--  
 anatomical: ?i<sup>2</sup>qi·la·xilgah 'I know your footsteps'  
 L; with indeterminate O: ?ida<sup>2</sup>lixilgah 'I know some  
 things, certain things (which I don't want to tell  
 about)' L; with qe<sup>2</sup> 'some more, again, any more'  
 and 3a-classifier (these treated as intransitive,  
 perhaps incorrectly): diK qe<sup>2</sup> ?u·la<sup>2</sup>xkega·s<sup>2</sup>h  
 'I don't know him anymore' L, diK qe<sup>2</sup> ?u<sup>2</sup>xste=  
 ga<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>h 'I didn't recognize him' L; reflexive, 'S  
 pretends to know, S is knowledgeable, outgoing,  
 smart': ?edku<sup>2</sup>li<sup>2</sup>igahwa·i<sup>2</sup> ?ew de<sup>2</sup>yh ku·leh  
 'one should know what one's talking about' ('one  
 should live (be a person) according (by attention)  
 to one who is knowledgeable, knows oneself') 50.63A,  
 ?edku<sup>2</sup>li<sup>2</sup>igahwa·i<sup>2</sup> ?ew ku<sup>2</sup>ci<sup>2</sup>dele·K 'one ought to  
 know what one's talking about' ('one (cust) speaks  
 accordingly as one's knowledgeable') L, ?edu<sup>2</sup>li=  
 gi<sup>2</sup>h<sup>2</sup>h 'he's knowledgeable, outgoing' L, ?e<sup>2</sup>ya· ?e=  
 du<sup>2</sup>li<sup>2</sup>gi<sup>2</sup>h<sup>2</sup>kih 'my what a cute outgoing little one  
 (child)!' L, ?i·li·i<sup>2</sup> ?ew di<sup>2</sup>ya<sup>2</sup>g ?edu<sup>2</sup>li<sup>2</sup>igah  
 'he's trying to pretend he can read' L, ?edku<sup>2</sup>li<sup>2</sup>i=  
 gi<sup>2</sup>h<sup>2</sup>h 'he pretends to know everything (something)' L

(with double O, reflexive and Ku-indefinite, or perhaps indirect reflexive, see causative below), ?e-du-la?laga:sjh 'he pretends not to know, he's ignorant, uninformed' L (dik lacking, perhaps thematic negative, see separate entry); passive: 23.-125A, qu?ledogah 'it would be known' 68.75A, dik qi?d sa?a?d? ?uxa? ?u-la?dega:s 'the place they went to isn't known' 20.103A, dik ?u-la?dega:s 'it wasn't known' 60.2A, li?d ?q-d xu?lidigah 'I'm (well) known here' L, li?d ?q-d qa- ?u?lidigah 'we're (well) known here' L, Galushia Nelson Owa-tix-sD&sd la<sup>n</sup>.t 'signal ("signal-smoke") ?uwa:ix ?u?digah iahd 'smoke according (by attention) to which it is known'. Causative, o-d O-?(l-)-gá 'S teaches o O': ?id qu?li-xig<sup>M</sup>ah G, ?id qu?li-xigah 'I'll teach you (it)' LMS, ?ewd qu?li-xigah 'I'll teach it (it)' L, dik ?id qu?li-xigahs 'I won't teach you' L, sid ?ew ?u?li-igihjh 'he's teaching me it' L, sid ?u?seiga?ihh 'he taught me it' L, more frequently repetitive: ?id qu?li-xiga?g 'I'll teach you' L, dik ?id qu?li-xiga?gs 'I won't teach you' L, sid ?ew ?u?leiga?gjh 'he's teaching me it' L, sid ?u?seiga?gihh 'he taught me it' L, ?id ?u?lex<sup>M</sup>iga?g 'I'm teaching you it' M, sid ?u?li-iga?g, sid ?u?la-iga?g, sid ?u?leseiga?g 'teach me (it)!' L, Lena sid ?ew ?u?seiga?h 'Lena

taught it to me' L, ?ud ?ow da? ?u?la?yilga?gjh  
 'let's teach him it' L, sid ku?li?iga?gjh 'my  
 teacher' ('he who teaches me something') L, ?id  
 ?u?lex<sup>w</sup>iga?gk 'I (cust) teach it to you' M, sid  
 ku?leiga?gkjh 'he (cust) teaches me something' L,  
 kud ku?li?iga?gjh 'a teacher' ('he who teaches  
 someone something') L; indirect reflexive (uncertain):  
 ?adku?liigjhjh 'he pretends to know everything  
 (something)' L (perhaps < ?ad-d ku?liigjhjh);  
 passive: qi? ku? ku?ledega?g (probably in error  
 for qi?(?) kud ku?ledega?g) 'school' ('place  
 where something is taught to someone') M.

2. 'S thinks, considers O (to be) C' (uncer-  
 tain, glosses perhaps misleading): ku?luw ?u?li-  
 xiigah 'I think it's big' M, yilda's ?u?lixigah  
 'I think it's heavy' M.

?ad-?(1-)?e-ga'-s (thematic negative reflexive, un-  
 certain, dik lacking perhaps in error) 'S pre-  
 tends not to know, S is uninformed, ignorant':  
 ?edu?la?iega?sjh 'he pretends not to know, he's  
 uninformed, ignorant' L.

Rejman -hda- p...  
 gah, see 1011,

## gah-ge\*

gah (noun, ʔd-class) 'day (period of 24 hours), daytime (period of daylight), daylight' IMAS, Wrangell  
 Ka 'Tag', g<sup>h</sup>ah 'daytime' G (L never heard form with g<sup>h</sup>-), + gahʔedeʔu 'nice day' L, gah kuxedaʔa-w 'day (is) long' L, kuxedaʔluw gahʔ ye-saʔqaʔ 'a big day is coming' ('it's dawning toward a big day') L, gah ʔedeseʔudʔi 'days got short' M, gah ʔeʔa-sedeʔaʔi 'day is waning' L, ʔu-d gah ʔeʔa-siʔahʔi 'I spent the day there' L, gah ʔedeseʔeʔuʔi 'the day is improving (sun is coming out) a bit' L, gah quʔedeʔeʔuʔ 'the day will improve a bit' L, gahʔedeʔa-w seʔuhlinu 'they've been sitting all day long' L, often as C in C ku-ʔe(?) 'something is C, C exists, is present': 2a.-21M, 11.156A, 19.18L, 28.41, 41A, diʔweʔ gah ku-ʔeh 'it's still daylight' L, qiʔ gah ku-ʔehdaʔ ʔaxa-k 'I (cust) come to where it's daylight' L, ʔesi-kih gah ku-ʔeh 'it's dim (slightly) daylight, twilight' L, ʔusi-kih gah ʔedeseʔihʔih 'he sees a little daylight' 2a.27M, frequently adverbial: gah 'by day, during the daytime': 25.18, 19, 29.29A, deʔ)w gah 'that same day' 61.37A, with numerals, frequently adverbial, 'for N days, in N days': 2a.11M, 25.81, 49.41, 42, 65.19, 19A, kihʔ ʔeda gah 'one day' (in the sense 'and then one (certain) day', per-

haps influenced by English, attested only from M) 43.16, 45b.10, 46.], 47b.23, 27M, 1a<sup>o</sup>d xada' gah 'two days' M, ?el qadidi' ya' gah 'on the eighth day' 49.45A, ihs xada' gahwahd da' qa<sup>o</sup>qeh 'we= 'll go (on boat trip) for one day' L, iic' gah 'ev- ery day' 3.15M, 38.14LM, 47b.14, 21, 29M, iic' gah kuic'q'gih 'she keeps tanning skins every day' L, iic' gahxedeqa'ga' 'every single day' 38.14fnLM, 47c.= 27L, gahxedeci'da'ya' 'about half a day' 59.4 Galu- shia Nelson, de' gahyeqduw 'what day?' L, Rezanov Maxa-xax 'День Tag' probably to be read gahx ye<sup>o</sup>x 'all day long' L, gahx ye<sup>o</sup>x ?idexwe'c'k 'I (cust) weave all day long' L, gahx ye<sup>o</sup>x yika'dih 'he was sick all day' L, gahx ye<sup>o</sup>x yox ?u<sup>o</sup>sexde'q'z 'I've been looking for it all day' L; qa'lgah 'today' (qa'l 'now') MS, 25.113A, siX ?u<sup>o</sup>caxa' ke'd qa'lgah yileh 'tell me what you did today!' L, diX qa'lgah xu' ?u<sup>o</sup>qu'di'pa'e 'it won't be settled to- day' L; ki' xex' gah 'yesterday' (xi' xex' 'last night, already night') M.

ge'-l-<sup>o</sup>a'g (postpositional phrase, ge'- as o of o-<sup>o</sup>a'g 'middle, center of o, half-way point of o', with vowel of ge'- and l-mark not explained) 'noon, midday': ge'le<sup>o</sup>a'g LMASG, ge'li<sup>o</sup>a'g (-i- not ex- plained, perhaps due here to same influence as that responsible for -e'-) 'noon, midday' LS, ge'le=

ʔa·gd 'noon' (nominalized), 'at noon' S, ge·le=  
ʔa·g selesəʔya·i 'it (time) is becoming noon' L,  
ne·ʔ ge·leʔa·gdaʔ quʔleʔah 'soon it'll be (sun  
will arrive at high) noon' L, ʒig ge·leʔa·gɣew  
kuɣa·kinu· 'they (cust) eat at (simultaneously  
with) noon sharp' L; ge·leʔa·g ya· 'noon meal,  
lunch' ('noon thing') L, ge·leʔa·g ya· leqa·ʔ  
'noon siren (thing) is blowing (howling)' L, ge·  
leʔa·g ya·daʔ sɛ·saʔyahɫ, ge·leʔa·g ya·ʔɛ·ʔ  
sɛ·saʔyahɫ 'it became noon' ('time passed to  
noon') L.

gu' (perhaps related to g<sup>w</sup>a?-ga? and/or to gih-gi)  
 gu'-deg--dig--dug (adverb, stem gu'-, always with  
 enclitic -deg--dig--dug 'also, too', M rejects  
 proposed \*gu'gih, \*gu'gideg) 'again': frequent  
 in texts and elicitations, small sampling only of  
 occurrences in text: 6.12M, 11.3, 52, 78, 78,  
 133, 136, 151, 151A, 27a.34, 34.85, 85, 86, 87L,  
 Rezanov Kyraxa 'Eme noch' gu'deg 'again' M,  
 gu'deg8 (not \*gu'8deg) 'again?' L; frequently  
 with preverb qe?-qe'- 'back, again, some more,  
 another', redundant in translation: 9.39, 11.2,  
 172, 27b.45A, gu'deg ?aw c'ihc'elc'ah' qe? ?edu?  
 kixah 'he turned himself this time into an alder  
 leaf' 9.80A (not 'again'), or with keyi'y-kih-  
 'different, another': qe-?8k da:x gu'deg ke-  
 yi'y ca'di'ci'og 'Bluejay and (again) another  
 bird' 6.1M, kihda'd yahd ?uxa? gu'dig 'in a  
 different place (they had) a house again' 49.20A.

*(possibly affixation meaning  
 qe'- get xx.)*

gwi'-gew (gaw, also guw, gwi', in some imperfectives, especially negatives; expanded gwi' LA, gaw, gu' M)

ʔed O-gwi'--gew (ʔed, homophonous with the reflexive pronoun prefix, here to be interpreted as a preverb, not as an inflectional prefix of the verb proper, because of the lack of vocalic classifier and the presence of other sometimes overt prefixes to the verb proper) 'S feels O (usually concrete O, by tactile sensation), S gets, catches O (cold, cough)':

ʔew ʔed gwi'hih 'he felt it' 10.18, 11.170A, ʔed xgew MA, ʔed xgewih 'I feel it' LMA (A prefers latter), diK ʔed xgew: 'I don't feel it' LA, Meh ʔed xgewih 'I have a cold' L, ʔula-x ʔawa ʔed xgewih 'I feel his eyes (looking at me)' L, ʔed ʔixgewih 'I feel you' L, deʔu-deʔya-kih ʔed xgewih 'I feel something' L, ʔed quʔyigaw, ʔed quʔyigewih 'you'll feel it' L, diK ʔed quʔyigaw: (or -gwiha) 'you won't feel it' L, ʔed xuquʔyigewih 'you'll feel me' L, ʔed sigwiʔi 'I felt it' L, ʔewʔuh segwiʔi 'did you feel it?' L, ʔed xusegewiʔi 'you felt me' L, ʔed sexgewiʔi 'I'm beginning to feel it' L, kuʔu-dah ʔed sexgewiʔi 'it feels good' ('I'm beginning to feel it pleasantly') L, qahʔi ʔe-ʔed xgewi-K 'I (cust) get a cough again' L, with o-gaʔ 'like o', 'S feels (usually concrete) O (tactilely, to be) like o': 32.41, 42A,

xu<sup>?</sup>laxasdicij<sup>?</sup>ʒi<sup>?</sup>ga<sup>?</sup> ʔed xgewih 'I feel (it to be) like I've been dreamt about' L. Causative, o-d  
O-i-gewi'--gow 'S makes o feel O': ʔid qu<sup>?</sup>xigewih  
'I'll make you feel it' L.

ʔed O-de-gewi'--gow (perhaps indirect reflexive, with ʔad-d, but rejected by L, probably analogical, influenced by preceding and reflexive of following) 'S feels O': ʔed xdegewih 'I feel it' MA, diK ʔed xdegewe 'I don't feel it' M, ʔed qu<sup>?</sup>xdegewih 'I'll feel it' M, de<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>daxya<sup>?</sup>kih sili<sup>?</sup>ga<sup>?</sup> ʔedexdeguw<sup>?</sup>K 'I (cust) feel like I've accomplished something' 34.11M.  
O-ʔ-gewi'--gow (O restricted to third person, or, more frequently, reflexive) 'S feels O (it) a certain way' (not tactile sensation of concrete O), with o-ga<sup>?</sup> 'like o' or adverbs: ku<sup>?</sup>sa<sup>?</sup>·dah ʔu<sup>?</sup>ʔsigewi<sup>?</sup>i 'it felt bad' ('I felt it badly') L, siye<sup>?</sup>q<sup>?</sup>d siya<sup>?</sup> ku<sup>?</sup>sa<sup>?</sup>·dah ʔu<sup>?</sup>ʔaxgewi<sup>?</sup>i 'my stomach is beginning to feel bad' ('I'm beginning to feel it in my insides badly') L; reflexive, ʔad-ʔ-de-gewi'--gow 'S feels a certain way (physically or emotionally)': 34.7, 11 (-ga<sup>?</sup> lacking), 16, 64, 47b.9, 16M, 47c.6L, 69.27A, wut<sup>?</sup>ga<sup>?</sup> ʔadu<sup>?</sup>xdegewih 'I feel like vomiting, nauseated' LM, diK wut<sup>?</sup>ga<sup>?</sup> ʔadu<sup>?</sup>xdegewe 'I don't feel nauseated' L, ʔiqe<sup>?</sup>xiwut<sup>?</sup>g<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup> ʔadu<sup>?</sup>xdeguw 'I feel like I'm going to vomit' G, la<sup>?</sup>x<sup>?</sup>q<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup>·c<sup>?</sup>ga<sup>?</sup> ʔadu<sup>?</sup>xdegewih 'I feel nauseated' L, se<sup>?</sup>ga<sup>?</sup> ʔadu<sup>?</sup>xdegewih 'I feel seasick' M,

ʔehgaʔ ʔaduʔxdogewih 'I feel cold' L, ʔahdgaʔ  
 ʔaduʔxdogewih 'I feel sick' L, ʔeʔggaʔ ʔaduʔxde-  
 gewih 'I feel a sneeze coming on' L, ʔula·ʔ ʔawa·  
 ʔed xgewihgaʔ ʔaduʔxdogewih 'I feel like I feel  
 his eyes (looking at me)' L, ʔaʔd mileqahyeqʔ ʔeʔ  
 Kuleʔgggaʔ ʔaduʔxdogewih 'I feel very much like  
 someone keeps reaching his hand through the inside  
 of my head (with persistent harping questions)' L,  
 Kuʔu·dah ʔaduʔxdogewih 'I feel good' LS, diK Ku-  
 ʔu·dah ʔaduʔxdogewi·e 'I don't feel good' S, diʔ-  
 dahkih ʔaduʔxdogewih 'I feel alright, a little bet-  
 ter' M, repetitive: deqa·yu· Kuʔu·dah ʔaduʔxdoge-  
 wiʔg 'I sometimes (intermittently) feel good' L.

O-i-gewi' (uncertain, attested only once) 'S makes O  
 feel (a certain way)': Kuʔu·dah ʔiqeʔxiʔgewih 'I'll  
 make you feel good' L (perhaps in error for ʔiʔqe-,  
 see below).

O-ʔ-i-gewi' 'S makes O feel (a certain way)', with o--  
 gaʔ 'like o', o-leʔ 'more than o', or adverbs:  
 wuʔgaʔ xuʔiʔgewih 'he's making me feel nauseated' L,  
 Kulahgaʔ xuʔweʔiʔgewihh 'he's making me feel like  
 drinking' L, ʔawa·gaʔ xuʔiʔgewihinu· (or xaʔi-)  
 'they're making me feel like a dog' L, ʔawa·gaʔ  
 xuʔwiʔgewih 'you're making me feel like a dog' L,  
 ʔawa·gaʔ ʔiʔxiʔgewih 'I'm making you feel like a  
 dog' L, ʔawa·gaʔ ʔuʔxiʔgewihh (or ʔaʔxi-) 'I'm

making him feel like a dog' L, wuŋgaʔ ʔuʔwił-  
gewjhih 'you're making him feel like <sup>was feeling</sup> a dog' L,  
Kuɣu-dah ʔiʔqeʔigewih 'it (medicine) will make  
you feel good' L, Kahdlex ʔiʔqeʔwełgewih 'it'll  
make you feel sicker' L, ɣawa-gaʔ xuʔquʔyilgewih  
you'll make me feel like a dog' L, ɣawa-gaʔ xuʔ-  
qaʔigewjhinu 'they'll make me feel like a dog' L,  
ɣawa-gaʔ xaʔigewih 'make me feel like a dog!' L,  
ɣawa-gaʔ ʔaʔigewjhinu 'make them feel like a  
dog!' L, ɣawa-gaʔ daʔ ʔuʔliłgewih 'let's make  
him feel like a dog' L.

ʔad-de-gew- (thematic negative) 'S is, becomes numb':  
ʔadxdegewt 'I'm numb' M, ʔadexdegewł 'I'm get-  
ting numb' L.

gemi'-gem (gem occasionally in imperfective negative; expanded gemi')

1. 'S tastes': *legemih* 'it tastes' A, *diK legemihs* 'it doesn't taste' A; with *o-ga?* 'like o' or adverbs, 'S tastes (a certain way)': *sa'xelesga? legemi'K* 'it (cust) tastes sweet (like sugar)' 51.32A, Rezanov *Итакотамкома* 'Сахаръ Zucker' *'idah legemih* 'it tastes nice' (perhaps used for 'sugar' before borrowing, through Chugach Eskimo, of Russian *Сахаръ sa'xeles*), Rezanov *Адетадя-комм* 'Сладко süß' *'a'd 'idah legemih* 'it tastes very nice' M, *kuša'dah legemih* 'it tastes bad' L, *diK di'ya'ga? legem:* L (M rejects), *diK di'ya'ga? legemihs* 'it doesn't taste salty (like salt(water))' LM, *di'ya'ga? selegemi'?* 'it's beginning to taste salty' L, *di'ya'ga? siigemi'?* 'it got to taste salty' L, *diK di'ya'ga? qu'legemihs* 'it won't taste salty' L, with class-marks for S: Rezanov *Итакотамкомаккал Тарока Syrop'* *'idah gy'legemih giyah* 'syrup' ('water which tastes nice') M, *diK kuša'dah qu'gy'legem:* 'it (liquid) won't taste bad' L, *sa'xelesga? lex'legemih* 'candy' ('it (lx-class, 'granular') tastes sweet (like sugar)') L.

2. Without any qualifier, 'S tastes bitter': *legemih* 'it's bitter' MS, *diK legemihs* 'it's not

bitter' L.

O-i-gemí'-gem 'S tastes O': ?əiǵemih M, ?əiǵemah  
G (probably incorrect), əəiǵemih L (stem-form  
probably analogical), ?ew əəiǵemí? 'taste it!'  
L, kuxǵemih 'I'm tasting something' M, ?idah  
kǵemǵih 'he likes to eat, he's a good eater'  
( 'he tastes something nicely' ) L, qu?xǵemih 'I'll  
taste it' M, diK qu?xǵemih 'I won't taste it'  
A, siǵemí?i 'I tasted it' M, ?exǵemí·K 'I  
(cust) taste it' L, with gl-class-mark for O: ?ew  
ǵələəxǵemih siK dəleh 'he told me to taste  
it (liquid)' (inceptive subjunctive) L, repetitive:  
?ew ǵy·ǵemí?ǵih 'she keeps tasting it (liquid)'  
L.

Von Zapiski 1840  
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~ ja ja-je, cf. PA \*je- 'day, bright'

gu·l (perhaps related to g<sup>w</sup>a'-ga<sup>l</sup>, see below)

-gu·l, attested only in qe<sup>?</sup>gu·l (noun, unclassified)  
 probably gerundive of verb-stem qa<sup>?</sup> 'gu·l, with  
 'thunderbird, thunder, lightning' IMASG, 60.14, 29, 35, 36, 45, 48A, Rezanov Кокочъа Момаъа Blitz',  
 Wrangell Карыъа 'Donner', perhaps to be read  
 qe<sup>?</sup>gowl (L at first thinks she may have heard qe<sup>?</sup>  
 gowl, later says she has never heard it pronounced  
 thus), or, more likely, with transposition of rn,  
 an unlikely Russian transcription in any case of  
 -ge-, to be read qa<sup>?</sup> 'igu·l, Galushia Nelson  
 k'ai crossed out, then qai'k<sup>u</sup>l 'thunderbird'  
 transcribed by Norman Reynolds in notebook of de  
 Laguna, not published, perhaps confirming the lat-  
 ter reading of Wrangell, qe<sup>?</sup>gu·l-dahd ?u<sup>?</sup>-l-da-ta  
 'sound of thunder(bird) is heard, there is thunder'  
 8.12, 23, 57A (see also o-dahd 0-<sup>?</sup>-l-i-ya<sup>?</sup>),  
 Rezanov Кокочъа туудъа Момаъа блмстаеъа es  
 blitst' qe<sup>?</sup>gu·ldahd ?u<sup>?</sup>liditah 'sound of thunder-  
 (bird) is heard' L, qe<sup>?</sup>gu·l ?il<sup>?</sup>q·g 'there is  
 lightning, lightning strikes, thunder(bird) bolts'  
 ('thunderbird (repeatedly) travels') LM, qe<sup>?</sup>gu·l-  
 low 'big thunder' M. Etymology clearly qa<sup>?</sup> 'up  
 out', unlauted by prefix ?i-, or, less likely,  
 yi-, dropped by the living informants, with -gu·l,  
 probably l-gerundive, perhaps, irregularly, of ?i--  
 g<sup>w</sup>a'-ga<sup>l</sup> 'dance, ceremonial hand movement'. For de-

description and discussion of the Eyak thunderbird  
and beliefs connected with thunder, see Eyak Texts  
60. and BSdL 233.

giyah<sup>1</sup>

giyah (noun, gl-class) 1. '(fresh, non-salt) water, (body of fresh) water, drinking-water' IMASG, 2a.7M, 11.91A, 16.28M, 19.25L, 25.41, 58, 29.41A, 34.65M, 50.3, 51.71A, 57.6G, Rezanov Каля 'Boda Wasser', Wrangell Каля 'Wasser', Furuahjelm Kia 'water', Galushia Nelson ciya, Old Man Dude kiyã 'water' BSDL 537, Rezanov Такегит-каля 'Эдмо flüssig' perhaps to be read deqi·kih giyah 'no more water', Такегиткеэры фпосропно герМуниг' perhaps to be read deqi·kih giyahduh 'no more water!' L, Kugu·?nuw giyah L, giyahgu·?nuw 'lots (large volume) of water' M, giyah ya·guleguhgd seie?i (see gu?) 'water is getting very low' L, giyah Kugexi·?nuw seie?i 'water got very high' L, giyah ?u·daç ge-xi·?yah? 'water ran all over there' L, cu·X giyah ?i?qa? gela·silyah? 'I mixed water together with milk' (baby formula) L, giyah geli·Neh 'water is cold' L, giyah xa·g yileh 'water is steaming' L, giyah geli·iqa?dg 'boil water!' L, giyah ?iç qu?geli·xpu?ç 'I'll splash water at you' L, giyah gelewugih 'he's gulping water noisily' L, giyah geli·leu? 'warm water!' L, giyah geli·iKa?d 'heat water!' L, giyah gç·seikela?i 'water got stale' L, giyah gç·lešilig, giyah gelešilig 'water is splashing' L, as O of O-gl-i-?ya 'S handles water

in container': 11.108, 120A, 34.82L, giyah sič  
 gəli·kya? 'bring me water!' L, as o of postposi-  
 tions: giyahgu·neḡ 0-ḡ-ḡu?č 'S splashes water on  
 O', see ḡu?č, giyahgele?e·ḡ '(ask) about water'  
 3.1M, giyahgele?e? '(bawl) for water' 19.24L, gi-  
 yahgeleḡda? 'to (shore and) water' 20.18, 19A, gi-  
 yahgu·na?č 'on surface of water' 24.42A, giyah-  
 gḡ·deḡd M, giyahgeledeḡd 'above (upland from)  
 body of fresh water' M, 25.96A, ?ew giyahgeleḡa?d  
 'behind the water(falls)' 25.59, 69A, giyahgḡ·č  
 'to (get) water' 2a.5M, 2b.7L, 21b.6, 25.86A, 44.5,  
 45a.2L, 46.7, 25M, 48.2, 7L, giyahgelelu?qa· 'to  
 get water' 19.26L, 21b.10 (lacking gl-class-mark),  
 25.21, 23, 43A, 45b.10M, giyahgeleḡya?d 'in (body,  
 container of) water' M; as O of verbs and o of post-  
 positions lacking gl-class-mark: giyah 0-de-la 'S  
 drinks water' 2a.7M, 51.71A, Wrangell Kəḡ-, see  
 la<sup>e1</sup>, giyah 0-qa 'S fetches water, carries water  
 in container' 2b.5, 6, 19.28L, 25.22, 26, 27, 94,  
 94A, 34.18LM, 48.5L, see qa, giyah 0-ḡ-ga· 'S  
 is thirsty' 2b.1L, 11.107. 51.66, 69, 70, 72A, Re-  
 zanov Kəḡ-, see ga<sup>1</sup>, giyahḡ 0-l-ga·e 'S mix-  
 es O (not liquid) with water', see ga·e, giyah-  
 ya?(-) 'in(to body, container of fresh) water' M,  
 2a.6, 4.3M, 11.117, 118A, 16.3, 27M, 25.63, 86A,  
 45b.8, 46.3, 15M, 48.5, 10L, 49.34, 50.14A, ?ew

?ew giyahye? ye? ?eta? 'set it down under (magically lifted body of) water!' 11.90A, giyahwahd  
 ?aw yH? ?i-l?xqhwahd 'in order to melt it for water' 43.16M; FuruHjelm Kisaaliaga 'sea', probably to be read giyah(?)low... ('big water', probably incorrect, lacking gl-class-mark and referring to salt-water); giyah sdilah? 'humpbacked salmon' ('it drank water', not explained, "deep talk, nowadays the word for it is ka-SK") L, see la<sup>2</sup>; giyah (qi?) ye? ?igeli-l?ah 'waterfalls' ('(place where) water extends downward') 25.55, 55, 78, 79A, 38.21LM, see ?a<sup>1</sup>; giyah qi? li? geli-?ah 'stream, creek, brook, tributary' ('place where water runs (extends) downstream') 21b.8A, see ?a<sup>2</sup>; giyah qi? Meh? dexuig 'faucet' ('place where water is (repeatedly) turned (screwed) open', see xu?; giyah gela?u?d?g 'pump (for boat)' ('it sucks water'), see ?u?d?; giyahda-lelah 'water-bucket' L (probably < giyah ?u? da-lelah 'by means of it we drink water'), see la<sup>2</sup>; giyah sdilah? 'humpbacked salmon' ('it drank water'), see la<sup>2</sup>.

2. Figurative, <sup>liquid</sup> 'liquid' (not water): 10.24A

(in reference to fatty viscous matter in whale's eye, a delicacy, in 11.175A called ye?), Rezanov Kaxax-  
 snea 'Caesw Thränen' qa-la-?egiyah 'our, human eye-water' ('water' in eyes from watering of eyes, not 'tears (from weeping)') M, ?ewa-le?ede-?i?giyah

'berry species' ('dog's-eye-water') LMA, see *ɣəwa'*,  
Rezanov Казаткөя 'Самна Speichel' qa'saʔd giyah  
'our, human saliva', Kusaʔd giyah 'saliva' ('wa-  
ter which is in one's mouth') M, Rezanov Казыла-  
цэс<sup>3</sup>кал (with ɣ- inserted above) 'Боджа Brandt-  
wein' qa'ɣaʔ ɪdiyaʔd giyah 'water which decays  
very badly for ("on") us', gɣ'ɪdɪqah giyah 'hard  
liquor' ('water which is strong, piquant') L, Reza-  
nov Иракчулкоммакал 'Парока Syrop' ʔidah gɣ'ɪe-  
genih giyah 'syrup' ('water which tastes nice') M,  
giyah ʔuyeq gəli'ʔyahɪ L, giyah ʔuyeq gəli'-  
ʔyahɪ M 'water-blister' ('water (serum) has collec-  
ted in it (o without opening at top)', neuter perfec-  
tive) IM, see ʔya<sup>2</sup>.

giyahitah (noun, unclassified) 'water-bucket' ('water--  
skin') 46.22M.

ʔedəgiyah (noun, gl-class) 'fresh (not salt-)water'  
('real water, water par excellence') L.

Kugɣ'ɣu' giyah (noun, gl-class) 'holy water' ('good  
water') L.

giyahgələɣaʔ ya' (noun, unclassified) 'rubber boots'  
('thing for water') L.

giyahgələɣda'd ʔuq' Maʔɪeh place-name, Little Mummy  
Island ('there is no water on it') L, see ɪe(?) 3e.

giyah<sup>2</sup>

-giyah (probably kinship noun, ascending), attested in vocative only, meaning not clearly remembered: "Minnie Stevens addressed Mrs. Sheperd (native name ?ixu<sup>č</sup>, mother of Mike Sheperd) as ?egiyah, though Minnie Stevens spoke of her as sidese-? 'my younger sister'" L. Form classified as ascending kinship noun because of attestation in vocative. Relationship, if any, between Minnie Stevens and Mrs. Sheperd not remembered. No relationship shown between Minnie Stevens and ?ixu<sup>č</sup> (Evaline Dude) on BSdL Genealogical Table.

gut' (attested first from L as guhd, probably under the influence of luhd-muhd; L later accords with A in rejecting guhd in favor of gut')

-gut'-g (adjective, with -g-repetitive thematized)

'tiny, miniature, very small' 1. Independent, with ya': ya'gut'g 'a tiny little bit, thing' L, ya'-guh'dg xewa' 'tiny dog' L, frequently with -kih 'diminutive': di'dah ya'gut'gkih 'ahnu'd sehtah 'he gave them just a tiny little bit' 10.62A, with classified noun: giyah ya'geleguh'dg se'e'zi 'water's getting very low' L.

2. Suffixed: xewa'guh'dgkih 'tiny dog' L, na'wda'ke'dguh'dgkih 'tiny whiskey-bottle' L, to classified nouns: ca'idegut'g 'tiny knife' L, le-qahdegut'g 'tiny head' (epithet?) L, la'mahdle'xeguh'dg 'tiny berries' L, sdu'lih'deguh'dgkih 'tiny miniature doll-sized table' L.

-gut'-g 'S is, becomes tiny', attested only with gl-- class S: na'sla' gela'segut'gi 'piece of (melting) butter is getting very tiny' L.

gut'g personal name, of Eyak girl L.

geł-gił (geł M 3 times, A 3 times, S 3 times, G once,  
gił L 25 times, M 6 times; expanded gi·ł)

-geł--gił (perhaps not freely used, attested only in  
active perfective, see ke-geł--gił) 'S shrivels  
(with heat?)': segił 'it shrivelled up' L. Transi-  
tive (causative, perhaps also, or primarily, that of  
ke-geł--gił) 'S makes O shrivel, parches, "toasts",  
fries O (especially fat or salmon skins) for eating':  
ʔaigił, ʔaigeł (former preferred) "'toast" it (sal-  
mon skin):' L, quʔxigeł 'I'll "toast" it' S, da-  
łgi·iK 'we (csut) "toast" it' LM; passive: with  
yaʔ 'completely': yaʔ sdiğeł 'it got warped by  
the sun' M (possibly intransitive de-geł, see  
sedegęł), with y-anatomical: xuyiškigił 'my hand  
has been made to atrophy (by e.g. a witch)' L.

O-geł--gił (meaning not clearly distinguished from  
that of O-i-geł--gił, causative of -geł--gił or  
of ke-geł--gił) 'S makes O shrivel (etc.)': Reza-  
nov Коужма 'Oxevъ versengen' perhaps to be read  
ʔi· segił 'you scorched it', or ʔisegił 'it  
scorched you' (or, intransitive, 'you're scorched'),  
or ʔi·segił 'your face is scorched, shrivelled'  
(intransitive), Kuxgił 'I'm "toasting" something'  
L, Kų·xigił 'let me "toast" something' L, Kų·yigił  
'you may "toast" something' L, Ku·ligił 'let him  
"toast" something' L, with class-mark for O: ti·=

lexgił 'I'm "toasting" a fish-skin' L.  
 le-geł--gił 'S shrivels, atrophies, curls up':  
 sli-geł 'it (plant) shrivelled up' L (perhaps pas-  
 sive), sełegił 'it's curling up (by itself)' L  
 (not passive), with ya? 'completely': ya? sli-  
 gił 'it shrivelled up' L (perhaps passive), Rezan-  
 nov Елжккъ 'Ожоръ, ожра?versengte (Präterit)'  
 perhaps to be read ya? iegił, ya? iigił, ya?  
 sli-geł, ya? ?iigił (> yā?iigił) 'it is  
 shrivelling up, it (is) shrivelled up, scorched'  
 (active imperfective, neuter imperfective, active  
 perfective, neuter perfective, respectively) or  
 perhaps ~~?sli...?egił~~ 'toast-thie!', or ya? sli? 'A'  
 li'gił 'your face is getting scorched', with y--  
 anatomical: yisli-geł 'his hand is atrophied,  
 shrivelled' L, yixsli-geł 'my hand is atrophied,  
 shrivelled' L (not passive, cf. xuyisli-geł  
 above). Transitive (causative): see -geł--geł.  
 yegł MA, yegił L personal name, Anna Nelson  
 Harry LMA, yikeł BSDL Genealogical Table.  
 sedegił, sedegił (noun, unclassified) 'sun': sede-  
 geł ASG, 65.53A, sedegił LM, 2a.2, 4, 19, 34N,  
 2b.16L, Rezanov Катъкъ (with W superscript  
 insert) 'Солнце Sonne', Wrangell Катъкъ (second  
 x probably transposed with r) 'Sonne', Furuhielm  
 Khatakal 'sun', Galushia Nelson qáti'ketł 'sun'

BSdL 537, *ʕadegiḷ yikaʔd* 'the sun is hot' L, *ʕadegiḷ ʔadsiḷiḷh* 'the sun is eclipsed' ('the sun is playing dead', Minnie Stevens said) L, *ʕadegiḷ ʕaḷeʔa'i* 'the sun is moving' L (for movement and positions of the sun, see *ḷe-ʔa* under *ʔa* ), *ʕadegiḷdekjh* 'sun-sticks' 34.77L, *ʕadegiḷ-ʕaḷeʔeʔeʔu* 'sun-children' 34.126L, Galushia Nelson *ḷeḷeḷeḷeḷe wula'iyu* 'Sun people' BSdL 537 *Gadegiḷ-welahu*. Nominalization of these with *ḷeḷ-giḷ* ('because the sun is hot, dries everything up' L), but identification of affixes and exact underlying theme uncertain, perhaps active imperfective of (O-)*ʕd-ḷeḷ--giḷ* with *ʕd*-thematic 'place, weather', or inceptive perfective of either passive of O-*ḷeḷ--giḷ* or of otherwise not clearly attested *de-ḷeḷ--giḷ*.

*ʕadegiḷʕeʔ*, *ʕadegiḷiʕeʔ*, Rezanov Катаньче in 'Мадь Kupfer' and 'Мадной kupfern', Катаньче in 'Позументъ Posument', see *ʕeʔ<sup>2</sup>*.

## giyił

-giyił (not freely used) 'S becomes a witch': se-giyiłh 'he became a witch' L.

O-ł-giyił (probably semantically irregular causative of preceding) 'S bewitches, hexes O, does O harm by sorcery, black magic': ?iqe?xłgiyił 'I'll hex you' L, sełgiyiłh 'hex him!' L, sełgiyił 'it's bewitched' ('you, he hexed it') L, xusełgiyiłh 'he worked witchcraft on me' L; passive: xusełgiyił, xusełgiyił 'I've been hexed' L.

?iłgiyił, ?iłgiyiłh (noun, unclassified, nominalized active imperfective of preceding with indeterminate O, optional third person singular human suffix relativizer) 'witch' LMSG, 55.1, 4, 11, 12, 16, 25L, Galushia Nelson itłef'itłé or itłef'itłá 'witch' BSdL 543, ?iłgiyiłh qe?ah xuqi'desełcugh 'a witch it is made my foot swell' L, xuqi'disełcugh, ?iłgiyiłhye?e?d lex selił 'my foot's been made to swell, this is the handiwork of a witch' L, diK ?iłgiyiłe 'she's not a witch' L, xu- ?iłgiyił 'I'm a witch' L. See BSdL 207 and Eyak Texts 55. for accounts of witches; L further states that witches were sometimes people whom land-otters had gotten inside of, and that they could cause gallstones, that one of their tricks was scalding dogs, and that they often did things under the house.

gih3 (partly confused with, or related to geh3-gih3--  
gehs-g<sup>w</sup>ehs)

ɣp·dl-ls-gih3-g (with thematic mark including ɣp'--  
anatomical 'teeth', and -g-repetitive thematized)  
'S {dog} snarls, showing, baring teeth, fangs':  
ɣp·la·səlegih3gɪ 'it (dog) is baring its fangs' L,  
with o-ɕ 'at o': siɕ ɣp·la·səlegih3gɪ 'it  
(dog) is baring its teeth at me' L, siɕ qu?ɣp·-  
la·legih3g 'it (dog) will bare its teeth at me' L,  
siɕ ɣp·la·siigih3gɪ 'it (dog) bare its teeth at  
me' L.

lɣ-l-gih3-g (with lɣ-anatomical 'eye' and -g-repeti-  
tive thematized) 'S has something wrong with his  
eyes' (informants no longer remember exact condi-  
tion): lexɪ·lgih3gɪ 'something is wrong with his  
eyes' (neuter perfective) L, lexəsəlegih3gɪh 'he  
got something wrong with his eyes' LA ('puffed-up' (s'ɣ)  
? A, 'cataracts' ? L).

geh3-gih3-gehs-g<sup>w</sup>ehs (earlier form perhaps g<sup>w</sup>eh3; gih3 under influence of gih3, to which this stem is perhaps related, gehs-g<sup>w</sup>ehs with suffixed -dah (cf. lah3--lahs), occasionally also elsewhere, Rezanov implies perhaps reduced gus)

-geh3 (also -gih3(-g), -gehs) 'S is very poor, miserable, wretched, pitiable': segh3i3h, segehs3i3h, segeh3i3h (last preferred, first now seems wrong) 'he's (become) very poor' L, se3gih3g3i 'I'm getting poor (no food, money, clothes, etc.)' L, qabdeq3h segh3g3i 'he's awful poor' L, k3ge33k 'some people are (cust) poor' L.

da3 ʔi-ʔ-gd1-geh3 (also -gehs, semitransitive with indeterminate O, gd1-thematic 'vertical suspension', and da3 'in (punctual) contact with indeterminate o', attestations all neuter perfective) 'S barely hangs on, S hangs by a thread': da3 ʔiʔge3i3gehs3, da3 ʔiʔge3i3geh3i (latter preferred) 'it's, he's about to fall, can't hang on any longer, is barely hanging on (to rope, edge)' L, ʔew k3xeh3i da3 ʔiʔge3i3gehs3 'that rope is about to snap, is hanging by a thread' L, da3 ʔiʔge3a3xigeh3i 'I'm barely hanging on' L.

d-3e-gih3-g (perhaps a passive causative of -geh3, attested only with d-class-mar for S) 'S (board) is useless': dis3igih3g3i 'it (board) is (has been ren-

dered?) useless' L.

lɣ-i-gih3 (stem perhaps correctly gih3, or, more probably, influenced thereby, i-classifier also perhaps due to influence of lɣ-i-gih3-g under gih3) 'S (berries) are poor and small', attested only as nominalized active perfective: lɣesɛl-gih3gi 'poor small berries (amongst good ones)' L.

gehs--g<sup>w</sup>ehs-dah (adverb, with -dah adverbializer, often used as C or as exclamation, Rezanov apparently gus-dah) 'for pity!, please!, in poor, wretched condition': ?el gehsdah ?i-tʃihinu 'these poor wretches' 28.100A, g<sup>w</sup>ehsdah G (contradicted by S, but apparently confirmed by Rezanov), gehsdah 'poor thing!' MS, gehsdah xu 'poor me!, please!' MA, Rezanov Kycraxs-y floxaryʔ gut' apparently to be read gusdah xu (L says she has "heard gusdah, but only part-Flingits, like S, would say it that way, not real Eyaks", but note gehsdah from S above), gehsdah ?i-tʃihih, gehsdah ?ah dɛɣɣh 'poor fellow!' L, as o of e-ɣ 'by means of o': dɛ?wɛɣ gehsdahɣ ?ah dɛɛɛlɣɣ-dʒih 'he begged him quite pitifully' 37b.34A.

gaʔd

- gaʔd(-g)(-i) (noun, unclassified, with -g-repetitive thematized and/or -i-instrumental) 'ladder, stairway': gaʔdgi L, 51.7, 7A, g<sup>w</sup>aʔdɕ G (labialization not confirmed by Rezanov), gaʔdɕ A, Rezanov ~~Карты Убсикца Treppe~~, ~~Карты~~ (crossed out, replaced by ~~Турты~~ ta·yaʔd) 'Крымско Hausflur' gaʔdg, gaʔdgiʔaʔluw 'big ladder' L, gaʔdgɣu·le-ʔa·w 'long ladder' ("maybe", speculating that gaʔdg may be ɣu·l-class 'tooth-like') L, gaʔdgiɣ ʔu·naʔd qaʔ sahɿh 'he went up (on it by means of) a ladder' L, gaʔdgiɣ ʔu·naʔd qid sahɿh 'he went down (on it by means of) a ladder' L.
- O-gaʔd 'S makes O (step of staircase)': qelahqaʔgaʔ quʔxgaʔd 'I'll make (construct) four steps' L.

guc' (Furuhjelm implies g<sup>w</sup>ed')

guc'-, occurring only with de.<sup>3</sup> in gucde' (numer-  
al) 'nine' IMASG, Rezanov Koryra-a '9.', Wrangell  
Kyrkre 'neun', Furuhjelm Kvatzte 'nine' probably  
to be read g<sup>w</sup>edde', Galushia Nelson utsch<sup>n</sup> '9.'  
ESdL 553, gucde' milega? giyahgu-na?g gal'i-i'a?  
'about nine miles out over the water' L, gucde'  
milega? sei-i-i'a? 'about nine miles (overland)' L,  
gucde-nu' 'nine people' L, gucde-ya? yi-iqa-k'  
'it (cust) gets light at nine o'clock' L, gucde=  
da?y 'nine times' L, Furuhjelm Vetste Takhakh  
'one hundred' probably to be read [g]<sup>w</sup>edde-[da?y]  
desa-g 'ninety' ('nine times ten'); da Gm. x h' a. d  
gucde' 'ninteen' A.

gawaʔd (see waʔd<sup>2</sup>)

gis (L "may have heard" ges but prefers gis, A gas, rejected by L; expanded gi's or ge's)

O-gis 'S roasts, warms, burns O on stick by fire':

5.3L, ?egis 'put it (e.g. hot dog) on a stick by the fire to roast!' LM, ?egus 'roast it!' A (L has heard "only kids talk like that"), Kuxgis 'I'm roasting something' L, da· gi·sK L, da· ge·sK 'we (cust) roast it on a stick by the fire' M, with class-marks for O: ti·li·gis, ti·la·gis (former preferred) 'roast it (fish skin)!' L, qu?· ti·li·xgis 'I'll roast it (fish skin)' L, da· ti·la·yigis 'let's roast it (fish skin)' L, lex·gis 'I'm roasting it (piece of fat)' L, ?i·sigis 'I roasted it (piece of fat)' L; passive: sdigis 'it's been roasted on a stick' M.

guʒ<sup>2</sup> (attested from A only, unknown to L)

guʒ (noun) "something you nearly trip over" A, used  
syntactically as C: guʒ siɛʔɪ 'I nearly tripped'  
( 'I became guʒ' ) A.

guʒ<sup>1</sup>

d-de-guʒ (with d-thematic 'oral') 'S closes mouth, clenches teeth, keeps mouth tightly closed, lips pursed': da·deguʒ 'close your mouth!' LM, diʔ·deguʒ M, diʔwəx diʔdeguʒ 'keep your mouth closed!' L, da·diguʒ Kaʔ, diʔwəx Kaʔ da·di-guʒ 'you should keep your mouth closed' L, de-ɛdeguʒiʔh 'he's closing his mouth, clenching his teeth' M, 'he has his mouth closed tight, lips folded in, pursed' L, diɛdiguʒiʔh 'he closed his mouth' L, ʔi·yah ɛiʔadug dəxəh ʔaʔ ʒa·qgaʔ ʔiʔuʔ qaʔ liʔ diɛdiguʒiʔ 'my how the guy sure is awful tight-lipped (taciturn) just like a (hooked) bullhead!' (neuter perfective) L, see 72.16fnL and lɛd-de-qəc', with o-qəc 'against, at the other end of o' and lah 'around, in circular motion': siqəc lah diɛdiguʒiʔh 'he closed his mouth and averted his face from me (angrily, disdainfully)' L, with yəx-progressive: yəx deɛdeguʒiʔh 'he's got his mouth closed and is averting his face (in various directions, to avoid being fed)' L.

gih3 (Rezanov perhaps implies g<sup>w</sup>...3)

(O-)lɣ-i-gih3-g (with lɣ-class-mark 'granular' and  
-g-repetitive both thematized, perhaps transitive)  
'S (rain) drizzles, sprinkles (O) lightly': lɣɛi-  
gih3g (first -gih3-) 'it's drizzling' L, as tran-  
sitive with indeterminate O: ?ilɣɛi-gih3g 'it's  
drizzling' ('it's sprinkling indeterminate O') L;  
Rezanov Кашрааь кыуааь 6ысэ feiner Regen' per-  
haps to be read Kulɣɛi-g<sup>w</sup>...3gih 'he's sprinkling  
something, something is sprinkling him', but see  
also kuč-kuč and ɣɛi<sup>2</sup>.

O-lɣd-i-gih3-g (as above, with d-thematic included  
in mark, attested from A only, perhaps incorrect)  
'S sprinkles O': lɣɛde-i-gih3g 'he's sprinkling  
water on it (plant)' A.

guč

-guč (noun) 'penis' (not known to L, M has heard):

siguč 'my penis' S, ?iguč 'your penis' S, ʒə-  
wa·guč 'dog's penis' S, Rezanov ʒuʒya 'Дитород-  
ноз уѣ мучкоѣ Glied, männliches' perhaps to be  
read [ʔug]uč ʔəwa· 'his, its penis' (informants

unable to recognize any existing form resembling

[učua]ʔ; Rezanov Коцькоете 'Радька' (not in Rad-  
lov, 'black radish, horseradish, charlock') perhaps

to be read gučg<sup>W</sup>ʒʔ ʔi·təh (or kaguč-) 'it re-  
sembles a penis', perhaps 'Indian potato (Hedysarum  
alpinum)', 'wild sweetpotato (Potentilla pacifica)',

or 'roseroot (Sedum roseum)'; k-ʒə-~ kəʒeʒəxəkyʒe

'ʒpuʒəʒ pɪləʒ' perhaps to be read kʔəʒeʒəxəgʊt 'man-penis',  
conceivably the earlier term for 'masturbator, hand-stool', for  
which no clear alternative or counterpart is clearly  
modern term could be elicited; it is probable that  
no more early context terms for nature terms for genitalia  
have been recorded, at least in dealings with the Soviet people.

gaʔɕ (from L only, not remembered by MAS)

i-gaʔɕ-g (with -g-repetitive thematized, probably intransitive) 'S is shaky, weak'?: with o-ʔaʔ 'in intimate relation with o': siuhdʔaʔ xiɡaʔɕg 'my knees are weak' (from age) L, 72.1L (Raven sings, hungry), siuhdʔaʔ ɛaxiɡaʔɕgɪ 'I'm getting weak in the knees' L; with lɔd-anatomical 'eyes': lexɔduxɪɡaʔɕg 'I have weak eyes (involuntary blinking, not necessarily poor vision)' L.

guš

guš (noun, ʒdl-class) 'sand dune, sandy hillock' LS  
 (there are some at e.g. Mile 27, Strawberry Point;  
 barren, soft, sandy L), gušxəla'tuʔ 'many sandy  
 hills, dunes' L, guš qiʔ yikəh 'place where  
 there are guš' (flats, "native peat moss", solid  
 stringy dirt, chop it up for gardens, not loose  
 like čaʔ, but firm to walk on) M.  
 O-i-guš 'S makes O (hillock of sand)': siḡgušɪ 'I  
 made a little sand hill' L.

84\*8

ku-l-k-gy\*8 (remembered by L only as transitive with  
 thematized ku-indefinite O and probably l-anatomical  
 'face', basic meaning not clear) 'S squints,  
 narrows eyes to slit': Kelesekgy\*8kjh 'he's squin-  
 ting, with eyes narrowed to a slit' L, with o-č  
 'at o': sič Kelesekgy\*8kjh 'he's squinting at me'  
 L, with yeṣ-progressive: hič yeṣ kṣ\*8gegy\*8kjh  
 'he's always going around squinting (from weak eye-  
 sight)' L.

gehg (G once g<sup>w</sup>ehg, but G elsewhere and all others, including S, gehg)

O-*h*-gehg 'S spears O (fish)': ?e<sub>h</sub>gehg 'spear it (fish)!' M, qu<sup>w</sup>x<sub>h</sub>gehg 'I'll spear it' M.

gehg<sub>h</sub> (noun, d-class, with *-h*-instrumental) 'fish-spear' IMAS, 63.29G, g<sup>w</sup>ehg<sub>h</sub> G, Galushia Nelson ka't<sub>h</sub> or k<sub>h</sub>'t<sub>h</sub> 'harpoon (used from canoe)', Old Man Dude e<sub>h</sub>kt<sub>h</sub> 'spear' BSDL 549, gehg<sub>h</sub>da<sup>w</sup>luw 'big fish-spear' M, gehg<sub>h</sub> si<sup>w</sup> di<sup>w</sup>ta<sup>w</sup> (or -<sup>w</sup>a<sup>w</sup>) 'give me a fish-spear!' L, gehg<sub>h</sub> ?u<sup>w</sup>d desetah<sub>h</sub>, ?<sub>h</sub>·<sup>w</sup> di<sup>w</sup>ixah<sub>h</sub> 'a spear is over there, drag it here!' L, gehg<sub>h</sub>da<sup>w</sup>·<sub>h</sub> si<sup>w</sup>xu<sub>h</sub> 'I stabbed it with a fish-spear' L, gehg<sub>h</sub>da<sup>w</sup>·<sub>h</sub> 'with a fish-spear' 2la.-11; gehg 'shaft of spear' L (lacking *-h*-instrumental, probably a lapse, gehg<sub>h</sub> referring to the shaft and/or the whole spear, including head, see discussion in BSDL 109-112, 115-117, and illustrations in Plates 12, 13).

ga·g<sup>1</sup> (note similarity to Tlingit -kág 'mother's brother', which may parallel that in Eyak -ʔahd, Tlingit -ʔád 'father's sister'; contrast -tj̥h and -ya·q̥eʔ 'father's brother' and 'mother's sister', which appear to be cognate with their Athapaskan counterparts, and who call the children of their same-sexed siblings the same as their own children (as apparently also in Tlingit), whereas 'father's sister' and 'mother's brother' seem to be related to the Tlingit, and have special terms (as do their Tlingit counterparts) for the children of their opposite-sexed siblings, see t̥j̥h and t̥j̥h; for the phonology, note the following diffused items with aspirates in Tlingit, non-aspirates in Athapaskan and/or Eyak: Tlingit t̥ín̥x̥, Athapaskan (widespread) denex (or the like) 'bearberry (Arctostaphylos uva ursi)', Tlingit tawé 'mountain-goat', Minto dəbe 'mountain-sheep', Tlingit (Yakutat) tuq̥t̥ḁ́, Eyak deq̥eta·ʔ 'trousers', Tlingit (Yakutat) g̥uteq̥, Eyak k̥adi·q̥ 'Chugach Eskimo', Tlingit c̥ín, Minto ʒen 'muskrat', Tlingit w̥ic̥ix̥, Minto beq̥ey 'caribou', Tlingit ó̥ḁ́, Minto dre̥, Eyak ʒi̥ḁ́ 'platform cache')

-ga·g (kinship noun, ascending) '(maternal) uncle':  
 siga·g 'my mother's brother' IMASG, 61.1, 53, 57, 68.88, 107, 126, 69.9, 21A (G has slight labialization of -g-, but S on two occasions shows no labialization), ʔiga·g, ʔiga·gšiyah 'your uncle (mo-

ther's brother)' L, siqacqia 'mother's older brother's son (man speaking)' BSdL 566A siga'gšiyah 'my uncle (mother's brother)' (either sex speaking, BSdL gloss probably incorrect), aqacqia 'mother's younger brother (either sex speaking)' -ga'gšiyah (prefix incorrectly taken from vocative, same as -ša'g, or perhaps '(maternal) uncle (who e.g. "looks funny")' (slightly pejorative), or perhaps correctly distinguishing younger from older brothers of mother, šiyah-šah-ša'), aqacqia 'mother's older sister's son (man speaking)' (as preceding, gloss probably incorrect), qacia (or šacia) 'mother's father's older bother (either sex speaking)' BSdL 565A probably to be read -ga'gšiyah (gloss incorrect, L recognizes no existing form resembling [qašia] or [sešia]); vocative ?ega'g, ga'gšah 'uncle!' (not \*ga'g, \*ga'gšiyah, \*\*?ega'gšah or \*\*?ega'gšiyah) L; -ga'g-ša-yu' 'maternal uncles, maternal uncles and their families, maternal uncles etc.': 20.21, 99, 100, 104A, 34.80, 99, 128L, 57.2G, 70.10A.

ga'g<sup>2</sup>

- qi'y-ga'g (noun, unclassified, with qi'y-anatomical 'toes') 'big toe, toes': siqi'yaga'g 'my big toe' LG (G with very slight labialization of -g-), ?i=qi'yega'gɣ̣ yəɣ̣ 'eɛh 'walk (about) on tiptoe!'  
 L, ?uqi'yega'gɣ̣ ?əw ?u'səle'gɣ̣h 'he grasped it with his toes' L; *ʃiʃiʃiʃi'uw 'biʃ biʃ-ʃe' 'ʃiʃiʃi' L.N. -*
- y-ga'g (as above, with y-anatomical 'hand', probably in error for qi'y-) 'big toe': siyega'g 'my big toe' MS (S twice with no labialization of -g-).

guʔk<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with guʔk<sup>2</sup>)

O-guʔk 'S punches O, knocks on O, S strikes O with closed fist': ʔaguʔkɪh 'punch him!' M, xuseguʔkɪh 'he punched me' L, xugu-kɪh 'he (cust) punches me' M, with l-anatomical, apparently partly thematized, not necessarily referring specifically to 'face': 9.32A, li-guʔkɪh 'punch him!' L, li-guʔk 'punch him in the face!' S, quʔli-xguʔkɪh 'I'll punch him' M, ʔiqeʔli-xguʔk 'I'll punch you in the nose (face)' IMG, ʔi-siguʔkɪh 'I punched him' M, xeleseguʔkɪh 'he punched me' L, ʔqh ne-k qew xɸ-seguʔkɪ 'he punched me first' M, xu-li-gu-kɪya-x 'lest he punch me' L, with yaʔ 'completely', 'S punches O's face in': 9.10, 12, 18, 29, 30, 46A, with ku-l-anatomical: ku-li-guʔkɪh 'punch him in the belly!' LM, kɸ-siguʔkɪh, ku-lisiguʔkɪh 'I punched him in the belly' L, xuku-leseguʔkɪh L, xuku-seguʔkɪh L, xukɸ-seguʔkɪh 'he punched me in the belly' LM, ʔiqeʔku-li-xguʔk 'I'll punch you in the belly' L, ʔiku-la-yiguʔkɪh, ʔiku-lesi-guʔkɪh 'let him punch you in the belly' L, with d-class-mark for O, partly thematized: kudi-guʔk 'knock (on something, door):' M, di-guʔkɪh 'knock on it (door):' L, Rezanov Токма Постучица klopfen, poltern (Imperat.)' probably to be read di-guʔk 'knock on it (door):'; with indeterminate O and postpositional

phrases:  $\text{?usa? ?isegu?Kijh}$  'punch him in the mouth!' L,  $\text{?sisa? ?isegu?Kijh}$  'he punched me in the mouth' L,  $\text{?siky.ikoyeq ?isegu?Kijh}$  'he punched me in the belly (abdomen)' L,  $\text{?yq.? siK ?isegu?Kijh}$  'he punched me down' ('he punched down with me') L,  $\text{?qid ?uK ?isigu?Kijh}$  'I knocked it off (accidentally)' ('I punched down off with it') L; reciprocal:  $\text{?iku? degu?Kinu.}$  'they're punching each other' L,  $\text{?iku? qu?degu?Kinu.}$  'they'll punch each other' L,  $\text{?iku? qe?}$  (or  $\text{?qe.?iku?}$ )  $\text{qu?degu?Kinu.}$  'they'll punch each other again' L,  $\text{?iku? da. qe? qu?degu?K}$  'we'll punch each other again' L, with  $\text{?yex-}$ progressive:  $\text{?iku? da. qe.yex ?idigu?K}$  'let's go around punching each other some more' L; passive:  $\text{?xudigu?Kijh}$  (not  $\text{-sijh-}$ ) 'I got punched' L.

$\text{O-?gu?K}$  (semitransitive of preceding) 'S punches at O (contact not specified)', with  $\text{?l-}$ anatomical (thematized):  $\text{?xu?lesegu?Kijh}$  'he punched at me' L, with  $\text{?ku.l-}$ anatomical:  $\text{?xu?ky.segu?Kijh}$  'he punched at my belly' L.

$\text{O-(i-)gu?K}$  ( $\text{?i-}$ classifier apparently optional) 'S displaces O by punching':  $\text{?siry.keyah sisa? seigu?Kijh}$  'he punched my teeth out (into my mouth)' L,  $\text{?qid sigu?Kijh}$ ,  $\text{?qid sijgu?Kijh}$  'I punched it off (intentionally)' L,  $\text{?a?q xusegu?Kijh}$ ,  $\text{?a?q xusekigu?Kijh}$  'he punched me out (of the house)' L.

$\text{?ga?Kijh}$  (noun, with  $\text{-i-}$ instrumental) 'fist' LG.

guʔk<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with guʔk<sup>1</sup>)

is-guʔk 'S is, becomes hunchbacked': səxəguʔkɪ 'I'm  
 a hunchback' (inceptive perfective, indicating state  
 as part of process) L, sələguʔkɪh 'he's a hunch-  
 back' L, sɪguʔkɪh 'he became hunchbacked' L.

g<sup>w</sup>ehs-gehc-g<sup>w</sup>ahs (S g<sup>w</sup>ehs, LMA gehc; G g<sup>w</sup>ahs, confirmed by Rezanov, though L claims she has never heard g<sup>w</sup>ahs; earlier clearly g<sup>w</sup>-, but e-a variation inexplicable and unique)

l-l-g<sup>w</sup>ehs--gehc--g<sup>w</sup>ahs 'S is, becomes lonesome, sad, depressed': active perfective: 42.14L, lisiŋgehcŋ MA, lisiŋg<sup>w</sup>ehsŋ S (twice), lisiŋg<sup>w</sup>ahsŋ G, Rezanov *Нелюбопытна* 'Скучно траурно, betrübt' ?j-siŋ-g<sup>w</sup>ahsŋ 'I'm (I've become) lonesome', lesexŋgehcŋŋuh 'did you get lonesome?' M, diŋŋuh lesexŋgehcŋŋ 'didn't you get lonesome?' M, neuter perfective: li-l-gehcŋ 'you're lonesome' M, li-l-gehcŋŋ 'are you lonesome?' M, lixiŋgehcŋ 'I'm lonesome' L, diŋŋ la<sup>?</sup>ŋŋgehcŋŋ 'aren't you lonesome?' M, other mode-aspects: qu<sup>?</sup>li-xiŋgehcŋ 'I'll be lonesome' M, lex-ŋge-cŋ 'I'm (cust) lonesome' LM, diŋŋ li-l-ŋge-cŋ 'don't you (cust) get lonesome?' L, with o-<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup> 'in place of (absent) o': ne-ŋŋkiŋga<sup>?</sup> ?ŋh qe<sup>?</sup>ŋ lesex-gehcŋŋh, ?uma-yu-<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup> 'pretty soon the woman started to get lonesome, for her mother's people' 42.11L, ?i<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup> lixiŋgehcŋ 'I'm lonesome for you, I miss you' L, ?i<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup> lesexŋgehcŋ 'I'm getting lonesome for you' M, si<sup>?</sup>ehd<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup> lesexŋgehcŋ 'I'm getting lonesome for my wife' L.

legehc(-l) (deverbalization of preceding, with optional -l-gerundive?) 'loneliness', as o of o-ga<sup>?</sup> 'like

o': legesga? ku'teh 'it (something, place, am-  
biance) is lonesome' (of e.g. very still calm silent  
evening) L, with -dah adverbializer: legesidah  
(or legesdah) ku'teh 'it's lonesome' (as pre-  
ceding) L.

gus-g<sup>w</sup>es-ges (earlier g<sup>w</sup>es, expanded g<sup>w</sup>e's AS, ge's L, gu's M)

-gus--ges 'S is, becomes deceitful, treacherous, a liar': Rezanov Сокомяк 'Izom du lügst' sägusih 'he lied' M (L rejects gloss), 'he's a liar' LM, hič sägusih deryh 'a person who always lies' L (L does not like the use of this theme in reference to specific acts of lying), Kuge'ek ?a?d ?awley qyh ge'ek 'he (cust) lies much worse than an inveterate liar' ('someone (cust) lies, he (cust) lies much more than that') L, siX ?agu'ekih M (L rejects), siX ?age'ekih 'he (cust) lies to me' L, repetitive: ?uX ?agusgih 'keep lying to him:' M.

d-gus--g<sup>w</sup>es--ges (with d-thematic 'oral', L uses theme only in causative reflexive) 'S lies': Rezanov Угль-тецакомь 'Согрх lügen (Imperat.)' ?uX desegust, ?uX desegusih 'you lied to him' M, Сугльтецакомь 'Сограрх lügen (Perf.)' siX desegust 'you lied to me', Угльтижжуакэхулле 'Согарь lügen' ?uX di-xg<sup>w</sup>esq ?ix<sup>w</sup>leh 'I want to lie to him'. Transitive (causative), reflexive ?ed-d-ia-gus 'S tells lie, makes self deceitful orally, with ulterior motive': diX ?iX ?edqu?daxieguss 'I won't lie to you' L, siX ?eddisiguesih 'he lied to me' L, ?edelog<sup>w</sup>e'ek 'he (cust) lies' A, 7.45A, hič ?edelog<sup>w</sup>e'ekih B, hič ?edeloge'ekih 'he always (cust) tells lies' L,

with qe-pluralizer, used thematically: ?edqedaie-  
ge 'you tell many lies' 9.37A.

guc (noun) 'lie, deceit' M, as o of o-wahd 'for the  
sake of o': ?idebdah qubew yeza? xusii?yahh,  
guswahd 'I was really taken in by his lies' L, as o  
of o-q' 'on o': gusq' lah3 0-q-3-lee 'S mistreats  
O with lies, deceit' ('S throws O forward on lies, de-  
ceit') 10.154, 155, 156A, as o of o-ga? 'like o':  
guga? daxuh yihhjh 'he's a doublecrosser, liar'  
( 'he lives (is a person) deceitfully' ) L, guga?  
qa'za? daxuh yihhjh, guga? qa'za? eoletjhjh  
'he's treacherous (with us, with people)' ('he lives  
deceitfully with us') L, with -dah adverbializer  
'deceitfully, untruthfully': gudah 0-hi 'S fools,  
deceives O' ('S treats O deceitfully') 17.1M, gudah  
d-le 'S tells a lie' ('S says untruthfully') 53.29L,  
gudah (o-\*) 0-?-za 'S tells (o) lies about O'  
10 142A, gudah o<sup>1</sup>-\* o<sup>2</sup>-lah-?ida-?-za 'S tells  
o<sup>1</sup> lies about o<sup>2</sup>, 10.182A, g<sup>w</sup>edah L, gudah  
'(that's) a lie, not true' LM.

?is-guc--g<sup>w</sup>es--ge ( ?is- not clearly identified, per-  
haps gerundive, meaning not clearly distinguished from  
that of preceding) 'lie, deceit': ?isg<sup>w</sup>es G, ?is-  
ge 'lie' L, with -dah adverbializer: Rezanov Km-  
nokrtary 'Harpacho mit Unrecht' ?isgudahduh 'it's  
a lie!', ?isgudah d-le 'S tells lie' 49.92A, Reza-

nov Иноктатели 'Обманывать betrügen', Инок-  
татели Не правда unwahr' ?iŋgusdah delihh 'he's  
lying' L, Иноктеэтытохле Нарочно vorsätzlich,  
absichtlich' ?iŋgusdäh ?iŋ duxleh 'I'm telling  
you a lie' L, Эноккактакотале 'He лжe lüge nicht!'  
ya?yu' ?iŋgusdah qu?di'leh 'don't lie' M, ?iŋgus-  
dah di'leh 'you're lying' A, diŋ ?iŋgusdah ?iŋ  
qu?di'xlehs 'I won't lie to you' L, diŋ ?iŋgusdah  
?ew ?a?ya-X: 'he (cust) doesn't tell lies of it'  
61.58A, with da- 'ipse': de?iŋgusdah (o-X) o-lah  
?ida-?-de-xa <sup>just</sup> 'lies are told (to o) about o' 10.182,  
183A.

ga'e (unknown to S)

O-l-ga'e 'S mixes O (not liquid) with water' (often with giyah 'water' specified as o of o-x' 'with o', not felt to be redundant even though theme itself specifies mixing with water): li'ga'e 'mix it with water!' IM, giyah<sup>x</sup> ?aw lisiga'e: 'I mixed it with water' L, with ta?<sup>o</sup> '(continuous movement) into water': ta?<sup>o</sup> lexga'e 'I'm mixing it with water (e.g. in river)' M, giyah<sup>x</sup> lexga'e 'I'm mixing it with water (e.g. in pot)' M; passive: lisidiga'e: 'it's been mixed with water' IM.

?i:qa? O-l-(i-)ga'e (i-classifier apparently optional with ?i:qa? 'amongst, mingled with one another', indirect reciprocal) 'S mixes O (not liquid) thoroughly together with water': giyah<sup>x</sup> ?i:qa? qu?li-xiga'e 'I'll mix it with water' L, ?el gahc giyah<sup>x</sup> ?i:qa? leceiga'e 'mix this pitch with water' L, ?i:qa? qa?<sup>o</sup> lesexiga'e: 'I'm mixing it (e.g. pancake mix) with water' L.

?i:qa? O-gdl-(i-)ga'e (as preceding, i-classifier presumably optional, with gdl-thematic < gl-class--mark 'liquid' and d-thematic 'bright') 'S mixes O (colors, dyes) together': ?i:qa? gela'siga'e: 'I mixed colors together' L; passive: ?i:qa? gela'di-ga'e: 'colors are blended' (neuter perfective) L.

## gahs

gahs (noun) 1. (d-class) 'pitch, spruce-gum, chewing-gum' LMSG (G with slight labialization, S with no labialization), 51.22, 25, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31A, *liya?* gahs 'spruce-pitch' 51.25, 30, 31A, *gahda?luw* 'big hunk of pitch' L, *gahs ?u'd dese?ah?* 'a hunk of pitch is there' L, *gahs si? di?a?* 'give me a piece of pitch!' L, *gahs di?eh* 'pitchy place on tree' ('it (d-class) is pitchy') M, *?ew gahs ?u'diKah di?sih?* 'scrape that pitch off there!' L, *gahs de?a?x' xuseiga?h?* 'I'm getting tired of chewing gum' L, *gahs siya?x di?ige?d?* 'pitch is stuck to my hand' L, *d?cihya?* gahs 'pitch from pitchwood' L, *gahs de?Kik?g* 'he's popping his chewing-gum' L, declassified: *?el gahs giyah? ?ihqa? laseiga?e* 'mix this pitch with water!' L.

2. (lx-class) 'bullet, shell, shot (for gun)' LM, Old Man Dude *saxq* 'shell for rifle' BSDL 549, *gahsle?etu?* 'lots of gunshells' L, *gahs ?u'd le-xase?ah?* 'a bullet is there' L, *gahs si? lexa?a?* 'give me a bullet!' L, *gahs ?uyaqd?* 'it's loaded' ('bullets (are) in it') L, *gahsle?e?e?* 'bullet-hole, bullet-mark' L.

3. (unclassified) 'lead sinker for net' M, *Kutu?* gahs 'lots of sinkers' L, *gahs ?u'd se-tah?* 'a sinker is there' L.

-d-i-gahs(-i), attested only in qa·ni·čʷedaigahs(i),  
qa·ni·kʷedaigahs, see ni·č, ni·kʷ.

i-gahs 1. 'S is, becomes pitchy, sticky with pitch':  
seigahsɪ 'it's (become) sticky with pitch' LM.

2. 'S sticks, adheres': ʔew ʔu·č seigahsɪ  
(with slight labialization of -g-) 'it's sticking  
to there' G (L rejects, see gəɣč).

ɬe-gahs 'S is, becomes pitchy, sticky with pitch, S  
sticks, adheres': sɪigahsɪ 'it's full of gum' L,  
repetitive: ɬegahsɪg 'it keeps sticking' M (L re-  
jects, see gəɣč).

O-i-gahs (causative of i-gahs and/or of ɬe-gahs;  
L apparently feels these forms to be unnatural and  
prefers themes with gəɣč in all cases) 'S glues O  
with pitch, S smears O with pitch': ʔew ʔiɪɣ seɪ-  
gahsɪɪh 'he glued them together' M (indirect recip-  
rocal, L rejects), ʔeigahs 'glue it!' M (L re-  
jects), ʔew ʔuč seigahs 'stick it to it with  
pitch!' L, with yeɣ-progressive: yeɣ xiɪgahsɪ  
'I'm sticking it all around' M; passive: sɪigahsɪ  
'it has been glued (to something) with pitch' LM,  
with yeɣ-progressive: yeɣ sɪigahsɪ 'it has been  
smeared all over with pitch' M.

## gomec

- gomec (noun, unclassified) '(soft wet) mud' LMSG,  
 gomecluw 'big gob of soft mud' LM, te'ya? sał-  
 si'ł da'x gomega? setu'ł 'fish rotted so it  
 became (soft) like mud' L.
- gomec 'S is, becomes muddy, S (earth) becomes soft  
 mud': segeceł 'it (e.g. surface of road) got  
 muddy' L, with qa? 'up out': qa? ?i'gomecł  
 'it's all muddy' (neuter perfective) L.
- gdł-gomec (with gdł-thematic, perhaps thematized  
 dl-class-mark for ?qł 'earth' and gl-class-mark  
 'liquid', meaning not clearly distinguished from  
 that of preceding) 'S gets all muddy, mired': with  
 qa? 'up out': qa? gəłə'segeceł 'it got all  
 muddy' L, with ya'nu? 'below surface': ya'nu?  
 gəłə'segeceł 'it got stuck in the mud, mired' L.

## gaʔq

-gaʔq-i (noun, 1-class, stem not attested without -i, not clearly identified) 'adam's apple, larynx, throat': kugaʔqɪ 'throat' A, sigaʔqɪ 'my throat' LA, ʔigaʔqɪ 'your adam's apple' L, gaʔqɪʔaʔnuw 'big adam's apple' (epithet) L.

-d-gaʔq-i (noun, d-class or unclassified, with d-thematic, probably 'oral', -i as above) 'throat, windpipe, trachea': kudegaʔqɪ 'throat' L, ʔidegaʔqɪ 'your throat' S, Rezanov Караканъ 'Ees Hals', Карканъ fopxo Kehle' qaʔdegaʔqɪ 'our throats, human throat', ʔidegaʔqɪ quʔxleʔg 'I'll choke, strangle you' ('I'll seize your throat') L, sidegaʔqɪ deesɪqɑʔKɪ 'I'm choking' ('it's splitting my throat') L, sidegaʔqɪ siyaʔ ʔiɪʔ decaʔyaʔi 'I'm getting hoarse' ('my throat's closing together') L, sidegaʔqɪdiʔqɪ 'inside of my throat' L, sidegaʔqɪdiʔqɪ siyaʔ yikaʔd 'my throat is sore' L, sidegaʔqɪdiʔqɪ deʔaʔ kuʔyahɪ 'something is stuck in my throat' L; lacking possessive prefix, with perhaps indirect reflexive themes: degaʔqɪdalah ʔaʔɪ 'necklace' A (probably -i-instrumental deverbalization of -degaʔqɪ-d-lah O-(i-)?a 'S places O around throat'), Rezanov Тхаканхочель Ухерель Halseschnuck', Тхаканхуачель Платокъ Halstuch' degaʔqɪ~~ɪ~~ix<sup>N</sup>aʔɪ 'it's tied to-neck'-N (probably

nominalized neuter perfective of indirect reflexive  
 and/or passive of -dega<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup>t-x̣ 0-i-x<sup>o</sup>a<sup>o</sup> 'S ties O  
 to throat', -x̣ lacking in transcriptions, probably  
 to be supplied); dega<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup>t-dexa<sup>o</sup> L, kudega<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup>de-  
 x<sup>o</sup>a<sup>o</sup> 'ribbon tied to neck' M (perhaps compound  
 with -i-deverbalization of 0-x<sup>o</sup>a<sup>o</sup>-xa<sup>o</sup> 'S ties  
 O', -de- to be interpreted as d-class-mark), de-  
 ga<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup>t-dex<sup>o</sup>a<sup>o</sup>g 'neckerchief' L (as preceding, with  
 -g-repetitive), dega<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup>t[x̣] kudixa<sup>o</sup> 'I've got  
 something tied around my neck' L, *ye x<sup>o</sup>a<sup>o</sup>-x<sup>o</sup>a<sup>o</sup>*

*\*dga<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup>t di'ah (nom, unclassified) <sup>with</sup> possible interpretation*  
*{ Ruzan Takax<sup>o</sup>teca 'kanan' (nt = Ruzan,*  
*'kanan', corresponding Thuj<sup>o</sup> ity TAKAKA I<sup>o</sup> 'kanan').*  
*'d. nch (d-class) extends'.*

ᑭᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐ

ᑭᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐ (noun, ᓂᓐ-class, with ᑭᓐ-thematic, perhaps 'ground') 'highbush cranberry (*Viburnum edule*)':  
 ᑭᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐ ASG (S -ᑭᓐ- twice, with clear labialization), ᑭᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐ 'red highbush cranberries' LM, ᑭᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐ 'big highbush cranberries' M.

ᑭᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐ 'S crushes O (berry, highbush cranberry only?), S puts up (crushed?) O (highbush cranberries) in sealoil for winter food': ᑭᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐ 'bust them (berries)!' M, ᑭᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐ 'I'll put up highbush cranberries in sealoil for winter' L; passive: ᑭᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐ 'highbush cranberries have been put up in sealoil for winter' L, with ᓂᓐ-class-mark for O; ᑭᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐ 'highbush cranberries have been put up in sealoil for winter' L.

ᑭᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐ (noun, unclassified, exact form uncertain) 'spruce-cone', probably also 'cone (of any conifer)': ᑭᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐ, ᑭᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐ, ᑭᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐ L, ᑭᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐ G (with slight labialization of -ᑭᓐ-, undoubtedly influenced by ᑭᓐᓂᓐ, q.v.), ᑭᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐ A (probably incorrect), ᑭᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐ 'spruce-cones' LM (L seems to prefer ᑭᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐ, which is probably the correct form; ᑭᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐ "same as ᑭᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐ", but see the following), ᑭᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐ ᑭᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐ 'he arrived (by boat) here with (a boatload of) spruce-cones' (which were evidently used for some purpose) L.

gah̄ (not \*g<sup>w</sup>ah̄; perhaps to be segmented gah-̄,  
 gah- perhaps related to ga<sup>2</sup>, perhaps subjunctive  
 with -̄ suffix, or perhaps as o of o-̄)

-̄-gah̄ (desiderative enclitic, always with prefixed  
 -̄, probably -̄-interrogative enclitic) 'would  
 that, I wish that, I hope that', requiring optative  
 except with ya<sup>?</sup>yu<sup>?</sup> 'let not', which requires in-  
 ceptive imperfective: 1. suffixed to <sup>?</sup>ele-,  
 probably archaic form of <sup>?</sup>el 'this' (L rejects  
 proposed \*<sup>?</sup>aw(e)̄gah̄) a. initial in optative  
 clause: <sup>?</sup>elēgah̄ xu<sup>?</sup>yela<sup>?</sup>yit̄ih̄ 'I hope he's  
 expecting me' L, <sup>?</sup>elēgah̄ <sup>?</sup>isaxi<sup>?</sup>eh 'I wish I  
 could marry you' L, <sup>?</sup>elēgah̄ <sup>?</sup>q̄<sup>?</sup>da<sup>?</sup> ei<sup>?</sup>yah 'I  
 hope you come' L, <sup>?</sup>elēgah̄ <sup>?</sup>q̄<sup>?</sup>da<sup>?</sup> q̄e<sup>?</sup> ei<sup>?</sup>dah  
 'I hope you come back' L, <sup>?</sup>elēgah̄ si<sup>?</sup>ya<sup>?</sup> k̄uxa<sup>?</sup>-  
 liyah 'would that you could eat with me' la.12M,  
 further attestations under C -̄le(?), O-̄le-de',  
 O-d-̄le-de', o-dahd <sup>?</sup>u-<sup>?</sup>l-ta, el-ta', o-<sup>?</sup>  
 dl̄-<sup>?</sup>le'-tu', O-<sup>?</sup>-ca, le-d̄q̄', d-̄le-d̄q̄', <sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>lih-  
 le-d̄q̄', -ga' l., O-<sup>?</sup>-(l-)̄i-ga', l-x<sup>w</sup>a--xa,  
 d-̄le-ta<sup>?</sup>, y-̄i-qa, -q̄u<sup>?</sup>X, O-d-̄i-x̄wi'--x̄aw, O--  
 i-<sup>?</sup>mahd, O-c̄i<sup>?</sup>(l)-<sup>?</sup>lah̄, <sup>?</sup>i-̄leh--le'- 4h., yu<sup>?</sup>  
 O-̄i-i (-le 19.), de-la<sup>?</sup>, o-ga<sup>?</sup> l-̄le-la', o--  
 lah̄ ya<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>ed-<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>lih-̄le-<sup>?</sup>ya-̄, d-(<sup>?</sup>i-)̄le-<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>e,  
 O-<sup>?</sup>e, O-s-<sup>?</sup>e--<sup>?</sup>q̄, o-le<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>i-̄i-<sup>?</sup>e--<sup>?</sup>q̄, ya<sup>?</sup>

(?i-)iə-ʔa, ʔi-d-ʔa, sɔl-i-ʔa? 2., qeʔ-O-dl--  
k-a', O-x-a (a<sup>2</sup>), o-d O-x-i-a (a<sup>2</sup>), once  
ʔeʂgahx in song 70.6A, probably to be corrected  
or normalized to ʔeʂgahx.

1b. As above, with prohibitive clause with  
yaʔxu·, verb in inceptive imperfective: ʔeʂ-  
gahx yaʔxu· qaʔquʔx 'I hope it won't break' L,  
ʔeʂgahx yaʔxu· ʔq·daʔ qeʔ quʔyidax 'I hope  
you don't come back' L, ʔeʂgahx yaʔxu· qa·  
quʔdeʂedihh 'I hope he doesn't understand us' L.

1c. As 1a., with negative clause with diK,  
requiring rare and marginally acceptable negative  
optative: ʔeʂgahx diK qa· daʔide·sinu· 'I  
hope they don't understand us' L, ʔeʂgahx diK  
qa· deʂide·sih 'I hope he doesn't understand  
us' L, ("sounds funny", L prefers form under 1b.),  
ʔeʂgahx diK ʔaw leci·imahsih 'I hope he  
doesn't wreck it' L.

2. Suffixed to first word or major constituent in  
clause, a. seɔəqəyɨ·yʂgahx ku·liheʔ 'I wish it  
to be foggy' L, xu· sigaʔʂgahx ʔudətəleh ʔewa·  
ʔaʔlituhinu· 'I wish their minds were like mine'  
70.8A, si·quʔxʂgahx 'I hope it breaks' L, si-  
lahʂgahx qeʔliʔih 'I hope he loves me' M, ci-  
yuxʂgahx xuʔsəkilɨʔih 'I hope he thinks me a

bear' M, ?q·deʒəgahʒ siʒaʔ qaʔ lesi·tʃihʃ  
 'would that he stick his head out here by me' L,  
 attested also im o-ləʒ ?i-i-ʔe--ʔə 28.2A,  
 da-a', C -le(?) 47c.58L, O-ʒ-a lb.14M, ʒə·ʔ  
 O-ʒ-a, with certain forms frequently introducing  
 optative clause: deʔu·dʒgahʒ kuʔligah 'I hope  
 there's dancing' L, deʔu·dʒgahʒ ?idaʔkuʔliʒah  
 'I hope someone's telling a story' L, deʔu·deʒ-  
 yʃ·hinu·ʒgahʒ ?awʔə· ei·ʔaʔʕ 'would that some  
 people come upon it' ll.173A, deʔu·deʒyʃ·kiʃʒgahʒ  
 ?uʔə·ʔ ei·ya· 'would that someone come upon it'  
 ll.172A, deʒəpkihʒgahʒ siʔə·ʔ ei·ya· 'I wish  
 some (kind) person would come upon me' 10.218A.

2b. Suffixed to yaʔʒu·: yaʔʒu·ʒgahʒ 'I  
 hope not, would that it not' LS, in prohibitive  
 clause, verb in inceptive imperfective: yaʔʒu·ʒgahʒ  
 qaʔsʃihʃ 'I hope he's not dead' L, yaʔʒu·ʒgahʒ  
 ʒa·ʔd kuʒiyah qaʔleʔ 'I hope it won't be bad  
 weather' L; with verb incorrectly in optative:  
 yaʔʒu·ʒgahʒ ?iʃiqaʔʕ 'I hope it doesn't fer-  
 ment' M.

2c. Suffixed to dik': dikʒgahʒ 'I hope not,  
 would that it not' LM, with negative clause, re-  
 quiring rare and marginally acceptable negative  
 optative: dikʒgahʒ ?aʔxkaʔde 'I wish I weren't

sick' L ("sounds funny" L), dikʰgahɣ kuʂaˀdah  
selaˀyitaˀs 'I hope you're not mean' L ("sounds  
funny" L), dikʰgahɣ ʔew lesiˀmahtɣh 'I hope  
he doesn't wreck it' L, dikʰgahɣ lesedimaht  
'I hope nothing goes wrong with it' L (acceptable  
and normal L).

gust' (LMAS, G gest', perhaps confirmed by Rezanov) <sup>; cf. ka'st', similar phonetically and syntactically</sup>  
 as well as <sup>logically</sup>

gust' (noun, unclassified) 'flames' LMAS, gest'

'flame' G, Rezanov Kora-a 'flames' (Radlov 'Flamme  
 auiyo? , wohl niams mit niasa? schwimme verwechselt?';  
 see we) perhaps to be read gest', gust' ?u-de? qa?  
 sekibdi 'flames shot up there' 51.79A, gust'a?luw  
 'big flames' LM, gust' yieh 'flames are flaring'  
 ('it is flamey') MS, gust' ?u?leset?a? 'build a  
 big bonfire (outside, to scare bears):' ('make it  
 flamey!') L, gustga? ?i-t?ihih 'he has a fever'  
 ('he's like flames') L, gustga? guleleh 'it (water)  
 is spurting, gushing, spouting' ('it (liquid) is ac-  
 ting flame-like') L.

-gust' 'S (flame) flares', with qa? 'up out': qa?  
 sogust? 'they (flames) flared up' L.

## guga

gugsg (noun, unclassified, at least usually with -g-repetitive thematized) 'louse' IM, Rezanov Kykycke 'Boem Laus', guga 'louse' G (-g lacking, perhaps also correct), gugsg?atu? 'lots of lice' IM, gugsg ?u-na?d' ye? da'zih 'a louse is walking around on his head' L, ?ew gugsgeyu-dedi-dzK 'those lice (cust) lay eggs' L; zawa-ya? gugsg 'flea' ('dog's louse') L.

-ly-i-gugs-g (noun, probably ly-class, with ly-class--mark for possessor) 'small seeds (of fruit)': kule-yeigugsg 'seeds' L, ?uleyeigugsg 'its seeds (small enough to eat, of fruit, berry)' L (cf. -ly-i-delih 'pit, seed (of fruit, too large to eat)').

de-gugs-g (with -g-repetitive thematized) 'S is, becomes lousy, infested with lice': degugsg 'they get full of lice' L, sdigugsgt 'it's become lousy' (especially of ducks in autumn) M, sexdegugsgt 'I'm becoming infested with lice' L.

## gəɣd

- gəɣd 'S is, gets sticky' (perhaps not freely used, attested only in active perfective): səgəɣdɪ 'he (child) got all sticky' L.
- lə-gəɣd 'S is, gets sticky, sticks, adheres': sli-gəɣdɪ 'it's sticky, it got sticky' L, li-gəɣd 'it's sticky' (neuter imperfective) L, repetitive: lə-gəɣdɔŋ 'it keeps sticking' L, with o-ɣ 'in contact with o' or o-d 'to o', 'S adheres to o': ʔəwɔʔli-gəɣdɪ, ʔəwɣ ʔli-gəɣdɪ 'it's stuck to it' (neuter perfective) L, ya-neɣ ʔli-gəɣdɪ 'it (e.g. linoleum) is stuck to the floor' (neuter perfective) L, da-ɣ quʔlə-gəɣd 'you'll be glued up (to indeterminate o)' 51.23, 23aA (perhaps passive), dɛdɛʔɣ yɛɣ ʔli-gəɣdɛwɛhd 'so the lid will stick down' 65.25A, with class-mark for S: da-ɣ di-li-gəɣdɪ 'it (board?) is stuck on (to something)' L, ya-neɣ di-li-gəɣdɪ 'it (board) is stuck down to the floor (e.g. by nailing)' L, gɛhɛ siya-ɣ di-li-gəɣdɪ 'pitch is stuck to my hand' L, with y-anatomical: yɛɣ yixli-gəɣdɪ 'my hand's (become) stuck (down)' L, repetitive: ʔəwɣ yɛləgɛ-ɣdɔŋk 'his hand (cust) sticks to it' 36.37, 37, 38A; indirect reflexive: ʔɛdɣ yɛlə[ge-ɣdɔŋ] 'his hand (cust) sticks to himself' (unfinished) 36.-38A. Transitive (causative): ʔəwɔʔ səlgəɣd 'stick it (e.g. stamp, wallpaper, tape) to it!' L, da-ɣ

səɪgəɣɔ̄ L, da·ɣ̄ ʔəɪgəɣɔ̄ 'stick it on (something)!' S, ʔəwɔ̄ quʔxɪgəɣɔ̄ 'I'll stick it on it' L, ʔəwɔ̄ ku·ɪgəɣɔ̄tʃh 'he's got a bandage on it' (neuter perfective) L, ʔəwɔ̄ xɪgə·ɣɔ̄k 'I (cust) stick it on it' M, indirect reciprocal: ʔəɪɔ̄ səɪgəɣɔ̄, ʔɪɪɣ̄ səɪgəɣɔ̄ 'stick them together!' L; passive: 51.23, 23aA (perhaps intransitive), see also following nominalizations.

ʔux̄ ʔɪɪɔ̄ kuɔ̄gəɣɔ̄ɔ̄g (noun) 'glue, paste' L. Nominalized passive active imperfective of causative of preceding, with -g-repetitive thematized, 'by means of it something is made to stick together'.

daɔ̄ degəɣɔ̄ɔ̄g (noun) 'bandage' L. As above, 'it is made to adhere to indeterminate o'.

ʔəɪɪɣ̄ da·ɣ̄ degəɣɔ̄ɔ̄g (noun) 'wallpaper' L. As above, 'it is made to adhere to indeterminate o indoors'.

kuɣe·gəɣɔ̄ name of mythological personage, 'Property Woman' IM, 36.1, 42, 45, 47A. Probably nominalized active imperfective of ku·ɣ̄ y-gəɣɔ̄ 'S's hand is sticky on something' (for -ɣ̄-yə- > -ɣ̄e'- cf. ca·le-yəɣ̄ > ca·le·ɣ̄, -ɣ̄ə-yəɔ̄ > -ɣ̄e·ɔ̄), see Eyak Texts 36, and fns.

gedi'yec-sedi'yec (earlier transcribed e-, confirmed in place-name, but g- confirmed in bird name; probably loan from Eskimo, Yupik teqiiyaaᑦ 'arctic tern', but also used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry gidi-yec, same bird as čaxadiya 'cormorant', q.v. under čax)

gedi'yec (noun, unclassified) '(black-legged) kittiwake (Rissa tridactyla)' L, perhaps also 'Bonaparte's gull (Larus philadelphia)' and/or 'Sabine's gull (Xema sabini)', Galushia Nelson sediq 'kittiwake (gull)' BSdL 539.

sedi'yecya' ca' place-name, of Pinnacle Rock ('kittiwake's rock') L (e- verified, but perhaps to be corrected to g-).

gelu·3 (probably loan from Chugach Eskimo keluucaq  
'key', from Russian КЕЮУ, not used in Yakutat Tlingit,  
Sampson Harry)

gelu·3 (noun, unclassified) 'key' L, gelu·3luw  
'big key' LM.

gəldu·xa· (loan from Chugach Eskimo kaltuuxaq 'potato',  
 from Russian картофель, not used by Yakutat Tlingit,  
 Sampson Harry)

gəldu·xa· (noun, lɣ-class) 'potato' LM, gəldu·=  
 xa·ləxətʉ? 'lots of potatoes' M, ləxətʉ·  
 gəldu·xa· 'raw potatoes' L, gəldu·xa·iʔahə  
 'potato leaves, plants' L.

genah-gunah (perhaps loan from Chugach Eskimo, source not identified, see below)

genah--gunah- (perhaps noun, unclassified, or exclamation) occurring only in song fragment, with -kih 'diminutive, affectionate' and ?uĉ 'to him, her, it': ?uĉ genahkih, ?uĉ gunahkih Scar Stevens used to sing to his infant daughter Sophie as he brought her to L's mother 72.42L; L thinks this may be an "Aleut" word, which she associates semantically with Eyak lah 'here you are!', cf. nah.

gud (loan from Tlingit gúd 'dime', probably from English 'bit' through Chinook Jargon)

gud (noun, d-class, or probably preferably, unclassified) 'dime, ten cents' LS, gud sič 'eta?  
 'give me a dime!' L, kúdetu? gud, kútu? gud  
 M, guddetu?, gud'etu? 'lots of dimes' LM.

gudšu·wu· (loan from Tlingit gód šuwú 'nickel' i.e.,  
 'half of, part of dime', cf. gud, da·na·šu·wu·)

gudšu·wu· (noun, d-class, or probably preferably,  
 unclassified) 'nickel, five cents' LS, gudšu·wu·  
 sič 'eta? 'give me a nickel!' L, gudšu·wu·tu?  
 L, gudšu·wu·deču? 'lots of nickels' LM.

gučuh-gečuh (guču? A (probably incorrect, by analogy with ču?, rejected by L); probably loan from Tlingit (Swanton 1908, p. 445) k!itc!u' 'knee-shaped die < "buttocks-shape"') *Handwritten note: see W. S. 103/104*

gučuh-gečuh (noun, unclassified) 'die, gambling toy for throwing, made of wood' L, Galushia Nelson sč'čed 'dice' BSdL 551 (for description, illustration, and use see BSdL 241), gečuhluw 'big die' L, gučuh qeçah month-name ('die(-throwing) month') L, guču? qeçah 'October?, August?' A.

ca'la-gečuh (noun, perhaps lɣ-class) '(modern gambling-) dice' ('stone-dice') L, also name of Government Rock, islet near Cordova L.

ca'gučuh-ca'gečuh place-name, island near Cordova, probably to be identified with preceding, possible reading of Furuhjelm Tzakutshu (Dall, 1870 Tzakatshu) 'island'.

gunux (perhaps loan from Chugach Eskimo kanax- 'gut-  
skin', not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry) see  
de?

gi·wa· (loan from Tlingit giwa 'beer', from Russian  
пиво)

gi·wa· (noun, gl-class) 'beer' LMSG, de· ʔowa·duh  
ʔənahšəkih ʔuxəʔi·leh, na·w da·ʔ gi·wa· 'which  
do you want, whiskey or beer?' L, dade·d, gi·wa·,  
na·w 'either one, whiskey, beer' L, gi·wa·gəle·  
tuʔ 'lots of beer' M, kʷəleʔtuʔ gi·wa· 'many  
beers, bottles of beer' L, gi·wa·gu·ʔnuw 'large  
quantity of beer' LM, gi·wa· ʔulahyaʔ kʷʔxs=  
hituhgʷi 'I got lazy from drinking beer' L, gi·wa·  
sidaʔ səqaʔ 'bring me a keg of beer!' ('bring me  
beer in a container!') L, gi·wa·lehd ku·ʔnuw  
səkeʔʷi 'he's getting a beer-belly' ('he's getting  
big-bellied because of beer(-drinking)') L, gi·  
wa·itah '(empty) bottle of beer' L.

s<sup>w</sup>e·i-ge·i (loan from Tlingit s<sup>w</sup>éi 'sack', occurring  
only in loan qəλs<sup>w</sup>e·i-qəλge·i)

GENERAL

NEWSPAPER

C. J. ...

g<sup>w</sup>e·lta·g-ge·lta·g-ke·lta·g (unanalyzable; g<sup>w</sup>e·lta·g Rezanov, A once, S once, G five times, ge·lta·g L four times, M once, A twice, G twice, ke·lta·g L once, later rejected, A thirteen times; to be segmented g<sup>w</sup>e·l-ta·g, ~~g<sup>w</sup>e·lta·g-ge·lta·g-ke·lta·g~~, g<sup>w</sup>e·l--ta·g, g<sup>w</sup>e·l-ta·-g, ~~g<sup>w</sup>e·l-ta·g~~, g<sup>w</sup>e·l-ta·-g, perhaps repetitive active imperfective of verb theme -l--ta with -g-repetitive, unidentified prefix or stem g<sup>w</sup>e·- or g<sup>w</sup>e·l, no clear connection with Tlingit g<sup>w</sup>él 'sack', Eyak qəλ-g<sup>w</sup>e·l--ge·l 'bottle', perhaps containing g-thematic, cf. qe'yilteh 'whale' under te; informants unable to etymologize in Eyak or Tlingit, but probably of Eyak origin)

g<sup>w</sup>e·lta·g-ge·lta·g-ke·lta·g (noun, unclassified)

'(hair-, Pacific harbor) seal (Phoca vitulina)':

Rezanov Коалавака 'Нема Seekalb, Phoca vitu-

lina' g<sup>w</sup>e·lta·g AS, 62.30, 31, 63.29, 32G,

Galushia Nelson siltáq or siltáq or silták

'seal' BSdL 539 ge·lta·g LM, 20.38A, 62.26, 28G,

ke·lta·g 'seal' L (later rejected), 9.141, 141,

50.49, 51.43aA, ge·lta·gyu· 68.48A, ke·lta·gyu·

'seals' 20.33, 28.19, 68.49, 58A, Galushia Nelson

siltáq wólá'fyd 'seal people' BSdL 283, 559

ge·lta·gwelahyu·, ge·lta·gkahl 'seal flipper'

L, ke·lta·gxe? 'seal-oil' 9.158A, ke·lta·gsj·l

'seal(-skin)-boots' 51.43a, 44, 45, 80A, g<sup>w</sup>e·i=  
ta·gce? 'seal-meat' 63.36G.

gə'deɛ-ga'deɛ-guledeɛ (ga'deɛ L only, guledeɛ A only;  
 loan from Tlingit (Naish-Story) kantíɛ<sup>w</sup>, (Sampson  
 Harry) gamdíɛ<sup>w</sup>, (S, G) gantíɛ<sup>w</sup> 'blue lupine (Lu-  
 pinus nootkatensis)', cf. also Chugach Eskimo akaataq  
 'lupine')

gə'deɛ-ga'deɛ-guledeɛ (noun, probably unclassified)  
 'unidentified plant species' ('blue lupine?'):  
 gə'deɛ 'plant' ("we dig them up and eat them")  
 S, ga'deɛ, gə'deɛ L has heard, but cannot iden-  
 tify, vaguely identified with sələciŋaʔ yə'ʔi-  
 təhì 'fireweed', guledeɛ 'same as Tlingit ga-  
 ndíɛ<sup>w</sup>'. A (gana- probably identified with Eyak  
 gl-class-mark 'liquid', and -deɛ<sup>w</sup> perhaps with  
 Eyak o-deɛ 'upland from, above o').

[find Veniaminov (Gough k'xw 'wildgeese, black rind')]

ga'x (loan from Tlingit gáx<sup>w</sup> 'duck' (generic?), see }  
below, and Swanton (1909 p. 208) gāx<sup>u</sup> 'black duck')

ga'x (noun, unclassified) 'black, saltwater duck  
species, has brown(?) head, good to eat' L. Rezanov  
Kaxɿ 'Yrka Ente' (corresponding Tlingit entry  
Kaxɿ, but this may represent Tlingit sáɿ 'mer-  
ganser' instead), Harrington from G Tlingit  
kaax<sup>w</sup> = C[ordova Eyak] ditto, actually used in  
both languages, black diver, squawduck, locally  
called helldiver, and sometimes spoken of as salt-  
water duck (pelagic cormorant, Phalacrocorax pela-  
gicus)'.  
.

gu·suxk'-gu·sexk'-gu·suhxk'-gu·sihxk' (unanalyzable, probably to be segmented gu'-suxk'-, gu'- perhaps containing g-thematic or g-class-mark, stem -suxk'; perhaps loan from Tlingit, <sup>see also 'suxk' 'to take away from bark'</sup>)

gu·suxk' (noun or perhaps active imperative of verb theme (0-)g-suxk') attested only in gu·suxk'-da·ɣ daKah seta?, sa?wahd 'fan, separate out fiber of cambium layer, for (to obtain) bast!' A (in etymologizing following personal name, 'take it away from indeterminate o in form of?, by means of? gu·suxk', for bast:', or to be analyzed, if verb, gu·suxk' da·ɣ daKah seta?, sa?wahd '... it! and take it away from indeterminate o!, for bast', unknown to L).

gu·sexketa·? man's name, same as Tlingit gusekka?iS A, gu·sihxketa·?, gu·suhxketa·? name of part--Eyak, part-Tlingit man ('father of g-') L.

gu'ʒgeleɬ-eu'ʒgeleɬ (g- more frequent and probably more correct, but e- also well-established and verified by L; loan from Chugach Eskimo kuuckalaq 'eagle', cf. also Ahtena ʒgulaɬ 'eagle', not used by Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)

gu'ʒgeleɬ-eu'ʒgeleɬ (noun, unclassified) L, gu'ʒgeleɬ 'eagle' M, 8.1, 2, 4, 15, 18A, 42.20L, 60.-21A, Rezanov Куукоама 'Орелъ Adler', Wrangell Ткоукоама 'Adler', Galushia Nelson ɛ́tɬɛ́dɛ́ 'eagle' BSDL 264, 539, 559, gu'ʒgeleɬkiɬ 'eaglet' 8.8A, gu'ʒgeleɬgəkaʔ 'eagle-tail' (used for dancing) L, Galushia Nelson ɛ́tɬɛ́dɛ́ yɛ́t 'Eagle potlatch house' BSDL 545 gu'ʒgeleɬyahd 'eagle-house'.

gu·xyeə (loan from Chugach Eskimo kuuxiaq 'coffee',  
from Russian кофе , not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Samp-  
son Harry)

gu·xyeə (noun (gl-class), 'coffee (as beverage)'  
L (as beans probably lɿ-class, as ground probably  
unclassified).

gu'n (loan from Tlingit (Sampson Harry) <sup>W. Schmidt</sup> gun 'gold',  
 from English, perhaps directly, or through Chinook Jar-  
 gon)

gu'n (noun, unclassified) 'gold' LMS, gu'n'et'u'  
 'lots of gold' LM.

gu'neca' (noun, dl-class) 'rock with gold in it,  
 gold nugget' ('gold-rock') L, gu'neca' ?u'd  
 λa'se'ah̄t 'a rock with gold in it is there' L.

gu'neht-gu'niht (loan from Chugach Eskimo kuuniq 'horse',  
from Russian КОНИ or КОВЕК, not used in Yakutat Tlingit,  
Sampson Harry)

gu'neht (noun, unclassified) 'horse' L, gu'niht=  
luw M, gu'nehtluw 'big horse' L, gu'neht ya?  
sela'ʔa'w 'big (high) horse' L.

ggggggs (cf. bsbbsbs)

ggggggs (animal call) used for calling a cat,  
or to comfort crying baby M, used for calling  
puppy L.

kih

-kih (adjectival suffix, morphologically and syntactically unique) 'small, little, cute, little bit of' (general diminutive and/or affectionate; rather frequent in corpus, occurrences extensively but not exhaustively cited) 1. meaning regular: suffixed to polyvocalic nouns: *ʒawa·kih* 'little dog, cute, nice little dog' LM, see also *ʒəbədūkī*, *-dəleh*, *-həʔd*, *dəʒahəʔ*, *-qaʔ* 1., *ʒeʔgəlīd*, *ʒənuh*, *ʔənuh*, *-wəʒaʔw-*, *ʒi·da·dəs*, *-ceʔ*, *ʒəʒəcah* (ca-cah), *Kū·hdaʔd*, *ʒe·dʒəʒəʔ*, *ʒə·diʔiʔdʒ*, *-qəʒ*, *ʒəsuʔ*, *qə·liləh* (la-na<sup>1</sup>, 61.10+A), *ʔəna·ʒəh*, *ʒələs*, *gu·ʒgələs-*; suffixed to classified nouns: *ʒdu·līhədəkih* 'little table' L, *Kutahti·ləkih* 'little pelt, bit of pelt' M, *Kuʔtəhiti·ləkih* 'little leaf' M, *ʒe·yuʔdəkih* 'little hemlock' M, *həʔdəkih* 'little glacier' M, *ʒahsiʔa·kih* 'little needle' M, *ləʒəʒki·ʒədəkih* 'small pole' M, *ʔə·gələkih* 'little river, creek' L, *Rezanov*, *caʔhədəkih* 'small knife' M, 38.8, 14LM, 66.5L, *ma·gədəkih* 'small lake, pond' L, *Kuʒy·həyahyū·ləkih* 'small teeth' L; suffixed to 1-class nouns, connective *-(ʔ)ə-* usually preceding *-lə-*, often even where suffixed to polyvocalic forms: *ʒu·ləkih* 'small breasts' L, *ʒuhgələkih* 'small shovel' L,

teššalekih 'small hammer' L, Rezanov, šiyahd-  
 lekih L, šiyahdʔelekih 'small hat' M, ʔɹ̥·di-  
 tu·šlekih 'little black gunboots' M; with certain  
 nouns referring to humans, connective -i-: cf.  
 ʔ̥, below dəʔhiki 'little (miniature) person'  
 37b.47A (cf. dəʔhiki under 3. below), see also  
 qeʔi, ʔeni·ʔ; suffixed to unclassified mono-  
 vocalic nouns, with connective -(ʔ)e-, -ʔ-  
 usually and probably more correctly present: ʔəx-  
 ʔekih 'small boat, model boat' L (cf. ʔəxekih  
 'canoe' under 2. below), see also du·š, duhsK,  
 ta·, taš-, ʔeʔt, čeliš-, sahs, kuʔi, ceʔ,  
 qeʔi, ku·y; suffixed to kinship nouns, meaning  
 usually affectionate, 'nice, dear': see -qaʔ,  
 -sih, -ci·-, -dece·ʔ, with irregular connective  
 -(ʔ)e-, see -ʔehd, -yahš; suffixed to nouns  
 with suffixed adjective or to independent adjective:  
 ʔewa·luwkih 'fairly big dog, good-sized dog, nice  
 big dog' L, kuʔluwkih 'pretty big, fair-sized,  
 just about grown up' L, 49.29, 30A, ʔeni·ʔiʔu·-  
 kih 'nice little boy' L, qeʔiʔu·kih 'nice girl,  
 pretty girl' L, especially frequent with -kuč--  
 'little', and -guč-- 'tiny'; suffixed to forms  
 with thematized suffixed -kih: ʔəxekihkih 'little  
 canoe' L, si·ʔkihkih 'my little brother' (af-  
 fectionate, Scar Stevens called L this) L; suffixed

X

to numeral: ?ah i?heihkih 'that small one  
 (person), youngster' 10.26A; suffixed to nominal-  
 ized verbs: ya?ku?gkih yi?ih?ihkih 'little one  
 (who is small), small child' L, Rezanov, ?e?a?  
 ?edu?li?ig?ih?ihkih 'my what a cute outgoing,  
 knowledgeable little child!' ('my how he (dim.)  
 knows himself!') L, ?ew x<sup>w</sup>i?g? ?i?tehkih  
 'that little white one' 23.28A, de?uyeg? ?idi-  
 yahkih 'a small one just the right size for her  
 to handle' 25.25A, see further instances under  
 2. below; suffixed to postpositional phrases:  
 (de)?elga?kih '(just) this little bit, like this  
 (small size, degree, distance)' 25.48A, de?el-  
 ga?kih sah da?x ga?g?ih 'when he goes just  
 (a short way) like this he keeps getting tired'  
 L, ?ahga?kih ?i?ku?g?ihku?g?iyah 'poor little  
 fellow as small as he' 9.44A, qi? ?awga?kih  
 ?a?diyah? 'until she's big enough (though still  
 small)' ('until she's sized like that little bit')  
 9.27A, ?ew?u?xkih ?idiyah 'the lesser one'  
 ('the one sized less than that little one') 37b.-  
 26A, with other (locational) postpositional  
 phrases, with vague diminutive reference: ?ew  
 qi?de?kih la?q? ?i?a?da?x 'along the place  
 along where (dim.) it (meat) is (rather?) thick'  
 65.4A, lu?di?dkih qew sedah? 'stayed on the

(dim.) tide-beach (doing a little beachcombing)'  
 10.2A, ʔi·d ʔələdeʔesdkih ʔp̄h sedaht 'way  
 at the back end of that little place she sat'  
 23.45A, ʔəyeʔu·dkih 'a little further over  
 there' M; in combination with -sa-yu· 'pl':  
 ʔeʔləkihsəyu· 'young women' 29.1A (corrected by  
 L to ʔeʔləsəyu·kih, probably incorrect, of  
 original transcribed dictation).

2. Thematised, where relationship of meaning  
 of form with -kih to that without -kih is  
 clearly irregular, or in proper names or certain  
 nominalizations, or, where no form without -kih  
 is given, in forms not occurring without -kih:  
 ʔədələhkih 'spider sp.' L (ʔədələh 'some-  
 one's mind'), ʔəʔekih 'canoe' (not ʔəʔekih,  
 cf. ʔəʔ 'boat', ʔəʔekih 'small boat, model  
 boat'), ʔu·ʔələkih 'bird sp.' L (ʔu·ʔ 'snail'),  
 di·yāhʔa·wʔələkih 'bird sp.' M (di·yāh-ʔa·w  
 'stickleback-head') ʔəʔekih cat's name A  
 (ʔəʔ 'pot'), ʔigeʔahdekih dog's name A (ʔige-  
 ʔah 'your tail'), kusʔekih 'vulva' (nursery  
 term) A (kus 'urine, urination'), du·ʔa·skih  
 man's name L (du·ʔa·s man's name), ka·ta·dekih  
 'twenty-five cents' L (same meaning as ka·ta·),  
 ya·ʔeʔkih woman's name LM (ya·ʔeʔ '(maternal)  
 aunt (vocative)'), ʔuyahʔekih cat's name L

(Kuyahš 'a (woman's) child; with irregular connective -ə-), Mla·kih 'cross-cousin' (vocative only, not \*Mla·) L (-M-la· 'cross-cousin'), seisiʔiʔəkih dog's name A (seisiʔi 'it is rotten, foul', nominalization, with irregular connective -ʔə-), ʔiəʒəhkih 'hummingbird' L (ʔiəʒəh 'it buzzes', nominalization), Kuitəʒgkih 'propeller, fan' L (Kuitəʒg 'propeller, that which paddles'), seqe·dəkih 'child' (with irregular connective -ə-, see qe·d-), qe·dəkih, qeđkih ('child', vocative, with irregular lack of connective -ə-, see qe·d-), ʒəwa·kihta·ʔ Eyak man's name ('little dog's father', where ʒəwa·kih is perhaps also a personal name) LA, qeʔiəsa·kih Eyak woman's name, Annie Johnson A (see under Siyah-Sah-Sa·), in two partly unanalyzable nouns: ʔukəhyəkih 'nobleman', yaʔəkih 'large canoe', thematized in kinship terms for siblings: -caʔkih '(woman's) older sister', -:ʒkih '(woman's) brother', -ed---kih '(man's) sister', thematized in grandchild terms reciprocal to grandparent terms: -ču·kih '(woman's) daughter's child' (-ču· 'maternal grandmother'), -ʔwe·šəkih '(man's) daughter's child' (-ʔwe·š-e 'maternal grandfather'), -ʔuh=kih '(man's) son's child' (-ʔuh 'paternal grandfather'), with irregular -lə- connective:

-Kihlekih '(woman's) son's child' (-kih 'pa-  
 ternal grandmother'), with -əyu' 'pl.': -;3=  
 kihsəyu' '(woman's) brothers' 9.116, 116, 116,  
 116, 121, 154, 161A, 18.60, 71, 80, 86L, 20.45,  
 48, 60, 68, 89, 29.27, 33, 39A, 34.6fnL; suffixed  
 to certain pronouns in the formation of certain  
 indefinite pronouns: deʔu·dəɣya·kih 'something,  
 anything' (deʔu·dəɣ ya· 'a thing anywhere'),  
 deʔu·dəɣyɨ·kih 'someone, anyone' (deʔu·dəɣ yɨ·  
 hɨh 'a person anywhere', with irregular deletion  
 of -ɨh), dəde·kih...-d 'anything at all, the  
 slightest little thing' L, 10.58, 177, 23.5A (de-  
 de...-d 'anything, whatever'); suffixed to forms  
 not occurring without -kih in the formation of  
 certain adverbials and nouns occurring syntactic-  
 ally only as C: gusi·kih 'a little bit, slight-  
 ly' (see si·), dəqi·kih 'all gone, no more  
 left' (see qi·), ʔənahʂəkkih 'fun, pleasant'  
 (probably with irregular -ə- connective), ʔe-  
 su·kih 'asleep (of baby)' (see su·), ya·kih-  
 dah 'payment' (ya· 'a thing', with -dah ad-  
 verbializer, cf. deʔu·dəɣya·kih above), ge-  
 nahkih-gunahkih 'here!'; suffixed to adverbs:  
 sahdɣkih '(after) a little while' 61.7, 19A  
 (sahd-ɣ 'long (time)'), diʔdahkih 'fairly  
 well, decent, a bit better' M (diʔdah 'fine,

alright, safe' < de- 'ipse', ?i-dah 'fine, alright, well'), ?ida·kih 'so little' 10.118A (?ida·-?ida- 'how, in such a way, to such a degree'); suffixed to deverbalization, used adverbially: delahkih '(for a little something) to drink' L (see delah under la); suffixed to adverbs, as o of o-ga? 'like o', in postpositional phrase used adverbially: ne·?kihga? 'after a little while, pretty soon' ((ne·? 'after a while, soon, first'), qa·lkihga? 'just a short while ago' M, 11.95A (qa·l 'now, nowadays, shortly ago'), lexkihga? 'a little too much' M (lex 'thus, <sup>to</sup> ~~this-way~~').

3. Suffixed to clause-initial adverbs and nouns in certain optative constructions: ?u·dkih, de?u·dkih, ?ahkih 'would that, if only' (see ?u·, ?ah), de?ahkih?gah? si?pa? si·ya· 'would that (some nice, some) person would (kindly, or other) come upon me' 10.218A.

kih (perhaps to be identified with -kih, used independently as epithet) Eyak man's name, Billy Dude LMS, ki' name of Billy Dude and brothers of Johnny Stevens in BSdL genealogical table, perhaps also Ke in Seton-Kerr 158, and Kai, a shaman mentioned by Abercrombie, BSdL 226-228.

(*probably related to kul-kū-kānah<sup>low</sup>, see also kū.*)  
 kjh

d-kjh (noun, unclassified, with d-thematic) 'stick, wood': lb.5M, 34.81, 88L, 65.21A, 'dry wood' 6.5M, dekjh 'sticks' M, 'wood' S, Rezanov Takke 'Дере-вannoй bülzern', Furuhjelm Takhi 'tree', Galushia Nelson Déki<sup>n</sup> 'plunger for popgun' BSdL 551, Déki<sup>n</sup>, Old Man Dude Déki<sup>n</sup> 'wooden' BSdL 554, dikjhlw 'big stick' IM, lb.4M, dekjh<sup>tu</sup> 'lots of sticks' L, ?aw dekjh?a'wyu 'those long sticks' L, dekjh ?u'daxyu qesekah<sup>t</sup> 'sticks are lying all over there' L, dekjh ?u'daxyu yeqa? di'?yah<sup>t</sup> 'stick are piled up all over there' L, ?aw dekjh ka?e' ?u?e silka?k 'I turned the stick into an island' L, ?aw dekjh ?aw dika?gqa? li? secu'x 'poke that stick into the book (between the pages)!' L, ye'e' dekjh seke?k 'wild celery is turning to wood' L, ?el dekjh xela'seta? 'latch, bolt the door with this stick!' ('put this stick as bolt for door!') L, xela'tah dekjh 'latch-stick' L, dila? dekjh 'hard wood' L, šeciga? ?i'teh dekjh 'forked stick' ('stick which is like a fork') M, dekjh<sup>x</sup> sišeh<sup>t</sup> (or sišeh<sup>t</sup>) 'I killed it with a stick' L, ?aw se'e' dekjh<sup>q</sup> gu'xa?e' 'tie that spruceroot on a stick!' L, dekjh<sup>x</sup>a? da' ?a?e' 'we're going for sticks' L; in compounds: Galushia Nelson Déki<sup>n</sup> cilt<sup>t</sup> 'wooden spoon' BSdL 547 dekjhšilt, Déki<sup>n</sup> ũso<sup>n</sup>kt 'wooden snowshoe' BSdL 550 dekjh3qhd, sedegildékjh 'sun-sticks' 34.77L.

ka' (perhaps related to ka?)

g-ka' (-ka' meaningless augment required with g-class-, thematic, or anatomical mark, as mark with numerals, or as o of nonsyllabic (consonantal) postpositions, where other marks of the form Ce as mark with numeral > Ca', or with consonantal postpositions > -Ca·C): 1. As mark with numerals: īh̄s guka' le·ī 'one hair' M, īh̄s guka' se·e' 'one (strand of) spruceroot' L, laʔd gēka' se·e' 'two spruceroots' M, īh̄s guka' la·x̄ 'one string' L, laʔd gēka' la·x̄ 'two strings' M, laʔd gēka' kuʔt' 'two sinews, threads' M, dəx̄k guka·deʔew 'how many strands is that?' L; uncertain, guka' perhaps to be deleted: le·ī guka' yīh̄h̄ 'it's got (loose) hair on it' L.

2. As o of nonsyllabic postpositions: ʔew ku= laqah qe·les ʔeda·g, le·īguka·x̄ 'the head kept walking back ashore, on (by means of its) hair' 53.13L, se·e'gēka·x̄ deidaʔ (ge)di·ʔyah̄ 'it's full of spruceroots' L; siguka·q̄d 'the lower part, hem of my dress, coat' ('(at rest, nominalization of) on me (g-anatomical or thematic)' L; cf. le·īgu·teʔe' 'by (holding onto) the hair' (< le·ī-g-l-teʔe'-e) 49.36A, le·ī-gulah 'around the hair' 49.33A, le·īguḡaʔ yḡʔ 'medicine for hair' L, se·e'gḡaʔ 'for spruce-roots' 66.1L.

kaʔʔ (perhaps related to kaʔ)

-g-kaʔ (noun, d-class or unclassified, with g-thematic 'caudal, appendage') 'tail (of a bird)': ʔugukaʔ 'its tail' L, 24, 65, 65, 65, 68, 69A, Kugekaʔ 'tail (of a bird)' L, Kugekaʔdaʔluw 'big tail (of a bird)' L, Kugekaʔ ʔuʔd desetahi (or setahi) 'a (bird's) tail is there' L, Kugekaʔʔ ʔigjihih 'he's dancing with a(n eagle's) tail' L, guʔgoleʔgekaʔ 'eagle's tail' (used for dancing) L; gukaʔdociʔg 'pintail duck (Anas acuta)' ('narrow-tail', epithet) LM.

perhaps

ka?-ka? (ka? only in form with -ɣ final, perhaps related to -kewa?- of -kewa?-na'-e, see -na'-e under la'-na.<sup>1</sup>)

o-ka? (postposition) '(facing and/or moving) in same direction as o, (along) with o': with verbs of locomotion, 'along with': sika? ?iqe? 'boat with me!' L, sika? ?iwe? 'swim with me!' L, du? ?ewa'd laɣa? sika? leh 'which of you wants to go with me?' L, sika? la-eyu? 'people who are going along with me' L, sika? yeɣ ɛ-ca?ɣih 'he wants to go about with me, wants to go everywhere I go' L, o-ka? -?a?ɕ 'pl. S go along with o': 9.114, 115, 10.109, 113A, 29.47fnL, with reciprocal o: ?ikka? eede?a?ɕinu? 'they're walking side by side in same direction' L, ?ikka? yeɣ de?a?ɕinu? 'they go around together' M, sika? ?a-?, sika? ?iya?, sika? ?iya? 'come with me!' L, 10.250, 266A, 40.7L, qa-ka? ?a-?, qa-ka? ?iya? L, qa-kā? ?iya? 'come with us!' 23.89A, sika? ɛa-ɣih 'he's walking along with me, in same direction as I, coming with me' L, ?ika? qu?xah 'I'll go with you' L, sika? sah-ɣih 'he came with me' L, kuka? ?u-ɕ sahɛ 'he went thither with someone (specific)' L, with indeterminate o: deka? ?u-ɕ sahɛ 'he went there accompanied' L, further occurrences of o-ka?

-a 'sg. S goes with o': 10.251, 252, 262, 11.=  
 129A, 18.81, 86, 21a.5L, 23.43, 44A, 31.6L, 32.=  
 48, 49, 33.54A, 40.9, 55.23L; with verbs indica-  
 ting position, 'side by side, parallel, facing  
 in same direction': sika? yeʒ leʒedela? 'turn  
 to face the same way as I!' M, with reciprocal o:  
 ?iika? yeʒ ?i·dilahhīnu· 'they're lying "like  
 spoons"' ('they're facing the same way') M, ?iika?  
 ?idiʔah 'they are (extend) close and paral-  
 lel' L, ?iika? ʒədidiʔah 'they (logs) extend  
 in the same direction' L, ?iika? ʒedi·lsid  
 'set them (pl. logs) side by side!' L, ?iikaʔ-  
 Suh ?i·səlsidɪ 'did you set them (pl. paddles)  
 side by side (with blades all in same direction?)?'  
 L; du·kaʔd 'who with?' L.

o-kaʔ-ʒ (postposition, derived from o-kaʔ with  
 -ʒ final, attested with zero, -d, and -ʃ fi-  
 nals) 1. with verbs of locomotion, requiring themat-  
 ic ?i-ʔ-(d)-, 'coming, catching up with, to,  
 overtaking o': with zero final: ?ika·ʒ ?iʔde-  
 sewe·lɪh 'he caught up with you swimming' L, see  
 further attestations under ?i-ʔ-ʒdl-ʔya, ?i-ʔ-  
 (d)ʔaʔʃ; with -ʃ final: ?ika·ʒaʃ ?iʔdəcax-  
 we·ɪ 'I'm catching up to you swimming' L, see  
 further attestations under ?i-ʔ-ʒdl-ʔya, ?i-  
 ʔ-(d-)a.

2. With -d final, 'in a state of wanting,  
trying to catch up with o': sika'ʒd yiʒhʒh  
'he's trying to catch up with me' L.

f. Haida *dal* 'stomach; rain'  
*daŋgiyaa* pregnant

ka\* (perhaps related to ku-l-ky\*-kamah-kaw, with basic meaning 'belly, pregnancy', cf. Athapaskan \*-kan 'belly, womb, bowels, abdominal cavity', \*(-)kan 'rain', \*le=kan 'to be pregnant, be conceived', which are perhaps also related to certain widely attested Athapaskan forms of the meaning 'during the sleep of', 'big', and certain kinship terms such as '(woman's) grandchild', 'younger brother' (see Hoijer, Athapaskan Kinship Systems, AA 58.2 (1956), sets 34, 35, 66), and perhaps also to Athapaskan (da-)ken 'stick, tree, wood' -ken-e? 'base, handle, thickest part', earlier \*kan-kan 'belly, thickest part', with shift of reduced -a- to -e- conditioned by initial k-)

o-ka\* (postposition) 'o's fault, because of "something bad" o (a woman) did' (in view of the preceding and following it becomes clear that the real or earlier meaning is 'because of o's intentional abortion or infanticide', remembered only in the context o-ka\* ku-le 'something (rain, bad weather) happens because of o's "sin"): ?phka\* qel Kuleh 'this rain's her fault' ('this something is happening because of her abortion, infanticide') L, si-ka\* Kuleh 'the rain is my "fault"' L, Kuka\* Kuleh 'there's bad weather (rain, snowstorm) because of someone's "sin"' L, ?uka\* Kuljhh

'the bad weather is her fault' L, Kuka' Kuseli  
'there was bad weather (because of someone's sins)'  
L. See also BSdL 234: "bad weather was believed  
to be caused by intentional abortion, and by the  
murder and concealment of an illegitimate child."

ku·l-ky·-kemah-kew (also kumah, and perhaps also, kuw, ky·w, for variations see below; perhaps related to kih, and/or to ka; basic meaning 'thickest part, belly')

-kemah--kumah (noun, unclassified) 'belly': Galushia Nelson sJkúnd' 'belly' BSdL 542 Kúkumah, Kú-kemah 'belly, stomach, abdomen' LM, 15.15M (perhaps incorrectly referring specifically to the stomach itself as an organ), λa·dɔyaʔkemah 'mountain-goat stomach' 15.5, 8, 21M, ʔukumahda·ʔ, ʔu-kumahda·ʔ, ʔukumahda·ʔ '(cut fish open) ventrally' ('in the area of, along its belly') 65.28, 37, 37, 38, 39A, Kúkemahluw 'a big belly' LM.

-d-ɪ-ky· (noun, unclassified, with ɪ-classifier and probably d-class-mark for possessor) 'butt-end, base, rooted stump, thickest part': Kudeɪky· 'butt-end of something (tree), thickest part of something (e.g. log)' LMA, Kudeɪky·ʔluw 'big stump' LM (probably analogical with ku·ʔnuw below, to be corrected to -ky·luw), lɪsdeɪky· 'roots (or base?) of spruce' L, ʔe·yuʔdeɪky· 'roots (or base?) of hemlock' L.

-s-ɪ-ky·--ky·w--kuw--kew (noun, unclassified, stem form uncertain, with ɪ-classifier and s-thematic) '(stump, base with?) roots': ye·tʂeɪky· 10.206, 212A, ye·tʂeɪky·w 'wild-celery roots' (good for

eye-poultice) A, Kuseiky' 'roots' LM, Kuseik-  
 kuw 'root-stump', same as Tlingit ʔaqaxádi,  
 also "Black Bull tobacco roots" S, Kuseikuw,  
 Kuseikew, Kuseiky' 'some kind of roots' also  
 having to do with 'some kind of leaf-tobacco' L.  
 ku·l--ky'- (anatomical mark, subposition C, not to  
 be analyzed \*ku·-l-) 'belly, thickest part': in  
 verbs: O-ku·l-guʔK 'S punches O in belly', O--  
 ʔ-ku·l-guʔK 'S punches at O's belly', O-ku·l-ì--  
 qaʔK 'S splits O's belly open, opens O ventrally',  
 O-ku·l-ì-ʔaʔʔʔ-ʔ-g 'S tickles O's belly', lahʔ  
 ku·l-ʔya 'S's belly becomes bloated', with adject-  
 ive Kuku·ʔnuw 'big-bellied person', qəʔku·ʔnuw  
 'big-bellied pot', ku·ʔnuw 'big-bellied, paunchy'  
 (epithet), in postpositional phrase: o-ku·l-yeq  
 'into o's belly, abdomen' S.7, SA, in nouns: ky·--  
 ì-daʔc' 'stump', -ky·-ì-ʔiyeq 'abdomen', -ku·l--  
 kuhs-ì 'brisket'; in combination with d-class-mark,  
 sometimes thematized, ky·d- (not \*ku·λ-) 'base,  
 thickest part (of d-class object, e.g. tree)':  
 ky·d-ìe-ʔehg 'S (tree at base) rots', yeʔ ky·d--  
 kug 'S (tree at base, rifle at stock, axe-handle  
 near head) breaks', O-ky·d-ì-tahs 'S chops O  
 (tree at base)', with adjectives: lisky·daʔluw  
 'tree big at base', ky·dekucʔg 'small-based

(tree)', in nouns: -ky·d-i-ka? 'stock (of gun),  
part of (axe-)handle nearest head', in xedaxd  
ky·desəia·i 'cocktail glass, goblet' ('their  
thickest parts are at the top', nominalization),  
in combination with dl-thematic in verb, ky·λ-:  
O-?-ky·dl-i-cəx 'S cuts O's belly open'.

kid (perhaps reduced form of kihd, or of kjhd)

O-(l̄x-)kid (with optional l̄x-class-mark for O) 'S  
knocks O (blueberries) off bush': sikid̄ 'I  
knocked them (blueberries) off' (first break blue-  
berry-branches off plant, set them on canvas, then  
slap them with hand so that blueberries fall onto  
canvas; done with blueberries only) L, qu'lexi-x=  
kid 'I'll knock them (blueberries) off' L; passive:  
ləxədikid̄ 'they (blueberries) have been knocked  
off' L.

de-kid (perhaps in error for de-kihd, elicited af-  
ter the preceding, by which it may have been influ-  
enced) 'S (light snow) falls': sdikid̄ 'light  
snow has fallen' L.

kihd (perhaps related to kid)

kihd (noun, lɣ-class M, perhaps as flakes, unclassified L, perhaps as mass) 'light dry soft snow' L, 'snow' (perhaps 'wet snow, easily packed into a ball') M, kihdɔɣetʉ? 'lots of dry snow' M, kihdʔaʔluw kʉsekeʔi 'there got to be lots of dry snow' L.

de-kihd (see kid) 'S (light snow) falls': xɣʔkɣ sdikihdɔ 'lots of dry snow came down' ('it light--dry-snowed very much') L.

balloon, thing lying on tent roof, by slapping off from inside)' L, 'ew qid ikj-dkinu' 'they (cust) knock it off' L, repetitive: xikjhdg 'I keep showing it' L, xikjhdgh 'I keep shoving him along (walking behind him)' L, with l-anatomical: 'ew qalya'x 'gh yax 'j-seikjhdh 'he jammed her head down into the pot' L, 27b.53A; indirect reflexive: with Kah 'away from self': Kah xsikjhdh 'I gave it a quick shove away from me' L, with ya-x 'by means of, in (spatially or temporally) punctual contact with one's own hand' (o-y-x), 'S swipes, snitches, steals O': ya-x xsikjhdh 'I swiped it' L, ya-x kuxsikjhdh 'I swiped something' L, with d-class-mark for O: ya-x dixsikjhdh 'I pinched some money, I swiped, snitched it (money, knife)' L.

o-x d-ke-kjhd (with d-thematic, probably 'free fall', and o-x 'in (spatially or temporally) punctual contact with o') 'S knocks, bumps against, jostles, shoves S': 'ux dixsikjhdh 'I knocked against it in falling' L, six disikjhdjh 'he jostled me as he went by' L, ta'c xq'iq 'ghx disikjhdh 'he shoved her violently into the water' L, 'gh qe'ix ta'c xq'iq disikjhdjh 'he shoved the woman violently into the water' L.

kɪhd (perhaps related to kid)

-kɪhd 'S (inanimate) makes quick sudden motion, darts, shoots, S (human) makes quick sudden motion with hand': with qaʔ 'up out': gustʔ ʔu·dəx qaʔ se-kɪhdɪ 'flames shot up there' 51.79A, with o-ʃ 'toward o': ʔuʃ sɪkɪhdɪ 'I quickly grabbed at it' L, ʔuʃ sɪkɪhdɪ (with -g-repetitive perhaps thematicized) 'I touched it quickly' M, ʔuʃ ʔəkɪhdɪ 'touch it quickly' M, with qɪd 'down off' and o-ʃ 'with o': qɪd ʔuʃ sɪkɪhdɪ 'I knocked it off' ('I moved my hand quickly with it down off') M, qɪd ʔuʃ sɪkɪhdɪ 'knock it off!' M; indirect reflexive: ʔu·-ʃahd ʃaʔ xsɪkɪhdɪ 'I jerked my hand quickly back away from there' ('I made a quick motion with my hand thence toward myself') L, ʃaʔ xsɪkɪhdɪ 'I quickly darted my hand into (and out of) my pocket' L.

O-ɪ-kɪhd (semantically irregular causative of preceding)  
 'S causes O to make quick sudden motion' (not attested with the meaning 'S causes (human) O to make quick sudden hand-motion', but rather 'S displaces O (human or otherwise) with quick sudden motion (of hand or otherwise)'): sɪkɪhdɪ 'give it a quick shove!' L, sɪkɪhdɪ 'I knocked it over' L, yɔʔ-ʃ ʔsɪkɪhdɪ 'push it down!' L, yɔʔ-ʃ sɪkɪhdɪ 'I knocked it over, I knocked it down' L, yɔʔ-ʃ xusɪkɪhdɪh 'he shoved me down' L, yɔʔ sɪkɪhdɪ 'I knocked it upwards (e.g.

kuhd

-d-kuhd (noun, d-class, perhaps also unclassified, with d-thematic, perhaps 'oral') 'lip(s) (of human), chops (of e.g. dog)': Rezanov Kara-эмырә тыһи Lippen' qa-dekuhd 'our, human lips', sidekuhd 'my lips' LM, ʔedeu-ɪʔa-d ya- ʔudekuhd 'his upper lip' L, ʔeyexu-ɪʔa-d ya- ʔudekuhd 'his lower lip' L, ʔidekuhd ʔiya- yaʔ quʔdi-ʔuʔʔ 'you lips will get chapped' L, ʔudekuhddehah yeʔ ʔi-ɪaʔnaʔʔg 'it (dog) is licking its chops' L, kudekuhdluw 'big lips' LM; ʒi-ʒdekuhd 'fireweed (Epilobium)' LMA (see ʒi-ʒ; informants identify -dekuhd here with 'lips', but cannot explain rest of form).

kuʔd

O-i-kuʔd 'S sends O on errand': ʔiikuʔdɪh 'send him  
 (on an errand)!' LM, ʔiqeʔxikuʔd 'I'll send you on  
 an errand' M, siikuʔdɪh 'I sent him for something'  
 L, xu·iku·dKɪh 'he (cust) sends me on errands' L,  
 with o-luʔqa· (not o-ɣaʔ) 'for, to get o': na·w-  
 geleluʔqa· siikuʔdɪh 'he sent him for whiskey' L,  
 with yeɣ-progressive: yeɣ xukukuʔdɪh 'he sends  
 me about on errands' LM, passive: na·wgeleluʔqa·  
 xusiikuʔdɪ (or xusdi-) 'I've been sent for whis-  
 key' L, with yeɣ-progressive, nominalized: Galushia  
 Nelson yəɣDəku·txɪ 'messenger ("one sent for some-  
 thing")' BSdL 543 yeɣ dəkuʔdɪh 'he who is sent  
 around (on errands, with messages)', DɪKqəDd'ə<sup>n</sup>.  
 qɪ yəɣDəqtɪ 'unseen messenger ("not-seen one--  
 sent-for-something")' BSdL 310 diK tədəʔə·ɪh yeɣ  
 dəkuʔdɪh 'he who is not seen who is sent around  
 (on errands, with messages)', yeɣ dəkuʔdɪnu·  
 'priest's helpers, acolytes' L.

'toward o': ?uʃ ?ixsɪky·ʔdɪ 'I grabbed at it'  
L, with o-ʃa·ʃ 'wide of o, missing o': ?uleʃaʃa·ʃ  
?ixsɪky·ʔdɪ 'I missed it (ball)' L; passive: xus-  
sɪky·ʔdɪ (or xusɪ-) 'I got grabbed' L, ?iqeʔ-  
dəky·ʔd (not ?iqeʔɛ-) 'you'll get grabbed' L,  
repetitive: xudəky·ʔdg 'I'm being grabbed at' M,  
O-d-i-ky·ʔd (with d-thematic 'oral, noise') 'S is  
cantankerous, irritable, contentious, abusive with  
O, attacks O verbally, "jumps down O's throat":  
ʃe·dah xudi·ɪky·dɪh 'right away he "jumps on me"  
for the least thing I say, looking for trouble,  
quarrelsome' L.

ky·ʔd

0-ʔ-ky·ʔd 'S grabs, snatches, siezes, catches O' (O  
 not necessarily moving, action quicker than that of  
 0-ʔ-leʔg): 9.94A, 15.21M, 23.80, 81, 83, 28.6A, 34.-  
 33L, 36.16, 42A, 37a.14L, 37b.27, 28, 29, 51A, 38.7-  
 1M, 49.143, 61.54A, ʔəiky·ʔd 'grab it!' 1MA, 'catch  
 it!' L, ʔukahəda·ʔ ʔew səiky·ʔdɪ 'he siezed it by  
 the foot, leg' 50.57A, ʔi·caʔd ʔewa· ʔəiky·ʔd  
 'grab its bow (boat)!' L, ʔəiky·ʔdɪh L, səiky·ʔdɪh  
 'grab him!' M, quʔxiky·ʔd 'I'll grab it' M, 'I'll  
 catch it' G, ʔiqeʔxiky·ʔd 'I'll grab you' L, siɪ-  
 ky·ʔdɪ 'I grabbed it' 1M (a fast move, faster than  
 ʔuʔsiləʔgɪ, O not necessarily moving L), səiky·ʔdɪ  
 'it grabbed it (e.g. eagle grabbed fish)' L, diduʔx  
 siiky·ʔdɪ 'I almost caught it' L, ɪiʔq xuxesəɪ-  
 ky·ʔdɪ (not \*qəxusəɪ-) 'they all grabbed me' L,  
 xuxesəiky·ʔdɪ 'it's grabbing me' L, kudeɪ ʔəɪky·ʔde  
 (with analogical negative prefix) 'I can't grab it'  
 L, ʔew ʔəiky·ʔdɪ ʔuʔ dəliɪhɪh 'I told him to catch  
 it' L, xu·iky·dɪhɪh 'he (cust) grabs me' L, repeti-  
 tive: ʔahnu· iky·ʔdg 'he kept grabbing them' 50.-  
 45A, ʔəiky·ʔdg 'grab several!' M, xu·iky·dgɪhɪh  
 'he (cust) keeps grabbing me' M, with class-marks  
 for O: 23.32A, ʔew dəseəiky·ʔdɪ 'he grabbed them  
 (fish-tails)' L, ləɪesəiky·ʔdɪ 'I caught it (ball)'  
 L; detransitivized with indeterminate O: with o-ʔ

kah̩ (Li's transcriptions, all from G, all imply k<sup>v</sup>ah̩; in all instances but one, however, the stem-initial is closely preceded by a labialized element in the prefixes, and the forms from S show no labialization)

O-kah̩ 'S (dog) barks at O': xukah̩ 'it's barking at me' L, ?ikah̩ 'it's barking at you' L, qa' kah̩ 'it's barking at us' L, qa' kah̩ ʒəwa' 'a dog that barks at people' L, xuqekah̩ 'they're barking at me' M, qa' qa'kah̩ 'they'll bark at us' L, xusekah̩ 'it barked at me' M, xuqesekah̩ 'they barked at me' M, xuka·iK 'it (cust) barks at me' L, repetitive: xukah̩g 'it barks on and off at me' L; with indeterminate O, 'S (dog) barks': ?ikah̩ 'it's barking' LMS, ?i·kah̩ 'bark!' M, ?iqe'kah̩ 'it'll bark' LM, ?isekah̩ 'it barked' LM, diK ?iskah̩ 'it didn't bark' L, ?ika·iK 'it (cust) barks' LM, with o-ɕ 'at o' (attested from M only, probably influenced by English, rejected by L): siɕ ?iqekah̩ 'they're barking at me' M, siɕ ?iqe'qekah̩ 'they'll bark at me' M, siɕ ?isekah̩ 'it barked at me' M, also detransitivized (with de-classifier, probably also incorrect): siɕ ?iadikah̩ 'it barked at me' M, with o-?ih̩x '(motion) behind o': si?ih̩x ?iselah̩ 'it's following behind me barking' L, with ʒəx-progressive: ʒəx ?idekah̩x 'it's barking around, going around bark-

*with ʒəx (progressive) of continuous meaning: ʒəx xukah̩x  
 'S (dog) barks on and off at me' L, ʒəx ʒəx kəkəlg, ʒəx ʒəx kəkəlg  
 (former preferred) 'it (dog) barks repeatedly at me' L.*

ing' LM. Poras transcribed by Li from G on file-cards: xwúk'wá'í 'it barks at me', datí· xwúk'wá'í 'it already (barks at me)', xwúq'u'úk'wá'í 'it'll (bark at me)' xuqu'wékahí, 'aukwáí 'it barks at it' 63.18G.

O-í-kahí 'S makes O (dog) bark' (uncertain, attested from M only, expected regular causative o-d O-í--kahí 'S makes o bark at O'): ?áikahí 'make it bark!' M.

de'a· ?eddekahí (noun, unclassified) 'coyote' A, Li (on file-card) da'á' dákwáí 'coyote' de'a· ?edek<sup>w</sup>ahí. Nominalized active imperfective reflexive of O-kahí, 'it itself barks at itself'.

kaʔɪ

O-ɪ-kaʔɪ 'S inherits, claims O (at funeral potlatch)';  
 Galushia Nelson s:ɪtɪqatɪ 'I want it' (at funeral  
 potlatch) BSdL 171, s:ɪtɪqaʔtɪ 'I want (such-and-  
 such)' BSdL 554 sɪkkaʔɪ 'I claimed it (at funeral  
 potlatch)' L (but see also O-ɪ-ɟaʔ 'S presents O  
 (at funeral potlatch)'), ʔaw sɪkkaʔɪ 'he inherit-  
 ed it (at funeral potlatch)' L, ʔaw quʔxɪkkaʔɪ  
 'I'll inherit it (at funeral potlatch)' L, with d=  
 class-mark for O: ʔudetʔ da'na' desɪkkaʔɪh 'he  
 inherited a lot of money' L; passive: sɪkkaʔɪ  
 'it's been inherited, claimed (at funeral potlatch)'  
 L. (L adds that the one who has done the most dancing  
 and talking, has been the smartest and most enter-  
 taining, best at consoling the bereaved, gets the  
 most presents at the funeral potlatch. The last such  
 traditional Eyak potlatches that L knows of or at-  
 tended took place ca. 1914-1915.)

k13 (first transcribed kih3)

k13 (noun) 1. (classification not ascertained) 'seaweed' ('long hair-like, in river') A, 'some kind of green seaweed' ('catches on nets, no use') L, perhaps 'widgeon grass (*Ruppia maritima*)', 'pondweed (*Potamogeton*)', 'rush', or, especially, 'eel grass (*Zostera marina*)' (probably resembling or used to make binder twine). *'beak eye' (Elongus...?)*

2. (q1-l-class) 'coarse cheap twine or packing-cord, binder twine': k13q1-la'a'w 'long piece of binder twine' M, k13q1-le'tu' 'lots of binder twine' M; k13ku'xehi (first transcribed kih3ku'xehi from both L and M, later apparently k13- from both) 'coarse cheap twine, packing-cord, binder twine' LM (probably either resembling or made from k13 1.).

kuč'-kuč' (kuč' implied by Rezanov at least 11 times, by Wrangell once, kuč' implied twice by Furuhjelm and perhaps once by Rezanov; all modern informants kuč' exclusively, except for kuč' consistently in one place-name from L; L does not otherwise remember hearing kuč'; a change kuč' > kuč' apparently took place during the nineteenth century; for the (rare not clearly assimilative) alternation of the type č-č', attested otherwise only in stem-initials, see also čid-čid, and čp', čp'ə, čp'əə-čp'ɹ, and čp'ə)

-kuč'--kuč'-g(-kih) (adjective, probably always with -g-repetitive thematized and frequently also with -kih 'diminutive') 'small, little' 1. Independent or relativized: 9.24, 90, 24.74, 25.41, 28.119, 37b.-6, 26A, 64.3G, 65.84A, Wrangell *Һахуука* 'Klein' ya·kučg, ya·kučg (not -kuč'- LS) 'little' LMS, Galushia Nelson ya·kutschitih; or ya·kutsch 'small (used for bird or pencil)' BSDL 553. ya·kučg (yiləh) '(it's) small', as C in C -lə(?) often nominalized, 'child' ('S who is small'): Rezanov *Һручъмесленъ* 'Дитя, реденокъ Kind' ya·kučg yiləhəh, Яхучметленке 'Мальчикъ Knabe' ya·kučg yiləhəhkih 'he(-diminutive) who is little', ya·kučg yiləhinu 'youngsters' 51.-74A, *Һова* ya·kučg 'dog (is) small' N; in reference to classified nouns: ya·ləxəkuchgkih 'small bit of (broken-up) roe' 10.116A, la?mahd ya·ləxəkuchg 'ber-

ries (are) small' L, Furuhejm Iakukutzku 'small, little' perhaps to be read ya'gulekučg 'small amount of liquid' L, Galushia Nelson ya<sub>2</sub>dekūtak or yātēkūtak 'small (used for tree, knife, house)' ESdL 554 ya'dekučg, ʒəwūʒ ya'gēkučg 'net (is) small' M; with anatomical marks: ya'qi'dekučg yīēh 'your feet are small' ('you're small-footed') M, with ya'-lacking, perhaps in error: ku'dekučg yīēh 'it (tree) is small at base' L.

2. Suffixed a. to unclassified nouns: Rezanov Яракекучхи Байдара kleine Baidara' yaʔəkikhkučg-(kih) 'small umiak', Коллагаль кучхи Буса feiner Regen' perhaps to be read kuleʔəkikhkučg(kih), see ʔək<sup>2</sup> and gihʒ, ʔəwa'kučgkih 'small dog' L, ʔəli'mahdelihkučg (not -kuč-) place-name, small bay north of Hartney Bay ('little ʔəli'mahdelih') L (cf. ʔəli'mahdelihluw), ʒə'nlequhkučg Eyaks' epithet for a certain white man ('John small-cheeks') LM, with nouns referring to humans, sometimes with -i-: Furuhejm Kelikutzkuki 'girl' qeʔhikučgkih 'little girl' L, Rezanov Яхосалькучхи Давочка kleines Mädchen' yaʔʒ ʒuʔ sahikučgkih "'small girl just grown up"' L (i.e. 'girl who has just reached puberty'?; cf. personal name yaʔʒ ʒuʔ sahīʔluw), with suffixed -siyah (pejorative force lessened or absent): ʕi'lehkučgšiyah 'Little Old Raven' la.LM,

te'c'gaxeq'kuc'g'siyah 'Little Old Magpie' 9.9, 48A,  
 ?ahga?kih ?i'ikuc'g;hkuc'g'siyah 'a poor little fel-  
 low who's small like that' 9.44A, ba'sa'kuc'g'siyah  
 personal name, Paul Alec LM, ka'dahkuc'g'siyah 'a  
 remarkably clever little youngster' M.

2b. to classified nouns: Rezanov ,Тяжкое  
 хатокуче 'Бревно Balken' ie'sk'...xadekuč...,  
 ie'sk'xadekučg, ie'sk'xadekučg'kih 'small log, small  
 plank' L, ?ahs'ila'kuc'g 'small needle' M, ?ix'le-  
 kučg 'small mountain' M.

2c. with ei?-thematic; with -lx-de'?, in  
 epithet: lexede'?'ei'kučg 'small-eyes' L; with o-  
 yeq' 'inside (of) o': Rezanov Улхамейкуче Уско  
 'eng, schmal', Уехъ-анайкуче 'Не въ пору, не въ  
 пропорциѣ eng, schmal, zu klein, zu eng (von Klei-  
 dern)', Атулхамейкуче Ухе eng, schmal (Comparat.)',  
 all perhaps to be read (?a'd) ?uyeq'e'i'kučg(kih)  
 'it's (very) small inside', ?uyeq'e'i'kučg 'it's  
 small inside, its inside is too small (to accomodate  
 something)' L (all, however, perhaps to be read  
 ?uyeq' ?i'ei'-, see below).

?i-e-kuc'---kuč-g (with -g-repetitive thematized, with  
 e-thematic with certain postpositional phrases, ?i-  
 not clearly identified, perhaps thematized indeter-  
 minate O, theme perhaps transitive; attested mainly  
 in neuter imperfective) 'S is too small (for some-

thing else, indeterminate O?): with o-yeq 'inside (of) o': ?uyeq ?isi·kudg 'it's small inside, its inside is too small (for something else)' L, see also 2c. above, ?ew yu·xga· ?uyeq ?isi·kudg 'that skirt is too small' L, diK ?uyeq ?isa?kudg 'it's not too small (inside)' L, ?uyeq ?iqe?si·kudg 'it'll get too small (inside)' L; with o-l-yeq (l-anatomical thematized): layeq ?isi·kudg 'voice (is) soft, voice (is) high-pitched' L (probably in error either for either ?ulayeq ?isi·kudg, or, as epithet, belonging under 2c. above, layeq?si?kudg 'soft-voice, high-voice'); with o-d-q 'on d-class o': ?u·da·q ?isi·kudg 'its surface (of d-class o) is too small (for something else)' L.

-kud-g (uncertain, sparsely attested, probably not freely used) 'S is small, too small': with class-marks for S: la?mahd lexi·kudg 'berries are small' L, Rezanov Roacporecokomab (with r written over what is perhaps ɣ) 'Урожайбаера es heitert sich (der Himmel)' perhaps to be read q<sup>h</sup>ahs ʒedeseकुɖ (the only possible instance of -kud- in Rezanov and the only instance then of -kud--kuɖ- without -g, therefore an unlikely reading; see qac'), q<sup>h</sup>ahs ʒedeseकुɖ 'clouds got small' M (uncertain, elicited in attempt to identify the Rezanov), gah ʒedeseकुɖ 'days got short' M (elicited in connection with the preceding,

probably incorrect). Transitive (causative); attested in passive only: *sikudg* 'it has been made too small' L.

*-i-kud-g* (as above, with *i*-classifier with certain postpositional phrases of comparison) 'S is small in comparison with something else' (attested in neuter perfective only); with *o-u?* 'less than o, short of o': Rezanov *Ауухалыуука* 'МаленькоР klein' *?aw?u?* *?i·ikudg*, *?aw?u?* *?i·ikudg* 'it's smaller than that' L, *?i?u?* *?ixilikudg* 'I'm smaller than you' L, with *o-ga?* 'like o': *?ahga?kih ?i·ikudg?ihkudg?iyah* 'poor little guy who is as small as him(-diminutive)' 9.44A; indirect reciprocal: *?i?u?* *?i?ikudg* 'one is smaller than the other' L, with *?ilda·?* 'next to, in comparison with one another': *?ilda·?* *?i?ikudg* 'one is smaller than the other' M (M, and L, uncertain of correctness).

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kus (element, possibly to be identified with kus-k<sup>w</sup>es,  
in kusλa·i<sup>o</sup>ehdg, q.v. under <sup>o</sup>ehd<sup>2</sup>, and in <sup>h</sup>e·kus)

kihs-kihš (kihs attested in Rezanov only, L and M kihš, probably reshaping of stem, of forgotten meaning, under influence of kihš)

ti·l-kihs--kihš (noun, perhaps ti·l-class, with ti·l-class-mark thematized) 'rhubarb, wild rhubarb' (perhaps 'Polygonum alaskanum', or 'sorrel, dock (Oxyria digyna, Rumex occidentalis)'), literal meaning perhaps 'sour leaf': Rezanov Тыжжжжж Тыжжжжж джжжжж (not in Radlov, 'wild sorrel, wild dock') probably to be read ti·lekihs (not -kihš), ti·lekihs 'rhubarb' L (L cannot specify meaning of -kihš, or explain its connection with O-kihš 'S dipnets O, S pokes holes in O', but guesses "because they grow near kihš (in earlier elicitations also kihš) 'swamp').

qi·lekihs (noun, with qi·l-class-mark thematized, 'rope-like', authenticity uncertain, perhaps simply ephemeral variant of ti·lekihs) 'some kind of plant' L (remembers only vaguely; M thinks she has heard, not the same as ti·lekihs).

## kuhs

kuhs̩ (noun, attested only with -ɪ-suffix, perhaps instrumental, no verb-these remembered) 1. (ti·l--class) 'breechclout, loincloth; apron (worn at home or e.g. at work in cannery)' LM, kuhs̩ti·ʔnuw 'big apron' LM, kuhs̩ ʔu·d tɪ·satah̩ (not -ʔah̩) 'a breechclout, apron is there' L, kuhs̩ siɖ ti·li·w taʔ (not -ʔaʔ) 'give me an apron, breechclout!' L; kuhs̩əkɪh M, kuhs̩ti·lekɪh 'bib' ('small apron') L. "Galushia believes that the men wore an ordinary apron, somewhat similar to that worn in war (see below), but he was unable to give any definite information about it. Curiously enough, no mention was made of a woman's apron or genital covering" BSdL 67. "Abercrombie says that when fishing the men wore only a breech clout. This was a strip of skin pulled between the legs and tucked into a belt in front and in back" BSdL 70.

2. (ɣd-class, attested only from M, not verified) 'fringes': kuhs̩ ʔulah ɣedi·ʔah 'there is a fringe (a fringe extends) around it' M.

-ku·l-kuhs-ɪ (noun, as above, possessed, with ku·l--anatomical 'thickest part, belly' thematized) 'brisket' (or perhaps 'plate, flank'): kuku·lekuhs̩ 'fatty seat cut out of front of abdomen, brisket' LM. qu·lekuhs̩ (noun, attested in BSdL only) 'war apron':

Galushia Nelson kúlé kústí 'war apron (The first word is translated as "war")' BSdL 550, perhaps to be read ku·ləkuhsí 'belly apron', but more likely, given the remark about the meaning of the prefixes, qu·ləkuhsí. "In war time, the men wore a rectangular apron, fastened by a cord around the waist, the lower end hanging free in front. No band of skin passed between the legs" BSdL 70.

kawas-kewesk (also kawas, kuwas, kawis, kewusk, kuwusk, most frequently kewus(K); also free alternation between k...s-g and k...sk, A usually, k...sk, LM usually k...s-g)

kawas-g-kewesk(-i) (noun 1-class, stem alternating freely between kewesk and kawas with -g-repetitive thematized, rarely attested without -i-suffix, probably instrumental; no verb-theme remembered) 'canoe paddle': Rezanov Kawocke 'Beczo Ruder', Galushia Nelson kuusk<sup>i</sup> or ku<sup>o</sup>sk<sup>i</sup>, Old Man Dude k<sup>o</sup>sk 'paddle' BSDL 550, kuusk A, kuusk<sup>i</sup> LA, 33.22, 35, 44A, kewusk<sup>i</sup> L, 33.51, 49.33, 37A, kewesk<sup>i</sup> or kewesg<sup>i</sup> (no preference) L, kewisg<sup>i</sup> M, kewusg<sup>i</sup> L, 33.19A, 37a.16L, 71.17LM, kewusg<sup>i</sup> si<sup>o</sup> li<sup>o</sup>?a<sup>o</sup> (or -ta<sup>o</sup>, former perhaps preferred) 'give me a paddle!' L, kewusg<sup>i</sup> ?u<sup>o</sup>d ?i<sup>o</sup>?se<sup>o</sup>ah<sup>i</sup> (or -tah<sup>i</sup>) 'a paddle is there' L, kewusg<sup>i</sup> ?u<sup>o</sup>d les<sup>o</sup>tah<sup>i</sup>, ?p<sup>o</sup>? li<sup>o</sup>?k<sup>o</sup>ah<sup>i</sup> 'a paddle is there, drag it here!' L, kewusk<sup>i</sup> la<sup>o</sup>? se<sup>o</sup>ah<sup>i</sup> 'a paddle burned' L, kewusg<sup>i</sup>?i<sup>o</sup>?nuw 'big paddle' LM, kewusk<sup>i</sup>yu<sup>o</sup> 33.14, 14A, kewusg<sup>i</sup>yu<sup>o</sup> 47b.12, 20M, 47c.25L, kuwusg<sup>i</sup>yu<sup>o</sup> 'canoe paddles, paddle(s) etc.' 47c.10L.

kena's

kena's (noun, unclassified) 'wolverene' LM, 10.52A,  
 15.1, 3, 5, 8, 14, 18, 20, 22, 26, 34.52M, Galushia  
 Nelson kʉnã'ðs or kʉnã-'ðs' (with strong final  
 aspiration) 'wolverine' BSDL 538, kena'syu' 'wolve-  
 renes' 10.51A, kena'sluw 'big wolverene' LM.

ka·ʒ

ka·ʒ (noun, gl-class) 'soup' LM, Kugu·ʔnuw ka·ʒ  
 L, ka·ʒgu·ʔnuw 'large quantity of soup' M, ka·ʒ  
 ʔuʔquʔgəli·xqə·ʔ 'I'll try the soup' L, ʔew ka·ʒ  
 gəli·ʔqəʔ 'cool off that soup!' L, ʔew ka·ʒ ge-  
 ləssəʔqəʔ 'the soup is cooling off' L, gɣ·sɔtugɪ  
 ka·ʒ 'thick soup (has lots of stuff in it)' ('soup  
 which is thick') L, ka·ʒyaʔd 'in the (container of)  
 soup' M.

kihǰ-kihǰ (kihǰ in earlier elicitation from both L and M, but L later kihǰ, rejecting kihǰ; see also kihǰ-kihǰ)

kihǰ-kihǰ (noun) 'swamp, bog, marsh': kihǰ 'swamp, swampy place' L, 'springy dry meadow' M, kihǰ yilǰh 'it's swampy' L, kihǰyaʔɣ ɛxa-t 'I'm walking along in a swamp (water not very deep)' L, kihǰyaʔ ʔɣ-xstɪʔeɣt 'I fell (unexpectedly) into a small swampy puddle' L.

ky·č<sup>1</sup> (also ku·č, L only)

-y-ky·č (noun, unclassified, with y-anatomical 'hand')

'thumb': 34.100, 37a.9L, 37b.37A, siyeku·č L, siyeku·č 'my thumb' LMS, yeky·čluw 'big thumb' (epithet) LM; in curses (perhaps associated with ky·č<sup>2</sup>):  
 ?ita·?ma·yeky·č 'your father's mother's thumb!' (curse) L, ?ita·?k<sup>h</sup>hyeky·čga? celeseta? 'live like your father's (paternal) grandmother's thumb!' (curse) LA ("old lady who had bandaged thumb used to say" A, "old lady, native name da· qa?kyj·?ih, would say this to her thumb, which had something wrong with it and was always bandaged, when she knocked it and it hurt" L).

-qi·y-ky·č (noun, with qi·y-anatomical 'toes', attested in BSdL only) 'big toe': <sup>Op<sup>h</sup>kyk<sup>h</sup> ve<sup>h</sup>lor</sup> s<sup>h</sup>q<sup>h</sup>iytko<sup>h</sup>·tc or s<sup>h</sup>q<sup>h</sup>iytko<sup>h</sup>·tc 'big toe' BSdL 542 kuqi·yeky·č.

kɥ·ɕ<sup>2</sup> (see kɥ·ɕ<sup>1</sup>)

kɥ·ɕ (noun) 'fart (perhaps noiseless)' M.

-kɥ·ɕ 'S breaks wind, farts (perhaps noiselessly)' L.

o-i-kɥ·ɕ 'S farts on O': ?aikɥ·ɕ 'fart on it!' M.

kihš

O-kihš 1. 'S pokes holes in O, riddles O with holes':  
with yaʔ 'completely': yaʔ ʔekihš 'poke it full  
of holes!' L.

2. 'S scoops, catches O with dipnet': da·  
ki·šK 'we (cust) catch it with a dipnet' L, with  
qaʔ, qaʔ·č 'up out': 21a.9, 28, 34L, 21b.25, 63,  
24.12A, qaʔ səkihš 'scoop it out (with a dipnet)!'  
M, with yaʔɣ 'upward': yaʔɣ səkihš 'scoop it up  
(with a dipnet)!' L, repetitive: 24.8A, ʔew qaʔ·č  
ʔəki·šgK 'he (cust) dipnets them out' 24.8A, da·  
qaʔ·č ki·šgK 'we (cust) scoop them up with a dipnet'  
M; detransitivized with indeterminate O: dəɣɣ ʔi-  
dəki·šK, teʔyaʔɣaʔ 'a person (cust) dipnets, for  
fish' 21a.8L, with yeɣ-progressive: yeɣ ʔidəkihš-  
ɣih 'he's going around scooping with a dipnet' M.

kihšə (noun, dl-class, at least usually with -i-in-  
strumental) 'dipnet' LM, kihš 'dipnet' S, kihšə-  
li·ʔnuw 'big dipnet' M, kihšəla·yeqđ 'in a dipnet'  
M, kihšə sič li·ʔaʔ (or -taʔ, former probably  
preferred) 'give me a dipnet!' L, kihšə ʔu·d la·  
seʔahə (or -tahə, former probably preferred) 'a  
dipnet is there' L; kihšəʔeʔa·e 'bucket with holes  
in the bottom' L. For description, illustration, and  
discussion of dipnets and their use, see ESdL 118-119.

kug (expanded ke·g)

-kug 'S breaks': sekugl̄ 'it broke' L; usually with preverbs: with yeḡ 'break, apart': active perfective: 7.25A, Rezanov Kocnykыkыb 'Haxomaxъ zerbrach' yeḡ sekugl̄ 'it (e.g. stick) broke' L, ?ucj̄?da?d ?awa· yeḡ sekugl̄ 'the tip of it is broken off' L, qahdeqaw iic̄ yeḡ sekugl̄ 'it's finally broken for good' L, ʒig yeḡ sekugl̄ da·ḡ ya?ḡ sli?eḡl̄ 'just as it broke he jumped off it' L, ʒig ?awda·q̄ yeḡ sekugl̄ 'it broke right along it (mark)' L, ʒig ya·?a·gdeḡ yeḡ sekugl̄ 'it broke right in half (in the middle)' L, siḡ yeḡ sekugl̄ 'it (e.g. bridge) broke with me (on it)' L, siḡa? yeḡ sekugl̄ 'it broke "on" me (to my dismay)' L, ?uqa?ḡ ya·yu· ?awa· yeḡ ?sekugl̄ 'some of them are broken' L, ?awa· yeḡ ku·sekugl̄ 'one of them is broken' L, neuter perfective: 26.1, 7L, ?uqa?ḡ ya·yu· ?awa· yeḡ qi·kugl̄ 'some of them are broken' L, ?awa· yeḡ ku·kugl̄ 'one of them is broken' L, other mode-aspects: yeḡ sekugl̄=dawa· 'before it breaks' L, yeḡ qa?kug 'it (e.g. stick) will break' L, yeḡ ke·gk̄, yeḡ ?eke·gk̄ 'it (cust) breaks' L, diK̄ yeḡ ?eke·gk̄s̄ 'it (cust) doesn't break' M, with ya? 'completely': qahdeqaw iic̄ ya? sekugl̄ 'it's finally all broken up for good' L, ya? qa?kug 'it'll break to pieces' L, with ʒehd̄ 'open', repetitive: ʒehd̄ kugg 'it

keeps breaking open' (figurative, of house full of food) 49.137, 138A, with d-class-mark for S: 7.26A, diK yeḡ deke-gkə 'it (board) (cust) doesn't break' M, with anatomical marks: yeḡ ky-dəsekugɿ 'it broke (e.g. tree at base, gun at stock, axe--handle near head)' L, yeḡ ʧə-disikugɿ 'my arm broke' L, yeḡ quʔʧə:di-kug 'you'll break your arm' L, yeḡ kušdəsekugɿɿh 'he broke his (lower) leg' L, yeḡ quʔkušdi-kug 'you'll break your (lower) leg' L, yeḡ qəkušdəsekugɿinu 'they broke their legs' L, yeḡ quʔqəkušdi-kuginu 'they'll break their legs' L, yeḡ geleḡi-kugɿ 'its back (spine) is broken' (neuter perfective) L. Transitive (causative) 'S causes O to break' (indirectly, not 'S breaks O'): passive: yeḡ sdikugɿ 'it's been caused to break (e.g. bridge, by someone, but not directly)' L; used more freely by M, probably incorrectly: ʔəkkug 'break off sticks!' M, yeḡ sikkugɿ 'I broke it (stick)' M, passive: sdikugɿ 'it's been broken off' M, dəkug 'it's being broken off' M; also, from M, transitive forms with zero-classifier, almost certainly incorrect: ʔəkug 'break it (stick)!' M, yeḡ səkug 'break it (stick) off!' M, yeḡ kušdəsekugɿh 'break his leg!' M, and one intransitive form with k-classifier: səkkugɿ 'it (stick) broke off' M. Susceptive neuter: qəlikugɿ

M, hikugʷ 'it (e.g. stick) is brittle, fragile,  
breaks easily' L, hikugʷ dekʰ 'brittle stick'  
L, diK ʔaʔhekugʷ: 'it (e.g. stick) doesn't break  
easily' L, with d-class-mark for S: qedihikugʷ  
'it (board) breaks easily' M.

qid d-kug (with d-thematic with qid 'down off')  
'S breaks off': qid desekugʷ 'it broke off' L,  
Kuʔa·w ʔuyəqʰaʔd ʔəwa· qid desekugʷ 'the minute--  
hand (its long hand) broke off' L.

yəʔ dl-kug (with dl-thematic 'fall over' and yəʔ  
'down') 'S breaks and topples over': including d--  
class-mark for S: yəʔ λa·sekugʷ lis 'wind-fallen  
trees' ('trees which have broken, falling over') L,  
68.14A.

kugʷ (noun, unclassified, with -ʰ-suffix, perhaps  
instrumental) 'broken stick, dead dry stick, stick  
for hanging drying fish on, roasting-stick, spit'  
LM, 47b.39M, 47c.48L, kugʷʔaʔluw 'big piece of  
stick' LM, kugʷʔekih 'little piece of stick' M.

kɨ·q

ʔed-l-ɬe-kɨ·q (attested in reflexive only, with l-- thematic, perhaps causative of underlying -kɨ·q, but no simpler themes could be elicited with this stem) 'S is bashful, shy, (sexually) modest': ʔed-lekɨ·qɨh 'he's acting bashful, (sexually) modest, coy' (active imperfective) L.

ʔed-ʔ-ɬe-kɨ·q 'S is bashful, shy': ʔeduʔɬikɨ·qɨh 'he's bashful' L, diK ʔeduʔlekɨ·qɨh 'he's not bashful' IM (neuter imperfectives), ʔeduʔsɬikɨ·qɨh 'he got shy' L.

O-ʔ-lɣ-ɬ-kɨ·q 'S is bashful, (sexually) modest with O, S practises avoidance-behavior with O (member of opposite sex, same moiety)': xuʔleɣi-ɬkɨ·qɨh 'he's bashful with me' L, ʔuʔleɣi-xɬkɨ·qɨnu 'I practise avoidance-behavior with them (of opposite sex, same moiety)' L (neuter imperfectives); reciprocal: ɣe-laɣɣa·ɣeɣu·kɰceɬeʔɬ, ka-dih ʔuda·ɣ qeʔ kɰʔ-leɣɣ·ɬikɨ·q 'one is becoming white men, no use one being bashful with one another anymore' (active optative, Billy Dude said to L, ca. 1950) L; reflexive: 'S is bashful, (sexually modest), practises avoidance-behavior': ʔeduʔleɣɬikɨ·qɨh 'he's bashful, modest' L, diK ʔedu·leɣaʔlekɨ·qɨh 'he's not modest' L (neuter perfectives), ʔeduʔleɣɣɬikɨ·qɨh 'he got modest' L.

kɨ·ʒ (kʷɨ·ʒ perhaps also remembered, but only following  
xʷ--x-)

-kɨ·ʒ 1. 'S weeps, cries': active imperfective: xkɨ·ʒ  
'I'm crying' LM, 32.34A, xu xkʷɨ·ʒ 'me, I'm crying'  
("deep talk, the way old folks said it") L, xu ʔi-  
dehdah xkʷɨ·ʒ 'me, I'm really crying' L ("Billy Dude  
used to say, just before he died" L remembers; M re-  
jects these forms, "doesn't sound Eyak, not like Bil-  
ly Dude either"; the form L remembers may have been  
xʷkɨ·ʒ, or, if -kʷɨ·ʒ, with the labialization trans-  
ferred from xʷ-), diK xkɨ·ʒe 'I'm not crying' L,  
yikɨ·ʒ 'you're crying' LM, qelaxkɨ·ʒ L, lexkɨ·ʒ  
'you pl. are crying' LM, da qekɨ·ʒ L, da kɨ·ʒ  
'we're crying' LM, kəkɨ·ʒ 'someone's crying' M,  
third person forms: 1b.20M, 2b.5, 18.19L, 32.29, 33.8A,  
34.3, 5M, 78, 91L, 36.9A, 37a.15, 40.1, 3L, 47b.19,  
24M, 47c.26L, 49.133, 51.82, 83, 89A, kɨ·ʒ 'it's  
crying' LMS, ɨiɕ kɨ·ʒ 'it's always crying' M,  
qeʔi:seyu kɨ·ʒ (or qekɨ·ʒ, kɨ·ʒinu, qekɨ·ʒinu)  
'womenfolk are crying' L, kɨ·ʒ, qekɨ·ʒ 'they're  
crying' LM, kɨ·ʒih 'he's crying' MSG, diK kɨ·ʒɨh  
'she's not crying' L, ʔaʔd kɨ·ʒih L, xpʔɨd kɨ·ʒih  
'she's crying hard' 4.14M, diʔweʒ kɨ·ʒdewa 'while  
he's still crying' L, diʔweʒ kɨ·ʒih 'he's still  
crying' L, ʔidekɨ·ʒ qe·dab ɨseʔK 'he's crying so  
(hard) he's simply gasping' L, Rezanov Хөгүгөхө<sup>2</sup>хэ



(to o's dismay)': yaʔxu· ʔiʔaʔ qaʔki·ʔiʔh 'don't  
 let him cry "on" you' L, with ʔeʔ 'again, some more':  
 ʔeʔ quʔxdekʔ·ʔ 'I'll cry again' M, da· ʔeʔ quʔde-  
 ki·ʔ 'we'll cry again' M, customary: ki·ʔkiʔh (not  
 ʔe- L) 'she (cust) cries' LM, 47c.28L, xki·ʔkʔ  
 (not ʔex- L) 'I (cust) cry' LM, diʔkʔ xki·ʔkʔ 'I  
 (cust) never cry' M, ʔuʔaʔ xki·ʔkʔ 'I (cust) cry  
 over it' L, yiki·ʔkʔ (not yi·- L) 'do you (cust)  
 cry?' LM, diʔkʔ yiki·ʔkʔ 'don't you ever (cust)  
 cry?' M, diʔkʔ ki·ʔkʔiʔh 'he (cust) never cries' M,  
 inceptive customary: ʔuʔaʔ quʔxki·ʔkʔ 'I (cust)  
 start to cry over it' L, with qaʔ 'up out', 'S  
 bursts out crying, S starts to cry': qaʔ xki·ʔkʔ  
 'I (cust) start to cry' M, active perfective: si-  
 ki·ʔiʔ 'I cried' M, sekʔi·ʔiʔ 'you cried, it cried'  
 M, diʔkʔ ʔsekʔi·ʔiʔ 'didn't you cry?' M, da· se-  
 ki·ʔiʔ 'we cried' M, ləʔsekʔi·ʔiʔ 'you pl. cried' M,  
 ʔəʔ·ʔ sekʔi·ʔiʔ 'he stopped (finished) crying' L,  
 qaʔ sekʔi·ʔiʔiʔh 'he started crying' L, ʔeʔ xedikʔi·ʔiʔ  
 'I cried again' M, da· ʔeʔ sedikʔi·ʔiʔ 'we cried  
 again' M, ʔedʔaʔd yeʔʔ sekʔi·ʔiʔiʔh M, ʔedʔaʔd yaʔʔ  
 sekʔi·ʔiʔiʔh 'he suddenly burst out crying' L, inceptive  
 perfective: qə·ʔ sekʔi·ʔiʔ 'I'm starting to cry' M,  
 qə·ʔ sekʔi·ʔiʔiʔh 'he's starting to cry' L, ʔuʔ ʔaw  
 ʔatiʔiʔh (di·yeʔ) sekʔi·ʔidewa· 'give it to him be-  
 fore he starts crying (while he's not (yet) crying)!' L,

active imperative: ?əkj·ɣ 'cry!' M, active optative:  
 ?ixikj·ɣ 'let me cry' L, ka·dih ?uda·ɣ ?ixikj·ɣ  
 'no use for me to cry' M, ka·dih ?uda·ɣ ?i·kj·ɣ  
 'no use for you to cry' M, ka·dih ?uda·ɣ kulikj·ɣ  
 'no use for one to cry' LM, diK qe? ?idikj·ɣ ?i=  
 xe?xle·s 'I don't want you to cry anymore' M (per-  
 haps, subjunctive, -ɣ-ɣ > -ɣ), with yeɣ-progressive  
 (-ɣ-ɣ > -ɣ): yeɣ xdekj·ɣ 'I'm going around crying'  
 M, yeɣ dakj·ɣ 'you're, it's going around crying' M,  
 da· yeɣ dekj·ɣ 'we're going around crying' M, yeɣ  
 lexdekj·ɣ 'you pl. are going around crying' M, yeɣ  
 kudəkj·ɣ 'someone's going around crying' M, yeɣ  
 qu?xdekj·ɣ 'I'll go around crying' M, yeɣ qe? qu?=  
 xdekj·ɣ 'I'll go around crying again' M, yeɣ xedi=  
 kj·ɣɣ 'I went around crying' M, yeɣ sdikj·ɣɣ 'you,  
 it went around crying' M, da· yeɣ sdikj·ɣɣ 'we  
 went around crying' M, yeɣ lexsdikj·ɣɣ 'you pl.  
 went around crying' M, yeɣ qesdikj·ɣɣinu· or  
 sdi-, 'former preferred) 'they went around crying' M,  
 yeɣ qe? xsdikj·ɣɣ 'I went around crying again' M,  
 da· yeɣ qe? sdikj·ɣɣ 'we went around crying again'  
 M, repetitive: ?əhɣa? kj·ɣgɣih 'she keeps crying  
 over him' 47b.22M, diK kj·ɣgɣih 'he doesn't cry  
 (even occasionally, off and on)' L. Transitive (cau=  
 sative): ?iqe?xikj·ɣ 'I'll make you cry' LM, xuɣ=  
 kj·ɣK (not xu·ɣ- L) 'it (cust) makes me cry' LM,

?iikj·xk 'it (cust) makes you cry' M, ?ekkj·xkjh  
 'it (cust) makes her cry' M, with lɣ-class-mark for  
 S: laxekkj·xkjh 'they (onions) (cust) make her  
 cry' M (rejected by L); indirect reflexive with  
 ya·q 'because of what S does' (< o-y-q 'on o's  
 hand', here S's own): ya·q xlekj·xjh 'I'm making  
 him cry' (especially be e.g. tickling him too hard)  
 L, ya·q xulekj·x 'he made me cry' L, ya·q ?iqe?  
 xlekj·x 'I'll make you cry' L, ya?xu· qe? ya·q  
 qu?lekj·xjh 'don't make him cry again' L; reflex-  
 ive: ?ed-ke-kj·x 'S makes self cry, pretends to  
 cry, whines, cries for ulterior motive': ?edlekj·xjh  
 'he (child) is whining', pretending to cry' L; re-  
 flexive and indirect reflexive with yeq 'inside  
 S's self': yeq ?edlekj·xjh 'he's sobbing (same as  
 kse?xjh)' L, yeq ?edslekj·xjh 'he whimpered' L;  
 passive: sdikj·xjh 'he was made to cry' L. Sus-  
 ceptive neuter (-x-x > -x): kikh·xjh 'he cries  
 easily' L.

2. 'S (wolf, dog) howls, wails, cries': usual-  
 ly as a group, usually with qe-plural: qekj·x 'they  
 howl' 25.66, 67A, ki?q qekj·xinu· 'they (wolf--  
 people) all howled' 38.25IM, qu?qekj·x (should be  
 qu?qi·kj·x ?) 'they'll howl' M, qesekj·xh 'they  
 howled' M, with yax-progressive: yax qadekj·x 'they  
 go around howling' M, yax qesdikj·xh 'they went .

around howling' M; with o-la? 'evil omen for o':  
ʔula? kɨ·ʔ qəw, ʔula? qəw kɨ·ʔ 'it (dog) is  
howling (for no apparent reason), a bad omen' L;  
ʔəwa· ʔuyaʔd kɨ·ʔ place-name, below old cannery  
on Eyak River, 2 to 3 miles from its mouth ('a dog  
howls there (in it, body of water)') L.

ʔiskɨ·ʔ (gerundive) 'crying, weeping': ʔiskɨ·ʔ xu-  
səɪgaʔɨ 'I'm getting tired of crying' ('crying is  
tiring me') L.

kɨ·ʔ (noun) 1. (unclassified) 'crying, weeping, howl-  
ing (of wolves, dogs), act of crying, urge to cry':  
ʔulah qəw kɨ·ʔ ʔidele·K 'around it they (cust)  
go howling (wolves, to cook it)' 25.36A, Rezanov  
Ke<sup>h</sup>rx (with h superscript insert) 'Tsakara weinen'  
kɨ·ʔ, kɨ·ʔ siʔʔ·ʔ saʔyahɨ 'I got over a crying  
spell' M, kɨ·ʔ ʔulaʔʔ di·ʔyahɨ 'he has an urge  
to cry' M, saqe·dəkihyaʔ kɨ·ʔ 'a child's crying'  
36.6A, kɨ·ʔəʔiyaʔ yikɨhɨh 'he's a crybaby' M,  
ʔu·d kɨ·ʔəʔahd 'after crying there' 47c.32L, kɨ·ʔ-  
ya·ʔ 'lest she cry' ('to avoid crying') L, kɨ·ʔə-  
yaʔʔ qəʔ səda·ɨ 'she's going home crying' 47b.25M,  
kɨ·ʔəyaʔʔ sa·ɨɨh 'she's walking along crying' L,  
kɨ·ʔəyaʔʔ yeʔ da·ʔɨh 'he's walking around crying' L.

2. (gl-class) 'tears' M, kɨ·ʔ ʔu·neʔ yeʔ ge-  
li·ʔah 'a tear is running down his face' L, ʔu·neʔ  
yeʔ gulaʔəʔaʔɨh 'a tear is starting to run down  
his face' L.

ka'st' (cf. gust', similar semantically and syntactically,  
as well as phonologically)

ka'st' (noun, attested only as C) 'storm': ka'st' se=  
ie?i 'it (weather) is developing into a storm (of  
rain, wind, snow)' L, ka'st' gələleie?i 'it (water)  
is becoming stormy, splashing, lashed all about in  
big waves (in strong north wind)' L.

de-ka'st' 'S (storm, blizzard) rages': edika'st'i  
'there was a blizzard' L, sedeka'st'i 'there is a  
blizzard' L, qi'λa'se?e? 'is edika'st'i 'track has  
become covered with (blown) sand, dry snow' L (con-  
struction not clear, perhaps incorrect, o lacking  
in o-qi'dl-?e? 'track of o's feet' and ?i- of  
verb not identified), cf. ?i-də-t'λ'?, de-λ'e?i- }

yeqa? lɔdl-de-ka'st' 'S (snow) piles up in drift':  
yeqa? leʒəλa'sedika'st'i 'a snowdrift piled up' L.





kušK (see <sup>cf.</sup> ɕe·ʔsK)

kušK (noun, unclassified) 'bluejay, Steller's jay  
(*Cyanocitta stelleri*)' LA (obsolescent, largely re-  
placed by ɕe·ʔsK from Tlingit ɕəsx<sup>W</sup>).

kušKeta·ʔ personal name, of Eyak man ('father of  
bluejay') L.

kušKeša·w place-name, Big Point at Hartney Bay ('blue-  
jay head') L; kušKeša·wyaʔd, kušKeša·wci·ʔd place-  
names, Hartney Bay (nominalizations of 'in kušKeša·w  
(as body of water)', 'downhill from, below kušKeša·w')  
L.

ka·SK (earlier k<sup>w</sup>a·SK, either borrowed from Yakutat Tlingit, or, more likely, borrowed by the Yakutat Tlingit from Eyak before loss of labialization; general Tlingit čás 'humpback salmon', but at Yakutat also k<sup>w</sup>ásK G, Sampson Harry, Davydov (ca. 1803) Ksackx Topóyma'; also the name of Humpy Creek on the east side of Yakutat Bay; the k<sup>w</sup>ásKq<sup>w</sup>an, according to de Laguna Under Mount St. Elias ms, were originally a group of Atna Athapaskans, Raven sib, from the Copper River who migrated to Yakutat Bay and who take their name from that of Humpy Creek there; see also de Laguna "Archaeology of the Yakutat Bay Area" and Swanton Tlingit Myths and Texts p. 349ff, "Story of the Ká'ck!-qoan")

ka·SK (noun, unclassified) 'humpback salmon, pink salmon, "humpy" (*Oncorhynchus gorbusha*)' LMS, 60.3A, k<sup>w</sup>a·SK (Yakutat Tlingit form) 'humpback salmon' S, 67.14G, Galushia Nelson kack' or kask' 'hump-back salmon' BSDL 540, ka·SK<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup>luw 'big humpy' LM, ka·SK<sup>?</sup>ekih 'little humpy' M, ka·SK<sup>?</sup>ya<sup>?</sup> da· qa<sup>?</sup>qeh 'we'll go (by boat) after humpies' L (not also giyah sdilah<sup>?</sup> "deep talk" (obsolescent) for 'humpback salmon' ('it drank water'), not explained L); ka·SKde=lahseyu· 'humpback salmon (Humpy Creek) people' (sib at Yakutat Bay, k<sup>w</sup>ásKq<sup>w</sup>an) L; ni·Kedeka·SK 'a person with a hooked aquiline nose' (epithet, 'nose-humpy') L.

kəwə'd (loan from Tlingit kawú'd 'beads')

kəwə'd (noun, lɣ-class) 'beads' N, kəwə'dləxətəʔ

'lots of beads' LM, Galushia Nelson qəʔd̥iʔtsilf'

kəʔd̥t or qəʔd̥iʔtsilf kəʔd̥t 'shell bead' BSdL

551 kudeiʔelɨh kəwə'd, ʔəhɣəʔ kəwə'd laʔɣ

ləxəʔə'yaʔi 'his bead-necklace' 21a.36L, kəwə'd=

ləxəʔə'ʔeʔɣ 'hole in bead for stringing' L.

kele'st (loan from Tlingit (Naish-Story, Sampson Harry)  
 kanéd 'cross, crucifix', from Russian крест 'cross;  
 club (at cards)'; Eyak final -t' probably due to in-  
 fluence of ʔihst', tšist', gust', ka'st')

kele'st (noun, probably unclassified) 1. 'cross,  
 crucifix' LA.

2. 'clubs' (suit at cards) L.

kena'qa' (loan from nineteenth-century English 'Kanakan'  
 /kánáhkáh/, probably through Tlingit, in which English  
 -káh yielded irregular qa under influence of qá  
 'person', cf. wu'čqa'; probably obsolete in Yakutat  
 Tlingit, not known to Sampson Harry<sup>W. S. 1841/42</sup>)

kena'qa'- (noun, unclassified) probably originally  
 'Hawaiian, Polynesian': kena'qa'yu' 'Greeks'  
 LA, 'Mexicans, Spaniards' ("because they speak  
 different") A, kena'qa'siyahyu' 'Greeks' ('bad  
 kena'qa'yu'', same people as kena'qa'yu') L.

*(w-saboleff) kena·ʔed*

kena·ʔd-kena·ʔed (loan from Tlingit (Naish-Story) kinaʔéd,  
kinagʔéd, (Sampson Harry) kinagʔéd v'topcoat')

kena·ʔd-kena·ʔed (noun, unclassified) 'coat': ke-  
na·ʔd LMA, kena·ʔed 'coat' L, kena·ʔd silaʔq  
setaʔ 'put a coat on me!, give me a coat (to put  
on)!' M, kena·ʔedluw 'big coat' M, kena·ʔdigaʔt  
'old beat-up worn-out coat' L, qəqyaʔ kena·ʔd,  
qəqkena·ʔd 'loon's coat (of feathers)' 24.=  
40A, diK kena·ʔd da·laʔkya·e 'he (transformed  
man couldn't fly because he) didn't have a (loon's)  
coat' 24.45A, səlaʔqyaʔ kena·ʔd L, səlaʔqđ-  
yaʔ kena·ʔed (both probably to be corrected to  
sə(1)aʔqđ ya· kena·ʔ(ə)d) 'overcoat, topcoat'  
( 'coat which is the outermost one of a series hung  
over something') LM.

kənguːʒ (loan from English, perhaps 'canned goods',  
perhaps not naturalized)

kənguːʒ (noun, probably unclassified) 'tools' ?:  
qəʔiːəyʉːyɑʔ kənguːʒ 'women's tools' ?, old  
Eyak lady, daː qəʔiːyɪːʔiːh used to say L (L  
thinks this may have been intended to be English,  
but could not identify the English).

(W. Schlegel) kat'ik'

kufi·K-kufi·K-kudi·K (for variation see below; loan,  
 phonologically irregular, from Tlingit (Sampson Harry,  
 S) kat'ik', 'chewing-tobacco', perhaps < 'pounded' <sup>kat'ik'</sup>)

kufi·K-kufi·K-kudi·K (noun, probably unclassified)  
 'chewing-tobacco': kudi·K 'tobacco for chewing  
 and swallowing' M (probably influenced by ku-in-  
 definite prefix, perhaps also by kudi·q), kufi·K  
 LA (later rejected by L), kufi·K "'star" brand  
 plug tobacco' L.

kuč̣i·d-kuč̣i·d-keč̣i·d (loan from Tlingit kaṣ̌id 'screw', nasalized vowel due to influence of high frequency of nasalized modified -i- as opposed to that of non-nasalized modified -i- after initial ʒ-, c-, č-, s- of Eyak stems; cf. č̣ihde-č̣ihde for the converse)

kuč̣i·d-kuč̣i·d-keč̣i·d (noun, unclassified) 'screw':

kuč̣i·d A, kuč̣i·d 'screw' L, keč̣i·dluw 'big screw' L; kuč̣i·dʔeʔʒ liʔ dexuig 'bolt (for screw)' L (see under xuł-x<sup>w</sup>əł-ʒəł).

kus-k<sup>w</sup>es (k<sup>w</sup>es S and G only, under Tlingit influence; expanded ke's LMA, k<sup>w</sup>e's S; loan from Tlingit k<sup>w</sup>as 'urine (as used for washing)', widely diffused term along Pacific Northwest Coast)

kus (noun) 1. (gl-class) 'urine' (polite, originally as used for washing) 33.10, 12, 16, 17, 37, 49A (sometimes declassified), kusgu'nuw 'large quantity of urine' M.

2. (unclassified) 'act of, need for urinating' (polite or childish): kus 'e'e' M, kus se'e' 'go pipi!' (to child) L, kus si'ga'ɬ 'I need to urinate' M.

kus'ekih (noun, probably unclassified, with -kih 'diminutive, affectionate') 'vulva' (nursery term)

A. Hata ... (gauge) kus' ... vulva ... )

O-kus--k<sup>w</sup>es 'S washes O' (originally in urine, but no longer necessarily with any reference to urine, ambiguous as in English, 'S washes (something off) O, S washes O (off something)'): Rezanov Какое 'Moß waschen, etwas (Imperat.)', Как-оца 'Mara waschen, etwas' sekus 'wash it!', 'ekus 'wash it!' M, 'uša'w 'ekus 'wash his hair!' L, siša'w qu'xkus 'I'll wash my hair' LM, 'əhša'w kusih 'he's washing his (another's) hair' L, 'uša'w kusih 'he's washing his (own, another's)

hair' L, kukuſiḥ 'he's washing something' L,  
 iɪʔq ʔaw səmə ʔawqəʕahd səkuſiḥ 'he washed  
 all the maggots off it' 45a.8L, ʔaw səmə ʔaw-  
 kah səkuſiḥ 'he washed the maggots off it' 45b.-  
 1M, ʔuyəqəʔd qəhnu ʔəwyaʔɜ ke·ak 'they (cust)  
 wash their (own) hands in it (bowl of urine)  
 33.17A; detransitivized with indeterminate O:  
 ʔi·dəkus 'do laundry!' L, ʔiqəʔxdəkus 'I'll  
 do laundry' L, ʔixdəkus 'I'm doing wash, laun-  
 dry' L, diK ʔixdəkəs 'I'm not doing laundry' L,  
 with yəɟ-progressive: yəɟ ʔidəkusɜḥ 'he's  
 going around washing things' M; indirect reflex-  
 ive: ʔi· sə·w ʔədəkus 'you, wash your hair!'  
 L, sə·w quʔxdəkus 'I'll wash my hair' L, ʔəḥ  
 sə·w dəkus 'he's washing his (own) hair' L;  
 reflexive: ʔədədəkus, ʔədə·dəkus 'take a bath!,  
 wash yourself' 1M, ʔədquʔxdək<sup>es</sup> 'I'll take a  
 bath' G, ʔədxdəkus 'I'm taking a bath' M, ʔədə-  
 dəkusḥ 'he's washing himself' M, ʔədixədəkusk  
 'I washed myself' L, diK ʔədəxsədəkusk 'I didn't  
 wash myself' L, di·yəɟ ʔədəxsədəkusk 'I haven't  
 washed myself yet' L, di·yəɟ ʔədtexləkusk 'I'm  
 not washing myself yet' L, with l-anatomical:  
 Rezanov Охатератакыза 'Умойся waschen, sich  
 (Imperat.)' wəɟ (or ʔuɟ) ʔedlədədəkus 'wash

your face thus!' (or 'by means of it!'), Арзе-  
 катаркызъ 'Умываюся waschen, sich' ?edleedekus  
 L, ?adla·dekus 'wash your face!' L, ?edqu?  
 lexdekus 'I'll wash my face' S, ?edlexdek<sup>w</sup>es  
 'I'm washing my face', ?edledekusinu· 'they wash  
 their faces' 33.50, 50A, Rezanov Камерекорекыаъ  
 'Умываюся ли? hast du dich gewaschen?' qahš  
 ?adī·adikusī 'have you finally washed your face?',  
 ?edlexdeke·sK L, ?edlexdek<sup>w</sup>e·sK 'I (cust) wash  
 my face' S, ?adla·dikuswahd 'that they might  
 wash their faces' L, with y-anatomical: ?edya·  
 dekus 'wash your hands!' LA, ?edyexdekus 'I'm  
 washing my hands' L, ?uē ku?xhituhg, deqa·yu·,  
 ?edya·xdikus 'I was lazy about it, sometimes, to  
 wash my hands' A, ?edyuxdeke·sK A, ?edyexdeke·sK  
 'I (cust) wash my hands' LM, ?edy·deke·sK, ?ad-  
 ya·deke·sK '(cust) wash your hands!' L; passive:  
 qu?dekus 'it'll be washed' M, dekus 'it's being  
 washed' M, edikusī 'it's been washed' M (see  
 also nominalizations below); problematical forms  
 in Rezanov: Кахторкызъ 'Шуваю waschen, etwas  
 (Imperat.)' perhaps to be read qu?xdekus 'I'll  
 be washed', [?ed]qu?xdekus 'I'll wash myself',  
 or, most likely, [?il]qe?xdekus 'I'll do wash-  
 ing, laundry', 3ттерекорекыаъ 'Умываюся ich?

habe nich? gewaschen' perhaps to be read 'idah  
[ʔed]kʷ·sdikusʔ 'someone washed his (own) face  
well' or ʔed(ə)kʷ·sdikusʔ 'you washed your  
belly' or ʔed(ə)qʷ·sdikusʔ 'they (pl.) washed  
their (own) faces'.

sdikusʔiyu· (noun, unclassified) 'clean laundry':

sdikusʔiyu· ʔediʒ səʔa·ʔ 'bring the clean laun-  
dry in!' L. Passive active perfective nominalized  
with -yu· 'pl.'.

ʔuyaʔʒ kudekus (noun, probably unclassified) 'wash-

ing machine' L. Nominalized passive active imper-  
fective, 'something is washed in it (movement in  
o with broad opening at top)'.

ʔuyaʔʒ ʔedədikusʔ (noun, probably unclassified)

'bath tub'. Nominalized passive active perfective  
'has washed self in it (movement in o with broad  
opening at top)'.

ʔuyaʔʒ ʔedlekus (noun, probably unclassified)

'wash basin, sink' L. Deverbalization of reflex-  
ive with l-anatomical, 'washes one's face in it  
(movement in o with broad opening at top)'.

ʔuyaʔʒ ʔikusʔ (noun, probably unclassified) 'wash-

tub' L. -ʔ-instrumental deverbalization of de-  
transitivized theme with indeterminate O, 'wash-  
ing is done in it (movement in o with broad open-

ing at top)'.  
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- ʔidekus məsi'n (noun, probably unclassified)  
'washing machine' L. Nominalization of these  
detransitivized with indeterminate O, 'washing',  
as attribute.
- ʔuʔ səlekusʔ (noun, probably unclassified) 'scrub-  
brush' L. -i-instrumental deverbalization of  
passive theme with əl-thematic 'ground, floor',  
'by means of it floor is washed'.
- qa'ʔy'əyah ʔuʔ dekus (noun, probably unclassi-  
fied) 'toothbrush' L. Nominalized passive active  
imperative, 'by means of it our teeth are washed'.
- geledokus (noun, perhaps gl-class or unclassified)  
'big September tide'. Nominalized active imper-  
fective of theme gl-de-kus intransitive, or  
passive of O-gl-(ə-)kus, not otherwise attested,  
with thematized gl-class-mark for S or O 'liquid',  
'washes everything out' L.





kušxi·d (L once kušx<sup>w</sup>i·d; loan from Tlingit k<sub>1</sub>šxid  
 (Naish-Story) 'cloth', (Sampson Harry) 'striped cloth',  
 (S) 'calico')

kušxi·d (noun, unclassified) 'cloth' L, kušx<sup>w</sup>i·d  
 'cloth' L, kušxi·d ʔu·d setah̄ 'a piece of  
 cloth is there' M, kušxi·dluw 'big piece of  
 cloth' LM, kušxi·d laʔq̄ sešeciɔḡ 'the cloth  
 is thin' L, ʔeɣa· laʔq̄ ʔi·šahs (or -šaʔs)  
 kušxi·d 'my what thick cloth!' L, ya·ciɔḡ kuš-  
 xi·d 'narrow (strip of) cloth' L.

kuha'g-kuṣa'g (form and status uncertain, probably loan from Tlingit kahág<sup>w</sup>, non-possessed form of -kahág<sup>w</sup>-u '-roe', Boas kahak<sup>u</sup>. 'salmon-roe', Swanton quhā'k<sup>u</sup>\*, Harrington khuxwaak, probably also 'kidney', equivalent to Eyak qema\*; see also qe-skuha'gu'-qe'-skuṣa'gu')

kuha'g-kuṣa'g (noun, lṣ-class) 'berry species', probably 'soapberry (Shepherdia canadensis)', 'Canada buffaloberry (Lepargyrea canadensis)', or 'black crowberry, curlewberry (Empetrum nigrum)', attested only in Rezanov *Урэдэа, кэп'аа 2*

(not in Radlov, 'berries of Empetrum nigrum'),

corresponding Tlingit entry *хэп'аа*, perhaps

to be read xág<sup>w</sup>fi 'soapberry', Harrington from

G (BAE ms. 4100) qúkwɛfi 'soapberry, Canada

buffaloberry (Lepargyrea canadensis)', *1811-1812*

*хэп'аа 'Урэдэа (Аюга)', possibly Empetrum nigrum.*

W. Soboleff

ki·wa·la· (loan from Tlingit (Harrington from G) kiwa<sup>la</sup>)

ʔa 'heaven for spirits, dog-heaven, place where dead go')

ki·wa·la· place name in flats ? L, 'sea-monster'

A (very vaguely remembered in Eyak).

ke·nli· (loan from English 'cannery' /kənrɪy/)

ke·nli· (noun, probably d-class or unclassified)

'cannery' L, see also 61.77A.

Walter Salsleff k'á'ta or k'á'da

ka'ta' (perhaps loan from Tlingit (Sampson Henry) k'á'da  
'quarter', or perhaps direct loan from English)

ka'ta' (noun, d-class) 'quarter-dollar, twenty-five  
cents' L, ka'ta' sič' di'ʔaʔ 'give me a quarter!'  
L.

ka'ta'dəkih (noun, d-class) 'quarter-dollar, twenty-  
five cents' (same as preceding, 'quarter, diminutive,  
affectionate') L.

ka'w (loan from English 'cow', perhaps not naturalized,  
see also xa's, deleh)

ka'w (noun, unclassified) 'cow' 51.41, 42, 46A,

ka'w<sup>2</sup>eyu' 51.61A, ka'weyu' 'cows' 61.79, 79A.

ku·sti·ɬ (loan from Yakutat Tlingit, (Sampson Harry)

kiɬtiɬ 'mocassins')

ku·sti·ɬ (noun, unclassified) 'mocassins, low

shoes' LMA, ku·sti·ɬluw 'big mocassins' LM.

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k<sup>1</sup> (perhaps related to ke· and/or to keʔ-ke·ʔ)

-k (numeral) '(indefinite) number, many, amount',  
used only as suffix in the following combinations:  
deɣk...-d 'how many?', a number, a few, quite a  
few', see deɣ; ʔleɣk 'this many', see ʔleɣ;  
ʔweɣk 'that many', see ʔweɣ.

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-x (verbal suffix) 'customarily', suffix marking  
customary form of verb, see grammar.

k<sup>3</sup> (status doubtful, see phonology in grammar)

-k possibly archaic suffix, occurring as final of certain stems, always preceded however by voiceless fricatives, and no such stems are attested (or appear to be clearly related to stems) without final -k, see tʰahk-tʰaʔk, caʔk, dʰahk<sup>2</sup>, duhk, hɛsk, kewes-kewesk, duhk, kaʔk, kuʔk, ʔesk, dʰɛk (dʰɛkʔ?), and certain forms which are diffused or of uncertain origin, see gu-suk, cɛk, qeʔk, tuk.

Ku-Ke (modern form freely alternating, original form uncertain as to labialization, probably related to K of dik<sup>2</sup>, Ka<sup>·</sup>, Kah)

Ku--Ke- (negative prefix to interrogative pronominal stems) 'not, no', see Ku-de<sup>·</sup> 'nothing', Ku-de<sup>·</sup>-dah 'in no way' under de<sup>·1</sup>, Ku-du<sup>·</sup> 'no one' under du<sup>·</sup>, Ku-daḡ 'cannot' under daḡ.

## Kjh

-Kjh (kinship noun, ascending) '(paternal) grandmother' (probably also 'paternal grandmother's sister'): Rezanov Kaaxew 'Baška Grossutter' qa·Kjh 'our (paternal) grandmother', sikjh 'my father's mother' (man or woman speaking) L; with suffixed adjective -šiyah, here without any clear meaning, perhaps respectful: sikjhšiyah 'my father's mother' (man or woman speaking, "same as sikjh") L, ?ikjhšiyah 'your father's mother' L; ?ita·?Kjhyeky·čga? se-leeta? 'live like your father's (paternal) grandmother's thumb!' L (curse, see ta·?, ky·č<sup>1</sup>). Vocative: aki<sup>n</sup> 'father's older sister (woman speaking)', ak:<sup>n</sup> (?) 'father's mother (man speaking)', aki<sup>n</sup> (?) 'mother's mother's older sister (woman speaking)' BSdL 565-566A all probably ?ekjh '(paternal) grandmother!', '(paternal) grandmother's sister!', k:<sup>n</sup>ca 'father's mother (woman speaking)' BSdL 565A Kjhšah '(paternal) grandmother!' L (Billy Dade also called Minnie Stevens this L; no kinship between them is shown on the BSdL Genealogical Table), aki<sup>n</sup>cia 'father's younger sister (woman speaking)' BSdL 565A perhaps ?ekjhšiyah (co-occurrence of ?e-prefix and -šiyah suffix probably in error, also unbroken -šah expected in vocative; see also tjh, ?ahd).

-Kih-le-kih (kinship noun, descending, reciprocal to preceding, with -kih diminutive, affectionate; -le- not class- or thematic mark, probably due to unique phonological development \*k<sup>h</sup>an-a- > \*k<sup>h</sup>ih-na- > -Kih-le-; L rejects -Kih((?)e)kih; this development does not take place with suffixed -Siyah or -Sah, L rejects \*-KihleSiyah, \*-Kih-leSah) '(woman's) son's child' (probably also 'woman's sister's son's child'); svk:<sup>11</sup>lak:<sup>11</sup> 'son's child (woman speaking)' BSDL 567A sik<sup>h</sup>lekih 'my son's child' (woman speaking, serves also in direct address) L.

Kj?

ɪ-Kj? '(specific part of) S is skinny, scrawny, lean, emaciated' (often somewhat derogatory): ʔuɪɔ-ʔ  
 ʔewa səɪKjʔɪ 'his legs (thighs) are (have become) skinny' L, ʔuyedaʔ ʔewa səɪKjʔɪ 'its legs are skinny' L; with anatomical marks: kʉsde səɪKjʔɪh 'his (lower) legs are skinny' (not polite) L.

daʔ s-ɪ-Kj? (with s-thematic with daʔ 'face')  
 'S's face is skinny, gaunt': daʔ sɪɪKjʔɪh  
 'his face is skinny' L, daʔ sɪxɪKjʔɪ 'my face is skinny' L (neuter perfectives), daʔ quʔsɪ-x-ɪKjʔ 'my face will get skinny' L.

ɪ-ɪ-Kj? 'S is (generally) skinny, scrawny, lean, emaciated' (often somewhat derogatory): neuter perfective: lixɪKjʔɪ 'I'm skinny' L, dɪk laʔxɪKjʔɪɛ 'I'm not skinny' L, ʔɛɔɔɔɔ liɪKjʔɪh 'my how skinny she is!' M, liɪKjʔɪ 'it (clam, cockle) is lean, skinny (not much meat on it)' L. (cf. ʔɔ<sup>2</sup>), active perfective: lɪsɪKjʔɪ 'I got skinny' L, ʔɪ.səɪKjʔɪ 'it's skinny' LM, ʔɔh ɪɪɪɪɪ ʔɪ.səɪKjʔɪ 'that man is skinny' L, tʉhɪgaʔ ʔɪ.səɪKjʔɪ ʔewa.yu 'three skinny dogs' L, inceptive perfective: lɛsɛxɪKjʔɪ 'I'm getting skinny' L, lɛsɪɪKjʔɪ 'you're getting skinny' M, lɛsɪKjʔɪh 'he's getting skinny' LM, other mode--

aspects: qu?li·ikj? 'it'll get skinny' M, dik  
qu?li·ikj?e 'it won't be skinny' M, la·yilkj?ih  
'let him be skinny, get skinny' L, laci·ikj?ih  
'let him get skinny'L, li·xikj·k 'I (cust) get  
skinny' L, li·ikj·kjh 'he (cust) gets skinny'  
L (neuters?). Transitive (causative): laciikj?  
'make it get skinny!' L; passive: xulidikj?i  
'I was made to get skinny (by someone, doctor)'  
L.

Ke· (perhaps related to <sup>4</sup> Ke·-e· and <sup>k'iL</sup> Ke·-ke· to <sup>10?</sup> 10?

Ke·...-d (interrogative adverb) 1. 'how?, how':

Ke·d 2b.4L, 36.17, 51.60(?), 76A, 53.27L, Ke·=  
 duw 1a.5, 1b.3, 2a.9M, 21b.30, 24.19A, 34.65M,  
 37b.20, 61.46, 46, 65.1A, Ke·dub 11.126A, Ke·=  
 dūh 7.9, 9, 11.6, 21b.21, 69.25, 25A, Ke·duhnu·  
 28.94A, 34.6M, Ke·dūh səsih̄t 'how did he die?',  
 Ke·d ʔediḡ səh̄t 'how did you get in?' M, Ke·=  
 duw ʔaw teʔyaʔ quʔxšeh 'how'll I kill that  
 fish?' L, with certain themes, especially -le  
 'S does, acts, happens to S', O-i-i 'S does to  
 O', d-le 'S says', O-ʔ-ʔa 'S tells of O', and  
 for C in O-ʔ-(1)-ʔe 'S calls O C', usually trans-  
 lating 'what?, what': 2a.33, 15.10M, 20.10, 21b.3,  
 9, 33, 23.103, 25.116, 28.86A, 57.110, 70.3A,  
 Ke·d səliḡ 'what happened to you?, what did you  
 do?' 10.222, 32.31A (cf. Ke·d wəḡ səliḡ 'how  
 it happened (thus)' 2a.9M), Ke·d ʔi· qiʔyileh  
 34.24, 29, 37, 45L, diK Ke·dūh ʔəsliḡ 'no-  
 thing happened to her' 49.121A (cf. 20.23, 49.-  
 122A), Ke·d diʔeh M, Ke·dūh di·ʔeh 'what  
 are you saying?' 43.23M, Ke·dūh deleh 'what's  
 he saying?' M, (cf. Ke·dūh dele·, quʔdi·leh  
 'how he says, (how) he'll say (it)' 69.25A),  
 Ke·d yileh 'what are you doing?' M, Ke·dūh

leh 'what's he doing?' M, Ke-dyuh qa'leh  
 'what'll he do?, what'll happen to, become of  
 him?' M, Ke-dyuh səliŋ 'what did you do to  
 him?' L, Ke-dyuh qa-x̣ 'ida'ɣah 'what(ever) he  
 told us' 51.12A, Ke-duw 'ulah qa-x̣ 'ida'ku'ɣah  
 'what one preaches to us about it' 70.6A,  
 Rezanov Kegeɣɣe-ə 'Mm Name' Ke-d 'ədu'de'eh  
 'what's your, its name?', Ke-d xu'li'eh 'what  
 did you call me?' L, with these -te'--tu' 'how  
 is, fares S?, what's wrong, the matter with S,  
 what becomes of S?': Ke-duw 'i'teh 'how is it?  
 (how does the story go?)' 10.97A, Ke-duw 'i'=  
 te' 'what's wrong (with you)?' 10.268A, Ke-d  
 'i'teh 'how are you?' L, Ke-duw qu'wetuh 'how  
 it'll be' 62.16G; occasionally with exclamatory  
 force (cf. 5 below): Ke-duw 'udeselehyeq 'əh  
 səliŋh '(my) how she pleased him' 10.127A, Ke-  
 duhnu' iɣu 'what the hell are they doing?!',  
 Ke-duhnu' deɣu' 'what a hell of a noise!' L,  
 asyntactically, without verb: Rezanov Keŋty?  
 'Zero? was?' Ke-duh 18.39, 26.6, 27a.20, 34.110L,  
 Ke-duw 'how (is that)?, what (happened, is the  
 matter, wrong)?' 24.19, 94, 61.96A, Ke-dyuh 'how,  
 what (is it with him, the matter, wrong with him)?'  
 23.104, 24.48A, Ke-duhnu' 'how, what (is it with

them, etc.)?' 24.30, 29.97A, also Ke·d 36.36, 50.48, 51.60(?), 65.34, 56A, Ke·duw 'how (is it, does the story go)?, what (is it called)?' 36.33, 60.53A; once lacking -d, probably in error: Ke· qi? Ku·tehlex 'isel'qahlinu· 'they saw what was going on there, "what the place was all about"' 34.125L; once used incorrectly in dik du·duw 'u·la'iga·s Ke·duw te'ya? Ketu? qu'ie? 'nobody knows how many the salmon will be' 62.20fnG, literally 'nobody knows how the fish will be many', probably under English influence.

1b. With de- 'ipse' de-Ke·...-d 'however, in whatever way, in any way whatever' (see also 3b.): deKe·duh dexuh yileh 'whatever, no matter what kind of a person he is' L, deKe·d Kuqa'leh 61.12A, deKe·d Kuqu'waleh 'however things will happen, whatever will happen' 61.27A, lacking -d, probably in error: deKe· gu'i·teh 'it is of any color' 66.10L, in negative or prohibitive clauses: dik 'a'd deKe·duh 'adla'iet'ihih 'there's no sign of anger or pain on his face' ('he's not grimacing much in any way') L, dik deKe·duh 'qhx' dealii·s 'she didn't say anything to him' 25.106A, dik deKe·duh qe? dale·s 'nothing more happens' 25.206A, dik deKe·duw 'esli·s 'nothing happened to it' 49.122A (cf. 49.121, 20.23A), dik deKe·duh

ti·li·le·ke 'nothing (cust) happens to it  
(feather)' 48.6L, diK deke·duh yax ?edi·-  
lihia?ya·x 'he didn't think anything of (amiss  
about) it' 31.5L, ya?xu· deke·d xuqu?lexih  
'pl. don't do anything (harm) to me' 19.14L.

1c. With enclitic -B(-d) 'I wonder':  
Ke·8dph selih 'wondering what happened to him'  
61.43A.

2. With -ci·- emphatic '-ever, in the  
world?' (see also 4b), Ke·-ci·-duh 'how ever?,  
how in the world?, what ever?, what in the world?':  
11.182fnA, Ke·ci·dud ?i·teh 'what ever is it  
with it?, what in the world is wrong with it?' 21b.-  
42A, Ke·ci·d da· qa? tuh 'what in the world  
will become of us?' 23.148A, Ke·ci·d qa?tuh 'what  
ever will come of it?' 21b.53A, Ke·ci·dud qu?xtuw  
'what in the world will become of me?' 23.14A,  
Ke·ci·d ?i· qu?yileh 34.19L, Ke·ci·d ?i· qi?·  
yileh 'what ever will you do?' 34.48, 54, 59M,  
Ke·ci·dudnu· ?ewa· kuqu?xih 'how ever will I  
get any of them?' 10.236A, Ke·ci·d di·leh 'what  
did you say?' L.

2b. In non-verbal clauses, subordinate to nominal,  
'how about...?', 'what about...?': Ke·ci·d seyes  
'what about us?' 30.8L, Ke·ci·d xu· 'what, how

about me?' 34.9, 13M, 22, 28, 32, 35, 43L, 53, 57M,  
 Ke·ci·duh ?ah i?heih ?awa· 'what about that  
 other one?' 33.67A, Ke·ci·duw ?aw te?ya?yu·le?e·  
 ?u?æda?eh ?awa· 'what about that one of them  
 that looks different from (normal) salmon?' 21b.-  
 38A; Rezanov Ke?uxy?ax? 'Даромъ umsonst' Ke·  
 ci·duh da·? 'what can I do about it, I've got  
 no time to monkey with it' L (perhaps for Ke·  
 ci·d ?uda·? 'what ever's the use?').

3. With -yu· 'plural': a. Ke·...-yu·-d  
 'in all kinds of ways, all kinds of things': Ke·  
 yu· ?e? Kusædele·i da·?duw 'all kinds of things  
 were happening again, more was happening in all  
 sorts of ways' 11.133A.

3b. As above, with de- 'ipse' (cf. 1b.),  
 deKe·yu·dæw 'in whatever way, in any way whatever,  
 in all kinds of ways, anything, whatever' L, de-  
 Ke·yu·duh dæ?uh yi?eh 'whatever, no matter what  
 kind of person he is' L; deKe·duwyu· ye? ?idi-  
 i?ah 'it (wind) is blowing every which way' L.

4. With incorporated ?wæ? 'thus' a. Ke·  
 -?wæ?-d (< Ke· ?wæ?-d 'how is it thus?') 'how  
 come?, why?, why' ('how comes it to be thus that  
 ...?'): 3.1, 43.10M, Ke·?wæ?duw diK ?ædex<sup>w</sup>e·?kæ  
 'why doesn't it (cust) ebb?' L, Ke·?wæ?duh wæ?  
 yi?eh 'why do you do that?' L, diK ?u·la?xiga·c

Ke·?weɣdɨhga? ([?əw]ga? ?) xɔ?ɪq̄ kuxa·k 'I  
don't know why he (cust) eats so much' M, diK  
?u·la?xɪga·e Ke·?weɣdɨhga? ([?əw]ga? ?) kuxah  
'I don't know why he eats so much' L.

4b. As above, with enclitic -s(-d) 'I wonder':  
Ke·?weɣsduhnu· weɣ ?i·təh 'how come, I wonder,  
are they that way?' 2%.33A.

4c. As 4a., with emphatic -ɕi·-: Ke·?weɣ-  
ɕi·duh 'why ever?, why in the world is that?,  
how on earth does it come to be thus?' L.

5. With ?iɪ- exclamatory (cf. 1a.), ?iɪ--  
Ke·...-d 'how the hell?, what does S think he's  
doing?, there goes S doing' (speaker irritated):  
?iɪKe·dɨh gu·dəg qe? ?i?di·kq̄e?dɨ 'what does  
he think he's doing, asking you again?' L, ?iɪ-  
Ke·dɨh dəkɔu? 'there's that damn noise!, what's  
that (damn boat) doing?' L, ?iɪKe·dɨh kɔu?ɕiyah  
'what's that (damn) no-good (dog think it's) doing?'  
L.

kʰ - /a ʔ

Keʔ-Keʔ (perhaps related to Keʔ; cf. ʕi-ʕiʔ, for variation see below)

Keʔ--Keʔ-ʕ (adverb, stem Keʔ--Keʔ- apparently in free variation, but Keʔ- more frequent from A, Keʔ- clearly preferred in elicitations from L; attested only with enclitic -ʕ interrogative thematized; usually following form modified by meaning) 'perhaps, maybe, probably, approximately, about': Keʔʕ A, 51.46A, Keʔʕuh 10.51, 11.80, 24.88A, Keʔʕuw 10.51, 85, 32.35, 37b.54, 51.46, 69, 70.2A, Keʔʕuh 51.95, 69.24, 28A, Keʔʕuh 21b.12, 23.105, 61.75A, Keʔʕuhnu 28.1A, ʔwəʕ Keʔʕ LM, ʔwəʕ Keʔʕ (preceding twice rejected) 'maybe (so)' L, ʔwəʕ Keʔʕuh 'maybe (so), approximately (thus)' L, ʔwəʕ Keʔʕ laʔdih 'about two' L, ʔwəʕ Keʔʕuh deleh 'that (thus) is about what he said' L, ʔləʕ Keʔʕuh deleh 'this is about what he said' L, caʔ Keʔʕuw yileh M, caʔ Keʔʕuw yileh 'it might be deep' L, ʔiqeʔdeʕeh Keʔʕ 'you might get killed' M, deʕuʔ Keʔʕeʔew (later changed to Keʔʕeʔow) 'maybe that's right' L, deʕuʔ Keʔʕeʔəh (later changed to Keʔʕeʔəh) deleh 'maybe he's telling the truth' L, ka-diʔda Keʔʕ ʔu-deʕ da-ʕ ʔi-xiyah 'I don't think I'll make it across' ('I'll probably never get across along there') L, diK

KeʔS ʔi·ləx qeʔ ʔiqeʔxheʔq·s 'maybe I won't  
see you again' L, quʔlədemah KeʔSuh 'something  
might go wrong with it' L, ʔuʔ KeʔSuh quʔdəxe=  
wih 'maybe you'll be rewarded for it' L, diʔwəx  
KeʔSuh ʔiʔ sədixewiʔi 'you'll probably yet have  
good luck for it' L.

Ka' (form of stem uncertain, conceivably Ka'd, see below; initial not labialized in Russian sources, Rezanov twice, Wrangell once; perhaps related to Ka'd and/or to Kah and/or to Ku<sup>L</sup>ka', see also <sup>at'k'z</sup> Kula's, ?lahs)

Ka'dih-Ka'di- (probably < Ka'-dih, though conceivably Ka'd-ih, cf. ?as-dih) l. (locative, attested with zero and -č' finals), attested only as C: 'gone, away, absent, vanished, disappeared, missing, lost, destroyed': with zero final: Ka'-dih -ie(?) 'S is gone, becomes lost, etc.': 20.= 53, 23.53, 73, 25.116, 116A, 27a.23L, 28.9, 29.= 37, 54, 37b.44, 44, 45A, 38.24LM, 47a.4, 55L, see further instances under -ie(?) lg(1).., without verb (-ie(?) deleted): 11.22, 24, 203, 21b.14A, 47b.23M, 47c.29, 30, 31L, 49.148, 61.64A, with meaning 'destroyed (shot away)' 61.55, 123A, Ka'dih qu?li'xi?ihih 'I'll make him get lost' M, Wrangell Катехенки 'Boser Geist' probably to be read Ka'dih yi?ihinu' 'those who are lost, gone (dead)', la?dih ?elahed ya' ?uxy'ieyah Ka'dih 'his two front teeth are missing' L, la?dih ?uxy'ieyah ?ewa' Ka'dih 'two of his teeth are missing' L; with -š interrogative enclitic: Ka?diš '(Is she still) vanished? any sign of her?' 18.52L; with -č' final: Ka'dihč' ?eie'gkinu' 'they (cust) keep disappearing' 28.54A.

2. In combination with postpositional phrase ?uda·x 'in contrast with it': 5. Ka·dih ?uda·x, Ka·di?uda·x 'it's no use, pointless, useless, futile' L, usually used as optative clause introducer: Ka·dih ?uda·x ?ixikij·x 'it's no use for me to cry' M, Ka·dih ?uda·x ?i·kij·x 'it's no use for you to cry' M, Ka·dih ?uda·x Kulikij·x 'no use crying' M, Ka·dih ?uda·x ?i?u? qe? Ku?loxq·?ikij·q 'no use one being demure with one another anymore' 72.9L, with de- 'inse': d?Ka·di?uda·x sida? qe? ?idiyah 'it's pointless for you to come back to me' 33.77A.

3. In combination with ?ida·-?ide- 'how, in such a way, such that' (in future) Ka·di?da· 'never', usually as optative clause introducer: 11.74, 128, 23.153, 28.54, 36.10, 37b.81, 81, 49.26A, Ka·di?da· Ke?E ?u·da? da·x ?ixiyah 'I don't think I'll make it across' ('I'll perhaps never get across along there') L, with -E interrogative enclitic: Ka·di?da·E ?u·da? ?iKa? ?edi? ?ixiyah 'can I ever go in there with you' 23.43A, preceded by adverb ?a?d 'very, very much': ?a?d Ka·di?da· 'never (would I do that, etc.):' M, ?a?d Ka·di?da· ?p·E qe? ?ixdiyah 'I'll never come back here' M, ?a?d Ka·di?da· qe? ?i·xiqah 'I'll never bite you again' M, ?a?d Ka·di?da·

qe? da·dičeh 'you'll never be hungry again' M,  
 ?a?d ka·di?da· qe? ?iic'ih'ih 'he'll never be  
 strong again' M, ?a?d ka·di?da· qe? da·kičah  
 'it (table) will never be strong again' M, ?a?d  
 ka·di?da· qe·ye? ?ixdiweh 'I'll never go swim-  
 ming again' M, ?a?d ka·di?dah ?ulah qe·ye?  
 ?edi·lih?ixi?yah 'I'll never think about it  
 again' M.

3b. As preceding; with perhaps different  
 meaning (cf. 2. above) 'must never, it'd never  
 do to...': ka·di?da· ?ew qe?x'da·d ?i?a? ye?  
 ?idiyah 'you must never, it'd never do for you to  
 go about without your hair-ribbon' 23.51A.

4. With -duh emphatic enclitic, meaning  
 or meanings uncertain, a: ka·diduh "'no more"  
 L (cf. 3. above, 5. below).

4b. "'around all over" (?): ka·diduh qa·  
 qa?ixu?inu· "'they're shooting around all over  
 at us" L (qa· qa?ixu?inu· 'they'll shoot us  
 (with gun)', cf. 1. above).

5. Form uncertain: Rezanov Ka?b-?b 'Hra  
 nein' perhaps to be read ka·di..., perhaps  
 ka·did[uh].

ka·dah (exclamation or adverb, probably < ka·-  
 -dah with -dah adverbializer, though conceiv-  
 ably < ka·d-ah, cf. di·k-ah) 1. 'well!', what

do you know?!, don't tell me!' (incredulous,  
pleasant surprise), 'so you succeeded!' L, Ka-  
dah ?u-da? sahĥ 'well, don't tell me, you got  
there!' L, Ka-dah kuċgšiyah 'my what a remark-  
able (clever) little youngster!' (pleased) M.

2. 'nothing' (?): Rezanov Ka-aara 'Hæqero  
nichts', probably to be read Ka-dah.

Kah (Rezanov four times, Wrangell once without labialization, Rezanov four times perhaps implying labialization, see discussion under l-ta; perhaps related to Ka<sup>·</sup> and/or to ku-k<sup>l</sup>, see also <sup>k<sup>l</sup></sup> Kula<sup>·</sup>s, ?lahs, ?ukahyekih)

o-Kah (postposition, attested with zero and -č finals, also, under <sup>2</sup>ʃ., with -ʃ final, often compounded as final with other postpositions and locatives, see 2. and 3.) 1. '(more or less definite removal to some distance) away from o, off of o' (corresponding to Athapaskan \*-Ka?; cf. o-čahd, Athapaskan \*o-čen, 'motion originating at and emanating from (not necessarily definite removal to any distance) from o') a. with zero final: siKah 'away from me' L, siKah sedah<sup>h</sup>ih 'he sidled away from me' L, ?ewKah ?exihs 'rip it off it!' L, ?ewKah di<sup>h</sup>iqah<sup>h</sup> 'a piece flew (fell) off it' L, ?ew Kuce<sup>h</sup>Kah Kuse<sup>h</sup>qec<sup>h</sup> 'it (dog) bit a piece off the meat' L, ?iKah qu<sup>h</sup>-xəli<sup>h</sup>xyah 'I'll run away from you' L, ?ew cema<sup>h</sup> ?ewKah səkus<sup>h</sup>ih 'he washed the maggots off it' 45b.8M, o-Kah -<sup>h</sup>a 'S goes away from o, leaves o' 11.60, 133A, 47a.1L, 61.22A, siKah sah<sup>h</sup>ih 'he went, walked away from me, left me (temporarily or for good)' L, o-Kah l-<sup>h</sup>ya<sup>h</sup>? 'S keeps forgetting o' 69.26, 26, 70.3A, frequently attested

in o-Kah l-ta 'S forgets (moves head away from)  
 o' and o-Kah -le'g 'S unhands, stops bothering,  
 releases o, leaves o alone', q.v., Rezanov *сказа-*  
*аеуу* 'Bycтк loslassen (Imperat., lass (mich?)  
 los!) siKah 'ele'g<sup>w</sup>; with reciprocal o: 'iKah  
 ' (take them) apart!' L, 'iKah *seka?* 'push  
 them apart!' L, 'iKah *šdi'a'štinu* 'they  
 (spouses) separated' L, 'iKah *sešahdinu*  
 'separate them (from fighting)!' ('drag them  
 apart:') L, 'iKah *o-i-ceš* 'S cuts O apart'  
 49.93, 95A; with indeterminate o: *gu'sešKda'š*  
*deKah seta?* 'fan out (separate) wood fiber from  
 sap!' A; with zero reflexive o in indirect reflex-  
 ive constructions: *Kah šikihdi* 'I gave it a  
 quick shove away (from myself)' L, *Kah xšii-*  
*lugšinu* 'I pushed them away (from myself)' L,  
 most frequently attested in *Kah l-de-ta* 'S for-  
 gets self, is forgetful' (see o-Kah l-ta, four  
 uncertain forms from Rezanov perhaps imply -k<sup>w</sup>ah).

1b. With -š final, usually with inceptive  
 and neuter imperfectives, customary, repetitive:  
*'ewkahš wuug* 'it (paint, peel) is crumbling off  
 it' L, *siKahš žela'ca'ya'ž* 'he's running away  
 from me' L, *šidah siKahš žela'ya'kiš* 'he  
 continually (cust) runs away from me' L, *o-Kahš*  
*l-i-ya'?* 'S keeps forgetting o', *'ewkahš*

?ə̀te?kɔ 'chop off wet outside part off it  
 (wood):' L, siKahč di·sid 'they (boards) ex-  
 tend away from me' L; with reciprocal o: ?iKahč  
 qid didi?ah 'they (boards) point away from each  
 other' L; with zero reflexive o in indirect re-  
 flexive constructions: Kahč xəle?gg 'I keep  
 pushing it away (from myself) with my hand' L,  
 Kahč xusəlyə·i 'he's making me forget my distress'  
 L (causative, 'he's making me be away from myself').

2. Compounded as final with other postpositions  
 and with locatives, a. with zero final: with post-  
 position o-q' 'on o': ?əwtah ?əwqəKah sətah-  
 linu· 'they took the skin off (from on) it' 37b.-  
 21A, o-qəKah o-i-ceɣ 'S cuts O off (from on) o'  
 65.9, 9, 10, 11, 28, 29, 30A, də?e·ɔg ?əwqəKah  
 wəɣ dəle·K 'meat-slabs are (cust) removed off  
 it (salmon)' 65.9A, ?uyəqəsi?ya? ?uqəKah qi?-  
 yiłah 'you'll remove its entrails from (on) it'  
 65.38A (misused), ?əwqəKah sah̄ 'got down off  
 (from on top of) it' 28.11A, əu?i siqəKah ceta?  
 'take the blanket off me!' M, qu?qəKah dəselyə?  
 'take it (pot) off the fire!' L, ?əwqəKah ləɣə-  
 λə·selyəh̄h̄ 'he took them (berries in container)  
 off it' L, təh̄ti·na?qəKah 'off (from on) a leaf,  
 feather' L, with o-ya? 'in o with broad opening  
 at top': o-ya?Kah ski?eɣ̄ 'jumped out of, clear

of o (conveyance)' 49.142, 61.75, 76A, with other  
postpositions: ?udeda?Kah Kuseta? 'take the lid  
off it!' M (perhaps incorrect), ?i?qa?Kah le?e=  
se?a? 'separate, sort them (berries) out (from  
amongst each other)!' L, qa?qa?Kah ?a? 'go  
away from (between) us!' L, sidekyaxaKah ?a?  
'get out of my way (from in front of me)!' L, si=  
dawa?Kah ?a? 'get out of my way!' L, si?e?Kah  
?a? 'get out of my way!' L (see also 2a.), with  
postpositions with -d final: si?e?deKah ?a?  
'get out of my place, way!' L (see also 2c., Reza=  
nov), sisa?deKah ?ew sekyah?ih 'he took it  
(cigarette) out of my mouth' L, sixa?deKah ?ew  
sekyah?ih 'he took it (food) away from me as I  
was eating it' L, with locatives (with -d final):  
?u?diKah 'away (from there)' 9.106, 108, 112,  
10.44, 52, 53, 68A, 21a.16L, 36.39, 60.29, 30, 32,  
33, 65.3, 4A (with various themes), ?u?diKah  
gusi?dah? 'I chased it away' L, ?u?diKah qu?x=  
?ux 'I'll poke it out of there' L, ?ew gah?=  
?u?diKah di?s?ih? 'scrape that gum off!' L, ?u?=  
diKah si??a?t? 'I pried it away' L, ?u?diKah  
?a?i?ih 'throw him out!' L, ?u?diKah la?se?a(·)?  
'dig them (stones) out!' L, ?u?diKah la?deg<sup>w</sup>a?  
'beat it!, clear out!' L, ?u?diKah di?iKa?t?  
'fly away!' L, ?u?diKah se?xu? 'it blew away' L,

ʔu·diKah ʔexihs 'rip it off!' L, ʔu·diKah yaʔʔ  
 siʔeʔʔi 'I lifted and removed it from there with  
 the end of a stick' L, ʔu·diKah selahʔinu· 'they  
 moved away' L, ʔu·diKah ʔelasih 'throw him out!' L,  
 Rezanov Утрак-а 'Ирочь fort! weg!' ʔu·diKah  
 ʔa·ʔ L, also irregularly contracted ʔu·diKa·ʔ  
 'go away!, get out of there!' LM, ʔp·deKah la·-  
 deg<sup>M</sup>aʔ 'clear out of here!' L, kiʔq ʔp·deKah  
 ʔew ʔi·səiʔahʔ 'he pillaged it all away from  
 here' ll.33A.

2b. With -ʔ final, as lb., 2a.: ʔu·diKahʔ  
 10.45, 48A, ʔu·diKahʔ gu·ida·g 'try to chase it  
 away!' L, ʔu·diKahʔʔuh guʔgu·idah 'will you  
 chase it away?' L, see further instances under  
 0-g-i-da.

2c. With -ʔ final, attested only in compound  
 o-ʔeʔ-Kah 'away from o's place': siʔeʔKahʔ ʔa·ʔ  
 'get out of my way (place where I'm working)!' L,  
 perhaps also in Rezanov Сәәтәкәтә-а 'Еотропә  
 кутәса ausweichen, aus dem Wege gehen' perhaps  
 to be read siʔeʔdeKahʔ ʔa·ʔ with -d final  
 of o-ʔeʔ, or perhaps siʔeʔdeKah ea·ʔ 'get out  
 of my way!'.

ʔele-Kah (preverb, attested with zero and -ʔ  
 finals; probably < ʔele- archaic form of ʔel  
 'this' as o of o-Kah 'away from', basic meaning

probably 'uncovering') 1. 'uncovering, up off (opening, uncovering something)': ?eleKah ?ew seitahih, ke'd detelawa?iga? ?ew ?eleKah seitahih 'he uncovered it like how a trapdoor (is opened) he uncovered it' 51.59-60fnA, ?eleKah ?u?la?eta? 'open it (hatch over hole):' L, ?eleKah seia? da?x ?exu? 'take them (blankets) off (the bed) and shake them:' L.

2. 'up out of bed, awakening, arising': Rezanov Илэкаа 'Встать стех auf! (vom Liegen)', Wrangell АМКК-каа 'aufstehen' ?eleKah '(get) up (out of bed):', or perhaps ?eleKah ?a? 'get up (out of bed):', usually with theme -a 'sg. S goes' or -?a?e 'pl. S go': 18.32L, 23.21, 25, 25.8, 36.2, 3, 50.36, 51.54, 61.94A (-a), 21b.60, 61, 29.19, 50.2, 25A (-?a?e), ?eleKah sa? 'get out of bed:' LM, 21b.57A, ?eleKah si'yah da?x 'when you get up' 51.77, 61.22, 65.47A, ?eleKah da? qa?a?e 'we'll get up' M, ?eleKah? qu?le?x-?a?e 'will you pl. get up?' M, ?eleKah qu?xah 'I'll get up' M, see further instances under -a<sup>1</sup>, causatives: ?eleKah ?iqe?xiah 'I'll get you out of bed' M, ?eleKah qu?xihih 'I'll get him out of bed' M, ?eleKah siyahih 'I got him out of bed' M, ?eleKah da? ?i?ihih 'let's get him out of bed' L, ?eleKah da? ?i?a?e 'let's

×

get them out of bed' L; with -č final: 18.50fnL,  
ʔeleKahč da· ʔeʔaʔčɪ 'we're getting out of bed'  
M, ʔeleKahč ʔaxa·ɪ, ʔeleKahč ʔaxa·ɪ 'I'm  
getting out of bed' M, siqaʔ ʔeleKahč xy·ɪya·K  
'my husband (cust) gets me out of bed' M (probably  
to be corrected to xy·ɪa·K), siʔehd ʔeleKahč  
ʔaxɪya·K 'I (cust) get my wife out of bed' M  
(probably to be corrected to ʔaxɪa·K).

Ka?

Ka? (syntactically unique form, perhaps more properly suffix like -əgahɣ, though written as separate word, never sentence-initial) occurring in optative or prohibitive clauses only, with no meaning or weak meaning 'would that, if only, let, please, should, ought to, had better, must', in polite commands or wishes: in text with second person S: 9.13A, 18.83, 27a.4L, 27b.5, 5A, 47b.11, 17M, 47c.8L, 49.7, 61.22A, with first person S: 36.39, 39A, with Ka? following clause subordinated by da·ɣ 'if, when, and': 34.66, 66M, 47b.11M, 51.77A, with prohibitive clause: daʔu·deɣya·kihdaɣ səxleh da·ɣ Ka? yaʔɣu· ya·nuʔ xuqɪʔyilteɣ 'if anything happens to me don't bury me' 47b.10M, səxəɣh da·ɣ Ka? yaʔɣu· ya·nuʔ xuquʔyilteɣ 'if I die don't bury me' 47c.7L, following subordinated prohibitive clause: yaʔɣu· xuqaʔse· Ka? ʔuɣ da·yileɣ 'you'd better tell them they must not kill me' 20.68A, in elicitation: hiɕ qeʔi ʔediɣ səh da·ɣ Ka? ʔuʔeʔ-ɕəhd yaʔ gu·hiyp·kɪh 'always when a woman comes in you should stand to make place for her' L, ʔi·ləɣiɕeɣ Ka? 'by all means pl. go ahead and kill it' L, ʔi·ligaʔ Ka? 'by all means go ahead and dance' L, ʔediɣicuʔ Ka? 'do go warm yourself' M,

da·diguš Ka? 'you should keep your mouth closed'  
 L, xuda·yilxewih Ka? 'believe me' L, sida·d  
 Ka? gy·hiya·? 'stand near me' M, sixa? Ka?  
 da·liia? 'be quiet for me' L, ?edqKa? ?a?li'feh  
 'wear it' L, yeş Ka? ?idiyah 'take a walk' L,  
 ?u·d Ka? ?i·yah 'go there' M, su?yeqd Ka?  
 yā? ?i·dah 'stay in the warmth' M, de?u·d Ka?  
 yā? ?i·dah 'stay right there' M, de?a·d Ka?  
 yā? ?i·dah 'stay right here' M, deşu?ya·ş Ka?  
 ?u·d ?i·yah 'be sure to go there' M, ya? Ka?  
 da?li·k'ah 'stand it up' L, ya? Ka? xeda·lii-  
 ?ah 'stand it (log) up' L, ya?ş Ka? xeda·lii'ah  
 (or xeda·yili'ah) 'pick them (watches) up' L,  
 ?ideci·ya·kxa? Ka? qe?lile? 'watch your step  
 (how you go)' L, yeş de?a?şyu·xa? Ka? ?u?ye-  
 la·ditah 'watch out for (expect) dangerous ani-  
 mals' L, sideşa?ş Ka? qā? ?i·lile? 'heed what  
 I say' L, deseleyeqd Ka? ya? ?idita· 'remem-  
 ber (keep it in your mind)' L, di?weş Ka? da·-  
 diguš 'keep your mouth closed' L, di?weş Ka?  
 ?i·iwa?K 'boil it some more' ('keep it boiling')  
 L, ya·?d Ka? yeş ?iliya·? 'you should set  
 them down here and there along the way' L, ?ew  
 ca· Ka? la·yilkahd 'heat up that stove' L,  
 kuşiyah Ka? ?ula?ş da·yilya·gih 'try to anger  
 him' L, kuşu·dah Ka? ?i·lih?a?li·feh 'be

happy' L, kuɣu ka? ʔəduʔla·hiɣah 'be good'  
 L, deɣuw ka? kutu? ʔuʔla·yiɣah 'have lots  
 of provisions' L, ʔisda·l ka? ~~ʔisda·l ka?~~  
 ʔud ʔi·ɦde?g 'teach it (dog) to sit' L, ʔud  
 ka? kulihde?g 'teach it something' L, kuɣu·la?  
 ka? ʔi·ɦe? '(have) good luck!' L, kuɣu·dah  
 ka? ʔi·licɨ·ʔ 'have a nice dream' L, kuɣu·dah  
 ka? ʔi·licɨ·ʔk '(cust) have nice dreams' L,  
 hiɕ ka? ʔaʔhiɕah 'always be strong' L, hiɕ  
 ka? ʔaʔlexhiɕah 'pl. always be strong' L, hiɕ  
 ka? yaʔhiɕah 'always have strong hands' L, hiɕ  
 ka? ʔi·lihʔaʔhiɕah 'always be stout-hearted' L,  
 hiɕ ka? ʔi·lihʔaʔlexhiɕah 'pl. always be stout-  
 hearted' L, kutu? deɣew ka? ʔi·ɦah 'take lots  
 of provisions' L, kutu? deɣew ka? ʔi·ɦa·k  
 '(cust) take lots of provisions' L, dihiɕ ʔed  
 ka? tiliʔdiʔe·k 'you must always (cust) wear it  
 over your shoulders' L, diʔweɣ kutuʔɕt ka?  
 yeɣ ʔidiyah 'keep going around hanging onto  
 things a while yet' (to convalescent) L, follow-  
 ing independent personal pronoun: xu· ka? ʔuʔ-  
 leɣa·ɦecɨ·ʔ (or xuʔleɣa·ɦecɨ·ʔ) 'dream about  
 me' L, xu· ka? 'let it be me, let me do it' L;  
 in combination with other optative clause intro-  
 ducers: ɦahkih ka? (see ɦah), ʔu·dkih ka?  
 'would that' (ʔu·dkih also attested without  
 ka?, see ʔu·-).

Kumah-Kemah (conceivably to be analyzed -mah with  
Ku-indefinite prefix)

Kumah-Kemah (noun, unclassified) 'sea lion (Steller's, Eumetopia jubata)': Kemah 50.52, 55A, Kumah 'sea lion' LMA, 50.55, 58, 60, 61A, Rezanov Kuma 'Скучь Seelöwe, Phoca leonina', Galushia Nelson Kúmh' or Kúmhq 'sea-lion BSL 539, Rezanov Коммаля<sup>h</sup>какхо (with a superscript insert) 'Уси скучьи Seebären--Bart', Kumahlotq·sdexu? 'sea lion whiskers', Комма-адь Стрѣла скучья Seelöwenpfeil oder Speer' Kumah ?ə?əz 'spear a sea lion!', Кумакко 'Скучьчонка junger (kleiner) Seelöwe' Kumahyequh 'sea lion pup', Kumahluw 'big sea lion' IM.

Ku'y (Rezanov clearly and consistently implies [Kuya, <sup>new</sup> Kuyel], and certain modern forms also imply earlier Ku'ye- and perhaps Kuye-)

Ku'y (noun, unclassified) 'wind' LMASG, Rezanov  
Ka-ya 'Bšrepš Wind', Puruhjelm Kiui 'wind',  
Galushia Nelson Kuyi' or Kú-f 'wind' BSdL 538,  
Rezanov Ka-ya kocy 'Bšrepš nocytnoš gunatiger  
wind' Ku'y... Kuzu' 'wind is favorable', Ka-ya  
kocny 'Bšrepš protknoš widriger Wind' Ku'y...  
Kušiyah 'wind is unfavorable', deqi·kih Ku'y,  
ʔidaʔya·lex sedisicuʔi 'there's no "air" (bree e,  
wind), it's too hot (stuffy)' L, gusi·kih Ku'y  
'a slight breeze' M, Ku'ydeʔehdg 'dry wind' L,  
sedesuʔ Ku'y 'warm wind ("Chinook?)" L, Ku'y-  
ya·x siqehi 'I boated protected from (avoiding)  
the wind' L, Ku'yyequh 'slight breeze' ('young of  
wind') L, <sup>[ʔyʔyʔi]</sup> Ku'yayahš 'very slight breeze' ('wind's  
(woman's) child') L, Kuyekih (thus transcribed,  
not verified) 'slight wind' M, Rezanov Ka-yašara  
'Bypš Sturm' Ku'yaʔlew..., Kuyaʔluw (thus tran-  
scribed, not verified) M, Ku'yaʔluw (not Ku'y-  
ʔaʔluw) 'big wind' L (twice), Ku'y lu' sa·i  
'wind is changing direction' L, Ku'y ʔidesele·i  
'it's getting windy' L, Ku'y ʔiqeʔdi·leh 'wind  
will increase' L (Ku'y ʔi-d-le 'wind is, becomes  
active'), Ku'y ʔi-d-i-ʔa' 'wind blows, moves

(especially with regard to direction)' 57.20, 25, 64.80 (see examples under 'i-d-i-'a'), Rezanov  
 'Погодыно стürmisch, windig'  
 Ковляхока Ku'y... kəxu'e 'wind blows (with some force)', 33.3A (see examples under xu'e<sup>1</sup>), Rezanov  
 Утань-оахока 'Парусь Segel' ... Ku'y... xu'e<sup>1</sup>  
 probably deverbalization with -i-instrumental.

The Eyak terms for directional winds are not all clearly identified. The basic orientation is apparently the coastline from Cordova to Yakutat, especially the section between Point Whited and Cape Suckling, and the mountain range behind it, which run on an axis generally Northwest-Southwest, and the numerous streams flowing into the Gulf of Alaska, generally on a Northeast-Southwest or (especially around Alaganik and in Controller Bay) Northeast-by-east-Southwest-by-west axis. Any wind, generally cold, which comes from over the mountains, northwesterly to easterly, is called xa', q.v. About four other directions for wind are distinguished, though apparently somewhat confused in the modern memory: 1) si·da? Ku'y 'westerly wind' LSG ('wind to the creeks', i.e. blows from the west or southwest and is channelled up the streams). 2) yəqəč Ku'y 'southwesterly wind' S, 'southeasterly wind' G (in Li's notes, twice), 'offshore wind' M (literally 'wind toward the shore', which would sup-

port S's gloss, probably wind from the Southwest or Southwest-by-south, but which does not blow up the creeks). 3) ʔɿ·ʒiʔɿ Kù·y 'southerly wind' L, 'north wind' ('northward' ?) S (ʔɿ·ʒiʔɿ '(movement in area) forward, straight ahead', also 'south, "outside", Seattle'; the direction of this wind is uncertain, but it is probably along a North-South to Northeast-Southwest axis). 4) yeʒeʔɿ Kù·y 'southeasterly wind' L (uncertain), S, M (in Austerlitz's notes), Minnie and/or Scar Stevens (in Li's notes), 'southwesterly wind' A (uncertain), G (in Li's notes, twice); yeʒʔikʂa·d is clearly in the direction of Katalla and Cordova from Yakutat in 68.109A, and also interpreted by L as 'northwards' in 33.3, 3A, which supports LSM and M's parents here rather than AG, who have apparently confused yeʒeʔɿ Kù·y with yeʒeʂ Kù·y.

Kiya? (conceivably < Ku-ya? 'into something (vessel with broad opening at top)', see end of 2. below and ya?)

Kiya? (preverb, attested only with zero and -č finals, not elicitable as postposition) 1. 'landing, ashore, to edge of body of water', attested only with themes -qe 'S travels by boat' and ?i-ʔ-ʔa 'S (pl. boats) travel as fleet': with zero final: Kiya? seqehh̄h̄ 'he (boating) landed' L, Kiya? qaʔq̄h̄h̄ 'he'll land' L, ʔeʂq̄·dex̄ Kiya? seqeʔ 'land close by!' L, sic̄j̄·ʔʔ̄ (or sic̄j̄·ʔdex̄) Kiya? seqeʔ 'land downhill below me!' L, Kiya? ?iʔq̄·ʔa·K̄ 'fleet would (cust) land' 59.4 Galushia Nelson, with -č final: Kiyaʔč̄ seqe·ʔ̄ 'he's landing' L, 47c.46L.

2. With no clear meaning with themes d-ʔiʔ 'S spills' and 0-d-ʔiʔ 'S pours, dumps, spills 0', q.v. under ʔiʔ<sup>1</sup>.

Keyi'y-kih (Keyi'y phonetically usually Keñyi(.)<sup>DE</sup>,  
 M once Keyih, A twice and L once in isolation Ku-  
 yi'y, cf. qeyi'y-)

Keyi'y (numeral, not used of persons, see Kula'e)

1. 'other, different': 6.1M, 11.49A, Keyi'y ie't-  
 ya'č 'into a different box' 65.76, 76A, Keyi'y  
 gu'weiwahg 'another tribe, foreign tribe' 28.102,  
 102, 104, 121A, Keyi'y 'qahq 'in another land,  
 foreign territory' 10.166, 28.104, 133, 134, 32.-  
 16, 25A, Keyi'y lahq 'in foreign villages' 68.-  
 84, 84A, Keyi'y lah 'u' da' ci'daleh 'we spoke  
 to him about other (matters)' 32.50A, Keyi'y  
 LA, Keyih M, Keyi'y 'other, different, another  
 one, it's different' LMA, Keyi'y qe'aw 'it's  
 different' L, diK 'ale, 'aw Keyi'y 'not this  
 one, the other one' M, Keyi'y xawa' 'a different  
 dog' L, Keyi'yga' 'i'teh 'it's different' ('it's  
 like another') M (cf. 3. below), Keyi'yga' 'u'-  
 qu'lecah 'it'll look different' LM, Keyi'y la-  
 yaqa' sič laxa'ah 'bring me another kind,  
 different (orange)!' L, Keyi'ygeqa' sida' (or  
 sič) gu'ia' (or guseia') 'bring me some others  
 (spruceroots)!' L; with classified nouns (overt  
 or not): Keyi'y guda' ma' 'a different lake'  
 L, Keyi'y da' yahd 'a different house' L,  
 Keyi'y da' 'q-da' desa'yahh 'a different one

(ship) came' L, *Keyi'y* ?a·na· sič li·?a?  
'give me a different one (hammer)!' L, *Keyi'y*  
gu·na· sič gali·lya? 'bring me a different one  
(drink)!' L, *Keyi'y* guka· sič gu·ta? (or  
-?a?) 'give me a different one (sprucercot)!' L,  
*Keyi'y* laža· 'different ones (berries)' L, *Ke-*  
*yiy* ti·na· 'a different one (skin)' L, *Keyi'y*  
qi·na· 'a different one (rope)' L.

2. 'wrong, incorrect, mistaken': *Keyi'y*  
ta·?e?x ?i·xadima?i 'I made the mistake of taking  
the wrong road' L, *Keyi'y*gas 'unmatched pair' L;  
see also *Keyi'yyu* below.

3. 'willing, eager, doughty, industrious per-  
son', only in idiom: *Keyi'y*ga? ?i·tjihih "he  
never hesitates, is willing to do any job you ask  
him" (a good quality) L ('he is like something  
else', cf. under 1. above).

*Keyi'yyu* (noun, unclassified, attested only with  
-yu· 'plural') 'Devils' L (perhaps European idiom,  
'adversaries', or perhaps native, see 1. and 2.  
above 'foreign, wrong').

*Kih-* (numeral, or noun, unclassified, attested on-  
ly as o of o-da·- 'area of, near, at o' with  
various finals, L rejects \**Keyi'y*da·d selahih  
'he lived at a different place', "doesn't sound  
too good, better *Kihda·d*") 'other, different'

in postpositional phrase *k̄ihda·-* 'another, different place, elsewhere': with *-d* final: *k̄ihda·d* 'at a separate, different place, elsewhere' LM, 9.166, 10.166, 28.102, 134A, 42.5, 47a.5L, 49.20A, *k̄ihda·d selah̄ih* 'he lives at another place' L, with *-č* final: 9.165, 10.161, 165A, *k̄ihda·č seqeh̄ih* 'he boated to another place' L, *k̄ihda·č seqe·ih̄* 'he's boating to another place' L, with *-daʔ* final: *k̄ihda·daʔ seqeh̄ih* 'he boated to (and arrived at) another place' L.

*o-k̄ih-da·d* (postpositional phrase with *-d* final, as above, with *-k̄ih* possessed) 'different, other, separate place, apart, away from o': *qeʔk̄eayū·-k̄ihda·d dəx̄h̄ yil̄ih̄* 'he avoids women (abstaining for hunt)' ('he lives (is a person) separate from women') L, *dəx̄hyū·k̄ihda·d sedah̄ih* 'she's menstruating' ('she's staying separate from people') L, with reciprocal *o*: *ʔil̄k̄ihda·d ʔedis-ih̄yah̄* 'they (logs) have been put in different places from each other' L, *sah̄d̄ ʔil̄k̄ihda·d wəx̄ ʔidit̄eh* 'they lived apart a long time' 16.18M.

Ka·d (Rezanov implies k<sup>w</sup>a·d; perhaps to be analyzed

Ka·-d and/or identified with Ka· and/or with k<sup>l</sup>) (2<sup>±</sup>

o-Ka·d (postposition, used only in complex numerals)

'o plus n digits': Rezanov

'11' probably to be read deea·xk<sup>w</sup>a·d ijsih,

deea·xka·d ijsih 'eleven' MA, ke·qa·(g)ka·d

ijsih 'twenty-one' M, see further instances un-

der la<sup>2</sup>d, tui, qalah, čq·<sup>2</sup>, čj·, guč, sa·.

Kahd-Kaʔd (Kaʔd in neuter imperfective of verb and in preverb, Kahd in active and inceptive of verb and in noun)

-Kahd--Kaʔd 1. 'S hurts, pains (physically or emotionally), aches, is in pain, is sick, ill sore' (frequently in the construction S e-a' -Kahd--Kaʔd 'S (frequently part of o's body) hurts o'): neuter imperfective (always -Kaʔd): 3.9M, 10.202, 216, 224, 240, 241, 32.45, 46, 46 (emotionally), 36.35A, 47c.17, 19L, 69.27A (emotionally), x<sup>w</sup>iKaʔd L, xiKaʔd 'I'm sick' IMA, yiKaʔd 'you're sick' L, Rezanov Kxaare 'Болезно schmerzhaft' (under 'krank'), Galushia Nelson yiká-'d<sup>n</sup> or yiká-'d<sup>i</sup> 'sick person, patient' BSdL 543, 554 yiKaʔdih 'he (who) is sick', yiká-t (or yiká-t) 'sick or hot' BSdL 551 yiKaʔd, Rezanov Kрателъ 'Болезнь krank' yiKaʔdih la' 'he's sick:' L, siya' yiKaʔd 'it hurts me' M, sideseleh siya' yiKaʔd 'I'm sorry, I'm worried' ('my mind pains me') L, siyeqd siya' yiKaʔd 'my stomach (my inside) aches' L, siu'3iqsʔd siya' yiKaʔd 'my joints ache' L, xewa' siʔaʔ yiKaʔd 'my dog is sick' L, xu' siyaʔ xewa' yiKaʔd 'my dog is sick' L; other mode-aspects (all normally -Kahd): Galushia Nelson ftákálé' iyá qáKát 'you'll feel sorry' BSdL 264, 558 'ideseleh 'iya' qaʔKahd ('your mind will pain you'), quʔxKahd 'I'll get sick' LA, tɛxKahd<sup>i</sup> 'I'm

getting sick' LA, sikahd̥ 'I got sick' L, səkahd̥-  
 ɬj̥h 'he got sick' A, ?i·kahd̥j̥h 'let him get sick'  
 L, dik̥gah̥ ?a?xka?d̥ 'I wish I weren't sick'  
 ("sounds funny", form probably neuter imperfective  
 rather than optative) L; with class-mark for S (often  
 omitted where S is part of o's body: 3.9M, 10.202,  
 224, 240, 241A): siya· dəka· K 'it (my head) (cust)  
 aches me' L, q̥əma· siya· li·ka?d̥ 'my kidneys hurt'  
 L, q̥əs siya· lex̥i·ka?d̥ 'my tonsils hurt' L; with  
 anatomical marks: lixi·ka?d̥, ?j̥·xi·ka?d̥ 'my head  
 hurts (externally), my face hurts' L; with ed-themat-  
 ic with sa? 'mouth' used preverbially: sa? sədi-  
 xi·ka?d̥ 'my mouth is sore, hurts' L. Transitive (cau-  
 sative): xuyəs̥i·k̥ahd̥ 'you're hurting my hand' L;  
 reflexive: 'S makes self sick, pretends to be sick,  
 acts, is sick (for ulterior motive)': 47b.16M, ?ədə-  
 x̥əka?d̥ 'I'm groaning' M (L rejects gloss and stem-  
 form), ?ədix̥i·ka?d̥ 'I'm making believe I'm sick' LM,  
 ?əd̥i·ka?d̥j̥h 'he's pretending to be sick' L, ?ədqu?=  
 x̥əkahd̥ 'I'll pretend to be sick' L, ?ədək̥əkahd̥  
 'pretend you're sick!' L.

2. 'S (animate) has a fever, S (inanimate) is  
 hot' ("hotter than -su?", not used with ed-thematic  
 of place, weather L): Galushia Nelson yik̥á·t (or  
 yik̥á·t) 'sick or hot' BSDL 554 yika?d̥ 'it's hot,  
 he's hot, feverish' L, 'it's burning-hot' M, sədegik̥

yiKaʔd 'the sun (itself) is hot' L; with class-marks  
 for S: Rezanov Куликнаръ Торяво kochend, siedend'  
 geli·Kaʔd 'it (water) is hot, hot water' M, λi·Kaʔd  
 'it (stone) is hot' L. Transitive (causative): λa·=  
 səiKaʔd, λi·iKaʔd (earlier -Kaʔd, -Kaʔd, analog-  
 ical) 'heat it (stone) up!' L, ʔaw ca· Kaʔ λa·=  
 yikKaʔd (earlier -Kaʔd, analogical) 'you should  
 heat it (stone) up' L, quʔλi·xiKaʔd 'I'll heat it  
 (stone) up' L.

i-Kaʔd--Kaʔd 'S (shooting pain) moves': with qaʔ 'up  
 out': siqi·dəxaʔx qāʔ ʔi·iKaʔdɪ 'a pain shoots up  
 along my leg' L, siyeʔaʔx qāʔ ʔi·iKaʔdɪ 'a pain  
 shoots up along my arm' L, siqi·dəyeqʔ qaʔ ʔi·iKaʔdɪ  
 'a pain shoots up in my leg' L (neuter perfectives,  
 note indecision, earlier forms -Kaʔd-, later -Kaʔd-),  
 siqi·dəyeqʔ qaʔ səiKaʔdɪ 'a pain shot up in my leg'  
 L, with yax-progressive: siše·Kədi·ʔq yax iKaʔdɪ  
 'pains are shooting around in my chest' L, ʔuyeqʔ yax  
 iKaʔdɪh 'he has cramps, pains around inside him' L;  
 repetitive: iic iKaʔdg 'he often gets sick' L (either  
 to be glossed more correctly 'pains always keep shoot-  
 ing' or i-classifier is in error).

O-d-i-Kaʔd--Kaʔd (probably causative of 1. above with  
 d-thematic 'oral, noise') 'S (O?) makes O (S?) sick  
 (figuratively) with talk' (glosses appear to indicate  
 'O makes S sick with talk', or that the <sup>h</sup>eme is intran-

sitive, 'S is, becomes sick from (someone's) talking', but as suffix *-ih* cooccurs with overt subject pronoun and with no overt *o* in the construction, *-ih* must be interpreted as representing *O*, and the theme thus transitive): *dixiKa'dih* 'he makes me sick, gives me a pain, the way he talks' L (twice), *?a'd di-iKa'dih* 'he makes him very sick, the way he talks' L.

*Kahd(-i)* (noun, unclassified, perhaps gerundive, *-i--* suffix with *-dah* adverbializer, not with postpositions) 'pain, sickness, disease': *Kahd* 'pain, sickness' LM, *Kahd̄* 'pain' M, Galushia Nelson *Kā'ted-tī* or *Kā'tūt̄* 'sickness' BSDL 552 *Kahd ku-leh* 'there is sickness', *Kuñiyah Kahd* 'bad disease' L, 'syphilis' M, *Kahd̄dah silī* 'I got hurt' L, *Kahd̄dah xusekī* 'you hurt me' L, *Kahd̄dah ?iqe?x̄ih* 'I'll hurt you' L, *Kahd̄dah xusi-̄i-̄i* 'you're hurting me' L, *Kahd̄dah xusidīī* (or *xusi-*) 'I got hurt (by something, someone)' L, *Kahd̄dah xusedele-̄i* 'I'm being hurt' L, *Kahd̄dah ?iqe?deleh* 'you'll be hurt (by someone, something)' L, *Kahdga? ?edu?xdegewih* 'I feel sick' L, *Kahdleḡ ?i?qe?weigewih* 'it'll make you feel sicker' L, *Kahdyeḡa?ḡ seḡya-̄i* 'I'm succumbing to a disease' L, *Ka?dyeḡa? sa?yah̄ih* 'he was overcome by pain' L (recorded earlier, probably in error for *Kahd-*).

Kaʔd (preverb) 'pain, insanity, trance', attested in two constructions only: siya· kaʔd kuḏeḥiqahḥ 'something got stuck in my throat, made me choke' ('something fell painfully for me', or perhaps 'something (part of me) fell painfully'), ʔawa· (first recorded ʔuya·, probably incorrect) kaʔd kuqūʔ=deḥeqahḥ 'he'll choke on something (food)' L; kaʔd yaʔ -ʔya 'S is, becomes crazy, is in, goes into a trance': kaʔd yaʔ saʔyahḥḥ 'he went crazy, he went into a trance' L, kaʔd yaʔ xuqiʔyilyah 'you'll drive me crazy' L, for further examples see ʔya<sup>1</sup> ('S becomes involuntarily situated completely in a state of (extreme mental) anguish, trance').

kuhd-kuʔd-kuʔd (apparently in more or less free variation in verb, kuʔd perhaps expanded form, but expanded kuʔd also frequent; kuhd in noun)

O-i-kuhd--kuʔd--kuʔd 'S wipes O (removing something from O, removing O from something)' (expanded forms, O-i-kuʔd 'S wipes O thoroughly with repeated motions', will be listed together with the non-expanded, presumably 'S wipes O with one motion', from which it is often not distinguished semantically, at least in the glosses): active imperative (-kuhd L twice, M once; -kuʔd L 9 times, M 3 times; -kuʔd M twice, A once; L clearly prefers -kuʔd): ʔəikuhd LM, ʔəikʔd LM, ʔəikʔd MA, ʔəw ʔəikʔd 'wipe it!' L, ʔəw ʔəikʔd ʔəikʔd (or -kuʔd) 'wipe that dirt (e.g. off the table)!' L, ʔini.kʔ ʔəikʔd 'wipe your nose!' L, ʔiŋəqʔd ʔəikʔd 'wipe your anus!' L, inceptive imperative: Rezanov казъкууъъ 'Теретьreiben' (-кууъ more likely to indicate -kuʔd or -kuʔd than -kuhd) səikʔd (or -kuhd, former preferred) 'wipe it!' L, Rezanov казъкууъъ 'Включитьreinigen' səikʔduh (or -kuʔd-) 'wipe it!', Учатъ-казъкууъъ Включитьreinigen (Imperat.) ʔu.ʔahd (or ʔuʔahd) səikʔduh (or -kuʔd-), Учатъказъкууъъ 'Пыльноstaubig' ʔuʔahd (or ʔu.-) səikʔd (or -kuʔd) 'wipe it from it (or 'from there')!', inceptive imperfective: quʔxikuhd L (3 times), A (once),

qu<sup>?</sup>xik<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>d L (twice), M (twice), qu<sup>?</sup>xik<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>d M (once),  
 A (once), qu<sup>?</sup>xik<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>d 'I'll wipe it' L, diK qu<sup>?</sup>xik<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>d  
 ku<sup>?</sup>ds 'I won't wipe it' L, active perfective: siik<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>d  
 kuhd<sup>?</sup> L (twice), M (once), A (once), siik<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>d<sup>?</sup> L  
 (twice), M (twice), siik<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>d<sup>?</sup> 'I wiped it' M, re-  
 petitive: <sup>?</sup>siik<sup>?</sup>uhdgih, <sup>?</sup>siik<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>dgih, <sup>?</sup>siik<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>dgih 'wipe  
 him (repeatedly)!' L, xik<sup>?</sup>uhdg A, xik<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>dg 'I keep  
 wiping it' M; with class-marks for O: <sup>?</sup>aw sdu- hs  
 di-ik<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>d (or -ku<sup>?</sup>d) 'wipe that table (free of  
 dirt)!' L, frequently with d-class-mark perhaps partly  
 thematized ('floor, board', etc.): disii<sup>?</sup>ku<sup>?</sup>d<sup>?</sup> 'I  
 wiped it (floor, free of water), I wiped it (well,  
 many times)' L, disii<sup>?</sup>ku<sup>?</sup>hd<sup>?</sup> (or -ku<sup>?</sup>d<sup>?</sup>) 'I wiped  
 it' ("not as well as in disii<sup>?</sup>ku<sup>?</sup>d<sup>?</sup>") L, dex<sup>?</sup>ku<sup>?</sup>dK  
 'I (cust) wipe it' L, repetitive: dex<sup>?</sup>ku<sup>?</sup>dgK 'I  
 (cust) wipe it' M, gu<sup>?</sup>siik<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>d<sup>?</sup> 'I wiped it (water,  
 off e.g. the floor)' L; with l-anatomical: Rezanov  
 Мамыкытэб 'Самое blind', Мамыкытэб Кривоё,  
 огнорзаэоё einäugig' perhaps to be read <sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>·sai<sup>?</sup>ku<sup>?</sup>...d<sup>?</sup>  
 or <sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>·sai<sup>?</sup>ku<sup>?</sup>...d<sup>?</sup> 'he (A) wiped his (B's) face, you  
 wiped his face' or 'I wiped his face, I wiped your  
 face', <sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>·sai<sup>?</sup>ku<sup>?</sup>d<sup>?</sup> 'you wiped its face' M; reflexive,  
 with l-anatomical: <sup>?</sup>edla·k<sup>?</sup>ku<sup>?</sup>d (or -ku<sup>?</sup>hd,  
 -ku<sup>?</sup>d) 'wipe your face!' L, <sup>?</sup>edqu<sup>?</sup>lexk<sup>?</sup>ku<sup>?</sup>d (or  
 -ku<sup>?</sup>hd, -ku<sup>?</sup>d) 'I'll wipe my face' L, <sup>?</sup>edlexk<sup>?</sup>ku<sup>?</sup>d  
 (or -ku<sup>?</sup>hd, -ku<sup>?</sup>d) 'I'm wiping my face' L, <sup>?</sup>edj<sup>?</sup>·x-

sikū·dī (or -kūhdī, -kū'dī) 'I wiped my face' L;  
passive: sikū'dī, sdikū'dī 'it's been wiped' L,  
deku'·d 'it's being wiped' M.

ya? 0-gdl-ī-kū·d (with gl-class-mark for 0 'liquid'  
thematized and d-thematic, perhaps optional with ya?  
'completely') 'S wipes inside of vessel clean': ya?  
gei·īkū·d 'wipe it (the inside of e.g. a bowl, cup)  
clean!' L.

xu'iyeqd ?ux deku·d (noun, d-class) 'cleaning-rod  
(for rifle)' L, la'd da' xu'iyeqd ?ux deku·d  
'two cleaning-rods' L. Nominalized passive active im-  
perfective, with expanded stem, 'the inside of a rifle  
is wiped by means of it'.

čik' ?ux ?ekūhdī (noun, unclassified) 'dishrag' 65.-  
20, 20, 20A. Deverbalization with -ī-instrumental,  
'dishes are wiped by means of it'.

?ux ?edkū·lekū·d (noun, unclassified) 'towel' L. Nom-  
inalized reflexive active imperfective with kū-indef-  
inite S, l-anatomical, expanded stem, 'by means of it  
one wipes one's (own) face'.

?ux ?edlekū...dī (noun, unclassified, attested only  
in Rezanov) 'towel': Rezanov Охотничья 'Норо-  
репо Handtuch'. Deverbalization with -ī-instrumental  
of preceding.

kūhdī (noun, usually lūd-class, with -ī-instrumental)  
'moss (Sphagnum)' IM, 49.40A (unclassified), Rezanov

Koyraɣ Moɣa Moss', Kuhlɔləɣadaʔluw IM, Kuhlɔ=ʔaʔluw 'big piece, expanse of moss' L, Kuhlɔ siɕləɣediʔaʔ (or -taʔ) 'give me some moss!' L, Kihlɔ ʔuʔd ləɣadaseʔahɔ (or -tahɔ) 'a piece of moss is there' L. Originally 'wiper'; earlier term for 'moss' now means 'baby-basket'; moss was used as absorbent and wiper for excretion and menstrual blood; see ɕa·ɣ<sup>1</sup>, ca·ɣ<sup>2</sup>, caʔɣ<sup>1</sup>.

sedakuhlɔ (noun, probably with ed-thematic 'place')  
'mossy ground' L.

Kuhlɔɣaʔmahɔ (noun, lɣ-class) 'berry species (tasty red berries that grow near Chitina in October, ferment easily)' ('moss-berries') A. Kuhlɔ here perhaps d-class.

## kɨʔt

O-kɨʔt 'S scratches O': 16.11M, 36.16, 16, 17, 18, 18, 19, 45A, ʔəh kuxə'gəxɔ' səkɨʔtɨh dəxəh 'the man whom Property Woman has scratched' 36.42A, Rezanov Acuxerəb ʔapanarə kratzen' ʔəh səkɨʔtɨ 'it scratched him, he scratched it', ʔəkɨʔt 'scratch it!' LMS, quʔxkɨʔt 'I'll scratch it' LG, dəʔu-dəxə ya'kih xukɨʔt 'something is scratching me' L; with Kud (Ku-indefinite o of o-d, translating as S): Kud xukɨʔt 'something is scratching me' L, Kud xusekɨʔtɨ '(I was walking along and) something scratched me' L (L rejects \*Kud xusdikɨʔtɨ, and also \*ʔəwɔ xusekɨʔtɨ 'it scratched me', as ungrammatical); with l-anatomical: 36.17A, ʔiqeʔli-xkɨʔt 'I'll scratch your face' L; with indeterminate O and yəx-progressive: yəx ʔi-xdəkɨʔt də-x 'as I get to scratching around' 34.11M (active conditional), yəx ʔidekɨʔtɨh səqe-dəkih 'a child who scratches' L; reflexive: ʔədəkɨʔtɨh 'he's scratching himself' M, ʔədxdəkɨʔt 'I'm scratching myself' L, ʔedidikɨʔtɨh 'he scratched himself' M, with l-anatomical: ʔədɨ-sdikɨʔtɨh 'he scratched his (own) face' L, ʔədliedikɨʔtɨs, ʔədsɨ lɨdikɨʔtɨ, ʔədsɨ ʔi-sdikɨʔtɨ 'did you scratch your face?' L, cautionary negative inceptive imperative: ʔədqələsədəkɨʔtɨ '(be careful - you) don't (accidentally) scratch you face!' L; pas=

sive: *sdikj'ɕʰ* 'it got scratched' M, *xusdikj'ɕʰ*  
'I got scratched (by someone, something)' L, *xu=*  
*sedekj'ɕʰ* (not *xusɕɔ-*) 'I'm being scratched' L,  
with l-anatomical: *xj'sdikj'ɕʰ* 'my face got  
scratched' L.

*0-ʔ-kj'ɕʰ* 'S scratches at O, tries to scratch O' (suc-  
cess not necessarily implied), with l-anatomical:  
*xuʔj'sekj'ɕʰ* 'it (cat) tried to scratch my face' L.  
*yaʔ 0-d-kj'ɕʰ* (with d-thematic, perhaps optional, with  
*yaʔ* 'completely', or perhaps thematized class-mark  
for O, e.g. 'board, floor') 'S scratches O all up':  
*ʔew yaʔ desekj'ɕʰ* 'he scratched it all up' L.

*yeʔ 0-ɕl-de-kj'ɕʰ-ʔ* (with *yeʔ*-progressive and *ɕl*-the-  
matic 'ground' as O) 'S scratches around on ground':  
*yeʔ ɕʔ'dekj'ɕʰ* 'it's scratching around on the  
ground' LM.

*lexedekj'ɕʰ* (noun) 'pimple' M (rejected by L). Nominal-  
ized passive active imperfective with *lx*-class-mark  
for O 'granular, berry-like' thematized, 'they (gran-  
ular) are scratched'.

## Kaʔtʰ

d-i-Kaʔtʰ (with d-thematic, perhaps 'free fall(, flight) through air') l. 'sg. S (bird, plane) flies' (for flight of pl. S see ɣ-ʔya, for flight of objects blown by wind see xuʔʰ-xaʔʰ): in texts, with various preverbs and postpositional phrases: o-ʔ 'with o (in tow, in clutches)' 2.14, 19M, 9.96, 12.-97A, 40.11fnL, o-yeqʰ(d) qaʔ 'up out of (inside of) o' 5.12L, 10.12, 11.192A, o-yeqʰ liʔ 'deeply into o' 5.3L, 10.5, 6, 34A, o-yeqʰ yeʔ 'down into (inside of) o' 11.155, 158A, o-ʕ 'toward o' 2a.19M, 10.4, 5, 165, 11.38, 40, 65.84A, o-daʔ 'to (arriving at) o' 40.11fnL, 47.28M, yaʔɣ 'upward (taking off)' 7.38, 9.96A, 47c.41L, 49.49A, ɣi·d leseʔɣ 'way upland' 9.97A, yaʔd 'out to sea' 10.4, 5A, ʔu·diʔah 'away from there' 60.33A, ʔu·ʕabʔ 'from there' 7.38A, o-yaʔd 'away from o, leaving o behind' 10.165A, o-ta·s 'over, across o' 34.82L, o-dekyeʔ 'in front of o' 47.39L, qeʔ-qeʔ- 'back, again' (with ɬe-classifier) 40.11fn, 47c.41L, without preverbs or postpositional phrases specifying such or otherwise, often 'sg. S flies away': 2a.14M, 2b.16L; deseʔKaʔtʰ 'it (e.g. duck) flew away' M, quʔdi·iKaʔtʰ 'it'll fly' M, si·neʔ deseʔKaʔtʰ 'it flew by (brushing) my head' L, siya·ɣ deseʔKaʔtʰ 'it flew by (brushing) my hand' L, si·daʔɣ deseʔKaʔtʰ 'it (fly) landed on

my face' L, siyadaʔɣ dəsəkKaʔtʃ 'it (fly) landed  
 on my inside forearm' L, dəsəkKaʔtʃ 'it's flying  
 (somewhere)' M, yaʔɣ dəsəkKaʔtʃ 'it took off' L,  
 yaʔɣ dəsəkKaʔtʃ 'it's taking off' L, sɨ-daʔɕ  
 'it's flying toward my face' L, siyadaʔɕ dəsəkKaʔtʃ  
 'it's flying toward my inside forearm' L, siyeɕ  
 dəsəkKaʔtʃ 'it's flying toward my hand' L, si-neɕ  
 dəsəkKaʔtʃ 'it's flying toward my head' L, ʔu-deɣ  
 dəsəkKaʔtʃ 'it's flying along there' L, dəsəkKaʔtʃ  
 L, di-iKaʔtʃ M, diʔiKaʔtʃ 'fly (away, straight  
 ahead)!' L, ʔu-diKaʃ diʔiKaʔtʃ 'fly away!' L, qe-  
 yahd diʃiKaʔtʃ 'it (bird) flew back south (out to  
 sea, on annual migration)' M, with yeɣ-progressive:  
 2a.ll, 3.4M, 5.ll, yeɣ da-leKaʔtʃ 'fly about!' M,  
 yeɣ quʔdeleKaʔtʃ 'it'll fly (about)' M, Rezanov  
 Extraжкн-arexɔ 'Ierɔɔɔ fliegen' (see also yeɣ  
 deleKaʔtʃ below) yeɣ deleKaʔtʃ 'it's flying  
 around' L; repetitive: ʔu-ɕ deKaʔtʃɣ 'it's trying  
 to fly there (e.g. against wind)' L. Transitive  
 (causative), reflexive, 'S makes self fly, pretends  
 to fly, flaps wings': ʔedeseleKaʔtʃ 'it's flapping  
 its wings' M, ʔedquʔdeleKaʔtʃ 'it'll flap its wings'  
 M (verified by M, but not by L, cf. ʃahɨK-ʃaʔiK).

2. 'S (human, sg. or pl.) flies (in airplane)':  
 ya-kuɕɣ ʔe-planeyaʔd si-teɣɕ da- quʔdi-iKaʔtʃ  
 'we'll fly to Situck in a small airplane' 65.84A

(approved by L, but L prefers o-~~h~~-kaʔtʰ 'S  
(plane) flies with o (humans)' for indicating plane  
travel by humans).

yeʃ delekaʔtʃ (noun, unclassified) 'bird, airplane'  
L, Furuhejm Iahkhataliakhatl 'bird', Rezanov  
Старая-арха-о 'Ирмца Vogel' yeʃ delekaʔtʃyu  
'birds' ('it flies around, pl.') L.

i-kaʔtʰ 'S (inanimate) flies (involuntarily)' (later  
rejected by L): yaʔʃ seikaʔtʃi 'it (e.g. paper,  
leaf) flew up' L.

Kaʔt<sup>2</sup>

ʔɿ·iKaʔt (noun, unclassified, with l-thematic, never realized as lə-, perhaps thematized class-mark or l-anatomical, and ɿ-classifier) 'sea urchin, sea egg' LMS, 4.2, 10, 13M, ʔɿ·iKaʔtluw 'big sea urchin' LM.

## Kuʔtʃ

Kuʔtʃ (noun, g-class) 'thread, sinew, nerve, tendon, blood vessel, vein, artery' LM, Rezanov Кыт 'Нитки Garn', Кыт 'Эма Sehne, Ader', Galushia Nelson К5tʃ 'thread or sinew' BSdL 548, Rezanov Кыркыпкык 'Носка Seide' Kuʔtʃguci3g 'thin thread', Kugeʔa·w Kuʔtʃ 'long thread' L, laʔd geka· Kuʔtʃ 'two threads, sinews (etc.)' M, Kuʔtʃ ʔu·d guse-tahʔ (or -ʔahʔ, former much preferred) 'a piece of thread, sinew is there' L, Kuʔtʃ siʔ gu·ʔaʔ (or -taʔ) 'give me a piece of sinew!' L, ʔaxa· ʔuʒehʔ Kuʔtʃgʔ ʔi·tʃihʔ 'my how his ear is like tendon!' L (see ʒaxala·Kuʔtʃ below); siciʔgedekʔ Kuʔtʃ 'my neck-tendon' L.

-Kuʔtʃ (noun, g-class, possessed form, attested only with anatomical marks) 'tendon, nerve, blood vessel, vein, artery'; with l-anatomical: ʔilekuʔtʃ 'the veins of your temple' L; with y-anatomical: siye·kuʔtʃ 'my hand-veins' L, Kageʔuʔ siyekʔ Kuʔtʃ 'my many hand-veins' L.

ʒaxala·Kuʔtʃ (epithet) 'ear-tendon, tendon-ears' (of thick-skinned person who isn't ashamed no matter what people say of him) L.

Kiyaʔt

Kiyaʔt (noun, unclassified) 'fish-meat, cooked fish-meat' LMA, 65.32, 40A (for 'raw fish-meat' see t'e'e).

## KewahꞤ-kuwahꞤ (expanded KewaꞤ)

O-KewahꞤ--kuwahꞤ 'S nails, tacks O, S pounds, drives in O (nail)': ?əkewahꞤ 'nail it!' L, səkewahꞤ 'I nailed it' L, diK ?exsəkewahꞤ 'I didn't nail it' L, səxkuwahꞤ L, xkuwahꞤ 'I'm pounding in a nail' M, kuxkuwahꞤ 'I'm nailing something, driving a nail into something' L, sdu-lihedelu? qə·č səxkuwahꞤ 'I pounding a nail into a table' L, de·duw yikuwahꞤ 'what are you nailing?' L, ?ew diʔa?g ?u·d yeꞤ səkuwahꞤ 'tack the paper down there!' L (cf. below).

O-ɛ-kewahꞤ--kuwahꞤ 'S fastens O by nailing, tacking', usually with o-x 'to (in contact with) o': ?ew diʔa?g ?u·d yeꞤ səikuwahꞤ 'tack the paper down (to something) there' L, ?awɣə·? yeꞤ səikuwahꞤ 'nail it down all the way along it!' L, da· da·x iKewa·ɣK 'we (cust) nail it to something' L, with d-class-mark for O: ya·neꞤ dəsexikuwahꞤ 'I'm nailing it (board) to the floor' L, indirect reciprocal: ?iꞤ səikuwahꞤ 'tack them together!' L; passive: da·x ?idikuwahꞤ 'it's been nailed to something (wall)' (neuter perfective) L, ya·neꞤ ?idikuwahꞤ 'it's been nailed to the floor' (neuter perfective) L, ?iꞤ sdiikuwahꞤ 'they've been tacked together' M.

ɣədəsə/ da·x dədəkuwahꞤg (noun, d-class) 'plyboards

for ceiling' L. Nominalized passive active imperfective repetitive with d-class-mark for O, 'they (boards) are (repeatedly) nailed to indeterminate o above'.

Kuwahǵǵ (noun, unclassified, with -ǵ-instrumental)  
'nail, tack' IM, Kuwahǵǵǵǵlaǵǵ liǵ ǵetaǵ 'hang it up on a nail!' L, Kuǵa-w Kuwahǵǵ 'long nail' L, Kuwahǵǵluw 'big tacks' IM, also Eyaks "used to call some big bearded white man that; he always rowed, never used an outboard motor" M; Kuwahǵǵ-yequh 'small tack, thumbtack' ('young of Kuwahǵǵ') L.

Kuš-keš (perhaps to be identified with reduced form of  
 Kahš-Kuš, as apparently by L, or perhaps reduced form  
 of ka·ʔš)

šəkūš A, šəkēš MA, šəkūš L (noun, unclas-  
 sified) 'small diving duck species' LMA, "something  
 wrong with its foot, has different kind of foot from  
 duck" L (doubtless by association with Kahš-Kuš  
 and/or qeš), "never straightens neck, always dives,  
 jumps around" M (perhaps also association with qeš),  
 "small gray bird" A (probably Tipper, water ouzel  
 (*Cinclus mexicanus*)), 'grebe (horned or Holboell's)  
 ("not eaten, supposed to be people") L (cf. šəkūš  
 below, qeš). Nominalized active perfective of  
 these (0-)š-Kuš--keš of unknown meaning.

šəkūš (noun, unclassified) 'grebe' ("some kind of  
 smallish duck, not supposed to eat it") L. Cf. pre-  
 ceding, qeš, and also šəkūšʔi·ʔah, by which the  
 form and/or meaning may be influenced. Nominalized  
 active imperfective of these še-Kuš of unknown  
 meaning.

Harr. šəkūš <sup>abstract</sup> ; <sup>conjugation</sup> (conjugation?)

KahS-KuS (earlier basic form \*k<sup>h</sup>ahS, implied perhaps once in Rezanov, reduced form also KaS, KiS, occurring in anatomical mark only, perhaps to be identified with KuS-KaS)

-KahS (noun) 1.(unclassified or qi'd-class, and once, perhaps archaically, d-class, see also KuS-d-below) 'foot, (lower) leg' (of human, animal, bird, piece of furniture), 'paw' (especially hind-paw), 'flipper' (of seal): Rezanov' Koxoam 'Jaara Fuss von Thieren, Tatze' KuK<sup>h</sup>ahS (labialization of stem-initial perhaps due only to influence of prefix), Galushia Nelson so'qa'c or so'qa'c 'foot' BSdL 542 KuKahS 'a foot' LM, Rezanov Karam 'Horn Fuss', Furuhjelm Khakhash 'leg', qa'KahS 'our feet, human foot', Galushia Nelson si qa'c 'my foot' BSdL 556 siKahS, siKahS siya' saqa'ʔsɪ 'my leg got stiff' L, diK si-KahS siya' laʔq ʔaʔʔahS: 'my feet aren't thick' 18.19L, siKahSɣ siKshh 'I killed it with my foot' L, Galushia Nelson i' qa'c 'your foot' BSdL 557 'your foot' ʔiKahS 51.78, 80A, ʔah-KahS 'his (bird's) foot' 9.40, 41A, ʔuKahS 'it, his foot, feet, leg' 23.66, 139, 24.37, 48, 49, 96, 51.79, 60.51, 51, 51A, qəqgaʔ ʔuKahS ʔawa ʔi-tʃih 24.50A, ʔuKahS ʔawa qəqgaʔ ʔi-tʃih

'his feet were like a grebe('s)' 24.53A, ?ukahš-  
 ?a·w 'its long legs' L, ?ukahš ?ewa· ?iḥ  
 səḥi·? 'tie its legs together!' L, ?ukahšte·?cē  
 ya·?ḥ səta·? 'lift it (chair) by its leg!' L,  
 ?ukahšte·?cē ?iḥtux 'grab it (chair) by the leg!' L,  
 ?ukahš ?ewa· lašəqəšḥ 'its leg (of chair)  
 is broken' L, ge·ḥta·gkahš 'seal-flipper' L,  
 sə·dgaḥəqḥkibkahš 'Little Magpie's foot' 9.42A,  
 ?əwkahš yeḥ qid dəseqəcḥ 'it bit its foot off'  
 L (d-mark perhaps thematic with qid), ?əwkahš  
 yeḥ dəseqəcḥ 'it bit its foot off (apart)' L  
 (probably with d-class-mark for 0), ?ukahšd-,  
 ?əwkahšda·ḥ ?ew səky·?dḥ 'he siezed it (sea-  
 lion) by the foot (flipper)' 50.57A (?əwkahš  
 as o of o-ḥ, clearly d-class), kukahšluw ku-  
 kahšqi·da·?luw 'big foot' LM, ḥḥe qi·da· ku-  
 kahš 'one (disembodied) foot' LM, ḥḥeih kukahš  
 'one (disembodied) foot' M (L rejects gloss, see  
 below), ḥḥe qi·da· kukahš siḥ qi·di·ta·?  
 'give me one foot!' L, kukahš siḥ qi·di·?a·?  
 'give me a foot!' L.

2. (unclassified) 'foot' (measure of length):  
 ḥḥeih kukahš 'one foot (1)' L, la·?dih kukahš-  
 ga· ?i·ḥ·?a·? 'it's two feet long' M.  
 o-ga· ḥe-kahš 'S has foot like o': sənuhga·?

ʔiɪiKahših 'he's duck-footed' L.

Kuš- (reduced form of preceding, only certain attestation not in combination with d-mark) see KušX'iʔi under Xi.

Kuš-d- (anatomical mark, subposition C, perhaps always in combination with d-mark, perhaps archaic class-mark, see -Kahš, cf. ʃq'-de- under ʃe-lih-ʃq') 'lower leg, foot': in verbs: yeʃ Kušd-kug, yeʃ Kušd-quʔX 'S's leg breaks', Kušd-i--kiʔ 'S is skinny-legged', Kušd-ʃiʃ-g 'S is skinny-legged, spindle-shanked', Kušd-ka-ʃəʃ 'S (baby) is fat-legged', with adjectives, attested only in epithets, with zero possessive prefix: Kušdedik 'short-legs', Kušdaʔaʔw 'long-legs, snipe, deer', also personal name of woman, Kušdaʔ-luw 'big-legs', in postpositional phrases: o-Kušd--daʔd '(at rest in area) near o's lower leg', o's ankle', o-Kušd-lah 'around o's lower leg, o's pants-cuff', in noun, structure uncertain: -Kuš-dequʔ (also -kašdequʔ, -kišdequʔ, Rezanov -кштакъ-о) 'calf of leg', see quʔ<sup>2</sup>; lacking d--mark, perhaps haplological, in o-daʔ-d '(nominalization of) front of o', -Kušdaʔd 'front of lower leg, shin', attested from M only.

Ka-ʔs (perhaps related to Kuš-Kəs)

O-l-i-Ka-ʔs (with l-thematic, cf. tʰaʔq) 'S hooks  
 O (halibut, cod) in sea with hook and handline':  
 ʔi·sikiKa-ʔsɪ 'I hooked it (halibut)' L, with qaʔ  
 'up out': qaʔ ləsiKa-ʔs 'hook it (halibut, cod)  
 out!' L, qaʔ quʔli·xiKa-ʔs 'I'll hook it (halibut,  
 with handline)' L, qaʔ qə·sikiKa-ʔsɪ (not  
 qɪ·-) 'I hooked them (out)' (with qə-plural) L;  
 detransitivized with indeterminate O, 'S goes fish-  
 ing, handlining (in sea for halibut, cod)': Rezanov  
 КИТАСМАХИ 'Удэрэ ангелн' ʔi·ləKa-ʔsɪh 'he's fish-  
 ing, handlining (in sea, for halibut, cod)' L,  
 ʔi·xiKa-ʔs 'I'm fishing with hook and handline' M,  
 ʔi·ləKa-ʔs IM, ʔila·ləKa-ʔs 'go handlining (for  
 halibut, cod)' M, ʔiqeʔi·xiKa-ʔs L, ʔiqeʔlexlə-  
 Ka-ʔs 'I'll go handlining (for halibut, cod)' M;  
 passive: qaʔ qə·sikiKa-ʔsɪ 'they (halibut, cod)  
 got hooked (out)' L (with qə-plural).

Ka-ʔsɪ (noun, unclassified, with -i-instrumental)  
 'fish hook (large type for halibut and cod)' L,  
 Galushia Nelson Ka·ctɪ 'halibut hook' BSdL 549,  
 laʔdih Ka-ʔsɪ 'two halibut-hooks' L. These are  
 described, illustrated and discussed in BSdL  
 118-121.

Kahg (perhaps to be analyzed Kah with thematized -g--  
repetitive)

l-de-Kahg 'S (child) plays (relatively sedentarily  
and structuredly, e.g. make-believe, with toys,  
dolls)': 38.3LM, 39.4L, yaʔʔuʔ quʔla-leʔdeKahg  
'pl. don't play (with dolls)' LM, 39.2L, ledeKahg  
'he (child) is playing (with something)' LM, ʔiʔ  
quʔlexdeKahg 'I'll play with you' L, ʔowʔ lede=  
Kahg 'he (boy) is playing (make-believe) with it  
(toy)' L, ʔuʔ la-xdeKahgʔ siʔ deljhih 'he  
told me to play with him' (active subjunctive) L.  
laKahg (gerundive) 'play (with toys, dolls, make=  
believe)' L.

kug (earlier transcribed also ku<sup>o</sup>g, ku<sup>o</sup>k, later checked and rejected in favor of kug by L and A; expanded ke·g)

de-kug 'S has, gets (muscular) cramp, spasm':  
 xadikugì 'I got a cramp' LM, adikugì 'it's got a cramp in it' A, qu<sup>o</sup>xdekug 'I'll get a cramp' LM, qu<sup>o</sup>dekug 'you'll get a cramp (in muscle)' L, xdeke·gk 'I (cust) get a cramp' LM, with anatomical marks: yixedikugì 'I got a cramp in my hand, arm' L, qi·dixedikugì 'I got a cramp in my foot, leg' L, repetitive: dekuggih 'he keeps getting (muscular) cramps' L, qi·daxdekugg 'I keep getting a cramp in my foot, leg' L.

Ke?k

Ke?k? (noun, unclassified, with -i-suffix) 'mink'  
IMASG, 33.22, 26, 26A, 67.60, Ke?k?e?e? 'mink=  
meat' 33.23, 24A, Ke?k?etah 'mink-skin' 33.41,  
72, 74A, Ke?k?a?luw 'big mink' LM.

## Kahs

Kahs (noun, d-class) 'porcupine quills' LM, Galushia Nelson Ka'q or Kaq 'porcupine quills' BSDL 548, Kaheda'luw 'big porcupine quills' M, Kahs sič di'ʔaʔ (or -taʔ) 'give me a porcupine quill!' L; as C in constructions C -že(ʔ) and C 0-ʔ-(1-)t-ʔa': deʔu'deʔdeʔ Kahs ʔuq Ku'keh 'even then there were quills on him (porcupine)' 16.4M, Kahs sekeʔt 'he got full of quills' 16.13M, Kahs ʔi'sekeʔt 'its (dog's) head got full of quills' L, Kahs ʔiʔsekeʔaʔt 'it got you full of quills' L, Kahs ʔiʔqeʔli'xkayah 'I'll get you full of quills' L.

qaʔ -Kahs (with qaʔ 'up out') 'S gets full of porcupine quills', attested only with l-anatomical: qaʔ ʔi'sekahst 'its (dog's) head got full of quills' L.

Kula's (historically probably analyzable as Ku-la'-s:  
see below, cf. also Kudi'lahs under 'lahs)

-Kula's- (noun, unclassified, probably analyzable  
historically as reduced form of postpositional  
phrase o-Kah < o-'k<sup>h</sup>ah 'away from o', -la'-,  
see la'-na.<sup>1</sup>, and -s personal) attested in  
plural only siKula'seyu' 'not my people, people  
other than mine (not of my kind)' L.

Kula's(ih) <sup>moned, cf. k'iy r'ya, ~</sup> (noun, unclassified, probably derived  
from above, no longer identified as postpositional  
phrase) 'someone else, another, a different person':  
Kula's L, 11.48, 33.56, 56, 66A, Kula'sih 'some-  
one else, another, a different person' L, 25.103A,  
33.76A, Kula'sih qe'z 'another woman' 48.1L,  
Kula'sih'ehd 'someone else's wife' 33.59A, Reza-  
nov Колянекоснама 'Ворвать Krieg führen' Kula'-  
sikhkuwa'na's qe'qah 'he's someone else's friend'  
L, Kula'seya' du's 'someone else's (not his  
own) cat' L, diK Kula'seya' seqe'seyu's 'they're  
not someone else's children' 24.32A, Kula'siya'  
'with someone else' 17.7LM, 25.102A, Wrangell  
Кулакэ 'Fremder', Kula'seyu' 'other people' L,  
11.5, 49, 113, 28.140A, Kula'seyu' xi'lsayu'  
'other shamans' 56.20L, Kula'sinu' 'other people'  
(same as Kula'seyu') L, Kula'sinu' (or Kula'-

seyu·) q'e?ahnu· qa·?e? qa?a?ē 'others will  
change place with us, take our place, shift' L.

Kigš-Kikš (L also Kiʔkš, consistently -kš, MA -gš; perhaps related to (reduced form of) Kahgš, Ki·gš, and/or Kikš-Ki·kš-Ki·gš; cf. also qəšš)

Kigšg (noun, with -g-repetitive thematized) 'plant, bush species' ("like a little tree, blue, not good for anything") A.

dl̥x-Kikš<sup>†</sup>--Kikš-g (noun, l̥x-class, with dl̥x-thematic and -g-repetitive thematized) 'berry species': la·x-Kigšg MA (A twice, L rejects), la·xKikšg L (consistently, 6 times, also -Kiʔkš- 3 times, probably under influence of Kikš-Ki·kš-Ki·gš) "chickenberries" LMA (<'checkerberries'?, "edible red berries, pop when chewed, grow in bunches just like balls, on bushes 2 to 3 feet high, found all over" L, "red berry, on bush 18 inches high" A, probably 'salal, partridgeberry, checkerberry (Gaultheria shallon)'), Rezanov *Влѣхъкекушъ* (last letter partly illegible, probably *ѣ* written over *е*, or *е* written over *ъ*) 'Толокнянка, ягода' (not in Radlov, 'bearberry (Arctostaphylos uva-ursi, A. alpina)', but corresponding Tlingit entry is *Канехотлъкъ qəkaχéχg* 'St. Jacob's berry, dogwood berry, bunchberry (Cornus canadensis)') la·xKig<sup>w</sup>šg or la·xKik<sup>w</sup>šg.

K<sub>1</sub>'gš (G K<sub>1</sub>'Kš, L also K<sub>1</sub>'Kš, K<sub>1</sub>'Kš, K<sub>1</sub>'Kš, but clearly favors K<sub>1</sub>'gš; perhaps related to and/or influenced by Kahgš, K<sub>1</sub>gš-K<sub>1</sub>Kš, K<sub>1</sub>Kš-K<sub>1</sub>'Kš-K<sub>1</sub>'gš; cf. also qešš)

-K<sub>1</sub>'gš(-g) (noun, with -g-repetitive thematized except in form from G), attested only as second element in compound with qema' (l-class) '(intact) salmon-roe, roe-sac', with l-class-mark: qema'le-K<sub>1</sub>'Kš G, qema'leK<sub>1</sub>'gšg ('-K<sub>1</sub>'gšg sounds best') 'dry salmon-roe' L.

l<sub>x</sub>-i-K<sub>1</sub>'gš-g 1. With l<sub>x</sub>-class-mark for S ('loose roe') apparently thematized (see above, and also lexēš-K<sub>1</sub>'gšg below, the product, l-class, apparently '(intact) salmon-roe') 'S (salmon-roe) dries': lexēšK<sub>1</sub>'gšg 'salmon-roe dried' L. Transitive (causative): lexēš-i-K<sub>1</sub>'gšg 'make dry salmon-roe:' M, qu'lexēš-xiK<sub>1</sub>'gšg 'I'll dry salmon-roe' L.

2. With l<sub>x</sub>-anatomical: lexēšK<sub>1</sub>'gšg<sub>i</sub>h M, 'ula'x lexēšK<sub>1</sub>'Kšg<sub>i</sub>h (or -K<sub>1</sub>'Kš-, -K<sub>1</sub>'Kš-) 'something is wrong with his eyes' L, lexēšK<sub>1</sub>'gšg<sub>i</sub>h 'his eyes got dry and scabby (like dry salmon-roe)' L.

3. With l<sub>x</sub>-mark thematized, perhaps incorrectly: lexēšK<sub>1</sub>'gšg (he has a) scabby rash' M.

l<sub>x</sub>d-i-K<sub>1</sub>'gš-g (variant of 2. above, with l<sub>x</sub>d-anatomical 'eyes'): lexēšK<sub>1</sub>'gšg<sub>i</sub>h 'something is wrong with his eyes' L.

- ʔe-kʲ-gʂ-g 'S (scab) dries': eʔe-kʲ-gʂgʔ 'scab  
 is drying' L, eʔikʲ-gʂgʔ 'scab dried up' L.
- lɣ-ʔe-kʲ-gʂ-g (variant of lɣ-ʔ-kʲ-gʂ-g, cf. ʔ-  
 kahgʂ-g, ʔe-kahgʂ-g, equivalent to preceding with  
 lɣ-anatomical): lɣexsʔikʲ-gʂgʔ 'something is  
 wrong with my eye' L.
- lɣeʔikʲ-gʂg (noun, 1-class) 'dried (intact?) salmon-  
 roe' LM, Kuletu? lɣeʔikʲ-gʂg 'lots of dried  
 salmon-roe' L. Nominalized active imperfective of  
 lɣ-ʔ-kʲ-gʂ-g 1.

Kahgš (perhaps related to K<sub>i</sub>'gš, Kigš-Kikš; cf. also qeš)

Kahgšg (noun, unclassified, with -g-repetitive thematized) 'scab' LMA, 36.34, 36, 43, 43A, Kahgšg-ʔaʔluw 'big scab' LM.

š-Kahgš-g 'S has, gets scab, S (scab) forms': seš-Kahgšgš 'a scab formed' M, quʔwešKahgšg 'a scab will form' LM, with y-anatomical: yisšKahgšgš 'my hand got a scab on it' L.

še-Kahgš-g 'S has, gets scab, is, gets scabby, rough-surfaced, S (scab) forms' (meaning not distinguished, at least in part, from that of preceding; cf. lš--š-Ki'gš-g and lš-še-K<sub>i</sub>'gš-g): ššKahgšgš 'it got scabby, a scab formed' L, sešKahgšgš 'a scab is forming' L, with y-anatomical: yixššKahgšgš 'my hand got a scab on it' ("same as yisšKahgšgš") L, of inanimate d-class S: dišššKahgšgš 'it (board, ice) got rough-surfaced' L.

KikS-Kj·KS-Kj·gS (L also K<sub>i</sub>?KS, K<sub>i</sub>?KS, consistently -KS as in KigS-KikS, A -gS as in KigS-KikS; influenced by, and perhaps related to KigS-KikS, K<sub>i</sub>·gS, also influenced by  $\text{c}_{i}^{\text{?}}\text{qS}$ ,  $\text{d}_{i}^{\text{?}}\text{c}^{\text{?}}\text{-d}_{i}^{\text{?}}\text{c}^{\text{?}}\text{-d}_{i}^{\text{?}}\text{c}^{\text{?}}\text{-d}_{i}^{\text{?}}\text{c}^{\text{?}}\text{S}$ ,  $\text{c}_{i}^{\text{?}}\text{3}^{\text{2}}$ , or perhaps a blend of several of these)

d- $\text{le-KikS---Kj·KS---Kj·gS-g}$  (with d-thematic 'noise' and -g-repetitive thematized) 'S makes (sharp or grinding) squeaking, creaking, or popping sound':  
 de $\text{leK}_{i}^{\text{?}}\text{KSg}$  'it's making a grinding creaking sound'  
 L, de $\text{leK}_{i}^{\text{?}}\text{KSg}$  (or - $\text{K}_{i}^{\text{?}}\text{KS-}$ , - $\text{K}_{i}^{\text{?}}\text{gS-}$ ) L, de $\text{le-K}_{i}^{\text{?}}\text{gSg}$  'it's making a squeaky noise' A, de $\text{leKikSg}$  'it (floor, house) is creaking, squeaking' L (twice), 'it (e.g. chewing-gum) is making a popping noise' L (cf.  $\text{la}^{\text{?}}\text{KikSg}$  'berries ("pop when chewed")' L).  
 Transitive (causative): ga $\text{he deikikSg}$  'he's popping his chewing-gum while chewing it' L.

Kelel (possible unidentified element in personal name,  
see ca'Kelelma' under ca'K)

Kudi·q-Kedi·q (rare alternant Kede·q L once; unanalyzable, to be segmented, if of Eyak origin, Ku-di·q, conceivably Ku-indefinite o of o-di·?q (< -d-?e?-q) 'in o's language', but more probably a diffused form of unknown origin, perhaps Tlingit; cf. Yakutat Tlingit Kutéʔ, gutéʔ, gutéʔ "Aleut" (i.e. Eskimo)', but further down the coast Naish-Storøy gutéʔ qwán

'Eyak Indian', for correspondence Eyak -d- Tlingit -t- see Eyak ga·g<sup>1</sup>) <sup>Tlingit form perhaps related to or influenced by</sup> <sup>kw-ya-dax' & k-ya-dax' (original)</sup>

Kudi·q-Kedi·q (noun, unclassified) 'Eskimo, Chugach Eskimo' (locally called 'Aleut'): Kedi·q 52.11, 37L, Ku·di·q 'Aleut' 49.31A, 52.10, 53.42L, Galushia Nelson s̄Dí:ys̄q or s̄Deiq 'Eskimo' BSDL 543, Kede·q personal name (of Eyak? man) ('Aleut') L, Kedi·q̄ayu· 52.2, 19, 22, 23L, 54.1, 2, 7, 16G, Kudi·q̄ayu· 'Aleuts' IMAS, 49.30, 32, 40, 59, 64, 50.44A, 58.2, 8, 27, 29L, 54.10G (not \*Kudi·q̄ayu· L), Galushia Nelson s̄D̄iq̄̄iyu 'Eskimos' BSDL 543, Kudi·q̄ayu·ya? lah 'Aleuts' village' 53.1L, also place-name near Mummy Island L.

Kuda\* (loan from Tlingit xida 'file')

*o-y-x'kd 'roughen O'*

Kuda\* (noun, unclassified) 'file' LA, Kuda\*luw  
 'big file' LM, 'ew Kuda\* qu'xixahd 'I'll  
 make that file into a barbed spearhead' L.

Ku'diya'n (probably loan from Ahtena ?i'diyani 'spruce  
hen', probably influenced by Ku'de'ng, q.v. under  
de'X)

Ku'diya'n (noun, unclassified) '(spruce) grouse  
(Canachites canadensis)' LMAS.

< 'o' dyaan: spruce grouse - er  
< do-a'g  
cf. TL itat'yi  
for ?i'd of. waga,

kuʒeʒejaːʂ (unanalyzable, perhaps to be segmented ku-  
 ʒeʒe-yaːʂ with ku-indefinite as possessor or S or O of  
 verb-theme, -ʒeʒe- reduced form of ʒehʒ 'ears',  
 -yaːʂ unidentifiable noun or verb stem, or perhaps  
 early (and folk-etymologized?) loan from Athapaskan,  
 cf. Ahtena (Pinart) ʒahaʒe 'sable' (Doroschin) ʒe-  
 haʒe 'Zobel', <sup>not known to Ahtena informant</sup> Tanaina (Osgood, Kachemak and Kenai  
 only) kaʒavóʒa, Ingalik geceveye, Nulato Koyukon  
 (Zagoskin) koʒoreʒ, Holikachuk suʒe, Tanana Village  
 suʒa, Minto cugi, Ahtena cugi, cuga, all probably  
 partly irregular developments of \*(kə-)ʒaxʷa- + \*-ye,  
 \*-ʒe, \*-yaʒe-, or \*-ge)

kuʒeʒejaːʂ (noun, unclassified) 'marten' LAS, 67.5G,  
 Rezanov Kuchagamʒ 'Норка, енотъ Nōra, Mustela  
 lutreola'.

Kaʔt (probably loan from Tlingit xát 'island')

Kaʔt (noun, unclassified) 'island' IMG, 12.21, 22, 23, 25G, 47c.58, 60L, 67.2, 4G, Rezanov Kaars 'Ocrpoms Insel', Galushia Nelson qaʔt, Old Man Dude Ka:tʔ 'island' BSdL 537, also place-name: Galushia Nelson qaʔt 'Hawkins Island ("island")' BSdL 544 Kaʔt 'Hawkins Island' L, Kaʔtʔaʔluw 'big island' LM, also place name: Galushia Nelson Káʔáʔlú or Káʔáʔlá 'Spike Island' BSdL 544 Kaʔtʔaʔluw 'Observation Island (island across from Sheperd Point)' L, Kaʔtʔeʔaʔ 57.2G, Kaʔtʔeʔ 'onto an island' 57.7, 31, 64.8G, ʔew Kaʔtʔeʔ quʔxiɛcaʔ 'I'll ask to go to that island' L; Kaʔt Kulahs dexyh 'Kodiak Islander' L, Kaʔt selahyuʔ, Kaʔt Kulaheyuʔ '(true) Aleuts' L (probably all to be corrected to Kaʔtʔelahs(eyuʔ) 'dweller(s) on island', and probably all meaning, indiscriminately, 'Kodiak Eskimo, (true) Aleut').

x<sup>w</sup>a-xa-xəwa (x<sup>w</sup>a SG, Rezanov, Furuhjelm, LM occasionally, A 3 times, xa LM usually, A 3 times; xəwa in certain nouns, perhaps to be interpreted xəwa', see subentry ʔi·səix<sup>w</sup>aʔi, cf. also ta', təwah; perhaps related to x<sup>w</sup>a'-xa'-x<sup>w</sup>ah-xah, and/or to xah, and/or to xa·nih; cf. also l-i-ʔya)

l-x<sup>w</sup>a--xa 'S grows, grows up, matures': la·xe·, li·xaʔ (la·xaʔ barely acceptable), lesəxaʔ 'grow up!' L, quʔli·xxah 'I'll grow up' L, diK quʔli·x-xahə (or -xa·ə) 'I won't grow up' L, quʔli·xihih 'he'll grow up' L, lesuxxa·i LM, lesəxxa·i L, lesuxx<sup>w</sup>a·i 'I'm growing up' M, lesi·xa·i 'you're growing up' M, lesəx<sup>w</sup>a·i MG, 24.39A, lesəxa·i 'it's growing up' L, Rezanov Калекынахогə 'Молодоџ jung' ʔa·l... lesəx<sup>w</sup>a·i 'it's growing now (yet)' L, lesəxa·ih 'he's growing up' L, ʔi·si-x<sup>w</sup>ahə 'I've grown up' L, lesəx<sup>w</sup>ahih 'he's grown up' S, qəlesəx<sup>w</sup>ahkinu· 'they grew up' 28.131A, with ʔəʔ or ʔuʔ 'complete': ʔəʔ lesəxahih 'he's grown up' ('he's done growing (up)') L, ʔuʔ ʔi·səxahə 'I'm full grown' L, ʔuʔ ʔi·səxahə, ʔuʔ lesəxahə 'it's full grown' L, with suffixed -siyah 'bad': (de)ʔa·weyu· ʔi·səxahihsiyah ʔəʔəh 'he's a poorly brought-up boor' ('he's a bad indiscriminately (barbarically) grown one') L, diK ʔuʔ laʔxahə 'it's not full grown' L (neuter per-

fective), ?ələŋgahɣ ləxexixah 'I wish I'd grow up' L, ?ələŋgahɣ laːxixah 'I wish I were grown up' L, daː laːyixah 'let's grow up' L, inceptive subjunctive: ləxexxaːɣ ?ixleh 'I want to grow' L, hortatory inceptive subjunctive: ləxexaːɣjɪh 'may he grow!' L, hortatory active subjunctive: liːxaːɣjɪh 'may he grow up!' (i.e. 'may he live to maturity!', said when baby sneezes) L, active imperfective: ?uːd ləx<sup>W</sup>ah 'it (normally) grows there, it belongs growing there' L, ?uːd ləxaːɣ 'it (normally) grows there' L (form unexplained, perhaps hortatory subjunctive, though L does not so interpret or gloss it), with d-class-mark for S: laːsəxahɪ 'it (tree, wild celery) grew' L. 1-ɪ-x<sup>W</sup>a--xa 1. (With obligatory ɪ-classifier) 'S grows, grows up to certain extent or in certain way relative to o': ?iləɣ dɛwaʔd ɣəw ?ɪːsɪlaxahɪ 'I've grown faster than you' L; indirect reciprocal: with qaʔ 'up out': ?ilgaʔ qaːʔ ləxəxəxəːliːnuː 'they're growing up alike (like each other)' L.

2. (With ɪ-classifier at least in certain cases optional) 'S grows, grows up to certain extent or in certain way' (not relative to o, meaning not clearly distinguished, at least in certain cases, from that of 1-x<sup>W</sup>a--xa): ləxəxahɪjɪh 'he's grown

up' (same as lesexahhijh) M, Furuhjelm Isalhvali  
 'old' ?j·səix<sup>w</sup>ahhijh 'he's grown up', with qa?  
 'up out': ?uləsq·Sdezu? qa? lesexahhijh 'his  
 whiskers have grown out' 23.141A, with zu? 'com-  
 plete': zu? ?j·siixahh (same as zu? ?j·sixahh)  
 'I'm full grown' L, zu? ?j·səixahh, zu? lesex-  
 ahh (same as zu? ?j·sexahh, zu? lesexahh)  
 'it's full grown' L, diK zu? la?ixahhe (same as  
 diK zu? la?xahhe) 'it's not full grown' L (neu-  
 ter perfective), with di'a? '(stuck) behind inde-  
 terminate o, blocked, with difficulty': di'a? li·  
 ixahh 'it's not growing properly (not fast enough,  
 stunted)' L (neuter perfective).

l-de-xa 'S (inanimate, plant, or perhaps S in fixed  
 position) grows': with qehx 'closed': qehx ?j·  
 sdixahh 'it's clogged' L, ?uyeq ?iqa'gi qehx  
 ?j·dixahh 'stove is plugged (with soot)' L (neuter  
 perfective), with d-class-mark for S: di·?q la·  
 dixahh 'egg is maturing inside (chick embryo is  
 growing)' L (neuter perfective), di·?q la·sdixahh  
 'egg is turning into a bird' A; see also ledexa'g,  
 ?idexa'g, and qi? Kp·dexa'g below.

O-l-i-x<sup>w</sup>a--xa (causative of l-x<sup>w</sup>a--xa, l-i-x<sup>w</sup>a--xa,  
 and/or l-de-xa above) 'S makes O grow, raises O,  
 brings O up': li·ixijhijh, la·ixijhijh 'make him  
 grow up!' L, qu?li·xixijhijh 'I'll raise him' L,

diX qu<sup>o</sup>li-xixahsijh (or -xa's-) 'I won't raise  
 him' L, lexixaxa-i 'I'm raising it' L, lisiixahh,  
 ?i-siixahh 'I raised him' L, xuleseixahhijh, xy'-  
 saixahhijh 'he raised me' L, often repetitive, with  
 repetitive apparently thematized: dexu' qew qu<sup>o</sup>-  
 li-xixa's 'I'll raise her myself' 9.26A, xuqu<sup>o</sup>-  
 li-xixa-gS 'will you raise me?' L, qu<sup>o</sup>li-xixa-gSuh  
 'will you make it grow?' (said in pity for under-  
 sized animal) L, lexixa-g 'I'm raising it' M, xu-  
 lexixa-g 'he's raising me' L, xuleseixaxa-gijh 'he's  
 raising me' L, ?qh xuleseixaxa-gijh, ?qh xy'sa-  
 xa-gijh 'he raised me' L; indirect reflexive: de-  
 xu' ?ed?a' qu<sup>o</sup>lexixaxa-gijh 'I'll raise her for my-  
 self' 9.27A; reflexive: de?a' ?edj-siixahhijh 'he  
 raised himself (by himself)' L, dexi' de?a' ?ed-  
 la-xixa-gga? ?a?se-da?i 'he's getting big enough to  
 take care of himself' L (active optative repetitive);  
 passive: xuledexa-g 'I'm being raised, taken care  
 of' L, ?q-d xy'sdixahh, ?q-d xy'siixahh 'I was  
 raised here' L.

ledexa-g, ?idexa-g (probably < ?i-dexa-g) (noun,  
 unclassified) 'greens, (any) plant' L; ?idexa-g-  
 ma' woman's name ('mother of growing things') L  
 (L considers this a beautiful name). Nominalized  
 active imperfective repetitive of l-da-xa and/or  
 of passive of 0-l-i-x<sup>h</sup>a--xa, 'it's growing, be-

ing raised'.

qi? kʷ-daxa'g (noun) 'garden' L. As above, with  
Ku-indefinite S or O, 'place where something  
grows, is raised'.

-l-xa'g (gerundive of repetitive of Q-l-i-x<sup>w</sup>a--xa)  
'raising, caring for': ?ilexa'g xuseigaʔɛ 'I'm  
getting tired of caring for you' ('raising you is  
tiring me') L, xuseigaʔɛ saqe'seyu· ?ulexa'g  
'I'm tired of raising children' ('it's tiring me,  
children, raising them') L.

-iʂxah (perhaps gerundive, but lacking l-thematic)  
attested only in ʂiʂiʂxah (noun, probably d-class)  
'wild celery turned to wood' L, see ʂiʂ<sup>2</sup>.

?j·sex<sup>w</sup>aʔɛ (noun, attested from G in Harrington only,  
form probably incorrect, perhaps to be read ?j·seɪ-  
xawaʔɛ or ?j·seɪx<sup>w</sup>ahɛ) 'seaweed species': Harring-  
ton 'ʔiʂsaɪxwɛ'ɛ (Tlingit thayyeetli) 'Dutchman's  
breeches, seaweed with pods (says this means some-  
thing like growing on rocks)'. The Tlingit is to be  
read tayedɪ, Naish-Story tayedɪ 'yellow seaweed  
(a seaweed on which herring spawn)', probably re-  
duced form of tɛ 'rock' with possessed yed 'fat';  
see also ?j·lxewah below and ca·leqex; apparently  
nominalized active perfective of l-i-x<sup>w</sup>a--xa, 'it  
grew'.

lɛhlep lɛlx<sup>w</sup>ah (noun, attested from G in Harrington

only, -la- <sup>f</sup> or <sup>f</sup>lahleq probably incorrect) 'moss  
or lichen on spruce bark': Harrington <sup>f</sup>lah l<sup>f</sup>q  
lak<sup>f</sup>wih 'moss or lichen on spruce bark; lit. that  
which grows on the bark'. See <sup>f</sup>lah. Nominalized  
active imperfective of l-l-x<sup>w</sup>a--xa, 'it (normal-  
ly) grows on bark'.

?i·ixewah (noun, ti·l-class) 'red ribbon seaweed,  
red laver, sea lettuce (Porphyra laciniata)' LSA,  
?i·xewah ?u·d ti·s<sup>f</sup>otahi 'a (piece of) ribbon  
seaweed is there' L, ?i·ixewah sid' ti·li·?a?  
(or -ta?) 'give me (a piece of) ribbon seaweed.'  
L, Harrington <sup>f</sup>ih<sup>f</sup>ix<sup>w</sup>uwih, <sup>f</sup>ih<sup>f</sup>ix<sup>w</sup>uwah 'red rib-  
bon seaweed' G. Underlying these l-l-xewa, ex-  
plained by L "something is growing". M rejects  
this form, insisting, on two separate occasions,  
that the correct form is ?i·itewah, perhaps un-  
der the influence of ta', l-ta' 'S lives'.  
This seaweed was dried and eaten.

ma·ya?<sup>z</sup> qa·ixewah, ma·ya?<sup>z</sup> qa·ixewah, ma·ya?<sup>z</sup>  
qa·ixewa' (noun, unclassified) 'water lilies (yel-  
low pond lily, spatterdock (Nuphar polysepalum))'  
L, Kutu? ma·ya?<sup>z</sup> qa·ixewa' 'many water lilies'  
L. These as above with qa-plural and ma·ya?<sup>z</sup>  
'(movement) on lake', 'pl. grow (all about?) on  
lake'. Harrington maayá't qh<sup>w</sup>álléix<sup>w</sup>ah (-x<sup>w</sup>ah  
accentless) 'pond lily, "that which grows on the

lake", to be read ma·yaʔd qelex<sup>w</sup>ah or per-  
haps ma·yaʔd qelexewah, but read by M as  
ma·yaʔd kuleix<sup>w</sup>ah ('something (normally) grows  
on lake', same plant as ma·yaʔdyaʔ ʔena·Sah).

x<sup>w</sup>a'-xa'-x<sup>w</sup>ah-xah (x<sup>w</sup>a'-xa' in verb, x<sup>w</sup>ah-xah in noun;  
 x<sup>w</sup>- SG, Rezanov, A usually, x- Galushia Nelson, M,  
 L usually; perhaps related to x<sup>w</sup>a-xa-xawa and/or to  
 xah; note also Athapaskan, PA \*x<sup>w</sup>â 'sun', \*âên 'sum-  
 mer')

i-x<sup>w</sup>a'-xa 'S (it) becomes summer, S (summer) comes':  
 Galushia Nelson cãtkɣɣɣɣ 'spring' BSL 538 cãkxaʔɣ  
 LM, cãkx<sup>w</sup>aʔɣ 'it's becoming summer, summer is com-  
 ing' G, 10.86, 87, 23.55, 49.115, 51.46, 68.25A,  
 cãkxaʔɣ M, 32.5, 33.40A, cãkx<sup>w</sup>aʔɣ 'it became sum-  
 mer, summer came' S, 10.89, 68.24A, with ɣuʔ 'com-  
 plete': ɣuʔ cãkxaʔɣ 'it became summer' M, ʔu-ɕ  
 siq cãkxaʔɣ 'I spent the summer there' ('it sum-  
 mered on me thither') L, iic qɣʔ ʔi-kxaʔɣ 'place  
 where it's always summer' L (neuter perfective), qɣʔ  
 ix<sup>w</sup>ah 'place where it's summer' L (active imperfec-  
 tive), qaʔkxah L, quʔwekxah 'it'll become sum-  
 mer, summer will come' M, dik qaʔkxah 'it won't  
 be summer' M, qɣʔdeɣ qaʔkxah 'before it becomes  
 summer' M, 'that's when summer will come' ('as soon  
 as, at the time that summer will come') L, cãkxah  
 daʔɣ 'when it becomes summer' 24.73A.

x<sup>w</sup>ah, xah (noun, unclassified) 'summer': Rezanov  
 Ioa 'Ibro Sommer' x<sup>w</sup>ah LS, 62.7, 16, 63.40G, 68.-  
 26A, Galushia Nelson ɣeʔ 'summer' BSL 538 xah  
 LM, 43.32M, ʔeldakyoɣ ya- x<sup>w</sup>ah 'this last summer'

('summer before this one') 69.5A, ?el?ihd x<sup>w</sup>ah  
 'next summer' ('summer after this') S, Kəʒuː xah  
 M, xahʔəʒuː 'nice summer' L, xahʃ ʔələcaʔyaːl  
 'it's becoming summer' ('time is passing toward  
 summer') L, ʔiʃ xah 'every summer' L, ?el xahʃ  
 yeʔʃ yikəʔdih 'he's been sick all summer long' L,  
 xah ʃaʔq ʔiːʔah 'it's a long summer' ('summer  
 extends long') L, xah diʃ ʃaʔq ʔesʔaʔis 'it  
 wasn't a long summer' L, xah ʃaʔq ʔaːw 'long  
 summer' L, xah yaːʔaːgd 'midsummer' L (probably  
 incorrect, literally 'summer, the middle'), xah  
 leʔaːgd 'midsummer' L (cf. geː-l-ʔaːg under  
 gah-geː), x<sup>w</sup>ahdeɪʃaːd 'toward summer' 33.40A (d-  
 mark either analogical with e.g. -d-l-yeʃ or  
 thematic, but probably not indication of d-class  
 for x<sup>w</sup>ah).

x<sup>w</sup>ah-xah (perhaps to be identified with xah, but semantic relation not clear; attested from L and M only, L with initial in seven of eight instances, M in one of two)

o-d-x<sup>w</sup>ah--xah (postposition, attested only with d-- thematic, perhaps 'oral, noise' and with -č final, but not attested with repetitive, customary, or inceptive perfective, with which -č final might occur) 'by o's command, orders, o making, forcing S to act': ?udex<sup>w</sup>ah weʒ silih̄h 'he made me do it (do thus)' L, ?əhdex<sup>w</sup>ah weʒ silih̄h 'he made me do it (do thus to it)' L, ?idex<sup>w</sup>ah ?ew weʒ ?a?he·h̄h 'make him do it!' ('let him do thus to it at your command') L, ?əhdex<sup>w</sup>ah ʒasiyah̄h 'he made me eat it' L, sidex<sup>w</sup>ah 'because I said so, because I told him to' M, ?el ?idex<sup>w</sup>ah ?iqa·ʒ 'have it (let it at your command) carry this in its teeth' L, ?i· ?idex<sup>w</sup>ah ?ew ʒiya? dase?ih̄h 'you told him to spill it' L, xu· sidex<sup>w</sup>ah q̄h̄h ?ew dexa·ḡh̄h 'I told him to do that job' L, ?udexah ?ixḡh̄hinu· 'they're making me dance' L, sidexah ?edqu?he?u·s 'I'll make you rest' M.

xah (perhaps to be identified with x<sup>w</sup>ah-xah, but semantic relation not clear; initial never labialized by L, M or S, labialized initial from A only twice in text, nonlabialized from A three times in text)

o-xah (postposition, attested with zero and -c<sup>h</sup> finals) 'loss, removal of o (contents, covering, clothing, foreign matter)': attested only with theme -le ('S acts, does, happens to S') 'S experiences loss of o' and causative O-i-i 'S removes o from O', see -le 15a.-c., and with -l-le: *ŋicxah ɣp'saliɪ* 'the ground has become free, clear of mud' L.

xah (perhaps related to x<sup>w</sup>a-xa-xəwa, though attested with non-labialized initial only)

lixah (noun, unclassified) 'grizzly-bear, brownbear'  
 LMS (S also once with slight labialization), 10.10, 12, 18.8, 37, 39, 40, 42, 59, 66, 19.9, 10, 13, 18, 21, 27, 29, 33, 27a.2, 22, 34, 43L, 37b.9, 9, 71A, 47c.55, 58L, 63.4, 6, 8, 13, 24, 67.6G, 68.102, 102, 103A, Rezanov Iaxa 'Медведь Бѣр', Wrangell Iaxa 'Бѣр', Furuhsjelm Liha 'bear (brown)', Galushia Nelson lixa' or lixa' 'brown bear' BSdL 538, lixahyu' 'grizzly-bears' 25.178, 37b.20A, lixahyequhyu' 'brownbear cubs' 18.83L, lixah= ?i·da·? 'brownbear-face' (as mask) 47b.36M, 47c.-44L, lixá'li:ǰá' or lixáy'ǰá' name of Basket Pattern 9. ("brown-bear-ulna") BSdL 547 (illustrated in BSdL 82) lixahyeda? 'brownbear forearm', Galushia Nelson lixa' wula'iyu 'brown bear people' BSdL 279 lixahwelahyu', lixahya? ta·?e·?x 'along a grizzly-bear's trail' 18.4L, lixahya? ǰe·?yeǰd 'in some grizzly-bear's dung' 18.6L, lixahya? duxǰ 'grizzly-bear trap' L, lixahluw 'big brownbear' LM, xu' lixah, lixah ǰəl xu' 'I'm a brownbear' L, lixahga? ?u·?sǰica·?ǰ 'it turned out to look like a brownbear' L, siləǰahd lixah ǰe·?ew 'I think (right or wrong) it's a brownbear' L. The form lixah, which informants cannot etymologize, is conceivably

to be analyzed lix-ah with stem lix- and unexplained -ah, but a much more probable analysis is li-xah, with stem -xah and l-thematic prefix, le- > li- where no longer identified as such, the shift of earlier -s- to -i- being quite regular in stems before or after earlier (non-labialized) g, k, M, x, earlier lex therefore regularly modern lix; these perhaps l-x<sup>h</sup>a--xa 'S grows', here perhaps 'overgrown' (though the lack of labialization is puzzling), cf. l-i--ya 'S grows old' and ?edsii'yah<sup>h</sup> 'monster, giant'. Grizzly- or brownbears are also frequently referred to indirectly by Ku-indefinite pronoun as o of o-y-da?-x 'into the clutches of o', o-y-?e?-d 'place of (absent) o's handiwork'.

xaʔ (initial never labialized by L, labialized in one of four instances from A; perhaps related to xi·yaʔʔ)

xaʔ (noun, unclassified, or preverb; clearly in close preverbal position to verb, though apparently functioning as O of transitive verb, perhaps originally intransitive) 'mouth, jaws (of animal), perianth (of flower)' 1. attested only in preverbal position and as O of ʔik-yeq̄ O-(k-)ta, ʔik-yeq̄ 'apart, open, outspread' (of eyes, legs, arms, cheek, joint or corner), O-(k-)ta 'S positions O': ʔikyeq̄ xaʔ ʔetaʔ 'open your mouth!' L, ʔikyeq̄ xaʔ ʔi·itah̄ 'he has his mouth open' L, ʔikyeq̄ səitah̄ 'it (flower) opened up (like mouth)' L.

2. 'eating, appetite' only in yeʔ ʔi·lih xaʔ dexdaʔya·ʔ 'I'm hungry but don't know for what' L, analysis uncertain, see separate subentry under ʔya and ʔi·li·-ʔi·lih- 2a. under le(?)=-li.

-xaʔ- (noun, d-class, or perhaps postposition o--xaʔ-d- with d- final) 1. 'bite (of o)': as o of o-ʔeʔ-d 'nominalization of place of o': ʔi-yuxxaʔdeʔeʔd 'mosquito bite' L.

2. 'food for (o), for (o) to eat, within (o's) eating-range': as o of o-kah 'away from o': ʔixaʔdekah siyah̄ 'I took it away from you while you were eating it' L, sixaʔdekah ʔew səiyah̄jh

'he took it from me while I was eating it' L,  
 as o of o-č 'to o': ?uxa?deč Kusexta.č 'I'm  
 putting something to within range of where it can  
 eat' L, as o of o-xa? 'by, near o': ?ixa?deça?  
 yq.? sihtahč 'I set it down by you where you can  
 eat it' L, ?ixa?deça? sihtahč 'I took food away  
 from you' L (perhaps in error for ?ixa?de-čahd),  
 as o of o-wahd 'for (the sake of) o': daxu.  
 ?ixa?dewahd qu?xčih 'I'll cook it for you (pre-  
 pare it for your eating) myself' L, lah ?ixa?  
 dewahd sičič 'here! I cooked it for you' L, in  
 indirect reflexive constructions: da?a. ?awa.  
 x<sup>w</sup>a?dewahd ?aw čele.kčih 'she herself (cust)  
 prepares it for herself to eat' 25.32A, ?el  
 ?q.d xa?dewahd xsiyahč 'this which I put here  
 for myself to eat' 10.82A, xa?dewahd ?idičehyu.  
 'things kept for themselves to eat' 11.10A, čič?  
 ?el dəçhyu. xa?dewahd ?ičičehyu. 'all those  
 things which people keep for themselves to eat'  
 11.11A, in indirect reflexive construction as o of  
 o-ga? 'like o, suitable for o': xa?dega? ?a?  
 keče. 'cook it just right for yourself to eat!'  
 L.

xu<sup>•</sup>-xu-x<sup>W</sup>-x (probably related to si- first person singular pronominal possessive and o of postpositions, from irregular PAE alternation \*x<sup>W</sup>-s-s)

xu<sup>•</sup> (independent personal pronoun) 'I, me' LM, Rezanov<sup>W</sup> 'Я Ich', Wrangell Ky-y 'Ich', in non-verbal clauses: ?i<sup>•</sup> da<sup>•</sup>ʒ xu<sup>•</sup> 'you and I' M, xu<sup>•</sup> da<sup>•</sup>ʒ ... 'I and ...' 70.2A, xu<sup>•</sup> lixah 'I (am) a grizzly-bear' L, xu<sup>•</sup> seʃqa<sup>•</sup> ?i<sup>•</sup>nah 'I'm the middle one (of siblings)' L, diK xu<sup>•</sup>e 'not me' L, xu<sup>•</sup>s ?idah 'am I alright?, will I do?' 34.5M, xu<sup>•</sup> Ka<sup>•</sup> 'let it be me, let me do it' L, Rezanov Kyorax-y 'Похаяй gut' g<sup>W</sup>(e)hedah xu<sup>•</sup>, gehs-dah xu<sup>•</sup> 'poor me!, please!' M, c'id xu<sup>•</sup> 'just me, only I' M, ?əbča<sup>•</sup>č xu<sup>•</sup> 'I'm the next one' ('next to him in age am I') L, ?iqa<sup>•</sup>kih xu<sup>•</sup> 'I your "dear husband"' (sardonic) 27a.45L, ke<sup>•</sup>ci<sup>•</sup>d xu<sup>•</sup> 'how about me?, what about me?' 34.9, 13M, 23, 28, 32, 36, 43L, 53, 58M, xu<sup>•</sup> qə<sup>•</sup>ew 'that's me' 21b.63A, xu<sup>•</sup> qə<sup>•</sup>el 'it's me, this is me' 25.90A, ?i<sup>•</sup>ʒuh -- ?ə<sup>•</sup>, xu<sup>•</sup> qə<sup>•</sup>el 'hello - hello' ('is it you? -- yes, it's me') L, du<sup>•</sup>de<sup>•</sup>i<sup>•</sup> -- xu<sup>•</sup> qə<sup>•</sup>el -- du<sup>•</sup> xu<sup>•</sup>d 'who are you? -- it's me -- who is "me"?' Minnie and/or Scar Stevens (in Li), ... qəl xu<sup>•</sup> 'I am ...' ('... this is, I') 10.227, 25.162A, lixah qəl xu<sup>•</sup> 'I'm a grizzly-bear' L, ?i<sup>•</sup>ihʒ lah qəl xu<sup>•</sup> 'I'm

your junior' L, deʔp·delaḥə qəl xu· 'I'm a  
 local' L, ʔp·d xu·, also combined ʔp·daxu·  
 'I'm here' LM, diʔwəʃ ʔp·d xu·dawa· ʔədy·də=  
 kus 'while I'm still here wash your hands!' L,  
 emphasizing S: 42.2L, 57.1, 62.26G, 65.11, 68.115A,  
 71.19LM, yaʃ xu· ʔixdəgaʔʃ 'I'm dancing around'  
 L, qəleʔ xu· wəʃ quʔxliḥ 'now I'll do it' L,  
 Rezanov Хуатнооха 'Домой nach Hause' xu· ...  
 quʔxah 'I shall go ...', хукүтөмъ 'Баба  
 пошывальная Небаще' 'I'll give birth' M, empha-  
 sizing O: xu· kaʔ ʔuʔləʃa·ləci·ʔ (or xuʔləʃ-  
 a·ləci·ʔ) 'dream about me' L, emphasizing posses-  
 sive prefix: Rezanov хусы-а 'Надо мною bedürfen  
 (ich b.?)' xu· siyaʔ '(it's) mine' L, Galushia  
 Nelson xusi yaʔ ʔəwaʔ 'my dog' BSdL 556 xu·  
 siyaʔ ʔəwa· kuʒu·, ʔi· ʔiyaʔ kuʃiyah 'my dog  
 is good, yours is no good' L, xu· siyaʔ kuʒu·,  
 ʔi· ʔiyaʔ kuʃiyah 'mine is good, yours is no  
 good' L, xu· siʃaʔ 'I've got it (the key)' L,  
 xu· siʃaʔ qəma· 'I've got roe' 40.6L, xu·  
 sigaʔ 'like me' 51.84, 70.8A, Rezanov Хужича  
 'Дай geben (Imperat.)' xu· siʃaʔ 'to me', em-  
 phasizing possessive pronoun: Galushia Nelson  
 ʃ<sup>w</sup>us: ni·k 'my nose' xu· sini·k 'my nose',  
 x<sup>w</sup>us: laqa 'my head' xu· sileqah, x<sup>w</sup>us:  
 tšili 'my arm' xu· siʃelih BSdL 556, a<sup>n</sup> d<sup>n</sup>axu·

la'ʒ 'our (he and I) eyes' BSDL 557, probably  
 to be corrected to ʒəh da'ʒ xu' qa'la'ʒ 'he  
 and I, our eyes'; with certain enclitics -gih--gi-  
 'too, also' (used only with independent personal  
 pronouns), -dəg- 'too, also', -s interrogative:  
 Furuhjelm Hutak 'I' xu'dəg M, xu'gih LM,  
 46.18M, xu'gidəg MS, xu'gidig 'me too, I also'  
 21b.74A, xu'dəg ʔidexʔih ʔəʔew 'I (too) am  
 feeling the same way, just as bad as you' L, xu'-  
 gidəg ʔiqeʔdi'xʔih 'I'll feel just as bad as  
 you; I'll knit too' L, xu'gidug diK 'me neither  
 (I too not)' L, diKs xu'gih '(can)not I too?'  
 L, xu'gihā, xu'gihədəg, xu'gidəgə 'me too?' L;  
 with proclitic de- 'ipse': Rezanov Thoy 'Cama,  
 cama selbst (ich?)' dexu' 'I myself' 9.25, 26A,  
 53.28L, 'let me do that' M, neh, dexu' wəʒ  
 quʔxʔih 'never mind, give it here, I'll do it  
 (to it) myself' LM, dexu' ʔədxsʔiləhʔ 'I saved  
myself' L, dexu' siya' ʔidexʔih 'I'm knitting  
 it for myself' L, dexu' ʔəd quʔti'xdeʔeh 'I'll  
 put it over my shoulders' L, dexu' ʔixaʔdewəhʔ  
 quʔxʔih 'I'll cook for you myself' L, dexu'  
 siyaʔ ʒəwa' 'my own dog' L, ʔidəhʔdəh dexu'  
 sitaʔ 'my real father (really my own father)' L,  
 dexu'gidug 'me too' L, with proclitic ʔəse-  
 'alone' (used only with independent personal pro-

nouns):  $\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon x u \cdot$  'just me all alone, I'm alone'  
LM (L rejects combination with  $d\epsilon-$  'ipse', not  
 $\cdot\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon d\epsilon x u \cdot$  or  $\cdot d\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon x u \cdot$ ),  $K\epsilon d\epsilon \cdot d\alpha h \lambda\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon x u \cdot$   
 $ʔ\phi \cdot d\alpha ʔ \ ʔ\epsilon x i y a \cdot ʔ\epsilon$  'I can't bring them here all  
alone' 11.44A.

$x u \cdot \cdot x^w \cdot \cdot x \cdot$  (verb prefix) 'me' (first person singular  
direct object pronoun of verb, see grammar).  
 $x \cdot \cdot x^w \cdot$  (verb prefix) 'I' (first person singular  
subject pronoun, see grammar).

xi·l (xi·l LMSG, Wrangell xi·la..., x<sup>w</sup>i·l A and Galushia Nelson only)

xi·l (noun, unclassified) 'shaman, medicine-man, indian-doctor' LMSG, 53.10, 18, 56.1, 1, 21, 23, 25L, Wrangell Xixa 'Schaman' xi·la..., Galushia Nelson x<sup>w</sup>i·l 'shaman' BSL 543 x<sup>w</sup>i·l 'shaman' A, xi·l sičahd ʔi·lihsaʔyah̄t 'shaman gave me good luck' L, xi·lyaʔ c̄i·y c̄ih̄h 'he's singing a shaman's song, incantation' L, xi·laʔluw 'great shaman' L, xi·lʔaʔluw yīh̄h 'he's a great shaman' IM, xi·lceyu· 'shamans' 56.20, 30L, xi·l-qeʔi 'shaman-woman' 19.11L,

xi·lyəʔ h̄i·c̄h̄h̄h̄ this singing = shaman's  
 song' M (← xi·l-lyəʔ) ?, see 1.427 4.  
 under yʔʔ.

x<sup>w</sup>ed-xud-xed (A x<sup>w</sup>ed, IM xud, S xed)

O-x<sup>w</sup>ed--xud--xed 'S shakes O': ?exed 'shake it!' S,  
 ?ax<sup>w</sup>ed 'shake it (e.g. box):' A, ?exud 'shake  
 it (e.g. rag):' IM, ?eleKahd seha? da'z ?exud  
 'take them (covers, blankets) off (the bed) and  
 shake them!' L, ?ew six<sup>w</sup>edz 'I shook it' A.

x<sup>w</sup>ehd-xehd (LSG x<sup>w</sup>ehd, LM xehd)

-x<sup>w</sup>ehd--xehd 'S fades, becomes colorless': sexehd̩  
 'its color is gone, it's faded' LM, sexehd̩ 'it's  
 fading' L, qa<sup>?</sup>xehd 'it'll fade' LM, with gl-class-  
 mark for S: gələsexehd̩ 'it (water) cleared up,  
 sediment in it settled' M, Li gəl̩x<sup>w</sup>̩t 'water is  
 clear' G (probably to be read gələx<sup>w</sup>ehd, see also  
 gələx<sup>w</sup>ehd below). Transitive (causative): with  
 yeḡ 'downward' (referring to dipping, settling,  
 pouring): yeḡ s̩lx<sup>w</sup>ehd̩ S, yeḡ s̩lxehd̩ 'I  
 filtered it' L, yeḡ qu<sup>?</sup>x̩xehd 'I'll rinse the  
 color out of it' L, with o-lu<sup>?</sup> yeḡ 'downward  
 through (hole in) o': ?ewlu<sup>?</sup> yeḡ qu<sup>?</sup>x̩xehd 'I'll  
 strain it through it' L (see ?ulu<sup>?</sup> yeḡ kude=  
 x<sup>w</sup>ehd below), repetitive: delu<sup>?</sup> yeḡ x̩xehdg 'I'm  
 straining, filtering it (through indeterminate o)' M.

gl-̩e-x<sup>w</sup>ehd--xehd (with gl-class-mark for S) 'S (wa-  
 ter) is, becomes clear, pure (not muddy, silty)'  
 (meaning apparently not clearly distinguished from  
 that of gl-x<sup>w</sup>ehd--xehd above): g̩y·s̩lx<sup>w</sup>ehd̩  
 'clear water' ('water cleared') G, with yeḡ 'down-  
 ward' (probably referring to settling of sediment):  
 yeḡ g̩y·s̩lxehd̩ 'water is clear' L, yeḡ qu<sup>?</sup>=  
 g̩y·̩xehd 'water will get clear' L.

gələx<sup>w</sup>ehd place-name, somewhere to the east of the  
 mouth of Mountain Slough, in Copper River flats

( 'water clears' ) L.

ʔuluʔ yeʔ ʔudex<sup>w</sup>ehd (noun) 'strainer, <sup>filter</sup> sieve' L.

Nominalized passive active imperfective, 'through  
(holes in) it something is strained downward'.

xahd (x<sup>w</sup>ahd A only)

xahd (xahd-(g-)ɿ G only; noun, unclassified) 'barbed  
 spear head, harpoon head' (on end of gahgɿ) LMS  
 (S twice, no labialization), x<sup>w</sup>ahd 'spear point'  
 A, xahdɿ, xahdgɿ (with -ɿ-instrumental, optional  
 -g-repetitive, both probably incorrect) 'spear head'  
 G, 63.29, 64.3G, Jacobsen katt 'harpoon head'  
 BSdL 110, katt-klistilkraʔl 'copper harpoon ar-  
 rowhead for sea otter' BSdL probably to be read  
 xahd ..., Galushia Nelson xaʔ 'harpoon head'  
 BSdL 549, xahdʔaʔluw 'big barbed harpoon point'  
 LM, xahd ʔuxelaʔɿ liʔ deyaʔ (or liʔ detaɿ)  
 'groove at end of shaft where xahd is inserted'  
 ('xahd is hung deeply on it') L. These are de-  
 scribed and their uses discussed in BSdL 109-111,  
 115-117; Plate 13 contains photographs of several.  
 O-ɿ-xahd 'S makes O (xahd), S makes O into xahd':  
 ʔow kɿdaʔ quʔxɿxahd 'I'll make that file into  
 a xahd' L; passive: sdixahdɿ 'it's been shaped  
 into a xahd (piece of metal with barbs cut into  
 it, for use as harpoon head)' L.

xut' (expanded xe't, xu't; basic meaning obscure, perhaps two or more different stems, perhaps reduced form of x<sup>w</sup>e't-xe't-xa't. Themes with stem xut' seem to fall into two main semantic categories: 1) yq' dl-xut' 'S falls over', ?ad-gdl-xut' 'S somersaults', ?ad-edl-xut'-g 'S seesaws', and 2) k-xut'-g 'S's skin (of hand, foot) puckers, shrivels (from long immersion in water)', which may be related to ku-l-k-x<sup>w</sup>e't--xe't--xa't 'S grimaces, pouts (about to cry)'; however, the simplest theme, O-k-xut' 'S shoots O (with gun)' is, perplexingly, of recent origin, and semantically related to this is perhaps O-l-k-xut'-g 'S squeezes roe out of O (ripe salmon)', but the relationship of these to the others is not clear; basic meaning(s) perhaps 'extrusion, abrupt contraction, puckering' and/or 'abrupt tilting')

O-k-xut' 1. 'S shoots O (with gun)': 37b.41A, 52.10L, 61.37, 38, 45, 46, 107, 111, 112, 113, 118A, Resanov Аѣхотѣ-у (with -у crossed out) 'Стрѣлять изъ ружья schiessen, ein Gewehr abfeuern', Аѣхотѣ-у 'Стрѣлять schiessen (Imperat.)' ?eikxut'h, ?eikxut' 'shoot it!' LMS, ?eikxut'h 'shoot him!' M, ?eakut' ?eakut'ila 'shoot!, shoot him!!' (L heard Nikolai Nelson say as child, for ?eikxut', ?eikxut'h la'), insert from following page  
 xq'ixut' 'shoot me!' M, qa' ?eikxut' 'shoot us!' M,  
 ?isee'e-ikdeiyax' eikxut'h 'shoot him before he kills you!' M, qe' eikxut'h 'shoot him again!' M, qa'

insert on preceding page at ~

Reza-  
nov Ияльхотъ 'Цялься zielen (Imperat.)' ?iya?  
?əixut' 'go on shoot (it)!', Оуцахальхотъ 'Цялтъ  
zielen' ?awca-ɣ ?əixut' 'shoot directly at it!'

qe? 'əixut' 'shoot us again!' M, Rezanov xpo-  
xaymaxyra 'He crпaaxъ schiesse nicht!' ya?xu-  
qu?yixut' 'don't shoot (it)', ya?xu- xugu?yix-  
ut' 'don't shoot me' L, ya?xu- 'iya·x' xuga?i-  
xut'ih 'don't let him shoot me (with your permis-  
sion)' L, xuseixut'ih 'he shot me' LM, siixut'i-  
sux 'di I hit it?' LM, dik'sux 'əxsiixut'ie 'did-  
n't I hit it?' LM, 'əixe·t'ih 'he (cust) shoots  
it' L, 'əwa· ku·ixu·t' 'he (cust) shoots some'  
64.18G, 'usuhd siixut'ih 'I shot his knee' M,  
'usuhda·d siixut'ih 'I shot him at his knee' M,  
'usa? siixut'ih 'I shot him in the mouth' M, 'u-  
se·kda·d da?d əixut'ih 'shoot him in the chest!'  
L, sideya·na?qd xuseixut'ih 'he shot me in the  
back' L, with anatomical marks for O: qu?qi·di·xi-  
xut'ih 'I'll shoot him in the foot' M, qi·disi-  
xut'ih 'I shot him in the foot' M, qu?li·xixut'ih  
I'll shoot him in the head' M, lisiixut'ih 'I shot  
him in the head' M, leəixut' 'shoot him in the  
head!' L, qu?yi·xixut'ih 'I'll shoot him in the  
hand' L, yisiixut'ih 'I shot him in the hand' M,  
yetəixut' 'shoot him in the hand!' L, gedəəixut'  
'shoot him in the rump!' L; with indeterminate O:  
'isiixut'ie 'I shot (a gun, at indeterminate O)' M,  
'udeya·na?q 'icəixut'ih 'shoot him in the back!,  
shoot at his back!' L, 'udeya·na?q 'iqe?xixut'

know how to shoot' ('I know (how) one shoots about')  
 L, *yex* *Ku<sup>?</sup>ixut<sup>?</sup>ʒs* *ʔu<sup>?</sup>li-igah* 'do you know how to  
 shoot?' L; repetitive: *ʔexut<sup>?</sup>g* 'shoot!' M, <sup>detransitivized</sup> with  
 indeterminate O: *ʔixixut<sup>?</sup>g* 'I'm shooting (at nothing  
 in particular)' L, *Ku<sup>?</sup>ixut<sup>?</sup>g* 'someone is shooting'  
 L, *Ku<sup>?</sup>qe<sup>?</sup>ixut<sup>?</sup>g* 'there'll be shooting' L, with  
*yex*-progressive: *yex* *ʔi<sup>?</sup>-ixut<sup>?</sup>g* 'go around shoot-  
 ing!' M; reflexive: *ʔedaxut<sup>?</sup>ʒih* 'he shot himself'  
 61.116, 119A; passive: 61.37A, *xuxixut<sup>?</sup>i*, *xuxi-  
 xut<sup>?</sup>i* 'I got shot' L, *ʔida* *Kudexut<sup>?</sup>* *ʔu<sup>?</sup>lixigah*  
 'I know how to shoot' ('I know how something is  
 shot') M, *ʔiqe<sup>?</sup>dexut<sup>?</sup>* (not *ʔiqe<sup>?</sup>ʒe-*) 'you'll get  
 shot' L, repetitive: 62.30fnG.

2. 'S shoots, fires O (gun)': cautionary nega-  
 tive inceptive imperative: *ʔew* *xut<sup>?</sup>i* *ʔesexut<sup>?</sup>ʒih*  
 'don't let him shoot that gun!' L.

*O-ʔ-i-xut<sup>?</sup>* 'S shoots at O, tries to shoot O, takes pot-  
 shot at O': *xu<sup>?</sup>sexut<sup>?</sup>ʒih* 'he shot at me' L (M re-  
 jects); passive: *xu<sup>?</sup>sixut<sup>?</sup>i*, *xu<sup>?</sup>edixut<sup>?</sup>i* 'someone  
 took a potshot at me' ('I've been taken a potshot  
 at') L.

*xut<sup>?</sup>i* (noun, unclassified, with *-i*-instrumental)' 1.  
 'gun, rifle' LMAO, 37b.40, 40A, 52.9L, 64.15, 17G,  
*xut<sup>?</sup>i lah<sup>?</sup> sli<sup>?</sup>ahet* 'gun went off' ('gun exploded  
 forward') 61.41A, *Rezanov xorza* 'Pyxæ Flinte',  
 Old Man Dude *ʒ<sup>?</sup>ut<sup>?</sup>i* 'shotgun or rifle' BSdL 548,

'I'll shoot him in the back' L, sideya·na?qd ?i-  
 saixut?ih 'he shot me in the back' L, ?awca·q  
 ?isaxut? 'he shot right at it, got a direct hit'  
 IM, ?awya·? ?isaxut? 'I missed it (shot wide of  
 it)' A, ?awya·? ?isaxut? 'he missed it' L, ?i-  
 lo?e·? da·? ?uxa·? ?isaxut? 'they (flying ducks  
 were "stepping on your head" and you missed' (Billy  
 Dude said to L) L, with vocalic classifier (appar-  
 ently optional): ya?xu· (?iya·N) ?iqe?hexut?ih  
 'don't let him shoot (with your permission)' L,  
 ?uxa·? ?ixaxut? 'I missed it' M, si?a·? ?iqe?  
 hexut? 'you'll miss me' M, si?a·? ?isaxut? 'you  
 missed me' M, vocalic classifier obligatory with o-  
 toward, at o': ya?xu· si? ?iqe?hexut? 'don't  
 shoot at me' L, ?axut?ih di·ye? ?i? ?isaxut?he-  
 dawa· 'shoot him before he shoots at you' L, si?  
 ?isaxut?ih 'he shot at me' IM, di? si? ?isax-  
 ut?e?ih 'he didn't shoot at me' L, si? ku?hexut?  
 'someone's shooting at me' L, with ye?-progressive:  
 ye? ?ilaxut?ih 'he's going around shooting' M, ?el  
 ?u? ye? ?ixaxut? 'this with which (having which  
 along) I shoot' 37b.63A, ye? ?ixaxut? 'I'm going  
 around shooting' M, 'I'm shooting around (at nothing  
 in particular)' L, ye? ?iqe?hexut? 'I'll go around  
 shooting' M, ?e·ye? ?iqe?hexut?ih 'he'll go around  
 shooting again' M, ye? ku?hexut? ?u?lixilgah 'I

xutʰiʃ siʃsiyuhʰinu· 'I killed them with a gun'  
 L, xutʰiʃ ʔadʰiʃiʃiʰi 'he killed himself with a  
 gun' L, ʔaw xutʰi qid siʃ sɛxəhd 'hand me  
 (lengthwise) that gun down (off the wall)!' L,  
 xutʰiʃ siʃaʔ Ku·ʰiyahʰiʃh 'he's bothering me with  
 a gun' L, Rezanov хоткларгера 'Ружна Kanone'  
 xutʰiʔaʔlaw..., xutʰiʔaʔluw LM, Kuʔluw xutʰi  
 'big gun' M, Rezanov хотклекуху 'Искрометъ Pis-  
 tol' xutʰiyequhyu· 'pistols', xutʰiyequh 're-  
 volver' ('young of rifle') L, Rezanov хотклек-аца  
 'Пуля Flinten-Kugel', хотклекца 'Заряд Flinten--  
 Ladung' xutʰiyeqʰesa· 'musket-ball' ('stone inside  
 rifle'), Rezanov хотклекчжжжж 'Порохъ (Flinten)  
 Pulver' xutʰiyeqʰeʃi·ʃg 'gunpowder' ('powder inside  
 gun') L, Rezanov хотклекалдеа 'Изма Flinten--  
 Propfen' xutʰiyeqʰ liʔ di·ʔah 'ramrod' ('it (d--  
 class) extends deeply into inside of gun'), xutʰi-  
 yeqʰd ʔux deku·d 'cleaning-rod (for rifle)' ('by  
 means of it the inside of a gun is wiped') L, Reza-  
 nov хотклекахакама 'Кремень Flinten-Stein' xutʰi...  
 ʔawa· 'gun... of it' (-кахака - not identified);  
 ʔiʃaʔʃ ʔidiʔah xutʰi 'double-barrelled shotgun'  
 ('they (guns, i.e. barrels) extend by each other') L.

2. 'trigger': ʔaw xutʰi liʔ ʔuʔseʃuʔgʰi 'he  
 pulled the trigger' ('he depressed the trigger back  
 (away from front)') 61.10ʔA.

ʔuwa·iʒ ʔuqaʔxutʔi (noun, unclassified) 'sight at  
 end of gun' L, 'target; columbine (Aquilegia)'  
 ("because columbine is used for target-practice")  
 M. Deverbalization with -i-instrumental of pas-  
 sive inceptive imperfective 'according (by close  
 attention) to it something will be shot'.  
 yeʒ ʔixe·tʔi (gerundive, with expanded stem, inde-  
 terminate O, yeʒ-progressive) 'shooting (about)';  
 yeʒ ʔixe·tʔiʒ quʔxʔah 'I'll go shooting' L  
 (should perhaps be yeʒ ʔixe·tʔi).  
 yeʒ ʔixutʔ (gerundive, with yeʒ-progressive, per-  
 haps indeterminate O) 'shooting (about)': yeʒ  
 ʔixutʔ sid ʔeideʔg 'teach me how to shoot!' L.  
 yeʒ ʔixutʔʒ (gerundive, with yeʒ-progressive, inde-  
 terminate O) 'shooting (about)': yeʒ ʔixutʔʒ ʔi-  
 qeʔdi·leh 'there'll be shooting' L.  
 yʔ·ʔ dl-xutʔ (with dl-thematic, yʔ·ʔ 'down') 'S  
 topples, falls over': yʔhd yʔ·ʔ ʔa·sexutʔi  
 'house (d-class) toppled over' L.  
 gdl-xutʔ (with dl-thematic and gd-anatomical 'rump'  
 thematized or g-class-mark (e.g. 'roots') themat-  
 ized): with qaʔ 'up out': qaʔ guʔa·sexutʔi  
 'it (tree, d-class) fell over (roots coming out)'  
 L. Transitive (causative), reflexive, repetitive:  
 (ʔita·ʒ qaʔ·ʔ ʔedgəʔa·xiexutʔg 'I'm doing somer-  
 saults (with, over you)' L, with yeʒ-progressive:

yeʒ ʔedseʎa·lexutʒ 'he's somersaulting (about)'  
L (thus transcribed, -ee- probably in error for  
-ge-).

qʌ·ʕ ʔedgeʎa·lexutʒ (noun, unclassified) 'black  
bass' ('it somersaults, flips self over') L  
(probably a rockfish (Sebastodes)).

ʔed-edl-ke-xuʕ-g (reflexive causative repetitive,  
with edl-thematic) 'S rocks back and forth, see-  
saws'; da· ʔedseʎa·lixutʒ 'let's seesaw' L;  
ʔedseʎa·lexutʒ M (-ʒ probably in error for -g),  
ʔedseʎa·lexutʒ 'seesaw' ('it rocks back and forth')  
LM.

yeʒ ʔedseʎa·lexutʒ (noun, unclassified) 'black cod,  
blue cod, <sup>blue</sup> cundfish (Anoplopoma fimbria)' ('it  
rocks around', "flips self over") LM (perhaps mis-  
transcribed for yeʒ ʔedge-).

yeʒ ʔedseʎa·lexutʒ ʔuʒ ʔiedaʔi (noun, unclassi-  
fied) 'rocking-chair' M.

O-lʒ-i-xuʕ-g (with -g-repetitive and lʒ-class-mark  
for O 'loose roe' thematized, ~~perhaps causative~~ <sup>or</sup>  
~~unattested lʒ-xuʕ~~ 'loose roe squirts, spurts')  
'S squeezes roe out of O (ripe salmon)': ʔaleʒex-  
ixutʒ 'I'm squeezing roe out of something (salmon)'  
L, L.

leʒeixutʒi (noun, probably lʒ-class, -i-suffix per-  
haps in error) 'roe of ripe salmon squeezed out'

("squeeze and it squirts out", a delicacy) M.  
Nominalized active imperfective of preceding.  
ʔe-xut'-g (with -g-repetitive thematized) 'S's  
skin becomes puckered, shrivelled and white from e.g.  
long immersion in water', attested only with  
anatomical marks: qi·dixšixut'gʔ 'my feet got  
white and shrivelled (from being sweaty and in  
boots all day)' L, yixšixut'gʔ 'the skin of  
my hands got white and shrivelled, wrinkled  
(from being in water a long time)' L.

ʔq·daʔxut'g personal name, Minnie Stevens (same  
person as gu·gab) A, ʔq·daʔxut'gma· Minnie  
Stevens's mother A, a<sup>n</sup>taxvt'qma BSDL Genealogical  
Table (name of three women); ʔq·dexut' Marie  
Smith (?) LM, ʔq·dexut'ma· Minnie Stevens M.  
Form uncertain, A's apparently agreeing with that  
in BSDL, ʔq·daʔ 'hi<sup>h</sup>er', ʔq·d 'here', stem  
with -g-repetitive. Informants unable to analyze.  
Cf. also ʔq·daxšiya·.

x<sup>w</sup>eʔt-xeʔt-xaʔt (x<sup>w</sup>eʔt L, xeʔt LM, xaʔt M only, not verified; perhaps related to xut)

Ku-i-x<sup>w</sup>eʔt--xeʔt (with thematized Ku-indefinite O)  
'S grimaces': Kuseixeʔtʃih M (first rejected by L, later approved), Kuseix<sup>w</sup>eʔtʃih 'he's grimacing' L (inceptive imperfectives, literal meaning translatable as 'he's starting to x<sup>w</sup>eʔt something', as part of a process leading to some state).

Ku-l-i-x<sup>w</sup>eʔt--xeʔt (as above, with l-thematic) 'S grimaces, pouts (especially a child, contorting the face and projecting the lower lip, about to start crying or trying not to cry)': Kuleseixeʔt LM, Kuleseix<sup>w</sup>eʔtʃih 'he's grimacing, pouting (about to cry)' L, Kuquʔli·ixeʔtʃih 'he'll grimace, pout (before crying)' LM, yaʔxu Kuquʔli·ix<sup>w</sup>eʔt 'don't pout' L, Kuliʔixeʔt 'grimace!, pout!' LM, with yeʔ-progressive: yeʔ Ku·ixeʔtʃih 'he's pouting around, sulking' L, yaʔxu yeʔ Kuquʔli·ix<sup>w</sup>eʔt 'don't pout (around)' L.

ʔed-l-ke-xaʔt (reflexive; M, once only, not verified, stem perhaps in error for xeʔt) 'S sulks': with yeʔ-progressive: ʔedleʔaxaʔtʃih 'he (child) is sulking (around)' M.

*bruce I p  
type  
suggestion*

xuʔx-xix-xux-xex (reduced form xix-xux-xex, also x<sup>w</sup>ix, x<sup>w</sup>ex, variants listed in order of frequency, not including occurrences in Austerlitz's notes: xix L 22 times, M 22 times, A 12 times, Minnie and/or Scar Stevens (Li) once, Rezanov xuxъ 3 times, xexъ 3 times, Wrangell xexъ once; xux L 13 times, M twice, A twice, S 4 times, Galushia Nelson (BSdL) 7 times, Old Man Dude (BSdL) once; xex L twice, G (Li) 5 times, Furuhjelm twice; x<sup>w</sup>ix A 4 times (once in Li); x<sup>w</sup>ex A once, Galushia Nelson (Reynolds ms.) once; expanded xeʔx)

0-xuʔx(-g) (with optional -g-repetitive, partly the-  
*usually referring to repeated puffs*  
 matized) 'S blows on O': xuxxuʔxix 'he blew on  
 me' L, ʔaxuʔx 'blow (on it)!' L, with d-class-  
 mark for O: diʔxuʔx 'blow on the fire!' L; usual-  
 ly with indeterminate O and preverbs, postpositional  
 phrases: with qaʔ 'up out': 10.5, 11.154, 154A,  
 qaʔ ʔisaxuʔxix 'it (e.g. whale) spouted' L, qʔʔ  
 ʔixuʔxig 'bubbles are coming up to surface where  
 school of fish is swimming' ('they (repeatedly) blow  
 up out') L, with o-yeq 'into o (not with broad  
 opening at top)': 34.101L, ʔuyeq ʔisaxuʔxix, ʔu-  
 yeq ʔisaxuʔxig M, ʔuyeq ʔiʔxuʔxig 'blow into it!' L,  
 ʔuyeq ʔiqeʔxuxuʔxig 'I'll blow into it' L, ʔew-  
 yeqʔʔ ʔixuʔxix 'he's blowing into it (pipe)' L,  
 ʔuyeq kuʔxuʔxix 'one (cust) blows into it' L, with  
 o-yaʔ 'into o (with broad opening at top)': ʔuyaʔʔ

?ixxu?xg 'I'm blowing on it (e.g. bowl of soup)'  
 L, ?uya?c ?i-xu?xg 'you're blowing on it' L,  
 ?ewya?c ?ixu?xgjh 'he's blowing on it' L, ya?-  
 zu? ?uya?c ?iqe?yixu?xg 'don't blow on it' L,  
 detransitivized with indeterminate O and vocalic  
 classifier, with o-c 'toward, at o': ?u? ?ix-  
 sdixu?xh 'I blew at it' L, si? ?idexu?xg 'it  
 (cat) is "spitting", hissing (in anger) at me' L,  
 ?i? ?iqe?dexu?xg 'it (cat) will "spit" at you' L;  
 indirect reflexive, with o-ye?e?d 'into o's hand':  
 ye?e?d ?isedexu?xh 'he's blowing on his hands  
 (to warm them)' L.

Kuxu?x (noun, unclassified) 'killerwhale, blackfish,  
 pilot whale' L (probably includes 'Pacific killer  
 whale (Orcinus orca)', Pacific blackfish (Globi-  
 cephalo scammoni)', and perhaps also 'grampus (Gram-  
 pus griseus)'), Rezanov Koxytax 'Kacarka Delphinus,  
 orca oder leucas', Galushia Nelson coxu?t? 'whale  
 or walrus' BSdL 539, coxu?t? wola?iyd 'blackfish  
 people' BSdL 282, 539 Kuxu?xwelahyu'. Nominalized  
 active perfective, apparently 'it blows on some-  
 thing'.

qe?xu?x (noun, unclassified) 'porpoise, dolphin' LSG  
 (probably includes 'longsnout dolphin (Stenella  
 styx), right whale dolphin (Lissodelphus borealis),  
 Pacific white-sided dolphin (Lagenorhynchus obliqui-

dens), Pacific harbor porpoise (*Phocoena vomerina*), Dall porpoise (*Phocoenoides dalli*'), Rezanov Keŕxyrɿɿ 'Семка морская Delphinus', Galushia Nelson qā'xuti 'porpoise' BSdL 539, Kā'xuti wu-lā'iyd 'porpoise people' BSdL 280, 539 qe'xu·ŕ-waihyu'. Nominalized active imperfective with expanded stem, indeterminate O and qa' 'up out', < qa' 'ixu·ŕ 'it spouts'.

ʔux kadexuʔŕg (noun, attested in Rezanov only) 'bellows': Rezanov Oxxorexyrɿɿ 'Maxa Blasebalg'. Nominalized active imperfective, 'by means of it one blows on something (d-class, fire)'.

deŕa'g ʔux dedexuʔŕg (noun) 'bellows' L. Nominalized passive active imperfective repetitive, 'by means of it fire is blown upon'.

daxuʔŕg (noun, attested in BSdL only) 'blowgun': Galushia Nelson ɰəxóti'k 'blowgun' BSdL 551. Nominalized passive active imperfective repetitive, apparently 'it is blown upon' (see also daxuʔŕg 'balloon' below).

ʔu(de)yeŕ(əŕ) kuʔxuʔŕg (noun) 'whistle, flute, bugle': ʔudeyeŕəŕ kuʔxuʔŕg 'bugle' L, Rezanov ʔrekaxyrɿɿɿɿ 'Духа Flöte' ʔudeyeŕ kuʔxuʔŕg (or perhaps to be read ʔudeyeŕ ʔexuʔŕg 'blow into it (flute)!'), Galushia Nelson úyóŕtə əxúti'k or úyóŕtə əxúti'k 'whistle ("into blowing")' ʔudeyeŕəŕ kuʔ-

xuʔŋg. Nominalized active imperfective repetitive with indeterminate O and ka-indefinite S, o-(d)-yaq(-ŋ) '(continuously) into o' (with optional d-thematic 'noise').

O-i-xuʔŋ 'S moves O by blowing on it': siixuʔŋi  
'I blew on it (so it moved)' L, ʔu·diKah siixuʔŋi  
'I blew it away from there' L, qid siixuʔŋi 'I  
blew it (down) off' L.

yaʔ O-ɣdl-i-xuʔŋ (with yaʔ 'consumption, de-  
struction') 'S blows O (fire, light) out': Rezanov  
Жагаламалыхуулаке Тачкаauslöschen (imperat.)  
yaʔ ʔəla·eəixuʔŋiʔh 'he's blowing it (fire) out'  
L, yaʔ ʔəla·siixuʔŋi 'I blew it (candle) out' L.

ɬe-xuʔŋ 'S becomes inflated, puffed up, swells':  
siixuʔŋi 'it's swollen up' L, eəixuʔŋi 'it's in-  
flating, it (bread) is rising' L, diK ʔəixuʔŋi  
'it (bread) isn't rising' L (ʔe- analogical).

Transitive (causative), O-i-xuʔŋ(-g) (with -g= repetitive partly thematized, referring to repeated puffs): xiixuʔŋg 'I'm inflating it (e.g. balloon)';  
passive: Galushia Nelson siixúʔix eəiəʔəc or  
stixúʔix eəiəʔəc 'bladder for harpoon ("inflated stomach")' BSDL 549 siixuʔŋi Kuaʔəc or siixuʔŋi  
Kuaʔəc 'stomach which has been inflated' (see also nominalizations below).

siixuʔŋg (noun, unclassified) 'bread; balloon' LM.

Nominalized active perfective repetitive, 'it inflated, puffed up'.

ʔp̄·s̄ixuʔx̄i (noun, unclassified) 'immature seal (not pup)' L. Nominalized active perfective with l-anatomical, 'its face puffed up'.

dexuʔx̄g (noun, unclassified) 'balloon' LM, dexuʔx̄g-ʔaʔluw 'big balloon' M. Nominalized passive active imperfective repetitive, 'it is inflated (with repeated puffs)'.

xiʔ-xuʔ-xeʔ (also x<sup>w</sup>iʔ, x<sup>w</sup>eʔ; noun) 1. (unclassified) 'snow (generic)': 18.55L, 23.119, 120, 128, 128, 135, 160A, 43.3, 5, 13, 16, 33M, 51.46, 46, 46, 47, 48A, xiʔ MAG, xuʔ 'snow' S, Rezanov x̄t̄x̄ 'C̄t̄r̄x̄ Schnee', Wrangell x̄t̄x̄ 'Schnee', Galushia Nelson x̄t̄t̄, Old Man Dude x̄t̄t̄ 'snow' BSDL 538, Furuhjelm Kaltu 'snow' probably to be read x̄t̄duh 'snow!', as S in ȳp̄·ʔ d-ʔya 'snow falls, comes down, it snows': x̄t̄ ȳp̄·ʔ d̄saʔyahwahd 'for winter (when it snows)' 63.38G, x̄t̄ ȳp̄·ʔ d̄saʔyah da·x̄ 'when it snows' 63.39G, Rezanov x̄t̄x̄ x̄n-ɖaɖaɖaɖa 'C̄t̄r̄x̄ x̄t̄x̄ es schneiet', xuʔ n̄p̄·ʔ (for ȳp̄·ʔ) d̄saʔyah̄t̄ 'it's snowing' S, xiʔʔaʔluw ȳp̄·ʔd̄ d̄saʔya·t̄ 'a big snow is falling' L, xiʔʔaʔluw 'big expanse of snow on ground' LM, Galushia Nelson x<sup>w</sup>ót̄t̄-iȳd̄ x̄t̄t̄k̄ or x̄t̄t̄ȳd̄ x̄t̄t̄k̄ 'snow shovel ("snow's shovel")' xuʔyaʔ x̄uh̄ḡ(t̄); as o of o-gaʔ 'like

o' (here 'like o in color') usually in constructions with *le* or *te'-tu'* 'S is, becomes white (like snow), snow-white': 10.229, 23.28, 26, 29, 31A, Rezanov *Хетлькоере* 'Eiszeit weiss' *xiŋg<sup>W</sup>a?* *ʔi-t'eh*, Furuhjelm *Hatlkvaite* 'white' *xəŋg<sup>W</sup>a?* *ʔi-t'eh*, *xuŋga?* *ʔi-t'eh* LS, *xiŋga?* *ʔi-t'eh* 'it's white' ('it's like snow (in color)') M, Furuhjelm *Khatl* 'green' probably to be read *xəŋ* (misunderstanding), Galushia Nelson *x<sup>W</sup>utl* or *x<sup>W</sup>utl* 'white' BSDL 553, Rezanov *Хетлькоерецуман* 'Eiszeit kuchen' *weisses Brot* 'white' *xiŋg<sup>W</sup>a?* *ʔi-t'eh* *ʒilaks* 'pudding which is white', *Хетлькоерецуман* 'Чашка Schale' *xiŋg<sup>W</sup>a?* *ʔi-t'eh* *ciŋ* 'dish which is white', *Хетлькоерецуман* 'Холстина Leinwand' *xiŋg<sup>W</sup>a?* *ʔi-t'eh* *səcəx* (or *ʔəcəx*) 'cloth which is white', *xiŋga?* *sətuʔi*, *xiŋga?* *səlii* 'it turned white' M, *xiŋga?* *səle-i* 'it's turning white' M, *xiŋga?* *ʔp-da?* *ʔəwa?* *səlii* 'he turned pale' ('his face got white') L, *xiŋga?* *da?* *səxle-i* 'I'm getting pale' ('I'm turning white in front') L, see further instances under *le*, *-te'-tu'* 5., *təh* *xiŋga?* *səteʔi* 'waves are getting whitecaps' L.

2. (lɣ-class) 'snowflake': *xiŋləxəwəx* 'big (wide) snowflakes' L, *xiŋləxəʔluw* 'lots of snow in air' M (L rejects, perhaps because of gloss only).

3. (lɣd-class) a. 'snowball' ('wet snow that

packs easily' ?): 18.56L, xiŋləxədə'x xuleŋ-  
de-xŋiŋ 'he (cust) throws snowballs at me' LM,  
xiŋləxədə'd yə'ʔ eetaʔ 'set it down by the  
snowball!' L, see also dəq.

3b. 'large mass of (heavy?) snow', in  
xiŋləxədə'qəyaʔ 'snowslide, avalanche' L (see  
ya'ʔ, see also lɔdɪ-ke-ʔəʒ).

ɪ-xiŋ--xuŋ--xoŋ .1. 'S is blown (by wind), blows,  
wafts, is airborne': giyahyaʔd yə'ʔ səixiŋiŋ  
'he wafted down into the water' 2a.6M, ya'x səi-  
xoŋi 'it (piece of paper, blown by wind) flew up'  
L, ʔu-dikah səixuŋi 'it blew away' L, with yəx--  
progressive: yəx kəixiŋiŋ 'he's being blown  
about' M, yəx kəixuŋ 'it's blowing around' LM,  
yəx ʔiŋexə'x 'it's (cust) blown around, blows  
around' LM; indirect reciprocal: ʔiŋ səiex<sup>x</sup>eŋ  
da'x 'when they (clouds) drift together (into  
contact with each other)' 60.59A. Transitive  
(causative), reflexive, 'S causes self to be blown':  
Galushia Nelson qa'x ʔədəx ʔu-č ʔədəsəx<sup>x</sup>eŋi  
'it was sailing thither with us' 59.12fn, ʔed-  
qu'kəxiŋ 'it'll sail' LM, with yəx-progressive:  
yəx ʔədəxəxəx<sup>x</sup> 'I'm sailing around' L, yəx ʔed-  
qu'xkəxiŋ 'I'll go sailing around' M, repetitive:  
ʔu-dəx ʔədəsəxəx<sup>x</sup>gi 'it's sailing by there' L.

2. With yəx-progressive, 'S twitches' (from

M only, not verified): yeʒ ʔexiŋʒih 'he's twitching' M.

de-xiŋ--xuŋ 1. 'S (snow) falls, it snows': Galushia Nelson ʔéxutʔ 'falling snow' BSdL 538, dexutʔ 'it's snowing' BSdL 555, dexuŋ L, dexiŋ 'it's snowing' M, ʒaʔd dexuŋ 'it's snowing outside' L, quʔdexiŋ 'it'll snow' M, dexexex 'it (cust) snows' M.

2. 'S (snow) slides, avalanches': ʔuʔneʒ yeʒ sedexuŋʔ 'it's avalanching down it (mountain, 1-class)' L, ʔiŋaʔnaʔd sdiŋuŋʔ 'snow slid way down the mountain' L.

xuh-x<sup>w</sup>eh-xeh (LM always xuh; A x<sup>w</sup>eh 10 times, xuh 4 times, xeh once; S xeh twice, G x<sup>w</sup>eh once, xeh once (in Harrington); expanded x<sup>w</sup>e·h LA, xe·h LM; Rezanov xersb, perhaps expanded stem)

-xuh--x<sup>w</sup>eh--xeh 'S (moving) rolls, S (stationary) revolves, turns, whirls'; xuh xuh xuh 'rolling rolling' (spoken refrain at end of beach-combing Raven's song) 72.39fnL, yeqeč o-x sex<sup>w</sup>eh 'it's rolling against the shore with o (inside)' 10.19, 19A, lec sexuh, lec sex<sup>w</sup>eh 'it's rolling against (up) the shore' 11.171, 171, 171, 172A, yq·? ?exe·hK 'it (cust) "drops dead" (rolls down)' 35.5L, lah sexuh, lah sex<sup>w</sup>eh 'they swirl around' 51.68, 68, 69A, sexuh 'it's rolling' M, xa·?d lah sexuh 'the world (the outside) is turning' L (traditional cosmological observation), ?ew xa·?d ?i·?q·? qa<sup>w</sup>xuh, qi<sup>w</sup>ya·da·x, ?i·gidig 'your turn (for misfortune) will come, sometime, (for) you too' ('the world (the outside) will turn on (coming upon) you, sometime, you too', said to one unsympathetic to the misfortunes of others) L, lu· sexuh 'it's upside-down' ('it turned over (ca. 180°)') L, lu·? ?i·xuh 'it's upside-down' (neuter perfective) LM, with class-marks for S: gulexuh 'it (water) swirls, whirlpool' L, qid lexa·xe·hK 'it (ball) (cust) rolls down off' LM, with anatomical marks: hiča·č

lexi·xui 'his eyes are turned to one side' L,  
 ya·x̄ Neqa? lexi·xui 'his eyes are rolled up  
 (upside-down)' L (neuter perfectives), yeḡ qí·  
 disixui 'my ankle turned' ('my foot turned down-  
 ward, over') L, with qe's and g(l)-mark 'ankle':  
 yeḡ qe's g̃y·sixui 'I turned my ankle' L, ya?xu·  
 qe's qu?geli·xui 'don't turn your ankle' L, with  
 yeḡ-progressive: yeḡ dax<sup>w</sup>aiḡ G, yeḡ daxuiḡ  
 'it's rolling around' M, ?uq̃ yeḡ Kusdixui 'some-  
 thing rolled around on it' M, yeḡ ?idaxe·k̃ 'it  
 (cush) rolls (about)' M, ?ikya? yeḡ loḡedexuiḡ  
 'it (ball) is rolling back and forth' L, repetitive:  
 q̃e·yeḡeḡ dedexuiḡ 'it (log) keeps rolling back' L,  
 lae xuiḡ 'it keeps rolling against the shore (in  
 the breakers)' L, silaqahyeḡd̃ siya· lah xuiḡ  
 'my head is spinning' ('the inside of my head keeps  
 spinning around', from drunkenness) M, with l̃y-ana-  
 tomical: 8.13A, ya·x̄ Neqq·eḡ loḡexxuiḡ 'my eyes  
 keep rolling up (upside-down) (from e.g. extreme  
 sleepiness)' L. Transitive (causative): xuiḡxui  
 'I'm rolling it' M, qu?x̄xui 'I'll roll it, I'll  
 turn it (over)' L, yeḡ qu?x̄xui, lu· qu?x̄xui  
 'I'll turn it over, I'll turn it inside-out' L,  
 Rezanov Якатъхетъ 'Поверни drehen, wenden (Im-  
 perat.)' yeḡ saix...i 'turn it over!' (perhaps  
 with expanded stem), Якатъхетъ 'Повернуть drehen,

wenden' ...əix...i (prefixes not identified),  
 ?awč ?əixuə 'screw it in!' ('twirl it toward it!')  
 L, with class-marks for O: yaʔx desəix<sup>w</sup>əh 'turn  
 it (wick, i.e. lamp) up!' A, yaʔč yəx desəix<sup>w</sup>əh  
 'turn it (wick, i.e. lamp) (further) down!' A, sič  
 ləxiʔixuə 'roll it (ball) to me!' L, repetitive:  
 qid ?ew ləxədəixuəgih 'she keeps rolling them  
 (snowballs) down' 18.56L; reciprocal: ?ihuʔ yaʔ  
 səlxəixuə 'pl. wrestle!' ('roll each other down!')  
 L; reflexive: 6.13, 16.19M, 23.157, 159A, with yaʔ--  
 progressive: caʔliʔnaʔq yəx ?ədəlex<sup>w</sup>e-ik 'it  
 (cust) rolls (itself) around on a skerry' 35.3L,  
 with l-anatomical: yəx ?ədləxəixuəg 'I'm shaking  
 my head' ('I'm turning, rolling my head about') M;  
 passive: luʔ ?ədəx<sup>w</sup>e-ik, yəx ?ədəx<sup>w</sup>e-ik 'it's  
 (cust) turned over' 65.3, 4, 10A, see also nominal-  
 izations below.

- laʔsəxuə (noun, dl-class) 'wheel' L, laʔsəxəh  
 'grindstone' S. Nominalized inceptive perfective  
 with dl-class-mark for S, perhaps originally 'stone'.  
 ?uq kuxəlaʔxuə (noun) 'railroad track' L. Nominalized  
 active imperfective, 'on them something pl. wheeled  
 rolls'.  
 ?ux qəʔč kuxuəg (noun) 'corkscrew' L. Nominalized  
 active imperfective repetitive, 'by means of it one  
 (repeatedly) turns, screws it up out' (lacking k--

classifier, or perhaps passive, 'by means of it something is screwed up out', lacking de-classifier, or perhaps deverbalization of either, lacking -i-instrumental).

yeḡ dex<sup>w</sup>əlx̄ G, yeḡ daxəlx̄ S, yeḡ dexuix̄ (noun, unclassified) 'barrel, keg, cask' LM (nominalized active imperfective with yeḡ-progressive, 'it rolls around', or perhaps passive, 'it's rolled around'), yeḡ dexuix̄luw 'big barrel' M; yeḡ dexuix̄ qi? ya-nu? ʔiditah̄ 'well' ('place where a keg is submerged') L; Harrington yaḡtax̄x̄ix̄ 'wheel of salmon trap' G yeḡ dexəlx̄.

Magedəḡ dexuiḡ (noun) 'outboard motor, "kicker"' L. Nominalized active imperfective repetitive, either with d-class-mark for S or passive, 'it (d-class?) turns (is turned?) (repeatedly) against the back end of something'.

kud̄i-dʔeʔḡ li? dexuiḡ (noun) 'bolt, nut (for screw)' L. Nominalized passive active imperfective repetitive, 'it's (repeatedly) turned deeply into the place for screw'.

giyah qi? ʔəhd̄ dexuiḡ (noun) 'water-faucet' L. Nominalization as above, 'place where water is (repeatedly) turned open'.

lə-xuḡ 'S (animate) turns (voluntarily)': 3.7M, lu-xsiixuḡ 'I turned around' M, sič̄ lu- səixuḡ

'turn over toward me (to face me, in bed)!' L,  
siqesd lu' selexuḥ 'turn over away from me  
(facing away from me, in bed)!' L, with l-ana-  
tomical, repetitive: ləlexuḡih 'he's shaking  
his head (in gesture of negation)' L.  
O-ʔ-xuḥ, '(part of) S (e.g. motor) rolls, turns  
over (part way)' (identity of O vague): ʔuʔse-  
xuḥ 'it (motor) "turned over" (once, but didn't  
start)' L.  
yeḡ O-ʔ-dl-xuḥ, (with dl-thematic, and yeḡ 'down,  
over') 'S capsizes' (identity of O vague): yeḡ  
ʔuʔla'sexuḥ 'it (canoe) capsized' L.

*sample xah̥, -f. xah̥.g.*

xah̥ (x<sup>w</sup>ah̥ attested from A only, unknown to S)

ʔed-da-xah̥ (attested in reflexive only) 'S takes  
 steambath, sweatbath': ʔedxdexah̥ 'I'm taking a  
 sweatbath' L, ʔedxsedixah̥ 'I took a sweatbath'  
 L, ʔededexah̥ 'take a sweatbath!' L, ʔedquʔxde-  
 x<sup>w</sup>ah̥ A, ʔedquʔdexah̥ 'I'll take a sweatbath'  
 LMA, ʔeddexa-iM̥iB 'he (cust) takes a sweatbath'  
 LM.

qiʔ ʔedkudexah̥ (noun, apparently unclassified)  
 'sweathouse' ('place where one takes a sweatbath')  
 LM, 53.7L. Sweathouses are discussed in BSdL 44.

xiʔc<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with xiʔc<sup>2</sup>)

selexiʔc<sup>1</sup> (noun) '(some kind of) hill' L, selexiʔc<sup>1</sup>  
yihēh place-name?, location not remembered ('it's  
a hill') L, Nominalized inceptive perfective of  
otherwise unattested theme *is-xiʔc<sup>1</sup>*, of unknown  
meaning.

xiʔe<sup>2</sup> (x<sup>w</sup>iʔe only in BSdL, where labialization may be due to influence of prefix, also once from L; perhaps to be identified with xiʔe<sup>1</sup>; perhaps loan from Tlingit -xiʔ 'shin')

-xiʔ<sup>2</sup> (noun, d-class) 'shin': Galushia Nelson Kŭ=x<sup>w</sup>iʔts or ɛɔx<sup>w</sup>iʔts 'lower leg' BSdL 542 Kuxiʔe 'shin' LMASG, Harrington s<sub>2</sub>i<sub>2</sub>x<sub>2</sub>iʔts G sixiʔe 'my shin' A, ʔixiʔe 'your shin' S, h<sup>2</sup>uxiʔ<sup>2</sup>law 'og shin' L.M. ~ xiʔeɔeʔaʔw (noun, unclassified) 'long-legged snipe' (uncertain), 'deer' L (epithet, 'long-shins').

xiʔd-xid (x<sup>w</sup>id from G in Li text only, where labialization may be due to influence of prefix; M also xuʔd, probably in error; reduced form xid usually in noun, xiʔd usually in verb)

sexid (noun, unclassified, with s-thematic) 'drum' L (4 times), A, sexiʔd G, also Kuxiʔd L, dexid, Kuxuʔd M, xiʔd S (all early transcriptions), ?ew sex<sup>w</sup>id<sup>ig</sup> k̄aʔ<sup>w</sup>ginu 'they're beating the drum' 57.196 (transcribed q̄ox<sup>w</sup>id̄s, with i written over e and ts over t̄c), daxiʔd<sup>luw</sup> LM (early transcription), Kuʔ<sup>luw</sup> sexid 'big drum' L, sexid sah<sup>g</sup>ḡih 'he's beating a drum' L; sexid seta<sup>h</sup>ih 'drummer' ('he's carrying a drum') L.

(O)-xiʔd 'S beats O (drum)' or perhaps intransitive 'S drums': ?exiʔd 'beat the drum!' LMS, Kuxuʔd<sup>ih</sup> 'he's drumming (something)' M, ?ew dexid<sup>g</sup>ih 'he's beating a drum' M (early transcriptions, latter repetitive, with perhaps d-thematic 'noise').

da<sup>x</sup> ?i<sup>h</sup>lexiʔd(g) (noun, unclassified) 'woodpecker' L (theme o-x̄ l-h-xiʔd(-g) 'S drums with head on o', here 'it (repeatedly) drums with its head on indeterminate o'), da<sup>x</sup> ?i<sup>h</sup>lexiʔd ('we drum with our heads') M, ?q<sup>h</sup>daʔ ?i<sup>h</sup>lexiʔd ('it drums with its head hither') 'woodpecker' A (both latter forms clearly less likely to be correct than L's).

xihs (regularly xihs, x<sup>w</sup>ihs only once from L, also occasionally xihs in early transcriptions from LM)

O-xihs 'S rips, tears, splits O': Rezanov <sup>(-? rips from the log/saw)</sup> M...~~axk-~~  
~~axnoa~~ (with M...~~axk~~ crossed out, perhaps r between M and x) 'Paodapa zerreissen (Imperat.)'  
 ?exihs LM, ?exihs 'rip it!, tear it!' LASG, si-xihs<sup>1</sup> 'I tore it' L, with ya<sup>2</sup> 'apart': ?aw ya<sup>2</sup>  
 sexihs 'rip it apart!' L, with o-d 'apart from o': siyed sexihs<sup>1</sup> 'you ripped it (e.g. bandage) off my hand', with o-Kah 'away from o': ?awKah ?exihs  
 'rip it (e.g. bandage) off it!' L, ?u-dikah ?exihs  
 'rip it off there!' L, indirect reciprocal: 50.58, 59A, ?ikd sexihs, ?ikd sexihs 'rip it apart!' L, Rezanov M~~axk~~axnoa 'Paodapa zerreissen' ?ik-Kah ?exihs 'rip them apart!', with class-mark for O: ?ikd desexihs<sup>1</sup> 'you split it (board)' L, ?aw guxi<sup>1</sup>.sk<sup>2</sup> 'they (cust) split them (spruceroots)' 66.4L, ?aw ~~ip~~? gusexihs da<sup>2</sup> 'when they finish splitting them (spruceroots)' 66.6L, repetitive: 18.20L.

ya<sup>2</sup> O-(d-)xihs (with d-thematic optional (usual) with ya<sup>2</sup> 'completely') 'S rips O to bits, tears O up, S (brown bear) mauls O': 18.7A, 76, 34.46L, 68.102, 104A (all with d-, all of brown bear mauling), ya<sup>2</sup> qu<sup>2</sup>xxihs 'I'll rip it to pieces' L, ya<sup>2</sup> ?iqe<sup>2</sup>di<sup>2</sup>.x=xihs 'I'll rip you to bits' L, ya<sup>2</sup> sixihs<sup>1</sup>, ya<sup>2</sup> disixihs<sup>1</sup> 'I ripped it to pieces' L, ?aw ya<sup>2</sup> de-

saxihaisdewa· 'before he rips it up' L; passive:  
ya? disdixihə, ya? sdixihə 'it's all ripped  
up' L.

ya·x̣ 0-x̣-xihə (with x̣-thematic with ya·x̣ 'destruc-  
tion, consumption') 'S (systematically, deliberately)  
rips, tears 0 all to bits': ya·x̣ quʔi·xxihə 'I'll  
tear it all up, I'll rip it to shreds (and spend a long  
time doing it)' L.

0-i-xihə 'S rips, tears, splits 0 (transversely, <sup>not</sup>  
lengthwise' (frequently; to make useful product):  
ʔəixihə, ʔəixihə 'split it (into shingles)!: rip it!'  
L, ʔiid ʔəw səixihə 'they split it apart (to  
make digging-sticks)' 23.136A, da· ixi·sə 'we  
(cust) rip it' L, ya·x̣ səixihə 'rip it apart (trans-  
versely)!' L, ya? siixihə 'I split it (for  
kindling)' L, with d-class-mark for 0: <sup>1</sup>xi·ix<sup>v</sup>ihə  
'split it (wood, for shingles)!' L.

xahs-xaʔs-xaʔs-xʷaʔs (expanded form xaʔs-xʷaʔs regularly in neuter imperfective and in non-verbal forms, xahs-xaʔs in other mode-aspects, but also occasionally (analogically?) xaʔs-xʷaʔs, with xahs favored by L in active perfective, xaʔs in inceptive imperfective; expanded form L usually xaʔs, occasionally xʷaʔs, M always xaʔs, A xʷaʔs once, xaʔs once, G xʷaʔs twice, S xʷaʔs, Rezanov xʷaʔs twice, xaʔs twice)

xʷaʔs-xaʔs (noun, unclassified, of limited syntactic occurrence) 'lucky, ominous, tabu, dangerous, strange': xaʔs qeʔew 'it's a lucky one' (e.g. of strange fish, not to be eaten or hurt) L, xaʔs yileh 'it's bad luck, tabu' L; ~~aa-o-of-o-daʔ~~ 'omen of o': xaʔs-daʔ Kuseliʔ 'something strange (unprecedented and ominous) has happened' L, xaʔs-daʔ Kuleh 'something strange is happening' (one says this when one sees e.g. a fish one has never seen before) L.

xʷaʔs-seʔeʔ L, xaʔs-seʔeʔ (noun, unclassified) 'soap' ('magic grease, tabu grease') LM, Rezanov Xacoye 'Mazo Seife', Xacaxe 'Cmɣua Licht, Talglicht', xaʔs-seʔeʔtuʔ 'lots of soap' M, xaʔs-seʔeʔluw 'big hunk of soap' L.

O-ʔ-i-xaʔs 'S abstains from, avoids tabu O': ʔuʔseixaxaʔs 'avoid it!, don't break tabu (in order to stay lucky)!' L, ʔuʔsilxaxaʔs 'I avoided it, abstained from it (something tabu)' L; with ʔad reflexive

pronoun as preverb, phonologically fused with verb:  
 ?ədu?sekxa's 'don't break tabu!' L, ?ədu?sikxa'si  
 'I observed tabu' L, ?ədu?sexixa'si 'I'm observing  
 tabu' L, ?əd ku?sekxa'si 'someone, people fasted  
 (during Lent)' L; reflexive, with ?əd treated regu-  
 larly, with vocalic classifier, perhaps analogical:  
 ?ədku?kixa'si 'someone, people are fasting, abstain-  
 ing (during Lent)' (neuter perfective) M, ?ədu?xii-  
 xa's 'I'm abstaining, observing tabu' (neuter im-  
 perfective) L.

lɣ-kə-xaɦs--xa?s--xa's--x<sup>w</sup>a's (with lɣ-thematic, pho-  
 nologically irregular, realized -ləɣ- instead of  
 -ləɣs- in positive neuter imperfective (except with  
 second person pl. S), and probably optionally in ac-  
 tive perfective negative, inceptive imperfective,  
 customary; regular (-ləɣs-) in transitive with  
 k-classifier, but -ləɣ- probably optionally in  
 reflexive with kə-classifier; see also 0-?-lɣ-kə--  
 xaɦs(-etc.)) 'S is, becomes afraid, scared': neuter  
 imperfective: ləɣx<sup>w</sup>kix<sup>w</sup>a's AS, ləɣxkix<sup>w</sup>a's G,  
 ləɣxkixa's 'I'm scared' IM, diK ləɣa?xkixa'se  
 'I'm not scared' L, ləɣkixa'si 'are you scared?'  
 L, diKs ləɣa?kixa'se 'aren't you scared?' L,  
 Rezanov Јаххехоооо 'Помоѡ furchtsam' ləɣkix<sup>w</sup>a'sih,  
 ləɣkix<sup>w</sup>a's G, ləɣkixa'sih 'he's scared' L, da'  
 ləɣkixa's, da' qələɣkixa's 'we're scared' L,

qələxə·ləxə·sə 'are you pl. scared?' L, diKə  
 ləxə·ləxə·sə 'aren't you pl. scared?' L, ləxə·  
 ləxə·sinu· 18.65L, qələxə·ləxə·sinu· 'they're  
 scared' L, inceptive imperfective: qu·ləxə·ləxə·sə  
 L (once), qu·ləxə·ləxə·sə 'I'll be scared' L (4  
 times), qu·ləxə·ləxə·sə 'you'll be scared' L, qu·  
 ləxə·ləxə·səh, qu·ləxə·ləxə·səh 'he'll be scared' L,  
 da· qu·(qə)ləxə·ləxə·sə 'we'll be scared' L,  
 qu·qələxə·ləxə·sə 'you pl. will be scared' L,  
 qu·qələxə·ləxə·sə 'they'll be scared' L, inceptive  
 perfective: ləxə·ləxə·sə L (twice), ləxə·ləxə·  
 səhə 'I'm getting scared' L (4 times), ləxə·ləxə·  
 səhə 'are you getting scared?' L, ləxə·ləxə·səh  
 'he's getting scared' L, ləxə·ləxə·ləxə·səh,  
 qələxə·ləxə·ləxə·səh 'are you pl. getting scared?'  
 L, active perfective: ləxə·ləxə·sə 'I get scared'  
 L (6 times), diKə ləxə·ləxə·səhə, diKə ləxə·ləxə·səhə  
 'I didn't get scared' L, ləxə·ləxə·səhə 'did you get  
 scared?' M, diKə ləxə·ləxə·səhə 'didn't you get  
 scared?' M, ləxə·ləxə·sinu·, ləxə·ləxə·səhə 'they  
 got scared' 19.19, 34.106, 106L, active optative:  
 də·u·də ləxə·ləxə·sə 'it's alright if you're scared'  
 L, də·u·də ləxə·ləxə·sə 'it's alright if you pl.  
 are scared' L, active conditional: ləxə·ləxə·səhə  
 də·xə 'just as I was starting to get scared' L,  
 customary: ləxə·ləxə·səhə 'he's (cust) scared' L,

dik' leʔlexa·skʔijh 'he's (cust) not scared' L,  
 active perfective repetitive: leʔxskʔixa·sgʔ 'I  
 got scared' L, leʔskʔixa·sgʔ 'you got scared' L,  
 leʔskʔixa·sgʔijh 'he got scared' L. Transitive  
 (causative): xuleʔesi·kʔxahskʔ 'you're scaring me'  
 L, xuleʔesekʔxahskʔ 'you scared me' L, xuleʔesekʔ-  
 xahskʔijh (or -xaʔs-, but not -xa·s-) 'he  
 scared me' L, leʔesekʔxahskʔijh (or -xaʔs-) 'scare  
 him!' L, usually repetitive, 'S threatens O, tries  
 to scare O, S scares O': ʔiqeʔleʔi·xixahag 'I'll  
 try to scare you, I'll threaten you' L, yaʔxu·  
 xuquʔleʔi·kʔxaʔag 'don't threaten me' L, repetitive  
 thematized: leʔexkʔixa·sgijh 'I'm scaring him' M,  
 ʔileʔex<sup>x</sup>kʔixa·sg M, ʔileʔexkʔixa·sg 'I'm threatening  
 you, I'm scaring you' LM, xuleʔi·xixahag 'you're  
 scaring me' M, ʔileʔesikʔixa·sgʔ 'I scared you' L,  
 xuleʔesi·kʔixa·sgʔ 'you're starting to scare me' M,  
 quʔleʔi·xixahagijh 'I'll scare him' M, ʔiqeʔleʔi·  
 kʔixa·sg 'I'll scare you' L; with ʔed reflexive  
 pronoun used preverbally, 'S scares O' (meaning  
 not clearly distinguished from that of causative  
 without preverbal ʔed): ʔed xuleʔesekʔxahskʔijh  
 (or -xaʔs-, but not -xa·s-) 'he scared me' (same  
 as xuleʔesekʔxahskʔijh) L, ʔeds ʔileʔesikʔxahskʔ 'did  
 I scare you?' L, ʔed quʔleʔi·xixahag 'I'll scare  
 it' L, repetitive: ʔed xuleʔekʔxahsgijh (not -xaʔs-)

'he keeps scaring me' L, with repetitive thematized:  
 ?əd ləʒa·ixahəgɪh 'scare him!' L, ?əd ləʒex<sup>W</sup>ɪ=  
 xa·sgɪh 'I'm scaring him' M, ?əd ?iqe?ləʒi·xɪ=  
 xa·sg 'I'll scare you' M, ?əd qe? ləʒi·xixə·sgɪh  
 'I'll scare him again' M; (direct) reflexive, with  
 repetitive thematized: ?ədleʒxɪxə·sgɪ 'I scared  
 myself' L, ?ədleʒxɪxə·sg 'I'm scaring myself' L,  
 ?ədqu?ləʒexɪxə·sg 'I'll scare myself' L.

O-?-lɪ-ko-xahə--xaʔs--xaʔs--x<sup>W</sup>aʔs 'S is, becomes  
 scared, afraid of O': neuter imperfective: 28.16A,  
 ?əh ?u?ləʒxɪxəʔs 'I'm afraid of him' L, ?u?ləʒ=  
 xɪxəʔs 'I'm scared of it, I'm afraid to' L, 71.14IM,  
 diK ?u·ləʒaʔxɪxəʔs 'I'm not afraid of it' L,  
 diK ?u?qələʒaʔxɪxəʔsɪnuʔ, diK ?u·qələʒaʔxɪ=  
 xaʔsɪnuʔ 'I'm not afraid of them' L, ?i?ləʒxɪ=  
 xaʔs 'I'm afraid of you' L, ?u?qələʒxɪxəʔsɪnuʔəh  
 'are you afraid of them?' L, xu?ləʒxɪxəʔsɪh 'he's  
 afraid of me' L, ?i?ləʒxɪxəʔsɪh, ?əh ?i?ləʒxɪxəʔs  
 'he's afraid of you' L, ?i?ləʒxɪxəʔs, ?ew ?i?ləʒ=  
 xɪxəʔs 'it's afraid of you' L, ləʒi?ləʒxɪxəʔsɪh  
 'he's afraid of you pl.' L, qaʔ ?u?ləʒxɪxəʔsɪh  
 'he's afraid of us' L, ku?ləʒxɪxəʔs 'he's afraid  
 of something' L, other mode-aspects: ?u?qu?ləʒexɪ=  
 xaʔs 'I'll get scared of him' L, diK ?u?qu?ləʒex=  
 ɪxəʔs 'I won't be scared of him' L, xu?qu?ləʒe=  
 ɪxəʔs 'she'll be scared of me' L (twice), ?i?ə

ləxsaɪxahsɪ 'I got scared of you' L (3 times),  
xuʔləxəseɪxəʔsɪh (or -xahs-, but -xaʔs- per-  
haps preferred) 'he's getting scared of me' L.  
ləxisʰaːs (gerundive) 'fear, danger': Rezanov  
Язымаюхоча 'He бою fürchte nicht!' yaʔjuː  
ləxisʰaːs 'let there not be fear, don't fear',  
with -dah adverbializer: ləxisʰaːsdah ʔidaʔ-  
dəxah 'a scary story is being told' L.

x<sup>w</sup>eʒ-xuʒ-xeč-xuč (x<sup>w</sup>eʒ A, xuʒ LA, xeč S, xuč L;  
perhaps two different stems, x<sup>w</sup>eʒ-xuʒ and xeč-xuč;  
perhaps reduced form of x<sup>w</sup>aʔč-xaʔč; perhaps also  
influenced in part by Tlingit -x<sup>w</sup>ač 'to hang (tr.)')

O-x<sup>w</sup>eʒ 'S hangs O up (e.g. clothes on line)' (from  
A only, unknown to L): six<sup>w</sup>eʒt 'I hung stuff up'  
(same as siʔwiʔgɬ) A, quʔxx<sup>w</sup>eʒ 'I'll hang it  
up' (same as ʔiɬtəʔd quʔli·xʔah) A (elicited  
as explanation of following personal name, perhaps  
influenced by Tlingit -x<sup>w</sup>ač 'to hang (tr.)').

ʔix<sup>w</sup>eʒ A, ʔixuʒ A (later also L), ʔixeč S,  
ʔixuč L (3 times, later ʔixuʒ) woman's name,  
Evaline Dade, Mrs. Shepherd (mother of Mike Shepherd)  
LSA, BSDL Genealogical Table ixučc. The etymology  
of this name is explained by A by the preceding,  
of which it would be the active imperfective with  
indeterminate O, 'she hangs up stuff'.

x<sup>w</sup>aʔɕ-xaʔɕ (labialization pattern unusual; Rezanov x<sup>w</sup>aʔɕ (at least 3 times), but S, who almost always agrees with Rezanov xaʔɕ twice, x<sup>w</sup>aʔɕ once, L and M more often xaʔɕ, but frequently also x<sup>w</sup>aʔɕ, A xaʔɕ once, x<sup>w</sup>aʔɕ once; perhaps related to x<sup>w</sup>əɕ-xuɕ-xaɕ-xuɕ)

o-x<sup>w</sup>aʔɕ--xaʔɕ 'S ties O (knot, cord, O to something), S knots O': ʔexaʔɕ 'tie a knot!' L, ʔex<sup>w</sup>aʔɕ 'tie it!' LB, xxaʔɕ 'I'm tying a knot' M, quʔxxaʔɕ 'I'll tie a knot' L, sixaʔɕɪ 'I tied a knot' L, kuɕixaʔɕɪ 'I tied something' L, da· xa·ɕK 'we (cust) tie a knot' L, (indirect reciprocal) with ʔiɕuʔ (liʔ) qaʔ 'up out (deeply) through each other': ʔiɕuʔ liʔ qaʔ saxaʔɕ 'tie them together (through each other)!' L, Rezanov КТЛѦКАОКХАУШ (o uncertain) 'Yaesh Knoten' ʔiɕuʔ qaʔ (ʔew?) sixaʔɕɪ 'I knotted them together', with o-ɕ 'on o': kuɕehɪ ʔuɕ saxaʔɕ 'tie a string on (around) it' L, da·ɕ sax<sup>w</sup>aʔɕ 'tie it up (to indeterminate o)!' L, da·ɕ quʔxx<sup>w</sup>aʔɕ 'I'll tie it up' L, with class-mark for O: qi·li·x<sup>w</sup>aʔɕ 'knot it (rope)!' L, qi·le·saxaʔɕ 'tie it (rope)!' S, da·ɕ qi·le·saxaʔɕ 'the it (rope, onto something)!' L, ʔew se·ɕ da·kɪhɕ gu·xaʔɕ 'tie that spruceroot on a stick!' L, ʔucɪʔdaʔd ne·ʔ ʔawa· gu·xaʔɕ 'first knot the end of it (thread)!' L, repetitive: da·ɕ ʔew x<sup>w</sup>aʔɕgɪh 'she kept tying them (one after another)

onto things' 18.21L, xxaʔɕg 'I'm tying (trying to tie?) a knot' L; indirect reflexive: ʔi'naʔq̄ sɔ-daxaʔɕ 'tie it around (onto) your head!' L, see also nominalizations below; passive: ʔidixaʔɕɩ 'knot is tied' A, ʔawɕiʔdaʔ ʔidixaʔɕɩ 'it's tied to the end of it' L (neuter perfectives), daʔq̄ sɔdix<sup>w</sup>aʔɕɩ 'it's tied up (on something)' L, ʔiɩuʔ qaʔ sɔdixaʔɕɩ 'they're knotted together' L, with class-mark for O: guʔsɔdixaʔɕɩ 'it (string) has a knot in it' L, with l-anatomical: ʔiɩuʔ qaʔ liʔ ʔiʔsɔdixaʔɕɩgaʔ ʔedj·litʔhjh 'he looks mean' ('he makes his face look like it's tied in an overhand knot (tied deeply through each other and up out)' L.

O-d-xaʔɕ (with d-thematic, meaning apparently not clearly distinguished from that of preceding, see also nominalizations below) 'S ties O (knot, cord, O to something), S knots O': with g-class-mark for O: gedisɔdixaʔɕɩ 'I tied it (string)' M; passive: disɔdixaʔɕɩ 'knot is tied' S.

o-ɣ O-ɩ-xaʔɕ (ɩ-classifier with o-ɣ 'in contact with o) 'S fixes position of O by tying to o': ʔiɩɣ sɩɩxaʔɕɩ (not sɩxaʔɕɩ) 'I tied them together' L; passive: ʔiɩɣ sɩɩxaʔɕɩ 'they've been tied together' L (indirect reciprocals).

ʔi'naʔq̄ dex<sup>w</sup>aʔɕ (noun, unclassified) 'babushka, kerchief' L. Nominalized passive active imperfective,

indirect reflexive, 'it's tied over one's head'.  
 yadaʔq̄ dexaʔɕ̣ (noun, unclassified) 'wristwatch' L,  
 siləxəhḍ xuʔ siyaʔ yadaʔq̄ dexaʔɕ̣ səsih̄t̄ 'I  
 thought my wristwatch stopped (die )' L. As above,  
 'it's tied on one's forearm, wrist'.  
 yadaʔq̄ x<sup>w</sup>aʔɕ̣t̄ (attested only in Rezanov, probable  
 reading) 'bracelet' (?): Rezanov *Нракохочаеаь*  
 'Запунасье' (not in Radlov, 'bracelet?'). Probably  
 -i-instrumental deverbalization of preceding.  
 degaʔq̄t̄... x<sup>w</sup>aʔɕ̣t̄ (noun, correct form uncertain)  
 'neckerchief' (anything tied around neck): Rezanov  
*Тухаклхочаеаь* 'Ожерелье Hals schmuck', *Тухаклх-*  
*хуачаеаь* 'Нароткь Halstuch', degaʔq̄t̄ dex<sup>w</sup>aʔɕ̣t̄  
 L, *Kudagaʔq̄t̄ dex<sup>w</sup>aʔɕ̣t̄* 'something tied around  
 one's neck' M. Forms all problematical in lacking  
 postposition, probably e-q̄, with -degaʔq̄t̄;  
 Rezanov forms probably -i-instrumental deverbali-  
 zations as in preceding, but forms from L and M  
 are either a blend of dex<sup>w</sup>aʔɕ̣ and x<sup>w</sup>aʔɕ̣t̄ or  
 are -i-instrumental deverbalizations of passive  
 of 0-d-x<sup>w</sup>aʔɕ̣.  
 x<sup>w</sup>aʔɕ̣, xaʔɕ̣t̄ (noun, unclassified, with optional  
 -i-instrumental) 'knot' L, *Kuʔluw xaʔɕ̣t̄* 'big  
 knot' L.  
 -d-i-xaʔɕ̣(-g)-i (noun, with d-class-mark with -niʔK,  
 -niʔɕ̣ 'nose', i-classifier, optional -g-repetitive,

-i-instrumental) in ?ini·Kedeixa?Cgi 'the septum  
of your nose' L, sini·Kedeixa?Cti, sini·Cedeixa?Cti  
'the septum of my nose' L.

sedešexa?C LM, sedešex<sup>M</sup>a?C A (noun, unclassified,  
probably with d-thematic, perhaps as in 0-d-xa?C  
or perhaps 'fire, bright', and e- and s-thematic,  
cf. ešecah; L also earlier sedešexa?Cti, with  
-i-suffix, probably analogical) 'wick', sedeše-  
xa?Cti zu? ?a?ih 'make a wick!' L, sedešexa?C-  
luw 'big wick' L.

Note Tlingit Bro Kùdzi burntwood, N-S

xuʔɛ charcoal,  
xuʔɛʔ burnt stuff

xuʔɛ

xuʔɛ (noun, attested syntactically only as C)  
'rough wood': xuʔɛ səteʔɪ 'it's getting rough'  
(of wood dragged around) L.

-xuʔɛ (attested only with ku-indefinite prefix,  
perhaps as S of verb, or possessor of noun, attes-  
ted syntactically only as C, nominalized if verb)  
'something rough', or 'something is rough': ku-  
xuʔɛ di·leh 'it (board) is rough' L.

da-xuʔɛ (perhaps passive causative of preceding,  
&f-verb) 'S (especially wood) is, becomes rough  
from abrasion': sedexuʔɛɪ 'it (especially wood)  
is getting rough' L.

kuxuʔɛʔ(-ɪ) (noun, attested as C, -a ku-indefinite mod, for P,  
-ɪ suffix, perhaps nominalization - nominalization of verb  
stem) 'rough': kuxuʔɛʔɪ wuŋəʔɪ 'ku-xuʔɛʔ di·leh  
'it (board) is rough' L.

6-1

xeš (status and form uncertain, perhaps related to  
xa·š)

0-š-xeš 'S gouges O': šəixəš 'gouge it!' A (un-  
certain, perhaps šəixəš, see under xis-xihš<sup>1</sup>,  
perhaps under influence of e.g. xa·š, xihš).

xi·8

ʔi·xi·ŋg (noun, 1-class) 'red abalone, red "gum-boots" LMA (unknown to S) (eaten raw or cooked, but tough and insipid L), Kuletʔ ʔi·xi·ŋg 'lots of red abalone' M, ʔi·xi·ŋgʔa·ʔnuw L, ʔi·xi·ŋg=ʔi·ʔnuw 'big red abalone' IM, ʔi·xi·ŋg siŋ li·ʔaʔ (not -taʔ) 'give me a red abalone!' L, ʔi·xi·ŋg ʔu·d ʔi·seʔahŋ 'a red gumboot is there' L, ʔi·xi·ŋg ʔəlɪhɪh 'he's eating red abalone' L, ʔi·xi·ŋg ʔa·ne· 'eat red abalone!' L, ʔi·xi·ŋg=yaʔ qahŋ 'red abalone shell' L (no specific term remembered for 'nacre, mother-of-pearl'); i<sup>n</sup>tɪyɪk i<sup>n</sup>tɪtsəlɪ or i<sup>n</sup>tɪyɪk i<sup>n</sup>tɪtsəlɪ name of Basket Pattern 2. ("amphineura-shells") BSdL 547 (described and illustrated in BSdL 82) ʔi·xi·ŋgʔi·kəlɪh 'red abalone shell' ("sounds like it could be the name of a basket pattern") L. Nominalized active imperfective of these (0-)l-ʔ-xi·ŋg, of unknown meaning; not realized ləŋ-.

xa·š (x<sup>w</sup>a·š from G and A only, S xa·š; perhaps loan from Tlingit -xáš--xáš--xíš 'to cut up, carve')

0-xa·š 'S cuts up, carves, butchers, skins 0 (animal), S cleans, "slimes" 0 (fish)': 1b.12M, 21b.32, 28.83, 89, 37b.19, 20, 20A, 42.17L, ?exa·š 'skin it!' L, 'clean it'(fish)!' S, ?ex<sup>w</sup>a·š 'skin it!' AG, Ku·xa·š "'slime", clean (something, fish)!' M, sixa·št 'I skinned it' LS, qu?xxa·š 'I'll cut it (fish, animal) up' L, 'I'll skin it' M, customary: ?aw xa·šKinu· 'they (cust) clean them (fish)' 60.= 3A, ?udəxa·na?qđəx qəw da· x<sup>w</sup>a·šK 65.73A, ?u= dəxa·na?qđəx da· ?ex<sup>w</sup>a·šK 'we (cust) cut them (fish, open) along their back' 65.75A; passive: 37b.= 20A, qí? Kušdixa·šda·d 'at a place where something (fish) had been cleaned' 46.4M, šdixa·št (not šti-) 'it (fish) has been cleaned, it (animal) has been skinned' L, customary: dexa·šK 60.2A, 63.43G, ?ədex<sup>w</sup>a·šK 'they (fish) are (cust) cleaned' 65.2A, repetitive (-g- perhaps in error for -k- customary): qí? Kuexa·šgda·d 'at a place where something (fish) are being cleaned' 46.1M, qí? xq·? Kuxədəxa·šgda·? 'to a place where something (fish) were finishing being cleaned' 46.2M.

?ux Kúdəxa·š (noun) 'large curved carving-knife' L, Galushia Nelson 0<sup>n</sup>xqšDəxá·c or 0xqšDəxá·c 'lancet' BSDL 547. Nominalized passive active imperfective, 'by means of it something is carved'.

x<sup>w</sup>e·g-xe·g (x<sup>w</sup>e·g IMASG, Galushia Nelson, Rezanov,  
xe·g LM only)

d-~~ie~~-x<sup>w</sup>e·g--xe·g (with d-thematic 'oral, noise')

'S whistles': 22.5L, 23.60, 61A, da·~~te~~x<sup>w</sup>e·g, da-  
~~se~~x<sup>w</sup>e·g (former preferred, not di·~~te~~-) 'whis-  
tle!' L, di·~~te~~x<sup>w</sup>e·g·~~gh~~ 'he whistled (once)' L,  
da·~~te~~x<sup>w</sup>e·g 'I'm whistling' L.

de·~~te~~x<sup>w</sup>e·g, de·~~te~~x<sup>w</sup>e·g (noun, unclassified) 1. 'ground-

hog, whistler, hoary marmot (*Marmota caligata*):

de·~~te~~x<sup>w</sup>e·g LSG, 9.4A, 22.1, 2, 7, 8L, 23.2,3, 27,

28, 30, 35, 60, 61, 64, 65, 67, 70, 74, 74, 114,

138, 140, 152A, Galushia Nelson ~~de·~~te~~x<sup>w</sup>e·g·k~~ or

~~de·~~te~~x<sup>w</sup>e·g·k~~ 'ground hog' BSDL 538, 559, de·~~te~~x<sup>w</sup>e·g

'groundhog' LM, de·~~te~~x<sup>w</sup>e·g·~~kih~~ 'little groundhog'

23.83A, de·~~te~~x<sup>w</sup>e·g·~~gyu~~ 'groundhogs' 23.55, 94, 116,

139A, de·~~te~~x<sup>w</sup>e·g·~~wel~~ahyu· 'groundhog-people' 23.-

151A, de·~~te~~x<sup>w</sup>e·g·~~glu~~w 'big groundhog' LM. Nominal-

ized active imperfective, 'it whistles'.

2. de·~~te~~x<sup>w</sup>e·g 'some kind of duck' L, de·~~te~~-

x<sup>w</sup>e·g ~~sanuh~~ 'whistling duck, real black, yellow

feet and beak' (probably 'surf scoter' (*Melanitta*

~~perspicillata~~), American common scoter (*Oidemia*

~~nigra americana~~), perhaps also 'American and/or

'Barrow's goldeneye' (*Bucephala clangula americana*,

~~B. islandica~~), and/or 'goldeneye, American goldeneye' (*Mareca americana*).

O-d-i-xe·g 'S whistles at O': xudese·~~te~~x<sup>w</sup>e·g·~~gh~~ 'he

whistled at me' L; passive: xudixixe'gɬ, xu-  
disixixe'gɬ 'I got whistled at' L, xudedexe'g  
(not xudele-) 'I'm being whistled at' L.  
dex<sup>w</sup>e'g, dexe'g (gerundive) 'whistling noise' L,  
Rezanov Taxyexa 'Cmexrɔra pfeifen' dex<sup>w</sup>e'g.

русс. пар - 2, 106. 2442

x<sup>w</sup>a·g-xa·g (x<sup>w</sup>a·g AS, Rezanov, xa·g LM)

x<sup>w</sup>a·g AS, xa·g (noun, unclassified) 'steam, steam-  
iness' LM, xa·g'a'luw 'large amount of steam' LM,  
xa·g 'isekde'si 'steam is getting thick (perme-  
ating air)' M, giyah xa·g yikēh 'water is  
steamy' L; Rezanov АНТЛХУАХЪ 'ХнеѢ Reiffrost'  
'qhla·x<sup>w</sup>a·g, 'qhla·xa·g 'mist' ('ground-steam')  
L.

xa'g (xa'g IMASG, Rezanov, x<sup>w</sup>a'g A once only, S once with slight labialization)

0-xa'g-i (probably with -i-suffix thematized, as below; not freely used, attested only in active perfective) 'S works on O': sixa'gɪ 'I worked on it' L, with d-class-mark for O: ?ew yaɦd xu· disixa'gɪ 'I worked on that house' L.

de-xa'g-i (with -i-suffix thematized, treated as part of the stem) 'S works': 10.131fnA, Rezanov XOTPAKAMKA 'Hegocyra Arbeit' x<sup>w</sup>dexa'gɪ, x<sup>w</sup>de-x<sup>w</sup>a'gɪ A, xdexa'gɪ 'I'm working' M, ?edexa'gɪ 'work!' M, qu?xdexa'gɪ 'I'll work' MG, qi? ?ixisɪhɕ qu?xdexa'gɪ 'I'll work till I die' L, di?weɣ dexa'gɪdewa· qa?sɪhɪh 'he'll work till he dies' ('he'll still be working whereupon he'll die') L, du·?a·d dexa'gɪ 'for whom are you working?' M, siya· dexa'gɪɪh 'he's working for me' M, ?ewa· xdexa'gɪleɦd 'because I'm working for him' L, ?anahšakih ?ewɣe?lɪhɪh ?ewa· xde-xa'gɪ 'he likes the work I do for him' L, ?e-nahšakih ?ewɣe?lɪhɪh ?ewa· ?ixdixa'gɪ 'he wants me to work for him' L (~~active subjunctive~~, ~~probably to be supplied~~), ?anahšakihšuh ?ewɣe?lexleɦ lexə· ?ixdixa'gɪ 'do you pl. want me to work for you?' L (active optatives), xde-xa'gɪ xu?kɪlɪhɪh 'he thinks I'm working' M,

dexa'gɪ ʔiʔxɪlɛh 'I thought you were working'  
 M, kɪʃ dexa'gɪɰh (with slight labialization of  
 -x-) 'he's always working, busy' S, ɛdexa'gɪ  
 'you're working a lot (all day long)' L (inceptive  
 perfective, act as part of (long) process), with  
 o-ʔ 'with o', here 'on o' (cf. nominalization with -ɛpɪʔ the full  
 below): ʔuʔ xdexa'gɪ 'I'm working on it' IM, <sup>length of a': te'ju'ɛpɪʔ</sup>  
 Transitive (causative): 10.131fnA, didid ɕɔw <sup>ʔɪʃɪŋ, ɕɔwɛd wɔk wɔ</sup>  
 ʔahnu' ɪxa'gɪ 'he makes them work for nothing'  
 10.55A, ʔiqeʔxɪxa'gɪ 'I'll make you work' L,  
 ʔidaʔya'leʔ xu'ɪxa'gɪ 'you make me work too  
 much' L.

xa'gɪ (noun, unclassified, with thematic -ɪ-suf-  
 fix) 'work, job' S, Rezanov xaxɪʔ 'Работать  
 arbeiten', xa'gɪʔaʔluw 'big job' IM, xa'gɪya-  
 ʔaʔ saʔyahɪɰh 'he died, passed out, succumbed  
 from (over)work' L, xa'gɪ ɣaʔ səɪdahi 'he  
 stopped the work' L, Rezanov xaxɪʔ-ɛɪh 'Плота-  
 нник Arbeiter (Zimmermann)' xa'gɪɕɪyaʔ 'master  
 worker, hard worker', xaxɪʔɕɪyɛra 'Работаɪ  
 arbeiten (Imperat.)' xa'gɪɕɪyaʔlew... 'great  
 master worker'.

ʔixxa'gɪ (gerundive) 'working': ʔixxa'gɪ xuseɪ-  
 gaʔɪ 'I'm tired of working' ('working has tired  
 me' L.

ʔuʔ kɪdexa'gɪ (noun) 'tools' ('one works with

with them (along)') M (cf. o-ŋ de-xa'g-i 'S  
works on o' above; 'tools' should perhaps more  
correctly be ?ux kudaxa'g-i 'one works by  
means of them').

x<sup>w</sup>iK-xiK (x<sup>w</sup>iK LA, xiK L)

O-x<sup>w</sup>iK, O-l-xiK, O-de-x<sup>w</sup>iK (correct use of classifier probably not precisely remembered) 'S peels or flattens O (spruceroot or basket-straw) by drawing through teeth or with knife' (precise meaning not clearly remembered; see also ɣeɖ and, more general terms, xihs, ɣeɖ'), attested only with class-marks for O: guxx<sup>w</sup>iK 'I'm peeling it (spruceroot) by drawing it through my teeth' A, 'I'm splitting them (basket-roots) with a knife' L; se·d' gexixiK 'I'm splitting spruceroots' L; daʔd' da·dex<sup>w</sup>iK 'draw basket-design straws through your teeth!' A (apparently with de-classifier, or perhaps incorrectly glossed, to be interpreted O-d-x<sup>w</sup>iK: daʔd' da· dex<sup>w</sup>iK 'we're drawing basket-design straws through our teeth').

xix-x<sup>w</sup>ix (x<sup>w</sup>ix L only, A and M regularly xix; A once xihx; L never heard xux or xex; reduced form, perhaps related to x<sup>w</sup>i·x-xi·x)

-i-xix--x<sup>w</sup>ix(-i) (noun, with i-classifier, optional -i-suffix) 'white part': 1. -d-i-xix--x<sup>w</sup>ix(-i) (with d-class-mark for possessor) 'eggwhite':

Kudeix<sup>w</sup>ix L, Kudeixixi LA (same as Kudeixix L), Kudeixix (not Kudeix<sup>w</sup>ix M) 'eggwhite' LM.

2. -lɣ-i-xix-i (with lɣ-anatomical) 'white of eye': -leɣexihxi A, ʔilɣexixi 'the white of your eye' L.

lɣ-i-xix (with lɣ-anatomical) 'S has, develops cataract in eye': leɣexixi 'I have a white spot on my eye, pupil all turned white (cataract)' LM, leɣexixi 'I'm getting a cataract on my eye' L.

d-i-xix--x<sup>w</sup>ix (with d-class-mark for S) 'S (egg) matures, develops into chick': dexeix<sup>w</sup>ixi, dexexixi 'egg is turning into chick, the white is turning into feathers' L, dexexixi 'eggwhite turned into feathers' L.

d-ie-xix (as above, meaning not distinguished from that of above, no preference between i- and ie--classifiers) 'S (egg) matures, develops into chick': disixixi 'egg is developing into a chick, no more yolk, just white part left; eggwhite has turned into feathers' L (it is believed that the yolk becomes

flesh, the white feathers).

ca·ʎa·xix IM, ca·ʎa·xixɨ, ca·ʎa·x<sup>w</sup>ix, ca·ʎa·x<sup>w</sup>ixɨ

L place-name, "Grass Island, White Island" (islet near Government Rock, so called because it's bare")

IM. With dl-class-mark for ca· 'rock, skerry'.

x<sup>w</sup>i·x-xi·x (attested from L only; perhaps related to  
 xix-x<sup>w</sup>ix, expanded or full form, basic meaning 'white,  
 bare')

Kux<sup>w</sup>i·x, Kuxi·x (noun, unclassified) 'large mature  
 northern bald eagle (Haliaeetus leucocephalus alas-  
 canus)' (has white head, same bird as su·ʒgeleɛ,  
 gu·ʒgeleɛ) L. Stem -x<sup>w</sup>i·x--xi·x attested only  
 with Ku-indefinite prefix, either S or O of verb,  
 or possessor of noun.

xəx (LMS earlier occasionally xahx, probably mistranscribed in at least some cases, regularly xəx LMASG, Rezanov, Old Man Dude, x<sup>w</sup>- only once from L and A)

-xəx (not freely used, attested only in active perfective) 'S is, becomes empty' (meaning not distinguished from that of de-xəx 2. below): dəxi·sexəx̄ 'it (salmon) has already emptied (itself of eggs), spawned' L, with yaʔd 'empty': yaʔd sexəx̄ 'water went out of it' (of e.g. leaky old boat at low tide) L.

de-xəx 1. 'S (tide) ebbs': 3.14, 16, 4.15, 18M, Rezanov Karexax̄x̄ 'ʔōm̄x̄ noḡx̄ Ebbe' sedexəx̄ 'tide is going out, getting low' LM, sdix<sup>w</sup>əx̄ A, sdi-xəx̄ 'tide is low, ebbside' LMG, quʔdaxəx̄ 'tide will ebb' LM, ʔidixəx̄ 'tide is low, out' A (neuter perfective), daxe·x̄K 'tide (cust) ebbs' M, repetitive: daxəx̄g 'tide keeps ebbing' L, with yaʔd 'empty': yaʔd sdixəx̄ 'tie is low, out' AS, with ʔuʔ 'complete': Old Man Dude x̄b̄tsix̄x̄t̄ 'low tide' BSdL 537 ʔuʔ sdixəx̄ 'tide is low, out' S, with caʔ 'downhill, deep': 10.233, 244A, qidgaʔ caʔ daxe·x̄K 'low-water mark' ('as far down as it (cust) ebbs') L, 10.227A, qidgaʔ caʔ sdixəx̄t̄-da·d 'at low-water mark' ('at as far down as it has ebbed') 10.235A, with lah̄x̄ 'forward, out to sea': qidgaʔ lah̄x̄ daxe·x̄K 'low-water mark' L, with gl--

class-mark for S (clearly optional and rarely used):  
qe? gelesedaxəʔ 'tide is going back out' L. Transitive (causative): with lu' 'ca. 180° turn': ?ew lu' səixəʔ 'make the tide turn to ebb!' 3.12M.

2. 'S is, becomes empty' (frequently indistinguishable from passive of O-ʔ-xəʔ below, meaning not distinguished from that of -xəʔ): ya?d sdi-xəʔ 'it (e.g. tub) leaked empty' L, ya?d: ?idixəʔ 'it (e.g. bottle) is empty' L (neuter perfective).

3. With qa? 'up out', 'S is, becomes uncovered at low tide': ʔi?q ?el ya?yu qa? sedaxəʔ da?ʔ 'when all these things become uncovered at low tide' 10.235A (uncertain, perhaps with syntactic break: ʔi?q ?el ya?yu qa? -- sedaxəʔ da?ʔ 'all these things up out [will emerge] -- when the tide ebbs').

O-ʔ-xəʔ 'S empties O' (causative of either -xəʔ or de-xəʔ 2.): ya?d səix<sup>w</sup>ahəʔ, ya?d səixahəʔ 'empty it (bottle)!' L, ya?d qu?xixahəʔ 'I'll empty it' L, with o-yeq qa? 'up out from inside of o': ?ewyeq qa? səixəʔ 'empty them (eggs) out of it (salmon):' L; passive: sdixahəʔ 'it (bottle) is empty' ('has been emptied?') L, ya?d ?idixəʔ 'it (bottle) is empty' ('has been emptied?') L (neuter perfective).

xi·yaʔɣ (initial labialized by A only, not by LMS or in Rezanov; perhaps to be analyzed xi·yaʔ-ɣ or xi·-yaʔ-ɣ and related to xaʔ; S twice xi·yaʔɪ, but uncertain)  
 -xi·yaʔɣ (noun, unclassified) 1. 'chin, lower jaw, mandible'; Rezanov Kaxeara 'Борода Bart' qa·-xiyaʔɣ 'our, human chin', sixi·yaʔɪ S, sixi·-yaʔɣ 'my chin, jaw' LM, ʔixiyaʔɣ 'your chin' L, Kux<sup>w</sup>i·yaʔɣ A, Kuxi·yaʔɣ 'chin, jawbone' L, Kuxi·yaʔɣluw 'big chin' LM, ʔuxi·yaʔɣda·d ʔewa·liʔɣ weɣ ʔi·tʃhɪh 'his chin is dimpled' M, ɕiyux sixi·yaʔɣq yɣ·ʔ sədahɪ 'a mosquito landed on my chin' L.

2. In epithet with deleted possessive prefix, with ku-taʔ 'behind, obstructed by something':  
 Kuʔaʔ xi·yaʔɣ 'mimicker, mocker' LM, Kuʔaʔ xi·yaʔɣ ʔidaʔ ʔuʔdisɪɕa·qɪ 'my echo came back' ('the sound of mimicking reached me') L.

xpʔɪq (perhaps to be analyzed xpʔɪ-qʔ with xpʔɪ as  
o of o-qʔ 'on o'; initial not labialized by ʂ or ʃ)

xpʔɪq (adverb) 'very, very much, quite, extremely,  
violently, greatly, mightily, a lot' LMS, xpʔɪq  
ʔidixəwəhd 'so it'd greatly ebb' 3.14M, xpʔɪq  
kɪ·xɪh "'cried like hell"' 4.14M, xpʔɪq x<sup>w</sup>iKaʔd  
'I'm very sick' 47c.19L, xpʔɪq secuʔdɪh 'fell  
deep asleep' 56.25L, xpʔɪq caʔ yɪh 'it's  
quite deep' M, xpʔɪq kuxɪh 'I'm singing loudly'  
M, diK ʔu·laʔxɪga·s Ke·ʔwəɪdɪhgaʔ xpʔɪq kuɪa·K  
'I don't know why he (cust) eats so very much' M,  
xpʔɪq sig<sup>w</sup>aʔɪ 'I'm very tired' G, xpʔɪq siwutɪ  
'I vomited a lot' M, xpʔɪq sdikɪhdɪ 'lots of  
dry snow fell' L, xpʔɪq diɪ qiʔ ku·hɪh 'place  
where it's very bloody' L, xpʔɪq qiʔ ɬaʔ ku=  
sɛɪɪʔɪ 'place where it got very bushy' L, modified  
by other adverbs: ʔaʔd xpʔɪq (always in that or-  
der) 'very much' L, ʔaʔd xpʔɪq silɛɪ ʔi·ɪɪʔɪh  
'he's very much taller than I' M, ʔaʔd xpʔɪq  
caʔ yɪh 'it's extremely deep' M, ʔidehdah  
xpʔɪq ʔudahd ʔuʔla·hɛya·K 'its sound is (cust)  
heard quite loudly' 60.20A, ʔida· xpʔɪq ku=  
ɬɛmahɪ laʔq sɛɪɪʔɪ 'he'd eaten so very much he  
burst' 15.27M.

xeleki·nah (loan from English 'Filipino', perhaps nineteenth-century, /filɪpi'nɪh/)

xeleki·nah- (noun, unclassified) 'Filipino': xe-  
leki·nahyu· 'Filipinos' A.

xa's (so read from only attestations in Rezanov, less likely xahs or xa's, not known to modern informants, loan from Tlingit xás 'cow, horse', perhaps from English 'horse'; see also ka'w)

xa's (noun, unclassified) 'cow', attested only in Rezanov Xaccá 'Kopona Kuh' (corresponding Tlingit entry Xaccá), and Xaccá-xa 'Eaxá' (not in Radlov, 'bull', corresponding Tlingit entry Xaccá-xoxá xás xóx 'cow's male, husband') to be read xa'sqa' 'bull' ('cow's male, husband').



ejh

*non-ascending*

-ejh (kinship noun, descending) '(woman's) brother's child':  
 sisjh 'my nephew, my niece' (of brother, woman speaking) LMA, serves also as vocative L,  
 sisjhkih 'my brother's child' (woman speaking, affectionately) L (with -kih diminutive).

*patya sira kinstanli | father's? child  
 sabin?*

se\* (perhaps two or more different morphemes, perhaps originally prefix or sequence of prefixes, e.g. se-ye-)

se- (element or elements of unknown morphological classification, of unidentified meaning), occurring in se·cahg 'starfish', see cahg<sup>2</sup>, se·yah-se·ya· 'dentalium?, mother-of-pearl?, kind of rock?', see yah-ya· (perhaps also analyzable se·y-ah), se·i-gelid 'horned owl', perhaps to be analyzed se·i-gelid (or se·i-gelid, see gelid).

seʔl

-seʔ 'S is, becomes seasick': siseʔɩ 'I'm  
 seasick' M, 'I got seasick' L, quʔxseʔ 'I'll  
 be, get seasick' LM, sexseʔɩ 'I'm getting  
 seasick' L.

seʔ (noun, unclassified) 'seasickness': seʔgaʔ  
 ʔəduʔxdegewih 'I'm seasick' ('I feel like sea-  
 sickness') M.

seʔ² (perhaps to be identified with saʔ, unlauded)

saʔ- (perhaps originally noun, unclassified) occurring only in seʔeiʔʔah 'graveyard, cemetery' LA. Informants unable to analyze completely, see Sa-- Sa'-Siyah; meaning of seʔ- perhaps 'corpse'.

sa' (occurring only in *desa·q̄*, *desa·x̄* perhaps to be analyzed *des-a·-q̄*, *des-a·-x̄*, *de-i-a·-q̄*, *de-i-a·-x̄*, or *de-sa·q̄--sa·x̄*; perhaps related to *sela?* 'shoulder' (< 'arm'? cf. Tlingit *ʒ:ɬkəd* 'ten' -*ʒin* 'arm'), -*q̄-x̄* perhaps postposition *o-q̄* 'on s' with variant phonologically conditioned (irregularly) by following -*ka·d*, or *o-x̄* 'in contact with o')

*desa·q̄-desax̄-* (numeral, *desa·x̄-* before *ka·d*)

'ten': *desa·q̄* 'ten' IMS, 49.56, 61.92A, Rezanov Таккакь '10.', Wrangell Такаккэ 'Zehn', Furuhjelm Takhakh 'ten', Galushia Nelson taqaq̄ 'ten' BSDL 553, *desa·q̄xa?* 'at ten (o'clock)' 61.92A, *desa·q̄ʔahd ya·ʔa·g* '10:30 (o'clock)' ('half from, since ten') L, *desa·q̄ silɛh ɛq̄·sa·ʔyah̄* 'I am, turned ten years old' L, *desa·q̄daʔx̄* 'ten times' L, *desa·q̄nu·* 'ten people' L; in numerals, multiples of ten, numeral-*daʔx̄* *desa·q̄* 'n times ten, n-ty' (beginning with thirty): *tuh̄gaʔdaʔx̄* *desa·q̄* 'thirty' M, Rezanov Толькоахтаккакь '30.' *tuh̄g<sup>w</sup>aʔ[d]aʔx̄* *desa·q̄*, Wrangell Турсомехаккэ 'dreissig' *tuh̄g<sup>w</sup>[aʔdaʔx̄ d]esa·q̄*, *qelaʔqaʔg<sup>w</sup>aʔdaʔx̄* *desa·q̄* 'forty' 62.11G, Rezanov Клякканиахтаккакь (with second a written over illegible letter, perhaps *ɛ*, unidentifiable strokes written as superscript insert between *κ* and *a*) '40.'

qelabqa'g<sup>(w)</sup>a'[dla'x] desa'q, čə'ʔda'x desa'q  
 'fifty' M, Rezanov Чаммаггарама '50.' čə'ʔ[dla'x  
 desa'q, la'ʔdič'q·da'x desa'q 'seventy' L, qədič'q·da'x  
 desa'q 'eighty' L, Furuhjelm Khatatzi Takhakh  
 'thirty' probably to be read qədič'q[da'x] desa'q,  
 Furuhjelm Vətste Takhakh 'one hundred' probably  
 to be read [g]ʰečde·[da'x] desa'q 'ninety',  
 Wrangell Тахаха лехаха perhaps to be read  
 desa'qda'x desa'q 'one hundred' L, or desa'q  
 xə'qa'g 'ten twenty', la'ʔdih čə'ʔda'x desa'q  
 'one hundred' ('two fifties') M, wəxda'x desa'q  
 (holding up ten fingers) 'one hundred' ('thus times  
 ten') L; with -ka'd 'plus n digits': desa'xka'd  
 k̄hshih 'eleven' MA, Rezanov Тахахагармаха-э '11.'  
 desa'xka'd k̄hshih, Furuhjelm Takhakhlikha  
 'eleven' desa'xka'd k̄hshih, desa'xka'd la'ʔdih  
 'twelve' MA, Furuhjelm Takhakhlianti 'twelve'  
 desa'xka'd la'ʔdih, desa'xka'd tūhəga' 'thir-  
 teen' A, desa'xka'd qelabqa'ga' 'fourteen' A,  
 desa'xka'd qelabqa'ga' ʔuleh səli·ʔyah̄t 'he was  
 fourteen years old' 6l.3lA, desa'xka'd čə'ʔih 'fif-  
 teen' A, desa'xka'd č'q· 'sixteen', desa'xka'd  
 la'ʔdič'q· 'seventeen' A, desa'xka'd qədič'q· 'eigh-  
 teen' A, desa'xka'd gučde· 'nineteen' A.

sa? (perhaps related to ee?; meaning similar to that of g<sup>w</sup>a'-ga'<sup>2</sup> but much milder and less contemptuous)

te-sa? 'S quits, ceases work, activity': xstisa?h  
 'I quit working, stopped activity' L. Transitive  
 (causative): ?iqe?xtea? 'I'll make you quit work-  
 ing, playing' L.

d-te-sa? (with d-thematic 'oral, noise') 'S quiets  
 down, stops making (oral) noise, stops talking,  
 stops crying': 32.49A, di?tesa? 'stop talking!' L,  
 di?tesa? qah 'shut up, pipe down finally!' L,  
 di?lextesa? 'pl. stop talking!' L, distisa?h  
 'he's stopped crying, he shut up, he quieted down' L,  
 qedistisa?hinu 'they quieted down' L, desetesa?h  
 'he's quieting down' L, distisa?h 'he's quiet' L,  
 (neuter perfective), qu?desetij?h 'he'll shut up'  
 L, ?elešgahx desetij?h 'I wish he'd hush, pipe  
 down' L, sixa? Ma? da-kisa? 'don't cry "on" me'  
 ('you should be quiet with me') L. Transitive  
 (causative): di-ketij?h 'shut him up!' L, desext-  
 sa?h 'I'm quieting him down' L; reflexive: ?adi?-  
 teca? 'quiet down!, hush!' 49.134, 134, 51.115A.

0-dl-t-sa? (with dl-thematic, cf. g<sup>w</sup>a'-ga'<sup>2</sup>, prob-  
 ably causative of dl-te-sa?) 'S silences O' (mean-  
 ing not distinguished from that of causative of  
 d-te-sa?): li-ketij?h 'shut him up!' (same as

di·təi'ʔih) L, passive: la·edisa'kɪh 'he's been  
silenced, shut up (by someone)' L.

su?

su? (noun) 1. (unclassified) 'heat, warmth': ?el  
 su? 'this heat (is such that ...)' M, su?ya?x  
 leh salesca?ya?i 'this winter's warm' ('season  
 (time) is passing in warmth') L, su?yeqda Ma? yA?  
 ?i.dah 'stay in the warmth!' M.

2. (gl-class) 'sweat, perspiration': su?  
 si.nex ye? gali.?ah 'sweat is running down my  
 face' L, su? si.nex ye? gulese?s?i 'sweat has  
 started to run down my face' L, su? ?i.na?d q?e  
 sale?i 'sweat is forming on your face' L.

de.su? (noun) 'sweathouse, sweatbath' (same as q1?  
 ?adKudexah?) L. de.- not identified, see de.<sup>2</sup>.

su?i (noun, unclassified, with -i-instrumental)  
 'blanket' LM, 18.28L, 61.21, 21A, Galushia Nelson  
 qe?ti 'blanket' BSdL 550, ?ew su?i si? ?eta?  
 'give me that blanket!' M, su?i sila?d eata?  
 'put a blanket on me!' M, su?i siqeKah ?eta?  
 'take the blanket off me!' M, su?i siqeKah ?eia?  
 'take the blankets off me!' M, ?ew su?i ?ad qu?x=  
 da?eh 'I'll put that blanket over my shoulders' L;  
 ciga.dga? ?i.?eh su?i '(certain specific kind of)  
 brownish blanket' L; su?iq ya.nahd tah 'bed=  
 spread' ('it lies on, covering, blanket') L; suxsu?i  
 'swan-blanket' (first element Tlingit form) 63.3, 60.

guʔa·suʔɨ (noun, unclassified, with gdl-thematic  
 'color, dye') 'Chilkat blanket' L.

de·suʔ 'S is warm'; Rezanov Грекоязыкъ 'Hore Schweiz',  
 edieuʔɨ 'it's warm, has gotten warm' M, 60.6A, Rezanov  
 Яотыкоязыкъ 'Eapko heiss' ?ew edieuʔɨ 'it got  
 warm', xedieuʔɨ 'I'm warm, I got warm' L, ?idaʔya·  
 laʔ xedieuʔɨ 'I'm too warm' L, ?idah xedieuʔɨ  
 'I'm nicely warm' L, desuʔ 'it's getting warm' M,  
 quʔdesuʔ 'it'll get warm' M, quʔxdesuʔ 'I'll get,  
 be warm' L, sedesuʔɨ 'he's getting warm' 40.13L,  
 caxdesuʔɨ 'I'm getting warm' L, ?idesuʔ da·ʔ 'as  
 he begins to warm up' 21a.15L, desu·Kɨh 'he (boy)  
 is (cust) warm (fretful, may have fever)' L (specu-  
 lating on su·c<sup>2</sup>); forms in Furuhjelm, badly garbled,  
 but probably all representing themes with suʔ: Ste-  
 huvaliaa 'warm, hot' edieuʔɨ la· 'it's warm:',  
 Iesitu 'summer', Iesetgu 'autumn', Ittekhu  
 'spring', to be read edieuʔɨ 'it got warm', dicuʔ  
 'it's warm' (neuter imperfective) or the like, cf.  
 Furuhjelm forms glossed 'winter, morning'; with  
 gl-class-mark for S: gyʔsdiuʔɨ M, 34.64M, galis-  
 diuʔɨ 'water got warm, hot' LM ("not as hot as  
 gali·Kaʔd" M), quʔgyʔdesuʔ M, quʔgeledesuʔ  
 'water will get warm' M, 16.29M, gala·dicuʔ 'let  
 water get warm' M. Transitive (causative): ?eʔsuʔ

'warm it up!' M, 'ige'x'xeu? 'I'll warm you up'  
 M, x'xeu? 'I'm warming it up' M, yi'xeu?'shuh 'are  
 you warming it up?' L, qe? x'xeu? 'I'm warming  
 it again' M, 'u'geh'x' i'xeu?'ih 'he's holding (warm-  
 ing) his ears' L, si'xeu?'shuh 'are you warming  
 it up?' L, si'xeu?'i 'I warmed it up' L, xu'xeu'K  
 'it (cust) warms me' M, 'ow 'e'xeu?'x' 'u' d'x-  
 l'ih'ih 'I told him to warm it up' L, repetitive:  
 x'xeu?'g 'I'm warming it up' LM, 'iya' x'xeu?'g  
 'I'm warming it up for you' L, qu'x'xeu?'g 'I'll  
 warm it up' L, si'xeu?'g'i 'I warmed it up' ("guess  
 you could say that") L, with class-mark for O:  
 'i' li'xeu?'K 'you (cust) heat up mountains'  
 34.65M, 'ew geli'xeu?'x' 'u' d'x'li'ih'ih 'I told  
 him to warm it (water)' L, with y-anatomical:  
 'ige'yi'xeu? 'I'll warm your hands' L; reflex-  
 ive: 'eda'xeu?', 'eda'xeu? 'warm yourself!' M,  
 'edqu'x'xeu? 'I'll warm myself' L, 'ed'xeu?  
 'I'm warming myself' L, qe? 'ed'xeu? 'I'm  
 warming myself again' M, 'ed'x'xeu?'i 'I warmed  
 myself' L, 'edix'xeu?'i 'I'm keeping myself warm'  
 M (neuter perfective), 'edix'xeu? Ka? 'you  
 should warm yourself' M, with y-anatomical:  
 'edyex'xeu? 'I'm warming my hands' L; passive:  
 x'ud'xeu?'i, x'ud'xeu?'i 'I got warmed up (by

someone, something)' L.

disu<sup>?</sup>wahya<sup>\*</sup> (noun, unclassified) 'heavy garment for warmth' ('something for the sake of warmth') L. disu<sup>?</sup>, apparently neuter imperfective of d-su<sup>?</sup>, 'it's warm' (should perhaps be <sup>?</sup>idi-su<sup>?</sup> active optative) as o of -wahya<sup>\*</sup> 'makings of o'.

o-<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>i-da-su<sup>?</sup> (underlying theme apparently O-su<sup>?</sup>, detransitivized with indeterminate O, with o-<sup>?</sup> 'with o') 'it is warm for o, o sweats': si<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>isdicu<sup>?</sup> 'it's warm for me' L, 'I'm sweating' M, si<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>iqe<sup>?</sup>desu<sup>?</sup> 'I'll sweat' M, <sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>ide-su<sup>?</sup>kih 'he (baby) is (cust) warm' ('it's (cust) warm for him') L, Rezanov Xyrsecrakora 'Horbra schwitzen' xu... ..<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>isdicu<sup>?</sup> perhaps for xu<sup>\*</sup> si<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>isdicu<sup>?</sup> 'me, I'm sweating' (xu-form for O rather than for o).

sd-da-su<sup>?</sup> (with sd-thematic 'place') 'S (place) is, becomes warm': qi<sup>?</sup> sedisdicu<sup>?</sup>da<sup>\*</sup>d 'at a warm place' ('at where place is, got warm') 2la.-13, 14, 30L, 24.<sup>1</sup>~~22~~, 33.12A, sedisdicu<sup>?</sup> 'it's warm, it was warm, it got warm (place, weather)' L, xa<sup>?</sup>d sedisdicu<sup>?</sup> 'warm weather' ('it got warm outside') M, deqi<sup>\*</sup>kih ku<sup>\*</sup>y, <sup>?</sup>ida<sup>?</sup>ya<sup>\*</sup>lex sedisdicu<sup>?</sup> 'no more air (wind), it's too hot' L,

'ida\* sedidieu?ɿ 'it's so hot that ...' M,  
 sedesedesu?ɿ 'it's getting warm' L, qe? sede-  
 sedesu?ɿ 'it's getting warm again' L, qu?sedede-  
 su? 'it'll get, be warm' LM, sedidieu? 'place  
 is hot' L (neuter imperfective), ?q·d seda·di-  
 su?wahd 'so it'll get warm here' L, ?q·d sede-  
 sedesu? da·ɣ 'when it gets warm here' L, sede-  
 sedesu? da·ɣ 'if (when) it gets warm' L, 16.-  
 28M, seda·desu? da·ɣ, sedi?desu? da·ɣ 'when  
 it starts to get warm, just as it begins to get  
 warm' L, repetitive: seda·desu?g da·ɣ 'if  
 (or when) it gets warm' L. Transitive (causa-  
 tive): sedeseku? 'warm the place up!' M,  
 qu?sedi·xksu? 'I'll warm the place up' M.

sedesu? (apparently noun, perhaps deverbalization  
 of preceding, uncertain) 'warm weather': Rezanov,  
 Karak-ō 'Temo warm' sedesu? 'warm weather'  
 (? , perhaps inceptive imperative of da-su?,  
 'get warm!'), sedesu? Ku·y 'warm wind, Chinook'  
 L ('warm-weather wind'?, should perhaps be desu?  
 Ku·y 'warm wind').

s1-da-su? (with s1-thematic 'ground') 'S (ground)  
 is, becomes warm': sq·sdiu?ɿ, salidieu?ɿ  
 'ground got warm' M.

o-qeč (O-?)d-i-su? (with d-thematic and/or class-

mark for O, perhaps transitive, and o-qeč  
 'against, continually upon o') 'S puts warm  
 thing (O?) against o to warm o', (or perhaps ori-  
 ginally) 'S warms O for application to o':  
 ?ileqahqeč di·leu? 'warm your head (with these)!'  
 10.209A, ?iše·kqeč di·leu? 'warm your chest  
 (with e.g. hot-water-bottle)!' L. Problematical  
 forms: both -l-qah 'head' and -še·k 'chest'  
 are d-class nouns so that with postposed o-qeč,  
 the expected forms would be ?ileqahda·qeč and  
 ?iše·kda·qeč, but a d-mark appears instead with  
 the verb and not in o-qeč as expected; earlier  
 perhaps these constructions were ?ileqah ?uqeč  
 di·leu?, ?iše·k ?uqeč di·leu? 'warm your  
 head, chest against it!', but see ?uya? ?edqeč  
 kudadesu? below, in which a thematic d-mark  
 clearly occurs in the verb.

?uya? ?edqeč kudadesu? (noun) 'hot-water bottle'

L. Nominalized passive of preceding, literal  
 interpretation problematical, 'in it (o with broad  
 opening at top) something is warmed against one-  
 self'.

- səmə (noun, unclassified) 'maggots, little  
creamy white bugs on rotting meat or fish' LM,  
45a.7, 8L, 45b.8M, 47c.36L, Rezanov Kama  
'Чепсы Wurm'.
- səmə·g<sup>w</sup>aʔ ʔi·təh (noun, attested in Rezanov only)  
'millet': Kamaryette 'Léno Hirse', probably to  
be read səmə·g<sup>w</sup>aʔ ʔi·təh 'it's like maggots'  
rather than qəmə·g<sup>w</sup>aʔ ʔi·təh 'it's like roe',  
cf. corresponding Tlingit entry Гунhexareəkyxa  
first elements wdn 'maggot' yáx 'like'.
- de-səməʔ 'S is infested with, eaten by maggots',  
with yaʔ 'completely': yaʔ ədiəməʔi 'it was  
all maggot-eaten, full of maggots' 45.67LM.

sela? (perhaps to be analyzed se-la?, with s- thematic but more likely cognate with Athapaskan \*-sân---sân- 'arm', related perhaps also to Eyak sa', cf. Tlingit ʒinkáá 'ten', -ʒín 'arm')

-sela? (noun, ʒd-class or unclassified) 'shoulder, shoulderblade', also perhaps 'front leg (of quadruped)': sisela? 'my shoulder' LMS, 'my shoulderblade' LM, Kusela? 'shoulder', Kusela? qu?x-izahd 'I'll cook a shoulder (of meat)' L, Harrington Kiqqálla? 'front leg of bear or dog' Kusela?, Kusela?ʒada·q̄d 'on (something's, someone's) shoulders' L, Rezanov Kaxaxaxararə 'Шеюа Schultern' qa·sela?ʒada·q̄ 'on our, human shoulders', sisela?cəl, -sisela?cəlɪh 'my shoulderblade, shoulderbone' L; qu?iʒa·d̄sela? 'notch at end of bow' A, also real name of ʒemeʒekih (see Eyak texts 34.92fn) ('bow-shoulder') A.

siyah (probably to be analyzed si-ah with si-  
thematic and a<sup>2</sup> 'eat')

n. 30, 49, 137 A,

siyah (noun, unclassified) 'food' LM, Galushia

Nelson qia 'food' unpublished in de Laguna

fieldnotes, Mu<sup>2</sup>u<sup>2</sup> siyah 'lots of grub' L,

Rezanov Kuxraane 'Hoxuxnara bewirthen' prob-

ably to be read si'yah xarne 'eat food!' L,

?ew siyah xusekga?<sup>2</sup> 'I'm tired of that food'

('that food has tired me') L, siyah sixa?

sakeluhdgi 'I'm running short of grub' ('food

is becoming little with me') L, siyah deca-

da?a'ci 'food is getting scarce' L, siyah ?u'd

di'?yah<sup>2</sup> 'it's full of food there (no room for

more)' ('food is accumulated there') L, xala'g-

ya<sup>2</sup>ega? siyah ?u'sile?gi 'I bought just

enough grub for winter' L, ?ilex siyah da?-

lixixah 'I have more food than you' M, ?i?u?x

siyah da'lixixah 'I have as much food as you'

M, siyah<sup>2</sup>cahd <sup>(from) abun Land</sup> 'plenty of food' ('from on

food') L, q. 137 A, siyahya<sup>2</sup> 'foods (pl.), foodstuffs' 7.9, 11.21, 21 A.

sehd

O-lɣ-ɪ-sehd (with lɣ-thematic) 'S dandles, fondles,  
 cuddles, jounces, plays with O (baby, pet)': 8.5,  
 6, 6, 14A, lɔɣa-ɪsehd 'play with it (pup)!' L,  
 lɔɣa-ɪsehdɪh A, lɔɣi-ɪsehdɪh 'dandle him (baby)!' L,  
 8.10A, qu'lɔɣi-xɪsehd 'I'll dandle it' L, ʔi-  
 qe'lɔɣi-xɪsehd 'I'll dandle you' L, lɔɣɪsehdɪh  
 'she's dandling him' L, lɔɣexɪsehdɪh 'I'm dandling  
 him' L, lɔɣesɪsehdɪ 'I dandled it' L, repetitive  
 (probably thematized): lɔɣa-ɪsehdɪh 'dandle him!' L,  
 8.11A.

sqhd

sqhd-g(-i) (noun, unclassified, with -g-repetitive  
thematized and optional -i-suffix) '(spruce-)needle':  
sqhdg M, 11.118, 123A, sqhdgi 'spruce-needle' LM,  
2b.8L, 11.121A, 'el lisyá' sqhdgi 'these  
spruce-needles' 11.116A.

suhd-suʔd-syhd (suhd-suʔd apparently (now) in entirely free variation in verb, suhd-syhd in noun, A consistently syhd, all others always suhd) <sup>perhaps related to Comed-G-2-27</sup>

-suhd, -syhd (noun, unclassified) 'knee': ʔusyhd A, 24.95A, ʔusuhd 'his knee' M, Rezanov Kakoyra Koxāso Knie' qa·suhd 'our knees, human knee', Li -qu't' G, -qo't' Minnie and/or Scar Stevens, to be read -suhd, Kusuhdluw 'big knee' LM, ʔi-suhd ʔikdahd səlaʔ 'put your knees together!' L, siuhd siya· səideŋh 'he hurt my knee' L, siuhd siya· səiqeŋh 'I skinned my knee' L, siuhd siya· səieŋp·əi 'my knees are getting weak' L, siuhd siya· səiesedeʔə·əi 'my knees are getting weak with old age' LM, siuhdyaʔ səxigaʔŋh 'I'm getting shaky in the knees' L, siuhdyaʔ xigaʔŋh 'I'm shaky in the knees (from hunger)' L, 72.39fnL, ʔusuhdqeʔ ʔow yeʔ səciŋh 'he broke it (stick) over his knee' L, siuhdgaʔ ya·nuʔ siwehəi 'I sank in (snow) down to (as far as) my knees' L, siuhdyəyd 'the underside, inside of my knee' L, siuhdyəiŋəi 'my kneecap' L.

syhd (noun, unclassified, treated once as non-possessed, perhaps incorrectly) 'knee': dəxyhyu·yaʔ syhdgaʔ 'like people's knees' 24.95A.

O-suhd--suʔd 'S knees O, strikes O with knee': ʔow səsubdŋh 'he kneed it (kicked it with his knee)'

L; with indeterminate O and yeḡ 'downward', 'S  
 kneels', perhaps also 'S squats': yeḡ ʔisəsubd  
 L (twice), yeḡ ʔisəsuʔd 'kneel!' LM (each twice),  
 yeḡ ʔiqəʔxsuʔd M, yeḡ ʔiqəʔxəsubd 'I'll kneel'  
 L, M (twice), yeḡ ʔisəsubdɬ (or -suʔd-) 'I  
 kneeled' M, yeḡ ʔisəsubdɬɨh (or -suʔd-) 'he  
 kneeled' L, yeḡ ʔixəsubdɬ LM, yeḡ ʔixəsuʔdɬ  
 'I'm kneeling' M, 'I'm sitting on my heels' M,  
 diK yeḡ ʔaʔxəsubdɬə 'I'm not kneeling' L, ʔiɬ-  
 yeḡ yeḡ ʔiʔsubdɬɨh 'he's squatting' (?) L (neu-  
 ter perfectives), yeḡ dɨ ʔisəsuʔdK M, da ʔyeḡ  
 ʔisəsuʔdK 'we (cust) kneel' L, diK da ʔyeḡ ʔi-  
 suʔdKə 'we (cust) don't kneel' L, with yəʔʔ  
 '(continuously, further) down': yəʔʔ ʔisəxsuʔdɬ  
 'I'm kneeling' (in the process of kneeling downward)  
 M, repetitive: yəʔʔ ʔisəsubdɬɨh 'he's sagging at  
 the knees' M.

perhaps related to Guhd-Gu'da-Gphd

samed-sameλ (definitely not sameʔ L)

-gu'isemedi (noun, unclassified, also -gu'isemeλ,  
 probably < -d-i, phonological opposition between  
 -d-i and -λ unstable; L also -gy'isemedi, -gy'-  
 isemeλ, nasalization probably analogical), attes-  
 ted only with -qe's (noun, probably g-class)  
 probably 'Achilles' tendon', -qe'sgu'isemedi  
 'anklebone, ankle-joint': siqe'sgu'isemedi, si-  
 qe'sgu'isemeλ L, siqe'sgu'isemedi 'my anklebone'  
 LA, siqe'sgu'isemedi siya' yeʒ sɬiduxɬ 'my  
 ankle turned (lost support)' L, siqe'sgu'isemedi  
 siya' ?iɬyaʔd qaʔ disɬiqahɬ 'my ankle went  
 out of joint, dislocated (fell up out from in each  
 other)' L. Probably nominalized neuter perfective  
 of verb theme i-samed with g-class-mark for S,  
 'it (Achilles' tendon?) is in ... state' or transi-  
 tive (perhaps causative) of O-(i-)samed 'it keeps  
 it (Achilles' tendon?) in ... state'.

se't (perhaps expanded form of se't)

se'ti (perhaps noun, unclassified, -i-suffix apparently obligatory, attested in one construction only, used adverbially) '(re)incarnate, very image of S': se'ti qe' ?ah sdiyahiḥ 'he's his very image come back here, he's come back here (re)incarnate' ('he (deceased S) has come back home in reincarnation', said of offspring or namesake closely resembling deceased S physically or otherwise) L, du-deḥah qī-dah se'ti qe' ?ah sdiyahiḥ 'he's the very reincarnation of du-deḥah' ('du-deḥah (woman's name) has come back home reincarnate') L; see also se't 28.14-fnA.

seʔtʰ (earlier transcribed seʔd from LM, but later rejected by L for seʔtʰ, and consistently -tʰ in taped texts from A; perhaps related to se·tʰ)

-seʔtʰ (noun, unclassified) (whole) body, torso, whole (of living thing): 24.27, 36a, 36.19A, Puhjelm Khakhet 'body' qa·seʔtʰ 'our bodies, human body', Kuseʔd LM (later rejected by L), Kuseʔtʰ 'body, whole body' LM, 'whole thing' (of e.g. berry) L, Kuseʔdluw 'big body' LM (earlier transcription), ʔiseʔd ʔekus 'take a bath!' ('wash your body:') L (earlier transcription); seʔtluw 'big-body' (pejorative epithet) 10.94A.

seʔtʰ (noun, unclassified, perhaps incorrect as non--possessed form, or non-possessed form perhaps se·tʰ) '(whole) body': seʔd 'whole body (of e.g. fish, whale, not cut up)' L (earlier transcription), Rezanov Keʔ<sup>ʔ</sup> (with a superscript insert) 'Kmxā' (not in Radlov, 'skirt') perhaps to be read seʔtʰ; se·tʰ see 28.14fnA.

caʔtʰ

ka-caʔtʰ 'S crawls': ʔiɬcaʔtʰ 'crawl!' M, ʔq·ɬ  
 ʔiɬcaʔtʰ 'crawl hither!' L, səɬcaʔtʰiɬ 'he's  
 crawling (along)' M, ʔq·ɬ səɬcaʔtʰiɬ 'he's  
 crawling hither' L, ʔsəɬcaʔtʰi 'someone's  
 crawling' L, with qaʔ 'up out': Rezanov Ka-  
 кершмарь 'Hars Schritt' perhaps to be read  
 qaʔ səɬcaʔtʰ 'crawl up out (of there)!', with  
 yeɣ-progressive: ʔu·d yina·ʔdeɣ yeɣ ɬcaʔtʰiɬ  
 'he (baby) is crawling about on the floor there'  
 L, yeɣ ʔiɬca·tʰkinu· 'they (cust) crawl about'  
 M.

semet (LMA all very uncertain of exact form of stem: M  
 Xemet once, met 4 times, A qemet (expanded qe-  
 me-st), qemas (expanded qeme's), L Xemet once,  
 met twice, tamet once, temet once, semel (or  
 semed-i) 3 times, semet 7 times; after considerable  
 thought on several occasions, L concludes with some  
 conviction that semet "sounds best"; see also se-  
 med-semel, semed, qemexd)

de-semet 'S twists, contorts, puckers' (or perhaps  
 in certain instances, passive 'O is twisted, con-  
 torted, puckered'): sisa'd siya' sdisemeti 'my  
 mouth puckered (involuntarily, e.g. from eating  
 sour berries)' L (twice), frequently with lah  
 'around, in circular motion': sila't siya' lah  
 sdiseti 'my tongue got all puckered up (from e.g.  
 sour berries)' L, qe'dah ?ewX lah sdiseti 'it's  
 sure wrung and twisted badly'(with it)' M, ?ew  
 te?ya? ?ew zowuiX ?idehdah lah sdiseti 'that  
 fish is really badly twisted around (entangled)  
 with the net' M, with l-anatomical (partly themat-  
 ized, referring apparently to 'mouth, tongue,  
 neck', and in one case 'ankle', as well as to 'face,  
 head'): he?eh qe'dah lah ?i-xdisemeti 'my  
 goodness it sure made my mouth (tonge, face) pucker  
 right up!' ('(exclamation) my face straightaway  
 contorted around', from e.g. eating sour fruit) L

(quite spontaneous), lah lexdeqeme'stK, lah  
 laxdeqeme'sK 'my tongue (cust) puckers' A, si-  
 qe'eguya'd siya' lah ?i'sdi'esmedi 'my ankle  
 twisted' L (with l-thematic probably analogical  
 and stem-form influenced by samed-sameλ). Tran-  
 sitive (causative), 'S twists, wrings O': lah  
 ?el ?e'semeλ (or -samed-i, see preceding)  
 'twist this:' L, qu'xi'semeλ (or -samed-i)  
 'I'll twist it' L, sidaga'qit lah sei'xemet'i'h  
 'he wrang my neck' M, with l-anatomical (partly  
 thematized): xule'iqemeset'i 'it puckered my tongue'  
 A, with gdl-anatomical: lah ?iqe'ge'li'ximet',  
 lah ?iqe'ge'la'ximet' 'I'll wring your neck' M,  
 lah xuge'la'sizemet'i'h 'he wrang my neck' M (ke-  
 classifier in latter two forms to be attributed  
 to lack of stem-initial consonant, -i-Cemet >  
 -i-emet > -ke-emet). Two forms are also tran-  
 scribed with zero-classifier, both repetitive,  
 both uncertain, and both with uncertain glosses:  
 lah ?iqe'li'xe'emet'g 'I'll wring your neck' (?)  
 L (clearly a transitive), lah siq'emet'gi 'my  
 mouth puckered' (?) A (probably intransitive).  
 gl-ke-semet-g--i (attested only with gl-class-mark  
 for S, in active imperfective, twice with -g-repet-  
 itive thematized, once with thematic -i-suffix)  
 'S (water) is hard': gule'kesemet'i (or -xemet-,

-femst-), gelelefenetg, gelelesemetg (last much preferred) 'it (water) is too "soft" (i.e. hard), "soap won't take, can't wash in it" L.

su'3

- su'3-ɿ (noun, unclassified, with thematic -ɿ-suffix) attested only as o of o-qa' 'between o, interstice of o': su'3ɿqa'd 'joint(s) (of bones)' L, su'3ɿqa'ɿ ʔelcaɿ 'cut it at the joint!' L.
- su'3(-ɿ) (noun, unclassified, -ɿ-suffix apparently optional) as above, possessed: sisu'3qa'd 'my joints' L, sisu'3ɿqa'd siya' yika'd 'my joints ache' L.

сac<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with сec<sup>2</sup>, and/or perhaps related to се·с and/or сесec)

O-сac 'S twists, wrings O, wrings O out': 51.52A, Rezanov АКС-КОУБ 'Бумага прессен, аusringen' ?сac 'twist it, wring it, wring it out!' M, Кuxсac 'I'm wringing something' IM, ?aw сесecтjh 'he wrang it out' M, Rezanov Коматаоахаца 'Криво сchief, krumm' куша·dah сесecт 'you twisted it badly', ?iqe?xсac 'I'll wring your neck' ('I'll wring you') A, qa? qu?xсac 'I'll twist it (stump) up out (for ground)' L, see qa? O-l-сac; repetitive: та?d qa·с ?сacг 'wring them (clothes, repeatedly up) out (of water)!' L, with anatomical marks: лу· ?iqe?yi·xсac 'I'll twist your arm (around, ca. 180°)' L, lah xу·се·с·кjh 'he (cust) twists my arm (around, in circular motion)' M, lah xу·с·десесecтjh 'he twisted my (fore-)arm' L; passive: десec 'it's being twisted' M, сдисecт 'they've been twisted' L; кудесecе·?, see сe·?.

qa? O-l-сac (with l-thematic, perhaps originally l-anatomical 'head', i.e. 'neck', see below, and qa? 'up out', meaning not distinguished from that of qa? O-сac) 'S wrenches O (stump) up out (of ground)': qa? li·сac 'pull it (stump) up out of the ground!' L, qa? qu?li·xсac 'I'll twist it

(stump) up out' (same as qa? qu?xæc) L.  
l-de-æc' (with l-thematic as above, perhaps, in  
certain instances, passive of C-l-æc) 'S is,  
becomes twisted, warped': ?j·ædicē, lidicē  
'it's twisted, warped, it got twisted (by itself)'  
L, ya?xu· dawa?d lah qu?j·dææc' 'don't twist  
your head around fast' (danger of wrenching your  
neck) L (l-mark clearly anatomical here, cf. lah  
l-de-cææc).

sec<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with sec<sup>1</sup>)

sec (noun, unclassified) 'dry-salmon<sup>3</sup>' (as described in Eyak Texts 65.), 'cut fish ("it's twisted") LM, 'some kind of smoked fish' M, 65.37, 37, 37, 48A, Galushia Nelson qat's 'salmon dried, split up the back' BS4L 548, Kutu? sec 'lots of smokefish' L, secwahya 'the makings of dry-salmon<sup>3</sup>' 65.37A.

0-i-sec 'S makes O (dry-salmon<sup>3</sup>), S cuts O (salmon) dry-salmon<sup>3</sup>-style': 65.48, 49, 65, 66A, hi<sup>o</sup>q ci-i-sec<sup>o</sup>ahd 'after you've cut them all dry-salmon<sup>3</sup>-style' 65.50A, qu<sup>o</sup>x<sup>o</sup>sec 'I'll make smokefish (dry-salmon<sup>3</sup>)' L; passive: adisedi 'they (salmon) have been made into smokefish' L.

se'd (perhaps expanded form of sed)

se'd (noun, usually g-class) 'spruceroot' (perhaps also certain other stringy roots, but especially basketry-roots from spruce saplings) LM, 11.82, 28.27A, 34.103, 37a.9, 12L, 51.45A, 66.1, 2, 3L, Rezanov Keŋm 'Kopena Wurzel', Galushia Nelson qats or qets 'prepared spruce roots' BSdL 548, k̄ih̄e guka· se'd 'one (strand of) spruceroot' L, laʔd gaka· se'd 'two spruceroots' M, se'd-guʔuʔ 'lots of spruceroots' L, se'dgaʔluw 'big spruceroot' M, se'dguʔa·w 'long spruceroot' M, se'd sič guʔaʔ (or -taʔ) 'give me a spruceroot!' L, se'd ʔu·d gusetah̄i (not -ʔah̄i) 'a spruceroot is there' L, se'd guʔaʔk̄ih̄ 'he's chewing a spruceroot' M, se'd guʔih̄ih̄ 'he's eating spruceroots' LM (spruceroots were not actually eaten), se'd guk̄siȳih̄inu· 'they're digging spruceroots' L, se'd gex̄ix̄iK̄ 'I'm splitting spruceroots' L, se'd gex̄x̄eʔ 'I'm peeling spruceroots' L, se'd gex̄qa·g 'I'm holding spruceroots in my teeth' L, ʔew se'd dek̄ih̄eʔ gu·xaʔč 'tie that spruceroot onto a stick!' L, se'dguʔaʔ da·ʔaʔč 'we're going for spruceroots' L; se'dguʔeʔ, se'dgex̄eʔ 'magpie', see x̄eʔ; occasionally also d- or gd-class, perhaps incorrectly: se'd ʔu·d desetah̄i 'a spruceroot is there' L, Kugadešiyah

se·d' 'poor quality spruceroot' L, laʔd geda·  
se·d' 'two spruceroots' M; reclassified qi·l-  
'rope-like': se·dqi·nəx 'by means of rope made  
of spruceroot (spruceroot in the form, function  
of rope)' ll.14A; as root of plant other than  
spruce, attested specifically only in Harrington  
from G, perhaps incorrect, tsət ya'qəts'  
'skunk cabbage roots' ʒə·tʲaʔ se·d', but qəts'  
'spruce roots'.

semed (A qəməxət twice, qəməxɔ̄ 5 times, L qəməxɔ̄ once, səməxɔ̄ once, semed 6 times; confusion with semət, qəməxɔ̄; L certain of correctness of semed, uncertain of qəməxɔ̄, səməxɔ̄; qəməxət undoubtedly incorrect, blend of A's qəməs(ɔ̄) and qəməxɔ̄ perhaps related to sed<sup>1</sup>)

O-semed 'S twists, wrings O': sisemedɔ̄ 'I twisted it' L, with qi·l-class-mark for O: qi·li·semed 'twist it (wire)!' L, with gɔ̄-class-mark or gɔ̄l-anatomical and lah 'around, in circular motion': ?icɔ̄? ?iya· lah qu?gədi·xsemed, (or qu?gəli·x-) 'I'll wring your neck' b; dəki· lah ?i- qə?gəli·xsemed 'I'll wring your neck' ('I'm already about to wring your neck around', belligerent threat, L is pretty sure she has heard Billy Dade, drunk, say this) L, ?ucɔ̄? ?əwa· lah gəla·semed 'wring its (duck's) neck!' L, repetitive: qu?xqəməxətɔ̄ 'I'll twist them (strands, together)' A; reflexive: ?əwɔ̄ ?ədsdiqəməxɔ̄ɔ̄ 'it got itself all twisted together with it' A; passive: ədiqəməxətɔ̄, ədiqəməxɔ̄ɔ̄ 'it's braided, twisted together' A.

O-g-i-semed (stem -qəməxɔ̄, attested only with g-- class-mark for O) 'S affects position of O (strand) with respect to another by twisting': ?ilɔ̄ qu?gu·xɔ̄qəməxɔ̄ 'I'll twist them (strands) together' A, ?iid da· guɔ̄qəməxɔ̄ 'we're taking the strands

apart (by untwisting)' A, repetitive: ʔild da-  
guseiqemexdgi 'we took (untwisted) the strands  
apart' A (indirect reciprocals).

lah l-de-sened' (stem -semexd', attested only  
with l-anatomical 'head' and lah 'around, in  
circular motion', cf. l-de-sed', de-semat') 'S  
twists, wrenches, gets crink in neck': lah  
ʔi-xadisemexdi 'my neck got twisted, got a crink  
in it from turning my head (too fast?)' L.

## suʔd

- suʔd (noun, unclassified) 'scale (of fish)': kusuʔd 'scales (of fish)' LMA, kusuʔdʔuʔ 'lots of scales' M.
- l-suʔd (noun, with l-anatomical 'head') 'dandruff': silesuʔd 'dandruff (on my head)' ('my head-scales') LMA.
- 0-k-suʔd 'S scales (removes scales from) 0 (fish)': ʔaikuʔd 'scale it (fish)!' M.
- qaʔ y-suʔd (attested only with y-anatomical 'hand' and qaʔ 'up out') 'S's hands get full of herring-scales (from handling herring)': qaʔ yisi-suʔdʔi 'my hands got full of herring-scales' L.

cah3

- O-cah3-g (attested only with -g-repetitive) 'S makes  
O resound by pounding, beating, striking, tapping':  
 ?aw cah3gih 'he's rattling it' M (L rejects gloss),  
 'he's making it sound by hitting it (not by shaking  
 it)' L, ?axid' cah3gih 'he's beating a drum' L,  
 Muxcah3g 'I'm drumming on something' L, ?eacah3g  
 'hit it, pound it (and make it resound)!' L, with  
 class-marks for O: lis decah3g 'woodpecker' ('it  
 makes a pounding noise on a tree') L, ?aw laxa-  
 cah3gih 'he's ringing a bell' L; reflexive, with  
 qi·d-anatomical: ?adqi·dedecah3gih 'he's tapping  
 with his foot' L, see also ?addacah3g below; pas-  
 sive, with lɣ-class-mark for O: laxedecah3g 'a  
 bell is ringing (being rung)' IM, laxediscah3gi  
 'a bell rang' L, see also nominalizations below.
- decah3g (noun, perhaps lɣ-class) 'bell' L, 'rattle'  
 M (L rejects gloss), Rezanov Тахаучука 'Колоколъ  
 Glocke', Тахаучукэре 'Барабан Trommel' de-  
 cah3g..., -seere perhaps to be read -ga? ?i·tɛh,  
 decah3gga? ?i·tɛh 'it's like a bell' M. Nominal-  
 ized passive active imperfective, 'it is made to  
 resound by striking'.
- ?addacah3g (noun, perhaps lɣ-class) 'bell' L. As  
 above, reflexive instead of passive.
- laxedecah3g (noun, probably lɣ-class) 'bell' L (per-

haps smaller than preceding). As detah3g, with  
lx-class-mark for O 'granular, berry-like'.

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O-*sej* 'S acts upon O with end of stick-like instrument, S acts with stick-like O': *?esej* 'push it sideways with the end of a stick:' L, 'stroke, paddle (a single stroke)'; M, *?iqe?sej* 'it'll butt you with its horns' L, with *qa?* 'up out': *qa?* *sesej* 'remove it (sliver, with needle)'; L, with *la?d* 'thickness, collapse, explode': *la?d* *sesej* 'puncture it (blister)'; L, *la?d* *sisej* 'I burst it with the end of a stick, I burst it (blister, with needle)' L, with *ya?x* 'up': *ya?x* *sisej* 'I lifted it up (not completely out of place) with a stick' L; reciprocal, repetitive: (*Ky·delehx*) *?iku?* *desejg* 'they (e.g. goats) are butting each other (with horns)' L.

O-*i-sej* 1. 'S moves O (some distance from original position) with end of stick-like instrument': *?u·dikah* *ya?x* *sisej* 'I lifted it up away from there with the end of a stick' L, usually repetitive: *ya?x* *qi?yisejg* 'you'll lift it up with a stick' A, *?u·d* *sexisejg* 'I'm pushing it thither with a stick' L, *?u·d* *qaxisejg* 'I'm pushing them thither (on after another) with a stick' L, with *qa·d* '(continuously, repeatedly) up out': *qa·d* *Kuxisej·3K* 'I (cust) crochet' ('I (cust) lift something (stitch) up out at the end of a stick-like

instrument') L, 'qahx ya'x səkeʒgɪ 'it (goat) butted him up into the air' L (should either read 'qah, or be interpreted 'it (goat) butted them (horns) up in the air striking (in contact with) him' ('S moves stick-like O')); repetitive most frequently with the meaning 'S paddles boat':  
 Rezanov АЫКАУМЫ 'Грѣдѣ rudern (Imperat.)'  
 'əkeʒguh L, 'əkeʒg 'paddle (it)!' M, 'ɣi-  
 ʒi'x 'əkeʒg 'paddle (it) straight ahead!' L,  
 tə'q'e'ʒ səkeʒg 'paddle (it) backwards!, back-  
 water!' L, usually with ku-indefinite O 'S pad-  
 dles (something, boat)': 71.19, 20LM, Rezanov  
 Коулькауыма Грѣдѣ мѣ баѣдѣрѣ, грѣдѣ мѣ баѣ-  
 дѣрѣ rudern, in einer Baidare' ku-keʒg (k and  
 final a probably indication of careful listening  
 to voiceless resonance of -ʒ- and -g) 'paddle!,  
 you're paddling', kukeʒgɪh 'he's paddling' M,  
 'idehdah kukeʒgɪh 'he's paddling hard' M, kuɣi-  
 se'ʒgk 'I (cust) paddle' M; with yax-progressive:  
 yax 'əkeʒg 'move it around with a stick!' L;  
 detransitivized (or perhaps progressive) with in-  
 determinate O and lah 'around, in circular mo-  
 tion': lah 'ixəkeʒgɪ 'I stirred it' L; pas-  
 sive: 'ida' kudəseʒ[gʔ] sid 'əkde'g 'teach  
 me how to paddle' ('teach me how something is pad-  
 dled!') M.

2. 'S punctures O with end of stick-like instrument' (meaning not clearly distinguished from that of O-sej): laʔq̄ siʔsejḡ 'I put a needle in it to burst it' L, with yaʔ 'completely': ʔq̄h yaʔ seʔsejḡ 'it (bull) gored him (with its horns)' A.

O-d-ʔ-sej-g (with d-thematic) 'S tows O at end of e.g. rope' (over water only?, S in boat only?): 28.72, 82A, ʔu·ʔ ʔiqeʔdi·xʔsejḡ 'I'll tow you thither (in canoe)' L.

Kuʔsejḡ (noun, unclassified) 'propeller (of boat, airplane)' L. Nominalized active imperfective, 'it paddles'.

Kuʔsejḡkih (noun, unclassified) 'propeller, fan' L. As above, with -kih diminutive.

ʔux̄ Kuʔsejḡ (noun, 1-class) 'oar, canoe paddle' M. Nominalized passive active imperfective, 'by means of it something is paddled'.

ʔuʔeʔ ʔaʔqeʔeʔ Kuʔsejḡ (noun) 'oarlocks, rowlocks' L. As above, '(continually, repeatedly) upon, against them something is paddled backwards'.

ʔuʔeʔ Kuʔsejḡ (noun) 'oarlocks, rowlocks' L. -ʔ-instrumental deverbalization of preceding, lacking ʔaʔqeʔeʔ 'backwards', perhaps incorrectly.

ʔu·naʔ ʔaʔqeʔeʔ Kuʔsejḡ (noun, 1-class) 'oar' L, laʔda·na· ʔu·naʔ ʔaʔqeʔeʔ Kuʔsejḡ 'two oars' L.

As above, 'by means of them (1-class) something  
is paddled backwards'.

Kuɬəʒg(-ɪ) (gerundive) 'paddling': 71.18, 20 IM,  
Rezanov ʒoxɔɬ-xoxoxuɬe 'He rpeɬɔ rudere nicht!'  
perhaps to be read yaʔɣu· Kuɬəʒg 'no paddling!'.  
ʔp·ʒiʔɕ' taʔqɕʔɕ Kuɬəʒg L, ʔp·ʒiʔɕ taʔqɕɕ  
Kuɬəʒg (noun, unclassified) 'helicopter' M.  
Nominalized active imperfective, 'it paddles back-  
wards at the top of its head'.

↓  
a yaʔɣuʔɕ ʒɔʔɕɕɕ

su·č (of doubtful authenticity, A only, rejected by L)

-l-su·č (noun, with l-anatomical) 'fleshy part of  
cheek': Mulesu·č 'the fleshy part of one's  
cheek' A (rejected by L, cf. lu·č, ču·č, -l--  
quhî).

seš (form and status uncertain, cf. sešK, qeš, but  
 cf. also Chipewyan -gy'z, Hupa š:-...g:W, d:-l-g:W  
 'to be forked', Navaho -giš 'V-shaped gap, forked')  
 ...-še-seš attested only in Harrington yá'xtjcliq-  
 qá'čē 'forked pole' G, clearly nominalized active  
 perfective of theme ya'x d-še-seš 'S is forked  
 upwards' with d-thematic or, more likely, d-class-  
 mark for S 'tree', and ya'x 'upwards', or perhaps  
 passive of transitive O-(d-)š-seš, itself per-  
 haps causative of (d-)seš 'S is forked', or per-  
 haps to be read ya' xediššiseš, with ya'  
 'completely' and xd-class-mark for S or O (e.g.  
 'pole'), theme otherwise as above; stem conceivably  
 in error for qeš or sešK.

sa·š (not sa·š, L insists)

o-sa? ku-dl-še-sa·š (attested in indirect reflexive only, with o-sa? 'into o's mouth', ku-indefinite O, and dl-thematic, cf. e.g. O-dl-š-du?, underlying theme O-dl-š-sa·š) 'S stuffs mouth with food so it bulges' ('S stuffs, crams something (food) into own mouth'): sa? kuλa·šisa·ših 'he's got his mouth stuffed, crammed bulging full of food' L. (neuter perfective), ya?yu· sa? kuqu?λa·šesa·š 'don't stuff your mouth with food' L.

ɛɸ·ʂ (Rezanov как 3 times, кош once, кош once,  
 o in transcription perhaps indication of nasalized  
 vowel rather than of stem-initial ɛ<sup>w</sup>-)

ɛl-ɛɸ·ʂ (noun, unclassified, apparently also d-class,  
 with l-anatomical 'head, face') 'lower half of  
 face, region around mouth': sileɛɸ·ʂ 'my chin'  
 S, sileɛɸ·ʂ siya· ɛɛɸwaʔsɛ 'my mouth and nose  
 itch' L, Rezanov Калѣжкожакожи 'Бриться rasiren,  
 sich' ʔileɛɸ·ʂ ɛɛɸihɸɸ 'shave your whiskers!' L;  
 in compound with -ɸuʔ 'hair, fur' perhaps d-class,  
 unless -de- is to be interpreted as d-thematic,  
 perhaps 'oral': 23.141A, ʔileɛɸ·ʂdeɸuʔ 'your  
 beard, moustache' L, ʔɸh ʔileɛɸ·ʂdeɸuʔ qaʔsɸihɸɸ  
 'he'll shave your whiskers' M, Kuleɛɸ·ʂdeɸuʔluw  
 'big beard, big moustache' M, but forms in Rezanov  
 appear to imply -leɛɸ·ʂɸuʔ or -leɛɸ·ʂeɸuʔ:  
 Калѣжкожу 'Усм Schnauzbart' qa·leɛɸ·ʂɸuʔ 'our  
 whiskers, human whiskers', Кемльтежляжкожу  
 'Усм китовье Walfisch-Barten' qaʔyitɛhleɛɸ·ʂɸuʔ  
 'whale-whiskers', Коммайля<sup>a</sup>жкожу (with second  
 a superscript insert) 'Усм окучья Seebären-Bart'  
 Kumaɸleɛɸ·ʂɸuʔ 'sea-otter-whiskers', Калѣжкожа-  
 хосихкля 'Бритва Rasirmesser' qa·leɛɸ·ʂɸuʔ sɸihɸɸ  
 'human whiskers shaver'.

leɛɸ·ʂʔa·w (noun, unclassified, attested in Rezanov  
 only) 'pig': Rezanov лжжам-ауа 'Свинья Schwein'

perhaps to be read leeq·s'a·w... (epithet,  
'long-snout').

## semək

-semək (adjective, as epithet (see semək, gedəsemək below) or, rarely, suffixed) 'round': suffixed to gd-class noun: ma'gedəsemək 'round lake' (perhaps a place-name) 67.3fnG.

semək dog's name (epithet, 'round') L.

gedəsemək (noun, unclassified, with gd-anatomical) 'gnat' (epithet, 'round-rump', or nominalized active imperfective of following, 'it's round-rumped') M, gedəseməkʔ 'lots of gnats' M.

-semək (not freely used, attested only in active perfective, and perhaps in active imperfective in preceding and following nominalizations) 'S is, becomes round': səsemək 'it got round' L.

lisyaʔ semək (noun, attested only in Harrington from G) 'spruce-burl': Harrington līs yaʔ qīmāq 'spruce burl (lump), cancer: lit. "tree's kind-of-round-thing on it"' lisyaʔ semək 'that which is round belonging to spruce'. Apparently nominalized active imperfective of preceding.

isəsemək 'S is, becomes round, spherical': 24.63, 66A, Rezanov Катякамукла Кругло rund' səsemək 'it's round' LMS (inceptive perfective, indicating stage of a process), səseməkʔ ʔudʔ isdaʔ 'stool' ('round-chair') L, quʔsemək 'it'll be round' L, with class-marks for S: la'-

sešesemēkī sa· 'round rocks' 65,20A, Rezanov  
Тяжаклэкамэуэ 'Пуговица Кнопf' λa·sešesemēkī  
'it (dl-class, e.g. stone, button) is round' L,  
lešesemēkī ŋiyahd 'round peakless hat' L,  
gy·šišemēkī 'it (gl-class, milk) soured and  
curdled' ("because of round things (curds) in it")  
L, with gd-anatomical: gudesešesemēkī, gedesešesemēkī  
'it's round-rumped, short-tailed' L, 24.-  
62, 71, 85, 85A.

sešesemēkī (noun, d-class) 'circle, hoop' M, se-  
šesemēkīdaʔluw 'big hoop, big circle' M. Nominal-  
ized inceptive perfective.

O-š-semēk (causative of -semēk and/or of še-semēk)  
'S makes O round, spherical': sešesemēk, ʔšišemēk  
'make it round!' L, xšišemēk 'I'm making it round'  
L, with lyd-class-mark for O: lešedexšišemēk 'I'm  
rounding a snowball'; passive: šišemēkī 'it's  
been made round' L.

see<sup>1</sup> (perhaps reduced form of sehs or of sahs, perhaps to be identified with see<sup>2</sup>)

sees (noun, unclassified, with s-thematic, cf. seesahs) 'round wooden disc, quoit, quoit game' LA, Galushia Nelson qeqok 'partner game' BSdL 551 (described in BSdL 240), sees sič 'eta?' (or 'e'a?') 'give me a quoit!' L, sees 'u·d setahš (or se'ahš) 'a quoit is there' L, sees 'iqe'di·leh 'a quoit game will be held' L; seesxqexah (first -x- probably only phonetic, at least earlier) name of winter month ('quoit-month') LA.

see<sup>2</sup> (A gus, ges, perhaps by assimilation with prefix; L rejects g-initial, insists, on two separate occasions, on see; perhaps to be identified with see<sup>1</sup>, basic meaning perhaps 'round thing')

-gune-see (noun, unclassified, -gune- not identified, perhaps archaic form of -gule-, gl-mark)  
 'hip': sigunegus, siguneges A, sig<sup>w</sup>enesec LM,  
 sigunesees 'my hip(s)' L.

sehs (perhaps related to see; confused with se<sup>o</sup>q)

sehs- (meaning and morphological classification not clear), attested only in sehede<sup>o</sup>uhdg 'some kind of pretty bluish egg, a little larger than a chicken's, supposed to be laid at night, not to be eaten, perhaps mythological' L ('sehs-egg', where sehs- is either a noun, 'sehs-egg', or relativized active imperfective of a verb, 'egg which ...s, which is ...').

O-<sup>o</sup>sehs 'S coopers, puts hoop, ring on O (keg)':  
qu<sup>o</sup>xisehs 'I'll put hoops on a keg' L (L has definitely heard this).

edisehs<sup>o</sup> (noun) 'keg' L (uncertain). Nominalized passive active perfective of O-<sup>o</sup>sehs, 'it has been coopered'.

la<sup>o</sup>sehs<sup>o</sup> (noun, perhaps dl-class, with dl-thematic and -<sup>o</sup>suffix, perhaps -<sup>o</sup>-instrumental deverbalization of these O-dl-<sup>o</sup>sehs 'S puts hoop around dl-class O, or 'S makes hoop, ring of dl-class O (c<sup>o</sup>: 'branch') or 'for dl-class O (zewu<sup>o</sup> 'net')', cf. la<sup>o</sup>se<sup>o</sup>q) 'barrel-hoop' LA, 'hoop; keg; ring, made of pliable limbs, at end of fish net, thrown overboard, sometimes used as handle to pull net in' L.

sa's (imitative, probably widespread in Pacific Northwest, cf. Tlingit (Boas) sa 'cry of Raven', cf. also Eyak soles, seyat)

sa's (exclamation) 'caw' (call of Raven) M, 2b.18, 18, 5.13, 13, 13L, 11.37, 40, 193A.

sahs (perhaps related to ses<sup>1</sup>)

O-sahs 'S hews, chops O (transversely, or not specifically lengthwise)': 5.11L, Kuxsahs 'I'm chopping something (wood or otherwise), I'm splitting wood' M, Kusahs:ih 'he's chopping wood' M, ?asahs 'chop wood!' S, 'make it (hew it, by chopping):' L, ?exekih xsahs 'I'm making a (dugout) canoe' L, diK ?exekih xsahs 'I'm not making a canoe' L, ?exekih si:ahs 'I made a canoe' L, with ye: 'apart': ye: sasahs 'chop it apart (transversely):' L, ye: si:ahs 'I chopped it apart (transversely)' L, with d-class-mark for O (and perhaps optional d-thematic with qid 'down off'): ?awgu:ah qid desasah:linu 'they chopped its tail off' 28.64, 65A, with gl-class-mark for O: ya' gelexsahs 'I'm chopping, pecking at something (water)' (snipe would say) L (see ya' gelesahs below); passive: Sa'he'n qi? desahsda'd 'at a place where cordwood is being chopped' L.

ya' gelesahs (noun, unclassified) 'snipe' LM, 34.= 13L. Nominalized active imperfective with gl-class-mark for O, 'it's chopping (pecking at) a liquid thing (body of water)'.

?u: ca' la'desahs (noun) 'pickaxe' L. Nominalized passive active imperfective with dl-class-mark for O, 'by means of it stones are chopped'.

ya'ʔ O-dl-sahs (with ya'ʔ 'down' and dl-thematic  
'falling over') 'S fells, chops down O (tree, d-  
class)': 36.4, 68.30A.

O-i-sahs 'S chops, splits O (specifically length-  
wise)': ʔəksahs 'chop wood!' MS, with ya'ʔ 'com-  
pletely': ya'ʔ ʔəksahs 'split it (wood)!' L, with  
yeʔ 'apart': yeʔ səksahs 'chop it apart length-  
wise!' L, yeʔ siksahsɩ 'I chopped it apart length-  
wise' L; with ku'l-anatomical 'thickest part, belly'  
and d-class-mark for O (i-classifier perhaps in er-  
ror, or perhaps glosses of O-sahs and O-i-sahs  
should be reversed): ku'di-ksahs 'chop tree at  
base!' L, quʔku'di-xksahs 'I'll chop it (tree, at  
base)' L.

səksahsɩ (noun, probably unclassified) 'wood chips'  
L. Nominalized active perfective, with s-thematic,  
cf. seses, sescah.

su·e<sup>1</sup>

-l-su·e (noun, with l-anatomical) 'inside of skin of fishhead from eye forward': Kule·su·e 'inside part of skin on fishhead from eye to front, like gristle, good to eat cooked (on most fish, e.g. salmon, trout, but not on bullhead, flounder, halibut, cod)' L.

su's<sup>2</sup> (unknown to L, who doubts its authenticity) <sup>set dr-bu<sup>7</sup></sup>

d-k-su's (with d-thematic 'oral, noise') 'S (human infant, not e.g. adult or pup) is, becomes hungry, fretful, fussy': dseksu'ekih 'he (baby, not pup, adult) is (has become) hungry' M, 'he (baby) is hungry, fretful, fussy, hard to satisfy' A.

seles (probably imitative, cf. sa's, seyes)

seles (exclamation) cry of Raven "when its throat  
is wet", portent of rainy weather L, Galushia  
Nelson qdléq "'rain" announced by Raven' BSdL  
538, 'when [Raven] calls qeleq it means rain'  
BSdL 235.

seyet (seyet + qa' > seyeqa', lætə- + seyət > læseyet;  
perhaps to be segmented sa-yet, cf. ?eyet-?uyet)

seyet (independent personal pronoun) 'we, us (first  
person plural, exclusive or inclusive)' LM, 25.-  
160, 163, 163, 28.135A, 30.22, 51.8, 61.20, 65.-  
36, 68.98, 69.10A, seyət ne'x' 'first us, us  
first' M, čid seyət 'just us' M, Rezanov  
Кыкxракxыкx 'Toxe dasselbe' probably to be read  
seyəsdəg de?wəx 'we too yet, us too the same  
way', seyəsdug L, 14.7L, seyəsdəg 'we too'  
25.173A (seyəsgidug probably incorrect L), sə-  
yəsdug, seyəsdugə, seyəsəsdəg 'we too?' L,  
səi'ihd ya' ?i·ya·ə dəxəhyu· qəl seyət  
'we're the last Eyaks' L, de?ə·dəlahəseyu· qəl  
seyət 'we're locals' L, Rezanov Ка̂кы 'Bu  
ihr', Ка̂кы 'Mu wir' seyət qə?ew 'that's us',  
Galushia Nelson qiyáq i·viyáq]əláqəiyd· 'we  
are Eyaks' BSdL 554 seyət ?i·ya·ədəlahəseyu·,  
with de- 'ipse': dəseyət 'we (ourselves)' M;  
with lætə- 'alone', by haplology læseyet (not  
\*læseyet L) 'we alone, all alone by ourselves'  
LM, 49.107A, combined for emphasis with possessive  
prefix or pronominal o of postpositions qa'- >  
seyəqa'- (not \*seyəqa'): seyəqa·ga? 'like  
us' 25.195, 199A, with de- 'ipse': dəseyəqa·ga?

'just like us' 25.195, 68.126A, often with *ciʔd--*  
*le* 'S speaks like us, speaks our language, Eyak':  
 68.78, 87, 91, 97, 99, 110, 125, 125, 69.19A,  
*diK ʕeyeqa·gaʔ* (or *ʕeyeqa·degaʔ*) *ciʔdelehcɪh*  
 'he doesn't speak like us, Eyak' L, *ʕeyeqa·gaʔ*  
*wɛʒ detele·ʔ* 'say it in our language!' ('say  
 thus like us!') L, as o of o-qa·ʔ 'of o's kind,  
 part of o': *deteyeqa·qa·ʔ* 'of our own kind,  
 tribe' 68.85A, *deseyeqa·qa·ʔʂeʔew* 'are they of  
 our kind?' 68.88A, *diK deseyeqa·qa·ʔe* 'they're  
 not of our own kind' 68.90A, as o of o-ʒaʔ 'with  
 o': *ʕeyeqa·ʒaʔ* 'for us' 68.129A, as o of o-yaʔ  
 'belonging to o': Rezanov *Кавказ* 'HAKK unsere'  
*ʕeyeqa·yaʔ* '(it's) ours' L, Galushia Nelson  
*qɛi'yɛqai yaʔ ʒewaʔ* 'our dog' BSdL 557 *ʕeye-*  
*qa·yaʔ ʒewa·*, as possessive; Galushia Nelson  
*qɛiyɛqʔ la·ʒ* 'our eyes' *ʕeyeqa·la·ʒ*, *qɛiyɛqa*  
*tsi* 'our necks' *ʕeyeqa·ciʔ*, *qɛiyi'qa· ma·*  
 'our mother' BSdL 557 *ʕeyeqa·ma·*, irregularly,  
 with suffixes or enclitics not normally affixed  
 to possessive pronouns: *ʕeyeqa·dug* 'we too' L,  
 Furuhjelm *Khuiukhau* 'we', Galushia Nelson  
*qɛiyɛ'qa·yu* 'my clan people' BSdL 543 *ʕeyeqa·yu·*  
 'we' L.

seʔq (confused with sehs)

seʔq (noun, d-class) 'bracelet' L (7 times), M (3 times), A (twice), 'hoop' L (3 times), seʔqdaʔluw 'big bracelet' M, seʔq sič diʔaʔ 'give me a bracelet!' L (twice), seʔq ʔuʔd daseʔah̄ (not -tah̄) 'a bracelet is there' L.

seʔq̄̄ (noun, d-class, with -i-suffix perhaps optional, meaning not clearly distinguished from that of preceding) 'bracelet' M (once), 'hoop' L (once), 'piston-ring' L (once), Galushia Nelson qaʔti 'bracelet' ESdL 551 probably to be read qeʔq̄̄, seʔq̄̄daʔluw 'big bracelet' M.

laʔseʔq (noun, with dl-thematic, cf. laʔseh̄̄, for which it is perhaps an error) 'rim, ring, hoop of drum (not quite complete circle)' A.

su'x

su'x (noun, unclassified) 'water-bug species' (same as Tlingit  $\text{ʔaq}^{\text{h}}\text{anti}$ ) A, 'tiny black water-bugs in stagnant pond or well, maximum  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch long, with broad large 'head' and small thin tail, which rise slowly to the surface of the water, where they float without jumping or moving around, go back down when disturbed' L,  $\text{ʔuʔu}^{\text{h}} \text{su'x} \text{ʔuya}^{\text{h}}\text{d}$  'there are lots of water-bugs in it' L,  $\text{su'x} \text{geli}^{\text{h}}\text{keh}$  'it (water) is full of water-bugs' L. Separate drawings by L and A of these in Krauss fieldnotes, vol. VIII, p. 7.

(see also 006)

sešK

lešešKš (noun, ḡd-class) 'post, pole, tent-pole, mooring-post, forked pole as support, support pole (leaning or vertical)' LMA, lešešKšxədəʔaʔw 'long pole' M, lešešKšxədəʔluw 'big pole' M, lešešKšxədəkih 'small pole' M, lešešKš ʔuʔd xədəsetahš 'a pole is (lies) there' L, lešešKš siš xediʔtaʔ (not -ʔaʔ) 'give me a pole!' L, in compounds, 'totem-pole': Galushia Nelson -lekeektš or -ləkeektš 'totem pole (prefix with eagle or raven)' -lešešKš 'totem pole' L, ʔe-yewihlešešKš 'totem pole' ('mask-, grotesque face-pole') L.

laʔsešKš (noun, as above, perhaps with dl-thematic 'series') 'series of poles, pole as one of series; wooden fence-post' L, čisaʔyahdyaʔ laʔsešKš deʔuʔd 'tent-poles are still there, right there' L.



1a3a3ag (attested only in Rezanov) 'curly-head':  
Rezanov Яманске 'Кудравой kraushaarig'. De-  
verbalization, epithet, with 1-anatomical or  
class-mark.

6068

-seeš-g (with -g-repetitive thematized) 'S is, becomes asymmetrical, lopsided, crooked, bent out of shape, flared': with l-class-mark for S: ?ew čiyahd siḡa? ?i·seešeg̃ 'my hat got out of shape' L, ʔeʔa·e ?i·seešeg̃ 'basket is lopsided, bent out of shape; basket is flared (symmetrically or asymmetrically) at upper rim' L; see nominalizations below.

sa? eedešeg̃ (noun, unclassified, with ed-thematic with sa? 'mouth') 'whitefish' MA, Galushia Nelson sá'qé<sub>2</sub>éqdkck or sáqétéqákck 'whitefish' BSDL 540. Nominalized active imperfective, "because its mouth has a flared lip" M.

yaʔḡ deesešeg̃ (noun, unclassified) 'pitcher' LMA, yaʔḡ deesešeg̃luw 'big pitcher' M. With yaʔḡ 'upward' and d-thematic or class-mark ('lip?'), or perhaps passive of causative of -seeš-g, nominalized active imperfective, 'it's flared upward'.

le-seeš-g (with g-repetitive thematized) 'S limps, hops, skips on one foot': eexšeg̃ 'I'm limping' L, eexšeg̃ih 'he's limping' A, with yeḡ-progressive: yeḡ xšeg̃ 'I'm limping (around)' M, yeḡ xšeg̃ḡ 'I'm hopping (around) on one foot' L, yeḡ leesešeg̃ 'it's

hopping (around) on one foot' L (M rejects gloss),  
'it's limping (around)' M, yeḡ kəcəcəḡxɪh 'he's  
hopping, skipping around on one foot' L.

d-de-cəcə-g (with -g-repetitive thematized and  
d-thematic 'oral') 'S's lower lip hangs, pro-  
trudes loosely': decedəcəcəḡɪ 'his lower lip  
is hanging loosely' L.



seʔq̄s (perhaps related to its partner composed with ʔiʔ, Geʔʔʔaʔ)

seʔq̄sg (noun, unclassified, with -g-repetitive thematized) 'earwax, soot, clogging substance' LMA,

seʔq̄sgʔaʔluw 'big hunk of earwax' M, siʔehyeq̄d

seʔq̄sg 'wax in my ear' M.

d-seʔq̄s-g (with -g-repetitive thematized, d-mark perhaps thematic, or class-mark) 'S is, becomes clogged': ʔewyeq̄ daseʔq̄sgt 'it (pipe, chimney) got clogged inside' L (these perhaps transitive O-d-seʔq̄s-g 'S clogs O', 'it (substance) clogged its inside').

de-seʔq̄s-g (perhaps passive of preceding) 'S (O?) is, becomes clogged': q̄e·dah ʔewyeq̄d sdiʔq̄sgt 'it just got all clogged up' ('its inside simply got clogged') L.

d-ke-seʔq̄s-g (with -g-repetitive thematized and d--thematic 'noise') 'S squeaks, creaks': deʔeʔq̄sg 'it (box, spring, floor) squeaks, it creaks (sharply or slowly)' LMA, yahd deʔeʔq̄sg 'house (d--class) creaks, squeaks' L (L at times has doubts about the correctness of the stem in this theme, suspects, perhaps rightly, influence of KikS--K̄i·KS-K̄i·gS, siʔ·q̄s).

senuh (perhaps to be segmented se-nuh, cf. ?enuh, seyet)

senuh (noun, unclassified) 'ducks, waterfowl, fowl, bird (generic)' LM, 52.2L, Wrangell KANNA-ny 'Vogel', Galushia Nelson qãnd' or qã·nd 'duck' BSdL 539, senuhya· 'ducks' 24.69, 28.20A, se-nuhluw 'big duck' M, senuhkih 'little duck' M, ?ow senuh ?eĩja? 'pluck that duck!' L, senuh-ga? ?ikiKahñih 'he's duck-footed' L, ?ami·nya? senuh '(barn?) swallow' M (see under ?ami·n), di·ya?ya?d senuh 'salt-water duck, canvasback' L, delax<sup>M</sup>e·g senuh 'whistling duck, real black, with yellow feet and beak' (probably 'surf scoter (Melanitta perspicillata), American common scoter (Oidemia nigra americana)', perhaps also American and/or Barrow's goldeneye (Bucephala clangula americana, B. islandica)'), Bezanov KANOKKA 'Kypma Henne' senuhyequb 'young duck, duckling'; di·ya?ya?d senuh 'saltwater-duck (generic), canvasback (Aythya valisineria)' L, perhaps also 'greater' and/or 'lesser scaup (Aythya marila, A. affinis)'.

?edetenuh (noun, unclassified) '(unidentified) duck species' ('real duck, duck par excellence') L. Perhaps 'mallard', same as ?edeñedq̄·q̄·

sa·leh (see cī·ḵ-cī·ḵ, sa·leh perhaps stem, or perhaps to be segmented sa'-leh, or s-a'-leh, cf. sa·geleh)

seɣ (widely diffused form of unknown origin, Athapaskan  
\*sɛɣ, Tlingit seɣ, present also in Tsimshian, Bella  
Coola and probably further)

seɣ (noun, unclassified) 'rabbit' LM, Rezanov Kaxɔ  
'ʒaɛɛɔ ,yɛɛɛɔ Hase', seɣ'a'luw 'big rabbit'  
M, seɣ'ekih 'little rabbit' M.

eəɣʲ (probably loan from Tlingit eʉ:ɬ, or perhaps a widely diffused term of unknown origin, cf. widespread northern Athapaskan \*eət<sup>w</sup>əɬ 'swan')

eəɣʲ (noun, unclassified) 'swan' LM (probably 'whistling swan (*Olor columbianus*)' and 'trumpeter swan (*Olor buccinator*)'), Hezanov Кохтлэ 'Jeбeдэ Schwan', Wrangell Кохтлэ 'Schwan', Galushia Nelson eəɣʲtɬ 'swan' BSdL 539, eucɣ= eʉʲtɬ 'swan(-skin) blanket' 63.3, 7G (blend of Tlingit and Eyak forms).

selexelexah (analysis uncertain, perhaps nominalized active imperfective of O-x-a 'S eats O', with cl-- thematic 'ground' for O and lx-class-mark 'granular' for S, thus 'granular S eat ground', but this analysis might be problematical in that the noun so derived is not itself lx-class; a conceivable alternative analysis might be -lex- as second person plural S pronoun instead of lx-class-mark, but this might be phonologically irregular for selexa'lexah 'you pl. are eating ground', and would also be unique for a nominalization)

selexelexah (noun, unclassified) 'tadpole' L, selexelexah xihih 'he's eating tadpoles' L, selexelexahluw 'big tadpole' L.

ᑕᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ (loan from Chugach Eskimo ᑕᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ 'large  
kayak, baidarka', not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson  
Harry)

ᑕᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ (noun, unclassified) 'kayak, baidarka'  
IM, 12.4, 14, 22G, 22.3L, also dog's name M,  
ᑕᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ 'big baidarka' M.

ci·na·des (distorted forms ci·ya·des, di·ya·des from G in Li, rejected by LA; loan from Chugach Eskimo qinaataq 'red ripe salmon' ('it's pregnant'), not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)

ci·na·des (noun, unclassified) 'red ripe salmon upstream' LA, 63.30fnG, 65, 71.72A, 67.13fnG, 68.-41A, Galushia Nelson qi·na<sup>n</sup>tdq or qinatdq 'red salmon when it turns red in fresh water' BSdL 540, ci·na·des yasedeie?i 'meat of red-salmon is turning ripe red' L, ci·na·desyu· 'red ripe salmon, pl.' 68.52A.

g-e-xa.

se·xa'-se·xah (L earlier se·xah, later se·xa', A se·xa'; unanalyzable, to be segmented perhaps se--xa'--xah, se·x-a'--ah, or se'-x-a'--'ah, see xah<sup>1</sup>, xah<sup>2</sup>, xa<sup>2</sup>, se; perhaps not of Eyak origin, see e.g. Strange, Chugach Eskimo Quehak 'An Ear-ring of pearl shell')

se·xa'-se·xah (noun, perhaps dl- or lx-class)  
 'dentalium, nacre, limestone' (? , probably some white or shiny decorative material): Galushia Nelson se'xá 'dentalium shell' BSdL 551, se·xah, se·xa' 'dentalium, some kind of bead'? L, 'kind of white stone (of any size)' L, se·xa' 'shiny earrings' A, se·xahla'xe'q̄'d 'mother-of-pearl (?) buttons' L.

← *Thijet gunxá*  
*abulone*

se'qʒa'

se-ge'ʒa' k'c'ra' s'oy ʒ5

Vendian: KIXYA 'C KpuTT'

q. also c'ʒ'

se'qʒa' (loan from Tlingit <sup>a squeak, crack</sup> e:ʒa 'musical-instrument')

se'qʒa' (noun, d-class) 'musical instrument (e.g. accordion, guitar, piano)' L, se'qʒa' siʃ di'iaʒ 'give me those guitars!' L.

us ge'ʒa' ʒ'ʒ' (organ, piano, 'squeaker')

sa'ʒih (unanalyzable, to be segmented sa'ʒ-ih or  
sa'-ʒih, cf. ?eʒih, əu'ʒih, əa'geleh, əa'leh,  
Tlingit əsə 'lynx')

sa'ʒih (noun, unclassified) 'lynx' LM, Galushia  
Nelson qátəf' 'lynx' BSdL 538.

sa'geleh (A also sa'guleh, rejected by L; unanalyzable, originally segmentable, sa'-geleh, sa'g-leh, sa'-g-leh, stem perhaps geleh or leh, perhaps related to le(?)-li, le-(l)i-ni, or le, prefix sa'-, perhaps el-thematic, or another stem sa'g or sa' with -g-repetitive, or g-thematic; informants unable to etymologize or inflect; cf. sa'leh, sa'ʒih)

sa'geleh (noun, unclassified) 'fish, somewhat smaller than cod' LA (also sa'guleh A, rejected by L). "Shouldn't eat them" L, "can eat them" A; probably 'tomcod (Microgadus proximus)' or 'lingcod, cultus (Ophiodon elongatus)'.

sa·neṣte· (loan from Tlingit saṁṣṭedi, name of clan or sib of Raven moiety, represented amongst the Tlingit from Chilkat on Lynn Canal northwestward)

sa·neṣte·yu·, attested only with -yu· 'plural', name of Tlingit clan or sib of Raven moiety extended to the Eyak, of which L's father and G's father were members L, or (noun, unclassified) 'members of the sa·neṣte· clan' L.

sa-nih (loan from Chugach Eskimo qaniq 'porpoise',  
not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)

sa-nih (noun, unclassified) 'porpoise' A, 'killer-  
whale, blackfish' L, Galushia Nelson qa-niq' or  
qa<sup>n</sup>-niq' 'blackfish whale' BSdL 539.

\*u·ʒih (widely diffused form of unknown origin, Tlingit  
 ʒdʒ, Haida gōdj 'wolf', perhaps loan from Tlingit  
 with -ih added on analogy with \*əʒih, \*eni·ʒih,  
 ʒa·ʒih)

\*u·ʒih (noun, unclassified) 'wolf' LMA, 9.107A,  
 17.1M, 25.68, 119, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 131,  
 133, 144, 159, 161, 162, 175A, Wrangell  
 'Wolf', Galushia Nelson ʒó·tci 'wolf' BSdL 538,  
 ʒotci·yu 'Wolf People' BSdL 543 \*u·ʒihyu·  
 'wolves', also 'Wolf People' (a subdivision of  
 the Raven moiety, see BSdL 123-126, 306-308, Eyak  
 Texts 25.0fn, in Text 25. often ambiguous) 10.51,  
 25.123, 152, 161, 161, 161, 212A, \*u·ʒihceyu·  
 'wolves, wolf-people' (with -s-personal suffix,  
 as with nouns referring to humans) 25.165, 192A,  
 \*u·ʒihwehahyu· 'wolf-people' 25.5, 5, 13, 14,  
 34, 36, 49, 120, 179, 189, 201, 204A, \*u·ʒihyu·-  
 deseleh 'wolves' minds' 25.137A.

q1, see qid

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qi'

deqi·kih (noun or adverb, attested only as C, with d-thematic or perhaps de-'ipse', and -kih diminutive) 'all gone, no more, none left, vanished, missing, dead, out of existence, nonexistent': 11.203A, 18.28, 28, 19.25, 31.14, 41.2, 4, 42.-22L, 67.15G, deqi·kih 'he's missing, all gone, there is none (anymore, never was any)' LM, Old Man Dude taqéik: 'that's all (end of story)' BSDL 555, ("Taqéik:, that's all" BSDL 289, not a closing formula, but referring rather to a man's death), deqi·kihduh 'all gone!' L, qe'dah deqi·kih 'that's all, no more; there simply is none, it's all gone already' L, Resanov TaxeKexexery 'Ипоотропо geräunig' perhaps to be read deqi·kih giyabdah 'there's no more water (in it)!' L, or deqi·kih si·?ehduh 'all gone, you see!', deqi·kih ku·y, Bida?ya·leq sedisdiu?i 'there's no air (no more wind), it's too hot' L, deqi·kih kulaqa?luw 'there are no big ones (lq-class, berries) left' L, deqi·kih ceje?i 'it is becoming nonexistent (e.g. point of land washing away, person dying)' L, ya?x deqi·kih? qexexe? 'it (rainbow) dwindles upward bit by bit to nothing' 51.11A, deqi·kih

qe? ?edele·K 'it (rainbow) would (cust) dwindle  
back to nothing' 5l.11A, deqi·kih lesele?e  
'moon has become new' ('1-class S has waned to  
nothing') L.



qi? (qe? rare allegro variant, see qi?se?e?d, qi? lc.; also partly confused with qid, see qi? lc.)

qi? 1. (relative locative, syntactically unique, attested with zero, -č, -čahd, -deḡ and -da? finals, resulting nominalized clause serving frequently as o of postposition, S or O of sentence, or, in looser syntax, in apposition to S or O or o of postposition, or loosely used adverbially; position in word-order of sentence somewhat problematical: following S and O, but where S and O are both present, following S and preceding O, preceding or following C, preceding postpositional phrase where o is pronoun, but preceding or following postpositional phrase where o is not pronoun, preceding or following certain adverbs, preceding preverbs and preverbal S or O pronouns)

'(place) where' a, with zero final '(place) at where': 1a.4, 1b.2, 2a.15, 18, 6.3, 9M, 9.49, 123, 123, 10.66, 11.6, 200A, 15.4M, 21b.8, 23.6, 25.= 83A, 30.3L, 34.6CM, 125, 39.1L, 43.4, 46.1, 2, 47b.6, 31M, 51.57, 57A, 57.31G, 60.59, 65.52A, 8a.8e.n qi? dasahda'd 'at place where cordwood is chopped' M, ya?xu qi? seli.ḡqaḡda.ḡ yeḡ qu?yidah 'don't walk about in area where the ground is slippery' L, qi? sedahda? sa? 'go to where he's sitting.' L, ?ah qi? siḡehič

da· ʔi·ʔaʔʕ L, qiʔ siʕehiʔhʕ da· ʔi·ʔaʔʕ  
 'let's go to where I killed him' M, qiʔ sdi-  
 sehidaʔ ʔisiʔʔahʔ 'I went to where he was  
 killed' L, qiʔ siʕehiʔh qʔh 'that's where I  
 killed him' L, ʔu·d qiʔ qa· quʔdeʕeh 'there  
 (is) where someone (we) will get killed' L, de-  
 qa·yu· qiʔ kuʔga·ʔ 'place where one (cust)  
 dances sometimes' L, qiʔ iʔxʔah 'place where  
 it's summer' L, hiʕ qiʔ ʔi·iʔxaʔʔ 'place where  
 it's always summer' L, xu· qiʔ xdah '(that's)  
 where I (normally) sit' L, xu· qiʔ xteh 'that's  
 where I (normally) lie' L, qiʔ kuʔʕa·deʕah '  
 'place where one digs in the ground' L, sahʔ  
 qiʔ wəʔ deʕeh 'place where cockles are dry' L,  
 ʔu·d qəw qiʔ da· ku·kyahd 'there's where we  
 have a village' L, tʔah qiʔ leʕ la·kyah·ʔ  
 'where waves lap ashore' L, ʔəw qiʔ leʔah  
 'the place where it (hat, normally) belongs' L,  
 following S and preceding O: Galushia Nelson de-  
 ʔʔh qiʔ saʕeciʔ ʔi·saʕiʔahʔ 'where a man killed  
 lots of land-otters' BSdL 286, 559, ʕi·lehʕiyah  
 qiʔ ʔʔh ʔʔ·ʔ saʕiʔ 'where Old Raven made the  
 earth' BSdL 257, 559, preceding or following cer-  
 tain adverbs: deʔu·d ʔi· qiʔ ʔʔ·ʔ saʕehʔ  
 'right there where you have already lain down'  
 51.77A, qiʔ ʔi·dewa· lu·di·ʔʔ ʔəidah liʔhinu·

'where they were playing early in the morning  
 on the beach' 11.174A, preceding or following  
 postpositional phrase where o is not pronoun: X  
 ?aw giyahya? qi? sahîçahd 'from where she  
 went into the water' 25.63A, giyahgu'ç qi? si-  
 yahîda'd 'at where I went for water' 46.25M,  
 very frequent in the formation of more or less  
 well-established nominalizations: qi? \*edisdi-  
 su?îda'd 'at a warm place' 21a.13, 14, 30L,  
 24.21, 33.12A, qi? weç ku'teh 'camp' ('place  
 where people live') 11.200A, 64.9, 12G, qi?  
 kudada'ehdg 'place where things are being dried'  
 9.150, 156, 11.6A, (giyah) qi? yeç ?igeîi-î?ah  
 'waterfalls' ('place where it (water) extends  
 down') 25.55, 75, 76, 78, 80A, qi? ?edku'detah  
 'smokehouse' L, 47b.4M, qi? teh ?uxa? 'its  
 lying-place' L, qi? kûdeqa?dg 'fireplace'  
 ('place where something is boiled') LM, Rezanov,  
 qi? qa? ?əla'skîçahî 'pyre' Galushia Nelson  
 BSdL 546 ('place where people have been inciner-  
 ated'), ya'nu? qi? kuyi-liî 'bear-pit' BSdL  
 549 ('place where someone has dug underground'),  
 qi? ya'nu? kûsedeteh 'grave' BSdL 546, yeç  
 dexuî qi? ya'nu? ?iditahî 'well' ('place  
 where a keg is submerged') L, qi? qa? kəyî-liî  
 'grave, ditch, hole, pit' ('place where someone

has dug out') L, qí? ya·nu? kəy·li·e? 'í·-  
 sdiyahi·h 'he got stuck in a ditch' L, qí?  
 ku·iyahd 'camp' ('place where one has houses')  
 L, hi·k kuleh qí? ya·? di·yahh 'rainy place'  
 ('where rain is always falling') L, qí? 'ida·?  
 sdi·ehh 'potlatch' M, qí? kudə·əx 'smithy'  
 ('place where something is pounded') L, Rezanov,  
 qí? 'edkudaxahh 'sweathouse' LM, 53.7L, qí?  
 sidi·khi·q qa? sa·a·?i 'he climbed a hillock'  
 ('he went up on where it's humped') L, qí? kud  
 ku·ledəga·g 'school' ('place where people are  
 made to learn things') M, giyah qí? xəhd də-  
 xəg 'faucet' ('place where water is turned on')  
 L, qí? ku·dəxa·g 'garden' ('place where things  
 grow') L, xi·d qí? 'i·x ye·x li·'ahda·d 'yon-  
 der at foot of mountain (where mountain extends  
 down)' L, giyah qí? gə·lə·sə·k·a·h 'puddle' L,  
 in place-name: 'ə·xəkih qí? xəta·s dəya·?  
 Canoe Passage through Hawkins Island ('place  
 where canoes are taken across') L, sahs qí?  
 dədəda·?g 'place where sea otters are drowned'  
 L; where verb is C -lə(?) 'S is C', qí? pre-  
 ceding C: dəxəhyu· qí? ku·y·tu·inu· yi·h·inu·-  
 lehd 'because it's a place where people are  
 many' 29.58A, xi·d qí? ca·? yi·leh 'yonder  
 where it's deep' 23.160A, with ku-indefinite

S of -le(?) 'something is C, C exists, is present', qi? once preceding C: qi? gah ku-lehda? ?exa-k 'I (cust) come to where there's daylight' L, qi? usually following C: ?ah ku?ehd kuzu? qi? ku-lehda? ?ah setehi 'the wife carried him to where it was nice' 47c.23L, also frequent in place-names, for further examples and references, see under -le(?) 3b.(2); in clauses without verb, probably to be interpreted as C qi? ku-leh or qi? C ku-leh 'place where something is C, where C is present, exists' with ku-leh deleted, with C, usually independent adjective, following qi?: qi? kusa?ju? 'place where there's good ground (for camping)' L, 10.-12, 11.169, 170A, qi? kusa?nuw 'place where there's lots of ground' L, qi? keci?luw 'big hole, place, room' L, ?ew qi? kugu?tu? 'the place where there are many people' 51.73A, with noun as C: qi? ci?gselezu?da?z 'at a place where there is a nice gravel-beach' 11.170A, see also qi?se?e?d below, with noun as C, preceding qi?, syntactic structure uncertain, attested only asyntactically: qe?iseyu?buh qi? 'women there?' ('(is it) a place where (there are) women?') 10.-228A, diK deph qi?e 'nobody there' ('not a place where there are people, a place where there

is no person') 51.53, 61.109A; in clauses not lacking verb occasionally apparently synonymous with ?u·d 'there', with relative force, as in preceding, apparently lacking: qi?δuh sədi·= ʔeh 'is it a cold place?' L (i.e. 'is it a place where it's cold?', cf. ?u·dδuh sədi·ʔeh 'is it cold there?'), diK də?u·dəʔya·kih qi? ?əs·tah̄i 'nothing was (left) there' ('a place where not anything was') 7.42A, Ke· qi? Ku·t̄ehləʔ ?isəi?əh̄inu· "they saw what the place was all about" 34.125L ('they saw how something was there').

1b. With various finals: with -č final: 'place toward, to which, at which (continually, repeatedly)': 18.82L, 20.103, 23.159A, 30.3, 31.= 9, 37a.4, 7, 47c.42L, qi?č yeʔ Kude?a?čʔ 'toilet' ('place to which people go about') L, č̄i·leh̄siyah qi?č ca·?i ?uʔa? sədəʔi 'Where Old Raven threw his box' BSdL 259, 558 ('place toward which Raven threw his food-box'), ka·ʔ ?aw qi?č sa·i 'where's the place he's going to?' L, qi?č ?əh̄ʔ ?a?d̄ šə?a?č̄ida·ʔ 'at the place he went out with him towards' 23.128A; with -čahd final, 'place from which': ʔi·d qi?čahd li? səʔah̄ida·d 'at the place where they had boated downriver from' 68.49A, qi?čahd ?iʔəsəqeh̄ida·d 'at the place where they had

boated away from' 9.149A, qi'čahd 'uX 'ahnu-  
 se'a'čida·x 'at the place where they had gone  
 with her from' 25.75A; with -dəx final '(move-  
 ment within area, in various places) along place  
 where, par 9j': Galushia Nelson či-lehšiyah qi'-  
 dəx we·s 'uça' ca' səixabdi 'Where Old Raven  
 dragged his drying-rack' BSdL 259, 558 ('place  
 along where Raven dragged his drying-rack down  
 toward shore'), 'əw dələx<sup>w</sup>e·g qi'dəx 'uça'  
 li' xəla·sa'yahičahd 'from the place along where  
 the groundhog had run in by him' 23.35A, qi'dəx  
 iča'xg 'where (place along where) it's dripping'  
 LM, Rezanov, 'əw qi'dəx yex ku·leh 'where  
 something (hole) exists downward' 28.59A, diK  
 'u·la'xiga·e qi'dəx (qu'xah) 'I don't know  
 the way (to go, along which I'll go)' L, qi'dəx  
 kužu· yileh 'where it (skin) was in good condi-  
 tion' 28.91A, with -kih diminutive: 'əw qi'-  
 dəxkih la'q' 'i·ča'čda·x 'along the place along  
 where it(s) meat) is rather thick' 65.4A, in more  
 or less well-established nominalizations and  
 place-names: qi'dəx səli·diK 'shortcut' ('place  
 along where overland distance is short') L, 3a·q'  
 qi'dəx sala·i '(a certain) constellation (Plei-  
 ades?)' ('place where a bullhead is moving along')  
 L, qi'dəx 'əw qə·č 'ixuXg 'blowhole' ('the

place through which it repeatedly blows upward')  
 11.155A, qi'dax delu? ku'leh place-name,  
 "cutoff", canoe passageway through Hawkins Island  
 ('place along where a hole exists through some-  
 thing') L; with -da? final, 'place to (arrival  
 at) where': ?u?M qi'da? di'kquhè 'place to  
 which driftwood has floated' L, qi'da? ?idisi-  
 yeq'gida'd 'at the place where he had arrived  
 breaking mussels' 1b.2M, gəla'ʔa'w qi'da? ?i-  
 ʔeʔe'K 'boats (cust) go far out to sea' 64.7G  
 (exact analysis and interpretation uncertain,  
 either '(it is) far over water(, the place to  
 which) boats go' or, with gəla'ʔa'w qi? (ku'-  
 leh) '(there is) a long distance over water' as  
 o of o-da? ?iʔeʔe'K 'boats go to o', cf. 23.-  
 159A, 31.9, 16L, the exact interpretation and  
 analysis of which are in part similarly uncertain).

1c. With -d final, as o of o-ga? 'like,  
 equal to o (in quality or quantity)', usually re-  
 duced to qidga?, perhaps by partial confusion  
 with qid, 'point as far as, limit to which,  
 limit at which, end': qi'dga? li? seqebda'd  
 'at about as far as he could boat downstream' 56.-  
 2L, with de- 'ipse': deqi'dga? ?u?lixilgah  
 'that's as far as I know it' M, reduced: qidga?  
 kuyex ʔah (earlier transcribed qe?g<sup>w</sup>aʔəyexʔah,

qe'ga'kuyeyeh'ah S) place-name L, see 'a'-,  
 ta' qidga' ?i'ah 'end of the road' L, qid-  
 ga' ca' sdixexida'd 10.235A, qidga' ca'  
 dexexida'd 10.227A, qidga' ca' dexex',  
 qidga' lah3 dexex'k' 'low-water mark' L, see  
 under xax.

2. (relative locative, meaning extended to  
 temporal, attested with zero and -dax finals,  
 apparently clause initial, preceding S in the one  
 attestation with overt independent S) '(time)  
 when': a. with zero final, resulting nominalized  
 clause as o of postposition: with verb in active  
 optative, clause as o of o-č 'to o', 'until  
 (past or present, realized or not)': 9.27A, 34.-  
 114, 56.3L, 65.42A, 66.1L, qi' ?aw nahs ?ewa-  
 hi'q' ?uxax' ? yax gela'di'ahč 'until their  
 slime has all run down off them' 65.42A, qi'  
 la'xditehč kuqu'xi'xah 'I'll eat until I'm full'  
 L, kuqu'xi'xah qi' la'q' ?ixiqečč 'I'll eat  
 until I burst' L, ya'xu' kuqu'xi'yah qi' ?ah  
 qe' ?idiyahč 'don't eat until he goes back' L,  
 qi' ?ixisihč qu'xdexa'gč 'I'll work until I  
 die' L, qi' ?ixisihč ?ilah qe'qe'xleh 'I'll  
 love you until I die' L, qi' ?i'sihč silah  
 qe'lij'ih 'he loved me until he died' L, qi'  
 qi' gela'yixehč 'until it (water) gets cool' L,

diK ʔiʃ quʔxtaːs qiʔ ʔuq xuːlilehʃ 'I  
 won't give it to you until you pay me' L, in  
 text, prepausally, with -ʃ probably to be  
 supplied: qiʔ ʔew yaːʒ ʔiːleʔg[ʃ] 'until  
 he had eaten it all up' 10.57A, but qiʔ ʔaʔd  
 ʔidah daːyilʔeh[dʃ] 'until they get really  
 very dry' 65.23A and qiʔ daːyilʔehd[ʃ] 'until  
 they dry' 65.51A conceivably to be interpreted,  
 without supplying [-ʃ], 'where they might dry';  
 with verb in active perfective, clause as o of  
 o-ʃahd 'from o', 'since the time when': qiʔ  
 ʔaːdaʔ ʔiseiʔphiʃahd yikaʔdih 'ever since he  
 arrived here he's been sick' L, with verb in in-  
 ceptive imperfective, clause with conjunction  
 daːʒ 'when, if': qiʔ quʔxsih daːʒ quʔxsih  
 'when I die I'll die, if I die I die' 23.154A.

2b. With -deʒ final, qiʔdeʒ 'the time  
 at which, as soon as, when': diK ʔuːlaʔxigaːs  
 qiʔdeʒ ʔeːʔah quʔxdeqeh 'I don't know when  
 I'll (beating) get back home' L (also, under lb.,  
 'I don't know by what route I'd boat back home'),  
 qiʔdeʒ qaʔixah 'when summer will come' L, 'be-  
 fore it becomes summer' M, ʔiː tuhigaʔ ʔuʃahd  
 yeseiqahh, qiʔdeʒ seejihh 'already three days  
 have passed since (it, the time when) he died' L,  
 with de- 'ipse': deqiʔdeʒ ʔedlah ʔuʔxeditahh

'as soon as I found out about myself' 32.21A;  
 qi<sup>2</sup>deɣ ʔənahšəkɪh da<sup>2</sup> ʔi<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>ʕ da<sup>2</sup>ɣ 'as soon  
 as we get going having a good time' 30.9L (ap-  
 parently blend of qi<sup>2</sup>deɣ ʔənahšəkɪhya<sup>2</sup>ɣ da<sup>2</sup>  
 se<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>ʕɪ 'soon as we've started going along having  
 a good time' and ʔənahšəkɪhya<sup>2</sup>ɣ da<sup>2</sup> ʔi<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>ʕ  
 da<sup>2</sup>ɣ 'just as we get going having a good time',  
 but originally glossed "anyplace we go happy",  
 which is not parallel to following clauses, and  
 which would require correction to ʔi<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>ʕkda<sup>2</sup>ɣ  
 'at the place along which we (cust) go having a  
 good time').

qi<sup>2</sup>se<sup>2</sup>e<sup>2</sup>d (noun, unclassified) 'bed' L, 18.28L,  
 occasional allegro variant qe<sup>2</sup>se<sup>2</sup>e<sup>2</sup>d, originally  
 transcribed qe<sup>2</sup>se<sup>2</sup>ʔd in 18.28L, hi<sup>2</sup> ʔaw qi<sup>2</sup>-  
 se<sup>2</sup>e<sup>2</sup>d (or qe<sup>2</sup>se<sup>2</sup>e<sup>2</sup>d) ʔiɣa<sup>2</sup> ɣu<sup>2</sup> se<sup>2</sup>le<sup>2</sup>gk<sup>2</sup> 'al-  
 ways (cust) make your bed!' L, Old Man Dude qe<sup>2</sup>-  
 qā<sup>2</sup>hɪt 'bed (modern)' B3dL 546. See qi<sup>2</sup> la.  
 towards end, ʔe<sup>2</sup>-, 'place where (there is) a  
 place (of something absent)'.

ka<sup>2</sup> qi<sup>2</sup> (locative, attested only with -ʕ and  
 -ʕahd finals) 'some place or other, wherever that  
 way be, if such a place does indeed exist', see  
 under ka<sup>2</sup>.

qi<sup>2</sup>ya<sup>2</sup>da<sup>2</sup>ɣ (adverb, postpositional phrase, < qi<sup>2</sup>  
 ya<sup>2</sup>-da<sup>2</sup>-ɣ '(movement in area) in vicinity of a

thing at a place, time') 1. 'sometime, anytime (indefinite)' L, qi'ya·da·ɣ ʔp·ɕ ɕʌʔ ʔi'qe'x= de'ehɣ 'I'll invite you over sometime' M, qi'ya·da·ɣ kəʒu·daʔ xu'qu'ʔəli·ʔyah 'some day I'll get lucky' L, ʔəw ɣa'ʔd ʔi'p·ʔ qa'xuh, qi'ya·da·ɣ, ʔi'gidig 'the world will turn on you, sometime, you too' 72.19L, with de- 'ipse': deqi'ya·da·ɣ 'sometime, anytime (at all)' LA.

2. With d-emphatic: qi'ya·da·ɣd(ə'əw) 'sometimes' 62.6, 7, 29, 63.20, 64.10, 106, not verified from other informants, perhaps misused for deqa·yu· 'sometimes', under influence of local English in which 'sometimes' > 'sometime'.

qi'ya·da·d (adverb, < postpositional phrase qi'ya·-da·-d '(at rest, nominalization of) in vicinity of a thing at a place, time) 'someplace, anyplace (indefinite)' L.

qe

-qe 'S goes, travels by boat (in single boat, of any kind), S boats (for purpose of transporting self, not boat)', occurring frequently and with a great variety of preverbs and postpositional phrases in texts, most instances of which are cited here only by number: with no locative preverbs or postpositional phrases, often with the meaning 'S boats off, S goes away (by boat), or, in inceptive perfective, 'S is boating along': inceptive perfective: 7.12, 20.45, 45, 23.58A, 26.3L, 28.1, 2, 49.73A, 53.23L, 68.9A, in other mode-aspects: 7.13, 10.148A, 42.7L, 43.30M, 49.60, 98A, 56.1L, 68.108A, inceptive conditional, in infrequent usages without da'x 'if, when': 56.2L, 69.11, 11A; ~~elicited occurrences, arranged by mode-aspects:~~ with o-ya? 'in o (with broad opening at top)' 'S boats in (boat, vessel made of o)': 7.16, 25.157, 37b.5A, 38.17LM, 52.28L, 68.2A, with o-ɕ 'to, towards o' 7.17A, 14.1L, 28.71A, 38.10LM, 42.15, 16L, 43.31M, 47a.7, 47c.5, 12, 13, 46L, 49.30, 116, 117, 118, 120, 140, 141A, 52.15, 56.7, 15, 18L, 57.31G, 60.63, 68.32, 411A, with o-da? 'to, arriving at o': 20.60, 61A, 26.5L, 33.4, 21, 37b.70A, 42.8, 22L, 47b.13, 41M,

49.123, 141A, 52.7, 16, 53.1, 56.3, 4, 16L, 59.6  
 Galushia Nelson, 64.7G, 68.9, 11, 11A, with  
 o-ɣahd 'away from o, leaving o behind': 10.166,  
 20.58, 60A, 34.68, 47b.5, 13M, 49.100A, with o=  
 ɕahd 'away from o': 9.49A, 47a.5L, 47b.38M,  
 60.63, 68.2A, with o-ɣaʔ 'for (to get) o, by  
 (near) o': 9.122, 142, 10.90, 20.51, 28.1A, 47b.=  
 38M, 52.2, 53.24L, 62.18, 25, 63.1G, 66.1L,  
 with o-luʔqa· 'to get o': 20.61, 33.7, 43.14,  
 14M, with o-ʔaʔ 'encountering, coming upon o':  
 33.40A, 47b.6M, 47c.3L, 49.30, 61, 68.5A, with  
 o-a· '(to provide) for o, on behalf of o': 9.15,  
 149A, with o-ta·s, 'over, across o': 25.47,  
 37b.67, 80, 80A, with o-x̣ 'with o (along)':  
 25.1, 14, 33.55A, 37a.26, 42.15, 22L, 50.47A,  
 62.5, 63.1G, with o-lah 'around o': 71.21LM,  
 with o-lahsəx̣ '(movement in area) forward of,  
 further out to sea than o': 28.2A, with o-c̣iʔx̣  
 '(movement in area) downhill from o': 23.58A,  
 with o-qəʔ 'onto o': 10.166A, 12.4G, 50.51A,  
 57.31G, with o-ʔihx̣ '(movement in area) be-  
 hind o' 38.20LM, with o-da·x̣ '(movement in area)  
 near, by o': 68.10A, with Kiyaʔ-ɕ 'landing':  
 47c.46L, with ʔəd-ʔeʔ-ɕ '(to S's own) home':  
 56.7, 15, 18L, with o-yaʔɕ 'into o (body of

water)': 68.32A, with o-yaʔɣ '(movement (with)in  
 o (body of water)': 68.3A, with o-waʔɣ 'accord=  
 ing to, by close attention to o': 68.4A, with  
 yaq 'ashore': 20.51, 25.54A, 38.20LM, 53.24L,  
 with yahd 'out to sea, away from shore': 12.4G,  
 20.83A, 21a.21L, 21b.75, 37b.66, 49.88, 50.47A,  
 62.5G, with liʔ 'downstream': 56.2L, 68.2,  
 3.21, 105A, with dae 'upstream': 68.10, 37A,  
 with daeʔɣ '(movement in area) upstream':  
 60.63A, with daʔɣ 'across': 25.14A, 34.68M,  
 38.10, 17, 20, 20LM, 53.28L, with lah 'around  
 (in circular motion)': 43.31M, 57.31G, 60.63, 63,  
 63A, with ʔeʂ 'completely by, past': 37b.67,  
 80A, with ʔah 'home' (always also with qeʔ--  
 qeʔ-- 'back'): 33.55A, 47c.16L, 49.125A, with  
 qeʔ--qeʔ-- 'back, again, home, some more, another  
 S': 9.142, 20.58, 59, 60, 21b.75, 25.180, 33.29,  
 55, 37b.66, 68, 70A, 42.8, 10L, 43.14, 14, 47b.-  
 8, 13, 41M, 47c.5, 11, 12, 15, 16L, 49.85, 117,  
 118, 125, 125, 126A, 52.7, 53.28, 56.3, 4, 7, 9,  
 15, 16, 18L, 57.31G, 68.3, 37, 105, with yaɣ--  
 progressive, frequently in sense 'S boats around  
 hunting, S goes hunting (by boat)': 9.15, 25.1,  
 157, 157A, 26.11L, 33.2A, 37b.5, 7A, 43.14, 14,  
 47b.5M, 47c.13L, 62.5G, 68.4, 32A, elicited oc=  
 currences, arranged by mode-aspect: imperatives:

'seqe? L, Rezanov Ирка 'Полѣзай fahren (Im-  
 perat.)' 'iqe? 'go (by boat)!' IMS, 'u·č  
 'seqe?, 'u·č 'iqe?, 'u·č seqe? 'boat thither!' L,  
 li'x 'iqe? 'boat downstream!' L, dese'x  
 'boat upstream!' L, lese'x 'iqe? 'boat up (e.g.  
 inlet to Orca)!' L, 'i·zi'x 'iqe? 'boat  
 straight ahead!' L, sika? 'iqe? 'boat with  
 me!' L, duhs'xeda·q'd (or 'uhs'xeda·q'd) Kiya?  
 seqe? 'land on the riverbank!' L, yašp·deš  
 Kiya? seqe? 'land close!' L, sic'·'x Kiya?  
 seqe?, sic'·'deš Kiya? seqe? 'land downhill  
 below me!' L, 'ulu? 'aš seqe? 'boat past  
 through it!' L, 'u·č 'ilešqe?, 'u·č 'elešqe?,  
 'u·č sešqe? 'pl. boat thither!' L, Rezanov  
 Ачкѣке 'Прѣхатъ zurückkehren' 'p·č qe? ...-  
 deqe..., 'p·č qe? 'ideqe· L, 'p·č qe?  
 'ideqe?, 'p·č qe? sešqe? 'boat back hither!' L,  
 КудТудахъачкѣке (with Куд crossed  
 out) 'Прѣзай zurückkehren (Imperat.)' de'u·-  
 deš 'p·č qe? ...deqe... 'boat back hither,  
 right along there, right there!', de'u·deš  
 'p·č qe? 'edeqe? 'come back here the same way  
 (you went)!' L, yeš 'edeqe· LM (not yeš 'ideqe·  
 L), yeš 'ideqe?, yeš sešqe·? (these latter  
 two forms later rejected by L) 'boat about!, go

boating!' L, ?q·č qe·ye? sodeqe·? 'boat back  
 here!' L, inceptive imperfective: Rezanov Kooxke  
 → 'ᑭᓂᓂᓂ fahren' qu?xqeh 'I'll go (by boat)' L,  
 ?u·č qu?xqeh (or -qe·) 'I'll boat there' L,  
 diK ?u·č qu?xqe·s (or -qehs) 'I won't boat  
 there' L, diK yeqahwahd qu?xqe·s 'I won't  
 camp overnight (on boat trip)' L, qi? yeq  
 qu?xqeh 'place where I'll land' L, ᑭᓂᑭᓂᓂᓂ  
 qu?xqeh 'I'll boat to Bering River' L, Rezanov  
 ᑭᓂᑭᓂᓂᓂ 'He ᓂᓂᓂ fahre nicht' ya?xu· qu?  
 yiqeh 'don't go (by boat)', duhskᑭeda·qᑭ da·  
 ᑭiya? qa?qeh (or ᑭiya? da· qa?qeh) 'we'll  
 land on the riverbank' L, giyah sdilahᑭa? (or  
 ka·skᑭa?) da· qa?qeh 'we'll go (by boat) after  
 humpbacked salmon' L, yeqa· da· qa?qeh 'we'll  
 go in the morning' M, yeqe?ᑭ da· qa?qeh 'we'll  
 boat southwest (out Orca Inlet)' L, (ᑭᑭᑭ) yeqah=  
 wahd da· qa?qeh 'we'll go for one day (on boat  
 trip inviting one overnight)' L, ᑭᑭᑭ ᑭeda· gah=  
 wahd da· qa?qeh 'we'll go for one day' L,  
 ?u·čᑭuhnu· qa?qeh 'will they go there?' L,  
 ᑭiya? qa?qihᑭh 'he'll land' L, diK ?u·la?x=  
 ᑭga·s qi?deᑭ qe·?ᑭh qu?xdeqeh 'I don't know  
 when I'll get back home' L, diK ?u·la?xᑭga·s  
 deᑭᑭᑭᓂᓂᓂ qe·?ᑭh qu?xdeqeh 'I don't know what

time (o'clock) I'll get back home' L, yeḡ quʔx=deqe (or -qeh) 'I'll boat around, go boating' L, diḡ yeḡ quʔxdeqe:s 'I won't go boating' L, yeḡ quʔdeqihih 'he'll go boating' M, inceptive perfective: xi·ḡ seḡqe·ḡ 'I'm boating over there' L, ʔu·ḡ seḡqe·ḡ 'I'm boating thither' L, yeḡeḡ seḡqe·ḡ 'I'm landing' L, ḡəla·da·ḡ seḡqe·ḡ 'I'm boating along shore' L, seqe·ḡih 'he's boating along, he's going by boat' M, ʔu·ḡ seqe·ḡih 'he's boating thither' L, de:s seqe·ḡih 'he's boating upstream' L, liʔḡ seqe·ḡ, liʔ seqe·ḡih 'he's boating downstream' L, da·ḡ seqe·ḡih 'he's boating across' L, ʔu·deḡ ʔḡ·ḡ da·ḡ seqe·ḡih 'he's coming across there hither' L, xi·ḡa·ḡ seḡe·ḡih 'he's going way over in yonder direction' L, ʔḡ·guleyaʔḡ da· seqe·ḡ 'we're boating along in the water' L, ma·gudaʔḡ da· seqe·ḡ 'we're boating at lake's outlet' M, Miyaʔḡ seqe·ḡih 'he's landing' L, qənuḡ seqe·ḡih 'he's boating along in open place, open to view' L, ḡedi·ʔḡeḡ (seḡi·ʔḡeḡ L) seqe·ḡih 'he's boating out toward the breakers' M, ḡəlah seqe·ḡih 'he's coming around a point' LM, ḡəlahḡ seqe·ḡih 'he's coming, going around a point (canoe partly visible to speaker)' LM,

lah seqe-i:h 'he's boating around (in circular path)' M, dexi' ?q-č seqe-i:duhnu, dexi' ?q-č seqe-i:nu-duhnu 'they're coming already!' L, xayuh ?q-č seqe-i:nu 'they're coming!' (urgent, 'do something!') L, ma-xahč da' seqe-i' 'we're boating towards head of inlet on lake' L, Kihda-č seqe-i:h 'he's boating to a different place' L, yax sedsqe-i:h 'he's boating about (a long time, all day long)' L (L considers this a somewhat unnatural form), active perfective: siqehi 'I want (by boat)' L, ?u-č siqehi 'I went thither (by boat), set off thither' L, ?ew?q-? siqehi 'I came upon it (while boating)' L, yeq siqehi 'I landed' L, ca-xi-na?d qa? siqehi 'I ran up on a rock' L, wa?d qa? siqehi 'I ran aground in shallows' L, seqehi:h 'he went (by boat), he boated off' M, xi-d xaye?u-kča-č lah seqehi:h 'he boated around yonder point' M, ?q-č seqehi:h 'he boated thither, set off thither' L, xeciya?da? seqehi:h 'he arrived down below (at shore)' L, Kiya? seqehi:h 'he landed' L, Kihda-č seqe-i:h 'he boated to a different place' L, Kihda-da? seqehi:h 'he arrived at a different place' L, si?q-? seqehi:h 'he came upon me (while boating)' L, xelah seqehi:h 'he

boated around a point' M,  $\text{xe}^{\text{?}}\text{x}^{\text{?}}\text{i}^{\text{?}}\text{i}^{\text{?}}\text{ca}\cdot\text{c}$  lah  
 saqeh $\dot{\text{i}}$ h 'he turned around outward (away from  
 shore)' L,  $\text{?edixi}^{\text{?}}\text{i}^{\text{?}}\text{ca}\cdot\text{c}$  lah saqeh $\dot{\text{i}}$ h 'he  
 turned around inward (toward shore)' M,  $\text{x}^{\text{?}}\text{i}\cdot\text{ca}\cdot\text{c}$   
 yahd saqeh $\dot{\text{i}}$ h 'he went out in yonder direction'  
 L,  $\text{xi}^{\text{?}}\text{qahya}^{\text{?}}\text{cahd}$   $\text{?q}\cdot\text{da}^{\text{?}}$  saqeh $\dot{\text{i}}$ h 'he arrived  
 here from Bering River' L,  $\text{ta}^{\text{?}}\text{xc}^{\text{?}}\text{da}^{\text{?}}\text{ya}^{\text{?}}$   $\text{q}^{\text{?}}\text{h}$   $\text{da}\cdot\text{x}$   
 saqeh $\dot{\text{i}}$  'in (a vessel made of some kind of) bark  
 it was he boated across' L (see also  $\text{ku}^{\text{?}}\text{h}$ ,  $\text{te}\cdot\text{x}$ ),  
 $\text{qenuh}$  saqeh $\dot{\text{i}}$ nu $\cdot$  la $\cdot$  'they've come into view,  
 see!' L,  $\text{c}^{\text{?}}\text{e}^{\text{?}}\text{e}^{\text{?}}\text{iga}\cdot\text{x}$   $\text{q}^{\text{?}}\text{hew}$   $\text{?q}\cdot\text{da}^{\text{?}}$  saqeh $\dot{\text{i}}$ h 'he  
 came here with (a boatload of) spruce cones' L,  
 Galushia Nelson  $\text{e}^{\text{?}}\text{it}^{\text{?}}\text{aq}$   $\text{w}^{\text{?}}\text{ola}^{\text{?}}\text{fyu}$   $\text{ut}^{\text{?}}$   $\text{q}^{\text{?}}\text{i}\cdot\text{y}^{\text{?}}\text{aq}$   
 $\text{sti}^{\text{?}}\text{q}^{\text{?}}\text{at}^{\text{?}}\text{i}$  'he returned to shore with the seal  
 people' BSdL 283, 559  $\text{ge}\cdot\text{ita}\cdot\text{gw}^{\text{?}}\text{alahyu}\cdot$   $\text{?u}^{\text{?}}$   
 $\text{q}^{\text{?}}\text{e}\cdot\text{ya}^{\text{?}}$   $\text{adi}^{\text{?}}\text{qeh}\dot{\text{i}}$ h 'seal people, he boated back  
 to shore with them',  $\text{ye}^{\text{?}}$   $\text{xadi}^{\text{?}}\text{qeh}\dot{\text{i}}$  'I went  
 boating, I boated about' L,  $\text{ye}^{\text{?}}$   $\text{adi}^{\text{?}}\text{qeh}\dot{\text{i}}$ h 'he  
 boated about' M, active imperfective, attested  
 only with  $\text{ye}^{\text{?}}$ -progressive:  $\text{ye}^{\text{?}}$   $\text{x}^{\text{?}}\text{de}^{\text{?}}\text{e}\cdot\text{x}$  'I'm  
 boating about',  $\text{?i}^{\text{?}}\text{ya}^{\text{?}}$   $\text{ye}^{\text{?}}$   $\text{x}^{\text{?}}\text{de}^{\text{?}}\text{e}\cdot\text{x}$  'I'm boat-  
 ing back and forth' L,  $\text{ye}^{\text{?}}$   $\text{de}^{\text{?}}\text{e}\cdot\text{x}^{\text{?}}\text{i}$ h 'he's boat-  
 ing about' IM,  $\text{di}^{\text{?}}$   $\text{ye}^{\text{?}}$   $\text{de}^{\text{?}}\text{e}\cdot\text{x}^{\text{?}}\text{i}$ h 'he's not  
 boating about' L, neuter perfective, attested  
 only in indirect reflexive with  $\text{?i}^{\text{?}}\text{le}^{\text{?}}\text{x}^{\text{?}}$  'in

competition with one another': ?illexp-? ?idi-  
 qehi 'they're racing each other (by boat)' L,  
 Galushia Nelson itfiã<sup>n</sup> ix:Diqãh 'canoe race'  
 BSdL 551, perhaps with yeç-progressive, ?illexp-?  
 yeç ?idiqehi 'they're racing each other about',  
 active optative: ?u-ç ?i-qihih 'let him go  
 there (by boat)' L, ?u-ç da- ?i-qeh 'let's go  
 there' L, qele? da- ?i-qe? 'let's go!' L, da-  
 yeç ?idiqeh LM (or -qe- L), yeç da- ?idiqe-  
 'let's go boating' L, da- yeç ?idiqehwahd (not  
 -qe-) 'so that we may go boating' L, inceptive  
 optative: ?u-ç ei-qihih 'let him boat there' L,  
 active subjunctive: ?u-ç ?ilexqe-x lexM dexleh  
 'I told you pl. to go there' L, diK ?ilexqe-x  
 lexM dexleh 'I told you pl. not to go' L, active  
 customary: da- ?eqe-K 'we (cust) go by boat' M,  
 ?ew?ã-? ?exqe-K 'I (cust) come upon it (while  
 boating)' L, yeç ?idaqe-Kih 'he (cust) boats,  
 used to boat about' M, da- yeç ?idaqe-K 'we  
 (cust) go boating' L, inceptive customary, with  
 yeç-progressive: yeç qu?deqe-Kih 'he'll (cust)  
 go boating' M.

i-ge (with i-classifier required in certain con-  
 structions) 'S goes, travels by boat (for certain  
 purpose, in certain way)': with Kuqu?weše-çi

'hunting': Kuqu'weše-čī səlqeh̄ 'went hunting  
(by boat)' 37a.1L, Kuqu'weše-čī qu'xīqe' 'I'll  
go hunting (by boat)' 42.6L, with yeḡ-progressive:  
Kuqu'weše-čī yeḡ kəqe-x̄j̄h̄ 'goes about hunting  
(by boat)' 33.2A, 37a.26L, 47b.3M, 47c.2L; Ku-y-  
ya-x̄ səlqeh̄ 'I boated to someplace protected  
from wind' ('I boated avoiding wind') L (perhaps  
to be analyzed 0-ī-qe).

qeyuh kə-qe (kə-classifier required with qeyuh  
'belligerently, fighting-mad, attacking') 'S goes  
(by boat) to fight': qeyuh səkəqe-īj̄h̄ 'he's  
coming (by boat) for a fight' L.

qeyuh deqeh personal name of Eyak man, Chief Joe  
LA, qeyu' deqeh S. A explains: 'going (by boat)  
for a fight', but de-classifier not explained.

?isqe-l (gerundive of -qe) 'boating (in definite  
direction': ?isqe-l xusəlgəʔ̄ 'I'm getting  
tired of the trip' ('boating is tiring me') L.

yeḡ ?isqe-x̄(-ī) (gerundive of -qe with yeḡ-  
progressive) 'boating (in no definite direction)':  
yeḡ ?isqe-x̄ xusəlgəʔ̄ 'I'm getting tired of  
boating (about)' L, yeḡ ?isqe-x̄ī xusəlgəʔ̄  
'I'm tired of boating (around)' L, yeḡ ?isqe-x̄x̄aʔ̄  
ʔənahšekih ?ixleh 'I like boating' L, yeḡ  
?isqe-x̄ sid ʔəideʔ̄g 'teach me how to paddle a  
canoe (how to boat)!' L.

?uwa·iɣ̣ yəɣ̣ kudeqe·g (noun, unclassified) 'compass' L. Nominalized active imperfective repetitive (-g-repetitive perhaps in error however for -k-customary) with yəɣ̣-progressive, 'according, by close attention to it one (cust?, repeatedly?) navigates about'.

?i-ɣ̣-ge (with ɣ̣-thematic and apparently indeterminate O) 'S (boat, unknown person(s) in boat) travels': 7.17, 9.149, 23.58, 33.7, 14, 23A, 64.-70, ?əw ?u·da? qe? ?iɣ̣·deqe·k̄h, gu·deg, ?ulu?qa· 'some more boats (cust) arrive there, again, to get him' 33.29A, k̄ɣu·wahd ?əw?ə·? ?iɣ̣·qe·k̄ 'it's good luck to come upon it' ('a boat (cust) comes upon it for good') 35.2L, with yəɣ̣-progressive: yəhd̄ yəɣ̣ ?adeqe·k̄ 'boats (cust) go about out to sea' 62.50, ?u·ɕ̄ ?iqe?·xi·qeh̄ 'someone (unknown) will go there (by boat)' L, ləɣ̄ɕ̄ ?iqe?xi·qeh̄ 'someone (unknown) will come to you pl. (by boat), a boat will come to you pl.' L.

O-i-ge (transitivity uncertain) 'S boats O (boat, for purpose of transporting boat rather than self), S moves, uses O (boat, model boat), S poles O (boat)': ?iɣ̣qe? 'pole it!' M, ?iɣ̣qe?, ?iɣ̣qe·? 'use a boat!' L, da· səiqe·i 'we're poling along in a boat' M, ?u·ɕ̄ ?əiqe?, ?u·ɕ̄ səiqe?

'paddle the boat there!' L, ʒi-č sexiŋe-k 'I'm paddling a boat over there (for the purpose of having the boat there)' L, with yeŋ-progressive: yeŋ ʔəŋe 'play with a toy boat!' ('move it (boat) about:') L, repetitive: ʒi-č qexiŋe-g 'I'm taking them (boats, one by one, by water) over there' L; see also ku'yya-ŋ siŋeŋi under i-ge.

qid ʔəd-i-ge (reflexive of 0-i-ge, with qid 'downhill') 'S (animate) slides self downhill': qid ʔədəŋeŋeʔ, qid ʔada-iŋeʔ 'slide down!' L, qid ʔədquʔiŋeŋ 'it (e.g. otter) will slide down' M, qid ʔədquʔxŋeŋeŋ (or -ge-) 'I'll slide down' L, diK qid ʔədquʔxŋeŋe-ə (or -gehe) 'I won't slide down' L, qid ʔədəŋe-ge-k 'they (otters) are sliding down' M, qid ʔədəŋeŋe-k-iŋ 'he's sliding down (right now)' L, qid ʔədəŋeŋe-k-iŋ 'he slid down' L, da- qid ʔada-iŋeŋ, qid da- ʔada-iŋeŋ (not -ge-) 'let's slide down' L, qid da- ʔədəŋe-ge-K 'we (cust) slide down' M; repetitive, 'S slides down repeatedly, goes sliding': qid ʔədəŋeŋe-g, qid ʔada-iŋeŋe-g, qid ʔədəŋeŋe-g (no preference) 'go sliding!' L, qid ʔədquʔxŋe-ge-g 'I'll go sliding' LM, qid ʔədquʔiŋeŋe-ginu- 'they'll slide down (repeatedly)' L, qid ʔədəŋe-

qe'gih, qid 'edəleqe'gih (former preferred)  
'he's sliding down (repeatedly)' L, qid 'edx-  
leqe'g, qid 'edsaxleqe'gɪ 'I'm sliding down  
(repeatedly)' L (former preferred, latter might  
imply "all day long" L), qid 'edsliqe'gih  
'he slid down (repeatedly)' LM, da' qid 'eda-  
liqe'g, qid da' 'eda-liqe'g 'let's go sli-  
ding' L, da' qid 'eda-leqe'g da'ɣ 'just as  
we (land-otters) get started sliding (repeated-  
ly)' 30.9L (active conditional).

qe' (perhaps related to qe'd-qed', and/or to qe'í)  
 -se-qe'-s (kinship noun, descending, with s-thema-  
 tic prefix and -s-thematic suffix) '(man's) son,  
 (man's) brother's son': siseqe's 'my son' (man  
 speaking) LMS, 'my nephew (brother's son)' (man  
 speaking) L, serves also as vocative LM, Wrangell  
 Чоккхем 'Sohn', s:saqaq 'son (man speaking)' *also wife's*  
 BSdL 566, set:<sup>n</sup>saqaq 'father's older brother's *brother's*  
 son (either sex speaking)' BSdL 655 sit'ihseqe's *son*  
 'my father's brother's son', s:ixuxsaqaq 'older  
 brother's son, daughter (man speaking)' BSdL 567  
 s:ixweyseqe's 'my older brother's son' (man  
 speaking), s:saq:qcia 'younger brother's son  
 (man speaking) BSdL 567 siseqe's:Siyah 'my bro-  
 ther's son' (man speaking, suffixed -Siyah with  
 perhaps mild pejorative force), ka'x 'iseqe's  
 'where's your son?' (S would say to a woman, in-  
 correctly) M, (see 68.128-129fn), 'q:gula'fiya'se-  
 qe's 'river-master's son' 29.51A.

seqe'ceyu' (noun, unclassified, as above, with  
 -yu' 'plural') 'children, babies, kids, young-  
 sters' L, 1b.21M, 10.23, 24, 11.174A, 18.49L,  
 20.96, 23.19, 24.24, 25, 26, 54, 28.128, 138A, X  
 34.76, 39.1, 2L, 43.33M, 49.22, 23, 23, 26, 27,  
 27, 51.8, 8, 8, 29, 29, 60.1, 5, 68.44, 45, 68A, -  
 Резанов Сукнекетю 'Дети Kinder (Plur.)' se-

X

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qe'ee[yu.]'itu'yu' 'many children' (cf. *келлэ куту* 'Oh! sie, f.g.' qe'isee[yu.]'itu' 'many women'), diK kula'seya? seqe'seyu:s 'not another's children' 24.32A, de'i' 'iya? seqe'seyu' 'your own children' 24.32A, qe'iseqe'seyu' 'female children, girls' 38.21M, hila'aseqe'seyu' 'male children, boys' 18.49L, sedegiliseqe'seyu' 'sun-children' 34.126L, qa'l seqe'seyu' 'youngsters, young people' (up into twenties, 'now (still) children') 51.74, 61.100A, qa'l yj'hinu' seqe'seyu' 'children nowadays, present-day children' 65.75, 79A, seqe'seyu'xa'x qe'le? xusehga?i 'I'm getting tired of babysitting' L, xusehga?i seqe'seyu' ?ulexa'g 'I'm getting tired of raising kids' L, daxknu'd seqe'seyu' 'ixa? M, daxknu' seqe'seyu'd da'li'ixah 'how many children do you have?' L, kugy'tu'inu' seqe'seyu' da'li'ixih 'she has many children' L, diK seqe'seyu' da-la?-ixas'ih 'she has no children' L; seqe'seyu' ?uyeq quh 'womb' ('children stay in it') A.

qe?

-qe?- (originally probably g-class noun, meaning not clear), occurring only in -qe?-g-ya?-d 'side of small of back (interior), flank, haunch, hip, loin': siqe?guya?d '(inside) between my hip bone and spine in the small of my back' L, Kuqe?guya?d 'animal's hips' A; and in -qe?-g--wa? 'bile, gall, gall bladder', perhaps also 'spleen': Kuqe?gowa? 'bear-bile; green substance found in humans and animals (Eyaks used to sell to Chinese, who made medicine of it); "a little green bag under liver"' L; qe?gowa? 'bile' A (unpossessed, perhaps incorrectly). Informants unable to analyze either form; see ya? and wa?<sup>2</sup>.

qa<sup>1</sup>

O-qa 'S handles O (liquid, water unless otherwise specified) in container, S brings, fetches O (water)': 2b.5, 6, 10, 19.28L, 25.27, 94A, 38.-14LM, 48.5, 10L, ?iqa? 'fetch water!' M, giyah sič ?iqa? LM, sič ?əqa?, giyah sič ?əqa? 'bring me water!' L, gi-wa- sida? əqa? 'bring me (e.g. a keg of) beer!' L, qu?xqah 'I'll fetch water' M, giyah ?ič qu?xqah (not -qa-) 'I'll bring you water' L, diK giyah ?ida? qu?xqa-ə 'I won't bring you water' L (L very reluctant to say, considering the form extremely impolite), əqa-ħih 'he's fetching water' M, kuxuxqa-ħ 'I'm carrying something (water) in a bucket' M, giyah ?ida? əxqa-ħ 'I'm bringing you water' L, giyah ?uda? siqahħih 'I brought him water' L, əqahħih 'he fetched water' M, da- ?i-qah, da- si-qah 'let's fetch water' L, giyah xqa-K 'I (cust) fetch water' M, deg<sup>M</sup>a? qəw giyah ?ič xqa-K 'I've (cust) brought you water enough' L, ləəč kuxqa-K 'I (cust) carry something (water in container) up from shore' M, repetitive: 25.22, 26A (customaries), lə kuxqa-gKih 'he (cust) fetches water up the bank' M, diK giyah ?ič qu?xqa-gə 'I won't keep

bringing you water' L, giyah ?uya?c' ?eqa'g  
'ladle water into it!' L, ?ew ca'gix ya?x  
seqa? 'scoop it (water) up with that bailer!' L,  
with yeḡ-progressive: yeḡ ?edeqa? (not -qe',  
because of homophony with yeḡ ?edeqe' 'boat  
about!') 'carry water about!' M, yeḡ deqa-xih  
'he's carrying water around' L, yeḡ xudeqa-xih  
'he's carrying something (water) around' M,  
giyah yeḡ xdeqa-x 'I'm carrying a bucket  
of water around (not necessarily fetching from  
source)' L, yeḡ xusdiqahih 'he carried some-  
thing (water) around' M.

qa<sup>2</sup>

Рекомендуется читать 'кылате бинса' переводом то  
to read 'ig<sup>a</sup>'uh 'hē-!',

0-qa 'S bites O, holds, carries O in teeth, beak':  
 33.31, 42, 60.27, 28A, seqa? LM, ?eqa? 'bite  
 it!' L, ?iqqa? 'hold it in your teeth!', bite  
 it!' L, ?ilexqa? 'pl. bite them!' 60.26A, qu?x-  
 qah (not -qa?) 'I'll bite it' L, diK qu?xqahs  
 (or -qa's) 'I won't bite it' L, xuqa?qah 'it'll  
 bite me' M, xuqu?qi-qah 'they'll bite me' M,  
 xuseqa?h 'it's biting me' LM, xuseqa?hduh 'it's  
 biting me!' L, hič ?užehx ?awa sexqa?ih  
 'I'm always biting his ear, holding his ear in  
 my teeth' (trying to make him obey) 72.2L, seqa?h  
 'it's biting it, it's holding it in its teeth' L, <sup>la? 02p a-3</sup> <sup>se-?abuh?</sup>  
 ?ič seqa?h 'it (e.g. dog) is bringing it (e.g.  
 stick) to you in its teeth' L, siqah? 'I bit  
 it' M, xu seqah?ih 'I bit him' L, ?awa ?ph  
 seqah? 'a dog bit him' M, ?aw ?awa du?S  
 seqah? 'the dog bit a cat' M, ?aw du?S ?awa  
 seqah? 'the cat bit a dog' M, ?awa sixa? ?ph  
 siqah? 'my dog bit him' L, xuseqah? 'it bit  
 me' (not as severely as in xuseqec?i) L, xuse-  
 qah? 'they bit me' M, diK? xuseqah? 'didn't  
 you bite me?' L, ?aw ?awa dek?ih ?ahda? seqah?,  
 ?aw ?awa dek?ih ?uda? seqah?ih 'the dog brought  
 him a stick in its mouth' L, ?ewčahd kuseqah?

'he bit something from it' 11.37A, da' ʔi-qah,  
 da' si-qah 'let's bite it' L, ʔaʔd ka-diʔda-  
 ʔeʔ ʔi-xiqah 'I'll never bite you again' M, diK  
 xu-liqahs ʔewʔeʔxleh "'don't looks like he gonna  
 bite me"' ('it shouldn't bite me, I want that') L  
 (rare and perhaps incorrect negative optative),  
 ʔew ʔixqaʔx siK deljhh 'he told me to bite  
 it' L, hortatory active subjunctive: ʔel ʔidex<sup>h</sup>ah  
 ʔiqaʔx 'tell it (dog) to carry this in its teeth'  
 ('let it carry this in its teeth by your com=  
 mand!') L, repetitive: xqaʔg 'I'm nibbling it,  
 I'm biting it repeatedly' L, ʔew ʔawaʔ qaʔ  
 qaʔg 'that dog keeps biting us, people' L, xu-  
 qaʔg 'it's biting me' M, ʔew qaʔg 'they (fish)  
 are just nibbling' (cf. ʔew seʔeʔt 'it (fish)  
 bit it (hook, bait) hard') L, qaʔ seqaʔgx ʔuda-  
 seleh ʔawaʔ tʔhh 'her mind would be bent on  
 biting us, humans' 25.138A, with yeʔ-progressive  
 and indeterminate O: yeʔ ʔideqaʔx ʔawaʔ  
 'vicious dog' ('a dog that goes around biting'),  
 ʔew ʔawaʔ diK yeʔ ʔideqaʔxk 'that dog doesn't  
 bite' L (retention of -x- probably in error);  
 xʔqaʔK 'it (cust) bites me' M (perhaps with  
 l-anatomical, 'it (cust) bites my head, face'),  
 with class-marks for O: laʔmahd ʔa-daʔ lex-

seqah̄ 'it brought a berry here in its beak'  
 43.22M, se·d' gexqa·g 'I'm holding a spruce-  
 root in my teeth' L; with ku-indefinite as o  
 of o-d, translating as S: kud xuseqa·h̄  
 'something is biting me' L, kud ?iqe?qah  
 'something will bite you' L, kud xuseqah̄  
 (not \*kud xusdiqah̄) 'something bit me' L;  
 passive: xusdiqah̄ (not xushi-) 'I got bitten'  
 L. Causative, o-d O-ḡ-qa 'S grips O in o  
 (jawed o, e.g. pliers)' ('S causes o to bite O,  
 grip O in teeth'): ?ewd sehqas? 'grip it (e.g.  
 with pliers, in sewing machine):' L, ?ald sehqas?  
 'grip this (in pliers):' L (probably mistranslated,  
 for 'grip it (with this):'; passive: ?ewd shi-  
 qah̄ "'it's gripped in there"' ('it (e.g. pliers)  
 has been made to grip it') L.

?ux̄ kudəqah (noun) 'pliers, pincers, tongs' L.

Nominalized passive active imperfective, 'by means  
 of it something is gripped' L.

?ux̄ qa? kuqa?ḡ (noun, attested in Rezanov only,  
 reading uncertain) 'pincers, tongs': Rezanov  
 Ужмаконалъ 'Ужмаж Kniefzange'. Probably -ḡ--  
 deverbalization of preceding, with qa? 'up out'.

qa<sup>3</sup>

0-l-i-qa 'S dissuades, stops, prevents O (not by physical restraint) from acting': ?i-siŋqahŋih  
 'I dissuaded, stopped him' L, ?i-siŋqahŋinu  
 'I made them (kids) stop (playing)' L, qu?li-x-  
 ŋqŋihinu 'I'll make them stop' L; frequently  
 repetitive, 'S repeatedly tries to dissuade O,  
 tells, warns O not to do something, forbids O to  
 do something': xulaseŋqa-gŋih 'he tried to stop,  
 prevent me from doing it' M, 'he told me to stop,  
 desist' L, lexŋqa-gŋih 'I'm trying to stop, dis-  
 suade him' L, lexŋqa-ginu 'I'm making them  
 (kids) stop (playing, fighting)' L (success ap-  
 parently in question), li-ŋqa-ginu 'make them  
 (i.e. try to make them) stop playing!' L, lex-  
 ŋqa-gŋih, de?ewŋ (sili?dahd) sahŋih 'I tried  
 to stop, prevent, dissuade him, but he went any-  
 way (despite me)' M, ?ew ŋi-leh, diK qu?li-x-  
 ŋqa-gŋe 'that Raven, you can't stop him' ll.163A,  
 with o-qŋed 'against, from O': ?ewqŋed lei-  
 qa-g 'forbids him to touch it' ll.164A, 'told  
 him not to (go there)' 6l.35A, dexi-dug ?ewqŋed  
 lexŋqa-gŋih 'but I told him not to!, I already  
 warned him against it!' L, ?ewqŋed ?ilexŋqa-g  
 'I'm telling you not to touch that' L, ?ŋbqŋed

xulesə̀qɑ·g̃t̃ 'you warned me to stop fooling with  
her' L, ʔugələq̃əs̃ ʔiləx̃t̃qɑ·g̃ 'I advise you not  
to drink' ('I urge you to abstain from it (liquid)')  
L.

O-dl-ɬ-qa (as above, with d-thematic 'oral, noise')  
'S dissuades, stops, prevents O (not by physical  
restraint) from making noise, S quiets, silences  
O, shuts O up': λɑ·s̃iḱqah̃kinu· 'I shut them up'  
L; λɑ·x̃t̃qɑ·g̃ɬ 'I'm making him (i.e. trying to  
make him) stop making noise' L; passive: qɑ·  
λɑ·s̃iḱqɑ·g̃t̃ 'we've been quieted down (e.g. we  
were having a loud party and someone came in and  
told us to be quiet)' L.

qa<sup>4</sup>

y-i-qa 'S (impersonal) dawns, it gets light, day-  
 light comes, a period of 24 hours passes': yesei-  
 qa'i 'it's dawning, getting light' LM, 2a.29,  
 29M, 9.67, 21b.56, 23.25, 29.18A, Rezanov Якаль-  
 кадь 'Pascettaart es wird hell, taget', ?uq  
 yeseiqai 'it was getting light on them' 25.123A,  
 qa'l lah3 yeseiqai 'now it's dawning in the  
 South' 23.24fnA, Kuxeda?luw gahc yeseiqai  
 'a big day is coming' ('it's dawning towards a  
 big day') L, yeseiqahi 'it dawned, got light,  
 a day passed' LM, 10.49, 21b.60, 25.72, 32.10A,  
 Rezanov Есилькаль 'Сетрао hell', ?u-šahd  
 yeseiqahi 'then it got light, a day passed after  
 that', often used adverbially, 'a day later, the  
 next day': 25.117, 124A, ?u-šahd qe? yiseiqahi  
 'then another day dawned, the next day' 50.47A,  
 hi- tuihiga? ?u-šahd yeseiqahi qi?dax sesih  
 'he died three days ago' ('already three days  
 have passed since then, the time when he died')  
 L, tuihiga? yeseiqahi 'three days passed, three  
 days ago; Wednesday' L, Rezanov Тульмонимыкатль  
 'Трепато дик vorgestern', ihcih yeseiqahi  
 'one day passed; Monday' L, la?dih yeseiqahi  
 'two days passed; Tuesday' L, qelašqa?ga?

*in also 22. 24 for 6*

yeseiqah̄ 'four days passed; Thursday' L,  
 čq·ʔih yeseiqah̄ 'five days passed; Friday'  
 L, siq̄ yeseiqah̄ 'it got light on me' L,  
 quʔyi·iqaḥ (or -qa· L) 'it'll dawn' LM, ya·-  
 yiḥqaḥ, yq̄·liḥqaḥ (former preferred) 'let it g  
 get light' L, ʔələḥgaḥ ya·yiḥqaḥ, ʔələḥgaḥ  
 ya·liḥqaḥ 'would that it get light' L, yesei-  
 qah̄ da·x̄ 'when it gets light' L, 9.78, 25.150A,  
 yiʔiḥqaḥ da·x̄ 'just as it begins to get light'  
 L, 28.39A, yiʔiḥqaḥ da·x̄ yeḥ ʔeʔa·K (not ya·k-)  
 'just as it starts to get light (e.g. in mid-  
 winter) the sun goes down' L, yeḥqa·K 'it (cust)  
 dawns' M, guḥde·xaʔ yi·iqa·K 'it (cust) gets  
 light at nine o'clock' L, deqa·yu· ya·iqa·K  
 'sometimes it (cust) gets light, sometimes there  
 are days, some days' 25.207A, repetitive: Reza-  
 nov Илъчакълъчакъ 'Всѣмоѡ дѣнь тѣglich' ʔilča·  
 yeḥqa·g 'days pass consecutively, days in a row'  
 M, yeḥqa·ggaʔ le·g 'it's bright a little (e.g.  
 aurora)' ('it's (repeatedly) doing like it's  
 (repeatedly) getting bright, trying to get light')  
 L.

ʔewa·iḥ qeyeiqaḥ (name of a certain large star  
 which is visible at dawn L, probably 'morning  
 star, (visible) planet', especially 'Venus'. Non-

inalized active imperfective, with unexplained  
qe-pluralizer, 'according, by close attention to  
it, it (they?) dawns'.

yeqah (noun, unclassified, probably gerundive of  
y-i-qah) 'dawn, daylight, day, 24-hour period'  
S, Furuhejm Iakha 'day', Iakhaa 'light',  
īheih yeqahwahd da· qaʔqeh 'we'll go (on  
boat trip) for one day' (same as īhē xeda·  
gahwahd) L, diK yeqahwahd quʔxqe·e 'I'm not  
going to camp overnight (on boat trip)' L, yeqa·  
da· qaʔqeh 'we'll go in the morning' M (not  
verified, probably in error for yeqah, used ad-  
verbially, or, more likely, for yeqe·x).

yeqe·x (adverb, perhaps <\*yeqah-yex, o-yex  
'under o') 'tomorrow, on the morrow, in the morn-  
ing (after tonight)' LMS, 9.122, 21b.75, 25.114,  
37b.77, 50.25A, Rezanov Емаѣм 'Завтра morgen  
(adv.)', yeqe·x īi·dewa· M, 25.150A, yeqe·x  
īi·dewa· 'tomorrow morning, early on the morrow'  
9.143, 23.21, 25.114, 61.94A, ʔu·ʕahd yeqe·x  
'on the morrow after that, the next day': 29.33A,  
57.28G, 59.14 Galushia Nelson, 61.85A, ʔu·ʕahd  
yeqe·x īi·dewa· 'early on the morrow after  
that' 65.47A, ʔu·ʕahd yeqe·x se·ī 'in the  
evening of the next day' 50.47A, Rezanov

Якехвоакэхъ 'Послѣ завтра Übermorgen' yeqe·ɣwa·  
yeqe·ɣ 'day after tomorrow' LM (not rechecked,  
perhaps in error for yeqe·ɣ ʔewa· yeqe·ɣ  
'tomorrow, its tomorrow').

O-ʔ-y-i-qa 'O spends a night, O camps overnight,  
O spends 24-hour period' ('it dawns on O'): ʔu·d  
ʔuʔyeseiqahʔ 'spend the night there!' M, ʔu·d  
xuʔquʔyi·iqah 'I'll camp there (overnight)' L,  
diK ʔu·d xuʔquʔyi·iqah·e (not -qahs) 'I won't  
overnight there' L, ʔa·d qa· quʔyi·iqah 'we'll  
camp here' LM, ʔewfaʔd ʔuʔyeseiqahʔ 'she spent  
nights behind it' 25.80A, ʔu·d ʔew iɣhtih ʔuʔye-  
seiqahʔ 'she spent that one day (24-hour period)  
there' 25.119A, dexi· desaq ʔuʔyeseiqahʔ  
'already she had spent ten days' 49.56A, laʔdih  
ʔu·dʔahd ʔu·d qa· ʔuʔyeseiqahʔ 'we overnighted  
twice (on our way) thence thither' 59.5 Galushia  
Nelson, ʔu·d qa· ʔuʔyeseiqahʔ 'we spent the  
night there' M, ʔu·d xuʔyeseiqahʔ 'I camped  
there' L, ki· tuiɣaʔ ʔa·d xuʔyeseiqahʔ 'I've  
already been here three days' L, daɕe·lyaʔɣ  
xuʔyeseiqahʔ 'I spent a hungry night' L, ʔu·d  
qew qa· ʔuʔya·yiqahwahd 'that we might spend  
the night there' 59.5 Galushia Nelson, ʔa·d qa·  
ʔuʔya·yiqah 'let's stay here overnight' LM,

ʔq·d xuʔya·yiḥqahʔaʔ ʔanahḥekih ʔixleh 'I want to camp here' L, ʔu·d ʔiʔya·yiḥqah 'you may camp there' L, ʔq·d xuʔyəsəḥqa·ʔ ʔixleh 'I want to camp here' L, repetitive: xusəḥqaʔḥ ʔq·d xuʔyəsḥqa·g 'I'm getting tired of camping here' ('it's tiring me (that) I've been (repeatedly) camping here') L, qa· ʔuʔyəsḥqa·gk' 'we (cust) spend the night' M.

o-daʔ-y-i-qa 'o is forced to camp overnight without food': ʔu·d sidaʔyəsəḥqahḥ (not xudaʔ-) 'I got stuck there without food and had to spend the night' L, ʔu·d qa·daʔyəsəḥqahḥ (not qa· ʔudaʔ-) 'we got stuck there without food and had to spend the night' L, ʔu·d ʔidaʔqeʔyi·ḥqah (not ʔidaʔ-quʔ-) 'you'll get stuck there without food' L, ʔu·d ʔudaʔqeʔyi·ḥqah (not ʔudaʔquʔ-) 'he'll get stuck there without food' L, ʔu·d qa·daʔ=qeʔyi·ḥqah (not qa·daʔquʔ-) 'we'll get stuck there without food' L. This unique morphological construction is probably the result of the coalescence of the postpositional phrase o-daʔ 'to, arriving at, encountering o' and the verb theme y-i-qa, o-daʔ being morphophonemically treated as an indeterminate O in a semitransitive verb theme, of the form ʔidaʔ-, following which

the allomorph of the inceptive imperfective prefix is -qeʔ- (not -quʔ-), thus regularly ʔidaʔqeʔ-, and here o-daʔqeʔ- rather than the expected o-daʔ quʔ-; L also clearly prefers not to insert S-interrogative particles after -daʔ-, thus ʔudaʔyeseiqah̄ʔəp̄h 'did he get stuck without food?' rather than \*ʔudaʔʔəp̄h yeseiqah̄ʔ, a further indication that o-daʔ- is now to be treated as part of the verb proper, even though the allomorphs of the personal pronouns remain clearly those of o of postpositions, not of O of verb.

qa' (perhaps related to qah<sup>2</sup>)

O-*l*-qa' (M only, L in every case prefers the semitransitive below, and is doubtful of the correctness of the non-semitransitive) 'S counts O':  
*seiqaq?*, *?eaiqah* 'count it!' M, *kuaiqah* 'I'm counting (something)' M, *si<sup>2</sup>iqaq?* 'I counted (it)' M, with d-class-mark for O: *deseiqaq?* L, *di<sup>2</sup>iqah* 'count it (money)!' LM (same as *?u<sup>2</sup>deseiqaq?*, *?u<sup>2</sup>di<sup>2</sup>iqah*, but these latter "sound better" L).

O-*?*-*l*-qa' 'S counts O' (meaning not clearly distinguished from that of preceding): Rezanov  
*zaxaxen* 'Covrx zahlen' *?aw ?a<sup>2</sup>iqe<sup>2</sup>uh* L, *?a<sup>2</sup>iqe<sup>2</sup>*, *?a<sup>2</sup>iqah*, *?u<sup>2</sup>seiqaq?* (not *\*?a<sup>2</sup>iqe<sup>2</sup>*) 'count it!' L, *qu<sup>2</sup>xiqah* 'I'll count it' LM, *?a<sup>2</sup>xiqah*, *?u<sup>2</sup>xiqah*, *?u<sup>2</sup>sexiqaq?* 'I'm counting it' L, *te<sup>2</sup>ya?* *qaw ?a<sup>2</sup>xiqah* (or *?u<sup>2</sup>x<sup>2</sup>-*) 'fish it is I'm counting' L, *diK ?a<sup>2</sup>xiqahs*, *diK ?u<sup>2</sup>xiqahs* 'I'm not counting it', L, *?u<sup>2</sup>yiqah=shuh* 'are you counting it?' L, *de<sup>2</sup>duh ?u<sup>2</sup>yiqah* 'what are you counting?' L, *?a<sup>2</sup>iqihih* 'he's counting it' L, *diK ?u<sup>2</sup>iqahs<sup>2</sup>ih* 'he's not counting it' L, *te<sup>2</sup>ya?* *qaw ?uswaiqihih* 'fish it is he's counting' L, *ku<sup>2</sup>xiqah*, *ka<sup>2</sup>xiqah* 'I'm counting (something)' L, *diK ka<sup>2</sup>xiqahs* 'I'm

not counting' L, *Kaʔliqih* 'he's counting  
 (something), calculating' L, *ʔuʔsilqaʔ* 'I  
 counted it' LM, *daʔ ʔuʔliqah* 'let's count  
 it' L, *ʔew ʔaʔxihqah siʔ delihih*, *ʔuʔexih-*  
*qah siʔ delihih* 'he told me to count them' L,  
 with class-marks for O: *ʔuʔdiʔqah*, *ʔuʔdeeqaʔ*  
 'count it (money)!' L, *ʔuʔdiʔxihqah* 'I'm count-  
 ing it (e.g. money, eggs)' L, *quʔdiʔxihqah* 'I'll  
 count it (money)' L, *diʔ quʔdiʔxihqah* (not  
 -qaʔ) 'I won't count it (money)' L, *ʔuʔlexih-x-*  
*qah* 'I'm counting them (berries)' L, *ʔuʔlexaʔ-*  
*qah* 'count them (berries)!' L, repetitive:  
*ʔuʔdeeqaʔgih* 'he keeps counting it (money)' M;  
 with indeterminate O: *ʔidaʔxihqah* 'I'm counting  
 (abstractly)' L (L never heard, but "guess you  
 could say that"); reflexive, with y-anatomical:  
 55.12, 20L, *ʔeduʔyaxihqah* 'I'm counting on my  
 fingers' ('I'm counting my fingers') L; passive:  
*ʔidekuʔdeqah* (or *ʔidaʔ kuʔdeqah*) *sid ʔeideʔg*  
 'teach me how to count!' ('teach me how something  
 is counted') L, *ʔidekuʔdeqah ʔew ʔuʔlixihqah*  
 'I know how to count' L.

*Kuʔweqah* (gerundive, with *Ku*-indefinite O) 'count-  
 ing (something)': *Kuʔweqah xuseeqaʔ* 'I'm get-  
 ting tired of counting' ('counting is tiring me')  
 L.

Ku<sup>o</sup>wəkqih̄h̄ (noun, unclassified) 'priest' ('he who  
counts something') L.

qa.1

de-qa\* (adverb, prefix either de- 'ipse' or d-thematic) 'once in a while, occasionally, intermittently, partly, vaguely': deqa\* 'e.g. something vaguely visible' M, 'once in a while, on and off' L, deqa\* kusede?eh 'something that can hardly be seen' L, deqa\* qa?d di?ie?u?e 'he takes a deep breath every once in a while' L; with -yu\* 'plural': deqa\*yu\* 'sometimes' LM, (frequently with customary or repetitive verbs) 11.116, 117, 25.207, 51.10, 18, 28, 60.4, 5, 65.13, 19, 19, 69.25A, deqa\*yu\* kuta? xifu?k 'I (cust) use it occasionally' M, di?e deqa\*yu\* gah? yax ?ada?ya?e?e 'don't you (cust) get the urge to dance sometimes?' L, deqa\*yu\* qi? ku?ga?k 'a place where one sometimes (cust) dances, sometimes people dance there' L, ?ulex?e?h ?i?i?a?k deqa\*yu\* 'do you (cust) see him sometimes?' L, deqa\*yu\* we? dexi?k 'I (repeatedly) make music sometimes' L, deqa\*yu\* ku?u?dah ?adu?xdegawi?g 'I sometimes feel good (on and off)' L, deqa\*yu\* ?idah ?i?lihle?gih 'he (repeatedly) gets happy spells' L, deqa\*yu\* dedele?g 'it (fire) sometimes sputters' L, deqa\*yu\* ?ewlu? gule?a?g 'water gets through there sometimes' L.

qa·2

-qa· element of unidentified morphological classification and unidentified meaning, occurring in yaq̄edqa·, deq̄edqa·, la·q̄edqa·, see q̄ed<sup>1</sup>.

qa.<sup>3</sup> (element attested only in combination with lu<sup>?</sup> in postposition o-lu<sup>?</sup>qa<sup>.</sup>, see lu<sup>?</sup> for comparisons)  
 o-lu<sup>?</sup>qa<sup>.</sup> (postposition, always with zero final; postpositional phrases with o-lu<sup>?</sup>qa<sup>.</sup> are unique as such, usually occurring in loose syntax as prologue or epilogue, or in adverbial rather than postpositional position in the verbal clause) 1. 'for, after, in quest of, (in order) to obtain, fetch o': 1b.4M, 7.25, 27, 9.93, 102, 102, 102, 114, 120, 10.70, 119, 190, 11.30, 175A, 14.7L, 20.61, 21b.44, 25.92, 203, 33.7, 23, 29A, 43.14, 16M, 49.109A, 52.1L, 59.10 Galushia Nelson, 68.-48A, giyahlu<sup>?</sup>qa<sup>.</sup> (without class-mark) 21b.10A, giyahgelu<sup>?</sup>qa<sup>.</sup> (haplological) 19.26L, giyahgule-lu<sup>?</sup>qa<sup>.</sup> 'to fetch water' 25.21, 23, 44, 86A, 45b.-10M, qe<sup>?</sup>ʔe<sup>?</sup>yu<sup>?</sup>lu<sup>?</sup>qa<sup>.</sup> 'questing after women, skirt-chasing' 10.187, 261A, ʔaw tɪkʔdelu<sup>?</sup>qa<sup>.</sup> 'to get that arrow' 27b.17A, ʔawtahlu<sup>?</sup>qa<sup>.</sup> ʔaw ʒex<sup>w</sup>a<sup>.</sup>ʒɪ 'they butchered it for its skin' 28.83-fnA, ʔi<sup>.</sup>ʒiwa<sup>?</sup>ʔtahlu<sup>?</sup>qa<sup>.</sup> ʔuʒa<sup>?</sup> ya<sup>.</sup>nu<sup>?</sup>ʔe<sup>?</sup> ʔele<sup>.</sup>g<sup>.</sup>Kɪh 'he (cust) reaches his hand underwater to retrieve his snuff-can' 56.16L, na<sup>.</sup>wgelalu<sup>?</sup>qa<sup>.</sup> o<sup>.</sup>ʔ da<sup>.</sup>ʒ ʔi<sup>.</sup>ʔ-d-le 'S begs o for whiskey', da<sup>.</sup>na<sup>.</sup>delu<sup>?</sup>qa<sup>.</sup> o<sup>.</sup>ʔ da<sup>.</sup>ʒ ʔi<sup>.</sup>ʔ-d-le 'S begs o for money' ʒahdɪdelu<sup>?</sup>qa<sup>.</sup> ʔiya<sup>?</sup> 'go get a car!' L, qa<sup>.</sup>ʒa<sup>?</sup> ʔi<sup>.</sup>di<sup>?</sup>ahlu<sup>?</sup>qa<sup>.</sup> ʔiya<sup>?</sup> 'go get

(some more of) what we're out of' L, ša·ʒələs-  
 luʔqa· ʔa·i·j̄h 'he's going to get some sugar' L,  
 teʔyaʔluʔqa· (or teʔyaʔʒaʔ) sah̄h 'he went af-  
 ter fish' L, o-luʔqa· (or o-ʒaʔ) da· ʔi·ʔaʔʕ  
 'let's go get o (whether we know where to get it  
 or not)' M, ʔih̄ʒgedaluʔqa· (or -gedəʒaʔ) da·  
 ʔi·ʔaʔʕ 'let's go get some grass' L, ca·ʔa·luʔ-  
 qa· (or -ʔa·ʒaʔ) da· ʔi·ʔaʔʕ 'let's go get  
 some stones' L, ʕaʔdeluʔqa· (or -dəʒaʔ) da·  
 ʔi·ʔaʔʕ 'let's go get some mud' L, Kutahti·lə-  
 luʔqa· da· ʔi·ʔaʔʕ 'let's go get some skins'  
 L, ya·yu·luʔqa· da· ʔi·ʔaʔʕ 'let's go get some  
 things' L.

2. Precise meaning uncertain, perhaps 'after,  
 out to "get" (irritate, harm) o', or, with verbal  
 clause as o, 'taking advantage of the fact that':  
 ʔaʔd leʔʔih̄ʒlah xih̄hluʔqa·, si·naʔʕ yəʔ ʔi-  
 ləʒdəʔaʔʕʔ 'out to "get" (me) who am very much  
 your pl. junior, you pl. walk all over me (walk  
 about on my head)', or perhaps 'taking advantage  
 of the fact that I'm very much your pl. junior,  
 ...' 50.64fnA.

qah<sup>1</sup>

-qah element of unidentified morphological classification and unidentified meaning, occurring only in ?u?qah (adverb or exclamation) 'okay, alright, willingly': ?u?qah siq qe'ya'nahd la:sedata? 'alright, lay your head back down on me!' 27a.32L, ?u?qah 'okay (it's a deal)' 47c.-37L, ?u?qah da' ?i'?'a'?' 'okay, let's go' M.

qah<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with qa')

-qah occurring only in ?eɪqah (noun, unclassified)  
 'playing-cards, card-game' LMS, Galushia Nelson  
 átlqɪ 'stick game' BSdL 551 (described in BSdL  
 239-240), ?ənəhʂekih yileh ?eɪqah 'it's fun  
 to play cards' L, dəxʔid ?eɪqah ?iɣə? 'how  
 many cards you got?' L, ?eɪqah ?iqe?di·leh  
 'there'll be a card-game' L, ?eɪqah ?idexʔih  
 'I'm playing cards' L. Perhaps active imperative  
 of these 0-ɪ-qa' 'S counts 0' ; cf. also ?eɪdah  
 'play' *under dah<sup>2</sup>*.

qah<sup>3</sup>

-l-qah (noun, d-class, with l-anatomical 'head, face', -qah therefore of unidentified meaning) 'head' (apparently of any creature, including fish, and synonymous with -ša'w except that -ša'w includes the meaning 'head of hair, (head-)hair': sileqah 'my head' LMS, 10.205, 224, 70.11A, ?ileqahda'q ya? ?ete' 'put it on your head!' 10.208A, ?uleqah 'its head, his head' 10.202, 240, 241, 61.123, 65.9A, ?ewleqah 'its head' 29.3A, 67A, ?ahleqah 'his head' 53.= 12L, Galushia Nelson qóláqá 'head (only of creatures with a neck)' BSdL 541 (the evidence from other informants clearly disagrees with this, -leqah referring also to the heads of e.g. fish, whale), Kuleqah 'a head, something's, someone's head' LM, ?ew Kuleqah 'that head' 29.12, 14A, 53.13L, Kuleqah ?ixá? qe?ew 'it's your head' (severed head in your possession).29.11A, Kuleqah ?u'd dese?ahk (or -tahk) 'a head is there', Kuleqah sič di-?a? (or -ta?) 'give me a head!' L, Kuleqahda?luw 'a big head' M, qa-leqah 'our heads, human head' L, Galushia Nelson pa?o<sup>n</sup> laqa 'someone's head' BSdL 541, 556 de?yhleqah 'a person's head', ?ewa laqa 'dog's head'

BSdL 556 qawa·leqah, qeʔyiktehleqah 'whale-head' 12.136, qeʔyiktehleqahdaʔluw 'big whale-head' 29.35A; in epithets: leqahdaʔluw 'big-head' (pejorative) L, 10.93, 11, 139A, leqahdeguhdg 'tiny-head' L (see gutʔ); frequently declassified, especially as o of postposition: sileqahyeqđ didiʔyahəʔ '(the inside of) my head aches' M (see further instances under ʔyahəʔ), sileqahyeqđ siya· lah xuḡ '(the inside of) my head is spinning (from drunkenness)' M, ʔaʔd sileqahyeqđ ʔeš Kuleʔgggaʔ ʔeduʔxdegewih 'I feel just like someone keeps reaching through (the inside of) my head (with incessant harping questions)' L, sileqahxah siliḡ 'I lost my (good) senses' M, ʔuleqahxahʔ eəle·ḡḡh 'he's losing his (good) senses' M, ʔileqahqəʔ 'onto, against your head' 10.209A, ʔuleqah ʔawa· Kude·dah lah ʔedḡaʔya·ḡe 'they couldn't move their heads (from amazement, fear)' 60.23A; -leqahyeqđeḡiʔḡiləhə 'brains', see ḡiləhə, -leqahdeḡeləh 'skull', see deḡeləh.

ʔuleqah ku·ḡḡh (noun) 'straight-pin' ('it has a head, its head exists') L.

qah<sup>4</sup>

-qah (defective verb, attested only in active imperfective and imperative, with ?e-?i-- prefix as in customary, and lacking -x̣ in yaḡ-progressive) 'pl. <sup>animate</sup> customarily come, go, move': taʔʕ ?eq̣hinu· 'they (humans) go into the water' L, 50.3A, taʔʕ ?eqah 'they (animals) go into the water' L, taʔ ?eqah 'they (animals, ducks, seals) go into the water' L, taʔʕ ?ələḡqah 'pl. go into the water!' L, taʔd qaʔ ?eqah 'they (animals) come out of the water' L, ?u·ʕ ?eqah 'they go thither' L, ?u·daʔ ?eqah 'they get there' L, kuʔp·ʔ ?eqah 'they come upon one, people, around people' (same as kuʔp·ʔ ?aʔa·ʕʕ) L, kuʔp·ʔ ʕeʔ ?ədeqah 'they come around people again, some more' L, diK kuʔp·ʔ ʕeʔ ?ədeqah 'they don't come upon one, around people anymore' L, 25.135, 211A, diK kude·leh ʕeʔ ?ədeqah 'they don't come around one, people anymore' 25.-212A, ?aʔq̣ da· ?eqah 'we'd go outside' 51.-10A, with yaḡ-progressive: ya·nuʔʕ yaḡ ?ideqah 'they (waterfowl) swim around underwater, dive up and down' L, 24.73A.

qa<sup>1</sup> (perhaps earlier \*qan<sup>2</sup>, cf. Athapaskan -qan<sup>2</sup>  
'husband', see discussion at end of entry)

-qa<sup>2</sup> (noun, unclassified) 'husband': siqa<sup>2</sup> 'my  
husband' L, 18.10L (used as vocative too, but  
this use is apparently considered somewhat in-  
delicate and avoided by the use of other expres-  
sions, especially siqa<sup>2</sup> wəx ʔi-ʔihih 'he who  
lives with me'; similar avoidance of the cognate  
term seems to be widespread in Athapaskan, e.g.  
Navaho, "It doesn't seem to be good taste for a  
woman to refer to her husband as -<sup>3</sup>kq<sup>2</sup>" Haile  
1950, p.201), Resanov Cuxka 'Myxə Mann, Ehemann?',  
Furuhjelm Sekha 'husband', sitqa 'husband'  
BSdL 565, siqa<sup>2</sup> ʔelekah<sup>2</sup> xɥ-ʔya-ʔ 'my hus-  
band (cust) gets me out of bed' M, siqa<sup>2</sup> sid  
diK kuxəia-ʔih 'my husband (cust) never feeds  
me' L, siqa<sup>2</sup> ʔilah wəx qu<sup>2</sup>di-xleh 'I'll tell  
my husband (thus) about you' L, ʔi-xgah da-x  
siqa<sup>2</sup> ʔew ya<sup>2</sup> səiga<sup>2</sup> 'I was just getting  
started dancing when my husband spoiled it' L,  
ʔiqa<sup>2</sup> 'your husband' 33.81A, ʔu<sup>2</sup> ya<sup>2</sup> qu<sup>2</sup>yi<sup>2</sup>-  
yihih, ʔiqa<sup>2</sup>, ne-ʔ 'you'll get used to him,  
your husband, pretty soon' L, ʔuqa<sup>2</sup> 'her hus-  
band' 10.19\*, 18.13, 20.67, 23.110, 142, 25.1, 4,  
102, 102A, 27a.12L, 27b.1, 23, 33.62, 63, 75, 79A,

Rezanov *свояченица* 'E<sup>h</sup>ka<sup>h</sup> (not in Kad/ra) ra-sy<sup>h</sup> 's<sup>h</sup>on<sup>h</sup>  
male, husband',

34.90, 100, 42.12L, 43.20M, 48.4, 12, 19L, 49.-  
23, 24A, 'their husband' 29.63A, diK 'uqa?e  
'not her husband' 18.20L, diK 'uqa?ya? 'a?te?=  
q<sup>h</sup>ei<sup>h</sup> 'she's unfaithful to her husband' ('she  
isn't straight with her husband') L, diK 'uqa?  
Ka?le?ei<sup>h</sup> 'spinster, old maid, widow, unmarried  
woman, widow' ('she has no husband, her husband  
doesn't exist'), Rezanov *Онаца* 'D<sup>h</sup>ryx<sup>h</sup> Hahn'  
'uqa? 'ewa<sup>h</sup> 'the husband of them, male of a  
pair' L, v<sup>h</sup>le<sup>h</sup>qa? 'your pl. husband' (lapse) 20.-  
56A, 'ah kuqa? 'the husband' 18.14, 36, 34.79,  
92, 42.6, 19L, 43.26, 29M, 48.14, 16L, 49.152,  
61.123A, Rezanov *Свояченица* 'Своиченка  
Schwägerin' sidese?qa? (or perhaps, incorrect-  
ly, sidese?ya? qa?) 'my younger sister's hus-  
band', 'uca?kihqa? 'her older sister's husband'  
29.73A, sista<sup>h</sup>kiqa 'older sister's husband (wo-  
man speaking)' BSdL 567A sica?kihqa?, sici?qa?  
'my daughter's husband' (man speaking) L, 'ici?y=  
qa? LA, 'ici?qa? 'your daughter's husband'  
(speaking to man) LM, ku?3qa? 'king (at cards)'  
( 'queen's husband') L, siqa?abd 'my husband's  
maternal aunt' L, sitqaxawex 'husband's older  
brother' BSdL 567A siqa?xewex (not -lexewex)  
'my husband's older brother' L, sitaDeqat 'hus-

band's younger brother' BSdL 567A siqa'dese·?  
 (not -ledese·?) 'my husband's younger sibling'  
 L, sitqastki, sitqatkicia 'husband's older  
 or younger sister' BSdL 568A siqa'yidkih,  
 siqa'yidkihšiyah 'my husband's sister', sit-  
 qaxuweṣtai 'husband's father's older brother'  
 BSdL 568A siqa'ṣewaxci· 'my husband's older  
 brother's daughter', sitqaḍaqaṣyṣtai 'husband's  
 father's younger brother' BSdL 568A probably to  
 be read siqa'dese·?ci· or (incorrectly) siqa'-  
 dese·?ya? ci· 'my husband's younger brother's  
 daughter'; with -šiyah 'her husband ("old man")'  
 (mildly disrespectful and pejorative) ll.48, 50A,  
 with -kih 'diminutive, affectionate'; siqa'kih  
 (not -ləkih) 'my dear hubby' (guiltily, appeas-  
 ing) L, 27a.43L, 27b.52A, ?iqa'kih 'your dear  
 hubby' (sarcastic) 27a.45L; ?uqa'ṣeyu· 'their  
 husbands' 25.185A, siqa'ṣeyu· 'my husband's  
 family, my husband etc.' L, ?uqa'ṣeyequbṣeyu·  
 'their (dwarves') little husbands' 37b.70A,  
 siqa'le'ehḍḍ 'my husband's sister', (Minnie  
 Stevens called L this) L (cf. silə'ehḍṣeyu· 'my  
 sisters (woman speaking)', but L rejects silə-  
 qa'ṣeyu· 'my brothers (woman speaking)'), ?uqa'-  
 le'ehḍḍ 'her sister-in-law' L. It is possible  
 that the -lə- here is a phonological development

from earlier \*-qanʔ-, cf. kʲh, but cf. also  
-le-ʔehd-e.

Reganov xaccz-ka 'bott<sup>2</sup>' (not in  
Radlov, 'bull') thingit xàs 'cow, horse',  
cynk -gaʔ.

qaʔ-qaʔ (qaʔ only in form qaʔ-č with -č final)

qaʔ-qaʔ- (preverb, with zero and -č finals, variant qaʔ- with -č final; instances with zero and -č final not generally listed separately, -č final usually (rarely zero) with repetitives, customaries, inceptive perfective, 0-i-yaʔ, often with 0-i-(y)a, expanded stems, very rare elsewhere; generally following in combination with other preverbs, including qeʔ-qeʔ-, except sometimes liʔ; in certain cases unlauded and fused in sandhi with following verb, see especially 2c.) 1a. 'up and/or out' (i.e. '(motion, extension) upward and/or outward (from cavity, depression, surface, below surface, enclosure)', frequent especially in reference e.g. to climbing, escaping, emerging, running aground, protruding, extruding, erupting, scooping, uprooting, hollowing, excising, rinsing, rising, hoisting, spouting, surging, upward pains, intestinal disturbance, buccal haemorrhage, exhalation, but generally not in reference to upward motion of free object into air or along trajectory, for which see yaʔɿ, with which qaʔ- seems to overlap semantically in part): qaʔ quʔ(li·)xseč 'I'll twist it (stump) up out (of the ground)' L, taʔd qaʔč ʔsečdɿ 'wring them (clothes, repeatedly) up

out (of water)!'L, 'uguhah xi'dax qa' dase-  
 cu'xi 'it poked its tail out over there' 28.13A,  
 'ahnu'gedayed' 'ow qa' saku'xi'h 'she thrust  
 them up into their rectums' 47b.39M, see further  
 da-da's, O-i-du'K, ie-dux 1., -da 9., O-i--  
 te'K, O-i-te (9.48, 28.111A, 53.24L), O-i-ta  
 (including indirect reflexives and passives),  
 l-ta, de-tic', ie-tic', ie-ted', O-l-i-ta'd',  
 ie-lahs, O-i-za'K 2a., -ceK-, O-cjhe, O-i--  
 ceK (12.15G), O-(d-)i-ceK, O-i-ce'd' 1c., O--  
 ceK 1., -sid, 'uni'K 'owa' qa' qi'sid, O--  
 i-za't', O-i-za'd', O-za', qa' lexi'se't', O--  
 i-su't', -siK-, ie-sil(-g), O-sa-, O-el-sa-,  
 el-de-sa-, O-i-sa, -gust', -kih', O-kih' 2.,  
 i-Kahd-, d-i-Ka't' 1., O-l-i-Ka's, gdl-xut',  
 qa'd' 'edge'la'ioxut'g, O-xu'K(-g), 'ux qa'd'  
 Kuxu'g, O-xa'd', de-xeK 3., O-i-xeK, O-ced',  
 qa' O-l-ced', O-cej, O-i-cej 1., ie-qa't'-g,  
 i-qa'K, -qes, d-ie-qaht, o-d' qa' -qe ('S  
 (boating) runs aground on o'), -qah, l-qu 1.,  
 2a., d-qa, xdl-qa, o-yed' qa' edl-qa, qa'  
 O-d-qa'K, o-yed' qa'd' d-qa'K, O-qed' 4b., O--  
 xahd 1., O-i-xahd 1., O-i-xed, O-xuh(-g),  
 O-xa'd', -je (28.123A), gdl--edl-wa't'--wahit  
 (transitive), O-we'd' (34.100, 66.9L), -wus- 7.,

-leʔg 2a., 0-leʔ (reflexive), o-yeʔ qaʔ  
 ed-ʔlaʔe-, -le 26., y-le 2., -la 1. (12.2,  
 5, 7, 29G), ʔe-ʔniʔ, -ʔya 1b.(1), 18., d-ʔya  
 2b., 2d.(2), gl-ʔya 1., 2., ʔdl-ʔya 1., 0=  
 ʔyaʔ, 0-1-ʔyaʔ (24.12M), 0-ʔeʔ 2., ʔe=  
 ʔeʔ 3., dl-ʔe-ʔeʔ 2., lʔdl-ʔe-ʔeʔ 2., qʔ·ʔ  
 ʔa·ʔ, -ʔaʔʔ (18.66L, 25.129, 27b.39, 28.40, 41A,  
 53.3L, 59.11 Galushia Nelson), g-ʔe-ʔaʔʔ, d=  
 (ʔi-)ʔe-ʔuʔe, 0-(ʔi-)ʔa 8., 18c., ʔe-ʔa 1.,  
 ʔi-ʔa 2., 0-1-(ʔi-)ʔa 1. (11.15A), 3b., but cf.  
 (qaʔ- 2c. below), 0-ʔ-gdl-(ʔi-)ʔa 2b., -ʔaʔ  
 2., ʔəhdeyeʔ qaʔ ʔah, qaʔədyəʔəʔah, ʔa·ʔe-  
 qaʔah, 0-ʔ-(y)a, -a, g-ʔe-pʔ; with ʔeʔ-ʔeʔ-  
 'back, again, some more, another (S or O)', usu-  
 ally ʔeʔ qaʔ: in text: ʔeʔ qaʔ 11.187,  
 188A, 16.5M, 21a.28, 34L, 23.100, 27b.47, 48A,  
 qaʔ ... ʔeʔ (irregular) 27c.29L, ʔe·qaʔ 56.2L,  
 61.53fnA, in elicitation: ʔəwyaʔd ʔeʔ qaʔ  
 siltahʔ 'I fished it back out of it (body of  
 water)' L, taʔd ʔeʔ qaʔ xuseiʔahdʔih 'he  
 dragged me back out of the water' M, taʔd ʔeʔ  
 qaʔ ʔədewe·skʔ 'it (cust) bobs back up to the  
 surface' LM, ʔeʔ qaʔ sdiwusʔih 'he surfaced'  
 M, ya·nuʔəhd ʔeʔ qaʔ sdiyahʔih 'he came back  
 up from under (surface)' L, ʔiʔdeluʔ ʔeʔ qaʔ  
 sdiyahʔ 'it came back up through the ice' L,

upon specific query: sič qa? qe? (or qe-qa?  
or qe? qa? sečax) 'throw it back up to me!'  
L; unlauted and fused with following form, <  
qa? ?i-: qe?xu'x 'porpoise, dolphin', yahd-  
qe?deqah 'aurora borealis', see also qe?yitah  
'whale', and 2c., 3b. below.

lb. 'biting, stinging, pinching (with twist-  
ing motion)': qa? O-ču-č 'S pinches O with  
twisting motion', qa? O-qeč 'S (insect) stings  
O', qa-č kuqecg 'horsefly', qa-č kuqecgluwyu-  
'hornets'.

lc. 'eruption on skin': see de-lu?č 'S gets  
blister', de-le?xc' 'S gets wart', de-cug 'S  
gets "goose egg"', o-y-lu? qa? le-qa-?s 'S  
leaves red (pressure-)mark on o's hand', delu?  
qa? la?yah 'boil, abscess', o-lu? qa? ku-lj--  
?ya 'S gets pox, pimples'.

ld. Often with following li?, in o-lu?  
qa? (li?) '(deeply) up out through hole in o',  
in reference to knotting, usually idiomatic with  
reference to facial expressions, see o-lu? lc.  
under lu?-nu?.

2. With more idiomatic meaning: a. 'start-  
ing, activating, bursting out ...ing (from a  
state of inactivity)': qa? -ki'x 'S bursts  
out crying, starts to cry', qa? seqamexc' 'it

started to spin (like a top)' L, ?ew qa? eeta?  
 'make it (motor) go faster!' L, qa? -cuhd-g  
 'S keeps dozing off (repeatedly starts to sleep)',  
 ya?zu qa? qu?yiyah 'don't leave' ('don't  
 start to go', also 'don't climb up, don't (walk-  
 ing) escape') L, qa? -?ya 'S (motor) starts',  
 (-?ya 18b.), qa? -?ya 'S (waves) roll' (-?ya  
 18c.), with other preverb li?-x following: qa?  
 li?x ?i-silih 'I burst out laughing' L.

2b. 'into consciousness, life': qa? -?ya  
 'S awakens, revives' (-?ya 18a.), with qe?-qe-:-  
 qe-qa? sdi?yahih 'he revived, came back to life'  
 L, diK qe? qa? ?asla?yahih 'he couldn't be  
 revived' 6l.83A, qa? ?isya-l 'staying awake'  
 (gerundive).

2c. 'awareness': with theme ?i-le(?) 'S  
 has emotion', qa? ?i-le(?) always qe?-le?,  
 with qa? unlauded and fused as prefix to verb,  
 e.g. with ku- indefinite S preceding, ku-qe?-,  
 very frequent set of themes, see under le(?)-li;  
 likewise in qe?-dl-ia-a' qe?-0-dl-i-a', q.v.  
 under a<sup>2</sup>; see also 0-l-(i-)?a 3b., and  
 -?ya 18d.

2d. 'surface covered with, full of foreign  
 substance, -y', in certain verb-themes derived  
 from noun-stems; see -ca? 'S is, becomes

(alluvial) muddy', -genes, gdl-genes 'S is, becomes (soft) muddy', qa? l-kahs 'S's face gets full of porcupine quills', qa? y-su?d 'S's hands get full of herring-scales', qa? O-i-xu?S 'S gets O all full of thorns', qa? y-ye.? 'S's hands get greasy' (ye.-).

3. Miscellaneous problematical instances:

la?d qa? li-SiX?ih 'he's bald' L (see -SiX-, Sdu-lihedelu? q? d? suxkuwah?i 'I'm pounding a nail (up?) through a table' L, ?ulah qa? ?u?yixsiq?a.?Si 'my hand's become paralyzed (up?) around it (from carrying it too long)' L, Kula? ?uxa? ya? qa? sahi?h 'someone else went with him, he changed partners' L, ?i? qa? ?edii?yahinu? 'they get along well together' L (see 2. above, -?ya l?d.), qa?sedii?ya.? 'Alaska daisies' (see under ya.?), qa? lex?e-?e.? 'plant species' (see under ?e.?), qe?-gu?l (< \*qa? ?igu?l) 'thunder(-bird)' (see under gu?l), qe?sa?l (< \*qa? ?i-s-a?-l) 'walking along' (gerundive, (< 'starting to go', 'climbing' ?, see under a<sup>1</sup>), ?u.nahd qe?i-c'a?K (< \*qa? ?i-i-c'a?K) month name (see under c'a?K).

y-qa?--q?-- (preverb, with y-thematic, stem-variant q?-- as above, probably requiring d-thematic

'accumulation' in verb) 'piling up, accumulating':  
yeqa? leʔeʔaʔsdikaʔstʔ 'a snowdrift piled up'  
L, yeqa? ʔudisiʔʔahʔ 'I collected something  
(money, in church)' M (0-(ʔ-)'a 12.), dekih  
yeqaʔʔ deʔexiaʔi 'I'm stacking up sticks' L,  
see d-ʔya 2c. for most occurrences.

qaʔ-qaʔ-qaʔ (qaʔ in certain forms with -ɕ final,  
 qaʔ in certain forms with reciprocal o and -ʒ fi-  
 nal)

o-qaʔ (postposition, with zero, -d, -ʒ, and  
 -ɕ finals) la. 'between, amongst, in(to) inter-  
 stance, interval between, amongst, mixed, involved  
 with o': with zero final: 9.62, 62, 10.178, 190,  
 238, 11.3, 4, 23.110, 110, 24.57, 84, 25.74, 82,  
 152, 28.47A, 33.20fnL, 50.60fnA, qaʔ-qaʔ sadahkih  
 'he sat down between us' L, ?awqaʔ kuʔsaxaʔkih  
 'he added something into it' M, giyah ?awgale-  
 qaʔ ?uʔsaxaʔkih 'he mixed water into it (whis-  
 key)' M, hiʔq lahqaʔ ?ew ?uʔquʔwaxihkih 'he'll  
 tell it all over the place (amongst all habita-  
 tions)' L, ?awqaʔ selahh 'it fish swam to  
 amongst them (joined the school)' L, ?uqaʔ saʔ-  
 yahh 'you're involved in, with it' L, qaʔ-qaʔ  
 saʔyahh 'he's involved with, mixed with us' L,  
 qaʔ-qaʔ sahkih 'he came amongst, between us' L,  
 qaʔ-qaʔ quʔwihkih 'he'll join us' L, qaʔ-qaʔ  
 saʔʔ, qaʔ-qaʔ ?aʔʔ 'join us!' L, caʔqaʔ ?iʔs-  
 diyahkih 'he got stuck in a deep spot' ('he went  
 unsuspectingly into, involvement in a deep spot')  
 L, d'heqaʔ ?iʔsdiyahkih 'he got entangled in  
 the alders' L, qiʔyeʔiʔsaʔ kuʔkeh caʔk  
 'finger-gloves' L, ?ew dekkih ?ew diʔaʔgqaʔ

li? secu·x 'push the stick into the book  
 (deeply between the pages)!' L, qa·qa? la·sih  
 'person living amongst us' L, ?uqa? yisi?yahh  
 'I got, ended up, mixed up with, involved with  
 them' L, ?uqa? ku·?yahh 'it's full of lint'  
 ('something is mixed with it') L, qa·qa? yi·-  
 hinu· 'people who are (living) amongst us' L,  
 na·zegqa?ya? 'yellowleg goose' ('amongst Canada  
 geese') L, siy·?xela·qa? ku·?yahh 'something  
 is stuck between my teeth' L (analysis uncertain,  
 see -x- under xah-); with -d final 'at  
 rest, from a position of rest': 10.190A, 13.1,  
 14, 21a.19L, 21b.64A, 24.86, 25.161, 192, 28.13,  
 51.73, 69.12A, ?ew daxp·hyu· ?uqa?dlehd 'be-  
 cause people (are) amongst them' 24.67A, ?ahnu·  
 ?uqa?c silah sa·sa?yahhinu·qa?d si?p·? se-  
 ?a?ci 'they came upon me amongst those amongst  
 whom I had spent a year' 25.183A, qa·qa?d 'be-  
 tween us' M, ciyuhqa?d 'amongst the bears' M,  
 siyeicadqsgiqqa?d 'between my fingers' L, siqi·-  
 ya?i?qa?d 'between my toes' L, ?ew ca?kya-  
 ?i?qa?d 'between the fingers of the glove' L,  
 ?ahnu·qa?d sedahkih 'he sat (and stayed) be-  
 tween them' L, qa·qa?d sedahkih 'he sat down  
 (and stayed) amongst us' L, ?awqa?d ?ew yq·?  
 seitahh 'he set it down between them' L, ?ew-

qaʔd qaʔ ʔetaʔ 'choose it from amongst them'  
 L, ləʔqaʔd yʔ·ʔ quʔxdah 'I'll sit down be-  
 tween you' L, qaʔd yʔ·ʔ silahkinu· 'I settled  
 down, moved in amongst them' L, ʔahnu·qaʔd yʔ·ʔ  
 ʔela·ʔih 'he's settling down (already) amongst  
 them' L, nominalized with -d final: siu·ʔt-  
 qaʔd siya· yikaʔd 'my joints hurt' L, yəʔeʔʔ  
 dəluʔqaʔd place-name, Canoe Passage on Hawkins  
 Island L, ʔihʔih sendi·qaʔd 'one week' ('one  
 between-Sundays') 62.15G, with anatomical marks:  
 siyeqaʔd qaʔ ʔəʔahd 'pull it (out) from be-  
 tween my hands!' L, siqi·deqaʔd 'my crotch, be-  
 tween my legs' M, see also -ʔe-qaʔ-; with -ʔ  
 final 'movement within area': 11.13, 51.77A,  
 52.26L, ʔu·ʔkqaʔʔ ʔəʔceʔ 'cut it at the joint!'  
 L, ʔahnu·qaʔʔ sədahʔih 'he sat, sidled between  
 them' L, ləʔqaʔʔ yʔ·ʔ quʔxdah 'I'll sit down  
 between you' L, ʔəwqaʔʔ ʔəw yʔ·ʔ səʔtahʔ  
 'he set it down between them' L, ʔuqaʔʔ dəluʔ  
 ku·ʔeh place-name, Passage by Channel Islands  
 L, liədəqaʔʔ yəʔ ʔəʔa·daʔya·ʔih 'he's running  
 around amongst the trees' L, qa·qaʔʔ ʔəʔ səhʔ  
 'he walked through between us' L, qa·qaʔʔ ʔa·-  
 ʔih 'he's walking along between us' L, qa·qaʔʔ  
 ʔiyaʔ 'walk along between us!' L, qa·qaʔʔ ʔa·ʔ  
 'walk (by) between us!' L, with anatomical marks:

qa·yeqaʔɿ ceX 'it slips through our fingers'  
 L, siyeqaʔɿ 'between (through) my fingers' L,  
 ʔuyeqaʔɿ caʔK 'finger-gloves' L, siqi·deqaʔɿ  
 ʔaš saħ 'it went through between my feet' L,  
 with -č final: 11.3, 3A, 13.11, 12, 13L, 21b.-  
 17, 67, 23.21, 26, 92, 24.75, 25.183A, 32.17, 21,  
 37b.47, 61.10A, ʔahnu·qaʔč (not -qa·č) sɛda·  
 iħ 'he's sidling in between them' L, qa·qaʔč  
 sa·iħ 'he's coming between, amongst us, he's  
 joining us' L, ʔewqaʔč tɛxcu·xɿ 'I'm pushing  
 it between them' L; with -čabɿ final or compounded  
 as o of o-čabɿ 'from o': ʔuqaʔčabɿ ka·diħ  
 seieʔi 'he'd been missing from their midst' 37b.-  
 44, 45A, dede·d tɛp·dičičyu·qaʔčabɿ ʔi·ʔe·kħ  
 'he (cust) marries (women) from amongst any kind  
 of birds' 10.172A; with -kah final or compounded  
 as o of o-kah 'away from o': qa·qaʔkah ʔa·ʔ  
 'go away from between us!' L; with -deɿ final  
 (perhaps to be corrected to -ɿ): vahikaʔdeɿ  
 ʔahnu·daʔ ʔeħa·siʔahħinu· 'they sneaked to  
 them through the foliage' 38.4-5fnLM.

lb. With indeterminate o: with zero final:  
 ʔowX deqaʔ<sup>^</sup> daceʔiɿ 'pour ~~in~~ (mixed with something) with it:'  
 (of two liquids) M, deqaʔ saħiħ  
 'he got involved with, joined some people' L,  
 with -ɿ final: deqaʔɿ yɿ·ʔya·K personal  
 name L, deqaʔɿ yesaʔyahħ 'he wandered about



'they're linked together' L.

2b. With -d final, and indeterminate o,  
'(from a position) at rest in aperture in o':  
deqa'd ?i·sdiɣe'ɣɔ 'it (hook) came unhooked  
(out of eyelet)' L.

3. With -ɣ final and indeterminate o,  
'over the fire, in the fire' (cf. o-lu' 2.):  
deqa'ɣ 'over the fire, in the fire' 33.14, 36,  
45A.

4. With -ɣ final, attribute to ya·yu·  
'ones (things)', yɪ·hinu· 'ones (people)',  
'(some) of o': ?uqa'ɣ ya·yu· 'some (things)  
of them' L, ?uqa'ɣ ya·yu· ?awa· yeɣ qesiɕiɕi  
'I broke some of them' L, ?uqa'ɣ yɪ·hinu· 'some  
(people) of them' L, 28.88, 109, 51.65, 67, 60.-  
23, 65.78, 68.60, 69.3, 23A; cf. ya·-qa' below.

5. With -ɣ final, 'distributing, sharing  
amongst o': leɣqa'ɣ qu'xiah 'I'll pass them  
around amongst you' L, ?ewqa'ɣ ?i·ɕɕahɣɣinu·  
'there wasn't enough food to go around (amongst  
them)' L, ?ahnu·qa'ɣ ?ew tɕɕa·kɪh 'he's  
giving each a share' L; in indirect reflexive  
with zero reflexive o: Rezanov Камъауясма-  
таена 'Раздавать teilen' qa'ɣ ?ew ya·  
sɪyahɣinu· M, qa'ɣ ?ew ya·? sɪyahɣinu·  
'they passed it around, each was given a share'

Кисане какаб-оалыкхуай 'pasgduu thaila (Japan?)  
ga?x ~ ya. 'olalya.?'ah ?

L ('they distributed a thing amongst themselves'

M, 'they set them down distributed amongst themselves' L), ga?x ~ ya. 'olalya.?' 'pl. pass it around (to each other)!' A

6. With zero final, 'contributing, investing, cost-sharing with o': siqa? Kuseta? 'contribute a share to it with me!' L, siqa? da'na' dese?a? 'put some money in with me on it!' L, 'iqa? da'na' qu?di'x?ah 'I'll put some money in with you on it' L.

7. Meaning and/or identification uncertain: c'eiqa?edi-?- 'smokehole', see c'ei-; see also -qe?- in -qe?-g-ya?-d, -qe?-g-wa? under qe?, conceivably < o-qa?-?i-g- with -qa?- unlauded to -qe?-.

Kuleqa? (postpositional phrase, with ku- indefinite o and l- thematic, perhaps thematized class-mark for o 'moon', thus 'between moons, at new moon') 'pitch-dark', attested only in Kuleqa? e?i?e?x da'x 'when it gets pitch-dark' L, 28.38A.

o-qa?-g<sup>w</sup>a?--ga? (postposition, o-qa? compounded as o of o-g<sup>w</sup>a?- 'like, equal to o (in quantity, quality)') l. 'each, every single o': qa?qa?ga? 'each one of us' L, le?qa?ga? le?c' kuqu?xtah 'I'll give something to each one of you' L, c'ik hi?q' le?qa?ga? le?c' qu?xtah 'I'll give you each a plate' L, hi?c' gah?edeqa?ga? 'every

single day' 38.14fnLM, 47c.27L.

2. qelah-qa<sup>?</sup>-g<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup>- 'four', see qelah.

ʔiḷ-qa<sup>?</sup>--qa<sup>?</sup>- (postpositional phrase, often used preverbially, o-qa<sup>?</sup> with reciprocal o, attested with zero, -d, -ɣ, and -ʃ finals, stem -qa<sup>?</sup> in all forms, but with -ʃ final -qa<sup>?</sup>- more frequent, cf. ya·ɣ·ʔe-qa<sup>?</sup>--qa<sup>?</sup>-) 'amongst each other, (mixed, mingled, tangled) together': ʔiḷqa<sup>?</sup> guḷiʃe·gḷi, ʔiḷqa<sup>?</sup> guḷiʔyahḷ 'they're tangled together' L, ʔiḷqa<sup>?</sup> gəḷa·siḷyahḷ 'I mixed them (liquids) together' L, ʔiḷqa<sup>?</sup> əɣahḷ 'shuffle them (cards)!' M, ʔiḷqa<sup>?</sup> quʔyedaʔyḷhiḷnu· 'they (peoples) will be (end up) mixed together' L, ʔiḷqa<sup>?</sup> yisdiʔyahḷhiḷnu· 'they all mingled' L, ʔiḷqa<sup>?</sup> dətəʔiḷ 'pour them together!' M, ʔiḷqa<sup>?</sup> ʔəw ciʔsəḷʔahḷḷiḷh 'he mixed them (dry substances) together' L, ʔiḷqa<sup>?</sup> gəḷa·siḷga·əḷ 'I mixed dyes' L, ʔiḷqa<sup>?</sup> gəḷa·diḷga·əḷ 'dyes are mixed' L, giyahḷ ʔiḷqa<sup>?</sup> quʔli·xga·ə 'I'll mix it together with water' L, ʔiḷqa<sup>?</sup> ʔa·sdiʔyahḷ 'it (net) got tangled' L, ʔiḷqa<sup>?</sup> gəḷa·sdiʔəḷi 'various colors are mixed in streaks; they (ducks) got chased into confusion together' L, ʔiḷqa<sup>?</sup> ləɣəsikahḷ 'I mixed berries together' L, ʔiḷqa<sup>?</sup> ləɣəsikiyahḷ 'berries are mixed together' L, ʔiḷqa<sup>?</sup> ʔi·sdiqahḷ 'they dispersed in all

directions (amongst each other)' 25.49A; with  
 -d final: ?ilqa'd qa? səlxəd 'untangle it!' L;  
 with -x final (cf. ?il-qa'-x): ?ilqa'x  
 yex səcu·x 'shuffle them (cards)!' A, ?ilqa'x  
 yex ?ediŋqə'slinu· 'they're crowded together' L,  
 ?ilqa'x ?edyixsəi'ahə 'I clasped my hands  
 fingers laced together' L, with -č final (stem  
 -qa?- or -qa'-): ?ilqa'č (or ?ilqa·č) kudi·l-  
 ʒahəlg 'you're making a crazy-quilt' ('you're  
 repeatedly sewing things amongst each other)' L,  
 ?ilqa·č kudi·lʒahəlg 'are you making a crazy-  
 quilt?' L, ?ilqa·č cɨ'letex'a·l 'I'm mixing  
 them (dry substances) together' L, ?ilqa·č le-  
 səxga·sə 'I'm mixing them together' L, ?ilqa'č  
 səxiə·l 'I'm mixing them together' L, ?ilqa'č  
 (or ?ilqa·č) lexəsexiə·l 'I'm mixing them (ber-  
 ries) together' L; with -kah final or compounded  
 as of of o-kah 'away from o': ?ilqa'kah lexə-  
 səka? 'unmix, sort them (berries)!' L.

?il-qa'-x (postpositional phrase, often used pre-  
 verbially, probably derived from ?il-qa?- with  
 expanded stem and -x final, attested with zero  
 and -č finals) 'dispersed, scattered, confused':  
 with zero final: ?ilqa·x sa'yahə, ?ilqa·x  
 ?i·yahə 'it's scattered all over' L, sədeqə-  
 yɨ'yɨ ?ilqa·x sɨi'ahə 'the sun dissipated

the fog' L, qahsaxeda-x' ?ilqa-x' sli?ahh' 'the sun dispersed the clouds' L, ?ilqa-x' ci?(li)di-?ahh' 'they (flowers) are scattered, spread around' L, ?ilqa-x' O-ci?(l)-(i-)?a 'S scatters O', ?ilqa-x' ?ew ?i-iahh', ?ilqa-x' ?ew qi'-ka-i' 'they're jumbled and scattered all over' L, ?ilqa-x' seka? 'pile them up all about!' M, ?ilqa-x' qh' ?i-sdiqubh' 'they dispersed, escaping in all directions' 23.30A, ta-d' ?ilqa-x' lexesexpuhig' 'I'm spreading it (gravel) on the road with a shovel' L; with -d' final: ?ilqa-x' xed' ci?lesede?a-i'h' 'he's scattering, spreading, mixing it all about' L.

-x'e-qa?-d (noun, unclassified, postpositional phrase nominalized with -d final, with -x'e-, reduced form of -x'ah- 'back end' as o of o--qa? 'between o') 1. 'arse, buttocks, cleft of buttocks, anus, rectum': siXeqa?d 'my anus, rectum' M, ?iXeqa?d 'your arse, arse-hole' S, ?iXeqa?d ?eik'u?d 'wipe your anus!' L, xewa'-Xeqa?d 'small red berry species, which grows in bunches of three or four on moss' ('dog's anus') L.

2. In place-name ma-Xeqa?d Cordova end of Eyak Lake L (cf. ma-X'ahd).

Xeqa?gedelah d'ex (noun, unclassified) 'bat'

('wings around rump') LM. Probably epithet, with deleted possessive pronoun and o, o-ŋe-qa?-gd--lah 'around o's gd-class (or anatomical, 'rump') -ŋe-qa?-).

ya·ŋ-ŋe-qa?--qa?- (preverb, or adverb, attested with zero and -ŋ final only, stem -qa? with zero final, -qa?- more frequently than -qa?- with -ŋ final, cf. ?iŋ-qa?--qa?-; identification of ya·ŋ uncertain, conceivably expanded form of ya?ŋ 'up', thus 'arse-end up') 'upside-down': with zero final: ya·ŋŋeqa? lexi·xuŋ 'his eyes are rolled, turned up' L, ya·ŋŋeqa? ?u·daŋ li? seiaduxi 'it (bottle) is floating downstream along there upside-down' L, requiring thematized gd-anatomical, 'rump', with themes -?a' '(sg.) S extends', -sid 'pl. S extend': ya·ŋŋeqa? gudese?a?ŋ 'it was upside-down (for a moment)' L, ya·ŋŋeqa? gedi·?ah 'it (table) is upside-down' L, ya·ŋŋeqa? gedi·sid 'they're upside-down' L; with -ŋ final: ya·ŋŋeqa?ŋ, ya·ŋŋeqa?ŋ 'upside down' L, ya·ŋŋeqa?ŋ siŋa? leŋex<sup>w</sup>eŋgih 'his eyes are rolling up at me' 8.13A, ya·ŋŋeqa?ŋ leŋexxuig 'my eyes keep rolling (from sleepiness)' L.

ya·-qa? (preverb, attested with zero final only, ya· 'thing' as o of o-qa?) 'away (from area,

e.g. out of town)': 49.78, 80, 65.83A, (li'x,  
lece'x) 'ew ya'qa' səltah'ih 'he took it  
away (downriver, upriver)' M, ya'qa' lesedega'  
'beat it!, clear out!, go away!' L, ya'qa' da-  
qa'a'č 'we'll go, move away' L, ya'qa' qu'xah  
'I'll go away' L, 'ə-čahd ya'qa' siyah' 'I  
left here' L, ya'qa' sah' 'it went away' L,  
sixda'd ya'qa' sah'ih 'he went away without  
me' L; with qe'-qe'- 'back, again': qe'ya'qa'  
21a.22, 32L, 21b.74A, qe'ya'qa' qu'xdah 'I'll  
go back away' L, siqeyah'č qe' ya'qa' qu'xdah  
'I'll go back (away) to my homeland' L, 'ə-čahd  
ya'qa' qe' qu'xdah 'I'll leave here for home'  
L; kula'č 'uxa' ya'qa' sah'ih "he changed  
partners, someone else went with him" L ('another  
went away(?) with him').

qa·ʔ<sup>1</sup>

qa·ʔ (noun, unclassified) 'hollering', attested only as o of o-dahd 'sound of o': qa·ʔdahd 'hollering voice' L.

ʔa-qa·ʔ 'S shouts, yells, hollers, screams, calls, cries out, S (dog) bays, S (siren) blows': 15.-22M, 20.13A, 41.11, 52.1L, ʔaʔqa·ʔ 'holler!' LM, xʔqa·ʔ 'I'm hollering' M, caʔqa·ʔʔih 'he's hollering' (continuing act) L, quʔxʔqa·ʔ 'I'll holler' M, xʔiqa·ʔʔ 'I hollered' M, with o-č 'at, to o': 22.4L, 23.59A, 38.10LM, 53.23L, with o-wahd 'for the sake of, for o', 'S (dog) bays at O (located prey)': ləxwahd da·quʔʔqa·ʔ 'we (dogs) will bay at you pl.' 13.13L, ge-liʔa·g ya·ʔqa·ʔ 'noon siren is blowing (at cannery)' ('noon-thing is screaming, it's screaming noon-hour') L, deʔu·deʔyʔ·kih ʔqa·ʔ=dahd ʔuʔli·tʔih 'she hears (the sound of) someone yelling' 45b.2M (cf. qa·ʔ above), with yeʔ-progressive: yeʔ ʔqa·ʔʔih 'he's going around hollering' LM, repetitive customary ʔqa·gkʔih 'he (cust) hollers' M. Transitive (causative): ʔaʔqa·ʔ 'blow it (horn, siren), make it holler!' LM.

ʔisqa·ʔ (gerundive of ʔa-qa·ʔ) '(act of) yelling, screaming': ʔič ʔisqa·ʔ xudeʔaʔehʔ

'I screamed my lungs out at you' ('yelling at  
you killed my voice') L.

Kuieqa'ʔ (noun) 'siren' ('something screams') L.

ceieqa'ʔ (noun, unclassified, with s-thematic)

'"hollerer" (mythical fish or sea-monster)' L.

35.2, 4 and fns L.

qa·?² (perhaps related to qa·?-qa·-qa·)

-qa·? (noun, unclassified) 1. 'some, part, portion of':

?awqa·? 'some of it, part of it' 9.105, 10.39, 40, 68, 69, 11.197A, di?we? ?ew la?mabdle?eqa·? ?ale?a·ne· 'eat just some (not all) of those berries!' L, with suffixed -yu· 'plural': ?u-qa·?yu· 'some (individuals) of them' L, le?i· le?qa·?yu· 'some of you pl.' L, ?uqa·?yu· ?ewa·de?u·d si?ah? 'I left some of them there' L, with suffixed -kih 'diminutive': ?uqa·?kih ?ewa· si? ?eta? 'give me a bit (single), little (piece) of it!' L.

2. '- 's kind, type, tribe': 24.2, 68.123A, le?qa·? 'your pl. kind, tribe' 25.63, 63fnA, diK ?e?eqa·qa·?e '(they're) not (of) our kind, tribe' 68.90A, ?uqa·? ?ahnu· ?u?kileh 'he considers them to be (of) his (own) kind, tribe' L, siqa·? y?·himu· qe?ahnu· 'they're my (own) kind, people' L, frequently with de- 'ipse': 10.170, 25.163, 163fn, 68.85, 88A, de?awqa·? 'they're the same' ('it's of) that very kind, its own kind') L, de?ewdeqa·? ca?k ?u?disicah? 'I bought the same (that very) kind of knife' L, de?ewle?eqa·? la?mabd ?u?le?eicah? 'I bought the same (that very) kind of berries' L.

3. Ambiguous occurrences: Keyi·yle?eqa·?

sič leʒa·ʔsh 'bring me a different orange'  
( 'bring me one (lʒ-class O) of a different kind',  
bring me a different individual of them') L, Ke-  
yɨ·ygeqa·ʔ sidaʔ (or sič) gu·kaʔ (or guse-  
kaʔ) 'bring me a different kind (of them, pl.  
spruceroots), bring me different ones (individuals  
of them):' L; sečəʒqa·ʔ, qəčəʒqa·ʔ 'piece of  
rag', see čəʒ<sup>2</sup>.

qu (perhaps related to qu', quh<sup>1</sup> and/or quh<sup>2</sup>; *quh<sup>2</sup>*)  
active imperfective usually qe')

-qu 1. 'pl. S (human or anthropomorphized animal)  
sit (are in, get into sitting position', cf. -da  
for sg. S): (1) Active perfective, used with  
force of neuter, 'S is stationary in sitting  
position, 28.33A, 47b.40M, 30.3L, ?udeya?d  
kusequh<sup>2</sup> 'some people were sitting in it (car)'  
61.59, 64A, la?dnu' sequh<sup>2</sup> 'two people are  
sitting' M, sequh<sup>2</sup>inu' 'they're sitting' L,  
gahxede?a'w sequh<sup>2</sup>inu' 'they've been sitting  
all day long' L, ?u'd kusequh<sup>2</sup> 'someone (pl.)  
are sitting there' L; indirect reciprocal: ?ikya?  
sdiquh<sup>2</sup>inu' 'they're sitting by each other;  
they're having a love affair' M. (2) Neuter per-  
fective, transitive (causative), indirect recip-  
rocal: ?il<sup>2</sup>le? ?i'iquh<sup>2</sup>ih, ?il<sup>2</sup>le? ?i'iquh<sup>2</sup>inu'  
'he has them as co-wives' ('he makes them sit one  
further back from the front entrance of the house  
than the other', neuter perfective) 33.64, 64A,  
Rezanov Итяжекуульхуль 'Своиъ Schwager'  
?il<sup>2</sup>le?f.. ku'iquh<sup>2</sup> 'he has (someone pl.) co-  
wives, someone has them as co-wives'. (3) Active  
imperfective, used in customary or ethical sense:  
?q'ddel seqe'ceyu' quh 'is here where the

children (normally) sit?' L, diK 'u'd seqe=  
 seyū quh 'that is not where the children  
 (normally) sit' L. (4) With ya? 'completely,  
 to a state of rest', indicating movement into or  
 maintenance of a sitting position by pl. S, im-  
 perative apparently always active: ya? 'eleḡ-  
 quh L, ya? 'eleḡqe' (latter clearly pre-  
 ferred) 'pl. sit!, pl. stay seated!' LS, 18.43L,  
 de'u'd ya? 'eleḡqe' 'pl. stay seated right  
 there!' L, 'ewḡ ya? qa'quh 'pl. will sit on  
 it' 28.96, 98A, ya? 'equ'ḡ 'uX dexlihinu'  
 'I told them to sit down' L.

2. 'pl. S (human or animal) stay, remain'  
 (within certain location, bodily position un-  
 specified), often indistinguishable from 1. above  
 (cf. -da for sg. S): (1) Active perfective,  
 with force of neuter: 10.237, 11.132A, 13.1L,  
 29.58, 37b.2, 85, 85A, 62.25G. (2) Neuter per-  
 fective: see nominalization below. (3) Active  
 imperfective, used in customary sense: 62.28G,  
 see also ca'le'ḡquh 'octopus' ('it (pl.?) stays  
 under rock') under ca', seqe'seyū 'uḡḡ quh  
 'womb' ('children stay in it') under qe'. (4)  
 With ya? 'completely, to a state of rest' in  
 other mode-aspects, imperative apparently always

active: 10.234, 235, 60.3A (customaries), ya?  
?equ·x̄ ?uM̄ dexlihinu· 'I told them to stay' L,  
indirect reflexive, with ?ed?e?d 'at (one's own)  
home': ?ed?e?d ya? ?ələx̄deqe· 'pl. stay home!'  
L, ?ed?e?d da· ya? qu?dequh 'we'll stay  
home' L. Transitive (causative): ?edixd̄ ləxi-  
qe?xiq̄uh 'I'll make you pl. stay indoors, home'  
L.

3. 'pl. S move while in sitting position'  
(cf. -da for sg. S), with yeḡ-progressive:  
yeḡ ?ələx̄dequ· (not -qe·, which would be  
homophonous with 'go beating, beat around' M, but M  
is perhaps incorrect in rejecting the form for this  
reason) 'pl. sit around restlessly, sidle about!'  
M, da· yeḡ ?idiq̄uh 'let's sit around' M (no  
distinction made between continuous and interrupted  
sitting position).

4. With yḡ·? 'down', 'pl. S move downward  
(from standing) into sitting position' (cf. -da  
for sg. S), imperative probably always inceptive:  
yḡ·? sələx̄qu? 'pl. sit down!' LM, da· yḡ·?  
qa?quh 'we'll sit down' L, diK̄ da· yḡ·? qa?=  
qu·e 'we won't sit down' L, yḡ·? qa?quhinu·  
'they'll sit down' LM, yḡ·? səquh̄kinu· 'they  
sat down' LM 25.23L, 29.64A, da· yḡ·? ?ḷ·quh

'let's sit down' L,  $y\dot{a}^? \text{ si}^? \text{quhinu}^?$ ,  $y\dot{a}^?$   
 $^?i^? \text{quhinu}^?$  'let them sit down' L. Transitive  
(causative):  $y\dot{a}^? \text{ le}^? \text{xi}^? \text{quh}$  'I'll make you  
pl. sit down' L.

5. With  $lih\dot{x}da^?d$  'without activity,  
silent, minding own business' (cf.  $-da$  for sg. S);  $lih\dot{x}da^?d \text{ ya}^?$   
 $^?e\dot{a}x\dot{q}e^? \text{ q}^?ah$  'pl. quiet down, be still, silent  
finally!' L,  $lih\dot{x}da^?d \text{ se}^?quh\dot{k}inu^?$  'they quieted  
down' L.

6. With  $o\text{-}y\dot{e}q^?$  'in o, pl. S is dressed  
in o, wears o' (cf.  $-da$  for sg. S):  $^?e\dot{w}y\dot{e}q^?$   
 $^?e\dot{q}u^? \text{kinu}^?$  'they're (cust) dressed in it' 24.=  
40A,  $kuy\dot{e}q^? \text{ se}^?e\dot{x}qu^?$  'pl. get dressed (in  
something)!' L. Transitive (causative):  $^?e\dot{w}y\dot{e}q^?$   
 $le^? \text{xi}^? \text{quh}$  'I'll dress you pl. in that' L.

7. With  $o\text{-}^?e^?d$  'in the place of o', 'S  
lives on o (for nourishment)' (cf.  $-da$  for sg. S):  
25.208A,  $te^? \text{ya}^? e^?d \text{ da}^? \text{ quh}$  'we live on fish' L.

8. 'pl. S fare': (intransitive not attested,  
cf.  $-da$  for sg. S). Transitive (causative), 'S  
treats O', with  $ya^?$  'completely, to state of  
rest':  $kuy\dot{u}^? \text{dah} \text{ ya}^? \text{ le}^? \text{xi}^? \text{quh}$  'I'll treat  
you pl. well' L (perhaps more precisely to be  
glossed 'I'll make you pl. end up well').  
 $^?isqu^?l$  (gerundive) 'sitting (of pl. persons)':  $^?is\text{-}$   
 $qu^?l \text{ qe}^?e\dot{a}ga^? \text{kinu}^?$  'they're getting tired of

sitting' ('sitting is tiring them') L.

ʔiḷguḂaʔ ʔidiqubḂ name of North and Observation  
Islands L. Nominalized neuter perfective, in-  
direct reciprocal, 'they sit one at the back end of  
the other'.

Ḃe-qu 'pl. S (waterfowl) sit, alight, swim, float,  
on surface of water' (cf. Ḃe-da for sg. S): taʔ  
sḂiqubḂ 'they (ducks) landed on the water' L,  
yahd ʔeḂe-qu·k 'they (loons) (cust) swim out to  
sea' 24.41A, with yeḂ-progressive: 24.42A, yeḂ  
Ḃe-qu·Ḃ 'they (live ducks) are floating, swimming  
about' L, 'fish are swimming around' L (probably  
in error, see l-qu 2b. Transitive (causative),  
with yeḂ-progressive: yeḂ ʔeḂe-quh 'make them  
(ducks) swim about!' L; reflexive: ʔedseḂe-qu·Ḃ  
'they (fish) were floating (expressly to be  
taken)' 46.25M (perhaps incorrect).

d-Ḃ-qu 'pl. S (dead or inanimate, perhaps also  
sg. S considered as mass) float, drift': ky·Ḃ-  
daʔdyequhyu· leq deḂqu·k 'small stumps (cust)  
drift ashore' 10.258A, with yeḂ-progressive: yeḂ  
deḂe-qu·Ḃ 'they're (sticks, dead ducks, bugs,  
bunch of anything drifting around in water) float-  
ing around' LM; with class-marks for S: ʔuʔḂ  
qiʔdaʔ di·ḂquhḂ 'good camping place' ('where



preferred) 'we'll run short of food' L,  $\lambda a^{\cdot} =$   
 $sdiquhkinu^{\cdot}$  'they're short of grub' L,  $diK$   
 $da^{\cdot} qe^{\cdot} qu^{\cdot} \lambda a^{\cdot} dequ^{\cdot} s$  'we won't run short of  
 food anymore' 46.32M,  $da^{\cdot} \lambda a^{\cdot} dequ^{\cdot} K$  'we (cust)  
 run short of food' L, with  $ya^{\cdot}$  'completely':  
 $ya^{\cdot} qu^{\cdot} \lambda a^{\cdot} dequhinu^{\cdot}$  'they'll run out of food  
 and starve' L,  $ya^{\cdot} qu^{\cdot} \lambda a^{\cdot} sdiquhkinu^{\cdot}$  'they ran  
 out of food' L,  $da^{\cdot} ya^{\cdot} \lambda a^{\cdot} dequhya^{\cdot} \dot{x}$  'lest we  
 run out of food and starve' L. Transitive (causa-  
 tive):  $ya^{\cdot} \lambda i^{\cdot} hquhinu^{\cdot}$  'starve them!' L,  $ya^{\cdot}$   
 $\lambda a^{\cdot} saxhqu^{\cdot} kinu^{\cdot}$  'I'm starving them' L,  $ya^{\cdot} \lambda a^{\cdot} =$   
 $silquhkinu^{\cdot}$  'I starved them' L; passive:  $ya^{\cdot}$   
 $qa^{\cdot} \lambda a^{\cdot} sdequ^{\cdot} h$  'we're being starved' L.

1-qu 1. (With 1-anatomical 'head')  $\overset{S}{S}$  has head  
 in position,  $\dot{S}$  moves head' (cf. 1-ta for sg. S;  
 pl. S either 1-ta or 1-qu):  $yq^{\cdot} ?e^{\cdot} qeli^{\cdot} =$   
 $quhkinu^{\cdot}$  'their heads are drooping' L (neuter im-  
 perfective),  $la^{\cdot} q^{\cdot} qa^{\cdot} ?i^{\cdot} sequhkinu^{\cdot}$  'they  
 looked upward' L, indirect reciprocal: Rezanov  
 Изыцээнстакоутлжжжжж 'Цалсатъ küssen'  $?ihsa^{\cdot}$   
 $?i^{\cdot} sdiquhkinu^{\cdot}$ ,  $?ihsa^{\cdot} ?i^{\cdot} sdiquhkinu^{\cdot}$  'they're  
 kissing' ('they put their heads mouth-to-mouth')  
 L.

2. (With 1-thematic) a. pl. S run, sg. S  
 runs with another object' (for sg. S see  $\dot{x}dl-$

'ya): textual occurrences: without locative  
 preverbs or postpositional phrases frequently  
 'pl. S run away': 37a.11L, 'əh' 'i·sequh̄ih  
 'he ran away with him (carrying him on his  
 shoulder)' 52.13L (sg. S, pl. involved), other  
 textual occurrences: with 'ədi' 'in(to house)':  
 11.20, 20, 21A, with o-č 'to, toward o': 25.=  
 99, 100A, with o-da' 'to, arrival at o': 25.=  
 60, 61, 181, 60.5A, with ca' 'downhill, down  
 to shore': 25.181, 37b.69, 60.5A, with qe'  
 'back, home': te'ya' qe' liadiquh̄ih 'she  
 ran back home with the fish' 46.22M, with ya--  
 progressive: 61.21, 26A (with o-q' 'on o', S  
 'birds'), 'i'ya' ya' 'i·dequ·' 'they ran  
 back and forth' 25.65A, indirect reciprocal, with  
 'i'qa·' 'scattering, mixing' and qa' 'up, out':  
 'i'qa·' qā' 'i·adiquh̄ 'they dispersed, escaped  
 in all directions' 23.30A; elicited instances,  
 arranged by mode-aspect: imperatives: li'le'qu'  
 'pl. run!' L, 'u-č li'le'qu', 'u-č la·le'qu'  
 (former probably preferred) 'pl. run there!' L,  
 inceptive imperfective: da· qu'li·quh 'we'll  
 run' L, qu'li·quhima· 'they'll run' L, incep-  
 tive perfective: Galushia Nelson q'iyəqDālə-  
 qəqu·t̄ or q'iyəqDāləqəqu·t̄ 'we run' BSdL

560 əyət da· ləsequ·t̄ 'we're running', da·  
 ləsequ·t̄ 'we're running' M, Galushia Nelson  
 ləxi·ləqəqləxq̄·t̄ or ləxi·ləqəqləxq̄·t̄ 'you  
 pl. run' BSdL 560 ləxi· sələxqu·t̄ 'you pl. are  
 running', á<sup>n</sup>·ndləqəq̄·t̄ 'they run' BSdL 560  
 ?ahnu· ləsequ·t̄, ləsequ·t̄inu· 'they're running'  
 L, active perfective: ?i·səquh̄tinu· 'they ran' L,  
 active optative: da· la·yiquh 'let's run' L,  
 dəʔu·d la·yiquhinu· 'alright let them run' L,  
 ?u·ʃ la·yiquhinu· 'let them run thither' L,  
 with qaʔ 'up out': da· qaʔ la·yiquh 'let's  
 escape' L, customary: li·qu·Minu· 'they (cust)  
 run' L, with yəx̄-progressive: yəx̄ la·ləx̄dequh  
 'pl. run around!' L, dəʔu·d yəx̄ la·diquhinu·  
 'alright let them run around' L, ?u·d yəʔdəx̄  
 yəx̄ lədequ·xinu· 'they're running around down  
 there' L, indirect reciprocal: with ?ili·ȳ 'in  
 contact with one another': ?ili·ȳ ?i·sdiquh̄tinu·  
 'they brushed against each other as they ran' L,  
 with ?illex̄ʔ 'in competition with one another':  
 Galushia Nelson it̄ix̄á<sup>n</sup> əlitiqet̄ ?illex̄ʔ  
 Kulidiquh̄t̄ 'some people are running a race'  
 (neuter perfective), ?illex̄ʔ ?i·diquh̄tinu·  
 'they're racing (on foot)' L (neuter perfectives),  
 ?illex̄ʔ ləx̄ləx̄dequʔ 'pl. race each other!' L,

?iɪlɛʔ quʔɪ·dequhinu· 'they'll race each other (running)' L. Transitive (causative): attested once with ?iɪtʔa? 'gathering together', which should probably be supplied in both other instances, 'S corrals O, herds O together': ?iɪtʔa? lecaɪqu? 'corral them up!' IM, leuxɪqu·ɪ 'I'm corralling them up' M (without ?iɪtʔa? probably more precisely to be glossed 'I'm making them run'), quʔqeli·xɪquh 'I'll corral them up' M.

2b. 'pl. S (fish) are, move, swim in school, pl. fish swim, run': deʔu·dga? teʔya? li·qu·ʔ 'fish would stay, swarm right there' 56.= 12L, with ?iɪtʔa? 'gather together': ?iɪtʔa? li·quhɪ 'fish are in a school (not moving)' L (neuter perfective), with qe·yahd 'back out to sea' (de-classifier): 21a.5, 21, 32L, repetitive: ?esyedʔeʔ lequ·g 'fish are going (one after another) into the weir' L, ?ewyedʔ ?eʂ lequ·g 'they (fish) go (one after another) right (into and) through it (weir too coarse)' L.

?iɪleʔʔ lequ·g (gerundive repetitive of ?iɪleʔʔ l-de-qu 'pl. S race each other running') 'footrace': ?iɪleʔʔ lequ·g ?iqeʔdi·leh 'there'll be a footrace' L.

o-ɪahd ?i-ʔ-l-qu (with o-ɪahd 'away from o,

leaving o behind') 'pl. S, running, pull away from o': siyahd ʔiʔlæsqʉ·tɪnu· 'they're pulling away from me (running)' L, qa·ʔahd ʔiʔqeʔli·quhɪnu· 'they'll pull away from us (running)' L.

o-taʔ ʔi·lih-qu (with o-taʔ 'behind o, dependent on o'): 'pl. S depend on, count on o' (for sg. or pl. S see ʔi·lih-ta): ʔiʔtaʔ da· ʔi·lih-yiquhɪ 'we're counting on you' L (neuter perfective, -yi-prefix, more normal for neuter imperfective, verified, not -ʔi-).

qu' (perhaps related to qu; cf. ta')

el-qu' (with el-thematic 'time') 'pl. S live, are  
alive' (for sg. and also pl. S see el-ta')

Rezanov Тахкелъмо 'Ембелъ lebendig' da' sele-  
quh 'we're alive' L, selequh 'they're alive' L,  
dik' selequ'sinu' 'they're not alive' L, sahdx  
sq'sequ?i 'they lived a long time' L, qe? sele-  
sedequ?inu' 'they're coming alive again' L,  
nominalized with -yu' 'pl.': i'i'q' ?el sele-  
quhyu' 'all these living things' 25.200A.

quh<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with qu and/or with qu')

-y-quh (noun, unclassified, with y-thematic)

1. 'young, offspring (of animals)': ?uyequh 'its young' L, la<sup>o</sup>dih ?uyequh 'her two young (of octopus)' 20.73A, ?uyequhyu· 'her young (pl., of octopus)' 20.91, 93A, 'their pups (of seal)' 62.31, 31G, Kuyequhyu· 'the young (of octopus)' 20.73A, Rezanov Хаваыкка-о 'Еенокка Junger Hund', Хамаыкка 'Котка Katze' xawa-yequh 'puppy-dog' LM, also dog's name A, lixa-yequhyu· 'grizzly-bear cubs' 18.83L, ce·le·x-quhyequhyu· 'octopus-young' 20.73, 73, 92A, qe<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup>yequhyu· 'young loons' 24.73A, ce<sup>h</sup>e·kyequh 'young crows' 28.48A, ci·lehyequh 28.48, 55, 56, 57, 60A, ci·lehyequhyu· 'young ravens' 28.-60A, Rezanov Атакекка 'Котка морской Junger Seebär' ?a·da·gyequh 'fur-seal pup', Кумаыкка 'Скучонокка Junger Seelöwe' Kumahyequh 'sea-lion pup', te<sup>o</sup>ya<sup>o</sup>yequh 'young of any fish species, fry, fingerling' L.

2. 'small variety or individuals (not necessarily young) of species or generic type' (usually collective): yax xada<sup>o</sup>ya·xyequhyu· 'little birds' 10.45, 150A, e<sup>o</sup>·di<sup>o</sup>ci<sup>o</sup>gyequhyu·, e<sup>o</sup>·di<sup>o</sup>ci<sup>o</sup>gyequhyu·

'small land song-birds, little birds' 7.22, 11.-  
 23, 29, 24.70, 25.203, 51.53A, kɥ·daʔɕ gahyaʔ  
 ɕɥ·diʔiʔɕgyeʔquhyu· 61.21A, ʔemi·nyaʔ ɕɥ·diʔiʔɕg-  
 yeʔquh 51.54A, ʔemi·nyaʔ ɕɥ·didiʔiʔɕgyeʔquhyu·  
 'little church-swallows' 61.26A, teʔyaʔyeʔquhyu·  
 'small fish, little fish' 24.8A, 34.33L, kɥ·di-  
 yahyeʔquh 'mice (rather than rats, or young)' L,  
 also of plants: liyeʔquh 'small spruce, sapling'  
 A, also of humans, humorously, ironically, or  
 with the meaning 'dwarves', or of anthropomorph-  
 ized animals: dəʔɥhyeʔquhyu· 'little people, wee  
 folk, dwarves' 7.22A, 37a.9L, ʔəhnu·yeʔquhyu·  
 'those wee folk' 37.10, 11L, kɥyeʔquhyu· 'little  
 (human) beings' 37b.1A, ʔuyahʔyeʔquhyu· 'her  
 (eagle's) little children' 8.4A, ʔiyahʔeʔyeʔquh-  
 ɕeʔyu· 'your (octopus woman's) children' 20.76A,  
 ʔuʔehdkuwaʔna·ɕeʔyeʔquhyu· 11.8A, ʔuʔehdkuwaʔ-  
 na·ɕeʔyeʔquhɕeʔyu· 'his (raven) wife's little rela-  
 tives' 11.8fnL, qeʔiɕeʔyu·yeʔquhɕeʔyu· 'little  
 women' 29.40A, ʔuqaʔɕeʔyeʔquhɕeʔyu· 'their little  
 (dwarf) husbands' 37b.70A, also of inanimate ob-  
 jects: kɥ·iʔdaʔɕyeʔquhyu· 'little stumps' 10.258A,  
 ʔəʔekihyeʔquhyu· 'model canoes' L, kɥwahʔiyeʔquh  
 'small tacks, thumbtacks' L, with classified noun  
 as possessor (note order of d- and ɣdl-class-marks  
 and y-thematic indicating immediate constituents

ca'ide-, tshxela'--yequh): ca'ideyequhdeŋu'  
'many small knives' L, tshxela'yequh 'little  
wave' L.

3. Figuratively, 'specific small variety  
of or resembling species or generic type', of  
animals: ŋi'ŋyequh '(specific) small species  
of shark' ('dogfish'?) L, ŋiyuxyequh 'gnats,  
no-see-ums, midges' ('mosquito-young'), ŋedi-  
liŋyequhyu' 'small cod species or species re-  
sembling cod' (not actually young of ŋediliŋ) L,  
Rezanov Канкякя 'Куркя Henne' ŋenuhyequh  
'small waterfowl'; kũŋŋ'yequh 'seal pup,  
willow catkin, pussy willow' ('small fluffy  
thing') L; qa'ŋyequh 'small insect species,  
moth larvae' ('small patches'? see qa'ŋ<sup>3</sup>), of  
inanimate objects: Rezanov Чхтлнекыю 'Полка  
Fach, Repository', Чх<sup>τ</sup>лъяк<sup>τ</sup>ою (with τ and  
τ- superscript inserts) 'Екамъ Schrank' ŋit-  
yequhyu' 'shelves' L, 'little shelves' M, ('small  
platform'), Хотъкыю 'Пхотолета Pistol' xutŋ-  
yequhyu', 'pistols', xutŋyequh 'revolver'  
(('small rifle') L, diŋi'ehdŋyequh 'crackers,  
soda-crackers, cookies', ('small pilot-bread') L.

quh<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with quh<sup>1</sup>, related  
to qu and/or to qu')

ʷəla·ʔquh (noun) 'lungs' LM. Probably a nominalized  
active imperfective, with əl- and d-thematic,  
to be identified with d-ʔ-qu 'pl. inanimate S  
float' and/or əl-qu' 'pl. S live'.

qu? (perhaps related to qu·(1) and/or

qu?-qu·, and/or qu?i)

qu?- (prefix) attested only in three nouns, probably all -i-instrumental deverbalizations, meaning uncertain, conceivably 'plural longitudinal elements' or perhaps 'surface, partition': qu?ta?i 'floor' L (verified; other variants: qu?ta?i, qu?te?i L, later rejected, ku·ta?i 'floor' L, not verified, Resanov Kooxbraasb Tox? Fussboden', probably to be read qu?ita?i, not verified; -ta 'sg. S lies in position'); qa·lah wəx qu?tu?i 'fence around grave' L (qa·lah wəx -tə'--tu' 'S is thus around us'), qu?wa?i 'drape, curtain' LA (earlier transcriptions, not verified: qu?wah?i, qu?dewa?i L; cf. wa?i 'covering', O-i-wa?i 'S hangs, suspends O over aperture'); see also qu?iɣa·di and qu?iɣa·qta·? under qu?i, which may belong here.

qu<sup>?</sup>-qu<sup>?</sup>-qu<sup>?</sup> (cf. Athapaskan \*qun<sup>?</sup> 'fire')

qu<sup>?</sup> (preverb, of limited occurrence as such, in one instance requiring d-thematic with verb, in one not) 'on, into the fire': qu<sup>?</sup> desekya<sup>?</sup> 'put them on the fire!' L (perhaps incorrect, early elicitation, attempted explanation of following), qu<sup>?</sup>seky<sup>?</sup> 'shield-fern sprouts' ('put them in the fire!') L, (perhaps < qu<sup>?</sup>q<sup>?</sup> seky<sup>?</sup>, see under ya<sup>?</sup>).

qu<sup>?</sup>-q<sup>?</sup> (postpositional phrase, with qu<sup>?</sup>-, perhaps noun, unclassified as o of o-q<sup>?</sup> 'on o', usually requiring d-thematic with verbs, attested with zero and -d finals, and compounded as of of o-kah) 'onto, into, over the fire': with zero final: 33.14, 46, 47A, qu<sup>?</sup>q<sup>?</sup> seta<sup>?</sup>, qu<sup>?</sup>q<sup>?</sup> deseta<sup>?</sup> 'put it in the fire!' L, qu<sup>?</sup>q<sup>?</sup> setah<sup>?</sup> 'it's over the fire' L, qu<sup>?</sup>q<sup>?</sup> desecex<sup>?</sup> 'throw it in the fire!' LA, qu<sup>?</sup>q<sup>?</sup> distiqah<sup>?</sup> 'it fell into the fire' L, qu<sup>?</sup>q<sup>?</sup> desekya<sup>?</sup> 'put it (pot, O in container) over the fire!' L, qu<sup>?</sup>q<sup>?</sup> kugela<sup>?</sup>seky<sup>?</sup> 'put it (pot of something liquid) over the fire!' M, qu<sup>?</sup>q<sup>?</sup> lexela<sup>?</sup>sekyah<sup>?</sup> 'he put it (container of berries) over the fire' L, with -d final: qu<sup>?</sup>q<sup>?</sup>d setah<sup>?</sup> 'it's in the fire' L, compounded as o of o-kah 'away from o': qu<sup>?</sup>q<sup>?</sup>ekah desekya<sup>?</sup> 'take it (container of something) off the fire!' L.

qu'ʔeʔd (postpositional phrase, with qu'-, perhaps noun, unclassified, 'fire' as o of o-ʔeʔ-d '(at rest in, nominalization of) place of fire') 'domestic fire, fireplace, fire-bed': Old Man Dude qóh̄t 'fire' BSDL 538, ʔəw qu'ʔeʔd ya'nuʔ se-taʔ 'bury it in the fire-bed!' 10.209A.

qu'--qu'- (M once rejects qu'-, probably noun, d-class) 'fire', attested only as o of postpositions: qu'dədədəx '(movement about) over the fire' L, usually as o of o-ʔaʔ 'by, near o': with zero final: qu'dəʔaʔ (not qu'dəʔaʔ) '(to) by the fire' M, with -d final: qu'dəʔaʔd 'by the fire' L, qu'dəʔaʔd yaʔ ʔede 'sit, stay by the fire!' L, qu'dəʔaʔd yəʔ sədahiḥ 'he sat down by the fire' 40.12L, dəʔa'gda'luw qu'dəʔaʔd sədahiḥ 'he's sitting by the big fire' M (to be glossed 'a big fire, he's sitting by the fire', or, conceivably, and probably incorrectly, dəʔa'gda'luwqu'dəʔaʔd with qu'd- as class-mark), with -ʔ final 'motion within area' (cf. o-luʔ 2a. under luʔ-nuʔ): qu'dəʔaʔʔ ʔəw ʔək-mahd 'cook it by the fire!' M, with -ʕ final: qu'dəʔaʔʕ sə'hiḥ 'he's going toward the fire-side' L.

qew-quw (M quh, cf. qih)

qew LA, quw L (noun, d-class or unclassified)

'clearing, bare open place on mountainside' LA

(a good place to sight bear from L), qew-

?a?luw 'big open place on mountainside' L,

qewda·q' (uncertain) yeɣ da·ɣ 'he's walking

about on an open place on the mountainside' L.

M claims the form is quh, not qew or quw,

but this is probably by confusion with qih;

qew verified twice by both L and A.

## qelab

qelab- (element <sup>probably</sup> probably originally noun, unclassified) occurring only in qelabqa?ga? LM, qelabqa?g<sup>w</sup>a? (numeral) 'four' S, 64.3G, Rezanov Кяхахъ-о '4.', Wrangell Казакакыа 'Vier', Furuhsjelm Khuliakhakva 'four', Khanakvaka 'one thousand', Galushia Nelson kalâ?qa?qa? '4.' BSDL 553, qelabqa?ga? řewa? 'four dogs' LM, qelabqa?ga? yeseřqahî 'four days have passed; Thursday' L, qelabqa?ga?nu? 'four people' LM, qelabqa?ga?ga? qu?xga?d? 'I'll make (a stairway of about) four steps' L; de-sa-x'a-d qelabqa?ga? ?uleh seli-?yahl 'he was fourteen years old' 61.31A; qelabqa?ga?da?ř 'four times' 19.16, 16L, 27b.38A, qelabqa?g<sup>w</sup>a?da?ř de-sa-d řela-g<sup>w</sup> 'forty winters' 62.11G, Rezanov Кяхаханахтахамъ (with second a written over illegible letter, perhaps B, unidentifiable strokes written as superscript insert between K and a) '40.' The numeral 'four' probably has some magic significance, cf. 'eight'. Informants unable to etymologize, but cf. o-qa?-ga? 'every single o' e.g. in gah-ředeqa?ga? 'every single day', o-qa? 'amongst o', o-ga? 'like, approximately o', cf. also tuhâga? '3'.

qela? (perhaps related to qa·q and/or qa?ni·-qa?nu·  
and/or qeyuh and/or qu·(1))

qela? (preverb) 'beating up', <sup>usually</sup> attested with theme

O-i-i 'S acts upon O, does something to O', in

qela? O-i-i 'S beats O up', see under -le

21. (le-(1)i-ni·), once elsewhere: *duxtyh gəla?*  
*la·yicicig* 'that anyone should slap their faces  
(beating them up)' 46.27A.

qenuh (perhaps to be analyzed qe-nuh, cf. nuh, enuh, ?enuh, or perhaps related to qih and/or qew-quw, see also qenixah-qenuhx<sup>w</sup>ah)

qenuh (preverb, attested with zero, -d, -ʒ, and -ʕ finals) 'into position of visibility, into open view, showing, on exhibit, display, in public': with zero final: 28.94A, 34.65M, 37b.35, 51.80A, deʔu·deʒyɪ·kih siʕ qenuh səitahɪ 'someone showed it to me' L, ?el ?iʕ qenuh quʔxtah 'I'll show you this' L, dəki· ?iʕ qenuh quʔxtah 'I'll "show" you' (threat) L, qenuh sətaʔ 'display it!' L, ?i(lexəla·)ʕ ?ew qenuh siitahɪ 'I showed it to you(r eyes)' L, qenuh səkyɪʔɪh 'expose him! (denounce him publicly!)' L, qenuh ?ah ?i·kyahɪh 'S is denouncing, bawling O (spouse) out in public (for infidelity)' L, qenuh səqehkinu· la· 'they (boating) have come into view, see!' L, qenuh x<sup>w</sup>ah 'I (walking) come into sight' A (see also qenixah-qenuhx<sup>w</sup>ah), qenuh ?uʔsɪcahɪ 'it became visible' L; with -d final: qenuhd yaʔ ?ete· 'put (leave) it in an open place!' L, qenuhd ?ew səitahɪh 'he put (left) it in an open place' L; with -ʒ final: qenuhʒ səqe·ɪh 'he's boating along in an open place' L; with -ʕ final: ?ahnu·ʕ qenuhʕ ?əkyɪ·?inu· 'they

keep showing her O' 38.7LM, qenuhč ?u?ceiecrk  
'it's becoming visible (e.g. through fog)' L.

qeyuh (perhaps related to qa'q' and/or qela? and/or qu\*(1) and/or qa?ni'-qa?nu', or conceivably to be analyzed qe-yuh)

qeyuh (preverb, having unique property of requiring i-classifier in intransitive verbs of locomotion, with which it generally occurs, and because requiring not only i-classifier, as do certain other postpositional phrases, but vocalized form thereof, therefore perhaps originally a postposition with zero reflexive o (though now always in preverbal position), thus e.g. 'S goes ... for self') 'belligerently, fighting-mad, for a fight, attacking': 28.103A, 47a.55, 52.9L, qeyuh seieqe'ih 'he's coming (by boat) for a fight' L, ?iic' qeyuh seie?a?cinu' 'they're going fighting mad at, attacking each other' L, ?uic' qeyuh qu?xih 'I go fight him, go at him fighting-mad' L, qeyuh sliyahih 'he went to fight, attacked' L, apparently always following other preverbs: lah3 qeyuh sliyahih 'went forward to fight' 18.66L, ?iic' lu' qeyuh qa?lah 'will turn around fighting-mad at you' 36.15A, iic' yax' ih'xih 'he's always going around fighting-mad' L.

qeyuh deqeh name of Eyak man, Chief Joe LA, variant from S qeyu' deqeh, etymologized by

informants 'goes (by boat) fighting mad', but with vocalized form of zero- rather than of ɛ-- classifier; perhaps therefore folk-etymological influence of qeyuh ɛe-qe on Eskimo name qayug-taq (from Eyak point of view ɛeyuxdeq-, qeyuxdeq-, qeyuh deq-).

qu\*(1) (form uncertain, perhaps to be analyzed  
 qu\*-l, perhaps related to qa'q' and/or qela' and-  
 /or qa'ni'-qa'nu' and/or qayuh)

qu'l- (stem or prefix) occurring in two forms only:  
 qu'ləkuhsɪ 'war apron', attested in ESdL only,  
 perhaps rather to be read ku'ləkuhsɪ, see under  
 kuhs; dequ'ləxəʔah 'fierce, mean, tough per-  
 son', see under ʔah<sup>2</sup>, to be analyzed de-qu\*-  
 -ləxə-ʔah or de-qu'le-xə-ʔah, de- 'ipse',  
 qu\*(1)- 'belligerent'(?), x-thematic, or lɣ--  
 thematic, stem -ʔah.

qid (qid always, with one exceptional instance qid<sup>č</sup>, not verified, but if authentic and not to be analyzed qid-č, then implying that qid is to be analyzed qi-d; in certain instances partly confused with qi<sup>?</sup>, see qidga<sup>?</sup> below)

qid (preverb, always with zero (-d<sup>?</sup>) final, with one exception under 5c. below, with -č final; unpredictably requiring d-thematic, often optionally, in certain themes, indicated with asterisk in list following, perhaps by reanalysis of qid as qid d-, and/or under influence of d-thematic 'free fall') l. 'down off, off, down' (i.e. 'removal from supporting point by severing, detachment, moving past edge, losing hold on slope, extension (of non-rigid attached object), past edge, all resulting actually or potentially in downward motion, free or otherwise'): qid ča<sup>?</sup> səxdeta<sup>č</sup> 'I'm taking it (e.g. gun) down (sideways, off wall, towards myself)' L, qid əa<sup>?</sup> 'come down!' L, qid qi<sup>?</sup>yiyah 'you'll walk off (the edge)' L, see also O-č-ta<sup>?</sup>K, O-(č-)ta (1a.13, 1b.16M), O-č-cjhd (15.6, 11M), O-(d-)č-ceč\*, O-gdl-ceč, O-d-č<sup>?</sup>K\*, O-ceč l., -sid\*, čd-sid, qid O-d-ča<sup>?</sup>, qid O-gdl-ča<sup>?</sup>, qid O-gdl-čid<sup>č</sup>, O-č--su<sup>č</sup>, O-gu<sup>?</sup>K, O-(č-)gu<sup>?</sup>K, -kjhđ, O-č-kjhđ, qid d-kug\*, O-č-xu<sup>?</sup>K, -xuč-, -xuč- (transi-

tive, 18.56L, 23.157, 159A), O-sahs, t-qeX,  
d-ke-qahs, qid ?ed-ke-qe, O-qed' 1., O-xahd  
1., O-t-xed, -was- 4., O-kes, O-t-ya' (11.-  
162, 65.20, 20A), qid (d)-?ya', O-d-?it, dl-  
ke-?es 1c., lxdl-ke-?es 1., qid O-gdl-(t-)?a,  
O-l-(t-)?a (28.45A), -?a' 6a., O-t-(y)a (47b.-  
39M).

2. '(extending) rigidly off, beyond edge':  
qid di'sid 'they extend off, beyond the edge  
(not necessarily downward)' L, qid xadi'sid  
'they (logs) extend off, beyond edge (not neces-  
sarily downward)' L, see also -?a' 6a.

3a. '(extending) rigidly from attached point  
in certain direction, aimed': xi' ?ud' ya?x qid  
qaxedididinu' 'bear-spears have been set point-  
ing up at them' 34.107L, see also -?a' 6b.,  
6c., sometimes in combination with ya?x 'up':  
ya?x qid 'pointing rigidly upward'.

3b. Perhaps as 3a., meaning problematical:  
?uyeke'qd ?it' qid ?u?li-ktahkih 'he has his  
hands palms together' L, literally 'he has his  
palms folded pointing at each other', perhaps more  
accurately 'he has his finger-tips together, palms  
facing' L.

4. 'extra, left over, overaccumulated', see  
d-?ya 2d. 'S accumulates'.

5a. With liʔɣ '(motion within area) back from open front end': liʔɣ qid 'back from edge', see liʔ 3a.

5b. liʔɣ qid 'bay', see liʔ 3b.

5c. With -ɕ final (< qi-ɕ ?, qid-ɕ ?) 'continuous motion' (note however that with inceptive perfectives elsewhere, as well as repetitives and customaries, the form is consistently qid): liʔɣ qiɕ saʔ 'he's going (from front side over and) down the back side (of hill)' L, not verified, perhaps incorrect.  
qidgaʔ (probably reduced form of qiʔ-d-gaʔ), see under qiʔ.

ʔuʔaʔ ləʔəqəʔt̪ (noun) 'mortar': probable reading of Rezanov Улжжакатъль ʔууш, иратъ Mörser' (ʔ-instrumental deverbalization, 'it (lʔ-class) is rubbed in it').

ʔuʔ ləʔəqəʔt̪ (noun) 'pestle': probable reading of Rezanov Охлжжакатъль ʔестжжъ Mörserkeule' (ʔ--instrumental deverbalization, 'by means of it it (lʔ-class) is rubbed').

qe'd

0-?-qe'd 'S asks, inquires about O': xu'weqe'dih  
 'he's asking about me (e.g. boss, wanting me to  
 come to work)' L, xu'weqe'dinu·Suhnu· 'are they  
 asking about me?' L, ?u'siqe'dih 'I inquired  
 about him (concerning e.g. his health, whereabouts)'  
 L, with yeḡ-progressive: yeḡ ?u'xdeqe'dḡ 'I'm  
 asking around, investigating about it' L, yeḡ  
 ?i'xdeqe'dḡ 'I was inquiring about you' L; pass-  
 ive: ?u'sdiqe'dḡ 'it's missed, being inquired  
 about' L.

*i-classifier perhaps generalization  
 for fragment forms*

0-?-d-ḡ-qe'd-ḡ (with -ḡ-thematic suffix, deleted *with 0-ḡe--ḡ*  
 in perfective, apparently also in customary, d--  
 thematic, perhaps 'oral') 'S asks O a question,  
 questions O': 3.1, 4.11M, 10.175, 228A, 14.2,  
 18.52L, 25.111A, 26.6L, 27a.20, 30L, 29.44A,  
 34.5, 6, 10M, 24, 29, 37, 41, 45, 41.7, 53.27,  
 31L, 68.88, 107A, ?u'di·ḡqe'dḡih 'ask him!' LM,  
 de?u·deḡyḡ·kih ?u'di·ḡqe'dḡ 'ask somebody!' L,  
 de?u·deḡyḡ·hinu· ?u'di·ḡqe'dḡ 'ask some people!'  
 L, xu'di·ḡqe'dḡih 'he's asking me' M, ku'di·ḡ-  
 qe'dḡ 'he's asking (someone)' M, ?iḡke·duh  
 gu·deg qe? ?i'di·ḡqe'dḡ 'what's he doing ask-  
 ing you again?' (irritated, 'how the hell does he  
 ask you again?') L, qu'di·xḡqe'dḡih 'I'll ask

him' M, ?u?disilqe?dɬɨh (no -ɣ) 'I asked him'  
 LM, ?u?di.ɬqe?dɬɨh 'he (cust) asks him' M,  
 with o-?e.ɣ 'in search of o', o-?eɣ O-?-d--  
 ɬ-qe?d-ɣ 'S asks O about, for o': da.na.de?e.ɣ  
 xu?di.ɬqe?dɣɨh 'he's asking me for money' L,  
 da.na.de?e.ɣ ?u?di.xɬqe?dɣ 'I'm asking him for  
 money' L, diK da.na.de?e.ɣ ?u?di.xɬqe?dɣɨh  
 'I'm not asking him for money' L, yahdde?e.ɣ  
 ?uɣa? xu?di.ɬqe?dɣɨh 'he asked me about his  
 house' L, da?u.deɣya.kih?e.ɣ ?u?di.ɬqe?dɣ 'he  
 asked him about something' L, ɬi?ɬ ya.yu.?e.ɣ  
 ?u?di.ɬqe?dɣɨh 'he asked him about, for all  
 sorts of things' L, ?i?e.ɣ (?i?ɬ.ɣ M) xu?di.ɬ-  
 qe?dɣɨh 'she's been asking me about you' LM,  
 ?i?e.ɣ ?u?dɨxɬqe?dɣ 'I asked him about you' L,  
 si?e.ɣɬɨh ?i?di.ɬqe?dɣ 'has he been asking you  
 about me?' L, qahɣ ?idadi.tux?e.ɣ ?i?di.ɬ-  
 qe?dɣɨh 'he (doctor) asks you if you're spitting  
 with your cough' L, ya?ɣu. ?u?e.ɣ xu?qu?di.ɬ-  
 qe?dɣ 'don't ask me about it' L, ?i?e.ɣ ɬu?-  
 deseɬqe?dɬ 'someone asked about you' L, ɬi.  
 ɣeK ?i?e.ɣ xu?deseɬqe?dɬɨh 'he asked me about  
 you yesterday' L, cautionary negative inceptive  
 imperative: si?e.ɣ qe?u?desi.ɬqe?dɣɨh 'don't  
 ask him about me!' L, with yeɣ-progressive:

?i?e·x̄ yəx̄ ?u?dexieqe?d̄xinu· 'I go around  
 asking them about you' L, with indeterminate  
 O: ?ida?di·k̄qe?d̄x̄j̄h 'he's asking around, in-  
 quiring, investigating (of no one in particular)'  
 L, ?i?e·x̄ ?ida?di·x̄k̄qe?d̄x̄ 'I've been asking  
 around about you' L, k̄i?q̄ ?i?e·x̄ ?ida?di·x̄k̄-  
 qe?d̄x̄ 'I've been asking all around about you' L,  
 ?i?e·x̄ ?ida?qedi·k̄qe?d̄xinu· 'they pl. have been  
 asking around about you' L, ?i?e·x̄ (?i?e·x̄ M)  
 ?ida?di·k̄qe?d̄x̄j̄h 'he's been asking (around)  
 about you' LM, diK̄ ?i?e·x̄ ?ida?des̄k̄qe?d̄k̄s̄j̄h  
 'he didn't ask (people) about you' M, k̄i?q̄  
 ya·yu·?e·x̄ ?ida?di·k̄qe?d̄x̄j̄h 'he's been asking  
 (around) about all sorts of things' L, yahdde?e·x̄  
 ?ux̄a? ?ida?di·k̄qe?d̄x̄j̄h 'he asked (people) about  
 his house' L, si?e·x̄s̄ȳh ?ida?di·k̄qe?d̄x̄ 'has  
 he been asking (people) about me?' L, ya?xu·  
 ?u?e·x̄ ?ida?qu?di·k̄qe?d̄x̄ (probably in error for  
 ?ida?qe?di·k̄qe?d̄x̄) 'don't ask about it' L,  
 ləx̄?e·x̄ ?ida?di·k̄qe?d̄xinu· 'they're asking  
 about you pl.' L, with yəx̄-progressive: ?i?e·x̄  
 yəx̄ ?ida?dex̄k̄qe?d̄xinu· 'I'm going around ask-  
 ing people, investigating about you' L; passive:  
 ?u?dede?e?d̄x̄j̄h 'he was asked' 6.11M, 37b.48A,  
 ?i?e·x̄ xu?dis̄diqe?d̄k̄, ?i?e·x̄ xu?dis̄k̄iqe?d̄k̄  
 'I was asked about you' L.

*sumbjelem khvat once*

qaʔtʰ<sup>l</sup> (Rezanov *квар twice, кот twice, хор once, кар once*, probably usually implying qʷaʔtʰ; frequently transcribed qaʔd from L and M, but carefully verified as qaʔtʰ with L and A)

ʔe-qaʔtʰ-g (with -g-repetitive thematized, rarely omitted, probably in error) 'S boils, cooks, ferments, effervesces': ʔeqaʔtʰg 'it's cooking, boiling' MAS, 51.67A, diK ʔeqaʔtʰg 'it's not fermenting' M, *кучеʔ ʔeqaʔtʰg* 'meat is cooking' L, *ʔiqaʔtʰgʔ* 'it's fermented, it cooked' M, Galushia Nelson *ʔiqaʔtki ʔotsʔ* or *ʔiqaʔtki* etc. 'boiled meat', *ʔiqaʔtʰgʔ кучеʔ* 'meat which has boiled' (also interpretable as passive 'meat which has been boiled'), diK ʔʔeʔqaʔtʰgʔ 'it didn't ferment' M, *ʔeʔqaʔtʰgʔ* 'it's fermenting' ('it's starting to ferment') M, 'it's boiling' ('it's starting to boil') L, diK *ʔeʔqaʔtʰgʔ* 'it's not fermenting' M, *quʔʔe-qaʔtʰg* 'it'll ferment' M, *ʔew gahedeyaʔd quʔʔeqaʔtʰg* 'you'll boil in the pitch' 51.25A, diK *quʔʔeqaʔtʰgʔ* 'it won't ferment' M, *ʔiʔi-qaʔtʰg* 'let it ferment' M, *yaʔxuʔgahx ʔiʔi-qaʔtʰg* 'I hope it doesn't ferment' M, with class-marks for S: *gahs ʔeʔqaʔtʰg* 'pitch is boiling' 51.26A, Rezanov *Кутлечокъ* 'Кипятокъ kochendes,

siedendes Wasser' perhaps to be read *gy·ləq<sup>w</sup>aʔt*  
 'water is boiling' or *kuleq<sup>w</sup>aʔt* 'something is  
 boiling' (cf. Кулжжматэ 'Горнчо kochend,  
 siedend' *guli·kaʔd* 'water is hot', but the -ra-  
 here must be read -i-), *gy·ləqaʔd* 'water is  
 boiling' L, *quʔgeleləqaʔtʃ* 'water will boil' M,  
 with *qaʔ* 'up out': *ʔa·gulaʔur qaʔ gelisʔi-*  
*qaʔtʃi* 'rivers boiled up' 34.68M, cautionary  
 negative inceptive imperative: *ʔaw ʃe·y/ka·ʃ*  
*ʔgelelələqaʔdʃe* 'don't let the tea/soup boil!' L,  
 see also *gy·ləqaʔtʃ* below, with *yeʃ*-pro-  
 gressive: *siyaʔd siya· yeʃ kuleqaʔtʃ* M,  
*siyaʔd siya· yeʃ kuʔləqaʔdʃ* 'my stomach is  
 rumbling, grumbling, growling' ('something is  
 boiling, effervescing in my inside') LM. Transi-  
 tive (causative): 10.263, 264, 270, 25.35,  
 27b.26, 50, 52A, *sekaʔdʃ* L, *ʔeikaʔtʃ* 'cook  
 it!' LMA, Rezanov Колюкотко 'Позара Koch'  
*kuʔq<sup>w</sup>aʔtʃih* 'he (who) cooks (something)' (nomi-  
 nalization), Rezanov Тяколюкотка 'Ловитэ  
 рыбы fischen' probably to be read *teʔyaʔ*  
*kuʔq<sup>w</sup>aʔtʃ* 'someone is cooking fish' (cf. cor-  
 responding Tlingit entry *Karoyra* Tlingit *ʃad*  
 'salmon' *si-tá* 'to boil'), *kuxikaʔtʃ* 'I'm  
 boiling something' M, *quʔxikaʔtʃ* 'I'll cook it'

LM (carefully checked for -t-), xɪqa-tʰ 'I  
 (cust) boil it' 65.25A, da-ɪqa-tʰ 'we (cust)  
 boil it' 65.36A, with class-marks for O: ʔew  
 desəɪqaʔtʰgɪnu 'they boiled them (eggs)'  
 68.7, 7A, gəli-ɪqaʔtʰg 'boil it (water)!' M,  
 giyah gəli-ɪqaʔtʰg 'boil water!' L, ʔew ɔe-y  
 gəli-ɪqaʔd 'boil that tea!' L, giyah gəli-ɪ-  
 qa-tʰ 'you (cust) make water boil' 34.65M,  
 ʔəl ʔə-guləyu gələsɪxɪqaʔtʰg da-ɪ 'when I  
 make these rivers boil' 34.64M, with daʔ(ɔ)  
 'continuously, repeatedly) into jar, can': daʔ(ɔ)  
 ʔəɪqaʔdg 'put it (food) up in jar, can it!' L,  
 laʔmahd daʔ(ɔ) ləxɪxɪqaʔdg 'I'm canning berries'  
 L, daʔ ləxɪsɪxɪqaʔdgɪ 'I canned berries' L;  
 passive: kuʂiyah səkeʔɪ ʔidiqaʔdgleɪ səliɪ  
 'it's too spoiled for cooking' ('it turned bad,  
 it got more so than it can be cooked') L (active  
 optative), see also nominalizations below.

gɪ-ɪqaʔtʰg (noun, gl-class) 'soda-pop, pop (any  
 carbonated drink) nominalized active imperfective  
 with gl-class-mark for S, 'effervescent liquid'.

qiʔ kudeqaʔdg (noun) 'hearth, fireplace, kitchen'  
 LM, Rezanov Kexyrakarke 'Ouars Herd' qiʔ  
 kudeqaʔtʰg. Nominalized passive active imperfective,  
 'place where something is boiled'.

ʔuyaʔʒ Kudeqaʔtʒ (noun, unclassified) 'cooking--  
pot, pressure-cooker' 65.25, 36A, Rezanov Я́ко-  
ра́хке 'Koreǎ Kessel' ʔuyaʔʒ Kudeq<sup>w</sup>aʔtʒ, ✓  
Galushia Nelson uiyáxqeDeqetq̄ or uiyáxq̄bDeqetq̄  
'cooking basket' BSdL 546, ʔuyaʔʒ Kudeqaʔdg  
'cooking-basket' L.

qaʔtʒ (probably deverbalization of ʔe-qaʔtʒ and/or  
of causative thereof) 'boiling, act of cooking':  
Rezanov Ко́ркэ 'Ва́ркэ kochen' q<sup>w</sup>aʔtʒ, laʔ=  
mahd daʔ qaʔtʒ 'canned fruit', L.

daʔ ləxəqaʔdg (noun) 'fruit preserves, jam, jelly,  
canned berries' L.

qaʔtʰ<sup>2</sup> (frequently transcribed qaʔd from L and M, but verified as qaʔtʰ with L and A, perhaps to be identified with qaʔtʰ<sup>3</sup>)

O-i-qaʔtʰ(-g)(-i) (with optional -g-repetitive thematized and usually with thematic -i-suffix, perhaps analogical from qaʔtʰ(-g)-i below) 'S patches O': ʔəiqaʔtʰi A, ʔəiqaʔtʰgi L, səiqaʔdgi M, səiqaʔtʰgi 'patch it!' L, quʔxiqaʔd L, quʔxiqaʔtʰgi, quʔxiqaʔtʰ, quʔxiqaʔdgi 'I'll patch it' M, kuxiqaʔdgi M, kuxiqaʔtʰgi 'I'm patching something' L; passive: sdiqaʔdgi 'it's been patched' M, with gd-anatomical 'rump': gudisiqaʔtʰgi, gudisiqaʔtʰi 'they (pants) are patched on seat' L.

qaʔtʰi (noun, probably with -i-instrumental) 'patch' M.

l-iə-qaʔtʰ-g(-i) (perhaps passive, attested only in neuter perfective, -i-perfective suffix required, attested only with -l-daʔ 'face' as S, l-mark either anatomical (redundant) or thematic): ʔp·daʔ ʔəwaʔ ʔi·hiqaʔtʰgi 'his face has ringworm on it' L (L associates this with 'patches').

qaʔtʰ³ (also transcribed qaʔd from L and M, but verified as qaʔtʰ with L and M; perhaps to be identified with qaʔtʰ²)

qaʔtʰiyequh (noun) 'insect species': qaʔdkiyequh 'moth larvae' M, qaʔtʰiyequh 'moth larvae' (get into clothes) LMA, 'very small larvae, some reddish, most bluish, smallest visible insect, smaller than louse, found in bunches of ten to twenty on e.g. windowsill, on strawberries' L, qaʔdkiyequh lex-i-beh 'they (berries?) are infested with qaʔdkiyequh' L. With -yequh 'young, offspring', meaning perhaps originally 'offspring of patch, miniature patch', but not associated with qaʔtʰ² by modern informants.

qahλ (perhaps originally qahd-i, but L prefers qahλ to qahd̄i)

qahλ (noun, d-class or unclassified) 'bark (of tree)' LMA, Puruhjelm Khatl 'bark', Galushia Nelson qat̄i or qa't̄i 'bark' BSdL 541, qahλ sič di'ta? (or 'eta?) 'give me a piece of bark!' L, qahλde'u? 'lots of bark' LM, qahλ-dek'ah eeta? 'split bark from sap layer!' ('take it away from the bark!') L, 'ew qahλ 'eSe-t' 'scrape the bark (removing inner sap layer)!' L, qahλdeya? qe'da-x xediqeh̄i 'I boated back across in (a vessel made of) bark' 53.28L; qahλ-eyahd 'name of potlatch house at Eyak, Mile 5, ('bark-house')' L, Galushia Nelson qat̄iya De'a-x̄telaq̄siyu 'Bark House People (Bark-house (?) under-people)' BSdL 544, qahλeyahdde'a-x̄delaheoyu 'those living in Bark-House', see discussion in BSdL 37-38, <sup>124</sup> Eyak Texts 68.14fn; early also attested with thematic suffixes, probably incorrect, but verifying that the modern informants do not analyze the form as qahd-i: qahλx̄ L, qahλg 'tree bark' LM.

qe·X (perhaps to be analyzed qe·-X, qe·- perhaps related to qi·<sup>1</sup> 'foot', with postposition o-X 'with o')

-qe·X- (morphological and syntactic classification not determined), occurring only in qi·deqe·Xe 'barefoot' L, with qi·d-anatomical 'foot' and -s-thematic suffix, perhaps negative.

qəX

0-qəX 'S slides, pushes, rubs O along surface without moving O very far out of place': seqəX-  
 ɛ̃h 'he slid it (without moving it very far out of place)' L. Transitive (causative), passive: sdiqəXɛ̃ 'it's been pushed a bit' L.

ɛ̃-qəX 'S slips, slides, rubs against, along surface': qaʔɛ̃qəX 'it'll slip (not keep position on slippery surface)' M, siuhd siya daʔ sɛ̃qəXɛ̃ 'I skinned my knee' ('my knee rubbed on something-(a surface)') L, with qid 'down off, downhill': 23.128, 129A, qid quʔxɛ̃qəX 'I'll slip (downhill)' L, with yɛʔ 'down': 18.6, 7L, yɛʔ sɛ̃qəXɛ̃ 'I slipped and fell' L, with yeɛ 'downward': ʔew Saht ʔewa ʔuxɛʔ yeɛ ʔiɛ̃qəX 'that their slime may run down off (the length of) them' 21b.39A, repetitive: ʔew Saht ʔewa ʔuxɛʔ yeɛ ɛ̃qəXɛ̃ 'their slime slides down off them' M, sitah siq liʔ ɛ̃qəXɛ̃ 'my skin is peeling, flaking off' ('my skin keeps sliding deeply in (away from front) on me') L, siyahd qəʔɛ̃ ɛ̃qəXɛ̃ 'it keeps slipping out of my hand' ('up out from my hand') L. Transitive (causative): 'S makes O slip, S slides, pushes,

rubs O along surface, S rubs O': *siṭqəŋt̪* 'I  
 pushed it' M, *quʔxṭqəŋ* 'I'll push it' M,  
*ʔiṭqəŋ* 'push it!' M, *seṭqəŋ* 'make him slip!'  
 M, *xuseṭqəŋt̪* 'he made me slip' L, *yɣʔ xuseṭ-*  
*qəŋt̪* 'he made me slip and fall' L, *siṭ seṭqəŋ*,  
*siṭaʔ seṭqəŋ*, *siṭ ʔeṭqəŋ*, *siṭaʔ ʔeṭqəŋ*  
 'push it to, toward me!' M, *sidaʔ seṭqəŋ*,  
*sidaʔ ʔeṭqəŋ* 'push it (all the way) to me!' M,  
*siṭa·ṭ seṭqəŋ*, *siṭa·ṭ ʔeṭqəŋ* 'push it to--  
 wards me, in my direction!' M, *sid seṭqəŋ*,  
*sid ʔeṭqəŋ* 'push it all the way to (touching)  
 me, rub it on me!' M, *ʔiḡaʔ x̣uʔ seṭqəŋ*  
 'smooth it out!' ('rub it to a finished state  
 like each other!') M; with *o-x̣* 'in contact  
 with o, by means of o', 'S rubs O against o, S  
 rubs O by means of o': *ʔewx̣ x̣ṭqəŋ* 'I'm rubbing  
 it on it' L, with *gd-anatomical*: *ʔi·ṭkaʔṭx̣ ʔəh*  
*gedeseṭqəŋx̣t̪iḡ* 'he rubbed her rump with a sea--  
 urchin' 4.13M (-x̣- of verb probably analogical),  
 with *yex̣-progressive*: *yex̣ ʔeṭqəŋx̣* 'rub  
 it (around)!' M (-x̣ probably analogical from *i--*  
*qəŋ-x̣* below), with class-marks for O: *ʔewq̄ yex̄*  
*ləx̄ex̄ṭeṭqəŋx̄* 'I'm rubbing it (e.g. onion) around

on it (e.g. meat)' L, ?ew yeʒ diʒiqeʒh  
 'she rubbed it (arrow) around' 27.11L; reflexive:  
 ?u·ʕ ?edʒʒiqeʒh 'I slid myself thither'  
 L, with anatomical mark: ?iʒ ?edyʒ·ʒeʒeʒh  
 'rub your hands together!' M (-ʒ probably ana-  
 logical), with yeʒ-progressive: yeʒ ?edquʒyeʒ-  
 ʒeʒeʒh 'I'll rub my hands (around)' M (-ʒ prob-  
 ably analogical), repetitive: ?iʒ ?edʒʒ·ʒa·ʒe-  
 qeʒh 'he's gnashing his teeth' L; passive:  
 ʒiqeʒh 'it's been slid, pushed' L.

ʒ-qeʒ-ʒ (with -ʒ-thematic, perhaps related to -ʒ  
 of susceptible neuter, there perhaps originally  
 causative of unattested ʒe-qeʒ-ʒ 'it's liable to  
 slip', attested only in neuter imperfective), 'S  
 is slippery': Rezanov Елькатзахъ 'Тадко  
 glatt' yʒiqeʒh 'it's slippery' LM, diʒ ?aʒʒe-  
 qeʒh 'it's not slippery' L, with d-class-mark for S:  
 di·ʒiqeʒh 'it (ice) is slippery' LM. Transitive  
 (causative) ʒeʒiqeʒh 'make it slippery!' M.

el-ʒ-qeʒ-ʒ (as above, with el-thematic 'ground')  
 'S (ground) is slippery': elʒi·ʒiqeʒh 'the  
 ground is slippery, it's slippery underfoot' LM,  
 yeʒʒu· qʒʒ elʒi·ʒiqeʒhda·ʒ yeʒ quʒyidab 'don't  
 walk around in place where it's slippery underfoot' L.

\*yaʒ ʒeʒeʒhʒ (noun) 'partle' <sup>probable reading of</sup> Rezanov ЯЕЛКАКАТАС 'стыла, усата'  
 Mörser' (ʒ-instrumental derivation, 'it (the stone) is milled in it')  
 \*ye ʒeʒeʒhʒ (noun) 'partle': <sup>probable reading of</sup> Rezanov ОРАКАКАТАС  
 'дестука Мёрсера' (ʒ-instrumental derivation, 'it (the stone) is milled  
 by means of it').

qa·ŋ (perhaps loan from Athapaskan, cf. PA \*ne-qaŋ  
 '(various) Rubus species', widespread in Alaska) <sup>Athapaskan</sup> X  
 -qa·ŋ (occurring only in -hiqa·ŋ, apparently  
 neuter imperfective of verb theme (0-)ie-qa·ŋ),  
 in čəŋhiqa·ŋ (noun, lɣ-class) "lagoonberries",  
 nagoonberries, wineberries (Rubus arcticus, R.  
 Stellatus Smith) LMA (perhaps also 'cloudberries  
 (Rubus chamaemorus)') ('grows on mountains, not  
 at Cordova or Yakutat' M, "sounds Tlingit" L),  
 Rezanov Цахтэхатъ 'Морошка' (not in Radlov,  
 'cloudberry').

qe'ž (perhaps to be analyzed qe'-ž, with -ž-perfective suffix, stem qe, or perhaps loan from Tlingit qéts 'large dish, platter')

seqe'ž (probably nominalized inceptive perfective of verb-theme -qe or -qe'ž cf. inceptive perfective use of semək 'round') 'elliptical, oval': Rezanov Какимъкоете 'Продолговато lünglich' seqe'ž<sup>m</sup>? ?i'čeh, seqe'žga? ?i'čeh 'it's elliptical' L, seqe'ž čik 'oval dish' L, with classified nouns: deseqe'ž šdu=liš 'oval table' L, leseqe'ž čiyahd 'high-hat or fedora' L; Rezanov Уяхекамъ 'Широко breit' probably to be read ?uya? seqe'ž 'it (inside of o with broad opening at top) is oval', Уяхекамъ 'Шрѣ breit (Comparativ.)' ?uya? seqe'ž yikēh 'it's an oval (vessel)' L.

qeʔt (perhaps to be analyzed qeʔ-t with -i-suffix  
 perhaps instrumental, qeʔ- perhaps related to qeʔ)  
 qeʔt (noun, unclassified) 'woman, girl, female  
 (human or anthropomorphized animal)' LMS, 2a.5,  
 7M, 2b.5L, 3.7M, 10.127, 130, 132, 245, 254, 262,  
 264, 11.92, 94, 125, 126, 176A, 18.4, 10, 19, 26,  
 30, 41, 63, 78, 19.37L, 20.1, 23, 24, 46, 70,  
 71A, 21a.36, 22.1L, 23.7b, 123, 160, 24.13, 14,  
 25.1, 15, 16, 16, 22, 96, 127, 127, 147, 151,  
 174, 177, 179, 204, 210, 11, 213A, 27a.10L, 27b.55A,  
 28.2, 2, 9, 29.68, 70, 32.19A, 34.2, 3, 6, 8, 10,  
 12M, 24, 29, 37, 41, 45, 47L, 56, 61, 66, 70aM,  
 76, 78, 91, 96, 106L, 36.13, 23A, 37a.12, 19.22L,  
 38.14, 20, 20LM, 42.1, 1, 11, 14, 47c.41, 43, 49,  
 51, 52, 53L, 48.1L, 49.1, 32, 33, 62, 66, 71, 72,  
 88, 93, 106, 121, 127, 141A, 52.2, 3, 6, 14, 16,  
 20, 24, 27, 29, 53.14, 58.5L, 61.104, 120, 122,  
 68.86A, Rezanov Кeзaль 'Дaмка Mädchen, Magd',  
 Wrangell Кяптхeль 'Weib', Galushia Nelson qüt̄t̄  
 or qüt̄t̄ 'woman' BSDL 542, lu'yaʔ qeʔt 'tide--  
 woman' 3.14M, ʒi·da·deɣyaʔ qeʔt 'razor-clan--  
 woman' 11.133A, Kušiyah qeʔt 'evil woman'  
 21a.34, 38L, Kudi·q̄ qeʔt 'Aleut woman' 53.14L,

kugu·dah ?u?eade?ihh qe?i 'good-looking  
 woman' 58.1L, ?sakyahh qe?i 'old woman,  
 old lady' 3.17, 4.7, 11, 14, 71.22LM, ?qh qe?i  
 'that girl, this girl, that woman, this woman' L,  
 ?el qe?i 'this female (animal)' L, ?ew qe?i  
 'that female (animal)' L, 10.132A, qe?i?e?qh  
 'is it a girl? (of newborn)', L, qe?i?ekih,  
 qe?i?ekih, qe?i?ikih, qe?i?ikih 'girl, young  
 girl, little girl, young woman, little female' LM,  
 10.126, 11.96, 23.35, 80, 83, 111, 160, 28.40,  
 29.13A, 34.72, 75M, 37a.15L, 46.1M, 49.93A,  
 qe?i?ekihseyu\* <sup>## 'little girls'\*</sup> 29.1, qe?i?ekihma\* 'little girl's  
 mother' 34.73M, qe?i?a?luw LM, qe?i?i?luw 'big  
 woman' L, qe?i?su·kih 'pretty girl' L, Paruhjelm  
 Kelikutzuki (Dall 1870 kelikútskuki) qe?i-  
 kudgkih 'little girl' L, qe?i?seyu\* 'women,  
 womenfolk' L, 10.187, 187, 187, 228, 229, 230,  
 231, 233, 235, 237, 261, 11.56, 66, 70, 74A, 18.1,  
 9L, 23.11, 12, 17, 19, 19, 19, 25.181, 181, 185,  
 186, 186, 28.128, 128A, 31.2, 4, 9, 11, 37a.9L,  
 37b.69, 74A, 47b.15, 38, 39M, 47c.12, 13, 42L,  
 60.3, 26, 26, 27A, 66.4L, 68.67, 105, 120A,  
 la?dnu\* qe?i?seyu\* 'two women, two girls' 31.2L,  
 33.58A, 47b.6, 33M, 47c.3, 47L, 99.32, 68.86,

99A, Kugu· qeʔi:seyu· 'good(-looking) women'  
 31.5L, qeʔi:seyu·yaʔ mege: 'women's' side of  
 checker-game' L, qeʔi:seyu·yaʔ na·w 'wine'  
 ('women's whiskey') L, qeʔi:seyu·yaʔ ʔa· name  
 of small river near hangar at Cordova, also one  
 near Yakutat, 'Old Woman River' ('women's river')  
 (perhaps places where menstruants stayed) L, <sup>isac yah)</sup>  
 diK qeʔi:seyu·de·leh qeʔ ʔeda·ke 'he stays  
 away from women' ('he doesn't (cust) go around  
 women anymore', abstaining for good luck in hunt)  
 L, qeʔi:seyu· Kihda·d dexph yihih 'he stays  
 away from women' ('he lives apart from women', as  
 preceding) L, qeʔi:seyu·yaʔ kengu·ʔ 'women's  
 tools' (da·qaʔkyi·ʔih used to say) L, Rezanov  
 Келъкангы 'Owā sie, 3te Person Plur. des per-  
 sōnl. Fürwortes, f.g.' perhaps to be read  
 qeʔi:se(yu·)ʔituʔ (cf. Сукекентоо 'Дѣти  
 Kinder (Plur.)' seqe·~~se~~ʔituʔyu· 'many  
 children'), qeʔi:seyu·ʔituʔ(yu·) 'lots of women'  
 L, laʔdnu· sēaʔdah ʔuʔeadaʔihinu· qeʔi:seyu·  
 'two beautiful-looking women' M, qeʔi:seyu·-  
 yequhseyu· 'young little girls' 29.40A; as first  
 part of compound: qeʔi:seqe·dekih 'girl, girl--  
 child' 28.37A, 38.6, 8, 11, 71.10IM, Galushia Nel-  
 son qātī sēqā·tsēki 'girl ("woman-child")'

BSdL 542, qeʔiʔseʔeʔəyʔuʔ 'girls, girl-children'  
 38.21M, qeʔiʔʕiyaʔʔeʔ 'female frog' 10.125A, with  
 possessed nouns, qeʔiʔqaʔʔedʔeʔeʔahdeʔəhyuʔ  
 'female horseclam-people' 10.247A, qeʔiʔsiyahʔ  
 'my daughter' (woman speaking, to distinguish from  
 son) L, . (cf. qeʔiʔyahʔəyʔuʔ 'woman's children'  
 49.32, 32A), qeʔiʔsideʔeʔəʔ 'my younger sister'  
 (to distinguish from younger brother) L, as  
 second element in compounds: ʕiyaʔʔeʔeʔqʔiʔ 'frog==  
 woman' 10.190A, ʔuʔʔwələhqeʔiʔ 'driftwood-spirit==  
 woman' 11.76A, ʕi·da·deʔwələhqeʔiʔ 'razor-clam==  
 spirit-woman' 11.92A, xi·lqeʔiʔ 'shaman-woman'  
 19.11L, ʕeʔwələhyuʔ·qeʔiʔ 'loon-people-woman' 24.5A,  
 ʕeʔwələhqeʔiʔ 'loon-spirit-woman' 24.17A, with classi-  
 fied noun as first element: ʔuʔʔdeʔeʔeʔiʔ 11.71A,  
 ʔuʔʔqeʔiʔ 'driftwood-woman' 11.85A, ʔuʔʔeʔeʔeʔeʔiʔ  
 'mountain-woman' 23.6, 9A; in personal names:  
 qeʔiʔ (perhaps mistranscribed for keʔiʔ) woman's  
 name L, qeʔiʔʔah, qeʔiʔʔa·kih women's names, see  
 ʔiyah-ʔah-ʔa·.

deʔeʔiʔ ye·tʔ (noun, de-prefix not clearly identi-  
 fied, perhaps d-class-mark for ye·tʔ 'wild  
 celery', d-class) "'female" part of wild celery  
 plant' L.

quh̄ (perhaps to be analyzed quh-̄ and related to qu)

-l-quh̄ (noun, unclassified, with l-anatomical 'head, face') 'cheek' (perhaps especially 'cheek-bone, bony part of cheek'): silquh̄ 'my cheeks' LMA, ʔilequh̄luw ʔiya 'your big cheeks' (insult) 10.96, 96A, kulequh̄luw 'big cheeks' M, in epithets: ʒa-nlequh̄kudg 'little-cheek-John' (Eyaks' nickname for a Swede who "had a small chin") LM, lequh̄luw 'big-cheeks' (pejorative) 11.139A, lequh̄q̄ex 'fat-cheeks' (pejorative) 11.139, lequh̄q̄exluw 'big-fat-cheeks' (pejorative) 10.93A, lequh̄q̄exsiyah 'nasty-fat-cheeks' (pejorative) 10.96A.

qu<sup>?</sup>i (uncertain, perhaps to be analyzed qu<sup>?</sup>-i, qu<sup>?</sup>-  
to be identified with qu<sup>?</sup>, and/or related to qu·(1)  
and/or qu<sup>?</sup>-qu·)

qu<sup>?</sup>i- (stem, prefix, or set of prefixes) occurring  
only in two forms: qu<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>ya·d(-i) 'bow', see un-  
der yahd (-ya·d(-i) -i-instrumental deverbali-  
zation of o-i-yahd 2. 'S draws O (bow)' with  
expanded stem, cf. also -i-yahd(-i) 'string,  
cable'); qu<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>ca·qta·? name of Cordova Eyak man  
S (unknown to L and A, who are unable to etymolo-  
gize, 'father of qu<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>ca·q'; conceivably connected  
with o-d-i-ca·q' 'S hears O', but more likely  
qu<sup>?</sup>i- as o of o-<sup>?</sup>a·-q' 'in straight line directly  
towards o, aiming at o').

qah3 (Rezanov perhaps q<sup>w</sup>ah3)

ɬe-qah3-ɣ (with -ɣ-thematic suffix, deleted, probably optionally, in perfectives and customary)  
 'S coughs': xɬeqah3ɣ 'I'm coughing' M, ɬe-qah3ɣɪh 'he's coughing' LMS, dɛɪgu·nɛɣ ɬe-qah3ɣɪh 'he's coughing blood' L, ʔɛɬeqah3ɣ 'cough!' MA, quʔxɬeqah3ɣ 'I'll cough' M, xɬɪ-qah3ɬ 'I coughed' M. Transitive (causative): xuseɪqah3ɣɬ 'it made me cough' L, ʔɛɬqah3ɣɪh 'make him cough!' M, xulqa·ɣɣ 'it (cust) makes me cough' M.

qah3ɣ (noun, unclassified, or gerundive, with -ɣ-thematic suffix) 'cough, cold (malady)': Rezanov Коаҕаҕа 'Kameɬɬ Husten', qah3ɣ ʔɛd ɬɛxgwiʔɬ 'I'm catching cold' L, qah3ɣ ɬeʔ ʔɛd xgwi·ɣ 'I(cust) get a cough again' L, qah3ɣ ʔidɛdi·ɬuxʔe·ɣ ʔidi·ɬqeʔdɣɪh 'he (doctor) asks you if you're coughing up phlegm' ('spitting a cough') L.

qec<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with qec<sup>2</sup>)

-qec' 'S cracks, splits, rips, tears': seqed̄t  
 'it's ripped, it tore' L, kuša·dah seqed̄t  
 'it's badly split, ripped' L, ʔah ʔu·dex seqed̄t  
 'the ground is cracked along there' M, with laʔd̄  
 'thickness, collapse, explode': 15.27M, laʔd̄  
 seqed̄t 'it burst' LM, diʔdəkuʔesah̄t laʔd̄  
 seqed̄t̄ih 'he ate so much he burst' L, kuquʔxi·xah  
 qiʔ laʔd̄ ʔixiqed̄t 'I'll eat till I bust' L,  
 laʔd̄ qaʔqec' 'it'll burst' M, laʔd̄ seqed̄t  
 'it's bursting' M, with class-marks for S: di·=  
 qed̄t 'it (e.g. table) is cracked' M, diK daʔ=  
 qed̄t 'it (table) isn't cracked' M. (neuter per-  
 fectives), dəʔu·d daʔliqec' 'let it (table)  
 crack!' M, Rezanov Коакротесомоуа (with r  
 written over з) 'Прочиснаеть es heitert sich  
 (der Himmel) auf' probably to be read q<sup>w</sup>ahs  
 ʔədəseqed̄t 'clouds split', indirect reciprocal,  
 with no də-classifier: Rezanov Мъмасамауа  
 'Препъна Riss, Spalte' ʔiKah seqed̄t 'it  
 split apart (away from each other)', or perhaps  
 ʔiK̄d kuseqed̄t 'something split apart (apart from  
 each other)', with d-class-mark for S: ʔiK̄d  
 deseqed̄t 'it (board) split apart' L, ʔiK̄d quʔ=  
 di·qec' 'it (board) will split apart' L, with

gd-anatomical 'rump': ?iɪd gudeseqečt 'pants  
ripped (at seat)' L. Transitive (causative),  
attested only with laʔq: laʔq seɪqeč 'burst  
it!' M, laʔq ɪqe.cɪ 'it (cust) bursts it' M;  
passive: laʔq sdiqečt, laʔq skiqečt 'it's  
been burst' L. Susceptive neuter: ɪqečɣ ɪaʔg  
'wood that's liable to split' L.

yaʔ (d)-qeč (with d-thematic with yaʔ 'completely')  
'S rips to bits': ?ulaʔqəyaʔ(yu.) ?uxaʔ yaʔ  
deseqečt 'all his clothes were in tatters, shreds'  
32.41, 42A; yaʔ ?i.qečɪyeq ?i.dahɪ 'he's  
dressed in rags' L (nominalized neuter perfective)

Kuɪqečɪ(-s) (noun, unclassified) 'rags, tatters':  
Kuɪqečɪyeq ?i.dahɪ 'he's dressed in rags' L,  
Kuɪqečɪs 'all ragged' A.(probably influenced by  
qečɪs, see qeč<sup>2</sup>). ɪ-classifier and -ɪ-suffix  
not clearly explained, with Ku-indefinite S or  
O, apparently transitive (causative), not per-  
fective.

*Handwritten note:*  
Kuɪqečɪs

qec<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with qec<sup>1</sup>)

qec<sup>2</sup> (noun, unclassified, with -i- and -s-  
thematic suffixes) 'male salmon' LMA, qec<sup>2</sup>-  
s'a'luw 'big male salmon' N.

qe·č-qeč (qe·č expanded form, qeč reduced form, perhaps to be analyzed qe-, perhaps related to qeʔi, with unidentified -č-suffix)

qe·č-kih (noun, unclassified, attested only with -kih diminutive), occurring only as vocative (not \*qe·čəkih, lack of connective -ə- normal in epithets, vocatives) 'child': Furuhjelm Khetzkisaha 'daughter' qe·čəkih siʔaʔ 'my child' L.

qeč-kih (noun, unclassified, as above), occurring only as vocative (as above) 'child': qečəkih 'child' (mother or father says to boy or girl) L, qečəkih siʔaʔ 'my child' L.

se-qe·č- (noun, unclassified, with s-thematic prefix), 'child, baby' (singular only), occurring only with suffixed adjectives and -kih diminutives: seqe·čiʔluw 'big child, big baby' L; with irregular connective -ə-: Galushia Nelson seqi'tse-ciyə 'bad baby ("baby-bad")' BSDL 259, 554  
 seqe·čəšiyah L; usually <sup>with</sup> not -kih diminutive: seqe·čəkih 'baby, child, youngster, young person' (up at least into teens) LA, 2a.10, 36M, 26.15L, 11.177A, 19.24, 28L, 21a.1, 5, 7, 25, 37L, 21b.1, 10, 23.111, 125, 130, 131, 135, 25.88, 28.6, 6, 15, 37, 40, 48, 29.51, 36.6, 9, 12, 14, 14, 23A, 39.4, 40.1L, 43.2, 3M, 51.13, 13, 14, 18A, 55.15,

17L, 61.31, 41, 48, 54A, Galushia Nelson sɛqíʔts  
 'child' BSdL 542 (-kih diminutive missing, prob-  
 ably in error), sɛqǎʔtsɛki or sɛqǎʔtsɛki 'baby'  
 BSdL 54L, sɛqeʔdɛkih ʔpɛyɛq saht 'she got preg-  
 nant' ('a child went into her') 2a.7M, 2b.15L,  
 24.17A, sɛqeʔdɛkih ʔuyɛq sadahɪjɪh 'she got  
 pregnant' ('a child sat, stayed in her') 23.111A,  
 sɛqeʔdɛkih daʔsɛɪɔaʔɪjɪh 'she had (gave birth to)  
 a baby' 2a.8M, 23.138A, sɛqeʔdɛkihtaʔ 'child's  
 father' 55.23L, sɛqeʔdɛkih ʔuyɛqɔ daɪ 'womb'  
 ('a child stays in it') A, sɛkʔihɪɪlah sɛqeʔdɛkih  
 'youngest child' (last of a series) L, Galushia  
 Nelson tɪildʔ sɛqǎʔtsɛki 'boy (literally: "man--  
 child")' BSdL ɪilaʔsɛqeʔdɛkih 49.156A, ɪilaʔ  
 sɛqeʔdɛkih daʔsɛɪɔaʔɪjɪh 'she had a boy baby' L,  
 Galushia Nelson qǎtɪ sɛqǎʔtsɛki 'girl (literally:  
 "woman-child") qeʔksɛqeʔdɛkih 28.37A, 38.6, 8,  
 11, 71.11LM, qǎʔl sɛqeʔdɛkih 'young person,  
 youngster' ('now (still) a child', in teens and  
 twenties) 3.17M, 42.1, 55.8L, 61.104A, sɛqeʔdɛ-  
 kihyaʔ dɛqɔw 'black dirt in creases of baby's  
 hands' ('child's lunch, provisions', should not  
 remove) L, sɛqeʔdɛkihwahyaʔ '(mythical) materials  
 for making, makings of, a baby' L.

qe's (perhaps to be analyzed qe'-s, qe'- perhaps related to qe'x and/or to qi.<sup>1</sup> 'foot', with un-identified -s-suffix)

-qe's (noun, g-class), exact meaning uncertain, probably 'Achilles' tendon': siqe's 'back part of my lower leg' L, ?awqe'sgu'na?d yeʒ de- qedg 'it (wolf) (repeatedly) bites it (deer) on lower hind leg' (Billy Dude explaining how wolf kills deer) L, siqe'sguya?d 'my ankle' L (with -qe's, here -g-class, as o of o-ya?d 'inside of o with broad opening at top', probably correct form), siqe'sdeya?d 'back of my knee' L (perhaps incorrect), siqe'sgu'deya?d 'my ankle, the back of my ankle' L (-gu'de- probably analogical), siqe'sgy'kemedi L, siqe'sgy'kemeλ, siqe's-gu'kemedi 'my ankle, anklebone' LA, -gu'kemedi probably originally neuter perfective verb, with g-class-mark for S, correctly gu'-, but L, who is erratic with nasalization, especially in prefixes, nasalizes, gy'-, then reinterprets class-mark as gl-, see occurrences under kemed-emeλ.

qe's (probably g-class-noun, requiring (analogical) gl-class-mark for S, and occurring in preverbal position) 'ankle': ya?yu' qe's qu?geli'xui 'don't turn your ankle' L, yeʒ qe's gu'sixuʔ 'I turned my ankle (down)' L.

x

q10, see q1d

qəš

-qəš '(part of) S is, becomes wide open, spread wide apart': with ?i?yeq '(from?) inside one another': ?i?yeq ?i·qəš 'he has his legs spread wide apart' L (neuter perfective), with lɔʔ-anatomical: ?i?yeq leʔediqəš 'he has his eyes wide open' L, leʔedeʔeqəšɪh 'he opened his eyes wide' L; with ad-thematic with sa? 'mouth': ʔəwa· sa? eedi·qəš 'dog has its mouth wide open' L (neuter perfective). Transitive (causative), reflexive: ?edleʔediʔiʔeqəšɪh 'he opened his eyes wide' A, ɪiʔ ?edleʔediʔi-qəšɪh 'he always has his eyes open wide' A, with qə·ʔ '(continuously) up out': qə·ʔ ?edleʔediʔiʔeqəšɪh 'his eyes are open wide, staring' A.

## qahs

d-*ie*-qahs (with d-thematic 'free fall') 'sg. S falls': qe-dah dis*iqahs* 'it fell immediately' 27b.11A, de*teqahs* 'some one person or thing is falling (down some distance, not just falling over)' L, usually with preverbs and (or postpositional phrases: with yq'?' 'down': 7.37, 10.196, 200, 223, 27b.16, 36.21A, 47c.52, 54L, 50.17, 61.114A, ta'qe'?' yq'?' dis*iqahs* L, de*e* ya'?' yq'?' dis*iqahs* 'he fell down backwards (landed chest up)' L, with qid 'down off, downhill': 49.151, 152A, didu'?' qid dix*iqahs* 'I almost fell off' L, qid de*ce*te*qahs* 'it's falling' M, la'?' qid dis*iqahs* '(shooting) star fell' L, 'i'xa'na'=? qe'cahd qid dis*iqahs* 'it fell from the mountain-top' L, sdu'liheda'q'e'cahd qid dis*iqahs* 'it fell from the table-top' L, sdu'lihede'cahd qid dis*iqahs* 'it fell from the table' L, yina'?' qid dis*iqahs* 'it fell to the floor, ground' L, cautionary negative inceptive imperative: qid qe*de*te*teqahs* 'don't fall off!' L, 'ah seqe'ca'kih 'i'xa' qe'qid de*ce*te*qahs* 'don't let your baby fall off!' L, with ta'?' 'into water': 21b.12, 61.75A, hila'?' ta'?' dis*iqahs* 'a man fell

in the water' L, with ya? 'completely, to a state of rest': ya? disʔiqahsʔjʔh, dæ ya? disʔiqahsʔjʔh 'he fell backwards' L, with qa? 'up out': siqe·sgu·tæmedt siya· ʔiʔyaʔd qa? disʔiqahsʔ 'my ankle went out of joint (fell up out from inside each other)' L, ʔulaʔd qa? dixʔiqahsʔ 'I tripped over it (fell up out hanging on it)' M, with o-ya? 'into o (with broad opening at top)': 2b.9L, ʔewyaʔ kʔdisʔiqahsʔ 'something dropped into it' L, with o-yeʔ 'into o (not with broad opening at top)', and ʔeʔ 'completely past, by': ʔuyeʔ ʔeʔ disʔiqahsʔ 'it fell into it (e.g. trap)' L, and yeʔ 'downward': xiʔyeʔ qʔh yeʔ disʔiqahsʔ 'she fell down into the snow' 23.160A, with various other preverbs and postpositional phrases: siyahd disʔiqahsʔ 'it fell, dropped from my hand' L, yeʔ disʔiqahsʔ 'it fell ashore' 10.15A, ya·nuʔ disʔiqahsʔjʔh 'he fell in (through surface into hole)' 58.6L, ʔewkʔh disʔiqahsʔ 'it flew off it (piece fell away from it in chopping)' L, sisaʔʔ liʔ disʔiqahsʔ 'it fell (deeply) into my mouth' L, siya· kʔaʔd kʔdisʔiqahsʔ 'I choked on something' ('something fell painfully for me') L, ʔawa· (or ʔuya·, probably analogical) kʔuquʔdeʔeqahsʔ 'he'll

choke on something' L, with yaḡ-progressive:  
yaḡ dələqahəḡjɪh 'he's staggering, stumbling  
around' M; figurative, with abstract S: ne·K  
caʔ quʔdələqahə, ʔew nu·s 'pretty soon it'll  
be out, that news' ('pretty soon it'll come  
tumbling downhill, that news') 6l.42A, ʔew ʔəl  
kɔ·daʔʕ gah yahdətə·ʔd da· cɪ·K sɪdətəleḡ-  
yeḡ dɪsɪqahəḡ 'that which we (cust) sing in  
this church goes through my mind' ('falls into,  
penetrates my mind') 7l.10A; with classified S:  
ɕe·yeḡ λa·sɪqahəḡ 'it (stone) bounced back' L,  
repetitive, with yaʔḡ 'up': yaʔḡ leḡdələ-  
qahəḡ 'it (ball) is bouncing' L. Transitive  
(causative): with yaʔ·ʕ ' (continuously, further)  
down': yaʔ·ʕ dɪsɪqahəḡ 'I dropped it, made it  
fall further down' L; Rezanov Ужтеслъманъ  
'уронить fallen lassen' perhaps to be read ʔu·ʕ  
dɪs[ɪ]qahəḡ 'I dropped it, made it fall thither',  
or intransitive ʔu·ʕ dɪs[ɪ]qahəḡ 'it fell  
thither'.

qehx (perhaps originally qeh-x, perhaps related to qehx-qe'x, basic meaning perhaps 'closed, filled aperture')

-i-qehx (noun, unclassified, perhaps derived from postposition below with i-classifier) 1. 'bottom (of vessel)': Kuxqehx 'bottom of something' L, ?uxqehx 'its bottom (of box)' (in case of box turned on side, L feels that ?uxqehx would then refer to the side prone on the floor, not the vertical bottom) L, ?ewiqehx ne'x we'c'kinu' 'they (cust) first weave the bottom' 66.8L, ?uxqehx lu? seie?i 'its bottom developed a hole' L.

2. 'surface placed beneath', with ku-indefinite possessor: Kuxqehx 'saucer' L, Kuxqehxluw 'big saucer' L; see also following.

megedeiqehx (noun, probably d-class) 'chessboard, checkerboard' LA, cat's name A. megex-d-i-qehx megex 'checker-like game, pieces' (unclassified), meaning of -i-qehx as 2. above, with d-thematic probably thematized class-mark for 'board'.

Kudeiqehx (noun, probably d-class) 'almost mature egg, white mostly absorbed'. '... of indefinite d-class possessor (egg)'; for meaning of qehx here especially cf. qehx-qe'x.

o-i-qehx-d (postposition, derived from -i-qehx above, or perhaps vice-versa) 'bottom of o

(vessel)', attested with -d final 'at rest, nominalization': ʔeʔa·ełqehɣd '(on?) the bottom of a basket' M.

(o-)yeɣ-de-qehɣ-q' (postpositional phrase, exact analysis uncertain, -qehɣ- as o of o-q' 'on o', (o-)yeɣ postposition 'under o' perhaps with -d final 'at rest, nominalization', compounded with -qehɣ-q', thus o-yeɣ-d-qehɣ-q', or with zero final (or, with yeɣ (preverb) 'downward') d-thematic or de-classifier with -qehɣ-q', or perhaps o-yeɣ de-qehɣ-q' with de-indeterminate o of o--qehɣ-q'; (attested with zero and -d finals, but with usual usage more or less reversed, zero here 'at rest', -d final 'movement toward') 'at low level, bottom': with zero final: yeɣdeqehɣq' ya· 'the one on the bottom' L, ʔewyaʔd yeɣdeqe·ɣq' setahɩ 'it's way down on, to the bottom of it (container with broad opening at top)' L, compounded as o of o-da·d 'vicinity of o': ɣi·d ɣeyɣdeqehɣq'da·d '(at rest) yonder in vicinity of bottom of area (foot of mountain)' L, with -d final: ʔewyaʔd yeɣdeqehɣq'd ešeʔɩ 'it (load of fish) is getting way down to the bottom (of barrel)' L.

qehx-qe'x (L qehx only, rejects qe'x, perhaps expanded form, from M qe'x only, A verifies free variation; perhaps related to qehx)

qehx-qe'x (preverb, always with zero (-x ?) final, once in combination with other preverb:

qehx li', sometimes perhaps requiring d-thematic, perhaps thematized d-class-mark for 'door')  
 'closed, shut, covered, blocked, clogged, turned off, deactivated': qe'x deeta' 'close it!' M, qehx (de)eta' 'close it (door)!' L, qehx li' deeta' 'close the door tight!' L, qehx 'ew se'itah' 'they (beavers) dammed it' L, qehx 'ew sditah' 'it (alarm clock) has been turned off' L, qe'x 'edyecata' 'close your hand!' M, ta'ya'd 'ixa' qehx de'ei'xi' 'tie your door(way) shut!' L, qehx 'udese'axah' 'close the shades, curtains!' ('pull something (d-class ?, d-thematic) closed!') L, 'i'da'd qehx e'dele'g 'cover your face (with your hand)!' L, de'da'd qehx 'idile'g'i'h 'he's covering his mouth with his hand' L, qehx 'ew sa'a'xi' 'they (beavers) dammed it' A, see further instances under 0-i-3a't 2., 1-de-xa (x<sup>w</sup>a-), and (most frequently attested) -'ya 6.

rebo

qa'd (perhaps to be analyzed qa<sup>h</sup>-d with o-d 'on o')  
 seiqa'd (preverb) 'grazing, nicking, creasing,  
 wounding slightly': 52.11L, seiqa'd silit 'I  
 grazed, nicked, creased it, wounded it slightly'  
 1M, seiqa'd xuseih 'he wounded me' L, -Post-  
 position o-qa'd, meaning unknown, occurring only  
 preverbalized with se-i- 'series' as o.

ga'(?)- perhaps related to ~~ga'ng~~ ga',  
 ufa qala?, ~~ga'~~ or gayuh, and/or ga'ninga'na',  
 cf. Atlapaskan O-L-ga-(g) '5 pieces, wounds, shorts O  
 with arrow, Chipmunk -kaya' 'wound', Matthe ga'ch  
 'scar' < \*ga-g'-, see further comparisons with ~~ga'ng~~  
 ga'ninga'na'

perhaps prepositional phrase o-ga'(?)-g'  
 with G-L- (G-tantii, L-clampin) as  
 o 'of a series' as o

attached only in the construction with O-L- i  
 'S acts upon ~~the~~, does something to O':

'ilga'g' (preverb, = preceding, from M only, perhaps  
 with ~~voluntary~~ movement, perhaps i-l- with  
 L-classifier and i- verbal prefix, perhaps reduplicated v,  
 or perhaps influenced by i-l- reciprocal o, or i-l-  
 voluntary prefix) 'grazing' (lit. on skin): 'ilga'g'  
 silit 'I wounded, grazed him' M.

qehsq (perhaps to be analyzed qehs-q with o-q 'on o';  
 M qe'sq, rejected with conviction by L)

qehsq (noun, unclassified, perhaps also d-class) 'moon-  
 light' LAS, qehsq ?i:hi ?ah: 'it's moonlight,  
 moonlight is shining' L, qe'sq ku:keh 'there's  
 moonlight' M, qehsq kuqa?he? 'there'll be moon-  
 light' L, qe'sqdayaq 'in the moonlight' M.

qeməxç (cf. samed)

- qeməxç 'S (top) spins': with ya? 'up out, begin':  
 qa? seqeməxçt 'it (top) started to spin' L. Transi-  
 tive (causative): qu?xıqeməxç 'I'll spin a top' L.  
 qeməxçt (noun, unclassified, with -t-instrumental)  
 'top (spinning toy)' LA, qeməxçtluw 'big top' L;  
 qeməxçtqexah month name ('top-month') L (L can-  
 not remember what time of year this month was).  
 lıd-qeməxç-t (with lıd-anatomical 'eyes', and  
 -t-suffix retained throughout) 'S (child) stares  
 (at someone)': lexədəqeməxçt 'he (child) is look-  
 ing, staring straight at one' L, siç qu?lexədi\*-  
 qeməxçth 'he'll stare straight at me' L.

qeməxč (cf. deməxč)

qeməxč(-i) 1. (noun, d-class, with optional -i- suffix) 'hole, rotten spot in ice': qeməxč LA, qeməxči 'airhole in ice, rotten spot in ice, spot that never freezes solidly over, where air-bubbles often come up' L<sup>2</sup>, qeməxčida<sup>2</sup>luw 'big hole in ice' L, qeməxčida<sup>2</sup>e<sup>2</sup> qəsi·ya·e 'watch out, don't walk into rotten spot on ice!' L, <sup>2</sup>ew qeməxčida<sup>2</sup>e<sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup>a·kya·i 'lest he walk into a rotten spot on the ice!' L.

2. (noun, attested only as C) 'rotten (of ice), bubbling, fermenting': qeməxči decaie<sup>2</sup>i 'it (d-class, ice) is getting holes in it, rotting' L, qeməxči caie<sup>2</sup>i 'it (e.g. berry-mash) is getting bubbles in it, it's boiling, fermenting, bubbles are coming up in it' L.

d-da-qeməxč(-i) (with d-class-mark for S 'ice', attested only in inceptive perfective, -i-suffix possibly thematic, or only perfective) 'S (ice) rots': decaieqeməxči 'ice is rotting' L.

quhɣɔ̃

kʉ́quhɣɔ̃ɛ̃ (noun) 'lamp-chimney (cylindrical glass on oil-lamp)' LMA. To be analyzed kʉ́-ɛ̃-quhɣɔ̃-ɛ̃, with kʉ́-indefinite prefix, ɛ̃-classifier, thematic -ɛ̃-suffix; informants unable to analyze or to remember quhɣɔ̃ in any other context, or the form with any other meaning.

quweka'n-qeweka'n (loan from Tlingit quwakán 'deer')

quweka'n (noun, unclassified) '(Sitka black-tailed)

deer (*Odocoileus columbianus*)' LM, qeweka'n

'deer' 17.3M.

qa\* (loan from Tlingit qá 'person', occurring only  
in loans ke'qa', tu-čqa', see also kena'qa\*)

qa<sup>?</sup>ni<sup>?</sup>-qa<sup>?</sup>nu<sup>?</sup> (forms with -i<sup>?</sup> and -u<sup>?</sup> in free variation for L only, MA Rezanov -i<sup>?</sup> only, A rejects -u<sup>?</sup>; to be analyzed perhaps qa<sup>?</sup>-ni<sup>?</sup>--nu<sup>?</sup>, qa<sup>?</sup>- 'plural', but more probably qa<sup>?</sup>-ni<sup>?</sup>--nu<sup>?</sup>, qa<sup>?</sup> (preverb) 'up out, suddenly breaking out', -ni<sup>?</sup> perhaps to be identified with le-(l)i-ni<sup>?</sup>, perhaps gerundive, L's -nu<sup>?</sup> variant perhaps due to influence of -nu<sup>?</sup> relative enclitic 'pl. humans', or, perhaps most likely, qa<sup>?</sup>--ni<sup>?</sup>--nu<sup>?</sup>, qa<sup>?</sup>n-ni<sup>?</sup>--nu<sup>?</sup>, or qa<sup>?</sup>n-i<sup>?</sup>--u<sup>?</sup>, where qa<sup>?</sup>- or qa<sup>?</sup>n- is related to qu<sup>?</sup>(l) and/or qela<sup>?</sup> and/or qeyuh, basic meaning 'belligerence', with -ni<sup>?</sup>--nu<sup>?</sup> as preceding, or -i<sup>?</sup>--u<sup>?</sup> of uncertain identity, cf. especially Galice -h<sup>w</sup>a-kaš--kəp (momentaneous), -h<sup>w</sup>a-kaa--ka<sup>?</sup> (continuative) 'to fight, go to war', for further comparison see qa<sup>?</sup>q, qela<sup>?</sup>, qeyuh, qu<sup>?</sup>(l))

qa<sup>?</sup>ni<sup>?</sup>-qa<sup>?</sup>nu<sup>?</sup> (noun, perhaps gerundive) 'fight(ing)':  
 qa<sup>?</sup>ni<sup>?</sup> (not qa<sup>?</sup>nu<sup>?</sup>) 'fight' A, Rezanov ЯКОБЪ-  
 АХАНЪЕ 'Не дерись прѣгле dich nicht!' ya<sup>?</sup>ʒu<sup>?</sup>  
 qah qa<sup>?</sup>ni<sup>?</sup> M, ya<sup>?</sup>ʒu<sup>?</sup> qa<sup>?</sup>ni<sup>?</sup> 'don't fight,  
 no fighting!' LM, qa<sup>?</sup>nu<sup>?</sup>-ʒiya<sup>?</sup> 'big fighter'  
 ('fighting-master') L, qa<sup>?</sup>ni<sup>?</sup>-ʒa<sup>?</sup>ʒ sah<sup>?</sup> 'he went  
 looking for a fight' L, qa<sup>?</sup>nu<sup>?</sup>-ʒa<sup>?</sup>ʒ ee<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup>ʒi<sup>?</sup>nu<sup>?</sup>-  
 duh 'they're getting into a fight!' L, attested  
 most frequently as O of O-i<sup>?</sup>-ʒya 'S fights', see  
 instances under -ʒya 38.

qu'ske'd (loan from Tlingit quskedi, name of Tlingit  
 clan or sib, represented from Sitka northwestward, of  
 Raven moiety at least from Dry Bay northwestward)

qu'ske'd name of Tlingit clan or sib of Raven  
 moiety extended to the Eyak, of which G's mater-  
 nal grandfather was a member L, or (noun, un-  
 classified) 'a member of the qu'ske'd clan' L.

q̄ (perhaps related to q̄e<sup>2</sup>, q̄e<sup>9</sup>-q̄e<sup>·</sup>)

o-q̄ (postposition, with zero, -d, dəɣ, -ɕ, -ɕahd, and -Kah finals, but irregular in that zero final occurs instead of -d and -dəɣ finals, 'at rest' and 'movement within area', where these are expected with unclassified pronominal or nominal o, and also optionally where o is a proverb or another postposition, or is classified or includes a thematic or anatomical mark; morphophonemics with marks are like those of o-K: > -na<sup>2</sup>q̄ where last element is l-, -Ca<sup>·</sup>q̄ where otherwise; requiring connective -ə- where followed by ɕ, K; under major subdivision 1. are listed semantically regular occurrences, subdivided thereunder by finals, or reflexive, reciprocal, or indeterminate o, under 2. incidences as final element of other postpositions, preverbs, certain other forms, under 3. various idiomatic usages; instances with thematic or partly thematized anatomical marks are listed under separate subentries) 1. 'on, on(to top, surface of) o': a. with zero final: 6.4, 9M, 9.88, 32.6, 37, 41A, 12.12G, 16.4M, 20.33, 34, 36, 38, 41, 42, 47, 47A, 21a.20L, 21b.50, 58A, 27a.-25, 26, 32, 33L, 28.7, 7, 24, 96, 98, 29.22A, 30.-2, 47a.3L, 47b.12M, 56.6L, 61.21, 21, 26, 65.4, 26, 12, 12, 13, 62A, siq̄ 'on top of me' L, <sup>2</sup>awq̄

(not \*ʔəwq̄d) sədah̄ 'it's sitting on it' L,  
 ʔəwq̄ (not \*ʔəwq̄d) sətah̄ 'it's on it' L,  
 ʔuq̄ ʔisdaʔk̄ 'chair', ʔuq̄ ʔisteʔk̄, ʔuq̄ ku-  
 teh 'something (not bed) to lie on', ʒiʔq̄ da-  
 ʔi-itah 'let's cache it (put it on platform)' M,  
 ʔəwq̄ quʔqi-dax̄tatah 'I'll put my foot on it' L,  
 siq̄ gədi-tux̄k̄ 'they (clothes) are tight on me'  
 L, (le-lu-d) ʔuq̄ kuʒəla-xūk̄ 'railroad tracks'  
 L, giyahgələʔda-d ʔuq̄ kaʔkih place-name  
 ('there's no water on it'), ʔəw se-č̄ dik̄iʔq̄  
 gu-xaʔč̄ 'tie the spruceroot on a stick!' L, ku-  
 ʒeh̄ ʔuq̄ səxaʔč̄ 'tie a string around it!' L,  
 qa-d̄ la-xaʔʒḡ 'it (tree) fall over on us' L,  
 leʒəʔetug ʔuq̄ ʒə-ʔč̄ leʒaʔyah 'table for rice'  
 L, di-yaʔ ʔuq̄ quʔgəli-x̄tah 'I'll put salt on  
 it' L, ta-lewaʔk̄q̄ sa-k̄ih̄ 'he's walking along  
 on the edge of the road' L, ta-d̄ ʔiyaʔ 'walk  
 on the road!' L, ʔəwq̄ yə-ʔ̄ ətaʔ 'set it down  
 on it!' L, č̄iyux̄ sixi-yaʔʒq̄ yə-ʔ̄ sədah̄ 'a  
 mosquito alighted on my chin' L, siq̄ yəʒ ʔi-  
 kəduʔk̄ȳih̄ 'he's squeezing me all over (squeezing  
 about on me)' L, ʔəw ʔuq̄ yəʒ ʔix̄kəʔiʔʒḡ 'I'm  
 slapping all over it' L, siq̄ yəʒ ʔik̄č̄ə-ʒ̄ 'it's  
 sniffing me all over' L, ʔuq̄ yəʒ ʔix̄kəč̄u-č̄ḡ  
 'I'm bending things all along on it' L, ʔəwq̄  
 yəʒ leʒəx̄kəqəʒ̄ 'I'm rubbing it (onion) about

on it' L, di·ya? ʔuq quʔgy·xiəwus TlI sprinkle  
 salt all over it' L, o-q yaʒ də-leʔg-ʒ 'S  
 gropes, feels, palpates, touches about on o',  
 o-q liʔ -leʔg 'S strokes, pets o from head  
 back', ta-q ʔiika·ʒ leʒə·exyuhki 'I'm  
 spreading it (gravel) on the road with a shovel'  
 L, o-q yaʒ ʔi-ʔeʔʒ 'S steps on o', ʔewq  
 ʔeš ʒedi·ʔah 'it (log) is (extends completely  
 by) over it' L, dēda·dəxyu·duw ʔuq kuəi·ʔaʔg  
 'mark it on either side!' ('mark something on  
 it all over!') M, yaʒiya·q ya·nahd tah 'bed-  
 sheet' ('it's on mattress') L, əuʔiq ya·nahd  
 tah 'bedspread' ('it's on blanket') L, with  
 class-marks ending in l- (see also o-l-q, o-  
 dʒl-q below): 10.12A, ʔew ʒiyahdʔa·naʔq yʔ·ʔ  
 ətaʔ 'set it down on the hat!' LM, təkiʔa·naʔq  
 yʔ·ʔ ətaʔ 'set it down on the hammer!' LM,  
 təkiʔa·naʔq sədahki 'it (fly) is sitting on a  
 hammer' L, ʔu·naʔq 'on it (l-class)' L, ʔu·  
 naʔq yaʒ sdiyahi 'I walked around on top of  
 it (mountain)' L, ʔu·naʔq qaʔ sahi 'she went  
 up it (ladder)' L, ʔi·ʔa·naʔq 'up a, on a moun-  
 tain' 28.123, 124A, kutahti·naʔq (not \*-ti·q,  
 \*-ti·ləq M) yʔ·ʔ ətaʔ 'set it down on a  
 pelt!' LM, ʒahiti·naʔq 'on a leaf, feather' L,  
 kuʒehiqi·naʔq da·ʒ ə·ki 'he's walking across

on a rope' L, o-gi-d: 11.162, 24.42, 54A, 48.-  
 15L, ?q'gu'na'd' sa'ijh 'he's walking along the  
 surface of the river' L, gudde' milega? gi-  
 yahgu'na'd' gəli'k'a? 'it's nine miles over the  
 water' L, ?e'gu'na'd' da'x sa'i 'it's walking  
 across on grease' L, see also qe'sgu'na'd' un-  
 der qe's, ca'li'na'd' 'on a rock, skerry' 20.-  
 50A, 35.3L, ?aw ca'li'na'd' yq' ?ata? 'set  
 it down on the stone' LM, ca'li'na'd' qa? si-  
 qehi 'I went aground on a rock' L, ca'li'na'd'  
 qa? dəsə'yahi 'ship grounded on a rock' L,  
 ?əhli'na'd' ?əna'šah 'flower species' ('flower  
 on ground') L, ?əhli'na'd' tahi 'plant species'  
 ('leaf on ground') L, ?əli'na'd' ya? da'xijh  
 'he's walking around on the riverbank' L, with  
 class-marks with other last elements: qəma'le-  
 za'd' yq' ?ata? 'set it down on the roe!' L,  
 o-d-d' 10.36, 208, 11.194, 21b.51, 24.23, 25.129A,  
 42.21L, 49.71, 51.7A, 57.3G, 65.12A, tidda'd'  
 yq' ?ata? 'set it down on the ice!' M, ?aw  
 ca'lda'd' yq' ?ata? 'set it down on the board!'  
 LM, ca'ida'd' yq' ?ata? 'set it down on the  
 knife!' L, ?ude'uhdgda'd' sadahi 'it's sitting  
 on its eggs' L, ?ahdida'd' sadahi 'it's sitting  
 on top of the car' L, ?aw šdu'liheda'd' ?i'tahi  
 da'xediša'g 'the matchbook on the table' L,

qihda·q̄ 'on a meadow', see qih, ʔuda·q̄ yeʔ  
 ʔode· 'walk about on it (ice)!' L, ʔowda·q̄  
 da·ʔ sah̄t̄ 'he walked across on that (board)'  
 L, ʔidda·q̄ yahd̄ sa·k̄ih̄ 'he's going out on the  
 ice' L, Ku·taʔida·q̄ ya·nahd̄ tah̄ 'rug' ('co-  
 vers floor') L, šdu·liheda·q̄ ya·nahd̄ tah̄  
 'tablecloth' ('covers table') L, yahdda·q̄ yeʔ  
 da·ʔ 'he's walking about on the roof' L, didi-  
 tu·č̄ yahdda·q̄ ya·nahd̄ tah̄ 'sheet-iron' L,  
 ʔihiguda·q̄ da·ʔ sa·k̄ih̄ 'he's walking across  
 on the grass' L, kaʔggeda·q̄ da·ʔ sa·k̄ih̄ 'he's  
 walking across on wood' L, Rezanov Какалххатарн  
 'Илева Schultern' qa·selaʔgeda·q̄ 'on our shoul-  
 ders', ʔq̄·d̄ ta·ʔgeda·q̄ 'here on the pier' Gl.=  
 57A, ʔuhsageda·q̄ sa·k̄ih̄ 'he's walking along the  
 riverbank' L, ʔuhsageda·q̄ gusek̄q̄·ʔk̄ih̄ 'he's  
 standing on the riverbank' L. (see also 2d.(4) be-  
 low), with -č̄q̄-d-anatomical: sič̄q̄·da·q̄ sədah̄t̄  
 'it (fly) alighted on my forearm' L, with q̄i·d--  
 anatomical: siq̄i·da·q̄ 'on (top of) my foot' L,  
 siq̄i·da·q̄ da·ʔ dišk̄i·č̄t̄ 'it's stuck to my  
 foot' L, k̄iʔq̄ siq̄i·da·q̄ wəʔ səle·k̄ 'my whole  
 foot is getting involved' ('it (infection) is  
 getting thus on my whole foot') L, with g-class--  
 mark or anatomical, requiring extension -ka·-:  
 ʔewušk̄ehguka·q̄ ʔq̄·ʔ̄ sətaʔ 'set it down on

the twine!' L; nominalized, as o of o-ya?  
 'of o' (ya<sup>5</sup>): qihda·qya? tahi 'plant species'  
 ('leaves of meadow-surface') L, lisda·qya?  
 le·i 'tree fungus', nominalized with ya?-aya?:  
 see la·qaya?, xiŋləxəda·qaya?, also -la?qaya?,  
 səka?qaya?, -ŋa?qaya? under ya?-aya?, as  
 attribute in compound: qa·qəyahd 'grave-house'  
 ('house over us') L, as attribute in compound or  
 construction requiring ei-thematic: lisda·qəsi?  
 si·s 'tree fungus' L, ?uda·q ?isi·kudg 'its  
 surface (of d-class o?) is too small' L, see also  
 ?uqəciŋu? under 3d. below.

1b. With -d final 'at rest, nominalization  
 of' (here only with classified o, see also 2., 3.  
 below): ?iŋa·na?qd 'on a mountain' 9.105A, ?iŋ-  
 a·na?qd yj·hinu· 'mountain people' M, ŋi·ŋə-  
 da·qd 'on a gravel beach' la.3M, lis ?uxəda·qd  
 ku·ləh place-name ('there are trees on it (xd-  
 class)') L, duhsəxəda·qd, ?uhsəxəda·qd 'on a  
 riverbank' L, kətəla?xəda·qd 'on someone's  
 shoulders' L, didiŋu·ŋ ?uda·qd yləh 'can-  
 nery' ('iron roof is on it (d-class)') L, tici-  
 da·qd yahd sə·ləh 'he's going out on the ice'  
 L, with anatomical marks: siləxəda·qd 'my eye-  
 lid' L, siŋp·da·qd 'on my forearm' L, siŋ-  
 ka·qd 'the lower part, hem, of my dress, coat' L.

1c. With -dəx final 'movement within area'  
(here only with classified o, see also 1b.):

yahdda·q(dəx) yeɣ da·x 'he's walking about on  
the roof' L, yahddaqaʔda·qdaɣ yeɣ da·x 'he's  
walking about on the corner of the roof' L.

1d. With -ɕ final, o-ɕəɕ 'continuous or  
repeated motion or pressure onto o': 10.209A,  
27a.2a, 26L, 47b.11, 17, 20M, 47c.9, 24L, 65.64A,  
ʔuɕəɕ da·x ʔi·taɦt 'stretching-frame' LM, ʔu-  
ɕəɕ qi·disɦtaɦt 'he put his foot on it' L,  
ʔawɕəɕ ʔaw səɦɣaʔgidawa· 'before he writes on  
it' L, ʔuɕəɕ kuɕəxɦ Rezanov, ʔuɕəɕ kudədəɣ  
'anvil' L, ʔucuhdɕəɕ 0-ɦiɕ 'S breaks O over  
his knee', ʔuɕəɕ kusaɕɦɦ, ʔuɕəɕ ɕaʔɕəʔɕ ku-  
dəsəɕɦɦ 'oarlocks' L, ʔiɦe·kɕəɕ di·ɦeʔ 'warm  
your chest (with hot-water-bottle against it)' L,  
duɦɕəɕ sdiɕuʔɦt 'herring spawned on kelp' L,  
kuɕəɕ ʔəɦa·ɦəɦaʔɦ 'thing which falls over on  
one' L, ʔuɕəɕ 0-gl-xuʔɕ 'S splashes O (water)  
on him', ʔawɕəɕ kudawe·ɦɦ '(stick) on which  
something (fish) is hung' L, ʔuɕəɕ kuqi·dəɦe-  
yah 'footstool' L, siɕəɕ kiyaʔ dəsəʔɦt 'you  
spilled it on me' L, o-d-ɕəɕ 'onto d-class o'  
16.7M, 49.150, 150, 65.20A, ɦduɦɦeda·ɕəɕ kiyaʔɕ  
dəsəʔɦɦt 'he's pouring it on the table' L,  
ʔiɦa·naʔɕəɕ 'onto, up a mountain' 7.34, 9.109,

29.35, 49.109A, ?iʔa·naʔqəʕ sa·t̚ 'he's climb-  
ing a mountain' L, ?iʔa·naʔqəʕ da· ɕəʔaʔt̚  
'we're going up on a hill' L, ca·ʔi·naʔqəʕ  
'onto a rock' 10.38, 20.47, 50.51A.

1e. With -ʕaʔ final (-ʕ final with -aʔ  
augment): ?əwqəʕaʔ yaɦd səqəh̄t̚h 'he boated  
out towards it (island)' 12.46, kaʔt̚qəʕaʔ (ɕəʔ)  
to an island' 57.26.

1f. With -ʕahd final 'from', o-qəʕahd  
'off of (from on) o': 12.156, 36.39A, 45a.8L,  
?uqəʕahd siʔ ?idaʔye· 'read (off) it to me!' L,  
?uqəʕahd ?idaʔdəʔah 'newspaper, Bible' L,  
?iʔa·naʔqəʕahd 'from a mountain-top' L, 7.35,  
23.157, 25.55, 29.39A, ?iʔa·naʔqəʕahd qid di-  
s̄iqahs̄t̚ 'it fell down (from top of) a moun-  
tain' L, ?uʕa·wa·naʔqəʕahd 'off her head' 23.-  
41A, ʕdu·lih̄ɕa·qəʕahd qid di-s̄iqahs̄t̚ 'it  
fell down off a tabletop' L, ?uda·qəʕahd ku-  
ʔedah '(aboriginal) table' L.

1g. With -ʔah final or as o of o-ʔah,  
o-qəʔah 'away (to some remove, clear) from o':  
28.11, 65.9, 9, 9, 28, 29, 38A, ?əwqəʔah leʔe-  
ʔa·səiyah̄t̚h 'he took it (pot of berries) off  
it (fire)' L, ɕuʔt̚ siqəʔah ?ət̚aʔ 'take blan-  
kets off me!' L ʕah̄ti·naʔqəʔah 'from, off a  
leaf, feather' L.

1h. With reciprocal o, attested with zero, -č, -kah finals, meaning sometimes somewhat idiomatic, used preverbially, often not requiring vocalization of classifier in intransitive themes: ?iḷq̄ šəʒaʔi 'they (groundhogs in sack) "bust together" (imploded, burst out of sack and dispersed)' 23.30A, ?iḷq̄ qəyuh škiʔaʔč̄ 'they attacked each other' 28.103A, ?iḷq̄ yišeh 'they're stacked up' L, ?iḷq̄ də-ʔəd 'S comes apart (from on each other) at corner, seam', ?iḷq̄ yəqaʔ ʔədidiʔah̄ 'they (logs) are piled up' L, ?iḷq̄ q̄h̄ʔ ʔidiʔaʔč̄ 'they're mating' M, ?iḷq̄ sišah̄ 'I put them one on top of the other' L, ?iḷq̄ q̄p̄č̄ dəcəxiəʔi 'I'm stacking them (boards)' L, with -č̄ final: ?iḷq̄č̄ qaʔ sišah̄ dəʔ 'when you've stacked them up' 65.62A, with -kah final: ?iḷq̄kah 0-cəʔ 'S cuts 0 apart in layers, strips' 65.10, 11A.

1i. With reflexive o (for zero variant of or deleted reflexive o pronoun see o-l-q̄, o-y-q̄, also q̄eʔ-q̄eʔ), attested with zero, -č̄, and -čahd finals, in indirect reflexive constructions, requiring vocalization of classifier in verb: ?ədq̄ lixditah̄ 'my head is inclined to side' ('my head is on myself') L, ?ədq̄ wəʔ ʔaʔiʔəč̄ 'wear it!' L, ?ədq̄ k̄aʔ wəʔ ʔaʔiʔəč̄ 'wear

'wear it' L, ʔədq daxdeleh 'I'm groaning'  
(making vocal noise on myself)' L, with -č final:  
ʔuyaʔ ʔədqeč Kadedatuʔ 'hot-water-bottle',  
with -čahd final: ʔədqečahd wəx 0-ka-le 'S  
removes 0 off self' 36.39, 40A.

lj. With indeterminate o, da·q 'on some-  
thing (indeterminate surface)', attested with  
zero and -d finals: da·q 10.32A, 18.21L,  
21b.34, 46A, da·q ʔi·dah̄ 'it's perched (on  
tree), he's sitting (on something, surface)' L,  
ʔu·d da·q ʔi·dah̄j̄h 'he's sitting there' L,  
ʔu·d da·q ʔi·tuʔč̄inu· 'they're lying there'  
L, ʔu·d da·q ʔi·teh̄j̄h (not \*ʔu·d ʔi·teh-  
j̄h) 'he's lying there' L, ʔu·d da·q ʔi·tah̄  
'it's up (on surface) there' L, ʔədəcu·č̄ da·q  
əataʔ 'set it up there!' L, da·q 0-x<sup>w</sup>aʔč̄ 'S  
ties 0 up (on something)', siuhd siya· da·q  
siḷqeḹ 'I skinned my knee' ('I scraped my knee  
on something)' L, with -d final: Galushia Nelson  
ta·qt 'mainland' BSdL 532 probably to be read  
da·qd̄.

lk. With indeterminate o and (partly the-  
matized) d-class-mark, attested with -d and -č  
finals: dada·qd̄ 'on deck' M, dada·qəč̄ sah̄  
'he went on top (to top of house, deck of ship)' L.

ll. With ʔa- 'area' as o, see 2d.(4) below.

2. As final element with certain postpositions and preverbs, sometimes uncertain, or as possible final element in certain other forms, meaning, where isolable, as under 1. above: a. as final in postpositions and preverbs of the shape CV?, vowel not expanded; see o-y-da?, o-ta?d, ta?de?c- (ta?-), qu?-qu'-, probably also in la?d (la?-), hi?d (hi-hi?), possibly also in sa?d, te?d, ga?d, se?d, wa?d, ?a?d, conceivably also in other stems listed as of the form CV?d.

2b. As final in certain forms ending with fricative; see qehx, conceivably also in ie?id-, xq?kq, qehsq-, wahsq, ni'sq, though the phonological patterning of these probably indicates unanalyzable stem with final cluster, see phonology in grammar.

2c. As final element in postpositions and other forms of the shape Ca? or Ca?-Ca', vowel expanded with -d: see o-xa'-d, o-d-xa'-d, o--y-xa'-d (xa?-), -sa'-d-d (sa?-), -c-a'-d (c), ya'-d (ya'), probably also in de-sa'-d (sã'), se-i-qa'd ?i-i-qa'd (qa'd).

2d. As final element in certain forms of the shape -da'd, difficult of certain analysis because of the homophony of o-d-d (with d-class--

mark or d-thematic), da-q̄ (with indeterminate o), o-daʔ-q̄ (though cf. o-y-daʔ-q̄, perhaps incorrect), o-da'-q̄, and -daʔ-q̄, all > -da-q̄: (1) ʔj̄-da-q̄ 'on one's own face', < o-l-daʔ-q̄ or -l-daʔ-q̄, see daʔ, daʔ; (2) ʔedaʔsida-q̄ 'upstairs, in loft, above, etc.', < ʔe-daʔ-ʔeʔ-daʔ-q̄, -d-q̄, d-q̄, or -da'-q̄, see o-daʔ 2o.; (3) ʔa-gȳ-da-q̄d̄ N, ʔa-guda-q̄d̄ 'riverbank, riverside' LM, ʔa-guda-q̄ 'on the riverside' L, 45b.6M, ʔa-g(1)-daʔ-q̄, cf. o-g-daʔ, or -da'-q̄, meaning perhaps suggesting latter rather than former analysis; (4) ʔeda-q̄- (attested with -d, -daʔ, and -daʔ finals): ʔe-da-q̄d̄ 'riverbank' L, 'out in the flats' N, Galushia Nelson ʔəlá-stəxítə-q̄t 'Egg Islands (literally "outside the mainland")' BSdL 544 ʔələhəd ʔeda-q̄d̄ ('on flats in area out forward to sea') L, qa-dewug ʔeda-q̄d̄ place-name (Egg Island near Katalla, see qa-dewug, wug) L, ʔe-da-q̄dəʔ yəʔ də-ʔj̄h 'was walking about along the riverbank' 45a.2L, ʔeda-q̄(e)daʔ səh̄j̄h 'he went out to the flats, beach' L; analysis perhaps ʔe- 'area' as o of o-da'-q̄ 'on vicinity of o', o-daʔ-q̄ 'on front of o', o-d-q̄ 'on d-class o' (e.g. daʔ 'alluvial mud', with d-class-mark thematized), (ʔe-)ʔd-q̄ 'on ʔd-class o, area'

(e.g. ?uhs, duhsK 'riverbank'), with xd-class= mark thematized, and/or xe- o deleted by haplogy, or lacking o pronoun, cf. forms with xd= class-mark under la., lb above, and (o-)d-i'?'-q' 6c. under ?e?-.

2e. As final element in forms with expanded and ablauted vowel: see (o-)d-i'?'-q' under ?e?-, perhaps also Ńu'q'.

3. With more or less idiomatic meaning (see also especially o-l-q' 2., o-y-q' 2.): a. with zero and perhaps also -č final, of natural phenomena, especially seasonal or diurnal, taking place concerning o: o-q' i-xe?K 'it becomes dark, night fall "on" o' 10.10, 25.69A, ?uq' sełžala'głih 'it became winter "on" him' 23.54A, ?u'č siq' sełxa?i 'I spent summer there' L, siq' yaseł-qahł 'day broke "on" me' L, siq' yaž se?ahł 'sun set "on" me' L; perhaps also in o-q' i--da's 'S is heavy for o and in o-q' lač g-?ya 'tide rises over o'; with -č final, perhaps in siq'eč sełasa?ya'ł 'I'm approaching term (in gestation)' ('time is coming upon me') L.

3b. With zero final only, '(compensation; prayer, payment) for o, for (revenge on) o': o-q' O-ła-le, o-q' y-da-le, o-q' ya'kihdał O-ł-i 'S pays, repays (O) for o' (see also o--

1-q' 2.), ?uq' da' desede<sup>3</sup> p'c' da'x 'if we pray for it' 70.3A, o-q' 0-i-cax 'S cuts O for revenge on o' 49.58, 58, 59, 67A; with reflexive o, in indirect reflexive constructions: ?edq' yisdiliih 'he paid for himself' 33.74A, ?edq' (?ewa' ka?) da'di3q'c' 'you should pray for yourself' 61.22, 23A, probably also in ?edq' daxdaleh 'I'm groaning' ('I'm making vocal noise on, for myself') L.

3c. With -c' final only, perhaps closely related to 3b., 'blame, tattling on o': o-qe'c' 0-x-(i-)ta 'S blames O on o', o-qe'c' 0-?-xa 'S tells, tattles on o (concerning O)'; see also o-l-q' 1. near end.

3d. With zero, -cahd, and perhaps also -c' finals, '(from) abundance, by virtue of o' (< '(from) on top of o'), see also especially o--y-xa'-q' under xa'-: with zero final: ?uqe'citu? 'I've got a bunch of them' L, ?i' ?iya? ?uqe'citu?, xu' siya? ya'ludg 'you've got "a bunch" of them, I a few' L, perhaps also in xi'lexeda'qeya? 'snowslide' ('that which results from an abundance of snow' ?) L, most frequently with -cahd final: siyahqeca'hd 'plenty of f d' L, 'for (due to abundance) of food' 49.137A, ya'yu'qeca'hd 'plenty of clothes, goods' L,

ya·yu·qəʕahd cɪʔdəlɪhɪh 'he brags about his possessions' L, perhaps also in ʔawqəʕahd qəw Kulaɣ ʔi·ʕe· 'from that he's rich' 36.48A, also perhaps, with -ʕ final, in ʔawqəʕ da· quʔledate· 'we'll eat our fill on it' 11.183A.

3e. Miscellaneous partly idiomatic uses, not referring to literal physical placement or position 'on o': qa·qʔ ʔedi·lihkaʔya·K 'he (cust) thinks upon (?) us' 70.4, 4A, guɣq laɣ xuqəxi·ləs 'you mistreat me with (throw me forward upon) lies' 10.155, 156A; sitah siq liʔ ɪqəʕg 'my skin is peeling' ('my skin keeps sliding down (?) on (?) me') L.

3f. Frequent, perhaps partly idiomatic use with nouns lah la. 'camp, village, town' (under la-na<sup>1</sup>), ʔəh<sup>1</sup> 'land, territory, habitation', and kaʔt 'island', q.v., as o, attested with zero, -d, -deɣ, -ʕ, -ʕaʔ, and -ʕahd finals.

o-l-qʔ (postposition, with l-anatomical 'head', partly thematized; form o-·naʔqʔ, homophonous, semantically indistinguishable from, and probably equivalent to o-l-laʔqʔ, see laʔ-; attested with zero, -d, and -ʕ finals, once perhaps as o of o--daʔ-d 'front of o', and often with deleted reflexive o, form ʔi·naʔqʔ, with other than pronoun as o, form probably -ʔi·naʔqʔ, not attested)

1. 'on o's head' (non-idiomatic): with zero final: o-'naʔq liʔ -leʔg- 'S pets o on head (from front toward back)', suʔ ʔi-naʔq qaʔʕ sale:ɪ 'sweat is forming on your face' L, gʊgʊg ʔu-naʔq yaʃ da-xɪh 'a louse is walking about on his head' L, o-'naʔq liʔ -ceʔ 'S (e.g. scarf) slides down of o's head', ʔu-naʔq yʔʔ se-leʔg 'put your hand down on his head!' L, ʔu-naʔq lahɜ ʔaleʔg 'pet its head (forward!)' L, with deleted reflexive o: ʔi-naʔq 0-da-x<sup>w</sup>aʔʕ 'S ties 0 (scarf) on own head'; with -d final: si-naʔqd yʔʔ sedahɪ 'it (fly) alighted on my head' L, si-naʔqd yʔʔ saleʔgɪ 'he touched (put his hand down on) the top of my head' L, si-naʔqd 'on top of my head' L, with deleted reflexive o: ʔi-naʔqd weʃ shiʔuʔɪ 'she wore it on her head' 47b.36M; with -ʕ final (perhaps idiomatic, cf. o-q 3b.): ʔu-naʔqəʕ kuʃiʔeʃɪ 'its (dog's) nose has been cut to make it a good hunter' ('something has been cut on its head') L; as o of o-daʔ-d 'front of o', or perhaps with daʔ-d 'up': si-naʔqdaʔd sa:ɪ 'it (bug) is walking upward on my face' L.

2. Idiomatic, 'mistreatment of o': si-naʔq yəsedaleʔ 'make it up to me!' ('pay for your mistreatment of me!; - pay for my head!')

9.32A, si'naʔq̄ yeʔ ʔilaxdaʔa·ʕk̄ 'you pl.  
(cust) mistreat me (walk about on my head)'  
50.64A.

o-dɣl-q̄ (postposition, form o-daʔa·naʔq̄, analysis uncertain, order of marks non-canonic, perhaps o-d-ɣl-q̄, cf. o-d-i-yeʔ 'in front of o', o-ɣl-yaʔ-d 'vagina', or o-dɣ-l-laʔ-q̄, cf. laʔ-, especially o-dɣ-laʔ-d, but L rejects e.g. proposed \*o-daʔa·naʔd, \*o-(la)ya·naʔq̄d, etc., cf. also ɣp·ʔ; attested with zero, -d, -daʔ, -ʕ, and -ʕahd finals) 'on, at o's back, behind o': with zero final: 23.18A, ʔudaxa·naʔq̄ ʔiqeʔxiʔut̄iʔh 'I'll shoot at his back' L, ʔudaxa·naʔq̄ ʔiseʔixut̄ 'shoot him in the back!' L, with -d final: 9.105, 27b.34, 65.= 73A, sideʔa·naʔq̄d 'behind me, my back, on my back' L, sideʔa·naʔq̄d ʔiseʔixut̄iʔh (or xuseʔ-) 'he shot me in the back' L, sideʔa·naʔq̄d ʔewa·silah ciʔdale·k̄iʔh 'he (cust) talks about me behind my back' L, sideʔa·naʔq̄d guseʔiʔp̄·ʔiʔh 'he's standing behind me' L, with -daʔ final: o-daʔa·naʔq̄daʔ '(movement) behind, on o's back, in, through, along the back of o, dorsally of o': 12.9G, 47b.39M, 61.113, 65.2,73, 75A, sideʔa·naʔq̄daʔ yeʔ da·ɣ 'it's walking around behind my back, on my back' L, with -ʕ final: 27b.34A,

sideṣa·naʔqəč ca·h̄j̄h 'he's climbing up on my back' L, with -čahd final: ʔudəṣa·naʔqəčahd 'off (from on) her back' 36.14A; as o of o-ḥ--č-a·-d 'on side, direction of o': sideṣa·naʔq-ḥča·d 'on the back, dorsal side of me' M.

o-y-d̄l-q̄ (postposition, as above, mark combined with y-anatomical 'hand'; attested with zero and -d finals) '(on) the back of o's hand, outside surface of o's forearm': siyedeṣa·naʔq̄ 'on the outside surface of my forearm' L, siyedeṣa·naʔq̄d '(on) the back of my hand, outside surface of my forearm' L.

o-y-q̄ (postposition, with y-anatomical 'hand', form o-ya·q̄, frequently with deleted reflexive o; attested with zero and -d finals) l. 'on o's hand, wrist': siya·q̄ yəʔ səhtah̄ 'you set it down on my hand' L, ʔuya·q̄ yəʔ kəgušdiṣah̄h̄h̄ 'her wrist is tattooed' L, hiʔq̄ siya·q̄ wəʔ se-le·ḥ̄ 'my whole hand is becoming affected' L, with -d final: siya·q̄d 'on the back of my hand' M, '(anywhere) on my hand, wrist' L; with deleted reflexive o in indirect reflexive constructions: ya·q̄d wəʔ ʔaʔləteḥ 'wear it on your wrist!' L, ya·q̄d wəʔ ʔix̄liṣeḥ 'I'm wearing it on my wrist' L.

2. Idiomatic, 'bothered, hurt by o': si=

ya·q̄ dasaliŋh 'I hurt, bothered him' L, de·  
ya·q̄d̄ yikj·z̄ 'why are you crying, what's making  
you cry?' ('hurt by what are you crying?') L,  
34.79L, siya·q̄ qu'yikj·z̄ 'I'll make you cry'  
(especially to child, e.g. by tickling) L, with  
deleted reflexive o: ya·q̄ xiekj·z̄h 'I'm ma-  
king him cry (by my own hand)' L, ya·q̄ xue-  
kj·z̄ 'he's making me cry' L, ya·q̄ 'iqe'xie-  
kj·z̄ 'I'll make you cry' L, in proverbial posi-  
tion: ya'zu· qe' ya·q̄ qu'iekj·z̄h 'don't  
make him cry anymore' L.

o-d-y-q̄ (postposition, as above, mark combined with  
d-thematic 'oral, noise') 'hurt, bothered by what  
o says': sidaya·q̄ kj·z̄h 'I said something  
and made him cry' ('hurt by what I said he's  
crying') L.

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qe' (also qi' in some early transcriptions from L; stem conceivably qe'd, but see below; perhaps related to qah-, qele?, qedi<sup>1, 2</sup>, and/or q<sup>3</sup>)

qe'dah (adverb, probably to be segmented qe'-dah with -dah adverbializer; cf. e.g. Navaho Kad-Ka' 'now', Kad 'that's all' (frequent in or as closing formula of texts), Minto Kuda 'that's all, enough!', Navaho Kadl 'enough!, time is up', Minto Kodid 'now') l. 'just, plain, just plain, simply, quite, outright, straightaway, forthwith, immediately, directly, right away, that's all' (general indication of immediacy, directness, simplicity, finality; absence of qualification, complication, delay, or addition): in text, usually clause-initial or following independent S, L considers frequency of occurrence in texts from A clearly excessive: 7.20, 45, 10.33, 11.38, 165, 177, 181, 20.90, 23.19, 27, 29, 30, 48, 24.64, 25.158, 27b.11, 54, 29.63, 32.18, 33.39, 41, 42, 36.20A, 48.13L, 49.35, 137, 138, 50.3A, 57.31G, 61.87, 88, 116, 119, 123, 69.17A, 71.11LM, in negative clauses, 'not immediately': 25.82, 36.45, 61.114, 120, 65.60A, qe'dah 'ed-qi'dese'etex'etih, 'ide'etela'ca'ya'etih 'his feet are fairly fluttering, vibrating, he's running so fast' 72.22L, qe'dah 'uqi'doya'dlox 'ixi-

ʔə·kʰh '(he runs away so fast) all I (cust) ever see is the soles of his feet' L, wa·w ʔu·d ku·tuʔ, qe·dah ʔu·d sətətuŋgaʔ səle·i 'there are so many herring there, it's (quite) like it's (downright) swollen up with them' L, qe·dah ʔəwX lah ədimətʰ 'it's really (downright) twisted up badly with it' M, with enclitic -dig 'also': qe·dahdig ʔəwʔə·ʔ ʔə·k 'he (cust) comes upon it right away too' 9.144A; in transcriptions from L of first and second summers also qi·dah, at least with very close allophone of /e·/ if not /i·/, but not verified by other informants or attested again from L: diʔdəsigaʔi qi·dah quʔə·xəuʔd 'I'm so tired I'll (forthwith) fall asleep' L, diʔdəsigaʔi qe·dah xəuʔd 'I'm so tired I'm (simply) falling asleep' L, qi·dah (or qe·dah, dəqi·dah, dəqe·dah) kələmə·kʰh 'it don't take him long to ruin it' ('he (cust) ruins it forthwith') L, qe·dah (or qi·dah, not dəqe·dah, dəqi·dah) dəqi·kih 'it's all gone already' ('(it's) simply all gone') L, qi·dah wəʔ ʔuʔə·xəiləhəh, ʔu·dəʔ quʔwəhəh 'I know he'll go there' ('I outright believe thus of him, he'll arrive there') L.

2. With proclitic də- 'ipse': a. meaning as above, general (relatively rare and uncertain):

probably in 20.89, 23.3A, 59.8 Galushia Nelson,  
possible in 10.256fnA, 41.1, 45a.6L, daqe·dah  
(or daqi·dah, qe·dah, qi·dah) Kuləma·Kih  
'he (cust) ruins it forthwith' L.

2b. Meaning clearly restricted to 'that's  
all (there is to it, the extent of it)': daqe·  
dah 'that's all there is (to it, of it), that's  
the end of it, it's all done, gone' A, 11.61A,  
41.5L, perhaps also in 10.256fn, 20.89, 89A, 42.=  
1, 45a.6L, daqe·dah, daqi·dah 'it's all gone'  
L, daqe·dahsh te'ya? 'ixa? -- ?q·, daqe·  
dah qew 'is that all the fish you have? -- yes,  
that's all' L, Galushia Nelson DaqeiDaqa'Nu  
'that's all (end of story)' BSdL 306, 555 de-  
qe·dah (qe'ew-qaw) 'that's all, the end' (fre-  
quent in or as closing formula in texts) 8.20,  
9.169, 11.205, 20.105, 23.163, 25.214, 27b.59,  
28.143, 33.87, 36.49, 50.67, 61.126, 126, 65.85A.

q'e?1

k-qe? 1. 'S cools off': 16.18M, Rezanov Сухькээхь  
 'Упокрухь abgekült' səi'qe?k 'it cooled off',  
 with gl-class-mark for S: ?aw ka'ʒ gulesəi'qe?k  
 'the soup is cooling' L. Transitive (causative):  
 si'i'qe?k 'I cooled it off' L, often repetitive:  
 k'qe?gih 'he's cooling it (before eating it)' M,  
 16.17M, x'i'qe?g 'I'm cooling it off' L, qu'x'i-  
 'qe?g 'I'll cool it off' L, with gl-class-mark  
 for O: ?aw ka'ʒ geli·k'qe? 'cool that soup!'  
 L; passive: sdi'qe?k 'it's been cooled off' L.

2. 'S (fire) goes out, dies': səi'qe?k  
 'fire went out' LMS, qa'k'qe? 'fire will die' M,  
 səi'qe?k 'fire is dying' L, de?u·d ?i·k'qe?  
 'alright let the fire die' L, repetitive: k'qe?g  
 'the fire keeps dying' L. Transitive (causative):  
 de'da'g səi'qe? 'extinguish the fire!' MS, səi'qe?  
 'put it (fire) out!' L, ?aw səx'i'qe?ʒ si' de-  
 li'hih 'he told me to extinguish it (fire)' L;  
 with d-class-mark for O (fire): de'səi'qe? 'put  
 it (fire) out' (same as səi'qe?) L; passive:  
 sdi'qe?k, si'i'qe?k 'it (fire) has been extinguished'  
 L. Lack of expected d-class-mark for S or O (fire)  
 perhaps indicates that k-qe? 2. is to be con-  
 sidered a derivative of k-qe? 1., 'it (food) is

cooling off (because fire is going or has gone out)', but the opposite is also possible, 'it (fire) is going or gone out (therefore food is cooling)', where class-mark for obvious S is omitted, as also in e.g. O-de-la 'S drinks O' (necessarily liquid), in which the gl-class-mark for liquid O does not appear.

de<sup>2</sup>

possibly originally even, for meaning of.

-de<sup>2</sup> (element of unidentified morphological classification and meaning), occurring only in -ya·de<sup>2</sup>--wa·de<sup>2</sup> '(maternal) aunt', see a·ya·.

Nanaho k'e', -k'e'i--k'e:i 'relative', Hupa -geey 'brother-in-law', Chipewyan -k'i 'younger sibling', perhaps to be developed related to de<sup>2</sup>-de<sup>2</sup>, and/or perhaps a -e-g<sup>2</sup>-oya<sup>2</sup>, see ya<sup>2</sup>-oya<sup>2</sup>, -dabe<sup>2</sup> under dabe, and further under a·ya·.

Saginaw. stem last

- k'e' 'in exchange for'
- k'e' 'middleman, a relative' (was paid)
- k'e' 'back, in return' (was paid)
- k'e' 'left, behind, (opposite of) stuffing' from'
- k'e' 'from left behind, from, pattern, make'
- k'e'i 'hundred'
- k'e'd 'opposite-kind'

ge<sup>2</sup>-ge<sup>2</sup>.

perhaps related to ge<sup>2</sup>, and/or to be analyzed as ge<sup>2</sup>-e<sup>2</sup> with e<sup>2</sup>-e<sup>2</sup> 'in place' (about) e<sup>2</sup> and e-g<sup>2</sup> 'on e<sup>2</sup>'. If related to Nanaho k'e' 'in exchange for e<sup>2</sup>', o-k'e<sup>2</sup> 'on account of e<sup>2</sup>, because of e<sup>2</sup>', o-k'e--k'e' 'place in between e<sup>2</sup>, not of e<sup>2</sup>', according to, by example, around e<sup>2</sup>, Chipewyan k'e' 'place above something in view, with you allowance of indirect reflexive indirect e<sup>2</sup>, 'in place in view (about) self'. ~~perhaps related to~~ e-g<sup>2</sup> e-g<sup>2</sup>, see ya<sup>2</sup>-oya<sup>2</sup>, -dabe<sup>2</sup> under dabe, and further a·ya·.

qeʔ-qeʔ (perhaps related to qeʔ<sup>2</sup> and/or to be analyzed -qʔ-eʔ, with deleted reflexive o of o-q 'on o' compounded with o-ʔeʔ 'in place of (absent) o', i.e. '(returning to, refilling) place on absent self', cf. Athapaskan \*o-qe(-d), Eyak o-q(-d) '(at rest, nominalization of) on o', Athapaskan \*o-qe-(?)-Ø, -ʔ, -d, variously 'place where o has been, trail of, behind, on the back of, on account of, because of, after, according to, measured by, like, in exchange for, sympathy with o', note also Navaho Ké 'friend, kin' and other comparisons made under qeʔ<sup>2</sup>; cf. especially also ʔaʔqeʔ- under ʔaʔ-, o-ʔeʔ lb. under ʔeʔ-; perhaps present also in personal names qeʔteh, qeʔdahd)

qeʔ-qeʔ- (preverb; always with zero final; qeʔ- frequent as optional combinatory variant with following preverb; vocalizing classifier of intransitive and detransitivized verbs, not of transitives, usage therewith often taken as criterial in determining whether a given theme is basically transitive or intransitive; for exceptions to the preceding and following statements see 2. below; though etymologically perhaps a compound postpositional phrase with deleted reflexive o, the position of qeʔ-qeʔ- is clearly established as preverbal, always following, never preceding inde-

pendent S, O, C or postpositional phrases; its position with regard to other preverbs is as follows: sometimes following other preverbs (form  $\text{q'e}^?$ ), sometimes preceding and not combined (form  $\text{q'e}^?$ ), sometimes preceding and combined (form  $\text{q'e}^{\cdot-}$ ), in free variation, but with certain statistical patterns which correlate apparently with the phonological nature of the initial consonant of the other preverb, rather than with phrase-structure or meaning: with preverbs with apical initial most frequently in order  $\text{pv q'e}^?$ , but  $\text{q'e}^? \text{pv}$  and  $\text{q'e}^{\cdot-}\text{pv}$  not rare, see  $\text{da}\cdot\text{z}$ ,  $\text{ta}^?$ ,  $\text{ca}^?$  ( $\text{ci}^{\cdot-}$ ),  $\text{ce}^{\cdot-}\text{z}$  ( $\text{ci}^{\cdot-}$ ),  $\text{ci}^{\cdot-}$  ( $\text{ci}^{\cdot-}$ ),  $\text{le}^{\cdot 2}$ ,  $\text{li}^?$ ,  $\text{lah}$  ( $\text{la}\text{-na}^1$ ),  $\text{lah}$  ( $\text{la}\text{-na}^2$ ),  $\text{lu}^1$ , with preverbs with initial  $\text{q-}$  or  $\text{z-}$  usually  $\text{q'e}^? \text{pv}$ , relatively rarely  $\text{pv q'e}^?$  or  $\text{q'e}^{\cdot-}\text{pv}$ , see  $\text{qa}^?\text{-qa}^{\cdot}$ ,  $\text{qa}^{\cdot}\text{ni}^{\cdot-}$ ,  $\text{qela}^?$ ,  $\text{zu}^{\cdot 2}$ ,  $\text{zq}^{\cdot}$ , with preverbs with initial  $\text{?}$ -  $\text{pv q'e}^?$ ,  $\text{q'e}^? \text{pv}$ , and  $\text{q'e}^{\cdot-}\text{pv}$  with approximately equal frequency, see  $\text{?a}^?\text{q}^{\cdot 2}$ ,  $\text{?qh}^1$ ,  $\text{?e}^{\cdot 2}$ , and  $\text{?ed-i-z}$  ( $\text{?e}^{\cdot-}$ ), and with preverbs with initial  $\text{y-}$  most frequently  $\text{q'e}^{\cdot-}\text{pv}$ , not rarely  $\text{pv q'e}^?$ , and relatively rarely  $\text{q'e}^? \text{pv}$ , see  $\text{ya}^{\cdot 1, 2}$ ,  $\text{yq}^{\cdot}$ ,  $\text{ya}\cdot\text{nahd}$  ( $\text{nahd}$ ),  $\text{ya}^?\text{z}$ ,  $\text{yez}^{\cdot 2, 3}$ ,  $\text{ya}\cdot\text{z}$ ,  $\text{yahd}^3$ ,  $\text{ya}\cdot\text{nu}^?$  ( $\text{lu}^?\text{-nu}^?$ ),  $\text{yed}^1$ ,  $\text{ya}\cdot\text{qa}^?$  ( $\text{qa}^?\text{-qa}^{\cdot}\text{-qa}^{\cdot}$ ), with preverbial

personal pronouns da' 'first person plural S',  
 qa' 'first person plural O', and ?iku? 're-  
 ciprocal O', qe?-qe' very rarely precedes, per-  
 haps never precedes in natural style, and never  
 precedes in combinatory form qe'-) The meaning  
 of qe?-qe'- covers several closely related and  
 overlapping semantic ranges, with a variety of  
 translations, sometimes determined by context,  
 sometimes partly so, sometimes entirely ambiguous,  
 and so often difficult or impossible to distin-  
 guish that it has not been considered practical  
 here to classify most of the occurrences in sub-  
 divisions according to the following discernible  
 meanings, all (except perhaps the last) of which  
 require or imply an antecedent action, movement,  
 or event, the repetition, continuation, or rever-  
 sal of which, or compensation for which, is indi-  
 cated by the theme with qe?-qe'-: a. repetition  
 by 'another' S (involving same O, C, o, where pre-  
 sent), or involving 'another' O, C, or o (by same  
 S, involving same other O, C, o), where 'another' X  
 means (1) 'another individual (of same category)',  
 or (2) 'a different category of individual', thus  
 e.g. 'he gave me another hat', or '(having given  
 me something else already) he next gave me a hat',  
 'another man went', or '(a woman or something

else having already gone) a man this time, next, too, in turn, went'; b. repetition or continuation by same S, involving same O, C, o, where present: (1) not involving reversal of direction of antecedent action, translating 'again, some more, anew', thus e.g. 'he went again, he (having stopped) went some more, continuing path or covering same path in same direction as previously)', frequent also in negative, translating 'no more, not anymore', (2) involving reversal of direction of, or compensation for antecedent, thus e.g. '(the dog having kicked him) he kicked the dog back', '(having taken the hat from me) he gave me back the hat', '(having come from there) he went back there', (3) as (2) and clearly derived from (2), only with verbs of motion and without locative postpositional phrases or other preverbs, '(back) home'; c. only with transitives of simple classificatory themes, without other preverbs or postpositional phrases, 'S finds O', perhaps especially 'S recovers lost O', probably derived from b.(2) and c.; all regular instances will be cited under 1a.-c., irregular instances (exceptions to the rules mentioned above) under 2.; as  $\text{qe}^{\text{?}}\text{-qe}^{\text{-}}$  occurs with very high frequency in the corpus, in perhaps as many as seven hun-

dred instances, most instances under la.-c. will be referred to only by the themes with which they are attested, with full citation for relatively few examples:

la.-c. Occurrences clearly with meaning exclusively a.(1) and a.(2) are relatively infrequent, b.(1) and b.(2) the most frequent, since for this meaning another preverb, e.g. <sup>1</sup>ʔəh<sup>1</sup> or a locative postpositional phrase, e.g. ʔədʔeʔʔ 'home' is usually also present, the meaning of ʔeʔ-ʔeʔ- thus falling under b.(2), meaning c. also relatively infrequent: *ʔihsih ʔaw ʔeʔ səitʔi.Xə* 'he shot it once more' (b.(1)) 27b.14A, *ʔəh ʔihsihdaʔ ʔeʔ sdiyahi* 'he (next) went over to the other one' (a.(1)) 47c.44L, *gu.dəg ʔaw ʔihsih ʔawyaʔx ʔe.yeʔ secu.xəh* 'she dipped another one down into it' (a.(1)) 35.85L, *ʔaw tahi giyahyaʔx yeʔ ʔeʔ ti.lacu.x* 'dipped the feather down in the water again' (b.(1)) 48.-10L, *gu.dəg ʔediʔ ʔeʔ kušəʔʔaʔh, zəwa* 'again he yanked something in, (this time) a dog' (a.(2)) 18.69L, *ʔeʔ kuquʔxseh* 'I'll kill something (else)' (a.(2)) 10.158, 158A, *ʔaw ʔeʔ qaʔ-šihinu* 'they're going to kill (another one of) those again' (a.(1)) 37b.16A, *ʔəhdug ʔeʔ ši-šeh* 'he too is (another) one I killed' (a.(1))

55.16, 12, 26L, gu'dag qe? sdiqehi 'he went  
 (hunting, by boat) again' (b.(1)) 42.10L, qe?  
 sdiqehinu 'they boated back home' (b.(3)) 37b.-  
 68A, 'ahnu-da? qe? sdiqehi 'he boated back to  
 them' (b.(2)) 47b.41M, qe? li? sdiqehi 'they  
 next (another group) boated downriver' (a.(1))  
 68.21A, 'they (same group) boated back downriver'  
 (b.(2)) 68.105A (for several clear and ambiguous  
 instances with this type of contrast see especial-  
 ly 68.18-21, 33-34, 36-37, 42-43A and fns), ke-h-  
 ta'gxa? l-xa? qe? qu'xdexeh 'I'll go some more  
 (hunting, by boat) for seal (this time, previous-  
 ly something else) for you pl.' (a.(2) and/or  
 b.(2)) 9.142A, kula'sixa? qe? wa? 'idit'ihih  
 'was already remarried to (living again with)  
 another person' (a.(1)) 25.102A, ku'xa? qe? wa?  
 'idit'eh 'had been living with someone (same people)  
 again' (b.(1) or b.(2)) 25.139A, S C qe? da--  
 ie(?) 'S becomes C again' (b.(2)) 3.13, 17, 17M,  
 25.136, 139, 28.124, 51.10A, 63.40G; 68.34A, S  
 dexyh qe? da-ie(?) 'S becomes a person again,  
 turns back into a person' (b.(2)) 19.16, 21a.31L,  
 38.12LM, lah qe? sdiie'it 'S (another place)  
 also became a town, it (place) became another  
 town' (a.(1)) 68.54A, 'se qe'yaq selasih 'he  
 threw another on ashore' (a.(1)) 46.21M, qe'ya?

seletk 'threw him back down' (b.(2)) 40.11fnL,  
 gu'dag qe? tede'a?c'kinu 'they're going along  
 some more again' (b.(1), 18.34L, qe? tede'a?c'ki-  
 nu 'they're on their way back home' (b.(2) or  
 (b.(3)) 18.3, 46L, gu'dig o-?p-? qe? sdi-  
 ?a?c'i 'going along some more, they came upon o,  
 going along they next came upon o' (a.(2) or  
 b.(1)) 29.46, 48A, ?u?p-? qe? sdi?a?c'i 'com-  
 ing back they found her' (b.(2)) 9.159A, o-?p-?  
 qe? de-a 'S, going along again, back, home,  
 comes upon another o, upon o again' (a.(1) or a.(2)  
 or b.(2)) 9.123, 10.66, 67A, (a.(2) or b.(2))  
 10.246, 247, 248, 11.96A, (b.(1) or b.(2) or  
 b.(3)) 11.43, 43A, yahd qe? zu? dex'ih 'I'm  
 building another house' (a.(1)) M, qe? zu?  
 qu?x'ih 'I'll make, fix it again' L (b.(1) or  
 b.(2)) L, diK qe? ?u?x'ega?k'ih 'I didn't  
 recognize him' L (b.(2)) L, kugy-tu?inu? ?u-da?  
 qe? sdi?a?c'i 'many more people arrived there'  
 (a.(1)) L, qe? teta? 'take another thing.'  
 (a.(1)), 'take another!' (a.(2)), 'take it again!'  
 (b.(1)), 'take it back!' (b.(2)), 'take it home!'  
 (b.(3)), 'find it!' (c.) L, qe? sil'tehk 'I found  
 it (pup)' (c.) L, ?i-da? qe? sil'tehk 'I car-  
 ried it (pup) yonder again, back yonder' (b.(1)  
 or b.(2)) L, qe? gy'si'yahk 'I found it (ves-

sel of liquid)' (c.) L, for further examples of  
 c. see O-i-te, O-(i-)ta, O-(i-)?a 4., O-i-  
 ya-?; for further examples of all meanings, see  
 the following themes (where theme is followed by  
 comma only, attestations with de?-de'- are from  
 elicitation only, where followed by text number  
 only, found only in text, where followed by comma,  
 then text number, found both in elicitation and  
 text): i-daM, -da 2a., 4c., 10.154A, 47c.40L,  
 O-l-duh, i-a-ta?M, -te 1.(5), O-i-te, 8.9A,  
 16.6M, 23.87, 90A, O-(i-)ta, 6.9M, 23.36, 37, 38,  
 44, 47, 49A, 34.70M, 45a.8L, 45b.8fmM, 1-ta  
 24b.42A, ?u-?(1-)ta 1. 25.124, 60.43A, e1-ta',  
 21a.39L, O-i-ta?i-, de-tic', O-i-tiM 27b.14A,  
 -te'-tu' 2b. 25.102, 139A, 56.6L, 68.61A, 3. 70.-  
 10A, ?i-lib-te'-tu', 24.75A, 1-te'-tu', di?-  
 te'-tu', O-Mi 1c. 21a.29L, 2. 33.73, 74A, 42.10,  
 53.25L, -ie(?) 1a., 19.16, 21a.31L, 25.139A, 38.-  
 12LM, 1c., 1e., 3.13, 17, 17M, 25.136, 68.34, 58A,  
 1g.(1), 51.10A, 56.14L, 3b.(2) 28.124A, 63.40G,  
 i-3u?, e-i-3u?, d-i-3u?, O-i-cihd, -cu?d- 2a.-  
 20M, O-cu-x, 34.85A, 48.10L, O-d-cu-x, O-i-ca? 65.4,  
 10A, O-cj, 10.20, 11.173A, O-?-ca (ca<sup>1</sup>),  
 i-a-ca?, O-de? 1., 34.86, 53.15L, O-?(1-)i-de? 43.7M,  
 i-a-dp', O-siyu- 25.164, 190A, O-3ahsi 38.19LM,  
 O-3a? 1869L, d-de', O-d-i-3a-d 46.13,

18M, 68.123A, d-čehz, O-se 10.158, 158, 37b.-  
16A, 55.16, 21, 26L, ya'z xdl-šuh 34.69M, O--  
gu'K, 'i-g'w'a', 'ed O-gowi', O-kihš 2. 21a.28,  
34L, O-'-lž-t-ki'č 72.9L, -ki'z 1., d-t-Ka'č,  
40.11fn, 47c.41L, O-t-xut' 1., de-xaž, 11.78A,  
da-tu', ed-da-su', O-'-d-t-ge'd-ž, d-še-qahs  
50.17A, -qe, 9.142, 20.58, 59, 60, 21b.75, 25.-  
180, 33.55, 37b.66, 68, 70A, 42.8, 10L, 43.14, 14,  
47b.8, 13, 41M, 47c.5, 11, 12, 15, 16L, 49.85, 117,  
118, 125, 125, 126A, 52.7, 53.28, 56.4, 7, 9, 15,  
16, 18L, 57.31G, 60.63, 63, 68.21, 37, 105A, 'i--  
ž-qe 33.29A, O-qa (qa<sup>1</sup>) 48.10L, O-qa (qa<sup>2</sup>),  
y-t-qa (qa<sup>4</sup>) 50.47A, -qah (qah<sup>4</sup>), 25.135, 211,  
212A, dl-de-qu 46.32M, 1-qu 1. 46.22M, 2. 21a.5,  
21, 32L, el-qu', O-'-qe' 68.33A, d-qa, 'i--  
t-qa 65.55, 57A, O-žahd 1. 56.2L, O-t-žahd 1.,  
34.109L, t-že'K 25.118, 124A, dl-ža'K, O-t--  
ža'K 1. 16.22M, -že's-, -žowa's-, O-t-ža'žč-ž-,  
t-žala'g 23.119A, O-'-ža (ža<sup>1</sup>), 24.100, 102A,  
-ža (ža<sup>2</sup>) 68.18, 19, 20, 36, 42, 60A, O-'-(1)-  
t-ža' la.-c. 10.110A, le.-g., 2. 9.80, 11.5A, C  
da-'-(1)-t-ža', gdl--edl-wa'ž--wahž 34.113L, O--  
we'č 66.11L, -wus- 7., -we, 27a.34L, 27b.45A,  
-'mahd, 1-da-ma' 61.97, 98A, da-'11'č, -le'g-  
la. 56.5L, 2a. 4.20M, 6. 37b.31, 32, 53A, 7. 37a.-  
18, 20L, 61.18A, 12a., O-'-le'g- 23.75, 85, 86,

86A, 56.17L, O-t-u<sup>2</sup>g- la., O-les (les<sup>1</sup>)  
 40.11L, 46.21M, qe<sup>2</sup>-le<sup>2</sup> (le(?)<sup>-</sup>) la., 2b.,  
 10.162A, ?i-leh- (le(?)<sup>-</sup>) la., 57.7, 11G,  
 4d. 16.19M, 4f., 16.19M, 23.110, 110A, -le-  
 la. 28.140, 36.44A, 2. 11.33, 25.204A, 4a. 51.  
 95, 95, 65.64A, 6., 72.1L, 9. 66.99A, 13a.,  
 65.66A, 18. 68.35, 40A, 19., 21. 9.38, 38,  
 39A, d-le la. la.14, 1b.20, 47b.17M, 6195A,  
 1b. 48.12L, ci<sup>2</sup>d-le l. 24.101, 101, 101A, 37a.  
 6L, 49.158A, ?i-d-le 1b. 28.141A, 4a., 4b.,  
 y-le 3. 28.132, 132A, ?i-lih-le-, O-da-la  
 (la), -la (la-na<sup>1</sup>) l. 21a.6, 37, 33L, 21b.25,  
 72A, 2. 49.19, 81A, ?u'nahd qe'lu' ?idola'K,  
 O-<sup>2</sup>-t-la, 18.38L, O-<sup>2</sup>-yahd, de-<sup>2</sup>yahs 2., 19.  
 12L, -<sup>2</sup>ya 1b., 17., 10.201, 36.24A, 18a., 61.  
 83A, 34a. 34.114L, 38. 28.125A, o-xa<sup>2</sup> ku-t-  
<sup>2</sup>ya 25.134, 173, 198, 203, 205A, d-<sup>2</sup>ya la.,  
 x-<sup>2</sup>ya, 7.39A, 14.1L, y-<sup>2</sup>ya 25.81A, xdl-<sup>2</sup>ya  
 l., 23.69, 100, 25.93, 28.30, 37b.46, 47, 49.91,  
 97A, 55.18L, ?ed-<sup>2</sup>i-lih-<sup>2</sup>ya 2. 70.4A, 3.,  
 t-<sup>2</sup>ya (causative), O-t-<sup>2</sup>ya<sup>2</sup> 9.76A, 45a.14,  
 56.10L, 65.16, 2A, O-<sup>2</sup>-(l-)t-ya<sup>2</sup> 21b59A, te-  
<sup>2</sup>as l., -<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>c, 6.10M, 9.106, 159, 10.60A, 16.  
 19M, 18.3, 34, 46L, 20.102, 25.101, 123A, 27a.  
 29L, 27b.47, 48, 28.48, 69, 29.45, 46, 47, 48,  
 338.85A, 34.72M, 38.26LM, 40.11L, 51.79A, 52.14L,

61.86A, t-a? 2. 10.49, 104, 11.203A, gdl--  
a? 33.86A, d-(?i-)te-u?e, O-?e 2., 47a.5L,  
te-?e 25.151, 152, 49.24, 25, 26A, O-dl-t-?e  
9.70, 23.98A, 55.5L, (ku-)e-?e--?p 61.4, 17A,  
?i-t-?e--?p 1. 14.2L, 3. 68.24A, 6. 37a.4, 6L,  
8., 46.19M, 9. 31.15, 48.19, 19L, 10a., 21a.=  
26L, 21b.73, 76A, O-(t-)a 11., te-a 2.,  
O-t-(y)a, 10.74A, 15.7M, 65.50, 54A, O-x-a,  
23.93, 93, 24.80, 81A, o-d O-x-t-a, da-a' 1.,  
g-te-p?', most frequently with -a 'sg. S goes'  
1b.5M, 7.9, 25, 27, 29, 9.50, 50, 62, 113, 123,  
128, 143, 165, 166, 167, 10.64, 64, 65, 66, 67,  
70, 121, 153, 161, 173, 174, 192, 192, 246, 247,  
11.1, 43, 43, 51, 53, 60, 62, 66, 77, 78, 78, 96,  
134, 135, 136, 137, 137, 151, 152, 187, 188A, 16.=  
5, 17M, 18.27, 54, 58, 86, 19.3, 4, 5, 13L, 20.19,  
61, 89A, 21a.3, 3, 22, 25, 32L, 21b.11, 16, 18,  
20, 25, 74, 23.7, 22, 99, 105, 106, 109, 110, 25.=  
74, 75, 127A, 27a.36, 37, 43, 44L, 27b.44, 56,  
28.29fn, 30. 31, 39, 42, 46, 47, 29.55A, 31.16L,  
32.9fn, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 22, 24, 33.75,  
75, 75, 77, 79, 81, 81, 83, 36.44, 37b.50, 53a,  
65, 85A, 38.9LM, 43.6, 6, 47b.25, 44M, 47c.29, 32,  
41, 48.1, 7, 17L, 49.90, 130, 50.66, 51.85, 87,  
88, 92A, 53.13, 15, 26, 27, 55.4, 6, 58.7L, 60.30,  
61.53A, t-a 10.104, 23.108A, gdl-a.,

2. Exceptional instances violating one or more of the rules stated in introduction: a. combinatory form *qe-* immediately preceding verb, occasionally in elicitations and dictated texts, never verified as such, often rejected for *qe?* in reckoning with L or M, apparently rare in taped texts from A, but clearly occurring e.g. in *diK ?a?d Kugy'tu? qe- ?adeke's* 'they no longer are very numerous' 68.58A, and *diK ?ukuwa? na'tayu'qa?e qe- ?i-lihdetu's* 'he no longer wanted to go back to amongst his relatives' 24.75A, both of which verbs show initial *?V-*, and the *?i-lih-* of the latter of which might possibly be interpreted as a preverb, but it is possible that a number of other similar instances of *qe-* immediately preceding a verb do occur on the tapes of the texts and have been missed as such in the transcriptions; such usage, however, is probably limited to allegro and/or "imprecise" style, and is but marginally acceptable in careful deliberate style; in texts dictated by L: *gu'dag qe? Ku-cj?dadedeh* 'again someone spoke' 37a.6L, and *gu'dag giyahgy'e qe? ?eda'kih* 'again he used to go some more for water' 48.7L, were originally transcribed *qe'-Ku-*, *qe'-?e-*, but later changed; examples in elicitation, mostly later changed;

?i?u? qe? qu?kadeK 'they'll hurt each other  
 again' L, ?i?u? da? qe? qu?dagu?K 'we'll  
 punch each other again' L, ya? qe? ?u?teda=  
 yahd 'measure it again!' L, ?idehdah qe? da?=  
 daqa?g da?y 'when it gets to burning well  
 again' L, see further instance under 2b.

2b. Irregular order: (1) preceding C, only  
 in gu?dag sabd? qe? ?e?sdih di?ih?ih 'he was  
 gone a long time again' 56.14L, where ?e?sdih  
 might be interpreted as a preverb; (2) preceding  
 postpositional phrases: qe? qa?d, qe?qa?d  
 'some more upon us' 70.4, 4A (uncertain, poetic,  
 in song), qe?da?y 'some more against something'  
 34.86L, in which da?y < o-y 'in contact with  
 indeterminate o might be interpreted as a preverb,  
 ya?yu? qe? ya?d qu?kek?y?ih 'don't make him  
 cry again' L, in which o-y-d with deleted re-  
 flexive o 'on ~~the~~ hand' is apparently interpreted  
 as a preverb, and in some elicitations which were  
 intended for the investigation of the permissi-  
 bility of such preverbal orders, including also  
 first person plural and reciprocal pronouns: ?i-  
 ?u? da? qe? ?idigu?K (first preference), da?  
 ?i?u? qe? ?idigu?K (second preference), qe?=  
 ?i?u? da? ?idigu?K, qe?da? ?i?u? ?idigu?K  
 (third preferences, "sounds OK too") 'let's punch

each other again' L, da' qe'yaʒ ʔidiʔaʔe  
 (also, less spontaneously, qe'da' yaʒ, yaʒ  
 da' qeʔ, yaʒ qe'da', da' yaʒ qeʔ) 'let's  
 take a walk again' M, but with clear postposi-  
 tional phrase the reaction is stronger: siʔ  
 qe'yaʔʒ eadeʒ 'throw it back up to me!' M,  
 second preference siʔ yaʔʒ qeʔ, but qe'-  
 siʔ yaʔʒ, qe'yaʔʒ siʔ, yaʔʒ qe'siʔ are  
 probably unacceptable, "doesn't sound right;  
 you'd know it was somebody who didn't know how  
 to talk right" M; but qe'ʔedyedeʔ eadaʔya'kih  
 'he's coming to (back into self)' L, where ʔed-  
 yedeʔ, though perhaps treated proverbially, is  
 clearly to be interpreted as a postpositional  
 phrase, yet never preceding ʔediʒ 'in(to house)',  
 which is otherwise generally treated as a preverb  
 though in origin a postpositional phrase with  
 reflexive o just a ʔedyedeʔ, < ʔed-ʔeʔ-ʒ,  
 see ʔediʒ under ʔeʔ-.

2c. Thematised in combinatory form qe'-  
 and order preceding other preverb, such that the  
 meaning of qe'-pv differs partly from that of  
 qeʔ pv or pv qeʔ: qe'yaʒ de-a/-ʔaʔe '(sg./-  
 pl.) S turns back; (sg./pl.) S walks about again',  
 but yaʒ qeʔ de-a/-ʔeʔ '(sg./pl.) S walks  
 about again' (not 'turns back'); see qe'yaʒ

'turning back, backwards' under  $yax^3$ ;  $qe\cdot yahd$   
'back out to sea; fall migration of salmon and  
fowl', see under  $yahd^3$ ; in both cases it is ap-  
parently the most frequent form, combinatory  
 $qe\cdot$ - preceding another preverb with initial  $y\cdot$ ,  
 $qe\cdot y\cdot$ , which takes on the specialized idiomatic  
meaning, and not  $qe^? y\cdot$ , or  $y\cdot qe^?$ .

2d. Requiring vocalized classifier in for-  
mally transitive verbs: in  $O\cdot^?-(1)l\cdot ga'$  'S knows  
O' perhaps in error, in  $O\cdot x\cdot a$  'S eats O',  $(Ku\cdot)\cdot$   
 $se\cdot^?e\cdot\cdot^?q$  'S can see',  $o\cdot xa^?$   $Ku\cdot l\cdot^?ya$  'S both-  
ers o' usually with thematized  $Ku\cdot$ -indefinite O  
with which verb is treated as intransitive; not  
attested as failing to vocalize classifier of in-  
transitives or of transitives detransitivized with  
indeterminate O.

qe-?

O-?-qe-? 'S tries, attempts, tests, takes a chance,  
 risk at O': ?a?qe-? 'try it (test it, attempt  
 it)!' LMA, ?awa·ku?qe-?, ?awa·ka?qe-? 'try  
 one (of them)!' L, xu?qe-?, xa?qe-? (latter  
 preferred) 'try me out!' L, qa·?a?qe-? 'try  
 us out!' L, qu?xqe-? 'I'll try it' LM, 'I'll  
 take a chance on it, I'll risk it' L, ?ew ?a?  
 qe-?ih (rare non-unlauted form) 'he's trying it'  
 L, 24.43A, ?u?siqe-?i 'I tried it' LM, ?ew  
 ?u?saqe-?i 'they tried them (eggs)' 68.8A (d--  
 class mark for O missing), ?ew qe? ?u?saqe-?i  
 'they tried that (spruce) next' 68.33A (d-class--  
 mark for O missing), with optative clause: sias?  
 ?illi?c?ig ?u?saqe-?ih 'he tried to slap me  
 in the mouth' L, ?a?qe·k, ?ewgeleta?x li?  
 ?i·yah 'she (cust) tries to go in behind it (water=  
 falls)' 25.79A, ?ew ?u?weqe·k, ... ?u·dex qā?  
 ?i·yah 'he (cust) tries, to climb up out of there'  
 28.27A, with gl-class-mark for O: ka·j ?u?  
 qu?geli·xqe-? 'I'll try soup' L; reflexive:  
 ?adu?xdeqe-? 'I'm practising (e.g. making practice,  
 trial runs for a race)' L, ?edu?qu?xdeqe-?, ?ed-  
 qu?xdeqe-? 'I'll try myself out, I'll practice'  
 L, with qi·d-anatomical: qele? xu·?uyeqe?

ʔəduʔqi·da·xdiqe·ʔ 'now let me try them (shoes)  
on my feet' ('now let me try my feet into them')  
L; passive: ʔaw ʔuʔdeqe·K, ʔuʔdeqe·K, qaʔ  
ʔidiʒaʔ 'it was (cust) attempted, it was (cust)  
attempted, to pull it (that it might be pulled)  
out' 50.26A.

qa

d-qa (with d-thematic 'fire, bright') 'S burns':

deseqahk 'it burned' M, ?ew deqa'g  
 ?uxa? Kuyu'dah deseqahk 'his fire got to  
 burning well' 16.13M, Rezanov Кадекокэ-ашы  
 'Cokeub verbrennen' to be read Kudeseqahiduh  
 'something burned!' or, with qa? 'up out', qa?  
 deseqahiduh 'it burst into flame!', Kudeseqahk  
 'something burned down' L, deseqa.k 'it's burn-  
 ing' M, Kudeseqa.k 'something is burning' L,  
 de'ga?duw ?idiyah, ?ew la?g, de?ewg<sup>w</sup>a? qew  
 deqa.k 'what size it is, the firewood, that's  
 just how much it (cust) burns' 65.46A, ?i.ca.c  
 di.qah da.y 'as it starts to burn toward you'  
 34.66M, di?qah da.y 'as it starts to burn' L,  
 with class-marks for S: deseqahk 'it (resin)  
 burned' 33.48A (d-class S), yahd deseqahk  
 'house is on fire' L (d-class S), deseqahk  
 'they (paddles) burned' 33.51, 53A (1-class--  
 mark for S missing), la'seqahk 'it (paddle)  
 burned' L, gedeseqahk 'it (grass) burned' L  
 (gd-class S); repetitive: deqa'g 'it's burn-  
 ing, fire is burning' L, ?idehdah qe? da'-  
 deqa'g 'as it starts to burn well again' L.

deqa'g (noun, usually d-class, occasionally un-  
 classified, especially from M; nominalized active  
 imperfective repetitive of preceding) 1. 'fire' LMSG,

16.13, 6.4, 9M, 25.38A, 34.67, 69, 70, 63.44G,  
 65.44A and fn, Rezanov Takawa 'Огонь Feuer',  
 Wrangell Takawa 'Feuer', Furuhjelm Takhak  
 'fire', Galushia Nelson Deqa'q 'fire' BSdL 538,  
 deqa'g disdileht 'fire fizzled, crackled, made  
 a noise' (one's ancestors speaking) L, deqa'g=  
 da?luw 'big fire' LM, deqa'g ?u? dedexu?Mg  
 'bellows', see under xu?M-xiM-xuM-xeM, Rezanov  
 Takawate 'Красно Feuerfarben, roth' deqa'gg<sup>W</sup>a?  
 ?i'teh, Furuhjelm Takhahkvaite 'red' deqa'gg<sup>W</sup>a?  
 ?i'teh 'it's red (like fire in color)' L, as o  
 of postpositions otherwise always with d-class=  
 mark: deqa'gdada'd 'near the fire' 6.10M, de-  
 qa'gdadedd 'above the fire' 24.23A, deqa'g=  
 delu?x O-t-?mahd 'S cooks O over, above (motion  
 through (a hole in)) a fire' L, 25.38A, deqa'g=  
 delah 'around the fire' 57.16G, deqa'gde? ?ida?  
 'sidle towards the fire!' L, deqa'gdeyeqd 'in  
 the fire' M, see also deqa'gdewa'tx ?ax  
 'steamer, steamship, sternwheeler' ('boat with fire, boat  
 (the movement of which can be followed) by close  
 attention to fire') under ?ax.

2. 'Hell, hellfire': xi'd ya'nu?d, deqa'g=  
 dayeq ?i'ne? Maqu?dada?ya'M 'way down below,  
 you'll be tormented in (hell)fire' 51.19A, xi'd  
 ?el deqa'gyu'qa?e? qe?ew qi?yiyah 'you'll go

*remake*  
 24  
 25

to amongst those yonder fires (Hell)' 61.10A.

ya·qđ Kudeqah (noun) 'northern lights, aurora borealis' M, possible reading of Galushia Nelson yátqáDáqđ or yátqáDáqđ 'northern lights' BSDL 538. Nominalized active imperfective of d-qa, 'something is burning in the sky'.

yahdqe'đeqah (noun) 'northern lights, aurora borealis' L. Cf. above, possible reading of BSDL form, but problematical to analyze, perhaps yahđ qa' đeqah 'it burns up out out to sea, in the south', or, conceivably, 'a house goes up in flames', or to account for vowel of qa', perhaps yahđ qa' 'ideqah 'a fire is ignited out to sea', passive of O-(d-)k-qa with indeterminate O.

O-(d-)k-qa (causative of d-qa, irregular in that d-thematic 'fire, bright' is optional) 'S burns, ignites O': dasekqa' 'light it (bonfire)!' L, 'burn it!' M, di·kqa', 'ekqa' L, 'ekqa' 'set it afire!' LM, sekqa' 'burn it, set it afire!' L, dasekqa' 'burn it!, ignite it!, kindle, light it (fire)!' L, 'turn it (light) on!' L, Rezanov Кожъаъахао 'Сожъа verbrennen (Imperat.)' (qe' ?) sekqa'uh 'burn it (again?)!', 'ew de'ka'g dasekqa', 'ew de'ka'g sekqa' 'set that paper on fire!' L, qu'di·xkqah 'I'll burn

yahđ qđ ?  
deqah  
house -  
burn -  
burning ?  
how it burns out  
to sea ?

it' M, qu'xîqah 'I'll ignite it' L, diK qu'x-  
 îqahs (or -qah's) 'I won't ignite it' L, Kade=  
 saxîqah da'x 'when I make something burn' 34.66M,  
 deseîqahî 'it singed it' A, disîîqahî 'I turned  
 on a light' M, repetitive: ?eîqah'g 'burn it!,  
 keep it burning!' L, Rezanov Къыкъахъ 'Оркисо  
 Feuerstahl' perhaps to be read seîqah'g 'keep  
 igniting it!, try to ignite it!', with xahd 'loss  
 of covering (e.g. of hair, paint)': xahd di'î-  
 qah'g 'singe it (e.g. quills off porcupine)!' L,  
 xahd qu'di'xîqah 'I'll singe it (porcupine)' M,  
 with class-marks for O: ?aw gudêîqah'gK 'they  
 (cust) burn them (spruceroot)' 66.3L (g-class O),  
 Rezanov Аукатеуыкъао 'Посвѣтъ leuchten' ... xə-  
 di'îqah'uh 'light it (candle)!' L (xə-class O);  
 passive: Galushia Nelson stî:qatî 'fire' BSdL  
 538 stîqahî 'it's been ignited, burned'.

dedeqah'g (noun) 'incense' L. Nominalized passive  
 active imperfective repetitive of O-(d-)î-qah,  
 'it is kept burning'.

la'deqah'g (noun, probably dl-class) 'coal' 67.7,  
 10G. As above, with dl-class-mark for O, 'they  
 (stones) are kept burning'.

dide?î qî'la'îqah'g (noun, qî'l-class) 'electric  
 light wire' L, dide?î qî'la'îqah'g ?u'dex

lee qi·li·fuxi 'electric light wires stretch up  
(the inlet to Orca cannery) along there'. Nomin-  
alized active imperfective repetitive with qi·l--  
class-mark for S and d-thematic and/or class-mark  
for O, 'they (rope-like) keep lamp burning'.

?i-i-qa (with indeterminate O thematized, and never  
with d-thematic) 'S builds, makes, lights a fire,  
keeps a fire going' ('S causes indeterminate O  
to burn'): ?iseiqa? 'light a fire!' LM, 68.93,  
95A, 'build a fire!' M, 'make a fire!' L, ?i·lqa?  
'start a fire!' L, ?ew diKa?gK ?iseiqa? 'light  
a fire with that paper!' L, ?uye?d ?iqe?yilqah  
(or -qa·) 'you'll keep a fire going under it'  
65.43, 45A, ?uye? qe? ?iqe?keqah 'you'll light  
another fire under it' 65.55A, diK ?uye?d qe?  
?iqe?keqa·s 'you won't keep any more fire going  
under it' 65.57A, ?iqe?xilqah 'I'll light a  
fire' LM, ?icexiqa·i 'I'm lighting a fire' L,  
(?awahd) ?iseiqaht 'he built a fire (for it,  
to roast it)' la.10, lb.12, 6.3M, ?iqeseliqah  
'they built a fire' 16.7M, ?isilqah 'I lit a  
fire' LM, ?i·kqah 'you may light a fire' L,  
?uye?d ?i·xilqa·K 'I (cust) light a fire under  
it' 65.16, 16, 17A, ?uye? ?icexiqa da·?  
'when I make a fire under them' 65.19A, repetitive:

ʔiɪɬaːgɪh 'she's keeping a fire going' 27a.39L,  
ʔuyeqd̪ kʉʔɪɬaːg 'someone is keeping a fire  
burning in it' L, ʔuyeqd̪ ʔiqeʔyɪɪɬaːg 'you'll  
keep a fire going under it' 65.45A, diɰ ʔiqeʔx-  
ɪɬaːgə 'I won't keep a fire going' L.

ʔuyeqd̪ kʉʔɪɬaːg (noun, unclassified) 'stove' L.

Nominalized active imperfective repetitive of  
ʔi-ɪ-ɬa 'someone keeps a fire burning in it'.

ʔuyeqd̪ ʔiɬaːgɪ (noun, unclassified) 'stove' L,

ʔuyeqd̪ ʔiːɬaːgɪ qehɰ ʔɪːdixahɪ 'stove's  
clogged up with soot' LM, Old Man Dude ɔyɪɬəʔəʔəq  
'iron stove' BSdL 546. -ɪ-instrumental deverbal-  
ization of preceding.

ʔuyeqd̪ ɬaʔɪ (noun, unclassified) 'stove, oven',

possible reading of Rezanov Уекъ-капъа 'Печъ,  
Печка Backofen', stem ɬa with ɪ-instrumental.

ɰdl-ɬa 'S burns up, burns down, burns out, burns  
to a crisp, incinerates', frequently, but not al-  
ways, with yaːɰ 'consumption, destruction',  
which generally requires ɰ-thematic: yaːɰ ɰə-  
ɪaːseɬahɪ 'they (radio tubes) burned out' 60.47A,  
yaːɰ ɰəɪaːseɬahɪ 'it burned down, all up' LM,  
yaːɰ ɰəɪaːsiːɬah, yaːɰ ɰəɪaːyiɬah 'let it  
burn up' L, Rezanov Якатапъакапъа 'Горѣта  
brennen' yaːɰ ɰəɪaːseɬaːɪ 'it's burning up'.

Transitive (causative): *ʔu·diyahstahti·naʔ*  
*ʔahnu· ya·x ʔəla·səiʔah̄* 'they cremated him  
 with the rat-skin' 28.113A, with *yəx* 'down-  
 ward' (?): *ya·x ʔəli·iʔaʔ*, *ya·x ʔəla·səiʔaʔ*  
 'burn it up!' L, Rezanov *Житлѣныма 'Еарытѣ*  
*braten'* *yəx ʔəli·iʔaʔ*, *yəx ʔəla·səiʔaʔ* L,  
*yəx ʔəla·iʔa·* 'fry it!' M, *yəx ʔəla·si-*  
*ʔah̄* 'I fried it' M, with *qaʔ* 'up out':  
*ʔah̄ ʔəw qaʔ ʔəla·səiʔah̄iʔh* 'he burnt it all  
 up with (including) her' 27a.47L, *yaʔxa· xu-*  
*quʔəli·iʔah̄* 'don't exorcize me, don't burn me  
 in effigy' M, *qaʔ ʔəla·səiʔah̄inu·* 'they exor-  
 cized her (from e.g. promiscuity, infanticide, by  
 burning some of her clothes)' L, repetitive: *yəx*  
*kuʔəla·ʔiʔa·g* 'I'm frying something' M, *yəx*  
*ʔəli·iʔa·g*, *yəx ʔəla·iʔa·g* 'fry it!' L, *dadu·d*  
*səiʔh̄ ʔahnu· ya·x ʔəli·iʔa·gK* 'whoever died  
 they used (cust) to cremate' 28.116A; with in-  
 determinate O: *sini·sq* (*yəx ʔiʔəla·səiʔah̄* 'I  
 feel like sneezing' ('my nostrils have burned  
 downward?') L, *siyəq qaʔ ʔiʔəli·ʔah̄* (probably  
 in error for *ʔiʔəli·iʔah̄*) 'I have heartburn' ('it  
 burns up out in me', neuter perfective) M (not  
 verified); reciprocal: *ʔiʔuʔ ʔahnu· ya·x ʔə-*  
*la·iʔa·gK* 'they (cust) cremate one another' 28.-  
 115A; passive: see nominalizations below.

- qi' qa' xəla'shiqahk̄ (noun) 'funeral pyre',  
 probable reading of Galushia Nelson q:'qa'xət-  
 ɬa'xə' sthiqat̄k̄ 'pyre ("where- ? fire")' BSdL  
 546. Nominalized passive active perfective,  
 'place where we, humans, have been burned'.
- yəx xəla'shiqahk̄ (noun) 'pancake' L. Nominalized  
 active perfective, 'it has been fried'.
- ʔudeyaʔx yəx kuʔəla'dəʔa'g (noun, d-class) 'fry-  
 ing-pan, skillet' (same as ʂgu'lihdeɬ, but "too  
 long a name") L. Nominalized passive active im-  
 perfective repetitive, with o-d-yaʔx '(movement)  
 in d-class o with broad opening at top', 'some-  
 thing is fried in it'.
- o-yeq̄ qaʔ ɛdl-qa (with o-yeq̄ 'in o', qaʔ 'up  
 out' and ɛdl-thematic) 'o has heartburn': siy<sup>2</sup>q̄  
 qaʔ ɛəli'qahk̄ 'I have heartburn' ('it's burning  
 up out inside me', neuter perfective) LM.

qah-qa'-qe (qa' presumably expanded form of stem, qe reduced; perhaps related to qale?, qedi<sup>1, 2</sup>, qe', and/or q<sup>2</sup>)

qah-qe- (exclamation or exclamatory proclitic, L rejects proposed \*daqah with de- 'ipse'; reduced form qe- in 2. below only) 'now, finally, at last, by now, already, ready' (indicating impatience or calling attention to passage of time, appropriate time) 1. full form only: a. clause-final, without enclitic: (1) with imperatives: 20.51, 21b.55, 37b.64A, ?u?lataiga? qah, ?u?la?iga? qah 'learn it (finally)!' L, xa'ne' qah 'eat it already!' L, xq'? ku?eta'? qah 'finish eating already!' L, xq'? sa?ya? qah 'get ready (finally)!' L, di?zeta? qag 'pipe down already!' L, ?ecu?d qah 'now go to sleep!' L, ko?u' ?a?he' qah 'be good (finally)!' L, ?u'c' ?iya? qah 'go there (finally)!' M; with emphatic enclitics to verb (cf. la.(4)): ?ew ?a?i?de'?uh qah 'count it (finally)!' L, ?iya?=-duh qah 'now go (finally)!' L. (2) With optative: da' xq'? ?i'?yah qah 'let's get ready to go (finally)' L. (3) Without verb: duga? qah '(that's, let that be) enough (by) now!' L; Rezanov KAZAN 'Прощай lebe wohl! (Abschiedsformel)' qah la', qah lah (cf. lb. and lc. below).

(4). Following forms with enclitic -nuh, see under nuh.

lb. Clause-initial, with enclitic -s-in-terrogative: (1) qahšuw 'ready to go?, ready (for anything)?' L, qahš xq-? 'i-?yahš 'are you ready to go (now)?' L, qahšuhla- 'ready to go?, goodbye?' L (cf. 1a.(3), 1c.(2), ?lah-?la-), qahšuw si-?eh 'do you (finally) see it?' 71.31M, qahšew ta?d qa-š yikya-? 'are you rinsing it (finally)?' L, Rezanov Kaxetexetexyax 'Умываюся ли? hast du dich gewaschen' qahš ?edj-šdikusš 'have you (finally) washed your face?' L, qahšuh siš qu?yiltah 'will you (finally) give me that (cat)?' L. (2) With q-emphatic following in clause, 'by now apparently, no doubt': qahš qew, qahšuw qew 'by now, no doubt, presumably' 11.10A, qahš ?ew deni-gihšyuh qew, ?ew šqa?tg 'by now that moose no doubt, she's cooking it' 27b.-26A, qahš dexi-šuh qew 'apparently by now already' 10.135A.

1c. Clause-initial, with enclitic -d-emphatic: (1) qahdaw 'finally' 33.54A, qahduh qu?-xah 'I'm going now' ('by now I'll go, I'll finally go') L, with -uh reduced to -e-, combined with following form: qahdekegu- '(it's finally, this is finally a) real good (one)' M, most fre-

quently combined with q̄-emphatic (L rejecting  
 proposed forms without -d-enclitic, \*q̄ah q̄aw  
 and the like) 'finally, by now, at last', or  
 often with weakened meaning '(by) this time  
 really': q̄ahdeq̄ew ?awga? adiya?i sič ?ew  
 ?i'itehga? 'finally it's big enough to give to  
 me' L, q̄ahdeq̄ew qu?xqeh 'well, I'm going now  
 (by boat)' L, q̄ahdeq̄uh sega?i 'he's tired' L,  
 q̄ahdeq̄uhnu? sega?i 'they're tired' L, q̄ahde-  
 q̄uw xusi'iga?i 'I'm tired of you' ('you're tire-  
 ring me by now') L, q̄ahdeq̄ew ya?da?ehxq̄d te-  
 he?i 'it (level of fish) is getting down to the  
 bottom (of barrel)' L, q̄ahdeq̄ew xusaiga?i, ?u-  
 lah ?awa? 'I'm tired of drinking it' ('it has  
 tired me by now, drinking it') L, q̄ahdeq̄ew ya?  
 xuya?e?ehk 'it really just about killed my arms  
 (carrying it so long)' L, q̄ahdeq̄ew hič ya?  
 (or ye?) sekugk 'it's broken for good (this  
 time, finally)' L, q̄ahdeq̄ew lexsaixahsk 'I  
 really got scared' L. (2) Combined with ?lah-  
 ?la? (cf. la.(3), lb. above): -uh of enclitic  
 not reduced: Galushia Nelson qatu?la? 'goodbye'  
 BSdL 554 q̄ahduh la?, q̄ahdu?la? (former later  
 rejected) 'well, I'm ready to go now, goodbye'  
 L, -uh- > -a-, -a-? > -i? -: q̄ahdi?lah 'good-  
 bye' LMA.

cf. TL "adverbial"

2. Full form freely varying with reduced proclitic form, reduced proclitic form more frequent, preceding or proclitic to verb or preverb or postpositional phrase, required in two types of construction: a. in cautionary negative imperative clauses: reduced proclitic qe- to verb: ya'xu' ?aw xut'i qe'ekxut'i'h 'let him not shoot that gun!' L, ?aw qe'ei-sehde 'don't trip over it!' L, ?aw ce'y/ka'g qe'gelecekeqa'egge 'don't let that tea/soup boil!' L, ?u-de'x qe-yelasedama'e 'don't make the mistake of going (along) there!' L, ya' lexi-k'ciya'c'i qe'ezeti-ya'e 'don't eat any rotten fruit!' L, ?aw qe-xesa'sih 'let him not eat it!' L, qid qe'etate-qahse 'don't fall off!' L, ?ixa' qe'eqah'sih 'don't let him choke on you!' L, ?ewle'x qe'i-seke'q'e'sih 'don't let him see it!' L, demax'ci-da'pe' qe'ei-ya'e 'don't fall through hole in ice!' L, si'e'x qe'u'de'ei-t'qe'd'ix'ih 'don't ask him about me!' L, proclitic to preverb: ?ah seqe'-de-kih ?ixa' qe'qid de'eteqahse 'don't let your baby fall off!' L, ?aw xawa' qe'ye'x sada'e 'don't let that dog walk around!' L; full form, preceding verb: ?aw qah si-sehde 'don't trip over it!' L, ?ewla'd qah la'ei-xa'x'e 'don't trip and fall over it!' L, preceding postposition-

rel-35-1  
stem not  
L.1?  
reg. form  
60-



al phrase: *Kuſiyah qah ?ula?x daci?kya'ejh*  
'don't anger him!' L.

2b. In prohibitive clauses with *ya?xu'*  
and gerundive, 'no -ing!', attested several times,  
but in Rezanov only, twice as *xə-a*, twice as  
*xə-*, once as *kə-a*, once as *.kə*, preceding  
preverbs where present, for instances see *ya?xu'*  
at end of article.

*da-qə-da?-ya'* (noun, attested only as C or as at-  
tribute, probably *da-* 'ipse', *-qə-* reduced  
form of *qah* or *qə'*, *-da?-* probably to be i-  
dentified with *da?*, *ya'* 'one, thing', cf.  
*?i-da?-ya'-* 'that of proper, tolerable degree'  
in *?ida?ya?la?x* 'excessively', *?ida?ya?u?x*  
'insufficiently') 'old (one)': *daqəda?ya'* 'old,  
an old (not new) one' L, *daqəda?ya?lah* place=  
name 'Old ~~town~~ (at Cordova)' L, *daqəda?ya' ?əx*  
'old boat' L, *daqəda?ya' yahd* 'old house' L,  
*daqəda?ya' dətəie?i* 'it (car) is getting old'  
L; invariable and not occurring without *-ya'* L.  
*qa'-ya'* (noun, *qa'* 'new' and *ya'* 'one, thing',  
cf. *da-qə-da?-ya'*) 'new (one)': not in refer-  
ence to classified nouns; Rezanov *Kə-aſx* 'Homod  
neu' *qa?ya'* 'new' M, *qa?ya' sič tətə?* 'give  
me a new one!' L; with class-mark as attribute to  
classified noun: *qa'dəya' yahd* 'new house' L.

qa'-l (adverb, -l conceivably to be interpreted as part of stem-variant, cf. qale?, or perhaps unique suffix, or perhaps to be identified with -l gerundive, or related to ?al- demonstrative 'this'; Rezanov and certain modern forms imply earlier qa'li..., cf. ?al-, calih-cal, ce=lih-?q-) l. 'now, in, at the present, nowadays, at this moment, very soon, just a short while ago, tout à l'heure': a. qa'l 'right now' L, 'now (at this moment)' 11.32, 25.113, 62.16, 68.-57, 70.10, 24A, 'now (very soon)' 21b.52, 68.18, 69.83A, 'now(-adays)' 13.14L, 36.25, 65.77, 77, 69.23A, '(just a short while ago) now' 11.96a, 29.45A, diK qa'le 'not (right) now' 25.114A, qa'le '(do you mean) now(-adays)?' 68.68A, qa'l ?awa 'nowadays however' 62.10, 64.13G, 65.82, 82, 68.74A, xi' geli'xeh da'x qa'l ?awa diK 'the water was (once) cold, but not now though' M, qa'l ne'xda'x 'now for the first time' 36.29A, qa'l ne'xda'x kuqu'xdelah 'this is my first drink' ('now I'll drink something for the first time') L, diK qa'l ku'xaxah 'I'm not eating anything now' L, Rezanov Каледлякахоль Молодой jung' qa'li... letex<sup>M</sup>(a)l, qa'l letex<sup>M</sup>aa't 'he's, it's still (now) growing' L, qa'l yj'hinu' seqe'eyu' 'present-day children,

those who are now children' 68.75, 77, 77A (cf. qa'l seqe'eyu' under 2b. below); with proclitic da- 'ipse': daqa'l 'right now' M.

1b. With -kih 'diminutive' as o of o-ga? 'like o', used adverbially (cf. ne'x-kih-ga?), 'just a short while ago': 11.95A, qa'lkihga? 'qa'da? sahijh 'he just arrived here' M.

1c. As noun, o of o-ga? 'like o': diK qa'lgas? '(it was) not like (it is) nowadays' 60.3A.

2. As attribute to nouns or other adverbs:

a. as attribute to temporal adverb or noun used adverbially, 'this, to- (of this day)': (qa'l) xex' kulax 'iqe'yi't'eh 'you'll see something tonight' L, Rezanov KазeP.кнeбP.аа 'Pano frdhe', probably to be read qa'li... xi'dawa' 'this morning', qa'lgah (written as compound) 'today' M, 25.113A, siK 'u'axa? ke'd qa'lgah yileh 'tell me what you did today!' L, diK qa'lgah xu? 'u'qu'di'as? 'it won't be settled today' L.

2b. As attribute to nouns designating humans, 'young, in prime, not old': qa'l seqe'da-kih 'young person, youngster' 3.17M, 42.1, 55.8L, 61.104A (idiomatic, not as literally 'young child' but rather 'young adult, older child, late ado-

lescent'), q̄a·l saqe·sayu· 'young people,  
young adults' 51.74, 61.100, 100A (idiomatic, as  
preceding, cf. also q̄a·l yj·hinu· saqe·sayu·  
under la.), q̄a·l hila·ʔ 'young man' 53.6L,  
q̄a·l hila·ʔsayu· 'men in their prime' 28.129A,  
Furuhjelm Khalilna 'young', to be read either  
q̄a·li(...)hina·ʔ (archaic, > q̄a·l hila·ʔ), or  
q̄a·linah, see following: (combined with lah 2b.  
under la-na<sup>1</sup>) q̄a·lilah 'a youth in her prime'  
32.19A, q̄a·lalah 'young (not full grown) person'  
L, 'middle-aged person' M, q̄a·lalah yihēh 'he's  
young' M, q̄a·lalahyu· L, q̄a·lalahyu· 'people  
in the prime of life' 51.74A, with -kih 'dimi-  
nutive': q̄a·lilahkih 'a young person (woman in  
her early twenties)' 61.104A.

q'a<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with q'a<sup>2</sup>)

-q'a<sup>1</sup> (noun, perhaps d-class) 'edge': ?uq'a<sup>1</sup> 'its edge (e.g. of box)' L, with classified nouns: yabddeq'a<sup>1</sup>da·q'deɣ yaɣ da·ɣ 'he's walking about on the edge of (the roof of) the house' L, ca<sup>1</sup>h=deq'a<sup>1</sup> 'knife-edge' L, ?uleq'a<sup>1</sup> 'its edge (of axe-blade)' L, ?iɣleq'a<sup>1</sup> '"corner" of mountain, horizontal ridges (shoulder) of mountain' L.

qa<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with qa<sup>1</sup>)

O-qa<sup>2</sup> 'S sets O sideways (at angle, especially right angle, with respect to its ordinary position or with respect to, especially serving as prop for, something else)': ?aw i<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> e<sup>2</sup>qa<sup>2</sup> 'set that box on its side!' L, qu<sup>2</sup>xqa<sup>2</sup> 'I'll set it (as prop) behind it' L, ?u<sup>2</sup>-dax<sup>2</sup> ?e<sup>2</sup>qa<sup>2</sup> 'prop it (e.g. tent-flap with stick' ('set it (stick) at angle as prop along there!')) L, qe<sup>2</sup>e<sup>2</sup>xqa<sup>2</sup>?<sup>2</sup> 'I'm standing them up (e.g. books)' L, with class-marks for O: ?u<sup>2</sup>-dax<sup>2</sup> di<sup>2</sup>-qa<sup>2</sup> 'prop it (e.g. tent flap with board):' ('set it (board) at angle as prop along there!') L, 'block it (e.g. doorway with table):' ('set it (table) sideways along there!') L, ?u<sup>2</sup>-dax<sup>2</sup> qe<sup>2</sup>-di<sup>2</sup>-qa<sup>2</sup> 'set them (boards) as props (for e.g. tent-flaps) along there!' L, with l<sup>2</sup>-anatomical: lex<sup>2</sup>-i<sup>2</sup>-qa<sup>2</sup>?<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>h 'he's crosseyed' LM (neuter perfective), lex<sup>2</sup>e<sup>2</sup>e<sup>2</sup>xqa<sup>2</sup>?<sup>2</sup> 'I'm (getting?) crosseyed' L, qu<sup>2</sup>-lex<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>-xqa<sup>2</sup> 'I'll get crosseyed' L; reflexive: ?u<sup>2</sup>-dax<sup>2</sup> ?ade<sup>2</sup>ade<sup>2</sup>qa<sup>2</sup>?<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>h 'he's leaning against there' L, with l<sup>2</sup>-class-mark: ?ed<sup>2</sup>le<sup>2</sup>e<sup>2</sup>ade<sup>2</sup>qa<sup>2</sup>?<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>h 'he's got his head tilted, inclined to one side' L, with ye<sup>2</sup>-progressive and anatomical marks: ye<sup>2</sup> ?ady<sup>2</sup>ade<sup>2</sup>qa<sup>2</sup>?<sup>2</sup>y 'he's twisting, bending his wrist about' L, ye<sup>2</sup> ?edqi<sup>2</sup>-d<sup>2</sup>ade<sup>2</sup>qa<sup>2</sup>?<sup>2</sup>y 'he's twisting,

bending his feet, ankles about' L; passive:  
sdiqaʔɪ 'it's been put (as prop) behind it' L,  
see also de-qaʔ below.

de-qaʔ 'S is, becomes set sideways (at angle, especially right angle, with respect to its ordinary position, or with respect to, especially serving as a prop for, something else)' (perhaps, at least in some instances, passive of O-qaʔ): ʔuqʔ ʔisdaʔɪ ʔu·d sədeqaʔɪ 'a chair lies on its side there' L, yahdayaʔdaʔɪ ʔu·d sədeqaʔɪ '(a beached) boat lies on its side there' L, ʔixp·ɪyah ʔiya· sədeqaʔɪ 'your tooth is coming in wrong, crooked' L, with class-marks for S (or O?): λa·sədeqaʔɪ 'rock is set sideways, on its side' L, see also nominalizations below. Transitive (causative, meaning not clearly distinguished from that of O-qaʔ, but perhaps more properly also basic transitive): qe·sexiqaʔɪ 'I'm standing them up (e.g. books)' (same as qe·sexqaʔɪ) L; reflexive, with qi·d-- anatomical and yeɪ--progressive: yeɪ ʔedqi·de·ɪeqaʔɪɪh 'he (baby) is turning his feet about, soles together' L.

lesedeqaʔɪ (noun, 1-classified) 'axe, hatchet' LM, 18.10L, Rezanov Искатакъ-агъъ 'Топоръ рускоѣ russische (eiserne) Axt', Furehjelm Nakhatakhai

'axe, hatchet' *nesedeqaʔi*, Galushia Nelson  
*l̥sq̥s̥D̥sq̥i·ti* 'axe' BSDL 547, *lesedeqaʔi* *sič*  
*li·ʔaʔ* (twice), *lesedeqaʔi* *sič ʔeʔaʔ* (or  
-*taʔ*) 'give me an axe!' L, *lesedeqaʔi ʔu·d ʔi·=*  
*seʔah̥i*, *lesedeqaʔi ʔu·d leseʔah̥i* (not -*tah̥i*,  
twice) 'an axe is there' L, *lesedeqaʔi* *ɬuw* 'big  
axe' L, *lesedeqaʔi* *ɬyu·* 'axes, axes etc.', 28.58A;  
*ʔiɬq̥esd lesedeqaʔi* 'double-bladed axe' (*ʔiɬq̥esd*  
'at opposite ends, both ends, sides') L; *lesede-*  
*qaʔi* *ɬa·i* *teʔ* 'axe-handle' L. Nominalized incep-  
tive perfective of *de-qaʔ*, with l-anatomical  
'head' or archaic class-mark for 'stone', 'it  
(stone, head) is set sideways'.

*ɬa·sedeqaʔi* (noun, probably dl-class) 'crevice  
in rock (formed by rock set or leaning sideways)'  
L. Nominalization, as above, with dl-class mark  
for 'stone'.

0-~~t~~-qa? 1. 'S gives, presents, offers, bequeaths O to person of opposite moiety at funeral potlatch': ?e~~i~~qa? 'present it (to person of opposite moiety at funeral potlatch)!' A, si~~l~~qa? 'I presented it (etc.)' A, qu?x~~h~~qa? 'I'll present it (etc.)' A, ?aw ?i-~~l~~qa?wahd 'in order to present it (etc.)' A; Galushia Nelson setiq~~ä~~t~~i~~ 'widow or widower' BSdL 543, perhaps to be read se~~l~~qa? 'presented it to member of opposite moiety at potlatch' (the bereaved perhaps having authority over the distribution of the deceased's possessions, or perhaps more properly referring to the master--of-ceremonies of the hosts, of the deceased's moiety; see 2. below and discussions in BSdL 163-166, 169-173.

2. With ya~~x~~-progressive, 'S directs, calls O (square dance, dancers)' (earlier meaning probably 'S directs O (ceremony) about, as master--of-ceremonies'): ?aw ya~~x~~ ~~h~~qa?x~~i~~h 'he's calling at a square dance, directing it'; see also nominalization below.

ya~~x~~ ku~~h~~qa?x~~i~~h (noun, unclassified) 'square-dance caller' 1. Nominalization of 2. above, 'he (who) directs something, people about, acts as master--of-ceremonies'.

qaʔ<sup>4</sup>

qaʔ (noun, unclassified) 1. 'thick bushes (of any kind, e.g. alders, willow), thicket, heavy underbrush' LM, xəʔtq̄ q̄iʔ qaʔ sət̄eʔt̄ 'place where it got very bushy' L, qaʔwələhyuʔ 'alder(-thicket) people' (mythical race) L.

2. 'twig of bush, stick from bush' 18.3L, xedi-yəh qaʔ 'sharp stick (for use as roasting-stick, skewer' L.

-d-t-qaʔ (noun, unclassified) 'stem of plant' and/or perhaps 'non-edible part of edible plant': ča-š-dəiqaʔ 'Hedysarum-stems' (part of plant above ground with edible tuber root) L, čaʔx̄dəiqaʔ 'blueberry-stems' L, čaʔx̄dəiqaʔ kuʔa-w 'blueberry stems are long' L.

qu' (confused with qu? by M only; conceivably related to qu<sup>2</sup>)

1-qu' 'S is, becomes damp, wet': Rezanov *Сухойтъ*  
 'Mojko nass' seiq<sup>2</sup>i 'it got damp' LMA, seiq<sup>2</sup>  
 qu?i 'it's getting damp' LA, ?i-iq<sup>2</sup>i 'it's  
 damp' L (neuter perfective), qu?weiq<sup>2</sup>uh L, qu?  
 weiq<sup>2</sup>? M, qa?iq<sup>2</sup>uh 'it'll get damp' LA, diK  
 qa?iq<sup>2</sup>uh (not -qu's L) 'it won't get damp' LA,  
 ?i-iq<sup>2</sup>uhwahd 'so it'll get damp' L, with dl--  
 class-mark for S; *лa'seiq<sup>2</sup>i* 'it (net) got wet'  
 L. Transitive (causative): ?iiq<sup>2</sup>? M, ?eiq<sup>2</sup>?,  
 seiq<sup>2</sup>? 'dampen it!' L, Rezanov *Млжко-у* 'На-  
 мочитъ nassmochen' ?iiq<sup>2</sup>?uh 'dampen it!'.

qu<sup>1</sup> (confused with qu' by M only, perhaps to be identified with qu<sup>2</sup> and related to qema')

de-qu<sup>1</sup> 1. 'S (herring) spawns': sdiqu<sup>1</sup> 'they (herring) spawned' LA, ?ew wa'wyu' sdiqu<sup>1</sup> 'those herring spawned' M, duhqəč sdiqu<sup>1</sup> 'they (herring) spawned on kelp' M, qu<sup>1</sup>dequ<sup>1</sup> 'they (herring) will spawn' L, wa'w qu<sup>1</sup>dequ<sup>1</sup> 'herring will spawn' A, ?ew wa'wyu' qu<sup>1</sup>dequ<sup>1</sup>h 'those herring will spawn' M, dequ<sup>1</sup> 'they (herring) are spawning' LMA, dequ<sup>1</sup>·K 'they (herring) (cust) spawn' L.

2. 'S gets full of herring spawn': with dl-class-mark for S: λa'sdiqu<sup>1</sup> 'it (net) got full of herring-spawn' L.

qu<sup>2</sup> (M once quh, M otherwise and LA qu<sup>2</sup>; perhaps to be identified with qu<sup>1</sup> and/or related to qema 'roe(-sac), kidney', for semantics cf. Athapaskan \*k<sup>w</sup>ək<sup>w</sup> 'abscess, kidney', \*k<sup>w</sup>ək<sup>w</sup> or \*k<sup>w</sup>ex<sup>w</sup> 'calf of leg', Eyak kahš-kuš 'lower leg', Russian крпа 'spawn, calf of leg'; or, conceivably to be identified with qu', with basic meaning 'soft, wet', cf. French 'mollet')

-kušd-qu<sup>2</sup> (noun, unclassified, with kušd-anatomical 'lower leg') 'calf of leg'; Rezanov какутаки-о 'кпаwaden' qa·kešdequ<sup>2</sup>, qa·kišdequh M, qa·kušdequ<sup>2</sup> 'the calves of our legs, calf of human leg' LMA, sikišdequ<sup>2</sup> M, sikešdequ<sup>2</sup> 'the calf of my leg' MA, kukušdequ<sup>2</sup> 'calf of a leg' A, ?ikušdequ<sup>2</sup>luw 'your big calves' M.

## qew-quw

d-qew--quw (noun, unclassified, with d-thematic, or perhaps de-classifier) 'lunch, provisions, grub (food for a trip)': 11.149A, deqew ?ixə? xa'ne' 'eat your lunch!' L, kuʒu' deqew qe?ew 'that's a good lunch' L, kutu? deqew ka? ?i'ə hah 'you should take lots of grub' L, dequw ka? kutu? ?u?la·yihyah 'you should take lots of grub' ('you should have your provisions plentiful') L, deqewyu' 'provisions' 21a.24L.

səqe·dəkihsə? deqew (noun, unclassified) 'black dirt accumulated in creases of baby's hands' ('child's lunch, provisions', bad luck if removed) L.

cf. *qema·* -*ka·ka·g·* - 'kidney roe'qema· (perhaps related to *qu<sup>1</sup>* and/or *qu<sup>2</sup>*)

qema· (noun) 1. (1-class) a. 'kidney' LMA (this apparently applies to any animal other than fish, for which see 3a<sup>2</sup>), qema·<sup>?</sup>a·<sup>?</sup>nuw 'big kidney' L, qema· <sup>?</sup>u·d lese<sup>?</sup>ah<sup>?</sup> 'kidneys are there' L, qema· siya· li·ka<sup>?</sup>d 'my kidneys hurt' L.

1b. (1-class) 'salmon roe, fish-eggs (still in intact ovarian sac)' LMAG, qema·<sup>?</sup>i·<sup>?</sup>nuw 'large roe (intact)' L, qema· <sup>?</sup>u·d <sup>?</sup>i·se<sup>?</sup>ah<sup>?</sup> (not -tah<sup>?</sup>) 'a roe-sac is there' L, qema· si<sup>?</sup> li·<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup> 'give me (a sac of) roe' L; qema·le<sup>?</sup>k<sup>?</sup>i·K<sup>?</sup>S G, qema·le<sup>?</sup>k<sup>?</sup>i·g<sup>?</sup>g 'dried salmon-roe' L.

2. (1 $\bar{x}$ -class) 'salmon roe (separated), fish-eggs (as eaten)' LMAG, 10.111, 112, 113, 115, 117, 118A, 34.20, 40.2, 4, 6, 8, 10L, Rezanov Kama 'Жиря Fischrogen', qema·le<sup>?</sup>xa<sup>?</sup>luw 'big hunk of (separated) salmon-roe' LM, qema·le<sup>?</sup>xa·q<sup>?</sup> ya·<sup>?</sup> seta<sup>?</sup> 'set it down on top of some roe!' L.

3. (probably unclassified) 'female salmon' L.

q̄emaʔ

-l-q̄emaʔ (stem of unknown meaning, with l-thematic)  
 occurring only in ʔiʂta·leq̄emaʔ formula for be-  
 ginning story or especially myth L. ʔiʂta·le-  
 q̄emaʔ ʕi·lehʂiyah wəx leh 'once upon a time  
 Raven was doing such and such' L. ʔiʂta· (ad-  
 verb) 'long ago'.

qəleʔ (perhaps related to qah-qə-ʔə, qə·, qədi<sup>1, 2</sup>,  
and/or q<sup>2</sup>)

qəleʔ (exclamation) 'now!, now then!, by now (it's  
time to), you'd better' 1. neh qəleʔ 'let me  
see it!' M, 'show me it!' L.

2. Exphatic initial, usually in imperative  
or optative clauses: with imperatives: 9.3, 10.133,  
21b.13, 17, 44A, 27a.34L, 27b.40, 28.60, 51.60A,  
qəleʔ ʔi· ʔəixəhd 'now then you pull it!' L,  
qəleʔ ʔi· ne·x ʔəwa· kuxə·ne· 'now then you  
yeat some first!' L, with optatives: 10.148A, qə=  
leʔ da· ʔi·ʔaʔə 'no let's go' L, qəleʔ da·  
ʔi·qəh 'now let's go (by boat)' L, qəleʔ da·  
ʔuʔlicəh 'let's buy it' L, qəleʔ xu· [ʔuʔlyəq-  
əʔ ʔəduʔqi·da·xdiqə·ʔ 'now let me try my feet in  
them' L, qəleʔ xu· ʔixixəhd 'let me pull it'  
L, with inceptive imperfective: 10.133A (unfin=  
ished), qəleh xu· wex quʔxih 'let me do it'  
( 'now then I'll do thus to it') L; qəleʔ ʔəle=  
yuh 'now give it to me!' L.

qeyi'y-qeyih-qenih (L usually qeyi'y, phonetically qeñyi'<sup>56</sup>, occasionally qeyih, phonetically qeñyih, S qeyi'y phonetically qeñyi'<sup>6</sup>, MAG and Galushia Nelson qenih) *cf. kəy'ɪ*

ed-qeyi'y--qeyih--qenih (noun, unclassified, occasionally perhaps also ɣd-class, with ed-thematic 'place') 'fog': sedeqeyi'y LS, sedeqeyih L, sedeqenih 'fog' MAG, Galushia Nelson qetəqən'i 'fog' BSdL 538 sedeqenih, sedeqeyi'yX ('iḷqa'ɣ) sli'ahh 'the fog dissipated' ('(the sun) rose with the fog (dissipating it)') L, sedeqeyi'y ku'leh 'there's fog, it's foggy' 34.116, 117L, ?eleḡgahɣ sedeqeyi'y ku'like?, ?eleḡgahɣ sedeqeyi'y ku-si'le?, sedeqeyi'yḡgahɣ ku'like? 'would that it be, get foggy' L, dik sedeqeyi'y kuqa'le?e 'it won't be foggy' L, sedeqeyi'y ?isəḷde?əh 'fog got real bad' L, as S of ?i-(d-)?a (referring to movement of cloud, fog): sedeqeyi'y ?q'ɕ ?ide=se?a'ḷ (or ?ise?a'ḷ) 'fog is coming here' L, sedeqeyi'y ?q'da? ?idese?ahh 'fog came here' L, sedeqeyi'y ya?ɣ ?idese?a'ḷ (or ?ise?a'ḷ) 'fog is lifting, clearing' L, sedeqeyi'y ya?ɣ ?idese?ahh 34.124L, sedeqeyi'y ya?ɣ ?ise?ahh 'fog lifted' L, sedeqeyi'y ya?ɣ ?iqe?ah 'fog will lift' L, sedeqeyi'y ya? ?idese?ahh 'fog came down' L, ?eleḡgahɣ sedeqeyi'y ?u'dikah

?ida·li?a· 'I wish that the fog would go away'  
 L, Galushia Nelson it? a·naq? q?teq?n·f ind<sup>n</sup>·x  
 li'ixaqatit's'Da·x 'when the fog is hanging half--  
 way down the mountain' BSDL 264, 558 perhaps to  
 be read ?iXa·na?d? sedeqenih ?i·na·?x li? yeX  
 ?ice...da?ah da·x, ?iXa·na?d? sedeqeyi·y ?i·neX  
 yeX ?idese?ah da·x 'when the fog on the mountain  
 hangs down over it' L, sedeqeyi·y ?p·f xedesewusk  
 'fog is moving in here' M (xd-class, like qahs  
 'cloud'), sedeqeyi·y lexī·teh 'it's foggy' L  
 (interpretation and correctness uncertain, 'it  
 (lx-class) is foggy').

-lx-d-qeyi·y (noun, with lx-d-anatomical 'eyes')  
 'eyebrow (of infant)': silexedeqeyi·y 'my eye-  
 brows' (of baby, whose eyebrows are just beginning  
 to show) L.

qəyqəh (phonetically qəñyqəh more frequently than  
qəyqəh)

*ə pəñyqəh*  
-qəyqəh (noun, unclassified) 'homeland': xi·d  
qa·qəyqəhda? əeqihih 'he who might come (by  
boat) to our homeland yonder' 69.11A, siqəyqəh  
qə? ya·qa? qu?xdah 'I'll go away back to my  
homeland' L, siqəyqəh xə? ?ixəki?əhə 'I  
travelled about in my homeland' L.

*siqəyqəh xə? ?ixəki?əhə*

qed (LM earlier qde, L then sed, later verified with L as qed)

-qed- (element of unknown morphological classification and unknown meaning), occurring only in -qedqa 'hollow place, hole', occurring only with thematic marks:

yeqedqa (noun, d-class, with y-thematic) '(standing) hollow tree (dead and rotting)' (wood of these was burned, the ashes thereof mixed with tobacco for smoking) L, earlier yeqdeqa 'old dead hollow tree, still standing' LM, yesedqa 'hollow tree' L, yeqedqa-da'luw 'big hollow tree' M, yeqedqa dii'cehgî 'dead and rotting standing hollow tree' L, ?aw yesedqa-dayeqd sedahî 'it's staying in a hollow tree' L.

deqedqa (noun, probably d-class, with d-thematic, perhaps thematized d-class-mark for 'tree') 'hole, den of animal in prone hollow tree' L.

la'qedqa (noun, with dl-thematic, probably thematized dl-class-mark for 'stone') 'porcupine's hole under rock' L.

q̄q̄'ʔd

- ɬə-q̄q̄'ʔd 'S leaves in a huff, angry': səɬə-  
 q̄q̄'ʔdɬ 'I'm leaving in a huff, going home mad,  
 stalking out offended' L, with yeɣ-progressive:  
 yeɣ ɬəq̄q̄'ʔdɣ 'he's going around mad (e.g. at  
 one person) and won't talk to anybody' L (also  
 interpretable as yeɣ-progressive of 0-ɬ-q̄q̄'ʔd  
 below). Transitive (causative): xuquʔyɬq̄q̄'ʔd  
 'you'll make me get mad and stalk off' L.
- 0-ɬ-q̄q̄'ʔd 'S leaves 0 in a huff': sɬq̄q̄'ʔdɬ 'I  
 left it (e.g. food) and walked away mad (not  
 necessarily in anger at the food itself)' L.

qu'x

-qu'x 'S breaks': diK qa'qu'x 'it won't  
 break' L, diK qu'qi-qu'x 'they won't break'  
 L, ?elešgahx ya'xu qa'qu'x 'I hope it won't  
 break' L, ?elešgahx ei-qu'x, ei-qu'xšgahx  
 'I hope it breaks' L, with ya' 'completely':  
 7.37A, ya' qa'qu'x 'it'll break to bits,  
 shatter' L, ya' qu'qi-qu'x 'they'll break to  
 bits' L, ?elešgahx ya' ?i-qu'x 'I hope it  
 breaks up' L, ?elešgahx ya' qa-liqu'x 'I hope  
 they break up' L, si'da' siya' ya' eequ'x  
 'my face is getting chapped' L, ?isa'šedelah  
 ?iya' ya' qa'qu'x 'your lips (around your mouth)  
 will get chapped' L, with class-marks for S:  
 t'ic' ya' dšequ'x 'ice is starting to break  
 up' 57.13, 27G, t'ic'dig ya' dšequ'x 'ice too  
 break up!' (shaman's incantation) 57.22G, ?ide-  
 kuhd ?iya' ya' qu'di-qu'x 'your lips will  
 get chapped' L, t'ic' ya' di-qu'x, ?uya'd  
 ?isešde'si 'ice is broken (neuter perfective),  
 (and) jammed in it (river)' L, tšh xəla-qu'x  
 'wave is breaking' L, xəla-qu'x 'whitecap' ('it  
 (wave) is breaking') L, with l-anatomical: ya'  
 qu'li-qu'x 'your face will get chapped' M, with  
 kušd-anatomical and yeš 'break': yeš kušde-

yeš kušde-

sequ<sup>2</sup>xi<sup>2</sup>h 'he broke his leg, his leg broke' L.  
(perhaps more correctly with stem kug). Transi-  
tive (causative): <sup>2</sup>ei<sup>2</sup>qu<sup>2</sup> 'break it!' L, si<sup>2</sup>-  
qu<sup>2</sup> 'I broke it' LM, ya<sup>2</sup> si<sup>2</sup>qu<sup>2</sup> 'I broke  
it all up' L, <sup>2</sup>ei<sup>2</sup>qu<sup>2</sup>.xi<sup>2</sup>h 'he (cust) breaks it'  
L, with class-mark for O: di<sup>2</sup>.<sup>2</sup>qu<sup>2</sup>, de<sup>2</sup>ei<sup>2</sup>qu<sup>2</sup>  
'break it, then (eggs)!' L; passive: sdi<sup>2</sup>qu<sup>2</sup>,  
si<sup>2</sup>qu<sup>2</sup> 'it got broken (by someone, something)'  
L. Susceptive neuter: xi<sup>2</sup>qu<sup>2</sup> 'it's fragile'  
L, qe<sup>2</sup>xi<sup>2</sup>qu<sup>2</sup> 'fragile things' L, di<sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>xi<sup>2</sup>-  
qu<sup>2</sup> 'it's not fragile' L, di<sup>2</sup> qa<sup>2</sup>xi<sup>2</sup>qu<sup>2</sup>  
'they're not fragile' L.

de·d

ла·хде·d (noun, unclassified, with dlx-thematic)

'nausea, retching, gagging, seasickness, stomach-  
 upset' LMA, Rezanov Тяхкедцъ 'Рвать Erbrechen,  
 vomitus', ла·хде·d sila?x desa?yahk 'I got  
 nauseated, seasick, I felt like vomiting' L, Reza-  
 nov Тяхкеццаллхтесаятль 'Тошно Erbrechen  
 haben, vomituriere' ла·хде·d ?ila?x desa?yahk  
 'you gagged' M, ла·хде·d sila?x desa?ya·k 'I'm  
 getting nauseated' L, ла·хде·dga? ?edu?xdegewih  
 'I feel like vomiting' L.

*Esaner twice implies f'32',  
twice 3'2'3*

qac<sup>2</sup> (perhaps reduced form of qac<sup>2</sup>)

0-qac 1. 'S bites severely, takes bite out of O':  
 'eqac' 'bite it!! bite it off!' M, xuseqacit 'it  
 (animal) bit me' IM ("harder than xuseqahit" L),  
 'ew seqacit 'it (fish) really bit into it (hook)'  
 L, 'ew kuce'kah kuseqacit 'it (dog) bit a piece  
 (something) off the meat' L, with qid 'down  
 off', repetitive: gusi·kih qid kuqacg 'he  
 keeps biting off little bits' L, with d-class--  
 mark for O (and/or optional d-thematic) with qid  
 'down off', yax 'apart': 'ewkahs qid dese-  
 qacit, 'ewkahs yax deseqacit 'it bit its foot  
 off' L, with yax-progressive and de-classifier  
 (?), or perhaps yax 'apart' and d-class-mark),  
 repetitive: 'ewqe·sgu·na'q yax deqacg 'it  
 (wolf) (repeatedly) bites it (deer) (here and  
 there?) on lower hind leg' (Billy Dade explaining  
 how wolf kills deer) L; detransitivized with in-  
 determinate O and o-c 'at o', repetitive: sid  
 'idesacg (s transcribed in error for q) 'it's  
 snapping at me' M.

2. 'S (bird) catches O in beak': 'ew  
 seqacit 'it (bird) caught it (fly) in its beak'  
 L, with indeterminate O and yax-progressive:  
 yax 'idesacx 'it (bird) catches things (here

and there) in its beak' M; see also 4b. below.

3. 'S (hunter, trap) catches, traps O':  
yeʒ ʔideʔeʔeʔx qaʔ ʔeʔeʔeʔK 'traps (cust) trap,  
grip, clamp, clutch us' 30.9 L; see nominalization  
below.

4. With qaʔ 'up out' a. S (insect)  
stings, bites O': qaʔ xuseʔeʔeʔk 'it (mosquito)  
bit me' L.

4b. 'S pulls, wrenches O up out of ground  
(in beak?)' (perhaps to be identified with 2.  
above): ʔew qaʔ seʔeʔeʔk 'it (robin) pulled it  
(wild-celery-root) up' 10.206A.

yeʒ ʔideʔeʔeʔx (noun, unclassified) '(steel-clamp)  
trap' LM, 30.9L, yeʒ ʔideʔeʔeʔxsaʔ sahk 'it got  
caught in (went into mouth of) a trap' L. Nominal-  
ized active imperfective with indeterminate O and  
yeʒ-progressive, 'it traps indeterminate O here  
and there'.

qaʔeʔ kuʔeʔeʔg (noun, unclassified) 'hornet, horse-  
fly' L (earlier gloss 'hornet', later, perhaps  
more correctly, 'horsefly'). Nominalized active  
imperfective repetitive, 'it (repeatedly) stings  
one'.

qaʔeʔ kuʔeʔeʔgluwyuʔ (noun, unclassified) 'hornets'  
( 'pl. big qaʔeʔ kuʔeʔeʔg' ) L.

?ux kudeqec' (noun) 'pincers' L. Nominalized passive active imperfective, 'by means of it something is bitten, pinched off'.

?ux qid kuqec'gi (noun), attested only in Rezanov, 'snuffers': Rezanov Охмуркокеууа 'Ехмур Lichtscheere' probably to be read ?ux qid kuqec'gi or perhaps ?ux qid kuqe'c'ki, -i-instrumental deverbalization of preceding, repetitive or perhaps customary, with qid 'down off'.

lx(d)-(de)-qec' (with lx(d)-anatomical 'eyes' and optional de-classifier, L always and sometimes M lx-d-de-, M sometimes lx-d- or lx-de-, Rezanov lx-, lx-d-de-) 'S closes eyes, winks, blinks': Rezanov Навасаууа 'Косоа schielend' nexeseqec't 'he closed his eyes, blinked' lexedeqec'ih 'he's closing his eyes, blinking, flinching' M, lexedesedeqec' 'shut your eyes!' L, lexedisdiqec't 'you closed your eyes, winked' L, lexedisdiqec'ts 'did you wink?' M, diks lexedesedeqec'tih 'didn't you wink?' M, with o-N 'with o': siN lexedisdiqec'tih 'he winked at me' L, with ?iku? qa? 'up out through each other' (i.e. as if knotted together, tightly): ?iku? qa? lexedisdiqec't 'he winced' L, repetitive: Rezanov Јахатерарууе 'Мнраууэ winken, mit den Augen' lexedesedeqec'...gih, siN lexes-

dedeǰedǰih 'he's winking at me' L, leǰexdedeǰeǰ  
'I'm winking, blinking' L. Transitive (causative):  
Resanov Iukarexьkочe 'Зурьтсья blinzeln'  
leǰedexǰedǰih 'I'm making him blink', 'ileǰe-  
dexǰeǰeǰ 'I'm making you blink' L.

qec<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with qec<sup>1</sup>, basic meaning 'gripping tightly between two things', or perhaps, less likely, related to Athapaskan \*-q<sup>h</sup>ʌʒ 'neck')

-d-qec' (noun, d-class, with d-thematic) 'collar':

kudeqec' '(someone's) collar' LM, sideqecddelah  
 'around my collar' L, ʔideqecdeqaʔɣ λa'cət'aʔ  
 'button your collar!' ('put it (button, dl-class)  
 through the interstices in your collar (collar--  
 button-holes)!') L.

qəc<sup>3</sup>

qəc' (noun, gl-class or unclassified) 'slough' LA,

qəc'gu·?nuw 'big slough' M, qəc'ya? ?j·xst'i?əxt

'I fell headlong into a "small swamp"' L.

qəc<sup>4</sup>

qəc- element in possible analysis of qəcəx  
'cloth', see cəx<sup>2</sup>.

q'a'c<sup>1</sup>

q'a'c (noun) 1. (unclassified) '(mature) salmon-  
berry bushes (Rubus spectabilis)' LM, q'a'c'et'u'  
'lots of salmonberry bushes' L.

2. (d-class) 'old woody salmonberry bushes'  
IMA, q'a'c'et'u' 'lots of old woody salmonberry  
bushes' M.

q'a'c'la'mahd (noun, lɣ-class) 'salmonberries'  
( 'q'a'c'-berries') LMAS, 43.19M, Rezanov Капшамарь  
'Malyna Himbeere'.

qa'c<sup>2</sup> (perhaps related to qa'c<sup>1</sup>)

-y-qa'c' (noun, unclassified, with y-anatomical  
 'hand, arm') 'hand, forepaw': siyeqa'c' 'my  
 hand(s)' MA, 'my hands, forepaws' 18.16, 17L  
 Rezanov *Сканилтык* 'Buzam presste' perhaps  
 to be read s[iyel]qa'c' i'du'k' 'he's squeezing  
 my hand', siyeqa'c' siya' i'c'ahik' 'my hand  
 throbs' L, siyeqa'c'c' la-xexit'eh 'I'm looking  
 at my hand' L, siyeqa'c'x' sil'sehh' 'I killed it  
 with my hands' L, 'iyeqa'c'x' 'with your hand' L,  
 'iyeqa'c'e'e'de da-x' 'iqe'xi'xih 'I'll tie you  
 up by your hands' L, 'uyeqa'c' 'his, her hand(s),  
 forepaw(s)' 11.122A, 22.6L, 23.63, 139, 24.37,  
 32.37, 39, 39, 40, 33.17, 36.38, 38A, 56.6L, 61.=  
 37, 37, 45, 52A, 'its hand (of clock)' L, de'u=  
 yeqa'c' 'his very own hands' 32.39A, Kegu-i'ca'd  
 ya' 'uyeqa'c' 'his right hand' 61.45, 46A,  
 'uyeqa'c'x' 'with his hand' L, 'uyeqa'c'c' la'-  
 xi-t'ih'ih 'he's looking at his hand' L, 'uyeqa'  
 c'dluw 'his big hands' M, Ku'a'w 'uyeqa'c'  
 'awa' qid desekugi 'the minute hand broke off'  
 ('its long hand broke down off') L, 'qhyeqa'c'c'  
 la-xi-t'ih'ih 'he's looking at his (another's)  
 hands' L, Rezanov *Канк-ау* 'Pyka Hand (Arm)',  
 Furuhjelm *Kaiekhatz* 'arm' qa'yeqa'c' 'our

hands, human hand', Kuzu·k̄a·d qa·yeqa'c  
'our right hand' 61.55A, Galushia Nelson Kuydaq·to  
'hand' BSdL 541 Kuyeqa'c '(someone's) hand' L,  
la'dih Kuyeqa'c 'two hands' M, Kuyeqa'c'c λa·=  
xi·b̄ih̄ih̄ 'he's looking at someone's hand' L,  
qe'yik̄tehyeqa'c 'whale-hand' (lapse for qe·=  
yik̄tehloqah 'whale-head' 12.13G.

y-ke-qa'c 'S has hands': siga' yik̄iqa'c'ih 'he  
has hands like me, mine' L, 'ewle'e· yik̄iqa'c'ih  
'he has strange, different, abnormal hands' L.

-l-qa'c (noun, with l-anatomical, 'head, face')  
attested only in Harrington from G, 'jaw, angle  
of jaw': s̄ill̄l̄l̄qq̄'·ts' 'my lower jaw or back angle  
thereof' silēqa'c. Unknown to L, perhaps in-  
fluenced by Tlingit xi'd 'jaw'.

qes<sup>1</sup>

qes (noun, lɣ-class) 'gland, lymph node, tonsil'  
 LMA, qesleɣaʔluw 'big gland' LM, qes siya·  
 leɣi·Kaʔd 'my tonsils hurt' L; Harrington  
 saqqhéetsfiqis 'womb' saqe·c...qes ('child--  
 gland'), not verified.

qes<sup>2</sup>

-qes (noun, unclassified) 'one of a pair of o'  
 kuqes 'one side, one of a pair' M, kayi'yqes  
 'unmatched pair' ('one different (of pair)') L,  
 with class marks for <sup>possessor</sup>  $\wedge$ : ?udaqes sič di'a?  
 'give me one of them (of pair of e.g. snowshoes)!' L,  
 kuti-leqes ca?K 'one mitt (of a pair)' L,  
 čid iħis ti'na' ca?K, ka'x ?ewti-leqes ?ewa'  
 '(there's) just one mitt, where's its mate?' L,  
 with anatomical marks: kuləqes 'one-eyed' M,  
 'one-eyed person' L, kuləqes xileh 'I'm  
 one-eyed' M, kuqi-deqes 'one-legged' M, ku-  
 yaqes 'one-handed' M,  
 (post-position)  $\rightarrow$   $\rightarrow$   $\rightarrow$   $\rightarrow$   
 o-qes-d  $\wedge$  l. 'at opposite side, end of o, at one  
 side, end of o (opposed to other side, end),  
 facing in opposite direction from o': siqesd ya'?  
 sate? 'lie down with your head toward my feet!' L,  
 siqesd lu' səxexuk 'roll over away from me  
 (facing away from me, in bed)!' L, Galushia Nel-  
 son xleqčəqəst '"head" or rear of the house'  
 BSdL 545 xələdeqesd 'end of house furthest  
 from door, fond de maison' L ("The place of honor,  
 occupied by the head of the house, was at the  
 rear, opposite the front door" BSdL 34), with  
 -kih diminutive: xid xələdeqesdkih qħh

sedah̄ 'way at the back end of that little place  
 (burrow) she sat' 23.45A, ts·yaʔdeq̄esd 'front  
 door-end of house' L, with reciprocal o: ʔiḥ-  
 q̄esd xadidiʔah 'they (e.g. logs) lie parallel,  
 extending in opposite directions' L, ʔiḥq̄esd  
 xadī·cah 'sharpen it (e.g. stick) at both ends!' L,  
 ʔiḥq̄esd xadi·iḥiḡ 'sharpen it (double-  
 edged axe) on both edges!' L, ʔiḥq̄esd diʔit̄ux  
 'push, hold the two ends apart!' L, ʔiḥq̄esd yeḡ  
 ʔi·dilah̄tinu· 'they're standing back to back' L,  
 ʔiḥq̄esd ʔuʔli·ʔyah̄ 'it droops on both sides  
 (like 

Use upper-case Greek  
 ↗ ὤψις

2. 'avoiding, abstaining from o': siq̄esd  
 lah diḥdiguḡiḥ 'he closed his mouth tight and  
 averted his face from me (snobbishly or in anger)' L,  
 o-q̄esd O-l-i-qa 'S advises O against o,  
 warns O not to, forbids O to, stops O from having  
 anything to do with, from touching o', see qa<sup>4</sup>,  
 with gl-class o: ʔugoleq̄esd ʔilaxqa·ḡ 'I ad-  
 vise you to abstain from it (drinking)' L.

O-i-q̄es 'S splits O in half, removes half, one  
 side of O': ʔeiq̄es 'split it in half!' L,  
 quʔxiq̄es 'I'll split it in two' L, siḥq̄es̄ 'I  
 split it in two, I removed one side of it (e.g.  
 opened fish)' L; passive: sdiq̄es̄, siḥq̄es̄  
 'it's been split in half' L.

qe's

-qe's 'S is jammed, stuck wedged, crowded in tight place, S (available space) is too small for contents, S (contents) is too large for available space', active perfective frequently in sense 'stuck', inceptive perfective frequently in sense 'tight': ?u'd seqe'sa 'it's stuck there (in space that's too tight)' L, ?u'deɣ yeɣ seqe'sa 'it's stuck (down?) along there' L, ?u'd seqe'sa 'it's stuck, getting stuck there' L, ?u'deɣ li? ?i'qe'sa 'it's stuck (way back) under there' L (neuter perfective), seqe'sa 'you're crowding me' (you're (you've proven) too big (for this space))' L, with class-marks for S: ?uyeɣ deseqe'sa 'it (arrow) is stuck in it' L, ɕiyahd sila'd laa- qe'sa 'my hat is too tight on my head' L, with qi'd-anatomical: ?uyeɣ (or ?uyeɣd) qi'deɣe- qe'sa 'my shoes are too tight' ('my feet are too big in them, for their interior') L. Transitive (causative): ?isi- qe'sa 'I jammed, crowded you (in some place)' L, ?udeɣ li? seɣqe'sa 'squeeze it way back in there (e.g. under the bed)' L; with indeterminate O, ?u- yahd ?iceɣqe'sa 'there is an ice-jam in it (river, choked with broken ice)' L, often with meaning

'S is thick (fills, permeates atmosphere)':  
 ?iseəɬeʔsɪ 'it (e.g. smoke, odor) is thick,  
 getting thick' L, ?ediɬd ?iseəɬeʔsɪ 'it (e.g.  
 odor) is getting overpoweringly thick indoors'  
 M, xa'g ?iseəɬeʔsɪ 'steam is thick' M, səde-  
 ɬeyɪ'y ?iseəɬeʔsɪ 'fog is thick' M, sədeɬeyɪ'y  
 ?iseəɬeʔsɪ 'fog got real bad' L, siə'dah gy'-  
 leɬɬəh ?iseəɬeʔsɪ '(the odor of) perfume is get-  
 ting thick' M; reflexive, indirect reciprocal,  
 with yeɬ 'downward' (? , or perhaps yeɬ-progres-  
 sive): ?ikqaʔɬ yeɬ ?ediɬiɬeʔsɪnu 'they're  
 jammed, crowded together' ('they've crowded them-  
 selves down (? , about?) amongst each other') L;  
 passive: xusədeɬeʔsɪ 'I'm getting crowded (in  
 here)' L, xusɪɬeʔsɪ, xusɪiɬeʔsɪ 'I'm crowded,  
 jammed (in here by someone, something)' L.

ɬe-ɬeʔs 'S squeezes (self) through tight place':  
 ?u'dəɬ liʔ xɬiɬeʔsɪ 'I squeezed myself (way  
 back) in there' L, ?u'dəɬ ?aʔɬ səleɬeʔsɪ 'it  
 (e.g. cat) is squeezing out (of house, e.g.  
 through slightly open door)' L.

dl-de-ɬeʔs (with dl-thematic, see end of entry)  
 'S (with horizontal surface) lists, tilts, isn't  
 level' (perhaps passive of 0-dl-ɬeʔs): ɬa'-  
 sədeɬeʔsɪ 'it (table, floor, boat) slants,

tilts' L. Transitive (causative, or perhaps base form) 'S makes O (with horizontal surface) tilt':  
λa'siŋq'e'si 'I tilted it (e.g. table, by putting something under leg)' L, with ɣu? 'to finished shape, right straight': ɣu? λa'seŋq'e's 'make it level (e.g. table, by putting something or removing something from under leg)!' L. dl-thematic perhaps thematized class-mark for O, originally 'stone', 'S wedges O (stone)'.



see ?i-d-?a; Harrington q̄hs talláhqayyú  
 'old name for whites and Russians, "horizon peo-  
 ple" G; q̄ahsdelahseyu' ('cloud-dwellers'), not  
 used by Cordova Eyak L, probably a calque on Tlingit  
 guʔki q̄ʷán 'white man, American' ('cloud-  
 people', cf. Tlingit gúʔ 'cloudy sky', see also  
 Krause (tr. Gunther 1996) 252, 258, Swanton BBAE  
 26:414), perhaps reinforced by phonological simil-  
 arity to standard Eyak ʔelahsʷaʷeyu' 'white  
 people, Americans', Harrington q̄hs tálláhq̄yyú  
 tshítí'te 'Ocean (Russian) Point' (name of Ocean  
 Cape?, near Yakutat) q̄ahsdelahseyu·c̄iʔdaʔd  
 ('white people's point'), probably calque on  
 English 'Russian Point', Harrington K̄ahs talláh-  
 qayyuuya'm̄a 'name of salt water lake at GJ's  
 smokehouse' (Tlingit k̄útski-q̄ʷán-ʔáyi guʔki  
 q̄ʷán ʔáyi) q̄ahsdelahseyu·yaʔ ma' ('white  
 people's lake'), probably a calque on the Tlingit.

q̄a·ʔs<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with q̄a·ʔs<sup>2</sup>)

-q̄a·ʔs-g (attested only with -g-repetitive, perhaps thematized, perhaps transitive as below) 'S makes clicking, clucking sound (apical or lateral click) in surprise (at O?)': xq̄a·ʔsg 'I'm making a clicking sound' L, siq̄a·ʔsḡ 'I made a clicking sound' L. This was apparently a common form of expression, but "old people were afraid of it and didn't like it" L; cf. ʔed-ɬə-q̄a·ʔs(-g) under q̄a·ʔs<sup>2</sup>.

O-q̄a·ʔs-g (as preceding, clearly transitive) 'S makes clicking sound (apical or lateral click) at O in surprise': ʔew q̄a·ʔsḡh 'he's clicking at it (in surprise, not in disapproval or regret)' L.

de-q̄a·ʔs-g (as preceding, perhaps the only proper intransitive form) 'S makes clicking sound (apical or lateral click)': sdiq̄a·ʔs̄ 'he made a clicking sound' L.

qa'ʔs<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with qa'ʔs<sup>1</sup>, partly confused with qa'ʔs)

O-qa'ʔs-g (attested only with -g-repetitive, probably thematized, stem once -qa'ʔs- and once, perhaps correctly, -qa'ʔs-, or influenced by qa'ʔs) 'S straightens O out by stretching', attested only with 1-class-mark for O: ʔeʔa:s siʔaʔ lexqa'ʔsg 'I'm straightening my (crooked, bent) basket out' L, ʔeʔa:s ʔiʔaʔ li:qa'ʔsg 'straighten your basket out!' L.

ʔed-ʔe-qa'ʔs(-g) (with -g-repetitive partly thematized, reflexive of unattested O-ʔe-qa'ʔs) 'S stretches self (e.g. upon awakening) extends limbs': ʔedʔeqa'ʔs, ʔedʔeqa'ʔsg 'I'm stretching myself (e.g. after sleep)' L, ʔedʔeʔiqa'ʔsʔ, ʔedʔeʔiqa'ʔsgʔ 'I stretched' L, ʔedʔeqa'ʔsʔiʔh 'he (very small baby) is extending and moving his arms and legs' L, with yeʔ-progressive: yeʔ ʔedʔe-qa'ʔsʔ 'I'm stretching (my limbs about, after sleep)' L. Stretching oneself was considered bad manners for adult Eyaks L; cf. qa'ʔs<sup>1</sup>.

qəʒ

qəʒ (noun, unclassified) 'ribbon' L, 'hair-ribbon, ribbon' (symbolically equivalent to 'tail', of female groundhog) 23, 36, 37, 41, 41, 46, 49, 51, 51A, Kuʔaʔw qəʒ 'long ribbon' L.

O-qəʒ 'S ties ribbon around O': with 1-anatomical:  
 ʔɪ-siqəʒkɪh 'I tied a ribbon around her head' L;  
 reflexive: ʔədlisidqəʒkɪh 'she has a ribbon,  
 bow tied in her hair' L; passive: sdiqəʒkɪ 'it  
 has a ribbon tied around it' L.

qih3

de-qih3 'S is, becomes rancid, bitter, sour,  
 spoiled', attested only with class-marks for S;  
 gy·8diqih3 'it (e.g. butter, lard, Crisco,  
 sealoil) got rancid' (referring to bad taste,  
 not odor) L, ləxə8diqih3 'they (berries)  
 spoiled, turned bitter, sour' L.

qa·č

d-qa·č (with d-thematic 'oral') 'S has, gets  
 heartburn, indigestion, dyspepsia, discomfort in  
 upper digestive tract', also, perhaps, 'S has,  
 gets (discomfort from) water in nasal passages':  
 dišiq̄a·čī 'I got uncomfortable feeling and am  
 belching after eating greasy food; I got water up  
 my nose' N, 'I got heartburn, indigestion, from  
 eating too much food that didn't agree with me'  
 L.

qəš (perhaps reduced form of qə·ʔš)

-qəš 'S is, becomes bent out of (right-angled) shape, position' (meaning not clearly distinguished from that of following, apparently not freely used, following preferred): siʔaʔ šeqəšš (same as siʔaʔ lešeqəšš) 'it got "lopsided" "on" me' L.

l-qəš (with l-thematic) 'S is, becomes bent out of (right-angled) shape, position': lešeqəšš 'it is getting bent out of shape, breaking down' (e.g. of square becoming rhomboid, leg of table beginning to break off and no longer vertical) L, siʔaʔ lešeqəšš (same as siʔaʔ šeqəšš) 'it got "lopsided" "on" me' L, ʔuʔahš ʔewa· lešeqəšš 'its leg (of chair) is crooked, bent out of vertical' L, quʔli·qəš 'it'll get bent out of (rectangular, right-angled) shape' L. Transitive (causative): quʔli·xiqəš 'I'll bend it out of (right-angled) shape' L, lešexiqəš 'I'm bending it out of (right-angled) shape' L, ʔi·siqəšš 'I bent it out of (right-angled) shape' L.

g-qəš (with g-thematic, perhaps anatomical or class-mark thematized) 'S limps, is, becomes lame, crippled (in legs)': gušeqəšš 'you're limping' L, gušeqəšših 'he's limping, he's lame, he's a cripple' M.

o-sa? yeʒ 0-dl-ɛ-ɕeʂ-ʒ (perhaps causative of  
 l-ɕeʂ above with yeʒ-progressive) 'S moves jaw  
 from side to side (as in gnashing teeth or of  
 horse chewing), distorting mouth': ʔusa?d yeʒ  
 λa-ɛɕeʂɕɪh 'he's moving his jaw from side to  
 side' L; indirect reflexive; <sup>ci</sup> sa? yeʒ ʔeλa-  
 ɛɕeʂɕɪh (same as preceding) 'he's moving his  
 jaw from side to side' L; <sup>probably</sup> ~~is connected to~~ sa? yeʒ λa-ɛ-  
 ɕeʂɕɪh,  
 under sa? is here to be interpreted as  
 about present, 'he's distorting himself  
 at the mouth'

## qahš

qahš (noun, unclassified) 1. 'bone (in meat, fish), bony food' LMS, 41.4L, Rezanov Казань 'Кость Knochen', Казань охотенель 'Костякост knochern' qahš wəx s̄iniš, qahš wəx s̄iliš 'it's made of bone' ('a bone has been made thus') L, qahš yišeh 'bony food' ('that which is bony') 41.1, 2, 11L, laʔdih qahš 'two bones' L, qahšxah ʔaʔie 'take the bone out, (de)bone it!' LS, qahšxahš ʔew səki·k̄ih 'he's (de)boning it' L, ʔuciʔleyeqyaʔ qahš 'bone inside fishhead' ('bone of the inside of its head') M, teʔyaʔyaʔ qahš 'fish bones' 46.3M.

2. 'shell' (perhaps incorrect) in

ʔi·ixi·škyaʔ qahš 'shell of red-abalone' L.  
 -qahš 'S chokes (especially on a bone)': kidah xqahš 'I'm continually choking (on anything, but especially on a bone)' L, səqahš̄ih 'he choked on a bone' L, siqahš̄i 'I choked on a bone' L, cautionary negative inceptive imperative: ʔiʔaʔ qəseqahš̄ejh 'don't let him (baby) choke "on" you!' L.

qa'ʔs

-qa'ʔs 'S is, becomes stiff, rigid' (attested only in active imperfective, not freely used, meaning not clearly distinguished from that of *te--* qa'ʔs 1. below): *sikahs siya' Saqa'ʔs* 'my leg is, got stiff (I can't bend it)' L.

*te-qa'ʔs* 1. 'S is, becomes stiff, rigid, cramped, paralyzed': *sikiqa'ʔs* 'it's stiff (of e.g. meat, corpse, cloth)' L, *ʔu' sikiqa'ʔs* 'it (any corpse) has completely stiffened (with rigor mortis)' L, with *yeʔ*-progressive (?): *yeʔ sikiqa'ʔs* 'his hand is cramped and paralyzed (with or without atrophy)' L, *yeʔ xsikiqa'ʔs* (perhaps transcribed in error for *yixsikiqa'ʔs* with *y*-anatomical) 'my hand is paralyzed and cramped (from holding on so tight)' L.

2. With *o-luʔ qaʔ* 'up out of, through hole in o', 'tight S leaves pressure-mark on (skin of) o': *siyeluʔ qaʔ sikiqa'ʔs* 'it (e.g. watchband) left a red mark on my wrist' L, with *d*-class-mark for S: *siyeluʔ qaʔ disikiqa'ʔs* 'it (ring) left a red mark on my finger' L.

*O-i-qa'ʔs-g* (causative of either *-qa'ʔs* or *te-qa'ʔs*, attested only with (partly thematized) *-g*-repetitive) 'S presses O flat, irons O, creases

O (with pressure)': ?əiqa·?əg 'iron it!, press it flat!, crease it!' L, qu<sup>2</sup>xiqa·?əg 'I'll iron it, press it flat' L; passive, nominalized with -yu· 'plural': skiqa·?əgyu· 'pile of ironed clothes' L.

O-?- (l-)l-qa·?ə (with l-thematic dropped in passive active perfective) 'S creases O': ?u<sup>2</sup>li·lqa·?ə 'crease it!' L; passive: ?u<sup>2</sup>skiqa·?əš 'it's been creased' L.

o-lah qa? O-?-y-la-qa·?ə (attested only with o-lah qa? 'up out around o' and y-anatomical, semantically intransitive, third person object thematic) 'S's hand is, becomes cramped, paralyzed around o (from gripping o long)': ?ulah qa? ?u<sup>2</sup>yixskiqa·?əš 'my hand became cramped, paralyzed around it (e.g. handle of bucket, from carrying long time) so that I could hardly open my hand' L.

*1.2.1. K'a?·?ə (nom) 'pressing, iron' ( = action of flattening, by means of ironing, is pressed).*

qe'g (partly confused with qe'k; not to be analyzed  
 qe-g with -g-repetitive, at least from L's point of  
 view; cf. however, Tlingit ya-qe 'to blame')

d-be-qe'g (with d-thematic 'oral, noise') 'S shouts,  
 speaks loudly and angrily, crossly, harshly, nastily,  
 abusively; S (animal) makes angry noise': debe-  
 qe'gih 'he's shouting angrily' L, ?ew lixah  
 disiqe'gi 'the grizzly-bear made an angry noise'  
 L, with o-č 'at, to o': ?uč dexbeqe'gih 'I  
 talk nasty to him' L, sič disiqe'gih 'he  
 talked loud and mean and nasty to me' L, ?ič  
 qu?debeqe'gih 'he'll talk very mad and mean to  
 you' L; indirect reflexive (perhaps of causative)  
 with ?adlexp-?č 'opposite oneself, in competition  
 with oneself': ?adlexp-?č dexbeqe'gih 'I answer  
 him back nastily' L. Transitive (causative):  
 xudaiqe'gih 'he's making me mad' L (stem not  
 mistranscribed, but cf. qe'k), ?iqe?di-beqe'gih  
 'he'll make you mad at him' L.

qe·k (partly confused with qe·g; Rezanov implies qe·k<sup>M</sup>, but S qe·k)

d-qe·k 'S is, becomes mad, angry, peeved, irritated': Rezanov Тамазку 'Бранитъся schimpfen', Тамазку 'Сердится zürnen' daqe·k<sup>M</sup> (or perhaps daqe·g<sup>M</sup>, deverbilization), kič dese-qe·kijh 'he's always getting mad' S, with o-d 'at, to o': sič deseqe·kijh 'he's getting peeved, mad at me' IM, ?ič desaxqe·kĭ 'I'm getting sore at you' L, ?ič qu?di·qe·k 'I'll get mad at you' L, ?uč disiqe·kĭ 'I got peeved at him' L, sič di·qe·kijh 'she's peeved at me' L (neuter perfective), with yax-progressive: yax dadeqe·kijh 'he's going around peeved' L. Transitive (causative): xudesi·iqe·kĭ 'you're making me mad' L; with Kud (Ku-indefinite o of o-d, translating as S): Kudš ?ideseiqe·k 'is something making you mad?' L; passive: disdiqe·kijh, disiqe·kijh 'he's been angered (by someone, something)' L.

daqe·kčiya? (noun, unclassified) 'angry, cross, snappy, irritable, mean person' ('anger-master') IM, Rezanov Тамазкучеша 'Сердитой zornig' daqe·k<sup>M</sup>čiya?.

q̄a·k̄

q̄a·k̄- (noun, unclassified), occurring only in  
 q̄a·k̄qaʔah (noun, unclassified) 'fishbones,  
 the spine and ribs of fish, especially as cut  
 out' LA, 65.4, 75, 76, 76A. To be analyzed  
 either q̄a·k̄qaʔ ʔah 'it extends, lies be-  
 tween q̄a·k̄', or q̄a·k̄ qaʔ ʔah 'q̄a·k̄ ex-  
 tends up out'.

qa'k'

O-i-qa'k' 'S splays, splits O open' (used especially of fish, cf. Meh): 65.40A, *ceiqa'k' L*, *?eiqa'k'* 'split it (e.g. fish, porcupine, seal) open!' LMA, *ya'?'a'gega' ?eiqa'k'* 'split it (stick) half-way (through half its length, to make forked stick for pulling spruceroot through to peel spruce-root)!' L, *qu'xkqa'k'* 'I'll split it (fish) open' L, *te'ya' sikiqa'k'* 'I split a fish open' L, *?iid ei'kqa'k' da'x* 'when you've split them apart' 65.41A, with anatomical marks: *qu'li-xi-qa'k'* 'I'll split its head open' L, *qu'ku-li-xi-qa'k'* 'I'll split its belly open, open it (fish) ventrally' L, *ku-li-kqa'k', te'ya' ku-leseiqa'k'* 'split it (fish) open ventrally!' L, *te'ya' ku-sikiqa'k'* 'I split a fish open ventrally' L, with d-class-mark for O: *ya'?'a'gega' di'kqa'k'* 'split it (board) half-way (through half its length)!' L, *lis deiqa'k'* 'it (lightning) splits a tree' L; passive: *sikiqa'k', sikiqa'k'* 'it (fish) has been split open' L, with d-class-mark for O: *ye'v distiqa'k'* 'wild celery has been split' L.

qa'k<sup>2</sup> (uncertain, perhaps lapse for qa)

qa' 0-d-qa'k (attested only with qa' 'up out'  
and d-, perhaps thematic) 'S (sun) burns,  
parches O (vegetation)': qa' deseqa'k<sup>2</sup> 'it  
(sun) burned the vegetation (too hot, drought)'  
L. Not verified, perhaps momentary lapse for  
deseqah<sup>2</sup>.

qaʔk-qaʔq (form uncertain, perhaps to be identified with, or influenced by qaʔk<sup>1</sup> and/or qaʔk<sup>2</sup>)

o-yeq qaʔc d-qaʔk-qaʔq (with o-yeq 'in o', qaʔc '(continuously) up out', and d-thematic 'oral') 'S chokes': siyeq qaʔc dæ:exqaʔqʔ (the following day: -qaʔkʔ) 'I'm choking' ("my windpipe feels like it's splitting") L.

(O?)-d-i-qaʔk (perhaps causative of preceding, perhaps with d-class-mark for O) 'S (impersonal?) chokes O (throat)', or 'S (throat) chokes': si=dəgaʔqʔ dæ:eiqaʔkʔ 'I'm choking' ('my throat is choking' or 'it's choking my throat') L.

## q̄əla·K

q̄əla·K (noun, unclassified) 'shirt' LS, Rezanov  
 Камлежъ 'Kamleja Kanleja (Sommerkleidung)',  
 Galushia Nelson q̄ald·q (or s̄ald·q or s̄ald·q)  
 'shirt' BSdL 550, kuzu· q̄əla·K 'nice shirt  
 (man's or woman's)' L, Galushia Nelson əla·t̄e·?  
 ke·i·t̄e·? q̄əlaq "red-appears shirt" BSdL 558  
 əa·t̄e·ḡā·? ?i·t̄eh q̄əla·K 'red shirt' ('shirt  
 which is like red-snapper (in color)'), Rezanov  
 Трихмехалижъ 'Parka Winterkleidung (Parka)  
 von Spermophilus-Fellen' səi·kəq̄əla·K 'shirt,  
 upper garment made of squirrel skins)' L, Galushia  
 Nelson s̄ənuqt̄s̄ā' s̄ald·q or s̄ənuqt̄s̄ā' s̄ald·q  
 'gutskin shirt' BSdL 550 gunux̄e·?q̄əla·K.

q̄eɖ¹

q̄eɖ¹ (noun, unclassified) 'loon, goodweather duck, weatherbird' LM, "smaller than yehs, has a different cry" L, 24.1, 2, 4, 5, 9, 18, 26, 26, 27, 28, 28, 36, 40, 46, 50, 51, 51, 53, 54a, 55, 57, 62, 70, 76, 77, 77, 78, 81, 82, 83, 93, 96, 96A, Galushia Nelson K̄eɖ 'loon' BSdL 539, q̄eɖwelahyu· 'loon-people' 24.2, 10A, q̄eɖwelahyu·qeʔi 24.5, 5A, q̄eɖwelahqeʔi 'loon-people--woman' 24.17A, q̄eɖyequhyu· 'loon-young' 24.73A, q̄eɖkəna·ʔd 'loon-coat' 24.40A, q̄eɖʕəlih 'loon--arm' 24.51A. This bird is probably 'Holboell's red-necked grebe (*Colymba grisegena holboelli*)', or, less likely, the 'American horned grebe (*Podiceps auritus cornutus*)' rather than a loon. The q̄eɖ was not to be eaten, because a man once turned into one. Joseph Grinnell ("Birds of the Kotzebue Sound Region, Alaska", Pacific Coast Avif. 1, 1900), says that "Although the [Kotzebue] natives eat loons and gulls as readily as ducks and geese, of the grebes they say, 'no good cow-cow, all same dog'," and Ivan N. Gabrielson writes (Gabrielson and Lincoln, The Birds of Alaska, 1959, p.67) that "Gabrielson has never had an opportunity to try Eskimos on this bird, <sup>but</sup> he has seen them eat

Horned Grebes as readily as any other waterfowl."

See also Eyak Texts 24.0fn, BSdL 113, 285-286.

L thinks the name qəq may be imitative of the cry.

q'eq<sup>2</sup> (perhaps earlier q<sup>h</sup>eq<sup>h</sup>, q'uq, Rezanov нок, кук)

ie-q'eq 'S has, gets a (muscular) cramp': ieq'eq  
'he has a cramp (anywhere on body)' M, not veri-  
fied, perhaps blend of de-kug and y-ie-q'eq.

y-ie-q'eq (with y-anatomical, the only these known  
to L with this stem) 'S closes hand, makes a fist':

Rezanov Эхалляжжжж 'Кулак Faust' yeseieq'uq<sup>t</sup>

'you're closing your hand, making a fist', ye-

sexieq'eq<sup>t</sup> 'I'm making a fist' L, yeseieq'eq

'close your hand!' L<sup>a</sup>, qu<sup>o</sup>yexieq'eq 'I'll close

my hand' L, yixsieq'eq<sup>t</sup> 'my hand is closed' L,

yisieq'eq<sup>t</sup>ih 'his hand is closed, cramped closed'

L, with ya<sup>o</sup> 'completely': ya<sup>o</sup> yeseieq'eq 'your

hand is cramped closed' M, with o-x 'with o':

Rezanov Утлелляжжжж 'Важно pressen, ausringen

(Imperat.)' <sup>o</sup>u<sup>o</sup> yieq'eq 'hold it (tight) in

your hand!' ('close your hand with it (in it)!')

L, repetitive: yeseieq'eq<sup>g</sup>ih 'he keeps (opening

and) closing his hand' L.

## qəx

qəx (noun, 1-class or unclassified) 'fat (not rendered), blubber' M, 49.147A (unclassified), Rezanov Kpakoxetsem 'Здоровъ gesund' ?idah qəx yiljhih 'he's nicely fat, plump', qəx sič li·?a? 'give me (a piece of) fat, blubber!' L.

-qəx (noun, 1-class or unclassified) 'fat (not rendered), blubber': Kuqəx 'fat' 9.84, 88, 93, 93, 94A, 12.15, 23G, 49.144A (all unclassified), Kuqəx?ale?e? 'for fat' (1-class) 49.133A, Kuqəxyu 'quantities of fat' 10.85A, Kuqəxkih 'bit of fat' 49.131A, Kuqəxluw 'big piece of fat' M, Kuletə? Kuqəx 'lots of fat' L, Kuqəx ?u·d ?i·se?ahk (not -tahk) 'a piece of fat is there' L, la·qəya?qəx 'mountain goat-fat' 49.123, 133A (unclassified), Sedingəqəx 'bacon' ('pig-fat') L.

qəxde· (exclamation, epithet) 'greedy' (especially of child who persistently begs for fat to eat) LM; qəxde· xileh 'I'm greedy' M, qəxde· yileh 'you're greedy' M, qəxde· yiljhih 'he's greedy, never satisfied, always hungry' M; Galushia Nelson səqəxté 'fat' BSdL 548, "called for fat: 'səqəxté!'" BSdL 315, probably to be read Kuqəxde·, with possessed instead of non-possessed

noun. See de<sup>4</sup> for -de<sup>4</sup>.

ca<sup>4</sup>leqex (noun) 'sea-anemone, crab species'?, see under ca<sup>4</sup>.

-qex (adjective) 'fat', occurring as suffix in pejorative epithets only: lequh<sup>4</sup>qex 'fat-cheeks!' 11.138A, lequh<sup>4</sup>qexluw 'big-fat-cheeks!' 10.93A, lequh<sup>4</sup>qexsiyah 'nasty-fat-cheeks!' 10.96A.

ie-qex 'S is, becomes fat': Rezanov Слѣххххъ 'Expao fett (adj.)' siqexi 'it is, got fat', with ku<sup>4</sup>sd-anatomical: ku<sup>4</sup>sdisiqexih 'he (e.g. baby) has, got fat, chubby legs' L.

l-ie-qex (with l-thematic, probably l-anatomical 'head, face' thematized) 'S is, becomes (generally) fat': lixiqexi 'I'm fat' L, diK la<sup>4</sup>xieqexic 'I'm not fat' L (neuter perfectives), ?i<sup>4</sup>.siqexi 'it's fat' M, qexa<sup>4</sup> lisiqexih 'my how fat she is!' M, lixiqexi 'I'm fat' L (active perfectives), ?i<sup>4</sup>.hiqexya<sup>4</sup> diK xa<sup>4</sup>iq ku<sup>4</sup>xa<sup>4</sup>.sih 'he's not eating much lest he get fat' L. Transitive (causative), repetitive (apparently thematized): li<sup>4</sup>.hiqexgih 'fatten him up (with repeated feedings)!' L.

## q̄eš

q̄ešg (noun, unclassified, with -g-repetitive thematized) 'gristle' MA, 'scab, earwax' M (L rejects all these glosses), q̄ešgʷaʷluw 'big hunk of gristle' M. L is probably correct in rejecting these glosses, especially the latter two; cf. seʷq̄š.

-q̄eš-g (with -g-repetitive thematized) 'S (skin, leather) dries and stiffens' (not freely used, attested in active perfective only, meaning not clearly distinguished from that of še-q̄eš-g): seq̄ešḡi 'it (shoe, skin) got dry and stiff' L.

še-q̄eš-g (as above) 'S (skin, leather) dries and stiffens': šiq̄ešḡi 'it (shoe, skin) got dry and stiff' (same as seq̄ešḡi) L, 'dry skin' A, with l-anatomical: ʷi-xšiq̄ešḡi 'my skin (face) got dry' L. Transitive (causative): ʷešq̄ešḡ 'make it dry and stiff and hard!' L.

š-q̄eš-g (as above) 'S's skin gets dry and flaky and peels': sešq̄ešḡiḥ 'his skin got dry and flaky and is peeling' M. Uncertain, not verified.

leḥešq̄ešḡ IM, leḥešq̄ešḡ L (noun, lḥ-class, nominalization of preceding with lḥ-class mark for S) 'dogwood berries, blackberries' IM, 'tiny black berries, grow on meadow' L; Harrington has

the following from G: laḡḡattakKÍK 'dogwood or  
 dogwood berries, bunch berry' leḡedeKÍK, laḡḡaḡḡa-  
 KÍKc 'Russian gate ("crunches when chewed") leḡe-  
 takuKḡ (both of which are equivalent to Yakutat  
 ḡekaxéḡg which Naish and Story gloss 'St. Jacob's  
 berry'), laḡḡaḡḡakKÍKc 'red berries', probably  
 to be read laḡaieḡeḡḡ, these items all being  
 partly confused with la'ḡKigḡg, q.v. under  
 Kigḡg-KiKḡg; la'ḡḡeḡḡg 'dogwood berries?' M.  
 These berries are probably to be identified as  
 'dogwood berry, bunchberry, St. Jacob's berry  
 (Cornus canadensis)' and/or perhaps 'sarvice-,  
 serviceberry, June berry (Amelanchier alvifolia  
 or A. florida)', and/or 'commandra, timberberry,  
 dogberry (Geocaulon lividum)', and/or 'blackberry,  
 crowberry, curlewberry (Empetrum nigrum)'.

qedi<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be analyzed qe-di, qe- perhaps to  
be identified with qah-qa'-qe and/or qedi<sup>2</sup>)

qedi- (element of unknown morphological classifi-  
cation and unknown meaning), occurring only in  
qedidj· (numeral) 'eight'; see dj·. Perhaps  
qede- > qedi- by assimilation to vowel of -dj·.

q'ixah (unanalyzable, probably to be segmented, whether of Eyak or Tlingit origin, q'i-xah, but q'i- prefix not identifiable as Eyak and phonologically irregular for Eyak, probably related in any case to xa<sup>2</sup>)

q'ixah (noun, unclassified) 'belligerent fleet of boats, naval war' (uncertain, "something about war") L, q'ixah 'q·č səya·h 'a fleet of canoes is coming here for war' L.

qedi<sup>2</sup> (IMS qedi, LM also earlier sedi, verified qedi with L; perhaps to be analyzed qe-di, qe- perhaps to be identified with qah-qa'-qe)  
qedi- (element of unknown morphological classification and unknown meaning), occurring only in qedilič 'gray cod'; see lič. Perhaps qede- > qedi- by assimilation to vowel of -lič.

q'eλ (q'eλ G only, under influence of Tlingit; loan from Tlingit q'áλ 'cooking-pot', also occurring in q'eλg'e-i-q'eλge-i)

q'eλ (noun, unclassified) 'pot, cooking-pot' IM, q'eλ 'cooking-pot' G, ?ew q'eλya?ɣ 'into the cooking-pot' 27b.53A, q'eλ'a?luw 'big cooking-pot, cauldron' IM, ?ew q'eλ'a?luwya?d 'in that big cauldron' 51.67A, with ku-l-anatomical 'belly, widest part': q'eλku?nuw 'big bellied round pot, cauldron' L, q'eλ'ekih cat's name ('pot, diminutive, affectionate')A, Puruhjelm Iakhutakhuat 'kettle' conceivably to be read ya?ɣ deq'eλ "might be some kind of pot" L, but see ?uya?ɣ kudeqa?ɣg under qa?t<sup>1</sup>).

qəlg<sup>w</sup>e·i-qəλge·i (A once q<sup>w</sup>əλge·i under influence of  
Tlingit; loan from Tlingit q<sup>w</sup>áλ g<sup>w</sup>éi (Sampson Harry)

'pot' ('pot-sack'), see also qəλ<sup>h</sup>əw w. sələ/əff q<sup>w</sup>éi g<sup>w</sup>éi

qəlg<sup>w</sup>e·i-qəλge·i (noun, unclassified) 'bottle,  
quart': qəlg<sup>w</sup>e·i SG, q<sup>w</sup>əλge·i 'bottle' A,  
qəλge·i 'bottle, quart' LM, qəλge·i luw 'big  
bottle' LM.

'bottle' &  
'belly bag',  
influenced  
in any case  
by q<sup>w</sup>áλ-  
g<sup>w</sup>éi.

qa·dya·g (unanalyzable, clearly to be segmented

qa·d-ya·g, perhaps further qa·-d and/or ya·-g)

qa·dya·g (attested only as locative) 'into slavery': attested only in Ku<sup>?</sup>di<sup>?</sup>lah<sup>?</sup> xi<sup>?</sup>eh da·<sup>?</sup>  
 qa·dya·g 'iqe<sup>?</sup>xiteh "'if I were a big chief  
 I'd sell you into slavery"' ('if I were a chief  
 of the opposite moiety I'd give you (away) into  
 slavery', said as threat to unruly child) L.

q̣e·ḳeX̣ (loan from Tlingit x̣éx̣<sup>h</sup>ə̣F 'pin')

q̣e·ḳeX̣ (noun, unclassified) '(common, straight)

pin' L.

qe'ʔsk (loan from Tlingit ʔéskʰ 'Steller's jay',  
partly onomatopoeic, widely diffused, see also kušk,  
qe'škuha·gu·-qe'škuʔa·gu·)

qe'ʔsk (noun, unclassified) 'Steller's jay (Cyano-  
citta stelleri)', locally called 'bluejay' LA,  
6.1M, 10.60, 83, 210A, 34.18L, qe'ʔskyu 10.48A,  
qe'ʔskəyu 'bluejays' 10.53A.

qe'ʔskyaʔ laʔmahd (noun, 1x-class) 'berry species'  
L, 'cranberry species' A ('bluejay's berries',  
probably calque on or influenced by Tlingit qeš=  
knhágu, Eyak qe'škuha·gu· or qe'škuʔa·gu·,  
q.v., informants associating, incorrectly, qe'š-  
with qe'ʔsk).

qe·skuha·gu·-qe·skuḡa·gu· (former less frequent, loan  
 from Tlingit qeškahágu 'very small cranberries'  
 -kxhágu '-roe', see also kuha·g·kuḡa·g)

qe·skuhaígu·-qe·skuḡa·gu· (noun, 1x-class) 'berry  
 species' L (unable to identify or etymologize,  
 "sounds like Tlingit", but word used by Eyaks L).

Veniaminov κ'εω κατάκω 'Брусника  
 στογα, κ'εω σοβετσенно значотъ семга  
 (рѣба) а κατάκω — — икра, cf.  
 Rezanov τριγ-άωκακυ 'Брусника',  
 Eyak τλανεκοαχута λε.ε'ε.'γ'α?  
 lex: 'red berries', W.S. Woleff unable to  
 identify qeš-.

x<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with one or more homophonous morphs; see also (-)ɣ- below)

o-ɣ (postposition; with anatomical, thematic, or class-marks the last element of which is -l-, -l-ɣ > -'nəɣ, or where the last element is not -l-, -C-ɣ > -Ca·ɣ) 1. 'in contact with, glancing, brushing, moving against point on, along part of o, extending to point on, adhering to o', sometimes requiring verb theme with ɩ-classifier where paired with theme with zero classifier, zero classifier theme meaning 'S acts upon O', ɩ-classifier theme meaning 'S substantially changes or fixes position or condition of O by such action' (cf. 2. below), often with indeterminate o (da·ɣ), with reciprocal o (?iɩɣ or ?iɩi·ɣ), and with reflexive o (o never deleted without intervening mark, ?edɣ, but see ya·ɣ below) a.: siɣ Kuseɩdehɩ 'someone shone a light on me' L, o-ɣ ke-tiɩ 'S freezes (adhering) to o', siɣ Kuseɩ-tiɩ 'his arrow grazed me' L, o-ɣ O-ɩ-ɣi 'S ties O to o', da·ɣ O-ɩ-ɣi 'S ties O up (to indeterminate o)' (cf. o-ɩ O-ɣi 'S ties O to o'), ?uɣ ?iqe?xiəʔa?g 'I'll spot it up' ('I'll strike glancing blows at it') L, ?uɣ ?edgedəxəɣuɣ 'I'm butting it with my rump' L, o-ɣ d-ɩe-cu?d(-g) 'S adheres to o by suction', da·ɣ dəkecu?dɣ

'leech', O-i-dax 34.83fn, ?ikx dasei?ahet  
 'sew them together!' L, da-x O-xd-?a? 'S strikes  
 O (match)', da-xeda?a?g 'match', da-x ?i-?-  
 gdl-geh3 'S barely hangs on (to indeterminate o)',  
 ?aw ?ikx saigahetih 'he glued them together' M,  
 o-x ie-gaxd 'S sticks to o', ?edix da-x de-  
 gaxdg 'wallpaper', Ku?e-gaxd 'Property Woman'  
 (< Ku? yegaxd), o-x d-ie-kihd 'S jostles o',  
 si-nax daseiKa?et 'it flew by grazing my head' L,  
 siya-x daseiKa?et 'it flew by grazing my hand' L,  
 da-x O-i-Kawah3 'S nails O up (to indeterminate o,  
 wall)', ya-nax O-i-Kawah3 'S nails O down (to  
 floor)', ?ikx O-i-Kawah3 'S nails O together',  
 xaded da-x dadeKawah3g 'plyboards for ceiling'  
 L, ?ikx selex<sup>w</sup>eK da-x 'when they drift together'  
 60.59A, ?u-nax yex sedexu<sup>w</sup>et 'snow is sliding  
 down it (mountain)' L, da-x ?i-lexi?d(-g) 'wood-  
 pecker' L, o-x O-i-xa?d 'S ties O to o' (cf.  
 o-d O-x<sup>w</sup>a?d. 'S ties O (on)to o'), ?ikx O-g--  
 i-saed 'S twists O (strands) together', o-x O--  
 i-qaK 'S rubs O against o', ?ih<sup>i</sup>-x ?i-sdiquh<sup>i</sup>inu-  
 'they brushed against each other as they ran' L,  
 ?ikx O-i-xahd 'S fastens O together', ?ahnu-  
 da-x lakya?wginu- 'she dashes their brains out  
 (swinging their heads against indeterminate o)'  
 49.65A, ?ikx sixa?d<sup>i</sup> 'I sewed it loosely to-

gether' L, ?uʔ səleʔg 'touch it!' L, ʕiyahd=  
 ?a·naʔ sileʔgʔ 'my hand touched, brushed against  
 a hat' L, siya·ʔ səleʔgʔh 'he touched my hand'  
 L, ?adlaʔada·ʔ xdalugg 'I'm rubbing my eyes' L,  
 ʕaʔ ?adʔ 0-ʔ-uʔg-, 0-ʔe-leʔg- 'S holds 0 close  
 to self', ?uʔ yisiliʔ 'my hand brushed against  
 it' L, 0-ʔ -ʔya (-ʔya lb.(2), 8.) 'S comes in=  
 to contact with o', siʔ ʔa·saʔyahʔ 'it fell over,  
 touching me as it fell' M, 0-ʔ yd-ʔya 'o gets S  
 (hunting)' (modest, 'S wanders into contact with  
 o'), 0-ʔ ʔdl-ʔya 'S running glances against o',  
 0-ʔ d-də-ʔeʔʔ 'S braces self with feet against o',  
 0-ʔ dl-ʔe-ʔeʔ 'S bumps head, stubs toe against o',  
 0-l-ʔ (-·naʔ) -ʔa' 'S extends, runs down o's  
 face', ?iʔla·ʔ (irregular) ʔa·ʔʕ ʔeleteʔah da·ʔ  
 'when water runs down along the mountain' ʔ.64M,  
 0-ʔ -ʔa' 'S extends to (point on) o', ?iʔ di=  
 diʔah 'seam, joint', ?iʔ ?uluʔ ʔudeʔah 'dove=  
 tail joint', ʔədəd da·ʔ quʔdi·xʔah 'I'll set  
 up a fish rack' L, ?i·ʔi·ʔ səʔaʔ 'juxtapose them!'  
 L, siʔ sahʔ 'it went by, brushing against me' L,  
 siqi·ya·ʔ 'in contact with my toe' L, ʕahʔti·naʔ  
 'in contact with a feather, leaf' L, ʕiyahdʔa·naʔ  
 'in contact with a hat' L, ?u·naʔ 'in contact with  
 it (l-class)' L; with l-class mark and evidently de=  
 leted o: sədəʔeyʔ·y ?i·naʔ (for ?i·na·ʔʔ ?)

yaʒ ʔidaʕaʔah daʔ ʔ 'when the fog hangs part way down it (mountain)' L; with indeterminate o, evidently used as preverb: guʔdag ʔaw qe-daʔ ʔa-ʕeʔkʔh 'again he (cust) throws them against the wall' 34.86L, see also stem daʔ.

1b. 'displacing o with violent movement' (? , probably extension of 1a. above): ʔahʒ yaʔʒ ʕak-ʕaʒgi 'it (goat) butted him up in the air with its horns' L, ʔah qeʔiʒ taʔʕ xʔʔiq diʕikʔhdʔh 'he shoved the woman violently into the water' L (perhaps incorrect in both instances).

1c. Various figurative extensions more or less clearly of meaning of 1a. above: 'aware of, concerning, afflicted by o, o getting caught short with insufficient supply': o-ʒ ku-d-i-ʕaʔq 'S hears (something) about, of o', ʔigahʒ kuʕaʔiʕaʔq 'I hear you dancing' L, o-ʒ O-ʔ-iʕ-le(?) 'S knows (O) about, of, finds (O) out about o', o-ʒaʔ yaʔ-ʒ ʔad-ʔ-iʕ-le(?) 'S appreciates o's favor, is beholden to o' ('S feels self in contact with (?) a thing in relation to o'), o-ʒ ʒaʒ O-i-ʔya 'S hears distant o' ('S puts ear in contact with o'), ʔeh o-ʒ ʔi-ʔ-d-ʔya 'S catches cold' ('cold catches up with o'), o-ʒ ʔi-ʔ-lʔdl-ʒek, o-ʒ ʔi-ʔ-lʔdl-weʔq 'S gets half drunk and runs out of liquor', see also o-l-ʒ and yaʔ below).

ld. Meaning vague, uncertain, 'along o'?,  
probably derived from la.: ca? ?ux sa?yah? place-name,  
?ux ?idi·?i?g? na·wda?ke·d 'narrow-necked bottle', perhaps also in da?u?ya·? 'true'; <sup>see also</sup> <sub>with ka.</sub>

le. 'into existence as o', perhaps specialized extension of la. (cf. also Tlingit o-? s-ti 'S is, becomes an o'): o-? ku-?e(?) (usually only with pronoun as o) 'S comes into existence, is born' ('something comes into existence as o', see -?e(?) 3f.), xi? ?uxa? ku?luw sa?e? ? 'snow piled high (got big) on them' 43.13M, ?el? ?i-du·?i?h 'her snot has dried bone-hard' ('her dry snot has dried into existence as bone' (poetic, in song) 72.40M, <sup>see also</sup> <sub>ya·? /e. (ya·x?)</sub>

lf. Meaning derived from l? and/or a., more or less figurative, in certain cases showing shift of zero or de-classifier in verb to ?- or ?e-: basic zero or de-, no shift: o-? decida? d-?ya 'S is full of o', o-? ?dl-ta 'S acts as bolt, crossbar for o' and causative O-?dl-(?-)ta 'S sets O as bolt for o', ?ux ku?e?a·detah, ?ux ku?e-?a·ta? ? 'latch, lock', o-? da·? ?i-?-d-le 'S begs o persistently'; shift not attested, perhaps optional: ga?dg? ?a?/qid -a 'S climbs up/own (on, by means of) ladder', ?ine? ?i?di?e? ? 'she's wearing a nose-ring' L; underlying classi-

fier i- or iə-: ?ukahsda·ʒ ?əw səikp·?dē  
 'seized it by the foot' 50.57A, o-ʒ iə-tux 'S  
 holds onto o', ?əwguʔahda·ʒ ?ədu?guʔa·liʔahē  
 'held onto her by the tail' 23.37A, o-ʒ 0-ʔ--  
 i-ʔyaʔʒ 'S asks o for o', dəiɡu·nəʒ kəqahʒʒiʔh  
 'he's coughing (with) blood' L, with verb-clause  
 as o: yaʔʒu· kulaʒ ?i·təhʒ ?ədquʔləʒkəʒe·ʒ  
 'don't pl. brag that you have more than the other  
 fellow' 1b.21M; showing shift: dəiɡu·nəʒ ʒeʔʒ  
 yeʒ kə·ʒiʔh 'he has a bloody stool' ('he's walk-  
 ing about outside near the house (excreting) with  
 blood') L (cf. -qi·yaga·gʒ yeʒ kə-a-ʒ 'S goes  
 about on tiptoe', yeʒ də-a-ʒ 'S goes about',  
 and, with no shift, o-ʒ phrase as epilogue: ?əw  
 kulaqah qə·ləʒ ?ada·g, le·iɡuka·ʒ 'the head  
 kept walking back ashore, on its hair' 53.12L),  
 o-ʒ ?əd-ʔ-kə-dəʔē 'S hoards o', o-ʒ ?i·lih-kə--  
 ?a·t 'S fall for, becomes enamoured of, crazy about  
 o', with adverb as o: gəhsdahʒ ?əh dəʒəiʒə·tʒiʔh  
 'begs him pitifully' 37b.34A.

2. 'by means of, with o (as instrument)',  
 in certain cases showing required or optional but  
 preferable shift of zero (or də-)classifier in verb  
 to i- (or iə-), there existing no basic theme with  
 i- (or iə-)classifier (cf. similar phenomenon in  
 Tlingit with Tlingit o-ʒ 'by means of o', noted

IJAL 34.201): see o-ɣ O-(ɬ-)se 'S kills O with o', o-ɣ O-(ɬ-)siyu- 'S kills pl. O with o', O-(ɬ-)ɣux 'S stabs O with o', o-ɣ O-dl-(ɬ-)du? 'S caulks, chinks, plugs O with o', o-ɣ O-l-(ɬ-)daʔd 'S decorates O (basket) with o (decorative straws)', or, where basic themes with both sets of classifiers are present, attested only or preferably with theme with ɬ-: see o-ɣ O-ɬ-ɣuʔd 'S slaps O with o', o-ɣ O-ɬ-dəɣ 'S hits O with (held or thrown) o', o-ɣ O-ɬ-qəʔ 'S rubs O with o', o-ɣ O-ɬ-ša- 'S digs O out with o', and see especially, with discussion, o<sup>1</sup>-ɣ (o<sup>2</sup>-ɣ) O-ɬ-ʔi 'S ties O (to o<sup>2</sup>) with o<sup>1</sup>', with themes attested only with basic ɬ-classifier also without o-ɣ: see O-ɬ-waʔd 'S whips O', O-ʔ-(l-)ɬ-dəɣ 'S tries to hit O', O-ɬ-ɣeʔ- 'S smears, paints, greases O', O-ɬ-yəʔ- 'S cures O', ya·kibdah O-ɬ-i 'S pays O', O-ɬ-ɣaʔʔ 'S clubs O', attested only with zero (perhaps optional ɬ-)classifier: see O-əəʔ 'S moves O with end of stick', O-qa 'S handles O (liquid) in container', O-ɣd-ɣahd 'S draws O (line)', O-ʔ-leʔg- 'S grabs O'; de·ɣd ya·kibdah xuquʔyikih -- əəmə·ɣ 'what will you pay me with? -- with maggots' 47c.35-36L, see also 37a.16L, 37b.53A, ʔuda·ɣ dəše·ʔ 'are (cust) killed by means of it (d-class)' 64.3fnG,

λa·ʕe·ʔgaʔ gaʔi·ʕehʔ ʔaiʔeʔ 'paint it (with)  
 red (dye)!' M, i-classifier usually present where  
 o-ʔ is clearly bound syntactically in verb clause,  
 but absent where o-ʔ is epilogue: ʔawʔ qũnu·  
 ʔaw laida·dʕ 'with those they (cust) decorate  
 them' 66.10L, ʔaw lada·dʕinu·, daʔd̄a·ʔ 'they  
 (cust) decorate them, with decorative straws' 66.-  
 9L, miscellaneous textual occurrences, o-ʔ often  
 epilogue: 4.13M, 8.18, 11.14, 82, 121, 144A, 16.-  
 22, 22M, 19.30, 21a.9L, 23.137, 25.130, 169A, 26.-  
 9L, 33.74A, 34.83, 89, 95, 126, 126L, 43.3, 5, 11,  
 33M, 51.20, 45A, 63.16, 64.2, 2G, with various  
 class-marks, final element not -l-: ʔihʔgada·ʔ  
 'with grass', ʕi·ʕgleʔa·ʔ 'with sand', ʕe·ʕk=  
 ʔada·ʔ 'with a log', ʕik̄ida·ʔ 'with an arrow',  
 gehʔida·ʔ 'with a spear', se·dʔuka·ʔ 'with  
 spruceroot', ʔi·ʔada·ʔ 'with a bear-spear',  
 xiʔleʔada·ʔ 'with snowballs', final element -l-  
 -l-ʔ > -·naʔ: teʕiʔa·naʔ, teʕiʔi·naʔ 'with a  
 hammer', kowusʕiʔa·naʔ 'with a paddle', seʕe=  
 ciʔtahti·naʔ 'with land-otter skins', kuʔeh̄=  
 qi·naʔ 'with a rope', la·ʔqi·naʔ 'with a cord',  
 se·dʔi·naʔ 'with a spruceroot-rope', giyahgu·naʔ  
 'with water' (cf. ʔal winggelekihiʔ ʔada·ʕeyʔ·ʔ  
 'cure yourself with this little bit of wine!' L),  
 daʔgu·naʔ 'with blood' (lf. above), ca·ʔi·naʔ

'with a rock', *zəwukʌli·nəʒ* 'with a net', *ci·=*  
*ʌli·nəʒ* 'with a net'; perhaps incorrect in *sita·?*  
*lisa·ʒ* *ʒə·?/ʒu?* *səiɪt* 'my father made it (can-  
 noe) out of (by means of?) a tree' L (cf. *o-da·-*  
*2c.* under *da·*<sup>3</sup>); very frequent in nouns derived  
 from verb themes, usually passive (active imper-  
 fective, with classifier, if ever shifted to *ɪ-*,  
 reverting to *de-* instead of *ɪe-* as is usual in  
 non-perfective passives), 'by means of it O is  
 acted upon', frequently with *ku-*indefinite O, and  
 frequently deverbalized with *ɪ-*instrumental suffix  
 to verb, *de-*classifier deleted; see *?uʒ* *kuʌa·da-*  
*du?* 'cork, chink, plug, *?uʒ* *dəda?*<sup>d</sup> *kuʒədətə?*<sup>ɪ</sup>  
 'key', *?uʒ* *kuʒəʌa·tə?*<sup>ɪ</sup> 'lock', *?uʒ* *kuʒəʌa·de-*  
*təh* 'latch', *?uʒ* *kuədəʒiŋ* 'something to shine  
 things with', *?uʒ* *kuʒaʒgɪ* 'ink, pen, pencil',  
*?uʒ* *kuədəʒaʒʒ(g)*, *?uʒ* *kuʒaʒʒ(g)ɪ* 'chisel', *?uʒ*  
*kuʒuxɪ* 'awl', *?uʒ* *ya?*<sup>d</sup> *deciɪhdg* 'pier', *?uʒ*  
*kucaʒɪ* 'scissors', *?uʒ* *yeʒ* *kuʌa·dədə?*<sup>dʒ</sup> 'tongs  
 for handling hot rocks', *?uʒ* *kuʒlədɪhɪt* 'marker,  
 signet, cachet', *?uda·ʒ* *?ədlesɪhɪʒɪt* 'razor',  
*?uʒ* *kuɪi·lədəsɪhɪʒɪg* 'skin scraper', *?uʒ* *sele-*  
*ɕi?*<sup>dʒ</sup>, *?uʒ* *kuɕeleɕeɕi?*<sup>dʒg</sup>, *?uʒ* *kuɕə·leɕi?*<sup>dʒg</sup>  
 'scrubbrush', *?uda·ʒ* *kuʒe·tɪ* 'cambium-scraping  
 spoon', *?uʒ* *kuʒiʒɪgɪ* 'saw', *?uʒ* *seleʒaʒʒɪ*  
 'broom', *?uʒ* *?iɕ* *kuədəʒəʒdʒ* 'glue, paste',

qa·xy·kayah ?ux dakus 'toothbrush', xutiyeqd  
 ?ux deku·d 'cleaning-rod', c'ik ?ux ?ekubd  
 'dishrag', ?ux ?edky·kekū·d, ?ux ?edleku...d  
 'towel', deqa·g ?ux dedexu?ng, ?ux kudexu?ng  
 'bellows', ?ux qa·c' kuxuigk 'corkscrew', ?ux  
 kudaxa·s 'carving-knife', ?ux kudaseig 'oar,  
 paddle', ?u·nax ta'qe'c' kuseigk 'oar', ?ux  
 ca· la·daxah 'pickaxe', ?ux lexeqek 'pes-  
 tle', ?ux kudaxah, ?ux qa' kuqa'k 'pliers,  
 pincers, tongs', ?ux kudaxed 'pincers', ?ux  
 qid kuqec'gk 'snuffers', ?ux kuqa'·?egk 'press-  
 ing-iron', ?ux yax kulaxedaxa?kx 'shinny--  
 stick', ?ux ya' kuxehk 'meat chopper', ?ux  
 kudaxas 'curved knife', ?ux yax kedexe·x, ?ux  
 yax kuqu'daxeh 'pack strap', ?ugu·nax kuxek  
 'paint', ski'mabd ?ux daxe' 'spread for bread',  
 ?ux ?edlexe' 'ointment for face', ?ux kudewa'c'  
 'whip', ?ux ?edkukewa'c' 'willow boughs for slap-  
 ping self in steam bath', ?ux ?edkuci'la'lahk  
 'comb', ?ux wax kudalah 'tool', ?ux dekuda-  
 leh 'knitting needle', ?ux yax ku'dayahdax 'mea-  
 suring stick', ?ux ya'd kuya·?k 'pier', non-  
 passive (see also reflexives amongst preceding),  
 classifier usually shifted to k-, ke-: ?ux xehd  
 ku'kja·tg 'key', giyahda·kalah 'water bucket'  
 (< giyah ?ux da· kalah, cf. giyah da· dalah

'we drink water'), ?uʔ kʷisiyuhyu, ?uʔ kʷi-  
 siŋ 'weapons', in inceptive imperfective, in-  
 flected for S: ?uʔ kʷaquʔwəʂehyu 'hunting-gear',  
 ?uʔ kʷaquʔxiʂehyu 'my hunting-gear', ?uʔ kʷa-  
 qiʔyiʂehyu 'your hunting-gear'.

3. Status and identity uncertain, preceding  
 other postpositions or preverbs: o-ʔ-da-d 'with-  
 out o' (see o-da- 3b. under da.<sup>3</sup>, note however  
 giyahgeleʔda-d ?uʔ kaʔkih place-name, 'there's  
 no water on it', for expected giyahgu.nəʔda-d);  
 o-ʔ-yeʔʔ--yaʔʔ 'all o long': gahʔyeʔʔ 'all day  
 long', xahʔyaʔʔ 'all summer long' (cf. ʔəʔyeʔʔ  
 'all night long', ʔəla.gyaʔʔ 'all winter long'  
 without -ʔ-, see under yeʔʔ-yaʔʔ); ya-ʔ-ʔe-  
 qaʔ 'upside-down'.

o-l-ʔ (postposition, with l-anatomical thematized,  
 always realized o-ʔ.nəʔ, 'in contact with o's  
 head', or perhaps < o-l-leʔ 'past, beyond, too  
 much for o's head') 'tormenting, discomfiting,  
 inconveniencing o': o-ʔ.nəʔ kʷu-d-ʔya 'o is tor-  
 mented, has a hard time' and causative o-ʔ.nəʔ  
 kʷu-d-ʔ-ʔya 'S torments o, gives o a hard time',  
 see d-ʔya 3c.; si.nəʔ yəʔ da.ʔih 'he's  
 walking about angrily around me, won't talk or  
 recognize me' L.

ya-ʔ (postpositional phrase, perhaps preverbial-

ized, < o-y-x̣ with y-anatomical thematized, 'in contact with o's hand' or especially 'by means of o's hand', attested only with deleted reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction, requiring shift of zero classifier to k-, then to kə-; see also ya·x̣<sup>1</sup>, ya·x̣<sup>2</sup>) 'with own hand' (attested as such in two themes only): ya·x̣ ʔiqeʔx̣əšeh 'I'll beat you up good' ('I'll practically kill you with my own hands') L, ya·x̣ s̄išeh̄iḥ 'I beat him up good' L, ya·x̣ x̄aḥik̄iḥd̄i 'I swiped it' ('I imparted a quick motion to it with my (own) hand') L, ya·x̣ k̄ux̄s̄ik̄iḥd̄i 'I swiped something' L, ya·x̣ dix̄s̄ik̄iḥd̄i 'I swiped it (money, knife)' L.

-x̣ (final element to postpositions and preverbs, probably occurring with all postpositions which occur with non-zero finals and all preverbs which also occur with -d final, but not suffixed directly to forms ending in -q·ʔ, in which cases -dəx̣ final occurs to the exclusion of -x̣ final, or to forms ending in a consonant other than -ʔ or -h, in which cases either a variant of ʔeʔ- is interposed (preverbs) or -dəx̣ final occurs (postpositions) to the exclusion of -x̣ final) la. 'movement (originating within or without and continuing) within (area designated by stem of postposition or preverb)': e.g. taʔx̣ sah̄iḥ 'he walked into the

water (and continued some distance), he walked  
 in the water (waded some distance)' (cf. ta<sup>?</sup>  
 sah<sup>h</sup>ih 'he walked into the water (and stopped)'),  
 qa·qa<sup>?</sup> sa·<sup>?</sup> 'walk between us (we stationary or  
 moving)!', qa·qa<sup>?</sup> 'iya<sup>?</sup> 'walk (along) between  
 us (we moving)!' (cf. qa·qa<sup>?</sup> sa·<sup>?</sup> 'join us!,  
 come between us, into our midst!'), for all in-  
 stances see the following: o-da<sup>?</sup>, (o-)d-da<sup>?</sup>,  
 o-g-da<sup>?</sup>-, o-l-da<sup>?</sup>-, o-y-da<sup>?</sup>, o-ci<sup>?</sup>-da<sup>?</sup> (da<sup>?</sup><sup>1</sup>),  
 o-da·-, xdl-da·-x. da·x (da·<sup>3</sup>), ta<sup>?</sup>, o-ta<sup>?</sup>,  
 (o-)d-<sup>h</sup>a<sup>?</sup> (<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>-), o-ci<sup>?</sup>-<sup>?</sup>, ce<sup>?</sup>-x, xə-ciya<sup>?</sup>-,  
 'i·ca<sup>?</sup>- (ci<sup>?</sup>-), o-sih (sih<sup>2</sup>), o-sa<sup>?</sup>, o-<sup>h</sup>-a·,  
 o-l-<sup>h</sup>-a· (<sup>h</sup>), o-<sup>h</sup>a<sup>?</sup>, o-qa<sup>?</sup>, 'ih-qa<sup>?</sup>- (qa<sup>?</sup>-  
 q<sup>h</sup>-qa·), qənuh, (o)-qəyəh, o-xa<sup>?</sup>, o-y-xa<sup>?</sup>,  
 o-d-xa<sup>?</sup>, 'i·y-i<sup>?</sup>- (lah<sup>3</sup>-), li<sup>?</sup>, o-li<sup>?</sup>, o-la<sup>?</sup>,  
 o-x-la<sup>?</sup>-, o-y-x-la<sup>?</sup>-, o-lu<sup>?</sup>, ya·nu<sup>?</sup> (lu<sup>?</sup>-nu<sup>?</sup>),  
 yəna·<sup>?</sup>-, o·-na·<sup>?</sup>-, 'i·na·<sup>?</sup>- (na·<sup>?</sup>), o-ya<sup>?</sup>,  
 ya<sup>?</sup> (ya<sup>?</sup><sup>4</sup>), ya·na<sup>?</sup> (ya·(n)), o-'ih-, o-d-'ih-  
 -x ('ih<sup>1</sup>), o-'e·-x ('e·<sup>1</sup>), o-'e<sup>?</sup>, o-d-'e<sup>?</sup>,  
 o-lxdl-'e<sup>?</sup>, o-qi·dl-<sup>h</sup>-e<sup>?</sup>, o-lxd-e·<sup>?</sup>-, o-d--  
 i·<sup>?</sup>- ('e<sup>?</sup>-), requiring interposition of variant  
 of 'e<sup>?</sup>- or special form of stem: ləc-e<sup>?</sup>-x  
 (ləc<sup>2</sup>), dəc-e<sup>?</sup>-x (dəc), yəx-e<sup>?</sup>-x, xə-yəx-e<sup>?</sup>-x  
 (yəx<sup>4</sup>), ce<sup>?</sup>-x (ci<sup>?</sup>-), lu·-d-i·<sup>?</sup>-x (lu·<sup>2</sup>), xə--  
 sɬe-x (sɬ·).

lb. With various idiomatic meanings; see o--

y-da<sup>2</sup> 2. (da<sup>1</sup>), o-da<sup>-</sup> 2., da<sup>-</sup>ɣ (da<sup>3</sup>), o--  
 ʈa<sup>2</sup> 8., 10., o-ʈ-a<sup>-</sup>ɣ<sub>b</sub>. (ʈ), o-qa<sup>2</sup> 2a., 3., 4.,  
 5. (qa<sup>2</sup>-qa<sup>-</sup>-qa<sup>-</sup>), o-ɣa<sup>2</sup> 5., o-d-ɣa<sup>2</sup> 2., li<sup>2</sup> lb.,  
 3., 4., o-la<sup>2</sup> 3., o-lu<sup>2</sup> 2a., o-ya<sup>2</sup> 2. (ya<sup>4</sup>),  
 o-<sup>?</sup>ih- 6., o-d-<sup>?</sup>ih-ɣ (<sup>?</sup>ih<sup>1</sup>), o-<sup>?</sup>e<sup>-</sup>-ɣ (<sup>?</sup>e<sup>1</sup>),  
 o-d-<sup>?</sup>e<sup>2</sup> 2.; see also wa<sup>-</sup>ɣ, <sup>?</sup>a<sup>-</sup>li<sup>?</sup>ɣ, <sup>?</sup>a<sup>-</sup>ɣ (ka<sup>-</sup>).

2. With idiomatic meaning, thematized, stem  
 with -ɣ final treated as new stem, to which other  
 finals may be suffixed: a. with stem(-augment)  
 expanded, -a<sup>2</sup>-ɣ > -a<sup>-</sup>-ɣ: o-ʈa<sup>-</sup>-ɣ (ʈa<sup>2</sup>-), o--  
 ka<sup>-</sup>-ɣ (ka<sup>2</sup>-), <sup>?</sup>ih-qa<sup>-</sup>-ɣ (qa<sup>2</sup>-qa<sup>-</sup>-qa<sup>-</sup>), o-ɣa<sup>-</sup>-ɣ  
 (ɣa<sup>2</sup>-); see also ea<sup>-</sup>.

2b. As 2a., -<sup>?</sup>e<sup>2</sup>-ɣ > -i-ɣ: <sup>?</sup>ed-i-ɣ (<sup>?</sup>e<sup>2</sup>-).

3. As probable or possible final in analysis  
 of postpositional, preverbal and certain other  
 forms attested only as ending in -ɣ, listed as  
 stems, meaning idiomatic: see stems da<sup>2</sup>ɣ, da<sup>-</sup>ɣ,  
 du<sup>2</sup>ɣ, di<sup>-</sup>ya<sup>2</sup>ɣ, <sup>?</sup>ihɣ<sup>4</sup>, xi<sup>-</sup>ya<sup>2</sup>ɣ, qehɣ, qehɣ-  
 ɣ<sup>?</sup>ɣ, ye<sup>2</sup>ɣ-, ya<sup>2</sup>ɣ, ya<sup>-</sup>ɣ<sup>1</sup>, ya<sup>-</sup>ɣ<sup>2</sup>, <sup>?</sup>u<sup>2</sup>ɣ, <sup>?</sup>u<sup>-</sup>ɣ.

4. Meaning 'manner' in analysis of demon-  
 strative and interrogative preverbs or adverbs:  
<sup>?</sup>waɣ 'thus, in that way' (<sup>?</sup>aw-), <sup>?</sup>laɣ 'thus,  
 in this way' (<sup>?</sup>el), daɣ 'how'.

-deɣ (final element to postpositions, preverbs, and  
 demonstrative and interrogative locatives, compos-  
 ite of -d final with -ɣ final; occurring only as

final to forms also occurring with -d final, occurring to the exclusion of -x final to preverbs ending in -p<sup>2</sup>, postpositions ending in consonants other than -<sup>2</sup> or -h, demonstrative and interrogative locatives, and problematical xa<sup>2</sup>, qi<sup>2</sup>; also occurring as final to certain forms which also occur with -x final) meaning always regular, identical with that of -x final la.: occurring to the exclusion of -x final: see o-det, o-ta-x (ta<sup>2</sup>), o-d, o-dxl-d (d), o-lah3-, o-lae (lae<sup>2</sup>), yed (preverb, perhaps exceptional, yed<sup>1</sup>), o-yed (yed<sup>2</sup>), o-yax, o-i-yax, o-d-i-yax (yax<sup>3</sup>), ya-d (ya<sup>2</sup>), o-a-g, ed-i-x (e<sup>2</sup>-), o-l-xp<sup>2</sup>, xp<sup>2</sup>, xa<sup>2</sup>, qi<sup>2</sup>, locatives ?u- (?ew-), ?p- (?el-), xi-, da- (da<sup>2</sup>); to forms also occurring with -x final, meaning not clearly distinguished from that of -x final except where that of -x final is idiomatic (-x lb.): see (o-)d-da<sup>2</sup> (da<sup>2</sup>), o-da- (da<sup>3</sup>), ta<sup>2</sup>, o-cj<sup>2</sup>, xe-ciya<sup>2</sup>- (ci<sup>2</sup>-), xe-šp<sup>2</sup>- (šp<sup>2</sup>-), o-li<sup>2</sup>, lu-d-i<sup>2</sup>-, yana<sup>2</sup>, ?i-na<sup>2</sup>- (na<sup>2</sup>), o-?ih- (?ih<sup>1</sup>).

(-)x- (possible or probable initial component of postpositions and preverbs) meaning perhaps '(movement in?) contact with': see especially xahd<sup>2</sup>, xa<sup>2</sup>-, xp<sup>2</sup>, xaw-.

ʒe (perhaps related to stem ʒeh̄, see subentry ʒeh̄ below)

O-ʒe 'S "packs", carries O on back, S picks up O onto back': ?iʒe? (?əʒe? perhaps also acceptable, but ?iʒe? much preferred; not \*?əʒe· L) 'pack it on your back!' LM, kuʒe? 'pack something on your back!' L, with yaʒʒ 'up': yaʒʒ əʒe? 'pick it up onto your back!' L, ?u·ɕ quʒxʒeh (or -ʒe·) 'I'll pack it thither on my back' L, quʒxʒeh 'I'll pack it on my back' LM, diʒ ?u·ɕ quʒxʒehs (or -ʒe·s, former much preferred) 'I won't pack it there (on my back)' L, active perfective: 7.34, 9.145, 28.55A, səʒeh̄h̄h̄ 'he packed it' M, ?u·da? səʒeh̄h̄h̄ 'he packed it thither (on his back)' L, kuʒe? ?ʒ·da? səʒeh̄h̄h̄ 'he packed the meat hither (on his back)' L, with ca? 'downhill, to shore' 9.117A, with qa? 'up out' 28.123A, with o-ɕ 'to o': 28.56A, with yaʒʒ 'up', 'S picked O up onto back': 9.-151, 156, 28.40A, inceptive perfective: 23.30, 36.12A, əʒe·h̄h̄h̄ 'he's packing it (along) on his back (any burden, or portaging canoe)' LM, ku·suxʒe·h̄ 'I'm packing something (on my back)' LM, with o-ɕ 'to o': 9.152, 157A, ?u·ɕ əʒe·h̄h̄h̄ 'he's packing it thither' L, ?u·ɕ da· ?i·ʒeh

'let's pack it thither!' L, 'adiḡ 'əw 'əḡe·K  
 'he (cust) carries them in(to house)' 23.3A,  
 'əhē ḡe·K 'he (cust) packs it (on his back) to  
 her' 49.112fn, 112A, with yeḡ-progressive: ḡiē  
 'əw yeḡ dəḡe·ḡih 'he packs it around (on his  
 back) all the time' L, yeḡ 'ədəḡe· 'pack it  
 about!' M, da· yeḡ 'idiḡeh 'let's pack it  
 about' M, yeḡ 'ixdəḡe·K 'I (cust) pack it about'  
 M.

O-qe-ḡ-ḡe (with ḡ-thematic with qe-plural) 'S  
 "packs", carries small things on back' (derisive):  
 qeḡeḡihih 'he's packing (ridiculously) small  
 things' L, de'elga'kih 'idiyah diK qeḡeḡehih  
 "he can't even pack little things" ('even that  
 which is of little size like this he doesn't carry  
 on his back') L. Probably used only in active im-  
 perfective.

teē leḡe·ē (noun, unclassified) 'large-bodied  
 spider species' ('it's packing a hammer on its  
 back') M. Nominalized inceptive perfective with  
 l-class-mark for O.

ciḡ deḡe·ē (noun, unclassified) 'small water--  
 bug species' ('it's packing boards on its back')  
 L. As above, with d-class-mark for O.

'uyeq yeḡ kudeḡe·ḡ (noun, unclassified) 'pack--  
 sack' 38.7LM. Nominalized passive active imper-

fective with *yəx*-progressive, 'in it something is carried about on the back'.

*ʔuɣ yəx kudeɣe·ɣ* (noun) 'pack-strap, tumpline'

L. As above, 'by means of it something is carried about on the back'. Form from Galushia Nelson *uɣquqétixí* or *uɣquqé'tixí* 'pack strap' BSDL 550 perhaps to be read as passive inceptive imperfective *ʔuɣ kuqu'dəɣeh* 'by means of it something will be carried on the back'.

*ɣeh̄* (noun, unclassified) 'backpack, burden' LA,

*Ku'luw ɣeh̄*, *ɣeh̄'a'luw* 'big pack' L. Stem apparently with *-i*-suffix, irregular in that expected form would be *\*ɣe'ɣ̄*; see stem *ɣeh̄*, to which the form should perhaps be assigned. Form from Galushia Nelson *ɣe'* 'pack' BSDL 550 difficult to identify; L never heard noun of form *\*ɣeh* or *\*ɣe'* meaning 'pack'.

*Kuɣe·l* (gerundive, with *Ku*-indefinite 0) '(act of)

"packing", carrying (something) on back': *Kuɣe·l xuseiɣa'ɣ̄* 'I'm getting tired of packing' ('carrying something on my back is tiring me') L.

ꞣe'-ꞣe'

ꞣe' (noun, gl-class) 'oil, grease, (rendered) fat, tallow, suet, lard, sealoil, fish-oil' LM, 9.141, 141, 146, 156, 158A, 63.32fnG (in texts most often 'seal oil'), 11.175A ('mucus in socket of whale's eye'), Rezanov Xə 'Empə Fett', Wrangell Xxe 'Fett', as C in C -ie(?) 'S is, becomes greasy, oily, covered with grease': 7.28, 10.32, 65.70A, ꞣe' yixiñeh 'my hands are greasy' L, ꞣe' səieʔi 'it got all greasy' L, ꞣe' ʔiʃ quʔgəli-xiyah 'I'll give you some grease (in container)' M, ꞣe' siʃ gəli-ʔaʔ 'give me a piece of (rendered) fat!' L, Kəgu-ʔnuw ꞣe' L, ꞣe-gu-ʔnuw 'large quantity of grease, seal oil' M, ꞣe-gaʔ Ku-təh 'water's calm' ('something is like grease') M, ꞣe-gaʔ Kuxəle-i 'water's getting calm' ('something is getting like grease') L, ꞣe-gaʔ gulele-g 'water is intermittently calm' ('it (water) repeatedly gets like grease') L, ꞣe-gu-naʔq 'on (the surface of) grease' L, ꞣe-gu-naʔx xidʔi: 'I eat it with (dipping it in) seal oil' L, frequently declassified as o of o-yaʔ 'in o (with broad opening at top)', 'in seal oil' (of food thus preserved and/or eaten with seal oil): 7.33, 10.44, 137, 140, 143, 146, 49.123A, 63.37G, ꞣe-yaʔ dis-

*cf. 11.175  
ʔoyolyeʔ  
'water is calm'*

ɬiyahɬ kudeʔuhdg 'eggs preserved in seal oil  
for winter' L.

-ɬeʔ (noun, gl-class, possessed form of above)  
'oil, grease, (rendered) fat (of something)': ɬeʔ  
ke.ɬta.gɬeʔ 9.158A, g<sup>w</sup>e.ɬta.gɬeʔ 'seal-oil'  
63.32fnG, teʔyaʔɬeʔ 'fish-oil' M, ca.ɬa.ɬeʔ  
'kerosene, coal-oil' ('stone-oil') LM, kugu.ʔnuw  
ca.ɬa.ɬeʔ 'large quantity of kerosene' L; x<sup>w</sup>a.ʔ  
səɬeʔ L, xa.səɬeʔ (unclassified) 'soap' ('tabu-  
grease') LM, Rezanov Xaccyxə 'Muro Seife',  
Xacc-axe 'Cwāqa Licht, Talglicht', see xahs-  
xaʔs-xaʔs-x<sup>w</sup>a.s.

kuyeqɬisɬeʔ (noun) 'marrow' L. With kuyeq 'in-  
side something' and si-thematic.

ɬelyeqyaʔ ɬe. (noun) 'marrow' ('tallow belonging  
to inside of bone') L (form uncertain, preceding  
more probably correct).

qaʔ y-ɬe.ʔ (attested only with expanded stem, y-  
anatomical, and qaʔ 'up out') 'S's hands are,  
become greasy': qaʔ yisɬe.ʔɬ 'my hands got  
greasy' L.

O-ɬ-ɬeʔ.-ɬe.ʔ (perhaps semantically irregular  
causative of unattested -ɬeʔ.-ɬe.ʔ 'S is, be-  
comes greasy', -ɬe.ʔ presumably expanded stem)  
'S greases, oils, lubricates O; S paints O' (ex-  
panded stem apparently in free variation with

non-expanded stem, except that meaning 'S paints O' is not attested with expanded stem): *ʕəiʕeʔ* 'paint it!', grease it!' LM, *ʔəiʕeʔ* 'grease it!' M, 'oil it (e.g. engine)!' L, *λa-ʕe-ʔgaʔ* *gəli-ʔəhɣ* *ʔəiʕeʔ* 'paint it (with) red' M, *ma-sla-ʔ* *ʔəiʕeʔ* 'smear it with butter!' L, *ʕəiʕe-ʔ* 'grease it!' L, *ʔəiʕe-ʔ* 'grease it!, oil it (with e.g. sealoil)!' L, Rezanov *Λαίχε* 'Mazk schmieren, salben, reiben (Imperat.)' to be read *ʔəiʕeʔ* or *ʔəiʕe-ʔ*, *quʔxəiʕeʔ* 'I'll paint it' LMA, 'I'll grease it' L, Rezanov *Κοκοχλίχε* 'Mazak schmieren, salben, reiben' probably to be read *kuquʔxəiʕeʔ* or *kuquʔxəiʕe-ʔ* 'I'll grease something', *ʕokɣ-Λαίχε* 'He mazk schmiere nicht!' *yaʔɣu- quʔyil-ʕeʔ* or *-ʕe-ʔ* 'don't grease it', *səiʕeʔi* 'I painted it' LMA, 'I greased it' M, *səiʕe-ʔi* 'I oiled, greased it' L, *dəxəiʕe-ʔ* 'I (cust) grease it' M (apparently with d-class-mark for O); reflexive, with l-anatomical: (*ʔuɣ*) *ʔədla-ʕəiʕeʔ* 'grease your face (with it)!' L; passive: *dəxi-səiʕe-ʔi* 'it's greased up already' L, *səiʔmahdi* *ʔuɣ dəʕeʔ* '"anything (e.g. butter) to spread on bread"' ('bread is smeared with it') L.

*ʔugu-neɣ* *kuʕeʔi* (noun, gl- or gdl-class) 'paint'  
 L, *kuqu-ʔnuw* *ʔugu-neɣ* *kuʕeʔi* 'large quantity

of paint' L, 'ugu'neḡ kúḡe'ḡguḡa'ḡu' 'lots of  
paint' L. Deverbalized passive with -ḡ-instru-  
mental, 'by means of it (liquid) something is  
painted'.

'uḡ 'edleḡe' (noun) 'mountain goat-fat as ointment  
for face' L. Form probably incorrect in lacking  
-ḡ-instrumental or classifier, 'by means of it one  
greases one's face'.

'i-ḡe-ḡe' (detransitivized theme with indeterminate  
O, expanded stem) 'S renders fat': 'ixleḡe' 'I'm  
rendering fat' L.

3a<sup>1</sup>

O-ʔ-ʒa (tends to be treated as intransitive, see indirect reciprocal and forms with indeterminate O) 'S tells (of specific, something specific about) O': frequently with wəʒ 'thus' and/or o-ʒ 'to o' and/or o-lah 'about, concerning o', thus wəʒ o<sup>1</sup>-lah o<sup>2</sup>-ʒ O-ʔ-ʒa 'S tells<sup>to</sup> (to) o<sup>2</sup> (of) O about o<sup>1</sup>': imperatives: (o-ʒ) xuʔliʒah 'tell (o) of me!': 20.20, 21A, Rezanov ʒka-xa 'Сказк sagen, (Imperat.) reden' ʔuʔseʒaʔ 'tell it!, out with it!' L, siʒ ʔuʔwəʒe M, siʒ ʔaʔʒe, siʒ ʔaʔʒah, siʒ ʔuʔseʒaʔ 'tell me it, tell me about it (a certain thing)!' L, ciʔʒ ʔiʒaʔ siʒ ʔaʔʒe 'tell me your dream!' L, siʒ ʔuʔseʒaʔ, ke-d ʒa-lgah yileh 'tell me what you did today!' L, inceptive imperfective: ʔiʒ ʔuʔquʔxʒah, ʔiʒ quʔxʒah 'I'll tell you it' L, diʒ ʔiʒ quʔxʒaʔs (not -ʒahs) L, diʒ ʔiʒ quʔxʒahs 'I won't tell you (it)' 4.12M, ʔew ʒa-ʒ ʒaʔʒiʒiʒiʒ 'he'll tell us of it' 21b.23A, ʒaʔʒu siʒʒ-ʒ qiʔyiʒah, selextah 'don't tell my mother I'm alive' 49.127A, ʔaʔd ʒaʔʒu ʔew ʔuʒ qiʔyiʒiʒiʒiʒ 'by all means don't tell her that' 49.129A, diʒ ʔʒhʒ quʔyiʒahs 'you won't tell her (it)' 49.128A, Rezanov Terokoxa 'ʒro oxaxemaʔ was sagst du?' de-dew quʔyiʒah or de-d ʔuʔquʔyiʒah 'what are you going to tell?',

yaʔxu· ʔuʔ ʔuʔquʔyixihih 'don't tell him  
 (it)' L, hiq' lahqaʔ ʔew ʔuʔquʔweʔihih (or  
 ʔuʔqaʔihih) 'he'll tell it every place' L,  
 active imperfective: with first person sg. S:  
 23.16, 70.2A, ditaʔ ʔix' ʔaʔxah, ʔew yahd  
 kudeʔiyah 'I told you long ago that house is no  
 good' L, second person sg. S: guʔdeg siʔ ʔeʔ  
 ʔuʔyixah 'you're telling me about it again (com-  
 plaining)' L, deʔduh (or deʔduw) ʔuʔyixah  
 'what are you telling about, reporting?' L, third  
 person S: ʔaʔʔa· 9.20, 25.189A, ʔaʔʔah 25.116A,  
 38.11M, 51.14, 16, 60.59A, ʔuʔweʔa· 10.46A, ʔaʔ-  
 xihih 10.34, 35, 106A, ʔawa· ʔuxaʔ siʔ ʔaʔ-  
 xihih 'he's telling me of his dog' L, ʔawa·lah  
 siʔ ʔaʔxihih 'he's telling me (something speci-  
 fic) about a dog' L, deʔu·deʔyij·kih ʔew ʔaʔ-  
 xah 'someone is telling about it' L, duʔd ʔix'  
 ʔew ʔaʔʔah 'who's telling you that?' L, second  
 person pl. S: ʔaʔxuh weʔ ʔuʔleʔxah 'where's  
 that you pl. are telling thus about?' 20.80A,  
 inceptive perfective: ʔulah ʔuʔ:exʔa·i 'I'm in  
 the process of telling a long story about it' L,  
 active perfective: 29.39, 56A, deʔi· siʔ ʔew  
 ʔuʔseʔahih 'he told me that already' L, deʔi·  
 siʔ ʔuʔseʔah 'you told me (it) already' M,

?u?lixihgah ?ew ?u? ?u?se?ahh?h 'I know you  
 told him that' L, dita?3 ?i? ?u?si?ahh, ?ew  
 yahd Kude?iyah 'I told you long ago that house  
 is no good' L, diK ?ew qa? ?a?se?ahh? 'he  
 didn't tell us that' 61.50A, diK ?ew si? ?a?se-  
 ?ahh?sinu? 'they didn't tell me that' 69.9A, active  
 optative: ?u? ?ew da? ?u?li?ih?h 'let's tell  
 him that' L, with ye?-progressive: da? ye? ?u?-  
 di?ah 'let's tell it about' M, customary: ?i?  
 ?a?x?a?K 'I (cust) tell you' 61.86, 87, 87A, 21a.-  
 17L, 36.45A (negative), hi?d? ya?yu? ?a?x?a?kih  
 'he (cust) tells everything' L, with (?i?)gudah  
 'deceitfully', 'S (cust) tells lies about O':  
 10.142A, diK ?i?gudah ?ew ?a?x?a?K? 'I (cust)  
 don't tell lies of it' 61.58A, repetitive: hi?  
 de?ow si? ?a?x?a?g?h 'he keeps telling me the  
 very same thing all the time' L; indirect recip-  
 rocal (treated as intransitive, with de-classi-  
 fier): ?i? ?u?de?ah 'they tell each other of  
 it' 10.35A; passive: ?u?de?a? 51.6, 60, 21, 36,  
 49, 49, 53A, ?u?de?ah 'is told of' 36.49, 60.-  
 34A, diK ?ew ?u?de?ahh? 'that wasn't told of  
 it' 23.123A, diK qe? ?u?de?ahh?sinu? 'no more  
 is told of them' 24.100A, de?i? ?ilah si?  
 ?u?adi?ahh? 'I've already been told that about

you' L, dita'3 siX 'u'adiyahk 'that's been  
 told me long ago' M. With indeterminate O  
 (treated as intransitive, de-classifier with qe'  
 'again, some more') 'S tells story, general ac-  
 count, things': frequently with weX 'thus' and/  
 or o-X 'to o' and/or o-lah 'about, concerning  
 o': imperatives: qa'X 'ida'ye' 'tell us a  
 story!' LM, siX 'ida'ye' 'tell me a story (about  
 anything)!' LM with o-qe'ahd 'from on o': 'u=  
 qe'ahd siX 'ida'ye' 'read it to me!' ('tell me  
 a story from on it!') L (see also nominalizations  
 below), inceptive imperfective: 'ida'qe'xayah 'I'll  
 tell a story' 57.1G, 'iX 'ida'qexayah 'I'll tell  
 you a (long) story (about anything)' LM, with o--  
 qe' '(continuously) onto o, against o': ya'xu'  
 siqe' 'ida'qe'yiayah 'don't tattle, tell on me'  
 LM, ya'xu' siqe' qe' 'ida'qe'dexayah 'don't  
 tell on me again' M, 'iqe' 'ida'ku'qe'xayah 'some-  
 one will tell on you' L, diX 'iqe' 'ida'ku'qe'-  
 yahs 'no one will tell on you' L, 'u'd 'ida'-  
 ku'qe'xayah 'someone will tell a story there' L,  
 qa'X 'ida'ku'qe'xayah 'someone will tell us a  
 story' M, active imperfective: first person sg. S:  
 'iX 'ida'xqa' 61.53A, 'iX 'ida'xayah 'I tell  
 you' 61.124, 125A, 'ida'xayah 'I'm telling a

story' M, third person S: ?ida?ʒah 10.229, 231,  
 25.191, 201A, 35.1L, 51.12, 12, 25, 61.56A, ?i-  
 da?ʒa· 11.145, 25.189, 51.14, 15, 69.10, 21A,  
 ?uma·lah siʔ ?ida?ʒihjih 'he's telling me about  
 his mother' L, de?a· ?ulah siʔ ?ida?ʒihjih  
 'he's telling me about himself' L, ?ow ?u?seca?i  
 siʔ ?ida?ʒihjih 'he told me he bought it' L,  
 qa·ʔ ?ida?ʒihjih 'he's telling us a story' L,  
 kuʔeʔ ?ida?ʒihjih yiʔihjih 'he's a tattle-tale,  
 tale-bearer' ('he is one who tells on one') M,  
 da?u·daʒyʔ·kih ?ida?ʒah 'someone is telling a  
 story' L, da?u·daʒyʔ·kih siʔ ?ida?ʒah ?i·  
 ?ed?eʔd 'someone told me you were home' L, with  
 indefinite S: 12.1fnG, ?ulah ?ida?ku?ʒa· 'one  
 tells (things) about it' 51.11, 70.6, 6A, ?u·d  
 ?ida?ku?ʒah 'someone is telling stories there'  
 L, ?ida?ku?weʒah 'someone is telling a story'  
 M, diʔ ?ulah ʔeʔ ku?da?deʒah· 'one does not  
 tell anymore about them' 24.102A (irregular form  
 with ku-indefinite S preceding ?ida?-indeter-  
 minate O, expected form ?ida?ku?deʒah·), incep-  
 tive perfective: ?ida?eexʒa·i 'I'm in the pro-  
 cess of telling a (long) story' L, active per-  
 fective: ?iʔ ?ida?siʒahh 'I told you a story'  
 M, siʔeʔ ?ida?seʒahhjih 'he told on me' LM,

siX 'ida?ku'səxah̄ 'someone told stories there'  
 L, Ke·dub 'uX 'ida'səxah̄ 'what did you tell  
 him?' L, du·d 'iX 'ida'səxah̄ 'who told you  
 that (story)?' L, siqəč qe' 'ida'sdiḡah̄ih  
 'he told on me again' M, active optative: de-  
 'u·dḡah̄ 'ida?ku'liḡah̄ 'I wish someone would  
 tell a story' L, active conditional: siX 'ida?=  
 ḡah̄ da·ḡ 'just as he'd gotten started telling  
 me a story' L, customary: 'ida?yiḡa·K 'you  
 (cust) tell things' 11.181A, 'ida?xḡa·K 'I (cust)  
 tell stories' M, siX 'ida?ḡa·Kih 'he (cust)  
 tells me a story' M, with yeḡ-progressive: yeḡ  
 'ida'dəḡe· 'tell it (story, rumors) about!' M;  
 passive: 12.1G, 51.4A, wəḡ qəl 'ida'dəḡa·  
 12.19G, wəḡ qəl 'ida'dəḡah̄ 'thus it's told'  
 M, 'ilah siX 'ida'dəḡah̄ 'I'm told (stories)  
 about you' L, de·dub 'ida'dəḡah̄ 'what (stories,  
 rumors, reports) are being told?' M, lexix<sup>w</sup>a·s-  
 dah̄ 'ida'dəḡah̄ 'a scary story is being told' L,  
 de'iḡuḡdah̄ qew silah ('iX) 'ida'dəḡa· 'just  
 lies are being told (to you) about me' 10.182,  
 183A, diK 'ulah qe' 'ida'dəḡah̄ 'nothing  
 more is told about them' L, 'iqəč 'ida?qe'dəḡah̄  
 'you'll be told on' L, 'p·d siX 'u'dəḡa·K 'I'm  
 (cust) told here' 10.179A, qi' 'ida'dəḡa·K  
 'place where stories are (cust) told' L.

KuX ʔidaʔxihih (noun, unclassified) 'preacher'

31.1L. Nominalized active imperfective, 'he who tells one things, stories'.

ʔuqəʕahd ʔidaʔdeʒah (noun, unclassified) 'Bible'

L. Nominalizations, as above, passive: 'it is read from' ('things, stories are told from on it').

ʔuqəʕahd ʔidaʔdeʒah diʔaʔg (noun, unclassified)

'newspaper' L. Nominalizations, as above, 'paper from on which things, stories are told'.

wəʒah (noun, unclassified) 'story, news' L, 12.1,

57.1, 32G, ʔew wəʒah ʔuʔlixilgah 'I know that story' L, Kuzuʔ wəʒah ʔeʔew 'that's a good story' L, Kuzuʔ wəʒah 'good news' L. we-prefix perhaps we- 'mythological', or we-phonological as in ʔuʔwəʒah etc.

ʒa<sup>2</sup> (probably loan from Elingit, ʒá 'war, warrior' (Boas), 'attacking force' (Naish-Story), ya-ʒá 'to paddle, go by boat', ʒaʒá 'canoe paddle'; see also ʒadawiʒi)

ʒa· (noun, probably unclassified) 'war, battle (at sea), attack (by boat)' 54.1, 1, 9, 136, ʒa· ʒidəleh 'there's a canoe fight going on' L.

-ʒah see ʒiʒah.

-ʒa 'S travel in pl. boats, S travel as a fleet (often with belligerent intent)': ʒileʒʒaʒ, səleʒʒaʒ (former much preferred) 'pl. go (in fleet)!' L, ʒu·ʒ ʒileʒʒaʒ, ʒu·ʒ səleʒʒaʒ 'pl. go there in fleet (for war)!' L, qaʒʒah 'they'll go in boats' L, dəxi· qaʒʒihinu· 'they're about to leave (in boats)' 37b.45A, ʒq·ʒ qaʒʒah, ʒq·ʒ quʒweʒah 'they'll come here (in boats)' L, diʒ ʒq·ʒ quʒweʒa·s 'they won't come here (in boats)' L, səʒa·i 'they're going (along) in fleet' L, ʒq·ʒ səʒa·i 'they're coming here (in fleet)' L, ʒiʒah ʒq·ʒ səʒa·i 'a warlike fleet is coming here' L, ʒu·ʒ səʒa·i 'are going there in fleet (for war)' 7.19A, səʒahɪ 'they went (as a fleet)' L, 68.100A, ʒq·daʒ səʒahɪ 'they arrived here (as a fleet)' L, 68.109A, yeʒ səʒahɪ 'they landed ashore (as a fleet)' 37b.18A, 11ʒ səʒahɪ

'they boated downriver (as a fleet)' 68.19, 49,  
 51, 81A, *qe' li' sdiyahh* 'they (another group)  
 boated (as a fleet) downriver' 65.20A, *diK de-*  
*ee'x qe' 'esdeyahh* 'they didn't boat back  
 upriver (as a fleet)' 68.18A, *diK 'u-da' qe'*  
*'esdeyahh* 'they didn't boat back there (as a  
 fleet)' 68.19A, *qe-dae sdiyahh* 'they boated  
 back upriver' 68.36A, *date'x o-ča' seyahh*  
 'they boated (as a fleet) up to o' 68.101A, *o-č*  
*qe' 'edeje-K* 'they (cust) boated (as a fleet)  
 back to o' 68.60A, with *yeḡ*-progressive 'rever-  
 sal of motion': *diK qe-yeḡ 'edeja-K* 'they  
 (cust) never went back (as a fleet)' 68.42A; re-  
 petitive: *'p-č za'ginu* 'they're coming here in  
 one boat after another' L (active imperfective not  
 used without repetitive or *yeḡ*-progressive, and  
 inceptive perfective not used with repetitive L);  
 with d-class-mark for S 'boats': *'p-č deeja-i*  
 'boats are coming' L; indirect reciprocal, with  
*'iileḡp'?* 'in competition with one another': *'i-*  
*leḡp'?* *'idiyahh* 'they're racing (in canoes)' L  
 (neuter perfective), *'iileḡp'?* *da' 'ideja-K*  
 'we (cust) raced each other (in canoes)' 59.3  
 Galushia Nelson.

*'i-x-ḡa* (with *x*-thematic and apparently indeter-  
 minate O) 'S (fleet of boats, unknown persons in

boats) travel': ?u-č ?iḡeḡa-i 'fleet was  
going thither' 59.4 Galushia Nelson, ?u-č ?iḡe-  
seḡah̄ 'fleet of boats went thither' 59.2 Galushia  
Nelson, Kiya? ?iḡa-ḡa-k 'fleet (cust) landed  
ashore' 59.4 Galushia Nelson, with yeḡ-progres-  
sive: yeḡ ?iḡedeḡa-k 'groups of canoes (cust)  
travelled about' 68.27, 28A.

38'

0-ʔ-(1-)t-ʔa' (1-thematic usually omitted in active perfective, and frequently omitted in forms with vocalized classifier, though rarely in non-imperfective inceptives): requires complement: C 0-ʔ-(1-)t-ʔa' 'S makes O (be) C' (functions suppletively as causative of C -le(ʔ) 'S is, becomes C', with the same semantic subclassifications as listed under -le(ʔ) 1., thus 'S makes, turns O into (a substantive instance of) C, S makes O function, uses, has O (functioning) as C, S makes O C-y, gets O "full of" C, S makes O C' (where C is adjective, certain adverbs, preverbs, postpositional phrases, or certain <sup>forms</sup> attested syntactically only as C): 1a.-c.: 2a.23, 24, 4.7M, 7.14, 10.149, 11.26, 31A, gusʔ ʔuʔleceʔaʔ 'build a big bonfire (outside, to scare bears)!' ('make it flame!') L, ʔah xi'l ʔew ʔowa' dekʔh ʔuʔseʔaʔt 'the shaman turned the dog into a stick' L, ʔew dekʔh kaʔt quʔli-xʔah 'I'll turn that stick into an island' L, ʔew dekʔh kaʔt ʔuʔsilʔaʔt 'I turned that stick into an island' L, ʔi leʔah ʔiʔqeʔ li-xʔah 'I'll keep you as a slave' L, ʔew leʔt ʔuʔ ʔisdaʔt ʔuʔlixʔah 'I use, keep that box for a chair' L, ʔeʔaya ʔuʔlixʔah 'I use it

for a mattress' M, ʔeyəʔu'd ya' ʔew ʔuʔseɪ-  
 ʔaʔiʔh 'he added it to (hid it in) the pile (to  
 fill out the pile)' ('he made it serve as something  
 under there') M, ʔowʔ ya' ʔew ʔuʔseɪʔaʔiʔh  
 'he made do with it (as a makeshift, hodge-podge)'  
 ('he made it serve as something with it') M, ʔaʔ  
 quʔli-xiʔah 'you'll get it all muddy' M, di-yaʔ  
 quʔli-xiʔah 'I'll salt it (fish)' L, di-yaʔ  
 ʔuʔleɪɪʔaʔ 'make it salty!' L, di-yaʔgaʔkih  
 ʔuʔleɪɪʔaʔ 'make it a little salty!' L, di-  
 yaʔʔuh ʔuʔseɪʔaʔi 'did you make it salty?' L,  
 iʔhd ʔuʔleɪɪʔaʔ 'make it smoky!' L, kahe ʔiʔ-  
 qeʔli-xiʔah 'I'll get you full of quills' L,  
 hu-lʔuh quʔli-iʔah 'are you going to sell it?'  
 L, hu-l quʔli-xiʔah 'I'll sell it' M, diʔ  
 hu-l quʔli-xiʔahe (or -ʔa'e) 'I won't sell it'  
 L, ʔala-dʔh ʔew ʔeʔ hu-l ʔuʔleɪ-i-iʔah L (no  
 gloss, probably 'he even has to sell the canoe'),  
 with class-marks for O: ʔahdi ʔuʔaʔ xu-l ʔuʔ-  
 la-seɪʔaʔiʔh 'he sold his car' L, ʔahdi siʔaʔ  
 hu-l ʔuʔla-seɪʔaʔi 'I'm (in process of) selling  
 my car' L, hu-l ʔuʔla-seɪʔaʔ, hu-l ʔuʔli-iʔaʔ  
 (but not ʔuʔla-i-) 'sell it (car)!' L, hu-l  
 ʔuʔleʔesiiʔaʔi 'I sold them (berries)' L, repeti-  
 tive: ʔahdi siʔaʔ ʔuʔla-xiʔaʔg 'I'm trying to

sell my car' L; indirect reflexive, with possessed noun as C, possessor same person as S: ?el tʃ·= diʃiʃgyu· ?ukuwaʔna·s ?ew ?uʔliʃah 'he has, treats those birds as his partners, relatives' 10.= 54A, ?ukuwaʔna·s ʒeʔ ?uʔliʃah 'he made him his partner again' 10.110A.

le.-g.: with adjectives as C: 61.11, 11, 18A (active optative), Kuʃiyah ?uʔlisilʃaʔi 'I wrecked it (made it bad)' M, ya·dikʔ ?uʔleseʃaʔ 'make it short!' M, kuʔluw ?uʔleseʃaʔ 'make it big!' M, deʒuw ʒaʔ kuʔtuʔ ?uʔla·yilʃah 'you should take lots of provisions' ('you should make provisions plentiful') L, sitaʔ ?ew ʒawa· kuʒu· ?uʔseʃaʔi 'my father made the dog (be) good' L, side= seleh siya· kuʃiyah ?uʔliʃah 'I feel guilty' ('it's making my mind bad') L, with certain adverbs as C: ka·dih quʔli·xiʃihʃih 'I'll make him get lost' M, with ?eʃdih 'whereabouts unknown', 'S wonders about O': 2b.13L, ?eʃdih ?uʔlixilʃah 'I wonder about it' L, 69.29A, ?eʃdih xuʔli·i= ʃihʃih 'he wonders about me (my welfare, etc.)' L, with deʒuʔ 'right, correct, true': deʒuʔ da· ?uʔli·iʃah 'we took it to be true, held it for the truth' 51.16A (cf. O-ʔ-dl-i-ʒa'), with diduʔʒ 'almost': diduʔʒ ?uʔsilʃaʔi 'I let him

have it, almost did him in, almost killed him' L,  
 xi· diduʔɣ ʔiʔqeʔli·xɪɣah 'I'm about to really  
 let you have it' L, diduʔɣ ʔuʔsiɪɣaʔkinu·, di-  
 duʔɣ ʔuʔqesiɪɣaʔkinu· 'I almost did them in' L,  
 with preverbs and postpositional phrases as C:  
 taʔd ʔuʔlixɪɣah 'I'm keeping it in water, soak-  
 ing it' L, tɪddeluʔ kuʔseɪɣahɪ 'he made (some-  
 thing into) a hole in the ice' 16.6M, ʔewɕa·qɔ  
 kaʔ siya· ʔuʔla·yɪɣah 'you must aim it at it  
 for me' 27a.4L, ʔewɕa·qɔ ʔuʔlesɪɣaʔ 'aim it  
 at it!' L, ʔewɕa·qɔ ʔuʔlixɪɣah 'I'm aiming it  
 at it' L, ʔewqaʔ kuʔseɪɣaʔɪɪh 'he added some-  
 thing to it' ('he made something (be) amongst  
 them') M, giyah ʔewgaleqaʔ ʔuʔseɪɣaʔɪɪh 'he  
 watered it (whiskey)' ('he made water be amongst  
 it (liquid)') M, with forms as C attested only as  
 C: with ʔəsu·kih, see su·, with ʔani·ɣih  
 'punishment, just deserts', repetitive: ʔani·ɣih  
 ʔuʔli·ɪɣaʔgɪh 'punish him!' L, ʔani·ɣih ʔiʔ-  
 qeʔli·xɪɣaʔg 'I'll teach you a lesson, punish  
 you' L, ʔani·ɣih ʔiʔsiɪɣaʔgɪ 'I taught you a  
 lesson, punished you' L; problematical forms:  
 indirect reciprocal with qeʔ and ɪe-classifier,  
 form treated as intransitive, ʔiɪɣ kuʔu· qeʔ  
 kuʔsiɪɣaʔkinu· 'they reconciled' ('they made

something good again with one another') L (not verified), form apparently with indeterminate O (cf. C da-ʔ-(l-)k-ʔa'): kufuʔyuʔ wəʔ ʔidaʔ=lixiləʔah 'I've got a lot of stuff' ('I have many things (indeterminate O) thus') 11.44A.

2. Reflexive and passive: reflexive: 'S makes self (be) C, turns self into C, pretends to be C': imperatives: ʔəwaʔ ʔəduʔləsələʔəʔə 'pretend to be, act like a dog!' M, kuzuʔ ʔəduʔla=ləʔləʔəʔə 'pl. be good, act good!' L, inceptive imperfective: de·daʔew ʔədquʔləxələʔəʔah 'what shall I turn myself into?' 11.115A, ʔəwaʔ ʔədquʔləxələʔəʔə 'I'll pretend to be, act like a dog' M, ʔəwaʔ daʔ ʔədquʔlələʔəʔə 'we'll pretend to be, act like dogs' M, ʔiyuh ʔəduʔquʔxələʔəʔəʔah, ʔiyuh ʔədquʔxələʔəʔəʔə 'I'll turn myself into a blackbear' L, neuter imperfective: C ʔəduʔkixəʔəʔəʔə 3.6M, 9.51, 20, 24.4A, 40.16fnL, 50.1A, ʔəduʔkixəʔəʔəʔəʔəʔə 50.13, 14A, ʔəduʔlikixəʔəʔəʔəʔəʔə 11.119A, ʔəduʔlikixəʔəʔəʔəʔəʔəʔə 9.61, 50.41A, ʔəwaʔ ʔəduʔkixəʔəʔəʔəʔəʔəʔə, ʔəwaʔ ʔəduʔlikixəʔəʔəʔəʔəʔəʔə 'he's pretending to be a dog, acting like a dog, has himself in the form of a dog' M, hu·l ʔəduʔkixəʔəʔəʔəʔəʔəʔə 'she's a prostitute' ('she has herself for sale') L, siləʔəʔneʔ ʔəduʔkixəʔəʔəʔəʔəʔəʔə 'he claims to be my relative' M, ʔew du·S siʔəʔ dəʔəʔəʔə

?ədu?iɣah 'that cat of mine sure makes itself  
 at home with me' ('that cat with me acts like a  
 person') L, inceptive perfective: kuʃiyah ?ədu?=  
 səɣə?kinu 'they (children) are getting, start-  
 ing to act bad (deliberately)' L, active perfect-  
 ive: ?ədu?siɣa?ɪ 2a.6, 22M, 2b.8L, 7.7, 9.52,  
 55A, 11.5fnL, 20.25, 24.1, 27, 77A, kuʃiyah ?ədu?s=  
 iɣa?ɪh 'he got bad (deliberately)' L, active  
 optative: kəzu ka? ?ədu?la-iɣah 'you should  
 be good' L, inceptive conditional: 51.18A, active  
 conditional: 69.14A, customary: ?ədu?ləɣə?K  
 9.75A, ?ədu?ləɣə?K 33.21A, ɣəwa ?ədu?ləɣə?Kɪh  
 'he (cust) pretends to be a dog' M, kuʃiyah ?ədu?=  
 ləɣə?kinu 'they (cust) get bad' L, kude-dah=  
 suhnu ?uqa? dəɣɣh ?ədu?la-iɣə?Kə 'isn't there  
 any way you could (cust) turn yourself into a per-  
 son amongst them?' 10.238A, repetitive: kuʃiyah  
 ?ədu?siɣa?gɪh 'he (child) was bad off and on'  
 M; passive: didu?ɣ xu?lisdiɣa?ɪ, didu?ɣ xu?=  
 lisdiɣa?ɪ 'I was almost had, almost done in, al-  
 most killed', L, dəxi hu-l ?u?lisdiɣa?ɪ 'it's  
 been sold already' L, ?əw kə?ʊ ?uq? ?isda?ɪ  
 ?u?siɣa?ɪ (or ?u?siɣa?ɪ) 'that box is used  
 (made to function) as a chair' L, repetitive: ?əni-  
 ɣih ?i?qə?dəɣa?g 'you'll get punished, taught a  
 lesson' L.

O-ʔ-dl-i-ʔa' (as above, with d-thematic 'oral noise'), attested only with dəʔuʔ 'true, correct, right', 'S believes O' ('S holds O's word as true, correct, right'): dəʔuʔ ʔiʔla-xiʔʔah 'I believe you' L, diK dəʔuʔ ʔiʔlaʔxiʔʔaʔ 'I don't believe you' L, diK dəʔuʔ xuʔlaʔʔiʔʔaʔeʔh 'he doesn't believe me' L, diK dəʔuʔ ʔuʔlaʔxiʔʔaʔeʔh 'I don't believe him' L, diK dəʔuʔ xuʔquʔliʔʔahʔ 'you won't believe me' L, dəʔuʔ xuʔlaʔseʔiʔʔaʔʔiʔh 'he believed me' L.

ʔed-ʔi-lih-ʔe-ʔa' (with ʔi-lih 'mind', attested only in reflexive), attested only with ʔeʔdih 'whereabouts unknown', 'S loses consciousness': ʔeʔdih ʔedqe-lihʔeʔaʔ 'you'll become unconscious, you'll faint, pass out' 36.20A.

C da-ʔ-(l-)-ʔa' (da- prefix does not occur as such in any other theme, but is probably related to ʔida-, to be analyzed ʔi-da-, which functions as indeterminate O in most semitransitives; theme is treated as intransitive, showing ʔe-- classifier with e.g. qeʔ 'again, another', or when C is possessed noun with possessor same person as S; note also that where the possessed object (C) is a classified noun, no class-mark appears in the verb itself, and where the possessed

object is a first or second person, instead of an object-pronoun in the verb, the independent form of the pronoun appears as C; 1-thematic is almost always dropped in the active perfective and forms with *te*-classifier, apparently never dropped elsewhere) 'S has, owns, possesses, gets, obtains, gives birth to C': inceptive imperfective: *de·di·d da· qeʔli·iʔa·* 'what ever will we have?' 11.54A, *ʕiyahd daʔqeʔli·iʔah* 'they'll get married' ('they'll get a hat', see *ʕiyahd*) M, *ʕiyahd ʔiʔ daʔqeʔli·xiʔah* 'I'll marry you' ('I'll get a hat with you') 17.5M, *ʔahdɪ daʔqeʔli·xiʔah* 'I'll own a car' L, *ʔahdɪ qeʔ daʔqeʔxiʔah* 'I'll own a car again, I'll get another car' L, *seqe·ʕekih daʔqeʔli·iʔiʔih* 'she'll have a baby' L, *diʔ ʔugaʔ kuʔaʔʔ daʔqeʔli·xiʔah* *ʔixiʔʔeh* 'I won't have enough time to see you' L, neuter imperfective: *daʔli·iʔah* 49.83, 51.43aA, *daʔli·iʔiʔih* 'has' 11.110, 49.21, 84A, *ʔahdɪ daʔlixih* 'I own a car' LM, *ʔew ʔəwa· daʔlixih* 'I own that dog' L, *ʔi· daʔlixih* 'I have you (to depend on)' L, *ʔileʔ eiyah daʔlixih* 'I have more food than you' M, *ʔiʔuʔ eiyah daʔlixih* 'I have less food than you' M, *daʔigaʔ eiyah daʔlixih* 'I have just as much food as you' M,

diK daʔu·daʔya·kih da·laʔxiʔa·e 23.15A, diK  
 dede·d daʔlaʔxiʔa·e, diK dede·d da·laʔxiʔa·e  
 'I don't have anything' L, diK ʔahd̥ da·laʔxiʔa·e  
 'I don't have a car' L, ʔahd̥ daʔli·iʔah  
 'do you own a house?' L, daʔknu· seqe·seyu·d  
 daʔli·iʔah 'how many children do you have?' L,  
 daʔk da· sdu·lihd̥ daʔli·iʔah 'how many tables  
 do you own?' L, de·gaʔd na·sʔa· daʔli·iʔah  
 'how much butter do you have?' L, de·gaʔd da·na·  
 daʔli·iʔah 'how much money do you have?' L, diʔ-  
 wəʔ xu· ʔa·d daʔli·iʔah '(well at least) you  
 still have me here' L, Kugy·tuʔinu· seqe·seyu·  
 daʔli·iʔih̥h̥ 'she has many children' L, ʔuʔluw  
 yeda· daʔliʔiʔih̥h̥ 'she has great (shamanistic)  
 power' L, ʔeʔa· le·iʔuʔa·w daʔli·iʔih̥h̥ 'my  
 what long hair she has!' L, yeʔ ʔiʔeʔa·ʔih̥ daʔ-  
 li·iʔih̥h̥ 'he has a watchman' L, diK kena·ʔd  
 da·laʔxiʔa·e 'he has no coat' 24.45A, diK seqe·  
 seyū· da·laʔxiʔa·e̥h̥ 'she has no children' L,  
 ʔiyahd̥ daʔli·iʔih̥hinu· 'they're married' M, in-  
 ceptive perfective: ʔawa·yequhyu· daʔleʔeʔiʔaʔi  
 (not daʔeʔi-) 'she's having pups' L, active per-  
 fective: daʔseʔiʔaʔi, daʔseʔiʔaʔih̥ 2a.8, 36M,  
 26.14L, 7.15fnA, 18.49L, 20.73, 23.138A, 34.76L,  
 49.21, 22, 22, 23A, diduʔʔ ʔuʔ ʔiyahd̥ daʔsiʔ-

xaʔiɰh 'I almost married her' L, ɰahdɰ ɕeʔ  
 daʔxaʔiɰaʔɰ 'I own a car again, I got another  
 car' L, ʔphɰ ɕiyahd daʔseɰaʔiɰh 'he married  
 her' M, ɰahdɰ daʔleʔseɰaʔiɰh 'he got a car' L,  
 ɰilaʔ seqeʔɕekih daʔseɰaʔiɰh 'she had a boy  
 baby' L, ɰewaʔyequhyuʔ daʔseɰaʔɰ (or daʔ-  
 leʔseɰaʔɰ) 'she had pups' L, diɰ seqeʔɕekih  
 daʔleʔseɰaʔɰ: 'she didn't have a baby' L, qiʔ  
 seqeʔɕekih daʔkuʔseɰaʔɰ 'place where someone  
 had a baby' L, active optative: ɰahdɰ daʔ daʔ-  
 laʔyilɰah 'we should have a car' L, ʔel kaʔ  
 daʔlaʔxilɰah 'may I have this' 36.39A, ɰiʔɕ  
 yaʔyuʔ daʔlaʔxilɰah 'may I have all sorts of  
 things' 36.40A, inceptive subjunctive: ɕiyahd  
 daʔleʔseɰaʔahɰ ʔixleh 'I want to get married' L,  
 ʔah qeʔɰɰ ɕiyahd daʔleʔseɰaʔahɰ siɰ delɰihɰ  
 'he told me to marry that woman' L, customary:  
 daʔleʔaʔk 64.17G, qiʔ seqeʔɕekih daʔkuʔleʔ-  
 aʔk 'place where one has children (maternity  
 hospital)' L, repetitive: seqeʔeyuʔ daʔleʔ-  
 aʔginuʔ 'they kept having children' 68.45, 67A;  
 problematical form: xah ʔix ʔidaʔsilɰaʔɰ 'I  
 had (gave birth to) you in the summer' L (L en-  
 tirely uncertain of correctness of this form,  
 cf. o-x ku-ɰe(?)).

ya.<sup>1</sup>

ya. (noun, unclassified, occasionally (archaically?)  
 d-class) 1. 'northwind (a cold northerly wind coming  
 down off Chugach mountain range and glaciers)'  
 LS, ya. kəxuːs 'northwind is blowing hard' L,  
 ya. ʔideseleːk 'northwind is blowing (becoming  
 active)' L, ya. liʔ ʔiqeʔdiːkʔah 'northwind  
 will come down' L, ya. liʔ ʔidiːkʔah 'north=  
 wind is coming down' M, ya. liʔ ʔideseiʔaʔk  
 (or ʔidaʔseiʔaʔk) 'northwind is starting to come  
 down' L, ya. diːkəh 'northwind is cold' L (here  
 apparently d-class, cf. d-kə-yəx).

2. 'north (area of Chugach mountain range  
 and glaciers)', as o of o-yəx-d '(at rest in,  
 nominalization of) under o': yaːyəxd 'north' L.

ga.2 (see also Ga. x. a. -ve. tab)

guxa\* (noun, unclassified, with g-thematic, perhaps thematized class-mark, stem not attested in other forms) 'stump of tree (especially uprooted, turned over or not), butt-end of tree' L, guxa-da? ʔəhʔ seʔaʔtʃih 'he arrived at a stump with her' 18.24L, guxa-luw 'big stump' LM, guxa-guyʔʔ ʔəʔaʔt 'pl. of guxa - stump!' (if guxa named out says this tree will be rain) L.

Edguxa-g

ya.<sup>3</sup>

ʔa--qə-ya· (exclamation, clause-initial, stem  
 -ya· with ʔa- exclamatory or qə-, probably  
 q- emphatic prefixes in free variation) 'my!, goah!,  
 (my) how ...!, (my) what ...!' (expression of  
 amazement or irritation): 72.4, 5, 11, 13, 14L,  
 qəya· same as ʔəya· L, in verbal clauses: ʔa-  
 ya· ʔaw geli·iḏuhih 'my how he loves to guzzle  
 it!' L, ʔəya· diḏixəxgih 'my how he snores!' L,  
 ʔəya· le·iguʔa·w daʔli·kəjihih 'my what long  
 hair she has!' L, qəya· listiqəxəkih/li·ikʔəkih  
 'my how fat/skinny she is' M, qəya· yaʔ əəli·-  
 ʔah 'my how high it is!' M, ʔəya· sḏiḏiʔəxgih  
 'it (stove) sure makes (lots of) ashes!' L, ʔa-  
 ya· ta· ʔu·dəx yaʔ ədəsidiḏ 'my how roads ex-  
 tend there in many directions!' L, qəya· ʔaʔd  
 wəx ʔi·təjihih 'he sure is!, you can sure say that  
 again about him!' M, 'my how he is very much thus',  
 also 72.14L, standard idiom, in non-verbal clauses:  
 qəya· kuʔa·w 'my how long it is!' M, qəya· (or  
 ʔəya·) kuʔa·w ʔəx/ʔəxəkih 'my what a long boat/-  
 canoe!' L, qəya· (or ʔəya·) ya·dədik ḏu·liḏ  
 'my what a low table!' L, qəya· (or ʔəya·) laʔq  
 ʔi·ḏahḏ/-ḏaʔə kuḏxi·d 'my what thick cloth!' L,  
 with nominalized verb and suffixed adjective: qə-  
 ya· xəʔdilihəyah 'what a fop!' L, ʔəya· ʔəduʔ-  
 iḏihəkih 'my what a cute knowledgeable child!' L.

xah<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with xah<sup>2</sup>, basic meaning 'round',)

qexah (noun, 1-class, qe-prefix not identified)  
 'moon, month' LMA, 2a.2, 4, 14, 19M, 26.16L,  
 Rezanov Kaxa 'Мѣсяць, мѣсяц Mond, Monat', Wrang-  
 gell Kaxa 'Mond', Galushia Nelson qaxá' or  
 qaxá 'moon' BSdL 537, h̄hsa·na· qexah 'one  
 month' M, laʔda·na· qexah 'two months' M, daxkʔ  
 ʔa·na·d qexah 'in a few months' ʔO.ʔfnA, Ku-  
 letuʔ qexah 'many months' M, qexah ʔulaʔʔ ʔi·-  
 saʔyah̄t 'she's a month pregnant' L, laʔdic̄i·  
 ʔa·na· qexah ʔulaʔʔ ʔi·saʔyah̄t 'she's seven  
 months pregnant' L; expressions concerning phases  
 of the moon, in which 1-class-mark for S 'moon'  
 is thematized and the noun qexah usually omitted:  
 ʔuʔ ʔi·setuʔi, ʔuʔ ʔi·selīt, (qexah) ʔuʔ la-  
 selīt 'moon became full' L, ʔuʔ li·līt 'moon  
 is full' L (neuter perfective), ya·ʔa·gagaʔ qexah  
 'half-moon' M, ya·ʔa·g leselīt, ya·ʔa·g ʔi·-  
 selīt (not ʔi·setuʔi) 'moon is half' L, hīca·č  
 ya·ʔa·g leselīt 'moon is getting back to half  
 (on one side)' L, ya·ʔa·geč leselīt 'moon is  
 getting back close to half full' L; expressions  
 concerning movement and complete phases of the  
 moon, with theme ie-ʔa, 1-class-mark lacking:



first member is the name of a fish (which perhaps runs during that month): *caʔqəxah* 'red salmon month' (around May) L, (June) A, *saʔgqəxah* 'eulachon-month' L, (February) A, *de:lahqəxah* '(Dolly Varden or rainbow) trout-month' L, (November?) A, the first member of three others also refers to natural phenomena: *laʔnahdqəxah* 'berry-month' LA, (autumn?) L, *xelaʔgʔilaʔaʔg yaʔ qəxah* 'midwinter month' (January) A (unknown to L), *naʔdqəxah* 'month (when sun goes) further down (slope)' (September?) A (unknown to L), and one apparently contains the Tlingit numeral *násg* 'three': *nədqəxah* (winter?) L; the other <sup>five</sup>~~four~~

names begin with *ʔuʔnahd* 'in (its) month' and *ʔuʔnahd ʔəʔaʔ* 'month when they (they return) return' (March) A (unknown to L), refer to natural phenomena: *ʔuʔnahd qəʔi:daʔkʔ*

LM, (April, when water drips down from trees) A (interpretation uncertain, see *daʔkʔ*), *ʔuʔnahd ʔideyahš* 'month when animals give birth to young' (May) L (also apparently a place-name in Yakutat Bay, see *yahš*), *ʔuʔnahd ʔi:edqʔə* 'month when ducks moult' L, (July) A, *ʔuʔnahd ʔi:əʔah* 'month when sun shines' L; Wrangell Я-итяткаха 'Blitz' probably to be read ...*qəxah*, perhaps the name of a specific month, but the first part cannot be identified; Furuhejm Takhnakhah 'moon' probably

see 6 by  
3 fish  
3 idja  
1 113  
2000 1 113

V - ~ \* say. w. 2. 113

to be read either dɛsnahqɛʒah (= dɛslahqɛʒah  
'trout-month') or perhaps dɛʒkɛ.na.d qɛʒah  
'how many months?, a few months.'

ʒaʔ-ʒaʔ (perhaps to be analyzed ʒ-aʔ, cf. especially o-ʒ 'in contact with o', with -aʔ augment; expanded where compounded as o of o-qʔ and thematically expanded in certain forms with -ʒ final; with second person plural pronoun as o laʒ-ʒaʔ > laʒaʔ, with lɿ-class-mark o-lɿ-ʒaʔ > o-laʒeʒaʔ, sometimes haplologically o-laʒaʔ)

o-ʒaʔ (postposition, with zero, -d, and -ʒ finals)

1. (with zero final only) a. 'of o, o's, in (alienable) possession of o' (with pronoun only as o, as attribute in construction with unpossessed or kinship nouns, not anatomical or integral part of o, for which see o-aʔ; in irregular class with o-aʔ in following rather than preceding head noun, in origin perhaps relativization of lb.(9) below): ʒawaʔ siʒaʔ 'my dog' M, ʒawaʔ ʔiʒaʔ 'your dog' M, ʒawaʔ ʔəhʒaʔ 'his dog' M, ʒawaʔ ʔuxaʔ 'his, their (own) dog' M, ʒawaʔ qaʔ-ʒaʔ 'our dog' M, ʒawaʔ laʒaʔ 'your pl. dog' M, ʒawaʔ ʔuxaʔ ʒəʒehʒih 'he killed his (own) dog' L, qiʔ teh ʔuxaʔ 'its lying-place' L, laʔ ʒ siʒaʔ 'my string' M, Furuħjelm Khetzkisaha 'daughter' qeʒkih siʒaʔ 'my daughter' L, xu-si-ħgaʔ, ʔaw Kulah ʔiʒaʔ 'you're tiring me out, (with) that drinking of yours' L, le-ħ ʔi-ʒaʔ yeʒ quʔgu-xiʒeʒ 'I'll cut your hair' L,

le'k 'uʔaʔ 'uʔaʔ yeʒ gu'ʔah 'her hair hangs  
 way down on her' L, 'aw du'ʔ 'uʔaʔ le'k'ʔaʔ  
 gih 'he's slapping his (own) cat' L, ʔawa' 'i=  
 ʔaʔ si'ʔe'kʔuh 'are you killing your (own) dog?'  
 L, ʔi'lehʔiyah qi'ʔ ca'ʔ 'uʔaʔ se'ʔaʔ 'Where  
 Old Raven threw his box' BSdL 259, 558, ʔi'leh=  
 ʔiyah qi'ʔeʔ we'ʔ 'uʔaʔ ca'ʔ se'ʔahdi 'Where  
 Old Raven dragged his drying rack' BSdL 259, 558,  
 ʔawa' siʔaʔ 'ʔah se'ʔah 'my dog bit him' L,  
 ʔahdi 'uʔaʔ hu'1 'u'ʔa'se'ʔaʔ'kih 'he sold his  
 car' L, di'ʔa'g siʔaʔ, da'deʔʔduw ye'a'ʔa'k 'I  
 wonder where my letter is (travelling)' M, 'ʔa'dʔal  
 se'ʔe'ʔakih 'iʔaʔ ʔa'ʔ 'i'ʔe'k 'is this where  
 you (cust) bed your child?' L, 'ʔa'dʔal di'ʔa'g  
 'iʔaʔ tah 'is this where your book belongs?' L,  
 'ʔa'dʔal di'ʔa'g 'iʔaʔ yitah 'is this where you  
 put your book?' L, ta'ya'd 'iʔaʔ qe'ʔ de'ʔe'ʔi'ʔ  
 'tie your door shut!' L, ʔah siʔaʔ qi'dalah  
 qu'ʔde'ʔih 'I'll wrap it around my feet as stockings'  
 L, ya'yu' siʔaʔ ya'xah' ʔe'ʔi'k 'I'm taking  
 off my clothes' L, di'ʔweʔ da'ʔ 'uʔaʔ 'uʔ di'=  
 'ah 'his umbilical cord is still attached to him'  
 L, yida' 'uʔaʔ 'uda' se'ʔih 'his shamanistic  
 power came to him' L, cu'd siʔaʔ yeʒ xda'ʔ  
 'I'm walking around in my sleep' L, si'k siʔaʔ  
 qa' qu'ʔʔa'd 'I'll lace my shoes' L, ʔe'ʔa'c

'iya? li·qa·ʔag 'straighten out your basket!' L, cī·ʔ 'iya? siʔ ʔaʔye· 'tell me your dream!' L, ʔu·d kiʔq da·na· siʔa? ʔa·silʔahī 'I spent all my money there' L, ʔa·ʔeʔi·d 'iya? qa? ʔa·seiʔa? 'button your buttons!' L, daqew 'iya? ʔa·ne· 'eat your lunch!' L, following head noun as o of postposition: taʔyaq 'iya? seiʔeʔʔ 'put your feet in your stockings!' L, textual occurrences: 7.25A, 12.6, 9, 11, 22G, 16.= 24M, 18.57L, 20.96, 23.18, 27, 49, 131, 155A, 24.= 24, 32.41, 42, 33.5, 36.14A, 38.17LM, 43.29, 46.22, 47b.4, 11M, 47c.9, 24L, 49.20, 50.2, 51.61, 77, 80A, 55.8, 56.6, 10L, 60.43, 61.21, 68A, 63.7G, 65.64A, following head noun as o of postposition: 2b.6L, 23.21, 26m 46m 51, 24.54, 25.11, 12, 37b.40, 60A, 47b.20, 22M, 49.26, 33, 51.46, 79A, 56.2L, Kalaqah 'iya? 'your (whale-)head' 29.11A, with enclitic -deg-: daʔacia ʔuxaʔdig 'his buoy too' 12.6G, kiʔq ya·yu· siʔaʔdug 'all my stuff too' 47a.3L, cf. ʔaw sayeʔgugdig ʔuxa? 'his kayak too' 12.22G.

1b. With broad meaning 'in (more or less intimate physical or abstract) relation with o', syntactically regular, but often in construction ambiguous with 1a. above: (1) 'at, near, by, with, at the home of, in possession of o' (simple prox=

imity and/or alienable possession): ?ixʌʔ  
 'somewhere with you' L, ləʒʌʔ 'with you pl.' M  
 (< ləʒ-ʒʌʔ), siʒʌʔ 'with me' LM, tʌʒgadəʒʌʔ  
 daʔ kʌʒaʔkile-ʃtʰ 'we'll pick berries by the  
 cottonwood' L, ?ukʌʒdəʒʌʔ 'his lower leg near  
 ankle' L, diʔ dəʒpʰʒʌʔ qeʔ ?əsdədəhʌʃh 'he's  
 not living with anyone anymore' L, o-ʒʌʔ ʒʌʔdihd  
 -da 'S visits o', ?ʒ-dəʒʒgahʒ siʒʌʔ qaʔ le-  
 ei-tʰhʌʃh 'would that he show his head here by me'  
 L, o-ʒʌʔ ?wəʒ -tʰe--tuʔ 'S lives with, is mar-  
 ried to o', o-ʒʌʔ ku-ʒ-a 'S eats (in company)  
 with o', o-ʒʌʔ kə-tuʔ 'o has abundance of S',  
 ?ixʌʔ ?əduʔxʌʃleh 'I thought myself (right there)  
 with you' L, ʌʌʔdəʒʌʔ xlah 'I camp by the gla-  
 cier' L (see also kʌʔʒʌʔlahʌ 'Tlingit'), siʒʌʔ  
 dʒʌʔ saʔyahʌʔ 'it bumped against me' L, ?ixʌʔdə-  
 ʒʌʔ ʒʌʔ siʒyahʌʔ 'I put it by where you can eat  
 it' L, o-ʒʌʔ ʒʌʔ ?əd-dl-kə-ʔe 'S spies on o',  
 o-ʒʌʔ -da 'S sits by, stays with o': lb.18M,  
 10.33, 154, 253, 260, 11.73, 23.118, 25.153, 69.-  
 11A, with other themes: 1a.12, 1b.13, 14M, 8.13,  
 10.47, 56, 56, 11.32, 149, 150A, 18.57, 65L, 20.-  
 51, 24.40, 25.115, 150A, 27a.41L, 29.12, 13, 17,  
 33, 49.20, 50.57A, 53.24L; (2) with numeral as o,  
 'at o o'clock': dəsaʔqʒʌʔ 'at ten o'clock' 61.-  
 11, 11, 92, 92A, guʔdeʔʒʌʔ yi-ʌʒaʔk 'it (cust)

gets light at nine o'clock' L, diK 'u-la'xiga-s  
da'k'ixa'd qe' 'ah qu'xdah 'I don't know what  
time I'll get back home' L; (3) "on", discom-  
fitting o, to o's consternation, happening in re-  
lation to o but not intended by o': Rezanov Kar-  
amzacs-xax 'Bodka Brandtwein' qa'xa' i'diya'd  
giyah 'water which has putrefied "on" us' L,  
qa'xa' yq' sedah 'it (motor) conked out "on"  
us' M, sixa' sesih 'it died "on" me' L, si-  
xa' ka' da'hica' 'don't cry "on" me, keep quiet  
with me, for me' L, o-xa' de-we'q '(supply of)  
S runs short, low "on" o', ce'y qa'xa' yilu'd  
'we're short of tea' L, siyah sixa' seialubdi  
'I'm running short of food' L, o-xa' l-de-'a  
'o runs out of S' ('S becomes expended "on" o'),  
sixa' 'i-sdi'abdi 'I ran out of food' L, sixa'  
se'ihah 'it (prey that I'd nearly caught) got  
away from me' L, o-xa' O-'le'g 'S takes O away  
from o', sixa' ye' sekugi 'it broke "on" me' L,  
kiya' sixa' dase'ih 'it spilled "on" me' L, si-  
suhda' se'iga'dgi 'my knees are getting weak' L,  
'iyq'xa' isih 'your mother has a rotten vagina'  
(curse) B&L 555 ('it is rotten "on" your mother'),  
sixa' lese'eh 'it got lopsided "on" me' L, 'i-  
xa' qese'ehah'ih 'don't let him choke "on" you!'  
L, sixa' godis'ihuh'i 'it (cloth) gathered "on"

me' L, siḡa' guḡdiḡehḡi 'my thread knotted' L,  
 siḡa' ḡa'sdima'ḡi 'I got it all messed up (talk-  
 ing)' L, siḡa' kuḡdi'li'ḡi 'my clothes got wet'  
 L, o-ḡa' ku-ḡ-ḡya, o-ḡa' ku-d-ḡ-ḡya 'S both-  
 ers o', textual occurrences: 10.69, 84, 85, 85,  
 23.30, 35, 88, 29.37A, 43.13, 47b.43M, 51.42, 48,  
 70.10A, o-ḡa' -siḡ 'S dies "on" o' 8.18, 18,  
 19, 20.97, 23.155, 49.77A, o-ḡa' o-ḡu' 'S steals  
 O from o' 9.84, 119A; frequently in construction  
 ambiguous with a., noun o-ḡa' verb, with o-ḡa'  
 attribute to noun and/or verb: ḡawa' siya' yi-  
 ka'ḡ 'my dog is sick ("on" me)' L, siḡi'mahḡi si-  
 ḡa' la'ḡ seta'ḡi 'my bread went flat ("on" me)'  
 L, da'na' siḡa' deḡa'ḡu'ḡiḡi 'he stole my money  
 (from me)' L, 'ixa'ḡeḡa' siḡteḡi 'I took it away  
 from you while you were eating it' L, 'aw ḡiyahḡ  
 siḡa' 'ḡi'ḡeḡeḡḡi 'my hat got out of shape ("on"  
 me)' L, ḡawa'ḡiyah siḡa' 'aw siḡi' siḡa' ya'  
 qeḡeḡe'ḡa'ḡi 'my/some lousy dog chewed up my shoes  
 ("on" me)' L, kuḡiyah 'uḡa' 'the evil (perpet-  
 rated) against him' L, ambiguous textual occur-  
 rences: 7.26, 33.57A, 37a.12L, 38.17LM, 43.9, 13M,  
 49.78, 137, 138A; (4) 'because of, over, concern-  
 ing, on account of o', especially of emotional  
 reactions: o-ḡa' -ḡa' 'S is stingy with, jeal-  
 ous, possessive of o', da'na'ḡeḡa' xiḡah 'I'm

stingy with money' L, Rezanov Тѣхѡхѡ-хѣмѡхѡ  
 'Hexass nichtbedauern' diK 'uxa? 'a?xšah? 'I'm  
 not stingy with it' L, Rezanov Аѣхѡхѡеѣѣѣ 'Еѣхѡ  
 bedauern' [Kuša-dah] 'aw sixa? 'i-tēh 'I'm  
 sorry about that' ('that is badly with me') L,  
 o-xa? -kǰ·x 'S cries over o', o-xa? lah qa?  
 'i-le? 'S gets feelings hurt, is disappointed by  
 o', o-xa? 'i-leh 'S likes o' ('i-leh- 3.-7.,  
 usually unlauded and coalesced with verb as o-  
 xe?leh-), la?mahdla(xa)xe?xleh 'I like berries'  
 L, o-xa? ya? 'i-lih-?ya 'S is disappointed by  
 o', 'uxa? ya·x 'adu?xšile?i 'I appreciate that'  
 L, Kužu-dah o-xa? O-'i-lih-ǰ-i 'S makes O happy  
 with o', 'idah o-xa? 'i-lih-le, Kužu-dah O-xa?  
 'i-lih-le, 'anahšekih o-xa? 'i-lih-le, 'anah-  
 šekih o-xa? 'i-lih-tē--tu' 'S likes o', Kuša-  
 dah o-xa? 'i-lih-le 'S dislikes, is angry with  
 o', o-xa? (o-x) 'edawi?i 'i-d-ǰ-i 'S is ex-  
 cited, wages war (with o) over o' 8.15, 11.11, 37b.-  
 27, 28.10<sup>4</sup>, 104A, ǰp·diyahstahti·lexa? 'edawi?i  
 'idesekili 'they waged war over a rat-skin' 28.-  
 136A, o<sup>1</sup>-xa? Kušiyah o<sup>2</sup>-la?x d-?ya 'o<sup>2</sup> gets  
 angry over o<sup>1</sup>', 'uxa? Kušiyah qe? šdile?i  
 'there arose more evil over it' 28.124A, de-xa?daw  
 qala? O-ǰ-i 'why does S beat up O?' 9.44A, 'u-  
 xa? 'i-nex Kuqu?dada?ya·K 'you'll (cust) be tor-

mented because of it' 51.34A, ?uʔaʔ qeʔ qaʔni·  
sdiʔyahk 'they fought over it again' L, o-ʔaʔ  
qeyu· iə-a/-ʔaʔʕ 'sg./pl. S attacks over o' 28.-  
103, 36.15, 20fnā; (5) with verb or deverbaliza-  
tion subordinated as o, 'because of, from o-ing':  
gi·wa· ?ulahʔaʔ kuʔx̄ituhgk 'I got lazy from  
drinking beer' L, yeʔ ?ute·ʔʔaʔ kuʔquʔietuhg  
'it'll get lazy from lying around' L, ?udete·ʔʔaʔ  
ʔahʕ yišahʔaʔ 'because he's stingy with him over  
his sister' 9.71A, ʔehyaʔaʔ siʔyahk, qeʔyitche-  
ləʔede·ʔʔ yeʔ ?id̄i·ʔʔaʔ 'I got a chill, from  
dipping my finger in the whale's eye' 11.177A,  
dik̄ d̄əʔu·dəʔya·kihʔəʔ ?esahk̄ʔaʔ ?aw qalaʔ  
sahk̄i 'because he found nothing, he beat him up'  
9.9A, dik̄ ?awa· kuššehk̄ʔaʔ ?ah yaʔ lesa-  
guʔk̄iʔh 'because he didn't kill any, he punched  
his face in' 9.12A; (6) especially with verbs of  
locomotion, (going) to get, fetch, (hunting) for  
o' (synonymous with o-luʔqa·): te·d̄guʔaʔ da·  
ʔaʔʕ 'we're going to get spruceroots' L, laʔ-  
mahdleʔəʔaʔ da· ?aʔʕ 'we're going to get ber-  
ries' L, dek̄iʔhʔaʔ da· ?aʔʕ 'we're going to get  
sticks' L, liədəʔaʔ da· ?aʔʕ 'we're going to  
get spruce' L, ʔih̄ȳgadəʔaʔ da· ?i·ʔaʔʕ 'let's  
go get some grass' L, ca·ʔa·ʔaʔ da· ?i·ʔaʔʕ  
'lets go get some stones' L, dəʔdəʔaʔ da· ?i·-

ʔaʔɕ 'let's go get some mud' L, textual occur-  
 rences: with -qe 'S goes (by boat)' 9.122, 142,  
 10.90, 20.51, 28.1, 1A, 47b.38M, 52.2, 53.24L, 62.=  
 18, 25, 63.1G, 66.1L, with other themes: 9.36, 10.=  
 175A, 17.9M, 18.1L, 20.1, 32A, 21a.1, 8L, 23.133,  
 28.18, 29.19, 52.1A, 63.17, 64.1G; (7) in con-  
 struction noun<sup>1</sup>-ʔaʔ noun<sup>2</sup>, '(noun<sup>2</sup>) for (use with,  
 storage of, protection against) o (noun<sup>1</sup>): sahx-  
 ʔaʔ ʂaʔɕ 'clam-stick' G, ɕiyuxʔaʔ yaʔ 'cheese-  
 cloth, mosquito-bar' L, leʔɕuʔaʔ yʔʔ '(plant  
 used for) hair-medicine' L, ɕɕɕɕʔaʔ yʔʔ  
 'fireweed' ('medicine against land-otter') L; (8)  
 'for, in (dimensional, moral) relation to o': siʔaʔ  
 yiʔliʔ 'it's too big for me' L, o-ʔaʔ da-aʔ  
 'S fits, is certain size for o', o<sup>1</sup>-yɕɕ o<sup>2</sup>-ʔaʔ  
 ʔi-ɕ-ʔliʔ '(inside of) o<sup>1</sup> is too big for o<sup>2</sup>',  
 ʔɕɕɕʔkiʔ yɕɕɕ ʔuʔaʔ ɕɕɕɕ-ɕɕɕɕ 'the distance  
 to shore for her had shortened to this little bit'  
 25.48A, ɕuʔɕaʔ ɕaʔ-ʔaʔ ɕɕɕɕ yikɕiʔɕiʔ, ɕuʔɕaʔ  
 ɕaʔ-ʔaʔ ɕɕɕɕɕiʔɕiʔ 'he's treacherous with us' L,  
 diʔ ʔuʔaʔ-ʔaʔ ʔaʔʔɕɕɕɕɕiʔ 'she cheats on (isn't  
 straight with) her husband' M; (9) as C in con-  
 struction without verb, 'S is in possession of, at  
 the home of, with, on (person of) o, o has S':  
 49.20A, ʔɕɕɕɕ ʔaʔ-ʔaʔ 'he has a dog' M, ʔɕɕɕɕ  
 ʔaʔ-ʔaʔ 'they have a dog' M, ɕɕɕɕ-ɕɕɕɕɕ teʔ=

ya? 'iɣa? 'is that all the fish you have?' L,  
 de'gaʔd da'na? 'iɣa? 'how much money do you  
 have?' M, dəxknu'd seqe'əyū? 'iɣa? 'how many  
 children do you have?' M, xu? siɣa? 'I've got  
 it (e.g. key)' L, dəxkih ɣəwa'd 'iɣa? 'how  
 many dogs do you have?' L, dəxkələɣa'd la'məhd  
 'iɣa? 'how many berries do you have?' L, dəx-  
 kihd te'ya? 'iɣa? 'as many fish as you have'  
 65.50A, da'əahdduw te'ya? 'iɣa? 'where did  
 you get that fish from?' L, xu? siya? ɣəwa-  
 siɣa? 'my dog is at (my) home' L, kuɣp'tu'inu-  
 ke'əhəyū? 'uɣa? 'had many slaves' 11.109A,  
 'əw ɣəwa? 'uɣa?, 'uɣa?, də'uɣa? 'that dog  
 of his was with him, right (there) with him' 33.-  
 5A, qe'kəsqe'dəkih ca'kəkih 'uɣa? 'the girl  
 had a small knife on her' 38.8LM, xu? siɣa? qe-  
 ma? 'I've got roe (at my place)' 40.6L, 'ə'd  
 siɣa? '(I have them) here with me' 46.27M, 'əw  
 ki? 'əwa? 'uɣa? 'as for the spear he had it  
 with him' 63.20, ki? 'əw qəhəw 'uɣa? 'with his  
 spear (that he had) with him' 63.10; (10) as pre-  
 ceding, with də- 'ipse': də'uɣa? 'his own,  
 right by him' 33.5A, see also (1); (11) with  
 theme C -ke(?) 'S is C' overt or deleted,  
 'for, as far as o is concerned': 'iɣp'kəyah qəw  
 'uɣ wəɣ kədəleh 'iɣa? qə'ke? 'your teeth

will be your tools, will be tools for you' 16.=  
 24, 25M, lixah 'uxa' qew 'it's a grizzly-bear  
 for them' 37b.9A, diyah 'uxa' qe'ew 'it's a  
 blackbear for them' 37b.26A, or perhaps nominal-  
 ized 'it's their (version of a) blackbear', etc.,  
 thus also qe'ye'ed' 'ew 'uxa' yileh 'it's  
 backwards for them, they have it backwards, theirs  
 (their version) is backwards' 68.91, 125A, 'sici.'  
 'ew 'uxa' yikihinu' 'their version is "sici."',  
 it's "sici." for them' 68.111A, 'eyee' 'uxa' 'e=  
 wa' we' 'ew yikihinu' 'theirs however is thus,  
 for them however it is thus' 68.95A; (12) with  
 vague, general, or uncertain meaning, 'for, in re-  
 lation to o': daselehga' 'ew 'uxa' siliikih  
 'he did it on purpose' ('he did it to it for him  
 according to his own mind') L, 'ew 'uxa' sa'=  
 mahdi 'it cooked for him' 1b.14M, o-ya' o-?-=  
 le'g 'S accepts O from o' 9.159, 161A, 'qhx'a'  
 'u'sale'gi' 'he took (her berries) for her' 18.14L,  
 diK' qi'ed' sa'a'ed' 'uxa' 'ew 'u'la'dega's 'it  
 wasn't known where they went' 20.103A (perhaps  
 'the (their) place to which they went, it wasn't  
 known'), saqe'dakih yile' 'ewa' 'uxa' 'u'li-  
 digihinu' 'it's known that it was their child'  
 ('that it was their child however for them was  
 known') 23.125A; (13) with reciprocal o in indi-

rect reciprocal constructions: 16.19M, 54.14G,  
 ?iixʌʔ Kəʒuʔ qəʔ qə·lihdətʌhimuʔ, Kəʒuʔ ?iix-  
 ʌʔ qəʔ quʔdəiʔinuʔ 'they'll reconcile' L,  
 ?iixʌʔ sdiqubʌinuʔ 'they're sitting, staying  
 together; they're having a love affair' M, siʔ  
 ?iixʌʔ dəliħħiħ 'my sweetheart' ('he who talks  
 with me with each other') L, ?iixʌʔdiʔyah per-  
 sonal name, see under ?ya; (14) with reflexive  
 o in indirect reflexive constructions: (a) with  
 overt reflexive o: ?ədʒʌʔ ?əħ sʌilahiħ 'he  
 got him to live with him' 15.2M, ?ədʒʌʔləʒiyah  
 'ne'er-do-well' ('bad with himself'), see under  
 siyah-; (14b) with deleted reflexive o: yəʔ  
 dəʔaʔʔʒyʌʔ Kaʔ ʒaʔ ?uʔyala·ditah 'you should  
 watch out for (expect for yourself) prowling ani-  
 mals' L, usually unlauded and coalesced with verb  
 ?i·lih-, ?i·leh-: ʒaʔ ?i·lih-də-ʔeʔ--tuʔ >  
 ʒeʔ-(i·)lih-də-ʔeʔ--tuʔ, ʒaʔ ?i-də-leh- >  
 ʒeʔ-də-leh- 'S becomes, is conceited, foppish,  
 dresses up fancy' ('S likes self'), Rezanov  
 ТУМКАСХЕТТЕГЕТЕЛЬНИ 'Берома, беромана eitel'  
 kiʔ gʌhʌʔ ?aʔd ʒeʔd- ʒeʔdəliħħiħ 'every day  
 he's very dressed up'; (14c) probably with de-  
 leted reflexive o and with də- 'ipse': dəʒʌʔ  
 yaʔ quʔxdətah 'I'll keep it (right near myself,  
 as my very own)' L, see also 4., 5a. below.

2. Attested with zero, -d, and -ɣ finals, with certain anatomical marks (see separate sub-entries for y-anatomical and thematic marks); with l-anatomical 'head': siləɣaʔd setah̄, siləɣaʔ setah̄ 'it's right by my head (as I'm prone)' L; with cɨʔl-anatomical 'head, neck': sicɨʔləɣaʔd setah̄ 'pillow' ('that which is by my neck as I'm prone') L, ʔɣ·d ʔucɨʔləɣaʔd ʔəw yaʔ ʔəta·k̄ih̄ 'it's (cust) here by his head' 36.-28A; with qɨ·d-anatomical 'foot': siqɨ·dəɣaʔɣ q̄h̄ ʔi·k̄aʔd̄i 'pain is shooting up along my leg' L; see also -k̄uʃ-d-ɣaʔ 'lower leg near ankle'.

3. Attested with -d, -ɕ, and -ɣ finals, with quʔ--quʔ-d- 'fire' as o, see quʔ-quʔ--quʔ.

4. With -d final only and reflexive o, sometimes with proclitic de- 'ipse' and/or as o of o-yeʔɣ--yaʔɣ, ʔəd-ɣaʔ-d (from a position of rest with respect to self, spontaneously?', not used as indirect reflexive: deʔədɣaʔdyaʔɣ 56.26L, ʔədɣaʔdyeʔɣ M (L rejects) ʔədɣaʔd 'suddenly, all at once, abruptly, unexpectedly' L, deʔədɣaʔd siŋ ʔuʔadixah̄ 'something unexpected was told me' L, deʔədɣaʔd ʔuɣ k̄udiʃiʃ-ɕa·q̄t̄ 'I hear of something unexpected' L, ʔəd-ɣaʔd yɣ·ʔ sədah̄ 'he stopped abruptly' L,

'edya'dya'z hitug qe'aw 'suddenly it's swollen up' L, 'edya'dye'z li'z qu'li-xleh M, 'edya'dya'z li'z qu'li-xleh 'I'll burst out laughing' L, 'edya'dya'z sekj'xth L, 'edya'dye'z sekj'xth 'he burst out crying' M.

5. With -z final only, o-za'z a. 'along, alongside, close to o': siya'z ye'z da'z 'it (e.g. spider) is walking along me' L, siya'z ye'z 'edse'la'kewa'tz 'it's hanging down by me' L, 'uza'z ye'z zedi'ah 'a stripe extends down along it' L, 'ah thh'ih 'ahza'z qa' gukiya't 'one is standing leaning against the other' L, o-za'z qe'-le' (qa' 'i-le', see le(?) -li) 'S watches o carefully, pays attention to, cares for, is careful with, babysits, heeds, remembers o', 'uza'z'ediyah name of Eyak woman LMA, BSdL Genealogical Table ("bad things with her side" A); with reciprocal o in indirect reciprocal constructions: 'i'ya'z qa' guki'a'c'ihnu' 'they're standing leaning against each other' L, 'i'ya'z 'idi'ah 'they extend parallel and touching' L, 'i'ya'z 'idi'ah xut'h 'double-barrelled shotgun' L; with deleted reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction: za'z ye'z 'is'ti'qhth 'she looked herself over' 22.6L.

5b. With verbs of locomotion and noun or

verbal form denoting activity as o, 'looking for o, for purpose of o': qa<sup>o</sup>ni·ya<sup>o</sup> sah<sup>i</sup> 'he went looking for a fight' L, qa<sup>o</sup>nu·ya<sup>o</sup> sa<sup>o</sup>a<sup>o</sup>ʕ<sup>i</sup>inu<sup>o</sup> 'they're getting into a fight' L, ʔanah<sup>o</sup>ʕ<sup>i</sup>ihya<sup>o</sup> ʕa<sup>o</sup>a<sup>o</sup>ʕ<sup>i</sup>inu<sup>o</sup> 'they went to have a good time' 29.= 66A, ʔawya<sup>o</sup> ʔaw ya<sup>o</sup> ʔi·da·k<sup>o</sup> 'that's what you (cust) go around for' 11.56A, with deverbalized inceptive imperfective verb as o: kuqa<sup>o</sup>ʕ<sup>i</sup>ehya<sup>o</sup> ya<sup>o</sup> qu<sup>o</sup>xdah 'I'll go around hunting' 9.16A, with active optative verb subordinated as o: ku-xi<sup>o</sup>ʕ<sup>i</sup>ehya<sup>o</sup> qu<sup>o</sup>xah 'I'll go hunting' L.

ya<sup>o</sup>dih- (preverb, to be analyzed ya<sup>o</sup>-dih or ya<sup>o</sup>-d-ih, see dih, attested with -d, -ʕ, and -da<sup>o</sup> finals) 'on a visit': with -d final: ya<sup>o</sup>dihd 'visiting someone' L, da·d ya<sup>o</sup>dihd 'where are you going to visit?' L, ʔuxa<sup>o</sup> ya<sup>o</sup>dihd sida<sup>o</sup>h<sup>i</sup>h 'I'm visiting him' L, si<sup>o</sup>ya<sup>o</sup> ya<sup>o</sup>dihd s<sup>o</sup>da<sup>o</sup>h<sup>i</sup>h 'he's visiting me' M; with -ʕ final: ʔu<sup>o</sup>ʕ ya<sup>o</sup>-dhi<sup>o</sup> ʔiy<sup>o</sup>ʔ<sup>i</sup>h 'go visit him!' M, ʔu<sup>o</sup>ʕ ya<sup>o</sup>dih<sup>o</sup> qu<sup>o</sup>x<sup>i</sup>h<sup>i</sup>h 'I'll go visit him' M, ʔu<sup>o</sup>ʕ ya<sup>o</sup>dih<sup>o</sup> euxa<sup>o</sup>·h 'I'm going on a visit to him' M; with -da<sup>o</sup> final: ʕi·leh<sup>o</sup>aiyah qi<sup>o</sup> gu·ʕgeleeda<sup>o</sup> ya<sup>o</sup>-dihda<sup>o</sup> sah<sup>i</sup> 'Where Raven visited Eagle' BSdL 559.

o-y-ya<sup>o</sup> (postposition, with y-anatomical 'hand', attested with zero, -ʕ, and -ʔ finals) la. 'to the hand of, lending to o, into o's charge': si-

yaʒaʔ ʒetaʔ 'hand it to me!' L, ʔiyaʒaʔ quʔ=xtah 'I'll hand it to you' L, du·yaʒaʔdum ku=dəseɪʔahɪ 'to whom did you lend money?' M, o=y-ʒaʔ O-ɪ-(y)a 'S lends pl. O to o', kuyaʒaʔ siɪteɪɪ 'I lent it (pup) to someone' L.

1b. With y-anatomical thematized, with these -ʔya, with zero and -ɕ finals: o-y-ʒaʔ -ʔya 'S succumbs, falls victim, prey to o, falls into o's clutches, is overcome by o'.

1c. With y-anatomical and ku-indefinite o thematized, with classificatory themes: o-ɕ kuyaʒaʔ O-ɪ-te 'S sends O (living being) (away) to o', ʔiɕ kuyaʒaʔ quʔxtah 'I'll send it to you' M, kuyaʒaʔ O-ɪ-(y)a 'S sends pl. O away'.

1d. As 1c., uncertain: kuyaʒaʔ siɪteɪɪ 'I taught someone' L ('I gave, lent him to someone, sent him away'); siyaʒaʔ ʒeɪɪʔɪh 'teach me it!' L ('give, lend them (pl. persons) to me'), not verified.

2. With -ʒ final: siyaʒaʔʒ lahɪ '(touched, moved) forward along the heel of my hand' L, siyaʒaʔʒ qɪʔ ʔi·ɪkaʔdɪ 'pain is shooting up along my arm' L.

o-d-ʒaʔ (postposition, with d-thematic 'oral, noise', attested with zero and -ʒ finals) 1. with zero final, 'talking back to, arguing with, impudent with,

sassing o', with theme cɨʔd-le 'S speaks' only:  
50.38A, yaʔyu· sideʔaʔ quʔcɨʔdi·leh 'don't  
give me any back-talk (just do it)ʔ' L.

2. With -y final, o-d-ʔaʔ-y 'movement  
within area of o's oral noise', with theme  
qeʔ-leʔ (< qaʔ ʔi-leʔ) 'S heeds, pays close  
attention to, obeys (words of) o', see qeʔleʔ  
2b. under le(ʔ)-li.

o-ʔaʔ-d (postposition, with -d final or compound-  
ed as o of o-d 'on o', with expanded stem, at-  
tested with zero final only) 'on account of, be-  
cause of, over o': ʔuxaʔ-d ʔahɔ̄ kuʔiyah ʔulaʔɨ  
dasaʔyahɨ 'he got angry with him over it' L,  
ɨy·diyahstahti·leʔaʔ-d ʔedawiʔɨ ʔidekɨhinu·  
'they're warring over a rat-skin' L.

o-d-ʔaʔ-d (as preceding, with d-thematic 'oral,  
noise') 'on account of what o says': ʔudaʔaʔ-d  
kuʔa·dah da· deleh 'we're arguing over, having  
trouble because of what he said' L.

o-y-ʔaʔ-d (as preceding, with y-anatomical 'hand'  
thematized, attested also with -d final) 'de-  
pendent on, thanks to, by virtue, means of o':  
37b.50, 53a, 64A, ʔuyaʔaʔ-d siɨʔɨ 'I became  
completely dependent on him for food' L, de·ye-  
ʔaʔduw ʔedstilahɨɨh 'he barely escaped' ('by  
virtue of what did he escape?') M, ʔawyaʔaʔ-d

q̄h ʔadʂilahiḥ M, ʔewyaʔa-q̄d q̄h ʔadʂi-  
 lahīḥ 'that's how, thanks to that he escaped'  
 63.12G, with verbal clause subordinated as o:  
 k̄iʔq̄ ya-yu-ʔ siʔaʔ ya-kibdah sikiyeʔa-q̄  
 q̄h, siʔah q̄eʔ edileʔgi 'by virtue of my  
 paying him with all my things, he released me'  
 37b.53A.

o-ʔa'-ʔ (postposition, with -ʔ final thematized and  
 expanded stem, attested with zero and -č finals)  
 1. with zero (-ʔ) final: 'missing, going wide of  
 (passing by without making desired contact with)  
 o': ʔuʔa-ʔ sidah̄ 'I missed it (chair) as I sat  
 down' L, ʔewʔa-ʔ sedahiḥ 'he missed it (chair)  
 as he sat down' L, ʔuʔa-ʔ dixsditux̄ 'I spat  
 at it and missed' L, ʔuʔa-ʔ ʔisik̄tik̄ 'I shot  
 an arrow at it and missed' L, ʔuleʔeʔeʔa-ʔ ʔix-  
 s̄ik̄y-ʔd̄ 'I missed it (catching ball)' L, o-  
 ʔa-ʔ ʔi-k̄-xuʔ, o-ʔa-ʔ ʔi-k̄e-xuʔ 'S shoots at  
 o with gun and misses'.

2. With -č final, 'swerving, veering off  
 of, deviating, diverging from o': ta-ʔedeʔa-ʔeč  
 si-ya-k̄ 'you're going off the road' L.

ʒa·ʔ (perhaps ʒa·ʔd if ʒa·ʔ-Ǿ < ʒa·ʔd-Ǿ, perhaps to be analyzed ʒ-a·ʔ or ʒe-a(·)ʔ, perhaps related to ʒeʔʒ)

ʒa·ʔ(d) (preverb, attested, if ʒa·ʔ, only with -d, -ʒ, and -Ǿ finals, if ʒa·ʔd, only with zero, -ʒ, and -Ǿ finals where -d-ʒ and -d-Ǿ irregularly > -deʒ, -Ǿ) 'outside, outdoors': la. with -d final 'at rest': ʒa·ʔd 'outside, outdoors' IM, 25.150, 29.58A, 34.3M, 38.2, 3LM, 51.9, 65.14, 52A, ʒa·ʔd sedisdieuʔi 'it's warm outside' M, ʒa·ʔd yʔ·ʔ ʒetaʔ 'set it down outside!' L, ʔu·d ʒa·ʔd iteh 'he (normally) puts him outside there' L, ʒa·ʔd yaʔ ʔede· 'stay, sit outside!' L, ʒa·ʔd sedahkih 'he's staying, sitting outdoors' L, ʒa·ʔd yʔ·ʔǾ ʒeda·kih 'he's (in the process of) sitting down outdoors' L, ʒa·ʔd da· kuʒa·liyah 'let's eat outside' L, ʒa·ʔd daxuʔ 'it's snowing outside' L.

lb. Nominalized with -d final, 'the outdoors, weather, world, universe': (ʔal) ʒa·ʔd '(this) whole world, universe' L, ʒa·ʔd lah ʒaxuʔ 'the world is turning around, the earth (or firmament?) is revolving' L, ʔew ʒa·ʔd ʔiʔʔ·ʔ qaʔxuʔ, qiʔ=ya·da·ʒ, ʔi·gidig 'the world will turn upon you, sometime, you too' ('your turn will come too e.g. to be poor') M 72.19L, ʒa·ʔd kuʒiyah 'weather

(is) bad' LM, ʒa-ʔd kshsiyah 'weather is lousy-rotten' L, ʒa-ʔd kušiyah yileh 'weather is bad' M, 60.42A, yaʔʒu-šgahʒ ʒa-ʔd : kušiyah qaʔieʔ 'I hope the weather isn't bad' L, ʒa-ʔd kiʃ ya-ʔʒaqaʔd gedikiʔahš 'the weather is always miserable' ('the world is always arse-end up') 72.35L.

2. With -(de)ʒ final 'motion within area' a.: 60.56, 57, 58A, ʒa-ʔdeʒ da- yaʒ ʔidiʔaʔʃ 'let's take a walk about outside' L, with ʔaʔd '(motion from inside of dwelling to) outside': ʔu-d ʒaʔdeʒ ʔaʔd sahkiʒ 'went out outside there' 23.76A.

2b. As above, with -yu- 'pl.', ʒa-ʔdeʒyu- 'all about outside': deʔel ʒa-ʔdeʒyu- ʔu-neʒ kudaʔya-k ʔel ʔaʔd yikaʔd 'it's just this his misery all around outside that hurts (me)' 33.46A, with da- 'i<sub>ps</sub>': deʒa-ʔdeʒyu- ʔu-neʒ kudaʔya-kʒh 'he (cust) goes through misery all about outside' 32.44A.

3. With -ʃ final '(movement) towards', probably activity or position with fixed orientation toward outdoors rather than actual movement from indoors to outdoors: ʒa-ʔʃ yaʒ leʃedelaʔ 'turn to face outdoors!' M, with ʔaʔd: ʒa-ʔʃ ʔaʔd qiʔyilah 'you'll take them outside' 65.22A, ʒa-ʔʃ

'a'q' q1' yex 'ih1'ahida'z '(movement) out  
outdoors where it's sunshine' 65.52A.

ʒə<sup>1</sup> (some forms ʒa from M, rarely from L, not from A; perhaps to be identified with ʒə<sup>2</sup> and/or related to ʒəh<sup>1</sup>)

ʒ-ʒəh<sup>1</sup> 'S melts, thaws': səʒəh<sup>1</sup> 'it melted' M, səʒəp<sup>1</sup> 'it's melting' L, qaʒəʒəh<sup>1</sup> (perhaps also -ʒəp<sup>1</sup>, but -ʒəh<sup>1</sup> preferred) 'it'll melt' L, diʒ qaʒəʒəp<sup>1</sup> (or -ʒəh<sup>1</sup>) 'it won't melt' L, with yaʒ 'completely': ʒo.ʒlfnA, yaʒ səʒəʒəh<sup>1</sup> 'it melted away' L, yaʒ səʒəp<sup>1</sup> 'it (snow) is melting' MA, yaʒ qaʒəʒəh<sup>1</sup> 'it'll melt' M, yaʒ ʒi.ʒəʒəh<sup>1</sup>, yaʒ ʒi.ʒəʒəh<sup>1</sup> 'let it melt' L, yaʒ ʒəʒəp<sup>1</sup> 'it (snow) (cust) melts' M, with class-mark for S: tʒiʒ yaʒ quʒdi.ʒəʒəh<sup>1</sup> 'ice will melt' 16.26M, desəʒəh<sup>1</sup> 'it (ice) melted' L, desəʒəp<sup>1</sup> 'it (ice) is melting' L, di.ʒəʒəh<sup>1</sup> 'it (ice) is melted' L (neuter perfective), gelesəʒəp<sup>1</sup> 'it's thawing (e.g. ice into water)' M (attempt to interpret Rezanov form listed below under ʒl-ʒəʒəp<sup>1</sup>). Transitive (causative): ʒəʒəʒəh<sup>1</sup>, ʒəʒəp<sup>1</sup> 'melt it!' L, yaʒ səʒəp<sup>1</sup> LM, yaʒ səʒəp<sup>1</sup>ʒ 'melt it (away)!' L, yaʒ quʒxəʒəp<sup>1</sup> 'I'll melt it' M, səxəʒəp<sup>1</sup> 'I'm melting it (snow)' L (no active imperfective L), ʒew yaʒ ʒi.ʒəʒəh<sup>1</sup>wahd 'in order to melt it (snow for water)' 43.16M, repetitive: xəʒəp<sup>1</sup>g 'I'm melting it (snow)' L, yaʒ ʒəʒəp<sup>1</sup>g 'melt it!' M; passive:

ya? sɬiɣahɬ 'it's been melted down (by someone)'  
L.

ɛl-i-ɣa (with ɛl-thematic 'ground') 'S (ground, environment) thaws', attested in Rezanov only:  
Калыккалыханга 'Тага эс тауэт' probably to be read ɛɛɛɛɛɣa-i 'it (ground etc.) is thawing'.  
de-ɣahɬ 'S is hot, warm, feverish': attested only with l-anatomical 'head' or dl-class-mark for S 'rock, stone': ?i-sdiɣahɬ 'his head is hot' L; ɣa-sdiɣahɬ 'stone is hot' M (perhaps a passive). Transitive (causative): ɣa-ɛɛɣa? 'warm it (stone) up:' M, ɣa-ɛɛxɣa-i 'I'm warming it (stone) up' M, ɣa-siɣahɬ 'I warmed it (stone) up' M, qu?ɣi-xɣah 'I'll warm it (stone) up' M.  
dl-de-ɣa (with dl-thematic, perhaps l-anatomical and d-thematic 'fire, bright') 'S is feverish, too hot, hot': ɣa-xɛdiɣahɬ 'I got a fever' L, ɣa-sdiɣahɬ M, ɣa-sdiɣahɬih 'he has a fever' L, Rezanov Тлэстегатль-коэге 'Жарь, горячка Fieberhitze' ɣa-sdiɣahɬga? ?i-ʕeh 'it's like you have a fever, you're hot (with fever)' M, ɣa-sdiɣahɬ 'it (e.g. stove) is too hot' L, ɣa-ɛɛdeɣa-i, ɣa-ɛɛdeɣa-i, ɣa-ɛɛdeɣa-i 'he's getting a fever' L, ɣa-ɛɛdeɣa-i 'I'm getting a fever' A, ɣa-ɛɛdeɣahɬ 'it's getting hot' M (stem form certainly incor-

rect), quʔla·xdəxah 'I'll get a fever' L,  
quʔla·dəxah 'it'll get hot' M, quʔla·dəxəh  
'it'll get too hot' L. Transitive (causative):  
la·sətxəʔ 'make it hot!' M (not used of heating  
water L).

ʒə<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with ʒə<sup>1</sup>, and/or related to ʒəmah)

ʒə-ʒə<sup>2</sup> 'S (mollusk) is, becomes fat, meaty, full':  
 ʒi·da·dəs ʔiʒiʒəh̄ 'clam is fat' L, sahx ʔiʒi-  
 ʒəh̄ 'cockle is fat' L, diK qaʔəʒəh̄ 'they  
 (mollusks) aren't fat' L (neuter perfectives),  
 qəʒəʒəʔəh̄ 'they (mollusks) are getting fat' L,  
 quʔqəʒəʒəh̄ 'they (mollusks) will get fat' L,  
 qəʒiʒəh̄ 'they (mollusks) got fat' L, with d--  
 class-mark for S: cɿ· diʒiʒəh̄ 'mussel is fat,  
 full' L.

ʒəʔ

-ʒəʔ 'S is fast, swift, fleet(-footed), moves very quickly, rapidly': xiʒəh 'I'm swift' L, ʔewleʒ yiʒəh 'you're swifter than it' L, diK sileʒ ʔaʔyiʒəhə 'you're not fleetier than I' L, ʔewleʒ yiʒəh 'it's swifter than that' L, diK xu· sigəʔ ʔaʔləʒəhə 'you pl. aren't as fast as I' L, quʔxəʒəh 'I'll be fleet-footed' L, səʒəʔəh 'he became fleet-footed' L, səʒəʔəh 'he's getting fleet-footed' L, with anatomical marks: yeʒəʒəʔəh 'he's moving his hands fast, working fast with his hands' L, quʔyi·xəʒəʔ 'I (cust) work fast with my hands' L (inceptive customary), indirect reciprocal with yeʒ-progressive: ʔiləʒ yeʒ yeʒəʒəʒəʔəh 'he's getting faster at hand-work' ('he's moving his hands about faster than one another') L. Transitive (causative): reflexive: ʔedyəʒəʒəʒəʒəʔəh 'he's moving his hand fast (e.g. hammering fast, shaking his finger)' L, ʔedqi·deʒəʒəʒəʒəʔəh 'he's moving, fluttering his feet fast' L, qe·dah ʔedqi·deʒəʒəʒəʒəʔəh ʔidaʒəʒəʒəʒəʒəʔəh 'his feet are moving, fluttering so fast you can hardly see them he's running so' L.

Ku-ʒdl-ʒ-ʒəʔ (probably causative of preceding with

ku-indefinite S or O and xdl-thematic, perhaps  
'wave-like, undulating' ('something causes it to  
flutter fast, vibrate', or 'it causes something  
. . .') 'alarm clock goes off, rings' (probably  
of hammer on external bell): kuʔəla·seixʔi  
'alarm clock is ringing' L, kuʔəla·seixʔi  
'alarm clock went off' L, kuquʔəli·ixʔh 'alarm  
clock will ring' L. Rezanov kakexaxaxax (or -kaxax?)  
'Сручать klopfen, poltern' perhaps to be read as  
related form; see also xaʔx.

xph<sup>1</sup> (perhaps related to xq<sup>1</sup> or to xph<sup>2</sup> and/or to xema(h)-xema')

xph (noun, unclassified) 'desire to weep, cry':

xph 'ula'x di-'yahî 'he feels like crying' ('desire to cry came over him') L, xph sila'x di-'yahî 'I feel like crying (but hold back)' L, xphga' [ʔadu'xdegewih] '[I feel] like crying' L, xphdah ku-'teh 'it (something, e.g. lonesome place) makes one feel like crying' (Minnie Stevens said, remembering dead friends there) L.

xəh<sup>2</sup> (perhaps xə, stem form uncertain, A only, unknown to L; probably related to xəma(h)-xəma', perhaps also to xəwa' and/or to be identified with xəh<sup>1</sup>)

əO

O-xəh 'S (dog) growls': Kuxəh 'it's growling at something' A, Kuxəhəh 'it growled at something' A.

ʒəʔ (perhaps related to ʒaʔ-ʒaʔ and/or to be segmented ʒ-əʔ, perhaps related also to o-d-ʒaʔ-naʔ-d under laʔ)

ʒəʔ (preverb, with zero and -ʒ finals) 'to completion, finish, stop, equilibrium, settlement, carried out to conclusion' (semantic range partly overlapping with that of ʒuʔ): most frequent in ʒəʔ -le 'S is over with', especially causative ʒəʔ O-i-i 'S constructs, builds, accomplishes, fixes, finishes O, gets O over with; S gets (revenge) even with O; S dresses O; S prepares, lays out O (corpse)' (see -le 18.), and in ʒəʔ -ʔya 'S (job) is done, finished, S (thing) is made, S (event) is over with, takes place, S (matter, decision, plan) is agreed upon; S is, becomes ready; S gets all dressed up', with other themes: ʒəʔ O-ʒ-a 'S finishes eating O', ʒəʔ -kiʔ-ʒ 'S stops crying', ʒəʔ l-xʷa- 'S grows up', ʒəʔ O-xaʔ-s 'S finishes butchering, cleaning O (21b.32A, 46.2M), ʒəʔ leʔedaʔd daʔ-ʒ 'when it was done being decorated' 66.11L, ʒəʔ Masasuhʒi 'it stopped hissing, sizzling' L, ʒəʔ-ʒəʔ ʒəʒahʒi 'sewed it back up (repaired it)' 38.19LM, ʒəʔ yeʒ ʒeliʒdiʒaʔwʒiʒ 'he's gone along and swept' M, ʒəʔ-ʒəʔ ʒəʒəʒiʒah daʔ-ʒ 'when they were done digging for spruceroots' 66.-

3.L, ?aw ʔʔ? guaxihs daʔʔ 'when they were done splitting them (spruceroots)' 66.6L, ʔʔ? ?adawiʔi ?idasaʔiʔ 'they finished waging war' 28.111A, ʔʔ? 0-ʔ-i-d-ʔ-i 'S finishes knitting' (?i-d-le 4.).

o-ʔʔ? (postposition, with zero and -ʔ finals) 1.  
 '(along, for) the entire length of o': ?aw Sahe ?awaʔ ?uʔʔ? yeʔ ?iʔsidwahd 'so their slime will run down off (the entire length of) them' 21b.39A, o-ʔʔ? yeʔ 0-gl-da-ʔaʔ 'O (slime) is made to run down off o (fish)' 65.42, 43A (passives), -ʔʔ yeʔ -wus 'pl. S fall, extend down (the length of) o' 11.87.88A, (?uhʔgʔ) siʔʔ? yeʔ saʔiʔ 'I got shivers down my spine' M, ?u-ʔʔ? yeʔ Kuʔedi-ʔah 'a stripe extends all the way down it' L, ?uʔʔ? yeʔ gu-ʔiʔhiʔ 'her hair hangs all the way down on her' L, ?iʔa-ʔ yeʔ Kuquʔgu-ʔah 'your slip will show' M (see further instances under -ʔaʔ 3.), siʔʔ? qʔʔ ?i-ʔah 'it extends up alongside me (my full height)' L, ?uʔʔ? saʔiʔ 'he walked the whole length of it, to the end of it' L, ?awʔʔ? yeʔ saʔikuwahʔ 'nail it down all the way along it:' L.

2. 'recovery, recuperation, return to normalcy, equilibrium of o', in one theme only, o--ʔʔ? -ʔya 'o recovers from, gets over S (dis-

turbance)' (perhaps 'S (disturbance) finishes passing over the entire length of o'): siɣɣ·ʔ saʔyahɪ 'I regained my health, spirits, I got over it' M, kɪ·ɣ siɣɣ·ʔ saʔyahɪ 'I got over a crying jag' M, siɣɣ·ʔɕ ɛaʔya·ɪ 'I'm getting over it' M, siɣɣ·ʔɕ ʔiʔyah da·ɣ 'just as I start to get over it' L, see also (o-)ɣɣ·ʔ below.

(o-)ɣɣ·ʔ (preverb or postposition, interpretation uncertain) meaning as in ɣɣ·ʔ or o-ɣɣ·ʔ: daʔa· ʔi·lih( )ɣɣ·ʔ xucəkəʔyah 'he'll get over it (emotionally) himself' 72.18L (see -ʔya 39. and o-ɣɣ·ʔ 2. above), ɪeʔɕ/ɣiɪ( )-ɣɣ·ʔ gəʔa·saʔyahɪ 'I got (there became) a trump in diamonds/spades' (at "66") L (see gdl--ʔya 2.), teʔyaʔ( )ɣɣ·ʔ xədixa·gɪ 'I finished fishing' A (see xa·g).

o-l-ɣɣ·ʔ (postposition, with l-thematic, perhaps l-anatomical 'head' thematized) la. (with zero and -ɕ finals) 'to equilibrium in (personal) relationship with o, avenging o': o-l-ɣɣ·ʔ y-le 'S avenges, gets revenge for o', o-l-ɣɣ·ʔ O-a ɪ-i 'S gets revenge on O for o' (-le 25c.), ʔuɪ leɣɣ·ʔ ʔiqeʔxɪɪh 'I'll get even with you for it' L, frequently with reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction: ʔədleɣɣ·ʔ ʔiqeʔxɪɪh

'I'll get even with you (avenge myself on you)'  
L, ?adlaxp·? qu'yexdeleh 'I'll get even, avenge  
myself' L, ?adlaxp·?d daxheqe·gih 'I answer  
him back nasty' ('I keep speaking angrily at him  
to avenge myself') L.

lb. (with zero, -d, and -d finals) 'in com-  
petition with o': with zero final (with neuter  
perfective and other mode-aspects): ?ulaxp·?  
?ixile?gih 'I have a bet with him' L, frequently  
with reciprocal o in indirect reciprocal construc-  
tion: ?ihlaxp·? ?idile?ghinu· 'they have a bet  
with each other' L, see further instances under  
-le?g- 12., -we ('swimming race'), 1-qu ('foot-  
race'), -xa ('canoe race'), ?ihlaxp·? yax ?i-  
diqehi 'they're canoe-racing' ('they're boating  
about in competition with each other') L, Galushia  
Nelson ?ihlaxp·? kudacihinu· 'derision song'  
(('they're singing in competition with each other'),  
?ihlaxp·? ?idi?a?di 'they're gambling' N, ?ux  
?ihlaxp·? ?ixdi?a?dih 'I'm racing him' ('I'm  
going in competition with each other with him') L,  
with -d final: silaxp·?d tele?gih 'he's bet-  
ting with me' L, see further instances under -le?g-  
12., with -d final: Galushia Nelson ?ihlaxp·?d yax  
ku?itokkij 'shooting match' BSdL 551 (see 0-1--  
tik-), ya?xu· silaxp·?d qu?ci?di·leh 'don't

BSdL 551

sass me, don't talk back to me, don't argue with me' L.

2a. (with -d final 'at rest', and -daḡ final 'movement within area') '(on) opposite (side from) o, across from o': siləḡp·ʔd 'across from me (e.g. at table)' LM, siləḡp·ʔd yḡ·ʔ sadaʔ 'sit down across from me!' L, with classified noun as o, class-mark not combined with l-thematic: ḡahd̪idələḡp·ʔd (not \*ḡahd̪iḡa·ḡp·ʔd) setah̪i 'it's opposite the car' L, ca·ḡa·ləḡp·ʔd setah̪i 'it's opposite the stone' L (not \*ca·ḡa·ḡp·ʔd); siləḡp·ʔdaḡ si·ya·i 'you're walking across from me (e.g. on opposite bank of river)' L.

2b. (as o of o-i-ḡ-a-d 'on side of o', with reciprocal o): ʔilələḡp·ʔiḡa·d 'on opposite sides, both sides (of e.g. paper)' L.

3. (with -daḡ final thematized, -d final added, uncertain, and inadequately documented, from M only, not verified) 'on account of, fault of o, to spite o'?: ʔulələḡp·ʔdaḡd '(he did something bad) on account of it' M.

4. In probable analysis of -ləḡe·ʔnah, occasionally (M only) -ləḡa·ʔne·, see -nah(-e-) under la-na<sup>1</sup>.

o-y-ḡḡ·ʔ (postposition, with y-anatomical 'hand', of doubtful status, from M only, always rejected

by L) 1. '(playing) into the hands of o', probably in error for o-y-qa', see lb.3fn, 2a.16, 4.5fnM, -le 25b.

2. 'avenging o', probably in error for o-l-qa' la. in 34.6fnM.

3. 'charity for, kindness to o': siyaqa' sale'gih 'he (unostentatiously) gave me a little something when I was down and out' M (perhaps authentic, but rejected by L, see -le'g-13.).

xu<sup>2</sup>

- xu<sup>2</sup> (noun, unclassified) 'fur, (body-)hair' (not single strands, or of head): Rezanov Koxa-o 'Eepora Haar der Thiere' Kuxu<sup>2</sup> 'animal fur' LM, Kuxu<sup>2</sup>a-w 'long fur' L, Kuxu<sup>2</sup>tu<sup>2</sup> 'lots of fur' L, ?uxu<sup>2</sup> 'its fur, his (body-)hair' 28.79, 90, 32.40A, ?uxu<sup>2</sup> Ku·kih<sup>2</sup>h 'he's hairy' 32.39A, ?uxu<sup>2</sup> Ku·keh 'mammals' ('they have fur') L, ?uxu<sup>2</sup> ?ud wusg 'its hair is falling out' L, ?uxu<sup>2</sup> ?ewa· Ku<sup>2</sup>a-w 'its fur is long' M, di-yuhya<sup>2</sup> 'blackbear-fur' 28.79A, iy·diyahxu<sup>2</sup> 'rat-fur' 28.79A, -lesq·sdexu<sup>2</sup> 'moustache, whiskers' see sq·s; with xl- or l-anatomical: Harrington 'ih xalla<sup>2</sup>xu<sup>2</sup>' '(your) genital hair' probably to be read ?ixelexu<sup>2</sup>, 'ii 'illaxx<sup>2</sup>' 'your genital hair' ?i· ?ilexu<sup>2</sup>, xuu s<sup>2</sup>illaxxu<sup>2</sup> or -f' 'my genital hair' xu· silexu<sup>2</sup>; these forms could not be verified: the first is perhaps properly 'your pubic hair' (cf. -xaleya<sup>2</sup>d 'vulva, vagina'), but silexu<sup>2</sup> seems to mean 'my facial hair', not 'my pubic hair' M.
- de-xu<sup>2</sup> 'S is, becomes hairy, furry, fuzzy': sdi-xu<sup>2</sup>k 'it's (become) hairy' M, sdi<sup>2</sup>xu<sup>2</sup>k 'he's hairy (including 'hairy on pubis)' M, sdi<sup>2</sup>xu<sup>2</sup>iga<sup>2</sup> ?i·teh 'it's fuzzy' ('it's like it's hairy') L,

qu<sup>2</sup>de<sup>2</sup>yu<sup>2</sup>ih 'he'll be hairy' M, qu<sup>2</sup>xde<sup>2</sup>yu<sup>2</sup> 'I'll  
get hairy' L.

le<sup>2</sup>asdi<sup>2</sup>yu<sup>2</sup>i (noun) 1. (l<sup>2</sup>-class, with l<sup>2</sup>-class-  
mark for S) 'peach' ('it (berry-like) is hairy'  
L.

2. (unclassified, with l<sup>2</sup>-thematic 'grain,  
coarseness') 'flannel' L. Nominalized active per-  
fective of de-yu<sup>2</sup>.

yu<sup>2</sup>

yu<sup>2</sup> (preverb, with zero and -č finals only) 'to completion, finished state, full repair, clear definition, disclosure, settlement, agreement, full degree, straightness, levelness, smoothness', covering a number of closely related and partly overlapping semantic ranges, often determined by context, often ambiguous, which it has not been considered feasible to separate here (see also ɣp<sup>2</sup>, which further has considerable overlap with yu<sup>2</sup>): yu<sup>2</sup> 0-ɬ-i 'S makes, builds, fixes, repairs, shapes, fashions, carves, finishes O, planes O smooth' (see -le 19., yu<sup>2</sup> ɬuliɬ under le-), yu<sup>2</sup> 1-le, yu<sup>2</sup> 1-t'e'-tu' 'S (moon) is, becomes full' (see 1-le 2., 1-t'e'-tu' 2.), yu<sup>2</sup> 0-le<sup>2</sup>g- 'S makes O (bed), smooths O (blanket) out' (see 0-le<sup>2</sup>g- 3.), yu<sup>2</sup> -<sup>2</sup>ya 'S becomes finished; S becomes found out, disclosed, comes to light' (see -<sup>2</sup>ya 21.), yu<sup>2</sup> sa<sup>2</sup>ya·ɬ, yu<sup>2</sup>č sa<sup>2</sup>ya·ɬ (but not ɣp<sup>2</sup>(č) sa<sup>2</sup>ya·ɬ) 'it's coming to light, being found out' L, yu<sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-<sup>2</sup>d-<sup>2</sup>a' 'S is, becomes agreed upon, decided upon, settled', yu<sup>2</sup> 0-<sup>2</sup>d-ɬ-<sup>2</sup>a' 'S decides, plans, agrees on, settles O, prevails in argument concerning, has own way concerning O', <sup>2</sup>iɬ<sup>2</sup> da· yu<sup>2</sup> cɨ<sup>2</sup>dɨdɨliɬ 'we talked it over

together' L, ʒu? l-x<sup>w</sup>a-, ʒu? l-ɪ-x<sup>w</sup>a- 'S is,  
 becomes full-grown, ʒu? səɪɣe?yɪ 'it became  
 completely dark' L, ʒu? səɪxa?ɪ 'it became  
 (completely) summer' L, ʒu? sɔɪxaɪ 'tide has  
 (completely) ebbed' Old Man Dude, S, ʒu? ɣy'-  
 sa?yahɪ 'high tide's about stopped (complete)'  
 L, ʒu? ?u?la'sa?yahɪ 'it levelled out, straight-  
 tened out' L, ʒu? -te?ɔ 'S becomes straight,  
 level', ʒu? la'səɪɔe?s 'level it (surface):'  
 L, ʒu? 0-gd-(ɪ-)ta 'S steers 0 straight,  
 straightens course of 0', ʒu? ɔe? səda'ɪɪh  
 'he's walking right again' L, ʒu? siyahɪ 'I  
 walked straight' L, ya?ɣ ʒu? səhɪ?luw per-  
 sonal name ('grew straight up big' ?) L, BSdL Ge-  
 nealogical Table, ya?ɣ ʒu? səhɪkudɣkih 'small  
 girl just grown up' L, qa'yega? ?aw ʒu? ɣəsəɪ-  
 quhɪ 'it (dog) chased them (goats) into our range  
 (right for us to handle)' L.

də-ʒu? (preverb ʒu? with proclitic də- 'áɪsə',  
 but usually used as adverb, C, or syntactically)  
 'true, right, correct, sure, certain, real, actu-  
 al, genuine': 1. dəʒu? Ke-?sə?əh dəleh 'maybe  
 he's telling the truth (saying truly)' L, dəʒu?-  
 suw wəɣ silah dəleh 'is it true he's saying  
 thus about me?' lb.18M, dəʒu? ɔe?aw 'that's  
 right, true' L, dəʒu? Ke-?sə?aw 'maybe that's

right' L, Rezanov Taxoyrɔ-y 'Upanga wahr'  
dɔxuʔduh 'true indeed!', dɔxuʔ o-ʔ-dl-ɔ--  
ɔa' 'S believes O, holds O's word as true'.

2. In combination with (-)(ʔ)ya·ɔ of uncertain analysis, identification, meaning, and function (perhaps verb-stem -ʔya with -ɔ suffix of hortatory subjunctive, as in \*de--  
ɔuʔ ʔya·ɔ 'may it be disclosed (as indeed true)!' or ya· 'thing' as o of o-ɔ), dɔxuʔ-  
ya·ɔ, meaning and syntactic function approximately as in 1. above: dɔxuʔya·ɔ 'that's right, true' L, dɔxuʔya·ɔ delɔhɔh qeʔɔh 'he's telling the truth' L, dɔxuʔya·ɔ qɔh (ʔiʔ) deleh 'he's telling (you) the truth' L, dɔxuʔya·ɔ desi·le·ɔ 'you should tell the truth' L, dɔxuʔya·ɔ ʔɔhɔeʔɔh 'is it certain he's the one?' 52.30L, dɔxuʔya·ɔ kaʔ ʔu·ɔ ʔi·yah 'be sure to go there' M, dɔxuʔya·ɔ Santa Claus ku·leh 'there truly, actually is a Santa Claus' L, diʔ dɔxuʔya·ɔ ʔaie·e 'it's not right, not true' L, ʔuʔehd, dɔxuʔya·ɔ, de-  
ʔɔh ne·ʔda·ɔ yɔ·hɔh ʔuʔehd 'his wife, truly, his original (real) wife 10.170A, dɔxuʔya·ɔ dɔxɔhyu· qeʔahnu· 'they're genuine, actual (not fake) people' 33.52A, dɔxuʔya·ɔ ʔugaʔ dɔxɔhyu· 'real people like him, people truly

like him' 33.40A, 'idehdah dezu'ya'z ...  
yahd 'real, genuine, actual, veritable houses,  
houses truly worthy of the name' 68.16A.

yəw-yuw (perhaps related to yəwi-)

o-yəw--yuw (postposition, always with zero final)

'simultaneous with, at same time as o': siɣuw

'simultaneous, even with me' M, siɣəw kuxa·kɪh

'he (cust) eats the same time as I do' L, ʒig

ge·leʔa·gɣəw kuxa·kinu· 'they (cust) eat at

noon sharp' L, (ʒig) siɣuw ʔu·daʔ sahiɣh 'he

got there (exactly) at the same time as I' L,

ʔuɣəw (or ʔuɣuw) qaʔ siʔyahɪ 'I woke up at

the same time he did' L, with reciprocal o: ʔiɬ-

ɣəw (or ʔiɬɣuw) kuxəda·kinu· 'they (cust) eat

at the same time (as each other)' L, ʔiɬɣəw ʔu·

daʔ da· ʒdiʔaʔʒi 'we got there simultaneously'

L.

xəwi'-xəw (occasionally also xəwi', xu', perhaps related to xəw-xuw, basic meaning 'coincide')

O-d-i-xəwi'--xəw (with d-thematic, perhaps 'oral, noise') 'S believes O, agrees with O': inceptive imperfective: qu<sup>o</sup>di-xəw 'I'll believe it' L, <sup>o</sup>iqe<sup>o</sup>di-xəwih 'I'll believe you' A, <sup>o</sup>iqe<sup>o</sup>di-kə-xəwihh 'he'll believe you' L, diK xuqu<sup>o</sup>di-kə-xəwihs (or -xəws) 'you won't believe me' L, diK xuqu<sup>o</sup>di-kə-xəwihsih 'he won't believe me' A, active imperfective: <sup>o</sup>idəxəw L, <sup>o</sup>idəxəwih 'I believe you' LMA, 'I agree with you' LM, dəxəwihh 'I agree with him' L, active or neuter imperfective: xudi-kəwə, xudi-kəwihə 'do you believe me?' L, neuter imperfective: <sup>o</sup>idixi-kə-xəwih 'I believe you' L, də<sup>o</sup> di-kəwihh 'we believed him' 51.12A, xudi-kəwihh 'he believes me' LA, <sup>o</sup>idi-kəwihh 'he believes you' L, dixi-kəwihh 'I believe him' L, dəde-dəp di-kə-xəwihh 'he believes anything' L, diK də<sup>o</sup>xə-xu<sup>o</sup>əih 'I don't believe him' L, diK də<sup>o</sup>x<sup>o</sup>kəwə 'I don't believe them' 61.33A, diK <sup>o</sup>ida<sup>o</sup>xəwə LA (not -xəwihs L), diK <sup>o</sup>ida<sup>o</sup>xəwi<sup>o</sup>ə 'I don't believe you' A, diK xuda<sup>o</sup>xə-xu<sup>o</sup>əih L, diK xuda<sup>o</sup>kəwəih 'he doesn't believe me' LA, diK kuda<sup>o</sup>kəwəih 'he's a skeptic' L, inceptive

perfective: *deɬexiɬewiʔiɬh* 'I'm beginning to believe him' L, *ʔidesexiɬewiʔi* 'I'm getting to believe you' A, active perfective: *disiɬewiʔi* 'I believed it' L, *diK xudesiɬewiʔiɬh* (or *-ɬuʔiɬh*) 'he didn't believe me' L, active optative: *xuda·yiliɬewih* (Kaʔ) 'you ought to believe me' L, 61.125A, *ʔewɬaʔ da·yiliɬewih* 'they should believe in it' 70.6A, *ʔeleɬgahɬ xuda·yiliɬewih* 'I hope you believe me' L, active imperative: *xuda·ɬew*, *xudi·ɬew* (sounds better than *-ɬewih*) 'believe me!' L, inceptive imperfective: *xudesəɬew...* 'believe me' L (cannot remember stem-form), customary: *ʔew di·ɬewKih* 'he (cust) believes it' L.

*da-ɬewiʔ--ɬew* 'S has fortune, luck': with *Kəɬu·dah* 'well': *Kəɬu·dah quʔdeɬewih* 'you'll have good luck' 26.12L, *Kəɬu·dah sdiɬewiʔiɬh* 'he became lucky' 37a.25L, with *o-ɬ* 'towards o': *ʔiɬ xsdiɬewiʔi* 'I'm lucky to run across you' L, *ʔuɬ xsdiɬewiʔi* 'I (finally and surprisingly) had the luck to get it (that I so badly wanted), I was rewarded with it' L, *Kuɬ xsdiɬewiʔi* 'I had good luck (e.g. lucky find of something)' L, *ʔuɬ Keʔɬuh quʔdeɬewih* 'maybe you'll get rewarded for it' L, *diʔweɬ Keʔɬuh ʔiɬ sdiɬewiʔi*

'you might yet have good luck for that' I (gloss  
perhaps incorrect).

ɬəwaː (perhaps related to ɬəma(h)-ɬəmaː and/or to ɬəh<sup>2</sup>, or analyzable as ɬ-thematic with stem -aː or -waː, informants unable to etymologise)

ɬəwaː (noun, unclassified) 'dog': Davydov (in →Двукратное Путешествие на Америку... 1818,

→[Appendix I] 'Словарь нарѣчій народов, назн →наемскъ Колужами, обитающихъ между заливомъ

→Чугачомъ и Якутатомъ' [р. XII]) 'Собаки' Кетль

(Tlingit kəːλ 'dog'), and added in parentheses,

по Якут. Хауза in (real?) Yakutat language

ɬəwaː (collected from a Yakutat Tlingit in 1802 or 1803; for further discussion see historical

introduction to Grammar), Rezanov Хава 'Собака Hund', Wrangell Хау-а 'Hund', Furuhielm Хава

'dog', Galushia Nelson xəwəː or xəwəː BSdL

538, ɬəwaː BSdL 556, 557, 557, 557, 558, 562,

ɬəwaː 'dog' BSdL 557, 557, 561, 562, ɬəwaː 'dog,

dogs' 18.69, 74, 79L, 33.4, 5, 49.87, 87, 93, 94,

95, 96, 101, 109, 122, 60.24, 24, 25, 26, 27, 31A,

63.17, 17, 250, ɬəwaː seqah̄ 'a dog bit it' M,

?əw ɬəwaː duːʂ seqah̄ 'the dog bit a cat' M,

?əw duːʂ ɬəwaː seqah̄ 'the cat bit a dog' M,

ɬəwaː ?əw ɬəh̄ 'a dog is eating it' L, ɬəwaː

giyah dələh̄ 'a dog is drinking water' L, Reza-

nov Хавахоле 'Durno hässlich' ɬəwaː Kuːieh

'one is a dog, people are dogs', xawa' ku'leh,  
ʔaʔd ʔowləx quhnu' ʔi'teh 'people are dogs,  
they're much more so than that' (i.e. 'O tempora!  
O mores!') L, hihshih xawa' 'one dog' LM, laʔ-  
dih xawa' 'two dogs' LM, tuhigaʔ xawa' 'three  
dogs' LM, dexkih xawa'd ʔixaʔ 'how many dogs  
do you have?' L, kayi'y xawa' 'a different  
dog' L, xu' siyaʔ xawa' siyaʔ 'my dog is at  
home' L, xu' siyaʔ xawa' kuʔu', ʔi' ʔiyaʔ  
kuʔiyah 'my dog is good, yours is bad' L, Galushia  
Nelson xawa'yu 'dogs' BSDL 558 xawa'yu' 13.1,  
2, 8, 12, 12L, 60.29A, tuʔigaʔ ʔi'saikʔiʔi xawa'-  
yu' 'three skinny dogs' L, xawa'siyah 'bad dog,  
old dog, mutt' L, 33.9, 49.101, 108A, xawa'ʔu'  
'good dog' L, xawa'kih 'little dog' LM, 'nice  
(little) dog' L, Galushia Nelson xawaki ta  
'puppy's father' BSDL 556 xawa'kihtaʔ also Eyak  
man's name A, name of Nikolai Nelson (?) L, xawa'-  
kuʔgkih 'little dog' L, Galushia Nelson euʔlu'  
xawa' 'big dog' BSDL 553 kuʔluw xawa', xawa'-  
luw 'big dog' L, xawa'luwkih 'nice big dog'  
(affectionate) M, xawa'guhdkih, ya'guhdk xawa'  
'tiny dog' L, xawa'tuʔ ʔaʔd kuʔeteʔi 'there  
are getting to be lots of dogs here' L, xawa'  
ʔaʔd guleseluhdkʔi 'dogs are becoming few here' L,

ʔawa·xʔ ʔu·daʔ saʔaʔʔi 'he went there with a  
 dog' M, ʔawa·gaʔ 'shameful, disgusting' ('like  
 a dog') M, Rezanov Хавакко 'Koma Katze',  
 Хавакк-о 'Koma junger Hund' ʔawa·yequh  
 'puppy' M, also dog's name A, Galushia Nelson  
 ʔawa laqa 'dog's head' ʔawa·leqah, ʔawa ni·k  
 'dog's nose' ʔawa·ni·k, ʔawa la·ʔ 'dog's eye'  
 BSDL 556 ʔawa·la·ʔ, ʔawa·guʔ 'dog's penis' S,  
 ʔawa·ʒehʔ 'dog's ears' 60.26A, also 'berry spe-  
 cies (Menziesia ferruginea?)' L (see ʒehx-ʒex),  
 ʔawa·yu·ʒehʔ 'dogs' ears' 60.26A, ʔawa·guʔah  
 'plant species (dog fennel?)' L (see ʔa-ʔe), X  
 ʔawa·ʔeʔ 'dog-feces' M, Galushia Nelson ʔawa·  
 tsā·t 'urine, yellow ("dog urine")' BSDL 542,  
 553 ʔawa·ceʔqʔ LS, Rezanov Хаоцехкооге (Хаоцех-  
 written above crossed-out Коскитлекль-, see ʔaʔ)  
 'Koskoi gelb' ʔawa·ceʔqgaʔ ʔi·ʔeh 'it's yellow  
 ('it's like dog-urine') L, ʔawa·lagah 'dog's  
 corpse' 49.70A, ʔawa·(lagah)yeʔeʔ seʔetuxʔ  
 'she's clutching onto the underside of a dog('s  
 corpse)' (contemptuous for promiscuous woman) L,  
 ʔawa·qʔʔi 'girl dog' ('dog's wife, dog-girl', not  
 good Eyak) M; ʔehdsʔawa· 'bitch' LN, ʔila·ʔawa· X  
 'male dog' L; daʔu·leʔeʔah ʔawa· 'bulldog'  
 ('fierce, mean dog') L; saʔjhtinu·yaʔ ʔawa·

(cf. *sa. h'ed'ed' ?-t'ek* with *sa. h'ed'ed'-yash'ed'-sa. h'ed'ed'*  
*-s'ed'ed'*) X

6 ('dead peoples' dog') 'butterfly' A, 'moth' (not butterfly) M; *ɣawa·yaʔ gugaʔ* 'flea' ('dog's lice') L, *ɣawa·ʔuyaʔd ki·ɣ* place-name, below old cannery on Eyak River, 2 to 3 miles from the mouth ('a dog is howling there (in body of water)') L.

*ɣawa·leʔede·ʔaiʔgiyah* (noun, lɣ-class) 'berry species' ('dog's-eye-water') LMA (long and red, edible, slimy inside, "watermelonberries" L, perhaps 'watermelonberry, cucumber root (*Streptopus amplexifolius*)' or 'rosehips (*Rosa acicularis*)').

*ɣawa·ʔeqaʔd* (noun, lɣ-class) 'berry species, small and red, the only kind that grow on moss, three or four together' ('dog's anus') L (perhaps 'trailing raspberry (*Rubus pedatus*)' or, less likely, 'bog, swamp cranberry (*Oxycoccus microcarpus*)').

yəma(h)-yəma' (L and A both uncertain of stem form;  
probably related to ɣəh<sup>2</sup>, perhaps also to ɣəh<sup>1</sup>  
and/or to ɣəwa')

O-yəma(h)--yəma' 'S (dog) growls at O': xuxəmah  
'it's growling at me' L, 'ew du's ɣəmah 'it's  
growling at the cat' L, 'iqe'ɣəmah 'it'll growl  
at you' L, xuxəməhɪ 'it growled at me' L, de-  
transitivized with indeterminate O and de-classi-  
fier: 'idəɣəmah 'it (dog) is growling' LMA,  
'iqe'dəɣəmah 'it'll growl' L, 'isdiɣəma'ɪ, 'is-  
diɣəmahɪ 'it growled' LA, diɪiɕa' 'isədəɣəma'ɪ  
'it's always growling' A, repetitive: 'idəɣəma'g  
'it keeps growling' L.

yəmah (perhaps related to ʔəp<sup>2</sup>)

ʔi·kəmah (noun, unclassified, with l-thematic, never realized la-, and k-classifier) 'bracket fungus, conk' LM, ʔi·kəmahluw 'big bracket fungus' L; ya·nuʔ ʔi·kəmah 'sponge' ('bracket fungus below surface (of water)') L, taʔd ʔi·kəmah 'sponge' ('bracket fungus in water') L, 'fish heads in gunnysack soaked in lake for about two weeks, then cooked and eaten' L.

COLO

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xu·l-xu· (perhaps to be segmented xu·-l, -l perhaps archaic class-mark)

xu·l--xu·- (anatomical and class-mark) 'tooth, teeth, not freely used; in nouns: -xu·-i-xela? 'gums' (perhaps nominalized verb, see xela? l.), -xu·-le-yah 'tooth' (see below); with adjectives: ku·xu·-leyahxu·?nuw 'big teeth' LMA, ga?dgi·xu·le= ?a·w 'long(-ranged?) ladder' L (uncertain), ku·xu·-leyahxu·lakih 'small tooth' L; with postpositions: -xu·le?e?d 'toothmarks' A, ?uxu·-leyah-xu·le?e?d yiljih 'he's got its toothmarks on him' A, si·xu·-xela·qa? ku·?yahh 'something is stuck in (the interstices between) my teeth' L; in verbs, ~~always~~ in combination with d-thematic 'oral' or dl-thematic 'series', '(set of) teeth': si·xu·-leyah siya· xu·la·xhesi'g 'my teeth are chattering' L (perhaps more correctly 'my teeth, I'm teeth-shivering'), ?ihx ?adxu·la·leqa·xgih 'he's gnashing his teeth' L, xu·dl-le-gih3-g 'S snarls, baring fangs', with xu·l-sak alone, '(one) tooth': si·xu·-leyah siya· xu·d?yahh 'one of my teeth is aching' L, ku·xu·-leyah ?u·d xu·se?ahh 'a tooth is there', ku·xu·-leyah si'c xu·li·?a? 'give me a tooth!' L.

-xu·-le-yah (noun, xu·l-class or unclassified, probably originally nominalized verb xu·l-le--

yah 'pl. ʔu·l-class 8 are in position, see under  
(y)a) 'tooth, teeth' (also of comb, also 'rungs'  
of ladder): Galushia Nelson ʔdʒs<sup>2</sup>tʃiyá' or ʔd-  
xš<sup>2</sup>tʃiyá 'teeth' BGD 541 Kuʔy·kəyah 'tooth,  
teeth (adult or milk teeth)' LM, also place-name,  
Lake Kahuntla (first reported by Martin, 1903) LS,  
Rezanov Kaxoxʔseə 'ʔyōu Zāhne' qa·ʔy·kəyah  
'our teeth, human teeth' qa·ʔy·kəyah ʔuʔ dekus  
'toothbrush' (see under kus), siʔy·kəyah 'my  
tooth, teeth' LMA3, -ʔu·kəyah o-a· d-de-ʔyahs  
'o's teeth ache', siʔy·kəyah sisaʔ seʔguʔkʃih  
'he punched my teeth "out" (into my mouth)' L,  
siʔy·kəyah lah daʔya·ʔ 'my tooth is loose, wig-  
gles' M, siʔy·kəyahʔ siʃehʔ (or siʃehʔ) 'I  
killed it with my teeth' LM, ʔiʔy·kəyah 'your  
teeth' 16.24, 25M, ʔiʔy·kəyah ʔiya· sadaʔaʔ  
'your tooth is coming in crooked' L, ʔuʔy·kəyah  
'its teeth (of animal, comb)' L, ʔuʔy·kəyah ka-  
seʔeʔih 'he's teething' L, ʔadesu·iʃa·d (ya·)  
ʔuʔy·kəyah, ʔadesu·d ya· ʔuʔy·kəyah 'his upper  
teeth' L, ʔeyəʔu·iʃa·d (ya·) ʔuʔy·kəyah, ʔe-  
yəʔu·d ya· ʔuʔy·kəyah 'his lower teeth' L,  
laʔdih ʔuʔy·kəyah ʔəwa· ka·dih 'two of his  
teeth are missing' L, laʔdih ʔələhsd ya· ʔu-  
ʔy·kəyah ka·dih 'his two front teeth are mis-  
sing' L, ʔuʔy·kəyah ʔəwa· ʔediyihih 'his teeth

are sharp' L, 'uxy·leyah 'ewa· Mu'a·w 'its  
teeth are long' 28.77A, Mu'y·leyahluw 'big  
teeth' M, see under yu·l-- above for instance  
in which -ry·leyah is clearly classified.

ʒu·l-ʒu· (perhaps to be analyzed ʒu·-l, cf. Athapaskan  
 \*-ʒuʔ 'tooth')

ʒu·l--ʒu·- (anatomical mark, subposition C, occa-  
 sionally used as class-mark, attested mainly themati-  
 cally, not freely used) 'teeth': in verbs: ʒu·l-ʔa  
 'S (tooth) is in position', 0-ʒu·l-(ʔ-)'a 'S  
 handles 0 (tooth)', ʒu·l-d-ʔyahs 'S (tooth) aches',  
 with adjectives: -ʒu·ʔnuw 'big (teeth), big--  
 toothed', -ʒu·ləkih 'small (teeth)', -ʒu·ləʔa·w  
 'long-toothed, -runged ladder', in postpositional  
 phrases: 0-ʒu·lə-ʔeʔ-d '0's toothmarks', 0-ʒu·l--  
 ʔ-gdl-qaʔ 'in interstices between 0's teeth', in  
 nouns: -ʒu·-ʔ-ʔelaʔ 'gums', most frequently in  
 noun -ʒu·ləyah, -ʒu·ləiyah 'tooth' from nominal-  
 ized verb ʒu·l-ke-(y)a 'pl. (ʒu·l-class or ana-  
 tomical) are in position'; in combination with d-  
 or dl-thematic, 'teeth, fangs': ʒu·dl-ke-sitʔ-g  
 'S's teeth chatter', ʒu·dl-ke-gihʒ-g 'S snarls,  
 bares fangs', ʔik-ʒ ʔed-ʒu·dl-ke-qeʔ-g 'S  
 gnashes teeth (causes own teeth to slide against  
 each other)' (these last three themes cannot be  
 clearly analyzed as including a dl-thematic mark,  
 cf. e.g. ke-sitʔ-g 'S shivers', so that the  
 ʒu·dl- mark in all three may well be ʒu·l- com-  
 bined with d-thematic, perhaps 'oral', and the

fact that the resulting combination is always  
ʒʉ·λ-, never \*ʒʉ·d- would then indicate that  
ʒu·l- is to be further analyzed ʒu·-l-; cf.  
ku·l-ky·-).

yəlah (perhaps to be analyzed *yə-lah*, see *o-lah* X ya.  
 le. under *la-na*<sup>2</sup>) *see also 'ə-yəlah* under *o-s'-a'* *yc. under 'ə'*)

-d-i-yəlah (with d-thematic, probably thematized  
 d-class-mark, and -i-classifier) 1. (noun, d-  
 class) 'butt-end (? , of tree)': *liədəyəlah*  
 'some part of tree' L, *Kədəyəlah* 'butt-end of  
 something (tree)' L, *Kədəyəlahda*<sup>2</sup>*luw* (uncer-  
 tain) 'big butt-end, stump of tree' M.

2. (perhaps postposition, classification un-  
 certain, d-thematic apparently always present)  
 'around corner of o': *ʔədəyəlah* 'around the  
 corner of it (e.g. table, d-class)' L, *keʔədəyə-*  
*yəlah* 'around the corner of a box (unclassified)'  
 L.

ɣəyuh (conceivably to be segmented ɣə-yuh, cf. qə-yuh)

ɣəyuh (exclamation, clause-initial) 'quick! do something (about it)!' (expression on danger, alarm and urgency) L, with imperative: ɣəyuh ʔakɥ·ʔd 'quick! grab it!' L, with reference to alarm, danger itself: ɣəyuh ʔəh ləkɣaʔɣiɥ 'quick do something! he's hitting him!' L, ɣəyuh ʔə·daʔ sahi 'do something quick! he's come here!' L, ɣəyuh ʔə·ʕ saqe·linu· 'quick do something! they're (already, by boat) arriving' L, ɣəyuh qid dətəkəqahəi 'do something quick! it's falling!' L.

ɣəd (perhaps reduced form of ɣəhd, cf. especially O-ɣ-ɣəhd 3.)

-ɣəd (not freely used, attested only in active perfective), with yaʔ 'completely', 'S comes, falls apart': yaʔ səɣədɪ 'it came, fell apart' L (inceptive imperfective 'it'll come apart' not \*qaʔɣəd L).

de-ɣəd 'S comes loose, apart, falls apart' (meaning not clearly distinguished from that of preceding): with yaʔ 'completely': yaʔ quʔ-dəɣəd 'it'll come loose' M, 'it'll come apart' L, yaʔ sədəɣədɪ 'it's coming loose' M, ɬiʔɔʔ yaʔ sdiɣədɪ 'it's all fallen apart (at seams, e.g. where it's glued)' L, ɔʔeʔ yaʔ sdiɣədɪ, yaʔ ɔʔeʔ sdiɣədɪ 'it's all fallen apart again' L, indirect reciprocal (also interpretable as O-ɣəd), with ʔiɪɔʔ 'on each other': ʔiɪɔʔ sədəɣədɪ 'it's starting to come apart' L.

O-ɣ-ɣəd (causative of either -ɣəd or de-ɣəd) 'S takes O apart, loosens, unties O': ʔəɪɣəd 'take it apart!' S, 'untie it!' L, with qid 'down off': qid xusəɪɣəd 'let me loose (from e.g. rope)!' L, with yaʔ 'completely': yaʔ quʔxiɣəd 'I'll untie, unravel it' IM, yaʔ səxiɣədɪ 'I'm taking it apart' L, with ʔiɪqaʔd

qa? 'up out from amongst each other': ?ikqa?d  
 qa? sei?ed 'untangle it!' L, with ?id,  
 ?ihid, ?ihid 'apart from each other': ?id  
 (or ?ihid, ?iliid) sei?ed 'rip it (rag)  
 apart!, take it apart!' L, forms from M with  
 stem -?ahd, all rejected by L who corrects them  
 to -?ed, and corrects 'off' in gloss to 'apart':  
 ?id sei?ahd 'pull it off' M, ?id qu?xi-  
 ?ahd 'I'll pull it off' M, ?id si?ahdi 'I  
 pulled it off' M, ?id sei?ahdi 'I'm pulling  
 it off' M, repetitive customary: ?id ?ew  
 i?a·dgk?h 'he (cust) pulls it off' M (implying  
 -?ahd), ?ew i?edgk?h 'he (cust) undoes it' M  
 (also incorrect, with stem not expanded), i?e  
 ?id k?i?e·dk?h 'he's (cust) always taking  
 something apart' L, with qi·l-class-mark for O:  
 qi·li·i?ad 'loosen it (rope that's tight)!' L,  
 ya? qi·le?uxi?adi 'I'm untying it (rope)' L,  
 repetitive: xi?adg 'I keep trying to take it  
 apart' L; reflexive: Rezanov Раздѣляхась  
 'Раздѣляюся suskleiden, sich' ya? ?edei?ed  
 'you're loosening your clothes', ya? ?edse-  
 i?ed, ya? ?eda·i?ed 'loosen your clothes!'  
 ('take yourself apart!, loosen yourself!') L;  
 passive: ya? adi?adi 'it's been taken apart' L.  
 ?id? de?e·d dog's name ("takes things apart") L.  
 Active imperfective with expanded stem; gloss



xahd<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with xahd-xahd, perhaps related to xad)

O-xahd 1. 'S moves, handles O of some length directly by hand for relatively short distance along the axis of its length, lengthwise': sič 'əxahd 'hand, pass it to me (sg. or pl. O of some length, e.g. stick, spear, gun, log) lengthwise!' L, 'əw xut<sup>2</sup> qid sič səxahd 'hand me that gun down (off the wall, lengthwise)!' L, 'əxəkih da' les səxahd<sup>2</sup> 'we're dragging a canoe ashore' L, ya'x səxahd<sup>2</sup> 'I'm sliding, pulling it upwards' L, with qa' 'up out': 'əw dəkjəh qa' səxahd 'pull those sticks up!' M, qa' səxahd, qa' 'əxahd, qa' 'ixahd 'pull it (stick) out!' L, qa' qu'xəhəd 'I'll pull it (stick) out' L, qa' sixahd<sup>2</sup> 'I yanked it out' M, səx d'iyahdleyeq-ečahd qa' səxah<sup>2</sup>h 'he pulled a rabbit out of a hat' M, siyeqa'd qa' səxahd 'pull it from between my hands!' L, with class-mark for O: qa' qí-li-xahd 'pull it (rope) out (in one motion)!' L, indirect reflexive, with ča' 'toward oneself': qid ča' səxəxahd<sup>2</sup> 'I'm taking it (gun) down (off the wall, lengthwise, towards myself)' (qid ča' səxdəta'x, if sideways) L; reflexive: with yeç-progressive: yeç 'ədxəxahdx 'I'm stretching

myself (about)' M, with y-anatomical: ?ewyahd  
 qe'qa? ?adya·daxa·dkih 'he'd (cust) pull his  
 hand back up out leaving that behind' 56.-  
 2L. With expanded stem, meaning as above, but  
 with reference to action upon several objects in  
 succession or successive actions upon an object:  
 qa'č ?əxa·d 'pull it out (with several motions)!' L,  
 qa? ?əxa·d (not \*qa? əəxa·d) 'pull them  
 out (sticks, one after another)!' L, with qi·l--  
 class-mark for O: qa? qi·li·xa·d 'pull it (rope)  
 out (with several motions)!' L; passive: daxa·d  
 'it's being stretched, pulled' N.

2. 'S pulls, stretches, extends O (along  
 axis of its length, without moving anchored end  
 from position)' (in some cases difficult to dis-  
 tinguish by glosses from 1. above): ?ula?č sič  
 lah3 səxahdih 'he stuck his tongue out at me'  
 M, repetitive: ?ula?č lah3 xahdgih 'he's  
 sticking his tongue out' L, with class-mark for O:  
 qeh3 kudəsəxahd 'close the shades, curtains.'  
 ('pull something d-class closed!') L, ?iyyahd  
 kuqi·ləxahdinu· 'they're having a tug-of-war'  
 ('they're pulling something (a rope) out of each  
 others' hands', indirect reciprocal) L, indirect  
 reflexive, with ča? 'toward oneself': Rezanov

Чааратъ 'Тягъть ziehen' ъа? 'едѣхадъ 'pull  
 it (toward yourself)!' L, Мгъамохчааратъ  
 'Тягъ ziehen (Imperat.)' ... ъа? 'едѣхадъ,  
 ъа? qu'xdѣхадъ 'I'll pull it' L, repetitive,  
 with q1·l-class-mark for O: ъа? q1·la·dѣхадъg  
 'pull on it (rope, toward yourself)!' M.

3. 'S handles (deals, shuffles) O (playing  
 cards)'; see хъадъ-хъадъ.

yeḡ dedѣхадъḡ (noun) 'accordion' ("you pull it  
 back and forth") L. Nominalized passive active im-  
 perfective of O-хъадъ 2. with yeḡ-progressive,  
 'it is stretched with reversal of motion with  
 noise'.

delu? lahḡ yeḡ dѣхадъḡ (noun) 'bureau, chest  
 of drawers' L. Nominalized passive active im-  
 perfective of O-хъадъ 1. with yeḡ-progressive  
 'reversal of motion', 'they (drawers) are pulled  
 forward in and out through (holes in) something'.

O-хъд-хъадъ 1. (With хъд-thematic 'line', perhaps  
 thematized class-mark originally for O 'pole')  
 'S draws O (line)': Муqu'хъеди·хъадъ 'I'll draw  
 something (a line)' L, 'u·dѣхъ 'ew хъедѣхъадъ-  
 хъи 'he's drawing it (a line) along there (by  
 walking along dragging a stick)' L, dѣхъиḡ  
 'q·dѣхъ хъедѣхъадъḡ 'I'm drawing a line along

here with a stick' L, with lah 'around, in circular motion': lah quʔædi·xʔahd 'I'll draw a circle' L, with yəʔ-progressive and ʔa·weyu· 'bizarre, indiscriminately': ʔa·weyu· yəʔ ʔe-daxdeʔahdʔ 'I'm drawing a zigzag line' L; passive: ʔad̪istix̪at̪i name of Basket Pattern 8, BSdL 547 (illustrated in BSdL 82, plain line) ʔed̪ied̪i-ʔahd̪i 'a line has been drawn'.

2. (ʔd- perhaps thematic, or incorrect class-mark for O, belonging under O-ʔahd 2. above: 'S draws O (breath)': ʔideʔu·q liʔ ʔædi·ʔahd 'take a deep breath! ('draw your breath deeply in!)' L.

O-i-ʔahd 1. 'S pulls, hauls, tows (relatively heavy) O (at the end of e.g. a rope, not necessarily along any surface), S pulls, drags (relatively heavy) O (along some surface, not necessarily at the end of e.g. a rope)' (probably two separate meanings, but not distinguishable in many instances by gloss or context): imperatives: ʔiʔahd 'drag it!' M, ʔaʔdeʔ ʔiʔahd 'pull it backwards!' L, ʔiʔ-ʔahd̪i 'drag him!' L, ʔeʔahd 'pull it!' L, ʔeʔeʔ ʔi· ʔeʔahd 'now you pull it!' L, ʔu·ʔ ʔiʔahd, ʔu·ʔ ʔeʔahd, ʔu·ʔ eʔeʔahd 'pull it thither!' L, ʔeʔ·ʔ ʔiʔahd 'drag it (e.g. box)

here!' L, sič 'əiɣahd 'drag it (along the  
 ground) to me!' L, ɣi·č 'iɣahdɣh 'drag him  
 there!' 51.58A, 'ədiɣ xuseiɣahd 'drag me in!' 47c.18L,  
 yaʔɣ 'əiɣahd 'haul, pull it up!' L, qaʔ əiɣahd  
 'pull it (anchor) up!, weigh anchor!' LA, 'q·dəɣ qaʔ  
 xuseiɣahd 'pull me out of here!' L, 'əɣəyaʔ qaʔ  
 xuseiɣahd 'pull me up (out of water) into the canoe!' L,  
 'iɣahd 'əiɣahdɣh 'pull them apart (from fight)!' L,  
 inceptive imperfective: quʔxɣahd 'I'll drag it' M,  
 'I'll pull it' L, 'I'll drag them (single trip)' L,  
 yaʔɣ quʔxɣahd 'I'll haul, pull it up' L, 'u·dəɣ  
 qaʔ 'iqeʔxɣahd 'I'll pull you out of there' L,  
 dəxi· 'iɣəɣt'e'ə 'iqeʔxɣahd 'I'm (already) going to  
 drag you by the ear' L; inceptive perfective: 'q·dəɣ  
 əiɣahdɣh 'I'm dragging it along here' L, with ceʔɣ  
 'down along shore' 20.12A, with lee 'up from shore': lee  
 əiɣahdɣh 'I'm hauling it up' M, active perfective:  
 siɣahdɣh 'I dragged it' M, 'I dragged it there (one trip)' L,  
 with caʔ 'down toward shore': 43.29M, Galushia Nelson  
 'ciɣəciə 'qiɣəɣ wec uɣa' sa' setiɣatɣh 'Where Old Raven  
 dragged his drying rack' BSDL 259, 558 'ci·lehɣiyah  
 qiʔ·dəɣ we·ɣ 'uɣaʔ caʔ setiɣahdɣh 'place along

where Raven dragged his drying-rack down toward  
 shore', with *les* 'up from shore': 10.122, 29.6,  
 37b.18A, with *qa?* 'up out': 11.35, 36A, *ta?d*  
*qe?* *qa?* *xusei?ahdi?ih* 'he pulled me back up out  
 of the water' M, *qa?* *si?ahdi* 'I pulled up the  
 anchor' A, with *?edi?* 'in (into house)': 47c.20L,  
 with *o-ta?* 'behind o': 9.131A, with *o-da?*  
 'to o': 20.19fnL, 51.59A, with *ya?x* 'up': *ya?x*  
*si?ahdi* 'I pulled, hauled it up' L, *qe?ya?x*  
*sei?ahdi* 'hauled them back up' 34.109L, with  
 other preverbs and postpositional phrases: *ma?-*  
*gedaya?cahd* *yeq?* *qe?* *xusei?ahdi?ih* 'he dragged  
 me back ashore out from in the lake' M, optatives:  
*qale?* *xu?* *?ixi?ahd* 'now let me pull it' L,  
*?u?c* *da?* *?i?ahd*, *?u?c* *da?* *ei?ahd* (not  
*\*?i?ahd*) 'let's pull it thither' L, with class--  
 marks for O: *?u?cahd* *?ew* *les* *desei?ahdi?inu?*  
 'they dragged it (whalehead) thence up shore'  
 29.6A, *di?ahd* 'pull it (sled)!' M, *desei?*  
*ahdi?ih* 'he's pulling it (sled)' M, *da?da?yil?*  
*ahd* 'let's pull it (sled)!' M, *qu?di?xahd*  
 'I'll pull it (sled)' L, *?q?c* *li?ahd* 'drag  
 it (paddle) here!' L, *?q?c* *?edi?ahd* 'drag  
 it (log) here!' L, repetitive: *da?* *?ahdg*  
 'we're hauling it away (with repeated pulling

motions)' M (lack of postpositional phrases and  
 preverbs here implying 'away'), xixahdg 'I keep  
 trying to drag it (one thing)' L (no active im-  
 perfective \*xixahd without e.g. repetitive, no  
 inceptive imperfective repetitive \*sexixahdg  
 L); indirect reflexive, with ča? 'toward one-  
 self': ča? ?exixahd 'pull it (toward yourself)!' M,  
 ča? sexixahdž 'I'm pulling it toward my-  
 self' L; passive: lexixi? q1? qa? slixahdž  
 'where halibut had been pulled out' 9.123A. With  
 expanded stem, frequent without -k'-customary,  
 meaning as above, but with reference to action on  
 several objects in succession or successive actions  
 upon object: ?ixaxadžh 'drag him (in sled)!' L,  
 qu?xixaxadžh 'I'll pull him (in sled)' L, xixaxad  
 'I'm dragging them (several trips)' L, sexixaxadž  
 'I'm dragging them (several trips, activity taking  
 all day)' L, qu?xixaxad 'I'll drag them (several  
 trips)' L, silixaxadž 'I dragged them (several  
 trips)' L, ?u?č ?exixaxad (not \*sexixaxad) 'pull  
 them thither (several trips)!' L, ?u?č da  
 ?i?ixaxad (not \*si?ixaxad) 'let's drag them thither  
 (several trips)' L, ?u?dex ?ew li? sexixaxadž  
 'it (dog) dragged it (pieces of food) back in  
 there' L, ?ew ?qhc? ixaxadk 'he (cust) drags it

to her' 49.111A, with class-mark for O: qu?-  
di-xiḡa'd 'I'll pull it (sled)' (but -ḡahd  
preferred) L; passive: deḡa'd 'it's being  
hauled away (e.g. several loads of trash)' M  
(lack of preverbs and postpositional phrases im-  
plying 'away'); no repetitive with expanded stem  
(no \*eexiḡa-dḡi, \*xiḡa-dḡ) L.

2. 'S draws O (bow)': ?eḡiḡahd 'draw it  
(bow)!' A, 'draw your bow!' L.

3. 'S fastens O (loosely, temporarily)':  
Rezanov Kaxaxaxa 'Завязать binden, zusammenbinden,  
zubinden (Imperat.)' eḡiḡahd 'fasten it!', with  
?iḡiḡ 'in contact with each other' or ?iḡiḡ 'to  
each other': ?iḡiḡ eḡiḡahd LM, ?iḡiḡ eḡiḡahd  
'fasten, sew them (loosely, temporarily) together:'  
L, ?iḡiḡ qu?xiḡahd 'I'll fasten them together' LM,  
?iḡiḡ eexiḡahdi 'I'm fastening them together' M,  
?iḡiḡ siḡiḡahdi 'I fastened them together' M, re-  
petitive: ?iḡiḡ ?aw iḡa-dḡiḡih 'he (cust) fastens  
them together' M.

ḡahd (noun, probably g- or qi-l-class, attested  
only in Rezanov) 'rope, string, cord, cable':

Rezanov Xaxa 'Беченка Seil, Strick, Schnur',  
Xaxa 'Якорь Anker' (gloss probably incorrect).

-ḡiḡahd(-ḡ) (noun, probably g- or qi-l-class, with



across from the car' L.

qu<sup>?</sup>ḫya·d(-ḫ) (noun, unclassified) 'bow (weapon)':  
qu<sup>?</sup>ḫya·d LS (S has used them), Xotaxotax (cited  
as Xotaxotax in Radlov from Buschmann) 'Bogen',  
qu<sup>?</sup>ḫya·dḫ A, 7.26A, 27.3L, Jacobsen koḫl-kraḫl  
(cited in BSdL 103), Galushia Nelson qó<sup>?</sup>tḫya·tḫ  
(or qó<sup>?</sup>tḫyātḫ) 'bow' BSdL 549, qu<sup>?</sup>ḫya·dḫy  
'with bows' 34.126L; L and M earlier offered  
various forms, hazily remembered: Kuḫya·d, Kuḫ-  
ya·dḫ M, qu<sup>?</sup>ḫyahdḫ L, which are probably all  
incorrect; Galushia Nelson d<sup>?</sup>tuwitḫ wet De  
qu<sup>?</sup>tḫya·tḫ or etuwitḫ wet De qó<sup>?</sup>tḫyatḫ 'war  
bow ("war-for-bow")' BSdL 549 'edewi<sup>?</sup>ḫwahd qu<sup>?</sup>ḫ-  
ya·dḫ ('bow for war'); qu<sup>?</sup>ḫya·dḫcəla<sup>?</sup> 'notch  
for string at end of bow', also real name of  
ʒemeʒekih in Eyak Texts 34. ('bow-shoulder') A;  
qu<sup>?</sup>ḫya·dḫyahd, qu<sup>?</sup>ḫya·dḫyehḫ 'bowstring', (see  
-ḫ-yahd(-ḫ) and yehḫ). Expanded stem with op-  
tional -ḫ-instrumental, ḫ-classifier retained,  
for qu<sup>?</sup>- see qu<sup>?</sup>-qu·l<sup>?</sup>.

ciḫ dəḫya·dḫ (noun, unclassified) 'duck species,  
resembling but smaller than mallard, good to eat'  
L, 'female mallard' M, probably 'green-winged  
common teal (*Anas crecca carolinensis*) and/or  
blue-winged teal (*Anas discors discors*)'. Nomin-  
alized active imperfective of O-ḫ-ya·d l. with

expanded stem and d-class-mark for 0, inexplicable  
(perhaps incorrect) -i-suffix (cf. qu<sup>?</sup>ɬɣa·d(-i)),  
'it's dragging boards along (one after another)'.

0-gdl-i-ɣahd (with gdl-thematic, probably including  
g-class-mark and/or gd-thematic 'tight') 'S  
tightens 0 (bowstring)': qu<sup>?</sup>gəɣi·xɬɣahd 'I'll  
tighten bowstring' L.

xahd<sup>2</sup> (probably to be analyzed x-ah-d, with x- to be identified with x as in o-x 'in contact with o', o-xa<sup>?</sup> 'near, in relation with o', and -d final 'privative, ablative', thus 'away from with')

xahd (postposition, always with zero (-d?) final)

1. 'loss of covering, integument, veneer, becoming bare, bald': xahd sa<sup>?</sup>ya<sup>?</sup>i 'it's shedding hair, the paint is peeling off it' L, xahd sa<sup>?</sup>ya<sup>?</sup> 'make its hair fall off (not e.g. by scraping, but e.g. by boiling)!' L, xahd la<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>ya<sup>?</sup>i 'you're getting bald' M, xahd di<sup>?</sup>iqa<sup>?</sup>g 'singe it!' L, xahd qu<sup>?</sup>di<sup>?</sup>xiqah 'I'll singe it (e.g. burn the quills of porcupine)' M.

2. '(into visible from hidden position) out from behind' (cf. o-xahd 2. below): xahd qa<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>ah 'it's sticking out (up) from behind something' L, xahd qa<sup>?</sup>sa<sup>?</sup>ya<sup>?</sup>i 'sun is coming up (e.g. over hill)' L, Резанов Хатъ-ханчеккатыль 'Восхождение солнца Sonnenaufgang' xahd qa<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>sa<sup>?</sup>ya<sup>?</sup>i 'sun is coming up (over hill, obstruction)'.

o-xahd (postposition, always with zero (-d?) final) 1. 'away from, going without, leaving, abandoning, deserting o (usually without knowledge of or will of o, to o's disadvantage, but without physical force)': 6.8M, 9.166, 10.68, 68, 146,

152, 152, 153, 160, 164, 165, 166, 196, 196,  
 197, 214, 11.1, 7, 48, 51, 77, 78A, 18.9L, 20.-  
 58, 60, 101A, 21a.22L, 23.7, 98, 156, 156, 25.3,  
 4, 27b.23, 23, 25, 32.9, 14, 22, 23, 33A, 34.68M,  
 36,23A, 47b.5, 13M, 49.17, 100, 51.86, 88, 90A,  
 56.2L, o-ʒahd -sih 'S dies, leaving o (survi-  
 vor)' 20.94, 70.10A, o-ʒahd ʔad-dl-ka-weʔe 'S  
 sneaks away from o', o-ʒahd ʒdl-ʔya 'S runs  
 away from, leaving o, escapes from o', ʔuxahd  
 xʔeciʔih 'I want to go without him' L, ʔuxahd  
 daʔi-ʔaʔe 'let's get away from him' L, si-  
 ʒahd gaʔih 'he's leaving me' M, siʒahd sah-  
 ih 'he left without me' M, siʒahd ʔiyaʔ 'go  
 on ahead without me!, don't wait for me!' M, si-  
 ʒahd ʔiʔʒeʔa-saʔyahkih 'he (running) pulled  
 away from me' L, qaʒahd ʔiʔqeʔli-quhinuʔ 'they  
 (running) will pull away from us' L, siʒahd ʔi-  
 ʔleʔequ-kinuʔ 'they (running) are pulling away  
 from me' L.

2. '(into visible from hidden position) out  
 from behind o' (cf. ʒahd 2. above), only with  
 themes -ʔaʔ/-sid 'sg./pl. S extend': ʔewʒahd  
 qaʔi-ʔihih 'he's showing, sticking his head  
 up over it (e.g. fence, wall)' L, ʔewʒahd qaʔ  
 qi-sidinuʔ 'they're behind it, showing their  
 heads up over it' L, ʔewʒahd qaʔe ceʔaʔi 'it's

starting to show extending upwards from behind  
it' L, ?awxahd qid se?a?k 'it's starting to  
show extending out horizontally from behind it'  
L, ?awxahd yax ?i?ah 'it's showing downwards  
from behind it' L.

o-y-xahd (postposition, as above, with y-anatomical 'hand' thematized) '(forcibly) out of o's hand, from o (o unwilling)': siyaxahd ?ew sek-tahkjh 'he took it, wrested it from me' M, 'he took it out of my hand (against my will)' L, siyaxahd ?ew seta?kjh 'he's taking it away from me' M, siyaxahd xala'sa?yahk 'it (frog) got away from me' L.

o-d-xahd (postposition, as o-xahd, with d-thematic 'oral, noise') 'away from o as o is talking': sidexahd qe? adiyahk 'you went home, walking out on me as I was talking' L, sidexahd se?a?c-kinu 'they walked out on me right in the middle of what I was saying' L.

o-d-y-xahd (postposition, with combination of y-anatomical and d-thematic) 'away from o's oppressive oral noise': ?udayaxahd ?iyi?jh 'go away from him, so you won't be bothered by his constant nagging!' L.

o-l-xahd (postposition, as o-xahd, with l-thematic, probably thematized l-anatomical 'head')

'so o thinks, believes (rightly or wrongly), in  
o's opinion': 34.80L, siləxəhd 'I think' L,  
siləxəhd lixəh qə'ew 'I thought it was a bear'  
M, 'I think it's a bear (right or wrong)' L, si-  
ləxəhd səsjhə 'I thought you were dead' M, si-  
ləxəhd xu' siya' yeda'q' daxa'ʕ səsjhə 'I  
thought my watch had stopped' L, 'ulexəhd qəw  
ʔəh šəšəhə 'she thought she (same person as o)  
had killed him' 10.198A; with reflexive o in in-  
direct reflexive construction: 'ədləxəhd 'əw  
'əyət qəhnu' 'əw qə' λə'šdiʕa'ʔə 'they thought  
it was they themselves who had pulled it out'  
50.31A.

ʒa·ʔd (probably to be analyzed ʒa·ʔ-d) see ʒa·ʔ

ʒahd-ʒahd (LMS ʒahd, ʒahd A only, perhaps to be identified with ʒahd, see under O-ʒahd 3.)

O-ʒahd--ʒahd 'S deals O (playing-cards)': ?iʒahd M, ?eʒahd (-ʒahd "maybe") L, ?əʒahd (ʔ= classifier probably incorrect, perhaps influenced by ?əʒqah, q.v. under qah<sup>2</sup>) 'deal cards!' S, səxʒahdʔ (not -ʒahd-, as far as L knows) 'I'm dealing' L, quʔxʒahd 'I'll deal' M, qaʔʒahd 'he'll deal' A, dəxi· siʒahdʔ 'I dealt already' A, with ?iʒqaʔ 'amongst each other': ?iʒqaʔ səxʒahd 'shuffle!' M.

## zet

O-zet 'S peels O': ?ezet, ezet (former preferred) 'peel it!' L, xzet (not \*ezzet) 'I'm peeling it' L, qu?xzet 'I'll peel it (banana)' L, with class-marks for O: ye-t qu?di-xzet 'I'll peel wild celery' L, Xe?Xe di-zet (much preferred to da-zet) 'peel salmonberry sprout!' L, guxzet 'I'm peeling it (spruceroot)' L, qu?gu-xzet 'I'll strip it (spruceroot)' L, lexizet, lexazet, lexezet 'peel it (fruit, e.g. orange):' L, lexaxet 'I'm peeling it (orange)' L, qu?lexi-xzet 'I'll peel it (orange)' L, lexeszet 'I peeled it (orange)' L; passive: lexesdixet 'peeled fruit' L, lexedexe-tK 'they (oranges) are (cust) peeled' L.

lexedezet (noun, lɛ-class) 'orange' L. Nominalized passive active imperfective with lɛ-class-mark for O, 'it (fruit) is peeled.'

xe'x-xax (reduced form xax in noun, full xe'x in verb)

i-xe'x 'S (it) is, gets dark, S (night) falls':

active perfective: səlxə'xə 'it got dark, it's dark, night fell' LM, 5.3L, 9.56, 11.165, 23.101, 25.70, 108, 28.9, 61.104A, 63.2G, Rezanov СМЪХАТЪ 'Ночь Nacht', ЯСАЛХАТЪ 'Темно dunkel' perhaps to be read ya' səlxə'xə 'it got completely dark', yəx səlxə'xə 'it's completely dark (downward)' L, xu' səlxə'xə 'it's completely dark' L, 'uq' səlxə'xə 'it got dark on him, her, night fell on him, her' 10.10, 10, 25.69A, qe' səlxə'xə 'it got dark again, another night fell' 25.118, 124A, neuter perfective: ?i'lxə'xə 'it's dark, it's real dark, it's (permanently, seasonally) dark (e.g. around December)' LM, 2.1, 15M, diX ?a'lxə'xə 'it's not dark (days aren't short)' L, inceptive perfective: səlxə'xə 'it's getting dark, night is falling' LMG, 10.39A, 18.23L, 25.17, 17, 76A, Furuhjelm Khalhetlliutu 'darkness' səlxə'xə-duh 'it's getting dark (already)!' L, with yəx 'downward': Rezanov ЯСАЛХАТЪ 'Смеркается, сумерки es wird dunkel' yəx səlxə'xə 'night is falling, it's getting dark' M, sia'dah səlxə'xə 'nice night' ('it's getting dark beauti-

fully') L, siləxede·ʔd səixəʔx̄t̄ 'I'm faint, *fainting out*,  
 passing out (from illness, standing up too  
 quickly)' ('it's getting dark in my eyes') L,  
 di·yəx̄ ʔaʔd ʔidah səixəʔx̄t̄ 'it hasn't yet  
 gotten quite completely dark' 11.125A, incep-  
 tive imperfective: Rezanov Koyaxxet̄ 'Поэдо  
 spāt' quʔwəixəʔx̄ M, qaʔixəʔx̄ 'it's going  
 to get dark' 5.3L, inceptive conditional: sə-  
 xəʔx̄ da·x̄ 'when it gets dark' 28.18, 18A, de-  
 ne·x̄ səixəʔx̄ da·x̄ 'when it first gets dark'  
 11.112, 112A, ʔew kələqaʔ səixəʔx̄ da·x̄ 'when  
 it gets pitch-dark' 28.38A, active conditional:  
 ʔixəʔx̄ da·x̄ 'just as it starts to get dark' L,  
 25.17, 17, 76, 78A, customary: ʔəixə·x̄ 'it  
 (cust) gets dark' LM, dix̄ ʔəixə·x̄t̄ 'it (cust)  
 doesn't get dark' L.

0-ʔ-ɛ-xəʔx̄ 'S (it) gets dark on O, S (night) falls  
 on O': xuʔsəixəʔx̄t̄ 'it got dark on me' L, ʔiʔ-  
 qəʔixəʔx̄ 'it'll get dark on you' L.

xəʔ (noun, unclassified) 'night, darkness' LM,  
 Wrangell Xax̄t̄ 'Nacht', Furuhjelm Hatl 'night',  
 frequently used adverbially 'at night, by night,  
 for the night' M, 9.58, 25.18, 28, 119A, 44.5,  
 53.8, 9L, 61.9A, xəʔ kusec̄ih̄ih̄ 'he sang at  
 night' L, ih̄c̄ih̄ xəʔ 'in one night, for one

night' 9.130, 10.43A, 34.42L, 65.13, 43A, tũhga?  
 xəx 'three nights' 25.81A, iɬ xəx 'every  
 night' 39.4L, kuzu xəx M, xəxʔəzu 'nice  
 night' L, Furuhjelm Hatitu 'evening' xəxduh  
 'it's dark (already)!' L, xəxʔeʔx 'all night  
 long' L, 50.14, 65.44A, xəxʔeʔx qədələxəxgih  
 'he snores all night' L, xəxʔeʔx yikaʔdih 'he  
 was sick all night' L, xəxleʔaʔg 'midnight' LM;  
 also, adverbially, 'tonight, last night': xəx  
 kulex ʔiqeʔyilʔeh 'you'll see something tonight'  
 L, kuzu gah xəx ʔideseliɬ 'there was a good  
 dance last night'; xi-xəx 'last night, yester-  
 day' ('already-night') 21b.63, 64A, Rezanov  
 Трехатя 'Буера gestern', Furuhjelm Tlehatl  
 'yesterday', xi-xəx ʔiʔeʔx xuʔdəsəiʔeʔdih  
 'he asked me about you yesterday' L, xi-xəx-  
 dəyeʔ 'day before yesterday' ('before yester-  
 day') L, xi-xəx gah 'yesterday (during the)  
 day' M, Furuhjelm Tlehatltu 'tomorrow' xi-xəx-  
 duh '(it's) already night!'; qə-lxəx kulex  
 ʔiqeʔyilʔeh 'you'll see something tonight' ('now--  
 night') L.

xəxdiʔd (noun, unclassified) 'jail' ("because it's  
 dark inside") L, xəxdiʔd qəb qə xəxə-saʔ-  
 yaɬ 'he escaped from jail' L.

(see (on)d-iʔ-gʔ 8c. under ʔəv)





o'clock, the clock struck one' (or 'one (hour)  
 has been struck'?) L, dəxkid slixaʔx̄t̄ 'what  
 time is it?' ('how many has it (clock) struck,  
 how many (hours) have been struck?') L. See also  
 ʔədləxaʔx̄ below and ʔi-ɪ-xaʔx̄ under 0-ɪ-xaʔx̄.  
 0-ɪ-xaʔx̄ (perhaps, at least in many cases, seman-  
 tically more or less irregular causative of 1-xaʔx̄,  
 ɪə-xaʔx̄) 1. 'S strikes, hits, clubs O (with instru-  
 ment other than hand)': slixaʔx̄ɪh 'I clubbed  
 him' M, repetitive: ʔəw təx̄<sup>w</sup>icd̄ig ʔəwa ɪxaʔx̄-  
 gimu 'they beat the drum too for them' 57.19G,  
 usually with 1-anatomical 'head' partly thematized,  
 probably not necessarily specifying 'head', 'S  
 clubs O, S clubs O over the head' (cf. also 1-xaʔx̄,  
 of which this may, at least in some cases, be the  
 causative): active perfective: ʔɪ·səlx̄aʔx̄t̄, la.=  
 19M, ləsx̄aʔx̄t̄ 'clubbed him (over the head)'  
 10.194, 195, 197, 200, 29.72A, xuləsəlx̄aʔx̄  
 'clubbed me over the head' 10.233A, with o-x̄  
 'with, by means of o': 8.18A, 16.12, 22M, with  
 yaʔ 'downward' 16.11M<sup>2</sup>, with yaʔ 'completely',  
 'clobbered him': 10.193(?), 11.144, 144, 147A,  
 imperatives: ləsx̄aʔx̄ 'hit him in the head!' L,  
 li·ɪxaʔx̄ 29.71A, li·ɪxaʔx̄ɪh 'club him!' LM,

'hit him in the head!' L, li·k̄ɣaʔk̄uh 'hit it  
 (on the head)!' L, inceptive imperfective: ʔiqeʔ-  
 li·x̄k̄ɣaʔk̄ 'I'll club you' M, active imperfective:  
 ʔɣh lək̄ɣaʔk̄h 'he's hitting him' L, customary:  
 li·k̄ɣa·k̄k̄ ʃʃ.20, 20, 2ʃfnA, repetitive, active  
 imperfective: yi·nwa·yu·, qa· lək̄ɣaʔk̄ginu·  
 'shore patrol' ('sailors, they repeatedly club us,  
 people over the head') L, see also under 2. below,  
 with d-class-mark for O: yaʔɣu· quʔdi·k̄ɣaʔk̄  
 'don't hit it (board)' L; with indeterminate O:  
 'S (clock) strikes, ticks, S (clock, time, hours)  
 passes': ʔisek̄ɣaʔk̄ɛ 'it (clock) is ticking' L,  
 dəxi· ʔisek̄ɣaʔk̄ɛ 'time is already passing, "time  
 flies"' 11.195A, dəx̄k̄idaʔdew ʔisek̄ɣaʔk̄ɛ 'what  
 time is it?' ('to how many has it struck?') L;  
 with indeterminate O, vocalic classifier, with or  
 without l-anatomical: ʔahnu·qaʔ ʔew ʔi·k̄ɣa·k̄k̄  
 'he (cust) takes a club to them (their heads)'  
 ('he (cust) clubs indeterminate O amongst them')  
 ʃʃ.20fnL; reflexive: see nominalization below;  
 reciprocal: Galushia Nelson :k̄t̄k̄u<sup>n</sup>ya<sup>n</sup>tc̄k̄k̄k̄hahat̄  
 'wrestling' BSDL 551 ʔītuʔ yɣ·ʔɛ̄ k̄ūk̄ɣaʔk̄  
 ('one is knocking one another down'), repetitive:  
 ʔītuʔ yɣ·ʔɛ̄ k̄ɣaʔk̄ginu· 'they're wrestling'  
 ('they're repeatedly knocking, trying to knock  
 each other down') L; passive (see also nominaliza-

tions below): with ya? 'completely': ya? xusdiɣa?Nɛ, ya? xusɬiɣa?Nɛ 'I got beat up' L, with l-anatomical, partly thematized: ?awya?ɣ yeɣ ?ɬ·sɬiɣa?Nɛ 'he got knocked, beaten down into it' 11.37A, ya? ?ileɣedeɣa?Nɛ da·ɣ 'if/-when you get clobbered over the head' 10.272A, xɣ·sɬiɣa?Nɛ, xɣ·sɬiɣa?Nɛ 'I got hit on the head' L.

2. 'S swings O (like club, or on string)': with lah 'around, in circular motion': lah ɣexɬiɣa?Nɛ 'I'm swinging it around (on a string)' L, with d-class-mark for O: ?uguɣah ɣew lah deɣeɣa?Nɛ 'it was banging, flailing its tail around' 20.44A, repetitive with l-anatomical, partly thematized, and o-ɣ 'in contact with o' with indeterminate o: ?ahnu· da·ɣ leɣa?Nɣinu· 'she dashed their brains out' ('she (repeatedly) swings them (their heads) against something') 49.-65A.

?edɬeɣa?Nɛ (noun, unclassified) 'clock' L (four times, once also ?edɬeɣa?Nɛg with -g-repetitive, twice, probably incorrectly, ?edɬeɣa?Nɛɬ with -ɬ-instrumental L), ?ew ?edɬeɣa?Nɛ di?weɣ sa·ɬ 'the clock is still going' L; ɬa?d detaɣ ?edɬeɣa?Nɛ 'pocket watch' ('clock which is kept in one's

*repeatedly shaken, ... repeatedly ...*  
*repeatedly shaken, ... repeatedly ...*  
*keep shaking, ...*

(own) pocket') L. Nominalized reflexive active imperfective of O-i-yaʔx, 'it strikes itself'.

ʔedxaʔxg (noun, uncertain) possible reading of Furuhjelm Athalkh 'heart', perhaps deverbalized repetitive reflexive of O-i-yaʔx, 'it beats (itself, repeatedly)'.

yeʔ lexədəxaʔx (noun, lɣ-class) 'shinny-ball' L, Galushia Nelson yáɣlaɣa Daxátʔix 'shinny ("ball-hit")' BSDL 551. Nominalized passive active imperfective of O-i-yaʔx with yeʔ-progressive and lɣ-class-mark for O, 'it (ball) is hit about (with clubs)'.

ʔux yeʔ (ku)lexədəxaʔx (noun, unclassified) 'shinny-stick, bat': Galushia Nelson ux yáɣlaɣa Daxátʔix 'shinny stick' BSDL 551, ʔux yeʔ ku-lexədəxaʔx 'shinny-stick, bat' L. As above, 'by means of it (something) it (ball) is hit about'.

Kuxaʔx (noun, unclassified) 'hour, (clock-)time'  
(see also 6/11/8)  
M, iɣheih Kuxaʔx 'one hour' L, Kuxaʔxcɨʔdaʔyaʔ 'one half-hour' L, laʔdih Kuxaʔxgaʔ ʔu·ɕ xuʔ=ɕaʔsaʔyahɩ 'I spent about two hours there' L, diK ʔugaʔ Kuxaʔx daʔqeʔli·xɩʔahe ʔixiɩʔeh 'I won't have enough time to see you' L. Exact analysis not clear, prefix ku-indefinite; perhaps (otherwise unattested) simple intransitive -yaʔx, '(something) strikes, bangs, ticks, makes knocking noise'.

ʒəɪ<sup>1</sup>

lɪ-ʒəɪ (with lɪ-thematic) 'S is, becomes dizzy, intoxicated, drunk': ləʒəsəʒəɪ (not ləʒi-- , ləʒa-- ) 'get drunk' L, qu<sup>o</sup>ləʒi.xʒəɪ 'I'll get drunk' LM, 'I'll get dizzy' M, ya<sup>o</sup>ʒu<sup>o</sup> (?iya<sup>o</sup>ʒ) qu<sup>o</sup>ləʒi.xʒəɪ 'don't let me (with your permission) get drunk' L, Rezanov Haxacaxattɪæ 'Иванъ be-trunken' nəʒəsəʒəɪɪh 'he is, got drunk', ləʒəsəʒəɪ 'he got drunk' S, ləʒəsɪʒəɪ 'I got drunk' LA, 'I'm dizzy, drunk' L, da<sup>o</sup> ləʒa.yɪʒəɪ, da<sup>o</sup> ləʒəsɪ.ʒəɪ 'let's get drunk' L, ləʒəʒə.ɪkɪh 'she (cust) gets drunk' LM, 49.3fnL (no forms, e.g. \*ləʒəʒə.ɪ, with expanded stem without -K-customary), neuter imperfective: (or perfective) ləʒəxɪʒəɪ 'I'm drunk, dizzy' LM, diK ləʒa<sup>o</sup>xʒəɪ 'I'm not drunk' LM, ləʒi.ʒəɪɪh 'he's drunk, dizzy' M, ləʒəxɪʒəɪga<sup>o</sup> xle<sup>o</sup>g 'I'm drunk, dizzy' ('I repeatedly do, fare like I'm drunk, dizzy') M, repetitive: ləʒəxɪʒəɪg 'I'm dizzy' L. Transitive (causative): passive: ləʒəsɪʒəɪɪh 'he's been gotten drunk ("someone got him drunk")' L.

ləʒəʒəɪ (noun, unclassified, or perhaps gerundive) 'drunkenness, intoxication, dizziness, vertigo': ləʒəʒəɪ ʔula<sup>o</sup>ʒ di.ʔyahɪ 'he has an urge to get drunk' M, ləʒəʒəɪga<sup>o</sup> xle<sup>o</sup>g 'I get dizzy spells'

('I repeatedly do, it repeatedly happens to me  
like vertigo') M.

o-x 'i-?-lxdl-xəi (with o-x 'in contact with o',  
semitransitive with thematized indeterminate O,  
dl-thematic combined with lx-, cf. o-x 'i-?-  
lxdl-weʔd) 'S (supply of liquor) runs out leaving  
o unsatisfied, only partly drunk': six 'iʔləxə-  
li-xəi 'I got (only) half-drunk and the liquor  
gave out' L (neuter perfective or imperfective).

ʔeɪ<sup>2</sup>

-ʔeɪ (stem of uncertain morphological classification and uncertain meaning) perhaps 'fine, granular', occurring only in ca·leʔeɪ 'small stones, gravel, pebbles (as on beach)', probably with archaic l-class-mark for ca· 'stone' q.v., and perhaps in Rezanov Кошгъань кучуки 'Егон finer Regen' perhaps to be read guleʔeɪkuʔg-(kih) ('small fine granular liquid', with gl-class-mark 'liquid') or perhaps kuleʔeɪ-, with l-thematic, perhaps then l-thematic in ca·leʔeɪ as well; see also kuʔ-kuʔ.

yeh̄ (perhaps related to ye)

O-ł-yeh̄ 'S ties O (with rope), bundles O, rolls O up': Rezanov 3axxex̄ '3axxax̄ binden, zusammenbinden, zubinden' ?ə̀yeh̄, sə̀yeh̄ 'tie it!' M, kuxeh̄ȳ sə̀yeh̄ 'bundle it together with string!' L, qu?x̄yeh̄ 'I'll tie it' M, qi?ȳl̄yeh̄ 'you'll tie it' 65.67A, sə̀x̄yeh̄ 'I'm bundling them (blankets, all in one bunch)' L, s̄l̄yeh̄ 'I tied it' M, 'I rolled it (my sleeping bag) up' L, da· ɪ̄x̄e·ɪ̄K 'we (cust) tie it' M, with yē 'down': ?ew deda?̄ȳ yē sə̀yeh̄ 'tied the cover down on him' 7.33, 34A, yē sə̀yeh̄ 'tie it down!' LM, active imperfective, -g--repetitive probably to be supplied: x̄yeh̄[g] 'I'm bundling them (blankets, one after another, separately)' L.

kuxeh̄ (noun, qi·l-class, occasionally unclassified) 'rope, cord, twine, string' L, 12.6, 8, 11G ('(harpoon-)line'), 34.104, 108L, ya·qi·led̄iK kuxeh̄ 'short rope' L, kuqi·le?a·w kuxeh̄ 'long rope' L, ɪ̄ɪ̄h̄s̄ qi·na· kuxeh̄ 'one rope' M, kuxeh̄ ?u·d̄ qi·se?ah̄ 'a piece of rope, cord, twine is there' L, kuxeh̄ sič̄ qi·li·ɪ̄a? 'give me some (a pile of) rope, some ropes!' L, ?ew kuxeh̄ da·ȳ ?i?gēɪ̄·gehs̄ 'that rope is hanging by a thread, about to snap' L, kuxeh̄

'ud' saxa'č 'tie a string around it!' L, kuxeh̄  
 sič ya'z q̄i·sehc̄ihd̄ih 'he flung the painter  
 up to me' L, kuxeh̄qi·neḡ xuseḡwa'č̄ih 'he  
 whipped me with a rope' L, kuxeh̄z seḡeh̄ 'tie  
 it (bundle) together with string!' L, kuxeh̄la'd  
 seta' 'hang it on a rope!' L, kuxeh̄qi·leda'd  
 yq·' seta' 'set it down by the rope!' L, kuxeh̄-  
 qi·na'q̄ da·z ea·i 'he's walking across on a  
 rope' L, kuxeh̄qi·leč 'toward a rope' L; in com-  
 pounds: ki3kuxeh̄ 'binder twine', see ki3,  
 didit̄u·č̄kuxeh̄ 'chain; Russian whip, knout' ('iron-  
 rope') L, see t̄u'č̄, Galushia Nelson eḡit̄i t̄et̄i  
 or eḡit̄i t̄et̄i 'fire drill ("string-drill")'  
 BSdL 547 kuxeh̄itei, see tek, q̄u'k̄yah̄d̄iḡeh̄  
 'bowstring' M (L rejects), see ḡah̄d. Exact analy-  
 sis uncertain, perhaps deverbalization, perhaps  
 with -i-instrumental (-i-i > -i); ku-indefinite  
 prefix invariable, L rejecting e.g. \*'uḡeh̄; see  
 also stem ḡe, especially subentry ḡeh̄.

## yah̄t

yah̄g (noun, unclassified, with -g-repetitive thematized) 'rattle (baby's, shaman's, or ceremonial), wand (for potlatch dances)' L, Galushia Nelson xa'tik 'rattle' BSdL 552.

o-ḥ-yah̄-g (with -g-repetitive thematized) 'S rattles o, shakes o (rattle)': ʔew ḥyah̄gḥ 'he's shaking a rattle' L.

ʒaʔɿ (perhaps to be analyzed ʒa or ʒaʔ with -ɿ- instrumental)

-ɿ-ʒaʔɿ (noun, with -ɿ-classifier) 'handle (semi-circular type, on container)': ʔuɿʒaʔɿ 'its handle (of cup, basket, pot, not of e.g. axe)' L, ʔuɿʒaʔɿʂuh kuʔeh 'does it have a handle?' ('does its handle exist?') L.

-d-ɿ-ʒaʔɿ (noun, as above, with d-thematic, perhaps thematized class-mark for possessor) "'button' (adductor muscle? of clam)': ʔudeɿʒaʔɿ "'button' of clam' L.

-dl-ʒaʔɿ (noun, perhaps with d-thematic and l-class-mark for possessor) 'handle of basket' (uncertain): ʔulaʔɿʒaʔɿ 'basket handle' L (uncertain).

o-ɿ-ʒaʔɿ 'S makes handle for, puts handle on O (container)': ʔew ɿeʔʔ siɿʒaʔɿ 'I put a handle on the box' L, ʔew ɿeʔʔ quʔxiɿʒaʔɿ 'I'll put a handle on the box' L; passive: ʔew ɿeʔʔ sdi-ʒaʔɿ 'that box has had a handle put on it' L.

## xuhî

xuhîg (noun, 1-class, with -g-repetitive (thema-  
tized) 'shovel' LMAS, 23.136A (declassified, per-  
haps incorrectly), Rezanov Хухьма 'Iomara  
Schaufel', Galushia Nelson xuh'tik 'shovel' BSdL  
548, xuhîg ?u'd ?i'setahî (or -?ahî, probably  
slight preference for former) 'a shovel is there'  
L, xxuhîg siç li'ta? (or -?a?) 'give me a  
shovel!' L, xuhîg?a'?nuw LM, xuhîg'i'?nuw M,  
xuhîga'?nuw, xuhîgela?luw (L prefers forms with  
-a'-) 'big shovel' L, xuhîgelekih 'small sho-  
vel' L, Galushia Nelson xófi ya? xuh'tik (or  
x'ófiyá' xuh'tik) 'snow shovel' ("snow's shovel")'  
BSdL 548 xuh'ya? xuhîg.

-xuhî-g (noun, as above) 'breastbone, sternum' (pre-  
sumably resembling a shovel?): sixuhîg 'my breast-  
bone' L.

O-xuhî(-g) (usually with -g-repetitive) 'S shovels  
O (removing O from something or removing something  
from O)': Rezanov Ax<sup>2</sup>-оамма (with 2- superscript  
insert) 'Пош graben (Imperat.)' ?exuhîg 'shovel  
it!', qç'ç ?exuhîg 'shovel it (dirt, snow) (up)  
out!' L, ?a?ç ?exuhîg 'shovel them (bones) out  
(of the house)!' 49.119, 119A, xuhîg 'I'm  
shovelling it' L, sixuhîgî 'I shovelled it' L,

dəxi· ʔaʔq ʔi·ʒuhɪgwahd 'in order to shovel  
them out' 49.120A, with class-marks for O: di·  
ʒuhɪg 'shovel it (ice?)!' L, tʰid dɛxʒuhɪg 'I'm  
shovelling the ice (clear for skating)' L, tʰid  
dɛɛxʒuhɪgɪ 'I'm (in the process of) shovelling  
the ice (clear for skating, taking a long time)'  
L, ta· ʒɛdɛxʒuhɪgɪ 'I'm shovelling the (plank)  
sidewalk' L, ta·q ʔihqa·ʒ lɛʒɛxʒuhɪgɪ 'I'm  
spreading it (gravel) on the road (with a shovel)'  
L; passive: sdiʒuhɪgɪ 'it's shovelled off' (am-  
biguous, as in English) L.

ɛl-dɛ-ʒuhɪ-g (with ɛl-thematic 'ground' and de--  
classifier) 'S digs, shovels in ground': <sup>Копать</sup> KANTaxʔ- =  
OAKNɛ (with ʔ- superscript insert) 'Paxɛ graben'  
ɛq·dɛʒuhɪg 'you're digging in the ground' L, ɛa·  
dɛʒuhɪgɪh 'he's digging in the ground' L.

xeh3

O-xeh3 'S chops notch, dent, nicks in O': ?axeh3  
 'chop nicks in it!' M, qu?xeh3 'I'll make a  
 notch in it, chop a dent in it' IM, xeh3 'I'm  
 chopping nicks in it' L, Kusaxeh3t gahxede?a-w  
 'I'm chopping nicks in it all day long' L, with  
 ya? 'completely': ya? qu?xeh3 'I'll dent it  
 all up, tenderize it (meat)' IM, ya? si?xeh3t  
 'I dented it all up, tenderized it' IM, ya?  
 ?ax?e-3k 'I (cust) dent it all up, tenderize it'  
 L, si?ehd ?ew y? ?ax?e-3k 'my wife (cust)  
 tenderizes it' L, repetitive: ya? ?ax?e-3gk 'I  
 (cust) dent it all up, tenderize it' M, with class--  
 marks for O: ya? desaxeh3 'chop, dent it (board,  
 table) all over!' IM, ya? ?adi-xeh3 'make nicks,  
 marks on it (log)!' L; passive: ya? sdi?xeh3t  
 'it's been nicked up' L.

?ux ya? Kuxeh3t (noun) 'meat-chopper' L. -t--  
 instrumental deverbalization of passive active  
 imperfective, 'by means of it something is nicked  
 all up'.

O-t-xeh3 (L uncertain of correctness of all forms  
 with t-classifier, meaning not distinguished from  
 that of O-xeh3) 'S chops, notch, dent, nicks in O':  
 xi?xeh3 'I'm nicking it' (same as xeh3) L, si?-



ʔeh3ʔ 'I nicked it' L; passive: yaʔ sʔiʔeh3ʔ  
'it's been nicked up' L.

shoulder

shoulders' L.

•ʔ ʔiʔgeʔ

re loose grip.

er there as y

picked it up

ʔiʔgeʔ 'I did'

re grip' L.

hey see y

shoulder' L.

onto his sh

is (along)

ʔiʔgeʔ

ʒehɣɪ 'I nicked it' L; passive: yaʔ nɪɣehɣɪ  
'it's been nicked up' L.

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O-i-3e'3 'S shoulders O, S picks O up onto shoulders, S carries O on shoulders, on head': ?i-3e'3 'shoulder it!' LA, 'pick it up onto your shoulders!' LM, ?u-3 se'3e'3, ?u-3 ?e'3e'3, ?u-3 ?i'3e'3 'carry it thither on your shoulders (one trip)!' L, ?i-3 ?e'3e'3 'pack it over there on your shoulders, head!' M, si'3e'3i 'I picked it up onto my shoulders' LM, ?u-da' si'3e'3i 'I carried it there on my shoulders (one trip)' LM, ?p-gale'p-? ?ahnu- se'3e'3i 'they came to a river carrying her on their shoulders' 25.14A, se'3e'3i'h 'he's picking it up onto his shoulders' M, se'3e'3i 'are carrying it (along) on their shoulders' 25.7, 10A, ?i-3 se'3e'3i 'I'm carrying it, then on my shoulders (one trip)' L, qu'xi'3e'3 'I'll shoulder it' LM, ?u-3 qu'xi'3e'3 'I'll carry it there on my shoulders, head' M, 'I'll pack it there on my shoulders (one trip)' L, with ya'3 'up' 'S picks up O onto shoulders': 25.6A, 52.12L, ya'3 se'3e'3 'pick it up onto your shoulders!' LM, ya'3 si'3e'3i 'I shouldered it' L, with d-class-mark for O: ?ew dese'3e'3inu- 'they shouldered and carried it (whalehead)' 29.35A,

with yeḡ-progressive: yeḡ x̄əḡeʔʔḡ 'I'm  
 carrying it around on my shoulders' L; passive:  
 sədəḡeʔʔḡh 'she's being carried (on someone's  
 shoulders)' 25.9, 9A. With expanded stem, fre-  
 quent without -K-customary, meaning same as  
 above, but with reference to action on several  
 objects in succession, or successive actions or  
 trips': ʔu·č ʔəḡe·ʔ (not ʔik- or səḡ-)  
 'carry it, then there on your shoulders (several  
 trips)!' L, ʔu·dəʔ siḡe·ʔḡ 'I carried them  
 there on my shoulders (several trips)' L, ʔi·č  
 x̄əḡe·ʔ 'I'm carrying them over there (one after  
 another) on my shoulders' L, ʔu·č quʔx̄əḡe·ʔ  
 'I'll carry them there on my shoulders (several  
 trips)' L, ləseʔḡ ʔew ʔəḡe·ʔḡK 'he (cust)  
 carries them up from shore' 33.35A, with yeḡ--  
 progressive: yeḡ ʔəḡeḡe·ʔ 'carry it around on  
 your shoulders, head!' M, yeḡ ʔiḡeḡe·ʔḡh 'he  
 (cust) packs them around on his head, shoulders'  
 LM, with ʔd-class-mark for O: k̄e·s̄k̄ caʔ ʔe-  
 di·ḡe·ʔ (or ʔeda·-) 'carry logs down to shore  
 on your shoulders!' L, yaʔḡ ʔedi·ḡe·ʔ 'pick  
 them (logs) up onto your shoulders!' L, caʔ quʔ-  
 ʔedi·x̄əḡe·ʔ 'I'll carry them (logs) down to shore  
 on my shoulders' L.

yah3

-y-i-yah3-i (noun, unclassified, with y-anatomical) 'nails, claws': siyei3yah3i 'my fingernails' M, kuyei3yah3i '(back or front) claws' LM, Galushia Nelson qaiyiti3a'tsti or qaiyiti3atsti 'fingernail' BS4L 542 qa'yei3yah3i 'our, human fingernails', kuyei3yah3i'a'w 'long fingernails' M; forms from Rezanov and Furuhjelm apparently lacking -i-classifier: Rezanov Калхалъ 'Ногти Nägel der Finger und Zehen' qa'ye3yah3i, Furuhjelm Iakasha 'nails' perhaps to be read -ye3yah3i, cursive Cyrillic -кацъ or -халъ perhaps misinterpreted -каа in copying.

-qi'y-i-yah3-i (noun, unclassified, with qi'y-anatomical) 'toenails, claws': siqi'yei3yah3i 'my toenails' LM, kuqi'yei3yah3i '(back or front) claws' (same as kuyei3yah3i in reference to animals) L.

ye·c'

seleysesye·c' (noun, lɿ-class, mark including lɿ-class mark, cf. also sese(ɿ)g<sup>w</sup>a·ɿ and seleg<sup>w</sup>a·ɿ under g<sup>w</sup>a·ɿ-ga·ɿ, sesecah under ca-cah, seseɿcahɿ under caht) 'big dark or black blueberries' LMA, "they get bigger when it rains" A, perhaps 'thin-leaved blueberry (*Vaccinium membranaceum* or *V. chamassonis*)', seleysesye·c' yeleyeca·lɿh 'he's eating big blueberries' L, seleysesye·c' kuləɣa'luw 'big big blueberries' L.

## ʒaʔd

- O-ʒaʔd 'S laces, braids, stitches, sews O loosely':  
 ʔexaʔd 'lace them (your shoes)!' L, cexaʔd 'sew  
 it (one thing) loosely, temporarily!' L, with  
 qaʔ 'up out': sɿ·ɿ siʒaʔ qaʔ quʔxʒaʔd 'I'll  
 lace my shoes up' L, qʒ·d cexʒaʔdɿ 'I'm lacing  
 them (my shoes) up' L, ʔugelah siʒaʔdɿ 'I  
 stitched its hem loosely' L, ʔilɿ siʒaʔdɿ 'I  
 sewed it (one thing) together loosely, temporarily'  
 L, repetitive: qʒ·d xʒaʔdɿ 'I'm trying to lace  
 it (shoe)' L (no active imperfective without -g--  
 repetitive or expanded stem L), with class-mark  
 for O: lexɿcexʒaʔdɿ 'I'm lacing it (ball)' L;  
 passive: sdiʒaʔdɿ 'it's laced' L. With expanded  
 stem: qʒ·d xʒa·d 'I'm spending a long time try-  
 ing hard to lace it (my shoe)' L.
- O-gd-ʒaʔd (with gd-thematic, perhaps g-class-mark  
 'filament like' and d-thematic 'bright, color',  
 cf. ɿid-ɿed<sup>2</sup>), 'S braids O around something, em-  
 broiders or sews gimp on O, weaves O into fabric':  
 gedisiʒaʔdɿ 'I braided it around something, I  
 embroidered it, sewed gimp on it, wove it into  
 fabric or mat' L.
- O-i-ʒaʔd 'S laces, sews (separate) O (together with  
 another), fixes O (to something else) by lacing,

sewing loosely': səiɣaʔc' 'lace, sew them (two  
separate things, together)!' L.

xu'c

0-xu'c 'S slaps, lashes, whips, splashes 0':

?iqe'xqu'c 'I'll whip you' L, 'I'll slap you  
(with e.g. willow boughs in steambath)' L, si-  
xu'c' 'I whipped, lashed it (with e.g. branches,  
rope)' M, with gl-class-mark for 0: geli-xu'c  
'splash it (water)!' LM, giyah ?i'c qu'geli-xqu'c  
'I'll splash water at you' L, si'c ?aw gola-  
xu'c'ih 'he's splashing it (water) at me' L, with  
ye'x-progressive: ye'x gy'daxu'c'ih 'she's splash-  
ing (water) around' L; reflexive: ?edxdexu'c 'I'm  
slapping myself (with willow bough in steambath)'  
L. With expanded stem: si'c ?aw gelexu'c'ih  
'he's splashing it (water) at me (lots, all the  
time)' L, hi'c giyah si'c gy'saxu'c'it 'he  
splashed water at me all the time' L, hi'c ?iqe'c  
gu'geli-xu'c'ih 'he'll splash water on you all the  
time' L, ?u'qe'c da' gola-yixu'c 'let's splash  
(water) on him (lots, all the time)' L.

0-l-xu'c 'S slaps, lashes, whips, splashes 0'

(meaning not clearly distinguished from that of  
preceding): ?exxu'c 'slap it (with e.g. willow  
boughs)!' LM, ?iqe'xixu'c 'I'll slap you' (same  
as ?iqe'xqu'c, and ?iqe'xqu'c "sounds better")  
L, with l-anatomical: gi-yahgu'na'x xy'se'x-  
xu'c'ih 'he splashed water in my face' ('he

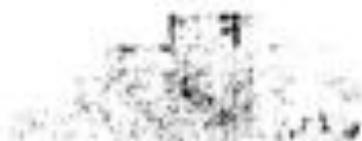
splashed my face with water') L, with yeḡ--  
progressive: yeḡ ʔəḡəḡuʔd 'slap, splash it  
around!' M, yeḡ ʔəḡəḡu·dḡḡh 'he (cust) slaps,  
splashes it around' M, with gl-class-mark for  
O: yeḡ gəla·ḡəḡuʔd 'splash it (water) around!'  
M, with indeterminate O: giyahgu·neḡ yeḡ ʔi=  
ḡəḡuʔdḡḡh 'he's splashing water around' ('he's  
splashing about (at things) with water') L. L un-  
certain of correctness of all forms with ḡ--ḡe--  
classifier except for those with postpositional  
phrase o-ḡ 'with, by means of o'.

ḡes

O-ḡes 'S carves design in O, S carves O (design)':  
 səḡes L, 'əḡes 'carve it!' LMA, qu'xḡes 'I'll  
 carve it' L, xḡes, səxḡes† (meaning of both  
 the same) 'I'm carving it' L, kuxḡes, kuxexḡes†  
 (meaning of both the same) 'I'm carving something'  
 L, da' ḡe'sk' 'we (cust) carve a design' L,  
 kuxḡe'sk' 'I (cust) carve something' L, (no ex-  
 panded stem without -k'-customary L), repetitive:  
 kuxḡesgih 'he keeps carving something' L; passive:  
 sdixes† 'a design has been carved' L.

'ux kədəḡes (noun, probably d-class) 'knife for  
 carving designs in wood with laterally curved  
 pointed blade' L, Galushia Nelson uxqədəḡes  
 'crooked knife' BSDL 547. Nominalized passive  
 active imperfective, 'by means of it something is  
 carved'.

ḡes† (noun, with -†-instrumental, or perhaps  
 gerundive) 'carved design (in wood)' L, ḡes† yih  
 'it has a carved design on it' L.



xe's-yes (M also xehs, but consistently rejected by L; xe's in verb, reduced yes in noun; perhaps related to xawa<sup>s</sup>-xa-s)

de-xe's 'S is, becomes infected, pussy': sdi-xe'si (not -xehs-) 'it's infected' L, qu'de-xe's (not -xehs-) 'it'll get infected' L, attested usually with ya' 'completely': ya' sdi-xehsi M (L rejects), ya' sdi-xe'si 'it got infected' LM, ya' sedexehsi M (L rejects), ya' sedexe'si 'it's getting infected' LMA, ya' qu'dexehs M (L rejects), ya' qu'dexe's 'it'll get infected' LM, 'it'll get all pussy' L, ya' de-xe-sk' 'it (cust) gets infected' M, with y-anatomical: yesexde-xe'si 'my hand's getting infected' L, ya' yixde-xe'si 'my hand got infected' L, qe-ya' yexde-xe-sk' 'my hand (cust) gets infected again' L, repetitive: qe-ya' yexde-xe'sg 'my hand keeps getting infected again' L.

yes (noun, gl-class) 'pus' LMA, xesgu'nuw 'large amount of pus' M, yes lexedixikih 'my eyes are pussy' L, yes lexedi.kihkih 'his eyes are full of puss, matter' M.

xəwaʔs-ɣaʔs (ɣaʔs apparently expanded form of xəwaʔs;  
perhaps related to xeʔs-xəs)

-xəwaʔs--ɣaʔs 'S itches, has, gets an itch': -xəwaʔs  
(full, non-expanded form) attested in inceptive per-  
fective but not active imperfective (except repeti-  
tive): səxəwaʔsɩ 'it's itchy' L, 'it itches' A,  
sini·K siya· səxəwaʔsɩ 'my nose itches' L, si-  
ləq·S siya· səxəwaʔsɩ 'my mouth and nose region  
itches' L, siɣəwaʔsɩ 'it itched me (once)' L,  
with anatomical marks: yisiɣəwaʔsɩ 'my hand  
itched (a short time)' L, qi·dəsəxəwaʔsɩ (not  
\*qi·dəxəwaʔs) 'my foot itches' L, repetitive:  
qi·dəxəwaʔsəg (preferable to qi·dəxəɣaʔsəg) 'my  
foot itches (off and on)' L. With expanded stem  
-ɣaʔs, attested in both active perfective and in-  
ceptive perfective, also neuter imperfective, but  
-xəwaʔs clearly preferred to -ɣaʔs in repeti-  
tive, apparently referring to more persistent  
itch than -xəwaʔs: yiɣaʔs 'it itches' LM (neuter  
imperfective), xɣaʔs 'I have an itch' L, ɣaʔsɩh  
'he has an itch' M, səxəɣaʔsɩ 'I'm itchy' L,  
səɣaʔsɩ 'it itches' (omen: if left hand itches,  
he'll get some money; if right hand itches, he'll  
spend money) L, sini·K siya· səɣaʔsɩ 'my nose  
itches me' L, siɣaʔsɩ 'I was itchy' L, səɣaʔsɩ

'it itched' M, qu<sup>o</sup>wəɣaːs 'it'll itch' L, ʔiyaː  
qa<sup>o</sup>ɣaːs 'it'll itch you' M, diK ɕe<sup>o</sup> xdeɣaːs  
'I don't itch anymore' L, diK ɕe<sup>o</sup> qu<sup>o</sup>deɣaːs  
'it won't itch anymore' L, with anatomical marks:  
qiːdaxɣaːs 'my foot itches (right now)' LM, qiː-  
deɣeɣaːsɪ (preferred to qiːdeɣeɣawaːsɪ) 'my  
foot itches (continually), keeps itching' L, ɪiɕ  
yaxɣaːs 'my hand keeps itching' L, yisiɣaːsɪ  
'my hand itched (for a long time)' L, repetitive:  
qiːdaxɣaːsɣ 'my foot keeps itching, itches on and  
off' (but qiːdaxɣawaːsɣ much preferred) L. Tran-  
sitive (causative): with ya<sup>o</sup> 'completely': ya<sup>o</sup>  
qu<sup>o</sup>xɪɣaːs 'I'll make it itch' M.

o-ŋ ʔiːɣawaːs-ɣaːs (apparently transitive with in-  
determinate O) 'S (impersonal) itches o' ('it  
itches indeterminate O with o': siŋ ʔiːɣawaːsɪ  
'it itches me' L. With expanded stem: siŋ ʔiːɣ-  
ɣaːsɪ 'it itches me' (for a long time, longer  
than siŋ ʔiːɣawaːsɪ) L.

ɣaːs (noun, or perhaps gerundive) 'itch, itchi-  
ness' LMA.

ye3

-i-ye3-g-i (noun, with -i-classifier, -g-repetitive  
 thematized, and -i-suffix, no underlying verb--  
 these identified) 'skeleton, skull': Kuliye3gi  
 'skeleton' L, 'iliye3gi 'your skeleton, skull'  
 L.

-d-i-ye3-g-i (noun, as above, with d-thematic,  
 perhaps d-class-mark thematized) 'empty, life=  
 less frame, building, container, body': Kudei-  
 ye3gi 'skeleton, mummy, empty house, box, bottle'  
 LM.

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O-dl-i-ʔe·ʒ (with dl-class-mark for O) 'S strikes  
 O (stone), making sparks': λa·təkʔe·ʒ 'make  
 sparks (with a stone)!' LA.

λa·kʔe·ʒ(-g(-i)) (noun, dl-class, with optional  
 -g-repetitive thematized, and sometimes, perhaps  
 incorrectly, -i-instrumental) 'quartz, shiny  
 crystalline flakes in e.g. granite': λa·kʔe·ʒg M,  
 λa·kʔe·ʒ 'white quartz' L, λa·kʔe·ʒgɪ 'white  
 quartz, shiny flakes in stone' A, λa·kʔe·ʒg ʔu·d  
 λa·səʔahɪ 'a quartz-stone is there' L, λa·i-  
 ʔe·ʒgɪgaʔ ʔi·təh "'shiny stuff"' ('it's like  
 quartz, crystalline') A.

xe'3

l-de-xe'3 (with l-thematic, perhaps thematized class- or anatomical mark) 'S hooks, is hooked (through something else), S (hook) moves into or out of e.g. eyelet' (perhaps passive of O-l-k--xe'3, 'S hooks O (through something else)': with o-qa?- 'between o, through interstice in o': deqa'd ?i·edixe'3? 'hook came out (of eyelet, from between indeterminate o)' L, indirect reciprocal: ?ikqa'x lidixe'3? 'they (two hooks or hook-ends, couplers, links) are hooked, linked, coupled together' L (neuter perfective), kinesx lidixe'3?ih 'he has a ring through his nose' ('his face is hooked with a nose-ring') LA. Transitive (causative, or perhaps basic theme, of which the preceding is the passive): deqa'x lecekxe'3 'put the hook in (eyelet)!' L, ?ewlu? lecekxe'3 'put the hook through (hole in) it (eyelet)!' L, ?ewlu? lesexixe'3? (not active imperfective \*lexixe'3) 'I'm putting the hook through it (eyelet)' L.

Kuqa'x ?i·dexe'3g (noun) 'hook (that hooks through eyelet)'. Nominalized active imperfective repetitive, 'it (repeatedly) hooks (is hooked) through something'.

?i?u? də-ʒeʔʒ-g (with -g-repetitive thematized,  
attested only in direct reciprocal, basic theme  
perhaps with zero-classifier) 'S wrestle each other':  
form apparently without y-anatomical attested only  
from Galushia Nelson :i?utahātoDenu 'wrestling'  
BSdL 551 ?i?u? dəʒeʔʒginu· ('they (repeatedly)  
hook each other'), with y-anatomical: ?i?u? yede-  
ʒeʔʒginu· 'they're hand-, indian-wrestling' L.

ʔaʔ

-ʔaʔ (noun, unclassified) 'gills': ʔuʔaʔ ʔəwaʔ  
 'its gills' A, kʷaʔaʔ 'gills' LMA, also name of  
 John Williams (a Tlingit-speaking man from Dry  
 Bay, living at Yakutat) ("gills") A, kʷaʔaʔʔuʔ  
 'lots of gills' LM.

xiš-xihš<sup>1</sup> (xiš most frequent but phonologically irregular, L five times, M once, A three times, at least some of which may be mistranscriptions for xihš; xihš L twice, M once; M also xuš, xuhš, xihxš, xihš, xiš, xihš, under influence of xu'š, xihš, and xiš-xihš<sup>2</sup>; perhaps to be identified with xiš--xihš<sup>2</sup>, and perhaps related to <sup>xiš</sup>xiš <sup>xiš</sup>xiš <sup>xiš</sup>xiš)

xiš-xihš (noun) 'scar' Rezanov ТѸХѸѸѸ (ТѸ crossed out) 'РыбѸѸѸ НарѸѸѸ', xihš L, xiš L (twice), A, xuš (three times), xuhš, xihxš M (all these forms from M rejected by L).

xiš-xihš 'S is, becomes scarred': šixiš  
 'it's scarred' LA, šixiših 'he's scarred' A,  
 xšixihš 'I'm scarred' M, with ya' 'completely':  
 ya' šixiš 'it's gashed up, all roughed up' M,  
 with 1-anatomical: ?i-xšixiš 'my face is  
 scarred' L, ?i-šixihših, ?i-šixiših 'his  
 face is scarred' L, ya' lišixihših 'his face  
 is scarred' M. Transitive (causative): qu'xšuhš  
 'I'll scar it' L, ya' cšixihš 'scar it up'  
 M; passive: ya' ?idixihših 'he's all scarred  
 up' M (neuter perfective).

xiš-xihš<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with xiš-xihš<sup>1</sup>;  
xiš most frequent, but phonologically irregular, L  
five times, M once, A three times, S once, at least  
some of which may be mistranscriptions for xihš;  
xihš L three times, M once, S once; L also xihš,  
xiš, later rejected by L, M also xiš, all probably  
under influence of xihš and xiš-xihš<sup>1</sup>)

xiš-xihš (noun) 1. (xd-class, perhaps also un-  
classified) 'spear-, arrow-head, -point': Jacobsen  
krich 'arrow head of bone' BSdL 105 (photograph  
of specimen in BSdL Plate 13.8), Galushia Nelson  
xi:c 'arrow head' BSdL 549, xiš L (twice), A  
(three times), S, xihš LMS, xiš, xihš L (L  
later rejects), xiš'a?luw, xiš'a?luw M, xiš-  
xeda?luw 'big spearpoint' L, xišxeda?e?d 'mark,  
place where point has penetrated' L.

2. (gd1-class?, cf. kē?č 2.) 'spades (suit  
at cards)': xiš, xihš 'spades' L, xiš xq'?  
geła'sa'yahš 'I got a trump in spades (in "66"  
card-game)' L.

ʒəʃ (status and form uncertain, perhaps reduced from  
 ʒiʃ-ʒiʃ<sup>2</sup>, ʒaʃ, and/or ʒuʃ)

O-ʒ-ʒəʃ (uncertain) 'S gouges, makes mark on O':  
 ʒəʒəʃ 'make a mark on it!' M, 'gouge it!' A,  
 (uncertain, perhaps ʒəʒəʃ, see xəʃ; L re-  
 jects, in favor of O-ʒ-ʒəʃ), quʔxəʒəʃ 'I'll  
 make a mark on it' M.

ʒa·š (poly. *relat* 1 - 2 *x*15-*x*; *h*2<sup>2</sup>, 2, *x*2<sup>2</sup>; *x*u.2<sup>1</sup>) <sup>and/or</sup>

O-ʒa·š-g (with -g-repetitive thematized) 'S gnaws, nibbles, chews O': ?ew ʒa·šg 'it's gnawing it' LN, Kuʒa·šgih 'he's gnawing something' M, with d-class-mark for O and yeʒ 'apart': ?ew yeʒ dešəʒa·šgī 'it (beaver) chewed through it (tree)' L.

Kuʒa·šg (noun, unclassified) 'beaver' LMAS, 16.1, 2, 6, 9, 11, 14, 17, 22, 23, 25, 29M, 63.3, 5G, Wrangell Koxama 'Biber', Furuhielm Khuhashk 'beaver', Galushia Nelson qəʒə·ck or qəʒə·ckə or qəʒə·ckə 'beaver' BSdL 539, Kuʒa·šgce? 'beaver-meat' 63.36G, Kuʒa·šgciyahd 'beaver-(-skin)-hat' L.

xu'ʔɛ (xu'ʔɛ probably correct form, L ten times, M twice, A three times, N also xu'ʔɛ eight times, xuhɛ four times, xu'ɛg once, A also xu'ɛ once, su'ɛg once (rejected by L and M), L also xu'ɛ twice) *reinterpreted to xi:ɛ-xi:ɛʔ<sup>2,2</sup>, xi:ɛʔ<sup>2,2</sup>, xi:ɛʔ<sup>2,2</sup>*

xu'ʔɛ (noun, unclassified) 'thorns, thorny spine of devilclub, sliver': xu'ʔɛ L (eight times), M (twice), 'thorns' A (three times), 'thorn of devilclub' L (twice), xuhɛ 'thorns' M (three times), 'sliver' M, xu'ʔɛ 'thorns' M (four times), 'thorn of devilclub' M (twice), xu'ɛ 'thorns' A, su'ɛg A (repeated by L and M), xu'ʔɛ L, xu'ʔɛ, xu'ɛg 'thorn of devilclub' M; ʔqɦɛ-xu'ɛ 'earth's devilclub-needles' (metaphorical for trees) 34.112fnL.

qaʔ 0-ɪ-xu'ʔɛ (with qaʔ 'up out') 'S gets 0 all full of thorns': qaʔ ɛɪxu'ʔɛ 'get it all full of thorns!' M.

ʒəlaːg (G once ʒəlaːg<sup>w</sup>, G elsewhere and all other informants, including S, ʒəlaːg)

ʒəlaːg (noun, unclassified) 'winter' LMAS, 18.55L, 43.24, 46.5M, Rezanov ХАЛХАХЪ 'Зима Winter', Galushia Nelson ʒalakɨ 'winter' BSdL 538, often used adverbially, 'in winter': 25.207A, 45b.9M, 50.22A, ʒəlaːg ʒaːq qaːah 'winter will be long' L, ʒəlaːg ʒaːq ʔiːːah 'winter is long' L, ʒəlaːg ʒaːq saːaːɨ 'winter was long' L, ʒəlaːg ʒaːq saːaːɨ 'winter is getting to be long' L, ʒəlaːg diK ʒaːq ʔasːaːɨe 'winter wasn't long' L, ʒəlaːg ʒaːq<sup>sc</sup>aːw 'long winter' L, ʒəlaːg kuʃiyah 'winter is bad' M, ʔaːd kuʃiyah ʒəlaːg ʔidesəliɨ 'a very bad winter occurred' L, 45a.9L (but not \*ʔaːd kuʃiyah ʒəlaːg ʔiqeːdiːleh for 'a very bad winter will occur' L), ʒəlaːg qaːʒaː kuːluw qaːɨeː 'winter will be very hard (big) on us' 43.9M, ʒəlaːg ʔisiːaːw saːɨeːɨ 'winter is getting to be long' L, ʒəlaːg yaːːaːg saːsaːyahɨ 'winter had half passed' 49.115A, ʒəlaːg saːsaːyahɨ 'winter came' M, ʒəlaːg ʔiːsdiːahɨ 'winter is ending' L, laːdih ʒəlaːg ʔuːʃahd ʔiːsdiːahɨ 'two winters passed (since) then' L, ʔuːd ʒəlaːg quːliːxːah 'I'll spend winter there' L, ʒəlaːg ʔiːseɨːah=

k̄h 'she spent the winter' 18.48L, qelab-  
 qaʔg<sup>w</sup>aʔdaʔx̄ decaʔq̄ x̄elaʔg<sup>w</sup> 'forty winters'  
 62.11G, Rezanov Халсмонкмонкхель 'Осень Herbst'  
 x̄elaʔḡ kuseheʔi 'it's becoming winter' L, ʔaʔd  
 kuʃiyah x̄elaʔḡ kuseheʔi 'there was a very bad  
 winter' L, ʔaʔd kuʃiyah x̄elaʔḡ kuqaʔheʔ  
 'there'll be a very bad winter' L, x̄elaʔgwahd  
 'for winter'(with reference to accumulating food  
 or money to last the winter): 16.20M, 62.23, 63.=  
 31, 33, 37, 38<sup>G</sup>, 65.27, 27, 36, 67, 71A, x̄elaʔg-  
 yəʒegaʔ 'just enough for winter' 65.81A, x̄elaʔg-  
 yəʒegaʔ ciyah ʔuʔsileʔḡt̄ 'I bought just enough  
 food for winter' L, x̄elaʔḡ selesaʔyaʔi 'win-  
 ter's coming' ('time is passing toward winter') S,  
 x̄elaʔḡiʔaʔd 'autumn' M (L has never heard, but  
 "you could say that", 'in the direction of winter'),  
 x̄elaʔgyaʔx̄̄ yikaʔd̄ih̄ 'he was sick all winter' L,  
 x̄elaʔḡileʔaʔḡ yaʔ qəʒah 'January' ('midwinter  
 month') A, x̄elaʔḡ yaʔʔaʔgd̄ 'in the middle of  
 winter' L.

t̄-x̄elaʔḡ 'S (winter) comes, S (it) becomes winter':  
 Galushia Nelson eś-t̄ix̄álák̄i 'fall' BSdL 538  
 seix̄elaʔḡi 'it's autumn, it's becoming winter' L,  
 21b.74A, qeʔ seix̄elaʔḡi 'it's turning winter  
 again' 23.119A, quʔk̄x̄elaʔḡ, qaʔk̄x̄elaʔḡ (latter

more probably correct) 'winter will come' L,  
səɬɣəla·gɪ 'winter came' L, 43.3M, ʔuq̄ səɬ=  
ɣəla·gɪɬ 'winter came on him' 23.54A, ʔiɬ=  
ɣəla·g da·ɣ 'as it starts to become winter'  
21b.72A.

0-ʔ-ɪ-ɣəla·g 'S (winter) comes upon O, O winters':  
ʔu·ɕ xuʔsəɬɣəla·gɪ 'I wintered there' L.

ʒəɛ

- d-ʒəɛ-ɪ (noun, with d-thematic, perhaps class-  
 mark for possessor, form from M lacking -ɪ=  
 suffix, perhaps instrumental) 'gunwale, strip of  
 board along upper edge of side of boat, canoe':  
 ʔudəʒəɛɪ 'its gunwale, side (of boat, canoe)'  
 LÁ, ʔudəʒəɛ 'strip along sides of boat' M.  
 də-ʒəɛ (perhaps passive, uncertain) 'S (O?) has  
 carving on it': sdiʒəɛɪ 'it has fancy carvings  
 on it' L (uncertain, perhaps for sdiʒəɛɪ, see  
 ʒəɛ, attempt at explanation of preceding).

ʒuʔe<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with ʒuʔe<sup>2</sup>)

ʒe-ʒuʔe 'S exerts self, strains (with all one's  
 might)': Furuhjelm Atliahukh 'strong' ʔeʒe-  
 ʒuʔe (or perhaps -ʒuʔe, see below), or perhaps  
 ʔaʔd ʒeʒuʔe (or -ʒuʔe) 'he's, you're exerting  
 self very hard', ʔeʒeʒuʔe, ʔiʒeʒuʔe 'exert  
 yourself (very hard, to move, lift something)!' L,  
 LM, frequently with o-wahd 'for o, to do, move  
 o': ʔuwahd ʔiʒeʒuʔe 'exert yourself at it!' L,  
 ʔuwahd seʒeʒuʔe 'try hard (to lift it)!' L,  
 quʔxʒeʒuʔe 'I'll exert myself' LM, xʒiʒuʔeʒ  
 'I exerted myself' MA, ʔuwahd xʒiʒuʔeʒ 'I  
 exerted myself (made one straining effort) at it'  
 L, seʒeʒuʔeʒiʒh 'he's exerting himself' M, ʔu-  
 wahd seʒeʒuʔeʒ 'I'm trying very hard (one ef-  
 fort) at it' L, repetitive: ʔuwahd xʒeʒuʔeʒg 'I  
 keep trying very hard (to lift, move it)' L (no  
 active imperfective \*xʒeʒuʔe without repetitive  
 or expanded stem L). With expanded stem, mean-  
 ing as above, but with reference to repeated per-  
 sistent effort: ʔeʒeʒuʔe 'exert yourself!' LA,  
 ʔuwahd seʒeʒuʔe L, ʔuwahd ʔeʒeʒuʔe (not  
 \*ʔiʒeʒuʔe L) 'exert yourself to do it!' A, 'try  
 long and hard to lift it!' L, quʔxʒeʒuʔe 'I'll  
 exert myself' LMA, xʒiʒuʔeʒ 'I exerted myself'

MÄ, sahdɣ ʔuwahd sɪɣuːeɪ daːɣ kʉdɔɣ 'he  
 tried hard at it for a long time but in vain' L,  
 active imperfective: 24.47fnA, ɪɣuːeɪh 'he's  
 exerting himself' M, xɪɣuːe 'I'm exerting my-  
 self' A, ʔuwahd xɪɣuːe 'I'm trying long and  
 hard at it' L, inceptive perfective: ɛxɪɣuːeɪ  
 'I'm exerting myself' A, ʔuwahd ɛxɪɣuːeɪ 'I'm  
 trying long and hard at it' L (L much prefers ac-  
 tive imperfective to inceptive perfective here;  
 no repetitive \*xɪɣuːeg with expanded stem L).  
 (y-)ɪe-ɣuːe (y-thematic only in yeɣ-progressive)  
 'S (wind) blows forcefully': kʉːy yeɣ sɪɣuːeɪ  
 'a wind blew shoreward' 33.3A, kʉːy ɛɪɣuːeɪ  
 'wind is starting to blow' L, ɣaː ɛɪɣuːeɪ  
 (not active imperfective \*ɪɣuːe) 'northwind is  
 getting strong' L, kʉːy quːɪɣuːe 'wind will  
 blow' L, with yeɣ-progressive: (kʉːy) yeɣ yeɪe-  
 ɣuːeɣ 'it (wind) is blowing about' L, deːʔeɪdɪh  
 yeɣ yeɪeɣuːeɣ 'wind is blowing about every which  
 way' LM, deːʔeɪdɪh yeɣ quːyeɪeɣuːe 'wind will  
 blow about every which way' LM. With expanded stem  
 'S (wind) blows forcefully and repeatedly or con-  
 tinuously': Resanov Кожаляхома 'Погодаже  
 стürmisch, windig' kʉːy... ɪɣuːe, kʉːy ɪɣuːe  
 'wind is blowing' LA, ɣaː ɪɣuːe (not inceptive

perfective \*caḷəxuːt̪) 'northwind is blowing'

L.

d-ḷe-xuː (with d-thematic 'oral, noise') 'S yells, shouts as loud as S can, raises voice loud': diḷəxuːt̪ 'he yelled loud (once)' L, deḷəxuː 'he's talking loud, yelling at top of his voice' LA. With expanded stem: 'S yells loud and repeatedly or continuously': 20.22fnA, daː-ḷəxuː 'talk, yell loud!' A, ?uḷ daː-ḷəxuːt̪h 'yell loud to him (he's far away, or deaf)!' L, deḷəxuːt̪h 'he's yelling loud, hollering long distance, raising his voice' L, diḷəxuːt̪h 'he yelled loud (many times)' L.

o-wahd ?ed-l-ḷe-xuːt̪-g (reflexive causative with l-thematic, thematized -g-repetitive, and o-wahd 'for the sake of, in order to do o') 'S tugs, pulls hard at o': ?uwahd ?edlɛxəxuːt̪eg 'I'm tugging (long and) hard at it' L.

xuːt̪ (part of noun, probably deverbalisation with -t̪-instrumental) attested only in Rezanov Франк--оухомъ 'Наручъ Segel' ... kuːy... xuːt̪.

juʔe<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with juʔe<sup>1</sup>, basic meaning perhaps 'sudden forceful contraction')

ʔiɬtaʔɣ ɬe-juʔe (with ʔiɬtaʔɣ 'gathering together') 'S shrinks, contracts': ʔiɬtaʔɣ seɬe-juʔeɬ 'it's shrinking' LA, 'they (clothes) are shrinking, it (blanket) is shrinking, it (worm, clam thrown in hot water) is contracting, shrinking' L, juɬɣ ʔiɬtaʔɣ seɬejuʔeɬ 'worm is contracting' L, ʔiɬtaʔɣ sɬiɣjuʔeɬ 'it shrank' LA, 'it (blanket, clam thrown in hot water) shrank, contracted' L, ʔiɬtaʔɣ quʔɬejuʔe 'it'll shrink' LA, ʔiɬtaʔɣ ɬejuʔeK 'it (cust) shrinks' L.  
 Transitive (causative): ʔiɬtaʔɣ seɬjuʔe 'make it shrink, contract!' L; reflexive: ʔiɬtaʔɣ ʔedseɬejuʔeɬ 'it (worm) is contracting, shrinking' L, ʔiɬtaʔɣ ʔedseɬejuʔeɬ 'I'm <sup>huddling,</sup> hunching myself down into my coat, holding it tight around me (in the cold)' L.

xəq

O-xəq (exact basic meaning uncertain) 1. 'S carves notch in O': qu<sup>?</sup>xəq 'I'll carve a notch in it' L. Transitive (causative): passive, with xd-class--marks for O: xədisdixəq<sup>t</sup> 'they (logs) have notches carved in them' L.

2. 'S flattens, smooths, peels O with knife, plane, or teeth': yixəq 'you're pulling it through your teeth' A, with class-marks for O: qu<sup>?</sup>di-xəq 'I'll peel it (wild celery) with my teeth' A, 'I'll smooth it (board)' L, guxəq 'I'm flattening them (spruceroots, already split) by running knife along them' L, se<sup>·</sup>d guxəq 'I'm skinning spruceroots' L, se<sup>·</sup>d qu<sup>?</sup>gu-xəq 'I'll peel spruceroots' L (some uncertainty, evidently, about exact meaning; see also xik, xə<sup>t</sup>).

se<sup>·</sup>dgeyəq (noun, unclassified) '(American black-billed) magpie (Pica pica hudsonian)' LAS, 9.1, 3, 5, 12, 18, 22, 28, 37, 39, 47, 50, 53, 66, 72, 84, 85, 100, 108, 113, 137, 160, 10.48, 203, 203A, 34.-22L, 49.48A (se<sup>·</sup>dguyəq), Galushia Nelson qe<sup>t</sup>s-seyəq 'magpie' BSdL 261, 539, se<sup>·</sup>dgeyəq<sup>dyu</sup> 'magpies' 9.113, 115, 128, 153, 157, 10.53, 68A, 42.-18L, se<sup>·</sup>dgeyəq<sup>kudg</sup>Siya<sup>h</sup> 'Little Old Magpie' 9.9, 48A, se<sup>·</sup>dgeyəq<sup>kih</sup> 'little Magpie' 9.42A, se<sup>·</sup>d-geyəq<sup>kih</sup>Kah<sup>h</sup> 'little Magpie's leg' 9.42A, se<sup>·</sup>d-

gəxəqkuwa<sup>?</sup>na<sup>?</sup>seyu<sup>?</sup> 'Maggie's relatives' 9.43,  
44A, se<sup>?</sup>dge<sup>?</sup>xəq<sup>?</sup>dese<sup>?</sup> 'Maggie's younger sister'  
9.68, 102A, se<sup>?</sup>dge<sup>?</sup>xəq<sup>?</sup>ɪ<sup>?</sup>3kihsayu<sup>?</sup> 'maggie(-girl's)  
brothers' 9.116A.

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ʒəʒg (noun, unclassified, with -g-repetitive thematized) 'fresh (of fish, meat)' LMS, attested in syntactic construction only as C: ʒəʒg yedi·leh 'it (fish, meat) is fresh' L.

le-ʒəʒ-g (with -g-repetitive thematized) 'S (e.g. caught fish, still alive) quivers, twitches':

ʔusaʔd ʔəw leʒəʒg 'it quivers in his mouth'

ʒʒ.ʒ2A, dəʔweʒ leʒəʒg 'it (caught fish) is still quivering, twitching' L, with l-anatomical: ʔɪ·-

leʒəʒg 'it (cheek part of severed fish head) still quivers, twitches' L.

d-le-ʒəʒ-g (as above, with d-thematic 'oral, noise')

'S snores': deʒəʒəʒg L, da·leʒəʒg 'snore!'

LM, dexleʒəʒg 'I'm snoring' L, dəleʒəʒgɪh 'he's

snoring' LMA, quʔdexleʒəʒg 'I'll snore' M, di-

leʒəʒgɪh 'he snored' M, dixleʒəʒgɪ 'I snored'

L, diK dexleʒəʒgɪ 'I didn't snore' L, de-

ʒəʒkɪh (incorrect with unexpanded stem) L, də-

ʒə·ʒkɪh 'he (cust) snores' LM, diK dexleʒə·ʒgɪ

'I (cust) don't snore' L, neuter imperfective with

force of customary: ʔəʒa· diʒəʒgɪh 'my what

a snorer he is!' L, diK daʔleʒəʒgɪh 'he's not

a snorer' L; with qe-plural thematized: ʒəʒyeʔʒ

qədəleʒəʒgɪh 'he snores all night long' L.

xeʔɣ (perhaps to be analyzed ɣ-eʔ-ɣ, ɣe- 'area'  
as o of o-ʔeʔ '(vacant) place of o' with -ɣ final  
'movement within area')

xeʔɣ (preverb, with zero (-ɣ ?) final only) 1. 'out-  
doors, outside of house (but not far away)': 23.-  
146A, xeʔɣ sahɬɪh 'he went out' L, xeʔɣ quʔ=  
xah (= ʔaʔq quʔxah) 'I'll go out' L, xeʔɣ  
sa.ɬɪh 'he's going out' L, in combination with  
other preverbs, perhaps always preceding: xeʔɣ  
yeɣ leʔedelaʔ 'turn around to face the outside!'  
L, xeʔɣ ʔaʔq sahɬɪh 'he went out' L, xeʔɣ  
ʔaʔq quʔxah 'I'll go out' L, xeʔɣ ʔaʔqdeʔ  
sa.ɬɪh 'he's going out' L.

2. As above, but implying, euphemistically,  
'(a short way) out of the house (for defecating,  
urinating)' or simply "going" (defecating, uri-  
nating), "to the bathroom, toilet": xeʔɣ sah-  
ɬɪh 'he "went", he went out (not far), and/or  
excreted' L, ɣi.ʔ xeʔɣ sahɬɪh 'he "went" over  
there' L, Rezanov Тхуахэ-эхэ 'Помощь Диаррһе'  
ɬiʔaʔ xeʔɣ 'frequently ("going") out', ʔew=  
yeʔdeʔ xeʔɣ sahɬ 'he "went" into it (urinated on  
it)' 50.23A, xeʔɣ yeɣ xdiʔyahaɬ 'I have (phy-  
sical need) to "go"' L, with yeɣ-progressive forms  
of verb -a 'sg. 3 goes': xeʔɣ yeɣ xda.ɣ 'I  
have diarrhea' ('I go about outside, in and out')

L, seqe'sayu'ya?, 'ow xe'x̣ ye'x̣ da'x̣ 'children's, that which they "go" 23.19A, de'gu'ne'x̣ xe'x̣ ye'x̣ xia'x̣ 'I have a bloody stool' ('I excrete with blood') L.

3. As o of o-?i---i?---i-i-č-a'- 'side, direction of o', 'out oceanward, away from shore' (cf. ?ed-i-x̣ 2a, under ?e?-); xe'xi'č'a'-č lah seqeh'ih 'he (boating) turned outward away from shore' M.

xuhx

xuhx (noun, unclassified) 'worm' LMA, 'worm-like creature (with or without legs), earthworm' L, 'bug' M, Harrington xux, xux 'moth' G, xuhx 'it's a?' xuhx 'worm is contracting, shrinking' L, xuhx'etu? 'lots of bugs, worms' M, xuhx'a'luw 'big bug' M; xuhx'a'luwyu 'snakes' M.

gd-is-xuhx (with gd-thematic, perhaps 'tight'):  
 'S (cloth) gathers, puckers': (siya?) gedisixuhx 'it (cloth, where thread is pulled or seam incorrectly matched) gathered ("on" me)' L.

xewəx (possible analysis and/or relationship to Atha-  
 paskan \*-unəxə, \*-unəxə, Tlingit húnx̣ not clear)

-xewəx (kinship noun, non-ascending) '(man's) older  
 brother' (probably related also to 'man's' older male parallel cousin)  
 Resanov Kaxaxə 'Epaṛa Bruder' qa\*-  
 xewəx 'our older brother' (men speaking), Puruḥ-  
 jelm Sekavah 'brother (elder)' sɪxawux 'older  
 brother (man speaking)' BSdL 566A sɪxewəx 'my  
 older brother' (man speaking), sɪxewəxʔa Kux-  
 cɪh 'I (man) am singing to my older brother' L,  
 sɪxewəxəyu 'my brothers' (man speaking) L, səḥ-  
 dəkyəxlah sɪxewəx 'my oldest brother' (man speak-  
 ing) L, səḥdəkyəxlahča-č yɪ·hɪh sɪxewəx 'my  
 second-oldest brother' ('the one next to my oldest  
 older brother', man speaking) L, sɪxwəxəseqəq  
 'older brother's son, older brother's daughter  
 (man speaking)' BSdL 567A sɪxewəxəseqə\* 'my  
 older brother's son' (man speaking), sɪxəxət  
 'older brother's wife (man speaking)' BSdL 567A  
 sɪxewəxʔəhd, sɪtawuxcia 'older step-brother (man  
 speaking?)' BSdL 568 probably to be read si-  
 xewəxɪyah 'my older brother' (man speaking, mild-  
 ly pejorative), ʔixewəx 'your older brother'  
 (speaking to man) 34.32A, ʔuxewəx 'his older bro-  
 ther' L, 50.52, 55, 64A, ʔuxewəxəyu 'his older  
 brothers' 13.58L, 50.2, 5, 12, 38, 39, 47, 47,

47A, 'ah kuxəwəɣ 'the (man's) older brother'  
50.54, 65, 'ahnu· kuxəwəɣəy· 'the (man's)  
older brothers' 18.52L, 50.24, 29A, sitqaxəwəɣ  
'husband's older brother (woman speaking)' BSdL  
567 siqa'xəwəɣ 'my husband's older brother' L,  
sitqaxuwəɣtsi 'husband's father's older brother  
(woman speaking)' BSdL 568 siqa'xəwəɣci· 'my  
husband's older brother's daughter' or perhaps  
sita'xəwəɣci· 'my father's older brother's  
daughter'.

ʒaʔʒʈ

O-i-ʒaʔʒʈ-ʒ--g (usually with -x-thematic suffix  
 sometimes dropped in perfective and customary,  
 perhaps causative of susceptible neuter below; less  
 frequently, from A and M, with -g-repetitive themat-  
 ized, form from Rezanov perhaps without thematic  
 suffix) 'S tickles O': xu·kʒaʔʒʈʒ LM, xu·kʒaʔʒʈʒg  
 'tickle me!' A, xu·kʒaʔʒʈʒ 'you're tickling me'  
 L, xukʒaʔʒʈʒ 'it's tickling me' LM, ʔixkʒaʔʒʈʒ  
 'I'm tickling you' M, dik ʔixkʒaʔʒʈʒge 'I'm not  
 tickling you' A, dik xkʒaʔʒʈʒejh 'I'm not tick-  
 ling him' L, ʔiqeʔxkʒaʔʒʈʒ LM, ʔiqeʔxkʒaʔʒʈʒg  
 'I'll tickle you' MA, dik ʒeʔ ʔiqeʔxkʒaʔʒʈʒe  
 'I won't tickle you anymore' L, ʔisikʒaʔʒʈʈ 'I  
 tickled you' LM, dik ʔixskʒaʔʒʈʈe, dik ʔixskʒ-  
 aʔʒʈʈe M, dik ʔixskʒaʔʒʈʈe 'I didn't tickle  
 you' L, xuskʒaʔʒʈʈejh 'he tickled me' L, dik  
 xuskʒaʔʒʈʈejh 'he didn't tickle me' L, xusekʒ-  
 aʔʒʈʈedewa 'before he tickles me' L, customary  
 (expanded stem only with -k'-customary): kʒʈ  
 xukʒa·ʒʈʈejh 'he always (cust) tickles me' L, dik  
 ʔexkʒa·ʒʈʈe 'I don't (cust) tickle it' L, dik  
 ʒeʔ ʔiqeʔxkʒa·ʒʈʈe 'I won't (cust) tickle you  
 anymore' L, with anatomical marks for O: lexie-  
 qeʔqi·di·xkʒaʔʒʈʒ 'I'll tickle your (pl.) feet' L,

ləʒiqeʔqeku·li·xəʒaʔʒɕʰ 'I'll tickle your bellies'

L, diK ləʒiqeku·ləxəʒaʔʒɕʰə L, diK ləʒiqe=

ky·ləxəʒaʔʒɕʰə 'I didn't tickle your (pl.)

bellies' M, Rezanov ХУМЛЫХАХУЕ 'ШЕКОТНО jucken

(es juckt)' perhaps to be read xuyəʒaʔʒɕʰh 'he's

tickling my hand'; with yeʒ-progressive and in-

determinate O: yeʒ ʔiəʒaʔʒɕʰh 'he's going around

tickling people' L; passive: xudeʒaʔʒɕʰ 'I'm being

tickled' L, xushəʒaʔʒɕʰ 'I get tickled' L.

lə-ʒaʔʒɕʰ-ʒ--g (susceptive neuter, with neuter imper-

fective only, perhaps basic form, of which preceding

is perhaps causative, -g-repetitive instead of

-ʒ-thematic from M only, rejected by L) 'S is tick-

lish': diK ʔaʔxəʒaʔʒɕʰg 'I'm not ticklish' M,

ʒəʒaʔʒɕʰh (not -gʰ) 'he's ticklish' L, diK

ʔaʔiəʒaʔʒɕʰəʒh 'he's not ticklish' L.

seəʒaʔʒɕʰ (noun) 'dimple' L. Nominalized incep-

tive perfective of otherwise unattested theme,

lə-ʒaʔʒɕʰ-ʒ 'S is, becomes dimpled'.

ɣəʔaː (Galushia Nelson perhaps ɣuʔaː; loan from Flin-  
git ɣuʔa 'adze')

ɣəʔaː (noun, unclassified) 'adze' L, 33.4A, Galu-  
shia Nelson xuʔaː 'adze' ESdL 547 perhaps to  
be read ɣuʔaː, ɣəʔaː siʔ ʔeʔaʔ (or -taʔ)  
'give me an adze!' L, ɣəʔaː ʔuːd seʔahɪ (or  
-tahɪ) 'an adze is there' L, ɣəʔaːluw 'big  
adze' LM.

zeitu·č (loan from Tlingit xətuč Naish-Story, xətuč  
 Yakutat, Sampson Harry, stem also present in tuʔč,  
 tu·čqa·)

zeitu·č (noun, unclassified) 'black (phase of red)  
 fox' LAS.

~~w. 1060144~~ source  
 ← reduced to the phonetic form

ʒəsqə·K (loan from Tlingit ʒəsqáx 'cross fox')

ʒəsqə·K (noun, unclassified) 'cross fox' (color  
 phase of 'red fox') LS.

ɣəyaːnih-ɬəyaːnih (ɬəyaːnih S only, perhaps incorrect;  
 loan from Athapaskan, probably Ahtena: Wrangell AS=  
 na-x, Allen Kónáí, Pinart ʔgnai, general Ahtena  
 ʔánay 'caribou', Tanaina (Upper Inlet, Osgood) vanóː,  
 (Susitna, Osgood) ánnóyi 'caribou', Upper Kuskokwim  
 xuniyi 'animal', Sarsi xani 'cow, buffalo', a widely  
 diffused term, also Chugach Eskimo ɣənaayiq 'caribou',  
 in Eyak with metathesis of -n- and -y-, cf. also  
 Navaho ʔayáni 'buffalo', probably \*(ɣ<sup>h</sup>)ə-na-ye,  
 PA \*(ɣ<sup>h</sup>)ə-ya-ne (cf. ʔayáni 'that is not like something')

ɣəyaːnih (noun, unclassified) 'caribou' ("a Copper  
 River word") L, Rezanov Хама Олень Rennthier',  
 Wrangell Хама 'Rennthier', Galushia Nelson  
 ɣéiyáːní or ɣéiyáːní 'caribou or moose' BSDL  
 538, ɬəyaːnih 'moose' S. Neither caribou nor  
 moose, both very recent to the coast, are well  
 known to the Eyak.

yah<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with yah<sup>1</sup>)

ʔiʂyah (noun, unclassified, ʔiʂ- not identified)

'round bowl, (round-bottomed) mixing-bowl' LA,

ʔiʂyahgaʔ ʔi-ʔeh 'it's like a bowl, crater' L,

ʔiʂyah siʂ ʔataʔ 'give me a mixing-bowl!' L,

ʔiʂyahyaʔd place-name, Sheep Bay in Prince

William Sound LM (ʔiʂyah as o of o-yaʔd

'in o with broad opening at top, body of water').

g. Yujik

isran<sup>te</sup>

grass  
belt  
(only)  
usually  
road to road

< ? IR

b18 (probably nursery language, authenticity and origin uncertain)

b18 (exclamation) 'seagull-eggs!' I heard Johnny Nelson as child say this upon seeing seagull eggs, doesn't know where he got the expression.

belu·šgec·-belu·šga· (loan from Chugach Eskimo peluuskaq  
'snuff', from Russian ПОСЫПКА, not used in Yakutat  
Tlingit, Sampson Harry)

belu·šgec·-belu·šga· (noun, unclassified) 'snuff'  
(for sniffing, Aleut homemade snuff, Black Bull  
tobacco ground with mortar and pestle), little  
used by Eyaks IM.

ba'sgeɛ (loan from Chugach Eskimo paaskaq 'Easter',  
from Russian пасха , not used in Yakutat Tlingit,  
Sampson Harry)

ba'sgeɛ (noun, probably unclassified) 'Easter' LM,  
see also 51.37A.

ba'sih-ba'sih (loan perhaps through Chugach Eskimo from  
Russian Goxe , not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson  
Harry)

ba'sih-ba'sih (noun, unclassified) 'God, Christ' L.

bsbsbsbs (cf. gsgsgsgs, probably of European origin)

bsbsbsbs (animal call) used for calling a cat L.

we

-we 'S (human or mammal) swims' (in definite direction, not of waterfowl or fish): imperatives: ?iwe? 'swim!' L, Rezanov АУУУУ 'ПЛАВУУ Плавание(?) wohl ПЛАВА mit ПЛАВАЯ schwimme verwechselt?', 'schwimmen (Imperat.)' ?q·ē ?iwe? 'swim hither!' L, ?u·ē sewe? L, ?u·ē ?iwe? (or ?ewe?, not -we· L) 'swim thither!' LM, li? ?iwe? 'swim downstream!' M, deē ?iwe? 'swim downstream!' M, yahd sewe? 'swim out (to sea)!' L, sika? ?iwe? 'swim (along) with me!' L, inceptive imperfective: qu?xweh 'I'll swim (away)' L, lah qu?xweh 'I'll swim around (in a circle)' M, ?u·ē qu?xweh, (or -we· L) 'I'll swim thither' LM, diK ?u·ē qu?xwe·s (or -weht) 'I won't swim thither' L, lah qu?wihih 'he'll swim in a circle' M (should perhaps be qa?wihih), qe? qu?xdeweh 'I'll swim back' M, qu?qi·weh 'they'll swim' M, inceptive perfective: 27b.57fnA, 47c.57L: xi·ē sexwe·h 'I'm swimming over there' M, uxwe·h 'I'm swimming (along)' L, lah sexwe·h 'I'm swimming around (in a circle)' LM, Rezanov Кая-эли 'Плавать schwimmen' sewe·h 'he's swimming (along, away)', sewe·h 'it (animal) is swimming' L, xi·ē sewe·h 'he's swimming

thither' L, (?u·dəx) da·x səwe·t̚h 'he's  
 swimming across (there)' L, ya·nuʔx səwe·t̚h  
 'he's swimming (along) underwater' L, yəhd  
 səwe·t̚h 'he's swimming out (to sea)' L, qeʔ  
 səxdəwe·t̚ 'I'm swimming back' M, active per-  
 fective: siweh̄t̚ 'I swam' L, xi·t̚ siweh̄t̚ 'I  
 swam over there' M, lah siweh̄t̚ 'I swam around  
 (in a circle)' M, diʔduʔx diK ʔu·daʔ ʔəxsweh̄t̚  
 'I almost didn't get there (swimming)' M, yeq  
 səweh̄t̚ 'swam ashore' 47c.61L, 61.77A, lah sə-  
 weh̄t̚h 'he swam around (in a circle)' M, ʔu·t̚  
 səweh̄t̚h 'she swam thither' L, 47b.4M, diK  
 ʔu·t̚ ʔəsweh̄t̚h 'he didn't swim there' L, ʔu·t̚  
 da· səweh̄t̚ 'we swam (towards) there' L, ʔu·daʔ  
 da· səweh̄t̚ 'we swam (and arrived) there' L, da·x  
 səweh̄t̚ 'it (bear, dog, seal, person, not bird,  
 fish) swam across' L, ʔə·dəx q̄hew da·x səweh̄-  
 t̚h 'here it was he swam across' L, yəhd səweh̄-  
 t̚h 'he swam out (to sea)' L, o-lah ʔəh̄N sə-  
 weh̄t̚ 'it (loon) swam around o with him (person,  
 on its back)' 27a.28L, o-lah qeʔ sdiweh̄t̚ 'it  
 (loon) swam back, some more around o with him  
 (on its back)' 27a.34L, 27b.45A, qeʔ xsdiweh̄t̚  
 'I swam back' M, active optative: ʔu·t̚ ʔixiweh  
 'let me swim (towards) there' L, ʔu·daʔ ʔixiweh

'let me swim (and arrive) there' L, (?u·ē) da·  
 ?i·weh (or -we·, former more frequent) 'let's  
 swim (thither)' L, ?a?d Ka·di?da· qe? ?ixdi=  
 weh 'I'll never swim (there) again' M, inceptive  
 conditional: ?u·ē əxweh da·x 'if/when I swim  
 there' L, ?u·ē si·weh da·x 'if/when you swim  
 thither' L, active conditional: ?u·ē ?ixweh  
 da·x 'if/when I('ve started to) swim thither' L,  
 inceptive subjunctive: ?u·da? əwe·x ?uX dəx=  
 lɪhɪh 'I told him to swim there' L, active sub=  
 junctive: ?u·ē ?ixwe·x siX dəleh 'he told me  
 to swim thither' L, customary: ?əxwe·K 'I (cust)  
 swim (there)' L, da· ?əwe·K 'we (cust) swim  
 (there)' L, repetitive: inceptive imperfective:  
 ?u·ē qu?xwe·g 'I'll try to swim there' L, ac=  
 tive imperfective: xwe·g 'I'm trying to swim  
 (there)' L (no active imperfective, e.g. \*xweh  
 except with e.g. repetitive L), ?u·ē we·gɪh  
 'he's trying to swim there' L, KudaX ?u·da?  
 ?əxwe·gə 'I can't get there (trying to swim)' L,  
 active subjunctive: ?ə·ē ?əwe·g da·x 'if/when  
 he('s started to try to) swim here' L, ?u·ē  
 ?əxwe·g da·x 'if/when I('ve started to try to)  
 swim there' L, with yeX-progressive, 'S swims  
 (in no particular direction)': active imperative:

yeḡ ʔədawe· 'swim!, go swimming!' LM, inceptive  
 imperfective: yeḡ quʔxdawe·, yeḡ quʔxdaweh  
 'I'll go swimming' LM, diK yeḡ quʔxdawe·s 'I  
 won't go swimming' L, active imperfective: yeḡ  
 xdawe·ḡ 'I'm swimming (about)' LM, kudeḡ yeḡ  
 xdawe·ḡs 'I can't swim' L, ʔida· yeḡ kudawe·ḡ  
 sid ʔədeʔg 'teach me how to swim!' ('teach me  
 how one swims about!') M, ʔikyaʔ yeḡ xdawe·ḡ  
 'I'm swimming back and forth' L, ʔikyaʔ yeḡ  
 daweh·ḡh 'he's swimming back and forth' M, active  
 perfective: (dəki·) yeḡ xsdiweh̄t 'I (already)  
 went swimming' LM, da· yeḡ sdiweh̄t 'we went  
 swimming' L, active optative: yeḡ ʔixdiwe· 'let  
 me go swimming' L, da· yeḡ ʔidiwe· L (twice),  
 da· yeḡ ʔidiweh 'let's go swimming' LM (L re-  
 jects former, probably incorrectly), active condi-  
 tional: yeḡ ʔədaweh da·ḡ (not -we·) 'if/when  
 you (start to) swim (about)' L, active subjunctive:  
 yeḡ ʔədawe·ḡ ʔuK̄ dəxl̄h̄h̄h 'I told him to go  
 swimming' L, yeḡ ʔəxdawe·ḡ ʔixleh 'I want to  
 go swimming' L, customary: yeḡ ʔixdawe·K̄ 'I  
 (cust) go swimming' L, yeḡ ʔidawe·K̄h̄h 'he (cust)  
 goes swimming' L, yeḡ ʔədawe·K̄ 'they (seals)  
 (cust) swim about' 62,296, da· yeḡ ʔidawe·K̄  
 'we (cust) go swimming, swim (about)' LM, indirect

reciprocal with 'ikləxəʔ 'in competition with one another'; neuter perfective: 'ikləxəʔ 'idiwehinu' 'they're racing (swimming)' L, active optative: 'ikləxəʔ da' 'idiweh 'let's race (swimming)' L.

yeʔ 'iswe·x(-i) (gerundive of preceding with yeʔ= progressive) 'swimming' (as art or pastime): 'uʔ= lixiŋgah yeʔ 'iswe·x 'I know how to swim' L, yeʔ 'iswe·xš 'uʔli·ŋgah, yeʔ 'iswe·xšš 'uʔ= li·ŋgah 'do you know how to swim?' L, yeʔ 'iswe·x sid 'əideʔg 'teach me how to swim' L, yeʔ 'iswe·x xusaŋgaʔi 'I'm getting tired of swimming' ('swimming (about) is tiring me' ) L, yeʔ 'iswe·xʔaʔ 'ənahšəkih 'ixleh 'I like to swim' L, yeʔ 'iswe·xʔ yeʔ xədiʔyahtš 'I got a desire to swim' L, yeʔ 'iswe·xʔ yeʔ xdaʔya·əK 'I (cust) get a desire to swim' L, Rezanov Шoxa-acyaxa 'He лязык schwimme nicht!' yaʔu· ... ..swe·x, perhaps to be read yaʔu·<sup>ʔ</sup> yeʔ 'iswe·x 'no swimming!'.

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o-ka·x 'i-ʔ-d-we (with o-ka·x 'catching up to o', apparently with indeterminate O and d-thematic) 'S catches up to o (swimming)': 'ika·x 'iʔdeswehŋh 'he caught up to you (swimming)' L, 'ika·xəʔ 'iʔdəsəxwe·i 'I'm catching up to you (swimming)' L.

we<sup>2</sup> (see we<sup>2</sup>i, we<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>)

wa' (attested in form dawa' with only rare and uncertain exceptions, but nevertheless probably to be analyzed da-wa' with da-classifier, or, more likely, d-thematic, cf. especially o-d-k-yeḡ 'before o' under yeḡ<sup>3</sup>, stem perhaps related to dawa'd, wa-k, wah<sup>1</sup>, cf. also Galice kaḡdaba 'morning' < \*qa-x- 'dawn' as o of \*o-dawa, Chipewyan o--bd 'waiting for o', Navaho o-ba' 'waiting for o, preceding ahead of, beyond o', also Kutchin vānh, Minto ben-dane' 'morning', Navaho ?a(h)-bini 'morning', bini 'during', all of which suggest an analysis of Eyak da-wa' rather than broken stem dawa')

o-wa' (postposition, uncertain) 'after o': yeqe·ḡwa' yeqe·ḡ 'day after tomorrow' L (con-mistranscription for yeqe·ḡ ?awa' yeqe·ḡ 'tomorrow, its tomorrow', not verified), siwa-k-ḡa-d yḡ·hḡh 'next oldest sibling after me' L ('he who is on the afterside of me', but conceivably < si-wa-k-k-).

o-d-wa' (postposition, probably with d-thematic, cf. o-d-k-yeḡ 'before o' under yeḡ<sup>3</sup>) l. with nominal or pronominal o; a. 'in front of o': siḡwa' qa' saḡh 'it (seal) emerged right in front of me' L; with -kaḡ final '(removal to some distance) away from': siḡwa·kaḡ ?a'?

'get out of my way!' L.

1b. 'waiting for o' in o-d-wa' -t'e'-tu'  
'S waits for o', see -t'e'-tu' 13., Rezanov  
Curoy-a 'Подожди warten (Imperat)' sidewa'  
'(wait) for me!'.  
2. With subordinated verbal clauses as o:

a. 'waiting for o', requiring optative in subordinate clause for unrealized event: λa·t'e'·?ga?  
?i·lehdewa· ?ixit'e'h 'I'm waiting for it to  
turn red' N.

2b. With subordinated clause in inceptive perfective with negative -t, 'before' ('while not(yet) ...'): (1) ?uʃ ?aw ?etʃʃih sekʃ·ʃit=dewa· 'give it to him before he cries!' L, yaʃ sekugʃhdewa· 'before it breaks' L, ?ukah le=si·ta·hdewa· 'before you forget' L, ?ida?ya·=leʃ səxʃeʃhdewa· 'before I get too cold' L, ?owqəʃ səlxʃaʃhdewa· 'before he writes on it' L, kuʃiyah səteʃhdewa· ʃa·ne· 'eat it before it turns bad!' L, səxsʃihhdewa· 'before I die' L, səkʃqʃhdewa· 'before he smells it' L, ?əʃʃi·ʃih ?iəʃe·hdewa· 'kill him before he kills you!' L, ?aw yaʃ də səxihsʃhdewa· 'before he rips it up' L, xusəkʃaʃʃʃhdewa· 'before he tickles me' L, sdikusʃyu· ?ədiʃ sə=ka·ʃ qəʃ sədaʃliʃhdewa· 'bring the laundry

in before it gets wet again!' L, ?ilex ?i=  
 sak?a?khdawa 'before he sees you' L, ?ata?khdawa  
 'before he eats it' L, hič ?edya?dake?ak  
 ku?aci?ya?khdawa 'always (cust) wash your hands  
 before you eat!' L, qe? ci?da?khdawa 'before  
 you go home' L; (2) with subordinated clause pre-  
 ceded by di?ye? 'not yet', itself requiring -e  
 negative: 18.61, 34.104L, ?uč ?aw ?etj?h di?=  
 ye? sakj?xhdawa 'give it to him before he  
 cries!' L, di?ye? ?ukah leti?ta?khdawa 'be-  
 fore you forget' L, ya?zu? kuqu?zi?yah di?ye?  
 yq? ci?da?khdawa 'don't eat before you sit  
 down' L, ?eikxut?h di?ye? ?i?eikxut?hdawa  
 'shoot him before he shoots you!' L.

2c. With subordinated clause not in nega-  
 tive, frequently followed by q'-emphatic, distin-  
 guished from dawa' (conjunction, artificially)  
 only by lack of pause), 'while ..., as ..., ...  
 whereupon, ... and then': ?u?da? siyahhdawa  
 sas?h 'as I got there he died' (not possible  
 to tell e.g. whether I had a chance to talk to  
 him) L, yahd xq? dəsəlīhdawa 'they built a  
 house and then' 49.17A, ədəqəy?y kulehdawa  
 'while it was foggy' 34.117L, ku?ida?čkih wəx  
 dəlehdawa qəw ku?ida?čkih ku?siyah ?ula?x  
 dəsə?yah 'was saying thus to Stump whereupon

Stump got mad' lb.15M; more frequently with de-  
waʒ 'still, just thus' in subordinated clause:  
11.93, 25.210A, 57.24G, 68.9, 15A, diʒwaʒ de-  
xa'gɪdawa' qa'sɪhɪh 'he'll work till he dies'  
(while he's still working he'll die') L, deʒwaʒ-  
yu' xlehdawa' qəw yaɦd ʒə'ʔ diʒiliʒ 'after  
many tries I (finally) built a house' ('I did just  
such things whereupon I built a house') L, with  
subordinated non-verbal clause: diʒwaʒ ʒə'd  
xu'dewa' ʒədyɔ'dakus 'wash your hands while I'm  
still here!' L.

3. With adverb as o: a. with ʒi'-hi' 'al-  
ready' as o, ʒi'dewa', hi'dewa' 'morning, in  
the morning, early', see under ʒi'-hi'.

3b. With sahɔʒ 'for a long time' as o,  
with di'yeʒ 'not yet', negative -s suffix  
with sahɔʒ uncertain: di'yeʒ sahɔʒ[ɛʔ]dewa'  
qəw 'before long' 24.24, 61.44A.

4. With demonstrative pronoun ʒəw 'that'  
as o, always followed by q'-emphatic, 'thereupon,  
and then', as clause-introducer in texts from A:  
7.24, 37b.35, 50.15, 43A; with de- 'ipse' and  
q'-emphatic, as clause-introducer in texts from  
A and M, deʒəwdewa' q'-: 37b.8, 14A, 43.4, 47b.-  
6M; with de- 'ipse' and without q'-emphatic,  
consistent usage of L: 18.55, 80, 34.124, 37a.8,

47c.3, 21, 42, 48.8L, ?u·da? sah̄iḥ, dəʔaw-  
 dawa· wəʔ səliḥ 'when he got there it hap-  
 pened' ('he got there, thereupon it happened') L.  
 dawa· (conjunction, or adverb as clause-introdu-  
 cer, status ambiguous, probably derived from 2c.  
 and 4. above, in texts from A distinguishable  
 from 2c. only by presence of pause, but in forms  
 from L and M occasionally distinguishable from  
 2c. by the presence of third person (non-rela-  
 tivizing) suffixes -iḥ, -inu· to preceding  
 verb, cf. da·ʔ 'and, when') 'and then, there-  
 upon, whereupon': without following q̄-emphatic  
 only in 38.17, 19LM, with following q̄-emphatic:  
 1a.4, 8, 1b.10M, 10.3, 15, 22, 186, 11.62A, 16.-  
 22M, 21b.60, 24.87, 34.62, 47b.8, 18, 23, 28,  
 30M, 49.29A, -iḥ, -inu· suffixes to verb pres-  
 ent in 16.22M, 38.17LM, 48b.8, 18, 23, 30M,  
 ?u·da? sah̄iḥ dawa· dəw wəʔ səliḥ 'when he  
 got there it happened' ('he got there whereupon  
 it happened', same as ?u·da? sah̄iḥ dəʔawdawa·  
 wəʔ səliḥ under 4. above).L.

wah<sup>1</sup> (perhaps related to wa·, wa·k, dawa<sup>2</sup>d, cf. also e.g. Navaho -bq· 'because of', Hupa -miñ /-miv/ 'in order that')

o-wah (postposition, with zero final) attested in only two constructions: 1. as attribute to ya· 'thing' in o-wah ya· 'the makings of, raw material, wherewithal, potential something for o, o-to-be, something to, de quoi o' a. with nominal or pronominal o: ?axekihwah ya·?e·x qu?xlah 'I'll go look for raw material to make a canoe with' L, ?iyahdwah ya· 'the makings of a hat' L, seqe·dekahwah ya· '(mythical) makings of a baby', nigidahta·?wah ya· personal name? ('Nikita's father-to-be') L, cedwah ya· 'the makings of dry-salmon'<sup>3</sup> 65.37A, ku?ehdwah ya· 'a potential wife' 10.124A, de·wah ya·daw 'why?' L, de·wah ya·de?ew 'what's that good for?' L, de·wah ya· ?u·diyahstahdaw 'what good is a rat-skin?' 28.138A.

1b. With subordinate verb-clause in optative: diu?wah ya· 'heavy garment for warmth' L, qu?xi·dahwah ya· 'foodstuff, something to eat' ('that which might be eaten') 25.31, 148A, ?i·sihñihwah ya·?e·x 'looking for someone to (whom he might) kill' 52.2L, kugu· ?idesaleh ?iya· ?u?la·xixahwah ya· 'the wherewithal

wherewith I might make your mind content' 61.18A.

2. Not as attribute to *ya·* as above, only with interrogative pronoun *de·-...-d* 'what?, what', perhaps lacking *-d* final of *o-wah-d* only by haplology with *-d* of interrogative pronoun or by mistranscription, *de·wahd* > *de·wahd*, see examples under *o-wah-d* below.

*o-wah-d* (postposition, almost certainly with *-d* final, 'at rest, nominalization of') 'for (the sake, purpose of, a purpose concerning) *o'*: 1. with subordinated verbal clause, always in optative, '(in order) to, so (that)': *ʔə·ʔ ʔi·ʔyah-wahd* 'the makings of it' ('in order that it be made, finished') M, *o-daʔ sahʔih, ʔəh la·yih-ʔəhwahd* 'went over to o, (in order) to kiss her' 47b.43f, 47c.51fnL, *ʔi)ə·yihmahwahd ʔəh weʔ-yu· ʔiʔ dasale·ʔ* 'it's to get you confused that he's saying such things to you' L, *silah ʔeʔ-i·lihleʔwahd quʔxihʔih* 'I'll make him love me' ('I'll act upon him so that he'll love me') L, *sidaʔəʔ ʔeʔi·lihleʔwahd ʔiqeʔxih* 'I'll make you heed me' L, *gala·yihəhwahd* 'so that it (liquid) will get cold' L, *ʔəʔekih ʔuʔ ʔixihwahd* 'so I can make a canoe' L, rather frequent in text with a wide variety of main and subordinate verb themes and in elicitations without main

verb clause usually obtained for the purpose of eliciting optatives, see *ke-dux* 1. (5.8L), *-da*, *O-t-te* (9.100, 121A), *-cu?d-*, *O-?-ca*, *ke-d'q'*, *-sid* (causative), *O-sihx(-g)*, *-sih* (49.94A), *O-x-ku?* (11.27A), *O-ke* 1. (56.28A), *O-gu?k* (9.29A), *ke-gexd'* (65.25A), *ed-de-su?*, *O-?-y-t-qa* (*qa*<sup>4</sup>) (59.4 Galushia Nelson), *O-t-qa?* 1. (*qa*<sup>3</sup>), *t-qu'*, *O-yuh(-g)* (49.120A), *t-xp* (43.16M), *-?nahd* (6.4M), *O-ci?(1)--?lahd*, *-la* 1. (*la-na*<sup>1</sup>) (11.150A), *d-t-?ehd(-g)* (65.50, 84A), *d-de-?a-t'* 2. (60.26A), *-?a?e'* (15.2M), *?i-t-?e--?p* 10a. (38.9LM), *O-l-(t-)?a* 1. (11.10A), *O-x-a* (1b.17, 18, 3.12M, 53.2L), *e-d*, *O-x-t-a*, *-a* (33.79A, 38.9LM), *O-kus* (33.2fnL), sometimes awkward to translate with certain main verbs: *o-N d-de-xp-d' ...wahd* 'S pleads with o to ...', *ku-cih ...wahd* 'S sings so that ...' (5.8L), *O-?-?ehg ...wahd* 'S invites O to ...' (53.2L, 59.8 Galushia Nelson), *?uqa?da? qe? ?i-diyahwahd ki-x* 'she's crying to go back to her husband' 33.79A, *...wahd ?i-le(?)* 'S wants that ...' (70.5A), *?i'e ?ud qu?xle?g, kugu-?ideteleh ?u?la-yikyahwahd* 'I'll grant it to you, so that you may have peace of mind' 61.11A, *kugu-dah ?i?a-x qu?xah, xp?iq' ?idixaxwahd* 'I'll help you well, so that the tide will great-

ly ebb' 3.14M (cf. 2. below).

2. With noun or pronoun as o, generally translatable as 'for (the sake, purpose of, a purpose concerning) o': with clear reference to purpose or intent (as contrasted with cause, cf. o-lehd, but with rather wide scope in the type of relationship referred to in 'concerning o': with interrogative pronoun as o, wherein -d-d(-) apparently often > -d(-), Rezanov Temar̄ 'Ha vro? wozu?' de·wahd L, de·wahdd 9.19A, de·wahddaw L, de·wahdduw 'why?, what for?, to what purpose?' L, 43.8M, probably misused for -lehd- in de·wahdduw sila·ʔ siya· yikaʔd 'why do my eyes hurt?' 3.9M, perhaps questionable also in de·wahd siliʔ ʔidi·lah 'why (for what purpose) do you hate me?' M, de·wahči·dew waʔ yileh 'why ever are you doing that?' M (-d-č- > -č-), siwahd 'for, on account of me, for my sake' L, kuquʔwəʃe·čiwahd ʔixikʔehdeg 'also what I use for hunting' 3.14M, ʔedewiʔiwahd 'for marauding' 11.28A, deʔewahd qew waʔju· ʔewʔ detele·i 'it was exactly for that purpose that he was saying such things to it' 11.150A, səiʔihdwahd 'for the last time' 20.89A, frequently 'for (acting upon, making, getting, containing) o': laʔmahd-wahd ʔeʔa·s 'berry-basket, basket for berries'

Galushia Nelson BSL 546, L, kuswahd ?aw saħ-  
tahħ 'he placed it (as receptacle) for urine,  
urination' 33.10A, Mə?a'wahd ?aw wəʔ ħi'ħi=  
nu' 'they (cust) process them for making baskets  
(out of)' 66.6L, lis yə'ʔə λa'ea'cħiħ, ħə'g=  
wahd 'he (cust) chops down trees, for firewood'  
36.5A, giyahwahd ?aw yaʔ ?i'ħyahwahd 'in or-  
der to melt it for water' 43.16M, ?awahd (<  
?aw-wahd, ?u-wahd) ?isaħqahħ 'kindled a fire  
for (to roast) it' 1a.10, 1b.12M, tičgħ ?awahd  
wəʔ dəle'k 'props are (cust) made, obtained for  
it' 63.5A, ca' ?awahd, λa'eaħeaħekħ ca' ?e-  
wahd ?ediħ λi'xħy'i'k.ħ'I (cust) bring in stones  
for it, round stones for (setting on top of) it'  
65.20A, ca?ħdəkiħ ?awwahd ħuħaʔ dəħtuhimu'  
'they use a small knife for (splitting) it' 66.5L;  
'for, (to serve, be) as o': də?u'd ?ahnu' səħ-  
tuxħ, ħə?ahwahd 'they kept her right there, as a  
slave' 38.13LM, kənaʔs nahsəde' ?uħila'wahd  
?u'səle'għ 'wolverene chose fox for, as his cou-  
sin' 15.1M; 'for (duration of) o (period of time)':  
ħəla'gwahd '(supply of money, food) for winter'  
16.20M, 62.23, 63.31, 33, 37, 38G, 65.27, 27A, with  
nominalized verbal phrases as o: xəħ yə'ʔ də=  
sa'yahwahd 'for winter (when snow falls)' L; 'for  
(protection against) o': ?awahd ?i'tħiħ 'he's

ready, prepared for it' 7.20A, ca'nda'e-x si-  
 wahd ye-x hale'gglehd 'because you groped for  
 a knife for (protection against) me' 32.22A; with  
 independent nominalized adjective as o, 'for o  
 luck': Kuzu-wahd '(may it be) for, (here's to)  
 good luck!' L, Kuzu-wahd ?aw?a? ?ixq-qe'K  
 'it's good luck to (cust) come (boating) upon it'  
 35.2L, Kuzu-wahd ?aw Kufa? saltu?ih 'he  
 kept, used it for good luck' 37a.24L; with theme  
 o-?-?ehs 'S invites O', 'to o': qa' las ?u?-  
 edi?ehs, qe'dah Kuwahwahd 'we were invited  
 ashore, straightaway to eat' 59.8 Galushia Nel-  
 son; o-wahd d-da-3a'c 'S begs for o'; with  
 theme o-ča-x -a/-?a'c 'sg./pl. S helps o',  
 'with, at, concerning, in, to do o': 10.45, 48A,  
 hi'q ya-yu-wahd ča-x dihih 'he helps himself  
 to everything' L, siča-x ea? -- de-wahdd --  
 ?al te?ya?wahd 'help me! -- with what? -- with  
 (preparing) these fish' 21b.35-37A, ?uča-x da-  
 qa?a'činu', dade-wahdd 'we'll help them, with  
 anything' 25.165A, diK ?iča-x da' qe? qu?-  
 da?a'če, diK dade-wahde (< -d-d-e ?) 'we  
 won't help you anymore, not with anything' 10.-  
 60A, with verb themes referring to strenuous ef-  
 fort, 'at o': o-wahd ka-yu?e 'S strains, exerts  
 self hard at o', ?uwahd Kusiwug? 'I grunted at

(trying to lift) it'; with theme *le-qa?* 'S yells', '(baying) at o': *leɣwahd da qu<sup>?</sup>le-qa?* 'we (dogs) will bay at you pl.' 13.13L; with 1-anatomical, rejected here by L: *Kulewahd ɣɣ?* 'ixikihwahd 'so that I may fashion it into a head' M; perhaps with d-class-mark, see *o-d-wahd* below.

3. With certain nouns referring to undesirable behavior or characteristics as o, meaning clearly aberrant from that of 2., perhaps idiomatic, 'with, by, out of o': *'idehdah qɣhuw yeɣa? xusɪ<sup>?</sup>yahɪ, guwahd* 'I was really taken in by his lies' ('he really made me play into his (own) hands, with lying') L, *ɕid ɣewa<sup>?</sup>logahyaɣ li? 'ikɪtɪxɪ, dɔ<sup>?</sup>elehɣda<sup>?</sup>dwahd* 'you're just clutched under a dog-corpse (extremely promiscuous), out of, with senselessness, wantonness' 49.70A.

*o-d-wahd* (postposition, as above, with d-mark of partly uncertain interpretation) 1. (with d-thematic 'oral') '(satisfying, cloying) o's hunger, appetite' (< 'for o orally'): *o-d-wahd -le* 'o has enough of S to eat, is tired of (eating) S', see *-le* 17a.

2. With (o)-*xa?*-, perhaps d-class noun, or perhaps postposition with -d final, or with d-thematic 'oral', as o: (o)-*xa?*<sup>d</sup>*wahd* 'for o to eat',

see under xa<sup>9</sup>.

3. With suhgɪ 'harm, great injury' as o,  
either d-class, or with d-thematic, or reduced  
suhgidah, see suhg.

wah<sup>2</sup>

wah (exclamation, imitative of dog barking):

wah wah 'bow-wow' L.

wah<sup>3</sup> (possible stem, 'white' ?), see 'e<sup>2</sup>lewah

wa<sup>1</sup>

0-1-<sup>1</sup>-wa<sup>1</sup> (with 1-thematic) 'S grinds, strains, sifts O': li·<sup>1</sup>wa<sup>1</sup> 'strain it!, sift it!, grind it!' M, with ya<sup>1</sup> 'completely': ya<sup>1</sup> li·<sup>1</sup>wa<sup>1</sup> L, ya<sup>1</sup> le<sup>1</sup>wa<sup>1</sup> 'grind it up!' M, ya<sup>1</sup> qu<sup>1</sup>=li·<sup>1</sup>wa<sup>1</sup> 'I'll grind it up' M, 'ewlu<sup>1</sup> ya<sup>1</sup> qu<sup>1</sup>li·<sup>1</sup>wa<sup>1</sup> 'I'll strain, sift it (dry material, e.g. flour)' ('I'll strain it downward through (holes in) that') L, ya<sup>1</sup> le<sup>1</sup>wa<sup>1</sup>, ya<sup>1</sup> le<sup>1</sup>wa<sup>1</sup> wa<sup>1</sup> 'I'm grinding it up' L.

?<sup>1</sup>·siwa<sup>1</sup>? (noun, unclassified) 'snuff (Copenhagen--type, originally ground with mortar and pestle)' LM, Galushia Nelson i<sup>1</sup>siwa<sup>1</sup> 'snuff' BSdL 548, ?<sup>1</sup>·siwa<sup>1</sup>?tah 'snuff-can, snuff-box' 56.10, 16L. Nominalized passive active perfective, 'it's been ground up'. i<sup>1</sup>st<sup>1</sup>siwa<sup>1</sup>? name of Basket Pattern 7 ("heat waves") BSdL 547 (illustration in BSdL 82, discussion BSdL 84), probably to be read ?<sup>1</sup>·siwa<sup>1</sup>?, but perhaps to be interpreted with stem wa<sup>1</sup> rather than wa<sup>1</sup>.

?ulu<sup>1</sup> ya<sup>1</sup> ky·<sup>1</sup>dewa<sup>1</sup> (noun) 'sieve' M (unknown to L). Nominalized passive active imperfective, 'something is sifted downward through (holes in) it'.

?uya<sup>1</sup>? ky·<sup>1</sup>dewa<sup>1</sup> (noun) 'mortar, bowl for grinding'

L. As preceding, 'something is ground in it  
(o with broad opening at top)'.

ʔuyəʒ kɥ·dawaʔ (noun) 'ice-cream freezer'

(*"because of crank"*) L. As preceding, 'something  
is ground, sifted(?) under it'.

-l-waʔ (attested only as suffixed adjective) 'ground-  
up', in dɥ·lewaʔ 'ice-cream' ('ground-up milk') L.

wa<sup>2</sup> see qe<sup>2</sup>, wa<sup>2</sup>?

wa<sup>3</sup> see wa<sup>2</sup> with y. wa<sup>2</sup> etc.

wa?, see dəwaʔd

wad-wihd-wehd-wahd<sup>1</sup> (form of non-reduced stem uncertain or perhaps more than one stem, confused, confused also in certain cases with wehs, wahs)<sup>wah-wah</sup>

le-wed--wihd--wehd--wahd-g (with -g-repetitive thematized) 1. (with l-anatomical) 'S's head twitches, shakes, nods, bobs' (involuntary tic): lelewehdgih 'his head shakes' L, also nickname of one Eyak woman one white man who had such a tic L, lelewedgih 'his head twitches' L (now preferred to preceding), <sup>welewedgih</sup> ?u'dex lelewedgih 'his head is twitching (there)' L, with yeḡ-progressive or perhaps 'downward': yeḡ lelewahdgih 'his head nods, bobs, twitches to side (involuntarily)' L (L later prefers following form or form with stem wahs), yeḡ lelewedg 'his head nods, bobs, twitches to side (involuntarily)' L, ?i'xlewudg, ?i'xlewedg, yeḡ ?i'xlewedg 'my head twitches (up and down or sideways)' L.

2. (with lɣd-anatomical) 'S's eyelid quivers, flutters, twitches' (involuntarily): leḡdexlewedg 'my eyelid is quivering' (omen that I'll see someone) L (see also wehs, wahs, <sup>wah-wah</sup> wix<sup>1</sup>).

3. (attested only with ?i'-prefix, perhaps to be explained as denasalized ?i'- for l-- thematic) 'S (free end of branch) bobs and flaps':

cf. wah-wah:

ʔə·yaʔd ʔi·ləwahdg 'free end of branch (e.g. of alder) bobs and flaps in flowing river' L.

4. Transitive (causative, with ʔd-class-mark for O and yeʔ-progressive) 'S waves, swishes O (alders) about so they whistle': yeʔ ʔedexlə-wihdg, (next day, preferred) yeʔ ʔedexləwedg 'I'm waving alders so they whistle (to scare wolves)' L.

wud-wid see ed-id-wud-yid

wahd (almost certainly to be analyzed wah-d) see

wah<sup>1</sup>

wa<sup>2</sup>d, see down<sup>2</sup>d

wut' (expanded we't')

wut' (noun, unclassified) 'vomit' M, wut'et'u?  
 'lots of vomit' M (-t'-suffix probably incorrect),  
 wut'ga? ?adu?xdagewih 'I feel like vomiting,  
 nauseated' LM, wut'ga? xu?igewih 'he's making  
 me feel like vomiting' L.

-wut' (noun) 1. 'vomit': siwut' 'my vomit' L.

2. 'belly, stomach, paunch': Rezanov Karotta  
 'Брюхо Bauch' qa'wut' 'human belly, our belly',  
 attested with this meaning only in Rezanov, not  
 known as such to L M or A; this is the probable  
 earlier meaning of the stem, cf. Athapaaskan \*wet'  
 'belly', but it seems peculiar that the meaning  
 attested in Rezanov is no longer remembered at all  
 by the modern informants, unless Rezanov is Yaku-  
 tat Tlingit where the meaning persisted longer than  
 at Copper River delta.

-wut' 'S vomits': sexwut' L, xwut' 'I'm vomiting'  
 LM, diK' xwut'e 'I'm not vomiting' L, qu?xwut'  
 'I'll vomit' M, siwut'e 'I vomited' L, sewut'ijh  
 'he vomited' 40.13L, xp'iq' siwut'e 'I threw up  
 a lot' M, sewut' 'vomit!' LM, xwe't'e 'I (cust)  
 vomit' LMA.

O-t-wut' 'S vomits O': qiyiic'ah selwut'ijh 'he  
 vomited up spiders' 40.14L; with indeterminate O:

'I feel like I'm  
going to vomit' G.

wiX (once also wuX, expanded once wi·X)

ʔe-wiX 'S is startled, starts, jumps, twitches, jerks, dodges': səhwiX 'twitch!, jump!' M, xəhiwiXʔ 'I started, jumped' M, 'I dodged' L, ʔəhwi·Xʔh 'he (cust) starts' M, with o-ya·ʔ 'avoiding o': ʔuya·ʔ səhwiX 'dodge it!' LM, ʔuya·ʔ xəhiwiXʔ 'I dodged it' MA. Transitive (causative): xusəhiwiXʔ 'it startled me' LM; passive: xusəhiwiXʔ, xusədiwiXʔ 'I got startled, was made to jump' L.

lɔd-ʔe-wiX---wuX-g (with lɔd-anatomical and -g--repetitive thematized) 'S has tic in eye, excessive involuntary blinking, squinting': ləʔədəʔe-wiXgʔh, ləʔədəʔewuXgʔh 'he has an eye-tic, blinks, squints (involuntarily)' L; cf. wəd-wihd-wəhd-wahd, wəhs, wəhs, wus-wes.

wił-wel-wuł (most frequently wił)

wił-wel-wuł (noun, usually unclassified, occasionally 1-class) 'wedge': wuł, wel L, wił 'wedge' LM, Galushia Nelson wił 'wedge' BSdL 548, wił-  
 ?a-?nuw M, wił?a?luw (latter preferred) 'big  
 wedge' LM, wił sič ?a?a?, wił sič ?eta?,  
 wił sič li-?a? 'give me a (iron) wedge!' L,

O-ł-wił--wel 'S puts wedge in O, S splits O with  
 wedge': seiwił 'put a wedge in it!' M, qu?xł-  
 wai 'I'll split it with a wedge' L, with ya?  
 'completely': ya? taxłwai 'I'm splitting it  
 with a wedge' (not active imperfective) L, ya?  
 siłwił 'I split it all up (wood, with a wedge)'  
 L, repetitive: ya? xłwaił 'I'm splitting it  
 (wood, with wedge)' L, with ɣd-class-mark for O:  
 ya? ɣadaxłwai, ya? ɣadexłwai 'I'm splitting  
 them (logs, with wedge)' L; passive: ya? sli-  
 wai 'it (wood) has been split (with wedge)' L.

weʔɪ (perhaps to be analyzed we with -ɪ-instrumental, perhaps related to we·g<sup>2</sup>)

weʔɪ (noun, qi·l- or g-class, or unclassified)  
 'snare, lasso' LS, Galushia Nelson we'tɪ 'snare'  
 BSDL 549, weʔɪʔaʔluw L, weʔɪqi·ʔnuw 'big  
 snare' LM, laʔdih weʔɪ 'two snares' L, perhaps  
 also laʔd gelexeda· weʔɪ 'two (loops, eyes of)  
 snares' L (with g-class-mark and lɪd-anatomical  
 'eye'), weʔɪklexedeyeq saħɪ, weʔɪklexedeyeq  
 saħɪ 'it got caught (went) in (the loop, eye of)  
 a snare' L, weʔɪsaʔ saħɪ 'it got caught (went)  
 in (the mouth of) a snare' L.

0-ɪ-weʔɪ 1. 'S snares, lassoes O': quʔxiweʔɪ 'I'll  
 lasso it' M, 'I'll snare it' LMS, quʔyɪweʔɪ  
 'you'll spring a snare on it' A, ʔiqeʔxiweʔɪ  
 'I'll snare, lasso you' L, siweʔɪ 'I lassoed  
 it' M, 'I snared it' LA, seɪweʔɪ 'lasso it!' M,  
 repetitive: ʔələxɪweʔɪg 'pl. snare them!' 28.48,  
 49A; passive: sɪweʔɪ 'it's been snared' L, xus-  
 diweʔɪ 'I've been snared' L, repetitive: daweʔɪg  
 'they're being snared' 28.50, 50A.

2. 'S cuts, slices O (skin) into thongs,  
 babiche' (this was done spirally starting at out-  
 side edge; this is perhaps the basic meaning of  
 the stem, from which 'snare' (made of thong)

is derived; original form of stem perhaps we,  
with  $\text{-k}$ -instrumental of derived form retained  
throughout, also in expanded form; see  $\text{we}^{\text{g}}$ :  
 $\text{qu}^{\text{?}}\text{x}^{\text{?}}\text{we}^{\text{?}}\text{k}$ ,  $\text{qu}^{\text{?}}\text{x}^{\text{?}}\text{we}^{\text{?}}$  (latter uncertain) 'I'll  
slice it (skin into babiche)' L, frequently with  
expanded stem:  $\text{?e}^{\text{?}}\text{we}^{\text{?}}\text{k}$  'slice it (skin):' A,  
 $\text{qi}^{\text{?}}\text{y}^{\text{?}}\text{i}^{\text{?}}\text{we}^{\text{?}}\text{k}$  'you'll slice it (skin)' A, with  $\text{ya}^{\text{?}}$   
'completely':  $\text{ya}^{\text{?}} \text{qu}^{\text{?}}\text{x}^{\text{?}}\text{we}^{\text{?}}\text{k}$  'I slice it (skin)  
up into babiche (for e.g. snowshoe-netting, by  
cutting specially from outer edge)' L,  $\text{ya}^{\text{?}} \text{se}^{\text{?}}\text{-}$   
 $\text{we}^{\text{?}}$  (uncertain),  $\text{ya}^{\text{?}} \text{se}^{\text{?}}\text{we}^{\text{?}}\text{k}$ ,  $\text{ya}^{\text{?}} \text{se}^{\text{?}}\text{we}^{\text{?}}\text{k}$ ,  
 $\text{ya}^{\text{?}} \text{qi}^{\text{?}}\text{-le}^{\text{?}}\text{se}^{\text{?}}\text{we}^{\text{?}}\text{k}$  'slice it (skin) into thongs:'  
L; passive:  $\text{ya}^{\text{?}} \text{s}^{\text{?}}\text{iwe}^{\text{?}}\text{k}$ ,  $\text{ya}^{\text{?}} \text{s}^{\text{?}}\text{iwe}^{\text{?}}\text{k}$ ,  $\text{ya}^{\text{?}}$   
 $\text{s}^{\text{?}}\text{iwe}^{\text{?}}\text{k}$ ,  $\text{ya}^{\text{?}} \text{s}^{\text{?}}\text{iwe}^{\text{?}}\text{k}$  'it's all sliced up (into  
babiche)' L, Galushia Nelson  $\text{st}^{\text{?}}\text{iwe}^{\text{?}}\text{-t}^{\text{?}} \text{e}^{\text{?}}\text{t}^{\text{?}}\text{e}^{\text{?}}$   
or  $\text{st}^{\text{?}}\text{iwe}^{\text{?}}\text{-t}^{\text{?}} \text{e}^{\text{?}}\text{t}^{\text{?}}\text{e}^{\text{?}}$  'thong ("cut skin")' BSDL  
548  $\text{s}^{\text{?}}\text{iwe}^{\text{?}}\text{k}$  Kutah 'skin which has been sliced  
into thong', see also following.

$\text{s}^{\text{?}}\text{iwe}^{\text{?}}\text{k}$ ,  $\text{s}^{\text{?}}\text{iwe}^{\text{?}}\text{k}$  (noun) 'babiche' L. Nominalized  
passive active perfective '(skin) which has been  
sliced into babiche'.

## wahg

gu<sup>?</sup>wəi<sup>?</sup>wahg(-i) (gu<sup>?</sup>- perhaps reduced form of o-g<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup> 'like o', we- perhaps we-phonological as in verbs, e.g. inceptive imperfective qa<sup>?</sup>k--qu<sup>?</sup>wəi-, -i-suffix used by L (not A), probably incorrectly in form with -i-classifier; perhaps underlying intransitive verb theme i-wahg, of unknown meaning) 'tribesman, member of tribe, tribelet, ethnic group, clan': Kəy<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>y gu<sup>?</sup>wəi-wahg 20.104A, Kəy<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>y gu<sup>?</sup>wəi<sup>?</sup>wahgyu<sup>?</sup> 'members of a different tribe' 20.102, 102A, de<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>ka<sup>?</sup>·y gu<sup>?</sup>wəi<sup>?</sup>wahgyu<sup>?</sup> 'people of various tribelets, clans' 68.72A, de<sup>?</sup> gu<sup>?</sup>wəi<sup>?</sup>wahgi<sup>?</sup>de<sup>?</sup>əh 'what tribe is he of?' L, ?i<sup>?</sup> ?iga<sup>?</sup> gu<sup>?</sup>wəi<sup>?</sup>wahgi<sup>?</sup> xu<sup>?</sup> 'I'm of the same tribe as you' L.

waʔk

ɬa-waʔk 'S is, becomes cooked tender by boiling':

sɛɬwaʔkɬ 'it (meat) is getting cooked tender'

L. Transitive (causative): diʔwaʔ k'aʔ ʔi·ɬ-

waʔk 'boil it some more!' ('keep it boiling

yet:') L, deki· siɬwaʔkɬ 'I cooked it (some-

thing originally tough) tender' L; passive: sdi-

waʔkɬ 'it's been boiled' L.

wehx (wehx<sup>w</sup> A only, all others, including S and Rezanov wehx)

wehx (noun, lɣ-class) 'highbush gray or white currants' LMS, ('blue currant (*Ribes bracteosum*)' and/or 'swamp gooseberry (*Ribes lacustre*)'), Rezanov Уэхъ 'Смородина' (not in Radlov, 'currants'), wehx<sup>w</sup> 'currants' A, Harrington (from G and G's wife) wehx 'wild currant' (same as Tlingit ɬəx 'grey currant'), wehxleɣetʉ? 'lots of currants' N.

weʔq̄

- weʔq̄ 'S runs out, short of liquor': sexweʔq̄t̄  
 'I'm running out of liquor' (refers to alcoholic drinks only) L, daʔ sexweʔq̄t̄ 'we're running out of liquor' L.
- o-ʔaʔ de-weʔq̄ (with o-ʔaʔ 'in intimate relation with o, "on" o') '(supply of) S runs short, out on o' (class-marks never used, even with classified S): siʔaʔ sedeweʔq̄t̄ "'I'm running short of stuff"' (same as siʔaʔ laesedeʔaʔt̄) L, daʔ-naʔ siʔaʔ sedeweʔq̄t̄ (not desede-) 'I'm running out of money' L, naʔw qaʔʔaʔ sedeweʔq̄t̄ (not gulesede-) 'we're running out of whiskey' L, siʔaʔ adiweʔq̄t̄ 'I ran out of it, it's running low on me' L; cf. l-de-ʕahd-g.
- o-ʔ ʔi-ʔ-lʔdl-weʔq̄ (with o-ʔ 'in contact with o', semitransitive with thematized indeterminate O, dl-thematic combined with lʔ-thematic, cf. o-ʔ ʔi-ʔ-lʔdl-ʔeʔ) 'S (supply of liquor) runs out leaving o unsatisfied, only partly drunk': siʔ ʔiʔleʔeʔliʔweʔq̄t̄ 'I'm only half-drunk and out of liquor' L (neuter perfective), qaʔʔ ʔiʔqeʔleʔeʔliʔweʔq̄ 'we'll get only half-drunk and the liquor will give out' L.

waʔq (possibly to be analyzed waʔ as o of o-q 'on o')

waʔq (noun) 'shallows, shallow place' LM, waʔq qaʔ siqeh̄ 'I ran aground on a shallow place' L (waʔq perhaps used adverbially 'I boated up out (on) a shallow place, or perhaps to be read waʔqqaʔ with waʔq as o of o-qaʔ 'amongst o'), waʔq yīeh̄ 'it's shallow' L.

-waʔq 'S is, becomes shallow': Rezanov Атүрүкүтү 'Мәңгү Untiefe' probably to be read ʔaʔd̄ yiwaʔqduh̄ 'it's very shallow indeed' L (neuter imperfective), ~~quʔiwaʔq̄ 'it'll get shallow'~~ sowaʔq̄ 'it's getting shallow' L, sowaʔq̄ 'it got shallow' L.   
 he-waʔq 'S is, becomes shallow' (meaning not clearly distinguished from that of preceding): ʔiki-waʔq̄ 'it's shallow' (as the result of some process or event) L (neuter perfective), səiwaʔq̄ 'it's getting shallow' LM, s̄iwaʔq̄ (not s̄di-) 'it got shallow' L, quʔiwaʔq̄ 'it'll get shallow' M (no forms with expanded stem \*waʔq̄ L).

wəx

-wəx (adjective) 'wide, broad' 1. Independent or relativized: kəwəx 'wide thing' L, 11.88A, Rezanov Komaxetse 'Bə nopy, Bə pponopufio passend, nicht zu eng, von Kleidern', kəwəx yileh 'it's wide' M, dik 'a?d kəwəx 'a?te'e 'they're not very wide' 11.65A, 'əw kəwəx d'ik sic' 'eta? 'give me the wide dish!' L, kəwəx ta' 'a wide trail' M, kəwəxlwšiyah 'nasty-big-broad-thing' (pejorative epithet) 1b.9M, with class-marks (in association with classified nouns): kədewəx 'wide' (of e.g. board) L, kələwəwəx 'wide, big, coarse' (of e.g. snowflakes, hail, pebbles) LM, with 1-anatomical: kələwəxšiyah 'nasty-broad-head' (pejorative epithet) 1b.9M.

2. Dependent (suffixed to nouns): šelihwəx 'wide sleeves' L, ta'hewəx 'wide trail' L, 'uq' 'iste?iwəx 'wide bed', with classified nouns: šdu'lihədewəx 'wide table' L, xihləwəwəx yə'?' di'?'yahš 'big snowflakes are falling' L, Harrington tš'ihxlaxxəštəwəwəx 'wide grass' xihləwəwəx (xihx 'grass' irregularly, perhaps incorrectly, treated as lxd-class noun like e.g. kəhdš 'moss', perhaps a specific kind of grass).

-wəx 'S is, becomes wide' (perhaps not freely used in intransitive, attested only in active perfective): sawəxɪ 'it got wide' L. Transitive (causative): ʔəlwəx, səlwəx 'make it wide!' L, quʔxəlwəx 'I'll make it wide' L, sɪlwəxɪ 'I made it wide' L.

ɪ-wəx (ɪ-classifier with comparative postpositional phrases o-gaʔ 'like o', o-lex 'more than o', also attested once without such postpositional phrases) 'S is, becomes wide, broad (relative to something else)': ʔəlgəʔ ʔi·ɪwəx 'it's this wide' ('it's wide like this') M, ʔəwleɪ ʔi·ɪwəx 'it's wider than that, it's too wide, it's too wide for that' L (neuter imperfectives), ʔəwleɪ qaʔɪwəx 'it'll be wider than that' L, ʔəwleɪ səlwəxɪ 'it got wider than that, got too wide for it' L, ʔidaʔya·leɪ səlwəxɪ 'it got too wide' L, ʔidaʔya·leɪ səlwəxɪ 'it's getting too wide' L, with d-class-mark for S, postpositional phrase lacking: di·ɪwəx 'it (e.g. board) is wide' L (neuter imperfective).

we·ʔ

we·ʔ classification and meaning unknown, attested  
only in musical fragment



we·ʔ we·ʔ ʕi·lehŋiyahyu·

'we·ʔ we·ʔ Ravens' (Scar Stevens used to sing,  
last note about one tone lower than the others)

M (I never heard we·ʔ or the song).

wahasq' (perhaps to be analyzed wahs- with o-q' 'on o',  
 form from M wa'as, but verified twice by both L and  
 A as wahasq')

-l-wahasq' (noun, with l-anatomical 'head') 'temple':

Rezanov Катенаска 'Виски Schläfe' qa-lewasq',

qa-lewa'as 'the temples of our head' M, sil-

wahasq' 'my temples' LA, Kulewasq' 'temple' L.

## we'gš

we'gš(-g) (noun, usually dl-class, perhaps also d-class or unclassified, usually with -g-repetitive) 'ulu': we'gš G ("could say it that way" MA), we'gšg 'ulu (woman's scraper-knife for splitting fish etc.)' LMAS, Galushia Nelson wākōk 'woman's knife (ulo)' BSdL 309, 547, we'gšgda?luw M (L rejects), we'gšgλi?nuw 'big ulu' L, we'gšg?u'd λa'se?ahš (or -tahš, former probably preferred) 'an ulu is there' L, we'gšg sič λi?a? (or -ta?, former perhaps preferred) 'give me an ulu!' L, we'gšgešiyah siša? 'my old ulu' (pejorative) A (here unclassified).

λa'sešewe'gšgš (noun, probably d- or dl-class) 'some kind of flat rock or stone slab' L. Apparently nominalized inceptive perfective of verb-theme *is-we'gš-g* with dl-class-mark for S 'stone'.

weɬdaːnaː (loan from Tlingit wɛɬ dɛna 'eyeglasses', see daːnaː, Tlingit wɛɬ, reduced wɛɬ 'eye', occurring in Eyak in this loan only, which is probably not completely analyzable from an Eyak point of view)

weɬdaːnaː (noun, d-class) 'eyeglasses' L ("looks like money", L recognizes -daːnaː but not meaning of weɬ-), wɛɬ daːnaː siʒsʔ siʒ diːʔaʔ 'give me my eyeglasses' L; ʔuʒ daːnaː 'eyeglasses' M (reshaping, 'money, silver on it', rejected by L).

weɬdaːnaːdɛɬtaːh (noun, unclassified) 'eyeglass-case' L ('eyeglass-container', see -ɬ-taːh 3. under taːh), kʉʉʔ weɬdaːnaːdɛɬtaːh 'lots of eyeglass-cases' L.

wəʒaːw-yəʒaːw (yəʒaːw preferred only after prefixes with -i-; loan from Tlingit possessed form yəhəyí, yəhəwú 'shadow, soul')

-wəʒaːw--yəʒaːw (noun, unclassified) 'shadow, picture, image, soul': siwəʒaːw, siyəʒaːw 'picture of me, my shadow, my soul' L, ʔiyəʒaːw 'picture of you' L, Galushia Nelson sáy<sup>w</sup>úʒáú or sáy<sup>w</sup>úʒáú 'picture or reflection' BSdL 552 kúwəʒaːw, kuyəʒaːw (former preferred) 'picture, soul, shadow; holy picture, icon' L, siʒaʔ kúwəʒaːw 'my picture (picture belonging to me)' L, ʔəhəwəʒaːw, ʔəhyəʒaːw (former preferred) 'his picture, soul, shadow' L, səsí<sup>n</sup>tíínd v<sup>w</sup>úʒáú or səsí<sup>n</sup>tíínd v<sup>w</sup>úʒáú 'ghost ("dead-person picture")' BSdL 552 səsíhíinuːwəʒaːw 'dead people's souls, shadows', kúwəʒaːwluw 'big picture, shadow' L, kuyəʒaːwʔaːw 'long shadow' M, kuyəʒaːw=diʔ 'short shadow' M, kuyəʒaːwkih 'little shadow' M.

wa'w (loan from Tlingit yàw, yàw 'herring')

wa'w (noun, unclassified) 'herring' LMA, Rezanov  
 Gary 'Сельдь Herring', wa'w?etú? 'many herring'  
 LM, wa'w ?u'd ketú?, qe-dah ?u'd setugí=  
 ga? sele·i 'there are many herring there, it's  
 like it's getting simply swollen with them' L,  
 ?aw wa'wyu· qu?deqúh 'these herring are going  
 to spawn' M.

wa·h (attested only in form -wa·h(-x), clearly to be segmented wa·h-x, and probably further wa·-h-x, cf. ?a·li?h̄x < \*?a·n-?e?-h̄-x 'following along river' ?; cf. further Chipewyan -b̄ in h̄b̄ 'leading, as an example to'; perhaps also related to Eyak wa?h̄<sup>1</sup>, wa?h̄<sup>2</sup>, wah<sup>1</sup>)

o-wa·h(-x) (postposition) 1. without final -x, attestations rare and uncertain, exact meaning uncertain: ?uwa·h̄ k̄uqa?xut̄ 'gunsight' L, 'target; columbine' (because the flower was used as a target in shooting-practice) M. (h̄-instrumental deverbilization, 'by close attention to it something will be shot', perhaps mistranscribed for ?uwa·h̄x), siwa·h̄ca·d̄ ȳi·h̄ih̄ 'next oldest sibling after me' L (perhaps si-wa·- 'after me' as o of o-h̄-c̄-a·d̄ ȳi·h̄ih̄ 'he who is at one side of o', or perhaps si-wa·h̄-h̄-), ?awa·h̄ 'following it, subsequent, consequent to it' L (< ?aw-wa·h̄, ?u-wa·h̄, not further verified, perhaps only attempt to explain preceding and following).

2. Attestations with and without final -x, to be identified either as -x final 'movement within area', or as o-x 'in contact with, by means of o' (cf. also k̄uše·c̄ih̄x qu?x̄h̄ah̄ 'I'll go hunting' under še, ye? ?ixe·c̄ih̄x qu?x̄h̄ah̄ 'I'll

go shooting about' under xut'), meaning as under  
 3.: daq'agdawa'k ?ax, daqa'gdawa'k ?ax  
 'steamboat' ("looks like a fire") L ('a boat  
 (detectable) by close attention, following a fire'),  
 ?awa'k qeyelqah, ?awa'k qeyelqah 'a certain  
 star appearing just before dawn' L ('Venus'?, for-  
 mer perhaps mistranscription, 'following it pl.  
 dawn').

3. Attestations with final -x, o-wa'k-x  
 'by, with careful attention to, observation of,  
 remembering, following along after, imitation of  
 o (with o as sign, clue, indication, guide, exam-  
 ple)': ?awa'k (< ?u-wa'k, ?aw-wa'k) 'by  
 careful attention to it (etc.)' 21b.72, 33.18,  
 34A, 38.9M, 63.18G, 68.4A, ?uwa'k yax Kude-  
 qe'g 'compass' ('by using it as indication one  
 repeatedly boats about') L, Galushia Nelson  
 Uwa'tik: D'ed' ka<sup>n</sup>.t 'signal ("signal-smoke")'  
 BSdL 552 ?uwa'k ?u'degah kahd ('smoke by ob-  
 servation of which it is known'), ?uwa'k ?u-  
 xa'x qe'qu'xleh 'I'll remember it' ('I'll heed  
 it remembering it') M, siwa'k sa'k:h 'he's  
 following along the same way I go' L, siwa'k  
 sah' 'you went like I did, followed me' L, si-  
 wa'k ?ile', siwa'k sele' ? 'do like I do.'  
 L, siwa'k l:h:h 'he's imitating what I do' L,



waʔi-wahk (waʔi and wahk partly in free variation, perhaps originally wahk, confused with waʔi<sup>2</sup>, to which it may be related)

gdl--sdl-waʔi--wahk (perhaps two different themes, at least partly confused; with gdl-thematic apparently in at least partly free variation with sdl-thematic 'vertical'; intransitives more frequently with stem waʔi, repetitives usually with stem wahk) 'S (container, in container) hangs (or moves while) suspended vertically (e.g. by ropes)': 2a.3M, ʔu·d gəla·sewaʔi 'it's hanging suspended there' L, with yaʔ·ʔ 'downward', 'S (container, in container) moves downward suspended (on e.g. rope)': yaʔ·ʔ seʔa·sewaʔiinu· 'they (in basket on rope) reached bottom' 34.115L, yaʔ·ʔ seʔa·sewaʔiinu· 'they went further down (suspended)' 34.105L, qiʔ yaʔ·ʔ seʔa·yiwaʔiʔ 'until you reach bottom (suspended)' 34.114L, yaʔ·ʔ seʔa·seʔəʔwaʔi da·ʔ 'when you reach bottom (suspended)' 34.104L, with yeʔ-progressive: deʔu·d yeʔ gəla·dewaʔiʔ 'it's swinging about right there (suspended from above)' L, deʔu·d ʔiʔyaʔ yeʔ gəla·dewaʔiʔ 'it's swinging back and forth right there (suspended from above)' L. Transitive (causative): with yaʔ·ʔ ' (continuous movement) down': di·yeʔ

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M usually  $\epsilon d l$ -, L and A usually  $\epsilon d l$ - where reference is to vertical movement,  $g d l$ - for lateral movement





yeɣ ʔedɛəɣa·ɬewaʔɪɣ 'it (suspended) is swinging  
(about)' MA.

ɣuɣa·wahɪg (noun, unclassified) 'hammock, swing  
(for baby)' L (nominalized active imperfective  
repetitive, 'it swings suspended'), ʔedɣəɣa·  
wahɪg ʒ8.12LM (probably incorrect: nominalized  
causative reflexive should be ʔedɣəɣa·ɬewahɪg,  
deverbalized, ʔedɣəɣa·wahɪgɪ)

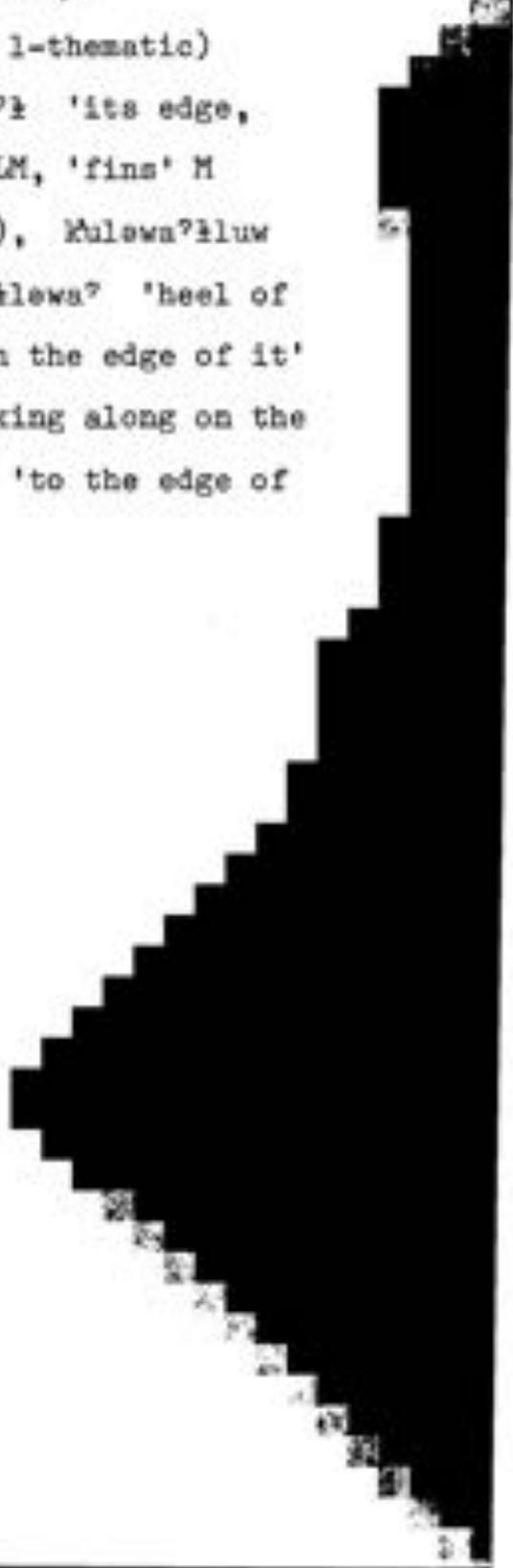
ʔad(ku)ɛəɣa·ɬewaʔɪ (noun, unclassified) 'hammock':  
ʔedɛəɣa·ɬewaʔɪluw M, ʔadkuɛəɣa·ɬewaʔɪluw 'big  
hammock' L. Nominalized active imperfective of  
reflexive causative, 'it (he, someone) causes  
self to hang suspended'.

dəɛɛɬewaʔɪ LMA, dəɛɛɬewahɪ (noun, d-class) 'door  
(the solid part that swings, closing and opening  
doorway)' LMA, 51.60A, Old Man Dude ɖəqɛtɬəwətɬ  
'door' BSdL 545, dəɛɛɬewaʔɪdaʔluw 'big door' M,  
dəɛɛɬewahɪ ʔu·d dəɛɛtəhɪ 'a door is (lying)  
there' L. Probably nominalized inceptive perfective  
of theme ɬe-waʔɪ--wahɪ with d-class-mark  
for S (e.g. 'board'), 'it (board) is hanging,  
swinging (suspended)'.

cf. *Atlapaska* <sup>\*wahnʔ</sup>  
'edge, alongside'

waʔt<sup>1</sup> (on one occasion also transcribed waʔ from L,  
perhaps in error; form perhaps to be analyzed waʔ  
with -t-instrumental; perhaps to be identified with  
waʔt<sup>2</sup>) and/or related to wa·t, wa·, wah II.)

-l-waʔt (noun, unclassified, with l-thematic)  
'edge, rim': ?ulewaʔ L, ?ulewaʔt 'its edge,  
rim' LMA, Kulewaʔt 'rim, edge' LM, 'fins' M  
(not known to L with that meaning), Kulewaʔiluw  
'big fins' M, Kulewaʔ, sɬiʔmahdɬlewaʔ 'heel of  
loaf of bread' L, ?awlewaʔtq 'on the edge of it'  
L, ta·lewaʔtq ca·tɬh 'he's walking along on the  
edge of the road' L, ?awlewaʔtɬ 'to the edge of  
it' L.



wa'ɿ<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with wa'ɿ<sup>1</sup> and/or related to wa'ɿ-wahɿ)

wa'ɿ (noun) 'covering (of e.g. cloth, over aperture)' L.

te'wa'ɿ (noun) 'type of fish trap, weir' A, 'small rack or grid, made of sticks, put on top of Kude=edeya'ɿ, for drying e.g. roe, bark' L, Galushia Nelson tá'wá·tɿ or táwáɿ 'drying rack (in the house?)' BSdL 547. Analysis uncertain: te'- perhaps to be identified with ta' 'in water', unlauded by (dropped) 'i- prefix with wa'ɿ, in which case A's gloss would be the more correct or earlier meaning, or perhaps A's gloss is due to false etymology.

qu'wa'ɿ (noun, prefix qu'- of uncertain meaning) 'curtain, drape (cloth suspended over aperture)': 'əwa·ləse'ɿ qu'wa'ɿ L, 'əwa·ləʒe'ɿ qu'wa'ɿ 'window curtains, drapes' LA, ta·ya'ɿ qu'wa'ɿ 'door curtain' A.

qu'dewa'ɿ (noun, as above, de-prefix either classifier or d-thematic) 'covering, curtain' L.

ədewa'ɿ (noun) 'curtain' L. Analysis uncertain, perhaps with əd-thematic 'place', or nominalized inceptive perfective of theme də-wa'ɿ, perhaps passive of following, 'it is being hung'.

O-i-waʔi 'S hangs, suspends O over aperture, S covers O (aperture, with suspended cloth)':  
ʔəiwaʔi 'pull the shade!, cover it (opening, with e.g. rag, curtain)!' LM, quʔxiwaʔi 'I'll cover it (opening, with e.g. curtain), I'll pull the shade, I'll hang it (e.g. curtain, over door, window)' L, ʔu·dəx quʔxiwaʔi 'I'll hang it there (as curtain)' L; passive: ʔu·dəx quʔdə-waʔi 'it'll be hung there (as curtain)' L, ʔu·d sxiwaʔi 'it's been covered there (with curtain)' L.

weʔd (M often waʔd, probably under influence of waʔd, L and A both insisting that weʔd is the only correct form)

O-weʔd 'S weaves O': ʔewaʔd M (L and A reject), ʔoweʔd 'weave it' LMA, xwaʔd M, xweʔd 'I'm weaving it (fabric, basketry)' L, quʔxwaʔd 'I'll weave it' M, seʔweʔdʔ (perhaps acceptable) 'I'm weaving it' L, siwaʔdʔ M, siweʔdʔ 'I wove it' L, with qaʔ 'up out': ʔewgaʔ ʔew qaʔ seʔweʔd daʔx 'when they've woven it (sides of basket) up high enough' 66.9L, ʔewʔqehx neʔx weʔd ginuʔ 'first they (cust) weave the bottom' 66.8L, ʔew qeʔ weʔdʔkinuʔ 'they (cust) weave it some more' 66.11L, repetitive: daʔ kewaʔdʔgʔ 'we (cust) weave something' M; detransitivized with indeterminate O and de-classifier: ʔuyekyʔdʔlah qʔʔ ʔisdiweʔdʔih 'he wove (something) up around his thumb' 34.100L, gahyeʔx ʔixdeweʔdʔ 'I (cust) weave all day long' L (expanded stem with -x-customary only L); passive: sdiweʔdʔ 'it's woven' L.

weʔd, waʔd (noun) 'weaving, woven work' M.

wa'c<sup>1</sup>

0-i-wa'c(-g) (with -g-repetitive partly thematized)

'S whips O': ?ełwa'c<sup>g</sup> L, ?ełwa'c 'whip it!' LMA,  
 xu'iwa'c 'whip me!' 50.19A, xłwa'c, xłwa'c<sup>g</sup>  
 'I'm whipping it' LM, xłwa'c<sup>ih</sup> 'I'm whipping him'  
 L (no inceptive imperfective \*cexłwa'c<sup>ih</sup> L),  
 łwa'c<sup>(ih)</sup> 'whips, lashes him' 50.16, 17, 20A,  
 qu'xłwa'c<sup>g</sup> 'I'll whip it' L, ?iqe'xłwa'c 'I'll  
 whip you' 52.33L, leł'gidig da' lełiqe'łwa'c  
 'we'll whip you pl. too' 53.33L, ?əh qa'iwa'c  
 'he's going to whip him' 52.34L, ya'xu' xuqu'  
 yłwa'c 'don't whip me' 52.34L, səłwa'c<sup>i</sup>  
 'whipped him' 50.16, 20A, siłwa'c<sup>i</sup> 'I whipped  
 it' LM, siłwa'c<sup>ih</sup> 'I whipped him' L, kułehł-  
 qı'neł xusełwa'c<sup>ih</sup> 'he whipped me with a rope'  
 L; passive: sdiwa'c<sup>ih</sup> 'he got whipped' L,  
 ?iqe'dewa'c 'you'll get whipped' L.

wa'c<sup>i</sup>, wa'c<sup>gi</sup> (noun, with -i-instrumental and  
 optional -g-repetitive) 'whip' M (L uncertain of  
 correctness of form).

?ux kudewa'c (noun) 'whip' L. Nominalized passive  
 active imperfective, 'by means of it one, some-  
 thing is whipped'.

?ux ?edkułewa'c (noun) 'willow boughs used for  
 slapping self in steambath' L. Nominalized re-  
 flexive, as above, 'by means of it one whips oneself'.

waʔc<sup>2</sup> (uncertain, -waʔc attested from M only, not known to L; other forms perhaps unanalyzable stem gowaʔc rather than g-waʔc)

-waʔc (noun) 'web or membrane over "eye" of cockle':  
 ʔuwaʔc 'web or membrane over its (cockle's "eye")'  
 M (L never heard).

-g-waʔc (noun, with g-thematic, or perhaps unanalyzable stem -gowaʔc) 'mesentery': sigowaʔc  
 'my mesentery' LA.

gowaʔc (noun, unclassified) 'seaweed species, rockweed (Fucus, Ascophyllum)' IM, 10.230A (this was eaten only when herring spawned on it; the inside of a new dugout canoe was given a protective finish against cracking by filling with water and boiling fucus therein L), Rezanov Kayam 'Morskay kanyora Algen (Seetang, Fucus)', Galushia Nelson sáwáts 'seaweed with balls that pop (Fucus?)' ESdL 541, gowaʔdtuʔ 'lots of rockweed' L.

laʔqəyaʔyaʔ gowaʔc 'fat around intestines of mountain-goat' ('mountain-goat's gowaʔc) A.

wus-wes (wus more frequent than wes, expanded we's; probably reduced form of wehs, or perhaps two or more homophonous stems, one of which is reduced form of wehs; also partly confused, in certain cases, with wed-wihd-wehd-wahd<sup>1,2</sup>, wix<sup>1,2</sup>, wahs)

-wus--wes (with several overlapping areas of meaning, the corresponding transitives (causatives) to some of which are irregular, with zero- or optional  $\ddot{t}$ -classifier; these are listed in separate subentries) 1. 'S (linear, of variable or indefinite length) extends': ?u·da? sewus<sup>1</sup> 'it reaches there' M, ta· ?q·da? sewus<sup>1</sup> 'a road reaches, ends here' (attention to end of road here, other end perhaps unknown) L, ta· ?q·c<sup>1</sup> sewus<sup>1</sup> 'a road (being built) is reaching here' L, ta· ?u·de? sewus<sup>1</sup> 'roads go, a road goes by there' L, ta· ?u·c<sup>1</sup> ?i·wus<sup>1</sup> 'it (e.g. fence) stretches along there' M (neuter perfective), with class-marks for S: qid qi·lecwus<sup>1</sup> 'it (rope) is coming down (free end coming into view)' L, ye? qi·lecwus<sup>1</sup> 'it (rope) is, they (ropes) are going down (held and in view)' L, ?u·de? ye? qi·li·wus<sup>1</sup> 'it (rope) hangs, they (ropes) hang down by there (held and not in view)' (neuter perfective)  
 L<sup>1</sup> with ye?-progressive: ?q· ?q·de? ye?  
 q<sup>1</sup>·sdiwus<sup>1</sup> 'a river (with shifting bed or chan-

1/2 in extension of  
 5/3 meaning  
 or definite length  
 (e.g. a road)

1/2 in extension of

Insert at ^ on preceding page

'a road reaches, roads reach there' L (neuter  
perfective), ?u·deꝯ ?i·wusꝯ

nels) goes by here' L. Transitive listed under O-(i-)wus--wes.

2. 'S (of irregular, indefinite or complex shape) moves, extends, expands': 11.88A (see 11.= 86-88fn), *kudex ?u-dex ?es sewus* 'the fat expanded past there (into a glacier)' 49.147A, *yq' ? sewus da-x* 'when it (rainbow = stairway) extended down (formed)' 51.7A, frequently with *xd*-class nouns as S: *ya'3ilaks yq' ? xedesevus* 'a rainbow formed (extended down)' 51.5A, *qaks yedi-we-sk* 'it (cust) clouds over' ('clouds (cust) expand, move, extend') M, *sedeqenib ?q' ? xedesevus* 'fog is moving in here' M, *?u-dex xedesevus* 'it (cloud, fog) is moving along there' M, repetitive: 11.87, 87A (see 11.86-88fn). No clearly corresponding transitive attested.

3. 'S (granular substance) moves as mass, is in position, scatters, falls': *?u-d sewus* 'it (e.g. sugar) is (has gotten) there in a pile' L, repetitive, with *lx*-class-mark for S: *Kule-xewusg* 'something (e.g. rain, hail, sand, snow) moves "in spurts"' M (see separate subentry *Kele-xewas* Below), with *yeq*-progressive (both instances perhaps passives of transitive with zero- or *i*-classifier): *?u-dexyu' yeq ?idiwus*

'it (e.g. sugar) is spread, spilled about all over' L (neuter perfective), with gl-class--mark for S: *yeʒ gy·sdiwesʒ* 'it (salt) is spilled about' L. Transitive (causative), attested only with l-classifier: with *yeʒ*-progressive: *di·yaʔ ʔuq yeʒ quʔgy·xlewus* 'I'll sprinkle salt about on it' L.

4. 'pl. S fall': with *yeʒ* 'downward': 11.87, 87, 88A (see 11.86-88fn), with *qid* 'down off': *qid qesewusʒ* 'they fell' M, *qid ʔi·wus* 'let them fall' L, *qid ʔəwe·sʒ* 'they (cust) fall' M, *qid we·sʒ* 'they (spruce-needles) (cust) fall' 11.117A, *giyahyaʔə deqa·yu· we·sʒ* 'sometimes they fall into the water' 11.117A; with -g-repetitive, partly thematized: with *o-kah-ə* 'continuous or repeated motion away from o': *ʔəw-kahə wusg* 'paint on surface keeps crumbling, peeling, flaking off of it some' L, with *o-d* 'separate from o': *ʔəpuʔ ʔud wusg* 'its fur is shedding, coming out' L. No clearly corresponding transitives attested.

5. With *yaʔ* 'completely', 'S crumbles, falls apart (into many pieces)': *yaʔ sewusʒ* 'it (e.g. cake, bread, cracker, mud) crumbled' LM, 'it (anything) fell apart (when touched)' L,

ya? sewusɿ 'it (e.g. cake, bread, mud) is crumbling' L, ya? ?i.wusɿ 'it's crumbled, it's in crumbs' M (neuter perfective), ya? qe-wusɿ (non-expanded stem probably incorrect) 'they (cust) crumble' M. Transitive (causative), attested with k-classifier only: ya? seiwus 'crumble it!' L, ya? siwusɿ 'I crumbled it up' M.

6. 'S (natural surface) is too soft to support weight, collapses, caves in' (cf. wehs): repetitive: 51.48, 48A. No corresponding transitives attested.

7. With qa? 'up out', 'S emerges, surfaces (from water)' (cf. wed-wihd-wehd-wahd): dekɿ. ?aw dekɿh qa.ʔ sewusɿ 'that stick is, those sticks are already beginning to show, emerge (as tide recedes)' L, qe? qa? sdiwusɿh 'he surfaced (re-emerged)' M, ta?d qa? ?awe.sɿk 'they (cust) bob up out of the water' 20.44A, ta?d qe? qa? ?edewe.sɿk 'it (loose end of something) (cust) bobs back up to the surface of the water' LM. No corresponding transitives attested.

yeɣ 0-wus--wes (transitive attested only with zero-classifier and, perhaps only by coincidence, with yeɣ 'downward') 1. 'S turns 0 inside out' (perhaps corresponding to intransitive in meaning 2.):

yeḡ sewus 'turn it inside out!' LM, yeḡ sexwusḡ 'I'm turning it inside out' L, yeḡ siwusḡ 'I turned it inside out' LMA, repetitive: yeḡ qexwusg 'I'm turning them (one after another) inside out' L, yeḡ xwusg 'I'm trying to turn it inside out' L, diK yeḡ xwusge (or ?exwusge) 'I'm not turning them inside out' L.

2. Repetitive, with o-lu? 'through (holes in) o', 'S sifts O through o' (probably corresponding to intransitive in meaning 3, and/or 4.): ?ulu? yeḡ xwusg 'I'm sifting it (e.g. flour) through it' L. See also nominalization below.

O-(ḡ-)wus--wes (ḡ-classifier apparently optional, corresponding as causative to intransitive in meanings 1. and 2.; no clear distinction in meaning between forms with zero- and ḡ-classifiers, but latter perhaps causatives of ḡe-wus--wes below) 'S stretches O, causes (linear) O to extend': ?eḡwus 'stretch it!' M, ya<sup>ḡ</sup> sexwusḡ 'I'm stretching it (e.g. cloth) downward' L, ya<sup>ʔ</sup> sexwusḡ 'I'm stretching it upward' L, repetitive: ?eḡwesg 'stretch it!' M, with class--marks for O: qi·letewus, qi·leceḡwus 'stretch it (rope):' L, siḡ qi·li·ḡwus 'let it (rope) loose at me!' L, ?ow deseḡwusiḡ 'they're

making them (e.g. line of boards) extend (somewhere)' LM, with *qi·d*-anatomical 'foot' serving as class-mark; *qi·di·iwus* 'stretch it (shoe)!' L.

*ke-wus--wes* 'S stretches': *qu<sup>2</sup>lewus* 'it'll stretch (e.g. shoe, by itself)' L, usually with *yeḡ*-progressive (or perhaps 'reversal of motion'): *yeḡ lewusḡ* 'it (e.g. sweater) stretches; it's stretchy, elastic' L (see also nominalization below), with *qi·l*-class-mark for S: *yeḡ qi·lewusḡ*, *yeḡ qi·lewesḡ* (nasalization omitted) 'it (rope) is stretchy, stretching' L. For transitive (causative) see *O-(l-)wus--wes*.

*lyd-ke-wus-g* (with *lyd*-anatomical 'eye' and *-g--* repetitive thematized, cf. *wed-wihd-wehd-wahd*, *wiḡ*, *wehs*, *wahs*) 'S has tic in eye': *leḡedex-lewusg* 'I have an eye tic' A.

*yeḡ <sup>2</sup>ed-ke-wus-ḡ* (reflexive of causative of *-wus--wes* or *ke-wus--wes* with *yeḡ*-progressive): 'S (bird) glides, soars about (without flapping wings)': *yeḡ <sup>2</sup>edlewisḡ* 'it (bird) is gliding about without flapping its wings' L.

*keleḡewes* (in noun, uncertain, attested in Rezanov only) 'fog, mist': possible reading of *Камхъ--с оца* 'Туманъ Nebel'. Perhaps nominalized active

imperfective of -wus--was 3., with lɣ-class=mark for S, 'something lɣ-class (granular) moves as mass'.

senewes place-name, Knight Island in Yakutat Bay A and Sampson Harry, Tlingit *senawis*, probably of Eyak origin, nominalized active imperfective of -wus--was 2. or perhaps 6., with cl-thematic 'ground', 'irregular mass of land extends', or perhaps 'ground is soft, yielding'; *senwes-ga'ciɣ* place-name in Eleanor Cove, Yakutat Bay, near Knight Island A and Sampson Harry ('narrow *senwes*', analysis of -ga'- not clear, perhaps *senwesg-*, repetitive, as with -wus--was 6.).

*from Jim Nash*

wehs (perhaps related to wus-wes; partly confused with wahs and was<sup>1</sup>wihd-wehd-wahd<sup>2</sup>)

wehs(-g) (noun, with optional -g-repetitive thematized) 'soft yielding natural surface which does not support human weight': wehs, wehsg 'place where you sink in, bog, swamp, quagmire, quicksand, soft snow, soft mud, soft pond bed' L, Rezanov Уэса-итли 'Болото Sumpf' wehs yileh 'it's a wehs' LM. Perhaps nominalized active imperfective of verb-theme -wehs(-g).

laxwehsg (noun) 'quicksand' L. Perhaps nominalized active imperfective, as above, with lɣ-class-mark for S, e.g. či·šg 'sand'.

ɣa·wehs (noun) 'tundra, muskeg': Rezanov Тундра 'Тундра Tundra' ɣa·wehs 'tundra, muskeg' L (uncertain). Perhaps nominalized active imperfective, as above, with dl-class-mark for S, e.g. ?əh 'earth'.

ya·nu? -wehs (with ya·nu? 'down through surface') 'S sinks, founders in soft natural surface': si·suhdga? ya·nu? siwehsɬ 'I sank in (e.g. snow, mud) down to (as far as) my knees' L.

l-wehs-g (with l-thematic and -g-repetitive thematized) 'S collapses, "dies" (figuratively) for lack of e.g. food or drink': deki· lesexwehsgɬ 'I'm

already "dying" (for some of the food or drink  
 you're having)' L, læsəwehsgɪh 'he collapsed,  
 "died" (for lack of food or drink)' L, ʔiɕ  
 quʔli·wehsgɪh 'he'll "collapse" on (at) you (if  
 you don't give him some of your food, drink)' L.  
 læ-wehs-g (with -g-repetitive thematized; stem  
 first elicited as wahs, q.v., then changed to  
 wehs, see also wus-wes, wet-wiht-wehd-wahd,  
 wiŋ) 'S (part of eye) quivers': sila·ɣ siya·  
 læwehsg 'my (upper) eyelid quivers (repeatedly  
 droops)' (omen that I'll see someone) L, sila·ɣ=  
 yaɣd siya· læwehsg 'my lower eyelid (undereye)  
 quivers' (omen that I'll cry) L, with lɣd-anatomical  
 'eye': læɣdæxlæwehsg 'my (upper) eyelid  
 quivers' (omen that I'll see someone) L.

wabs (uncertain, perhaps blend of <sup>1</sup>wax-wihd-wehd-wahd,<sup>re hd</sup>  
wehs, wabsq)

ie-wabs-g (with -g-repetitive thematized, attested  
only with anatomical marks): with l-anatomical  
and yax 'downward': 'S's head nods, droops in-  
voluntarily': yax lekwahsgih (first -wahd-)  
'his head nods, droops' L, with lyd-anatomical:  
leyedexiewahsg (changed to -wehs-) 'my (upper)  
eyelid quivers' (omen that I'll see someone) L.

wi3-w03-wu3 (wi3 more frequent than w03 or wu3,  
expanded once we'3)

l-wi3--w03--wu3 (with l-thematic) 'S is, becomes  
ashamed, shy, bashful'; inceptive imperative:  
le3wi3 M, le3ewu3 'be ashamed!' L, inceptive  
imperfective: qu'li-xwi3 'I'll be ashamed' M,  
active imperfective: du'ci-duw lewe3ga? ?i-teh  
'whoever is kind of bashful' 69.15A, lexwi3 "'I  
get bashful right away"' L, lewe3jh seqe-c'akih  
'a bashful, ashamed child' L, inceptive perfective:  
le3exwi3t 'I'm getting ashamed' M, 'I'm getting  
bashful' L, active perfective: lisiwi3t M, ?i-si-  
wi3t 'I'm ashamed' A, 'I got ashamed' L, neuter  
perfective: li-wi3t 'you're ashamed' M, customary:  
lewe'3Kjh 'he's (cust) ashamed' L. Transitive  
(causative): ?iqe?li-xwi3 'I'll shame you' M,  
xuleci-lwi3t 'you're making me ashamed' M, xule-  
se3wi3t 'you shamed me' M, ?ilisi3wi3t 'I  
shamed you' M, ?i-si3wi3tjh 'I shamed him' M,  
?ew ?i-se3wu3tjh 'that shamed him' 41.11L, re-  
petitive customary (with incorrect non-expanded  
stem): xuli-lwi3gKjh 'he (cust) shames me' LM.  
Susceptive neuter: lixtwi3x 'I get ashamed  
easily' L.

dl-wi3 (as above, with d-thematic 'oral, noise')

'S is, becomes ashamed of what S says': λa·δi=  
wiʒt 'I'm ashamed (of something I said)' L.

we·č

we·č (noun) 'stick with a number of fish or slabs of fish meat impaled on it, for hanging or carrying' (not the same as we·š) L.

O-we·č 'S impales fish or slabs of fish-meat on a stick'; qí·we·č 'string pl. fish on a stick!' L; see also we·š.

O-qa-ȝ-we·č (with ȝ-thematic with qe- 'plural') 'S impales pl. fish or slabs of fish-meat one after another on a stick': qaȝexwe·č 'I string them on fish-sticks' 65.22, 22A.

weʔɕ

0-dl-ɪ-weʔɕ (attested only with dl-thematic) 'S fools, cheats, deceives O': λi-ɪweʔɕ 'fool it!' L, ʔaʔq̄ λa-ɕeɪweʔɕ 'entice him out (of the house)!, get rid of him (by deceit)!' L, quʔ= λi-xiweʔɕ 'I'll fool it (e.g. sneak up to unsuspecting seal)' L, xuλa-ɕeɪweʔɕɪɪh 'he fooled, cheated, deceived me' L, diK̄ xuλa-ɕiweʔɕɪɪh 'he didn't fool, cheat, deceive me' L, λa-ɕex-ɪweʔɕɪɪh 'I'm fooling him' (no active imperfective) L.

ʔed-dl-ɪe-weʔɕ (semantically irregular reflexive of preceding) 'S sneaks': without preverbs or postpositional phrases, 'S sneaks away, out': ʔedquʔλa-xiweʔɕ 'I'll sneak out' LMA, ʔeλa-ɕ-ɪweʔɕɪɪh 'he sneaked away' L, with o-ɕahd 'away from o (leaving o behind)': ʔuɕahd ʔeλa-ɕ-ɪweʔɕ L, ʔuɕahd ʔeλiʔɪweʔɕ 'sneak away from it!' LM, ʔuɕahd ʔeλa-ɪweʔɕɪɪh, ʔuɕahd ʔeλiʔ-ɪweʔɕɪɪh, ʔuɕahd ʔeλa-ɕeɪweʔɕɪɪh 'sneak away from him!, avoid him!' L, səqe-ɕəyu-ɕahd (or ʔuqaʔɕahd) ʔeλa-ɪwe-ɕK̄ɪh 'she (cust) sneaks away from the children (or her husband)' L, with ʔeɕ 'completely by, through, past' and o-da-ɕ '(movement in) vicinity of o' or o-ta-ɕ 'across o': ʔuda-ɕ ʔeɕ ʔeλa-xɕiweʔɕɪɪh, ʔuta-ɕ ʔeɕ

ʔəɣaːxsɪweʔʕiɰh 'I sneaked by him' L, sɪdaːx  
ʔəʃ ʔəɣaːsɪweʔʕiɰuː, sɪtaːs ʔəʃ ʔəɣaːs-  
ɪweʔʕiɰuː 'they sneaked by me' L.

wiš-weš

O-wiš--weš 'S paddles, rows O, backwaters O'

(meaning not clearly remembered): kuxweš 'I'm  
rowing (something)' ("kids playing, seems like  
backwater rowing, pushing hands away from chest")

L, with tʰaʔqeʔʕ 'backwards': tʰaʔqeʔʕ ʔewiš  
'backwater!' L.

we·š

we·š(-g) (noun, unclassified, perhaps also d- or  
 ʔd-class, with optional -g-repetitive) 'rack of  
 sticks for drying fish (outdoors)', to be dis-  
 tinguished from we·š̄, but possibly also referring  
 to individual sticks upon which drying fish are  
 hung, or partly confused with we·š̄: Galushia  
 Nelson we·š̄ 'drying rack (outdoors?)' BSDL 259,  
 547, 558, we·š, we·šg 'drying-rack, fish-rack,  
 fish-stick' L, we·šeyu· 'fish-racks, fish-racks,  
 etc.' 21a.20L, we·šʔaʔluw L, we·šdaʔluw 'big  
 drying-rack' N, we·šgjadelaʔd seiaʔ 'hang them  
 (fish) on a stick (rack?)!' L.

ʔawqeš̄ Kudewe·šg (noun) 'stick to hang fish on'  
 L. Nominalized passive active imperfective re-  
 petitive, 'something is (repeatedly) hung onto  
 it'; underlying verb theme not used as such, stem  
 perhaps in error for -we·š̄-.

ʔwe·s

- ʔwe·s-i (kinship noun, ascending) '(maternal) grandfather, (maternal) grandfather's brother':  
 siʔwe·sə 'my grandfather (mother's father)' LMA,  
 ciweck 'mother's father's younger brother (either sex speaking)' BSdL 565A siʔwe·sə, ʔiʔwe·sə  
 'your grandfather' L, ʔuʔwe·sə 'his mother's father' L, with suffixed -siyah: siʔwe·səsəsiyah  
 'my (maternal) grandfather' 32.12A, ʔiʔwe·səsəsiyah  
 'your grandfather (mother's father) or his brothers' LM, ʔuʔwe·səsəsiyah 'his (maternal) grandfather' 2a.13M, 32.5, 6, 7, 28A, ʔəh kuʔwe·səsiyah  
 'the (maternal) grandfather' 32.29A. Vocative: weckaca 'mother's father (either sex speaking)' BSdL 565A we·səsəh 'grandfather!' L.
- ʔwe·s-i-kih (kinship noun, descending, with -kih 'diminutive, affectionate', reciprocal of preceding) '(man's) daughter's child', probably also '(man's) brother's daughter's child': ciweckaki  
 'daughter's child (man speaking)' BSdL 567 siʔwe·səkəh  
 'my grandson' 32.43A, siʔwe·səkəh 'my daughter's child' (man speaking, serves also as vocative) L.

## wug

Ku-wug (with Ku-indefinite O, perhaps thematized) 'S grunts, strains, tries hard, exerts self with great effort, paddles hard': Kuxwug 'I'm grunting' L, Ku·wug 'strain hard to do it!, paddle hard (e.g. against wind)!' L, with o-wahd 'for the sake of o': ʔuwahd Kusiwugɪ 'I grunted (in trying hard) to do it (e.g. lift heavy object)' L, repetitive: Ku·wugg 'keep straining hard to do it!, keep paddling hard (e.g. against the wind)!' L.

O-gl-wug (as above, without Ku-indefinite O, with gl-class-mark for O) 'S noisily gulps down O (liquid) with grunts of relief': giyah gelewugɪ 'he (e.g. thirsty child) is noisily gulping it (water) down with grunts of relief' L, yaʔyu·quʔgeli·wug 'don't gulp it so' L.

ʔwiʔg

0-ʔwiʔg 'S hangs pl. O in series': saʔwiʔg 'hang them up in a row (clothes, fish, on line, stick)!' L, xwiʔg, qəxwiʔg, qəxwiʔgɪ L, qəxwiʔgɪ 'I'm hanging them up' LA, quʔxwiʔg 'I'll hang them up' L, ʔiːd dəlaʔd quʔxwiʔg 'I'll hang them up (on something) over there' M, siʔwiʔgɪ 'I hung them up' LA (same as siʔwiʔgɪ A), saʔwiʔgɪ 'he hung them up' L, repetitive: xwiʔgɪ 'I'm hanging them up (one after another, in row)' M; passive: sdiʔwiʔgɪ 'they (clothes) are hung on a line' L (no forms with expanded stem, or with ɪ-classifier L).

we·g<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with we·g<sup>2</sup>)

we·g (noun, unclassified) 'headband' L, Galushia Nelson we·kt̩ 'band or cord' BSdL 548 (perhaps to be read weʔ̩), i·nd̩ w̩·kt̩ 'head band' BSdL 550 ʔi·nah we·g̩ (or weʔ̩ ?) '(head-?)=band around head', we·gʔaʔluw 'big headband' L.

O-l-we·g (with l-anatomical) 'S puts headband on O's head': ʔiqeʔli·xwe·g 'I'll put a headband on you' L; reflexive: ʔadlisdiwe·g̩ L, ʔed̩·s-diwe·g̩ʔ̩h 'he has a headband on' S, ʔedi·xsdiwe·g̩ 'I put a headband on' L.

o-l-lah O-we·g 'S puts O (headband, as headband) on, around o's head': ʔi·nah ʔewe·g 'put it (headband, as headband) around your head!' L.

we·g<sup>2</sup> (probably related to we<sup>2</sup>·k, with expanded stem and thematized -g repetitive, under influence of O-~~h~~-wa<sup>2</sup>·k(-g) 1. and we·g<sup>1</sup>, attested from A only)

O-~~h~~-we·g 'S slices O (skin) into babiche, thongs': ?eiwe·g (same as ?eiwe·k) 'slice it (skin) into babiche!' A.

we·g<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with we·g<sup>1</sup> and/or related to we<sup>2</sup>, if analyzed we with -g-repetitive thematized)

O-i-we·g 'S cuts, slices O (skin) into thongs, babiche':  
 ?eiwe·g 'slice it (skin into babiche):'  
 (same as ?eiwe·k) A (twice), M has heard her mother say, but cannot remember the meaning.

na'

l-de-na' 'S gets hurt, ruined, wrecked, makes mistake, does something unfortunate, breaks down, something goes wrong with, is the matter with S' (reference generally not to complete destruction or irreparable damage, generally of machine or organism, not e.g. clothes, cake, bed L): inceptive imperfective: Kuqu'ledemah 'someone was going to come to grief, get hurt' 61.28A, gu'deg ?ewa' qe' Kuqu'ledemah, gu'deg qe' Kuqu'ledemah 'again someone of them is going to get hurt, someone else is going to get hurt' 61.97-98A, qu'ledemah 'will get hurt' 61.29A, ?u'd qu'ledemah 'you'll get hurt there' 61.36A, dik' Kuqu'dah ?udahd ?u'la'deta'e, qu'ledemah Ke?Suh 'it doesn't sound good, maybe something will go wrong with it' L, dik' qu'ledemah 'nothing will go wrong with it, it won't break down' L, active perfective: 61.39, 53A, ?i'sdi-ma?h 'it's ruined' L, ?i'xsdima?h 'I've been hurt' L, Keyi'y ta'?'e?i ?i'xsdima?h 'I took a wrong road' ('I went wrong on a different road') L, negative inceptive optative (generally extremely rare, difficult to elicit, and accepted with doubt, but here apparently fully acceptable,

verified): diKšgahx lecadimaha 'I hope nothing  
 goes wrong with it' L. Transitive (causative):  
 imperatives: li·kma, li·kmaʔ L, leceimaʔ  
 'spoil it!, ruin it!' LM, inceptive imperfective:  
 quʔli·xkma 'I'll spoil it' LM, quʔli·kmih  
 'he'll spoil it' LMA, active imperfective: ʔew  
 lekmih 'he's wrecking it' (same as following?)  
 L, inceptive perfective: ʔew leceimaʔih 'he's  
 wrecking it' L, lesi·kmaʔt 'you're ruining it'  
 L, active perfective: ʔi·simaʔt 'I spoiled it'  
 LM, deki ʔew ʔi·simaʔih 'he's ruined it  
 already' L, active optative: deʔu·d ʔew la·  
 yimih 'alright let him ruin it' L, inceptive  
 optative: lesi·kmih 'let him ruin it' L, nega-  
 tive (see remarks under basic intransitive): diK-  
 šgahx ʔew lesi·kmaših, ʔelešgahx diK ʔew  
 lesi·kmaših 'I hope he doesn't wreck it' L, in-  
 ceptive conditional lesi·kma da·x 'if you  
 wreck it' L, inceptive and active subjunctives:  
 ʔew leaximahx siK delih, ʔew liximahx siK  
 delih (but not \*liʔximahx or \*la·ximahx)  
 'he told me to wreck it' L, customary: kulek-  
 ma·Kih 'he (cust) wrecks something' L, with yeṣ--  
 progressive: qa· yeṣ quʔi·kemihinu 'they'll  
 get us hurt' ('they'll go about hurting us') L,

repetitive: kulaɪmaʔgɪh 'he's wrecking (trying  
 to wreck) something' L; reflexive: ʔədquʔɪ.tənah  
 'you'll hurt yourself' L, ʔədquʔlə.tənah 'he'll  
 hurt himself' 6l.29fnA, ʔədɪ.xsɪmaʔɪ 'I hurt  
 myself' L, ʔədliɪsɪmaʔɪɪh, ʔədɪ.sɪmaʔɪɪh (not  
 ʔədiliɪsɪ-) 'he hurt himself' L; passive: xɪ.=  
 sɪmaʔɪ, xɪ.sɪmaʔɪ 'I've been hurt (by someone)'  
 L. Susceptive neuter: ʔɪ.tɪmaʔɪ, liɪtɪmaʔɪ 'it  
 (e.g. machine) keeps breaking down, is liable to  
 break down, is undependable' LM.

dl-də-ma' (as preceding, with d-thematic 'oral,  
 noise') 'S says something unfortunate, bad, gets  
 all mixed up in speech': λa.sɪmaʔɪɪh 'he said  
 something which brought bad luck' LM, ʔuxaʔ λa.=  
 sɪmaʔɪ 'I got it all messed up (what I was say=  
 ing)' L (should be corrected to ʔuxaʔ λa.xsɪ=  
 maʔɪ or perhaps sɪxaʔ λa.sɪmaʔɪ), silah λa.=  
 sɪmaʔɪɪh 'he cursed(?) me' M (uncertain, 'he  
 said something unfortunate, bad about me'). Tran=  
 sitive (causative): ʔiλa.yiɪməhɪ qɪh wəɪyɪ.  
 ʔiɪ dəsele.ɪ 'it's to get you all mixed up, con=  
 fuse you in what you're saying that he's saying  
 such things to you' L.

yl-də-ma' 'S makes mistake in going someplace':  
 ʔu.daʔ yɪ.xsɪmaʔɪ 'I made the mistake of going

there (e.g. didn't have fun, got hurt)' L,  
cautionary negative inceptive imperative: ?u\*  
deɣ qəyələsədənɦs 'don't make the mistake of  
going by there!' L.

na'-mah, see ꞑ'-na'-mah

na'-mah see p'.

ma'-ma' (ma' in noun, ma' in rare derived verb)

ma' (noun, gd-class) 'lake' LM, 25.7, 57, 37b.82,

67.3, 3fnG, Rezanov Ma 'Osepo See', Wrangell

Ma 'Landsee', Furuhejm Vva 'lake' (probably <sup>Ma 'Mecr' (probably misprint due to misreading of cursive upper case Cyrillic M, etc.)</sup> copyist's misreading of cursive upper case Cyrillic

M), Old Man Dude ma' 'lake' BSdL 537, ma'guda?

luw L, Kageda?luw ma' 'big lake' 27b.46A, ma' =

gedakih 'small lake, pond' L, ma'gedetomak' 'round

lake' (perhaps a place-name) 67.3fnG, tihc guda'

ma' 'one lake' M, Keyj'y guda' ma' 'a differ-

ent lake' L, ma' ?u'd gedese?ahk (or -tahk,

former probably preferred) 'a lake is there' L,

ma'geda?pa' sahkih 'he came upon a lake' 27a.19L,

ma'gedeta's 'across a lake' 37b.67, 80, 81A, ma' =

gudelah 27a.28, 34L, ma'gedexelah 'around a

lake' 27b.37, 37b.3A, 71.11M, ma'gedexelah se-

quhlinu' 'lake-dwarves' ('the who stay around a

lake') 37b.2, 4, 86, 86, (?ewgedelah 27b.38A,

?ewgedexelah 'around it (lake)' 27b.45A), Galu-

shia Nelson ma<sup>n</sup>ka?tiya?exan'iyu 'Around-the--

Lake-People (dwarfs)' BSdL 544 ma'gedexelah de-

xphyu' L, Kula?ahya? ma' place name, small

lake on Ibek Creek, just beyond Mile 7 ('muskrat's

lake') L, ma'gudeya?chad yed qe? xusekxand-

tjh 'he dragged me back ashore from in a lake' M,

without class-mark as o of o-yaʔ(d) '(nominalization of, at rest in) o with broad opening at top', as topographical feature: 25.86, 87A, 71, 211M, ʒiiqa·ma·yaʔd 'Bering (Chilkat) Lake' S, ma·yaʔč 'toward a lake' M, ma·yaʔɣ qa·ixewah, ma·yaʔɣ qa·ixewah, ma·yaʔɣ qa·ixewa· L, ma·yaʔd kulelx<sup>w</sup>ah M, ma·yaʔdyaʔ ʔena·šah 'water lilies (Nuphar polysepalum)' LM (see also ma·yaʔyaʔ below), as o of other postpositions, without class-marks, as topographical feature, often place-name: ma·gudaʔd 'outlet of lake' M, ma·gudaʔɣ da· seqe·i 'we're boating (along) in the mouth of the lake' M, ma·ʔahd 'upper end of lake', name of arm of Eyak Lake at Mile 5, ma·ʔahč da· seqe·i 'we're boating toward the head of the bay (arm of lake)' L, ma·ʔeqaʔd name of end of Eyak Lake at Old Town, Cordova ('lake's anus, between lake's buttocks') L, ma·sa·qđ place-name, pond at Mile 6 ('lake's palate'?) L.

ma·yaʔyaʔ (noun, unclassified) 'lake-thing' ('that which belongs to a lake, in the lake', associated with pond-lilies and mysterious beings or power which causes certain types of mental illness): ma·yaʔyaʔ ʔidaʔ quʔwah 'lake-things will come to you' (i.e. you'll go into a withdrawn schizoid

state) L, ma'ya'ya' se'ehih 'lake-things  
married her' (she went into a withdrawn schizoid  
state; a lovesick girl that L knew well, was com-  
pletely withdrawn, sang to herself and wouldn't  
talk to people; Mary Dede died of this) L.

Ku-i-ma' 'S makes something (lake)'; ōi-leh=  
šiyah qi' Kuseima' 'place where Raven made  
a lake' L, Kuqu'xima' 'I'll make a lake' L.

maʔ (perhaps related to demaʔ, ma\*-mah)

maʔ (nursery word) 'food, eating' (of any kind,  
children's word) L.

## ʔmahd

- ʔmahd 'S cooks, bakes' (becomes done, well-done by any cooking process): inceptive imperfective: qaʔmahd 'it'll bake' L, diK qa·ʔaʔ qaʔmahd 'it won't cook for us' 6.6M, inceptive perfective: saʔmahdɪ 'it's cooking, it got started cooking' 1.11M, 20.43A, di·yeʃʂuw saʔmahdɪ 'isn't it baking yet?' M, active perfective: 1b.14, 16, 6.11M, saʔmahdɪ 'it's baked' L, saʔmahdɪduh 'it's cooked (done, already)!' L, active optative: ʔi·ʔmahdwahd 'so it'd cook' 6.4M, with d-class--mark for S: (yeq) dsaʔmahdɪ 'they (eggs) are hard-boiled (inside)' L, customary: ma·dK 20.38A, ʔaʔma·dK 'it (cust) cooks' 20.38A, inceptive conditional: saʔmahd da·ʔ 'when it cooks' 28.25A, with yaʔ 'completely', 'S cooks completely, S gets burned, overcooked': yaʔ siʔmahdɪ 'I got burned' M, yaʔ saʔmahdɪʂ 'did you get burned?' M, diKʂ yaʔ ʔasmahdɪʂ 'didn't you get burned?' M, diK yaʔ ʔexsmahdɪʂ 'I didn't get burned' M, diKʂ yaʔ ʔeleʃsmahdɪʂ 'didn't you pl. get burned?' M, yaʔʂ qeʔ sdiʔmahdɪ 'did you get burned again?' M, diKʂ qeʔ yaʔ ʔesdaʔmahdɪʂ 'didn't you get burned again?' M, yaʔ saʔmahdɪ 'it's cooked up' L, ʔidaʔya·leʃ yaʔ saʔmahdɪ

'it got too thoroughly cooked, too badly burned'  
 27b.55A, ya? qu?yi?mahd 'you'll get burned' L,  
 ya? qa?mahd 'it'll get baked, cooked, too much'  
 L, ya? ?a?ma-dk?h 'he (cust) gets burned' L,  
 with anatomical marks: ya? ?i?sa?mahd? 'her  
 head got burned, scalded' 27b.54A, ya? lisi?=  
 mahd? 'my face got burned' M, diK? ya? la?=  
 mahd? 'didn't your face get burned?' M, ya?  
 yisi?mahd? 'did your hand get burned?' M, diK?  
 ya? y?mahd? 'didn't your hand get burned?' M,  
 diK? ya? y?mahd? 'my hand didn't get burned'  
 M. Transitive (causative): active imperative:  
 ??mahd 'cook it!, bake it!' L, qu?da?ya?x  
 ??mahd 'cook it by the fire!' M, inceptive im-  
 perfective: kuqu?x?mahd 'I'll bake something'  
 L, ku?ala? qu?x?mahd 'I'll cook a shoulder'  
 L, active imperfective: ?aw ?mahd 'is cooking  
 it' 20.35, 25.37, 28.22, 35A, ?ahnu-?a? ?aw  
 ?mahd 'cooks it for them' 28.23, 35A, deqa?g=  
 dalu?x q?h ku?mahd 'is cooking something by  
 the fire' 25.38A, ?aw ?mahd?h 'he's baking it'  
 L, ku?mahd 'I'm baking something' LM, active  
 perfective: ku?mahd? 'I baked something' L,  
 sli?mahd? silmahd? 'I baked bread' L, sli?=  
 mahd? se?mahd? diK? ?enah?akih ?uxexle?

'I don't like the bread you baked' M, diK  
 sɪiʔmahdɪ ʔəsɪmahdɪs 'he didn't bake bread'  
 L, active optative: ʔələʂgahɣ ʔi ʔəw  
 ʔi.ɪmahd 'I wish you'd bake it' L, ʔələʂgahɣ  
 ʔəh ʔəw ʔi.ɪmahd 'I wish he'd bake it' L,  
 customary: ʔəw ina.dK '(cust) cooks it' 20.-  
 37, 41, 33.27A, kaxɪna.dK 'I (cust) bake some-  
 thing' L, repetitive: ɪmahdg 'keeps cooking  
 them' 20.40A; passive: sɪiʔmahdɪʂuw 'is it (has  
 it been) baked?' LM, diK ʔəsdaʔmahdɪs 'it isn't  
 (hasn't been) baked' M, see also nominalizations  
 below.

sɪiʔmahdɪ (noun, unclassified) 'bread' LM, sɪiʔ-  
 mahdɪʔuʔ 'lots of bread' LM, sɪiʔmahdɪluw 'big  
 loaf, hunk of bread' L, sɪiʔmahdɪ sɪɪmahdɪ  
 'you baked bread' M, sɪiʔmahdɪ da.ɣ ma.sɪa.  
 'bread and butter' L, sɪiʔmahdɪ ʔuɣ dɔʒeʔ  
 'anything to spread on bread (e.g. jam, butter)'  
 ('bread is smeared with it') L, sɪiʔmahdɪ wɔɣ  
 sɪɪɪɪɪ (or sɪɪɪɪɪ) 'bread has been made' L,  
 sɪiʔmahdɪ sɪɪaʔ laʔq sɔtaʔʕɪ 'my bread went  
 flat' L, sɪiʔmahdɪlewaʔ[ɪ ʔ] 'heel of bread'  
 L. Nominalized passive active perfective, 'it  
 has been baked'.

ʔuyeq̃ Kudaʔmahd (noun) 'oven' L. Nominalized passive active imperfective, 'in it something is baked'.

q1ʔ Kudaʔmahd (noun) 'oven' L. As preceding, 'place where something is baked'.

l-ʔmahd (with l-thematic, no class-mark for lɣ-class S) 'S (berry) ripens, matures': lesaʔmahdɩ 'they (berries) are getting ripe' LA, lesaʔmahdɩ 'they (berries) ripened' A, ɕaʔx̣ ʔɩ·saʔmahdɩ 'blueberries ripened' L.

laʔmahd (noun, lɣ-class, nominalized active imperfective of preceding) 'berry, berries (generic)' (applies to any berry or fruit, except large, non-round fruit, e.g. bananas) L, 12.12G, 18.12, 14L, 43.22, 25, 27M, 51.76A, Renanov Яммахъ 'Ягоды Beeren', Wrangell Ямахъ 'Beere', Old Man Dude lá'mát 'barrel'[sic] BSdL 546, laʔmahdleɣaʔ (or, frequently, by haplology -leɣaʔ) '(go) for berries' 18.1L, 28.1, 29.19A, laʔmahdleɣaʔ da· ʔaʔɕ 'we're going for berries' L, laʔmahdleɣaʔ ʔenahšekih ʔixleh, laʔmahd ʔenahšekih ʔuleɣeʔxleh M, laʔmahd ʔenahšekih ʔuleɣeʔxleh 'I like berries' L, diḲ laʔmahd ʔenahšekih ʔuleɣeʔxle·ɕ 'I don't like berries' M, laʔmahdyu· 'berries, various kinds of berries' 29.65,

51.77A, 63.33G, Kuleʔəgu· laʔmahd 'good  
 berries' 29.20A, laʔmahd ya·ləʔəkudg, laʔmahd  
 ləxi·kudg 'berries are small' L, laʔmahdleʔe-  
 guhdg 'tiny berries' L, laʔmahd ləxi·lubdg  
 'berries are few' L, laʔmahd ʔə·d ləʔesələhdg  
 'berries are becoming few here' L, laʔmahd ʔiʔ  
 quʔləxi·xlah 'I'll give you some berries (not in  
 container)' M, laʔmahd siʔ ləʔa·laʔ 'give me  
 some berries (not in container):' L, laʔmahd  
 siʔ ləʔa·kyaʔ 'give me (e.g. a bucket of)  
 berries:' L, laʔmahd ʔu·d ləʔeseʔahh 'a berry  
 (intact) is there' L, laʔmahd ʔu·d ləʔesetahh  
 'a berry (e.g. split, crushed) is there' L, laʔ-  
 mahd ləxi·cjh 'grab a bunch (handful) of  
 berries:' L, ʔew laʔmahdleʔəqa·ʔ ʔələʔa·ne·  
 'eat some (not all) of those berries' L, deʔew-  
 ləʔəqa·ʔ laʔmahd ʔuʔləʔesicahh 'I bought the  
 same kind of berries' L, ʔew laʔmahd ləʔəla·-  
 səhʔeʔ 'hide those berries:' L, laʔmahd daʔʔ  
 ləʔexiqaʔdg 'I'm canning berries' L, laʔmahd  
 ʔahnu·d ʔələʔesəlahh 'fed them berries' 18.45L,  
 ljh ləʔa· laʔmahd siʔ ləʔəʔaʔ 'give me one  
 berry:' LM, dəxk ləʔa· laʔmahd ʔixaʔ 'how  
 many berries do you have?' L, noun laʔmahd fre-  
 quently omitted, lɣ-class-mark sufficient to

indicate 'berry': ya·ləxələubdg 'few berries' L,  
 dəqi·kih kulexaʔluw 'there are no big berries  
 left' L, xələxihih 'he's eating berries' L; as  
 first element of compound: laʔmahdqəxah 'berry--  
 month' LA, Galushia Nelson laʔmatwaʔ Dətiaʔaq  
 or laʔmatDətiaʔaq 'berry basket' BSDL 546 laʔ-  
 mahdwahd xəʔa·s 'basket for berries' or laʔmahd-  
 xəʔa·s 'berry-basket'; head of compound in the  
 names of a few berry species: qəʔdlaʔmahd 'sal-  
 monberries (Rubus spectabilis)' LMAS, 43.19M,  
 Rezanov Камышара 'МалинаHimbeere', ʔi·seiyah-  
 xihaʔmahd 'yellow salmonberries' M ('old person  
 berries', evidently not the same as ʔi·seiyah-  
 xiyaʔ laʔmahd), kuhdiʔa·ʔmahd 'berry spe-  
 cies' ('moss-berries', see kuhd-kuʔd-kuʔd) A; a  
 larger number of names of berry species take the  
 form o-yaʔ laʔmahd 'berries of, belonging to o':  
 diyuhyaʔ laʔmahd ('blackbear's berries'), sejih-  
 kinu·yaʔ laʔmahd ('dead people's berries'),  
 su·qyaʔ laʔmahd ('su·q's berries'), se·yuʔyaʔ  
 laʔmahd ('se·yuʔ's berries'), xələhsa·seyu·yaʔ  
 laʔmahd ('white men's berries'), ʔi·seiyahxih-  
 yaʔ laʔmahd ('old person's berries'), qe·ʔs-  
 kyaʔ laʔmahd ('bluejay's berries'), see diyuh,  
 sih, su·q, se·yuʔ, la·, ʔya, and qe·ʔs,  
 respectively.

məjɪdug-məjɪdug (məjɪdug L only; loan from Chugach Eskimo mačuutaq 'codfish roe', not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)

məjɪdug-məjɪdug (noun) 1. (1-class) 'intact piece of codfish roe, roe-sac' LM, məjɪdug ʔu·d ʔi·-seʔahɪ 'a piece of cod eggs is there' L.

2. (probably unclassified) 'cod stomach, stuffed with cod-liver, for eating' M.

3. (probably 1ɣ-class) 'loose codfish roe' L.

məjɪdugdeqeta·ɪ (noun, unclassified) 'bloomers' ('codfish-roe-pants') L ("look like codfish-eggs").

məʃiːn (loan from English 'machine', perhaps not naturalized) see ʔidekus məʃiːn under kus.

məʒuhg (loan from Russian мешок, perhaps direct, but more probably through Chugach Eskimo misuk 'bag', not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)

məʒuhg (noun, unclassified) 'sack, gunnysack' L,  
məʒuhgluw 'big sack' LM, ləxəcahə məʒuhg  
'coarse gunnysack' L.

megə (loan from Chugach Eskimo makaq 'checker(-piece)', perhaps of Russian origin, not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)

megə (noun, unclassified) '(piece, game of) checkers' LMS, 44.2, 3, 4, 5L, Galushia Nelson mákəq 'checkers' BSDL 551 (see BSDL 242 for some discussion; this game was evidently a modified version of a popular Russian board-game, which L partly describes: There was a 'men's side' and a 'women's side', all pieces on the women's side were the same, conch-shaped and made of hard alder, 'men's' pieces (or 'kings'?) had hats, the board being like a modern checkerboard; the term extends to modern American checkers), megə ʔidələl 'checker-playing' 44.1L, megə ʔiqədi·leh 'there'll be a checker-game' L, megə ʔiqədi·xih 'I'll play checkers' L (see further instances under ʔi-d-le, megə wəx quʔxih 'I'll play checkers' M (which L considers to mean 'I'll make checkers', see further instances under transitives of -le 4a.), megə xuʔ qaʔihinu· 'they'll make a checker-set' L, megətuʔ 'lots of checkers' LM, qəʔiəyu·yaʔ megə 'women's side of checkers game' ('women's checkers') L, hila·ʔəyu·yaʔ megə 'men's side of checkers

game' ('men's checkers') L; megetqayah name  
of some winter month ('checkers-month') L.  
megetdakhay (noun, probably d-class) 'checker--  
board' ('checkers-bottom') L, also cat's name A.

menɨʒ-mɨnɨʒ (loan from English 'minutes', perhaps not  
naturalized)

menɨʒ-mɨnɨʒ (noun, unclassified) 'minutes (time)'

65.25, 25A.

ma'sla'-ma'slah (ma'slah M only; loan from Russian macso, perhaps directly through Chugach Eskimo maaslaq 'butter', but also used, at least formerly, in Yakutat Tlingit, masla, which might also be the immediate source of the Eyak form)

ma'sla'-ma'slah (noun, gl-class) 'butter': ma'slah M, ma'sla' 'butter' LMA, ma'sla' ?u'd gy'se?ahî 'a piece of butter is there' L, ma's-la'geleŋu? 'lots of butter' LM, ma'sla' gele-sagut'gi 'piece of butter is getting tiny' L, sîi'mahdî da'ŋ ma'sla' 'bread and butter' L, declassified(?): ma'sla'ŋ ?eŋe? 'smear it (bread) with butter!' L.

li<sup>?</sup> (perhaps two or more historically different stems, semantic differences not clearly reconciled, see especially discussion under li<sup>?</sup> 4.; with several sporadic variants of varying significance: le<sup>?</sup>, rejected by L, persistently recurs, especially under o-li<sup>?</sup> 3. in text (10.210, 211, 51.33, 35, 84A), and under li<sup>?</sup> 3b. in certain toponym-like forms from G in Harrington; it is possible that the form le<sup>?</sup> is thus also historically authentic, cf. Navaho bine<sup>?</sup>di 'behind it', géne<sup>?</sup> 'inside (an enclosure)', and that e > i under nasal unlaut, possibly also further to be analyzed l-e<sup>?</sup>, especially where referring to 'face, emotion' as under li<sup>?</sup> 1b., o-li<sup>?</sup> 2., 3., see l-thematic and <sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup>-; forms with n- initial are attested only in Tlingitized place-names in the Yakutat area, ni<sup>?</sup>-, ne<sup>?</sup>-, ne'-, and M rejects proposed forms like \*si'-ni<sup>?</sup>, \*<sup>?</sup>u-ni<sup>?</sup>; other, more sporadic, variants also occur, which are more certain to be momentary lapses: yi<sup>?</sup>, see y-le 2., and lu<sup>?</sup> under o-li<sup>?</sup> 1d., le., 4., clearly under the influence of o-lu<sup>?</sup> (lu<sup>?</sup>-nu<sup>?</sup>); regular variant -i<sup>?</sup> following -k- of reciprocal o<sup>?</sup>ik- and k-classifier in te-k-; the form li<sup>?</sup> also occurs once as a sporadic variant for lu<sup>?</sup> (24.72fnA), and as an established variant for lu<sup>?</sup> in li<sup>?</sup>8da'd-seda<sup>?</sup>eh, q.v. under <sup>?</sup>e-<sup>?</sup>q<sup>3</sup>)

li? (preverb, attested with zero, -ɣ, and  
 (rarely) -ɕ finals only) la. 'deeply back in-  
 to cavity, from open front end to back end of  
 cavity', with zero final only, frequent with post-  
 positional phrases such as o-yaɕ 'into o (not  
 with broad opening at top), into o's mouth',  
 o-yaɣ 'under o', o-qa? 'amongst, between o',  
 o-sa?-ɣ 'into o's mouth', or ?u-deɣ '(along)  
 there': ?uyaɕ li? sɛda? 'stay (deep) inside  
 it!' M, siyeɣ li? sɛta? 'put it (way in) under  
 me!' M, ?uyaɕ li? ku-leh, ?uyaɕ li? siɛh  
 'hollow thing, pipe, it has a cavity inside' LM,  
 sɛsa?ɣ li? diɕiqaheɕ 'it fell into my mouth'  
 L, ?u-deɣ ?aw li? seɕɣa-dɛ 'it (dog) dragged  
 them (pieces of food, one by one) way back in  
 (along) there' L, ?uyaɕ li? saɛ 'it went in-  
 to it' M, ?uyaɕ li? sa-? 'go into it!' M,  
 see also O-i-du?K, O-i-du? (49.39, 40A), O-i--  
 te (28.21, 35, 112, 49.38A), O-(i-)ta (29.98fn,  
 27b.35, 40A), iɛ-tux (49.70A), O-cu-x, d-i--  
 ka?ɕ (5.3L, 10.5, 6, 34A), xahd ?uxɛla?ɣ li?  
 detah, xahd ?uxɛla?ɣ li? deya-?, -ɕe?s, iɛ--  
 ɕe?s, O-i-u?g- la. (le?g-), y-le 2., ci?d--  
 le (72.2L), iɛ-?niK, -?ya li., gdl-?ya l.,  
 ɣdl-?ya (23.25A, 38.22LM), -?a?ɕ (20.26, 26A),

-ʔa' 5a., xutkyeq liʔ di-ʔab, edl-ʔa' 2.,  
 ʔi-ɛ-ʔa'w, -a (10.254A, 18.26L, 25.79A); also,  
 in reference to shallow cavities: qehɣ liʔ de-  
 setaʔ 'shut the door tight!' L, with various post-  
 positional phrases with reciprocal o, ʔiɫ-ɕ 'to-  
 ward each other', ʔiɫ-lah 'around each other',  
 ʔiɫ-taʔ-ɣ '(movement) behind each other' in themes  
 referring to folding, see O-ʔ-(l-)(ɫ-)ta, O-ʔ--  
 (l-)ɫ-ya-ʔ, and with ʔiɫ-(l)uʔ liʔ qaʔ, ʔiɫ--  
 (l)uʔ qaʔ liʔ 'up out deeply through each other'  
 in themes referring to knotting, see o-d-guɣ  
 (72.16L) O-x<sup>M</sup>aʔɕ-; also 'deeply into self' in  
 certain themes referring to breathing in, swallow-  
 ing down, but partly uncertain or inconsistent, cf.  
 lb. and o-liʔ 2., see O-ɣd-ɣahd 2., O-su-t',  
 liʔ O-ɛe-ʔni-dʔ.

lb. 'indentation, dimple' (? , exact meaning  
 uncertain, always with -ɣ final), ʔuxi-yaʔɣda-d  
 ʔewa- liʔɣ wəɣ ʔi-tʰhjh 'his chin is dimpled'  
 M (-te'--tu' 2e.), and with themes with l-ana-  
 tomical 'head, face', l-te'--tu' la. 'S is, be-  
 comes a certain way facially', l-le lb. 'S acts  
 facially', meaning 'S laughs, smiles', liʔxi-ni-  
 'laughter'; also in liʔɣ diʔeɛeʔuʔe 'take a  
 deep breath' L, but this form is probably indirect

reflexive with zero reflexive o.

2a. 'from front toward back end (especially of animal, not cavity), (from head) back (toward tail), down (along human being)' (always with zero final); with o-(l-)q̄ 'on o('s head)': k̄u·naʔq̄ liʔ ce·x̄ 'meat left on sealskin' ('slides down off head') LN, s̄i·naʔq̄ liʔ ceʔx̄g 'it (scarf) keeps sliding down off my head' L, siʔah siq̄ liʔ iʔeʔx̄g 'my skin is peeling (sliding down me)' L, o-q̄ liʔ -leʔg- 'S pets o (from head) toward tail', o-i-q̄ liʔ -leʔg- 'S pets o on head, from head toward tail' (-leʔg- 9.), perhaps also in ʔew xut̄i liʔ ʔuʔseʔuʔḡi 'he pulled the trigger' 61.54A (see O-ʔ-i-uʔg under leʔg-).

2b. 'way back, down onto impaling object (e.g. in hanging, putting something on peg, nail, bolt onto screw, ring onto finger)' (always with zero final), usually with postpositional phrase o-ʔe--laʔ-x̄ '(movement) hanging on, down over head of o': k̄uwah̄ʔiʔelaʔx̄ liʔ eʔtaʔ 'hang it on a nail!' L, deʔelaʔx̄ liʔ ʔiditah̄i 'it's hanging (on something peg-like)' 9.84, 86A, deʔelaʔx̄ liʔ ʔeʔeʔya·k̄ 'they're (cust) hung (on something peg-like)' 65.5faA, deʔiʔh̄elaʔx̄ liʔ x̄liya·k̄ 'I (cust) hang them on a stick' 65.21A, deʔelaʔx̄

liʔ qiʔyiləh 'you'll hang them up' 65.41fnA,  
 dəʔəlaʔʔ liʔ quʔdəyah 'they'll be hung up (e.g.  
 on a nail)' L, see also 0-(ʔ-)?a 18d., 18e., 19.,  
 also in kuʔi·dʔeʔʔ liʔ dəxuʔg 'bolt for screw'  
 L.

3a. With -ʔ final, preceding other preverb  
 qid 'down off, off edge, pointing at', liʔʔ qid  
 'back from front edge, set back': liʔʔ qid sə-  
 daʔ 'move (sitting, sidle) (from front edge) back  
 (into back of area)!' L, liʔʔ qid səktʔiʔh  
 'move him (child) back from edge!' L, liʔʔ qid  
 sə·i 'he's going (from front side over and) down  
 the back side (of hill)' L.

3b. As above, 'bay', in certain place names  
 in Yakutat area, sometimes with n- initial,  
 niʔ-, neʔ-, also liʔ-, leʔ- from G, see also  
 3c.: neeʔqhīt (or -εε-) 'some small bay' G  
 (Harrington), Sampson Harry neʔqid tɔ 'Sawmill  
 Cove' (Tlingit, < Eyak liʔʔ qid), also in  
 other place-names (? , calques) in Yakutat area  
 from G in Harrington: liʔʔ-qiʔhīt x̄h̄t 'bay is-  
 land' liʔʔ qid x̄h̄t (Tlingit, Eyak kaʔt 'is-  
 land'), ts'á' ləʔʔqhīt 'muddy bay' čaʔ leʔʔ  
 qid (čaʔ 'alluvial mud'), sahs liʔʔ-qiʔhīt  
 'sea otter bay' sahs liʔʔ qid (sahs 'sea

otter'); completely unknown to and rejected by L in meaning 'bay'.

3c. With -x final, 'into back end of aquatic area'(?): li'x 'iqe' 'boat backwards!' L (i.e. 'into back of area'?, cf. meaning under 4a.), perhaps also in probable etymology of place-name in Yakutat area, Tlingitized with n- initial: n<sub>2</sub>'x̄x̄aqqattháak, n<sub>2</sub>'x̄x̄akkattháal 'little point on Centac Island' G (Harrington) probably to be read ni'x...seta'í perhaps < Eyak li'x seta'í 'it (sg., unclassified) is moving into back, in back (?) downriver' (? , see 4.).

4. With basic meaning 'downriver, downstream, toward coast and into Gulf of Alaska' (conceivably different stem from that of 1.-3. above, or, if same historically, extremely difficult to explain: either the Gulf of Alaska is conceived as the back, inner end of an area or cavity, perhaps thought to be surrounded by land beyond the horizon, though this is extremely doubtful, or, perhaps equally implausibly, developed very anciently while the ancestors of the Eyak were still in the interior of Alaska, e.g. in the Middle Copper River area, downriver from where the Chugach Range and canyon at Miles Glacier on the Copper River represented

formidable obstacles and thus the back of a territory oriented in the opposite direction): a. with zero, -ɣ, and (rarely) -ɕ finals, 'downriver': with zero final, 'movement in downriver direction': liʔ ʔiweʔ 'swim downstream!' M, liʔ seqe.kɪh 'he's boating down' L, see also ɬa-dux l., -qe (56.2L, 68.2, 3A), -ɣa (68.18, 49A ɣa<sup>2</sup>), liʔ=lah (la-na<sup>1</sup>), gdl-ʔya l., -ʔa<sup>1</sup> 5a., liʔ ge-li.ʔah (ʔa<sup>1</sup>-ʔa<sup>2</sup>), with qeʔ-qeʔ- 'back, again': qeʔ liʔ adiqehɬ 'another S boated down' 68.21A, 'S boated back down' 68.105A, qeʔ liʔ adiqahɬ 'S (another group in fleet) boated down' 68.20A; with -ɕ final: liʔɕ sa.kɪh 'he's walking downriver' L; with -ɣ final 'downriver, movement in area downriver': liʔɣ seta.kɪh 'he's taking it downriver' M, liʔɣ ʔaw (ya.qaʔ) səltah.kɪh 'he took it (away) downriver' M, liʔɣ ʔiqeʔ 'boat downriver!' L, liʔɣ seqe.kɪ 'he's boating downriver' L, liʔɣ yeɣ da.ɣ.kɪh 'he's walking about downriver' L.

4b. With -ɣ final, as preceding, referring to ebbing of tide at river-mouth or shore: liʔɣ ɬeduxg 'tide keeps ebbing down a bit' L, liʔɣ geli.ʔah 'tide is going out' L.

4c. With zero final, 'down (from mountains)

southward', in  $\text{ʒa} \cdot \text{li}^? \text{ } ^?i\text{-d-(?)-}^?s$  'north-  
wind comes down from over Chugach range'.

$o\text{-li}^?$  (postposition, attested with zero,  $-\text{d}$ ,  $-\text{ʒ}$ ,  
 $-\text{dax}$ ,  $-\text{ʃ}$  finals and in various compounds) 1.  
'behind, back of, deeper in cavity than o, on wall  
side of o' a. with zero final, attested only in  
indirect reflexive constructions: 23.98fn, and in  
2. (uncertain) and 3. below; with  $-\text{d}$  final 'at  
rest': 25.58A,  $\text{ya} \cdot \text{yu} \cdot \text{li}^? \text{d}$  'way in back behind  
the stuff' M,  $^?ewli^? \text{d}$   $\text{setah}^? \text{h}$  'it's behind it'  
L,  $^?ewli^? \text{d}$   $\text{y}^? \cdot \text{?}$   $\text{seta}^? \text{h}$  'set it down behind it'  
L,  $\text{sili}^? \text{d}$   $\text{seteh}^? \text{h}$  'he's lying on the wall side  
of me in bed' M,  $\text{Kuli}^? \text{d}$   $\text{setah}^? \text{h}$  'it's behind  
something' L,  $\text{Keli}^? \text{d}$   $\text{sah}^? \text{h}$  'it went behind some-  
thing' L; with  $-\text{ʒ}$  and  $-\text{dax}$  finals 'movement  
within area': 23.98fnA,  $\text{sili}^? \text{ʒ}$   $\text{y}^? \cdot \text{?}$   $\text{sete}^? \text{h}$  'lie  
down on wall side of me!' M,  $\text{Kuli}^? \text{ʒ}$   $\text{setah}^? \text{h}$  'it's  
behind something' L,  $\text{sili}^? \text{dax}$  ( $\text{da} \cdot \text{ʒ}$ )  $\text{ʒ} \text{ə} \text{λa} \cdot \text{sa}^? \text{h}$   
 $\text{yah}^? \text{h}$  'he ran by (across) right behind me' L,  
 $\text{sili}^? \text{dax}$  ( $^?e\text{ʃ}$ )  $\text{sah}^? \text{h}$  'he went (completely) by  
behind me' L; with  $-\text{ʃ}$  final 'continuous or re-  
peated motion to', attested only in indirect re-  
flexive constructions:  $\text{li}^? \text{ʃ}$   $^?ew$   $\text{kəya} \cdot \text{K}^? \text{h}$  'he  
(cust) stows it behind himself' 23.97, 98fnA,  
 $\text{li}^? \text{ʃ}$   $^?ew$   $\text{sedeta} \cdot \text{h}$  'he's putting it behind

himself' L.

lb. With reciprocal o and -ɣ final 'motion in area back of each other' or perhaps 'motion deeply within each other': ?iɿi?ɣ (or ?iɿli?ɣ) ?eʒahɿ 'sew it with backstitch not going over edge:' L (see also lc.).

lc. With ɣe- 'area' as o: with -d final: ɣeli?d 'way in the back' L, ɣeli?d ?awyeq se-dahɿ 'it's sitting at the innermost end inside of it' L, with -deɣ final: ɣeli?deɣ yeɣ da?ɣ 'it's walking about at the innermost end (of cavity)' L, ɣeli?deɣ ?eʒahɿ 'sew it along inside from edge (with stitch that doesn't go over edge):' L; compounded with o-d-?e?-q-d: ɣeli?di-?qd 'way inside pipe, way under bed' L, compounded with o-ɿ-da'- 'on side of': ɣeli?ɿda'd 'on the behind, back side' L, ɣeli?ɿda?ɣ '(movement) on the behind, back side (of area, cavity)' L.

ld. With se-ɿ- (s-thematic, ɿ-classifier) 'of a series' as o, with -d final: seɿli?d ya' 'the hindmost, innermost one' L, ?u'd se-ɿu?d setahɿ (momentary lapse), ?u'd seɿli?d (or seɿli?d) setahɿ 'it's in innermost, hindmost position' L.

le. With indeterminate o, nominalized with

-d final: dəliʔd 'sleeping-place, sleeping--  
room in smokehouse' L.

1f. With ya- 'thing' as o, nominalized with  
-d final: Galushia Nelson yá-lft 'sleeping  
room' BSdL 545 ya-liʔd 'back room, sleeping room'  
LM, 11.131, 131A, ya-luʔd (momentary lapse, 11.-  
131fnA), ɣeyəɣd ya-yəliʔd (probably to be cor-  
rected to ya-liʔd 'in lower storey' L (probably  
to be glossed 'back room downstairs') L.

2. With meaning 'deeply into o (mouth)':

a. with zero final, in indirect reflexive construc-  
tions only, uncertain, perhaps used preverbially,  
see 11ʔ o-ɬə-ʔni-q 'S swallows O' and o-su-t  
'S slurps O'.

2b. Meaning as above, with ɣə- 'area' as o,  
compounded as o of o-dəhd 'from o': ɣəliʔdəhd  
qə-ɕ diʔɬəʔuʔəgɬh 'he's sighing (repeatedly  
breathing up out from deeply inside)' L.

3. In certain themes referring to 'dislike,  
hate, spite, anger against o': a. with zero final:  
o-liʔ ʔi-d-ɬ-a 'S hates o, is angry at o', o-liʔ  
ʔəd-d-ɬə-a 'S pretends to hate, be angry at o',  
articulated o-leʔ 51.33, 35, 84fnA.

3b. As above, compounded as o of o-dəhd  
'(with pressure) against o', o-liʔ-dəhd 'in

spite of, to spite, in anger against o': ?ili<sup>2</sup>-  
 dahd wəx qu<sup>2</sup>xleh 'I'll do thus to spite you'  
 L, sili<sup>2</sup>dahd sah<sup>2</sup>ih 'he left in a huff at me'  
 M, sili<sup>2</sup>dahd sa<sup>2</sup>ih 'he's leaving in a huff  
 against, to spite me' M.

3c. As above, with form di<sup>2</sup> of uncertain  
 morphological and syntactic classification, either  
 compounded as o of o-di<sup>2</sup> or with preverb di<sup>2</sup>:  
 o<sup>1</sup>-li<sup>2</sup>( )di<sup>2</sup> o<sup>2</sup>-la<sup>2</sup>x d-<sup>2</sup>ya 'o<sup>2</sup> is, becomes  
 angry at o<sup>1</sup>, see under o-<sup>2</sup>ya 3a., form or phrase  
 as o of o-ga<sup>2</sup> 'like o': o-li<sup>2</sup>( )di<sup>2</sup>ga<sup>2</sup> ?i--  
 leh--le<sup>2</sup>-, see ?i-leh--le<sup>2</sup>- 2b. (le(?)), ar-  
 ticulated o-le<sup>2</sup> 10.210, 211A.

o-l<sup>2</sup> di<sup>2</sup>  
 ?i-d-le<sup>2</sup>  
 ?i-leh--le<sup>2</sup>  
 ?i-le<sup>2</sup> 2b.

4. 'downriver, downstream, from further down-  
 river than o', attested only with xə- 'area' as  
 o: with -d final: xəli<sup>2</sup>d wəx ?i<sup>2</sup>feh 'he lives  
 downriver' L, xə<sup>2</sup>d xəli<sup>2</sup>d 'way downstream there'  
 M, with de- 'ipse': Furu<sup>2</sup>jəlm Tehaliu 'river'  
 perhaps to be read dəxəli<sup>2</sup>[dd]uh 'indeed down-  
 river!', dəxəli<sup>2</sup>d 'downriver' L; compounded as o  
 of o-i-<sup>2</sup>fa<sup>2</sup>- 'side of o': xəli<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>fa<sup>2</sup>d '(at rest)  
 (on) downriver (side)' L, xəlu<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>fa<sup>2</sup>x 'from down-  
 river' L, later corrected to xəli<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>fa<sup>2</sup>x, to be  
 glossed '(motion) on downriver side', or further  
 corrected to xəli<sup>2</sup>fa<sup>2</sup>hd 'from downriver'.

?a<sup>2</sup>-li<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>x (form perhaps including o-li<sup>2</sup>) see ?a<sup>2</sup>-li<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>x.

le (with non-reduced form in active perfective, perhaps related to or to be identified with le-(1)i-ni)  
 d-de-le (with d-thematic 'oral, noise' and/or class-mark for S 'fire' thematized) 'S (fire) sputters, fizzles, crackles' (supposed to be ancestors speaking); disdileh̄t 'it (fire) is sputtering, sputtered' LA, deqa'g disdileh̄t 'fire is sputtering, sputtered, fizzled' (ancestors speaking) L, desedele'̄t 'it (fire) is sputtering' A, deqa'g desedele'̄t 'fire keeps sputtering (a long time)' L, deqa'g dedeleh 'fire is sputtering' L, qu'dedeleh 'it (fire) will sputter' A, repetitive: deqa'yu' dedele'g 'sometimes it (fire) sputters' L; see also d-de-le, d-s-de-le, d-c-leh, under le-(1)i-ni.

le-(1)i-ni (irregular in active and neuter perfectives, stem always reduced -(1)i-k (with Rezanov 3 times implying -ni $\dot{k}$ ); with zero or vocalic classifiers otherwise always regular le, but with  $\dot{k}$ -classifier stem-initial l- drops and vowel is regularly -i, thus  $\dot{k}$ -le >  $\dot{k}i$ ; this relationship, between intransitive themes of the form -le and the transitive (causative) thereof, 0- $\dot{k}i$ , and of the transitive with vocalized classifier de-- $\dot{k}e$ -le, is quite regular, with practically no analogical forms, such as \* $\dot{k}$ -le, \* $\dot{k}$ -li, \* $\dot{k}e$ -li, or \*de- $\dot{k}i$  arising, in spite of the probable great age of the irregularity, cf. Navaho  $\text{?}\acute{a}$ - $\text{?}$ -n $\acute{e}$ h 'I act (thus)',  $\text{?}\acute{a}$ - $\text{?}$ - $\dot{k}$  $\acute{e}$ h 'I make it' ('I act thus upon it'),  $\text{?}\acute{a}$ -l-n $\acute{e}$ h 'it is made' ('it is acted thus upon' < \*- $\dot{k}e$ -ne); imperatives, however, are rather irregular and variable: inceptive imperative -le $\text{?}$  L 13 times, M 4 times, A 5 times, -le $\text{?}$  L 6 times, M 3 times, -le $\cdot$  L twice, M once, -leh M once;  $\text{?}i$ -active imperative: -le $\text{?}$  L 4 times, M twice, -le $\text{?}$  L once; regular active imperative: -le $\text{?}$  L 3 times, -le $\cdot$  M twice, -le $\text{?}$  L once, -leh L once; imperatives with  $\dot{k}$ -classifier are still more irregular and variable; of these the inceptive imperative is most regular: - $\dot{k}i$  $\text{?}$  L 11 times, M twice, - $\dot{k}i$  $\text{?}$  M twice, simple active and  $\text{?}i$ -active imperatives

Thing  $\text{?}\acute{a}$ - $\text{?}$ -ni 'happen'  
 $\text{?}\acute{a}$ - $\text{?}$ -ni 'come & happen'

are infrequent; simple  $-ih$  L twice,  $-i$  M 3 times,  $-ie$  M once,  $-ieh$  L once, ?i-active  $-i?$  L once, M once,  $-i$  L once, but the most frequent imperative with  $-i$ -classifier, though hardly to be classified as a neuter on a semantic basis, shows a neuter imperative prefix and a stem vowel usually  $-e$ , the stem vowel probably on analogy not so much with the zero- and vocalic classifier forms of this stem, but both prefix and stem-vowel on analogy with themes with the (presumably entirely unrelated) stem  $ie(?)$ :  $-ie$  L 13 times, M 3 times, S once,  $-ieh$  L 10 times,  $-ie?$  L twice,  $-ih$  L twice,  $-i$  L once; positive imperfectives usually  $-leh$ , but  $-le$  is not infrequent, especially in texts from A (with  $i$ -classifier, usually  $-ih$ , but  $-i$  twice in texts from A, and  $-ie$ , analogical, once in text from G), but negative imperfectives more frequently  $-le-s$  than  $-leh-s$  (active  $-le-s$  L 4 times, M twice, and, in text, A 7 times, G once,  $-leh-s$  L twice, in text A 3 times, L once; inceptive  $-leh-s$  L twice, M 3 times, A twice in text,  $-leh-s$  L twice), and  $-i-i-s$  somewhat more frequently than  $-i-ih-s$  (active  $-i-s$  L twice, M twice, A in text 4 times,  $-ihs$  L 3 times, inceptive  $-i-s$  L 3 times, M 3 times,  $-ihs$  L 5 times), positive conditional

-leh, -h̄ih, negative conditional -le's A in text  
 once, optatives always -leh, -h̄ih, inceptive per-  
 fective always -le'ī, -h̄i'ī, active and neuter per-  
 fectives always -liī, -h̄iī (note also Reganov forms  
 in -niī mentioned earlier), subjunctives always -le'ȳ,  
 -h̄i'ȳ, repetitives -le'g, -h̄i'g, customaries -le'K,  
 -h̄i'K, and yaȳ-progressive -le'ȳ; in one deverbal-  
 ization lih, and in another -ni' (?i'ni' < \*n-ne >  
 l-le), regular gerundives -le'l; often synonymous,  
 or nearly so, with themes with t'e'-t'u', q.v.)

-le (subclassified by cooccurrence with various  
 adverbs, preverbs, and postpositional phrases;  
 transitives (causatives) listed together with cor-  
 responding intransitives; these of extremely high  
 frequency; frequently interchangeable (except for  
 active imperfectives) with -t'e'--t'u' (except for  
 neuter imperfectives thereof) 1. With no adverbs,  
 preverbs, or postpositional phrases, other than  
 negative adverbs: a. 'something (often bad, in-  
 jurious) happens to S' (see also 31. below): diK  
 ?eslii:ih 'nothing (bad) happened to her' 20.23A,  
 diK t'exle'ēda'ȳ 'if nothing happens to me (if  
 I don't die)' 21b.76A; with kude'dah 'no way,  
 impossible': kude'dah lehs 'it can't do any-  
 thing' 26.2L, kude'dah qe' dale's 'nothing

more can happen to them, they can't do anything anymore' 28.140A. Transitive (causative): diK 'exsi:ic:ih 'I didn't do anything to him' 8.14A; diK la:xiqe?xaihs 'I won't do anything (bad) to you pl.' 19.15L, diK 'i:ii-e:ih 'he who hasn't been doing anything to you' 51.35A; <sup>reflexive:</sup> de? 'ede= i:le-K 'he (cust) does it to (dresses) himself again' 36.44A, de-lehd:duw i:K 'I wonder why He does it to them' 70.3A.

1b. Transitive (causative), 'S gets, gets at O', cf. 2b., 4b., with Kude-dah as above, and o-a- 'of o' and ku-indefinite O, cf. also 2b., Kude-dah 'ewa- Kuxi-e 'I have no way of obtaining any' 25.147A.

2. With Ke-d 'how?, how', generally translating as 'what?, what' (see also -te'--tu' 1.): 2a.33fmM, 10.222A, 15.10M, 20.10, 21b.64, 25.116, 32.31A, 34.10M, 24, 29, 37, 45L, 49.121A, 57.11G, 70.3A, Ke-d yileh 'what are you doing?, what's happening to you?' LM, Ke-dyh leh 'what's he doing?' M, Ke-dyh qa?leh 'what's he going to do?, what'll become of him?' M, siK 'u?ce:ga? Ke-d qa'lgah yileh 'tell me what you've been doing today!' L, 'u?li'lgah: Ke-d da- qa?leh 'do you know what we should do?' L, Ke-d da-

qa?leh 'what'll we do?, what'll become of us?'  
 M, Ke·d seli? 'what did you do?, what happened  
 to you?' LM, Ke·d Kuseli? 'what happened?' N,  
 ?u?lixil?gah Ke·d qu?xleh 'I know what I'll do'  
 L, ?u?lixil?gah Ke·d yileh 'I know what you're  
 doing' L, ?u?lixil?gah Ke·d seli? 'I know what  
 you did' L, diK ?u·la?iga? Ke·duhnu· ?ele·K  
 'they don't know what's been (cust) becoming of  
 them' 28.86A; with (de-)Ke·-(yu·)(-d) '(ipse)  
 any way (pl.) at all': Ke·yu· qe? Kusedele·?i  
 'all sorts of further things are happening' 11.-  
 133A, deKe·d Kuqa?leh, deKe·d Kuqu?welah  
 'whatever will happen' 61.12A, deKe·yu·d ?iya·  
 qu?xleh 'I'll do anything, all sorts of things  
 for you' L, diK deKe·duh qe? dele·?i 'nothing  
 more at all happened to them' 25.206A, ?ew  
 ?ewa·dog diK deKe·duw ?esli?: 'nothing at  
 all happened to the dog either' 61.12A, with  
 ti·l-class-mark for S: ?ew ?ah? diK deKe·duh  
 ti·lele·K: 'nothing (cust) happens to the feather'  
 48.6L, with Ke·-?i·-d 'how ever, how on earth?':  
 Ke·?i·d ?i· qu?yileh 34.18, 49L, Ke·?i·d ?i·  
 qi?yileh 'what ever, what on earth will you do?'  
 34.15, 48, 54, 63M, with Ke·-?i·-d '(I wonder)  
 how': Ke·?duh seli? '(I wonder) what happened

to him' 61.43A. Transitive (causative): a. Ke-duh ?ah selih 'what did he do to him?' 8.12A, Ke-duh xuqa?h 'what will it do to me?' 21b.-3A, Ke-duh da' qa?hjh 'what shall we do with him?' 21b.21A, Ke-duh qi?yih 'what are you going to do with it?' 21b.33A, Ke-duh lex-selih 'what did you pl. do to her?' 23.103A, Ke-duh selih 'what did you do to her?' L; ya?xu' deKe'd xuqu?lexh 'pl. don't do anything (any harm) to me' 19.14L.

2b. Transitive (causative), 'S gets, gets at O', cf. 1b., 4b.: Ke-duh ?ew qa?h 'how he was going to get at it' 11.6A; attested mainly with o-a' 'of o' and Ku-indefinite O, 'some of o': Ke-duh ?ewa' ?aw Kuqa?h 'how he'll get any (of it)' 7.9fnA; Ke-ci-duhnu' ?awa' Ku-qu?xh 'how'll I get at any of them?' 10.236A.

3. With ?ida'-?ide- abstract relative, meaning identical with non-interrogative Ke-d 'how': ?ida' ?ah selih, diK ?u-la?ga's 'what happened to him, she didn't know' 47b.26M, ?ida' Kuqa?leh 'what will happen' 61.87, 88A, ?uKah lisitah, ?idequ?xleh 'I forgot what I was going to do' L, ?icex?eh ?ideyileh 'I see

what you're doing, I saw what you did' L, ?u?-  
 lixiŋgah ?idequ?xleh (same as ... Ke-d qu?x-  
 leh) 'I know what I'll do' L, ?u?lixiŋgah  
 ?idayileh (same as ... Ke-d yileh 'I know  
 what you're doing' L, ?u?lixiŋgah ?ideseliŋ  
 (same as ... Ke-d seliŋ) 'I know what you did'  
 L, ?ida- da- seliŋ? ?u?li-ŋgah 'do you know  
 what we did?' M, ?ida- da- (or ?ideda-) qa?-  
 leh diK ?u-la?xŋga-s 'I don't know what we'll  
 do, what will become of us, happen to us' M.

4a. With ?weŋ 'thus', ordinarily translat-  
 ing as 'that', 'S does thus, S does that, that  
 happens to S, S becomes thus' (see also -te--tu'  
 2.): / 9.11, 41, 10.53A, 17.6M, 23.147, 24.75, X  
 28.40, 49.66A, ~~51.95~~, 70.3A, Ke-duw weŋ seliŋ -  
 'how that happened to it' 2a.9M, Ka-di?da- weŋ  
 ?i-leh 'that'll never happen' 23.153A, weŋ qew  
 qe? qu?dale- 'that might happen again' 51.95A,  
 iŋ weŋ ?ile-Kŋh 'she'd (cust) always do thus'  
 46.4M, weŋ le-K 'it (cust) happens' 60.59A,  
 with qi-d-anatomical: weŋ qi-deseliŋ 'that  
 happened to your foot, your foot got that way'  
 51.81A, idiomatically: weŋ qa?leh "'it's a  
 deal", it'll happen thus' 9.22A, diK weŋ qa?-  
 le-s "'nothing doing", it won't happen thus' 9.21A,

Rezanov Oxkaseerab 'Hauaso Anfang' weꝯ sale·k  
 'that's happening, it's in the process of doing,  
 happening, becoming thus, that' L, Rezanov <sup>oxca</sup>  
 serab 'Haukharb anfangen' weꝯ selik 'that hap-  
 pened, it did thus, that' LM; other elicitation:  
 weꝯ quꝯweleh L, weꝯ qaꝯleh 'it'll happen'  
 LM, diK weꝯ qaꝯleha (or -le·s) 'it won't  
 happen' L, hiꝯq siqi·da·q weꝯ qaꝯleh 'my whole  
 foot will get involved (with spreading sore)'  
 ('that'll happen on my whole foot') M, ?iliꝯdahd  
 weꝯ quꝯxlih 'I'll do it to spite you' M, ?eyas  
 weꝯ qaꝯlihinu· 'they'll do it' M, weꝯ leh  
 'it's happening' M, du·deꝯgh weꝯ leh 'who did,  
 is doing that?' M, ?gh dexph weꝯ leh 'that  
 guy did, is doing it' L, ke·ꝯweꝯduh weꝯ yileh  
 'why do, how come you do that?' L, de·wahci·d  
 weꝯ yileh 'why in the world did you do that?'  
 M, diK ?uya·K weꝯ xle·siph 'he doesn't allow  
 me to do that' ('I don't do it with his permis-  
 sion') M, silaxa·k qew weꝯ le· 'it happened  
 in my presence, view' L, hiꝯq siya·q weꝯ sa-  
 le·k 'my whole hand is getting involved (with  
 spreading sore)' ('it's in the process of happen-  
 ing on my whole hand') M, deꝯa· weꝯ selikih  
 'he did it himself' M, weꝯ si·leh, weꝯ ?i·leh

'let it happen' L, *Ma·di?da· ?uya·K wəx*  
*?ixilɨhɨh* 'he'll never let me do it' M, *wəx*  
*səle·x ?uɣe?xleh* 'I want that to happen' L,  
*wəx da· ?ile·K* 'we (cust) do thus' M; with  
 (de-)?wəx-yu· ('ipse thus pl.'): *dəxi· səhdɨ*  
*wəxyu· səle·ɨ* 'those things have been happening  
 for a long time already' 36.6A, *de?wəxyu· leh*  
 'they did thus (the same, just such things, over  
 and over)' 68.15A, *de?wəxyu· xleh dəwa· qew*  
*yahd xəp·? disikɨ* 'after many times, I (finally)  
 built a (decent) house' L. Transitive (causative):  
 'S acts thus upon O, does thus, that to O, S pro-  
 cesses, treats O, S makes, produces O': 8.8, 9,  
 11.31, 28.92, 120, 100.48, 61.48, 65.32, 33, 33A,  
*diK ?ew wəx ɨi·e* 'they don't do thus to it'  
 65.78A, *Ke·yu? wəx səhɨinu·* 'they made them  
 out of hemlock' ('they did thus to hemlock') 68.=  
 15A, *gudesu? wəx qi?yɨhɨh* 'you'll make, pro-  
 duce dry-fish' 65.28A, customary: *Ke?a·syu· wəx*  
*ɨi·Kɨh* 'she (cust) makes baskets' ('she (cust)  
 does thus to baskets') 10.168A, *xu· wəx ?ex-*  
*ɨi·K* 'I (cust) do thus to it' 65.11A, *wəx da·*  
*?əhɨ·K* 65.36A, *da· wəx ɨi·K* 60.4, 65.68, 71,  
 75, 79A, *wəx da· ɨi·K* 65.72, 82A, *da· wəx*  
*?əhɨ·K* 'we (cust) do thus to it, process it thus,



not see under L 0-2-62-1e(?)

'I'm not doing that to it', Тетохетлики? 'Что  
дѣлаешь? was machst du?' perhaps to be read de'd  
weḡ yihh 'what are you doing that to?, what  
are you making?' L, Хенгеохсатлима 'Сми sie'  
ḡi·ḡih weḡ seihh 'that guy did that (to it)'  
M, Тахму охсатлима entered beneath 'Серебро'  
(not in Radlov) probably to be read deḡeḡh weḡ  
seihh 'he, you made it of silver, he, you did  
that to silver', Тоохелики 'Виновать schuldig'  
de'a· weḡ ḡihh 'he did that (to it) himself',  
Ценгеохотлима 'Еутатъ spassen, scherzen' ci·-  
y...yaḡḡ ... weḡ ḡihh 'he's doing that to it  
while singing', ci·yuaḡḡ (or ciḡyaḡḡ) weḡ  
xihh 'I'm doing it (to it) while singing' M;  
other elicitation, 'to it' often to be supplied  
in glosses: active imperative (prefix and stem  
analogical with neuter ḡe(?)): weḡ ḡaḡe· 'do  
it that way, thus!' L, do it!' L, kuḡuḡ weḡ  
ḡaḡeh 'make lots of them! ('do thus to many!')  
L, deḡeḡi· weḡ ḡaḡehxihh 'do it yourselves!'  
L, inceptive imperative: laḡ weḡ seḡhi·ḡ 'make  
it this way!' L, inceptive imperfective: dexu·  
weḡ quḡxihh 'I'll do, make it myself' LM, diḡ  
weḡ quḡxihh, diḡ weḡ quḡxihh·e 'I won't do  
it, I wasn't intending to do it' L, weḡḡh

qu?xih 'shall I do it to him?', do I have to  
 do it to him?' L, wəxʂuh qu?yih 'will you  
 do that?' L, de?əyət wəx qa?h̄hinu 'they'll  
 do it themselves' M, active imperfective: d̄id  
 ?a wəx ?əw ih 'just he does that to it' M,  
 wəx xih 'I'm making it (and with assured suc-  
 cess)' L, diK ?əxəkih wəx xih 'I'm not  
 making a canoe' L, Kuwa wəx xih 'I'm making  
 it for somebody' L, inceptive perfective: wəx  
 səxi: 'I'm making it (and taking all day, may  
 not succeed)' L, active perfective: wəx sihi  
 'I did it' L, ?əhdəx<sup>W</sup>ah wəx sihi A, ?udəx<sup>W</sup>ah  
 wəx sihih̄ 'he made me do it' ('I did it to it  
 by his command') L, de:d wəx səhi 'what did  
 you make?, what did you do (it to)?' M, inceptive  
 subjunctive: wəx səxi:x ?uxə?xleh 'I want to  
 do it' L, with d-class-mark for O: da?d̄ da  
 wəx d̄əih 'we're making a basket-design' L,  
 idiomatic or uncertain: məsdə:g wəx səhi 'he  
 made a mistake' 20.84, 32.8A (choice of verb pro-  
 bably influenced by English), ?i-li:q̄ q̄phew  
 h̄əhd wəx ih 'he pretends he's smoking' L (cf.  
 h̄əhdəyət wəx dəleh under h̄əhd), with nəgət  
 as O, M only (L considers to mean 'S makes, gets  
 checkers', see ?i-d-le): nəgət wəx ?a?re

'play checkers' M, yaʔʔu· ʔidaʔya·ləʒ megec  
 quʔyilih 44.2fnM, megec wəʒ quʔxlih 'I'll  
 play checkers' (preferred to ... ʔiqeʔdi·xlih)  
 M, megec wəʒ xlih 'I'm playing checkers' M;  
 indirect reflexive: ʔew kahgəʒ ʔedʒeʒahd wəʒ  
 kele· 'he takes the scab off of himself' 36.43A,  
 ʔedʒeʒahd ʔew wəʒ keleh 'he takes it off of  
 himself' 36.39A; reflexive: diK deʔa· ʒew wəʒ  
 ʔadeselilic 'he didn't do that to himself' 61.40A;  
 passive: 65.85fnA, tiʒgi ʔewahd wəʒ dele·K  
 'props are (cust) made for it' 65.5A, diK wəʒ  
 dele·s 'that's not done to it' 65.7A, ʔewʒekah  
 wəʒ dele·K 'they are (cust) made, taken (cut)  
 off of it' 65.9A, wəʒ sedaleh da·ʒ 'when that's  
 been done to it' 65.26A, wəʒ ʒew dele·K 'that's  
 (cust) done to it' 65.35A, ʒe·yaʔʒ wəʒ dele·K  
 'it's (cust) put into sealoil' 63.37G, deʔe·dʒda·ʒ  
 wəʒ dele· 'it's made into the form of meat--  
 slabs' 65.8A, Rezanov Теткучь охлемель 'Жаръ-  
 зноѣ eisern' diditu·ʒ wəʒ skiniʒ, diditu·ʒ  
 wəʒ skiliʒ 'that's been done to iron, it's made  
 of iron' LM, Клямъ охлемель 'Костяноѣ knöschern'  
 ʒahʒ wəʒ skiniʒ 'that's been done to bone',  
 Катекльчеохлемель 'Мѣдноѣ kupfern' sedegeiʒeʔ  
 wəʒ skiniʒ 'that's been done to brass', Цаа

Охсленэль 'Камешной steinern' ca' wəʒ sʰiniʔ  
 'that's been done to stone', wəʒ sʰiliʔ 'it's  
 been made, done, processed' L, wəʒ ʧew sʰiliʔ,  
 wəʒ ʧew sʰiliʔ 'that's what was done to it'  
 L, sʰiʔmahdʔ wəʒ sʰiliʔ (or sʰi-) 'bread's  
 been made' L, laʔdaʔ wəʒ dələh 'there are two  
 ways to do it' ('that's done two ways') L, laʔ-  
 diʔdaʔ wəʒ dələh 'there are two different ways  
 to do it' L; Rezanov Ухатхлеу 'Здѣлать machen,  
 thun', Ухатхле 'Здѣлаѣ machen, thun (Imperat.)',  
 interpretation uncertain, perhaps passive, to be  
 read wəʒ ... dələh(duh) 'that's being done(!)'.

4b. Transitive (causative) only, with ʔwəʒ  
 'thus': 'S gets, obtains, picks, gathers, collects,  
 accumulates O' (where O is generally supply of  
 food or fuel, meaning partly overlapping with that  
 of causative of 4a., see also 1b., 2b., qə-ʒ-le):  
 ʔew liʃʰahd gahs da' wəʒ ʔi·ʔ 'we'd (cust)  
 obtain pitch from spruce' 51.28A (d-class mark  
 for O lacking), ʔaʔg wəʒ ʔi·ʔ 'he (cust) gets  
 (collects and/or chops and/or piles up) firewood'  
 36.3A, ʔew wəʒ ʔih 'he does that (gets fire-  
 wood)' 36.5A, ʔaʔg wəʒ ʔexʰi·ʔ 'I (cust) pile  
 up firewood' L, ʔidaʔya·ləʒ ʔʰi·ʔkaʔʔ wəʒ si-  
 ʔiʔ 'I got, caught, picked too many sea-urchins'

4.10M (1-class-mark for O lacking), with te'ya? 'fish' as O, 'S goes fishing (commercially, for cannery)': te'ya? wəx səi·? te'ya? wəx 'əki·, te'ya? wəx 'əte· M, te'ya? wəx 'i·ki·? L, te'ya? wəx 'a'əte· 'go fishing (commercially, for cannery)!' LM, te'ya? da· wəx qa'ki· 'we'll go fishing' 62.15G, te'ya? wəx i'ihinu· 'they're fishing' 2a.15M, te'ya? da· wəx iih 'we were fishing' 32.5A, te'ya? wəx ləxsəi'it 'you pl. fished' M, te'ya? wəx da· 'i·kih 'let's go fishing' L, te'ya? wəx ki·Kih 'he (cust) fishes' L, with d-class-mark for O (Kude'uhdg 'eggs'): Kude'ufu? wəx desəi'it 'they gathered many (eggs)' 68.8A; passive: də-i'i'q' la'mahdyu· xəla'gwahd wəx dəle·K 'all kinds of berries are (cust) gathered (and/or put up) for winter' 63.33G (1x-class-mark for O lacking), sahx qi? wəx dəleh 'where cockles are dug' L, te'ya? wəx dəleh 'fish are caught, there is fishing, (commercial) fishing is done' 62.14G, te'ya? qi? wəx dəlehda·d 'at where there's fishing' 2a.18M; qa·l diK de·duw wəx dəle·e 'now nothing is going on, there's no fishing being done' 62.24G; 'əl te'ya? wəx dəlehdeg 'this fishing too' 62.14G (used as de-

verbalization).

5. With *'lex* 'this way, thus' ordinarily translating as 'this': *'ilgiyil'ihye'e'd leḡ seliḡ* 'this is the handiwork of a witch' ('this happened, it happened this way as the handiwork of a witch') L; indirect reciprocal: Rezanov *Илькатыааххреле* 'Помогаться *versöhnen, sich*' perhaps to be read *'ilga' da' leḡ delch* 'we do this like each other (act in agreement?)'. Transitive (causative): *leḡ 'a'he'* 'do it (to it) this way!, do this to it!' L; passive: *ḡew skiliḡ, leḡ ḡew sdiliḡ* 'this is how it was done to it, this is what was done to it' L.

6. With *'eḡdah* '(free, non-sedentary, unstructured) play': 11.174A, 13.2, 8, 8L, 38.2LM, 51.73, 74, 75A, *ya'ḡu' 'eḡdah qu'leḡleh* 'pl. don't play' 13.4L, *'eḡdah 'ele'?*, *'eḡdah 'i-le'?* L, *'eḡdah 'ele' M* (uncertain), *'eḡdah sele' M*, *'eḡdah 'ile'?* 'play!' LM, *'eḡdah 'eleḡle'*, *'eḡdah seleḡle'?*, *'eḡdah seleḡle'?* M, *'eḡdah 'eleḡle'?* L, *'eḡdah 'ileḡle'?* 'pl. play!' LM, *'eḡdah ḡe' 'eḡdele'* 'play again, some more!' M, *'eḡdah qu'xleh* 'I'll play' LM, *diK 'eḡdah qu'xle'e* 'I won't play' M, *'eḡdah xleh* 'I'm playing' LM, *diK 'eḡdah xle'e* 'I'm

not playing' M, ?əidəh səxlə-ɪ 'I'm starting to play' M, ?əidəh siliɪ 'I played' LM, ?əidəh ?ixileh 'let me play' L, ?əidəh da- ?i-leh, ?əidəh da- si-leh 'let's play' M, de?u-duh ?əidəh ?i-ljhinu- 'alright let them play' L, ?əidəh ?ixle-ŋ 'I (cust) play' L, frequently with o-ŋ 'with o (as toy or as playmate)': 60.7, 61.41A, da-na-da-ŋ ?əidəh ljhinu- 'they're playing with money' L, ɛe-skʰeda-ŋ ?əidəh ljhinu- 'they're playing with logs' L, dedu-ŋdɣh diŋ ?əidəh le-sjɪh 'there's no one he won't play with' L; indirect reciprocal: ne-ŋ ?iɪŋ ?əidəh qe? qu?dəljhinu- 'soon they'd be playing together again' 72.1L.

7. With ?idah 'well, alright, nicely, decently' (see also əl-ɛe-le): Rezanov Кра-саеубры'ѹкстро rein' ?idah səliɪduh 'it's gotten nice, clean!' L. Transitive (causative): 21b.73A ('S treats O well, cleans O (fish) well'), ?qɪ qe?ɪ ?idah ?əw ɪi-ŋ 'the woman (cust) fixes, prepares, cleans it (food)' 47.113LA, Rezanov Крааубраки 'лѹче better, gut (Comparat.)' ?idah ?əw ɪjɪɪh 'he's making it nice, better, clean, fixing it' L, ?idah xɪɪh 'I'm making it nice' L, ?uda-ɟɟ ?əwa- ?idah ?a?ɪeh 'fix

its roof!' L, ?idah səi·? 'clean it!' L,  
diK ?ediɣd ?idah ?esikisih 'he didn't clean  
house (the indoors)' L, repetitive: ?ew ?idah  
hi·gih 'he keeps cleaning, fixing it up' L;  
passive: ?idah sdiliɪ (or sɪliɪ) 'it got  
made nice, cleaned (by someone)' L.

8. With adverbs formed from adjectives with  
-dah: Kəzu·dah səliɪh 'he did something nice  
(kind)' L, Kəzu·dah siliɪ 'I've done well'  
34.7, 16, 50, 55, 60, 64M, with ti·l-class--  
mark for S: ?ew kuɪtahɪ kuʂa·dah ti·səliɪ  
'the feather turned bad, spoiled' 48.11L. Tran-  
sitive (causative): 21b.73fNA, sidesəleh siya·  
kuʂa·dah səliɪh 'he hurt my feelings' ('he  
treated my feelings badly') L, Kəzu·dah qih  
səliɪ 'you did the right, fair, fitting thing  
to him' L.

9. With adverbs formed from stem ya·  
'thing' with -dah (see also qə-ɣ-le): hi·?ɣ  
ya·yu·dah səle·ɪ 'he's doing all sorts of things'  
9.102, 102A, de?u·dəɣya·kihdaɪ siliɪ 'I've done  
(accomplished) something' 34.11M, de?u·dəɣya·kih-  
dah səxleh da·ɣ 'if anything happens to me (if  
I die)' 47b.10M, de?u·dəɣya·kihdaɪ qe? kuqu·  
dele· 'something else, more, further (bad) is

going to happen' 6<sup>1</sup>.99A. Not attested but probably used in transitive (causative).

10. Transitive (causative) only, with ya-kih 'thing-diminutive' adverbialized with -dah, used as preverb, 'payment', cf. o-q y-de-l<sup>e</sup> and o-q O-ke-le, 'S pays, repays O, pays O off' ('S does a little something to O'): 46.31M, de-ya-kihdah sili<sup>i</sup>h 'I paid him off' 37b.52A, ya-kihdah xuseki<sup>i</sup>h 'he paid me back (with money, service)' M, ku<sup>u</sup>-dah ya-kihdah xuse<sup>i</sup> 'he paid me well' L, de-ga<sup>o</sup>d<sup>o</sup>h ya-kihdah <sup>?</sup>ise-<sup>i</sup> 'how much did he pay you?' L, ki<sup>o</sup>q ya-yu-x<sup>o</sup> <sup>?</sup>ah ya-kihdah<sup>o</sup> ki-k<sup>i</sup>h 'she tried to pay him off with all sorts of things' 37a.16L, (repetitive: ya-kihdah<sup>o</sup> xi-g 'I kept trying to pay him' 37b.-61A, with o-x 'by means of, with o': ki<sup>o</sup>q ya-yu-x<sup>o</sup> si<sup>o</sup>a<sup>o</sup> ya-kihdah sili<sup>i</sup> 'I paid him with all my stuff' 37b.53A, de-xd ya-kihdah xuqu<sup>o</sup>-yili<sup>i</sup>h 'what will you pay me with?' 47c.35L, te<sup>o</sup>ya<sup>o</sup>x ya-kihdah <sup>?</sup>iqe<sup>o</sup>x<sup>i</sup>h 'I'll pay you with a fish' L, with o-q 'on o': <sup>ya-kihdah</sup> <sup>?</sup>uq <sup>?</sup>iqe<sup>o</sup>x<sup>i</sup>h 'I'll pay you for it' L.

11. With other adverbs formed with -dah (see also -te'--tu' 3.): suhg<sup>i</sup>dah sele<sup>o</sup> (or sele<sup>o</sup>, sele<sup>o</sup>) 'get sick!' L, suhg<sup>i</sup>dah sili<sup>i</sup>

'something very bad happened to me' L, ?enah=  
 sekidah selikih 'he did something nice, pleas-  
 ant (fun to watch)' L. Transitive (causative):  
 ?uçu·Biyah gudadah selik 'he deceived his grand-  
 mother' 17.1M, suhgidah siki 'I did something  
 very bad to him, hit him very hard, injured him  
 severely' L, suhgidah cehi·? 'really let him  
 have it!, hurt him bad!' L, Kahdidad xuseki  
 'you hurt me' L, Kahdidad xusi·ki·k 'you're  
 hurting me' L; reflexive: ?iyahdah ?edatilik  
 'he got himself all dirty' L, Kahdidad xuskilik  
 (or xusdi-) 'I got hurt' (by some agent) L,  
 Kahdidad xusedele·k (not xusele-) 'I'm get-  
 ting hurt' (by some agent) L, Kahdidad ?iqe?  
 deleh (not ?iqe?le-) 'you'll get hurt' (by  
 some agent) L.

12. With dawa?d(-ga?), 'S hurries':  
 dawa?d le· 'he's hurrying' L, dawa?dga? ?ile?  
 'hurry!' 15.16M, with yaç-progressive: dawa?d  
 yaç qu?xdeleh 'I'll hurry about' L; see also  
 ?i-d-le 3.

13. With o-ga? 'like o':a.(1) with noun  
 as o, 'S comes to resemble o, becomes, like o,  
 turns, gets o' (see also -te'--tu' 5.): fre-  
 quently with respect to color or texture:

*Resonance* "o-ga?dga?  
 "hardly" "o-ga? leh "not a lot"  
 "manifestly like a dog"  
 "perhaps" "o-ga? --S

λa·ʃe·ʔgaʔ se·le·i 'it's turning red (starting  
 to resemble red-snapper)' M, λa·ʃe·ʔgaʔ ʔi·leh-  
 dowa· ʔixit'eh 'I'm waiting for it to turn red'  
 M, λa·ʃe·ʔgaʔ se·le·ɣ ʔuɣeʔxleh 'I want it to  
 turn red' M, di·yaʔgaʔ se·le·i 'it's turning  
 green (starting to resemble salt water)' L, di·  
 yaʔgaʔ ʔe·le·M 'it (cust) turns green' L, xiŋgaʔ  
 seliɪ 'it turned white (became like snow in color)'  
 L, xiŋgaʔ ɕeʔ sdiliɪ 'it turned white again'  
 M, xiŋgaʔ ʔp·da·ʔ ʔawa· seliɪ 'she turned  
 pale ('her face got white') L, ʔaigaʔ deŋtu·ʃ-  
 gaʔ seliɪ 'it became black (like charcoal) like  
 this' 51.79A, ʃpʔgaʔ qaʔleh 'it'll get soft  
 (like fluff)' L, ʃpʔgaʔ se·le·i 'I'm getting  
 soft' L, ʃpʔgaʔ le·M 65.20A, ʃpʔgaʔ ʔe·le·M  
 'it (cust) gets soft' M, ʃi·ŋgaʔ seliɪ 'it  
 broke to smithereens (became like gravel, powder)'  
 L, with ɣd-class-mark for S: ɕaha ʃe·le·gaʔ ɣe-  
 de·le·i 'cloud is getting blackish' L; (2) with  
 gl-class-mark for S 'water' thematized: guŋgaʔ  
 ge·le·leh 'water is spurting' ('acting like gush-  
 ing') L, repetitive: ɣe·gaʔ ge·le·le·g 'water  
 gets intermittently calm (like grease)' L; (3)  
 with ku-indefinite S (of water, weather, ambi-  
 ance, cf. 31. below): ɣe·gaʔ ku·se·le·i 'weather

(water) is getting calm (like grease)' L; (4a) 'S becomes like o', ?el ?udasaleh ?ewa' eu?jihe yu'dasalehga? dedu?ɣ seliɪ 'her mind became almost like wolves' minds' 25.137A; (4b) 'S becomes like that of o': 23.140A, hila'ʔga? ?udasaleh ?ewa' seliɪ 'her mind became like a man's' 49.55, 57A; (5) with verb-clause subordinated as o of o-ga?, 'S sort of o's': wa'w ?u'd kuʔu?, qe'dah ?u'd sətetugɪga? səle:ɪ 'many herring are there, it's actually getting sort of, as if swollen (with them)' 72.30L, səɬe?ɪga? seliɪ 'it sort of cooled off, cooled off enough' lb.18M, ?u'd ɣu? le'gga? liɬiɬ 'he made a bed of sorts there' 18.29L, repetitive: leɣaxi-ɣeɪga? xle'g 'I'm having dizzy spells' ('I'm repeatedly, intermittently like I'm dizzy, drunk') M, yeɪqa'gga? le'g 'it's sort of daylight a little' ('it's intermittently, trying to be like it's intermittently dawning, trying to dawn') L; (6) with gerundives as o: ?uyəɣ ?isyahɪga? liɬiɬ 'he's disgusting, tiresome' ('he acts like disgust with him') L, repetitive: leɣəɣeɪga? ga? xie'g 'I get dizzy spells' ('I keep acting like vertigo') LM; (?) with pronoun as o: siga? ?a?le' (L uncertain of form of verb, prefix

analogical, as if neuter) 'be, act like me!' L,  
 diK 'awga?e qew yileh 'you're being unfair'  
 ('it's not like that (the norm, the just, the  
 right) you're acting') L. Transitive (causative):  
 di·ya?ga? sei·? 'make it green!' L, čp?ga?  
 sei?, čp?ga? sei·?, čp?ga? ?i?i·? M, čp?=  
 ga? ?a?ie· 'make it soft!, soften it up!' L,  
 diK čp?ga? qu?xi·e 'I won't soften it' M,  
 čp?ga? xih M, čp?ga? sexi·i 'I'm softening  
 it' LM, xq·gedi·yq· Kuqa·Ng sak?i?čiga? seih  
 'Porcupine sort of scratched Beaver' 16.11M, gu·=  
 dag da?ewg<sup>w</sup>a? qe? qi?yilih 'again you'll be  
 just like that to some more' 65.66A, repetitive:  
 čp?ga? ?ai·g 'make it soft (with repeated move-  
 ments)!' M, čp?ga? xig, čp?ga? sexi·g? 'I'm  
 making it soft' M, čp?ga? siki·g? 'I softened  
 it' M; indirect reflexive: deselehga? ?aw ?uqa?  
 skiličih 'he did it to it on purpose (like, ac-  
 cording to his own mind)' L.

13b. With e-ga? and da? 'front, face':  
 xi?ga? da? saxle·i 'my face is getting white'  
 ('I'm beginning to resemble snow (in color) in  
 front') L.

14a. With o-leq 'more than o' (see also  
 -če--ču' 8.): sileq seli? 'it was too much for

me, I couldn't bear it, it got to be more than I could take' L, *Kuſiyah sekeʔi*, *ʔq·diyahleʔ seliʔ* 'it got too spoiled to eat' ('it became bad, it did so more than it might be eaten') L, *Kuſiyah sekeʔi* 'it got too spoiled to cook (than that it might be cooked) L; indirect reciprocal: Rezanov *Кажыкылахотылам* 'Емъ schlagen' perhaps to be read *qa·lah ʔiʔleʔ* [*K*]udaleh 'some people are fighting, disputing (overcoming each other) about us', see also 21. below.

14b. With *o-y-leʔ* 'more than o's hand': *siyeleʔ seliʔ* 'it was too much for me to handle, got to be more than I could take' L.

15. With *o-xah* 'loss, removal of o' (see also 41-le): a. *sideʔu·cxah siliʔ* 'I lost my breath' L, *sileqahxah siliʔ* 'I lost my (good) senses' ('I lost my head') M, *ʔuleqahxahʔ sele·iʔh* 'he's losing his (good) senses' M, *ʔudeselehxahʔ sele·iʔh* 'he's getting senile (losing his mind)' M, *ʔutahxahʔ sele·i* 'it's losing its skin, its skin is peeling' L, *ʔiceʔxahʔ si·le·i* 'you're losing weight (your flesh)' L, *ʔuceʔxah qi·liʔ* 'they're skinny' ('they pl. have lost their flesh', neuter perfective, more polite than themes with *Kiʔ*) L, with gl-class-mark

for S: da·šxahč gelesele·š 'it (liquid) is losing its foam, the foam on it is subsiding' L. Transitive (causative): qahšxah ?a?he· 'take the bone out of it!' LS, ?udetahxah ?a?he·? 'peel its bark off it!' L (d-class-mark for O lacking), ?ewxah ?a?he·? 'remove that (e.g. lint) from it (e.g. cloth)!' L, ?udetahxahč sexš·š 'I'm peeling it (bark, shell) off it (tree, egg)' L (d-class-mark for O lacking), qahšxahč seš·ših 'he's taking the bones out of it' L, deqeta·š le·šguxah sexš·š 'I'm removing (loose) hairs from a pair of pants' L, ?ewxah seših 'he removed it (lint) from it (cloth)' L, ?ewtahxahč ?ew ?eš·š·šinu· 'they (cust) remove their skins from them' 66.3L, (lacking g-class-mark for O, se·č 'spruceroot').

15b. With ku-indefinite o, 'S undresses O, S cleans O' ('S removes something from O'): Kuxah seših 'he cleaned it (fish)' L, la.lOM, Kuxahč ?ah seš·ših 'he's undressing him' L, repetitive: Kuxahč xš·š·g 'I'm cleaning them (fish, one after another)' L; reflexive: Kuxahč ?edsexšele·š 'I'm getting undressed' L, Kuxah ?edš·š·š·? 'get undressed!' L, Kuxah ?edxšiliš 'I got undressed' L, Kuxah ?edqu?š·ših 'he'll get undressed' L, Kuxahč ?edsešeleh da·š 'as they (menstruating women) clean themselves' 23.17A; Kuxah ?eda?he·

M, *kuxah* 'eda·leh 'get undressed!' L (read 'eda...tele..., reflexive definitely incorrect without vocalized classifier).

15c. With *ya·(-yu·)* 'thing(s)' as o of o--  
xah; (1) meaning regular, equivalent to that of *ku--*  
*xah* 0-i-i; reflexive: *ya·xahč* 'edselele·h  
'he's taking something (a garment) off' L, *ya·yu·-*  
*xahč* 'edselele·h 'he's taking things (his clothes)  
off' L; (2) with irregular shift in meaning, more  
frequent than regular construction under 15b.(1)  
above, 'S takes O off' instead of 'S takes thing off  
O', wherein *ya·xah* is used as preverb 'off (in un-  
dressing)' rather than postpositional phrase with  
regular meaning 'removal of something' (cf. *ya·--*  
*qa?* 'amongst something' > 'away'): *ya·xah* seki·?  
'take it (garment) off!' L (otherwise to be cor-  
rected to *ya·xah* 'edselele·? 'undress yourself!',  
or glossed 'undress it!'), 'ew *ya·xah* seki· 'he  
took them (boots) off' 51.52A (otherwise to be cor-  
rected to 'ew<sup>h</sup> *ya·xah* 'edskili·, or glossed 'he un-  
dressed it'), 'ila?eyu·, hi?q *ya·xah* ei·h  
da·x 'your clothes, when you take them all off'  
36.11A (otherwise to be corrected to 'ewxah 'ed-  
seleleh da·x, or glossed 'your clothes, when you  
undress them all'), *ya·yu·* siya? *ya·xahč* sex-  
hi· 'I'm taking off my clothes' L (otherwise to

be corrected to ya·yu·xahč siʒaʔ ʔədsəxələ·ɿ,  
 or glossed 'I'm undressing my things' or 'my  
 things (clothes), I'm undressing them'), ʔəw ku=  
 ʒu·ɿčə·d ya· ke·ɿta·gsɿ·ɿ ʔiʒaʔ ya·x<sup>w</sup>ah qɿʔ=  
 yiɿih 'you'll take off your right seal(-skin)-boot'  
 51.80A; passive: ʔəl ʔugy·ʒaʔkyu· ʔəwa· ya·=  
 x<sup>w</sup>ah dəle·K 'its kidneys are (cust) removed'  
 65.3A (otherwise to be corrected to ʔəl ʔugy·=  
 ʒaʔkyu·x<sup>w</sup>ah ʔəwa· dəle·K or glossed 'its kid=  
 neys are (cust) cleaned').

16. With o-wa·ɿɿ 'by close attention to o':  
 siwa·ɿɿ səle·ʔ (or səleʔ, former preferred),  
 siwa·ɿɿ ʔileʔ 'do like I do!' L, siwa·ɿɿ liɿih  
 'he's imitating me, copying what I do' L. Transitive  
 (causative): ʔiwa·ɿɿ quʔxɿih 'I'll do (to) it  
 like you do' L.

17a. With o-d-wahd 'for the sake of o orally':  
 sidewahd səle·ɿ 'I'm getting full of it (food)'  
 L, sidewahd səliɿ 'I got tired of it, had enough  
 of it (food)' L; sidewahd siliɿ 'I'm satisfied'  
 M, sidewahd səxle·ɿ 'I'm getting satisfied' M  
 (these forms from M with first person S of  
 verb as well as o of postposition probably in=  
 correct); problematical form: diK sidewahd  
 le·ɿɿ 'I never get tired of it' L (per=  
 haps in error for negative customary le·Kə, or

negative hortatory subjunctive, 'let me never tire of it', but lacking appropriate prefixes). Transitive (causative): ?idewahd qu?xih 'I'll satisfy you (give you enough)' M.

17b. With o-xa?dewahd 'for the sake of o's eating', transitive (causative): dexu? ?ixa?dewahd qu?xih 'I'll work (prepare it for you to eat) myself' L, lah, ?ixa?dewahd sikh 'here, I cooked for you' L; indirect reflexive: de?n? ?ewa? xa?dewahd ?ew ?ele?k 'she (cust) prepares it herself for herself to eat' 25.32A.

17c. With subordinate optative clauses as o of o-wahd 'for the sake of o, in order that o', transitive (causative): silah qe?i?lile?wahd qu?xih 'I'll make him love me (act on him so he'll love me)' L, side?a? qe?i?lile?wahd ?iqe?xih 'I'll make you mind me' L, with pre-verb ?p? 'to completion': x?h? ?idixewahd ?ew ?p? neh?h 'she accomplished (doing that to) it so the tide would go greatly down' 3.15M.

18. With ?p? 'to completion, equilibrium': we? ?ux? ?p? kuseli? 'thus that was over with' ('something had finished happening thus with them') 50.47A. Usually transitive (causative), 'S makes,

constructs, builds, accomplishes, fixes, finishes,  
 dresses O, gets even with O, gets O over with':  
 7.15, 28.17, 33.11A, 66.4L, 68.29A, ?ew x̄p·?  
 qesəh 'he made them' 11.81A, x̄dəəd siʔeʔd  
 x̄p·? k̄usəh·x̄inu· 'they should build something  
 high up as a place for me' 18.72L, x̄p·? ?iqeʔx-  
 h̄ih 'I'll get even with you' 27a.46L, λa·saʔh̄  
 x̄p·ʔē səh̄i·h̄inu· 'they're building a palisade'  
 34.117L, ?əh̄ x̄p·ʔē səh̄i·h̄ih̄ 'she's dressing  
 him (laying out his corpse)' 47b.19M, ?əl teʔ=  
 yaʔ x̄p·? səx̄<sup>w</sup>h̄ih̄ da·x̄ 'when I'm done with  
 (cleaning) these fish' 21b.73A, ?əx̄ qeʔ x̄p·?  
 səh̄ih̄ 'they made some more canoes' 68.35, 40A,  
 ?ew x̄p·? səh̄ih̄h̄ 'he finished (making) it' M,  
 x̄p·? ?ew səh̄ih̄h̄ 'he fixed, finished it' L,  
 x̄p·? quʔx̄h̄ih̄ 'I'll make it' M, 'I'll fix it' L,  
 ka·diʔda· x̄p·? ?ix̄ih̄ih̄ 'I can't make it, I'll  
 never finish it' M, x̄p·? s̄ih̄ih̄ 'I finished it  
 (making a canoe)' L, x̄p·? ?ix̄ih̄ih̄ē 'until I  
 finish it' L, x̄p·? səh̄i·ʔ 'fix it!' L, x̄a·ʔē  
 ?ew səh̄i·h̄ih̄ 'he's fixing it' L, Galushia Nel-  
 son ʔc̄ilácia q̄ie<sup>n</sup>x̄ o<sup>n</sup> səh̄ih̄ih̄ 'where Old Raven  
 made the earth' BSdL 257, 559, ʔi·leh̄siyah̄ q̄iʔ  
 ?əh̄ x̄p·? səh̄ih̄ L, ?idex̄p·? səh̄ih̄h̄eʔew 'is  
 that the way you made it?' L, k̄ulewahd̄ x̄p·?

?ixi?ihwahd 'so that I might make a head out of  
 it (fashion it for something l-anatomically)' M,  
 with o-da·? 'in form of o': ?uh?g?da·? ?ew  
 ?q·? səi? 'they fashioned them into shovels'  
 23.136A, ?ə?ək?hda·? ?q·? səi? 'they made  
 it into canoes' 68.31A, with d-class-mark for  
 O: diK xu· siɡa? yəhd ?q·? qu?di·hih 'you  
 won't build a house like I do' 16.26M, yəhd ?q·?  
 dəse?i? 'they built a house' 49.12, 13, 14, 17,  
 17, 68.14, 16A, yəhd ?q·? di?i?i? 'I built a  
 house' L; reflexive: ?q·? ?ədqu?x?ələh 'I'll  
 get dressed up' L, 'I'll put my clothes on' M,  
 ?q·? ?ədse?ələ·?ih 'he's getting all dressed  
 up' L, ?q·? ?edi?i?i?ih 'he put (has) his clothes  
 (neuter perfective)  
 on' M, ?q·? ?ədə?ələ·K 'he (cust) dresses him-  
 self' 36.44A; passive: ?q·? sə?i? 'it's been  
 finished, done' L.

19. With ?u? 'right, straight, complete',  
 'S makes, builds, fixes, shapes, planes, carves  
 O': ?u? ?ə?i·? 'carve it!' M, ?u? ?a?ə·  
 'make it!' L, ?u? sə?i·? 'fix it!, shape it up  
 (by carving)!' L, ?ə?t? ?u? ?a?ə· (or  
 ?a?əh, ?a?əi·, but ?a?ə· preferred) 'make  
 a box!' L, sədə?əxə?ə? ?u? ?a?əih 'make a  
 wick!' L, ?ə?ək?ih ?u? ?a?ə·, ?ə?ək?ih ?u?

səi·ʔ 'make a canoe!' L, ʔuʔ quʔxɪh 'I'll  
 plane it, I'll shape it, I'll make it' L, ɛʔʔ  
 ʔuʔ quʔxɪh 'I'll make a box' L, diK ɛʔʔ  
 ʔuʔ quʔxɪh 'I won't make a box' L, səgə:  
 'they'll make checkers'  
 ʔuʔ quʔɪhɪnuʔ, qəʔ quʔxɪh 'I'll make it  
 again, make another' L, diK quʔxɪh 'I won't  
 make it' L, diK ʔəxəkɪh ʔuʔ quʔxɪ·ɛ (or  
 -ɪhɛ) 'I won't make a canoe' L, ɛʔʔ ʔuʔ xɪh  
 'I'm making a box' L, ʔuʔ ʔew ɪhɪh 'he's  
 making it' L, diK ʔəxəkɪh ʔuʔ xɪhɛ (or  
 -ɪ·ɛ) 'I'm not making a canoe' L, diK ʔuʔ  
 xɪhɛ 'I'm not making it' L, ʔuʔʔ səi·ɪh  
 'he's shaping it' L, ʔuʔ sɪɪɪ 'I carved it,  
 made it' L, ɛʔʔ ʔuʔ da· səɪɪ 'we made a box,  
 made some boxes' L, ʔuʔ ʔew səɪɪh 'he shaped  
 it' L, ʔəxəkɪh ʔuʔ ʔixɪɪhwahd 'so I can make  
 a canoe' L, ʔəxəkɪh ʔuʔ ʔi·ɪhɪh 'let him  
 make a canoe' L, da· ʔuʔ ʔi·ɪh 'let's make  
 it' L, ɛʔʔ ʔuʔ xɪ·K 'I (cust) make boxes' L,  
 ʔuʔ ɪxɪ·K 'I (cust) make something' L, with  
 d-class-mark for O: yahd ʔuʔ daʔɪh, yahd ʔuʔ  
 di·ɪh (latter preferred), yahd ʔuʔ daʔɪh L,  
 yahd ʔuʔ daʔɪ· L (M rejects), yahd ʔuʔ di·  
 ɪ·, yahd ʔuʔ də səiʔ 'build a house!' M, sdu·  
 lihɛ ʔuʔ daʔɪh 'make a table!' L, ʔiKɪ ʔuʔ

daʔleh 'make an arrow!' L, diK yabd ʔuʔ  
 ʔuʔdi·xi·e 'I won't build a house' M, yabd  
 ʔuʔ dexih 'I'm building a house' LM, yabd ʔuʔ  
 dexihh 'he's building a house' L, diK yabd  
 ʔuʔ dexi·e 'I'm not building a house' M, yabd  
 ʔeʔ ʔuʔ dexih 'I'm building another house' M,  
 yabd ʔuʔ dexxi·i 'I'm starting to build a  
 house' M, yabd ʔuʔ disih 'I built a house'  
 M, diK yabd ʔuʔ dexsih 'I didn't build a  
 house' M, yabd ʔuʔ da· dexi·ih, yabd ʔuʔ  
 da· da·yih 'let's build a house' M, yabd ʔuʔ  
 da·yihh, yabd ʔuʔ dexi·ihh 'let him build  
 a house' L; <sup>passive:</sup> ʔexkih ʔidedeʔuʔ deleh sid ʔe-  
 deʔg 'teach me how to make a canoe (how a canoe  
 is made)!' L, ʔew ʔexkih dexi· ʔuʔ sdih  
 (or sdih) 'that canoe has been made already'  
 L (but L prefers these ʔʔ·ʔ -ʔya for this mean-  
 ing), ʔuʔ sdih 'it's done' L, with o-da·ʔ  
 'in the form of o': yahhda·ʔ ʔuʔ deleh 'it is  
 being made into a doll' L, ʔiyahhda·ʔ ʔuʔ deleh  
 'it is being made into a hat' L, with d-class--  
 mark for O: di·yeʔ ʔuʔ dexedele·i 'it hasn't  
 been planed yet' L.

20. With o-laʔ 'disastrous for o' (see also  
 31b. below, and d-le le.): ʔulaʔ yileh

qew 'you were asking for it' M, sila? yile  
 'you wish me bad things' (Minnie Stevens said to  
 Scar Stevens when he was drinking) L; indirect re-  
 flexive: ?adla? qew dele? 'you bring bad things  
 on yourself' L, la? sdili?ih 'he got himself in-  
 to trouble' L.

21. With qela? 'beating up', transitive  
 (causative): qela? selik 'he, she beat him, her  
 up' 9.9A, 16.14M, 52.4, 21L, ?ah qe? qela? se-  
 iik 'he beat him up again' 9.38, 38, 39A, qela?  
 hi-K 9.72A, qela? ?ehi-K '(cust) beats him up'  
 9.71, 72A, de-?a?dew qela? ?i-hi-K 'what do  
 you (cust) beat him up for?' 9.44A, diK ?ahnu-?a-  
 qela? kuli-?ih 'she doesn't beat any of them up'  
 49.28A, du-duh qela? ?i-hih 'that anyone should  
 beat them up' 49.27A, qela? ?a?te? 'beat it up!'  
 L, qela? qu?xi?ih 'I'll beat him up' L, qela?  
 lexiqe?ih 'he'll beat you pl. up' L, qela?  
 xuse?ih 'he beat me up' L; reciprocal: qela?  
 ?ihu? sili?inu? 'they beat each other up' L;  
 passive: qela sili?ih, qela? sdili?ih 'he  
 got beat up' L, qela? ?iqe?deleh 'you'll get  
 beat up' L, qela? ?edele-K '(cust) gets beaten  
 up' 9.73A;

use from  
 following page

22. With seiqa-d, ?iqa-d 'grazing,

Insert at ^ on preceding page:

see also 14a. above, Rezanov form, perhaps to  
be read qela? ?illey Madaleh 'some people are  
getting beat up more than, outdoing each other',  
or perhaps as intransitive, 'some people are  
beating up more than, outdoing each other'.

wounding slightly', transitive (causative): 52.-  
11L, ?ikqa'q' sili:ih 'I wounded, grazed him'  
M, seiqa'q' sili:ih 'I grazed, nicked, creased  
it, wounded it slightly' LM.

23. With o-deseleh-yeq' 'in o's mind',  
'S pleases o, captures o's fancy': 10.127, 129,  
245, 11.100A, 34.70aM, 36.14, 68.38A, ?udeseleh=  
yeq' ?ale:k'ih '(cust) pleases him' 11.49A, ?ide=  
selehyeq' le:k' '(cust) pleases you' 11.56A; in=  
direct reflexive: deselehyeq'e' cedele:k'ih 'he's  
getting proud of himself' L, deselehyeq' ?exde=  
le:k' 'I'm (cust) pleased with myself' 34.6L.

24. With o-di'-e' 'in spite of o, trouble  
from o': a. ?udi'-e' leh 'he's asking for it  
(trouble from it)' L, ?udi'-e' seli: 'he asked  
for trouble (from it)' L, kudi'-e' q'uhew leh  
'he's heading for trouble (from something)' L.

24b. With o-d-di'-e' 'in spite of what o  
says': sidedi'-e' seli: 'you wouldn't listen to  
what I said and got into trouble, "I told you so"  
L.

25a. With o-xa'?' 'along the whole length of  
o' and yeq' 'downward': sixa'?' yeq' seli: 'I  
got the shivers up and down my spine' ('it acted  
downward the length of me') M, ?uhzg'i sixa'?'

wəʒ yəʒ səliʔ 'I got shivers up and down me'  
( 'shivers acted downward the length of me thus' )  
L.

25b. With o-y-ʔəʒ 'along the whole length  
of, even with o's hand': Ke·duh siyəʔəʒ qaʔleh  
'how'll I get it?' ('how will it play into my  
hands?') lb.3fm, diʔdah ʔuyəʔəʒ ʔaw səliʔ  
'he (groping) finally found it' ('it quite played  
into his hands') 6.9M.

25c. With o-l-ʔəʒ 'even with o's head',  
transitive (causative), 'S gets revenge on O for  
o', cf. -y-le 3.: ʔəhleʔəʒ ʔəh səliʔ 'they  
got revenge on him for him' 9.45A, sitaʔləʔəʒ  
da· qaʔhəh 'we'll get revenge on it for my  
father' 20.45A, ʔuleʔəʒ ʔiqeʔxəh 'I'll get  
even with you (for it)' L; indirect reflexive:  
ʔedleʔəʒ ʔiqeʔxələh 'I'll get even with you  
(for myself)' L, ʔedleʔəʒ quʔxələhəh 'I'll  
get even with him' L, ʔedleʔəʒ xətəliʔəh 'I  
got even with him' L; problematical form: diʔ  
du·d ʔedleʔəʒ ʔədəliʔə 54.10G, diʔ du·dəh  
ʔedleʔəʒ ʔədəliʔə 'nobody got revenge' 54.-  
15G (classifier to be corrected to -ə-, or,  
if intransitive, verb corrected to yədəliʔə,  
or perhaps passive, 'nobody was gotten revenge

upon for himself' (cf. ?adX yax xa'dele-x).

26. With o-l-q 'on o's head' and qa'-c '(continuous motion) up out': su? ?i-na?q qa'-c sele-i 'sweat is forming on your face' L.

27. With o-x 'in contact with o': ?alx seli-ih 'he brushed against this' L.

28. With o-?q-? 'coming upon o': ?u?q-? Kuseli-ih 'someone touched him, (accidentally) came upon him' 6l,4aA.

29. With o-ya-x 'avoiding o', transitive (causative): dehe-i-qsgya-x ?a?ie 'fix it from squeaking!' L.

30. With ?i-lih 'state of mind' as preverb, see also under le(?) and ?i-lih-le, transitive (causative): Kəzu-dah siX? ?i-lih ?iqe?xih 'I'll make you happy with me' L, Kəzu-dah ?uxa? ?i-lih xuse-i-ih 'he made me happy with him' L.

31. With ku-indefinite S, 'something happens', in special meaning (see also ku-?e'--tu'): a. with no adverbs, preverbs, or postpositional phrases (many occurrences, without special meaning, listed under subentries for appropriate adverbs, preverbs, or postpositional phrases, see also 13a.(3) above, and ya?x ku-lx-le): see Kuleh (nominalized) 'rain'.

31b. As above, with o-la? 'disaster for o' (cf. 20. above and d-le le.): ?ula? qew Kuleh 'there's a severe storm, unseasonably bad weather' ('disastrously for her it is that something's happening', because of her infanticide or abortion) M.

31c. With o-kp? 'because of o's misdeed, sin (especially infanticide or abortion)': ?ukp? qel Kulihh 'this rain, bad weather is her fault' ('because of her misdeed this is something is happening') L, Kukup? Kuseli? 'bad weather occurred because of someone's misdeed' L, sikp? Kuleh 'the rain is my fault' L, Kukup? Kuleh 'the bad weather, snowstorm is because of someone's misdeed' L.

31d. With xa'sda? 'tabu, ominous, strange': xa'sda? Kuseli? 'something strange and unprecedented happened' L, xa'sda? Kuleh 'something strange and unprecedented is happening' (one says this when one sees e.g. a kind of fish one has never seen before) L.

32. Problematical instance: ?ulah qew kɨ·ɣ? ?idele·k? 'they (wolves) would (cust) circle around it howling' 25.36A (perhaps passive 'howling was (cust) done around it', or perhaps de--

classifier with o-lah, kɨ·ʃ 'cry' used pre-verbially, as translated; see also ?i-d-le 3.).  
 Kuleh (noun, unclassified or lɨ-class) 'rain' LMS, 57.14, 21, 24G, Rezanov Куле 'Дождь Regen', Wrangell Куле 'Regen', Galushia Nelson q'ŭ-lɨ' or q'ŭlɨ 'rain' BSdL 538, Rezanov Куле Идысаатъ 'Дождь идетъ es regnet' Kuleh yɨ·? dɨsa?yahɨ 'rain fell', Kulehloɨa?luw yɨ·? di·?yahɨ 'big rain is falling' L (see further instances under yɨ·? d-?ya), see also Kulehdɨɨ-ɕiyahd 'rainbat', Kulehya? ɕiyahd 'toadstool' under ɕiyahd, Kulehdɨɨɕiya?ɨ 'umbrella' under <sup>English: зонтик</sup> ɕiya?ɨ. Nominalized active imperfective of -le <sup>English: зонтик</sup> with Ku-indefinite S, 'something is happening'; see -le 31.

diɨ ?əwə?ah le·ɕɕiyah (noun, unclassified) 'ingrate': ?əɨa· diɨ ?əwə?ah le·ɕɕiyah 'my what a no-good ingrate!' L. Nominalized negative active imperfective, < le·ɕ-ɕ-ɨh-ɕiyah with suffixed -ɕiyah 'bad' and ?əwə?ah 'thanks', 'he who does not thank'.

ɨu? Kuliɨ (noun) 'plane (for carpentry)' L. Deverbalized passive with -ɨ-instrumental, stem form perhaps incorrect, and perhaps also incorrect in lacking ?uɨ 'by means of it', '(by means of it)

something is planned' (see -le 19.).

ʔuʔ wəʔ kudeleh (noun, unclassified) 'tool(s), gear' 16.24, 25M, ʔuʔ wəʔ kudelehyu 'tools, gear' 16.23M. Nominalized passive active imperfective, 'by means of it something is done, made, acted thus upon' (see -le 4a.).

ɪqhdəyeq ((wəʔ) deleh) (< ɪqhd ʔuyeq wəʔ deleh 'in it smoke is acted thus upon') 'smoking-pipe': see under ɪqhd.

-le·l (gerundive of -le, in meanings corresponding to various of the above) 1. Intransitive, with ʔəɪdah (see -le 6.): ʔəɪdah ʔisle·l xuseɪgaʔi 'I'm tired of playing' ('playing has tired me') M, ʔəɪdah le·l 'playing around (of children, especially outside)' L, ʔəɪdah le·lɪʔaʔ quʔxah 'I'll go (to) play' L.

2. Transitive (causative): teʔyaʔ wəʔ ʔəle·lgaʔ səxdah da·ʔ 'when I get big enough for (commercial) fishing (for cannery)' L (see -le 4b.); ʔəʔekih ʔuʔ ʔəle·lɪ kideh 'do you know how to make a canoe?' L, ʔəʔekih ʔideʔuʔ ʔəle·l nid ʔəɪdeʔg 'teach me how to make a canoe!' ('teach me canoe-making!') L, ʔəʔekih ʔuʔ ʔəle·l[ɪʔaʔ] ʔixleh (-ɪʔaʔ probably to be supplied) 'I want to make a canoe' L (see -le





silu<sup>?</sup>qa· se<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup>č<sup>?</sup> 'tell them to come here to  
 get me!' 25.92A, o-<sup>?</sup> wə<sup>?</sup> dəsele-<sup>?</sup> 'say thus  
 to o!' 25.159A, wə<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup> dəseli-<sup>?</sup>inu· 'say  
 thus to them!' 25.164A, wə<sup>?</sup> dəsele-<sup>?</sup> 'say it'  
 ('say no, thus!') L, <sup>?</sup>q· dəsele-<sup>?</sup> 'say yes!'  
 M, ya<sup>?</sup>zu· <sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup> dəseli-<sup>?</sup>ih 'tell him no, not  
 to!' L, ya<sup>?</sup>zu· <sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup> dəsele-<sup>?</sup> (or dəsele-<sup>?</sup>)  
 'tell it no, no to!' L, də<sup>?</sup>phyu·ga<sup>?</sup> wə<sup>?</sup> dəsele-<sup>?</sup>  
 'say it in Eyak!' ('say thus like people!') L,  
 səyeqa·ga<sup>?</sup> wə<sup>?</sup> dəsele-<sup>?</sup> 'say it in Eyak!' ('say  
 thus like us!') L; active imperative (relatively  
 rare): ya<sup>?</sup>zu· <sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup> di·li-<sup>?</sup>ih 'tell him no, not  
 to!' (same as with dəseli-<sup>?</sup>ih) L; inceptive  
 imperfective: stem -leh, -lih-: 10.270fn, 20.70,  
 24.31, 25.19, 69.25A, stem -le-: 68.94A, nega-  
 tive -le-<sup>?</sup>: 68.93A, <sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup> qu<sup>?</sup>di·xleh 'I'll  
 tell you' L, wə<sup>?</sup> qu<sup>?</sup>di·xleh 'I'll say thus,  
 so' LM, wə<sup>?</sup> qu<sup>?</sup>di·leh 'will you say thus?' L,  
 wə<sup>?</sup> da· qu<sup>?</sup>di·leh 'we'll say thus' L, wə<sup>?</sup>  
 qu<sup>?</sup>da·lə<sup>?</sup>leh 'you pl. will say thus' L, qe<sup>?</sup>l-  
 sayu· wə<sup>?</sup> qu<sup>?</sup>qedi·leh 'women will say thus' L,  
 wə<sup>?</sup> kuqu<sup>?</sup>di·leh 'someone will say thus' L, <sup>?</sup>i-  
 lah wə<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup> qu<sup>?</sup>di·xleh 'I'll say thus to him  
 about you' L, siqa<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>ilah wə<sup>?</sup> qu<sup>?</sup>di·xleh  
 'I'll tell my husband about you' ('I'll say thus

about you to my husband') L, ?ukahSuh ?i-  
 setah? ?idesi? qu?di-leh 'did you forget  
 what you were going to say to me?' L, ?ukah  
 ?i-sitah? ?idequ?di-xleh 'I forgot what I was  
 going to say' L, ?ukah ?iqe?li-xitah ?idequ?-  
 di-leh 'I'll make you forget what you're going  
 to say' L, ?a- qu?di-xleh 'I'll say yes' M,  
 di? ?a- qu?di-xle-s 'I won't say yes' M, with  
 forms adverbialized with -dah: de?u-de?ya-kih-  
 dah qu?di-xleh 'I'll say something' L, Resanov  
 Эхонмактакотнсе 'He arz lüge nicht!' ya?pu-  
 ?i?guedah qu?di-leh 'don't lie' LM, di? ?i?-  
 guedah ?i? qu?di-xle-s 'I won't lie to you' L,  
 active imperfective (very frequently used where  
 active perfective would be expected, perhaps as  
 in English narrative, "he says"), extremely fre-  
 quent in narrative functioning as quotative (in-  
 stances not exhaustively cited), less so with  
 subjunctive clauses: with no ?we? or o-?,  
 following quotation, relatively infrequent: sten-  
 -leh, -li?-: 4.15, 34.4, 14M, 50.33A, 55.21,  
 26L, 65.85fnA, non-unlauted -lehli? 32.33A,  
 with ?we?, no o-?, following or preceding  
 quotation: 1b.14M, 2b.4L, 3.9, 10, 14, 16, 4.9M,  
 9.14, 26, 37, 139, 141, 11.85, 180A, 13.12, 14.3,

4, 7L, 15.6, 8.10, 14, 18, 23, 16.27, 29, 17.8M,  
18.9, 43, 59, 78, 80, 19.22, 26L, 20.59A, 21a.12L,  
24.18, 30, 25.96A, 26.7, 27a.17L, 28.2, 3, 29.14,  
16, 64A, 30.8, 31.8, 9, 10, 13L, 34.7M, 32L, 65M,  
112, 118, 119, 121, 37a.17, 40.6, 42.2, 13, 47c.=  
34, 37, 42, 59L, 49.138A, 52.15, 26, 29, 30, 32,  
34, 55.16L, 57.20, 23, 24G, 61.60, 110, 68.110A,  
with stem -le·: 9.138, 10.86, 89, 11.139, 23.=  
87, 143, 29.8, 50, 33.65A, with o-ŋ, no ?weŋ,  
following or preceding quotation: with stem -leh,  
-lɨh-: 1a.7, 1b.6M, 9.21, 10.134, 177, 182, 250,  
259, 260, 270, 11.53, 107, 162A, 15.23M, 18.39L,  
20.10, 23.148, 25.174, 27b.3, 32.27, 34, 46, 48A,  
34.110L, 37b.31, 41, 54A, 42.19L, 43.10, 30M, 50.=  
19, 33, 51.83, 85A, 61.67, 89, 96, 109, 126A, with  
stem -le· 10.26, 114A, non-unlauted -lehɨh  
37b.31A, with weŋ o-ŋ, where o is pronoun: 1a.=  
7, 7, 1b.6, 6M, 5.3L, 7.44, 8.5, 9.28, 28, 121,  
136, 10.7, 72, 83, 148, 154, 157, 178, 181, 188,  
188, 224, 232, 238, 256, 263, 11.9, 44, 55, 126,  
130A, 13.4, 11, 12L, 15.16, 17.2, 3M, 18.10, 15,  
24, 36, 40, 41, 19.12L, 20.18, 19, 51, 54, 56,  
61, 62, 64, 65, 80, 23.9, 50, 146, 147, 153, 25.=  
104, 204, 204A, 26.12, 27a.2, 34, 36L, 27b.16,  
21, 49, 52A, 30.14L, 34.66M, 79.104L, 37b.35A,

40.2, 5, 42.6L, 43.8M, 44.2, 48.3, 4, 16L, 49.126,  
 50.63, 51.79, 85, 87A, 58.27L, 57.11G, 58.12L,  
 61.42, 86, 96, 68.93, 117A, weʒ ʔuʔ daʔ deleh  
 'we said thus to him' 32.31A, with stem -leʔ:  
 9.141, 10.7, 51, 93, 11.71, 111, 20.11, 68, 23.14,  
 27b.16, 33.76, 50.63, 51.58, 60.59fn, 61.9A, with  
 o-ʔ weʒ, where o is other than pronoun, follow-  
 ing or preceding quotation: with stem -leh, -lɨh-:  
 1a.12, 13, 1b.15M, 2b.11L, 6.5M, 9.121, 161, 10.-  
 232A, 15.20M, 18.30, 58, 82L, 20.70, 28.48, 29.-  
 71A, 34.73M, 90L, 37b.31, 64A, 39.2, 42.12, 47a.2L,  
 47b.9, 16M, 47c.5, 18L, 50.64A, 52.24, 53.5, 17,  
 55.8, 19L, with stem -leʔ : 29.7, 10A, with  
 o-ʔ weʒ where o is pronoun, rare and probably  
 incorrect: 16.34M, 29.47A, 52.19L, with o-lah:  
 weʒ silah deleh 'he says thus about me' 1b.8M,  
 ʔilah delehdeʒ 'also says about you' 1b.9M, with  
 weʒyuʔ 'thus pl.': weʒyuʔ ʔewʔ deleh 'such  
 things he says to it' 10.93, 11.150, with ʔidaʔ--  
 ʔida-: ʔidaʔuʔ deleh 'what they said to her'  
 25.189A, ʔidaʔ ʔuʔ ʔew deleh 'what it was  
 saying to her' 47b.30M, deʒeʔdah ʒɨhew ʔidaʔ  
 siʔ deleh 'that's all he said to me' 61.126A,  
 with forms adverbialized with -dah: deʔweʒ  
 ʔiŋguʔdah ʒɨhew weʒ deleh 'she just lied'

('just deceitfully it was she said thus') 49.92A,  
 gudah daleh 'he's lying' 53.29L, with Ke-d  
 'how, how?': Ke-duh di-leh 'what are you say-  
 ing?' 43.23M, Ke-duh daleh 'how he says it'  
 69.25A, with qe? 'again, some more': gu-dag  
 ?u?ehdM weq qe? dadeljhjh 'he said thus again  
 to his wife' 47b.17M, with ?q. 'yes' or diK  
 'no': ?qh daxuh diK daleh 'the man said yes'  
 53.32L, ?q. ?qhM daleh 'said yes to him' 61.-  
 24A, elicitation: ?q. dexleh 'I say yes' M,  
 diK ?q. dexle:s 'I'm not saying yes' M, ?q.  
 deljhjh 'he says yes' M, Ke-d di-leh, Ke-duh  
 di-leh 'what are you saying?, what did you say?'  
 LM, Ke-di-d di-leh 'what ever are you saying?,  
what did you say?' M, Ke-duh daleh 'what's he  
 saying?' M, du-da?qh weq daleh 'who said  
 that?' M, weq duxleh M, weq dexleh 'I say  
 so' L, weq di-leh 'you say so' L, weq da-  
 daleh 'we say so' L, weq da-laxleh 'you pl.  
 say so' L, weq qedeljhjhinu. 'they say so' L,  
 qe?esayu. weq qedeleh 'women say so' L, weq  
 deljhjh 'he says so, that, thus, in those words'  
 L, lax deljhjh 'he says so, this, thus, in  
 these words' L, Ke-d lax di-leh 'how do you  
 say this?' M, weq Ke?shuh daleh 'that's

approximately, probably what he said' L, lex  
 Ke?əpəh dəleh 'this is approximately, probably  
 what he said' L, Rezanov Иккоктатели 'Обман-  
 нать betrügen', Иккоктатели 'Не правда unwahr',  
 ?iəgudəh dəliħħiħ 'he's lying' L, ?iəgudəh  
 di·leh 'you're lying' A, Rezanov Иккоктестля-  
 тохте 'Наочно vorsätzlich, absichtlich' ?iəgudə-  
 dəh ?iħ dəħleh, ?iəgudəh ?iħ dəħleh 'I'm  
 telling you a lie' L, Ča?niħħdəh dəliħħiħ 'he  
 said something funny' L, Rezanov Нетсыхуты-  
 делєх 'Обманъ versprechen' "he·ħ..." ?uħ  
 di·liħħiħ "'pretty soon," you say to him' L, de-  
 zu? ya·ħ qəh ?iħ dəleh 'he's telling you the  
 truth' L, dəzu? ya·ħ qəh dəleh, dəzu? ya·ħ  
 dəliħħiħ qə?əh 'he's telling the truth' L, de-  
 wa?d le· siħ dəliħħiħ 'he told me he's hurry-  
 ing' L, dəke·yu·dəh diħ ?əħħ dəle·e, dəke·e  
 dəh diħ ?əħħ dəle·e 'there's nothing he doesn't  
 tell her' L, with ?ida·, ?ide-: ?uħəh lisiħħiħ  
 ?idedi·leh 'I forgot what you said' L, ?ideħħ-  
 Ča·q ?idedi·leh 'I heard what you said' L, diħ-  
 suħ ?u·la?yiħħə·e ?əh ?ida· ?ilah dəleh (or  
 ?əh ?ilah ?ida· dəleh, ?əh ?ilah ?idedəleh,  
 ?əh ?ide?ilah dəleh) 'don't you know what he's  
 saying about you?' L, ?u?lixiħħəh ?əh ?idesilah

deleh (or ?əh ?ida silah deleh, ?əh silah  
?idedeleh, ?əh silah ?ida deleh) 'I know  
what he's saying about me' L, ?idwəx ?ide?ə-da?  
qe? adiyah? siX dəliħiħ 'he only told me that  
he came back here' L, with subjunctive clauses,  
'S tells O to ...' ('S says (thus) to o that o (S  
of subjunctive) should ...'), apparently used in  
this construction only in active imperfective,  
even where active perfective might be expected:  
?u-? ?ilexqe-x leX dəxleh 'I told you pl.  
to boat there' L, diX ?u-? ?ilexqe-x leX  
dəxleh 'I told you pl. not to boat there' L,  
?ew xa-xa-x siX dəliħiħ 'he told me to eat  
it' L, diX ?ew xa-xa-x siX dəliħiħ 'he told  
me not to eat it' L, ?u-da? cəxa-x siX da-lex-  
leh 'you pl. told me to go there' L, dəxu? ya-x  
dəsi-le-x ?iX dəxleh 'I told you to tell the  
truth' L, see further instances under de', da,  
duh<sup>2</sup>, ta, t'e'-tu' (various themes), cı-cı'y,  
ca<sup>1</sup>, ?i<sup>1</sup>, ?ə', sa-sa'-siyah, suh, g<sup>w</sup>a'-ga<sup>1</sup>,  
gəmi'-gə, kəh, qa', qa<sup>2</sup>, qe<sup>1</sup>, C da?-(1)-  
i-xa', we, ma', qe?-le(?), iə-?e, O-?- (1)-  
?e--?ə, ?i-i-?e--?ə, a<sup>1</sup>, O-x-a<sup>2</sup>, O-i-(y)a; y  
active perfective: no ?wəx or o-X: 11.37, 40,  
177, 29.45, 49.134A, 54.90, with wəx, no o-X:

8.14, 9.22, 10.25, 60, 11.30, 20.95, 25.135, 197,  
 28.2, 29.4, 29, 64, 49.69, 88, 101, 130, 130A,  
 57.15G, 61.46A, with o-ŋ, no ʔweʔ: 8.19A, 16.-  
 25M, 20.60, 25.159, 27b.41, 61.50, 63, 67.89A,  
 with weʔ o-ŋ, where o is pronoun: 7.12, 11.9,  
 22, 79, 162, 20.74, 23.21, 36, 24.21, 27b.2, 12,  
 28, 52, 49.81, 136, 51.78, 61.7, 8, 11, 39, 53,  
 117A, with o-ŋ weʔ, where o is other than pro-  
 noun: 25.185, 27b.3, 29.60, 60.26A, negative:  
 diŋ dəke-dəh ʔəhŋ dəseliʔ 'she didn't say  
 anything to him' 25.106A, with ʔeʔ: siŋ ʔeʔ  
 disiliʔiŋ 'he said to me again, further' 61.95A,  
 ʔude-dah ʔeʔ desdeliʔ 'couldn't say anything  
 anymore (was dumbfounded)' 1a.14, 1b.20M, with  
 o-lah: weʔ ʔuhnu ʔewlah deseliʔ 'thus they  
 said (discussed) about it' 28.97A, elicited: weʔ  
 disiliʔ 'I said so, thus' 1M, weʔ deseliʔ 'you  
 said so, thus' L, weʔ da- deseliʔ 'we said so,  
 thus' L, weʔ da-leʔseliʔ 'you pl. said so,  
 thus' L, ʔeʔiʔeyu- weʔ deseliʔ 'women said  
 so, thus' L, weʔ ʔudeseliʔ 'someone, something  
 said so, thus' L, ʔilah weʔ siŋ deseliʔiŋ  
 'he said that to me about you' L, ʔə- disiliʔ  
 'I said yes' M, ʔida- da- deseliʔ di-ʔca-ʔ  
 'did you hear what we said?' M, ʔida- deseliʔ,

ʔidədesəliḱ 'what he said' N, ʕaʔnikḱgaʔ de-  
səliḱḱh 'he said something funny' L; inceptive  
perfective: o-ḱ ʕəw wəḱyu· dəsele·ḱ 'is say-  
ing such things to o' 10.94A, dəʔəwahd ʕəw  
wəḱyu· ʔəwḱ dəsele·ḱ 'for just that reason he  
was saying such things to it' 11.150A, ʔiḱa·yilḱ-  
mahwahd ʕḱh wəḱyu· ʔiḱ dəsele·ḱ 'it's to get  
you confused in what you're saying that he's say-  
ing such things to you' L, dəʔwəḱ ʔa·wəyu· ʔəwḱ  
dəsele·ḱ 'he's saying just such nasty things to  
it' 10.108A, di·yəḱ yaʔḱu· ʔəwḱ dəsele·ḱ  
da·ḱ 'before she said no (don't) to it' 34.47L;  
inceptive optative: dəʔu·dkih ḱaʔ deḱi·leh  
'would that you say that' L, active optative:  
yaʔḱu· xuqaʔḱe· ḱaʔ ʔuḱ da·yileh 'you should  
tell them not to kill me' 20.68A, wəḱ ʔuḱ da·-  
yilḱhinu· 'you should say thus to them' 25.172A,  
yaʔḱu· ʔuḱah quʔli·ta· wəḱ ʔuḱ da·yileh 'don't  
forget to say thus to them' 25.175A, wəḱḱ da·-  
xileh 'should I say that?' L, wəḱ da·yileh  
'it's okay for you to say that' L, dəʔu·d qeʔḱ  
wəḱ da·yileh 'it's alright for a woman to say  
that' L, wəḱ da· da·yileh 'let's say no' L,  
wəḱ da·ləḱileh 'it's alright for you pl. to  
say that' L, wəḱ qəda·yileh 'it's alright for

them to say that' L, 'q̄ da da'yileh 'let's  
 say yes' M; inceptive conditional: 'ix̄ deseleh  
 da'x̄ 'when he, they say to you' 68.93, 111A; in-  
 ceptive subjunctive: dəxu? ya'x̄ desi-le'x̄ 'you  
 should tell the truth!' L (hortatory), dəxu?  
 ya'x̄ desi-le'x̄ 'ix̄leh 'I want you to tell the  
 truth' L, dəxu? ya'x̄ desi-le'x̄ 'ix̄ dex̄leh  
 'I told you to tell the truth' L; customary:  
 active imperfectives: o-x̄ wəx̄ da di'le-x̄  
 'we (cust) say thus to o' 1b.21M, o-x̄ wəx̄ di-  
 le-x̄h̄ 'he (cust) says to o' 21a.20L, wəx̄ 'əw̄x̄  
 di'le-x̄h̄ (or di-le-x̄h̄) 35.4L, wəx̄ 'əw̄x̄ de-  
 le-x̄h̄ 'he (cust) says to it' 25.148A, wəx̄ de-  
 le-x̄(h̄) 'he (cust) says thus' 25.162, 36.39, 39,  
 40, 41A, dəle-x̄ 'they (cust) say' 28.101A, o-x̄  
 wəx̄ kudi-le-x̄ 'one (cust) says thus to o' 43.-  
 33M, wəx̄ qa-x̄ dəle-x̄(h̄) '(cust) said to us'  
 51.8, 27A, wəx̄ 'u-x̄ kədəle-x̄ 'someone would  
 (cust) say to them' 60.7, 55fnA, 'i-ya'edelah-  
 əyū-ga? si-x̄ di-le-x̄inu 'they (cust) talk  
 Eyak (say like Eyaks) to me' 69.23A, wəx̄ da-  
 di'le-x̄ 'we (cust) say thus' M, kə-d wəx̄  
 kudi-le-x̄ 'how does one (cust) say that?' M,  
 silah di'le-x̄h̄ 'he (cust) says about me' L,  
 ki'c̄ ya'x̄u si-x̄ di-le-x̄ (or da'yile-x̄) 'you



'didn't answer him' 50.65A, ?uʔ ?əh desəliiʔh  
 'she spoke to him' 48.8L, ?a'gidug ?əhʔ de-  
 səliiʔh 'he too spoke to her, answered her' 48.  
 9L, ?ida' ?uʔəhdʔ ?əh desəliiʔ'e-ʔ 'to see  
 if he had spoken to his wife' 48.6L, ?uʔəhdʔ  
 ʔeʔ diədiliiʔ 'he had spoken again to his wife'  
 48.12L, ?uʔ desəliiʔ 'spoke to, addressed him'  
 51.55A, ?uʔ kudasəliiʔ 'someone spoke to, ad-  
 dressed him' 51.58A, ?əh iʔhəih wəʔ ?uʔ de-  
 səliiʔ 'the other answered him thus' 51.58A, diʔ  
 ?uʔ kudasəliiʔh 'no one answered him' 61.6A,  
 kude-dah dəʔu-dəxyiʔ'kih ?uʔ di'le'kəʔh 'no  
 one (cust) could answer him' 3.2M, diʔ ?əhnu-ʔ  
 di'le'kəʔ(ʔh) 'he (cust) doesn't answer them'  
 50.7, 34A, ?uwələhyu' qə-ʔ deələh da-ʔ 'when  
 their spirits speak to us' 25.203A, de'lehdəh  
 diʔ siʔ di'le'kəʔ (changed later to da'yile'kəʔ,  
 perhaps incorrect) 'why don't you (cust) talk to  
 me?' L, ?iʔ quʔdi-xleh 'I'll answer you' L,  
 ?əhʔ da'yileh 'so she may speak to him' 25.85A.

lc. With o-d-ʔeʔ-ʔ '(movement) in place  
 of o's oral noise': ?ideʔeʔʔ diədiliiʔ 'I said  
 it like you did' L (same as ?ideʔeʔʔ dixəliiʔ,  
 see o-d-ʔeʔ-ʔ d-ʔe-le).

ld. With o-d-waʔiʔ 'by close attention to,

according to o's oral noise': sidewa·iḡ de-  
liḡiḡ 'he's copying, imitating me (in what I  
say)' L.

le. With o-laʔ 'disastrous for o' (cf.  
-le 20., 31b.): ʔulaʔ deseliḡiḡ 'he said some-  
thing which brought on disaster' M, 'he brought  
disaster on her by saying something' L; indirect  
reflexive: laʔ disdiliḡiḡ 'he said something  
which brought disaster on himself' L.

2. 'S makes noise, sound (not necessarily  
oral or articulate speech)' (see also d-de-le):  
11.37, 40A (?), Rezanov Тасукьбатанья 'Шалкь  
du lārnat', Тасукьбатанекле 'Еумьтə lārmen'  
daʔ suḡiḡdah di·leḡ 'you give one a pain with  
your noise!' L, diʔdug dexḡhiḡsiḡ daʔ suḡ-  
iḡdah deḡleḡ 'what a noisy pain that rotten guy  
(drunk) is!' L (see suḡ), ʔuyəḡ ʔisyahsiḡdah  
(or ʔisyahsiḡgaʔ) di·leḡ 'you give one a pain  
with your noise!' L; indirect reflexive (possib-  
ly of d-de-le), with ʔed-q 'on self': ʔedq  
dexdeleḡ 'I'm groaning' M. Transitive (causa-  
tive): with ʔweḡ 'thus', 'S makes O sound,  
plays music on O': radio weḡ dexliḡ 'I was  
playing the radio' 60.41, 42A, weḡ diʔhi· 'play  
music (on it)!' L, weḡ kaquʔdi·xiḡ 'I'll play

music (on something)' L, weḡ kudexliḥ 'I'm play-  
ing music (on something)' L, repetitive: deqa\*-  
yu\* weḡ dexliḡ 'I make music (on it) some-  
times' L.

3. Problematical instances: siya\*d dese-  
liiḥ 'I hurt, bothered him' L (with o-y-d 'on  
o's hand', cf. o-y-d -kiḡ 'o makes S cry',  
perhaps 'he made a noise because of what he  
(troublemaker) said' L ('we're doing badly (in  
what we're saying?) on account of him orally',  
d-thematic in verb perhaps incorrect, influenced  
by d-thematic in o-d-xa\*d); see also d-t-da-le,  
d-da-le (with d-thematic 'oral noise', see also  
stem le) 'S makes (non-vocal) noise, S (animal)  
makes characteristic noise, calls': qededeleḥ  
'they (crows) clamored, cawed' 28.61, 61A, dade-  
leḥwa\*ḡ 'noting its chirping' 43.17M, dedeleḥ  
'it's making a noise, it (bird) is chirping' N,  
diediliḥ 'they (birds) sang' L, qu?dedeleḥ  
'there'll be a big noise' L, didileḥ 'there's  
a big noise all of a sudden' L (neuter imperfec-  
tive), laḡking<sup>w</sup>a? dedeleḥ 'there's too much  
noise' G (from Li), siyeqd siya\* dedeleḥ 'my  
stomach is rumbling' ('my insides are making a  
noise') L.

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following page

Insert at ^ on preceding page:

something I did (with my hand)'; ʔudeʔa·q  
Kuʕa·dah da· deleh 'we're having trouble  
because of

deleh (deverbalization of d-le) used as C in  
 construction C O-?-le-le(?) 'S stands on cere-  
 mony with O': see C O-?-le-le(?) under le(?).  
 ci'd-le (with ci'd-thematic 'speech', cf. -ci'  
 'neck', -ci' 'to sing', d-thematic 'oral, noise')  
 1. 'S speaks, talks': inceptive imperative: Rezanov  
 Изыгарате 'Говорите sprechen' ci'desele(·)(?)  
 'speak!', frequently with o-ŋ 'with o' (sometimes  
 implying special or sexual intimacy with o) and/or  
 o-lah 'about o' (sometimes implying slander or  
 backbiting of o): inceptive imperfective: ya'xu-  
 ?i'ebdŋ qu'ci'di-leh 'don't speak to your (ex)-  
 wife' 48.3L, qu'ci'di-lihŋ 'he'll talk' L,  
 diK ?ah ?ahŋ qu'ci'deleheŋ 'he won't speak  
 with her' 48.4L, active imperfective: ci'deleh,  
 ci'deliŋ- 3.6, 8M, 9.57, 93, 11.45, 27b.33,  
 29.9, 31, 32A, 30.3, 4, 5L, 32.28A, 47b.7M, 51.-  
 39, 61.9A, -le· 29.10, 68.12A, da·ŋdau ci'-  
 di-leh 'who are you talking to?' 9.58A, Keyi·y-  
 lah ?uŋ da· ci'deleh 'we spoke to him of  
 other matters' 32.50A, qi'ŋ Kuci'delehda·xu-  
 'places at which one was talking' 37a.4L, ?aw  
 qi'ŋ Kuci'delehda·d 'that place where someone  
 was talking' 37a.7L, silah ci'deliŋŋ 'he's  
 talking about me, he's talking behind my back,

saying nasty things about me' L, di<sup>2</sup>da<sup>2</sup>·yu<sup>2</sup> (or  
 ?ida<sup>2</sup>·yu<sup>2</sup>) silah ci<sup>2</sup>?deleh q<sup>2</sup>hew 'such are the  
 (nasty) things he says of me (behind my back)' L,  
 (?u<sup>2</sup>) ci<sup>2</sup>?duxleh 'I'm talking (to him)' L, with  
 qe<sup>2</sup>: di<sup>2</sup> ?ulah qe<sup>2</sup> kuci<sup>2</sup>?dədəle<sup>2</sup> 'no one  
 speaks anymore about them' 24.101, 49.158A, gu<sup>2</sup>-  
 dəg qe<sup>2</sup> kuci<sup>2</sup>?dədəleh 'again someone talked'  
 37a.6L, inceptive perfective: ci<sup>2</sup>?dəsexle<sup>2</sup> 'I'm  
 talking (a long time), I'm in the midst of a long  
 monologue' L, ?ida<sup>2</sup>?ya<sup>2</sup>·ləx ci<sup>2</sup>?dəsele<sup>2</sup> 'he's  
 talking too long, too much, for no good reason'  
 L, active perfective: with ɣə<sup>2</sup> 'to completion':  
 ?ulah dəxi<sup>2</sup>·da<sup>2</sup> ɣə<sup>2</sup> ci<sup>2</sup>?dəseli<sup>2</sup> 'we've already  
 talked it over, finished discussing it' L, neuter  
 perfective (highly rhetorical and colorful): ɬi<sup>2</sup>  
 ?u<sup>2</sup>ɣəyəq<sup>2</sup> li<sup>2</sup> ci<sup>2</sup>?dixili<sup>2</sup>ɬi<sup>2</sup> 'I'm always (in a  
 static state of) speaking way inside his ear (and  
 still he doesn't listen!)' 72.2fnL, inceptive  
 conditional: 51.23aA, ?ulah ci<sup>2</sup>?dəsi<sup>2</sup>·leh da<sup>2</sup>ɣ  
 'if you talk about it' 51.24A, active conditional:  
 ?u<sup>2</sup> ci<sup>2</sup>?di<sup>2</sup>·xleh da<sup>2</sup>ɣ, ?u<sup>2</sup> ci<sup>2</sup>?da<sup>2</sup>·xleh da<sup>2</sup>ɣ  
 'just as I was getting started talking' L, active  
 customary: ?ahnu<sup>2</sup>·ɣ ci<sup>2</sup>?dəle<sup>2</sup>·kinu<sup>2</sup> 'I used to  
 speak with them' 68.114A, di<sup>2</sup>?dah ci<sup>2</sup>?dəle<sup>2</sup>·k<sup>2</sup>ɬi<sup>2</sup>  
 'he speaks pretty well' 69.24A, si<sup>2</sup> ci<sup>2</sup>?dəle<sup>2</sup>·

Kĩnu· 'they (cust) speak to me' 69.23A, silah  
 cĩ'ʔdele·kĩh 'he (cust) talks about me (behind  
 my back)' N, diK silah cĩ'ʔdele·Kĩh 'he (cust)  
 never talks about me' L, ʔedKuʔlilĩgahwa·ĩx  
 Kucĩ'ʔdele·K 'one ought to know what one's talk-  
 ing about' L ('one (cust) talks accordingly as  
 one knows oneself') L; indirect reciprocal: ʔilĩ  
 cĩ'ʔdeledeleh da·x 'when they speak to each other'  
 68.88A, with xuʔ 'right, complete': ʔilĩ da·  
 xuʔ cĩ'ʔdisdilik 'we talked it over, straightened  
 it out, reached an agreement with each other' L,  
 ʔilĩ·K cĩ'ʔdedelĩhinu· 'they're talking together'  
 L;

~~indirect re-~~ indirect re-  
 flexive (with zero-classifier occasionally, per-  
 haps incorrectly, not vocalized to da-, cf. also  
 ʔe·yaxeʔ cĩ'ʔd-(de-)le below): deʔa· ʔedK ʔu-  
 huw cĩ'ʔdedele·K 'he (cust) talks to himself'  
 36.42A, deʔa· ʔedK cĩ'ʔdelĩhĩh 'he's talking  
 to himself' L (twice), deʔa· ʔedlah cĩ'ʔdelĩhĩh  
 'he's talking about himself' L.

2. With certain postpositional and adverbial  
 phrases referring to specific language or language  
 differences: with o-gaʔ 'like o': ʔi·ya·dee-  
 lahseyu·gaʔ cĩ'ʔdelehinu· 'they speak like Eyaks

(speak Eyak)' 68.87A (non-unlouted stem), ?i.ya.ε-  
 delahseyu.ga? siŋ ci?dele. 'speaks Eyak to me'  
 69.4A, ?i.ya.εdelahseyu.ga? ci?deleh da.ɣ 'if  
 they spoke Eyak' 68.75A, diŋ ?ədəɣ ?i.ya.εde-  
 lahseyu.ga? ci?delehe 'they don't however speak  
 Eyak' 68.76A, diŋ seyeqa.ga? ci?dele.εinu.  
 'they don't speak like us (don't speak Eyak)' 68.-  
 78A, deseyeqa.ga? ci?deleh, -lihinu. 'they  
 speak just like us (speak Eyak)' 68.91, 99, 110,  
 125, 125A, deseyeqa.ga? ?uŋ da. ci?dele.kinu.  
 'we (cust) speak Eyak to them' 69.19A, diŋ se-  
 yeqa.ga? (or seyeqa.dega?, with d-thematic,  
 'oral, noise') ci?delehtih 'he doesn't talk like  
 us, doesn't talk Eyak' L, dəɣpɥu.ga? siŋ ci?-  
 dele. 'speaks like people (speaks Eyak) to me'  
 69.4A, dəɣpɥu.ga? q̄hnu. ci?dele. 'they  
 speak Eyak' 69.6A, dəɣpɥu.ga? da. ci?dele.  
 'we speak Eyak' 69.10A, ?i.li.ɣ q̄h dəɣpɥu.ga?  
 ci?deleh 'he pretends he can talk Eyak' L, ?ideh-  
 dah dəɣpɥu.ga? ci?deɣleɣ da.ɣ ?p.ʕahd ya.-  
 qa? qu?xdah 'when I get to talking Eyak pretty  
 well I'll leave here' L, ?idehdah dəɣpɥu.ga?  
 ci?di?xleɣ (or ci?da.xleɣ) da.ɣ ?p.ʕahd ya.-  
 qa? siyahɬ 'just as I was getting to talking  
 Eyak pretty well I left here' L, ɣələhɬa.εe-

yu·gaʔ kucjʔdeleh 'one speaks like white  
 people (speaks English)' 68.77A, xalaxa·seyu·-  
 gaʔ cijʔdelihinu· 'they speak English' 68.79A,  
 xaʔxaʔlahseyu·gaʔ cijʔdeleh 'speaks like Tlingits  
 (speaks Tlingit)' 69.6, 14A, diK xaʔxaʔlahse-  
 yu·gaʔ ʔuʔ da· cijʔdele·kt 'we (cust) don't  
 speak Tlingit to them' 69.18A; with o-d-ʔe-~~q~~ (d)  
 '(at rest) on o's oral-noise place, in o's lan-  
 guage': diK deʔeyesedi·ʔq cijʔdele·sinu·  
 'they don't talk in their own language' 68.78A,  
 qa·di·ʔq cijʔdele·K 'they (cust) speak in our  
 language' 69.12A, qa·di·ʔq cijʔdelihih 'he's  
 talking in our language' L, sidi·ʔq cijʔdelihih  
 'he's talking in my language' L; with o-l-ʔe·  
 'different from o': ʔuleʔe· cijʔdele· 'they  
 speak a language different from theirs' 68.82A,  
 gusi·kih ʔahnu·leʔe· cijʔdelihinu· 'they speak  
 slightly differently from them' 68.83A, diK ...  
 ʔawleʔe· cijʔduxle·e 'I don't speak differently  
 from that (the norm)' 68.115A, ʔawleʔe· cijʔ-  
 delihinu· 'they talk foreign, a different lan-  
 guage, abnormally' L (see also nominalization  
 below), with o-da·x 'contrasting with o':  
 kuda·x (or ʔewda·x) cijʔdelihih 'he talks  
 somewhat differently from one (from the norm),

he speaks a different dialect of the same language, speaks with an accent' L, sida'x cij' delihih 'he talks differently from one' L; la' da' qahnu' cij'deleh 69.7A, la'dah cij'delihinu' 'they talk both ways, both languages, bilingually' 69.8A. Transitive (causative): eeyeqa'ga? 'iqe'cij'di'xih 'I'll make you talk like us (talk Eyak)' L, sidi'q' 'iqe'cij'di'xih 'I'll make you talk in my language' L.

3. With certain postpositional, preverbal, and adverbial phrases referring to manner: with o-ta'x '(movement) behind, under cover of o': 'ita'x cij'dexleh 'I speak on your behalf, cover up for you' L, with ya-ta'x '(movement) behind, under cover of a thing': ya-ta'x cij'desele' 'whisper!' L, ya-ta'x cij'delihih 'he's whispering' LM, with o-d-e'x '(movement) in o's oral-noise place' and qa' 'up out': sida'e'x qa' cij'deselihih 'he interrupted me (talking)' L, kade'e'x qa' cij'dele'kih 'he (cust) interrupts one (talking)' L, with o-d-xa' 'in intimate relationship with o's oral noise': diK' uxewaxeyu'dexa' cij'dale'eh 'he doesn't talk back to his older brothers' 50.38A, side'xa' cij'deleh 'you talk back to me (respond with

talk, balking, instead of complying with what I say)' L, yaʔxu· sideʔaʔ quʔciʔdi·leh 'don't give me any talk (just do what I say!)' L, with o-l-xʔaʔ 'in competition with o': yaʔxu· si-leʔaʔ quʔciʔdi·leh 'don't sass me, don't talk back to, argue with me' L; with ya·yu·qeʔahd 'from on top of things, abundance': ya·yu·qe-ʔahd ciʔdelihih 'he's bragging (about his possessions)' L; with ʔweʔ 'thus': deʔweʔ qũnu· ciʔdele· 'just thus it is they speak' 68.80A, weʔ qũnu· ciʔdele· 'thus it is they speak' 68.113A; with qe·yeʔeʔ 'continuous motion reversed back' (with zero-classifier often perhaps incorrectly, not vocalized to de-, cf. indirect reflexive under 2. above): qe·yeʔeʔ ciʔde-lihinu· 68.97, 124, 124A, qe·yeʔeʔ ciʔdedeleh, -lihinu· 'they talk backwards' 68.110, 119, 127A, cid qe·yeʔeʔ ciʔdi·leh 'you (just) talk backwards' 68.117, 118A, qe·yeʔeʔ ciʔdedelihih 'he who speaks backwards' 68.104A.

o-x ciʔdelihih (noun, unclassified) 'o's sweetheart': siʔ ciʔdelihih 'my sweetheart' ('he who talks to me') L. Nominalized active imperfective.

ʔewleʔe· ciʔdelihinu· (noun, unclassified) 'non--

English-speaking Caucasians, especially Scandinavians'(?): ?awle?e· cɨʔdelɨhinu· 'Swedes' LA, also 'Finns, Danes, Norwegians' L, also 'Greeks' A. Nominalized active imperfective, 'they who speak different from that (the norm)'.  
 ?uqi·leyeɟ kucɨʔdeleh (noun) 'telephone' L. Nominalized active imperfective, with o-yeɟ 'in it' and qi·l-class-mark, 'one speaks into it (rope-like thing)' L.  
 cɨʔdeleh, cɨʔdele· (noun, unclassified) 'speech, language': sometimes syntactically ambiguous, interpretable also as verbal form: deɟɟhyu·-( )cɨʔdelehdaɦd ?uʔsetahɨɦ 'he heard the sound of people talking' 30.1L, deɟɟhyu·-( )cɨʔdelehdaɦd ?uʔli·tɨɦɦ 'he hears the sound of people's speech' 37a.2L, ?ahnu· liʔ seɟuhɨnu·-( )cɨʔdeleh 'those who boated downriver's speech' 68.81A, Rezanov Имраате 'Языкъ, Паросъ Sprache', Имраате Товора sprechen (Imperat.)' Furehjelm Tzutale 'to speak' (-u- perhaps copyist's error for Cyrillic и, perhaps also influenced by preceding entry Tzut 'sleep'), unambiguously non-verbal: ?el deɟeɟa·gaʔ cɨʔdele· 'this language just like ours, Eyak' 68.-97A, cɨʔdeleh, cɨʔdele· 'talk, language, speech'

M, cɨʔdele· xuseŋgaʔɩ 'I'm tired of talking'  
 ('talk has tired me') L, deʔweʔ deʔeyecayaʔ  
 cɨʔdele· qɨh 'it's just their own language'  
 68.81A, cɨʔdele·ciyaʔ 'big talker, jabbermouth,  
 blabbermouth, gossip-monger' ('talk-master') 51.-  
 20, 23aA; ya·taʔɨ cɨʔdeleh 'whispering' L.  
 cɨʔdele·l (gerundive) 'act of, art of talking, language,  
 speech': cɨʔdele·l sid ʔeɩdeʔg 'teach me  
 language!' L, ʔiɨ cɨʔdele·l xuʔseɩtuhgɩ 'talk=  
 ing to you is making me lazy' L, deɩuxgaʔɩ ʔiɨ  
 cɨʔdele·l 'I'm getting tired of talking to you'  
 L ('I'm getting vocally tired, talking to you',  
 probably syntactically incorrect).

ʔi-d-le (intransitive, ʔi-prefix apparently not  
 indeterminate O, d-thematic inexplicable) la.  
 (intransitive) 'S (activity, phenomenon) occurs,  
 goes on, takes place, happens, comes into play,  
 becomes active, there is S (activity, phenomenon)':  
 inceptive imperfective: ʔedawiʔɩ ʔiqeʔdi·leh  
 'there'll be a war' L, ku·y ʔiqeʔdi·leh 'wind  
 will pick up, increase, become active' L, gah  
 ʔiqeʔdi·leh 'there'll be a dance' L, megeɩ  
 ʔiqeʔdi·leh 'there'll be a checkers-game' L,  
 attested also with ʔeɩqah 'card-game', kulah  
 'drinking', kuwah 'eating', ʔiɩloʔɩ lequ·g

'footrace', yax ʔixutʃ 'shooting (about with  
 guns)', tsest 'quoits game', active imperfec-  
 tive: dexi ʔidələh 'it's already happening,  
 going on' 6l.117A, taʔ ʔədewiʔ idələh  
 'long ago there was a war' 34.1M, Rezanov Ураць-  
 коурае Убпасс, Кресты Heiligenbild, Kreuz'  
 [K]y·daʔ ʔ gʷah ʔidələh 'praying, crossing one-  
 self is going on', Уретахкодаукоурае Церковь  
 Kirche' ʔudeta·ʔd ky·daʔ ʔ gʷah ʔidələh 'church'  
 ('in it (building) praying, crossing oneself is  
 going on' L, Galushia Nelson əd'itʔ·lʔ or əd'i-  
 tʔlʔ 'dancing' 88dL 552 gah ʔidələh 'dancing  
 is going on', ʔa ʔidələh 'there's a canoe  
 fight, naval battle going on' L, inceptive per-  
 fective: tʃh ʔidəle·ʔ 'it's getting wavy, waves  
 are getting active' L, ku·y ʔidəle·ʔ 'it's  
 getting windy' L, ʔa ʔidəle·ʔ 'northwind is  
 getting strong' L, active perfective: ʔaʔd ku-  
 Əiyah ʔela·g ʔidəsəlɪʔ 'a very bad winter oc-  
 curred' 45a.19L (but not used of this in incep-  
 tive imperfective: rather ... kuqaʔeʔ 'there'll  
 be ...' L), kuɣu· gah ʔeʔ ʔidəsəlɪʔ 'there  
 was a very nice dance last night' L.

1b. Transitive (causative) 'S carries on O  
 (activity)': inceptive imperative: megət ʔidaʔ-

mit tr. ʔə.g. ... ʔeʔ

ʔe· 'play checkers!' L, inceptive imperfective:  
 ʔuʔ ʔədewiʔɪ ʔiqeʔdi·ʔihinu· 'they'll wage war  
 with them, raid them, maraud against them' 7.18,  
 20A, ʔədewiʔɪ da· ʔiqeʔdi·ʔih 'we'll go on  
 raid, marauding, warring' 11.9A, megeʔ ʔiqeʔ=  
 di·xɪh 'I'll play checkers' IM, megeʔ da·  
 ʔiqeʔdi·ʔih 'we'll play checkers' L, hu·l da·  
 ʔiqeʔdi·ʔih 'we'll sell stuff, have a sale' L,  
 gah ʔiqeʔdi·xɪh 'I'll do a dance' L, gah  
 ʔiqeʔdi·ʔihinu· 'they'll have a dance' L, ac-  
 tive imperfective: ʔədewiʔɪ ʔideʔih, -ʔih-  
 'S goes on raid, warpath, marauds, wages war, is  
 excited, wrought up, infuriated', often with o-ʔ  
 'with, against o' and/or o-ʔaʔ 'over o': 8.15,  
 15, 11.8, 11, 11, 18, 22, 28.36A, 3A.126fnL, X  
 37b.27A, ʔewʔ ʔədewiʔɪ ʔidexɪh 'I'm excited  
 with, over it' L, with o-lah 'about o': 37b.=  
 29, ʔewlah ʔədewiʔɪ ʔideʔihinu· 'they're in a  
 hubbub about it' 37a.11A, with ʔeʔ: ʔude·dah  
 ʔudu·yʔ·ʔ ʔədewiʔɪ ʔeʔ ʔideʔelehɪnu· 'they  
 can't wage war with anybody anymore' 28.141A, ! ←  
 with o-ʔa·ʔ: ʔp·diyahstahti·leʔa·ʔ ʔədewiʔɪ  
 ʔideʔihinu· 'they're warring over a mouse-skin'  
 L, with ʔenahʔekih 'fun, pleasure': ʔenahʔekih  
 ʔideʔih, -ʔih 'S is having a good time': 29.67A,

47b.38M, 55.2, 13L, ?anahšekih ?idexih 'I'm having a good time' M, ?anahšekih ?iqe?di·xih 'I'll have a good time' M, with other O: 44.4L, megeš ?idexih 'I'm playing checkers' L, ?ek-qah ?idexih 'I'm playing cards' L, Rezanov Кузбратская 'Mamaš tauschen' perhaps to be read hu·l da· ?ideh 'we're having a sale' L, lu· ?ideh?h?h 'he's beachcombing' L, active perfective: ?edewi? ?ewxa? ?idesekih 'they waged war over it' 28.104, 104A, xa·? ?edewi? ?idesekih 'they finished waging war' 28.111A, megeš da· ?idesekih 'we played checkers' L, ?anahšekih ?idisihi 'I had a good time' L, active optative: megeš da· ?ida·yih 'let's play checkers' L, active conditional: ?anahšekih ?ida?xih da·? 'just as I was starting to have a good time' L; indirect reflexive, classifier, probably incorrectly, not vocalized: ~~šecə?a·~~ ?ed? ?anahšekih ?ideh 'is having a good time by (with) himself all alone' 55.19L (verb should probably be corrected to ?ideleleh).

2a. With o-? 'with o', 'S affects, matters to, concerns o': di? ?udeleleh? ?ew ?idele·e 'it didn't concern, worry them' ('it didn't affect their minds') 28.110A, ?a?d si?u?i?a·na??

?iqe?di·leh 'it'll touch me very deeply' ('it'll affect my heart very much') L, ?a?d si?us?a·na?x ?ideseli? 'it touched me very deeply' L.

2b. Transitive (apparently semantically irregular, analysis uncertain): xu·deg ?idex?ih qe?ew 'I too feel that way, feel just as bad about it, sympathize' L, xu·gideg ?iqe?di·x·?ih 'I'll feel the same way as you do' L (?i- perhaps to be analyzed as second person irregular 0); with o-li? di· 'spite at o': ?ili? di· ?idex?ih 'I'm mad at you' L.

3. Problematical instances: dawa?d ?ixdele 'I'm hurrying' L (perhaps incorrect, see -le 12.); ?ulah qew ki·x ?idele·k 'they (wolves) (cust) go around (carry on?) around it crying (howling)' 25.36A (probably incorrect, if these ?i-d-le; see -le 32.).

4. Transitive only, 0-?-i-d-i-i, (?i-)de--ku-?i (highly irregular; where 0 is ku-indefinite the ?i-prefix usually drops, and before the ku-, itself still appearing in 0 pronoun position, before e.g. qu?- inceptive imperfective, there appears a de-prefix instead of d- in thematic prefix position; expected class-mark for classified 0, e.g. l- for ?iyahd 'hat' also fails

to appear in all cases) 'S knits O': a. forms without ku-indefinite O: inceptive imperative: *čiyahd siya ʔəʔ ʔidəsəiʔ* 'knit (finish knitting) a hat for me!' L, active imperative: *čiyahd siya ʔidaʔh* 'knit a hat for me!' L, *ʔew ʔidiʔh* 'knit it!' L, *siya ʔidiʔi* 'knit (it) for me!' M, inceptive imperfective: *ʔiqeʔdiʔxh* 'I'll knit (it)' L, *deʔuʔdeʔyaʔkih ʔiya ʔiqeʔdiʔxh* 'I'll knit something for you' L, *səhʔesjʔi siya ʔiqeʔdiʔxh* (not *\*(ʔi)dequʔxh*, *\*(ʔi)dequʔdiʔxh*) 'I'll knit socks for you' L, *čiyahd ʔewa ʔiqeʔdiʔxh* 'I'll knit a hat for him' L, *xuʔgidəg ʔiqeʔdiʔxh* 'I too will knit (it)' L, active imperfective: *ʔidexh* 'I'm knitting (it)' L, *dexu siya ʔidexh* 'I'm knitting it for myself' L, *səhʔesjʔi ʔiya ʔidexh* 'I'm knitting socks for you' L, *deʔd ʔidiʔh* 'what are you knitting?' LM, *čiyahd ʔidexh* 'I'm knitting a hat' L, active perfective: *ʔewa ʔidisih* 'I knitted it for him' M, *duʔd ʔew ʔiya ʔidəsəiʔ* 'who knitted that for you?' L, *čiyahd ʔidisiʔi* 'I knitted a hat' M, *čiyahd ʔəʔ ʔidisiʔi* 'I finished knitting a hat' M, *guʔdəg čiyahd ʔewa ʔeʔ ʔidisiʔih* 'I

knitted another hat again for him' L, active optative: ʔiyahd ʔawa da ʔida-yikʔihʔih 'let's knit a hat for him' L; passive: ʔidistiliʔ 'it's been knitted' L, siya ʔʔʔ ʔidistiliʔ, siya ʔʔʔ ʔidisdiliʔ 'it's been (finished being) knitted for me' L.

4b. With ku-indefinite O; active imperative: siya dekaʔeh 'knit something for me!' L, gu'deg siya ʔeʔ ʔidekaʔeh 'knit something for me again!' L, inceptive imperfective: ʔidekuquʔxih M, dekuquʔxih 'I'll knit something' L, xu'gideg dekuquʔxih 'I too will knit something' L, ʔiya dekuquʔxih 'I'll knit something for you' L, active imperfective: ʔidekuxih M, dekuxih (not \*kuʔdexih) 'I'm knitting something' L, diʔ xu dekuxihe 'I'm not knitting' L, ʔiya dekuxih 'I'm knitting something for you' L, dekuʔiʔ 'are you knitting (something)?' L, siyaʔ dekuʔih 'are you knitting something for me?' L, ʔiʔ dekuʔihʔih 'she's always knitting (something)' L, active optative: ʔawa da dekuʔliʔih 'let's knit something for him' L, customary: ʔiʔ dekuʔiʔih 'she always (cust) knits something' L; passive: ʔidedekudeleh sid ʔeideʔg 'teach me to knit' ('teach me how

something is knitted!') L.

4c. Form uncertain: ?ida? ?idekūñih mid  
?eide?g 'teach me to knit!' L, perhaps in error  
for ?idekūñih (thus 'teach me how I knit some-  
thing), or perhaps to be interpreted 'teach me how  
one knits (it)!', which would be the only attestati-  
on of the theme O-?i-d-ñi with Ku-indefinite  
S, and perhaps indicative that the causative of  
?i-d-le 1.-3. above is also thus irregular.

?idale·l (gerundive of transitive ?i-d-ñ-i) l.  
'carrying on O (activity)': mege? ?idale·l  
'playing checkers' L, 44.1L.

## 2. 'knitting' L.

?ux dekūdeleh (noun) 'knitting-needle' L. Noni-  
nalized passive active imperfective, 'by means of  
it something is knitted'.

O-?i-de-g-ñ-i, O-?i-gd-ñ-i (as above, with g--  
class-mark for O, but usually appearing irregular-  
ly following de-prefix, normal order for d-thema-  
tic prefix with g-class-mark being gd-, 'S makes,  
uses O (yarn)': ?iqe?gedi·xñih 'I'll use yarn'  
L, ?idegusiñih 'I used yarn' L; passive: ?ide-  
gusdiliñih 'yarn is made' L.

?idegedeleh (noun, g-class) 'yarn' L, ?idegedeleh  
?u·d gusetahñih 'a piece of yarn is there' L, ?ide-

gedelehgu<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup>w 'long piece of yarn' L. Nominalized passive active imperfective, 'it (filament-like) is used (in knitting)'.  
10

di<sup>?</sup>yah<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>uya<sup>?</sup>d <sup>?</sup>idedeleh place-name, Kokinhenik, Coquenhena (local English kowk<sup>?</sup>ehnye, kowpin-  
hnye) Island in Copper River Delta (< Tlingit M<sup>?</sup>ganhini < M<sup>?</sup>g<sup>?</sup>in 'pinfish, stickleback', hin 'river'), Eyak di<sup>?</sup>yah 'stickleback' (see y<sup>?</sup>'), <sup>?</sup>uya<sup>?</sup>d 'in it (o with broad opening at top, body of water), <sup>?</sup>idedeleh problematical, perhaps passive under -le 4b. with <sup>?</sup>ide- abstract relative instead of we<sup>?</sup>, or perhaps passive under -le 7. with <sup>?</sup>idah reduced ('sticklebacks are cleaned there?'), "nice place to get sticklebacks" L.

o-<sup>?</sup> da<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>i-<sup>?</sup>d-le (analysis uncertain, <sup>?</sup>i- and d- prefixes as in <sup>?</sup>i-d-le, with -<sup>?</sup>- as in semitransitive, with o-<sup>?</sup> 'with o' and preverb da<sup>?</sup>, not clearly identified, perhaps 'across') 'S begs o': si<sup>?</sup> da<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>di<sup>?</sup>li<sup>?</sup>ih 'he begged me persistently' L (neuter perfective), usually with o-lu<sup>?</sup>qa<sup>?</sup> 'to get o': da<sup>?</sup>na<sup>?</sup>delu<sup>?</sup>qa<sup>?</sup> si<sup>?</sup> da<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>di<sup>?</sup>li<sup>?</sup>ih 'he's begging me for money, persistently trying to wheedle money out of me' L (neuter perfective), na<sup>?</sup>wgelolu<sup>?</sup>qa<sup>?</sup> si<sup>?</sup>

da·ʒ ʔiʔdɔlɪhɪh 'he's begging me for whiskey'  
 L (active imperfective), da·na·deluʔqa· siŋ  
 da·ʒ ʔiʔdɔle·K 'he (cust) begs me for money'  
 L; dalahkih siŋ da·ʒ ʔiʔdɔlɪhɪh 'he's begging  
 me for a little drink' L (apparently with dalah-  
 kih as O, analysis uncertain, perhaps incorrect).  
 l-le (see also l-t'e'--t'u') l. (with l-anatomi-  
 cal 'head,face' partly thematized) 'S acts facial-  
 ly' s. λa·t'eʔgaʔ ʔi·sɔliɪhɪh 'he blushed, his  
 face got red' L. Transitive (causative): reflex-  
 ive, with o-wa·ɪʒ 'according to, by close atten-  
 tion to o': siwa·ɪʒ ʔedɪ·ɪɔlɪhɪh 'he's making  
 mocking faces at me' L (stem interpretable also  
 as la'), siwa·ɪʒ ʔedliɪkiliɪhɪh 'he made a  
 mocking face at me' L.

lb. With liʔʒ '(movement) deeply in from  
 open front end to closed back end', here perhaps  
 in reference to displing of face, 'S smiles,  
 laughs': inceptive imperative: Resanov лехькэ--  
 ахе 'Смѣйся лachen (Imperat.)' liʔʒ leɔle·ʔ  
 'laugh!' LM, with o-ŋ 'with o': siŋ liʔʒ  
 leɔleʔ 'smile at me!' L, inceptive imperfective:  
 liʔʒ quʔli·xleh 'I'll smile' LM, diK liʔʒ  
 quʔli·xle·s 'I won't smile' M, ʔedɪaʔd yaʔʒ  
 (ʔedɪaʔd yeʔʒ M) quʔli·xleh 'I'll burst out \*

laughing' ('I'll smile, laugh suddenly') LM,  
 yaʔxu· liʔɣ quʔla·ləɣleh 'pl. don't laugh'  
 13.5L, with o-lah 'about, concerning o', here  
 '(derisively) at o': yaʔxu· ʔulah liʔɣ quʔ-  
 la·ləɣleh 'pl. don't laugh about it' 60.9A, ac-  
 tive imperfective: 13.3, 9, 34.123, 55.14, 22,  
 25L, liʔɣ ləlɣhɣh 'he's laughing' L, liʔɣ  
 ləx<sup>w</sup>leh, liʔɣ luʔxleh 'I'm smiling, laughing'  
 M, liʔɣ ləxleh 'I'm smiling' L, diK liʔɣ  
 ləx<sup>w</sup>le·s 'I'm not smiling' M, with o-ŋ:  
 29.68, 70A, ʔi·li·ɣ qɣh siŋ liʔɣ leleh 'he  
 made a token effort to smile at me' M, with o--  
 lah: 60.10A, silah liʔɣ ləlɣhɣh 'he's laugh-  
 ing at me' L, active perfective: liʔɣ ʔɣ·siliŋ  
 'I smiled' LM, diK liʔɣ ləxsiŋ, diK liʔɣ  
 ʔɣ·xsiŋ 'I didn't smile' LM, with qaʔ 'up  
 out': qaʔ liʔɣ ʔɣ·siliŋ 'I burst out laugh-  
 ing' L, customary: liʔɣ lele·ŋ 'they'd (cust)  
 laugh' 60.11A, silah liʔɣ lele·ŋinu· 'they  
 used (cust) to laugh at me' 68.116A, repetitive:  
 liʔɣ lele·gɣh 'he gets laughing spells' L, in-  
 direct reflexive with o-ŋ: daʔa· ʔedŋ liʔɣ  
 ledele·gɣh 'he gets spells of laughing all by,  
 with himself' L. Transitive (causative): liʔɣ  
 ʔiqeʔli·xɣh 'I'll make you laugh, smile' L,

liʔɣ xɣ·səliʔ 'you made me laugh, smile' L;  
 reflexive, with o-ʔ: ʔiʔ ʔədquʔlexʔələh 'I'll  
 smile at you (with ulterior motive)' M, diʔ ʔiʔ  
 ʔədqulexʔələ·s 'I won't smile at you' M, ʔiʔ  
 ʔədlixʔələh (neuter imperfective, probably in-  
 correct), ʔiʔ ʔədlaxʔələh 'I'm smiling at you'  
 M, siʔ liʔɣ ʔədliʔiljɣh (neuter imperfective,  
 probably incorrect), siʔ liʔɣ ʔədleləljɣh  
 'he's smiling at me' M, siʔ liʔɣ ʔədliʔiliʔjɣh  
 'he smiled at me' M; passive: diʔ liʔɣ xuquʔ-  
 lədələ·s 'I won't be made to smile, laugh' L,  
 liʔɣ xɣ·sʔiliʔ, liʔɣ xɣ·sdiliʔ 'I was made to  
 smile, laugh' L.

2. With 1-class-mark for S partly thematized, where S 'moon' is usually not otherwise overtly represented, in reference to lunar phases: with ɣuʔ 'complete': qəɣah ɣuʔ ləseliʔ 'moon is (got) full' L, ɣuʔ ʔi·seliʔ (same as ɣuʔ ʔi·sətuʔi) 'it (moon) got full' (no need to say qəɣah) L, ɣuʔ li·liʔ 'it's full (moon)' L (neuter perfective), with Ku-indefinite S: ɣuʔ ʔɣ·seliʔ 'moon got full' ('something 1-class became complete') 28.51A, ɣuʔ ʔələsələh da·ɣ 'when the moon becomes full' 25.52A, with ya·ʔa·g 'half, middle': ya·ʔa·g ləseliʔ, ya·ʔa·g

ʔi·seliḷ (not ʔi·setuʔḷ in this case) 'moon is (became) half' L, ya·ʔa·gaḷ lesele·ḷ 'moon is getting to be half' L, with adjective, perhaps incorrectly, where adjective is either nominalized S, o of o-gaʔ 'like o' to be supplied: ya·le-cizg leseliḷ 'moon got narrow' L.

liʔxi·ni· (noun, classified, or irregular gerundive of l-le lb. above) 'laughter' L, Rezanov Лехенне 'Смѣяться lachen', Яхоха-лехенне 'He смѣлся lache (spotte) nicht!' (Eyak form not in Radlov, who has mistakenly taken in its place Яхох-Үеуҫа from the next page, see cuʔd-cuḷd) yaʔ-ḷu· liʔxi·ni· 'no laughing!', liʔxi·ni· qa·-laʔḷ di·ʔyahḷ 'we feel like laughing' ('desire to laugh has come over us') L, liʔxi·ni·luw 'big laugh' LM.

y-le (with y-anatomical) l. 'S acts with hands': with o-x 'in contact with o': ʔux yisiliḷ 'my hand pretty near touch it' (brushed against it)' L, indirect reflexive with ḷaʔ 'towards self' and o-x 'with o': ʔux ḷaʔ yexdeljḷh 'I'm motioning him towards myself with my hand, beckoning him' L. Transitive: 'S acts upon O's hands': suhgḷwahḷ yeseḷj·ʔjḷh, suhgḷdah yeseḷj·ʔjḷh 'really hurt his hand!' L; reflexive,

with ʔəɪdɑh 'playing': ʔəɪdɑh ʔədyəɪəlɪhɪh  
'he's fidgeting with his hands' L.

2. With y-anatomical thematized, 'S digs,  
makes hollow': ʔu·dəx yəsele·ɪ (yəseliɪh M,  
stem analogical) 'he's digging a hole, ditch,  
grave (along) there' L, with qaʔ 'up out': qaʔ  
yəseliɪ 'dug a hole' 18.63L, ʔəw qiʔ qaʔ kʷə  
yəseliɪ 'that place where someone had dug a hole'  
6.9M, qaʔ yəsele·ʔ 'dig a hole (any way, with  
hands or e.g. shovel)!' M, qaʔ quʔyi·xleh 'I'll  
dig a hole' M, qaʔ kʷəyəseliɪ 'a hole is dug'  
( 'someone dug a hole' ) M, da· qaʔ yə·yileh  
'let's dig a hole' M, qa·ʔ kʷəyəseli·ɪ (stem  
analogical, should be corrected to -le·ɪ) 'some-  
one is digging a hole there' M, with o-yaʔd 'in  
o (with broad opening at top)': ʔuyaʔd qaʔ yə-  
sele·ʔ 'make a bowl!' ('make a hollow in it!')  
L, neuter perfectives: qiʔ qaʔ kʷəyɪ·liɪ 'grave,  
ditch, hole' ('place where someone has dug') L,  
qiʔ qaʔ kʷəyɪ·liɪʔeʔ ʔɪ·sdiyahɪh 'he got stuck  
in a ditch' L, ʔə·d qaʔ kʷəyɪ·liɪ 'someone dug  
here, there's a hole here' M, with ya·nuʔ 'be-  
low surface': Galushia Nelson yá<sup>n</sup>nd' qəi'  
ədyíilɪɪ or yá<sup>n</sup>nd' etc. 'bear-pit ("in-thing--  
under there dig")' BSdL 549 ya·nuʔ qiʔ kʷəyɪ·  
liɪ, with o-yaʔ 'in o (not with broad opening

at top)': ?uyeq̄ yesele? 'disembowel it completely!' L, ?udayaq̄eč̄ yesuxle·ḥ M, ?udayaq̄eč̄ yesaxle·ḥ 'I'm hollowing it (d-class o, continuously) out' L, with li? 'deeply in cavity, from back thereof toward open front end' (M incorrectly yi?, by anticipation of y-le):  
 ?uyeq̄ yi? yeseleh 'hollow it out!' M (stem-form probably incorrect), ?uyeq̄ li? yesele·? (not yi?) 'make a hollow in it!' L, ?uyeq̄ yi? qu?yi·xleh 'I'll hollow it out' M, ?uyeq̄ (or ?uyeq̄eč̄) yi? yesuxle·ḥ 'I'm hollowing it out' M.

3. With y-thematic, probably y-anatomical thematized: with o-l-ḫ̄? 'in equilibrium, competition, even with o (with l-anatomical thematized, 'o's head')', 'S avenges ó, gets revenge for o', cf. -le ḫ̄<sup>S</sup>: Ke·duhnu· ?uyex̄? qu?yi·leh M (?uyex̄? incorrectly, by anticipation of y-le), Ke·duhnu· ?ulex̄? qu?yi·leh 'how will you avenge them?' 34.6fnL, o-leḫ̄? qu?yi·l̄h̄inu· 'they'll avenge o' 34.80, 99L, ?ile-ḫ̄? qu?yi·xleh 'I'll avenge you' L, o-leḫ̄? yeselikinu· 'they avenged o' 34.128L, siya· ?ulex̄? yesi·le·ḫ̄ ?ixe?xleh 'I want you to avenge them for me' 34.74fnM (ye- incorrectly

omitted), ?awleʒʒ·? qeʒ yəsədəle·ʒ ?ileh  
 'they want to get revenge for it' 28.132A, diʒ  
 ?awleʒʒ·? qeʒ yəsədiliʒ:ʒh 'they didn't get  
 revenge for it' 28.132A; indirect reflexive:  
 ?edleʒʒ·? quʒyexdeleh 'I'll get even' ('I'll  
 avenge myself' L, ?edleʒʒ·? yixədiliʒ:ʒh 'I got  
 even with him' L (probably incorrect, no referent  
 for -ʒh third person singular; influenced by  
 indirect reflexive transitive ?edleʒʒ·? 0--  
 ʒe-le; cf. o-q̄ y-de-le).

o-q̄ y-de-le (with y-thematic, probably y-anatomical  
 thematized, and o-q̄ 'on o'; de-classifier  
 inexplicable, probably irregularly derived from  
 indirect reflexive, cf. indirect reflexive here,  
 y-le 3., especially last instance, o-q̄ 0-ʒe-le,  
 and -le 10.) 'S pays for o': ?uq̄ yəsədəleʒ,  
 ?uq̄ yəsədəle·ʒ, ?uq̄ yʒ·dele·ʒ, ?uq̄ ya·dele·ʒ  
 'pay for it:' L, ?uq̄ quʒyexdeleh 'I'll pay for  
 it' L, Rezanov Komxreʒe 'ʒanzaxreʒ bezahlen'  
 [?uq̄] quʒyex<sup>x</sup>deleh 'I'll pay [for it?]', ʒkyarre  
 'ʒanzaxy ich werde bezahlen' perhaps to be read  
 ?uq̄ quʒye[x]de[l]leh, ?uq̄ yixədiliʒ 'I paid  
 for it' L, with o-l-q̄ 'on o's head': si·naʒq̄  
 yəsədəle·ʒ 'make it up to me, repay me (for  
 damages):' 9.32A; indirect reflexive: ?edq̄

yisdiiliḥ, ... o-ḥ, ... deḥyhyu' ḥḥ de'  
seḥihā 'he paid for himself, ... with o, ... (for  
the fact that) people had transported him back  
home' 33.74fnA.

o-ḥ O-ḥe-le (ḥe-classifier inexplicable, like  
de- in y-de-le, q.v.; see also -le 10.; with  
o-ḥ 'on o') 'S pays O for o': ḥewḥ quḥxḥelḥḥih  
'I'll pay her for it' 52.35L, ḥuḥ ḥiqeḥxḥeleh  
'I'll pay you for it' L, ḥewḥ xḥelḥḥih 'he's  
paying me for it' L, ḥuḥ xḥeleh da-ḥ 'if/-  
when you pay me for it' L, qiḥ ḥuḥ xḥilehḥ  
'until you pay me for it' L; passive: ḥuḥ si-  
liḥ 'it's paid for' L (gloss should probably read  
'you/he paid him for it', or 'he's been paid for  
it').

o-d-ḥe-ḥ d-ḥe-le (with d-thematic 'oral, noise',  
ḥe-classifier inexplicable and optional, cf. d-  
le 1c., and with o-d-ḥe-ḥ '(movement) in place  
of o's oral noise') 'S says like o says, imitates,  
mimics, copies o in speech': ḥideḥeḥḥ dixsiiliḥ  
(same as ḥideḥeḥḥ diisiliḥ) 'I said it like you  
did' L, ḥideḥeḥḥ quḥdexḥeleh 'I'll say it like  
you do' L, sideḥeḥḥ da-ḥeleh, sideḥeḥḥ diḥ-  
ḥeleḥ 'say it like I do!' L.

el-le (with el-thematic 'ground') 'something

happens to S (ground)': with o-xah 'loss, removal of o' (cf. -le 15.): Xicxah ep'salit 'the ground is free, clear of mud' L.

el-je-le (as above, perhaps transitive) 'S does something to the ground': with 'idah 'well, alright, nicely, decently' (cf. -le 7.): 'idah ep'xsilit 'I cleared ground' L, 'idah qu'ese-lexteleh 'I'll clear ground' L, 'idah ep'xteleh 'I'm clearing ground' L.

'ad-X O-dl-je-le (indirect reflexive with 'ad-X 'with self' of probable underlying transitive O-dl-t-i 'S acts on O (dl-class)' with dl-class--mark for O 'wheel' thematized) 'S bicycles' ('S moves wheels along with self'): 'u-dex 'ad-X 'aw xa'xsilit 'I rode it (bicycle) along there' L, 'u-dex 'ad-X 'aw xa'setole'tih 'he's riding it (bicycle) along there' L.

'ad-X yex xa'dole-x (noun) 'bicycle' L. Nominalized active imperfective with yex-progressive; perhaps intransitive 'it (wheels) acts about with itself' or passive 'it (wheels) is ridden about with oneself' (cf. -le 26c., last instance).

'i-lih-le (serving for non-neuter forms of 'i-le(?), inflected for mode-aspect, apparently synonymous with 'i-lih-je'--tu', though L at one point

suggests that this indicates stronger feeling than  
ʔi·lih-le) 'S gets into state of mind, gets to  
feel a certain way emotionally': with o-č 'to=  
wards o', 'S recovers desire, ability for o' (per=  
haps in this case not synonymous with o-č ʔi·=  
lih-t'e'--tu'): ʔawč ʔi·lihseliḱḱh 'he recovered  
his desire for it' L, ʔawč ʔi·lihsale·ḱḱh 'he's  
recovering his desire for it' L, ʔawč qe·lih=  
welḱḱh 'he'll recover his desire for it' L,  
deče·lč ʔi·lihseliḱḱh 'he recovered his appetite,  
hunger' L, kuwahč ʔi·lihseliḱḱh 'he recovered  
his appetite, ability to eat' L, qeʔsa·lč ʔi·=  
lihseliḱḱh 'he recovered his ability to walk  
(walks all the time now, after illness)' L, kuč  
qeʔ ʔi·lihsaxdale·ḱ 'I'm regaining my appetite  
(for something)' L; with ʔwəx 'thus': wəx da·  
ʔi·lihseliḱ 'we felt like it' 65.69A; with ʔidah  
'fine, nice, alright, pretty well' and o-ḱaʔ  
'in intimate relation with o': ʔidah siḱaʔ ʔi·=  
lihsale·ḱḱh 'he's getting to like me' L, ʔidah  
siḱaʔ ʔi·lihseliḱḱh 'he got to like me' L, re=  
petitive: daqa·yu· ʔidah ʔi·lihle·=  
gḱḱh 'he gets spells of feeling alright once in  
a while' L, with kuša·dah 'badly': kuša·dah  
ʔi·lihseliḱḱh 'he got mad' L, kuša·dah ʔi·lih=

ʔele·lɨh 'he's getting mad' LM, diK Kuša·dah  
 ʔi·lihʔesliɨ·lɨh 'he didn't get mad' L, Kuša·dah  
 ʔuxaʔ ʔi·lihseɣle·lɨnu· 'I'm getting disgusted  
 with them' L, Kuša·dah ʔuxaʔ ʔi·lihxilɨhɨnu·  
 M (neuter imperfective, L rejects), Kuša·dah  
 ʔuxaʔ ʔi·lihxilɨlɨnu· 'I'm disgusted with them'  
 L, Kuša·dah ʔiɣaʔ ʔi·lihɣiliɨ 'I'm angry with  
 you' L (neuter perfectives), with Kuɣu·dah 'well':  
 Kuɣu·dah ʔi·lihɣileh M (neuter imperfective, L  
 rejects), Kuɣu·dah ʔi·lihɣiliɨ 'I'm in a good  
 mood' L, Kuɣu·dah ʔi·lihyiliɨ (ʔi·lihyileh M,  
 L rejects) da·ɣ qaʔ saʔyahɨ 'he woke up in a  
 good mood' ('being in a good mood he woke up') L,  
 Kuɣu·dah ʔuxaʔ ʔi·lihxilɨhɨnu· M (neuter im-  
 perfective, L rejects), Kuɣu·dah ʔuxaʔ ʔi·lih-  
 xilɨlɨnu· 'I'm happy with them' L, ʔeleɣgahɣ  
 Kuɣu·dah siɣaʔ ʔi·lihʔi·leh 'I hope you're  
 well-disposed toward me' L (active optative); with  
 ʔenahsekiɨ 'fun, pleasure': ʔenahsekiɨ ʔuxeʔ=  
 lihsiliɨ, ʔenahsekiɨ ʔuxaʔ ʔi·lihsiliɨ 'I  
 liked it, I got to like it' L, diK ʔenahsekiɨ  
 ʔuxeʔlihʔesliɨ 'he didn't like it' L, ʔaʔd  
 ʔenahsekiɨ ʔuxɨʔ ʔi·lihseɣliɨ 'he got to like  
 her a lot' (but not so much as ... ʔi·lihseɣuʔɨ)  
 L, ʔenahsekiɨ ʔuxaʔ ʔi·lihseɣle·lɨ 'I'm getting

to like it' L, ?ew ?awa·yu·č ?anahšekih ?i·=
 lihse·le·ž 'are you getting to like those dogs?'
 M, ?anahšekih si?a? ?i·lihsele·žjh 'he's
 getting to like me' M, ?anahšekih si?a? ?e?
 ?i·lihsele·žjh 'he's getting to like me again'
 M, active optative: ?elešgah? ?ew ?awa·yu·
 ?anahšekih ?u?e?lih?ixileh 'I wish I could like
 those dogs' M, inceptive optative: ?elešgah?
 ?ew ?awa·yu· ?u?e?lihsexileh 'I wish I could
 get to like those dogs' M, ?elešgah? ?ew ?awa·=
 yu· ?anahšekih ?u?e?lihse·le·h 'I hope you're
 getting to like those dogs' M, ?elešgah? ?anah=
 šekih ?u?ā? ?i·lihse·li·žjh 'I hope he likes
 it' M; indirect reciprocal, with ?e?: ?i?a?
 Ku?u·[dah] ?e? ?i·lihse·li·žinu· 'they recon=
 ciled, got on good terms with each other again'
 M. Transitive (causative): Kuša·dah xu·lih=
 se·li·žh 'he made me angry' L, Ku?u·dah xu·lih=
 se·li·žh 'he made me happy' L, Ku?u·dah ?u?a?
 xu·lihse·li·žh 'he made me like her' L, Kuša·=
 dah xu·lihse·li·ž 'you're making me angry' L,
 Kuša·dah qa· ?i·lihse·li·ž 'you're making us
 angry' L, Kuša·dah ?i·lihse·li·žinu· 'you're
 making them angry' L, Kuša·dahš le?i·lihsexli·ž
 'am I making you pl. angry?' L, Kuša·dah ?ahnu·

xu·lihqesei·i·i 'they're making me angry' L,  
 Kuŋu·dah siŋŋ? ʔiqe·lihxi·ih 'I'll make you  
 like me' L, repetitive: Kuŋa·dah xu·lihxi·gih  
 'he repeatedly makes me angry' L. See also ʔi·-  
 lih 0-i-i and ʔi·lih under le(?)·li.  
 d-e-de-le (problematical form) in Kuŋiyah ʔiyed  
 deedeleh 'you're bringing yourself bad luck (by  
 playing with fire)' L (unable to analyze, Kuŋi-  
 yah 'evil' (S?), ʔi-y-ŋ 'to your hand', verb  
 with d-class-mark thematized ('fire?'), -te-  
 apparently representing e-thematic, not inceptive;  
 see also d-de-le, d-le 3., d-i-leh and *di-leh*  
 stem le.

ʔi·li·ŋ  
 ʔi·li·ŋ

le(?) - li (irregular stem, resembling le(?), to which it may be related; Rezanov le(?) nine times, ne(?) once; attested in three major themes: O-?-ia-le(?), used in all mode-aspects, stem -le? in all forms except neuter imperfective, in which the stem (positive) is -leh or (negative) -le'-; qe?-le?, used in all mode-aspects except neuter, stem invariably -le?; and ?i-leh (negative ?i-le'-), attested (with certain correctness) in one mode-aspect only, identified as neuter imperfective on the basis of stem-form, in spite of the lack of regular neuter imperfective prefix; a form, basically ?i·lih, which is probably a deverbalization of the neuter theme, also occurs as a prefix, preverb, or adverb in other constructions)

- C O-?-ia-le(?) (freely used in all mode-aspects, stem -leh in neuter imperfective (positive, -le'- in negative), elsewhere -le?, cf. le(?), O-?-(l-)i-za') 'S believes, thinks, reckons (rightly or wrongly), intends O to be C)': with noun as C: zawa' qew ?u?xšileh 'I thought it was a dog' M, diK' c'iyuh ?u?xšile's 'I didn't think it was a bear' M, diK' c'iyuh ?i?xšile's 'I don't think you're a bear' M, c'iyuh ?i?xšile?i 'I thought you were a bear' M,

diK diyuh ?i?xšəle?ə 'I didn't think you  
 were a bear' M, diyuh ?u?əxšəle?ə 'I'm be-  
 ginning to think it's a bear' M, diyuh xu?qu?ə-  
 šəle? 'you'll think I'm a bear' M, diyuhəgəhə  
 xu?əšəilə?əh 'I hope he thinks I'm a bear' M,  
 ?ita? ?i?xšəle?ə 'I took you for your father'  
 M; with postpositional phrases as C: 24.2A,  
 ?uqa? ?ahnu? ?u?əle? 'he thinks they're  
 his own people (of his kind)' L; with verb-phrase  
 as C: dəxa?gə ?i?xšəle?ə 'I thought you were  
 working' M, xdəxa?gə xu?əšəilə?əh 'he thinks  
 I'm working' M, with ku-indefinite O: xuqa?šəh  
 ku?əšəilə?əh 'he intends to kill me' L, ?iqə?x-  
 šəh ku?xšəle?ə 'I think I'll kill you' L, ?iši-  
 šəh ku?xšəle?ə 'I thought I'd killed you' L,  
 diK ?əh qu?xšəh ku?xšəle?ə 'I thought I didn't  
 kill him, I didn't intend to kill him' L; with  
 dəle? (deverbalized form of d-le 'S says, acts  
 orally') as C: dəle? ?i?xšəle?ə 'I stand on  
 ceremony with you' (out of respect, e.g. I don't  
 like to ask you for things or to touch your things)  
 L, ya?ru? dəle? xu?qu?əšəle? 'don't stand on  
 ceremony with me' L, ?əxə? diK dəle? ku?ə-  
 le?əšəhšəyah, ?i?q? ya?yu?wəh? ə? dəhəh 'my  
 what nerve he has, helps himself to everything'

('he doesn't stand on ceremony with me ...') L;  
 with weʒ 'thus' as C: 9.107, 10.198, 23.147,  
 51.95A, ʒe·dah weʒ ʔuʔxʔiljɪh ʔu·daʔ quʔ=  
 wjɪh 'I know he'll go there' ('I simply believe  
 assume, take for granted  
 (have faith) thus of him that he'll go there')  
 L, with ku-indefinite O: 47c.14L, weʒ kuʔ=  
 quʔʔeleʔ 'you'll think so' L, weʒ kuʔʔiljɪh  
 siʒɪt 'he thinks I'm dead' ('he thinks thus  
 that I've died') L, weʒ kuʔxʔileh 'I think so,  
 thus I believe' L; with o-x, attested only with  
 pronoun as o, 'S is, becomes aware of o', attested  
 only from L, with third person O, perhaps to be  
 corrected to ku-indefinite, thus 'S thinks some-  
 thing is o', 'S is, becomes aware of existence of  
 o', cf. o-x ku-ʔe(?), cf. also o-x ku-d-ʔ-ʒa·q  
 'S hears of o', o-x ʒeʒ O-ʔ-ʔya 'S hears o at  
 distance'), ʔux ʔuxʔʔileh 'I know about it, I  
 heard about it, I'm aware of it' L, diK ʔux  
 ʔuʔxʔele·e 'I don't know about it, I've not heard  
 about it' L, ʔux ʔuʔxʔileʔt 'I found out about  
 it' L, ʔux quʔxʔeleʔ 'I'll find out about it'  
 L, deʒi· ʔix ʔuʔxʔileh 'I already heard about  
 (what) you (did)' L, with weʒ perhaps mistran-  
 scribed for ʔux: weʒ ʔuʔxʔileh da·ʒʒuh weʒ  
 quʔxʔih 'if presumably I had realized that I would

Тыкоукохавукоу? 'ничего не делало ил  
made me do'

have done thus to it' (ambiguous in Eyak as in English) L, diK weʒ ʔuʔxile-sduh 'I didn't realize that!' L, diK weʒ ʔuʔxile<sup>o</sup>-sduh weʒ sikil 'I did it unintentionally' ('indeed I wasn't aware of it, indeed I didn't think so I did thus to it') L, Resanov Тыкоукохавукоу 'Непарочно unvorsätzlich' diK (ʔuʒ... or weʒ) kuʔxlene-sduh, Тыкоукохавукоу 'Никому' (not in Radlov, 'to no one'), diK weʒ (or ʔuʒ) kuʔxlele-e 'I don't think so' (or 'I wasn't aware of it'), Хохлакма 'He yamso ich verstehe nicht', Гохлакма 'He amso ich verstehe nicht', both probably to be read [diK weʒ] (or [diK ʔuʒ]) ʔuʔxlele-e 'I don't think so (of it)' or 'I'm not aware of it', or ... kuʔxlele-e 'I don't think so, I'm not aware of it'; reflexive: with o-yeʒ 'under o': ʔaʔd ʔiyex ʔeduʔxileh 'I sure envy, admire you' (a compliment, you did better than I, 'I consider myself very much under you') L, with o-ʒaʔ 'in intimate relation with o': ʔixaʔ ʔeduʔxileh 'I thought myself (right there) with you' L, with o-ʒaʔ and yaʔ, probably to be analyzed yaʔ 'something, a thing, something or other' as o of o-ʒ as with non-reflexive above: ʔixaʔ yaʔ ʔeduʔxileh 'I really appreciate

your (kind and unexpected) favor'  $\downarrow$

qe<sup>?</sup>-le<sup>?</sup> (< qa<sup>?</sup> ?i-le<sup>?</sup>, with preverb qa<sup>?</sup> 'up out', here 'emergence, awakening, awareness', fused with verb proper, always unlauded by ?i- prefix of verb which is never overt as such; ku- indefinite S occurs before qe<sup>?</sup>-, rather than after, in all spontaneous forms; attested in all mode-aspects except neuters; stem sometimes analogically -leh from M, also, though more rarely, from L) 1. With o-lah 'around o, concerning o': a. 'S loves, likes o' ('S has, gets emergent feelings, emotional awareness concerning o'); active imperfective: ?ilah qe<sup>?</sup>xleh, ?ilah qe<sup>?</sup>xle<sup>?</sup> (former analogical, less frequent) 'I love you' LM, diK ?ilah qe<sup>?</sup>xle<sup>?</sup> M(analogical), diK ?ilah qe<sup>?</sup>xle<sup>?</sup> 'I don't love you' L, si<sup>?</sup>usile-yo<sup>?</sup>cahd ?ilah qe<sup>?</sup>xleh 'I love you with all my heart' ('I love you from inside my heart') L, ?ol si<sup>?</sup>us<sup>?</sup> ?i<sup>?</sup> qu<sup>?</sup>li-x<sup>?</sup>ah ?ide<sup>?</sup>ilah qe<sup>?</sup>xleh 'I'd give you this heart of mine I love you so' L (standard expressions, stem analogical), ?ilah da<sup>?</sup> qe<sup>?</sup>le<sup>?</sup> 'we love you' L, ?ulah qe<sup>?</sup>xle<sup>?</sup> 'I love it' M, Rezanov Уляжехулемъ 'Любить lieben' ?ulah qe<sup>?</sup>x<sup>?</sup>li<sup>?</sup>h, Уляжесли 'Люблю ich liebe' probably to be read ?ulah qe<sup>?</sup>xli<sup>?</sup>h

(not -lɪhɪh L) 'I love him' LM, qɪʔ ʔiːsɪhɔ̃  
silah qeʔlɪʔɪh 'he loved me till he died' L,  
ʔilah qeʔqəlɪʔɪnuː 'they love you' M, ʔulah  
qɛʔ qeʔxɔleʔ 'I love it again' M, with ku--  
indefinite S: silah qeʔkuleʔ L(not spontaneous,  
elicited as acceptable alternative to following),  
silah kuqeʔleʔ 'somebody loves me' LM, ʔilah  
kuqeʔleʔ 'somebody loves you' L, inceptive im-  
perfective: ʔulah qeʔqeʔxleʔ 'I'll love it' M,  
ʔulah qeʔqeʔxlɪʔɪh 'I'll make up with him' L,  
ʔulah qɛʔ qeʔqeʔxɔleʔ 'I'll love it again' M,  
ʔilah qeʔqeʔxleʔ 'I'll love you' M, diK ʔilah  
qeʔqeʔxleːː 'I won't love you' M (stem analogi-  
cal), qɪʔ ʔixɪsɪhɔ̃ ʔilah qeʔqeʔxleh 'I'll  
love you till I die' L (stem analogical), ʔulah  
qeʔqeʔyilɪʔɪnuː 'you shall love them' 61.15A,  
with ku-indefinite S: ʔilah kuqeʔqeʔleh 'some-  
body will love you' L (stem analogical), active  
perfective: ʔulah qeʔsileʔɪ 'I fell in love  
with it' M, 'I got to like it' L, ʔulahsɪh qeʔ-  
seleʔɪ 'did you make up with him?' L, ʔilah  
qeʔsilɪɪ 'I loved you' M (stem confused with  
le), ʔulah qeʔ silɪʔɪh 'I loved him' L, in-  
ceptive perfective: ʔulah qeʔsɛxleʔɪ 'I'm  
getting to like it' L, ʔulah qeʔsɛxleʔɪh

'I'm getting to love him' L, ?ilah qe?sex=le?i 'I'm getting to love you' M, active optative: ?ilah qe?ixile? 'that I may love you' L, silah qe?i·lile?wahd 'in order that he love me' L; indirect reciprocal: ?iilah qe?deli?inu· 'they love each other' LM, ?iilah qe?sele?dele? 'pl. love each other!' L, with o-? 'with o': ?ahnu·? ?iilah qe? sdile?i 'they fell in love with each other' (of one man and two women) 47b.16fnM, ?u? ?iilah (or ?ilah) qe?x=delihih daxph 'my friend' ('person with whom I love each other') L (stem analogical).

1b. Indirect reflexive, with o-xa? 'in intimate relation with o', 'S is, becomes disappointed, has, gets feelings hurt by o' ('S has, gets emergent feelings, emotional awareness concerning self over o'): sixa? lah qe?deli?ih 'I hurt his feelings' L, ?uxa? lah qe?qe?xdeli?ih 'I'll get hurt feelings over, disappointed by him' L, ?uxa? lah qe?xsdile?ih 'I got my feelings hurt, disappointed by him' L, ?uxa? lah qe?sexdele?ih 'I'm getting disappointed, hurt by him' L.

2a. With o-xa?y '(movement within area) close by o', 'S watches (over), is attentive to,

is careful with, cares for, takes care of, re-  
 members o': active imperative: ?uxa?x qe?i·le?  
 'be careful with it!' L, ?uxa?x qe?i·li?ih  
 'take care of him!' L, with o-wa·kx 'by care-  
 ful attention to o': ?awa·kx ?uxa?x qe?i·lex-  
 le? 'pl. take good care of them!' 21b.72A; in-  
 ceptive imperfective: ku·dah ?ixa?x qe?qe?x-  
 le? 'I'll take good care of you' 49.103A, ku-  
 zu·dah sixa?x qe?qe?yile? da·x 'if you'll  
 take good care of me' 49.106A, ?uxa?x qe?qe?x-  
 le? 'I'll be careful with it' L, ?uxa?x qe?-  
 qe?xli?ih (not -li?ih) 'I'll take care of him,  
 I'll watch him', L, sixa?x qe?qe?li?ih 'he'll  
 take care of me' L, ?ixa?x qe?qe?xle? 'I'll  
 watch over you' MA, ?ixa?x da· qe?qe?le? 'we'll  
 watch you' N, diK ?ixa?x da· qe? qe?qe?de-  
 le? 'we won't watch you any more' N, ?idese-  
 xa·k ?uxa?x qe?qe?xle? 'I'll watch my step  
 (how I'm going)' L, diK ?ixa?x qe?qe?xle?  
 'I won't watch you' A, diK ?ixa?x qe?qe?xle?-  
 eih 'I won't pay any attention  
 to him' A, 'I won't watch him' L, with ku-in-  
 definite S: ?ixa?x kuqe?qe?le? 'somebody will  
 take care of you' L, with o-wa·kx 'by close  
 attention to o': ?uwa·kx ?uxa?x qe?qe?xle?

'I'll remember it' M, active imperfective: ?aw-  
 xaʔx qeʔleʔ 'he's taking care of them (cows)'  
 51.41, 41A, ?ahnu-xaʔx qeʔleʔ 'they (doctors)  
 took care of him' 61.52A, diM ?awxaʔx qeʔleʔ=  
 sɪh 'she doesn't pay any attention to it' 49.50A,  
 ?uxaʔx qeʔxleʔ 'I'm watching it' M, ?uxaʔx  
 qeʔlɪʔɪh 'he's babysitting him' M, ?uxaʔx  
 qeʔxlɪʔɪh 'I'm watching him' A, diM ?uxaʔx  
 qeʔxleʔsɪh 'I'm not watching him' A, sixaʔx  
 qeʔlɪʔɪh 'he's watching over me' M, diʔwoxʔuw  
 ?uxaʔx qeʔi-leh 'do you remember it?' M (stem  
 analogical), with Ku-indefinite S: 10.162A,  
 Kuʔu-deh ?uxaʔx Kuqeʔleʔ 'they (are) took good  
 care of, kept careful watch over her' 25.39fnA,  
 active optative: ?idesi-ya-ɪxaʔx Kaʔ qeʔlileʔ  
 'you should watch your step (how you're going)'  
 L, active subjunctive: seqe-seyu-xaʔx ?uxaʔ  
 qeʔi-xleʔx siM dɛlɪɪh 'he told me to babysit  
 his children' L, seqe-seyu-xaʔx qeʔi-xleʔx  
 ?ixleh 'I want to babysit children' L, custom-  
 ary: Kuxaʔx qeʔle-M 'she would (cust) watch  
 people' 46.1 M; transcribed with -g-repetitive,  
 perhaps in error, active perfective: gahɣyeʔx  
 ?uxaʔx qeʔsileʔgɪ 'I watched him all day' M,  
 xɛɣyeʔx ?uxaʔx qeʔsileʔgɪ 'I watched him all

night' M; indirect reciprocal: ?iixax qe?i-le<sup>o</sup>-  
le<sup>o</sup>dele?, ?iixax qe?e<sup>o</sup>le<sup>o</sup>dele? 'pl. take  
care of each other!' L (active and inceptive im-  
peratives).

2b. With o-d-xax (as above, with d-thema-  
tic, 'oral, noise') 'S heeds, listens carefully  
to, obeys o': ?a?d ku<sup>o</sup>da<sup>o</sup> ?ude<sup>o</sup>xax da<sup>o</sup>  
qe?li<sup>o</sup>?ih 'we pay very close attention to what  
he says' 51.15A, diK ?ahde<sup>o</sup>xax qe?le<sup>o</sup> 'she  
didn't pay any attention to him (what he said)'  
10.159A, diK side<sup>o</sup>xax qe?yile<sup>o</sup> 'you didn't  
heed me' 15.24fm (prefix and stem-form analogi-  
cal), diK ?uma<sup>o</sup>-de<sup>o</sup>xax qe?le<sup>o</sup>?ih 'he doesn't  
obey his mother' M, ?ide<sup>o</sup>xax qe?qe?xle? 'I'll  
heed you' M, diK ?ide<sup>o</sup>xax qe?qe?xle? 'I  
won't heed you' M, ?ide<sup>o</sup>xax da<sup>o</sup> qe?qe?le?  
'we'll heed you' M, with ku-indefinite S: diK  
?ude<sup>o</sup>xax<sup>f'v'</sup> qe?kude<sup>o</sup>le?<sup>o</sup>?ih L (not spontaneous),  
diK ?ude<sup>o</sup>xax<sup>f'v'</sup> kuqe?dele?<sup>o</sup>?ih 'no one heeds him,  
pays attention to him (what he says) anymore' L,  
10.162A, side<sup>o</sup>xax ka? qe?i<sup>o</sup>-lile? 'you should  
mind what I say' L, side<sup>o</sup>xax qe?i<sup>o</sup>-lile?wahd  
'so that you'll mind me' L, diK ?uma<sup>o</sup>-de<sup>o</sup>xax  
qe?le<sup>o</sup>-k<sup>o</sup>?ih 'he (cust) doesn't mind his mother'  
M, diK ?ude<sup>o</sup>xax da<sup>o</sup> qe?le<sup>o</sup>-k<sup>o</sup> 'we (cust)

didn't heed him' 51.13, 14A.

qe<sup>?</sup>-le<sup>?</sup> (gerundive) 1. Of preceding, 2a. 'caring for, watching over o': seqe<sup>?</sup>seyu<sup>?</sup>xa<sup>?</sup>x qe<sup>?</sup>le<sup>?</sup> xutaiga<sup>?</sup> 'I'm getting tired of babysitting' ('watching over children is tiring me') L.

2. Of preceding, 1a., indirect reciprocal, 'love' in compound ?i<sup>?</sup>lah qe<sup>?</sup>dəle<sup>?</sup> fah<sup>?</sup> 'love-leaf' (leaf from which love-potion was made) L.

?i-leh--le'- (negative ?i-le'-s, positive very rarely ?i-le', negative very rarely ?i-leh-s; attested (with certain correctness) in neuter imperfectives only, though lacking regular neuter imperfective prefix, but identified as neuter imperfective to accord with stem-forms in O-?-ə-  
lə-le(?) (and lə(?)); first person singular, for example, ?ixleh, not \*xileh, negative ?ixle's, not \*?a<sup>?</sup>xle's, with de-classifier ?ixdəleh, ?ixdəle's, not \*(?i)xdileh, \*?a<sup>?</sup>x-dəle's; themes very frequently with postpositional phrase o-xa<sup>?</sup> '(in (intimate) relation) with o', with which the verb proper coalesces, in all but unusually slowed or careful style, in close sandhi (the -xa<sup>?</sup> being unlauded to -xe<sup>?</sup>, and the ?i- usually dropping) 'S is in state of

mind': 1. With certain postpositional phrases referring to motion: a. with o-d' 'toward o': 'S wants to go to o': ʒiɪqahyaʔɕ ʔixleh 'I want to go to Chilkat' L, ʔu·ɕ ʔixleh 'I want to go there' L, ʔu·ɕ ɕeʔ ʔixdeleh 'I want to go back there' L, kaʔtʔeɕaʔ ɕeʔ ʔideljhinu· 'they wanted to go back to the island' 57.11G, kaʔtʔeɕ ɕeʔ ʔidale·kinu· 'they (cust) wanted to go back to the island' 57.7G, indirect reflexive: ʔedʔeʔɕ ɕeʔ ʔixdeleh 'I want to go back home' L.

1b. With o-kaʔ 'along with o': du· ʔewa·d leʒa· sikaʔ leh (should probably be corrected to sikaʔ ʔileh or sikeʔleh) 'which one of you wants to go with me?' L.

2. With certain other postpositional phrases: a. with o-l-lah 'around o's head', 'S respects o': ʔu·nah ʔixljhjh 'I think the world of him, I respect him' L.

2b. With o-liʔ di·gaʔ 'anger, spite toward o': ʔiliʔ di·gaʔ ʔixleh 'I'm somewhat peeved at you' L, ʔahliʔ di·gaʔ ʔiljhjh 'he's mad at him' L.

3a. With o-ʒaʔ '(in(intimate) relation) with o' (see also 4. through 7. below),

'S likes O': ?uxa? ?ixleh (slowed and careful), ?uxe? ?ixleh (somewhat slowed and careful), ?uxe?xleh (normal and allegro) 'I want it, I like it' M, sixe?lihh 'he likes me' L, indirect reciprocal and with o-x' 'with o': siX ?ixe?delihh 'my sweetheart' ('he who likes one another with me') L, indirect reflexive: xa? ?i-da-leh 'S likes self, is proud, conceited, snobbish, uppity, dandy, dressed up, elegantly or foppishly dressed': xe?delihh 'he's stuck-up, snobbish, all dressed up, dressed foppishly' L, xe?xdeleh 'I'm proud of myself' L, inceptive imperfective: xe?qe?xdale? (corrected from xa?qe?xdeleh, xe?qe?xdeleh) 'I'll get dressed fancy' L (forced elicitation, L much prefers xe?qe?lihxdetuh), ?exa? xe?delihhshiyah 'what a dandy, fop he is!' L, Rezanov Тркуар-херретелбхи 'Герою, Героюнацител' probably to be read hi? g<sup>h</sup>ah ?a?d xe?d- xe?delihh or hi? g<sup>h</sup>ah ?edxe?d- xe?delihh 'every day he's very dressed-up'.

3b. Indirect reflexive with ca? 'toward self' and o-xa?: ca ?ewxe?delihinu? 'they want it for themselves' 28.102A.

3c. With o-ga? 'like o' and o-xa?: ?a?d

?p'd siqi'deyexdga? ?ixex'xleh 'I'm so mad at you!' ('I have you emotionally very much like here under my feet') L.

4. With certain adverbs: a. with ?we? 'thus': we? ?i'leh da'x 'if you want to, if you're thus inclined' L, 10.190A (neuter conditional), ?idehdah we? ?ileh 'he was quite willing' 15.3M; with ?we? and o-xa? '(in (intimate) relation) with o': we? ?ahnu'xe?l'ih'ih 'they like him somewhat' 9.134A, diK we? ?i-le's, diK we? ?ewxe?le's, ?udete? ku? ?i'iteh 'isn't willing, isn't inclined toward that, to give her little sister away to anyone' 9.83A, diK we? ?ahxe?le's'ih 'he doesn't care for, want her' 33.80A.

4b. With ?idah 'nicely, well, alright, fairly': Resanov Итакже 'Также, Рада froh, fröhlich' ?idah ?ixleh 'I'm pretty happy, in a good mood', Итакже (-льки written over crossed-out же, or perhaps re, see te'-tu')  
A ?idah ?il'ih'ih (or ?idah ?ileh) 'he's happy' L, 'is in a fine mood' 27a.41L; with o-xa?, 'S is happy with o, S likes o': diK ?idah ?ewxe?le's 'doesn't care for that, didn't like it much' 34.12M, ?idah sixe?l'ih'ih 'he likes

insert from following page

Insert at ^ on preceding page:

'Радоваться froh sein, sich freuen'

me' L, diK 'idah sixe'le'ejh 'he doesn't like me, isn't happy with me' L, 'idahs sixe'le'leh 'do you pl. like me?' L.

4c. With kuša'dah 'badly': kuša'dah 'iljhjh 'he's in a bad mood, he's angry, mad' L; with o-xa?: kuša'dahs sixa? yileh 'are you mad at me?' L.

4d. With kezu'dah 'well' and o-xa?: kezu'dah sixe'ljhhjh 'he likes me' L, xi'xeK kezu'dah sixe'ljhhjh 'he liked me fine last night' L, indirect reciprocal: kezu' (should probably be corrected to kezu'dah) 'ilxa? qe? 'idiljhinu' 'they like each other again' 16.19M.

4e. With 'edewi?i 'excitement, hurry, war': 'edewi?i 'ixleh 'I'm in a hurry' L.

4f. With 'enahšekih 'fun, pleasure', attested only with o-xa?, o-xa? following 'anahšekih where o is pronoun, preceding where o is other than pronoun, 'S likes o (unqualifiedly)': (1) with pronoun as o: (1a). frequently with appositive noun as prologue or epilogue: 'enahšekih o-xe'leh 'likes o': 9.68, 73, 92, 10.120, 49.6, 7, 51.29A, 54.3fnG, 'enahšekih sixe'ljhhjh 'he loves me' L, diK 'enahšekih sixe'le'ejh 'he doesn't love me' L, diK

? ←

X

2anahšekih o-ʔeʔle:s 'doesn't like o': 9.9,  
 74, 10.267A, 34.56M, 54.14G, 60.32A, diK ʔenah=  
 šekih ʔahʔaʔ ʔidele:s 'he doesn't like her  
 anymore' 23.110, 110fnA, laʔmahd ʔenahšekih  
 ʔuleʔeʔxleh M, laʔmahd ʔenahšekih ʔuleʔe=  
 ʔeʔxleh 'I like berries' ('berries I like them')  
 L, ʔenahšekih ʔuʔeʔxleh L, 42.1L, ʔenahšekih  
 ʔuʔaʔ ʔixleh 'I like it' M, diK ʔenahšekih  
 ʔuʔeʔxle:s 'I don't like it' A, diK laʔmahd  
 ʔenahšekih ʔuleʔeʔxle:s 'I don't like berries'  
 M, diK ʔenahšekih ʔiʔaʔ ʔeʔ ʔixdele:s 'I  
 don't like you anymore' L, sɬiʔmahdɬ səɬmahdɬ  
 diK ʔenahšekih ʔuʔeʔxle:s 'I don't like the  
 bread you baked' ('you baked bread, I don't like  
 it') M (close syntax literally translating gloss  
 would be diK ʔaw səɬmahdɬ sɬiʔmahdɬiʔaʔ ʔenah=  
 šekih ʔixle:s), deʔ ʔewa:duh ʔenahšekih ʔuʔeʔ=  
 i-leh, na:w da:ʔ giyah 'which do you like  
 (better), whiskey or beer?' L, ʔenahšekih  
 ʔuʔeʔyileh 'you like it' 51.25A, diK ʔenah=  
 šekih ʔuʔeʔyile:s 'you don't like it' 10.269A  
 (form of second person pronoun prefix perhaps in=  
 correct, analogical, or incorrectly transcribed  
 in these allegro forms, better perhaps -ʔeʔi:l-),  
 ʔenahšekih ʔiʔaʔ dɬiʔileh 'we like you' L,

?anahšekih ?uʒe?ləʒleh 'you pl. like it'  
 9.141A; (1b.) negative, with optative verb  
 clause in apposition with o (?u-, ?ew- 'it,  
 that') 'S doesn't like, want it, that ... should  
 ...': diK ?anahšekih ?uʒe?le'e (or ?ewʒe?-  
 le'e): 2b.3L, 9.101, 10.267, 23.40, 33.61, 49.-  
 25, 27, 51.25A, diK ?anahšekih ?uʒe?xle'e  
 ?ulah yeʒ ?edi·lih?ixxi?yah 'I don't want,  
 like to think about it' L, positive: ?anahše-  
 kih ?uʒe?xleh ?uləʒ ?j·xiʔ'eh 'I'd like to  
 see it' ('I want it that I should see it') 71.-  
 4LM, ?anahšekih ?ewʒe?liḥḥih ?ewa· ?ixdi-  
 xa·gḥ 'he wants me to work for him' ('he wants,  
 likes that I should work for him') L, ?anahše-  
 kihšuh ?ewʒe?ləʒleh leʒa· ?ixdixa·gḥ 'do you  
 pl. want me to work for you?' L; (1c.) with ap-  
 positive clause in imperfective, 'S likes (the  
 fact) that ... does ...': ?anahšekih ?ewʒe?-  
 liḥḥih ?ewa· xdaxa·gḥ 'he likes the work I do  
 for him' ('he likes it that I'm working for him')  
 L, leʒ ku·ʔe· ?anahšekih ?uʒe?xleh 'I like  
 this weather' ('I like (the fact) that some-  
 thing's this way') M, negative: 9.73A; (2) with  
 form other than pronoun as o of e-ʒaʔ (tighter  
 syntax, much less frequent than preceding type

of construction, especially in text): with noun as o of o-ya?: la'mahdleya? 'enahšekih 'ixleh 'I like berries' M, with gerundive as o of o-ya?: 44.1L, na'w dalahya? 'enahšekih 'iljhih 'he likes to drink whiskey' L, 'u'd 'isda-lya? 'enahšekih 'iljhih 'he likes to sit there' L, seleta-lya? 'enahšekih 'ixleh 'I like life' L, yeḡ 'iswe-ḡya? 'enahšekih 'ixleh 'I like swimming (about)' L, yeḡ 'isqe-ḡya? 'enahšekih 'ixleh 'I like boating (about)' L, with optative verb-clause subordinated as o of o-ya?: diK 'ewya? Kp'-liḡyahya? 'enahšekih 'ile-ḡih 'she didn't want to interfere with them' 46.8M, 'ḡ'd xu'ya-yih-gahya? 'enahšekih 'ixleh 'I want to camp here' L, sabdḡ selexitahya? 'enahšekih 'ixleh 'I want to (that I should) live a long time' L; indirect reciprocal: 54.14G, diK 'enahšekih 'ikya? 'idale-sinu' 'they don't like each other' L, 'enahšekih 'ikya? 'idaljhinu' 'they like each other' L.

4g. As above, customary (neuter): 'enahšekih 'uḡe'le-K' 'they (cust) like it' 51.29A.

4h. Mode-aspects other than neuter imperfective or customary, from M only, some probably

incorrect, with analogical stem-form, and others with stem le-, certainly incorrect: ?aw la?mahd ?anahšekih ?uleʒa? qe?yileh 'you'll like those berries' M, ?anahšekih ?uʒa? ?iqe?x-leh 'I'll like it' M, diK ?anahšekih ?uʒa? ?iqe?xle?e 'I won't like it' M, ?anahšekih ?uʒa? ?icaxle?i 'I'm getting to like it' M, ?anahšekih ?uʒa? ?isiliʒ 'I liked it' M, diK ?anahšekih ?uʒa? ?ixslike (or ?ixsle?le) 'I didn't like it' M, ?olešgahʒ ?anahšekih ?uʒe?-i?i-lihʒih 'I hope he likes it' M (but "sounds too short", better ?olešgahʒ ?awahšekih ?uʒe?-i-lihsi-lihʒih, see ?i-lih---li- below).

5. With subordinate subjunctive verb-clauses:  
 a. where S of subjunctive verb is the same person as S of ?i-leh: (1) where subjunctive is intransitive (verb with o-ʒa?): ?awleʒa? qe? ya-sedale?ʒ ?ileh 'they want to get revenge for it' 28.132A, ?ahʒa? weʒ ?a?tu?ʒ ?ileh 'wanted to marry (live with) her' 42.1L, ?u?ehdKah sa?ʒ ?ileh 'wanted to leave his wife' 47a.1L, ?uleʒ ?icuxʒ?e?ʒ ?ixleh 'I want to see him' M, Rezanov Утаьтнхкуакъ эхуале 'Сограте lügen' ?uK di?xg<sup>M</sup>es[ʒ] ?ix<sup>M</sup>leh 'I want to lie to him', diK ?uleʒ ?icuxʒ?e?ʒ ?ixle?e

'I don't want to see him' M, səxləʔəŋgɣ ʔixleh  
 'I want to sneeze' L, diK səxləʔəŋgɣ ʔixlehə  
 'I don't want to sneeze' L, səxləʔəŋgɣ ʔi·leh  
 'do you want to sneeze?' L, qeʔ ʔixda·ɣ ʔix-  
 leh 'I want to go home' L, qeʔ ʔi·da·ɣ ʔi·-  
 leh 'you want to go home' L, yaʔ ʔeda·ɣ ʔi-  
 lɪhɪh, yɣ·ʔ səda·ɣ ʔilɪhɪh 'he wants to sit  
 down' L, diK yɣ·ʔ ʔaxda·ɣ ʔixlehə 'I don't  
 want to sit down' L, yaʔ ʔaxte·ɣ ʔixleh, yɣ·ʔ  
 səxte·ɣ ʔixleh 'I want to lie down' L, ʔaxcuʔdɣ  
 ʔixleh, səxcuʔdɣ ʔixleh (former preferred) 'I  
 want to sleep' L, ʕiyahd daʔləsəxlɪhɪh ʔixleh  
 'I (man or woman) want to get married' L, ʔi·x-  
 gahɣ ʔixleh 'I want to dance' L, yeɣ ʔaxde-  
 we·ɣ ʔixleh 'I want to go swimming' L, seqe·-  
 səyu·ɣaʔɣ qeʔi·xleʔɣ ʔixleh 'I want to baby-  
 sit' L, səxləʔe·ɣ ʔixleh 'I (woman) want to  
 get married' L, diK ʔulah yeɣ ʔedi·lihʔex-  
 laʔya·ɣ ʔixle·s 'I don't want to think about  
 it' M, for further examples see da, te, cuʔd-  
 cuhd; (2) where subordinate subjunctive is tran-  
 sitive, without o-ɣaʔ: Kuxudala·ɣ ʔixleh  
 'I want to drink something' M, diK Kuxudala·ɣ  
 ʔixle·s 'I don't want to drink anything' M, ʔew  
 ʔaxdala·ɣ (or səxdala·ɣ, former preferred,

not \*?ixdela·ʒ) ?ixleh 'I want to drink it'  
 L, ?aw qeese·ʒ ?ileh 'they want to kill it,  
 it wants, they want to kill them' L, ?ahnu· see  
 se·ʒ ?iljijh 'they want to kill him' 56.21L,  
 xu·se·ʒ qyhw ?ileh 'he wants to kill me' L,  
 xusese·ʒ ?ileh 'they want to kill me' 20.69fnA,  
 ku·se·k[ʒ] ?ileh 'they want to kill things'  
 20.69fnA, saxida·sgʒ ?ixleh 'I want to weigh  
 it' L, li·xduhʒ ?ixleh 'I want to flesh skin'  
 L, yq·? ?axa·sexha?ya·ʒ ?ixleh 'I want to  
 fall over' L (reflexive), ?aw ju? seiya·ʒ  
 ?iljijh 'he wants to find (it) out' L, ku?x-  
 ite·ʒʒ ?ixleh 'I want to be carrying something'  
 72.39fnL (poetic), ?aw xa·na·ʒ ?ileh 'he  
 wants to eat it' L, ?aw xa·xa·ʒ (or xetexa·ʒ)  
 ?ixleh 'I want to eat it' L, ?u?lesexigahʒ  
 ?ixleh 'I want to learn it' L, desexledehʒ  
 ?ixleh 'I want to have it (linguistic skill)'  
 L; (3) with o-xa?, relatively rare, and only  
 where subordinate subjunctive is transitive:  
 di·xida?ʒʒ ?uxexleh 'I want to drown it' L,  
 kuʒa? ?a?xitu·ʒ ?uxexleh 'I want to use it'  
 L, ?idʒ ?exta·ʒ ?uxexleh 'I want to give  
 it to you' L, ?u?lesexigahʒ ?uxexleh 'I'd  
 like to know him' L.

5b. Where S of subjunctive verb, transitive or intransitive, is different person from that of ?i-leh: (1) with o-ʒaʔ, where o of o-ʒaʔ is same person as S of subjunctive verb, reinforcing change of S from that of ?i-leh: *daʒi·če·ʒ ?iʒeʔxleh* 'I want you to be hungry' L, *daʒexče·ʒ siʒaʔ ?ilʒhinu* 'they want me to be hungry' L (see further instances under če'), *ʒa·če·gaʔ səle·ʒ ?uʒeʔxleh* 'I want it to turn red' M, *wəʒ səle·ʒ ?uʒeʔxleh* 'I want it to happen, do thus' L, *siya· ?uleʒʒ·ʔ yeʒi·le·ʒ ?iʒeʔxleh* 'I want you to avenge them for me' 34.74M, *si·še·ʒ ?iʒeʔxleh* 'I want you to kill it' L, *si·še·ʒ ?iʒeʔxlʒhʒh* 'I want you to kill him' L, *qeʒi·še·ʒ ?iʒeʔxleh* 'I want you to kill them' L; (2) with o-ʒaʔ <sup>relatively rare</sup> lack-ing: *daʒuʔ ya·ʒ daʒi·le·ʒ ?ixleh* 'I want you to tell the truth' L, *?ʒ·d xuʔyeʒəʒqa·ʒ ?ixleh* 'I want to camp here' L ('I want it to dawn on me here', impersonal, conjugated for O only, O here being the same person as S of ?i-leh).

6. With subordinate verb in optative, much less frequently than in subjunctive, same meaning, and perhaps incorrect; use of o-ʒaʔ perhaps same as in construction with subordinate

verb in subjunctive, but o-ʒaʔ apparently more frequently present with no change of S and more frequently absent with change of S: ʒaʔ-xiduʔ ʔuʒeʔxleh 'I want to caulk it' L, ʔiʃ ʔixitah ʔuʒeʔxleh 'I want to give it to you' L, diʔ ʒeʔ ʔidikʃ-x ʔixeʔxleʔs 'I don't want you to cry anymore' M, diʔ xuʔliqahs ʔewʒeʔxleh "don't looks like he gonna bite me" L (with rare negative optative, 'I want that it not bite me'), daʔ yeʒ ʔidiʔaʔʃʃ ʔiʔleh 'do you want to take a walk?' ('do you want that we should walk about?') L.

7. With subordinate verb in hybrid form, optative prefixes and subjunctive stem-form and suffix, almost certainly incorrect, same meaning as with subordinate verb in subjunctive, attested only with S same in both verbs, o-ʒaʔ present where subordinate is transitive: yaʔ ʔixida-x ʔixleh 'I want to stay seated' L, yaʔ ʔixite-x ʔixleh 'I want to lie down' L, ʔi-xigah-x ʔixleh 'I want to dance' L, diʔ ʔi-xigah-x ʔixleʔs 'I don't want to dance' L, la-xiduh-x ʔuʒeʔxleʔ, la-xiduh-x ʔuʒeʔxleʔ 'I want to flesh it (skin)' L.

8. With subordinate verb in active perfect-

ive: diʔwəʒ sidah̄ ʔixleh 'I want to stay seated' L ('I want yet that I am seated' cf. Eyak Texts 20.54, 55fn).

ʔi·lih--·lih- (form of neuter theme ʔi-leh incorporated as prefix in other verb-themes, in position immediately following that of inceptive imperfective prefix quʔ-: quʔ + -lih- > qe·lih-, with prefix 0 of transitive verbs: xu-, ʔi-, ku-, lexī-, ʔed-, +·lih- > xu·lih-, ʔi·lih-, ku·lih-, lexī·lih-, ʔedi·lih-) 'emotionally', attested only with ten stems (but probably not so limited in privilege of occurrence) in the following themes: with stems -le (and causative -ti) and -te'--tu' in same themes as neuter imperfective ʔi-leh, adding little or nothing to the meaning but serving as bearers of mode-aspect inflection; o-taʔ ʔi·lih-(de-)ta 'sg. S depends on o', o-taʔ ʔi·lih-qu 'pl. S depend on o', ʔi·lih-je-dʒa' 'S is, becomes emotionally strong', ʔi·lih-je-dʒa'e 'S is, becomes emotionally weak', ʔi·lih-ʒe·k 'S is, becomes irascible, cross-grained', ʔeʒdih ʔed-ʔi·lih-je-ʒa' 'S loses consciousness', o-ʒ ʔi·lih-je-ʔa·t 'S is, becomes ensnared of o', o-ʒahd yəʒ ʔi·lih-ʔya, o-ʒaʔ yaʔ ʔi·lih-ʔya 'S is disappointed in,

by o', o-čahd ʔi·lih-ʔya 'S gives o good luck',  
o-ča·x ʔi·lih-ʔya 'S is in favor of o', ʔed--  
ʔi·lih-łe-ʔya 'S thinks'.

ʔi·li·--ʔi·lih- (morphological classification un-  
certain, variant of preceding occurring apparent-  
ly in postpositional phrases, probably with zero  
allomorph of reflexive o) 1. ʔi·li·x (probably  
to be analyzed ʔed-ʔi·li·-x, with postposition  
o-x) 'intention, attempt, pretense', usually  
followed by q̄-emphatic and usually requiring  
vocalization of classifier in verb-theme: clear-  
ly vocalizing classifier: ʔi·li·x (q̄hew) xu-  
quʔyałacex̄j̄h 'he tried to cut my hand' L (cf.  
xuquʔyi·łcex̄j̄h 'he'll cut my hand'), ʔi·li·x  
q̄ew x̄exdah 'I make a stab at, desultory effort  
at eating it, pretend to eat it' L (cf. x̄exah  
'I'm eating it'), ʔi·li·x x̄əla·sedaʔya·łj̄h  
'he's trotting, jogging, running slowly along'  
L (cf. x̄əla·saʔya·łj̄h 'he's running along'),  
ʔi·li·x q̄h xuquʔdešeh 'he intends to kill  
me, he's trying to get me killed' L (perhaps  
passive xuquʔdešeh <sup>that</sup> 'I'll be killed'); with verb  
themes with vocalic classifier without ʔi·li·x:  
ʔi·li·x q̄h q̄eʔ s̄eda·ł 'he's trying (e.g.  
drunk) to walk home' L, ʔi·li·x q̄h diʔaʔg

?edu?higah 'he's making believe he can read' L,  
 ?i-li·x qphew ?uli? ?edqu?di·xhah 'I'll pre-  
 tend I don't like him' L; with classifier not  
 vocalized, perhaps incorrect: ?i-li·x qph siX  
 li?x leleh 'he made a token effort to smile at  
 me' M (perhaps to be corrected to ledaleh), ?i-  
 lih qphew kphd wox kih 'he pretends he can  
 smoke' L (perhaps to be corrected to leleh),  
 ?i-li·x qph dexphyu·ga? ci?deleh 'he pretends  
 he can talk Eyak (talk like people)' L (perhaps  
 to be corrected to ci?dadaleh).

2a. yox ?i-lihxa? dexda?ya·x "'I'm  
 hungry for something but don't know what" L,  
 basic theme d-?ya with yox-progressive, re-  
 quiring de-classifier, perhaps also, with zero  
 allomorph of reflexive o, indirect reflexive  
 with ?ed-?i-lih-xa?, or indirect reflexive  
 with ?ed-xa? 'one's own eating, own mouth' or  
 not indirect reflexive, with preverb xa? 'mouth',  
 in which (latter two) interpretations ?i-lih  
 would function as an adverb or preverb.

2b. de?a· ?i-lihxp·? Kucaha?yah da·x  
 ?p·da? qe? qa?djhjh 'when he gets over it him-  
 self he'll come back here' L, to be analyzed as  
 preceding, ?ed-?i-lih-xp·?, or ?ed-xp·? (o-xp·?

'entire length of o'), or ʔəʔ (preverb,  
'completion, equilibrium').

ʔi·lih (used preverbially instead of incorporated  
in verb, apparently rare) 'emotionally': Kəʔu·  
dah siʔəʔ ʔi·lih ʔiqeʔxkih (same as Kəʔu·  
dah siʔəʔ ʔiqe·lihkih) 'I'll make you happy  
with me' L, Kəʔu·dah ʔuxəʔ ʔi·lih xusekih  
(same as Kəʔu·dah ʔuxəʔ xu·lihsekih) 'she  
made me like her' L.

o-ʔeʔ(-ʔ) da-leʔg (perhaps with stem to be ana-  
lyzed as le(?) with -g-repetitive thematized,  
otherwise not so occurring) see leʔg-leʔg<sup>N</sup>-uʔg-  
(1)ug.

le· (once leh; perhaps < ?le· and related to ?luw-  
 ?nuw-?li'-?lu?) *nd/rv ts -ne· (ʔa·ne·)*

-le· suffix, attested only in te?ya?le· (noun, unclassified) 'king salmon' LM, 1a.4, 8, 1b.2, 5, 7, 10, 13M, 10.90, 93, 94, 95, 97, 102, 103, 105, 108, 109, 123, 132, 135, 157, 185.11, 138, 139, 140, 142, 148, 150, 152, 65.7, 9 A, 67.130, Galushia Nelson téi'yá'le· or téiyátié· 'king salmon' BSdL 540, te?ya?le·yeqesi?ya? 'king salmon entrails' 10.100A, te?ya?le·de?e'3g 'slab of king salmon meat' 10.140, 149A, te?ya?leh 'king salmon' 11.138A. Perhaps < 'big fish', but L unable to etymologize.

leh (perhaps related to la-na<sup>2</sup>, de-leh)

leh (preverb, attested only with zero final)

'through complete seasonal cycle, year', attested only with theme *sl-ʔya* 'time passes', see *sl-ʔya* 2a., leh *selaʔyah*.

o-leh (postposition, with zero and -*o* finals)

'year for o, year of o's life', attested only with theme *sl-ʔya* 'time passes', see *sl-ʔya* 2b.

neh

neh (exclamation) 'come on now!, never mind!',  
 expression of impatience: neh 'alright, give  
 it to me!, let me do it!' (M's mother said to M's  
 father, jerking something from his hand) L, neh  
 qe'le? 'now let me see that!' LM, neh 'ele'xuh  
 'now give me that!' L, neh ya? 'e'edux 'now  
 stop that!' L, neh xi-č 'e'edex 'now throw that  
 away!' L, neh sidə'yəxə'kah 'a' 'now get out  
 of my way!' L, neh xəye'u-č gu-kə-?, 'u-dəx  
 'eš qu'xah 'now stand back!, I'm coming through'  
 L, neh dəxu' wəx qu'xə'ih 'never mind I'll do  
 it myself, I may as well do it myself' L, neh,  
 xu' kəqu'xə'e'ə'g 'alright, never mind, I'll  
 paddle' 71.19LM.

1a

O-de-la 'S drinks O' (generally without gl-class--mark for O 'liquid'): inceptive imperative: Rezanov Karezas: 'Eeš trinken (Imperat.)', Furuhejelm Khatilia 'to drink' sedela?, ?ew sedela? 'drink it!' L, qe? sedela? 'drink it some more!' L, active imperative: ?edelah L, ?edela M, ?edele L (twice), ?ew ?edela? 'drink it!' L, ?el ?edelah 'drink this!' L, inceptive imperfective: Wrangell Kaskyrtasa 'Eure 6ya trinken' giyah qu?xdelah 'I'll drink water', qu?xdelah (not -la) 'I'll drink it' L, diK qu?xdela's (or -lahs) 'I won't drink it' L, Kuqu?xdelah 'I'll drink something' L, qa'l ne'K da'x Kuqu?xdelah 'this is my first drink' ('now for the first time I'm drinking something') L, ceK'ihd ya' qu?xdelah 'this is my last drink' ('I'll drink a last one') L, active imperfective: xdelah 'I'm drinking it' L, giyah xdelah 'I'm drinking water' M, Muxdelah 'I'm drinking (something)' LM, diK Muxdela's 'I'm not drinking anything' LM, delah 'you're drinking it, it's drinking it' L, Mudelah 'you're drinking (something), it's drinking (something)' LM, Kudedalahya'x 'lest there be drinking' L ('lest be

drink something'?, or 'lest someone drink it'?),  
 qe? Kuxdelahya'x 'lest I drink anymore' L, da-  
 delah 'we're drinking it' LM, lexdelahshuh 'are  
 you pl. drinking it?' LM, ?aw deljhjh 'he's  
 drinking it' L, dik' ?aw dela'ejh (or -lahs-)  
 'he's not drinking it' L, dik' giyah delahs  
 'they weren't drinking water' 5l.71A, dehidah  
 Kudeljhjh 'he's continually drinking' L, ?el  
wine xdelah 'I'm drinking this wine' (not steady-  
 ly or for a long time like following) L, inceptive  
 perfective: ?el wine sexdela'z 'I keep drink-  
 ing this wine' L, Kusxdela'z 'I'm in the pro-  
 cess of drinking something (a long time, constant-  
 ly)' L, Kusadela'zjh 'he's "always" drinking' L,  
 active perfective: sdilahh(jh) 'drank it' 2a.7M,  
 2b.11L, xsdilahh 'I drank it' L, active optative:  
 giyah ?ixdilah 'let me drink water' L, de?u'd  
 ?ixdilah 'let me drink it' L, de?u'duh ?idi-  
 ljhjh 'let him drink it' L, da' ?idilah 'let's  
 drink it' L, ?u'dkih Ka? Ku'dilah da' Ku'di-  
 lah 'I wish you'd drink (so) we could drink (to-  
 gether)' ('would that you drink something that we  
 might drink something') L, kph qi?shad giyah  
 ?ixdilah 'whence would I get water to drink?' L,  
 active conditional: ?ixdelah da'x 'just as I

got started drinking it' L, active subjunctive:  
 ?aw ?axdela·x ?ixleh L, inceptive subjunctive:  
 ?aw sexdela·x ?ixleh 'I want to drink it' L  
 (but L prefers active), Kusuxdela·x ?ixleh 'I  
 want to drink something' M, diK Kusuxdela·x  
 ?ixle·e 'I don't want to drink anything' M, with  
 yeḡ-progressive, active optative: da· yeḡ Ky·-  
 dilah 'let's go around drinking (something)' M,  
 customary: xdela·K 'I (cust) drink it' L, Ku-  
 dela·Kjh 'he (cust) drinks (something)' L (active  
 imperfectives), ?idila·K '(cust) drink it!' L  
 (active imperative), de?u·duh ?idila·Kjh 'let  
 him (cust) drink it' L (active optative); indirect  
 reciprocal: Kulah ?iklex deljhinu· 'they're  
 trying to outdrink each other' ('they're drinking  
 more than each other about something') L; with  
 gl-class-mark for O, 'S drinks O (some  
 special liquid)': galexdelah 'I'm drinking it  
 (e.g. whiskey)' M, 'I'm drinking it' ("probably  
 not water, more like medicine") L,  
 o-d O-i-la (causative of transitive) 'S makes o  
 drink O, gives o O to drink' : sid seḡla? 'give  
 it to me to drink!, make me drink it!' L; ?id  
 qu?xilah 'I'll make you drink it, give it to you  
 to drink' L, ?id siḡlahḡ 'I made you drink

Passive not used, see -ya 23,  
 1-62a

it' L.

delah (deverbalization) 'drinking, drink', attested only as o of o-ya? na'w delahya? ?enahSekih ?iljhh 'he likes to drink whiskey' L (perhaps incorrect), and with -kih diminutive suffix in delahkih siX da'y ?i?deljhh 'he begs me for a drink' L.

-lah (gerundive) 'drinking'; with indefinite O:

Kulah ?iqe?di-leh 'there'll be drinking, drinking will go on' L, Kulah xuse?ga?i 'I'm getting tired of drinking' ('drinking (something) is tiring me') L, ?enahSekih yiteh Kulah 'it's fun to drink (something)' L, qah daqew xusi?ga?i, ?aw Kulah ?ixa? 'you're tiring me out already, (with) that drinking of yours' L, Kulahga? xu?-we?gewjhh 'he's making me feel like drinking' L, with third person O: qah daqew xuse?ga?i, ?ulah ?ewa' 'I'm tired of drinking it' ('it's tired me out finally, drinking that') L, gi'wa' ?ulahya? Ku?xsatuhgi 'I got lazy from drinking beer' L. giyah sdilahi (noun, unclassified) 'humpback salmon' ("deep talk" for same fish is ka'SK, < 'it drank water' ?) L, giyah sdilahiya? da' qa?-qeh 'we'll boat after humpies' L. giyah da' ialah (noun) 'water bucket' L (L un-

la-na<sup>1</sup> (complex of stem-forms, united here under the basic meaning of 'live or move in certain locality or position' and more or less clear derivatives thereof, probably to be identified with la'-na.<sup>1</sup> and possibly also la-na<sup>2</sup>, see also comparative remarks (with Athapaskan and Tlingit) under 0-~~i~~-la; Furuhjelm regularly implies na where all other sources show la; those forms which are regularly na are listed in separate subentries)

-la (basic meaning 'S (individually or collectively) moves, lives, goes about the business of living, in natural medium (as fish, school of fish in water, people, community on territory, in locality)', ~~to~~  
~~(fish, aquatic animal) moves, swims in (especially~~  
~~under) water (often in school)';~~ 1. 'S (fish, aquatic animal, individually or in school) swims (under water), moves (in water)': qa<sup>o</sup>lah 'it (fish) will swim (away)' N, qu<sup>o</sup>qi'lah 'they (fish) will swim away' N, qe'ya<sup>o</sup>hd qu<sup>o</sup>dalah 'they (fish) will go back out to sea' 21b.72A, 'qah<sup>o</sup> səla'ɨ 'it (loon) is swimming along (underwater) with him' 27b.37A, te<sup>o</sup>ya<sup>o</sup> səla'ɨ 'fish is, are swimming (along)' M, o-lah 'qah<sup>o</sup> səlahɨ 'it (loon) swam (underwater) around o with him' 27b.38A, lah<sup>o</sup> səlahɨ 'it (dead rat) moved forward out

able to etymologize, but has to do with "drink-  
ing," perhaps < giyah ʔux daʔ kelah 'by  
means of it we drink water', with ke- for de-  
classifier required by o-ɣ 'by means of o',  
nominalized active imperfective).

(in water)' 28.67A, qeselahk 'they (fish) swam'  
 M, xi·c selahk 'it, they (fish) swam away, way  
 over there' M, with o-da? 'to o' and qe? 'back':  
 21a.27, 33L, with qa? 'up out': qa? selahk  
 'it (sea-otter) surfaced, emerged' 12.2, 5, 7, 29G,  
 with o-qa? 'amongst o': ?ewqa? selahk 'it  
 (fish) swam into school (amongst them)' L, ?uxa?  
 yeq? ?i·lahwahd 'so it'd swim ashore by him' 11.=  
 150A, ?a·li?ix ?i·lahk 'they're way up creek  
 or lake, gathered near beach (to spawn)' (of all  
 salmon but king) L (neuter perfective), ?ewyeqad  
 qew ?ela·k 'they (cust) swim into them' 62.5G,  
 dik? ?ewlex ?ela·ke 'they (cust) don't swim past  
 that' 56.13L, qe? ?edela·k '(fish) (cust) swim  
 back' 21a.6L, 21b.25A, inceptive conditional (with-  
 out da·x): te?ya? ?u·da? des selah 'fish  
 (which) might swim upriver to there' 68.50A, with  
 yeq-progressive: yeq dela·x 'it (fish, or duck  
 underwater) is swimming around' L, ?ahk yeq  
 dela·x 'it (whale) was swimming around with him  
 (inside)' 11.162A, ?a·q ya·qdeq yeq dela·x  
 'bullhead is swimming, moving around in the sky'  
 (of a constellation) L, ca?ya?x yeq dela·x  
 'they (fish) are swimming around at a deep level'  
 L.



'he (who) lives down by the shore' LM, K̄h̄da·d  
 salah̄h̄h̄ 'he lives in another place' L, sic̄i·ʔd  
 salah̄h̄h̄ 'he lives below (downhill from and  
 closer to shore than) me' L, yina·ʔd salah̄h̄inu·  
 'those who live downhill below' L, siyaʔd sa-  
 lah̄h̄inu· 'those who live below me' L, active  
 imperfective (in customary or ethical sense, see  
 also lah below) 'S ordinarily, customarily lives,  
 belongs living (at certain locality)': ʔʔ·d da·  
 lah 'we live here' L, ʔʔ·d xlah 'here is where  
 I (often) camp' L, ʔu·d xlah 'I camp there' L,  
 ʔaʔdeʔaʔ xlah 'I camp (often) by a glacier' L,  
 (cf. ʔaʔ), active optative: da· ʔi·lah 'let's  
 move' L, daʔu·d ʔixilah 'let me move, let me  
 camp right there' L, with yʔ·ʔ 'down': o-ʔaʔ  
 yʔ·ʔ salah̄h̄ 'they camped, settled down by, near  
 o' 10.56, 56A, ʔu·d ʔuhnu· yʔ·ʔ salah̄h̄ 'there  
 they settled down' 68.11A, ʔu·d yʔ·ʔ salah̄h̄inu·  
 'they settled down there' 68.39A, ʔʔ·d yʔ·ʔ  
 sela·ʔ 'settle down here!' L, ʔewqaʔd yʔ·ʔ si-  
 lah̄h̄inu· 'I moved in, settled down amongst them'  
 L, ʔahnu·qaʔd yʔ·ʔʔ sela·h̄h̄h̄ 'he's moving in,  
 settling down amongst them' L, with lah 'home'  
 (see lah 1. below): ʔuʔ lah k̄uselah̄h̄h̄ 'people  
 moved (household) with her' 25.140, 140A, ʔu·ʔ

?uX lah salahih 'they moved there with her'  
 25.143A, ?u·da? lah salah 'they moved there'  
 68.59, Cordova? lah salah 'they moved to,  
 took up residence at Cordova' 68.60A, Rezanov  
 Келесаятыъ 'Селение, жло Wohnort, Ansiedelung'  
 qi? lah salah 'place where they live' L (or  
 perhaps qi?lah 'place around which they live',  
 see o-lah below); with yeḡ-progressive: yeḡ  
 ?adela· 'move around!' M, yeḡ dala·ḡinu· 'they're  
 moving about, migrating nomadically' L. Transitive  
 (causative), only semantically regular attestation,  
 see also O-i-la below): indirect reflexive: ?ed-  
 ḡa? ?ḡh silih 'had him live with him(self)'  
 15.2M.

dee lah (noun, unclassified, nominalized active  
 imperfective of -la l. with dee 'upstream,  
 upland', 'it swims, they swim (staying, or in di-  
 rection of) upstream)', 'trout (generic)' (species  
 present: 'cutthroat or salmon trout (*Salmo clarki*)',  
 'rainbow or steelhead trout (*Salmo gairdneri*)',  
 'Arctic charr (*Salvelinus alpinus*)', 'Dolly Var-  
 den charr (*Salvelinus malma*)') LM, 'rainbow or  
 steelhead trout, Dolly Varden charr' M, 'cut-  
 throat or salmon trout' G (in Harrington and Li),  
 Galushia Nelson Déqlá or Déqlá 'trout' BSdL

li? lah (noun, unclassified, nominalized active imperfective of -la l. with li? 'downstream', 'it swims, they swim (staying or in direction of upstream)') 'trout which has been long upstream'? L, 'small trout species, fry'? M, 'Dolly Varden charr' M (in Austerlitz), 'steelhead' G (in Li), Galushia Nelson li'ld? or li'ld 'rainbow trout' BSDL 540.

te?ya?ga? ?i-teh dee lah (noun, unclassified) 'cutthroat or salmon trout' M, 'small silver trout species' ('salmon-like trout') L.

deslahqexah (month-name) 'trout-month' L (L does not know what time of year this was), 'November'? A, Furuhjelm Takhnakhah 'month' probably to be read desnahqexah.

?u-nahd qe-lu? ?idala?K (month-name) 'March (when king salmon return)' ('in its month they (cust) return') A (unknown to L).

ye? dela?x (noun) 'a certain star' ('it moves around') L, Furuhjelm Nakhtanah 'star' perhaps to be read ye? dana?x (perhaps with initial Cyrillic *Н* miscopied as *н*); ?a?d ye? dela?x ('a bullhead is swimming about'), ?a?d ?u-de? eela?x ('a bullhead is swimming along

there'), ʒa·q̄ qiʔdeʒ sala·ʔ ('where a bullhead is swimming along') 'a certain constellation of stars' L. (L cannot identify constellation).

yeq̄ la·ʒ (noun, unclassified) 'eulachen' ("because they bury themselves in the sand") A. yeq̄ 'ashore', but verb-stem problematic, apparently with -ʒ suffix for yeʒ-progressive, but preverb yeʒ absent, or perhaps a subjunctive form without prefix.

yeʒ ʔisla·ʒ (gerundive of -la 2. above with yeʒ-progressive) (moving (household) about': yeʒ ʔisla·ʒ xuseiʒaʔʔ 'I'm tired of moving around' ('moving about is tiring me') L.

O-ʔ-la (semantically irregular causatives of -la; cf. widely in Athapaskan, where the intransitive -na means 'to live, to move', and transitives O-ʔ-na mean 'to save O, to win O in gambling, to capture O': e.g. Navaho -nééh--ná 'to move residence', -ʔ-nééh--ná 'to win', -ʔ-nááh--naaʔ 'to cause to move', -ʔ-nááh--ná 'to capture' Sarcee -na 'to live', -nah--na 'to move camp', -ʔ-nah--na 'to win in gambling', Chipewyan -ná--ná 'to live', -ʔ-ná--ná 'to save one's life', cf. also Tlingit si-néʒ 'to save some one; a supernatural being takes some one away'

and Swanton Tlingit Myths and Texts p. 28)

1. 'S rescues, saves O('s life)': Galushia Nelson xú·lá 'save me!' BSdL 313, xú<sup>2</sup>ttá· or xú·tta 'help me' BSdL 555, xu·lla?, xp·lla?, xu·lla·?, xutólla? 'save me!' L, ?iqe?xllah 'I'll save you' L, ?isaxlla·t 'I'm saving you' L, ?isállah·t 'I saved you' L, xusállah·t 'he saved me' L, 'you saved me' M, díyux qa· sállah·t 'mosquitoes saved us' 14.8L, ?aw sállah·t 'he rescued it' 26.10L, reflexive: 33.4A, 52.37L, ?edqesállah·t 'they saved themselves, survived' 34.2M, ?edsállah·t 'it's safe' M, 'you're safe, you're saved' L, ?edxsállah·t 'I'm safe' M, 'I saved myself' L, diK ?edsállah·t diK ?edesállah·t 'you're not safe, saved' L, with o-y-za·q 'thanks to, by virtue of, dependent on o': ?awyaxa·qđ q̄hew ?ewčahd ?edsállah·t 'by virtue of that he escaped from it' 63.12G, di?wəx de·yaxa·qđh ?edsállah·t 'he barely recovered, narrowly escaped' ('just by virtue of what did he escape?') L, de·yaxa·qđ q̄hew ?edsállah·t 'he barely escaped' M, ?aw-yaxa·qđ q̄hew ?edsállah·t 'that's how he escaped' M.

2. 'S (especially supernatural being) ab-

ducts O': sələhə 'abducted him, her' 19.9L,  
 20.19, 24, 24A, xuseləhə 'abducted me' 20.80,  
 23.117A; with ku-indefinite as o of o-d, trans-  
 lating as S, especially in reference to land-  
 otters: kəd xuseləhə 'something (animal) "got  
 a hold of me"' L, kəd sələhəjə 'something  
 (grizzly bears) have "taken him"' 19.8L, kəd  
 ?iqe?ləhə 'something (e.g. land-otters) will  
 "take you away"' L, kəd sələhəinu 'people  
 (who have been) "taken away" by land-otters' L.  
 O-?-l-la (semitransitive of O-l-la 1.) 'S re-  
 moves O from dangerous situation': ?u?siələh-  
 əjə 'I took, chased him away (out of danger)' L,  
 with yej-progressive: yej ?u?xiələ.əjə 'I keep  
 him hidden around (so no one will hurt him)' L;  
 reflexive: ?edu?xsiələhə 'I ran away scared,  
 saved myself, fled' L, ?uya.əjə ?eda?xsiələhə  
 'I fled from it, avoiding it' L, yəhd ?edu?si-  
 ələhəjə 'he fled out to sea, saved himself by  
 boating out to sea' L, with <sup>18.18L</sup> qe.yejə ?edu?xsiələhə  
 'I turned and fled, ran back away, saving myself'  
 L.

lah (noun, unclassified, perhaps nominalized active  
 imperfective of -la 2. above) la. '(permanent)  
 camp, village, town': 60.19, 68.54, 54, 55, 56A,

order or position by reason of birth': a. following postpositional phrases: (1) following o-d-i-yeṣ 'in front of, before, prior to o': səideṣ-yeṣ(e)lah 'the oldest, older one (e.g. of series of siblings, of pair of wives)' L, 9.73, 33.59, 75, 84, 50.55fnA, səideṣyeṣ lah siṣeweṣ 'my oldest brother' (man speaking) L, səideṣyeṣ lahča-d yī·hīh siṣeweṣ 'my second oldest elder brother' ('my older brother who is next to the oldest', man speaking) L, Rezanov Кратрехя Меньмоѣ der jüngere (Bruder?) 'ideṣyeṣ lah 'he's older than you' LM, siṣeṣyeṣ lah 'he's older than me' the next youngest before me' L; (2) following o-ʔih-ṣ '(movement within position) following, behind o': səiʔihṣ lah 'the youngest, younger one (of series, pair)' L, 18.59, 33.60, 69, 50.55A, səiʔihṣ lah seqe·dəkih 'the youngest child' L, ʔaʔd leṣʔihṣlah xīh 'I'm much younger than you pl.' 50.64A, siʔihṣ lah 'my younger sister, he's younger than me, "everybody that's behind me"' L, ʔiʔihṣ lah qəl xu· 'I'm younger than you' L.

2b. Following temporal adverbs: (1) With qa·l 'now': qa·lilah 'a youth in his prime' 32.19A, Rezanov Кратрехя Меньмоѣ jung'

*qā-lilāh* *qā-lilāh*

qā-lilāh... Furuhjelm Khalilna 'young',  
 qā-lalah yilāh 'he's young, a middle-aged per-  
 son' M, 'he's young (not fully mature)' L, qā-  
 lilāhyu 'people in their prime' 51.74A, qā-  
 lalahyu 'younger people of today, the younger  
 generation' L, qā-lilahkih 'a young person (wo-  
 man in her twenties)' 61.104A; (2) with ?iṣṭa-  
 'long ago, in olden times': ?iṣṭa-lāhyu (not  
 \*ta-ṣlāhyu) 'people of olden days, our ances-  
 tors' L; *qā-lilāh* *qā-lilāh*.

lah (preverb) 'home, settlement of household, com-  
 munity' <sup>(cf. ?iṣṭa (parents) ... la ?iṣṭa)</sup> attested only with -la 'S moves, camps,  
 lives', see above, and -qe 'S goes by boat':  
 qe-lah sidiqe?ḥinu 'they boated back home' 57.-  
 31G, and (uncertain, perhaps lah 'around') 60.-  
 63, 63, 63A.

-lah (noun) 1. (unclassified) 'hole, den, burrow,  
 lair' (of animal): ?ulahḥ sa-ḥ 'it's going in-  
 to its hole' M, ?ulahyaḥ qa? lesetahḥ 'it  
 (rat) came (stuck its head) out of its hole' L.

2. (d-class, with ku-indefinite possessor  
 referring to grizzly bear) 'hole, den' (of grizzly  
 bear, 'something's hole'): Kulah 'bear-hole' L,  
 Kulahda?luw 'big bear-hole' L, Kulahde?ḥ?  
 Sa?a?ḥinu 'they came to a habitation (of grizzly

bears)' 18.35L.

-we-lah (noun, unclassified, -we- prefix of uncertain meaning) 'mythical spirit, sprite' (see BSDL 230-232, 504-505, and Eyak Texts 25.5fn for discussion); Galushia Nelson wula'iyu' 'animal souls or owners' BSDL 544, 558, wula' 'animal soul' BSDL 558 -wulah(yu') (probably isolated by author's analysis, not used unpossessed) ?uwe-lah 25.200A, ?uwelahyu' 'their spirits' 25.203A, attested also with noun as possessor: qa? 'alder--thicket', sedegit 'sun' (see gal-git), kuxu?x 'killerwhale, blackfish' (see xu?x-xix-xux-xe?x), d'ihc 'alders', ci' 'mussels' (see ci'y-ci'--ci'y-ci'), te?ya? 'fish, salmon' (see ya? ), lixah 'grizzly-bear' (see xah), ge'ita'g 'seal', e?di?ci?g 'small land- or song-birds' (see ci?--ci?g), seles '(butter-)clam', si'da'de 'razor-clam', sahx 'cockle', qa? ?edxe?ah 'horse--clams' (see ?a'-?a?), xedi?e? 'red-tip clam' (see ?e-?), ?u?x 'driftwood', delax<sup>w</sup>e'g 'groundhog' (see x<sup>w</sup>e'g-xe'g), qeq<sup>l</sup> 'loon, grebe', eu'jih 'wolf'.

-lah-c (nominal) <sup>clausal</sup> suffix with -s personal, clearly to be identified in origin with one or more forms of the shape lah under this stem; see also

*see especially lah (noun) 2.,*

and ya<sup>2</sup>-ya<sup>2</sup>?

la-na.<sup>1</sup>, and 'lahs) 1. 'person who belongs to, inhabitant of a certain locality': following place-name, joined with -de-, probably -d 'at rest in': Galushia Nelson i-yiyáq<sub>2</sub>déláq 'Eyak (inhabitant of Eyak)' BSdL 543, Emmons (in The Basketry of the Tlingit, American Museum of Natural History, Memoir III 2., 1903, p.231ff.) Eeak tella 'i-ya-edelahs, i-yiyáq<sub>2</sub>déláq<sub>2</sub>iyú 'inhabitants of Eyak, Eyaks, BSdL 543, 554, 'i-ya-edelahsəyu' 'Eyak' (most properly 'inhabitants of Eyak Village at Mile 6') LMA, 24.60, 68.68, 45, 47, 58, 58, 68, 71, 75, 75, 76, 87, 69.4, 23A, ya-<sup>w</sup>da<sup>w</sup>-delahsəyu' 62.96, ya-gda<sub>2</sub>delahsəyu' 68.83A, ya-gda<sub>2</sub>delahsəyu' 'Yakutaters, inhabitants of Yakutat' 65.34, 69.1, 2, 11A, sidgahdelahsəyu' 'Sitkans' 68.83A, ka-8Kdelahsəyu' 'Humpy (hump-back salmon) Creek people' (Eyak moiety in Yakutat Bay) L, teʒe<sub>2</sub>ldelahsəyu' 'Taral (Chitina) people (middle Copper River Ahtenas)' 68.82A, 'a-dna<sup>2</sup>?ya<sup>2</sup>delahsəyu' 'Copper River people (Ahtenas)' M, with ʒe-dec-d 'at rest upland of area': ʒədəsdelahsəyu' 'Ahtena Indians way up Copper River' M, 'upper-Copper River Ahtenas and all other interior Alaskan Athapaskans (thought to be cannibals)' L, with demonstrative loca-

tives: daʔp·delahe qel xu· 'I'm a local'  
 ('an inhabitant of right here this is I') L,  
 daʔp·delahejh 'a local' L (-jh suffix probably  
 incorrect), (da)ʔp·delaheseyu· 'locals, inhabi-  
 tants of (right) here, people hereabouts' L, 24.-  
 59A, 62.21G, 69.1A, daʔp·delaheseyu· qel seye:  
 'we're locals' L, 60.107A, ʔu·delaheseyu· 'in-  
 habitants of there' L, after certain postposition-  
 al phrases, without connective -de-, qa·qaʔlah-  
 seyu· 'people who live, are established amongst  
 us, who have been with, amongst us for a long  
 time' L, (see also la·-s- under la·<sup>1</sup>), Galu-  
 shia Nelson tʔá'xá'lá'q or (tʔá'xá'lá') or  
 (qʔá'xá'lá'q) 'Tlingit' BSdL 543 kaʔʔaʔlahé,  
 'Tlingits (glacier-people)' BSdL 543  
 tʔá'xá'lá'qʔiyú or qʔá'xá'lá'qʔiyú, kaʔʔaʔlahéseyu·  
 'Tlingits (all Tlingits, including those of Con-  
 troller Bay and Yakutat as well as beyond)' L,  
 69.6, 13, 14, 14, 16, 17A, kaʔʔelahaheyu· '(real)  
 Aleuts (from Aleutian chain)' L, kaʔʔkúlahéseyu·  
 'Kodiak Eskimos' L (both probably to be corrected  
 to kaʔʔqelahaheyu· 'inhabitants on an island,  
 islanders'), analogical forms, probably incorrect:  
 kayj·y ʔəbqdelahaheyu· 'inhabitants of another  
 country' 28.104A, ʔawdelahaheyu· 'inhabitants  
 of that' 67.14G, ta·ʔdelahaheyu· 'old time people

(inhabitants of long ago)' 63,266.

2. As above, 'person who belongs in certain position', attested only with postpositional phrases, kuŋaʔq or guŋaʔq 'in stern of boat': kuŋaʔqelahe, guŋaʔqelahe 'captain (of boat)' L, and with ɕa·ŋ(g)yaʔ 'in a baby-basket': Furuhejelm Tzatikhijanak 'infant' ɕa·ŋgyaʔnahe, ɕa·ŋyaʔlahe 'baby' L, ɕa·ŋyaʔlahceyu· 'babies' L.

3. See ʔlahe.

-nah(-ɕ-) (element, probably closely related to lah 2. above and/or -lah-ɕ, earlier -\*nah > -\*lah, but -\*ne-nah (with -\*ne- representing later 1-thematic or -anatomical 'head, face') > -inah) in 1. 'person who is in certain chronological order by reason of birth', with postpositional phrase ɕe-ɕ-qaʔ 'in between in a series': ɣu·ɕeɕqaʔi·nah 'I'm the middle one (of a series of siblings)' L. Not attested with -yu· 'plural'.

2. In -leɣe·ʔnah (analysis uncertain, most likely with postpositional phrase o-l-ɣɣ·ʔ 'across from, opposite, even with o', cf. o-ɣɣ·ʔ 'the whole length of o', earlier o-\*n-ɣa·nʔ-(ne-)nah; -ɕ- personal suffix appears with -yu· 'plural' but not otherwise) 'wife's sister's husband, partner': Furuhejelm Senaheana, 'friend' sineɣe·ʔnah,

he also -la·(-ɕ-) under la·na·ɕ.

Galushia Nelson sfláxá<sup>n</sup>.ná 'partner (a fellow--  
clansman)' BSdL 269, 543 (see also discussion in  
BSdL 138, 460) silexə·?nah "'two men married to  
sisters" (my wife's sister's husband)' LA, silexə-  
e·?nahseyu· 'my partners' L; Kulexə·?ne· ?iɬŋ  
diɬeh 'were partners with each other' 16.1M,  
silexə·?ne· ?ədu?kixjɬɬ 'he claims to be my  
relative' M (L rejects variant -xə·?ne·, "never  
heard", very probably incorrect).

-nah-s (as above, with -s personal suffix both  
without and with -yu· 'plural') attested only  
in ya·nahs(eyu·) (ya·- not clearly identifiable,  
see ya·fɬ, which form perhaps not Eyak in origin)  
'Ahtena Indian(s) (especially from middle Copper  
River)': Galushia Nelson yá<sup>n</sup>náq 'Copper River  
Indian' BSdL 543 ya·nahs, yá<sup>n</sup>náqɬiyɬ 'Copper  
River Indians' BSdL 543 ya·nahseyu· 'Ahtena In-  
dians' L, 'Ahtena Indians from Chitina' M.

f a s nah

la-na<sup>2</sup> (forms here united under basic meaning 'circular motion' and derivatives thereof; perhaps to be identified with la-na<sup>1</sup>; na<sup>1</sup> only in certain forms of postposition)

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with basic meaning 'circular motion' and derivatives thereof; perhaps to be identified with la-na<sup>1</sup>; na<sup>1</sup> only in certain forms of postposition (with a few words by *la-na<sup>2</sup>*, presumably also related to *la<sup>1</sup>, la<sup>2</sup>, la<sup>3</sup>, hahel*)

yeḡ l-da-la-ḡ (with l-anatomical 'head, face' and yeḡ-progressive as 'reversal of motion' thematized, underlying theme without yeḡ-progressive probably l-la, conceivably different stem from following) 'S turns to face in certain direction': with no locative preverbs or postpositional phrases, 'S turns away, faces the other way': yeḡ ʔi·dilahi 'his head is turned (away)' M, yeḡ ʔi·dilahinu 'they're back to back' M, 'they're turned away from each other' L (neuter perfectives), yeḡ quʔledelah 'he'll turn around to face the other way' L, with various postpositional phrases and preverbs: siḡ yeḡ lecedelaʔ 'turn to face me!' M, siḡa·ḡ yeḡ lecedelaʔ 'turn around toward me!' M, sidaʔḡ yeḡ lecedelaʔ 'turn toward me (facing my front, while lying)' L, ʔeʔḡ yeḡ lecedelaʔ L, ʔa·ʔḡ yeḡ lecedelaʔ 'turn around to face the outside!' LM, sikaʔ yeḡ lecedelaʔ 'turn and face the same way I'm facing' L, ʔiḡ yeḡ quʔleḡdelah 'I'll turn and face you' M, si·daʔd yeḡ ʔi·dilahi

'he's facing me (in my head-front)' M (neuter perfective), ?uʃ yeʒ lixsdilahiʒh 'I turned and faced him' M, ?uʃ yeʒ lesexdelaʒh 'I'm turning to face him' M, indirect reciprocal, neuter perfective: ?iikaʒ yeʒ ?i-dilahhiinuʒ 'they're facing the same direction, lying "like spoons"' M, ?iikʒesd yeʒ ?i-dilahhiinuʒ 'they're back to back' L.

yeʒ da-la-ʒ (as above, but apparently with 1= anatomical lacking, attested only in Rezanov) 'S turns': Rezanov ʒamʒaxexʒkateʒʒa 'Поворотиться drehen sich, sich wenden' ʒeʒleʒ yeʒ sedelaʒ 'turn closer (to me)!', ʒiʒʒaxkateʒʒa 'Обернуться drehen, sich, sich wenden (Imperat.)' siʒaʒ yeʒ sedelaʒ 'turn toward me!'.  
lah (preverb, always with zero final) 'around, about (in more or less circular motion), turning (in an arc)' 1. (not requiring vocalization of classifier and -ʒ progressive suffix) lah ?ew setaʒh 'he's turning it around, he's carrying it around in a circle' M, lah sihtahʒ 'I turned it around (360° or more)' M, lah seʒeʒh 'he's turning around (boating), he's boating in a circle' M, ʒeʒʒiʒʒaʒ lah seʒehiʒh 'he (boating) turned outward (toward ocean)' M, ?ediʒiʒʒaʒ

lah səqehiḥ 'he (boating) turned inward (to-  
 ward shore)' M, lah ʔəla·siʔyahḥ 'I ran in a  
 circle' M, lah guḥiʔaʔʕinu· 'they're standing  
 in a circle' M, ʔutuʔ lah səxʔeh 'I see around  
 lots, see lots of places' L (either 'I see lots of  
 things around' or, with lah la. under la-na<sup>1</sup>,  
 'I see lots of places, villages'), siḥaʔḥ lah  
 disihahḥ 'I put them (eggs) around (my middle)  
 inside my shirt' L, lah siyahḥ 'I went in a  
 circle' M, lah əaʔ 'turn (ca. 360°)!' L, ʔahḥ  
 lah sahiḥ 'he turned around towards her' 18.15L,  
 qəlahqaʔgaʔdaʔḥ (ʔədiḥd) lah səxah daʔḥ 'when  
 I've walked (in a circle) around (inside) four  
 times' 19.16, 16L, see also l-ta (transitive),  
 O-ʔi· 2. (21a.23fnL, uncertain), O-dl-əa, -qe  
 (43.31M), O-ʔd-ʔahd 1., O-ḥ-ʔaʔḥ 2., -we,  
 ʔəd-dl-ḥe-ʔe 1. (47b.31aM), and also a number  
 of themes referring to twisting, turning, stirring:  
 O-ʔ-(ḥ-)ta 2., 3., d-de-guḥ, -xuḥ-, de-səməḥ,  
 O-səḥ, l-de-səḥ, O-səməḥ, lah l-de-səməḥ,  
 O-ḥ-səḥ 1.; with qeʔ-qeʔ- 'back again': qe·lah  
 57.31G, lah qeʔ 60.63A (perhaps with preverb  
 lah under la-na<sup>1</sup>), in combination with yeḥ--  
 progressive, 'reversal of motion': lah yeḥ ʔe-  
 deta·ḥ 'I keep switching sides paddling' L, see

also -<sup>?</sup>ya 34b. and 2. below.

2. (requiring vocalization of classifier in intransitives and, like yeṣ-progressive, -ṣ suffix to stem in active imperfective), with one basic theme only, see -<sup>?</sup>ya 34a.

o-lah (postposition, always with zero final, except for -č final once under le.) la. '(more or less circular motion) around o, (in position) surrounding o': silah 'around me' L, qa-lah weṣ ku<sup>?</sup>-tu<sup>?</sup> 'grave-fence' L, o-lah O-ŋi 'S wraps O around o', sa<sup>?</sup>sedelah čel 'walrus' ('bones around mouth') M, ŋeqa<sup>?</sup>gedelah čeṣ 'bat' ('wings around rump') M, Rezanov Kacara-ax 'Porč Mund' qa-sa<sup>?</sup>d-lah 'around our mouths', <sup>?</sup>ewlah <sup>?</sup>eš <sup>?</sup>eṣahet 'sew it with stitch over edge around it!' L, silah yeṣ kudeci<sup>?</sup>ṣ 'they (mosquitoes) are buzzing (singing) about around me' L, silah yeṣ <sup>?</sup>ide-ga<sup>?</sup>ṣih 'he's dancing about around me' L, <sup>?</sup>ulah qa<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>yixakiqa<sup>?</sup>ṣi 'my hand is paralyzed around it (from carrying it too long)' L, <sup>?</sup>uyeky-člah qa<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>isdiwe<sup>?</sup>čih 'wove up around his thumb' 34.-100L, o-lah yeṣ <sup>?</sup>edexdeles da<sup>?</sup>ṣ 'when I jump about around o' 34.16M, <sup>?</sup>ulah čew ki<sup>?</sup>ṣ <sup>?</sup>ide-le<sup>?</sup> 'they (cust) circle it howling' 25.36A, <sup>?</sup>udekubddelah yeṣ <sup>?</sup>iia<sup>?</sup>na<sup>?</sup>čg 'it's licking its chops' L, silah qi-li<sup>?</sup>yah<sup>?</sup> 'rope is wrapped

around me' L, silah desa'yahî 'it (boat) went  
 around me' L, ?ulah gusa'ya:î 'water is coming  
 (tide is rising) up around it' M, ?ulah gušîi'=  
 a'ŋi:îh 'pl. stood surrounding him' 44.5L, ?el  
 ?ahlah sexah da·y 'when I go around the world'  
 34.42L; further instances with class- or anatomi-  
 cal marks (see ld. below for form with l-anatomi-  
 cal): ma'gedelah 'around a lake, around (in) a  
 lake' L, 27a.28, 34L, 27b.38A, 71.21LM, ma'gede-  
 ?elah 'around a lake' 27b.37, 45, 37b.2, 3, 4,  
 86, 86A, 71.11M, deqa'gdelah 'around the fire'  
 57.16G, qihdelah 'around a meadow' L, ce\delah  
 'around a board' L, sideqec'delah 'around my col-  
 lar' L, ?ew tuhiga? da· yahddelah sa·? 'walk  
 around those three houses!' L, deqa'q'idelah ?a?î  
 'ribbon around neck' L, ?ew zahddelah sahi  
 'he walked around the car' L, ?ewuiguhgulah  
 'around a ball of yarn' L, Kutahti·lelah (appa-  
 rently not \*-ti·nah) 'around a skin' L, tesî-  
 lelah (apparently not \*-i·nah or \*-a·nah)  
 'around a hammer' L, ca·\i·lah (apparently not  
 \*-\i·nah) 'around a stone' L, sigulah 'around  
 the bottom (hem) of my dress' M, ?ugelah sijahî  
 'I hemmed it' L, ?ugelah siya'cî 'I stitched  
 its hem loosely' L, siKušdelah 'my pants-cuffs'

('around my lower legs') L, dəqeta·iKušdelah  
 'pants-cuffs' L, sičq·delah 'my shirt-cuffs  
 around my lower arm' L, sičq·delah səxi·?  
 'wrap it (bandage) around my forearm!' L, təh  
 sixa? (si)qi·delah qu?xdeXih 'I'll wrap my  
 (burlap) socks around my feet' L, see also 34.7fn,  
 siyelah 'around my hand' L, ?iss?sedelah ?iya·  
 ya? qa?qu?K 'your lips will get chapped' L,  
 Rezanov КАРЯХАТЕЛЯ 'Зрачокъ Pupille' qa·lexe-  
 delah 'around our eyes', Kulaqedelah 'around  
 the eye' M; with indeterminate o: əe·č ?uxa?  
 delah gusdi?yahk 'her spruceroots got caught  
 (on, around) something' 37a.12L.

1b. With reflexive o ?iĭ-, ?iĭlah or  
 ?iĭah 'around each other', frequently also  
 'tangled, mixed together': ?iĭ(1)ah O-ŋi 'S  
 ties, wraps, folds, coils O (together)', ?iĭah  
 cĭ?leəa?a? 'mix them together!' M, see also gdl--  
 ?ya 1., and -?ya 3. (with ?iĭ(1)lah perhaps  
 sometimes used preverbially).

1c. With special meaning 'in arc away from,  
 avoiding, averted from o' (i.e. with S, not o as  
 center): ?əw kuŋlah leta·K 'they (cust) avert  
 their heads from the urine' 33.17A (cf. 2a. below,  
 and ?u·č lah ?əλa·siĭ?ehk 'she sneaked around

(skirting) thither' 47b.31M).

1d. With l-anatomical, o--nah 'around o's head': ?i·nah səwe·g 'put headband around your head' L, si·nah 'around my head' L, si·nah yeḡ da·ḡih 'sounds like 'he's walking around my head' L, with zero(?) o: Galushia Nelson i·nā wé·ktē 'head band' BSdL 550 ?i·nah we·gā; with figurative meaning: ?u·nah ?ixihih 'I respect, think the world of him' L (?i-leh- 2a. 'S has emotion');

1e. With ḡe- 'area' as o, 'around a large land-mass', once 'down over mountains', usually 'around a point of land': ḡelah yeḡ ?idi·iḡah 'it (wind?) came down from (the other side of the Chugach) mountains' L, ?u·d ḡelah sīdahē 'it (duck) swam around the point there' M, ḡelah se·gehīh 'he boated around a point' M, ḡelah se·qe·īh 'he's boating around a point' M, ḡelah sahē, or, with de- 'ipse'(?), deḡelah sahē 'he came around a point or corner' L, with -č final (perhaps incorrect): ḡelahč se·qe·īh 'he's boating around a point (boat becoming partly visible)' M; ča·ḡelah man's name, interpreted by M as 'coming around point of mountain', probably incorrectly, see ča·ḡelah; see also -d-i-ḡelah below.

2a. With more or less figurative meaning  
 'about, around o': o-lah l-ta 'S looks O over'  
 (cf. lc. above and 2b. below), silah la'sdima?  
 i:h 'he cursed(?, said something unfortunate?)  
 about me' M, o-lah yeḡ ?i-de-yu?-ḡ 'S curses  
 O, with reflexive o: ?edlah yeḡ ?iḡe?ḡ·ḡi:h 'he  
 looks about around (on) himself' 24.52fnA, qa·lah  
 ya·ḡ kuqa?le?ḡi:h 'he'll eat us out of house and  
 home' ('he'll devour something around us') L.

2b. With figurative meaning 'about, concern-  
 ing o': o-lah ?u-?-(-l-)ta 'S becomes aware of,  
 notices, finds out about o' (?u-?-(-l-)ta 2.),  
 du·lahdḡh 'about whom (is he talking)?' L, de·-  
 lahḡh 'about what (is he talking)?' L, da·dlah-  
 ḡh 'about what place (is he talking)?' L, de·-  
 lah da·dd 'about what place?' L, kulah ?iḡleḡ  
 qu?dedetuhimu· 'they'll argue about something' L,  
 ?ilah qe·lihḡḡeḡḡh 'I'll be hard-hearted with  
 you' M, ?w yahddelah hi?ḡ ku?lixilḡah 'I know  
 everything about that house' L, o-lah (o-ḡ)  
 O-?-ḡa 'S tells (o) O about o', o-lah (o-ḡ)  
 ?i-de-?-ḡa 'S tells (o) about o', silah la·s-  
 dima?i:h 'he cursed(?, said something unfortunate?)  
 about me' M, o-lah qe?-le? 'S loves (has up-  
 surging emotion concerning) o', o-lah d-le 'S

says about o', o-lah cɨʔd-le 'S talks, speaks about o', o-lah liʔɣ l-le 'S laughs about, at o', ʔedwiʔɨ o-lah ʔi-d-le (transitive) 'S is, becomes excited about, over o', o-lah yeɣ ʔad-ʔiʔlih-le-ʔya-ɣ 'S thinks about o', diK ʔi-lah yaʔ ʔeɨeʔyuʔ 'things which don't concern you' ('those which are not a thing concerning you') 51.24A (cf. 2c. below), o-lah yeɣ de-a 'S takes care of, nurses o' ('S walks about concerning o'), with reciprocal o, ʔiɨlah or ʔiɨlah: see qeʔ-leʔ la., ʔiɨlah qeʔdeleʔfahɨ 'love potion' L, diK ʔiɨlah yeɣ deʔaʔɣ[ɨ]inuʔ 'they don't take care of each other' L, with reflexive o: ʔedlah ʔuʔsditahɨ 'he found out about himself' 23.62A, ʔedlah ʔuʔxsditahɨ 'I found out about myself' 32.21A, deʔaʔ ʔedlah cɨʔdelihɨh 'he's talking about himself' L, with zero reflexive o: o-ɣaʔ lah qeʔ-d-le 'S is disappointed, has feelings hurt by o' ('S has upsurge of feeling concerning self in relation with o'), see qeʔ-leʔ lb.

2c. With figurative meaning 'fault of (attributable to) o': de-lahɣhew ʔaʔqʔ sahɨ 'what did he go out for?' ('attributable to what did he go out (with such tragic results)?') 23.121A, otherwise attested only in o-lah yaʔ (ku-)ɨe(?)

'S (something) is, becomes a thing concerning,  
attributable to o': diK' dadu·lah ya·duw ʔaʔ=  
le·c 'it's no one's fault' 61.32A, silah ya·  
Ku·leh 'it's my fault, I got into trouble' ('some-  
thing is a thing, a thing exists concerning, at-  
tributable to me') L, ʔulah ya· qyh Kusəleʔi  
'he got into trouble' L, Kulah ya· Kusəleʔi  
'someone is, people are getting into trouble' L.  
-d-i-ɣəlah (perhaps ɣə-lah under o-lah le. as  
postposition, with d-thematic and i-classifier,  
but listed as separate stem), see ɣəlah.

- 1a' (perhaps related to 1a? and to l-anatomical mark) ✓
- 1-ʔe-1a' (with l-anatomical 'head, face') 'S is, becomes (involuntarily) a certain way facially', frequent in neuter imperfective; with no adverbs, preverbs, or postpositional phrases: ʔi·ʔilɑh 'you're good-looking' M, with suffixed -ʂiyɑh 'bad': ʔi·ʔiljɰhʂiyɑh "funnyface, uglymug" (children's taunt) 72.41L, with wəʒ 'thus': de·lehdʂduhmu· wəʒ liʔilɑh 'I wonder why their faces are like that' 24.34A, with adverbs formed with -dah: ʔuʒu·dah ʔi·ʔilɑh 'you're good-looking' 29.13A, ʔuʒu·dah ʔi·ʔiljɰh 'he's good-looking' 29.16A, ʔuʒu·dah ʔi·ʔiljɰh qeʔʔ 'pretty-faced woman' 10.130A, ʂɑʔdah ʔi·ʔiljɰh, ʂɑʔdahkih ʔi·ʔiljɰh 'a pretty-faced person' A, with o-gaʔ 'like o': siɡaʔ leʂeʔelɑh da·ʒ diʔ ʔuʒu·dah quʔleʔelɑhɰh 'if he looks like me he won't look good' L, siɡaʔ ʔi·ʔiljɰh 'he looks like me (facially)' L, siɡaʔ ʔi·ʔilɑh 'you look like me' L, diʔ siɡaʔ laʔʔelɑh 'you don't look like me' L, diʔ siɡaʔ laʔʔelɑ·c 'he doesn't look like me' M, diʔ ʔiɡaʔ laʔʔe-la·cɰh 'his face isn't like yours' L, ʔiɡaʔ leʂeʔelɑʔɰh 'he's getting to look like you' L, diʔ ʔiɡaʔ quʔi·ʔelɑhɰh 'he won't look like

you' L, *siŋaʔ ʔi·silaʔiŋ* 'he got to look  
 like me' L, *ʔeleŋgaŋ ʔiŋaʔ leseʔiljhiŋ* 'I  
 hope he looks like you' L, *ʔeyewiŋgaʔ ʔi·kilah*  
 'it (a mask) has a face like ʔeyewiŋ' L, in  
 nicknames: *disiʔiʔiʔiŋgaʔ ʔi·kiljhiŋ* "sucker-  
 face" (of a white man) L, *disiʔiʔehdgiŋgaʔ ʔi·  
 kiljhiŋ* "pilot-bread-face" (of a white man) L,  
*ʔi·sidiʔiʔiŋgaʔ ʔi·kiljhiŋ* 'she has a face like  
 it's propped (inside, from cheek to cheek)' (of a  
 wide-cheeked Chugach woman) L; indirect reflexive:  
*ʔiŋgaʔ ʔi·kiljhiŋiŋu·*, *ʔiŋgaʔ ʔi·kilah*, *ʔiŋgaʔ  
 likilah* 'they look like each other (facially)' L,  
 with *ʔiŋ-da·ŋ* 'contrasting with each other':  
*ʔiŋda·ŋ ki·kilah* 'all kinds of strange faces,  
 new people, different faces' ('people's faces con-  
 trast') L. Transitive (causative): with *yaʔ*  
 'completely', 'S strikes, hits O hard in face,  
 busts O's face in': *yaʔ li·kiljʔiŋ* 'bust his  
 puss in!' L, *yaʔ ʔi·silaʔiŋ* 'I busted his  
 face in' L; reflexive, 'S is, becomes (voluntari-  
 ly), acts a certain way facially': with *o-wa·ŋ*  
 'by close attention to o': *siwa·ŋ ʔedj·kiljhiŋ*  
 'he's making faces at me (imitative or not)' IM  
 (see also 1-le la.), with *yeŋ*-progressive:  
*yeŋ ʔedleʔelaʔiŋ*, *yeŋ ʔedj·leʔelaʔiŋ* 'he's

X

making faces, grimacing, pouting' LM, yaʔyu·

yeʔ ʔedquʔi·tələh 'don't make faces' L.

deʔpəhgaʔ ʔi·tələh L, deʔpəhyu·gaʔ ʔi·tələh (noun,

unclassified) 'small owl species or some kind of

hawk' LM (same as deʔpəhyu·gaʔ ʔi·təda·ʔ L).

Nominalized neuter imperfective, 'it has a face

like a person, like people'.

la\* (perhaps related to and/or to be identified with  
ʔlah-ʔla\* and/or lah )

la\* (interjection, utterance-final, always followed by pause and preceded by falling (comma or period) contour, itself generally uttered beginning on relatively high pitch-register, falling to mid) perhaps best translated '(you) see' or '(you) see?', or 'lo!, behold!' (but not where speaker is about to hand interlocutor something), indicating surprise for speaker and/or interlocutor that something is so, apparently rather frequent in conversation, though sparsely attested in corpus: 51.54A, Rezanov *Мкарежа* 'Болезнь krank' *yiKaʔdih*, la\* 'he's sick!, he's sick, see' L, *ʔqʔ diʔyahʔ*, la\* 'it's raining!' L, *qahde-qew quʔxqeh*, la\* 'well, I'm (finally) going (boating off) now' L, *daʔ qeʔ ʔidiʔaʔʕ*, la\* 'let's go home now' L, *qenuh seqehinu\** 'they've come (boated) into view, see!?' L, *ʔq-daʔ qeʔ sdiyahʔih*, la\* 'my (well what do you know), he got back!' L, *Kuʔluw qew*, la\* 'my, it's sure big' L; L also remembers, what is probably the same form in the childish (nursery) speech of Nikolai Nelson: *ʔe utʔ*, *ʔe utʔila\** 'shooting' (see *xutʔ*) and *yeʔʕ*, *yeʔʕila\** 'berrypicking' (see *leʔʕ*).

la'-na'-1 (probably related to la'-na'-2 and la-na'-1  
see especially lah 2. and lah-4)

-la'(-e-) (noun, unclassified, or perhaps suffix,  
with -e- personal suffix only in plural), attested  
with postpositional phrase o-ŋ 'with o' in  
special kinship term -ŋ-la' 'cross-cousin':  
siŋela' (not -la'e) 'my cousin' (L called her  
[maternal] uncle's boys, and they her; Billy Dude  
called Marie Smith that; cousin of different  
moieties, can marry) L, s:t:t:ta 'father's older  
sister's son (man speaking)', father's older sis-  
ter's daughter (woman speaking)', mother's older  
brother's daughter (woman speaking)' BSdL 566A,  
'wife's sister's husband, husband's brother's wife',  
'co-wife' BSdL 568A (BSdL is probably correct in  
the former three usages, but <sup>perhaps</sup> not in the latter  
three; see also discussion in BSdL 568-569), ʔu=  
ŋila'wahd ʔuʔseleʔgɪ 'chose him for his cousin'  
15.lM, ʔiŋla'(ŋiyahyahɪ) 'your (female) cross-  
cousin's child' 6l.102fnA, siŋela'eeyu' 'my  
cousins' (who can marry each other) L; vocative,  
with -kih diminutive suffix: ŋla'kih '(cross)-  
cousin!' L.

-la'-e (as above, with -e-personal suffix in both  
singular and plural) l. with postpositional

phrases: with o-ka? 'along with, in same direction as o', attested only in plural: sika?la'-seyu' (not -lah-) 'people who are (happen to be) going along with me (not necessarily friends)' L, with o-qa? 'amongst o', attested only in singular: qa'qa?la'εjh (perhaps to be corrected to -ε-ih) 'a person who is (happens to be) living with us' (more like qa'qa? yj'hjh 'one who is (happens to be) amongst us' than like qa'qa?lahseyu' 'people who are (established) living with us, who have been with, amongst us for a long time') L.

2. In possible analysis of (-)ku-la'-ε 'someone else, other people', where (-)ku- is perhaps from postpositional phrase o-kah, see Kula'ε.

3. In probable analysis of xelahnλa'ε(eyu') 'person(s) of the white race', earlier 'Russian(s)', later (in American period) 'American(s), English-speaker(s)', from xε-lah3-d-la'-ε (or perhaps from xε-lah3-d-lah-ε, but which should more regularly develop \*xelahsdelahs) 'person who is (from, belongs?) in area forward (out to sea, overseas)', containing postpositional phrase o-lah3 'forward of o': xelahnλa'ε 'white per-

son, American' L,  $\text{ʒəlahsλa}^{\cdot}\text{əyu}^{\cdot}$  'whites, Americans' 60.59, 60A, 64.13G, 67.55, 63A, Rezanov  $\text{Халысаяккэ}$  'Русской Russe', Wrangell  $\text{Калы-}$   
 $\text{ʒəlahsλa}^{\cdot}\text{əyu}^{\cdot}\text{ga}^{\cdot}$  'in English' ('like whites', with verbs referring to speech) 50.50, 67.77A,  $\text{ʒəlahsλa}^{\cdot}\text{əyu}^{\cdot}\text{ga}^{\cdot}$   $\text{ʔi}^{\cdot}\text{tʃihinu}^{\cdot}$  'Swedes' A (unknown to L, 'they're like Americans'),  $\text{ʒəlahsλa}^{\cdot}\text{əyu}^{\cdot}\text{ga}^{\cdot}$   $\text{ʔi}^{\cdot}\text{hila}^{\cdot}\text{ʒ}$  'duck species' ('it has eyes like white men's') L,  $\text{ʒəlahsλa}^{\cdot}\text{əyu}^{\cdot}$   $\text{Kuesʔe}^{\cdot}$  'one is becoming white men (Eyaaks are assimilating)' 72.9L, Rezanov  $\text{Халыстляккэ}$  (crossed out, probably for  $\text{ʒəlahsλa}^{\cdot}\text{əyu}^{\cdot}[\text{ya}^{\cdot}\text{λa}^{\cdot}\text{dʒəya}^{\cdot}]$  'white men's mountain-sheep', replaced with  $\text{Тла-кыккэте λa}^{\cdot}\text{dʒəya}^{\cdot}\text{g}^{\text{w}}\text{ʔ}$   $\text{ʔi}^{\cdot}\text{tʃeh}$  'it's like a mountain-goat') 'Kosa Ziege',  $\text{ʒəlahsλa}^{\cdot}\text{əyu}^{\cdot}\text{ya}^{\cdot}$   $\text{la}^{\cdot}\text{mahd}$  'apples, any store-bought fruit' ('white men's berries') L.

-na<sup>·</sup>-s (as above, with -s personal in both singular and plural) in probable analysis of -kewa<sup>·</sup>-na<sup>·</sup>s(əyu<sup>·</sup>), -kuwa<sup>·</sup>na<sup>·</sup>s(əyu<sup>·</sup>) 'member of same society, relative, kin, partner, friend' (from -kewa<sup>·</sup>-na<sup>·</sup>-s, -kewa<sup>·</sup> perhaps variant of postpositional phrase o-ka<sup>·</sup> 'along with, in same direction as o', see also sika<sup>·</sup>la<sup>·</sup>əyu<sup>·</sup> under -la<sup>·</sup>-s- 1.): -kuwa<sup>·</sup>na<sup>·</sup>s(əyu<sup>·</sup>) 'friend(s),

relative(s), kin, partner(s)' 9.43, 43, 44, 48,  
 58, 58, 72, 10.54, 110, 11.8, 21b.72, 24.75, 25.-  
 14, 14, 92, 161, 171, 192, 28.94, 94, 33.7, 54A,  
 34.7M, 37b.47, 64A, 57.11G, 69.14, 24, 70.1, 6,  
 8A, sikuwa?na?e, sikuwa?na?e 'my friend, part-  
 ner' IMA, 'my relation' A, 'member of same moiety  
 as I' L, sikuwa?na?e?yu? 'my "cousins"' L, (not  
 \*sikuwa?na?e?ih), Nezanov Кованакан 'Ваши ецере'  
 -kuwa?na?e?yu?, Калжексаман 'Ворвать Krieg  
 führen' Kula?e?ihkuwa?na?e qe?ah 'he's someone  
 else's friend' L, Nezanov Цкованакан 'Землякъ  
 Landsmann' sikuwa?na?e qe?ah 'he's my friend,  
 kin', Wrangell Секоанакан 'Freund', Тексеко-  
 нахалекан 'Feind' diK sikuwa?na?e ?a?he?e  
 'he's, you're not my friend'.

la'-na'<sup>2</sup> (la' LÁ, Rezanov, na' Rezanov only)

la'- (noun, unclassified, or perhaps, but less likely, prefix) of uncertain meaning, occurring in two forms, both referring to a variety of 'receptacles, containers': 1. Rezanov ЛАБРА 'Мисокъ Sack' la'ltah 'bag, sack, pouch, purse, pocketbook' L, 36.31, 38, 39A, Rezanov ЕАБРА 'Сумка Tasche' na'ltah; ?ildasela'ltah 'fancy beaded sewing-bag' ('one pouch above the other') L; see -l-tah, la'ltah, ?ildasela'ltah under tah.

2. la'se?ah 'pot, cauldron' L, 7.36A, for -se?ah see se .

lah (perhaps related to and/or to be identified with  
 ?lah-?la', la', and/or nah, see also neh)<sup>?ra-i-g-a-n-d</sup>

lah (interjection, generally utterance-initial)  
 'behold, here, here you are, take it' (speaker  
 uses when about to hand interlocutor something)  
 LM, 8.10A, 34.93L, 50.19A, lah ?ixa?dewahd  
 siki? 'here, I cooked it for you to eat' L;  
 siyah lah lah (lah) 'here here here Mutt  
 (here's some food for you)' ('Nasty here here  
 (here)') (spoken to dog) L.

nah (form uncertain, perhaps related to lah, see also  
<sup>ʒəhəh-ʒəhəh</sup>  
 neh)

nah (interjection, form uncertain) from Galushia  
 Nelson na' 'kiss this (an insult, said with  
 phallic gesture of thumb)' BSdL 555, unknown to  
 L (who showed no signs of embarrassment or reti-  
 cence), nah A (uncertain, not embarrassed, sus-  
 pects it is an Ahtena expression).

ʔlah-ʔlaʔ (perhaps to be identified with lah and/or laʔ)

-ʔlah (element of uncertain morphological classification and meaning) attested only in qahdiʔlah 'goodbye' (used at routine leavetaking) LM (qah 'finally', de-'ipaa' (or -d- 'indeed')) and in qahšuhlah 'ready to go?' (used at proposed routine leavetaking) L (as preceding, -š-uh interrogative).

-ʔlaʔ (as above) attested only in qahduhlaʔ L (L later rejects in favor of following), qahduʔlaʔ 'I'm ready to go now' (used just before routine leavetaking) L, (cf. above and qahduh quʔxah 'I'm (really) going now, finally' L), Galushia Nelson qaʔtuʔla 'goodbye' BSDL 554, qahšuhlaʔ 'ready to go now?' L; Rezanov Kazax 'Прощай! lebe wohl! (abschiedsformel)' probably to be read qahlaʔ or qahlah, not attested from modern informants; ʔeweʔahlaʔ 'thanks' (somewhat flippant, not as sincere or good usage as ʔeweʔahlah) L.

1a?

-la? 'S is, becomes hard, tough, strong, tight, firm, difficult' (not freely used, attested only in active perfective, meaning same as that of de-la? below): sela?ɣ 'it got tough' (same as sdila?ɣ) L. Transitive (causative): see de-la? below.

de-la? 'S is, becomes hard, tough, strong, tight, firm, difficult': neuter imperfective: Rezanov  
 ТУМА 'Крѣпко fest, stark' dila? 'it (e.g. meat) is tough, it's hard, difficult, tight, firm, he's tough, strong, lean' M, dila? dekɣh 'hard wood' ('wood which is hard') L, diK ?a?dela? 'it's not hard, tight, firm, tough' LM, inceptive imperfective: qu?dela? 'it'll get hard' M, inceptive perfective: sedela?ɣ 'it's getting hard, tough' L, active perfective: sdila?ɣ 'it (e.g. crust on snow) got hard' M, 'it got tough' L; optatives (success of attempt to elicit neuter optative uncertain, form avoided especially with vocalic classifier): de?u?d ?idila? 'let it get hard' L (active), ?eleŋgahɣ ?idila? L (active), ?eleŋgahɣ sedila? L (inceptive), ?eleŋgahɣ ?i?dila? 'I hope it's tough' L (neuter<sup>2</sup>, uncertain, perhaps incorrect), with class-marks for S: ?eleŋ-

*Rezanov  
 ТУМА  
 Крѣпко  
 fest, stark  
 'it (e.g. meat)  
 is tough, it's  
 hard, difficult,  
 tight, firm, he's  
 tough, strong,  
 lean'  
 M,  
 dila?  
 dekɣh  
 'hard wood'  
 ('wood which is  
 hard')  
 L,  
 diK  
 ?a?dela?  
 'it's  
 not hard,  
 tight,  
 firm,  
 tough'  
 LM,  
 inceptive  
 imperfective:  
 qu?dela?  
 'it'll  
 get hard'  
 M,  
 inceptive  
 perfective:  
 sedela?  
 'it's  
 getting  
 hard,  
 tough'  
 L,  
 active  
 perfective:  
 sdila?  
 'it (e.g.  
 crust on  
 snow) got  
 hard'  
 M,  
 'it got  
 tough'  
 L;  
 optatives  
 (success of  
 attempt to  
 elicit  
 neuter  
 optative  
 uncertain,  
 form  
 avoided  
 especially  
 with  
 vocalic  
 classifier):  
 de?u?d  
 ?idila?  
 'let it  
 get hard'  
 L (active),  
 ?eleŋgahɣ  
 ?idila?  
 L (active),  
 ?eleŋgahɣ  
 sedila?  
 L (inceptive),  
 ?eleŋgahɣ  
 ?i?dila?  
 'I hope  
 it's  
 tough'  
 L (neuter<sup>2</sup>,  
 uncertain,  
 perhaps  
 incorrect),  
 with  
 class-marks  
 for S:  
 ?eleŋ-*

gahx̄ qí·lídila? (not qí·la?dila?) 'I hope it  
 (rope) is tough' M, ?ələḡgahx̄ didila? L (active),  
 ?ələḡgahx̄ dəədila? L (inceptive), ?ələḡgahx̄  
 di?dila? 'I hope it (board) is hard' L (uncertain,  
 perhaps incorrect). Transitive (causative, also  
 identifiable as causative of -la? above): səḡ-  
 la? 'make it hard!' M, qu?x̄ila? 'I'll make it  
 hard' L, x̄ila?, səx̄ila?ḡ 'I'm making it hard' L,  
 sika?ḡ 'I made it hard' L, də?u·d ?ix̄ila?  
 'let me make it hard' L, də?u·d da· ?i·ḡla?  
 'let's make it hard' L.

də-la?-s̄ (as above, thematic negative) 'S is, be-  
 comes weak, rotten, tender, worn, flabby, ragged,  
 loose, S disintegrates': active imperfective:  
 Rezanov ДАМЪАХЪАХЪА 'Не крепко nicht fest' də-  
 la?əduh 'it's rotten, weak!' M, inceptive perfec-  
 tive: sədala?ḡḡ 'it's disintegrating' (especial-  
 ly of cloth or vegetable matter) L.

ya? (d-)də-la?-s̄ (as above, with optional d-thema-  
 tic with ya? 'completely') 'S is, becomes com-  
 pletely weak, rotten, etc., S disintegrates': in-  
 ceptive imperative: ya? qu?dəla?e 'it (cloth,  
 overcooked food) will disintegrate' L, inceptive  
 perfective: ya? sədala?ḡḡ 'it (cloth) is get-  
 ting ragged, (overcooked food) is disintegrating'

LM, ya? deɬedelaʔɬ 'it (cloth, boots) is getting rotten' L, 'it's wearing through' A, active perfective; Rezanov Ядесткыякыъ 'Гнмао verfault' ya? diɬdilaʔɬ 'clothes, blanket, boots got rotten, disintegrated, have started to fall apart' LMA, customary: ya? ʔedelaːɬ 'it (cloth, food) (cust) disintegrates' LM. Transitive (causative): ya? ɬɬilaʔɬ 'cook it (meat) tender!' L, ʔiyaː ya? quʔxɬilaʔɬ 'I'll tenderize it (meat) for you' L, passive: ya? sɬilaʔɬ 'it (meat) has been tenderized' L.

la<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with la<sup>2</sup>-na<sup>2</sup>)

o-la<sup>2</sup> (postposition, with zero final only) 1. 'omen, sign of o': Galushia Nelson qətsú·lâ 'good weather! (called out in connection with magic rite)' BSdL 555, kuzu·la<sup>2</sup> 'good luck' L, kuzu·la<sup>2</sup> ka<sup>2</sup> ?i·te<sup>2</sup> '(may it be for) good luck!' L, kúšiyahla<sup>2</sup> 'bad luck' L, ?əwla<sup>2</sup> qəw 'that's a sign that something will happen' M.

2. With personal pronoun as o, 'disaster for o': o-la<sup>2</sup> -le (lə 20., 31b.) 'S acts disastrously for o', o-la<sup>2</sup> d-le (d-le le.) 'S says something disastrous for o', ?ula<sup>2</sup> kɪ·ʒ qəw, ?ula<sup>2</sup> qəw kɪ·ʒ 'that dog is howling for some ominous reason' ʒ: with overt reflexive pronoun as o in indirect reflexive construction: ?ədlā<sup>2</sup> qəw dəle· 'you do bad things to yourself' ('you act disastrously for yourself') L, with deleted reflexive pronoun: la<sup>2</sup> sdiliʒh 'he brought trouble on himself' L, la<sup>2</sup> disdiliʒh 'he brought disaster on himself by what he said' L.

la<sup>2</sup>-na<sup>2</sup> (variant na<sup>2</sup> attested only once, perhaps analogical, see last subentry; following k-classifier often k-la<sup>2</sup> > ka<sup>2</sup>; perhaps to be identified with la<sup>2</sup><sup>2</sup> and/or related to la<sup>2</sup>q<sup>2</sup>, perhaps to be analyzed l-a<sup>2</sup>, l-anatomical 'head' perhaps with -a<sup>2</sup> augment, original meaning perhaps 'on head, down over head'; derivational possibilities rather fully explored, L rejecting e.g. \*ʔala<sup>2</sup>, \*dei(l)a<sup>2</sup>d, \*o-gula<sup>2</sup>d, \*o--yala<sup>2</sup>, \*la<sup>2</sup>d)

o-la<sup>2</sup>- (postposition, attested only with -d, -ɕ, and -ʔ finals, or compounded as o of o-d, o-ga<sup>2</sup>, o-la<sup>2</sup>, o-ʔu<sup>2</sup>ʔ) l. with -d final '(at rest, from a position at rest) hanging over, hanging on, draped, covering, tripping over (end, top, head) of o': a. ʕiyahd sila<sup>2</sup>d 'a hat is on my head' M, kuʔehila<sup>2</sup>d seta<sup>2</sup> 'hang it over the rope!' L, sila<sup>2</sup>d kuʔeta<sup>2</sup> 'cover me up!' ('drape something over me:') M, ciɔdela<sup>2</sup>d seta<sup>2</sup> 'hang it over a board!' L, ciɔdela<sup>2</sup>d ʔew seɪtahi<sup>2</sup>h 'he hung it over a board' L, ciɔdela<sup>2</sup>d ʔew seta<sup>2</sup>·li<sup>2</sup>h 'he's hanging it over a board' L, ʔew ʔuq<sup>2</sup> ʔis-la<sup>2</sup>hila<sup>2</sup>d seta<sup>2</sup> 'drape it over that chair!' M, sila<sup>2</sup>d seta<sup>2</sup> 'put it over me!, drape it over my back and shoulders!' M, ʔula<sup>2</sup>d qa<sup>2</sup> dixsiqahɕɪ 'I tripped over it' M, ʔula<sup>2</sup>d sa<sup>2</sup>yahi<sup>2</sup>h 'he tripped over it' L, sila<sup>2</sup>d kɔ<sup>2</sup>·lahɪ 'I'm covered

up' M, ʕiyahd silaʔd leʕeʕeʔsɨ 'my hat is too tight on my head' L, ʔawlaʔd ʕah leci-ʔaʔʕe 'don't trip over it!' L, we-ʕgʕedelaʔd ʕeʕaʔ 'hang them (fish) on a stick!' L.

1b. With de-indeterminate o: 7.8, 49.144A, dalaʔd ʔaw ʔaʕ ʕaʕaʔɨ 'he yanked it off (of what it was hanging on)' 9.95A, ʔi-d dalaʔd quʔxwiʔg, ʔi-d dalaʔd quʔxtah 'I'll hang them over there' M, ʔa-d dalaʔd quʔxtah 'I'll hang them here' L, dalaʔd quʔxtah 'I'll hang it up' L, dalaʔd ʕi-ʔyahɨ 'it (net) is hanging on something' L, dalaʔd ʔi-ʔyahɨ 'it's hanging up' L.

1c. With ʕe-i- 'extreme of series' as o: ʕallaʔd ʔi-tahɨ 'it's at the top of the pile' L.

1d. With deleted reflexive o in indirect reflexive constructions: laʔd qaʔ l-da-ʔa 'S takes (own) hat off', laʔdʕ Kuliyahɨ 'are you covered up?' ('have you something draped over yourself?') M, laʔd Kuxliyahɨ 'I'm covered up' M, laʔd waʔ ʔaʔkifeh 'wear it!' L, laʔd kaʔ waʔ ʔaʔkifeh 'you should wear it' L.

1e. With y-anatomical: siyelaʔd ʕetaʔ 'hang it over my forearm!' L.

2. With -ʕ final, '(continuous, incomplete, repeated motion toward) onto (hanging over) o':

a. silaʔʕ Kuliʔ-ʔɨh 'he's covering me up (with

one thing after another), he's giving me clothes'  
M.

2b. With deleted reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction: la'č 'uxa' xdišah 'I'm too stingy to wear it' L.

3. With -ɣ final '(movement onto position) hanging over o', frequently figurative: a. sila'ɣ seta' 'put it (hat, dress) on me!' M, 'ula'ɣ yaɣ de'e'a' 'put it (ring) on his finger!' L, 'awla'ɣ yaɣ deta'a' 'cover it up with them (boards)!' L, o-la'ɣ O-(ɣ-)'a 'S names o O' (O-(ɣ-)'a 18.), sila'ɣma' Eyak woman's name L (interpretation uncertain), wašeh 'ila'ɣ (di)-si'tah' 'I named you' M, o-la'ɣ el-'ya 'o is late', qeɣah 'ula'ɣ 'i-sa'yah' 'she's a month pregnant' L, o-la'ɣ d-'ya 'S (feeling, urge) comes over o' (d-'ya 3.), Kušiyah o-la'ɣ d-'ya 'o becomes angry', o-la'ɣ Ku-d-'ya 'o becomes sexually excited'.

3b. With deleted reflexive o in indirect reflexive constructions: la'ɣ yaɣ O-de-ŋi 'S has O (scarf, amnion) on', la'ɣ O-de(-ke)-'a 'S is named (s'appelle) O', la'ɣ O-(l-)de(-ke)-'a 'S puts, has O (hat) on', la'ɣ 'ixi'ah' 'I have something on my head' L, la'ɣ daya'k 'necklace' LA, la'ɣ laɣe)a'ya'k 'bead-necklace' 21a.35, 37L,

W'nt'a? lah Gox'oh 'You lots of places (towns?)' L (or 'I see  
lot of things around', see under o-lah 3. under (towns?), Li'q? lahga?  
-ne 'u'ga?x:kh 'I had go telling it all over the place (throughout, amongst the  
whole village)' L,

↓ Cordova lah sa'e?i 'Cordova became a town'  
68.57A, Kudi·qeyu·ya? lah 'Aleut village' 53.-  
1L (also probably place name on Mummy Island L),  
deɣəhya? lah 'people's (Eyak) village' 58.1L,  
?i·ya·ya? lah 'Eyak Village (at Mile 6)' L  
(place-name), deqəda? ya? lah 'Old Town (Cor-  
dova)' L (place-name), perhaps also occurring, or  
identified as such in <sup>q'a·ta·lah 'Katalla' L;</sup>  
frequent as o of o-q 'on o': 47a.5L, 60.19, 19,  
68.63, 63, 84, 84A, lahq 'in town, in a village  
camp' LM, lahqdeɣyu· '(all over) about town' L,  
lahq weɣ ?i·t'ihih 'he lives in town', lah-  
qə'ahd sahk'ih 'he left town', lahqə' sahk'ih  
'he went to town'.

lb. 'hole, burrow' (attested only twice, per-  
haps incorrectly in this sense) as o of o-?e?  
'in place of o': delex'e·gya? lah'e?d selah'ih  
'she stayed in the groundhog's burrow' 22.2L,  
lah'e? xəla·sa'yah'ih 'she ran into the burrow'  
22.9L.

2. (as above, referring to persons, but not  
conjugated for person or with -ih or -inu· suf-  
fix, or with -e(əyu·) suffix; perhaps a suffix,  
and written as such in texts; see also la·na·<sup>3</sup>  
'person(s) who is (are) in certain chronological

Handwritten notes:  
- 2. 2. 2.  
- of ya'əya?  
- for something  
- referring to  
- non-human  
- 1. 1. 1.  
- 1. 1. 1.

laʔɣ laʔɣəla·ʔiyahʔ 'S has O (bead-necklace) on'  
21a.37L, ʔiyah laʔɣ laʔɣəla·ʔiʔyahʔiʔh 'he's  
wearing a <sup>a</sup>dentelium necklace' L.

4. With -q final or compounded as o of o-q  
'on o', then also with -d and -ʃ finals, 'on, co-  
vering o (as e.g. clothing)': a. silaʔq 'on me  
(as clothes), covering me, over me' M, kanaʔd  
silaʔq ʔətaʔ 'give me a coat!, put a coat on  
me!' M, ʔuʔi silaʔq ʔətaʔ 'put a blanket over  
me!' M, silaʔq ʔətaʔ 'cover me up with it!' M,  
ʔulaʔq kuʔətaʔ 'cover it up!' M, silaʔq ku-  
ʔətaʔ 'he gave me a garment to put on' M, -laʔ-  
qəyaʔ 'clothing' (see yaʔ-əyaʔ).

4b. With -ʃ final: silaʔqəʃ kuʔəta·ʔiʔh  
'he's putting a garment on me' M, silaʔqəʃ kuʔ-  
yʔi·ʔiʔh 'he's covering me up, giving me clothes,  
putting one thing after another on me' M.

4c. With ʔə-k- 'extreme of series' as o,  
with zero and -d finals: ʔəklaʔq ʔətaʔ 'put  
it (blanket) on top of the pile!' L, ʔəlaʔqəyaʔ  
'outside coat or cover' L, ʔəlaʔqd 'outermost  
(of garments)' L, ʔəlaʔqdyaʔ kanaʔd L, ʔə-  
laʔqdyaʔ kanaʔd 'overcoat' M.

4d. Perhaps with ʔə-indeterminate o and  
k-classifier, and -d final, uncertain, perhaps  
analogical with above: ʔəlaʔqd yaʔ ʔəlaʔ 'out-

side boards, facing, siding' L.

4e. With reciprocal o, 'in layers, strips':  
ʔilaʔq̄ 0-i-caʔ 'S cuts O into strips' 37b.77,  
65.47A.

5. Compounded as o of postpositions o-gaʔ  
'like o', o-ʔuʔʔ 'less than o', o-leʔ 'more  
than o': o-laʔgaʔ l-da-a' 'S (hat) fits o's  
head', silaʔgaʔ qeʔ sdiyaʔi 'it fits my head  
again' L, silaʔuʔʔ ʔidiyah 'it's too small for  
my head' L (but cf. silaʔuʔʔ ʔi·diyah 'it (hat)  
is too small for my head'), ʔilaʔuʔʔ laʔcadaʔi  
'it (hat) is getting too small for my head' L,  
silaʔleʔ ʔi·diyah 'it (hat) is too big for my  
head' L.

o-x-laʔ- (postposition, with x-thematic, attested  
only with -d, -x, and -q̄ finals) 'hanging, im-  
paled on (over head, end of protruding) o' l. with  
-x final; a. ʔu·d ʔewʔalaʔʔ setah̄i 'it's hang-  
ing on that (peg) there' L, often with preverb  
liʔ 'back from front end': ʔuxʔalaʔʔ liʔ detach,  
ʔuxʔalaʔʔ liʔ dəya·ʔ 'notch on shaft (of spear,  
arrow) for head' L, kuwahʔiʔalaʔʔ liʔ setaʔ  
'hang it on a nail!' L, dek̄iʔalaʔʔ liʔ xʔya·K  
'I (cust) hang them on sticks' 65.21A.

1b. With -x final and de-indeterminate o:  
dəʔalaʔʔ setaʔ 'put it (head) on (spear)!' L,

?u·d dəʒalaʔʒ setah̄ 'it's hanging (on e.g. peg) there' L, often with liʔ 'from front toward back end': 10.84, 86, 65.5, 11A, dəʒalaʔʒ liʔ ti·lətaʔaʔ 'hang it (skin) up (on nail on wall):' L, dəʒalaʔʒ liʔ quʔdəyah 'they'll be hung up' L.

2. With -d final and da-indeterminate o:

dəʒalaʔd ʔi·tah̄ 'it's impaled (e.g. on spear)' L.

3. With -q final or as o of o-q 'on o' and

with da-indeterminate o: dəʒalaʔq ʔi·tah̄ 'it's impaled (e.g. on spear)' L.

o-y-ʒ-laʔ- (postposition, with ʒ-thematic as above, combined with y-anatomical 'hand, constituent structure [-y-[ʒ-laʔ-]], attested with -d and -ʒ finale only) '(impaled) on o's finger': o--yeʒalaʔʒ (liʔ) o-d-(k-)ʔa 'S puts O (ring) on o's finger', o-yeʒalaʔd qaʔ o-d-(k-)ʔa 'S takes O (ring) off o's finger'.

o-:·naʔ-d (< o-l-laʔ-, with l-anatomical 'head', attested only with deleted reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction, and with -d final, attested only once, perhaps analogical) '(from a position of rest) on o's head': ʔi·naʔd qaʔ ʔədətaʔ 'take it (dress) off (up over your head):' L.

la'?

-la'?' S gets wet, damp': qa'la'?' 'it'll get wet'  
 L, səla'?' 'it's getting wet' L, səla'?' 'it  
 got damp' L, sila'?' 'I got wet' L. Transitive  
 (causative): səila'?' 'make it wet!' LM, qu'xi-  
 la'?' 'I'll make it wet' L; passive: qu'dela'?'  
 'it'll get wet' M, sədela'?' 'it's getting wet'  
 M, sdila'?' 'it got wet' M, 'it's been made  
 wet (by something, someone)' L (L rejects all M's  
 forms except as passives, rejects e.g. \*xadila'?'  
 'I got wet').

na·ʔ (perhaps < -ʔ·ʔ, cf. yʔ·ʔ, ʕʔ·ʔ, dʔ·ʔ, qaʔ·- =  
qʔ·, ʕaʔ·-)

yana·ʔ- (also yina·ʔ-, preverb, attested with -d,  
-deʔ, -ʕ, and -ʕ finals, not zero, probably  
\*yana-ʔ·ʔ, see ya·(n), 'down below, at lower  
level, on bottom, floor, ground': with -d final:  
Rezanov ЕННААРЪ 'Въ низу unten' yana·ʔd 'on  
the floor, ground, bottom' L, ЕНАТЪРЪ 'Наклонися  
bücken, sich (Imperat.)', ЯХО еНАТЪРЪ 'Не  
наклонися bücke dich nicht!' (yaʔpu·) yana·ʔd  
'(don't) ... down!', yana·ʔd yʔʔ ʔaite· 'set  
it (animate) down on ground!' L, ʔewyaʔd yina·ʔd  
setah̄i 'it's down on the bottom in it (with broad  
opening at top)' L, ʔu·d yina·ʔd setah̄i 'it's  
down there (e.g. on the floor)' L, ʔu·d yina·ʔd  
siltah̄i 'I put, left it down on the floor' L,  
yina·ʔd salah̄inu· 'those who live down below  
me' L, ʔu·d yana·ʔd 'she's down there (way down-  
hill below us)' L, ʔu·d yina·ʔd 'it's down  
there' M, ʕi·d yina·ʔd 'way over down there' L,  
ʕi·d yina·ʔd yʔ·ʔ dis̄liqah̄ēi 'it fell down to  
bottom (of mountain) over there' 7.37A, ʕi·d yi-  
na·ʔd ʔelekāh̄ ei·yah̄ da·ʕ 'when you get up  
(out of bed) way down there (on earth)' 51.77A,  
with -deʔ and -ʕ finals 'motion within area':

yana·ʔɿ yaɿ ʔada·ɿ 'someone is walking around  
 down below' L, ʔu·d yana·ʔdeɿ yaɿ ʔeəʔtʃɿh  
 'he (baby) is crawling around on the floor there'  
 L, with -ʃ final 'continuous or repeated motion  
 towards': yina·ʔʃ qid diʃhiqahɿ 'it fell down  
 (off) to the ground' L, yana·ʔʃ ʔɿ·ɿʔɿʔ 'look  
 down at the ground!' M.

o-·-na·ʔ- (postposition, attested with -d, and  
 -ɿ finals, not zero, probably -na-ɿ·ʔ, with  
 -na- representing l-class-mark for o ʔiɿ 'moun-  
 tain', partly thematized) 'on o (mountainside)':  
 with -d final: ʔiɿa·na·ʔd setahɿ 'it's on a  
 mountainside' L, ʔewʔa·na·ʔd setahɿ 'it's up  
 on that (hillside, mountainside)' L, ya·na·ʔd  
 setahɿ 'it's up on it (hillside, mountainside,  
 side of an l-class thing)' L; with -ɿ final:  
 ʔiɿa·na·ʔɿ caʔ ɿa·ʔ 'come down the mountain-  
 side!' L, apparently compounded as o of o-da·d  
 'in area of o': ʔiɿa·na·ʔɿda·d ɿa·ʔ 'go up the  
 mountainside!' L (probably to be corrected to  
 ʔiɿa·na·ʔɿ qa<sup>da·d</sup> ɿa·ʔ).

ʔi·na·ʔ- (preverb, attested with -d, -deɿ, and  
 -ɿ finals, not zero, < postposition o-·-na·ʔ-  
 above preverbalized with zero o) l. 'on hillside,  
 mountainside': with -d final: ʔi·na·ʔd 'on the

mountainside' L, ?i·na·?d setah̄ 'it's up on a hill, steep place' L, ?u·d ?i·na·?d kulaʒetʉ? ʒəʒ ' (there are) lots of blueberries on the hillside' L, ?i·na·?d da· kʉʂeʂeh̄ 'we killed something on the mountainside' L, ?i·na·?d quʔ· wih̄h̄ 'he'll go up on the mountainside' L, with -ʒ and -deʒ finals: ?i·na·?ʒ yeʒ kʉda·ʒ 'someone is walking around on a hillside' L, ?i·na·?deʒ yeʒ da·ʒ 'he's walking around on a mountainside' L.

2. 'up high (not necessarily on hill-, mountainside)': with -d final: ?u·ʒah̄d ?i·na·?d ʒah̄ da·ʒ 'when they climb down from there' (up on tree) 63.226 (perhaps incorrect, but cf. ?i·na·?d setah̄ 'it's up on a steep place' L above).  
na·?dqəʒah̄ month-name 'September'? ('month (when sun goes) further down slope') A (unknown to L, probably to be corrected to ?i·na·?d-, and perhaps influenced by neʒḡiʒəʒah̄).

ʒi·na·?d (with -d final locative) 1. (o--na·?d with ʒe- 'area' as o) 'on mountainside': ʒi·d ʒi·na·?d 'on the mountainside' L.

2. (probably < \*ʒe-ye-na·?d, cf. ʒeyeʔu·d) 'downstairs': ʒi·d ʒi·na·?d '(yonder) downstairs, yonder down below'.

lu.<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with lu.<sup>2</sup>)

lu. (preverb, attested with zero final only, never used in postposition, M rejects \*silu.) 'over, around, reversal, turn (on vertical or horizontal axis, of ca. 180°)' (in contrast to lah, which refers to ca. 360° turn) L, lu. siltah̄ 'I turned it (paper, blanket) over' M, lu. seta? 'turn it over!' L, lu. qu?xtah 'I'll turn it over' L, lu. leseta? 'turn your head!' L, lu. ?i·sintah̄ 'I turned my head' L, lu. lixintah̄ 'my head is turned to side' L, lu. ?u?leseta? 'turn it (page)!' L, ?ew ya·yu. lu. sešah̄ 'things are all switched, changed around' L, ?ew lu. iya·k̄ih 'she (cust) turns it over' 10.132, 132A, lu. ?ex̄iya·k̄ 'I (cust) turn them over' 65.15A, lu. gu·i?a?cinu. 'that they (standing) may face about' 70.8A, ?i? lu. qeyuh qa?lah 'she'll turn belligerently about toward you' 36.-15, 20A, lu. ?i·yah̄ 'he (walking, has) turned around' L (cf. la. under lu.<sup>2</sup>), lu. sah̄ 'he turned around' L, lu. ea·? 'turn around (ca. 180°)' L, lu. dixs̄išux̄i 'I turned over (in bed, by shifting weight one leg over the other)' L, lu. ?iqe?yi·x̄ted 'I'll twist your arm' L, Ku·y lu. ea·i 'wind is changing (reversing)' L,

see further under -xui-, iə-xui, ?i-d-(?-)i-?a';  
with qe?-qe'- 'back, again': ?u·nahd qe·lu·  
?idela·k month name, 'March' ('month in which  
they (king salmon, cust) return') A (unknown to  
L; conceivably lu<sup>2</sup>, 'back to tide-beach').

lu.<sup>2</sup> (probably related to li.ya<sup>?</sup>, and perhaps to be identified with lu.<sup>1</sup>, basic meaning 'turning-point, -area (of tide)', but cf. perhaps Athapaskan nu 'island'; once li<sup>?</sup>, momentary lapse, 24.72A)

lu (preverb, attested with zero and -*ʃ* finals)

1a. 'high tide, turn of tide, area of turn of tide':

with zero final: lu sa<sup>?</sup>yah<sup>h</sup> 'tide came in' M,

lu gu<sup>?</sup>yah<sup>h</sup> 'tide is high (at turning-point)' M,

(lu) Kug<sup>?</sup>ya<sup>?</sup> 'big September tide' L, hi<sup>ʃ</sup> lu

Ku<sup>?</sup>ieh 'it's always high tide' 4.6M, hi<sup>ʃ</sup> lu

Ku<sup>?</sup>li<sup>?</sup>h<sup>h</sup> 'always keeps the tide high' 4.7M,

with -*ʃ* final: lu<sup>ʃ</sup> <sup>?</sup>ise<sup>h</sup>?ah<sup>h</sup>ih 'looked at

the tide' 4.17M.

1b. Used as noun, 'tide': Ku<sup>?</sup>luw lu 'big

tide' 10.244, 28.75A, perhaps incorrectly in <sup>?</sup>ah

lu.ya<sup>?</sup> qe<sup>?</sup>h 'the tide-woman' 3.14M, <sup>?</sup>ew lu

seixe<sup>?</sup> 'make the tide go out!' 3.12M.

2a. 'at tide-beach, food-gathering at low tide, beachcombing, clam-digging': with zero fi-

nal: lu <sup>?</sup>i.yah<sup>h</sup> 'has gone beachcombing' 1a.1M

(cf. lu <sup>?</sup>i.yah<sup>h</sup> 'he has turned around' L un-

der lu.<sup>1</sup>), with -*ʃ* final: Galushia Nelson

lu<sup>?</sup>tc 'beach food (i.e. shell-fish, seaweed, etc.)'

BSdL 540 lu<sup>ʃ</sup> 'to tide-beach for food-gathering',

lu<sup>?</sup>tc qi.ya 'she is going after beach food' BSdL

560 lu·c̣ q̣iʔyiyah 'you'll go beachcombing',  
 lu·c̣ da· ʔi·ʔaʔc̣ 'let's go clamdigging' L,  
 lu·c̣ saḥīh 'he went clamdigging, beachcombing'  
 L.

2b. Used as noun, '(activity of) food-gather-  
 ing at tide-beach': lu· 'beach food' M (loosely  
 glossed), lu· ʔidēḥīḥ 'he's food-gathering  
 at tide-beach' L.

lu·ḍī·ʔ- (postpositional phrase, preverb or noun  
 lu·, d-class, as o of o-d-ʔeʔ 'in place of (d--  
 class) o', attested with -d, -dēʔ, -ʔ finals)  
 'on tide-beach': with -d final: 10.1, 227, 227,  
 230, 234, 235, 244A, Rezanov *История Яаҥга* (not  
 in Radlov, 'tide-beach'), lu·di·ʔḍ x̣ūīḥīḥ  
 'he's clam-digging on the beach' L, nominalized:  
 lu·di·ʔḍyaʔ ca·ʔa·dēʔȳḥ 'stone-man of tide--  
 beach' 10.221A, lu·di·ʔḍyaʔ Sēlēdēʔȳhyu· 'clam--  
 people of tide-beach' 10.231A, with suffixed -kih  
 'diminutive': lu·di·ʔdkiḥ q̄eẉ sedaḥ 'he was  
 staying doing a bit of beachcombing' 10.2A, with  
 -ʔ and -dēʔ finals 'movement within area':  
 lu·di·ʔʔ 10.233, 234, 237, 29.1A, ʔi·ḍ liʔdi·ʔʔ  
 'yonder on tide-beach' 24.72A (lapse for lu·di·ʔʔ  
 L), lu·di·ʔʔ yēʔ da·ʔīḥ, lu·di·ʔdēʔ yēʔ da·  
 ʔīḥ 'he's walking about on the tide-beach' L,

lu·di·ʔdeɣ ʔitə·ʕ kʉyɪ·ʔɪh 'he's beachcomb-  
ing (gathering something together in plural acts  
on tide-beach)' L.

luʔ (never with n-initial; element of uncertain meaning, attested only in postposition o-luʔqa· 'for, after, in order to obtain o'; probably not to be identified with luʔ-muʔ, cf. Minto o-nuka 'for, after, in order to obtain o', Chipewyan o-dká 'looking for o', Navaho o-ʔká ʔá-díšni 'I'm calling (after) o'), see qa.<sup>3</sup>.

lu<sup>?</sup>-nu<sup>?</sup> (nu<sup>?</sup> only in ya·nu<sup>?</sup>, ?i<sup>?</sup>lu<sup>?</sup> usually > ?i<sup>?</sup>lu<sup>?</sup>; li<sup>?</sup> established variant in one form, see li<sup>?</sup>šda·dšede<sup>?</sup>eh; the form lu<sup>?</sup> also occurs as a sporadic variant (momentary lapse) for li<sup>?</sup>, see o--li<sup>?</sup> ld., le., 4. under li<sup>?</sup>; probably not to be identified with lu<sup>?</sup>, cf. Navaho nqkeh 'storage pit', no·<sup>?</sup> 'storage pit, what is stored up', no<sup>?</sup>- prefix in 'to store underground', Mattole -no·(-y)- 'things stored up', Chipewyan -mdz̄ (pp) 'through')

lu<sup>?</sup>-d (preverb, attested only once, not verified, with -d final 'at rest') 'in a hole': lu<sup>?</sup>d setah̄ 'it's in a hole' L (perhaps to be corrected to delu<sup>?</sup>d).

o-lu<sup>?</sup> (postposition, attested with zero, -d, -ɣ, and -č finals, but -d final only under ld., -ɣ only under 2a., and -č rare) 'through o, hole in o': with zero final: Rezanov Яам 'Дупа Loch' ?ulu<sup>?</sup> 'hole (in it)' M, ?awlu<sup>?</sup> 'through it' M, Rezanov Яамыа 'Ерэмпа Knopfloch' ?ulu<sup>?</sup> ?awa· 'hole in it for it', silu<sup>?</sup> '(bullet went) through me' M, ?aw kutahlu<sup>?</sup> 'through the skin' M, ?ulu<sup>?</sup> ku·leh 'there's a hole in it' L, with suffixed adjective -?luw 'big', o-lu<sup>?</sup> perhaps nominalized: ku<sup>?</sup>lu<sup>?</sup>luw 'big hole (in something)' M, ?ulu<sup>?</sup>luw sale<sup>?</sup> 'it developed into a big

hole in it' L, ?uĩqehylu? seĩe?ĩ 'it developed  
into a hole in the bottom of it' L, tĩddelu?  
Ku?seĩya?ĩ 'made (something into, caused there  
to exist) a hole in the ice' 16.6M, o-lu? gl--  
?a' 'S (water) runs, leaks out of o, through  
hole in o' (-?a' 17.), o-lu? gl-sid 'S (water)  
runs (in pl. streams) through hole in o', ?ewlu?  
sicu·xĩ 'I poked it through it' L, ?ewlu? sdi-  
cu·xĩ 'a hole's been poked through it' L, o-lu?  
O-l-ĩ-ye?ĩ 'S hooks, links O through o', ?ulu?  
?i·?ah 'tab with hole' ('it extends through (hole  
in) it') L, ?iĩx ?ulu? kude?ah 'dovetail joint'  
('they extend in contact with each other through  
it') M, frequent with certain preverbs, meaning  
often somewhat idiomatic: with qa? 'up out'  
(see also lb., lc.): o-lu? qa? Ku-lx-?ya 'o  
has pox, pimples' ('something lx-class comes up  
out through (holes in) o'), tĩddelu? qe? qa?  
sdiyahi 'it came back up through (hole in) ice'  
L, sdu·lihdelu? qe·e? texkuwahĩ 'I'm driving  
a nail into a table' L (probably to be corrected  
to yq·?e? or glossed 'up through'), with y--  
anatomical: siyelu? 'through (hole in) my hand'  
L, siyelu? qa? sliqa·?si 'it (watchband) left  
a red mark on my wrist' L, siyelu? qa? diši=

qa·ʔɛi 'it (ring) left a red mark on my finger'  
 L, with yeɣ 'downward' (see also lb.): ʔuluʔ  
 yeɣ kudex<sup>m</sup>ehd 'strainer' L, o-luʔ yeɣ O-i--  
 x<sup>m</sup>ehd 'S strains O (down) through o', o-luʔ  
 yeɣ O-wus-g 'S sifts O (down) through o', o--  
 luʔ yeɣ O-l-i-waʔ 'S strains O (down) through  
 o', with ʔeɛ 'completely by, past': ʔuluʔ  
 ʔeɛ ʔixsilitikɛ 'I shot (with arrow) a hole through  
 it' L, ʔuluʔ ʔeɛ seqeʔ 'boat through it (under  
 bridge)!' L, ʔewluʔ ʔeɛ λa·seɣaʔNɛ 'it (tree)  
 fell crashing down through it' L, ɕiyahdeleluʔ  
 ʔeɛ ɣeλa·saʔyahɛ 'it (bullet) went clear through  
 the hat' L, tɪK ʔuluʔ ʔeɛ di·ʔihɪh 'an arrow  
 is sticking clear through him' L; with -ɕ final:  
 ʔuluʔɕ seɛteʔi 'a hole is forming' ('it is deve-  
 loping into a hole in it')M.

lb. With indeterminate o 'through (hole in)  
 indeterminate o, through': qiʔdeɣ deluʔ ku·-  
 ieh place-name, 'place by where there is a pas-  
 sage through (Hawkins Island)' M, ʔuqaʔɣ deluʔ  
 ku·ieh place-name 'there is a passage between  
 them (Channel Islands)' L, deluʔ sahɪh 'he  
 went through (ice, board collapsed under him)' L,  
 16.5M, ʔew seqe·dɛkih ʔu·ɕ deluʔ seɛteʔ 'put  
 the baby back thither through there!' L, with

preverbs: *deluʔ qaʔ laʔyah* 'boil, abcess' ('it forms up through') LM, *ʔuʔ deluʔ qaʔ kuʔaʔi* 'safety pin' ('something is extended up through with it') L, *deluʔ yeʔ 0-i-xehd-q* 'S strains O (down through)', *deluʔ yeʔ saʔ=yah* 'it caved in' M, *deluʔ lahʔ yeʔ dexahdʔ* 'bureau of drawers' ('they are pulled forward back and forth through') L; compounded with *o* of *o=qaʔ-d* nominalized with *-d* final: *yeʔeʔʔ deluʔqaʔd* place-name 'interstice of passage through in certain direction (in Hawkins Island)' L.

1c. With reciprocal *o*, *ʔiʔuʔ* more frequently than *ʔiʔiʔuʔ*: *ʔiʔuʔ daseʔd* name of Old Man Dude LAS, *ʔiʔuʔ desid* 'they're linked together' L, *ʔiʔuʔ yedexexʔʔginuʔ* 'they're hand--wrestling' ('their hands are hooked together') L, *ʔedexd ʔiʔuʔ iiceʔqʔ* 'hang-up' (i.e. tree lodged in fork of another, 'they're hooked together above') G (Harrington), frequently with *qaʔ* 'up out', sometimes also with *liʔ* 'deeply into cavity', '(deeply) up out through each other', basically with reference to knotting: *ʔiʔuʔ qaʔ sdxaxʔʔi* 'they're hooked (knotted) together' L, *ʔiʔuʔ liʔ qaʔ sexaxʔʔ* 'tie them (rope and rag)

together!' L, frequently used in idioms referring to certain facial expressions: ?i?u? qa? le?edisdiqec? 'he winced' ('he clamped his eyes up out through each other') L, ?i?u? qa? li? ?i?edixa?c?iga? ?edj?hi?h?h 'he looks mean, frowns fiercely' ('he's making his face look like he's facially tied in an overhand knot') L, ?a?d 3a?dga? ?i?u? qa? li? didigu? 'he's got his mouth clamped shut like a (hooked) bullhead (taciturn)' L.

1d. With ?e- 'area' as o and -d final: ?elu?d 'at rest way inside (deep hole, cavity in, through area)' L.

2. With certain special idiomatic meanings:  
 a. 'in, over, by', with -? final 'motion within area', with deqa?g 'fire' (d-class) as o: 25.-38A, dequ?gdalu?? 0-i-?mahd 'S cooks O by the fire' (cf. qu?--q??- under qu?- and o-qa? 3.).

2b. 'reflected in o', with -c? final: see e-de-?e--?q, ?ulu?c?da?de?eh, and modern but established variant li?Sda?de?eh 'mirror' (< ?ulu?c? da? ?edsede?eh 'we see ourselves (reflected) in it') under ?e-?q<sup>3</sup>, ?ulu?c? ?ed-ye?exde?eh 'I see my hand reflected (in it)' L.

qi? kusi·lu? (noun, unclassified) 'smokehole'  
(ad hoc term used by M): qi? kusi·lu?da·x  
'through the smokehole' 2a.14fnM ('movement in  
area of place where something is, has a hole',  
underlying verb theme e-lu? 'S is, has hole in  
it', perhaps incorrect).

ya·nu? (preverb, attested with zero, -d, -x,  
-ʃ and -ʃahd finals, < ya·(n) (< \*yane)--  
nu?, 'through (hole in) bottom surface', with  
development of -n- > -l- blocked by preceding  
nasal) 'down below surface, underground, under-  
water': with zero final: ?a?d ya·nu? 'very deep  
underwater' 49.35A, ya·nu? 0-i-te 'S inters  
(animate) 0', qi? ya·nu? kusedateh 'grave'  
BSdL 546, L, ya·nu? seta? 'bury it!' L, 10.-  
209A, 'submerge it!' L, yeḡ daxuḡḡ qi? ya·nu?  
?iditahḡ 'well' ('place where a keg is submerged')  
L, ya·nu? ?i·setahḡ 'it put its head under-  
water' L, ya·nu? diḡiqahḡḡh 'he fell in  
(hole)' 58.6L, selextah da·x ya·nu? xusḡi?-  
yahḡ 'I was buried alive' ('I was living and I  
was put underground in a container') L, ya·nu?  
ea·? 'dive in!' L, ya·nu? sahḡḡh 'he dove in,  
went underwater' L, see also 0-dl-i-ʒa?ḡ l.,  
0-cu·x (47b.39M), 0-d-cu·x (49.34, 34A),

0-ʒaʔ, 0-ʒa-, gdl-geme:, ya·nuʔ -wehs, -leʔg  
 la., y-le 2., -ʔaʔʕ (27a.27L, 27b.36A), with  
 ʔeʔ-ʔeʔ- 'back, again': ʔe·ya·nuʔ ʔele·gk  
 '(cust) reaches his hand back underwater' 56.5L,  
 ʔe·ya·nuʔ ʔeiyi·ʔih 'he keeps putting 0 back  
 underwater' 56.10L, ʔe·ya·nuʔ adiyahʔ 'sub=  
 merged again' 27b.44L; with -d final 'at rest':  
 ya·nuʔd 'it's underground, underwater' L, ʒi·d  
 ya·nuʔd 'way down (underground) there (in Hell)'  
 51.19, 19A, ya·nuʔd ya· 'underwater thing' 10.-  
 116A, ya·nuʔd setahʔ 'it's underground, under=  
 water' L; with -ʕ final: ʒi·d ya·nuʔʕ ʔahnu·=  
 dahd ʔuʔliditah 'their sound is heard way down  
 there (on earth from in Heaven)' 51.65, 66A, ya·=  
 nuʔʕ ʔekʕi·tʔ 'it (cust) sinks' 24.44A, ya·nuʔʕ  
 ʕexʒa·ʔ 'I'm burying it' L, ya·nuʔʕ yeʒ ʔide=  
 qah 'they (loons) keep diving up and down under=  
 water' L, 24.73A, ya·nuʔʕ weag 'it (snow) keeps  
 caving in, giving way' 51.48A, ya·nuʔʕ ʔele·g=  
 kih 'he (cust) reaches his hand underwater' 56.-  
 16L, diK ta·ʒ ʔikuʔ ya·nuʔʕ Kuleya·K  
 'people didn't use (cust) to bury each other' 28.-  
 114A, ya·nuʔʕ lexedaya·ʔ 'seeds for planting'  
 L; with -ʒ final: ya·nuʔʕ ʕewe·ʔih 'he's  
 swimming underwater' L, ya·nuʔʕ yeʒ ʒaʔnikʒ

'it (bug) crawls around underground' L, ya·nuʔʔ  
ʔʔ·iʔemah 'sponge' L, with -ʔahd final or  
compounded as o of o-ʔahd 'from o': ya·nuʔ=  
ʔahd kuʔah 'they (ducks) dip head underwater  
to eat' ('they eat something from underwater') L,  
ya·nuʔʔahd ʔeʔ qaʔ sdiyahʔiʔh 'he came back  
up from underwater' L.

ʔluw-ʔnuw-ʔli'-ʔluʔ (ʔluw-ʔnuw in adjective and verb, also ʔlew-ʔnew, but vowel more frequently, probably arbitrarily, transcribed u than e; ʔli', ʔluʔ in verbs; ʔnuw-ʔnew only in adjectives following l-- mark or marks ending in l-; Russian sources consistently show a vowel following -w: Rezanov -xara six times, implying -ʔlewa..., -xara once, implying -ʔluwa..., -xera twice, implying -ʔlewa... or (reading -š-) -ʔluwa..., Wrangell once -xere, implying -ʔlewi... or -ʔluwi..., Furuhjelm once -liaga < \*-xara, implying -ʔlewa..., once -lian, probably *misreading of -li-a on a handwritten copy* representing copyist's misreading for ~~-li-a~~ or ~~-li-a~~ or the like; perhaps related to le'; for alternation -i'--uw cf. qih and qew-quw) -liʔ ʔa-wʔ and ʔa'-ʔaʔ)

-ʔluw--ʔnuw (adjective) 'big, large, huge, enormous, great' 1. Independent or relativized: a. not in association with classified nouns: independent: Rezanov Kyxara 'Большой gross', Wrangell Kyxere 'gross', Furuhjelm Kulian 'great, large', Galushia Nelson eu'lu' or (Kulu') 'big (can be applied to a canoe, bird, man, dog, but not to a house or tree)' BSL 553, Kuʔluw, Kuʔlew 'big' M, Kuʔluw -te(?) 'S is, becomes big, large, grown-up' 20.91, 92, 24.39, 40, 74, 28.131A, 34.-102L, 43.13M, 60.21, 65.7A, yikda's da:ʔ Kuʔ=

luw yiłeh 'it's heavy and it's big' M, Ku?luw  
 sełe?ł 'it got big' M, Ku?luw xiłeh da?x  
 ?iqe?li-xgu?K 'if I were big I'd punch you in  
 the face, when I'm big I'll punch you in the face'  
 LM, Galushia Nelson eu'lu yitłi<sup>n</sup>h<sup>n</sup> 'big man'  
 BSDL 553 Ku?luw yiłiłiłi 'he (who) is big, 'he  
 was big, enormous' 37b.58A, xela'g qa'ya? Ku?  
 luw qa?le? 'winter will be severe, hard, on us'  
 43.9M, Ku?luw qaw, la' 'it's sure big!' L,  
 Ku?luw qaw, ?ew qe?yilteh 'it was big, that  
 whale' 10.42A, Резанов Кулягату 'Больша  
 gross' Ku?lew...duh 'it's big (indeed)!',  
 Коулягата 'Больша gross (Comparativ.)' Ku?lew...  
 ?awa', Ku?luw ?awa' 'a big one of them' L,  
 ?ew Ku?luw ?awa' 'the big one, biggest one of  
 them' L, 9.92A, diK ?ew Ku?luw 'not the big  
 one' M, sedi'xeh, Ku?lew 'it was cold, a great  
 (cold spell)' 57.4G, Kelehdig, Ku?luw ya'? de-  
 sa?ya'x 'rain too, let a big one come down' 57.-  
 21G, ?uđax ?awa' Ku?luw 'its wings are big'  
 60.50A, Ku?luw qe?ew ?u?deca'K 'a big (price)  
 it was (cust) bought at' 64.4G, Ku?luw ?u?li-  
 xilgah 'I think it's (know it to be) big' M,  
 wex ?u?deya' Ku?luw, Ku?luw ?ew ?u?deya'  
 'thus is told of it (that it's) big, it's reported

to be big' 60.49A, ?uyeq'd ?ewa· Ku?luw  
 'it(s inside) is (too) big' L, with -kih dimi-  
 nutive suffix: Ku?luwkih qesale?i 'they grew  
 pretty big' 49.29, 30A, Ku?luwkih ?ike? da·?i  
 'just as it starts to get rather big, fair-sized'  
 L, relativized: usually preceding noun: ?a?d  
 Ku?luw qe?yikteh 'a very big whale' 28.76A,  
 Ku?luw xut?i 'big gun' M, Ku?luw xi'l 'great  
 shaman' 56.1L, attested also with Kuya?e?d  
 'grizzly-den', ?ud Kudesas?q 'dress', cu·x  
 'barnacle', yeda· 'shamanistic power', duh?K  
 'snipe', s?hes?i·?i 'stockings' lee xi·?i  
 'halibut', te?ya?le· 'king salmon', qe?yikteh  
 'whale', lu· 'ebb-tide', ca? 'deep (place)',  
 ke·?ta·g 'seal', ?ex 'boat', ?exekih 'canoe',  
 ?ewa· 'dog', less frequently (and less correct-  
 ly?) following noun (real meaning '(is) big?'),  
 usually from M: dexph Ku?lew 'a huge person'  
 (perhaps 'the fellow is huge') 37b.58A, attested  
 also (mostly in elicitation from M) with ?i·sdi-  
 le·?i 'merganser', si·?i 'shoes', q?axge·?i  
 'bottle', gaha '(gob of) pitch'.

1b. With class-marks (in association with  
 classified nouns): deqi·kih Kulexa?luw 'no big  
 ones (berries) left' L, diK ?ew q?ama· ?ewa·

Kulexa?luw ?ele?e 'its roe wasn't big' 10.117A,  
 selexesexe?c Kulexa?luw '(large species of) blue-  
 berries are large' L, Galushia Nelson Keta'ld-  
 or Kltald- 'big (used for house or tree)',  
 Meta?lu- lis 'big tree', Keta?lu- 'big tree',  
 Keta?lu yat 'big house' BSdL 553 Kuda?luw lis,  
 Kuda?luw yabd, yabd xq? dessil?, Kuda?luw  
 'they built houses, big ones' 68.16A, Kuda?luw  
 taxgsg 'big cottonwood' 68.30A, Kuxeda?luw gab?c  
 yateiga?i 'a big, great day is coming' L, <sup>^</sup> dik  
 Kuxi?nuw 'not a big one (a stone)' L, Kugu?nuw  
 giyah 'lots of water, large quantity of water'  
 L, attested also with ka?g 'soup', de? 'blood',  
 xe- 'seal oil', ca- 'seal oil', ca?la?xe?  
 'kerosene', ?u?ne? Kuxe?i 'paint' L, ?i?ditu?c  
 Ku?nuw 'big black abalone' N, Siyahd Ku?nuw  
 'big hat' N.

1c. With anatomical marks: Kugeda?luw 'large--  
 rumped', Kuxi?da?luw sahesi?i 'big(-footed)  
 stockings' L, Kuku?nuw yi?ih?h '(he's) a big--  
 bellied person' N(~~uncertain~~), lisky?da?luw 'big--  
 based tree' L; lacking Ku-indefinite in epithets,  
 generally pejorative: ku?nuw hila? 'big--  
 bellied man' L, gi?wa?lehd ku?nuw se?e?i 'he's  
 getting paunchy because of beer' L ku?nuw 'big--

Insert at ^ on preceding page:

Kugeda<sup>?</sup>luw ma· 'big lake' 27b.46A,

belly!, paunchy!' L, qí·daʔluw 'big-feet!' L,  
gədaʔluw 'big-rump!' L, kúšdaʔluw 'big-(lower-)=  
legs!' L.

1d. With <sup>1</sup>əʔ-thematic 'ground': qíʔ kú-  
saʔnuw 'place where there's lots of ground' L.

1e. With ʔdl-thematic 'shore': gíyah  
kúʔəliʔnuw səleʔʔ 'water (in rain, floodtide)  
reached a very high level' L.

1f. With -dah adverbializer: kúʔluwdah  
'enormously, greatly' 57.206.

2. Dependent: a. suffixed to unclassified  
nouns: (1) with connective vowel -ʔa-ʔluw, -ʔa-ʔ-  
lew, rarely (with certain exceptions) -a-ʔluw,  
-a-ʔlew, when suffixed to noun-forms, not in  
epithets, containing only one vowel: Rezanov  
Хоткымакере 'Ильма Каноне' xutʔgíʔaʔlew...,  
xutʔʔaʔluw 'big gun' LM, kəpədʔaʔluw M, kəpə-  
daʔluw 'large (amount of) smoke' L, ʔuhʔʔaʔluw-  
yuʔ 'snakes' (big worms') M, attested also with  
qəʔ 'pot', dəl 'bone', daʔʔ '(amount of)  
foam' duʔdʔ '(gob of) dried snot', duhšK 'snipe',  
taʔ 'trail', teʔ 'drill', ʔihstʔ 'devilclub',  
kəʔʔ 'box', kəʔʔq 'feather', kəʔxdʔ 'wart',  
kəpəd 'smoke', ʔaʔʔ 'chisel', ʔuxk 'spear  
point', dʔhe 'alders', daʔʔ 'cradle', daʔgʔ

'dipper', ču·x 'barnacle', sɨ·t̚ 'shoe',  
 sahs 'sea-otter', sahx 'cockle', ʃit̚ 'shelf',  
 ʃa·t̚t̚ 'crowbar', ʃa·q̚ 'bullhead', ʃuʔk̚t̚  
 'thwart', čeʔq̚t̚ 'hook', čaʔč̚ 'red salmon',  
 ča·š̚ 'hedysarum plant', čiʔč̚x̚ 'shark', čih̚de  
 'skate, ray', čugšg 'skunk-cabbage roots' sahs  
 '(gob of) slime', šex̚g̚t̚ '(amount of) hoarfrost',  
 luʔč̚ 'blister', gust̚ 'flame', ka·š̚k̚ 'humpback  
 salmon', kug̚t̚ 'dry stick', keʔk̚t̚ 'mink', kaʔt̚  
 'island', xiš̚ '(amount of) snow (on ground)',  
 xah̚d̚ 'spearhead', xa·g̚t̚ 'job', xa·g̚ '(amount  
 of) steam', seʔq̚šg̚ '(amount of) earwax', seš̚  
 'rabbit', qeʔt̚ 'woman', qeč̚t̚s̚ 'male salmon',  
 kah̚g̚šg̚ 'scab', qeš̚šg̚ '(piece of) gristle',  
 ʃiš̚ 'spearhead', ʃaʔš̚g̚t̚ '(wooden) club', ʃuh̚x̚  
 'worm', wiš̚ 'wedge', laʔq̚ 'eel', laʔɨč̚t̚  
 'star', ʔa·t̚ 'spruce bough', ʔes̚ 'crab-pot',  
 yə·ʔ̚ 'medicine' ('powerful'), kih̚d̚ '(amount  
 of) dry snow', weʔt̚ 'snare' wiš̚ 'wedge',  
 we·š̚ 'drying-rack', kuh̚d̚t̚ '(amount of) moss',  
 we·g̚ 'headband', čik̚ 'plate', ye·n̚ 'sea  
 cucumber', hu·l̚ 'sale', qew 'open place on  
 mountainside', ca·ʔ̚t̚ 'food box'; (2) with  
 connective vowel frequently or exclusively  
 -aʔluw, -aʔlew, suffixed to certain noun-forms

ending, in modern form, in sonant -w or -l, where connective vowel here may be considered archaic retention of second vowel of earlier broken stem, cf. 2b.(2b) below: Rezanov K̄y-  
 азга 'Буря storm' K̄u(.)yaʔlew..., K̄uyaʔluw  
 LM (with nonlengthened -a-, but not rechecked),  
 K̄u.yaʔluw (not \*K̄u.yʔaʔluw) 'big wind' L, xi-  
 laʔluw 'great shaman' L, xi-lʔaʔluw yiʔh̄h̄  
 'he's a great shaman' LM; (3) With connective  
 -(?)i- with certain nouns and nominalized verb-  
 phrases referring to human beings: dəx̄hiʔlew  
 'a big person' LM, 37b.51A, 'a great man' A,  
 ʔeni-ʔiʔluw 'big boy' L, qeʔiʔiʔluw 'big wo-  
 man' L (also qeʔiʔaʔluw M), seqe-ciʔluw 'big  
 child, big baby' L, ʔila-ʔiʔluw 'big man' L,  
 K̄uʔiʔiʔluw 'big lazy lout' M, yaʔx̄ ʔuʔ sah-  
 ʔiʔluw LM, yaʔx̄ ʔuʔ sahʔiʔluw A (name of  
 Eyak woman, Mary Nelson, yaʔx̄'sa'tie'lu in BSDL  
 genealogical table, 'went, grew straight up big'  
 L); (4) With no connective vowel: (a) in (pejora-  
 tive) epithet with one-vowel stem lacking posses-  
 sive prefix (prefix zeroed out): ʔeh̄x̄luw 'big-  
 ears!' A, seʔʔluw 'big-body!' 10.94A, with  
 preverb ʔa-ʔd 'outdoors' used as noun, lack of  
 connective vowel inexplicable: ʔel ʔa-ʔdluw



-ʒehʒ 'ear', -ča·d 'hump of humpback salmon',  
 -čəʒ 'wing', čiyaʒkə 'frog' čə·yuʒ 'alder=  
 berry bush', ʒux kūšikʒt 'saw', -šə·k 'chest  
 (anat.)', qəʒge·t 'bottle', qəʒgu·l 'thunder',  
 qəʒyikʒtəh 'whale', gəməs '(gob of) wet mud',  
 dakʒh 'stick', kūdəikʒ·ʒ 'stump, base', kʒ·t=  
 daʒč 'stump', -kəməh 'belly', -gukaʒ '(bird's)  
 tail', -dəkuhd 'lips', kənaʒs 'wolverene',  
 ʒt·kkaʒč 'sea urchin', -kəhš 'foot', ʒə·gədi·  
 yəh 'porcupine', kəməh 'sea-lion', kūwəhʒt  
 'tack, nail', -xič 'skin', dəxiʒč drum, -xi·  
 yaʒʒ 'chin', dətəxə·g 'groundhog', lixəh  
 'grizzly bear', yəʒ dəxukʒ 'barrel', dəxuʒkʒ  
 'balloon', -dəgaʒqʒt 'throat', yaʒʒ dəsečšg  
 'pitcher', -lətʒ·šdəʒuʒ 'moustache, beard',  
 -suhd 'knee', sənuh 'duck', ʒəwa· 'dog',  
 -ləquht 'cheek', -yəqəʒč 'hand', ʒuyaʒʒ kū=  
 dəqəʒčg 'pressure-cooker', -qəʒ 'piece of fat',  
 -kūšdəqəʒ 'calf of leg', ləsedəqəʒt 'axe',  
 guʒə· 'stump', xə·səʒəʒ '(piece of) soap',  
 -ʒʒ·təyah 'tooth', -ʒəʒč 'place, imprint',  
 -ləwaʒt 'fin', ʒədəčəʒə·ləwaʒtʒ 'hammock',  
 sʒiʒməhdʒt '(pieces of) bread', -luʒ 'hole',  
 -ni·k 'nose', ʒəna·šəh 'flower', -ʒušt 'heart',  
 tənəs 'padlock, nose-ring', gəlu·ʒ 'key',

kuḷqehy 'saucer', kanaʔed 'coat', leweḫḫi  
 'pole', ʔewa-das 'buoy, float', kūda 'file',  
 ʔeta 'adze', tewi-s '(iron) axe', ḥewe-na  
 'anchor', česa 'tarpaulin', ʔa-nke-we 'flag',  
 ku-ḫti-ḫ 'moccasin', deqeta-ḫ 'trousers', niḫa  
 'handkerchief', ʔewa-leḥ 'window', ʒi-da-das  
 'clam', yidiḡuḥ 'thimble', yu-xga 'skirt',  
 kuḫxi-d '(piece of) cloth', gu-niḥ, gu-neḥ  
 'horse', ḥa-leḥ 'shawl', meḫuhg 'sack', ʒi-  
 ni-g 'teapot', liʔxi-ni 'laugh', yeda 'shaman-  
 istic power', -seʔe 'body', kuḫta-e 'quilt',  
 na-wdaʔke-d 'whiskey-bottle', seḷeḷeḷeḷah 'tad-  
 pole', geḫuh '(gaming-)die', sesuʔ 'dry-sal-  
 mon', -caʔkih '(woman's) older sister', seyeḷ-  
 gug 'kayak', ʔi-ḫḡema 'bracket-fungus', qe-  
 meḫeḫi 'top (toy)', ʔeli-mahdelih, ca-leḷeḫ  
 (place-names); with -kih diminutive, affection-  
 ate: ʔewa-luwkih 'big dog' (affectionate) M; in  
 (pejorative) epithets: attested with -ni-k  
 'nose', -lequḫḫi 'cheeks', -čeliḫ 'arms,  
 sleeves' (?), -qi-yega-g 'big toe', -yeky-e  
 'thumb', lequḫḫiḡeḷuw 'big-fat-cheeks!' 10.93A,  
 kūweḷluwḫiyah 'nasty big-broad-thing!' 1b.9M;  
 (4d) suffixed to ʔeweʔah- 'thank you': ʔeweʔah-  
 luw 'many thanks' L (L later adds, 'not good

Eyak, S would talk like that"), Rezanov Aryar-  
arara 'Cnacx6o ich? danke' ?ewe?ahlewa...dah  
'many thanks', with -dah adverbializer, cf.  
?ewe?ahdah 'thank you'.

2b. Suffixed to classified nouns: (1) with  
d-class nouns: -da?luw, attested with ci· 'mus-  
sel', t'ic' '(piece of) ice', ?e·yu? 'hemlock',  
Kude?idg 'dead tree', ?a? 'glacier', ?ikexph  
'gas boat', ?uxit 'spear', ?phd 'snowshoe',  
ca? 'board', ca?it 'knife', da? (expanse of)  
mud in flats', -daic'elih 'shell', gehgt 'fish  
spear', gahc '(gob of) pitch', Kahc 'porcu-  
pine quill', ce?q(±) 'bracelet', ya·? de?a?it  
'ring', ce?esemekt 'hoop', -gu?ah 'tail',  
qih 'meadow', yaqdeqa· 'hollow tree', -leqah  
'head', qe?yiktehloqah 'whale-head', deqa·g  
'fire', ?ahdit 'sled, car', Kude?xelah 'butt-  
end of tree', we·gag 'ulu', de?ekewahit 'door',  
Kulah 'griz<sub>2</sub>ly-den', ye·t' 'wild celery', yahd  
'house', -da?uhdg 'egg', ?qu·lihdes 'skillet',  
la·xga· 'store', we·? 'drying rack', ?u?x  
'(piece of) driftwood', ?du:lihs 'table', -guka?  
'(bird's) tail', ?it 'spoon', Ka?e' 'island',  
?a·x 'red cedar', ?gu·na· 'schooner', demex?k,  
qemex?it 'soft, rotten spot in, hole in ice',

dehʒ 'sandbar, quʔtaʔk 'floor', lisky-  
 'tree & base', yahddaʔluwtaʔz 29.56A, yahddaʔ=  
 luwdaʔaʔz 'in(to) a big house' 20.26, 49.11A,  
 caʔkdaʔluwdaʔaʔz 'lots of big knives' L, in  
 (pejorative) epithets: leqahdaʔluw 'big-head!' L,  
 10.93, 11.139A, guʔahdaʔluw 'big-tail!' L,  
 10.94, 11.140A, niʔMaʔluw<sup>big-nose!</sup> L, 18.8L, kʔʔ-  
 daʔluw 'big-thigh!' L (uncertain), with gɔ-  
 class nouns: -gudaʔluw, -gedaʔluw, attested  
 with maʔ 'lake', -cɨʔ 'neck', gudasuʔ 'dry  
 salmon', with ʒd-class nouns: -ʒedaʔluw,  
 attested with kɛʔsk 'log', yaʔʒilah 'rainbow',  
 leseʔskk 'pole', ʒiʔ 'spearpoint', tewiʔs  
 '(wooden) axe', with lʒd-class-nouns: kʔhdʔleʒa-  
 daʔluw 'big (piece, expanse of) moss' L, with  
 lʒ-class nouns: -leʒaʔluw, attested with ʒiʔʒg  
 'gravel', ʒaʔʒ 'hedysarum root', selegaʔz  
 'cranberries', xiʔ 'snowflakes', ʒas 'gland',  
 kuleh 'rain (falling)', yeʔktoʒiʔ 'onions', ʒonaʔ  
 '(piece, amount of loose) roe', in (pejorative)  
 epithet: laʔʒleʒaʔluw 'big-eyes!' M, 1a.7M,  
 with numerals, syntactically inexplicable or in-  
 correct: kʔhʔ leʒaʔluw 'one big one (berry)' L,  
 kʔhʔ leʒaʔ leʒaʔluw 'one big one (eye)' L,  
 with g-class nouns: -gaʔluw, (never \*-guʔluw L),

attested with *ʒəwuk* 'net', *ʒəwukgekeh* '(roll of) twine', *se·d* 'spruceroot', *kuʔt* 'tendon, sinew'; (2) with class-mark the last element of which is l-: (a) with l-class-nouns, *-ʔa·ʔnuw* (once *-a·ʔnuw*, see also (2b) below), or, L less frequently, M more frequently and perhaps less correctly, *-ʔi·ʔnuw*, also M occasionally, and L once, *-laʔluw*, but L rejects *-laʔluw* or strongly prefers *-ʔa·ʔnuw* or *-ʔi·ʔnuw*: *ʒuhigəʔi·ʔnuw* M, *ʒuhiga·ʔnuw* L, *ʒuhigelaʔluw*, *xuhigʔa·ʔnuw* 'big shovel' LM, *ʔi·ixi·ʒglaʔluw*, *ʔi·ixi·ʒgʔi·ʔnuw* M, *ʔi·ixi·ʒgʔa·ʔnuw* 'big red abalone' L, *kewesgilaʔluw*, *kewesgiʔi·ʔnuw* (L much prefers latter) 'big canoe paddle' LM, *qema·ʔi·ʔnuw* 'big roe(-sac)', *qema·ʔa·ʔnuw* 'big kidney' L (elicited on separate occasions, correlation between differences in form and gloss probably fortuitous), other forms attested only with *-ʔa·ʔnuw*: *ʕiyabd* 'hat', *wiʔ* 'wedge', *ʔix* 'mountain', *-ʔusʔ* 'heart', *cu·* 'breast', *ʒeʔa·s* 'basket', *gaʔqʔ* 'Adam's apple', *taʔ* 'hammer'; (2b) with l-class-noun *-ʒa·w* 'head' in (pejorative) epithet, lacking possessive prefix, form highly variable and irregular, probably a reflection of an earlier broken form of the stem, *-ʒa·wa...*, cf. 2a(2) above:

ʒa·wʔaʔnuw LMA, ʒa·wʔaʔnuw, ʒa·waʔnuw L,  
 ʒa·waʔnuw 'big-head!, big head-of-hair!' lb.6M;  
 (2c) with nouns of other classes, the last element  
 of the mark of which is l-: with ti·l-class  
 nouns, -tiʔnuw (M occasionally -ti·laʔluw,  
 once -tiʔluw, both rejected by L): Kutahtiʔnuw,  
 Kutahti·laʔluw 'big pelt' M, Kuṭṭahṭi·laʔluw  
 M, Kuṭṭahṭiʔnuw 'big leaf' L, Kusicṭi·laʔluw  
 M, Kusicṭiʔnuw 'big fish-skin' L, caʔKṭiʔnuw  
 'big glove' M, ʒə·tṭiʔnuw 'big skunk-cabbage-  
 (-leaf)' L, kuhsṭiʔnuw 'big apron' LM, with  
 dl-class-noun, invariably -ʔiʔnuw: attested with  
 ʔəh 'land', ca· 'stone', ʒahsṭ 'needle',  
 kihṭṭ 'dipnet', ʒaʔMgṭ '(stone) club', ʔa·=  
 ʒəʔi·d 'button', cṭi· 'branch', tewi·s '(stone)  
 axe', ʒəwṭ 'net', we·gṭg 'ulu', in (pejora-  
 tive) epithet ʒəʒəʔiʔnuw 'big-ears!' LMA, 18.=  
 EL, with gl-class nouns, invariably -guʔnuw  
 'large (amount, volume, gob, body of liquid)':  
 attested with ʒi· 'creek', giyah 'water',  
 ka·ʒ 'soup', kus 'urine', ʔəṭ 'slough', ʒe·  
 'seal oil', ʒəs 'pus', cū· 'milk', gṭ·ṭəṭ  
 'blood-clot', ʔə· 'river', with qi·l-class-  
 nouns, invariably -qiʔnuw: attested with kuʔt  
 'tendon', weʔṭ 'snare', ʔiṭqaʔṭ desid 'chain',

duh 'hose kelp', with qi·dl-class-noun:  
duhqi·λi·ʔnuw 'big hose kelp' L, with ʔdl=  
class-nouns: tɕhɕəli·ʔnuw 'big waves' L, ʔuhs-  
ɕəli·ʔnuw 'big riverbank' L.

2c. With anatomical or class-like anatomical or thematic marks: kuɕɕ·ɕeyahɕu·ʔnuw 'big(-toothed?) teeth' LM, ɕəλku·ʔnuw 'large-bellied pot' L, liɕkɕ·daʔluw 'tree big at base' L, ku·kəhɕqi·daʔluw 'big(-footed?) foot' LM, in (pejorative) epithet: cɕʔgəλa·ʔluw (probably incorrect), cɕʔgəλi·ʔnuw 'big-neck!' L, saʔsədaʔluw 'big-mouth!' L, la.7M, <sup>ʔuɕdaʔnuw</sup> 'big-foot' M.

3. With ei-thematic, with certain preverbs or postpositional phrases, generally referring to cavities or spaces: (1) Independent: qiʔ kəsiʔluw 'big hole, place, room' M, qiʔ kəsiʔluw λa·ʔɕhd 'big den, big cave' ('place of a large den, cave') L; (2a) Dependent, with o-lɕd-ʔeʔ 'place of o's eyes': ʔileɕede·ʔeiʔluw 'your big eyes' 11.139A, in (pejorative) epithet: leɕede·ʔeiʔluw 'big-eyes!' L, 10.96A; (2b) with daʔ 'front, face', in (pejorative) epithet: daʔ eiʔluw 'big-face!' 11.139A, 18.8L; (2c) λa·ʔɕhd=daʔeiʔluw (perhaps to be corrected to λa·ʔɕhd=eiʔluw) 'big den, lair' M; (2d) with o-l-yeɕ

'in o's head', perhaps in epithet: Rezanov  
Jeexxakmekizara 'Громко laut' leyeqesi?lewa...,  
leyeq?i?i?luw (-?i- perhaps analogical with  
verbal forms below) 'loud voice, low-pitched  
voice' L.

-?li' 'S is too big, oversize' (attested in neu-  
ter imperfective only): with o-ya? 'in rela-  
tion with, for o': sixa? yi?lih 'it's too big  
for me' L, diK sixa? ?a?lihs 'it's not too big  
for me' L, with d-class-mark for S: di?lihs  
'it (e.g. board) is too big' L.

?i-~~si~~?li' (with ?i-i-thematic, with postposition-  
al phrases o-yeq 'in o (not with broad opening  
at top)' and: o-ya? 'in o (with broad opening at  
top)', cf. -?luw--?nuw 3. above) 'S (cavity, or  
cavity in S) is, becomes big (with respect to some-  
thing else to fit it)' (see also ?i-si-?luw be-  
low): neuter imperfective: ?uyeq ?i?i?lih  
'it's big enough (inside, for something else)'  
L, diK ?uyeq ?isa?lihs 'it's not big enough  
inside (to accommodate something else)' L, with  
classified nouns as (more properly: in apposition  
with or as possessor of) S, attested constructions  
probably loose syntactically, class-marks appear-  
ing in postpositional phrases instead of in verb:

?ew yahd ?udayeđ ?isi-?lih 'the inside of  
 that house is too big' L (probably better ?ew  
 yahdeyeđ or glossed 'that house, its inside-  
 is too big'), ?ew ŕiyahd ?uleya? ?isi-?lih  
 '(the inside of) that hat is too big' L (probably  
 better ?ew ŕiyahdeyeđ or glossed 'that hat,  
 its inside is too big'), in other mode-aspects,  
 with o-ŕa? 'in relation with, for o': ?uyeđ  
 siŕa? ?isasa?li?ž 'it got too big for me (in-  
 side)' L, ?uyeđ siŕa? ?isasa?li?ž 'it's get-  
 ting too big for me (inside)' L, ?uyeđ siŕa?  
 ?iqe?si-?lih 'it'll get too big (inside) for  
 me' L.

?i-cŕ-?luw (as above, stem-form perhaps analogical) -  
 'S (cavity, or cavity in S) is, becomes big (with-  
 out respect to something else?)' (these forms and  
 those above elicited on various different occasions  
 without attempt to determine difference in mean-  
 ing; general correlation between difference of  
 stem-forms and of glosses perhaps fortuitous):  
 neuter imperfective: ?uyeđ ?isi-?luw 'it's too  
 big for it' L, 'it's big inside' M, diK ?uyeđ  
 ?isa?luwž 'it's not big inside' L, ?uyeđ ?iqe?  
 si-?luw 'it'll get big inside' L, ?uyeđ ?ise-  
 sa?luwž 'it got big inside' L.

bt cf. ?e' ~ ?a', stem-form ?a' is intransitive  
in F-classification

ɬ-lu? (intransitivity uncertain, perhaps only  
0-ɬ-lu?, causative of preceding with irregular  
stem-form) 'S stretches out of shape': seɬlu?ɬ  
'it stretched out of shape' L (perhaps 'you, it  
stretched it out of shape'), qa?ɬlu? 'it'll  
stretch out of shape' L (perhaps better 'you'll,  
it'll stretch it out of shape'). Transitive  
(causative): qa?xɬlu? 'I'll make it bigger in-  
side, I'll enlarge it' L; passive: sɬlu?ɬ 'it's  
been made bigger, enlarged' L.

?e?lewah (conceivably to be analyzed -?e?-lewah  
with archaic form of stem, as epithet 'large--  
track, big-imprint') 'weasel' LMAS, see ?e?lewah  
(unanalyzed).

leyaʔ (possible stem) see yaʔ-eyaʔ.

lehd (perhaps to be analyzed leh-d, perhaps related to leh, la-na<sup>2</sup>, or conceivably to li<sup>?</sup>, cf. wah<sup>1</sup>)

o-lehd (postposition, attested only with zero (-d?) final) 'because of o' (with reference to antecedent reason, not final cause), occurrences not completely listed: silchd 'because of me' L, ?ulehd wəʒ setu<sup>?</sup> 'she became thus because of it' 49.-67A, ?ulehd si<sup>?</sup> 'because of that she became strong' 49.67fnL, Ka-di<sup>?</sup>da<sup>?</sup> qe<sup>?</sup> ?ili<sup>?</sup>eh, ?ahnu-səqe-təyu-lehd ?uxa<sup>?</sup> 'she would never remarry, because of her children' 49.26A, gi-wa-lehd ku-?muw səke<sup>?</sup> 'he's getting a beer-belly' ('he's getting paunchy because of beer') L, relativized: ?u<sup>?</sup>li-igahšuw, ?ulehd diK ku-liše-Kə 'do you know (it), why (the reason, that because of which) you (cust) don't kill anything?' 23.9A, ?iK ?a<sup>?</sup>xə-ʒah, ?ulehd diK ku-liše-Kə 'I'm telling you (it), why you (cust) don't kill anything' 23.16A, ?ewlehd (usually followed by q- emphatic) 'because of that (it is), that's why, therefore': 1b.21M, 9.69, 10.48, 22a, 11.50A, 13.14L, 20.66, 23.42, 24.13, 55, 25.19a, 32.9, 20, 34, 33.35A, 43.33M, 45a.14, 48.9L, 49.44, 72, 51.8, 28, 96A, 34.35L, 65.79, 69.28A, with de--...-d 'what?, what' as o: de-lehdəw 'why (is it)?', de-lehd-

duw diK sič da'yile·Kə 'why don't you (cust)  
 talk to me?' L, de·lahd diK sida? ʔi·ya·Kə  
 'why don't you (cust) come to (visit) me?' L,  
 de·lehddəh diK sidə? ʔa·Kə 'why doesn't he  
 (cust) come visit me?' L, de·lehdduw ka·dih  
 deieʔi 'why she had been absent' 25.116A, quʔ=  
 li·igihih de·lehddəw wəx qi·deseli 'he'll  
 know why your foot got thus' 51.81A, with 8-in-  
 terrogative: de·lehddəw 'I wonder why' L, de·  
 lehddəhnu· wəx likilah 'why, I wonder, are  
 their faces like that?' 24.34A, de·lehddəw wəx  
 sili 'I wonder why thus has befallen me' 70.3A,  
 de·lehddəw hi·K 'I wonder why he (cust) does  
 thus to them?' 70.2A; frequent also with verb-  
 clause as o, usually followed by q- emphatic:  
 8.6, 18, 10.108, 200, 11.148, 23.110, 32.14, 14,  
 22, 31.29A, ʔidaʔya·ləx ʔiitiʔ lehd qəw,  
 yiida·slehd qəw 'because there was too much of  
 it, because it was too heavy' 9.105A, ʔahnu·  
 seše·x ʔilihih, ʔulex xi·l ʔahnu· yilehleh  
 'they wanted to kill him, because he was more of  
 a shaman than they' 56.21L, diK ʔenahhəkih  
 ʔəwxeʔle·slehd, ʔu·diKəh sahə 'because it  
 didn't like that, it went away' 60.32A, ʔel  
 teʔyaʔle· ʔəwa·, kuʔluw yilehleh, diK wəx

dəle'e 'as for these king-salmon, because  
they're big, they're not processed thus' 65.7A,  
ʔew cu.ʒihyu.qaʔ yasaʔyahlehd, diK ɕeʔ  
ʔəlaʔe.kə 'because she had ended up amongst the  
wolves, she couldn't (cust) remarry' 25.152A,  
once with non-verbal clause: ʔew dəɕpɕhyu. ʔu=  
qaʔdlehd ɕew wəɕ ʔi.təh 'because those people  
(are) amongst them (it is) they are thus' 24.67A,  
clause sometimes introduced by dəʔa. 'for, be=  
cause': dəʔa. ʔewa. xdexa.glehd 'because I  
work for him' L, dəʔa. ʔi.seiyahlehd 'because  
he's old' 51.17A, diK ʔuyəɕd ɕeʔ ʔiqeʔkeɕa.e  
dəʔa. ʔidaʔya.leɕ ɕəhd qaʔkeʔlehd 'you won't  
keep any more fire burning under there because it  
would be too smoky' 65.57A.

nahd (never \*lahd, shift of n- to l- blocked in every case by presence of l-thematic prefix, \*-n-nahd > --nahd instead of \*-l-lahd, \*-;-lahd; perhaps to be analyzed nah-d and related to la-na<sup>2</sup>, 'around', thus, sometimes, o-l-lah-d 'around o's head', and/or n-ah-d (cf. dahd), related to la<sup>2</sup>-, perhaps more than one stem, semantics not clear)

o--nahd (postposition, with -- variant of l-- thematic) l. 'over and covering down around o'  
 a. (probably with -- variant of l-anatomical 'face, head') 'down over and covering, down around o's face, head'; in indirect reflexive construction with zero reflexive o: ?i·nahd ?ew ?ikitahj̄h 'he has it (e.g. rag) hanging down over his face'  
 L (uncertain, perhaps to be corrected to ?i·nah or ?i·na<sup>2</sup>q̄); si·nahd woman's name, first wife of Scar Stevens, part Tlingit, mother of Billy Hansen L (L interprets: 'around my head', perhaps to be corrected to, or interpretation influenced by si·nah).

lb. (with l-mark, perhaps thematized l-anatomical): ?u·nahd kusa<sup>2</sup>ya·i 'water is rising up over something (freeing it)' LM (thus transcribed, to be corrected to gusa<sup>2</sup>ya<sup>2</sup>i, perhaps 'tide is covering its head', perhaps also to be

corrected to ?u·nah, 'tide is flooding around its head', cf. ?ulah gusa?ya·h 'tide is rising around it (freeing it, e.g. beached boat)' L.

1c. (with l-class-mark for o): ?i?a·nahd  
sdixu?h 'snow slid way down the mountain' L.

2. (probably with l-class-mark for o, qə?ah 'moon', thematized) 'in month of o', requiring ?i- prefix with verbs, frequent in month-names: see ?u·nahd qe·lu· ?idela·?K, ?u·nahd qe?i?a?K, ?u·nahd ?idayah?, ?u·nahd ?i?e?a·s, ?u·nahd ?i?e?ah, discussed and interpreted under ?ah<sup>1</sup>, septembih?i·nahd 'month of September' 60.42A, ju·n?i·nahd 'month of June' 65.83A.

ya·nahd (preverb, probably < \*yana-nahd, see ya·(n) meaning clearly related to that of o-?-- nahd l. above, always with zero (-d?) final) 'flat down onto and covering some surface': ya·nahd seta? 'set it down (on and covering some of the floor, ground)!' L, ya·nahd ?ew seta·h 'he's setting it down' L, ya·nahd leeta? 'put your head down!' L, ya·nahd ?i·sitah? 'I lay my head down (on something)' L, ?u·d ya·nahd ?i·tah? 'it's down there (lying flat, covering some surface)' L, Galushia Nelson yand<sup>n</sup>t ?eta' or ya·nāt ?eta' 'grass mat' BSDL 546 ya·nahd

datah ('it belongs set on floor covering sur-  
 face'), with qe'-qe'- 'back, again': qe'ya'-  
 nahd 27a.32, 33L, 27b.42, 43A, frequently with  
 o-q' 'on (top of) o': o-q' ya'nahd -te 'S lies  
 down on, covering o' 20.33, 34, 36, 38, 38, 42,  
 27b.34, 28.24A, o-q' ya'nahd 1-ta 'S lays head  
 down on o' 27a.26, 32, 33L, 27b.42, 43A, 'uq'  
 ya'nahd 'exiya'k 'I (cust) set them down on (and  
 covering) it' 65.12, 13A, 'exekih siq' ya'nahd  
 'u'la'ea'a? 'turn my canoe over on me' 47a.32L,  
 frequent in nominalizations with tah 'it belongs  
 lying in position': (kuta'kda'q') ya'nahd tah  
 'rug' ('it covers (floor)') L, sdu'libda'q' ya'-  
 nahd tah 'tablecloth' ('it covers table') L,  
 diditu'q' yabdda'q' ya'nahd tah 'sheet-iron'  
 ('it covers iron-house, cannery') L, ya'ziya'q'  
 ya'nahd tah 'bedsheet' ('it covers mattress')  
 L, su'kq' ya'nahd tah 'bedspread' ('it covers  
 blanket') L.

laʔd (~~laʔd~~ = *centa* *coron* (aʔd-d- > laʔd-))

laʔd (numeral) 'two': with -ih, abstract and in conjunction with unclassified nouns: laʔdih 'two' LS, 9.147, 10.76, 11.82, 25.77, 37b.7A, 56.28L, 59.5 Galushia Nelson, 64.10G, Rezanov Isara-ra '2.', Wrangell Isare 'Zwei', Furuhjelm Lhati 'two', Galushia Nelson laʔDi '2.' BSdL 552, wey Keʔʂ laʔdih 'about two' L, ʂid laʔdih siʂ ʔaʂaʔ 'give me just (exactly, at least, at most) two!' L, ʔal laʔdih ʔawa ʔiʂ quʔxʂah 'I'll give you these two of them' 10.72A, laʔdih siʂ diʔyahʂ 'I've got two extra, two more than I need' L, laʔdih ʔuyequn 'her two young' 20.-73A, laʔdih ʔawa 'two dogs' LM, laʔdih ku-yeʂaʔʂ 'two hands' M, laʔdih ʔas 'two crabpots' M, laʔdih kuʂahʂgaʔ ʔiʔʔaʔ 'it's two feet long' M, laʔdih ʔuxyʔeyah ʔawa kaʔdih 'two of his teeth are missing' L, laʔdih ʔelahʂd yaʔ ʔuxyʔeyah ʔawa kaʔdih 'two of his front teeth are missing' L, laʔdih caʔʔʂ 'two food-boxes' L, laʔdih ʔadeʂiʂʂi 'two corners' L, laʔdih ʂeʂi 'two forks' L, laʔdih ʂaʔʂ 'two clam--digging sticks' L, laʔdih kaʔʂʂi 'two halibut hooks' L, laʔdih kuʂaʔʂgaʔ ʔuʔʂ xuʔʂpʔsaʔ-yaʂi 'I spent two hours there' L, laʔdih

yaseiqahî 'Tuesday' ('two have dawned') L, laʔd-  
 ih leh eq·saʔyahî 'two years passed' L, laʔd-  
 ih ʔuleh eq·saʔyahî 'it's two years old' L,  
 laʔdih ʔuʕahd leh eq·saʔyahî 'two years have  
 passed since that' L, laʔdih ʔela·g ʔuʕahd ʔj·=  
 ediʔahî 'two winters passed after that' L; with  
 classified nouns: laʔd da· teʔyaʔguʕah 'two  
 fish-tails' 45a.11L, 45b.11M, laʔd da· caʕ 'two  
 boards' M, laʔd da· lis 'two spruce trees' M,  
 laʔd da· ʒahd 'two snowshoes' L, laʔd da·  
 kudeʒehʒ 'two corners' L, laʔda· (< laʔd da·)  
 xutʔyeqđ ʔux deku·d 'two cleaning-rods' L, laʔd  
 li·na· la·ʔeʔj·d 'two buttons' M, laʔli·na  
 (< laʔd li·na·) cij· 'two branches' L, laʔd  
 guka· 'two (filament-like objects)' L, laʔd geka·  
 se·d 'two spruceroots' M, laʔd geka· kuʔʕ 'two  
 threads, sinews' M, laʔd geka· la·ʒ 'two  
 strings' M, laʔd qi·na· la·ʒ 'two (heavy) cords'  
 M, laʔd ʔeda· gah 'two days' M, 65.19A, laʔd  
 ʔa·na· kuʕa·w 'two heads' M, ʔaʔda·na qeʒah  
 'two months' M, laʔda·na ʔiʕ 'two mountains' M,  
 laʔda·na ʔu·neʒ ʕaʕeʔʕ kuseʒgî 'two cars' L,  
 laʔda·na ʕiyehd siʕ di·ʔyahî 'I have two extra  
 hats' L, laʔd leʒa· leʒedetieg 'two dice' L;  
 with -nu·, referring to humans (or anthrope=

morphized animals): laʔdnu· 'two (people)' LM, 6.1M, 8.4A, 18.49L, 23.2, 80, 24.25A, 31.2L, 32.2, 33.58, 58, 37b.24A, 38.2, 2LM, 47b.6, 33M, 47c.3, 47L, 49.1, 22, 32, 156, 61.52, 59, 100, 68.86, 99A, also 'twins' L, ʔannu· laʔdnu· xi·lseyu· 'those two shamans' 56.30L, laʔdnu· siaʔdah ʔuʔedeʔihimu· qeʔkseyu· 'two pretty women' M, laʔdnu· ʔu·d seiteh̄ 'two drunks, corpses lie there' L, with -nu·leyaʔ 'pair': laʔdnu·leyaʔ sahesi·h̄ 'two pairs of stockings' L, laʔdnu·leyaʔ si·h̄ 'two pairs of shoes' L, laʔdnu·leyaʔ caʔK 'two pairs of mitts' L, with de- 'ipse': delaʔdnu· 'the two (of us)' 62.120; as o of postpositions: laʔdaʔʔ (< laʔddaʔʔ) 'twice' L, 27b.1<sup>38, 45</sup>, 50.20A, laʔdaʔʔ ʔiseʔeʔʔi·h̄ 'he took two steps' ('he stepped twice') L, laʔdaʔʔ ʔiqeʔxiʔeʔʔ 'I'll take two steps' L, laʔdaʔʔ kuʔsektah̄ 'he (baby) took two steps' L, laʔdaʔʔ ʔuʔsiktah̄ 'I turned two pages of it' L, Galushia Nelson lá'ḍá'xi·yá' or lá'ḍáxi'd 'two-pronged fish-spear' ('double coming together') BSDL 549 laʔdaʔʔ ʔi·ʔah ('it extends twice?') L, laʔda·d (< laʔdda·d) 'two places' L, 25.30A, laʔda·d sefah̄ leʔf 'two boxes there' ('boxes which are in two places'), laʔda·d desefah̄

yahd 'two houses together' ('houses placed against  
 each other in two places') L, with -dah adverb-  
 ializer: laʔdah (< laʔddah) 'two ways (in two  
 languages)' 69.8A, laʔda· qahnu· cɿʔdeleh (-da·  
 of latter unusual variant?) 'they speak two lan-  
 guages, both languages' 69.7A; problematical  
 forms: laʔdaʔ wəx deleh 'there are two ways  
 to do it' ('it is done thus two ways') L (-daʔ  
 perhaps in error for -dah, see also daʔ ), X  
 laʔdiʔda·x ʔiɿda·x wəx deleh 'there are two  
 different ways to do it' L (cf. Ka·diʔda·x 'never',  
 Ka·dih ʔuda·x 'no use, futile'); as element in  
 complex numerals; laʔdicɿ· 'seven' (see cɿ·),  
 desa·xKa·d laʔdih 'twelve', laʔdih ɿʔdaʔx de-  
 sa·q 'one hundred' (see sa·).

luhd-luʔd-nuhd (luʔd in neuter of verb, nuhd with  
l-class-mark immediately preceding stem, luhd else-  
where)

-luhd--nuhd-g (adjective, usually with -g-repeti-  
tive thematized) 'few': independent or relati-  
vized in association with unclassified nouns: ya'-  
luhdg 'few, little (in number or quantity)' L,  
60.3A, Rezanov *Мало* 'Malo wenig' ya'luhd (on-  
ly attestation of repetitive with -g-repetitive  
lacking), *ка?*g ya'luhdg 'there's little fire-  
wood' M, *ʔi. ʔiyaʔ ʔuʔesituʔ, xu. siyaʔ* ya'-  
luhdg 'you've got plenty, I have (only) a few' L,  
in association with classified nouns: ya'deluhdg  
'few (boards)' L, 'few (eggs)' M, ya'ʔedeluhdg  
'few (matches, logs)' L, ya'leʔeluhdg 'few (ber-  
ries)' L, ya'lələuhdg, ya'ʔa'nuhdg 'few (things  
of l-class)' L; with special gl-class-mark for  
humans (used only with this stem and tuʔ 'many'):  
ya'gu'nuhdg 'few people' L, *čidweʔ* ya'gu'nuhdg  
'just a few people' L.

-luhd(-g)--luʔd (-luʔd in neuter imperfective and  
perhaps neuter perfective with thematized -g=  
repetitive lacking, elsewhere -luhd) 'S are, be-  
come few': *yiluʔd* 'they are few' L, *če'y qa'-*  
*ʔaʔ yiluʔd* 'we have too little, very little tea-

(-leaves)' ('tea is little "on", with us') L  
(neuter imperfectives), qa<sup>?</sup>luhdg 'they'll be  
few' L, si<sup>?</sup> seluhd<sup>?</sup> 'they became too few for  
me' L, Kus<sup>?</sup>luhdg<sup>?</sup> 'something is becoming few,  
scarce' L, with class-marks for S: xedi<sup>?</sup>lu<sup>?</sup>d<sup>?</sup>  
'they (matches) are few' L (neuter perfective),  
la<sup>?</sup>mahd la<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>luhdg 'berries are few, scarce' L  
(neuter imperfective), la<sup>?</sup>mahd <sup>?</sup>q<sup>?</sup>d la<sup>?</sup>sa<sup>?</sup>-  
luhdg<sup>?</sup> 'berries are getting to be few, scarce  
here' L, lis <sup>?</sup>q<sup>?</sup>d de<sup>?</sup>luhdg<sup>?</sup> 'trees are becom-  
ing few here' L, with special gl-class-mark for  
human S: da<sup>?</sup> geli<sup>?</sup>lu<sup>?</sup>d 'we are few, too few' L  
(neuter imperfective), da<sup>?</sup>x<sup>?</sup>hyu<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>q<sup>?</sup>d gu<sup>?</sup>sa<sup>?</sup>-  
luhdg<sup>?</sup> 'dogs are becoming few here' L (probably  
incorrectly used). Transitive (causative): si<sup>?</sup>  
se<sup>?</sup>luhd<sup>?</sup> 'you gave me too few' ('you caused them  
to be (too) few "on", for me') L.

le-luhd-g (as above, meaning not clearly distin-  
guished from that of above) 'S are, become few':  
siyah si<sup>?</sup> se<sup>?</sup>luhdg<sup>?</sup> 'I'm running short of  
grub' ('food is becoming (too) little "on", for  
me') L.

laʔt-ʔnaʔt (laʔt in noun (Rezanov naʔt), ʔnaʔt in verb)

-laʔt (noun, unclassified) 'tongue': Furuahjelm Khaletth 'tongue' probably to be read qa·laʔt, Rezanov Kamara 'Kамара Zunge' qa·naʔt 'our tongues, human tongue', Galushia Nelson kula·t (or kula·t) 'tongue' BSDL 541 kulaʔt 'a tongue' LMAS, silaʔt yiʔaʔʒ 'my tongue is tied, stiff (I can't pronounce it)' LS, silaʔt se-ʔahʒt 'my tongue got tied, stiff' L, ʔilaʔtʒ da·ʒ quʔʔaʔih 5l.20A, ʔilaʔtʔeʔde ... da·ʒ quʔʔaʔih 'you'll be tied up (to something) by your tongue' 5l.21A, ʔu·d da·ʒ quʔʔeʔeʔd, ʔilaʔtʔeʔde 'you'll be glued up to something there, by your tongue' 5l.23A, ʔulaʔt lahʒ ʔahdgih 'he keeps sticking his tongue out' L, ʔulaʔt siʔ lahʒ seʔahdʔih 'he stuck his tongue out at me' L, ʔulaʔt siʔ lahʒ qʔʔ ʔi·ʔʔihjh 'he's got his tongue sticking out at me' L, ʔulaʔt ʔew-yeʔ qaʔ ʔi·ʔʔihjh 'his tongue is hanging out' L, kulaʔtluw 'big tongue' L, kulaʔtʔa·w 'long tongue' M; na·ʔeglaʔt 'some kind of plant', perhaps 'mare's tail, horsetail (Equisetum)' ('goose-tongue') L (perhaps a calque on English 'goose-tongue (seaside plantain, Plantago maritima)', 'goosegrass').

le·t (Furuhjelm ne·t)

*perhaps related to ?lah*

le·t (noun, g-class) 'hair (of human head)' LMS,  
 Rezanov Iseeab 'Bopocm Haar' le·t, Galushia ✓  
 Nelson lā·t 'hair' BSDL 541, le·t ?u·d guse-  
 tahk 'a hair is there' L, ijhē guka· le·t  
 'one hair' L, ijhē gēka· le·t si·na?qēšahd  
 gušēša?ijh 'he pulled one hair out of my head'  
 M, le·t ?iʔa? yeʔ qu?gu·xiceʔ 'I'll cut your  
 hair' L, le·t siʔa? xuseʔa·dijh, le·t siʔa?  
 xuseʔa?gijh (latter preferred) 'he pulled my  
 hair' M (both verbs should probably be corrected  
 to gu-), le·t guka· yikēh 'it (e.g. chair)  
 is full of hair' L (guka· should probably be  
 omitted), le·t ?u·deʔyu·ga? ya? gu·ʔa? 'hairs  
 lie (extend) scattered every which way all over'  
 L, le·t ?uʔa? 'his hair' (not \*?ule·t) L,  
 qeʔkēeyu·ya? le·t 'women's hair' 23.19A, le·t=  
 geʔu? 'many hairs' M, le·tiguʔa·w 'long hair,  
 long-haired person' L, ?eʔa· le·tiguʔa·w daʔli·t-  
 xijh 'my what long hair she has!' L, le·tlah,  
 le·tguh 'around (her) hair' 49.33, 33fnA, ?aw  
 kuleqah qe·leʔ ?eda·g, le·tiguʔa·x 'the (severed)  
 head keeps walking back ashore, on its hair' 53.-  
 13L, le·tguʔeʔde ' (holding her) by the hair'  
 (gl-class-mark probably in error) 49.36A; le·t=

guṣaʔ yəʔ 'plant species, tall yellow flower'  
( 'medicine for hair' ) L; liɬda·dyaʔ le·ɬ 'black  
tree lichen, black beard moss' (Usnea barbata spe-  
cies, like liɬda·dʒeɬiʔsɬ·s or liɬgusɬ·x, but  
black) ( 'hair belonging on tree' ) L; le·ɬ gučuʔ  
'hummingbird' MA, 'dragonfly' L ( 'it steals hair' ).

-le·ɬ (noun, possessed form of above, authenticity  
doubtful) 'hair': ʔile·ɬ 'your hair' M (L re-  
jects, "can't say that", or e.g. \*kule·ɬ, \*sile·ɬ),  
Furuhjelm Inell 'beard' perhaps to be read  
ʔine·ɬ 'your hair', or perhaps form with l-ana-  
tomical, ʔɬ·ne·ɬ '(your?) face-hair'.

ʔɬ·sdile·ɬ (noun, unclassified) 'sawbill duck' M  
( 'merganser', i.e. 'American common merganser  
(Mergus merganser americanus), red-breasted mer-  
ganser (Mergus serrator serrator)', and perhaps  
also 'hooded merganser (Lophodytes cucullatus)'),  
ʔɬ·sdile·ɬluw 'big sawbill' M. Nominalized active  
perfective of verb theme, not otherwise used, l-  
de-le·ɬ with l-anatomical, 'S has hairs on head'  
(referring to merganser's crest).

ʔʷ.e ce-...-ʔ-ʔāt, -ʔak̄) (rest not known  
in Haudenosaunee, Wroblewski p. 112)

ʔlah̄t <sup>probably</sup> (perhaps historically \*-n-ʔah̄t > -ʔnah̄t > -ʔlah̄t,  
cf. Navaho ~~ciʔāl 'pillow'~~ <sup>general construction ciʔāl 'pillow'</sup>, Nav. o-i-ci-ni-l-ʔāt, n-ʔāt, -ʔāt  
(S. Wash. Comm. Head in s', Hupa)

O-ciʔ(1)--ciʔ(1)-ʔlah̄t (with archaic ciʔ-, ciʔl-,  
ciʔ-, or ciʔl-anatomical 'head', cf. Eyak -ciʔ  
'neck', Athapaskan -ciʔ 'head', in Rezanov per-  
haps also caʔ- or cyʔ-) 'S combs O's hair:  
xuciʔli-ʔlah̄t 'comb my hair!' L, ciʔli-ʔlah̄tj̄h  
'comb his hair!' L, ʔiqeʔciʔli-xlah̄t 'I'll comb  
your hair' L, ʔq̄h ciʔlaʔlah̄tj̄h 'he's combing  
her hair' L, diK̄ ʔq̄h ciʔlelah̄tj̄h 'he didn't  
comb her hair' L, Rezanov *Хуцангартъ* 'Чемъ  
кѣммен (Imperat.)' xuc...ʔlah̄t, exact identifi-  
cation of nasalized vowel and of tense aspect un-  
certain, '... comb... my hair'; reflexive: ʔed-  
ciʔla-daʔlah̄t 'comb your hair!' LMA, ʔedquʔ-  
ciʔxdaʔlah̄t 'I'll comb my hair' LM, ʔedciʔledaʔ-  
lah̄tj̄h, ʔedciʔdaʔlah̄tj̄h 'she's combing her hair' L,  
(that's what she's doing)' L, Rezanov *Амгартартъ*  
'Уекаръ кѣммен' ʔedciʔdaʔlah̄t 'he's combing his  
hair', Rezanov *Амгхтѣартъ* 'Уекаръ ʔ кѣмте'  
probably to be read ʔedciʔx̄(s)diʔlah̄t, ʔedciʔx̄-  
sdiʔlah̄t 'I combed my hair' L, diK̄ ʔedciʔxdaʔ-  
lah̄t 'I didn't comb my hair' L, ʔedciʔsdiʔlah̄-  
tj̄h 'she combed her hair' L, ʔeleʔgah̄ ʔedciʔ-  
lecediʔlah̄t 'I wish you'd comb your hair' L,

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'edšyħ cı'da'lah̄t, 'edcı'da'lah̄tjħšyħ 'is  
she combing her hair?' L, 'edqı'ħ cı'da'lah̄t  
'she's combing her hair

Nu. cı'da'lah̄t 3rd  
cı'da'lah̄t H<sub>2</sub> EAD  
ħi:ı'ħ L L YM, WM

~~comp~~

cı'ı(s)'ħħ

~~that~~  
ħaħ. ħi:ı'ħħ

ħaħ-ħi:ı'ħħ-ħi:ı'ħħ (ħi:ı'ħħ)  
ħaħ-ħi:ı'ħħ

ħyħ ħi:ı'ħħ-ħi:ı'ħħ(ħi:ı'ħħ)-ħi:ı'ħħ-ħi:ı'ħħ, -ħi:ı'ħħ  
ħi:ı'ħħ ħaħ-ħi:ı'ħħ ħaħ-ħi:ı'ħħ, ħi:ı'ħħ ħi:ı'ħħ  
ħi:ı'ħħ, -ħi:ı'ħħ ħaħ

ħi:ı'ħħ cı'ı'ħħ  
ħyħ ħi:ı'ħħ  
ħi:ı'ħħ ħi:ı'ħħ  
ħyħ cı'ı'ħħ(ħi:ı'ħħ)

O-ł-?na?č 1. (with -g-repetitive thematized)

'S licks O': ?eina?čg 'lick it!' LM, qu?xk=na?čg 'I'll lick it' M, qa?kna?čg 'it'll lick it' L, xkna?čg 'I'm licking it' M, with ya?č 'consumption, destruction': ya?č sex<sup>w</sup>kna?čg 'I'm licking it all up' 15.15M, siina?čg 'I licked it' L, ya?d ?ew seina?čg 'I licked it empty' L; reciprocal: ?ilu? ka?na?čg 'they're licking each other' L; Rezanov АГЯМНАТКЪ 'Ижара lecken' probably to be read ?edł...?na?čg implied -i-vowel of classifier inexplicable, de?a-?edka?na?čg 'snow which melts right away on ground' ('it itself licks itself (right up)') L, with y--anatomical: ?edyexka?na?čg 'I'm licking my hand' L; with indeterminate O and yeč-progressive: ?u=dekuhddelah yeč ?ila?na?čg 'it (dog) is licking its chops' ('it is licking around its lips') L.

2. Indirect reflexive with sa?d 'in one's (own) mouth' and yeč-progressive, 'S pushes O around in own mouth without eating O, sucks on O in mouth': sa?t yeč ka?na?čg 'he's pushing it around in his mouth without eating it' L.

ne·X

ne·X (adverb) 1. 'after (a space of time), after something else (in time), soon, later, by and by, in, after a while, in, after a moment, in due time, wait': 10.201, 21b.22, 39fn, 23.16A, 42.= 13L, 51.62a fn, 61.42, Rezanov Герцъ 'Эхо nach= her, später', Герцъхутълетель 'Объясъ ver= sprechen' "ne·X", wəx ʔuX delihih "soon", thus he says to him', ne·X kuzu qaʔiʔih 'soon he'll be good' L, ne·X qeʔeʔai·lah 'soon it'll be pretty' L, ne·X ge·leʔa·gdaʔ quʔeʔah 'soon it'll be noon' L, ʔuʕ yaʔ quʔyiʔyihih, ʔiqaʔ, ne·X 'you'll get used to him, your husband, after a while, soon, in due time' 72.8L, ne·X qaʔiseʔi 'soon it'll be evening' L, with conditional clauses, 'soon, when ..., as soon as ...': 10.233, 239A, with da- 'ipse': 11.112A, with -uh inanimate emphatic enclitic: Rezanov Герцъ 'Бочъ später' ne·Xuh 'later' L, 48.16L, "ne·Xuh" ʔiX delihih "pretty soon", he says to you' L, with suffixed -kih 'diminutive', as o of o-gaʔ 'like o': ne·Xkihgaʔ 'pretty soon, in a little while, shortly afterwards' L, 2b.12, 15, 18.6, 13, 22, 35, 62L, 23.35, 28.31, 36.24A, 40.6, 42.11L, ne·Xkihgaʔ ʔuʔ ʔuʔquʔdi·ʔah 'it'll be settled pretty soon' L.

2. 'for a while, moment (yet)': 10.134, 270, 270, 49.90, 62a fn, 'edqu'x'etacu'd, ne·X, cu'd=ga? ne·X 'edqu'x'etatu 'I'll nap for a while' L, ya? ne·X gu'iq·? (or gu'iq·?) 'stand up for a while!' L, di'a? ne·X sa·? 'stop (walking) for a while!' L, Rezanov ТУУТНЕТЯКЪОТЯНЪ 'Иостой bleib stehen (warte)!' de'u·d ne·X gu'iq·? 'stand right there a while!' L, with -uh enclitic: 23.16A, 48.16L, frequently with di'dah 'fairly, nicely, safely', here with little meaning: di'dah ne·X 'for a while yet' 10.232, 20.54, 55, 62, 21b.39fnA; in negative or prohibitive clauses, 'yet, quite yet': diX ne·X kuxšahs 'I'm not digging yet' L, ya'xu· ne·X qu'yiyah 'don't go yet' L, ya'xu· ne·X 'u·č q'i'yiyah 'don't go there quite yet' 10.232A.

3. 'before something else (in time), beforehand, first, originally': yaš ga'a·x'ie'əg, ne·X 'I'm shaking it (bottle of medicine), before (using)' M, 'əh ne·X q'ew x'p·əgu'k' 'he punched me first' M, əyes ne·X 'us first, we (saw it) first' M, q'ele? 'i· ne·X 'əwa· k'u-ša·ne· 'you eat some first!' L, 'uc'ida'd ne·X 'əwa· gu'xa'č 'first tie a knot at the end of it (thread)!' L, 'əh ne·X q'ew šdišh' 'he was the first killed' 28.108A, 'u'qehx ne·X

we·č̣i·nu· 'they weave first the bottom' 66.8L,  
 partly ambiguous in text: 49.90A, 21b.39fnA (with  
 diʔdah), 23.16A, 48.16L (with -uh enclitic);  
 frequently as o of o-da·-ɣ 'at the time of o,  
 when o (< 'movement within area of o'), ne·ŋ=  
 da·ɣ 'for the first time, first, original, the  
 first time, the first thing, in the beginning':  
 2a.24M, 10.245, 11.62, 36.29, 51.41A, 62.1, 9G,  
 68.6, 12, 18, 29, 85, 88A, Rezanov Нетъльтахъ  
 'Прежде früher, ehemals', q̣a·l ne·ŋda·ɣ kuquʔx=  
 delah 'this is my first drink' ('now for the first  
 time I'm drinking something') L, ʔəh ne·ŋda·ɣ  
 ỵḥḥ ʔuʔehd 'his first, original wife' 10.=  
 174A, 47c.55, 48.8L, with de- 'ipse', as o of  
 o-č̣ahd 'from o': dane·ŋda·ɣč̣ahd 'from the  
 very beginning, since the very first' L.

leɪ (possible unidentified stem in personal name, see  
caʔkeleima· under caʔk)

ʔiʃ ʔedciʔla·diʔlahʔ 'you should always comb  
your hair' L, ʔedciʔla·xdiʔlahʔwahd 'so that I  
might comb my hair' L, qeʔʔeəyu· ʔedciʔla·daʔ=  
lahʔ da·ʔ 'as women comb their hair' 23.10A  
(active conditional).

ciʔlahʔ (noun, unclassified, with archaic ciʔ=  
anatomical, as above, occasionally also cuʔlahʔ  
from L and especially M) 'pillow, comb': ciʔlahʔ  
'pillow' LMA, 25.11, 12A, 'comb' LM, cuʔlahʔ  
'comb' M, Rezanov Цымадаъ 'Греденъ Камъ', Galu-  
shia Nelson ʔsi'látʔ or ʔsi'látʔ 'wooden pil-  
low' BSDL 546, ciʔlahʔluw, cuʔlahʔluw 'big  
pillow, big comb' LM, ciʔlahʔtah (< ciʔlahʔ-t=  
tah) 'pillowcase' L, Rezanov Төөлүмүрмүтлэ  
'Подушка Kopfkissen' ʔeʔʔqciʔlahʔ, ʔeʔʔciʔlahʔ,  
ʔeʔʔqcuʔlahʔ, ʔeʔʔcuʔlahʔ 'feather- (down-)pil-  
low' M.

ʔux ʔedʔeciʔlaʔlahʔ (noun) 'comb' (as distinguished  
from 'pillow') LA. Deverbalized reflexive of ver-  
bal theme, probably with -t-instrumental, 'by  
means of it one combs one's hair'.

lah3-lahs-nahs-ʔiːʒ-;ʒ (initial optionally zero after  
 i-classifier, n- after ʒdl-class-mark, final -s be-  
 fore -d final, reduced ʔiːʒ-;ʒ)

lah3 (preverb) 'forward' 1. (not 'at, to sea'): 18.66L,  
 25.72, 27b.9fn, 33.37A, lah3 siːlahsɪ 'it (gun)  
 went off' L, 61.41A, lah3 ʔəd-qiːd-də-cuːx 'S  
 thrusts feet forward' 51.78, 79A, lah3 kuːle-  
 səxyaːɪ 'my stomach's getting bloated' L, lah3  
 səlasədəsaʔɪ 'sweep the floor from back to front  
 (toward door)!' M, -laʔt (o-ɕ) lah3 O-ʒahd(-g)  
 'S sticks tongue out (at o)', ʔulaʔt siɕ lah3  
 qɪʔ ʔiːiʔiːhɪh 'he's sticking his tongue out at  
 me' L, ʔuːnaʔd lah3 ʔələʔg 'pet its head for-  
 ward (toward nose)!' L, lah3 O-i-tik 'S grazes  
 O with arrow', deluʔ lah3 yeʒ dəʒahdɪ 'bureau  
 of drawers' L, lah3 diʔləʔuːe 'exhale!' L,  
 lah3 -ʔa 'S extends forward', ʔiːʒiʔdaʔ lah3  
 saːʔ 'go forward to bow (of boat)!' L, ʔiːʒiʔɕ  
 lah3 saːiːh 'he's going forward to the bow' L,  
 siyɛʒaʔɪ lah3 'forward along the heel of my  
 hand' L; in idioms: lah3 ʒaʔg 'they mistreat  
 him (jerk him forward)' 50.35A, gueʔ lah3 xu-  
 qeʒiːləe 'you torment me with lies (throw me for-  
 ward on deceit)' L, 10.155, 156A.

2. 'forward out to sea, out at sea, south':

11.94, 95, 96, 96a, 28.67, 73, 75, 80, 29.44, 47,  
53A, 46.3M, lah3 0-d-i-sa3-g 'S tows 0 forward  
out to sea' L, 28.72A, lah3 yeseiqa'i 'it's  
dawning in the south' 23.24A, qidga? lah3 de-  
xe-xk 'low-water mark' ('as far as water recedes  
forward') L, ta?x lah3 saxa'i 'I'm walking  
forward (deeper) in water' L.

o-lah3--lahs--nahs- (postposition, -s- with  
-d final, -n- with <sup>attached with yaq, -d, -n- -d final</sup> xdl-class-mark) 'forward, in  
front of, on open side of, out to sea from, south  
of': silah3 yaq? sete? 'lie down to sleep on  
outside (of bed, not wall-side) of me!' M, with -d  
final 'at rest': silahsd yaq? sete? (as pre-  
ceding) L, silahsd 'in front of me' L, ?awlahsd  
yaq? seta? 'set it down in front of it!' L, ?aw-  
lahsd setahi 'it's in front of it' L, silahsd  
guseiqa'i 'he's standing in front of me' L, si-  
lahsd sedahi 'he who's sitting in front of me'  
L, tshye'i'nahsd 'outside the waves, breakers'  
37a-21L, with -dex final 'movement within':  
28.2A, silahsdey (?es) sahi 'it went (complete-  
ly) by in front of me' L.

se-i-lah3--ah3--lahs- (as above, with se-i- 'of a  
series' as o) 'foremost, furthest forward of a series,  
furthest out to sea, southernmost': as o of o-ya?

'into o with broad opening at top, as body of  
 water' or perhaps ?eya?- 'that which is': se=  
 lahjeya? place-name, eastern part of Copper River  
 delta, probably between Koquenhena and Softuk LS,  
 with -d final 'at rest': səlahsd sətahì  
 'it's (in position at) the first in line, now' L.  
 ʒə-lahs-d (as above, with ʒə- 'area' as o, at=  
 tested only nominalized with -d final) 'out to  
 sea, south, "outside" (over the Gulf of Alaska)':  
 ʒəlahsd 'outside, overseas, south, in Seattle' L,  
 'out at sea' 11.97, 97A, 21a.18, 24L, 64.16, 'in  
 front' 25.28A, place-name, village at Boswell Bay,  
 cannery site ('outside') L, Galushia Nelson xð=  
 lá·st BSdL 544, laʔdih ʒəlahsd ya· ʔuxʔ·hijah  
 ʔəwa· ka·dih 'two of his front teeth are missing'  
 L, ʒəlahsd dəʔp̄hyu· "'outside" people, non--  
 Alaskans' L, ʒəlahsɬa·c (< ʒə-lahs-d-la·-c)  
 'white man', see under la·-na·<sup>1</sup>, Rezanov ХАЛХУТ  
 КОМАНДЕРА 'Государь' [Russen-Beherrscher] ʒəlahsd  
 (archaic ʒəlahsd ?) kuleʔ ʔi·t̄ih̄ih 'overseas  
 chief', ʒəlahsdəʔəda·q̄d place-name, Egg Islands  
 ('on outside (as ʒd-class o)') L, Galushia Nelson  
 xəlá·stəxítá·qt BSdL 544, ʒəlahsdəʔəhd (~~or ʒə=  
 lahsdəʔəhd~~) ʔidi·h̄ʔah 'wind is coming from off  
 ocean, southerly' L, ʒəlahsdəʔəhd ʔidaʔ·səhʔaʔh

'wind is starting to come from off ocean' L,  
xalahsdada? 'to (arrival at a point) out at sea'  
21a, 23L.

-ʔi·3--;3-kih (kinship noun, non-ascending, -i;3-  
> -i·3-, -u;3- > -u·3-, otherwise -ʔi·3-,  
reduced postpositional phrase, nominalized, with  
-kih 'diminutive, affectionate', cf. -caʔ-kih  
'(woman's) older sister' and -dece·ʔ 'younger  
sibling' under det; L frequently -ʔi·3--·3-  
with loss of nasalization) '(woman's) brother':  
s:<sup>n</sup>ski 'older brother (woman speaking)' BSdL 566A  
s:<sup>i</sup>·3kih 'my brother' (older or younger, woman speak-  
ing) LMA (also used in direct address L), ʔq  
ca:<sup>i</sup>·3ihx lah ʔi·3kih 'your youngest brother' 18. =  
59L, ʔu·3kih 'her brother' LM, 18.56L, ku·3kih  
'the (woman's) brother' 18.50, 57, 67, 80L, qa· =  
ʔi·3kih 'our brother' (women speaking) LM, sia-  
t:<sup>n</sup>ski 'wife's older brother (man speaking)' BSdL  
567A siʔehdʔi·3kih 'my wife's brother' L, s:<sup>n</sup>s-  
kiat 'older or younger brother's wife (woman  
speaking)' BSdL 517A s:<sup>i</sup>·3kihʔehd 'my brother's  
wife' (woman speaking), s:<sup>n</sup>skicia 'younger brother  
(woman speaking)' BSdL 566A s:<sup>i</sup>·3kihšiyah 'my bro-  
ther' (woman speaking, perhaps slightly pejorative),  
s:<sup>i</sup>·3kihseyu· 'my brothers' (woman speaking) 34.6fnL,

ʔi·ʒkihyu· 18.71L, ʔi·ʒkihseyu· 18.60L,  
 ʔi·ʒkihseyu· 'your brothers' (to woman) 20.68,  
 29.39A, ʔu·ʒkihseyu· 18.80, 86L, ʔy·ʒkihseyu·  
 'her, their brothers' 9.116, 116, 116, 121, 161,  
 20.45, 48, 60, 89, 29.27A, Ky·ʒkihseyu· 'the  
 (woman's, women's) brothers' 9.154, 29.33A, se·-  
 dgeʒeʒ ʔi·ʒkihseyu· 'the magpie(-girl)'s brothers'  
 9.116A, with suffixed -kih 'diminutive, affec-  
 tionate': sɿ·ʒkihkih 'my little sister' (Scar  
 Stevens called L this) L.

ʔi·ʒ-iʔ- (postpositional phrase, < <sup>ʔi·Navaho ná·s-e'</sup> <sup>omere, longhouse'</sup> \*neʒ-ʔeʔ-,  
 with reduced form of preverb lahʒ as o of post-  
 position o-ʔeʔ 'in place of o'; sometimes ʔi·-  
 ʒ-iʔ- with assimilation to nasal, L frequently  
 ʔi·ʒ- with loss of nasalization) 1. 'in bow of  
 boat' with -d final 'at rest': ʔi·ʒiʔd səlahi  
 'they (things) are in the front (of the boat)' L,  
 ʔi·ʒiʔd səlahiʔh 'he's sitting in the bow' L,  
 with -daʔ final 'arrival at': ʔi·ʒiʔdaʔ lahʒ  
 sə·ʔ 'go forward to the bow!' L, with -eʔ final  
 'continuous motion toward': ʔi·ʒiʔeʔ lahʒ sə·ʔh  
 'he's going forward to the bow' L.

2. With -ʒ final 'movement within', 'for-  
 ward, in front, out to sea, overseas, south, to  
 Seattle': ʔi·ʒiʔʒ 'south' LA, ʔi·ʒiʔʒ ku·y

'southerly wind (from off ocean)' LS, ʔi·ʒiʔɣ  
 ʔəiəɣg 'paddle forwards!' L, ʔi·ʒiʔɣ ʔiqeʔ  
 'boat forwards!' L, ʔi·ʒiʔɣ sələda·i 'it (duck)  
 is swimming in front (of boat)' L, ʔi·ʒiʔɣ yə·ʔ  
 λa·səɣaʔɣi 'it fell over frontwards' L, ʔi·ʒiʔɣ  
 ʔiseiʔahk 'he travelled south' L, ʔi·ʒiʔɣ kʉ=  
 yeɣaʔ sihteik 'I sent him away to Seattle' M,  
 ʔi·ʒiʔɣ ya·ləɣəciɣg 'pear' ('narrow toward the  
 front') L.

o-ʔi·ʒ---;ɣ-iʔ-d (postpositional phrase, as above,  
 attested with -d final only) 'in front of o (per=  
 son, in boat?), in front, bow of o (boat)': ʔy·=  
 ʒiʔd yaʔ ʔade· 'sit in its bow!' L, sɿ·ʒiʔd  
 yaʔ ʔade· 'sit in front of me (in boat)!' L (un=  
 certain).

lic' (expanded li·c'; perhaps to be identified with  
lic'-led')

le-lic' 'S is, becomes smooth, slick, slippery':

slic'lic' 'it got smooth, it's slippery' L, se-

lic'lic' 'it's getting smooth' L, qu<sup>?</sup>lic'lic' 'it'll

be smooth' L, with d-class-mark for S; dilic'lic'

'it (ice) is slippery' L (neuter perfective).

Transitive (causative): <sup>?</sup>ellic' L, sellic'

'smooth it!' LM, with d-class-mark for O: dex-

lic', dexellic' (latter preferred) 'I'm smooth-

ing it (table)' L.

el-le-lic' (with el-thematic 'ground') 'S (ground)

is, becomes smooth, slick, slippery': e<sup>q</sup>-sli-

lic'lic' 'the ground is smooth, slick, slippery' L,

e<sup>q</sup>-leli·c'lic' 'ground (cust) gets slippery' L. Other

forms, implying el-lic' and el-de-lic' earlier

given by L and M, later rejected by L: e<sup>q</sup>-selic'lic'

L, e<sup>q</sup>-edilic'lic' 'ground is smooth' LM (both later

rejected with conviction by L).

lič-łeč (pronounced łeč by Sampson Harry, a Yakutat Tlingit, not an Eyak-speaker; perhaps to be identified with lič)

łeč place-name, at Fountain Stream, near Sitkagi Bluffs of Malaspina Glacier in vicinity of Yakutat, 59°43' N, 140°10' W, from Sampson Harry. Probably of Eyak origin, voiced l lacking in Tlingit, glottalized č lacking in Eskimo; stem probably to be identified with following.

ʔi:łlič, ʔi:łlič̚ (noun) 'cliff, steep "smooth" cliff' L. Nominalized neuter imperfective or neuter perfective of theme ł-łič, meaning unknown, but associated by L with łe-łič 'S is smooth'.

## ʔliʔd

-ʔliʔd (not freely used, attested only in active perfective) 'S is, becomes wet': saʔliʔdɛ̃ 'it got wet' L.

de-ʔliʔd 'S is, becomes wet' (meaning not distinguished from that of preceding): sdiʔliʔdɛ̃ 'it's wet, it got wet' L, 5l.46A, sdiʔliʔdɛ̃ɪh 'he (baby) is wet, wet self (with urine)' LM, xadiʔliʔdɛ̃ 'I got wet' L, sdiʔliʔdɛ̃ ɬaʔg 'green wet wood' L, siɣaʔ kʊsdiʔliʔdɛ̃ 'my clothes got wet' ('something got wet "on", with me') L, quʔdaʔliʔd 'you'll get wet' L, quʔxdaʔliʔd 'I'll get wet' L, sdikusɣyaʔ ʔediɣ ɬaʔaʔ, ɬeʔ ɬedaʔliʔdɛ̃=dəwaʔ 'bring the laundry in before it gets wet again!' L, dəʔu·d ʔidiʔliʔd 'never mind let it get wet' L, repetitive: daʔliʔdɣɪh 'he keeps getting wet' L, with dl-class-mark for S: ɣaʔ=sdiʔliʔdɛ̃ 'it (net) got wet' L. Transitive (causative): ɬɛ̃liʔd 'get it wet!' MA.

ʔed-de-ʔliʔd (reflexive of unattested O-ʔliʔd 'S wets O', de-classifier perhaps in error for ɬe-) 'S (baby) wets self (with urine)': ʔedsdiʔliʔdɛ̃ɪh 'he (baby) wet himself' L.

liʔd (noun, unclassified, gerundive) 'dampness': liʔdyaʔɣ 'to prevent, avoid dampness' L.

lis (resemblance to Russian лес 'woods, forest' probably purely coincidental)

lis (noun, usually d-class, occasionally unclassified) 'tree (generic), spruce' M, 23.136, 37b.51, 56A, 63.20G, 68.15, 33A, 71.5LM, Rezanov Имца 'Дерево Baum', Имца 'Лес Wald', Wrangell Имца 'Wald', Furuuholm Лис 'wood', Galushia Nelson l:·s· 'forest' BSdL 540, Keta'lu· lis 'big tree' BSdL 553 Keda'luw lis, Kudešiyah lis 'no-good tree' L, t̄t̄x qa'o'Da'qa'De'· lis '"green (grass) looks-like tree" (i.e. tree is green)' BSdL 558 M̄ih̄ga? ʔuʔdesedaʔeh lis, lis ʔq·d deseluhd̄ḡt̄ 'trees are getting to be few here' L, lis yq·ʔ la·seʔaʔt̄ 'tree fell over' L, yq· la·sekuḡt̄ lis 'wind-fallen trees' 68.14A, lis ʔu·d desetaht̄ (or -ʔah̄t̄ former perhaps preferred) 'a spruce lies there' L, lis sič di·ʔaʔ (or -taʔ) 'give me a spruce!' L, laʔd da· lis 'two spruce trees' M, lisdatuʔ 'lots of spruce' M, lis ʔuxeda·q̄d Ku·t̄eh place-name, Egg Island ('there are trees on it (x̄d-class)') L; as o of postpositions and in compounds, with d-class-mark: lisda·q̄ yq·ʔ sedah̄t̄ 'he alighted on a tree' 11.194A, lisda·q̄yaʔ le·t̄ 'black beard lichen' ('hair which

belongs on tree') L, *lisda·q̄esiʔaʃ·s* 'grey beard  
 lichen' ('mold on tree') L, *lisda·ʃ səʔxi·ʔ* 'tie  
 it to a tree!' L, *lisdeč ʔaw ʔaxi·ʔ* 'tie it  
 (directly) to a tree!' L, *lisdeč ʔi·ʔʔ* 'look  
 at the tree!' M, *lisdeyexd 16.26M*, *lisdeyex*  
 'under a tree' 49.38A, *lisdeyaʔ da· ʔaʔč* 'we're  
 going for some spruce' L, *lisdeciʔdaʔd* 'tree tips  
 (extremities of branches)' L, *lisdeyaʔd* 'inside  
 (hollow standing) spruce' L, *lisdeyeq̄d* 'inside  
 (hollow prone) spruce' L, *ʔew lisdeyaq̄eč sə·ʔ*  
 'it's going into a (hollow prone) spruce' L, *lis-*  
*deyaq̄ q̄eʔaʔnik* 'woodworm' ('worms in spruce,  
 tree') L, *lisdeixelah* 'some part of tree' L, see  
*ʔelah*, *lisdetah* 'spruce-bark' L, Galushia Nelson  
*li·stáDáx̄s̄<sup>n</sup>* or *li·stáDéx̄s̄<sup>n</sup>* 'Tree Man' BSdL 544,  
*listáDáx̄s̄<sup>n</sup>·iyd* 'Tree People' BSdL 308 *lisde-*  
*ʔphyu· 37b.54A*, as preceding, without *d*-class-  
 mark: *lisci· S*, *lisyaʔ ci·y* 'tree-branches'  
 50.22A; *lisyaʔ ci·xi·nex* 'with a tree-limb' 11.  
 144A, *lisyaʔ ʔa·ʔ* 'spruce-boughs' A, 68.12A,  
*lisyaʔ əphdgi* 'spruce-needles' 11.116A, Har-  
 rington from G: *lijsyaʔq̄iht̄* 'bracket fungus,  
 conk', to be read *lisyaʔ səhd̄t̄*, incorrect,  
 probably blend of *lisyaʔ əphd̄t̄* and *lisyaʔ*  
*q̄ahd̄t̄*, *lisyaʔ gahs* 'spruce-pitch' 51.30, 31A,

lisʔabɔ 'from spruce' 51.28, 68.35A, liscjʔ  
 'extremities of tree (tips of branches, top)' L,  
 liscjʔdaʔʔ qəʔaʔyah 'chickadees' ('pl. fly at  
 extremities of trees') L, 7.11, 39A, lisqaʔd  
 ʔj·sdiyahi 'he got entangled amongst the trees'  
 L, lisyəq̄ deə geli·ʔah place-name, above  
 Eyak cannery on Eyak River ('(water) flows upland  
 into trees') L, lisyəq̄uh 'small spruce, sapling'  
 A, lisgusaʔ 'tree-bark and -sap', see saʔ<sup>l</sup>,  
 lisgusj·k̄ 'grey beard lichen', see sj·k̄; with  
 ku·l-anatomical 'belly, widest part': lisky·daʔ=  
 luw 'tree big at base' L; with dl-class-mark:  
 Harrington l̄istl̄ak̄h̄l̄ 'spruce balls, tips of  
 boughs' lisʔa·kih ('little (dl- or l-class)  
 spruce', l-mark perhaps anatomical, form not veri-  
 fied); Rezanov Яремчанка 'Marta Mastbaum' pro-  
 bably to be read yahdeyaʔdelis ('skiff-tree'),  
 not known to L, see yahdeyaʔdaʔʔ.

ʔedelis (noun, d-class) 'spruce' (as distinguished  
 from 'tree') ('genuine lis, lis par excellence')  
 L, Galushia Nelson d'Ḑéli·s 'spruce' BSDL 540.  
 lis deahʔg (noun, unclassified) 'woodpecker'  
 ('it bangs on trees') L (probably 'Valdez downy  
 woodpecker (Dendrocopos pubescens glacialis)'  
 and/or 'northern three-toed woodpecker (Picoides

tridactylus fasciatus'). Harrington records from  
G listukuk<sup>w</sup>, listukkuk<sup>w</sup> 'woodpecker, lit. tree  
pecker', to be read lis degug, but this form  
is incorrect, due to the influence of Tlingit  
gandadagúg and perhaps also Eyak 0-gu<sup>w</sup> 'S  
punches, knocks on 0 with fist'.

ʔlahs (perhaps borrowed from Tlingit n̄s- 'intestines')

-ʔlahs (noun, qi·di-class, perhaps also unclassified) 'intestines, guts': Rezanov Кожага 'Кожки Eingeweide' kuʔlahs 'intestines' A, siʔlahs 'my intestines' L, kuʔlahsʔa·w M, kuʔlahs-qi·la·ʔa·w 'long intestines' L.

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-lič stem occurring only in qedilič (noun, unclassified), 'gray cod (*Gadus macrocephalus*)' LM, also, less frequently, qedelič LMS, earlier also sadilič, Rezanov Кавезьскучь (with second vertical stroke of ж blotted, resembling ш) 'Трещка Kabeljau', probably to be read qedilič, for prefix see qedi<sup>2</sup>; qediličyaquhyu· 'cod-like fish species, smaller than cod' (not young of qedilič) L (perhaps various lingcod, hake, greenling, pollack species).

ni·č (closely associated by L and M with ni·k, but the historical authenticity of such a relationship is quite uncertain, no other č-k alternations attested, perhaps also related to ni·sq)

-ni·č (noun, perhaps, archaically, d-class, see subentries below) 'nose'? IM (both uncertain).

-ni·č-d-ł-xa?č-ł (noun) 'septum of nose', also

-ni·k-d-ł-xa?č(-g)-ł, see x<sup>w</sup>a?č-xa?č.

-ni·č-d-ł-gahs(-ł) (noun, perhaps d-class, see

gahs '(spruce-) pitch', -d- perhaps d-class mark for -ni·č, or perhaps d-thematic) 'pink substance

of unknown origin': qa·ni·č?ədəłgahs 'a special kind of sticky pitch-like substance which turns

pink when chewed, often chewed as gum' L (L later uncertain as to exact nature or origin of substance,

perhaps also qa·ni·k?ədəłgahs, 'nose-pitch?'),

most authentically attested as o of o-ga? 'like

o', here 'like o (in color)' in qa·ni·č?ədəłgahs-ł-

ga? gəli·təh L, qa·ni·č?ədəłgahsga? gəli·təh

'some kind of pinkish dye' L, 66.10L ('it (bright-colored liquid) is like nose-pitch(?) in color',

also perhaps qa·ni·k?ədəłgahsga? gəli·təh L).

le·č (usually -le·č-i with thematized -i-suffix, perhaps gerundive, and thus related to le, cf. 3e, -še·č-i; or perhaps not to be thus analyzed, cf. Navaho -niš--niš, Chipewyan -niš, Minto -~~niš~~ 'to pluck')

0-i-le·č-i (with -i-suffix thematized as part of stem) 'S picks O (berries)' (no l̄-class-mark for O): ?əile·č-i 'pick berries' L, ca?x̄ ile·č-iinu· 'they're picking blueberries' 20.2A, ?ew ile·č-iñ 'she's picking them (berries)' 20.3A, x̄ile·č-i 'I'm picking berries' L, kuile·č-i 'was berrypicking' 47b.27M, da· kuqa?ile·č-i 'we'll go berrypicking' L, kuqa?x̄ile·č-i 'I'll go berrypicking' M, qu?x̄ile·č-i 'I'll pick berries' L, siile·č-i 'I picked berries' L, səile·č-iinu· 'they'd picked berries' 18.2L, de?wəx̄ səile·č-i 'they're still picking berries' 20.3A, hi?q̄ ču·q̄ya? la?mahd̄ əux̄ile·č-i da·x̄ 'when I pick all the "alderberries"' 34.30L, da· kuile·č-ix̄ 'we (cust) pick berries' L; with ɣd-class-mark for O (əədəq̄əȳ·y 'fog') in figurative use: x̄edi·ile·č-i 'gather it (fog) by handfuls (into your hat)!' (in order to make fog lift, a custom) L; passive: sdiile·č-i 'they (berries) have been picked' L, hi?q̄ siile·č-i (or sdi-) 'they



lu·č

-lu·č (noun, d-class) 'inside of cheek, soft part of cheek': silu·č 'inside of my cheek, soft part of my cheek' L, Kulu·č 'inside of one's cheek' LMA, Rezanov KAKXOYA 'Eeka Wange' qa·lu·č 'inside of our cheeks, of human cheek', KAKXOYATEXA 'Дека Zahnfleisch' qa·lu·čedeyəq̄ or -ədi·ʔq̄ 'inside of our (inside) cheeks' (Tlingit entry is Karyšmry to be read qa waštó 'inside of human cheeks', not 'gums'), ʔulu·čda·q̄d 'on his cheek' M, Kəlu·čədəkəʔd 'inside cheek at corner of one's mouth' L, ʔu·d ʔilu·čədəkəʔd yaʔ ʔete· 'leave it (tobacco) inside your cheek!' L.

leʔg-leʔg<sup>w</sup>-uʔg-(l)ug (in forms immediately preceded by ɬ-classifier, initial l- lacking and vowel shifted to u, except in one form from Rezanov perhaps implying -ɬ-eʔg; Rezanov otherwise implies in two instances leʔg, in three ambiguously leʔg<sup>w</sup> or leʔg-uh, and in three others unambiguously leʔg<sup>w</sup>, an archaism that helps explain the vowel alternation; reduced form (l)ug, regularly used only in repetitives, usual in repetitives of transitives, rare in repetitives of intransitives; in transitives with ɬe-- classifier vocalized from ɬ-, the stem is usually leʔg, but analogical luʔg is also frequent (spreading, for A, into transitives with zero-classifier), resulting in alternations to which L and A inconsistently try to attribute some distinctions in meaning; expanded form always leʔg, in frequent use independent of -k'-customary)

-leʔg--leʔg<sup>w</sup> (intransitives, usually with various postpositional phrases, according to which the occurrences are here classified, then subclassified for repetitives and forms with expanded stem; reduced stem -lug- is attested in the repetitive of only one instance, under lb.) 1. 'S moves hand(s), acts with hand(s)' a.: with no postpositional phrases or locative preverbs,

'S gropes (along)': de?weʒ ʔileʔg 'just grope (along)' 27b.31, 31A; with yaʔʒ 'upward': ʒi-ʃ yaʔʒ seleʔg 'reach you hand up over there!' M, with (taʔd) ya·nuʔ(-ʃ) '(repeated motion) under surface (of water)': taʔd ya·nuʔ ʔele·gkʲh 'he'd (cust) reach his hand down underwater' 56.-2L, ʒe·ya·nuʔ ʔadele·gkʲh 'he'd (cust) reach his hand back down underwater' 56.5L, o-luʔqa·ʔuʒaʔ ya·nuʔʃ ʔele·gkʲh 'he'd (cust) reach his hand down underwater to get his o' 56.16L, with taʔʒ '(motion) in water' and yeʒ-progressive: taʔʒ yeʒ xdeleʔgʒ 'I work with my hands in water' L.

1b. Repetitive, with reduced stem: with taʔʒ as above and yeʒ 'downward': taʔʒ yeʒ ʔelugg 'keep dipping your hands in water!' L.

2. With o-ʃ 'toward o', 'S touches, molests, bothers, hurts, lays hands on o' a.: active imperative: ʔuʃ ʔeleʔgʲh 'go over to him!, pick him up!' M (glosses probably loose), Rezanov ʔuʒaʒero 'Вашъ nehmen' ʔu·ʃ ʔeleʔgu·h or ʔuʃ ʔeleʔg<sup>M</sup> 'touch it!', inceptive imperfective: yaʔʒu· ʔuʃ ʒiʔyileʔg 'don't touch it!' 10.7, 11.163A, Rezanov ʒoxʒaxkoxʒekʒ 'Нерошь anrühren, rühr' (mich?) nicht an!' yaʔʒu· siʃ ʒuʔyileʔg

IM, yaʔxu· sič qiʔyileʔg 'don't touch me!,  
 don't hurt me!' MS, ʔuč quʔxleʔg 'I'll touch  
 it' L, with qaʔ 'up out': yidigeš leʔč qaʔ  
 qaʔleʔg 'Bogeyman will (come up out of the ground  
 and) get you' 39.3L, inceptive perfective: daqaʔg  
 ʔuč saleʔgš 'the fire is reaching her' 34.7OM  
 (used figuratively here, perhaps incorrectly), ac-  
 tive perfective: ʔəhč saleʔgših 'he touched her'  
 47b.45M, yidigeš ʔuč qaʔ saleʔgših 'Bogeyman  
 (came up out of ground and) got her' 39.4L, diK  
 ʔəhč ʔesleʔgšš 'didn't touch, hurt, bother him'  
 19.29L, diK ʔəhč qeʔ ʔesdeleʔgšših 'he didn't  
 bother her anymore' 4.2OM, ʔuč sileʔgš 'I touched  
 it' L, sič saleʔgših 'he molested, hurt me' L;  
 indirect reciprocal: ʔičš sdileʔgšinu· 'they're  
 fighting with each other; they're having a war' L.

2b. Repetitive, with non-reduced stem: sič  
 leʔggših 'he's bothering, hurting me' L, diK ʔič  
 ʔexleʔggš, diK ʔič xleʔggš 'I'm not bothering,  
 hurting you' L, šič sič leʔggših 'she keeps  
 hurting me' L.

2c. With expanded stem, attested only from  
 M: ʔuč ʔeleʔgših 'go over to him!, pick him up!'  
 M (glosses probably loose), yaʔxu· sič qiʔyi-  
 leʔg 'don't touch me!' M.

2d. Repetitive, with expanded stem, in-  
direct reciprocal:  $\text{hi}^{\text{c}} \text{?i}^{\text{c}} \text{dale}^{\text{c}}\text{gginu}^{\text{c}}$   
'they're always fighting' L.

3. With o-da? 'to (actual arrival at) o':  
 $\text{?uda? sile}^{\text{c}}\text{g}^{\text{c}}$  'I moved my hand to it' L,  $\text{Kude}^{\text{c}}$   
 $\text{?uda? ?exle}^{\text{c}}\text{gk}^{\text{c}}$  'I (cust) can't reach it' L.

4. With o-x 'in contact with o':  $\text{?ux}$   
 $\text{sele}^{\text{c}}\text{g}$  'touch it!' L,  $\text{?iyahd}^{\text{c}}\text{a}^{\text{c}}\text{ne}^{\text{c}}$   $\text{sile}^{\text{c}}\text{g}^{\text{c}}$  'my  
hand touched, brushed a hat' L,  $\text{siya}^{\text{c}}\text{x}$   $\text{sele}^{\text{c}}\text{g}^{\text{c}}\text{?ih}$   
'he touched my hand' L.

5. With o-?p.? 'coming upon o':  $\text{Kude}^{\text{c}}$   
 $\text{?aw}^{\text{c}}\text{p}^{\text{c}} \text{?esle}^{\text{c}}\text{g}^{\text{c}}\text{?ih}$  'he (groping) couldn't find  
them, groped in vain for them' 4.4M.

6. With o-Kah 'away from o': active im-  
perative:  $\text{siKah} \text{?ele}^{\text{c}}\text{g}$  'leave me alone!, unhand  
me!, release me!, let me go!' LS, 4.14, 14M, 37b.-  
32A, Rezanov  $\text{Cuxaaxery}$  'Игоря loslassen, Imperat.  
lass (mich?) los!'  $\text{siKah} \text{?ale}^{\text{c}}\text{g}^{\text{w}}$  (not to be  
read -guh),  $\text{?ewKah} \text{?ale}^{\text{c}}\text{g}$  'leave it alone!'  
21b.31A,  $\text{?uKah} \text{?ele}^{\text{c}}\text{g}$  'let it go!, release it!'  
L,  $\text{?uKah} \text{?ele}^{\text{c}}\text{le}^{\text{c}}\text{guh}$  'pl. leave them be!' 60.-  
7A, active perfective: 20.57, 25.132, 133, 133,  
37b.42, 42, 62, 64A,  $\text{siKah} \text{?e}^{\text{c}} \text{sdile}^{\text{c}}\text{g}^{\text{c}}$  'he  
released me' 37b.53A,  $\text{cu}^{\text{c}}\text{leKah} \text{sele}^{\text{c}}\text{g}^{\text{c}}\text{?ih}$  'he  
(baby) has been weaned' ('he's given up the

breast') L, active optative: sikah ?i·le?gwahd  
 'so he'd release me' 37b.61A, inceptive condition-  
 al: sikah si·le?g da·x 37b.31A, sikah qe?  
 sedele?g da·x 'if you release me' 37b.31, 32A,  
 active subjunctive: qa·kah ?ele?gx 'that they  
 should leave us alone' 25.172A, customary: diK  
 ?awkah ?ele·gKs 'they wouldn't (cust) let go of  
 it' 28.109A.

7. With o-d 'separated from o': sid  
 sele?g 'leave me alone!, don't bother me!' L,  
 ?uded ?ele?g 'let it go!, unhand it (table)!'  
 L, ?u·d ?uled ?ele?g 'leave it (hat) there!'  
 L, de?elga?kih ?p·e? ?id qu?xle?g 'I'll leave  
 you here a little while', ?u·da? ?id qe? qu?x-  
 dale?g 'then I'll release you' <sup>34.14</sup> L, with o-e  
 'toward o, to o': ?i? ?ud qu?xle?g 'I'll leave  
 it with you' L, 'I'll grant it (power) to you'  
 61.11, 18A, de?u·e? ?ahd sele?g?ih 'he left her  
 right there' 4.19M, ?ahd qe? sdile?g?ih 'he  
 released her' 37a.20L, ?ew ?u? ?ud sile?gi  
 'I left it with him' L, sid sele?g?ih 'he left  
 me alone, stopped bothering me' L, de?p·e? sid  
 sele?gi 'they left me here' 20.16A.

8. With o-ta's 'over, across o': sita's  
 sele?g 'put your arm around me!' LM, Rezanov

Цыракажэгу 'Обнять умармен' sita's sele'g<sup>w</sup>  
(not to be read -guh).

9. With o-q' 'on o' a.: with li' 'from front end toward back end': ?uq' li' sile'gɬ 'I petted, stroked it (one stroke)' ('all the way down to its tail, sounds like') L, with o-l-q' 'on o's head': ?u·na?q' li' ?ele'g 'pet, stroke its head!' L, ?u·na?q' li' sile'gɬ 'I petted it' A, with lahɣ 'forward from back toward front': ?u·na?q' lahɣ ?ele'g 'pet its head (opposite of usual direction)!' L, with yɣ·? 'down': ?u·na?q' yɣ·? sele'g 'put your hand down on its head!' L, si·na?q' yɣ·? sele'gɬih 'he touched the top of my head' M, with yeɣ-progressive: o-q' yeɣ dele'gɣih 'he feels, gropes around on it' 9.88, 32.6A, ?uq' yeɣ xdele'gɣ 'I felt around on it' 32.37, 41A, 'I'm touching it all over' L, Rezanov ʔxaxexexerəo ʔymara betasten' ?uq' yeɣ ?edele'guh L (or possibly ?uq' yeɣ ?edele'g<sup>w</sup>), ?uq' yeɣ ?edele'g 'feel around on it!, palpate it!' L.

9b. With expanded stem: ?uq' li' ?ele·g 'pet it!' LM, ?u·na?q' li' ?ele·g 'pet it(s head)!' A, ?uq' li' qu?xle·g 'I'll pet it' LM, 'I'll stroke it' M, ?u·na?q' li' qu?xle·g 'I'll

pet it(s head)' A, ?i·naʔd liʔ quʔxle·g 'I'll  
pet you(r head)' A, ?uʔ liʔ xle·g 'I'm petting  
it' L, ?uʔ liʔ sile·gʔ 'I petted it (several  
strokes)' L; indirect reflexive, with yeʔ-pro-  
gressive: ?edʔ yeʔ dele·gʔ 'he (cust) feels,  
gropes around on himself' 36.32A.

10. With o-yeʔ 'in o (not with broad  
opening at top)': a.: with o-l-yeʔ-č '(conti-  
nuous movement) into o's head': sileyəʔeč te-  
leʔgʔ 'it (drink) is going to (penetrating) my  
head' L (-əč perhaps in error for ?əš, cf. 10b.),  
with o-ku·l-yeʔ 'in o's belly': ?əhku·leyəʔ  
səleʔgʔ 'he (Raven) clawed into his (eaglet's)  
belly' 8.7A.

10b. Repetitive, with non-reduced stem:  
?aʔd sileqahyeʔ ?əš kuleʔggəʔ ?əduʔxdegəwih  
'I feel like someone keeps reaching his hand clear  
through my head (with incessant repeated questions)'  
L.

11. With o-yaʔʔ 'in o (with broad opening  
at top)' and yeʔ-progressive: qeʔiʔəyu· ča·ʔ-  
ləlayaʔʔ yeʔ ?ədəleʔg da·ʔ 'as women fuss with  
their hands inside baby-baskets' 23.12A (active  
conditional).

12. With o-l-ʔəʔ 'in competition with o',

'S bets with o' a.: siləʒp·ʔ səleʔg 'bet with me!' L, ʔileʒp·ʔ quʔxleʔg 'I'll bet you' L, siləʒp·ʔʃ səleʔgʔjɪh 'he's betting me' L, siləʒp·ʔ səleʔgʔjɪh 'he bet me' L, ʔileʒp·ʔ siləʔgʔ 'I bet you' L, neuter perfective: ʔuleʒp·ʔ ʔixileʔgʔjɪh 'I have a bet with him' L, diK ʔuleʒp·ʔ ʔaʔxleʔgʔicjɪh 'I don't have a bet with him' L, ʔuleʒp·ʔ ʔeʔ ʔixdileʔgʔjɪh 'I have another bet with him' L; indirect reciprocal: ʔikləʒp·ʔ ʔidileʔgʔinu· 'they have a bet with each other' L, diK ʔikləʒp·ʔ ʔaʔdoleʔgʔicinu· 'they don't have a bet with each other' L, kic ʔikləʒp·ʔʃ deleʔgʔinu· 'they always (cust) have a bet with each other' L.

12b. Repetitive, with non-reduced stem:

siləʒp·ʔʃ leʔggjɪh 'he keeps trying to bet me' L. —

13. With o-y-ʒp·ʔ: siyeʒp·ʔ səleʔgʔjɪh "he gave me a little something when I was down and out" (a kindly, unceremonious, and unsolicited act of charity) M.

14. Indirect reciprocal with ʔikuʔ < ʔil--luʔ 'through each other': Rezanov Тамтлхуттлэхо 'Драгься прѹгелн, сич, кѹпфен' probably to be read da· ʔikuʔ ʔidileʔgʔ<sup>w</sup> (with change of -ny- to -yn-; not to be read -guh), da· ʔikuʔ

ʔidileʔg 'let's hold onto each other, let's  
clinch' M, da ʔiɬuʔ yʔdileʔg 'let's hold  
(link) hands' M (active optatives).

15. Indirect reflexive, with qeɬɬ 'closed'  
and o-l-daʔd 'on o's face (head-front)' and, o--  
d-daʔd 'on o's mouth (oral-front?)'; ʔɬ-daʔd  
qeɬɬ ɛdeleʔg 'cover your face (with your hand)!' L,  
dadaʔd qeɬɬ ʔidileʔgɬɬh 'he's got his mouth  
covered (with his hand)' L (neuter perfective).  
o-ʔeɬ yəɬ ɬe-leʔg-ɬ (underlying theme same as  
above, with o-ʔeɬ 'in search of o' requiring  
ɬ-classifier, and yəɬ-progressive, requiring vo-  
calization thereof) 'S gropes, feels about in  
search of o': ʔaw caʔɬdeʔeɬ yəɬ ɬeleʔgɬ 'he  
gropes about for the knife' 32.8A, caʔɬdeʔeɬ  
... yəɬ ɬeleʔgɬlehd 'because you were groping  
about for a knife' 32.14A, caʔɬdeʔeɬ siwahd  
yəɬ ɬeleʔgɬlehd 'because you were groping about  
for a knife for (use against) me' 32.22A.  
d-ɬe-leʔg (with d-thematic and ɬe-classifier, per-  
haps basic ɬ-classifier, but all attested forms  
either indirect reciprocal, indirect reflexive,  
or yəɬ-progressive, requiring vocalic classifier)  
'S has hands, arms in certain position, uses hands  
(without acting on or in relationship with anything

else specific other than S's body)': indirect reciprocal: 'ikya? diñile?gɪ, 'iñçq·deya? diñile?gɪ 'he has his arms folded together (across his chest)' L, 'ikyeq diñile?gɪ 'he has his arms outspread' L (neuter perfectives); indirect reflexive with o-l-dahd 'against o's head': 'ɟ·-dahd dixñile?gɪ 'I'm resting my head on my hand' ('I've got my hand against my head') L; with yeɟ--progressive: yeɟ dekele?gɟih 'he's using, working with his hands' ('he's moving his hands about') L, kuɟu·iça·d yeɟ dexkele?gɟ 'I'm right-handed' ('I work with my right hand') L, diK 'ihɟeikça·ɟ yeɟ dekele?gɟih qe'qah 'he's not left-handed' 61.47A, çid iça·ç yeɟ dekele?gɟih 'he uses only one hand' ('he uses his hand(s) on one side only') L.

o-?e?(-ɟ) de-le?g (stem here conceivably to be analyzed -le?g, identified as le(?) with -g-repetitive; with o-?e?(-ɟ) '(motion within) place of (absent) o') 'S is, gets hungry for o, has, gets desire, urge for o': 'ew?e? sdile?gɪ 'he got hungry for it' lb.3M, li·ya?e? xedile?gɪ 'I am, got hungry for beach-food' LM, 'idehdah 'u?e? xedile?gɪ 'I'm quite hungry for that, really would like it (to eat)' L, te?ya?e?ɟ

te.ygu'w'e? xdale.yh' '3 (cont) [got the urge to?] Amulu  
tea' L.

xsdile'gɨ 'I'm hungry for fish' L, 'u'e'e'ɣ

xsdile'gɨ 'I have an urge for it' L, v

O-le'g--lug- (-lug- regularly with -g-repetitive, elsewhere -le'g, A also, analogically, -lu'g in repetitive and non-repetitive) 1. 'S touches O with hand, applying some pressure, S rubs, massages O': a.: (non-expanded forms: -le'g from LM, A usually -lu'g, probably analogical, though A also seems to make the distinction, not elsewhere substantiated, -le'g for 'bony part' (as O), -lu'g for 'soft part') sile'gɨ 'I pressed it with my fingers' M, usually with ya' 'completely': ya' selu'g, ya' 'elu'g 'rub, massage (soft part of) it' A, ya' sexle'gɨ 'I'm rubbing, massaging it (bony part)' A, ya' xusale'gɨh 'he touched, rubbed me all over' L, ya' qu'xlu'g 'I'll rub, massage (soft part of) it' A, ya' si.lu'gɨ 'you're rubbing, massaging (soft part of) it' A.

1b. Repetitive, with reduced stem: xu'lugg 'massage me!' L (but L prefers xu'le'g), 'ewa' 'eluggɨh 'rub (aching) part of him!' LM, ya' xlu'gg 'I'm rubbing, massaging (soft part of) it' A (non-reduced stem probably incorrect); indirect reflexive (perhaps intransitive) with o-lɣ-da'-ɣ '(movement within) area of o's eyes' or o-lɣd-'e?

'in place of o's eyes': ?edleʒeda·ʒ xdelugg,  
?edleʒede·ʒ xdelugg 'I'm rubbing my eyes' L.

lc. With expanded stem: xu·le·g 'massage  
me!' L (preferred to xu·lugg), xule·gʒh 'he's  
giving me a massage' L, yaʒ xle·gʒh 'I'm  
massaging him' L, with y-anatomical: xuyi·le·g  
'massage my hand!' L; repetitive: ?awa· ?ele·g-  
gʒh 'massage (aching) part of him!' M; customary:  
xu·le·gkʒh 'he (cust) massages me' M; reflexive,  
with qi·d-anatomical: ?edqi·dexdele·g 'I'm  
rubbing my foot' L.

2. 'S eats O' a.: sileʒgʒ 'I ate it' L,  
usually with ya·ʒ 'consumption, destruction',  
'S eats O all up, devours O': inceptive imperative:  
ya·ʒ eeleʒg 'eat it up!' IMA, inceptive imper-  
fective: ya·ʒ quʒxleʒg 'I'll eat it up' M, ?ew  
ya·ʒ qaʒleʒgʒh 'he'll eat it up' L, ya·ʒ ?iqeʒx-  
leʒg 'I'll eat you up' LA, ya·ʒ leʒiqeʒxleʒg  
'I'll eat you pl. up' M, qa·lah ya·ʒ kuqaʒleʒ-  
gʒh 'he'll eat us out of house and home' ('he'll  
devour something around us') L, inceptive perfec-  
tive: 10.135A, ʒiʒq ya·yu· qa·ʒaʒ ya·ʒ ee-  
leʒgʒ 'he's eating everything up "on" us' 7.30A,  
?ewyeqʒ ya·ʒ kusleʒgʒh 'he's eating things  
up inside it' 10.7, 7, 7A, ya·ʒ xusleʒgʒ 'he's

eating me up' L, active perfective: ?ew ya·ʒ  
 səleʔgɪjɪh 'he ate it up' LA, ya·ʒ səleʔgɪ  
 'ate it up' 5.4L, 6.8M, 7.31, 43, 10.150, 11.164,  
 164A, ya·ʒ sɪleʔgɪ 'I ate it up' MA, ?ewyeɖ  
 ya·ʒ kʷəsəleʔgɪ 'he ate up something inside it'  
 10.9A, active optative: qɪʔ ?ew ya·ʒ ?i·leʔgɛ  
 'until he's eaten it all up' 10.57A, customary:  
 ya·ʒ ?əle·gɪ ' (cust) eats it up' 10.82, 85, 141A,  
 with lɪ-class-mark for O: ʔiʔɖ qəma· ya·ʒ  
 ləʒəxleʔg da·ʒ 'when I eat up all the (loose)  
 roe' 34.20L (inceptive conditional), ʃaʔɪ ya·ʒ  
 ləʒə:səleʔgɪ 'he's eating up all the blueberries'  
 L.

2b. With ya·ʒ and reduced stem, repetitive:  
 ?ew ya·ʒ luggɪh 'he keeps eating them up' L,  
 10.139, 139A.

2c. With ya·ʒ and expanded stem (non-  
 customary), rare: ?ew ya·ʒ səle·gɪ 'he's eat-  
 ing it (one thing after another) all up' 10.135A.

3. With ʒuʔ 'to finished form, straight'  
 (perhaps intransitive), 'S makes O (bed), smooths  
 O (e.g. blanket) out' a.: ?u·d ʒuʔ səleʔg  
 'make a bed there!' 18.24L, ʒuʔ səleʔg 'spread  
 it (blanket) out!, smooth it out!' M, 'make the  
 bed!' LM, ʔiʔɖ qɪʔ ʒuʔ səleʔg 'make all the

beds!' ('make the beds everywhere!') L, ʒuʔ  
quʔxleʔg 'I'll make the bed' M, ʒuʔ sileʔgɪ  
'I made the bed' M.

3b. With expanded stem: ʒuʔ sileʔgɪ 'I  
made (several) beds' L, ʔuʔd ʒuʔ leʔggaʔ liɪɪɪh  
'he made a bed of sorts there' ('he did like he  
spread several (e.g. blankets) there') 18.29L,  
ʒuʔ leʔgɪh 'he's making the bed' L, ʒuʔ seʔeʔg-  
ɪɪɪh 'he's making beds (all day?)' L ("suppose you  
could say that"), ɪiʔ ʔew qiʔ seʔeʔd ʔiɪaʔ  
ʒuʔ seʔeʔgɪ ' (cust) always make your bed!' L.  
O-ʔ-leʔg--lug- (as preceding, semitransitive) ɪ, 'S  
takes, grabs, seizes, snatches, abducts, chooses,  
accepts O, S buys O (on credit or with cash)':  
imperative: xaʔleʔg 46.10, 10, 13, 13M, xuʔ-  
weʔeʔg 'grab me!, take me!' L, Rezanov ʒaxera  
'Держи halten (Imperat.)' ʔuʔweʔeʔg, ʒaxero  
'Возьми nehmen (Imperat.)' ʔuʔweʔeʔguh (or ʔuʔ-  
weʔeʔg<sup>M</sup>), ʔaʔleʔg 'grab it!' L, frequently with  
o-ɪaʔ 'in intimate relation with o', here 'from  
o', also 'for o': ʔuɪaʔ ʔew ʔaʔleʔgɪh, ʔuɪaʔ  
ʔew ʔuʔseʔeʔg 'take it away from him!' M, ʔew-  
ciʔdaʔd ʔewaʔ ʔaʔleʔg 'grab the end of it!' L,  
ʔuʔɕahd ʔaʔleʔguh 'remove it from there!' L,  
inceptive imperfective: yaʔʒuʔ ʔew ʔuɪaʔ

qu'leʔleʔg 'pl. don't accept it from him' 19.161A,  
 leʔ qɪ'yileʔg 'you'll sieze it this way' 11.89A,  
 ʔu·čahd ʔiʔqeʔleʔg 'it'll take you away' 21b.4A,  
 ʔahnu· qeʔ qaʔleʔgɪh 'they were going to get  
 him back' 23.75A, yaʔʔu· siʔaʔ qu'leʔleʔg 'pl.  
 don't take her from me' 23.88A, quʔxleʔg 'I'll  
 buy it' M, 'I'll grab it' A, yaʔʔu· xuʔquʔyileʔg  
 'don't grab me' L, ʔə·čahd leʔiʔqeʔxleʔg 'I'll  
 take you pl. away from here' M, ʔidegaʔqɪ quʔx-  
 leʔg 'I'll strangle you' ('I'll sieze your  
 throat') L, inceptive perfective: xuʔseleʔgɪ  
 'he's grabbing me' L, ʔuxaʔ ʔew ʔuʔseuxleʔgɪh  
 'I'm taking it away from him' M, active perfective:  
 10.69, 11.85A, 21a.4L, 21b.15A, 31.2L, 37b.27fnAL,  
 ʔuʔila·wahd ʔuʔseleʔgɪ 'chose him for his cousin'  
 15.1M, ʔəhʔaʔ ʔew ʔuʔseleʔgɪ 'took (and car-  
 ried) them for her' 18.14L, ʔewa· kuʔseleʔgɪ  
 'he grabbed one of them' 37b.28A, ʔuʔsileʔgɪ  
 'I bought it, I took it' L, 'I grabbed it' A,  
 xuʔseleʔgɪh 'he took me (away), abducted me' M,  
 ʔu·čahd ʔew ʔuʔseleʔgɪh 'he took it away from  
 there' L, ʔəla·gyeʔagaʔ siyah ʔuʔsileʔgɪ 'I  
 bought just enough food for winter' L, ʔuqi·=  
 yega·gɪ ʔew ʔuʔseleʔgɪh 'he grabbed it with  
 his toes' L, inceptive conditional: ʔuʔsexleʔg

da·ʒ 'if I take it' L, active subjunctive: ʔew  
 ʔaʔleʔgɣ ʔuʔ dɛxlɪhɪh 'I told him to take it'  
 L, customary: Kaʔle·gK 'they (cust) take some-  
 thing' 10.80A, ʔaʔle·gK 'he (cust) takes it'  
 10.85, 36.29A, ʔew ɖeʔ ʔaʔle·gKɪh 'he (cust)  
 gets it back, recovers it' 56.17L, with class-  
 marks for O: ʔew kɛwɪngɪ ʔuʔli·leʔg 'grab the  
 paddle!' 71.17LM, ʔewguʔah ʔuʔdɛsɛleʔgɪ 'he  
 grabbed the tails' 45a.12L, yaʔʔu· ʔew ʔuʔaʔ  
 quʔgɛla·leʔleʔg 'pl. don't accept it (liquid)  
 from him' 9.159A, with y-anatomical: xuʔyɛsɛleʔg-  
 ɪhɪh 'he grabbed my hand' L; passive: xuʔsɛdileʔgɪ  
 'I got abducted, taken away' M, ɖeʔ ʔuʔsɛdileʔgɪ  
 'he was recaptured, he also was captured' 23.85,  
 86, 86A.

O-ɪ-uʔg--ug-, O-ɪs-(--ɖe-)leʔg--luʔg--lug- (stem--  
 initial l- always dropped with ɪ-classifier,  
 Rezanov once perhaps -ɪ-eʔg; forms with vocalized  
 classifier, listed separately, always show restored  
 l-, but stem apparently freely -leʔg or -luʔg,  
 the latter however somewhat less frequent and pro-  
 bably analogical; repetitive once -ug-, once -uʔg-,  
 once -leʔg; reduced -lug- also perhaps spread  
 to non-repetitive) 'S moves, affects position of  
 O with manual pressure': la. sɛkuʔg 'push it

(with your hand, e.g. away, along)!' L, 'aw  
 xi·č səkuʔg 'push it away, push it way over  
 there (with your hand)!' M, yɔ·ʔč səkuʔg  
 'push it down (with your hand)!' LM, yɔ·ʔč  
 ʔəkuʔg 'push it down!' LM, 'push, flip it  
 (toggle-switch) down!' A, yaʔɣ ʔəkuʔg 'push,  
 flip it (toggle-switch) up!' A, laʔq səkuʔg  
 'crush it (with your hand)!' L, ʔewʔeʔɣ liʔ  
 səkuʔg 'plug, stuff it in that' ('push it deep-  
 ly in place of that') L, yɔ·ʔč siɬuʔgɬ 'I  
 pushed it down (with my hand)' LM, yɔ·ʔč qeʔ  
 siɬuʔgɬ 'I pushed it back down' L, yɔ·ʔč  
 ʔixiɬuʔgɬ 'I'm holding it down (with my hand)'  
 L (neuter perfective); indirect reciprocal:  
 ʔiɬyeq səkuʔq 'push them apart (with your hand)!'  
 L; indirect reflexive with čaʔ 'towards self'  
 and usually also ʔedɣ 'in contact with self'  
 (classifier not vocalized, irregular, postposi-  
 tional phrases with reflexive o perhaps to be  
 considered thematized): Rezanov Чатхытсек  
 'ОСНОВНУМ усармен (Imperat.)' perhaps to be read  
 čaʔ ʔedɣ xu·keʔg (only attested form with k--  
 classifier and e-vowel in stem, or perhaps to  
 be read -ɬuʔg by interpreting Cyrillic e as ɛ)  
 'grab me to and hold me tight against yourself!',

ča? ʔedɣ xusekuʔg 'hold me tight!' L, 'grab me to you!' M, ča? ʔq̄h sekuʔg 'grab him (toward yourself):' L, ča? ʔedɣ ʔiqeʔxkuʔg 'I'll hold you tight' L.

1b. Repetitive: yq̄.ʔɕ ʔexkuʔgg, yq̄.ʔɕ xiugg 'I keep pushing it down, I'm pushing them (one after another) down' L (latter form given later and probably the more correct).

2a. With vocalized classifier: (direct) reciprocal: ʔiɬuʔ ča? ʔedɣ sekeleʔgɪ 'they (people) are holding each other close, tight' L, ʔiɬuʔ ča? ʔedɣ sekeluʔgɪ 'they (dogs) are holding each other close, tight' L (probably an attempt at an ad hoc explanation for the variation, not elsewhere substantiated); with yəɣ-progressive: yəɣ ʔekeleʔg 'rub it (fast and hard)' L, 'massage it!' M, yəɣ xkeleʔgɣ 'I'm massaging it' M, ʔew yəɣ xkeleʔgɣ 'I'm pushing it around (with my hand)' L, yəɣ xkeleʔgɣ 'I'm rubbing it (e.g. body) hard' LM, ʔu.dəɣyu. ʔew yəɣ ke-luʔgɣɪh 'he's pushing it around all over (with his hand)' L; reflexive, with y-anatomical 'hand' and yaʔɣ 'up': yaʔɣ ʔedyiɬileʔgɪ 'he has his hands raised' L, yaʔɣ ʔedyixɬileʔgɪ 'I have (both) my hands raised' L (neuter perfectives);

passive: yq'ʔč skileʔgɪ, yq'ʔč sdileʔgɪ  
'it's been pushed down' L.

2b. As above, stem reduced (by analogy with repetitive, or incorrectly transcribed): indirect reflexive: Kah xšilugɪnu' 'I pushed them all (people) away from myself' L (probably to be corrected to either -luʔgɪ- or -luggɪ-); with ʔiɪyaʔ and yaɟ-progressive: ʔiɪyaʔ yaɟ xielugɟ 'I'm pushing it back and forth' L, ʔiɪyaʔ da' yaɟ ɬelugɟ 'we're pushing it back and forth' L (probably to be corrected to -luʔgɟ or perhaps -lugg); passive: yq'ʔč skilugɪ 'it got pushed down' L (to be corrected to -luʔgɪ).

2c. Repetitive; indirect reflexive: Kahč xieleʔgg 'I keep pushing it away from myself with my hand' L.

2d. With expanded stem: with yaɟ-progressive: yaɟ ʔəlele'g 'massage it!' M.

O-ʔ-ɪ-uʔg (semitransitive of preceding) 'S moves, affects position of part of O with manual pressure': with liʔ 'deeply in, towards back from front' with xutɪ 'gun' as O, 'S pulls trigger': ʔew xutɪ liʔ ʔuʔsekuʔgɪ 'he pulled the trigger'  
61.54A.

(ʔ)niK (form uncertain, either niK or ʔniK, conceivably < ʔiK or iK)

-(ʔ)niK-ɩ, occurring only in čaʔniKɩ (noun, of limited and uncertain syntactic use; etymology uncertain, < ča-ʔniK-ɩ, čaʔ-(ʔ)niK-ɩ, or čəʔ-(ʔ)(n)iK-ɩ, all elements, except -ɩ-suffix of unknown analysis, identification and meaning, informants unable to analyze) 'funny, joke, funny thing' LMS, with -dah adverbializer: čaʔniKɩdah ʔi-čeh 'it's funny' LA, as o of o-gaʔ 'like o': čaʔniKɩgaʔ dəseliɩh 'he said something funny' L, in compound(?): čaʔniKɩdəxɩh 'jokester, comedian, funny person, person who always makes me laugh' L.

## ʔnik

ʔe-ʔnik 'S wriggles, crawls, creeps, moves along like insect or worm with belly on or close to the ground': ʔiʃ quʔxʔaʔnik 'I'll crawl to you' L, ʔu·daʔ sʔiʔnikʔ 'it (worm) wriggled thither' L, ʔediʔ sʔiʔnikʔiʔh 'he (drunk) dragged himself in(doors)' L, ca·yeʔ liʔ sʔiʔnikʔ 'it (worm) crawled in under a rock' L, ʔewʔa·ʔ qeʔ sʔiʔnikʔ 'it (worm) crawled out from under it' L, ca·ʔa·ʔa·ʔeʃ seʔaʔnikʔ 'it (bug) is crawling under a rock' L, seʔaʔnikʔ 'they (e.g. bugs) are crawling along' L, with yeʔ-progressive: yeʔ ʔaʔnikʔ 'it (e.g. worm, bug) is moving about' LS, yeʔ ʔaʔnikʔiʔh 'he (drunk) is crawling around' L, ya·nuʔʔ yeʔ ʔaʔnikʔ 'it (worm) is crawling about underground' L.

seʔaʔnikʔ (noun, unclassified) 'creeping bugs, insects, worms' LA. Nominalized inceptive perfective.

qeʔaʔnikʔ (noun, unclassified, nominalized active imperfective of preceding with qe- plural) "'water-bugs, woodworms, worms that live in driftwood"' (about one inch long, live in water, probably especially various shipworms, Teredo and Bankia species) L, 14.2, 5, 7 L.

liʔdeyeʔ qeʔaʔnikʔ (noun, unclassified, as above,

lisdayeḡ 'inside trees') 'woodworms' L (probably same as above).

taḡd qeḡaḡnik (noun, unclassified, as above, with taḡd 'in water') 'small fish species' ("live under water, look like dead wood") L.

ni·k (Rezanov implies ni·k<sup>w</sup>, but all other sources, including S ni·k; perhaps related to ni·c̄ and/or ni·sq)

-ni·k (noun, unclassified or, archaically, in epithets and certain compounds and postpositional phrases, d-class, in which constructions an unexpected -s- generally appears between stem-final -k- and the following -d-, conceivably < \*-kud- < -k<sup>w</sup>d-) 'nose, beak', unclassified; Rezanov Kauxeko 'Hörspr Nasenlöcher' qa·ni·k<sup>w</sup> 'our noses, human nose', Galushia Nelson euni·k 'nose' BSDL 541 kuni·k 'a nose', kuni·kluw 'a big nose' LM, sini·k 'my nose' MS, ka·ʔ sini·kluw 'where's my big nose?' 18.16L, si·ni·k siya· eəʔa·s̄t̄ 'my nose itches' L, si·ni·k siya· qeh̄ʔ i·ʔyah̄t̄ 'my nose is stuffed up' L, si·ni·k siya· eəʔt̄ʔiyaʔk̄t̄ 'my nose is raw (burns, stings)' L, Galushia Nelson x̄<sup>w</sup>us̄ ni·k 'my nose' BSDL 556 xu· sini·k 'my nose', ʔini·k ʔəʔ-kuʔd 'wipe your nose!' L, ʔini·k ʔiya· s̄t̄i-λəʔs̄ḡt̄ 'your nose has gotten dirty' L, yaʔʔu· ʔini·k ʔiʔaʔ kuquʔyil̄yah 'don't pick (meddle with) your nose' L, ʔini·kluw 'your big nose' 1b.6M, ʔuni·k 'his nose' LMA, 23.140A, 'its beak, their beaks' 2a.23M, 24.26, 28, 29, 30,

35, 36A, 26.1, 7, 9L, ?uni·kluw 'his big nose'  
 L, qe·dah gy·idesk da·y ?uni·kye? ?aw ye? ye?  
 geli·?ihih 'his nose is all clotted with blood'  
 ('it (blood) having straightway clotted extends  
 down under his nose') L, Galushia Nelson zawa  
 nt·k 'dog's nose' BSDL 556 zawa·ni·k, e?·di?i?g-  
 ni·k 'bird's beak' 2a.23M, ?i·lehni·k 'raven's  
 beak' 2a.23fnL; d-class, see also subentries be-  
 low: ni·keda?luw, ni·kda?luw 'big-nose!' (pejora-  
 tive epithet) 18.8L, sini·kede?da?d 'tip of my  
 nose' L.

-ni·k-d-?u·? (noun) 'philtrum': sini·kede?u·?  
 'place where snout runs on my upper lip' A. See  
 ?u·?-?u·?.

-ni·k-d-?i-xa?(-g)-? (noun) 'septum of nose', also  
 -ni·?-d-?i-xa??-?, see ni·?, x<sup>w</sup>a??-xa??.

ni·kdeka·?k (noun, unclassified) 'person with  
 hooked, aquiline nose' L. Epithet, 'humpback-sal-  
 mon nose!'.  
 ni·kede?e·? (noun, unclassified) 'shag, (double-  
 crested?) cormorant' ('red-beak') LM.

?uni·k ?awa· qa? qi·sid (noun, unclassified)  
 'razor-clams' ('their noses extend up out', same  
 clam as ?i·da·des) L.

o-ga? ?e-ni·k (with o-ga? 'like o') 'S has nose  
 like o': siga? ?ihini·k?h 'he has a nose like

mine' L, diK 'iga? 'a?hani·Xejh 'his nose isn't  
like yours' L (neuter imperfectives).

100<sup>1</sup>

O-100 'S throws, pushes, precipitates O (living  
 being), handles O (living being) violently,  
 roughly': de'q-č 'əleɣləsɨh 'pl. abandon her  
 (forcibly) right here!' 49.81A, de'u-č 'ahnū-  
 səleɣɨh 'they abandoned her right there' 49.99A,  
 'u-dikah 'əleɣɨh 'throw him out of there!' L,  
 'q-dikah 'iqe'xleɣ 'I'll throw you out of here'  
 L, Rezanov Кувекхеламма 'Токаръ stossen'  
 ɣi-č ya'ɣ 'əleɣ 'throw it (e.g. dog) (up) over  
 there, away!' M, ɣi-č 'iqe'xleɣ 'I'll fire  
 you' L, 'ahnū- 'a'q səleɣɨh 'they threw him  
 out (of the house)' 9.46, 47A, 'a'q sileɣ,  
 de'a- kušiyah yileh ɣawa- 'I threw it out,  
 because it's a bad dog' L, či-leh qid səleɣ  
 'throw the ravens down!' 28.60A, qid 'qɨh səleɣ  
 7.35A, 'ahnū- qid səleɣ 'they threw him down'  
 7.36A, leɣ 'əw səleɣ 'threw it (fish) up from  
 shore' 1b.11M, yeɣ səleɣ 'threw it (fish)  
 ashore' 46.17M, 'əw qe-yeɣ səleɣɨh 'he threw  
 it (another fish) ashore' 46.21M, 'u-deɣ 'qɨh  
 qe-yeɣ səleɣ 'she threw, dropped him back down  
 through there' 40.11fnL, 'əwya' 'əw səleɣɨnu-  
 'they threw him in it (box)' 7.33A, ta' 'qɨh  
 (or 'qɨh ta') səleɣɨh 'he pushed, threw him

in the water' L, *hila'?* *q'e'q'h* *'q'h ta'* (or  
*ta' 'q'h*) *selesì* 'a man it was pushed him into  
 the water' L, *q'e'k* *q'phew ta'* *selesì* 'a wo-  
 man it was he pushed into the water' L, *ta'*  
*q'ph(ew)* *'q'h selesì* 'into the water it was he  
 pushed her' L, *'q'h q'e'k ta'* *selesìjh* 'he  
 pushed the woman into the water' L, *hila'?* *ta'*  
*'q'h* (or *'q'h ta'*) *selesì* 'a man pushed her  
 into the water' L, *hila'?* *q'e'k ta'* *selesì*  
 'a man pushed a woman into the water' L, with  
 yaq̄-progressive: *ya'xu'* *yaq̄ xuqu'deles* 'don't  
 beat me up' ('don't throw me around') L, *yaq̄*  
*xu'dele-c'k* 'you (cust) mistreat me' L; reflexive:  
*'eddele-c'k* 'it (cust) jumps' M, *'edcadedesì*  
 'it's trotting, galloping (along), it (frog) is  
 hopping, jumping (along)' M; with *ya'q̄* 'up':  
*ya'q̄ 'edsdilesìjh* 'he jumped (up)' M, *ya'q̄*  
*'edxsdilesì* 'I jumped (up)' M, *ya'q̄ da'* *'ed-*  
*sdilesì* 'we jumped (up)' M, *lese'q̄ 'edtedelesì*  
 'is hopping (about, along) on shore' 10.254A, *qid*  
*'edsdilesì* 'jumped down (off)' 15.26M, *qid*  
*'edqu'xdeles* 'I'll jump down' M, with *qa'* 'up  
 out': *te'ya' qa'* *'edsdilesì* 'fish jumped'  
 21b.70A, *qa'* *'ededele-c'k* '(fish) (cust) jump'  
 21b.71A, *di'k te'ya' qa'* *'edtedelesì da'q̄*

'when the fish aren't jumping' 21b.69A,  
 ?u·č qa? ?edqu?xdeles 'I'll jump up thither'  
 M, with o-q' 'on o' and ya? 'completely, to  
 a state of rest': o-q' ya? ?edsdileših 'he  
 jumped onto o' 27.7, 7A, ?uqi·dayež ?edex<sup>x</sup>deles  
 da·ž 'when I start to jump under their feet'  
 34.20M, ?u?u?ž ?edsdileših 'he jumped short  
 of it (not far enough)' L, ?uta·s ?edsdeles  
 'jump over, across it!' L, ?uta·s ?edqu?xdeles  
 'I'll jump over, across it' L, indirect recipro-  
 cal: ?ikta·s qč·č ?addelesinu· 'they're play-  
 ing leapfrog (jumping up over each other)' (not  
 a native game) L, with yež-progressive: yež  
 ?edxdelešž 'I'm jumping around' L, yež ?adde-  
 lešžih 'he's jumping around (two feet together)'  
 LM, yež ?edqu?xdeles 'I'll jump around' M,  
 ?q·gulah yež ?edexdeles da·ž 'when I jump  
 about around a river' 34.16M, ?u·daxyu· yež  
 ?addele·akih 'he (cust) jumps around all over'  
 L, repetitive: Rezanov Бхара-реаракал-э  
 'Схараб springen' ya?ž ?addelešgih 'he keeps  
 jumping (up and down)' M; passive, repetitive:  
 Galushia Nelson yá'žDáléžki or yá'žDóléžki  
 'tossing in a seal skin' BSdL 551 ya?ž delešgih  
 'he's being blanket-tossed (repeatedly tossed

up)' (also name of pastime, native to Eskimo but not to Eyak) L, yaʔʔ xudeleeg 'I'm being blanket-tossed' L.

lah3 O-ge-x-lee (with x-thematic with ge-pluralizer thematized, 'pl. acts' and lah3 'forward', cf. O-ʒaʔ 2.) 'S mistreats O', attested only with guq-q' 'on lies': guqʔ lah3 xuqexi-lee 'you keep pushing me around with lies, deceit' 10.155, 156A.

O-l-lee (perhaps causative of ʔed-de-lee) 'S makes O jump': repetitive: yaʔʔ ʔiqeʔxileeg 'I'll make you keep jumping up and down' L, with yeʔ-progressive: yeʔ ʔiqeʔxdele: 'I'll make you jump around' M.

lee<sup>2</sup> (variant nae very doubtful, see under o-lee 1.,  
L rejects proposed \*?u·nae; cf. dee, with which  
lee<sup>2</sup> shares certain formal and semantic peculiarities)

lee (preverb, attested with zero, -d, and -č  
finals, also compounded with ?e?- with -ɣ fi-  
nal, and compounded with o-ga?) 1. '(from water)  
to shore, ashore and/or up from shore (to higher  
ground)', with zero final used usually also with  
repetitives, customaries, inceptive perfective:  
lee 'up on bank of a body of water' L, lee sa·?  
'walk to shore!, walk up from shore!' M, lee  
saxa·t 'I'm coming out of the water towards the  
beach' L, lee sahih 'he went up the shore,  
bank (to higher ground)' L, ?ahda? lee sahih  
'he went up the shore to her' 11.76A (cf. 3. be-  
low), see also -ke?ɣ, leeki·ɣ, -xuh-, o-qa,  
(25.22, 94A, 48.5, 10L, qa<sup>1</sup>), d-i-qu, o-ɣabd 1.,  
o-i-ɣabd 1., o-lee (1b.11M), -?ya 1b., 19.,  
g-?ya, gl-?ya 1., xdl-?ya (49.142, 143A),  
o-?-?eh3 (passive), -?a?č (38.111M, 49.144A),  
o-l-(i-)?a (9.125, 11.202A), -?a' 8., o-i-(y)a  
(10.39, 40, 41, 25.185, 186A), -a (10.221A),  
with qe?-qe'- 'back, again': giyah lee qe?  
seqahit 'brought water back up from shore' 48.10L,  
qe? lee sdiyahitih 'he came back up from shore' L,

qe'les 'eda'g 'it keeps walking back up ashore'  
 53.13, 15L; with -d final 'at rest' (rare):  
 33.72A; with -ŋ final 'continuous or repeated  
 motion toward' (rare, usually zero final also with  
 this meaning): leseŋ kuxqa'x 'I (cust) carry  
 water up from shore' M; with -x final, only com-  
 pounded as o of o-'e' 'in place of o', lese'x  
 < les-'e'-x 'movement within area shoreward, up  
 from shore': Kede'dah lese'x 'ika' qu'xsh  
 'I won't be able to go up from shore with you'  
 10.252A, 'ahka' lese'x sah' 'she went up from  
 shore with him' 10.262A, lese'x sah' 'he went  
 up the bank' 1b.4M, lese'x 'aw' datsika'ti 'is  
 flying upland with it' 9.97A, lese'x 'edsadelat'i  
 'hops along on shore' 10.254A; compounded as o of  
 o-'e', compounded as o of o-ga' 'like o', le-  
 siga' < les-'e'-ga': 'u'd lesiga' 'ah sah-  
 teh'ih 'she put him (his body to rest) a little  
 way up from shore' 47b.20M.

2. 'up inlet, upriver' (range uncertain, per-  
 haps only 'up Orca inlet', or perhaps 'up (any)  
 inlet', including perhaps 'up river', i.e. 'in-,  
 upland via body of water', cf. o-les 3.); with  
 zero final: dide'k qi'la'iq'a'g 'u'dex les  
 qi'li'tux' 'electric light wires are strung

(stretch) along there up Orca Inlet to Orca  
(cannery)' L; with -ɣ final, only compounded  
as o of o-ʔeʔ, as under 1.: leseʔɣ ʔiqeʔ  
'boat up the inlet to Orca!' L, perhaps loosely  
glossed: leseʔɣ ʔew (ya·qaʔ) səitahɬih 'he  
took it (away) upriver' M.

3. 'to back, rear end of inside of house  
(opposite end from door)' (a privileged position  
in household, the place of the headman or chief  
and his family, see B3dL 34, 42-3): with zero  
final: ʔəhdaʔ leɬ səhɬ 'he went in (to the  
back end of the dwelling) to her' 23.47A (cf. 1.  
above, 11.76A), with -ɬ final 'continuous or re-  
peated motion toward': leseɬ sə·ɬih 'he's walk-  
ing toward the back end of the house, room' M;  
with -ɣ final, only compounded as o of o-ʔeʔ:  
leseʔɣ sə·ɬih 'he's walking toward (within?)  
the back end of the house, room' M.

4. 'to church' (perhaps because church was  
built on high ground, but see also 5b.), attested  
with zero final only: 51.84fn, leɬ sə·ʔ 'go to  
church!' M (cf. leɬ sə·ʔ 'go ashore!, go up  
from shore!' M), leɬ kuʂeʔaʔɬɬ 'people went to  
church' 51.37, 37, 37A.

5. 'lose, win (in game, gambling), gain,

earn', attested with zero final only: 51.84fn,  
 let -ʔya (see -ʔya 19.) 'S loses (in game,  
 gambling)', causative o-ʔsʔ let o-ʔ-ʔya 'S wins  
 O from o', let o-ʔ-ʔya 'S wins, beats O', pass-  
 ive: 'O is won, gained, earned'; original meaning  
 of intransitive 'S is, becomes involuntarily situ-  
 ated ashore (stranded?)', or perhaps back formation  
 from transitive 'S gets O ashore, wins O', see  
 especially causatives in 10.257, 11.74A, where  
 meaning is ambiguous, perhaps a pun, 'S (Raven)  
 causes O (mollusk-women) to be involuntarily situ-  
 ated ashore' and/or 'S wins O'.

o-let (postposition, attested with zero, -d, -ʃ  
 finals, and with -deʃ final instead of compounded  
 as o of o-ʔeʔ with -ʃ final, also compounded  
 as o of o-daʔ, and, with -d final, as o of o--  
 ʃabd) 1. 'ashore from, in-, upland from o': with  
 zero final, attested only with ʃdl-class noun as  
 o: tʃhʃeʃli·let ʃa·ʔ 'he's walking along by (in-  
 side, ashore from) the waves' L, tʃhʃeʃla·let  
 ʃexa·ʔ L, tʃhʃeʃli·let ʃexa·ʔ 'I'm walking along  
 by (inside) the waves' (Raven's song) 72.39L, forms  
 in BSdL tʃʰ<sup>n</sup> ʃlɪnʌx qətʃd·tʃ 'waves behind was--  
 walking' and tʃʰ<sup>n</sup> ʃlɪnaqt ʃauʃʃa·tʃ (tʃʰ<sup>n</sup> tʃi-  
 naqt qeʃʃa·tʃ) 'waves behind I-am-going' BSdL

261, 559, in both cases probably to be interpreted  
 tsh[ʒə]ʎi·neʒ se(x)ʎa·i rather than \*·ʎi·nee,  
 because of fairly certain <sup>available only as</sup> i-classifier, optionally  
 ly required with o-ʒ 'by means of o', and L in  
 any case has -ʎa·lee or -ʎi·lee, L also rejects  
 proposed form \*ʔu·nee, that is ʔu-l-lee with  
 l-anatomical or thematic; with -d final 'at rest':  
 sileed 'above, uphill from me' M, sileed wəʒ  
 ʔi·teh 'he lives above (further from shore than)  
 me' M, with ʒa- 'area' as o: ʒi·d ʒeled 'yon-  
 der upland' 10.259, 11.71, 98, 131, 21b.27, 60.-  
 34A, ʔp·d ʒeled 'upland here' 11.73A, ʔu·d  
 ʒeled 'upland there' 11.141A, nominalized with  
 -d final in place-names: sah<sup>w</sup>leed L, sa·xleed  
 Softuk ('above cockles') S, gixdeleed Marten  
 Point ('ashore from Marten Islands') 67.20, with  
 -d final compounded with o-ʒahd 'from o': ʒi·d  
 ʒeledəʒahd qʰh xiʒ qid seiqəʒi 'snow started  
 to avalanche down from way up yonder' 23.128A; with  
 -deʒ final 'movement within area': qa·leedeʒ  
 ʒi·ʒ ʒəʎa·saʔyahʒ 'ran away along above us' 61.-  
 49A, o·leedeʒ caʔ saʒi 'came downhill above o'  
 25.83, 84A; compounded as o of o-daʔ 'arrival at  
 o': ʔahnu·lesedaʔ ʔəʎa·sʒiʔehʒiʒ 'she sneaked  
 up (skirting them) above them' 47b.31aM (perhaps

< -lae-i-da? < -?e?-).

2. 'down to shore above o', attested with zero and -e finals: with zero final: silec sahih 'he came down to meet me at shore' L, with -e final: sileeē sa·ih 'he's coming down to meet me at shore' L.

3. 'up inlet, upriver' (see lee 2.), attested with -d and -deḡ finals: with -d final 'at rest' and with ḡe- 'area' as o: ḡeled 'in the area of Orca cannery' L, with -deḡ final 'movement within area': siledeḡ (not \*sileeḡ) yeḡ da·ḡ 'he's walking about upstream from me' L.

4. 'behind, farther to the rear of house, room than, farther from door-side than o' a. with -d final 'at rest': ya·yu·led 'behind (farther to the rear of the room than) the things' L.

4b. With -d final, compounded as o of o-- qeēd 'at opposite end of o': Galushia Nelson xiləqḡəqst "'head" or rear of the house' BSL 545 ḡeēdeqēd 'the back, rear of the room, house' L, with -kih 'diminutive': ḡi·d ḡeēdeqēdkih qḡh sədahḡ 'way back at the innermost end of that little place she was sitting' 23.45A.

4c. With -d final, and se-i- (s-thematic, i-classifier) as o 'of a series': seled sətahḡ

'it's at the last (farthest back toward rear of room?) position in a row'.

4d. With zero final and reciprocal o: ?iiles  
?i'iquh̄ 'he has (them as) co-wives' 33.64A ('he has them sitting (neither?) one above, further back in the room than the other', neuter perfective, requiring zero final; in privileged position, see BSDL 34, 42-43).

o-d-las (postposition, as above, with d-thematic of unidentified meaning, attested with zero final only) 'down to shore to meet o': qa·deles Kus̄e-  
?a?ēi 'people came down to shore to meet us' 59.7  
Galushia Nelson, sideles Kusah̄ 'someone came down to shore to meet me' L, sideles sah̄ 'you came down to shore to meet me' L.

ʔlahs (Galushia Nelson once ʔnahs, twice ʔlahs, I never heard ʔnahs; perhaps to be analyzed ʔlah-s, or ʔ-lah-s, -lah-s to be identified with -lah-s under la-na)

Kudiʔlahs (noun, unclassified) 'chief of opposite moiety' L, Galushia Nelson DəDe'lāq 'term of address for chief who is host at a potlatch' BSDL 543, qəDinaq c:caht' 'to kill a member of the opposite moiety' BSDL 554 Kudiʔnahs Be-nehit'h 'he killed a chief of the opposite moiety', Kudiʔlahs xihh da·x qa·d ya·g ʔiqeʔxiteh 'if I were a "big chief" I'd give you away into slavery' (standard expression used with disobedient child) L; Galushia Nelson səDilāq tca-tcini<sup>n</sup> 'second chief of opposite moiety' BSDL 543 Kudiʔlahsca·c yj·hjh ('he who is next to the chief of the opposite moiety') L. Identification of prefixes and analysis uncertain: perhaps ku-indefinite, -di- (or -diʔ- ?) perhaps d-thematic, or classifier; form perhaps neuter imperfective of otherwise unattested verb theme; more likely, however, reduced form of ka·diʔ- of some negative meaning, with -lah-s, see la-na; cf. also Kula·s).

ʔlaʔe-laʔe (form uncertain)

o-yeq qaʔ ed-ʔlaʔe--laʔe (with o-yeq 'in o',  
 qaʔ 'up out', and ed-thematic, probably thematized  
 class-mark or anatomical for 'mouth' cf. o-yeq  
 qaʔ edl-qa) 'o has, gets indigestion and coated  
 tongue': siyeq qaʔ sediʔlaʔeḥ, siyeq  
 sediʔlaʔeḥ (former given first, latter more  
 probably correct) 'my tongue is coated and I have  
 indigestion' (happens to overfed babies too) L  
 (neuter perfective), siyeq qaʔ sedeselaʔeḥ  
 'I got indigestion and my tongue became coated'  
 L (uncertain).



neq), ?edta?ni·q̄ ?u·deḡ ʒeəa?ya·ḥ 'seagulls  
are flying along there' N, ?edta?ni·q̄ga? ?idi-  
ḥa?ḥ 'he's voracious, a glutton' ('he has a  
stomach like a seagull') L. Nominalized active  
imperfective, apparently of reflexive of unattest-  
ed O-ḥ-?ni·q̄, perhaps a causative, or indirect  
reflexive causative ?ed-d O-ḥ-?ni·q̄.

laʔq

laʔq (noun, unclassified) 'eel' IM (perhaps  
'burbot (*Lota lota*)', and/or 'lamprey (*Ento-  
sphenus tridentatus*, *E. lamottei*)' and/or  
'snipe eel (*Avocettina gilli*)'), laʔqʔaʔluw  
'big eel' IM.

laʔq² (perhaps to be analyzed laʔ-q and identified with laʔ-naʔ and o-q 'on o')

laʔq (preverb, with zero final only except once, from M, with -ʃ final, rejected by L) 1. 'in thickness (least of three dimensions)': ʔaʔd ʔiŋgaʔ laʔq sədah daʔɣ 'if they're very uniformly thick' 65.5A, ʔidah laʔq ʔidiyah 'is rather thick' 65.9A, laʔq -čahš--čaʔš 'S is, becomes thick', laʔqəʃ səčaʔšɪ M (L rejects), laʔq səčaʔšɪ 'it's getting thick' L, laʔq -ciɜ-g, laʔq ʔe-ciɜ-g 'S is, becomes thin'.

2. 'flat, collapse, deflation': laʔq sə= ʔeʔɜ 'smash it with your foot!' L, laʔq səkuʔg 'crush it with your hand!' L, šiʔnahdɪ siɣaʔ laʔq šetaʔčɪ 'my bread went flat on me' L, laʔq -qəd 'S bursts', laʔq O-ɪ-qəd 'S bursts O', laʔq -ʔya 'S bursts, deflates', laʔq leɣaʔyah 'old berries in autumn' L, laʔq O-səʃ, laʔq O-ɪ-səʃ 'S punctures (and deflates, collapses) O with end of stick', laʔq quʔxkuʔʃ 'I'll break it (blister, with needle)' L.

3. With reference to poking out eye: laʔq leɣəsəʔaʔ 'take its eyeball out!' L, laʔq leɣe-səɪɣuxɪ 'its poking its eye out' L.

4. With reference to baldness: laʔq qaʔ li-šixɪɪh 'he's bald' ('his head is worn up out

thin') L.

5. With terms referring to position of head, 'looking upwards': laʔqʰ lisitah̄ 'I raised my head' L, also with preverb qaʔ 'up out': laʔqʰ qaʔ lisitah̄ 'I raised my head' L, laʔqʰ qaʔ lixitah̄ 'my head is facing upwards' L, laʔqʰ qaʔ ʔiːsequh̄inuː 'they looked upwards' L.

- leɣ<sup>1</sup> (cf. Tlingit nəɣ, nəɣ, nəɣ 'to be safe')
- leɣ 'S (prey) escapes, saves self, gets away':
- sələɣt 'it (prey) got away' L. Transitive  
 (causative): 'S saves, (medically, not shaman-  
 istically) cures, heals O': xusələɣ 'save  
 me!' M, 'heal me!' L, ?iqe?xələɣ 'I'll save  
 you' M, hič Kuɣle-xəh 'he (cust) cures one,  
 people' L; reflexive: ?ədxələɣt 'I saved  
 myself, I recovered (from grave illness)' L;  
 passive: xusələɣt 'I got cured' L, ?u-d  
 ?iqe?dələɣ 'you'll get cured there' L.

ləx (conceivably PAE na- 'second person', -x<sup>W</sup> < -q<sup>W</sup>- 'plural')

ləx-i· (independent personal pronoun, -i· either expanded -i- of ləx-i- below and/or as ?i· second person singular pronoun) 'ye, you' (second person plural, inclusive or exclusive): ləxi· 'you pl.' L, diK dəxəhyu·s ləxi· 'you aren't people' 31.13L, d'id ləxi· 'only you pl.' M, with -gih- and -dəg- enclitics, 'too': ləxi·gidig da· ləxiqe?iwa?d 'we'll whip you pl. too' 53.34L, ləxi·gih, ləxi·gidug (not \*ləxi·dug) 'you pl. too' L, emphasizing possessor or o: ləxi· ləx-?e·x '(asking) about you pl.' L, ləxi· ləxqa·?e-yu· 'some of you' L, ləxi· ləxya? 'your pl., yours pl.' L, BSdL 557, 557, ləxi· ləx- 'your pl.' BSdL 557, 557, 557, 557; with proclitic de-ipae': dələxi· 'you yourselves' M, dələxi· wəx ?a?ləxteh 'do it yourselves!' L, with proclitic læsa- 'alone, solitary': lælələxi· 'only you pl. all alone by yourselves' LM.

ləx-i- (verbal prefix, -i- perhaps to be identified with ?i- 'second person singular', see also ləx-i· above) 'ye, you' (second person plural O, inclusive or exclusive), see grammar.

· ləx- (personal prefix, second person plural, inclusive or exclusive) l. (verbal prefix) 'ye, you'

(second person plural S), see grammar.

2a. (possessive prefix of possessed nouns) 'your pl.', see grammar, also some examples under *ləṣ-i* above.

2b. (o prefix of postpositions) 'you', see grammar, also e.g. *ləṣla'ṣ ləṣa'* 'your pl. eyes' L, *du' ləṣa'd* 'which of you?' L, *ḥiḥiḥ ləṣa'* 'one of you' L, *ləṣa'* (< *ləṣ-ṣa'*) 'yours, with you' M, *d'iK ḥi'q' ləṣqa'ga' ləṣ' qu'xtah* 'I'll give each of you a plate' L.

3. Apparently used as or with independent pronoun, only with certain enclitics: *Furuhjelm Liahshu* (< \**ḥi'ṣ*) 'ye' *ləṣḥuh* 'hello' ('is it you pl.?''), *ləṣi' ləṣdug* 'you pl. too' L.

ləx-nəx (variant nəx uncertain, see o--nəx below)

o-ləx (postposition, always with zero final; one of three comparative postpositions, cf. o-g<sup>w</sup>a? 'like, equal to o', o-?u?x 'less than, short of o') 1. 'more than, to a greater degree (positive) than, surpassing, too much for o': silex 'more than me' L, ?el ?əwleʔ sɪa?dah ?i.təh 'this is prettier than that' M, ?el ?əwleʔ ca? yihəh 'this is deeper than that' M, o-ləx -tə'-tu' 'S is more powerful than, surpasses, overcomes, prevails over o', ku-ləx -tə'-tu' 'S is powerful, rich' ?ileʔ kuleʔ ?ixitəh 'I have more than you' M, kuleʔ ?i.təh?ih 'chief, rich man', o-ləx -lə(?) 'S is too much for, bigger than o', ?ileʔ xiɪdəh 'I'm stronger than you' L, ?əwleʔ kuʃahə 'thicker than that' L, ?ileʔ siyah da?lixiləyah 'I have more food than you' M, ?ileʔ sileh səli.ʔyahə 'I'm older than you' L, kuge.ʔK, ?a?d ?əwleʔ qəh ge.ʔK 'someone (cust) lies, much worse than that he (cust) lies' L, ʒə-wa. ku.ihə, ?a?d ?əwleʔ qəhnu. ?i.təh 'people are dogs, they're much worse than (they surpass) that' L, kahdileʔ ?i?qe?weigəwih 'it'll make you feel sicker (more than sick)' L, ?ileʔ dəwa?d qəw ?i.silxahə 'I grew faster than you' L, o--

lax -xa' 'S is fleeter than o', o-lax xl-?ya  
 'it gets too late for o' ('time passes beyond o'),  
 silax seli? 'it was too much for me, more than I  
 could bear' L, ?ulax xi-l ?ahnu yilehlehd  
 'because he was more of a shaman than they' 56.21L,  
 ?awla? dexi ?i-sakyahinu 'they're already too  
 old for that' 65.79A, ?awla? ?il? d-de-le 'S  
 get into heated argument (say too much to each  
 other)', with reciprocal o, 'surpassing each other,  
 competing': ?ile? da ?adqu?kacah 'we'll wres-  
 tle (make ourselves stronger than each other)' L,  
 kulah ?ile? delihinu 'they're competing drink-  
 ing' L, kulah ?ile? ci?dedelihinu 'they're  
 arguing (speaking in competition) about something'  
 L, also 'more and more': ?ile? yax yetede?ah  
 'he's getting faster at handiwork' ('his hand-move-  
 ments are getting more (and more) rapid (than each  
 other)') L, with optative verbal clauses as o or in  
 apposition with o, 'too much for ..., beyond the  
 point where ... is possible': ?ulax siga?? ku-  
 xa'xiyah 'I'm too tired to eat' ('I'm more tired  
 than it, that I might eat something') L (note also  
 ?ulax gadesiga?? ?isda-l 'my rump is too sore  
 for (it,) sitting' L), ku?iyah se?e??, xa'diyah-  
 lax seli? 'it got too spoiled to eat' ('it got  
 bad, it got too bad that it might be eaten') L,

Kušiyah səieʔi, ʔidiqaʔdgleʔ səliʔ 'it got too spoiled to cook' L; ʔidaʔya·ləʔ 'too much, beyond what is tolerable (in general), excessively' LM, ʔidaʔya·ləʔ yiʔda·s ʔixitah 'it's too heavy for me to handle' L, ʔidaʔya·ləʔ caʔ yiʔeh 'it's too deep' L, ʔidaʔya·ləʔ ʔid:əkuʔtaxituhgʔidawa· 'before I make you too lazy' L, ʔaw de·y ʔidaʔya·ləʔ gʔ·səduxʔ 'the tea had too many leaves so that they floated up top' L, ʔidaʔya·ləʔ ʔə-tuʔ 'S is too numerous', ʔidaʔya·ləʔ xu·ʔxa·gʔ 'you make me work too much' L, ʔidaʔya·ləʔ cʔʔdeəle·ʔ 'he's talking too long and for no good reason' L, ʔidaʔya·ləʔ ləməyahʔ 'got too old (died of old age)' 25.155A; requiring ʔ-classifier in certain themes of adjectival origin referring to dimension: o·ləʔ ʔ-ʔaʔ (cf. -ʔaʔ) 'S is longer, taller than (extends beyond) o', ʔaʔd xəʔʔqʔ siləʔ ʔi·ʔʔʔʔʔh 'he's very much taller than I' LM, o·ləʔ ʔ-wəʔ 'S is wider than o, too wide for o', ʔidaʔya·ləʔ ʔ-wəʔ 'S is too wide' (cf. -wəʔ); with anatomical marks for o: siyələʔ tʔ·diyah 'it (glove) is too big for my hand' L, (see also o-y·ləʔ below), si·qi·dələʔ ʔidiyah 'they (shoes) are too big for my feet' L; silaʔləʔ ʔʔ·diyah 'it (hat) is too big for (over) my head' L (see also o--nəʔ below).

2. With verbs referring to locomotion, 'be-

yond, past, farther than o': siləx səhɪh 'he went farther than I' L, diŋ ʔəwləx ʔəla·kə 'they (fish) (cust) do not swim beyond that point' 56.13L.

3. Idiomatic: o-ləx əl-ʔya 'S becomes (visibly) pregnant' ('time passes past o, too much time passes for o, o is too late'); o-ləx ʔi-ɪ-- ʔeɪ-ʔə 'S sees o' ('S travels beyond o', standard suppletive for O-ɪ-ʔe- 'S sees O' in all forms except simple active imperfective), ku-ləx ʔi-ɪ-- ʔə-g 'S menstruates (keeps seeing something)', with anatomical marks for o: ʔiqi·dələx ʔisiɪʔəhɪ 'I saw your foot' L, ʔuyələx ʔisiɪʔəhɪ 'I saw his hand' L.

o-y-ləx (postposition, with y-anatomical 'hand', thematized) 'too much for o('s hand) to handle': si-yələx səliɪ 'it got to be too much for me, I couldn't stand it, handle it' L.

o--nəx (postposition, with l-anatomical 'head' thematized, analyzed as o-l-x 'in contact with o's head, face', but perhaps o-l-ləx 'too much for o's head, face') see o-l-x under x<sup>1</sup>.

ləx-kih-gaʔ (postpositional phrase, ləx 'too much' with suffixed -kih 'diminutive' as o of o-g<sup>w</sup>aʔ- 'like o', cf. ne-x-kih-gaʔ, ɬa-l-kih-gaʔ; conceivably ʔləx 'this way' (under ʔəl-) rather

than ləx-, but \*ʔwəx-kih-gaʔ not attested)  
'a little too much': ləxkiŋgaʔ di·yaʔ yiŋh  
'it's a little too salty' N, ləxkiŋgaʔ dədəleh  
'there's (a little) too much noise' G (L1).

la·ʒ

la·ʒ (noun) 1. (g-class?) 'nettle (*Urtica gracilis*)'  
L.

2. (g-class) 'string, cord' LM, lɪhe guka·  
la·ʒ 'one piece of cord' L, laʔd gaka· la·ʒ  
'two strings' M, la·ʒ ʔu·d gusetahɪ (not  
-ʔahɪ) 'a piece of cord is there' L, la·ʒ siɕ  
gu·ʔaʔ (or -taʔ) 'give me a piece of cord!'  
L, la·ʒ siʒaʔ 'my string' M, la·ʒgetuʔ 'lots  
of cord' L.

3. (qi·l-class) '(heavy) cord, string, (light)  
rope': laʔd qi·na· la·ʒ 'two (heavy) strings'  
M, la·ʒ qi·leda·d yp·ʔ setaʔ 'set it down  
by the rope!' L, ʔel la·ʒqi·neʒ ʔeɪɕ seɪʒi·ʔ  
'tie them together with this string!' L, ʔew  
lɪsdaɕ ʔew ʒewa· ʔel la·ʒqi·neʒ da·ʒ seɪ-  
ʒi·ʔ 'tie the dog up to that tree with this  
string!' L.

la·x-ləxə (full or expanded la·x in stem, reduced  
ləxə in anatomical, class-, and thematic mark)

-la·x (noun) la. (lx-class) 'eye': Galushia Nelson

-la·x 'eye, eyes' (with various possessors) BSdL

541, 556, 557, 557, 557, 557, 557, 557, sila·x

'my eye' M, ?ila·x 'your eye' MS, ?əhla·x, ?u-

la·x 'his eye' M, Rezanov Каллэхэ 'Глаза Auge'

qa·la·x 'our eyes, human eyes', Furuhjelm Khuliah

(< -'лэх) 'eye' Kula·x 'eye', ləxla·x ləxə

Kuša·dah ?u?ləxətəde?eh 'your pl. eyes look bad'

L, Kula·x sič ləxə?ə? 'give me an eye!' L,

ɬihə ləxə Kula·xləxə?luw 'one big eye' L, Reza-

nov Каллэхэхэ 'Слезу Thränen' qa·la·xəgiyah

'our eye-water' (from watering of eyes, not tears

from weeping) M, ?ula·xləxə?e?d 'its eyehole (in

skull); peephole for its eye (in wall)' M, with de-

leted possessive prefix in pejorative epithet: la·x-

ləxə?luw 'big-eyes!' MA, la·M.

1b. (unclassified) 'eye-region' (vague): 3.9,

13, 17M, sila·x siya· kəwehsg 'my (upper) eye-

lid quivers' (omen that I'll see someone) L, si-

la·xəxə siya· kəwehsg 'my lower eyelid quivers'

(omen that I'll cry) L, ?əwla·x?e?x lah3 ?ife-

ɕihəginu· 'they dip their fingers into its (whale's)

eye(-socket)' 11.175A.

2. (unclassified) figurative uses: a. Kula·x

... ..

'eye' (of cockle)' M ('siphon'?); Rezanov Чакле-  
ляхъ 'Ушки на иглѣ Nadel-Gehr' Заһѣт(ѣ)ла·хъ 'eye  
of needle' M.

2b. 'eyesight, sight, imagination': ?ula·хъ-  
хда·д 'without his eyesight, sightless' 61.2A; ?u-  
la·хъ ?ewa· ?ed xgewihga? ?edu?xdegew 'I have  
the feeling he's looking at me' ('I feel like I feel  
his eyesight') L; usually in postpositional phrase  
o-la·хъ-e?- 'in o's sight, imagination', see under  
?e?-.

o-ga? (l-)kə-la·хъ (with optional l-anatomical 'face',  
o-ga? 'like o') 'S has eyes like o': ?iga? ?iḥi-  
la·хъḥ 'he has eyes like you(r)s' L, λa·ʔe?ḥ·dλa·=  
?e?dga? ?ḥ·ḥila·хъ 'he has narrow slitty eyes (like  
buttonholes)' L, ʔalahsλa·əayu·ga? ?ḥ·ḥila·хъ, ʔe-  
lahsλa·əayu·ga? ?iḥila·хъ 'spoonbill duck' ('it has  
eyes like white men') L.

ləxə- (lḥ-anatomical, class-, and thematic mark, sub-  
position C, for phonology see grammar; clearly re-  
duced form of stem la·хъ) l. anatomical mark, 'eye'  
(see also ləxədə- below): in verbs: see O-(lḥ)-  
ḥ-dəK 'S hurts O('s eye)', la?d O-(lḥ)-ḥ-ʔux 'S  
pokes O('s eye) out', (lḥ)-ḥ-ʔiya?K 'S('s eyes)  
smart', lḥ-ḥ-gihʔ-g, lḥ-ḥ(a)-Kḥ·gʔ-g 'S has some-  
thing wrong with his eye', (lḥ)-xuh 'S('s eyes)  
roll', lḥ-ḥ-xix 'S has cataracts', (lḥ)-qəč 'S('s

eye) bursts', lɣ-qaʔ 'S is crosseyed', lah ʔad  
 laʔeskiʔyahkih 'he moved his eyes around' L, laʔ-  
 laʔ laʔa Kuʕiyah ʔuʔlaʔetadeʔeh 'your pl. eyes  
 look bad' L; in nouns: -lɣ-i-duʔʕ-g-i, -lɣ-duʔ  
 'part of eye', -lɣ-i-xix-i 'white of eye', -lɣ-  
 qas 'one-eyed, one eye of pair', -lɣ-i-tuʔʕ 'pu-  
 pil of eye'; in postpositional phrases: silaʔesihd  
 yiʔeh 'it's hidden from my (eye-)sight' L, ʔulaʔ  
 laʔeʔeʔd 'its eyehole (in skull); peephole (in wall)'  
 M, o-lɣ-a-i 'in o's presence, view'; in epithet:  
 laʔsaʔneʔ 'squinter' L.

2a. Class-mark (of fairly large class of nouns,  
 relatively clearly predictable semantically, including  
 all berries and round fruits and many vegetables,  
 many coarsely granular substances or objects, eyes,  
 balls, clearly derived from 'eye(-ball)'; the fol-  
 lowing is a fairly complete listing of the member-  
 ship: -laʔ 'eye', yaʔ laʔadadeʔ 'ball', yaʔ  
 laʔadeʔaʔʕ 'shinny-ball'; laʔmahd 'berry' (and  
 various species listed under ʔmahd), ŕug 'straw-  
 berry', ʕaʔʕ, ʔedeʕaʔʕ, ʔedeʔd ʕaʔʕ, ʕalaʔesa-  
 ʔeʔ 'blueberry species', ʕalogʕaʔ 'highbush  
 cranberry', qihdaʔ laʔaʔayah, saʔ ʕedeʕidʕ,  
 qeʔkuhaʔguʔ 'cranberry species', ʕeʔʕaʕiyah,  
 wehx 'currant species', ʕaʔiqaʔ 'nagoonberry'  
 laʔʕeʔeʔg 'unripe berries', laʔq laʔaʔyah 'old

berries', laʒəɬqə:ʒg, λa'ʒkigʒg, ʒe'ʒ, ʒəwa'-  
 ʒəqəʔd, ʒəwa-laʒəde-ʔəi'ʒiyah, ʒəwa-ʒəhʒ 'berry  
 species', laʒədəduʒ 'lemon', laʒədəxət', laʒədə-  
 duh, ʔq'ʒ 'orange', ʔa'bəls 'apple', laʒəsdi-  
 ʒuʔi 'peach', ʔi'ʒiʔʒ ya-laʒəciʒg 'pear', ʔu-  
 laʒəɬdəlɪh ku'leɪh 'prune, cherry', kuleʔxʒgaʔ  
 laʒi'teh 'grape', laʒəɬatug 'rice', <sup>laʒəɬa'ʒəh 'raisins'</sup> ʒəldu'xa'  
 'potato', ye'itəxi', laʒəɬəʒəh 'onion', ʒe'ɬ  
 da'ʒ ʒələʒədəh 'carrot', ʒa'ʒ 'hedysarum root',  
 kulehlaʒəʒuʒ 'radish'?, -lɪ-i-dəlɪh 'pit', -lɪ--  
 i-guʒg-g 'seed', ya'nuʔ laʒədəya-ʔ 'seeds (for  
 sowing)', -qəʒ 'gland', laʒəʒiʒ 'hail', kiɪd  
 'dry snow', kawu'd 'bead', di'yaʔgaʔ laʒi'teh  
 'green bead', ʒeʔgaʔ laʒi'teh 'brown bead', ʒi-  
 yah 'dentalium', laʒədətɪs 'dice', ʒa'ʒələʒgaʔ  
 laʒəɬəʒəniɪh 'candy', laʒədəcahʒg, dəcahʒg, ʔəd-  
 dəcahʒg '(small) bell', and several nouns of vari-  
 able class: ʒəʔ 'pill', ʒəhə 'bullet, shot',  
 xiʒ 'snowflake', kuleh 'rain(drops)', təhɪ bro-  
 ken-up leaf', ʒi'ʒg 'gravel', qəma' 'loose, sep-  
 arated roe') attested in a large number of verbs:  
 see O-i-duʔk, O-i-dəq, O-i-tas-g, kə-tux, -ta,  
 O-(i-)ta, kə-ʒiʒ, -ʒe'ɬ, -ʒe'--tu' ʒa., -iə(?)  
 la., lo., O-lɪ-i-ʒiʒ, O-ɬiɪh, O-ʔ-ca, O-i-ʒeʔʒ,  
 i-ʒiyaʔʒ, O-ʒiʔk, O-ʒəʒ, lɪ-də-ʒe'ʔ, kə-ʒaʔʒ(-g),  
 lɪ-ʒiʒ(-g), O-ʒaʔk, O-i-ʒa'ʒ, O-ʔ-(l-)i-ʒa',

O-(l̥-)-kid, O-l̥-ky-ʔd, -kabd, O-l̥-ī-xut-g,  
 -xut (intransitive and causative), O-cah̥-g,  
 ʔa-qaʔt-g (causative), O-ʔ-l̥-qa', O-qa (qa<sup>2</sup>),  
 da-q̄ih̥g, O-ʔaʔ, O-ʔuh̥(-g), O-ʔaʔt, O-ʔ--  
 (l̥-)-ī-ʔa', -wus 3., O-leʔg 2., yaʔʔ k̄u-l̥--  
 le, o-luʔ qaʔ k̄u-l̥-ʔya, ʔ-ya, O-l̥-ya-ʔ,  
 -ʔa, O-(l̥-)-ʔa, ʔ-(y)a, O-l̥-(y)a, da-a', com-  
 bined with other thematic marks in preceding sub-  
 positions: see O-ʔ-a 'S eats O', o-d O-ʔ-l̥-a  
 'S feeds o/O', (with c̄ʔ-thematic 'confusion' also  
 of subposition C) ʔih̥qa-ʔ ʔaw c̄ʔlaʔeʔeʔaʔih̥  
 'he's spreading them (berries) all about' L; in  
 adjectives: see -tuʔ, -ʔu', -ʔiyah, -gut-g,  
 -kud-g, -wax, -luhd-g, -ʔlaw, -ciʔ-g, -cah̥;  
 in a large number of nouns and nominalizations:  
 see many of the l̥- class nouns listed above, and  
 the following, not themselves l̥- class: xiʔlaʔedaʔ  
 'snowball', l̥-(l̥-)-kiʔ 'slush', ʔax k̄ulaʔeʔiʔih̥  
 'duck species', laʔedacu-x 'musket', laʔeʔah̥  
 'gunnysack', ʔi-daʔ laʔiʔiʔe-ʔ, 'hemlock spe-  
 cies', qaʔ laʔiʔe-ʔ 'plant species', k̄ulaʔeʔi-  
 siʔgi 'sawdust', laʔedeʔiʔt 'pimples', laʔeʔi-  
 kiʔḡg 'dry rice', laʔeʔixutgi 'rice', laʔeʔdiʔuʔi  
 'flannel' (cf. 'peach'), laʔeʔatug ʔuʔ ʔa-ʔt  
 laʔaʔyah 'rice-table', k̄ulehlaʔeguʔ 'mushroom',  
 laʔewehg 'quicksand', perhaps also in seʔeʔeʔeʔah

'tadpole' (with preceding *tl*-thematic 'ground' and *ɣ*-thematic); in postpositions: see *o-g<sup>w</sup>a<sup>o</sup>-*, *o-ɣa<sup>o</sup> lb.*, *o-ɣa<sup>o</sup>-ɣ* (*ɣa<sup>o</sup>-*), *o-q la.*, *o-ɣ*, *o-<sup>o</sup>e<sup>o</sup> la.*, 4. (*da-le<sup>o</sup>g*).

2b. Class-mark, but probably partly thematized; with adjectives *-ciə-g* 'thin', *-cahš* 'thick', also with reference to grain, texture, especially of fabric, 'fine', 'coarse', *leɣe-cahš* 'gunnysack'; *lɣ-šix* 'S (cloth) wears thin'; with reference to precipitation and moisture in air: *lɣ-k-gihɣ-g* 'it drizzles', *Kələɣawug* 'fog', see also *cedəɣeyɣ<sup>o</sup>y*, and *ya<sup>o</sup>ɣ Ku-lɣ-le*, *Kuleh* above; perhaps also with reference to skin eruptions: see *leɣədəki<sup>o</sup>ʔ* 'pimples', *o-lu<sup>o</sup> qa<sup>o</sup> Ku-lɣ-<sup>o</sup>ya* 'o gets pox, pustules' above.

3. Thematic mark, no clear derivation from anatomical or class-mark, but with vague general semantic suggestiveness, basic meaning conceivably 'eye-movement, furtive, vertiginous', attested in relatively few themes: *o-<sup>o</sup>-lɣ-k-kɣ<sup>o</sup>q* 'S is shy, sexually modest, practices avoidance behavior with O' (cf. *ʔed-<sup>o</sup>-k-kɣ<sup>o</sup>q* 'S is shy', *ʔed-l-k-kɣ<sup>o</sup>q* 'S is shy, sexually modest'), *lɣ-k-xahs-* 'S is afraid' (irregular *leɣ-* for regular *leɣe-* in intransitive forms), *o-<sup>o</sup>-lɣ-k-xahs-* 'S is afraid of O' (cf. *o-<sup>o</sup>-k-xa<sup>o</sup>s* 'S abstains from, avoids

tabu O'); O-ʔ-lɣ-ɪe-cɪʔʔ 'S dreams about O'  
 (cf. ʔi-cɪʔʔ 'S dreams'); lɣ-ɣeɪ 'S is dizzy,  
 drunk' (ɣeɪ<sup>1</sup>, see also ɣeɪ<sup>2</sup>); O-lɣ-ɪ-ɪeɪd 'S  
 jounces, dandles O (baby)'; in two nouns of uncer-  
 tain analysis: dequ·leɣeʔah 'fierce person',  
 ɪeɣeɣeɣah 'tadpole'.

leɣede- (lɣd-anatomical and class-mark, clearly  
 lɣ-mark combined with d-class-mark 'solid round'  
 and 'expanse of') la. anatomical mark, 'eye' ('eye-  
 ball' and also broadly 'eye-region'), more frequent  
 than lɣ-anatomical alone; in verbs: lɣd-ɪ(e)-təʔɪk  
 'S blinks, flutters eyelids', (lɣd-)de-ɪuʔe 'S('s  
 eye) swells', ɣes lɣd-ɪe(?) 'S's eye is pussy',  
 lɣd-(de-)eʔeʔ 'S's eyes are "sandy"', (lɣd-)ɪ--  
 gaʔe-g 'S has weak (eyes)', (lɣd)-qeɪ 'S('s eyes)  
 are wide open', lɣd-qeɣeɣe-ɪ 'S (child) stares',  
 lɣ(d)-(de-)qəe. 'S closes eyes, winks, blinks',  
 (lɣd-)ɪe-wed-, lɣd-ɪe-wiɣ-g, (lɣd-)ɪe-wehs-g,  
 (lɣd-)ɪe-wahs-g, lɣd-ɪe-wus-g 'S has (various  
 types of) eye-tic', O-lɣd-(ɪ-)yeqɪ-g 'S rubs O's  
 eyes', ʔiɣeɣeɣe lɣd-ʔya-g 'S's eyes keep closing  
 from sleepiness' (-ʔya 5.); in nouns: -lɣd-ɪ--  
 təhɪk 'eyelashes', -lɣd-qeyɪ-y 'baby's eyebrows';  
 in postpositions: o-lɣd-e-ʔ '(in) o's eye' (ʔeʔ-),  
 o-(lɣd-)q 'on o('s eye); o's eyelid', ʔadleɣeda-ɣ  
 xdelugg 'I'm rubbing my eyes' L, Kuleɣedelah

'around something's eye' L.

1b. Figuratively extended, with optional g= class-mark in preceding subposition: we<sup>?</sup>kle<sup>?</sup>eda-ya<sup>?</sup>, we<sup>?</sup>kgele<sup>?</sup>edaya<sup>?</sup> 'in (the loop, eye of) a snare'.

2. Class-mark, generally with reference to granular substance packed into solid ball or expanse of loose-textured granular substance on the ground; relatively small class:(membership: xi<sup>?</sup>, xi<sup>?</sup>kle<sup>?</sup>eda<sup>?</sup> 'snowball', xi<sup>?</sup> 'expanse of snow on ground', kuhd<sup>?</sup> 'moss' (perhaps semantically derived from preceding), sph 'fluff' (perhaps semantically derived from preceding)); mark manifested in nouns and postpositional phrases: xi<sup>?</sup>le<sup>?</sup>eda<sup>?</sup>qaya<sup>?</sup> 'snowslide', kul<sup>?</sup>eda<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup>d 'place where there was snow', xi<sup>?</sup>le<sup>?</sup>edada<sup>?</sup>d 'near a snowball', in adjectives: see -tu<sup>?</sup>, -<sup>?</sup>law, in verbs: see O-l<sup>?</sup>xd-(k-)<sup>?</sup>da<sup>?</sup>, -ta, O-(k-)<sup>?</sup>ta, -<sup>?</sup>ah<sup>?</sup>, -ga<sup>?</sup> 2. (ga<sup>?</sup> 1), -xui<sup>?</sup> (causative), k-<sup>?</sup>ya (causative), -<sup>?</sup>it, -<sup>?</sup>a, O-(k-)<sup>?</sup>a, O-k-(y)a; class= mark perhaps partly thematized: O-l<sup>?</sup>xd-k-gih<sup>?</sup>g 'S sprinkles water on O'.

le<sup>?</sup>ela<sup>?</sup>-<sup>?</sup> (l<sup>?</sup>xl-mark, combination of l<sup>?</sup>-class-mark and various d-thematic marks, also combination of l<sup>?</sup>-class-mark and dl-thematic, also combination of l<sup>?</sup>-anatomical or -thematic with unidentified d-

or dl-thematic mark; consistent though not clearly explicable phonological contrast between d-thematic and d-class-mark in combination with lɣ-mark in that lɣ- with d-class-mark > ləɣədə-, whereas lɣ- with d-thematic > ləɣəla'-, homophonous with lɣ- with dl-, the only possible exception attested being in O-lɣd-i-gihɔ̃-g 'S sprinkles water on O' (listed above) & lɣ-class-mark with various d-thematic marks: lɣdl-i-ʔehd 'S (berries) dry' (d-i--ʔehd 'S dries'), ləɣəla-ʔehd 'raisins', O-lɣdl--ʔiɪ 'S spills O (berries)' (O-d-ʔiɪ 'S spills O'), lɣdl-i-qahɛ 'S (ball) falls' (d-iɛ-qahɛ 'S falls'), deɪdaʔ lɣdl-ʔya-ʔ 'S is full (of berries)' (deɪdaʔ d-ʔya 'S is full'), O-lɣdl-i-ʔya 'S moves O (container of berries) onto or off of fire' (O-d-i-ʔya 'S moves O (in container) onto or off of fire'), O--lɣdl-ʔe-ʔɛ 'S strings O (beads)', (O-d-ʔe-ʔɛ 'S strings O').

1b. With d- or dl-thematic, analysis uncertain: yeqaʔ lɣdl-de-ka-sʔ 'S (snow) piles up in drift' (de-ka-sʔ 'S (storm, blizzard) rages', lɣdl-iɛ-ʔeɔ 'S (snow) avalanches, drifts, piles up' (iɛ-ʔeɔ 'S jumps, plunges headlong', dl-iɛ--ʔeɔ 'S falls over'); laʔɣ O-lɣdl-iɛ-(y)a 'S wears O (bead necklace)'.

1c. With dl-thematic: O-lɣdl-i-ʔe 'S hides

O (berries)' (O-dl-l-ʔe 'S hides O').

2. lɣ-anatomical, perhaps also lɣ-class-mark, with d- or dl-thematic, attested in postpositional phrases only: o-lɣdl-d 'into view of o'; kawu·dləʔəλa·ʔeʔɣ 'hole (eye?) in bead for stringing'.

3. lɣ-thematic, with d- or dl-thematic: o-ɣ ʔi-ʔ-lɣdl-ʔəɬ, o-ɣ ʔi-ʔ-lɣdl-weʔd 'ó gets half drunk and supply of liquor runs out' (cf. lɣ-ʔəɬ 'S is dizzy, drunk', də-weʔd 'S (supply) runs short').

-guleʔə- (g-class- or anatomical marks with lɣ-class-mark) see under gu.

-guleʔədə- (g-class-mark with lɣ-anatomical) see under gu.

ɬələʔə- (ɬ-thematic with lɣ-class-mark) see ɣe·d.

ɬələʔələʔə- (perhaps ɬl-thematic, ɣ-thematic, lɣ-class-mark) see ɬələʔələʔah.

ɣələʔə- (ɣ-thematic with lɣ-class-mark) see O-ɣ-a.

λa·ɣ (d-thematic of subposition A or B with lɣ-mark) see λa·ɣ.

cɪʔ<sup>v</sup>lɣ- (cɪʔ-thematic with lɣ-class-mark) see cɪʔ.

ni·sq̄ (conceivably to be analyzed ni·s-q̄ with ni·s-  
as o of o-q̄ 'on o', perhaps related to ni·k̄ and/or  
ni·č̄)

-ni·sq̄ (noun, unclassified) 'nostril': Kuni·sq̄  
'nostrils' LMA, Kuni·sq̄ 'nostrils' S (final  
consonant Flingit), Puruhjelm Khaneskh 'nose'  
qa·ni·sq̄ 'our, human nostrils', sini·sq̄yeq̄d̄  
'inside my nostril' L, as o of o-yeq̄: ?uni·sq̄-  
yeq̄ qi·li?j̄h̄h̄ 'it (rope-like) hangs under her  
nostrils' (in song about snot-nosed girl) 72.40M,  
?ini·sq̄yeq̄ geli·?ah 'your nose is running' ('it  
(liquid) extends down under your nostrils' L,  
sini·sq̄yeq̄ ?iɣəλa·saiq̄ah̄ 'I feel like sneezing'  
( 'it burned under my nostrils' ) L.

laʔɣɔʔ (Rezhanov and Wrangell both imply initial affricate, probably ʎ-)

laʔɣɔʔ-ɪ (noun, unclassified, ɪ-suffix lacking only in form from S) 'star': laʔɣɔʔɪ 'star' LMA, 2a.2, 4, 14, 19M, 2b.16L, also perhaps 'starfish' L, Rezhanov ТАРКУТАЪ 'Звѣзду Sterne', Wrangell ТАРКЕКАЪ (perhaps printer's error for ТАРКЕКАЪ) 'Sterne', Galushia Nelson la'ɣtsɪ or laɣtsɪ 'star' BSdL 537, laʔɣɔʔ 'star' S, laʔɣɔʔʔaʔuʔ 'lots of stars' M, laʔɣɔʔʔaʔluw 'big star' L, laʔɣɔʔɪ qid diʂiqahɪ 'shooting star fell' ('star fell down') L, laʔɣɔʔɪ saʔeʔqɪ 'shooting star fell' ('star urinated') L (later rejected in favor of following), laʔɣɔʔɪ seʔeʔqɪ 'shooting star fell' ('star whizzed through the air') L.

niŋa' (loan from Tlingit (S) niŋa, (Sampson Harry)

niŋa 'handkerchief'; \*ŋanaŋi 'blow you nose'; naŋa with vowel -  
Central Tlingit

niŋa' (noun, unclassified) 'handkerchief' LMA, (w. Schiff)

'kerchief, scarf, bandana, babushka' LA, niŋa'-

luw 'big handkerchief' LM, Rezanov Нехтялякь-

щухъ 'Полюковая платокъ seidenes Tuch' niŋa'-

leŋecizg 'fine (thin) handkerchief, kerchief'.

ni·ga·dešj·-ni·ka·deše·-nika·deše· (unanalyzable; ni·ga·dešj· L four times, ni·ga·deše· M once, nika·deše· A twice, N once; name influenced and perhaps related to but not the same bird as ni·Kedeče·?, q.v. under če·?; to be segmented perhaps ni·g--ni·K---a--de--se--sĵ·, ni·K- perhaps 'nose', de- perhaps de--classifier or d-thematic, and še· perhaps O-še 'S kills O', or so folk-etymologized under these influences; cf. Tlingit ꞑꞑꞑꞑꞑꞑ, which A etymologizes 'it kills with its nose'; perhaps not of Eyak origin)

ni·ga·dešj·-ni·ka·deše·-nika·deše· (noun, unclassified) '(belted) kingfisher' LMA, 34.32L (for variants see preceding); not the same bird as ni·Ke-deče·? L, same kind as ?ĵ·da? diče·? A.

liglig

liglig (loan from Chugach Eskimo, Yupik leq̄teq 'goose';  
status in Eyak uncertain, see also leḡeliḡabdaalig)

liglig (noun, unclassified) 'brant' L (later rejected  
as being "Aleut" only, not used by Eyak).

*not used in month name (W. F. Schlegel)*

nedg (loan from Tlingit nas'g 'three')

nedg-i- (noun?) occurring only in month-name

nedgkqexah, 'a certain winter? month' L; L has heard of this month, and is also aware that nedg- is a borrowed form of a Tlingit numeral, but does not know which numeral.

ləxəša'ʔne' (partly unanalyzable, with lɣ-anatomical  
 'eyes', to be segmented perhaps -ša'ʔ-ne', -šə'ʔ-e',  
 -ša'-ʔne', -šə'-ʔe', -ša'ʔ-ʔne', or -šə'ʔ-ʔe',  
 conceivably -ša' related to šiyah-šah-ša' 'bad',  
 ʔne' to le' or ʔe' to ʔe or ʔe-ʔə)

ləxəša'ʔne' (epithet) 'squinter' LA (applied to  
 a particular person, considered humorous, con-  
 noting some ridicule), ləxəšəiɣihɣiɣ, ʔah  
 ləxəša'ʔne' 'he's got something wrong with his  
 eye, that fellow "squinter"' A, known to Sampson  
 Harry (tingit) as naɣəšəni.

lebebu'3 (loan from English 'rubber boots', see also  
lebah)

lebebu'3 (noun, probably unclassified) 'rubber  
boots' L.

lebah (loan from English 'rubber', see also lebebu'3)

lebah (noun, probably unclassified) 'rubber, rubber boots' L.

la·d (loan from English 'lard')

la·d (noun, perhaps gl-class) 'lard' L.

le·lu·d (loan from English 'railroad')

le·lu·d (noun, perhaps d-class or unclassified)

'railroad-train' L.

le·diyuh (loan from English 'radio' /réydiyow/ or perhaps /réhdiyow/)

le·diyuh (noun, unclassified) 'radio' L, ?ew  
le·diyuh sesjht 'the radio went on the blink,  
died' L, see also 60.41ff.

la·xga· (loan from Russian *заква*, probably through Chugach *laaxkaq* 'store', not used by Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)

la·xga· (noun, d-class) 'store' L, la·xga· de-seh²ahih 'he owns, runs the store' L, la·xga· ʔu·d dees²ahh 'a store is there' L, la·xga·=da²luw 'big store' L.

la·xga·da²iya² (noun, unclassified) 'storekeeper, trader' ('store-master') L.

nahtede' (loan from Athapaskan or Tlingit of widely diffused form, throughout Athapaskan, Na-Dene, and further, perhaps of Athapaskan origin, cf. Ahtena na:de, Tlingit nasde, also in Haida, Tsimshian, and beyond)

nahtede' (noun, unclassified) '(red) fox' LA, 15.1, 6, 10, 16, 20, 23M, 34.40L, Rezanov  
 Накадце 'Исика Fuchs', Wrangell Накадце  
 'Fuchs', Galushia Nelson na<sup>n</sup>'qətsä' or ná-  
 qətsä' 'fox' BSDL 538, nahtede'ga? ?i-t'ihh  
 'he's lean, skinny' ('he's like a fox') A.

na·ʒəg (unanalyzable, perhaps loan from Chugach Eskimo,  
not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)

- na·ʒəg (noun, unclassified) 'Canada goose' LM, 34.-  
35L, 68.52A, Wrangell Harax̄ 'Gans', Galushia  
Nelson náʒəq̄ or náʒəq̄ 'goose' BSdL 539, na·-  
ʒəḡit̄ah̄ 'goose-feather' L, na·ʒəgyu· ʔaw ʒah  
'geese eat it' A (perhaps also name of grassy  
plant, Equisetum arvense, same as ʒe·kus), Galu-  
shia Nelson naʒək̄ yát 'Raven House, Aloganik  
("goose-house)" BSdL 545 na·ʒəgyah̄; na·ʒəgta·ʔ  
name of Johnny Nacktan or Mackintyre (< Nacktan <  
na·ʒəgta·ʔ), father of Ponty Nacktan, half-Eyak,  
half-Chugach ('goose's father') IMS, naʒakta  
in BSdL appears twice, as name of maternal grand-  
father of Gus Nelson, Galushia Nelson, L's mother,  
and (by another daughter) of another Johnny Mack-  
intyre named naʒakta; na·ʒəgla·ʔt̄ 'plant species'  
L (Equisetum?, 'goose-tongue', see under laʔt̄.-  
ʔnaʔt̄).
- na·ʒəgqa·ʔyaʔ (noun, unclassified) 'yellowleg (white--  
fronted) goose (Anser albifrons)' ('that which is  
amongst geese') L.

на'w also Vancouverian HÁM 'Bogka, T. C. 2011?  
(историческое Русское слово)

na'w (loan from Tlingit *náw* 'whiskey', ultimately of European origin, 'rum', through Chinook Jargon, occurring also in na'wšida', na'wda'ke-d, see da'ke-d-da'ke-d)

na'w (noun, gl-class) 'whiskey, hard liquor' LS,  
na'w delahya' ?enahšekih ?ilijih 'he likes to drink whiskey' L, de' ?ewa-duh ?enahšekih ?uxə'i-leh, na'w da'ɣ gi'wa' 'which do you like, whiskey or beer?' L, dede'd, gi'wa', na'w 'either one, whiskey, beer' L, na'wgy-tu' 'lots of whiskey' M, na'wgu-?nuw 'large amount of whiskey' LM, na'wgelelu?qa' siŋ da'ɣ ?i?de-lijih 'he's begging me for whiskey' L, na'w qa'ya' sedewe?q̄i 'our whiskey is running out' L; ča'nwa'nyu'ya' na'w '(unidentified) alcoholic drink' ('Chinamen's whiskey') L, qe'kseyu'-ya' na'w 'wine' ('women's whiskey') L.

na·wšida· (loan from Tlingit nāw šida 'funnel' S,

< 'whiskey-...', šida perhaps to be identified with

(Naish-Story) šidā 'helmet/head-riim', but note also o-y-lād &

na·wšida· (noun, unclassified) 'funnel' L (same

as na·wdešid, q.v. under šid-šed).

'Catch O',  
šida  
'catcher'

nu's (loan from English 'news', perhaps not naturalized)

nu's (noun, unclassified) 'news' 61.421.

lu'sga's (loan from Chugach Eskimo luuskaq 'spoon',  
from Russian ложка)

lu'sga's (noun, perhaps d-class) 'spoon', perhaps  
pejorative, same as šil, which is much preferred  
to lu'sga's for 'spoon' L.

lu·sen (loan from nineteenth-century English 'Russian'  
 /rúwšín/; cf. Tlingit ʔanúši, which L knows but claims  
 was not used by Eyaks; both forms perhaps influenced or  
 perhaps reinforced by more recent English 'Aleutian'  
 /ɬlúwšín/)

lu·sen (noun, unclassified) 'Russian' 52.24, 26L,  
 lu·senyu· 'Russians' L, 52.18, 22, 26, 30, 32,  
 53.33, 34L.

nu·yeh (loan from English 'New Year')

nu·yeh (noun, probably unclassified) 'New Year' L.

ye (perhaps also yed, especially prevocalically, perhaps originally reduced kinship noun, see below, or perhaps to be identified with y-thematic)

-ya- (prefix, attested only in the following kinship terms) 1. 'in-law' in -ya-ta'ʔ (never -wa-) 'father-in-law', see under -ta'ʔ 'father', conceivably < -yed-ta'ʔ.

2. Meaning uncertain in -ya-dəh (never -wa-) 'mother-in-law', see under dəh, which occurs only in this form, conceivably < -yed-dəh, cf. preceding and -p'- 'mother', but see also following.

3. '(man's) son' in -ya-ʔehd '(man's) daughter--in-law', see under -ʔehd 'wife', and cf. Athapaskan \*-yeʔə '(man's) son', perhaps of different origin from -ya- 1. and 2. above.

ʔya (~~regular stem~~, often ʔye· in regular active imperative; stem of k-ʔya 'S (in container) is, gets in position' included here, though conceivably different historically; very frequent stem, productive of a large variety of themes, with many cross-classifications, not amenable to listing in any order without considerable arbitrariness, here compensated for by cross-referencing; the general organization is by thematic marks and classifier, those themes with basic thematic marks and/or different basic classifier (but generally not those in which marks are anatomical or class-, or in which classifiers are clearly derived) being listed as separate subentries; also listed as separate subentries are deverbalizations and most well-established nominalizations, following the subentry for the themes from which they are derived; a peculiarity of many intransitive themes with stem ʔya is that with postpositional phrases with reciprocal o (indirect reciprocals), the expected vocalization of the classifier, zero- > da-, k- > ke- fails to take place, see -ʔya 2c., 2d., 3., 4., 5., gdl-ʔya 1., 0-ʔ-1-ʔya; the basic meaning of the stem, insofar as this is isolable, seems to be 'S (animate or inanimate, sg. or pl., involuntarily) is, gets in situation, is, becomes restricted to situation; S (in

situation, medium) moves, acts (restrictedly and/or involuntarily)')

-?ya (themes with basic zero-classifier and without thematic or highly thematized prefixes, with a great variety of postpositional phrases and preverbs, meaning often idiomatic; 2.-17. are themes with postpositional phrases, of which 17. is attested in indirect reflexive only, 18.-34. are themes with preverbs, 35.-39. (38.?) are themes attested in transitive only) 1. ('S moves (restrictedly in medium)' ?, cf. ʔd-?ya, ʔ-?ya) a. 'S (dugout, kayak) moves, travels through water':  
ʔuʔihʔ ʔw<sup>2.17</sup> yahd saʔyahʔ 'it (canoe) set out after her' 2.54A, sayeʔgug ʔucʔ-ʔʔ ʔaʔ saʔya-ʔih  
'a baidarka was passing by down below her' 22.3L.

1b. With d-class-mark for S (perhaps partly thematized) (1) 'S (large boat) moves, travels through water': ʔʔ-ʔ ʔeʔ desaʔya-ʔ  
'it (steamer, not canoe) is coming back here' L, ʔediʔiʔ desaʔya-ʔ 'it (steamer) is coming in' L, ʔeyʔ-y daʔ ʔʔ-daʔ saʔyahʔ  
'a different one (steamer) came in' L, ʔaʔʔ-ʔ desaʔya-ʔ 'it (steamer) is getting closer' M, caʔli-naʔʔ ʔaʔ desaʔyahʔ 'it (ship) ran up aground on a rock' L, ʔu-daʔ desaʔyahʔ

'(steamer) arrived there' 58.11, qa·lu?qa·  
 ŋu·na· lee desa?yah̄ 'a schooner landed to  
 fetch us' Galushia Nelson 59.10; (2) siḡ ?i?de-  
 sa?yah̄j̄h (probably to be corrected to siḡ de-  
 sa?yah̄j̄h) "sounds like 'somebody came by in a  
 boat'" M (cf. -?ya 8., ?i-?-?ya); (3) 'S (d--  
 class: boat, car) moves': silah desa?yah̄ 'it  
 (boat, car) ran (in circle) around me' M (but cf.  
 ḡdl-?ya 2.).

2. With o-qa? 'between, amongst o' (see  
 also y-?ya) a. 'S is, becomes caught between,  
 amongst o, tangled, mixed up with, involved with  
 o': ?uqa? sa?yah̄ 'you're involved in it' L,  
 qa·qa? sa?yah̄j̄h 'he got involved, mixed up  
 with us' L, siḡp·ḡḡəla·qa? ku·?yah̄ 'something  
 is stuck between my teeth' L (neuter perfective),  
 ?uqa? ku·?yah̄ 'it's full of lint' ('something  
 is tangled, mixed amongst it') L (neuter perfec-  
 tive).

2b. With ?ilqa? 'amongst each other' (see  
 also ḡdl-?ya 1.), indirect reciprocal: with  
 class-marks for S: ?ilqa? gudi?yah̄ 'they (strings) \_  
 are tangled together' L (neuter perfective), ?ilqa?  
 ʎa·sdi?yah̄ 'it (net) got all twisted and tangled'  
 L.

2c. With ?i?qa?ɣ '(movement) amongst, between each other': ?i?qa?ɣ ?i-?yahɬ 'they're linked together' L (?i?qa?ɣ apparently used preverbially, otherwise indirect reciprocal with zero-classifier to be vocalized to de-, thus ?idi?yahɬ).

2d. With ?i?qa-ɣ 'scattered'  
preverbal: ?i?qa-ɣ ?i-?yahɬ L (neuter perfective), ?i?qa-ɣ sa?yahɬ 'they're scattered all over' L.

3. With o-lah 'around o', 'S gets tangled with o': with class-marks for S: silah qi-li-?yahɬ 'it (rope) is wrapped around me' M (neuter perfective), with ?i?lah, ?i?lah 'around each other', sometimes as indirect reciprocal (requiring vocalic classifier, see also gdl-?ya 1.), sometimes as preverb (with zero-classifier in verb): ?i?lah Musa?ya-ɬ 'it (something) is getting tangled' L (probably to be corrected to gusa?ya-ɬ with g-class-mark for S 'string'), ?i?lah gudi?yahɬ 'it (string) is tangled' LM (neuter perfective), ?i?lah gudi?yahɬ 'it (string) got tangled' L; se-ɕ ?uxa? delah gudi?yahɬ 'her spruceroots got caught (around indeterminate o)' 37a.12L (to be corrected to gusa?yahɬ, de--

classifier analogical with preceding forms;  
passive of causative, 'her spruce roots were made  
to get caught on something', unlikely reading in  
context).

4. With ?iĭ-č 'toward each other', ap-  
parently used preverbially, zero-classifier not  
vocalized to de- as in indirect reciprocal:  
sidega?čĭ siya· ?iĭč sa?ya·ĭ 'my throat's  
getting hoarse' ('my throat is coming together')  
L.A.

5. With ?iĭ-yač-č '(continuous motion) into  
each other' apparently used preverbially, zero-  
classifier not vocalized to de- as in indirect  
reciprocal, with lĭd-anatomical 'eyes': repeti-  
tive: ?iĭyačəč ləxədəxya·g 'my eyes keep closing  
(from sleepiness)' L.

6. With o-čə? 'behind o' a. 'S is, becomes  
stuck, stopped, blocked, obstructed behind (speci-  
fic) o': Rezanov Kyraca-aryz 'Tsko eng, ge-  
drängt' Kuča? sa?yahĭ 'it got stuck (behind  
something), blocked by something (specific)' L,  
Kuča?č sa?ya·ĭ 'it's getting stuck behind some-  
thing' L; Kuča?č ?i·?yahĭ 'it's stuck against  
something, won't go any farther' L ( -č 'move-  
ment within area', perhaps to be deleted). Transi-

Rezanov Kyraca-aryz 'Tsko eng, ge-  
drängt' also to be true read (but of -?yač?)

tive (causative): with *yeʒ* 'downward' (see -ʔya 32.): *Kuʔaʔx yeʒ seiyaʔ* 'stick it (get it stuck) down behind something!' L.

6b. With *o-taʔ* with indeterminate *o*, 'S is, becomes stuck, stopped, obstructed (behind non-specific *o*), S stops, S is, becomes difficult' (see also *gl-ʔya*): *deʔaʔ qaʔyah* 'it'll get stuck' L, *ʔu·d diʔaʔ siʔyahʔ* 'I stopped there' L, *o-da·d deʔaʔ saʔyahʔih* 'he stopped by o' 2a, 18M, *diʔaʔ saʔyahʔ* 'it got stuck, it became difficult' L, *diʔaʔʕ* (not \**diʔa·ʕ*) *saʔya·ʔ* 'it's getting stuck, difficult' L, neuter perfective: *sidegaʔqʔdi·ʔqʔ deʔaʔ ku·ʔyahʔ* 'something is stuck in my throat' L, with *g-* class-mark for S: *diʔaʔ gu·ʔyahʔ* 'it (string) is stuck (won't pull)' L, active imperfective: (see *deʔaʔyah*).

7. With *o-sʔh* 'concealed behind *o*': *Kusʔh saʔyahʔ* 'it got (concealed) behind something' L.

8. With *o-x* 'in contact with *o*', 'S comes in contact with *o*' (see also -ʔya 1b(2), *o-x ʒeʒ* *o-i-ʔya*, *d-ʔya ʒe.*, *dl-ʔya ʒ.*, *o-x yd-ʔya*, *ʔdl-ʔya l.*, *o-x ʔi-ʔ-d-ʔya*): *ya·ʒ saʔyahʔ* 'it came into contact with, brushed against something' L; with *o-y-x* 'in contact

with o's hand': siya·ʒ saʔyah̄t 'it brushed  
by my hand' L, diʔdah siya·ʒ saʔyah̄t 'I  
finally got something I wanted badly for a long  
time' ('it fairly, safely came in contact with  
my hand') L.

9. With o-ʔp·ʔ 'coming upon o' (see also  
ɛl-ʔya 6., ʔed-ʔi·lih-ke-ʔya 1.), general  
meaning uncertain, 'S (malady, bodily disturbance?)  
manifests self upon, affects o': siʔp·ʔɛ saʔ-  
ya·t̄ 'it (a cold etc.) is coming upon me' M,  
with l-class-mark for S, repetitive: siʔus̄t̄  
siʔp·ʔɛ laʔya·g 'my heart is beating fast, pal-  
pitating' AL.

10. With o-yaʔ 'in o (with broad opening  
at top)', 'S falls, is, gets stuck in (unable to  
get out of) o' (see also -yaʔ 22.): ʔewyaʔ  
saʔyah̄t 'it's stuck in it, he fell into it (and  
can't get out)' L.

11. With o-yeq̄ 'in o' and liʔ 'deeply  
inside, from open front toward closed back end':  
ʔewyeq̄ liʔ saʔyah̄t 'it's stuck way inside it'  
L.

12. With o-y-ʒaʔ 'by, in (intimate) rela-  
tion with o's hand, succumbing to o, overcome by  
o', 'S succumbs to o, is overcome by o, falls

victim to o, perishes from o' (cf. -?ya 13.,  
 y-?ya, o-? yd-?ya): xa'gkye'a? sa'yah't 'he  
 died, passed out from (over)work' L, ka'dye'a?  
 sa'yah'tih 'he was overcome by pain' L, ?uye'a?  
 si'yah't 'I fell into its clutches' L, de'e-lye-  
 a? si'yah't 'I hungered, starved' L, de'e-l-  
 ye'a?dih sa'yah't 'did he hunger, starve?' L,  
 ?p', de'e-lye'a? qih sa'yah't, ?p', de'e-l  
 qih ?owe'a? sa'yah't 'yes, starve he did' L,  
 de'ye'a?dih sa'yah't 'what did he succumb to?,  
 what did him in?' L, keh'ye'a? si'yah't 'I  
 caught a chill' 11.177, 177A, keh'ye'a? kasa?-  
 yah't 'one succumbed to, died of cold' 61.79A,  
 la'yah'ye'a? sa'yah't 'he succumbed to old age'  
 25.156A, ?owe'a? sa'yah't 'she was overcome  
 by, perished from it' 27b.55A, de'knu'duw ?u-  
 ye'a? qa'yah 'how many would perish from it'  
 28.110A, ?idehdah ?iy'e'a? si'yah't 'I really  
 let you do me in' L, kah'dye'a?e' sexya't 'I'm  
 succumbing to disease' L, de'ye'a?e' sa'ya'tih  
 'he's succumbing to old disease (old injury, T.B.)'  
 L, repetitive: cu'dye'a?e' xya'g 'I keep dozing  
 off' L; uncertain instances: te'ya?, kutu?  
 ?uye'a? sa'yah'tinu' 'fish, they got lots' 2a.=  
 16M (see fn), di'dah ?uye'a? ?ew sa'yah't 'he

finally found it (groping)' 4.5LM (see footnote, ?uyeda?ɣ perhaps more appropriate). Transitive (causative): deɕe·lyeɣa? səɣya? 'starve it!' L; passive: ?idehdah qɣh ?əwyeɣa? ɣuʂi?yahɪ, guwəhd 'I was really taken in by that, by his lies' ('really I was made to succumb to that, for deceit') L.

13. With o-y-da?-ɣ '(movement) onto o's hand-front', 'o gets S, S plays into o's hand' (cf. -?ya 12., y-?ya): dewa?d siyeda?ɣ sa?-yahɪ 'I got it quickly and easily, it played right into my hands' L, dewa?d siyeda?ɣ əa?-yah da·ɣ 'if I get it quickly' L; *revised 68.103*

14. With o-ɣɣ·? 'the full length of o, to equilibrium for o' (cf. -?ya 20., 40., gdl--?ya 2.), 'o recovers from, gets over S (emotional disturbance or ill health)': siɣɣ·? sa?yahɪ 'I recovered my health, spirits, I got over it' M, ki·ɣ siɣɣ·? sa?yahɪ 'I got over a crying jag' M, siɣɣ·?ə sa?ya·ɪ 'I'm getting over it' M, siɣɣ·?ə ?i?yah da·ɣ qahɣɣ de·?əd xgewi·K 'just as I'm starting to get over it (cold) I (cust) get a cough again' L (active conditional).

15. With o-laʔ-d '(at rest) hanging on o', 'S is, gets hung up on o, trips over o': dela?d

ʔi-ʔyahʔ 'it's hanging up (on indeterminate o)'  
M (neuter perfective), ʔulaʔd saʔyahʔiʔh 'he  
tripped over it' M, with dl-class-mark for S:  
delaʔd ʔi-ʔyahʔ 'it (net) is hanging up' L.

16. With o-laʔ-x '(movement) down over  
(hanging on) o' a. With l-class-mark for S 'month,  
moon', 'o is a certain number of months pregnant'  
(cf. d-ʔya ʔo., el-ʔya ʔa., 4.): qeʔah ʔulaʔx  
ʔi-saʔyahʔ 'she's a month pregnant' L, laʔdicʔi-  
ʔa-na- qeʔah ʔulaʔx ʔi-saʔyahʔ 'she's seven  
months pregnant' L.

16b. Transitive (causative): indirect reflexive,  
with lxdl-mark for O (<lʔ- 'granular' and  
dl-thematic 'series') (stem perhaps in error for  
(y)a, see same theme under (y)a): ʔiyah laʔx  
ləʔeʔa-iʔyahʔiʔh 'he's wearing a dentalium necklace'  
(('he's causing a series of dentalia to hang  
over himself') L (neuter perfective).

17. Indirect reflexive, with ʔed-yeʔ 'into  
self', 'S comes to, regains consciousness, sobers  
up': ʔedyeʔ sdiʔyahʔ 'he sobered up' M, ʔed-  
yeʔ sdaʔyah da-x 'when you come to' 36.25A,  
with ʔeʔ 'back, again': ʔe- ʔedyeʔeʔ  
sdaʔya-iʔh 'he's coming to' M, ʔedyeʔ ʔeʔ  
sdiʔyahʔ 'he came to' 10.201A, ʔedyeʔ ʔeʔ

qu<sup>o</sup>da<sup>o</sup>yah 'you'll come to' 36.24A.

18. With qa<sup>o</sup> 'up out' (see also <sup>16. (1)</sup> qa<sup>o</sup>  
ʔisya·l, delu<sup>o</sup> qa<sup>o</sup> la<sup>o</sup>yah, o-lu<sup>o</sup> qa<sup>o</sup> ku--  
lɔ-ʔya, d-ʔya 2., gl-ʔya, ɣdl-ʔya 1.) a. 'S  
awakens, revives': qa<sup>o</sup> ɛa<sup>o</sup>ya<sup>o</sup> 'wake up!' L,  
qa<sup>o</sup>·ɕ ɛaxya·ɩ 'I'm waking up' L, qa<sup>o</sup>·ɕ ɛa<sup>o</sup>ya·=  
ɩɩh 'he's waking up' L, qa<sup>o</sup> si<sup>o</sup>yahɩ 'I woke  
up' L, ʔuxew qa<sup>o</sup> si<sup>o</sup>yahɩ 'I woke up the same  
time he did' L, qa<sup>o</sup> sa<sup>o</sup>yahɩ 'woke up' LM, 23.=  
102, 25.7, 29.37, 51.53, 54, 57A, 56.26L, ʔidah  
qa<sup>o</sup> sa<sup>o</sup>yahɩ 'really woke up, became wide awake'  
56.29L, kuɩa·dah ʔi·lihyileh da·ɣ qa<sup>o</sup> sa<sup>o</sup>=  
yahɩ 'he woke up in a bad mood' M, ɕe·qa<sup>o</sup> sdi<sup>o</sup>=  
yahɩɩh 'he came back to life, revived' L, qa<sup>o</sup>  
ʔixi<sup>o</sup>yahɩ 'I'm awake' L, qa<sup>o</sup> ʔi·ʔyahɩ 'he's  
awake' L (neuter perfectives), qa<sup>o</sup> si·ʔyah da·ɣ  
'when you wake up' 51.79A. Transitive (causative):  
qa<sup>o</sup> ɛɛyɩ·ʔɩh M, qa<sup>o</sup> ɛɛyɩʔɩh 'wake him up!'  
LM, qa<sup>o</sup> xuseɛya<sup>o</sup> 'wake me up!' M, qa<sup>o</sup> ʔiqe<sup>o</sup>=  
xɩyah 'I'll wake you up' M, qa<sup>o</sup> lexiqe<sup>o</sup>xɩyah  
'I'll wake you pl. up' M, ʔahnu· qa<sup>o</sup> ʔɛya·=  
Mɩh 'they'd (cust) wake him up' 56.23A; reflexive:  
Galushia Nelson qá'aḡ:ttɩyá'ɩi 'wake (staying by  
dead body)' BSdL 552 qa<sup>o</sup> ʔediɩi<sup>o</sup>yahɩɩh 'he's  
staying, keeping himself awake', qa<sup>o</sup> ʔediɩi<sup>o</sup>=

yahkinu 'they're staying awake' L, qa? ?edix=ki?yahk 'I'm staying, keeping myself awake' L (neuter perfectives), qa? ?edqu?xka?yah 'I'll keep myself awake' L; passive: dik qe? qa? ?eska?yahkijh 'he wasn't reawakened, couldn't be revived' 61.83A.

18b. 'S (motor) starts': qa? sa?yahk 'it (motor) started' L, qa? ?i?yah da?x qe?yq? ?ededa?K 'just as it starts getting started it (cust) conks out' L (active conditional). Transitive (causative): repetitive: ?ew qp?d lya?gijh 'he's starting it (motor)' L.

18c. With tsh 'waves' (normally ydl-class, here declassified) as S: tsh qa? ?i?yahk 'waves are rolling' M, 'wave is coming' L.

18d. Transitive (causative) reflexive and indirect reciprocal, with ?ik?K 'with each other', perhaps with d-thematic (cf. d-?ya 2b., ?ed--d-?ya): ?ik? qa? ?ediki?yahkinu 'they get along well, are compatible, happy together' L (perhaps to be interpreted <sup>?ed-ke-?ya, ?ed-d-ke-?ya</sup> ?eddiki?yahkinu, see d-?ya 3., ^ .)

19. With les 'ashore, up from shore', 'S loses (e.g. in contest)' (cf. g-?ya, gl-?ya): les si?yahk 'I lost (in game)' L, les sa?ya?kijh 'he's losing' M. Transitive (causative),

'S wins O, S beats O (in game)': les Kusəyaʔ  
 'win (something)!, beat (someone)!' M, les Ku-  
 quʔxəyah 'I'll win' M, les Kusəyaʔhəh 'he's  
 winning' M, les Kusəyahh 'I won' M, les  
 ʔisəyahh 'I beat you (in game)' L, diK les  
 qiʔyihyaʔ 'you won't win it' 61.9, 9A, les  
 ʔiqəʔxəyah 'I'll beat you' L, les xusəyahhəh  
 'he beat me' L, Kədəx ʔəh les ʔaʔyahhəh  
 'he couldn't win her' 10.257A (neuter perfective,  
 meaning here perhaps literal, 'he couldn't get,  
 keep her ashore'), Kaʔdiʔdaʔ les ʔiʔyihinuʔ  
 'you'll never win them' 11.7% A (active optative,  
 meaning perhaps literal as in preceding), with  
 d-class-mark for O: siʔaʔ les desəyahh 'you  
 won it (money) from me' L; passive: daʔnaʔdig,  
 Kuʔuʔ les daʔyaʔK 'money too, much is (cust)  
 earned' 62.8fnG (d-class-mark for O lacking).

20. With ʔəʔ 'to completion, finished'  
 (cf. -ʔya 14., 40., ləxəʔəʔug ʔuq ʔəʔ  
 ləxəʔyah): a. 'S (job) is done, finished, S  
 (thing) is made, S (event) is over with': ʔəʔ  
 saʔyahh 'it (job) is done, it's finished, it's  
 over' L, wəx ʔəʔ ʔiʔyahh 'it's made out of  
 it' ('S is finished thus') L (neuter perfective),  
 ʔəʔ saʔyaʔh 'it's getting finished, approaching

completion' L, ʔəp·ʔ qaʔyah 'it'll be over,  
finished' L, ʔəp·ʔ ʔi·ʔyahwahd 'the makings of  
something' ('that which is for the sake of being  
made') M, with 1-class-mark for S: qɪʔ ʔəp·ʔ  
la·yiʔyahʕ 'until it (basket) is finished' 6.11L.

20b. 'S (event) takes place': gah ʔa·ʔ  
qaʔyah 'there'll be a dance' M, ʔədowiʔɪ ʔəp·ʔʕ  
saʔya·ɪ 'war is brewing' L, ʔədowiʔɪ ʔəp·ʔ saʔ-  
yahɪ 'there was a war' L.

20c. 'S is, becomes ready (e.g. to go some-  
where)': qahʕ ʔəp·ʔ ʔi·ʔyahɪ 'are you (finally)  
ready to go?' L (neuter perfective), ʔəp·ʔ saʔyaʔ  
qah 'get ready (to go, finally)!' L, ʔəp·ʔʕ saʔ-  
ya·ɪ 'I'm getting ready' L, ʔəp·ʔʕ saʔya·ɪɪh  
'he's getting ready' L, ʔəp·ʔ ʔi·ʔyahɪɪh 'he's  
ready' L (neuter perfective).

20d. 'S is, gets all dressed up nicely':  
ʔəp·ʔ xyah L (active imperfective), ʔəp·ʔ ʔixiʔ-  
yahɪ 'I'm all dressed up nice' L, ʔəp·ʔ ʔi·ʔ-  
yahɪɪh 'he's all dressed up' L (neuter perfectives),  
ʔəp·ʔʕ saʔya·ɪɪh 'he's getting all dressed up' L,  
ʔəh hila·ʔ ʔəp·ʔ saʔyahɪ 'the man had gotten  
all dressed up' 58.11L, ʔəp·ʔ ʔəxya·ʕ 'I (cust)  
get all dressed up' L.

20e. 'S (matter, decision, plan) is, becomes

agreed upon': ʃʌʔ saʔyahʔ 'it's agreed on' L.

21. With ʃuʔ 'right, straight, to completion, finished' (see also gl-ʔya 1., 0-ʔ-dl-ʔya 2., meaning partly overlapping with 20a.)

a. 'S (job, thing) is done, finished, over': ʃuʔ saʔyahʔ 'it's done, it's finished, over' L, ʃuʔ qaʔyah 'it'll be finished' L.

21b. 'S (secret, deceit, person with secret, deceit) is found out, discovered, exposed': ʃuʔ qaʔyah 'it'll be found out' L, ʃuʔ saʔyaʔ, ʃuʔ saʔyaʔ 'it's getting found out, coming to light' L, ʃuʔ saʔyahʔ 'it's been found out' L. Transitive (causative): ʃuʔʃuh saʔyahʔ 'did you find out (about it, him)?' L, ʔew ʃuʔ saʔyaʔ ʔilʃih 'he wants to find out about it' L, ʃuʔ (not ʃʌʔʔ) ʔisihyahʔ 'I found out about you' L.

21c. (Uncertain) Резанов Уэтахосыязь

'Мясичное очищение Menstruation' perhaps to be read ʔuʔehd, ʔah ʃuʔ saʔyahʔ 'his wife, she was found out'?, identification of ʔuʔehd and a...yahʔ relatively certain.

22. With yaʔ 'completely, to a state of rest' (see ʔi·lih-ʔya 3.) a. with o-ʔ 'to o', 'S is, becomes used, accustomed, adjusted, trained to o': ʔuʔ yaʔ quʔyiʔyah 'you'll get used to

it' L, ?uɕ qu?yi?yihh, ?iqa?, ne-ʔ 'you'll  
 get used to him, your husband, pretty soon' 72.6L,  
 ?uɕ ya? si?yahh 'I got used to it' L, da?a-  
 qew ?uɕ ya? si?yahh 'I've got the habit' L,  
 ?awɕ qew ya? sa?yahh 'she got used, adjusted  
 to it' 20.72A, ?uɕ ya? saxya-ɪ 'I'm getting  
 used to it' LM, ?əbɕ ya? saxya-ɪ 'I'm getting  
 used to her' L. Transitive (causative): ?awɕ  
 ya? qu?xtyah 'I'll get it used to it, train it'  
 L, ?awɕ ya? siityahh 'I trained it (for that)'  
 L, repetitive: ?awɕ ya? xtya-g 'I'm training  
 it (for that)' L; passive: ?awɕ ya? sdi?yahh  
 'it's been trained (to, for that)' L.

22b. With Ka?d 'pain, trance, insanity'  
 used adverbially (perhaps, however, to be in-  
 terpreted Ka?dya? with Ka?d as o of o-ya?  
 'in o', forms with q-emphatics between Ka?d  
 and ya? requiring former interpretations, form  
 with (-)ya?ɕ requiring latter; see -?ya 10.)  
 'S is, becomes insane, crazy' (extensive paradig-  
 matic material elicited): inceptive imperative:  
 Ka?d ya? sa?ya? 'go crazy!' M, inceptive im-  
 perfective: Ka?d ya? qu?xyah 'I'll go crazy'  
 L, diK Ka?d ya? qu?xya-s 'I won't go crazy'  
 L, Ka?d ya? qi?yi?yah 'you'll go crazy' L,

Kaʔd yaʔ quʔyihjih M (probably incorrect; not  
 quʔwihjih M), Kaʔd yaʔ qaʔyihjih 'he'll go  
 crazy' L, Kaʔd yaʔ daʔ qaʔyah 'we'll go  
 crazy' L, Kaʔd yaʔ quʔloxyah 'you pl. will  
 go crazy' L, Kaʔd yaʔ quʔqiʔyihinuʔ 'they'll  
 go crazy' L, active imperfective: Kaʔd yaʔ  
 xyah 'I go crazy (at times)' L, inceptive per-  
 fective: Kaʔd yaʔ saxyaʔt L, Kaʔd yaʔʕ  
 (Kaʔdyaʔʕ ?) saxyaʔt 'I'm going crazy' L,  
 Kaʔd yaʔ siʔyaʔt 'you're going crazy' L,  
 Kaʔd yaʔ saʔyaʔtjih 'he's going crazy' L, Kaʔd  
 yaʔ daʔ saʔyaʔt 'we're going crazy' L, Kaʔd  
 yaʔ selexyaʔt 'you pl. are going crazy' L, Kaʔd  
 yaʔ qesaʔyaʔtinuʔ 'they're going crazy' L, ac-  
 tive perfective: Kaʔd yaʔ siʔyahit 'I went  
 crazy' L, Kaʔd yaʔ saʔyahit 'you went crazy'  
 L, Kaʔd yaʔ saʔyahitjih 'he went crazy, he went  
 into a trance' L, Kaʔd yaʔ daʔ saʔyahit 'we  
 went crazy' L, Kaʔd yaʔ qelexsaʔyahit 'you pl.  
 went crazy' L, Kaʔd yaʔ qesaʔyahitinuʔ 'they  
 went crazy' L, Kaʔdihyah yaʔ saʔyahit 'did he  
 go crazy?' L, Kaʔd qih yaʔ saʔyahit 'he went  
crazy' L, neuter perfective: Kaʔd yihʔ ʔixiʔyahit  
 'I'm crazy' L, Kaʔd yihʔ ʔiʔyahit 'you're crazy'  
 LM, Kaʔd yihʔ ʔiʔyahitjih 'he's crazy' L, Kaʔd

ya? da? ?i?yah? 'we're crazy' L, Ka?d ya? ?ilexi?yah? 'you pl. are crazy' L, Ka?d ya? qi?yah?inu? 'they're crazy' L, active optative: Ka?d ya? ?ixi?yah 'let me go crazy' L, Ka?d ya? ?i?yih?ih 'let him go crazy' L. Transitive (causative): inceptive imperfective: Ka?d ya? ?iqe?xtyah 'I'll drive you crazy' L, Ka?d ya? qu?xtyih?ih 'I'll drive him crazy' L, Ka?d ya? lexiqe?xtyah 'I'll drive you pl. crazy' L, Ka?d ya? qu?qi?xtyihinu? 'I'll drive them crazy' L, Ka?d ya? xuqu?yityah 'you'll drive me crazy' L, Ka?d ya? xuqa?tyih?ih 'he'll drive me crazy' L, Ka?d ya? xuqu?lextyah 'you pl. will drive me crazy' L, Ka?d ya? xuqu?qetyihinu? 'they'll drive me crazy' L (to be corrected to xuqu?qi?kyihinu), inceptive perfective: Ka?d ya? ?isaxtya? 'I'm driving you crazy' L, Ka?d ya? saxtya?ih 'I'm driving him crazy' L, Ka?d ya? lexisaxtya? 'I'm driving you pl. crazy' L, Ka?d ya? saxtya?inu?, Ka?d ya? qesaxtya?inu? 'I'm driving them crazy' L, Ka?d ya? qa? saxtya?ih 'he's driving us crazy' L, active perfective: Ka?d ya? ?isikyah? 'I drove you crazy' L, active optative: Ka?d ya? ?i?tyah 'let him drive him crazy' L, Ka?d ya? ?i?lityah



ləʒaʔyah): laʔq saʔyah̄ 'it burst' M, 'it deflated' LM, laʔq ʕaʔyaʔ̄ 'it's deflating' L.

27. With ʒahd 'loss of covering, out of hiding', 'S loses, sheds hair, paint': ʒahd ʕaʔyaʔ̄ 'it's shedding hair, the paint is peeling off it' L, with l-anatomical 'head', 'S becomes bald': ʒahd ləiʔyaʔ̄ 'you're getting bald' M. Transitive (causative): ʒahd səkyəʔ 'scrape hair off it!, dehair it!' L, gloss later changed: 'cause it to lose its hair (not by e.g. scraping)!' L.

28. With yəʔ 'down', 'S falls' (cf. d-ʔya la., gl-ʔya l., dl-ʔya 2.): Rezanov Рѣсаятѣ 'Ymacra fallen' yəʔ saʔyah̄ 'it fell down' L, yəʔ siʔyah̄ 'I fell down' L.

29. With dəʔ 'obstructed, up against obstacle': dəʔ saʔyah̄ 'it got stuck' L, siʒaʔ dəʔ saʔyah̄ 'it bumped against me' L, dəʔʕ ʕaʔyaʔ̄ 'it's getting about as far as it can go (against barrier)' L, dəʔ ʔiʔyah̄ 'it's stuck, won't go any farther, is up against something' L (neuter perfective).

30. With ʔəš 'through', 'S (water) soaks, osmoses through, S is, becomes thoroughly soaked' (cf. -ʔya la., ʒdl-ʔya): ʔəš saʔyah̄ 'it got

soaked' L, ?eš sa?ya·ž 'it's getting soaked,  
water is oozing, osmosing through' L, ?eš sa?  
yah da·x ?ašate·gk 'when it gets soaked it  
(cust) swells up' L.

31. With lu· 'ca. 180° turn, reversal of  
tide': lu· sa?yahž 'tide came in (reached  
turning-point)' M (see g-?ya, lack of g-thema-  
tic perhaps in error).

32. With yeḡ 'downward', 'S sinks, col-  
lapses, subsides (falls restrictedly, not free  
fall)' (see also -?ya 6b., yeḡ 0-(d-)ž-?ya,  
d-?ya 1b., gl-?ya, gdl-?ya 1., ?i·lih-?ya  
2b.): ?ewya?ḡ yeḡ qa?yah 'they (dry fish  
packed in box) will settle down into it' 65.62A,  
?ew ke?tya?ḡ yḡ·?ž yeḡ qa?yah 'they'll sink  
further down into the box' 65.63A, delu? yeḡ  
sa?yahž 'it caved in (through (hole in) indeter-  
minate o)' M, repetitive: yeḡ ḡeda?ya·ḡdawa·  
yeḡ ya·g 'spring snow which falls before the  
birds come back' ('it keeps falling (bit by bit?,  
subsiding?) pending (return of) flying creatures')  
L.

33. With lahḡ 'forward' and ku·l-anatomi-  
cal 'belly': lahḡ ku·leexya·ž 'my stomach's  
getting bloated' L.

34. Progressives; a. with lah 'around, in circular motion', requiring, like yax-progressive, -x suffix in active imperfective, and vocalization of zero-classifier to de- in intransitive, but, unlike yax-progressive, non-vocalized ĩ- in transitive (causative, non-reflexive), 'S (attached to place) moves restrictedly, wiggles, shakes, flaps, flutters, palpitates, agitates, withes, beats (in place, without changing location)': siɣy·kəyah lah daʔya·x 'my tooth is loose (and wiggles)' M, ʔəh lah daʔya·x 'the earth is quaking, there's an earthquake' S, ʔəh lah quʔdaʔyah 'the earth will quake' L, ʔa·nke·we· lah daʔya·x 'flag is flapping in the breeze' L, diK ɬe·lah daʔya·x: 'it (beached whale) moves no more' 11.72A, diK ʔusaʔd ʔew lah daʔya·x: 'it doesn't quiver (show signs of life) in his mouth' 33.43A, with l-class-mark for S: siʔusɬ lah ʔi·sɬiʔyahɬ 'my heart beat fast, palpitated' L, lah leɬadaʔyahɬ (to be corrected to -ʔya·ɬ) 'it (my heart) has started to pound, palpitate' L, siʔusɬ lah quʔi·daʔyah 'my heart will pound' L. Transitive (causative, with -x suffix but ĩ-classifier not vocalized in non-reflexive) lah 0-ĩ-ʔya-x 'S moves, shakes, waves, wags, wiggles

(stationary) O': ?uʕeɣ lah sekyah daʔ  
 'when it flaps its wings' 60.20, 22A, with  
 class-marks for O: lah decekyah? 'shake it  
 (tree)!' M, lah duxkyahʔ 'I'm shaking it  
 (tree)' M, ?ew lah dekyahʔ 'he's shaking it  
 (tree)' M, ?ugeɣah lah dekyahʔ 'it's wagging  
 its tail' L, ... Ka? Kuxehʔ lah qi-la-leɣ-  
 ikyah 'you pl. should shake the rope' 34.104L,  
 ?ew Kuxehʔ lah qi-sekyahʔih 'she shook the  
 rope' 34.108L, yaʔyuʔ lah qeʔ quʔqi-la-leɣ-  
 yah 'pl. don't shake it (rope) anymore' 34.114L,  
 ?ew lah qi-sekyahkinuʔ 'they shook it (rope)'  
 34.115L; reflexive: lah ?edkaʔyaʔ 'it's  
 moving (e.g. showing signs of life)' M, lah  
 ?edxkaʔyaʔ 'I'm moving myself around (e.g.  
 writhing)' L, Kudeɣ lah ?edxkaʔyaʔɣe 'I can't  
 move' L, ?ulaqah ?ewaʔ, Kude-dah ?edkaʔyaʔɣe  
 'their heads, they couldn't move (they were trans-  
 fixed)' 60.23fnA, lah ?edquʔxkaʔyah 'I'll move  
 myself around (e.g. writhe)' L, lah ?edxkaiʔyahʔ  
 'I moved my body, budged (not far, just sat up,  
 lay down, wriggled, rolled over, etc.)' L, ?ew  
 teʔyaʔ lah ?edekaʔyaʔ 'the fish wiggled' 46.-  
 16M, with anatomical marks: lah ?edyuxkaʔyaʔ  
 'I'm waving my hand' M, lah ?edyekaʔyaʔih

something causes itself emotionally to recover',  
 or 'when it causes someone's state of mind to re-  
 cover' (see ?i·li·-?i·lih- 2b. under le(?)·li).  
 xəla·sti?yah̄ 'uncertain, stem perhaps (y)a, q.v.)  
 xət̄iá<sup>n</sup>·st̄ifatī name of Basket Pattern 6. ("one-  
 after-the-other" like waves) BSdL 547 (described  
 and illustrated in BSdL 82). Nominalized passive  
 active perfective with x̄dl-class-mark for 0  
 'waves', 'they (waves) have been caused to be in  
 state'; see also subentry x̄dl-?ya, of which this  
 form is probably not an instance.

ca? ?uʒ sa?yah̄ place-name, location unknown A,  
 name unknown to L. Nominalized active perfective  
 with ca? 'downhill (toward shore)' and o-x̄  
 'in contact with o', 'it went (fell) downhill  
 brushing by it, into contact with it'.

qa? ?isya·l (gerundive of -?ya 18a.) 'waking':  
 qa? ?isya·l xuseiga?̄ 'I'm getting tired of  
 staying up' ('waking is tiring me') L.

defa?yah (noun, unclassified) 'difficult (matter,  
 thing)' L, diK defa?yaha 'easy, not difficult'  
 L, defa?yah seke?̄ 'it's getting difficult' L,  
 defa?yah yileh 'it's difficult' 63.23G, often  
 followed by passive active optative clause (e.g.  
 'for it to be done') 25.207A, 62.30G. Nominalized

*defa?yah* 'difficult' (noun, unclassified) 'unpleasant' L, 2-binder  
*defa?yah* 'unpleasant' (noun, unclassified) 'unpleasant' L, 2-binder  
 Nominalized active perfective: that which is situated away from page 1.

38. With qa?ni·, qa?nu· 'fight' as S  
 (? , with qe? requiring vocalization of zero-  
 classifier to de-, or perhaps passive) 'S (fight)  
 goes on': ?uxa? qe? qa?ni· adi?yah? 'there  
 was another fight over it' 28.125A (or perhaps  
 'another fight was carried on over it'). Transi-  
 tive (causative, perhaps basic): Rezanov Канелэхлэх  
 'деречь kämpfe!' (under 'prügeln, sich') qa?=  
 ni· ?ələx?ya... 'pl. fight!' or perhaps active  
 imperfective qa?ni· ləx?yah 'you pl. (ordinarily,  
 often) fight', qa?ni· ?iləx?iyah? 'you pl. are  
 in a fight, having a quarrel' M, qa?nu· ?i·?yah-  
 ?inu· 'they fought' L (neuter perfectives), o-?  
 qa?ni· səkyah? 'fought with o' 20.85, 96, 98A,  
 qa?nu· si?yah? 'I fought' L, ?i? qa?nu· qu?x=  
 ?yah, ?i? qa?ni· qu?x?yah 'I'll fight (with)  
 you' L; indirect reciprocal: ?i? qa?ni· qu?ka?=  
 y?hinu·, ?i? qa?nu· qu?ka?y?hinu· 'they'll  
 fight (with) each other' L.

39. With ?i·lih 'emotional, state of mind',  
 as adverb or as o of o-?q·?, perhaps indirect  
 reflexive of transitive (causative) with o-?q·?  
 as preceding (see -?ya 14., 20.): de?a· ?i·lih=  
 ?q·? (or ?i·lih ?q·? ?) Kuseka?yah da·?y  
 'when he gets over it' 72.18L, either 'when

yaʒ ʔadya·kiʔyah 'let's wave our hands' M.

35. With qenuh 'on display', attested in transitive (causative) only, 'S exposes, denounces O publicly': qenuh səkyiʔih 'expose (denounce) him publicly!' L, qenuh ʔah ʔi·kyahih 'he's denouncing her (wife, publicly, for infidelity)' L (neuter perfective).

36. With di·ʔd 'in something' (<sup>see 2-1 di·ʔ-g' 26.</sup> ← de-ʔe-ʔ-d <sup>under ʔe-ʔ.</sup>), attested in transitive (causative) only (conceivably basic k-ʔya 'S (in container) is, gets in position' rather than of -ʔya), 'S roasts O (in e.g. oven)' ('S puts O (already in container?) in something'): teʔyaʔ di·ʔd quʔxkyah 'I'll roast a fish' L, ʔaw diʔd quʔxkyah 'I'll roast it (anything, in oven)' L; passive: di·ʔd sikiʔyahk teʔyaʔ 'roasted fish' ('fish that has been roasted') L.

37. With o-kah-ʕ '(continuous motion) away from o', apparently transitive (causative) of indirect reflexive ʔad-kah-ʕ 'away from self' (cf. also o-kah l-ta 'S forgets o') 'S makes O forget self': kahʕ xusəkyahk 'it (e.g. drinking) is making me forget my distress' L (see also ya·ʔ, for which the stem of this form is possibly a mistranscription). X

'he's waving his hand' L, ?iɕ lah ?edyɛka?-  
 ya·ɣjɪh 'he's waving his hand at you' M, ?iɕ  
 lah ?edqu?yexka?ya·ɣ (to be corrected to -yah)  
 'I'll wave my hand at you' M, ?uɕ lah ?edqu?-  
 yexka?yjhjɪh 'I'll wave my hand at him' L, siɕ  
 lah ?edyisi?yahjɪh 'he waved his hand at me' M,  
 lah ?edyisi?yahjɪh 'he moved his hand around'  
 L, lah ?edqi·dexka?ya·ɣ 'I'm moving my foot  
 around' L, lah ?edqi·disi?yahjɪh 'he moved  
 his foot around' L, lah ?edqi·dexka?yah 'I'll  
 move my foot around' L, lah ?edlisi?yahjɪh  
 'he moved his head around' L, lah ?edgedisi?-  
 yahjɪh 'he wiggled his rump' L, lah ?edleɣes-  
 si?yahjɪh 'he moved his eyes around' L.

34b. With yax-progressive, sparsely attested,  
 mainly from M, in causative reflexive only, with  
 anatomical marks, yax-progressive indicating  
 movement about (not essentially circular), and  
 therefore less appropriate semantically for move-  
 ment of stationary or anchored object, meaning  
 apparently the same as that of lah ?ed-ke-?ya-ɣ:  
 yax ?edqi·duxka?ya·ɣ 'I'm moving my feet around'  
 M, yax ?edlexka?ya·ɣ 'I'm moving my head  
 around' L; with yax and lah together: lah  
 yax ?edyɛ·ka?ye· 'wave your hand!' M, lah da·

active imperfective of -ʔya 6b.

deluʔ qaʔ laʔyah (noun) 'boil, abscess' LM, deluʔ  
qaʔ laʔyah səteʔi 'a boil formed' ('it became  
a boil') L, with o-luʔ 'through (hole in) o'  
with indeterminate o, qaʔ 'up out' (see -ʔya  
18.), either nominalized active imperfective per-  
haps with l-anatomical 'face', or deverbaliza-  
tion of l-i-ʔya 'grow old' (< 'growth' ?), cf.  
l-i-ʔya and laʔyah, and o-luʔ qaʔ ku-lɣ--  
ʔya.

ʔad-ka-ʔya (reflexive of causative, perhaps with  
zero allomorph of l-thematic, cf. l-i-ʔya), at-  
tested only in active perfective, ʔadsiʔyahɿ  
'(mythical) giant monster animal' relativized or  
nominalized: Galushia Nelson 'eʔstiʔyahɿ  
'monster animal' BSDL 293, 544 ʔadsiʔyahɿ  
'mythical giant animal' L, 'monster (rat)' 28.-  
2, 17A, ʔadsiʔyahɿ iɣ-diyahs 'monster-rat'  
28.66, 76, 96A. See also -ʔya 18c.

leɣəkətug ʔuq ɣɣ-ʔɕ leɣaʔyah (noun, perhaps  
d-class) 'table for rice (in church)' L. Nominal-  
ized active imperfective with lɣ-class-mark for  
S, o-q 'on o', and ɣɣ-ʔɕ '(continuous move-  
ment towards) completion' (see -ʔya 20.), 'rice  
is prepared, readied on it'.

laʔq̄ ləʔaʔyah (noun, lɿ-class) 'old berries in autumn, still on or fallen off bush' L. Nominialized active imperfective of -ʔya 26., with lɿ-class-mark for S 'berries', 'they (berries) burst'.

o-luʔ qaʔ ku-lɿ-ʔya (with o-luʔ 'through (hole in) o, qaʔ 'up out', ku-indefinite S, lɿ-class-mark for S 'granular', cf. deluʔ qaʔ laʔyah) 'o has, gets pox, pimples, pustule' ('something granular comes up through o'): ʔuluʔ qaʔ ku-ləʔi-ʔyah̄ 'he has pox' L, sɿ·da·ʔluʔ qaʔ ku-ləʔi-ʔyah̄ 'I have pimple(s) on my face' L (neuter perfectives).

o-ɿ ʒəʔ o-l-ʔya (with o-ɿ 'in contact with o' (see -ʔya 8.), and ʒəʔ 'ear' as O of transitive, perhaps treated as preverb) 'S hears o at distance, becomes aurally aware of o': kuɿ ʒəʔ sɿyah̄ 'I think I hear something' L, ʔuɿ ʒəʔ sɿyah̄ 'I heard it (far away), became distantly aware of it by ear' L, qa·ɿ ʒəʔ qaʔyah̄ 'he'll hear us (at a distance)' L.

o-ɿaʔ ku-l-ʔya (basic form uncertain, with ku--indefinite O thematized, treated as intransitive, perhaps causative of basic, not clearly attested, intransitive ku-ʔya, ku-lə-ʔya, or ku-da-ʔya,

with o-ʒaʔ 'in (intimate) relation with o',  
 cf. d-ʔya ʒc., ʔi·lih-ʔya ʒ.) 'S interferes,  
 meddles with, bothers, disturbs o' ('S puts some-  
 thing in relationship with o'): neuter perfective:  
 siʒaʔ kʉ·ʔyahʔ M, siʒaʔ kʉ·ʔyahʔ 'you're  
 bothering me' LM, xutʔiʔ siʒaʔ kʉ·ʔyahʔiʒh 'he's  
 bothering me with a gun' L, qa·ʒaʔ kʉ·ʔyahʔ  
 'they're bothering us' 52.19L, ʔiʒaʔ kʉxiʔyahʔ  
 (to be corrected to kʉ·xiʔ-) 'I'm bothering you' X  
 M, ʔiʒaʔʒ kʉxiʔyahʔ (to be corrected to kʉ·  
 xiʔ-) 'am I bothering you?' M, siʒaʔ kʉleʒiʔ-  
 yahʔ (to be corrected to siʒaʔ kʉ·leʒiʔyahʔ) X  
 'you pl. are bothering me' M, other mode-aspects:  
 ʔiʒaʔ kʉquʔxʔyah 'I'll bother you' M, ʔuʒaʔ  
 kʉquʔleʒiʔyʒhʒh 'you pl. will bother him' M,  
 yaʔʒu· ʔini·kʒaʔ kʉquʔyʔiyah 'don't pick (med-  
 dle with) your nose' L, de·dal siʒaʔ kʉseʔyahʔ  
 'what's this that has interfered with me?' 20.6A,  
 qa·ʒaʔ kʉseʔyahʔ 'they've bothered us' 25.194A,  
 siʒaʔ kʉseʔyahʔiʒh 'he bothered me' M, diʔ  
 ʔewʒaʔ kʉ·liʔyahʒaʔ ʔenahʒekih ʔile·ciʒh 'she  
 didn't like to disturb them' 46.8M, with ʒeʔ  
 'back, again, some more' (classifier vocalized  
 to le-, as in intransitive verb): diʔ ʔuʒaʔ  
 da· ʒeʔ kʉʒaʔyahʒ 'we don't bother them any-

more' 25.203A (active imperfective), diK leʒaʔ  
 da· ʒeʔ kuquʔtaʔyahʔ 'we won't bother you pl.  
 anymore' 25.173A, diK ʔuʒaʔ da· ʒeʔ kuquʔ-  
 taʔya·sinu· 'we won't bother them anymore' 25.-  
 198A, with third person S, or perhaps passive:  
 diK dəʒpɥu·ʒaʔ ʒeʔ kuʒtaʔyahʔ 'they didn't  
 bother people anymore' 25.134A (or perhaps 'people  
 weren't bothered anymore'); passive: ʔuʒaʔ ku-  
 ʒiʔyahʔ 'something interfered with her' ('she  
 was interfered with' ('something was put in rela-  
 tion with her')) 20.4A, ʔukuʒdaʒaʔ kuʒtaʔyahʔ  
 'something interfered with her lower leg' 20.5,  
 6A, diK ʔuʒaʔ ʒeʔ kudaʔyaha 'they aren't  
 bothered anymore' 25.205A (active imperfective,  
 passive, or perhaps basic intransitive ku-de-ʔya,  
 or, with ʒeʔ requiring vocalization of zero-  
 classifier to de-, conceivably ku-ʔya but  
 attested forms fit pattern of passive of ʒ-classi-  
 fier transitive, with ʒe- in active perfective,  
 da- elsewhere).

o-ʒaʔ ku-d-ʒ-ʔya (as preceding, with d-thematic  
 'oral, noise') 'S bothers o (with talk), kids,  
 teases o': neuter perfective: ʔiʒaʔ kudixiʔyahʔ  
 'I'm kidding, teasing you' L, siʒaʔ kudi·ʒ-  
 yahʔiʒ 'he's bothering me (with talk)' L, ʔiʒaʔ

Kadi·lyahh̄jh 'he's kidding you, joking with you'  
A.

ʔil̄ɣaʔdiʔyah personal name of Eyak man, of L's younger brothers John, Nick, of L's son John L, ʔil̄ɣaʔdiʔyah LM, corrected to ʔiɣaʔdiʔyah by L, t̄ka'deya' in BSDL genealogical table. Etymology not clear: ʔil̄-ɣaʔ 'by, in (intimate) relation with each other', indirect reciprocal, with zero-classifier vocalized to de-; verbal form perhaps neuter imperfective, but this is rare or not otherwise attested in themes with ʔya, and the form should be ʔidiʔyah or, in close sandhi with ʔil̄ɣaʔ, ʔil̄ɣeʔdiʔyah, not ʔil̄ɣaʔ-; perhaps instead active imperfective, with daʔyah > diʔyah, of o-ɣaʔ (ku)-(d-)t̄-ʔya, 'bothering, teasing, kidding with each other'; A etymologizes 'bothering each other'.

yeɣ O(-d)-t̄-ʔya (causative of -ʔya 32.) with optional(?) d-thematic 'color, bright'?, uncertain) 'S dyes O' ('S dips O'): yeɣ decaɣyaʔ 'dye it!' L, ʔaw yeɣ quʔxiya' 'I'll dye it' L, yeɣ kaɣya·K no gloss M ('one (cust) dyes, dips it?'), passive: yeɣ sdiʔyah̄ no gloss M (it's been dyed, dipped?').

ʔuyaʔɣ yeɣ kuʔya·ḡt̄ (noun, gl-class?) 'dye' L.

Deverbalized passive repetitive of preceding with *ɨ*-instrumental, 'something is repeatedly dipped down (dyed) (with motion with) in it (o with broad opening at top)'.

qid (d)-ʔya (with qid 'down off', d-thematic optional with qid) 'S (deciduous) falls': *ʔahɨ qid ʔaʔya-ɨ* 'foliage is falling (in autumn)' LM, with d-class-mark for S: *qid desaʔyahɨ* 'it (bark of tree) has fallen off' M.

d-ʔya (with obligatory d-thematic, apparently in three meanings; see also -ʔya 18d:, *gd1--ʔya*) 1. (with d-thematic 'free fall', cf. *qid (d)-ʔya*) a. with *yʔ-ʔ* 'down' (see -ʔya 28.), 'S (precipitation) comes down': with S not specified by independent noun, usually 'rain falls': *yʔ-ʔ diʔyahɨ la* 'it's raining, see!' L, *yʔ-ʔ diʔyahɨktah ʔel Cordova* 'this Cordova's a rain-hole (rain-bag)' L, *gusi-kih yʔ-ʔ diʔyahɨ* 'it's raining slightly' S (neuter perfectives), *yʔ-ʔʕ ʔeʔ desedaʔya-ɨ* 'it's starting to rain again' L, once 'S (snow) falls': *gusi-kih yʔ-ʔ desaʔyahɨ* 'it snowed a little' 23.-127, 127A, with overtly specified S: Rezanov *Куле ядсаатла 'Дождь идет es regnet' Kuleh yʔ-ʔ desaʔyahɨ* 'rain fell, it's raining' S,

Kuleh yq·? di·?yahĭ 'it's raining' L, ĭiĭ  
 qi? Kuleh yq·? di·?yahĭ 'it's always raining  
 there; place where it's always raining' L, Ku-  
 lehleḡa?luw yq·? di·?yahĭ 'big rain is falling  
 (in big raindrops)' L, Kuleh yq·?ĉ deca?ya·ĭ  
 'rain is starting to fall' L, 57.24G, Kuleh yq·?  
 qu?di·?yah 'rain will fall' L, de?u·d yq·?  
 da·li?yah 'let it rain' L, ?eleḡgahḡ Kuleh  
 yq·? deei·?yah 'would that it rain' L, Kuleh-  
 dig, Ku?luw yq·? deca?ya·ḡ 'rain too, let a  
 big one come down' 57.21G (hortatory inceptive  
 subjunctive), Rezanov Хитъь индасанъь 'Снѣга  
 идеть es schneiet (=Schnee fällt)' xux yq·?  
 deca?yahĭ 'snow came down, it's snowing' S,  
 xiḡ?a?luw yq·?ĉ deca?ya·ĭ 'big snowfall is  
 starting' L, xiḡleḡewewḡ yq·? di·?yahĭ 'big  
 snowflakes are falling' L (neuter perfectives),  
 xex yq·? deca?yah da·ḡ 'when snow falls,  
 winter' 63.39G, nominalized inceptive conditional  
 in xex yq·? deca?yahwahĭ 'for when snow falls,  
 for winter' 63.38G, Rezanov Нахатеръ индасанъь  
 Традъ идеть es hagelt' nexetĭĉ yq·? deca?yahĭ,  
 leḡetĭĉ yq·? deca?yahĭ 'it hailed' LS, diḡ  
 leḡetĭĉ yq·? da?yahĭ 'it's not hailing' M  
 (neuter perfective), leḡetĭḡeĉ yq·? di·?yahĭ

'wet snow is falling' L (neuter perfective),  
ke?iq' ya? qu?di?yah 'down-feathers will rain  
down' 19.17L, ke?iq' ya? desa?yah? 'down--  
feathers rained down' 19.31L.

1b. With ya? 'downward' (see -?ya 32.)  
'S (boat, or person with boat) capsizes': didu?y  
ya? disi?yah? 'I almost capsized' L, ya? de-  
sa?yah?h 'he capsized' 28.8, 33.1, 1, 3A, ya?  
desa?yah?inu 'they capsized' 32.1, 2, 2A, ?exa-  
kih ?u? ya? desa?yah? 'the canoe capsized  
with them (in it)' 28.5A, si? ya? desa?yah?  
'it capsized with me (in it)' L, di? ya? qu?-  
di?xya? 'I won't capsize' L, cautionary nega-  
tive inceptive imperative: ya? qedesi?ya?  
'watch out you don't capsize!' L, ya? qedese-  
le?ya? 'watch out you pl. don't capsize!' L.

2. (With d-thematic 'accumulation') 'S ac-  
cumulates': a. with no postpositional phrases  
or preverbs; with class-mark for S: Ketu?da?d  
qele?exeli?yah? 'they (berries, l? class) are  
piled in several places' L, Mih? gedi?yah?  
'grass (gd-class) is in several piles' L.

2b. With qa? 'up.out' (see -?ya 18. and d-?ya  
2d.(2)), here with third person human suffix, perhaps  
irregular, or perhaps referring to S: e?e-

ciʔtah, qe'dah de'gaʔdow qaʔ di'ʔyahʔih  
'land-otter skins, simply quite a number had  
accumulated (for him?, he had accumulated?)'  
33.41A, (also lacking ti'l-class-mark for S if  
S is 'skins').

2c. With yeqaʔ 'piling up': yeqaʔ di'ʔ=  
yahʔ 'it's piled up' L, yeqaʔ dɛsaʔyaʔhʔ 'it's  
piling up' L, dekʔih ʔu'daʔyuʔ yeqaʔ di'ʔyahʔ  
'sticks are piled up all over' L, with class=  
marks for S: yeqaʔ laʔɛli'ʔyahʔ 'it (sand, lɛ=  
class) is in a pile' L, kɛtuʔdaʔd yeqaʔ ʔedi'ʔ=  
yahʔ 'they (logs, ʔd-class) are piled in several  
places' L, kɛtuʔdaʔd yeqaʔ ti'li'ʔyahʔ 'skins  
(ti'l-class) are piled in several places' L, ku=  
tuʔdaʔd yeqaʔ qi'li'ʔyahʔ 'ropes (qi'l-class)  
are piled in several places' L; indirect recip=  
rocal: ʔiʔq yeqaʔ ʔedidiʔyahʔ 'they (logs,  
ʔd-class) are piled on top of each other' L.

2d. With qid 'down off, <sup>in down</sup> jutting off edge'  
(cf. qid (d)-ʔya) (1)): 'S is left over, extra':  
qid dɛsaʔyahʔ 'it's left over (can't be packed  
in anymore)' M; (2) with qid and qaʔ 'up out',  
'(extra?) S is piled up': ʔa'ʔe'n qid qaʔ  
di'ʔyahʔ 'cordwood is piled up' M, ʔaʔg qid  
qaʔ di'ʔyahʔ 'firewood is piled up' M.

2e. With o-č 'to o', 'o has extra S, more S than o needs or can use': laʔdih sič di-ʔ-  
yah̄ 'I've got two extra' L, laʔda-na- čiyah̄  
sič di-ʔyah̄ 'I've got two extra hats' L.

2f. With desidəʔ 'full' (probably < de--  
ʔeʔ-daʔ 'to, arrival at place above, top' see  
also g-ʔya, gdl-ʔya 1.) (1) 'S is full': de-  
sidaʔ di-ʔyah̄ 'it's full' L, 7.5, 19A, hiʔq  
ʔew dux̄i ʔux̄aʔ desidəʔ di-ʔyah̄ih 'all his  
traps were full' 23.27A, ʔex̄ekih desidəʔ di-ʔ-  
yah̄ 'a canoe was full' 33.72A, qiʔ ʔedkuʔ-  
detah ʔux̄aʔ hič desidəʔ di-ʔyah̄ 'his smoke-  
house was always full' 47b.4M (neuter perfectives),  
desidəʔč dəsəʔya-k̄ 'it's getting full' L, de-  
sidaʔ dəsəʔyah̄ da-x̄ 'when it's full' 65.67A,  
ʔew heʔč desidəʔ dəsəʔyah̄ da-x̄ 'when the box  
is full' 65.67A, diK ʔew heʔč ʔix̄aʔ desidəʔ  
daʔeəʔyah̄s da-x̄ 'if your box isn't full' 65.64A  
(verb to be corrected to de-, actualized daʔ-  
by analogy with negative neuter perfective diK  
desidəʔ daʔyah̄i), with o-x̄ 'by means of o':  
da-na-da-x̄ desidəʔ di-ʔyah̄ 'it's full of  
money' L, ee-dgəka-x̄ desidəʔ di-ʔyah̄ 'it's  
full of spruceroots' L; (2) With suffix for third  
person human involved as S, O, or o, here irregular,

or perhaps as S: ?əxekih, ya·kudg, qe·dah  
 ?uya? desida? di·?yahkinu· 'a canoe, a small  
 one, was simply full of them (people?) inside'  
 37b.6A; (3) 'S (contents) fills container' (per-  
 haps incorrect): siyah ?u·d di·?yahh̄ 'it's  
 full of food' ('food is accumulated to fullness  
 there') L; (4) with class-mark, partly thematized,  
 for classified filling contents, but probably  
 with container, not contents, as S: se·dʒeka·ʒ  
 desida? ged̄i·?yahh̄ 'it's full of spruceroots'  
 L, desida? geλi·?yahh̄ 'it's full of water' L  
 (see also gdl-?ya 1.), desida? guλa·sa?ya·h̄  
 'it's getting full of water' L, desida? leʒe-  
 λi·?yahh̄ 'it's full of berries' L, desida?ʃ  
 leʒeλa·sa?ya·h̄ 'it's getting full of berries' L,  
 desida? ti·λi·?yahh̄ 'it's full of skins' L (cf.  
 33.41, 72A 'canoe full (of skins)' with no ti·l-  
 class-mark). Transitive (causative): desida?  
 deseɣya? 'fill it up!' L.

3. (With d-thematic 'emotional'?) a. with  
 o-laʒ-ʒ '(movement) hanging over o' (cf. -?ya  
 16., el-?ya 3a., 4.) 'S (feeling, urge) comes  
 over o' (verb clause (e.g. in optative) cannot  
 be used as S, L rejecting e.g. \*da· yeʒ ?idi-  
 ?aʒʃ ?ilaʒʒ dsa?yahh̄ for 'do you feel like

walking (that we should take a walk)?'): Rezanov  
 Сильхтесаясь Хочу ich will' silaʔɣ desaʔyahɨ  
 'feeling, urge came over me', Илххидасаясь  
 'Хочешь ли? willst du?' ʔilaʔɣS... desaʔyahɨ  
 'did feeling, urge come over you?', with kuɨiyah  
 'evil, anger' as S, active perfective: kuɨiyah  
 ʔulaʔɣ desaʔyahɨ 'got angry' L, 1a.8, 13, 1b.10,  
 15M, 10.97, 11.142, 148A, 13.10L, 16.14, 15, 23,  
 24M, 18.8L, 27b.53A, 47c.43L, with c-ɕ 'at o':  
 10.97, 151, 11.37A, ʔuxaʔɣ ʔahɕ kuɨiyah ʔulaʔɣ  
 desaʔyahɨ 'he got angry with him over it' L,  
 ʔewɣaʔ ɕew ʔahɕ kuɨiyah ʔulaʔɣ desaʔyahɨ  
 'got mad at him over it' 9.8A, kuɨiyah silaʔɣ  
 desaʔyahɨ 'I got mad' M, diK kuɨiyah silaʔɣ  
 desyahɨɕ 'I didn't get mad' M, inceptive per-  
 fective: kuɨiyah ʔulaʔɣ desaʔyaʔɨ 'is getting  
 angry' 1b.7M, kuɨiyah silaʔɣ desaʔyaʔɨ 'I'm  
 getting mad' M, diK kuɨiyah silaʔɣ desaʔyaʔɨ  
 'I'm not getting mad' M, neuter perfective:  
 kuɨiyah ʔulaʔɣ diʔyahɨ 'is angry': 1b.19M,  
 47c.50, 51L, ʔahɕ kuɨiyah ʔulaʔɣ diʔyahɨɨh  
 'she's angry with him' 11.47A, kuɨiyah ʔulaʔɣ  
 diʔyahɨɨh 'he's (always) mad' L, kuɨiyah si-  
 laʔɣ diʔyahɨ 'I'm angry' M, diK kuɨiyah si-  
 laʔɣ daʔyahɨɕ 'I'm not angry' M, other mode--



ary negative inceptive imperative: Kušiyah  
qah ?ula?x desi·?ya·sɨh 'watch out you don't  
anger him!' L, repetitive: Kušiyah Ka? ?ula?x  
da·yikya·gɨh 'you should try to anger him' L.

3b. As 3a, with Ku-indefinite S, 'o (male  
or female) is, becomes sexually excited' ('a cer-  
tain urge comes over o'): sila?x Kudi·?yahɨ  
'I have an erection' S, ?ula?x Kudi·?yahɨɨh  
'he (or she) is sexually excited' M (neuter per-  
fectives).

3c. With Ku-indefinite S and o-l-x 'in  
contact with o's head' (cf. -?ya S., o-ɨa?  
Ku-ɨ-?ya), 'o has a hard time, hardships, misery,  
suffers': si·neɨ Kuqu?di·?yah 'I'll have a  
hard time, suffer' L, si·neɨ Kudesa?ya·ɨ 'I'm  
having a hard time, suffering' M, si·neɨ Kuda-  
sa?yahɨ 'I had a hard time' L, qe?ɨseyu·lu?qa·  
?i·neɨ Kuda?ya·K 'you (cust) have a hard time  
in quest after women' 10.264A, daɨa·?deɨyu·  
?u·neɨ Kuda?ya·Kɨh 'he's (cust) in misery all  
about outside' 32.44, 216A, repetitive: diK ?i·  
?iga? si·neɨ Kuqu?di·?ya·gs 'I won't keep hav-  
ing a hard time like you' 16.27M. Transitive  
(causative): ?i·neɨ Kuqu?di·xɨyah 'I'll give  
you a hard time, cause you to suffer hardship'

L, si·neḡ kudesi·lya·t̄ 'you're giving me a hard time' L, ?u·neḡ kudisiḡyah̄t̄ 'I gave him a hard time' L, si·neḡ kudeseḡyah̄t̄ih̄ 'he tortured me, made me suffer' M, ?ida?ya·leḡ ?u·neḡ da· kudəya·Xinu· 'we (cust) cause them too much misery' 30.7L, repetitive: si·neḡ kudəya·gk̄ih̄ 'he (cust) keeps giving me a hard time' L, si·neḡ kudi·lya·g 'you're tormenting me' L; passive: ?uxa? ?i·neḡ kuqu?dada?ya·k̄ 'you'll (cust) be tormented for it' 51.34A, xi·d̄ ya·nu?d̄ deḡa·g·dayeḡ ?i·neḡ kuqu?dada?ya·k̄ 'you'll (cust) be tormented in the (Hell-)fires down below there' 51.19A, repetitive: qa·ta·? ?u·neḡ kudada?ya·g 'Lent' ('our Father, his torment') L.

3d. See -?ya 18c.  
 yaḡ ?i·liḡka? d·da·?ya·ḡ (with d-thematic 'oral?', yaḡ-progressive, for ?i·liḡka? and analyses of form see ?i·li--?i·lih 2a. under le(?)·li) 'S is hungry without knowing what for': yaḡ ?i·liḡka? dexda?ya·ḡ 'I'm hungry but don't know what for' L.

?ed·d·ka·?ya (with d-thematic, perhaps 'oral, noise', reflexive of causative) 'S sings medicine--song, shamanistic incantation': ?eddex̄ka?yah̄ 'I'm singing a medicine song' LM, ?edəka?yih̄ih̄ M, ?eddeka?yih̄ih̄ 'he's singing a medicine song'

LM, ʔadquʔdexiʔyah 'I'll sing a medicine--  
song' L.

ɣd-ʔya (with ɣd-class-mark for S, 'clouds, part-  
ly thematized, cf. ʔya l., ɣ-ʔya) 'S (clouds)  
move, are, get in certain state, formation':  
ɣdesaʔyaʔ 'clouds are moving' M, Rezanov  
Итакатанятъ 'Туча Wolke' perhaps to be read  
ʔidah ɣediʔyahʔ 'clouds are in formation for  
favorable weather' L (neuter perfective).

g-ʔya (with g-thematic, 'tide(-line?)', perhaps  
thematized g-class-mark for S 'filament-like', of <sup>or-yamly</sup><sub>A</sub>  
gl-class-mark 'liquid' with l- lost with loss  
of nasalization) 'S (tide, tide-line) is, gets  
in certain state': with luʔ 'turn over (ca.180°)'  
(see -ʔya 3l.): luʔ guʔyahʔ 'tide's in high  
(at turning point), it's high-tide' M (neuter per-  
fective), with lee 'up ashore': Rezanov Имько-  
контъ 'Прибыль воды Fluth' lee gusaʔyaʔ  
'tide's coming in high, rising' L, 10.254, 11.69A,  
sʔaʔdah lee gusaʔyaʔ 'there's nice weather,  
tide and shoreline are lovely' ('tide is rising  
beautifully') L, ʔuq lee gesaʔyahʔinuʔ 'tide  
rose up over (engulfing) them' 10.255, 11.70A,  
lee guʔyah daʔɣ 'just as the tide starts to  
come in' 11.89, 89A, with desidaʔ 'full' (see

d-ʔya 2f.): *daɪdaʔʕ gusaʔya·ɬ* 'tide's coming in very high' L, with *o-lah* 'around o': *ʔulah gusaʔya·ɬ* 'tide is rising around it (freeing it, e.g. beached boat)' M; *ʔu·nahd kusaʔya·ɬ* 'water is rising up over something' LM (perhaps to be corrected to *ʔu·nah gusaʔya·ɬ* 'tide is rising up around its head'); *lu· saʔyahɬ* 'tide came in' M (perhaps to be corrected to *lu· gusaʔyahɬ* 'tide reached turning-point'); with *yaɣ--* progressive, 'reversal of motion': *yaɣ guʔdaʔya·K* 'tide (cust) laps (sluggishly) back and forth' L, also, idiomatically 'he (cust) dawdles, stalls, is lazy' L.

*gl-ʔya* with *gl*-class-mark for S 'liquid', partly thematized, partly overlapping with *g-ʔya*: 1. 'S (water in natural topographical body) is, gets in certain state (tidal phenomenon or otherwise)': *las geli·ʔyahɬ* 'water is high' M, *diʔaʔ geli·ʔyahɬ* 'tide is (remains, stuck) high' L (cf. *-ʔya* 6b.), *ʔidah qaʔ geli·ʔyahɬ* 'tide is at a nice height' L, *ʔidah geli·ʔyahɬ* 'incoming tide is slowing down, about to go out again' ('water is in a nice state') L (neuter perfectives), *di·yaɣ yɔʔʕ yɔɣ gələsaʔya·ɬ* 'tide hasn't started to ebb down yet' L, *ke·ʔwəɣduw diK yɔʔʕ*

gali·?ya·kə 'how come tide doesn't (cust) ebb?'  
43.1N, xu? gɥ·sa?yah̄ 'high tide's about  
stopped' ('water has reached a complete state')  
L (see -?ya 21.), ?aw giyah ya?ɣ gɥ·sa?  
yah̄ 'the water lifted up (magically)' 29.7A.

2. 'S (bodily humor) runs', with yeɣ 'down-  
ward' (see -?ya 32.) or qa? 'up out' (see  
-?ya 18.): ?uyeq yeɣ kugu·?yah̄ (probably  
to be corrected to kugɥ·?yah̄ or kugeli·?yah̄)  
'he has diarrhea' ('something (liquid) flows down-  
ward in him') L (neuter perfective), ?ideka?ɣ  
yeɣ gulesə?ya·k̄ 'you're running (with liquid  
coming down) at the corner of your mouth, drool-  
ing' L, repetitive: dək̄ siyeq qa·ʕ gula?ya·g  
'I'm spitting blood' ('blood repeatedly comes up  
out (from) inside me') L, dək̄ ?uyeq qa? gɥ·  
sa?yah̄ 'he hemorrhaged' L, see also giyah  
?uyeq qa? geli·?yah̄, yeq gela?yah, -'a'ɰ.  
kugɥ·?ya·, lu· kugɥ·?ya· (noun) 'big tide which  
comes in September' L. Probably nominalized ac-  
tive imperfective, 'something (water in natural  
body) is, gets in a state', with optional lu·  
'turning-point'.  
yeq gela?yah (noun, gl-class) 'bile' L. Perhaps  
nominalized active imperfective with gl-class=

mark for S, yeq probably postposition, in error for o-yeq 'inside o', or perhaps with zeroed-out ?ed-reflexive o, perhaps deverbalized indirect reflexive, 'it (liquid) is in a state inside (oneself?)'.

giyah ?uyeq gəli·?yah̄ L, giyah ?uyeq gəli·?yah̄ (noun) 'water blister' M. Nominalized neuter perfective, with gl-class-mark for S and, in form from M, d-thematic 'accumulate', 'water has accumulated, gotten into it'.

gd1-?ya (with gd1-thematic) 1. (combination of gl-class-mark for S 'liquid' with d-thematic of various meanings, see gl-?ya, d-?ya): Rezanov Удаликутлякыль 'Капель es tröpfelt' ?u·dəx li? gəla·sa?ya.̄ 'it (water) is starting to run (downstream) along there', Итакатлякыль 'Туча Wolke' perhaps to be read ?idah gəli·?yah̄ 'it (water) is in nice state' (cf. gl-?ya): ?ideħa?x yəx kugeħa·sa?ya.̄ 'something (liquid) is running down from the corner of your mouth' L, ?u·dəx gəli·?yah̄ 'water ran (has accumulated?) along there' L, daida? gəli·?yah̄ 'it's high tide' ('water has accumulated full') L (neuter perfectives, cf. d-?ya 2f., g-?ya), indirect reciprocal: Kudaħge·?ħ ?iħlah gəla·sdi?yah̄

'the white and yolk (of unbroken egg) got mixed together' ('they (liquids) got mixed around each other with the yolk') L (see -ʔya 3.). Transitive (causative); with ʔilqaʔ 'amongst each other' (see -ʔya 2b.): ʔilqaʔ gəla·silyah̄t 'I mixed them (two liquids, e.g. coffee and milk) together' L, d̄u·ʔ giyah̄ ʔilqaʔ gəla·silyah̄t 'I mixed baby formula' ('I mix water with milk amongst each other') L.

2. With ʔeʔt̄, ʔiʃ (suits at cards) as S with ʔq̄ʔ 'finish, complete' or as  $\beta$  of o-ʔq̄ʔ (see ʔeʔt̄, ʔiʃ-ʔih̄<sup>2</sup>, -ʔya 14., 20<sub>A</sub>): ʔeʔt̄ ʔq̄ʔ (or ʔeʔt̄ʔq̄ʔ ?) gəla·saʔyah̄t 'I got a trump in diamonds (at "66")' ('diamonds have become complete') L, ʔiʃ ʔq̄ʔ (or ʔiʃʔq̄ʔ ?) gəla·saʔyah̄t 'I got a trump in spades (at "66")' L.

dl-ʔya (with dl-thematic) 'S (unstable) tilts, slants, leans (off vertical axis)': 1. ʔa·saʔyah̄t 'it's leaning over (slowly)' M, repetitive: ʔaʔya·g 'it's leaning over slowly (bit by bit)' M.

2. With yq̄ʔ 'down' (see -ʔya 28., d-ʔya 1a.) a. 'S falls, keels, topples over': yq̄ʔ ʔa·saʔyah̄t 'toppled over' 47b.43, 46M, yq̄ʔ

λα·σα?yahk̄ih 'he keeled over' L. Transitive (causative): reflexive: γφ·? ?ελα·σεxta?ya·x̄ ?ixleh 'I want to (that I should make myself) fall over' L.

2b. With idiomatic meaning, 'S falls immediately to sleep effortlessly': γφ·? λα·σα?yahk̄ih 'he went to sleep the minute his head touched the pillow' L. Transitive (causative): reflexive: γφ·? ?ελα·k̄i?yahk̄ih 'he's lying down resting a while (having immediately fallen asleep?)' L (neuter perfective).

2c. Transitive (causative) only, with γφ·?-σ̄ (continuous movement) down, farther down', 'S bends, stoops over': reflexive: γφ·?σ̄ ?edqu?-λα·xta?yah 'I'll bend down' L, γφ·?σ̄ ?ελα·σεxta?ya·k̄ 'I'm (in the process of) bending over' LM, γφ·?σ̄ ?ελα·xs̄k̄i?yahk̄ 'I bent over, bent down' M, γφ·?σ̄ ?ελα·xti?yahk̄ 'I'm bent over, stooped' LM, γφ·?σ̄ ?ελα·k̄i?yahk̄ih 'a person who is stooped (with age)' L (neuter perfective), γφ·?σ̄ ?ελα·k̄i?yih̄ih 'let him bend down' L; passive: γφ·?σ̄ xuλα·sdi?yahk̄ 'I got bent over' L, γφ·?σ̄ λα·sdi?yahk̄ih 'he got bent over (by something)' L.

3. With o-x̄ 'in contact with o': siχ

la'sa?yahk 'it fell (inclined?) over by me,  
touching me on the way' M.

4. With yaḡ-progressive, 'S teeters, tot-  
ters, sways, staggers, wobbles, rocks about':  
yaḡ la'seda?ya'k 'he started to totter around'  
47c, 21L. Transitive (causative): repetitive:  
yaḡ la'xia?ya'gjh 'I'm holding him (baby) against  
my shoulder or breast and gently rocking him' L  
(see qa' la'kya'g).

5. Reflexive (causative): indirect reflexive  
with o-ta?-q(-?e?-č) '(continuous movement to-  
ward (empty) place) behind o': ta?qič ?əla'e-  
ka?ya? 'lean backwards!' N, ta?qe?č ?əla'x-  
kī?yahk, ta?qič ?əla'xkī?yahk 'I'm leaning back-  
wards' N (neuter perfectives), ta?q ?edqu?la'x-  
ka?yah 'I'll lean back (against something be-  
hind me)' (of e.g. sick person in bed).L.

qa' la'kya'g name of Eyak(?) woman "from Yaku-  
tat" L. Name clearly of Eyak origin, active im-  
perfective repetitive causative, probably as in  
4. above, without yaḡ-progressive, 'she leans  
us (against her breast or shoulder to rock us)'.  
O-?-dl-?ya (semitransitivized form of dl-?ya,  
probably intransitive, O-thematic, ?u- only,  
cf. O-?-l-?ya) 1. 'S (stable) tilts, slants,

leans (off vertical axis)': ?u?λa·sa?yah̄ 'it (stick, tree) is (came to be) standing at a slant' L, with ɣd-class-mark for S: ?u?ɣeλa·sa?yah̄ 'it (mast) is (came to be) standing at a slant' L.

2. With ɣu? 'right, straight' (see -?ya 21.): ɣu? ?u?λa·sa?yah̄ 'it levelled, stopped tilting, stabilized straight up' L.

0-?-1-?ya (analogical semitransitive, probably intransitive, 0 thematic, ?u- only, cf. 0-?-=dl-?ya) '(upper part of, one side of two-sided vertical) S droops, curls downward (failing to maintain vertical rigidity)': neuter perfective: ?u?li·?yah̄ 'one side of it is drooping, curling down' (as shape of printed lower case r) L, ?iḷq̄esd ?u?li·?yah̄ 'it droops, curls down on both sides' (as shape of upper case Greek upsilon) L (indirect reciprocal, perhaps to be corrected to ?iḷq̄esd ?u?lidi?yah̄).

el-?ya (with el-thematic 'passage of time') 'S (time) passes': 1. sahdɣ teleta?ya·ḫ 'a long time is going by' L; also attested, perhaps incorrectly, with name of period of time as S (which should perhaps be corrected to o of o-č, see el-?ya 8., 10.): ɣela·g əp·sa?yah̄ 'winter

came' L.

2a. With leh 'seasonal cycle, year': (see also el-?ya ll.): su?ya?x leh selesə?ya·t 'this winter's warm' ('the year is passing in warmth') L, kuša·dah leh selesə?ya·t 'this winter is severe' ('the year is passing badly, severely') L, leh əp·sa?yah·t 'a year passed' L, 21a.33L, la?dih leh əp·sa?yah·t 'two years went by' L, la?dih ?u·dabd əp·sa?yah·t 'two years ago, two years since then have passed' L.

2b. With o-leh 'year for o, year of o's life': Rezanov Ужлекачуаь 'Тодъ Jahr' ?uleh əp·sa?yah·t 'a year passed for him, he spent a year' 10.242, 243, 244A, 19.11L, 21b.24, 33.39A, Rezanov Угъамачуаь 'мъ промъомъ годъ im vorigen Jahr' ?u·d ?uleh əp·sa?yah·t, ?u·d ?uleh əp·sa?yah·t·ih 'he spent a year there' 33.38A, dəxi· dəxkih ?u·d ?uleh selesə?ya·t da·x·dɨw 'already a number of years are passing for her there and' 25.40A, ?ahmu· ?uqa?d si· leh əp·sa?yah·tinu· 'those amongst whom I spent a year' 25.183A, kuša·da? sileh əp·sa?yah·t 'I had a bad year (year of bad luck)' L, kuša·da? sileh qu?seli·?yah 'I'll have an unlucky year' L, dətə·xka·d qəlahqa?ga? ?uleh seli·?·

yahh 'he was fourteen years old' 6l.3lA (neuter perfective), ?uleh selesayahh 'she's getting to be a year old' L, sileh selesayahh 'my birthday, anniversary is coming' M, la'dih ?uleh sa'sayahh 'it's two years old' L, desa'q sileh sa'sayahh 'I'm ten years old' L, ?ileh sileh seli'yahh 'I'm older than you' ('more years are past for me than you') L (neuter perfective); ?uleh seli'yahh 'she's pregnant, a pregnant woman' M (neuter perfective, checked and verified with M, who insists on this meaning with o-lah, rejected with conviction by L and A).

3. With o-leh 'more than o, too much for, beyond, past o': a. 'S is, becomes (visibly) pregnant' (see also el-?ya 2b., 3b., 4.): Rezanov Яляхемонсыягъ 'Брѣхата schwanger' ?uleh ... sa'sayahh, ?uleh sa'sayahh 'she is, got pregnant' LA (rechecked and verified several times with L), ?uleh selesayahh 'she's becoming (visibly) pregnant' L, 2b.12L, da'cahdh ?ahleh selesayahh 'how (whence) is she getting (visibly) pregnant?' 2b.13L. Transitive (causative): ?ahleh sa'sayahh 'he made her pregnant' L.

3b. 'S (time) becomes too late for o' (see

also e1-?ya 4.): ?ulex selesə?yah̄t, ?ulex  
əp̄-sa?yah̄t 'it is, got too late for it (e.g.  
to go there)' L.

4. With o-la?x̄ '(movement) down over  
(hanging on) o': sila?x̄ əp̄-sa?yah̄t  
'I was too late' L (perhaps to be corrected to  
siləx̄).

5. With o-q-č '(continuous movement) onto  
o': siq̄č selesə?ya·k̄ 'my term (in gestation)  
is approaching' M (inceptive perfective, only  
attestation, other mode-aspects perhaps with  
o-q).

6. With o-?p̄? 'coming upon o' (see -?ya  
9.): ge·li?a·ḡ ya·?p̄? əp̄-sa?yah̄t 'noon came'  
( 'time passed to midday thing') L, ?u?p̄? əp̄-  
sa?yah̄t 'time for it (to do it) came' L, ?u?p̄-č  
selesə?ya·k̄ 'it's getting to be time for it (to  
do that)' L.

7. With o-da? '(arrival) at o': ge·le?a·ḡ  
ya·da? əp̄-sa?yah̄t 'it's noon sharp' L.

8. With o-č 'to, toward, at o': x̄ela·ḡč  
selesə?ya·k̄ 'it's getting to be winter' S,  
x̄ah̄č selesə?ya·k̄ 'it's getting to be summer'  
L.

9. With o-ga? 'like o': ?əwga? selesə-

sa?ya·h̄ 'it's getting to be that (same) time  
(of the day, year, again in a cycle)' L, ?ewga?  
sq·sa?yah̄ 'that same time the next year' 21a.-  
27L, ?elga? selesa?yah da·x̄ 'around this time  
of year' N, 'at this time of year, of the day'  
(when time comes like this (one of year, day))'  
L.

10. With o-?a'g '(to) middle of o' (see  
also el-?ya 1.): ?ela'g ya·?a'g selesa?yah̄  
'it became midwinter' 49.115A ('winter passed to  
mid-point?'), ge·le?a'g selesa?ya·h̄ 'it's  
getting to be noon' L (ge·le?a'g perhaps S,  
'noon is passing?').

11. With o-lah 'around o': ?ulah sq·-  
sa?yah̄ 'it turned one year old' L (probably in  
error for ?uleh, influenced perhaps by o-lex,  
o-la?x̄).

leh sela?yah (noun, unclassified) 'year': often  
used adverbially: h̄h̄h̄h̄ leh sela?yah '(for)  
one year' 23.53, 69.11, 12A, ?ew?ihd leh se-  
la?yah 'the year after that, the next year' 21a.-  
27, 56.9L, ?el?ihd ya· leh sela?yah 'next  
year' ('the one (year) after this') L.

O-?-el-?ya (with el-thematic 'passage of time')  
'S (time) passes for O, with certain significance

for O, O spends time': diK ?u?qu?seli-?ya-?ih  
 'she hasn't much more time to live' 61.102A,  
 la?dih Ku?a?nga? ?u-? xu?eq-sa?yah? 'I spent  
 two hours there' L, with o-da? 'even <sup>with, for the</sup> of o':  
 qi?ya-da-? Ku?u-da? xu?qu?seli-?yah 'I'll get  
 lucky sometime' L, Ku?u-da? qa-? ?u?eq-sa?-  
 yah? 'we (suddenly) got, turned lucky, rich' L,  
 Ku?u-da? ?i?qe?seli-?yah 'you'll have good  
 luck' ('a lucky time will pass for you') L, Ku-  
 sa-da? xu?eq-sa?yah? 'I had a period of bad  
 luck' L, Ku?u-da? xu?eq-sa?yah? 'I had a period  
 of good luck, a good year' L; with adverb formed  
 with -dah adverbializer: Ku?u-dah xu?eq-sa?-  
 yah? 'I had a period, year of good weather' L.  
 ?-?ya (with ?-thematic, perhaps 'plural', thus  
 'pl. move (restrictedly in medium)', cf. -?ya l.,  
 ?d-?ya, ?dl-?ya) 'pl. S fly': with no locative  
 postpositional phrases or preverbs, 'pl. S fly  
 (along, away)': qu?qexi-?yah 'they'll fly away'  
 L, qaxesa?ya-? 'they're flying along, away' L,  
 qaxesa?yah? 'they flew away' L, with ya?x 'up':  
 ya?x xesa?yah?, ya?x qaxesa?yah? L, ya?x  
 xesa?yah?ina-? 'they took off, flew away' 49.155,  
 156A, ya?x qu?xi-?yah 'they'll take off

and fly away' L, yaʔɣ ʒəsaʔya·k̄ 'they're taking off' L, with other locative postpositional phrases and preverbs: qeʔ ʒədiʔyah̄ 'they flew back' L, 7.39A, ʔp·ɕ qeʔ ʒəsaʔya·k̄ 'they (birds, airplanes) are flying back hither' L, ʔp·daʔ qeʔ ʒədiʔyah̄ 'they flew back here' L, qe·yah̄ ʒədiʔyah̄ 'they flew back out to sea' 14.1L, ʔaʔq̄ ʒəsaʔyah̄ 'they flew out' L, ɣi·ɕ qəʒəsaʔyah̄ 'they flew over there' M, ʔed̄kaʔni·q̄ ʔu·deɣ ʒəsaʔya·k̄ 'gulls are flying along there' M, with yeɣ-progressive (see also yeɣ ʒədaʔya·ɣ): yeɣ ʒədaʔya·ɣ 'they're flying about' LM, yeɣ quʔə-ʒədaʔyah̄ 'they'll fly around' L.

yeɣ ʒədaʔya·ɣ (noun, unclassified) 'flying things, birds (generic)' L, :xat̄aʔya· 'a flying bird' BSL 539, yeɣ ʒədaʔya·ɣyu· 'birds' 68.52A, yeɣ ʒədaʔya·ɣyequhyu· 'little birds' 10.45, 150A, yeɣ ʒədaʔya·ɣdewa· yeɣ ya·g 'spring snow' ('that which repeatedly comes down (subsides?) pending the birds(' return)') L. Nominalized active imperfective with yeɣ-progressive, 'those which fly about'.

lisc̄jʔdaʔ(ɣ) qəʒaʔyah̄ (noun, unclassified) 'chickadees' (probably including 'boreal chickadee

(Parus hudsonicus), Yukon black-capped chickadee (P. atricapillus turneri), Northern chestnut-backed chickadee (P. rufescens)', and perhaps also a number of other similar small land-birds): liscij<sup>?</sup>da qeʒa<sup>?</sup>yah L, liscij<sup>?</sup>da<sup>?</sup>ʒ qeʒa<sup>?</sup>yah 'chickadees' 7.11A, liscij<sup>?</sup>da<sup>?</sup>ʒ qeʒa<sup>?</sup>yahyu<sup>?</sup> 'chickadees' 7.39A. Nominalized active imperfective with qe- 'plural', 'they fly at the tips, extremities of trees, spruce'.

y-<sup>?</sup>ya (with y-thematic, see also <sup>?</sup>i-<sup>?</sup>-<sup>?</sup>ya) 'S moves, travels passively, without voluntary destination, is sent, wanders, ends up, fares':  
 diʒa<sup>?</sup>g siʒa<sup>?</sup>, da<sup>?</sup>deʒʒduw yesa<sup>?</sup>ya<sup>?</sup>ʒ 'my letter, (along) where, I wonder, is it going?' M, daki<sup>?</sup> yesa<sup>?</sup>yah<sup>?</sup>ʒ 'it's on its way, has been sent already' M, sida<sup>?</sup> yesa<sup>?</sup>yah<sup>?</sup>ʒ 'it (letter, sent dog) got to me' M, di<sup>?</sup>dah <sup>?</sup>q<sup>?</sup>da<sup>?</sup> yisi<sup>?</sup>yah<sup>?</sup>ʒ 'I got here safely (not under my own control)' M, di<sup>?</sup>dah qe<sup>?</sup>ʒah yisi<sup>?</sup>yah<sup>?</sup>ʒ 'she got back, ended up back home safely' 25.81A, ʒi<sup>?</sup>q<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>q<sup>?</sup> yesa<sup>?</sup>yah<sup>?</sup>ʒ 'all that's ended up here' 9.28A, kuyeq<sup>?</sup> yesa<sup>?</sup>yah<sup>?</sup>ʒ 'it went, was sent in something (as in package)' M, <sup>?</sup>uqa<sup>?</sup> yisi<sup>?</sup>yah<sup>?</sup>ʒ 'I got mixed up (involuntarily) with them' ('I ended up amongst them') L. (see -<sup>?</sup>ya 2.), <sup>?</sup>deqa<sup>?</sup>ʒ yesa<sup>?</sup>yah<sup>?</sup>ʒ 'it wandered

*dasah 'upa' ʒisi<sup>?</sup>yah<sup>?</sup>ʒ 'is passed up amongst them' 24.87A,  
 'de buʒiʒy<sup>?</sup>ga<sup>?</sup>d ʒisi<sup>?</sup>yah<sup>?</sup>ʒ 'became she had mixed up amongst them' 15.152A,*

about' ('it wandered amongst indeterminate o')  
 L, sisa? yasa'yah̄ 'I got it to eat effort-  
 lessly' ('it ended up in my mouth') L, diM  
 dade·d ?iyəʔe·q̄d̄ yq·?ya·K̄ 'you (cust) never  
 get anything (hunting)' ('nothing ever (cust)  
 ends up in your palms') 23.13A (see also -?ya  
 12., 13., o-ʔ yd-?ya), ?iyəʔe·q̄ qu?yi·?yah  
 'it (prey) will fall into your hands (hunting)'  
 L, siyəʔe·q̄ yasa'yah̄ 'I got it (hunting)'  
 ('it ended up in my hands', properly modest way  
 to report success in hunting) L, with yaʔ--  
 progressive: yaʔ yeda?ya·ʔ 'wanders about'  
 10.163, 164A, indirect reciprocal: ?iM̄ yaʔ  
 yeda?ya·ʔ 'they wandered about together' 68.106A,  
 iʔq̄ ?iʔqa? yisdi?yah̄inu· 'they (people) are  
 all mixed, mingled (amongst each other)' L, ?iʔqa?  
 qu?yeda?ȳh̄inu· 'they'll mix, mingle' L; prob-  
 lematical form: siyeda?ʔ yisdi?yah̄ 'I got it  
 (hunting)' (properly modest way to report success)  
 L ('it ended up on my arm-front', de-classifier  
 inexplicable, perhaps passive of unattested causa-  
 tive, or perhaps influenced by yd-?ya below); see 68.103A.  
 Transitive (causative): reflexive: dəʔhyu·qa?  
 q̄aw ?edya·iʔa?ya·K̄ 'you've been (making yourself  
 look as though you were innocently) wandering,

staying, ending up amongst people' 10.178A.

qəyaʔyah Eyak man's name, Jumbo Johnson of  
Katalla, brother of George Johnson M, ("send-  
ing away, send him all over") L. Active imper-  
fective of y-ʔya with thematized qə- 'plural',  
'he wanders a lot, to many places'?

deqaʔx̄ yq̄-ʔya·k̄ Eyak woman's name, Mary, daughter  
of Gus Nelson, BSDL Genealogical Table Deqax̄'ia'-  
ya<sup>n</sup>k̄. Active customary of y-ʔya with de-qaʔ-x̄  
'(movement) amongst indeterminate o', 'she (cust)  
wanders about'.

o-x̄ yd-ʔya (with yd-thematic, cf. y-ʔya, -ʔya  
S., and o-x̄ 'in contact with o') 'S hunts o  
(game) successfully': diʔdah ʔux̄ yidiʔyah̄  
'I got it (hunting)' (properly modest way to re-  
port success, 'I fairly wandered into contact  
with it'?) L.

o-č̄ yl-de-ʔya (with yl-thematic, cf. y-ʔya and  
l-da-a) 'S gets stuck, wedged, stranded at o  
(place where S unfortunately ends up)': ʔq̄·č̄  
yq̄·xadiʔyah̄, ʔq̄·č̄ yelixdiʔyah̄ 'I got stuck  
here (e.g. by bad weather)' L, ʔuč̄ ya·sdiʔyah̄  
'it's stuck, wedged in there (against it)' L,  
ʔq̄·č̄ yq̄·xdiʔyah̄ 'I'm stuck here' L (neuter  
perfective), ʔuč̄ quʔyq̄·xdaʔyah̄ 'I'll get stuck

there' L, ya?xu' ?u'č qu?yq·da?yah 'don't  
get stuck there' L.

ɣdl-?ya 1. 'sg. S runs': with no locative post-  
positional phrases or adverbs, 'S runs (along,  
away)': ?i-active imperative: xəli·?ya?,  
xəli·?ya?duh 'run!' L, inceptive imperfective:  
qu?xəli·xyah 'I'll run' L, ya?xu' qu?xəli·?-  
yah, di?wəx ?iya? 'don't run, just walk!' L,  
qu?xəli·?yah 'it'll run' L, inceptive perfective:  
Galushia Nelson xətəká·qəxyá·tək or xətəkáqəxyátək  
'I run' BSdL 560 xəla·suxya·tək M, xəla·səxya·tək  
'I'm running (along)' L, Galushia Nelson í'ixət-  
təká·qəliyá·tək or í'ixətəká·qəliyátəl 'you run' BSdL  
560 ?i· xəla·si·?ya·tək 'you're running', xəla·s-  
si·?ya·tək 'you're running (along)' M, Galushia  
Nelson xətəká·qəliyátəkí or xətəká·liyátəkí 'he  
runs' xəla·sə?ya·təkíh 'he's running (along)' M,  
xəla·sə?ya·tək 'it's running (along)' L, qe·dah  
?ədqi·deəcəxəp?təkíh ?idəxəla·sə?ya·təkíh 'he's  
feet are simply fluttering, he's running so  
(fast)' 72.22L, ?i·li·x xəla·sə?ya·təkíh 'he's  
trotting, running slowly, jogging along' L, ac-  
tive perfective, 'S runs (away)': 15.21M, 38.6,  
20LM, 53.21L, Galushia Nelson xətəká·si'yatək  
or xətəkásiyatək 'I ran' BSdL 560 xəla·si'yahək

'I ran' L, active optative: xəla·xiʔyah 'let  
 me run' L, with various locative postpositional  
 phrases and/or preverbs: siʔa·ʕ xəla·saʔyahʔih  
 'he ran around behind me (for protection)' M,  
 ʔaʔq xəla·saʔyaʔ 'run out!' M, ʔaʔq quʔxə-  
 li·xyah 'I'll run out' M, ʔaʔq qeʔ xəla·se-  
 daʔyaʔ 'run back out!' M, ʔaʔq quʔxəla·xdaʔ-  
 yah 'I'll run back out' M, ʔaʔq quʔxəli·ʔyihʔih  
 'he'll run out' M, ʔaʔq qeʔ quʔxəla·daʔyihʔih  
 'he'll run back out' M, ʔaʔqeʕ xəla·sexya·ʔ  
 'I'm running out' M, ʔaʔq xəla·siʔyahʔ 'I ran  
 out' M, ʔaʔq xəla·saʔyahʔ 'he ran out' 19.27,  
 48.13L, qeʔ quʔxəla·daʔyah 'I'll run again,  
 some more' M, qeʔ xəla·saʔyahʔ 'I ran again,  
 some more' M, ʔu·ʕ ʔediʔ qeʔ xəla·sdiʔyahʔ  
 'he ran back in there' 23.69A, qeʔ xəla·sdiʔ-  
 yahʔ 'he ran back, he ran home' 25.93A, 55.18L,  
 ʔu·ʕ qeʔ xəla·sdiʔyahʔ 'ran back there' 28.30,  
 49.13A, ʔu·dəʔ qeʔ·caʔ xəla·se-daʔya·ʔ 'he's  
 running back downhill shoreward along there'  
 37b.46A, ceʔx qeʔ xəla·sdiʔyahʔih 'she ran  
 back down to shore' 49.97A, lae xəla·saʔyahʔ  
 'she ran up from shore' 49.142, 143A, o-daʔ  
 caʔ xəla·saʔyahʔ 'ran down (the bank) to o'  
 10.99, 11.149A, la·ʔahʕ xəla·saʔya·ʔ 'is

running into its hole' 23.32A, qi'dox ?uxa?  
 li? xəla'sa?yahitʃahd 'from where she had run  
 in by him' 23.35A, lah?e? xəla'sa?yahitʃh 'she  
 ran into her hole' 22.9L, o-?ihx xəla'sa?yahit  
 'ran after o' 23.84A, 48.14L, ?u?ihx xəli-?=  
 yi?ʃh 'run after him!' M, ?i?ihx qu?xəli-xyah  
 'I'll pursue you' LM, ?u-da? ?ədiʃ xəla'sa?=  
 yahit 'he ran in (arriving) there' 25.96A, ?u-ʃ  
 xəla'sa?yahitʃh 'she ran thither' 37a.22L, ?p-  
 gu-na?d xəla'sa?ya-ʃh 'she's running along on  
 (the surface of) the river' 48.15L, o-qa?ʃ qe?  
 xəla'sadi?yahit 'he ran back to amongst o' 37b.47A,  
 o-da? xəla'sa?yahitʃh 'she arrived (running) at  
 o' 38.21LM, ?ewyeʃ li? xəla'sa?yahit 'she ran  
 in under it' 38.22LM, qa-ləedox xi-ʃ xəla-  
 sa?yahit, ?uma-ʃ 'ran over there above us, to  
 his mother' 61.49A, yahddəyoxəʃ xəla'sa?yahit  
 'ran underneath the house' 61.115A, lah xəla-  
 si?yahit 'I ran in a circle' M, siʃahd qu?xə-  
 li-?yah 'it'll get away from me' L, ?iʃahd  
 qu?xəli-xyah 'I'll run away from you (not es-  
 caping, you willing)' L, siʃahʃ xəla'sa?ya-ʃh  
 'he's running away from me' L, ʃidah siʃahʃ  
 xəla-?ya-ʃh 'he's always (cust) running away  
 from me' L, ?iʃ qu?xəli-xyah 'I'll run to you'

L, sita's ?eš qu?xəli-?yjhjh 'he'll run by  
 past me' L, sida'x ?eš xəla'sa'yahh, sita's  
 xəla'sa'yahh 'he ran by past me' L, sida'x ?eš  
 qe? xəla'sdi'yahhjh 'he ran by me again' L, si-  
 li'dəx xəla'sa'yahh 'he ran right by behind me'  
 L, sili'dəx da'x xəla'sa'yahh 'he ran across  
 behind me' L, dš' ? xəla'sa'yahhjh 'he ran up  
 against something; he got into trouble' M, six  
 xəla'sa'yahh 'he ran by me, touching, brushing,  
 glancing against me' M, ya'x xəla'sa'yahh 'it  
 ran along glancing by something' L, guxa'x xə-  
 la'sa'yahh 'it ran by glancing a stump' L, šdu-  
 liheda'x xəla'sa'yahh 'it ran by glancing a  
 table' L, ?uyeq ?eš xəla'sa'yahh 'it ran  
 through it' L (see also xdl-?ya 2.), with yəx-  
 progressive or 'reversal of motion': yəx xəla'-  
 da?ya'xjh 'he's running around' L, lišdeqa'x  
 yəx xəla'da?ya'xjh 'he's running around amongst  
 the trees' L, ?əwya'x yəx xəla'da?ya'x 'it  
 (e.g. rat) is running around in it (bowl, canoe,  
 pot)' L, qe'yəx qu?xəla'xda'yah 'I'll run back'  
 L, qe'yəx xəla'xdi'yahh 'I ran back' L, qe'-  
 yəxəš qe? xəla'xexda?ya'h 'I'm running back  
 again' L, ?ilya' yəx xəla'sdi'yahhjh 'he ran  
 back and forth' M, with qa? 'up out', 'S runs

up out, 'S runs away, escapes': qa? xəla'əa'ya?  
 'run away!' M ("doesn't sound good" L), qe? qa?  
 xəla'sdi'yah̄t 'he escaped home (running)' 23.100A,  
 'əwya? qa? xəla'sa'yah̄t̄j̄h 'she escaped (running)  
 into it (canoe)' 25.45A, 'u'č qa? xəla'sa'  
 yah̄t̄j̄h 'he ran up thither' 50.54, 57A, qa?  
 xəla'əa'ya'k̄ 'it was running up (out of water  
 onto skerry)' 50.60A, qa? qu'xəli'xyah 'I'll  
 run away' M, qa? qu'xəli'yj̄h̄j̄h 'he'll run away'  
 M, qə'č xəla'əəxya'k̄ 'I'm running away' M,  
 qə'č xəla'əa'ya'k̄j̄h 'he's running away' M, qa?  
 xəla'si'yah̄t 'I ran away' M, qa? xəla'sa'yah̄t̄j̄h  
 'he ran away' M, qa? xəla'sa'yah̄t 'he escaped  
 (e.g. from jail)' L, xə'idi'q'čah̄d qa? xəla'sa'  
 yah̄t̄j̄h 'he escaped from jail' L, 'ədi'xi'čah̄d  
 qa? xəla'sa'yah̄t̄j̄h 'he escaped from inside (house)'  
 L, i'e'čya'čah̄d qa? xəla'sa'yah̄t 'it escaped  
 from box' L, də'u'd qa? xəla'li'yj̄h̄j̄h 'alright  
 let him run away' L; indirect reflexive: 'əd'e'č  
 qe? qu'xəla'xda'yah 'I'll run back home' M, in=  
 direct reciprocal (note irregular, perhaps in=  
 correct, use for pl. S, see also xdl-'ya 2.):  
 'iida? xəla'sdi'yah̄tinu' 'they ran head-on into  
 each other' L. Transitive (causative): 'a'q  
 xəla'əəiyj̄'j̄h 'run him out!' M, 'a'q 'iqe'xə=

λi·xīyah 'I'll run you out' M, ?a?d̥ ʔəla·sīt-  
 yahīh 'I ran him out' M, ?a?d̥h̥ ʔəla·sēt-  
 yahī 'did you run him out?' M, qa? ʔəla·sēt-  
 yī?h 'run him away!' M ("doesn't sound good" L),  
 qā? ?iqe?ʔəli·xīyah 'I'll run you away' M.

2. 'sg. (also pl.?) S (missile, vehicle)

moves', attested only with ?eš 'by, past' (cf.  
 -?ya 30.): ?uyed̥ ?eš ʔəla·sa?yahī 'it (arrow,  
 d-class) went clear through it' L, ʕiyahdelelu?  
 ?eš ʔəla·sa?yahī 'it (bullet) went clear through  
 the hat' L; indirect reciprocal (cf. indirect re-  
 ciprocal under ʔdl-?ya 1.): ʔahd̥ ?iīda·ʔ ?eš  
 ʔəla·sdi?yahīnu· 'two cars (d-class, or people  
 in cars) glanced by each other' L.

ʔəʔ ʔəla·?ya·ʔ (gerundive of ʔdl-?ya 1. with  
 ʔəʔ-progressive) 'running (about)': ʔəʔ ʔəla·?e-  
 ya·ʔ xuseīga?ī 'I'm tired of running around'  
 ('running about has tired me') L.

?i-?-ʔdl-?ya 'sg. S (running) catches up to or  
 pulls away from another running being':  
 with o-ka·ʔ 'catching up to o': sika·ʔ ?i?ʔe-  
 la·sa?yahī 'he caught up to me (running)' IM,  
 ?əhka·ʔ ?i?ʔəla·sa?yahī 'caught up to her'  
 37a.13L, ?ika·ʔeš ?i?ʔəla·səxya·h 'I'm catch-  
 ing up to you' L, ?uka·ʔeš ?i?ʔəli?xyah da·ʔ

'just as I was beginning to catch up with him'  
L (active conditional); sixahd ʔiʔxeʎa·saʔ=  
yahʔih 'he's pulled away from me (gotten further  
ahead of me, running)' L.

ʔi-ʔ-ʔya (semitransitive with ʔi-indeterminate O?,  
uncertain, perhaps y-ʔya, q.v., see also -ʔya  
lb(2).) 'S falls behind or catches up to other  
moving object': ʔaʔd ʔuʔihʔ da· yesaʔya·ʔ  
'we're falling a lot further and further behind  
it' L (thus transcribed, perhaps to be corrected  
to ʔiʔesaʔya·ʔ).

o-ʔ ʔi-ʔ-d-ʔya (semi-transitive with ʔi-indeter-  
minate O?, d-thematic, and o-ʔ 'in contact with  
o'), with ʎeh 'cold, chill' only attested S,  
'o catches S (cold, chill)': ʎeh six ʔiʔqeʔ=  
di·ʔyah 'I'll catch a cold' L, ʎeh six ʔiʔde-  
saʔya·ʔ 'I'm catching cold' L, ʎehʔ ʔix ʔiʔde-  
saʔya·ʔ 'are you catching cold?' L, ʎeh six  
ʔiʔdasaʔyahʔ 'I caught a cold' L, 'I got a chill'  
M, ʎeh six ʔiʔdi·ʔyahʔ 'I have a cold, chill,  
beginning of a cold' L (neuter perfective); six  
ʔiʔdasaʔyahʔih "sounds like 'somebody came by  
me in a boat'" M (see -ʔya lb(2)).

ʔi·lih-ʔya (with ʔi·lih- 'state of mind') 1. with  
o-ʎa·ʔ 'movement in direction towards o, helping

o', 'S is on o's side, in favor of, for o':  
siča·yē ?i·lih?i·?yah̄ 'are you on my side,  
for me?' L, ?iča·yē ?i·lih?ixi?yah̄ 'I'm on  
your side, I'm for you' L (neuter perfectives).

2. With o-čahd 'from o', 'S gives o good  
luck, rewards o' (see also kučahd ?i·lih̄sa?-  
yah̄): ?ičahd qe·lihxyah 'I'll give you good  
luck, reward you' (shaman might say) L, xi·l  
sičahd ?i·lih̄sa?yah̄ 'the shaman gave me good  
luck' L, sičahd kūd ?i·lih̄sa?yah̄ 'something  
gave me good luck' L (with kū-indefinite as o  
of o-d, translating as S, probably incorrect,  
to be corrected to ku·lih̄sa?yah̄), sičahd  
?i·lih̄sa?yah̄ 'I got good luck from it' L,  
ṁḡhkih ka? kučahd ?i·lih̄yi?yah̄ ka? 'would  
that something be lucky' 10.124A, ?ew yehs qew  
?učahd ?i·lih̄sa?yah̄ 'the loon it was gave  
him good luck, rewarded him' 27b.57A, ?učahd  
?ew ?i·lih̄sa?yah̄h̄h 'that gave him good luck'  
45a.13L.

2b. With o-čahd and yəy 'downward' (see  
-?ya 32.), 'S is disappointed in, let down by o':  
?učahd ?i·lih̄si?yah̄ 'I'm disappointed in it  
(expected a bigger share)' L.

3. With o-ṁa? 'by, in (intimate) relation

with o' and ya? 'completely, to a state of rest' (see -?ya 22., o-xa? ku-i-?ya), 'S is disappointed in, by o': ?uxa? ya? ?i-lih-si?yah?h 'I was disappointed by her' L.

Ku?ahd ?i-lihsa?yah? (noun, unclassified) 'amulet, good-luck charm' L, Galushia Nelson s?tcá-tifisá'iyát? or s?tcá-tifisá'yát? 'good luck charm or amulet' BSDL 551. Nominalized active perfective of ?i-lih-?ya 2.

?ed-?i-lih-?e-?ya (reflexive of causative transitive of ?i-lih-?ya) 'S thinks': 1. with o-?p-? 'coming upon o' (see -?ya 9.) 'S thinks of o, remembers o, o occurs to, comes to S in thought': ?u?p-? ?edi-lihxsá?yah? 'I thought of it, it came to me (thinking, trying to remember)' L, didu?x ?u?p-? ?edi-lihxsá?yah? 'I almost had it (it came to the tip of my tongue)' L, diK ?u?p-? ?edi-lihxsá?yah?e 'I couldn't think of it (hit upon it)' L, ?ew?p-? ?edi-lihsá?yah?h 'it (finally, belatedly) occurred to him, her' lb.3M, 19.32L, ?u?p-?e ?edi-lihsaxá?ya? 'it's coming to me (trying to remember)' L, ?u?p-? da? ?edi-lihsá?yah da?x 'when we thought of it' 51.30, 32A.

2. With o-q' 'on o', 'S thinks about, upon

o' (poetic?): de?weɣ qe? qa?d ?edi·lih̄a?ya·k 'He (God) continues to think upon us' 70.-4A.

3. With yeɣ-progressive, 'S thinks, ponders, considers', frequently with o-lah 'about o': active imperfective: 1a.5, 1b.3M, 7.9, 11.6A, 34.47L, 37b.17A, yeɣ ?edi·lih̄x̄a?ya·ɣ (not \*?ed yeɣ ?i·lih-) 'I'm thinking' LM, ?ulah yeɣ ?edi·lih̄x̄a?ya·ɣ 'I'm thinking about it' M, ?ilah yeɣ ?edi·lih̄x̄a?ya·ɣ 'I'm thinking about you' L, diK ?ulah ?edi·lih̄x̄a?ya·e 'I'm not thinking about it' L (probably to be corrected to -ya·ɣe), ?ilah yeɣ ?edku·lih̄a?ya·ɣ 'someone's thinking about you' LM, si?ehdlah qe·yeɣ ?edi·lih̄x̄a?ya·ɣ 'I'm thinking about my wife again' L, diK ?ulah qe·yeɣ ?edi·lih̄x̄a?ya·ɣe 'I'm not thinking about her anymore' L, kuša·dah yeɣ ?edi·lih̄a?ya·ɣj̄h 'he's thinking evil, angry things' L, diK deke·duh yeɣ ?edi·lih̄a?ya·ɣe 'he didn't think anything (amiss about it)' 31.5L, inceptive imperfective: ?ulah yeɣ ?edqe·lih̄x̄a?ya·l, ?ulah yeɣ ?edqe·lih̄x̄a?yah 'I'll think about it, I'll think it over' LM, diK ?ulah ?edqe·lih̄x̄a?ya·e 'I won't think about it' L; silah yeɣ ?edku?qe·lih̄a?yah (or

?edkuqe·lih- ?) 'someone will think about me'  
 L, ?ilah yeḡ ?edkuqe·lihḡyah 'someone will  
 think about you' M, ?ilah yeḡ qe? ?edkuqe·  
 lihḡyah 'someone will think about you again' M,  
 silahḡ yeḡ ?edqe·lihḡyah 'will you think  
 about me?' L, ya?ḡu· ?ulah yeḡ ?edqe·lihḡyah  
 'don't think about it' L, ya?ḡu ?ulah da·  
 qe·yeḡ ?edqe·lihḡyah 'let's not think about  
 it anymore' L, ?ilah yeḡ ?edi·lihqu?xḡyah  
 'I'll think about you' M (uncertain, probably to  
 be corrected to ?edqe·lihḡyah), active per-  
 fective: wəḡ qḡhew ?edi·lihḡyahḡ 'thus he  
 thought' ?.104, ?ulah yeḡ ?edi·lihḡyahḡ  
 'I thought about it' L, inceptive perfective:  
 silah qe·yeḡ ?edi·lihḡyah·ḡḡ 'he's start-  
 ing to think about me again' L, active impera-  
 tive: ?ulah yeḡ ?edi·lihḡyah· L, 17.8M,  
 ?ulah yeḡ ?edi·lihḡyah· (L prefers former,  
 M latter) 'think about it!' IM, active optative:  
 ?ulah da· yeḡ ?edi·lihḡyah M, ?ulah da·  
 yeḡ ?edi·lihḡyah 'let's think about it' L,  
 ?ulah da· qe·yeḡ ?edi·lihḡyah (or -ya·,  
 or, less correct, ?edi·lihḡyah-) 'let's think  
 about it some more' L, ?eleḡgahḡ silah yeḡ  
 ?edi·lihḡyah·ḡḡ 'I hope he's thinking about

me' M, 'a'd Ka·di'da· 'ulah qe·yaḡ 'edi·=  
 lih'ixi'iyah 'I'll never think about it anymore'  
 M, diK 'enahšakih 'uḡe'xle·s 'ulah yaḡ 'edi·=  
 lih'ixi'iyah 'I don't like to think about it' L,  
 active subjunctive: diK 'ulah yaḡ 'edi·lih'ex-  
 ša'ya·ḡ 'ixle·s 'I don't want to think about  
 it' M, customary (active imperfective): 24.33A,  
 'ida'ya·leḡ iš' yaḡ 'edi·lih'iš'i'ya·k'ih 'he's  
 always thinking too much' L.

yaḡ 'edi·lihya·ḡ (gerundive of preceding) 'think-  
 ing': yaḡ 'edi·lihya·ḡ xusaḡga'š 'I'm getting  
 tired of thinking' ('thinking is tiring me') L.

l-i-'ya (with l-thematic, see also 'ed-i-e-'ya)  
 '(animate) S is, becomes old': li'šya' 'get  
 old!' L, qu'li·xiyah 'I'll get old' L, qu'li·š-  
 yih'ih 'he'll grow old' LM, lesex'ya·š 'I'm  
 getting old' L, 'i·siyahš, lišiyahš 'I'm old,  
 I got old' LM, lesex'yaš 'you're old' M, lesex-  
 yahš'ih 'he's old, he got old' L, 'ewleḡ dexi·  
 'i·sex'yaš'inu· 'they're already too old for (to  
 do) that' 65.79A, 'ida'ya·leḡ Ke·'šyuh 'i·sex-  
 yahš 'perhaps he got too old (died perhaps of  
 old age)' 24.88, 89A, 'ida'ya·leḡ lesex'yaš  
 'got too old, died of old age' 25.155A, de'a·  
 'i·sex'yaš'lehd 'because he was old' 51.17A,

ʔu·d da· ʔi·səkyah̄t 'we've grown old here' 62.=  
 12G, frequently relativized: ʔi·səkyah̄t̄jh qeʔt̄  
 'old lady' 3.17, 4.2, 11, 14M, 71.22IM, ʔi·sə̄t̄=  
 yah̄linu· hila·ʔəyū· 'old men' 28.128A, or nomi-  
 nalized: ʔi·səkyah̄t̄jh 'an old person': 11.30,  
 51.12, 15, 18, 25.5, 60.24, 26A, ʔi·səkyah̄t̄jh-  
 laʔmahd 'some kind of berry (not salmonberry)'  
 M, ʔi·səkyah̄t̄jhyəʔ laʔmahd 'yellow salmon-  
 berries' ('old person's berries') L, ʔi·səkyah̄-  
 t̄jhx̄p̄·t̄eyah 'sweet corn (maize)' ('old person's  
 teeth') G (in Harrington).

laʔyah (noun, unclassified) 'old age': laʔyah-  
 yəʔaʔ saʔyah̄t̄jh 'she succumbed to old age' 25.=  
 156A. Deverbalization(?) of l-t-ʔya.

l-ʔya 'S (in container) is, gets in position' (see  
 also Eyak Texts 65.25fn): ʔu·d səkyah̄t̄ 'it (in  
 container) is (has gotten) there' L, with class-  
 marks for S: desəkyah̄t̄ 'they (e.g. eggs in con-  
 tainer) are (got) in position' L, di·t̄yah̄t̄ 'they  
 (e.g. eggs in container) are in position' L (neu-  
 ter perfective), gəlesəkyah̄t̄ 'it (e.g. bucket  
 of water, bottle of whiskey) is (got) in position'  
 M, ləʔsəkyah̄t̄ 'they (berries in e.g. bucket)  
 are (got) in position' M, active imperfective in  
 customary or ethical sense: ʔu·d ləʔsəkyah̄t̄ 'it

l-ʔya  
 l-te

(bucket of berries) belongs there' L, di·K  
 ?u·d leʔəlyahs 'it (bucket of berries) doesn't  
 belong there, that's not its proper place' L.  
 Transitive (causative): 'S handles, positions O  
 (in container): ?əl sdiyeʔəh̄ ?ilyaʔ 'take  
 this potlatch food (in container, somewhere):'  
 L, with yaʔ 'completely, to a state of rest':  
 Резанов Удматля 'Поставь stellen, hinlegen  
 (Imperat.)' ?u·d yaʔ ?əlyəʔ 'set it there!'  
 Ятлэу 'Поставить stellen, hinlegen' yaʔ  
 ?əlye...uh 'set it (in place)!', see also ya·ʔ,  
 with yəʔ 'down': ?ew yeʔə yəʔ ?əlyah̄ 'he set  
 the potlatch-food (in container) down' 55.17L,  
 ?ixaʔdəʔə yəʔ silyah̄ 'I set it down where  
 you could reach it to eat (by your eating-range)'  
 L, with o-č 'to o': ?ew yeʔə ?uxəʔ ?uč  
 ?ilyjʔj̄h̄ 'take that potlatch-food of his to  
 him (in container)!' 55.8L, sah̄x sič ?əlyəʔ  
 'give me (a bucket of) cockles!' L, səsuʔ sič  
 ?əlyəʔ 'give me (a container full of) dry-sal--  
 mon!' L, ʔəšə·č ?əlyəʔ 'move it (in container?)  
 closer!' M, kuč ?əlyəʔ 'give it (pot of stew)  
 away (to someone)!' L, kuč quʔxlyah̄ 'I'll give  
 it away' L, kuč silyah̄ 'I gave it away' L,  
 with o-kah̄ 'away from o': ?ixaʔdəkah̄ silyah̄

'I took it away from you while you were eating  
 it' L, sixa'dekah ?ew səkyahh̄h 'he took it  
 away from me while I was eating it' ('he took it  
 away from my eating-range') L, sisa'dekah ?ew  
 səkyahh̄h 'he took it (cigarette, i.e. tobacco  
 in container) out of my mouth' L, with class-  
 marks for O: giyah sič gali·iya? 'bring me  
 water!' 11.108A, sič gali·iya? 'give me it (a  
 vessel of water, salt, grease, butter)!' LM, kə-  
 yj'y gu·na· sič gali·iya? 'give me a different  
 one (drink)!' L, sič gələsəkyā? 'give me it  
 (container of grease)!' M, ʔe· ?ič qu?gelix-  
 iyah (not -ya·) 'I'll give you grease (in con-  
 tainer)' M, diK ʔe· ?ič qu?gəli·x̄iyā·s (not  
 -yahs) 'I won't bring you grease (in container)'  
 M, sič gələsəkyahh̄h 'he gave me it (container  
 of grease)' M, ?ew giyah ?əhda? gɣ·səkyahh̄h  
 'he brought her the water' 11.120A, 34.82L, ?əh-  
 nu·č ?ew gɣ·səkyahh̄h, ?ew kus 'he gave it  
 to them, the urine (in container)' 33.49A, sič  
 gələsəkyā·h̄h 'he's bringing me it (container  
 of grease)' M, qe? gu·siyahh̄ 'I found it  
 (vessel of liquid)' L, customary (indistinguish-  
 able from customary of O-k̄-ya·? 'S handles pl.  
 O, O several times', see ya·?): ?ew ya?

gəli·iya·K 'he (cust) sets it (bowl of urine)'  
 33.12A, ?ahnu·C ?ah ?ew gəli·iya·K 'he  
 (cust) gives it (bowl of urine) to them' 33.16A,  
 ?ew kus ?ahnu·C lah3 ?ew gəli·iya·K 'he  
 (cust) brings the urine (in bowl) forward to  
 them' 33.37A, siC ləʒa·iya? L, siC ləʒi·iya?  
 'bring me them (berries in bucket)!' M, active im-  
 perfective in customary or ethical sense: diK  
 ?u·d ləxiyahe 'that's not where I keep them  
 (hats in box)' L, siC li·iya? 'give me them  
 (fishheads in bucket)!' L, siC ləʒadi·iya?  
 'give me them (snowballs in bucket)!' L, siC  
 ʒadi·iya? 'give me them (box of matches)!' L,  
 siC ʒi·iya? 'give me them (box of buttons)!'  
 L, siC di·iya? 'give me them (basket of eggs)!'  
 L, siC gədi·iya? 'give me it (grass in con-  
 tainer)!' L; with yeʒ-progressive: yeʒ ?əla?-  
 ye· 'carry them around (in container)!' L, yeʒ  
 ?ew ʒa?ya·ʒih 'he's carrying it around (in con-  
 tainer)' L, diK yeʒ qu?xəa?yahe 'I won't  
 carry them around (in container)' L, yeʒ gu·=  
 ʒa?ya·ʒih 'he's carrying container of liquid  
 around' LM, da· yeʒ gəla·ki?yah 'let's carry  
 it (vessel of liquid) around' M, yeʒ gəla·=  
 ʒa?ya?, yeʒ gəla·ʒa?ye· 'carry it (vessel of

liquid) around!' M, yeḡ leḡa·la'ye· 'carry  
 it (container of berries) around!' M; passive:  
 selextah da·ḡ ya·nu? xusḡi'yahḡ 'I was  
 buried alive' ('I was living and I was put un-  
 derground in a container') L, ?u·da? xusḡi'=  
 yahḡ 'I was taken there in a container' L, ?u·da?  
 leḡesḡi'yahḡ, ?u·da? leḡesdi'yahḡ 'they (berries  
 in container) were brought there' L, siḡ leḡes=  
 di'yahḡ 'they (berries in container) were given  
 to me' M, kuḡ qu?leḡeda'yah 'they (berries in  
 container) will be given to someone' M.

?ute?de ya?ḡ kuda'ya·x (noun, probably unclassi-  
 fied) 'removable handle for lifting tub or vat  
 in cannery' L. Nominalized passive active imper-  
 fective customary with o-te?d-e 'by means of o  
 as handle, grip' and ya?ḡ 'up', 'with it as  
 handle, by gripping it something in container is  
 (cust) lifted'.

o-d O-d-i-?ya (with qu? 'fire' as overt or im-  
 plied o of o-d 'on o', requiring d-thematic  
 'fire, bright') 'S sets O (in container) on, over  
 fire': qu?d desḡya? 'put it (pot of anything)  
 over the fire!' L, with class-marks for O: de=  
 wa'dga? qu?d kuḡeḡa·seḡya? 'hurry put pot (of  
 something liquid) on the fire!' M, qu?d leḡe=

λa·seiyahh̄ih 'he put a pot of berries over the  
fire' L; quʔqəkah deəkyaʔ 'take it (pot of  
anything) off the fire!' L; ʔəwqəkah ləʔeλa·-  
seiyahh̄ih 'he took it (pot of berries) off it  
(fire)' L.

ya' (see also 'aya', ya'x<sup>1</sup>, ya'x<sup>3</sup>, qa'dya'g)

ya' (indefinite pronoun, often, when referring to non-humans, with suffixed -yu' 'plural', and when referring to humans, unique in taking umlaut- in verbal suffixes -jh 'singular', -inu' 'plural') la. (~~asyntactic~~, never with suffix) 'something, a thing' 11.162, 49.51A, de' ya'de'aw 'what is that thing?' L, ya'x xala'sa'yahk 'it ran by galloping against something' L, ya'x sa'yahk 'it came into contact with something' L; asyntactic, frequently serving as vocalized pause, 'something-or-other, whatchamacallit, uh, er' (cf. 'aya', 'a.<sup>2</sup>): 7.28, 9.51, 166, 10.24, 48, 115, 117, 203, 206, 227, 230, 11.10, 28.48, 79, 33.22, 36.10, 18, 50<sup>0</sup>;48, 51.= 46A, 57.5, 63.3G, 65.68, 68.12, 12A.

1b. (with plural suffix -yu') 'things, goods, possessions, food, clothes' 11.10A, 21a.23, 52.36, 56.22L, ya'yu'qecahd ci'daljhjh 'he brags about his possessions' L, ya'yu'qecahd 'plenty of clothes' L, ya'yu'lu'qa' da' ?i 'a'c 'let's go get some things, some stuff' L, ya'yu'li'd 'way in back of some goods' L, ya'-yu'-xah 'ad-ia-le 'S undresses', frequent in (da)ki'dq ya'yu' 'everything, all sorts of things', (da)ki'dq 'el ya'yu' 'all these things', ki'dq 'aw ya'yu' 'all those things', see ki'dq under ki-ki'; adverbialized with -dah, (da)-

hiʔq̄ ya·yu·dah 'all sorts of things, just about everything (happens)': 9.64, 102, 102, 11.140A.

lc. (as head of construction with postpositional phrase, locative, or certain temporal adverbs as attribute, frequently itself as attribute in larger nominal phrase) 'one (which, who)': Kudaʔd ya· 'the one on top' L, səɪdaʔd ya· 'the topmost one' L, ʔudəsg yɪ·hinu· 'people upland of them' 68.82A, ʔi·d ʔədəd yɪ·hinu· 'yonder uplanders' 68.81A, səɪdəd ya· 'the uppermost one' L, ʔuʔ yɪhɪh 'his companion, partner' 23.7A, siʔ yɪ·hɪh 'my companion, partner' LM, o-ʔ yɪ·hinu· 'companions' 6.1, 5, 8, 10M, 11.180A, 19.6L, 25.111A, 37.21, 55.-3L, Rezanov Gvarʔem 'Herborka Schwägerin' si-ʔehdʔ (siʔahdʔ ?) yɪ·hɪh 'my wife's (my maternal aunt's ?) companion', ʔəwʔ ya· ʔəw ʔuʔsəɪʔɪh 'he made do with it (makeshift)' ('he made it serve as a thing which is with it') M, səɪsɪhd ya· 'the one hidden behind' L, ʔuʔahd ya· Kuɪʔʔɪwɪyɪ·dɛʔəw 'that's where big stomachs are from' ('big stomachs are (a thing) from that') 14.6L, da·ʔahd ya·dɛʔəw 'where is that (a thing) from?' L, 43.28M, o-ʔa·ʔ yɪ·hɪh 'he who is next (in rank, age) to o' (see o-ʔ-a· 3b. under ʔ), o-ɪ-ʔa·-d ya· 'the one on the o side' (see o-ɪ-ʔ-a·- under ʔ), si-wa·ɪʔa·d yɪ·hɪh 'the next oldest one after me' L,

qa'qa' yj'hinu' 'people who are (incidentally or well-established) amongst us' L, tətqa'd ya' 'the one in between' L, 'uqa'ɣ yj'hinu' 'some of them (people)' 28.88, 109, 51.65, 67, 60.23, 65.= 78, 68.60, 69.3, 23A (see further o-qa' 4. under qa'-qa'-qa'), 'uqa'ɣ yj'hinu' kudašəče'ɣ 'some of them are hungry' L, 'uqa'ɣ yj'hinu' 'əwa' 'iqəgɣhinu' 'some of them are dancing' L, 'uqa'ɣ yj'hinu' 'əwa' kudišəhɣ 'some of them got killed' L, 'uqa'ɣ ya'yu' 'some of them (things)' L, 'uqa'ɣ ya'yu' 'əwa' yeɣ qəsekugɣ 'some of them broke' L, 'uqa'ɣ ya'yu' 'əwa' yeɣ qəšidičɣ 'I broke some of them' L, siqa' yj'hinu' qə'ahnu' 'they're my own people' L, 'iŋa'na'qɣ yj'hinu' 'people on a mountain, mountain-dwellers' M, kə-yj'y 'əhɣ yj'hinu' 'people in another country' 28.133A, yeɣ dəqəhɣq ya' 'the one on the bottom' L, 'əw qihda'q ya' xiŋ 'meadow-snow' ('snow which is some which is on the meadow') 51.46A, də-ia'qɣ ya' cəŋ 'siding' ('outer board') L (see o-la'- 4d. under la'-na'), čiyuxɣa' ya' 'mosquito-bar, cheesecloth' ('one which is for mosquitoes') L, giyahgəleɣa' ya' 'boots' ('thing for water') L, o-wah ya' 'makings of, raw material for, potential o' (see o-wah under wah<sup>1</sup>), la'dih ɣələhəd ya' 'uɣɣ'əyah 'his two front teeth' L,

ʒaliʔd yaʔ 'the one, the thing way in back, way  
 downstream' L, səlliʔd yaʔ 'the backmost, inner-  
 most one' L, o-lah yaʔ -lə(?) 'S (is a thing  
 which) concerns o, is o's business, is fault of o'  
 (see o-lah 2c. under la-na<sup>2</sup>), ya-nuʔd yaʔ 'un-  
 derwater thing' 11.106, 116A, Rezanov Яезреа 'Еѣ-  
 аомъ мѣстоѣ Еіѣѣѣ' ʔuyeqd yaʔ 'the thing inside  
 it', teʔyaʔyeqd yaʔ 'fish-innards' 60.6A, yeʔa-  
 yaʔ 'mattress' (see under yeʔ<sup>3</sup>), ʔewyeyd yaʔ  
 'the one below it' L, səkyeyd yaʔ 'the lowest one'  
 L, ʔeyeyd yaʔ 'lower story' L, ʔaldəkyeyd yaʔ  
 x<sup>w</sup>ah 'last summer' ('the summer which is the one  
 before this') 69.5A, qa-dəkyeyʔ yj·hinuʔ 'our an-  
 cestors (predecessors)' L, sidəkyeyd yj·hjh 'the  
 person in front of me' L, o-ʔih-d yj·hjh (yj·hinuʔ)  
 'the person(s) behind o', sət-ʔih-d yaʔ 'last (of  
 a series), end' (see ʔih<sup>1</sup>), ʔəw yaʔʔa'gd yaʔ  
 siʔ ʔataʔ 'give me the middle one!' L; with loca-  
 tives as attribute: ʔədəsu-d yaʔ ʔuxp·kəyah 'his  
 upper teeth' L, ʔeyeyu-d yaʔ ʔuʔəkubd 'his lower  
 lip' L, ʔeyeyu-d yaʔ ʔəw ʔuʔsəiʔaʔhjh 'he hid  
 an odd one underneath to fill the pile out' ('he  
 made it serve as a thing which is underneath') M,  
 ʔu-d yj·hjh 'the person there' L, ʔu-d yj·hinuʔ  
 'people (who are incidentally or established) there'  
 L, ʔəw ʔu-d ya-dəad 'above that thing (which is)

there' L, xi-d yi-hih 'the person way over there'  
 L, 'ah 'a-d yi-hih 'this person here' L, 'a-da<sup>h</sup>  
 yi-hinu' 'people around here, locals' L, see also  
 da'u-da<sup>h</sup>-ya'- below; with certain temporal adverbs  
 as attribute: ta'3 ya' 'old times, old-time one'  
 12.1, 62.12, 14G, 'al 'ista' ya' seleta-l 'these  
 old-time ways of life' 61.33A, 'ista' yi-hinu' L,  
 ta'3 yi-hinu' 'old-time people' L, 39.1, 66LL,  
 'ahnu' ne-'da<sup>h</sup> yi-hinu' 'those first (original)  
 people' 68.18A, 'ah ne-'da<sup>h</sup> yi-hih 'u'ehd 'his  
 first wife' 10.174A, 47c.55, 48.8L, dexi' sahdx  
 ya' yahd 'old house' ('a house which is one for a  
 long time already') L, qa'al yi-hinu' saqe'sayu'  
 'present-day children' 68.75, 77A, see also 4. below.

1d. 'meal, meal-time': hi-dewa' ya' 'break-  
 fast' ('morning one') L, ge-li'a'g ya' 'lunch'  
 ('noon one') L, ge-le'a'g ya-da' sa-sa'yahk 'it's  
 noon, lunch-time' L, ge-li'a'g ya' laqa' 'noon  
 (lunch) siren blows' L.

1e. (with numeral as attribute) '-th one': 'al  
 qedic'i' ya' gah 'the eighth day' 49.45A, 'aw  
 tuhiga' ya' 'u-da' da' saqehk 'on the third  
 (day) we arrived (boating) there' 59.6 Galushia Nelson.

2. (as o of certain postpositions) with idio-  
 matic meaning, generally 'area': a. (as o of o-q  
 'on o') ya'-q (postpositional phrase, attested with

zero, -d, -deɣ, -č, and -čahd finals) 'sky, heavens, firmament': with zero final: ya·q̄ qaʔ sahiḥ 'he went up into the sky' L, perhaps also in Wrangell H-a 'Himmel', in compound ya·q̄ca· 'some kind of lucky stone' ('sky-stone') L; with -d final, '(at rest) in the sky, in Heaven': 6l.9A, qih ya·q̄d Kusaleʔi 'the clouds are clearing' ('a clearing is forming in the sky') L, nominalized: Galushia Nelson ya·qt BSdL 537, ya·kt BSdL 537, 558 ya·q̄d 'sky' M, with -deɣ final: ʃa·q̄ ya·q̄deɣ yeɣ dela·ɣ 'a certain constellation' ('a bullhead is moving about in the sky') L, with -č final: 2a.19, 34.72, 75M, ya·q̄eč ʔi·iʔaʔ 'look at the sky!' M, with -čahd final: ya·q̄ečahd yə·ʔ sahi 'it came down from the sky' L.

2b. (as o of o-qaʔ 'amongst o') ya·-qaʔ (preverb) 'away', see under qaʔ-qaʔ-qaʔ.

2c. (as o of o-liʔ-d '(at rest in, nominalization of) in closed back (from open front) of o') ya·-liʔ-d 'back room, sleeping-room', see o-liʔ lf.

2d. (as o of o-da·- 'near o', with preverb qiʔ 'place where, time when' as attribute) qiʔ-ya·da·d 'someplace, anyplace (indefinite)', qiʔ-ya·da·ɣ 'sometime, anytime (indefinite)', see under qiʔ, o-da·- 1., 2c. under da·<sup>3</sup>.

2e. With other irregular or uncertain mean-

ings in ya'-t'a?-ɣ ci?'d-le 'S whispers' (see o--  
t'a? 5. under t'a?-, ci?'d-le 3.), ya'-xah 're-  
moval of clothes' (see xah, -le 15.).

2f. (with gl-class-mark, 'liquid') 'body of wa-  
ter': ya'gu'na?q' 'on (the surface of a body of)  
water' 11.162A, ya'gu'na?qd 'out in salt water' L,  
Ku'u? ya'geleta's desoxik'a?t' da'ɣ 'when I fly  
over many bodies of water' 34.38L, ya' gelexsahs  
'I peck at water' L, ya' gelesahs 'snipe'.

2g. (with sl-thematic, 'ground') ya'sele?a'gd  
'in the middle on the ground' 30.3, 5L.

3. (with suffixed adjectives of negative va-  
lence, cf. ku-indefinite pronominal prefix with  
adjectives of positive valence) see diX 'short',  
ci3, 3i3 'narrow', kuɔ- 'small', guɔ 'tiny',  
luhd- 'few'.

4. Written as compound but identification  
of ya' fairly clear: see qa'-ya' 'new' ('re-  
cent thing', under qah-), de-qe-da?-ya' 'old'  
(under qah-), less certain in ?i-da?-ya'-leɣ  
'too much, excessively, more than the desirable or  
tolerable', ?i-da?-ya'-?u?ɣ 'too little, insuf-  
ficient, less than, short of the desirable or to-  
lerable' (under ?i<sup>1</sup>, da?<sup>6</sup>, leɣ-, ?u?ɣ).

5. Identification uncertain, probably with  
-d interrogative enclitic, with ?eɔdih 'where-



yɨ·hɨh-kih > yɨ·kih: dəʔu·dəɣyɨ·kih 'someone, anyone, somebody, anybody' 11.172, 185, 186A, 15.= 13, 34.4, 45b.2M, 71.16LM, frequent in negative constructions: 2a.9, 33M, 2b.3L, 3.2M, 45b.5, 46.12M.

1c. With suffix -kih 'diminutive': dəʔu·dəɣya·kih 'something, anything', attested only in negative constructions: 7.42, 9.9, 10.50, 147, 11.= 32A, 15.8, 11, 14, 18M, 23.15A, 45a.5L.

2. As 1c., adverbialized with -dah: dəʔu·dəɣya·kih-dah 'something (substantial, significant) happening, accomplished' 34.11, 47b.10M, 61.99A.  
ya·-kih-dah (preverbalized adverb, ya· 'something' with -kih 'diminutive', 'little favor?', adverbialized with -dah) 'payment': see -le 10.

ya' , see a'-ya'

yah

yah (noun, unclassified) 'girl at menarche':

yah sələʔtjɪh 'she's attained puberty' ('she became menarcheal') L (uncertain, usage not free, but L in any case confident of analysis of following), with -i- personal and -yu- 'plural': yah-  
 səyu- 'pubescent girls, girls having their first menstruation' L, Galushia Nelson yá'əɬiyɪ 'adolescent girl' BSdL 542, yá'qəɬiyɪ yá' yát  
 'girl's puberty shelter or cave' BSdL 546 yah-  
 səyu·yaʔ yahɪ 'menarcheal girls' house'.

yahsəyu·yaʔ ʔq·ʔ place-name, of small creek near old seaplane hangar at Cordova (on Eyak Lake) ('menarcheal girls' river') L (cf. qəʔtəyu·yaʔ ʔq·).

ya<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be analyzed y-a<sup>2</sup>, with initial y-- thematic or anatomical 'hand' and -a<sup>2</sup> augment, basic original meaning perhaps 'in hand, to a final state of rest in hand, cavity with broad opening at top', see also ya<sup>2-5</sup>, ya<sup>2</sup>-eya<sup>2</sup>, ya<sup>2</sup>ṣ, yahd<sup>3</sup>, yahd<sup>4</sup>, ya<sup>2</sup>; frequently realized ya- in sandhi with following active imperative prefix 'a-)

ya<sup>2</sup> (preverb, always with zero final) 1. 'completely, utterly to a state of rest' a. with verbs which generally refer to a process or activity tending to the physical alteration or destruction of the integral form of S or O, 'completely, gravely, to pieces, bits, to disintegration, all up', see dl-de-da, dl-de-qu, O-i-ta<sup>2</sup>ṣ, i-ta<sup>2</sup>ṣ, O-taḥ, O-i-taḥ, O-i-ṣa<sup>2</sup>, O-ṣa<sup>2</sup>ṣ, O-i-ceḡs-g, O-i--cī<sup>2</sup>ṣ-g (cī<sup>2</sup>ṣ<sup>2</sup>), O-i-cē<sup>2</sup>ḥ ld., i-cīya<sup>2</sup>ḥ, -cāḥ, -ḥe<sup>2</sup>-g, O-cīḥ, -cī<sup>2</sup>-g, -cēḡ, i-cēḡ, -cū<sup>2</sup>ḥ, i-cū<sup>2</sup>ḥ (cū<sup>2</sup>ḥ), i-ṣa<sup>2</sup>ḥ-g, -ṣiṣ--ṣeṣ, O-se 2b., -geḥ--giḥ, i-geḥ--giḥ, O-gu<sup>2</sup>ṣ, -ga<sup>2</sup> 2. (ga<sup>1</sup>), O-kihḥ 1., -kug, O-i-seḡ 2., O-i-cāḥ, de--cema<sup>2</sup> (cema<sup>2</sup>-cema<sup>2</sup>), -qu<sup>2</sup>ṣ, y-i-cēḥ (cēḥ<sup>2</sup>), -ḥad, de-ḥad, O-i-ḥad, O-i-ḥa<sup>2</sup>ṣ 1., O-ḥeḡ, O-i-ḥeḡ, de-ḥe<sup>2</sup>s, -ḥawa<sup>2</sup>s--ḥa<sup>2</sup>s, i-ḥiḥ--ḥihḥ, i-ḥa<sup>2</sup> (ḥa<sup>1</sup>), O-i-wiḥ--weḥ, O-i-we<sup>2</sup>ḥ 2., -wus--wes 5., O-l-i-wa<sup>2</sup>, -mahd, O-le<sup>2</sup>g--

-lug- 1, 1-*le-la'*, 0-*yaḡ(-g)*, 0-*ḡ-yaḡ-g*  
(*yaḡ<sup>1</sup>*), 0-*ʔeʔ3* 1c., 65.20A (unfinished).

1b. With verbs referring to simple motion or pointing, 'to a state of rest' (rare with active perfective, inceptive perfective, and inceptive imperative, which are otherwise frequent with such verbs), see -*da* 1a.(4), 2a.(4), 5., 8., 10., -*qu* 1.(4), 2.(4), 5., 8., -*tuʔḡ* (4), -*te* 1.(4), 0-*ḡ-te*, 0-(*ḡ-*)*ta* 1., 0-*gd-(ḡ-)ta*, 0-(*ḡ-*)*ʔa* 3., 0-*ḡ-yaʔ*, 0-*ḡ-(y)a*, *ḡ-ʔya*.

1c. Miscellaneous instances in which the meaning of *yaʔ* is clearly 'completely, to a state of rest', but which do not clearly belong preferably either under 1a. or 1b. (but freely occurring with all mode-aspects), see *g-ḡ-ḡʔ*, *g-ḡ-ʔaʔḡ*, *ḡ-dux*, *d-ḡ-dux*, *dl-də-g<sup>w</sup>a'--ga'* (*g<sup>w</sup>a'-ga'<sup>2</sup>*) *dl-də-da*, *dl-də-qu*, *d-ḡ-qaḡḡ*, 0-*lee*, 0-*ḡ* *yaʔ -ʔya* (-*ʔya* 22a.), *kaʔd yaʔ -ʔya* (-*ʔya* 22b.), 0-*ḡaʔ ʔi·lih-ʔya* (*ʔi·lih-ʔya* 3.), 0-*ḡaʔ yaʔ ʔed-dl-ḡ-ʔe* (0-*dl-ḡ-ʔe*), *ʔu·deḡyu·gaʔ yaʔ -ʔaʔ-ʔa'*.

1d. As 1a., but with attested optional *d-* thematic in verb where such *d-*thematic does not occur in these without *yaʔ*, perhaps under influence of 2. below, see 0-(*d-*)*3ux*, 0-(*d-*)--

i-ceʒ, yaʔ O-(d-)xihs, yaʔ (d-)qəʃ, yaʔ  
 (d-)da-laʔ-ɛ, yaʔ O-(d-)ʔaʔʔ, and perhaps  
 also in yaʔ d-i-tʃiʔ, yaʔ O-(d-)kiʔʔ (O-kiʔʔ),  
 yaʔ O-gdl-i-kuʔd (kuhd-); probably some and  
 possibly many of the themes listed under 1a. be-  
 long in this category, there being no criteria  
 apparent for predicting the optional d-thematic  
 prefix.

2. 'vertical, to a vertical state of rest'  
 (cf. yaʔʒ) a. with (required) d-thematic in verb  
 where such d-thematic does not occur in theme with-  
 out yaʔ, see yaʔ d-ʔaʔ, perhaps also in ʒd--  
 sid, ʒdl-sid, O-d-cuʔʒ.

2b. 'on vertical axis', with verbs with edl--  
 thematic referring to overland length or extension,  
 see edl-diʔ, edl-sid, edl-ʔaʔ 1., edl-i-ʔaʔ  
 2. (ʔaʔ-ʔaʔ), əʒaʔ-ʔaʔ-w 3.

ya<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with some or all of  
 ya<sup>1,3-5</sup>, but semantic relationship not clear, see  
 also ye<sup>2</sup>-ya<sup>2</sup>)

ya<sup>2</sup> (preverb, perhaps always with zero final as  
 ya<sup>1</sup>, or perhaps also with -<sup>2</sup> final as ya<sup>2</sup>,  
 documentation inadequate) 'unexpectedly, unexpected  
 arrival', attested only with active perfective of  
 one verb theme, -a 'sg. S goes (on foot)': ya<sup>2</sup>  
 sah<sup>2</sup>h 'he returned unexpectedly' A, ya<sup>2</sup> sah<sup>2</sup>  
 'he came unexpectedly' L, ya<sup>2</sup> qe<sup>2</sup> sdiyah<sup>2</sup> 'he  
 came back unexpectedly' L.

ya<sup>3</sup> (perhaps to be identified with ya<sup>1</sup> and/or ya<sup>2</sup> and/or ya<sup>4</sup>, but semantic relationship not clear; see also o-ya<sup>?</sup> 3d. under ya<sup>4</sup>)

ya<sup>?</sup> (preverb) 'in(to) a frenzy, trance, state of exaltation, exultation, euphoria', attested with both zero and -č final, apparently indiscriminately, with two themes only, -a 'sg. S goes' and -ʔaʔč 'pl. S go', probably originally with reference to ceremonial or shamanistic dance resulting in trance: yaʔč saʔkjh 'he's dancing frenziedly, fancy-dancing, he's going into a trance' L, yaʔč seʔaʔčinuʔ 'they're dancing frenziedly' L, yaʔč quʔxah 'I'll make whoopee' M, yaʔč qaʔaʔčinuʔ 'they'll dance frenziedly' L, yaʔč kuqaʔaʔč 'they'll really whoop it up' M, yaʔ sahkjh 'he (dancing) went into a trance' L, yaʔaʔk 'man's name ('he (cust) dances himself into a frenzy') L, M also gives forms with ʔiʔyaʔč, rejected by L, see o-yaʔ 3d. under yaʔ 4.

ya<sup>4</sup> (perhaps to be identified with ya<sup>1</sup> and/or ya<sup>2</sup> and/or ya<sup>3</sup>, but semantic relationship not clear)

o-ya<sup>4</sup> (postposition, stem invariable with all finals, zero, -d, -ɣ, -ɕ, -ɕa<sup>4</sup>, -ɕahd, -kah, entry organized as follows: usages where o refers to a concrete object are described under 1., not to a concrete object under 2., and where o is reciprocal pronoun, highly irregular semantically, under 3.; 1. is further subdivided as follows: 1.(1) describes usage according to types of concrete o, 1.(2) describes use of class-marks where o is a classified noun or refers to a classified noun, and 1.(3) describes usage with finals.

1. basic meaning 'in(to) o (vessel) with broad opening at top' (as contrasted with o-ya<sup>4</sup> 'in(to) o not with broad opening at top, i.e. with narrow opening, no opening, opening at side'; not used with personal pronominal o, L rejects proposed \*siya<sup>4</sup>d, \*siya<sup>4</sup>ɣ), attested with ɬe<sup>4</sup>t 'box', ca<sup>4</sup>ɬ 'food-box', d'a<sup>4</sup>gɬ 'dipper', d'a<sup>4</sup>ɣ 'baby basket', 'uya<sup>4</sup>ɣ kudeqa<sup>4</sup>tɕ 'cooking-pot', qɕɬ 'pot', 'edgɕɬa<sup>4</sup>ɬewahɕ 'hammock' (also with o-ya<sup>4</sup>, ʒɬ.lɨfnM), ʒa<sup>4</sup> 'jar', liɕ '(standing) hollow tree', and with a number of other such nouns as reference, sometimes vague, of pronominal o,

especially frequent in terms, especially recent  
 coinages, for vessel-like implements, see ?uya?d  
 ?uʒ kufuʔi 'container', ?udayaʔʒ ya·ʒ ku=  
 ʒəla·dəʔa·g 'frying-pan', ?uyaʔʕahd giyah ku=  
 delah 'drinking-glass', di·yaʔ ?uyaʔʕ gu·de=  
 ya·ʔ, di·yaʔ ?uyaʔd gələtah 'salt-cellar,  
 -shaker', ?uyaʔʒ ?edləkus 'washbasin', ?uyaʔʒ  
 ?ikusə 'washtub', ?uyaʔʒ ?ədədikusə 'bathtub',  
 ?uyaʔʒ kədəkus 'washing-machine', ?uyaʔʒ  
 kədəqaʔʕg 'cooking-basket', ?uyaʔʒ kʔ·dowaʔ  
 'mortar'; also 'in(to) o (substance in vessel with  
 broad opening at top)', attested with giyah 'wa=  
 ter', ka·ʒ 'soup', ʒe· 'rendered fat, sealoil',  
 gahə 'pitch', kus 'urine' as o or clear refer=  
 ence of pronominal o, also in ?uyaʔʒ yeʒ kʔ·=  
 ya·gə 'eye' ('something is dyed (repeatedly dipped  
 down) into it (substance)' L; also 'in(to) o (con=  
 veyance)' (including modern car, airplane), at=  
 tested with ?əʒ 'boat', ?əʒəkəh 'canoe',  
 ʒahdə 'sled, car', ŋu·na· 'schooner', air=  
 plane (60.62A) as o or clear reference of prono=  
 minal o, also with ʒəhd 'snowshoe': ʒəhddeyaʔ  
 əa·lɪh 'he's walking on snowshoes', and in ?uyaʔ  
 yeʒ ?ediscixʒ 'ice-skates' ('sliding about in  
 them'), not with other footwear, cf. tahyeʔ

'ixəʔ səi'eʔʒ 'put your feet in your stockings.'  
 L, 'əwyeq 'ili'eʔʒi 'he had his feet in them  
 (boots)' 51.44A; also 'in(to vessel, boat, made of)  
 o', see qahʌ, ta'xd', te'x', kuhʌ; also in a  
 few marginal instances where o refers to an object  
 not clearly concave or with broad opening at top,  
 with usage usually vacillating: 'uyaʔ 'istuʔʕi  
 'blanket' ('pl. lie on it'), sux'suʔiyaʔ qphew  
 setehʌih 'he lay on a swan('s-down) blanket' 63.=  
 36, but cf. suʔiq 'on the blanket' 61.21, 21A,  
 'uyaʔ kuteh (also 'uyeqd kuteh) 'sleeping--  
 bag' ('one lies in it') see also 'hammock' 38.12fn-  
 LM, quite irregularly in 'əw ʕiyahd 'uleyaʔ  
 (changed from 'uleyeq) 'isi-'lih 'that hat,  
 it's big (inside)' L, cf. ʕiyahdleyeqd 'in a  
 hat' M, and in 'uyaʔ 'edqeʕ kadedesuʔ 'hot  
 water bottle' L; regularly 'in(to) o' where o re-  
 fers to a topographical feature, generally a body  
 of water, which may be considered concave, see  
 giyah '(natural body of) water', di-yaʔ 'salt--  
 water, ocean', ma' 'lake', 'q' 'river', caʔ  
 'deep', qeʕ 'slough', kihʒ 'bog', all of which  
 are classified nouns, but which more often than  
 not appear without class-marks as o of o-yaʔ,  
 also with ʒə- 'area' as o: 'u'd ʒəyaʔd

setabî 'it's over there (in that concave topographical area)' L, or with demonstrative locative (rare): ?u·deya? yaḡ gɣ·sdiwusî 'it (salt) spilled all over there' L (perhaps < ?u·d ?uya?); very frequent in place-names referring to or located at bodies of water, with any type of nominal construction, including unanalyzable proper names, as o, see d'adi·?deya?d (under d'a?), ṣiḡqah, ṣexelih, ča·x, ṣi·q', gicic, kuškeša·w (kušK), Kusa?dya?d (-sa?-d), qa·ta·lah, ṣeta·sya?d (ta·s), niṣniK-, ?iḡa·diya? (?iḡ<sup>l</sup>), ?i·ya·e, ?a·ḡdelih, ?a·lihge, where -ya?(-) is optionally to be regarded either as an integral part of the place-name, or as a postposition, also in other place-names constituting a sentence with ?uya?d 'in it, there (in concave topographical feature)', see di·yqah ?uya?d ?idedeleh (le-), ča·ṣ ?uya?d ku·leh (ča·ṣ), ṣewa·?uya?d ki·ṣ (ṣewa·); in a number of other forms, usually nominalized with -d final, though occasionally attested in syntactic use as postpositional phrase with other finals, where o is not clearly with broad opening at top and not clearly falling within the above-mentioned categories, mostly in anatomical terms with anatomical noun as o or

with pronominal *o* and thematic or anatomical mark:  
 as postpositional phrase, with *y*-anatomical:  
*siyeaʔd sədahɪ* 'it (e.g. mosquito) has alighted  
 on my hand' L, the rest, semantically more irregu-  
 lar, are listed as separate subentries below, see  
 also *ʔih-ɕaʔ-d-yaʔ* under *ʒa.*, below, and *taʔ--*  
*yaʔ(-d)* 'doorway' under *taʔ* 'road'. (2) Use of  
 class-marks with classified noun as *o* is normal,  
 except where *o* is body of water or liquid in vessel:  
*naʔyaʔ* 'in(to) lake' is more frequent than *naʔ-*  
*gudeyaʔ*, *giyahyaʔ* 'in(to) water (in natural body  
 or in container)' is more frequent than *giyahgu-*  
*layaʔ*, *ʔaʔyaʔ* 'in(to) river' is slightly more  
 frequent than *ʔaʔgulayaʔ*, and *ʒeʔyaʔ* 'in(to)  
 sea/oil' is attested to the exclusion of *ʒeʔgule-*  
*yaʔ*, *diʔyaʔyaʔ* 'in(to) salt water, ocean' is  
 attested to the exclusion of *diʔyaʔgulayaʔ*, (*gl-*)  
*ɕaʔxyaʔ* 'in(to) muddy water' but not (*gl-*)*ɕaʔx-*  
*guleyaʔ*, and once each *kaʔʒyaʔ* 'in(to) soup',  
*qəɕyaʔ* 'in(to) slough', *kihʒyaʔ* 'in(to) swamp'  
 instead of *kaʔʒguleyaʔ*, *qəɕgulayaʔ*, *kihʒguleyaʔ*,  
 but cf. *gahɕdeyaʔ* 'in(to boiling) pitch' 51.25A,  
 not *gahɕyaʔ*; where *o* is a pronoun referring to  
 a classified noun, usage is also normal, with  
 class-marks frequently omitted) see e.g. *ʔudeyaʔd*

'in it (car)' 61.59, 64A, but ?uya?d 61.64,  
 72A, ?awdaya?Kah 'out of, clear of it (car)'  
 61.26A, but ?awya?Kah 61.75A. (3) Use of finals:  
 most exemplification listed hereunder, but most  
 instances listed or referred to above not repeated  
 here: with zero final 'into (and to a state of rest  
 in) o', usual with most mode-aspects not indicating  
 continued or repeated movement: 2b.9L, 7.33, 10.144,  
 25.45, 63, 29.6, 7A, 38.12fnLM, 50.14L, 59.11 Galu-  
 shia Nelson, 65.25, 25, 25A, 71.13LM, ?awya? 'in-  
 to it (box, cup)' L, ?awya? sahliḥ 'he got into  
 it (canoe)' L, ?awya? siṭtaḥ 'I put it in it  
 (box, pot, boat, car)' L, ?awya? seta? 'put it  
 in it (box)!' L, ?a'guleya? seiḥeḥ 'throw it in  
 the river!' L, ?awya? kuḍisḥiqahḥ 'something  
 fell into it' L, ?awya? sa?yahḥ 'it got stuck  
 in, fell into it' L, kuya? dese?iḥ 'dump it  
 into something!' L, Rezanov, kuya? dese?iḥ 'he  
 dumped it into something' L, Rezanov, ʒe'ya?  
 diḥiyahḥ kuḍe?uhdg 'eggs preserved (put) in  
 sealoil' L, ?awya? siṭiḥiḥ 'it got frozen into  
 it' L, ?awya? qe? siḥeḥ 'I threw it back in-  
 to it' L, ?awya? qe? siṭtaḥ 'I put it back  
 in it' L, ?awya? qe? siḥahḥ 'I put them back  
 in it (all at once)' L, qeḥya? ?i'xsi?eḥ 'I

fell headlong into the slough' L, kih3ya?  
 ?i·xai1'e3t 'I fell headlong into the bog' L,  
 in combination with qa?, o-ya? qa? 'up out  
 (of, escaping from something) into o, climbing  
 into, aboard o': 25.45A, 59.11 Galushia Nelson,  
 ?axaya? qa? xusel3ahd 'pull me out (of water)  
 into canoe!' M, ?uya? qa? ea·? 'get in it  
 (canoe, from water, from land):' L, ?i·ca?3ya?  
 qa? ea·? 'get in the bow!' L, ?ewya? qa? sah-  
 k3h 'he got in (boat)' L; also always with neuter  
 perfectives, and, where reference is to movement  
 or travel of S or O at rest in a moving vessel or  
 conveyance with all mode-aspects, '(at rest) in  
 o': with neuter perfectives: 7.28, 37b.6A, ?ewya?  
 ?i·tah3 'it's in it (box)' L, ca·3ya? ?i·dah-  
 k3h 'infant' ('he who stays in baby-basket') L,  
 travelling at rest in conveyance: 7.16, 25.10,  
 157A, 38.17LM, 53.28L, 60.02, 68.2, 32A, further  
 3ahd3aya? ea·k3h 'he's walking on snowshoes' L,  
 ta?xci3d3aya? (or qah3d3aya?, kuh3d3aya?, te·k-  
 d3aya?) da·3 seqeh3 'he boated across in (a  
 vessel made of some kind of) bark' L, see also  
 e.g. ?uya? ye3 ?edisci33 'skates'; with -d  
 final '(at rest, remaining, already) in o': 9.125,  
 146, 146, 11.118A, 16.3M, 25.2, 86, 28.117, 29.-

35, 51.25, 26, 67, 68A, 55.17L, 61.59, 64, 64,  
 72, 68.54fn, 60.61A, giyahyaʔd ya·nuʔ dese=  
 cu·x̣iḥ 'probably they thrust it underwater (and  
 held it there)' 49.34A, giyahyaʔd ya·ʔ seixiḥ=  
 iḥ 'he waded down into the water' 2a.6M (prob-  
 ably to be corrected to giyahyaʔ), ma·yaʔd yeḥ  
 deqe·ḥinu· 'they boated about in the lake' 71.-  
 21LM (probably to be corrected to ma·yaʔḥ, non-  
 textual incidences): leʔṭyaʔd 'in the box' M,  
 giyahyaʔd, giyahgeleyaʔd 'in the water' M,  
 ka·ḥyaʔd 'in the soup' M, di·yaʔyaʔd 'in the  
 salt water, ocean' L, di·yaʔyaʔd ṭenuh 'salt-  
 water duck' LM, ʔu·d ʔewyaʔd 'over there in  
 that' L, ḥi·ḥeyaʔd 'in yonder container' L,  
 ḳutuʔ cu·ḥ ʔuyaʔd 'lots of bugs are in it' L,  
 ʔuyaʔd sedaḥiḥ 'he sat in it (canoe)' L, ʔew-  
 yaʔd tah 'it belongs in it (box)' L, ʔewyaʔd  
 setaḥi 'it's in it (box)' L, ʔewyaʔd seteḥi  
 'it (animal) is lying in it (box)' L, diḥ ʔuyaʔd  
 ḳustaḥi 'nothing's in it' L, diḥ ʔuyaʔd ḳuʔ-  
 le·c 'there's nothing in it' L, Rezanov, ʔew  
 leʔṭyaʔd setaḥi 'they're in that box' L, ʔu·d  
 ḥeyaʔd setaḥi 'it's there in that (concave) area'  
 L, ʔewyaʔd q̣eʔ aditaḥi 'it's back in there' L,  
 ʔuyaʔd ʔiseḳq̣eʔsḥ 'ice jams in it (river)' L,

see also place-names and coinages listed under  
 (1) above, with preverb ya? 'to state of rest':  
 21b.69, 28.117A, ?awya?d ya? qu?xtah 'I'll  
 leave it in it' L, ?awya?d ya? ?ede? 'sit  
 down, stay sitting (already) in it' L, ?awya?,  
 with ya? 'down': ?awya?d ya? ?eda? 'sit  
 down (already) in it' L, with other preverbs:  
 ?awya?d yina?d setah?, ?awya?d ya? daqeh?d  
 setah? 'it's in it on the bottom, way down in it'  
 L; with -d final 'from (a state of rest) in o,  
 out of o': ?awya?d 'out of it (box, canoe)' L,  
 ?awya?d k?jhdg 'she threw them out of it' 25.-  
 12, 14A, ?awya?d sah? 'he got out of it (canoe,  
 car)' L, usually with preverb qa? 'up out':  
 11.121A, ?awya?d ?ew qa? s?itah?h 'he took  
 it (bone) out of it (soup)' M, ?awya?d qa? seta?  
 'take it out of it (boat, pot)!' L, ?a?ya?d qe?  
 qa? s?itah? 'I fished it back out of the river'  
 L, ?uya?d qa? yesele? 'hollow it out, make  
 a bowl!' L, ?e?tya?d qa? sah? 'it got out of  
 the box' L, ?awya?d qa? ?a?k?h 'he's getting  
 out of it (canoe)' L, ?awya?d qa? ?ac?h  
 'clear it (muck) out of it with your hands!' L;  
 with -d final, nominalizing postpositional phrase:  
 see place-names under (1) above, and anatomical

terms listed separately below; with -ɣ final  
 '(movement starting within or starting outside  
 but continuing well with)in o' (see also 2. be-  
 low): 33.17, 17A, ?əɣya?ɣ man's name ('(moving  
 about with)in canoe') LM, ma'ya?ɣ qa'kxewah  
 'water lilies' ('pl. grow in lake') L, ?p'gule=  
 ya?ɣ da' seqe'k 'we're boating along in the  
 river' L, see also coinages listed under (1) above,  
 more frequently with certain preverbs: with yeɣ  
 'downwards': 11.37, 27b.53A, 34.83, 85, 93, 48.5,  
 10L, 65.25, 62, 63A, ?uya?ɣ yeɣ ?iqe?li'xcu'x  
 'I'll thrust your head down into it (bucket)' L,  
 with yeɣ-progressive: 23.12A, giyahya?ɣ yeɣ  
 ?ikɛd'i?kɣih 'he's splashing around in water' L,  
 ?uya?ɣ yeɣ xəλa'da?ya'ɣ 'it (rat) is running  
 around in it' L, ?ewya?ɣ yeɣ ?ixkɛd'i'ɛɣ 'I'm  
 dipping my finger around in it (to eat)' L, ca?=  
 ya?ɣ yeɣ dela'ɣ 'they (fish) are swimming around  
 at deep level' L, with lah 'around (in circular  
 motion)': o-ya?ɣ lah ?i-ɣ-(k-)ta '8 stirs (in)  
 o', but cf. ?uya?d lah sexuɪ 'swirl around in  
 it' 51.68A, with other preverbs: li? 'downstream'  
 68.3A, ?a?d 11.13A, qe'daɛ 'back upstream'  
 68.36, 54A; with -ɕ final '(continuous or re=  
 peated motion) into o, towards o (concave tope=

graphical feature)', frequent with customary:  
 10.143, 146, 11.117, 28.118, 119, 33.12A, 63.37G,  
 65.27, 36, 36, 36, 76, 76, 68.60A, ?awya?e ?aw  
 la·k'e·c'kinu· 'they (cust) put them (hot rocks)  
 into it with tongs' L, with O-(i-)ya·? 'S handles  
 pl. O in pl. acts': 37b.22, 65.59A, di·ya? ?uya?e  
 gy·deya·? 'salt-cellar' L, with repetitives:  
 o-ya?-e ?i-xu?g 'S blows on, into o (e.g.  
 soup)', giyah ?uya?e ?eqa·g 'keep ledling water  
 into it!' L, with inceptive perfective: 37b.24,  
 68.54A, k'aya?e ?aw dese?i?ih 'he's pouring it  
 into something' L, ?awya?e sa·kih 'he's getting  
 into it (canoe)' L, with non-perfective neuter:  
 giyah ?uya?e gula?i?e· 'make water run, have,  
 keep water running into it!' L, ?a·guleya?e qid  
 geli·?ah 'water runs down into river' L, with  
 other mode-aspects or syntactic: 25.41, 28.121A,  
 45b.10, 46.15M, 49.123, 50.66A, 59.1 Galushia  
 Nelson, 63.42G, 65.25, 68.32A, ma·ya?e 'towards  
 the lake' M, ?uya?e ya? k'ada?a?e? 'urine-pot'  
 L, ?axya?e sahih 'he got into a boat' L  
 ('started getting, made such a motion and desis-  
 ted?'), in giyahya?e ta? si?e?ih 'he jumped  
 into the water' 4.3M, giyahya?e is redundant  
 with ta? 'into the water' and should probably

in any case be corrected to *giyahya?*; with *-č-a?* final, same as *-č:* *ma·ya?ča?* *sahkih* 'he had gone to the lake' 25.87A, *ša·ya?ča?* *?exiya·k* 'I (cust) put them in jars' 65.24A; with *-čahd* functioning as final or as *o* of *o-čahd* 'away from *o*': 62.16, *šilqahya?čahd* *?a·da?* *seqehi* 'he boated hither from Chilkat' L, *ma·gedəya?čahd* *yeq* *qe?* *xuseixahdkih* 'he dragged me back ashore out of the lake' M, *?u·ya?čahd* *giyah* *kədəlah* 'glass' ('one drinks water out of it') L, *he?tya?čahd* *qa?* *yəla·sa?·yahh* 'it escaped out of the box' L, with *-kah* functioning as final or as *o* of *o-kah* 'clear away from *o*': *o·ya?kah* *səi?əzi* 'jumped clear of, out of *o*' 49.142, 61.75, 76A.

2. With *-x* final always, and abstract noun, deverbalization, gerundive, perhaps also postpositional phrase as *o*, 'o-ing, while *o*, during *o*, in *o*': *cihya?x* *wəx* *xih* 'I'm doing (thus to) it while singing' M, *cihya?x* *wəx* *?ew* *kihkih* 'he's doing (thus to) it while singing' M, *kə·ci·yya?x* *sa·kih* 'he's walking along singing' L, *de?a·tya?x* *sa·kih* 'he's walking along bawling' L, *ki·yəya?x* *sa·kih* 'he's walking along weeping' L, *ki·yəya?x* *qe?* *səda·i* 'she's going home

weeping' 47b.25M, kušiyahyaʔɣ ʔu·čahd ʔed= ʔeʔč qeʔ sdiyahljɥ 'she went back home thence angry (in evil, anger)' 47b.35M, dače·lyəʔɣ xuʔ= yesełqahł 'I got stuck overnight and went hungry' ('it dawned on me in hunger') L, qıʔdeɣ ʔenah= həkjhyaʔɣ da· ʔıʔaʔč da·ɣ 'whenever we get going having a good time (going in pleasure)' 30.- 9L, suʔyaʔɣ leh eələtaʔya·ł 'this winter is warm' ('a year is passing in warmth') L; for ʔed= ɣaʔdyaʔɣ 'suddenly', ɣələ·gyəʔɣ 'all winter long', xahɣyaʔɣ 'all summer long', see yeʔɣ= yaʔɣ.

3. With reciprocal o: a. with zero final, used as preverb, not requiring vocalization of classifier with intransitive themes, (1) ʔılyəʔ 'folding, crossing (of arms or legs)': ʔılyəʔ ʔıceʔeʔɣ 'cross your legs!' L, ʔılyəʔ ʔısiʔeʔɣł 'I sit tailor-fashion' L, ʔılyəʔ dıhıleʔgł, ʔıłčə·deyaʔ (with -čə·-d-anatomical 'forearm') dıhıleʔgł 'he has his arms folded together (elbows bent, hands tucked) across his chest' L (cf. ʔılyəq under yeq ). (2) 'full' (of moon): ʔılyəʔ sliʔahł 'moon is full' M (rejected by L).

3b. With zero final and yeɣ-progressive 'reversal of motion': ʔılyəʔ yeɣ 'back and

forth', see under *yaʃ* 2c. (*yaʃ*<sup>2</sup>).

3c. With *-d* final 'from position at rest' and *qaʔ* 'up out', *ʔiɪyaʔd qaʔ* 'one out of the other, apart (from intussuscepted, telescoped, folded position)': *siqeʔsgyʔkɛmɛtʔ siyaʔ ʔiɪyaʔd qaʔ diʔiqaʔtʔ* 'my ankle went out of joint, dislocated' L, *ʔiɪyaʔd sɛɪaʔ* 'take them (telescoped glasses) apart!' L, *ʔiɪyaʔd qaʔ xuyɛsɛɪaʔ* 'try to open my hand!' L.

3d. With *-ɛ* final, perhaps optional or with all mode-aspects, apparently with optionally vocalized classifier in intransitive verb-theme, 'in(to) a frenzy, trance, state of exaltation, exultation, euphoria', from M only, rejected by L (see *yaʔ*<sup>3</sup>): *ʔiɪyaʔɛ sɛʔaʔɕiɪnuʔ* 'they're dancing frenziedly' M, *ʔiɪyaʔɛ qaʔaʔɕiɪnuʔ* 'they'll dance frenziedly' M, *ʔiɪyaʔ sɛdiʔaʔɕiɪnuʔ* 'they danced frenziedly' M.

*yaʔ* (preverb, very rare, attested with zero, *-ʃ* and *-ɛ* finals, not verified) 'in(to) vessel with broad opening at top': with zero final and *qaʔ* 'up out': *yaʔ qaʔ ʔaʔ sɛkʔtɛhɪjʔ* 'he took him aboard ('up out (of water, danger?) into canoe')' 53.24L (uncertain, originally transcribed *yaʔqaʔ* 'away', perhaps correctly, and cf. *ʔɛwyaʔ qaʔ*

sa'ʔ 'get aboard it!' L), perhaps also in ʔi'-  
 caʔɣ yaʔ qaʔ sa'ʔ 'get in at the bow!' L (un-  
 less ʔi'-caʔɣ 'bow' is to be interpreted as o of  
 o-yaʔ, thus ʔi'-caʔɣyaʔ 'into the bow'), also  
 ya'qaʔ sahi 'he went out in a boat' L (perhaps  
 to be corrected to yaʔ qaʔ sahi, or glossed  
 'he went away'); with -ɣ final 'movement within  
 area', with lah 'around, in circular motion':  
 yaʔɣ lah ʔixesiitah 'I stirred it' ('I stirred  
 around in a vessel') L (perhaps to be corrected to  
 ʔuyaʔɣ 'in it'); with -ʃ final 'continuous,  
 repeated motion toward', regular with 0-i-ya'ʔ  
 'S handles pl. 0 in series': yaʔʃ lexexiya'ʔ  
 'I'm canning berries (into several cans)' L.  
 yaʔ-d (preverb, with -d final only, '(from a  
 position) at rest in') 1. 'out of vessel (with  
 broad opening at top), out of boat, conveyance':  
 yaʔd sa'ʔ 'get out (of boat, car)!' L, yaʔd  
 sahi 'he got out (of boat, car)' L, yaʔd se-  
 ʔaʔʃinu 'they disembarked' 52.17L, yaʔd si-  
 ʔeɣiɣh 'she jumped out (of canoe)' 49.141, 141A,  
 ʔux yaʔd kuya'ʔ 'pier' L, with qaʔ 'up out':  
 yaʔd qaʔ disilcoɣi 'I cut a piece out of it,  
 cut a hole in it' L, yaʔd qʃ'ʃ ʔaiaʔ 'rinse  
 them (one batch)!' M, yaʔd qʃ'ʃ ʔakya'ʔ 'rinse

them (one by one):' M.

2. 'to emptiness, empty (involving vessel or topographical feature with broad opening at top)': yaʔd sihtaḥ 'I emptied it, drank it empty' L, see also O-i-d'a-g, O-i-d'i'e, O-i-i-siḥ, -xeḥ, de-xeḥ, O-i-ʔnaʔt (laʔt-ʔnaʔt), -ʔya 23., d-i-ʔehd(-g).

-xl-yaʔ-d (noun, o-xl-yaʔ with -xl-thematic of uncertain meaning, nominalized with -d final) 'vagina, vulva': ʔiḥeleyaʔd 'your vagina, vulva' LS.

-qi-d-yaʔ(-d) (noun, unclassified, o-qi-d-yaʔ with qi-d-anatomical 'foot', usually nominalized with -d final) 'sole of foot': Rezanov Камерата 'Подолка Fusschle' qaʔqi-dayaʔd 'the soles of our feet, human sole', kuqi-dayaʔd '(one's) sole' L, siqi-dayaʔ 'the sole of my foot' L, qe-dah ʔuqi-dayaʔdleḥ ʔixiʔp-kih '(he runs away so fast) all I (cust) see is the soles of his feet' L.

-qe-s-d-yaʔ-d (noun) 'inside, back of knee', see under qe.s.

-qe-s-g-yaʔ-d (noun) 'ankle', see under qe.s.

-qe-s-gy-d-yaʔ-d (noun) 'ankle', see under qe.s.

-qeʔ-g-yaʔ-d (noun) 'haunch' (etc.) see under qeʔ.

-iḥ-ʔ-d-yaʔ-d (noun) 'crotch', see under iḥ-ʔ.

ya<sup>5</sup> (perhaps to be identified with and analyzed as ya<sup>1</sup>,  
basic meaning 'in hand')

o-ya<sup>5</sup> (postposition, always with zero final) 1. 'of,  
belonging to' (indicating inalienable or relatively  
permanent, not incidental, possession): a. as  
attribute in noun phrase, head always non-possessed  
noun or possessed noun with possessor different  
from o; where o is personal pronoun, rare without  
independent personal pronoun preceding for empha-  
sis: qa'ya<sup>5</sup> ʒawa<sup>5</sup> 'our dog' M, leʒya<sup>5</sup> ʒawa<sup>5</sup>  
'your (pl.) dog' M, with independent personal pro-  
noun: ʒu<sup>5</sup> siya<sup>5</sup> ʒawa<sup>5</sup> 'my dog' M, dexu<sup>5</sup> si-  
ya<sup>5</sup> ʒawa<sup>5</sup> 'my own dog' L, ?i<sup>5</sup> ?iya<sup>5</sup> ʒawa<sup>5</sup>  
'your dog' M, de?a<sup>5</sup> ?uya<sup>5</sup> ʒawa<sup>5</sup> 'his own dog'  
LM, de?uyac ?uya<sup>5</sup> ʒawa<sup>5</sup> 'their own dog' L,  
xu<sup>5</sup> siya<sup>5</sup> ʒawa<sup>5</sup> siʒa<sup>5</sup> 'my dog is at home' L,  
de?i<sup>5</sup> ?iya<sup>5</sup> saqe:əy<sup>5</sup> 'your own children' 24.-  
32A, sileʒahd xu<sup>5</sup> siya<sup>5</sup> yeda?d<sup>5</sup> dexa?d<sup>5</sup> se-  
sihk 'I thought my watch had stopped' L, de?e-  
yeteya<sup>5</sup> ci?deleh 'their own language' 68.81A,  
further examples in BSdL 556-557, with demonstra-  
tive pronoun as o: ?ahya<sup>5</sup> ʒawa<sup>5</sup> 'his dog' M,  
?ahnu'ya<sup>5</sup> ʒawa<sup>5</sup> 'this dog' M, ?ahnu'ya<sup>5</sup> ʒu-  
sahd 'their livers' (i.e. 'livers of something  
that they had in their possession', here used in-

correctly) 12.23L, ?əhya? ya·li?d 'her sleep-  
 ing-room' 11.131A, ?əhya? yaɦd 'her house' 4.8M,  
 further examples in BSdL 556-557, with interroga-  
 tive as o: du·ya? ?əxda?ew 'whose boats are  
 those?' L, with nouns, nominal phrases, or nomi-  
 nalizations as o (where o is classified noun, no  
 class mark appears before -ya?): dəxəhya? lah  
 'people's village' 58.1L, kəg<sup>w</sup>enta·nya? lah  
 'k-clan's village' 67.8G, ?i·ya·tya? lah, ?i·-  
 ya·tya? ?əh 'Eyak Village' L, dələxwe·gya? lah  
 'groundhog-burrow' 22.2L, kudi·qəyu·ya? lah  
 'Aleuts' village' (place-name) L, 53.1L, kute?əh-  
 ya? ma· 'muskrat lake' (place-name) L, qe?iə-  
 yu·ya? ?ə· 'old women's river' (place-name) L,  
 yahtəyu·ya? ?ə· 'menarcheal girls' river' (place-  
 name) L, sədi·ya·tya? ca· 'kittiwake rock' (place-  
 name) L, qe?iəyu·ya? məgət '"women's" side of  
 checkers game' L, iila·?əyu·ya? məgət '"men's"  
 side of checkers game' L, qe?iəyu·ya? na·w  
 'wine' ('women's whiskey') L, qe?iəyu·ya? le·i  
 'women's hair' 23.19A, ye·tya? roots 'wild  
 celery roots' 10.206A, ?a·mihyu·ya? da·gdih  
 'army doctors' 61.52A, ʒi·sqe·di·ya? ?əh 'ʒi·-  
 sqe·d-clan's land' 67.1G, xi·lya? cɨ·y 'shaman's  
 song' L, dɨsa·xədəkte?ya? ʒu?kɨ 'boom' ('mast's  
 rattle') cɨh 'shaman's song' L

crosspiece') A, yahšya? čiyahd 'shellfish  
 species' ('doll's hat') L, ča·newa·nyu·ya? čī·  
 yahd 'toadstool' ('Chinamen's hat') L, čiya?x·  
 əya? čiyahd 'mushroom' ('frog's hat') L, ča·  
 newa·nyu·ya? na·w "'Chinamen's" whiskey' L,  
 səšhəinu·ya? řawa· 'moth' ('dead people's dog')  
 LMA, səšhəinu·ya? la?mahd 'berry species'  
 ('dead people's berries') LM, səšhəinu·ya? ye·č  
 'plant species' ('dead people's wild celery') L,  
 ?i·səiyahšihya? la?mahd 'berry species' ('old  
 person's berries') M, qe·?škya? la?mahd 'berry  
 species' ('jay's berries') LA, ču·qya? la?mahd,  
 če·yu?ya? la?mahd 'berry species' LMA, čiyuhya?  
 la?mahd 'berry species' ('bear's berries') LA,  
 řeləhsə·seyu·ya? la?mahd 'store fruit' ('white  
 men's berries') L, čilehšiyahya? yahd 'Raven's  
 house' BSdL 259, 545, yahseyu·ya? yahd 'girls'  
 puberty shelter' BSdL 546, čī·cihya? gaht 'pitch  
 from pitchwood' L, řawa·ya? gugsə 'flea'  
 ('dog's louse') L, te?ya?ya? qahš 'fish bones'  
 46.3M, ?i·ixi·šgya? qahš 'abalone shell' L,  
 səqe·dəkihya? dəquw 'dirt in creases of baby's  
 palms' ('baby's lunch') L, səqe·dəkihya? kī·ř  
 'a child's crying' 36.6A, la·qəya?ya? gowa?č  
 'mountain-goat fat' L, lixahya? ta· 'grizzly

bear's trail' 18.4L, lixahya? ʕe? 'grizzly  
 bear's droppings' 18.6L, ?u?ehdya? iahd 'his  
 wife's smoke' 27a.38L, ʕugya? tahi 'strawberry-  
 leaf' 37b.39A, ?p?ya? tic 'river-ice' 57.27G,  
 liaya? ci?y 'spruce-branch' 11.144, 50.21A, <sup>liya? ʕi? 'spruce-branch'</sup>  
 ?emi?nya? senuh M, ?emi?nya? ʕp?diʕiʕg 51. = <sup>liya? ʕi? 'spruce-branch'</sup>  
 54, 61.20, 26A, ʕp?da?ʕ gahya? ʕp?diʕiʕg 'barn  
 swallow' ('prayer-bird') 61.21A, ?eʕʕingusya?  
 ?eʕekih '?eʕʕingus's canoe' 47b.34M, Peter  
Georgeya? ʕuhdi 'P G's car' 61.71A, Lenaya?  
 seqe?seyu? 'L's children' A, ʕi?da?da?ya? qe?i  
 'razor-clam woman' 11.133A, ʕula?seya? seqe?=  
 sey? 'another's children' 24.32A, ?ita?ya?  
 i?ahseyu? 'your father's slaves' 11.129A, ʕeʕ?=  
 ya? kena?d 'loon's coat' 24.40A, ?ow sidee?=?  
 ya? ʕeʕ? 'my younger sister's hair-ribbon' 23.36,  
 37A, qi?yiliʕahya? ʕewu? 'spider's web' L (cf.  
 2. below), daʕp?hya? ʕuhd 'person's knee's'  
 24.95A (-ʕuhd 'knee' normally possessed, here  
 used as non-possessed, perhaps incorrectly).

lb. Where o is postpositional phrase, or pre-  
 verb, in some cases perhaps to be identified with  
 ya?=?ya?-iya? or with ya?<sup>4</sup>: lu?di?dya? ca?=  
 la?daʕp?h 'tide-beach stone-man' 10.231A, lu?=  
 di?dya? ʕeʕe?daʕp?hyu? 'tide-beach butterclam' =

people' 10.231A, lu·ya? qe?i 'tide-woman'  
 3.14M, səila?qđya? kena·?d 'overcoat' L, qih-  
 da·qya? tuh̄i 'plant species' ('leaves on meadow')  
 L, liada·qya? le·i 'beard-moss' ('hair on  
 spruce') L, ma·ya?ya? s̄ih̄ 'pond-scum' A, ma·-  
 ya?đya? ?əna·šah 'pond-lilies' L, čalyəqya?  
 ʒe· 'marrow' ('bone interior's grease') L.

1c. Nominalized 'o's' (functioning as head,  
 not attribute, of noun phrase); with personal pro-  
 noun as o, rare without independent personal pro-  
 noun preceding for emphasis: ?əwa· ?uya? ku-  
 si·le? 'that some of it might become theirs' 54.-  
 3G, with independent personal pronoun: Rezanov  
 xycw-a 'Надобно bedürfen' xu· siya? 'mine,  
 it's mine' L, ?i· ?iya? 'it's yours' L, ?i·  
 ?iya? səle?i 'it became yours' L, xu· siya?  
 ʒəwa· kuzu·, ?i· ?iya? kušiyah 'my dog is  
 good, yours bad' L, xu· siya? kuzu·, ?i· ?iya?  
 kušiyah 'mine's good, your's bad' L, ?i· ?iya?  
 ?uq̄əci?u?, xu· siya? ya·luhdg 'you've plenty,  
 I've few' ('yours is abundant, mine few') L,  
 Rezanov Kокмак 'Нам unsere' t̄əyəqa·ya? 'ours'  
 L, leʒi· leʒya? 'yours (pl.)' L, ?eyəəya?  
 'theirs' 10.80A, with demonstrative pronoun as o:  
 ?əhya? 'his' L, ?ahnu·ya? 'theirs' L, with

interrogative as o: Rezanov Тунгак 'Чей wessen'  
 du·ya?del... 'whose is this?' L, with nouns,  
 nominal phrases, or nominalizations as o: 18.5L,  
 dəʃpɣy·ya? 'people's' 9.86, 140, 148, 159, 160,  
 162, 10.186A, ʃi·leɣya? 'Raven's' 10.80, 80A,  
 səqə·təy·ya? 'children's' 23.19A, canneryya?  
 'cannery's' 61.77A, kula·təy·ya? 'someone else's'  
 L; with postpositional phrase as o (as in lb.  
 above): kəyɣ·y lahɣəya? 'that of foreign vil-  
 lages' 68.84A (cf. ya?·əya?).

2. '(utensil, vessel, trap used specifically)  
 for o' (far less frequent than l., see also o--  
 ʃa?, o-wahd): xukya? ʃuhɣi 'snow shovel' BSdL  
 548, <sup>l</sup> kuce?ya? tət 'meat box' BSdL 546, <sup>l</sup> ʃe·ya?  
 ca·ʔi 'grease box' 7.28A, ʃiyuhya? duxi 'black-  
 bear trap' L, lixahya? duxi 'grizzly-bear trap'  
 L (cf. qi·yikiɣɣya? ʒəwɣ 'spiderweb' ('spi-  
 der's net') under la.); kəbɣya? tʃyad 'mushroom' ('rain-hat')  
 G (Harrington).

X

ya<sup>?</sup>-aya<sup>?</sup> (ya<sup>?</sup> following ? and vowels, aya<sup>?</sup> elsewhere, basic form perhaps aya<sup>?</sup>, the a- of which is not to be interpreted as a connective vowel, or, if ya<sup>?</sup>, perhaps to be identified with ya<sup>?</sup><sup>5</sup>, see especially o--ya<sup>?</sup> lb., lc., and/or with ya<sup>?</sup><sup>6</sup>)

-ya<sup>?</sup>--aya<sup>?</sup> (element suffixed to preverbs and postpositional phrases to form nouns, cf. lah 2., -lah-t, -nah(-t), -nah-t under la-na<sup>1</sup> for element of similar distribution; not freely used; meaning of nouns so derived generally somewhat idiomatic; though the list below is probably not exhaustive, such nouns probably do not form an open category) 'that (animate or inanimate, occasionally perhaps human) which is (ordinarily located in certain location)' (for category human see forms under la-na<sup>1</sup> cited above), occurrences listed as separate subentries below.

-la<sup>?</sup>qəya<sup>?</sup> (noun, unclassified, o-la<sup>?</sup>-q 'on, draped, hung over o') 'clothing': 2a.23M, 32.41, 36.10, 37b.59A, sila<sup>?</sup>qəya<sup>?</sup> 'my clothes' M, Kula<sup>?</sup>qəya<sup>?</sup> 'clothing' L, -la<sup>?</sup>qəya<sup>?</sup>yu 'garments, articles of clothing' 32.42, 36.10, 11A.

əla<sup>?</sup>qəya<sup>?</sup> (noun, unclassified, ə-l-la<sup>?</sup>-q 'outermost of series draped or hung') 'overcoat, outermost coat or covering garment' L.

laʔəyaʔ (noun, form uncertain, attested in Rezanov only, o-laʔ-ʔ '(movement) onto, hanging onto o', perhaps to be corrected to (-)laʔəyaʔ) 'cloak, fur coat': Rezanov Лихая 'Капота Capote', Лихая 'Убоа Pelz'.

-kaʔəyaʔ (noun, probably unclassified, o-kaʔ-ʔ 'on rear end, stern of o') 'rudder, steering-paddle, -oar': Rezanov Утка 'Рухь Steuerruder' ʔukaʔəyaʔ 'its rudder' M, Galushia Nelson qətʔáqʔiyá or qútʔáqʔiyá 'steering paddle or rudder' BSdL 550 kuʔaʔəyaʔ 'rudder' MA.

laʔəyaʔ (noun, unclassified, interpreted by informants as o-dl-ʔ- 'on dl-class o (rocks)', though this would regularly be o-liʔnaʔʔ-, and the zero o is also irregular; perhaps rather to be analyzed laʔ-ʔ- with laʔ- stem not attested elsewhere, or, still less likely, dl-əyaʔ, stem əyaʔ with dl-thematic prefix) 'mountain-goat (*Oreamnos americanus*)' LM, 9.84, 10.67, 71, 25.148, 150, 178, 207A, 34.57M, Galushia Nelson tʔáʔqʔiyá or tʔáʔqʔiyá 'mountain goat' BSdL 538, laʔəyaʔyuʔ 'mountain-goats' 10.186, 25.207, 49.109A, laʔəyaʔceʔ 'mountain-goat meat' 49.123A, laʔəyaʔceʔyuʔ 'quantities of mountain-goat meat' 7.4A, laʔəyaʔkəmah 'mountain-goat stomach' 15.5, 8,

21M, λa·qəyaʔqəx 'mountain-goat fat' 49.124,  
 133A, λa·qəyaʔyaʔ gəwaʔd 'mountain-goat mesen-  
 tery' A, Rezanov Халастияккө (crossed out, see  
 following entry) 'Kosa Ziege' xələhsλa·təyu·  
 'white men, Russians' probably for \*xələhsλa·tə-  
 yu·yaʔ λa·qəyaʔ 'white men's mountain goat'.  
 λa·qəyaʔgaʔ ʔi·təh, λa·qəyaʔgaʔ tūh (noun, un-  
 classified, preceding as o in nominalized neuter  
 or active imperfective of o-gaʔ -tə'--tū' 'S  
 is like o') '(domestic?) goat, (domestic) sheep,  
 mountain sheep'; Rezanov Халастияккө Тякаккөтө  
 (first word crossed out, see above) 'Kosa Ziege'  
 λa·qəyaʔg<sup>h</sup>aʔ ʔi·təh, λa·qəyaʔg<sup>h</sup>ʔ ʔi·təh A,  
 λa·qəyaʔgaʔ tūh 'sheep' M, λa·qəyaʔgeʔi·təh-  
 šiyahyu· 'mountain sheep (Ovis dalli)' L ('those  
 pejorative which resemble a mountain-goat', see  
 following).  
 λa·qəyaʔšiyah (noun, unclassified, with suffixed  
 adjective -šiyah 'bad') 'domestic sheep, mountain  
 sheep'; λa·qəyaʔšiyahyu· 'domestic sheep, mountain  
 sheep (pl.)' L.  
 xiʔləxədə·qəyaʔ (noun, probably unclassified, xiʔ-  
 ləx-də 'on (from abundance of?) snow (ləx-class)')  
 'snowslide, avalanche' L.  
 -a·qəʔ (perhaps < \*-a·q-əyaʔ) see a·-ya·, qəʔ<sup>1</sup>.

-yeq̄esiʔyaʔ (noun, unclassified, o-yeq̄ 'in o' with eiʔ-thematic with o-yeq̄) 'entrails, innards, viscera, guts, intestines': 9.85, 92, 10.110, 100, 102, 115, 119, 120, 11.164, 37b.19, 19, 65.3, 28, 38, 39A, K̄uysaq̄esiʔyaʔ 'guts' LM, sahxyeq̄esiʔyaʔ 'cockle-entrails' L (name of basket pattern, see under sahx), teʔyaʔyeq̄esiʔyaʔ 'fish entrails' 60.6A (cf. teʔyaʔyeq̄d̄ yaʔ 'that stuff inside fish' 60.6A), teʔyaʔleʔyeq̄esiʔyaʔ 'king-salmon entrails' 10.100, 120A.

-taʔxeyaʔ (noun, unclassified, o-taʔ-x̄ 'behind, under (a covering, a sheltering) o') 'underclothes, under-layer of clothes, lining' (not necessarily those worn nearest skin): Rezanov Ут̄-ахаа̄я 'Подкладка Unterfutter, Unterlage' ʔutaʔxeyaʔ 'its lining' L, K̄utaʔxeyaʔ 'underclothes' L.

seitaʔxeyaʔ (noun, unclassified, se-k̄-taʔ-x̄ 'undermost, hindmost of series (of covering, sheltering objects) 'underwear' (layer of clothes worn nearest skin) M, Rezanov Куыраха̄я 'Рубашка Hemd'.

-gd-yeʔeyaʔ (noun, unclassified, o-gd-yeʔ 'under o' with gd-anatomical 'rump') 'diaper': K̄ugede-yeʔeyaʔ 'diapers' L.

-deseʔ (perhaps < \*o-des-eyaʔ) see under dat.

- ʒədəsəyaʔ (noun, attested only of probable reading  
 of form in Rezanov) 'God': Rezanov Харакс-а 'Bora  
 Gott' (ʒə-dəs- 'above, in heaven', see det).
- q...ʒəyaʔ (noun, attested only as possible reading  
 of form in Rezanov) 'shoe': Rezanov Кехня 'Еам-  
 махх Schube', perhaps to be read qə-ʒəyaʔ (< qa'-  
 yeʒ- 'under feet' (or -əya', see under yeʒ<sup>3</sup>)).
- yahdəyaʔ (noun, probably d-class, or unclassified,  
 yahd 'out to sea') 'boat', attested only in Reza-  
 nov Ярегреаксц 'Maura Mastbaum' yahdəyaʔdəlis  
 'mast' (not known to modern informants, < yahd-  
 əyaʔ-d-lis 'boat-tree') and in yahdəyaʔdaʔʒ  
 'rowboat' L, 'skiff' A (informants unable to ety-  
 mologize, probably < yahdəyaʔ-d-ʔəʒ 'boat which  
 is, goes out to sea'), yahdəyaʔdaʔʒ ʔu·d sə-  
 dəʒaʔʔ 'a (beached) rowboat is turned on its  
 side' L.
- səlahʒəyaʔ place-name (sə-ʔ-lahʒ-) see under  
 lahʒ-.
- dədəʔyaʔ (noun, unclassified, o-d-daʔ 'front  
 of o' with d-thematic 'opening of lid, cover of o')  
 'lid, cover': Rezanov Утеран Крүмха Deckel'  
 ʔudədaʔyaʔ 'its lid, cover', kʷudədaʔyaʔ 'lid,  
 cover (of e.g. pot)' L.
- cɨʔdaʔyaʔ (noun, unclassified, o-cɨʔ-daʔ 'to,

at tip, extremity of o') 1. 'half, lesser part, fraction': Rezanov ИМРАТ 'Половина Hälfte cı̄'da'ya', Kucı̄'da'ya' 'half of something' M, 'ucı̄'da'ya' 'less than half of it, anything between half and a small fraction of it' L, 'ucı̄'da'ya' siç 'eta' 'give me half of it!' L, Ku-ya'Kucı̄'da'ya' 'half an hour' L, gahşedecı̄'da'ya' 'in about half a day' 59.13 Galushia Nelson (used adverbially); 'ucı̄'da'ya' 23.138A, 'ucı̄'da'dya' 'about half of him' or 'his extremities'? 23.113A (probably to be corrected to 'ucı̄'da'ya' or 'ucı̄'da'd ya' 'his extremities', see 2.)

2. 'tip, extremity', attested clearly only in Galushia Nelson -tʃi<sup>n</sup> si<sup>n</sup>taiya' or tʃi' tsi<sup>n</sup>taiya' 'point of bear spear' BSDL 549 ʃi'cī'da'ya'.

na'şegqa'ya' (na'şeg-qa' 'amongst geese') see under na'şeg.

ma'ya'ya' (ma'-ya', 'in a lake') see under ma'--ma'.

te'ya' (noun, unclassified, ta'- 'in water', irregularly unlauded, cf. qe'yiłteh under te) 'fish (generic), salmon (generic)' M, 1a.5, 13, 1b.16, 16, 17, 6.3, 11, 17.2M, 21a.2, 7, 8, 10, 20L, 21b.1, 15, 27, 31, 34, 37, 69, 70A, 42.17L,

46.16, 22, 23M, 49.79, 83A, 52.1, 56.3, 8, 11,  
 11L, 60.3A, 62.5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 13, 14, 16, 16,  
 18, 20, 21, 22G, 65.38, 50, 50A, 67.13G, 68.41,  
 50A, Rezanov Te-a 'Pwda Fisch', Teš-a 'Kxyua  
 Salmo sanguinolentus', Wrangell Twe-a 'Fisch',  
 Puruhjelm Teia 'fish', Galushia Nelson tã'ya'  
 'fish' BSdL 273, 540, 559, te'ya? wəx 0-ĩ-1  
 'S fishes commercially' 2a.15M, 32.5A, 62.4, 9,  
 14, 15G, see further examples under -le 4b.,  
 te'ya? 0-x-a 'S eats fish', see under 0-x-a,  
 deqe'dahšuh te'ya? 'ixə? 'is that all the fish  
 you have?' L, te'ya? səksi?i 'fish rotted' L,  
 te'ya'e'd xdah, te'ya'e'd dəyuh xihəh 'I live  
 (subsist) on fish' L, 'əw te'ya? da? 'i·lci?wəg  
 'let's fry that fish' L, di?'q' ši'yahi te'ya?  
 'roasted fish' L, de'e?'š te'ya? 'fish strung  
 on string' L, dešedəde·i te'ya? 'candlefish,  
 needlefish' M (see dešedəde·i under de), te'=  
 ya'ga? 'i·təh də: lah 'trout species' (see  
 under (la-na<sup>1</sup>), Galushia Nelson tã'ya'caw 'head  
 (of fish, shrimp, etc.)' BSdL 541 te'ya'šəw  
 'fishhead' M, te'ya'šəw sič li·'a? 'give me  
 a fishhead!' L, Galushia Nelson tãiyä'ü·lä·'yd  
 or tã'yd'üld'yd 'salmon people' BSdL 544 te'=  
 ya'weləkyu· '(mythical) salmon-spirits', te'ya'že?

'fish-oil' M, te'ya'yaquh 'young, fry of any fish, minnows' L, te'ya'yaquhyu' 'young, little fish (pl.)' 24.8A, 34.33L, te'ya'cəyu' 60.2fna, date'ya'yu' 25.708A, te'ya'yu' 'fish, salmon (pl.)' 20.32A, 21a.4, 5, 6, 10, 18, 19, 24, 32L, 21b.17, 19, 23, 25, 26, 32, 38, 42, 64, 25.142, 208, 49.110, 123A, 56.1, 8L, te'ya'ya' q'ahš 'fish's bones' 46.3M, te'ya'gu'ah 45a.6, 11, 14L, 45b.6, 11, 12, 46.7, 20M, te'ya'yaqəti'ya' 'fish-entrails' 60.6A.

te'ya'le' see le'.

'edate'ya' (noun, unclassified, with -ede- 'real, par excellence') 'silver salmon, coho (Oncorhynchus kisutch)' L, 21a.1L, Galushia Nelson adətəiyá 'silver salmon' BS4L 540.

li'ya' (noun, unclassified, probably < lu'-ya' with irregular umlaut of lu' 'on tide-beach', cf. lu'ya' qe'š 'tide-woman' 3.14M) 'beach-- food, seafood (edible molluscae, crustaceans), clams' LM, li'ya'e' xədile'gš 'I'm hungry for seafood' LM.

di'ya' (possibly < di'-ya') see di'ya'.

-nu'leya' (suffix to numerals, -nu' 'pl. humans' < \*-nu'n, \*-nu'n-əya' regularly > -nu'leya', but see also following, conceivably to be analyzed

instead -leya? or -l-ya?) 'pair': i:henu·leya?  
sahesj·i 'one pair of stockings' L, la?dnu·leya?  
sahesj·i 'two pairs of stockings' L, la?dnu·leya?  
sj·i 'two pairs of shoes' L, without class mark  
also with classified nouns: i:henu·leya? ca?k  
'one pair of mitts' L, la?dnu·leya? ca?k 'two  
pairs of mitts' L.

ya·?a·gageda·leya? (noun, unclassified, ya·-?a·g X  
'middle of something, -geda·leya? probably  
\*-g-da·n-eya? with g-thematic, -da·n- uniden-  
tified stem) 'middle finger' LMA, ?ow ya·?a·ge-  
geda·leya?i?ca·d ya· 'the fourth finger, ring  
finger' ('the one next to the middle finger') L.

*ya·-?a·g-gd-l-ya?*

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di·yāh, di·yā· (noun, unclassified) "stickerback"  
 LMS (probably 'three-spine stickleback, *Gasterosteus aculeatus*' and 'nine-spine stickleback, *Pungitius pungitius*'), usually pronounced [d̪i·yāh]  
 LM, [d̪i·yāh, d̪i·ñyah] L, [d̪i·nyā·] MS, d̪i·-  
 yahtu? 'lots of stickerbacks' LM, d̪i·yah ?uya?d  
 ?idedələh place-name, see subentry under le--  
 (1)i-ni. Nominalized neuter imperfective with d--  
 thematic, these d-yā· not otherwise attested.

di·yāhñā·w?ələkih (noun, unclassified) "native  
 canary" M ([d̪i·yah-], unidentified bird, so named  
 because its call sounds like this form, 'little  
 stickleback-head').

ɣd-yā· (with ɣd-thematic 'sharp') 'S is, becomes  
 sharp': neuter imperfective: Rezanov Xarredñ  
 'Осрпоñ scharf', ɣedi·yāh 'it's sharp, sharp--  
 pointed, sharp-edged' [ɣedi·ñyah] LMA, diK  
 ɣeda?yā·s 'it's not sharp' [ɣeda?ñya·s] M,  
 ɣedi·yāh q̪a? 'sharp stick (for use in roasting)'  
 ('stick which is sharp') L, ?uɣy·kəyah ?əwa·  
 ɣedi·y̪h̪h̪ 'his teeth are sharp' L, inceptive  
 imperfective: qu?ɣedi·yāh 'it'll be sharp' [qu?=  
 ɣedi·yah] L, diK qu?ɣediyāhə 'it won't be  
 sharp' [qu?ɣedi·yahə] L, inceptive perfective:

ʒədəsəyqʔɪ 'it's getting sharp' [ʒədəsəñyaʔɪ]  
LM, active perfective: ʒədəsəyqʔɪ 'it got  
sharp' [ʒədəsəñyaʔɪ] L, diK ʒədəsəyqʔɪc 'it's  
not (it didn't get) sharp' L, repetitive inceptive  
perfective: ʒədəsəyqʔgɪ 'it's getting sharp' L,  
with dl-class-mark for S: cɪ· ʒəli·yqɪ 'bran-  
ches are sharp' L. Transitive (causative): ʒə-  
di·ɪyqʔ·ʔ 'sharpen it!' LM, ʒədisiɪyqʔɪ 'I  
sharpened it' L.

-ʒd-yqɪ (adjective, uncertain) 'sharp': suffixed  
to dl-class-noun: ca·ʒəla·yqɪ 'sharp stone' L  
(uncertain, perhaps active imperfective).

ʒd-yqʔ·c (with thematic negative) 'S is, becomes  
dull': neuter imperfective, with negative pre-  
fix: Rezanov Xaramxary 'Tyno stump' ʒedaʔ-  
ya·cduh 'it's dull!', ʒedaʔya·c 'it's dull'  
[ʒedaʔñya·c] A, ʒədəsəyqʔ·ʔɪc (to be corrected  
to -yqʔʔɪc) 'it's (getting) dull' M.

ʒa·gudi·yqɪ (noun, unclassified) 'porcupine' LMAS  
(base form etymologically reconstructed, actual-  
ized also ʒqʔ·-, -ge-, -dɪ·-, -yqɪ, -ya·,  
-yqʔ·, thus transcribed ʒqʔ·gedɪ·yqɪ 16.1M,  
ʒqʔ·gedɪ·yqʔ· 16.6, 8, 9, 12, 15, 22, 24, 27, 31M,  
ʒqʔ·gedɪ·yqɪ 23.133A, ʒa·gedi·nya· S, ʒa·ge-  
di·nyqɪ LA, Harrington ʒaakkuttɪɪnyqɪh G,

L1 ɣə·kədi·yə (with nasalization under i·  
erased out) G, Galushia Nelson ɣə·kədi·yə  
or ɣəkətiyə, Old Man Dude xəkətiyə ("skin  
is sharp") BSdL 538, ɣə·gədi·yəh'luw 'big  
porcupine' LM. Nominalized neuter imperfective,  
probably with g-thematic or gd-anatomical 'rump',  
perhaps in combination with ɣd-thematic, ɣə·-  
(or ɣə·- ?) being inexplicable or irregular for  
ɣə-, 'it's sharp-rumped'? See also Eyak Texts  
16.0fn.

ɣ'əx

ɣ'əxədi·yəh from etymology of ɣə·kətiyə  
ɣ'əxədi·yə 'corner', same tail as ɣədi·yəh,  
from Sapan Hany, but which he could not  
etymologize ('sharp-winged'), not compared in other  
things same.

yq'ʔ-yq' (yq' perhaps incorrect)

yq'ʔ-yq' (noun) 'medicine' 1. (unclassified) 'medicine (generic or of unspecified physical or shamanistic type)' MAS (transcribed yq' MA, nya' A), Rezanov MA 'Изнаторско Арзенеи', yq'ʔəʒu' 'good medicine (neither pills nor liquid)' M, yq'ʔaʔluw 'great medicine (neither pills nor liquid)' M; sələciʔxəʔ yq'ʔ 'medicine made from root of fireweed' ('medicine against land-otters') L, sələciʔxəʔyq'ʔtəhəʔ 'fireweed (plant)' ('leaves of medicine against land-otters') L, le-ʔguʔəʔ yq'ʔ '(unidentified) high yellow flower' ('medicine for hair') L.

2. (gl-class) '(liquid) medicine': yq'ʔge-  
ləʒu' 'good (liquid) medicine' M.

3. (lʃ-class) '(granular) medicine, pills':  
yq'ʔləʒəʒu' 'good pills' M, yq'ʔ ʔu'd læʒə-  
səʔahəʔ 'a pill (intact) is there' L, yq'ʔ ʔu'd  
ləʒəsətahəʔ 'a pill (broken) is there' L.

0-ʔ-yq'ʔ 'S doctors, treats, cures O' (originally shamanistic, not necessarily literally 'cures'):  
xu'kyq'ʔ 'cure me!' LM, 'doctor me up!' L, si-  
ləqəh siya' ʔəkyq'ʔ 'cure my head!' 10.205A,  
ʔiqəʔxkyq'ʔ 'I'll cure you' MA, ʔisikyq'ʔt 'I  
cured you' M, sikyq'ʔtəh 'I cured him' A; with

y-anatomical 'hand': xuya'kyq'?' 'doctor my  
 hand!' L; reflexive: 'eda'kyq'?' 'doctor your-  
 self' ['eda'kyq'?' ] L, 'ew winagelekih  
 'eda'kyq'?' 'doctor yourself with that little  
 bit of wine!' L, Rezanov АТЯННН 'Ибунъ heilen'  
 (perhaps to be read 'ekyq'?'ih 'cure him!' or)  
 'edkyq'?'ih (non-unlauted form), 'edkyq'?'ih  
 'he's doctoring himself' L; passive: xuskyq'?'  
 xusdiyq'?' 'I got cured, I've been doctored' L,  
 xuqu'deyq'?' (not -ka-) 'I'll get cured' L.  
 qa' kyq'?'ih (noun, unclassified) 'doctor' L.  
 Nominalized active imperfective, 'he (who) cures  
 us', *see also 2.1.2 p.*  
 da' qa'kyq'?'ih Eyak woman's name, mother of Gus  
 Nelson's wife Mary, wife of 'amedxuh, died very  
 old ca. 1920. Nominalized inceptive imperfective  
 'we shall doctor her'.

yq'?' (perhaps related to ya'(n) and/or to yena'?'-, perhaps to be analyzed y-q'?', cf. xq'?', dq'?', na'?', cf. also e.g. qa'?'-qa'-qa', and therefore perhaps related to ya'?'<sup>1</sup>, thus \*ya'?'-yq'?', yq'?' being the form with -č' final, yq'?' a back-formation)

yq'?' (preverb, usually with zero or -č' final, very rarely with -d and -dəx finals; in combination with other preverb yəx always in order yq'?'č' yəx, in combination with qe'?'-qe'- yq'?'(č') qe'?' or qe'?'yq'?'(č')) 'down' (not necessarily with limited or controlled motion, generally to ground, floor, or horizontal plane as natural resting-- place, cf. yəx under yəx<sup>3</sup>): with -d final 'at rest' (rare, only one attestation): ?u'd yq'?'d sətah' 'it's (at rest) down there' L, with -dəx final 'motion within area' (rare, only one attestation): ?u'd yq'?'dəx yəx ledəqu'x'nu' 'they're running around down there' L; with zero final, '(motion) down (to state of rest on ground, floor, horizontal plane)', not generally used with active imperative or inceptive perfective, but sometimes used (instead of yq'?'-č') with repetitives, customaries, 0-i-ya'?: yq'?' səka' 'set them down!', ?idah yq'?' səka' 'pick them up!, arrange them!' ('set them down nicely!') M, yq'?' qu'?'x'kah 'I'll

set them down!' M, 'idah yq' qu'xlah 'I'll  
 pick them up, arrange them' M, yq' siyah 'I  
 set them down' M, 'idah yq' siyah 'I picked  
 them up, arranged them' M, 'idah 'ow yq' se-  
 lahinu 'they arranged (beached) them (canoes)'  
 59.9 Galushia Nelson, 'uq yq' kuseia 'put  
 some down on it!' 21b.58A, qa'x 'ow yq' si-  
 yah 'each was given a share' ('they were put  
 down amongst themselves') L, Rezanov Как-омах-  
 аху 'Раздах theilen (Imperat.)' qa'x 'ow  
 yq' (?) 'elaxiya'uh 'pl. share them!', qa'x  
 'ow ya' 'elaxiya' (i.e. yq' 'elaxiya' ?)  
 'pl. pass it around!' M, Rezanov Какъауслатенка  
 'Раздахъ theilen' qa'x 'ow yq' (?) siyah-  
 linu (or siya'linu) 'they shared them',  
 dik' 'uya'x yq' ku-xiya' 'he doesn't let me  
 set them down' ('I don't set them down with his  
 permission') M, dik' 'uya'x yq' ku'xlya-k'ib  
 'he doesn't (cust) let me set them down' M, for  
 further zero finals with O-i-ya' see 21a.30L,  
 65.12, 13fnA, see also -da 4., 10., -tu' (3.),  
 -te (5.), i-te, O-i-te, O-i-ta 1., O-cu'x,  
 O-gu'x, O-i-k'hd, yq' dl-kug, i-xi' 1.  
 (xu'x-), -xuh- (transitive reciprocal), yq'  
 O-dl-tah, i-qe'x, d-i-qah, -qu 4., gdl--

sdl-waʔi--wahɩ, -wus- 2., dl-ʔaʔɤ, -leʔg 9a.,  
 -la 2. (la-na<sup>1</sup>), -ʔya 28., d-ʔya la., dl--  
 ʔya 2., O-(i-)ʔa 9., ʔi-d-ʔa 1., yʔ·ʔ ciʔ(1)--  
 le-ʔa, yʔ·ʔdeʔaʔɩ (ʔa'-), -a (60.13, 15, 19A),  
 with ʔeʔ-ʔe'-: yʔ·ʔ ʔeʔ quʔxdeteh 'I'll lie  
 down again' M, yʔ·ʔ ʔeʔ xsditehɩ 'I lay back  
 down' M, yʔ·ʔ ʔeʔ quʔxcu·x 'I'll push it back  
 down' M, yʔ·ʔ ʔeʔ ʔa·sikiʔaʔɤ 'I knocked it  
 back over' M, yʔ·ʔ ʔeʔ ʔadada·K 'it (cust)  
 alights back down' 47c.40L, yʔ·ʔ ʔeʔ ʔadada·K  
 'it (motor) (cust) conks back out' L, ʔe·yʔ·ʔ  
 also in 6.9M, 50.17A; with -e final, yʔ·ʔe  
 '(continuous or repeated motion) downward to, to-  
 ward bottom, floor, ground, horizontal plane as  
 natural resting place', usual with inceptive per-  
 fectives, repetitives, customaries, O-i-yaʔ,  
 otherwise, e.g. with inceptive imperfective, active  
 imperative, generally meaning 'further down': yʔ·ʔe  
 xiyaʔ 'I'm setting them down one after another' M,  
 ʔu·d yʔ·ʔe ʔeiyaʔ 'set them down there!' M, see  
 also -da 4., l-ta, O-i-ʔaʔɤ, O-dl-i-ʔaʔɤ,  
 yʔ·ʔe kudaciɩg, O-cu·x, O-deɩ 1., O-ʔaʔ, (28.-  
 62A), -seʔg, O-i-kɩhd, O-cuhd-, l-qu 1., gdl--  
 -sdl-waʔi--wahɩ, O-(i-)wus-, O-i-ʔaʔɤ (recipro-  
 cal), O-i-uʔg- la., lb., 2a., 2b., (leʔg-),

-la 2. (la-na<sup>1</sup>), l-i-ya<sup>?</sup>, d-<sup>?</sup>ya la.,  
 gl-<sup>?</sup>ya 1., 0-<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup>3, 0-i-<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup>3, <sup>?</sup>i-i-<sup>?</sup>e--<sup>?</sup>q 8.,  
 -<sup>?</sup>a 2., -<sup>?</sup>a' 3., ll., note ya<sup>?</sup>ceda<sup>?</sup>,  
 ya<sup>?</sup>cede<sup>?</sup> 'sit further down!' L, (see further  
 instances under -da 3a., l-ta, l-i-ya<sup>?</sup>, dl--  
<sup>?</sup>ya 2c., with qe<sup>?</sup>-qe<sup>?</sup>- 'back, again': ya<sup>?</sup>ced  
 qe<sup>?</sup> sicu<sup>?</sup>xì 'I pushed it down again' M, ya<sup>?</sup>ced  
 qe<sup>?</sup> siku<sup>?</sup>gì 'I pushed it back down (with my hand)'  
 L, ya<sup>?</sup>ced qe<sup>?</sup> desada<sup>?</sup>ya<sup>?</sup>i 'it's starting to rain  
 again' L, qe<sup>?</sup>ya<sup>?</sup>ced sa<sup>?</sup>la<sup>?</sup>sa<sup>?</sup>iwa<sup>?</sup>i 'he lowered them  
 back down' 34.113L, with other preverbs: with ya<sup>?</sup>--  
 progressive: ya<sup>?</sup>ced ka<sup>?</sup> ya<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>iya<sup>?</sup> 'you should  
 set them down here and there along the way' L,  
 ya<sup>?</sup>ced ya<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>edade<sup>?</sup> (or <sup>?</sup>edada<sup>?</sup>) 'sit down here  
 and there along the way!' L, with ya<sup>?</sup> 'downward,  
 (turning) over': di<sup>?</sup>ya<sup>?</sup> ya<sup>?</sup>ced ya<sup>?</sup> gale<sup>?</sup>sa<sup>?</sup>ya<sup>?</sup>le  
 'it (tide) hasn't started to ebb yet' L, ya<sup>?</sup>ced  
 ya<sup>?</sup> desax<sup>?</sup>ae<sup>?</sup>i 'turn it (lamp wick) down!' A,  
 ya<sup>?</sup>ced ya<sup>?</sup> g<sup>?</sup>pa<sup>?</sup>se<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup>i 'it (spilt water) ran down to  
 the floor' L, <sup>?</sup>ew le<sup>?</sup>tya<sup>?</sup>q<sup>?</sup> ya<sup>?</sup>ced ya<sup>?</sup> qa<sup>?</sup>yah  
 'they'll sink further down in the box' 65.63A,  
<sup>?</sup>ax<sup>?</sup>kih si<sup>?</sup>sa<sup>?</sup> si<sup>?</sup>qe<sup>?</sup> ya<sup>?</sup>ced ya<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>la<sup>?</sup>yi<sup>?</sup>ah  
 'you should turn my canoe over down on top of me'  
 4?c.9L; used nominally in <sup>?</sup>q<sup>?</sup>d ya<sup>?</sup>ced <sup>?</sup>ewa<sup>?</sup>  
 delax<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup>g yil<sup>?</sup>ih<sup>?</sup>ih 'this here lower part of him

was a groundhog' ('he was a groundhog toward the  
bottom') 23.114A, cf. yq'ʔe kudaci3g.



ya'nahd (preverb, ya'(n)- as o of o-;-nahd,  
always with zero (-d?) final) 'flat down on (and  
covering some) surface', see under nahd.  
ya'nah (noun, unclassified, perhaps ya'(n)-nah-s)  
'Ahtena Indian', see -nah-s under la-na<sup>1</sup>.

yu? (L momentarily also yu?d, later rejected)

O-yu? 'S curses, swears at O': xusayu?dɪh

(later rejected), xusayu?ɪh 'he swore at me'

L, qu?xyu?d 'I'll swear at him' (later rejected)  
ɪyɔ?ɪh 'let curse me' L

L; the following forms, detransitivized with in-  
 determinate O, yeɣ-progressive, and o-lah

'around o' are the only ones attested from M and  
 in any case much preferred by L to the former:

?ulah yeɣ ?i·deyu?ɪh 'curse him!' LM, 'swear

at him!' L, ?ilah yeɣ ?iqe?xdeyu? 'I'll curse

you' M, ?ulah yeɣ ?iqe?xdeyu?ɪh 'I'll curse

him' L, ?ulah yeɣ ?ixdeyu?ɪh 'I'm cursing

him' M, silah yeɣ ku?deyu?ɪ 'someone is swear-

ing at me' L, silah yeɣ ?isdiyu?ɪh 'he cursed

me' L, ?ulah yeɣ ?ixsdiyu?ɪ 'I cursed him' M,

silah yeɣ ?i?deyu·Kɪh 'he (cust) curses me' LM,

'he (cust) calls me bad names' M.

yena·ʔ-yina·ʔ (probably ye(n)-na·ʔ, with final nasal element of first segment blocking development of -na·ʔ to \*-la·ʔ, perhaps a stem or set of prefixes of earlier form \*yena-, probably related to ya·(n) and/or yə·ʔ, meaning probably 'down, floor, ground, bottom'), see under na·ʔ.

yid-yed see ed-id-wud-yid

or perhaps loan from Thngit  
 word 'measure of length of  
 outside area' <sup>by Thngit</sup>

yahd<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with yahd<sup>2</sup>; see discussion under subentry yahd below) cf. also Y-p-k *ɔyagtuɔ* 'inside area'

yahd (noun, unclassified) 'yard' (unit of measure)

L, *ɪhshih yahd* 'one yard' L. L associates this with English 'yard', from which she believes it is borrowed. The phonology, however, does not justify this assumption: cf. English lard > Eyak la'd, Orca > ?a'gah; either English yard > \*ya'd and, under the influence of O-?-yahd, > yahd, or, at least as likely the meaning of Eyak yahd '(certain?) unit of linear measure' has been influenced by the meaning of English 'yard'; ←

O-?-yahd 'S measures O': with q1·l-class-mark for O: ?u?q1·li·yahd 'measure it (rope)!' L, ?u?q1·lexxyahd 'I'm measuring it (a long rope)' ('I'm in the process of measuring it, measuring it along') L, ?u?q1·lexyahd 'I'm measuring it (a short rope)' L, ?u?q1·siyahd 'I measured it (rope)' L, with yeɣ-progressive: yeɣ ?u?deyahd, yeɣ ?a?deyahd (latter probably incorrect) 'measure it (in various directions)!' L, yeɣ ɕe? ?u?sedeyahd, ɕe·yeɣ ?u?sedeyahd 'measure it again!' L, yeɣ qu?xdeyahd 'I'll measure it' L, yeɣ ?u?deyahdɣih 'he's measuring it' L, yeɣ ?u?xsiyahd 'I measured it' L, ?ew yeɣ ediyahdɣih 'he measured

of however Thngit wəd 'futon'

And futon ye? kicgət altation (w. futon) (No. 1 signed form), gat futon (a cement), wət  
 ...  
 ...  
 ...

it' M (L rejects non-semitransitive form), with  
d-class-mark for O: ?aw yahd yeḡ ?u?diḡdiyahd-  
t̥j̥h 'he measured the house' L; passive: ?u?di-  
yahd̥t̥ 'it's been measured (for one dimension  
only)' L, yeḡ ?u?diyahd̥t̥ 'it's been measured  
(in various directions)' L.

?u?diyahd̥t̥ (noun, unclassified) 'yardgoods' L.

Nominalized passive active perfective, 'it's been  
measured (for one dimension)' L.

yeḡ k̥u?deyahd̥xiṇu (noun, unclassified) 'surveyors'  
L. Nominalized active imperfective with yeḡ-pro-  
gressive, 'they measure something (in various direc-  
tions)' L.

?uḡ yeḡ k̥u?deyahd̥ḡ (noun, unclassified?) 'measur-  
ing-stick' L. As above, passive, 'by means of it  
something is measured (in various directions)'.

yahd<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with yahd<sup>1</sup>)

yahd (noun, d-class) 'house, hut, building': 2a.24, 3.5, 4.8, 16.26M, 49.12, 13, 14, 17, 17, 20, 137, 61.115, 68.12, 12, 12, 14, 15, 15, 16A, Rezanov <sup>Sude</sup> Я 'Janna', ЯТТЯ 'DpTa Jurte (Zeit)', Furuhjelm Iatt 'house', Galushia Nelson yat 'house' BSdL 545, 557, 557, 557, 557, 557, 558, yatciyu 'houses' BSdL 558 yahd(d)eyu·, Kato'lu yat 'big house' BSdL 553 Kuda'luw yahd, yahdda'luw 'big house' LM, yahdda'luwdeta·x(-) 'in(to) a big house' L, 20.26, 29.56, 49.11A, yahddeta·xd 'in a big house' L, 20.26A, 52.22L, 57.5fnG, Galushia Nelson yat le'Da·xetc 'potlatch at new house' BSdL 552 yahddeta·x 'ehx 'potlatch in house', ya'tDa·kt (said slowly), ya'Dakt (said fast) 'roof' BSdL 545 yahdda·q(d) 'on top of a house, roof' L, 25.129A, 42.21L, 49.71A, yahdda·q yex da·x, yahdda·qdaex yex da·x 'it's walking about on the roof' L, yahd 'u·d dese'ahit (perhaps also -tahit, but former much preferred) 'a house is there' L, as O of xq·? O-i-i 'S builds a house' see -le 18, under le-, 'aw tuhiga? da· yahddalah ea·? 'go around those three houses!' M, Kayi·y da· yahd 'a different house' L, qa·daya· yahd 'a new house' L, dexi· sahdx

ya' yahd, deqeda?ya' yahd 'an old house' L,  
 Galushia Nelson <sup>ESdL 545</sup> hitca'te yat or hitca'te yat  
 'hunter's lean-to' <sup>^</sup> hitca'te yahd 'lean-to' ('one-  
 sided house') L, yahd8 da?li-iyah 'do you own  
 a house?' L, ?ew yahd ?u?la-xihgah 'I know  
 that house' L, ?ew yahddelah hi?d ku?lixihgah  
 'I know everything about that house' L, yahdde?e-x  
 ?uxa? xu?di-iqe?dxih 'he asked me about his house'  
 L, ?ew yahd kudehiyah 'that house is no good'  
 L, yahd?i-da?d 'upper portion of front (gable)  
 of house' M, yahddaqa?da-qdex yet da-x 'it's  
 walking about on the roof-corner' L, la?d da-  
 ?ihdahd dihiyahh yahd 'two houses (placed)  
 against each other, double house' L, ?ew yahd  
 xu' disixa'gih 'I worked on that house' L, yahd  
 ya? ? la-saxut? 'a house tumbled over' L, yahd  
 desaqaahh 'a house is on fire' L, ?ew yahd yet  
 ?u?disdiyahdih 'he measured the house' L, ?ew  
 yahd ?udeyeq ?iei-?lih 'that house, its interior  
 is big' L, yahdde?a-w 'long house, cannery' L,  
 yahdde?a-wdeyeqd 'in a cannery' L; Galushia Nel-  
 son tcihacia ya' yat 'Old Raven's House' ESdL  
 259, 545 ci-lehhiyahya? yahd, ya?qfiyu' ya?  
 yat 'girl's puberty shelter or cave' ESdL 546  
 yahseyu-ya? yahd 'menarcheal girls' house';

as head of compounds: *čisa·yahd* 'tent' ('canvas--house') L, 47e.21L, *čisa·yahdət's·xəčahd* 'from inside a tent' 32.29A, *čisa·yahdʔi·ʒihə* A, *čisa·yahdiyaʔ* *λə·səskʔi* 'tent-poles' L, *hə·skəyahd* 'log cabin' L, *kuṭahyahd* 'skin-house' M, *qah·ləyahd* 'bark-house', name of potlatch house at Eyak Village, Mile 5 L, Galushia Nelson *qat̚hiya* *ḍəṭa·xtələq̚siyu* 'Bark House People' BSdL 544 *qah·ləyahdḍəṭa·xḍələhseyu* 'those living in Bark-House', see discussion under *qahλ*, Galushia Nelson *tá·uḗtsá yát* or *táḗtsá yát* 'Raven House, Gravina Bay' BSdL 545 *taʔxčəyahd* 'taʔxčə-house' 68.14, 14A, 'potlatch-house at Bering River' L, see discussion under *taʔxčə*, *Ne·yuʔyahd* 'hemlock--house' 68.15A, *Ky·daʔč* *gah yahd* 'church' ('prayer-house') M, 70.10, 11A, Galushia Nelson *točit̚q̚aiyát* 'Eagle House, Alaganik ("bed-house")' BSdL 545 *ʒit̚q̚ahyahd* 'Chilkat House' or *ʒit̚q̚ahyaʔd* 'Chilkat, Bering River', *naḗək yát* 'Raven House, Alaganik ("goose-house")' BSdL 545 *na·xəgyahd*, *qát̚sʊli yát* 'Eagle House, Eyak' ("skeleton-house")' BSdL 545 *qa·čəlihyahd* ('our bones-house'), *čci·láyát* 'Raven House, Eyak' ("raven-house")', 'Raven potlatch house' BSdL 545 *čci·lehyahd*, *sút̚tsáldq yát* 'Eagle potlatch

house' BSDL 545 gu·ʒgələsyahd 'eagle-house' L,  
as head of compound with postpositional phrase:  
kuḏəyahd, qa·ḏəyahd 'grave-house' (small type  
over grave, 'house on someone, house on us, humans')  
L, iḏəyəḏəyahd 'smokehouse' ('under-smoke  
house') 18.10L.

O-ḏ-yahd 'S makes O (house)': səḏyahd 'make a  
house, tent!' L, quʔxḏyahd 'I'll make a house'  
L, ʔu·d ḏəw da· kuḏyahd 'that's where we have  
our village, houses, camp' L (active imperfective),  
qiʔ ku·ḏyahd 'camp, place where someone has a  
house' perhaps also a place-name, location not  
remembered (neuter imperfective).

yahd<sup>3</sup> (perhaps to be identified with and analyzed as yahd<sup>4</sup>)

yahd (preverb, always with zero (or -d?) final)  
 'away from shore out into body of water, out to sea, south, to Seattle, "outside" (of Alaska), overseas': 10.4, 5A, 12.4G, 20.83A, 21a.5, 21L, 24.40, 41, 25.46, 47, 54, 37b.64, 49.88, 50.47A, 62.5G, yahd secu'x 'launch it (boat)!' L, xi·ča·č yahd saqehiñh 'he boated towards way over there across open sea' L, yahd sewe? 'swim out to sea!' L, yahd sewe·ñh 'he's swimming out to sea' L, yahd sewehñh 'he swam out to sea' L, yahd ?edu?stilahñh 'he saved himself by going out to sea' L, yahd ee?ə3 'push it (boat) out!' L, yahd si?ə3ñ 'I launched it (boat)' L, yahd siñ?ə3ñ 'I pushed it (boat) well out' L, yahd ?i·?ah 'point of land, promontory', subentry under ?a'·?a?, yahd sahñh 'he went "outside", to Seattle, overseas' M, čičda·qđ yahd sa·ñh 'he's walking out on ice' L; with qe?-qe'- 'back, again', always attested qe'yahd, with special reference to fall migration of salmon and fowl: 14.1, 21a.-5L, 21b.72, 75A, with additional following qe?, perhaps incorrect, redundant, or further suggest-

ing semantic specialization of qe'yahd: qe'-  
yahd qe' disikA't'i 'it (bird) flew back south  
again' M; yahdqe'deqah 'aurora borealis', iden-  
tification of yahd uncertain, see subentry under  
qa; Rezanov Яръ 'Cyano Schiff', probably to  
be read yahd 'out to sea', see following: yahde-  
ya'da'q 'rowboat, skiff' probably < yahd-eya'--  
d-'ex, yahdeya'delis 'mast' (Rezanov) < yahd--  
eya'-d-lis, see subentries under ya'-eya'.

yahd<sup>4</sup> (perhaps to be identified with yahd<sup>3</sup>, probably to be analyzed y-ah-d with y-anatomical and -ah-d with -d final 'privative, ablative')

o-yahd (postposition, always with zero (-d?) final, L rejects proposed \*siyah, \*siyahx, \*siyahč, \*xeyahd, \*xeleyahd) 'out of, from o's hand' (cf. o-y-xahd, O-y-d); ?uyahd ?ew sihtahiḥ 'I took it from his hand' L, siyahd sihtahi 'he took it from my hand' L, ?iiyahd qi-li?leḫetux 'pl. play tug-of-war (against each other)!' L, qa'yahd qi-li?leḫetux 'pl. play tug-of-war against us!' L, ?iiyahd kuqi-deḫahdinu 'they're having a tug-of-war' L, siyahd diḫiqaheḫ 'it dropped out of my hand' L, siyahd saḫi 'it got away from me' L, diK ?uyahd ?ew tiḥ-da?ahis 'it (pelt) wasn't wrested from them' L, often with preverb qa? 'up out': 28.105, 107, 68.106, 108A, siyahd qa? seḫa?iḥ 'he grabbed, jerked it out of my hand' L, siyahd qa-č iqaḫg 'it keeps slipping out of my hand' L.

ye·t

ye·t (noun, d-class) 'wild celery' (probably 'cow-parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum*)' and perhaps also 'seacoast angelica (*Angelica lucida*)') LM, 10.206A, Rezanov Евъ 'Сладкая трава, пучком' (not in Radlov, 'sweet grass, in bunches'), ye·t sič di·ʔaʔ 'give me a piece of wild celery.' L, ye·t ʔu·d desetaht (or -ʔah) 'a piece of wild celery is there' L, ye·tʔetʔaʔ 'lots of wild celery' M, ye·tʔdaʔluw 'big piece of wild celery' L, ye·t distiqaʔKt 'wild celery is split' L, ye·t quʔ-di·xʔeʔ 'I'll peel wild celery' L, ye·t dokih seʔeʔt 'wild celery is turning woody' L (d-class-- mark for S lacking, perhaps declassified), ye·t kudeyeʔ qiʔ ku·keh vaguely remembered place-- name, location forgotten, 'where there is wild celery inside something (d-class, not with broad opening at top)' L; deʔi·la·ʔ ye·t 'male part of wild celery plant' L, deqeʔt ye·t 'female part of wild celery plant' L; ye·tʔseikʔ 'wild celery root, (good for poultices, e.g. for eye) A, 10.206, 212A.

sesʔhiimu·yaʔ ye·t (noun, d-class) 'plant like wild celery' (but smaller, with dark skin and strong smell, 'dead people's wild celery', probably 'poison water hemlock (*Cicuta mackenziana*)') L.

yehs

yehs (noun, unclassified) 'loon' (probably 'arctic loon (Gavia arctica)' and/or 'common loon (Gavia immer)', "larger than qeq, makes different noise", locally called also 'Russian turkey') L, 27a.19, 20, 30, 36L, 27b.33, 57A.

yeʔs

yeʔs (noun, unclassified) 'food taken or to be taken home from potlatch' L, 55.8, 17L.

O-yeʔs 'S takes O (food) home from potlatch':

teʔyaʔ ʔiya· siyeʔsɩ 'I brought a fish for you (from a potlatch)' L; detransitivized, with indeterminate O: ʔiya· ʔiqeʔxdayeʔs 'I'll bring you food from a potlatch' L, siyaʔ ʔisdiyeʔs= kɩh 'he brought me food from a potlatch' L, ʔixsdiyeʔsɩ 'I saved some food at a potlatch and took it home with me' L.

sdiyeʔsɩ (noun, unclassified) 'food brought home from a potlatch': ʔel sdiyeʔsɩ ʔikyaʔ 'take this (food from a potlatch, in a container)!' L. Nominalized passive active perfective.

## yahš

yahš (noun, unclassified) 'doll' M, Galushia Nelson yate 'doll' BSDL 551, Kuzu yahš 'nice doll' L, yahšda'z zu? deleh 'it's to be made into a doll' L; yahšya? čiyahš 'shellfish species' ('doll's hat') L (see čiyahš).

0-i-yahš 'S plays with O (doll): kuyahših 'she's playing with something (a doll)' L, qu'xlyahš 'I'll play with it (doll)' L.

-yahš (noun, unclassified) '(woman's) child, (woman's) sister's child': ?ahyahš 23.124A, ?u yahš 'her child, her son, her daughter' 20.1, 15, 23.124, 124A, 34.2, 3, 71M, 49.80, 68.44, 112A, Rezanov Ga-am 'Cura Sohn', Cuzam 'Дочь Tochter', Furuhjelm Siash 'son', siac 'son, daughter (woman speaking)' BSDL 566A, 'older sister's son, older sister's daughter, younger sister's son, younger sister's daughter (woman speaking)' BSDL 567A siyahš 'my child, my sister's child' (woman speaking) L, 34.4M, 61.43A, used (incorrectly?) as vocative: 46.24, 26M, Rezanov Mam 'Внука Enkel' ?iyahš 'your child, sister's child' (to woman), Mam-mam 'Внука Enkelin' ?iyahšyahš 'your daughter's child, your

sister's daughter's child' (to woman), qeʔi  
 siyahš 'my daughter (woman-child)' (woman speak-  
 ing, to distinguish daughter from son) L, hilaʔ  
 šiyahš 'my son (man-child)' (woman speaking, to  
 distinguish son from daughter) L, yaʔqeʔyac  
 'mother's older sister's son, mother's older sis-  
 ter's daughter (woman speaking)' BSdL 566A prob-  
 ably to be read yaʔqeʔ, ʔiyahš 'mother's sis-  
 ter (vocative), your daughter', yaʔqeʔcaeyac  
 'mother's younger sister's son, mother's younger  
 sister's daughter (woman speaking)' BSdL 566,  
 567A probably to be read yaʔqeʔšah, ʔiyahš  
 'brother's sister (respectful?, vocative), your  
 daughter', sitsaqeyac 'older sister's son, (wo-  
 man speaking)' BSdL 567A sicaʔkiyahš 'my older  
 sister's child' (woman speaking), siḍaqeyayac  
 'younger sister's son, younger sister's daughter  
 (woman speaking)' BSdL 567A sideseʔyahš 'my  
 younger sister's child' (woman speaking), ʔiŋ-  
 laʔšiyahyahš 'your (female) cross-cousin's  
 (pejorative) child' 61.102A, with suffixed -a-kih  
 (-e- irregular and inexplicable) '(woman's) child  
 (affectionate, diminutive)': siyahšakih 'my  
 little child' (woman speaking) M, 8.12, 23.143A,  
 used as vocative (perhaps incorrectly): 46.30M,

?iyahšekih 'your little child' (to mother eagle)  
 8.5, 10A, ?ah kuyahšekih 'the little (woman's)  
 child' 20.17A, kuyahšekih cat's name L, ?uyah-  
 šekih 'her little child, son, daughter' 8.3,  
 15, 18, 18, 20.2, 23.122, 145A, with suffixed  
 -e-šiyah, '(woman's) child (pejorative)': ?u-  
 yahšešiyah 'her kid, brat' 49.131, 143A, ?ah  
 kuyahšešiyah 'the (woman's) kid' 49.133A, with  
 suffixed -i-e-yu· 'pl.' (of humans): siyahš-  
 eeyu· 'my children' (woman speaking) L, ?uyahš-  
 eeyu· 'her, their children' 18.65, 82L, 49.47,  
 60.5A, Marieyahšeeyu· 'Marie's children' A,  
 ?ah qe?tyahšeeyu· 'that woman's children' 49.-  
 32, 32A, ?ilyahšeeyu· 'mother and child, mother  
 and children' L, of more or less anthropomorphized  
 animals: ?uyahšyequhyu· 'her children, young,  
 offspring' (of eagle) 8.4A, ?iyahšeeyequhšeyu·  
 'your children, young, offspring' (of woman married  
 to octopus) 20.76A; vocative (perhaps incorrect,  
 as other vocatives attested for descending kinship  
 terms, and siyahš, siyahšekih attested in text  
 as vocative): yahš 'child!' (woman speaking) L  
 (not verified); in figurative use: tšəyahš,  
 tšəla·yahš, tšəxəla·yahš, ?əhla·yahš L, ?əh-  
 yahš 'tidal debris' (material, mainly organic,

left forming a line at high-water mark on beach, 'wave's child, earth's child') LM, t̥əhəyāh̥ 'wave's child, earth's child' LM, t̥əhəyāh̥ Kūtū? qī? k̥u·lēh 'place where there's lots of tidal debris, driftwood' L, t̥əhəyāh̥yū· 'bits of tidal debris, driftwood' 56.22L, k̥uyəyāh̥, k̥u·yəyāh̥ 'slight breeze' ('wind's child') L (here perhaps in archaic use as suffixed adjective 'small', as widespread in Athapaskan, but see also k̥u·yyəq̥uh); this stem, also perhaps used with an older meaning, may be present in the place--  
*Kunayash Creek,*  
 name<sup>A</sup> mentioned as Ku-na-yosh in Jefferson F. Moser, Alaska Salmon Investigations in 1900 and 1901, U.S. Fisheries Commission Bull. 21, 1901, p. 385, and transcribed by Frederica de Laguna in 1952 as ganiac-, guniac- 'Johnson Slough', perhaps to be read <sup>fin + y + h</sup> genəyāh̥, gunəyāh̥, with gl-class-mark, 'small (body of) water', see also final entry under de-yāh̥ below.

de-yāh̥ 'S gives birth': qu?x̥dəyāh̥ 'I'll have a baby' L, Rezanov Хукхтəmə 'Баба поизаь ная Hebame' xu· qu?x̥dəyāh̥ 'I'm going to have a baby' M, qu?dəyāh̥h̥ 'she'll have a baby' M, Rezanov Kore-am̥ 'Родитəок geboren werden' ; qu?dəyāh̥ 'she'll, you'll give birth', ədə-yāh̥h̥ 'she's giving birth' L, Rezanov Hreəm̥ 'Родма gebären, sie hat geboren, ist nieder-

gekomen', ?ah Ediyahš L, Ediyahših 'she  
gave birth, had a baby' LM; ?u·nahd·?idayahš  
month-name, 'when animals have young, calving=  
time' L, 'May' A (?i- prefix <sup>required by ?u·nahd</sup> ~~inapplicable, theme~~  
~~perhaps originally transitive C-yahš, detransiti-~~  
~~vised with indeterminate C, ?i-de-yahš); perhaps~~  
also in place-name: in fieldnotes of Frederica de  
Laguna for Yakutat 1952, from John Ellis, June 15,  
inatiyac 'Pt. Latouche', July 26 Inat·c·yac 'Pt.  
Latouche' ('in front of stone-platform', etymology  
probably incorrect), Harrington from G: xallI't--  
yaa 'úunnattayyahc 'lower point at Yakutat' (xə=  
liʔd ya· ?u·na·deyahš) 'uunnattayyahc 'Pt.  
Reclus' ('[Raven] has young in there'), 'ú·ná·=  
tIyā·c, 'uunnaaddi:yyāc 'Pt. Latouche' (no ety=  
mology, same as Y[akutat Tlingit name]), Samson  
Harry ['uná·?deyá·š] 'Point Latouche in upper  
Yakutat Bay', perhaps < Eyak ?u·nahd ?idayahš  
or perhaps ?ulah deyahš 'they have their young  
around it'.

*u·nahd ?idayahš*

'yaha

de-'yaha 1. With o-yeḡ 'under o', 'S is, becomes annoyed with, disgusted with, tired of, sick of o, o bothers S, gives S a "pain": siyeḡ sdi'yaḡiḡh 'he got sick of me' L, with o-d-yeḡ 'under o's oral noise': 'udeyeḡ xdi'yahaḡinu 'I'm sick and tired of their talk' L, seqe'ce-yu'deyeḡ xdi'yahaḡ 'I'm sick of kids(' noise)', 'children's noise, talk disgusts me' L (neuter imperfectives).

2. With yeḡ-progressive<sup>(4)</sup> and o-č 'to o', 'S wants badly, longs, yearns for, has, gets strong urge, desire, physical need to do o, go to o': ḡiḡqa'č yeḡ xsdi'yahaḡ 'I want, long (have gotten the need, desire) to go to Bering River' L, 'q'č qe'yeḡ xsdi'yahaḡ 'I long, yearn to come back here' 19.12L, 'ed'e'č qe'yeḡ xsdi'yahaḡ 'I long to go back home, yearn for home' L (indirect reflexive), yeḡ 'iswe'č yeḡ xsdi'yahaḡ 'I wanted badly, got the urge, desire, to go swimming' L, yeḡ 'iswe'č yeḡ xda'ya'čK 'I (cust) get a strong desire to go swimming' L, diKḡ deqa'yu' gahč yeḡ 'eda'ya'čK 'don't you sometimes (cust) get the urge to dance?' L, with ḡe'ḡ 'outdoors (but not far from house)':

ʒeʔɣ̃ ʒeʔɣ̃ xediʔyahs̄ 'I have to go, bad (need to urinate, defecate)' ('I have gotten a strong physical need to go out') L.

3. With ʒu·l-class-mark or anatomical 'tooth': siɣ̃·ʔeyah̄ ʒu·diʔyahs̄ 'one of my teeth aches' L (uncertain, perhaps incorrect, cf. d-de-ʔyahs̄ below).

o-ʒeʔɣ̃ ʔisyahs̄ (gerundive of de-ʔyahs̄ 1. above) as o of o-gaʔ 'like o' or adverbialized with -dah: ʔuyex̄ ʔisyahs̄lgaʔ lɣ̃h̄ɣ̃ 'he makes me disgusted, sick and tired of him' ('he acts like annoyance with it') L, ʔuyex̄ ʔisyahs̄dah̄ di·leh, ʔuyex̄ ʔisyahs̄lgaʔ di·leh 'you give one a pain with your talk, noise' ('you act orally like annoyance with it, annoyingly with it') L, as exclamation: ʔuyex̄ ʔisyahs̄ 'what a pain, annoyance that is!' L, ʔudeyex̄ ʔisyahs̄ 'what a pain, annoyance that (talk, noise) is!' L.

d-de-ʔyahs̄ (as above, with d-thematic) 'S aches':  
Rezanov ʒax̄x̄adec̄ɣ̃ɣ̃ɣ̃ɣ̃ɣ̃ɣ̃ 'Голод̄em̄ hungry'  
siyeʔd̄ siya· didiʔyahs̄ 'my stomach aches, ached' ('my inside (of me) got to aching (me)')  
M, siɣ̃·ʔeyah̄ siya· didiʔyahs̄ 'my tooth ached' M, ʔiɣ̃·ʔeyah̄ ʔiya· quʔdadaʔyahs̄ 'your tooth will ache' M, siɣ̃·ʔeyah̄ siya· didiʔ-

yahsɛ́ 'my tooth, teeth ache(s)' M (neuter perfective), sileqahyeqđ siya· didiʔyahsɛ́ '(the inside of) my head aches' M (neuter perfective), sileqahyeqđ siya· dəsedaʔyahsɛ́ 'I'm getting a headache' M, sileqahyeqđ siya· ddaʔya·sK 'I (cust) get a headache' M. Transitive (causative): sileqahyeqđ siya· deɛi·ɔyahsɛ́ 'you're giving me a headache' M, sileqahyeqđ siya· dəsəɔyahsɛ́-ɔɔh 'he gave me a headache' M.

yeq<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with yeq<sup>2</sup> and/or yeq<sup>3</sup>,  
but semantic relation not clear)

yeq (preverb, with zero, -č, -d, and -deɣ fi-  
nals) 'ashore, to shore, to land' (but not 'up-  
land', cf. lee<sup>2</sup>): 1b.10M, 10.12, 15, 16, 17,  
27, 98, 108, 11.143, 148, 148, 150, 169, 170A,  
16.16M, 20.51, 25.54, 28.72, 82, 33.3, 37b.18A,  
36.20LM, 46.17M, 47c.61, 53.24, 56.22L, 61.77A,  
yeq 'onto island, mainland, from ocean, lake,  
river' L, yeq seqah̄ 'I (boating) landed' L,  
qi? yeq qu?xqeh 'where I (boating) will land'  
L, ?awguʔah ?aw yeq səlah̄j̄h 'she pulled the  
fishtails up' (i.e. 'ashore') M, yeq siyah̄ 'I  
waded ashore' L, with qe?-qe'- 'back, again':  
?aw qe?yeq səlah̄j̄h 'he threw another one ashore'  
46.21M, ma?gedəya?čah̄d yeq qe? xusek̄xah̄d̄j̄h  
'he pulled me back ashore out of the lake' M,  
Galushia Nelson ge?k̄ta?gweləhyu?ʔ qe?yeq sdi-  
qeh̄j̄h 'he (boating) returned to shore with the  
seal-people' BSdL 283, 559; with -č final 'to-  
wards shore, (continuous or repeated motion) to  
shore': dəki? ?alga?kih yeqəč ?uʔa? geʔa?-  
sedi?ki 'already the (aquatic) distance to shore  
for her had shortened to this little bit' 25.48A,  
yeqəč ?uʔ səx<sup>w</sup>eh̄ 'is rolling against shore

with him (inside)' 10.19, 19A, yeḑeč ɛexqe·i  
 'I (boating) am landing' L, yeḑeč ʔəiya·ʔ 'put  
 them ashore (in several acts)!' L, yeḑeč λa·iya·ʔ  
 'waves are lapping against shore' L, yeḑeč ku·y  
 'shoreward wind' MSG; with -d final '(at rest) on  
 shore, ashore': yeḑd sədahɪh 'he's sitting on  
 shore' L, yeḑd sətahɪ 'it's ashore' L, per-  
 haps nominalized Galushia Nelson yeḑt 'shore'  
 BSdL 547 yeḑd; with -dəx final (-d final plus  
 -x final) '(motion within area) on shore': yeḑ-  
 dəx ʔahnu·č ʔədqəλa·keʔɪhinu· 'they sneak towards  
 him along the shore' 56.22L, yeḑdəx yeḑ da·x  
 'it's walking about on shore' L.

yeq<sup>2</sup> (in -Xe-yeq > -Xe·q; perhaps to be identified with yeq<sup>1</sup> and/or yeq<sup>3</sup>, but semantic relation not clear; probably also in some instances of (o-)d-i·?·q under ?e?-)

o-yeq (postposition, with zero, -d, -č, -daḡ, -čahd finals; clearly attested with d-class-mark as -dayeq, but not with de- indeterminate o, some instances of (o-)d-i·?·q (?e?-) perhaps to be identified as de-yeq and o-d-yeq) 1. 'in(to) o (not with broad opening at top)', cf. o-ya<sup>2</sup> under ya<sup>2</sup><sup>4</sup>; not generally used of topographical features; L rejects proposed \*ḡeyeq, \*ḡeleyeq, with ḡe- 'area' as o; finals irregular, different from other postpositions in that zero final usually occurs where -d and -(de)ḡ finals are normal with other postpositions, thus, usually with certain preverbs, with zero final, also '(movement with)in o', and 'out of (from a position of rest in) o', and also, normal with neuter perfectives, '(at rest) in o'; of any o other than one with broad opening at top, including animal or human body, thus also occurring with personal pronominal o, sometimes with anatomical marks, and also often more or less idiomatically, with non-concrete o, e.g. cu<sup>2</sup>d 'sleep', gaḡ 'dance',

-deseleh 'mind', qehsq-qe'sq 'moonlight', eu? 'warmth', ?wey 'thus' (preverb used as noun), and translating 'on' with gah 'day' (without class-mark), and names of days (cf. o-ya? 2.), and, with personal pronominal o, often, 'into o's mouth, o's womb', or, especially nominalized with -d final, 'o's stomach'; often semantically irregular with reciprocal and reflexive o, incidences of which are listed in 2. and 3. below; with zero final: 2a.7M, 5.3L, 6.3M, 8.7, 10.9, 115A, 18.20L, 23.111, 24.40, 77, 28.8A, 85, 88A, 34.101L, 36.-39A, 38.7, 12LM, 39.5L, 45b.11M, 51.19, 37(day), 44, 70.11A, o-yaq -da 'S dresses in o' (-da 6.), kuyeq selexqu? 'pl. get dressed (in something)!' L, ?ewyaq loxiqe?xiqun 'I'll dress you pl. in it' L, ?ewyaq ?equ·kinu· 'they're (cust) dressed in it' 24.40A, xali?d ?ewyaq sedah? 'he's sitting at innermost end of hole' ('at back closed end of area, he's sitting in it') L, ?uyeq kusikdu?i 'I stuffed it' ('I stuffed something into it') L, ?uyeq ?i·sikdu?i 'I stuffed its head' L, ?uyeq seta? 'put it in it (box with opening at side)!' L, ?ewyaq silitah? 'I put it in it' L, ?ewyaq qu?xtah 'I'll put it in it' L, da?dayeq ?ew ?i·secu·xi 'he shoved it (paddle)

into the mud' L, ye·t' ?udəyəq̄ qi? Ku·ləh  
 place-name ('where there's wild celery in it  
 d-class') L, o-yəq̄ ?i-xu?K(-g) 'S blows into  
 o', ?əwyəq̄ dəšəte?d̄šḡt̄ 'it (pipe, chimney)  
 got clogged' L, seqe·seyu· ?uyəq̄ quh 'womb'  
 ('children stay in it') A, ?uyəq̄ dəseqe?ət̄  
 'it's stuck in it' L, ?uyəq̄ qi·dəsexeqe?ət̄ 'my  
 shoes are too tight' ('my feet are crowded in  
 them') L, ?uyəq̄ Ku?iqa·ḡ 'someone's burning  
 things in it, stove' L, ?uyəq̄ ?iqa·ḡt̄ 'stove'  
 LM, ?uyəq̄ Kuda?mahd 'oven' ('something is  
 cooked in it') L, ?uqi·ləyəq̄ Kuci?dəleh 'tele-  
 phone' ('someone speaks into it (rope-like)') L,  
 iḡhdəyəq̄(dəleh) 'smoking-pipe' L (< iḡhd ?uyəq̄  
 dəleh 'smoke is acted upon in it', see iḡhd),  
 o-yəq̄ y-le 'S disembowels, hollows out o' ('S  
 acts with hands in o', see y-le 2.), liḡdəyəq̄  
 qəla?niK 'woodworms' ('they crawl in trees') L,  
 giyah ?uyəq̄ gali·?yah 'blister' ('water is  
 stuck in it') L, Kuyəq̄ yəsa?yah̄t̄ 'it (e.g.  
 letter) was sent, travelled in something' M, tḡh-  
 yəq̄ ?iḡa? ?iəe?e?3 'put your feet into your  
 socks!' L, ?uyəq̄ Kusedə?əh 'binoculars' ('some-  
 thing is seen in it') L, Rezanov, Kuyəq̄ siḡah̄t̄  
 'I put them in something' L, we?ḡləḡədəyəq̄ saḡt̄,

weʔk ʔugeleʔedeyeq sahk 'it got caught (went  
 into) a snare' L, ʔuyeq kuʔuʔdʒih 'he's smoking  
 (sucking something in it)' Rezanov, ʔuyeq gele-  
 deduʔdʒ 'sucking-tube' ('liquid is sucked in it')  
 Galushia Nelson, sidoselohyeq distiqahk 'it  
 goes through (has fallen into) my mind' 70.10A,  
 o-deselohyeq -te'--tu', o-deselohyeq -le 'S  
 pleases o' ('S is a certain way, acts in o's mind')  
 see deseleh, weʔyeq 'in this way, thus' L (ʔweʔ),  
 qeʔsʔdayeq 'in the moonlight' M, tʔidʔdayeq 'in  
 ice' M, deʔ gahyeqdew 'on what day?' L, with  
 various preverbs: with yeʔ-progressive: ʔuyeq  
 yeʔ lekudixih 'pains, cramps hurt about inside  
 him' L, ʔuyeq yeʔ kuʔheʔpʔx 'binoculars, tele-  
 scope' ('one looks about in it') L, Rezanov, cuʔd-  
 yeq yeʔ xdaʔx 'I'm walking about in my sleep'  
 L, with liʔ 'deeply in, from open front to closed  
 back end': 5.3L, 10.5, 6, 3A, 28.112, 37b.40, 40.-  
 39(month), 40(month)A, o-yeq liʔ o-i-duʔk 'S  
 stuffs o into o', ʔuyeq liʔ kuʔleh 'it has  
 deep hollow in it' LM, o-yeq liʔ e-le 'o is  
 hollow', o-yeq liʔ y-le 'S hollows o out',  
 ʔuʔaxeyeq liʔ cʔʔdixilih 'I'm (literally,  
 neuter perfective) way inside his ear speaking'  
 72.2L, ʔewyeq liʔ saʔyahk 'it's stuck way

inside it' L, xutiyeq li? di-?ah 'ramrod'  
 ('d-class extends way into rifle') L, Rezanov,  
 3exeyeq li? ?edyili?ih 'he's stopping his ears  
 with his fingers' ('he has his hands extending way  
 into his ears') L, ?uyeq li? ku?lexetelxa?  
 'load it (rifle)!' Rezanov, diK ?uyeq li? ?i=  
 ea?a'we 'it's not long (cavity) inside' L, ?uyeq  
 li? sahi 'it went way in it' M, ?uyeq li? sa-?  
 'go way in it!' M, with ?es 'completely by,  
 through': ?uyeq ?es ku-leh 'there's a hole all  
 the way through it' L, ?uyeq ?es disliqahak  
 'it fell down through it (into trap)' L, ?ewyeq  
 ?es lequ-g 'they (fish) keep swimming right  
 through it (mesh too coarse)' L, ?uyeq ?es xe-  
 la'sa?yahit 'it ran through it, arrow went through  
 it' L, ?uyeq ?es qu?xle?e3G 'I'll jump through  
 it (e.g. hoop)' L, ?a?d silaqahyeq ?es ku-  
 le?ggga? ?edxdegewih 'I feel very much like some-  
 one is reaching through my head (with repeated  
 questions)' 72.15L, ?ewyeq ?es sahi 'it went  
 through it (e.g. tube)' L, with ye? 'downward',  
 'down into o': 10.55, 158, 23.160, 276.18, 53.31A,  
 gahyeq ye? sa-h 'he's dancing fancy' ('going  
 down into a dance') L, 'down out of o': 10.100,  
 102A, ?uyeq ye? kagy-?yahit 'he's got diarrhea'

L, ?uni·kyeđ ?aw yeđ gali·?ihih 'it (liquid)  
 extends down from (in) his nose' L, with qa?  
 'up out', 'up into o': ?ahnu·gedeyed qa? qese-  
 cu·xiih 'she thrust them up their rectums' 47b.-  
 39M, 'up out of o': 3.5M, 5.12L, 10.6, 11.188,  
 192, 23.20, 36.11A, 45.11L, 49.96A, 65.28, 38,  
 39A, o-yeđ qa? 0-?-du?k 'S squeezes O out of  
 o', ?ewyed qa? seta? 'take it out of it!' L,  
 ?ewyed qa? sihtah? 'I took it out of it' L,  
 ?ulahyed qa? lesatah? 'it stuck its head out  
 of its hole' L, ?ewyed qa? setax? 'empty it  
 (eggs) out of it (salmon)!' L, ?ahdeyed qa?ah  
 'smokehole' (< ?ahd ?uyed qa? ?ah 'smoke ex-  
 tends up out of it', see ?ahd), de? ?uyed qa?  
 gy·sa?yah? 'he hemorrhaged' ('blood went up out  
 of him') L, ?ula?d ?uyed qa? ?i·?ihih 'his  
 tongue's hanging out' L, ?ewyed qa? sah? 'it  
 got out of it' L, ?e?tyed qa? sah? 'it got out  
 of the box' L, Kuda?daliyed qa? sah? 'egg  
 hatched' M, 'up within o': o-yeđ qa? edl-qa  
 'o has heartburn', o-qi·deyed qa? ?-kahd 'pains  
 shoot up o's leg', o-yeđ d-(?)-qa?k--qa?d 'o  
 chokes', in compounds, with adjectives, requiring  
 ?i-thematic, see -leqahyed?e?i?jilah? 'brains'  
 under jilah?, -yed?e?i?ya? 'entrails' (under

ya<sup>2</sup>-aya<sup>2</sup>), leyeq<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>ie<sup>2</sup> 'unpleasant voice',  
 -yeq<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>ie<sup>2</sup> 'narrow' (under xe<sup>2</sup>-xe<sup>2</sup>), kuč-kuč,  
 -<sup>2</sup>luw--<sup>2</sup>nux 3., <sup>2</sup>i-s-<sup>2</sup>li', <sup>2</sup>i-s-<sup>2</sup>luw, <sup>2</sup>i-s--  
<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>w, o-yeq li<sup>2</sup> s-le, with -č final, o--  
 yeq<sup>2</sup>č '(continuous or repeated movement) into o,  
 continuous or repeated movement or action in o,  
 (movement towards) into o': 10.14, 11.169, 185,  
 36.38, 38, 50.22, 23, 51.48A, 62.5G, o-yeq<sup>2</sup>č  
<sup>2</sup>i-xu<sup>2</sup>g 'S blows into o', <sup>2</sup>asyeq<sup>2</sup>č lequ<sup>2</sup>g  
 'fish are trapped in (keep swimming into) weir' L,  
<sup>2</sup>uyeq<sup>2</sup>č <sup>2</sup>edu<sup>2</sup>qi<sup>2</sup>da<sup>2</sup>xdi<sup>2</sup>č<sup>2</sup> 'let me try my feet  
 in them (shoes)' L, <sup>2</sup>udayeq<sup>2</sup>č yexle<sup>2</sup>č 'I'm  
 hollowing it (tree) out' L, <sup>2</sup>uyeq<sup>2</sup>(eč) li<sup>2</sup> ya-  
 xle<sup>2</sup>č 'I'm hollowing it out' L, silayeq<sup>2</sup>č  
 sele<sup>2</sup>gč 'it (drink) is going to (reaching into)  
 my head' L, daselehyeq<sup>2</sup>č sodele<sup>2</sup>čih 'he's getting  
 proud of himself' L, kuyeq<sup>2</sup>č <sup>2</sup>aiya<sup>2</sup> 'put them  
 (one by one) into something!' L, kuyeq<sup>2</sup>č qu<sup>2</sup>xī-  
 ya<sup>2</sup> 'I'll put them (one by one) into something'  
 L, <sup>2</sup>uyeq<sup>2</sup>(eč) kuya<sup>2</sup>č 'container (to put things  
 in)' L; with -d final '(at rest) in o': 10.6,  
 7, 7, 7, 118, 11.160, 161A, 18.6L (probably to be  
 corrected to zero final), 28.84, 85, 88, 88, 60.6A,  
 62.26G (day), seqe<sup>2</sup>čekih <sup>2</sup>uyeq<sup>2</sup>č dah 'womb'  
 ('child stays in it') L, <sup>2</sup>uyeq<sup>2</sup>č kuteh 'sleeping

bag' L (also ?uya? kuteh), kuyeqd setah<sup>h</sup>  
 'it's in something' L, ?ewyeqd setah<sup>h</sup> 'it's  
 in it' L, ?ewyeqd siktah<sup>h</sup> 'I left it in it' L,  
 deeselehyeqd kuxsilitah<sup>h</sup> 'I have something on my  
 mind' L, sič ?udeeselehyeqd kusetah<sup>h</sup>ih 'he has  
 something in his mind against me' L, kuleqahyeq-  
 dešileh<sup>h</sup> 'brains' M (šileh<sup>h</sup>), ?uyeqd gah<sup>h</sup>  
 'charge for gun' ('shot in it') L, ?uyeqd qi'de-  
 seexqe?ah<sup>h</sup> 'my foot's cramped in it (shoe)' L,  
 ?uyeqd ya<sup>h</sup> 'the thing inside it' L, kušiyah  
 ?uxa? ?uyeqd ?ikfa? ?ise?ah<sup>h</sup>ih 'he has pent up  
 all the evil against him within himself' L, ?u-  
 yeqd kulexediyah<sup>h</sup> 'it (gun) is loaded' L, with  
 ya? 'to a position of rest': ?ewyeqd ya? qu?x-  
 tah 'I'll leave it in it' L, ?ideselehyeqd ka?  
 ya? ?idita<sup>h</sup> 'remember!' ('keep it in your mind!')  
 L, su?yeqd ya? ?i'dah 'stay in the warmth!' M,  
 elicited without verb, with -d final '(at rest)  
 in o' or nominalized 'the inside of o': siyeqd  
 'inside of me' L, sidega?d<sup>h</sup>yeqd 'inside of my  
 throat' M, sini'sq(?i*ei*)yeqd 'inside my nostril'  
 L, with l-anatomical: silyeqd 'back of my neck'  
 M ('inside my head', see also under 3. below), see  
 also -ci? (ci?-ci?-), with classified nouns:  
 tišdeyeqd 'in ice' M, deqa'gdeyeqd 'in fire' M,

ʕiyahdleyeqd 'in a hat' M, kutahti-leyeqd 'in  
 a skin' M, qahsʕedeyeqd 'in the clouds' M, xihʕ-  
 gedeyeqd 'in the grass' M, kihʕʕʕa-yeqd 'in a  
 dipnet' M, ?iʕleyeqd 'inside a mountain' L,  
 yahddaʕluwdeyeqd 'in a cannery' L, liadeyeqd  
 'in a (hollow prone) spruce' L, with -d final  
 nominalized 'the inside of o': ?udeyeqd ku-leh  
 'there's a hollow inside it (d-class, tree)' L,  
 ?uyeqd liʕ ʕeli-ʕah '(cavity) inside extends  
 deep' L, xufʕyeqd ?uʕ deku-d 'cleaning rod'  
 ('the inside of a rifle is wiped by means of it')  
 L, ?awyeqd ʕdiseʕʕʕgʕ 'its inside is clogged'  
 L, ?awyeqd siya- lah xulʕ 'my head is spin-  
 ning' ('that inside of me is spinning around') M,  
 siyeqd siya- yikaʕd 'my stomach hurts' L, si-  
 yeqd siya- yeʕ kuʕeqaʕtʕ LM, siyeqd siya-  
 dedeleh 'my stomach is rumbling' M, siyeqd siya-  
 disdiʕyahʕʕ 'my stomach aches' M, Rezanov, si-  
 yeqd siya- kuʕa-dah ?uʕʕexgewiʕʕ 'my stomach  
 is starting to feel bad' L; with -dex final '(mo-  
 tion with)in o' (usually zero, especially with  
 preverbs): ?awyeqdex geli-ʕah 'it (water) runs  
 through it (pipe)' L, ?awyeqdex yeʕ da-ʕ 'it's  
 walking around inside it' L, ?ʕhʕa-yeqdex 'out  
 of the ground' 36.llfnL; with -ʕahd final or

as o of o-čahd 'from o', 'out of from inside o':  
 ?p̄hyəqəčahd 'out of the ground' M, səx čiyahd=  
 leyəqəčahd qa? səlxahdiḥ 'he pulled a rabbit  
 up out of a hat' M, si?usḥlayəqəčahd ?ilah qe?x=  
 leh 'I love you from my heart' L, ?əwyəqəčahd  
 kuçḥ 'sings (from) inside it' 10.12A (cf. 11.=  
 185A); as o of o-ya? 'belonging to o': ?uçḥ?  
 leyəqya? qahs 'bone of inside of its head (of  
 fish)' M, dəlyəqya? xə? 'marrow' ('grease of  
 inside of bone') L, as o of o-ga? 'like o':  
 diK ?əwyəqəga? qi·da?yida? 'your foot's not  
 big enough for it (inside of shoe)' ('you're not  
 foot-sized like its inside') LM.

2. With reciprocal o (often semantically ir-  
 regular, cf. o-ya? 3. under ya?<sup>4</sup>) a. semanti-  
 cally regular, 'into each other': ?iḥyəq səta?  
 'put one (e.g. glass) inside the other!' L, ?iḥ-  
 yəq yəx səta? 'pile them (e.g. glasses)(down)  
 into each other' L.

2b. 'closed' (of eyes, used preverbially,  
 classifier not vocalized in intransitive verbs):  
 ?iḥyəq kuḥitahḥ 'I closed my eyes' ('I put one  
 part of something into the other') M, ?iḥyəq  
 ku·itahḥḥ 'he has his eyes closed' M, ?iḥyəq  
 kuḥeta? 'close your eyes!' L, ?iḥyəq kuqu?xtah

'I'll close my eyes' L, with -č final: ?ikyeč  
 lexadaxya'g 'my eyes keep closing' L (see -?ya  
 5.); with yeḡ 'downward', 'with folded legs,  
 squatting': ?ikyeḡ yeḡ ?i-dahih 'he's squat-  
 ting' L, ?ikyeḡ yeḡ seda-hih 'he's doing a  
 dance squatting' ('moving in squatting position')  
 L.

2c. 'apart, outspread, wide open' (from ori-  
 ginal position together, but not clearly inside  
 each other, used preverbially, classifier not vo-  
 calized in intransitive verbs) ?ikyeḡ weḡ ?i-  
 feh 'it (e.g. box) is coming apart at corner'  
 (probably 'apart, it's thus') L, ?ikyeḡ ?i-sil-  
 tuxi 'I grabbed his cheeks and pulled them apart'  
 ('I stretched his face apart') L, ?ikyeḡ lexe-  
 di-qeḡ 'his eyes are wide open' L, ?ikyeḡ ?i-  
 qeḡ 'he has his legs spread wide apart' L, ?ik-  
 yeḡ dihile'gi 'he has his arms outspread' L,  
 ?ikyeḡ ?ise'e'gi 'spread your legs!' L, ?ikyeḡ  
 ?isi'e'gi 'I spread my legs apart' L, with xa?  
 as 0, ?ikyeḡ xa? seta? 'open your mouth!' L,  
 ?ikyeḡ xa? ?i-itahih 'he has his mouth open'  
 L, ?ikyeḡ xa? sehtah 'it (flower) opened' L.

3. With reflexive o, pronominal o always  
 ?ed- rather than zero in all certain attestations

without class-mark, semantically irregular or idio-  
 matic: <sup>?</sup>adyeḡ (ḡe<sup>?</sup>) de-<sup>?</sup>ya 'S comes to, regains  
 consciousness, sobers up' 10.210, 36.24, 25A, see  
 -<sup>?</sup>ya 17, apparently preverbal in ḡe-<sup>?</sup>adyeḡeḡ  
 sēda<sup>?</sup>ya-ḡih 'he's coming to' M, for other possible  
 occurrences, see yeḡ (preverb) below; in <sup>?</sup>ad-  
 yeḡeḡ kũ<sup>?</sup>xu<sup>?</sup>ḡg 'bugle' L not reflexive, < <sup>?</sup>uda-  
 yeḡeḡ kũ<sup>?</sup>xu<sup>?</sup>ḡg 'one blows repeatedly into it  
 (d-class, noisemaking)'; with l-anatomical 'head':  
<sup>?</sup>edleyeḡeḡ kũxḡeḡh, leyeḡeḡ kũxḡeḡh 'I'm  
 humming' L, <sup>?</sup>edleyeḡeḡ kũḡeḡhḡh, leyeḡeḡ kũ-  
 ḡeḡhḡh 'he's humming' L; see also l-yeḡ below.

4. Problematical or uncertain instances: li-  
 yeḡ deḡ ḡeli-<sup>?</sup>ah place-name, interpreted by L  
 as 'water runs up by trees', i.e. 'water flows up  
 shore into prone trees', but with d-class-mark  
 for li- lacking; de<sup>?</sup>ewyeḡeḡ <sup>?</sup>ew <sup>?</sup>uḡ yeḡ  
 ḡeḡuxḡ 'it drifts about with him inside it' 10.-  
 14A, perhaps to be interpreted de<sup>?</sup>ew -- yeḡeḡ --  
<sup>?</sup>ew <sup>?</sup>uḡ yeḡ ḡeḡuxḡ 'then -- towards shore --  
 it drifts about with him (in it)' with preverb  
 yeḡeḡeḡ under yeḡ<sup>1</sup>; xi-lyeḡ kũḡeḡhḡh 'shaman is  
 singing (shaman's song)' M, not verified by L,  
 literally 'he's singing something in a shaman', un-  
 less to be interpreted xi-l yeḡ kũḡeḡhḡh with

yaq preverbal, but -jh suffix, would not be expected with xi.l as independent S, see however preverb yaq under yaq<sup>2</sup> and yaq<sup>3</sup>, and (o)d-i<sup>2</sup>-q under ?e?- , or perhaps < xi.l-le-yaq, cf. following.

layaq (preverb?, probably postpositional phrase with l-anatomical 'head' and zero variant of reflexive o pronoun, perhaps originally epithetical, used with verbalized adjectives and in compound, always requiring si-thematic) 'voice, throat': layaq 'inside throat' L, layaq ?isi.kudg '(he's) soft-, high-voiced' L, layaq ?isi.?luw '(he's) loud-, low-voiced' L, Rezanov; layaq?eci?e? 'unpleasant gravelly voice, poor singing voice' L.

o-y-?e.q (postposition, < -y-?e-yaq, with -y-?e- 'inner end of hand', with reduced form of -?a 'back end' with -y-anatomical 'hand' as o of o--yaq; finals as with o-yaq) 'in(to the palm of) o's hand': with zero final: 23.13, 50.18A, Rezanov Kaxrsek? 'Jagow Handfläche, innere' qa'-ya?e.q 'into our palms', siya?e.q 'in the palm of my hand' LM, siya?e.q seta? 'put it in my hand!' LM, o-y-?e.q y-?ya 'S (prey) falls into o's hand', zero reflexive o in indirect reciprocal constructions: ya?e.q ?isditux?, ya?e.q disditux? 'he spit in his hand' L, ya?e.q ?iqe?x-

detux, yeʔe·q̄ quʔdaxdetux 'I'll spit in my hand' L, yeʔe·q̄ yeʔedexuʔʔi 'he's blowing in his hands' L, with -ʔ final: siyeʔe·q̄eʔ ʔew iʔi·ʔiʔh 'he's putting them (one by one) into my hand' L, with -d final 'at rest': siyeʔe·q̄d 'in my hand' M, 'in the palm of my hand' L, siyeʔe·q̄d setahʔ 'it's in my hand' L, with reciprocal o: ʔiʔyeʔe·q̄d q̄eʔ ʔedskiyahʔiʔnu· 'they shook hands again' ('they put themselves back palm to palm') L, nominalized with -d final: siyeʔe·q̄d siya· seʔ-iʔʔiʔh 'he pinched the palm of my hand' L, ʔuyeʔe·q̄d ʔiʔeʔ q̄id ʔuʔli·iʔtahʔiʔh 'he has his hands palms together' L.

yeq̄ (preverb, infrequent, perhaps not to be identified with yeq̄<sup>2</sup> and/or to be identified with yeq̄<sup>1</sup> and/or yeq̄<sup>3</sup>) 1. 'fast, deep (asleep)', (cf. o--yeq̄ 3.) attested only with -cuʔd--cuhd 'S sleeps': yeq̄ sicuhdʔ 'I fell fast asleep' L, yeq̄ ʔixi-cuʔdʔ 'I'm fast asleep' L.

2. 'muffled, muted, inside self' (cf. (ʔed)-loyeq̄eʔ ku-de-cʔh 'S hums' under o-yeq̄ 3.), attested only with ʔed-ke-kʔi·ʔ 'S makes self cry, pretends to cry, whines', causative reflexive of -kʔi·ʔ 'S weeps': yeq̄ ʔedʔekʔi·ʔiʔh 'he's sobbing' L, yeq̄ ʔedskikʔi·ʔiʔh 'he whimpered' L; see also

xi·lyeḡ kucjnh under o-yeḡ 4. above, and  
(o-)d-i·ʔ-ḡ under ʔeʔ-.

3. Meaning uncertain, perhaps 'inside', at-  
tested only in yeḡ desaʔmahd̄t 'they (eggs) are  
hard-boiled' L, same meaning as desaʔmahd̄t; see  
also 4. below and (o)d-i·ʔ-ḡ under ʔeʔ-.

4. Uncertain: yeḡ gelaʔyah 'bile' L, per-  
haps to be corrected to o-yeḡ gelaʔyah, literal-  
ly 'liquid, humor is in o'.

yeq<sup>3</sup> (perhaps to be identified with yeq<sup>1</sup> and/or yeq<sup>2</sup>)  
 yeq (preverb, with zero final in all instances, perhaps also used with -č final) 'taboo, startling, frightening, hexed, bewitched', exact meaning uncertain, attested only in themes with stem which may or may not be that of -a 'sg. S goes' with l-thematic as in l-de-a 'sg. S misgoes, gets lost': yeq l-a 'S is, becomes startled, scared', with causative yeq 0-l-l-a 'S startles, scares O', and yeq l-de-a 'S is, becomes tabooed, hexed, bewitched', with causative yeq 0-l-l-a 'S hexes, bewitches O', see a<sup>3</sup>.

yeḡ-ye'ḡ (yeḡ reduced, ye'ḡ expanded form of (reduced?) stem; perhaps related to yeḡ<sup>3</sup> basic meaning 'subdue, tame' (see '))

d-ḡe-yeḡ (with d-thematic, perhaps archaic class--mark for S) 'S (wind) calms, abates': Rezanov. Таскелэхь 'Встретъ вѣхоѦ Windstille', Тескелэхь 'Тухал норога Windstille' diḡiyeḡḡ 'wind calmed down' L, deḡeḡeḡeḡḡ 'wind is abating' LM, qu<sup>2</sup>-deḡeḡeḡḡ 'wind will calm down' L.

di'ye'ḡ (noun, unclassified, deverbalization of preceding with expanded stem) 'calm weather' L, di'ye'ḡ yiḡeh, di'ye'ḡga<sup>2</sup> ku'ḡeh 'it's calm (no wind, not otherwise necessarily good weather)' L, di'ye'ḡ seḡe<sup>2</sup>ḡḡ 'it (wind) is calming down' L; Galushia Nelson Diḡḡtsi 'Calm Weather's Daughter' BSDL 300, 544 di'ye'ḡoi' L (mythological personage, see BSDL 300, 512, Eyak Texts 48.0fn).

0-<sup>2</sup>-ye'ḡ 'S trains O for hunting': <sup>2</sup>u<sup>2</sup>siye'ḡḡ 'I trained it (dog, for hunting)' L, with yeḡ--progressive: <sup>2</sup>aw yeḡ <sup>2</sup>u<sup>2</sup>deye'ḡḡh 'he's training it (dog, for hunting)' L, <sup>2</sup>aw yeḡ <sup>2</sup>u<sup>2</sup>adiye'ḡḡ 'I trained him (dog, for hunting)' L; reflexive: <sup>2</sup>edu<sup>2</sup>deye'ḡḡh 'he's abstaining (etc., in preparation for hunt)' L (uncertain), yeḡ

?edu?doye·xjh 'he's putting himself through  
rigorous training (for hunt)' L; passive: ?u?s-  
diye·xj̄ xowa· 'dog which has been trained (for  
hunting)' L.

O-?-i-ye·x̄ 'S trains O for hunting' (uncertain,  
meaning not distinguished from that of preceding):  
qu?x̄iye·x̄ 'I'll make a hunter of him (dog)' L,  
?u?sīiye·x̄j̄ 'I trained it (dog, for hunting)' L  
(later changed to ?u?siye·x̄j̄).

yaḡ to yeḡ<sup>3</sup>

yeḡ<sup>1</sup> (perhaps related to yeḡ-yeḡ)

O-yeḡ(-g) (usually with -g-repetitive thematized)

'S rubs O (usually pelt, in tanning, in folds against itself) to soften it': ?ew xyeḡg 'I'm softening skin' L, often with ya? 'completely': ?ew ya? xyeḡg, ?ew ya? sexyeḡḡ L, ya? suxyeḡḡ 'I'm softening skin by rubbing it' MA, ya? kuyeḡḡh 'he's rubbing something (a skin) to soften it' L, ya? qu?xyeḡg 'I'll rub it (skin)' L, ya? qa?yeḡḡh 'he'll soften a skin' L, ya? siyeḡḡ, ya? siyeḡḡ 'I rubbed, softened skin' L, ya? seyeḡḡh 'he rubbed it (skin) soft' L, with ti·l-class-mark for O (clearly optional): Kuti·lexyeḡg 'I'm rubbing something (skin) soft' LM, Kuti·li·yeḡg 'rub a skin soft!' M; passive: ti·sdiyēḡg 'skin has been rubbed soft' L.

O-i-yeḡ-g 'S rubs O (usually pelt, in tanning, in folds against itself) to soften it' (meaning apparently not distinguished from that of preceding): ya? sex<sup>w</sup>iyēḡḡ 'I'm rubbing a skin (in folds against itself) to soften it' M, ya? siḡyeḡḡ 'I rubbed a skin soft' L (uncertain, "maybe means same as ya? siyeḡḡ").

yeɣ<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with yeɣ<sup>3</sup>, yeɣ<sup>4</sup>, and/or yeɣ<sup>5</sup>; assigned here are all and only all preverbs requiring vocalization of classifier, at least in intransitives, of verbs)

yeɣ (preverb, always with zero final, called yeɣ-- progressive, requiring vocalization of classifier in all forms, transitive as well as intransitive, and -ɣ suffix in all non-repetitive, non-customary active imperfectives, and in gerundives, phonetically zero with stem-final -ɣ, sometimes occurring overtly, perhaps incorrectly, in a few active imperfective repetitives, especially where -g-repetitive is highly thematized, in sequence -g-ɣ, or, in other cases, replacing -g-repetitive, for examples see references below with -g--repetitive; form of CV stems CV·ɣ, CV' stems CV<sup>o</sup>ɣ; no suffix in other mode-aspects, but form of non-perfectives of CV and CV' stems frequently CV· instead of CVh, see grammar; other preverbs, except sometimes ɬe<sup>o</sup>-ɬe'-, always precede yeɣ)

1. 'about, around, here and there', i.e., with verbs referring to gross lateral movement, in no definite direction, without destination, randomly', or, with verbs referring not to gross lateral movement, '(activity, process) in one place after

another, while moving along, about', very freely  
 used, attested with a large number and variety  
 of verb themes (especially frequent in active im-  
 perfective, and rare with inceptive perfective,  
 the inceptive perfective with *yeṣ*-progressive  
 meaning 'S ... about all day long, for a long time'),  
 see O-ʔ-deʔi 2., O-i-duʔK, i-dux 1., yeṣ  
 ʔedeledux, d-i-d-e, yeṣ deʔedeʔ, -da ʒa.,  
 4a., i-da, g-i-da, O-i-taʔK, -te ʒ., O-  
 i-te, O-(i-)ta 1., O-ʔ-(i-)ta 2., O-gd-(i-)ta,  
 ʔed-y-da(-i)-ta, 1-ta, O-i-taʔi--taʔ, O-i-  
 tux, -ʔeʔq (transitive), i-ʔeʔq, -ʔeʔ 1.,  
 O-ʔi 2., ʔed-i-ʒahe--ʒahe, O-i-cijhd, -ceʔ--  
 -ciʔ (transitive), ʔi-cijʔ, O-ci, i-caʔ,  
 i-cijʔʔ, O-i-ciʔK-g (ciʔK 2.), O-i-ʔeʔd 1c.,  
 ʔux yeṣ kuʔa-deʔeʔʔ, O-ciʔK, O-ʔ-(1-)i-cijhe,  
 O-i-cijʔe, yeṣ leʔedeʔeʔ, e1-de-ʔaʔ, -sid, O-  
 g-ʒahe, O-ʒaʔ 1., O-ʔd-ʒaʔ 1., O-i-ʔaʔ, ʔed-  
 i-ʔeʔʔ, O-ʔuʔʔ, (transitive, ʔuʔʔ-), ʔi-de-  
 ʔaʔK, yeṣ ʔed-i-ʔaʔK, O-d-i-ʔaʔq, -ʔeʔ, e1-  
 da-ʒaʔK, O-sis, -ʔeʔg (transitive), O-e1-ʒa-  
 -ʒaʔ, O-e1-i-ʒaʔ, ku-l-i-gyʔ, O-i-gahe, ʔi-  
 gʔaʔ--gaʔ, O-i-kuʔd, -kiʔ, i-ʔabd--ʔaʔd, yeṣ  
 O-e1-de-ʔijʔʔ-ʔ, d-i-ʔaʔʔ 1., yeṣ deʔeʔaʔʔ,  
 ku-l-i-xʔeʔʔ--xeʔʔ, ʔed-l-i-xaʔʔ (xʔeʔʔ-),

gdl-xut', i-xiX- 1., 2.(xu?X-), -xut, yet  
 dex<sup>M</sup>aiX (xut-), i-e-sa?t', O-i-seX 1., i-e-  
 sesS-g, O-?-qe?d, O-?-d-i-qe?d-X, i-e-qa?t'-g,  
 i-qaX (transitive), d-i-e-qaht, -qe, i-qa,  
 ?uwa'ix yet kudeqe'g, O-i-qa, O-qa (qa<sup>1</sup>),  
 i-e-qa'?, -qu 3., i-e-qu, d-i-e-qu, yet dala-  
 qu'X, O-g-i-qu, 1-qu 2a., -qah (defective  
 verb, no -X, qah<sup>4</sup>), i-e-qa'?'d, O-qa'c 1., ?ed-  
 i-e-qa'?'s(-g), i-e-qa'?'S (?), o-sa? yet O-dl-i-e-  
 qa'c-X, d-qa'X, O-i-qa? 2., yet kudeqa'Xih  
 (qa<sup>2</sup>), da-qa? (transitive, qa<sup>3</sup>), O-xahd 1.,  
 O-xd-xahd 1., yet laxadedaxa?X, ?ux yet  
 (ku)laxadedaxa?X, O-i-xe?z, O-xu?c, O-i-xu?c,  
 (y-)i-e-xu?c, O-xe, ?uyeq yet kudexe'X, ?ux  
 yet kudexe'X, O-?-xa, ?i-x-xa, i-e-wed-- 1.,  
 4., gdl--edl-wa?i--wahh, -wus- 1., 3., i-e-  
 wus-, yet ?ed-i-e-wus-X, -we, 1-de-na' (transi-  
 tive), O-i-?na?t' 1., 2. (la?t'-?na?t'), -le?g-  
 9a., 9b., 11., o-?e'X yet i-e-le?g-X, d-i-e-le?g,  
 O-i-u?g- 2a., (le?g-), O-let, O-i-let, -le-  
 12., ?edX yet la'dele'X (le-), 1-i-e-la'  
 (transitive), O-de-la (la), -la 1., 2., yet  
 dala'X, O-?-i-la (la-na<sup>1</sup>), i-e-?niX, O-?-yahd,  
 d-?yahs 2. (?), O-?-yet (yet-ye'X), -?ya 3ab.,  
 yet ?i'lihxa? d-de-?ya-X, dl-?ya 4., X-?ya,

yeṣ ṣedaʔyaʔ, y-ʔya, ṣdl-ʔya 1., ʔed-ʔi-  
 lih-ḱe-ʔya 3., ḱ-ʔya (transitive), O-yuʔ,  
 O-ʔaʔʔ 1., O-ḱ-ʔeʔṣ, ḱe-ʔeṣ 9., (O-)gdl-ḱe-  
 ʔeṣ 1., -ʔaʔʔ, yeṣ deʔaʔʔ, qiʔʔ yeṣ  
 Kudeʔaʔʔ, ʔuyaʔʔ yeṣ Kudeʔaʔʔ, ḱ-ʔaʔʔ,  
 g-ḱe-ʔaʔʔ, O-dl-ʔe, O-qi-d-ḱ-ʔeʔ, O-ʔ-ʔe--ʔa,  
 ʔi-ḱ-ʔe--ʔa 1., 5., 6., 7., ʔuyeq yeṣ Kuʔḱe-  
 ʔaʔʔ, O-(ḱ-)ʔa 6., yeṣ (ʔi-)ḱe-ʔa (?), ʔi--  
 d-ʔa 3., -ʔaʔ 4., ʔi-d-(ʔ-)ḱ-ʔaʔ 1., 2., -a,  
 ḱ-a, Ku-ʔ-ṣdl-d-a (a<sup>1</sup>), O-ṣ-a (a<sup>2</sup>), O-ḱ-(y)a,  
 g-ḱe-ʔaʔ, O-ḱ-yaʔ, and the following  
 transitive themes used detransitivized with  
 indeterminate O with yeṣ-progressive, where the  
 basic meaning is altered from 'S acts in a certain  
 way upon specific O' to 'S acts in a certain way  
 here and there, at random, on any, no specific O':  
 O-taʔʔ, O-ḱ-tet, O-tetḱ, O-ḱ-tik-, O-ḱ-dḱʔʔ-g  
 (dḱʔʔ<sup>2</sup>), O-(l-)ḱ-dḱḱe, O-ḱ-dax, O-ḱ-ḱeʔd, O--  
 ḱ-ḱaʔ, ḱe-ḱuʔʔ (transitive, ḱuʔʔ), O-ʔ-d-i--  
 ḱaʔd, O-ḱuʔ, O-ḱe 1., O-kaḱḱ, O-kus, O-kiḱḱ  
 1., O-kiʔʔ, O-ḱ-xuʔ, O-ʔ-d-ḱ-qeʔd-ṣ, O-qa (qa<sup>2</sup>),  
 O-dax 2., 3., yeṣ ʔidedax, O-ḱ-yuʔʔ, O-ḱ--  
 ṣaʔḱḱ-ṣ-g, O-ʔ-ṣa, O-ḱ-ʔnaʔʔ (laʔʔ-); the  
 following gerundives and -ḱ-instrumental deverb-  
 alizations with yeṣ-progressive are attested,

usually with  $-x$  suffix, sometimes with  $-i$ , and sometimes with  $-x-i$ :  $ya\ x \ ?ute\ x$  (te),  $ye\ x \ ?edisci\ x$  (ci\ -ce\ x),  $ye\ x \ ?ixe\ t\ i$ ,  $ye\ x \ ?iaxut$ ,  $ye\ x \ ?ixut\ x$  (xut),  $qe\ x(-i)$  (qe),  $ye\ x \ ?iswe\ x(-i)$  (we),  $ya\ x \ ?isla\ x$  (la-na<sup>1</sup>),  $ye\ x \ x\ e\ la\ ?ya\ x$ ,  $ye\ x \ ?edi\ lihya\ x$  (?ya),  $ye\ x \ ?u\ ?we\ ?a\ x$ ,  $?uyed\ ye\ x \ \dots \ ?a\ ?i$  (?e- $?a^3$ ),  $ye\ x \ ?isa\ x$  (a<sup>1</sup>); occurring with a large number of postpositional phrases and other preverbs, mostly with  $-x$  or  $-dex$  finals 'movement within area', less frequently with postpositional phrases or other postpositions referring to definite direction of movement: 47b.21M, 47c.27L, 68.32A,  $qe\ ?i\ t\ eyu\ t$   $ye\ x \ deqe\ x\ i\ h\ h\ de\ ?a\ h$  'he was boating "around" to those women one may suppose' (ironic) 47c.13L, with  $c-lah$  'around o': 24.52A, see also  $?i-g^w a\ --ga'$ ,  $0-i-?na\ ?t-g$  (la<sup>2</sup>t-),  $?ed-?i\ lih-?e-?ya$  3.,  $0--yu?$ ,  $di\ x \ ?i\ lah\ ye\ x \ de\ ?a\ ?t[x]\ t\ inu$  'they don't take care of each other' ('they don't walk around each other') L; with certain preverbs referring to vertical movement, 'in one place after another', or, sometimes ambiguously, also 'reversal of motion' (see 2b. below):  $ya\ ?x \ ye\ x \ x\ deta\ x$  'I keep picking it up and (setting it) down' (in one place or series of places?) L,  $ya\ ?t \ ye\ x \ ?edede$

(or -da·) 'sit down here and there along the way!' L, yq·ʔɕ kaʔ yeʔ ʔiliya·ʔ 'you should set them down once in a while along the way' L, ya·nuʔɕ yeʔ ʔidaqah 'they keep swimming around underwater and/or diving up and down' L, 24.37A; with certain verbs of locomotion, also '(goes around) hunting', see -qe, -ʔaʔɕ, -a; with -ʔaʔɕ 'pl. S go' and -a 'sg. S goes', often, but not always with preverb ʔeʔʔ '(a short distance) outside the house', with reference to defecation, urination, as in English 'to "go"': 23.19, 33.12A, ʔeʔʔ yeʔ de·ʔ 'I have diarrhea' L, dəlgu·nəʔ ʔeʔʔ yeʔ xka·ʔ 'I have a bloody stool' L, ʔuyaʔɕ yeʔ deʔaʔɕʔ 'urine bowl' ('pl. "go" into it') L, qiʔɕ yeʔ deʔaʔɕʔ 'toilet' ('place to which pl. "go"') L, see also de-ʔyahs 2.; with g-ka-ʔaʔɕ 'pl. S stand' and g-ka-ʔ·ʔ 'sg. S stands', often apparently not necessarily referring to movement about while standing, occasionally perhaps 'in a line': ʔiɕa·d seʔeʔqida·ʔ yeʔ gukaʔaʔɕʔinu· 'they're standing in a straight line towards you' M, yeʔ ʔi·ləteʔʔ 'drill a line of holes:' M (to be corrected to -teʔ); with preverb ʔeʔ-ʔe·- 'about again, some more': yeʔ ʔeʔ, see -ki·ʔ, 0-ʔ-yahd, ʔed-ʔi·lih-ka-ʔya

3., -ʔaʔɕ , -a , or ɕe·yeɕ, see  
 0-ɪ-taʔɪ--taʔɪ, 0-guʔɪ, ʔi-gʷa'--ga', 0-ɪ--  
 xut, 0-ʔ-yahd, -ʔed-ʔi-lib-ɪe-ʔya 3., -ʔaʔɕ ,  
 -a , yeɕ ɕeʔ da·ɕɪh 'he's taking a walk  
 again, walking about some more' (not 'he's walking  
 back, turning back') LM, but ɕe·yeɕ da·ɕɪh  
 'he's taking a walk again, walking about some more',  
 also 'he's walking back, turning back' LM, cf.  
 ɕe'-yeɕ below.

2. 'reversal of motion', requiring vocalization  
 of classifier (cf. yeɕ 3., 4. under yeɕ<sup>3</sup>) and -ɕ  
 suffix as 1. above: a. '(single) reversal of motion,  
 back, turn about': yeɕ 1-de-la-ɕ 'S turns about  
 to face in certain direction', see under la-na<sup>2</sup>,  
 yeɕ ʔidiyah '(you should) come back' L (normally  
 to be interpreted 'you should walk about, take a  
 walk', perhaps to be corrected to ɕe·yeɕ ʔidiyah,  
 see ɕe'-yeɕ below).

2b. 'back and forth, to and fro, (repeated)  
 reversal of motion', see ʔed-gdl-ɪe-ta, ʔed-ʔ-gdl--  
 ɪe-ta, 0-ʔ-(1-)(ɪ-)ta, ʔiɪtaʔɪ yeɕ ʔuʔla·de-  
 ta·ɕ, yeɕ deʒaʔɪ xutɪ, gdl-xut, yeɕ ʔedte-  
 la·lexutɪ, 0-saʔ yeɕ 0-dl-ɪe-ɕeɕ-ɕ, ɪe-wed--  
 1., 4. (?), gdl--edl-waʔɪ--wahɪ, -ʔya 34b.(?),  
 g-ʔya, dl-ʔya 4., ʔed-ʔ-gdl-ɪ-(y)a (or -ya·ʔ)  
 (?), with various preverbs: yaʔɪ yeɕ xdata·ɕ

'I keep picking it up and (setting it) down' (in one place or series of places?) L, ?a?dæd̥ yəx xda·x̣ 'I keep walking (in and) out of the house' M, ya?xu· ?a?dæd̥ yəx qu?yidah 'don't keep coming (in and) out of the house' L, lah yəx ɣəxdəta·x̣ 'I keep switching sides paddling' L (cf. lah qu?xi·xtah 'I'll switch sides' L, ya·nu?d̥ yəx ?ideqah 'they keep swimming around underwater and/or diving up and down' L, 24.37A, dəlu? lah3 yəx dəxahd̥x̣ 'bureau of drawers' ('they are pulled forward (and back) through holes') L, ?a·wayu· yəx ɣədəxədəʒa?x̣ (or -x̣ahd̥x̣) 'I'm drawing a funny zigzag line' L; also with certain themes referring to elasticity: yəx həcahd̥x̣ 'it stretches, is elastic' L, see also iə-wus-, yəx dədəxahd̥x̣ 'accordion' ('it (d-class, with noise) is stretched back and forth') L.

2c. With ?iɬya? (see o-ya? 3b. under ya?<sup>4</sup>), 'back and forth, to and fro', same meaning as 2b., but more explicit and perhaps more frequent, see O-ŋi 2., -ceŋ--ciŋ (transitive), O-dəx̣ 1., -xui, -qe, l-qu 2a., dl-ɣa?ŋ, gdl--sdl-wa?t--waḥ, -we, O-t-u?g- (le?g-), xdl-?ya, -?a?d̥ , O-?-gdl-(t-)?a 1., -?a (a<sup>1</sup>).  
 qe'-yəx (preverb, with zero and -d̥ finals, qe?--

qe'- 'back, again, some more' with yeḡ 2. 're-  
 versal of motion', never here in order yeḡ qe'  
 1. With zero final 'back, turning back' (single  
 reversal of motion), requiring, but perhaps not  
 always, vocalization of classifier in intransitive  
 verbs, and, unlike yeḡ (preverb) above, not vo-  
 calizing classifier of transitive verbs, perhaps  
 requiring -ḡ suffix to stem of non-repetitive  
 non-customary active imperfectives, but this is  
 attested in only one form and therefore uncertain,  
 such active imperfectives being rare, inceptive  
 perfectives being frequent with transitives: ?iḥ  
 qe·yeḡ qu?xtah 'I'll give it back to you, I'll  
 get even with you' M, qe·yeḡ ?edu?xakilahē 'I  
 turned and fled' L, qe·yeḡ, dase?a? 'pay it  
 back!' L, daki· ?iḥ qe·yeḡ disil?ahē 'I paid  
 you back already' L (O-(ḡ-)?a ḡ.), siḥ qe·yeḡ  
 qi·leḡeḡa? 'give me it (rope) back!' M, in (o-ḥ)  
 qe·yeḡ ?i-ḡ-?e--?ḡ 'S looks back (at o)' (with  
 indeterminate O) once with non-vocalic classifier:  
 48.18L, and twice with vocalic classifier: 31.15,  
 48.19L, with intransitives: qe·yeḡ ḡa·sḡiqahē  
 'it (stone) bounced back' L, ?ḡ·ḥ qe·yeḡ sēde-  
 qe·? 'boat back here!' L, diK qe·yeḡ ?edeḡa·K  
 'they (cust) never went back (as a fleet)' 68.42A,

ʔadʔeʔɕ ɕe·yeʒ sdiʔyahɛɪ 'I long to go back home' L, see also ɪdl-ʔya 1., -ʔaʔɕ ,  
-a , the only non-repetitive non-customary active imperfective instance being ɕe·yeʒ da·-  
ɪɪh 'he's turning, going back' LM.

2. With -ɕ final, '(repeated or continuous motion) back, backward', a. requiring vocalized classifier, no attestations with non-repetitive non-customary active imperfective, requirement of -ɪ suffix to stem uncertain: ɕe· yeʒɕ dedexuɪg 'it (log) keeps rolling back' L (repetitive), with additional following ɕeʔ: ɕe·yeʒɕ ɕeʔ ɪɛla·-  
ɛɛxdaʔya·ɪ 'I'm running back again' ('I having turned back again, am running back again') L.

2b. '(continuously) backwards', optionally vocalizing classifier, no -ɪ suffix with non-repetitive non customary active imperfective, attested as preverb with one theme only, ɕe·yeʒɕ cɪʔd-(de-)le 'S speaks backwards', see cɪʔd-le 3. under le-, used nominally as C in ɕe·yeʒɕ ʔaw ʔuʒaʔ yɪɪh 'it's backwards for them, theirs is backwards' 68.91, 125A, and asyntactic in 68.92, 96, 115, 115, 127, 129A.

yeɣ<sup>3</sup> (in one instance of -le-yeɣ- > -le·ɣ-; perhaps related to yeɣ<sup>1</sup> and/or to yeɣ-ye·ɣ, basic meaning 'subdue, lower', and/or to be identified with yeɣ<sup>2</sup>, yeɣ<sup>4</sup>, and/or yeɣ<sup>5</sup>; occasionally difficult to distinguish as preverb from yeɣ<sup>2</sup> where classifier in verb is vocalized)

yeɣ (preverb, always with zero final) 1. 'downward' (i.e. motion, extension, or pressure generally straight downward from a point and/or to a point, limited or controlled, not free fall to ground or floor): giyahyeɣ yeɣ ʔeya: 'put it down under the water!' 11.90A, si'aʔɣ yeɣ si'tah̄ 'I put it (down) in my pocket' L, t'aʔɣ yeɣ sɛdɛtəʔ 'put it (down) in your pocket!' L, t'aʔɣ yeɣ ʔi·ditah̄iḥ 'he has his head down in his coat, collar' L, ca·ʔiyaʔ yeɣ li·tah̄ 'he had his head down in the food-box' 7.28A, ʔiḳyeɣ yeɣ sɛi'aʔ 'pile them (glasses) (down) one inside the other!' L, ʔawlaʔɣ yeɣ dɛsɛi'aʔ 'cover it with boards!' ('hang boards down over it!') L, gaḳyeɣ yeɣ sɛ·i 'he's dancing fancy' ('he's going downwards in a dance') L, ʔɣ·dɛɣ ʔaw yeɣ ʔɛi'ya·ʔ 'move them (one by one) downward along here!' 11.-86A, see further ɣɛ-dux 3., -da 2b., 3b., 0-i-te (37b.30, 60A), 0-i-tux (49.36A), 0-ɣi·ʔ

1., 1d., 1a<sup>?</sup> ya<sup>?</sup> dede<sup>?</sup>ih, -ke(?) lg. (2, 4),  
 0-i-3a<sup>?</sup> 1., 0-dl-i-3a<sup>?</sup> 1., -ci<sup>?</sup>--ca<sup>?</sup>, 0-cu<sup>?</sup>x  
 (27b.18A, 34.83, 85, 93, 45.5, 10L), 0-i-ca<sup>?</sup> (65.-  
 31, 39A, uncertain), -ci<sup>?</sup><sup>?</sup>, i-ci<sup>?</sup><sup>?</sup>, -sid, <sup>?</sup>i--  
 gdl-sid, 0-3a<sup>?</sup> (10.100, 102A), ke-3a<sup>?</sup>t(-g),  
 ke-gəp<sup>?</sup>, 0-i-kihd, d-i-ka<sup>?</sup>t (11.155, 158A), 0--  
 i-kawah<sup>?</sup>-, -x<sup>?</sup>ehd-, gl-ke-x<sup>?</sup>ehd-, <sup>?</sup>ulu<sup>?</sup> ya<sup>?</sup>  
 kudex<sup>?</sup>ehd, de-xi<sup>?</sup>- 2., -xut- (transitive), 0--  
 euhd-, i-qə<sup>?</sup>, d-ke-qahs (23.160A), ke-qa<sup>?</sup>  
 (23.59A), -qe<sup>?</sup>s, 0-i-3a<sup>?</sup> 1. (11.37A, 16.11M),  
 0-i-xehi, ke-wed- 1. (uncertain), gdl--edl-wa<sup>?</sup>i--  
 -wah<sup>?</sup> (reflexive), ke-wahs-g, -wus 1., 2., (11.-  
 87, 87, 88A), 4., ya<sup>?</sup> 0-wus- 2., 0-l-i-wa<sup>?</sup>,  
<sup>?</sup>ulu<sup>?</sup> ya<sup>?</sup> ku<sup>?</sup>dawa<sup>?</sup>, -le<sup>?</sup>g- 1b., o-las (40.-  
 11fnL), -le 25a., -<sup>?</sup>ya 6b., 32., ya<sup>?</sup> 0(-d)--  
 i-<sup>?</sup>ya, <sup>?</sup>uya<sup>?</sup> ya<sup>?</sup> ku<sup>?</sup>ya<sup>?</sup>g<sup>?</sup>, gl-<sup>?</sup>ya 1., 2.,  
 gdl-<sup>?</sup>ya 1., <sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>lib-<sup>?</sup>ya 2b., 0-i-ya<sup>?</sup> (51.31,  
 65.25, 25, 25, 25A), qa<sup>?</sup> ta<sup>?</sup> ya<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>iyi<sup>?</sup><sup>?</sup>ih,  
 0-<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup> 2c., 0-i-<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup> 2., dl-ke-<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup> 1b., <sup>?</sup>i--  
 i-<sup>?</sup>e--<sup>?</sup> 7. (uncertain), -<sup>?</sup>a 2., <sup>?</sup>i-<sup>?</sup>a 2.,  
<sup>?</sup>i-d-<sup>?</sup>a 1., 0-l-(i)-<sup>?</sup>a 3a., -<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup> 3., ya<sup>?</sup>  
 xedi<sup>?</sup>ah, de<sup>?</sup>ya<sup>?</sup> ya<sup>?</sup> xede<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup>h, <sup>?</sup>i-d-(<sup>?</sup>-)i-<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup>  
 2., ya<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>i-gdl-i-<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup>, with qe<sup>?</sup>-qe<sup>?</sup>- 'back,  
 again': ya<sup>?</sup> qe<sup>?</sup> 48.10L, qe<sup>?</sup>ya<sup>?</sup> 34.85, 40.11fnL,  
 with other preverbs (rare): ya<sup>?</sup><sup>?</sup> ya<sup>?</sup> dode<sup>?</sup>x<sup>?</sup>eh

'turn it (lamp wick) down!' A,  $y\dot{a}^{\cdot}y\ddot{e}$   $y\dot{e}\dot{x}$   $g\ddot{y}^{\cdot}$   $s\ddot{e}^{\cdot}a^{\cdot}i$ ,  $y\ddot{e}n\ddot{a}^{\cdot}y\ddot{e}$   $y\dot{e}\dot{x}$   $g\ddot{y}^{\cdot}s\ddot{e}^{\cdot}a^{\cdot}i$  'it (spilt liquid) ran down to the floor' L.

2. 'impaled':  $y\dot{e}\dot{x}$   $0-(i-)^{\cdot}a$  'S roasts O on spit' (cf.  $0-x\ddot{i}$  ld., and especially  $0-(i-)^{\cdot}a$  18g., 19.).

3. '(turning) over' assigned to  $y\dot{e}\dot{x}^3$  rather than to  $y\dot{e}\dot{x}^2$  'reversal of motion' because not requiring vocalization of classifier, see  $-x\ddot{u}i-$ ,  $y\dot{e}\dot{x}$   $0-^{\cdot}d\ddot{i}-x\ddot{u}i$ ,  $d-^{\cdot}y\ddot{a}$  lb.,  $0-^{\cdot}d\ddot{i}-(i-)^{\cdot}a$ .

4. 'inside-out' assigned to  $y\dot{e}\dot{x}^3$  rather than  $y\dot{e}\dot{x}^2$  'reversal of motion' because not requiring vocalization of classifier, see  $-x\ddot{u}i-$  (transitive),  $y\dot{e}\dot{x}$   $0-w\ddot{u}s-$  l.

$y\dot{e}\dot{x}d\ddot{e}q\ddot{e}h\ddot{x}q$  (postpositional phrase, used preverbially, preverb  $y\dot{e}\dot{x}$  'downward' compounded with  $-d\ddot{e}-q\ddot{e}h\ddot{x}-q$  'on bottom') see  $q\ddot{e}h\ddot{x}-$ ,  $0-y\dot{e}\dot{x}$  5c. below.

$y\dot{e}\dot{x}y\ddot{e}y\ddot{a}$  (noun, unclassified, preverb  $y\dot{e}\dot{x}$  'downward', perhaps originally postposition  $0-y\dot{e}\dot{x}$  'under', with zero reflexive  $\odot$  'under self' in irregular compound with  $y\ddot{a}$  'thing, one', cf.  $q\dots\dot{y}\ddot{e}y\ddot{a}\dots$  below) 'mattress' L, Rezanov Яхаяя 'Посредь Bett', Яхасульяха 'Намочить pflaster(?)' perhaps to be read  $y\dot{e}\dot{x}y\ddot{e}y\ddot{a}$   $^{\cdot}u^{\cdot}l\dots\dot{y}\ddot{a}\dots$ ,  $y\dot{e}\dot{x}y\ddot{e}$

ya'wahd 'for a mattress' 9.77A.

o-yəx (postposition, attested with zero, -d, -dəx, and -č finals) 1. 'under, beneath, underneath, below o'; with zero final, '(motion to) under o': 47c.25L, 65.55A, ?uyəx ?iqə?yilqah 'you'll light a fire under it' 65.45A, siyəx 'under me' L, ?əw-yəx əta? 'put it under that!' L, ?əw kətah-ti'leyəx λa'səi'e? 'hide it under that skin!' L, ?ini'sqyəx kəgəli'ʔah 'your nose is running' L, see also -ʔa' 23., qidga? kuyəx ʔah, kuyəx sah̄i 'he went under something (specific)' L, with indeterminate o: dəyəx sah̄i 'he went under something (non-specific)' L, see also dəyəx λa'ditah̄i, with neuter and active imperfectives '(at rest) under o', ?əwyəx ?i'tah̄i 'it's under it' L, see also dəyəx λa'ditah̄i, ?uyəx kə'dəwa?, ca'λa'-yəx dah 'it lives under a rock' L, see also ca'le-xquh below, with gl-class-mark for o: o--guleyəx 'under o (liquid)' 10.254, 11.90, 90, 29.42A, with qi'd-anatomical: ?uqi-dəyəx ʔədex<sup>w</sup>-dələə da'x 'when I jump under their feet' 34.7M, with l-anatomical(?); see ?u(lə)yəx kuyaʔi under (y)a, in non-verbal constructions: ʒahd-dəyəxəta' 'Milky Way' ('trail under snowshoes') L, kə'da'čyəx čiyuh 'cinamon bear' ('blackbear



65.43, 45A, with indeterminate o: ?u'd dəyəxd  
 'underneath (something) over there' L, dəyəxd  
 sətah̄ 'it's underneath (something)' L, with l-  
 anatomical: siləyəxd 'under my head' L, nomin-  
 alized with -d final: ?ewdəyəxd 'its underside  
 (of table)' L, siuhdyəxd 'the underside of my  
 knee' L, sila·?yəxd siya· iwehag 'my lower  
 eyelid (the underside of my eye) quivers' L, see  
 also -čəxəiyəxd below, with -dəx final 'move-  
 ment within area': ?əwyəxdəx xədi·?ah 'it (log,  
 line) extends under that' L, with -č final '(con-  
 tinuous or repeated) motion towards': 61.115A,  
 xəwa·legahyəxəč səietux̄i 'she's very promiscuous'  
 ('she clings to the underside of a dog-corpse') L,  
 with zero reflexive o in indirect reflexive con-  
 struction: yəxəčšəx̄ qəw dəce·q̄x̄ih 'he would  
 (cust) apparently wet his bed (urinate under him-  
 self)' 51.10A, see also yəxəya· above.

2. With figurative meanings, 'inferior to o,  
 oppressed by o', ?a?d ?iyəx̄ ?ədu?x̄iləh 'I sure  
 envy, admire you' L ('I consider myself very much  
 beneath you' L, see also o-yəx̄ de-?yah̄ 1. 'S  
 is annoyed with, sick of o' and gerundive o-yəx̄  
 ?isyah̄i.

2b. With d-thematic 'oral, noise', in figura-

X

tive meaning, see o-d-yeḡ de-ʔyaḡ 'S is annoyed with, sick of o's noise, talk', and gerundive o--d-yeḡ ʔisyahəḡ; with reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction, with ʔəḡ 'completely by, past, through': ʔaddəyeḡ ʔəḡ xskitehḡh 'I really let loose, let him have it, bawled him out' ('I put him through under my talk') L.

2c. With qī-d-anatomical, in figurative meaning, with -d final 'at rest', compounded as o of o-gaʔ 'like o': ʔaʔd ʔq-d siqi-dəyeḡ-dgaʔ ʔixəʔxleh '(I'm so mad at you) I'd very much like you here under my feet' L.

3. Compounded as o of o-gaʔ 'under o', 'enough (in extent, supply) for o': siyeḡegaʔ ʔidiyah ḡiḡ quʔxcəh 'I'll buy a bed big enough for under me' L, ḡəla-gyeḡegaʔ əiyah ʔuʔsileʔḡḡ 'I bought just enough food for (to last the) winter' L, d'id ḡəla-gyeḡegaʔ daʔ wəḡ ʔəḡi-k 'we (cust) make just enough for winter' 65.81A.

4. Nominalized with -əyaʔ, with gd-anatomical 'rump': Kugədəyeḡəyaʔ 'diapers' ('thing for under someone's buttocks') L, see yaʔ-əyaʔ, qe-ḡəyaʔ below.

5. Locativized with ḡe- 'area' as o: a. with -d final 'at rest': ʔuʔd ḡəyeḡd '(at

rest) in area down below, underneath' L, ʒəyəɣd  
ya· ya·liʔd '(at rest) in the back room of the  
lower storey, downstairs' L.

5b. As above, compounded with -u- 'there',  
demonstrative locative stem (see also 6b.) with  
-d final 'at rest': ʒəyəɣu·d ya· ʔuxɣ·ləyah  
'his lower teeth' ('the ones, his teeth, in lower  
area') L, ʒəyəɣu·d ya· ʔəw ʔuʔsəiʒaʔiɣh 'he  
included, hid an odd one in the pile to fill it  
out' ('he make it serve as an underneath one') M,  
compounded with -i-ʒa·d 'at rest in direction of':  
28.78A, ʒəyəɣu·iʒa·d (ya·) ʔuxɣ·ləyah 'his  
lower teeth' L, ʒəyəɣu·iʒa·d (ya·) ʔudekuhd  
'his lower lip' L.

5c. As 5a., compounded with (-da)-qehɣ-q  
'on bottom' (cf. yəɣdeqehɣq): ɣi·d ʒəyəɣde-  
qehɣqda·d '(at rest) near bottom (foot of mountain)  
down below way over there' L.

5d. As 5a., but treated as postpositional  
phrase, with indeterminate o: ʔu·d dəɣəyəɣd  
(same as ʔu·d ʒəyəɣd) '(at rest) in area down  
below, underneath' L, dəɣəyəɣd yəɣ ɣədəʔaʔi  
'lantern' (-i-instrumental deverbalization of 'it  
(ɣd-class, candle) is extended down at rest in  
lower area (socket)') L.

6. With *sa-l-* (*s-*thematic, *l-*classifier)  
as *o* (see also *o-d-l-yeṣ* 1b., 2b.) 'of series',  
*seṣyeṣ* 'nethermost, lowest position of a series':  
a. with zero final, see *seṣyeṣ* below; with *-d*  
final 'at rest': *seṣyeṣd ya'* 'the bottom, lowest  
one' L.

6b. As above, compounded with *-u'-* 'there',  
demonstrative locative stem (see also 5b.): with  
*-d* final 'at rest': *seṣyeṣu'd* 'way underneath  
the stuff' ('(at rest) in nethermost position  
there') M.

*ca'le'ṣquh* (noun, unclassified, < *ca'-le-yeṣ-quh*  
'pl. stay under rock') 'octopus', see *ca'le'ṣquh*,  
*ce'le'ṣquh* under *ca'*.

*q...ṣeya...* (noun, form uncertain) attested in Reza-  
nov only *Кexмѣ* 'Башманн Schuhe', to be read *qe'ṣ-*  
or *qe'yeṣ-* < *qa'yeṣ-* 'under us', or *qi'ṣ-*,  
*qi'yeṣ-* < *qi'-yeṣ-* 'under (one's own) feet'  
with zero reflexive *o* (cf. *yeṣeya'* above), nomin-  
alized with *ya?-aya?* (cf. *kuḡadeyeṣeya?* under  
*o-yeṣ* 4.), thus *qe'(ye)ṣeya?*, *qi'(ye)ṣeya?* or  
compounded with *ya'* 'thing' (cf. *yeṣeya'* above),  
thus *qe'(ye)ṣeya'*, *qi'(ye)ṣeya'*, 'thing under  
us', or 'thing under one's own feet, shoes'.

*seṣyeṣ* place-name, Kaliakh River S, Tebenkov

(1849) Kambex, Coast Pilot (1869) Kaliekh, Emmons Guth-le-uk-, Guth-luh-ku, Guthleuk, Guth-le-uk (quoted in BSdL 82-86, 336), other variants Gultheeth, Kul-thee-eth, Kulthieth; etymology either Eyak, see o-yaḡ 6. above, or Eskimo, cf. Yupik qat̪iaR 'the top, uppermost one', used in Eskimo place-names.

o-i-yaḡ- (postposition, with i-classifier, attested with -d and -deḡ finals), with only -čəḡ (see under -čəḡ 'wing') as o, in -čəḡəi-yaḡ(-) 'armpit, vulnerable spot under foreleg of game animals': with -d final 'at rest': ?učəḡəiyəḡd 'at its underarm' 27b.5, 7A, sičəḡəiyəḡd Kuḡu? 'the hair in my armpit' G (Harrington), nominalized: sičəḡəiyəḡd 'my armpit' L, with -deḡ final 'motion within': ?učəḡəiyəḡdeḡ 'through its underarm' 27b.10A, 63.9G.

o-d-i-yaḡ (postposition, with d-thematic, cf. di-yaḡ and i-classifier, cf. o-i-yaḡ } 1. at-  
 tested with zero, -d, -deḡ, -č, and -kah finals) a. '(moving) before, in front, ahead of (moving) o (in space)': with zero final: sičəiyəḡ əa'iḡh 'he's walking along in front of, before me' L, sičəiyəḡ gusaḡə'iḡh 'he's standing in front of me' N, ?əhdeiyəḡ dečəiKa?č'i 'it's

flying along ahead of her' 47c.39L, with -d final 'at rest in area, nominalization': sidəlyəxd 'in front of, ahead of me' L, sidəlyəxd yj·hjh 'the one (person) ahead of me' L, sidəlyəx ʔilex- ʔaʔɕ 'pl. walk ahead of me!' 3l.10L, ʔahnu·deh- yəx ʂəʔaʔɕi 'they went ahead of him' 3l.11L, with -dex final 'movement within area': ʔideh- yəxdəx qaʔ quʔwah 'it'll come up in front of you' 36.11A, with -ɕ final '(continuous, repeated) movement toward' and reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction: ʔəddehlyəxəɕ ʔəh ʔuʔdəhə- ʔəh3jh 'he (A) is calling to him (B) to (come around from behind and) go ahead of him (A)' L, with -kah final or as o of o-kah 'away from o': sidəlyəx(o)kah ʔa· 'get out of my way!' L.

1b. With sə-i- as o (s-thematic, i-classifier) 'of a series' (see also 2b, below and o=yəx 6.), səhdehlyəx 'foremost of a series (in space)'; Rezanov

zurückweichen' probably to be read səhdehlyəx gɣ·kəʔ 'stand foremost (of a series)!', with -d final 'at rest': səhdehlyəxd 'at the head of the line' L.

2. (attested with zero final only) a. 'before o (in time)': ki·xəhdehlyəx 'day before

yesterday' ('before last night') L, sidekyexlah  
 'next youngest (sibling) before me' L, ?idekyex-  
 lah 'your elder sibling (next youngest before  
 you)' L, qa'dekyex yj'hinu' 'our ancestors'  
 ('those (people) before us') L, ?el dekyex ya'-  
 x<sup>w</sup>ah 'last summer' ('the one, summer, before this')  
 69.5A, sidekyex ?u'da? sahijh 'he got there  
 before me' L, ?i'q'q' qa'a'q' sidekyex 'will  
 come upon you, before (they come upon) me' 16.29M;  
 with verbal clause as o with verb perhaps always  
 in inceptive perfective and with negative suffix  
 (cf. di'yeq): se'a'q'i[el]dekyex 'before they  
 went' 47.73M, ?ise'e-hadekyex sekxut'ijh 'shoot  
 him before he kills you!' M, ?u'c' xa'dih'c' qu?-  
 xijh, sesijhadekyex 'I'll go visit him, before  
 he dies' M, ?uleq' ?isek'qahijh, sesijhadekyex  
 'I saw him before he died' M (probably to be cor-  
 rected to sesijhadekyex, or perhaps ?essijh-  
 or sesijhadekyex).

2b. With se-i- (with s-thematic and i-classi-  
 fier) 'of series' (see also lb. above and o-yeq  
 6.), sekdekyex 'first of a series (in time)':  
 sekdekyex(e)lah 'eldest (of siblings)' L, 9.73A.

yax<sup>4</sup> (probably more than one stem, some or all of which are to be identified with yax<sup>2</sup>, yax<sup>3</sup>, yax<sup>5</sup>, and/or other stems suggested below; more than one basic meaning is present here, but none are clearly identifiable)

yax (preverb, always with zero final) 1. in yax (?i-)ie-ʔa 'S (sun) rises', perhaps unique reduced form of yaʔx 'up', or perhaps yax-progressive, especially 'reversal of motion, return' (yax<sup>2</sup>).

2. Attested only in yax i-xeʔx 'S (it, night) becomes completely dark', perhaps to be identified with yax 'downward'.

3. Attested only in yax xdl-qa (transitive) 'S fries O', yax ʔaxaʔskiqaʔi 'pancake' L, ʔudayaʔx yax kuxaxa-daqaʔg 'frying-pan, skillet' L, perhaps unique reduced form of yaʔx 'consumption, destruction', or to be identified with yax 'downward', or '(turning) over'.

4. Attested only in yax O-kahʔ 'S (dog) barks at O') apparently meaning same as O-kahʔ, perhaps 'downward'.

5. Attested only in o-ʔ yax de-ʔyax 'S longs to (go to) o' (de-ʔyax 2.), perhaps yax--progressive, especially, sometimes, but not always, 'reversal of motion', and/or 'downward' (cf. de--

?yahs 1.).

6. Attested only in ?ikda·x̄ yəx̄ ca·ʔi  
'two boxes together' L (verified, unable to ety-  
mologize; ?ikda·x̄ '(motion in area) near each  
other').

yəxeʔx̄ (postpositional phrase, used preverbially,  
preverb yəx̄ 'downward'? (from Chugach Range in  
north?), compounded with -ʔeʔ-x̄ '(movement with-  
in empty) place of o', cf. yəx̄ʔikča·- x̄əyəxeʔx̄  
below, L rejects proposed \*yəxeʔd) 'northwest-  
ward, on north-south axis'?; yəxeʔx̄ 'west' A,  
yəxeʔx̄ Kury 'southeasterly wind' LMS, Minnie  
and/or Scar Stevens (Austerlitz), 'southwesterly  
wind' A, G (Li), yəxeʔx̄ da· qaʔqeh 'we'll boat  
out Orca inlet' (southwestward) L, xa· yəxeʔx̄  
ləxu·e 'north(?) wind is blowing' L, (qahs)  
yəxeʔx̄ ?idəəəʔaʔi 'they (clouds) are moving  
northwest?, southeast?' L, yəxeʔx̄ dəluʔqaʔd  
place-name, canoe passage in Hawkins Island (on  
east-west axis, southwest of Cordova, 'nominali-  
zation of 'interstices of passage through indeter-  
minate o in ? direction') L.

yəx̄ʔikča·- (postpositional phrase, used adverbially,  
yəx̄, as above, compounded with -ʔeʔ-i-ča·- 'in  
direction of (empty) place of o') 'northwest':

with -č final, 'continuous motion toward',  
'north(west-)ward' (from Yakutat toward Cordova)  
32.26, 26A, with -čahd final, 'continuous move-  
ment from, from the northwest' (from Katalla to  
Yakutat) 68.109A.

ɣayɣeʔɣ (postpositional phrase, perhaps used pre-  
verbially, as yeɣeʔɣ above, but with o-yeɣ  
postposition with ɣe- 'area' as o) 'northwest?':  
ɣeyɣeʔɣ "same as yeɣeʔɣ" L; L rejects proposed  
\*siyeɣeʔɣ, \*siyeɣeʔd.

yeṣ<sup>5</sup> (perhaps to be identified with yeṣ<sup>2</sup>, yeṣ<sup>3</sup>, and/or yeṣ<sup>4</sup>, basic meaning perhaps 'down off', cf. qid)

yeṣ (preverb, always with zero final, with all mode--  
aspects and repetitives and customaries) 'apart,  
in two', see O-ḥ-ceṣ, O-ṣaʔ, ḥ-ṣaʔ, O-ḥiḥ,  
O-ʔ-(d-)ḥiḥ, -kug, O-xihs, O-ḥ-xihs, -quʔḥ,  
O-d-qeḥ l., O-ṣaʔ-ḥ-g.

ye'z-ya'z (variation irregular, of two types, one in which M regularly has ye'z, L ya'z, another in which L regularly alternates; probably to be analyzed ye'--ya'-z, with ya' perhaps to be identified with ya'<sup>4</sup>, see especially o-ya' 2. thereunder, and/or ye' perhaps to be analyzed y-e', see y-anatomical and 'e'-; see also ya'z, ya'<sup>2</sup>)

o-ye'z--ya'z (postposition, but perhaps originally preverb) 1. 'all o long', with unique but regular type of alternation and construction, and with only four forms as o, xex' 'night', xela'g 'winter', gah-z 'day' apparently with an -z suffix or postposition, normally zd-class but here declassified, and xah-z 'summer', with same -z suffix or postposition, -ye'z alternant used with the diurnal terms, -ya'z with seasonal; the resulting phrases are probably used adverbially: Rezanov Kaxz-exz 'Дань Tag' gahxye'z 'all day long' L, gahxye'z 'ixdawe'cx' 'I (cust) weave all day long' L, gahxye'z yika'djh 'he was sick all day' L, gahxye'z 'uxa'z qe'sile'z 'I watched him all day' L, gahxye'z secubdjh 'he's sleeping all day long' L, xexye'z (not \*xexxye'z, \*xexxya'z, \*xexya'z) 'all night long' L, 50.14, 65.44A, xexye'z qedelexezgjh

'he snores all night long' L, ʔəʔyeʔʔ ʔuxaʔʔ  
qeʔsiheʔʔ 'I watched him all night' L, ʔəʔyeʔʔ  
sacubdiʔh 'he's sleeping all night long' L, xahʔ-  
yaʔʔ yikaʔdʔh 'he was sick all summer' L, ʔa-  
laʔgyaʔʔ yikaʔdʔh 'he was sick all winter' L.

2. 'during'?, in ʔedʔaʔdyeʔʔ M (L rejects),  
ʔedʔaʔdyaʔʔ 'suddenly' L, same meaning as ʔed-  
ʔaʔd alone, < ʔed-ʔaʔ-d '(at rest) by, with  
self' (< 'spontaneously'?). If L's, and not M's  
form is historically correct, perhaps yaʔʔ is  
to be identified with preverb yaʔʔ 'up'.

ya·ɣ̣¹ (perhaps to be identified with ya·ɣ̣² and/or ya·ɣ̣³, and/or related to ya²⁴, either < o-y-ɣ̣ 'in contact with, my means of o's hand' with deleted reflexive o, or similarly o-ya²-ɣ̣ '(movement with)in o with broad opening at top' with -ɣ̣ final thematized and expanded stem)

o-ya·ɣ̣ (postposition, always with zero (-ɣ̣ ?) final; usually requiring shift of zero to k-, de- to kə-- classifier in verb, cf. o-ɣ̣; attested with nouns, pronouns, deverbalizations and verbal clauses as o; verbal clause as o frequently in customary, though not necessarily customary in meaning) 'avoiding, preventing, warding off o; lest ...' 1. with no shift of classifier in main clause (perhaps incorrect): ?i= kɪqəɣ̣ya·ɣ̣ diK xə²kɪ Kuxa·cɪh 'lest he get fat he's not eating much' L, siya·ɣ̣ ?u·ʃabɪ səhɪh 'he left there, avoiding me' L.

2. Attested without main verb or with main verb already with kə-classifier: subordinated verb customary: ?əw qəməɣ̣ʃide²e² ?a·kya·ɣ̣ 'lest he walk into a hole in the ice' L, dəʃe·kya·ɣ̣ 'lest he hunger' L, yeɣ̣ ?əkdɪ·ʃkya·ɣ̣ 'lest it sink' L, xuli·gu·kkya·ɣ̣ 'so he won't punch me' L, xu·ʃe·kya·ɣ̣ ?uya·ɣ̣ ?əla·xəhɪ²ehɪ 'I stole away from him lest he kill me' A; subordinated verb not customary: kɪ·ɣ̣ya·ɣ̣ 'so she won't cry, lest she cry' L, da·

yaʔ λaˈdequhyaːʔ 'lest we run short of food' L,  
 qeʔ kuxdalahyaːʔ 'so I won't drink anymore' L,  
 kudalahyaːʔ 'lest there be drinking' L, dalesijˈqʰg-  
 yaːʔ ʔaʔleː 'fix it from squeaking!' L; with de-  
 verbalizations or pronouns as o: lidyaːʔ 'to pre-  
 vent dampness' L, ʔuyaːʔ ʔeduʔxskilahk 'I saved  
 myself from it' L, siyaːʔ ʔeˈlaːskiʔehkijh 'he hid  
 from me' L, yaʔʔuː siyaːʔ quʔgukedah 'don't be  
 scared off by me' L, siyaːʔ guskidahk 'it ran  
 away from me, scared' L, siyaːʔ seledaːk 'it  
 (duck) is swimming away from me, scared' L, ʔuyaːʔ  
 sekwik 'dodge it!' LM, ʔuyaːʔ xskiwik 'I  
 dodged it' MA.

3. With main verb showing shift of classifier:

kuːyyaːʔ sikqehk 'I boated to a place protected  
 from the wind' L, ʔuyaːʔ sikahkijh 'I avoided (went  
 avoiding) him' L, siyaːʔ seahkijh 'he avoided me'  
 L, ʔuyaːʔ seijˈʔijh 'avoid him!' L, ʔilyaːʔ yeʔ  
 keʔaʔʕyinaː 'they're (going about) avoiding each  
 other' L.

ya'ɣ<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with ya'ɣ<sup>1</sup> and/or  
ya'ɣ<sup>3</sup>)

ya'ɣ (preverb, always with zero (-ɣ ?) final) 1.

'total destruction, consumption': a. requiring ɣ--  
thematic in verb (perhaps 'plural actions' and/or  
resegmentation, ya'ɣ ... > ya'ɣ-... > ya'ɣ  
ɣ-...): see O-ɣ-siyu- 'S kills pl. O', O-ɣ-ɕu?  
'S steals O', ya'ɣ qu<sup>?</sup>ɣi'xiceɣ 'I'll cut it to  
bits' L, ya'ɣ qu<sup>?</sup>ɣi'xxihs 'I'll rip it to shreds'  
L, ya'ɣ ɣasi<sup>?</sup>əɣɣ 'I speared them all' L.

1b. With themes with ɣdl-thematic attested  
as such without ya'ɣ, but perhaps originally with  
d- or dl-thematic 'fire' combined with ɣ-thematic  
arising from resegmentation: see ɣdl-suh 'S (fire)  
goes out' (and causative), O-ɣdl-i-xu<sup>?</sup>ɣ 'S blows  
O (fire) out', ɣdl-ɣa 'S burns up' (and causative),  
here also yeɣ ɣdl-ɣa, perhaps reduced, see  
yeɣ 3. (yeɣ<sup>4</sup>).

1c. With verb with ɣ-thematic well-established  
without ya'ɣ: see O-ɣ-a 'S eats O'.

1d. With verb without ɣ-thematic: ya'ɣ O--  
le<sup>?</sup>g- 'S devours, eats O all up', see O-le<sup>?</sup>g- 2.;  
ya'ɣ ɕex<sup>?</sup>ina<sup>?</sup>ɕgɣ 'I'm licking it up' 15.15M.

2. See also ya'ɣ 1<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>, 2<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> under ya'ɣ<sup>3</sup>.

ya'ɣ<sup>3</sup> (miscellaneous and uncertain in origin and identification, perhaps all to be analyzed ya'-ɣ. with ya' as o of o-ɣ 'by means of, in contact with o', and/or o-y-ɣ 'by means of, in contact with o's hand' with deleted reflexive o)

ya'ɣ 1. (preverb) a. (probably o-y-ɣ with deleted reflexive o, requiring vocalized ɬe-classifier) see ya'ɣ 0-ɬe-ɬe 'S beats up O badly', ya'ɣ 0-ɬe--kɪhd 'S swipes O'.

1b. (perhaps ya'-ɣ here 'something coming into existence', see o-ɣ 1e.) 'dirty, messed-up': ɕi'ʔɬdug ya'ɣ sɛɪe'ɪ 'goodness, it (my new blanket) got all messed up with something' L.

1c. (perhaps ya'-ɣ ere 'aware of something, favor', see o-ɣ 1c.) 'beholden'?: o--ɣa' ya'ɣ 'ed-'ɬe-le(?) 'S appreciates o's favor, is beholden to o'.

2. Origin, classification, and meaning unknown: a. dəɣu'ya'ɣ 'right, true, certain', see də-ɣu' 2. under ɣu'<sup>2</sup>.

2b. ya'ɣ-ɬe-qa'ɣ- 'upside-down', see under qa'ɣ-qa'ɣ-qa', o-ɣ.

yaʔɿ (perhaps to be analyzed yaʔ-ɿ, identified with yaʔ<sup>4</sup> 'in vessel with broad opening at top, concave topographical feature', with -ɿ final 'movement within area', or with yaʔ<sup>1</sup>, subentry yaʔ 2., 'movement along vertical axis'; see also yaɿ )

yaʔɿ 1. (preverb, always with zero (-xʔ) final)

'up, upwards' (i.e. 'straight up, obliquely up, up and away' or 'describing trajectory of projectile', or '(repeatedly) up (and down)'): see -da 3c., O-i-taʔɿ, O-tux, d-de-tux, O-(i-)ta 1., 1-ta, ʔed-y-de(-le)-ta, yaʔɿ ʔiʔitaʔɿ, O-tiʔ(-i)--teʔ(-i), O-i-tiʔ--teʔ, O-gdl-le-tiʔ, O-i-tux, le-tux, O-d-i-teʔ, O-i-ʔi. 2b., -leʔ) 4., O-i-cjhd, yaʔɿ ʔedecjhd, O-deʔ, -sid, ʔdl-sid, O-ʒaʔ, O-i-ʒaʔ, -ʒah(-i), yaʔɿ deʔid kuʔeh, O-i-suʔ, O-kih 2., d-i-kaʔ, i-kaʔ, i-xiʔ--xuʔ--xeʔ 1., -xui--x<sup>w</sup>ei--xei (transitive), O-eeʒ, O-i-eeʒ 1., eeʒ, yaʔɿ deʔeeʒg, d-ie-qaht, O-qa (qa<sup>1</sup>), O-ʔahd 1., O-i-ʔahd 1., O-i-ʔeʔ, O-ʔe, O-(i-)wus--wes, -leʔg--leʔg<sup>w</sup> 1a., O-i-uʔg--ug 1a., 2a. (leʔg-), O-lat, yaʔɿ ku-lɿ-le, yaʔ ʔd-le, ʔ-ʔya, ʔu-teʔde yaʔɿ kudaʔyaʔ (ʔya), ʔed-ʔ-gdl-le-yaʔ, O-ʔeʔ 2b., O-ʔeʔ 1b., le-ʔeʔ 2., ʔi-i-ʔe--ʔa 11., O-(i)ʔa 7., le-ʔa 1., ʔi-ʔa 1.,

ʔi-d-ʔa 1., 3., ʔi-d-(ʔ-)i-ʔa' 1., 0-i-(y)a ;  
 in certain cases, directly preceding verb theme  
 referring to extension which begins with ɣd--  
 class-mark or -thematic, there is some confusion  
 between yaʔɣ and yaʔ 2. 'vertical, to a verti-  
 cal state of rest', see ɣdl-sid, yaʔ d-ʔa'; in  
 combination with other preverbs, apparently always  
 preceding, except, sometimes, ɣeʔ-ɣe'-: with qid  
 'pointing, aiming': yaʔɣ qid 'pointing, aimed  
 up', see -sid, passive), -ʔa' 6b., with qaʔ  
 'up out': yaʔɣ qaʔ 'up', see -da 9.(2),  
 -ceʔ--ciʔ (transitive), with ɣuʔ 'right, straight,  
 complete': yaʔɣ ɣuʔ sahi- personal name ('grew  
 right up straight', analysis uncertain, see under  
 a<sup>1</sup>), with yaʔ 'reversal of motion': yaʔɣ yaʔ  
 xdataʔ 'I keep lifting it up and setting it down'  
 L, with ɣeʔ-ɣe'- 'back, again, some more': yaʔɣ  
 ɣeʔ, see 0-(i-)ta, 0-dəʔ, yaʔɣ 0-dl-i-ɣaʔʔ,  
 ɣeʔ.yaʔɣ, see 0-(i-)ta (34.70M), 0-dəʔ, d-i-  
 Kaʔʔ (47c.41L), 0-i-ɣabd 1.

2. (noun, uncertain) 'upper part': in clause  
 lacking verb, 23.115A.

Хочу попросить (ask) 'I want to ask' 'to  
ask, request' ʔʔʔ [ʔʔ] 'ask' 'ask'  
'ask'

ʔyaʔɿ

0-ʔ-ɿ-ʔyaʔɿ 'S asks for, wants O': Rezanov УХЛИ-  
 яха (with second y written over a) 'Прому ich  
 bitte' ʔew ʔuʔxɿyaʔɿ..., ʔew ʔaʔxɿyaʔɿ...,  
 ʔew ʔuʔxɿyaʔɿ 'I want it, I'm asking for it'  
 L, ʔiʔɿyaʔɿ 'he (e.g. boss) wants you, is ask-  
 ing for you' L, Rezanov Катяныхъ 'Промь bitten  
 (Imperat.)' qaʔɿyaʔɿ, ʔew qaʔɿyaʔɿɿh, ʔew  
 ʔuʔqaʔɿyaʔɿɿh 'he'll ask for it' L, with 0-ɿ  
 'in contact with 0': yaʔɿuʔ ʔux ʔuʔyɿɿyaʔɿ-  
 ɿh 'don't ask him for anything' L, ʔiɿ ʔaʔxɿ-  
 yaʔɿ 'I want it from you, I'm asking you for it'  
 L, ʔew ʔux ʔaʔɿyaʔɿɿh 'tell him to give it to  
 you!, ask him for it!' L, Rezanov Агрокатыныхъ  
 'Просьь bitten', ʔew (ʔux) ʔuʔaʔɿyaʔɿ 'ask  
 (him) for it'; passive: ʔuʔaʔɿyaʔɿɿ 'it's been  
 asked for' L.

kuʔwaʔyaʔɿ (uncertain, gerundive of preceding with  
 ku-indefinite 0) 'asking for something', possible  
 reading of Rezanov Яхюхавоныхъ 'He просьь bitte  
 nicht!', perhaps yaʔɿuʔ ʔuʔwaʔyaʔɿ 'no asking  
 for anything!', lack of ɿ-classifier otherwise  
 inexplicable, L rejecting all themes with zero  
 classifier.

0-ʔ-d-ɿ-ʔyaʔɿ (with d-thematic, perhaps 'oral,

noise') 'S begs persistently for O', with o-ɣ  
as above: siɣ kuʔdeɣyaʔɣɣh 'he's begging,  
pestering me for something' L.

yaq8 (M also siyaq, 8eq, siyaq, rejected by L and A)  
 O-i-yaq8-g (with -g-repetitive thematized) 'S pries  
 O (bivalve) open': ?ekyaq8g 'open it (clam, by  
 prying, with one shell to open a new one, or with  
 knife)!' LMA, qu?xkyaq8g 'I'll pry it (clam)  
 open' L, xkyaq8g 'I'm prying it (clam) open' A,  
 kuxkyaq8g 'I'm prying something (clam) open' L,  
 sikyaq8g? 'I opened a clam' L, diK ?exiye.q8k8  
 'I never (cust) open clams' L, with d-class-mark  
 for O ('mussel'): qu?di.xkyaq8g 'I'll pry it  
 (mussel) open' L, da. dekiye.q8gK 'we (cust)  
 pry them (mussels) open' LM, detransitivized with  
 indeterminate O (referring to bivalve-opening as  
 activity, attested only with d-class-mark for O,  
 mainly from M, L tends to reject): ?id888kyaq8g?  
 'he's opening mussels' LM (L later rejects), la.3,  
 lb.1M, ?iqe?dekiyeq8g?h 'he'll open mussels' M  
 (L rejects), qi?da? ?idiskiyaq8g?da.d 'at the  
 place to which he had come as he was going along  
 opening mussels' ('at the place to which he had  
 mussel-opened') lb.2M, o-?8.8 ku?di88kiyaq8g?  
 'he came upon o as he was going along opening  
 mussels' la.4M (S ku-indefinite, gloss to be  
 corrected to 'someone (as he) mussel-opened  
 (came) upon o'); passive: di88kiyaq8g? 'it

(mussel) has been pried open' LM.

O-yeq̄š-g 'S pries O (bivalve) open' (uncertain, meaning not distinguished from that of preceding):  
siyeq̄šḡ 'I opened it (clam)' L (uncertain, meaning in any case the same as that of siyeq̄šḡ).

O-š-siyeq̄--šeq̄-siyeq̄ 'S pries O (bivalve) open'  
(from M only, rejected with conviction by L and A, clearly not authentic, perhaps partly influenced by siyeq̄-siyaʔq̄-saʔq̄): ʔəššiyeq̄, ʔəšsiyeq̄ 'I'm opening clams' M (L rejects, corrects to kuxšiyeq̄šḡ),  
kuxšeq̄j̄h 'he's opening clams' M, kuxʔxššiyeq̄  
'I'll open clams' M, kuxššeq̄š 'I opened a clam'  
M, repetitive: kuxše·q̄ḡk̄j̄h 'he (cust) opens clams'  
M.

O-l̄d-(š-)yeq̄š-g (with l̄d-anatomical 'eye' and  
-g-repetitive thematized; non-reflexive with š--  
classifier, reflexive with še-classifier from M,  
de-classifier from L, latter implying underlying  
zero-classifier in non-reflexive) 'S rubs O's  
eyes': ʔiqeʔləxed̄i·xššiyeq̄šḡ 'I'll rub your eyes'  
M̄; reflexive: ʔedləxed̄ed̄eyeq̄šḡ 'he's rubbing  
his(own) eyes' L, da· ʔedləxed̄ešeyeq̄·q̄šḡk̄ M,  
da· ʔedləxed̄ed̄eyeq̄·q̄šḡk̄ 'we (cust) rub our eyes'  
L.

yaʔʒekih (partly unanalyzable, with -kih 'diminutive',  
 yaʔʒ- perhaps < o-yaʔ-ʒ '(movement with)in o (with  
 broad opening at top)' with zero o, or preverb yaʔʒ  
 'up', or perhaps o-yaʔ 'in o (with broad opening at  
 top)', i.e. 'vessel', or 'body of water' with zero o,  
 and ʔəx 'boat')

yaʔʒekih (noun, unclassified) 'large canoe, war  
 canoe, umiak' L, Rezanov Ягаке 'Бамдара Baidare',  
 Galushia Nelson yaʔxéqí' or yaʔ<sup>n</sup>xéqí' 'sealskin  
 umiak (for war)' BSDL 550, Rezanov Ягакекучки  
 'Бамдарка kleine Baidare' yaʔʒekihkuʂgkih 'small  
 umiak'.

ye'n (loan from Tlingit yén 'sea cucumber')

ye'n (noun, unclassified) 'sea cucumber' M,

ye'n'a'luw 'big sea cucumber' LM.

*Yakutat*

ye·itəxi· (loan from Tlingit (S) yeitəxi, (Sampson Harry) yeitəxi 'onions') *with word for 'onion' - central Tlingit (Sakaloff)*

ye·itəxi (noun, lɣ-class) 'onions' LM, ye·itəxi·-  
leɣa'luw 'big onions' LM; "when onions first  
came to Alaganik trading post no one wanted them,  
kids would chase each other around with them say-  
ing leɣaieɕəh 'stink-berry', and that was the  
name first used for onions, until later the Tlingit  
ye·itəxi· took its place" L.

*Epiphysa* *subsp.*  
*Subsp.*

yi'nwa' (loan from Tlingit (Sampson Harry) yanwa 'navy')

yi'nwa' (noun, unclassified) 'sailor, shore patrol-  
 man' L, yi'nwa·yu' qa' ləixax'wginu' 'sailors,  
 shore patrol, coast guard club us over the head'  
 L.

yəḫuh (unanalyzable, segmentable, yə-ḫuh, yəḫ-uh,  
or yə-ḫ-uh, cf. yaʔḫu·)

yəḫuh (exclamation, attested also with -uh, suf-  
fix as with imperatives) 'don't!, mustn't!, stop!,  
it's wrong!, tabu!, forbidden!, dangerous!, bad  
luck!', urgent prohibition or injunction to desist,  
lest misfortune result L, ʔaʔq quʔliʔah,  
yəḫuh 'you'll ruin it, leave it alone!' L, yə=  
ḫuhuh (as preceding) L, 'don't ask for trouble  
(don't say that!)' 28.3A.

yu·xga· (loan from Russian *юбка*, probably through  
 Chugach Eskimo *yuupkaaŋ* 'skirt', not used in Yaku-  
 tat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)

yu·xga· (noun, unclassified) 'skirt' LM, yu·xga·=  
 luw 'big skirt' LM, laʔq̄ ʔi·ciŋg yu·xga·  
 'skirt of thin material' M, ʔaw yu·xga· ʔuyeq̄  
 ʔiɛi·kuɟg 'the (inside of the) skirt is small'  
 L.

'He rudere nicht!' yaʔʃuʔ ʧəkusaʒg...  
'no paddling!', Яхохъ-лехемне 'He смейся  
[lache (spotte) nicht:]' yaʔʃuʔ ʧəliʔxiʔniʔ  
'no laughing!', Яхохъ-аясуэхъ 'Неплыви schwim=  
me nicht!' yaʔʃuʔ ʧah ye[ʧ ʔilweʔʧ 'no swim=  
ming!', Яхохъ-ажанне 'Не держись prügle dich  
nicht!' yaʔʃuʔ ʧah ʧaʔniʔ 'no fighting!',  
Яхохъмавохъ 'Не проси bitte nicht!' perhaps  
yaʔʃuʔ ʧəkʉʔwaʔyaʔʧ 'no asking for anything!',  
Яхульхнехосъ 'Не бося fürchte nicht!' yaʔʃuʔ  
ləʒisxʷaʔs 'no being scared!'.  
.

yaʔʁu· ʔiya·ʁ qaʔixuʔiḥ 'don't let him shoot  
me' ('let him not shoot me with your permission')  
L, yaʔʁu· (ʔiya·ʁ) ʔiqeʔixuʔ 'don't let him  
shoot' L, yaʔʁu· kuʁiyah ʔilaʔʁ quʔdi·iyiḥiḥ  
'let him not anger you' L, with preceding ʔaleʁ-  
gahʁ or suffixed -ʁgahʁ 'would that, I hope  
that': yaʔʁu·ʁgahʁ 'I hope not' L, ʔaleʁgahʁ  
yaʔʁu· qaʔquʔʁ 'I hope it doesn't break' L,  
ʔaleʁgahʁ yaʔʁu· qa· quʔdeʁedihih 'I hope  
he doesn't understand us' L, yaʔʁu·ʁgahʁ qaʔ-  
siḥiḥ 'I hope he doesn't die' L, yaʔʁu·ʁgahʁ  
ʁa·ʔd kuʁiyah qaʔieʔ 'I hope it's not nasty  
weather' L, with optative clause (almost certainly  
incorrect): yaʔʁu·ʁgahʁ ʔiʁiqeʔʔg 'I hope it  
doesn't ferment' M; with ʔaʔd 'very much': ʔaʔd  
yaʔʁu· 'never!', by no means (let that happen)!'  
M, ʔaʔd yaʔʁu· ʔew ʔuʁ qiʔyixiḥiḥ 'by all  
means, whatever you do, don't tell her that!'  
49.129A; with gerundive, attested mainly in Reza-  
nov, mostly not verified by modern informants,  
and usually with -xʁ-a-, -xʁ-- , -xʁ-a- be-  
tween yaʔʁu· and verb, probably representing  
qah-qe- as in cautionary negative inceptive im-  
peratives: ʁxoxʁ-aretyxʁ 'He ʁxʁʁ speie nicht!'  
yaʔʁu· qah detux 'no spitting!', ʁxoxʁ-ʁoxoxʁe

'He мѹчь quāle nicht!' yaʔʒu· quʔyišeh 'don't  
 kill it' (or yaʔʒu· quʔwešeh 'let it not kill  
 it' ?), Яхокзюенке 'He ѡжди fahre nicht' yaʔ-  
 ʒu· quʔyiqeh 'don't go (by boat)', Яхосита-  
 вакуетту 'He дожидаяся warte nicht!' yaʔʒu·  
 sidawa· quʔyituh 'don't wait for me', Яхокз-  
 уедута 'He спи schafe nicht!' yaʔʒu· quʔyicuʔd  
 'don't sleep', Яхокзюененгъ 'He плачь weine  
 nicht!' yaʔʒu· quʔyikj·ʒ 'don't weep', Яху-  
 танкотитакъ 'He стучи klopfe nicht' yaʔʒu· ...  
 quʔdi·... 'don't ...' (preverb and stem not iden-  
 tified, with d-thematic 'oral, noise' or class-  
 mark for 0, perhaps 'door, board, wood'), with  
 first person singular S: yaʔʒu· ʔadquʔxdešeh  
 'let me not kill myself' (a drunk said) L, yaʔ-  
 ʒu· Kušiyah ~~ʔilaʔʒ quʔdi·xiyah~~ ʔilaʔʒ quʔ-  
 di·xiyah 'let me not anger you' L, with o-ya·ʔ  
 'with o's permission': yaʔʒu· ʔiya·ʔ quʔleʒi·x-  
 ʒeh 'don't let me get drunk' L, with first per-  
 son plural S: yaʔʒu· teʔyaʔ da· quʔʒi·wah  
 'let's not eat fish' L, yaʔʒu· ʔulah da·  
 ʔe·yaʒ ʔedqe·libiʔyah 'let's not think about  
 it any more' L, with third person S: 18.71, 80L,  
 20.68, 68, 25.159, 164A (customary), yaʔʒu·  
 ʔiʒaʔ qaʔkij·ʒih 'don't let him cry "on" you' L,

yaʔxu· (unanalyzable, segmentable yaʔx-u·, yaʔ-xu·, yaʔ-x-u·, cf. yaʔxuh; L rejects proposed \*yaʔxəw, \*yaʔxuh)

yaʔxu· (exclamation) 'no!, don't!, don't do that!, let not ...!, let it not happen!, not to', general prohibitive: independent: 17.9M, 21b.2A, 34b.47, 48.17L, yaʔxu· ʔuʔ deəliʔ·ʔih 'tell him not to, tell him "don't"' L, Rezanov Якоенатяре 'Не наклоняйся bücke dich nicht' perhaps to be read yaʔxu, yəna·ʔd ʔəlte· 'don't!, set it (sg. animate) down on floor!' (but not 'don't set ...'); regularly with inceptive imperfective: with second person S (listed for textual occurrences and forms in Rezanov, not other elicitation) 'don't ...': 1b.21M, 5.3L, 9.159, 161, 10.7, 232, 11.53, 163A, 13.4, 5L, 17.6M, 24.31A, 39.2, 48.3L, 49.127, 51.85A, 52.34, 58.2L, 60.9, 61.14, 29, 35A, Rezanov Якошмактакотыле 'Не лжи lüge nicht!' yaʔxu· ʔiʔgudəh quʔdi·leh 'don't lie', Якохашмокле 'Не трогай 'rühr' (mich?) nicht an!' yaʔxu· ...ʔ quʔyileʔg 'don't touch ...', Якохуиляхуа 'Не стреляй schiesse nicht!' yaʔxu· quʔyikxut 'don't shoot it', Якоху-элье 'Не мажь schmiere nicht!' yaʔxu· quʔyikʔeʔ 'don't grease it', Якохуаше

?i·-?i-yi-i-·(-zero) (perhaps related to -i·--i-(-zero) with laḡ- second person plural pronoun)

?i· (independent personal pronoun) 'you' (second person singular) LM, Rezanov И 'Ты du', ИК 'Ero, emy ihm, ihr', ИК Ея, ея ihm, sie', Wrangell И 'du', Rezanov Кзы 'Здравствуй guten Tag, ein Gruss', Furuhjelm Ishu 'thou', Galushia Nelson icu 'is it you? (greeting)' BSdL 554 ?i·ḡuw, ?i·ḡuh 'hello' ('is it you?') LM, ?i· da·ḡ xu· 'you and I' M, emphasizing S: 32.22A, 34.10, 15M, 18, 24, 29, 37, 41, 44L, 49, 54, 63M, 50.6, 33A, 53.31L, 61.11A, 71.20LM, yeḡ ?i· ?idagaḡḡ 'you re dancing around' L, emphasizing S in imperative clause: 10.253A, 19.-26, 53.17L, emphasizing o of postposition: 16.27, 27, 46.14M, 51.24A, Rezanov Иккк-аае 'Твоѡ dein' ?i· ?iyaḡ qeḡal... 'this is yours', xu· siyaḡ Kuzu·, ?i· ?iyaḡ Kusiyah 'mine's good, yours is no good' L, ?i· ?iyaḡ saḡeḡi 'it became yours' L, Galushia Nelson iḡ ya' 'your' BSdL 557, 557, emphasizing possessive pronoun: 61.11A, Galushia Nelson iḡ 'your' BSdL 557, 557, 557, in other constructions: ?i· qeḡaw 'you're the one' 50.6A, 'it's up to you' 57.12G, diḡdeḡi· ?ḡ·dgaḡ ?ḡ·d yaḡ quḡxdah 'as long as you('re) here I'll stay here' L,

da·čahdduw ?i· ?q·d 'whence (are) you here?'  
 21b.62A, ka·xə?i· 'where are you?' M, du·da=  
 ?i· 'who are you?' M, with enclitic -gih, -gi--  
 deg- 'too, also': ?i·gih 'you too' L, ?i·gidəg  
 ?iqe?xəe· 'I'll kill you too' 55.27L, ?ew xa·?d  
 ?i?q·? qa?xut, qi?ya·da·x, ?i·gidig 'the world  
 will turn on (against) you, some day, you too' 72.-  
 19L, ?i·gidugə, ?i·gidug 'you too?' L, ?i·-  
 gišuh ?ewa· kuqu?xi·yah 'will you too eat any?'  
 41.7L, with proclitic da- 'ipse': da?i·gidəg  
 'you yourself too' 16.25M, da?i·šuh ?q·da? qe?  
 sdiyah? 'is it actually you come back?' 25.104A,  
 da?i· 'you yourself' M, 61.11A, da?i· ?edč  
 (qe?) ?i·kə?q·? 'look at yourself (again)!' M,  
 ?i· kuqu·dah kušəg 'you paddle well' 71.20LM,  
 da?i· lexi·kəhdj·h 'jounce him yourself!' 8.11A,  
 ?uč ?iya? da?i· 'go to it, yourself!' 27a.17L,  
 da?i· ?iya? saqe·əayu· qahnu· 'they're your  
 own children' 24.32A, with proclitic lete-  
 'alone, all by self (isolated)': lete?i· 'you  
 (are) all alone' LM, lete?i·š kila·? yikəh  
 'are you alone a man?' ('do you think you're the  
 only man in the world?') 10.188A.

?i- (pronominal prefix) 1. 'you' (second person  
 singular direct object of verb) see grammar.

2. 'you' (second person singular object of

postposition) see grammar.

3. 'your' (second person singular possessive prefix with possessed nouns) see grammar.

(-)yi--i--(-)zero) (pronominal verbal prefix) 'you' (second person singular subject of verb) see grammar.



L, səi'ihd yj'himu 'the last people (left)'  
L; səi'ihdwahd 'for the last (time?)' 20.89A.

1c. With verbal clause as o: ?ph səh'i'hd  
'after he left' L.

2. With -x final 'motion within area' (cf. 6.)  
with noun or pronoun as o: 9.154, 154, 155, 23.84, 84, 107, 107, 25.54A, 38.20fn, 20LM, 47c.= 38, 48.14L, 63.19fnG, si'ihx 'following behind me' L, ?u'ihx xəli'?'yij'h 'run after him!' L, ?i'ihx qu'xəli'xyah 'I'll pursue you' LM, si'ihx sə'zih 'he's walking along following behind me' L, si'ihx ?iya? 'walk behind me!' L, ?i'ihx qu'xah 'I'll follow you' L, si'ihx ?isekah 'it (dog) is following me barking' L, o-?ihx d-da-?'a't 'S (following or stationary) bawls after (moving) o', with reciprocal o: ?i'ihx səde'a'?'hinu 'they're following each other (single file)' L, o-?ihx lah 'o's junior, younger sibling', see lah 2, under la-na<sup>1</sup>.

3. With -dex final 'motion within area':  
qa'?'ihdex yəx də'xih 'he's walking around behind, following us' L (but probably less closely with respect to motion of o than indicated by o-?ihx).

4. With -č final 'continuous motion towards' a. 'farther and farther behind': ?a'd ?u-

ʔihɕ daʔ yosaʔyaʔi ʔwe're falling very much farther and farther behind it' L.

4b. 'closer and closer behind o': ʔiʔihɕ caʔiʔh ʔhe's coming up behind you' L.

5. With -daʔ final 'arrival at': siʔihdaʔ sahɕ ʔhe came to my place after I left' ('he arrived to behind me, but being still behind, I having left') L.

6. With -ʔ final (cf. 3. and o-d-ʔih-ʔ below) 'after (the example of), imitating o': ʔahnuʔ seqeʔeyuʔihʔ ʔuʔaʔ ʔafter (the example of, trying to imitate) his children' 24. = 54A, ʔiʔihʔ ʔuʔleʔexʔaʔi ʔI'm imitating you(r actions)' L.

o-d-ʔih-ʔ (postposition, with d-thematic 'oral, noise' and -ʔ final, cf. o-ʔih- 6. above) 'after o('s vocal example), imitating, repeating after o': ʔideʔihʔ quʔliʔxʔeh ʔI'll repeat after you' L, ʔideʔihʔ ʔuʔleʔexʔaʔi ʔI'm repeating (vocally) after you' L.

ʔih<sup>2</sup>

ʔih (exclamation) 'disgusting!, revolting!,  
ugh!, fie!' (expression of disgust or contempt) LM,  
with suffixed -šiyah 'pejorative': ʔihšiyah  
'disgusting!' M (L rejects).

ʔe (in spite of diversity of meaning of themes, probably one stem, with basic meaning 'to protect, conceal')

0-ʔe 'S (man) marries, keeps O (woman)' 1. with determinate O: xu·ʔe·ʔ 'marry me!' (woman speaking to man) L, xuseʔeʔ 'marry me!' (woman speaking) L ('would sound funny' L), ʔiqeʔxʔeh L, ʔiqeʔxʔe· 'I'll marry you' (man speaking to woman) 49.101, 102, 104A, quʔxʔihjh 'I'll marry her' L, active imperfective (or perhaps incorrect neuter imperfective): xuʔihjh 'he's married to me' L (correct neuter imperfective probably \*xu·e·ʔihjh), Kula·e ʔihjh 'someone else is married to her' 33.57A, active perfective: siʔehjh 32.= 19A, ʔgh siʔehh 'I married her' L, ma·yaʔyaʔ seʔehjh 'lake-thing married her (she went into a withdrawn schizoid state)' L (see under ma·), seʔehh(jh) 'married her' 10.164, 20.29, 30, 31, 23.52, 24.15, 25.103, 33.60, 66A, Kula·eih ʔiseʔehh 'another man has married you' 33.76A, neuter perfective ʔixiʔehjh 'I'm married to her' L (uncertain), active optative: ʔixiʔehgaʔ ʔaʔdiyahh 'til she's big enough for me to marry her' 9.27A, sidete·ʔkih ʔi·ʔeh 'that he should marry my little sister' 9.29A, inceptive optative: ʔeleŋgabx ʔisexiʔeh 'I wish I might marry you'

(man speaking) L.

2. With indeterminate O, 'S (man) gets married', inceptive imperfective: ?q̄h̄ h̄ila·? ?iqe?eh̄ 'that man will get married' L, ?iqe?j̄h̄j̄h̄ 'he'll get married' L, diK̄ ?iqe?eh̄ej̄h̄ 'he won't get married' L, ?iqe?x̄?eh̄ 'I'll get married' L, active imperfective (~~or irregular neuter imperfective~~): ?i?j̄h̄j̄h̄ 'he's married, he's a married man' L, 33.56A, diK̄ ?i?eh̄ej̄h̄ 'he's not married, he's a bachelor' L, neuter imperfective (or active imperfective with de-classifier > di- by umlaut), gu·dəḡ q̄e? ?idi?j̄h̄j̄h̄ 'he's remarried again' L, k̄j̄nda·d̄ lah̄q̄ q̄e? ?idi?j̄h̄j̄h̄ 'he's remarried at a village in another place' 47a.5L, inceptive perfective: di·yej̄ q̄e? ?isədə?e·h̄ej̄h̄ 'he's not remarrying yet' L, active perfective: Rezanov Космэлъ 'Космэла Weib, Frauenzimmer Uberhaupt' ?ise?eh̄j̄ 'you, he got married', ?isi?eh̄j̄ 'I got married' (man speaking) LM, 32.18A, o-qa?č̄ 'I've married into amongst them' 21b.67, 32.17A, dəx̄k̄ih̄ ?q̄h̄q̄eč̄ah̄ddew̄ ?ise?eh̄j̄ 'how many lands have you married (taken wives) from?' 10.181A, o-qa?č̄ ?ise?eh̄j̄j̄h̄ 'he married amongst o' 11.3A, ?u·č̄ ?ise?eh̄j̄, ?ahnu·qa? 'he married there, amongst them' 11.4A, Rezanov Токмочэлъкъ

'Xosocoŕoŕ unverteirathet' diK 'is'eht 'you haven't married', 'ise'eht 'did you get married' (spoken to man) L, gu'deg qe' 'iadi-e'ehih 'he's gotten married again' L, active optative: xahkih Ka' 'ixi'eh, 'oleŕgahx 'ixi'eh, 'u-dkih Ka' 'ixi'eh 'I wish I were married' L (probably to be corrected to 'i'xi'eh, 'i'xi'eh), customary: 'i'e-K 'he (cust) takes wives, keeps women' 10.171A, dede'd eŕ-diŕiŕ-gyu'qa'ŕahd 'i'e-Kih 'he keeps taking wives from amongst any kind of birds' 10.172A, 'ix'e-K 'I (cust) take wives, keep women' 11.58A.

'ad-ŕe-'e (reflexive causative, irregularly derived from O-'e, see 11.56-59fn) 'S (man) marries, takes wife, keeps woman (with ulterior motive, or pretends, makes self appear to do so)': customary: 'you (cust) take wives' 11.56, 56A, 'ede-ŕe'e-Kih 'he (cust) takes wives' 11.57A, 'edx-ŕe'e-K 'I (cust) take wives' 11.58A, diK 'edx-ŕe'e-Ke 'I don't (cust) take wives' 11.59A.

ŕe-'e 'S (woman) marries' (not used for translating English e.g. 'she married him', for which see o-xa' wox -'ŕe--tu', ŕiyahd o-K da-'-(1-)ŕe-xa'): inceptive imperative: eŕe'e' 'get married!' (spoken to woman) L, inceptive imperfective:

ʔəh qeʔi quʔeʔeh 'that woman will marry' L,,  
 quʔeʔeh 'she'll get married' L, quʔxʔeʔeh  
 'I'll get married' (woman speaking) L, diK quʔx-  
 ʔeʔehs (or -ʔeʔs) 'I won't marry' (woman speak-  
 ing) L, active imperfective (perhaps incorrect):  
 xʔeʔeh 'I'm married' (woman speaking) M, diK  
 ʔeʔehsɨh L, diK ʔeʔeʔehs 'she isn't married'  
 33.68A (form uncertain), neuter imperfective (per-  
 haps incorrect, classifier ʔe- > ʔi- perhaps by  
 umlaut, negative analogical): ʔiʔɨhɨh 'she's  
 married, a married woman' L (three times), diK  
 ʔaʔeʔehsɨh 'she's not married, unmarried woman,  
 spinster' L, neuter perfective (perhaps incorrect):  
 diK ʔaʔeʔehsɨh 'unmarried woman' L, active  
 perfective: xʔiʔehɨ 'I got married, I'm mar-  
 ried' (woman speaking) L, ʔiʔehɨh 'she mar-  
 ried' 49.10, 10, 12A, yahddaʔluwdetəʔeʔeʔeʔ  
 ʔiʔehɨhɨh 'she married into a big house' 49.11A,  
 diK ʔeʔeʔehsɨhɨh 'she hasn't married' 33.68A,  
 'unmarried woman' L, active optative: ʔeʔ ʔi-  
 ʔiʔeh 'that she should remarry' 49.25, 26A, de-  
 xi ʔiʔiʔeh kaʔ 'you should be married already'  
 (spoken to woman) 49.69A, inceptive subjunctive:  
 seʔeʔeʔeʔ ʔixleh 'I want to get married' (wo-  
 man speaking) L, seʔeʔeʔeʔ ʔix dexeʔeh 'I'm

telling you to get married' (spoken to woman) L,  
customary: diK qe? ?e?e?e·Kejh 25.151A, diK  
qe? ?e?e?e·Ke 25.152A, diK qe? ?e?e·Kejh  
'she (cust) doesn't remarry' 49.24A.

o-d O-?e (probably originally causative irregu-  
larly derived from unattested basic transitive  
O-?e, 'S protects O', with intermediate object  
as o of o-d, 'S causes o to protect O', but here  
semantically irregular 'S causes O to protect o',  
conceivably also irregularly derived from or in-  
fluenced by ?ed-d O-de-?e below) 'S puts O  
(covering, as cape) over o's shoulders': ?ew  
?id qu?x?eh 'I'll put it (e.g. blanket) over  
your shoulders' L, with ti·l-class-mark for O:  
sid ti·le?e?e? 'put it (pelt) over my shoul-  
ders!' L, ?id qu?ti·li·x?eh 'I'll put it  
(pelt) over your shoulders' L.

?ed-d O-de-?e (indirect reflexive, irregularly  
derived from o-d O-?e with de- instead of  
expected ?e-classifier, or perhaps from reanaly-  
sis, with ?ed-d < ?ed- of unattested reflexive  
?ed-de-?e 'S protects self', regular reflexive of  
O-?e 'S protects O') 'S puts O over own shoul-  
ders (as covering, cape)': ?ew su? ?ed qu?x-  
de?eh 'I'll put that blanket over my shoulders'

L, with ti·l-class-mark for O ('pelt'): ?ed ti·lesede?e?, ?ad ti·lesede?e·?, ?ad ti·la·de?e· 'put it over your shoulders!' L, ?ad qu?ti·xde?eh, ?ad qu?tj·xde?eh, ?ad qu?ti·lexde?eh 'I'll put it over my shoulders (as cape)' L, ?adšuh tj·de?eh 'are you wearing it over your shoulders?' L (active imperfective), ?aw ?ad ti·lesede?e·k 'he's putting it over his shoulders' L (inceptive perfective), ?aw ?ad ti·di?ehj̄h 'he's wearing it as a cape' L (neuter perfective), ?ad ?aw tj·adi?ehj̄h 'he put it over his shoulders' L, ?ad ti·xedi?ehk 'I put it over my shoulders' L (active perfectives), diiik ?ad ka? ti·li?di?e·k 'you must (cust) always wear it over your shoulders' L (rarely attested customary ?i-active optative or neuter optative).

?edti·de?eh (noun, probably ti·l-class) 'shawl, skin thrown over shoulders, cape' L. Nominalized passive of ?ad-d O-de-?e with ti·l-class-mark for O, 'it (skin) is worn over one's shoulders as protection for oneself'.

O-dl-<sup>2</sup>e (with dl-thematic of uncertain origin)

1. 'S hides, conceals O': Resanov ТАРТАБ-э 'Суртум verstecken (Imperat.)' λi·i?e?, λi·i?eh,

λa·seḥʔeʔ, λa·iʔe·ʔ (last least preferred) 'hide  
 it!' L, ʔowʔa·x λa·seḥʔeʔ, ʔowʔaʔd λa·seḥʔeʔ  
 'hide it behind that!' L, ʔew kutahti·leyex  
 λa·seḥʔeʔ 'hide it under that skin!' L, ʔiqeʔ-  
 λi·xḥʔeh 'I'll hide you' L, 53.5L, quʔλi·xḥʔeh  
 'I'll hide it' L, diK quʔλi·xḥʔehs (or -ʔe·s)  
 'I won't hide it' L, λa·sexḥʔe·ḥ 'I'm (in the  
 process of) hiding it' L, Rezanov АҢҢАҢАҢАҢАҢА  
 'Спрятать verstecken' ʔew λa·seḥʔehḥ 'you hid  
 it' L, ʔah λa·seḥʔehḥih 'she hid him' 18.68,  
 53.7L, ʔahnu· ʔediḥ λa·seḥʔehḥih 'she hid them  
 inside' 49.47A, kula·siḥʔehḥ 'I hid something'  
 L, λi·iʔehḥ 'you've hidden it' L (neuter per-  
 fective), hiC ʔew λi·iʔehḥih 'he always keeps  
 it hidden' L (neuter perfective), λa·xiḥʔehḥ  
 'I've got it hidden, am keeping it hidden' L (neu-  
 ter perfective), diK λa·xiʔehis 'I'm not hiding  
 it' L (neuter perfective, probably to be corrected  
 to diK λaʔxiʔehis), da· λa·yiḥʔeh, da· λa·-  
 ei·ḥʔeh (former preferred) 'let's hide it' L,  
 λa·xḥʔe·K 'I (cust) hide it' L, with class-marks  
 for O: ʔew sdu·lihs λa·seḥʔeʔ 'hide that  
 table (d-class):' L, ʔew kutah ti·λa·seḥʔeʔ  
 'hide that skin (ti·l-class):' L, ʔew laʔmahd  
 leḥeλa·seḥʔeʔ 'hide those berries (lḥ-class):' L;

indirect reflexive: ?ed?a· qu?leʒeʒa·xʰeʔeh  
 'I'll hide them (berries) for myself' L; ref-  
 lexive, 'S hides self', or with locational pre-  
 verbs and/or postpositional phrases, 'S sneaks,  
 moves with stealth': ?eʒa·seʰeʔeʔ 'hide!' LM,  
 ?eʒa·seʰeʒeʔeʔ 'pl. hide!' L, ?edquʔʒa·xʰeʔeh  
 'I'll hide' L, ?uda·ʒ ?eʒ ?edquʔʒa·xʰeʔeh  
 'I'll sneak by past him' L, ?edquʔʒa·ʰeʔiʰiʰ  
 'he'll sneak (away)' L, ?aʔdʒ ?edquʔʒa·xʰeʔeh  
 'I'll sneak out' L, yedʒeʒ ?ahnu·ʂ ?edqeʒa·  
 ʰeʔiʰinu· 'they sneak up along the shore toward  
 him' 56.22L, ?eʒa·sʰiʔehʰiʰ 'he's hiding, he  
 hid himself' L, ?ʒ·d da· ?eʒa·sʰiʔehʰiʰ 'we're  
 in hiding here' 13.7L, o-ʔiʰʒ ?eʒa·sʰiʔehʰiʰ  
 'sneaked along behind o' 9.154, 154, 155A, o-daʔ  
 ?eʒa·sʰiʔehʰiʰ 'sneaked to o': 23.78A, 37a.7L,  
 38.4, 4LM, 47b.31aM, ?aʔdʒ ?eʒa·sʰiʔehʰiʰ 'sneaked  
 out' 9.66, 67A, ʒe·ʔaʔdʒ ?eʒa·sʰiʔehʰiʰ 'he  
 sneaked back out' 55.5L, siʰaʔʒ ?aʔdʒ ?eʒa·  
 sʰiʔehʰiʰ 'he sneaked out while I wasn't looking  
 (was otherwise occupied, distracted)' L, ʒeʔ  
 ?eʒa·sʰiʔehʰiʰ 'sneaked back home' 23.98A, (o--  
 daʒa·naʔdʒeʒ) ?adiʒ ?eʒa·sʰiʔehʰiʰ 'sneaked in  
 (behind o's back)' 47b.39M, 55.24L, ?uʒahd  
 ?eʒa·sʰiʔehʰiʰ 'sneaked away from them' 23.98A,

?u·dəx lahɣ ?əla·sɪiʔehɪ 'sneaked forward  
 along there' 25.72A, ?u·ʕ lah ?əla·sɪiʔehɪ  
 'sneaked towards there (skirting) around' 47b.  
 3laM, yahddəyɔɔəʕ ?əla·sɪiʔehɪ 'crept under  
 the house' 61.115A, sidaʔɣ ?əla·sɪiʔehɪh 'he  
 sneaked right into me' L, siya·ʔ ?əla·sɪiʔehɪh  
 'he hid from me (sneaked avoiding me)' L, ɪiʕ  
 ?əla·xɪiʔehɪ 'I always keep myself hidden' L  
 (neuter perfective), da· ?əla·ɪiʔeh, da· ?əla·=  
 səiʔeh 'let's hide' L, ?ɣ·ʕaʔ ?əla·ɪəʔe·K  
 '(cust) sneaks hither' 9.69A, ?əla·ɪəʔe·Kɪh 'he  
 (cust) hides' M, repetitive: ?ɣ·ʕ ɔeʔ ?əla·=  
 ɪəʔe·gK '(cust) keeps sneaking back hither' 9.  
 70A, with o-ʔaʔ 'in intimate relation with, by  
 o' and yaʔ 'completely, to a state of rest', 'S  
 sneaks up on o, spies on o': ?uʔaʔ yaʔ ?əla·=  
 ləxɪəʔɪʔinu· 'pl. spy on them!' 29.30A, ?ahnu·=  
 ʔaʔ yaʔ ?əla·sɪiʔehɪ 'they sneaked up on her'  
 23.79A, ?ahnu·ʔaʔ yaʔ ?əla·ɪiʔehɪnu· 'are  
 spying on them' 29.30A (neuter perfective), with  
 yeʔ-progressive: yeʔ ?əla·ɪəʔe· 'sneak around!'  
 IM, yeʔ ?ədquʔla·xɪəʔeh (or -ʔe·) 'I'll sneak  
 around' L, diK yeʔ ?ədquʔla·xɪəʔehs (or -ʔe·s)  
 'I won't sneak around' L, yeʔ ?əla·xɪəʔe·ʔ  
 'I'm sneaking around' M, yeʔ ?əla·ɪəʔe·ʔ 'he's,

they're sneaking around' L, 52.2L, diK yeʒ  
 ʔaʎa·xiəʔe·ʒə 'I'm not sneaking around' L, da·  
 yeʒ ʔaʎa·iʔeh 'let's sneak around' LM, yeʒ  
 ʔaʎa·ʔeʔe·Kih 'he's sneaky' ('he (cust) sneaks  
 around') L, with y-anatomical: yeʒ ʔedyəʎa·  
 xiəʔe·ʒ 'I'm moving my hands quietly, stealthily'  
 L, with qi·d-anatomical: yeʒ ʔedqi·ʎa·xə  
 ʔeʔe·ʒ 'I'm walking around quietly (e.g. so as  
 not to wake people) ('I'm moving my feet around  
 quietly, stealthily') L; passive: xuʎa·xiʔehʔ,  
 xuʎa·sdiʔehʔ 'I've been hidden' L, ʎa·sʔiʔehʔ-  
 yu· 'cached-away things' 34.25L, qəʎa·sʔiʔehʔ-  
 ʔə·ʔ '(coming) upon cached-away things' 34.15M,  
 qiʔ kuqəʎa·diʔehʔʔə·ʔə '(coming) upon place  
 where something pl. were being kept hidden' 15.-  
 4M (neuter perfective), ʎa·diʔehʔ 'it's hidden'  
 L (neuter perfective), active imperfective used  
 in customary or ethical sense: ʔu·d ʎa·dəʔeh  
 'that's its hiding-place' ('it's (ordinarily) hidden  
 there') L, diK ʔu·d ʎa·dəʔehə (or -ʔe·s)  
 'that's not its hiding-place' L (see also dl-  
 ʔe-ʔe below).

2. 'S deceives, fools, cheats O': ʔiqeʔʎi·  
 xiʔeh 'I'll deceive you, fool you, lie to you'  
 LM, diK ʔiqeʔʎi·xiʔehə (or -ʔe·s) 'I won't

deceive you' L, dəx̣p̣hyu· ɸəw (dəziʃaʔ) qə= λi·ṭʔeh 'you (always) fool people' 11.55, 55, 55A, dəxi qə· λa·səiʔe·ṭ 'is fooling us already' 11.18A, diʔ 'iλa·səxiʔe·ṭ 'I'm not cheating you' L, 'iλa·siiṭʔeh̄ṭ 'I fooled, cheated you' L, xuλa·səiʔeh̄ṭh 'he cheated me' L; passive: xuλa·siiṭʔeh̄ṭ, xuλa·sdiʔeh̄ṭ 'I've been fooled' L.

dl-iə-ʔe (probably in error for reflexive of o--dl-i-ʔe) 'S hides': ʔu·d λa·xiəʔeh 'that's my hiding-place' L (see last entry under O-dl-i-ʔe 1. above) ʔu·d λa·xiəʔe·ʔ 'that's my hiding place' ('I (cust) hide there') L (probably to be corrected to ʔəλa·- in both cases).  
-iəʔeh unanalyzable element in deʃiəʔeh, q.v.

ʔe-ʔq<sup>1</sup> (not here identified with ʔe-ʔq<sup>2</sup> or ʔe-ʔq<sup>3</sup> for lack of clear semantic connection, though themes with all three stems are all fundamentally transitive, and perhaps share historically a common meaning 'S acts in relation to O (at distance, perceptually, without physical contact with or physical effect upon O)', probably to be more clearly substantiated by comparison with Athapaskan cognates; stem-variation: inceptive perfective ʔq· L once, A once, ʔe· A once, active perfective ʔqh L 4 times, M 7 times, A once, ʔeh L 3 times, M 3 times, positive inceptive imperfective ʔeh L twice, M twice, negative inceptive imperfective ʔe· M twice, ʔq· L once, ʔeh L once, ʔqh L once, positive active imperfective ʔeh L 7 times, M 4 times, A 6 times, G twice, ʔe· A 3 times, G 3 times, negative active imperfective ʔeh L 3 times, ʔqh L once, ʔq· A once, inceptive imperative ʔeʔ M once, active imperative ʔeh L twice, M 3 times, inceptive conditional ʔeh L once, inceptive subjunctive ʔq· L once, customary ʔe· M once; these patterns, insofar as statistically significant, are substantially the same as those for ʔe-ʔq<sup>2</sup> and ʔe-ʔq<sup>3</sup>, with the possible exceptions of the active imperative and perhaps also the negative imperfectives and the subjunctive)

O-ʔ-(l-)ʔe--ʔq (semitransitive with l-thematic,

omitted only in non-inceptive reflexives, always,  
 and, often, in active perfective) 1. 'S calls,  
 calls upon, hails O, calls O by name': ?u?li·?eh  
 'call him!' M, ?ew ?ewa· ?u?li·?eh 'call that  
 dog!' L, ?i?qe?li·x?eh 'I'll call you' L, diK  
 ?i?qe?li·x?e·s 'I won't call you' M, diK qu?=  
 li·x?ehs (or -?qhs, -?q·s) 'I won't call it'  
 L, ?i?li·x?eh 'I'm calling you' L, xu?li·?eh  
 'he's calling me' M, diK ?ewa· ?u?li·x?ehs  
 'I'm not calling the dog' L, diK da· ?u?li·=  
 ?qhsjh 'we're not calling him' L, ?u?li·?ihimu·  
 'he called them' 2a.30M, ?ew ?u?li·?e· 'he  
 calls upon it' 10.203, 203A, ?uqa? ?u?li·?eh  
 'she called her husband' 43.20L, ?qh ?u?li·?ihjh  
 'he called her' 61.5A, xu?lese?ehh̄s L (M "has  
 heard"), xu?lese?qhh̄s 'did you call me?' M,  
 xu?lese?qhh̄jh 'he called, hailed me' M, diK  
 ?u?lexs?qh̄s 'I didn't call it' L, ?i?lese?q·=  
 h̄jh 'he's calling you (for a long time, many  
 times)' L, ?u?lesex?q·x̄ siK deleh 'he told me  
 to call him' L; reflexive: ?edu?lesede?eh da·x̄  
 'if it calls its own name' 35.5L; passive: xu?=  
 lade?eh 'I'm being called' M.

2. (Passive rare, reflexive used where passive  
 expected) a. With adverbs, preverbs or post-

positional phrases, 'S calls O a certain way':  
 iic' ?a·weyu· xu?li·?ihih 'he always calls me  
 nasty names' L, ke·d xu?li·?eh 'what (how)  
 did you call me?' L, hidah ?a·weyu· ?u?le-  
 ce?q·i 'continually calls it impolite names' 10.-  
 96A, dai?d' ya·yu·dah ?qh ?u?less?e·i 'he's  
 calling all sorts of names' 11.140A, weq ?ew  
 ?u?li·?eh 65.34A, weq ?u?li·?e· 'they call  
 it thus' 65.34A, ?awis?e· ?u?li·?eh 'they call  
 it differently' 68.92A, ?el ?ida· da· ku?li·-  
 ?eh 'this what we call something' 68.91A; with  
 indeterminate O: iic' ?a·weyu· ?ida?li·?ihih  
 'he always calls people impolite names' L, iic'  
 ku?a·dah ?ida?li·?ihih 'he always calls people  
 bad names' L; reflexive: ?u?kah ?i·sitaht,  
 ?ide?edu?de?eh 'I forgot it, what it's called'  
 50.48A, Rezanov Kerefyde-3 'Name' ke·d  
 ?edu?de?eh 'what's your name?' ('comment t'ap-  
 pelles-tu?'), ke·d ?i· ?edu?de?eh 'what's  
your name?' L, weq ?edu?de?e· 'it's called  
 thus' 12.32, 64.12G, ?elahsle·teyu·ga? weq  
 ?edu?de?eh 'like white men (in English) it's  
 called thus' 50.50A, diK weq ?edu?de?q·e 'it's  
 not called thus' A.

2b. With noun as C, 'S calls O C': ?ewa·

xu?lese?e? M, xewa? xu?li?eh 'call me a  
 dog!' LM, xewa? ?i?qe?li?x?eh 'I'll call you  
 a dog' LM, diK xewa? ?i?qe?li?x?e?e 'I won't  
 call you a dog' M, ye? dexu? da? ?u?li?eh  
 'we call it a barrel' M, ?emi?nya? e?di?i?g  
 seye? da? ?u?li?eh 'prayer-birds we call  
 them' 61.20A, nigta?y?esu? ?ew ?u?li??hinu?  
 'necktie-fish they call it' 65.34A, ?al ?uq?  
 ?isda? ?ew ?u?li?eh 'you call this chair  
 that' 68.92A, ?uci? ?ewa?, ?udece? ?ew  
 ?u?li??hinu? 'their daughters, they call them  
 their younger siblings' 68.112A, xewa? ?u?  
 li?x?h?h 'I'm calling him a dog' L, diK xewa?  
 ?u?li?x?eh?h 'I'm not calling him a dog' L,  
 diK xewa? ?i?li?x?eh? 'I'm not calling you a  
 dog' L, ?ala?d?deg xewa? xu?li?eh M, ?ala?  
 d?h xewa? xu?li?eh 'he even called me a dog'  
 L, xewa? ?u?si?h?h M, xewa? ?u?si?eh?h  
 L, xewa? ?u?lisi?h?h 'I called him a dog'  
 LM, xewa? xu?se?h?h, xewa? xu?se?eh?h,  
 xewa? xu?lese?h?h, xewa? xu?lese?eh?h 'he  
 called me a dog' LM, diK xewa? ?i?lexs?h?h  
 'I didn't call you a dog' LM, xewa? xu?li?e?  
 k?h 'he (cust) calls me a dog' M; reflexive:  
 C ?edu?xde?eh 'my name is C' ('je m'appelle C')

L, C ?adu?de?eh 12.14, 67.1G, C ?adu?=  
de?ihjh 47b.1fnM, 47c.1L, 51.3B, 61.40A, C  
?adu?de?e· 'is called C' 54.5G, sti·wen ?adu?s=  
di?ghh 'he was called Steven' A, sahsčiya? ?u=  
Kahyekih ?adu?de?e·K 'expert sea-otter hunters  
were (cust) called "princes"' 64.6G; passive: C  
xu?lade?eh 'I'm being called C' M.

ʔe-ʔq<sup>2</sup> (not here identified with ʔe-ʔq<sup>1</sup> or ʔe-ʔq<sup>3</sup> for lack of clear semantic connection; stem-variation, so far as attested, like that of ʔe-ʔq<sup>1</sup> and ʔe-ʔq<sup>3</sup>)

o-ʔih-x O-ʔ-l-ʔe--ʔq (semitransitive with l-- thematic, probably omitted under same conditions as O-ʔ-(l-)ʔe-ʔq under ʔe-ʔq<sup>1</sup>, but here attested only in inceptives, theme attested only with o-ʔih-x 'movement in area along behind, following o', O attested only as ʔu- third person, perhaps thematized, theme perhaps as intransitive) 'S copies, imitates o, does as o does':  
ʔiʔihx ʔuʔlesexʔq.ʔ 'I'm doing whatever you're doing, copying you' L.

o-d-ʔih-x O-ʔ-l-ʔe--ʔq (as above, with d-thematic 'oral noise' in postpositional phrase, reference to vocal activity or "calling" clearly residing therein, rather than in stem, hence difficulty of identifying stem semantically with ʔe-ʔq<sup>1</sup>)  
'S imitates o vocally, says as o says, mimics o':  
ʔideʔihx quʔli-xʔeh 'I'll say whatever you do'  
L, ʔideʔihx ʔuʔlesexʔq.ʔ 'I'm repeating (along) after you' L.

ʔe-ʔq<sup>3</sup> (not here identified with ʔe-ʔq<sup>1</sup> or ʔe-ʔq<sup>2</sup> for lack of clear semantic connection, perhaps also related to ʔq·ʔ and/or ʔe·ʔ; stem-variation: inceptive perfective ʔq· always, active perfective almost always ʔqh (L ʔeh once only) except for G who consistently has ʔeh, neuter perfective ʔqh M once, positive inceptive imperfective usually ʔeh, A twice ʔe·, and L, with yaḫ-progressive, once, positive active imperfective usually ʔeh but in text ʔe· A 3 times, G once, with -š-interrogative ʔeh L twice, ʔe· L twice, M once, and, doubtfully, in theme ʔi-i- ʔqh A twice, negative inceptive imperfective always ʔq·, negative active imperfective almost always ʔq·, M twice ʔe·, inceptive imperative L once ʔeʔ, active imperative (not with yaḫ-progressive) usually ʔqʔ, L ʔeʔ 3 times, active imperative with yaḫ-progressive usually ʔe·, M twice ʔq·, L once ʔq·ʔ, once ʔe·ʔ, M once ʔeh, optatives usually ʔeh, inceptive optative M once ʔqh, inceptive conditional ʔeh, subjunctives ʔq· L four times, ʔe· M twice, L once, active imperfective with yaḫ-progressive always ʔq·, all -g-repetitives and -s-thematic negatives ʔq·, customary almost always ʔq·, L once ʔe·; theses irregular and partially suppletive)

0- $\epsilon$ - $\text{?e}$ - $\text{?}\phi$  (with special  $\epsilon$ -thematic, cf.  $\epsilon$ - $\text{i}$ - $\text{?u}$ ?,  
 d- $\epsilon$ -de-le, perhaps of same position as and re-  
 lated to  $\epsilon\epsilon$ - inceptive mode-aspect prefix; these  
 occurring exclusively in what is here considered  
 active imperfective and not with repetitive or  
 $\text{yax}$ -progressive, and only twice, perhaps incorrect-  
 ly, in customary; for other mode-aspects and de-  
 rived forms of non-passive see o-la $\text{x}$   $\text{?i}$ - $\text{i}$ - $\text{?e}$ - $\epsilon$ -  
 $\text{?}\phi$ \*, for other mode-aspects of passive see ca<sup>2</sup>;  
 note also that in the simplest these meaning 'S  
 sees O' with Athapaskan stem  $\text{*}\text{-?en}$  in Navaho  
 occurs in one mode-aspect only, called by Young  
 and Morgan "progressive", with  $\text{yi}$ -progressive  
 prefix, but lacking the expected  $\text{-i}$ -suffix of the  
 Athapaskan progressive (cognate with Eyak incep-  
 tive perfective), thus  $\text{yish?}\ddot{\text{i}}$  <  $\text{*}\epsilon\epsilon$ - $\text{?en}$ , cf.  
 Eyak  $\epsilon\text{ax}^{\text{?eh}}$  'I see it'; Navaho also has supple-  
 tive  $\text{c}\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\text{c}\acute{\phi}$  in other mode-aspects) 'S sees O,  
 can see O': Rezanov Kaxy- $\epsilon$  'Вхы ich sehe',  
 Galushia Nelson  $\epsilon\acute{\text{x}}^{\text{M}\ddot{\text{i}}}$  or  $\epsilon\acute{\text{x}}^{\text{M}\ddot{\text{a}}}$  'I see'  
 $\epsilon\text{ax}^{\text{?eh}}$  L,  $\text{sux}^{\text{?eh}}$  'I see it, I saw it' M 46.-  
 29M,  $\text{diK}$   $\text{sux}^{\text{?}\phi}$ \* 71.1, 6LM,  $\text{diK}$   $\epsilon\text{ax}^{\text{?}\phi}$ \*  
 'I don't see it' L, Rezanov Kaxoamro (first  
 o perhaps to be interpreted  $\text{m}$ ) 'He видно un-  
 sichtbar' perhaps to be read [ $\text{diK}$ ]  $\epsilon\text{ax}^{\text{?}\phi}$ \* $\epsilon$ duh

'I don't see it!' L, *suxʔihjɪh* 'I see him, her'  
 M, *diK səxʔe:ɕjɪh* 'I don't see him' M, *ɕiyuh*  
*suxʔeh* 'I see a bear' M, *ʔp·ɕ ɕa·k da·ɕ*  
*suxʔihjɪh* 'I see him coming' L, *Kude·dah səx-*  
*ʔp·ɕ* 'I can't see it' L, Galushia Nelson *ɑ<sup>n</sup>·ɕɕ-*  
*x<sup>w</sup>ɪ* or *ɔ<sup>n</sup>·ɕɕx<sup>w</sup>ɔ* 'I see him' *ʔpɪh səxʔeh*,  
*x<sup>w</sup>u·səxʔe·laxɪi* or *x<sup>w</sup>ɪɕɔ·x<sup>w</sup>ɔ* 'you pl. see' BSDL  
 560 *xu· səxʔeh* (*lexi·*) 'I see it (you pl.)',  
*ʔu·ɕ səxʔeh* 'I see it there' ('I see it thither')  
 L, *ʔisuxʔeh* 'I see you' M, *diK ʔisəxʔp·ɕ* ll.-  
 128A, *diK ʔisuxʔe·ɕ* 'I don't see you' M, *ʔi-*  
*səxʔeh ʔidayileh* 'I see what you're doing' ('I  
 see you, what you're doing') L, *ʔisəxʔeh Kuxi·-*  
*yah* 'I see you eating' ('I see you, you're eat-  
 ing') L, *ʔisəxʔeh de·d ʔuʔsəcahɪ* 'I see what  
 you bought' L, *ʔisəxʔeh de·d ɕsəcahɪ* 'I see  
 what you ate' L, *ʔisəxʔeh ʔəw ʔuʔsəcahɪ* 'I  
 see what you bought' ('I see you, that which you  
 bought') L, Galushia Nelson *x<sup>w</sup>ui·'ɕɕx<sup>w</sup>ɪ* or  
*x<sup>w</sup>u·'ɕɕx<sup>w</sup>ɪ* 'I see you' BSDL 560 *xu· ʔisəxʔeh*  
 'I see you', *Kusuxʔeh* 'I see something' M, *ʔp·d*  
*ʔəwa· Kusəxʔihinu·* 'I saw some of them here'  
 68,85A, *ɕi·ʔe· ll.116A, ɕi·ʔeh* 'you see it'  
 M, *de·d ɕi·ʔeh* 'what do you see?' LM, *ɕi·ʔihjɪh*  
 'you see him' M, *qahɕuw ɕi·ʔeh* 'do you see it'

finally?' 71.3LM, Galushia Nelson qei'ac or  
 qei'ac 'you see' BSdL 560 ei'ehs L, ei'-  
 ehšuw 'do you see it?' 46.29M, Galushia Nelson  
 ica<sup>n</sup>qei'k' 'you see him' BSdL 560 ?i's ?qh  
 ei'eh 'do you see him?', Rezanov Tamešmemery  
 'Прострѣно geršuzig' perhaps to be read deqi'-  
 kih, ei'ehduh 'all gone, you see!' xusi'eh  
 'you see me' M, xusi'e's, xusi'ehs 'do you  
 see me?' L, diK xusi'p's 'you don't see me'  
 11.127A, Furuhjelm Aukhaatu 'to see' perhaps  
 to be read ?ew se'ehduh 'he sees it!', see  
 also ?qhš?, Galushia Nelson a<sup>y</sup>uqei':<sup>n</sup>hi<sup>n</sup> or  
 auqe':<sup>n</sup>hi<sup>n</sup> 'he sees' ?ew se'ihih 'he sees  
 it', á<sup>n</sup>'nu' á<sup>y</sup>dž'š or á<sup>n</sup>'nd'á<sup>y</sup>dž'š 'they  
 see' ?ahnu' ?ew se'eh 'they see it', a<sup>n</sup>'  
 a<sup>y</sup>uqei'š 'he sees him' ?qh ?ew se'eh 'he  
 sees it', á<sup>n</sup>'qei'i'<sup>n</sup>hi<sup>n</sup> 'he sees him' ?qh  
 se'ihih, á<sup>n</sup>'nd'qei'i'<sup>n</sup>hi<sup>n</sup> 'they see him' BSdL  
 560 ?ahnu' se'ihih 'they see him, he sees  
 them', ?qh kuma' ?qh se'eh 'the mother sees  
 him' 43.8M, ?i'ikad se'ihih 'sees sea-ur-  
 chins' 4.2M, te'ya'gušah ?u'š se'ihih 'she  
 saw a fishtail there (thither)' 46.7M, qa'l  
 ne'šda'ž wež ?ew se'ehlehd 'because he sees  
 it thus now for the first time' 36.29A, ?qh

či·leh dik seʔə·t 'doesn't see the Raven'  
 3.7M, xuseʔihjh 'he sees me' LM, Galushia  
 Nelson a<sup>n</sup>·i'qā'ā or á<sup>n</sup>·i'qā'á 'he sees you'  
 BSdL 560 ʔah ʔiseʔeh, ʔiseʔihjh 'he sees you'  
 M, Galushia Nelson a<sup>n</sup>·nu'·i'qā'ā or á<sup>n</sup>·nu'qā'á  
 'they see you' BSdL 560 ʔahnu· ʔiseʔeh, dik  
 ʔedəx kuseʔə·t 'he couldn't see anything how-  
 ever' 2a.17aM, Galushia Nelson qaiyətə·qā'ā  
 or qaiyətə·qā'á 'we see' əyətə da· seʔeh  
 'we see it', qaiyətə·i'qā'ā or qaiyətə·i'qā'á  
 'we see you' BSdL 560 əyətə da· ʔiseʔeh 'xg  
 see you', ʔew xi·d ʔədəʔahš selexʔehš 'do  
 you pl. see that yonder mainland?' 14.3L, Galushia  
 Nelson qāláxi<sup>n</sup>hi<sup>n</sup>əʊ or qāláxi<sup>n</sup>hi<sup>n</sup>cəʊ 'you pl.  
 see him' BSdL 560 selexʔihjhšuh 'do you pl. see  
 him?'; customary (perhaps incorrect): si·ʔe·=  
 kihšəh 'do you (cust) see him?' L, with class-  
 marks for O: gusi·kih gah ʔədəseʔihjh 'he sees  
 a little daylight' 2a.17M, ʔew lišš desi·ʔeh  
 'do you see that tree?' 71.9LM, with qi·d-ana-  
 tomical: ʔiqi·deseʔeh 'I see your foot' L; re-  
 flexive: ʔədəuxdeʔeh 'I see myself' M, ʔed-  
 sodeʔeh 'you see yourself' M, ʔədəsodeʔihjh 'he  
 sees himself' M, see also s-de-ʔe--ʔə, with y-  
 anatomical and o-luʔ-č '(continuous motion)

through (hole in) o': ?ulu?e ?adyasade?eh 'I see the reflection of my hand it it' ('I see my hand through it') L; passive, 'S is seen, can be seen, is visible, shows': ?u-e sode?e 12.-31G, ?u-e sode?eh 'it's visible, can be seen, shows there (thither)' L, Rezanov ?uxare-ere 'Видно sichtbar' ?u-e sode?ehd[uh] 'it shows there:', ?abd q1?e sode?eh 'where (whither) smoke is visible' 18.82, 47c.42L, ?owlu?e sode?eh 'it shows through it' L, Galushia Nelson ?iK qdDd'a<sup>n</sup> qe ydxDdqtXe 'unseen messenger ("not seen one sent-for-something")' BSDL 310, 554 diK sode?e.sjh yax doku?dxjh 'he who is sent about on errands who is not seen', diK sode?e.s 'it's invisible' L, diK xusode?e.s 'I'm invisible' L, deqa. Kusode?eh "'something you can hardly see"' ('something is sometimes visible') L, customary (uncertain, perhaps incorrect): diK sode?e.k<sup>s</sup> 'they (cust) can't be seen' 63.41G.

?uyed Kusode?eh (noun, unclassified) 'field--glasses, binoculars, telescope' L, Rezanov ?axxokore 'Очки Brille' probably to be read ?uyed Kusode?eh, perhaps earlier form for 'spectacles'. Nominalized passive active iz-

perfective, 'in it something is seen'.

ɛ-da-ʔe--ʔg (uncertain, perhaps incorrect, perhaps to be corrected to passive or reflexive, active imperfective only) occurring mainly in nominalization below and in interpretation by L of forms from Rezanov: ʔuluʔɕ da· sɛdɛʔeh 'we see ourselves in (through) it' L (perhaps to be corrected to ʔuluʔɕ qa· sɛdɛʔeh, or ʔuluʔɕ da· ʔɛdɛdɛʔeh), with l-anatomical: УЛОУТААТКАРЕ-Э 'Сречко Glas' perhaps to be read ʔuluʔɕ da· lɛdɛdɛʔeh 'our faces can be seen in (through) it' or perhaps to be corrected to ʔuluʔɕ da· ʔɛdɛdɛʔeh or ʔɛdlɛdɛdɛʔeh; see also below.

ʔuluʔɕda·dɛdɛʔeh (noun, unclassified) 'mirror' probably<sup>C</sup> interpretation of Rezanov УЛОУТАТКАРЕ 'Зеркало Spiegel', and in Rezanov УЛОУТАКАРЕКОРЕ 'Jocheta glänzend, es glänzt, schillert' ʔuluʔɕda·dɛdɛʔehg<sup>M</sup>ʔi·tɛh 'it's like a mirror'. For etymology see below.

liʔɛda·dɛdɛʔeh L, liʔɛde·dɛdɛʔeh (noun, unclassified) 'mirror' M. L and M unable to etymologize, probably < ʔuluʔɕ da· ʔɛdɛdɛʔeh 'we see ourselves in (through) it', as shown by the more archaic Rezanov form; M insists on liʔɛde·d-,

L on liʔɕda·d-.

(Ku-)s-ʔe--ʔɕ (usually with thematized Ku-indefinite O, treated as intransitive, active imperfective only, for other mode aspects see ʔi-i-ʔe--ʔɕ 10d.) 'S can see, has sight': Kɕɕu·dah Kuxʔeh 'I see well' L, Kɕɕu·dah Kuxʔihjh 'he sees well' 27a.35L, diK sɕxʔɕ·s 'I can't see' 27b.29A (probably not to be glossed 'I can't see it', perhaps to be corrected to diK Kux sɕxʔɕ·s), gusi·kjh ɕel Kuxɕʔe· 'I can see a (this) little bit' 27b.41A, Kusi·ʔe·S 'can you see?' 27a.30L, ʔidah Kuxʔeh 'he can see fine' 27b.48A, diK Kuxɕxʔɕ·s 'I can't see' 32.38A, diK ɕeʔ Kuxɕɕeʔɕ·sɕjh 'he couldn't see anymore' 61.4A, diK ɕew ɕeʔ Kuxɕɕeʔɕ·s <sup>not like you'll again you will</sup> 'you can't see anymore' 61.17A; gu·dag ɕeʔ suxɕeʔeh 'I saw it again' M (so glossed, perhaps for 'I can see again', or to be corrected to gu·dag ɕeʔ suxʔeh).

Ku-(s-)ʔɕ·-s (with thematic -s negative and thematized Ku-indefinite O, intransitive, used in all mode aspects, with s-thematic in active imperfective, from which there is doubtless derived) 'S is, becomes blind': Kuxuxʔɕ·s M, Kuxɕxʔɕ·s 'I'm blind' L, 27a.21L, Kuxʔɕ·sɕjh 'he's blind'

27b.1, 1A, kuseʔq·sɨh dəyɨh 'a blind person'  
 27a.1L, diK kuseʔq·sɨh 'she's not blind'  
 27b.24A, kusexʔq·sɨ 'I'm going blind' L,  
 kusiʔq·sɨ 'I am (went) blind' L, kuseʔq·sɨh  
 'he went blind' 61.1A.

O-ʔ-t-ʔe--ʔq (semitransitive of O-s-ʔe--ʔq,  
 active imperfective only, for meaning in other  
 mode aspects see ca<sup>2</sup>) 'S sees O in a certain con-  
 dition, O looks a certain way to S', with adverbs  
 formed with -dah adverbializer: kuša·dah ʔiʔ·  
 sɨxʔeh 'you look pretty sick (bad) to me' L,  
 kuʒu·dah ʔuʔ·sɨxʔeh 'it looks good to me' L;  
 usually passive, 'O looks, seems a certain way':  
 kuʒu·dah ʔuʔ·sɨdeʔeh 'it looks good' 9·88A, ke-  
 ʒu·dah ʔuʔ·sɨdeʔihɨh qeʔɨ 'good-looking woman'  
 58.1L, sɨaʔdahɨ xuʔ·sɨdeʔeh 'do I look pretty?'  
 M, diK sɨaʔdah ʔiʔ·sɨdeʔq·sɨ 'you don't look  
 pretty' M, laʔdnu· sɨaʔdah ʔuʔ·sɨdeʔihinu· qeʔ-  
 ɨsɨyɨ· 'two beautiful women' M, with o-la·ɨ--  
 ʔeʔ-d 'in o's eyes': sila·ɨeʔd kuʒu·dah ʔuʔ·  
 sɨdeʔeh 'it looks good to me' M, with wɨɨ  
 'thus' and indefinite O: wɨɨ ʔila·ɨeʔd kuʔ·  
 sɨdeʔeh 'things look thus in your eyes' (i.e.  
 'you're having hallucinations') 46.26M, with  
 o-l-ʔe· 'different from o': o-leʔe· ʔuʔ·sɨdeʔe·

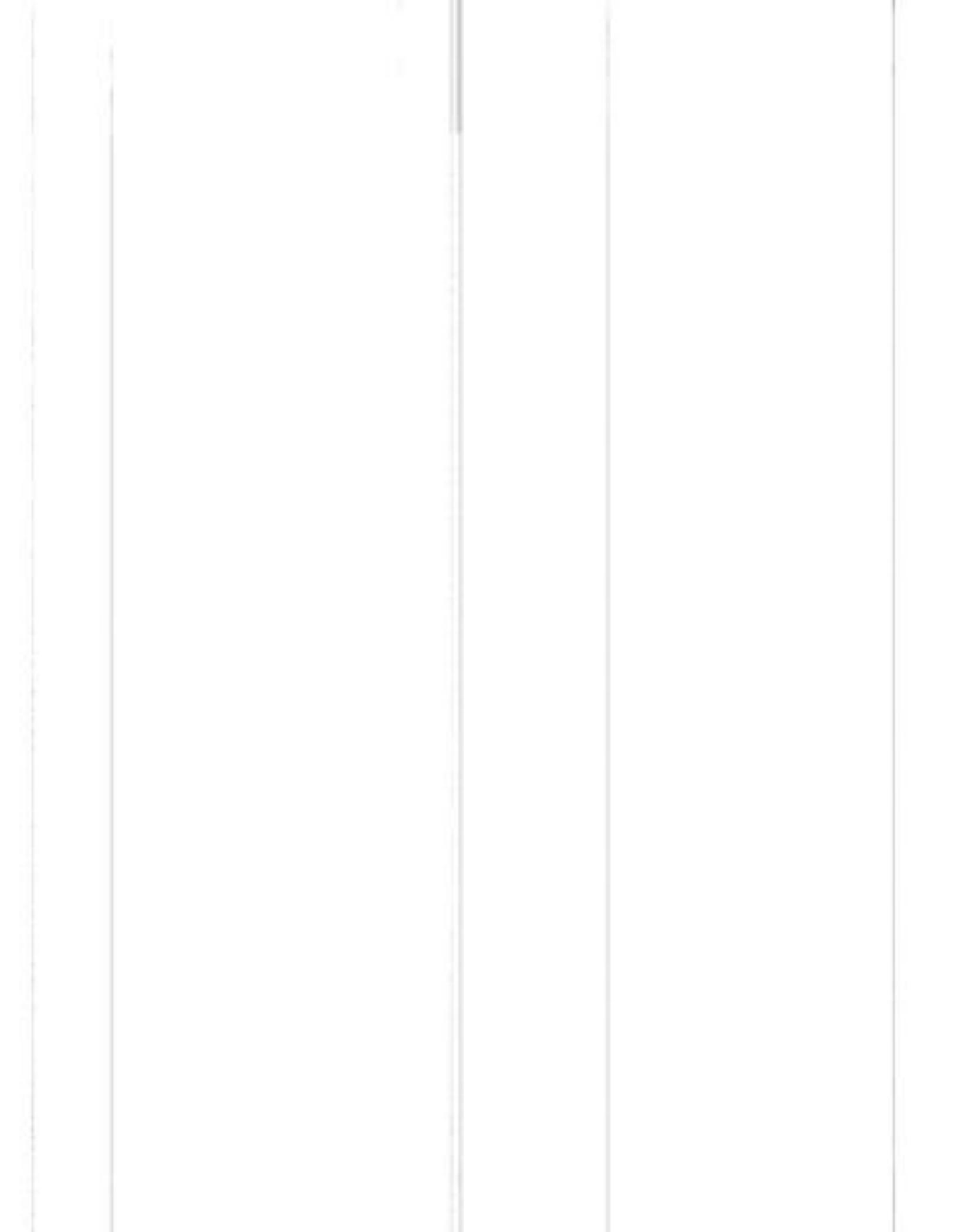
21b.26A, o-le?e? ?u?sede?eh 'looks different  
 from o' 21b.38A, with o-ga? 'like o': 16.2, 43.=  
 19M, diitu?ga? ?u?sede?eh 'it looks black'  
 14.4L, de?u'd saquhiga? ?u?sede?ihinu? 'they  
 look like they're sitting right there' 47b.40M,  
 ca?ga? ?u?sede?eh 'it looks deep' M, ?iga?  
 ?u?sede?ihih 'he looks like you' L, de?ihiga?  
 ?u?sede?eh 'they look just alike' M, ce?iga?  
 ?u?sede?eh 'it (distant boat) looks like indis-  
 tinct color' L, la?x yax kudidi?ihiga? ?u?-  
 se?eh 'bad weather' ('it looks like someone  
 has his face draped, veiled') 72.34L, with o-y-ga?  
 'like o's hand, easy for o to handle': 9.44A,  
 siyaga? ?u?sede?ihih 'he looks like a pushover  
 for me, easy for me to handle, beat up' L, with  
 class-marks for O: Galushia Nelson thix qa'o'Da'-  
 qa'De':e lis 'green (grass) looks-like tree'  
 i.e. 'tree is green' BSdL 558 ?ihiga? ?u?desa-  
 de?eh lis 'a tree which looks like grass', ?i-  
 dehdah sta?dah ?u?desede?eh yahd 'a really  
 beautiful house' M, lexla?x lexa? ku?a-dah  
 ?u?lexse?eh 'your pl. eyes look bad' L.  
 O-?-l-e-de-?e--?g (with l-anatomical 'head,  
 face' thematized, active imperfective only, for  
 other mode aspects, and vocalic classifier, see

O-?-l-ke-ca under ca<sup>2</sup>) 'S stares penetratingly at O, stares O down, discountenances O': xu?-lesede?ihih 'he's staring hard at me' L.

O-?-?e--?p 'S looks (in definite direction, area) for O' (perhaps without involving travel for any great distance, all mode-aspects): ?u·de? ?u?e? 'look along there for it!' L, ?u·de? ?u?si?ph? 'I looked along there for it' L, more frequently with ye?-progressive: Rezanov Exorre 'Искать suchen' ye? ?u?de?e·, ye? ?u?de?p· L, ye? ?u?de?p·? (uncertain of stem-form) 'look (about) for it!' M, Rezanov Yraxexorre 'Искать suchen (Imperat.)' ?u·de? ye? ?u?de?e· 'look about for it (along) there!', ye? ?u?xde?p·? 'I'm looking for it' L, ?u·de? ye? ?u?de?p·? 'you're looking around there for it' M, gahye? ye? ?u?exde?p·? 'I've been looking around for it all day long' L, ye? ?u?xsi?ph? 'I looked for it' L, ye? ?i?xsi?ph? 'I looked around for you' L (but L prefers ?i?e·? ye? ?ix?e·?p·?); L rejects proposed form with indeterminate O \*ye? ?ida?de?p·?ih 'he's looking around'). ye? ?u?we?p·? (gerundive) 'looking around for it': ye? ?u?we?p·? xuse?ga? 'I'm getting tired of looking around for it' ('looking around for it

is tiring me') L.

?i-i-?e--?q (with indeterminate O, detransitivized, basic meaning 'S travels along (by unspecified means, but in a position to see), S goes along seeing, S looks'; with certain postpositional phrases the choice of gloss between 'travel' and 'look' is clear, but with others, dependent on context or arbitrary) 1. 'S journeys, travels, goes (actively and voluntarily, medium and conveyance, if any, unspecified, generally for some distance, especially to new or unknown area)' not clearly involving seeing or locating any object, but sometimes perhaps with the idea of sightseeing or seeing or exploring an area; occurring with a variety of directional preverbs and/or postpositional phrases, with some of which the theme also occurs with the meaning 'S looks', but here are listed the instances in which it occurs glossed, or clearly with the meaning from context, 'S travels': with no directional or locational preverbs or postpositional phrases: ?iqe?xh?eh 'I'll go away, travel somewhere' L, ?i-?i?ahh?h 'he's travelling, he's away, out of town' M (neuter perfective), with o-č 'to, toward o': ?u-č ?i-?i?a? 'go there!' L, ?u-č ?iqe?xh?eh 'I'm going to



travel there' L, diM ?u.č ?iqe?xł?p.\* 'I  
won't go there' L, ?u.č ?isexł?p.\* 'I'm on  
my way there' L, ?u.č ?isəl?əhł 'he travelled  
there' L, gahxedeci?da?ya? ?u.č da.\* ?isəl?əhł  
'we travelled for about half a day thither' 59.13  
Galushia Nelson, ?u.č ?i.lilł?ihł 'let him  
travel thither' L, with o-da? 'to, arrival at  
o': di.ye? ?p.da? ?isexł?p.\* 'before I came  
here' (moved from Cordova to Yakutat) 61.1A, qi?  
sdišehłda? ?isilł?əhł 'I went to where he got  
killed' L, ?p.da? ?isilł?əhł 61.2A, ?p.da?  
?isilł?ehł 'I came here' (moved from Cordova/Ka-  
talla to Yakutat) 62.1, 1, 2G, ne.\*da.\*? ?p.da?  
?isilł?əhł 'when I first, first when I came here'  
(to Yakutat) 68.85, 88A, ne.\*da.\*? ?p.da? da.\*  
?isəl?əhł 'when we first, first when we came  
here' (to Yakutat) 62.9G, dəki.\* qə.l xələhs-  
lə.\*seyu.\* ?u.da? ?isəl?əhł 'by now already  
whites had reached there' (penetrated to and settled  
at Cordova) 68.57A, da.\*čahdduw ?p.da? qe? ?i-  
ləxsił?əhł 'where have you pl. returned here  
from?' 14.2L, ?u.da? ?isexł?eh da.\*? 'if, when  
I get there' L, with other locationals or direc-  
tionals: ?i.\*sił? ?isəl?əhł 'he travelled south  
(straight forward, out into Gulf of Alaska)' L,

lahqəʕahd ʔisehʔəhkih 'he left town' M, ʔu·d  
 qeʔ ʔixsiʔehh, ʔu·d qeʔ ʔixsiʔəh 'I went  
 back there' L, with yeʔ-progressive: yeʔ ʔiħeʔe·  
 (also possibly -ʔə·, M "never heard") 'go travel-  
 ling (around)!' M, yeʔ ʔiqeʔxħeʔe· 'I'll travel  
 around' L, yeʔ ʔixħeʔə·ʔ 'I'm travelling' M,  
 yeʔ ʔiħeʔə·ʔih 'he's travelling' LM, da· yeʔ  
 ʔiħeʔə·ʔ 'we're travelling' L, yeʔ ʔixsiʔəh  
 'I travelled around, went sightseeing, on a trip'  
 L, diK yeʔ ʔixħeʔəhħe 'I didn't travel' L,  
 siqeyəhʔ yeʔ ʔixsiʔəh 'I travelled around in-  
 side my homeland' L, da· yeʔ ʔi·ħiʔeh L, da·  
 yeʔ ʔi·ħiʔəh 'let's travel around' M, yeʔ  
 ʔiʔxħeʔə·K 'I (cust) travel about' M.

2. 'S (lightning, thunder) bolts, flashes,  
 strikes' ('thunderbird travels'): ʔisehʔəh 'it  
 (lightning, thunder) bolted, flashed, struck' 60.-  
 54, 55A, xi·ʕ ʔisehʔeh da·ʔ 'when it (light-  
 ning) flashes over there' 60.52A, xi·ʕ ʔiħʔə·K  
 'it (cust) flashes over there' 60.53A, repetitive:  
 ʔiħʔə·g 'it (lightning, thunder) flashes, bolts,  
 strikes, there is lightning, thunder' 60.16, 16,  
 17, 18A, qeʔgu·l ʔiħʔə·g 'thunder(-bird),  
 lightning is striking' LM.

3. With o-ʔə·ʔ 'coming upon o', 'S (tra-

velling or not) finds o, comes upon o (looking for o or not)': ?u?p.? ?isil?ghkijh 'I found him' L, ?u?p.? ?isei?ghk 'came upon, encountered it' 11.62A, sidgahda.d ?ewa. ku?p.? qe? ?ixsi?ghkinu. 'I came across, met some more of them at Sitka' 68.124A, kudax ?ahnu.?p.? ?isite?ghkijh 'they couldn't find him' 53.20L, ?u?p.? ku?se?ghkijh 'someone found him' 61.80A, dik ?u?p.? ku?si?ghkijh 'no one found her' 38.-4LM, dik ?u?p.? ku?i?i?p.kijh 'no one (cust) could find him' 32.4A, la.sii?ehkyu.?p.? ?i=suxi?eh da.y 'when I find cached-away things' 34.25L.

4. With o-?e.y 'in search of o' (itself requiring -k- classifier), 'S looks, searches (in definite direction for o, goes, towards (to definite place) in search of o': ?u?e.y ?iqe?x= i?ijhijh 'I'll go look for her' 10.271, 271A, ?ew?e.y ?isei?ghkinu. 'they looked for it' 11.-21A, o-?e.y ?isei?ghk 'she looked for o' 23.-142, 142A, ?ahnu.?e.y ?ii?gh 'they look for her' 38.23LM, ?edi?i? qe.dah ?ahnu.?e.y ?i.= i?p.k 'it (cust) came in immediately looking for them' 28.32A.

5. With o-?e.y as above and ye?y-progressive,

'S looks around, searches for o': ?u?e·x̄ yəx̄  
 ?i·kə?eh, ?u?e·x̄ yəx̄ ?i·kə?e· ?u?e·x̄ yəx̄ ?i·  
 kə?e· 'look for it!' L, ?ew dəkəx̄<sup>w</sup>e·g?e·x̄ yəx̄  
 ?i·kə?e· 'look for groundhogs!' 9.4A, ?u?e·x̄  
 yəx̄ ?iqə?x̄kə?eh 'I'll look for it' L, o-?e·x̄  
 yəx̄ ?ikə?ə·x̄ 'looks, searches for o': 3.8M, 11.=  
 24, 114, 25.85, 120, 33.70, 37b.86A, 38.23LM, 51.=  
 43, 46A, 53.19L, ?u?e·x̄ yəx̄ ?ix̄kə?ə·x̄ 'I'm  
 looking for it' L, ?ew ?u?e·x̄ yəx̄ ?ikə?ə·x̄  
 'what you're looking for' 51.61A, ?u?e·x̄ da·  
 yəx̄ ?ikə?ə·x̄ 'we're looking for it' L, ?ewlə=  
 ?e·x̄ yəx̄ ?ikə?ə·x̄j̄h 'he's looking for it (e.g.  
 hat, paddle)' L, ?u?e·x̄ yəx̄ k̄u?kə?ə·x̄inu·  
 'someone was looking around for them' 32.2A,  
 ca?kə?e·x̄ yəx̄ ?ikə?ə·x̄ləhd 'because you were  
 looking for a knife' 32.14A, ?u?e·x̄ yəx̄ ?ix̄s=  
 i?əh̄ 'I looked for it' L, ?u?e·x̄ da· yəx̄  
 ?i·k̄i?eh, ?u?e·x̄ da· yəx̄ ?i·k̄i?eh 'let's look  
 for it' L, ?ew?e·x̄ yəx̄ ?i·kə?e·x̄ (or -?ə·x̄)  
 ?u? dək̄l̄j̄h̄ 'I told him to look for it' L,  
 o-?e·x̄ yəx̄ ?i?kə?ə·k̄ 19.6L, o-?e·x̄ yəx̄  
 ?ikə?ə·k̄ '(cust) looks, searches for o' 18.51L,  
 25.76, 78, 33.62, 63A.

6. With yəx̄-progressive (see also 1., 7.,  
 9.): yəx̄ ?ikə?ə·x̄j̄h̄ 'looks around' 25.8, 51.54A,

ꝑeciyaʔꝑ yeꝑ ʔiɬeʔꝑ·ꝑꝑh 'he's looking around  
 down by the shore' L, gu·deg ꝑe·yeꝑ ʔiɬeʔꝑ·ꝑꝑh  
 'he looks around some more again' 37a.6L, gu·deg  
 ꝑe·yeꝑ ʔiʔiɬeʔꝑ·ꝑꝑh 'he (cust) looks around again  
 some more' 37a.4L; relativized: yeꝑ ʔiɬeʔꝑ·ꝑꝑh  
 'watchman' L, 2a.16M.

7. Indirect reflexive, with yeꝑ-progressive  
 or perhaps yeꝑ 'downward': ꝑaʔꝑ yeꝑ ʔisɬiʔꝑh  
 ꝑꝑh 'she looked herself over' ('she looked down  
 along herself') 22.6fnL, ʔedlah yeꝑ ʔeɬeʔꝑh  
 'he looks down around himself' 24.52fnA.

8. With e-č 'to, toward o', 'S (goes to  
 and) looks at o' (involving seeing an area or  
 object, but without movement or travel on the part  
 of S, or at most only a short walk or ride within  
 area): Rezanov Учушка-а 'Видеть sehen', Учу-  
 шка 'Смотреть sehen' ʔu·č ʔi·ɬʔꝑʔ '(ground)  
 look there!' 21b.13A, or ʔuč ʔi·ɬʔꝑʔ 'look at  
 it!' M, 'look at them!' 46.26M, ʔuč ʔi·ɬʔeʔ  
 '(go and) look at it!' 27a.9L, ʔewč ʔi·ɬʔꝑʔ  
 'look at that!' M, ʔelč ʔi·ɬʔꝑʔ 'look at this!'  
 M, sič ʔi·ɬʔeʔ L, sič ʔi·ɬʔꝑʔ 'look at me!'  
 M, 18.15L, 29.14, 14A, liɬdač ʔi·ɬʔꝑʔ 'look  
 at the tree!' M, ya·ꝑeč ʔi·ɬʔꝑʔ 'look at the  
 sky!' M, yꝑ·ʔč ʔi·ɬʔꝑʔ 'look down!' M, 51.60A,

yamr<sup>o</sup> ʔi·i<sup>o</sup>ʔ<sup>o</sup> 'look at the ground!' M, xi·<sup>o</sup>  
 ʔi·i<sup>o</sup>e<sup>o</sup> 27a.34L, xi·<sup>o</sup> ʔi·i<sup>o</sup>ʔ<sup>o</sup> 'look over  
 there!' M, 27b.40A, diK dəɣh<sup>o</sup> ʔe<sup>o</sup> ʔiqe<sup>o</sup>=  
 iəʔ<sup>o</sup>·əjh '(he's so conceited) he won't look at  
 people anymore' L, ʔu<sup>o</sup> ʔisei<sup>o</sup>eh<sup>o</sup>jh 'looked at  
 it' 12.20, 27G, o-<sup>o</sup> ʔisei<sup>o</sup>ʔ<sup>o</sup>h 'looked at o'  
 11.101, 20.7, 29.15A, 30.2L, 43.26, 46.15M, ʔu=  
 yeʔa<sup>o</sup>d<sup>o</sup> ʔisei<sup>o</sup>ʔ<sup>o</sup>h 'looked at his (own) hand',  
 ʔuKah<sup>o</sup>d<sup>o</sup> ʔisei<sup>o</sup>ʔ<sup>o</sup>h 'looked at his (own) feet'  
 23.66, 24.49A, ʔu·<sup>o</sup> ʔe<sup>o</sup> ʔisa<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup>ʔ<sup>o</sup>h 'looked  
 there again' 46.19M, lu·<sup>o</sup> ʔisei<sup>o</sup>ʔ<sup>o</sup>hjh '(went  
 and?) looked at the tide-beach' 4.18M, ʔu·<sup>o</sup> dā·  
 ʔisei<sup>o</sup>ʔ<sup>o</sup>h 'we (went and) looked there' 61.37A,  
 ʔu<sup>o</sup> ʔi·xi<sup>o</sup>ʔ<sup>o</sup>·ɣ siK deleh 'he told me to look  
 at it' L, active imperfective: ʔaw<sup>o</sup> ʔi<sup>o</sup>ʔ<sup>o</sup>h  
 'looks at it' 36.30A (probably unfinished custo-  
 mary -ʔ<sup>o</sup>·K), customary: ʔu·<sup>o</sup> ʔi·i<sup>o</sup>ʔ<sup>o</sup>·Kjh  
 '(cust) (goes and?) looks there' 28.51A, repeti-  
 tive: o-<sup>o</sup> ʔi<sup>o</sup>ʔ<sup>o</sup>·gjh 'keeps looking at o' 2a.10M,  
 11.125A, ʔahnu·<sup>o</sup> ʔi<sup>o</sup>ʔ<sup>o</sup>·gKjh '(cust) keeps look-  
 ing at them' 25.42A; indirect reflexive: de<sup>o</sup>i·  
 ʔad<sup>o</sup> ʔi·i<sup>o</sup>e<sup>o</sup>ʔ<sup>o</sup> 'look at yourself!' M, de<sup>o</sup>i·  
 ʔad<sup>o</sup> ʔe<sup>o</sup> ʔi·i<sup>o</sup>e<sup>o</sup>ʔ<sup>o</sup> 'look at yourself again!' M.

9. With ʔe·yeɣ 'backwards' (vocalization  
 of classifier apparently optional, see also 1.,

6., 7.): *qe·yeʒ ʔisʔiʔəhʔijh* 'looked back'  
31.15L, *ʔiʃ qe·yeʒ ʔiqeʔxʔeh* 'I'll look  
back at you' 48.18L, *ʔuqaʔʃ qe·yeʒ ʔisʔiʔəh=  
ijh* 'she looked back at her husband' 48.19L.

10. With *o-leʒ* 'more than o, past, beyond  
o' a. 'S sees o' ('S travels past o?', supple-  
tive for *O-ʔ-ʔe--ʔə* in all mode-aspects other  
than active imperfective, and for forms with  
-g-repetitive, or customary): active perfective:  
*o-leʒ ʔisəʔəhʔi* 'saw o': 1a.6M, 5.2L, 7.8, 10.3,  
92, 92, 11.6, 138, 153, 174, 175A, 14.2L, 15.20M,  
18.56L, 20.48A, 21a.36L, 23.134, 138, 25.88A, 26.4,  
27a.38L, 29.34, 69A, 31.12, 34.125, 37a.8, 10L,  
37b.10, 86A, 38.21M, 43.17M, 45a.6, 11L, 45b.6,  
11, 47b.31, 33, 37M, 51.65A, 52.3, 58.5L, 61.19,  
20, 26, 68.6, 41, 52A, 71.22LM, *ʔewsaʔʃ Kuleʒ  
ʔisəʔəhʔi* 'saw something in its mouth' 43.18M  
( 'looked at its mouth past something?', see 8.),  
*ʔəh ʔilaʔʃ əqe·ijleʒ ʔisəʔəhʔijh* 'saw (that)  
a man (was) boating along' 53.22L, *diK ʔewa·  
Kuleʒ ʔisʔəhʔi* 'didn't see any of them' 9.7A,  
*diK o-leʒ ʔisʔəhʔijh* 'didn't see o' 45a.5L,  
45b.5, 46.12M, *ʔewleʒ qeʔ ʔisʔeʔəhʔijh* 'he saw  
it again' 26.12L, *diK ʔəhleʒ qeʔ ʔisʔeʔəhʔi=  
sih* 'he didn't see him again' 21a.26L, *diK*

'ahnu·leḡ qeʔ ʔis̄eʔq̄h̄eḡj̄h 'he didn't see  
 them anymore' 37a.23L, kuleḡ qeʔ ʔis̄iʔq̄h̄inu·  
 'they saw another one' 37b.15A, ʔileḡ ʔis̄iḡ-  
 ʔq̄h̄i 'I saw you' M, diK ʔileḡ ʔixs̄iʔq̄h̄e 'I  
 didn't see you' 11.130, 130A, ʔuleḡ ʔis̄iḡʔq̄h̄i  
 'I saw it' L, diK ʔuleḡ ʔixs̄iʔq̄h̄e 'I never  
 saw it' 60.37A, 'I didn't see it' L, ʔuyeleḡ  
 ʔis̄iḡʔq̄h̄i 'I saw his hand' L, ʔiq̄d̄aleḡ ʔis̄iḡ-  
 ʔq̄h̄i 'I saw your foot' L, ḡiʔq̄ ʔuleḡ ʔis̄iḡ-  
 ʔq̄h̄inu· 'I saw them all' L (not acceptable to  
 insert qe- 'plural' in any position in sentence  
 L), diK dede·(kih)leḡd ʔixs̄iʔq̄h̄e 'I didn't  
 see anything (at all)' 10.176, 177A, sileḡḡ ʔi-  
 seḡʔq̄h̄i 'did you see me?' L, deḡp̄hleḡḡ ʔise-  
 iʔq̄h̄i 'did you see a person?' 29.50A, de·leḡd  
 ʔiseḡʔq̄h̄i 'what did you see?' L, diK ʔuleḡ  
 ʔis̄iʔq̄h̄e 'you didn't see it' M, diK ʔuleḡ  
 ʔileḡs̄iʔq̄h̄e 'you pl. didn't see it' M, sileḡ  
 kuʔseḡʔq̄h̄i 'someone saw me' LM, diK sileḡ  
 kuʔis̄iʔq̄h̄e 'no one saw me' M (perhaps to be  
 corrected to, perhaps optionally kuʔs̄iʔq̄h̄e,  
 kaʔs̄iʔq̄h̄e), diK ʔuleḡ kuʔis̄iʔq̄h̄e 'no one  
 saw it' M (as preceding), deʔu·ḡabd diK ʔuleḡ  
 qeʔ kuʔs̄eʔq̄h̄eḡj̄h 'since then no one has seen  
 him anymore' 39.6, 44.6L, inceptive perfective:

?ulex ?isexi?g·i 'I'm starting to see it' L,  
 dedi·yex ?ulex ku?cei?g·i: 'nobody yet ever  
 saw it' L, ?ilex ?isei?g·iadawa 'before he  
 sees you' L, inceptive imperfective: ?ilex  
 ?iqe?xi?eh 'I'll see you' M, diK ?ulex ?iqe?x=  
 i?g·e 'I won't see it' L, ?ilex qe? ?iqe?x=  
 i?eh 'I'll see you again' LM, diK ke?g ?ilex  
 qe? ?iqe?xi?e?g·e 'maybe I won't see you again'  
 L, lexlex qe? ?iqe?xi?eh 'I'll see you pl.  
 again' 21b.73A, ?ulex ?iqe?yih 'you'll see  
 it' 10.233A, 71.9LM, qa·l xex kulex ?iqe?=  
 yih 'you'll see something tonight' L, diK  
 ?g·d qa·lex ?iqe?lexi?e?g·e 'you pl. won't see  
 us here anymore' 32.27A, sillex qe? ?iqe?lex=  
 i?e· 'you pl. will see me again' 21b.76A, de?u·=  
 dexyi·kih qa·lex ?iqe?i?eh 'someone will see  
 us' 15.13M, diK de?u·dexyi·kih qa·lex ?iqe?=  
 i?g·e 'no one will see us' 71.16LM, sillex ku?=  
 qe?i?eh 'someone will see me' L, active imper=  
 fective (perhaps incorrect, normally 0-e-?e-?g):  
 diK kulex ?i?xi?g·e 'I don't see anything' L  
 (perhaps from repetitive -?a·ge or customary  
 -?g·ke, for which see below; L later rejects all  
 proposed active imperfective forms, e.g. \*?ulex  
 ?ixi?eh 'I see it', or neuter perfectives or

imperfectives with this theme), inceptive optative: ?eleŋgahɣ ?uleɣ ?iɛxiɫ?eh 'I wish I might see it' L, ?uleɣŋgahɣ ?iɛxiɫ?eh 'I hope I see him' L, ?uleɣŋgahɣ ?iɛi.ɫ?eh 'I hope you see him' L, ?uleɣŋgahɣ dM. ?iɛi.ɫ?e. 'I hope we see it' 28.2A, active optative: diK ?uga? kuxa?ɣ da?qe?li.xɫɣa.ɛ ?ileɣ ?i.xiɫ?eh 'I won't have enough time to see you' L, ?anah-ŋekih ?uxɛ?xɫeh ?uleɣ ?i.xiɫ?eh 'I'd like to see it' 71.4LM, ?uleɣŋgahɣ ?i.xiɫ?iɣiɣ 'I hope I see him' L, ?uleɣ da. ?i.liɫ?eh 'let's see it' L, ?uleɣ ?i.liɫ?iɣiɣ 'let him see it' L, ?uma.yu. ?ewleɣ ?i.liɫ?ehwahd 'so that her mother etc. would see it' 38.9LM, inceptive conditional: ?uleɣ ?iɛxiɫ?eh da.ɣ 'when I see it' L, ?uleɣ ?iɛi.ɫ?eh da.ɣ 'when you see them' 20.70A, ?ewleɣ ?iɛxiɫ?eh da.ɣ 'when he/she sees it' 25.79, 36.29A, ?uleɣ ku?ɛxiɫ?eh da.ɣ 'when someone sees it' 51.18A, inceptive subjunctive: ?uleɣ ?iɛuxɫ?e.ɣ ?ixleh M, ?uleɣ ?iɛxiɫ?ɣ.ɣ ?ixleh 'I want to see it' L, diK ?uleɣ ?iɛuxɫ?e.ɣ ?ixle.ɛ 'I don't want to see him' M, active subjunctive: ?uleɣ ?i?xiɫ?ɣ.ɣ ?ixleh 'I want to see it' L, cautionary negative inceptive imperative: ?ewleɣ qe?iɛxiɫ?ɣ.ɣijh 'be careful he

doesn't see it!' L, repetitive (active imperfective): ?ulex ?ixtʔə·g 'I keep seeing it, see it off and on' L, Kude·dah ?ulex ?i·xtʔə·gə 'I can't see it' L, diK ?ulex ?iʔxtʔə·gə 'I don't see it' L, customary: ?ulex ?ixtʔə·Kj̥h 'I (cust) see him' L, qe·dah ?uqi·dayaʔdlaʔ ?ixtʔə·Kj̥h 'all I (cust) ever see is the soles of his feet (he runs away so fast)' L, ?ulex qew ?iʔə·K 'you (cust) see it' 51.6A, wəʔ ?ulex ?i·ləxtʔə·K 'you pl. (cust) see them thus' 21b.-69A, ?ulexʔəh ?i·tʔə·K 'do you (cust) see him?' L, diK dəʔəh ?ulex ?iʔtʔə·Kj̥h 'no person ever (cust) sees him' L, diK dəʔəhyu·ləʔ ?iʔtʔə·Kj̥h 'he (cust) doesn't see people' 37a.-3, 5L, diK ?ulex ?iʔxtʔə·Kj̥h 'I (cust) never see him' L, diKəʔəh ?ulex ?iʔyitʔə·Kə, lahqə·dəʔə· 'don't you (cust) see him, around town?' L, siləʔ kuʔi·tʔə·K 'someone (cust) sees me' M, diK siləʔ kuʔiʔtʔə·Kə 'no one ever (cust) sees me' M, diK ?ulex kuʔiʔtʔə·Kj̥h 'no one ever (cust) sees him' LM; indirect reciprocal: ?ilələʔ da· ?iʔəʔə·K 'we (cust) see each other' L, diK ?ilələʔ da· ?iʔiʔəʔə·K 'we (cust) don't see each other' L.

10b. 'S foresees O' (attested in customary

only): active: ?ewləx ?i?ə·K 61.27, 27, 28A,  
?ewləx ?i·i?ə·K 'he (cust) would foresee it'  
61.57A, inceptive: ?ulex ?iqe?yil?ə·K 'you'll  
(cust) foresee it' 61.12, 14A.

10c. With ku-indefinite as o of o-ləx and  
repetitive, both perhaps thematized, 'S menstruates'  
( 'S keeps seeing, keeps seeing something'), active  
imperfective: Kulex ?i?ə·gih 'she's menst-  
rating' M (M unable to explain).

10d. With ku-indefinite as o of o-ləx,  
thematized (suppletive for (ku-)e-?e-?ə) 'S  
sees (has, gets sight)': wəx dəw Kulex qe?  
?isik?əh 'thus he regained his sight' 27b.58A,  
dik Kulex qe? ?isik?əh 'he couldn't see any-  
more, lost his sight' 10.11A.

11. With ya?x 'upward': ya?x ?i·i?ə?  
'look up!' M.

12. With o-qa?-x '(movement) amongst o':  
?uqa?x ?i·i?i?inu· 'look them over, look amongst  
them!' (to pick the guilty one) 52.26L.

?uyəq yəx ku?ə?ə·x (noun, unclassified) 'field  
glasses, binoculars, telescope' L. Nominalized  
active imperfective with yəx-progressive, 'one  
looks around in it'.

?uyəq yəx ...?ə?i (noun) 'telescope, probable

reading of Rezanov Уахъ-эхаамъ 'Труба зритель-  
ная Fernrohr'. Deverbalization with -k- instru-  
mental of preceding, or perhaps of 0-ʔ-ʔe--ʔq,  
perhaps to be read ʔuyeq̄ yeq̄ [k]aʔq̄k̄.

?e.<sup>1</sup> (with the exception of one uncertain form from A, always ?e·x̄, but nevertheless almost certainly to be analyzed ?e·-x̄, either expanded form of stem in o-?e?-x̄ '(movement) in place of (absent) o', or with ?e·- related to ?q·? and/or ?e-?q<sup>3</sup>, with -x̄ final or perhaps -x̄ subjunctive or progressive suffix, stem then to be identified as verbal, conceivably also to be identified with ?e.<sup>2</sup>; M occasionally phonologically non-canonic ?q·x̄, rejected by L and A, influenced by ?q·? and/or ?e-?q<sup>3</sup>)

~~o-?e·x̄ (postposition, with -x̄ final): 2u2e·x̄  
 'looking for it' A (not verified)~~

o-?e·-x̄ (postposition, with -x̄ final only; requiring k-(-ke-)classifier in certain, but not all themes which otherwise occur without k-classifier, cf. Kuqu?weše·č̄t̄, Kuše·č̄t̄x̄ under še, o-ya·x̄) 'looking for, asking for, about, whether, missing, in search of o': asyntactic: o-?e·x̄ 5.1, 52.2L, o-?q·x̄ 2a.17, 3.1M, si?q·x̄ M, si?e·x̄ 'looking for me' LA, ?ewgule?e·x̄ 'looking for it (liquid)' 25.77A, k-(-ke-)classifier not required: o-?e·x̄ l-ta 'S notices o is missing, misses o', o-?e·x̄ d-de-?a·č̄ 'S bawls for (absent) o', requiring k-(-ke-)classifier: o-?e·x̄ k-?a?č̄ 'pl. S go looking for o' 10.49, 104, 11.203A, 19.6L, o--?e·x̄ k-a 'sg. S goes in search of o' 10.104, 11.=

91, 23.108, 49.153A, ?əxəkihwahya·?e·x qu?xlah  
 'I'll go looking for the makings of a canoe' L,  
 o-?e·x yax kə-le?g-x 'S gropes about for o'  
 52.8, 14, 22A (< yax də-le?g-x 'S moves hands  
 about' < -le?g 'S moves hands'), incorrectly  
 lacking k-classifier: qe?i?e?x ?u·č ea·kjh  
 'went there looking for a woman' 58.1L; with  
 themes otherwise with k-classifier: ?əw?e·x  
 yax ?ida?di?kəča·qk 'he (cust) listens about  
 for it' 36.7A, ?u?e·x yax ?ida?dexkəča·qk  
 'I'm listening (about) for it' L, frequent in o--  
 ?e·x 0-?-d-k-qe?d-x 'S asks 0 about o, for o',  
 most frequent in o-?e·x ?i-k-?e--?ə 'S looks  
 for o', see ?i-k-?e-?ə 4., 5. under ?e-?ə<sup>3</sup>;  
 with verbal clause as o, 'whether, to see if ...':  
 qahx ?idedi·tux?e·x ?i?di·kqe?dxjh 'he (doc-  
 tor) asks you if you have a spitting-cough' L,  
 ?ida· ?ə?əhdč ?əh desəlii?e·x 'to find out if  
 he had spoken to his wife' 48.5L, ?ahnudč ?i-  
 ?ə·gkjh, ?ida· cu?d, kucu?d?e·x 'she (cust)  
 keeps looking at them, whether they're sleeping,  
 to see if they're sleeping' 25.42A.

o-e-č (postposition, with č final) 'looking for o':  
 si?e·č 'looking for me' A (not verified, status un-  
 certain, there being many instances of o-?e·x,  
 without č final with repetitive, customary, in-  
 ceptive perfective, with which č final is normal).

7e.2 (conceivably to be identified with 7e.1)

o-l-7e (postposition, with l-thematic, zero final only) l. 'different from o, unlike (normal) o':  
 24.98, 32.50, 68.92A, te7ya7yu7le7e 'different from (normal) salmon' 21a.10L, 21b.26, 38, 38  
 42A, o-l-7e ci7d-le 'S speaks differently from o' 68.82, 82, 83, 115A, silo7e 7uni7K 7ewa  
 7i7t7hinu 'their noses are different from mine' 24.30A, gu7dag 7owle7e qe7 ce7e7u7 'there you go pestering me again with yet another (different from that) request' L, with 7ew as o 'that', often here 'the norm': 7owle7e 'abnormal(ly), queer, odd(ly), different(ly), strange, foreign, peculiar' L, 7owle7e 7i7te7h 'it's different (etc.)' L, 7owle7e yi7ki7q7a7d7ih 'he's got queer hands' L, 7owle7e ci7d7el7ihinu 'they talk a foreign language', (nominalized) 'Scandinavians' LA, di7K 7ewa xu7 7ewa 7owle7e ci7d7uxle7e 'I wasn't the one though who spoke peculiarly' 68.115A.

2. 7owle7e 'menstruating' ('abnormal'):  
 7owle7e 7i7t7h7ih 'she's menstruating' M,  
 qe7k7eyu7 7owle7e 7i7te7h 'women are menstruating' 23.17, 19A.

cf. *la navaho -e* L 'Way', *l'z' -e* 'backward',  
*na's -e* 'around';

ʔeʔ-eʔ-eʔ-ʔi-i-iʔ-iʔ (variation irregular, largely inexplicable, see below; perhaps related to ʔe.<sup>2</sup>, perhaps present also in qeʔ-qeʔ, xeʔx, yeʔx, certain variants, especially ceʔ, of ciʔ-; partly confused or homophonous with yeq<sup>3</sup> under (o)-d-iʔ-q below)

O-qi-d-i-ʔeʔ (with qi-d-anatomical 'foot') 'S tracks down, follows track, trail of O': ʔiqi-dasaʔeʔi 'it (dog) is tracking you down' L, qa-qi-dasaʔeʔinu 'they're tracking us down' L, ʔiqi-dasaʔeʔi 'it tracked you down' L, frequently with yeʔ-progressive: yeʔ qi-duxʔeʔeʔx 'I'm tracking it down' L, yeʔ xuqi-dexeʔeʔx 'it (dog) is (going about) tracking me' L, yeʔ kuqi-dexeʔeʔx 'it, he is tracking something, someone' L, yeʔ xuquʔqi-dexeʔeʔ 'it'll track me' L, yeʔ ʔiqeʔqi-dexeʔeʔ 'it'll track you' L, yeʔ xuqi-disiʔeʔi 'it tracked me down' L.

o-ʔeʔ (postposition, attested with zero, -d, -daʔ, -x, -ʕ, and -Kah finals) la. 'into place, stead, lieu, trace, sign, mark, imprint, home of (temporarily, intermittently, permanently, partly absent or perforated) o': with zero final: ʔew ʔelʔeʔ 'this (is) in that's place, instead of that' L, ʔiʔeʔ ʔi-xadiyahʔ 'I went to your place but you weren't there' ('I went to your

vacated place') L, ?aw giyahgele?e? qasi·ya·s  
 'careful you don't fall (go) in the water (where  
 there sometimes is, used to be water?)' L; with  
 -d final 'at rest in, nominalization of': si?e?d  
 sedahiḥ 'he's sitting in my place' L, ?u?e?d  
 'at her place, home' L, ku?e?d 'imprint (of  
 body), trace (that something's been there), bed' L,  
 ku?e?dlw 'large imprint (of something)' M (nomi-  
 nalized) M, Rezanov Cuerna Пoсpoпoнuтbca aus-  
 weichen, aus dem Weg gehen' si?e?d '(in) my place,  
 way' L, ?u·d ?u?e?d 'that's its (normal) place'  
 L, diyuxxa?de?e?d 'mosquito-bite' L, qu·?e?d  
 'fireplace, fire-bed' 10.209A, xeded si?e?d  
 xq·? Kusaki·xinu· 'let them build something high  
 up as a place for me (my corpse)' 18.7L, with class-  
 and anatomical marks: ca?kde?e?d yiḥbiḥ 'she  
 has knife-marks on her' M, xiḥda?e?d 'place where  
 weapon-point went in' L, di·ya?gele?e?d place--  
 naem near Yakutat 'salt-water place (salt-water  
 absent or intermittently present)' L, gahleḥe-  
 ?e?d 'bullet-mark, -hole' L, ?ula·ḥleḥe?e?d 'its  
 eyehole, -socket in its skull; peephole in wall'  
 ('place of its absent, intermittently present eye')  
 L, kuleḥede?e?d 'place where there was snow' L,  
 kuqi·de?e?d 'footprint' L, ?ugede?e?d 'sitzmark,  
 where his rump has left an imprint in snow, mud' L,

?uxy·leyahyu·le?e?d yikihih 'he's got its teeth-  
 marks on him' A; with -d final compounded as o of  
 o-kah 'away from o': Rezanov Cvetekara-a Ho =  
 стопонка ausweichen, aus dem Weg gehen (Imperat.)'  
 si?e?dekah ?a.(?) (or ea.?) 'get out of my  
 way!' L; with -da? final 'arrival at': ?i?e?da?  
 siyahh 'I went to your place (though you weren't  
 home)' L, si?e?da? sahkih 'he came to, arrived  
 at my home' L; with -č final 'continuous, repeated  
 motion to': si?e?č qe? qu?xdah 'I'll go back to  
 my place' N; with -x final 'motion within area':  
 kučj·d?e?x li? daxuig 'bolt' ('it is screwed in  
 through place for screw') L, ?i?e?x ye? xda·x  
 'I went to (took a walk within) your place (but  
 you weren't home)' L, si?e?x ye? da·xih 'he  
 came to my place (but I wasn't home)' L, si?e?x  
 ye? sadahkih 'he married my ex-wife' ('he settled  
 down in my (former) place') L, ?ew?e?x siktahk  
 'I traded it for that' L, (o<sup>1</sup>-?e?x) (o<sup>2</sup>-a., -č)  
 O-k-ya·? 'S trades, barter, exchanges O (with,  
 to o<sup>2</sup>) (for o<sup>1</sup>)', with reciprocal o: ?ew ya·yu·  
 ?ik?e?x leyj·?inu· 'they're trading those things  
 (for each other)' L; with -kah final: si?e?kah  
 ?a., si?e?kahx ?a.?' 'get out of my way (place  
 where I'm working)!' L. ?ewla·x?e?x lahj ?ike-  
 či·ginu· 'they dip their fingers forward into its  
 eye(-socket)' 11.175A.

lb. With reflexive o (not attested with zero or -ɣ final, L rejecting \*ʔedʔeʔɣ, see ʔed-i-ɣ below): with -d final: ʔedʔeʔd 'home, at home' L, 68.12A, diK ʔedʔeʔde 'not at home' L, daʔu·dəxyj·kih siM ʔidaʔyah ʔi· ʔedʔeʔd 'someone told me you're at home' L, in indirect reflexive verbal clauses: ʔedʔeʔd xdedah 'I stay home' L, ʔedʔeʔd dedah 'he stays home' L, hiC ʔedʔeʔd dedihih 'he always stays home' L, ʔedʔeʔd yaʔ quʔxdedah 'I'll stay home' L, ʔedʔeʔd yaʔ ʔedede· 'stay home!' L, ʔedʔeʔd yaʔ ʔeleɣdeqe· 'pl. stay home!' L, ʔedʔeʔd da· yaʔ quʔdequh 'we'll stay home' L, ʔedʔeʔd yaʔ ʔededa·K '(cust) stays home' 28.53A, ʔedʔeʔd yaʔ ʔəkeda·Kih '(cust) makes O (O is (cust) made to?) stay home' 10.167A, ʔedʔeʔd xdikeh 'I'm at home' L, ʔedʔeʔd quʔxdekeʔ 'I'll be at home' L; with -daʔ final: ʔedʔeʔdaʔ8yuh qeʔ qaʔdah 'will he get back home?' M, ʔedʔeʔdaʔ qeʔ sdiyahk 'he got back home' 55.6L; with -C final: ʔedʔeʔC qeʔ quʔɣəla·daʔyah 'I'll run back home' M, diK8 ʔedʔeʔC qeʔ ʔeleɣ8deʔaʔC8e 'didn't you pl. go back home?' M, ʔedʔeʔC qeʔ ʔedeqe·Kih 'he'd (cust) boat back home' 56.7, 15, 18L, ʔq·Cahd ʔedʔeʔC qeʔ quʔxɬah 'I'll take it (stuff) back home hence' 15.7N, ʔedʔeʔC

da· quʔwəlah 'we'll take it back home' 15.12M,  
 ʔedʔeʔʕ ʔeʔ ʔixdileh 'I want (to go) back  
 home' L, ʔedʔeʔʕ ʔe·yəx xadiʔyahsɨ 'I long  
 for (to turn around and go back) home' L, ʔed-  
 ʔeʔʕ ʔəʕdih yiɨeh 'he's away from home' M,  
 ʔedʔeʔʕ ʔeʔ ədiyahɨh 'he went back home' M,  
 16.7, 47b.25M, ʔedʔeʔʕʕ ʔeʔ quʔyidah 'will  
 you go back home?' M, diKə ʔedʔeʔʕ ʔeʔ si-  
 da:is 'aren't you going back home?' M, further  
 instances in 43.6M and paradigmatic elicitations  
 from M.

2. 'into o' (where o itself refers to an  
 absence, aperture, cavity): with zero final:  
 qəməxʕideʔeʔ (or dəməxʕideʔeʔ) ʔəsi·ya·s  
 'careful you don't fall into a hole in the ice!' L,  
 lahʔeʔ ʔəla·saʔyahɨh 'he ran into a burrow'  
 22.9L, qiʔ qaʔ keyɨ·liɨʔeʔ ʔi·ədiyahɨh 'he  
 got stuck in a ditch' L, with -d final: dəke-  
 x<sup>M</sup>e·gyaʔ lahʔeʔd sədahɨh 'stayed in ground-  
 hog's burrow' 22.2L, kədəsəʕe·ʔeʔd səɨduʔ  
 'chink the crack in the wall!' M, ʔəwa·ləsəʔeʔd  
 quʔwaʔɨ 'window-curtain' L, with -ɨ final:  
 ʔəwa·ləsəʔeʔɨ quʔwaʔɨ 'window-curtain, drapes'  
 L, ʔewʔeʔɨ liʔ səkuʔg 'plug, stuff it (way)  
 into it (hole)!' L, kədəsəʕe·ʔeʔɨ ʔuʕ la·ɨəx-  
 ʕuhinu· 'I'm watching them through a crack in

the wall' M, ta·ʔeʔx ʔiyaʔ 'follow the trail!' L, Keyj·y ta·ʔeʔx ʔj·xədiməʔj 'I took the wrong road' L, lixahyaʔ ta·ʔeʔx sə·k 'was going along a grizzly-bear trail' 18.4L.

3. With indeterminate o and -d final (cf. (o-)d-i·ʔ-q' 8.): dəʔeʔd sədahkjh 'he stayed, sat e.g. in engine-room of a big boat' L ('in the hole, hold (of indeterminate o)'); meaning uncertain, 'in the place of indeterminate o', i.e. of 'things, cargo' as in 1., or 'in the hole, hold (of indeterminate o)' as in 2.?

4. 'for (lack, want of) o' (with zero, -x, and -ʕ finals only): with zero final: li·yaʔeʔ xədileʔgk 'I'm hungry for seafood' LM, ʔiʔeʔ lesexkgehk 'I'm getting lonesome for you' M, ʔuma·ʔeʔ disdiʔa·tjh 'he bawled for his mother' L, o·ʔeʔ -kj·x 'S cries for o' 2a.12M, 2b.15L, 23.46, 49.133, 136A. further instances under o--ʔeʔ də-leʔg, d-də-ʔa·t, l-k-g<sup>w</sup>ehs-; uncertain or incorrect usages: ʔewʔeʔ ʔudəseleh 'his mind (is) on it' A, qe·dah yəhd ʔuxəʔ ʔəhd kugg, siyahʔeʔ, səyahqəʕəhd ʔəhd kugg 'their house is simply bursting open, for (lack of?) food, from abundance of food it's bursting open' 49.137A (probably corrected mistake, influenced by ʔewʔeʔ kj·x 'crying for it (food)' 49.136A);

with -x final: te'ya'e'x xsdile'gk 'I'm hungry for fish' L, 'u'e'x xsdile'gk 'I have a desire for it' L; with -c final: si'ehd'e'c la'exigeht 'I'm getting lonesome for my wife' L.

5. '(subsisting) on o' (with -d final only): with themes daxph -he(?) 'S lives (is a person)' (-he(?) la.), -da ? (-da 'sg. S stays'), -qu ? (-qu pl. S stay'): 25.208, 209, 33.23A, 'u'e'd da' daxph yikh 'we live on it' L, ta'3 te'ya'e'd daxph xikh 'I (formerly used to) live on fish (so don't belittle them)' L, te'ya'e'd xdah 'I live on fish' L, te'ya'e'd da' quh 'we live on fish' L.

o-d-'e' (postposition, with d-thematic 'oral, noise', attested with zero and -x finals only; cf. (o-)d--i-'-q' 2.) 1. 'in o's vocal manner': with zero final: daxphyu'de'e' cjhjh 'he's singing an Indian song' L, daxphyu'de'e' xcjh 'I'm singing native style' L, with -x final: o-d-'e'-x d-le, o-d-'e'-x d-he-le (d-le ld.) 'S says like o, copies, mimicks o in speech'.

2. 'interrupting o('s speech)' (with -x final only, and preverb qa' 'up out'): side'e'x qa' cj'deseliikh 'he interrupted me' L, kude'e'x qa' cj'dale.kjh 'he (cust) interrupts one' L.

-y-ʔeʔ-d (noun, unclassified, postposition o-ʔeʔ

1. with y-thematic, probably thematized y-anatomical 'hand', attested only nominalized with -d final) 1. 'mark, sign, evidence (< o's handiwork?)':  
kuyeʔeʔd yikihih 'she has marks, evidence (of something) on her' M, xuqi·disihicug; ʔihgi-yikihyeʔeʔd lex selih 'my foot has been made to swell up; (it must be the handiwork of) a witch has done this' L, ʔaʔkuyeʔeʔd yileh 'it (pelt) has a bite-mark (from fighting) on it' L.

2. With ku-indefinite possessor (< o):  
kuyeʔeʔd 'grizzly-bear's den' ('handiwork of something (fearful)') L, kuʔluw kuyeʔeʔd qiʔ ku·leh 'area where there's a large grizzly-den present' L.

o-lɣdl-ʔeʔ-ɣ (postposition, o-ʔeʔ 1. with dl-thematic 'series', see -qi·dl-se-ʔeʔ below, attested only with lɣ-class o and -ɣ final) '(through series of) holes in (lɣ-class) o':  
kewu·dleɣəla·ʔeʔɣ  
'(through) holes in beads for stringing' L.

o-qi·dl-se-ʔeʔ (postposition, o-ʔeʔ 1. with dl-'series' and se-thematic, and qi·d-anatomical 'foot', attested with zero, -d, and ɣ finals) 'on track, trail, spoor, (series of) footprints of o':  
with zero final: siqi·la·seʔeʔ sahkih 'he followed (in) my trail' L, qa·qi·la·seʔeʔ ʔi·ʔaʔɕinu· 'they're on our trail' L, lacking o and

with inexplicable ?i- prefix in verb, perhaps thematic required with o-?e?, cf. o-lɣd-e-? below: qi·λa·eə?e? ?iʒdiʒeʒi 'wet snow covered the trail' L, qi·λa·eə?e? ?iʒdika·stʔi 'dry snow, sand, blizzard covered over the trail' L, with -ɣ final: ?iqi·λa·eə?e?ɣ eəxa·i 'I'm following along your trail' L, ?iqi·λa·eə?e?ɣ qu?xah 'I'll follow your tracks' L, ?uqi·λa·eə?e?ɣ ... iʒəh 'they smelled (her along) her track' 25.62, 62A, ?uqi·λa·eə?e?ɣ ?iʔəeʒiʒi 'sniff (along) his track!' L, siqi·λa·eə?e?ɣ ?iəeəeʒiʒi 'it (dog, sniffing) is following (along) my trail' L, with -d final, nominalized: ?əhqi·λa·eə?e?d, ?əh qeʔəqi·λa·eə?e?dwa·lɣ 'he trail, by (following with close attention to) the woman's trail' 25.127A, ɜəhqi·λa·eə?e?d 'Milky Way' (see ɜəh).

-dl-(eə-)?e?-d (noun, probably unclassified, post-position o-?e? l. with dl-class-mark for o, eə--thematic, attested only nominalized with -d final) 'hole of, for (intermittently, permanently absent dl-class possessor)': cɣ·yλa·eə?e?d 'knothole' A, λa·ɣeʔi·dλa·eə?e?d 'buttonhole' L, λa·ɣeʔi·dλa·eə?e?dga? ?i·iila·ɣ 'he has narrow slitty eyes (like buttonholes)' L (perhaps to be corrected to -λa·eə?e?d-, or eə--thematic perhaps

truly optional, analogical by influence of o--  
qi·dl-se-?e? and/or qi?se?e?d-).

qi?se?e?d-qe?se?e?d-qi?se-?d (noun, unclassified,  
latter forms less frequent, allegro only; qi?  
'place where', se-?e?-d o-?e? l. with se-themat-  
ic, nominalized with -d final) 'bed' L, 18.28L,  
Old Man Dude qe'q̄h̄t̄ 'bed (modern)' BSdL 546,  
lič ?aw qi?se?e?d (or qe?se?e?d) ?ixə? zu?  
sele·gk' '(cust) make your bed!' L.

o-lɣd-e-? (postposition, with lɣd-anatomical 'eye',  
-ləxədə?e? > -ləxədə-?, but for different phono-  
logical development of -de-?e?- cf. Kulexədə-  
?e?d 'place where there was snow', ?ula·xleḡe-  
?e?d 'eye-socket' under o-?e? la., and -la·x-  
-e? below, also o-d-i-?, o-d-i-?-q̄ below;  
attested with zero, -d, and x finals) l. 'in o's  
eye' (literal); with zero final: ?ulexədə-? ?aw  
secu·xjh 'poke it in his eye!' L; with  
reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction:  
?edləxədə-? xdelugg 'I'm rubbing (in) my eyes'  
L, nominalized, requiring eɪ?-thematic with suf-  
fixed adjective, in epithets: ?iləxədə-?eɪ?luw  
'(your) big eyes!' (pejorative) 11.139A, more cor-  
rectly with deleted o (or possessor): ləxədə-?-  
eɪ?luw 'big-eyes!' (pejorative) 10.96A, ləxə-  
de-?eɪ?kučg 'small-eyed (people)' L, in compound:

ʒawa·ləʒade·ʔ:iʔgiyah 'berry species' ('dog's--  
 eye-water') LMA, perhaps nominalized, perhaps re-  
 quiring otherwise inexplicable ʔi- prefix to  
 verb (see also under o-qi·dl-əə-ʔeʔ): o-lɣd-e·ʔ  
 ʔi-de-tuʔe 'o gets black eye'; with -d final 'at  
 rest in, nominalization of': ʔiləʒade·ʔd 'the in-  
 side of your eye' LM, siləʒade·ʔd 'in my eye' L,  
 siləʒade·ʔd yeʒ geli·ʔah 'my eye is watering'  
 ('it (gl-class, liquid) extends down from (a posi-  
 tion at rest in) my eye' M; with -ʒ final 'move-  
 ment within area': o-lɣd-e·ʔʒ O-i-dʒ·e 'S dips  
 O (here humor) with finger out of o's (here whale's)  
 eye to lick' 10.24, 25, 11.177, 183A, ʒahəlləʒe-  
 de·ʔʒ gu·cu·x 'thread the needle!' ('thrust it  
 (thread) through needle-eye!') L.

2. With zero or -d finals only, 'in o's eyes,  
 sight', a. in construction o-lɣd-e·ʔ S C -ləe(?)  
 'S looks like a C to o': 20.27, 25.121, 51.7A, ʔu-  
 ləʒade·ʔ dəʒyħ ʔaw yiħeh 'in their eyes it was  
 a person, she looked human to them' 23.83A, with  
 reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction:  
 deʔa· ʔedləʒade·ʔd dəʒyħ diħħiħ 'in his own  
 eyes he was a person' 23.56A, deʔa· ʔedləʒade·ʔd  
 dəʒyħ ədiħeʔi 'in his own eyes he had turned into  
 a person' L, with S C O-ʔ-l-i-ʒa' 'S makes O C'  
 (suppletive causative of preceding): dəʒyħy·

qa·ləxəde·ʔd ʔuʔli·ʔjɨhɨh 'he has then looking like people in our eyes' 11.30A.

2b. Perhaps less figurative: siləxəde·ʔd səlxəʔkɨ 'I'm getting faint, blacking, passing out' ('it's getting dark in my eyes') L.

-dəs-e·ʔ (kinship noun, non-ascending; probably < o-dəs-ʔeʔ 'in place above, higher than, upland from o', cf. -caʔ-kih '(woman's) older sister' (< 'below, downhill from, diminutive'), -;3-kih '(woman's) brother' (< 'forward of, diminutive'), cf. also -dəs-eʔ-- below; conceivably however < -d-se·ʔ or -d-se-e·ʔ) 'younger sibling', see under dəs.

Kədəsədə·ʔ (probably < Ku-də-sədə-e·ʔ), see də·ʔ.

o-la·ɣ-eʔ- (postpositional phrase, with -la·ɣ 'eye', declassified, cf. ʔula·ɣləxəʔeʔ, Kələxədəʔeʔ under o-ʔeʔ la., and o-lɣd-e·ʔ; with -d and -ɕ finals only) 'in o's eyes, imagination, sight': sila·xəʔd, sila·xəʔɕ 'to my eyes, in my sight' M, sila·xəʔd kəʔu·dəh ʔuʔsədəʔeh 'it looks good to me' M, wəɣ ʔila·xəʔd kəʔsədəʔeh 'you're seeing things, imagining things, having hallucinations' ('something looks thus in your eyes') 46.26M.

(o-)dəs-eʔ--i- (variants of o-ʔeʔ compounded with preverb and postposition (o-)dəs, -eʔ- required

with -ɣ final, -i- in compound with -daʔ and -da·qʔ (< -d-qʔ) as final elements), see des 1., 2., d-ʔya 2f., o-dae 2b.

lae-eʔ--i- (variants of o-ʔeʔ compounded with preverb and postposition (o-)lae, -eʔ- required with -ɣ final, -i- in compound with -gaʔ as final element), see lae 1., 2., 3., o-lae 1.

(ɣe-)yaɣ-eʔ-ɣ, see under yaɣ<sup>3</sup>.

ɣ-eʔ-ɣ, see ɣeʔɣ.

taʔ-qʔ-eʔ--i-ɕ (L regularly taʔqeʔɕ, M regularly taʔqʔiɕ), see under taʔ-.

ʔad-i-ɣ (preverb, < postpositional phrase \*ʔad=-ʔeʔ-ɣ, which L reject as such, o-ʔeʔ 1b. with -ɣ final, thematized and preverbialized, not requiring vocalization of classifier in verb; position partly postpositional rather than preverbial, always preceding other preverbs, occasionally preceding postpositional phrase with pronominal o; attested with zero, -d, -daɣ, -ɕ, and -ɕahd finals, connective vowel with -ɕ and -ɕahd finals -i-, ʔadiɣiɕ < ʔad-ʔeʔ-ɣ-(ə)ɕ, cf. -iʔ--ʔi--i-i--ɕa'- below) 1. 'inside (house), in(doors)': with zero final: 2a.35M, 7.25, 27, 9.54, 76, 81, 150, 167, 11.20, 20, 21, 129A, 18.67, 69, 21a.12L, 21b.-5, 23.3, 43, 44, 69, 25.96, 28.60, 62A, 47b.39M, 47c.18, 20, 55.24L, 60.58, 58, 61.44, 65.15, 16, 19,

20, 54, 55A, ?edi? ?edqu?xdelas 'I'll jump in-  
 (to house)' A, ?edi? qu?da? 'chase it in!' L,  
 edikus?yu? ?edi? saha? 'bring in the laundry!' L,  
 ?edi? sa? 'come in!' L, 18.36L, 23.44A,  
 ?edi? sahi?h 'he went in' L, 29.56A, 40.6L, 47b.-  
 47n, 55.10L, ?u?d ?edi? sahi? 'went in there'  
 18.29, 31, 41, 42, 27.40, 55.10L, ?edi? ?iqe?-  
 di?(?)?ah 'it (smoke) will come in (house)' L,  
 hi? qe?i? ?edi? sah da?z 'always when a woman  
 comes in' L, always preceding qe?: ?edi? qe?  
 9.76, 167A, 18.69L, 23.69, 28.39, 65.16, 54A,  
 ?edi? qe? sdiyahi?h 'he came, went back in' L,  
 7.25, 27A, once preceding postpositional phrase  
 with pronominal o: ?edi? ?aw? de?a?at 'he went  
 in with it' 28.11A (but cf. 23.91A); with -d final  
 'at rest in, nominalization of', here sometimes  
 'confined indoors, confinement': 11.54A, 18.37L,  
 21b.46, 49.47, 62.25G, di? dax?h ?u?d ?edi?de  
 '(there was) no person in there' 7.32A, ?edi?d  
 ya? ?ade? 'stay inside!' L (cf. ?ad?e?d ya?  
 ?ada? 'stay at home!' L), ?edi?d sedahi?h 'he's  
 inside' L, ?edi?d saxga?i? 'I'm getting tired  
 of being confined indoors' L, ?edi?d siga?i? 'I  
 got bored indoors' L, ?edi?d ya? la?iqe?xi?quh  
 'I'll make you pl. stay indoors' L, ?edi?d ?i-  
 saiqe?si? 'it (smoke, odor) is getting thick in-

doors' M, *ɬəhd ʔediɣd ʔiɣedeteʔa·ɬ* 'smoke is hovering inside the house' L, *diɰ ʔediɣd ʔidah ʔesɬiɬeɣh* 'he didn't clean house (the indoors)' L, preceding preverb: *qelahqaʔgaʔdaʔɣ ʔediɣ lah seɣah da·ɣ* 'when I walk four times around inside' 19.16L, with proclitic *de-* 'ipse': *deʔediɣd* '(she stayed) right indoors' 25.126A; with *-deɣ* final: *ʔedixdeɣ yeɣ da·ɣɣh* 'he's walking about indoors' L, *ʔedixdeɣ yeɣ seɣ·diɬaʔɬ* 'the floor inside is muddy (here and there)' L, *ʔedixdeɣ yeɣ seɬetededeɬaʔɬ* 'the floor is getting muddy' L; with *-ɕ* final: 9.53, 77, 80A, 19.21L, 21b.43, 23.-91, 28.11, 32, 32.48, 49, 33.15, 65.56A, *ɬaʔg ʔe·diɣiɕ seɬaʔ* 'bring in (one load of) firewood!' M, *ɬaʔg ʔediɣiɕ seɬya·ʔ* 'bring in (several loads of) firewood!' M, *ʔediɣiɕ ʔideseʔa·ɬ* (or *ʔidaseɬe·ʔaʔɬ*) 'it (smoke) is coming indoors' L, *ʔediɣiɕ se·ɬɣh* 'he's coming in' L, 18.37L, 28.31A; with *-ɕəhd* final: *ʔediɣiɕəhd qaʔ ɣəɬa·saʔyahɬɣh* 'he escaped (running, up out) from inside the house' L.

2. With figurative meaning a. (attested with *-ɕ* final only, and as o of *o-ʔi---iʔ---i-ɬ-ɕa-* 'side of, direction of o') 'in toward shore': *ʔe·diɣiɕ daseʔya·ɬ* 'it (steamer) is coming in' L, *ʔediɣiɬɕa·ɕ lah seɣeɣhɣh* 'he (boating) turned (around) in shoreward' M.



clear; attested with -d, -x, and -dox finals only) 1. lu· (preverb, here treated as d-class noun, or conceivably with -d final) 'turn of tide, tide-beach', lu·-d-i·? 'at tide-beach', see lu·<sup>2</sup>.

2. With -x final only, in *deḷqaʔedi·?x* 'through the smokehole' 11.14, 34, 36, 42A, see (o-)d-i·?-q̄ 6b. below.

(o-)d-i·?-q̄ (postpositional phrase, with d-mark as last element of class- or thematic mark, or with da- indeterminate o, with -q̄ final or as o of o-q̄ 'on o', but probably in some cases to be interpreted as < -da-yeq̄ with stem yeq̄<sup>3</sup> of o-y q̄ 'in o', rather than -da-ʔeʔ-q̄, but cf. such forms as regular -dayeq̄, and where -Co-yeq̄ is clearly shown to undergo morphophonological change, the result is -Co·q̄, see -y-ḷe·q̄ < -y-ḷe-yeq̄, cf. also ca·le·x- < ca·le-yeḷ-; attested with zero, -d, and -č finals) 1. with d-class mark for o: with zero final: Rezanov *Каллматехъ* 'Гочна Zahnfleisch' perhaps to be read qa·lu·čedi·?q̄ 'inside of my (inside) cheek', see lu·č, *Каллматехъ* 'Внутренняя' (not in Radlov, 'interior') probably to be read qa·ḷe·kedi·?q̄ 'inside our, human thorax', *Siše·kedi·?q̄ yeḷ lekaḥdḷ* 'I have shooting pains (about) in my chest' L; with

-d final: sidəgaʔq̄ɬdiʔq̄d 'the inside of my throat' L, sidəgaʔq̄ɬdiʔq̄d siyaʔ yikaʔd 'my throat is sore' L, sidəgaʔq̄ɬdiʔq̄d dataʔ kuʔ-yaht 'something is stuck in my throat' L; as o of o-yaʔ-d '(at rest in, nominalization of) in o (with broad opening at top)' (here topographical): daʔdiʔq̄ɬyaʔd place-name, 'Marten River' ('at on the place of alluvial mud').

2. With d-thematic 'oral, noise', zero final only (cf. o-d-ʔeʔ), 'in o's vocal manner': 68.78A, qaʔdiʔq̄ cɪʔdəlɪhɪh 'he talks our language' L, sidiʔq̄ cɪʔdəlɪhɪh 'he speaks my language' L, sidiʔq̄ ʔiqeʔcɪʔdiʔxɪh 'I'll make you talk my language' L, dəɣɸhyuʔdiʔq̄ cɪhɪh 'he's singing (it) Indian-style' L, dəɣɸhyuʔdiʔq̄ (same as dəɣɸhyuʔdeʔeʔ) kuxcɪh 'I'm singing a Native song' L; with reflexive o, clause perhaps indirect reflexive, but lacking vocalized classifier in verb, or perhaps < ʔede- 'genuine, real': ʔeddiʔq̄ cɪʔdəlɪhɪh 'he talks "deep" (i.e. archaic, difficult, elegant Eyak)' L.

3. In possible etymology of kudiʔq̄ 'Aleut' (Chugach Eskimo)', see kudiʔq̄-.

4. As 1. and 2. above, combined with l-anatomical 'head' (under influence of meaning of 2. and frequency in 1. of reference to throat and

chest as o, and of -l-yeq'), attested with -d final only: siledi·ʔqđ 'way back inside my nose and throat' L.

5. With ʔe-liʔ(-d ?) 'deeply in closed end of area' perhaps with -d final, or with d-class or thematic mark, or perhaps to be read ʔeliʔ di·ʔqđ with di·ʔqđ as in 8. below; with -d final: ʔeliʔdi·ʔqđ 'way inside there (e.g. in pipe, under bed)' L.

6. With ed-thematic 'place', attested with zero, -d, and -ʃ finals a. 'breakers': ʔq·gudaʔd ʔedi·ʔqeʃ 'into the breakers at the mouth of the river' 68.48A, ʔedi·ʔqeʃ ʔeqe·ʔih 'he's boating out toward the breakers' L.

6b. ʔeʔqaʔʔedi·ʔq(-) 'smokehole', see under ʔeʔ-, o-qaʔ 7. under qaʔ-qaʔ-qaʔ.

7. With ʔd-thematic, ~~from N-only~~, perhaps incorrect and under influence of ʔeda·q, see o-q 2d.(4), with reference to low offshore Egg Islands; attested with -d and -ʃ finals: ʔedi·ʔqđ 'out in the breakers' M, ʔedi·ʔqeʃ ʔeqe·ʔih 'he's boating out towards the breakers' M; ʔuhs-ʔedi·ʔqđ place-name (? , somewhere on Copper River Delta, 'on riverbank') L.

8. With de- indeterminate o (cf. o-ʔeʔ 3.), attested with zero and -d finals: 'inside (inde-

terminate o, completely closed area)': a. di·ʔqđ  
satah̄ 'it's inside (something)' L (cf. kuyeqđ  
'it's inside something (specific)' L).

8b. With causative of these -ʔya 36., 'in  
oven, baking, roasting': ʔaw di·ʔq quʔxtyah  
'I'll roast it' L, teʔyaʔ di·ʔq quʔxtyah 'I'll  
roast a fish' L, di·ʔq s̄iʔyah̄ teʔyaʔ 'roast-  
ed fish' L.

8c. With ʔeʔ 'night, darkness' in compound  
(?), -d final only: ʔeʔdi·ʔqđ 'jail' ("because  
it's dark inside") L (perhaps actually < ʔeʔ  
di·ʔqđ 'confined at night'), ʔeʔdi·ʔqđčah̄  
qaʔ ʔeʔa·saʔyah̄ih 'he escaped from jail' L.

8d. With reference to egg (d-class, per-  
haps indirect reflexive with deleted o): di·ʔq  
ʔa·sdixah̄, di·ʔq ʔa·dixah̄ 'it (inside of egg)  
is developing into a chick' L.

ʔa (active imperative sometimes ʔe; marginally confused with ʔa'-ʔaʔ, see especially ʔi-d-ʔa; certain nominalizations and deverbalizations listed under ʔa'-ʔaʔ may contain stems to be identified as instances of ʔa; perhaps related also to at least some instances of ʔah<sup>1</sup>, and/or ʔah<sup>2</sup>)

-ʔa 1. 'S (sg., not in container) is, gets in position' (for discussion of nature of S see -ta, and "Noun-classificatory systems in the Athapaskan, Eyak, Tlingit, and Haida verb", IJAL 34.3: 147-205 (1968); rare with unclassified S; with classified S sometimes as acceptable alternative to, interchangeable with, preferable alternative to, or exclusively acceptable to the exclusion of -ta; there appears still to be a weak progression from use of -ta for non-roundish-shaped classified S to use of -ʔa for roundish-shaped classified S; not attested with the great variety of locational and directional postpositional phrases and preverbs as are attested with -ta only because most such forms were elicited with unspecified object, for which the stem -ta is used much more frequently than -ʔa) attested mainly in elicitations of the form S ʔu'd -seʔahʔ 'S is (has gotten into position) there' (active per-

fective used with force of neuter): with unclassified S (rare, almost always -ta but see also 2. below): *lesedaqaʔi ʔu·d seʔah̄i* 'an axe (also 1-class) is there' L, *seeset ʔu·d seʔah̄i* (or -tah̄i) 'a quoit is there' L, *ʔeta· ʔu·d seʔah̄i* (or -tah̄i) 'an adze is there' L, with d-class S (use of -ta slightly predominant): *caʔi ʔu·d deseʔah̄i* 'a knife is there' L, also attested with *kudeʔuhdg* 'egg', *gah̄e* 'piece of spruce-pitch', *yah̄d* 'house', *dideʔi* 'lamp', *yʔ·ʔdeʔaʔi* '(finger-)ring', *ʔid* 'piece of ice', *ʔah̄d̄i* 'sled, car', *daʔ* 'piece of mud', *seʔq̄i* 'bracele', *ciλ* 'board', *kuleqah* 'head', *kugeʔah* 'tail', *ci·* 'mussel', *ye·t* 'piece of wild celery', *la·xga·* 'store', *ʔuʔʔ* 'piece of driftwood', *ʔi* 'spoon', *ʔgu·na·* 'schooner', *lis* 'spruce', *ʔdu·lih̄e* 'table', *gu·deg teʔyaʔ=guʔah ʔu·d qeʔ disdiʔah̄i* 'again another fish-tail was there' 46.20M, with dl-class S (-ʔa much predominant over -ta): *ca· ʔu·d la·seʔah̄i* 'a stone is there' LM, also attested with *tes̄i* 'hammer', *la·ʔeʔi·d* 'button', *we·gʔg* 'ulu', *tewi·s* 'stone axe', *la·iʔe·ʔg* 'quartz', *gu·neca·* 'gold nugget', *ʔideʔ* 'copper nugget', *ʔah̄i* 'needle', *kih̄i* 'dipnet', *ʔewel* 'net',

cĭ· 'branch', with ti·l-class S (rare, almost always -ta): ʒa·tʻ ʔu·d tĭ·seʔahĭ (but -tahĭ preferred) 'a skunk-cabbage-leaf is there' L, with g-class S (-ta predominating): kuʔtʻ ʔu·d guseʔahĭ 'a vein, tendon is there' L, with gd--class S (mixed): ʔihx ʔu·d gedasetahĭ 'a piece of grass is there' L, attested also with ma· 'lake', with gl-class S (mixed): ma·sʎa· ʔu·d gy·seʔahĭ 'a piece of butter is there' L, attested also with di·yaʔ 'chunk of salt', with ʒd--class S (-ta predominating): ĩe·akʻ ʔu·d ʒede-seʔahĭ 'a log is there', attested also with iaʔg 'firewood', sĭhx 'resin', with ʒdl-class S: ʔuhs ʔu·d ʒeʎa·seʔahĭ 'a riverbank is there' L, with qĭ·dl-class S: duh ʔu·d qĭ·ʎa·seʔahĭ 'a piece of kelp (*Nereocystis*) is there' L, with l-class S (-ʔa predominating): kuʔusi ʔu·d leseʔahĭ 'a heart is there' L, teĭĭ ʔu·d ʔĭ·seʔahĭ 'a hammer is there' L, also attested (ʔĭ·seʔahĭ) with ʔĭ·ditu·tʻ 'black abalone', ʔĭ·ĭxi·ŋg 'red abalone', le·edeqaʔĭ 'axe', meʒiduhg 'herring-roe(-sac)', qama· 'roe(-sac)', kuqax 'piece of fat', kuša·w 'head', ʔeʔa·tʻ 'basket', tʻiyahd 'hat', ke-wesgĭ 'paddle', ʒuhĭg(ĭ) 'shovel', with lʒ--

class S (-ʔa almost always, except where S is not intact): laʔmahd ʔu·d ləʔesəʔah̄ 'a berry is there' LM, attested also with 'ball', ʔa·bels 'apples', gahc 'bullet', ʔə·ʃ 'orange', 'strawberry', with l̄d-class S (mixed): saḥ yə·ʔ 'pill', suḡ ʔu·d ləʔədəsəʔah̄ 'a piece of fluff is there' L, attested also with kuh̄d̄ 'piece of moss', xiḡ ləʔədəq̄ 'snowball', with q̄i·l-class S: kuḡeh̄ ʔu·d q̄i·səʔah̄ 'a piece of rope is there' L, with anatomical marks used as class-marks: ge·k̄ta·ḡk̄ah̄ ʔu·d q̄i·dəsəʔah̄ 'a seal-flipper is there' L, kuḡy·ləyah ʔu·d ʔy·səʔah̄ 'a tooth is there' L, neuter perfective: kudeʔuh̄dg di·ʔah̄ 'an egg is in position' L, active imperfective (used in customary or ethical sense): ʔu·d̄səw ləʔah 'is that where it (hat) belongs?' L, diK ʔu·d ləʔahc 'it (hat) doesn't belong there' L, ʔəw q̄iʔ ləʔah 'that's it's (hat's) place' L.

2. Of certain (postmeridianal) positions or movements of the sun (see also k̄ə-ʔa, yəʔ (ʔi-)k̄ə-ʔa, ʔu·nahd ʔiḡəʔah): with yəʔ 'downward': Rezanov ИЖКААТЪ 'Заходение солнца Sonnenuntergang' yəʔ seʔa·i 'sun is setting' L, yəʔ seʔah̄ 'sun went down (set, went down out of sight, behind horizon, mountain)' LM, Rezanov

Exocastary 'Заря вечерная Abenddämmerung' yeḡ  
 seʔahiduh 'sun has set!' L, siq' yeḡ seʔah  
 'sun set on me' L, yeḡ qaʔah, yeḡ quʔweʔah  
 'sun will set' L, yeḡ ʔeʔa·k' 'sun (cust) sets'  
 L; with yḡ·ʔ-č '(continuous movement) down,  
 further down': yḡ·ʔč seʔa·i 'the sun is on its  
 way down (from high point)' L.

O-(i-)ʔa (irregular causative of -ʔa, k-classifier  
 in active and neuter perfectives only, but see  
 also dəḡḡhyu· dəiʔah) 'S positions, moves,  
 carries, leaves, takes, puts sg. O (not in con-  
 tainer, usually classified)' la. with no preverbs  
 or postpositional phrases: li·ʔaʔ 'put it (ham-  
 mer) in place!', take it (hammer) M, leḡi·ʔaʔ  
 'put it (ball, apple) in place!' M.

1b. Idiomatically, 'S owns, runs O (estab-  
 lishment, enterprise)', with d-class-mark for O  
 'building' perhaps thematized: la·xga deḡeḡ-  
 ʔahijh 'he owns, runs a store' L, cannery de-  
 seḡʔahijh 'he owns, runs a cannery' L.

2. With locative demonstratives: active im-  
 perfective in customary or ethical sense: ʔḡ·d  
 qəl ʔaw čiyahd siḡaʔ lexʔah 'here's where  
 I (ordinarily) keep my hat' L; passive: ʔu·d  
 šiʔahḡ, ʔu·d sdiʔahḡ 'it (axe) has been put,

left there' L.

3. With ya? 'completely, to a state of rest': ya? di·?e· 'set it (egg) in place!' L.

4. With qe? 'back, again', 'S finds, recovers O': qe? λa·sih'ahh 'I found it (stone)' L, qe? ləxesi'h'ahh 'I found it (apple)' L.

5. With ?a?d 'out (of house)': ?a?d de·eə?a? 'put it (d-class O) out of the house!' M.

6. With yeḡ-progressive, 'S carries O about': yeḡ ?ade?a· 'carry it around' L, yeḡ la·de?e· 'carry it (hammer) around!' M, yeḡ λa·de?a·ḡ 'he's carrying it (stone) around' M, yeḡ xadi·?ahh (or xāi-, but former preferred) 'I carried it around' L, da· yeḡ la·di?ah 'let's carry it (hammer) around' M.

7. With ya?ḡ 'up': ya?ḡ eə?a? 'lift it, pick it up (axe, adze)!' L, ya?ḡ ?i?a?, ya?ḡ ?ə?a? 'lift it, pick it up (axe, adze)' (less imperious than ya?ḡ eə?a?) L, ya?ḡ ti·li·?a?, ya?ḡ ti·leə?a? (former preferred) 'pick it (skin) up!' L, ya?ḡ deə?a? 'pick it (knife) up!' L, ya?ḡ leḡeə?a? 'pick it (apple) up!' L, ya?ḡ λa·eə?a? 'pick it (stone, hoop, net) up!' L, ya?ḡ qu?x?ah 'I'll lift it' L, diK ya?ḡ qu?x?ahə (or, perhaps, -?a·ə) 'I won't

lift it' L, yaʔɣ quʔdi·xʔah 'I'd lift it  
(table)' M, yaʔɣ seʔa·h̄h 'he's lifting it'  
L, yaʔɣ leʔesihʔah̄ 'I picked it (apple) up'  
L, ʔew leʔeseʔa·ɣ ʔuʔ dexih̄h 'I told him  
to pick it (apple) up' L.

8. With qaʔ 'up out' (see also 18c.): qaʔ  
la·seʔaʔ 'pull it (net) up!' A.

9. With yaʔ 'down': yaʔ deseʔaʔ 'set  
it (knife) down!' L, yaʔ la·seʔaʔ 'set it  
(rock, hoop, net) down!' L, leʔedeʔaʔ̄h̄ yaʔ  
sih̄ʔah̄ 'I set an axe down' L, yaʔ disih̄ʔah̄  
'I set it (piece of money, knife) down' L, yaʔ  
la·sih̄ʔah̄ 'I set it (rock) down' L.

10. With laʔq̄ 'thickness, collapse' and  
lɣ-anatomical 'eye': laʔq̄ leʔeseʔaʔ 'take  
its eyeball out!' L (perhaps incorrect, later re-  
jected by L).

11. With qe·yeɣ (qeʔ-qe·- 'back, again' and  
yeɣ 'reversal of motion') and d-class-mark for O  
'money', perhaps partly thematized, see also 12.,  
13., 14., 'S pays O back': qe·yeɣ deseʔaʔ 'pay  
it back!' L, dexi· ʔiʔ ʔew qe·yeɣ disih̄ʔah̄  
'I paid you back already' L.

12. With yeqaʔ 'piling up, accumulation',  
ku-indefinite O, and d-class-mark for O, perhaps

partly thematized, see also 11., 13., 14., 'S collects money in church': yaqa? kudisi?ah? 'I collected money (something d-class) in church' M.

13. With o-y-ya? 'into o's control' ('by, in intimate relation with o's hand'), Ku-indefinite O, and d-class-mark for O, perhaps partly thematized, see also 11., 12., 14., 'S lends o O (money)': du'yaqa?duw kudese?ah? 'to whom did you lend it (something d-class)?' M.

14. With o-qa? 'amongst, involved with o', and d-class-mark for O, da'na? 'money', but with O following o-qa?, therefore perhaps used pre-verbially, 'S invests money, shares cost with o', elicited on unrelated occasions: da'na? siqa? dase?a? (probably to be corrected to dese?a?) 'put some money in with me on it!', share the cost with me!' L, ?iqa? da'na? qu?di'x?ah 'I'll put some money in with you' L.

15. With o-ya? 'into o (with broad opening at top)': o-ya? ?ew dase?ah?inu? 'they put it (whale-head) in o' 29.6, 6A.

16. With o-? 'to, toward o', 'S brings, gives O to o' (elicited for a large variety of O, see also -?a 1.): with unclassified O (rare):

leŋeɖeʔqɑʔɪ siʈ seʔaʔ, leŋeɖeʔqɑʔɪ siʈ ʔeʔaʔ  
 'give me an axe!', attested also (ʔeʔaʔ) with  
 ʔɑʔɑ 'adze', wiɪ '(iron) wedge', seese  
 'quoit', with d-class O: caʔɪ siʈ diʔaʔ  
 'give me a knife!' L, attested also with ʔɑʔ-  
 deʔaʔɪ 'ring', da·na· '(piece of) money', tiʔɪ  
 'arrow', cɪ· 'mussel', ʔiɪeʔqɑh 'gas boat',  
 diɪdiɪdiɪg 'piece of dry wood', ceɪ 'board',  
 kudeiʈeɪliɪh '(egg-)shell', gehgɪ 'fish-spear',  
 seʔq 'bracelet, hoop', ʔeʔʔɪ 'salmonberry  
 sprout', ye·t 'piece of wild celery', ʔuʔʔ  
 'piece of driftwood', ʔudeʔeɪ 'one of a pair  
 of them (snowshoes)', da·na·su·wu· 'half-dollar',  
 ka·ta· 'quarter-dollar', weɪda·na· siʔaʔ 'my  
 eyeglasses', ɪdu·liɪh 'table', tiʈ 'ice',  
 kaɪh 'porcupine quill', deʔɑ·gda·ʔ ʔeɪ 'steam-  
 ship', kuleqɑh 'head', gaɪh 'piece of spruce--  
 pitch', kugeʔɑh 'tail', liɪ 'spruce', ʔahɪ  
 siʈ deɪeɪʔahɪ 'he brought me a sled' L, caʔɪ-  
 dekiɪ ʔqɪʈ deɪeɪʔahɪ 'gave her a small knife'  
 ʔS.14LM, with dl-class O: (ca·) siʈ ɪa·seʔaʔ  
 M, (ca·) siʈ ɪa·ʔaʔ 'give me it (stone)!' LM,  
 attested also (ɪiʔaʔ) with ɪa·ʔeʔɪ·d 'but-  
 ton', kiɪɪɪ 'dipnet', we·gɪg 'ulu', ʔahɪɪ  
 'needle', cɪ· 'branch', ʔiʈ quʔɪi·xʔɑh 'I'll

give you it (stone)' M, sič la'se'a'hjh 'he's  
 giving me it (stone)' M, ?ič la'se'i'ahjh 'he  
 gave you it (stone)' M, ?uč da' la'yi'jhjh  
 'let's give him it (stone)' M, with ti·l-class  
 O: ca?k sič ti-li-?a? 'give me a glove!' L,  
 attested also with (kūh-)tāhḥ 'leaf, feather',  
 kūtah 'skin' ?i·lxawah 'piece of ribbon sea-  
 weed', ti·lekjhḥ 'piece of rhubarb', with g--  
 class O: la·x sič gu-?a? 'give me a piece of  
 string!' L, attested also with se·c 'spruce-  
 root', kū?č 'piece of sinew thread', sa?  
 'piece of dried hemlock bast', keyj·y guka· sič  
 gu-?a? 'give me a different one (spruceroot)!' L,  
 with gd-class O: xihx sič gedi-?a? 'give  
 me a piece of grass!' L, with gl-class O: ma·-  
 sla· sič geli-?a? 'give me a piece of butter!' L,  
 attested also with xe· 'piece of grease',  
 with gdl-class O: kūcḥ? sič geλi-?a? 'give  
 me a neck!' L, with qi·l-class O: sič qi·-  
 li-?a? 'give me a piece (of rope)!' L, with  
 qi·dl-class O: duh sič qi·λi-?a? 'give me a  
 piece of kelp (Nereocystis)!' L, with qi·d--  
 class O (qi·d-anatomical): kūkahnḥ sič qi·di-?a?  
 'give me a foot!' L, with xd-class O: xi· sič  
 xedi-?a? 'give me a bear-spear!' L, attested

also with *le·sək* 'log', *da·ʔediʒaʔg* 'match',  
*ʕisa·ʔedeiteʔ* 'mast', with *ʒu·l*-class O (*ʒu·l*-  
 anatomical): *Kuʒy·kəyah siʕ ʒu·li·ʔaʔ* 'give  
 me a tooth!' L, with *l*-class O: *tesk siʕ li·ʔaʔ*  
 'give me a hammer!' L, attested also with *kewuŋgɪ*  
 'paddle', *ʒuhɪgɪ* 'shovel', *lecedeqaʔɪ* 'axe',  
*wiɪ* '(iron) wedge', *ʔəʔa·s* 'basket', *ʕa·gɪ*  
 'bailer', *teʔyaʔʕa·w* 'fishhead', *ʔɪ·iʕiyaʔk*  
 'rotten fishhead', *ʔɪ·diʕu·ʕ* 'black abalone',  
*ʔɪ·iʕi·ʕg* 'red abalone', *ʕiyahɪ* 'hat', *Kuʔuʕɪ*  
 'heart', *Kuʔeʔ* 'piece of fat', *ʕəma·* 'roe(-sac)',  
*Kəyɪ·y ʔa·na· siʕ li·ʔaʔ* 'give me a different  
 one (hammer)!' L, *ʔəl siʔuʕɪ ʔiʕ quʔli·xʔah*,  
*ʔideʔilah ʔeʔxleh* 'I'd give you this heart of  
 mine, I love you so' L, with *lɪ*-class O: *siʕ*  
*leʔəseʔaʔ*, *siʕ leʔəʔaʔ*, *siʕ leʔi·ʔaʔ* 'give  
 me it (e.g. berry, apple)!' L, *gahə leʔa·ʔaʔ*  
 'give me a bullet!' L, attested also with *Kula·ʒ*  
 'an eye', *ɪɪhə leʔa· siʕ leʔa·ʔaʔ* 'give me  
 one (berry)!' L, *Kəyɪ·y leʔəqa·ʔ siʕ leʔa·ʔaʔ*  
 'bring me another kind (fruit, berry)!' L, *ʕəma·*  
*ʔəwa· ʔiʕ quʔleʔi·xʔah* 'I'll give you its roe'  
 10.111A, with *lɪd*-class O: *səh leʔedi·ʔaʔ*  
 'give me a piece of fluff!' L, attested also  
 with *Kuhɪ* 'piece of moss', *xiʔleʔedeʔ* 'snow=

ball'.

17. Indirect reflexive with o-sa? 'in o's mouth': sa? xdi?ah̄ 'I put it in my mouth' L (see sa? de?ah, sa? lexede?ah below).

18. Forms with o-la?-ɣ '(movement) hanging over o', or o-la?-d '(at rest) hanging over o', a. 'S names o O': wešeh ?ula?ɣ qu?x?j̄h̄ 'I'll name him, give him a name' ('I'll hang a name on over him') L, wešeh ?ula?ɣ si?ah̄ (or -taht) 'I named him' L, X ?ula?ɣ si?ah̄ 'I named him X' L, X ?ula?ɣ qu?x?ah 'I'll name him X' L; indirect reflexive: de-wešehd la?ɣ ?i?i?ah̄ 'what's your name?' L, X la?ɣ ?ixi?ah̄ 'my name is X' L (neuter perfectives), X la?ɣ qu?-je?j̄h̄ (-je- probably analogical, to be corrected to -de-) 'he'll be named X' L.

18b. Indirect reflexive with o-la?-ɣ, and partly optional(?) l-class-mark for O 'hat': la?ɣ sedə?a? L, la?ɣ lecedə?a? 'put a hat on!' M, ʒə't̄ ɕiyahd la?ɣ ?i?i?ah̄j̄h̄ 'he had a skunk--cabbage-leaf-hat on' 52.28L, ɕiyahd la?ɣ lix-i?ah̄ 'I have a hat on' M, la?ɣ ?ixi?ah̄ 'I'm wearing it (not a hat) on my head' M, la?ɣ ?ixi?ah̄, la?ɣ ?ixdi?ah̄ (former preferred) 'I have it (a hat) on, I'm wearing a hat' L

(neuter perfectives), la<sup>2</sup>ʒ xsi<sup>1</sup>ʔah<sup>h</sup>, la<sup>2</sup>ʒ xsi<sup>1</sup>ʔah<sup>h</sup> 'I put a hat on' L.

18c. Indirect reflexive with o-la<sup>2</sup>-d, qa<sup>2</sup> 'up out' see also 8., and l-class-mark for O: la<sup>2</sup>d qa<sup>2</sup> le<sup>2</sup>ede<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup> 'take it (your hat) off!' M.

18d. With o-ʒe-la<sup>2</sup>-ʒ 'hanging on o (as peg, nail)', and li<sup>2</sup> 'from open front end toward closed back end': deʒela<sup>2</sup>ʒ li<sup>2</sup> ti<sup>1</sup>le<sup>2</sup>e<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup> 'hang it (skin) up (on indeterminate o, peg or nail on wall)!' L.

18e. With o-y-ʒe-la<sup>2</sup>-ʒ 'hanging on o's hand (finger, as peg)', usually with li<sup>2</sup> as above, and d-class-mark for O: siyeʒela<sup>2</sup>ʒ de<sup>2</sup>e<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>, siyeʒela<sup>2</sup>ʒ li<sup>2</sup> de<sup>2</sup>e<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup> 'put it (ring) on my finger!' L, ʔiyeyeʒela<sup>2</sup>ʒ qu<sup>2</sup>di<sup>2</sup>x<sup>2</sup>ah, iyeʒela<sup>2</sup>ʒ li<sup>2</sup> qu<sup>2</sup>di<sup>2</sup>x<sup>2</sup>ah 'I'll put it (ring) on your finger' L, ʔiyeyeʒela<sup>2</sup>ʒ di<sup>2</sup>si<sup>2</sup>ʔah<sup>h</sup> 'I put it (ring) on your finger' L; indirect reflexive: yə<sup>2</sup>ʔde<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>ʔi<sup>2</sup> yeʒela<sup>2</sup>ʒ li<sup>2</sup> di<sup>2</sup>xi<sup>2</sup>ʔah<sup>h</sup> (or -xdi-) 'I'm wearing a ring on my finger' L; incorrect forms: ʔiyeyeʒela<sup>2</sup>ʒ li<sup>2</sup> de<sup>2</sup>e<sup>2</sup>de<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>ʔi<sup>2</sup>h 'he's putting it (ring) on your finger' L (to be corrected to de<sup>2</sup>e<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>ʔi<sup>2</sup>h, or to yeʒela<sup>2</sup>ʒ 'he's putting a ring on his (own) finger'), ʔiyeye-

laʔɣ liʔ diŋiʔahŋiɣ 'he put it (ring) on your finger' L (to be corrected to deseŋiʔahŋiɣ, or to yaɣalaʔɣ 'he put a ring on his (own) finger'), yaʔ·ʔdeʔaʔi ʔuyəɣalaʔɣ liʔ diŋiʔahŋiɣ 'he's wearing a ring' L (to be corrected to yaɣalaʔɣ), yaʔ·ʔdeʔaʔi ʔiyəɣalaʔɣ liʔ dese-diʔah 'you may put a ring on' L (to be corrected to yaɣalaʔɣ), diŋ ʔuyəɣalaʔɣ ɣe-liʔ daʔie-ʔahŋiɣ 'he's not wearing a ring anymore' L (to be corrected to yaɣalaʔɣ), ʔuyəɣalaʔd liʔ di·ʔahŋiɣ 'he's wearing a ring' L (to be corrected to yaɣalaʔd liʔ diŋiʔahŋiɣ).

18f. With o-y-ɣe-laʔ-d '(from a position at rest) on o's hand (finger, as peg)', ɣaʔ 'up out', and d-class-mark for O: siyəɣalaʔd ɣaʔ deseʔaʔ 'take it (ring) off my finger!' L.

18g. With o-laʔ-ɣ and yeɣ 'downward', and d-class-mark for O (see also yeɣ O-(i-)?a): ʔewlaʔɣ yeɣ deseʔaʔ 'put it (ring) on it!' L.

19. With yeɣ as in 18g., liʔ as in 17d., 17e., but probably interpreted as o-liʔ 'from open front end to closed back end of o' with zero-allomorph of reflexive o, indirect reflexive with vocalized classifier, probably incorrect, and d-class-mark for O: yeɣ liʔ deseʔaʔ·ʔ

'put it (ring) on your finger' L (perhaps for  
yeʒelaʔɣ liʔ deʒedeʔaʔ).

saʔ dəʔah (noun, unclassified) 'leaf tobacco in  
ball (such as "Black Bull", sometimes mixed with  
ashes) kept in cheek for chewing' IM, Galushia  
Nelson sá'tá's 'tobacco' BSDL 548. Nominalized  
passive active perfective, indirect reciprocal  
with o-saʔ 'in o's mouth', 'it is put, kept, in  
(one's (own) mouth', see O-(i-)?a 17.

saʔ ləʒedeʔah (noun, perhaps lɣ-class) 'candy'  
M (rejected by L). As preceding, with lɣ-class-  
mark for O 'small round, berrylike'.

deʒəhyu· deʔah (noun, d-class) 'old-fashioned  
native grease-lamp' L. Probably nominalized active  
imperfective of otherwise unattested O-i-ʔa  
(cf. O-(i-)?a 1b., 2.), with d-class-mark for  
O, 'people keep it (lamp, fire)', cf. also de-  
ʒeyeʒd yeʒ ʒedeʔaʔi under ʔa'-ʔaʔ.

yeʒ O-(i-)?a (with yeʒ 'downward', i-classi-  
fier in neuter and active perfective only (and  
once, analogically, in active customary, cf. O-  
l-(i-)?a 1.); used for all O, stem never -ta)  
'S roasts O on spit, stick, barbecues O' ('S im-  
pales O downward', see also O-(i-)?a 18g.,  
19.): yeʒ teʔaʔ 'roast it on spit!' L, yeʒ

qu<sup>o</sup>x<sup>o</sup>ah 'I'll roast it on spit' L, <sup>o</sup>ew ye<sup>o</sup>  
 se<sup>o</sup>a<sup>o</sup>h<sup>o</sup>h 'he's setting it up to roast (fish,  
 on stick by fire)' L, ye<sup>o</sup> sei<sup>o</sup>ah<sup>o</sup> 'set it  
 up to roast by fire' la.11, 13M, ye<sup>o</sup> kusii<sup>o</sup>ah<sup>o</sup>  
 'I set something to roast on spit over open fire'  
 L, ye<sup>o</sup> kuxii<sup>o</sup>ah<sup>o</sup> 'I'm roasting something' M  
 (neuter perfective), <sup>o</sup>ew ye<sup>o</sup> i<sup>o</sup>a<sup>o</sup>k<sup>o</sup>h 'he  
 (cust) roasts them' 33.28A (i-classifier prob-  
 ably analogical, blend with O-i-ya<sup>o</sup>).

kih<sup>o</sup> O-(i-)<sup>o</sup>a (with kih<sup>o</sup> 'start of making',  
 i-classifier in neuter and active perfective on-  
 ly, used for all O, stem never -ta) 'S starts  
 (to make) O': <sup>o</sup>iya<sup>o</sup> kih<sup>o</sup> qu<sup>o</sup>x<sup>o</sup>ah 'I'll start  
 it for you (basket, belt, fire, any O)' L, <sup>o</sup>iya<sup>o</sup>  
 kih<sup>o</sup> kusax<sup>o</sup>a<sup>o</sup>i 'I'm starting something (e.g.  
 basket) for you' L, ta<sup>o</sup>se<sup>o</sup>ah kih<sup>o</sup> se<sup>o</sup>a<sup>o</sup>h<sup>o</sup>  
 'he's starting a belt' M, (<sup>o</sup>iya<sup>o</sup>) kih<sup>o</sup> sii<sup>o</sup>-  
 ah<sup>o</sup> 'I started it (for you)' L, ta<sup>o</sup>se<sup>o</sup>ah  
 kih<sup>o</sup> sii<sup>o</sup>ah<sup>o</sup> 'I started a belt' M, da<sup>o</sup>ga<sup>o</sup>g  
 kih<sup>o</sup> sei<sup>o</sup>ah<sup>o</sup>h 'he started a fire' 34.69M, ku-  
 siyah q<sup>o</sup>hew de<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup> kih<sup>o</sup> sei<sup>o</sup>ah<sup>o</sup> 'he's already  
 started trouble (evil)' L.

qid O-gdl-(i-)<sup>o</sup>a (with qid 'down off' and gdl--  
 class-mark or anatomical 'neck' partly thematized,  
 stem presumably never -ta) 'S decapitates O':

qid quʔgəli·xʔah 'I'll chop its head off' L,  
 qid gəla·sihʔah 'I beheaded it' L.  
 ʔe-ʔa (lacking expected 1-class-mark for S where  
 'moon'; see also -ʔa 2., yeʔ (ʔi-)ʔe-ʔa) 1.  
 'S (sun, moon) moves': sedegil seʔeʔa·h 'the  
 sun is moving' L, qəʔah seʔeʔa·h 'the moon is  
 moving' L, yaʔʔ seʔeʔa·h 'sun is getting  
 higher' L, ʔahd qə·d seʔeʔa·h 'sun is coming  
 up (over hill, obstruction)' L, ʔew ʔiʔq·sih  
 siʔah 'it (sun) went behind that mountain' L,  
 ne·ʔ ge·leʔa·gdaʔ quʔleʔah 'soon it will be  
 (sun will reach) noon' L, sedeqəy·yʔ (ʔiʔqa·ʔ)  
 siʔah 'sun dispersed fog' ('the sun moved with  
 the fog (along, scattering it all about)' L,  
 qəʔəda·ʔ ʔiʔqa·ʔ siʔah 'the sun scattered  
 the clouds' L; neuter perfectives (see also yeʔ  
 (ʔi-)ʔeʔa): ʔu·daʔ ʔiʔiʔah 'sun reached  
 there' L, qəʔəʔ ʔiʔiʔah 'moon is shining' L  
 (see qəʔəʔ).

2. 'S (moon) goes through complete cycle':  
 qəʔah qeʔ siʔah 'the moon, just a rim, has  
 started to increase again' L, dəʔka·na· qəʔah  
 siʔah 'how many new moons have passed?' L,  
 neuter perfective (see also yeʔ (ʔi-)ʔe-ʔa),  
 indirect reciprocal with ʔiʔ-yaʔ 'inside each

each other': ?i?ya? ?i?i?ah? 'the moon is full' M (L rejects).

?u?nahd ?i?e?ah month name, 'some summer(?) month' L ("sunshine month") L. Nominalized active imperfective of ?e-?a, ?i-prefix required with ?u?nahd 'in its month'.

ye? (?i-)?e-?a (with ye? of uncertain identification, 'downward', ye?-progressive, or perhaps otherwise unattested reduced form of ya? 'up', and with ?i- prefix, regular in neuter perfective, but extended to all other tense-modes, where it is apparently identified with ?i- of indeterminate O, see ?i-?a, -?a 2., ?e-?a) 'S (sun) rises, is up, shining': ye? ?iqe?e?ah 'sun will rise' L, di? ye? ?iqe?e?a? 'sun won't rise' L, ye? ?ice?e?a? 'sun is rising' L, ye? ?i?i?ah? 'sun rose' L, ?ele?gah? ye? ?ice?i?ah, ?ele?gah? ye? ?i?i?ah 'I hope the sun rises' L, ye? ?ice?e?ah da? 'if, when the sun shines' 65.14A, neuter perfective: ye? ?i?i?ah? (not \*?i?i?ah? or \*?i?i?ah?) 'the sun is up, shining' L, 51.51A, 57.29G, 65.52A.

?i-?a (with unidentified ?i- prefix, see ye? (?i-)?e-?a, ?i-d-?a, ?i-d-(?)?e-?a', ye? ?i-gdl-?e-?a'; alternating, wherever tested, with

?i-d-?a) 1. 'S (fog) moves': sedəfəyɨ·y ʔə·ɕ  
 ʔiseʔa·ɨ 'fog is coming hither' L, sedəfəyɨ·y  
 yaʔɣ ʔiseʔa·ɨ 'fog is clearing (going up)' L,  
 sedəfəyɨ·y yaʔɣ ʔiqeʔah 'fog will lift' L,  
 sedəfəyɨ·y yaʔɣ ʔiseʔahɨ 'fog left' L.

2. 'S (sun) moves', doubtful, Rezanov and  
 M only: Rezanov Xarɣ-makçekaatɨb 'Bocxaxæɨie  
 coɣɣia Sonnenaufgang' ɣahd qə·ɕ ʔiseʔa·ɨ  
 'the sun is coming up (over<sup>h</sup>hill, obstruction)  
 (see ɨe-?a 1.), yəɣ ʔiseʔa·ɨ 'sun is setting'  
 M (see yəɣ (?i-)ɨe-?a).

3. With irregular ɣd-class-mark for S  
 'cloud', here of 'smoke', perhaps incorrect, also  
 interpretable as instance of ?i-d-?a: ɨahd  
 ʔediɣd ʔiɣedeseʔa·ɨ '(cloud of?) smoke is hover-  
 ing inside (house)' L.

?i-d-?a (with ?i- as in ?i-?a, d-thematic per-  
 haps as in ?i-d-le, ?i-d-(ʔ-)ɨ-?a') 'S (fog,  
 cloud, smoke) moves': 1. 'S (fog) moves' (see  
 also ?i-?a): sedəfəyɨ·y ʔə·ɕ ʔideseʔa·ɨ 'fog  
 is moving hither' L, sedəfəyɨ·y yaʔɣ ʔidese-  
 ʔa·ɨ 'fog is clearing (going up)' L, sedəfə-  
 yɨ·y ʔə·daʔ ʔideseʔahɨ 'fog came here' L, se-  
 dəfəyɨ·y yaʔɣ ʔideseʔahɨ 'fog lifted' L, 34.=  
 124L, sedəfəyɨ·y yə·ʔ ʔideseʔahɨ, 'fog

descended' L, ?ələŋgahɣ sədəŋeyɣ·y ?u·dikah  
 ?ids·li?ah 'I wish fog would go away' L, Galushia  
 Nelson qətəqən·i inə<sup>n</sup>·ɣ li'ixəqətətə'Də·ɣ 'fog  
 on-the-side when-it's-hanging-half-way-down', 'when  
 the fog is hanging half way down (the mountain)'  
 ESdL 264, 558 probably to be read sədəŋeyɣ·y  
 ?i·na·?ɣ (li?) yeɣ ?isədə?ah da·ɣ 'when the  
 fog is hanging down the mountainside' L (li?  
 'from open front end toward closed back end, deep-  
 ly in, downriver' inexplicable).

2. 'S (cloud) moves' (ɣd-class-mark lacking,  
 see also ?i-?a 3.): qəhə ?idese?a·t 'clouds  
 are moving' L, si·da?ə ?idese?a·t 'they (clouds)  
 are moving northeast (up the creeks).

3. 'S (smoke) moves' (see also ?i-d-(?-)i-?a'  
 under ?a'-?a?): iəhd ?idese?a·t 'smoke is  
 moving' L, iəhd ya?ɣ ?idese?a·t 'smoke is ris-  
 ing' L, iəhd ya?ɣ ?iqe?di·?ah 'smoke will rise'  
 L, iəhd ya?ɣ ?idese?ah·t 'smoke rose' L, iəhd  
 ya?ɣ ?idesi·?ah 'let smoke rise' L, iəhd ?a?əə  
 ?idese?a·t 'smoke is going out (of house)' L,  
 i?ə? ?a?ə? ?idese?ah·t 'it (smoke) all went out'  
 L, ?adiɣ ?iqe?di·?ah 'it (smoke) will come in  
 (house)' L, ?adiɣiə? ?idese?a·t 'it (smoke) is  
 coming in' L, with yeɣ-progressive iəhd yeɣ  
 ?idese?a·ɣ 'smoke is moving around' L.

ʔi-ḥ-ʔa (problematical form, perhaps with indeterminate 0 and ḥ-classifier throughout, cf. gdl--ḥ-ʔa) attested only in ʔḡ·ḥ ʔiseḥʔa·ḥ 'big flood from ice-jam will come hither' L ('it is starting to push indeterminate 0 hither?').

ʔiḥʔaʔ ʔi-ʔa (problematical form, indirect reciprocal with ʔiḥ-ʔaʔ 'behind each other, together', perhaps intransitive, belonging under ʔi-ʔa, but, if intransitive, classifier vocalized to de- expected with indirect reciprocal) attested only in Kuḥiyah ʔuḡaʔ ʔuyeqd ʔiḥʔaʔ ʔiseʔahḥih 'he has contained (repressed) within himself all the bad things people have said or done to him' L ('the evil against him has gathered (he has gathered?) inside of him' (perhaps to be corrected to ʔḥ·seḥʔahḥ, see 0-1-(ḥ-)ʔa).

1-de-ʔa (intransitive only, for transitive see 0--1-(ḥ-)ʔa) 1. (with 1-thematic 'misfortune?') 'S wanes away, passes, (supply) runs out, all die off, disappear, become extinct, comes to an end' (so that there is little or nothing left): ʔude-ʔu·s ʔewa· quʔledeʔah 'his life-breath is about to run out' 61.103A, lecedeʔa·ḥ 'it (supply of something) is running out' L, xah lecedeʔa·ḥ 'summer is passing' 43.32M, lecedeʔa·ḥinu·

'they're becoming extinct' 68.70A, da· lecede=  
 ?a·h̄ 'we're all dying off' L, hiʔq̄ qelectede?a·h̄  
 'they're all dying off' L, often with o-ʔaʔ 'in  
 relation with o': siʔaʔ lecede?a·h̄ 'I'm running  
 out of it' L, Sa·ʔeles siʔaʔ lecede?a·h̄ 'I'm  
 running out of sugar' ('my sugar's running out,  
 running out on me') L, ʔi·sdiʔah̄h̄ 'it's all used  
 up, all gone' L, liadiʔah̄hinu· 68.69A, ʔi·sdi=  
 ?ah̄hinu· 'they've died off, become extinct' 70.2A,  
 deduʔʔ hiʔq̄ liadiʔah̄h̄ 'they've almost all died  
 off' 69.1A, siʔaʔ ʔi·sdiʔah̄hinu· 'they've passed  
 away from, died out on me' 70.10A, ʔudeʔu·e ʔi·=  
 sdiʔah̄h̄ 'he expired, his life-breath ran out' 61.=  
 110A, laʔdih ʔela·g ʔuʔah̄d ʔi·sdiʔah̄h̄ 'two  
 winters passed after that' L, Sa·ʔeles qa·ʔaʔ  
 ʔi·sdiʔah̄h̄ 'we're out of sugar' L, qa·ʔaʔ ʔi·=  
 diʔah̄luʔqa· ʔiyaʔ 'go to get what we're out of'  
 L (nominalized neuter perfective), with taʔ 'in=  
 to water': t̄h̄ʔ ʔi·sdiʔah̄h̄ 'they dispersed, dis=  
 appeared into the water' 50, 62, 62A, with class=  
 marks for S: gah ʔela·cede?a·h̄ 'day (ʔd-class) is  
 waning' L, hiʔq̄ la·sdiʔah̄h̄ 'it (money, d-class)  
 is all gone, spent' L, gʔ·sdiʔah̄h̄ 'it (liquid, gl=  
 class) is all gone, drunk up' L.

2. (With l-thematic as above, with ʔaʔq̄ ('on

end'?) as preverb, 'S gets hurt, comes to grief,  
has misfortune': Na<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup> ?i-xadi<sup>o</sup>ahk 'I got bad-  
ly hurt' L.

(continued)

O-l-(i-)'a (transitives with i-classifier in  
 active and neuter perfectives only, as in O-(i-)'a  
 (and once, analogically, in active customary, cf.  
 yəx O-(i-)'a) l. 'S spends, uses up, exterminates,  
 annihilates, massacres, kills off, kills many,  
 takes, makes off with, pillages, collocates all  
 O' (referring to action, often reckless, upon a  
 large number of objects or proportion thereof,  
 leaving little or nothing; causative of l-de-'a  
 l.) with no locative or directional preverbs or  
 postpositional phrases: qu'li·x'ah L, qu'li·x-  
 'i'hinu· 'I'll kill them all off' M, lexiqe'li·x-  
 'ah 'I'll kill you all off' M, 'əw sa·ʒələs  
 qu'li·x'ah 'I'll use up all that sugar' L, 'u·d  
 ʒələ·g qu'li·x'ah 'I'll spend the winter there'  
 L, qa· qu'li·'ah 50.6A, qa· qu'li·'a· 'you'll  
 get us all wiped out, you'll be the death of us  
 all' 50.33A, 'əw lese'a·i 'it's killing them  
 all off' L, 'he's bringing a haul of it in' 49.-  
 110A, lese'a·i'ih 'he's killing them all off' M,  
 i'i'q' lisi'i'ah L, 'i·si'i'ah'hinu· 'I killed  
 them all off' M, O 'i·se'i'ah' 'made off with,  
 pillaged O' 9.107, 124, 10.63, 71, 11.41A, 'killed  
 O off, wiped O out' 28.126, 127A, 34.127L, 50.44A,  
 'used O up' 34.88L, ʒələ·g 'i·se'i'ah'ih 'she

spent the winter' 18.48L, Galushia Nelson  $\text{D}\acute{\text{e}}\text{x}\acute{\text{o}}^{\text{N}}$   
 qi'  $\text{ʃ}\acute{\text{s}}\acute{\text{i}}\text{s}\acute{\text{t}}\acute{\text{t}}\acute{\text{i}}\text{ } i^{\text{N}}\text{s}\acute{\text{t}}\acute{\text{i}}\text{t}\acute{\text{i}}\text{ }^{\text{N}}$  'Where a man killed  
 lots of land-otters' BSdL 286, 559  $\text{d}\acute{\text{e}}\text{x}\acute{\text{u}}\text{h}$  qi'  
 $\text{s}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\text{c}\acute{\text{i}}\text{x}'$   $\text{ʔi}\cdot\text{s}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}'\text{s}\acute{\text{h}}\acute{\text{i}}\text{j}\text{h}$ ,  $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{e}}\text{w}$   $\text{l}\acute{\text{a}}\cdot\text{y}\acute{\text{i}}'\text{s}\acute{\text{a}}\text{h}\text{w}\text{a}\text{h}\text{d}$  'in  
 order to make off with it all' 11.10A,  $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{e}}\text{w}$   $\text{l}\acute{\text{i}}\cdot\text{=}$   
 $\text{i}'\text{a}\cdot\text{k}$  'he (cust) makes off with it' 9.140A (1--  
 classifier probably analogical, blend with 0--  
 $\text{l}\cdot\text{i}\cdot\text{y}\acute{\text{a}}\cdot\text{ʔ}$ ), with class-marks for 0:  $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{u}}\cdot\text{d}$   $\text{g}\text{a}\text{h}$   
 $\text{x}\acute{\text{e}}\lambda\text{a}\cdot\text{s}\acute{\text{i}}\text{ʔ}\text{a}\text{h}\acute{\text{i}}$  'I spent the day ( $\text{x}\acute{\text{d}}$ -class) there'  
 L,  $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{u}}\cdot\text{d}$   $\text{l}\acute{\text{i}}'\text{q}$   $\text{d}\text{a}\cdot\text{n}\text{a}'$   $\text{s}\acute{\text{i}}\text{x}\text{a}'$   $\lambda\text{a}\cdot\text{s}\acute{\text{i}}\text{ʔ}\text{a}\text{h}\acute{\text{i}}$  'I  
 spent all my money (d-class) there' L, with  $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{i}}\cdot\text{t}\acute{\text{a}}\text{ʔ}$   
 $\text{t}\acute{\text{a}}\text{ʔ}$  'together':  $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{i}}\text{t}\acute{\text{a}}\text{ʔ}$   $\text{q}\text{u}'\text{l}\acute{\text{i}}\cdot\text{x}'\text{a}\text{h}$  'I'll gather  
 them up' L, 0  $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{i}}\text{t}\acute{\text{a}}\text{ʔ}$   $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{i}}\cdot\text{s}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}'\text{s}\acute{\text{h}}\acute{\text{i}}$  'gathered,  
 assembled 0 together' 7.11, 12, 11.7, 8, 28A, with  
 $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{i}}\text{t}\acute{\text{a}}\text{ʔ}\text{d}$  'hanging (one part at rest behind the  
 other, draped over something)':  $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{i}}\text{t}\acute{\text{a}}\text{ʔ}\text{d}$   $\text{q}\text{u}'\text{l}\acute{\text{i}}\cdot\text{x}'\text{a}$   
 $\text{ʔ}\text{a}\text{h}$  'I'll hang it (all) up' A,  $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{e}}\text{w}$   $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{i}}\text{t}\acute{\text{a}}\text{ʔ}\text{d}$   
 $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{i}}\cdot\text{s}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}'\text{s}\acute{\text{a}}\text{h}\acute{\text{i}}\text{n}\text{u}\cdot$  'they hung them (fish) all up'  
 21b.40A, with  $\text{ʔ}\text{a}'\text{q}$  'out (of building)':  $\text{ʔ}\text{a}'\text{q}$   
 $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{i}}\cdot\text{s}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}'\text{s}\acute{\text{a}}\text{h}\acute{\text{i}}$  'pillaged it out' 9.124, 132, 133,  
 11.11, 12A,  $\text{d}\acute{\text{i}}\text{k}'$   $\text{t}\text{a}\cdot\text{y}\acute{\text{a}}\text{ʔ}\text{x}$   $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{e}}\text{w}$   $\text{ʔ}\text{a}'\text{q}$   $\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\text{s}\acute{\text{i}}'\text{s}\acute{\text{a}}\text{h}\acute{\text{i}}$   
 'he didn't pillage it out through the doorway'  
 11.13A, with  $\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\text{c}$  'up ashore, up from shore, up-  
 land':  $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{e}}\text{w}$   $\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\text{c}$   $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{i}}\cdot\text{s}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}'\text{s}\acute{\text{a}}\text{h}\acute{\text{i}}$  'he made off with  
 it up' 9.125, 11.202A, with  $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{u}}\cdot\text{d}\acute{\text{i}}\text{k}\text{a}\text{h}$  'away

from there': ?u·dikah ?ew ?i·seh'ahh 'he  
 made off with it away from there' 9.106, 10.44,  
 52, 53, 11.33A. ?u·dikahc ?ew lese'a·h 'he's  
 taking it all away from there' 10.48A, with qa?  
 'up out' (see also 3a): ?aw qa? ?i·seh'ahh  
 'he pillaged it all up out (through smokehole)'  
 11.15A, with other locatives and directionals:  
 sida? kulei·?ah da·x 'if you bring me a haul  
 (of something)' 9.22A, ?i·sele'a?c ?ew ?i·seh-  
 'ahh 'he made off with it to behind a mountain'  
 9.110A, ?p·c lese'a·h 'is pillaging, bringing  
 a haul of it hither' 9.159, 160, 162A, h1?d  
 ya·yu· ?uqa? ?ewa· lese'a·h da·x 'when I  
 pillage all their things from them' 11.60A, ?ew-  
 qa? ?i·seh'ahh 'pillaged some of it' 11.197A,  
 ?aw qid ?i·seh'ahh 'knocked everything down'  
 28.45A; passive: qa· lese'a·h 'we're all  
 getting killed off' L, ?i·sdi'ahhmu· 'they  
 got wiped out, annihilated' 28.133, 140, 142A,  
 partly homophonous with l-de-?a 'S all die out,  
 go extinct', see Eyak Texts 68.69-70fn.

2. (Causative of l-de-?a 2.) with ka?d  
 ('on end?') as preverb, 'S spoils, breaks, ruins  
 (functioning?) O': ka?d qu?li·?ah 'you'll ruin  
 it!' L, ka?d ?i·sikh'ahh 'I ruined, hurt,

spoiled, broke it (e.g. pet, machine, tool, but not cake, house)' L.

3. (With 1-anatomical 'head', see also 1-ta, c<sub>1</sub>'(1)-iə-ʔa, 1-k-ya-ʔ) a. with taʔɣ '(movement) in water' and yeɣ 'downward', 'S baptizes O' ('S puts O's head down in water' see also qa-taʔɣ yeɣ ʔ<sub>1</sub>·ky<sub>1</sub>·ʔ<sub>1</sub>h under ya-ʔ): taʔɣ yeɣ xy·seɪʔah<sub>1</sub>h 'he baptized me' L; passive: taʔɣ yeɣ ʔ<sub>1</sub>·diʔah<sub>1</sub>inu· 'baptized people' L (nominalized neuter perfective).

3b. With qaʔ 'up out', 'S pleases, surprises O pleasantly' ('S lifts up O's head?'): qaʔ ʔiqeʔli·xʔah 'I'll bring you a nice surprise, please you' L, qaʔ xy·seɪʔah<sub>1</sub>h 'he brought me a nice surprise, pleased me' L.

c<sub>1</sub>'(1)-(de-)ʔa (with c<sub>1</sub>'(1)-thematic 'disorder', basic form uncertain: de-classifier perhaps basic, but all attested forms are indirect reciprocal requiring vocalization of classifier from zero to de-, and also perhaps interpretable as passives of O-c<sub>1</sub>'(1)-(k-)ʔa) 'S is, gets in disorder': with ʔik-qaʔ 'amongst each other': ʔikqaʔ quʔc<sub>1</sub>'deʔah 'they'll get mixed up' L, ʔikqaʔ ciʔlidiʔah<sub>1</sub>, ʔikqaʔ c<sub>1</sub>'diʔah<sub>1</sub> 'they (e.g. flour, sugar) are mixed up together' L (neuter

perfective); with ?i?k-qa·? 'scattered (through amongst each other)': ?i?kqa·? c?lidi?ah?,  
?i?kqa·? c?di?ah? 'they (e.g. flowers) are scattered, spread around' L.

O-c?l(1)-(k-)?a (causative of c?l(1)-(de-)?a,  
-l- sometimes omitted in active perfective, k- classifier in active and neuter perfective only)  
'S jumbles, scatters O': hi?d? ya·yu· c?lixi-  
?ah? 'I've got the stuff all jumbled together'  
L (neuter perfective), with ?i?k-lah 'around each other': ?i?lah c?le?e?a? 'mix them up!'  
M, with ?i?k-qa? 'amongst each other': ?i?kqa? c?le?e?a? 'mix them up!' M, ?i?kqa? qu?c?l-  
li·x?ah 'I'll mix them (e.g. sugar and flour) together' M, ?i?kqa·? c?le?e?x?a·? 'I'm mixing them together' M, ?i?kqa? c?lisis?ah?, ?i?kqa? c?sisi?ah? 'I mixed them (dry things only) together' L, with ?i?k-qa·? 'scattered (through amongst each other)': ?u·d ?i?kqa·? c?li·?a? 'spread it (e.g. sand) all over there!' L, ?u·d ?i?kqa·? qu?c?l-li·x?ah 'I'll spread, scatter it (e.g. sand, ashes, flour) all over there' L, ?i?kqa·? c?le?e?a·?i?h, ?i?kqa·?e? c?le?e-de?a·?i?h 'he's spreading, scattering them all over' L (both forms to be corrected to c?le?e-

ʔa-t̪h), with l̪-class-mark for O: ʔilqa-x̪  
ʔaw ciʔləx̪saʔaʔt̪h 'he's spreading them  
(berries) around' L (to be corrected to ciʔ=  
ləx̪saʔa-t̪h).

yaʔ ciʔ(1)-k̪-ʔa (with ciʔ(1)-anatomical 'head,  
neck', with l- preceding sa- prefix, attested only  
with yaʔ 'down', see also l-ta, O-l-(t̪-)ʔa  
3.) 'S puts head down, bows head (toward chest)':  
yaʔ ciʔləs̪k̪ʔaʔ 'put your head down!' L, yaʔ  
quʔciʔx̪s̪ʔah 'I'll bow my head' L, yaʔ ciʔx̪=  
s̪k̪ʔah 'I bowed my head' L. Transitive (causa-  
tive): yaʔ ciʔləs̪k̪ʔiʔt̪h 'put his head down!'  
L.

O-ʔ-dl-(t̪-)ʔa (semi-transitive with dl-thematic,  
t̪-classifier in active and neuter perfective on-  
ly) 'S turns O (vessel) over': with yaʔ 'down-  
ward': yaʔ ʔuʔla-s̪ʔaʔ 'turn it (cup) over!'  
L, yaʔ ʔuʔquʔli;x̪ʔah 'I'll turn it (boat,  
plate) over' L, yaʔ ʔuʔla-s̪iʔt̪ʔah 'I turned  
it (boat, plate) over' L, ʔəx̪kih (ʔəx̪ʔaʔ)  
ʔəx̪q̪əʔ yaʔ ʔuʔla-s̪iʔt̪ʔahit̪h 'she turned (his)  
canoe over on top of him' 47b.20M, 47c.24L,  
s̪iʔq̪əʔ yaʔ ʔuʔla-yiʔah 'you should turn it  
(canoe) over on top of me' 47b.11, 17M, 47c.9L,  
with o-q̪ ya-nahd 'down on o covering some

surface': ?əxəkih siq̄ ya·nahd ?u?λa·tə?a?  
'turn it (canoe) over over me' 47a.3L; passive,  
neuter perfective: yeḡ ?u?λa·di?ah̄t̄ 'it's  
turned over' L.

O-?-gdl-(i-)?a (semitransitive with gdl-thematic  
perhaps gd-anatomical 'rump' and l-thematic,  
cf. O-?-(l-)(i-)ta, i-classifier in active and  
neuter perfective only) 1. with ?ikya? 'inside  
each other' and yeḡ-progressive, 'reversal of  
motion', 'back and forth', 'S bends O back and  
forth until it breaks': ?ikya? yeḡ ?u?gəλa·  
de?e· 'bend it back and forth until it breaks!'  
L, ?ikya? yeḡ ?u?gəλa·xde?a·ḡ 'I'm bending  
it back and forth until it breaks' L, ?ikya?  
yeḡ ?u?gəλa·sih̄t̄ 'I bent it back and forth  
until it broke' L.

2. Reflexive (cf. ?ed-?-gdl-iə-ta, ?ed-  
?-gdl-iə-ya·?) a. with o-ḡ 'in contact with  
o', 'S clings tight, hangs onto o': ?əwguḡah-  
da·ḡ ?ədu?təλa·hi?ah̄t̄ M (-s- probably in-  
correct), ?əwguḡahda·ḡ ?ədu?gəλa·hi?ah̄t̄ 'he  
hung onto its tail' 23.33A (neuter perfective).

2b. With ?ik̄ta?ḡ 'one part behind the  
other' and qa? 'up out', 'S curls, bends,  
folds self, doubles self over with knees raised

(knee-chest position)

close to chest': ?i<sup>h</sup>ta<sup>h</sup>? qa<sup>h</sup> ?edu<sup>h</sup>gula<sup>h</sup>.hi=  
?ah<sup>h</sup> 'he has his knees raised to his chest' L.  
gd1-i-?a (problematical form, attested in inceptive perfective only, perhaps nominalized, stem consistently -?a-i, therefore -?a, not -?a', with gl-class-mark for S (or O?), d-thematic probably 'accumulation', i-classifier irregular unless underlying basic theme is to be interpreted as transitive, but transitives with i-classifier in inceptive perfective are regular with stem -?a' only, not with -?a, see also ?i-i-?a) 'S (small puddle of water) forms: ?u<sup>h</sup>.d gə<sup>h</sup>la<sup>h</sup>.sei<sup>h</sup>?a<sup>h</sup>.i 'a small puddle is forming there' LM, da<sup>h</sup>.d ya<sup>h</sup>.giyah<sup>h</sup>de<sup>h</sup> ?a<sup>h</sup>.d gə<sup>h</sup>la<sup>h</sup>.sei<sup>h</sup>?a<sup>h</sup>.i 'where's this water from that's forming a small puddle here?' L, giyah qi<sup>h</sup> gə<sup>h</sup>la<sup>h</sup>.sei<sup>h</sup>?a<sup>h</sup>.iya<sup>h</sup>? q<sup>h</sup>h sah<sup>h</sup> 'right into where water's formed a puddle he walked' L, giyah qi<sup>h</sup> gə<sup>h</sup>la<sup>h</sup>.sei<sup>h</sup>?a<sup>h</sup>.iya<sup>h</sup>?d qəw sah<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>.ieh 'where water has formed puddles is where there are cockles' L.

ʔa'-ʔaʔ (invariable ʔaʔ in themes with *i*-classifier with comparative postpositional phrases *o-gaʔ* 'like *o*', *o-leŋ* 'more than, past *o*'; in one theme, perhaps under analogical influence of the preceding, ʔaʔ in neuter imperfective alternating with ʔa' in other mode-aspects; and in all other themes regular ʔa', but in a few active perfectives *-ʔah-i* and inceptive perfectives *-ʔa'-i*, especially in forms from M, certainly in error, by analogy with ʔa, to be corrected to *-ʔaʔ-i*; ʔe' frequent in neuter imperative; themes with ʔa'-ʔaʔ are not often difficult to distinguish from those with ʔa largely because of the frequent occurrence of the neuter imperfective with ʔa'-ʔaʔ, which is rare or doubtful with ʔa; the main confusion between the two stems is in the themes *ʔi-d-ʔa* and *ʔi-d-(ʔ-)i-ʔa'*, which are used apparently interchangeably with reference to movement of smoke, and of which blend-forms sometimes arise; in perfectives of all themes, especially inceptive perfectives, a *-ʔa-* sometimes occurs in position immediately preceding the *-i-* or *-s-* of the perfective prefix, probably arising from anticipation of the phonological form of the stem *-ʔaʔ-*, especially frequent in the theme *ʔi-d--(ʔ-)i-ʔa'*, cf. also e.g. inceptive perfective of *de-a'* under *a<sup>1</sup>*; stem perhaps related to *ʔah<sup>1</sup>* and/or

ʔah<sup>2</sup>, and/or to ʔa·w<sup>1</sup>; in the case of a number of nominalized active imperfectives, and of some deverbalizations with -ɩ-instrumental of the form -ʔaʔk, there is some uncertainty as to whether the stem should be assigned to ʔa'-ʔaʔ or to ʔa; themes with stem -ʔa' and nominalizations and deverbalizations thereof are listed first, then themes with stem ʔaʔ, last ʔaʔ-ʔa')

-ʔa' (occurring with a very large variety of preverbs, postpositional phrases, and class-marks; instances here organized in subdivisions not by class-marks, but rather first by preverb, then by postpositional phrase; forms with both postpositional phrase and preverb are placed arbitrarily; basic meaning 'S (generally longitudinal and of definite and/or unchanging length) extends', used of both singular and plural S, but, with the possible exception of indirect reciprocal forms, the stem sid, though no longer clearly preferred, is probably the more correct, at least historically, for plural S; frequent with ɣd-class-mark for S 'log', often partly thematized, 'line, streak', and especially frequent with gl-class-mark for S 'liquid' with the meaning 'S (stream of liquid, water) flows'; for extension of S of

irregular shape or of indefinite or changing length see wus-wes) 1. With no locative or directional postpositional phrases or preverbs, attested only with gl-class-mark for S 'liquid':  
 Rezanov Kyase-a 'Cysoň Brandung' guli·ʔah  
 'it (water, liquid) is flowing, extends in stream',  
 gusi·kih geli·ʔah 'it (water) is trickling a bit' M, diK' gelaʔahs 'it (water) isn't running' M, giyah geli·ʔah 'water is running, flowing' IM, quʔgeli·ʔah 'it'll leak' L, geleseʔa·i (to be corrected to -ʔaʔi) 'it (water) is starting to flow' M, ʔel ʔa· guli·ʔah da·ɣ 'as this river starts to run' 21b.71A (after spring breakup of ice?, probably active conditional).

2. With qaʔ 'up out' (see also qa·kqaʔah, iʔhdeyeq qaʔ ʔah, qaʔ ʔedʔeʔah, ʔuX deluʔ qaʔ kuʔaʔi): qaʔ ʔi·ʔah 'it's sticking out, protruding' L, diK' qaʔ ʔaʔahs 'it's not sticking out' M, kutuʔ ʔuča·d ʔewa· qaʔ ʔi·ʔah 'fish are running' ('their many dorsal fins are protruding (from water)') L, gusekteʔ ʔu·deɣ qaʔ ʔi·ʔah 'a handle protrudes there' L, iʔhd qiʔ qaʔ ʔi·ʔahleɣ ʔiseiʔqhi 'she saw a place where (a column of) smoke was rising' 47b.31M, ʔu·deɣ qaʔ ʔi·ʔah 'it's sticking out (along)

there' L, 28.14A (see 13.), ?u·deɣ qa? qa?ah  
 'it'll stick out there' L, ?u·deɣ qa? geli·?ah  
 'water's coming out there' L, ?u·deɣ qa? gy·=  
 se?a?ɿ 'water squirted out of there' L, ?u·deɣ  
 qa? di·?ah 'it (board) is sticking out there'  
 M, ?u·deɣ qa? dese?a·ɿ (to be corrected to  
 dese?a?ɿ) 'it (tree, board) is coming up out  
 there' M, with ta?·d '(from state of rest) in  
 water' (see ta? li·?ah): ta?d qa? ?i·?ah  
 'it's sticking up out (of water)' L, ta?d qa?  
 se?a?ɿ 'it's starting to stick up out of the  
 water' L, ta?d qa? se?a?ɿ 'it stuck up out  
 of the water (for a moment, emerged) L, with  
 o·sa?·d '(from state of rest) in o's mouth':  
 ?ula?t? ?usa?d qǎ? ?i·?ihɿh 'his tongue is  
 hanging out' M, diK ?ula?t? ?usa?d qa? ?a?a·eɿh  
 'his tongue isn't hanging out' M, with o·t'a?·d  
 '(from state of rest) obstructed behind o, in o's  
 pocket': ?it'a?d qǎ? ?i·?ah 'it's sticking out  
 of your pocket' LM, sit'a?d qa? se?a?ɿ 'it's  
 starting to show out of my pocket' L, with  
 o·ɣahd '(out of sight) behind o' (see 6a.):  
 ?ewɣahd qa? ?i·?ihɿh 'he's sticking his head  
 (extending) up over it (fence, wall)' L, ?awɣahd  
 qa·t? se?a?ɿ 'it's starting to stick upwards from

behind it' L, with *ʒahd* 'out of sight (behind something)'; *ʒahd qaʔ ʔi.ʔah* 'it's sticking up into sight from behind something' L, with *o-ʒaʔ* 'the whole length of o' (see 3.): *siʒaʔ qāʔ ʔi.ʔah* 'it (e.g. stick) stands alongside me (up to my head)' L, with *o-ʒaʔ-ʒ* '(movement in area) by, alongside o' (see 3., 25.): *siʒaʔʒ qaʔ ʔi.ʔah* 'it extends up along my side' M, with *o-yaq* 'inside o' (see 3., 5., 11., 13., *ʒahdayeq qaʔ ʔah*): *ʔulaʔʔ ʔuyeq qaʔ ʔi.-ʔihih* 'his tongue is hanging out' L, *ʒahd ʔu-yaq qaʔ ʔi.ʔah* 'smoke rises from (in) it' 3.5M, *ʔiddayeq qaʔ ʔi.ʔah* 'they're sticking up out of the ice' 45.11L, *ʔuyeq qaʔ geli.ʔihih* '(liquids) spew up out of him' 23.20A (cf. *gl.-ʔya* 2.). Transitive (causative): *ʔew qaʔ ʔaʔiʔe.* 'make it stick out!' L (neuter imperative), with *o-ʔ* 'toward o' and *lahʒ* 'forward' (see 7., 11.): *ʔulaʔʔ siʔ lahʒ qāʔ ʔi.iʔihih* 'he's sticking his tongue out at me' L, with *o-ʔ* 'with o' and *de-luʔ* 'through (hole in) indeterminate o' (see 17.): *ʔuʔ deluʔ qaʔ ʔuquʔxʔah* (to be corrected to *ʔuquʔxiʔah*) 'I'll pin it (to it) with a safety pin (cause it to extend through something with it)' L, *ʔuʔ deluʔ qaʔ*

kusiɬʔaʔɬ 'I pinned it (to it) with a safety  
pin' L, ʔiɬɰ deluʔ qaʔ kusiɬʔaʔɬ 'I pinned  
them together with a safety pin' L (see ʔuɰ  
deluʔ qaʔ kuʔaʔɬ).

3. With yeɰ 'downward' (see also yeɰ  
ɰədədəʔah, yeɰ ɰədiʔah, dəɰeyəɰd yeɰ ɰə-  
dəʔaʔɬ, ʔi-d-(ʔ-)ɬ-ʔaʔ, yeɰ gdl-ɬ-ʔaʔ): yeɰ  
geleʔa·gɰ 'it (liquid) (cust) keeps running  
down' M, ʔi· yeɰ gəliʔah 'waterfalls' ('creek  
extends downward') M, yeɰ kuxədiʔah 'something  
(ɰd-class, a stripe) extends down' M, ɰi·d qiʔ  
ʔiɰ yeɰ liʔahda·d 'at the foot of the mountain  
over there' ('yonder at where mountain extends  
down') L, yeɰ qi·liʔah 'it (rope) is hanging  
down (to speaker)' L, with ʔu·dəɰ '(movement  
within area along) there' (see 13.): ʔu·dəɰ yeɰ  
qi·liʔah 'rope (of definite length) is hanging  
down there' LM, ʔu·dəɰ yeɰ qi·ɰiʔah '(garden-)  
hose is hanging down there' M, with o-ɰɰ·ʔ 'the  
whole length of o' (see also passives, 2.): ʔuɰɰ·ʔ  
yeɰ ʔiʔah 'it hangs way down on it' L, ʔuɰɰ·ʔ  
yeɰ kuxədiʔah 'something (ɰd-class, a stripe)  
extends all the way down it' L, ʔuɰɰ·ʔ yeɰ  
gu·ʔihɰh 'it (g-class, her hair) hangs all the  
way down on her' L, ʔiɰɰ·ʔ yeɰ kuguʔah 'your

slip is showing' ('something g-anatomical) extends  
 all the way down on you') M, diK siɣa·ʔ yeɣ  
 kɔgu·ʔa·s (or -ʔahs) 'my slip isn't showing'  
 M, ʔiɣa·ʔ yeɣ kɔquʔgu·ʔah 'your slip will  
 show' M, diK siɣa·ʔ yeɣ kɔquʔgu·ʔahs (or  
 -ʔa·s) 'my slip won't show' M, with o-lɣd-ʔeʔ-d  
 '(from state of rest) in place of o's eye': si-  
 laɣede·ʔd yeɣ geli·ʔah 'my eyes are watering'  
 M, with o-ɕa·ɣ 'behind, under shelter of o,  
 inside o's clothing': ʔawɕa·ɣ yeɣ ʔi·ʔah 'it's  
 hanging (visibly further) down (from) behind it'  
 L, ʔiɕa·ɣ yeɣ ʔi·ʔah 'it's showing down behind  
 you' L, ʔiɕa·ɣ yeɣ kɔgu·ʔah 'your slip (some-  
 thing g-anatomical) is showing' L, with o-l-ɣ  
 'in contact with o's head, face' (see 12.): ʔi-  
 naɣ yeɣ gu·ʔah 'it (your hair) is hanging down  
 in your face' L, ʔu·naɣ ʔew yeɣ gu·ʔihɣh 'it  
 (his hair) is hanging down in his face' L, giyah  
 si·naɣ yeɣ geli·ʔah 'water is running down my  
 face' L, suʔ si·naɣ yeɣ geli·ʔah 'sweat is  
 running down my face' L, suʔ si·naɣ yeɣ ge-  
 leseʔaʔɣh 'sweat is starting to run down my face'  
 L, kɣ·ɣ ʔu·naɣ yeɣ geli·ʔah 'a tear is run-  
 ning down his face' L, kɣ·ɣ ʔu·naɣ yeɣ gelaʔ-  
 seʔaʔɣh 'a tear is starting to run down his

cheek' L, with o-ʒaʔ-ʒ '(movement in area) by, along o' (see 2., 25.): ʔuxaʔʒ yeʒ kuxediʔah 'something (stripe) extends down along it' L, with o-yeq 'in o' (see 2.): ʔuniʔkyeq yeʒ geliʔjhh 'it (clotted blood) extends down from (in) his nose' L, with o-daʔ 'to, arrival at o' (see 14.): ʔaʔdaʔ yeʒ qiʔliʔah 'it (rope) hangs down to here' L, with o-ʕ 'to o' (see 11.): yʔʔʕ yeʒ gʔseʔaʔʔ, yanaʔʕ yeʒ gʔseʔaʔʔ 'it (spilt water) ran down to the floor' L. Transitive (causative): ʔawʔaʔ yeʒ ʔaʔʔeh 'put it down behind it (hanging cloth)!' L; passive: qiʔ ʔaw ʒah ʔewaʔ ʒiʔq ʔuxʔʔ gelaʔdiʔahʕ 'until their slime all runs (has been made to run) (all the way) down off them' 65.42A, ʔewaʔʔ yeʒ guleʔedeʔah daʔʒ 'when it (slime) has (been made to) run down off it' 65.43A, Rezanov Yrexrerea 'Crozda Pfahl' perhaps to be read ʔuʔd yeʒ didiʔah 'it (d-class, stake, board, tree?) has been made to extend down there' (nominalized? neuter imperfective, but see also yaʔ d-ʔaʔ), see also yeʒ ʒedeʔedeʔah.

4. With yeʒ-progressive (see also ʔi-d--(ʔ-)ʔ-ʔaʔ): neuter imperfective: yeʒ ʔidiʔah 'it (e.g. sugar spilt all over) extends in various

directions' M, *yaḡ gelidiʔah* 'water is flowing (in streams) in various directions, all over' M, *diK yaḡ gelaʔdeʔa:s* 'water isn't running all over' M, *ʔa:wayu yaḡ ʔedidiʔah* 'irregular lines, stripes extend in many directions' L, *daʔaw ʔa: ʔida yaḡ gu-diʔah ʔawa:ix* 'following the twists and turns of the river' ('that very river, the way it flows about, according to that') 68.4A, active imperfective: *yaḡ gela-de-ʔaʔix* 'water is flowing all about, in various streams' L, active optative: *yaḡ gela-diʔah* 'let it (liquid) run all about' M.

5. With *liʔ* 'from open front end toward closed back end, downstream' (see also *liʔ geli-ʔah*, *ʔi-d-(ʔ-)-ʔa* 2.): a. Resanov АКЭТЭ-ХИХЭ<sup>2</sup>-УЖ-а (э uncertain, ʔ- superscript insert, read АКЭТХАКЭ-УЖ-а by Radlov) 'Päxa Fluss' *ʔa: qiʔdeḡ liʔ guli-ʔah* 'place along where a river runs downstream', *ʔa:deḡ liʔ geli-ʔah* 'a stream runs (down) along here' L (see 13.), *giyah qiʔ liʔ geli-ʔahʕabd* 'from where water runs down, from a creek, stream' 21b.-8A.

5b. With *liʔ-x* '(motion within area) downstream': *liʔix geli-ʔah* 'tide is going out' L, cf. 9.

5c. Transitive (causative), reflexive, with y-anatomical (cf. 21.), indirect reflexive with o-ʒeʒ-yəq 'in o's ears' (see 2., xutʔyeq liʔ di-ʔah, ʔdl-ʔa' 2.) and liʔ: ʒeʒyeq ʔedyi-liʔihʔh 'he's got his fingers in his ears (to shut out noise)' L; see also xutʔyeq liʔ di-ʔah.

6. With qid 'down off, past edge': a. qid ʔedi-ʔah 'it (log) extends down, extends past edge' L, qid qi-li-ʔah 'it (rope) hangs down (past speaker's level), off edge' L, qid galaʔ-ʔeʔaʔi 'it (spilt liquid) is starting to run off edge' L, ʔq-guleyaʔq qid geli-ʔah 'it (water) is running down into the river' L (see 11.), with o-ʔahd 'out of concealment from behind o' (see 2.): ʔewʔahd qid ʔeʔaʔi 'it's starting to protrude (beyond edge) from behind it' L.

6b. With qid 'pointing, aimed in certain direction', and o-ʔ 'toward o' (see 11.): ʔew ʔiʔ qid ʔi-ʔah 'it's pointing at you' L, kiʔa-ʔ qid di-ʔah 'it (tree) is standing aslant' L; indirect reciprocal with o-kah-ʔ 'toward away from o': ʔiʔkahʔ qid didiʔah 'they (d-class S?) point away from each other' L. Transitive (causative): ʔew ʔiʔ qid ʔixiʔ-ʔah 'I'm pointing it at you' L, with yaʔʔ

'upward' (see ?i-d-(?-)i-?a' 1.): yaʔɣ qid  
 ʔedaʔiʔe' 'point it (pole) upward!' L (neuter  
 imperative); passive: ʔi· qa·ʔ yaʔɣ qid ʔe=  
 didiʔah 'bear-spears have been pointed upwards  
 at us' 34.111L

6c. Problematical instance: ʔi· qiddaʔ  
 ʔeʔaʔi 'it (clock hand) is starting to point to=  
 ward six' L, perhaps to be corrected to ʔi· qiʔ=  
 daʔ ʔeʔaʔi 'it's starting to extend to where  
 it's six' L (see 14.).

7. With ?u·daɣ 'along there' and lah3 *with ʔiʔah*  
 'forward' (see 2., 13.): ?u·daɣ lah3 ʔi·ʔah  
 'it juts forward along there' L, ?u·daɣ lah3  
 ʔeʔaʔi 'to be corrected to ʔeʔaʔi) 'it's start=  
 ing to show (emerge forward along there)' M.

8. With lae 'up ashore, up from shore':  
 lae ʔi·ʔah 'it (canoe) lay ashore' 47.34M.

9. With dee-ʔeʔ-ɣ '(motion) upstream, up=  
 land': deeʔɣ geliʔah 'tide is coming back  
 in' L (cf. 5b., liyeqʔ dee geli·ʔah).

10. With ʔaʔq 'on end' (? see ʔeʔaʔq  
 ʔa·ʔeʔah, also -ʔa·w 3. under ʔa·w<sup>1</sup>), 'S  
 (season, process, event) lasts, takes a long  
 time': xala·g ʔaʔq ʔi·ʔah 'winter is long'

L, xah Naʔqʰ ʔi-ʔah 'summer is long' L, ʔe-  
 la-g Naʔqʰ qaʔah 'winter will be long' L, diK  
 (sahdɿ) Naʔqʰ qaʔahs 'it won't take long' L,  
 ʔela-g Naʔqʰ saʔaʔi 'winter is getting to be  
 long' L, ʔela-g Naʔqʰ saʔaʔi 'winter was long'  
 L, xah diK Naʔqʰ ʔesʔaʔis 'summer wasn't long'  
 L; *L. saʔaʔi 'g. a. d. a. ʔi' ʔe-ʔi-ʔah 'long is long'*.

11. With o-ʔ 'to o' (see 3., 6., 26.,  
 ʔi-d-(ʔ-)i-ʔa' 1.): ta- ʔu-ʔ ʔi-ʔah 'a road  
 goes there (extends thither)' L, ʔʔ-ʔ gelaʔ-  
 saʔaʔi 'it (spilled liquid) is starting to flow  
 hither' L, kiʔa-ʔ di-ʔah 'it (tree) leans to  
 one side' (see also 6b., yaʔ d-ʔa'), ʔiʔla-ʔ  
 ʔʔ-ʔ gelaʔeʔah da-ʔ 'when water runs down along  
 the mountains' 34.64M (see 3., 12.). Transitive  
 (causative): giyah ʔuyaʔʔ gulaʔiʔe- 'make  
 water flow into it (o with broad opening at top,  
 body of water):' L (neuter imperative).

12. With o-ʔ 'in (punctual) contact with  
 o' (see also 3., 11., ʔiʔʔ didiʔah, ʔiʔʔ ʔuluʔ  
 kudeʔah): ʔaw ʔewʔ di-ʔah 'it (board) extends  
 to (a point on) that'(-) L, diʔweʔ ʔa-ʔ ʔuxaʔ  
 ʔux di-ʔah 'its (baby seal's) umbilical cord is  
 still on it' L, ʔewʔ quʔdi-ʔah 'it (board) will  
 extend to (a point on) that' L, ya-ʔa-gd ʔewʔ

di·ʔah 'it extends perpendicular to the middle  
 of it (in contact with it at the middle)' L, ʔew  
 ʔedi·ʔah 'it (log, pole) extends (to a point) on  
 that'(-| or --)L; indirect reciprocal: ʔiɿ ʔi-  
 diʔah 'they're end to end' L, ʔiɿ didiʔah  
 'they (boards) are end to end' M (see also nomi-  
 nalizations), ʔiɿ desedeʔa·ʔ (to be corrected  
 to desedeʔaʔ) 'they (ends of board bridge) are  
 coming together' M, ʔiɿ disidiʔaʔ 'they (two  
 ends of boards) touched' L, ʔiɿ ʔededeʔah,  
 'they (logs, matchsticks) are end to end' L. Transi-  
 tive (causative): ʔiɿ ʔaʔʔe· 'set them end to  
 end!' L (neuter imperative), ʔiɿ quʔxiʔah 'I'll  
 set them end to end' L, ʔiɿ ʔixiʔah 'I've got  
 them end to end' L, ʔew ʔuʔdi·xiʔah 'I'll set  
 it (board) so it touches that (at a point)' L,  
 ʔew disixiʔaʔ 'I set it (board) so it touches  
 that (at a point)' L, ʔiɿ disidiʔaʔ 'I set  
 them (boards) end to end' L, ʔew desexiʔaʔ  
 'I'm making it (board) extend to that' L.

13. With o-deɿ '(movement with)in area of  
 o' (see also 1., 2., 3., 5a.): ta· ʔu·deɿ  
 seʔaʔ 'a road goes by there' L, ʔeɿdeɿ  
 geli·ʔah 'it (water) flows along nearby (speak-  
 er)' L (see ʔi-d-(ʔ-)ʔa' 1.), ʔewyeɿdeɿ

ʔadi·ʔah 'it (log, line) extends along under-  
neath that' L (see 23.), ʔewyeqdeʔ geli·ʔah  
'it (water) flows along through (in) it (pipe)'  
L (see 2.). Transitive (causative): ʔu·deʔ  
quʔgeli·xiʔah 'I'll make it (water) flow along  
there' L.

14. With o-daʔ 'to, arrival at o' (see al-  
so 2., 6a., ʔi-d-(ʔ-)i-ʔaʔ 2., i-ʔaʔ): ʔa·daʔ  
seʔahk (to be corrected to seʔaʔk) 'it reached  
to here' M, ta· ʔa·daʔ seʔaʔk 'a road reaches  
here' L, diK ʔa·daʔ qi·leʔa·e (to be corrected  
to qi·laʔa·e) 'it (rope) doesn't reach to here'  
M, ʔu·daʔ quʔqi·li·ʔah 'it (rope) will reach  
there' L, diK ʔu·daʔ quʔqi·li·ʔahs 'it (rope)  
won't reach there' L.

15. With o-gaʔ 'like o' or o-leʔ 'more  
than, beyond o' (see also i-ʔaʔ): ʔelgaʔ ʔi·-  
ʔah 'it's this long' M, ʔel ʔewgaʔ ʔi·ʔah  
'this is as long as that' (same as ʔel ʔewgaʔ  
ʔi·iʔaʔ) L, ʔelgaʔ qaʔah 'it (road) will be  
this long' M, ʔelgaʔ qi·li·ʔah 'it (rope) is  
this long' M, ʔel ʔewleʔ ʔi·ʔah 'this is  
longer than that' (same as ʔel ʔewleʔ ʔi·iʔaʔ)  
L, indirect reciprocal: ʔilgaʔ ʔidiʔah 'they're  
the same length' (same as ʔilgaʔ ʔidisiid,

ʔilgaʔ ʔiliiʔaʔ) L, ʔilgaʔ ʔedidiʔah 'they (logs) are the same length' (same as ʔilgaʔ ʔadiiiʔaʔ) L.

16. With o-ta's 'over, across o' (see also ʔi-d-(ʔ-)i-ʔa' 2.): Kuta's ʔi-ʔah 'it extends across something (specific)' L, deta's ʔi-ʔah 'it extends across (indeterminate o)' L, ʔuta's di-ʔah 'it (board) extends across it' L, ʔawta's ʔedi-ʔah 'it (log) extends over, across it' L; indirect reciprocal: ʔilta's ʔidiʔah 'they cross, they extend in opposite directions the length of each other' (X or =) L, ʔilta's ʔedidiʔah 'they (logs) cross, they (match-sticks) lie in opposite directions the length of each other' L, ʔilta's qi-liʔdiʔah (perhaps to be corrected to qi-lidiʔah) 'they (ropes) cross, extend in opposite directions the length of each other' L.

17. With o-luʔ 'through (hole in) o' (see also 2., ʔilʔ ʔuluʔ kudeʔah, ʔuʔ deluʔ qaʔ kuʔaʔi): ʔawluʔ ʔi-ʔah ʔeʔ ʔp-d ʔidiʔeʔgʔ 'it (which) extends through it here has been bent past (as hook in eye)' L, tikiʔ ʔuluʔ ʔeʔ di-ʔihʔih 'an arrow is sticking clear through him' L (see also 22.), most frequently attested

with gl-class-mark for S: ?əwlu? geli·?ah  
 'it leaks' ('a stream of water extends through  
 it') L, ?əwlu? qu?geli·?ah 'it'll leak, water  
 will come through it' L, diK ?əwlu? qu?geli·-  
 ?ahs 'water won't leak through it' L, ?əwlu?  
 gelesə?ah̄, ?əwlu? gu·sə?ah̄ (both to be cor-  
 rected to -?a?̄), ?əwlu? gu·sə?a?̄ 'water  
 leaked through it' L, ?əwlu? gelesə?a?̄ 'water  
 is starting to go through it' L, repetitive:  
 deqa·yu· ?əwlu? gule?a?g 'water sometimes gets  
 through it' L. Transitive (causative): ?əwlu?  
 qu?geli·x̄?ah 'I'll make water go through it,  
 make it leak' L.

18. Indirect reciprocal, with ?īk-ka?  
 'along with, in same direction as each other':  
 ?īka? ?idi?ah 'they're parallel' L, ?īka?  
 ʔədədə?ah 'they (matchsticks) extend parallel  
 in same direction' L.

Transitive (causative),  
 19. with o-sa? 'into o's mouth' (see also  
 2.): sisa? ?a?̄e· (to be corrected to ?a?̄?e·)  
 'stick it (e.g. thermometer) in my mouth!' L (neu-  
 ter imperative).

20. With o-ʔa? '(stuck, obstructed) behind  
 o' (see also 2.): ?əwta? gu·sə?a?̄ 'it (liquid)  
 flowed to (and got stopped by) that' L.

21. Transitive (causative), with o-qaʔ-ʒ  
 '(motion) between o, through interstice in o':  
 ʔideqəcʔdeqaʔʒ λa·səkʔaʔ 'button your collar!'  
 ('extend it (button) through your collar-inter-  
 stice!') L, λa·ʒeʔi·d ʔiʒaʔ deqaʔʒ λa·səkʔaʔ  
 'button your buttons!' ('extend your buttons through  
 indeterminate o!') L; reflexive, with y-anatomical  
 (cf. 5c.), indirect reciprocal: ʔikqaʔʒ ʔad-  
 yiʔiʔihʔih 'he's got his hands clasped, folded,  
 fingers interlaced' L, ʔikqaʔʒ ʔedyixsiʔaʔʔ  
 'I clasped, folded my hands' ('I extended my hands  
 through interstices in each other') L.

22. With o-qʔ 'on o' and ʔeš '(complete-  
 ly) past' (see also 17.): ʔawqʔ ʔeš ʒedi·ʔah  
 'it (log) lies over (on and across) that' L.

23. With o-yeʒ 'under o' (see also 13.,  
 qidgaʔ kuyəʒ ʔah, deʒeyəʒd yeʒ ʒedeʔaʔʔ):  
 ʔini·sqyeʒ kugeli·ʔah 'your nose is running'  
 ('something liquid extends under your nostrils')  
 L, ʒed ʔuni·sqyeʒ qi·li·ʔihʔih 'it (dried snot)  
 hangs ropelike under her nostrils' 72.40M (poetic,  
 in song, ʒed word fragment, thematized class-  
 mark 'line, streak').

24. With o-ʕahd 'away from o' (see also

ʔi-d-(ʔ-)i-ʔa' 2.): ta' ʔə-ʔahd seʔaʔi 'a road extends from here' L, ʔə-ʔahd ʔadi-ʔah 'a log, line extends from here' L, ʔə-ʔahd qi-li-ʔah 'a rope extends from here' L.

25. Indirect reciprocal with ʔi-i-ʔa-ʔ 'alongside (movement nearby) each other' (see also 2., 3.): ʔi-i-ʔa-ʔ ʔidiʔah 'they extend parallel and touch each other' L; ʔi-i-ʔa-ʔ ʔidiʔah xutʔi 'double-barreled shotgun' L ('rifle (the parts of) which extend alongside each other').

26. Indirect reciprocal with ʔi-i-ʔes-d 'opposite, facing in opposite directions, from each other': ʔi-i-ʔes-d ʔadidiʔah 'they (logs, lines) extend parallel to and in opposite directions from each other' (L) L.

27. Indirect reciprocal, with ʔi-i-da-ʔ '(movement with) in area near each other' (see also ʔi-i-da-ʔ qi-geʔa-diʔah): ʔi-i-da-ʔ ʔidiʔah 'they're close and parallel' LM.

28. Indirect reciprocal, with ʔi-i-da-d '(rest) in area near each other' (see also qa-da-dʔah): ʔi-i-da-d seʔeʔaʔi 'they (parallel) are getting close to each other' L, ʔi-i-da-d ʔadidiʔah 'they (logs, lines) are close to each other' L.



*Ishul' i: ?ah, see Ishul' i: ?ah (separate entry).*

ta? li: ?ah place-names, exact location not remembered, above Alaganik A, around Eyak River L. Nominalized neuter imperfective, 'it (1-class) extends into the water'.

?ilx ?ulu? Kude?ah (noun) 'dovetail joint' M, 'two pieces end-to-end joined with pin' L, Rezanov Ильяхожара Рыбуръ на мртъ Nath'. Nominalized passive active imperfective, indirect reciprocal with ?il-x 'in contact with each other, and o-lu? 'through (hole in) o', 'something is made to extend to contact with each other through it', see -?a' 12., 17.

?ilx didi?ah (noun) 'seam, joint' L, 65.31, 31A. As above, with d-thematic or d-class-mark for O thematized, see -?a' 12.

qidga? ?i: ?ah (noun, unclassified) 'end (of extent)': ta? qidga? ?i: ?ah 'end of the road' L. Nominalized neuter imperfective, probably also qi?dg<sup>(w)</sup>a?, qi?g<sup>(w)</sup>a?, see qid, qi?, g<sup>w</sup>a?-ga?, 'as far as it goes', see following.

qidga? Kuye? ?ah place-name L, qi?g<sup>w</sup>a? Kuye? ?ah, first transcribed qe:g<sup>w</sup>a?Keye?e?ah place-name, "place as far as you go, next river after ta?xib" (Tashalich River, i.e. Seal or Midtimber River) S. Nominalized active imperfective, 'as

far as it extends (from) under something, the end of its extent under something', see -ʔa' 23., qidgaʔ ʔi-ʔah.

ʔiɫda·ʔ qi·gəɫa·diʔah (noun) 'a certain edible part inside a porcupine, ("like two ropes together")' L. Nominalized neuter imperfective, indirect reciprocal with ʔiɫ-da·-ʔ '(movement with)in area near each other', 'they (ropelike) extend (over wetness?) parallel and near each other', see -ʔa' 27., ʂewe·na·ʂ qi·gəɫa·ʔah, gdl-i-ʔaʔ.

ʂewe·na·ʂ qi·gəɫa·ʔah (noun, probably qi·d-class) 'anchor-chain' L. Nominalized active imperfective, with qi·l-class-mark for S, gdl-thematic 'extent over water', 'it (rope-like) extends (over water) to anchor', see -ʔa' 11., ʔiɫda·ʔ qi·gəɫa·diʔah, gdl-i-ʔaʔ.

qə·kqaʔah (< qə·kqaʔ ʔah or qə·k qaʔ ʔah, nominalized active imperfective), see qə·k, -ʔa' 2.

ɫəhdəyɛqqaʔah (noun) 'chimney, smokehole, stove-pipe', Rezanov Энциклопедия "Труба Schornstein", Old Man Dude tɫá<sup>n</sup>t:ʔqá'a BSDL 545. < ɫəhd ʔuyɛq qaʔ ʔah 'smoke extends up out from in it', nominalized active imperfective, see -ʔa' 2, ɫəhd.

qa'edxe'ah (noun, unclassified) 'horseclam  
(Schizothaera nuttalli?)' LM, 10.230, 247A,  
qe'è qa'edxe'ahde'xyhyu' 'female horseclam--  
people' 10.247A, qa'edxe'ahwelahyu' 'horse-  
clam people, spirits' 10.63A. Nominalized active  
imperfective of reflexive causative, qa' 'ed--  
x-è-'a', with qa' 'up out' (see -'a' 2.) and  
x-thematic, perhaps 'plural', 'they make themselves  
(their siphons) stick up out'.

qa-da-d'ah name of man from Katalla, who was run  
over by a train in Cordova, L's father's nephew  
L, name of Tlingit man S, Katata name of man  
on Kayak Island in 1884 in Seton-Kerr, Heywood R.  
Shores and Alps of Alaska, London, 1887. S and  
Tlingit-speakers unable to etymologize, "right  
by us" L; perhaps of Eyak origin, qa'-da'-d  
'(at rest in area) near us, near humans', 'ah  
probably active imperfective of -'a', see -'a' 28.,  
or of Eskimo origin; Yupik qRaata 'that which  
raises, keeps something off the ground'.

xe'wa'q'è la-se'ah (noun) 'bay' L, Rezanov Xaxsu-  
xaxsu 'Iyca' (not in Redlov, 'bay'), Old Man Dude  
xat'iat'iqá's 'lagoon or bay' BSdL 537, also  
place-name, bay on south shore of Eyak Lake at  
Mile 5 L. L unable to etymologize, analysis un-  
certain: xe-wa'q'è 'on back end of area' (see

-ʔa' 10.), verb with dl-class- or thematic mark, te- prefix thematized, form perhaps inceptive conditional, apparently 'any dl-class S that might extend into the back end of it (area)'.

yeʔ ʔədədəʔah (noun, ʔd-class) 'candle' L, usually actualized yeʔədədəʔah, and sometimes incorrectly segmented yeʔ ʔədədəʔah L. Nominalized passive active imperfective, 'it (ʔd-class) is caused to extend downward (set in socket)', cf. yeʔ ʔədi-  
dicu·xi 'they (candles) are set (thrust down) in their sockets', dəʔeyəʔd yeʔ ʔədəʔaʔi, yeʔ ʔədi·ʔah, and -ʔa' 3.

yeʔ ʔədi·ʔah (noun, ʔd-class) 'candle' L. As above, non-passive, perhaps incorrect, 'it (ʔd-class) extends down'.

dəʔeyəʔd yeʔ ʔədəʔaʔi (noun, perhaps unclassified, or d-class) 'lantern' L, Rezanov Тахарумхыкходэагъь 'Сопарь Laterne'. -i- instrumental deverbalization, 'it (ʔd-class, instrumentalized) is put down (extended down into socket) under area of indeterminate o', see also -ʔa' 3., 23., yeʔ ʔədədə-  
ʔah, and dəʔəhyu· dəiʔah under ʔa.

-g-ʔaʔ-i (noun, unclassified, with g-thematic or anatomical 'hip', and -i-instrumental, perhaps deverbalization) 'hip, haunch, pelvis' (protru-

sion of pelvis at hip): Rezanov Какоешь  
'Спина Rücken', Карохъ-ооъ 'Подомъ' (not  
in Radlov, 'skirt, hem') perhaps both to be  
read qa·guʔaʔi 'our hip, human hips', si-  
guʔaʔi 'my hips' M, siguʔaʔi (or sigeʔaʔi)  
siya· segaʔi 'my haunches, hipbones are tired'  
L.

yʔ·ʔdeʔaʔi (noun, d-class, probably with yʔ·ʔ  
'down', d-thematic or d-class-mark for O of  
passive theme deverbalized with -i-instrumental)  
'ring (for finger)' L, Rezanov Кръгъ 'Koskgo  
Fingerring', yʔ·ʔdeʔaʔidaʔluw 'big ring' M,  
yʔ·ʔdeʔaʔi siʔ di·ʔaʔ 'give me a ring!' L.  
dagaʔqʔdelah ʔaʔi (noun, unclassified?) 'neck-  
lace' A, 'ribbon around neck' L. -i-instrumental  
deverbalization 'it extends (is extended) around  
throat'.

ʔuʔ deluʔ qaʔ kuʔaʔi (noun, unclassified?)  
'safety-pin' L. -i-instrumental deverbalization  
of passive with indefinite O of -ʔaʔ, (see -ʔaʔ  
2., 17.) 'something is extended up out through  
hole in indeterminate o with it'.

o-d (d)-ʔaʔ (with d-thematic perhaps optional  
with o-d 'from o', perhaps partly thematized d-  
class-mark for S): ʔew ʔewd di·ʔah 'it extends

from (a point) on that' L, *leʔdi kudi·ʔah*  
'it extends handle-like from a box' L (see *ʔud*  
*kudi·ʔah* below), indirect reciprocal: *ʔid*  
*ʔidiʔah* 'they extend away from each other'  
(as --) L.

*ʔud kudi·ʔah* (noun, probably unclassified) 'pot,  
saucepan with straight handle' L. Nominalized  
neuter imperfective of preceding, 'something d--  
class(?) extends from it'.

*yaʔ d-ʔaʔ* (with d-thematic with *yaʔ* 'completely,  
to a state of rest, vertical' (see also *edi-ʔaʔ*  
1., *edi-i-ʔaʔ* 2., *ʔu·deʔyu·gaʔ yaʔ -ʔaʔ--ʔaʔ*)  
'S extends vertically, stands straight up': *yaʔ*  
*di·ʔah* 'it's standing' L, *dekɪh yaʔ di·ʔah*  
'a stick (unclassified) is standing straight up'  
L, *hiʕa·ʕ yaʔ di·ʔah* 'it (tree, d-class) is  
standing aslant (to one side)' L (see also *-ʔaʔ*  
11.), with ʕd-class-mark for S: *yaʔ ʕedi·ʔah*  
'it (log) is standing upright, it (a line, stripe)  
goes straight up, is vertical' L. Transitive  
(causative): *yaʔ daʔɪʔe·* (neuter imperative),  
*yaʔ di·ɪʔaʔ* (active imperative), *yaʔ deʕeɪʔaʔ*  
(inceptive imperative) 'stand it (e.g. bottle,  
unclassified) up:' L, *yaʔ quʔdi·xiʔah* 'I'll  
stand it up' L, *yaʔ diɪɪʔaʔɪ* 'I stood it

(e.g. stick) up' L, ya? ka? da?lii?ah 'you should stand it (e.g. bottle) up' L (neuter optative), ya? xeda?i?e. 'stand it (log) up!' L, da? ya? xedesa?a?i 'we're standing it (log) on end' L, ya? ka? xeda-lii?ah 'you should stand it (log) up' L (active optative); passive: Rezanov Yrexretea 'Crosó Pfahl' perhaps to be read ?u-d ya? xedidi?ah 'it (pole, log) is being caused to stand vertically there (as stake)' (see also -?a' 3., last entry).

ya·x̄ŋeqa? gd-?a' (with gd-anatomical 'rump' partly thematized with ya·x̄ŋeqa? 'upside-down') 'S is, becomes upside-down': ya·x̄ŋeqa? gedi-?ah 'it (e.g. table) is upside-down' L, ya·x̄ŋeqa? gedesa?a?i 'it got, was upside down for a while' L. Transitive (causative), reflexive: ya·x̄ŋeqa?d gedi?i?ih?ih (thus transcribed, probably to be corrected to ya·x̄ŋeqa? ?edgedi?i?ih?ih) 'he (baby) is on all fours, rump up, looking backwards between his legs' L; či?šdeg xa-?d iič ya·x̄ŋeqa?d gedi?i?ahk 'my it's always arse--end up outside' (of persistent bad weather) ?2.= 35L (stem perhaps ?a, or, more likely, to be corrected to ya·x̄ŋeqa? ?edgedi?i?ah, neuter imperfective, or, less likely, ?edgedi?i?a?i, neuter perfective).

edl-ʔaʔ (with edl-thematic, perhaps including  
 el-thematic 'earth, ground', but see also ed-  
 ʔaʔ below, rare and uncertain without preverb  
 yaʔ) 1. With yaʔ 'completely, to a state of  
 rest, vertical' (see also yaʔ d-ʔaʔ, edl-i-ʔaʔ,  
 and əɣa-ʔa-w 3. under ʔa-w<sup>1</sup>), 'S is, becomes  
 high, tall, steep': Rezanov ɁaɁɁɁɁ-a ʔɁɁɁɁ  
 Dach', Galushia Nelson yá'qə́tʔíiyá' or ydqét-  
 í-yá 'high' BSDL 554 yaʔ əɣi-ʔah 'it's high,  
 tall, steep (place, pot)' LM, ʔaʔd qiʔ yaʔ  
 əɣi-ʔah 'very steep, high place' 34.60M, ʔel-  
 gaʔ yaʔ əɣi-ʔaʔ 'it's this high' M (incorrect,  
 see edl-i-ʔaʔ), yaʔ quʔəɣi-ʔah 'it'll get  
 high' LM, diK yaʔ quʔəɣi-ʔahs 'it won't get  
 high' M, yaʔ əɣa-əʔaʔi 'it's getting high'  
 LM, yaʔ əɣa-səʔaʔi 'it got high' L. Transi-  
 tive (causative): yaʔ əɣi-i-ʔaʔ M, yaʔ ə-  
 ɣa-əɣi-ʔaʔ 'make it high!' LM, ʔewgaʔ yaʔ ə-  
 ɣa-i-ʔa-ʔ, ʔewgaʔ yaʔ əɣa-i-ʔeh (latter almost  
 certainly incorrect) 'make it as long (high?) as  
 that!' L, yaʔ əɣa-əɣi-ʔaʔi 'I'm making it  
 high' L, yaʔ əɣa-si-i-ʔaʔi 'I made it high' L,  
 yaʔ da- əɣa-yi-i-ʔah 'let's make it high' M.

2. With o-yeq-d 'inside o (not with  
 broad opening at top)' (nominalized as S?) and

liʔ 'deeply inside, from open front end to closed back end' (see also -ʔaʔ 5c.): ʔuyeqd liʔ səliʔah 'it's deep inside' (of anything) L.

ed-ʔaʔ (with ed-thematic 'place', see also preceding, following) 'S (high place) is (dangerously) steep': sedesaʔaʔi 'steep place ("on mountain, where you can't come down, though you may have come up the same place")' L (nominalized active perfective), with o-ʔ 'with o': siʔ sədiʔaʔi 'I'm trapped, stuck on steep slope, can't come down or go up' L (neuter perfective, 'it's steep with me').

ed-ʔ(i)-deʔaʔ (as above, but with de-- classifier and unidentified morphophonemic -ʔi- or -ʔ- prefix, not used freely, cf. also d-- de-ʔaʔ, ʔi-d-(ʔ-)i-ʔaʔ, d-(ʔi-)iə-ʔuʔə) 'S (high place) is (dangerously) steep': sədiʔə diʔah 'steep place' L (nominalized imperfective).

d-de-ʔaʔ 'S (high place) is (dangerously) steep': deədəʔaʔi 'steep place' L (nominalized inceptive perfective, conceivably arising from metathesis of \*sedədəʔaʔi, underlying theme ed-- d-ʔaʔ similar to preceding).

ʔi-d-(ʔ-)i-ʔaʔ (with ʔi- prefix of uncertain

identification and d-thematic, see ?i-d-le,  
 ?i-?a, ye? ?i-gdl-i-?a', and especially  
 ?i-d-?a, with which it is sometimes blended,  
 with optional -?- preceding -i- or -s-  
 of perfective prefixes, in origin probably an-  
 ticipatory of stem -?a?- , resulting ?ida?-  
 sequence probably identified with that of inde-  
 terminate object of semi-transitive) 1. 'S (smoke)  
 moves in certain direction': neuter perfective:  
 i?hd ya? ?idi-i?ah 'smoke is rising (extend-  
 ing up)' L (see -?a' 6b.), i?hd ya? ?iqedi-  
 i?ah 'pl. smoke is rising (from pl. fires)' L,  
 i?hd ?a-? ?idi-i?ah 'smoke is coming hither'  
 L (see -?a' 11.), inceptive imperfective: i?hd  
 ?adlax ?iqe?di-i?ah 'smoke will come closer' L  
 (see -?a' 13.), ?edi? ?iqe?di-i?ah 'it (smoke)  
 will come in (house)' L, i?hd ?a-? ?iqe?di-i?ah  
 'smoke will come hither' L, inceptive perfective:  
 i?hd ?a?de? ?idesel?a?i 'smoke is going out  
 (of house)' L, ?edi?i? ?idesel?a?i 'it (smoke)  
 is starting to come in (house)' L, ?aye?u-?  
 ?ida?sel?a?i 'it (smoke) is starting to go way  
 over towards there' L, blend with ?i-d-?a:  
 ?aye?u-i?a-? ?idesel?a-i 'it (smoke) is going  
 further away (in the direction of way over there)'

L, active perfective:  $\text{li}^{\text{q}} \text{?a}^{\text{q}} \text{?idesei}^{\text{?a}} \text{?i}$   
 'it (smoke) all went out (of house)' L, blend  
 with  $\text{?i-d-?a: ?edi} \text{?idesei}^{\text{?ah}} \text{?i}$  'it (smoke)  
 came in (house)' L, active imperfective, with  
 $\text{ye} \text{-progressive}$  (see  $\text{-?a' 4.}$ ), blend with  $\text{?i--}$   
 $\text{d-?a: i}^{\text{ahd}} \text{ye} \text{?idei}^{\text{?a}} \text{?i}$  'smoke is moving  
 around' L.

2. 'S (wind, perhaps d-class) moves in cer-  
 tain direction, changes': neuter imperfective:  
 $\text{?elah ye} \text{?idi}^{\text{?i}} \text{?ah}$  'it (wind) is coming down  
 (from mountains)' LM (see  $\text{-?a' 3.}$ ),  $\text{?elabsde}$   
 $\text{?ahd ?idi}^{\text{?i}} \text{?ah}$  'it (wind) is coming from off  
 ocean' L (see  $\text{-?a' 24.}$ ),  $\text{?a}^{\text{.}} \text{li}^{\text{?}} \text{?idi}^{\text{?i}} \text{?ah}$   
 'northwind is coming down(stream, from north)'  
 M (see  $\text{-?a' 5a.}$ ), inceptive imperfective:  $\text{?a}^{\text{.}}$   
 $\text{li}^{\text{?}} \text{?iqe}^{\text{?di}} \text{?i}^{\text{?ah}}$  'northwind will come down' L,  
 $\text{?u}^{\text{.}} \text{y lu}^{\text{.}} \text{?iqe}^{\text{?di}} \text{?i}^{\text{?ah}}$  'wind will change (180°  
 turn)' L, inceptive perfective:  $\text{?u}^{\text{.}} \text{y ?ida}^{\text{?se}}$   
 $\text{i}^{\text{?a}} \text{?i}$  (blend with  $\text{?i-d-?a}$ ),  $\text{?ida}^{\text{?se}} \text{?i}^{\text{?a}} \text{?i}$  'it  
 (wind) is starting to change, changing' 57.14a,  
 25, 64.8G,  $\text{?a}^{\text{.}} \text{li}^{\text{?}} \text{?idesei}^{\text{?a}} \text{?i}$ ,  $\text{?a}^{\text{.}} \text{li}^{\text{?}}$   
 $\text{?ida}^{\text{?se}} \text{?i}^{\text{?a}} \text{?i}$  'northwind is starting to come  
 down' L,  $\text{?elabsde}^{\text{?ahd}} \text{?ida}^{\text{?se}} \text{?i}^{\text{?a}} \text{?i}$  'it (wind)  
 is starting to come off ocean' L,  $\text{?i}^{\text{.}} \text{da}^{\text{?}} \text{?ida}^{\text{?se}}$   
 $\text{se} \text{i}^{\text{?a}} \text{?i}$  'it (wind) is changing to westerly (to

up creeks)' L (see -ʔa' 14., blend with ʔi--d-ʔa), active perfective: Kú·y lu· ʔidaʔsə̀h-ʔaʔ́, Kú·y lu· ʔidasə̀hʔaʔ́ (latter preferred) 'wind changed (ca. 180°)'; with yeʔ-progressive (see -ʔa' 4.): də́kə·də́wyu· yeʔ ʔidi-kiʔah 'it (wind) is blowing every which way' L (neuter imperfective), inceptive imperative(?): Kú·y ʔə·daʔ ʔidaʔsə̀hʔaʔ́ 'wind change, blow hither!' 57.20fnG, indirect reciprocal with ʔiʔ--ta's 'over, across each other' (see -ʔa' 16.): ʔiʔta's ʔidiʔiʔah 'winds are crossed' L (neuter imperfective), ʔiʔta's ʔidaʔsə̀həʔaʔ́ 'winds are starting to cross' L (inceptive perfective, blend with ʔi-d-ʔa).

yeʔ ʔi-gəl-ʔ-ʔa' (with unidentified ʔi- prefix, see ʔi-d-(ʔ-)-ʔa' and various themes under ʔa, d-thematic perhaps 'free fall', gl-class-mark for S, and yeʔ 'downward' (see -ʔa' 3.) 'S (water) falls (as in cascade, waterfalls)': yeʔ ʔigə̀li·ʔah 'water is falling' L (neuter imperfective), frequently nominalized, 'waterfalls' L, 25.55, 58, 78A, giyah (qiʔ) yeʔ ʔigə̀li·ʔah '(place where) water falls' 25.55, 57, 80A, 38.-21LM, inceptive perfective: yeʔ ʔigə̀la·sə̀hʔaʔ́ 'water is starting to fall (like waterfall)' L.

ʒuʔ 0-ʔ-d-i-ʔaʔ (with ʒuʔ 'finished, right,  
 straight', semi-transitive with d-thematic,  
 perhaps causative of ʒuʔ ʔu-ʔ-d-ʔaʔ below)  
 'S decides, plans, agrees on, settles O, prevails  
 in argument concerning, has own way concerning  
 O': ʔideʒeleh ʒuʔ ʔuʔdeseʔaʔ 'make up your  
 mind!' L, yeqe·ʒ ʒuʔ ʔuʔquʔdi·xʔʔah (or quʔ-  
 di·xʔʔah) 'I'll settle, decide on it tomorrow'  
 L, ʒi·ʒeʒ qəw ʒuʔ ʔuʔdisiʔʔaʔʔ 'yesterday I  
 decided it' L, ʒuʔ ʔuʔdisiʔʔaʔʔ 'I settled it  
 (argument)' L, da· ʒuʔ ʔuʔdeseʔʔaʔʔ 'we've  
 got it planned' L, da· ʒuʔ ʔuʔdeseʔʔaʔʔ 'we're  
 planning it' L, deʒi· ʒuʔ ʔuʔdixiʔʔaʔʔ 'I've  
 already got it planned' L (neuter perfective).  
 ʒuʔ ʔu-ʔ-d-ʔaʔ (as preceding, intransitive with  
 thematized third-person O prefix of semi-transi-  
 tive, perhaps derived from preceding) 'S is, be-  
 comes agreed, decided upon, settled': ʒuʔ ʔuʔ-  
 deseʔʔaʔʔ 'it's decided, it (was) is settled,  
 over' L, ʒuʔ ʔuʔdeseʔʔaʔʔ 'agreement is being  
 reached' L, ne·ʒkihgaʔ ʒuʔ ʔuʔquʔdi·ʔah 'it'll  
 be settled, agreed on pretty soon' L, diʒ qə·l-  
 gah ʒuʔ ʔuʔquʔdi·ʔa·e 'it won't be settled to-  
 day' L, ʒa·diʔda· ʒuʔ ʔuʔda·liʔah 'agreement  
 will never be reached, it'll never be settled' L.

ɬ-ʔaʔ (with comparative postpositional phrases,  
 see -ʔaʔ 15., sɬl-ʔaʔ 1.) 'S extends a certain  
 length relative to another thing': with o-gaʔ  
 'like o': ʔelgaʔ ʔi·iʔaʔ 'it's this long (ex-  
 tends as much as this)' M, 51.45A, diK ʔelgaʔ  
 ʔaʔiʔaʔ 'it's not this long' M, ʔel ʔewgaʔ  
 ʔi·iʔaʔ 'this is as long as that' L, de·gaʔdɣh  
 ʔi·iʔaʔ 'how tall is he?' M, laʔdih kʊkʌhŋgaʔ  
 ʔi·iʔaʔ 'it's two feet long' M, ʔelgaʔ qaʔiʔaʔ,  
 ʔelgaʔ quʔweɪʔaʔ 'it'll be this long' M, ʔelgaʔ  
 səiʔaʔi 'it got this long' M, with o-leɣ 'more  
 than, past o': Bezanov Аулэхкөгөзтэя 'Длинно  
 lang' ʔewleɣ qew ʔi·iʔaʔ 'it's longer than  
 that' L, ʔel ʔewleɣ ʔi·iʔaʔ 'this is taller,  
 longer than that' LM, ʔileɣ ʔixiʔaʔ 'I'm  
 taller than you' M, sileɣ ʔi·iʔaʔ 'you're taller  
 than I' M, ʔuleɣ da· qi·iʔiʔinu· 'we're taller  
 than they' M, ʔaʔd xɣʔiɣ sileɣ ʔi·iʔiʔihɪh 'he's  
 very much taller than I' M, ɕiyuxɣuʔleɣ ʔuɣuʔ  
 ʔewɪ· ʔi·iʔaʔ 'its fur is longer than blackbear--  
 fur' 28.79A, sileɣ quʔyiʔaʔ 'you'll be taller  
 than I' L, with class-marks for O: diK ʔelgaʔ  
 daʔiʔaʔ 'it (table) isn't this long' M, ʔelgaʔ  
 qi·li·iʔaʔ 'it (rope) is this long' M, diK  
 ʔelgaʔ qi·laʔiʔaʔ 'it (rope) isn't this long'

M, de'ga<sup>2</sup>duw qi·li<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup> 'how long is it  
 (rope)?' L, <sup>2</sup>awga<sup>2</sup> qu<sup>2</sup>qi·li·i<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup> 'it (rope)  
 will be long enough, the right length, as long  
 as that' L; with o-da<sup>2</sup> 'to, arriving at o'  
 (probably incorrect, see -<sup>2</sup>a' 14.): dik<sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup>a·da<sup>2</sup>  
 qi·la<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>: 'it (rope) doesn't reach to here' M;  
 indirect reciprocal: <sup>2</sup>iiga<sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup>edili<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>h 'they (logs,  
 prone or upright) are the same length' L. Transitive  
 (causative): <sup>2</sup>alga<sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup>eli<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup> 'make it this long.'  
 M.

el-i-<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup> (with el-thematic 'passage of time', at-  
 tested from G only, perhaps not acceptable to  
 other informants) 'S (time) passes relative to  
 another thing': with o-ya<sup>2</sup> 'like o': de'ga<sup>2</sup>-  
 duw <sup>2</sup>eli·i<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup> 'how much time has elapsed' 54.-  
 12G, <sup>2</sup>a'ga<sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup>eli·i<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup>u<sup>2</sup>lixiliga<sup>2</sup>h 'I know  
 it that far (to where time extends that much)'  
 54.17G.

edl-i-<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup> (with edl-thematic 'distance overland',  
 probably containing el-thematic 'ground, earth',  
 see also <sup>2</sup>ela<sup>2</sup>·<sup>2</sup>a·w under <sup>2</sup>a·w<sup>1</sup>) 1. 'S extends  
 certain distance overland with respect to another  
 thing': with o-le<sup>2</sup> 'more than, past o': Reza-  
 nov Ауляккатынтая 'Дале́е weit (Comparativ.)'  
<sup>2</sup>ewle<sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup>eli·i<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup> 'it's longer, further (over-

(<sup>46</sup>-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>w): <sup>1</sup>da<sup>1</sup>ya<sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>ga<sup>1</sup>li<sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup>?<sup>1</sup> 'too far, far, toward the  
great a distance' A.

land) than that, it's too long' L, with o-ga?  
'like o': gu<sup>1</sup>de<sup>1</sup> milega<sup>1</sup> səli<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>?a<sup>1</sup> 'it's  
nine miles long, far (overland)' L; nominalized

2. With ya<sup>1</sup> 'completely, to a state of  
rest, vertical' (see ya<sup>1</sup> d-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>), 'S extends a  
certain height up with respect to another thing':  
with o-ga<sup>1</sup> 'like o': <sup>1</sup>alga<sup>1</sup> ya<sup>1</sup> səli<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>?a<sup>1</sup>  
'it's this high' M, <sup>1</sup>ele<sup>1</sup>ga<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>el <sup>1</sup>ewga<sup>1</sup> ya<sup>1</sup>  
səla<sup>1</sup>yi<sup>1</sup>?a<sup>1</sup> 'I hope this is as high as that' L,  
with o-le<sup>1</sup> 'more than, past o': <sup>1</sup>ewle<sup>1</sup> ya<sup>1</sup>  
səli<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>?a<sup>1</sup> 'it's higher than that, too high' L,  
<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>d ku<sup>1</sup>luw qe<sup>1</sup>yi<sup>1</sup>te<sup>1</sup>le<sup>1</sup> ya<sup>1</sup> səli<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>?a<sup>1</sup> 'it's  
taller than a very big whale' 28.76A; indirect  
reciprocal: <sup>1</sup>ilga<sup>1</sup> ya<sup>1</sup> səla<sup>1</sup>li<sup>1</sup>?a<sup>1</sup> 'they're  
the same height' L, <sup>1</sup>ele<sup>1</sup>ga<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>ilga<sup>1</sup> səla<sup>1</sup>-  
səli<sup>1</sup>?a<sup>1</sup> 'I hope they're the same height' L.  
Transitive (causative): <sup>1</sup>el <sup>1</sup>ewga<sup>1</sup> ya<sup>1</sup> sə-  
la<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>?a<sup>1</sup>, <sup>1</sup>el <sup>1</sup>ewga<sup>1</sup> ya<sup>1</sup> səla<sup>1</sup>-səli<sup>1</sup>?a<sup>1</sup> 'make  
this as high as that' L, <sup>1</sup>el <sup>1</sup>ewga<sup>1</sup> ya<sup>1</sup>  
qu<sup>1</sup>səli<sup>1</sup>-x<sup>1</sup>?a<sup>1</sup> 'I'll make this as high as that'  
L.

gdl-l<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>? (with gdl-thematic 'aquatic distance',  
containing thematized gl-class-mark 'liquid',  
see also gu<sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>w under <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>) 'S extends a  
certain distance over water with respect to

another thing': with o-ga? 'like o': 'nine  
miles, ?awga? gəli·i?a? 'nine miles, it's  
 that far (out to sea)' 12.8G, ti·ding<sup>w</sup>a? qə?ew  
 gəli·i?a? 'thirty (miles) it is out (to sea)'  
 62.27G, gucde· milega? giyahgu·na?d? gəli·i-  
 ?a? 'it extends nine miles over the water' L.  
 ?u·dəxyu·ga? ya? -?a?-?a' (with ?u·dəxyu·  
 '(movement) along there pl., all about' as o of  
 o-ga? 'like o', ya? 'completely, to a state of  
 rest' (see ya? d-?a'); stem -?a? in neuter  
 imperfective, perhaps by analogy with o-ga?  
 i-?a?, -?a' in other mode-aspects) 'S lies  
 scattered all about, every which way, helter-  
 skelter': dəkih ?u·dəxyu·ga? ya? ?i·?ah  
 'sticks lie extended every which way' L, le·i  
 ?u·dəxyu·ga? ya? gu·?a? 'hairs lie scattered  
 all about' L, ?u·dəxyu·ga? ya? qa?ah 'they  
 (sticks) will lie scattered all about' L. Tran-  
 sitive (causative): ?u·dəxyu·ga? ya? ?i·i-  
 ?i?ih 'he's got them (sticks) lying extended  
 every which way, helter-skelter' L.

ʔa.1 (see also deʔa. under a.-ʔa.)

ʔa. (independent personal pronoun) 'he, she, it' (third person singular): rare in isolation without certain proclitics, enclitics, adverbs, or postpositional phrases: 50.44A; *ɕid* ʔa. 'only he, just him' M, *ɕid* ʔa. *wəʒ* ʔaw *ih* 'only he does that (does thus to it)' M, *ihʔɕ* *ɕid* ʔa. *qi-yifeɕah* *seiwutʔih* 'it was all/only spiders he vomited' 40.14L. (uncertain, perhaps with reference to non-human O, or perhaps to be read as ʔa.<sup>2</sup>), ʔa. ʔawa. 'he/she however, as for him/her, he/she on the other hand' 23.101, 25.2, 28, 38, 50.27, 61.116A, with enclitics -*gih--gi-* 'also, too', -*s* interrogative, and -*deg-* 'also, too': ʔa. *gidugəyɕh* 'he/him/she/her too?' L, ʔa. *gidug* L, 21a.19, 48.9L, ʔa. *gidig* 'he/she/him/her too, also' 10.161, 20.90, 23.85, 161, 24.43, 49.153, 61.116A, with proclitic *lese-* '(all) alone': *leseʔa.* 'he/she all alone, all by him-/herself' LM, 10.163, 215, 216A, 16.-16M, 20.16, 26.157, 32.11, 49.16A, 55.15, 19L, most frequently with proclitic *de-* 'ipse': *deʔa.* 'he/she/him/her him-/herself' M (i.e. 'he (etc.) and none other' or 'he (etc.) involving none other, unaided', emphasizing S or O in non-reflexive clauses: 8.19, 10.53, 141A, 18.29L,

20.84, 25.33fn, 157, 157, 157A, 56.29L, Rezanov  
 Тоаохельнх Ёмковара schuldig' de?a' weʒ ?i=  
 ʒiʒiʒi 'he himself does thus to you', de?a' weʒ  
 seliʒ 'it did that itself' M, de?a' weʒ seliʒiʒ  
 'he did that himself' L, de?a' ?u·d quʒketug  
 'it'll swell up by itself' L, de?a' ʒa·sditaʒkʒ  
 'it (net) got untangled by itself' L, diʒ de=  
 ?a·s 'not he himself' 61.54A, emphasizing S and  
 reflexive O: 50.1, 61.4, 40A, de?a' ?edj·ʒi=  
 xahʒiʒ 'he (himself) raised himself' L, de?a'  
 ?edla·ʒixa·ggaʒ ?aʒcedaʒʒ 'he's getting big  
 enough to take care of himself' L, de?a' ?edde=  
 kahʒ 'coyote' ('it barks at itself') L, de?a'  
 ?edʒaʒnaʒʒʒ 'fast-melting light spring or fall  
 snow' ('it licks itself up') L, emphasizing S and  
 indirect reflexive o of postposition: 23.56, 118,  
 25.32, 36.42A, 72.18L, de?a' ?pdʒ ciʒʒdelʒiʒiʒ  
 'he's talking to himself' L, de?a' ?edleʒade·ʒd  
 daʒʒʒ sdiʒeʒʒ 'in his own eyes he's become a  
 person' L, de?a' ?adʒ liʒʒ ledale·gʒiʒ 'he  
 gets laughing spells (with himself)' L, empha=  
 sizing o of postposition in non-reflexive clauses:  
 de?a' ?ugaʒ ʒi·leh 'a raven like himself' 10.=  
 164A, de?a' ʒaw ?uʒ yaʒ siʒyahʒ 'I have the  
 habit' ('I'm used to precisely that') L, de?a'  
 ?uyaʒ ʒawa· 'his own dog' LM, de?a' siʒʒ ?idaʒ=

ʒhʒh 'he's telling me about himself' L (probably  
to be corrected to deʔaʔ ʔedlah siʔ ʔidaʔde=  
ʒhʒh, or glossed 'he himself is telling me about  
him (another)'); as o of postposition o-gaʔ 'like,  
as far as, as much as o', probably incorrect, from  
G only: ʔa-gʷaʔ eeli-iʔaʔʕ ʔuʔlixigʷah 'I  
know it as far as that (point in time)' 54.17G,  
ʒhʒh taʷsen, ʔa-gʷaʔ da-naʔ 'one thousand,  
that many dollars' 64.5G; note also deʔaʔ under  
aʔ-ʔaʔ.

ʔa.2

ʔa. (conventional noise) 'uh, er' (meaningless vocalized pause) L, 7.5, 24, 9.61, 132, 10.46, 83, 11.5, 189, 20.11, 28, 62, 23.1, 24.22, 25.30, 40, 27b.2, 5, 15, 17, 28.55, 60, 102, 108, 120, 32.1, 1, 26, 40, 33.22, 36.29, 37b.31, 73, 49.17, 123, 50.5, 51.33, 46, 60.34, 34, 61.64, 65.31, 48, 68, 68.85, 92, 69.4, 5A; some instances of edited-out ʔa? are probably also to be so identified, e.g. 36.11, 37b.37A; perhaps with de- 'ipse': deʔa. 28.48A.

ʔah<sup>1</sup> (stem, of uncertain meaning, perhaps to be identified with active imperfective stem of themes with ʔa, ʔa'-ʔaʔ, or with ʔah<sup>2</sup>)

ʔeʔah (noun, unclassified) 'slave' L, 2b.6, 7L, 11.20A, 19.26L, 49.83, 88, 95, 141, 153A, Galushia Nelson tʔá'd' or tʔá'd' 'slave' BSdL 543, ʔi-ʔeʔah ʔiʔqeʔli-xiʔah 'I'll keep you as a slave, make a slave of you' L, deʔu'd ʔahnu seʔtux-hinu, ʔeʔahwahd 'they kept him right there, for a slave' 38.13LM, ʔeʔahšiyah 'old slave (pejorative)' 49.83, 88, 115A, ʔeʔahseyu 'slaves' 11.109, 109, 110, 129, 129, 132A, ʔita<sup>2</sup>yaʔ ʔeʔahseyu 'your father's slaves' 11.129A. Probably nominalized active imperfective of theme with ʔe-classifier, not inflectable or possessible (e.g. no \*xʔeʔah L), except as in Kʔeʔah below. Informants unable to etymologize, but cf. Hupa O-t-ʔa--ʔaʔ, Navaho O-t-ʔá--ʔáʔ, Sarsi O-t--ʔá--ʔáʔ, Chipewyan O-t-ʔá--ʔá 'S commands O, sends O on errand', Navaho ná-l'áʔi 'servant, slave' (< \*na-ʔe-ʔaʔ-an 'he who is ordered about').

Kʔeʔah (noun, unclassified) 'muskrat' LM, 67.6G; Kʔeʔahyaʔ ma place-name, "Muskrat Lake", on Ibek Creek, just beyond Mile 7 L. Muskrat is so called because it is "slave to beaver" LM;

see ɬəʔah above; kʷu-indefinite prefix perhaps serving as possessor, 'something's slave', or perhaps O of old verb-theme, 'something is commanded'.

ʔah<sup>2</sup> (element, probably stem, in various forms of uncertain analysis, perhaps of more than one origin, and perhaps to be identified with ʔah<sup>1</sup> and/or related to ʔa, ʔa'-ʔaʔ, and/or ʔah-ʔa.)

ʔeweʔah- (nominal form of uncertain classification and analysis; -ewe- probably related to -ʔew-ʔu- demonstrative 'that', never \*-ewʔah-, no \*ʔale-ʔah- L) 'thank you', not clearly attested in isolation; with -dah adverbializer: Galushia Nelson sua'ta' or su'a'ta' 'thanks' BSdL 555 ʔeweʔahdah 'thank you' LM, ʔeweʔahdah ʔə·daʔ sahi 'thank you for coming' ('thank you you came here') S, with suffixed adjective -ʔluw 'big': Rezanov Aryasrara 'Спасибо danke' ʔeweʔahlew...dah, ʔeweʔahludah, ʔeweʔahluw 'many thanks' L (but L later qualifies: "not good Eyak, only 'Mingits', e.g. S, would say this"); other forms, in which ʔeweʔah- can be construed as occurring unbound: ʔeweʔahle·sešiyah 'ingrate' L (< ʔeweʔah le·səh-šiyah 'he-pejorative who does not act thankfully'), ʔeweʔahla· 'thank you' (but flippant, not as good as ʔeweʔahdah) L (perhaps with -ʔla· suffix, see ʔlah-ʔla·, or la·, both exclamatory).

dequ·leʔeʔah (noun, unclassified) 'fierce, tough

person' L, 'mean' M, Furuñjela Takulhaa 'warrior',  
dequ·leʒəʔahlew 'big fierce man' L, de-  
qu·leʒəʔahčiyaʔ 'tough guy' L; dequ·leʒəʔah  
ʒewa· 'bulldog ('fierce-looking dog') L.

ʔeneʔah name of Cordova Eyak man S, but L ʔeneʔa·,  
see ʔa· , cf. ʔawaʔah-, ʔaneših, ʔenikeh-  
ʔenekeh-ʔenikih-ʔenekih, ʔel. Probably of Eyak  
origin, Eyak, Tlingit, and Eskimo informants unable  
to etymologize.

la·seʔah (noun, unclassified) 'pot, large pot'  
L, 7.36A. Informants unable to identify, see  
la· , se , cf. la·ktah.

*ganda do'ah transfer from ʔa'~ʔaʔ*

ʔa.1 (perhaps related to ʔa.liʔlɣ)

ʔa. (noun, gl-class) 'river' LM, 21b.71, 68.4A, Wrangell Ha 'Meer' perhaps misprint for Aa, or, more probably, for Ma (see na'-ma-ʔ), Galushia Nelson ʔa<sup>n</sup>, Old Man Dude a<sup>n</sup>. 'river' BSDL 537, Rezanov Акэртэхээн<sup>3-</sup> yak-a 'Pina Fluss' ʔa. qiʔdeɣ liʔ guli-ʔah 'place along where a river runs down' (see ʔa'-ʔaʔ, sid, wus-was for verb-themes referring to the flowing and course of rivers and streams), ʔa.geleyu. 'rivers' 34.-64, 68M, liht gu-na. ʔa. 'one river' M, Rezanov Акосеке 'Pyueß Bach' ʔa.gulekih 'creek, little river' L, ʔa.gu-ʔnuw 'big river' LM, also name of Copper River LM, 68.3A, Konno 'Eyak Lake' in A. Woldt (ed.) Capitain [Johan A.] Jacobsen's Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerikas, Leipzig 1884, p. , perhaps to be read [ʔa.]-gu-ʔnuw, Rezanov Акызахактэ 'Зарікою jenseits (des Flusses)' ʔa.guleɣa-ʔd '(at rest) on the opposite side of the river' M, ʔa.gu-naʔd 'on (the surface of) the river' L, 48.15L, ʔa.geleyeɣ 'under the river' 10.54A, ʔa.gelaʔa-ʔ 'coming upon a river' 25.14A, ʔa.geleta-s 'across the river' 25.47A, ʔa.gulah (to be corrected to ʔa.gu-lah) 'around a river' 34.16M,

x

?p·gy·yaʔe 'into a river' 45b.10M, ?p·guleyaʔe  
 qid geli·ʔah 'stream flows down into the river'  
 L, ?p·guleyaʔɣ da· seqe·t 'we're boating along  
 in the river' L, ?p·guleyaʔ eceɣ 'throw it in  
 the river!' L, ?p·gy·da·qd 'riverside' LM,  
 ?p·gy·da·q 'on the riverside' 45b.6M, ?p·gy·da·ɣ  
 sa·t 'was walking along the riverside' 45b.1M,  
 ?p·gulediyaʔseqe·s 'river-chief's-son' 29.52A,  
 eétékélitsoʔa<sup>n</sup> BSdL 273, eétékélit tsuʔan  
 'Creek where we feel better' BSdL 559 Kudese-  
 lehɣu· ?p· ('good-mood river', cf. Tlingit  
 'Amusement Creek' in Swanton Tlingit Myths and  
 Texts, 302, 312), yahseyu·yaʔ ?p· place-name,  
 of small creek near old seaplane hangar at Cordova,  
 on Eyak Lake ('menarcheal girls' river') L,  
 qeʔkseyu·yaʔ ?p· place-name, "Old Woman River"  
 (same as preceding, "also one at Yakutat", 'women's  
 river') L; declassified; ?ew ?p· leɣ qiʔyileʔg  
 'you'll sieze the river this way' 11.89A, ?ew  
 ?p· ?awa· aditʔicʔ 'that river had frozen' 57.8G,  
 as o of o-yaʔ 'in o (with broad opening at top)':  
 ?p·yaʔd qeʔ qaʔ siltahʔ 'he fished it back  
 up out of the river' L, ?p·yaʔd ?i·kewahdg 'it  
 (free end of branch) bobs and flaps in flowing  
 river' L, ?p·yaʔd ticʔ '(in-)river ice' 57.27G,

as o of o-ʔahd 'head of o (body of water)';  
ʔp-ʔahd 'head, source of the river' 67.10G,  
as o of o-g-daʔ 'mouth of o (body of water)',  
perhaps originally g-class; ʔp-gudaʔd 'mouth,  
outlet of river' M, 68.48A, ʔp-gudaʔʕ 'to the  
rivermouth, delta' 68.48A.

ʔq.2

ʔq. (exclamation, utterance initial) 'yes' LM,  
 Rezanov Aa 'Da ja', Puruhjelm Ee 'yes', ʔq.  
 delihih 'he says yes' M (i.e., in response to a  
 question, positive or negative, 'delete the inter-  
 rogative enclitic and your question becomes a true  
 (positive or negative) statement', to a statement,  
 positive or negative, 'your statement, if positive,  
 is true; if negative, is not true', to a wish,  
 command, or prohibition, 'I shall comply'); to a  
 positive question 'yes, that is so': lb.8-9M,  
 14.3-4, 18.52-53L, 27b.6-7, 29.44-45, 50-51A, 41.-  
 7-8L, 46.29-30M, 52.24-25, 30-31L, Galushia Nelson  
 icu -- a<sup>n</sup> 'is it you? (greeting) -- yes (ans-  
 wer to greeting)' BSdL 554 ʔi.8uh -- ʔq. 'hello  
 -- hello' ('is it you (sg.)? -- yes') L, deqe-  
 dahšuw teʔyaʔ ʔiʔaʔ -- ʔq., deqe.dah qew  
 'is that all the fish you have? -- yes, that's  
 all' L, yiKaʔdišuh -- ʔq., yiKaʔdih 'is he  
 sick? -- yes, he's sick' L, Kaʔdšuh yaʔ saʔ-  
 yahh -- ʔq., Kaʔd quh yaʔ saʔyahh 'did he  
 go crazy? -- yes, he did' L, deqe.lyeʔaʔšuh  
 saʔyahh -- ʔq., deqe.lyeʔaʔ quh saʔyahh 'did  
 he starve? -- yes, he did' L, to a negative ques-  
 tion 'no, that is not so': diKšuh ʔaʔKaʔdejh --

ʔə·, diK ʔaʔKaʔdsɪh 'isn't he sick?, he isn't  
sick, is he? -- no, he's not sick' L, to a posi-  
tive statement 'yes, that's true, you are right':  
laʔmahd ʔuʔsedeʔeh qew -- ʔə·, laʔmahd qəʔew  
'it looks like a berry -- yes, it's a berry' 43.-  
25M, ʔəh, siqaʔkih, ʔə·daʔ qeʔ sdiyahi --  
ʔə·, ʔə·daʔ qeʔ xsdiyahi, ʔə· ʔiqaʔkih xu·  
'ah, my dear husband, you've come back! (guilty  
and surprised) -- 'yes, I've come back, yes, I'm  
your dear husband' (sardonic) 27a.43-45L, to a  
negative statement 'yes, that is so, you are  
wrong': diK Santa Claus Kaʔle·t -- ʔə·, de-  
xuʔya·ʔ Santa Claus Ku·feh 'there is no Santa  
Claus -- yes, there is indeed a Santa Claus' L,  
to a wish, command, a prohibition 'I'll comply':  
yaʔxu· xuqaʔse· Kaʔ ʔuʔ da·yileh -- ʔə·,  
weʔ ʔuʔ quʔdi·xlɪhinu· 'you should tell them  
not to kill me -- yes, I'll tell them thus' 20.-  
68-70A, dəʔhyu·qaʔʕ ʔileʔʔaʔʕ -- ʔə·, ʔə·,  
dəʔhyu·qaʔʕ da· qaʔaʔʕ 'pl. go to amongst  
humans! -- yes, yes, we'll go to amongst humans'  
13.12-13L, weʔ ʔuʔ deʕelɪ·ʔinu· -- ʔə·, weʔ  
ʔuʔ quʔdi·xlɪhinu· 'say thus to them! -- yes,  
I'll say thus to them' 25.164-174A, yaʔxu·  
ʔuKah quʔli·ta·, weʔ ʔuʔ da·yileh -- ʔə·,  
diK ʔuKah quʔli·xta·t 'don't forget it, that

you should tell them thus -- yes, I won't forget  
it' 25.175-176A; without clear antecedent: 10.223A,  
71.10LM.

ʔəh¹

ʔəh (noun, dl-class and unclassified) 'earth, (dry) land, ground, region, area, country, territory, (real) property, yard, habitation, village' IM, 54.3, 67.3G, Rezanov Амз 'Земля Erde, Land', Wrangell A 'Erde, Land', Galushia Nelson o<sup>n</sup>. or 'a<sup>n</sup>' 'earth or land' BSdL 537 (i.e. 'the earth; land as opposed to sea, air; land as owned, claimed, or inhabited'; in the last meaning dl-class with suffixed adjectives, but probably always unclassified as o of postposition; in the first two usually dl-class as o of postpositions and as first element of compounds, but generally unclassified as S or O); as S or O, unclassified:

ʔəh ʔu·dəʒ seqečē 'the earth split along there' L, ʔəh lah daʔya·ʒ 'the earth is quaking' S, ʔəh lah quʔdaʔyah 'the earth will quake' L, Galushia Nelson tciłáciá qienʒ o<sup>n</sup> seti:tē 'Where Old Raven made the earth' BSdL 257, 559 čī·lehšiyah qiʔ ʔəh ʒə·ʔ sełił L, as first element of compounds: ʔəhla·ʒu·č 'earth-thorns' 34.112L, Rezanov Амтлэкыакэ 'Esel Reiffrost' ʔəhla·x<sup>w</sup>a·g, ʔəhla·xa·g 'mist' ('ground-steam') L, ʔəhla·yahš, ʔəheyahš 'tidal debris' ('earth's child') L, with suffixed adjective: ʔəhli·ʔnuw

'big plot of land, property' L, 49.21A, as o of  
 postposition: ?ahlah 'around the earth' 34.42L,  
 ?ahla·yeq 'in the earth, ground' 36.11A, 39.5L,  
 ?ahyeqəʕahd 'from in the earth, out of the  
 ground' M, as o of postposition o-q 'on o'  
 (here the distinctions of class and meaning ap=  
 pear to correlate consistently) classified, 'land,  
 ground': ?ahli·na?q tahi 'various land plant  
 species' ('leaves on the ground') L, ?ahli·na?q  
 ?ena·ʕah 'various land flower species' ('flowers  
 on the ground') L, unclassified 'habitation,  
 country, inhabited place' (cf. lah la. under  
 la-na<sup>1</sup>), ?ahq ca? ʕeʔaʕi '(wolves) de=  
 scended on the village, habitation' 25.119, 122A,  
 Keyi·y ?ahqdelahseyu· 28.104A, Keyi·y ?ahq  
 salahinu· 28.134A, Keyi·y ?ahq yi·hinu· 'in=  
 habitants of another land, country' 28.133A, Ke=  
 yi·y ?ahqəʕ 'to a different land, country' 10.=  
 166, 32.16, 25A, dəxkih ?ahqəʕahddew ?iseʕeh  
 'how many places have you taken wives from?' 10.=  
 181A, ?ahq ya·? sahi 'it (thunderbird, thun=  
 der and lightning) came down to earth (? , crashed  
 to earth?, crashed on habitation?)' 60.13, 15A;  
 ʕi·ʕqe·di·ya? ?ah 'ʕi·ʕqe·di·-clan's territory'  
 67.16, ?i·ya·eya? ?ah 'Eyak village (at Mile 6)'

('territory of Eyak village') L.

ʔedaʔah (noun, unclassified, perhaps also dl-- class, with prefix ʔeda- 'genuine, par excellence') 'mainland' L, 14.3L.

ʔah (preverb) '(arrival) home, to habitation' (cf. lah (preverb) under la-na<sup>1</sup>): ʔah ʔuʔ si-ʔaʔɕ da·ʔ 'when you get home with them' 51.-77A, ʔidah ʔah si-ʔaʔɕ da·ʔ 'when you get them safely home' 51.79A, ʔah da· ʔaʔɕ 'we came home' 61.93A, teʔyaʔ ʔahɕ iya·kih 'he (cust) brings fish home' 21a.2L, in combination with ɕeʔ-ɕe-- 'back, again, back home': ɕeʔ-ʔah 19.3, 5L, 25.81A, 38.9LM, 53.26, 27L, ɕeʔ ʔah 21a.3L, 28.42, 33.55, 73, 49.125A, 51.-14L, less frequently ʔah ɕeʔ 47c.16L, ɕeʔ-ʔah quʔxɕeɕeh 'I'll get back home (boating)' L, diʔ ɕeʔ ʔah ʔeɕdeʔaʔɕtinu· 'they didn't get back home' L, ɕeʔ ʔah sdiyahiɕ 'he came back home' L, ʔah ɕeʔ xadiyahɕ 'I came back home' L, daki·, ʔahɕ da· ɕeʔ ɕedaʔaʔɕ 'we're getting back close to home already' L, often difficult to distinguish from ʔah 'he, she, him, her': e.g. 33.73, 37b.79A, 53.25L; perhaps with meaning 'back to earth, human habitation' in ɕu·deiah ɕe·dah ɕe·tɕi ɕeʔ ʔah sdiyahiɕ

'cú·dełah has quite come back in reincarnation, she's the very reincarnation of cú·dełah (resembles deceased ancestor)' L, se·t'k q'e? ʔah sdiyahk'ih 'he's come back in reincarnation' L, λa·ʔah (locative, with dl-thematic) 'into den, lair, hole, burrow' (of animal, in rock, earth, under stump) λa·ʔah ʔahʔ seʔaʔk'ih 'he went with her into his den' 18.47L, λa·ʔah ʔawʔ seʔaʔk' 'they went into its hole with it' 28.12A, λa·ʔah sah' 'it went into its hole, den' L, λa·ʔahʔ xəλa·saʔya·t 'she was running into her hole' 23.32A, λa·ʔahʔ sa·t 'it's going into its den' L, λa·ʔahd sedah' 'it's sitting, staying in its hole' L, λa·ʔahd qaʔ sah' 'it came out of its den' L.

λa·ʔahd (noun, probably d-class, nominalization of λa·ʔah) 'den, lair, hole, burrow (of bear, rodent, in rock, earth, under stump), cave' LM, λa·ʔahddeiʔluw 'big den' M (perhaps to be corrected to λa·ʔahddeiʔluw).

ʔah<sup>2</sup>

ʔah (exclamation, uttered with fairly high pitch, utterance initial) 'ah!' (expression of surprise, especially at the arrival of someone unexpected)

L, ʔah, silex8 yeʔ ʔiʔeʔaʔʔ 'ah!, have you been looking for me?' A, in all three certain textual attestations uttered by guilty husband or wife at spouse's unexpected return: ʔah, de-ʔiʔuh ʔaʔdaʔ qeʔ sdiyahk 'ah!, is that actually you came back here?' 25.104A, ʔah, siqaʔkih ʔaʔdaʔ qeʔ sdiyahk 'ah!, my dear husband you've come back here' 27a.43L, ʔah, ʔiyaʔ kuxaqaʔʔg, siqaʔkih 'ah!, I was just cooking something for you, my dear husband' 27b.52A; see also 24.19fn.

yaʔah (exclamation, uncertain) 'shush!' ('don't let out the secret!') attested only in 11.180A, see fn.; perhaps beginning of yaʔʔuʔ, yeʔuh or yaʔ plus ʔah<sup>2</sup>.

ʔq.ʔ (perhaps related to ʔe.<sup>1</sup> and/or ʔe-ʔq.<sup>3</sup>)

o-ʔq.ʔ (postposition, with zero and -ʕ finals) 1.

'coming upon, happening upon, finding, encountering o' (whether deliberately searching for o or not); with zero final: o-ʔq.ʔ -qe 'S boating comes upon o' 33.40A, 35.2L, 47b.6M, 47c.3L, 49.30, 6i, 68.5A, and eliciations, o-ʔa.ʔ ʔi-  
 k-ʔe-ʔq 'S travelling, looking, comes upon, finds o' 11.62, 32.4A, 34.25L, 38.4LM, 53.20L, 61.80, 68.124A, ʔuʔq.ʔ ʔisikʔqhtjh 'I found him' L, o-ʔq.ʔ -ʔaʔʕ 'pl. S walking, going, come upon, find o' 9.159, 10.22, 23, 51, 11.173, 175, 189A, 13.13L, 15.4, 16.29M, 18.35L, 25.5, 29.43, 46, 48, 49A, 38.25LM, Kəyudəh qə-ta-ʔq.ʔ ʕəʔaʔʕtinu 'those who have gone to heaven (have nicely met Our Father)' 51.73A, qə-ʔq.ʔ ʕəʔaʔʕtinu 'they (walking) came upon us' L, o-ʔq.ʔ -a 'sg. S going, walking, comes upon, finds o' 1b.2, 5, 3.5M, 9.9, 9, 144, 149, 10.218, 218, 245, 247, 11.92, 97, 112, 172, 172, 185, 186A, 18.57L, 23.6, 109A, 27a.19, 31.22, 34.55M, 46.47, 47, 37b.2A, 43.4M, 47c.33L, 49.48, 50.15, 51.49A, o-ʔq.ʔ ʔeʔ də-a 'S returning, going some more, comes upon o, S comes upon another o, comes next upon o, comes upon o again' 9.123, 10.66, 67, 246, 247, 11.43, 43, 96, 37b.65A, 43.6M, siʔq.ʔ sahjh 'he

(walking, going) came upon, met, encountered,  
 found me' L, ?u?q.? siyah? 'I found it' (whether  
 looking for it or not) L, ?u.d ?i?q.?  
 qu?xah 'I'll meet you there' L, ?u?q.? qu?-  
 yiyah 'you'll encounter it; you'll find out' L,  
 dik' ku?q.? qe? ?edeqahe 'they don't come  
 around people (come upon one) anymore' L, 25.35,  
 211A, ku?q.? qe? ?edeqah 'they frequent  
 people again' L, ku?q.? ?eqah 'they come  
 around people' L, ge.li?a.g ya.?q.? ?q.sa?-  
 yah? 'it became noon' L, ?u?q.? ?q.sa?yah?  
 'it became time for it, time came to do it' L,  
 o-?q.? ?ed-?i.lih-ke-?ya 'S thinking, hits  
 upon o, o occurs to S, S thinks (deliberately  
 or by chance) of o' (see ?ed-?i.lih-ke-?ya 1.),  
 ?q.gela?q.? ?ahnu. sak?e?3? 'they, carrying  
 it on their shoulders, came to, upon a river'  
 25.14A, Kude? ?aw?q.? ?esle?ghe?h 'he, grop-  
 ping, couldn't find it' 4.4M, ?u?q.? kusali?  
 'someone touched, happened upon him' 61.4aA,  
 te?ya?le. qi? ?ed?e?eduxi?q.? ku?di?iyeq?3g?  
 'he, going along opening mussels, came upon where  
 a king salmon was floating' 1a.4M, with gd-ana-  
 tomical: sigude?q.? 'coming upon my rump' L;  
 with -? final: ci.do?q.?? ?a.k' '(cust) comes  
 upon mussels' 1a.2M, ?u?q.?? ?edi.lih?exia?

ya·k 'it's coming to me, I, thinking, am hitting upon it' L, ?u?q·?c salesa?ya·k 'it's getting to be time for it, to do it' L.

2a. With idiomatic meaning implying misfortune, 'coming upon o (misfortune), to o's misfortune': ?u?q·? qi?yiyah 'you'll meet your undoing' L (also, 'you'll come upon it, you'll find out'), ?aw xa·?d ?i?q·? qa?xuk, qi?ya·da·x, ?i·gidig 'the world will turn on you (against you), sometime, you too' 72.19L.

2b. With idiomatic meaning related to above, 'physical ailment, health disturbance for o' (attested only with -c final, normal with inceptive perfective and customary, probably occurring also with zero final): si?q·?c sa?ya·k 'I'm catching it (e.g. cold)' ('it's coming upon me') L, si?q·?c la?ya·k 'my heart (cust) beats hard, palpitates' ('1-class S (heart) (cust) moves upon me') LA.

ʔuh<sup>1</sup>

- ʔuh (kinship noun, ascending) '(paternal) grandfather, (paternal) grandfather's brother': siu 'father's father's older brother (man or woman speaking)' BSdL 566A, siʔuh 'my father's father' L; with suffixed adjective -siyah (here without any clear meaning, perhaps respectful: siʔuh-siyah 'my father's father' LA, siucia 'father's father's younger brother (man or woman speaking)' BSdL 566A. Vocative (no prefix, unbroken form of suffixed adjective): uca 'father's father (man or woman speaking)' BSdL 566A ʔuhʂah 'grandfather!' L.
- ʔuh-kih (kinship noun, descending, reciprocal to preceding, with -kih 'diminutive, affectionate') '(man's) son's child', probably also '(man's) brother's son's child': siuki 'son's child (man speaking)' BSdL 567A siʔuhkih 'my grandson' (son's child, man speaking, also used in direct address) LA.

ʔuh<sup>2</sup>

ʔuh (exclamation) 'aw! cut it out! quit your kidding! come on! go on! pretty cute!' (expression of mock anger or of good-natured but limited tolerance upon being teased or kidded) L, with suffixed adjective -siyah 'bad': ʔuh<sup>2</sup>siyah (as preceding) LM.

ʔa·w<sup>1</sup> (perhaps related to ʔa'-ʔaʔ, cf. alternations ʔluw-ʔli'-ʔluʔ, and/or to be identified with ʔa·w<sup>2</sup>; earlier probably ʔa·wa..., as implied twice by Rezanov -aya )

-ʔa·w (adjective) 'long, tall' 1. independent or relativized: a. not in association with classified nouns: Kuʔa·w 'tall, long, a tall, long thing' LM, 11.88, 24.29, 35, 28.77A, Rezanov Kyaya 'dozro large, adv. temp.' (gloss probably incorrect) Kuʔa·wa..., or perhaps Kuʔa·w ʔewa· 'the long(est) one of them', diK ʔaw tail ʔewa· Kuʔa·we 'its tail isn't long' 24.63A, Rezanov Konyaxoxe 'Bucoko hoch' Kuʔa·w yifex 'it's long' L, 10.230, 11.64A, qexa· Kuʔa·w 'my how long it is!' M, ʔexa· Kuʔa·w ʔex 'my what a long boat!' L, ʔuxuʔ ʔewa· Kuʔa·w 'its fur is long' M, Kuʔa·w Kuwahʒi 'long (carpentry-) nail' L, Ku·ʔa·w ʔuyeqaʔc ʔewa· 'its long hand, minute-hand (of time-piece)' L, Kuʔa·w ʔuq ʔisdaʔi 'bench' ('long chair') L, xihsʔ Kuʔa·w 'devilclub is long' M.

1b. With class-marks (in association with classified nouns): Galushia Nelson Kuta'au 'high (used for tree)' BSdL 554 kudeʔa·w 'long (board), tall (tree)' L, Kuxedeʔa·w 'long (logs, streaks,

lines, stripes)' L, gah Kuxede'a-w 'day is long' L, Kuqi-le'a-w 'long (rope), (rope is) long' LM, Kuqi-le'a-w Kuxehi 'long rope' L, Kule'a-w 'long (paddle, hat, head)' L, Kuti-le'a-w guk'ahi 'long feather' L, Kuge'a-w Kuge'a-w Ku'f 'long thread' L, Kugeleje'a-w 'long backbone' LM.

2. Dependent, as suffix: a. not with classified nouns: ta'he'a-w 'long trail' L, ?ukah'e'a-w 'its long legs' L, Ku'e'e'a-w 'long wings' M, attested also with Ku'e'elih 'arm, sleeve', Kuyek'ah'i 'claws', Kuyek'a-w 'shadow', Ku'zu 'fur', Kula't 'tongue', Ku'lahs 'intestines', ?aw dak'ih'a-wyu (not -?a-wayu) 'those long sticks pl.' L; in epithets, suffixed to possessed nouns lacking possessive prefix: yek'e'q'gi'a-w 'long-fingers' (octopus) 20.11A, e'elih'a-w 'long--sleeves' L, Rezanov Ixnam-aya 'Свинья Schwein' let'a'a-wa... 'long-snout'.

2b. Suffixed to classified nouns: Sdu-libe-de'a-w 'long table' L, yahdde'a-w 'long house, cannery' L, yahdde'a-wdeye'q'd 'in a cannery' L, Kuit'ahiti-le'a-w 'long leaf' M, 3ewuk'la'a-w 'long net' L, Ku'lahsqi-la'a-w 'long intestines' L, Si-8gleje'a-w 'long sandbank' M,

kih3qi·leʔa·w 'long packing-twine' M, ɛe·cʰ  
 guʔa·w 'long spruceroot' L, le·ɪguʔa·w 'long  
 hair, long-haired person' L, ʔeʔa· le·ɪguʔa·w  
 daʔli·ɪɪhɪh 'my what long hair she has' L,  
 gudeɪidggudeʔa·w 'long braid' L, ya·ʒilahɣe=  
 deʔa·w 'long rainbow' L, leɛeʂkɪʔedeʔa·w 'long  
 pole' M, gahɣedeʔa·w 'long day' L, also, adverb-  
 ially, 'all day long' L, gahɣedeʔa·w sequhɪnu·  
 'they've been sitting (staying put) all day long'  
 L; in epithet, suffixed to possessed noun lacking  
 possessive prefix: guʔahdeʔa·w 'long-tail' L,  
 x<sup>M</sup>iʔcdeʔa·w 'long-legged snipe' ('long-shins')  
 L.

2c. With anatomical or class-like anatomical  
 or thematic marks: ciʔgeʔa·ʔa·w 'long-neck' L,  
 gaʔcɣiɣu·leʔa·w 'long (-toothed, -runged) ladder'  
 L (uncertain); in epithets, with reduced form of  
 anatomical noun, classified, as anatomical mark,  
 lacking possessive prefix: ɕq·deʔa·w 'long-arms'  
 L, ʒeʔeʔa·ʔa·w 'long-ears' L, kuʂdeʔa·w 'long-  
 legs; snipe, deer', also woman's name L.

3. With preverb ʔaʔq<sup>2</sup> (q.v., see also -ʔa'  
 10. under ʔa'·ʔaʔ, perhaps active imperfective  
 of otherwise unattested verb-theme), used only in  
 ɣala·g ʔaʔq ʔa·w 'long winter' L, xah ʔaʔq

ʔa·w 'long summer' L,  
 səλa·ʔa·w (with ədl-thematic 'distance overland',  
 probably originally active imperfective of other-  
 wise unattested verb-theme, see ədl-ɪ-ʔaʔ under  
 ʔa'-ʔaʔ, now usually used as locative) 1. 'far  
 away, distant, in the distance' M, 23.159A, 31.-  
 16L, 60.34, 61, 64A, Rezanov Котлапарты 'Далеко  
 weit' səλa·ʔa·wduh 'it's far!', Furuhsjelm  
 Tikhkhatliasaulekh 'near' diK səλa·ʔa·w [ʔə]kə·ə  
 'it's not far', diK səλa·ʔa·wə 'not far' LM,  
 diK səλa·ʔa·wdə '(at rest) not far' LM, 31.9L,  
 səλa·ʔa·wə 'towards the distance, further away,  
 (motion) far' 25.7, 28.63, 60.34A, diK səλa·-  
 ʔa·wə səhɪɪh 'he didn't go far' L, di·yəɪ  
 səλa·ʔa·wdaʔ sə·ɪə 'he hadn't yet gotten far  
 (arrived at a distant point)' 28.42A.

2. Probably incorrect 'a long time', (see  
 əl-ɪ-ʔaʔ under ʔa'-ʔaʔ) attested only in sə-  
 λa·ʔa·w ʔu·dəɪ ʔə·d da· wəɪ ʔi·təh 'a long  
 time then we've lived here' 62.11G.

3. With yaʔ 'completely, to a state of  
 rest, vertical' (see ədl-ʔaʔ under ʔa'-ʔaʔ),  
 used as adjective 'high, tall': gu·nehs yaʔ  
 səλa·ʔa·w 'high horse' L, ədu·lihs yaʔ sə-  
 λa·ʔa·w 'high table' L.

gula·ʔa·w (with gdl-thematic 'aquatic distance',  
see preceding and gdl-l-ʔaʔ under ʔa·-ʔaʔ) 'far  
over the water, far out to sea' 60.61A, 64.7G,  
dik gula·ʔa·w ʔe·e·s 'it's not far (over water)'  
60.62A.

ʔi-s-ʔa·w (with ʔi-s-thematic, cf. ʔi-s-ʔli',  
at least usually with o-yeq 'in o (not with broad  
opening at top)' and liʔ 'deeply in cavity (from  
open front end to closed back end)', 'long, deep  
(of horizontal cavity)': neuter imperfective:  
ʔuyeq liʔ ʔisiʔa·w (perhaps to be corrected to  
ʔisi·ʔa·w) 'it (cavity) is deep inside' LM, dik  
ʔuyeq ʔisaʔa·w 'it's not long inside' L (awk-  
ward L), active perfective: ʔuyeq liʔ ʔise-  
seʔa·w 'it got long inside' L (awkward L);  
used, perhaps incorrectly, as C: ʔala·g ʔisi-  
ʔa·w te·e·ʔi 'winter's getting long' L.

ʔa·w<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with ʔa·w<sup>1</sup>, but semantic connection obscure, and not so identified by L)

ʔa·weyu· (adverb, probably stem ʔa·w- with -yu· 'pl., etc.', cf. ʔu·dəx-yu·) 'impolite, inconsiderate, barbaric, boorish, reckless, strange, disorderly, indiscriminate, bad, nasty, peculiar, queer, weird, eerie': ʔa·weyu· dəx̣p̣hyu· 'barbaric, boorish, ill-mannered people' L, ʔa·weyu· dəx̣p̣ḥ yiḥhinu·, ʔa·weyu· dəx̣p̣ḥ q̣i·ḥhinu· 'they're bad people' L, ʔa·weyu· ʔi·ṭiḥḥ 'he's a bad person' L (not \*ʔa·w ʔi·ṭiḥḥ L), ʔa·weyu· (or, with de- 'ipse', deʔa·weyu·) ʔi·sexaḥḥḥsiyaḥ q̣əʔ̣ḥ 'he's a poorly brought-up ill-mannered wretch' L, ḥiç ʔa·weyu· xuʔli·ʔiḥḥ 'he always calls me insulting names' L, ḥiç ʔa·weyu· ʔidaʔli·ʔiḥḥ 'he always calls people insulting names' L, ḥidaḥ ʔa·weyu· ʔəw ʔuʔle·seʔ̣·ḥ 'he continually keeps calling it impolite names' 10.96A, deʔwəx̣ ʔa·weyu· ʔəwʔ de·sele·ḥlehḍ 'because he was keeping on saying nasty things to it' 10.108A; with verbs with yeʔ-progressive: ʔa·weyu· yeʔ ʔidaʔḍedeʔḥḥḥ 'he bosses people around impolitely, indiscriminately' L, ṭiḳḥda·x̣ ʔa·weyu· yeʔ ʔiḥṭiḳx̣ 'he goes

around shooting at things indiscriminately with  
arrows' L, deʔa·weyu· yeʔ ʔiətʰikʰ 'he goes  
around shooting recklessly at things (with bow-  
and-arrow)' L, ʔa·weyu· yeʔ ʔədidiʔah 'a  
line, streak extends about crazily in several di-  
rections' L, ʔa·weyu· yeʔ ʔədexdeʒaʔʰ 'I'm  
drawing a jerky line' L, ʔa·weyu· yeʔ ʔədiš-  
diʒaʔʰ 'a funny jerky line is drawn' L, ʔa·weyu·  
yeʔ ʔədexdeʒahdʰ 'I'm drawing a zigzag line' L,  
ʔa·weyu· yeʔ ʔixdecʰ·ʒʰ 'I (cust) have eerie,  
scary dreams' L, ʔa·weyu· ʔudahd ʔuʔlidita·  
'it makes a strange peculiar noise' ('its weird  
noise is heard') 21b.30A.

ʔenuh (perhaps to be segmented ʔe-nuh, cf. tenuh,  
nuh)

ʔenuh (noun, unclassified) '(prepubescent) penis'  
LM, ʔenuhkih 'little (prepubescent) penis' (di-  
minutive, affectionate) L (nursery term).

ʔeyəh (articulated ʔe(ā)yəh, perhaps variant of  
ʔa'yah)

ʔeyəh (exclamation) 'I'm sorry! excuse me!' (ex-  
pression of pity, commiseration, especially re-  
gret) L, Galushia Nelson anya<sup>n</sup> ejaculation of  
sympathy BSdL 554, ʔeyəh Siyahəkih siyaʔ,  
Ke'duw ʔəh səkiʔ 'oh my poor little child!,  
what did you do to him?' 8.12A.

ʔayaʔ (perhaps variant of yaʔ or to be analyzed ʔa--  
yaʔ)

ʔayaʔ 1. (pronoun-like noun, unclassified) 'some-  
thing-or-other, so-and-so, what's-his-name,  
whatchacallit', often functioning as vocalized pause  
'uh, er', L, 12.1, 54.17, 67.16, as o of o-č  
'to o': ʔayaʔ-č quʔxah 'I'll go over to so-and--  
so' L, ʔayaʔ-č quʔxtah 'I'll give it to what's--  
his-name' L.

2. (exclamation) a. 'well, what do you know'  
(expression of surprise): ʔayaʔ ʔah ʔu-deʔ  
saʔk 'well, what do you know, he's coming!' L.

2b. 'watch out!, look out!, careful!' (ur-  
gent expression warning of immediate danger):  
ʔayaʔ 'look out! (car's coming)' L.

ʔi·yah-ʔiyah (perhaps originally to be identified with  
 ʔi·yah, second person singular optative of -a 'sg.  
 S goes')

ʔi·yah-ʔiyah (exclamation, utterance initial) 'gee!  
 gosh! my! wow! whew!, that's terrible the way ...,  
 goodness how ...' (expression of surprise and/or  
 dislike and/or amazement at extent of condition  
 or event, especially mildly unpleasant) LM,  
 ʔi·yah siʔeʔi 'gosh, I'm cold!' 4.9M, ʔi·yah  
 ʔahnu· qeʔiʔeyu· caʔ laʔequ·k 'goodness how  
 those women ran down to shore!' 37b.69A, ʔiyah  
 ʔa·nwa·ngu·tuʔ ʔa·ʔ seʔaʔʔi 'wow there's sure  
 a lot of Chinamen coming here!' L, ʔi·yah ʔiʔ=  
 ʔdug dəʔh ʔaʔd ʔa·qgaʔ ʔikuʔ qaʔ liʔ di=  
 diguʔi 'God! that guy sure keeps tight-lipped  
 as a (hooked) bullhead!' 72.16L, ʔi·yah ʔi·cgaʔ  
 ʔediʔiʔiʔh 'whew, he (baby) has sure wet him=  
 self!' L; in imperative sentence: ʔiyah ya·qaʔ  
 laʔedegaʔ 'beat it, go away!, for God's sake,  
 beat it!' L; repeated: ʔiyah ʔiyah 'too much!'  
 L, ʔiyah ʔiyah ʔameʔekih 'my my, such a  
 chatter box!' L, ʔiyah ʔiyah ʔidaʔya·leʔ ʔu=  
 dahd ʔuʔditah 'gee whiz, he makes too much  
 noise!' L; used as nominal: adverbialized with  
 -dah: ʔiyahdah 'dirty!' L, ʔiyahdah ʔedaʔiliʔ

'he got himself all dirty' L, as o of o-ga?  
'like o': dəxi' ?iəŋa?ŋi da'ŋ ?i'yahga?  
dewa?d ... 'it's already getting to be time  
(for you to leave) and my how quickly ... (time  
flies), my, better hurry ... (and finish)' ll.=  
195A.

ʔa·yah (perhaps variant of ʔeyah)

ʔa·yah (exclamation) 'poor thing!' (expression  
of pity, regret, commiseration) L.

ʔə·yə· (articulated ʔə·(n̄)yə·)

ʔə·yə· (exclamation) expression of anger, disgust,  
or impatience at someone L, with suffixed adjecti-  
ve -šiyah 'bad': ʔə·yə·šiyah expression  
of anger at someone L.



ʔehd<sup>1</sup>

-ʔehd 1. (kinship noun, non-ascending) 'wife':

Rezanov Cuara 'Eema Weib (Gattin)', Furuhejm

Siet 'wife', siat 'wife (man speaking)' BSdL

567A siʔehd 'my wife' LM, 10.223, 33.65A, 62.1,

11G, serves also as vocative L, siʔehdʔeʔe le-

sexigeht 'I'm getting lonesome for my wife' L,

siat<sup>n</sup>ski 'wife's older brother (man speaking)

BSdL 567A siʔehdʔiʔkih 'my wife's brother' L,

Rezanov Cuarzaam 'Hemborna Schwägerin' perhaps

to be read siʔehdʔ yjʔhjh 'person who is with

my wife', ʔələgahʔ siʔehd siʔeʔ 'I wish

you'd be my wife (will you marry me?)' L, ʔiʔehd

'your wife' 9.13A, 48.3L, diK ʔiʔehde ʔeʔel

'this isn't your wife' 61.7A, ʔahʔehd 'his wife'

23.102A, Rezanov ʔara 'Eemaroð verheiratet'

ʔuʔehd 'his wife' 10.164, 167, 173, 174, 181,

191, 11.45, 50, 55, 137A, 12.2, 27G, 18.59L, 20.-

68, 23.107, 24.21A, 27a.1, 38, 41L, 27b.2, 3,

33.56, 57A, 43.30M, 47a.1, 2, 3, 6L, 47b.1, 5, 8,

9, 13, 16, 17, 47M, 47c.2, 5, 6, 17, 48.1, 5, 8,

12L, 61.5, 111, 112, 118A, ʔahnuʔ ʔuʔehdkuwaʔ=

naʔeyequhyuʔ 'his wife's little relatives' 11.-

8A, ʔah səðəkyəxlah ʔuʔehd 'his older wife'

33.84A, ʔah neʔdaʔ yjʔhjh ʔuʔehd 'his

first, original, former wife' 10.174A, 47c.55,  
 48.8L, Rezanov Уэльтыжонтаче-асикотъ 'Жениться  
 heirathen' ?u?ehdŋ̄ k̄u·daʔʂ ?iseg<sup>m</sup>aʔi 'he  
 prayed (crossed himself, made ceremonial hand move-  
 ments towards face) with his wife' (i.e. "made it  
 legal"), Уэтахосынаъ 'Мясное очищение Menstru-  
 ation' ?u?ehd... naʔyah̄t see -ʔya 21c.,  
 kuʔehd 'a wife' 10.124, 124A, ʔah̄ kuʔehd 'the  
 wife, that wife' 10.168, 175, 196, 199, 11.46A,  
 27a.2, 17L, 27b.16, 50A, 34.76, 98L, 47b.19M, 47c.-  
 14, 23, 48.3, 5, 13L, ʔah̄ iʔh̄sih̄ kuʔehd 'the  
 other wife' 48.10L, with -(ʔ)e-kih (with irregu-  
 lar connective vowel) 'diminutive, affectionate':  
 siʔehdʔekih 'my little wife' (affectionate) 23.-  
 87, 103A, also used as vocative L, ?u?ehdʔekih  
 'his little wife' 23.76, 84, 98, 111A, with -(ʔ)e--  
 siyah (with irregular connective vowel) 'bad, old'.  
 (pejorative): siʔehdešiyah 'my "old lady"' 10.-  
 271A, ?u?ehdešiyah 'his "old lady"' 11.1, 2,  
 43, 43A, with -s 'personal' and -yu· 'plural,  
 etc.': siʔehdeseyu· 'my wives, my wife's rela-  
 tives' L, siʔehdeseyu· qeʔahnu· 'they're my wives'  
 29.61A, deʔknu· ?iʔehdeseyu·d 'how many (are)  
 your wives (paramours)?' 10.179, 180A, di·lehʔehd  
 'Raven's wife' 10.169A, kula·sihʔehd 'someone



2. As head of compound with -qa? 'husband', 'husband's sister': siqa?le?ehde 'my husband's sister' L (Minnie Stevens called L this), ?uqa?le?ehde 'her husband's sister' L.  
-y-<sup>o</sup>?ehd (kinship noun, non-ascending, with *y-the-*  
<sup>1. also possibly 'daughter-in-law'</sup> *natic-in-law*) '(man's) daughter-in-law': si-  
ye?ehd 'my daughter-in-law (son's wife)' (man speaking) L.

?ehd<sup>2</sup>

d-i-?ehd(-g) (with d-thematic, sometimes -g-repetitive thematized in basic intransitive, always in causative transitive) 'S (foodstuff, anything wet or moist) is, becomes dry': qu<sup>o</sup>di-i-?ehd 'it'll dry' M, Rezanov ТУМАБОРНА 'Cymwra trocken' perhaps to be read dei<sup>o</sup>?ehd qah 'it's finally drying', dei<sup>o</sup>?ehdg 'is drying' 9.124A, Rezanov ТУМАБОРНА 'Cyxoð trocken' dese<sup>o</sup>?ehd<sup>i</sup> 'it's dry, it got dry, it dried' M, 11.148A, Galushia Nelson Desetiñti cùtsñ 'dried meat' BSDL 548 ('meat which has dried'), dese<sup>o</sup>?ehd<sup>i</sup> dek<sup>i</sup>h 'dry sticks' 6.5N, dese<sup>o</sup>?ehdg<sup>i</sup> leñi·y 'dry halibut' 9.136A, ?ew dese<sup>o</sup>?ehd<sup>i</sup> ?ewa· 'that of it which is dry' 10.137A, di·yoq qedese<sup>o</sup>?ehd<sup>i</sup>e 'they aren't dry yet' M, da·yik<sup>o</sup>?ehd(-wahd) '(in order) that they might dry' 51.52, 65.50A, qi<sup>o</sup> (?a<sup>o</sup>d ?idah) da·yik<sup>o</sup>?ehd<sup>o</sup> 'until they get (very nicely) dry', dese<sup>o</sup>?ehd da·y 'when it's dry' 63.37G, 65.24, 24, 59, 76A, ?idehdah dese<sup>o</sup>?ehd da·y 'when they're real dry' 65.24A, ðiñ·a·y gusi·kih dese<sup>o</sup>?ehd da·y 'when it's slightly dry on one side' 65.15A, (?a<sup>o</sup>d ?idehdah) di<sup>o</sup>?ehd da·y 'when it starts to get (really very) dry' 65.20, 20A, ?ew gusi·kih, di<sup>o</sup> ?a<sup>o</sup>d dese<sup>o</sup>?ehd<sup>o</sup> da·y

'when it's a little, not very dry' 65.36A, de-  
 ɬ'e·dɬ 'they (cust) dry' 65.58, 58, 58A, with  
 class-marks for S: leɣeɣa·səi'ehdɬ 'they (ber-  
 ries, lɣ-class) are drying up' L, giyah ya'd  
 gəɣa·səi'ehdgɬ 'water (gl-class) evaporated away  
 (to emptiness)' L. Transitive (causative), 'S dries  
 O (foodstuff: fish, meat, berries, in the sun inso-  
 far as possible, but usually also by smoking; any-  
 thing wet or moist)': ?ew qu'di·ɬ'ehdgɬh 'he  
 was going to dry it' 10.123A, te?ya? qu'di·ɬehd-  
 ginu· 'those who were going to dry fish' 49.83A,  
 de?ew sədegeɬ qew qu'di·ɬ'ehdg 'the sun itself  
 will dry it' 65.53A, kuqu'di·ɬ'ehdginu· 'they  
 were going to dry things (food)' 49.75A, kudeɬ-  
 ?ehdginu· 'they're drying things (food)' 7.3A,  
 O dəɬ'ehdg 'dries O' 7.4, 10.123, 49.79, 114,  
 114A, 56.19L, dexɬ'ehdg, deɬexɬ'ehdgɬ 'I'm dry-  
 ing it' L, O deɬəɬ'ehdgɬ 'dried O' 28.91, 49.-  
 123, 124A, kadiɬɬ'ehdgɬ 'I dried the halibut'  
 9.129A, ɬɬhsih ɣəʃsuw ?ew deɬəɬ'ehdgɬ 'you  
 dried it in one night?' 9.130A, da· kuda·yiɬ-  
 ?ehdgwahd 'in order that we may dry stuff' 67.-  
 84A, te?ya?yu· dəɬ'e·dɬɬh 'he (cust) dried sal-  
 mon' 56.8L, with dl-class-mark for O: ɬi·ɬ'ehdg  
 'dry it (net)!' L; reflexive: ?edeɬə'ehdg 'is

drying himself' 16.8M, with l-anatomical:  
ʔedla·təʔehd 'dry your face!' (articulated  
ʔəla·-) L, with y-anatomical: ʔadyədəcətəʔehd  
'dry your hands!' L; passive: ʔəl teʔyaʔyu·  
quʔdədəʔehdg 'these fish were going to be dried'  
25.142A, qiʔ dədəʔehdg 'place where it is being  
dried' 9.123A (see nominalization below), dədə=  
ʔehdg 'is being dried' 63.44fnG, dədəʔe·dM 'is  
(cust) dried' 63.31, 36fnG.

qiʔ kədədəʔehdg (noun, unclassified) 'camping--  
place for drying food' 9.150, 156, 11.6A. Nomin-  
alized passive active imperfective, 'place where  
something is being dried'.

ʔudəʔa·ʔd kədədəʔehdg (noun) unpublished and  
crossed-out form in de Laguna field notebook,  
from Galushia Nelson, in hand of Norman Reynolds,  
oḍaḍakḍḍḍkuḍḍ:ḍaḍḍḍ no gloss 'smokehouse, drying--  
house' ('in the shelter of it (building, d-class)  
something is being dried', nominalized passive  
active imperfective).

disəiʔehdgḍ (noun, unclassified) 'pilot bread,  
hardtack' L; disəiʔehdgḍgaʔ ʔḍ·ḍilḍhḍh epithet  
for certain white man ('he has a face like pilot  
bread') L; disəiʔehdgḍyequh 'soda crackers, bis-  
cuits, cookies' ('small, young of pilot bread') L.

Nominalized passive active perfective, 'it has been dried'.

-d-ʔehd(-g) (adjective, attested only as suffix, with d-thematic and usually -g-repetitive thematized) 'dry': Ku·ydaʔehdg 'dry wind' L, sa·q̄eg-daʔehdg 'dulse (*Rhodymenia palmata*) pressed into block and dried for winter, soaked to eat' L, ʂugla·ʔehd 'strawberries pressed into a block and dried for winter, soaked to eat' L (with inexplicable l- or dl-class- or thematic mark, see also form below).

leʔeʎa·ʔehd (noun, lʔ-class, with d-thematic and lʔ-class-mark 'berries') 'raisins' L.

kusʎa·iʔehdg (noun, unclassified) 'very small hairy crab species, inedible, found in hordes' L (unable to etymologize, "sounds like drying up water", first element probably kus 'urine (for washing)', rest of form, with -g-repetitive probably transitive, probably with l- or dl-class-mark for O, probably not kus (gl-class), therefore perhaps 'urine washes them (l- or dl-class)').

?ahd (probably loan from Tlingit ?ád 'father's sister',  
cf. Eyak -ga'g, Tlingit kág 'mother's brother')

-?ahd (kinship noun, ascending) '(paternal) uncle':

é siat 'father's older sister's daughter, mother's  
older brother's daughter (man speaking)' BSdL 566A  
(glosses probably incorrect) si?ahd 'my father's  
sister' (not vocative) L, 51.8A, siqa?ahd (not  
\*siqa?le?ahd) 'my husband's father's sister' L,  
si?ahdseyu 'my father's sisters' L, si?ahdešiyah  
'my father's sister' (not necessarily pejorative)  
L; vocative: at 'father's older sister (man speak-  
ing)', atcia 'father's younger sister (man speak-  
ing)', ?ahd LM, ?ahdešiyah, ?ahdšah (not  
\*?e?ahd, \*?ahdešiyah, twice verified) '(paternal)  
sunt!' L.

ʔaʔd (perhaps related to ʔada)

ʔaʔd (adverb) 'very, very much, quite, a lot, really' (general intensive, preceding any type of constituent modified thereby): 9.28, 88, 11.65, 24.86, 28.28, 76, 32.46A, 34.60M, 42.14, 45a.9L, 49.35, 50.64, 51.12, 57, 68.50, 58, 70.9A, 72.7L, ʔaʔd ditaʔs 'very long ago' 1b.1, 2a.1M, 18.1L, 43.1, 2, 47b.1M, ʔaʔd xpʔkq 'very very much' (see xpʔkq), ʔaʔd ka-diʔda 'never ever' (see ka-), ʔaʔd ʔidah 'very well, quite really' 11.125, 36.7, 65.23A, Rezanov Адетадыхомъ 'Сладко süß' ʔaʔd ʔidah kəgenih 'it tastes very good, sweet' M, ʔaʔd ʔidehdah 'real(ly) very' 65.20A, ʔaʔd ʔidehdah caʔ yileh 'it's extremely deep' M, ʔaʔd kuzu-dah 'very well' 24.11, 51.15A, Rezanov Агекраръ 'Tonbe dünn (Comparativ)' ʔaʔd ya-ciʔ[g] 'very thin', Агъ ухакелкучкъ 'Ужé eng, schmal (Comparativ)' ʔaʔd ʔuyəqəsiʔkuçg 'its inside is very small', Аггуару 'Скорне schnell (Comparativ) ʔaʔd de-waʔdduh 'very fast!', Агетамькоа 'Тиме lang-sam, still, sachte (Comparativ)' ʔaʔd də-ʔkʔaʔ 'very slowly', Агеситлае 'Осамъ frog' ʔaʔd səʔeʔk 'it got very cold', Аггакту 'Мамъ Un-tiefe' ʔaʔd yiwaʔqduh 'it's very shallow!', Агкошешемъ 'Прибить кого Jemanden schlagen'



ʔuqaʔɿ yɿ·hinu·, diK ʔaʔd ɿiʔq[ɿ?] 'some of  
them, by no means(?) all' 69.3A, ʔaw gusi·kih,  
diK ʔaʔd deceɿʔehdɿda·ɿ 'when it's a bit, not  
very, dry' 65.36A, diK ʔaʔd ʔutuʔe 'not very  
many' 65.80A, diK ʔaʔd deKe·dah ʔedlaʔletu·ɿ  
'there's no sign of pain or anger on his face'  
( 'he's not grimacing in any way at all') L; modi-  
fying noun: ʔaʔd deɿɿhyu· 'genuine, true, real  
(not fake) people' L (cf. ʔede); L rejects pro-  
posed form with de- 'ipse' \*deʔaʔd.

ʔuhd

-d-ʔuhd-g (noun, d-class, with d-thematic, perhaps thematized class-mark for O of deverbalization of (Oʔ-)d-da-ʔuhd-g 'S lays eggs', with thematized -g-repetitive except in Rezanov) 'egg (of bird)': Rezanov Korayra 'ЯМНО Е1' Kudeʔuhd, Furuhjela Kvatautk 'egg' k<sup>w</sup>e daʔuhdg, Kudeʔuhdg 'egg(s)' LMAS, 24.18, 19, 68.5, 6, 6, 8A, ʔel Kudeʔuhdg-yu 'these eggs' 68.52A, Kudeʔuhdgdaʔluw 'big egg' M, laʔd da Kudeʔuhdg 'two eggs' M, Kudeʔuhdg ʔu·d deseʔah̄t 'an egg is there' L, ʔe·yaʔ diʔkiyah̄t 'eggs preserved (put) in seal-oil (for winter)' L, deʔe·s Kudeʔuhdg 'raw eggs' L, Kudeʔuhdgdeʔel̄ih 'eggshell' M, ʔude-ʔuhdgda·q̄ sedaht̄ 'it (bird) is sitting on (incubating) its eggs' L; sehsdeʔuhdg 'some kind of pretty bluish egg, little bigger than chicken's egg, not eaten, supposed to be laid at night-time' (perhaps mythical) L (see sehs).

(O-ʔ)d-da-ʔuhd-g (perhaps transitive, with d-thematic, perhaps thematized d-class-mark for O, and thematized -g-repetitive) 'S lays egg' ('S lays O (egg)ʔ'): da·deʔuhdg 'lay an egg!' L, quʔ-dedeʔuhdg 'it'll lay eggs' L, deseʔuhdḡt 'it's laying eggs' L, diʔdiʔuhdḡt 'it laid an egg' L.

ʔa·t (perhaps expanded form of unattested ʔaʔt)

d-de-ʔa·t (with d-thematic, perhaps 'oral, noise')

1. 'S is, becomes scarce, rare, hard to get':

disdiʔa·tʰ 'it's (become) hard to get, scarce'

L, siyah desedeʔa·tʰ 'food is getting quite scarce' L.

2. 'S cries, bawls, wails, howls, clamors, squalls': quʔdedeʔa·tʰ 'he'll cry and bawl' L,

ʔuma·ʔe·ɣ dedeʔa·tʰ 'he's crying for (in search of) his mother' L,

ʔuma·ʔeʔ dedeʔa·tʰ 'he's crying for his (absent) mother' L, 20.17A, de-deʔa·tʰ,

giyahgelaʔeʔ 'was crying for water' 19.-24L, qededeʔa·tʰinu· 'they're crying, squalling'

24.24, 25A, qededeʔa·tʰ 'they (dogs in pain) howled' 60.29A,

ʔuma·ʔihɣ dedeʔa·tʰ 'he's crying for (along after, following behind) his mother, crying after his (leaving) mother' L,

ʔidedeʔa·tʰ ʔe·dah iʔeʔkʰ (haplological for ʔidededeʔa·tʰ) 'he's bawling so (hard) he's simply gasping' L,

ʔuma·ʔihɣ deseʔa·tʰiʰ (haplological), ʔuma·ʔihɣ disdiʔa·tʰiʰ 'he went after his mother crying'

L, ʔuma·ʔe·ɣ disdiʔa·tʰiʰ 'he looked for his mother crying' L, ʔuma·ʔeʔ disdiʔa·tʰiʰ 'he cried for his (absent) mother' L,

da·diʔa·tʰ-wahd 'so that they howl' 60.26A, repetitive:

?una?e?x qu?de?a?tgjh (haplological for qu?-  
dede?a?tgjh) 'he'll keep crying for (in search  
of) his mother' L. Transitive (causative): qu?-  
di?i?a?tjh 'he'll make him cry' L.

de?a?e (deverbalization, with d-thematic) 'crying,  
bawling, howling (etc.)': as o of o-ya?x '(move-  
ment with)in o (with broad opening at top)': de-  
?a?tya?x sa?tjh 'he's walking along bawling' L,  
as head of compound ?aw xewa?yu?de?a?tdahd  
?u?li?tah 'it hears the sound of the dogs' howl-  
ing' 60.31A.

o-x ?i?lih-?e-?a?e (with ?i?lih- 'state of mind',  
and o-x 'in contact with o' or perhaps o-x 'by  
means of o', which might require change of de-class-  
ifier to ?e-) 'S is, becomes enamoured of, crazy  
about, "stuck on", falls in love with, falls for  
o': o-x ?i?lihs?i?a?tjh 'he became enamoured  
of o' 11.67, 68, 23.28A, qe?dah ?phx ?i?lih-  
s?i?a?t? 'he's simply gone crazy about her' 23.-  
48A, ?ux ?i?lihs?i?a?t? 'I fell for her' L,  
?ix ?i?lihs?i?a?t? 'I'm stuck on you' L, ?ewx  
?i?lihs?i?a?t? 'he fell for it (in love with it;  
thing, person)' L, qe?lx ?i?lihs?i?a?tjh 'he  
went crazy for a woman' L, si?x ?i?lihs?e?e?a?t?  
'she's falling for me' L, ?phx ?i?lihs?a?e

'he's crazy about her' 11.99, 100A, 'uz 'i-1ih=  
is'a't 'you're stuck on her' 11.92A.

ʔiX<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with ʔiX<sup>2</sup>)

ʔiX<sup>1</sup> (noun, 1-class) 'mountain, (large) hill'

LMA, 9.110, 23.157, 25.80A, 34.64M, Rezanov WTA  
 'Gopa Berg', Galushia Nelson it̚, Old Man Dude  
 it̚ 'mountain' BSdL 537, ɬihta·na· ʔiX 'one  
 mountain' L, laʔda·na· ʔiX, laʔd ʔa·na· ʔiX  
 'two mountains' M, ʔiXʔeletuʔ 'many mountains'  
 L, ʔiXʔa·ʔnuw 'big mountain' M, ʔiXlekudg  
 'little mountain' M, xi·d qiʔ ʔiX yeʔ li·  
 ʔahda·d 'at the foot of the mountain' ('yonder (at  
 rest) in the area of the place where a mountain ex-  
 tends downward') L, Galushia Nelson it̚ á·nãq  
 'mountain-on' BSdL 264, 537, 558, ʔiXa·naʔq 'on  
 top of a mountain' LM, 28.124A, ʔiXʔa·naʔqd '(at  
 rest) on mountain-top' 9.105A, ʔiXa·naʔqd yɬ·  
 hinu· 'mountain-people' M, ʔiXʔa·naʔqẽ 7.34,  
 9.109A, ʔiXa·naʔqẽ '(continuous motion) onto  
 mountain(-top)' M, 29.35, 49.109A, ʔiXʔa·naʔqẽ-  
 ẽahd 7.35A, ʔiXa·naʔqẽẽahd 'from top of moun-  
 tain' LM, 23.157, 25.55, 29.39A, ʔiXa·neẽ 'to-  
 ward a mountain' L, ʔiXq·ẽa·ẽ 'toward (in the  
 direction of, next to) a mountain' M, ʔiXlesjhd  
 '(at rest) behind a mountain' M, ʔiXq·sɬh sɬiʔahɬ  
 'sun went behind a mountain' L, ʔiXq·ta·s M,  
 ʔiXeleta·s 'over (across) a mountain' 25.77A,

?i?ale?a?(-?) '(continuous motion to) behind  
 a mountain' 9.110, 126, 131, 131A, ?i?elaye?

'inside a mountain' L, ?i?a?ta?x 'inside a moun-  
 tain (as dwelling)' L, ?i?a?x?d?d 'on mountain--  
 peak' N, as o of o-d 'separate from o': ?i?a?-  
 nahd sdixu?x 'snow slid down mountain' L, as o  
 of o-x 'in contact with o': ?i?la?x y?/? ge-  
 lese?ah da?x 'when water runs down mountains'  
 34.64M (-la?x perhaps incorrect), ?i?a?na?x  
 ca? a?/? 'come down the mountainside!' L (per-  
 haps to be corrected to -a?se?x, or -a?na?/?x,  
 see na?/?), ?i?a?na?d setah? 'it's up on the  
 mountainside' L (perhaps to be corrected to -  
 -ana?/?d, see na?/?); ?i?eleqe?x 'mountain-wo-  
 man' (mythological personage) 23.6, 9A.

?i?a?deya? place name, Mountain Slough L, 68.-  
 55, 55fnA, Eyak River where cannery is now L ('in  
 mountain (as o with broad opening at top, natural  
 body of water)') Old Man Dude i?i?ati 'Mountain  
 Slough' ESdL 544.

?i?a?dabd ?igeli?itah? place-name on Eyak River,  
 see discussion in subentry under ta.

ʔiŋ<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with ʔiŋ<sup>1</sup>, or reduced form of ʔaʔŋ)

O-ʔiŋ 'S (beaver) dams O (body of water)' (uncertain, attested only on tape from A recorded by Constance Naish 7 April 1967): 'beaverbank, the way we say it: ʔew saʔiŋ<sup>1</sup>ih, ʔew kuŋa·ŋk, ʔew saʔiŋ<sup>1</sup>' A ('he dammed it, the beaver, it dammed it', but articulated ʔew siʔiŋ<sup>1</sup>ih, ʔew siʔiŋ<sup>1</sup>, probably progressive assimilation of -e- rather than indication of first person sg. S).

ʔaʔx (perhaps related to ʔiʔ<sup>2</sup>)

0-ʔaʔx 1. 'S chews 0': ʔeʔaʔx 'chew it!' M,  
 Rezanov Kyarze 'Eesare kauen' Kuʔaʔx<sub>ih</sub> 'he's  
 chewing something', Kuxʔaʔx 'I'm chewing some-  
 thing' M, diK Kuxʔaʔx<sub>e</sub> 'I'm not chewing any-  
 thing' M, xʔaʔx 'I'm chewing it' M, Kuceʔkih  
 ʔaʔx<sub>ih</sub> 'he's chewing a bit of meat' M, quʔxʔaʔx  
 'I'll chew it' M, Rezanov Kux<sub>z</sub> 'Табакъ Tabak',  
 Furuhjelm Khaiatl 'tobacco' siʔaʔx<sub>z</sub> 'you're  
 (in the process of) chewing it (all day long)' L,  
 saʔdeʔah siʔaʔx<sub>z</sub> 'you're chewing tobacco' L,  
 siʔaʔx<sub>z</sub> 'I chewed it' M, iic Kuʔaʔx<sub>z</sub> 'he's  
 always (cust) chewing something' L, with yeʔ--  
 progressive: yeʔ iicʔaʔx<sub>z</sub> 'it's chewing around,  
 going around chewing it' M (probably to be cor-  
 rected to deʔaʔx<sub>z</sub>), with class-marks for 0:  
 seʔd guʔaʔx<sub>ih</sub> 'he's chewing spruceroots' M,  
 diʔaʔx 'you chew it (spruce-pitch, d-class)'  
 5l.25, 25, 25fnA, daʔ ʔaʔx<sub>z</sub> 'we (cust) chew  
 it' 5l.3lfnA, deʔaʔx<sub>ih</sub> 'he (cust) chews (it,  
 spruce-pitch?)' L.

2. With qehʔ 'closed', 'S (beaver) dams  
 up 0 (body of water)' (see ʔiʔ<sup>2</sup>): qehʔ ʔaw  
 seʔaʔx<sub>z</sub> 'they (beavers) dammed it up' L.

3. With ~~yaʔ~~ 'completely' (perhaps with

optional ~~d-thematic~~), 'S chews O up' a. ya?  
ʔaʔaʔʔ 'chew it up!' M.

3b. With expanded stem and yaʔ: (1) ʔawa-  
ʔiyah siʔaʔ hiʔq yaʔyuʔ siʔaʔ yaʔ seʔaʔʔi  
'my no-good mutt chewed up all my stuff' L; (2)  
repetitive, with o-aʔ 'for o': ʔaw siyaʔ yaʔ  
ʔaʔʔgih 'she's chewing it (food) up for me (baby)'  
L (not freely used).

ʔaʔʔ (deverbalization) 'bite' used as o of o-y-ʔeʔ  
'in place of o's (absent) hand, o's handiwork':  
ʔaʔʔyeʔeʔd yiʔeh 'it's a toothmark from fight-  
ing (on flayed pelt)' L.

-d-ʔaʔʔ (deverbalization, with d-class-mark for O)  
'chewing O (d-class)': gahedeʔaʔʔ xuseʔgaʔi  
'I'm getting tired of chewing gum' ('chewing gum  
is tiring me') L.

yaʔ <sup>O</sup> qe-(d-)ʔaʔʔ (with ~~yaʔ~~ 'completely', ~~qe-~~  
'plural thematic', and d-thematic optional with  
yaʔ) 'S chews O ~~all~~ up': ʔawa-ʔiyah siʔaʔ hiʔ  
gahyeʔʔ ʔaw siʔi siʔaʔ yaʔ qadeseʔaʔʔ (or  
qeseʔaʔʔ) 'my no-good mutt chewed up my shoe all  
day long' L.

1a. (omit O-ʔeʔ 3a.)

1b. (omit O-ʔeʔ 3b.)

2. With qe- 'plural' perlocutional:  
(omit following)

ʔuʔʔ

ʔuʔʔ (noun) 1. (d-class) 'driftwood, dead log devoid of branches and bark (not necessarily near water' LMA, 11.71, 75A, 'snag (in water)' M, ʔuʔʔdada·d 'near a piece of driftwood' 51.50A, Kudeʔuʔ ʔuʔʔ 'lots of driftwood' M, ʔuʔʔdaʔluw 'big piece of driftwood' M, ʔuʔʔ siʃ di·ʔaʔ 'give me a piece of driftwood!' L, ʔuʔʔ ʔu·d desatahʔ (or -ʔahʔ) 'a piece of driftwood is there' L, ʔuʔʔ qiʔdaʔ di·ʔquhʔ 'good camping place' ('place to which driftwood has drifted') L; declassified: ʔuʔʔ ʔu·d setahʔ 'a piece of driftwood (all broken up, or of very gnarled complex shape) is there' L; ʔuʔʔdeqeʔʔ, ʔuʔʔqeʔʔ, ʔuʔʔwelahqeʔʔ 'driftwood-woman' (mythical personage) 11.71, 76, 85A.

2. (unclassified, uncertain and unverified) 'snake' M.

ʔiɪ<sup>1</sup> (expanded ʔi·ɪ)

d-ʔiɪ (with d-thematic, perhaps 'free fall') 'S spills': with ʔiyaʔ 'to landing-place'(?);  
 ʔiyaʔ deseʔiɪ 'it spilled' L, ʔiyaʔ siʔaʔ  
 deseʔiɪ 'I spilled it (accidentally)' ('it spilled  
 "on" me') L, with lɪd-class-mark for S; ʔiyaʔ  
 leʔedeseʔiɪ 'they (snowballs) spilled' L, with  
 lɪ-class-mark for S, repetitive; laʔmahd siʔaʔ  
 ʔiyaʔ<sup>ʕ</sup> leʔeʔa·ʔiɪg 'my berries keep spilling'  
 18.12L.

0-d-ʔiɪ (basic transitive, not regularly derived  
 causative from d-ʔiɪ in that classifier is zero,  
 not ɪ-; L rejects all proposed forms with ɪ--  
 classifier, or without d-thematic) 'S spills,  
 dumps, pours O': with either yaʔd 'empty' or  
 o-yaʔ 'into o (with broad opening at top)'; Rezanov  
 Аытенеаы 'Jeř glesse!' to be read either ʔew  
 yaʔd deseʔiɪ 'pour it out!' L, or ʔewyaʔ de-  
 seʔiɪ 'pour it into it!', Кытенеаы 'Прочинаы  
 vergiessen, verschütten' ʔiyaʔ di·ʔiɪ, ʔiyaʔ  
 deseliɪ 'pour, dump it into something!' L, Reza-  
 nov Кытенеаы 'Прочинаы vergiessen, verschüt-  
 ten, (?vergoss Präterit)' ʔiyaʔ disiʔiɪ 'I  
 dumped, poured it into something', ʔiyaʔ deseʔiɪ  
 'you dumped, poured it into something' L, Rezanov

Сватерасамаъ 'Пролѣвъ vergiessen, verschütten'  
 ...deseʔiɪ̯ 'you poured, dumped it...', Kɪyaʔʕ  
 ʔew deseʔiɪ̯h 'he's pouring it into something' L,  
 with Kɪyaʔ 'to landing-place'(?): Kɪyaʔ de-  
 seʔiɪ̯ 'pour it!' M, Kɪyaʔʕ desuxʔiɪ̯ 'I'm  
 pouring it (water, sand, flour, etc.)' M, Kɪyaʔʕ  
 ʔew deseʔiɪ̯h 'he's spilling, pouring it' L,  
 ʕdu·liheda·ʔeʕ Kɪyaʔʕ deseʔiɪ̯h 'he's pouring  
 it onto a table' L, Kɪyaʔ ʔew deseʔiɪ̯h 'he  
 spilled it' L, Kɪyaʔ disiʔiɪ̯ 'I spilled it (on  
 purpose)' L, 'I poured it' M, siʔeʕ Kɪyaʔ de-  
 seʔiɪ̯ 'you spilled it on me' L, Kɪyaʔ quʔdi·x-  
 ʔiɪ̯ 'I'll pour it' M, Kɪyaʔ ʔew quʔdi·ʔiɪ̯h  
 'he'll spill it' L, Kɪyaʔ di·ʔi·ɪ̯kɪh M, Kɪyaʔʕ  
 di·ʔi·ɪ̯kɪh 'he (cust) pours it' L, with qid  
 'down off': ʔu·ʕ ʔew qid deseʔiɪ̯nu· 'they  
 dumped them down there' 28.55, 59, 59A, with  
 o-d-x<sup>w</sup>ah 'by o's command': ʔi· ʔidex<sup>w</sup>ah de-  
 seʔiɪ̯ 'you made him, told him to spill it' L,  
 o-l-daʔ-x '(movement with)in o's head-front':  
 si·daʔx kudeseʔiɪ̯h 'he spilled something on  
 my face' M, with o-qaʔ and o-x 'with o': ʔewx  
 deqaʔ deseʔiɪ̯ 'pour it to mix with it!' ('pour  
 it amongst indeterminate o with it!' M (L rejects),  
 ʔewx ʔiɪ̯qaʔ deseʔiɪ̯ 'pour them together!' ('pour

it amongst each other with it!') L, ʔiṭqaʔ de-  
seʔiṭ 'pour them together!' M, with lɣ-class-  
mark for o: quʔləxəli-xʔiṭ 'I'll spill them  
(berries)' L, ləxəla-seʔiṭɰh 'he's spilling  
them (berries)' L, ləxəla-seʔiṭɰh 'he spilled  
them (berries)' L; passive; repetitive; see nomi-  
nalization below.

xi-ʕ dedeʔiṭgyu (noun, unclassified) 'junk, re-  
fuse, garbage, discarded stuff' L. Nominalized  
passive active imperfective repetitive with xi-ʕ  
'to over there' and -yu 'plural'.

*with you - progressive: yəx da da ʔiṭ  
'pour it around!' M (to be corrected to -ʔiṭ)*

ʔa·ɬ

ʔa·ɬ (noun, unclassified) 'bough, limb, branch  
 (of conifer, especially spruce)' L, ʔa·ɬʔaʔluw  
 'big spruce-boughs' L, ʔa·ɬʔetuʔ 'lots of  
 spruce-boughs' M, lisyaʔ ʔa·ɬ 'boughs of  
 spruce' A, 68.12A, Harrington liʔyʔʔaaɬ 'spruce  
 bough' G.

ʔe·ʒ-ʔe·d' (ʔe·d' less frequent, perhaps incorrect; ʔe·ʒ perhaps expanded form of ʔaʒ)

deʔe·ʒg (noun, unclassified, perhaps nominalized passive active imperfective of unattested verb-theme, \*C-ʔe·ʒ-g, with de- representing de-classifier, or deverbalization of passive of \*C-d-ʔe·ʒ-g with de- representing d-thematic, with thematized -g-repetitive) 'dried slices or slabs of fish-meat' LMA, 65.4, 65A, deʔe·dʒ 65.8A, Galushia Nelson Dh'átsk 'dried salmon, when meat from spine is dried separately' BSdL 548, lesʔi·ʔdeʔe·dʒ 'slabs of dried halibut-meat' 9.124A, teʔyaʔle·deʔe·ʒg 10.140A, teʔyaʔle·deʔe·ʒgyu· 'dried slabs of king-salmon meat' 10.149A.

ʔəʒ (perhaps related to ʔeʔʒ-ʔeʔd; not \*ʔiʒ L)

0-ʔəʒ 1. 'S spears O' a. with determinate O:

Rezanov Комма-амъ 'Стрѣла ~~дѣла~~ Seelöwen-  
pfiel oder Speer' Мамъ ʔəʔəʒ 'spear a sea-  
lion!', ʔəw seʔəʒiʔh 'he speared it' 12.5G,  
siʔəʒiʔ 'I speared it' L, ʔəʔeʔʒiʔh 'he (cust)  
spears it' L, with d-class-mark for O: deseʔəʒiʔ  
'you speared it (board)' L; passive: xusdiʔəʒiʔ  
(not xusʔi-) 'I've been speared' L, geʔitaʔg  
sdiʔəʒiʔ 'a seal has been speared' L.

1b. With indeterminate O, 'S throws spear  
(not spearing or hitting any particular O)': with  
yaʔʒ 'up (as trajectory of thrown thing)', repeti-  
tive: yaʔʒ ʔixʔəʒg 'I keep throwing a spear  
(e.g. for practice)' L, sitaʔs kuʔseʔəʒiʔ 'some-  
one threw a spear over (missing) me' L.

1c. Forms from Rezanov, partly unidentifiable:  
Коскучъэхлэцъ 'Стрѣлять стрѣлкою Pfeil ab-  
schiessen', Яхлэцъ 'Стрѣлях Pfeil abschiessen  
(Imperat.)' ...ʔəʒ, classifier seemingly ʔə-,  
perhaps with first person singular S x-ʔə-ʔəʒ,  
or with yaʔʒ 'up', but meaning more appropriate  
to 0-ʔəʒ than to ʔə-ʔəʒ.

2. 'S precipitates, throws, launches, impels  
O with sudden force, speed': ʔəʔəʒ 'launch it!,

throw it!' M, gehgk̄ ʔeʔeɟ 'throw a spear!' M,  
with yahd 'out to sea': yahd seʔeɟ 'launch  
it (canoe)!' L, yahd siʔeɟk̄ 'I launched it  
(canoe)' L. Transitive (causative): reflexive,  
with qaʔ 'up out': ʔu·ʃ qaʔ ʔedadiʔeɟk̄  
'jumped up there' 15.5M (perhaps incorrect, blend  
of ʔedadileeʔ and siʔeɟk̄).

O-i-ʔeɟ 'S moves, substantially changes position  
of O by precipitating, launching, impelling with  
sudden force, speed': with yahd 'out to sea':  
yahd siʔeɟk̄ 'I pushed it (canoe) out' (further  
than in yahd siʔeɟk̄) L (see O-ʔeɟ 2.).

O-ʔ-ʔeɟ (semitransitive of O-ʔeɟ 1.) 'S throws  
spear at O (not necessarily hitting O)': xuʔseʔeɟ-  
i:h 'he threw a spear at me' L, with o-ta·s  
'over, across o': sita·s kuʔseʔeɟk̄ 'he threw  
a spear over me at something (specific)' L;  
passive: sita·s kuʔediʔeɟk̄ 'spear missed me'  
( 'something had a spear thrown at it over, across  
me' ) L.

ya·ʒ O-ʒ-ʔeɟ (with ʒ-thematic with ya·ʒ 'de-  
struction') 'S spears all O': ya·ʒ ʒesiʔeɟk̄  
'I speared them all' L.

ke-ʔeɟ 'S jumps, leaps, precipitates, plunges head-  
long' 1. with taʔ 'into water': 4.3M, 29.41A.

ta? sɬiʔəʒɬɨh 'he jumped, plunged, dove into  
 the water (headlong, any way, quickly)' LM (cf.  
 ta? ʔədɬileɬɨh 'he jumped into the water  
 (feet first)' L), ta? xɬiʔəʒɬ 'I jumped into  
 the water (quickly)' M, ta? quʔxiəʔəʒ 'I'll  
 jump into the water (quickly)' M, guʔdeg ɬeʔ  
 ta? xɬiʔəʒɬ 'I jumped back into the water  
 again' M, with d-class-mark for S: ta? diɬi-  
 ʔəʒɬ 'it (car) plunged into the water' 61.60,  
 62, 71A, ʔuX ʔew ta? diɬiʔəʒɬɨh 'it (car)  
 plunged into the water with him (in it)' 61.72A.

2. With yaʔɨ 'up': yaʔɨ xɬiʔəʒɬ 'I  
 jumped up suddenly' M.

3. With qaʔ 'up out': teʔyaʔ qaʔ sɬiʔəʒɬ  
 'it (fish) jumped' L, qəʔ ɬeʔeʔɬ 'it (fish)  
 (cust) jumps' 21a.7L.

4. o-yaʔ-Kah 'away from inside o (with broad  
 opening at top)': o-yaʔKah sɬiʔəʒɬ 'jumped out  
 and clear of o' 49.142, 61.75, 76A.

5. With yaʔd 'empty, out of canoe': yaʔd  
 sɬiʔəʒɬɨh 'she jumped out (of the canoe)' 49.-  
 141, 141A.

6. With o-ɬ 'on o' and yaʔ 'completely,  
 to a state of rest': ʔew lixah ʔewɬ yaʔ sɬi-  
 ʔəʒɬ 'the brownbear pounced on it' 63.8G.

7. With o-yeq̄ 'in o' and ?eš 'through, past', repetitive: ?uyeq̄ ?eš qu?xše?ešg 'I'll jump through it (e.g. hoop, repeatedly)' L.

8. With xdl-class-mark for S: tqh ʒəla'-sšiš'ešš 'waves, ocean swells rolled' L.

9. With yaq̄-progressive: yaq̄ še?ešq̄ 'you're jumping around' M.

o-ya? l-še-?eš (with o-ya? 'in o (with broad opening at top)' and l-thematic 'going wrong') 'S (unsuspecting) falls in o': q̄əčya? ?š·xšiš'ešš, kihšya? ?š·xšiš'ešš 'I fell into a small swamp (I was walking along, unsuspecting)' L.

dl-še-?eš (with dl-thematic, apparently of various origins) l. (with dl-thematic 'fall over', perhaps including d-thematic 'free fall' and/or l-anatomical 'head') 'S falls over' a. with o-š 'in contact with o': ?uq̄ la·xšiš'ešš 'I bumped (my head, stubbed my toe) against it' L, da·š la·xšiš'ešš 'I bumped my head, stubbed my toe (against indeterminate o, wall)' L, ?uq̄ qu?la·xšiš'ešš 'I'll bump my head against it' L, ?əwdešə?š la·xšiš'ešš 'I bumped my head against the corner, ledge of it' L, diš ?udašə?š la·xšiš'eššə 'I didn't bump my head against the corner of it' L.

lb. With yaq̄ 'downward', repetitive: yaq̄

λa'x̄eʔəɟ 'my head keeps drooping (with drowsiness)' L; Rezanov ЯХЛАНТЕАУХАБ 'дремать schlummern' yeɣ λa'diʔəɟɪ 'your head is drooped' (neuter perfective, but de-classifier probably incorrect in terms of modern Cordova Eyak).

1c. With qid 'down off': ʔu'ɕ qid λa's̄iʔəɟɪ 'stuff fell down there' L, qid λa'xs̄eʔəɟɪ 'I fell over (head first)' L.

2. With dl-thematic probably containing d-thematic 'accumulate' and qaʔ 'up out', 'S accumulates': de'gaʔduw qaʔ λa'x̄eʔe'ɟɪ 'quite a number of them (cust) accumulate' 25.207A; see also lɣdl-ɪe-ʔəɟ 2.

lɣdl-ɪe-ʔəɟ (with dl-thematic, see dl-ɪe-ʔəɟ, and lɣ-class-mark, probably partly thematized) 1. 'S (snow, material on bare mountainside) avalanches': often with ku-indefinite S, partly thematized, qid 'down off', caʔ 'downhill', and/or o-ɣ 'with o' ('over, on, burying o'): ʔuɣ qid ku-leɣəλa's̄iʔəɟɪɪh 'he was buried in an avalanche' ('something lɣ-class precipitated down off with him') 23.130, 143A, (ʔu'dəɣ) (ʔuɣ) caʔ ku-leɣəλa'cəɪeʔəɟɪ(ɪh) 'it's avalanching down (along there) (over him)' 23.135, 135A, caʔ leɣəλa's̄iʔəɟɪ 23.136A, qid leɣəλa's̄iʔəɟɪ 'there was

an avalanche' 23.136, 144A, repetitive: ku-  
ləxəλa'ieʔəʒg 'there's a snowslide, avalanche'  
M.

2. (See dl-ie-ʔəʒ 2.) 'S (snow) accumu-  
lates': de'gaʔduw ʔew xuʔ ʔu'd qaʔ ləxə-  
λa'ieʔe'ʒk 'quite a bit of it (snow) (cust)  
piles up there' L.

(O-)gdl-ie-ʔəʒ (with gdl-thematic of various ori-  
gins, all attested forms interpretable as requir-  
ing vocalized classifier, from underlying unat-  
tested \*O-gdl-i-ʔəʒ, perhaps causative of either  
\*gdl-ie-ʔəʒ, \*gdl-ʔəʒ, or \*gdl-de-ʔəʒ) 1.  
with gdl-thematic containing gl-class-mark for O  
'liquid', with yeʔ-progressive (of underlying  
\*O-gdl-i-ʔəʒ): yeʔ gəλa'ieʔəʒ 'shake it (bottle  
of liquid)!' LM, yeʔ gəλa'xieʔəʒ 'I'm shaking  
it (bottle of medicine)' <sup>M</sup> 2.

2. Indirect reciprocal with ʔiʔ-qaʔ 'amongst  
each other': ʔiʔqaʔ gəλa'səiʔəʒi 'different  
color paints are (have become?, have been?) all  
mixed together in streaks' L (probably with gdl-  
'dye, hue' < gl-class-mark 'liquid' and d-thema-  
tic 'fire, bright', either passive of \*O-gdl-i-  
ʔəʒ, or intransitive gdl-ie-ʔəʒ).

3. Indirect reciprocal with ʔiʔ-qaʔ as  
above, containing g- or gd-thematic as in

g-~~to~~-da--qu, gd-de-da--qu 'S flees': ?i~~ka~~?  
ge~~la~~.s~~i~~?e~~3~~ 'they (moulting ducks, dogs) have  
been chased into confusion together' L (either  
intransitive gdl-~~to~~-?e~~3~~ or passive of 0-gdl--  
~~to~~-?e~~3~~).

ʔeh3

0-ʔ-ʔeh3 'S calls, summons, invites O (for any  
 reason, or to potlatch, party)': ʔuʔseʔeh3inu\*  
 'invite them!' L, lexɪʔqeʔxʔeh3 'I'll invite  
 you pl.' L, Galushia Nelson isfɪŋtɕɪ or isfɪŋtɕɪ  
 'you are invited to a potlatch' BSDL 554 ʔiʔsi-  
 ʔeh3ɪ 'I invited you', ʔuʔseʔeh3ɪ, ʒikqa-dʒaʔ  
 'they invited them, to Bering River' 57.3, ʔahnu\*  
 ʔuʔseʔeh3ɪinu\* 'those whom they had invited' 57.=  
 76, da\* ʔuʔliʔeh3inu\* 'let's invite them' L;  
 indirect reflexive, with ʒaʔ 'to oneself', 'S  
 calls, summons, invites O over (to S's self)':  
 Rezanov Чоорѳѳѳ 'Зарѳ рufen', Чарѳ-ѳѳѳ  
 'Нѳѳѳ рufen (Imperat.)' ʒaʔ ʔuʔdeʔeh3, ʒaʔ=  
 ʔaʔdeʔeh3ɪh 'call, summon him!' L, ʔaʔ ʒaʔ  
 ʔuʔdeʔeh3ɪh 'call him over here!' M, ʒaʔ ʔuʔ=  
 sedeʔeh3ɪh 'invite, call him over!' L, ʒaʔ  
 ʔiʔqeʔxdeʔeh3 'I'll invite you over' L, qiʔ=  
 ya-da-x ʒaʔ ʔiʔqeʔxdeʔeh3 'I'll call you over  
 sometime' M, ʒaʔ quʔxdeʔeh3ɪh 'I'll call,  
 summon him' L, ʒa ʔew ʔuʔdeʔeh3 'he invites  
 her' 10.255A, ʒaʔ ʔaʔdeʔeh3 'invites them'  
 33.15, 15A, ʔu-ʒaʔ ʒaʔ lexɪʔdeʔeh3ɪh 'she's  
 summoning you pl. there to herself' 25.98A, Molly  
 ʒaʔ ʔiʔdeʔeh3 'Molly is inviting you (to her-

self)' L, čaʔ ʔuʔsdiʔehʒt̚ 'invited, called,  
 summoned him/her/then' 10.204, 24.3, 25.89A, čaʔ  
 ʔuʔsdiʔehʒt̚, ʔahnu·x̄ kux̄q̄·liyahwahd 'invited  
 them, to eat with them' 53.2L, ʔu·čaʔ čaʔ xuʔs=  
 diʔehʒt̚ 'she summoned me there to herself' 25.=  
 97A, čaʔ ʔuʔxsdiʔehʒt̚jh 'I summoned, called  
 him' L, Rezanov Чазмычреэуа 'Ba nopy, so speme  
 rechtzeitig, zu rechter Zeit' čaʔʒ ʔi· ʔuʔs=  
 diʔehʒt̚ 'did you summon him?'; passive: xuʔsdi=  
 ʔehʒt̚ 'I'm invited' L, ʔiʔsdiʔehʒt̚ 'you're in=  
 vited to a potlatch' L, Molly-čaʔ ʔiʔsdiʔehʒt̚  
 'you're invited to Molly's' L, xi·čaʔ qa· ʔuʔs=  
 diʔehʒt̚ 'we're invited over there' L, qa· ʔuʔs=  
 diʔehʒt̚ 'we're invited to a potlatch' L, 59.14  
 Galushia Nelson, ʒikqahyaʔč qa· ʔuʔsdiʔehʒt̚  
 'we were invited to a potlatch at Bering River'  
 19.1 Galushia Nelson, qa· ləe ʔuʔsdiʔehʒt̚,  
 kux̄wahd 'we were invited up (ashore), for a  
 meal' 59.8 Galushia Nelson, ʔuʔsdiʔehʒt̚jh 'was  
 invited to a potlatch' 55.1L.

ʔida-ʔ-ʔehʒ (as preceding, with indeterminate 0) X  
 'S gives, calls, holds potlatch, party': ʔidaʔ=  
 seʔehʒ 'give a party, potlatch!' LM, ʔidaʔ=  
 qeʔxʔehʒ 'I'll have a potlatch' L, ʔidaʔsiʔehʒt̚  
 'I gave a potlatch, threw a party' L, ʔidaʔku=

se'eh3t 'someone had a potlatch' L, 'ida?=  
 se'eh3tinu\* 'they gave a potlatch, invited  
 people, they who gave a potlatch' 28.92, 93A,  
 55.7L, 57.2G, Old Man Dude idá'wáts 'potlatch  
 house' BSdL 545 'ida?we'eh3 'they're having a  
 potlatch' (or perhaps deverbalization, 'potlatch'),  
 da\* 'ida?li'eh3 'let's have a potlatch' L, 'ida?=  
 selex'eh3 da\*x 'when you pl. have a potlatch' 25.=  
 163A; passive: Galushia Nelson i<sup>n</sup>'ḍákáḍá'?tc  
 'potlatch' BSdL 552 'ida?qe?de'eh3 'there'll  
 be a potlatch' L, Galushia Nelson itá'stíyátcē  
 or itá'stíátcē 'they are giving a potlatch' BSdL  
 554 'ida?adi'eh3t 'a potlatch has been held,  
 called'.

'eh3 (noun) attested only in yatDe'Da\*xetc 'pot-  
 latch at new house' yahddata\*x 'eh3 'potlatch  
 (in a house)' L.

'ad-d-i-yax-č O-?-d-i-?eh3 (indirect reflexive  
 with 'ad-d-i-yax-č '(continuous motion) to in  
 front of, before oneself', indirect reflexive of  
 underlying unattested \*O-?-d-i-?eh3 with d-  
 thematic, perhaps 'oral, noise') 'S calls to,  
 tells O to proceed ahead of (instead of behind)  
 S': 'eddekyexč ?ah ?u'deke'eh3jh 'he (A) is  
 telling him (B) to go ahead of him (A)' (e.g. be-  
 cause of danger ahead) L.

qiʔ ʔidaʔediʔehɣɩ (noun, unclassified) 'potlatch'

M. Nominalized passive active perfective with  
indeterminate O, 'place where potlatch has been  
held, called'.

ʔeʔʒ

0-ʔeʔʒ 'S touches, affects, acts upon O with foot'  
 (frequently with expanded stem -ʔeʔʒ, referring  
 to repeated action or action upon succession of  
 O): la. with yʔʔ(-ʃ) '(continued, repeated  
 motion) down': yʔʔʃ ʔeʔeʔʒ 'push it down (down  
 on it several times, down on them) with your foot!'  
 LM, yʔʔʃ siʔeʔʒʔ 'I pushed it (further) down  
 with my foot' M, yʔʔʃ ʔew ʔeʔeʔʒʔh 'he's  
 pushing it down with his foot' M, repetitive:  
 yʔʔʃ ʔeʔeʔʒʒ 'keep pushing it, then down with  
 your foot!' M.

lb. With laʔq 'thickness, collapse': laʔq  
 ʔeʔeʔʒ 'smash it with your foot!' L.

lc. With yaʔ 'completely': yaʔ siʔeʔʒʔ  
 'I wore them (shoes) completely out' L.

ld. With l-anatomical: ʔileʔeʔʒ daʔʒ  
 ʔuxaʔʒ ʔiseʔxutʔ 'it was stepping on your head  
 and you missed it' (Billy Dude said to L shooting  
 ducks) ʔ2.21L.

2. With indeterminate O, 'S moves, positions  
 feet, steps' a. with no postpositional phrases or  
 preverbs: ʔiseʔeʔʒ 'take a step!' M, laʔdaʔʒ  
 ʔiseʔeʔʒʔh 'he took two steps' ('he stepped twice')  
 L, laʔdaʔʒ ʔiqeʔxʔeʔʒ 'I'll take two steps' L.

2b. With yaʔɣ 'up': yaʔɣ ʔi·ʔeʔɣ 'lift your leg up!' L, yaʔɣ ʔi·ʔe·ɣ 'lift your leg up (several times)!' L.

2c. With o-q 'on o' and yeɣ 'downward': ʔuq yeɣ ʔi·ʔeʔɣ (not -ʔe·ɣ) L, ʔuq yeɣ ʔiseʔeʔɣ 'step on it!' LM, ʔuq yeɣ ʔiqeʔxʔeʔɣ 'I'll step on it' LM, ʔuq yeɣ ʔisuxʔeʔɣ 'I'm stepping on it' L, ʔuq yeɣ ʔisiʔeʔɣ 'I stepped on it' L, ʔewq yeɣ ʔi·ʔeʔɣɣɣh 'he's stepping (has his feet) on it' M (neuter perfective), ʔewq yeɣ ʔiseʔeʔɣɣ ʔux dextɣɣh 'I told him to step on it' L.

2d. With ʔaʔqeʔʔ 'backward': ʔaʔqeʔʔ ʔisiʔeʔɣ 'I took a step backwards' L.

2e. With o-ta's 'over, across o': ʔuta's ʔiseʔeʔɣ 'step over it!' L, sita's ʔiseʔeʔɣ 'step over me!' L, repetitive: sita's ʔi·ʔeʔɣ-gɣh 'he keeps stepping over me' L (prefix probably analogical, to be corrected to ʔi-); indirect reciprocal: ʔilta's ʔisiʔeʔɣ 'I sit with legs crossed' L.

2f. With ʔil-yeq 'inside each other', indirect reciprocal: ʔilyeq ʔiseʔeʔɣ 'spread your legs!' L, ʔilyeq ʔisiʔeʔɣ 'I sit with legs outspread' L.

2g. With 'il-ya? 'in each other (o with broad opening at top): 'ikya? 'ice'e?3 'cross your legs!' L, 'ikya? 'isi'e?3k 'I sit with legs crossed tailor-fashion' L.

O-i-e?3 'S moves, fixes position, substantially affects O with foot' (frequently with expanded stem) l. with many of the same preverbs as O-e?3 l.: 'u·da? si'e?3k 'I moved it there with my foot (one movement)' L, 'u·c' x'e?3 'I'm moving it there with my foot (pl. O and/or pl. movements)' L, la?d' e'e?3 'crush it (completely and permanently) with your foot' L, yq·c' e'e?3 'push it down with your foot!' M, yq·c' 'iqe?x'e?3 'I'll push it down with my foot' M, repetitive: yq·c' 'e'e?3g A, yq·c' 'e'e?3g 'keep pushing it down with your foot!' M, with yeq-progressive: 'u·daq yeq x'e?e?3q 'I'm moving it about there with my foot' L, 'u·daq yeq x'e?e?3q 'I'm moving them (one after another) about there with my foot' L.

2. With yeq 'downward' and anatomical-marks, 'S holds (part of o) down with foot': ya?xu· yeq xuqi·di·i'e?3 'don't step on my foot (never have yet)' L, ya?xu· yeq xuqi·di·i'e?3 'don't keep stepping on my foot' L, yeq xuqi·de'e?3jh 'he

keeps stepping on my foot' L; reflexive: yaḡ  
ʔedgukɪʔeʔɜ̃ʔ 'she's a good, virtuous woman, not  
a high-stepper' ('she holds her own hem down with  
her feet') 72.25fnL, cf. 72.24fnL.

o-yaḡ ʔe-ʔeʔɜ̃ʔ 'S puts, has feet in o (footwear)';  
təhyəḡ ʔiḡaʔ ʔeʔeʔɜ̃ʔ 'put your socks on!'  
( 'put your feet in your socks!' ) L, ʔewyaḡ ʔiḡi-  
ʔeʔɜ̃ʔ 'he had them (boots) on' ('he had his feet  
in them') 51.44A (neuter perfective).

o-ḡ d-da-ʔeʔɜ̃ʔ (with d-thematic, perhaps thema-  
tized d-class-mark) 'S braces self with feet against  
o': Muḡ desedeʔeʔɜ̃ʔ 'brace yourself with your feet  
against something!' L, ʔuḡ dixdiʔeʔɜ̃ʔ 'I'm push-  
ing against it with my feet, braced against it' L  
(neuter perfective).

ʔiḡ-ʔ O-ʔ-l-ʔ-ʔeʔɜ̃ʔ (with ʔiḡ-ʔ 'toward each  
other', cf. O-ʔ-(l-)(ʔ-)ta 'S moves part of  
(articulable) O') 'S folds O with feet': ʔiḡ-  
ʔuʔliʔeʔɜ̃ʔ 'fold them with your feet!' L.

ʔuh3

ɬ-ʔuh3-g (with -g-repetitive thematized in all forms except customary; L rejects all proposed forms with zero-classifier) 'S is, becomes slightly intoxicated, numb, experiences tingling sensation': siɬʔuh3gɬ 'I'm a bit "high", tipsy, a bit numb, I've got "pins and needles" in my arms and/or legs' L, with anatomical marks: qi·disiɬʔuh3gɬ 'my foot went to sleep, is asleep, has "pins and needles" in it' LMA, quʔqi·di·xi-ʔuh3g 'my foot will go to sleep' L, quʔyi·xi-ʔuh3g 'my hand will go to sleep' L, qi·yisiɬ-ʔuh3gɬ 'my toes fell asleep' L, qi·daɬʔu·3kɬh 'his foot (cust) goes to sleep' L, with expanded stem, non-customary: gahɬyeʔɬ qi·dexɬʔu·3g 'my foot's been asleep all day long' L ("guess you could say that"). Transitive (causative): səi-ʔuh3gɬh 'get him slightly drunk!' L.

ʔuh3gɬ (deverbalization, perhaps -ɬ-gerundive) 'tingling sensation': ʔuh3gɬ siɬɬ·ʔ wəɬ yeɬ səliɬ 'I got shivers all up and down me' ('tingling sensation occurred thus downward the entire length of me') L.

ʔes (not \*ʔis L)

ʔes (noun, unclassified) 'pot-, basket-like trap  
for fish, crabs' LMA, Galushia Nelson 'ʔs or  
'as 'basket fish-trap' BSdL 549, ʔesʔaʔluw  
'big crab-pot' LM, laʔdih ʔes 'two crab-pots'  
M, ʔesyeʔeʔ lequʔg 'they (fish) are running  
(and getting trapped, one after another) in a  
fish-trap' L.

ʔuhs (A once ʔuhɜ, rejected by L)

ʔuhs (noun, ɣd- or ɣdl-class) 'riverbank (with or without vegetation), flat place along riverbank, mudbank' L, 'mudlike stuff on riverbank' M, 'grassy bank of creek' S, ʔuhɜ 'riverbank' A (L rejects), ʔuhs ʔu·d ɣəλa·səʔahɪ 'riverbank is there' L, ʔuhɜɣəλi·ʔnuw 'big mudbank' L, ʔuhɜɣəda·q̄d Kiyaʔ əqeʔ 'land on the riverbank!' L, ʔuhɜɣəda·q̄d əa·k̄j̄h 'he's walking along (on) the riverbank' L, ʔuhɜɣəda·q̄d guseɪq̄·ʔk̄j̄h 'he's standing on the riverbank' L; ʔuhɜɣədi·ʔq̄d place--name, somewhere on mouth of Copper River between Cordova and Katalla L.

ʔəḥ<sup>1</sup> (not \*ʔiḥ L)

ie-ʔəḥ-g (with -g-repetitive thematized except in customary) 'S sneezes': sələʔəḥg L, ʔələ-ʔəḥg 'sneeze!' LM, xləʔəḥg 'I'm sneezing' LM, diK xləʔəḥga 'I'm not sneezing' L, gahyeʔx xləʔəḥg, gahyeʔx səxləʔəḥgḥ 'I've been sneezing all day long' L, quʔxləʔəḥg 'I'll sneeze' M, diK quʔxləʔəḥga 'I won't sneeze' A, xsli-ʔəḥgḥ 'I sneezed' LM, diK ʔəxsləʔəḥgḥ 'I didn't sneeze' LM, səxləʔəḥgx ʔixleh 'I want to sneeze' L, diK səxləʔəḥgx ʔixlehə 'I don't want to sneeze' L, sələʔəḥgxḥ ʔi-leh 'do you want to sneeze?' L, xləʔə-ḥK 'I (cust) sneeze' LA. Transitive (causative): hiC xulʔəḥg 'it always makes me sneeze' L.

ʔəḥ-g (deverbalization of preceding) 'sneeze':  
 Rezanov Амха 'Ḥxaxə niesen' ʔəḥg 'a sneeze'  
 ʔəḥggaʔ ʔəduʔxdegəwih 'I feel a sneeze coming on' ('I feel like a sneeze') L.

ʔeš<sup>2</sup> (sometimes ʔes by assimilation to s- initial of s-perfective verbs, never \*ʔiš; perhaps related to šle-šq.)

ʔeš (preverb, with zero final only) '(completely) by, past through': ʔuyeq ʔeš ku-keh 'there's a hole all the way through it' L, ʔuluʔ ʔeš ʔixšitʔikʔ 'I shot a hole (an arrow) through it' L, ʔu-deʔ ʔeš ʔiškʔikʔih 'he shot an arrow by there' L, ca ʔu-deʔ ʔeš ʔa-seceqʔ 'a stone whizzed by there' L, ʔewlah ʔeš ʔeʔahʔ 'sew it around the edge (with overcast whipstitch)!' L, delaʔd ʔew ʔeš šeʔaʔʔ 'he jerked it (completely) off (peg)' 9.95A, ʔeš ʔʔ-d ʔidišeʔgʔ 'it (hook) has been bent through (hole) here' L, ʔewyeq ʔeš diškʔahʔʔ 'it fell down through (into) it' L, ma-gedata's ʔes seqehkinu 'they boated across the lake' 37b.67, 80A, ʔuluʔ ʔeš seqeʔ 'boat through (under bridge)!' L, ʔewyeq ʔeš lequ'g 'they (fish) keep running right through it (coarse net)' L, ʔu-deʔ ʔes sawuʔ 'expanded along by there (obstructing pursuers)' 49.147A, o-da'ʔ ʔeš ʔed-dl-še-weʔʔ, o-ta's ʔeš ʔed-dl-še-weʔʔ, o-da'ʔ ʔeš ʔed-dl-še-ʔe 'S sneaks by, past o', ʔaʔd silaqahyeq ʔeš kuleʔgggaʔ ʔeduʔxdegewih 'I feel just like someone's reaching through, completely into my head

(with incessant repeated questions)' 72.15L,  
liča·č 'eš 'əliya·? 'move them over to the  
other side!' L, 'əwq 'eš xedi·'ah 'it (log)  
lies (extending completely across and by) over  
it' L, 'uyeq 'eš qu'xie'e3 'I'll jump through  
it (hoop)' L, 'q·d 'eš sah̄t 'it went by over  
here' L, 'u·d 'es sah̄t 'it went by over there'  
L, 'u·dəx 'eš qu'xah 'I'll go by there' L,  
'ewyeq 'es sah̄t 'it went through it (e.g. pipe)'  
L, siqi·dəqa'x 'es sah̄t 'it (dog) walked  
through between my legs' L, qa·qa'x 'es sah̄t  
'he walked (through) between us' L, sida·x 'es  
sah̄ih 'he went by me' L, sili'dəx / silahsdeq  
'es sah̄t 'he walked by in front of/behind me'  
L, kude·dah 'əw ma·gedeta·s 'eš 'esah̄t  
'couldn't get across the lake' 37b.81A, see fur-  
ther instances under -'ya la., 30., xdl-'ya  
1., 2.

?e·?S

O-d-?e·?S (with d-thematic) 'S strings O on string':

qu?di·x?e·?S 'I'll string them (fish)' L, with  
 lɣ-class-mark for O: Kuleɣeɣi·?e·?S 'string  
 beads!' ('string something lɣ-class!') L, leɣe=  
 λi·?e·?S 'string them (beads)!' M, Kuleɣeɣa·x=  
 ?e·?S 'I'm stringing beads' L, leɣeɣa·x?e·?S  
 'I'm stringing them (beads)' M.

-d-?e·?S (deverbalization of passive of O-d-?e·?S)

'string of': sahxde?e·?S 'dried cockles on a  
 string' L, de?e·?S te?ya? 'fish on a string' L  
 (probably to be corrected to dede?e·?S te?ya?  
 'fish which are strung' or to te?ya?de?e·?S).

ʔa'g

o-ʔa'g (postposition, attested with zero, -d, -deʔ, -č finals, or compounded as o of o-gaʔ, o-daʔ, o-da'-d) 1a. 'middle, center of o': with -d final 'at rest in, nominalization of': Rezanov Яактэ 'Середина Mitte' ʔuʔa'gd '(in) the middle of it' M, with classified nouns as o: šdu·lihedeʔa'gd 'mid-table' M, quʔtaʔideʔa'gd 'mid-floor' M, kudeʔa'gd 'the middle (of something d-class)' M, see also 2. below.

1b. 'o's waist': siʔa'g(d) 'my waist' L.

2. In o-((ʔ)i-)l-ʔa'g(-d) (with -ʔi- or perhaps unlaut, perhaps connective, l-thematic or perhaps class-mark) 'mid-o', used only in ge·le-ʔa'g(-d), ge·liʔa'g(-d) 'noon', ʔeʔleʔa'g(-d) 'midnight', xahleʔa'g(-d) 'midsummer', and ʔala'gʔileʔa'g(-d) 'midwinter' (not \*ʔala'g-(le)ʔa'g(d) L), see gah-ge·, ʔeʔʔ-ʔeʔʔ, xʔa'-, ʔala'g.

3. With ya· 'something, a thing' as o: ya·ʔa'g(-) 'half-way, mid-way, center': with zero final: ya·ʔa'g leseliʔ, ya·ʔa'g ʔi·seliʔ, 'moon is half-full' L, hiča·č ya·ʔa'g leseliʔ 'moon is getting back to half-full (to one side)' L, iʔhičahd ya·ʔa'g 'half-past (from) one (o'clock)' L, deša·qčahd ya·ʔa'g '10:30 o'-

clock' L, with *ʒelaːg* 'winter' used adverbially: *ʒelaːg yaːʔaːg selesaʔyahɪ* 'it became midwinter' ('time passed half-way in winter') 49.115A, with -d final: *xah yaːʔaːgd* 'in midsummer' L, *ʒelaːg yaːʔaːgd* 'in midwinter' L, Rezanov *Разре́з по́полам* getheilt, sur Hälfte' *yaːʔaːgd* 'in the middle, half', *yaːʔaːgd ʔewɔ diːʔah* 'it (board) touches (extends touching at) the middle of it' L, *ʔew yaːʔaːgd yaː siɕ ʔetaʔ* 'give me the one in the middle!' L, with -deɣ final: *yaːʔaːgdeɣ ʔiɪd ʔew seɬahɪnuː* 'they divided it (fabric, food) in half' L, *yaːʔaːgdeɣ ʔiɕ quʔdiːxiah* 'I'll give you half (of my money)' L, *ʒig yaːʔaːgdeɣ yeɣ sekuɣɪ* 'it broke exactly in half, precisely down the middle' L, *yaːʔaːgdeɣ ʔiɪhd ʔew seɬihsɪɪh* 'he ripped it in half (through the middle)' 50.-59A, with -ɕ final: *yaːʔaːgeɕ leseleːk* 'moon is getting towards half-full' L; compounded as *o* of *o-gaʔ* 'like, same as, resembling *o* (in quality, quantity)': *yaːʔaːgagaʔ* (about) half, in half, half-way, mid' M, 10.229, 11.64, 23.111, 112, 28.67, 68A, *yaːʔaːgagaʔ qeɣah* 'half-moon' M, *yaːʔaːgagaʔ o-k-qaʔk* 'S splits O (longitudinally) half-way through', *yaːʔaːgagaʔ ʔawaː siɕ ʔetaʔ* 'give me half of it!' L;

compounded as o of o-da'-d 'near o': ya'ʔa'g-  
da'd ledada'ɔ'g (or -da'ɔ'g) 'it is decorated  
at the middle' (name of BSdL Basket Pattern 4.)  
L; with cl-thematic 'ground': ya'cele'ʔa'gd se-  
dah̄ 'sits on the ground in the middle, at  
mid-ground' 30.3, 5L; in compound with form of  
partly uncertain analysis: ya'ʔa'geseda'leya'  
'middle finger', see under ya'ʔ-aya'.

ʔa·e<sup>1</sup>

-ʔa·e (element of unknown origin, meaning and morphological classification, occurring only with ʔe-, probably reduced form of ʔa- 'back end') in ʔeʔa·e (noun, 1-class, especially in elicitations, but in text frequently unclassified) 'basket' M, 18.5, 34.103, 66.6, 7L, Galushia Nelson tʃa'aq 'basket' BSdL 546, ʔow ʔeʔa·eyu·wex ʔi·ʔiʃh 'she (cust) makes those baskets' 10.168A, Galushia Nelson la'mat'wat'Detʃa'aq or la'matwatDtʃa'aq 'berry basket' BSdL 546 laʔmahd-wahd ʔeʔa·e ('basket for berries') L, ʔeʔa·e=ʔa·ʔnuw 'big basket' L, ʔeʔa·e siʃ li·taʔ (or -ʔaʔ, latter perhaps preferred) 'give me a basket!' L, ʔeʔa·e ʔu·d ʔi·setahʔ (or -ʔahʔ, latter perhaps preferred) 'a basket is there' L, ʔeʔa·e ʔiʃaʔ li·ʔa·ʔʃg 'straighten your basket out (it's crooked, lopsided)!' L, ʔeʔa·e ʔi·səeʃgʔ 'basket is flared out, bent out of shape, lopsided' L, ʔeʔa·eʔqehʔd 'bottom of basket' M; kihʃtgaʔ ʔi·təh ʔeʔa·e 'bucket with holes in bottom (for draining)' ('basket which is like a dipnet') L.

ʔa·e<sup>2</sup> (conceivably ʔa-e with thematic e-negative)

o-č d-ʔa·e (with o-č 'to o' and d-thematic 'oral,  
 noise', all other proposed themes rejected by L)  
 'S is, becomes tired of o (food)': diK ʔuč quʔ=  
 di·xʔa·ee 'I won't get tired of it (food)' L,  
 ʔuč desexʔa·e† 'I'm getting tired of it (food)'  
 L, ʔuč disiʔa·e† 'I am, got tired of it (food)'  
 L.

ʔq·s (conceivably ʔq-s with thematic s-negative, cf. ʔa·s<sup>2</sup>, ʔq·s, ʔq', ʔe-ʔq)

sl-de-ʔq·s (with sl-thematic 'passage of time')

'S is, becomes weak, feeble (with old age, disease)': quʔselexdeʔq·s 'I'll get old and feeble' L, ʔq·xndiʔq·sɛ 'I got weak, feeble with age' L, siya· ʔq·sdiʔq·sɛ 'it (part of me) got weak, paralyzed (e.g. arm with struck funnybone)' L, siuhd siya· ʔelisdidiʔq·sɛ 'my knees got weak' L, siuhd siya· ʔelasedeʔq·sɛ 'my knees are getting weak' IM, ʔelasedeʔq·sɛ 'I'm getting old and feeble' L, neuter perfective: ʔq·=diʔq·sɛ 'he's real weak (from old age or sickness)' L. Transitive (causative): xueq·sekʔq·sɛ 'it (medicine) made me weak' L.

ʔus (perhaps reduced form of ʔuʔe)

-ʔus-ɪ (noun, 1-class, with -ɪ-instrumental, and/or perhaps deverbalization of unattested verb-theme)

1. 'heart': ʔewʔusɪ 10.9A, ʔuʔusɪ 'its heart' 10.8, 9, 11.168, 168, 168A, Rezanov *Сыма* 'Сердце Herz', siʔusɪ 'my heart' M, kuʔusɪ 'a heart' LMA, kuʔusɪ siʔ li·ʔaʔ 'give me a heart!' L, kuʔusɪ ʔu·d lesəʔahɪ 'a heart's there' L, kuʔusɪʔa·ʔnuw 'big heart' L, siʔusɪ siʔq·ʕ laʔya·g 'my heart is palpitating, beating fast' L, siʔusɪ lah ʔɪ·sdiʔyahɪ 'my heart beat fast' L, ʔaʔd siʔusɪ ʔidaseliɪ, ʔaʔd siʔusɪʔa·naʔɪ ʔidaseliɪ 'it touched my heart (touched me deeply)' L, ʔəl siʔusɪ ʔiʔ quʔ=li·xʔah, ʔidaʔilah qeʔxleh 'I'd give you this heart of mine, I love you so' L, siʔusɪlayeʔe-ʕahɪ ʔilah qeʔxleh 'I love you with all (from the inside of) my heart' L; kuʔusɪʔa·ʕed 'white part near heart of animal' ('thymus' or 'fatty tissue'?) A.

2. kuʔusɪ 'hearts' (suit at cards) L.

?u?e (perhaps related to ?uc)

?ed-?e-?u?e (reflexive of 0-?e-?u?e, perhaps basic transitive rather than causative below)  
 'S rests (self)'; frequently with expanded stem:  
 ?ede?e?u?e 'take a rest!' M, ?eda-?e?u?e 'take a rest!, take repeated rests!' L, de?elga?kih  
 ?eda-?e?u?e 'take a short little rest like this!' L,  
 ?edte?e?u?e 'take a rest!, take a single rest!' L, Rezanov <sup>А</sup>Отдохну́ть 'Отдохнуть ausruhen'  
 ?edqu?x?e?u?e 'I'll take a rest' IM, sidexah  
 ?edqu?e?u?e 'I'll make you rest' ('you'll rest by my command') M,  
 ?edxst?i?u?e? 'I rested' M, with y-anatomical: ?edy?e?u?e  
 'rest your hand!' L. Transitive (causative, or perhaps basic form, authenticity uncertain, not verified):  
 ?e?u?e 'make it rest!' L. Form from Rezanov, not completely identifiable:  
<sup>А</sup>Отдохну́ть 'Отдохни ausruhen (Imperat.)'  
 ...?e?u...e.

d-(?i-)?e-?u?e (with d-thematic 'oral, noise', and inexplicable morphophonemic -?i- usually occurring in most mode-aspects, cf. ?i-d-(?-)-?e-?a',  
 sd-?(i)-de-?a', d-?e-sa?; stem frequently expanded) l. 'S breathes': di?e?u?e M, da-?e?u?e,  
 d?e?u?e, di?e?e?u?e 'breathe!' L,

diʔeʔu·eɟh M, deʔeʔu·eɟh, diʔeʔuʔeɟh 'he's  
 breathing' L, diʔ diʔeʔu·eɟh 'he's not  
 breathing' L, ʔidehdah deʔeʔu·e 'it's pant-  
 ing, really breathing hard' M, ɕeʔ diʔceʔeʔuʔeɟ  
 'he's starting to breathe again' L, with lahɟ  
 'forward': lahɟ diʔceʔeʔuʔe 'exhale!' L, with  
 qaʔ 'up out': qaʔ diʔsɛiʔuʔeɟ 'he just took  
 a breath (once)' L, deqa· qɕ·ɕ diʔeʔu·e  
 'take a deep breath now and then!' L, repetitive:  
 ɣeliʔɕahd qɕ·ɕ diʔeʔuʔeɟh 'he keeps sighing'  
 ('he keeps taking a (single) breath repeatedly  
 up out from way back from front of area') L; in-  
 direct reflexive: with liʔ-ɣ '(movement) from  
 closed back end toward open front of o (own  
 cavity)': liʔɣ diʔceʔeʔu·e 'take a deep breath!'  
 L, with ɕaʔ 'toward self': ɕaʔ diʔceʔeʔuʔe  
 'take a deep breath!' L.

2. 'S is, remains alive, lives': sahɟ quʔ-  
 diʔxʔeʔuʔe 'I'll live a long time' L, diʔ sahɟ  
 quʔdiʔxʔeʔu·eɟ 'I won't live long' L, sahɟ  
 diʔsɛiʔuʔeɟh 'he lived a long time' L, diʔ  
 sahɟ diʔsɛiʔuʔeɟh 'he didn't live long' L,  
 ʔeleʔgahɟ sahɟ diʔceʔeʔuʔe 'would that you  
 live long' L.

-d-ʔu·e (noun, unclassified, perhaps also ɣd--  
 class) 'breath, life-breath': Galushia Nelson

estú'ʒq 'breath' BSdL 541 kudeʔu·s, seiʔihd  
ya· sideʔu·s qəl dexi· 'my last life-breath  
this is already' L, 20.22A, diʔweʒ sideʔu·s  
ku·ieh 'I'm still alive and breathing' ('my  
breath still exists') L, sideʔu·saxah silih,  
xuku·seguʔkɪ da·ʒ 'he knocked the wind out of  
me, when he punched me in the belly' L, ʔudeʔu·s  
ʔewā· ʔi·sdiʔahɪ 'she expired' ('her life-breath  
was spent') 61.110A, ʔudeʔu·s ʔewa· quʔledəʔah  
'she's going to expire' 61.103A, ʔideʔu·s liʔ  
ʒedi·ʒahd 'take a deep breath!' ('draw your breath  
in)' L (-d-ʔu·s here perhaps ʒd-class, see ʒd-  
ʒahd 2.).

ʔayes-ʔuyes (ʔeyes much more frequent than ʔuyes;  
perhaps to be segmented ʔe--ʔu-yes, cf. sayes)

ʔayes-ʔuyes (independent personal pronoun) 'they,  
them (third person plural)': ʔayes wəʒ qaʔli-  
hinu 'they'll do it' M, c'id ʔeyes 'only  
they' M, ʔadlaʒahd ʔaw ʔeyes q̄hnu ʔaw qaʔ  
laʔdiʒaʔi 'they thought it was they themselves  
who pulled it out' 50.31A, q̄e-dah iʔq̄ ʔayes  
ʔahnu q̄e-lah adiqehhinu 'they all boated  
right back home' 57.31G, ʔeyes wəʒ ʔi-lihʔaʔ-  
teh da-x 'whenever they feel like it' 68.48A,  
ʔuyesdug, ʔeyesdag, ʔuyesdag 'they too' L,  
ʔawlehd q̄hnu ʔeyesdig qa-xaʔ kuseiyahi  
'that's why they too (in their turn) bother us'  
25.22A, ʔeyesdag 'they too?' L (L uncertain,  
perhaps incorrect), ʔeyes ʔawa 'they however,  
as for them, they on the other hand' 25.37, 68.=  
111, 119A, with da- 'ipse': daʔeyes wəʒ  
qaʔlihinu 'they'll do it themselves' LM,  
ʔaxəyu ʔawa daʔeyes ʔidah ʔaw yəʔ sə-  
kahinu 'as for the boats, they themselves  
beached them properly' 59.2 Galushia Nelson,  
ləseʔeyes 'they all alone by themselves' LM,  
c'id ləseʔeyes 'just they all alone by them-  
selves' L, in apposition with pronominal o of

postpositional phrase: ?ayes ?uʒa? ?awa wəʒ  
?ew yilʒhinu 'for them however it is thus'  
68.95A, da?uyes ?uya? ʒawa 'their own dog'  
L, more frequently (unlike other independent personal pronouns) as o of postposition, but with irregular connective -e- probably representing earlier ?u-: ?uyesaya? ?awa 'theirs however'  
10.80A, da?ayesaya? cɨ?dale 'their own language' 68.81A, da?ayesedi?qđ 'in their own language' 68.78A, da?ayesega? kuxah 'they eat in their own style (like themselves)' 25.34, 34A.

ʔaʔd<sup>1</sup> (L first ʔa·d, later rejected for ʔaʔd,  
 though forms with ʔa·d perhaps acceptable as ex-  
 panded stem; perhaps to be identified with ʔaʔd<sup>2</sup>,  
 basic meaning 'outdoor exposure')

-ʔaʔd 'S is, becomes sunburned, suntanned': si-  
 ʔa·dɪ̄ (changed to siʔaʔdɪ̄) 'I got sunburned'  
 L, with anatomical marks: ʔɪ̄·siʔa·dɪ̄ (changed  
 to ʔɪ̄·siʔaʔdɪ̄), li siʔaʔdɪ̄ 'my face got sun-  
 burned' L, yeɛexʔa·dɪ̄ (changed to yeɛexʔaʔdɪ̄)  
 'my arms are getting sunburned' L, quʔgedi·ʔa·d  
 (changed to quʔgedi·ʔaʔd) 'his rump will get  
 sunburned' L. All forms proposed with ɪ̄- or  
 ɪ̄e-classifier rejected by L.

ʔaʔq<sup>2</sup> (perhaps to be identified with ʔaʔq<sup>1</sup>)

ʔaʔq (preverb, attested with zero and -e finals)

'out, outside' 1. (motion from inside of dwelling out, usually through door) with zero final: with theme -a 'sg. S goes': 4.16M, 7.29, 10.191, 191, 192, 11.15, 19, 23.35, 39, 40, 76, 77, 105, 121, 25.125, 28.18, 27, 52, 54A, 43.16M, 50.37A, 55.4L, frequent also in paradigmatic elicitation with -a, causative: 2a.34fnM, 65.52A, with -ʔaʔe 'pl. S go': 2a.31M, 23.126, 128, 132, 25.18A, ʔaʔq daʔ qaʔaʔe 'we'll go out' M, ʔaʔq daʔ ʔaʔe 'we went out' M, with ʔdl-ʔya 'sg. S runs' 19.27, 48.13L, frequent also in paradigmatic elicitation with ʔdl-ʔya, with ʔed-dl-ke-ʔe 'S sneaks': 9.66, 67A, 55.5L, see further 0-dl-ʔ-ʔe 1. (reflexive), with 0-l-ʔ-ʔa 'S pillages 0': 9.124, 132, 133, 11.11, 12, 13A, with various other themes in text: 9.46, 47, 78, 167, 49.119, 119, 120, 130, 51.10A, see further 0-g-ʔ-da, 0-ʔ-dəʔ, 0-ʔaʔK, 0-(ʔ-)guʔK, ʔe-ʔeʔs, 0-lət (reflexive), ʔi-d-ʔa 3., ʔi-d-(ʔ-)ʔ-ʔa', ʔaʔq xuseʔtaʔKʔiʔh 'he kicked me out of the house' L, ʔaʔq ʔaʔeʔweʔe 'entice him out!' L, in combination with ʔeʔʔ 'out of (but not far from) dwelling' (often, to urinate, defecate): ʔeʔʔ ʔaʔq saʔiʔh 'he went out' L,

ʒeʔʒ ʔaʔq quʔxah 'I'll go out' L, with qeʔ-qeʔ-  
 'back, again, some more': qeʔʔaʔq 55.5L, qeʔ  
 ʔaʔq 7.29A, ʔaʔq qeʔ 11.15A, 55.4L, ʔaʔq  
 ʔeʔʔəh qeʔ sdiyahʔ 'she probably went out  
 and back home' 23.105A, ʔaʔq qeʔ frequent also  
 in paradigmatic elicitation of ʒdl-ʔya, -a;  
 with -ʔ final, ʔaʔqeʔ '(continuous or repeated  
 motion) out of dwelling': ʔaʔqeʔ ʒəlaʔsəxyaʔ  
 'I'm running out' M, ʔaʔqeʔ ʒəlaʔsaʔyaʔiʔh  
 'he's running out' M, ʔaʔqeʔ daʔ seʔaʔʔiʔ  
 'we(re) going out' M, ʔaʔqeʔ saʔiʔh 'he's go-  
 ing out' LM, and further elicitations of -a,  
 ʔaʔqeʔ ʔiqeʔxʔah 'I'll walk you out, make you  
 go out' M, ʔaʔqeʔ ʔiʔiʔʔiʔh 'walk him out!' M,  
 with qeʔ-qeʔ-: ʔaʔqeʔ qeʔ sədaʔiʔh 'he's  
 going out again' M, with yeʔ progressive:  
 ʔaʔqeʔ yeʔ xdaʔʒ 'I keep going out (and back  
 in)' M, with ʒeʔʒ: ʒeʔʒ ʔaʔqeʔ saʔiʔh 'he's  
 going out (but not far)' L.

2. '(at rest) outside' (with zero final  
 only, relatively rare, perhaps often misused for  
 ʒaʔʔd): ʔaʔq diʔidehʔ 'a light is shining out-  
 side' L, ʔaʔq šiqaʔʔiʔ 'S (already outside)  
 hollered outside' 41.11L, ʔaʔq daʔ guʔʔeʔaʔʔiʔ  
 'we (cust) stand outside' 51.9A, ʔaʔq qiʔ yeʔ  
 ʔiʔiʔahdaʔʒ 'at where it's sunshiny outside'

65.52A.

3. Miscellaneous instances, in reference to motion clearly not through door, or not out of a dwelling, perhaps all incorrect:  $\text{q}e\text{'a}^?q$   $\text{s}e\text{t}e\text{h}\text{h}$  'pulled him back out (through the ice)' 16.6M,  $\text{'a}^?q$   $\text{se}\text{h}\text{a}\text{h}\text{h}$  'let them loose' 2a.34M (sun and moon, through smokehole?),  $\text{'a}^?q$   $\text{y}e\text{sa}^?y\text{a}\text{h}\text{h}$  'they flew out' L.

ʔəɣ ( *perhaps reduced to ʔɣ = ʔəhʔəyaʔdaʔɣ and ʔəhʔəɣk.ɣ* )

ʔəɣ (noun) 1. (unclassified) '(hand-powered)  
boat (generic)' L, 'boat, skiff' M, 7.14, 15,  
19, 25.23, 40, 50, 51, 53, 54, 177, 33.31, 33A,  
38.17LM, 68.35A, Wrangell AXB 'Boat', Puruh-  
jelm Ahh 'cance', Galushia Nelson 'əɣ 'large  
cance (for war)' BSdL 550, 'əɣəyaʔ(-) 'in boat  
(o with broad opening at top)' 21b.69, 37b.5, 22,  
23, 49.142A, 'əɣəyu' 'boats' 25.20A, 59.2, 9  
Galushia Nelson, təɣsgaʔ 'əɣyaʔ 'in boats  
(made of something) like cottonwood' 68.2A,  
'əɣʔətuʔ 'lots of boats' L, kuʔaʔw 'əɣ 'long  
boat' L, 'əɣəyaʔʕ səhʔih 'he got into the boat'  
L, 'əɣəyaʔ qaʔ xuseɪʔahd 'pull me out (of  
water) into the boat!' L, duʔyaʔ 'əɣdeʔew 'whose  
boats are those?' L, dəɣədaʔyaʔ 'əɣ 'old skiff'  
L; 'əɣʔəkih 'small boat, toy boat, model boat'  
(not the same as 'əɣəkih) LM (regular diminutive,  
cf. 'əɣəkih below).

2. (d-class) 'large fuel-powered boat': də-  
ɣaʔgdaʔx 'əɣ 'steamboat ('boat with fire') LM,  
58.1L, dəɣaʔgdaʔx 'əɣdeyaʔʕ ɣeʔ sdiʔyahʔih  
'he went back on board the steamer' 58.7L; də-  
ɣaʔgdəwaʔɪx 'əɣ 'steamboat' ('boat (the move-  
ments of which can be followed?) by attention to

X

(evidence of) fire') L.

ʔəɣyaʔɣ Eyak man's name ('(movement with) in boat') LM.

ʔəɣəkɪh (noun, unclassified, ʔəɣ with diminutive, juncture lost; see also Chugach Eskimo; Rezanov АСКННКА 'Байдары', Birket-Smith ARAQVik 'dug-out', probably borrowed from Eyak) '(standard Eyak) dugout canoe' (not the same as ʔəɣʔəkɪh) LMS (same as Yakutat Tlingit ɕiyaš (< Athapaskan \*k<sup>M</sup>ey-(y)ax<sup>M</sup>) S), 25.6, 50, 28.5, 33.42, 72, 37b.6A, 38.15, 16, 17, 18, 19LM, 43.29M, 47a.3L, 47b.11, 20, 34M, 47c.9, 24, 52.36L, 63.2, 5, 5, 5, 64.2G, 68.23, 31A, 71.1, 11LM, Galushia Nelson ɕɣákɪ, Old Man Dude ɕɣákɪ 'small canoe (for hunting)' BSDL 550, Galushia Nelson aɣa'ki 'canoe' BSDL 558, əv'lu<sup>M</sup>. ɣaki 'big canoe' BSDL 553 kuʔluw ʔəɣəkɪh, kuʔa'w ʔəɣəkɪh 'long canoe' L, ʔəɣəkɪhyaʔ(-) 'in canoe (o with broad opening at top)' 12.17G, 25.2, 9, 157, 50.66A, 63.42G, ʔəɣəkɪhyu' 'canoe etc.' 47c.31L, ʔəɣəkɪh xsaɬs 'I'm making (hewing) a canoe' M, ʔəɣəkɪhwah ya' 'the makings of a canoe' L, ʔəɣəkɪhkih 'little canoe, model canoe' L, ʔəɣəkɪhyequhyu' 'model dugout canoes' L, ʔəɣəkɪh qiʔ ɣeta's daya'ʔ place name, Canoe

Passage in Hawkins Island, Prince William Sound  
( 'place where canoes are carried across area' ) L.

7e.7, see 7e.1.

ʔuʔɣ (perhaps related to duʔɣ, conceivably to be analyzed ʔuʔ-ɣ with -ɣ final; cf. Navaho -ʔɣh 'to fall short of' < \*-ʔuʔɣ or \*-ʔuɣ, Chipewyan -ʔɣ (pp) 'short of' < \*-ʔunʔ(ɣ), conceivably also related to semitransitive prefix, o-ɣ 'in contact with o', o-ʔuʔ-ɣ 'short of contact with o')

o-ʔuʔɣ (postposition, with zero final only, comparative, cf. o-gaʔ, o-leɣ) 'short of, less than, more (small, short) than, too small for o':  
 ʔiʔuʔɣ ʔidiyɣhɣh 'he's smaller than you' 9.44A,  
 siqi-daʔuʔɣ ʔidiyah 'they're too small for my feet' L, siyeʔuʔɣ tɣ-diyah 'they (gloves) are too small for my hands' L, silaʔuʔɣ ʔɣ-diyah 'it (hat) is too small for my head' L, ʔilaʔuʔɣ laʔedaʔɣ 'it (hat) is getting too small for your head (for over you)' L, silaʔuʔɣ ʔidiyah 'it's too small for my head' L, ʔiʔuʔɣ siyah daʔ=lixikɣah 'I have less food than you' L, with comparative adjectival verbs: ʔawʔuʔɣ ʔi-ɣidiK 'it's shorter than that, too short' L, ʔawʔuʔɣ li-ɣidiK 'it (oar) is shorter than that' L, ʔel ʔawʔuʔɣ ʔi-ɣidiK 'this is shorter than that' L, Resanov Ayyxexskyuka Mamekkoš klein' ʔawʔuʔɣ ʔi-ɣkuɣg..., ʔawʔuʔɣ ʔi-ɣkuɣg 'it's smaller than that' L, ʔiʔuʔɣ ʔixikkuɣg 'I'm smaller than you' L, ʔiɣʔuʔɣ ʔiɣikkuɣg 'one is smaller

than the other' L, with verbs of motion: ?u?u?x  
?edsdile:ih 'he jumped short (of it)' L, qa=  
?u?x sah:ih 'he didn't reach (come as far as)  
us' L, si?u?x qu?yiyah 'you won't reach me'  
L, with -kih 'diminutive': ?aw?u?xkih ?idiyah  
ih?diyahs 'that lesser little mouse' 37b.26A,  
with ?ida?ya=- 'the right amount' as o, ?ida?=  
ya?u?x 'too little, insufficiently': ?ida?=  
ya?u?x ?iica? 'it's too shallow' L, ?ida?=  
ya?u?x ?idiyih 'she's too small' 9.25A.

ʔade (analysis uncertain, perhaps ʔad- reflexive, or ʔa- exclamatory and da- 'ipse', or perhaps reduced ʔaʔd)

ʔade- (prefix to nouns) 'real, genuine, basic, par excellence': ʔadeʃaʔʔ 'blueberry species' L (ʃaʔʔ 'blueberry'), ʔadelis 'spruce' L (lis 'tree, spruce'), ʔadeʃeʃi·q 'mallard' L (ʃeʃi·q 'duck'), ʔadegiyah 'fresh (not salt-) water' (giyah 'water'), ʔadesenuh 'mallard'? L (enuh 'waterfowl'), ʔedateʔyaʔ 'silver salmon' L, 21a.L, BSdL 540 (teʔyaʔ 'fish, salmon'), ʔadeʔʃh 'mainland' L, 14.3L (ʔʃh 'land'); cf. ʔaʔd deʔyhyu· 'truly pleple, real, genuine (not fake) people' L.

ʔədəx (analysis uncertain, <sup>consequently</sup> perhaps ʔəd- 'reflexive  
 with postpositional -x, <sup>but -ou idly, ʔə-dəx, see dəx)</sup> or perhaps back-formation  
 from ku-dəx, especially ~~di-ku-dəx~~ 'nohow, can-  
 not', → ~~dik-ʔədəx~~)

ʔədəx (adverb) 'however, though' 2a.23M, 24.97,  
 61.31A, 62.22G, frequently following ʔawa 'of  
 them, (contrastively) on the other hand' 7.23,  
 23.4, 139, 24.27, 96, 25.34, 38, 28.78fn, 49.2,  
 4, 8, 15, 38, 50.4, 61.84A, frequently preceding  
 negative adverb: 1b.20M, 7.23, 23.4, 25.63A, 34.8,  
 12, 56M, 49.2, 8, 15, 61.84A, 62.7G; dik ʔədəx  
 'not however' (< dikdəx 'nohow, cannot' ?) 2a.-  
 17a, 37M, 28.78fn, 68.76A; identification and  
meaning uncertain: 59.2fn, 12fn Galushia Nelson;  
 Ke-d ʔədəx ʔu-d yileh 'what are you doing there  
 then (in that case, since you claim there's little  
 of interest there)?' 15.10M; ✓.

ʔadewiʔi (loan from Tlingit ʔadawáλ 'difficulty, trouble'; <sup>war, excitement</sup> ʔa-d-wáλ 'hurried')

ʔadewiʔi (noun, unclassified, but syntactically irregular, often in preverbal position) 'war, battle, raid, marauding, rampage, frenzy, turmoil, excitement, bustle, hurry' LMA, 34.126L, 50.43A, Galushia Nelson á'túwit̚ or étúit̚ 'war' BSdL 552, a'túwit̚ wit Da qu'tiɣa·t̚i (or etúwit̚ etc.) 'war bow' BSdL 549 ʔadewiʔi-wahd quʔiɣa·d̚i, ʔadewiʔi-wahd 'in order to maraud' 11.28A, as S of ʔi-d-le 'S (event) occurs': ta·ʔ ʔadewiʔi ʔideleh 'long ago there was a war' 34.1M, ʔadewiʔi ʔiqeʔdi·leh 'there'll be a war' L, as O of transitive of same theme: ʔadewiʔi da· ʔiqeʔdi·t̚ih 'we'll go marauding' 11.9A, ʔahnu· ʔadewiʔi ʔideiɣhinu· 'those marauders' 11.22A, in preverbal position, following other preverb: ɣp·ʔ ʔadewiʔi ʔidesehi̚ 'they finished the battle' 28.111A, with postpositional phrases, usually (always, where o is not pronoun) in preverbal position following postpositional phrase, or to be construed as head of constituent with postpositional phrase as attribute: frequently with o-ɣ 'with o' and o-ɣaʔ 'in relation with o', here used irregularly and

ambiguously, o-ŋ '(excited) over o, (war, raid)  
 against, along with o', o-ŋa? '(excited) at,  
 over o, (war) against, over o', often difficult  
 to interpret: ?awŋ ?adewi?i ?idexliŋ 'I'm  
 excited about it' L, ?uŋ ?adewi?i ?iqe?di-  
 liŋinu· 'they'll wage war with them' 7.18, 20A,  
 o-ŋ ?adewi?i ?idaŋliŋ 'excited over o' 8.15A,  
 ?adewi?i ?uŋ ?idaŋliŋinu· 'they went marauding  
 with him' 11.8A, ?ahnu·ŋ ?adewi?i ?idaŋliŋ 'he  
 went on a raid with them' 11.11A, ?ahnu· ?uŋ  
 ?idaŋliŋinu· 'those with whom he was warring'  
 11.18A, ?adu·yu·ŋ ?adewi?i ?e? ?idelelehsinu·  
 'they couldn't wage war with anybody anymore' 28-  
 141A, de?weŋ ?ahŋa? ?awŋ ?adewi?i ?idaŋliŋ  
 'she was still in a frenzy at him over it' 8.15A,  
 ?ahnu·ŋa? ?adewi?i ?idaŋliŋ 'he went on a raid  
 against them' 11.11A, ?adewi?i ?awŋa? ?idese-  
 liŋ 'waged war over it' 28.104, 104A, li·di-  
 yahstahti·leŋa? ?adewi?i ?idaŋliŋ 'waged war  
 over a rat-skin' 28.136A, de?weŋ ?ahnu· ?awŋa?  
 ?adewi?i ?idaŋliŋ 'they were bustling about over  
 them' 37b.27A, with o-lah 'around, concerning  
 o': ?adewi?i ?ewliŋ ?idaŋliŋinu· 'they're in a  
 hubbub over it' 37b.11A, ?aw li·diyahlah  
 ?adewi?i ?idaŋliŋinu·?a?ŋ 'preoccupied in their

excitement over the rat' 37b.29A, with o-xa-d  
 'on account of': i-p-diyahstahti-lexa-d 'adewi?i  
 'idehiihinu' 'they waged war over a mouse-skin'  
 L, with o-d, with o as intermediate object of  
 causative construction: d'ih-welahyu-d 'adewi?i  
 'idehiihinu' 'waged war against the alder-people'  
 34.126L ('made the alder-people wage war, get ex-  
 cited' ?, perhaps incorrect), in other construc-  
 tions: as C in 'ahnu' ?ulu?qa' 'adewi?i ?edu-  
 ?i-iixihinu' qe?i-cayu'qa? 'amongst those women  
 you've got yourself so excited to have' 10.190A,  
 as S: 'adewi?i xp-? sa?yahh 'there was a war'  
 L, 'adewi?i xp-?c sa?ya-i 'war is coming' L,  
 as o of o-ga? ?i-lih-te'--tu' 'S is, gets in  
 state of mind like o': 'adewi?iga? ?i-lih?a?te'  
 'get a move on!, hurry up!' L, ?iic'i?adug diX  
 dexu?h 'adewi?iga? ?i-lihtuhs 'my that guy sure  
 isn't in any hurry!' L, 'adewi?i ?ixleh (prob-  
 ably to be corrected to 'adewi?iga?) 'I'm in a  
 hurry' L.

ʔeɪbah (loan from Chugach Eskimo eipa 'murre', not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)

ʔeɪbah (noun, unclassified) 'scoter, eider' M, 'gray and white sea bird' L, Galushia Nelson íɪBá 'eider duck' BSdL 539, perhaps more correctly 'common murre (Uria aalge)'.

ʔəʒih (unanalyzable, perhaps segmentable ʔə-ʒih or ʔəʒ-ih, cf. especially ʔəni-ʒih, əə-ʒih, perhaps loan from Eskimo, Yupik aci 'down below, underneath', see 39.3-5 where it is evident that yidigut, also a bogeyman for scaring children, with a name of Eskimo origin, is an underground being)

ʔəʒih (noun, unclassified) 'ghost, demon, bogeyman, ghoul, goblin' (for scaring children only)  
 L, ʔəʒih ʔə·daʔ quʔwah 'bogeyman will come here' L, ʔəʒih liʔ ʔiqeʔlaʔni·q 'bogeyman will swallow you' L, ʔəʒihdahd ʔuʔditah 'the sound of the bogeyman is heard, ʔəʒih is making noise'  
 L.



2b. With de- 'ipse', 'every which way, all  
over the place, indiscriminately': de'ešdih yeḥ  
ʔilaxutʔ 'he's shooting around all over the place'  
L, de'ešdih yeḥ yeləxu'e 'the wind is blowing  
every which way' LM, de'ešdih yeḥ quʔyeləxu'e  
'the wind will blow every which way' M.

ʔəbeh (widely diffused form, of unknown origin, Minto

ʔəba 'pain, sick, ouch!', Yakutat Tlingit ʔəbe

'ouch!' Sampson Harry) <sup>1878 known to W. Schlegel</sup>

ʔəbeh (exclamation) 'ouch!, hot!, danger!, watch  
out!' expression of urgent warning especially  
to children to avoid hot or dangerous things,  
and also expression, perhaps childish, of pain,  
especially on getting burned LA.

?aba (perhaps widely diffused form, perhaps loan from Ahtena) *not known to W. Isakoff*

?aba (exclamation) 'boo!, peekaboo!', said to children as speaker uncovers his (own) eyes L ("Taral [Chitina Ahtena] people use that word, maybe Eyaks too" A).

?ewa'des (loan from Chugach Eskimo awaataq 'sealing bladder-float', not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)

?ewa'des (noun, unclassified) 'buoy, float, originally made of inflated seal stomach' LA, 'floats, cords of gillnet' L, ?ewa'desluw 'big buoy' LM.

ʔawa·lee (loan from Chugach Eskimo əysaleq 'window',  
not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)

ʔawa·lee (noun, unclassified) 'window' LA, Rezanov  
Mraznik 'Okozko Fenster', Old Man Dude əvalaq  
'window' BSdL 545, ʔawa·leeluw 'big window' LM;  
ʔawa·leteʔd quʔwaʔi ʔawa·leeʔeʔɣ quʔwaʔi 'win=  
dow-curtains' ('curtains (at rest, moving) in win=  
dow-place')' L.

ʔəwa·yət (loan from Chugach Eskimo ayaayuuq / ayaiyuq  
 'cormorant', not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry;  
 Rezanov 'Урмъ Cormoran (Phalacrocorax bicristata)'  
 Unalaska Агакъ , Kodiak АРАНОКъ , Chugach Агакъ ,  
 Kenai Ёккъ , Tlingit Dky yde, Eyak АННъ not  
 identifiable)

ʔəwa·yət (noun, unclassified) 'shag, cormorant' L,  
 Galushia Nelson áwáiyáq or áwá·iyáq 'cormorant  
 (shag)', probably 'pelagic cormorant (Phalacrocorax  
 pelagicus)', perhaps also 'double crested cormo-  
 rant (Phalacrocorax auritus)'.

ʔemi·n (loan from Russian *молитва*, probably through Chugach Eskimo, not used by Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)

ʔemi·n (noun, unclassified) 'prayer, act of prayer, paternoster' M, ʔemi·n *seieʔ* 'pray!' L, ʔemi·n *quʔxieʔ* 'I'll pray' M, ʔemi·n *siieʔi* 'I prayed' L; ʔemi·nyaʔ *sq·diʔiʔg* '(barn?) swallow, church-swallow' (blue, with white belly that turns light orange in fall, 'prayer's bird', so called because they build their nests in church) L, 61.20A, ʔemi·nyaʔ *sq·diʔiʔgyequh(yu·)* 'little church-swallow(s)' 51.54, 61.26A (same bird as *kʔ·daʔʕ gahyaʔ sq·diʔiʔgyequhyu·*), ʔemi·nyaʔ *senuh* 'kind of sparrow' M ('prayer-ducks', perhaps same bird as preceding).

ʔamble·l (loan from English 'umbrella')

ʔamble·l (noun, probably unclassified), occurring only in ʕiyaʔʕayaʔ ʔamble·l 'mushroom, toadstool' ('frog's umbrella') L (probably partial calque on English 'toadstool', see ʕiyaʔʕe, ʕiyahd).

ʔələɣ (perhaps to be segmented ʔe-leɣ as singular active imperative of defective verb, or ʔəl-ɣ, cf. especially ʔələŋgahɣ, ʔələkʰah under ʔəl; L rejects proposed \*sələɣuh, \*ʔələɣləɣ, \*ʔewəɣ)

\*  
 ʔ. ɣ. ɣ. (ɣ.)

ʔələɣ (exclamation, or perhaps active imperative of defective verb, used as imperative with appropriate suffixes, but otherwise invariable, and used utterance-initially) 'give me it!, gimme!, give it here!, hand it over!' LM (used in speaking to pl. as well as sg. L), Rezanov АЛЯХО 'Отдаŋ zurückgeben (Imperat.)' ʔələɣuh 'give me that!' LM, neh ʔələɣuh 'okay hand it over!' L, ɕeleʔ ʔələɣuh 'now then give me that!' L, ʔələɣih 'give, hand him (baby) to me!' L, ʔələɣuh, ʔew tʰikʰi da·ɣ quʔikʰa·dʰi siɣaʔ 'give them here, my arrows and bow!' 27a.3L, ʔələɣ, ʔew tʰikʰi siɣaʔ, siʈ ʔəiaʔ 'give them here, my bow-and-arrow, give them to me!' 27b.3A, ʔələɣuh ɕəma· 'give me roe!' 40.4L.

ʔenikēh-ʔenekēh-ʔenikih-ʔenekih (unanalyzable, originally segmentable, ʔe-nik---nek-eh--ih, ʔe-ni---ne-kēh--kih, ʔeni--ʔene-kēh--kih, ʔeni--ʔene-k-eh--ih, ʔe-ni---ne--k-eh--ih, or ʔenik--ʔenek-eh--ih, cf. ʔeneʔah under ʔah<sup>2</sup>, ʔenekih, ʔeni-ʒih; L rejects proposed \*ʔekih, \*ʔekēh, \*ʔenik, \*ʔenek)

ʔenikēh-ʔenekēh-ʔenikih-ʔenekih (exclamation, also attested as C and adverbialized with -dah) 'scary! danger! beware!, demon, devil, bogeyman, ghoul, goblin': ʔenekēh L, ʔenikēh 'scary!, devil' LS, exclamation for scaring children M, ʔenikih 'devil!' (to scare children), 'dangerous animal!' (warning, not for children only) L, ʔenikih ea-nih 'watch out! a killerwhale!' L, ʔenikēh diyuh ʔeʔaw 'what a frightening, dangerous black-bear!' L, ʔenikih ʔeʔaw, ʔenikēh ʔeʔaw 'that's a dangerous animal! (don't play with it!)' L, ʔenikēh seicʔih 'he's dead (and turned into a ghost, demon)' (warning to children, who were not supposed to touch dead people) L, ʔenikēhdah ʔi-teh 'a large moth' L (uncertain, cf. sesih-kinu-yaʔ ʒawa under ʒawa), ʔenikēhdah ʔedj-ʔitʔih 'he's making ridiculous, scary, funny faces' L.

f. also Rogit (W. Schöff)   
 yamaʒi 'punish him!'   
 o-ya-y-ʒi 'punish'   
 ↙

ʔeni-ʒih (unanalyzable, probably segmentable ʔe-ni-ʒih, ʔeni-ʒih, ʔeni-ʒ-ih, or ʔe-ni-ʒ-ih, cf. especially ʔeʒih, ʔeniKeh-ʔaneKeh-ʔeniKih-ʔaneKih, or perhaps loan from Eskimo, Yupik niici 'pl. hear!, obey!')

ʔeni-ʒih (noun, attested only as C) 'punished, taught a lesson': ʔeni-ʒih səkeʔiʒih 'he learned his lesson (got punished)' L, with C-ʔ-(l-)-ʒa' apparently always in repetitive: ʔeni-ʒih ʔuʔe-li-ʒaʔgʒih 'punish him!' L, ʔeni-ʒih ʔiqeʔli-xi-ʒaʔg 'I'll punish you, teach you a lesson' L, ʔeni-ʒih ʔiʔsiʒaʔgʒi 'I punished you' L, ʔeni-ʒih ʔiʔqeʔdeʒaʔg 'you'll get caught up with, get punished, taught a lesson' L.

ʔela·beɛ (loan from Chugach Eskimo alaapaq 'Negro',  
from Russian апан 'blackamoor', not used in Yakutat  
Tlingit, Sampson Harry)

ʔela·beɛ (noun, unclassified) 'negro' (pejorative?,  
same as tu·čqa·, which is much preferred) L.

\*elu'sesdes (loan from Chugach Eskimo aluusistuaq  
'Christmas', from Russian рождество, not used in Yaku-  
tat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)

\*elu'sesdes (noun, probably unclassified) 'Christ-  
mas' IM (not much used by Eyaks M).

ʔana·šah (unanalyzable, segmentable perhaps ʔana·š-ah,  
 ʔana·-šah, ʔana·-š-ah, ʔe-na·š-ah, ʔe-na·-š-ah,  
 ʔe-na·-šah, cf. especially ʔanaʔah under ʔah<sup>2</sup>,  
 ʔanaššekih, ʔanaših)

ʔana·šah (noun, unclassified) 'flower, blossom' LNA,  
 ʔana·šah qeʔa·šiyah 'flower is  
 pretty, beautiful' L, ʔana·šahluw 'big flower'  
 LM, ʔana·šahkih 'little flower' L, ʔana·šahš-  
 šəʔ 'smelly flower (of Kamchatka lily)' L, ʔəh-  
 li·naʔq ʔana·šah 'various flower species that  
 grow on the ground' ('flower on ground') L, ma·-  
 yaʔdyaʔ ʔana·šah 'water lilies, pond-lilies'  
 ('flowers that belong in a lake')LM (associated  
 with supernatural power, see ma·yaʔyaʔ under  
 ma·-ma·ʔ).

ʔenahšekih (partly unanalyzable, with -kih 'diminutive, affectionate', stem perhaps ʔenahš-, or to be segmented ʔe-nahš-, ʔenah-še-, ʔe-nah-še-, cf. especially ʔana·šah, ʔaneših)

ʔenahšekih 1. (adverb) 'pleasant, enjoyable, desirable': in construction with o-ʔaʔ ʔi-leh--le'- 4f., o-ʔaʔ ʔi·lih-le, o-ʔaʔ ʔi·lih--te'--tu', q.v. under le(?)-li, le-(1)i-ni, and te'-tu' respectively, with ʔenahšekih preceding o-ʔaʔ where o is pronoun, following o-ʔaʔ where o is noun, gerundive, or optative clause 'S likes, wants (comes to like, want) o'.

2. (noun, unclassified) 'fun, pleasure, amusement': as O of transitive (causative) of ʔi-d-le, 'S carries on O (activity)', q.v. under le-(1)i-ni, 'S has a good time, fun', sometimes with sexual connotation; as C of -še(?) 'S is C': ʔenahšekih yišeh ʔešqah 'it's fun to play cards' L, ʔenahšekih yišeh kulah 'it's fun to drink' L, ʔu·dəx ʔaʔd ʔenahšekih sidese-leh siya· qaʔeʔ 'then my spirit will be very content' 20.9A; as o of postpositional phrases: ʔenahšekihyaʔx šeʔaʔšinu· 'they went for a good time' (with sexual connotation) 29.66A, qiʔdəx ʔenahšekihyaʔx da· ʔiʔaʔš da·x 'as soon as

we get going having a good time' 30.9L, 'enah=  
Sekiŋga? 'i-teh 'something nice' 38.7faM (un=  
certain), adverbialized with -dah: 'enahSekiŋ=  
dah səliŋh 'he did something nice, interesting  
(fun to watch)' L.

Handwritten notes in a vertical column, including the word "Goverment" and other illegible characters.

ʔeyewih (unanalyzable, probably loan from Yakutat Tlingit,

see Swanton Tlingit Myths and Texts, 1909, p. 89-91

Aya'xi 'mythical ghoulish chief of Yakutat area')

ʔeyewih (noun, unclassified) 1. 'a scary creature,

ghoul, goblin' L, ʔɪ·da·ʔɔ̄ wəʃ datuh, ʔəyewihgaʔ

ʔɪ·kilah 'grotesque mask' ('it is worn

on the face, having a face like ʔeyewih') L.

2. 'mask' LM, Rezanov Ары 'Ихукка, Иры

Maske', Galushia Nelson áyúvi or áyúvi 'mask'

BSdL 550, ʔeyewihləsəʔkə 'totem-pole' ('grotesque

mask pole') L.

ʔəyuːˈtɪh (unanalyzable, segmentable, perhaps ʔəyuːˈtɪh, ʔə-yuːˈtɪh, ʔəyuːˈtɪh, ʔə-yuːˈtɪh, ʔəyuːˈtɪh, ʔə-yuːˈtɪh, cf. especially Kulaːˈtɪh, with -tɪ- personal, or -tɪ-thematic negative, or perhaps loan from Eskimo, Yupik ayuuqi 'be thus!', <sup>ayuuqi</sup> ~~be that way!~~)

ʔəyuːˈtɪh (noun, unclassified) 'berdache, transvestite, homosexual male' A (not known to L). See BSdL 206, "the name for such a man means 'no good'", but the reference here is probably to ʔad̥ʰaʔlɛ-siyah.

?ukahyekih (unanalyzable, though clearly to be segmented  
 ?u-kah-ye-kih, ?u-kah 'away from it, him', -y-kih  
 'diminutive' with y-anatomical 'hand' (?) or y=  
 thematic, but semantically and morphologically inex-  
 plicable; conceivably < ?ukah ya·kih 'a little some-  
 thing (payment?) away from it, him'; perhaps vaguely  
 related to or influenced by the Tlingit equivalent ?an  
 yádi 'prince, noble' (?an 'town', yádi 'child,  
 small version', cf. Eyak -yequh. L rejects proposed  
 \*sukahyekih, \*?ukahlekih)

?ukahyekih (noun, unclassified) 'noble, prince,  
 big-shot, affluent, rich, powerful person' LA,  
 28.96, 96, 98, 101, 108, 111, 121, 126, 130,  
 133A, 64.66, Galushia Nelson wakaiyaka 'noble'  
 BSdL 543.

*Cycle folk-etymology of  
 and/or Tlingit ?ankw 'little prince', perhaps  
 of Tlingit ?ankw yádi 'little prince's child', influenced  
 by Eyak -kih 'diminutive, affectionate' and/or -yaguh  
 'young, offspring, small version'; note also distorted  
 articulations ?ukahyokwih- 28.121 fn A, ?ukahyokih  
 28.130 fn A, and forms from Great Cackleship Nelson  
 noted below;*

?ukahyokih (L: ?ukwá(?)á'yiki, with a  
 wíth on u and g wíth on i, glossed 'prince',  
 perhaps articulated ?akwá(?)yokih) 64.66,

ʔi·ya·s (loan from Chugach Eskimo iivīaq, form and etymology uncertain, perhaps iiryaraq 'hiding-place', or iyyaraq 'gullet, mouth of river, outlet of lake', both used elsewhere by Eskimo as place-names throughout Alaska, e.g. Eegyak, Igiak, Igiayarok)

ʔi·ya·s place-name, location of Eyak Village at Mile 6, 68.23, 47, 53, 59A (frequently attested in Eskimo form: Petroff 1880 Census Ikhiak, Jacobsen 1884 Iggiak, Abercrombie reports Eyack in 1888, Galushia Nelson i·vīaq BSDL 544, i·vīyāq BSDL 18; the origin of the name Odiak has not been identified, but it is probably not related to Eyak; the Russian УГАЛАХМИУТ-, Уга-лехми- Ugalakhmiut, Ugalenz, etc., are from Chugach Eskimo uḡalarmiut 'those who live in the southeast' which probably referred not only to the Eyak but also the the Chugach Eskimo who lived east of Prince William Sound; Chugach Eskimo for 'Eyak people' specifically is iyyarmiut; Wallamute and Lakhamute are probably also to be read u[ŋ]ala[r]miut, [uḡallarmiut; this name was not used by the Eyak themselves; Eyak is now pronounced /iyək/ in the English of the Cordova people, both white and native; the origin and justification for the alternate pronunciation

/áyak/ listed in Webster's Third International  
 is not clear; ?i·ya·da·d place-name, 'near  
 Eyak, (at rest in, nominalization of) the vicinity  
 of Eyak' 68.1, 22, 36, 38, 45, 46, 47A, Old Man  
 Dude iyiyáktát 'Eyak River' BSDL 544 ?i·ya·e-  
 guda?d place-name 'mouth of Eyak River' ('out-  
 let of Eyak Lake') L, ?i·ya·cya? place-name,  
 'in Eyak (as o with broad opening at top, topo-  
 graphical feature, especially lake or river)',  
 especially Eyak Lake L, 68.32, 36, 56, 60, 60,  
 61A, ?i·ya·cya? ?ah, ?i·ya·cya? lah place-  
 name, Eyak Village at Mile 6 ('(inhabited) terri-  
 tory, village of, in Eyak' L, ?i·ya·elah place-  
 name, Eyak Village at Mile 6 ('Eyak Village') L;  
 Eeak tella Emmons 1903, Galushia Nelson iyí-  
 yáeDéláq 'Eyak' BSDL 543 ?i·ya·delahs 'Eyak'  
 ('inhabitant of Eyak'), i·vfyáqDéláqfiyu· BSDL  
 543, 554 'Eyaks' ?i·ya·delahsəyu· 'Eyaks'  
 (originally specifically those Eyaks living at  
 Eyak Village, but now vaguely extended, probably  
 under the influence of English, to all Eyaks) MA,  
 24.60, 68.45, 45, 58, 58, 71, 75, 75A, ?i·ya·e-  
 delahsəyu·ga? cɪ'd-le 'S speaks Eyak (speaks  
 like Eyaks)' 68.75, 76, 87A; səi?ihd ya? ?i·  
 ya·dəzəpəhyu· qəl səyəs 'we're the last Eyak  
 Indians' L.

ʔe· (loan from English 'air')

ʔe· (noun, probably unclassified) 'air' L, A, 65.=

25A.

ʔeʔlewah (unanalyzable; ʔeʔ- conceivably to be identified with ʔeʔ- 'place of, track of' and -ʔlewah with -ʔluw- 'big', but more likely loan from early Athapaskan or cognate with Proto-Athapaskan \*(-)ne--wa(-yə) 'weasel', with ne- corresponding with Eyak l-thematic or anatomical and stem \*-wa with optional relative enclitic '(that which is) gray')

ʔeʔlewah (noun, unclassified) 'weasel' LMAS; ʔeʔlewah deʔeʔuʔcɔg 'weasel is making its (characteristic) sound' L; L never heard \*-newah; the weasel ('short-tailed weasel, ermine', *Mustela erminea*) has a black tail, white body in winter, brown body in summer L.

ʔa·da·g (loan from Chugach Eskimo aatak 'furseal',  
not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)

ʔa·da·g (noun, unclassified) 'furseal (Callor=  
hinus alascanus)' L (L has never seen one), Reza=  
nov Atamā 'Kora mopekoŕ Seebŕ' ʔa·da·gyequeh  
'furseal-pup', ʔa·da·gʷiyabd 'furseal(-skin)-=  
hat' L.

ʔa·dna·ʔ (loan from Ahtena ʔadinaʔ 'Copper River')

ʔa·dna·ʔ place-name, upper Copper River, "up the  
 (railroad) line" L, Galushia Nelson átná· 'Cop-  
 per River' BSDL 545, ʔa·dna·ʔyaʔdelahteyu·  
 'Ahtena Indians' ('inhabitants of Copper River')  
 L.

ʔa·ɣa·nihe (loan from Eskimo, Chugach aḡackiluk, Nuni-  
 vak ḷ·ḶanḶ·q 'oldsquaw', not used in Yakutat Tlingit,  
 Sampson Harry)

ʔa·ɣa·nihe (noun, unclassified) 'duck species, first  
 bird that comes in the spring, a saltwater duck,  
 arrives in flocks, stays out in bay by cod-fish  
 spawn, not present late in summer, has pretty call'  
 L, probably 'oldsquaw (*Clangula hiemalis*)'.

ʔa·bels (loan from English 'apples' /əppl̩z/ or perhaps /əppl̩z/)

ʔa·bels (noun, 1ʃ-class) 'apple' L, ʔa·belsyu·  
'apples' 51.77A.

'a·mih (loan from English 'army', perhaps naturalized)

'a·mih- (noun, unclassified) 'army' in 'a·mihyu·-  
ya? da·gdih 'army-doctor' ('army-pl.-'s doctor')

61.52A.

ʔəhəʔ

ʔəhəʔ (exclamation) 'hey! look!' (expression for calling attention) L, 1b.6M, 71.3LM, Gelushia Nelson á<sup>n</sup>há<sup>n</sup> or éhə<sup>n</sup> 'hey! (polite mode of addressing a non-relative)' BSdL 153, 554, ʔəma·, ʔəma·, ʔəhəʔ, teʔyaʔ ʔə·daʔ siʔahʔ 'mother, mother, look! I brought some fish here' 46.23M, ʔəhəʔ, ʔəxəkih 'hey look! a canoe!' 71.1LM, ʔəhəʔ ʔəlʔ ʔi·iʔəʔ 'hey, look at this!' M, ʔəhəʔ, siʔahd ʔuʔla·te· 'hey, listen to me!' M, with d-emphatic: Furuñjelm Aukhaatu 'to see' perhaps to be read ʔəhəʔduh 'look!' L, see also ʔe-ʔə<sup>3</sup>.

ʔa·ʒ (loan from English 'orange')

ʔa·ʒ (noun, lɿ-class) 'orange (fruit)' L, ʔa·ʒ  
 ʔu·d ləʒesəʔahɿ 'an (intact) orange is there'  
 L, ʔa·ʒ ʔu·d ləʒesəʔahɿ 'an orange (split or  
 cut) is there' L, ʔa·ʒyu· 'oranges' 5l.77A.

'a·ya·ya·y

'a·ya·ya·y (conventional noise) meaningless refrain  
in song 72.40M.

*(e'land-mark')*ʔa·nke·we· (loan from Tlingit ʔán k<sup>w</sup>éyi 'flag')

ʔa·nke·we· (noun, unclassified) 'flag, banner' L,

ʔa·nke·we·luw 'big flag' LM, ʔa·nke·we· lah

daʔya·ɣ 'flag is flapping (in the breeze)' L.

ʔa·nesdeʂu·-ʔa·nesdeʂu·w (loan from English \*'honest--  
to-sure', see also 61.124A)

ʔa·nesdeʂu·-ʔa·nesdeʂu·w (exclamation) 'honest!,  
sure as fate!' (Eyaks often said) L.

ʔa·liʔk̄x̄ (unanalyzable, segmentable, perhaps ʔa·liʔ-i-x̄, ʔa·-liʔ-i-x̄, ʔa·-liʔi-x̄, ʔa·l-iʔ-i-x̄, ʔa·- or ʔa·l- perhaps related to ʔq.<sup>1</sup> 'river', -iʔ- perhaps to ʔeʔ-, or -liʔ- to liʔ, for -i-x̄ cf. especially wɪi-x̄, original meaning perhaps '(motion within area) at upper(?) end of river'; L rejects proposed \*na·-liʔk̄x̄)

ʔa·liʔk̄x̄ (locational, probably postpositional phrase) 'at headwaters, upper end of creek or in lake, spawning ground', attested only in ʔa·-liʔk̄x̄ ʔi·lahi 'they (humpback or silver salmon, ripe salmon, but not king salmon or e.g. halibut) are up in creek or lake, gathered in bunch' L

(neuter perfective), cf. especially do·su ʔa· ʔi·da· yəy. ʔu·diʔah, 'maka q'ubaw yəy doʔo·x̄' 'the way that river <sup>truly</sup> flowed about, following along that they boated about' 68. 4h

a<sup>2</sup> (e· in active imperative, -w-a- in third person inceptive imperfective, probably regular; probably related to siyah and/or perhaps to ʒəwa·)

O-ʒ-a (often with ku-indefinite O apparently thematized or partly thematized, 'S eats (something)', and treated sometimes even with definite O as intransitive, with de-classifier with preverb qeʔ 'again, some more') 'S eats O': active imperative: Rezanov Xaxxe 'ххх essen (Imperat.)' ʒa·ne· 'eat it!' IM, ʒa·nɨ·hɨh 'eat him!' M, ʒa·nɨ·hinu· 'eat them (people)!' M, ʒa·ne·huh (preferred to ʒa·ne·ʔuh) 'eat it!' L, ʒa·ne·qah 'eat it (finally)!' L, Kuyaʔʕahd ʒa·ne· 'eat it off of something (e.g. plate)!' L, Rezanov Kuxraane 'Поручать bewirthen' perhaps to be read siyah ʒa·ne· 'eat food!' L, deqew ʔiʒaʔ ʒa·ne· 'eat your lunch!' L, Rezanov Kuxonxe 'борь essen' kuʒa·ne· 'eat!, eat something!' L, qeleʔ ʔi· ne·ʕ ʔəwa· kuʒa·ne· 'you eat some first!' L, ʒa·leʒe·, ʒp·leʒe· 'pl. eat it!' L, ʒp·leʒɨ·hinu· 'pl. eat them (people)!' M, with class-marks for O: ʔəw laʔə·mahdləʒəqa·ʔ ʒələʒa·ne· 'eat some (not all) of those berries!' L, ʔi·xi·EK ʒəli·ye· 'eat a red abalone!' L, ʔəw tahi ʒəti·li·ye· 'eat *hand*

leaves!' L, *xiŋ guʒedi·ye·* 'eat grass!' L,  
 with *yeʒ*-progressive: *yeʒ ʒa·de·*, *yeʒ ʒa·da·*  
 'go around eating!, eat here and there!' M, incep-  
 tive imperative, with *ʒa·?* 'to completion': *ʒa·?*  
*Kuʒeʒa·?* 'finish eating!' LM, cautionary negative  
 inceptive imperative: *ʔew ʒeʒeʒa·ʒih* 'be care-  
 ful he doesn't eat it!' L, *yaʔ leʒi·kdiyaʔci*  
*ʒeʒeʒi·ya·ʒ* 'be careful not to eat badly spoiled  
 fruit!' L, inceptive imperfective: *quʔʒi·xah*  
 'I'll eat it' L, *diK ʔew quʔʒi·xahs* (or *-ʒa·ʒ*)  
 'I won't eat it' L, Rezanov *Karoxeʒxoa* 'Обѣдать  
 zu Mittag essen' *Kuquʔʒi·xah*, *Kuquʔʒi·xah* 'I'll  
 eat, I'll eat something' LM, 25.114A, *diK ku-*  
*quʔʒi·xa·ʒ* 'I won't eat it' L, *qiʔ la·xditehʔ*  
*Kuquʔʒi·xah* 'I'll eat till I'm full' L, *ʔiqeʔ-*  
*ʒi·xah* 'I'll eat you' M, with *ya·ʒ* 'destruction,  
 consumption': *ya·ʒ leʒiqeʔʒi·xah* 'I'll eat you  
 pl. all up' M, with *ʒeʔ* (and irregular de-  
 classifier, prefixes as with non-vocalic classi-  
 fier): *ʒeʔ quʔʒi·xdah* 'I'll eat it again' M,  
*Kuquʔʒi·yahʒ* 'will you eat?, will you eat any-  
 thing, something?' LM, 25.111A, *yaʔʒu· quʔʒi·*  
*yah* 'don't eat it' L, *yaʔʒu· kuquʔʒi·yah*  
 'don't eat' L, *ʔi·giʒuh ʔewa· kuquʔʒi·yah*  
 'will you eat any of it?' 41.7L, *dekuquʔʒi·yah*

da'ɣdəg 'also even when you're going to eat'  
 61.23A, ?əw qu?ɣi·wah 'it'll eat it' L,  
 'they'll eat it' M, ?əw qu?qəɣi·wah 'they'll  
 eat it' M, ya?ɣu· dədə·d ?əw qu?ɣi·wah 'let  
 nothing eat it' 18.71, 80L, kʉqu?ɣi·wah 'it'll  
 eat something' L, kʉqu?ɣi·yɣhɣh M (probably in-  
 correct), kʉqu?ɣi·wɣhɣh 'he'll eat (something)'  
 LM, kʉqu?ɣi·wɣhinu· 'they're going to eat' 18.=  
 44L, diK qə·lgah kʉqu?ɣi·wa·ə 'she won't eat  
 anything today' 25.113A, te?ya? da· qu?ɣi·yah,  
 te?ya? da· qu?ɣi·wah (former probably incorrect)  
 'we'll eat fish' M, ya?ɣu· te?ya? da· qu?ɣi·  
 wah 'let's not eat fish' L, ?əw da· qu?ɣi·wah  
 'we'll eat that' L, dəɣi· da· kʉqu?ɣi·wah 'we're  
 about to eat' L, da· ?iqe?ɣi·wah 'we'll eat  
 you' M, with qe? (and irregular de-classifier):  
 da· qe? qu?ɣi·dah 'we'll eat it again' M, kʉ-  
 qu?ɣələɣa·s 'will you pl. eat something?' L,  
 inceptive imperfective customary: te?ya?s kič  
 da· qu?ɣi·wa·K 'shall we (cust) always eat fish?'  
 L, ya?ɣu· te?ya? qu?ɣi·ya·K 'don't (cust) eat  
 fish' L, with qe? (and de-classifier): diK  
 te?ya? da· qe? qu?ɣi·da·Kt 'we (cust) won't  
 eat fish anymore' LM, active imperfective (often  
 used with force of customary): ɣex<sup>w</sup>ah 'I've

been eating it "all the time" 41.8L, seɪcʰahɬ  
 ʒaxah 'I'm eating semi-dry fish' L, ʒexɪbɪh  
 'I'm eating him' M, kuxuxah 'I'm eating (some-  
 thing)' LM, diK ɬu·l kuxexahs 'I'm not eating  
 now' L, diK teʔyaʔ ʒaxahs 'I don't "(cust)"  
 eat fish' M, kude·dah kuxexahs 'I can't eat  
 anything' 26.8L, ʔi·li·ʒ ɬew ʒexdah 'I'm  
 making a pretense at eating it' L (irregular de-  
 classifier), with ɬeʔ (and irregular de-classi-  
 fier): ɬeʔ ʒexdah 'I'm eating it again' M,  
 ʒi·yah 'you're eating it' LM, dede·d ʔu·ɬ ʒi·  
 yah 'whatever you eat there' 11.162A, teʔyaʔɬ  
 ʒi·yah 'are you eating fish?' M, diKɬ ʔew teʔ-  
 yaʔ ʒi·yahs 'aren't you eating the fish?' M,  
 kuxi·yah 'you're eating, you (cust) eat (some-  
 thing)' L, 23.17A, ʔi· kuxi·yahɬaʔɬ quʔxah  
 'I'll go while you're eating' L, kuxi·ya·ɬ L,  
 kuxi·yahɬ 'are you eating (something)?' M, with  
 ɬeʔ (and irregular de-classifier): ɬeʔ ʒi·  
 dah 'you're eating it again' M, ʒewa· ʔew ʒah  
 'a dog is eating it' M, ʔew qeʒah 'they're  
 eating it' M, diKɬɪh ʔew teʔyaʔ ʒahs M, diK-  
 ɬɪh ʔew teʔyaʔ ʒa·ɬ 'isn't he eating the fish'  
 L, selexelexah ʒɪbɪh 'he's eating tadpoles' L,  
 (attested also with sesuʔ, gudesuʔ 'dry fish')

L, dede·dɥh diK ʒahə 'there's nothing he  
 doesn't eat' L, 0 ʒah, ʒihih, ʒihinu· 'S is  
 eating O, S "(cust)" eats O': 10.136, 20.32, 39,  
 23.94, 95, 24.9, 10, 11, 79, 28.4, 33.24, 26A,  
 41.6L, 51.92, 92, 92A, dede·dɥhnu· ʒah 'what=  
 ever they eat' 29.24A, kuʒihih 'he's eating  
 (something)' LM, kuʒah 'it's eating something'  
 L, 'he "(cust)" eats' 23.19A, 'he was eating'  
 61.19A, dəki· kuʒihih 'he's already eating' L,  
 ke·ʔwəɣdɥh ʔewgaʔ kuʒah 'why does he eat like  
 that, so much?' L, (o-gaʔ) kuʒihinu· 'they're  
 eating something (like o)' 25.30, 30A, dəʔeye=  
 əgaʔ kuʒah 'they "(cust)" eat their own style'  
 25.34A, diK S O ʒahə 'S doesn't "(cust)" eat  
 O' 24.56, 58, 59, 60, 33.25A, 41.1, 11L, diK  
 kuʒahsih 'she doesn't eat anything, fasts' 49.-  
 42A, diK xaʔiq kuʒa·sih 'he's not eating  
 much (on a diet)' L, with o-ʔ 'with o': ʔəhK  
 kuʒihih 'he's eating with her' L, with o-ʒaʔ  
 'with o, "on" o': siʒaʔ kuʒihih 'he's eating  
 with me' L, ʔew ʔiʒaʔ ʒah 'has been eating  
 up your stuff "on" you' 10.84A, with ya·nuʔəhd  
 'from below surface': ya·nuʔəhd kuʒah 'it  
 (duck) is dipping its head under (not diving) for  
 food' L, with class-marks for O: ʔi·ixi·sK

ʔəlɪhɪh 'he's eating red abalone' L, ʔətɪ·lah  
 'it (deer) is eating it (seaweed sp.)' L, tʰahɪ  
 ʔətɪ·liɪhɪh (or ʔətɪ·ləɪhɪh) M (probably  
 incorrect), kʰɪtʰahɪ ʔətɪ·liɪhɪh 'he's eating  
 leaves' L, ʔəqi·ləɪhɪh 'he's eating rope' M  
 (probably to be corrected to ʔəqi·liɪhɪh), ʔe-  
 ləɪhɪh 'he's eating berries' L, tɛ·d guɪhɪh  
 'he's eating spruceroots' LM, saʔ guɪhɪh 'he's  
 eating dried bast' LM, ʔihɪ ʔəgedɪhɪh, ʔihɪ  
 gəɪdɪhɪh, ʔihɪ guɪdəh, ʔihɪ ʔəgedəh L,  
 ʔihɪ guɪdɪhɪh 'he's eating grass' L, kʰədədɛdɛ  
 guɪdəh 'it's eating young grass' L, saʔ guɪ-  
 dɪhɪh 'he's eating dried bast' M, frequently  
 nominalized: ʔəl dəɪpɪyɪ· ʔah 'this which  
 people "(cust)" eat, humans' food' 23.93A, ʔəl  
 dəɪpɪyɪ· ʔahɪyɪ·gaʔ 'like these (things) which  
 people eat, humans' food' 25.30A, dɪd ʔəl de-  
 lɛx<sup>w</sup>e·gyɪ· ʔah ɪhɪh 'he eats only groundhog--  
 food (this which groundhogs eat)' 23.94A, qa·  
 ɪhɪnɪ· 'cannibals, those who eat us, humans'  
 38.2, 2, 20LM, qa· ɪhɪnɪ· dəɪpɪyɪ· 'canni-  
 bals, people who eat us, people' 38.1LM, na·ʔəg-  
 yɪ· ʔew ʔah 'geese eat it' (perhaps name of  
 plant species, ʔe·kus) A, with ɛʔ (and ir-  
 regular de-classifier): ɛʔ ʔədɪhɪh 'he's

eating it again' M, diK O qe? xadahe 'doesn't  
 "(cust)" eat O anymore' (also interpretable as  
 passive, 'O is "(cust)" no longer eaten') 23.93,  
 24.80, 81A, with yeḡ-progressive: yeḡ kuḡada-x  
 'it's going around eating (something)' M, with  
 indeterminate O: yeḡ ?iḡada-x 'it's going around  
 eating, eating stuff here and there' L, da-xah  
 'we're eating it' M, diK ?awa da-xah 'but  
 we don't "(cust)" eat them' 24.61A, da-xah  
 'we're eating (something)' M, kuḡeleḡa-s 'are  
 you pl. eating (something)?' L, active imperfective  
 customary: xaxa-K 'I (cust) eat it' LM, diK  
 te?ya? xaxa-ke 'I don't (cust) eat fish' M,  
 ke-?weḡduh ?awga? xq?iḡ kuḡxaxa-K 'why do I  
 (cust) eat so much?' M, xi-ya-K 'you (cust) eat  
 it' L, teya? xi-ya-K 'you (cust) eat fish' M,  
 kuḡxi-ya-K 'you (cust) eat' 23.11, 12A, te?ya?  
 xa-Kih 'he (cust) eats fish, used to eat fish'  
 M, ?aw xa-K '(cust) eats it' 21a.24L, 28.26,  
 29.25A, diK ?aw xa-keih '(cust) doesn't eat  
 it' 23.96A, 41.1fnL, ke-?weḡduh ?awga? xq?iḡ  
 kuḡxa-K 'why does he (cust) eat so much?' M,  
 da?a- kuḡxa-Kih 'he (cust) feeds (eats by) him-  
 self' L, siḡa? kuḡxa-Kih 'he (cust) eats with  
 me' L, siḡew kuḡxa-Kih 'he (cust) eats same time

I do' L, ʒig ge'leʔa'gɣew kuxa-kɪh 'he  
 (cust) eats at noon sharp' L, indirect recipro-  
 cal: ʔikɣew kuxeda-kinu 'they (cust) eat at  
 the same time as one another' L, da' ɣa'k 'we  
 (cust) eat it' L, 65.69A, diK kuceʔ da' ɣa'ke  
 'we (cust) don't eat meat' L, with lɣ-class-mark  
 for O: ʔew ɣeleɣa-kɪh 'he (cust) eats them (ber-  
 ries)' 29.23A, active perfective: ɣesiyahɪ 'I  
 ate it' LM, ʔɣhdax<sup>w</sup>ah ɣesiyahɪ 'he made me eat  
 it' ('I ate it at his command') L, kuxesiyahɪ  
 'I ate (something)' L, ɣesahɪsuh, ɣesahɪsuh  
 'did you eat it?' M, diKS ɣesahɪe 'didn't you  
 eat it?' M, ʔisexʔeh de-d ɣesahɪ 'I saw what  
 you ate' L, kuxesahɪ 'you ate something' L,  
 ɣesahɪɪh 'he ate it' M, 41.10L, 51.92A, diK  
 dede-dɣh ɣesahɪeɪh 'she didn't eat anything'  
 49.41A, kuxesahɪ 'it ate something' L, diK  
 kuxesahɪe 'didn't eat' 23.23A, diʔdekuxesahɪ  
 laʔd seqedɪh L, ʔida' xɣʔɪd kuxesahɪ laʔd  
 seqedɪh 'he ate so much he burst' 15.27M, with  
 xɣʔ 'to completion': ʔew xɣʔ ɣesahɪ 'he  
 finished eating it' 51.93A, xɣʔ kuxesahɪɪh  
 'he finished eating' L, 18.45L, da' ɣesahɪ  
 'we ate it' M, diKS ɣeleɣsahɪe 'didn't you pl.  
 eat it?' M, kuxeleɣsahɪsuh 'did you pl. eat

(something)?' L, inceptive perfective: ʔidaʔ-  
 ya-leʔ kuʔe:exa:ʔ 'I eat too much' L, ʔidaʔ-  
 ya-leʔ kuʔe:i:ya:ʔ 'you eat too much' L, hiʔ  
 ʔedya:deke:sK kuʔe:i:ya:ʔidewa: 'always wash  
 your hands before you eat!' L, ʔew ʔe:ca:ʔidewa:  
 'before he eats it' L, with lɣ-class-mark for O:  
 sa:leʔeseʔe:cʔ ʔe:leʔe:ca:ʔih 'he keeps eating big  
 blueberries (all day long)' L, active optative:  
 Se:le: ʔa:ʔ-xiyahwahd 'so that I might eat clams'  
 3.12M, ʔuleʔ sigaʔi kuʔa:xiyah 'I'm too tired  
 to eat' ('I'm more tired than it, that I might eat  
 something' L, kuʔa:xiyah 'let me eat' L, ʔe:le:ʔ-  
 ga:ʔ siʔaʔ kuʔa:liyah 'would that you might  
 eat with me' 1.12M, ʔa:liyah 'let it eat it' L,  
 qe:ʔa:liyah 'let them eat it' L, ʔew ʔa:liyah-  
 wahd 'so that he might eat it' 1b.17, 18M, ʔah-  
 nu:ʔ kuʔa:liyahwahd 'so that they might eat with  
 them' 53.2L, Se:ga:ʔ siʔaʔ kuʔa:liyah 'would  
 that S might eat with me' 1b.14M, ʔa:ʔ-ga:ʔ ku-  
 ʔa:liyahih 'I wish he were done eating' M, ca:  
 ʔe:la:yiwahwahd (probably incorrect), ca: ʔe-  
 la:yiyahwahd 'in order that he might eat stones'  
 M, nominalized, see also passives: ʔelijah  
 'food' 10.267fnA, ʔa:liyahʔe:ʔ 'in search of  
 something to eat (that which he might eat)' 5.1L,

da' x̣a·liyah 'let's eat it' L, x̣a·ʔd da'  
 kuḫa·liyah 'let's eat outside' L, x̣a·leḫiyah  
 'you pl. may eat' M, active optative customary:  
 ʔeleḡgahx̣ teʔyaʔ x̣a·xiya·k̄ 'I wish I could  
 (cust) eat fish' L, teʔyaʔ da' x̣a·liya·k̄  
 'let's (cust) eat fish' M, inceptive optative:  
 x̣a·ʔḡgahx̣ kuḫeci·ȳh̄h̄h̄ 'I wish he'd finish  
 eating' M, active conditional: ʔew x̣a·xah da·x̣  
 'just as I'm starting to eat it' L, kuḫa·xah  
 da·x̣ 'just as I was starting to eat' L, diK  
 x̣a·liyahs da·x̣ 'if you don't eat it' L, ʔew  
 x̣a·nah da·x̣ 'just as he begins to eat it' L,  
 inceptive conditional: x̣a·sexah da·x̣ 'if I eat  
 it' L, x̣eci·yah da·x̣ 'if you eat it' L, diK  
 x̣a·ci·yahs da·x̣ 'if you don't eat it' L, kuḫeḫ  
 x̣a·ci·yahs da·x̣ 'if you can't eat it' L, x̣a·ʔ  
 kuḫeci·yah da·x̣ 'when you're done eating' L,  
 active subjunctive: ʔew x̣a·xa·x̣ (or x̣a·xa·x̣,  
 but not \*x̣a·xiya·x̣ or \*x̣a·lixa·x̣) siK del̄h̄h̄h̄  
 'he told me to (that I should) eat it' L, teʔyaʔ  
 hiC x̣a·xa·x̣ 'that I should always eat fish' L,  
 diK ʔew x̣a·xa·x̣s siK del̄h̄h̄h̄h̄ 'he told me not  
 to eat it' L, ʔew x̣a·xa·x̣ ʔixleh 'I want to  
 eat it' L, ʔew x̣a·liya·x̣ (or xi·ya·x̣) ʔiK  
 del̄h̄h̄h̄h̄ 'he told you to eat it' L, ʔew x̣a·na·x̣

?uX daxlihih 'I told him to eat it' L, ?aw  
 za'na'x (not \*za'liya'x) ?ileh 'he wants to  
 eat it' L, ?aw da' za'liya'x (or xi'ya'x)  
 qa'X delihih 'he told us to eat it' L (both  
 probably to be corrected to za'na'x), inceptive  
 subjunctive: ?aw za'sexa'x siX delihih 'he  
 told me to eat it' L, zesexa'x ?ixleh 'I want  
 to eat it' L, ?aw zeci'ya'x ?iX delihih 'he  
 told you to eat it' L, ?aw da' zeta'x qa'X  
 delihih 'he told us to eat it' L; passive: ac-  
 tive imperfective (often in sense of customary)  
 'O is eaten, is edible, is food': xedah 'they  
 were eaten' 24.78A, te'sda'x zexedah 'they  
 (carrots) are eaten raw' L (perhaps also nominal-  
 as lX-class-noun ) 'carrots'), diK zedax  
 'are not eaten' 24.55A, diK qe' zedax, ze-  
 da's 'are no longer eaten' 24.80, 81A (perhaps  
 to be interpreted as non-passive 'no longer eats  
 them'), Kude' zedax 'there is nothing to eat'  
 41.4L, nominalized with -yu' 'plural': zedahyu'  
 'food, foodstuffs, edibles' 11.41, 51.76, 77A,  
 inceptive imperfective, nominalized as o of o--  
 wah-ya' 'something for o, de quoi o': qu?xi'-  
 dahwaha' 'food, foodstuff' 25.31, 148A, qu?-  
 xi'diya'yu' 'things to eat' 63.39G (incorrect,

blend of qu<sup>?</sup>ɿi·dahwahya·, ya·yu· 'things', and following), active optative: Kušiyah se-  
 ɿe<sup>?</sup>ɿ, ɿɿ·diyahleɿ seliɿ 'it got too spoiled to eat' ('it turned bad, got worse than that which may be eaten, than that it may be eaten') L, clearly nominalized: ɿɿ·diyahlu<sup>?</sup>qa· 'to get food (that which might be eaten)' 43.14M, with -yu· 'plural': ɿɿ·diyahyu· 'food' M, active perfective: ɿeɿdiyahi 'it's been eaten' L, active imperfective customary: deɿa·K 'are (cust) eaten' 63.32G (to be corrected to ɿeda·K).

<sup>?</sup>uɿ Kuɿedah (noun) 'pepper' M. Nominalized passive active imperfective, 'something is eaten with it'.

<sup>?</sup>uda·qeɿahd Kuɿedah (noun, d-class) 'table' (not modern type, about one foot high, with legs, leaned against wall when not in use) L. As above, 'something is eaten on top of it (d-class)'.

-ah (gerundive, inflection uncertain) 'eating':  
 xuseiɿga<sup>?</sup>ɿ <sup>?</sup>awah (< <sup>?</sup>u-ah or <sup>?</sup>ew-ah) <sup>?</sup>awa·  
 'I'm tired of eating it' L.

Kuwah (gerundive, < Ku-ah, with Ku-indefinite O) 'eating, meal, feast' Furuɿjelm Kuvva 'eat',  
 Kuwah <sup>?</sup>iqe<sup>?</sup>di·leh 'there'll be a feast' L,  
 Kuwah xuseiɿga<sup>?</sup>ɿ 'I'm tired of eating' ('eating has tired me') L, Kuwahwahd 'for a meal, to

eat' 59.8 Galushia Nelson, *Kuwahč* 'i-lihse=liiḡh 'he recovered his appetite (e.g. after illness)' L, *Kuwahčiya?* 'big, good, hearty eater' ('eating-master') L, Rezanov *Съѣзъкоа* 'Ужинать zu Abend essen' se-*k*Kewah 'evening meal, dinner, supper' L.

*Kuwa-č* (gerundive adverb, including o-č 'to o', cf. *Kuqu?weše-č* under *še*, requiring *k*- classifier with verbs of motion) 'to eat': *Kuwa-č* 'ediḡ *šei?a?č* 'they went in to eat' 2a.35M.

o-d O-ḡ-i-a (causative of transitive O-ḡ-a, with intermediate object as o of o-d) 'S feeds o to O, gives o O to eat': active imperative: 'al 'ud *ḡa'ie-huh* 'feed this to it!' L, Rezanov *Уткo-xoxae* 'НорчыѠ bewirthen (Imperat.)' perhaps to be read 'ud *Kuḡa'ie* 'feed it something!' L or 'ud *Kuḡa-iḡhḡh* 'feed him!' L or (active imperfective) 'ud *Kuḡe-iḡhḡh* 'he's feeding him, it, 'ud *Kuḡa-laxḡi-hinu* 'pl. feed them something!' 29.64A, inceptive imperative customary: 'ud *Kuḡešai-Kḡh* '(cust) feed him!' L, inceptive imperfective: 'id *Kuqu?ḡi-x'iah* 'I'll feed you' 10.265A, 'id *q'e?* *Kuqu?ḡi-xlah* 'I'll feed you again' L, *qema* 'id *qu?ḡeleḡi-xlah* 'I'll feed you roe' 40.8L, inceptive imperfective customary:

ʔud kuquʔxi-xiə-kʰh 'I'll (cust) feed him' L,  
 active imperfective (see also Rezanov form above):  
 ʔid kuʔexiəh 'I'm feeding you' L, sid kuʔexiəh  
 'he's feeding me' L, ʔahnu-yaʔ kusahd quh ʔə-  
 xiəh 'it's their livers he's been feeding her'  
 42.23L, du-dyʰ ʔud kuʔexiəh 'who's been feeding  
 him?' L, active imperfective customary: ʔud  
 kuʔexiə-k 'I (cust) feed it' L, sid kuʔexiə-kʰh  
 'he (cust) feeds me' L, diK sid kuʔexiə-kʰh  
 'he (cust) never feeds me' L, active perfective:  
 ʔud kuʔexiəh 'I fed it' L, O ʔahnu-d ʔə-  
 səh 'fed them O' 29.65A, laʔmahd ʔahnu-d  
 ʔələʔexiəh 'fed them berries' 18.45A, qəma-  
 ʔahd ʔələʔexiəh 'fed him roe' 40.10L, sid  
 qəʔ kuʔexiəh 'he fed me again' L, active op-  
 tative: ʔid kuʔə-xiəh 'let me feed you' L,  
 active optative customary: ʔid kuʔə-xiə-k  
 'that I might (cust) feed you' L, ʔid kuʔə-li-  
 ə-k 'that he might (cust) feed you' L; passive:  
 active imperfective customary: kuʔu-dah sid  
 kuʔəda-k 'I (cust) get fed well' L, active per-  
 fective: kuʔu-dah sid kuʔexiəh 'I got fed  
 well (once)' L.

o-d kuʔə-l (gerundive of o-d O-x-i-a with  
 ku-indefinite O) 'feeding o (something)': ʔid

Kuxa·l xuseŋgaʔi 'I'm tired of feeding you'

('feeding you has tired me') L.

Gelexələxəh (perhaps cf. O-ə-a 'South O' with Ge-terminated  
'ground' for O and 1x-class-marks 'grounded' for S)  
'fadpoh', see separately entry Gelexələxəh.

a<sup>1</sup> (perhaps to be identified with a<sup>2</sup>, but semantic connection obscure; perhaps partly confused with -da 9. under da)

de-a' 1. 'S is, becomes of certain size, bulk', attested with adverb 'idah 'nicely, fine, okay', and with postpositional phrases o-ga? 'like o', o-le? 'more than, past o', o-?u? 'less than, short of o', also with certain class- and anatomical marks, but here ordered according to mode= aspect: neuter imperfective: 'idah 'idiyah 'it fits, it's a nice, the right size' M, with o-?a? 'in relation with o': 'idah si?a? 'idiyah 'it fits me well' M, diK 'idah si?a? 'eda:s (to be corrected to ?a?da:s) 'it doesn't fit me well' M, 'idah si?a? ?e? 'idiyah 'it fits me well again' M, diK 'idah si?a? ?e? 'eda:s (to be corrected to ?a?da:s) 'it doesn't fit me well anymore' M, diK 'idah la?dahs (or -da:s) 'it (hat) doesn't fit me' L, li?ga? 'i-diy?ih 'he was the size of a tree' 37b.51, 56A, 'uyeky-?ga? 'idiyah 'it was the size of his thumb' 37b.37A, de-ga?duw 'idiya', ?ew la?g, de?ewg<sup>M</sup>a? ?ew da?a-K 'what bulk it is, the firewood, that's just how long it burns (the length of time the firewood burns depends exactly

on its bulk)' ('what it is like in size, that  
 firewood, just like that it is it (cust) burns')  
 65.46A, ?u·dega? ?idiyah 'it fits (there)' M,  
 ?awga? ?idiyah 'it's that size, the proper  
 size, it's big enough' L, de?alga?kih ?idiyah  
 'little things' (derisive, 'those which are just  
 like this little in size') L, diK ?awga? qe?  
 ?a?da·e 'it doesn't fit anymore' L, siyega?  
 ?idiyah 'it's a size I can handle (like my hand  
 in size)' L, de?uyegā? ?idiyahkih 'a little  
 one just the right size for her to handle' 25.25A,  
 siyexega? ?idiyah ʒiɪ qu?xcah 'I'll buy a bed  
 large enough for (under) me' L, siqi·dega? ?idi-  
 yah 'it fits my foot' L, siyega? tɪ·diyah 'it  
 (glove) fits my hand' L, sila?ga? ?ɪ·diyah (or  
 lidiyah) 'it (hat) fits (over) my head' L, in-  
 direct reciprocal: de?ilga? ?idiyah 'they're  
 just the same size' M, diK de?ilga? ?a?dahs  
 'they're not the same size' L, diK ?awyeqega?  
 qi·da?yida·e 'your foot's not big enough for  
 (inside) it' L (correction for qi·di·da·e M,  
 which would be active imperfective), siqi·deleɣ  
 ?idiyah 'it's too big for (bigger than) my foot' L,  
 siyeleɣ tɪ·diyah 'it (glove) is too big for my  
 hand' L, sila?leɣ lidiyah (or ?ɪ·diyah) 'it

(hat) is too big for (over) my head' L, ?ida?=  
 ya?u?z ?idiyihih 'she's too little' 9.25A,  
 ?i?u?z ?idiyihih 'he who's smaller than you'  
 9.44A, ?aw?u?zkih ?idiyah ku'diya'hs 'the  
 little lesser-sized mouse' ('the mouse which is  
 of size smaller than that little one') 37b.26A,  
 siqi'da?u?z ?idiyah 'they're too small for my  
 feet' L, sila?u?z ?idiyah 'it's too small for  
 (over) my head' L, sila?u?z ?i'diyah 'it (hat)  
 is too small for my head' L, siye?u?z ti'diyah  
 'they (gloves) are too small for my hands' L,  
 inceptive imperfective: ?idah qa?dah 'it'll  
 fit' L, ne'X ?ewga? qa?dah 'pretty soon it'll  
 be big enough' L, ?idah qe? qu?dedah 'it'll  
 fit again' L (incorrect, these treated as -da  
 with de- classifier duplicated), active imper-  
 fective: qa'yekp'ogga? dihinu' 'they're the  
 size of our thumb (of a human thumb)' 37a.9L (per-  
 haps incorrect, see also diK ?ewyegaga? qi?=  
 da'da'e M above), inceptive perfective (especial-  
 ly in negative, frequently with -?- prefix, ana-  
 logical with that of negative neuter imperfective,  
 cf. certain themes under ?a'-'?a?): ?idah se-  
 da?i 'it's starting to fit well' L, dexi' de?a'  
 ?edla'ixix'gga? ?a?eda?i 'he's getting big

enough to take care of himself' L, dəki·šuh  
 ʔəwgaʔ ʔaʔsəxda·k̄ (to be corrected to -daʔk̄)  
 'am I big, old enough yet?' M, di·yeʔ qəw  
 ʔəwgaʔ səda·k̄ M (to be corrected to following),  
 di·yeʔ qəw ʔəwgaʔ ʔaʔsədaʔk̄ 'it's not big,  
 old enough yet' LM, di·yeʔ qəw ʔəwgaʔ ʔa·  
 si·da·k̄ M (to be corrected to following), di·  
 yeʔ qəw ʔəwgaʔ ʔaʔsi·daʔk̄ (or si·daʔk̄)  
 'you're not big, old enough yet' L, ʔilaʔuʔʔ  
 laʔsədaʔk̄ 'it (hat) is getting too small for  
 (over) your head' L, active perfective: ʔidah  
 sdiyaʔk̄ 'it fit, became right size' L, qəhdəqəw  
 ʔəwgaʔ sdiyaʔk̄ 'it finally is (got) big enough'  
 L, dəki· qəw ʔəwgaʔ qəsdiyaʔk̄ 'they're al-  
 ready old (big) enough' M, silaʔgaʔ qəʔ sdi-  
 yaʔk̄ 'it fits my head again (became big enough  
 for over me)' L, ʔəwʔuʔʔ sdiyaʔk̄ 'it is (got)  
 too small' L, neuter optative: qiʔ ʔəwgaʔkih  
 ʔaʔdiyahč̄ 'until she's big enough (big like that  
 little bit)' 9.27A, ʔixiʔehgaʔ ʔaʔdiyahč̄ 'till  
 she's big enough that I might marry her' 9.27A,  
 ʔidahšgahʔ laʔyidah (neuter), ʔidahšgahʔ le-  
 si·dah (inceptive), ʔidahšgahʔ la·yidah (ac-  
 tive) 'I hope it (hat) is the right size' L  
 (optatives with these treated as if l-da, as

-da 9. under da, to be corrected to la<sup>o</sup>diyah, le<sup>o</sup>edyah, la<sup>o</sup>diyah respectively), inceptive conditional: te<sup>o</sup>ya<sup>o</sup> wa<sup>o</sup> ?ele<sup>o</sup>lga<sup>o</sup> sedah da<sup>o</sup> ? 'when I get old (big) enough for commercial fishing' L; with preverb la<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup> 'thickness': ?utah ?ewa<sup>o</sup> ?idah la<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup> ?idiyah 'its skin is really thick' 65.9A, ?a<sup>o</sup>d ?ilga<sup>o</sup> la<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup> sedah da<sup>o</sup> ? 'when they're quite uniformly thick (like each other)' 65.5A; with ?ida<sup>o</sup>kih 'such a little bit': didwe<sup>o</sup> ?ida<sup>o</sup>kih le<sup>o</sup>edyah qema<sup>o</sup> 'just such a small-sized amount of roe' 10.118A. Transitive (causative): ?idah sediya<sup>o</sup> 'make it fit!' L (incorrect, stem treated as -diya<sup>o</sup>, to be corrected to se<sup>o</sup>la<sup>o</sup>?).

2. di<sup>o</sup>idiyahga<sup>o</sup> (used as adverb) 'in one piece, intact, whole' L. Nominalized neuter imperfective as o of -o-ga<sup>o</sup> 'like o' and with da<sup>o</sup> 'ipse', -'just like it is in size'.

2. Mem. nanyu<sup>o</sup>, with the <sup>same</sup> da<sup>o</sup>: ?aya<sup>o</sup> THUTS-ATED ?ANUHO<sup>o</sup> ga<sup>o</sup> ? perhaps like read da<sup>o</sup>idiyah 'just what it is in size', or perhaps da<sup>o</sup>idiyah 'it just, the right size'; as o ? o-ga<sup>o</sup>:

a<sup>2</sup> (attested in two themes to the stems of which might be attributed a common basic meaning 'strong personal subjective reaction of like or dislike', perhaps also to be identified with a<sup>1</sup> but semantic relation too obscure; perhaps related to ʔa<sup>2</sup>)

o-liʔ ʔi-d-ʔ-aʔ (with o-liʔ 'from open front end into closed back end of o, in behind o' d-- thematic, and ʔi- prefix, perhaps originally indeterminate O, cf. ʔi-d-le, also di-) 'S hates, detests, dislikes, is angry, mad, peeved at o': neuter imperfective: 11.46, 50, 50A, o-liʔ ʔidi-ʔah 'you hate o' 51.33, 35, 35A, ʔuliʔ ʔi-dixi-ʔah 'I hate it, used to hate it' M, ʔuliʔ ʔidixi-ʔh-ʔh 'I dislike, hate him' L, ʔiliʔ ʔi-dixi-ʔah 'I hate you, I'm mad at you' L, diK ʔuliʔ ʔidaʔxʔa-ʔh 'I don't mind, dislike, am not mad at him' L, diK ʔiliʔ ʔidaʔxʔa-ʔ 'I don't dislike you' M, ʔuliʔSuw ʔidi-ʔah 'do you hate it?' M, de-wahd ʔiliʔ ʔidi-ʔah, de-ʔweyɔd siliʔ ʔidi-ʔah 'why do you dislike me?' M, ʔewliʔ ʔidi-ʔh-ʔh 'he hates it' M, ʔahliʔ ʔidi-ʔh-ʔh 'he hates him' L, siliʔ ʔidi-ʔh-ʔh 'he hates, dislikes me' L, siliʔ ʔuʔdi-ʔah 'someone hates me' M, ʔiliʔ dā- ʔidi-ʔah 'we hate you' L, indirect reciprocal: ʔilliʔ ʔidi-

ʔiyʔhinu· 'they hate, dislike each other' LM,  
 diK ʔiʔliʔ ʔidaʔka·sinu· 'they don't dislike  
 each other' LM, inceptive imperfective: ʔuliʔ  
 ʔiqeʔdi·xlah 'I'll hate it' M, diK ʔuliʔ  
 ʔiqeʔdi·xlahsʔh (or -a·sʔh) 'I won't dislike  
 him' L, diK ʔiliʔ ʔiqeʔdi·lahsʔh 'he won't  
 be mad at you' L, ʔiʔliʔ ʔiqeʔdi·ʔhinu·,  
 ʔiʔliʔ ʔiqeʔdeʔeyʔhinu· (M prefers former, L no  
 preference) 'they'll dislike each other' LM (-ʔh-  
 < -ʔa-a'-ʔ- in former treated as stem with non--  
 vocalic classifier, probably correctly, in latter  
 treated as stem with vocalic classifier, perhaps  
 correctly, in which case form should be -deʔhinu·,  
 but here probably incorrectly with stem analogic-  
 ally -ya-), diK ʔiʔliʔ ʔiqeʔdeʔeya·sinu· 'they  
 won't dislike each other' L (probably incorrect,  
 see preceding, to be corrected to ʔiqeʔdeʔa·sinu·  
 or ʔiqeʔdi·ka·sinu·), inceptive perfective:  
 ʔiliʔ ʔidecexʔaʔi 'I'm getting to hate you' L,  
 ʔuliʔ ʔidecexʔaʔiʔh 'I'm getting to dislike  
 him' L, active perfective: ʔiliʔ ʔidisikaʔi  
 'I've gotten to hate you, I got mad at you' L,  
 ʔuliʔ ʔidisikaʔiʔh 'I got to dislike him' L,  
 active optative: ʔidah ʔi·tʔh daʔu·d siliʔ  
 ʔida·yilʔhʔh 'that's alright, let him hate me' M,

active imperfective customary: ?ili? ?idax=  
la·k 'I (cust) hate you' N, negative neuter con-  
ditional: diK dəp̄hyu·li? ?ida?yika·s da·ʒ  
'if you don't hate people' 51.84A.

o-li? ?ed-d-ke-a' (reflexive causative derived  
from preceding, perhaps irregularly or incorrectly,  
as if preceding were o-li? d-i-a') 'S pretends  
to hate, detest, dislike, be angry, mad, peeved  
at o': ?uli? ?edix̄iȳih̄h 'I'm pretending I  
don't like him' L (neuter imperfective), ?i·li·ʒ  
q̄phew ?ewli? ?edqe?di·x̄iah (or ?edqu?di·x̄iah)  
'I'll pretend to dislike him' L (apparently uncer-  
tain).

qe?-dl-ke-a' (< qa? ?i-dl-ke-a', with qa? 'up  
out' inseparably fused with verb proper, dl=-  
thematic, perhaps derived from \*qa? O-dl-i-a'  
'S pleases O' detransitivized with indeterminate  
O and vocalic classifier, or perhaps basic medio-  
passive, cf. o-li? ?i-d-i-a' and qe?-le?  
(< qa? ?i-le?) under le(?)-li) 'S is, becomes  
very pretty, beautiful, elegant (in appearance)':  
neuter imperfective: he?eh qe?λa·kiȳih̄h 'my  
she's pretty!' 10.126A, ?ena·sah qe?λa·kiyah  
'flower is pretty, beautiful' L, diK qe·λa?=  
la·s 'it's not pretty' L (form here treated ac-

ording to pattern in neuter imperfective of  
semitransitives O-ʔ-Ci-ʔi-stem, negative  
O-ʔ-Ca-ʔ-ʔe-stem-e), inceptive imperfective:  
ne-ʔ qeʔqeʔʔi-ʔah 'pretty soon it'll be pretty'  
L, inceptive perfective: qeʔʔa-ʔaʔiʔi 'it's  
getting pretty' L, active perfective: qeʔʔa-ʔi-  
yaʔi 'it got pretty' L.

qeʔ-O-dl-ʔ-a' (transitive irregularly derived from  
preceding, or perhaps basic O-dl-ʔ-a' with qaʔ  
fused to verb proper and unlauded by analogy with  
preceding) 'S thinks O is pretty, nice, S likes,  
highly esteems O': qeʔʔa-xiʔiʔi 'I think she's  
very nice' L, qeʔʔa-ʔiʔaʔiʔi 'I got to think  
she's pretty, nice' L, ʔeleʔgahʔ qeʔʔa-ʔi-ʔiʔi,  
ʔeleʔgahʔ qeʔʔa-yiʔiʔi 'I hope you like her' L.

a'-ya' (original basic form probably a', related to  
p'-ma'-mah, cf. Athapaskan \*-a(n)(--A(n))-qe'-ye(/-en)  
'maternal aunt' (probably < 'that which, she who is in  
stead of mother', modern Eyak form now generalized  
ya; except following prefix ?u-, ku-, where -wa'  
is acceptable variant)

-ya'qe'--wa'qe' (kinship noun, ascending, for ana-  
lysis see above and qe'<sup>2</sup>) '(maternal) aunt':  
siya'qe' 'my mother's sister' LM, 69.9, 21A,  
?iya'qe' 'your mother's sister' L, ?uya'qe'  
IM, ?uwa'qe' 'his mother's sister' LM (M pre-  
fers latter, L once former, once latter), ?qh  
kuwa'qe' 'the aunt' L, qa'ya'qe' 'our aunt' L,  
?qhya'qe' 'his aunt' L, yaqt'yac 'mother's  
older sister's son (woman speaking), 'mother's  
older sister's daughter (woman speaking)' BSdL  
566A -ya'qe'yahš 'mother's sister's child'  
(either sex possessor), with affixed -e-yu'  
'personal, plural': si/ya'qe'eyu' 'my mother's  
sisters, my mother's sister(s) etc.' 70.10, 10A,  
with suffixed adjective -šiyah (here without  
clear meaning): siya'qe'šiyah 'my mother's sis-  
ter' (same as siya'qe') L, yaqt'caiyac 'mo-  
ther's younger sister's son (woman speaking)',  
'mother's younger sister's daughter (woman

speaking) BSdL 566, 567A -ya·qeʔsiyahyahš  
'mother's sister's child' (either sex possessor);  
vocative: ya·qeʔ LM, ya·qeʔšah L, ya·qeʔ-  
siyah '(maternal) aunt!' L, yaqʔ 'mother's  
older sister' BSdL 565A, yaqʔ'cia 'mother's  
younger sister' BSdL 565A; with suffixed -kih  
'diminutive, affectionate': ya·qeʔkih name of  
Eyak woman, wife of Sock Stevens ('Auntie!') LM.

q'-ya'-ma'-mah (original basic form q', variant ma' regular following prefix ?u-, ku-, < \*-u-wq' < \*-u-q', but now generalized, preferred to q' except with prefix si-, ?i-, where form is preferably ya', usually articulated nya', which is also generalized, but less widely or frequently than ma', to other contexts; mah variant in vocative only; probably related to a'-ya'.) <sup>probably also to a'k</sup>

-q'--ya'--ma'--mah (kinship noun, ascending) 'mother':  
 siya' LA, 18.41L, 49.127A, sima' 'my mother' M (L considers "childish"), siya'?'a 'for my mother' L, ?iya' 'your mother' LM, 42.17L, Galushia Nelson inya<sup>n</sup>.xa'tsi 'your mother has a rotten vagina (curse)' BSdL 555 ?iya'?'a? ksi? 'it is rotten "on" your mother', Furuhjelm Imata 'woman' ?ima'ta? 'your mother's father' (not a curse) L, ?uma' 'his, her, their mother' LM, 2a.35M, 8.9, 20.1, 17, 9a, 97A, 40.2, 5, 42.23L, 43.10M, 49.12, 17, 30, 30a, 61.49A, a<sup>n</sup> n<sup>y</sup>a or a<sup>n</sup>ma 'his mother' BSdL 557 ?ahya' L, ?ahma' 'his mother' LM (L prefers latter), qa'ma' M, qa'ya' 'our mother' L, qaiy:'qa' ma' BSdL 557 eeyeqa'ma' 'our mother', lax:i.lax ma' or (-n<sup>y</sup>a') 'your (pl.) mother' laxi' laxna' (or -ya') 'your (pl.) mother' BSdL 557, laxna'

LM, laɣyɣ· 'your (pl.) mother' L, a<sup>n</sup>u ma·  
 BSdL 557, a<sup>n</sup>nu ma· 'their mother' BSdL 558  
 ʔahnu·ma· M, ʔəh kuma· 'the mother' 18.43L,  
 34.65, 43.8, 16M, 49.41, 46, 78, 139A, sia<sup>n</sup>-  
 y:ti<sup>n</sup>i<sup>n</sup> 'step-father' BSdL 568A siyɣ· yi-  
 ɬihɬih 'my step-mother' ('she who is, functions  
 as my mother'), ʔita·ʔma· 'your father's mother:'  
 (curse) L, ʔita·ʔma·gaʔ 'like your father's  
 mother:' (curse) L, 72.36fnL, ʔita·ʔma·yəkʷ·ɕ  
 'your father's mother's thumb:' (curse) L, ʔəh  
 qeʔiʔəkikma· 'the girl's mother' 34.73M, with  
 suffixed adjective -siyah 'bad': ʔuma·siyah  
 'her old mother (pejorative)' 49.76, 78A, with  
 suffixed -yu· 'pl., etc.': ʔuma·yu· 'their  
 mothers' L, 'her mother etc.' 38.91M, 'her  
 parents' 42.11L, ʔahnu· kuma·yu· 'those mo-  
 thers' 10.26A, 'those parents' 42.2L, siyɣ·yu·  
 'my mother's people' 42.12L, with -i- 'perso-  
 nal': a'nu maq:iyu 'their mothers' BSdL 558  
 ʔahnu·ma·seyu·, ʔuma·seyu· 'their mothers'  
 60.7A, frequent in Eyak women's names; tene-  
 sama· name of Sophie Fields, M's sister M  
 (probably same as following), tengema· name  
 of G's wife Mary or Annie S (Tlingit tangoká,  
 mother of tang<sup>w</sup>, boy's name 'fish jumping'),

ca'kma' name of Jenny Charles LS (Tlingit  
 cakxá 'glove-mother'), ca'keleima' name of  
 Eyak woman, not same as preceding L (-eleh-  
 not identified), seši'ma' name of Eyak woman  
 L ('mother of seši', first element probably  
 Tlingit), sgena'nma' name of Tlingit woman,  
 Mrs. Caldwell LM, name of sister of cú'deiah  
 A, name of Eyak woman S ('mother of sgena'n',  
 first element probably Tlingit), du'sema'  
 woman's name L, name of Nellie(?) Thomas A  
 (Tlingit dušxá 'cat's mother'), sila'xma'  
 name of Eyak woman, mother of ca'kma' LÁ ('mo-  
 ther of hanging-on-me'), qenaqema in BSdL  
 genealogical table, M's sister Sophie and another  
 sister (probably here confused with tenecema')  
 and of M's mother's sister, qeneqema', qen-  
 qema' name of Eyak woman LM, qeleqema' A,  
 qeneqema' S, qe'dahdama' name of Eyak woman  
 M ('mother of qe'dah'), ?idexa'gma' name of  
 Eyak woman L ('mother of growing thing'), a<sup>n</sup>ta-  
 xutqma in BSdL genealogical table, name of Minnie  
 Stevens' paternal aunt (perhaps also A's maternal  
 grandmother) and of two of Minnie Stevens' daugh-  
 ters, ?q-da'xutqma' 'Minnie Stevens' mother' A,  
 ?q-dexutma' LM (first element probably Eyak, but

not clearly analyzable); vocative: Rezanov  
Amma 'Mama Mutter', Wrangell Amma 'Mutter',  
ama? 'mother' BSdL 565A ?amah 'mother!' LA,  
?amah we? si? ?a?yah 'mom told me thus' 38.1M  
(here not used as vocative, probably inelegant  
and/or under English influence), ?ama? 'mother!'  
M, 46.23, 23, 27, 29M, 'mother-r-r!' (more like  
yelling) L.

g-ia-p' 'sg. S stands' (for pl. S see g-ia--  
 'a'c): active imperatives: Rezanov Кытлэм  
 'Betrars aufstehen, stehen' gu'k'p', gy'k'p'  
 'stand!', 'p'd gu'k'p' 'stand here!' ll.83,  
 85A, da'u'd gu'k'p' 'stand right there!' L,  
 Rezanov Туутнерэмкортэм 'Постой bleib stehn!'  
 da'u'd ne'k' gu'k'p' 'stand right there a  
 while!' L, Rezanov Иттакутлэм 'Прямо стой  
 steh gerade!' 'idah gu'k'p' 'stand properly!,  
 stand up straight!' L, Rezanov Кылтыхаккоутлэм  
 'Пятиться zurückweichen' se'k'k'ye'x(?) gy'k'p'  
 'stand foremost (in series)!'(?), se'k'k'ye'x gy'-  
 k'p' 'stand closer!' L, neh se'ye'u'c' gu'k'p'  
 'now stand back!' L, with ya' 'completely, to  
 a state of rest, vertical': ya' gu'k'p', ya'  
 gy'k'p' (former preferred) 'stand up!' L, ya'  
 ne'k' gy'k'p', ya' ne'k' gu'k'p' (no prefer-  
 ence) 'stand up for a while!' L, inceptive im-  
 perative: guse'k'p' 'stand!, stand up!' L, ya'  
 q'e' guse'k'p' 'stand up again!' L, 'udahd  
 guse'k'p' 'stand, lean against it!' L, inceptive  
 imperfective: Furu'hjelm Khukuvaliam 'stand'  
 qu'gu'k'p' 'you(?) will stand', qu'gu'x'k'p'  
 'I'll stand' L, 'p'd qu'gu'x'k'p' M, 'p'd

qu'guxiɣ·ʔ (irregularly treated as with vocalic classifier retained) 'I'll stand here' L, ʔudabɗ  
 qu'gu·xiɣ·ʔ M, ʔəwdaɗd qu'guxiɣ·ʔ (irregularly treated as with vocalic classifier retained)  
 'I'll lean against it' L, yaʔ qu'gu·xiɣ·ʔ 'I'll stand up' L (three times), inceptive perfective:  
 guɣeɣiɣ·ʔɛ 'is standing' 25.59A, also Eyak man's name, Johnny Stevens LM, kəqətɪa<sup>n</sup>tɪ in BSDL  
 genealogical table, siɗeɣeɣ guɣeɣiɣ·ʔɛɪɪɪɪ 'he's standing in front of me' M, siɪaɗd guɣeɣiɣ·ʔ=ɪɪɪɪ  
 'he's standing in front of (forward of) me' L, ʔuɪsɣeɗa·q guɣeɣiɣ·ʔɛɪɪɪɪ 'he's standing on the riverbank' L,  
 siɗaʔɕ guɣeɣiɣ·ʔɛɪɪɪɪ 'he's standing facing me' L, ʔɣ·d guɣeɣiɣ·ʔɛɪɪɪɪ 'I'm standing here' L, active perfective:  
 ʔu·d guɣɣiɣ·ʔɛ 'stood there' 34.96L, ʔu·d guɣɣiɣ·ʔ=ɪɪɪɪ 'he stood there' M, ʔu·d guɣɣiɣ·ʔɛɪɪɪɪ  
 'I stood there' L, diK ʔu·d guɣɣiɣ·ʔɛɪɪɪɪ 'I didn't stand there' M, ʔəwdaɗd guɣɣiɣ·ʔɛɪɪɪɪ 'he  
 leaned against it' L, yaʔ guɣɣiɣ·ʔɛɪɪɪɪ 'I stood up' L, yaʔ guɣɣiɣ·ʔɛɪɪɪɪ 'stood up' 30.8L, neuter perfective:  
 ʔudabɗ guɣɣiɣ·ʔɛɪɪɪɪ L, diK ʔəwdaɗd gaʔxiɣ·ʔɛɪɪɪɪ 'I'm not leaning against it' L, with o-ɣaʔɣ  
 'alongside o' and qaʔ 'up out': ʔɣɪɪɪɪ kɪɪɪɪɪɪ ʔɣɪɪɪɪɪɪ qaʔ guɣɣiɣ·ʔɛɪɪɪɪ 'that

one (person) is leaning against him' L, active optative: *sida·d ka? gɥ·hiyɥ·?* 'you should stand near me' M, inceptive conditional: *?əzə-ya?d ya? guseləɥ·?* *da·ɣ* 'when you stand up in a boat' 21b.69A, customary: *?u·d gu·li·kɥh* '(cust) stood there' 34.84L, *ya? gu?lə·K* 'he (cust) stands up' L (active imperfective), *ya? gu·li·kɥ·K* '(cust) stand up!' L (active imperative), *ya? guseləɥ·K* '(cust) stand up!' L (inceptive imperative), *hiɕ qe?ɥ ?ediɣ saɥ da·ɣ ka? ?u?e?ɕahd ya? gu·liya·kɥh* 'when a woman comes in you should (cust) stand up to make room for her (out of her place)' L (active optative), with *yeɣ*-progressive, 'sg. S stands about, moves about in standing position' (and sometimes apparently without progressive force 'S stands'): *yeɣ guləɥ·?ɣɥh* 'she was standing about, moving about in standing position (e.g. picking berries)' L, 20.3A, *?u·d yeɣ guləɥ·?ɣɥh* 'he's standing there' L, *yeɣ gɥ·ləɥ·?* 'stay standing!' L, *da?u·d yeɣ gɥ·ləɥ·?* 'stand right there!' M, *yeɣ qu?gu·xləɥ·?* 'I'll stand' M, repetitive, 'sg. S does slow dance': Galushia Nelson *ɕɔliá<sup>n</sup>·ɕi* or *kəliá<sup>n</sup>·ɕi* 'slow dance' BSdL 552 *guleɥ·?·gɥh* 'he's doing a slow dance' L. Transitive

(causative): yaʔ gusilp·ʔijh 'I made him stand  
up' L; passive: yaʔ xusdiyʔ·ʔi 'I was made to  
stand up' L.

ed-id-wud-yid (basic form probably ed-yed, yed following context conditioning neither y- nor w- initial, but probably analogically, cf. Athapaskan -ad- 'older sister', with no trace of initial y-; variation irregular: -i--ad- > -iyid-, occasionally -iyed-, -iwud-, -iwid-, -u--ad- > -uwud-, -ewud-, -uyid-, occasionally -uyed-, -uwid-, -a'--ad- > -a'yid-, -ɣ--ad- -ɣ-yid, forms -uyid-, -iwud-, -uwid- probably analogical, regularly probably -y--ad- > -yed-, -yid-, -w--ad- > -wed-, -wud-)

-ed---id---wud---yid-kih (kinship noun, non-ascending, with -kih 'diminutive, affectionate') '(man's) sister (older or younger)', also '(man's) female parallel cousin': si:tki 'older sister (man speaking)' BSdL 566A siyidkih IMS, siyedkih L, 20.-50A, siwudkih, siwidkih, 'my sister (older or younger) (man speaking)' L, used also in direct address L, ?iyidkih 'your sister' (to man) 9.-13, 13, 121A, ?ewudkih L, 9.135, 135, 135, 136A, ?uwudkih L, 9.138A, ?uyidkih L, 18.51, 57L, ?uyedkih 'his sister' 21a.37L, ?ɣh kuyidkih 18.56L, ?ɣh kuyedkih 'the sister' 34.106L, qa'yidkih 'our sister' L, ləɣyidkih 'your pl. sister' L, si:tkicia 'younger sister (man speaking)' BSdL 566A siyidkihñiyah (with

suffixed adjective -šiyah, perhaps slightly  
pejorative) 'my sister' (man speaking), siyid=  
kihseyu· 'my sisters' L, ?ewudkihseyu· 20.89A,  
?ewudkihseyu· 'his sisters, their sisters' 29.-  
64A, sitqaški 'husband's older sister' BSdL  
568A siqa?yidkih 'my husband's sister', sit=  
qškišia 'husband's younger sister' BSdL 568A  
siqa?yidkihšiyah 'my husband's sister' (perhaps  
slightly pejorative).

a'í (analysis uncertain, perhaps a', ʔa'í, or ʔa')

o-lɣ-a'í (postposition, here analyzed as stem  
 -a'í with lɣ-anatomical 'eyes', though alter-  
 nate possibilities are -lɣ-a'-í with unidenti-  
 fied -í-suffix, or, with l-anatomical 'head,  
 face', -l-ʔa'í, -l-ʔa'-í, but cf. Navaho  
 o-'ná'í, Chipewyan o-náí 'in the presence of  
 o', < probably -\*naɣ(eʔ)-(e)í 'with eyes') 'in  
 the presence, view of o': sileɣa'í qəw weɣ  
 le' 'it happened in my presence, view, before  
 my very eyes' L.

w. c. 1910

hu<sup>2</sup>uɣ (cf. ʔ. h<sup>2</sup> 'ouch' )

hu<sup>2</sup>uɣ (exclamation, utterance-initial) 'ouch!  
that hurts!' (expression of sudden pain) L.

hə·ʔəh

hə·ʔəh (exclamation, utterance-initial) 1. 'okay, now (that that's done) it's time to ..., time has come to ...' (e.g. 'now, that I'm done with it, I'm ready to go') L, hə·ʔəh yə·ʔ əteʔ 'so now (that I've made the bed) lie down!' 18.30L, hə·ʔəh ʔuʃ qaʔ quʔxihinu· 'okay, now I'll climb out to them' 18.70L, hə·ʔəh ʔa·ʔ ʔew ʔediʔ siʔaʔi, yaʔ quʔdi·xxihs 'okay, now where's that one I yanked in? I'm going to rip him to bits (now that this other matter is taken care of)' 18.73-74L, hə·ʔəh taʔ əsaʔ 'okay, now (it's now time to) put them in the water' 21a.23L.

2. 'now, so there! what do you think of that?!' expression of amazement at own unexpected accomplishment L, or of vengefulness, 'it's going to serve you right': dawaʔd qəw ʔiʔ dex<sup>w</sup>leh. diʔ si-dəʔaʔʔ qeʔyile·e. hə·ʔəh diʔ ʔidawa· quʔx-tu·e 'I told you to hurry. You didn't heed me. So there! now I won't wait for you' 15.23-25M, hə·ʔəh diʔdwaʔ ʔixu·ləyah qəw ʔux weʔ kude-leh ʔixaʔ qaʔheʔ 'so there! now you'll have only your teeth for tools' 16.24M.

he'eh

he'eh (exclamation, utterance-initial) 'my! gee!'

(expression of pleased amazement or mild discomfort at degree of condition, e.g. upon seeing something pretty, feeling something heavy) L.

he'eh qe'la·hiyihih 'my she's pretty!' 10.126A,

he'eh siga'ih 'gee I'm tired!' L, he'eh qe'dah

lā 'ih·xsiemət' 'my it (sour fruit) sure made

my tongue pucker!' L.

hu·l (earlier transcribed ʃu·l, probably in error, all corrected to hu·l by L; loan from Tlingit hún--hún-hún 'to sell')

hu·l (noun, unclassified) 'sale, object for sale'  
 L, hu·lʔaʔluw 'big sale' L, as O of transitive of theme ʔi-d-le 'S (event) takes place': Rezanov Хуаырагемаъ 'Мѣнарь tauschen' probably to be read hu·l da· [ʔi]daʔ[ih], hu·l da· ʔida·kih 'we're having a sale, selling things' LM, hu·l da· ʔiqeʔdi·kih 'we'll have a sale' L, as C in S C -ie(?) 'S is, becomes C': kiʔq hu·l seʔeʔi 'it's all sold' L, as C in S C O-ʔ-1--i-ʃa' 'S causes O to be C': hu·lʃuh quʔli·=iʃah 'are you going to sell it?' L, hu·l quʔli·xiʃah 'I'll sell it' M, diK hu·l daʔqeʔli·xiʃahs (or -ʃa·s) 'I won't sell it' L (to be corrected to quʔli·xiʃahs or glossed 'I won't own, obtain a sale, sold item'), ʃahdi ʔuʃaʔ hu·l ʔuʔʌa·seʔiʃaʔiʃh 'he sold his car' L, hu·l ʔuʔlaxesiʃaʔi 'I sold them (berries)' L.

hu·l ʔeduʔiexiʃiʃh (noun, unclassified) 'prostitute' ('she who sells herself') L (in attempt to identify Galushia Nelson ʃu·l 'vagina' BSdL 542, which, however, L concludes, probably correctly, is hu·l from English 'hole').

həh

həh (exclamation, utterance-initial) 'goodness!  
 what! gee!' (expression of surprise, displeasure,  
 frustration, indignation) L, həh, qɑ·l diK  
 deʔu·deɣya·kih qa·ɣaʔ ʔestah̄ɛ 'goodness, now  
 we've nothing left (he's taken it all)!' 11.32A,  
 həh, Ke·ɕid da· qaʔ- ... 'goodness (now that  
 you've let out our secret) how are we ever going  
 to ... ?' 11.182A, həh, yaʔɣu· wəɣ quʔdi·leh  
 'what! don't you say that (how dare you accuse  
 me of that)!' 24.31A.