d1 *(perhaps to be identified with d2, see further below)*

o-**d** *(postposition)* 1. by o *(with k'u-indefinite o only, as semantic S of certain transitives, probably not freely used; cf. e.g. Navaho "agentive passive" with -'a-di- following direct O in verb, < -k'ə-də-)*: **k'ud xusAts'i'k'L** something (specific) pinched me *L (O-ts'i'k' 'S pinch O', cf. xusdits'i'k'L 'I got pinched (by something non-specific, indeterminate)'),* **k'ud xuk'in't'** something is scratching me *L,* **k'ud xusAk'in't'L** something scratched me *L (O-k'in't' 'S scratch O'),* **k'ud xuGAqa:L** something is biting me *L,* **k'ud 'iqe'qah** something will bite you *L,* **k'ud xusAqahL** something bit me *L (O-qa 'S bite O'),* **k'udsh 'idAGALq'e:k'L** is something peeving you? *L (O-d-L-q'e:k' 'S peeve O'),* **k'ud sALlahLinh** something (especially land-otters) abducted him *19.8L,* **k'ud sALlahLinu:** people taken by land-otters *L,* **k'ud 'iqe'Llah** something will "take" you *L,* **k'ud xusALlahL** something got a hold of me *L (O-L-la 'S save, abduct O'),* **sich'ahd k'ud 'i:lihsa'yahL** something gave me good luck *L (probably incorrect, irregularly derived from o-ch'ahd 'i:lih-'ya 'S give O good luck', see 'i:lih-'ya 2.).*

2. by o *(o as middle agent or intermediate object of causativized transitive verb)*: o-**d** O-**L-de´-g** S teach o O, o-**d** O-**d-L-de´(-g)** S teach o O (linguistic skill) *(O-LA-de´ 'S learn, know O'),* o-**d k'u-'-L-tuh~-g** S make O lazy *(k'u-'-LA-tuh~-g 'S get lazy'),* o-**d** O-**d-L-ch'a:q'** S let o know O, *(O-d-L-ch'a:q' 'S hear O'),* o-**d** O-**'-(l-)L-ga´** S teach o O *(O-'-(l-)L-ga´ 'S know O'),* o-**d** O-**L-qa** S grip O in, with o (e.g. pliers) *(O-qa 'S hold O in teeth'),* o-**d 'AdAwi'L 'i-d-L-i** S wage war on o, make o wage war *('AdAwi'L 'i-d-L-i 'S wage war, 'i-d-le 1b.),* o-**d** O-**L-la** S give o O to drink, make o drink O *(O-dA-la 'S drink O'),* o-**d** O-**L-'e** S put O (covering, as cape) over o's shoulders, **'Ad-d** O-**dA-'e** S put O over own shoulders (as covering, cape) *(irregularly derived from *O-(L-)'e 'S protect O').*

d2 *(perhaps to be identified with d1, perhaps two semantically overlapping morphs; form under certain conditions perhaps -hd or giving rise to -Vh- in -V-d2 > -Vh-d2, 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, 'iLd, 'iLi:d, 'iLihd 'apart'*: **'uXu' 'ud wusg** its hair is falling out (from it) *L,* **'ud k'udi:'ah** pan with handle < something extends from it *L,* **'iLd yiLeh** they're together, with some distance in between, i.e. apart *L,* **'iLd Gi:Lq'a'k' da:X** when you've split it apart *65.41A,* **Lich' sitl' 'iLd k'uLya:k'inh** he always (cust) splits (shares things) with me *L, see further instances under O-L-tsAX 4. 'S cut O', O-xihs, O-L-xihs 'S rip O', -qAts' 'S crack, split', O-g-L-GAmAts' 'S twist O (thread)', O-L-XAd 'S take O apart', O-d (d)-'a´ 'S extend from a point on o', O-L-(y)a 'S handle pl. O', especially frequent in o-d -le'g~ 'S unhand, leave, release, leave o alone', with anatomical and class-marks:* **'udAd 'Ale'g** unhand it (table)! *L,* **'ulAd 'Ale'g** unhand it (hat)! *L,* **ch'iyahd'a:nAd** from a hat *L,* **'u:nAd** from it (l-class) *L,* **siyAd sAxihsL** you ripped it (e.g. bandaid) off my hand *L,* **tsa'k'ti:nAd** from his glove *56.2L;* **sid 'ALqAtl'**, **sid GALqAtl'** push it against, right to me!, rub it against me! *M (L rejects for si-X); suggesting for -hd:* **t'ik'dahd k'usALtsAXL** cut something off the tip of his bow *34.92L (for t'ik'dAd ?),* **'iLihd 'Aw sAxihsL** ripped it apart *50.58, 59fnA (L corrects to 'iLi:d, cf. 'iLi:d 'AdAtse:Xk' 'they (cust) are cut apart' 65.3A, 'iLi:d GALXAd, 'iLd GALXAd 'tear it apart!' L).*

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-d *(final element to postpositions and preverbs)* at rest in, from a point at rest in (area designated by stem of postposition or preverb), *not used with certain postpositions, and also lacking with certain postpositions under certain conditions, e.g. o-yAq' under yAq'2, where semantically expected 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 frequent also as 'nominalization of (area designated by stem of postposition or preverb)' in the formation of many nouns thus derived (e.g. -sa'-d 'mouth'): regular use in e.g. 'uya'd qa' Ga:' 'get up out of (from a position at rest in) it (vessel)!' (cf. 'uya' qa' Ga:' '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, -dAX finals), '(continuous, repeated, incomplete) motion toward' (-ch', -ch'a' finals), '(continuous, repeated, incomplete) motion from' (-ch'ahd final), 'arrival at' (-da' final)); for instances see the following: o-dAG, da', o-da', (o-)d-da', o-g-da'-, o-l-da'-, o-y-da', o-tsin'-da', Xd(l)-tsin'-da'-d, -y-tsin'-da'-d, -qi:-da'-d, -k'ush-da'-d (da'1), da:- (da:2), o-da:- (da:3), dla:da:n' (da:n'), ta', o-t'a', o-y-tl'A-t'a'-q', o-t'a:-X (t'a'~), o-tl'i'ts'-, o-tl'ah-, (o)-d-tl'a', (o-)(g)-tl'a', (o-)(g)-tl'a'-q' (tl'ah~), o-l-tsin'-d, o-tsi:n'-, XA-tsiya'-, 'i:ntsa'- (tsi'~), o-sinh, o-lX-sinh, dl-sinh (sinh2), o-sa', -sa'-d, -sa:-q'-d (sa'~), o-ch'-ahd, o-ch'-a:, o-ch'-a:-q', o-L-ch'-a:- (ch'), XA-sha:n- (sha:n~), o-ka:-X (ka'~), -Xa'-, o-L-qehX-d, o-yAX-dA-qehX-q' (qehX), qi', qi'GA'e'd, tla: qi', o-qa', 'iL-qa'~, -tl'A-qa'-d (qa'~qa:n~qa:), qu'-q', qu:'e'd (qu'~qu:), qAnuh, o-q', o-l-q', o-dXl-q', o-y-dXl-q', o-y-q', o-q'As-d (q'As2), Xi:-, o-Xa', Xa'dih-, o-y-Xa:-q' (Xa'~), Xa:'(d) (Xa:'), o-l-Xa:n', o-wah-d, o-d-wah-d (wah1), o-lahdz~, XA-lahs-d, 'i:ndz-i'-, o-'i:ndz-~-i'-d (lahdz~), lAG, o-lAG (lAG2), o-li', o-leh, o-la'-, o-la'-q', o-X-la'-, o-y-X-la'-, o-:n-na'-d (la'~na'), lu:-d-i:'- (lu:2), lu'-d, o-lu', ya:nu' (lu'~nu'), yAna:'-, 'i:na:'-, o-:-na:', Xi:na:'-d (na:'), yAq' (yAq'1), o-yAq', o-y-tl'e:q' (yAq'2), o-yAX, O-L-yAX-, o-d-L-yAX (yAX3), o-ya', ya'-d, -Xl-ya'-d, -qi:d-ya'(-d), -qe:s-d-ya'-d, -qe:s-g-ya'-d, -qe:s-gu:nd-ya'-d, -qe'-g-ya'-d, -La:n'-d-ya'-d (ya'4), -ya:-d, ya:-q' (ya:), ya:n', o-'a:g, o-'ih ('ih1), o-'e', -y-'e'-d, o-qi:dl-GA-'e', -dl-(GA-)'e'-d, o-lXd-e:', o-la:X-e', 'Ad-i-X, o-d-i:'-, (o-)d-i:'-q' ('e'~), Gdl-'a:w ('a:w1), dla:'anh, dla:'anhd (anh1), 'a:n-, ('Al~), 'u:-, XA-yA-'u:- ('Aw~); as probable final element in certain postpositions and preverbs attested thus with -d final only, probably to be analyzed as ...-d: o-k'a:d, qid, often -hd: o-dahd, tl'ehd, o-lehd, o-:-nahd, ya:nahd (nahd), often -hd with clearly ablative or privative meaning: Xahd, o-Xahd, o-y-Xahd, o-d-Xahd, o-d-y-Xahd, o-l-Xahd (Xahd2), yahd (yahd3), o-yahd (yahd4), o-ch'-ahd (ch'); as non-final element in complex finals of certain postpositions, preverbs, and adverbs: o-dahd, o-da' (da'2), -dih; compounded with further -da', -d, -ch'-ahd, -X finals in -dAX and -dAch'ahd finals, see under X1, ch', da'2.

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(-)**d-** *(possible initial component of certain postpositions and preverbs) locative meaning: see e.g. dahd, da:X, di:, da:2, da:3, da:n'.*

digiLXah *(loan from Chugach teggell'a 'shallow')*

digiLXah *(place-name) Mummy Island L, ST8.12, 12, 41, 42, ST14.21, 21, 22, 24, 32, ST20.64A (same as tuxtsi:g). Galushia Nelson* ɒɪkɛtɬχa *BSdL 544.*

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digiLXahlAGd *(place-name) Point Whitshed* < upland of Mummy Island *L. Galushia Nelson* ɒɪkɛtɬχalakt *BSdL 544.*

diguG~digAG *(loan from Chugach təkəq 'index finger, thimble', not used by Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

yidiguG~yidigAG *(noun, unclassified, with y-anatomical 'hand')* 1. thimble *LM*: *Rezanov* Иттыкакъ 'Наперстокъ Fingerhut' **yidigAG**, **yidiguGluw** big thimble *LM.*

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

dik'2 *(probably to be analyzed di-k', with dA-* 'ipse' *and -k' related to k'u 'negative', the labialization of which is uncertain, see k'u~k'A2, especially referred forms cited with dA-* 'ipse'; *see also k'ah, k'a:; cf. however the possible Athapaskan cognates in Apachean dò˙, Pacific Coast Athapaskan generally doo 'not', the correspondences, low tone in Apachean but no glottalization in Pacific Coast Athapaskan, requiring PA dʊ-ə, probably < də-C^{w}ə, 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 Тык- five times, Тек- once, Wrangell Тек- once, Furuhjelm Tikh 'twice'; Rezanov once Так-, perhaps archaic dAk', and once Теч-, probably mistranscribed; in 68.11A emphatically pronounced dɪ ˇ˙k'; dik' k'u- > dik'u- 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. ya'Xu:),* yes *(in positive answer to negative question)*: *asyntactic: Furuhjelm* Tikh 'no' **dik'** no *LMASG,* **yik'a'dishunh -- dik'**(, **dik' 'a'k'a'dGinh**) is he sick? -- no(, he isn't sick) *L,* **dik'shunh 'a'k'a'dGinh -- dik'**(, **yik'a'dinh**) he isn't sick? (*i.e.* isn't he sick? *or* he isn't sick, is he?) -- yes(, he *is* sick) *L (cf. 'a:n2),* **xu:gidug dik'** me neither < I too not *L,* **tli: gAli:tl'eh da:X q'a:l 'Awa: dik'** the water was formerly cold but not anymore (now however not) *M, textual occurrences: 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,* **'anh dAXunh dik' dAleh** 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 -G at end of construction: with verb (mostly not excerpted for elicitations):* **dik' 'iGux'e:G** I don't see you *M,* **dik' 'ulAX 'iGuxL'e:X 'ixle:G** I don't want to see him *M, Rezanov* Текекотаатльэкъ 'Полочо ('(not?) steep') abschüssig' **dik' …da' 'a'Le:G** it doesn't reach …**,** Такекуяткотлекъ 'Пустой ('empty') leer' **dik' 'uya'd k'a'Le:G** there's nothing in it, Тыкохахушакъ 'Нежаль ('not sorry') nichtbedauern' **dik' 'uXa' 'a'xshahG** I'm not stingy with it, Тыкысъэлькъ 'Холостой unverheirathet' **dik' 'is'ehLG** he didn't marry, Тыкохкоохлилекъ 'Некому' *(not in Radlov, 'to no one'),* Тыкохкохлилюкъ 'Ничего недѣлаю ich mache nichts' **dik' wAX k'u'xLAle:G**, Тыкахуакохлиннекту 'Ненарочно unvorsätzlich' **dik' wAX k'u'xLAne:Gduh** I didn't intend so about anything, anyone! *(see C O-'-LA-le(')), Wrangell* Тексеконалекъ 'Feind' **dik' sikuwa'na:G 'a'Le:G** he's not my friend, *Furuhjelm* Tikhkhatliaaulekh 'near' **dik' GAdla:'a:w 'a'Le:G** it's not far, *Galushia Nelson* **dik' GAdA'a:nGinh yAX dAku'dXinh** 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:Lgahshuw 'ulehd dik' k'ulishe:k'G** do you know why you don't (cust) kill anything? < do you know it, that because of which you (cust) don't kill anything? *23.9A,* **dAde:d dik' 'i: 'ilah 'Ale:Gyu:** anything which (are things which) don't concern you *51.24A,* **dik' k'uGA'a:nGGinh** he's not blind *27b.24A,* **dik' 'Awda:da'** ['A]**sahLGinh**, **'Awda:da' dik'** ['A]**sahLGinh** he didn't get to it (near it) *L,* **dAda:dunh dik' dahG** there's nowhere he won't sit *L,* **GAlAxtah, dik' 'anhtl' qu'yiXahG** that I'm alive, you won't tell her *49.129A (perhaps for prohibitive, rare),* **dik' XAtl'ye'X dAq'a:gG dAq'a:g** a fire that does not burn all night (burns), a not all-night fire burns *65.44A, with -sh interrogative enclitic:* **dik'shuw** not? *9.120A, with enclitic -dAg~ 'also':* **dik'dAg** nor *50.39, 68.1, 50A,* **dik' dAleh k'u'LAle:Ginhshiyah** no-good rude person *72.11L,* **dik' 'AwA'ah le:GAshiyah** no-good ingrate *72.13L; in non-verbal constructions, -G suffixed to head: Rezanov* Течисатахъ 'Недолго, ненадолго kurze Zeit, auf kurze Zeit' *probably to be read* **dik' sahdXG** not long (time) *L, 47a.4L, with nouns: 10.203A, 18.40, 43, 84L, 51.13, 68.1A,* **dik' dla:Xt'e'GshgG** not unripe (berries) *L,* **dik' 'uqa'G** not her husband *18.20L,* **dik' k'ula:GAya' sAqe:GAyu:G** not another's children *24.32A,* **dik' 'i'ehdG q'A'Al** this isn't your wife *61.7A,* **dik' dAXunhyu:G lAXi:** you aren't people *31.13A, with adjectives:* **dik' k'udzu:G** not good *61.30A,* **dik' 'Aw *tail* 'Awa: k'u'a:wG** their *tails* aren't long *24.63A, with adverbs:* **dik' q'a:G** not now *25.112, 114A,* **ts'id XAtl', dik' 'Awa: gahG** only at night, not by day *25.18A, with pronouns:* **dik' dAde:dG** not anything *23.8A,* **dik' xu:G** not I *L,* **dik' 'AlG** not this *LM,* **dik' 'AwG** not that *LM,* **dik' dAdu:yu:dunhG** not anybody *49.28A,* **dik' dA'a:G** not (by) himself *61.40, 54A,* **dik' 'a'd Li'q'G** by no means all *69.3A, with locatives and postpositional phrases: 9.146A,* **dik' XAyA'u:dG** not (the one) farther over there *M,* **dik' 'a:ndG** not here *11.128A,* **dik' dA'u:dAXya:kih 'a:ndG** nothing here *15.8, 14M,* **dik' LinhGda:dG** not in one place *68.62A,* **dik' dAXunh qi'G(dAl)** (this is) a place where there is no person *51.53, 61.109A,* **dik' q'a:lga'G** not like now *60.3A,* **dik' 'Awga'G q'Aw yileh** you're acting unjustly *L,* **dik' GAdla:'a:wG** not far *LM,* **dik' GAdla:'a:wch'G** not (to) far *L, 28.63A,* **dik' GAdla:'a:wdG qi'ch' da: GA'a'ch'L** it's not far where we're going to *31.9L,* **dik' dAXunh 'u:d 'AdiXdG** there's no person inside there *7.32A,* **dik' dAde:wahdG** not with anything *10.60A,* **dik' GAyAqa:qa:'G** not of our tribe *68.90A.*

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dik'ah *(exclamation, probably to be analyzed di-k'-ah, see also k'ah)* no *LM, 23.10, 68.89A, equivalent to asyntactiic dik', not attested syntactically.*

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dik'a: *(exclamation, probably to be analyzed di-k'-a:, see also k'a:, or phonetic expansion of preceding)* no *68.198A.*

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di-k'u- *(prefixes, dA-* 'ipse' *and k'u- 'negative' to interrogative pronominal stems, see k'u-de:, k'u-de:-dah under de:1, k'u-du: under du:, k'u-dAX under dAX)*

dik'~dAk' *(dik' more frequent, dAk' slightly archaic; in Rezanov perhaps also duk' or dAk'w)*

-dik' *(adjective)* short: *Rezanov* Ятекъ 'Коротко kurz' **ya:dik',** *28.78fnA,* **ya:dik' sALe'L** it became short, shrank *M,* **ya:dik' 'u'lAGALXa'** make it short! *M,* **ta:hAdik'** short trail *L; with various marks for noun-class or specific anatomic reference:* **ya:qi:lAdik' k'uXehL** short rope *L,* **'AXa: ya:dAdik' shdu:lihG** my what a short (low) table! *L,* **shdu:lihGdAdik'** short (low) table *L,* **gutl'ahdAdik'** *dog's name* < short-tail *A,* **k'ushdAdik'** short-legs *(epithet) L,* **k'ugAlAXAdik'** short-back(bone)d *L.*

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-dik' S be, become short: **sAdik'L** it became short *M; with class-mark:* **qi:lAGAdik'L** it (rope) is getting short *L.*

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L-dik' *(with comparative postpositional phrase o-**'u'X** 'short of o')* S be short with respect to something: **'Al 'Aw'u'X 'i:Ldik'** this is shorter than that *L; with class-mark:* **'Aw'u'X li:Ldik'** one (oar) is shorter than the other *L.*

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Gdl-dik' *(adjective)* near, short distance (overland)

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Gdl-dik' *(with **Gdl**-thematic 'distance overland, time')* S be near (overland): *Rezanov* Катлятыки 'Близко nahe' (**GAdla:dAk'**(-?)), Котлятокъ 'Низко niedrig' **GAdla:duk'** or **-dAk'w**, Катлятыкъ 'Недалеко nahe', *Khromchenko* Катлятекъ 'Близки' **GAdla:dik'** near, short distance or time away *M,* **qi'dAX GAdli:dik'** place through which it is a short distance, shortcut *L; **ya' Gdl-dik'** 'S be short (vertically), low':* **ya' GAdli:dik'** it's short, low *L,* **ya' GAli:dAk'** it's short, low *S,* **ya' GAdla:GAdik'L** it's getting low *L,* **ya' GAdla:sAdAk'L** it got low *("Minnie Stevens would say," implying that the stem-variant **-dAk'** is somewhat archaic) L; transitive (causative) **ya'** O-**Gl-L-dik'** 'S make O short (low)':* **ya' GAdla:GALdik'** make it low! *L.*

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gdl-dik' *(with **gdl**-thematic 'aquatic distance')* S be near (overwater): **dAtli: 'Alga'kih yAq'Ach' 'uXa' gAdla:sAdik'L** already the distance towards shore for her had shortned to this little bit *25.48A.*

dile:Li:

dile:Li: ma: *(place-name) unidentified lake in area of Bering Lake 67.3G.*

diyAG~diyAGw~dAyuGw *(origin unknown)*

diyAG *L (M has heard),* **diyAGw** *S,* **dAyuGw** *Sampson Harry, Susie Abraham (personal name) George Johnson LS.*

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dAdiyAG *(personal name) chief at Nuchek L (cf. preceding).*

dAtl'~ditl' *(L prefers **dAtl'**; perhaps reduced form of **du'tl'**, see under **k'uLdAtl'G** below)*

dAtl' *(noun, unclassified)* physical injury, harm: *attested only in* **dAtl'yAXa'ch' Ga'ya:Linh** she's succumbing to old injury or disease (e.g. husband's old beatings, old tuberculosis) *L.*

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L-dAtl' S get hurt (physical injury): *(o-a:) L-dAtl':* **siGuhd siya: sALdAtl'L** my knee got hurt, I hurt my knee *L,* **'AxLde:tl'k'** I (cust) get hurt, hurt myself *M; with mark for specific anatomical reference:* **yisiLdAtl'L** I hurt my hand, my hand got hurt *L. Transitive O-L-dAtl':* **yisiLdAtl'L** I hurt my hand, my hand got hurt *L. Transitive O-L-dAtl' 'S hurt O (cause, do physical injury to O)':* **'isiLdAtl'Lsh** did I hurt you? *M; with anatomical marks:* **sitsin' siya: gudAsALdAtl'Linh** he hurt my neck *L,* **'iqe'gAdi:xLdAtl'** I'll hurt your rump *M; reflexive:* **'AdsLidAtl'Linh** she hurt herself (deliberately), *also* she caused herself to abort *M; reciprocal:* **'iLu' q'e: qu'LAdAtl'** they'll hurt each other *L; passive:* **sLidAt'Linh** he got hurt (by some agent) *L,* **sdidAtl'L** someone got hurt, there was an injury *(indeterminate S) L. Susceptive Neuter:* **xLdAtl'X** I get

hurt easily *L,* **yixLidAtl'X** my hand gets hurt easily *L,* **qALidAtl'X** it gets hurt often, easily *M. No semitransitive L.*

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k'u-L-dAtl'-G *(noun, unclassified)* (willow, rock, white-tailed) ptarmigan (Lagopus lagopus, L. muta, L, leucurus) *AL. Etymology semantically obscure, ostensibly k'uLdAtl' 'something is getting hurt, it's hurting something, something is hurting it' + -G as in e.g. ch'iya'tl'G 'frog' and a few other fauna terms, or conceivably a thematic negative 'something that doesn't get hurt, it doesn't hurt anything, nothing hurts it', see also k'uLdiya:n. Perhaps the form exhibits a survival of the stem with an older meaning, referring to a characteristic motion of the bird: cf. PA *-dAtl', Navaho -ł-dił 'to jar, shake violently', Hupa (Golla) -l-diƛ' (impersonal) 'it shakes, quakes', Galice (Jacobs-Hoijer) -dał 'shake (testicles in greeting)', Kutchin (Sapir-Haas-Golla) -ł-dàl 'shake, vibrate (tr. and intr.)', Minto ɬəla -l-dəλ 'to clap hands'; see also du'tl'.*

dAL~diL *(cf. dis)*

dAL~diL *(noun, usually gl-class)* blood *15.15M, 27b.20A*: *Rezanov* Тедлль 'Кровь Blut', *Anonymous* Татль 'Кровь', *Wrangell* Тедлхъ 'Blut', *Furuhjelm* Tall (1877 tawl) 'blood', **dAL 'iya: gAlAts'uts'g** it's sucking your blood *L,* **dAL siyAq' qa:nch' gula'ya:g** I keep spitting up blood *L,* **dAL 'uyAq' qa' gu:nsa'yahL** he hemorrhaged *L,* **dALgu:nAX LAqahdzXinh** he's coughing blood *L,* **dALgu:nAX Xe'X yAX xLa:X** I have a bloody stool *L,* **dAL -Le(')** S be bloody, bleed: **dAL sALe'Linh** he got bloody, he bled *M,* **xan'Lq' diL qi' k'u:Leh** very bloody place *M.*

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-dAL *(noun, possessed)* blood: *L accepts possessed form* **sidAL** my blood *which M rejects.*

dAs~dis *(dAs more frequent than dis; cf. dAL)*

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

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gu:nLdAsL 1. clotted blood *(noun, gl-class) ML*: **gu:nLdAsLgu:n'nuw** large blood clot *L,* **gu:nLdAsLga' 'i:t'eh** it's reddish in color (like dried blood) *L. The form is probably a nominalized Neuter perfective of the above verb theme,* < blood which has clotted.

2. *(personal name) Yakutat man, related to Lena's parents, could talk a little Eyak* < clotted blood *L.*

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

-dAg~-dig~-dug *(enclitic)* 1. 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 'iyAXa' disiLahL** 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,* **'anhdug** him too *L,* **'ahnu:dug** they too *L, in construction with nouns with following possessive o-a: or o-Xa', enclitic either to noun or to postpositional phrase:* ***dαkacís*** **'uXa'dig** his *buoy* too *12.6G,* **Li'q' ya:yu: siXa'dug** all my gear too *47a.3L,* **GAyAXgugdig 'uXa'** his baidarka too *12.22G,* **'anh sAqe:ts'Akihdig 'uXa'** his

child also *23.131A,* **'Al 'uch'AlihdAg 'Awa:** his arm too *24.51A,* **'ugAtl'ahdAg 'Awa:** its tail also *65.9A, to adverbs:* **q'e:dahdig 'Aw'a:n' 'a:k'** simply (cust) comes upon it too *9.144A,* **dA'u:dAXdAg k'ahG 'uq' k'u:Leh** 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,* **k'ut'u' qu'Xi:da:yu: k'u:Lehdig** also there are plenty of edibles *63.39G, to clause subordinated to da:X 'and, when, if':* **tsin'dAlehch'iya' Gi:Le' da:XdAg** also if you're a gossip-monger *51.20A,* **k'ushiyah GAli:ta:l' da:XdAg** also if you (cust) live evilly *51.35A,* **dAk'uqu'Xi:yah da:Xdig** also even when you eat *61.23A, to negative adverb dik' 'not':* **dik'dig 'ahnu:ch' k'ushiyah 'ula'X di:'ya:k'G** nor does he (cust) get mad at them *50.39A,* **dik'dAg 'AnAXAnAGda:d dAXunhyu: k'a'Le:G** neither were there people at Alaganik *68.1A,* **dik'dAg k'ut'u' 'a'Le:G** nor were they very many *68.50A, with negative constructions:* **'Awdig dik' qu'li:Lga:G** that too you won't know *36.32A,* **'Aw XAwa:dAg dik' dAk'e:duw 'AsliLG** nothing happened to the dog either *49.122A, to independent personal pronouns: Furuhjelm* Hutak 'I' **xu:dAg** I too, even I *M,* **xu:dAg 'idAxLih q'A'Aw** I too am feeling the same way *L,* **lAXi: lAXdug** you pl. too *L,* **GAyAqa:dug** *L,* **GAyAGdug** we too *L, 14.7L,* **'u:dAX GAyAGdAg dik' lAXa' da: q'e' k'uqu'La'yahG** then we don't bother you pl. anymore either *25.137A, Rezanov* Коюхтактуахъ 'Тоже ('also, likewise') dasselbe' **GAyAGdAg dA'wAX** we too the same way, **'uyAGdug**, **'AyAGdAg**, **'uyAGdAg** *L,* **'AyAGdig** they too *25.194A, with independent personal pronouns with enclitic -gih~-gi- 'also', always following:* **xu:gidAg** *MS (= xu:gih, xu:dAg M),* **xu:gidig** *21b.74A,* **dAxu:gidug** me too *L,* **xu:gidug dik'** me neither *L,* **dA'i:gidAg** *16.25M,* **'i:gidig** *72.19L,* **'i:gidAg** you too *55.27L,* **lAXi:gidig** *55.34L,* **lAXi:gidug** *(not *lAXi:dug)* you pl. too *L,* **'a:gidug** *21a.19L,* **'a:gidig** he, she too *10.161, 161, 20.90, 23.85, 161, 24.43, 49.153, 61.116, 119A, with -sh interrogative enclitic, either preceding or following:* **'a:dugshunh** he too? *L,* **'anhshuwdug qu'wah** will he go too? *L,* **'Alshdug**, **'Aldugsh** *L,* **'AlshdAg** this too? *A,* **Xi:nXinu:shdAg** they too? *L,* **xu:gihshdAg**, **xi:gidAgsh** me too? *L,* **'i:gishdug**, **'i:gidugsh** you too? *L,* **GAyAGshdAg**, **GAyAGshdug**, **GAyAGdugsh** we too? *L.*

2. *In formation of exclamations* a: *enclitic to adverb dAtli: 'already',* **dAtli:dug** *expression of exasperation*: **dAtli:dug 'Awq'Asd lAxLq'a:ginh** but I warned him not to! *L.*

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2b. *With preceding -sh interrogative enclitic,* **-sh-dAg** my! (< that too?): **'a'd wAXshdug dAXunhishiyah** my what a really awful person! *9.28A,* **'a'q' q'Awshdig k'udzu:dah 'u'GAdA'eh** it sure looks mighty good! *9.88A,* **chi'shdAg** *49.89A, 72.35L,* **'iLchi'shdAg** *72.7L,* **chi'shdug** *L, 72.12L,* **dALich'shdig ya:n' di:'yahLdAg** there's enough this miserable rain! *ST13.4A,* **'iLchi'shdug** my goodness!, dear me! *L,* **'Ala:shdAg XAwa: xu'li:'eh** he even called me a dog *M (< 'Al-a:-sh-dAg 'for this too?').*

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3. *Enclitic to gu:-, obligatory in* **gu:dAg**, **gu:dig** again: *Rezanov* Кутакъ 'Еще noch' **gu:dAg,** *for further instances see gu:;* **gu:dAgsh** *(not *gu:shdAg)* again? *L.*

dAxdjih *(loan from Chugach taugci'ik (< *taugcivik) 'cockles place', site of old Chugach village on Hawkins Island)*

dAxdjih *(place-name) Hawkins Island L.*

dAxu:g *(origin unclear, possibly Eyak stem -xu:(-)g)*

dAxu:g *dog's name LA, presumably derived from dAxu:gta:' q.v., but also dAxu:G A.*

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dAxu:gta:' *(personal name) Lena Brand's brother Nick Nelson L, Eyak man S.*

dAG *(cf. lAG, with which dAG shares certain formal and semantic peculiarities)*

dAG *(preverb, attested with zero, and -ch' 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 q'e'~q'e:- as q'e:dAG)* 1. upstream, upriver, up inlet, bay, in-, upland via body of water: **dAG sahLinh** he went upriver *M,* **dAG GAqe:Linh** he's boating upstream *L, see also 68.10A,* **lisyAq' dAG gAli:'ah,** *-la 1. (68.50A), dAG lah (la~na1),* **dAG 'iwe'** swim upstream! *M, with q'e'~q'e:- 'back, again':* **'i:ya:Gya'X q'e:dAG sdiXahL** they boated (as fleet) back upstream into Eyak Lake *68.36fnA,* **q'e:dAG sdiqehLinu:** they boated back upstream *68.37fnA; with -ch' final:* **dAGAch' Ga:Linh** he's going (walking) upriver *M; with -X final, only compounded as o of o-'e',* **dAGe'X** < **dAG-'e'-X** (movement within area) upstream, up inlet: *9.152, 60.63, 68.100A,* **dAGe'X 'iqe'** boat upriver! *L,* **dAGe'X 'iqe'** boat upriver! *L,* **dAGe'X gAli:'ah** tide's coming back in *L,* **dAGe'X Ga:L** he's going upriver *LM,* **dAGe'X sahL** he went upriver *L, with q'e'~q'e:-:* **dik' dAGe'X q'e' 'AsdAXahLG** they didn't boat (as fleet) back upriver anymore *68.18A.*

2. *Compounded as o of o-'e' 'in place of o', compounded as o of o-da' 'arrival at o',* **dAGida'** < **dAG-'e'-da'** full < to place at top: *with zero final: 52.36L, Rezanov* Такытъа 'Полной voll', *verb theme always d-'ya 2f., with -ch' final:* **dAGida'ch' dAGa'ya:L** it's getting full *L,* **dAGida'ch' lAXAdla:Ga'ya:L** it's pretty full of berries *L.*

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3. *Uncertain, probably compounded as o of o-ya' 'into o with broad opening at top' (or perhaps in combination with ya' 'vertically, to a state of rest')* (falling down) backwards (onto back, chest up): **dAGya' (ya:n') disLiqahGLinh** he fell (down) backwards (landing chest up) *L, in combination with ya' 'to a state of rest' and ta'-d '(at rest) in the water':* **dAGya' ta'd 'anh ya'** (*or* **dAGya' ta'd ya' 'anh**, **ta'd dAGya' 'anh ya'**) **sAlAGLinh** he pushed her down backwards in the water *L.*

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o-**dAG** *(postposition, with zero, -d, -ch' finals, and with -dAX final instead of compounded as o of o-'e' with -X final, also in other compounds as listed below)* above (on higher plane, farther upland than) o 1. *with zero final (rare, referring to rest, not motion, with Active imperfective, Neuter perfective, and in some compounds): with d-class-mark for o*: *Rezanov* Аутетакта 'Заткнуть stopfen, zustopfen' *read by M as* **'AwdAdAG tah** it belongs (is normally in position) above it (d-class) *M, with reciprocal o:* **'iLdAG 'i:djahGL** name of Basket Pattern 1. < above-each-other pointed *BSdL 547 (illustration in BSdL 82), in certain compounds:* **'iLdAGAla:Ltah** sewing bag < pouches above each other *LM, BSdL 542 ('married woman'), BSdL 547,* **k'udAGAya'L, k'udAGAdiya'L** fish-drying rack *24.23, 23A (see under (y)a, see also -dAGe:', k'udAGAts'e:', -dAGAleh below); with -d final 'at rest':* **sidAGd wAX 'i:t'inhinh** he lives above (storey above, upland from) me *M,* **sidAGd Ga:Linh** he's walking along above me *M,* **'AwdAGd** above it (e.g. on shelf above) *L,* **'Aw 'u:d ya:dAGd** above that thing over there *M,* **'ahnu: 'udAGd yi:nhinu:** those who live above (upland, upriver from) them *68.82A,* **lahdAGd** above the village *60.19A,* **LanhddAGd** in (above) the smoke *33.19, 36A, with classified o:* **giyahgAlAdAGd** *M, 25.96A,* **giyahgu:ndAGd** above the water *M,* **'itl'a:ndAGd** above the mountain *M,* **dAq'a:gdAdAGd** over the fire *24.23A,* **'AwdAdAGd tah** it belongs in position above it *L (see first example above), with l-anatomical:* **si:dAGd**, **si:ndAGd**, **silAdAGd** above my head *L, with reciprocal o:* **'iLdAGd yiLinhinu:** one's above, upstream of the other *L, with indeterminate o:* **dAdAGd sAtahL** it's up above (something), e.g. on deck *L; with -ch' final:* **sidAGAch' qa' GAta'** put it up above me! *L, with -dAX final:* **qu:ndAdAGdAX** (motion in area) above the fire *L.*

2. *Locationalized with XA- 'area' as o*: *with zero final: 33.36A, perhaps in compound:* **XAdAGdALAyah** fish-drying rack *L (XAdAG dALAyah 'pl. (d-class) O are placed above' or < XAdAGd LAyah 'pl. O are placed above'),* **XAdAGAya'L** fish-drying rack *L (see under (y)a),* **XAdAGAya'** God *(Rezanov and Khromchenko, see under ya'~Aya'), see also 2. and 3 below;*

with -d final 'at rest': Khromchenko Хатактъ 'Небо' ('sky') **XAdAGd** area above, 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 *M,* in heaven *61.9, 9A,* **Xi:d XAdAGd yi:nhinu:** those way up yonder inland, upland, upriver *(Ahtnas) 68.81A,* **q'ahs XAdAGd** clouds are high *M,* **'a:nd XAdAGd** up over here *L,* **XAdAGd da:X qu'di:xLah** I'll make a fish-drying rack < I'll put pl. d-class O in contact with something up above *L,* **Le't' 'u:d XAdAGd da:X 'iLitl'ihL** a box is hanging (tied to something up above) from the ceiling *L,* **XAdAGd da:X dAdAk'uwahdjg** plyboards for ceilings *L,* **XAdAGd cha'tl'** upland species of blueberry *G (Harrington),* **XAdAGd 'iLu' Liche'q'L** hang-up < (trees) hooked through each other above *G (Harrington),* **XAdAGd sich'iya'** God < my master above, in heaven *G (Harrington, cf. XAdAGAya' above),* **XAdAGdAlahGAyu:** upper Copper River Ahtnas, interior Alaskan Athapaskans *LM,* **XAdAGd ku:ndAGALahL** cocktail glasses < their thickest parts are at the top *L, with -d final compounded as o of o-ch'ahd 'from o':* **Xi:d XAdAGdAch'ahd** from up above (from uphill, upland, interior) *23.122, 25.55, 68.2A, with -dAX final:* **'Al XAdAGdAX k'ulAX 'i:t'inhinh** God < this chief on high *70.2, 4A.*

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2b. *As above, compounded with locative stem -u:- 'there' (cf. 3b.)*: *with -d final: Rezanov* Хаттакутъ 'Вѣ верху Oben' **XAdAGu:d** up there, in upper position, **XAdAGu:d ya: 'uXu:nLAyah** his upper teeth *L, with -ch' final:* **XAdAGu:ch' da:q' GAta'** put it (on something) up there! *L, as o of o-L-ch'a:d 'on side of o':* **XAdAGu:Lch'a:d (ya:) 'uXu:nLAyah** his upper teeth *L,* **XAdAGu:nLch'a:d (ya:) 'udAkuhd** his upper lip *L.*

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2c. *As 2a., compounded as o of o-'e' 'in place of o', compounded as o of o-d-q' 'on d-class o',* **XAdAGida:q'** < **XAdAG-'e'-d-q'**, *with -d final 'at rest, nominalization'*: **XAdAGida:q'd** upstairs,(in the) loft, ceiling *L, 2b.2L, 11.34, 34, 36, 65.23, 58A, with -ch' final:* **XAdAGida:q'Ach'** to the loft *65.19A, with -ch'ahd final:* **XAdAGida:q'Ach'ahd** (hanging) from the ceiling *2a.3M.*

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3. *With GA-L- (G-thematic, L-classifier) as o, 'of a series'* a. *with -d final*: **GALdAGd** in uppermost, highest, top position (of a series) *L.*

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3b. *As above, compounded with demonstrative stem -u:- 'there' (cf. 2b.)*: *with -d final:* **GALdAGu:d** way on top there, at the highest level there *M; with -ch' final:* **GALdAGu:ch' 'Aw qa' GAta:Linh** he's putting it up to the highest level *M.*

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-dAGe:' *(kinship noun, non-ascending, probably < o-dAG-'e' 'in place above, upland from o', but conceivably < *o-dAG-Aya', see Rezanov forms, ya'~Aya'; cf. -tsa'kih '(woman's) older sister' < -tsa'-kih 'downhill, diminutive, affectionate' and -:ndzkih '(woman's) brother' < 'forward of o, diminutive, affectionate')* 1a. younger sibling *(i.e. 'man's or woman's younger brother or younger sister, partly overlapping wih -:ndz-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* Сытокея 'Сестра ('sister') Schwester' *perhaps to be read (archaic?)* ***sidAGAya'**, *Furuhjelm* Setakhe 'younger brother; younger sister', sɪɒaqaɛ 'younger brother (man speaking), younger sister (woman speaking)' *BSdL 566A* **sidAGe:'** my younger brother, my younger sister *(man or woman speaking) LMS, used also as vocative; Minnie Stevens spoke of Mrs. Sheperd as* **sidAGe:'** *but addressed her as 'Agiyah L,* **Lila:' sidAGe:'** my younger brother < my male younger sibling *L,* **qe'L sidAGe:'** my younger sister *L, Rezanov* Сытакеяка 'Свояченица ('sister-in-law') Schwägerin' **sidAGe:'qa'** (*or archaic?* ***sidAGAya'qa'**) my younger sister's husband, sɪɒaqeiyayac 'older sister's son, older sister's daughter (woman speaking)' *BSdL 567A*

sidAGe:'yahsh my younger sister's child *(or archaic? sidAGAya'yahsh, or perhaps sidAGe:'ya' yahsh, literally 'my younger sibling's doll'),* siaɒaqaɛ 'wife's younger sister' *BSdL 567A* **si'ehddAGe:'** my wife's younger sibling, sitaɒaqaɛ 'husband's younger brother' *BSdL 567A* **siqa'dAGe:'** my husband's younger sibling *L,* sitqaɒaqaɛyɛtsi 'husband's father's younger brother' *BSdL 568A* **siqa'dAGe:'tsi:** my husband's younger brother's daughter *(or perhaps *-dAGAya'-), Khromchenko* Тукѣе *(in Ahtna column)* / Этукѣе *(in Eyak column)* 'Сестра' ('sister') **dAGe:'** *and* **'idAGe:'** your younger sibling *(man or woman speaking), for form without possessive prefix, cf. 'brother, son, daughter', with suffixed -shiyah perhaps slightly pejorative or meaningless:* sɪɒaqaɛcia 'younger step-brother (man speaking?)' *BSdL 568A* **sidAGe:'shiyah** my younger sibling, pejorative(?), *with suffixed -kih 'diminutive, affectionate':* **-dAGe:'kih** little, kid brother, sister *9.13, 14, 19, 20, 23, 24, 34, 82, 49.10A.*

1b. *With suffixed -G-yu: 'personal, plural',* **-dAGe:'GAyu:** younger siblings (collective), *also, and perhaps more frequently 'siblings (collective, both younger and older)': 18.41L, 34.6M, 42.19, 23L, 70.8A; with reciprocal possessor (or perhaps o of postposition):* **'iLdAGe:'GAyu:** brothers, sisters, brothers and sisters, siblings (to each other) *L, 33.58, 64, 49.1A (in all these textual incidences, 'sisters').*

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2a. *(noun, probably unclassified)* afterbith, placenta: **k'udAGe:'** an afterbirth *LM.*

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2b. *(noun, probably unclassified), in* **k'usahddAGe:'** spleen?, pancreas? < liver's younger sibling, *see under sahd1.*

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-dAGAleh *(perhaps < -dAG-) see dAGAleh k'udAGAts'e:' (conceivably -dAG-) see ts'e:'.*

dAGLA'eh *(analysis uncertain, perhaps preverb dAG 'upland' and Active imperfective verb theme LA-'eh, of unknown meaning, see 'e, or dAG perhaps Tlingit dʊ́ɢ, dáɢʷ 'cottonwood', Harrington from G: 'Yakutat [Tlingit] tóqʷ 'cottonwood' = C[ordova Eyak] ditto, knows"; and again "says Cordova tɑqᵚ same as Yak."; Li from A dɔqʷʰ 'cottonwood'; see also t'AXs~t'AXgs)*

dAGLA'eh *(noun, perhaps d-class)* kind of tree, looks like cottonwood *A (identification with cottonwood perhaps due to influence of Tlingit dʊ́ɢ, dáɢʷ, unknown to L), Harrington tà ˙qłe'è ˙h, tɑqłe'éh 'Douglas beach pine or birch?' G, in BAE ms. 4100: "the [Yakutat Tlingit] name łɛ́'ł [of 'Pinus contorta, shore pine'] is equated to Lh. [Tlingit] céexw [cf. Naish-Story šéx̱'ʷ '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] taqłe'eh, 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 taqłe'eh".*

dAGAleh *(unanalyzable, originally segmentable, dAG-leh, dA-GAleh, or dA-GA-leh, stem GAleh or leh, perhaps related to le(')~li, le~(l)i~ni, or le, prefix d-thematic or d-G-thematic, or perhaps postpositional phrase o-dAG 'above o')*

(-)**dAGAleh** *(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* Сытакалле 'Жизнь Leben' **sidAGAleh** my mind, Итакалекукотлехъ 'Поминить ('remember') behalten, sich erinnern' *perhaps to be read* **'idAGAleh**… your mind, **'idAGAleh Xu' 'u'dAGAL'a'** make up your mind! *L,* **sidAGAleh**

siya: yik'a'd I'm sorry, I'm worried < my mind hurts *L, Galushia Nelson* ìtàkálɛ' iyà qàk'àt 'you'll feel sorry' *BSdL 284, 558* **'idAGAleh 'iya: qa'kahd**, **sidAGALeh siya: dje:gLga' 'i:t'eh** (I have so much to do) I'm confused, in a tizzy < my mind is like a tangle *L,* **sidAGAleh siya: k'usha:dah sALiLinh** he hurt my feeling < he treated my feelings badly *L,* **Gu:djihyu:dAGAleh** wolves' minds (mentality) *25.137A,* **dAXunhyu:dAGAleh** people's minds (mentality) *25.139A,* **Lila:'ga' 'udAGAleh 'Awa: sAliLinh** her mind became like a man's *49.55, 57A, as o of o-xah(-ch') '(continuous) removal, loss of o':* **'udAGAlehxahch' GAle:Linh** he's getting senile *M, as o of o-yAq' 'in o' with -le,* S pleases o, capture o's fancy, o like S < S act in o's mind: *10.127, 129, 249, 11.49, 58, 100A, 34.70aM, 36.13, 68.34A, in indirect reflexive construction:* **dAGAlehyAq' 'AxdAle:k'** I (cust) please myself *L,* **dAGAlehyAq'Ach' GAdAle:Linh** he's getting proud of, pleased with himself *L,* **'udAGAlehyAq' 'Aw sAt'u'L** that pleased her *34.98L (probably blend with following), as o of o-ga' 'like o',* according to o's will, pleasure: **de:wahddunhuw 'idAGAlehga' Xe'X 'anh GALte:L** why did you let him (was it according to your will that he) take her out? *23.146A, usually with -t'e´~-t'u´,* S please o, o like S: *34.8M, 34.17, 21, 26, 31, 34, 39L, 34.51, 61M,* **sidAGAlehga' 'i:t'eh** it pleases me *M, in indirect reflexive construction:* **dAGAlehga' 'Aw 'uXa' sLiliLinh** he did it on purpose < he acted upon it according to his own mind *L, in other constructions, as o of o-yAq':* **sidAGAlehyAq' disLiqahGL** goes through (fell into) my mind *70.10A,* **sich' 'udAGAlehyAq'd k'usAtahLinh** he's got something, a grudge against me (that he's not saying) < something is in his mind toward me *L, indirect reflexive:* **dAGAlehyAq'd k'uxsLitahL** I've got something on my mind *L,* **'idAGAlehyAq'd k'a' ya' 'idita:** remember < you should keep it in your mind *L (incorrect, either possessive prefix or vocalized classifier to be deleted), as o of o-tl' 'with o' and 'i-d-le 'S (activity, phenomenon) occur',* S touch, affect, concern, worry o('s mind): **dik' 'udAGAlehtl' 'Aw 'idAle:G** it didn't concern, worry them, they didn't care *28.110A,* **dik' dAde:dunh 'udAGAlehtl' 'idAle:G** nothing concerned, worried her *49.3A, with subjunctive clause: 20.69fnA, usually with -dAGAleh as S of -t'e´~-t'u´:* **qa: GAqa:gX 'udAGAleh t'unhinh** she has a mind to, urge to bite us (humans) *25.138A,* **ts'idwAX 'AdAdAshe:X 'udAGAleh 'Awa: 'i:t'inhinh** his mind just dwelt on killing himself *61.3A,* **'idAGAleh 'iya: wAX 'i:t'eh, 'AdGAdAshe:X, dALich' 'idAGAleh** your mind is thus, on killing yourself, all the time, your mind *61.8A, with o-'e' 'in place of (absent) o':* **'Aw'e' sidAGAleh** I have my mind on it, my mind dwells on it *A, as O in construction C O-'-l-LXa´ 'S cause O to be C' with adjective as C, but often irregular with -dAGAleh in preverbial position, following instead of preceding C:* **k'udzu: 'idAGAleh 'u'la:yiLXah** that you may have a content (happy) mind *61.11A,* **k'udzu: 'idAGAleh 'iya: 'u'la:xiLXah** that I may make your mind content *61.18A,* **'i: 'idAGAleh k'udzu: 'u'la:yiLXah** that you may have a content mind *61.11A,* **sidAGAleh siya: k'ushiyah 'u'li:LXah** I feel guilty < it's making my mind bad *L, as S in construction C -Le('), 'S be, become C' with adjective as C, but, as preceding, often irregular with -dAGAleh in preverbial position, following instead of preceding C, and often with possessor as independent S (or in apposition with possessive prefix) rather than as grammatical possessor:* **'udAGAleh 'Awa: k'ushiyah qi:Leh** *18.85L,* **'udAGAleh 'Awa: k'ushiyah yiLinhinu:** they were feeling sad, unhappy < their minds were bad *29.38A (regular),* **k'ushiyah 'udAGAleh GALe' da:X** when she was in a bad mood < when bad was her mood? *25.138A,* **Li'q' dAXunhyu: 'udAGAleh k'ushiyah 'ALe:k'** all the people are (cust) unhappy *62.22G (order regular, but either to be glossed 'everybody, their minds were unhappy' or 'everybody was mentally bad', or corrected to Li'q' dAXunhyu:dAGAleh 'everybody's mind'),* **Li'q' 'a:ndAlahGAyu: 'udAGAleh k'Adzu: 'ALe:k'** all the people here are (cust) happy *62.21G (as preceding),* **Li'q' dAXunhyu: k'udzu: 'udAGAleh 'ALe:k'** everybody is (cust) in a good mood *64.11G (as preceding, but with order of -dAGAleh if S, and adjective reversed),* **k'Adzu: qa:dAGAleh qa:'a: q'e' 'i:liLe'wahd** so that our spirits may be content again *70.5A,* **'u:dAX 'a'd 'AnahshAkih sidAGAleh siya: qa'Le'** then my spirit would be very content *70.9A (order reversed), as C in C -Le(') 'S be, become C, S be, become C-y': with k'u-indefinite as S, 'something be C, C exist,' but often lacking possessive prefix as in indirect reflexive constructions above, and with personal*

suffixed therefore lacking grammatical antecedent: Rezanov Такалекоутлю 'Умной klug' **dAGAleh k'u:Linhinu:** they're smart, smart people *L,* **dAGAleh k'u:Linhinh** he's smart < his intelligence exists *M (perhaps all to be corrected to 'udAGAleh),* **'udAGAleh k'u:Linhinh** a clever, smart person *63.11G,* **dik' 'udAGAleh k'a'Le:G** she isn't sensible, smart, is promiscuous *49.2, 80A, as o of o-Xda:d 'without o':* **'udAGAlehXda:d 'a'Linhinu:** promiscuous woman (they who are without sense) *L (with analogical negative verb-prefix), Rezanov* Такалехтатетле 'Дуракъ, дура, dumm, Narr' **dAGAlehXda:d yiLeh** he's got no sense, is stupid *M (lacking possessive prefix),* **'ida'ya:lAX 'udAGAlehXda:d k'a'Le:G** she's too senseless, wanton *49.82A (k'u-indefinite, and negative prefix and suffix of verb probably all analogical), see also following.*

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dAGAlehXda:d *(noun, unclassified, dAGAleh as o of o-Xda:d 'without o', nominalized)* senselessness, stupidity, wantonness, promiscuity: **dAGAlehXda:dwahd** for (out of) wantonness *49.10A.*

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k'udAGAlehkih *(noun, unclassified, k'u-dAGAleh-kih 'someone's mind, diminutive')* small spider *L*: **k'udAGAlehkih 'i:ntl'i'ts'L ya:n'ch' 'AdGAdla:GALAwa'L** a spider is hanging down right over your head *L (any small spider, especially that characteristically hangs from a strand of web, a sign that "someone's thinking about you", not to be harmed).*

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k'udAGAlehdzu: 'a:n *(place-name) mythical creek* < good (frame of) mind river *L. (See also Swanton Tlingit Myths and Texts 302, 312 "Amusement Creek".)*

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'udAGAleh k'u:Leh *cat's name* < it's smart *A.*

dAGu:nihli:XdilAG~dAGu:niliXdiliG *(loan from Chugach, e.g. tuqunileq or tuqulineq 'dead tree (alder?)')*

dAGu:nihli:XdilAG *L,* **dAGu:niliXdiliG** *LA (place-name) Humpy Creek near Eyak Lake L, arm of Eyak Lake(?) A.*

dAq'

O-**lX-L-dAq'** S smash O (berries): **lAXi:LdAq'** squash them (berries, roe) into a mash! *L.*

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xAtl'lAXAdAq' *(noun, lXd-class)* snowball: **xitl'lAXAdAq' sich' lAXAdi:'a'** give me a snowball! *L. Deverbalized form of above, used adjectivally with xAtl'~xitl'~xutl' 'snow'.*

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O-**lXd-(L-)dAq'** S pack O (snow) into hard snowball *(L-classifier apparently optional, with no effect on meaning)*: **xitl' lAXAdAdAq'inh** she makes snowballs *18.56L,* **lAXAdi:dAq'**, **lAXAdi:LdAq'**, **lAXAda:dAq'**, **lAXAda:LdAq'** make a hard snowball! *L,* **xutl' da: lAXAda:de:q'k'** we (cust) pack snow into hard snowballs *L.*

dAq'Ata:L *(loan from Tlingit (Naish-Story) tuq'ατáł, Yakutat Tlingit (Sampson Harry) tʊq'ατáł 'trouser', W. Soboleff tʊx̣'ατáł < 'sack fitting around groin, seat')*

dAq'Ata:L *(noun, unclassified)* pants, trousers *LM*: *Galushia Nelson* ɒə́qə́tà·tɬ 'trousers' *BSdL 550,* **dAq'Ata:L le:Lguxah GAxLi:L** I'm removing (loose) hairs from my pants *L,* **dAq'Ata:Lluw** big pants *L, as o of o-lah 'around o' with k'ushd-anatomical '(lower) leg':* **dAq'Ata:Lk'ushdAlah** cuff, lower end of pantleg *L;* **mAdjiduhgdAq'Ata:L** bloomers < codfish-roe pants *L ("because they look like codfish eggs" L).*

dAX *(probably to be analyzed dA-X, with d- interrogative element as in de:1, du:, cf. also 'wAX under 'Aw~, 'lAX under 'Al~, with postpositional final element -X 'manner')*

dAX-k' *(interrogative numeral, probably always in construction with -d interrogative enclitic, -k' indefinite numeral, see k'1)* 1. how many?, how many, what(ever) number: *with enclitic: -ih~-i- not in construction with classified noun: 54.12fnG,* **dAXk'id** how many (bottles, dogs)? *M,* **dAXk'id 'ALqah 'iXa'** how many cards do you have? *L,* **dAXk'ih XAwa:d 'iXa'** how many dogs do you have? *L,* **dAXk'id sLiXa'tl'L** what time is it? *L, as o of postpositions:* **dAXk'ida'dAw 'isALXa'tl'L** what time is it? *L,* **dik' 'u:la'xLga:G dAXk'i(h)Xa'd q'e:'anh qu'xdah/qu'xdAqeh** I don't know what time I'll get back home (on foot/by boat) *L, in construction with classified nouns:* **dAXk' da:d da:na:** how much money? *L,* **dAXk' da: shdu:lihGd da'li:LXah** how many tables do you have? *L,* **dAXk' lAXa: la'mahdd 'iXa'** how many berries do you have? *L,* **dAXk' guka:dA'Aw** how many strands is that? *L,* **dAXk' 'a:na:d tAGL da'li:LXah** how many hammers do you have? *L,* **dAXk' 'a:na:d qAXah sLi'ahL** how many new moons? *L, with enclitic -nu: in constructions with nouns denoting humans:* **dAXk'nu:d sAqe:GAyu: 'iXa'** how many children do you have? *L,* **'Adu'yAGALAqa'L dAXk'nu:dunh sAsuhL** he's counting on his fingers how many (people) he's killed *55.12L,* **dik' 'udAGAlehtl' 'Aw 'idAle:G dAXk'nu:duw 'uyAXa' qa'yah** it didn't concern them how many would perish for it *28.110A.*

2. *Rhetorically interrogative,* a(n indefinite) number, quite a few, (just) a few: **dAXk'ih 'anhq'Ach'ahddAw 'isA'ehL** you've married from quite a few places *10.181A,* **dAtli: dAXk'ih 'u:ch' 'uleh GAlAGa'ya:L da:Xdunhuw** already a number of years are passing for her there and *25.40A,* **dAXk'ih Gu:djihduw** a number of wolves *25.122A,* **dAXk'ih(d) GAsu'duhnu:** quite a number of dryfish *60.4A,* **dAXk'id te'ya' 'iXa' da:X** how many fish you have and, when you have a number of fish *65.50A, Furuhjelm* Takhnakhah 'moon' *perhaps to be read* **dAX[k' 'a:]na:[d] qAXah** a number of moons, months, **dAXk' 'a:na:d** (in) a few (months) *70.3A,* a number (of montains) *25.77A,* **dAXk'nu: 'i'ehdGAyu:d** your wives (are) quite a few *10.179, 180A,* **dAXk'nu:d-** a number (of people) *25.53, 37b.23A,* (just) a few (people) *62.10, 67.12G, 68.74, 69.2A,* **dAXk'nu: Lila:'GAyu:duw** a number of men *25.130A;* **dAXk'da'Xd** what(ever) number of times, a number of times, however often *33.23A.*

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k'u-dAX *(negative adverb, with k'u- 'negative', sometimes k'AdAX; see also 'AdAX)* cannot, in vain, nohow: *4.12M, 10.257A, 16.5M, 28.73A, 53.20L,* **k'udAX** in vain, tried to but couldn't *L,* **k'udAX xtsu'dG** I can't sleep *L,* **k'udAX yAX xdAwe:XG** I can't swim, **k'udAX 'u:da' 'Ax-we:gG** I can't swim to there < I keep trying swimming thither to no avail *L,* **k'udAX guxtsu:xG** I can't thread it (needle) *L,* **k'udAX 'AxLku:n'dG** I can't grab it *L,* **k'udAX lah 'AdxLa'ya:XG** I can't move *L,* **k'udAX 'uda' 'Axle:gk'G** I (cust) can't reach it *L,* **k'udAX XAGi:ya:G da:X** if you can't eat it *L,* **k'udAXsh yitsu'dG** can't you sleep? *L.*

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'A-dAX *(probable analysis of 'AdAX, q.v., perhaps by back-formation from dik'udAX < dA-k'u-dAX, above with dA-* 'ipse', *or dAX with 'A- exclamatory prefix)*

dAXta'L *(origin unclear, probably Eyak, -ta'L possible stem, but no known prefix dA(-)X-)*

dAXta'L *(place-name) Duktoth River S.*

dAXunh *(unanalyzable, originally segmentable, perhaps dA-X-unh, dAX-unh, or dA-Xunh, dA- perhaps dA-classifier, or d-thematic, -unh perhaps third person*

singular of weak enclitics; informants unable to etymologize)

dAXunh *(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, Malaspina* Tejunenses, Tejuneses, Tujuneses, or Tejunes *(with Spanish endings), Rezanov* Тагогъ 'Старикъ ('old man') alter Mann, Greis', *Anonymous* Тага 'Человѣкъ', *Khromchenko* Тагу 'Старикъ' ('old man'), *Wrangell* Тогоонъ 'Mann', *Galushia Nelson* ɒə̀ɣ́ⁿ, ɒàɣ́ⁿ, ɒàɣ́ⁿ', ɒə́ɣ́ⁿ 'human being (ordinary person)' *BSdL 286, 542, 552, 556, 559, as head of various nominal constructions (frequent also in text):* **'utl' 'iLlah qe'xdAlinhinh dAXunh** my friend < person who I love each other with him *L,* **k'a't' k'ulahG dAXunh** Kodiak Eskimo < person who is an island-dweller *L,* **cha'nik'L( )dAXunh** jokester, comedian, funny person, person who always makes me laugh *L,* **Lila:'dAXunh** male person *34.84L, as pl.* people *(rare): 13.14, 21a.8L, 24.84A, with pejorative force* the fellow, guy, character: **'iLchi'sh dik' dAXunh 'AdAwi'Lga' 'i:liht'uhG** my godness the guy sure isn't in any hurry! *L,* **'i:yah chi'shdug dAXunh 'a'd dja:q'ga' 'iLu' qa' li' didigudjL** my goodness the fellow sure is tight-mouthed like a (hooked) bullhead! *72.16L,* **gehsdah 'anh dAXunh** that poor fellow! *L, with force of indefinite pronoun, in negative constructions,* anybody, a soul: **dik' dAXunh k'a'Le:G** there wasn't a soul *(animal or human) 25.73A,* **dik' dAXunh qi'G** place where there wasn't anybody *61.109A,* **dik' dAXunhXa' q'e' 'AsdAdahLGinh** he, she's not living with anybody anymore (maritally separated) *L,* **dik' dAXunhch' q'e' 'iqe'LA'anhGinh** (he's so uppity) he won't look at anybody anymore *L, with suffixed adjectives: Rezanov* Тагомушия 'Мущина Mann' **dAXunh**… **shiyah**, **dAXunhishiyah** old character, bad person *L, 9.28A,* **dAXunhi'lAw** huge person *37b.51A,* **dAXunhi'luw** big person *LM,* great man, big man *A,* **dAXunhiLsih** rotten guy *L, 72.12L,* **dAXunhikih** little (miniature) person *37b.34A, with -kih 'diminutive' in optative construction:* **dAXunkihshgahX si'a:n' Gi:ya:** I wish some (kind) person would come upon me *10.218A, with -yAquh-yu: 'young, offspring, pl.' (not normally of humans):* **dAXunhyAquhyu:** little people, dwarves, homunculi *7.22A, 37a.9L, 37b.27A, as C in construction* **dAXunh** O-**'-(l-)L-Xa´** S cause O to be a person: *11.26, 30A, usually reflexive,* S turn self into a person: *7.7, 9.56, 10.239, 20.25, 33.21A,* **dAXunh 'Adu'sLiXa'L** he turned himself into a person *L,* **k'ushiyah dAXunh 'Adu'lAGALAXah da:X** if you behave badly (make yourself be a bad person) *51.18A, less literally:* **'Aw du:sh siXa' dAXunh 'Adu'LiXah** 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* **dAXunh -Le(')** S be, become a person, anthropomorphic, *literally: 18.16L, 20.79, 81A, 21a.31L, 23.56, 83, 113, 115, 24.37, 25.199, 49.108A,* **dA'a: 'Ad-lAXAde:'d dAXunh sdiLe'L** in his own eyes he has become a person *L,* **dAXunh q'e' sdiLe'Linh** he turned back into a person *L, in more or less figurative meanings:* **dAXunh q'e' sdiLe'Linh** she (having been cut up) turned back into a (while living) person *38.12ML,* S be born: **di:yAX dAXunh GAxLe'LG** I wasn't born yet *57.2G,* **dAXunh sALe'L** you were born *M,* S live, conduct self, behave a certain way, be a certain kind of person (morally): **'a:wAyu: dAXunh yiLinhinu:**, **'a:wAyu: dAXunh qi:Linhinu:** they're bad people < they're a person barbarically *L,* **dAk'e:dunh dAXunh yiLeh**, **dAk'e:yu:dunh dAXunh yiLeh** whatever kind of person she is (morally) *L,* **sLa'dah dAXunh yiLinhinh** he's a wonderful person < he's a person beautifully *L,* **k'usha:dah dAXunh yiLinhinh** he's a bad person (a person badly) *9.28, 49.9A,* **k'udzu:dah** o-**tl' dAXunh -Le(')** S be nice (to o) *25.29, 49.5, 7, 51.84A,* **guGga' (qa:Xa') dAXunh yiLinhinh** he's treacherous, a doublecrosser, liar (with us) *L,* **siga' dAXunh GALe'** be like me! *L,* **ta:dz 'u'e'd dAXunh k'u:Lehyu: q'A'Aw** those are the things one used to live on in olden days *25.209A,* **te'ya'e'd dAXunh xiLeh** I subsist on fish *L,* **'Adk'u'liLigahwa:LX q'Aw dAXunh k'u:Leh** one behaves accordingly as one knows oneself, by knowing oneself *("you should know*

what you're talking about) 50.63A, **qe'LGAyu:k'inhda:d dAXunh yiLinhinh** he stays away from women *L,* **sahdX dAXunh xiLeh** I've been around (been a person) a long time, I'm old *L,* **sahdX dAXunh yiLinhinh** an old person *51.12, 12, 18A,* **tli: sahdX dAXunh yiLinhinu:** those who have already lived long *51.74A,* **dik' sahdX dAXunh 'AsLe'LGinh** she didn't live long *20.90A, instances ambiguously literal or figurative, of anthropomorphized S:* **sahdX wAX dAXunh yiLinhinh** he (anthropomorphized whalehead) was a person (lived?) thus for a long time *29.26A,* **te'ya'yu: Xi:d XAlahsd dAXunhyu: yiLeh** the salmon live (are people?) yonder out to sea *21a.18L,* **'ida: dAXunh yiLe:** how they (salmon) live, what kind of people they are *21b.23A, in nominal construction:* **tli: sahdX dAXunh** an old person < already long a person *60.24A, with -yu: 'plural',* people, humans *(as distinguished from non-humans): Rezanov* Тогою 'Люди, народъ Menschen, Leute, Volk', *Anonymous* Тагую 'Люди', *Baranov* Тагую 'Человекъ' ('person'), *Furuhjelm* Tahuiu 'Indians, people', *Galushia Nelson* ɒə̀x̣ɔ́ⁿìyù *or* ɒə̀x̣ɔ̀ⁿ'ìyù 'people' *BSdL 542* **dAXunhyu:** 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' dAXunhyu:G** not people, not humans *18.84, 31.13L, Anonymous* Кукунту тагую *(with н superscript insert)* 'Люди' ('people') **k'ugu:nt'u' dAXunhyu:**, *Baranov* Кутту-тагую 'Люди' **k'ut'u' dAXunhyu:** *(less grammatical)* many people, **dAXu'a:X** (**'uga'**) **dAXunhyu:** real people (like him) *33.40, 52A,* (**dA-**)o-**ga' dAXunhyu:** people (just) like o: *25.159, 160, 162, 181, 195, 196, 28.134, 137, 33.40, 50A,* **dAXunhyu:ch'iya'** chief < people's master *L,* **dAXunhyu:dAGAleh** people's, human mind *25.139A,* **dAXunhyu:ts'Alih(yu:)** people's, human bones *28.85, 85A,* **dAXunhyu:k'inhda:d sAdahLinh** menstruant < she who stays in a different place from people *L,* ɒəx̣ɔⁿiyu ɢəyatɬ 'menstruating woman (?), menstrual hut' *BSdL 542* **dAXunhyu:k'ah 'i:'yahL** menstruant < she's away from people *L,* **dAXunhyu:ya'** that which belongs to humans *9.86, 119, 140, 159, 160, 162, 10.186A, with suffixed adjectives:* **dAXunhyu:shiyah** "some" people *(sarcastic, pejorative) M,* **XAlahsd dAXunhyu:** "outside" (overseas) people *L,* **'a:ndAdAXunhyu:** proper decent people < here-people *L,* **'a:ndAdAXunhyu: dik' wAX dAXunh 'a'Le:G** people here aren't like that *L,* **'a'd dAXunhyu:** real (not fake) people < very much people *L,* **'a:wAyu: dAXunhyu:** barbarians, boors < barbarically people *L,* **dAXunhga' k'u:Ltl'a'g** draw a man! *L,* **dAXunhga' 'i:nLida:'** *L,* **dAXunhyu:ga' 'i:nLida:'** small owl species < has face like people's *LM,* **dAXunhyu:ga' 'i:nLilah** 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, frequently of uncertain interpretation): 53.1L, 54.2G, 58.1L, 68.64, 126 (and passim?)A, 60.75, 61A,* **dAXunhyu:ga' tsin'd-le** S peak Eyak (speak like Eyaks) *69.3, 6, 10A,* **dAXunhyu:ga' wAX dAGAle:'** say it in Eyak! < say thus like Eyaks! *L,* **dAXunhyu:dA'e' k'uxtsinh, dAXunhyu:di:'q' k'uxtsinh** I'm singing an Eyak song (singing in native vocal style) *L,* **dAXunhyu: dAL'ah** old fashioned native grease-lamp *L (see under 'a), as head of compound with noun referring to animals or other objects, perhaps poor usage, roughly equivalent to -wAlah(yu:) 'spirit(s)', of mythical beings: Galushia Nelson* lí·stáɒáx̣ɔ̀ⁿ *or* lí·stáɒə́x̣ɔ̀ⁿ 'Tree Man' *BSdL 544* **lisdAdAXunh**, lístáɒáx̣ɔ̀ⁿ'iyù 'Tree-people' *BSdL 508, 544* **lisdAdAXunhyu:** tree-people *37b.54A,* **ts'inhGdAXunhyu:** alder-people *34.1, 1M,* **GAdAGiLch'e'dAXunhyu:** brass-people *34.77L,* **ku:nLda'ts'dAXunh** stump-person *10.259A,* **tsa:dla:dAXunh** *10.220, 221, 229, 237, 238A,* **tsa:dAXunh** stone-man *10.231A,* **sahxdAXunh** cockle-person *10.231, 245A,* **sahxdAXunhyu:** cockle-people *10.231, 231A,* **shAlAGdAXunh** butterclam-person *10.246A,* **shAlAGdAXunhyu:** butterclam-people *10.231A,* **XAdich'e:'dAXunhyu:** red-tip clam-people *10.231, 231A,* **qe'L'AdXALA'ahdAXunhyu:** female horseclam-people *10.247A,*

tsi:nydAXunh mussel-person *10.247A,* **tsi:nydAXunhyu:** mussels-people *10.247A,* **dji:da:dAGdAXunh** razor-clam-people *10.248, 249A, Galushia Nelson* maⁿkɑpɪtɬiaɒaχ́ⁿ'iyù *BSdL 304,* maⁿkɑpɪtɬiyaɒəχ́ⁿ'iyu 'around-the-lake people (dwarfs)' *BSdL 544* **ma:gudAtl'AlahdAXunhyu:**.

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***dAXunhdzu:** [dAXù:dzú:] *(personal name)* 1. *Mary Bremner, mother of Suzie Abraham, of Bering River (from Suzie Abraham) XIV.44.*

2. *Judy Ramos A XVI.50.*

dAwa:guh *(loan from Tlingit, Yakutat (Sampson Harry, Walter Soboleff) dɑwàgʊ 'snuff (e.g. "Copenhagen")', ultimately of European (probably not Russian) origin, perhaps through Chinook Jargon)*

dAwa:guh *(noun, unclassified)* snuff, ground mouth-tobacco *LAS (obsolescent, only older Eyaks used this word LA), Wrangell* Таваку 'Tabak', *perhaps also in Rezanov* Кутакетъ 'Табакерка Tabaksdose' *perhaps to be read* [**dAwa:**]**guhda'ke:d** snoffbox, *corresponding Tlingit entry Токутакетъ perhaps to be read dɑw[à]gʊ dakèd, see da'ke:d~da:ke:d.*

dAwa'

dAwa'd *(unanalyzable, but almost certainly segmentable, dA-wa'd, dAwa'-d, or dA-wa'-d, probably with dA-* 'ipse' *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 -wa'-, perhaps related to wa:)*

dAwa'd 1. *(exclamation)* hurry!, quickly!, fast! *L, 11.195, 195A, 15.23M*: **dAwa'd dAwa'd** hurry! hurry! *61.106A,* **dAwa'd dAwa'd dAwa'd** hurry hurry hurry! *49.139A, with -uh emphatic as with imperative verb (or with -duh emphatic?): Rezanov* Туату 'Скоро schnell', Туату 'Тотчасъ sogleich' **dAwa'duh** hurry!, quick! *L,* Аттуату 'Скоряе schnell (Comparativ)' **'a'd dAwa'duh** very quickly!.

2. *(adverb)* quickly, fast, in a hurry, immediately, soon, early, easily: *Anonymous* Tya 'Скорѣе' ('more quickly') **dAwa'**[**d**], Ягутуа 'Тише' ('quietly!') **ya'Xu: dAwa'**[**d**] don't … fast!, **dAwa'd 'a'de: q'ah** hurry! *L,* L, 18.33, 58L, 21b.39, 32.20A, 47c.16L, 61.84, 69.16, 15A

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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,*

dAmAXch' *(variant of qAmAXch'; L certain of authenticity)*

dAmAXch'L *(noun, d-class, with -L-instrumental suffix)* soft rotten spot or hole in ice over body of water: **dAmAXch'da'luw** large treacherous spot in ice *L,* **dAmAXch'LdA'e' q'AGi:ya:G** don't fall in treacherous spot in ice! *(certain she has heard this) L.*

dAma' *(perhaps to be segmented dA-ma', see ma', dA-prefix perhaps d-thematic 'oral, noise' or dA-* 'ipse'*)*

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

dAldu:deh *(loan from Ahtna dıldudı 'squirrel', not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

dAldu:deh *(noun, unclassified)* squirrel *LMA, same animal as tsALk' L, dAldu:dehta:' name of Eyak man S, same name as tsALk'Ata:' L.*

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dAldu:de:ta:' *(personal name) Eyak man* < father of gray squirrel *S (same as tsALk'(A)ta:' L).*

dAleh *(occasionally also dileh L, perhaps to be analyzed dA-leh, but cf. Athapaskan *-de' 'horn')*

-dAleh *occurring only in* **-:n-dAleh** *(< -l-dAleh, but never actualized *-lAdAleh, noun, unclassified)* horn, antler: *Rezanov* Кумтелле *(with initial K crossed out)* 'Рога Horn' **'u:ndAleh** its horn(s), **k'u:ndAleh** horn(s) (of moose, mountain-goat, caribou, "anything") *LM,* **k'u:ndAlehkih k'uGALe'L** an animal is just getting its horns < something is becoming horns (diminutive) *L,* **'u:ndAlehX 'iLu' dAGAdjg** they (mountain-goats) are betting each other with their horns *L, Galushia Nelson* ɢúⁿɒɑ̀lɛ̀' ɕtɬ *or* ɢúⁿnɒɛ̀lɛ̀' ɕtɬ 'horn spoon' **k'u:ndAlehshiL**, **k'u:ndAlehtsa'L** knife made of animal horn *L.*

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'u:ndAleh k'u:Leh bull < it has horns *L.*

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'u:ndAleh k'uLehli'Xqid *(place-name) cow bay G (Harrington).*

dAni:gih *(loan from Ahtna dınigı 'moose', not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

dAni:gih *(noun, unclassified)* moose *LA, 27b.2, 26A.*

duk' *(perhaps reduced form of du'k')*

LA-duk' S be humped, have hump, lump on it: **sLiduk'L** it got a hump or lump on it *L,* **qi' sLiduk'Lq' qa' shA'a'ch'L** they climbed up on a hillock, hump (place which has a hump on it) *L.*

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GALAduk'L *(noun, unclassified, nominalized Inceptive perfective)* mound, hillock, hill *LMA*: **GALAduk'Lluw** big mound, hill *LM,* **GALAduk'Lkih** small mound, hillock *LM,* **GALAduk'Lta:s** across, over a mound, hill *L.*

dux~dAx~dAxw *(LM dux, SG dAx, A usually dux, occasionally dAxw, Rezanov мых twice, mox perhaps once, mex six times, some instances of which are probably expanded de:x, or, conceivably, dix)*

gl-dux *meaning obscure, attested only in* **'Aw che:y 'ida'ya:lAX gu:nsAduxL** 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-strip of Li, transcribed* k'lí·ʸᵘdu' 'beaver-dam', *perhaps gAli:dux, but see also du'.*

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LA-dux 1. S float, drift along, away: **'u:dAX GALAduxL** it was floating by there *47c.58L,* **sLiduxL** it floated away *M, with class-marks:* **dla:sLiduxL** it (net) drifted away *L,* **'i:nsLiduxL** it (paddle) drifted away *L, with perambulative:* **yAX LA-dux-X** S float about: *10.14, 28.81A,*

’Aw ’Aw te’ya’yAq’AGi’ya’ yAX LAde:xk’ fish-guts (cust) float around *60.1A,* **yAX xLAduxX** I'm floating around *LM, with various preverbs: with yAq' 'ashore': 5.8, 9L, 10.16, 17, 27, 11.169, 170, 24.91, 92A,* **sitl’ yAq’ GALAduxX** let it float ashore with me (in it)! *10.14A (hortatory subjunctive),* **ta’Lteh yAq’ ’iLiduxL** dead fish has floated ashore *L (Neuter perfective), with lahdz 'forward, out from shore': 28.75, 80A, with li' 'downstream':* **ya:Xtl’Aqa’ ’u:dAX li’ GALAduxL** it (bottle) is floating along downstream there upside-down *L, with qa' 'up, out': 12.9G,* **qa’ sLiduxLduh** it (shot seal) floated to surface!. *Transitive (causative)* O-**L-dux**: **’ALdux** set it afloat *L; passive:* **sdiduxL** someone made, let i drift away *L; reflexive* **'Ad-LA-dux** S float, drift (voluntarily, e.g. in boat): *1a.4, 1b.2, 46.14M,* **tanhXAdli:nahsd ’ahnu:dAwa: ’AdGALAduxL** they were riding (holding position) outside the breakers waiting for her *37a.21L, repetitive with qa' 'up, out':* **dA’u:d qa:nch’ ’AdLAduxg** it kept bobbing up right there *10.95A, with perambulative:* **da: yAX ’AdLAde:xk’** we (cust) go floating silently around (in a canoe) *L.*

2. *Repetitive with li'X '(movement) downstream'*: **li’X LAduxg** tide keeps "drifting" (ebbing) down a bit *L.*

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3. *With yAX 'downward'*: **yAX LA-dux** S lose horizontal support: (1) **siqe:sgu:nLGAmAdL siya: yAX siduxL** my ankle turned *L,* **yAX sLiduxL** (2) it got stranded at ebbtide *L,* (3) it (e.g. roof) caved in *LM,* (4) it fell in deadfall *(cf. 4. and duxL) L. Transitive (causative)* **yAX** O-**L-dux**: **yAX siLduxL** I trapped it in a deadfall *L.*

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4. *Transitive (causative) only:* O-**L-dux** S snap O (deadfall); S trap O in deadfall: **’ALdux** snap deadfall *L,* **qa: Lduxinu:** they trap us in deadfalls *25.167A; with indeterminate O, detransitivized:* **’iLAduxinu:** they were trapping (with deadfalls) *23.1A,* **qi’ ’iLAduxda:X** by where he was trapping *23.6A.*

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5a. *With ya' 'completely, to state of rest':* **ya' LA-dux** S cease undesirable behaviour, desist, behave: *Rezanov* Яянтлетехъ 'Перестать aufhören' **ya’**…**LAdAx** *(or optative* **ya’ ’iLidAx**) *or, with expanded stem,* **-de:x** *?,* Яатлетехке 'Резвой ('lively') munter, heiter' **ya’ ’ALAde:xk’inh** he (cust) quiets down obediently *M (or possibly a reflexive, q.v.),* **ya’ ’ALAdux** don't do it!, settle down!, stop fooling around!, behave! *L,* **ya’ ’ALAdAx** behave!, *S; transitive* **ya'** O-**L-dux**: *Rezanov* Яселтыхль 'Пересталъ hörte auf' **ya’ sALdAxL** he (or you) made him desist *or* **ya’ siLdAxL** I made him desist, **ya’ siLduxL** I made him stop, behave *L,* **ya’ ’ALduxinh** quiet him down! *L; reflexive: Rezanov* Яатлетехке 'Резвой ('lively') munter, heiter' *possibly* **ya’ ’AdLAde:xk’inh** he (cust) quiets himself down obediently *M, or repetitive:* **ya’ ’AdLAdAxginh** he (repeatedly) quiets himself down, he keeps trying to quiet himself down. *Rezanov* Гольтохли 'Звалъ rief' *may possibly read* [**ya’**] **GALduxLinh** he's making him desist, *but perhaps more simply GALt'uxLinh, for which see t'ux.*

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d-LA-dux *(preceding with d-thematic 'oral, noise')* 1. **ya' d-LA-dux** S become silent, cease talk, noise *(cf. d-LA-Ga' and, much less polite, ya' dl-dA-gwa´~)*: *Rezanov* Ятатлетыхъ 'Перестань ('stop!/behave!') höre auf!' **ya’ da:LAdAx** (*or optative* **ya’ da:LidAx**), Ядалетехъ 'Нешуми lärme nicht!' *same as preceding or with expanded stem -de:x, as also* Ятадетехъ 'Молчи schweige!', **ya' da:LAdux** be quiet *L, 11.180fnAL,* **ya’ da:Liduxinh** let him shut up! *L, Rezanov* Яталехлетехъ 'Помирись ('be reconciled') versöhne dich!' **ya’ da:lAXLAdAx** (*or, with expanded stem* **-de:x**) pl. be silent! (*or optative* **ya’ da:lAXLi-**), **sAqe:GAyu: q’Aw ya’ da:LAde:xk’** children would (cust) be quiet *60.1A,* **dixsLiduxL** I shut up *LM. Transitive (causative)* **ya’** O-**d-L-dux** S silence O: **ya’ dAGALduxinh** make him shut up! *M; passive:* **ya’ xudisLiduxL** I've been silenced *L.*

2. *With dit'a' '(stuck) behind something, impeded, difficult' and d-thematic 'oral, noise', repetitive,* **dit'a' d-LA-dux** S stutter, speak hesitantly: *Rezanov* Тытаадель Этлетехкъ *(with*

ель crossed out and ъ- written above) 'Заика Stotterer' **dit'a'**[**ch'**?] **dALAdAxg** he stutters, you stutter (*or customary* **-de:xk'**)*,* **dit'a'ch' dAxLAduxg** I stutter, speak hesitantly *L.*

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3. *With d-thematic 'oral, noise'(?)* **d-LA-dux** S drowse off: **dAGAxLAduxL** I'm just about to fall asleep, **di'dahsh dixsLiduxL** did I drowse off? *L.*

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duxL *(noun, unclassified, -L-instrumental deverbalization, see LA-dux 3., 4.)* deadfall trap *LA,* weasel trap *L, with -L-instrumental suffixed to stem*: *23.21, 26, 27A,* **duxL'a'luw** big deadfall *L,* **ts'iyuhya' duxL** deadfall for blackbear *L,* **ts'iyuhya' duxL** deadfall for blackbear *L. Galushia Nelson* ɒɔxtɬ 'deadfall' *BSdL 550. Types and uses of deadfalls are described in BSdL 100-102.*

,

yAX 'AdALAduxX *(noun, unclassified?)* raft *(in Austerlitz notes; nominalized Active imperfective of LA-dux 1., causative reflexive,* < it makes itself drift about), *not verified.*

di:

di: *(perhaps noun, syntactic status uncertain, attested with few themes, always in association with o-li' 'deeply into o')* anger, grudge, spite, *see o-li' 3., d-'ya 3., 'i-d-le 2b.; as o of o-ga' 'like o': o-li' di:ga' 'i-leh~ 'S be mad at o', see 'i-leh~ 2b. under le(')~li; cf. also o-li' 'i-d-L-a ´ 'S hate o', under which forms like o-li' 'idi:- may have given rise secondarily to di: by phonological development o-li' 'idi:- > o-li'di:- then restructured.*

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o-**di:-ch'** *(postposition, with -ch' final only)* unwisely with respect to, trouble from, in spite of o, *attested only with theme -le 24. 'S act unwisely with respect to o, head, ask for trouble from o'.*

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o-**d-di:-ch'** *(postposition, as above, with d-thematic, 'oral, noise')* in spite of what o say: **sidAdi:ch' sAliL** you didn't listen to what I said and got into trouble, "I told you so" *L.*

di:tinh~di:ntinh *(unanalyzable, to be segmented di:-tinh if of Eyak origin, variant di:n- more frequent than di:-, but nasalization probably due to assimilation, conceivably Neuter imperfective of verb theme d-tinh with d-thematic, unidentifiable stem -tinh, informants unable to etymologize)*

di:tinh~di:ntinh *(noun, unclassified)* sea-parrot, sea-pigeon, *i.e.* tufted puffin (Lunda cirrhata, Fratercula corniculata) *and/or* (pigeon?) guillemot (Cepphus columbia) *and/or* (rhinoceros?) auklet (Cerorhinca monocerate): *Rezanov* Тынтынъ 'Ипатка, птица' *(not in Radlov, corresponding Tlingit entry Хыккъ),* Топорокъ 'Тентенъ, птица' *(not in Radlov, corresponding Tlingit entry Хекъ, Naish-Story x̣íg 'puffin or rhinoceros auklet'),* **di:tinh** *L,* **di:ntinh** sea-parrot, sea pigeon *LA (same bird as Tlingit s'ɑwán A, see Krause ssavon 'guillemot, Gepphus').*

di:yAX~diyAX *(former variant more frequent than latter; perhaps segmentable, e.g. dA-(...)yA(-)X, but analysis and identification of elements entirely uncertain; cf. o-d-L-yAX 'before')*

di:yAX~diyAX *(negative adverb)* not … yet, *attested once with Active perfective verb*: **di:yAX 'AdAxsdAkusLG** 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:yAX 'AdGAxdAkusLG** I haven't washed myself yet (haven't started) *L,* **di:yAX ya:n' GAxte:LG** I'm not lying down yet

L, **di:yAX Xu' dAGAdAle:LG** it's never been planed yet *L,* **di:yAX q'e' 'iGAdA'e:LGinh** he's not getting remarried yet *L,* **di:yAX q'Aw 'Awga' ('a')GAda'LG** it's not big enough yet *LM,* **di:yAX 'Awga' ('a')Gi:da'LG** you're not big enough yet *LM,* **diyAX 'Awga' ('a')GALda:sLG** it's not heavy enough yet *M,* **di:yAX 'Awga' GALAts'a:nGinh** he's not strong enough yet *M,* **diyAX 'Aw dAGALAde:gLGinh** he's not learning to understand it yet *M,* **diyAX 'Aw 'u'GALAde:gLGinh** he's not learning how to do it yet *M,* **diyAX qAdAGAL'ehdLG** they aren't dry yet *M,* **diyAX ya:n'ch' yAX GAlAGa'ya:LG** tide hasn't started to ebb down yet *L; with clause subordinated to da:X 'and, when',* not … yet … and, before …: *9.106, 11.125, 23.136, 24.78, 28.30A, 34.47L, 57.2G, 61.1, 75A,* **ya'Xu: qa' qu'yiyah diyAX GAxsi:nLG da:X** don't leave before I die (while I'm not yet dead) *L; optional in clause subordinated to dAwa: 'whereupon, while, as, when',* not … yet … whereupon, before …: *18.61, 34.104L,* **ya'Xu: qu'Xi:yah di:yAX ya:n' Gi:da:LG dAwa:** don't eat before you sit down *L,* **'ALxut'inh diyAX 'ich' 'iGALAxut'LG dAwa:** shoot him before he shoots you (while he has not yet shot at you)! *L,* **'uch' 'Aw 'Atin'inh (di:yAX) GAki:nXLG dAwa:** give it to him before he cries! *L,* **(di:yAX) 'Awk'ah lAGi:ta:LG dAwa:** before you forget it *L,* **di:yAX sahdXG dAwa:** before long *24.24, 61.44A; with proclitic dA-* 'ipse': **dAdi:yAX 'ulAX k'u'GAL'a:nLG** nobody yet ever saw it *L,* **diAdi:yAX ta' dAGALqahGLG da:X** before it fell into the water *61.75A.*

di:ya' *(perhaps di:-ya', see ya'~Aya', di:- unidentified)*

di:ya' *(noun, gl-class)* salt water, salt *LM, 3.1M*: *Rezanov* Тыя 'Море Meer', Тыягунчухль 'Соль Salz' *(probably di:ya' gu:nch'[a:]xwL 'salwater is silty'),* Етльтыя 'Солоно salzig' *(...di:ya'), Furuhjelm* Tia 'salt', *Galushia Nelson* ɒi·a', *Old Man Dude* ɒí·yà' 'salt water (also table salt or light blue)' *BSdL 537,* **di:ya' 'u'lAGALXa'** salt it (fish)! < make it salty! *L,* **di:ya' 'uq' qu'gAli:xLah** I'll salt it (food) < I'll put salt on it *L,* **di:ya' 'uq' yAX qu'gu:nxLAwus** I'll sprinkle salt on it *L,* **di:ya' sich' gAli:Lya'** give me some salt (in a container)! *L,* **di:ya'gAlAchahsh** coarse salt *M,* **di:ya'gu:nt'u'** lots of salt, lots of salt water *LM,* **lAXkihga' di:ya' yiLeh** it's a little too salty *M, Rezanov* Тыяуятъ-охатуль 'Солонка Salzfass' **di:ya' 'uya'd 'uX …t'u'L** < container in which there is salt, **di:ya' 'uya'd gu:ndiya:'**, **di:ya' 'uya'ch' gu:ndiya:'**, **di:ya' 'uya'ch' gu:ndAyah** < salt is put in it, **di:ya'Ltah** < 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:ya' was 'salt water'. It also frequently occurs declassified as the o of pps. in a variety of expressions: with o-ya'd '(in) o topographically as a body of water': Galushia Nelson* ɒi·ya'ya't 'sea' *BSdL 537,* **di:ya'ya'd** sea, ocean *L,* **di:ya'ya'd GAnuh** saltwater duck (generic), canvasback, *also* scaup *L, with o-tl' 'with o':* **di:ya'tl' 'i:Lsih** salt-fish < it's rotted with salt *L,* **di:ya'tl' gudAsu'** salted dry-fish *L, with o-ga' 'like o (in taste)':* **dik' di:ya'ga' qu'LAgAmihG** it won't taste salty *L, or, frequently, 'like o (body of saltwater, in color)': 66.10L, Rezanov* Тиякоите 'Зеленой grün', Тиягойте 'Голубой hellblau', **di:ya'ga' 'i:t'eh**, *Anonymous* Таякветѣ 'Голубый', *Baranov* Тыяквѣти 'Голубый' **di:ya'gwä' 'i:t'eh**, *Galushia Nelson* ɒi·ya' 'blue' *BSdL 553,* **di:ya'ga' 'i:t'eh** (it') green, light blue, bluegreen *LM, Galushia Nelson* ya·kt ɒi·a' kɛ'i·t'ɛ' 'sky blue is' *BSdL 558* **ya:q'd di:ya'ga' 'i:t'eh**, *Rezanov* Тиекольгете 'Биссеръ ('beads') Glasperlen', **di:ya'ga' lAXi:t'eh** green beads < it (lX-class, 'berry like') is green *L,* **di:ya'ga' sAliL** it turned green *L.*

,

di:ya'gulA'e'd *(place-name) near Yakutat(?), village at mouth of Lost River* < salt-water place (salt-water absent or intermittently present). *The Tlingit name of a village or camp at the mouth of Lost Creek, also gʊšanέ, 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'gulA'e'd means 'salt water comes in there.'*

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di:ya'guda'd mouth of a body of salt water *is a possible etymology for Tlingit yag^{w}dad 'Yakutat'. Some of de Laguna's Yakutat informants told her that yag^{w}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.*

dih *(identity uncertain, element or elements in 'Ashdih 'whereabouts unknown', k'a:dih 'absent', Xa'-dih 'visiting', see under 'Ashdih, k'a:, Xa'~; basic meaning perhaps 'presence, location'; perhaps ultimately d-ih)*

de

d-LA-de *(attested only with d-thematic 'bright')* S emit light: **diLidehL** it's glowing, shining, a light is on *LM,* **dAGALAde:L** it's starting to glow *L,* **disLidehL** it flashed (once); a light went on *L, with perambulative:* **yAX dALAde:X** it's shining about *LM,* **yAX disLidehL** it shines about *(Neuter) L,* **dik' yAX qu'dALAde:G** (*or* **-dehG**) it won't shine about *L; repetitive:* **dALAde:g** it's flashing on and off *LM. Transitive (causative)* O-**d-L-de** S cause O to emit light, S turn O (light) on: **dAGALde'** flash it! *M,* turn light on! *L,* **di:Lde'** turn light on! *L,* **disiLdehL** I flashed it (once) *M,* **dide'L disiLdehL** I turned a lamp on *L,* **dixiLdehL** I have a light on *L,* **dik' 'ich' da'LdehLG** I'm not shining it at you *L,* **siX k'udAsALdehL** someone shone a light on me *L,* **dAGAxLde:L** I'm turning a light on, making it start to glow *L,* **k'udisiLdehL** I turned something (a light) on *L, with perambulative:* **yAX dAxLAde:X** I'm shining a light around *M,* **yAX da:LAde:** shine it around! *M; passive:* **disdidehL** a light was turned on *L, repetitive:* **dAde'L dAdAde:g** a light is being turned, flashed on and off *L.*

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dide'L(**~dA-**) *(noun, d-class, -L-instrumental deverbalization of d-LA-de)* light, lamp, clamshell lamp, electric light: *5.3, 5 (used metaphorically for 'vital organ, heart'), 31.16L, Rezanov* Тытъ-эиль 'Шандаль Leuchter', *Galushia Nelson* ɒi'ɒä́tł *or* ɒi'ɒä́'tł 'clamshell lamp' *BSdL 547,* **dide'LdAdzu: 'u:d dAsA'ahL** a pretty lamp is there *L.*

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k'uLe'xtl'ga' 'i:t'eh dide'L (or **dA-**) *(noun, unclassified)* light-bulb < light which is like a bladder *L.*

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dide'L qi:dla:Lq'a:g *(noun, qi:l-class)* electric light wire < ropelike thing repeatedly causes light to burn *L. (Eyak lamps are discussed in BSdL 43.)*

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dAGALAde:L *(noun, d-class?)* flashlight *L; (unclassified)* smelt *("because it's transparent") L. Inceptive perfective nominalized.*

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dAGAdAde:L *(noun, d-class?)* flashlight *L; (unclassified)* smelt *("because they're shiny") L,* **dAGAdAde'L te'ya'** candlefish, needlefish < fish which is being made to shine *M. Passive Inceptive perfective nominalized.*

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yAX dALAde:X *(noun, d-class?)* flashlight *L. Perambulative Active imperfective nominalized.*

,

dAdAdeh *(noun, d-class?)* flashlight *L. Passive Active imperfective nominalized.*

de´

O-**LA-de´** 1. S learn O, have, acquire O (skill, ability); *O, where overt, is usually a gerundive*: **dA'a: 'Aw kAna's k'uqu'wAshe:ch'L 'idehdah Lideh** for wolverine really knew how to hunt *15.3M,* **dita:dz xsLide'L k'uGAdjg** I learned long ago how to paddle *71.20ML, Rezanov* Кохлитенъ 'Мастеръ Meister, geschickt' **k'uLidinh**[**inh**] he (who) knows how to do something *or* **k'uxLideh** I know how to do something, Тлитейшъ-у? *(with initial T crossed out, x written above)* 'Умѣешъ ли? verstehst du?', **Lidehshuh** do you know how? *L,* **'AXAkih Xu' 'Ale:lsh Lideh** do you know how to make a canoe? *L,* Ухлитетъ 'Умѣю ich verstehe' **'Aw xLideh**… or **xwLideh**… I know how to do it, **dik' 'a'xLAde:G** I don't know how *L,* **'isda:l k'a' 'ud 'i:Lde'g** teach it (dog) to sit *L,* **'ud k'a' k'uliLde'g** teach it something *L,* **'isda:l GALAde'Linh** he (baby) is learning to sit *L,* **xsLide'L** I learned how *L.*

2. *Causative, attested only in repetitive* o-**d** O-**L-de´-g** S teach o O: *Rezanov* Колильтекъ 'Учить lehren, unterrichten' **k'uliLde'g** *(optative? 'he, you should teach something, someone should teach it'),* Коэльтекъ 'Учи lehre!' **kw'iLde'g** *?, cf. Furuhjelm Khveta under da:',* **'ud k'u'Lde'ginh** (*or* **k'a'L-**, **k'u:L-**) teach him something! *L,* **yAX 'iswe:X sid 'ALde'g** teach me to swim (about) *L,* **gah sid Lde'ginh** he's teaching me to dance *L; indirect reflexive* **'Ad-d** O-**LA-de´** (> **'Ad**-O-) S teach self O, practise O: **'Adqu'xLAdeh** I'll practise it *M,* **'AdxsLide'L** I practised it *M; usually repetitive 'Ad-d O-LA-de´-g (> 'Ad-O-):* **'AdxLAde'g** I'm practising it *M,* **'AdxLAde:gk'** I (cust) practise it *M.*

,

O-**d-LA-de´** *(with d-thematic 'oral, noise')* 1. S have, acquire O (Active or passive linguistic skill; S understand O('s speech): *47b.30M, 68.128 (Neuter customary negative), 129, 69.11, 13, 14, 15 (Active customary negative), 16, 17, 20A,* **dixLideh** (*or* **dux-**) I understand (what is being said) *LM,* **dAGAxLAde'L** I'm learning it; I'm catching on, beginning to understand *L,* **dik' 'iqe'dALAde:Ginh** (*or* **-dehG-**) he won't understand you *L,* **dik' dAxsLAde'LG** I didn't learn it; I didn't understand *L,* **dik' qa: da'LAde:Ginh** (*or* **-dehG-**) he doesn't understand us *L,* **dik' qa: da'LAde:Ginh** (*or* **-dehG-**) he doesn't understand us *L,* **xudiLide:sh** do you understand me? *M,* **diLidehshuh** do you understand? *L,* **dAGAxLAdehX 'ixleh** I want to learn it *L,* **'ida:xLAdeh da:X** when I start to understand you (your language) *L,* **'idi'xLAdeh da:X** just as I was beginning to understand you (your language) *(Active conditionals),* **'idAGAxLAdeh da:X** when (or if) I understand you *(Inceptive conditional) L; repetitive* O-**d-LA-de´-g** S understand O intermittently: *Rezanov* Туфлетекъ 'Глухой ('deaf') taub' **duxLAde'g** I understand intermittently, snatches of it *L (or perhaps a thematic negative duxLAde:G 'I'm unable to understand' ?),* **'ida:xLAde'g da:X** when I get to understand you somewhat *L.*

2. *Causative* o-**d** O-**d-L-de´**: **'id qu'di:xLdeh** I'll make you understand *L,* **sid dAsALde'L** he taught me it *L; usually repetitive* o-**d** O-**d-L-de´-g** S teach o O (linguistic skill): **tsin'dAle:l sid di:Lde'g** teach me to speak! *L,* **'id dAxLde'g** I'm teaching you (word, speech); *indirect reflexive repetitive* **'Ad-d** O-**d-LA-de´-g** (> **'Ad**-O-) S practise O (word, speech): **'Adqu'dAxLAde'g** I'll practise (speech) *A,* **'Adk'udAxLAde'g** I'm practising something (speech) *L, with perambulative:* **yAX 'Adk'udALAde'gXinh** he's going around practising something (speech) *M. Passive repetitive* O-**d-dA-de´-g** O be partly intelligible: **di'dah xudAdAde'g** one understands me a bit, I'm intermittently fairly intelligible *L.*

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(**du:xLideh** sandhill crane, *a reshaping probably influenced by this theme, Rezanov* Тульхете 'Глупышъ, птица' *(not in Radloff), Tlingit dúł 'crane')*

de:1 *(perhaps to be analyzed d-e: with d- interrogative element as in du:, dAX, cf. Minto dəya (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, Anonymous* Тетъ 'Баня' ('bath') **de:d** what? *L,* **de:duw** what is it? *M,* **de:d Gi:'eh** what do you see? *M,* **de:d xuqa'sheh** what'll kill me? *M,* **de:dA'Aw** what's that? *M, Anonymous* Тайтуулъ 'Што такое' ('what's that?') **de:dA'Al** what's this? *M,* **de: 'Awa:duw qu'sheh** which of them shall I kill? *M,* **de: 'Awa:duh 'AnahshAkih 'uXe'i:leh, na:w da:X gi:wa:** which of them do you like (better), whiskey or beer? *L, Rezanov* Тетокояха 'Что скажешъ was sagst du?' **de:duh qu'yiXah** what will you tell about?, **de:duw 'u'yiXah** what are you telling about? *L, Rezanov* Тето хетлили 'Что дѣляешъ? was machst du?' **de:duh wAX yiLih** (?) what are you doing thus to?, **de: ya:dA'Aw** who does it belong to? *L (probably 'what thing is it?'), once in negative construction,* anything, *probably in error for dAde:d:* **q'a:l dik' de:duw wAX dAle:G** now nothing is being caught, no fishing is going on *62.24G; with -chi:- emphatic:* **de:chi:dA'Aw** what ever is that?, what in the world is that? *L, with -sh interrogative enclitic:* **de:shduw** (I wonder) what it is, what could it be? *36.26A; as o of postpositions other than o-ga':* **de:Xduw** by means of what? *L,* **de:Xd ya:kihdah xuqu'yiLih** what will you pay me with? *47c.35L,* **de:lahdunh** what (is he talking) about? *L,* **de:ya:q'd yiki:nX** why are you crying? *34.79L,* **'Aw qu'li:Lginhinh de:lehdduw wAX qi:dAsAliL** he'll know why your foot got thus *51.81A, with -sh interrogative enclitic:* **de:lehdshduw** I wonder why, because of what could it be? *70.2, 3A, Rezanov* Теватъ 'На что wozu? **de:wahdd** why? *L,* **de:wahdduw** why is it? *L, 43.8M,* **sich'a:X Ga:' -- de:wahdd** help me! -- with what?, to do what? *21b.36A,* **de:wah ya: Lu:ndiyahstahdAw** what good is a rat-skin? *28.137A, with -chi:- emphatic:* **de:wahchi:d wAX 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 dA-* 'ipse', anything, either one: *9.35, 63, 11.62, 23.13, 25.150, 37b.41, 61.57A,* **de: 'Awa:duh 'AnahshAkih 'uXe'i:leh, na:w da:X gi:wa: -- dAde:d, gi:wa:, na:w** which do you like (better), beer or whiskey? -- either one, beer, (or) whiskey *L,* **dAde:dunh di:LXAwinhinh** he believes anything *L,* **dAde:d GAsheh da:X** when they kill anything *25.31A,* **'Al dAde:d** any of these things *25.148A, often used as relative,* anything which, whatever: **dAde:d yiLda:s** anything (which is) heavy *65.13, 62A,* **dAde:[d?] qa:tl' 'a'Xah** whatever he told us *51.14A,* **dAde:d dik' 'i: 'ilah ya: 'ALe:Gyu:** anything which (pl.) does not concern you *51.24A,* **dAde:duhnu: Xah** whatever they eat *29.24A, with suffixed -kih 'diminutive':* **dAde:kihduw** any little thing at all (and he's sick) *L, with suffixed -yu: 'plural': 9.75, 20.32, 32, 49.110A,* **dAde:yu:duw 'Adu'lALAXa:k'** whatever things he (cust) turns himself into *9.75A; once used adjectivally:* **dAde:d Ga:ndich'idjgyu:qa'ch'ahd 'i:'e:k'inh** he (cust) marries from amongst any (kind of) birds *10.172A; very frequent in negative or prohibitive constructions,* (not) anything: *18.71, 80L, 23.8, 13, 49.3, 41A,* **dik' dAde:d da:la'xLXa:G** I have nothing *L; as o of postpositions other than o-ga':* **'uch'a:X da: qa'a'ch'inu:, dAde:wahdd** we'll help them, with anything *25.165A,* **dik' 'ich'a:X da: q'e' qu'dA'a'ch'G, dAde:wahdG** we won't help you, with anything *10.60A,* **dik' dAde:lAXd 'ixsL'anhLG** I didn't see anything *10.176A; with suffixed -kih 'diminutive':* **dik' dAde:kihdunh 'Ashe:k'G** he (cust) doesn't kill anything at all *23.5A,* **dik' dAde:kihduhnu: 'ahnu:ch' 'ALya:'G** he doesn't give them anything at all *10.59A, as o of postposition:* **dik' dAde:kihlAXd 'ixsL'anhLG** I didn't see anything at all *10.176A; once with -chi:- emphatic used as interrogative, perhaps incorrectly:* **dAde:chi:d da: da'qe'li:LXa:** what ever will we have? *11.54A.*

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de:-gwa'~-ga' *(interrogative adverb, in construction probably always with -d interrogative enclitic; adverbialized de: 'what?' as o of o-gwa'~-ga' 'like o')* 1a. how (much)?, to what extent?: **de:ga'd da:na: da'li:LXah** *L,* **de:ga'd da:na: 'iXa'** how much money do you have? *M,* **de:ga'd ma:sdla: da'li:LXah** how much butter do you have? *L,* **de:ga'dunh 'i:L'a'** how tall is he? *M,* **de:ga'duw qi:li:L'a'** how long is it (rope)? *M;* **de:ga'duw GAli:L'a'** how much time it's

been *54.12fnG;* **de:ga'duw 'idiya:, 'Aw La'g, dA'Awga' q'Aw dAq'a: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:ga'duw 'Aw xutl' 'u:d qa' lAXAdla:LA'e:dzk'** the snow (cust) piles up there quite a bit *L,* **de:ga'duw qa' dla:LA'e:dzk'** quite a lot of them (cust) accumulate *25.207A,* **de:ga'duw 'AdiX 'Aw 'AXe:k'** he (cust) packs quite a lot of them in home *23.3A.*

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2. *As 1b., but with reference to time, in clause subordinated to da:X 'and'*: **de:ga' 'AwXa' wAX 'i:t'eh da:Xdunhuw 'Aw 'a'q'e:'** he's been living with it for quite some time and (then) he tries it *28.28A.*

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3. *Written as subordinate to da:X 'and, when, if':* a. when?; when, whenever, each time that: *Rezanov* Текотахтъ 'Всегда ('always') immer' **de:ga'da:Xd** when? (in past or future) *LM; attested, probably by chance, only with customary verbs:* **de:ga'da:Xduw dALAxwe:gyu: qa:nch' 'a'a:ch'k'** when groundhogs (cust) come out *23.55A,* **de:ga'da:Xd te'ya'yu: q'e' 'AdAla:k'** when the salmon (cust) come back *21b.25A.*

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3b. *With proclitic dA-* 'ipse', anytime; anytime that, each time that, whenever: **dAde:ga'da:Xd** anytime *M;* **dAde:ga'da:Xd ta' 'Aw 'Adja:k'inu:** each time they (cust) shoved them in the water *25.50A,* **dA'wAX dAde:ga'da:Xd wAX da: 'i:lihsAliL** just any time we felt like it *65.69A.*

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k'u-de: *(negative pronoun, with k'u-negative, sometimes k'A-)* nothing: *23.13A,* **k'ude: XAdahG** there is nothing to eat < nothing is eaten *41.4L.*

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k'u-de:-dah *(negative adverb, k'u-de: above adverbialized 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,* **k'ude:dah GAx'a:nG**, **k'ude:dah 'i:xL'a:ngG** I can't see it *L,* **k'ude:dah 'Awch'a:X 'Axa:gG** I can't help it *L,* **k'ude:dah 'Awch'a:X 'a:gGinh** he can't help it *L,* **k'ude:dah ch'a:X 'Axda:k'G** I (cust) can't help it (help myself) *L, with -sh interrogative enclitic:* **k'ude:dahshuhnu: 'uqa' dAXunh 'Adu'la:LAXa:k'G** isn't there any way you (cust) can turn into a person amongst them? *10.238A.*

2. *With proclitic dA-* 'ipse' *(cf. dik'2)*: **dik'ude:dah qe'yiLtehyAq' q'e' qa' 'Ada:k'G** he (cust) can't get back out of the whale *11.188A.*

de:2

de:- *occurring only in* **de:Gu'** sweatbath; *see Gu'. Perhaps < dA-'e'; see 'e'.*

de:3

-de: *occurring only in* **guts'de:** nine; *see guts'. Perhaps < dA-'e' or d-'e'; see 'e'.*

de:4

-de: *occurring only in* **q'AXde:**; *see q'AX. Perhaps < dA-'e' or d-'e'; see 'e'.*

de:5

-de: *(defective verb, intransitive) occurring only with* **dAwa'd** quickly: **dAwa'd 'a'de:** (**q'ah**) (sg.) hurry up (finally)! *L,* **dAwa'd 'a'lAXde:** (**q'ah**) (pl.) hurry up (finally)! *37b.64A, L,*

imperative only, probably Neuter. Perhaps umlauted form of da, q.v. (cf. e.g. -da 6. 'AwyAq' 'a'de: 'be dressed in that!').

de:L

-glX-de:L *(noun, unclassified)* **-gulAXAde:L**, **-gAlAXAde:L** spine, backbone *LMA, 37b.25, 65.10, 39A*: **'ugAlAXAde:Lq'Ak'ah qi'yiLtsAX** you'll cut it (meat) off its spine *65.29A. The meaning of the stem, which can be elicited in this one form only, is not clearly isolable, the prefix-combination glX- itself referring specifically to 'back(bone)', as in* **k'ugulAXA'a:w** long-back(bone)d *L,* **k'ugulAXAdik'** short-back(bone)d *L,* **yAX glX-kug** S's back break; *g-class 'filament-like' or g-anatomical-themic 'dorsal, caudal, tail-end', lX-class 'berry-like', probably with reference to the vertebrae in a string-like series or in the back.*

de:gsha:G

de:gsha:G *(place-name) Mile 39 on Copper River Railway, Flag Point, Jerry Nelson's birthplace A XV.10.*

de:qi:dGa:G *(M de:qi:LGa:G, later rejected by LA; loan from Yakutat Tlingit deqidɢáɢ 'jaeger' Sampson Harry)*

de:qi:dGa:G *(noun, unclassified)* (parasitic) jaeger (Stercorarius parasiticus) *LS,* **de:qi:LGa:G** *LM (later rejected by LA).*

de:qe:d *(loan from Tlingit tèqʷèdi, 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.*

de:leh *(perhaps to be analyzed de:-leh, see de:5, leh)*

o-**de:leh** *(postposition, attested with zero final only)* around, near, close to, visiting, frequenting o: **ya'Xu: side:leh q'e' qu'yidah** don't come around me anymore *L,* **'ide:lehshunh sahL** did he come visit you? *L,* **'ude:lehshunh sahL** did you come close to it? *L,* **qa:de:leh Ga:k'** (cust) come visit us! *L,* **dik' 'uya:tl'** … **ch'i:leh 'ude:leh q'e' 'Ada:gk'** Raven isn't permitted by them to come around them anymore *9.50A,* **dik' k'ude:leh q'e' 'AdAqahG** they (wolves) don't come around, near one anymore *25.212A,* **dik' qe'LGAyu:de:leh q'e' 'Ada:k'G** he (cust) stays away from (doesn't come near) women (abstaining for hunt) *L.*

dehdj

dehdj *(noun, d-class)* sandbar *LA*: **dehdjda'luw dAGALe'L** a large sandbar is forming *L.*

de'L *(attested only in semitransitive verb themes, of two district but evidently related meanings, originally perhaps 'S control O closely, possessively'; cf. certain Navaho themes with stem -de·ɬ~dé·ɬ~-diɬ meaning 'to grab, payment for wife, to brood (eggs), to insist, be acquired, considered important)*

O-**'-de'L** S hoard, save, keep O: **qu'xde'L** I'll keep it and not give it away *L. Usually (self-benefactive) reflexive* **'Ad-'-dA-de'L** S save up, hoard *(object not specificed):* **XAla:g-wahd 'Adu'dAde'Linu:** they're saving up [food] for the winter *16.20M,* **dik' siya: 'Adu'sdAde'LGinh** he didn't save any [liquor] for me *L; or, with object specifiiec,* o-**X 'Ad-'-LA-de'L** S save up,

hoard o: **da:na:da:X 'Adu'LAde:Lk'inh** he (cust) saves up money *L,* **'uX 'Ada'LAde'L** hoar it!, keep it (as treasure)! *M.*

2. S boss O: **xu'sAde'Linh** he bossed me (about one thing) *L. Usually with perambulative yAX O-'-dA-de'L-X:* **yAX k'u'dAde'LXinh** he's bossing on around, he's bossy. **'a:wAyu: yAX 'ida'dAde'LXinh** the ill-mannered fellow bosses everybody around *(with indeterminate O) M.*

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O-**'-d-de'L** *(with d-thematic 'oral-noise')*: **xudAsAde'Linh** he told me what to say *L.*

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yAX k'u'dAde'LXinh boss, square-dance caller *M. Nominalization of O-'-de'L 2..*

da *(perhaps related to da'5, see also de:6)*

-da 1a. sg. S (human) sit (be in, get into sitting position) *(cf. qu for pl. S)*: (1) *Active perfective, used with force of Neuter* sg. S be 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* Сыттатль 'Сидѣть sitzen' **sAdahL** he is, you are seated, **sidahL** I'm seated *LM,* **di'wAX sidahL 'ixleh** I want to stay seated *L,* **si:nda'd yAX 'i:ndilahL da:X sAdahLinh** he's sitting facing me < he's turned facing me and he's seated *M,* **si'e'd sAdahLinh** he's sitting in my place *L,* **qi' sAdahLda' Ga:'** go to where she's sitting! *L,* **'u:dsh k'usAdahL** is someone sitting there?, **dik' 'AxsdahLG** I'm not seated *L,* **qu:ndAXa'd sAdahLinh** he's sitting by the fire *M,* **yAq'd sAdahLinh** he's sitting on shore *L,* **silahsd sAdahLinh sAtsu'dLinh** he who is sitting in front of me fell asleep *L,* **sidAwa: sAdahLinh** he's sitting waiting for me *L; transitive (causative): passive:* **dA'a:nd xusdidahL** I've been made to sit right here *L.* (2) *Neuter perfective, usually with o-q' 'on o':* **'u:d da:q' 'i:dahLinh** he's sitting on something (a surface) there *L,* **gutl'a'q' 'i:dahLinh** sternman, captain (of boat) < he's sitting in the stern *L,* **sidahd 'i:dahLinh** he's sitting up against (in contact with) me *LM.* (3) *Active imperfective, used in customary or ethical sense* sg. S belong sitting, have rightful seat: **'u:d xdah** I sit there "all the time", that's where I sit *L,* **dik' 'u:d xdahG** I don't sit there, that's not my seat *L,* **'a:nd xdah** I often sit here *L,* **xu: qi' xdah** where *I* sit (my usual seat) *L,* **dAda:dunh dik' dahG** there's nowhere he won't sit *L.* (4) *With ya' 'completely, to a state of rest', indicating movement into or maintenance of a sitting position by sg. S, aspects and modes freely used, except that the imperative seems always to be Active, with long umlauted stem: 20.9, 41, 28.96, 97, 108, 33.63, 50.14A, Rezanov* Ятте 'Сядь, садить setze dich!', *Anonymous* Яти 'Садись' ('sit!') **ya' 'Ade:** sit down!, Суитиате 'въ переди ('in front') vorn' **si'ihd ya' 'Ade:** sit down behind me!, **ya' xda:X 'ixleh** I want to sit *L,* **ya' qu'xdah** (*or* **-da:**) I'll sit down, I'll sit up *LM,* **dA'u:d ya' 'Ade:** stay seated right there! *L,* **ya' 'Ade:** sit down! *LMA,* stay seated!, sit up! *L,* **qu:ndAXa'd ya' 'Ade:** sit by the fire! *L,* **'Awya'd ya' 'Ade:** sit down in it (e.g. canoe, box)! *L,* **ya' 'ixidah** let me sit down *L;* **ya'sh 'i:da:X 'i:leh**, **ya' 'i:da:Xsh 'i:leh** do you want to sit down? *L,* **ya' 'Ada:X 'ilinhinh** he wants to sit down *L; hybrid form with Active optative prefixes and subjunctive stem and suffix:* **ya' 'ixida:X 'ixleh** I want to stay seated *L. Transitive (causative)* **ya'** O-**L-da** S make sg. O sit *(but cf. 10. below):* **ya' 'ALdi:nhinh** keep him sitting! *L,* **'a:nd ya' 'iqe'xLdah** I'll have you sitting here *M.* (5) *Without ya', frequent with Active perfective, Inceptive imperative, indistinguishable otherwise from (1) and (4) above and 3. below, meaning ambiguously 'sg. S move into certain location and into sitting position there', 'sg. S be in certain location and move into sitting position there', or 'sg. S move to certain location while in sitting position':* **sida:d sAdahL** you sat near me *L,* **sida'd sAdahL** he sat in front of me *L,* **sida:d GAda'** sit near me! *L,* **'idahd qu'xdah** I (sitting or standing) will sit up against (in contact with) you *L,* **'ahnu:qa'd sAdahLinh** he sat between them *L,* **'ahnu:qa'ch' GAda:Linh** he's becoming seated between them *L,* **'uya'd sAdahLinh** he sat in it (e.g. canoe) *L.*

1b. sg. S (animal, infant) be, become stationary in non-prone position, (bird, insect) perch, alight *(cf. -qu for pl. S)*: (1) *Active perfective, used with force of Neuter: 11.34, 101, 20.8,*

23.45A, 42.16L, 43.4M, **si:nda'd sAdahL** it (fly) is on my face *L,* **'udA'uhdgda:q' sAdahL** it (bird) is sitting on its eggs *L.* (2) *Neuter perfective, usually with o-q' 'on o': 10.36A, 42.21L,* **da:q' 'i:dahL** it (animal) is sitting upon something (tree) *L,* **XahdLda:q' 'i:dahL** it's sitting on top of a car *L.* (3) *As 1a.(5) above,* sg. S (bird, insect) come to rest at certain location, alight, perch: *10.32A, 47b.28M,* **sich'a:nda:q' sAdahL** it (fly) landed on my forearm *L.*

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2a. sg. S (human or animal) stay, remain (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:ts'Akih 'uyAq'd sAdahL** a child was in her (she was pregnant) *23.111A,* **dAXunhyu: k'inhda:d sAdahLinh** menstruant < she who is staying in a different place from people *L,* **da:d sAdahL** where are you staying? *L,* **'AdiXd sAdahLinh** he's inside, staying indoors *L,* **dA'e'd sAdahLinh** he's on board (boat) *L,* **dik' dAXunhyu:Xa' q'e' 'AsdAdahLGinh** he (or she) is not staying with anyone anymore *(of marital separation, cf. 2b. below) L,* **dla:'anhd sAdahL** it's staying in den, hole *L,* **dla:da:n'd sAdahL** it (rodent) is staying in its hole, burrow *L; transitive (causative): 2b.2L; passive:* **dA'a:nd xusdidahL** I've been made to stay right here *L.* (2) *Neuter perfective, not frequent in this sense:* **ts'a:tl'ya' 'i:dahLinh** infant < he who is staying in baby-basket *L.* (3) *Active imperfective, used in customary or ethical sense: 21a.19L,* **tsa:dla:yAX dah** it lives under a rock *L,* **dik' tsa:dla:yAX dahG** it doesn't live under a rock *L, often with 'Ad'e'd 'at home', indirect reflexive:* **Lich' 'Ad'e'd dAdinhinh** he stays home all the time *L,* **'Ad'e'd xdAdah** I stay home all the time *L.* (4) *With 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),* **Xa:'d ya' 'Ade:** stay outside! *L,* **'AdiXd ya' 'Ada:** stay inside! *L,* **ya' 'Ada:X 'utl' dAxlinhinh** I told him to stay *L,* **Gu'yAq'd k'a' ya' 'i:dah** you should stay in the warmth *M,* **di'dA'i: 'a:ndga' 'a:nd ya' qu'xdah** as long as you're here I'll stay here *L,* **k'a:di'da: 'AwXda:d yä' 'i:dah, te'ya'** he's never without it, fish *A, with 'Ad'e'd 'at home', indirect reflexive: 28.53A,* **'Ad'e'd ya' 'AdAde:** stay home! *L,* **'Ad'e'd ya' qu'xdah** I'll stay home *L; transitive (causative)* **ya'** O-**L-da** S make sg. O stay *(but cf. 10. below):* **'AdiXd ya' 'iqe'xLdah** 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).

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2b. *With o-'e'X '(movement) in place of o' and yAX 'downward'*: **si'e'X yAX sAdahLinh** he married my former wife < he settled down in my place *L.*

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3a. sg. S move while in sitting position *(for pl. S cf. qu)*: **qu'xdah** I'll move while in sitting position *L,* **GAxda:L** I'm moving while in sitting position *L,* **XAyA'u:ch' 'Ade:** (*or* **'Ada:'**, **'Ada'**, **'ida'**) move over (away from speaker)! *L,* **XAshlAX 'Ade:** (*or* **'Ada'**, **'Ada:'**) sit closer (to speaker)! *L,* **sida:da' GAda'** move while in sitting position over to close to me! *L,* **sik'ah sAdahLinh** he sidled away from me *L,* **qa:qa' sAdahLinh** he sidled in between us, **ya:n'ch' GAda'** (*or* **'Ade:**) sit down lower! *L, repetitive:* **xda:g** I keep sidling *L,* **dik' 'Axda:gG** I don't keep sidling *L, with perambulative:* **'u:dAXyu: yAX dAda:X** he's writhing and squirming all over in his seat (with anger) *L,* **yAX qu'xdAda:** I'll sit around *L,* **yAX 'ididah** you may sit around *M (with no distinction in these latter cases between interrupted and uninterrupted sitting position).*

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3b. *With o-Xa:X 'wide of o'*: **'uXa:X sidahL** I sat down, missing it (the chair, so that I fell to the floor) *L.*

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

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3d. *With 'iLyAq' 'inside one another' and yAX 'downward',* sg. S squat, crouch, move while in crouching position: **'iLyAq' yAX 'i:dahLinh** he's squatting *L,* **'iLyAq' yAX GAda:Linh** he's dancing in crouched position *L,* **'iLyAq' yAX sAdahLinh** he danced in squatting position *L.*

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4a. *With ya:n' 'down',* sg. S move downward (from standing) into sitting position, *imperative apparently always Inceptive*: *1b.18, 16.9M, 25.70A, 40.12, 47.23L, 51.79A, 72.5L, Furuhjelm* Iakhuvata 'to sit' **ya:n' qu'wAdah** he'll sit down, **ya:n' qu'xdah** I'll sit down *LM,* **dik' ya:n' qu'xda:G** (*or* **-dahG**) I won't sit down *L,* **ya:n' GAda'** sit down! *LM,* **ya:n' sidahL** I sat down *M,* **ya:n'ch' GAxda:L** I'm sitting down (moving into sitting position) *(also, as under 3a. 'I'm sitting further down') LM,* **'uya'd ya:n' GAda'** sit down in it (e.g. canoe, once already in) *L,* **'ida:d ya:n' qu'xdah** I'll sit down close to you *L,* **lAXqa'd** (*or* **lAXqa'X**) **ya:n' qu'xdah** I'll sit down between you *L,* **ya:n' GAda:X 'ilinhinh** he wants to sit down *L,* **ya:n' GAxda:X 'ixleh** I want to sit down *L,* **dik' ya:n' GAxda:X 'ixlehG** I don't want to sit down *L,* **ya:n'ch' yAX 'AdAde:** (*or* **-da:**) keep sitting down (along the way)! *L. Transitive (causative)* **ya:n'** O-**L-da** S make sg. O sit down *(but cf. 10. below):* **ya:n' siLdahLinh** I sat him down *M,* **ya:n' 'iqe'xLdah** I'll sit you down *M,* **ya:n' GALdin'inh** make him sit down! *L,* **ya:n' 'ixiLdahLinh** I've got him sitting down *L; repetitive:* **ya:n'ch' xuLda:ginh** he keeps making me sit down, **ya:n'ch' 'i:Lda:ginh** you should keep sitting him down *L.*

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4b. *With ya:n' 'down',* sg. S (bird, insect, plane) land, alight: *11.194A, 47c.40L,* **si:na'q'd ya:n' sAdahL** it (fly) landed on top of my head *LM,* **ya:n'ch' GAda:L** it (bird, plane, fly) is landing *L.*

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4c. *With ya:n' 'down',* S (motor, music) stop, fail, go dead: **qa:Xa' ya:n' sAdahL** it conked out on us *L,* **'i:xgah da:X ya:n' sAdahL** I just got started dancing and it (music) stopped *L, repetitive:* **dik' ya:n'ch' da:gG** it (motor) doesn't keep quitting *L,* **q'e:ya:n' 'AdAda:k'** it keeps conking (back) out *L.*

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4d. *With d-class-mark and ya:n' 'down'*: **XAtsiya'd ya:n' dAsAdahL** it (automobile) is parked down at bottom of hill below *L.*

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5. *With lihXdahd 'without activity, silent, minding own business' and ya' 'completely, to state of rest'*: *28.60, 50.9A, Rezanov* Лехтадеате 'Молчать schweigen' **lihXda:d ya' 'Ade:** be quiet! *L.*

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6. *With o-yAq' 'in o',* sg. S be dressed in o, wear o: **'Aw 'uyAq' 'i:dahL** her clothes < that in which she was dressed *18.20L,* **k'uyAq' GAda'** get dressed! *M,* **k'uyAq' sidahL** I got dressed *M,* **'uyAq' 'ixidahL** I'm dressed in it *M,* **'AwyAq' 'a'de:** wear that! < be dressed in that! *(Neuter) L,* **k'uLqAts'LyAq' 'i:dahLinh** he's dressed in rags *L; transitive (causative):* o-**yAq'** O-**L-da** S dress sg. O in o: **k'uyAq' 'iqe'xLdah** I'll dress you *M,* **'AwyAq' xLda:k'inh** I (cust) dress him in that *M.*

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

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

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9. S (sg. or pl.) undergo specific change in dimension *(see also a´1, with which this is perhaps partly confused)*: (1) *With 'iLt'a'X '(movement) behind one another, collection',* S contract: **'iLt'a'X sAdahL** it (cloth) shrank *A,* **'iLt'a'X GAda:L** they (clothes) are shrinking *L; transitive (causative)* **'iLt'a'X** O-**L-da** S shrink O: **'iLt'a'X siLdahL** I shrank them (clothes, by washing them) *L.* (2) *With (ya'X 'up', and) qa' 'up, out',* S expand upwards, rise: **qa:nch' GAda:L** it (cake, bread) is rising *L,* **ya'X qa' sAdahL** it (cake, bread) rose *L.*

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10. *Transitive O-L-da, with ya:n' 'down' or sometimes ya' 'completely, to a state of rest', cf. the transitives of 1a. and 2a. above*: (1) S make O (sg. or pl.) stop activity (especially undesirable activity), settle down, stop gallivanting, drinking: *Rezanov* Идаяальтену 'Ласковой freundlich' **'idah ya' 'ALdin'inu:** make them behave well, settle down nicely! *L,* **ya:n' GALdin'inh** make him behave! *L,* **ya' 'ALdi:nhinh** make him behave! *L,* **ya:n' xusALdahLinh** he made me stop, desist *L,* **ya:n' 'ixiLdahLinh** I've got him behaving, "on the straight and narrow" *L.* (2) S stop O (activity): **xa:gL ya:n' sALdahL** he stopped the work *L.* (3) S stop O (sg. or pl. fish) from running: *56.1, 3, 11L.*

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'isda:l *(gerundive)* to sit (of one person): **'ulAX gAdAsiga'L 'isda:l** my rump's too sore to sit *L,* **'isda:l xuGALga'L** I'm getting tired of sitting < sitting is tiring me *L,* **'isda:l k'a' 'u'di:Lde'g** teach it (dog) to sit! *L,* **'isda:l GALAde'Linh** he (baby) is learning to sit *L.*

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'uq' 'isda'L *(noun, unclassified) (in rapid speech often 'uq'Asda'L)* chair *LM, 51.76, 68.92A. Derived from gerundive with -L-instrumental, o-q' 'on o'.*

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GALAGAmAk'L 'uq' 'isda'L *(noun)* stool < round chair *L.*

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k'u'a:w 'uq' 'isda'L *(noun)* bench < long chair *L.*

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yAX 'AdGAdla:LAxut'X 'uq' 'isda'L *(noun, unclassified)* rocking-chair *M.*

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da'L *(noun, unclassified?)* small seat, loose bench for sitting on in canoe *L. Deverbalized stem with -L-instrumental. BSdL 47 contains a description.*

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sAqe:ts'Akih 'uyAq'd dah *(noun, unclassified?)* womb < a child stays in it *A. Active imperfective of 1b. or 2a. nominalized. Cf. sAqe:GAyu: 'uyAq'd quh 'womb'.*

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di'wAX ts'a:tl'ya'ch' da:k'inh *(noun, unclassified)* infant < he who (cust) still stays in baby-basket *L. Nominalized Active customary; cf. ts'a:tl'ya' 'i:dahLinh of 2a. (2).*

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LA-da sg. S (waterfowl) sit, swim, float on surface of water *(cf. LA-qu for pl. S)*: **'u:ch' sLidahL** it (duck) swam thither (on surface) *L,* **siya:X GALAda:L** it (duck) is paddling away from me (scared) *L, with perambulative:* **yAX LAda:X** it (duck) is swimming around *LM.*

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g-LA-da sg. S flee *(cf. g-LA-qu for pl. S)*: *with o-ya:X 'avoiding o':* **ya'Xu: siya:X qu'guLAdah** don't be scared away by me *L,* **siya:X gusLidahL** it ran away from me (scared). *Transitive* O-**g-L-da** S chase sg. O: *9.167, 23.31A, 34.46L, 38.23ML,* **gu'Ldin'inh** chase him! *L,* **Xi:ch' gu:Lda'** chase it away! *L,* **'a'q' guGALdin'inh** chase him out *L,* **qu'gu:xLdah** I'll chase it *LM,* **da:**

gusALdahLinh we chased him *L,* **'u:dik'ahch' da: gu:liLdah** let's chase it away from there *L,* **xuGALda:Linh** he's chasing me *L, with perambulative:* **yAX gu:LAde:** chase it about! *L,* **yAX guxLAda:X** I'm chasing it about *LM,* **yAX guxsLidahL** I chased it about *L,* **yAX qu'guxLAdah** (*or* **-da:**) I'll chase it about *LM,* **'Aw yAX guGALAda:Linh** he's chasing it all over (for a long time) *L.*

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gd-dA-da sg. S flee *(meaning, perhaps stronger, not clearly distinct from that of g-LA-da, from a passive of which it may be derived, with dA-classifier reinterpreted; cf. gd-dA-qu for pl. S)*: **gAdAGAxdAda:L** I'm running away (scared) *L,* **gAdAGAdAda:L** he's running away (scared) *L. Transitive (causative)* O-**gd-L-da** S chase sg. O: **gAdi:Lda'** chase it away (so it'll never come back)! *L,* **Xi:ch' gAdi:Lda'** chase it away! *L,* **'iqe'gAdi:xLdah** I'll chase you *L.*

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dl-dA-da sg. S be, run short of food, starve *(cf. dl-dA-qu for pl. S)*: **qu'dla:xdAdah** I'll run short of food *L,* **dik' dla:xsdAdahLG** I didn't run short of food *L, with ya' 'completely':* **ya' qu'dla:xdAdah** I'll run out of food, starve *L,* **ya' dla:xsdidahL** I ran out of food *L. Transitive (causative)* O-**dl-L-da** S starve sg. O: **ya' 'iqe'xLdah** I'll starve you *L; reflexive:* **'Adla:sLidahLinh** he fasted (for the hunt) *L,* **'Adla:xsLidahL** I don't care to eat *L; passive:* **xudla:sLidahL** I'm being starved *L.*

da:1 *(unrelated to homophonous Eyak stems or morphs, cf. Navaho dà- 'distributive plural' verbal prefix in corresponding position)*

da: *(preverbial pronoun)* we *(first person singular subject pronoun, not distinguishing inclusive from exclusive, or dual from plural, or distributive from collective; clearly preverbial in position, always following postpositional phrases, tending to precede other preverbs; see grammar)*

da:2 *(perhaps to be identified with da:3 and derived by extension of use thereof, influenced by interrogative pronouns, or interrogative pronoun in origin, < d-a: with d-interrogative, cf. de:1, du:, dAX)*

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:3, or absent because of origin in da:3; -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, -ch', -ch'ahd, -dAX 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:ddunh** where (is he)? *L,* **da:ddA'Aw** where is it? *11.178A,* **'u'lixiLgah da:dd 'AXdjinnguG** I know where 'AXdjinnguG is *47c.34L, also with -sh interrogative enclitic:* **da:dshdunh** I wonder where he could be *L, lacking -d interrogative enclitic:* **da:d Xa'dihd** where (are you going) to visit? *L,* **da:d sAdahL** where are you staying? *L,* **da:d wAX 'i:t'eh** where do you live? *M,* **da:d sahL** where did you go? *(= da:ch' sahL) L,* **da:d k'usLiyahL** where things have been left *9.144A,* **da:duw ya' qu'xta:** where shall I put it? *21b.49A, with emphatic -chi:-:* **da:chi:d** where ever?, where in the world? *L; with -ch' final,* to where?, whither?: *9.65, 126, 36.8, 49.30A,* **da:ch'dunh** where (is he going)? *L,* **da:ch'dAw gAdAGi:ta:L** whither are you steering? *L,* **'AwdAg dik' qu'li:Lga:G da:ch'dunh 'iXahd sahL** nor will you know whither she's gone and left you *36.22A, lacking -d interrogative enclitic:* **da:ts' sahL** (< **da:ch' s-**; = **da:d sahL**) where

did you go? *L; with -ch'ahd final,* whence?, from what place?: *2b.13L, 4.11, 11M, 14.2L, 21b.7, 62A, 46.24M, 49.135A,* **da:ch'ahdduw** where (did you get that) from? *L,* **da:ch'ahddA'Aw** where is that from? *L,* **da:ch'ahd ya:dA'Aw** where is that thing from? *L, 43.28M,* **da:ch'ahdduwga'** o-**Xa' k'u-LA-t'u'** where did o get so much S from?, *with -ch'-a' final: Rezanov* Тачаткессе 'Никуда nirgendshin' **da:ch'a'd**… whither?, Тачъ-атъ 'Куда? wohin' **da:ch'a'd** whither?; *with -dAX final,* by where?, by (motion within) what place, route, *par où?: 9.60, 11.126A,* **da:dAXd** which way (did he go)? *L, also with -sh interrogative enclitic:* **ditl'a'g siXa' da:dAXshduw yAGa'ya:L** I wonder where my letter is travelling *M; nominalized with -d final as o of o-lah 'about o':* **da:dAlahdunh** 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:'d** anywhere on the tide-beach *10.30A,* **dAda:d ya' 'Ate:** set it (animal) anywhere! *L,* **dAda:dunh dik' dahG** there's nowhere he won't sit *L,* **dik' dAda:dG** no place M; *wth -ch' final:* **dik' dAda:ch' qu'xahG** I won't go anywhere *M; with -dAX final:* **dAda:dAXduw 'isALku:n'dL da:X** it having grabbed you anyplace *36.16A,* **'iGe't' 'iya: qa'k'in't', dAda:dAXd** she'll scratch your body, anywhere *36.19A; with -dAX final and suffixed -yu: 'plural' (cf. 'u:dAXyu: 'everywhere'), four times with and once lacking -d interrogative enclitic, once with further -ch' final:* **dAda:dAXyu:d yAX qu'xdah** I'll walk around anyplace *L,* **dAda:dAXyu: 'Aw'e:X yAX 'iLA'a:nX** you're looking around for it everywhere *A,* **dAda:dAXyu:duw 'uq' k'uGALtl'a'g** mark it (box) on either side (on all sides, all over) *M,* **dAda:dAXyu:d wAX qi'yit'eh** wherever you live *16.26M,* **dAda:dAXyu:** anyplace *L,* **dAda:dAXyu:ch' qu'xah** I'll go anyplace *L.*

da:3 *(perhaps to be analyzed d-a: with d- postpositional 'at rest at' and -a: expanded augment, or to be identified with da:2)*

o-**da:-** *(postposition, never with zero final)* 1. *(attested with -d, -da', -dAX, -ch', -ch'ahd, and -X 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,* **Le't'da:d** near the box *M,* **sida:d** next to me *L,* **'uxi:ya'Xda:d 'Awa: li'X wAX 'i:t'inhinh** his chin is dimpled *M,* **'ida:d ya:n' qu'xdah** I'll sit down by you *L,* **sida:d sAdahL** you sat by me *L,* **sida:d GAda'** sit by me (not touching)! *L,* **'Awda:d sAtahL** it's close to it (touching or not) *L,* **'Awda:d ya:n' GAta'** set it down close to it! *L,* **sida:d sAtahL** (= **sida:X sAtahL**) it's lying near me *L,* **'uGuhdda:d siLxut'Linh** I shot him in the knee *M,* **'ushe:k'da:d da'd GALxut'inh** shoot him in the chest! *L,* **sida:d guGALa:n'Linh** he's standing near me *M,* **sida:d k'a' gu:Liya:n'** stand by me *M,* **dA'u:d siq'Ayanhdda:d ya' qu'xdah** I'll stay right there in my home country *L, frequent with place-names as o:* **'i:ya:Gda:d** ((in) the vicinity of) Eyak (Village) *68.1, 22, 36, 45, 46, 47A,* ***Cordova*da:d** (at) *Cordova 68.59, 62A,* ***Ankau*da:d** at *Ankau 32.1A,* **sidgahda:d** *68.124A,* **sidkAda:d**, **shi:dkAda:d** (at) Sitka *L,* **'a:gahda:d** Orca *L,* **'AnAXAnAGda:d** at Alaganik *68.1A,* **ya:kAta: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,* **sha:she:nn qi' dAGahGda:d** at where cordwood is chopped *M,* **Xi:d qi' 'itl' li:'ahda:d** at yonder mountain-foot (where mountain extends down) *L, with classified nouns as o: 6.10M, 50.51A,* **'Aw k'uLt'ahLti:lAda:d, xitl'lAXAdAda:d, k'uXe:Lqi:lAda:d, la:Xqi:lAda:d, Le:sk'XAdAda:d, tl'ihXgAdAda:d, tsa:dla:da:d, tsAdldAda:d, ch'iyahdAlAda:d, tAGLlAda:d ya:n' GAta'** 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:* **sik'ushda:d** near my lower leg *L,* **siyAda:d sAtahL** it's right by my hand *L, with adjectives and numerals as o: 11.170A,* **k'ut'u'da:d 'AdsLitl'a'gL** it has many spots on it < it has spotted itself in many places *M,* **k'ut'u'da:d yAqa' d-'ya** S accumulate in many piles (piles up in many places) *(see d-'ya 2c.),* **LinhGda:d ts'a'** one muddy spot *L,* **sitl' LinhGda:d wAX**

’i:t’inhinh he's related to me < he lives in one place with me *L,* **LinhGda:d ’iLt’a’ GALa’** pile them up in one place! *L,* **dik’ LinhGda:dG** not in one place *68.62A,* **la’da:d** (< **la’dda:d**) two places *L, 25.80A,* **la’da:d sALahL Le’t’** there are two boxes there < boxes which are in two places *L,* **la’da:d ’iLdahd ’iLiyahL** two together < they are in position against each other in two places *L,* **la’(d)da:d dAsALahL yahd** two houses there *L,* **la’dda:d ’iLdahd diLiyahL yahd** two houses together *L,* **t’uhLga’da:d** three places *L, 25.80A,* **t’uhLga’da:d ’ALtsAXg** cut it in three places, three (four?) pieces! *L,* (o-)**k’inhda:d** (in) a different place (from o), *see k'Ayi:ny~k'inh, with reciprocal o:* **’iLda:d** side by side *M,* **’iLda:d XAdidi’ah** they (logs, stripes) extend close and parallel *L,* **’iLda:d sALahL** they're near each other *L,* **’iLda:d sLiyahL** 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 XAyA’u:dda:d** there farther over near that place *L,* **Xi:d XAyAXdAqehXq’da:d** there at the foot of the mountain *L,* **qa:da:d’ah** *name of Eyak man, analysis uncertain (see 'ah2);* **’i:na:Xda:d Ga:’** go up on a hill! *L,* **’itl’a:na:Xda:d Ga:’** go up on the mountainside! *L, both probably to be corrected to -X da'd; with -dAX final (rare) 'movement within area':* **dida:dAX sahL** it went right by me (near me, at my side) *L, with y-anatomical 'hand':* **siyAda:dAX sahL** it went right by my hand *L; with -da' final 'arrival at':* **’ida:da’ qu’xdah** I'll sit closer to you *L,* **sida:da’ GAda’** sit close to me! *L,* **sida:da’ sahLinh** he walked right up to me *L,* **’ida:da’ qu’xah** I'll come closer to you *L,* **’Awda:da’ sahLinh** he went over to it, approached it *30.2L,* **’Awda:da’ dik’ ’AsahLGinh**, **dik’ ’Awda:da’ ’AsahLGinh** he didn't go near it *L,* **sida:da’ Ga:’** come closer to me! *L,* **k’inhda:da’ sAqehLinh** he boated to a different place *L; with -ch' final 'continuous, repeated, or incompleted motion towards':* **k’inhda:ch’** to a different place *9.165, 10.161, 165A,* **k’inhda:ch’ GAqe:Linh** he's boating to a different place *M,* **k’inhda:ch’ sAqehLinh** he boated to a different place *M,* **LinhGda:ch’ ’Aw lAXa:nLya:k’** they (cust) put them (berries) in one place *29.20A, with y-anatomical 'hand':* **siyAda:ch’ ’Ata’** put it by my hand! *L; with -ch'ahd final 'from':* **sida:ch’ahd** from near me *L; with -X final 'motion within area' (meaning regular, cf. 2. below):* **sida:X sAtahL** it's lying near me < it has come into position within my vicinity *L,* o-**da:X ’Ash ’Ad-dl-LA-we’ch’** S sneak past by o, **’uda:X ’Ash ’Adqu’dla:xLA’inhinh** I'll sneak by him *L,* o-**da:X ’Ash Xdl-’ya** S run past by o, **sida:X ’Ash sahLinh** he went right by me *L,* **sida:X Ga:Linh** he's walking along beside me *L,* **’ukumahda:X** (cut) along its stomach, ventrally *65.37, 37, 38, 39A,* **’ugulAXAde:Lda:X yAX qi’yiLtsAX** you'll cut downwards along its spine *65.39A,* **t’uhLga’da:X ’Aw sALtsAXLinh** he cut it in three pieces (places?) *L,* **qi’ ’iLAduxda:X** by where he was trapping *23.6A,* **’a’q’ qi’ yAX ’iLi’ahLda:X** outside where (when?) it's sunshine *65.52A,* **’a’d qi’d ya’ GAdli:’ahda:X da’d GAxah da:X** when I climb up a very steep place *36.40M,* **qi’ k’uGa:ndzu:da:X …, qi’ chi:shgAlAdzu:da:X sitl’ yAq’ GALAdux** float ashore with me where there's nice ground!, … a nice gravel-beach! *11.169, 170A,* **qi’ k’uGi:lu’da:X** where there was a hole *2a.14M,* **’AnAXAnAGda:X dAG sAqehLinu:** they boated up by Alaganik *68.10A,* **lixahda:X ’a’q’ XAdla:sa’yahLinh** he ran out past the grizzly-bear *19.27A (cf. 2c. below), with reciprocal o:* **’iLda:X ’idi’ah** they extend close and parallel *L,* **XahdL ’iLda:X ’Ash XAdla:sdi’yahL** (two) cars ran past glancing against each other *L,* **’iLda:X yAX tsa:’L** two boxes together *L,* **’iLda:X qi:gAdla:di’ah** internal organ in porcupine *L (see under 'a'~), with y-anatomical 'hand':* **siyAda:X ya’ ’Ateh** put it down by my hand! *L, nominalized with -yu: 'plural':* **’u:dAXyu: qi’ch’ k’utsin’dAlehda:Xyu:** the places at which someone is speaking *37a.4L.*

2. *With extended meanings, -X final only:* a. in contrast, comparison with, different, as distinct from o: **k’uda:X tsin’dAlinhinh** he talks a different dialect (different from someone) *L,* **’Awda:X tsin’dAlinhinh** he talks a different dialect (from that, from the norm) *L,* **sida:X tsin’dAlinhinh** he talks differently from me *L; usually with reciprocal o in indirect reciprocal construction:* **k’ugAdla:t’u’ da:X ’iLda:X ’idit’eh** lots of different colors < colors and they are different *M,* **’iLda:X gAdla:dit’eh** it's varicolored, they (colors) are different *M,* **’iLda:X ’iLikuts’g** one is smaller than the other < they are contrastingly small *L,* **’iLda:X k’u:nLilah** all

kinds of faces < people with contrasting faces *L,* **la'di'da'X 'iLda:X wAX dAleh** there are two different ways to do that *L,* **di'da: 'iLda:X 'idit'inhinu:** such a variety of them *10.229, 230A, with proclitic dA-* 'ipse': **dA'iLda:X gu'wALwahgyu:** different tribes *68.72A.*

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2b. *Meaning perhaps to be identified with that of 2a., attested only in* **k'a:dih 'uda:X**, **k'a:di'uda:X** it's useless, pointless (to …) < there is no difference that …, *usually followed by optative clause, see k'a:dih~ 2. under k'a:; see also 2g. below.*

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2c. in the form of, (made, converted) into: **'Aw q'uhnu: 'AXAkihda:X Xa:n' sALiL** those they fashioned into canoes *68.31A,* **XuhLgLda:X 'Aw Xa:n' sALiL** fashioned them into shovels *23.136A,* **dA'e:ts'gda:X wAX dAle:** fish-meat slabs are made of it *65.8A,* **'Aw dza:nt' ch'iyahdda:X k'ut'a' dAt'uh** the skunk-cabbage is used as (in the form of) a hat *L,* **ch'iyahdda:X Xu' dAleh** a hat is to be made of it *L,* **yahshda:X Xu' dAleh** a doll is to be made of it *L,* **te'ya'da:X** in the form of, transformed into a fish *21a.7L,* **dAXunhda:X** in human form, transformed into a person *21a.16A,* **lixahda:X 'a:nda' q'e' qu'xdah** I'll come back here in the form of a grizzly-bear *19.13L (cf. lixahda:X 'a'q' XAdla:sa'yahLinh 'he ran out past the grizzly-bear' 19.27L).*

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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.*: **t'uhLga'da:X 'Aw sALtsAXLinh** he cut it into three pieces *L ('into form of three'?, or perhaps 'in three places' under 1.),* **la'di'da:X 'iLda:X wAX dAleh** there are two different ways to do it *L ('thus is done to it into two contrasting forms, it can be made into two different things'?, la'di'da:X for la'dihda:X or la'(d)da:X under influence of k'a:di'da: ?),* **LinhGih( )da:X** one at a time *34.83L ('in the form of one'?);* **k'utsidzg( )da:X ya' 'ALtsAXg** I'm cutting it into strips *('I'm cutting it up into narrow things', 'narrow and I'm cutting it up'?),* **k'uXAdA'a:w( )da:X sLitl'a'gL** long stripes are makerd *L ('it's marked in the form of long stripes'?, 'long stripes and it's marked'),* **t'e'q'Lda:X, GAt'e'q'Lda:X** in a straight line, *see t'e'q'.*

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2e. *With meaning extended to time, with certain forms only, see 2f.*: **ne:tl'da:X** first, at first, original, *see ne:tl';* **sahdX( )da:X** after, for a long while, *see sahd;* **qi'ya:da:X** sometime, anytime (indefinite), *see under qi';* **de:ga'da:Xd** when?, when, *see de:-gwa'- 3. under de:;1* **qi' qu'xsinh( )da:X qu'xsinh** when I die, I'll die *23.154A,* **qi'dAX 'AnahshAkihXa'X da: 'i'a'ch'( )da:X** as soon as we get going having a good time *30.9L (see under qi' 2b.).*

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2f. *As 2e. above but written separately as "conjunction", see separate subentry da:X.*

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2g. *In* **k'e:chi:duh( )da:X** "what can *I* do about it, having no time to monkey with it" *L, Rezanov* Кейчидудахъ 'Даромъ umsonst' *('how in the world? and?', or perhaps < k'e:chi:duh 'uda:X 'how in the world (could that make) any difference?' as under 2.).*

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3. *With extended meanings, -d final only* a. *extended to time in* **'idehda:d** at a good (propitious, convenient, proper) time, timely, at the right time *L,* **dik' 'idahda:d 'a:nda' 'AsahLG**, **dik' 'idahda:d G 'a:nda' sahL** you came at a bad time *L.*

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3b. *Meaning uncertain in* o-**X-da:d** without o, o-less *(probably < postpositional phrase o-X 'in contact with o' as o of o-da:-d)*: *Rezanov* Аухтату 'Не надобно ich? bedarf night' **'AwXda:duh** it's never used, superfluous < (one can get along) without it! *L,* **k'a:di'da: 'AwXda:d ya' 'i:dah, te'ya'** he's never without it, fish *A,* **siXda:d ya:qa' sahLinh** he went away without me *L,* **k'a:di'da: 'Aw q'AdjXda:d 'iXa' yAX 'idiyah** it'd never do for you to go

around without your ribbon *23.51A,* **lihXda:d** quiet, inactive, silent, *see lih- under le~, most frequently with theme -Le('), see instances under -Le(') 1g.(3), 3e., nominalized and as o of o-wah-d 'for, because of o':* **dAGAlehXda:dwahd** out of wantonness, senselessness *49.70A.*

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Xdl-da:-X *(postpositional phrase, with Xdl-thematic 'shore', attested with -X final, as under o-da:- 1.)* along shore: **XAdla:da:X GAxqe:L** I'm boating along the shore, coastline *L.*

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da:X *(conjunction, very general subordinator, originally postposition, see especially o-da:- 2e. above; written sparately 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 -inh 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: **sLi'mahdL da:X ma:sdla:** bread and butter *L,* **'i: da:X xu:** you and I *M,* **qe'L da:X Lila:'** a man and a woman *2a.5M (cf. 1b.),* **q'e:'shk' da:X gu:dAg k'Ayi:ny Ga:ndich'ich'g** Bluejay and again another bird *6.1M,* **Xa:ngAdi:nyanh da:X k'uXa:shg** Porcupine and Beaver *16.1M,* **ch'i:lehshiyah da:X Ge:ts'gAXAq'** Raven and Magpie *BSdL 261, 555,* **'Al 'uyAq'a'ts' da:X 'Al 'uk'ahsh** his hands and feet *23.139A,* **t'uhLga' XAtl' da:X t'uhLga' XAda: gah** three nights and three days *25.81A,* **'Aw t'ik'L da:X qu'LXa:dL siXa'** my arrows and bow *27a.3L, optional and/or with pause following and/or preceding:* **'Aw dla:q'Aya' da:X, ts'iyuh, XAla:g dAt'a' yah yiLeh, wAX ts'iyuhyu: dla:q'Aya'yu: 'idisiyuh** those mountain-goats and, blackbear, in winter it is difficult, thus for blackbear (and) mountain-goats to be killed *25.207A,* **tsi:wAlahyu:, da:X, sahxwAlahyu:** mussel-people, and, cockle-people *11.62A,* **ya:'a:gAga' dla:ch'e:'ga' 'u:nda' 'Awa: 'i:t'inhinu:, da:X, dji:da:dAGwAlahyu:** those whose faces are half red, and, razorclam-people *11.64A, in longer series:* **GAdAgiL, qAXah, da:X la'Xts'L** sun, moon, and stars *2a.4, 14, 19M (perhaps English influence),* **siya:n da:X sita:' da:X sidAGe:'GAyu:** my mother and father and younger siblings *18.41L,* **siya:q'e'GAyu: da:X sitsa'kihGAyu: da:X siga:gGAyu:** my aunt's and older sister's and uncle's people *70.10A, see also 10.230A (NP, NP, Neuter perfective da:X NP, da:X, NP, Neuter perfective, da:X 'Awa:, NP, da:X NP, NP, NP, NP da:X, Neuter perfective, Vp), 23.19A (NP da:X, Neuter perfective da:X, da:X VP).*

1b. *Connection noun and other non-verbal phrases,* or: **de: 'Awa:duh 'AnahshAkih 'uXe'i:leh, na:w da:X gi:wa:** which do you like (better), whiskey or beer? *L,* **ch'a:n' XAda: da:X ts'i:n XAda: gah** five or six days *2a.11M,* **dik' 'Aw 'u'dAXahG, de:duw yiLe:, Lila:' da:X qe'L** it wasn't told of them which it was, a boy or a girl *23.123A,* **dAda:dAXyu:d wAX qi'yit'eh, tsa:dla:yAXd da:X lisdAyAXd** wherever you live, under rocks or under tree *16.26M.*

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2. *Connecting adjective or postpositional phrase and verb phrase,* and, after *(vague)*: **djigL *one hour*ga' da:X sAsinhL** about one hour and he was dead *63.111A,* **dA'Alga'kih da:X ya:n'ch' da:k'inh** (he goes) just this little bit and he (cust) sits down (tired) *72.5L (cf. especially o-da:- 2e.),* **k'ugu:nt'u' da:X di'da: 'iLda:X 'idit'inhinu: qe'LGAyu:** many and quite a variety of women *10.229A.*

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3. *Connecting verbal clauses,* a. *following clauses with all mode-aspects other than conditonal and Inceptive imperfective,* and, …-ing, having …-en, as …, while …, when …, but: *immediately following verb, no pause preceding or following da:X (q'-) (often, in texts from A usually, 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, **yiLda:s da:X k'u'luw yiLeh** it's heavy and it's big *M,* **sLi'mahdL siLmahdL da:X ya' sAga'L** I baked bread but/and it turned out badly *L,* **k'utsinh da:X Ga:Linh** he's walking along singing, he's singing and he's walking along *M,* **yAX dALAqahGX da:X Ga:Linh** he's walking along stumbling *M,* **yAX xda:X da:X k'uxtsinh** I'm walking about and singing, as, while I'm walking about I'm singing *L,* **'a:nch' Ga:L da:X GAxw'inhinh** I see him coming, he's coming and I see him, (as he's) coming I see him *L (also GAxw'inhinh 'a:nch' Ga:L da:X, see below), immediately following verbs with -inh 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 -inh or -inu: suffix (rare): 22.6L; with pause preceding, no pause following da:X (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 following) verb with -inh or -inu: suffix (relatively 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:X (q'-): 11.65, 79, 158, 163, 175, 20.90, 25.14, 28.113A, immediately following (pause following) verb with -inh or -inu: suffix: 9.46A; following epilogue to verbal clause or quotation (pauses more frequent preceding than following da:X (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:* **GAxw'inhinh 'a:nch' Ga:L da:X** I see him coming *L,* **ne:tl' 'iLtl' 'ALdah q'e' qu'dAlinhinu:, 'uma:yu: 'iLli' 'idiLiyah da:X** soon they'll be playing together again, while their mothers hate each other *72.1L (cf. ya:n' 'ixitehL da:X 'u:da' qi'yiyah 'I'll be lying down when you get there' ('I'm lying down and you'll get there') L; with -d emphatic enclitic:* **k'e:yu: q'e' k'uGAdAle:L da:Xduw,** just all kinds of further things were happening and!, *11.133A; following negative Inceptive perfective clauses introduced by di:yAX 'while not ... yet, before ...', see under di:yAX.*

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3b. *Following Inceptive or Active conditional clauses, verb never with -inh or -inu: suffix, never with pause preceding (though often following) da:X (q'-)*: (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,* **dA'Alga'kih Gah da:X ga'ginh** when he goes a little way like this he gets tired *L,* **dik' 'a:nda' Ga:G da:X** if he doesn't come, unless he comes *M,* **'Alga' GAlAGa'yah da:X** 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: 11.117A, 21a.15L, 21b.71, 72, 25.76, 28.39A,* **'i:xgah da:X ya:n' sAdahL** as I was just getting started dancing you sat down *L,* **yi'Lqah da:X yAX 'A'a:k'** 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 condtional clause as epilogue:* **dAde:chi:d da: da'qe'li:LXa: 'AdiXd ya' 'Axdah da:X** what ever shall we have if I start staying put indoors? *11.54A.*

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3c. *As 3b. above, but subordinated Neuter conditional or Neuter imperfective often used as conditional,* when …, if …, (just) as …, and:: *formal Neuter conditional:* **'AyAG wAX 'i:lih'a't'eh da:X** when they felt like it *68.48A,* **'AnahshAkih 'i:lih'a'xt'eh da:X** just as I was getting happy *L, Neuter imperfective, clearly used as conditional:* **wAX 'i:leh da:X, dA'u:d 'uqa'd ya' 'Adi:n'inu:** if you wish, go ahead and stay amongst them! *10.190A,* **k'udzu:dah 'i:nLilah da:X qa:Xa' ya' qi'yite:** if you're handsome-faced you shall lie with us *29.13A,* **k'udi'lahG xiLeh da:X q'a:dya:g 'iqe'xLteh** if I were a big chief I'd give you away into slavery *L, in epilogue, negative:* **dik' dAXunhyu:li' 'ida'yiLa:G da:X** *51.84A, probably conditional also in 23.17A, perhaps also in 25.139, 132A, followed by -d interrogative enclitic in 28.28A.*

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3d. *Subordinating verb clause in Inceptive imperfective, sometimes used as conditional,* when …, if …, and: *clearly conditional: 23.44, 154A, epilogue:* **'ich' q'e' qu'xtah, 'Al q'Adj 'iXa', siXa' wAX qi'yit'uh da:X** 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, 16.28, 29.19A.*

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3e. *Subordinating non-verbal clause*: **dAde:d 'iq' da:X** if anything is on you *36.10A.*

da:4

-da: *occurring only in* **yAda:** *(also yida:, < y-da:?, noun, unclassified)* shaman's power, clairvoyance *LM*: *Galushia Nelson* yɪɒɔ· *or* yɪɒω· 'shaman's power' *BSdL 552,* **yida: 'uXa' 'uda' sahLinh** his (shaman's) power came to him *L,* **'Aw yida:shiyah q'A'Aw** it's that evil spirit (shaman's power) *L,* **k'u'luw yida: da'li:LXinhinh** she has great clairvoyance *L.*

da:di:La:G *(loan from Alutiiq Taatiillaaq)*

da:di:La:G *(place-name) Tatitlek G (Harrington).*

da:s

L-da:s S be heavy: *Rezanov* Ильтасъ 'Тяжело schwer' **yiLda:s** it's heavy *ML,* Алътааскто 'Легко leicht' [**dik'**] **'a'Lda:sGduh** it's not heavy at all *L,* **yiLda:slehd** because it's heavy *9.105A,* **yiLda:s** that which is heavy, a heavy thing *(nominalized Neuter imperfective) 65.13, 62A,* **di:yAX 'Awga' GALda:sLG** (*or* **'a'GALda:sLG**) it's not heavy enough yet *M,* **siq' GALda:sL** it's getting heavy on me *L; repetitive:* **'a'd Lda:sg** it's very heavy (as one repeatedly experiences in trying to move it) *L, with d-class-mark:* **di:Lda:s** it (board **tsAdl**) is heavy *L.*

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L-da:s-G *(thematic negative of preceding)* S be light: *attested only in Neuter imperfective in probably reading of Rezanov* Алътааскто 'Легко leicht' *probably to be read* **'a'Lda:sGduh** it's light indeed!.

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O-**L-da:s**(**-g**) S weigh O *(usually with thematized -g-repetitive)*: **'iqe'xLda:sg** I'll weigh you *L,* **GAxLda:sgX 'ixleh** I want to weigh it *M; passive:* **xusdida:sL** I've been weighed *L.*

da:sdiya:

da:sdiya: *(personal name) Eyak woman S, Sock Stevens's sister L, Harvey Milton's mother, Mrs. Milton, now Nellie Lord (Yakutat) from Sampson Harry, Susie Abraham (M has heard).*

da:sh

da:sh *(noun, unclassified)* foam, froth, white foam as found on beach, on beer *ML*: *Rezanov* Ташъ 'Пѣна Schaum', **da:sh yiLeh** it's foamy *L,* **da:sh'a'luw** big mass of foam *M,* **da:shxahch' gAlAGAle:L** foam (on liquid) is subsiding *L.*

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dA-da:sh S foam *(precise identity of S uncertain)*: **qa' sdida:shL** it foamed up *M.*

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:3)*

da:X *(preverb, with zero (-X?) final only)* 1. (movement) across: **ma:ya' da:X** (movement crossing) across the lake *M,* **da:X sLidahL** it (duck) swam across *L,* **'u:dAX da:X GAwe:Linh** he's swimming across there *L,* **sili'dAX da:X XAdla:sa'yahL** he ran across right behind me *L,* **'Awda:q' da:X sahL** he went across on it *L,* **da:X sahL** he went across (e.g. street, creek, ice) *L, see further instances under O-tl'i 'S ferry O', -we 'S swim', -qe 'S go by boat', -a 'sg. S go on foot', with q'e'~q'e:- 'back, again':* **q'e:da:X 'anh sAtl'ihLinh** ferried him back across *53.25L,* **qahdldAya' q'e:da:X xsdiqehL** I boated back across in a bark vessel *53.28L.*

2. *Meaning uncertain, perhaps o-X with indeterminate o*: (o1-**lu'qa:**) o2-**tl' da:X 'i-'-d-le** S beg, plead, persistently with o2 (for o1), *see o-tl' da:X 'i-'-d-le under le~.*

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3. *Meaning perhaps* across *but probably more clearly o-X 'in contact with, against o' with indeterminate o*: **da:X** o-**Xd-dja'** S strike O (match), *see under O-dja',* **da:X -ta** S (skin) be on stretching-frame, *see under ta,* **da:X** O-**L-ya:'** S stretch O (skins) on frame, **XAdAGd da:X qu'di:xLah** I'll set up a fish rack *L ('I'll set them (d-class) across (?) up above'); see these and further instances under o-X1, under X1.,*

da:mah *(loan from Russian Дама, locally in 18th-19th century perhaps 'checkers' or 'king (at checkers)', to Eyak perhaps directly, or more likely through unidentified intermediate source, perhaps Yakutat Tlignit dama 'checkers' S (but see Kelly dä-wä´ 'checker', W. Soboleff dawá), rather than Chugach taamaq 'king (at checkers)'; cf. dah2)*

da:mah *(noun, probably unclassified)* king (at checkers) *L*: **da:mah sALe'L** it (checkers) became king *L.*

da:l *(possible stem, perhaps related to da) see ya:'a:gAgAga:lAya', under 'a:g, ya'~Aya', ya:.*

dah1 *(or da:, in yelling)*

-dah(**~-da:**) *occurring only in* **'A-dah**: **'Adah** father! *LMA (vocative form only; cf. -ta:'), Rezanov* Ата 'Отецъ Vater', *Anonymous* Атта 'Отецъ', *Baranov* Тъ та 'Отецъ' [**'A**]**dah**, *Khromchenko* Етта *(in Ahtna column)* / Ата *(in Eyak column)* 'Отецъ', *Wrangell* Эт-та 'vater', *Furuhjelm* Atta 'father', *Anna Nelson* aɒa' 'father (either sex speaking)' *BSdL 565,* **'Ada:** fatherrr!! *(in yelling) L. Perhaps a nursery-form of -ta:' in origin; cf. Navaho -dá-'í 'maternal uncle'.*

dah2 *(perhaps to be identified with dah3)*

'ALdah *(adverb, to be analyzed 'AL-dah, perhaps further 'A-L-, with L-classifier, in which case stem -dah is not to be identified with dah, cf. 'ALqah under qah3; cf. Tlingit 'ałdawá*

'playing checkers', 'aɬ- "playing", dawá < Russian, cf. da:mah) playing, *attested only with -le 'S act, do', see -le 6.*

dah3 *(perhaps to be identified with dah2, 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 -L deverbalizing suffix, or to stems which do not occur without -dah but appear to be old gerundives or deverbalizations:* **suhgLdah** serious injury *(see suhg),* **k'ahdLdah** injury *(see k'ahd~k'a'd),* **'uyAX 'isyahGLdah** annoyance *(see 'yahG),* **cha'nik'Ldah** funny *(see (')nik'),* **lAgehGdah**, **lAgehGLdah** lonely *(see gwehG~),* **'ishguhGdah**, **guGdah** deceitfully *(see guG~),* **gehsdah, gwehsdah** pitiful *(see gehdz~),* **lAXisxwa:sdah** scary, **xa:sdah** strange *(see xahs~), to other forms, probably deverbalizations in origin:* **Xanhdah** woeful *(see Xanh1),* **sLa'dah** beautiful *(see La'2), to adjectives:* **k'udzu:dah** well *(see dzu:),* **k'usha:dah** badly *(see shiyah~),* **k'u'luwdah** greatly *(see 'luw~), to numerals:* **LinhGdah** still, in one place *(see LinhG),* **la'dah** in two ways *(perhaps once la'da: 69.7A, la'd-dah, see la'd),* **t'uhLga'dah** in three ways *(see t'uhL), to certain pronouns:* **Li'q' ya:yu:dah** in all sorts of ways, all sorts of things *(Li'q' ya:yu: 'everything'),* **dA'u:dAXya:kihdah** something (of significance) *(dA'u:dAXya:kih 'something'),* **ya:kihdah**, **dAya:kihdah** payment *(see ya:2),* **k'ude:dah** impossible *(k'ude: 'nothing', see da:1), to certain other forms, mainly adverbial or exclamatory:* **'Anik'ehdah** scary, ridiculous, grotesque *(see 'Anik'eh~),* **'AnahshAkihdah** pleasant *(see 'AnahshAkih),* **'iyahdah** dirty *(see 'i:yah~),* **Lidah**, **dALidah** constantly *(see Li~Li'),* **k'a:dah** remarkably *(see k'a:),* **q'e:dah** outright (etc.) *(see q'e:),* **'AwA'ahdah** thank you, **'AwA'ahluwdah** many thanks *(see 'ah2);* **'idah**, **di'dah** (< **dA-'idah**), **'idehdah** (< **'idah-'idah** ?) fine, nice, alright, well, proper, quite, really *(see 'i ???), also with -kih 'diminutive':* **'idahkih**, **di'dahkih** fairly well; *see also especially -le 7.-11. and other themes with stem -le, very frequent with a variety of adverbs in -dah.*

2. *In certain forms above used as o of postpositions or as preverbs with postpositional finals (rare)*: **dik' 'idahda:d 'a:nda' 'AsahLG** he didn't come at a good time *L,* **dA'wAX gehsdahX 'anh dAGALdza:nts'Linh** he begs him just pitifully *37b.34A,* **Li'q' ya:yu:X 'anh ya:kihdahch' Li:k'inh** she (cust) tries to pay him with all sorts of things *37a.16L,* **ya:kihdahch' xLi:g** I kept trying to pay him *37b.61, 61A.*

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. ch'ahd, yahd, Xahd, nahd, wah)*

o-**dahd** *(postposition, always with zero (-d) final)* 1a. against, touching o (with some pressure): **sidahd GAda'** sit by me (touching)! *L,* **sidahd 'i:dahLinh** he's sitting by me *M,* **sidahd sAdahLinh** he sat by me *L,* **'idahd qu'xdah** I'll sit by you *L,* **sidahd Ga:'** come close by me! *M,* **sidahd Ga:Linh** he's come against me (and is continuing, trying to push farther) *L,* **k'udahd sahL** he came up against something *L,* o-**dahd g-LA-a:n'** S lean (stand) against o, **'itl'a:ndahd 'igAli:LtahL** *place-name, see under ta,* **'udahd lixitahL** I have my head right up against it *M; with indeterminate o:* **dAdahd sahL** he came up against something (non-specific) *L; with reciprocal o:* **'iGuhd 'iLdahd GALa'** put your knees together! *L,* **la'dda:d 'iLdahd 'iLiyahL** two (e.g. boxes) together, **la'dda:d diLiyahL yahd** to adjoining houses *L.*

1b. *In themes* o-**dahd 'u-'-(l-)ta** S hear, listen to o < S put head semitransitively against o, o-**dahd 'u-'-l-L-ya:'** S hear, listen to o on several occasions, *and in corresponding passives* sound of o be heard, o make sound; *sometimes with verbal clause subordinated as o* : **giyah gu:nLAshiLgdahd 'u'ditah** sound of sploshing water is heard *L,* **dAXunhyu: tsin'dAlehdahd 'u'sAtahLinh** he heard the sound of people speaking *30.2L,* **dA'u:dAXya:kih**

LAqa:'dahd 'u'li:tinhinh he hears someone yelling *45b.2M, with classified o:* **dzanhddAdahd '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.*

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2. *With uncertain meaning, perhaps here ablative,* from contact with o: a.: **t'ik'dahd k'usALtsAXL** cut something off the tip of his bow *34.92fnL, perhaps t'ik'- 'bow-and-arrow', d-class, as o of o-d 'from o', but expected form would be t'ik'-dA-d.*

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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.*

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q'e:dahd *(personal name) woman, very beautiful, sister of qa:da:d'ah, raised by Sedan Thomas at Katalla L (o-dahd 'pressing against o; sound of o', q'e: unidentified).*

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q'i:dahd *(personal name) Tlingit woman S (o-dahd 'pressing against o; sound of o', q'i: unidentified; cf. preceding).*

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q'e:dahdma: *(personal name) Eyak woman* < mother of q'e:dahd *M (has heard).*

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'iLdAdahd *(personal name) Lena's mother's sister LA. 'iL-dA-dahd reciprocal, d- qualifier, o-dahd 'touching o with pressure', "leaning together" A, meaning of d- qualifier unclear.*

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o-**l-dahd** *(postposition, with l-anatomical 'head')* against o's head: *attested only with deleted reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction:* **'i:ndahd dixLile'gL** I'm resting my head, chin, on my hand < I have my hand against my head *L.*

da'1 *(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 da:', da'X, cf. widely attested Athapaskan da' (combinatory da) 'mouth, lip, beak' and related postpositions and verbal prefixes da(') 'before, front, opening, lid, top')*

da' *(preverb)* 1. *(with zero and -d finals)* in the face: *with -d final:* **tsa:dli:nAX da'd 'isiLts'AXL** I hit you in the face with a rock *L,* **da'd xusAta'tl'Linh** he kicked me in the face *L,* **da'd xusALtuxLinh** he spit in my face *L, uncertain in* **'ushe:k'da:d da'd GALxut'inh** shoot him in the chest! *L; with zero final:* **xitl'ga' da' GAxle:L** my face is turning white *L, usually requiring GA-thematic with verb:* **xitl'ga' da' GAxit'eh** my face is white *L,* **xitl'ga' da' qu'Gi:xt'uh** my face will turn white *L,* o-**ga' da' Gi:t'inhinu:** their faces are like o *10.229A,* **da' GixiLk'in'L** my face is skinny *L,* **da' Gi:Lk'in'Linh** his face is skinny *L,* **da' qu'Gi:nxLk'in'** my face will get skinny *L, in epithets:* **da' Gi'luw** big-face! *L, 11.139A, 18.8L,* **da' GiLe't'** box-face.

2a. *(with zero, -d, and -ch' finals)* into a vessel for storage, canning, preserving: *with zero final:* **da' lAXAsiLqa'dgL** I canned (boiled) berries (for preserving) *L,* **da' lAXAqa'dg** canned berries, jam, jelly, fruit preserves *L,* **la'mahd da' qa'dg** canned preserves *L,* **da' 'i:t'its'** (salmon etc.) frozen for winter *L, with -d final:* **'u:d da'd sAtahL** it's there in a box *L, with -ch' final:* **da'ch' 'ALya:'** put them in a container! *L,* **da'ch' 'AxLya:'** I'm putting them (canned goods) into storage for winter *L,* **da'ch' 'ALqa'dg** can it (boil it for preserving)! *L,* **la'mahd da'ch' lAXAxLqa'dg** I'm canning berries *L.*

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2b. *(with -d final only 'from a position at rest')* up out of vessel, up out *(relatively rare, cf. qa' 'up out', ya'-d, o-ya'-d 'up out of container with broad opening at top')*: *34.60fnM,* **da'd sahL** he got up out of a boat (into water, onto land); he went up on a hill *L,* **si:na'q' da'd Ga:L** it (bug) is walking upwards on my face *L,* **'i:na:Xda:d Ga:'** go up hill *L (perhaps to be corrected to 'i:na:X da'd Ga:'),* **'itl'a:na:Xda:d Ga:'** go up the mountainside *L (perhaps to be corrected to 'itl'a:na:X da'd Ga:').*

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o-**da'** *(postposition, with zero and other finals)* in front of, the facing surface of o 1. *(with zero, -d, -ch', and -X finals)*: *with zero final: Rezanov* Сытаатте 'Подлѣ neben' *probably* **sida' 'Ade:** sit in front of (facing) me!, **sida' sAdahL** he's sitting in front of me *L, perhaps to be interpreted as o-da' under da'2:* **'ida' lixitahL** my face is right up close to you *M,* **shdu:lihGdAda' q'Aw siyahL** I walked to the front of the table *61.43A,* **shi:nda'**, **shida'** northeastward < to (the front of and up) the creeks, *see si:~si:n; with -d final:* **'uda'd** the front (facing surface or that which is generally regarded as the front) on it (e.g. of box) *M,* **sida'd sAtahL** it's right in front of me *L; with -ch' final:* **Le't'da'ch'** towards the (front of the?) box *M,* **sida'ch' yAX lAGAdAla:'** turn to face me (as we're prone)! *L,* **sida'ch' Ga:Linh** he's coming towards (the front of) me, encountering me (I stationary, he walking) *L,* **sida'ch' GAda:Linh** he's coming toward (the front of) me, we're encountering (he walking, I stationary or walking) *L,* **sida'ch' guGALa:n'Linh** he's standing facing me *L,* **q'ahs shi:da' 'idAGAL'a'L** the clouds are moving northeast (to the front of and up the creeks) *L; with -X final:* **sida'X disdituxLinh** he spat in my face *L,* **sida'X 'Adla:sLi'ehLinh** he sneaked right into (the front of) me *L,* **sida'X sdiyahLinh** he came toward me, we encountered (I walking or stationary, he walking) *L.*

2. *As of o-L-ch'-a:-d 'direction, side of o',* o-**da'-Lch'a:d** front side, bosom, in the direction of (the front side of) o: **sida'Lch'a:d ya' qu'xtah** I'll keep it in my bosom *L,* **sida'Lch'a:d** my front side *L,* **shi:da'Lch'a:d** west side *64.7G,* windward side *M.*

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3. *With reciprocal o in indirect reciprocal constructions (attested with zero and -X finals, probably referring to the front side of o even where not explicitly so glossed)*: *with zero final:* **'iLda' XAdla:sdi'yahLinu:** they ran head-on into each other *L,* **'iLda' 'iLiyahL** name of Basket Pattern 10. ("'together-eachother") *BSdL 547; with -X final:* **'iLda'X shdi'a'ch'Linu:**, **'iLi:da'X shdi'a'ch'Linu:** they encountered, walked into each other *L,* **gu:dAg 'iLda'X q'e' shdi'a'ch'L** they met again *16.19M.*

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

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(o-)**d-da'** *(postposition and preverb, sometimes difficult to determine which, probably postposition in origin, often preverbialized, with d-thematic, perhaps thematized class-mark, but see under 2. below, or with -d, -X, -dAX, -ch', and k'ah 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'k k'uGAta'** cover it up (hole, pot)! *L,* **k'udAda'ya'** lid (of e.g. pot) *see under ya'~Aya', see also 3. below; with -d final: clearly as postposition,* at rest, from a position at rest covering aperture of o: **k'udAda'd ya:** "the top one" *L, clearly as preverb:* **dAda'd 'Aw XAdAshALdja'Linh** he jerked the lid off *2b.17L, uncertain, postposition or preverb:* **'Aw( )dAda'd sAtahL** it's lying on top *L,* (-)**dAda'd** O-**Xd-(L-)ta** S open O (box) *2a.18M, 29.34A,* **dida'd**, **dAda'd** (box-)cover *L, with -ch' final, probably postposition:* **'AwdAda'ch' ya:n'ch' GAda:L** it (fly) is landing on its lid *L, with -X final, probably postposition:* **'AwdAda'X yAX da:X** it (fly) is walking around on its lid *L, probably as preverb:* **'Aw dAda'X yAX sALXehLinh** he tied the cover down on him *7.33, 34A, clearly as*

preverb: **dAda'X yAX 'iLigAXts'wahd** so that the lids stick down *65.25A,* **dAda'X yAX 'AxLya:k'** I (cust) put the lids down on *65.25, 25, 25A, with -dAX final:* **'AwdAda'dAX** (*same as* **'AwdAda'X**) **yAX da:X** it (fly) is walking around on its lid *L, with -k'ah final or compounded as o of o-k'ah 'away from o':* **'udAda'k'ah k'uGAta'** uncover it! *L.*

2. (covering) mouth, muzzle (of o) *(cf. also da' 'face', o-da' 'front of o'; probably here as postposition only, nominalized with -d final; here perhaps with d-thematic 'oral')*: **'AwdAda'd 'Aw sALku:n'dLinh** he grabbed the muzzle of it (shotgun) *61.54A, with deleted reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction:* **dAda'd qehX 'idile'gLinh** he's covering his (own) mouth with his hand *L.*

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3. *With GA-L- as o, extreme of series*: **GALdAda' 'i:tahL** it's (in position) on the topmost one *L.*

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o-**g-da'**- *(postposition, with g-thematic, usually nominalized with -d final, once with -ch' final, -X final)* mouth, outlet of o (body of water): *with -d final, 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* **'uguda'd** its outlet, **'a:nguda'd** mouth of a river *M,* mouth of Copper River, Copper River Delta *68.48A,* **ma:guda'd** outlet of a lake *M,* **XAta:sguda'd** mouth of Odiak Slough *L,* **'i:ya:Gguda'd** mouth of Eyak River *L,* **'AnAXAnAGguda'd** mouth of Alaganik Slough *L,* **di:y'guda'd** mouth of Yakutat Bay *L; with -ch' final:* **'a:nguda'ch'** to the mouth of the river *68.48; with -X final:* **ma:guda'X da: GAqe:L** we're paddling at the mouth of the lake *L.*

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'uguda'd *(place-name) where the Copper River branches out from one stream into three at beginning of delta; above that the Copper River is a single stream* < its outlet: *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,* **'uguda'd** mouth of Copper River, Copper River Delta *68.48A.*

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o-**l-da'**- *(postposition, with l-anatomical 'head', never realized -lA-, attested with -d, -ch', and -X finals only, cf. -l-da:' under da:')* o's head-front, face: *with -d final 'at rest, nominalization':* **si:nda'd** the front of my head, my face *L,* **si:nda'd sAdahL** it (fly) is sitting on my face *L,* **si:nda'd yAX 'i:ndilahL** he's facing me *L,* **yahd'i:nda'd** upper portion of front of house *M, with deleted reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction:* **'i:nda'd qehX GAdAle'g** cover your face with your hands! *L,* **'i:nda'd wAX** O-**LA-t'e´~-t'u´** S wear O on (own) head; *with -X final:* **si:nda'X dAsALk'a't'L** it (fly) landed on my face *L; with -ch' final:* **si:nda'ch' dAGALk'a't'L** it (fly) is flying toward my face *L.*

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k'u:nda'ch' *(preverbialized postpositional phrase, k'u-l-da'-ch' 'continuous or repeated motion towards someone's head-front, with k'u-indefinite o thematized)* crossing self, paying *in* **k'u:nda'ch' 'i-gwa´**~ S cross self, pray, **k'u:nda'ch' gwah**~ prayer.

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o-**y-da'** *(postposition, with y-anatomical 'hand', attested with zero, -d, -ch', -X, and -q' finals)* 1. in the palm, heel, back of o's hand, o's inside forearm, wrist *(vague, uncertain, or general)*: *with zero final, nominalized:* **siyAda'** 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: sALk'in'L** its arm is skinny *L,* **lixahyAda'** name of Basket Pattern. 9. ("brown-bear ulna") *BSdL 547; not nominalized:* **'iyAda' GALa'** 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 sAdahL** it (fly) i 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:* **yAda'q' dAxa'ch'** wristwatch *L, deverbalized: Rezanov* Итакохоачель 'Зарукаье' *(not in Radlov, 'cuffringe')* **yAda'q' xwa'ch'L** *(tied on one's own wrist;) wih -X final 'motion within area', meaning regular:* **siyAda'X dAsALk'a't'L** it (fly) landed on my inside forearm *L.*

2. *With -X final only, meaning idiomatic,* unsuspecting into the clutches of, as prey to, victim of o: o-**y-da'-X -'ya** S play easily into the hand of o, o obtain S effortlessly *(see -'ya 13.),* **siyAda'X yisdi'yahL** I got it (hunting) *L, 68.103A; frequently with k'u-indefinite o referring to dangerous beast, especially grizzly-bear:* **k'uyAda'X q'AlAGi:ya:G** watch where you go, not to stray into the clutches of a dangerous beast! *L,* **k'uyAda'X 'i:nxsdiyahL** I fell into the clutches of a grizzly *L.*

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o-**tsin'-da'** *(postposition, with archaic tsin'-anatomical 'head, neck' thematized, cf. Hupa cida', Kato -si'da' 'crown of head', attested with zero, -d, -ch', -X, -and -ch'ahd finals)* end, tip, point, extremity of o: *with zero final:* **ta:(XAdA)tsin'da' da: shA'a'ch'L** we got to the end of the road *L,* **'Awtsin'da' 'idixa'ch'L** it's tied to the end of it *L, with reciprocal o in indirect reciprocal construction:* **'iLtsin'da' XAdAGALsid** set them (logs) end-to-end! *L,* **'iLtsin'da' XAdidisid** they (logs) are end-to-end *L, with -X final:* **listsin'da'(X) qAXa'yah** chickadee < pl. fly at tree-tips, **('u)ch'AXtsin'da(X) dAt'u:ch'** mew gull < (its) wing-tips are black, *with -d final, usually nominalized: Rezanov* Уцынтатъ 'Конецъ Ende' **'utsin'da'd** its end *LM,* **k'utsin'da'd** point (of e.g. pencil) *M,* **ta:tsin'da'd** road's end *L,* **'Awtsin'da'd 'Awa: 'a'le'g** grab the end of it! *L,* **'Awtsin'da'd 'Awa: yAX sAkugL** the tip of it is broken off *L,* **sini:k'AdAtsin'da'd** the tip of my nose *L,* **ts'isa:tsin'da'dAdju'k'L** gaff *A,* **dla:LXe:djgtsin'da'd** White Quartz Point < quartz extremity, tip *G (Harrington), with -ch' final:* **ta:(XAdA)tsin'da'ch' da: GA'a'ch'L** we're coming to the end of the road *L, with -ch'ahd final:* **ta:(XAdA)tsin'da'ch'ahd da: q'e:yAX sdi'a'ch'L** we got to the end of the road and turned back (from it) *L; see also -tsin'da'ya' 'half, less than half' under ya'~Aya'.*

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Xd(l)-tsin'-da'-d *(postpositional phrase, attested only nominalized with -d final, with Xd(l)-thematic 'shore')* point of land: **XAdla:tsin'da'd** point of land *L, Rezanov* Хатецынтате 'Мусъ' *(not in Radlov, 'promontory, cape')* **XAdAtsin'da'd.**

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-y-tsin'-da'-d *(postpositional phrase, attested only nominalized with -d final, o-tsin'-da'-d with y-anatomical 'hand')* fingertips: **siyAtsin'da'd** my fingertips *L.*

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-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.*

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-k'ush-da'-d *(postpositional phrase, attested only nominalized with -d final, with k'ush-anatomical 'lower leg')* front of lower leg, shin: **sik'ushda'd** the front of my lower leg *M.*

da'2 *(perhaps to be identified with one or more homophonous stems, and/or to be analyzed d-a', postpositional d 'at rest at'with -a' augment)*

o-**da'** 1. *(postpositional, 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 go': 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, 6G, 69.23A, 71.11LM, with theme -'a'ch' '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, elicitations: **'ida' siLtahL** I carried it over to you *M,* **sida' sALtahL** you brought it to me *L,* **'ida' k'uqe'gah** someone will dance up to you *M,* **sida' 'isAga'Linh** he danced over to me *LM,* **giyah 'ida' GAxqa:L** I'm bringing you water *L,* **giyah 'uda' siqahLinh** I brought him water *L,* **'Aw XAwa: dAkinh 'uda' sAqahLinh** (*or* **'anhda' sAqahL**) the dog brought him a stick (in its mouth) *L,* **sida' 'ALqAtl'**, **sida' GALqAtl'** push it (all the way over) to me (but not necessarily touching me) *L,* **ge:lA'a:g ya:da' Ga:nsa'yahL** it's noon *L,* **ne:tl' ge:lA'a:gda' qu'LA'ah** soon it'll be high noon *L,* **sida' yAsa'yahL** it (letter) got to me *M,* **qi' shdishehLda' 'isiL'anhL** I went to where he was killed *L,* **dAXk'ida'dAw 'isALXa'tl'L** what time is it? *L,* **yida: 'uXa' 'uda' sahLinh** his shamanistic power came to him *L,* **sida' sahL** you came to me *L,* **sida' Ga:'** come right up to me *L,* **dik' sida' 'a:k'Ginh** he (cust) never comes to me *L,* **de:lehd dik' sida' 'i:ya:k'G** why don't you (cust) ever come to me? *L,* **'a'd k'a:di'da: sida' 'i:yinhinh** he never comes to me *L,* **XAwa: 'u:d 'uda' sahLinh** a dog went to him there *L,* **ch'i:lehshiyah qi' gu:djgAlAGda' Xa'dihda' sahL** Where Old Raven visited Eagle *BSdL 254, 559,* **k'ut'a'XAya'X sida' 'u'dishLich'a:q'L** it echoed back to me *L,* **sida' 'u'dishLich'a:q'L** a message about it arrived (was heard) to me *L,* **gi:wa: sida' GAqa'** bring me a keg of beer! *L,* **'uda' sile'gL** I moved my hand to it *L,* **k'udAX 'uda' 'Axle:gk'G** I (cust) can't reach it *L,* **qi' gah k'u:Lehda' 'Axa:k'** I (cust) come out into where it's daylight *L,* **k'Ayi:ny gAqa:' sida' gu:La'** (*or* **guGALa'**) bring me some others (spruceroots)! *L.*

2. *As final to other postpositions, preverbialized 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 vicivinity of o', dAGida' 'full' (< dAG-'e'-da' 'arrival at empty place above', also with -ch' final, perhaps with da'1, see dAG 2., 'e'~, d-'ya 2f.), o-lAGAda' 'arrival at point upland from o' (< o-lAG-'e'-da', see lAG2, 47b.31aM, o-'e'-da' 'to (empty) place of o, o's home' (see o-'e' 1a., 1b.), 'i:ndz-i'-da' 'to the bow (of boat)' (see under lahdz~), qi'-da' 'place to which' (see qi' 1b.), o-tsi:n'-da' 'arrival at point downhill below o' (see o-tsi:n' under tsi'~), XA-tsiya'-da' 'arrival at point at shore below' (see XA-tsiya'- under tsi'~), 'i:ntsa'-da' 'arrival at bow of boat' (see 'i:ntsa' under tsi'~), o-sinh-da' 'arrival at point hidden behind o' (see sinh2), XAda:q'Ada' 'to the flats' (see o-q' 2d.(4)), o-'ih-da' 'to o's house after o have left' (see o-'ih 5. under 'ih1), Xa'-dih-da' 'arrival on visit' (see Xa'-dih- under Xa'~Xa:); with locatives: Xi:-da' '(arrival at) (way) over there, yonder' (see Xi:), XAsha:n-da' 'arrival at point closer to speaker here' (see XAsha:n~), extremely frequent in texts and elicitations in 'u:-da' '(arrival) thither' (see under 'Aw~), 'a:n-da' '(arrival) hither' (see under 'Al~); uncertain in ts'i:n qid( )da' GA'a'L 'cloch hand is coming around to six L; compounded with -d found in XA-lahs-dAda' (lahdz~).*

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o-**da'-** *(syntactically unique postposition combined with verb as verbal prefix, occurring in one theme only, o-da'-y-L-qa 'o be forced to camp overnight without food', q.v. under qa4)*

da'3 *(perhaps more than one stem, to be identified with one or more homophonous stems)*

(o)-**da'** *(postposition, with zero final only, or perhaps more likely, because of form k'u-sha:- as in adverbialized k'u-sha:-dah, adverbializing suffix)* 1. *with adjectives as o,* o luck, fortune: **k'udzu:da'** O-**'-Gl-'ya** O have period of good luck, fortune, **k'udzu:da'** o-**leh Gl-'ya** o have year of good luck, fortune, **k'usha:da'** O-**'-Gl-'ya** O have period of bad luck, misfortune **k'usha:da'** o-**leh Gl-'ya** o have year of bad luck, misfortune, *see Gl-'ya 2b., O-'-Gl-'ya.*

2. *(with numeral as o, or adverbializing numeral)* (o) (number of) ways, methods: **la'da' wAX dAleh** there are two ways to do that < thus is done in two ways *L (probably < la'd-da').*

da’4 *(perhaps to be identified with one or more homophonous stems, especially da'1 'face')*

da’ *(preverb?, morph of uncertain classification and meaning) occurring only in* **da’ suhg-L-dah d-le** S give on a pain (with his annoying talk), *see under suhg.*

da’5 *(perhaps to be identified with one or more homophonous stems, or perhaps related to da of -da 'sg. S sit')*

da’ *(noun, attested only as C, probably denoting activity, nursery term)* poopoo *(defecation)*: **da’ -Le(’)** S go poopoo, *see -Le(') 1d..*

da’6 *(perhaps more than one stem or morph, to be identified with one or more homophonous stems or morphs, cf. especially da'~da:, da'7, da:~dA; perhaps to be analyzed dA-', dA- to be identified as dA-classifier or d-thematic)*

’i-da’-ya:- *(noun, attested only as o of comparative postpositions, with ya: 'thing', or perhaps < 'i-dA-'-(')ya or 'i-dA-'ya, see also 'i' ???)* proper, tolerable amount, degree: **’ida’ya:lAX** too much, excessively *(o-lAX 'more than, beyond o', see lAX),* **’ida’ya:’u’X** too little, insufficiently *(o-'u'X 'less than, short of o', see 'u'X).*

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dA-q’A-da’-ya: *(noun, cf. above)* old (one), *see under q'ah~.*

da’7 *(perhaps < dA-', and/or perhaps to be identified with da'~da: or da:~dA)*

’i-da’- *(verbal prefixes, umlauting qu'- 'future' to qe'-) indeterminate o in most semitransitive themes, see 'i. ???*

da’~da: *(perhaps < dA-', and/or perhaps to be identified with da'7 and/or da:~dA, or with one or more morphs of the shape da')*

da’-~da:- *(verbal prefix, da:- in negative Neuter imperfective, da'- elsewhere, umlauting following qu'- 'future' to qe'-) attested in one theme only,* C **da’-(l-)L-Xa´** S have, own, obtain C, *see under Xa´.*

da’ts’ *(perhaps two stems, here interpreted as one, with basic historical meaning 'twist')*

da’ts’ *(noun, d-class)* straws, grasses, or roots, dyed and woven into or embroidered onto the upper pats of the sides of baskets as decoration; patterned basket-decoration: *Galushia Nelson* ɒa’tɬt 'straw' *BSdL 548,* **da’ts’da:X** by means of basket-decoration grass *66.9L,* **da’ts’dAdzu:** pretty basket-decoration *L,* **da’ts’ da:dAxwik’** draw basket-decoration roots through your teeth (to split or peel them)! *A.*

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O-**L-da’ts’** S make O (basket-decoration): **’ALda’ts’** make a basket-decoration! *L.*

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O-**d-L-da’ts’** S gather O (straws etc. for basket-decoration): **di:Lda’ts’** pick grass for basket-decoration! *L; repetitive:* **dAxLda’ts’g** I'm picking grass for basket-decoration *L.*

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O-**l-da’ts’** S decorate O (basket) *(tl'A'a:G 'basket, l-class)*: **’Aw lAda:ts’k’inu:** they (cust) decorate them *(with da'ts'da:X 'by means of basket-decoration grass' as an afterthought) 66.9L.* o-**X** O-**l-L-da'ts'** S decorate O (basket) by means of o: **’AwX q’uhnu: ’Aw lALda:ts’k’** with that

they (cust) decorate it *66.10L. Passive:* **'i:nsdida'ts'L** it (basket) has design on it *L,* **Xa:n' lAGAdAda'ts' da:X** when it's done being decorated *66.11L, repetitive: Anna Nelson* yákɒà·t íⁿɒà·tɬs 'Yakutat basket-straws' or 'Yakutat design' *BSdL 547,* **ya:'a:gda:d lAdAda'ts'g** *(or, with expanded stem,* ***ya:'a:gda:d lAdAda:ts'g)*** it's repetitively decorated at the middle (halway up), *the name of basketry pattern 4 illustrated in BSdL 82.*

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ku:n-L-da'ts' *(noun, unclassified; nominalized verb theme, etymology semantically obscure: ki:l-~ku:n-anatomical-thematic 'belly, widest part, base (of tree)', L-classifier, stem with unidentifiable archaic meaning, for which cf. perhaps Hupa (Golla) O-ł-dɑs~-dac' 'break off (a branch) by pulling', perhaps also related to Hupa (Golla) -dɪʒ, Mattole -dis, Chipewyan -dìθ, -dəð, Sarsi -dí·z, Navaho -dis 'twist', Navaho diz '(plant) debris washed by floods')* stump (of dead or felled tree) *10.258, 258A, 30.2L*: **ku:nLda'ts'kih** little stump *1a.6, 7, 12, 13, 13, 1b.6, 14, 15, 16, 19M,* **ku:nLda'ts'yAquhyu:** young little stumps *10.258A,* **ku:nLda'ts'dAXunh** stump-person (-woman) *10.259A,* **ku:nLda'ts'yAX ts'iyuh** cinnamon bear < blackbear under stump *A.*

da'ch'

d-da'ch' S drown, asphyxiate, can't get air *(with d-thematic 'oral')*: **dAGuxda'ch'L** I'm drowning, chocking, can't get air *M. Transitive (causative)* O-**d-L-da'ch'** S drown, asphyxiate O: **'iqe'di:xLda'ch'** I'll drown you *L,* **di:xLda'ch' 'uXe'xleh** I want to drown it *L (see le')); reflexive:* **'Adqu'dAxLAda'ch'** I'll drown myself *M.*

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sahs qi' dAdAda'ch'g *(place-name) outside of Strawberry Point (Hinchinbrook Island), Point Steele* < place where sea-otters are (repeatedly) drowned *L. Passive repetitive of preceding.*

da'ke:d~da:ke:d *(da:ke:d A, later rejected by L, loan from Tlingit dakèd '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)*

-da'ke:d~-da:ke:d *(noun, unclassified)* container, bottle: **na:wda:ke:d** *A (later rejected by L),* **na:wda'ke:d** whiskey-bottle *LM,* **k'ut'u' na:wda'ke:d** many whiskey-bottles *L,* **na:wda'ke:d-luw** big whiskey-bottle *L,* **na:wda'ke:dguhdkih** tiny whiskey-bottle *L,* **'uX 'idi:djidjg na:wda'ke:d** narrow-necked whiskey-bottle *L, Rezanov* Кутакетъ 'Табакерка ('snuffbox') Tabaksdose' *perhaps to be read* **k'uda'ke:d** container of something, *corresponding Tlingit entry Токутакетъ (see dAwa:guh), which suggests that the Eyak might also be interpreted* [**dAwa:**]**guhda'ke:d**, tobacco-box..

da'X *(probably to be analyzed da'-X, da'- to be identified with one or more homophonous stems, with -X final; cf. Athapaskan -də(n) 'times' and Tlingit -dɑhín)*

o-**da'X** *(postposition, or adverbializing suffix)* o (number of) times (multiplicative): *with numerals as o:* **LinhGda'X** 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,* **la'da'X** twice *L (< la'd-da'X), 27b.15, 38, 45, 50.20A,* **la'da'X 'i:'ah** two- (double-)pronged fish-spear *L, BSdL 549,* **la'da'X 'u'siLtahL** I turned two pages *L,* **la'da'X k'u'sALtahL** it (baby) took two steps *L,* **t'uhLga'da'X** thrice *L,* **qAlahqa'gwa'da'X** *62.15G,* **qAlahqa'ga'da'X** four times *19.16, 16L, 27b.38A,* **ch'a:n'da'X**

five times *L,* **ts'i:nda'X** six times *L,* **q'Adits'i:nda'X** seven times *11.88A,* **guts'de:da'X** nine times *L,* **dAGa:q'da'X** ten times *L, also in numerals for decades above twenty,* o-**da'X dAGa:q'** o-ty < o times ten, *see numerals t'uhL, qAlah, ch'a:n', ts'i:n, Ga:;* **dAXk'da'Xd** whatever number of times *33.23A,* **k'ut'u'da'X** many times *L, 18.7L,* **'wAXda'X dAGa:q'** thus many times ten *L.*

da:' *(perhaps expanded form of da'1, see especially o-l-da', and cf. ya:')*

-l-da:' *(noun, unclassified, never actualized *-lAda:')* face: *Rezanov* Каинта 'Лицо Gesicht' **qa:'i:nda:'** our face, human face *LM, Furuhjelm* Khveta 'face' ***k'wi:nda:'** *(cf. Rezanov Коэльекъ under de'),* **k'u:nda:'** someone's face *LM, Furuhjelm* Inta 'forehead', **'i:nda:'** your face *36.18A,* **'u:nda:'** his, her, its, their face *LM, 10.229, 230, 11.63, 64, 64, 96A,* **si:nda:'** my face *LMA, 18.6L,* **'anh'i:nda:'** his face *M,* **lAXi:nda:'** your (pl.) face *M,* **'i:nda:'q' wAX dAt'uh, 'AyAwihga' 'i:nLilah** it is worn over one's face, it is 'AyAwih-like facially *(of a specific mask) L,* **si:nda:' siya: GAqu'tl'L** my face is getting chapped *L;* **'u:nda:'Lch'a:d** heads (side of coin) *L;* **yahd'i:nda:'** upper inside front gable of house *21b.50fnA;* **lixah'i:nda:'** brownbear-face (worn as mask) *47b.36M, 47c.44L.*

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l-LA-da:' S have face, *occurring only in* **dAXunhga' 'i:nLida:'** small owl (or hawk?) species < it has a face like a person's *LM. Nominalized Neuter imperfective (cf. l-LA-la', especially dAXunhyu:ga' 'i:nLilah 'hawk species').*

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

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

2a. coin: **'Aw da:na: sich' di:'a'** give me that coin! *L.*

,

2b. silver dollar, dollar-bill, dollar (value): **'Aw da:na: sich' di:'a'** give me that dollar (single coin or bill)! *L,* **LinhG da: da:na:** one dollar *S,* **dAXk' da: da:na:** how much money? < how many dollars? *L.*

,

2c. money *M, 62.8fn, 23G*: **LinhGih *ta:wsAn,* 'a:gwa' da:na:** one *thousand,* that much money *64.5G,* **de:ga'd da:na: 'iXa'** *M,* **de:ga'd da:na: da'li:LXah** how much money do you have? *L,* **da:na:dAt'u'** *LM,* **k'udAt'u' da:na:** lots of money *L,* **da:na:dAg 'iyAXa' disiLahL** I lent you money too *M,* **da:na: 'ich' wAX dixiLt'eh** I owe you money *LM,* **siqa' da:na: dAGAL'a'** put some money in with me on it *L,* **k'udAt'u' da:na: dAsALk'a'Linh** he inherited lots of money *L,* **'Aw da:na: qa' dishiLshahL** I dug the money up *L,* **da:na: siXa' GAdAwe'q'L** my money is running out *L,* **da:na:dAXa' xishah** I'm stingy with money *L,* **da:na:dA'e:X xu'di:Lqe'dXinh** he's asking me for money *L,* **da:na:dAlu'qa: sitl' da:X 'i'dAle:k'** he (cust) begs me for money *L,* **da:na:da:tl' 'ALdah linhinu:** they're playing with money *L,* **da:na:Xda:d xiLeh** I'm without money, broke *M.*

,

da:na:dALtah *(noun, unclassified)* coin-purse, purse, pocketbook < money-, coin-container *L (see -L-tah 3. under tah).*

da:na:shu:wu: *(loan from Tlingit dána šuwú 'half-dollar', see da:na:, shu:wu:, gudshu:wu:)*

da:na:shu:wu: *(noun, d-class)* half-dollar, fifty cents *L*: **da:na:shu:wu: sich' di:'a'** give me a half-dollar! *L.*

danh *(perhaps to be analyzed d-anh and related to a:n~)*

-yA-danh *(kinship noun, with -yA- prefix, or perhaps to be analyzed -yAd-anh, see yA, a:n)* mother-in-law, *perhaps also 'mother-in law's sister' (see fieldbook 6 of F. de Laguna 1933)*: **siyAdanh** my mother-in-law *LA,* **'uyAdanh** his, her mother-in-law *L, Anna Nelson* siyαda^{n} 'husband's mother (woman speaking)' *BSdL 568.*

da:n' *(perhaps more than one stem, one or more of which are perhaps to be analyzed d-a:n', cf. e.g. d2, Xa:n', ya:n')*

da:n' *(preverb, attested with zero and -ch' finals only)* 1. against obstacle: **da:n' sa'yahL** it got stuck *L,* **siXa' da:n' sa'yahL** it bumped against me *L,* **da:n' 'i:'yahL** it's stuck, it's up against something and won't go any farther *L,* **da:n' XAdla:sa'yahLinh** he ran up against something *M,* **da:n' siLtahL** I bumped it into something *L,* **da:n'ch' Ga'ya:L** it's getting stuck, coming to as far as it will go *L.*

2. into trouble: **da:n' XAdla:sa'yahLinh** he finally got (ran) into trouble *M.*

,

da:n'-L-gwa'~-ga' *(adverb, da:n' 'into obstacle' ? as o of o-gwa'~ 'like o', probably with L-classifier unique with o-gwa'~ and inexplicable, stem conceivably da:n'L)* 1. slowly: *Rezanov* Таалькоа 'Тихо langsam, still, sachte' **da:n'Lgwa'**, **da:n'Lga'** slowly *LM,* Атетаалькоа 'Тише langsam, still, sachte (Comparativ)' **'a'd da:n'Lgwa'** real slow *L, Rezanov* Тальказатле 'Бѣгать ('to run') laufen' **da:n'Lga' sahLinh** he went (away) slowly.

2. softly: **da:n'Lga' k'uxtsinh** I'm singing softly *M.*

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dla:da:n' *(locative, with dl-thematic, cf. dla:'anh under 'anh1)* into hole, burrow (of rodent): **dla:da:n' sahL** it (rodent) went into its hole *L,* **dla:da:n'd sAdahL** it (rodent) sat, stayed in its hole (= **dla:'anh sAdahL**) *L,* **dla:da:n'ch' XAdla:Ga'ya:L** it (rodent) is running into its hole *L.*

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(o)**-g-da:n'** *(postposition or noun, with g-class-mark or -anatomical)* (along sides of o's) lower back and hips *(informans somewhat uncertain or vague)*: **siguda:n'**, **sigAda:n'** 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:1, dAX, cf. Minto dəba (do) 'who (is it?)')*

du: *(interrogative pronoun, always in construction with -d interrogative enclitic)* 1a. who?, whom?: **du:d** who? *L, 52.24L, Anonymous* Тутага *(to be read du:dA'a:, du:dA'anh or du:dA'AYA)* 'Кто такой' ('who is that?'), *Furuhjelm* Tutua 'who' **du:dA'anh** who is that?, who is he? *M, 29.10, 36.2A,* **du:dA'anh wAX leh** who did it? *M,* **du:dA'anh wAX leh** who said it? *M,* **du:dA'anh 'Aw shAshehL** who killed it? *M,* **du:dA'anh shdishehL** who got killed? *M,* **du:dA'anh xuqa'sheh** who'll kill me? *M,* **du:d qu'xsheh** whom shall I kill? *M,* **du:dA'u:d** who's there? *M,* **du:dA'i:** who are you? *M, with -yu: 'plural':* **du:yu:dA'ahnu:** who are they? *10.82A, 47b.32M, 68.88A, with -chi:- emphatic:* **du:chi:dunh 'udahd qu'li:tah** who ever will hear her? *20.14A,* **du:chi:dA'anh** who ever is that? *M, as o of postpositions: Rezanov* Туятали 'Чей? wessen?" **du:ya'd(A')Al**…, **du:ya'dAl**, **du:ya'dA'Al** whose is this? *L,* **du:ya' 'AXdA'Aw** whose boats are those? *L,* **du:ch'd** to whom? *L, Rezanov* Тучатукосета 'Кому? wem?' **du:ch'a'duw qu'yitah** to whom will you give it?, **du:ch'ahdduw** who (did you get that) from?

L, **du:ka'd** with whom (is he going)? *L,* **du:lahdunh** about whom (is he talking)? *L,* **du:'a:d dAxa:gL** whom are you working for? *M,* **du: lAXa:d** which one of you? *L,* **du:tl'duw tsin'di:leh** to whom are you talking? *9.58A.*

1b. *Used as relative,* he who: **du:d sahdX dAXunh yiLeh** an old person < he who has been a person a long time *51.12A,* **du:d 'AdsLilahL** he who saved himself *54.8G,* **du:duw dALich' tla'Xa'lahGAyu:kuwa'na:G 'Adu'lALAXinhinu:** anyone (pl.) who makes himself a constant friend of Tlingits *69.14A, with -chi:- emphatic:* **du:chi:duw lAwAdjga' 'i:t'eh** anyone who is bashful *69.15A.*

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1c. *In negative constructions,* (not) anybody: **dik' du:duh 'Aw k'ut'a' 'a'Lt'u:G** not (just) anybody uses it *28.95A,* **dik' 'AnahshAkih 'uXe'le:G du:dunh qAla' la:yiLts'in'tl'g, du:dunh qAla' 'i:Lih** she didn't want that anybody should slap their faces, that anybody should beat them up *49.27A,* **dik' du:d 'Ad-lAXa:n' 'AsdAliLG** *54.10G,* **dik' du:dunh 'Ad-lAXa:n' 'AsdAliLG** no one avenged himself *54.15G,* **dik' du:dunh 'u:la'Lga:G** no one knows *54.12, 62.17, 20G.*

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2. *With proclitic dA-* 'ipse': a. anybody: **dAdu:d** anybody *M, 10.172A, as o of postposition:* **dAdu:ch'a'd** to anybody *M, with -yu: 'plural':* **Lich' mAgAG 'idALinhinh, dAdu:yu:dtl'** he was always playing checkers, with anybody *44.4L; in negative constructions,* (not) anybody, *as o of postposition:* **dik' dAdu:lah ya:duw 'a'Le:G** it's nobody's fault *61.32A, with -yu: 'plural':* **dik' dAdu:yu:dunhG** not anybody, nobody *49.28fnA.*

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2b. *Used as relative,* whoever, anybody who: **dAdu:d sAsinhL 'ahnu: ya:X XAdli:Lq'a:gk'** whoever died they used (cust) to cremate *28.116A.*

,

k'u-du: *(negative pronoun, with k'u-negative, also k'A-)* no one, nobody:

du:ts' *(perhaps partly confused with du'tl')*

du:ts' *(noun, unclassified)* dried nasal mucus *ML.*

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LA-du:ts' S's nasal mucus dry, *poetic, occurring only in a song*: **ts'AlX sLidu:ts'Linh** her nasal mucus has dried bone-like *72.40M.*

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-l-du:ts' *(noun, unclassified)* skin of seal's face from nose to above eyes *(a delicacy) (l- anatomical-thematic 'face, head')*: **'ulAdu:ts'** skin of its (seal's) face from nose to above eyes *L.*

,

-lX-du:ts' *(noun, unclassified?)* inside corner (?) of eye *(lX-anatomical 'eye', lX-class 'berry-like'), L certain of authenticity of form but not of its meaning*: **'ilAXAdu:ts'** inside corner (?) of your eye *L. Perhaps in error for -lX-L-du'tl'-g, q.v. under du'tl', but cf. also Hupa -naadoose', -naadonse'.*

du:sh *(loan from Tlingit dúš 'cat', ultimately of European origin, 'puss', through Chinook Jargon)*

du:sh *(noun, unclassified)* cat *LMA, 36.3A*: **LinhGih du:sh** one cat *L,* **'Aw XAwa: du:sh sAqahL** the dog bit a cat *M,* **'Aw du:sh 'u:d siXa' dAXunh 'Adu'LiXah** that cat of mine there sure makes itself at home with me (is greedy, acts like a person) *L.*

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du:shma: *(personal name) Nellie(?) Thomas* < cat-mother *A (same as du:shtlá:).*

,

du:shAma: *(personal name) woman's name L, Louise Peterson of Yakutat (from Elaine Ramos), mother was a Karditoo from Katalla (cf. preceding).*

du:sha:G *(origin unclear, possibly Chugach)*

du:sha:G *(personal name) Jim Hudnut S, part-Tlingit part-Eyak, shaman L, M has heard.*

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du:sha:Gkih *(personal name) man's name, probably survivor involved in historical event told in Text 53. L.*

du:shah~du:shdah *(origin unclear)*

du:shah~du:shdah *(place-name) "shortcut" by mountain(?) up Copper River A (not know to L).*

du:x

du:x *(personal name) Paul Milton of Yakutat, son of Leslie Milton (from Elaine Ramos).*

du:xLideh~du:Lxideh *(Rezanov implies du:Lxideh, probably earlier form of which du:xLideh is a reshaping under the influence of O-LA-de´; for du:L- cf. Tlingit dúł '(sandhill) crane', -xideh of unknown origin (not Tlingit, W. Soboleff), whole form perhaps loan from Tlingit)*

du:xLideh *(noun, unclassified)* (lesser) sandhill crane (Grus canadensis canadensis) *LM, Rezanov* Тульхете 'Глупить Птица' *(not in Radlov, 'fulmar', corresponding Tlingit entry Туль) to be read* **du:Lxideh.**

duh1 *(perhaps related to Tlingit dàw 'broad kelp')*

duh *(noun, qi:dl-class)* tubular kelp species, giant kelp (Nereocystis luetkeana) *LM,* garden-hose *M*: *Galushia Nelson* du' 'kelp' *BSdL 541,* **duh sich' qi:dli:'a'** give me a piece of hose-kelp *L,* **duh qi:dli:'nuw** a large piece of hose-kelp *LM.*

duh2 *(invariable?, classification uncertain, inconsistent and conflicting forms attested, influences by analogy with O-dl-du' and O-l-sanh, q.v.)*

O-**l-duh** S flesh O (skin) *(by scraping flesh and other organic matter from the inside of a newly-removed hide; not used o sealskin, for which see O-l-sanh)*: *Rezanov* Лакытто 'Мѣлко flach' **lAGiduh** flesh it!, **'Aw lAduhinh** he's fleshing it *L,* **lAxduh** I'm scraping it (skin) *L,* **q'e' li:duh** flesh it some more! *L,* **'i:nsiduhL**, **lisiduhL** I fleshed it *LA,* **li:xduhX 'ixleh** I want to flesh it *L; hybrid forms, with Active and Inceptive optative prefixes, and subjunctive suffix:* **la:xiduhX 'iXe'xle:**, **lAGAxiduhX 'uXe'xle:** I want to flesh skin *L,* **'Aw li:du'X** (*or* **la:du'X**, **lAGAdu'X**) **'utl' dAxlinhinh** I told him to flesh it (skin) *L (stem-form analogical); passive:* **lisdiduhL** it's been fleshed *L,* **lididuhL** it's fleshed *L. A number of forms with stem du' are also attested, but these are probably to be considered analogical.*

,

k'ulAduh *(gerundive)* act of fleshing a skin *L. Derived from O-l-duh, Active imperfective, with indefinite S or O.*

,

k'u:nduh *(noun, ti:l-class?)* unfleshed hide *L. Derived from O-l-duh, Active imperfective, with indefinite S or O.*

duhdz

dAduhdz *(noun, unclassified, perhaps derived from verb theme d-duhdz, or dA-duhdz ?)* porch *L*: **'Aw dAduhdzq'** on the porch *L,* **dAduhdzdzu:** 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).*

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O-**L-duhdz** S make O (a front porch): **qu'xLdzuhdz** I'll make a porch *L; passive:* **sdiduhdzL** a porch has been made *L.*

duhsk'

duhsk' *(noun, Xd-class)* fallen(?) riverbank *L. L certain of authenticity of form, which exists along with 'uhs q.v., but not certain of exact meaning, especially as distinguished from that of 'uhs*: **duhsk'XAda:q'd k'iya' da: qa'qeh** we'll land at the riverbank *L.*

,

Xdl-duhsk' *(noun, Xd-class?)* **XAdla:duhsk'** fallen(?) riverbank *L, or perhaps* "cutbank", *difference in meaning from above, if any, obscure.*

duhshk'

duhshk' *(noun, unclassified)* snipe *LMAS,* black turnstone *M,* teeterass *in local English ('teetertail, spotted sandpiper') M, same bird as ya: gAlAGahG L;* **duhshk"Akih** small snipe *ML.*

du' *(cf. O-L-du'k', which has no doubt had some analogical influence on themes with du')*

O-**L-du'** S stuff O (into cavity in o): *49.39, 40A,* **'uyAq' k'usiLdu'L** I stuffed it (animal) < I stuffed something into it *L,* **k'udAGAts'e:'e'd GALdu'** chink the crack in the wall! < stuff [it] into the wallgap! *M. With l-mark for specific anatomical reference:* **'uyAq' 'i:nsiLdu'L** I stuffed its head < I stuffed [it] into its head *L.*

,

O-**dl-L-du'** S stuff, plug O (into cavity in o) *(the difference in meaning, if any, from that of O-L-du', is not clear; cf. Ga:sh)*: **'isa'X li' k'uqu'dli:xLdu'** I'll stuff your mouth < I'll stuff something way back into your mouth *L; indirect reflexive:* **sa' k'udla:Lidun'inh** his mouth is stuffed full (of food) < he has something stuffed in his own mouth *(Neuter imperfective) L.*

,

O-**dl-du'** S stuff, cork, chink, caulk, plug, stop up (hole in) O: *Rezanov* Тлиту 'Заткни stopfen, zustopfen (Imperat.)' **dli:du'** caulk it (boat)! *L,* cork it (bottle) *M, Rezanov* Уехльтиту *(not thus read by Radlov, illegible with write-overs ??? probably for u, cf. preceding entry for ???)* '???' *probably to be read* **'uyAq' dli:du' ???** plug its inside!, **dla:sidu'L** I corked, caulked it *L,* **dla:GAxdu'L** I'm caulking it *L,* **qu'dli:xdu'** I'll chink, cork, caulk it *L,* **dla:xidu' 'uXe'xleh** I want to caulk it < I want it that I should caulk it *L; passive:* **dla:sdidu'L** it's been chinked *L. With o-X 'by means of o',* o-**X** O-**dl-(L-)du'** S plug (etc.) up (hole in) O by means of o: **'AlX dli:Ldu'**, **'AlX dli:du'** stuff it with this! *L.*

,

’uX k’udla:dAdu’ *(noun, unclassified?)* cork, stopper, plug, chink < by means of it something is corked, plugged, chinked *M, Rezanov* Охтлядету 'Провка Pfropfen, Korken' **’uX** [**k’u**]**dla:dAdu’** or **’uX dla:dAdu’** < by means of it it is corked, plugged. *Nominalized passive Active imperfective of O-dl-du'.*

du’tl’ *(confused with du:ts', perhaps related to dAtl'~ditl', basic meaning perhaps 'quiver, shake', see below)*

-lX-L-du’tl’-g-L *(noun, with lX-anatomical 'eye', L-classifier, -g-repetitive thematized, and -L-suffix, perhaps deverbalization of unattested verb theme)* part (inside corner?, lid?) of eye: *attested only on tape recorded buy Constance Naish 7 April 1967 from A:* **silAXALdu’tl’gL** the "top" of my eye, *form of stem undoubtedly correct, cf. Minto -naxdułaʼ 'eyelid', Ahtna -nɑxdułɪʼ 'eyebrow'.*

du’k’ *(see also du', duk')*

O-**L-du’k’** 1. S squeeze O, S squeeze O into or out of something: *Rezanov* Скацльтукъ 'Выжалъ ('wring!/squeeze out!') presste' **s**[**iyA**]**q’a’ts’**(?) **Ldu’k’** he's squeezing my hand(?), **xLdu’k’** I'm squeezing it, milking it *L,* **GuxLdu’k’L** I'm squeezing it *M,* **’ALdu’k’** squeeze it!, milk it!, express it (e.g. pus from boil, toothpaste from tube)! *L; with perambulative and indeterminate O:* **siq’ yAX ’iLAdu’k’Xinh** he's squeezing all over me *L, with o-yAq' 'in o' and li' 'deeply in' or qa' 'up out':* o-**yAq’ li’** O-**L-du’k’** S stuff O into o: **k’usahd ’AwyAq’ da: li’ Ldu:k’k’** we (cust) stuff liver into it (codfish stomach) *L, repetitive:* **’AwyAq’ li’ ’ALdu’k’g** stuff, pack it into it (with repeated motions)!; o-**yAq’ qa’** O-**L-du’k’** S express O out of o: **’AwyAq’ qa:nch’ GAxLdu’k’L** I'm squeezing it (e.g. toothpaste) ou of it *L, with class-marks for O:* **’Aw q’Ama: ’AwyAq’ qa’ lAXAGALdu’k’** squeeze the roe out of it (salmon)! *L,* **’uyAq’ ’Aw qa’ gu:nsALdu’k’L** he squeezed it (milk) out of it *L.*

2. S stuff O *(attested only from M, probably incorrect)*: **k’usiLdu’k’L** I stuffed something (e.g. turkey, seal intestines) *M,* **qu’xLdu’k’** I'll stuff it *M.*

,

lAXAdAdu’k’ *(noun, lX-class)* lemon *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective, with lX-class-mark for O,* < it (lX-class O) is squeezed.

du’X *(probably to be analyzed d-u'X, see below and 'u'X)*

dAdu’X~didu’X~di’du’X *(adverb, probably < dA-dA-'u'X, postposition o-'u'X 'short of, less than o' with dA-indeterminate o and proclitic dA-* 'ipse', *phonological development slightly irregular, perhaps influenced by di'dah < dA-'i-dah 'safely, fairly')* almost, nearly, practically *L*: **dAdu’X ta’ xsLi’AdzL** I almost jumped in the lake *M,* **dAdu’X xushdishehL** I almost got killed *M,* **didu’X ’ahnu: shAshehLinh** they almost killed her *52.21L,* **dAdu’X dALi’q’ lisdi’ahL** they've almost all died off *69.2A,* **Gu:djihyu:dAGAlehga’ dAdu’X sAliL** had almost become like wolves' minds *25.137A,* **di’duX dik’ ’u:da’ ’AxswehLG** I almost didn't get there (swimming) *M.*

tAL~tiL *(tAL more frequent, expanded te:L, loan from Tlingit (Sampson Harry, W. Soboleff) tʊ́ɬ 'drill, bore')*

tAL *(noun, unclassified)* drill, awl *A*: *Rezanov* Таалль 'Буравъ Bohrer', *Galushia Nelson* təɬ 'drill', təɬ or təɬ 'awl' *BSdL 547,* **tAL’a’luw** big drill *M,* **tAL’Akih**, **tALAkih** little drill *M, Galushia Nelson* gə̀x́ɛ́ɬ təɬ *or* gə̀x́ɑ́ɬ təɬ 'fire drill ("string-drill")' *BSdL 547* **k’uXehLtAL**.

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O-**L-tAL~-tiL** S drill, bore (hole in) O: **'ALtAL**, **'ALtiL** drill it! *L,* **k'uLtALinh** he's drilling (something) *M,* **qu'xLtAL** I'll drill it *L, customary:* **da: Lte:Lk'** (*rather than* ***da: Lti:Lk'**) we (cust) drill it *L, repetitive:* **LtALginh** he keeps drilling it *L, detransitivized with indeterminate O and perambulative:* **yAX 'i:nLAtALX** (*to be corrected to* **-tAL**) drill a series of holes! *M.*

,

'uX k'udAtiL *(noun, unclassified)* drill *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective,* < by means of it something is drilled.

tAs~tis *(L more frequently tis, M more frequently tAs, S tAs, Rezanov tAs; expanded: L te:s twice, ti:s once, prefers te:s)*

dA-tAs(-g) *(usually with -g-repetitive thematized)* S tremble, shake, shiver: **xdAtAsg** I'm trembling *MA,* **xdAtisg** I'm shivering, trembling, shivering (from drunkenness) *L,* **dAtAsginh** he's trembling, shakin *LMA,* **dAtAsinh** he's trembling *M,* **GAxdAtisgL** I'm starting to tremble (from sickness, cold, drinking) *L,* **qu'dAtisg** it'll shake *LM,* **sditisgL** *L,* **sditAsgL** it shook *M,* **xsditisgL** I trembled (for no apparent reason) *L,* **Lich' dAte:sk'inh** he's (cust) always nervous, gets cold shivers, shudder *L; with anatomical marks:* **yAxdAtisg** my hand is shaking *L,* **qi:dixsditisgL** my leg got shaky *L. Transitive (causative)* O-**L-tAs(-g)**: **'ALtAsg** shake it! *S,* **xuLtisginh** he's shaking me *L, frequently impersonal,* O be nervous, shaky: *Rezanov* Атиильтасъ 'Трусышъ du furchtest' **'a'd** (**'i:**) **'iLtAs** (you,) you're very nervous (shaky), **'a'd xuGALtAsgL** I'm very nervous (shaky) *L; with class-marks for O:* **lAXa:Ltisg** shake them (dice)! *L,* **k'ulAXALte:sk'inh** (*preferable to* **-ti:s-**) he (cust) plays dice < S (cust) shakes something of lX-class ('berry-like'), **k'uqu'qi:li:xLtAsg** I'll yoyo < I'll shake something of qi:-class ('rope-like') *M (L has never heard this term; cf. dzanh for 'buzz-toy').*

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lAXAdAtis *L,* **lAXAdAtisg** *LA (noun, lX-class)* die, dice: **la'd lAXa: lAXAdAtisg** two dice *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective of O-lX-L-tAs-g.*

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k'uqi:lAtAsg *(noun, unclassified?)* kind of yoyo *M. L has never heard this form. Cf. dzanh.*

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LA-tAs-g S shiver (from cold) *33.32fnA*: **xsLitisgL** I shivered (from cold) *L, contrasted with* **xsditisgL** I shivered (for no apparent reason) *L, the only attestation of this theme. The validity of the contrast is in any case dubious, as dA-tAs-g is amply attested in the sense 'S shiver (for specific reason, including cold)'. The authenticity of this theme is uncertain; cf. LA-sit' 'S shiver (from cold)', the influence of which may well account for this form.*

tAGL *(loan from Tlingit tágł 'hammer', perhaps diffused term of unknown origin)*

tAGL *(noun, l-class)* (modern) hammer *M, 65.20A*: *Anonymous* Таклъ 'Молотъ', *Rezanov* Татитоучитакль 'Молотъ, Молотокъ Hammer (eiserner)' **didit'u:ch'… tAGL** iron hammer, **tAGL sich' li:'a'** *(or* **-ta'**, *no preference)* give me a hammer! *L,* **tAGL sich' li:La'** give me some hammers! *L,* **tAGL 'u:d 'i:nsA'ahL** *(or* **-tahL**, *perhaps slight preference for former)* a hammer is there *L,* **tAGL k'ut'a' la'Lt'e:** use a hammer! *LM,* **LinhG 'a:na: tAGL** one hammer *M,* **dAXk' 'a:na: tAGL da'li:LXah** how many hammers do you have? *L,* **tAGL'a:'nuw** big hammer *L, Rezanov* Таклелюк̂е 'Долото Meissel' **tAGLAlAkih** little hammer *L (probably not 'chisel'),* **tAGL'i:nAX** *(preferred to* **tAGL'a:nAX** *L)* **xulAsALts'AXLinh** he threw a hammer at me < he struck me in the head by means of a (thrown) hammer *LM,* **tAGL'a:na'q'** on a hammer *LM,* **tAGL'a:nAch'**, **tAGLAlAch'** towards a hammer *L,* **tAGLlAlah** around a hammer *L,* **tAGLlAda:d** near a hammer *L;* **tAGL'AlALte'** hammer-handle, shaft *L, see te'; Rezanov*

Шекетакль 'Двоздь ('nail') Nagel' **…tAGL**, *loan from Tlingit, corresponding Tlingit entry Шекетакль.*

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tAGL lAGAXe:L *(noun, unclassified)* large-bodied spider *("looks like it's packing a hammer along on its back") M.*

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O-**tAGL** *(derived from tAGL, but L once, Rezanov perhaps once, analogically, with stem -tAG, as though noun were to be analyzed tAG-L with -L-instrumental)* S hammer O, pond on O with hammer, mallet: **'AtAGL** hammer it! *L,* **qu'xtAG**, **qu'xtAGL** I'll hammer it *L,* **dik' qu'xtAGLG** I won't hammer it *M,* **xtAGL**, **GAxtAGL** *(former preferred)* I'm hammering it *L, wih class-mark for O: Rezanov* Яхутанкотитакъ 'Не стучи klopfe nicht!' *perhaps to be read with stem -tAG,* **ya'Xu: … qu'di:tAG** don't hammer it (d-class), *with ya' 'completely':* **ya' dla:GAtAGL** he's chipping it (stone) with a hammer *M, customary:* **ya' 'Axte:GLk'** I (cust) hammer it thoroughly *65.20A; reflexive, with y-anatomical 'hand':* **'AdyixsditAGL** I hit my hand with a hammer *L; detransitivized with indeterminate O and perambulative:* **yAX 'idAtAGLXinh** he's hammering about here and there *L.*

,

O-**L-tAGL** S hammer O, pound on O with hammer *(perhaps incorrect, meaning perhaps not distinguished from that of O-tAGL, or perhaps more precisely 'S fix, affect position or condition of O by hammering')*: **xLtAGL** I'm hammering it *M, with ya' 'completely':* **ya' 'AxLte:GLk'** I (cust) hammer it *A.*

tAXe:l *(loan from Ahtna TAghael)*

tAXe:l *(place-name)* Taral, near Chitina *LM.*

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tAXe:ldAlahGAyu: Chitina villagers *68.11A.*

tAwi:s *(loan from Tlingit tɑyìs 'stone axe, rock chisel', perhaps widely diffused, e.g. Tsimshian dawī´s 'axe', but tɑ-γìs 'stone-wedge')*

tAwi:s *(noun)* 1. *(dl-class)* stone axe *L*: **tAwi:sdli:'nuw** big (stone) axe *L,* **tAwi:s 'u:d dla:sA'ahL** a (stone) axe is there *L, Rezanov* Цатлятагысъ 'Топоръ американской Axt, amerikanische (steinerne)' **tsa:dla:tAwi:s** stone-axe *L.*

2. *(Xd-class)* axe (of wood): **tAwi:sXAda'luw** big wooden axe *L, see also below.*

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3. *(unclassified)* axe (of iron): **tAwi:sluw** big iron axe *L.*

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tAwi:s XAdAts'AX *(noun, unclassified)* long-legged snipe *(same kind as xi'ts'dA'a:w) L ("means pounding a stone-axe", or perhaps '(a bird like a) stone-axe is pounding Xd-class O (e.g. logs)', interpretation not clear, perhaps rather tAwi:sX XAdAts'AX 'it is pounding Xd-class O with an axe').*

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tAwi:sXAda:q'd *(place-name) Egg Island or point between gi(:)xdAG (Martin Islands) and Russian River* < on wooden axe *L.*

tAwah *(perhaps blend of xwa~xa~xAwa and ta´)*

'i:nLtAwah *(noun, ti:l-class)* red ribbon seaweed, red laver, sea lettuce (Porphyra laciniata) *M*: **'i:nLtAwahti:lAt'u'** 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 'i:nLxAwah; see xwa~xa~xAwa. Perhaps influenced by, and/or related to ta´, l-ta´ 'S live'.

tAnngAdla:~tAnngudla: *(cf. tAnAGAma:~tAnngAma:)*

tAnngAdla:~tAnngudla: *(personal name) George Johnson's wife, who died in 1964 (same as tAnngAma:) S (cf. Tlingit tAngw boy's name 'fish jumping').*

tAnAGAma:~tAnngAma:

tAnAGAma: *(personal name) Sophie Borodkin (born ??? March 14, 1911; died ??? 1992), Marie's sister, Minnie and Scar Stevens's daughter (name probably same as tAnngAma:) M certain, several times (cf. q'AnAqAma:).*

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tAnngAma: *(personal name) George Johnson's wife, who died in 1964 (same as tAnngAdla:~) S; name probably same as tAnAGAma: (cf. preceding); Tlingit tɑngʊƛá, mother of tɑng^{w}, boy's name 'fish jumping' (cf. Tlingit tAngw boy's name 'fish jumping' A).*

tAne:ts' *(probably loan from Ahtna, status in Eyak uncertain)*

tAne:ts' *(status uncertain) attested only from L, who heard Billy Dude say this, asked him what it meant, and he replied 'long', but Billy Dude didn't know Ahtna, has spent little or no time with Ahtnas L.*

tAnu:k'

tAnu:k' *(personal name) Tlingit man A XIV.5.*

tug *(expanded te:g twice, tu:g once)*

LA-tug S swell up (with moisture): **sLitugL** it swelled up (in water, e.g. feathers, dried fruit, like rice) *L,* **dA'a: 'u:d qu'LAtug** it'll swell up by itself there *L,* **'Ash Ga'yah da:X 'ALAte:gk'** when it gets it (cust) swells up *L, used figuratively in reference to natural abundance: 72.29fn, 30fnL, repetitive:* **LAtugg** it keeps sweling up *L; with lX-class-mark ('berry-like') for S:* **lAXALAtu:gk'** it (rice) (cust) swells up *L,* **lAXALAte:gk'** they (berries, rice) (cust) swell up *L; transitive (causative):* **qu'yiLtugshuh** will you make it swell? *L. Susceptive Neuter:* **LitugX** it swells up easy (e.g. macaroni) *L; with lX-class-mark, negative:* **dik' lAXa'LAtugXG** (berries) that don't swell *L.*

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lAXALAtug *(noun, lX-class)* rice *LM. Nominalized Active imperfective of above, with lX-class-mark.* **lAXALAtug 'uq' Xa:n'ch' lAXa'yah** table for rice (in Russian Orthodox church) < rice is ready on it *L.*

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gl-dA-tug *(verb theme attested only with gl-class-mark 'liquid')* S (liquid) be thick, strong: **gu:nsditugL ka:dj** thick soup (which has lots of stuff in it) *L,* **gu:nsditugL che:y** strong tea (which has lots of leaves in it) *L.*

tux

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

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O-**tux** S spit on O: **situxL** I spit on it (accidentally) *L; with anatomical mark:* **xulAsAtuxLinh** he spit in my face *L; with indeterminate O:* **sich' ya'X 'isAtuxLinh** he spit at my face < he spit

upwards at me *L, indirect reflexive:* **yAtl'e:q' 'iqe'xdAtux** I'll spit in my hand (palm) *L.*

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O-**'-tux** S spit at O *(semitransitive)*: **xu'lAsAtuxLinh** he spit at my face (may or may not have connected) *L.*

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O-**L-tux** S spit at O, *attested only in* **da'd xusALtuxLinh** he spit at my face, *cf. da'd O-L-ta'tl'.*

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O-**d-tux** S spit (expectorate) O: **Xi:ch' k'udAsAtuxLinh** he spit something out, away *L,* **'Aw dAsAtuxL** he spit it out *L,* **qahdzX 'idAdi:tux'e:X 'i'di:Lqe'dXinh** he (doctor) asks you about whether you're coughing-spitting *(qahdzX 'a cough' (noun) as O) L; with class-mark for O:* **'Aw tsa: Xi:ch' dli:tux** spit out that stone! *(d+dl) L.*

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d-dA-tux S spit: *Rezanov* Тетухъ 'Плевать spucken, speien' **dAtux** spitting *(gerundive),* Хичьтадетухъ 'Плюнь spucken, speien (Imperat.)' **Xi:ch' da:dAtux** spit over there! *M,* Яхохъатетухъ 'Не плюй speie nicht' **ya'Xu:** [**qu'd**]**AdAtux** don't spit *M,* **disdituxL** you spit *S,* **sida'X disdituxLinh** he spit in my face *L,* **shich'** (**ya'X**) **disdituxL** he spit (upwards) at me *L,* **dixsdituxL** I spit (anywhere) *L,* **'Awch' dxsdituxL** I spit at it *L,* **'uXa:X dixsdituxL** I spit wife of it (missed) *L,* **Lich' dAdAtuxinh dAXunh** a person who's always spitting *L (reluctant to expand stem for customary form); indirect reflexive:* **yAtl'e:q' qu'dAxdAtux** I'll spit in my hand (palm) *L.*

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dAtux *(gerundive)* act of spitting, *attested in Rezanov only*: Тетухъ 'Плевать spucken, speien' spitting, Яхохъ-атетухъ 'Не плюй speie nicht!' **ya'Xu: q'ah dAtux** no spitting!.

tuxg~tuxk'~tuxkw' *(origin unclear)*

tuxg *L (M has heard),* **tuxk'** *LS (personal name) Eyak man L, old man at Katalla, Jim Hudnut's grandfather S, Seton-Kerr 1887* Tookh.

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tuxkw' *(personal name) Tlingit man, couldn't speak Eyak S (cf. preceding).*

tuGunn *(probably Tlingit, meaning unclear, also to Sampson Harry)*

tuGunn *(place-name) Lake Tokun S, phonetically tuGún if Tlingit S, tAGunn 67.1G.*

ti: *(perhaps related to tah; always preceding l-mark (-l-~-:n-), which may account for umlauting of -a- to -i-)*

ti:l-~ti:n-~ti:nn- *(class-mark, subposition C, always in combination with l-mark; sometimes ti:- with loss of nasalization, especially in forms from L; ti:lA- always before prefixes beginning with vowel or G, otherwise ti:lA- freely alternating with ti:n-) referring generally to flat thin flexible natural objects such as broad leaves, feather, skins, pelts, certain garments originally of soft leather (but not stiff leather, or cloth)*: *nouns of ti:l-class include ((g)-L)t'ahL 'leaf, (plume) feather', -tah 'skin, pelt', dza:nt' 'skunk-cabbage(-leaf)', -sits' 'fish-skin', tsa'k' 'mitt, glove', kuhsL 'breechclout, apron', ti:lAkihsh 'rhubarb plant', ti:shiyah 'seaweed species', 'i:nLxAwah, 'i:nLtAwah 'red ribbon seaweed'; with this class of nouns, moreover, classificatory verb stem -ta is more strongly favored over -'a than with any other class of classified nouns; in verb-themes:* **ti:l-ta** *less frequently* **ti:l-'a** ti:l-class S be, get in position, O-**ti:l-**(**L-**)**ta** *less frequently* O-**ti:l-**(**L-**)**'a** S position ti:l-class O, **'iL-lah** O-**ti:l-tl'i** S bundle ti:l-class O

together, o-**ya'X yAX** O-**ti:l-tsu:x** S dip O (leaf, feather) down into o, **ti:l-ts'a:nX** S (skin) become tanned, O-(**ti:l-**)**L-ts'a:nG~-ts'a:nX** S tan O (skin), O-**ti:l-sinhX** S scrape O (skin), O-**ti:l-giL** S cause O (fish-skin) to shrivel by roasting, O-**ti:l-gis** S roast O (fish-skin), **ya'** O-(**ti:l-**)**L-we:L** S slice O (skin) into thongs, O-**ti:l-yAX-g** S soften O (skin) by rubbing, **ti:l-le** something happens to ti:l-class S *48.6, 11L,* **dik' 'Awyahd ti:nsdA'ahLG** it (skin) wasn't wrested from them *28.105L,* **ti:l-dA-a´** ti:l-class S be of certain size, O-**ti:l-L-(y)a** S handle pl. ti:l-class O, *in one theme partly thematized:* **'Ad** O-**ti:l-dA-'e** S put, wear O (originally ti:l-class) over shoulders as cape; *with adjectives:* **-ti:lA'a:w**, **-ti:lAt'u'**, **-ti:lAkih**, **-ti:'nuw**, **-ti:lAshiyah**, **-ti:nshiyah**, *epithet used as noun:* **ti:shiyah** [sic] seaweed species; *in postpositional phrases:* **'Aw k'uLt'ahLti:lAda:d ya:n' GAta'** set it down near that feather! *L,* **t'ahLti:na'tl'** with a leaf, feather *L,* **Lu:ndiyahstahti:na'tl'** with a rat-skin *L,* **k'utahti:na'tl 'ALdah linhinu:** they're playing with a skin *L,* **t'ahLti:na'q'** on a leaf, feather *L,* **Lu:ndiyahstahti:lAXa'** concerning a rat-skin *28.136A,* **Lu:ndiyahstahti:lAXa:q'** for the sake of a rat-skin *L,* **'utahti:lAyAq' qa' sahL** went out of its skin *(dog turning human) 49.96A,* **t'ahLti:nAch'** toward a leaf, feather *L,* **k'utahti:lAlah** around pelt *L,* **k'utahti:lAyAXd** under a pelt *L,* **'Aw k'utahti:lAlu'qa:** to get the pelt *28.110A,* **GALAtsitl'ahti:nAX** by means of land-otter pelts *33.74A; with numerals:* **t'uhLga' ti:na: GALAtsitl'tah 'anhch' ti:nsALahLinh** he gave her three land-otter skins *33.84A,* **k'Ayi:ny ti:na:** a different one (skin) *L; with nouns:* **k'uti:lAq'As tsa'k'** one of a pir of mitts *L,* **ti:lAkihsh** rhubarb; *in combination with thematic marks: with O-X-a 'S eat O':* **t'ahL XAti:lAyinhinh** he's eating leaves *M (to be corrected to XAti:linhinh),* **XAti:lah** it's eating it (seaweed species) *L,* **'Aw t'ahL XAti:li:ye:** eat those leaves! *L, with d-'ya 'S accumulate':* **yAqa' ti:dli:'yahL** they (skins) are piled up *L,* **dAGida' ti:dli:'yahL** it's full of them (skins) *L, with O-dl-L-'e S hide O:* **'Aw k'utah ti:dla:GAL'e'** hide that skin! *L.*

ti:tl' *(loan from Tlingit tíł' 'dog salmon')*

ti:tl' *(noun, unclassified)* dog, chum salmon (Oncorhunchus keta) *LM (this salmon was either unimportant or a very late introduction; L never heard of them in her youth, first heard of them from Billy Dude when she was grown), Galushia Nelson* ti·t'ɬ 'dog salmon' *BSdL 540.*

tinh

-tinh *(kinship noun, ascending)* uncle (father's brother) *perhaps also 'father's sister's husband'*: *vocative:* **'Atinh** uncle (father's brother)! *LG, Anna Nelson* ati^{n} 'father's older brother (either sex speaking), ati^{n}cia 'father's younger brother (either sex speaking) *BSdL 565,* **'Atinhshiyah**, **tinhshiyah** uncle (father's brother)! *(= 'Atinh, rejects 'Atinhshiyah and ('A)tinhshah L;) Rezanov* Сытте 'Дядя Onkel' **sitinh** my uncle (father's brother) *LA (M called L's uncle this L, presumably because his name, XAlahyAX'a:k', was the same as M's father Scar Steven' (non-potlatch) name), Anna Nelson* sətɪ^{n}səqaɛq 'father's older brother's son (either sex speaking)' **sitinhsAqe:G**, sətɪ^{n}si 'father's older brother's daughter' *BSdL 566* **sitinhtsi:**, *Wrangell* Ит-тенъ 'vetter' *may be read either* **'itinh** your uncle *or* **'it'inh** your (man's) sister's child.

te

-te 1. sg. animate S lie, be prone, be in bed *(see tu'ch' 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* Сытейльту 'Спалъ ('slept') ich(?) schlief' **sAtehLduh** he's in bed indeed!, **'u:d sAtehL** he, it is lying there (awake or asleep) *LM,* **sitehL** I'm lying down (at rest) *M,* **sAtehL** it's prone (e.g. pup) *L,* you're lying down *M,* **'ahnu:qa'X sAtehLinh** he's lying between them *L,* **sili'd sAtehLinh** he's lying on wall side of me (in bed between me and wall) *M,* **Le't'ya'd sAtehL** it's lying in a box (e.g. pup) *L. Transitive (causative): reflexive:* **'AdxsLitehL** I'm lying (for a short rest) *M.* (2) *Neuter perfective, usually with o-q' 'on o':* **'u:d da:q' 'i:tehLinh** he's lying there on something (surface) *L.* (3) *Active imperfective, used in customary or ethical sense (see also nominalizations):* **xu: qi'**

xteh place where I (ordinarily) lie *L,* **dik' 'u:d sAqe:ts'Akih tehG** it's not there that the child (ordinarily) sleeps *L.* (4) *With ya' 'completely', to state of rest', used mainly with subjunctives, optatives, Inceptive imperfective, and Active (but not other) imperative,* sg. animate S get into prone position, go to bed; maintain prone position, stay in bed: *21b.52, 29.12, 13, 50.4, 61.90A, Rezanov* Яатте 'Спи ('sleep!') schlafen (Imperat.)' **ya' 'Ate:**, Иатте 'Ложись legen, sich (Imperat.)' **yä' 'Ate:** *Anonymous* Яти 'Ложись' **ya'Ate:** lie down! *LM,* take a rest! *(in daytime, to a person standing or lying) M,* stay lying! *L,* Итая-те 'Положись ('to put/place') legen, hinlegen' **'idah ya' 'Ate:** lie down nicely, lie still nicely!, Уте-ате 'Положи legen, hinlegen (Imperat.)' **'u:d yä' 'Ate:** lie there!, **dA'u:d ya' 'Ate:** stay lying right there! *M,* **GALqa'X ya' 'Ate:** lie in between! *L,* **Lich' XAtl' dAwa'dga' ya' 'i:te:k'** go (cust) to bed early every night! *L,* **dA'u:d ya' 'i:tinhinh nuh q'ah** alright let him stay lying right where he is for all I care! *L,* **ya' 'Axte:X 'ixleh** I want to lie down *L,* **ya' i'i:te:Xsh 'i:leh** do you want to lie down? *L; hybrid form, with Active optative prefixes and subjunctive stem and suffix:* **ya' 'ixite:X 'ixleh** I want to lie down *L. Transitive (causative), see also O-L-te:* **ya' 'ALte:** make him lie down! *L; reflexive:* **ya' 'Adqu'xLAteh** I'll lay me down for a while (to rest) *L.* (5) *With ya:n' 'down',* sg. animate S move into prone position, lie down, go 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:n' GAte'** lie down!, go to bed (at night)! *LM,* **silahdz** (**silahsd** *L*) **ya:n' GAte'** lie down, sleep on outside (not wall-) side of me! *L,* **sili'X ya:n' GAte'** lie down on wall side of me! *M,* **siq'Asd ya:n' GAte'** lie down with your head toward my feet! *L,* **ya:n' sitehL** I lay down *M,* **ya:n'ch' GAxte:L** I'm lying down (moving into prone position) *LM,* **di:yAX ya:n' GAxte:LG** I'm not lying down yet *L,* **ya:n' qu'xteh** I'll lie down *LM,* **dik' ya:n' qu'xtehG** (*or* **-te:G**) I won't lie down *L,* **ya:n' 'Axte:k'** I (cust) lie down *M,* **ya:n' GAxte:X 'ixleh** I want to lie down *L,* **ya:n' Gi:te:Xsh 'i:leh** do you want to lie down? *L,* **dik' ya:n' 'a'xtehLG** I won't be lying down *(Neuter perfective negative) M,* **ya:n' 'i:tinhinh**, **ya:n' Gi:tinhinh** let him lie down, let him go to bed *L,* **ya:n' 'i:te:k'inh**, **ya:n' Gi:te:k'inh** let him (cust) go to bed *L,* **ya:n' q'e' qu'xdAteh** I'll lie down again *M,* **ya:n' xsditehL** I lay down again *M, repetitive:* **Lich' XAtl' dAwa'dga' ya:n' GAte:gk'** go (cust) to bed early every night! *L; transitive (causative) (see also O-L-te):* **ya:n' 'iqe'xLteh** I'll make you lie down *M,* **ya:n' GALte'** make him lie down! *L, repetitive:* **ya:n'ch' xLte:g** I keep making it (e.g. dog) lie down *L; reflexive:* **ya:n' 'AdxLitehL** I'm lying on bed (not in it) *(Neuter perfective) M; passive:* **ya:n' xusditehL** I was put to bed (sick) *L.* (6) *With ya:nahd 'flat down, covering some surface': 20.33, 34, 36, 38, 38, 42, 27b.34fn, 28.24A.*

2. sg. animate S move while in prone position, *modes and aspects freely used*: **XAyA'u:ch' 'Ate'** move over (while in lying position, away from speaker)! *L,* **XAyA'u:ch' qu'xteh** I'll move over (while lying, farther away) *L.*

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3. *With perambulative,* sg. animate S lie about *(no distinction between interrupted and uninterrupted prone position)*: **yAX xdAte:X** I'm lying around *M,* **yAX qu'xdAteh** I'll lie around *M,* **yAX 'idAte:k'inh** he (cust) lies around *M.*

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'iste:l *(gerundive)* act of lying, being prone: **'iste:l xuGALga'L** I'm getting tired of lying < lying is tiring me *L.*

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'uq' 'iste'L *(noun, unclassified)* thing to lie on, sleeping-place *L*: **'uq' 'iste'LwAX** wide sleeping-place *L. Gerundive with -L-instrumental and o-q' 'on o'.*

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yAX 'ute:X *(perambulative gerundive, but 'u-prefix not explained)* act of lying about: **yAX 'ute:XXa' k'u'qu'LAtuhg** it (e.g. dog) will get lazy from lying around *L.*

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qi' teh *(noun, unclassified)* (animal's) lying place: **qi' teh 'uXa'** it's lying-place, where it (ordinarily) lies down *L. Nominalized Active imperfective.*

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'uq' k'uteh *(noun, unclassified)* bed, sleeping-place, lying-place < one, something lies on it *L. Nominalized Active imperfective.*

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'uyAq'd k'uteh *(noun, unclassified)* sleeping-bag < one lies in it *L. Nominalized Active imperfective.*

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'uya' k'uteh *(noun, unclassified)* sleeping-bag < one lies in it (o with opening at top) *L. Nominalized Active imperfective.*

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L-te sg. or pl. animate S lie dead or comatose, *attested mainly in Active perfective and in nominalized Active and Neuter imperfectives*: **'u:d sALtehL** 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 sALtehL** two corpses or drunks are lying there *L; transitives: passive:* **ya:n' xusLitehL** I was put to bed (drunk) *L (cf. passive of causative transitive of -te 1.(5) and of O-L-te).*

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ta'Lteh *(noun, unclassified)* dead spawned-out fish (any species) *L*: **ta'Lteh yAq' 'iLiduxL** dead fish floats at shore *L. Nominalized Active imperfective, with ta' 'in the water'.*

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qe'yiLteh *(noun, unclassified)* 1. whale *LS*: *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'yiLte:** *(rare variant) 11.162A, Rezanov* Киэльте 'Китъ Walfisch', *Anonymous* Кыилтинъ 'Китъ', *Khromchenko* Кайхятѣ 'Китъ', **qe'yiLtehlAXAde:'X** in the whale's eye *10.25, 11.177, 183A,* **qe'yiLtehtse'** whalemeat *10.40, 55A, Rezanov* Киэльеце *(with э inserted above)* 'Китовина Walfisch-Fleisch', **qe'yiLtehluw** big whale *10.184, 11.173, 185, 20.99, 100, 29.22A,* **qe'yiLtehlAqah** whalehead *12.13G, 29.35A,* **'a'd k'u'luw qe'yiLteh** very big whale *28.76A, Rezanov* Кеильтеильахашхо 'Усы китовые Walfisch-Barten, Fischbein' **qe'yiLtehlAGa:sn**[**dA**]**Xu'** whale-whiskers *(literally, not 'baleen', for which see La:n'). Nominalized Neuter imperfective of L-te, with umlauted qa' 'up, out'; "it lies right there by shore, not rolling like a seal" L, which is undoubtedly the way Eyaks normally saw whales.*

2. *(place-name) Kayak Island* < whale *LS ("used to be a whale" S) (for which see also Text 12.)*

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l-dA-te sg. or pl. S be full (of food), eat fill: *14.2L,* **'Awq'Ach' da: qu'lAdAte:** we'll eat our fill on it *11.183A, Rezanov* Юхсытеиль 'Сытъ satt', *probably* **'i:nxws[d]itehL** I've eaten my fill, I'm full, **'i:nxsditehL** *(nasalization usually omitted),* **lixsditehL** I'm full, satisfied *L,* **qa:nsditehL** *(nasalization usually omitted),* **qAlisditehL** they're full (of food) *L,* **lAGAxdAte:L** I'm getting full *L,* **qu'lAxdAteh** I'll eat my fill *L,* **qi' la:xditehch' k'uqu'Xi:xah** I'll eat til I'm full *L. Transitive (causative):* **'anhsh lAXili:LtehL** is he keeping you pl. satisfied with enough food? *(Neuter perfective) L; passive:* **xulisditehL** I've been made to eat my fill *L.*

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O-**L-te** S position, move, handle, carry sg. animate (live or dead) O, *partly equivalent to the transitive (causative) of -te (and of L-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-L-(y)a 'S position (etc.) pl. O (animate or inanimate)')*: *9.49, 10.105, 23.82, 28.74A,* **k'u'xLte:Xsh**

'ixleh do I want that I should be carrying (off) something? *(rhetorically, hungry Raven, in song) 72.39fnL,* **GAxLte:L** I'm carrying it (e.g. dog) *M,* **qu'xLteh** I'll carry it (e.g. dog) *LM,* **'iLte'** carry it (eg. dog)! *M,* handle it (e.g. pup)! *L,* put it in position! *M; with perambulative:* **yAX xLAte:X** I'm carrying it around (e.g. dog) *M,* **yAX 'ALAte:** carry it around! *LM,* **yAX qu'xLAteh** I'll carry it around *M,* **yAX GAxLAte:L** I'm carrying it around (all day) *L; with ya' 'completely, to state of rest',* ya' O-L-te S position, set, leave sg. animate O: *21a.13L, 25.150A,* **dAda:d ya' 'ALte:** set it (animal) anyplace! *L,* **'u:d ya' 'ALte:hinh** set him there! ??? *(rare non-umlauted form) L,* **yAna:'d ya' ALte:** set it down on the floor, ground! *L, with ya:n' 'down',* S get sg. animate O down: *21a.14L, 21b.27, 28, 50, 51A, 47b.20M, 47c.8L, Rezanov* Енатльте 'Наклонись bücken, sich (Imperat.)' **ya:n' 'ALte:** set it down!, Яхо енатльте 'Не наклонися ('don't bend over!') bücke dich nicht!' ***ya'Xu: ya:n' 'ALte:** *(енат- probably to be read yAna:'d?) (in modern Cordova Eyak, however, the prohibitive ya'Xu: here requires the Inceptive imperfective: ya'Xu: ya:n' qu'yiLteh 'don't set it down', ya'Xu: ya:n' 'ALte: meaning 'don't!, set it down!'),* **'u:d ya:n' siLtehL** I laid it (e.g. dog, dead or alive) down there *M,* **'a:ndshAl sAqe:ts'Akih 'iXa' ya:n' 'i:Lte:k'** is it here that you (cust) bed your child? *L,* **ya:n'ch' GAxwLte:Linh** I'm making him lie down *M; with o-ch' 'to o', o-ch' 'to o', o-ch' O-L-te S bring, give sg. animate O to o: 8.5, 9, 9.13, 14, 19, 20, 23, 24, 34, 82, 82, 83, 100, 101, 101, 121, 135, 135, 10.75, 77A, 18.75L, 23.87, 90, 24.5,13 (passive), 14 (passive), 32.18 (passive)A, 34c.71M (in many of these cases 'S give O to o as wife'),* **Xich' q'e' qu'xLteh** I'l carry it back there *M,* **k'uch' siLtehLinh** I gave him away < I gave him to someone *L,* **q'ahshuh sich' qi'yiLteh** will you give it (e.g. cat) to me finally? *L,* **'u:ch' q'e' siLtehL** I took it back there *L; with o-da' 'over to (explicitly arriving at) o: 21b.45, 47A, 47b.11M, 47c.23L, 61.82 (passive)A,* **'u:da' q'e' GALte'** carry it (e.g. dog) back there! *L,* **Xi:da' q'e' siLtehL** I carried it back yonder *L,* **'u:da' qu'xLteh** I'll carry it over there *L. With 'AdiX 'in(doors)': 9.55, 81 (passive)A, 21a.12L, 21b.48A. With li' 'deeply in cavity': 28.21, 35 (indirect reflexives), 112 (passive), 49.38A; with k'uyAXa' 'sending' ('on the forearms of someone'),* (o-**ch'**) **k'uyAXa'** O-**L-te** S send sg. animate O (away) (to o): **'i:ndzi'X k'uyAXa' siLtehLinh** I sent him "outside" (to Seattle) *L,* **k'uyAXa' xusALtehL** he sent me away *L,* **'ich' k'uyAXa' qu'xLtinhinh** I'll send him to you *L; with q'a:dya:g 'into slavery(?)':* **q'a:dya:g siLtehLinh** I got rid of him, gave him away (e.g. to another tribe) *L,* **k'udi'lahG xiLeh da:X q'a:dya:g 'iqe'xLteh** if I were a chief I'd sell you into slavery *(apparently a very strong expression) L; with q'e' 'back, again'* **q'e'** O-**L-te** S find, recover sg. animate O: *10.38 (hortatory Inceptive subjunctive), 24.92, 03 (passives), 61.84, 85 (passives)A,* **q'e' siLtehL** I found it (e.g. pup) *L,* **q'e' qu'xLteh** I'll find it (dead thing on beach) *L,* **'u:d q'e' siLtehL** I found it there *M; with ya:nu' 'below surface',* **ya:nu'** O-**L-te** S inter O: *49b.10M, Rezanov* Януцыльтеэль *(final лъ largely illegible)* 'Могила ('grave') Grab' **ya:nu' sALtehL** he (or you) buried it (animal), **ya:nu' sALtehLinh** he buried him *L; with qa' 'up, out',* **qa'** O-**L-te** S lift sg. animate 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, 38.7, 12ML, 45b.8fnM, 47b.20M, 53.24L,* **li'X qid GALtin'inh** move him (child) back from edge! *L,* **'Aw sAqe:ts'Akih 'u:ch' dAlu' GALte'** put that child back in there (through an aperture)! *L,* **'u:d Xa:'d Lteh** he puts him outside there *(Active imperfective used in customary or ethical sense) L; indirect reflexive, with 'AddAyAX 'under one's d- ('oral, noise') self', 'Ash 'completely by, past':* **'AddAyAX 'Ash xsLitehLinh** I really let loose and bawled him out bad *L; passive: text occurrences listed above,* **k'uch' sLitehL** it (e.g. put) was give away (to someone) *L; L makes a distinction between the passive of L-te (O-LA-te) and that of -te (O-dA-te) in the case of* **'a:nda' xusLitehL** I was brought here (dead drunk) *and* **'a:nda' xusditehL** I was brought here (sick).

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qi' ya:nu' k'uGAdAteh grave *L, Galushia Nelson* qèiyáⁿnù ɢəqəɒətɛ' 'grave ("in-ground place-for-dead")' *BSdL 546. Nominalized passive, -GA- not identified (Inceptive subjunctive?),* < place where someone is buried.

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q’e’teh *(personal name)* 1. *woman's name L. Deverbalization of q'e' dAteh 'she's found, brought back' (under te).*

2. *Anna's older sister Susie A.*

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3. *Anna's father's daughter Margaret A XV.10.*

te:k’ *(perhaps expanded form of te'k')*

te:k’ *(noun, d-class)* some kind of bark?: *remembered only in* **te:k’dAya’d da:X sAqehL** he boated 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 ta'xts', qahdl, and 53.27-28fnL. Transcription by Li in notebook from George Johnson implies te'k' written over te:k', glossed 'pitch, gummy wood'.*

te’1

-L-te’ *(noun, unclassified)* (stick-like) handle, *with class-mark of noun with which it is compounded*: **lAGAdAq’a’Ldla:Lt’e’** stone-axe handle *L,* **tAGL’AlALte’** hammer-handle *L.*

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g-G-L-te’ (*or* **-G-L-te’** ?) *(noun, unclassified)* (stick-like) handle: **guGALte’** handle (of axe, hammer, etc., but not of pot etc.) *LM,* **guGALte’ ’u:dAX qa’ ’i:’ah** some kind of handle sticks out there *L,* **’uGALte’** its handle (of axe, shovel, etc.) *L; in the light of this last form, the gu- might perhaps be reread k'u- 'indefinite possessor', though this has been carefully checked, or at least be historically interpreted thus; if the -G- be historically interpreted in a similar way, with loss of glottalization, the whole form may be seen as an old verb-theme with o-q' 'on o', 'S ... on o'.*

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-Xd-L-te’ *(noun, Xd-class)* rod: *Galushia Nelson* tìsá· x̣ə́ɒétɬtà’ *or* təsa· etc., *Old Man Dude* t’sə̀sá x̣ə́ɒétɬɛ̀ 'mast' *BSdL 550,* **ts’isa:XAdALte’** mast < sail-rod *A,* **ts’isa:XAdALte’ sich’ XAdi:ta’** (*or* **-’a’**) give me a mast! *L,* **ts’isa:XAdALte’ya’ dju’k’L** boom < mast's crosspiece *A (L rejects),* **ts’isa:XAdALte’ XAdla:tah** boom *L;* **t’a’q’LXAdALte’** fishing-rod *(t'a'q'L 'small fishhook') L,* **t’a’q’LXAdALte’ sich’ XAdi:ta’** give me a fishing-rod! *L.*

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te’wa’L? *(see wa'L2)*

te’2 *(perhaps to be identified with ta')*

te’k’ *(perhaps related to te:k')*

O-**L-te’k’** S remove O (wet outer part of firewood, off dry part, by splitting or chopping): **’Aw qa’ ’ALte’k’** split it (wet part of firewood) off (the dry)! *L; repetitive:* **’Awk’ahch’ ’ALte’k’g** chop it (wet pat of firewood) away from it (the dry)! *L. Theme sparsely attested; see te:k'.*

ta *(perhaps related to tah; 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 and in an uninteresting or unspecified way, of a singular inanimate object not in a container. (If the object is plural, themes with -L-(y)a or -L-ya:' are used; if the event is repetitious, themes with -L-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 -(L-)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 -L-'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 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 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 sAtahL (or sA'ahL) 'S be (in position) there' and O sich' with some imperative form of O-(L-)ta (or O-(L-)'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 lXd-, 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 Xu:l-, are attested by one example with 'a used. 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 the shape of that object: thus e.g. t'its' 'u:d dAsAtahL and t'its' 'u:d dAsA'ahL both mean 'a piece of ice is there', with no implication that in the case of dAsA'ahL the piece of ice is any rounder than in the case of dAsAtahL; there is moreover no clear preference of 'a over ta even if the piece of ice is clearly round. Examples follow: Unclassified

nouns (I with very few exceptions) I ku:nLda'ts'kih 'little stump' 1a.6M, Ganhdg 'spruce-needle' 11.118A, q'Adl 'pot', Le't' 'box', ts'ik' 'plate, dish', sLi'mahdL '(loaf of) bread', dAkinh 'stick', kushxi:d 'calico', 'u'tl' 'driftwood' (declassified, either broken up or of unusually complex shape), gahG 'sinker (on net)', Gu'L 'blanket', sahxw 'cockle', si:nL 'shoe', GAsu' 'dry-salmon', dja:t'L 'crowbar', 'ishXah 'round mixing-bowl', gud 'dime', gudshu:wu: 'nickel'. III GAGAG 'quoit', XAt'a: 'adze'; wiL 'wedge' (varies between l-class and unclassified). VI lAGAdAq'a'L 'axe' (varies between l-class and unclassified). Classified nouns I d-class: t'ik'L 'arrow', shgu:lihdAG 'frying-pan', k'uguka' '(bird's) tail'; ti:l-class: k'uLt'ahL 'feather, leaf', k'utah 'skin (pelt)', tsa'k' 'glove', k'usits' 'fish-skin', kuhsL 'apron'; Xdl-class: lAGAshk'L 'pole', t'a'q'LXAdALte' 'fishing-rod'. II d-class: lis 'spruce, tree', XahdL 'sled, car'; dl-class: djahGL 'needle'; ti:l-class: dza:nt' 'skunk-cabbage'; l-class: XuhLgL 'shovel'; g-class: Ge:ts' 'spruceroot', la:X 'string', k'u't' 'tendon, sinew, vein, thread'. III dl-class: dAGALAwa'L 'door', tl'e:yu' 'hemlock', shdu:lihG 'table', tsAdl 'board', qahdl 'bark' (varies with unclassified); ti:l-class: t'ahL 'feather, leaf'; l-class: giyahXda:LAlah 'water-bucket'; g-class: dzAwALguLeh 'net-cord', 'idAgAdAleh 'yarn', le:L 'hair'; Xd-class: La'g 'firewood'. IV d-class: ye:t' 'wild celery', 'u'tl' 'driftwood', t'its' 'ice', dzanhd 'showshoe', shiL 'spoon', k'ulAqah 'head', tsa'L 'knife', tsi:n 'mussel', k'ahG 'porcupine quill', gehgL 'fish-spear', k'ugutl'ah 'tail (not of bird)', tl'e'tl'G 'salmonberry-sprout'; dl-class: kihshL 'dipnet', we:gshg 'ulu', tsi:n 'branch'; ti:l-class: 'i:nLxAwah 'ribbon-seaweed'; l-class: kAwAsk'L 'paddle', ch'iyahd 'hat', ts'a:gL 'dipper, bailer'; lXd-class: sanh 'fluff', k'uhdL 'moss'; g-class: sa' 'resin fiber'; gd-class: tl'ihX 'grass', ma: 'lake'; qi:d-class: k'uk'ahsh 'foot'; qi:dl-class: duh 'tubular kelp'; Xd-class: sinhX 'resin', Le:sk' 'log', tl'i: 'bear-spear', da:XAdidja'g 'match', ts'isa:XAdALte' 'mast'. V. d-class: la:xga: 'store', shgu:na: 'schooner', gahG 'pitch', k'udA'uhdg 'egg', dide'L 'lamp', ts'a' 'alluvial mud', ya:n' dA'a'L '(finger-)ring', Ge'q'L 'hoop, bracelet'; dl-class: dla:LXe:ch'g 'quartz', gu:nAtsa: 'gold nugget', Gits'AX 'copper nugget', dzAwAL 'net', dla:XA'i:nd 'button'; l-class: k'usha:w 'head'; lX-class: gahG 'bullet'; lXd-class: xAtl'lAXAdAq' 'snowball'; gl-class: ma:sdla: 'butter', di:ya' '(chunk of) salt'; qi:l-class: k'uXehL '(piece of) rope'; Xdl-class: 'uhs 'riverbank'; Xu:l-class: k'uXu:nLAyAh 'tooth'. VI. dl-class: yahd 'house'; l-class: tAGL 'hammer', tl'A'a:G 'basket', lAGAdAq'a'L 'axe' (varies with unclassified); lX-class: la'mahd 'berry', shug 'strawberry', ya:n' 'pill', 'a:ndj 'orange'. VIII dl-class: tsa: 'stone', tAwi:s 'stone axe'; l-class: mAdjiduhg 'codfish roe (sac)', q'Ama: 'salmon roe (sac)', k'uq'AX 'fat', 'i:ndit'u:ch' 'black abalone', 'i:nLxi:shg 'red abalone'. Like basic theme with 'a, basic themes with ta show an irregular relationship between the intransitives and transitives, in that the expected L-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 L- or zero-classifier throughout.)

-ta 1. sg. unclassified inanimate S (not in container) be in position, lie, remain: (1) *Active perfective, used with force of Neuter, 1a.6M, 11.118A, attested with a very large variety of locatives:* **'u:d sAtahL** it's lying there *LM (examples of S attested with this form are given in the introduction to this article),* **di'lAX 'a:nd sAtahL** it's still here *L,* **'u:d yi:na:'d sAtahL** it's on the floor there *L,* **'Awq' sAtahL** it's on it *L, similarly with* **'Awya'd** in it (o with opening at top) *L,* **'AwyAXd** under it *L,* **'Awlahsd** in front of it *L,* **'Awda:d** near it *L,* **'a:nd sit'a'd** here in my pocket *L,* **siyAda:d** right by my hand *L,* **dAda'd** on top of the pile *L,* **'Awt'a:Xd** under cover of it, concealed in it *L,* **qu'q'** over the fire *L,* **qu'q'd** in the fire *L,* **sitsi:n'd** downhill below me *L,* **sisa'd** in my mouth *L,* **silAXa'd** right by my head *L,* **k'uli'd**, **'uli'X** behind something *L,* **k'usinhd**, **k'usinhX** hidden behind something *L,* **'i:na:'d**, **'i:na:'q'd** up on a hill, steep place *L,* **GALlAGd** hindmost (of a series) *L,* **GALlahsd** foremost (of a series) *L,* **GALqa'd** in between *L,* **'itl'a:na:q'd** up on a mountain *L,* **lu'd** in a hole *L,* **XAlA'u:d** way inside (cavity, closed space) *L,* **XAyA'u:d** way over there (in open space) *L,* **'Awya'd yina:'d** way down at the bottom of it (o with opening at top) *L,* **ya:nu'd** underground, underwater *L,* **siyAtl'e:q'd** in my hand (palm) *L,* **'AwyAq'd** in it (o with opening not at top) *L,* **sich' 'udAGAlehyAq'd k'usAtahL** there is something on his mind against me (which he's not telling me about) *L,* **'AwdAdAGd** above it *L,* **dAdAGd** above something *L,* **sida'd** right in front of me *L,* **'u:d dAXAla'X** hanging on something there *L,* **'u:d XAya'd** in that depression, body of water there *L,* **'u:d ya:n'd** down there *L,* **dAyAXd** under something *L,* **yAq'd** on shore *L,* **di:q'd** in something (with opening not at top) *L,* **XAlAGd** above, upstairs *L,* **tsa:dla:lAXa:n'd** opposite a stone *L,* **'u:d GALi'd**, **'u:d GALu'd** way in behind *L,* **li'shda:d** right against the wall *L; with q'e' 'back, again':* **'Awya'd q'e' sditahL** it's back in it (o with opening at top) *L; in the negative:* **dik' 'uya'd k'ustahLG** there's nothing in it *L,* **dik' dA'u:dAXya:kih qi' 'AstahLG** there's nothign (left) there *7.42, 10.50A,* **dik' dA'u:dAXya:kih qa:Xa' 'AstahLG** we've nothing left *11.32A.* (2) *Neuter perfective, perhaps preferred with o-q' 'on o', used with preverbs and postpositions often lacking -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:* **'AwdAtl'a'q' 'i:tahL** it's (perched) on the corner (edge of box) *L,* **tsidldAla'd 'i:tahL** it's hanging on a board *L,* **GALla'd 'i:tahL** it's at the top of the pile *L,* **dAXAla'd 'i:tahL**, **dAXAla'q' 'i:tahL** it's impaled on something *L,* **'u:d ya:nahd 'i:tahL** it's down there (lying flat, covering some surface) *L,* **'Aw shdu:lihGda:q' 'i:tahL da:XAdja'g 'ich' qu'xtah** I'll give you that matchbook which is on the table *L,* **'u:d da:q' 'i:tahL** it's up there (on some surface) *L,* **'AwyAX 'i:tahL** it's under it *L,* **'Awya' 'i:tahL** it's in it (o with opening at top) *L (cf. 'AwyAXd sAtahL and 'Awya'd sAtahL).* (3) *Active imperfective, used in customary or ethical sense: Rezanov* Аутетакта 'Заткнуть stopfen, zustopfen', *perhaps* **'AwdAdAG tah** it belongs in position above it *M,* **'u:d tah q'A'Aw** there's where it belongs, that's its place *L,* **'a:ndshAl ditl'a'g 'iXa' tah** does your book belong here? *L,* **dik' 'u:d tahG** that's not its right place *L,* **'Awya'd tah** it's (ordinarily) in it (o with opening at top) *L.* (4) **'a:nd 'utsin'lAXa'd ya' 'Ata:k'inh** it's (cust) right here by his head *36.25A.*

2. *With class-marks,* sg. classified S (not in container) be in position, lie, remain, *elicited from L in the Active perfective in the form S 'u:d M-sAtahL 'a S be, lie there': examples of S are listed in the introduction to this article; the verbal forms themselves with the class-marks are dAsAtahL (d-), dla:sAtahL (dl-), 'i:nsAtahL or lAsAtahL (l-), ti:nsAtahL or ti:lAsAtahL (ti:l-), lAXAdAsAtahL (lXd-), gusAtahL (g-), gudAsAtahL or gAdAsAtahL (gd-), qi:dAsAtahL (qi:d-), qi:dla:sAtahL (qi:dl-), XAdAsAtahL (Xd-).*

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qu'ta'L *(noun, d-class)* floor *LM*: *Rezanov* Коольтааль 'Полъ Fussboden' **qu'…ta'L**, *first ль inexplicable, see also next entry;* **qu'ta'LdA'a:gd** mid-floor *M,* **qu'ta'Lda'luw** big floor *L. Nominalization with -L-instrumental and qu', probably 'fire'.*

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k'u:ta'L *(noun, d-class)* floor *L. Nominalized Neuter perfective (?) with indefinite S and -L- instrumental.*

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-tsin'lAXa'd sAtahL *(noun, unclassified)* pillow: **sitsin'lAXa'd sAtahL** my pillow < it's right by my neck *L. Unusual nominalization of Active perfective.*

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O-(**L-**)**ta** S position, move, handle, carry, leave, take, put sg. inanimate unclassified O (not in container), *transitive of -ta, but L-classifier present only in Active and Neuter perfectives*: *11.84, 33.10A, 38.16LM, Rezanov* Итта-у 'Держать halten' **'ita'uh** take it! *M,* Итта 'Неси tragen (Imperat.)' **'ita'** move it!, **siLtahL** I moved a thing *L,* **'uga'shuh Lits'anh q'Al 'i:tah** are you strong enough to carry this? *L,* **'ida'ya:lAX yiLda:s 'ixiteh** it's too heavy for me to handle *L; with perambulative:* **yAX dAta:Xinh** he's carrying it around *L,* **da: yAX 'iditah** let's carry it around *L,* **yAX qu'dAtinhinh** he'll carry it around *L,* **dik' yAX qu'xdAta:G** (*or* **-tahG**) I won't carry it around *L,* **yAX 'AdAte:** carry it around! *L,* **dik' yAX dAta:XGinh** he's not carrying it around *L; attested with a very large variety of locatives, preverbs, and postpositions, mostly elicited with an entirely hypothetical unspecified O: with ya' 'completely, to state of rest': 10.208, 11.84, 21b.49A,* **ya' GAta'uh** set it down! *L,* **sida'Lch'a:d ya' qu'xtah** I'll put it in my bosom *L,* **'u:d 'ilu:ch'AdAtl'a'd ya' 'Ate:** put, leave it inside your cheek (chewing tobacco)! *L,* **siyAda:X ya' 'Ate:** set it by my hand! *L,* **'u:dAX ya' 'Ate:** set it down by there! *L,* **qAnuh ya' 'Ate:** put, leave it in plain view! *L,* **'AwyAq'd ya' qu'xtah** I'll keep it in it *L,* **'Awya'd ya' qu'xtah** I'll leave it in it (o with opening at top) *L; with ya:n' 'down', often o-q' ya:n' 'down on o': 6.4, 9M, 33.10, 65.62A,* **'u:d ya:n' siLtahL** I laid it (e.g. blanket) down there *M,* **ya:n' 'Aw sAtahLinh** he set it down *L,* **ya:n' 'Aw qa'tinhinh** he'll set it down *L,* **dik'shuw ya:n' 'AsLtahLG** didn't you set it down? *LM,* **Xa:'d ya:n' GAta'** set it down outside! *L,* **'Awq' ya:n' GAta'** set it down on it! *L,* **'Awlahsd ya:n' GAta'** set it down in front of it! *L,* **'Awli'd ya:n' GAta'** set it down behind it! *L,* **'u:d ya:n' qa'tinhinh** (*or* **qu'wAtinhinh**) he'll set it down there for good *L,* **t'its'da:q' ya:n' GAta'** set it down on the ice! *M,* **'u:d k'utahti:na'q' ya:n' GAta'** set it down on the skin there! *M,* **'Awqa'X** (*or* **'Awqa'd**) **'Aw ya:n' sALtahL** he set it down between them *L,* **'u:d Lich'a:d ya:n' GAta'** set it down to one side there! *L,* **'u:d XAlA'u:d ya:n' GAta'** set it down a little way over (from the edge) there! *L,* **XAyA'u:d ya:n' GAta'** set it down way far over there! *L,* **siya:q' ya:n' sALtahL** you set it down on my hand *L,* **'Awda:d ya:n' GAta'** put it down close to it! *L; with ya:nahd 'flat down, covering some surface':* **ya:nahd GAta'** set it down! *L,* **ya:nahd 'Aw GAta:Linh** he's setting it down *L; with yAna:'d 'down on bottom surface of something (e.g. floor, ground)':* **'u:d yAna:'d siLtahL** I put it down on the floor there *L; with ya:nu' 'below surface, underground, underwater': 10.209A,* **ya:nu' GAta'** put it underground, underwater!, bury it! *L; with yAX 'downward': 11.90A,* **sit'a'X yAX siLtahL** I put it (down) in my pocket *L; with ya'X 'upward': 34c.66, 70M,* **ya'X GAta'** (*or* **'Ate:** *or* **'Ata'**) pick it up, lift it! *L,* **ya'X GAxta:L** I'm picking it up *L,* **ya'Xu: yiLda:s ya'X qu'yitah** don't pick up a heavy thing *L,* **'uk'ahsht'e'ts'G ya'X GAta'** lift it (e.g. chair) by the leg! *L,* **ya'X GAxtah da:X** if I pick it up *L, a large number of subjunctives elicited from L with ya'X and 'ixleh, 'uXe'xleh 'I want to' or o-tl' d-le 'S tell o to', as* **ya'X GAxta:X 'ixleh**, **ya'X 'ixta:X 'uXe'xleh** I want to pick it up, **ya'X Gi:ta:X 'itl' dAxleh** I told you to pick it up, *etc.:* **ya'X 'Axta:X**, **'ixta:X**, **GAxta:X** that I should pick it up, **ya'X 'i:ta:X**, **Gi:ta:X** that you should pick it up, **ya'X 'Ata:X**, **GAta:X** that he should pick it up, **ya'X 'AlAXta:X**, **'ilAXta:X**, **GAlAXta:X** that you pl. should pick it up; *with ya'X and perambulative 'reversal of motion':* **ya'X yAX xdAta:X** I keep lifting it up and setting it down *L; with qa' 'up, out', frequently with other preverbs or postpositions with -d 'at rest in': 10.213, 11.121, 61.106, 108A,* **ta'd qa' siLtahL** I picking it up out of the water; I rinsed it *L,* **'Awqa'd qa' GAta'** take; choose it from amongst them! *L,* **'Awya'd qa' sALtahLinh** he took it (e.g. bone) out of it (e.g. bow of soup) *M,* **'Awya'd qa' GAta'** take it out of it (e.g. boat, pot)! *L,* **'a:nya'd q'e' qa' siLtahL** I fished it back out of the river *L, Rezanov* Утахкакета 'Подними

aufhaben (Imperat.)' **'u:dAX qa' GAta'** lift it up out (along) there!, **sidAGAch' qa' GAta'** put it up above me! *L,* **GALdAGu:ch' 'Aw qa' GAta:Linh** he's putting it up at the highest level *M,* **'Aw qa' GAta'** make it (e.g. outboard motor) go a little faster, accelerate it! *M (qa' also 'waking up; starting (of motor)' ('up, out of sleep, inactivity')),* **'AwyAq' qa' siLtahL** I took it out of it (o with opening not at top) *L; with lu: 'ca. 180° turn':* **lu: siLtahL** I turned it (e.g. paper, blanket) over *M,* **lu: GAta'** turn it over! *L,* **lu: qu'xtah** I'll turn it over *L; with lah 'around (in circular motion)':* **lah 'Aw GAta:Linh** he's turning it around, he's carrying it around (in a circle) *M,* **lah siLtahL** I turned it around (360° or more) *M; with q'e' 'back, again, some more' and no other preverbial material specifying motion,* S put (etc.) sg. (etc.) O back, S find, recover sg. (etc.) O: **q'e' GAta'** put it back! *L,* **q'e' sALtahLshuh** did you find it? *L,* **dik'shuh q'e' 'AsLtahLG** didn't you find it? *L,* **q'e' siLtahL** I found it *L; with qAnuh 'in plain view', often with o-ch' 'to o' or o-lAXAdla:ch' 'to o's eyes, view',* S show sg. (etc.) O (to o): *28.94A, 34c.65M, 37b.35, 51.80A,* **'Al 'ich' qAnuh qu'xtah** I'll show this to you *L,* **dAtli: 'ich' qAnuh qu'xtah** I'll "show" you *(belligerent threat, with dAtli: 'already') L,* **qAnuh GAta'** show it (to people)! *L,* **qAnuhd sALtahL** he put it, left it in open place (where people could see it) *L,* **'ilAXAdla:ch' 'Aw qAnuh siLtahL**, **'ich' qAnuh siLtahL** 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-yAq' 'in o' or o-yAX 'under o': 37b.40A,* **siyAX li' GAta'** put it under me! *M; with li'X 'downriver':* **li'X 'Aw sALtahLinh** he took it downriver *M,* **li'X 'Aw GAta:Linh** he's taking it downriver *M; with lAGe'X 'upriver':* **lAGe'X 'Aw sALtahLinh** he took it upriver *M; with ya:qa' 'away (from general area)':* **li'X 'Aw ya:qa' sALtahLinh** he took it downriver *M,* **lAGe'X 'Aw ya:qa' sALtahLinh** he took it upriver *M; o-ch' '(continuous motion) to o',* S give, bring 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* Ауччатте 'Дарить schenken' **'Awch' 'Ate:** give it to it! *(L objects to this ablauted form because of homophony with O-L-te, preferring here 'Ata', but the -te: allomorph in the Active imperative is nevertheless well attested, even from L),* **'Awch' 'Ata'** give it to it! *L, Anonymous* Аучати 'Отдай' ('give it') **'Aw 'uch' 'Atinhinh** *or* **'Ate:** give it to him!, *Rezanov* Ауцыльтатль 'Дарю ich schenke' **'Awch' siLtahL** I gave it to it, *probably with -ch' > -ts' by progressive assimilation, Rezanov* Хенхичайта 'Вели' *(not in Radlov, 'order!, command!')* **Xi:nXinhch'a' 'ita'** take it to him!, Учитта 'Нести tragen' **'uch'** (*or* **'u:ch'**) **'ita'** give it to it! (*or* carry it thither!), **sich' 'Ata'** give it to me! *LM,* bring it to me! *L (attested with a variety of specific unclassified O: Gu'L 'blanket' M, dAkinh 'stick' L, ts'ik' 'dish' L, sahxw 'cockle' L, si:nL 'shoe' L, GAsu' 'dry salmon' L, dja:t'L 'crowbar' L, 'ishXah 'mixing-bowl' L, gud 'dime' L, gudshu:wu: 'nickel' L, 'Aw shdu:lihGda:q' 'i:tahL da:XAdidja'g 'that matchbook which is on the table' L, wiL 'wedge' L, lAGAdAq'a'L 'axe' L, GAGAG 'quoit' L, XAt'a: 'adze' L),* **shich' GAta'** give it to me! *L,* **'ich' qu'xtah** I'll give it to you *LM,* **dik' 'ich' qu'xta:G** (*or* **-tahG**) I won't give it to you *L, Anonymous* Яхууцкуитинъ 'Недавай' ('don't give it') **ya'xu: 'uch' qu'yitinhinh** don't give it to him, **'ich' siLtahL** I gave it to you *M,* I brought it to you *L,* **'ich' Guxta:L** I'm carrying it over to you *M,* I'm giving it to you *L,* **'u:ch' 'Aw GAta:Linh** he's carrying it thither *L,* **dA'u:dAXyi:nkihch' 'Ata'** give it to anybody! *L,* **dAdu:ch'd 'Ata'** give it to anybody! *L,* **dAdu:ch'dunh 'Awa: 'Ata'** give it to any one of them! *L,* **'Aya:ch' qu'xtah** I'll give it to so-and-so, what's-his-name *L,* **ts'ik' lAXqa'ga' lAXch' qu'xtah** I'll give you each a dish *L,* **'ich' 'Axta:X 'uXe'xleh** I want to give it to you *L,* **'ich' 'ixitah 'iXe'xleh** I want to give it to you < I want it that I should give it to you *L,* **'utsin'da'ya' sich' 'Ata'** give me about half of it! *L,* **LinhGih 'Awa: sich' 'Ata'** give me one of them! *L,* **ya:'a:gAga' 'Awa: sich' 'Ata'** give me half of it! *L,* **'Aw ya:'a:gd ya: sich' 'Ata'** give me the middle one! *L,* **'Awqa:'kih 'Awa: sich' 'Ata'** give me a little bit of it! *L, also with q'e' 'back, again',* o-**ch' q'e'** O-(**L**-)**ta** S give, bring sg. (etc.) O back to o: *23.36, 37, 44, 47, 49A,* **'u:ch' q'e' GAta'** put it back there! *L,* **'u:ch' q'e' GAxta:L** I'm taking it back thither *L, with dla:sinh 'in stealth':* **dla:sinh sich' 'Ata'** sneak it to me! *M, with dits'id, dits'it' 'gratis':* **dits'id 'ich' siLtahL** I gave it to you for free *A,* **dits'it' 'ich' qu'xtah** I'll give it to you for free *M, with*

k'uyAXa' 'sending' ('on th forearms of someone'): **'ich' k'uyAXa' qu'xtah** I'll send it to you *M; with o-da' 'to (arrival at) o': 9.100, 10.207, 213A,* **'ida' siLtahL** I carried it over to you *M,* **'u:da' 'Aw sALtahLinh** he carried it over to there *L,* **'u:da' q'e' siLtahL** I put it back there *L,* **'u:da' 'Ata'**, **'u:da' GAta'** carry it over there! *L,* **dik' 'a:nda' Gi:ta:G da:X** if you don't bring it here *M,* **sida' sALtahL** you brought it to me *L; with o-ch'ahd 'away from o': 49.135A,* **'a:nch'ahd 'ita'** take it away from here! *L, Rezanov* Учаткета 'Поднять ('to lift/raise') aufheben' **'u:ch'ahd** (*or* **'uch'ahd**) **GAta'** take it away from there! *L (or 'from it'); with o-k'ah 'away from o': 36.39A, with o-q'Ak'ah 'off (from on) o': 37b.21A,* **Gu'L siq'Ak'ah GAta'** take the blanket off me! *M; with o of o-k'ah indeterminate:* **gu:sAxk'da:X dAk'ah GAta', sa'wahd** separate, fan out cambium fibers to obtain sa' *A,* **sa' dAk'ah GAta'** remove the sa' (from cambium fibers)! *L,* **qahdl dAk'ah GAta'** remove the bark (from cambium fibers)! *L; with 'AlAk'ah 'up off (from covering something)',* S open O (like trapdoor): *51.59, 60A; with o-dAda' 'lid of o' (cf. dAda' O-Xd-(L-)ta):* **'udAda' k'uGAta'** cover it up (e.g. pot of stew)! *M,* **'udAda'k'ah k'uGAta'** uncover it (e.g. hole, pot of stew)! *M; with o-sa' 'into o's mouth':* **sisa' GAta'** put it in my mouth! *M,* **'isa' GAta'** put it in your mouth *(= sa' GAdAta') L,* **sisa'ch' GAxta:L** I'm moving it towards my mouth *(= sa'ch' GAxdAta:L) L; with o-la'q' 'on o, as clothing':* **kAna:'d sila'q' GAta'** put a coat on me!, give me a coat to wear! *M,* **Gu'L sila'q' GAta'** put a blanket over me! *M,* **'ula'q' k'uGAta'** cover it up (with something)! *M,* **sila'q'Ach' k'uGAta:Linh** he's putting some garment on me, he's giving me some garment ot wear *M,* **sila'q' GAta'** give me clothing!, cover me up! *M,* **GALla'q' GAta'** put it (e.g. blanket) on top! *L; with o-la'd 'draped over o, hanging on o':* **tsidldAla'd GAta'** hang it over a board! *L,* **tsidldAla'd 'Aw sALtahLinh** he draped, hung it over a board *L,* **'Aw 'uq' 'isda'Lla'd GAta'** throw it over that chair! *M,* **sila'd GAta'** put it over me!, drape it over my back and shoulders! *M,* **siyAla'd GAta'** hang it over my arm! *L,* **dAla'd qu'xtah** I'll hang it up (over something) *L; with o-la'X 'over the head of o':* **sila'X GAta'** put it on me (e.g. dress, over my head)! *M,* **wAsheh 'ila'X siLtahL** I named you < I put a name on over your head *(e.g. gave you a name) M,* **dAXAla'X GAta'** 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,* **'Awya' GAta'** put it into it (e.g. box)! *L,* **'Awya' siLtahL** I put it in it (e.g. boat, pot) *L,* **'Awya' q'e' siLtahL** I put it back in it *L; with o-yAq' 'in o (not with broad opening at top)': 6.3M, 36.39A,* **'uyAq' GAta'** put it in it! *L,* **'AwyAq' siLtahL** I put it in it *L,* **'AwyAq'd siLtahL** I left it in it *L; with o-yAtl'e:q' 'into o's hand (palm)':* **siyAtl'e:q' GAta'** put it in my hand (palm)! *LM; with o-yAX 'under o':* **'AwyAX GAta'** put it under it! *L,* **'ugudAyAX k'uqu'xtinhinh** I'll diaper him < I'll put something under him gd-anatomically ('rump') *L; with miscellaneous other postpositions:* **'Awt'a:X qu'xtah** I'll carry it under cover of it *L,* **'Awt'a:X siLtahL** I put it under cover of it *L,* **'Awt'a'X siLtahL** I put it behind it *L,* **siyAXa' GAta'** hand it to me! < put it in my forearms! *L,* **'iyAXa' qu'xtah** I'll hand it to you *L,* **siyAXahd 'Aw sALtahLinh** he took it out of my hand, wrested it from me *LM,* **siyahd 'Aw sALtahLinh** he took it out of my hand *L,* **siyAXahd 'Aw GAta:Linh** he's wresting it from me *M,* **siyAda:ch' 'Ata'** put it by my hand! *L,* **XAdAGu:ch' da:q' GAta'** put it up there (on some surface way up above)! *L,* **GALqa'X GAta'** put it in between! *L,* **'ixa'dAXa' siLtahL** I put it (food) where you can get at it *L,* **'uxa'dAch' k'uGAxta:L** I'm puting some (food) in range where it can get at it *L; with various postpositions and preverbs in more or less idiomatic use:* **'iLyAq' k'usALtahL** he closed his eyes < he put something inside one another *M,* **'iLyAq' k'u:LtahLinh** he has his eyes closed *M,* **'iLyAq' k'uGAta'** close your eyes! *L (cf. 'iLyAq' GAta' 'put one (e.g. glass) inside the other!' L),* **'iLyAq' xa' GAta'** open your mouth! *L,* **'iLyAq' xa' 'i:LtahL** he has his mouth open, **'iLyAq' xa' sALtahL** it opened its mouth; it (flower) opened up *L (cf. 'iLyAq' 'i-'e'dz 'S spread legs'),* **'Aw'e'X siLtahL** I traded it < I put it in place of it *L, Rezanov* Ильтадетао 'Повѣсить ('hangs (intr.)') aufhängen' **'iLt'a'd 'ita'uh** hang it up! < set it so that one side is (hanging down over something) behind the other, Ильтадета 'Весело ('happy, merry') freudig, erfreulich, vgl. aufhängen, vielleicht durch Verwechselung von Весело mit Висѣло oder Висѣло Вѣшалъ entstanden?' **'iLt'a'd 'ita'** hang it up, **siqa' k'uGAta'** go in with me on it!, contribute a share along with me! *(o-qa'*

'amongst o, mingled with o') L, **ya'd siLtahL** I drank it up, emptied it *L,* I emptied it (bottle, by drinking) *A (ya'd 'to emptiness'),* **da:n' siLtahL** I bumped into something *(da:n' 'up to obstacle, against something') L,* **'ich' q'e:yAX qu'xtah** 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:'):* **ya'X xta:g** I keep trying to lift it *L,* **ya'X q'e' 'Axta:k'** I (cust) lift it back up *L. Indirect reflexive:* **t'a'd qa' GAdAta'** take it out of your pocket! *L,* **t'a'X yAX GAdAta'** put it (down) in your pocket! *L,* **t'a:X qu'xdAta:** I'll put it under my coat *L,* **sa' GAdAta'** put it in your mouth *L (= 'isa' GAta'),* **sa'ch' GAxdAta:L** I'm moving it towards my mouth *L (= sisa'ch' GAxta:L),* **sa'd qa' GAdAta'** take it out of your mouth! *L,* **li'ch' qa' GAdAta'** put it up behind you! *L,* **li'ch' 'Aw GAdAta:Linh** he's putting it behind himself *L,* **sinhch' 'Aw GAdAta:Linh** he's hiding it behind himself *L,* **'i:na'd qa' GAdAta'** take it off (dress, over your head)! *L,* **'i:nahd 'Aw 'iLitahLinh** it hangs down in his face < he has it hanging down over his head *(Neuter perfective) L,* **dAXa' ya' qu'xdAtah** I'll keep it *L,* **qid ch'a' GAxdAta:L** I'm taking it down (e.g. off wall, sideways) toward myself *L;* **dAGAlehyAq'd k'a' ya' 'idita:** remember! < you should keep it in your mind *L,* **dAGAlehyAq'd k'uxsLitahL** I've got something on my mind *L (cf. sich' 'udAGAlehyAq'd k'usAtahLinh 'there's something on his mind against me'). Passive:* **'u:d sLitahL** (*or* **sditahL**) it's been left there *L; with o-ch' 'to o': 49.133, 61.74, 82A (translated 'granted'),* **'u:ch' q'e' qu'dAtah** it'll be put back there *L,* **'u:ch' q'e' sditahL** it's been put back there *L,* **ku'ch' sLitahL** (*or* **sditahL**) it's been given away < it's been given to someone *L; with other postpositions: 28.105, 107A,* **dAXAla'X li' 'iditahL** (that which) has been hung up on something (e.g. a peg) *(Neuter perfective) 9.84, 86A.*

2. *With -L-classifier elsewhere than in Active and Neuter perfective, rare and not authenticated with certainty in current usage*: **ya'X 'ALta'** pick it up! *L (elicited in connection with ya'X 'iLta:X (or ya'X 'i:nLta:X, personal name, q.v.)),* **'a:ndshAl ditl'a'g 'iXa' yiLtah** is this where you (ordinarily) keep your book? *L (elicited as transitive causative of 'a:ndshAl ditl'a'g 'iXa' tah 'is this where your book belongs?').*

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3. *With class-marks for O,* S position (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-**da'** O-**d**-(**L**-)**ta** S bring sg. d-class to o: *27a.12L, 27b.18A; the elicitations for this theme were all sg. Active imperatives with sich' 'to me', e.g.* **k'Ayi:ny guka: sich' gu:ta'** give me a different g-class O (e.g. spruceroot)! *L; for the O attested see the introduction to this article; only the imperative verbal forms themselves will be cited here: d-:* **di:ta'**, *Xd-:* **XAdi:ta'**, *lXd-:* **lAXAdi:ta'**, *dl-:* **dli:ta'**, *g-:* **gu:ta'**, *gd-:* **gAdi:ta'**, *l-:* **ti:li:ta'**, *ti:l-:* **ti:li:ta'**, *qi:dl-:* **qi:dli:ta'**. *Passive:* **qa' disditahL** it (car XahdL) was pulled up out *61.74A.*

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(**d**)**-ta** *with optional d-thematic, with qehX 'closed', tl'ehd 'open', qu'q' 'on the fire', probably from partly thematized class-mark*: *cf. dAGALAwa'L 'door', dAq'a:g 'fire', both d-class:* **tl'ehd 'i:tahL** it (store) is open *L,* **tl'ehd di:tahL** it (door) is wide open *L; transitive (causative), where is clearer from the examples that the d-class-mark is at least in some cases optional: Rezanov* Тлейтоката 'Отопри öffnen (Imperat.)', **tl'ehd dAGAta'**, **tl'ehd GAta'** open it! *M,* **gusi:kih tl'ehd ya' 'Ata:** leave it (door) a little open! *L,* **qehX dAGAta'** close it! *LM,* **qehX GAta'** close it (door)! *L,* **qehX li' dAGAta'** close it (door) tight! *L,* **qu'q' GAta'**, **qu'q' dAGAta'** put it on the fire! *L; also with* **wAsheh 'ila'X (di)siLtahL** I named you < I put a name on over your head, i.e. I gave you a name *M (wAsheh 'name' d-class); in two examples of more idiomatic use of qehX 'closed', it is not certain that a d-mark is acceptable:* **qehX 'Aw sALtahL** they (beavers) dammed it up *L; passive:* **qehX sditahL** it (alarm clock) has been turned off *L.*

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da:X -ta S (skin, hide) be stretched on stretching-frame *(da:X perhaps 'across', or 'in contact with indeterminate o', but a ti:l-class-mark is ordinarily expected for -tah '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): **da:X 'i:tahL** it's stretched on frame *L,* **dik' da:X 'a'tahLG** it's not stretched on frame *L. Transitive (causative)* **da:X** O-(**L**-)**ta** S stretch O (skin) on frame: **da:X GAta'** stretch it (skin, on frame)! *L,* **da:X qu'xtah** I'll stretch it (skin, on frame)! *L,* **da:X siLtahL** I stretched it (skin, on frame) *L; detransitivized, with indeterminate O:* **da:X 'ixdAta:** I'm stretching it (skin, on frame) *L,* **da:X 'i:dAta:** stretch i (skin, on frame)! *(nasalization of 'i:n- missing) L,* **da:X 'iqe'xdAtah** I'll stretch it *L,* **da:X 'ixsLitahL** (*or* **'ixsditahL**) I stretched it *L,* **da:X 'ixLitahL** I've got it stretching *L, repetitive:* **da:X 'ixdAta:g** I'm stretching it (skin, on frame), with repeated motions) *M; passive:* **da:X sditahL** it (skin) has been stretched (on frame) *M.*

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'uq'Ach' da:X 'ita'L *(noun, unclassified?)* stretching-frame for skins *LM. Deverbalized transitive with indeterminate O, -L-instrumental, and o-q'Ach' '(continuous motion) onto o'. Rezanov* Тахтадль 'Пялы Näh-Rahmen zum Sticken von Mustern', *either incomplete or to be read da:X ta'L.*

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'ista:l *(gerundive)* : **'u:ch' 'ista:l 'Awa: xuGALga'L** I'm getting tired of carrying it thither < carrying thither of it is tiring me *L.*

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GAxits' GAta:Linh drummer < he (who) is carrying, hangling a drum *L.*

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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* yánàⁿt ɒ̀tà' *or* yá·nàt ɒ̀tà' 'grass mat' ("on-ground-?")' *BSdL 546, perhaps to be read* **ya:nahd tah**, **ya:nahdtahdzu:** nice rug *L,* **k'u:ta'Lda:q' ya:nahd tah** rug, carpet < it covers floor *L,* **shdu:lihGda:q' ya:nahd tah** table cloth < it covers table *L,* **yAXiya:q' ya:nahd tah** bedsheet < covers mattress *L,* **Gu'Lq' ya:nahd tah** bedspread < covers blankets *L,* **didit'u:ch' yahdda:q' ya:nahd tah** sheet iron < covers iron house *L.*

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dAtah *(passive Active imperfective used in customary or ethical sense, in nominalizations) in* **xahd 'uXAla'X li' dAtah** *(same as xahd 'uXAla'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 dAtah** it is put down covering some surface.

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t'a'd dAtah 'AdLAXa'tl'L *(noun, unclassified?)* pocket-watch < clock which is kept in one's pocket *L. Relativized passive(?) Active imperfective indirect reflexive.*

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xahd 'uXAla'X li' dAtah *(noun, unclassified?)* notch, groove at end of spear- or arrow-shaft for receiving head *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective.*

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dAyAX dla:ditahL *(noun, l-class?)* rain-bucket < dl-class O is put under indeterminate o. *Passive Neuter perfective nominalized. l-class is expected for 'bucket', and the d-part of the mark is inexplicable.*

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yAX dAxuLX qi' ya:nu' 'iditahL *(noun, unclassified?)* well < where a barrel, keg is put below the surface *L. Passive Neuter perfective nominalized.*

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’itl’a:ndahd ’igAli:LtahL *(place-name) on Eyak River; at Mountain Slough, near Eyak Village, between 'itl'a:ndi:(')ya'd and tsu:x; "water comes up close to mountain" L <* **’itl’a:ndahd** up close to, against mountain, **’i-gl-(L-)ta** gl-class ('liquid') S keep indeterminate O in position.

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O-**qA-X-(L-)ta** *(with X-thematic with qA-pluralizer)* S carry small thing, S lug O *(derisive)*: **’Aw qAXAtinhinh** he's carrying a ridiculously small thing *L,* **’Al GAdla:’a:wch’ qAXAxtah** I'm carrying these a long way *A,* **’ida’ya:lAX GAdla:’a:wch’ qAXAxtinhinh, siyahshAkih siXa’, k’u’luw GALe’Llehd** I've been lugging him too far, my child, because he's getting (too) big for me *A. Modes and aspects apparently not freely used; Active perfective and Inceptive imperfective could not be elicited.*

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O-**X-(L-)ta** 1. *With o-q'Ach' '(continuous motion) onto o',* S blame O on o: **siq’Ach’ ’Aw XAsALtahLinh** he blamed me for it *L,* **ya’Xu: siq’Ach’ ’Aw qu’Xi:tah** don't blame it on me *L.*

2. *With lah 'around', probably transitive,* S switch sides (in paddling canoe): **lah qu’Xi:xtah** I'll switch sides *L; with perambulative 'reversal of direction':* **lah yAX XAxdAta:X** I keep changing sides *L.*

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3. *With lah 'around', indeterminate O, and o-ya'X '(motion with)in o (with opening at top),* S stir o: **’uya’X läh ’iXAGAxta:L** I'm stirring it *L,* **’uya’X lah ’iqe’Xi:xtah** I'll stir it *L,* **’uya’X ’iXAsiLtahL** I stirred it *L (once transcribed 'uya'X läh 'i:siLtahL L, probably incorrect).*

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O-**Xd-(L-)ta** 1. *(Probably with Xd-class-mark 'pole-like' thematized)* S aim O: *27b.5A,* **k’uch’a:q’d XAdixiLtahL** I've got it aimed at something *M,* **k’uch’a:q’d XAdAGAta’** aim it at something! *M,* **’Awch’a:X XAdixiLtahL** I'm aiming, pointing it (anything) at it *L.*

2. **dAda’d** O-**Xd-(L-)ta** S open O (by lifting lid) *(cf. o-dAda' O-(L-)ta)*: *2a.18M, 29.34A.*

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’uX dAda’d k’uXAdAta’L *Rezanov* Охтетатъ кохотетатль 'Ключь Schlussel'. *Deverbalized passive of above,* < by means of it something (e.g. box) is opened, *with -L-instrumental suffix. Not the modern word for 'key' (gAlu:dj).*

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Xdl-ta S lie crosswise (as bolt or boom) *(probably with Xd-class-mark 'pole-like' thematized, but l-part of mark inexplicable)*: o-**X Xdl-ta** S act as bolt (crossbar) for o (door): **’AwX XAdli:tahL** it (door) is bolted, barred *L; transitive (causative)* o-**X** O-**Xdl-(L-)ta** S set O as bolt for o: **’uX k’uXAdla:GAta’** bolt the door! < set something as bolt for it! *L,* **’Al dAkinh ’AwX XAdla:GAta’** bar it with this stick! < set this stick on it as a bolt, crossbar *L.*

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XAdla:tah dAkinh *(noun, unclassified)* latch-stick, bolt, bar *L. Intransitive acrive imperfective relativized.*

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’uX k’uXAdla:dAtah *(noun, unclassified?)* latch < something belongs put as latch on it *L. Passive Active imperfective nominalized.*

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’uX k’uXA[dla:]ta’L *possible reading of Rezanov* Охкохетатль 'Замокъ Schloss'. *Transitive deverbalized, with -L-instrumental. Cf. 'uX dAda'd k'uXAdAta'L.*

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ts'isa:XAdALte'XAdla:tah *(noun, Xd-class?)* boom < mast set crosswise *L. Active imperfective nominalized.*

,

O-**gd-(L-)ta** S steer O (boat, car) *(with gd-anatomical 'rump' thematized)*: **'u:ch' gAdi:te:** (*or* **gAdi:ta'**) turn, steer it thither! *L,* **'u:ch' qu'gAdi:xtah** I'll turn, steer it thither *L,* **'u:ch' ya' gAdixiLtahL** I've got it steered thither *L,* **'u:ch' gAdisiLtahL** I turned, steered it thither *L,* **da:ch'dAw gAdAGi:ta:L** whither are you turning, steering it? *L,* **Xu' gAdAGAta'** straighten out its course! *L; with perambulative:* **yAX guduxdAta:X** I'm steering it *L,* **yAX qu'gAdAxdAta:** I'll steer it *L,* **yAX gAda:dAta:** steer it (boat, car)! *L,* **yAX gAdixsditahL** I steered it (about) *L,* **yAX gAdAGAxta:L** I'm steering it (a long time, all day, with no help) *L.*

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yAX k'ugAdAdAta:Xinh dAXunh steersman < person who steers something about *L. Perambulative Active imperfective with indefinite O, relativized.*

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'Ad-y-dA(~LA)-ta *(reflexive, with y-anatomical 'hand', LA-classifier in Active and Neuter perfective, dA- elsewhere)* S move one hand (without touching another object): **'u:dAX 'AdyisLitahLinh** he moved his hand along there *L,* **ya'X 'AdyixLitahL** I have my hand raised *L,* **qehX 'AdyAGAdAta'** close your hand! *L, with perambulative and o-tl' 'with o, communicating with o',* S signal to o with hand: **'itl' yAX 'AdyAdAta:Xinh** he's signalling to you with his hand *M,* **sitl' yAX 'Adya:ndAte:** signal to me with your hand! *L,* **'itl' yAX 'Adqu'yAxdAtah** I'll signal to you *L.*

,

qi:d-LA-ta *(with qi:d-anatomical 'foot', LA-classifier apparently throughout)* S move one foot (without affective another object): **'uq'Ach' qi:dsLitahL** he put his foot on it *L,* **'Awq' qu'qi:dAxLAtah** I'll put my foot on it *L.*

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'Ad-gdl-LA-ta *(reflexive, with gd-anatomical 'rump', probably perambulative 'reversal of motion', attested only in Active perfective, perhaps not LA-classifier throughout)* S somersault: **yAX 'AdgAdla:sLitahL** he somersaulted *M.*

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'Ad-'-gdl-LA-ta *(semitransitive of preceding)* S rock or flip self part way over, do incomplete somersault: **yAX 'Adu'gAdla:sLitahL** he flipped or rocked himself part way over, but ended up back in original position, did an incomplete somersault *M.*

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O-**d-L-ta** *(with d-thematic 'oral, noise', L-classifier throughout)* S say something to O to make O forget what O was going to say, S confuse O: **'idAxLta:k'** I (cust) say something to confuse you *M,* **'idisiLtahL** I made you forget what you were going to say by saying something that confused you *L,* **'iqe'di:xLtah** I'll make you forget what you're going to say *L,* **xudAsALtahL** you made me forget what I was going to say *L.*

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o-**t'a' 'i:lih-(dA-)ta** *(dA-classifier apparently optional throughout; see also qu for pl. S)* S count on, depend on o: **'it'a' da: 'i:lihyitahL** we're counting on you *L,* **'it'a' 'i:lihxitahL** I'm counting on, depending on you *L,* **'it'a' 'i:lihsitahL** I counted on you, became dependent on you *L,* **'it'a' qe:lihxdAtah** I'll count on, depend on you *L,* **sit'a' 'i:lihdAtah**, **sit'a' 'i:lihtah** he (child) is dependent on me *(Active perfective in customary or ethical sense).*

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l-ta *(with l-anatomical 'head'; see also O-l-(L-)'a 3., O-l-L-ya:', and l-qu 1. for pl. S)* S have head in position, S move head; *attested with a large variety of prverbs and postpositions, metaphorically*: *7.28A, 27a.25, 26, 32, 33L, 27b.35A,* **q'e:ya:nahd lAGAdAta'** lay your head down again! *27b.42A,* **ya:nahd 'i:nsitahL** I put my head down (on some surface) *L; Rezanov* Янчилехта 'Наклониться sich bücken' **ya:n'ch' 'i:nlAXta'** pl. lower your heads, **ya:n'ch' li:ta'** droop your head down! *L,* **ya:n'ch' lixitahL** my head is bowed *L;* **ya:nu' 'i:nsAtahL** it put its head underwater *L; Rezanov* Яхльта 'Подними голову hebe den Kopf' **ya'X l…ta…**, **ya'X lAGAta'** lift up your head! *M,* **ya'X lixitahL** my head is up straight (normal position) *L;* **lu: lAGAta'** turn your head around! *L,* **lu: lixitahL** my head is turned to side *L,* **lu: 'i:nsitahL** I turned my head to side *L; with qa' 'up, out',* **qa' l-ta** S stick had out, show self, appear: **qa' lAsAtahL** it (e.g. seal) stuck its head up out (of water) *L,* **'ulahyAq' qa' 'i:nsAtahL** it (e.g. rat) came out of its hole *L,* **'udAX qä' 'i:nsAtahL** it (e.g. rat) came out there *L,* **'a:ndAXshgahX siXa' qa' lAGi:tinhinh** would that he would appear to he here *(widowed shaman chants after husband) 72.38fnL;* **la'q' qa' lixitahL** my head is looking up *L,* **la'q' qa' lisitahL** I raised my head (beyond normal position, to look upwards) *L; with perambulative and o-ga' 'like o':* **k'uga' yAX 'i:ndAta:Xinh** he acts snooty, stuck-up, conceited < he goes around with his head like someone, something *72.10fnA Rezanov* Шичияллята 'Поворотись drehen, sich, sich wenden (Imperat.)' **shich'a' la'ta…**, **shich'a' la'te:** turn (your head) towards me! *L;* **'ida' lixitahL** my face is right up close to you *M;* **'udahd lixitahL** I have my head right up (pressing) against it *M (cf. semitransitive); with o-lah 'around o':* **'Aw kuslah lAta:k'** they (cust) avert their heads from the (bowl of) urine *33.17A,* **'ulah 'i:nsitahLinh** I looked him over, examined him *M (cf. semitransitive); with o-sa' 'to o's mouth': Rezanov* Сысалката 'Поцалуй küssen (Imperat.)' **sisa' lAGAta'** 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 miss o, notice o is missing: *28.43, 37b.44A,* **'u'e:X lAGAxta:Linh** I miss him *L; with o-k'ah 'away from o',* o-**k'ah l-ta** S forget o: *21b.43, 25.175 (with Active optative phrase), 176, 32.47, 49.89, 50.48, 51.36, 70.10, 10A (Inceptive perfective 'S begin to forget o'), Rezanov* Котлельта 'Забудъ vergessen (Imperat.)', Коакляетакъ 'Забылъ ?vergass', Куахляетакъ 'Не забудь vergiss nicht!' *(these forms, especially the first, cannot be completely read; it is probably simpler to supply 'u- than a dA-classifier for indirect reflexive forms; the last two perhaps represent ['u]k'wah qAla:yita:k' 'let them (cust) forget it' (?)),* Коинстакъ 'Забыть vergessen' [**'u**]**k'wah 'i:ns**[**i**]**tahL** (*or* -[**A**]-) I (or you) forgot, **'uk'ah 'i:nsitahL** I forgot, I forgot it *LMA,* **'uk'ah lisitahL** I forgot, forgot it *L,* **'uk'ah qu'li:xtah** I'll forget it *LM,* **'uk'ah lAGAta'** forget it! *L,* (**di:yAX**) **lAGi:ta:LGdAwa:** before you forget *L. Indirect reflexive:* **k'äh 'i:nsditahL** he forgot himself, is happy, carefree *L,* **k'ah 'i:nxsditahL** I forgot my sorrows *L, susceptive Neuter:* **k'ah lixLita'X** I'm forgetful, absent-minded *L,* **k'ah liLita'Xinh** he's forgetful *L;* **'Adq' lixditahL** my head is inclined to side < on myself *L,* **t'a'X yAX 'i:nditahLinh** he has his head down on his chest, collar *L. Transitive (causative, L-classifier throughout): 32.49A,* **'uk'ah 'iqe'li:xLtah** I'll make you forget, **lah xAlAsaLtahLinh** he made me turn my head *L,* **lah 'iqe'li:xLtah** I'll make you turn your head *L; passive:* **'uk'ah xulisLitahL** I was made to forget *L.*

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ya'X 'iLta:X *L,* **ya'X 'i:nLta:X** *A,* **ya:n'Xi:(n)Lta:X** *S (personal name) Lena's father LAS. "Puts head up" A. Probably a hortatory Active subjunctive of the transitive ya'X O-l-L-ta, 'let him (A) raise his (B's) head, let him make him raise his head!'. L has variant ya'X 'iLta:X, which would also be a hortatory subjunctive, of ya'X O-(L-)ta 'S lift up O', but the L-classifier would not be expected. (Cf. ya'X 'ALta' 'pick it up!'.)*

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'u-'-(l-)ta *(semitransitive derived directly from intransitive l-ta; overt l-mark frequently absent in Active perfective and passive Neuter imperfective; not that whereas the Neuter used in this semitransitive is the imperfective)* 1. *With o-dahd 'against o (touching o with*

pressure) (cf. o-dahd l-ta 'S have head right up (pressing) against o') S hear the sound of o, S listen to o: *5.10L, 9.58A, 13.6L, 15.17,18,19, 16.10M, 20.14, 15, 25.68, 29.30, 59A, 30.1L, 32.29, 36.5, 6A, 37a.2, 45a.3L, 45b.2, 47b.29M, 51.12,16, 91A, 52.8, 55.11, 56.27, 58.4L, 60.31, 38, 68.88, 70.6A, Rezanov* Кейдататеуситъ-а 'Голосъ Stimme' **qi' 'idah …dahd** (*or* **q'e:dah … dahd**) **'u'sitah**[**L**] where I really heard your voice *(reading uncertain),* Сытатулятъ-э 'Послуший höre!' **sidahd 'u'la:te:** listen to me! *M,* **sidahd 'u:la'te:** listen to me! *L,* **'idahd 'u'lixitah** I hear you, I'm listening to you *LM,* **k'udahd 'u'lisitahL** I heard something *M,* **'udahd da: 'u'li:tah** we hear them *L,* **dik' 'idahd qu'li:xta:G** (*or* **-tahG**) I won't listen to you *L,* **'idahd 'u'lisitahL** (*or* **'u'sitahL**, **'u'i:nsitahL**) I heard you, I listened to you *L,* **dik' sidahd 'u:la'ta:Ginh** he's not listening to me *L. Passive* o-**dahd 'u-'-(l-)dA-ta** sound of o be heard, o sound, o make 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* Кекоульта туудида 'Молиія блистаетъ es blitzt' **qe'gu:ldahd 'u'ditah** sound of thunder(-bird) is heard *L,* Утатекоудитате 'Громъ гремитъ es donnert' **'udahd…qu'dAtah…**(?), **'udahd qu'dAtah** its sound will be heard, it'll make a noise *L,* **dik' 'udahd 'u'dAtahG** it makes no noise *L,* **giyah gu:nLAshiLgdahd 'u'ditah** sound of sploshing water is heard, water makes a sploshing sound *L,* **dik' k'udzu:dah 'u:la'dAta:G** it (e.g. machine) doesn't sound good *L,* **'ida'ya:lAX 'udahd 'u'ditah** there's too much noise *L. (A few Neuter perfective forms occur in elicitations from L, but the authenticity of these is doubtful:* **'udahd 'u'ditahLinh** he made a noise *(passive),* **dik' 'udahd 'u:la'xtahLGinh** I didn't hear him.)

2. *With o-lah 'around o, about o' (cf. o-lah l-ta 'S move head about o, avert face from o, look o over, examine o')* S find out 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' 'Awlah 'u'qAla'ta:Ginu:** (*or* **'u:qAla'ta:Ginu:**, **qu:la'ta:Ginu:**) they haven't found out about it, haven't realized it, aren't aware of it *L; indirect reflexive: 23.62, 32.21A.*

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'Ad-'-(l-)dA-ta *(reflexive of preceding, dA-classifier throughout, overt l-mark frequently absent in Active perfective and Neuter imperfective)* S dry or smoke fish or meat, prepare winter food supply: *7.23, 25.141A,* **'Adqu'lAxdAtah**, **'Adqu'i:xdAtah** *(with nasalization missing)* I'll dry salmon *L,* **'Adu'lAxdAta:k'** I (cust) smoke fish or meat *L,* **'Adu'la:dAteh** smoke fish or meat! *L,* **'Adu'xditah** I've got fish or meat smoking in the smokehouse *L,* **'udAt'a:Xd 'Adu'xsditahL** I smoked fish in there *L,* **'u:d 'Adu'xsditahL** I smoked fish there *L.*

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'udAt'a:Xd 'Adqu'li:ta'L *(noun, d-class)* smokehouse *7.5, 37b.73, 65.55A. Inceptive imperfective of preceding deverbalized, with -L-instrumental and o-d-t'a:X-d '(at rest) in the shelter of o (d-class)'.*

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qi' 'Adk'u'dAtah *(noun, d-class)* smokehouse *47b.4M, L.* < place where someone dries fish or meat.

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O-**'-yl-ta** *(zero-classifier throughout, Neuter in perfective)* S expect O: **'i'yAlixitahL** I'm expecting you *LM,* **dik' 'i:yAla'xtahLG** (*or* **'i'yAla'xtahLG**) I'm not expecting you *L,* **xu'(qA)yAli:tahLinu:** they're expecting me *M,* **dik' xu'(qA)yAla'tahLGinu:** they're not expecting me *M,* **da: 'u'(qA)yAli:tahLinu:** we're expecting them *L,* **da: qu'(qA)yAli:tinhinu:** we'll expect them *L,* **dik' 'u:yAla'xtahLG** (*or* **'u'yAla'xtahLG**) I'm not expecting it *L,* **dik' lAXi'yAla'xtahLG** (*or* **lAXi:yAla'xtahLG**) I'm not expecting you pl. *L,* **'u'yAlixitahLinu:** *(or* **'u'ya:xitahLinu:**, *with nasalization missing)* I'm expecting them *L,* **'AlAshgahX xu'yAla:yitinhinh** I hope he's expecting me *L; indirect reflexive* **Xa'** O-**'-yl-dA-ta** S watch out for o < S expect o for self: **yAX dA'a'ch'Xyu: k'a' Xa' 'u'yAla:ditah** you should watch out or

wild animals < you should expect for yourself things which walk about *L; passive: 37b.79A,* **xu'yAliditahL** I'm expected *L.*

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O-'-(**l**-)(**L**-)**ta** *(semitransitive of O-(L-)ta, L-classifier present only in Active and Neuter perfective, overt l-mark frequently absent in Active perfective and passive Neuter perfective)* S move part of O (O intact but articulated or articulatable) 1. *With 'iL- reciprocal o of various postpositions, indicating spatial relationship of one part to the other*: **'iLch' 'u'siLtahL** I folded it < toward each other *M,* **'iLlah li' 'u'lAGAta'** fold it! *L,* **'iLlah li' 'u'siLtahL** I folded it (as letter) < deeply in cavity around each other *L,* **'iLt'a'X li' 'u'lAGAta'** fold it (e.g. paper, blanket)! < deeply in cavity one behind the other *(i.e. in halves, then quarters, etc.?) L,* **'uyAtl'e:q'd 'iLch' qid 'u'li:LtahLinh** he has his hands folded palms together (as in prayer) *L; passive:* **'iLch' 'u'qa:ditahL** *(**q**-pluralizer, nasalization missing)* they're folded *L,* **'iLt'a'X li' 'u'ditahL** (*or* **'u'liditahL**) it e.g. blanket is folded *L; without reciprocal o of postposition:* **'u:ch' 'u'siLtahL** I turned a switch, turned a page *L,* **lu: 'u'lAGAta'** turn the page over *L,* **la'da'X k'u'sALtahL** he (baby) took two steps < moved, articulated part of something twice *L,* **la'da'X 'u'siLtahL** I turned two (e.g. pages) *L; with perambulative 'reversal of direction':* **yAX 'u'lAdAta:X** you're turning pages *M,* **yAX 'u'la:dAte:** move it back and forth! *M, "something about a paddle" L,* **yAX 'u'lAxdAta:X** I'm moving it back and forth (attached to something) *L,* **yAX 'u'xsditahL** I turned the book's pages, turned a switch back and forth *L.*

2. *With d-class-mark*: **'iLt'a'X li' 'udla:GAta'** fold it (pocketknife)! < deeply in cavity one part of d-class O behind the other *L (tsa'L 'knife', d-class),* **'AlAk'ah 'u'dla:GAta'** open it (hatch or trapdoor)! *(cf. e.g. dAGALAwa'L 'door', d-class, probably partly thematized, as in (d)-ta); passive:* **'iLt'a'X li' 'u'dla:ditahL** it (pocketknife) is folded *L.*

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'iLt'a'X yAX 'u'dla:dAta:X (**tsa'L**) *(noun, d-class)* pocketknife *LM, Rezanov* Ехотлядетахъцаатль 'Ножикъ Taschenmesser' *(under 'Messer'). Nominalized or relativized passive Active imperfective,* < d-class O is folded back and forth one part behind the other.

ta´ *(perhaps related to ta; cf. qu´)*

Gl-ta´ *(with Gl-thematic 'time')* S live, be alive *(for pl. S , however, qu´ is preferred, q.v.)* 1.: *24.86, 49.76, 78, 127, 128, 61.10, 122A, 62.10, 67.12G,* **GAlAxtah** I'm alive *M,* **GAlAtah**, **Ga:ntah** it's alive *L,* **dik' GAlAtahG** it's not alive *L,* **GAlAGAta'** be alive!, live! *L,* **dik' sahdX qu'GAli:xtahG** (*or* **-ta:G**) I won't live long *L,* **'idah sahdX GAlisita'L** I've lived long enough *L,* **sahdX Ga:nsAta'L** he lived a long time *L,* **dik' sahdX GAlAsta'LG** he didn't live long *L,* **'AlAshgahX sahdX GAla:yitinhinh** I hope he lives long *L,* **GAli:tahXinh** (*trancribed, almost certainly in error,* **GAli:ta:Xinh**) may he live! *L,* **GAlAxtah da:X ya:nu' xusLi'yahL** I was buried alive < I was alive and I was buried *L; with q'e' 'back, again': 21a.39L,* **q'e' GAlAGAdAta'L** it's coming back to life *L,* **q'e' GAlAdAta:k'** it (cust) revives *L, repetitive:* **q'e' GAlAdAta'g** it keeps coming back to life *L; transitive (causative):* **GAlAGALta'** make it live! *L,* **Ga:nsiLta'L** I brought it to life *L.*

2. S live, behave in a certain way, have a certain personality: *Rezanov* Итаяальтену 'Ласковой freundlich' **'idah** [**G**]**AlAtinhinu:** they're nice, friendly people *L (more likely 'idah ya' 'ALdin'inu: 'make them behave!', see da),* **'idah GAlAtinhinh** he's nice, friendly *L,* **dik'shgahX k'usha:dah GAla:yita:G** I hope you're not mean *(rare negative optative, "sounds funny") L,* **lihXda:d GAlAtinhinh** he's a quiet, unobtrusive person *L,* **guGga' qa:Xa' GAlAtinhinh** he's treacherous < he acts deceitfully with us *L,* **'ita:'k'inhyAku:nch'ga' GAlAGAta'** live, be like your father's paternal grandmother's thumb *(curse) A.*

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GAlAta:l *(gerundive)* life, living, way of life: *61.33A,* **GAlAta:L xuGALga'L** I'm tired of living < living is tiring me *L,* **GAlAta:lXa' 'AnahshAkih 'ixleh** I like life *L.*

,

-Ga:nta'L *(noun, unclassified?)* soul, life: *Galushia Nelson* qòqáⁿ·tà·tɬ *or* qòqúⁿ·tàtɬ 'life or soul' *BSdL 552,* **k'uGa:nta'L** 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 Steven in BSdL 231-232.),* **siGa:nta'L** my life, soul *LM. -L- instrumental suffix.*

ta:1

ta: *(noun)* 1. *(unclassified)* trail, path, road *LM*: *Rezanov* Тта 'Дорога Weg', *Anonymous* Тта 'Пешеходная дорога' ('footpath'), **ta:'e'X 'iya'** follow the trail! *L,* **lixahya' ta:'e'X Ga:G** walking along a grizzly-bear trail *18.4L,* **ta:lAwa'Lq' Ga:Linh** he's walking alongside (along the edge of) the road *L,* **ta:hA'a:w** long trail *L,* **ta:hAwAX** wide trail, wide road *L,* **ta:'Akih** small road *LM,* **ta: qidga' 'i:'ah** end of the trail < as far as the trail extends *L (for further examples concerning extension of trails, see 'a´, sid, wAs),* **ta:tsin'da'd** end of the trail *L.*

2. *(Xd-class, cf. e.g. Le:sk' 'log')* corduroy road, bridge, pier, sidewalk: **'a:nd ta:XAda:q'** here on the pier *61.67A,* **ta:XAdAyAXd** under the bridge *L,* **ta: XAdAGAxXuhLgL** I'm shovelling the sidewalk *L,* **ta:XAdAtsin'da'd** end of the (corduroy) road *L.*

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dzanhddAyAXAta: *(noun, unclassified) (noun, unclassified?)* Milky Way < trail under snowshoes *L (see dzanhd).*

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ta:-ya'(-d) *(postpositional phrase, normally often nominalized as noun, unclassified, with ta: as o of o-ya' 'in o (with broad opening at top)')* doorway, vestibule: *11.13A, 55.17L, Rezanov* Таяттъ 'Дверь Thüre', Таятть *(replacing crossed-out Кацкъ, see ga'ts')* 'Крыльцо Hausflur' **ta:ya'd**, **ta:ya'dAq'Asd** front (door or road) end of house *L, Galushia Nelson* t'áiyàtłt'cà·t *or* t'áiàtłt'cà·t 'front of the house' *BSdL 545,* **ta:ya'dLch'a:d** front (door or road) side of house *LM.*

ta:2 *(cf. ta:dz)*

'ish-ta: *(adverb, prefix 'ish- or 'i-sh- not identified, L rejects proposed *'ishta:dz, or, with dA-* 'ipse', **di'shta:)* long ago, olden times *L, 44.1L ("same as dita:dz" 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'*: **'Al 'ishta: ya: GAlAta:l** these old-time (old-fashioned, outmoded?) ways of life *61.33A;* **'ishta: yi:nhinu:**, **'ishta:lahyu:** old-time people *(same as ta:dz yi:nhinu:, qa:dALyAX yi:nhinu:) L; as postpositional phrase with -d final:* **'ishta:d** long ago *L.*

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'ishta:lAq'Ama: *see q'Ama'.*

ta:tl'ish *(possibly from Ahtna taa 'in water', earliest English spelling Tash-a-leach, implying Ahtna taa-sa -tl'its')*

ta:tl'ish *(place-name) "place this [Cordova] side of qe'gwa' qAyAX'ah", Tashalich River S.*

ta:dz *(perhaps to be analyzed ta:-dz, cf. ta:2)*

ta:dz *(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:dzsh** (do you mean) in the old days? *68.68A,* **ta:dz k'Adzu: yiLinhinh, q'a: 'Awa: dik'** he used to be good (formerly), but not now *L,* **ta:dz xitl'ga' 'i:t'eh** it used (formerly) to be white *L,* **ta:dz xitl'ga' dit'eh** it (house) used (formerly to be white *L,* **ta:dz te'ya'e'd dAXunh xiLeh** I used to live on fish *L, Rezanov* Атацъ 'Давно längst, vor langer Zeit' **'a'd ta:dz** very long ago, *as attribute to ya: 'thing, one, that of':* **ta:dz ya: wAXah** old-time story *12.1, 57.1G,* **dik' ta:dz ya:gwa' 'a't'u:G** it's not like old times *62.12, 14G,* **ta:dz yi:nhinu:** old-time people *(same as 'ishta:lahyu:, qa:dALyAX yi:nhinu:, not *ta:dzlahyu or *ta:dzdAlahGAyu:) L, 39.1, 66.1L,* **ta:dzdAlahGAyu:** old-time people *63.26G ('inhabitants of old times', L rejects), frequently with dA-* 'ipse': **dita:dz** formerly, long ago, in the old days, in olden times *L, 5.1, 19.1L, 29.54, 36.25A, 46.1M, 52.1L, 59.1 Galushia Nelson, 60.14A, 63.14G, 69.6A, 71.70LM,* **dita:dz 'itl' 'u'siXahL** (*or* **'a'xXah**) **'Aw yahd k'udAshiyah** I told you long ago that house was no good *L,* **'a'd dita:dz** very long ago *1b.1M, 18.1L, 43.1, 2, 47b.1M.*

ta:s1

o-**ta:s** *(postposition, with zero final only)* 1. across, over, by, past o: *Rezanov* Аутасъ 'Черезъ durch' **'Awta:s** across, over it, **sita:s** over, across me *L, often with 'Ash 'completely by, past, through':* o-**ta:s 'Ash 'Ad-dl-LA-we'ch'** S sneak by, past o, o-**ta:s** (**'Ash**) **Xdl-'ya** S run by (past) o, **ma:gAdAta:s** (**'Ash**) **sAqehLinu:** they boated across the lake *37b.67, 80, 89A,* **k'Ade:dah 'Aw ma:gAdAta:s 'Ash AsahLG** he had no way to get (walk, wade) across the lake *37b.81A,* **k'uta:s 'i:'ah** it extends across something (specific) *L,* **dAta: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'dz** S step over o, **'iLta:s 'isi'e'dzL** I sit cross-legged *L,* o-**ta:s 'Ad-dA-lAG** S jump over, across o, **'iLta:s qa:nch' 'AddAlAGinu:** they're playing leapfrog *L,* o-**ta:s qa' 'Ad-LA-shu:t'** S (pole-)vault over o, **'ita:s qa:nch' 'AdgAdla:xLAxut'g** I'm somersaulting over you *L,* **'uta:s Ga:'** walk over, across it (ditch)! *L,* **'uta:s 'ixah da:X** just as I start to walk across it *L,* **'a:ngAlAta:s GAqe:L** she's boating across the river *25.47A,* **k'ut'u' ya:gAlAta:s dAGuxLk'a'd da:X** when I fly across many bodies of water *34.38L,* **'itl'a:nta:s** *M,* **'itl'AlAta:s** across, over a mountain *27.77A,* **GALAduk'Lta:s** over a hill *L, Rezanov* Цытаскалегу 'Обять umarmen' **sita:s GAle'gw**, **sita:s GAle'g** put your arm around (over, across) me! *LM,* **sita:s k'u'sA'AdzL** someone threw a spear past me (missed me) *L; with XA- 'area' as o, 'across an area', in place-names:* **'AXAkih qi' XAta:s dAya:'** 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:* **XAta:sya'd** Odiak Slough < o with broad opening at top (body of water) across an area *L,* **XAta: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-'e', more frequent than o-ta:s in this meaning).*

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ya:ta:s 'i:'ah *(place-name) Point Manby* < it extends across a thing *A XIV.41, A XV.1.*

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XAta:sya'd *(place-name) Odiak Slough* < o with broad opening at top (body of water) across an area *L.*

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XAta:sguda'd *(place-name) mouth of Odiak Slough at Cordova* < mouth of body of water over an area *L.*

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ma:ya'ch' XAta:s *(place-name) Cordova town, at Odiak Slough* < toward area across the lake *G (Harrington).*

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ta:s *(preverb, rare, perhaps incorrect, to be corrected dAta:s 'across indeterminate o', preverb meaning 'across' normally da:X)* across: **ta:s di:'ah** it (board) lies extended across *L.*

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ta:sGALah *(noun, unclassified, etymology uncertain, clearly wih ta:s 'across' as preverb, or perhaps postposition with zero reflexive o if indirect reflexive construction: perhaps ta:s GA-L-lah 'around-most (of a series) across' ?, or ta:s GA-LA-(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 GAdAyah, or ta:s GALAyah, or perhaps ta:s G-L-(y)a 'pl. be in position across, around' (with unidentified G-thematic))* belt *LM*: *Rezanov* Таскатля 'Поясъ Gurt', **ta:sGALah tl'ihX siL'ahL** I started to make a belt *M,* **ta:sGALaht'a'X ('uXa')** (tucked) under (his) belt *37b.30, 60A.*

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ta:snahyu: *see ta:snah, separate entry.*

ta:s2 *(authenticity uncertain)*

lAGALta:s *(nominal form, attested only as C)* older (grown up, mature, pubescent)*?, attested only on Li file-slip,* làqɑ̀łt'á·s gàłɛ̀'ł 'he's getting older (boy)' *to be read* **lAGALta:s GALe'L** he's getting to be lAGALta:s, *checked only with M, who does not recognize the form, and suggests* **lAGALxa:Linh** 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* **lAGALta:sL**, *in which case the form is a nominalized Inceptive perfective (rather than the rarely nominalized Inceptive conditional) of a theme l-L-ta:s, with same prefixes as l-L-xwa, and perhaps meaning 'S (male?) reach sexual maturity', thus* **lAGALta:sL GALe'L** he is getting to be one who is beginning to reach sexual maturity; *cf. yah.*

ta:sq'Ani:X *(probably of Tlingit origin)*

ta:sq'Ani:X *(personal name) Eyak man, brother of* ***qa:q'wALlu:s*** *and* ***qa:q'wchAnn*** *in Text 34 S, M has heard, L hasn't heard.*

ta:snah *(loan perhaps from Athapaskan, perhaps through Tlingit; not known to Ahtna informants)*

ta:snah- *perhaps originally place-name, in* **ta:snahyu:** Scots, Irish *(not natives) L ("because they got belt", associated with ta:sGALah 'belt', < ta:s-GA-L-tah but the form is clearly related to Tlingit tā´sna in Swanton 1909, pl. 187 "At tā´sna, near the mouth of the Yukon (?), was a large village…", Sampson Harry tasnaq^{w}an 'people way up Copper River' (vague), Harrington from G ta·snà· '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; Ahtna (Pinart) tašne 'the Kenai Indians'), Harrington thaasnaa-tɑllɑhqɑyuu 'interior Indians' G* **ta:sna:dAlahGAyu:**; *the term probably referred generally to Athapaskan far in the interior or Athapaskans other than Lower and Middle Copper River Ahtna, such as the Tanaina, though originally probably to a specific group.*

ta:wsAnn *(loan from English 'thousand', perhaps not naturalized)*

ta:wsAnn *(numeral, or noun, unclassified)* thousand *64.5G.*

tah *(probably related to ti:l-, perhaps also to ta, cf. e.g. nominalizations with tah)*

-tah *(noun)* 1. *(unclassified)* skin (of human): *Rezanov* Катта 'Кожа Haut' **qa:tah** our skin, human skin *(Kammu 'Haut' quoted from Wrangell in Radlov, but no such item is found either in the published Wrangell material or in the Rezanov manuscript),* **sitah siya: GAdAXAt'L** my skin is peeling *L,* **'utahxahch' GAle:L** his skin is peeling *L,* **sitah siq' li' LqAtl'g** my skin is peeling *L.*

2. *(ti:l-class)* skin, pelt, hide, peel *(natural integument of animal, plant)*: *25.51, 28.83, 102, 110, 111, 37b.21, 65.9, 9, 9, 9 (of fish, but cf. sits'), 39A, 66.3L (of spruceroot, unclassified?),* **Lu:ndiyahstah** rat-skin *28.95, 96, 102, 108, 113, 136, 138A,* **'Aw XAwa: q'A'Aw 'utahti:lAyAq' qa' sahL** the dog went out of its skin *(became human) 49.96A,* **GALAtsAtl'tah** land-otter-skin *33.41, 41, 41, 72, 72, 74, 74A,* **t'uhLga' ti:na: GALAtsitl'tah 'anhch' ti:nsALahLinh** he gave her three land-otter-skins *33.84A,* **k'e'k'L'Atah** mink-skin *33.41, 72, 74A,* **te'ya'tah** fish-skin *M (but cf. sits'),* **'Aw k'utahti:lAyAX dla:GAL'e'** hide it under that skin! *L,* **'Aw k'utah ti:dla:GALe'e'** hide that skin! *L,* **k'utahti:na'tl' 'ALdah linhinu:** they're playing with a skin *L,* **k'utahti:lAlu'qa: da: 'i:'a'ch'** let's go get some skins *L,* **k'utah 'u:d ti:nsAtahL** (*or* **-'ahL**) a skin lies there *L,* **k'utah sich' ti:li:ta'** *(not -'a', but once also recorded -'a')* give me a skin! *L,* **k'utahyahd** skin-house *M.*

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3. *(unclassified, or d-class?, with d-class-mark for e.g. lis 'spruce, tree', -dA'uhdg 'egg')* bark, shell: **k'udAtah** tree-bark *L,* **lisdAtah** spruce-bark *L,* **k'udAdzu: k'udAtah** nice piece of bark *L,* **'udAtahxahch' GAxLi:L** I'm peeling the bark off it *L,* **'AwdAtahxahch' 'Aw GALi:Linh** he's taking the shell off it (egg) *L (this form may be incorrect; cf. -d-L-tah below).*

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sLiwe'L k'utah, **sLiwe:L k'utah** *(noun, qi:l-class?)* thong < skin which has been sliced *L (see we'L), Galushia Nelson* stɬìwɛ́·tɬ ɢɔ̀tà' *or* stɬìwɛ́·tɬ ɢɔ̀tà 'thong ("cut skin")' *BSdL 548.*

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-l-tah *(noun, unclassified?, with l-anatomical 'head', not attested actualized as -lA-)* (fish's) head-skin: **k'u:tah** fish-head-skin *(may be eaten raw, very rich) L,* **'u:ntah** its (fish's) head-skin *L.*

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-L-tah *(noun, unclassified)* 1. skin used as a container or covering; container: **giyahLtah** water-skin, water-bucket *46.22M,* **'i:nsLwa'Ltah** (< **'i:nsLwa'L-Ltah**) snuffbox *56.10, 16L, Galushia Nelson* t'ə́'ktɬítɬ tà' 'quicker ("arrow box")' *BSdL 549,* **t'Ak'L'ALtah** quiver *L,* **k'uLtah** empty container *L,* **di:ya'Ltah** salt-shaker *L,* **gi:wa:Ltah** empty beer bottle *L,* **tsin'lahLtah** (< **tsin'lahL-Ltah**) pillowcase *L.*

2. "hole" *(pejorative)*: **ya:n' di:'yahLLtah q'Al *Cordova*** this Cordova's a rain-hole *L.*

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3. *With d-class-mark,* container for d-class object: **da:na:dALtah** coin-purse, purse, pocketbook *L,* **wAGda:na:dALtah** eyeglass-case *L.*

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-d-L-tah *(noun)* shell *(as natural integument):* 1. *(d-class)* eggshell *(cf. -dA'uhdg 'egg', d-class; cf. also -d-tah?)*: **k'udALtah** eggshell *L,* **k'udAt'u' k'udALtah** los of eggshells *L.*

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

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-dl-L-tah *(noun, unclassified?, with dl-class-mark; cf. e.g. -dla:tsa: 'testicle' and tsa: 'stone', dl-class)* scrotum: **sidla:Ltah** my scrotum *S.*

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la:Ltah *(noun, unclassified, see la:~na:2)* sack, bag, pouch, purse, pocketbook: *36.31, 38.39A, Rezanov* Нальта 'Сумка Tasche' **na:Ltah**, Ляльта 'Мѣшокъ Sack' **la:Ltah** sack, bag, purse *L,* pocketbook *M,* bag *A,* purse, bag *S,* **la:Ltahluw** big purse *LM,* **la:LtahdjehX** "ears" where top of sack is tied at corners *L.*

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'iLdAGAla:Ltah *(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* ɬtáqálá·tɬtà 'sewing bag' *BSdL 547, Galushia Nelson* ɬtáqálá·ɬtà 'married woman' *BSdL 542 (L does not understand the reason, if any, for this gloss).*

ta'

ta' *(preverb, with zero, d, -ch', -X, and -dAX finals)* 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-**(L-)ta** *25.41A,* **ta'** O-**tl'i:ts'** S soak O in water, **ta'** O-**L-tsinhd** S throw pl. O in water, **ta'** O-**tsu:x** S thrust, dip O into water, **ta'** O-**ts'AX** S throw O into water, **ta'** O-**l-ga:G** S mix O in water, **ta' d-LA-qahG** S fall into water, **ta' LA-qu** pl. S (ducks) land in water, **ta'** O-**lAG** S push, throw into water, **ta' LA-'Adz** S jump into water, **ta'** o-**tl' -'a'ch'** S go into water with o *20.25A,* **ta' l-dA-'a** S disperse into water *50.62, 62A,* **ta' GALa'** put them in the water! *21a.23L,* **ta' l-dA-a** S go mistakenly into deep water, **ta' sahL** he went, walked into the water *L, with q'e'~q'e:- 'back, again':* **ta' q'e' sdiyahL** went back into the water *21a.25L,* **ta' q'e' sALtahLinh** put it back in the water *45a.8L,* **gu:dAg q'e' ta' xsLi'AdzL** I jumped back into the water again *M.*

1b. *Occasionally also with customary*: **dAde:ga' da:Xd ta' 'Aw 'Adja:k'inu:** each time thy shoved them in the water *25.50A,* **k'ude:dah ta' 'a:k'G** he (cust) has no way to go into the water *11.69A, with q'e'~q'e:-:* **gu:dAg 'Aw q'e:ta'** again they (cust) throw it (head) back into the water *53.14L.*

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1c. *In certain non-verbal or nominalized forms*: **te'ya'** (< ***ta'-ya'**) fish, salmon *(see ya'~),* **te'wa'L** fish-trap, weir, rack *(see wa'L2),* **ta'Lteh** dead spawned-out fish *(see te).*

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2. *With -d final 'at rest in'*: **ta'd ya' 'Ada:k'inh** (cust) sits in water *50.14A,* **ta'd sAdahL** sits in water *L, 50.16A,* **ta'd ya:nu' 'Ale:gk'inh** (cust) reaches his hand down underwater *56.2L,* **ta'd 'u'lixiLXah** I'm keeping it in water *L,* **dAGya' ta'd ya'** O-**lAG** S push O backward into water, **ta'd qALa'nik'** small water-bug or fish species, **ta'd 'i:nLXAmah** sponge, soaked fish-heads, **ta'd yAX da:X** he's walking around in the water, wading *L.*

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2b. *With -d final '(from a position of rest) in' and qa'~qa:n- 'up out'*: **ta'd qa' siLtahL** I rinsed it, took it out of water *L,* **ta'd qa:nch' 'AGAts'g** wring it out! < twist it up out of water! *L,* **ta'd qa' 'Aqah ta'd qa' 'Aqinhinu:** they come up out of the water *L,* **ta'd qa' -'a´** S stick up out of water, **ta'd qa'** O-**L-(y)a**, **ta'd qa:nch'** O-**L-(y)a**, **ta'd qa'** O-**L-ya:'**, **ta'd qa:nch'** O-**L-ya:'** S rinse pl. O, **ta'd qa' sahLinh** he came out of the water *L,* **ta'd qa' 'Awe:sk'** it (cust) bobs up out of water *20.44A, with q'e'~q'e:-:* **ta'd q'e' qa' 'AdAwe:sk'** it (cust) bobs back up to the surface *LM.*

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3. *With -ch' final, 'repeated or continuous motion to, toward'*: **ta'ch' lAxga:G** I'm mixing it with (river-)water *M,* **ta'ch'** o-**X d-LA-kinhd** S shove o into water, **ta'ch'** O-**L-tsinhd~-tsi:nd** S throw pl. O into water (one after another) *L, 12.6, 6, 17G (-ch' in forms from G probably incorrect),* **ta'ch' 'Aqah**, **ta'ch' 'Aqinhinu:** pl. S go into water *L, 50.3A,* **ta'ch' shA'a'ch'L** they went into (towards?) the water *20.93, 94A,* **yahd ta'ch' qa'a'ch'** they'll go out to sea into the

water *(of loons, learning to swim) 24.40A,* **ta'ch' sahL** he went toward the water *L, with q'e'~q'e:-:* **ta'ch' q'e' dAya:k'** are (cust) put back into the water *45a.14L.*

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4. *With -X final 'motion within'*: *with yAX 'downward':* **ta'X yAX** O-**l-L-ya:'** S put pl. O's heads down into water, baptize pl. O, **qa: ta'X yAX 'i:nLyi:n'inh** priest, **ta'X yAX xulisditsu:xL** my head got thrust down into water *L,* **ta'X** O-**l-L-'a** S baptize (sg.) O, **ta'X yAX 'i:ndi'ahLinu:** baptized people, **ta'X yAX 'Alugg** keep dipping your hands in water! *L, with perambulative:* **ta'X yAX da:Xinh** he's walking around in water, wading *L,* **ta'X yAX xdAle'gX** I work with my handsin water, move my hands about in water *L,* **ta'X yAX 'AdAwe:k'** (cust) swim around in the water *62.29G.*

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5. *With -dAX final 'motion within' (perhaps incorrect)*: **ta'dAX yAX da:Xinh** he's walking around in water, wading *(same as ta'X yAX da:Xinh, ta'd yAX da:Xinh) L.*

ta'tl'~tAtl'

O-**ta'tl'** S kick O: **xusALta'tl'Linh** he kicked me *L,* **xta'tl'** I'm kicking it *M,* **'Ata'tl'** kick it! *M, with anatomical marks:* **xugAdAsAta'tl'Linh** he kicked me in the rump *L,* **'i:nsita'tl'** I kicked it in the head *L; repetitive:* **Lich' 'Aw ta'tl'ginh** he keeps kicking it all the time *L; detransitivized, with indeterminate O and o-ch' 'at o',* o-**ch' 'i-dA-ta'tl'** S kick at O: **sich' 'isdita'tl'Linh** he kicked at me *L; with indeterminate O and perambulative:* **yAX 'ixdAta'tl'X** I'm kicking my foot around *L; passive:* **xusdita'tl'L** I've been kicked; *reflexive, with anatomical mark:* **'AdgAdAdAta'tl'** 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 'Ad-g-LA-'e'dz), with perambulative: Anonymous* Ихиштитатль 'Бежитъ человѣкъ' ('a person is running') **yAX 'i: sdita'tl'L** *you* kicked your feet about, **yAX 'AdgAdAta'tl'X** she's running around, behaving promiscuouly < she goes about kicking herself in the rump *L,* **yAX 'AdgAdAdAta:tl'k'** she (wike) (cust) gallivants, is promiscuous, drinks *L.*

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O-**'-ta'tl'** S kick at O *(semitransitive of preceding)*: **xu'sAta'tl'Linh** he kicked at me (may or may not have connected) *L, with anatomical mark:* **xu'gAdasAta'tl'Linh** he kicked at my rump *L.*

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O-**L-ta'tl'** S kick O (thereby affecting position or condition of O): *21b.1A,* **siLta'tl'L** I kicked it (so it moved) *L,* **'a'q' xusALta'tl'Linh** he (literally) kicked me out *L,* **ya' siLta'tl'L** I kicked it all to bits *L,* **da'd xusALta'tl'Linh** he kicked me in the face *L (L-classifier presumably because of the brutality of the act, but cf. O-L-tux); with perambulative:* **yAX xLAta'tl'X** I'm walking around kicking it along, I'm kicking it about *L, 50.5, 12, 32A 'S kick O around (abuse, mistreat O); indirect reflexive:* **'Adtl' 'Aw yahd sLita'tl'Linh** she launched herself (in canoe) with a kick < she kicked it out to sea with herself *25.46, 47A; passive:* **qid xusLita'tl'L** I've been kicked down, off *L.*

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LA-ta'tl' S (folded or rolled) spring open: (**q'e:)ya' sLita'tl'L** it (folded or rolled) sprang (back) open *L.*

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-tAtl' *(also, but less frequently, -titl' L) reduced stem, occurring only in* **-qi:-tAtl'** *(noun, unclassified?)* heel: *Rezanov* Какететль 'Пята Ferse' **qa:qi:tAtl'** (*or* **-titl'**?) our heel, human heel, **siqi:tAtl'** my heel *LMAS.*

ta’ch’

-ta’ch’ S become flat, collapse, *especially with la'q' 'thickness, deflation'*: **sLi’mahdL siXa’ la’q’ sAta’ch’L** bread went flat on me *L. Transitive (causative):* **siLta’ch’L** I flattened it out *L,* **la’q’ qu’xLta’ch’** I'll collapse it, cruss it, smash it down (e.g. box, can) *L.*

ta’k’

O-**ta’k’** S twist O: **’Ata’k’** twist it! *L,* **qu’xta’k’** I'll twist it (e.g. rag, drape) *L; passive:* **sdita’k’L** it's (been) twisted *L. This theme usually occurs with either g- 'filament-like' or qil- '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:* **guxta’k’** I'm spinning string, yarn, thread *L,* **k’uqu’gu:xta’k’** I'll twist, sping something (string etc.) *L,* **k’uqi:lAxta’k’** I'm twisiting something (string, rope, etc.) *L,* **k’uqi:nsita’k’L**, **k’uqi:lisita’k’L** I twisted something (string, ripe) *L,* **qi:lAxwta’k’** I'm twisting it (string) *L; passive:* **gusdita’k’L** it (twine) is twisted *L.*

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O-**g-L-ta’k’** *attested only in Rezanov* Культаку 'Сучить zwirnen, Garn drehen', *probably* **gu:Lta’k’uh** spin it (yarn)! *(or -ta’k’w?, but this reading is less likely in view of the fact that the final in the form elicted from S shows no labialization). L rejects this theme with L-classifier.*

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dl-dA-ta’k’ *attested only with dl-class-mark for S (dzAwAL 'net'),* S (net) become untangled: **dA’a: dla:sdita’k’L** it (net) got untangled by itself *L; transitive (causative):* **dla:siLta’k’L** I untangled it (net) *L.*

ta’xts’ *(transcribed ta'Xts' from L, but clearly ta'xts', with some labialization of x, on tape from A)*

ta’xts’ *(noun, d-class?)* some kind of bark (or tree)?: **ta’Xts’L,** *with -L-instrumental(?, or thematic), in first elicitations from L, later consistently without -L:* **ta’Xts’L** some kind of tree *(has definitely heard) L,* **ta’Xts’** *"definitely has to do with a tree, part of it, perhaps the wet part that's removed" (see te:k' and te'k') L, The form on the tape from A, 68.14, 14, is clearly* ***ta’xts’****, which is to be taken as the correct one. See the passage 68.12-16 and fns, in which it appears that* ***ta’txts’*** *means 'wind-fallen tre trees' and is in any case the material of which the Eyaks first built their houses, before they learned to make superior ones of hemlock,* **ta’xts’Ayahd** ta'xts'-house *68.14, 14A, Galushia Nelson* tá’ùx̣tsà yat *or* (táùx̣tsà yàt) 'Raven House, Gravina Bay ("the-one-we-burned-down-on-the-beach-house")' *BSdL 545, mentioned also in BSdL 37, 124, and recorded by de Laguna in 1933 field notebook 6, p. 1, first ɒa’ux̣, crossed out, then ta’tsyat, also crossed out, then taxtsuyát '"The one we burned down on the beach" -- Gravina Bay -- little village' (the u in most if these transcriptions indicating labialization of the x̣, which is therefore to be read as xw; '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’Xts’LAyahd** some kind of house, at Ktalla *(has heard) L,* **ta’Xts’Ayahd** potlatch house at Bering River, made of ta'xts' *L; see also qahdl and qahdlAyahd. L remembers the form in one other context (for which see also te:k', qahdl , 53.27-28fnL, 54.0fn):* **ta’Xts’LdAya’ q’unh da:X sAqehL** he (qa:dAwi:nah) boated across (from Hawkins Island) in (a makeshift craft of) ta'xts' *("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’Xts’dAya’d da:X sAqehL** he boated across in (a craft made of) ta'xts' *(some kind of bark?) 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,* **'uta:'shiyah** her old father *49.77A,* **'anh sAqe:ts'Akihta:'** the child's father *55.23L,* **sita:'** my father *LMA,* **'idehdah sita:'** my real father *L,* sɔt'ayɪtɬⁿ'iⁿ 'step-mother' [sic] *BSdL 568A,* **sita:' yiLinhinh** my stepfather < he who is my father *L, Rezanov* Сытаатаа 'Дѣдъ Grossvater' **sita:'ta:'** my father's father *(not a standard kinship term, see 'uh1), Furuhjelm* Imata 'woman', *perhaps* **'ima:ta:'** your mother's father *(not a standard kinship term, see 'we:sh; also not a curse) L,* **sita:'GAyu:** my father's relatives, my father etc. (my father and his side of the family) *L,* sitqaⁿta '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 dla:Xta:', gutl'ahta:', tsinhGta:'~, tsALk'(A)ta:', ch'Aq'i:nq'ta:', gu:sAxk'Ata:', kushdAnnta:'~, k'ushk'Ata:', dAxugta:', qe'GAwahta:', qu'Lch'a:q'ta:', XAwa:kihta:', na:XAgta:', nigidahta:'wahya:, li:Lya:q'ta:', and yahd 'i:'ahta:' under main stems, a frequent element in curses:* **'ita:'ma:** your father's mother! *(not a standard kinshipterm, see k'inh) L,* **'ita:'ma:ga'** like your father's mother! *L,* **'ita:'ma:yAku:nch'** your father's mother's thumb! *L,* **'ita:'ma:ga' 'i:lihshAch'e:k'L** (this wood, difficult to split) is crossgrained like your father's mother! *(Billy Dude cursed) 72.36L,* **'ita:'k'inhyAku:nch'ga' GAlAGAta'** live like your father's paternal grandmother's thumb! *A (L cannot explain the origin of these curses as such, but is not reluctant to repeat or discuss them).*

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qa:ta:' *(noun, unclassified)* God < our father *L*: *46.31M, 51.6, 6, 7, 18,18, 18, 18, 39, 70.2A,* **qa:ta:'a:n' shA'a'ch'Linu:** those who have come upon Our Father *(i.e. those who have gone to heaven) 51.73A,* **qa:ta:' 'u:nAX k'udAda'ya:g** Lent < Our Father's torment *L.*

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-yA-ta:' *(kinship noun, with yA-prefix here meaning 'in-law')* father-in-law *(man's or woman's)*: *2a.34M,* **siyAta:'** my father-in-law *LA,* **'uyAta:'** (*not* **'uwA-**) his (or her) father-in-law *LM.*

tanh1

tanh *(noun, unclassified)* stuffing (grass) inside shoes, socks *L,* shoe-stuffing, half-socks *A*: **tanhyAq' 'iXa' GALA'e'dz** put your stockings on! < put your feet in your stockings! *L,* **tanh siXa' qi:dAlah qu'xdAtl'ih** I'll wrap it (e.g. burlap) around my feet as stockings *L.*

tanh2 *(also tan in verb, probably analogical; noun tanh probably primary)*

tanh *(noun)* wave 1. *(classification indefinite)*: *Rezanov* Танъ 'Бурунъ Brandung', *Anonymous* Тта 'Бурунъ', *Galushia Nelson* taⁿ, *Old Man Dude* t'aⁿ 'waves' *BSdL 537,* **tanh** wave(s) *L.*

2. *(Xdl-class)*: *as o of postposition: 37a.21, 72.39L,* **tanhXAdla:yAq' yAX dAwe:X** it's swimming around in the waves *L; with suffixed adjective:* **tanhXAdli:'nuw** big waves *L; in compounds:* **tanhXAdla:yAquh** small waves *L, see also tanhAyahsh; as S:* **tanh XAdla:q'u'tl'** wave is breaking *L,* **tanh XAdla:sLi'AdzL** ocean swells rolled *L.*

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3. *(dl-class, status uncertain, dl- perhaps thematic as in dl-tanh, and/or in error for Xdl-)*: t'cílàcia qi' táⁿ ɒlìnàx qə̀tłà·tł "'Where Old Raven was walking behind the waves" (i.e. beachcombing)' *BSdL 261, 259* **ch'i:lehshiyah qi' tanhdli:nAX G(AL)a:L** *(?, **L**-classifier not expected)* where Raven was walking in the waves, t'áⁿ t'łinaqt qəχ̣ła·tł or t'áⁿ ɒłinaqd Ǫauχ̣ła·tł "'I am going behind the waves", (Raven's song (waves behind I-am-going)' *BSdL 261, 559* **tanhdli:nAGd GAx(L)a:L** I'm walking along inside the breakers, *cf. 72.39L; in compound:* **tanhdla:yahsh** (= **tanhAyahsh**, **tanhXAdla:yahsh**, *probably also influenced by* **'anhdla:yahsh** *and* **dl-tan**) tidal debris *L; as S:* **tanh qi' lAG dla:Lya:'** where waves lap ashore *L (cf. dl-tan).*

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4. *(unclassified)*: *as S:* **tanh qa' 'i:'yahL** waves are rolling *M,* a wave is coming *L,* **tanh 'idAGAle:L** it's getting wavy *L,* **tanh xitl'ga' GALe'L** wave is getting white(cap) *L; in compound, see tanhAyahsh.*

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tanhAyahsh *(also tanhXAdla:yahsh, tanhdla:yahsh, cf. 'anhdla:yahsh)* tidal debris (small debris, mainly vegetable, left ashore at floodmark) < waves' child *L, 56.22L.*

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tanhAyahsh k'ut'u' qi' k'u:Leh *(perhaps a place-name) "good place to camp"* < where there's lots of tidal debris, driftwood *L.*

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-tanh *(noun, unclassified)* wave (made by o): **k'utanh** wave made by something *L.*

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dl-tan *(stem-variation probably analogical)* S (wave) move: **'u:ch' dla:GAta:nL** a wave is coming there *L,* **'u:ch' qu'dli:tanh** a wave will come there *L,* **'u:d dla:sAtanhL** a wave came there *L.*

tuh *(once recorded tunh, nasalization probably by assimilation from prefix)*

-l-tuh *(noun, l-class?, with thematized l-, never realized -lA-, and thematized indefinite possessor, L rejecting e.g. *'u:ntuh)* salmon-milt: **k'u:ntuh** *(recorded* **k'u:ntunh** *A,* **k'u:tuh** *LM,* **k'u:ntuh** *LA,* **k'u:ntuh** *probably the correct form)* semen (of salmon), salmon-"milk" *LMA,* **k'ulAt'u'** lots (of salmon-milk) *L. (Cf. dza'L for semen of fish other than salmon.)*

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. sha´~shah)*

k'u-'-LA-tuh(**~-t'u´**) *(with thematized indefinite O k'u-, semitransitive, or -'- perhaps originally negative Neuter prefix, see IUPAL)* S be lazy: *21b.73fnA, Rezanov* Коутлитунъ 'Лѣнивой faul' **k'u'Lituh** it's (or you're) lazy, **k'u'Litunhinh** he's lazy, a lazy person *LA,* **dik' k'u'LAtuhGinh** he's not lazy *LM,* **k'u'xLituh** I'm lazy *LM,* **k'u'Litunhin'luw** big lazy lout *M,* **dA'u:d k'u'Litunhinh** OK let him be lazy *L (Active and Neuter optatives and Neuter imperfective would all be homophonous); with o-ch' 'toward o':* **'Awch' k'u'Litunhinh** he's lazy about it *M; with y-anatomical:* **'uch' k'u'yixLituh** my hands are too lazy to do it < I'm manually lethargic toward it *L.*

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k'u-'-LA-tuh(**~-t'u´**)**-g** *(as above, but -g-repetitive thematized, required in all modes and aspects except Neuter imperfective and optatives)* S become lazy: **k'u'GALAtuhgLinh** he's getting lazy *L,* **k'u'GALAtu'gLinh** (*or* **-tuhg**) he's getting lazy *M,* **dik' k'u'GALAtuhgLGinh** he's not getting lazy *L,* **k'u'qu'xLAtuhg** I'll get lazy *L,* **k'u'qu'LAtuhginh** *(or* **k'u'qe'LAtuhginh**, *which would imply a theme* ***'i-LA-tuh-g*** *with indeterminate O besides the* ***k'u****-indefinite; L much prefers the forms with* ***-qu'****-, but claims she has heard others say* ***-qe'****-; it is not unlikely that such analogical forms would occur with this difficult theme)* he'll get lazy *L,* **dik' k'u'qu'LAtuhgGinh** he won't be lazy *M,* **k'u'sLituhgLinh** he got lazy *L,* **k'u'sLitu'gLinh** he got lazy *A,* **dik' k'u'xsLAtuhgLG** I didn't get lazy *L,* **k'u'GALAtuhg** get lazy! *L,* **da: k'u'Lituhg** let's be lazy *L,* **gi:wa: 'AxdAlah da:X k'u'xLAtu:gk'** when I start to drink beer I (cust) get lazy *L; with o-Xa':* **yAX 'ute:XXa' k'u'qu'LAtuhg** (*or* **-tu'g**) it (dog, child) will get lazy from lying around *L,* **gi:wa: 'ulahXa' k'u'xLituhgL** I got lazy from drinking beer *L; with o-*

lehd: **'Aw gi:wa:lehd q'uhnu: k'u'GALAtuhgL** 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) *Nomally, with o-d 'o as middle agent in causative construction',* o-**d k'u-'-L-tuh-g** S make o lazy: **sid k'u'GALtuhgL** it's making me lazy *L,* **'i: sid k'u'Gi:LtuhgL** *you* are making me lazy *L,* **'ida'ya:lAX 'id k'u'GAxLtuhgLGdAwa:** before I make you too lazy *L.* (2) *Highly irregular and anomalous, but sufficiently authenticated,* **k'u-'**-O-**L-tuh-g** S make O lazy, *with double O, personal O of fully transitive, and k'u-indefinite of semitransitive:* **k'u'xuGi:LtuhgL** you're making me lazy *L (verified on two different occasions),* **k'u'xusALtuhgL** it made me lazy *L,* **k'u'iqe'xLtuhg** I'll make you lazy (by doing too much for you) *L.* (3) *With personal O replacing thematized k'u-,* O-**'-L-tuh-g** S make O lazy: **xu'GALtuhgL** it's making me lazy *L (later rejected or accepted only reluctantly by L),* **'itl' tsin'dAle:l xu'GALtuhgL** talking to you is making me lazy *L. The correctness of the theme in this form, without thematized k'u-, is quite doubtful.*

tu'ch'

-tu'ch' pl. (or sg. with another involved) animate S lie, abe prone, in bed, sleep: (1) *Active perfective, used with force of Neuter,* pl. (etc.) S lie, be prone, in bed, sleep: *18.37L, 51.61A,* **sAtu'ch'Linu:** they're in bed *L.* (2) *Neuter perfective, usually with o-q' 'on o':* **'u:d da:q' 'i:tu'ch'Linu:** they're lying (on something, surface) over there *L.* (3) *With ya:n' 'down', modes and aspects freely used,* pl. (etc.) S lie down, go to bed: *18.25L, 25.27, 37b.78A, 39.2L, 49.131A,* **ya:n' 'AlAXtu'ch'** pl. lie down! *LM,* **ya:n' da: qa'tu'ch'** we'll lie down *LM,* **ya:n' GAtu'ch'X 'utl' dAxlinhinu:** I told them to lie down *L,* **'itl' ya:n' qu'xtu'ch'** I'll go to bed with you sg. *L; transitive (causative):* **ya:n' qu'xLtu'ch'** I'll put them to bed *L,* **ya:n' lAXiqe'xLtu'ch'** I'll make you pl. go to bed *L.* (4) *With expanded stem,* **-tu:ch'** pl. (etc.) S lie (etc.) in successive acts *(not confined to the customary):* Active imperfective, used in customary or ethical sense: **'a:ndshAl sAqe:GAyu: tu:ch'** is it here the children sleep (ordinarily)? *L,* **'u:d da: tu:ch'** we (ordinarily) sleep there *L; with ya' 'completely, to a state of rest', attested only in 49.71, 71fnA, once apparently in the Neuter imperfective repetitive, a very rare form; customary:* **'u:d da: tu:ch'k'** we (cust) sleep there *L.*

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'istu:ch' *(gerundive, with expanded stem)* act of pl. animate subjects lying: **qa: sALga'L 'Al 'istu:ch'** we're tired of lying down < this lying has tired us *L.*

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'uya' 'ishtu'ch'L *(noun, unclassified)* blanket *L, Rezanov* Уештучль 'Одѣяло Bettdecke'. *Derived from gerundive, with -L-instrumental, o-ya' 'in o (with opening at top)'.*

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'uyAq' k'utu'ch'L *attested only in Anonymous* Уякутуцтль 'Одеяло' ('blanket') < people sleep in it. *With -L-instrumental. (Cf. preceding.)*

t'its' *(L "has heard" t'Ats', but "wouldn't say"; expanded t'i:ts' or t'e:ts')*

t'its' *(noun, d-class)* ice *LM, 16.5, 6, 7, 28M, 45a.11L, 45b.11M, 50.20A, 57.9, 12., 22, 27, 62.28G*: *Rezanov* Тыццъ 'Людъ Eis', *Anonymous* Тыцъ 'Ледъ', *Khromchenko* Тыцъ 'Ледъ', *Wrangell* Ттетцъ 'Eis', *Furuhjelm* Titz 'ice', Titzl 'thunder' (**t'its'…** ?), *Galushia Nelson* t'ıts, *Old Man Dude* t'ıtc 'ice' *BSdL 538,* **t'its' yiLeh** it's icy *L,* **k'AdAt'u' t'its'** lots of ice *M,* **k'uda'luw t'its'** big hunk of ice *M,* **t'its' di:q'u'tl'L** (river-)ice is broken *L,* **t'its' dAxXuhLg** I'm shovelling the ice (clearling for skating) *L,* **t'its' 'u:d dAsAtahL** (*or* **-'ahL**) a piece of ice is there *L,* **t'its' sich' di:ta'** (*or* **-'a'**) give me a piece of ice! *L (choice of stem no indication of shape of piece of ice).*

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t’its’ga’ ’i:t’eh *(noun, unclassified?)* glass < it's like ice *M, Rezanov* Тицкоэте 'Штофъ ('damask, coarse') schwerer Seiden-Stoff' **t’its’gwä’ ’i:t’eh**.

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lX-t’its’ *(noun, unclassified?)* hail: *Rezanov* Нахатецъ 'Градъ Hagel' **nAXAt’its’**, *Galushia Nelson* làxát’ɪts *or* làxát’ɪts 'hail' *BSdL 538,* **lAXAt’its’** hail *M, Rezanov* Нахатецъ яндасаяль 'Градъ идетъ es hagelt', **lAXAt’its’ ya:n’ dAsa’yahL** it hailed < hail came down *LS. (Presumably lAXAt'its' lX-class would mean 'hailstone'.)*

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gdl-t’its’ *(noun, gdl-class)* icicle: **gudla:t’its’gudla:’a:w GALe’L** it's becoming a long icicle *L.*

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dA-t’its’ S freeze: *50.22, 24A, 57.6, 8G, 61.10A,* **dA’u:d ’idit’its’** let it freeze *L,* **q’e’ ’AdAt’i:ts’k’** it (cust) freezes again *L,* **qa’ sdit’its’L** it's frozen *L; with -y-anatomical:* **yixsdit’its’L** my hand froze, got frostbitten *L; with class-mark for S:* **dla:sdit’its’L** it *('anh 'ground', dzAwAL 'net')* froze *L; with Gd-thematic 'place': Rezaov* Катъ-эститцль *(ъ-э superscript insert for crossed-out symbol, illegible, perhaps ъ)* 'Не гладко rauh, uneben (nicht glatt)' **GAdisdit’its’L** it (place) froze, **GAdAGAdAt’its’L** it (place) is becoming frozen *L,* **qu’GAdAdAt’its’** it (place) will freeze *L, Anonymous* Катататицъ 'Осень' ('fall, autumn') **GAdAdAt’its’** it (place) is freezing, **GAdAdAt’e:ts’k’, GAdAdAt’i:ts’k’** it (place) (cust) freezes *L. Transitive (causative)* O-**L-t'its'** S freeze O, make O icy, turn O to ice: **qu’xLt’its’** I'll make it icy *L,* **’ALt’its’** make ice of it! *L.*

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sLit’its’L *(noun, unclassified?)* rock-candy, sugar-candy *(to be sucked with tea) L. Nominalized Active perfective of passive of transitive (causative) of preceding.*

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LA-t’its’ S freeze in such a way that its position or material relation with another object is affected: **’AwX ’iLit’its’L** it's frozen to it *L,* **’Awya’ sLit’its’L** it's frozen into it (o with broad opening at top) *L,* **qa’ sLit’its’L** it froze and came up out *L,* **qa:nch’ GALAt’its’L** it's freezing and comping up; *with class-mark for S:* **ya:nAX diLit’its’L** it (tsAdl board) is frozen to the ground *L,* **’iLX diLit’its’L** they (tsAdl boards) are frozen together *L,* **qa’ disLit’its’L** it froze so hard under it (tsAdl board) that it came up *L,* **ya:nAX qi:nLit’its’L** it (k'uXehL rope) is frozen to the ground *L,* **’iLX lAXALit’its’L** they (berries) are frozen together *L.*

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da’ ’i:t’its’ *(noun, unclassified?)* frozen salmon roe, put up for winter *L. Nominalized Neuter imperfective (?) of theme -t'its', otherwise unattested, with da' 'into container for storage'.*

t’ich’~t’Ach’ *(expanded t'i:ch')*

t’ich’-L~t’Ach’-(g-)L *(noun, unclassified, with -L-instrumental, optional -g-repetitive)* prop (especially small stick for propping open drying fish): **t’Ach’L** stick, about 6 inches long, for propping open drying fish, made of alder *A,* **t’Ach’gL** *LM,* **t’Ach’gL’a’luw** big fish-prop *M,* **t’ich’gL** *65.5A.*

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O-**t’ich’(-L)~-t’Ach’(-L)** S prop O (especially drying fish, open): *65.5A (expanded t'i:ch'),* **shit’ich’L** I propped it (drying fish) open *A,* **qu’xLt’ich’L** *(L-classifier probably in error)* I'll prop it (drying fish) open *L; with gl-class-mark for O and ya'X 'upwards',* **ya'X** O-**gl-t'ich'-L~-t'Ach'-L** S prop O (liquid) up *(magically): 11.91, 91A.*

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'i:nsdit'ich'Lga' 'i:nLilinhinh *nickname of a wide-cheeked Chugach woman* < she has a face like it (her cheeks) have been propped apart (with a t'ich'L inside her mouth) *L. Active perfective passive of preceding with l-anatomical.*

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***Lena*lAt'ich'L** *nickname of same woman as preceding L. Bare theme suffixed.*

t'ik'2 *(perhaps to be identified with t'ik'~t'Ak'1, sparsely attested)*

LA-t'ik' : *Rezanov* Слитъ-экль 'Треснуть platzen' **sLit'ik'L** it craked(?), it burst(?).

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ya' d-L-t'ik' *(intransitive?, d-mark may be optional thematic with ya' 'completely' or d-class-mark for ts'a' 'alluvial mud flats')* : **ya' dAsALt'ik'L** (dry expanse of mud flats) is cracked from parching *L.*

t'ik'~t'Ak'1 *(L always t'ik', A usually t'ik', G t'ik' once, t'Ak' four times, M, S, Furuhjelm, Jacobsen, Galushia Nelson t'Ak', Wrangell мек; M expands t'e:k', but L prefers t'i:k')*

t'ik'-~t'Ak'-L *(noun, with -L-instrumental)* 1. *(d-class)* arrow: *7.26, 25.130A, 27a.11L, 27b.17A, Wrangell* Текль 'Pfeil', *Furuhjelm* takl 'arrow', *Galushia Nelson* t'ə'ktł 'arrow' *BSdL 549, Jocobsen* tak'l 'arrow' *cited in BSdL 104,* **t'Ak'L** arrow *MAS,* **t'ik'Lda:X GALt'ik'** shoot it with an arrow! *L,* **t'ik'L shich' di:ta'** give me an arrow! *L,* **t'ik'L 'u:d dAsAtahL** *(not -'ahL)* an arrow is there *L,* **t'ik' 'ulu' 'Ash di:'inhinh** an arrow is sticking clear through him *L, Galushia Nelson* t'ə́ktɬítɬ t'à'tɬ 'arrow feather', **t'Ak'L'ALt'ahL**, t'ə'ktɬítɬ tà' 'quiver' **t'Ak'L'ALtah** *BSdL 549.*

2. *(Unclassified)* bow-and-arrow: *27a.3L, 27b.3A, 34.92, 126L, 37b.13A, 64.2, 3, 3, 14, 16G, Furuhjelm* Takhl 'bow' **t'Ak'L**.

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O-**L-t'ik'~-t'Ak'** S shoot (and hit) O with arrow: *25.168A, 27a.5, 6, 7, 14, 16, 22L, 27b.8, 10, 14, 15, 16, 16, 16A, 64.14fnG,* **'iqe'xLt'ik'** I'll shoot you *L,* **'ALt'ik'** shoot it! *L,* **t'ik'Lda:X GALt'ik'** shoot it with an arrow! *L,* **siX k'usALt'Ak'Linh** his arrow grazed me < he shot something in punctual contact with me *M,* **lahdz siLt'ik'L** I grazed it < I shot forward of it *L,* **xuLt'e:k'k'inh** he (cust) shoots me *M,* **xuLt'i:k'k'inh** he (cust) shoots me *(preferable to preceding) L, repetitive:* **xLt'Ak'ginh** I keep shooting him *M; with d-class-mark for O:* **ts'a' q'Aw dAsALt'ik'L** it was the mud your arrow hit *27.21A; with indeterminate O,* **'i-L-t'ik'** S shoot arrow (not hitting any specific O): **'uXa:X 'isiLt'ik'L** I shot and missed it < shot wide of it *L,* **'uch'a:q' 'isiLt'ik'L** I aimed and shot straight at it *L, repetitive:* **ya'X 'ixLt'ik'g** I keep shooting arrow up in the air *L, detransitivized with LA-classifier:* **'ulu' 'Ash 'ixsLit'ik'L** I shot a hole though it *L,* **'u:dAX 'Ash 'isLit'ik'Linh** he shot an arrow which whizzed by there *L, repetitive:* **'u:ch' 'iqe'xLAt'ik'g** I'll keep shooting thither *L, with perambulative:* **t'ik'Lda:X 'a:wAyu: yAX 'iLAt'ik'X** he goes around indiscriminately shooting arrows *L,* **yAX 'iLAt'Ak'Xinh** he's shooting arrows (about) *M, Passive:* **'iqe'dAt'ik'** (**-t'Ak'** *M*) you'll get shot *L,* **xusLit'ik'L, xusdit'ik'** (**-t'Ak'-** *M*) I got shot *(no preference between -Li- and -di-) L,* **lahdz xusLit'ik'L** I got grazed *L.*

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'iLlAXa:n'd yAX k'u'Lit'Ak'L(X) *(noun)* shooting match < one is shooting arrows (about) in competition with one another *(with analogical -X of Active imperfective of perambulative). Attested from Galushia Nelson* ìtɬìχán^{n}t yìxɢɔ̀tɬìt'ə̀ktɬχ^{a} *or* ìtɬìχa^{n}• yìxɢɔ̀tɬìt'ə̀ktɬx 'shooting match' *BSdL 551.*

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O-**’-L-t’ik’** *(semitransitive, attested only once)* S shoot at O with arrow (may or may not hit O): **t’ik’Lda:X ’u’GALt’ik’** shoot at it! *L.*

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O-**gdl-LA-t’ik’** *(attested only once, perhaps a momentary confusion with t'Aq'1, q.v.)* : **ya’X gAdla:LAt’ik’** flick water with your fingers! *L.*

t’AL *(perhaps reduced form of t'ahL, attested in one form only)*

t’ALXAyAX 1. *(noun, unclassified) "little things that lie under the leaves of plants and flowers" A (as explanation for personal name (cf. 2. below); not entirely analyzable, o-yAX 'under o').*

2. *(personal-name) Jennie Rosenberg, Alaganik trader's wife LAS (A etymologizes 'under a leaf, little twigs that lie there').*

t’Aq’1 *(perhaps to be identified with t'Aq'2, and/or reduced form of t'a'q')*

LA-t’Aq’ small S jump (in flitting hops): **qALAt’Aq’** pl. small things are jumping *M, repetitive:* **qa:nch’ LAt’Aq’g** (tiny fish) keep jumping (up to surface) *L, with perambulative:* **yAX LAt’Aq’X** it's jumping around *LM, repetitive:* **yAX LAt’Aq’g** it keeps jumping around *L.*

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qALAt’Aq’, GALAt’Aq’ *(noun, unclassified)* 1. shrimp; minnow, or any tiny fish *LA,* grasshopper (?) *M, Galushia Nelson* gətɬɔ́təq’ *or* gətɬəɒə́q 'sand flea' *BSdL 540. Both forms well authenticated, originally probably more properly qA-; place-name* Crab Island *in Yakutat Bay, de Laguna* qat’łataq, k’utɬadag^{w}, *probably* **qALAt’Aq’**.

2. *(place-name)* **qALAt’Aq’** *Crab Island in Yakutat Bay* < shrimp; minnow, or any tiny fish, *attested in de Laguna* qat’łataq, k’utɬadag^{w}.

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O-**d-L-t’Aq’** *(causative transitive of above, with d-thamtic 'free fall' ?)* : **ya’X ’Aw dAsALt’Aq’Linh** he flicked it away with his fingers *(third finger against inside of thumb) (ya'X 'up, trajectory') L; repetitive, with gl-class-mark 'liquid' for O:* **sich’ ’Aw gAdla:Lt’Aq’ginh** he keeps splattering it (water) at me by flicking open his hand *L (cf. also gdl-LA-t'ik' under t'ik'~t'Ak'1.*

t’Aq’2 *(perhaps to be identified with t'Aq'1, and/or reduced form of t'a'q')*

-d-L-t’Aq’-L *(noun, unclassified, with -L-instrumental(?))* collarbone, *see also 24.98A*: **k’udALt’Aq’L** collarbone (of something), wishbone *LMA,* collar *M,* **k’u’luw k’udALt’Aq’L** big collarbone *L.*

t’AXs~t’AXgs *(S t'AXs, LA t'AXgs, A once t'AXGs, unknown to M; if t'AXs, which L rejects, is originally the more correct, the form may be a regular development from the phonologically unusual Proto-Athapaskan-Eyak *t'AXs, and t'AXgs may be the result of metathesis from t'AXs-g; -Xs or -Xgs are in any case a highly irregular and unique stem-final cluster for Eyak; t'AXs or t'AXgs may be a loan from early Athapaskan, but not from modern Ahtna t’αγαs, which would be expected to yield Eyak *t'AXAs; cottonwood is rare in the Cordova Eyak area, and the word is though to be a loan; Tlingit dáɢ^{w}, dúɢ 'cottonwood' may also have been in use in Eyak as a loan, see dAGLA'eh)*

t’AXs-~t’AXgs(-g) *(noun, d-class, often with -g-repetitive thematized, frequent with nouns with stem-final cluster)* cottonwood: *Anonymous* Такчъ 'С?ера еловая или лиственничная ('coniferous or deciduous ? (tree)')' **t’AXsg** *S,* **t’AXGs** *A (L rejects),* **t’AXgsg** *LA, 68.39A, ("sounds better than t'AXsg" L),* **t’AXgs** 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),* **t’AXgsdAXa’ da: k’uqa’Lle:ch’L** we'll go berrypicking by the cottonwood (at Strawberry Point) *(L's mother used to say) L,* **t’AXgsga’ ’AXya’ li’ sAqehL** they (ancestors of Eyaks) descended (Copper River) in boats (made of something) like cottonwood *68.2A,* **k’uda’luw t’AXgsg** big cottonwood *68.30A.*

t’u *(form uncertain: L t'u unless the one Inceptive perfective is analogical, in which case the stem is perhaps invariable t'uh, as might be implied by L's rejection of -t'u:G as an alternative in the Inceptive imperfective negative; M is inconsistent, once using -t'uh-L- in the Active perfective, implying t'u or invariable t'uh, and twice using -t'u'-L, implying t'u´, of which L disapproves, and which is perhaps influenced by t'e´~t'u´. L disapproves of M's glosses in most cases; there are perhaps two different stems confused here.)*

O-**’-t’u** S make fun of O, S scorn, disdain O *L,* S find O repulsive, disgusting *M (of which L disapproves)*: **’anh xu’wAt’uh**, **xa’t’unhinh** he's making fun of me *L,* **k’u’wAt’unhinh dAXunh** a scornful person *L,* **’i’xt’uh** I'm disgusted, repelled by you *M (L rejects gloss),* **dik’ ’i’xt’uhG** I'm not making fun of you *L,* **’i’qe’xt’uh** I'll make fun of you *L,* **dik’ ’i’qe’xt’uhG** *(not -t'u:G)* I won't make fun of you *L,* **xu’GAt’u:Linh** he's making fun of me (all day) *L,* **xu’sAt’u’Linh** he's repelled by me, doesn't want to be around me *M (L rejects),* **xu’sAt’uhLinh** he made fun of me *L,* **’u’sit’uhL** 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’lit’unhinh** let's make fun of him *L,* **dA’i:gih ’a’t’unhinh** make fun of him yourself too! *L; reflexive:* **’u:ch’ ’Adu’xsdit’u’L** I changed my mind about going there, decided not to go *M (L approves, but presumably would change the form to -t'uhL); passive:* **’u’dAt’unhinh** he's repulsive, one is repelled by him *M,* **’i’dAt’uh** you're being made fun of *L,* **’i’qe’dAt’uh** you'll be scorned *L.*

t’ux *(Rezanov mex and mox (?); expanded t'e:x)*

-t’ux *(basic intransitive, but not attested without class- or thamtic 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-t’ux** S be taut, tight, stretched: **gAdi:t’uxL** it's stretched tight *M,* **siq’ gAdi:t’uxL** they (clothes) are tight on me *L,* **dik’ siq’ gAda’t’uxLG** they (clothes) aren't tight on me *L,* **gAdAGAt’uxL** it's getting tight, taut *M; with qi:l-class-mark for S:* **dide’L qi:dla:Lq’a:g ’u:dAX lAG qi:li:t’uxL** electric light wires are strung (stretched) by there up (to Orca Cannery) *L (cf. transitives);* **qi:gAdli:t’uxL** it (rope, line) is tight *L (qi:l-+gd-),* **qi:gAdla:sAt’uxL** line got tight *L (cf. transitives).*

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O-**L-t’ux** *(causative transitive of above)* S pull O tight, S tug on O, S hold O: *25.15, 15, 27b.5, 28.15, 15A, 38.13LM, 49.36, 51.78A, Rezanov* Гольтохли 'Звалъ rief' *perhaps* **GALt’uxLinh** he's holding him *(but cf. dux),* **GAxLt’uxL** I'm holding it *M,* **tsin’da’d GALt’uxLinh** he's holding the end of it *L,* **’iLt’ux** hold it! *M,* hold onto it! *L,* **’ALt’ux** pull on it! *L,* **ya’X ’iLt’ux** hold it up! *L,* **LinhGdah ’iLt’ux** hold it still! *L,* **’uk’ahsht’e’ts’G ’iLt’ux** grab it (chair) by the leg! *L,* **qu’xLt’ux** I'll hold it, I'll hang onto it *L,* **sisha:w sALt’uxLinh** he pulled my hair *L,* **’Aw Lt’e:xk’inh** he (cust) pulls on it *L (but L prefers unexpanded 'Aw Lt'uxk'inh), repetitive:* **xLt’uxg** I keep tugging on it *L; with l-anatomical:* **’iLyAq’ ’i:nsiLt’uxL** I grabbed both his cheeks and

pulled apart *(angry gesture) L; with class-marks for O:* **di'Lt'ux** hold onto it (door)! *L,* **'iLq'Asd di'Lt'ux** push, hold the two ends apart! *L (d-class O ?),* **qi:li'Lt'ux** hold onto it (rope)! *L,* **qa:yahd qi:li'lAXLt'ux** pl. stay tug-of-war against us! < pl. pull rope out of our hands! *L, repetitive:* **qi:lAsALt'uxgL** he tugged on it (rope) *L,* **lAX q'Aw da: qi:dla:Lt'e:xk'** this is how we (cust) tighten it (rope) *L (qi:l-+d- or +dl-),* **qi:gAdli:Lt'ux** stretch it (rope, line) tight *L (qi:l-+gd-),* **da: qi:gAdla:yiLt'ux** let's pull it (rope) tight *L (gd- or d- inconsistently combined with qi:l-, no observable semantic effect, cf. intransitives); with perambulative:* **yAX qi:dla:LAt'uxX** 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'lAXLAt'ux** pl. play tug-of-war! < pl. pull rope out of each other's hands! *L,* **'iLsha:w GALAt'uxLinu:** they're pulling each other's hair *L; indirect reflexive:* **ch'a' 'AdX GALAt'uxLinh** I'm holding him (baby) close against myself *L; passive:* **xuGAdAt'uxL** I'm being held *L.*

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LA-t'ux S hold onto something for purpose of maintaining own position, S clig, S clutch at something, S reach, stretch self towards something: *49.70A (colorful example in Neuter perfective, similar to following),* **XAwa:lAgahyAXAch' GALAt'uxL** she's clinging onto the underside of a dog-corpse *(contemptuous for promiscuous woman) L,* **'uX GuxLAt'uxL** I'm clinging to it, hanging onto it *M,* **'ut'e'ts'G GALAt'ux** hold onto it (to help yourself get up)! *L,* **'uch' xsLit'uxL** I stretched to reach it, reached out for it! *L,* **'uch' 'ALAt'ux(g)** reach (repeatedly) for it! *L,* **'uch' ya'X 'ALAt'ux(g)** reach (repeatedly) up high for it! *L,* **'uch' 'ALAt'e:x** reach for it! *(with expanded stem, "some people would use those words") L.*

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'Adk'udAt'ux, 'AdgudAt'ux *(noun, unclassified)* vest *L, Rezanov* Аткутетехъ 'Кофта' *(not in Radlov, 'woman's jacket'). Both forms appear well attested, each recorded twice from L. The underlying theme is probably indirect reflexive 'Ad-d O-dA-t'ux with k'u-indefinite S 'one pulls it tight over self' (cf. 'Adti:ndA'eh under 'e for parallel construction with unexpected dA-classifier instead of LA-). The variant with -gu- is probably analogical, influenced by 'AdgudAsa'q' (q.v. under sa'q'), gd-t'ux above, and perhaps gd-anatomical 'rump'.*

t'inh

-t'inh *(kinship noun, non-ascending)* man's sister's child: *61.95A, Wrangell* Иттенъ 'Vetter' **'it'inh** your (man's) sister's child *(or perhaps -tinh, q.v.)* siti^{n} 'older sister's daughter, younger sister's daughter (man speaking)' *BSdL 567A,* sɪt'ɪ^{n} 'nephew (sister's son, man speaking)' *BSdL 263,* **sit'inh** my nephew, niece *G,* my sister's child (man speaking) *LA,* **sit'inhGAyu:** my sister's children (man speaking) *L,* **'ut'inhGAyu:** his nephews etc. *57.18G.*

t'e´~t'u´ *(irregular ablauring stem, t'e in all Neuters except Neuter imperfective negative, t'u 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´~t'u´ indicates a condition to be described; t'e´~t'u´ is accordingly very frequent in the Neuter imperfective, le in the Active imperfective; t'e´~t'u´ 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´~t'u´ and le in many of the constructions in which both are attested; t'e´~t'u´ is sharply differentiated*

syntactically from Le('), which, among other things, requires a nominal complement)

-t'e´~-t'u´ S be, become (a certain way): 1. *With k'e:-(chi:-)d 'how (ever)?' (see also -le 2.)*: *in Neuter imperfective,* how (ever) be S?, how (ever) do 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,* **k'e:d 'i:t'eh** 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.*

2. *With wAX 'thus' (see also -le 4a.)* a. S be thus, become thus, end up thus, S (event) occur as expected, S (deal) be 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, 72.14L,* **wAX q'Aw 'i:t'eh** that's how it is, it is so *M,* **dA'u:d wAX 'a'lit'eh** let it be that way *M,* **wAX q'Aw sAt'u'L** that's how it turned out *L,* **wAX qa't'uh**, **wAX qu'wAt'uh** it'll be thus *L,* **dik' wAX 'Ast'u'LG** it didn't turn out that way *L; transitive (causative):* **wAX siLt'u'L** I made it (be) that way *M.*

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2b. *With wAX and locatives and postpositions,* S live, dwell, stay, be in place *(in Active perfective,* S settle, take up residence) *(not here interchangeable with -le)*: *3.7M, 10.6, 57, 259, 11.160A, 12.2, 13G, 16.16, 26M, 21b.66, 25.139 (with q'e' 'again' and dA-classifier), 28.135, 33.6A, 42.4, 5L, 49.16, 107A, 56.6L (with q'e' 'again' and dA-classifier), 57.3G, 60.35, 35, 40, 61.116A, 62.3, 11, 19G, 68.13, 13, 14, 43, 44, 61 (with q'e' 'again' and dA-classifier), 63, 63, 64, 69.5, 13,* t'síyúq'àt úχí·tìⁿ 'living among black bears' *BSdL 276, 558* **ts'iyuhqa'd wAX 'i:t'inhinh, da:d wAX 'i:t'eh** where do you live?, where are you staying? *M,* **XAli'd wAX 'i:t'eh** he lives downriver *L,* **silAG wAX 'i:t'eh** he lives upland of me *L,* **lahq' wAX 'i:t'inhinh** he lives in town *M,* **djiLqahya'd wAX 'i:t'inhinh** he lives at Bering River *L; frequently with o-Xa' 'in intimate relation with o',* S stay with o, S live with o, S be married to o: *10.78, 79A, 17.4, 7, 7LM, 20.28, 82, 21b.65, 23.49, 50, 24.5, 16, 17, 25.16, 102 (with q'e' 'again' and dA-classifier, 'remarried'), 154, 28.17A, 34.4M, 42.1 (Neuter subjunctive), 3, 48.1L (with q'e' and dA-classifier, 'remarried'), 49.106A,* **dik' 'Al qa:ta:'Xa' wAX qi'yit'u:G** you won't end up staying with Our Father *(i.e. you won't go to Heaven) 51.18A,* **'anhXa' wAX sAt'u'Linh** he went to live with her *M,* **siXa' wAX 'i:t'inhinh** he (or she) is married to me, he's living with me *L,* **dik' 'iXa' wAX qu'xt'uhG** (*or* **-t'u:G**) I won't marry you *(especially a woman would say this, see 'e)* L; *with o-tl' 'with o', no clear difference in meaning from, but less frequent than, o-Xa': 10.131A, 47b.1M, 47c.42L, 49.96A; indirect reciprocal: 16.17M,* **giyahya'd 'iLtl' wAX 'idit'eh** they lived together in the water *16.3M.*

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2c. *Transitive (causative)* **wAX** O-**L-t'e** S keep O: *12.16G, 65.13A; indirect reflexive* S wear O: *47b.36M, 47c.44L, Rezanov* Лядохкоатльте 'Одѣваться ankledein, sich' **la'd wAX k'wa'LAt'eh** wear something! *or* **la'd k'a' 'a'Lit'eh** you should wear it, **la'd wAX 'a'LAt'eh** wear it! *L,* **ya:q'd wAX 'ixLit'eh** I'm wearing it on my wrist *L,* **'Adq' wAX 'a'LAt'eh** wear it! *L; reflexive* o-**Xa' wAX 'Ad-LA**-t'**e**´~-**t'u**´ S stay with o (for ulterior motive): *9.1, 2, 10.79A; passive,* S be kept, worn: *9.146, 11.10A, 63.17G,* **'i:nda:'q' wAX dAt'uh** it is worn over the face; a mask *(Active imperfective with force of customary) L.*

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2d. *Transitive (causative) with wAX 'thus', o-ch' 'to o' and d-class-mark for O (da:na: 'money'),* S owe money: **da:na: 'ich' wAX dixiLt'eh** I owe you money *LM,* **dik' da:na: 'ich' wAX da'xLt'uhG** I don't owe you money *L.*

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2e. *Miscellaneous with wAX 'thus'*: **'iLyAq' wAX 'i:t'eh** it (e.g. box) is coming apart (at a natural seam) *L,* **'uxi:ya'Xda:d 'Awa: li'X wAX 'i:t'inhinh** his chin is dimpled < it is thus in a

depression at his chin *M,* **sitl' LinhGda:d wAX 'i:t'inhinh** he's related (by kinship) to me < he lives in one place with me *L.*

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3. *With -dah adverbializer (see also -le 11.), e.g. with 'idah 'fine, nice, OK'*: *9.31, 11.162A, Anonymous and Baranov* Ытагитѣ 'Здоровый' ('healthy'), *Furuhjelm* Itante (< *итаите ?) 'affection', *Rezanov* Итаильни *(-льни written over crossed-out лле, or perhaps me)* 'Радоваться froh sein, sich freuen' *perhaps to be read* **'idah 'i:t'inhinh** (*or* **'idah 'i:t'eh**) he's happy *L (see 'i-leh~-le:- 4b. under le(')~li),* **'idah 'i:t'eh**, **'idäh 'i:t'eh** that's fine, that's nice, OK, never mind *L, Furuhjelm* Itaote 'alive' **'idah 'i:t'eh** ?, *or perhaps* **'idah k'u:t'eh** something is fine, one is fine, weather is fine *L, Galushia Nelson* ыpакete 'you are welcome (answer to thanks)' *BSdL 155* **di'dahkih** (?) **'i:t'eh**, **di'dah 'i:t'eh** that's quite alright, sort of OK, not really so bad *L;* **LinhGdah 'a't'e:** sit still! *L,* **LinhGdah sAt'u'Linh** he suddenly stopped activity, froze stiff, became catatonic *L; see dzu:, suhg, gehdz~gehs, gehG, Xanh, sLa', cha'nik', 'Anik'eh for further examples.*

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4. *With 'a:wAyu: 'indiscriminately, every which way'*: **'a:wAyu: 'i:t'inhinh** he's a bad person, an ill-mannered fellow *L.*

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5. *With o-ga' 'like o' (see also -le 13.):* a. S resemble o, S be like o (in some respect): *11.96, 23.139, 24.27, 38, 50, 53, 95, 97, 36.25, 27, 34, 36, 37b.39A, 38.7LM, 50.49, 60.21A, 62.12, 14G, 69.15, 70.8A, 72.4L,* **dA'Awga' 'i:t'eh** it's the same < it's just like it *L,* **k'Ayi:nyga' 'i:t'eh** it's different < it's like something different *M,* **dik' k'ut'a' 'a'dit'ehga' 'a't'u:G** it's useless < it's not like it (that which) may be used *L, very frequent and productive in similes constituting more or less well-established idioms, many of which are nominalized as new coinages, e.g.* **tsin'tl'gga' 'i:t'eh** flour < it's like ashes, *see also t'its', tl'i'ts', tl'a', Le'Lq', Le'xtl', ts'e' sanh, djahG, dje:g, tsa'tl', shitl', gust', guch', gehG, gAmAG, k'u't', k'Ayi:ny, GAma:, qe:L, Xa ???, Xah2, Xu'1, nahGAts'e:, te'ya', and dla:q'Aya' (under ya'~), 'e~'an1; all color terms are idioms of this type,* S resemble O (in color), *e.g.* **di:ya'ga' 'i:t'eh** it's green < it resembles salt-water (in color) *L,* **di:ya'ga' sAt'u'L** it turned green *L,* **di:ya'ga' qa't'uh** it'll turn green *L,* **xutl'ga' qi:t'eh** they (e.g. pl. pups) are white < pl. are like snow *L,* **xutl'ga' 'a'lit'eh** let it be white *L,* **xutl'ga' GAt'u'L**, **xutl'ga' 'a'GAt'u'L** it's turning white *L, see also dis, di:ya', t'u'ch', Lanhd, tl'e:x, tse'q', ts'AG, ts'a', ts'Aga:d, cha'tl', ch'e', ch'e:', xitl', q'a, ni:ch'; with class-, thematic, and anatomical marks for S: with da' and G-thematic 'face': 10.229A,* **xitl'ga' da' GAxit'eh** my face is white *L,* **xitl'ga' da' qu'Gi:xt'uh** my face will be white (I'll put lots of powder on) *L, see also separate entry l-t'e´~-t'u´, with qi:d-anatomical 'foot':* **siga' qi:di:t'inhinh** he has feet like mine *L, with gd-anatomical 'rump':* **siga' gAdi:t'inhinh** his rump is like mine *L, with d-class-mark:* **di:ya'ga' di:t'eh** it (house) is green *L,* **dik' di:ya'ga' da't'u:G** it (house) isn't green *L,* **di:ya'ga' qu'di:t'uh** it (house) will be green *L,* **ta:dz xitl'ga' di:t'eh** it (house) formerly used to be white *L, with lX-class-mark: Rezanov* Тиекольгете 'Бисеръ ('beads') Glasperlen' **di:ya'ga' lAXi:t'eh** they (beads, beans) are green *L, Rezanov* Тлячекольхете 'Красника Preisselbeere', Тлячекольхита 'Брусника ('red bilberry') Preisselbeere', **dla:ch'e:'ga' lAXi:t'eh** they (berries) are red < like red-snapper *M,* **ts'AGLga' lAXi:t'eh** they (salmonberries) are maroon color *L,* **ch'e'ga' lAXi:t'eh** brown beads < like feces *L,* **k'uLe'xtl'ga' lAXi:t'eh** grapes < like gallbladders *L, with yd-thematic 'fish-flesh':* **cha'ch'ga' yAdi:t'eh** it (fish-meat) looks like red-salmon *L, see also separate entry gdl-t'e´~-t'u´; with fauna term as o:* **nahGAts'e:ga' 'i:t'inhinh** he's lean, skinny < he's like a fox *A; with o-dAGAleh as o of o-ga',* S please o S be like, according to o's mind: *34.8, 17, 21, 26, 31, 34M, 39L, 51, 61M, 70.8A,* **sidAGAlehga' 'i:t'eh** it pleases me *M,* **dik' 'AdAX sidAGAlehga' 'Aw 'a't'u:G** that doesn't please me much though *M; indirect reciprocal, see separate entry 'iLga' 'idit'eh.*

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5b. *With o-y-ga' 'like, appropriate for o's hand*: **k'uyAga' 'i:t'inhinh** he's a pushover, easy to beat up, easy to handle < he conforms to one's hand *L.*

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5c. *With o-d-ga' 'like, according to o's oral-noise'*: **k'udAga' 'i:t'inhinh** he's willing to do whatever he's asked, he's compliant < he conforms to one's voice *L.*

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5d. *Transitive (causative):reflexive*: **tsu'dga' ne:tl' 'Adqu'xLAt'uh** I'll nap a while < I'll make myself like sleeping a while *L,* **'i:yah tl'i:ts'ga' 'AdiLit'inhinh** whew! he (baby) sure has soaked himself *L, see under separate entry l-t'e´~-t'u´ for further examples.*

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6. *o-lA'e: 'different from o'*: *21b.42, 24.30A,* **'AwlA'e: 'i:t'eh** it's different, **qe'LGAyu: 'AwlA'e: 'i:t'eh** women are "having their periods" (menstruating) < women are different from it, abnormal *23.17, 19A,* **'AwlA'e: 'i:t'inhinh** she's "different, abnormal" (menstruating) *M.*

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7. *Indirect reciprocal, with 'iLda:X 'in contrast with each other',* **'iLda:X dA-t'e´~-t'u´** S be various, different, of different kinds: *10.229, 230A,* **k'ugAdla:t'u' da:X 'iLda:X 'idit'eh** lots of colors < many colors and they are different *M, see also gdl-t'e´~-t'u´.*

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8. *With o-lAX 'more than o',* S be greater than o, S surpass o (in size, power), S overcome o *(see also -le 14a.)*: *20.86, 50.56A,* **silAX 'i:t'inhinh** he's stronger (or taller, etc.) than I am *L,* **XAwa: k'u:Leh 'a'd 'AwlAX q'uhnu: 'i:t'eh** one is like a dog, it greatly exceed that *(i.e. people are awful, going to dogs) L; with k'u-indefinite as o,* S be, become chief, rich, powerful: *1b.21M, 26.13L, 36.48A,* **k'ulAX qu'xt'uh** I'll get rich *L, frequently nominalized, see separate entry k'ulAX 'i:t'inhinh;* **'ilAX k'ulAX 'ixit'eh** I have more than you (am richer than you) *M.*

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9. *With o-wahd 'for the sake of o'*: **q'e:dah 'Awahd 'i:t'inhinh** he's quite prepared, ready for it (to fight) *7.20A.*

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10. *With o-Xa' 'in intimate relation with o'*: *Rezanov* Аусыхаете 'Жаль Bedauern' **'Aw siXa' 'i:t'eh** it concerns me, it matters to me (?), **k'usha:dah 'Aw siXa' 'i:t'eh** I'm sorry < that is ill with me *L; usually with 'i:lih-, see separate entry 'i:lih-t'e´~t'u´.*

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11. *With o-ch' 'to o' and optional wAX 'thus',* o-**ch' (wAX) -t'e´~-t'u´** S be related (kin) to o: **sich' wAX 'i:t'inhinh** he's related to me *LM,* **sich' 'i:t'inhinh** he's related to me *L,* **dik' sich' 'a't'u:Ginh** he's not related to me *L,* **'ich' 'ixit'eh** I'm related to you *M,* **sich' qa't'inhinh** he'll be related to me *(apparently by marriage) L.*

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12. *With o-y-ch' 'to o's hand',* o-**y-ch' -t'e´~-t'u´** S fall victim to o, succomb to o: *28.99, 50.6, 61.120, 121A,* **didu'X 'uyAch' sit'u'L** I almost fell into its clutches *L.*

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13. *With o-d-wa:,* S wait for o: *15.22, 25M, 37b.44A, 48.16L, Rezanov* Яхосытавакуетту 'Не дожидаися warte nicht!' **ya'Xu: sidAwa: qu'yit'uh** don't wait for me *L,* **dla:ch'e:'ga' 'i:lehdAwa: 'ixit'eh** I'm waiting for it to turn red *M,* **'idAwa: 'ixit'eh** I'm waiting for you *L,* **sidAwa: qa't'inhinh** he'll wait for me *L,* **sidAwa: 'a't'e:** wait for me! *L,* **sidAwa: 'a'lAXt'e:** pl. wait for me! *L,* **'udAwa: 'a't'inhinh** wait for him! *L,* **sidAwa: t'u:k'inh** he (cust) waits for me *L,* **dA'u:d 'udAwa: 'a'xt'e:X sitl' dAlinhinh** he told me to wait right there for him *L.*

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14. *With o-xa'd 'for o's eating' (see also -le 17b.)*: *indirect reflexive:* **xa'dAga' 'a'LAt'e:** cook (prepare) it just right for yourself to eat! *L,* **Li'q' 'Al dAXunhyu: xa'dAwahd 'iLit'ehyu:**

all these things which people keep for themselves to eat *11.11A; passive:* **xa'dAwahd 'idit'ehyu:** things kept for eating *11.10A.*

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15. o-**dAGAlehyAq' -t'e´~-t'u´** S please o *(see also -le 24.) 34.98L. (Attested only once, perhaps analogical, cf. o-dAGAlehyAq' -le and o-dAGAlehga' -t'e´~-t'u´, -le.)*

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16. *With o-dAGAleh 'o's mind' as S*: **k'udzu:dah sidAGAleh siya: q'e' GAdAt'u: da:X** when my mind becomes content again *70.10A; with o-X,* S (o's mind) dwell on o, be intent, bent on o, *with subordinated subjunctive clause as o of o-X: 25.138, 61.3, 8A.*

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d-t'e´~-t'u´ *(with d-thematic 'oral noise')* S be a certain way verbally: *indirect reciprocal with 'iL-lAX 'more than each other' and o-lah 'concerning o':* **k'ulah 'iLlAX qu'dAdAt'unhinu:** they'll argue about something *L.*

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'i:lih-t'e´~-t'u´ S be, become emotionally (a certain way) *(see also 'i:lih-le)*: **dA'wAX 'AyAG wAX 'i:lih'a't'eh da:X** just when they themselves feel like it, are thus disposed *68.44A,* **'AnahshAkih 'i:lih'a'xt'eh da:X** just as I was beginning to get happy *L,* **'idah 'i:lihxt'uh** I'm happy, satisfied, have no cares *M, 34.20, 33, 38, 40, 46L,* **dik' 'idah 'i:lih'a't'u:Ginh** he's unhappy *M,* **k'udzu:dah 'i:lihxt'uh** I'm happy, satisfied *34.25, 30L,* **k'udzu:dah k'a' 'i:lih'a'lit'eh** do be happy *L,* **k'usha:dah qe:lihwAt'unhinh** he'll get mad *L,* **k'usha:dah qe:lihxt'uh** I'll get mad *L,* **k'usha:dah 'i:lih'a'GAt'u'Linh** he's getting mad *L,* **dik' k'usha:dah 'i:lih'Ast'u'LGinh** he didn't get mad *L,* **dik' 'ukuwa'na:GAyu:qa'ch' q'e' 'i:lihdAt'u:G** he no longer wants to go back among his relatives *24.75A,* **'AdAwi'Lga' 'i:lih'a't'e:** get a move on!, hurry up! < get emotionally excited! *L,* **'iLchi'shdug dAXunh dik' 'AdAwi'Lga' 'i:liht'uhG** goodness the fellow sure isn't in any hurry *L,* **k'udzu:dah siliLga' 'i:lihxt'uh** I feel like I've done well *34.50, 55, 60fnM; with o-Xa' 'in intimate relation with o' and many of the preceding:* **k'usha:dah 'iXa' 'i:lihGAt'u'Linh** he's getting disgusted with you, mad at you *M,* **'AnahshAkih 'uXa' 'i:lih('a')GAxt'u'L** (*or* **'uXä'lihGAx-**) I'm getting to like it *LM,* **dik' 'AnahshAkih qe:lihyit'uhG** you won't like it *L,* **dik' 'AnahshAkih 'AwXä'lihsAt'u'L** he didn't like it *L,* **'AlAshgahX 'uXä'lih'a'lit'inhinh** I hope he likes it *L,* **'AnahshAkih qe:lih(wA)t'unhinh** he'll like it *LM,* **'AlAshgahX 'Aw XAwa:yu: 'AnahshAkih 'uXä'lih'a'xit'eh** I wish I could like those dogs *M,* **dik' 'AnahshAkih 'iXa' q'e' 'i:lih'a'xdAt'uhG** I don't like you anymore *L,* **'AnahshAkih siXa' q'e' 'i:lih('a')GAdAt'u'Linh** he's getting to like me again *L; indirect reciprocal:* **'iLXa' k'Adzu:dah q'e' qe:lihdAt'unhinu:** they'll make up, like each other again *M; indirect reflexive, with o-Xa' alone,* S be conceited, snobbish, elegant, dressed-up: **Xä'lih'a'GAdAt'u'Linh** he's getting uppity *L,* **Xa' qe:lihdAt'unhinh** he'll get uppity *L,* **Xa' qe:lihxdAt'uh** I'll get dressed up fancy *L,* **da: Xä'lih'a'dit'eh** let's get all dressed up *L.*

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k'u-t'e´~-t'u´ *(many of the preceding themes, with k'u-indefinite S)* something (weather, place, ambiance) be (a certain way) *(see also -le 32.)*: *51.57A,* **Xe:ga' k'u:t'eh** it (weather) is calm *(i.e. the smooth surface of the sea resembles seal-oil) L,* **lAgehGLdah k'u:t'eh**, **lAgehGga' k'u:t'eh** it (place, calm still evening) is lonesome *L,* **lAX k'u:t'eh 'AnahshAkih 'uXä'xleh** I like this weather < I like it what it (weather) is this way *M,* **'idah k'u:t'eh** it (weather) is fine, OK *L,* **di:ye:Xga' k'u:t'eh** it (weather) is calm, no wind *L,* **Xanhdah k'u:t'eh** it (place, where dead friends used to live) makes one feel like crying *L.*

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l-t'e´~-t'u´ *(see also l-le)* 1. *With l-anatomical 'head, face'* a. *With li'X 'deep in cavity, depression',* **li'X l-t'e´~-t'u´** S smile: *47c.49L,* **li'X lixit'eh** I'm smiling *L,* **li'X la't'e:** smile! *L,*

li’X la’lAXt’e: pl. smile! *M,* **li’X q’e’ la’dAt’e:** smile again! *M,* **li’X qu’li:t’unhinh** he'll smile, **’udjehXga’ li’X li:t’inhinh** he's smiling from ear to ear < he's smiling like his ears *L,* **li’X la’xt’e:X** (*or* **-t’ehX**) **sitl’ dAlinhinh** he told me to smile *L.*

1b. *Transitive (causative)*: *reflexive:* **k’usha:dah ’Adi:nLit’inhinh** he's frowning, making an evil menacing face *L,* **Lich’ k’usha:dah ’Adi:nLit’inhinh** he always is mean and bossy *L,* **’Anik’ehdah ’Adi:nLit’inhinh** he's making faces (funny, scary), grimacing *L,* **dik’ ’a’d dAk’e:dunh ’Ad-la’LAt’u:G** he has no expression (of pain, anger) on his face < he's not making any very particular kind of face *L,* **Lich’ siwa:LX ’Ad-lALAt’unhinh** he's always making mocking faces at me < he always makes faces in imitation of me *L,* **’iLu’ qa’ ’i:nsdixa’ch’Lga’ ’Adi:nLit’inhinh** he looks real fierce and mean < he's making himself be facially like his face is tied in an overhand knot *72.17fnL.*

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2. *With l-class-mark for qAXah 'moon' thematized, more frequently l-le then l-t’e´~-t’u´*: **Xu’ ’i:nsAt’u’L** the moon became full *L.*

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gdl-t’e´~-t’u´ *(with gl-class-mark 'liquid' + d-thematic 'bright' thematized)* S (dye, pigment) be (a certain color): **wAX gAdli:t’eh** it's colored thus *M,* **gu:nLdisLga’ gAdli:t’eh** it (dye) is a dark reddish ocolor < like clotted blood *L; indirect reciprocal:* **’iLda:X gAdla:dit’eh** it has different colors on it, the colors are different *M; nominalized: 66.10L,* **dla:ch’e:’ga’ gAdla:dit’ehX ’ALXe’** paint it red! < paint it with red color! *M,* **qa:ni:ch”AdALgahG(L)ga’ gAdli:t’eh** some kind of pinkish dye < it (bright-colored liquid) is like nose-pitch(?) in color *L, 66.10L (also perhaps qa:ni:k"AdALgahGga' gAdli:t'eh L).*

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dlX-t’e´~-t’u´ *(with dlX-thematic, probably containing lX-anatomical 'eyes') with o-ch' 'to o',* S look at o, S watch o: *2a.32, 35M, 10.37A, 18.17L, 37b.4, 17A, 55.15L, Anonymous* Тляхата 'Смотри' **dla:Xa’t’eh** look!, *Rezanov* Учитлягатъ-э 'Смотри sehen (Imperat.)' **’uch’ dla:Xa’t’eh** look at it! *L,* **sich’ dla:Xa’t’eh** look at me!, watch me! *LM,* **’uch’ dla:Xa’lAXt’eh** pl. look at it! *L,* **siyAch’ dla:Xa’t’eh** look at (what I'm doing with) my hands! *L,* **siqi:dAch’ dla:Xa’t’eh** look (at what I'm doing with) my feet! *L,* **siyAq’a’ts’ch’ dla:XAxit’eh** I'm looking at my hands *L,* **dik’ ’ich’ dla:Xa’xt’uhG** I'm not looking at you *L,* **dik’ ’uch’ qu’dla:Xi:xt’uhG** (*or* **-t’u:G**) I won't look at it *L,* **’ich’ qu’dla:Xi:xt’uh** (*preferable to* **-t’eh**) I'll watch you *LM,* **’uch’ dla:XAsit’u’L** I looked at it *L,* **ditl’a’gch’ dla:XAxit’eh** I'm reading < I'm looking at writing *L,* **’uch’ dla:Xa:xit’eh** (*or* **dla:Xa’xit’eh**) let me look at it *L,* **’uch’ da: dla:Xa’lit’uh** let's look at it *L,* **’uch’ dla:Xa’lit’eh** you may look at it *L,* **sich’ dla:Xa’lAXit’eh** you pl. may look at me *L,* **’uch’ dla:Xa’lit’inhinh** let him look at it *L,* **’uch’ dla:XAxt’u:k’** I (cust) watch it *L,* **dik’ ’uch’ da: dla:Xa’t’u:k’G** we (cust) don't watch it *L,* **’uch’ dla:Xi:t’u:k’** you (cust) watch it *L,* **’Awch’ dla:Xa’xt’e:X** (*or* **-t’u:X**) **sitl’ dAlinhinh** he told me to watch it *L,* **’uch’ dla:Xa’xt’eh da:X** just as I was looking at it *L,* **’uch’ qu’dla:XAxdAt’uh** I'll look at it again *L; indirect reflexive:* **’Adch’ dla:Xa’dAt’uh** look at yourself! *L.*

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k’ut’a’ O-**L-t’e´~-t’u´** S use O: *28.95A,* **k’ut’a’ ’ixiLt’eh** I'm using it *LM,* **dik’ k’ut’a’ ’a’xLt’uhG** (*or* **-t’u:G**) I'm not using it *L,* **k’ut’a’shuw ’i:Lt’eh** are you using it? *M,* **k’ut’a’ qu’xLt’uh** I'll use it *M,* **k’ut’a’ siLt’u’L** I used it *M,* **dik’ k’ut’a’ ’AxsLt’u’LG** I didn't use it *M,* **k’ut’a’ ’a’Lt’e:** (*or* **-t’eh**), **k’ut’a’ GALt’u’** use it! *L,* **k’ut’a’ ’a’liLt’eh** let him use it *L,* **k’ut’a’ k’a’ ’a’liLt’eh** do use it *L,* **k’ut’u’ ’a’Lt’u:k’inh** he (cust) uses it *L,* **dAqa:yu: k’ut’a’ xLt’u:k’** I (cust) sometimes use it *M,* **k’ut’a’ ’a’xLt’u:X ’uXä’xleh** I want to use it *L,* **k’ut’a’ ’a’xLt’uhX sitl’ dAlinhinh** he told me to use it *L,* **dik’ k’ut"a’ qu’xLt’uhG** (*or* **-t’u:G**) I won't use it *M, repetitive:* **k’ut’a’ xLt’u’g** I use it off and on *L; frequently with o-wahd 'for the sake of o',* S use O for o, S keep O for use for o: *37a.24L, 47b.12M; with class-marks for O: 66.5L,* **tAGL**

k'ut'a' la'Lt'e: use a hammer! *L,* **'Aw tAGL k'ut'a' lixiLt'eh** I'm using that hammer *L,* **tAGL k'ut'a' da: la:yiLt'eh** (*or* **-t'uh**) let's use a hammer *L,* **tsa'L k'ut'a' da'xLt'e:X** (*or* **-t'ehX** *or* **-t'uhX**) **sitl' dAlinhinh** he told me to use a knife *L,* **k'ut'a' dixiLt'eh** I'm using it (table) *L,* **dzanhd k'ut'a' di:Lt'inhinh** he's using snowshoes *L. Passive: 63.15fnG,* **'Aw dza:nt' ch'iyahdda:X k'ut'a' dAt'uh** the skunk-cabbage is used as a hat *L,* **dik' k'ut'a' 'a'dit'ehga' 'a't'u:G** it's useless < it's not like it (that which) may be used, *(passive Neuter optative) L,* **te'ya'wahd k'ut'a' dAt'uhyu:** fishing-gear, tools for fishing < things which are used for fish *(passive Active imperfective used with force of customary, nominalized with -yu: 'pl.') 21a.21L.*

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'uya'd wAX k'ut'u'L *(noun, unclassified)* container *L, Rezanov* Уятухъкотуль 'Посуда ('crockery') Gefäss, Geschirr, Dose', Тыяуятъ-охатуль 'Солонка Salzfass' **di:ya' 'uya'd wAX …t'u'L**. *Deverbalized passive of 2c.,* < something is kept in it (o with opening at top), *with -L-instrumental.*

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qa:lah wAX qu't'u'L *(noun, unclassified?)* grave fence *L. Deverbalization with qu' and -L-instrumental, qa:lah 'around us, around people'.*

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o-**Xa' wAX 'i:t'inhinh** *(nominalization of 2b.)* o's spouse < he (or she) lives with o: **'iXa' wAX 'i:t'inhinh** your spouse *(polite, frequent instead of -qa', -'ehd) L.*

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qi' wAX -t'eh *(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, 67.9G (S either third person or k'u-indefinite).*

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'iLga' 'idit'eh *(noun, unclassified)* suit of clothing < they (jacket and trousers) are like each other *L. Nominalized indirect reciprocal Neuter imperfective of 5a.*

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k'ulAX 'i:t'inhinh *(noun, unclassified, nominalization of 8.)* chief, rich man, boss *LM*: *2a.4M, 2b.1, 2L, 11.98, 103, 109, 119, 121, 21b.19, 36.38, 39, 47A, 52.15L, 64.17, 18G (frequently articulated k'ulAX'e:t'inhinh by A in texts), Rezanov* Кольхеите 'Тоенъ Häuptling', *Wrangell* Кулахяйте 'Häuptling', *Furuhjelm* Khunahete *(Dall Kūmahete, 1877 khūmahit)* 'chief' **k'unAX 'i:t'eh**, *Rezanov* Кольгете 'Богатой reich', *Rezanov* Кольхаитенъ *(with e crossed out and* ъ-э *added above)* 'Штурманъ Seemann, Matrose', Кольгейте 'Правитель Verwalter', *Anonymous* Кулхатунъ 'Начальникъ' ('chief') *(possibly some form of Active imperfective usitative, -t'unhinh, otherwise unattested),* ɢə́ləχ̣è·t'ì *or* ɢúləχ̣è·tì 'head chief or rich man' *BSdL 543,* ɢə́ləχ̣è·t'ì t'ca·t'cuni^{n} *or* ɢúlə̀xè·tì t'ca·t'cini^{n} 'second chief (of same moiety as head chief)' **k'ulAX 'i:t'inhinhch'a:ch' yi:nhinh** the one who is next to the chief, *Rezanov* Аткольгетеэтлеиту 'Бѣдной ('poor') arm', **'a'd k'ulAX 'i:t'eh yiLinhinhduh** he is a very rich man indeed, he sure is a great chief, Халяцткольгейтенъ 'Государь Russen-Beherrscher, Kaiser' *(under 'Häuptling')* **XAlahsd k'ulAX 'i:t'inhinh** "outside" (overseas) chief, **XAdAGdAX k'ulAX 'i:t'inhinh** God < the Great One up above *70.2, 4A,* **k'ulAX 'i:t'inhinh** God *L.*

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o-**dAwa: 'ist'u:l** *(gerundive)* waiting for o: **'idAwa: 'ist'u:l xuGALga'L** I'm getting tired of waiting for you < waiting for you is tiring me *L.*

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li'X l-t'u:l smiling: **li'X lAt'u:l xuGALga'L** I'm getting tired of smiling < smiling is tiring me *L.*

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o-**ch' dlX-t'u:l** looking at o, watching o: **'i: 'ich' dla:XAt'u:l q'Al xuGALga'L** it's this watching *you* that's tiring me *L.*

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qi' k'uch' k'udla:XAt'uh *(nominalization)* showhouse, movies < where one looks at something *L.*

t'e:G *(perhaps < t'e:-G with thematic negative -G; cf. Hupa "t'eew 'something raw, uncooked…' Perhaps *t'e-γʷ 'cooked-not' (E[dward] S[apir]) (-zero-t'e' 'to ripen [intr.]')", V. Golla, IJAL 30.2:112; cf. also t'e'Gsh)*

t'e:G *(noun, unclassified, perhaps nominalization)* raw, uncooked food, not dried (of fish-meat) *LMS*: *Rezanov* Те-экъ 'Сырой ('damp') feucht', **t'e:G yiLeh** it's raw *LM,* **k'ut'u' t'e:G** lots of raw food (especially fish-meat) *L,* **t'e:G da:X XAlAXAdah** they (lX-class) are eaten raw *(nominalization, 'carrots') L.*

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-t'e:G S be raw, uncooked, undercooked: **dik' te:GG** it's not raw *L; with class-marks for S:* **dAt'e:G k'udA'uhdg** raw eggs < eggs which are raw *L,* **dAsAt'e:GL** they (eggs) weren't cooked enough, came out raw, undercooked *L,* **lAXAt'e:G gAldu:xa:** raw potatoes, undercooked potatoes *(not used of berries) L.*

t'e'ts'

o-**t'e'ts'-G** *(postposition)* suspended by o, by gripping o, as handle for o: *49.36, 51.21, 22A,* **dAtli: 'idjehXt'e'ts'G 'iqe'xLXahd** I'll drag you by your ear *(threat) L,* **'uk'ahsht'e'ts'G 'iLt'ux** grab it (e.g. chair) by the leg! *L,* **'uk'ahsht'e'ts'G ya'X GAta'** left it (e.g. chair) by the leg! *L,* **'iyAq'a'ts't'e'ts'G da:X 'iqe'xLtl'ih** I'll tie you to something by the hand *L,* **'ut'e'ts'G GALAt'ux** hold onto it (to help you get up, etc.)! *L,* **di'wAX k'ut'e'ts'G k'a' yAX 'idiyah** walk about by hanging onto things! *(to a weak convalescent) L.*

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'ut'e'ts'G ya'X k'uda'ya:k' *(noun, unclassified?)* removable handle (for lifting tubs in cannery, etc.) < by means of it things are (cust) lifted *L.*

t'e'Gsh *(A t'e'q'sh, recorded once; cf. t'e:G)*

dlX-t'e'Gsh-g *(noun, lX-class, attested syntactically only as C, with thematic dlX-, perhaps including lX-class-mark, and -g)* unripe, green (of berries and fruit): **dla:Xt'e'Gshg** unripe berries (any species, including apples) *L,* **dla:Xt'e'Gshg lAXiLeh** berries are unripe *L,* **dla:Xt'e'q'shg yiLeh** berries are unripe *A,* **dik' dla:Xt'e'GshgG** not unripe (of berries, apples) *A.*

t'e'q'

-t'e'q' S be straight, flat: **'i:t'e'q'L** it's straight *L,* **dik' 'uqa'Xa' 'a't'e'q'LG** she cheats on her husband, itsn't "straight" with her husband *L,* **Xu' sAt'e'q'L** it straightened out *L,* **GAt'e'q'L** it's straight, it's flat (not wrinkled or warped) *LM, Inceptive perfective frequently subordinated to -da:X:* **GAt'e'q'Lda:X sahLinh** he's walking in a straight line *M,* **'ich'a:d GAt'e'q'Lda:X yAX guLA'a'ch'Xinu:** they're standing about in a straight row (which points) in your direction *M; with class-mark for S:* **qu'di:t'e'q'** it (board) will straighten out (lose its warp) *L. Transitive (causative)* O-**L-t'e'q'** S straighten O, spread O flat: **'ALt'e'q'** spread it (blanket, canvas, etc.) out flat! *L,* **GALt'e'q' straighten it out!** *L,* **GAxLt'e'q'L** I'm straightening it out *L,* **qu'xLt'e'q'** I'll straighten it out *L,* **siLt'e'q'L** I straightened it out *L,* **'Aw 'ALt'e:q'k'inh** he (cust) straightens it

L, repetitive: **xLt'e'q'g** I'm straightening it out (with repeated motions) *L, with class-mark for O:* **dla:siLt'e'q'L** I straightened it (net) out *L; with perambulative:* **yAX k'uxLAt'e'q'X** I'm going along straightening something out *M; reflexive, with y-anatomical 'hand':* **'uch' 'Adya:nLAt'e'q'** point at it! < straighten your arm toward it! *L,* **'utl' 'Adya:nLAt'e'q'** open your hand with it (in it)! *L; passive:* **qu'dAt'e'q'** *(not -LA-)* it'll be straightened out *L,* **Xu' sdit'e'q'L** (*or* **-Li-**) it's been straightened out *L.*

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'i:t'e'q' *(personal name) Ahtna or Eyak man L. Neuter imperfective (?) or with l-anatomical 'head' with nasalization lost (?).*

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t'e'q'L *(perhaps -L-instrumental deverbalization) attested only as o of o-da:X 2d.*: **t'e'q'Lda:X sahLinh** he walked on straight line *M.*

t'ahL *(perhaps related to t'AL, and perhaps also to t'ahLk'~t'a'Lk')*

t'ahL *(noun)* 1. *(ti:l-class)* leaf; (plume-)feather: *48.5, 6, 10L ('feather', but version in BSdL 303 has 'leaf'),* **t'ahL** wing-feather *L,* leaf *(dissociated from origin) LM, Galushia Nelson* t'a'tɬ *or* t'atɬ 'leaves (or feathers)' *BSdL 541,* **t'ahL sich' ti:li:'a'** give me a leaf! *L,* **t'ahL 'u:d ti:nsAtahL** a leaf (or feather) is there *(ta clearly preferred to 'a) L,* **t'ahLti:na'q'** on a leaf (or feather) *L,* **t'ahLti:nt'u'** lots of feathers *L,* **t'ahL XAti:linhinh** he's eating leaves *M,* **'Aw t'ahL XAti: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,* **t'ahL'At'u'** lots of leaves *L,* **t'ahL qid Ga'ya:L** leaves are falling (autumn) *L.*

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'iLlah qe'dAle' t'ahL *(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).*

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'anhdli:na'q' t'ahL *(noun, unclassified?)* plants (any species with leaves on the ground) < leaves on the ground *L.*

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qihda:q'ya' t'ahL *(noun, unclassified?)* plants (species that grow on unforested meadow) *L.*

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-t'ahL *(noun, unclassified)* feathers, plumage *(anatomical, attested only once, perhaps not normal usage)*: **sit'ahL** my feathers *27b.35A.*

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-L-t'ahL *(noun)* 1. *(ti:l-class)* leaf; (plume-)feather *(associated with origin)*: *Anonymous* Утльтатль 'Перо' ('feather, pen'), *Baranov* Культаль 'Цвѣтъ' ('flower') **k'uLt'ahL**, **k'uLt'ahL** *(perhaps sometimes where glossed 'feather', especially in earlier elicitations, a mishearing for g-L-t'ahL, q.v.) 48.11L,* feather (of something) *LA,* a certain thing's feather, a certain plant's leaf *L,* **k'uLt'ahLti:lAkih** little leaf *M,* **k'uLt'ahLti:lA'a:w** long leaf *M,* **'Aw k'uLt'ahLtilAda:d ya:n' GAta'** set it down by that feather! *L,* **k'uLt'ahL XAti:linhinh** he's eating leaves *L,* **k'uLt'ahL 'u:d sAtahL** a leaf (or feather) is there *L,* **gAldu:xa:Lt'ahL** potato-leaves *L,* **na:XAgLt'ahL** goose-feather *L, Galushia Nelson* t'ə́ktɬítɬ t'à't'ɬ 'arrow feather' *BSdL 549* **t'Ak'L'ALt'ahL** *(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'*:

k’uLt’ahL Xinhinh he's eating leaves *L,* **qu’GALya:’Lt’ahL** leaves of edible shield-fern *L, 9.52, 55, 76A,* **ts’inhG’ALt’ahL** alder-leaves *9.77, 80A,* **shug’ALt’ahLqa’d** amongst the strawberry-leaves *51.73A.*

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GALAtsitl’Xa’ ya:n’Lt’ahL *(noun, unclassified?)* fireweed < leaf of medicine against land-otter *L (-L- perhaps in error).*

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g-L-t’ahL *(noun, ti:l-class, with g-thematic 'filament, appendage')* plume-feather *(not 'leaf')*: *Rezanov* Кольталь 'Перо' *(not in Radlov), Anonymous* Культанъ [sic] 'Цветъ' **guLt’ahL** *(less likely, k'uLt’ahL);***%** *Galushia Nelson* ɕúɬt’à’tɬ *or* ɕúɬt’àtɬ 'feathers' *BSdL 548 (less likely,* **k’uLt’ahL**), **guLt’ahL** feather *(not leaf, dissociated from origin) L,* **k’uti:lA’a:w guLt’ahL** long feather *L.*

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-d-L-t’ahL *(noun, unclassified, only marginally attested)* leaf, feather: **qu’GALya:’LdALt’ahL** *(hesitation-form, blend of -L-t’ahL and -d-L-t’ahL)* leaf of edible shield-fern *9.55A, Furuhjelm* Kutaltal 'feather' **k’udALt’ahL** *(or perhaps gudALt’ahL ?), Furuhjelm* Shavtaltal 'leaf' **…dALt’ahL** *(shav- not identifiable).*

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-gl-L-t’ahL *(noun, class?, perhaps with gl-class-mark 'liquid', or including g- 'filament, appendage', never actualize -gulA-)* fin *(perhaps especially 'ventral fin', and perhaps also 'gill-covering')*: **k’ugu:nt’ahL** fins (of some fish) *LA,* ventral fins *LA,* gill covering *M.*

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O-**t’ahL** S make love-potion to charm O: **sit’ahLinh** I made a love-potion to charm him *L,* **qu’xt’ahLinh** I'll make a love-potion to charm him *L (leaves were used for this purpose; see 'iLlah qe'dAle' t'ahL).*

t’ahLk’~t’a’Lk’ *(perhaps related to t'ahL)*

-lXd-L-t’ahLk’ *(noun, unclassified, prefixes probably including lX-mark for -la:X 'eye')* eyelashes: *Rezanov* Кальхательталькъ 'Рѣсницы Augenlieder' **qa:lAXAdALt’ahLk’** our eyelashes, human eyelashes, **silAXAdALt’ahL**[**k’**] *(momentary confusion with t'ahL, later stated to be incorrect without -k')* my eyelashes *L,* **’ilAXAdALt’ahLk’** your eyelashes *A,* **lAXAdALt’ahLk”a:w** long-eyelashes *(epithet) L.*

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lXd-L(A)-t’a’Lk’ S blink, flutter eyelids: **lAXAdALt’a’Lk’** you're blinking *LM,* you're winking, flirting *M,* **dik’ lAXAdAxwsLAt’a’Lk’LG** I didn't blink *M,* **lAXAdAxLAt’a’Lk’** I'm blinking *A,* **lAXAda:LAt’a’Lk’** blink! *L.*

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G-LA-t’a’Lk’ S (bird) flap wings, flutter wings: *24.54A (articulated -t'a'LAk'-),* **GALAt’a’Lk’** it (duck) is flapping its wings, trying to fly *L. Though the GA- prefix seems well authenticated, it is inexplicable; a k'u- or gu-, as implied by the latter two transcriptions, would be easier to explain. Cf. qALAt'Aq' (t'Aq'1).*

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GALAt’a’Lk’ *(place-name) Crab Island* < they (ducks) are flapping their wings, trying to fly. *In de Laguna fieldnotes, Yakutat, 23 August 1952 (Sampson and Anna Nelson Harry):* k’ołet’a’tłk '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 connection with toponymy, kμłłatt’α’łk’ 'birds rest and flap wings'.

t’a’~t’a:n~t’a: *(perhaps related to t'a'L~t'a'X; t'a:n in certain forms with -ch' final and reciprocal o, t'a: in certain forms with -X final, cf. e.g. qa'~qa:n~qa:, L rejects proposed *(-)t'ahd)*

o-**t’a’** *(postposition, with zero, -d, -ch', and -X finals, stem invariable with all finals)* 1. (protected, inaccessible, obstructed, struck, stopped, impeded, slowed) behind, by o (as obstruction, impedient either to progress of or access to something else): *with zero final: Rezanov* Кытасъ-аятль 'Тѣсно eng, gedrangt' **k’ut’a’ sa’yahL** it got stuck behind something, obstructed by something *L,* **’Awt’a’ gu:nsA’a’L** it (stream of liquid) flowed (extended) to and got stopped by that *L,* **’itl”AlAt’a’ ’Aw sALXahdLinh** dragged it to behind a mountain *9.131A, with -d final 'at rest' (see also 11.): 25.59A, Rezanov* Сытаатъ *(second a superscript insert)* 'Позади hinter (mir?)' **sit’a’d** behind me, **La’dAt’a’d wAX ’i:t’eh** lives behind a glacier *60.34A,* **’Aw giyahgAlAt’a’d** behind the water(falls, as protection) *25.59A,* **’Awt’a’d ’u’yAsALqahL** she spent some night behind it *25.80A,* **’Awt’a’d dla:GAL’e’** hide it behind that! *L, nominalized with -d final:* **’ut’a’d k’u:Leh** there exists a (place) behind it *60.34, 34, 34A,* **qa:t’a’d** *place-name, East Arm of Eyak Lake* < behind us *LM, with -ch' final 'continuous or repeated motion to, towards', usual with repetitive, customary, Inceptive imperfective:* **k’ut’a’ch’ Ga’ya:L** it's getting stuck behind something *L,* **’Aw ’itl”AlAt’a’ch’ ’Aw ’ALya:k’** (cust) takes them to behind that mountain *9.127A,* **’itl”AlAt’a’ch’ ’Aw ’i:nsAL’ahLinh** he made off with it all to behind a mountain *9.110A,* **sit’a:ch’ XAdla:sa’yahLinh** he ran around to behind me *M (early transcription, to be corrected to sit'a'ch'), with -X final 'motion within' (see also 8., 10.): 25.58A,* **k’ut’a’X ’i:’yahL** it's stuck (moving) behind something, won't go any further *L,* **k’ut’a’X yAX GALya’** move it downwards into an obstructed position behind something *L,* **’Awt’a’X siLtahL** I put it behind that *L,* **ta:sGALaht’a’X ’uXa’ yAX** O-**L-te** S put, tuck (sg. animate) O down under his belt *37b.30, 60A (see also 2. below),* **’AwgAlAt’a’X li’ ’i:yah** that she might go in behind it (waterfalls) *25.79A, Rezanov* Хатлятъ-ахъ 'Подъ горою ('at foot of hill') am Fusse des Berges' **XAdla:t’a’X** (motion) in sheltered waters, channels, inside passages *L,* **sit’a’X** behind me, under me (as I'm prone) *M.*

2. under o's clothing, in o's pocket, *frequently with zero prefix for reflexive o in indirect reflexive constructions*: **’Aw t’a’ sdits’AXL** jammed it into her pocket *49.13A,* **t’a’ xsdikinhdL** I quickly dipped my hand into my pocket *L,* **t’a’ ’ALAya:’**, **t’a’ ’ALAye:** put them in your pocket! *L,* **t’a’ xsLiyahL** I put them in my pocket *L, with -d final:* **’a:nd sit’a’d sAtahL** it's here in my pocket *L,* **t’a’d dAtah ’AdLAXa’tl’L** pocket-watch *L,* **dA’u:d ’it’a’d ya’ ’ALe:** leave, keep them right there in your pocket! *L,* **t’a’d qa’ GAdAta’** take it out of your pocket! *L,* **t’a’d qa’ dAGALAya’** take it (money) out of your pocket! *L,* **sit’a’d qa’ GA’a’L** it's starting to show (extend) out of my pocket *L,* **’it’a’d qä’ ’i:’ah** it's sticking out of your pocket! *M, with -ch' final:* **t’a’ch’** *(not *t'a:nch')* **xLAya:’** I'm putting them in my pockets *L,* **t’a’ch’ ’ALAya’** put it (piece after piece) in your pocket! *L,* **t’a’ch’ ’Aw GALAya:Linh** he's putting them in his pocket *L, with -X final: Rezanov* Сытаахта 'За Пазухой ('in one's bosom') im Busen' **sit’a’X [’A]ta’** put it under my clothes!, *or perhaps to be read* **sit’a:X**, *see o-t'a:-X below,* **sit’a’X** anyplace under my coat *L,* **sit’a’X yAX siLtahL** I put it down into my pocket *L,* **t’a’X yAX GAdAta’** put it (downwards) under e.g. you coat! *L,* **t’a’X yAX ’i:ndit’ahLinh** he has his head hunched down into his coat, collar *L,* **sit’a’X lah disiLahL** I put them (eggs) around under my shirt *L.*

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3. *Attested with zero final only, in one set of themes*: o-**t’a’ ’i:lih-(dA-)ta** sg. S count on, depend on o, o-**t’a’ ’i:lih-qu** pl. S count on, depend on O.

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4. *With indeterminate o and zero and -ch' finals only,* **dAt'a'(-ch')**, **dit'a'(-ch')** stuck, impeded, stopped, difficult, *see-'ya 6b. and dAt'a'yah under 'ya*: **dit'a' gAli:'yahL** tide is at high point *L,* **dit'a' gu:sa'yahL** tide is running *L,* **dAt'a'(ch') d-LA-dux-g** S stutter, **dit'a' li:LxahL** it's not growing right, its growth is stunted *L,* **dit'a' sahL** it (clock) went slow *L,* **dit'a' ne:tl' Ga:'** stop (walking) a while! *L.*

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5. *With ya: 'something, a thing' as o and -X final only, only with theme tsin'd-le 'S speak'*: **ya:t'a'X tsin'd-le** S whisper.

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6. *With k'u-indefinite o, zero final only, only with O-L-t'e´~-t'u´, causative of -t'e´~-t'u´ 'S be, become a certain way'*: **k'ut'a'** O-**L-t'e´~-t'u´** S use O, *see under t'e´~t'u´.*

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7. *With k'u-indefinite o, zero final, with -xi:ya'X 'chin, jaw'*: **k'ut'a' xi:ya'X** mimicker, mocker, echo, *see under xi:ya'X.*

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8. *With -X final only,* a. while o be going on, (attention of someone) distracted by o, preoccupied with o (and not noticing something else), *frequently with verbal clause nominalized as o*: **'Aw Lu:ndiyahslah 'AdAwi'L 'idALiht'a'X 'Awa: k'usALku:n'dLinh** while they were distracted in their excitement over the mouse he grabbed one of them *37b.29A,* **dA'Awt'a'X 'anh 'iLgiyiLinh 'a'q' q'e' sdiyahL** their attention being diverted by that the witch went back out *55.4L,* **'Awt'a'X 'a'q' 'Adqu'dla:xLA'eh** I'll sneak out while he (baby) is being distracted by that *L,* **'i: k'uXi:yaht'a'X qu'xah** I'll go while you eat *L.*

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8b. *As preceding,* on o's behalf, covering up for o: **'it'a'X tsin'dAxleh** I speak on your behalf, covering up for you *L.*

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9. *With reciprocal o, zero and -ch' finals,* lined up in row one after (behind) the other *(cf. 10., 11. and 'iL-t'a'~-t'a:n-)*: **'iLt'a'** together *M,* **'iLt'a' 'ALya:'** set them in a row! *L,* **'iLt'a' 'i:'a'ch'Linu:** they (people) are lined up (went into a row) *L,* **'iLt'a'ch'** *(not 'iLt'a:nch')* **GALA'a'ch'Linu:** they (people) are lined up, having a meeting *L (to be corrected to GAdA-),* **'iLt'a'ch' GAxLa:L** I'm setting them in a row *L,* **'iLt'a' 'ixiLahL** I have them lined up in a row *L.*

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10. *With reciprocal o, -X final 'jacknifed'* < one (part in motion) behind the other a. *generally with with semitransitive verb themes, often with preverb li' 'into cavity',* folded: **'iLt'a'X yAX 'u'dla:dAta:X** pocketknife, jacknife *LM,* **'iLt'a'X li'** O-**'-(l-)(L-)ta** S fold O, **'iLt'a'X** O-**'-(l-)chich'** S fold O, breaking rigidity of O, not breaking O apart, **'iLt'a'X** O-**L-(y)a** S fold pl. O *65.59, 59A,* **'iLt'a'X li' 'u'lAXLya:'** I'm folding them one after another *L,* **'iLt'a'X qa' 'Ad-'-gdl-LA-'a** S get self into jacknifed, knees-to-chest position.

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10b. *As above,* shrinking, contracting: **'iLt'a'X LA-Xu'G**, **'iLt'a'X -da** S shrink, contract, **'iLt'a' sdiyahL** it shrank *L (probably to be corrected to 'iLt'a'X sAdahL).*

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11. *With reciprocal o, and -d final,* hanging (draped over something with one side at rest behind the other): **'iLt'a'd** O-**(L-)ta** S hang sg. O up, **'iLt'a'd** O-**L-ya:'** S hang pl. O up one after another, **'iLt'a'd** O-**l-(L-)'a** S hang all O up, **'iLt'a'd qu'xxwAdj** I'll hang them up *A.*

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qa:t'a'd *(place-name) East Arm of Eyak Lake* < behind us *LM.*

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'iL-t'a'~-t'a:n- *(postpositional phrase, with reciprocal o only, stem -t'a' with zero final, -ta:n- with -ch' final, -t'a:nch', not -t'a'ch', cf. o-t'a' 9. above, generally used preverbially, i.e. not vocalizing classifier)* (gathering, stacking) together, collected, picked up: **'iLt'a' li:quhL** they (fish) are in a school *L,* **'iLt'a' lAGALqu'** corral them together! *LM,* **'iLt'a'** (**'iLt'a:nch'**) O-**L-ya:'** S gather pl. O one after another, **lu:di:'dAX 'iLt'a:nch' k'uLyi:n'inh** he's beachcombing *L,* **'iLt'a:nch' k'uya:' xusALga'L** I'm tired of picking things up *L,* **'iLt'a'** (**'iLt'a:nch'**) O-**L-(y)a** S gather pl. O, **'iLt'a' GALa'** pick them up!, stack them up! *M,* **LinhGda:d 'iLt'a' GALa'** pile them in one place! *L,* **'iLt'a:nch' GAxLa:L** I'm picking them up *L,* **'iLt'a' 'i:nsAL'ahL** gathered them all together *7.11, 12, 11.7, 8, 28A,* **'iLt'a' qu'li:x'ah** I'll gather them all up *L,* **'iLt'a' 'i:'a'ch'Linu:** they (people) have gathered, are having a meeting *L,* **'iLt'a' shA'a'ch'Linu:** they (people) gathered *52.22L, see also 'iLt'a' 'i:'a.*

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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:* **t'a'q' 'Adqu'dla:La'yah** I'll lean back, recline *(sick person in bed speaking) L (perhaps used preverbially, cf. t'a'q'e'ch' below, vocalic classifier required bhy verb, itself reflexive); with -d final:* **sit'a'q'd** behind or under me *M,* **sit'a'q'd ya:n' siLtahL** I (prone) put it down under me *M.*

2. *With y-anatomical 'hand',* o-**y-t'a'q'** the back of o's hand: *nominalized with -d final:* **siyAt'a'q'd** the back of my hand *L.*

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3. *With qi:y-anatomical 'toe',* o-**qi:y-t'a'q'** the upper surface of o's foot: *nominalized with -d final:* **siqi:yAt'a'q'd** the upper surface of my foot *L (perhaps analogical with 2. and to be corrected to -qi:dAt'a'q'-).*

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4. *With -y-anatomical and -tl'A- (reduced postposition) 'bottom, innermost part of o's hand (palm)',* o-**y-tl'A-t'a'q'** back of o's hand: *nominalized with -d final:* **'uyAtl'At'a'q'd** the backs of his hands *L, 23.65A.*

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t'a'q'e'ch'~t'a'q'ich' *(preverb, originally postpositional phrase, probably with zero reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction, but no longer functioning as such or requiring vocalic classifier, L regularly t'a'q'e'ch', M regularly t'a'q'ich', < t'a'-q'-'e'-ch', compound postpositional phrase with (o-)t'a'q' as in preceding as o of o-'e' 'in place of (absent) o, or perhaps o-t'a' compounde with q'e'~q'e:, q.v., and -ch' final 'continuous or repeated motion to, towards', 'repeated, continuous motion toward the empty place of, behind S's own back', cf. especially Navaho t'ą́·ʔ-e· 'backward')* 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'e:-yAX(-Ach'))*: **t'a'q'e'ch' 'isi'e'dzL** I took a step backwards *L,* **t'a'q'ich' sahLinh** he walked backwards *M,* **t'a'q'ich'** O-**L-GAdj-g** S paddle O (boat) backwards, row O (boat), **'uq'Ach' t'a'q'e'ch'** oar *L,* **'uq'Ach' t'a'q'e'ch' k'udAGAdjg** oar *L,* **'uq'Ach' t'a'q'e'ch' k'uGAdjgL** oarlock *L,* **'u:ntl'i'ts' t'a'q'e'ch' k'uLGAdjg** helicopter *L,* **t'a'q'e'ch' ya:n' disLiqahGLinh** he fell down backwards (chest up) *L,* **t'a'q'e'ch' ch'a' xushdidja'L** I got yanked backwards *L,* **t'a'q'e'ch' ya:n' dla:sAXa'tl'L** it fell over backwards *L,* **t'a'q'e'ch' 'iLXahd** pull (drag) it backwards! *L,* **t'a'q'e'ch' 'Awish** backwater! *L,* **t'a'q'e'ch'~t'a'q'ich' 'Ad-dl-LA-'ya** S lean (cause self to lean) backward *(see dl-'ya 15.).*

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o-**t'a:-X** *(postposition, with -X final thematized, stem always -t'a:-, perhaps expanded, attested with zero, -d, -ch', -dAX, and -ch'ahd finals)* behind, under (a covering, a sheltering) o *(partly overlapping in meaning with o-t'a', especially o-t'a' 2., but here never*

with reference to obstruction or impediment): *with zero (-X-ø) final:* **'Awt'a:X siLtahL** I put it under that (especially that which can cover it) *L,* **'Awt'a:X dla:GAL'e'** hide it behind it! *L,* **'Awt'a:X qu'xtah** I'll put, carry it in it (in bag, under cover) *L,* **'Awt'a:X yAX 'a'L'eh** put it (downwards) behind it (hanging cloth, drape)! *L,* **'Awt'a:X yAX 'i:'ah** it's showing (extending downwards) behind it *L,* **'it'a:X yAX 'i:'ah** it's showing (hanging down) behind you *L,* **'it'a:X yAX k'ugu:'ah** your slip is showing, it's showing down below your pants-cuff *L,* **'itl'a:nt'a:X** (housed) inside a mountain *L, frequently with yahd 'house' (d-class) or other noun referring to a building:* **yahddAt'a:X** into a house *20.26A, 57.5fnG,* **yahdd'luwdAt'a:X** into a big house *20.26A, with GA-L- as o '-most of a series':* **GALt'a:X** undermost, innermost (of layers of clothes) *L, with zero reflexive o in indirect reflexive constructions:* **t'a:X qu'xdAtah** I'll put it under my coat *L (cf. o-t'a' 2. above), with -d final:* **tsa:dla:t'a:Xd** under a stone (as a house) *20.27A,* **'udAt'a:Xd 'Adu'xsditahL** I smoked meat in it *L,* **'udAt'a:Xd 'Adqu'li:ta'L** smokehouse *7.5, 37b.73, 65.55A,* **'Awt'a:Xd q'uhnu: wAX 'i:t'eh** they live in that *68.13A,* **'ut'a:Xd gah k'u:Leh** inside it (whale) there was daylight *11.156A,* **'Awt'a:Xd sAtahL** it's under cover of, concealed by that *L,* **k'u:nda'ch' gah yahddAt'a:Xd** in church *70.10, 11A, Rezanov* Утетахкодачкоэтелле 'Церковь Kirche' **'udat'a:Xd k'u:nda'ch' gah 'idAleh** church *L,* **yahddAt'a:Xd** in a building *L, 52.22L,* **yahda'luwdAt'a:Xd** in a big house *29.56A,* **qi' 'Adk'udAxahLt'a:Xd** in a sweatbath *58.7L,* **'Awt'a:X[d] qa' sLi'nik'L** it (worm) crawled out from under it *L, with -ch'(-a') final:* **tsa:dla:t'a:XAch' GALa'nik'L** it's crawling under a rock *L,* **yahdda'luwdAt'a:XAch'a' sLi'ehLinh** she married into a big house *49.11A,* **'udAt'a:Xd 'Adqu'li:ta'LdAt'a:XAch'a'** into the smokehouse *37b.73A, as o of o-ch'ahd 'away from o':* **ts'isa:yahdAt'a:XAch'ahd ki:nX** was crying (from) inside a tent *32.29A, with -dAX final:* **tsi'sa:yahddAt'a:XdAX yAX dla:GAda'ya:L** was tottering around in the tent *47c.57L; with -Aya' 'that which is': Rezanov* Итъ-ахайя 'Подкладка Unterfutter, Unterlage' **'ut'a:XAya'** its (garment's) lining *L,* **k'ut'a:XAya'** underwear *L, with GA-L- as o, '-most of a series': Rezanov* Кыльтахая 'Рубашка ('shirt') Hemd' **GALt'a:XAya'** underwear *L.*

t'a'L~t'a'X *(form uncertain, perhaps t'a', related to t'a'~t'a:n~t'a:, -X perhaps analogical, generalized from Active imperfective with perambulative, and -L analogical, generalized from perfective)*

O-**L-t'a'L**(**~-t'a'X**) *(or t'a' for only attested non-progressive form, Active perfective, the -L of which could be the perfective suffix; -t'a'X attested only in perambulative forms)* dependent S tie O down with burden of responsibility: **'a'd xusALt'a'Linh** he (baby) has me very much tied down, I can't go anywhere now *L; usually with perambulative,* **yAX** O-**LA-t'a'L~-t'a'X** S hang dependently around O: **'a'd yAX xuLAt'a'Xinh** he hang very dependently around me all the time *L,* **dik' q'e:yAX 'iqe'xLAt'a'LG** I won't tie you down anymore, I won't bother you anymore, you can go wherever you wish now *L; perambulative with y-anatomical 'hands' partly thematized, no effect on glosses:* **yAX xuyALa't'a'Xinh** he ties me down *L,* **yAX 'iqe'yALAt'a'Xinh** he'll tie you down (with responsibility) *L,* **yAX xuqu'yALAt'a'Linh** he'll tie me down *L (this form was then rejected, L seeming momentarily to reject all forms in -L).*

t'a'dz

-t'a'dz S (place) become impassible: **sAt'a'dzL** it (place) became impassible (obstructed by dense brush, alders, fallen logs, etc.) *L (apparently not freely used, attested only in Active perfective).*

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dA-t'a'dz S (place) become impassive *(perhaps originally passive of above, not testable for transitivity, S other than third person being semantically inadmissible)*: **sdit'a'dzL** it's rough going (obstructed by dense brush, etc.) *L,* **sdit'a'dzLdah yAX da:X** 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'a'q' *(perhaps related to t'Aq'1 and/or t'Aq'2)*

t'a'q'-L *(noun, unclassified, with -L-instrumental)* fishhook (small type used for e.g. trout): *Rezanov* Тъ-ааколь 'Уда Angel' **t'Aq'L** small fishhook *L,* **la'dih t'a'q'L** two small fishhooks *L. These are described and discussed in BSdL 121.*

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t'a'q'LXAdALte' fishing-tod *L.*

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O-**l-L-t'a'q'** *(with l-thematic, cf. k'a:'sh)* S hook O (e.g. trout, with small hook): *with qa' 'up, out':* **qa' 'i:nsiLt'a'q'L** I hooked it (e.g. trout) *L; detransitivized with indeterminate O,* **'i-l-LA-t'a'q'** S go fishing (with small hook, for e.g. trout): **'iqe'lAxLAt'a'q'** I'll go fishing (for e.g. trout) *L,* **'ilixsLit'a'q'L** I went fishing *L,* **'ilAxLAt'a'q'** I'm fishing *L,* **'i:LAt'a'q'** fish (for e.g. trout)! *(nasalization missing) L.*

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O-**'-l-L-t'a'q'** *(semitransitive of preceding, attested only once)* S fish (with small hook, for e.g. trout): **k'u'lAGALt'a'q'** fish for something (e.g. trout, with small hook)! *L.*

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'ilAt'a'q'L *(gerundive of detransitivized fully transitive with indeterminate O)* : **'ilAt'a'q'L qu'xqeh** I'll go (by boat) fishing (with rod and small hook, for e.g. trout) *L.*

t'u:ch'qa: *(loan from Tlingit t'ùč' qá 'Negro, black man', see also t'u'ch', qa:)*

t'u:ch'qa: *(noun, unclassified)* Negro *LM*: **t'u:ch'qa:yu:** Negroes *L.*

t'uhL *(attested only with -gwa', conceivably t'uh-L, cf. da:n'-L-gwa')*

t'uhL-gwa'(**~-ga'**) *(numeral; cf. qAlah-qa'-gwa', probably with postposition o-gwa' 'like o, appropriate amount for o')* three: *25.81A, 64.3, 10G, Rezanov* Тоолькоа '3', *Anonymous* Тульква '3', *Baranov* Тульква '3.', *Khromchenko* Тулька '3.', *Wrangell* Тотлькоа 'Drei', *Furuhjelm* Tulkva 'three', *Galushia Nelson* t'ú'tłkàⁿ '3.' *BSdL 553,* **t'uhLgwa'** three *S,* **t'uhLga' XAwa:** three dogs *LM,* **t'uhLga' 'i:nsALk'in'L XAwa:yu:** three skinny dogs *L,* **t'uhLga' XAda: gah** three days *25.9, 65.19A,* **t'uhLga' ti:na: GALAtsAtl'tah** three land-otter skins *33.83A,* **t'uhLga' da: yahddAlah Ga:'** go around three houses! *L,* **Li: t'uhLga' 'uch'ahd yAsALqahL qi'dAX sAsinhL** he died three days ago < already three since it have dawned at the time he died *L,* **Li: t'uhLga' 'a:nd xu'yAsALqahL** I've been here three days < already three have dawned on me here *L,* **dAGa:Xk'a:d t'uhLga'** thirteen *A,* **'Aw t'uhLga' ya: 'u:da' da: sAqehL** we got there (by boat) the third one (day) *59.6 Galushia (or Anna?) Nelson,* **t'uhLga'nu:** three people *LM, 49.56, 68.86, 106A,* **t'uhLga'da'X** three times, thrice *L, Rezanov* Тоолькоаахтакакъ '30', *Wrangell* Тутлокехакхъ 'Dreissig', **t'uhLga'da'X dAGa:q'** thirty < thrice ten *M (see also 62.27G),* **t'uhLga'da:X 'Aw sALtsAXLinh** he cut it in three pieces *L,* **t'uhLga'da:d 'ALtsAX** cut it in three! *L,* **t'uhLga'da:d** three places *25.80A, L,* **t'uhLga'd**[**ah**] three ways *69.23A.*

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t'uhLga' yAsALqahL Wednesday < three days passed *L, Rezanov* Тулькоизылькатль 'Третьяго дни vorgestern'.

t'u'

-t’u’ *(adjective)* many, much 1. *Independent or relativized,* **k’ut’u’** a. *with unclassified nouns*: *2a.16M, 7.22, 9.128, 10.88, 11.24, 119A, 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* Куту 'Много viel', *Anonymous* Утту 'Много' ('many, much'), *Khromchenko* Кутуй / Куту 'Много' **k’ut’u’**, *Furuhjelm* Khututu 'many, much' **k’ut’u’duh** lots indeed *(?), Baranov* Кутту-тагую 'Люди' **k’ut’u’ dAXunhyu:** *(less grammatical than k'ugu:nt'u' dAXunhyu:)* many people, **k’At’u’ sditl’ugL** lots of dough *M,* **k’ut’u’ dAq’Aw k’a’ ’i:Lah** you should take lots of provisions! *L,* **dAq’Aw k’a’ k’ut’u’ ’u’la:yiLXah** you should have your provisions plentiful *L,* **k’ut’u’ shishahL** I dug up many (clams) *L, attested also with 'i:nLk'a't', Le'Lq', La'g, tsin'tl'g, k'utse', GAsAtsah, ts'inhG, lisgusa', si:ns, sa:q'sg, sanh, chAdX, shahG, shAXgL, gugsg, Giyah, Gu:X, wa:w, gahG; see also probable place-name under tanh2;* **k’ut’u’yu:** lots of things *7.22, 11.44, 24.61A.*

1b. *With class-marks*: *d-class:* **k’udAt’u’ wAX dAsAliL** they gathered many (eggs) *68.8A, Furuhjelm* khututu 'many, much' *perhaps* **k’udAt’u’**, **k’udAt’u’ da:na:** lots of money *L, attested oalso with La'g, lis, tsa'L, tsidl, shdu:lihG, yahd, k'utsinh, dAq'a:g, t'its', sinhX, 'u'tl', dALt'u:ch'g; dl-class:* **k’udla:t’u’**, *attested with tsa:, dla:XA'i:nt', dzAwAL, dla:dAq'a:g, Li:ny; ti:l-class:* **k’uti:lAt’u’** lots of skins *L; g-class:* **k’ugut’u’ Ge:ts’** lots of spruceroots *L, attested also with -y-k'u't', sa', lisgusa'; gd-class:* **k’ugAdAt’u’**, *attested with ma:, tl'ihX; gdl-class:* **k’ugAdla:t’u’** lots of paint, colors *L; gl-class:* **k’ugAlAt’u’**, **k’ugu:nt’u’**, **k’ugu:nt’u’ ’u:dAX gAli:sid** lots of streams run by there *L, attested also with giyah, na:w, gi:wa:, q'Adz; qi:l-class:* **k’uqi:lAt’u’** lots of ropes *L; Xd-class:* **k’uXAdAt’u’**, *attested with Le:sk', da:XAdidja'g, gah, yAX XAdAdA'ah, XAdALt'u:ch'g; Xdl-class:* **k’uXAdla:t’u’** lots of waves *L; l-class:* **k’ulAt’u’**, *attested with tAGL, -sha:w, kAwAsgL, q'Ama:, XuhLgL, qAXah, lAGAdAq'a'L, 'i:ndit'u:ch', 'i:nLxi:shg, lAXALk'i:ngshg, -q'AX; lX-class:* **k’ulAXAt’u’**, *attested with chi:shg, cha'tl', kAwu:d, q'Ama:, -la:X, Old Man Dude* goláxxàt’o 'small barrel' *BSdL 546 (a misreading of ms. for 'several berries', the preceding item being lá’màt, i.e. la'mahd 'berries', glossed 'barrel'); lXd-class:* **k’ulAXAdAt’u’** lots of snowballs *L.*

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1c. *With anatomical and thematic marks*: *l-anatomical:* **k’ulAt’u’** lots of faces *L, y-anatomical:* **k’uyAt’u’** lots of hands *L, qi:d-anatomical 'feet':* **k’uqi:dAt’u’** lots of tracks *L; with gl-, special mark for 'humans', used with this stem and luhd only, realized -gu:n- always, L rejecting -gAlA-, see LAt'u' 2.: Anonymous* Кукунту 'Люди' ('people') **k’ugu:nt’u’**, **k’ugu:nt’u’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),* **k’ugu:nt’u’inu: sAqe:GAyu: da’li:LXinhinh** she has many children *L,* **k’ugu:nt’u’inu: ’u:da’ q’e’ shdi’a’ch’L** many more people arrived there *L.*

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1d. *With postpositions*: **k’ut’u’da’X** many times *18.7L, L,* **k’ut’u’da:d ’AdsLitl’a’gL** it's got lots of spots on it < it has spotted itself in many places *M.*

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2. *Dependent* a. *Suffixed to unclassified nouns*: *-'A-t'u' (with forms including only one vowel):* **’AX’At’u’** many boats *L, attested also with ts'u:x, si:ns, sa:q'sg, sanh, chAdX, cha'ch', ch'ihst', ch'e', ch'u:ch', wut'L, la'Xts'L, 'a:L, gu:nn, sAnng, wa:w, ch'ugshg, gugsg, GanhdgL, XuhX, cha:sh, shdi:nn, che:y, gud, ts'an'q'; -t'u' (with forms including more than one vowel):* **XAwa:t’u’ ’a:nd k’uGALe’L** there are getting to be many dogs here *L, attested also with GAsAtsah, Gits'AX, GAsu', qi:yidich'an'k', gAwa'ts', sLi'mahdL, di:nyanh, ch'e:yu', dAkinh, -Gu'ch', gAdAGAmAk', xa:sAXe', -Xa:dj, -Xu', sha:XAlAG, mAgAG, cha:sga:, gudshu:wu:, sha:she:nn.*

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2b. *Suffixed to classified nouns*: *d-class:* **lisdAt'u'** lots of spruce *L, attested also with ye:t', tsa'Lda'luw, tsa'LAyAquhyu:, da:na:, ch'ugshg, qahdl, tl'e'tl'G, q'a'ts', gahG; ti:l-class:* **t'ahLti:nt'u'** many feathers *L; g-class:* **le:Lgut'u'** many hairs *M, attested also with la:X, Ge:ts'; gdl-class:* **'ugu:nAX k'uXe'Lgudla:t'u'** lots of paint *L; gl-class:* **na:wgu:nt'u'** lots of whiskey *M,* **gi:wa:gAlAt'u'** lots of beer *M,* **che:ygu:nt'u'**, **che:ygulAt'u'** lots of tea *LM, attested also with di:ya', ma:sdla:; qi:l-class:* **kihdzqi:lAt'u'** lots of coarse twine *M;* **Xdl-class:** tanhXAdla:t'u' *(many waves) L, attested also with gush; l-class:* **'i:nLch'iya'k'lAt'u'** lots of rotten fishheads *M; lX-class:* **cha'tl'lAXAt'u'** lots of blueberries *M, attested also with chi:shg, wehx, kAwu:d, shug, kihd, gahG.*

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2c. *Suffixed to nouns indicating humans, with special gl-mark or with -'i-*: **'i:yah cha:nnwa:nngu:nt'u' 'a:nch' GA'a'ch'L** my a lot of Chinamen are coming here! *L, Rezanov* Келькаиту 'Онѣ sie', **qe'LGAyu:'it'u'(yu:)** many women *L,* Сукекеиттою 'Дѣти Kinder' **sAqe:GAyu:'it'u'yu:** many children *L.*

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2d. *Suffixed to o-q' 'on o', with Gi-thematic (L reluctant to use freely, but is certain she has heard)*: **'uq'AGit'u'** many bundles of it, a *bunch* of them *L,* **'i: 'iya' 'uq'AGit'u', xu: siya' ya:luhdg** *you*'ve got a big bunch, *I* (only) a few

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LA-t'u' S be numerous, plentiful 1.: *9.105, 10.47, 25.20, 60.27A,* **'ida'ya:lAX 'iLit'u'** they're too numerous *L,* **'ida'ya:lAX sLit'u'L** they became too numerous *L,* **'ida'ya:lAX qu'LAt'u'** qu'LAt'u' *(it'll get too numerous) L,* **de:ga'duw 'iXa' k'uLit'u'** how many to do you have? < how abundant is something for you? *L,* **da:ch'ahdduwga' te'ya' 'iXa' k'uLit'u'** where'd you get all those fish? < whence are fish that abundant for you? *L,* **'u:ch'ahdq'Awga' siXa' k'uLit'u'** that's where I have so much stuff from *L,* **'u:ch'ahdq'Awga' siXa' k'usLit'u'L** that's where I got so much stuff from *L,* **'ida'ya:lAX 'Awa: siXa' sLit'u'L** I got too much of it < there got to be too much of it for me *L; with class-mark for S:* **dla:sdit'u'L** there got to be (too) many (rocks) *L.*

2. *With thematic marks for human S:* a. *With l-thematic (l-anatomical 'face, head' ?),* **l-LA-t'u'** S (human) be numerous: *28.99A,* **'ida'ya:lAX 'u:d 'i:nsLit'u'Linu:** there got to be too many people there *L.*

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2b. *With special gl-mark (perhaps originally k'u-indefinite with l- as in 2a.),* **gl-LA-t'u'** S (human) be numerous: *60.27A,* **'ida'ya:lAX gula:lAXLi't'u'** there are too many of you < you pl. are too numerous *L,* **'ida'ya:lAX 'u:d gulAGALAt'u'Linu:** there are getting to be too many people there *L (originally transcribed k'u-, perhaps correctly, though with indefinite S the -inu: suffix would not be expected).*

t'u'ch' *(attested usually in expanded form t'u:ch', basic form t'u'ch' 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 t'u:ch'qa:, XALt'u:ch')*

dALt'u:ch'(-g)~diLt'u:ch'(-g) *(noun, d-class or unclassified, with optional thematized -g- repetitive, absent where form is o of o-ga', probably nominalized Active imperfective of basic intransitive, not otherwise attested, d-L-t'u:ch'(-g) 'S turn black, charred', with d-thematic 'fire' or d-class-mark for S)* charred, black substance: *Rezanov* Тыльтуучкъ 'Уголь ('coal') Kohle', *Galushia Nelson* tètɬɒú·tc or ɒètɬtú·tck 'black' *BSdL 553,* **diLt'u:ch'g** *L,* **dALt'u:ch'g** black *M,* **'ahnu:ya' dALt'u:ch'g 'Awa: q'uhnu:, Le't'ya'd 'Aw ya' 'ALya:k'** their charred remains, they (cust) used to leave in a box *28.117A,* **k'udAt'u' dALt'u:ch'g** lots of charcoal *L, as o of o-ga' 'like o', standard color idiom for 'black': Rezanov* Тельтючькуете 'Даба

schwarzes, chinesisches Baumwollenzeug', Тальтучкоэте 'Бутылка' *(not in Radlov, 'bottle'),* Тыльтучькоете 'Синей ('dark blue') dunkelblau', Кельтучь коетэ 'Чорной schwarz', *Khromchenko* (Чаютѣ /) Тачакоетѣ 'Черный', *Furuhjelm* Iltuchkvaite 'black', *probably all to be read* **dALt'u:ch'gwä' 'i:t'eh** it's black *S, Galushia Nelson* təthɒu·tc kɛ'i·t'ɛ' ɑχ̣a·ki' 'black canoe' *BSdL 558* **dALt'u:ch'ga' 'i:t'eh 'AXAkih**, **dALt'u:ch'ga' gAdli:t'eh** black (liquid) dye *66.10L,* **diLt'u:ch'ga' 'u'GAdA'eh** it appears black *14.4L,* **dALt'u:ch'ga' sAliL** it turned black *51.79A.*

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k'udALt'u:ch'g *(noun, as above, with k'u-indefinite S, perhaps incorrect)* charcoal *LM.*

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XAdALt'u:ch'g *(noun, Xd-class, as above, with Xd-class-mark for S)* charred logs, charcoal *L*: *Rezanov* Хательтучки 'Головешка, головня Kohlenbrand, Kienbrand' **k'uXAdAt'u' XAdALt'u:ch'g** lots of charcoal, many charcoal logs *L.*

,

-lAXALt'u:ch'L *(noun, perhaps lX-class, perhaps -L-deverbalization, or -L-suffix perhaps incorrect, with lX-anatomical)* pupil (and iris?) of eye: **'ilAXALt'u:ch'L** the black (pupil, and iris?) of your eye *L.*

,

dA-t'u'ch' *(attested only impersonally (third person), perhaps passive, or originally passive, see also below)* S (bruise) turn black: **qu'dAt'u'ch'** it'll (bruise) turn black *L,* **sdit'u'ch'L** it (bruise) turned black *L, with expanded stem:* **siya: sdit'u:ch'L** I got bruised < part of me (bruise) turned black *L.*

,

'i-dA-t'u'ch' *(as above, but with inexplicable 'i-prefix, perhaps originally from Neuter perfective, cf. dA-kast', dA-tl'Adj~)* S (part of person) turn bruised black, *attested only with o-lXd-'e' 'S's eye(-socket)'*: **silAXAde:' 'iqe'dAt'u'ch'** my eye (socket) wil turn black *L,* **silAXAde:' 'iGAdAt'u'ch'L** my eye is turning black *L,* **silAXAde:' 'isdit'u'ch'L** I got a black eye *L, Neuter perfective, which can also be interpreted as instance of dA-t'u'ch', with expanded stem:* **'ilAXAde:' 'idit'u:ch'** you have a black eye *L. Transitive (causative), perhaps incorrect:* **'ilAXAde:' 'iqe'xLt'u'ch'** I'll give you a black eye *L.*

,

'idAt'u'ch' *(noun, l-class, apparently nominalized Active imperfective of preceding, from S only, perhaps incorrect, also possible reading of Anonymous and Baranov)* black gumboots *L, Anonymous and Baranov* Итъ тучъ 'Черно' ('black'), *this being phonologically the closest reading, but prefixation unclear.*

,

'i:ndit'u:ch' *(noun, l-class, nominalized Neuter or perhaps Active (< -dA-) imperfective of dA-t'u'ch' with expanded stem and l-thematic, -class-mark, or -anatomical)* black gumboots, black abalone (chiton) *LMG*: **'i:dit'u:ch' sich' li:'a'** *(not -ta')* give me a black gumboot! *L,* **'i:ndit'u:ch' 'u:d 'i:nsA'ahL** *(not -tahL)* black gumboot is there *L,* **k'ulAt'u' 'i:ndit'u:ch'** lots of black gumboots *M,* **k'u:'nuw 'i:ndit'u:ch'** big black gumboot *M,* **'i:ndit'u:ch'lAkih** little black gumboots *M.*

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didit'u:ch' *(noun, unclassified, as above, but with d-thematic or -class-mark for S)* iron *LM*: *Rezanov* Тетититучь 'Желѣзо Eisen', *Anonymous* Тытытуучь 'Железо', *Baranov* Татытучь 'Желѣзо', *Khromchenko* Итытытсучъ 'Железо', *Wrangell* Тететлучь 'Eisen', *Rezanov* Тетитучь охсленель 'Желѣзной eisern' **didit'u:ch' wAX sLiniL**, **didit'u:ch' wAX sLiliL** iron has been treated, made, fashioned thus, it's made of iron *LM,* **didit'u:ch' 'uda:q'd yahd** cannery < house (d-class) with sheet-iron on top *L,* **didit'u:ch' yahdda:q' ya:nahd tah** sheet-iron < iron which

lies covering some surface on top of a house *L, Rezanov* Татитоучитакль 'Молотъ, Молотокъ eisernen Hammer' **didit'u:ch'tAGL**.

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didit'u:ch'k'uXehL *(noun)* chain; Russian whip, knout < iron rope *L.*

,

'uch'AXtsin'da'X dAt'u:ch' *(noun, unclassified)* kittiwake, *see under ch'AX; probably with Active imperfective of dA-t'u'ch', stem expanded;* < its wingtips are black.

dlAGsh

dlAGsh-g *(noun, unclassified) (with -g-thematic)* dirt *(of any kind) LMA*: *Rezanov* Тлюкушке 'Глина ('clay') Lehm, Thon', **dlAGshgyAq'd** in the mud *M,* **dlAGshg k'uqAXALe'** there's dirt all over the place *L,* **'Aw dlAGshg 'ALk'u'd** wipe that dirt (away)! *L.*

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Gl-dlAGshg *(with Gl-thematic 'ground')* mud *(regular mud on the ground, also as opposed to alluvial mud in flats) LM*: **xan'Lq' Ga:ndlAGshg k'u:Leh** it's very muddy, there's much mud *L.*

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LA-dlAGshg S be dirty, get dirty *(cf. tl'its', "maybe -dlAGshg is dirtier, worse than -tl'i'ts'" L)*: **sLidlAGshgL** it got dirty *L,* **dik' 'AshLAdlAGshgLG** it didn't get dirty *M,* **qu'LAdlAGshg** it'll get dirty *L,* **'isha:w 'iya: shLidlAGshgL** your hair got dirty *L,* **'idjehX 'iya: shLidlAGshgL** your ears got dirty *L; with anatomical marks:* **yishLidlAGshgL** your hands got dirty *L,* **yAGAxLAdlAGshgL** my hands are getting dirty *L,* **qi:dishLidlAGshgL** your feet got dirty *L,* **gAdishLidlAGshgL** your rump got dirty *L,* **lishLidlAGshgL 'i:nsLidlAGshgL** your face got dirty, your face is dirty *L. Transitive (causative):* **siLdlAGshgL** I dirtied it *LA, repetitive:* **dik' xLdlAGshggG** I don't keep getting it dirty *L.*

dlAGA *(~dlA with GAyAG, by haplology)*

dlAGA- *(prefix attested only with independent personal pronouns)* alone, all alone by self: **dlAGAxu:** I all alone, just me *LM, 11.44A,* **dlAGA'i:** you all alone, just you *LM,* **dlAGA'i:sh Lila:' yiLeh** are you the only man there is? *10.188A,* **dlAGA'a:** 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,* **dlAGAyAG** (< *dlAGA-GAyAG, presumably by haplology; L once approved dlAGAGAyAG, later rejected it) we all alone, all by ourselves *LM, 49.107A,* **dlAGAlAXi:** you pl. all alone, all by yourselves *LM,* **ts'id dlAGA'AyAG** just they all alone, all by themselves *L. (L disapproves prefixation of dlAGA- to any other type of pronoun, e.g. to the demonstrative 'anh 'he, she', or of any combination of it with e.g. dA-* 'ipse'*.)*

dla:

dla:X *(except in one proper name, clearly lX-anatomical, -thematic, or -class-mark or subposition C combined with d-thematic of uncertain meaning of subposition A or B)*

dla:X- 1. **dla:Xta:'** *(personal name) man's name* < dla:X-father *L (cf. Yakutat Tlingit man's name tla:X'i:sh, from Elaine Ramos).*

2. *(dlX-thematic mark)* a. *with lX-thematic:* **dla:Xq'e:ts'** nausea *(cf. lX-XAL 'S be dizzy, drunk').*

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2b. *With lX-anatomical 'eye':* o-**ch' dlX-t'e´~-t'u´** S look at, watch o.

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2c. *With lX-class-mark:* **dla:Xt'e'Gshg** unripe berries, **dla:Xk'igshg** berry species, **dla:XA'i:nd** button.

dlahG

LA-dlahG S explode: *with lahdz 'forward': 61.41A,* **lahdz sLidlahGL** it (gun) went off (by itself) *L, with qa' 'up out':* **qa' sLidlahGL** it blew up (by itself) *L,* **qa' qu'LAdlahG** it'll blow up *L. Transitive (causative) O-L-dlahG* S explode O, S blast O: **siLdlahGL** I blew it up (exploded it with dynamite) *L,* **qu'xLdlahG** I'll explode it *L, with d-class-mark for O:* **qa' dAsALdlahGLinh** he blew it up (e.g. house) *L; passive:* **qa' dAdlahG** it'll be blown up (by someone) *L,* **qa' sLidlahGL**, **qa' sdidlahGL** it was blown up (by someone) *L,* **'u:d k'udAdlahG** someone's blasting there < something is being blasted there *L.*

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LAdlahG *(noun, unclassified)* firecracker *L*: **k'ut'u' LAdlahG** lots of firecrakers *L;* **LAdlahGluwyu:** dynamite < pl. big firecrackers *L. Nominalized Active imperfective of preceding.*

tli:~Li: *(variant of Li: less frequent and never with dA-* 'ipse'*, L rejecting proposed *dALi:)*

(**dA-**)**tli:~Li:** *(adverb) (frequently with dA-* 'ipse'*, sampling only of occurrences in text and elicitation cited, dAtli: most frequent, Li: least frequent)* 1. *with perfectives or in nominal clauses:* already, previously, by now, by then, ago now: *Furuhjelm* Tlehatltu 'to-morrow' *perhaps to be read* **tli: XAtl'duh** (it's) already night!, **tli: XAtl'** (it's) already night, by now it's dark *L (cf. tli:XAtl' below),* **dAtli:** *20.53, 21b.10, 23.78, 28.41, 33.76, 61.116, 118A,* **dAtli: 'u'siLqa'L** I already counted it *L,* **dAtli: sitl' 'Aw 'u'sAXahL** you already told me that *L,* **dAtli: yAX xsdiwehL** I already went swimming *L,* **Gi:'ehsh, dAtli: 'Aw 'i:nsALma'Linh** you see? he's already ruined it *L,* **dAtli: yAsa'yahL** it (letter) is already on its way *L,* **dAtli: q'Aw 'Awga' qAsdiya'L** by now they're big enough *L,* **Li: t'uhLga' 'uch'ahd yAsALqahL qi'dAX sAsinhL** he died three days ago now < already by now three have dawned since then, the time he died *L,* **Li: t'uhLga' 'a:nd xu'yAsALqahL** I've been here three days now < three have dawned on me here by now, already *L,* **dAtli: XAsha:nda' 'i:yahL** he's already come close *L,* **GAL'ihd ya: sidA'u:G q'Al dAtli:** this is already my last breath < my last breath this already *(dramatic) 20.22A,* **tli:** *33.57, 59A,* **tli: se:L** (it's) already evening *37b.75A,* **tli: sahdX dAXunh** old person < by then a person for a long time *60.24A,* **dAtli: sahdX ya: yahd** an old house *L,* **dAtli:** (*or* **Li:**) **xuGALga'L** it's already tiring me, I'm getting tired of it by now *L,* **dAtli: 'a:nch' GAqe:Linu:duhnu:** they're already coming (here by boat)! *L,* **dAtli:shuh 'Awga' 'a'GAxda:L** am I getting big enough by now? *L,* **Li: sahdX q'Al da: GA'a'ch'L** 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: **Li: k'ula:G 'inhinh** another married her already, by now *33.57A,* **dAtli:, dAtli: 'idALeh** by now it's happening already *61.117A,* **dAtli:shunh q'uw 'Al qa:ta:' 'utl' tsin'dAlinhinh** apparently God had already, previously been talking to him *51.39A,* **dAtli: yahd Xu' dAlinhinh** he's already building, finishing a house *L,* **dAtli: q'unh q'e' LAtsa'** already she wants to go home *L,* **dAtli: k'uXinhinh** he's (started) eating by now, already *L,* **tli: gAli:tl'eh da:X q'a:l 'Awa: dik'** it used (previously) to be cold by not now though *L,* **dAtli: 'iX 'u'xLileh** I'm aware of what you did already, by now *L,* **tli: q'unhuw dik' 'AnahshAkih 'ahnu:Xe'le:G** by now they don't like him *9.74A.*

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3. *With Inceptive imperfective,* about to, on the verge of: **dAtli: q'unhAw 'udA'u:G 'Awa: qu'lAdA'ah** her life-breath is about to run out *61.103A,* **dAtli: da: k'uqu'Xi:wah** we're about to eat *L, frequently in belligerent threats:* **dAtli: 'ich' qAnuh qu'xtah** I'll "show" you! *L,* **dAtli: qid 'iqe'xLAdja'** I'm going to pull your head off! *(to dog) L,* **dAtli: 'iqe'li:xLshehX** I'm going to split your head open! *L,* **dAtli: lah 'iqe'gAdli:xGAmAts'** I'll wring your neck! *L,* **dAtli: 'idjehXt'e'ts'G 'iqe'xLXahd** I'll drag you by the ear! *L,* **tli: didu'X 'iqe'li:XLXah** I'll really let you have it, am going to just about do you in! *L.*

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4. *With enclitic -dug, 'also, too',* but!, dammit!: **dAtli:dug 'Awq'Asd LAxLqa:ginh** (but dammit) I told him not to!, warned him against that! (and yet he went ahead and did it) *L.*

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tli:-~Li:-dAwa: *(adverb) (tli:~Li: as noun, o of o-dAwa: 'pending, (temporally) upon, before o')* early, in the morning, early in the morning: *Rezanov* Тлитава 'Заря утренная Morgenröthe', Тлитава 'Утро Morgen' **tli:dAwa:** in the morning, early in the morning *L, 11.174, 23.21, 102, 36.3, 50.2, 61.23A,* **Li:dAwa:** *(as preceding) 10.49A, 18.32L, 49.46A,* **yAq'e:X Li:dAwa:** *65.47A,* **yAqe:X Li:dAwa:** tomorrow morning *M,* **yAqe:X tli:dAwa:** early the next day *9.143, 23.21, 25.114, 150, 61.94A,* **Li'q' Li:dAwa:** *M,* **Lich' Li:dAwa:** every morning *L, 33.63A,* **Lich' tli:dAwa: 'Ad-lAxdAkwAs** every morning I wash my face *S;* **Li:dAwa: ya:** breakfast < morning one, morning thing *L; with dA-* 'ipse'*:* **dAtli:dAwa:** very early *L, 18.50, 58L; compounded with adverb q'a:l 'now': Rezanov* Калетлильтава 'Рано ('early') frühe' **q'a:l…tli:dAwa:** this morning.

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tli:XAtl' *(adverb) (compound of tli: as nouns and XAtl' 'night'; never *dAtli:XAtl' L)* yesterday, last night *L*: *Rezanov* Тлехатль 'Вчера gestern', *Furuhjelm* Tlehatl 'yesterday', Tlehatltu 'tomorrow' *(last to be read either* **tli:XAtl'duh** yesterday! *or* **tli: XAtl'duh** (it's) already night!*) for further instances see XAtl' under Xe'tl'~XAtl'.*

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tli: XAtl' *(supposed place-name) camp near Point Whitshed attested as such only in 1938.19 as tɬɨxatɬ, kɬɛx̣atɬ, said to mean "lots of clams," which seems impossible, and is almost certainly tli: XAtl' 'yesterday, last night'* < already a night. *Galushia Nelson* tɬɨx̣atɬ *BSdL 544.*

tle:shXa:shi:shXa:~tle:shXa:shi:shXa:n~tle:shXa:shi:shma:~tle:shXa:tle:shXa:

(for variations see below, loan from Tlingit (ɬ)qašišx̣áw 'dragonfly', Yakutat Tlingit ɬqašišx̣áw G, Sampson Harry, qašišx̣áw S; deformation in Eyak from unidentified influence)

tle:shXa:shi:shXa: *(noun, unclassified) (tle:shXa:shi:shXa:n (former preferred) L, tle:shXa:tle:shXa: A, tle:shXa:shi:shma: (rejected by L))* dragonfly *M, also* helicopter *M.*

tle:qa:

(loan from Tlingit ɬeqá 'twenty' < ɬe-qá 'one-man (all digits)', see also t'u:ch'qa:, kAna:qa:)

tle:qa:- *(numeral)* twenty 1. *with final -g, or for Anonymous, Baranov and S -gw*: **tle:qa:g** twenty *LMA, Rezanov* Тлякакъ '20.', *Anonymous* Тлекаквъ '20.', *Baranov* Тлѣкаквъ *(a partly illegible)* '20.', *Wrangell* Тлекакхъ 'Zwanzig', **tle:qa:gw** twenty *S, Anonymous* Тлекакъ кватакаанъ *(final нъ for къ)* '30.', *Baranov* Тлѣкакъ кватакаакъ '30.' **tle:qa:gk'wa:d dAGa:q'** < twenty plus ten, *Anonymous* Латитъ тлекакъ кватакаакъ '40.' [sic], *Baranov* Лати-тлѣкваакватакаакъ '50.' **la'dih tle:qa:gk'wa:d dAGa:q'** < two twenty plus ten, *Anonymous* Лати-тлеква аакъва '50.' **la'dih tle:-k'wa-a:q'-k'wa-** *or the like, confused effort, Wrangell* Такакхъ лекакхъ

'hundert' **dAGa:q' tle:qa:g** ten twenty, *Baranov* Тлѣкакъ-тыкаакъ '1000.' **tle:qa:g dAGa:q'** < twenty ten.

2. *with final -g apparently optional*: *Khromchenko* Тлекану '20.' **tle:qa:nu:** twenty (people), Тлекакъ катекокъ '30.' **tle:qa:gk'a:d dAGa:q'** < twenty plus ten, **tle:qa:k'a:d LinhGih** *M,* **tle:qa:gk'a:d LinhGih** twenty-one *LM.*

tle'X~tli:X *(tli:X is perhaps an expanded form of tle'X, but the alternation e'~i: is unique; never *Le'X or *Li:X L)*

-tle'X 1. S (fish) swim rapidly, slither: **GAtle'XL** it (fish) is swimming *M,* it (fish) is swimming fast and straight *L,* **Xi:da' sAtle'XL** it (fish) swam fast to way over there *M, with perambulative:* **yAX dAtle'X** (< dA-tle'X-X**)** it (fish) is swimming around *LM, with lAG 'ashore':* **lAG qa'tle'X** it (fish) will flip itself ashore *M, with yAq' 'ashore': 1b.10M, 10.98A, 10.108A, 11.143A, 11.148A, 11.149A.*

2. *Transitive (causative) O-L-tle'X* S forcefully cause O to move through or over surface of water: **lAG 'Aw sALtle'XLinh** he pulled it (canoe) ashore (through the mud) *L,* **sitl' lAG GALtle'X** pull it (canoe) ashore with me (in it)! *L; passive:* **sitl' 'Aw lAG sditle'XL** (*or* **sLitle'XL**) it (canoe) was pulled ashore with me (in it) *L,* **lAG sLitle'XL** it (canoe) was pulled ashore *L; with dl-class-mark for O (tsa: 'stone') (thematized?):* **dla:siLtle'XL** I skipped it (a stone) over the surface of the water *L.*

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lAGtli:X *(noun, unclassified)* halibut *LA*: *9.122, 122, 123, 125, 129, 130, 131, 131, 132, Rezanov* Ляктлихъ 'Палтусъ Riesenbutte (Pleuronectes)', *Anonymous* Лыктлихъ *(with к superscript insert)* 'Рыба, палтусъ', **lAGtli:XdA'e:ts'g** halibut-meat-slabs *9.124A. Nominalization of Active imperfective of -tle'X (? with expanded stem, which normally would be expected to be tle:X), with lAG 'ashore'. M has variant* **lAGtli:nX**, *and Harrington recorded from George Johnson* lą́qh-tłéę́ *(implying -tle:X ?), both of which are rejected by L.*

tla: *(rarely La:)*

tla: *(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 scepticism)*: **tla: qi'ch'ahd dAXunh si'a:n' 'i:yah k'a'** would that from somewhere a person would come upon me *10.219A,* **tla: qi'ch' da: 'i:'a'ch'** let's go (at least) *somewhere L (cf. o-ch' da: 'i:'a'ch' 'let's go to o'),* **tla: qi'ch'ahd giyah 'ixdilah** where ever would I get any water to drink? < whence if such a place does indeed exist, would I drink water? *L.*

,

tla:X *(probably tla: as o of o-X as -X final '(movement within o (area)', functioning, though without -d-interrogative except with -chi:-, as interrogative locative)* 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 (La:X), 37b.48A, Rezanov* Тляхо 'Гдѣ? wo?' **tla:Xuh, tla:X 'Aw** where is it? *L,* **tla:Xunh, tla:X 'anh** where is he? *LS,* **tla:Xuhnu:, tla:X 'ahnu:** where are they? *L,* **tla:X 'Awyu:** where are those things? *L,* **tla:XA'i:** where are you? *M,* **ts'id LinhG ti:na: tsa'k', tla:X 'Aw ti:lAq'As** (there's) only one mitten, where's the other? *L,* **tla:Xunh 'Aw qi'ch' Ga:L** where's that place he's going to? *L; **dla:X-chi:-d*** where (in the world)?: **tla:Xch'i:d sita:'** where ever is my father? *42.20L.*

tla'Xa' *(unanalyzable, to be segmented, if of Eyak origin, tla'-Xa', tla' conceivably a variant of La'1 'glacier' as o of o-Xa' 'by o', as is widely thought by both Eyak and Tlingit informants, but though there is some initial variation of tl-~L- in*

certain forms, e.g. tli:~Li:, tla' is not otherwise known as a variant of La', which, moreover, is d-class, so that 'I camp by a glacier' is La'dAXa' xlah, and this etymology is therefore rather unlikely; perhaps loan from Tlingit ƛaχa- of place-names in Yakutat Bay, see below)

tla'Xa'- *(element in Tlingit place-names in Yakutat Bay) de Laguna 1952 ms. G[eorge] J[ohnson] June 9, "The Eyak name for Yakutat was tłá'χát (tła' = glacier, χa't' (land-near), but the Tlingit couldn't pronounce it", John Ellis July 23, 26* tłàχát'a "an old sealing camp below Point Latouche (Eyak, in Tlingit would be s'ıtdiya)" *[sít' 'glacier'], and the name of Yakutat Bay is* ƛaχayíg, *Swanton (1908, p. 397)* łaxay.î/k 'inside łáxa (an island)'; *G in Harrington* łǻ'χǻ't *'Yakutat?',* łǻ'χǻ·t-yǻ't *'Ankau'.)*

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tla'Xa'lahG *(noun, unclassified) (for -lah-G see la~na1)* Tlingit (of any group, from Controller Bay, Yakutat, or further) *LMA*: *Galushia Nelson* t'łá'χà'là'q *or* (tłáχá'lá') *or* (qłá'χàlàq) 'Tlingit' *BSdL 543,* t'łá'χà'là'qɛ̀iyù *or* qłá'χàlàqɛ̀iyù 'Tlingits (Glacier-people)' *BSdL 543* **tla'Xa'lahGAyu:** Tlingits *LS, 69.16A,* **tla'Xa'lahGAyu:kuwa'na:G** a friend of Tlingits *69.14A,* **tla'Xa'lahGAyu:ga' (tsin'd-le)** (S speak) Tlingit language < like Tlingits *69.6, 3, 14, 17A.*

tlanh *(never *Lanh L)*

tlanh-kih *(adverb) (attested only with -kih 'diminutive' and k'a' 'it would be a good thing that..., please do...')* would that: **tlanhkih k'a' k'uch'ahd 'i:lihyi'yah k'a'** would that there might be something lucky *10.124A,* **tlanhkih k'a' 'ixi'eh** I wish I were married *(man speaking) (= 'AlAshgahX 'ixi'eh, 'u:dkih k'a' 'ixi'eh) L.*

tlu:dz *(loan from Chinook Jargon, probably through Tlingit; not used in Central Tlingit)*

tlu:dz *(noun, unclassified)* 1. woman *(thinks "maybe they used to call women that long ago", has heard Jargon word klooch(man) 'woman' in local English) L.*

2. queen (at cards) *L.*

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tlu:dzqa' *(noun, unclassified)* king *(at cards)* < husband of queen *L.*

tl' *(perhaps related to tl'ah~tl'a'~tl'A~tl', see also qe:tl', ne:tl')*

o-**tl'** *(postposition)* with o: **'uyahshAkihtl'** with her child *20.2A,* **Li'q' k'utse'yu:tl'** with all those quantities of meat *27a.47L,* **si'ehdtl'** with my wife *62.11G,* **sitl'** with me *L, with reflexive o 'Adtl', with reciprocal o 'iLtl', once 'iLi:tl':* **'iLi:tl' tsin'dAdAlinhinu:** they're speaking together *L, with classified nouns as o, class-mark having final d-, -da:-tl':* **dAq'a:gda:tl' 'AX** steamship < boat with fire, **XahdLda:tl'** with a sled *L,* **gehgLda:tl'** with a fish-spear *21a.1L,* **t'ink'Lda:tl'** with an arrow *25.130A,* **da:XAdidja'gXAda:tl'** with a match *L,* **q'ahsXAda:tl'** with the clouds *L, with class-marks having final l-, -:na'-tl':* **ch'iyahd'a:na'tl'** with a hat *L,* **'Aw'a:na'tl'** with it (hat) *L,* **'a'd si'uGL'a:na'tl' 'idAleh** it touches my heart deeply *L,* **dzAwuLdli:na'tl'** with a net *62.4fnL,* **t'ahLti:na'tl'** with a leaf, feather *L,* **Lu:ndiyahsti:na'tl'** with a rat-skin *28.113A,* **Xe:gu:na'tl'** with seal-oil *L, with anatomical marks:* **siqi:da:tl'** with my foot, **siya:tl'** with my hand *L, see also o-y-tl' below; where o in 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.:* **'itl' ya:n' qu'xtu'ch'** I'll lie down to sleep with you *L, o-tl' -'a'ch' 'sg. or pl. S go with o' (frequently*

ambiguous, also 'o go with S', also 'S abduct o, o abduct S', also where o is inanimate object being taken or carried along, as well as animate object going along, willingly or unwillingly; cf o-ka'): **sitl' 'i:'a'ch'** take me along! *L,* **sitl' 'a:ch'inh** seducer < he who persistently takes me along *L,* **sitl' GA'a'ch'L** he's abducting me *L, see 9.116, 10.144A, 15.2M, 18.23, 471, 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, 11LM, 40.11L, 51.63, 77, 79A, 52.9, 14, 55.9L, in preverbal position: 20.25, 28.11, 51.77A,* o-**tl' d-'a'ch'** S get o lost, o-**tl' l-qu** sg. S run with o, *one 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 go (in certain way) with o (animate or inanimate, along)', attested with LA-tsa', 'Ad-tl' O-dl-LA-le, -qe, -we, -la, y-'ya, 'i-L-'e~-'an, 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 -tle'X 2., O-gu'k', O-kinhd, d-L-k'a't', y-LA-q'Aq' d-'ya 1b., LA-'a, LA-dux, O-L-ta'tl', O-dl-L-dza'tl', O-d-tsu:x, L-xitl'~ 1., -xuL~ 6.13M, 10.19, 19A, Xdl-q'a 27a.47L, 28.113A, O-L-Xe'dz 25.6A, lXdl-LA-'Adz, ya' O-(d-)tsAX 10.195-6A, in certain impersonal constructions: 'affecting o':* o-**tl' 'i-d-le** S (event) concern o, o-**tl' 'i-d-Gu'** o sweat, it is warm for o, **tl'eh** o-**tl' 'i-'-d-'ya** o get chill, o-**tl' Gd-'a´** o be trapped in steep place, o-**tl' 'i-XAwa's** S itch o, *see also O-gu'k', O-kinhd, 23.54A, occasionally 'by means of o' (where o-X might more properly be expected, and probably more precisely to be glossed 'with o along (but not directly by means of o)':* **xut'Ltl' siX k'u:LyahLinh** he's bothering me with a gun *L, 25.130, 37b.35, 35, 63, 63A,* **'utl' k'udAxa:gL** tools *M (uncertain), with various verb-themes referring to mixing: O-l-ga:G, O-gdl-L-'ya, O-d-'iL, O-GAmAts', with various other verb-themes, usually translatable as 'with o': 65.23A, 'i-ga´, 'iLya' yAX O-lX-dA-ts'AX-X, o-tl' l-dA-k'ahg, 'i-L-q'a, ch'iyahd da-'-(l-)L-Xa´, C O-'-(l-)L-Xa´, dAXunh -Le('), -'ya 18d., 38., -'a´ 2., O-L-ts'i:nG, di:ya'tl' 'i:Lsih,* **di:ya'tl' gAdAsu'** salt-fish < fish with salt, o-**tl'** O-**X-a** S eat O with o *(i.e. 'with o's company' or 'eat o also'), -le 18.,* o-**tl' 'ALdah-le** S play with o *(o as plaything or playmate),* o-**tl' mAgAG 'i-d-le** 1b. S play checker with o, o-**tl' 'AnahshAkih 'i-d-le** 1b. S have fun with o, o-**tl' 'AdAwi'L 'i-d-le** 1b. S war with (on side of), against, over (concerning) o, o-**tl' 'wAX -t'e~-t'u** *(never 'wAX o-tl')* S live with o, o-**tl' x-dA-xa:g-L** S work on o, with o, *with verb-themes referring to communication, symbolic expression, 'with, at, to o':* o-**tl' yAX 'Ad-y-dA-ta-X** S signal to o with hand, o-**tl' d-dA-dza:nts'** S beg o, o-**tl'** O-**tsahg** S tell o legend of O, o-**tl' k'u-tsin** S sing to o, o-**tl' -guG** S lie to o, o-**tl' d-LA-xwe:g** S whistle to, at o, o-**tl' lXd-dA-q'Ats'** S wink at o, o-**tl'** O-**'-Xa** S tell o of O, o-**tl' d-le** S say to o *(o-tl' 'wAX d-le, 'wAX o-tl' d-le, latter where o is pronoun, in preverbal position),* o-**tl' tsin'd-le** S speak to, with o, o-**tl' li'X l-le** S smile at o, o-**tl' da:X 'i-'-d-le** S beg o, o-**tl' ch'a' y-dA-le** S beckon o to self with hand, *in certain indirect reciprocal constructions:* **sitl' 'iLd GALa'** split it with me! *M,* **Lich' sitl' 'iLd k'uLya:k'inh** he always (cust) split, share it with me *L, and also where o of o-tl' is also one of the reciprocal o of another postposition:* **ts'u:tl' giyah 'iLqa' gAdla:siLyahL** I mixed baby formula < I mixed water with milk amongst each other *L,* **XAwa:tl' 'iLch' 'ahnu: sAtl'ihL** they tied her together with a dog < they tied them (dog and woman) to each other with a dog (same dog) *49.86, 87A,* **XAwa:tl' q'unh 'iLch' 'i:nsditl'ihL** they (woman and dog) were tied heads together with a dog (same dog) *49.94A,* **XAwa:tl' q'uhnu: 'iLk'ah 'anh sALtsAXL** they cut her (them, woman and dog) apart (away from each other) (from) with a dog (same dog) *49.93A,* **'ahnu:tl' 'iLlah qe'sdile'L** they fell in love < they had emotional arousal concerning each other with them *47c.16M,* **'utl' 'iLlah qe'xdAlinhinh dAXunh** my friend < person who I have emotional arousal concerning each other with him *L,* **sitl' 'iLXe'dAlinhinh** my sweetheart < he has emotions, concern for each other with me *L, with certain non-verbal constructions:* **'AXdjinngAG Li'q' ya:yu:tl' 'uXa' k'a:dih** 'AXdjinngAG with all his belongings was gone *47b.23M,* o-**tl' yi:nhinh** o's companion *('the one with o', see ya:),* o-**tl' yi:nhinu:** o's companions; **-tl'-la:** cross-cousin *(see la:~na:1).*

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o-**y-tl'** *(postposition) (with y-anatomical 'hand')*: **siya:tl'** with my hand *L, usually 'with o's permission', occurring only in negative or prohibitive clauses:* **ya'Xu: 'iya:tl' 'iqe'LAxut'inh** let him not shoot (with your permission) *L,* **ya'Xu: 'iya:tl' qu'lAXi:xXAL** let me not get drunk (with your permission) *L,* **dik' 'uya:tl' wAX xle:Ginh** he doesn't let me do that < I don't do thus with his permission *L,* **dik' 'uya:tl' ya:n' k'u:xLya:'G**, **dik' 'uya:tl' ya:n' k'uxLya:k'Ginh** I can't set anything down because of him *M,* **dik' 'uya:tl' 'a:nch' q'e' qa'da:Ginh** he isn't allowed by him to come back here *21b.20A,* **dik' 'uya:tl' Ch'i:leh 'ude:leh q'e' 'Ada:k'G** they didn't let Raven (cust) come around them anymore *9.50A.*

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dA'Awtl' *(postpositional phrase used adverbially, 'Aw 'that' with dA-* 'ipse' *as o of o-tl' 'with o', 'even with that, with that itself')* nonetheless, nevertheless, notwithstanding, anyway, in spite of that: *9.101, 10.121, 24.47, 28.17A, 40.3L, 68.60A,* **dA'Awtl' sahLinh** he went anyway *(cf. dA'Awtl' shA'a'ch'Linh 'he went even with that, with that very thing'),* **lAxLqa:ginh, dA'Awtl' (sili'dahd) sahLinh** I tried to dissuade him, but he went anyway (in spite of me) *M,* **giyah gAli:tl'eh, dA'Awtl' da: yAX sdiwehL** the water was cold, but we went swimming anyway *M,* **dA'Awtl' q'Aw 'ahnu:ch'a:X shA'a'ch'L** nevertheless they helped him *10.119A,* **dA'Awtl'** nevertheless (just to be sure) *33.44A.*

tl'i *(perhaps related to tl'Ala'1 and tl'Ala'2)*

O-**tl'i** 1. S tie, wrap, bind, bundle O: **xuGAtl'i:'** tie me up (bind me, not to something else)! *M,* **'Atl'i:'** tie it!; put it in canoe! *L (see O-tl'i 2.), with yAX 'downward':* **yAX GAtl'i:'** tie it down! *L.*

1a. *With o-ch' 'to o', o-ch' O-tl'i 'S tie O (directly) to (against) o'*: **lisdAch' 'Aw 'Atl'i:'** tie it (directly) to (against) a tree! *L,* **'uq' 'isda'Lch' 'isitl'ihL** I tied you (directly) to a chair *L, with indeterminate o of o-ch':* **dAch' sitl'ihL** I tied it up (directly to something) *M,* **dAch' GAtl'i:'inu:** tie them up! *L, with reciprocal o of o-ch': 49.88A,* **'ahnu: 'iLch' lAXsAtl'ihLinu: q'ahnu:** it's those whom you tied together *49.137A,* **'iLch' sitl'ihL** I tied them together (directly) *L,* **'uk'ahsh 'Aw 'iLch' GAtl'i:'** tie its legs together *L,* **'Al la:Xqi:nAX 'iLch' GAtl'i:'** tie them together with this string! *L, with o-tl' 'iLch' 'together to o': 49.86, 87A, with y-anatomical:* **'iLch' xuyAGAtl'i:'** tie my hands together! *L; passive, with o-tl' 'iLch' 'together to o', and l-anatomical:* **XAwa:tl' q'unhAw 'iLch' 'i:nsditl'ihL** she was tied heads-together (directly) to a dog *49.94A.*

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1b. *With o-q' 'on o' and indeterminate O*: **'uq' 'iGAtl'i:'** bundle them up! < tie something on them! *21a.20L.*

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1c. *With o-lah 'around o', o-lah O-tl'i 'S tie, wrap O around o'*: *21a.23fn, 29L, 28.113,* **'ulah k'uGAlAXtl'i:'** (pl.) wrap something around it *21a.12L,* **'Aw le:Llah 'Aw sAtl'ihLinh, le:Lgulah 'anhXa' sAtl'ihL** they wrapped it around her hair, they wrapped it around her hair *49.33, 33A,* **ditl'a'g tsa'LdAlah GAtl'i:'** wrap paper around the knife! *L,* **sich'a:ndAlah GAtl'i:'** wrap it (bandage) around my arm! *L,* **'ulah k'uGAtl'i:'** wrap it! < wrap something around it! *M, with indeterminate O:* **'ulah 'iGAtl'i:'** wrap it up! < wrap indeterminate O around it! *M, with reciprocal o of o-lah, 'iL(l)ah O-tl'i 'S tie, wrap, roll, fold, coil O (one part around the other, one part overlapping the other)':* **'iL(l)ah GAtl'i:'** 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,* **'iLah qu'xtl'ih** I'll fold it up, tie it up *L,* **'iLah sitl'ihL** I folded it up, tied it up *L, with class-mark for O:* **'iLah gu:tl'i:'** roll it up (into a ball, e.g. twine)! *L,* **'iLlah qi:li:tl'i:'** coil it (rope)! *L; indirect reflexive:* **tanh siXa' qi:dAlah qu'xdAtl'ih** I'll wrap my stocking-material around my feet, legs *L; reflexive:* **'ulah 'Aw 'Adsditl'ihL** it wrapped itself around her *20.11, 12A,* **tse:le:Xquh q'Al silah 'Adsditl'ihL** this octopus has wrapped itself around me *20.20A,* **'iL(l)ah 'Adiditl'ihLinh**

(*or* **'AdA-**) he has curled himself into a ball, is all huddled up *LM,* **'iLah 'AdAdAtl'i:k'** it (cust) curls itslef up into a ball *L; passive:* **k'Adzu:dah 'iLah dAtl'i:k'** they're (cust) folded nicely together *65.60A, with class-marks for O (Neuter perfective):* **'iLah guditl'ihL** ball of yarn, it (filament-like) has been rolled up into a ball *L,* **'iL(l)ah ti:nditl'ihL** they (skins) have been rolled up together *L.*

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1d. *Indirect reflexive with o-la'X 'over o's head', yAX 'downward', and d-thematic ('bright'?)*: **la'X yAX k'udiditl'ihLinh** he has a scarf on; he's (still) covered with his amnion < he has something (bright?) tied down over his own head *(Neuter perfective) L,* **la'X yAX dixditl'ihL** I have a kerchief on my head < I have it (something bright?) tied down over my head *M,* **la'X yAX k'udiditl'ihLga' 'u'GAdA'eh** weather is bad < it looks like it has something "draped over its face" *L.*

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2. S transport O by boat *(O being inactive, animate or inanimate, perhaps (originally) as in a bundle)*: *21a.23fnL, 25.185, 33.74A, 42.9, 10, 12, 53.25, 30, 31L* **dAde:d 'uXa' GAxah, q'e:dah 'a:nda' 'Axtl'i:k'** anything for which I go, I (cust) bring here just like that *9.36A,* **siya:nyu:ch' xu'tl'i:'** take me to my parents *42.12L,* **'Atl'i:'** put it in canoe! *L,* **'itl'i:'** tie it!; put it in canoe! *L (see O-tl'i 1.),* **'Aw 'Atl'i:'**, **'Aw 'itl'i:'** take it (away, in canoe)! *L,* **siya:nch' xu'tl'i:'** take me to my mother (in canoe)! *L,* **k'utse' 'a:nda' sAtl'ihL** you brought some meat here (in canoe) *L,* **da:X GAxtl'i:L** I'm ferrying it across *L,* **da:X 'iqe'xtl'ih** I'll ferry you across *L,* **da:X sitl'ihLinh** I ferried him across *L, with perambulative:* **yAX k'udAtl'i:X** you're transporting something around (in canoe) *L,* **da: yAX 'iditl'ih** let's take it around (in canoe) *M,* **yAX qu'xdAtl'ih** I'll transport it about (in canoe) *L,* **'iLya' yAX xdAtl'i:X** I'm ferrying it back and forth *L; passive: 33.73A,* **'a:nda' q'e' 'iqe'dAtl'ih** you'll be ferried back here *L.*

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O-**L-tl'i** 1a. *With o-X 'in (spatially or temporally) punctual contact with o', o-X O-L-tl'i 'S tie O to o (not necessarily directly, e.g. connected to o by some length of rope) (The postpositional phrase o-X as glossed above does not normally require an L-classifier with zero-classifier transitive themes, but such is typical of o-X 'by means of o'. The L-classifier here is perhaps to be explained thus historically, i.e. 'S tie (immobilize, restrict movement of) O by means of o (to which it is tied)', or, equally plausibly, 'S affect location (restrict movement) of O by tying'; cf. 'Al la:Xqi:nAX 'iLch' GAtl'i:' 'tie them together by means of this string!' L, with zero-classifier, o-X meaning 'by means of o' rather than 'to o', and in which there is no reference to restricting the (absolute) location of O by tying to o')* : *49.37 (to be interpreted 'they tied her own to a paddle' rather than 'they held her down by means of a paddle to which they had tied her'?), 51.45A,* **lisda:X GALtl'i:'** tie it to a tree (e.g. dog, tethered, not necessarily directly against the tree)! *L, with g-class-mark for O:* **Ge:ts' 'AwX gAsALtl'ihLinh** he tied spruceroots to it *34.103L, frequently with indeterminate o of o-X, da:X O-L-tl'i 'S tie O up (to something), moor, tether O, hang O': Rezanov* Тагальтилю 'Свяжи binden, zusammenbinden (Imperat.)' **da:X 'ALtl'i:'uh** tie it up (e.g. boat, dog, to something)! *L,* **da:X 'ALtl'i:'inh** tie him up! *L,* **'Aw XAwa: da:X GALtl'i:'** tie that dog up! *L,* **'iyAq'a'ts't'e'ts'G da:X 'iqe'xLtl'ih** I'll tie you up by your hands *L,* **dik' da:X qu'xLtl'ihG** (*or* **-tl'i:G**) I won't tie it up *L,* **da:X GAxLtl'i:L** I'm tying it up *L,* **da:X 'ixiLtl'ih** let me tie it up *L,* **da:X 'ixLtl'ih da:X** just as I was starting to tie it up *L,* **'Aw lisdAch' 'Aw XAwa: 'Al la:Xqi:nAX da:X GALtl'i:'** tie the dog to that tree with this string *(mixed form, probably poorly-formed sentence) L, in Active imperfective, with ethical or customary force:* **'u:d da:X xLtl'ih** that's where I (normally) tie it (dog) < I normally have it tied up there *L,* **dik' 'u:d da:X xLtl'ihG** that's not where I (normally) have it tied *L, with reciprocal o of o-X:* **Ge:ts'X la'dih tl'ihst' lAX 'iLX 'Aw 'AL[tl'i:k']** by means of spruceroot she binds two devilclubs together this way *11.82A, Rezanov* Ильхатлилю 'Связать binden, zusammenbinden' **'iLX 'A[L]tl'i:'uh** tie them together!, **'iLX**

GALtl’i:’uh tie them together! *L; passive: 10.7, 7, 11.162, 51.21A,* **’ila’t’X da:X qu’LAtl’ih** you'll be tied up by your tongue *51.20A,* **da:X ’iLitl’ihL**, **da:X ’iditl’ihL** it has been tied up *L,* **da:X sLitl’ihL** it got tied up *L,* **Le’t’ ’u:d XAdAGd da:X ’iLitl’ihL** a box hangs suspended from the ceiling (above) *L.*

1b. *Indirect reflexive, with djAX (reduced form of -djehX 'ear', serving as postposition, o-djAX-X?)*: **djAX k’uLitl’ihLinh** he's wearing earrings < he has something tied to his own ears *L.*

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2a. *With qehX 'closed' and d-class-mark for O (door)*: **ta:ya’d ’iXa’ qehX dAGALtl’i:’** tie your door shut! *L.*

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2b. *Reflexive, with ya'X 'upwards', and g-anatomical 'hem'*: **ya’X ’Adgu:LAtl’i:k’** she (cust) ties her skirt-hem upwards *(of a promiscuous wife on a spree) L (cf. Text 72.24, 25).*

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djAX k’uLitl’ihL *(noun, unclassified?)* sun halo, aureola < it is wearing earrings *L. Nominalized Neuter perfective of indirect reflexive O-L-tl'i 1b. above.*

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djAX k’ulAXALitl’ihL *(noun, unclassified)* butterball duck, common *and/or* Barrow's goldeneye (Bucephala Clangula, B. islandica), *perhaps also 'bufflehead' (B. albeola)',* < it is wearing something of lX-class (berry-like) as earrings *L. Nominalized Neuter perfective of indirect reflexive O-L-tl'i 1b. above.*

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djAXAtl’i’L *(noun, unclassified?)* earrings *LM, Rezanov* Чехотлеэль 'Сегри Ohrgehänge', *Anonymous* Чехукитль [sic] 'Серьги', *Galushia Nelson* tcə̀x̣á’t’ɬtɬ *or* tcìx̣á’t’ɬtɬ *BSdL 551 (BSdL 61-62 contains a discussion of ear-ornaments). With djAX, reduced form of -djehX 'ear' and -L-instrumental.*

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k’ushtl’i’L *(noun, unclassified)* garter *LM*: *Rezanov* Коштлеэль 'Тесьма ('braided band') Band, Fitzelband', Костлииль 'Подвязка Binde', Куштлетльакцыцке 'Ленты seidenes Band' **k’ushtl’i’L…tsidzg…**, **k’ushtl’i’Ltsidzgkih** small narrow garters *L,* Катакыльчекоштлиль 'Позументъ ('galloon braid') Posument' **GAdAgiLch’e’ k’ushtl’i’L** brass(-colored, 'sun-excrement') garters *M. With k'ush, reduced form of -k'ahsh 'foot, lower leg', and -L-instrumental.*

,

la’X yAX dAdAtl’ih *(noun, unclassified?)* kerchief *M. Nominalized of passive Active imperfective of O-tl'i 1a. above.*

tl’its’~ts’Ats’ *(perhaps reduced form of tl'i:ts'; L tl'its' 8 times, tl'Ats' 3, M and A each tl'its' once, tl'Ats' once; see also tl'Adj, ts'Adl~ts'Atl', ts'AL~ts'iL, all apparently somewhat confused with tl'its'~tl'Ats')*

tl’its’(-g)~tl’Ats’(-g) *(noun, unclassified) (with, for M, optional -g thematic)* dirt, dirtiness, dust: **tl’its’**, **tl’Ats’** dirt, "dirty" (such as found on clothes, dishes, etc., "not really filthy like dlAGshg") *L,* **tl’its’g**, **tl’Ats’g** dirt, dust *M,* **tl’Ats’ yiLeh** it's dirty (not exactly filthy) *A,* **tl’its’xah Ga:nsAliL** the ground became free of mud *L.*

,

LA-tl’its’ S be dirty: **sLitl’its’L** it got dirty *L,* **Litl’its’Linu:** dirty people *A, repetitive (probably optional and thematized):* **xsLitl’its’gL** I got dirty *L; transitive (causative): repetitive (probably*

thematized): **siLtl'its'gL** I dirtied it, soiled it *L (L not entirely satisfied with this form, prefers siLdlAGshgL, "tl'its' probably not as dirty as tlAGshg").*

,

lX-(L-)tl'its'(~tl'Ats') *(noun, unclassified?, with lX-class-mark thematized, status of L-classifier uncertain; see also tl'Adj)* slush, wet snow: *Galushia Nelson* làx̣át'łèts *or* làxát'łéts 'wet snow on the ground' *(L-classifier apparently absent),* **lAXALtl'its'**, **lAXALtl'Ats'** slush *(same as tl'Adj) L,* **lAXALtl'Ats' ya:n' di:'yahL** wet snow is coming down *L.*

,

qa:sa'GAdAtl'Ats' *(noun, lX-class)* low-bush cranberries *L ("dirty-mouth"). qa: 'our, human', -sa'- 'mouth' (requiring thematic Gd), exact structure uncertain.*

tl'ish2 *(perhaps to be identified with tl'Ash~tl'ish1)*

-qi:y-tl'ish *(noun, unclassified) (with qi:y-anatomical 'toes')* toes: **siqi:yitl'ish** my toes *L,* **siqi:yAtl'ishqa'd** between my toes, the interstices between my toes *L.*

,

-qi:y-L-tl'ish-L *(noun) (as above, perhaps a momentary lapse for -qi:y-tl'ish)* toes: **siqi:yiLtl'ishL** my toes *L.*

,

qi:yAtl'ishqa' k'u:Leh tsa'k' *(noun, ti:l-class?)* gloves (with fingers) < mitts which have interstices between the toes. *Cf. the following. The meaning of tl'ish2 either refers primarily to the toes and is extended by analogy to the fingers here, or the qi:d-anatomical 'foot' part of the mark is analogical to the preceding forms.*

,

-y-tl'ish *(noun, unclassified) (with y-anatomical 'hand') attested only in* ***'Aw tsa'k'yAtl'ishqa'd*** (interstices) between the fingers of the glove *L.*

tl'At' *(perhaps a reduced form of tl'in't')*

tl'At'-g *(noun, unclassified?, with -g-thematic)* clitoris: **tl'At'g** clitoris *A. Recorded without possessive prefix, but it is possible that the form should be a possessed noun.*

tl'Adj~tl'idj1 *(tl'idj less frequent; see also tl'its'~tl'Ats' and tl'Ach', with which this stem is partly confused)*

tl'Adj(-g) *(noun, unclassified?)* slush, soft wet snow; swamp: **tl'Adjg** slush, soft snow *LM,* snot, jelly *M (confused with tl'Ach'),* **tl'Adj** slush, wet snow *LA (= lAXALtl'its' A),* swamp *L.*

,

dA-tl'Adj~-tl'idj S be covered with (wet?) snow: **qi:dla:GA'e' 'ishditl'AdjL** (*or* **-tl'idj-**) the track is covered with (wet?) snow *L ('i- inexplicable unless transcribed in error, cf. dA-ka:st', 'i-dA-t'u'ch').*

tl'Adj~tl'idj2 *(perhaps to be identified with tl'Adj~tl'idj1; attested only with g-mark 'caudal, appendage' or 'filament-like')*

-g-tl'Adj~-tl'idj *(noun, unclassified?)* rump, hindquarter, tailbone: *24.97A (-tl'idj), Rezanov* Какутлячи 'Задница der Hintere' **qa:gutl'Adj…** our rump, human rump, **k'ugAtl'idj** rump, hindquarter *L,* **k'ugAtl'Adj** tailbone *LA,* **sigAtl'Adj** my rump *L,* **'igAtl'idj** your tailbone *A.*

tl’Ach’ *(tl'ich' only once from L, tl'Ach' 6 times from L, 5 times from A, 3 times from M, once from G, Rezanov млеч; partly confused with tl'Adj~tl'idj1)*

tl’Ach’-g *(noun, unclassified?)* nasal mucus, gelatinous substance: *Rezanov* Тлечке 'Возгри Rotz', **tl’Ach’g**, **tl’ich’g** snot *L,* **tl’Ach’g** snot *A,* **tl’Adjg** snot, slush, jelly (congealed fat, gelatin?) *M (confused with tl'Adj~tl'idj1).*

,

dA-tl’Ach’(-g) *(or **-tl’Adj-**?)* S (fat, soup) congeal, be gelatinous: **dAtl’Ach’** congealed fat *M (nominalization? of Active imperfective),* **sditl’AdjL** it (fat) congealed *L,* **GAdAtl’Ach’L** *(or* **-tl’Adj-**, *which L seems to prefer)* it (fish-soup) is turning gelatinous *L, repetitive (thematized?):* **sditl’Ach’gL** *(or* **-tl’Adj-**, *which L seems to prefer)* it (fish-soup) has turned into gelatin *L.*

,

gl-tl’Ach’-g *(or **-tl’Adj-**?) (noun, unclassified?, with gl-class-mark 'liquid' thematized, not attested actualized gulA-)* jellyfish: **gu:ntl’Ach’g** jellyfish *LA. Also transcribed from M once* **gu:nLtl’Adjg**, *from A once* **gu:ntl’Adjg**, *and by Harrington from G* kúutɬ’átchkh, kúutɬ’átckə *(with ring diacritic below ə)* 'jellyfish, meaning gelatinous'.

tl’Ash~tl’ish1 *(perhaps to be identified with tl'ish2)*

d-LA-tl’Ash(-g)~tl’ish(-g) *(attested only with d-thematic 'bright')* S be shiny: **dAGALAtl’ishL** it's getting shiny *M,* **qu’dALAtl’ish** it'll shine (be shiny) *M, with -g-repetitive thematized:* **dALAtl’Ashg**, **dALAtl’ishg** it's shiny *LM,* **diLitl’ishgL** it's shiny, glossy *(Neuter perfective) L,* **dishLitl’AshgL** it got shiny *M; transitive (causative):* **di:Ltl’ishg**, **di:Ltl’Ashg** shine it up! *LM,* **dAGALtl’ish** make it shiny! *M,* **dAxLtl’e:shk’** I (cust) shine it *M; passive:* **diditl’ishgL** it has been shined (made shiny, glossy) *(Neuter perfective) L.*

,

’uX k’udAtl’ishg *(noun, unclassified)* something you use to shine things with *L. Deverbalized passive* < by means of it something is shined. *Transcribed -tl'ishgX, with -X probably in error.*

tl’Ala’1 *(perhaps related to tl'Ala'2 and tl'i, in sense of 'S keep O immobile by binding')*

-Xu:n-L-tl’Ala’ *(noun, unclassified?, with Xu:n-~Xu:l-anatomical 'teeth' and L-classifier)* gums: **siXu:nLtl’Ala’** my gums *LM.*

tl’Ala’2 *(perhaps related to tl'Ala'1 and tl'i, in sense of 'S keep O immobile by binding')*

O-**d-L-tl’Ala’** O get tired of S (any food), S (monotonous diet) sate O, cloy O's appetite, *with d-thematic 'oral'?, 'bother'?*: **xudAsALtl’Ala’L** I got tired of it (any food eaten over and over), I'm tired of it (food, not other things) *L,* **xuqu’di:Ltl’Ala’** I'll get tired of it (same food) *L.*

,

gl-L-tl’Ala’ S (water) get stale, spoiled (from standing): **giyah gu:nsALtl’Ala’L** water got stale (from lying around too long, doesn't taste right) *L,* **qu’gAli:Ltl’Ala’** it (water) will get stale *L. Perhaps a transitive O-gl-L-tl'Ala' 'S (impersonal) spoil O (water)'.*

tl’ug *(Rezanov млек, implying tl'Ag, tl'ig, or expanded tl'e:g, unless read млёк, implying tl'ug; L expands tl'e:g or tl'u:g)*

O-**tl’ug** S knead O; S make O (bread) *(< 'S handle dough-like mass'?)*: **k’uqu’xtl’ug** I'll knead something (e.g. clay, dough) *M,* **’i: ’Atl’ug** *you* knead it! *LM,* **k’utl’u:gk’inh** he (cust) kneads something *L,* **Lich’ k’utl’e:gk’inh** she's (cust) always making bread *L, repetitive:* **xtl’ugg** I'm kneading it (with repeated motions) *L, Rezanov* Кутугахтакатлехъ 'Воскъ Wachs' *perhaps* **k’ut’u’** (**’Awa:**) **wAX da: qu’tl’ug** (*or* **-tl’Ag**, **-tl’ig**, **-tl’e:g**) we'll knead lots (of it) thus; *passive:* **sditl’ugL** it's been kneaded *LM.*

,

sditl’ugL *(noun, unclassified)* dough *LM*: **k’ut’u’ sditl’ugL** lots of dough *M, Rezanov* Ститлекль 'Хлѣбъ' *(not in Radlov, 'bread')* **sditl’AgwL** *(or* **-tl’Ag-** *etc.). Nominalized passive Active perfective.*

tl’i: *(also tl'i:n in Li's transcriptions from G, and from Galushia Nelson in BSdL)*

tl’i: *(noun, Xd-class)* spear *(heavy type used for hunting mammals, described in BSdL 102) LAS*: *19.30L, 25.169A (unclassified, 34.107, 111L, 37.17, 19, 24, 26L (declassified, 'miniature spear'), 63.1, 1, 2, 9, 15, 28G (form tl'i:, unclassified), Anonymous* Тлли 'Копье' ('spear'), *Baranov* Тли 'Копье', *Galushia Nelson* k’li· 'harpoon (short type used for ice-hunting)', t’łiⁿ *or* t’łi 'bear spear', t’łíⁿ sìⁿtàiyà· *or* t’łí· tsìⁿtàiyà 'point of bear spear' *BSdL 549* **tl’i:**[**XAdA**]**tsin’da’ya’** extremity of hunting-spear, **’Aw tl’i: sich’ XAdi:ta’** (*or* **-’a’**) give me that spear! *L,* **tl’i:’Ayu:** spears *19.22L.*

tl’i:ts’ *(perhaps related to tl'its'~tl'Ats')*

O-**tl’i:ts’** S soak O, *attested only with ta' 'in water'*: **ta’ ’ixitl’i:ts’L** I have it (e.g. garment) soaking in water *L,* **ta’ sitl’i:ts’L** I soaked it in water *L (transcribed sA-, 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-L-tl'i:ts', this ta' 'ixiLtl'i:ts'L). The use of classifiers as attested in the transcriptions of all themes with tl'i:ts' appears quite irregular, inconsistent, and problematic.*

,

(O-?)**LA-tl’i:ts’** S (O?) be soaked, *perhaps a separate theme from the preceding, intransitive LA-tl'i:ts' 'S soak', or transitive O-LA-tl'i:ts' 'S soak O', or perhaps a passive of unattested O-L-tl'i:ts' 'S soak O'; attested only with ta' 'in water'*: **ta’ sLitl’i:ts’L** "soaked dirty clothes, so dirt comes loose; soak or dunk stuff in water", *e.g. "dunk toast in coffee, soak out saltfish" L.*

,

gl-tl’i:ts’ S (coffee, tea) be strong, *with gl-class-mark for S 'liquid', attested only in Active perfective*: **gu:nsAtl’i:ts’L** it (coffee, tea) got strong *L.*

,

gl-LA-tl’i:ts’ S (coffee, tea) be strong, *perhaps separate theme from preceding, or (originally?) a passive of O-gl-L-tl'i:ts'*: **gu:nLitl’i:ts’** it (coffee, tea) is strong < has been made strong? *L,* **gu:nsLitl’i:ts’L** it (tea) got (too) strong *L.*

,

O-**gl-L-tl’i:ts’** S make O (coffee, tea) strong, *transitive (causative) of either gl-tl'i:ts' or gl-LA-tl'i:ts'*: **gulAGALtl’i:ts’** make it (coffee, tea) strong! *LM,* **qu’gAli:xLtl’i:ts’** I'll make it (coffee, tea) strong *LM (but not of whiskey, berry-juice, or even of other infusions M)*; *passive:* **gu:nsLitl’i:ts’L** it (tea) has been made strong (by someone) *L.*

,

tl’i:ts’ *(noun, unclassified?)* something thoroughly soaked, *attested only as o of o-ga' 'like o' in* ***’i:yah tl’i:ts’ga’ ’AdiLit’inhinh*** whew! he (baby) sure has soaked himself (urinated)! *L.*

tl’ihst’ *(perhaps also tl'inhst')*

tl’ihst’ *(noun, unclassified)* devilclub *LMA*: *11.79, 79, 80, 82, 84, 84, 90, 90A (with a number of hesitation-forms), Galushia Nelson* t’ɬct’ *or* k’ɬct *BSdL 541,* **tl’ihst”a’luw** big devilclub *M,* **k’u’a:w tl’ihst’** long devilclub *M,* **k’ut’u’ tl’ihst’** many devilclubs *L. Also, in isolation,* **tl’inhst’** *as transcribed by Austerlitz from M, by Li from A, and by Harrington from G (k’ĭhst’, q’ĭht’). 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.*

tl’ihX1 *(perhaps to be identified with tl'ihX2, cf. most. Athapaskan ƛ’əχ or ƛ’υχ 'grass', cf. also Tlingit ƛ’éχ 'brown fungus')*

tl’ihX *(noun, gd-class)* grass *(generic) LMS*: *12.17, 24G, Rezanov* Тллехъ 'Трава Gras, Kraut', *Anonymous* Тлѣхъ 'Трава', *Khromchenko* Тлехъ 'Трава', *Wrangell* Тлехъ 'Gras', *Furuhjelm* Tleh, *Galushia Nelson* t’ɬχ 'grass (or green)' *BSdL 541, 553,* tɬχ qa’ɔ’ɒa’qa’ɒɛ’ɛ lɪs '"green (grass) looks-like tree" (i.e. tree is green)' *BSdL 558* **tl’ihXga’ ’u’dAGAdA’eh lis** a tree which (literally) looks like grass (in color), **k’ugAdAshiyah tl’ihX** bad grass *L,* **k’ugAdAt’u’ tl’ihX** lots of grass *M,* **tl’ihX ’u:d gAdAsA’ahL** (*or* **-tahL**) a piece, blade of grass is lying there *L,* **tl’ihX sich’ gAdi:’a’** (*or* **-ta’**) give me a piece, blade of grass! *L,* **tl’ihX sich’ gAdi:La’** give me some grass! *L,* **tl’ihX sich’ gAdi:Lya’** give me some grass (in a container)! *L,* **tl’ihX guXAdinhinh** he's eating grass *LM,* **tl’ihX guXAdi:ye:** eat grass! *L,* **tl’ihXgAdAlu’qa: da: ’i:’a’ch’** let's go get some grass *L,* **tl’ihXgAdAda:d ya:n’ GAta’** set it down near the grass! *L,* **tl’ihXguda:q’ da:X Ga:L** he's walking across the (expanse of) grass, lawn *L.*

,

tl’ihX qi’ k’u:Leh *(place-name) on or near Eyak Lake, by Mile 5 (?)* < place where there's grass *L.*

tl’ihX2 *(both L and M tend to identify tl'ihX2 with tl'ihX1, "maybe because nests are made of grass")*

-d-L-tl’ihX-L *(noun, unclassified?)* nest (of bird): *Rezanov* Утельтляхтли 'Гнѣздо Nest' **’udALtl’ihXL** its nest, **k’udALtl’ihXL** (bird's) nest *LM.*

,

k’udALtl’ihXL *(place-name) West Branch of upper Situk River near Yakutat, site of Eyak fort and battle with Tlingits in 1805* < (bird's) nest(s), *Sampson Harry* k’υdɑɬƛ’eχɬ.

tl’ihX3

tl’ihX- *(noun, unclassified)* left, *attested only as o of o-L-ch'a: 'o side, direction of o'*: *61.47A, Rezanov* Тлегельчатъ 'На лъво links', **tl’ihXALch’a:d**, **tl’ihXiLch’a:d** left side *LM.*

tl’ihX4

tl’ihX *(preverb)* start, beginning, *attested only with O-(L-)'a, O-L-(y)a and O-L-ya:'*: *34.69M, 66.7L,* **’iya: tl’ihX k’uGAx’a:L** I'm starting something for you (e.g. a basket, beginning the weaving at the center of the bottom) *L,* **ta:sGALah tl’ihX siL’ahL** I started (to make) a belt *M,* **k’ushiyah q’unhAw dAtli: tl’ihX sAL’ahL** he's already started to make trouble *L,* **’iya: tl’ihX qAsiL’ahL** I started them for you (any type of objects that one can make or activities that one can carry on) *L.*

tl’i’ts’~tl’in’ts’ *(nasalized vowel of variant due to regressive assimilation to that of prefix)*

-l-tl’i’ts’-~-tl’in’ts’-G~-d *(noun, unclassified, or perhaps postposition, with l-thematic prefix, probably thematized l-anatomical mark 'head', never actualized -lA-, L sometimes denasalizing, most frequently with unidentified -G suffix, cf. t'e'ts', 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', 'top, crow, summit')*: *Rezanov* Сынтлицке 'Темя Scheitel' **si:ntl’i’ts’G…**, **si:tl’i’ts’G** *L,* **si:ntl’i’ts’G** the top, crown of my head *LA,* **k’udAGAlehkih ’i:ntl’i’ts’q’** *(perhaps to be corrected to -tl'i'ts'Gq' or -tl'i'ts'dq')* **ya:n’ch’ ’AdGAdla:GALAwa’L** a spider is hanging over the top of your head *L,* **k’u:tl’i’ts’G** *L,* **k’u:ntl’i’ts’G** top of something's head *A, Rezanov* Утлицколяткатетекоэте 'Сопка съ огнемъ' *(not in Radlov, 'volcano with fire') probably to be read* **’u:ntl’i’ts’G… Lanhd …gwa’ ’i:t’eh** it's like … smoke … its summit, **’u:ntl’i’ts’[d] t’a’q’e’ch’ k’uLGAdjg** *L,* **’u:ntl’in’ts’d t’a’q’ich’ k’uLGAdjg** helicopter < it rows backward at the top of its head, the top of its head rows backwards *M, Rezanov* Чеятентлицка 'Тулья Boden der Mütze' **ch’iyahd’i:ntl’i’ts’G** crown of hat, **’itl’a:ntl’i’ts’d** summit of mountain *M,* **’Aw’a:ntl’i’ts’Gch’ahd** from its (mountain's) summit *23.157A (-a:n- perhaps analogous to preceding, perhaps to be corrected to 'Aw'i:n-).*

tl’in’t’ *(perhaps related to tl'At')*

tl’in’t’ *(noun, unclassified?)* noise of intestinal gas expelled through the anus, audible fart; noise made by bumblebee *M.*

,

-tl’in’t’ S break wind, fart audibly: *Rezanov* Тльлинты 'Вѣтры испущать furzen' **tl’in’t’inh** he's farting (audibly) *M.*

,

O-**tl’in’t’** S (bee) sting O (< S fart on O?): *with l-anatomical 'head, face' thematized where no other anatomical mark is present:* **xu:nsAtl’in’t’L** it (bee) stung me *L,* **xuqu’li:tl’in’t’** it (bee) will sting me *L,* **’iqe’li:tl’in’t’** it (bee) is going to sting you *L; with y-anatomical 'hand':* **xuyAsAtl’in’t’L** it (bee) stung me on the hand *L.*

,

qa: ’i:ntl’in’t’ *(noun, unclassified)* bee, bumblebee < it farts on our face *LM ("it does something bad on us" M). Nominalization of preceding in Active imperfective, with l-anatomical thematized and qa: 'us, humans' as O.*

tl’e´

tl’eh *(noun, unclassified)* cold, chill: **’Al tl’eh** this cold, this is such cold that... *L, as S of 'i-'-d-'ya 'S change distance to another moving thing' with o-X 'contact with o':* **tl’eh siX ’i’dAGa’ya:L** I'm catching cold < cold is catching me *L,* **tl’eh siX ’i’di:’yahL** I have a cold, I caught a chill, the beginning of a cold *L,* **tl’eh siX ’i’dAsa’yahL** I caught a cold *L,* I got a chill *M,* **tl’eh siX ’i’qe’di:’yah** I'll catch a cold *L,* **tl’eh ’AdxdAgAwih** (*or* **’AdxgAwih**) I feel the cold, I have a cold *L,* **tl’ehga’ ’Adu’xdAgAwih** I feel (like) cold *L, as o of o-y-Xa' 'in the forearms of o, victim to o', tl'ehyAXa' -'ya 'S succumb to the cold (die of cold, get badly chilled)': 11.177fn, 61.79A* **tl’ehyAXa’ si’yahL** I caught a chill *11.177A.*

,

-tl’e´ S be cold: *4.9fnM, Rezanov* Сытлеэль 'Озявнугь frieren', Цытлеэль 'Замерзло gefroren', *Anonymous* Стлель 'Холодно', *Baranov* Стлѣль 'Холодно' **sAtl’e’L** it (or you) got cold, *Rezanov* Атесыттле 'Озявъ ?fror' **’a’d…sAtl’e’**[**L**] it (or you) got very cold?, **sitl’e’L** I got cold, I'm cold *L,* **GAxtl’e’L** I'm getting cold *L,* **qu’xtl’eh** I'll get cold *L,* **’ida’ya:lAX GAxtl’e’LGdAwa:**

before I get too cold *L; with class-marks for S:* **gAli:tl'eh** it (water) is cold; cold water *L,* **gu:nsAtl'e'L** it (water) got cold *L,* **qu'gAli:tl'eh** it (water) will get cold *L,* **gAlAGAtl'e'L** it (water) is getting cold *L,* **gAla:yitl'ehwahd** so that it (water) will cool off *L,* **qi' gAla:yitl'ehch'** until it (water) cools off *L,* **gAlAGAtl'eh da:X** when it (water) gets cold *L,* **gAli:tl'e:k'** it (water) is (cust) cold *L,* **Xa: di:tl'eh** northwind is cold *L. Transitive (causative):* **'ALtl'e'**, **'ALtl'eh** make it cold! *L,* **gAli:Ltl'e'** make it (water) cold *L,* **GAdAGALtl'e'** cool it (place)! *L.*

,

Gd-tl'e *(with Gd-thematic 'place')* S (place) be cold: *57.4, 4, 5G, 61.78A, 63.39G, Rezanov* Катеитле 'Холодно kalt', *Anonymous* Катила 'Холодно', *Khromchenko* Катыитле 'Холодъ' ('cold'), *Wrangell* Котитлха 'Kalt' **GAdi:tl'eh** it (place) is cold, it's cold (weather) *L, Furuhjelm* Itetlia 'morning', Ittetle 'winter' **[G]Adi:tl'eh** *(?, cf. Gu'),* Khatitleuva 'cold' **GAdi:tl'eh 'Awa:** the one of them (places, seasons) which is cold, *or perhaps* **GAdi:tl'ehwah[d]** (e.g. preparing) for cold weather (winter) *L,* **dik' GAda'tl'ehG** it (place) isn't cold *L,* **GAdAGAtl'e'L** it (place) is getting cold *L,* **GAdAsAtl'e'L** it (place) got cold *L,* **qu'GAdi:tl'eh** it (place) will get cold *L,* **dik' qu'GAdi:tl'ehG** *(not *-tl'e:G)* it (place) won't get cold *L,* **GAda:litl'eh** let it (place, weather) get cold *L,* **qi'shuh GAdi:tl'eh** is it a cold place? *L,* **'u:dsh GAdAtl'e:k'** does it (cust) get cold there? *L, repetitive:* **GAdAtl'e'g** it (place) gets cold intermittently *L.*

,

d-L-tl'e´ *(with d-class-mark for S (or O?)) attested only in* **dAsALtl'e'L** they (eggs) got cold (and will never hatch) *L, perhaps transitive as above,* < it chilled them (eggs) *(O-d-L-tl'e´).*

tl'e:kus *(unanalyzable, to be segmented tl'e:-kus, -kus perhaps to be identified with kus, name not known to Tlingit informants)*

tl'e:kus *(noun, probably unclassified)* horsetail, goosegrass, duckweed (Equisetum arvense) *("a grassy plant, duckweed or goosegrass, about two feet tall, comes apart easily, young fowl eat it") L,* young shield-fern sprouts, funny-colored plant *("same as na:XAg 'Aw Xah 'geese eat them'") A*: *Anonymous* Тлякучь 'Щавель или кислица' ('sorrel'), *Harrington from G* ƛ'eekh^{w}ás 'horsetail, scouring rush', **tl'e:kust'u'** lots of goosegrass *M.*

tl'e:xw~tl'e:x

tl'e:xw~tl'e:x *(noun, unclassified?) of uncertain meaning, remembered by L only as o of o-ga' 'like o' in* **tl'e:xwga'** (*or* **tl'e:x-**) **'u:nda' 'Awa: 'i:t'inhinh** her face is sallow, pale and yellowish (sickly-looking) *L,* **tl'e:xgä' 'i:t'eh** you look pale *A.*

tl'e:q' *(see tl'ah~tl'a'~tl'A~tl', yAq'2)*

tl'e:yu'

tl'e:yu' *(noun, d-class)* hemlock *LM*: *68.15, 15, 15A, Furuhjelm* Tleiu 'pine', *Galushia Nelson* t'łéiyù' *or* tłéiyù *BSdL 541,* t'łɛyu' 'hemlock bark' *BSdL 548 (L rejects this gloss),* **tl'e:yu'da'luw** big hemlock *LM,* **tl'e:yu'dAkih** small hemlock *M,* **tl'e:yu' sich' di:ta'** give me a hemlock, piece of hemlock! *L.*

tl'ehd *(perhaps to be analyzed tl'eh-d, tl'eh- perhaps related to tl'ah~tl'a'~tl'A~tl', conceivably earlier *tl'ahd with vowel shift under influence of qehX; L rejects proposed *-L-tl'ehd parallel with -L-qehX)*

tl'ehd *(preverb) (with zero (-d?) final only)* open *M*: **tl'ehd 'i:'yahL** it's open *M,* **tl'ehd 'i:'yahL**, **tl'ehd 'i:tahL** it (store) is open (for business) *L,* **tl'ehd di:tahL** it (door) is open, wide open *L,* **tl'ehd dAGa'ya:L** it (door) is opening *L,* **tl'ehd GAta'** open it (e.g. box)! *M, Rezanov*

Тлеитоката 'Отопри öffnen (Imperat.)' **tl’ehd dAGAta’** open it (door) *M,* **gusi:kih tl’ehd ’Ata:’** leave it a little open! *L,* **tl’ehd kugg** it's (fairly) bursting (repeatedly) open (with abundance of food) *49.137, 138A,* **tl’ehd GALdja:t’** pry it open, unlock it! *L,* **tl’ehd sLidja:t’L**, **tl’ehd sdi:dja:t’L** it's been unlocked *L,* **’uX tl’ehd k’u’Ldja:t’k** key *L,* **giyah qi’ tl’ehd dAxuLg** water faucet *L.*

tl’e’tl’

tl’e’tl’-G *(noun, d-class)* young salmonberry bushes or sprouts *LMA*: *Anonymous* Тлятлкъ 'Малинникъ' ('raspberry-patch'), **tl’e’tl’GdAt’u’** lots of young salmonberry bushes *M,* **tl’e’tl’G sich’ di:ta’** (*or* **di:’a’**) give me a salmonberry sprout! *L,* **tl’e’tl’G di:XAt’** peel a salmonberry sprout! *L.*

tl’ah~tl’a’~tl’A~tl’ *(tl' apparently in one construction only; perhaps ultimately to be analyzed tl'- + -ah, -a', -A, perhaps related to tl'ehd, tl'a'q'1 and/or tl'a'q'2, variations irregular, basic meaning clearly 'rear, back end')*

-g-tl’ah *(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* Кутля 'Хвостъ Schwanz' **-gutl’ah**, **sigutl’ah** my tail *S,* **k’ugutl’ahda’luw** big tail *L,* **k’ugAtl’ah’a:w** long tail *LM,* **k’ugutl’ah ’u:d dAsA’ahL** a tail is there *L,* **k’ugutl’ah sich’ di:’a’** (*or* **-ta’**) give me a tail! *L,* **’ugutl’ah lah dALya:X** it (dog) is wagging its tail *L, in epithets:* **gutl’ahdA’a:w** long-tail *L,* **gutl’ahda’luw** big-tail *L.*

,

Lu:ndiyahsgutl’ah *(noun)* grass species *(green, about 10" high, smells good, dried for winter, medicinal: boiled for soaking rheumatic limbs in; same as XAwa:gutl'ah)* < rat-tail *L, perhaps 'yarrow' or 'dog-fennel', cf. Tlingit* gɑcág ł’idí 'rat's tail', gɑcɑgł’idí 'yarrow (Achillea borealis)'.

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XAwa:gutl’ah *(noun)* grass species *(same as Lu:ndiyahsgutl'ah)* < dog-tail *L.*

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k’utl’ahta:’, **gutl’ahta:’** *(personal name) man's name L, Ahtna chief at Chitina, who talked some Eyak L, G (Harrington), M and S have heard* < tail-father. *Both k'u- and gu- (qualifier, 'hip') are appropriate prefixes in Eyak, but cf. also Ahtna -tl’aa~ cognate and same meaning as Eyak (cf. Goodlitoe, Goodlataw, a common Copper River Indian (Ahtna) surname).*

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gutl’ahdAdik’ *dog's name* < short-tail *A.*

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’igutl’ahdAkih *Anna Nelson Harry's dog's name* < your little tail *A.*

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’iLgutl’a’ ’idiquhL *(place-name) (first transcribed **’iLk’utl’a’ ’idiquhL**) North and Observation Islands* < they're situated one behind the other *L.*

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-g-tl’a- *(form uncertain) attested in Rezanov only* Какутлячи 'Задница der Hintere' **qa:gutl’a…** our …, human …

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o-**tl'ah-** *(postposition) (attested with -d and -ch' finals only)* uppermost end, head (of body of water) *(sparsely attested, with classified nouns, but always lacking class-marks)*: **'a:ntl'ahd** at the head of the river *67.10G,* **ma:tl'ahd** *place-name,* head of arm of Eyak Lake at Mile 5 *L,* **djAXAlihtl'ahd** *place-name,* head of Gravina Bay *L,* head of Nelson Bay (Orca Inlet?), *near Shepard Point M,* **ma:tl'ahch' da: GAqe:L** we're boating to the head of the bay (arm of lake) *L.*

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(o)-**d-tl'a'** *(postposition, or noun, unclassified, with d-thematic, attested with zero, -d, -X and -q' finals)* 1. edge, corner (of o) *(junction of two lines or surfaces forming an angle)*: **'udAtl'a'** its edge, corner (e.g. of box, corner of table) *L,* **k'udAtl'a'** corner (of box) *L,* **'AwdAtl'a'X dla:xsLi'AdzL** I bumped my head against the corner, edge of it *L,* **'AwdAtl'a'q' 'i:tahL** it's sitting (perched) on the corner, edge (of box) *L,* **sisa'GAdAtl'a'** the corner of my mouth *L,* **k'ulu:ch'AdAtl'a'd** inside cheek at corner of mouth *L,* **'u:d 'ilu:ch'AdAtl'a'd ya' 'Ate:** leave, put it (tobacco) inside your cheek! *L.*

2. *(with d-thematic, perhaps 'oral')* corner of (o's) mouth: **sidAtl'a'd** the corner of my mouth *L,* **'idAtl'a'X yAX gulAGa'ya:L** (*or* **k'ugAdla:Ga'ya:L**) you're drooling < something liquid is running down by the corner of your mouth *L.*

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-d-L-tl'a' *(noun) (with d-thematic and L-classifier)* handle: **'udALtl'a'** its handle (of axe, knife, door) *M.*

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-ku:nd-L-tl'a' *(noun) (as preceding, with ku:l-~ku:n-anatomical 'belly, base, thickest part')* stock: **'uku:ndALtl'a'** its stock (of gun), part of handle nearest head of it (e.g. of axe) *L.*

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(o-)(**g-**)**tl'a'** *(noun or postposition, prefixes uncertain, irregular and confused, at most only partly due to mistranscription, alternation mainly between k'u-indefinite o or possessor and g-thematic, L rejects proposed postposition *si-tl'a'-q'-)* 1. o-**g-tl'a'** behind o: **'iLgutl'a' 'idiquhL** *place-names* Observation Islands < they're situated one behind the other *L (originally transcribed *iLk'-, clearly to be corrected to 'iLg-).*

2. (o)-**g-tl'a'-q'-** *(with -q' final 'on')*: **'ugutl'a'q'd** its stern *L,* **sigutl'a'q'X GAda'** sit to the stern of me, by my sternman! *L.*

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3. **g-tl'a'-q'** stern, in stern: **gutl'a'q' 'i:dahLinh** sternman, captain < he who is sitting at the stern *L,* **gutl'a'q'AlahG** captain < sterman *L,* **gutl'a'q'Ach' Ga:Linh** he's going to the stern *L.*

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4. *Rezanov* Кутлякате 'Корма Schiffs-Hinterheil' *to be read* **gutl'a'q'… k'utl'a'q'…** stern.

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5. **g-tl'a'-d** stern of o: **k'utl'a'd 'Awa: 'ALku:n'd** grab its stern, *probably to be corrected to gu-, in agreement with 'Awa: 'of it'.*

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6. (o)-**tl'a'-q'-Aya'** rudder: *Rezanov* Утлякая 'Руль Steuerruder' **'utl'a'q'Aya'** its rudder < that which is at its stern *MA, Galushia Nelson* qə̀t'ɬáqɛ̀iyà' *or* qùtɬáqɛ̀iyà 'steering paddle or rudder' *BSdL 550* **k'utl'a'q'Aya'** a rudder *MA.*

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7. **-tl'a'-q'** stern: **k'utl'a'q'd** stern *M,* in the stern *L,* **k'utl'a'q' 'i:dahLinh**, **k'utl'a'q'AlahG** captain *L.*

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XAtl'a'q' dla:GA'ah *see under 'a'~'a'.*

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-tl'A- *(element in compound postpositions, usually nominalized with -d final)* back end *(especially of cavity, recess, indentation)*: *with o-qa'~-qa:n- 'amongst, between o':* **-tl'A-qa'-~-qa:n** buttocks, cleft of buttocks, anus, rectum, *also in* **ya:Xtl'Aqa'**, **ya:Xtl'Aqa:nch'** upside-down, *see qa'~qa:n~qa:. with gd-class-mark and o-lah 'around o':* o-**gd-tl'A-lah** around the back end, head (of bay, arm) of a (lake), *see ma:, lah~nah; with -y-anatomical and o-t'a'-q'-d 'on behind side of o':* **-y-tl'A-t'a'-q'-d** back of hand (as cavity), *see t'a'~t'a:n~t'a:; with -y-anatomical and o-yAq' 'in o (not with broad opening at top, as cavity)':* o-**y-tl'e:q'** (< o-y-tl'A-yAq'-) in the palm of o's hand, in o's hand, *see yAq'2.*

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tl'A'a:G *(probably to be analyzed tl'A-'a:G) see 'a:G1.*

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-tl'- *(element in compound postpositions, probably further reduced form of -tl'A- rather than to be identified with o-tl') attested only in* o-**Xu:n-tl'-gdl-qa'** *(with -Xu:n-anatomical 'teeth', and o-qa' 'between o' with gdl-thematic)* in (the interstices) between o's teeth, *see qa'~qa:n~qa:.*

tl'ahdz~tl'a'dz *(tl'a'dz in Neuter imperfective, tl'ahdz elsewhere)*

-tl'ahdz~-tl'a'dz S be tightly packed, firm, rigid, stiff, hard, intractable, immobile: *Rezanov* Итляацъ 'Жестко hart' **yitl'a'dz** it's hard (etc.), **sila't' yitl'a'dz** my tongue is tied (I can't pronounce it) *LS,* **sisa'd yitl'a'dz** my mouth is stiff (I can't pronounce it) *L,* **sila't' sAtl'ahdzL** my tongue got stiff (I became unable to pronounce it) *L,* **'i:tl'ahdzL** it's packed hard, tight *(Neuter perfective, resultative) L. Transitive (causative):* **qu'xLtl'ahdz** I'll pack it tight *L,* **siLtl'ahdzL** I packed it hard, tight *L, repetitive:* **xLtl'ahdzg** I keep packing it tight *L, with lXd-class-mark for O:* **lAXAdisiLtl'ahdzL** I packed it (snowball) hard *L; passive:* **'u:d 'iLitl'ahdzL** it's packed in tight there *L; reflexive:* **'AdGAxLAtl'ahdzL** I'm bracing myself, steadying myself (in tipping canoe, swerving car) *L,* **'AdsLitl'ahdzLinh** he steadied himself, braced himself *L.*

tl'a'1

O-**L-tl'a'** S strike O (a sharp blow, with a sharp instrument, heel of hand?): **'ALtl'a'** hit it hard (once)! *M,* chop it!, "bust 'em up!" *L,* **qu'xLtl'a'** I'll hit it *L,* **siLtl'a'L** I hit it, **xLtl'a:k'** I (cust) hit it *L, with ya' 'completely':* **ya' k'u:nLtl'a'** chop it (something) hard!, chop it (something) clean through! *M, with l-anatomical:* **'iqe'li:xLtl'a'** I'll chop your head *(Billy Dude used to say; a strong expression, normally said to e.g. a dog rather than to people) L.*

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O-**L-tl'a'-g** S make marks, spots (on O), S draw, write (on O), *repetitive of preceding, frequently with O (usually third person for L, k'u-indefinite for M) thematized*: *Rezanov* Альтлякъ 'Пиши schreiben (Imperat.)' **'ALtl'a'g** write! < spot it up!, mark it up!, strike it with repeated sharp blows! *L, Rezanov* Коунтлякъ 'Писать schreiben' **k'u:n[L]tl'a'g**, **k'u:nLtl'a'g** write!, make marks on something!, leave message or signs on something!; leave stick pointing as indicator! *(this last probably by modern extension) M,* **k'uxLtl'a'g** I'm writing *M,* **dik' xLtl'a'gG** I'm not writing *L, Rezanov* Кутляакъ 'Записка Schreiben, beschriebener Zettel', *Anonymous* Култлякъ 'Пишетъ' ('he's writing') **k'u:Ltl'a'g**, Култлкинъ 'Читаетъ' ('he's reading') **k'uLtl'a'ginh** he's writing (on) something; *with O (third person or k'u-indefinite) clearly thematized, semantic O represented both as O and as o of postposition:* **'uq' k'uqu'xLtl'a'g** I'll spot it up < I'll spot it on it *M,* **'Awq'Ach' 'Aw GALtl'a'gLGdAwa:** before he writes on it *L, with indeterminate O:* **'uX 'iqe'xLtl'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-L-tl'a'-g 'S draw (the likeness of) o' ('S mark up O with the likeness of o'):* **Le't'ga' 'ALtl'a'g** draw a square! < mark it with the likeness of a box! *L,*

dAXunhga' k'u:Ltl'a'g draw (a picture of) a man! < mark something with the likeness of a person! *L; with l-anatomical:* **'iqe'li:xLtl'a'g** I'll paint your face (with make-up) *L. Reflexive, 'Ad-LA-tl'a'-g 'S make marks on self; S have marks, spots on it, S be spotted' (not necessarily the result of any action on the part of S):* **'AdsLitl'a'gL** it's spotted *M,* **k'ut'u'da:d 'AdsLitl'a'gL** it has lots of spots on it (e.g. leopard) < in lots of places *M,* **'AdsLitl'a'gL XAwa:** spotted dog *L; with l-anatomical:* **'Ad-lALAtl'a'ginh** she's painting her (own) face (with face-paint) *LM. Passive: Rezanov* Цытлякклькоете 'Пестрой ('variegated, gay-colored') bunt' **sditl'a'gLgwä' 'i:t'eh**, Слитляаклькоете 'Пестредь Buntheit' **sLitl'a'gLgwä' 'i:t'eh** it looks like it has been marked, spotted, written on, **sLitl'a'gLga' 'i:t'eh** it looks like writing *L, Rezanov* Кослитлекль-коете *(with Кослитлекль- crossed out and Хаоцех- written in above, see XAwa:-tse'q')* 'Желтой gelb' **k'usLitl'a'gLgwä' 'i:t'eh** it looks like something which has been marked, spotted, written on, **Lich'a:d sditl'a'gL** it has been written on on one side *L.*

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dAtl'a'g (*or* **ditl'a'g**) *(noun, unclassified)* paper, book, page, written material, letter *LMS*: *Rezanov* Тытлякъ 'Бумага Papier', **ditl'a'gch' dla:XAxit'eh** I'm reading < I'm looking at writting material *L,* **'Aw dAkinh 'Aw ditl'a'gqa' li' GAtsu:x** poke that stick into the book! < in between the pages, papers *L,* **ditl'a'g tsa'LdAlah GAtl'i:'** wrap paper around the knife! *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective of O-L-tl'a'-g.*

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'uq'Ach'ahd 'ida'dAXah ditl'a'g *(noun, unclassified)* newspaper < paper, written material from upon which accounts are told *L.*

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'uX k'utl'a'gL *(noun, gl- or gdl-class?, probably unclassified)* ink. *Rezanov* Охкотлякль 'Чернила Tinte'. *Deverbalized passive with -L-instrumental,* < by means of it something is marked, written on.

2. *(Xd-class?)* colored pencil, crayon *M.*

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'Adi:ntl'a'gL *(noun, unclassified?)* face-painting *A,* ə́ɒí·t'łà·kł '"face-painting"' (Basket Pattern 5) *BSdL 547 (Eyak basket-patterns are described in BSdL 82-83, face painting 59-61). Probably deverbalized reflexive with l-anatomical and -L-instrumental, or gerundive.*

tl'a'q'1 *(perhaps to be identified with tl'a'q'2, perhaps to be analyzed tl'a' -q', related to tl'ah~tl'a'~tl'A~tl', with postposition o-q' 'on o')*

tl'a'q' *(preverb) (with zero (-q'?) final only)* harm, injury, badly (?), *attested in tl'a'q' l-dA-'a 'S get hurt, come to grief, have misfortune' and causative thereof tl'a'q' O-l-(L-)'a 'S spoil, break, ruin (functioning?) O', see l-dA-'a 2. and O-l-(L-)'a 2. under 'a.*

tl'a'q'2 *(perhaps to be identified with and analyzed as tl'a'q'1)*

tl'a'q' *(preverb) (with zero (-q'?) final only)* duration, for a long time, *attested only in S tl'a'q' -'a´ 'S (season, process, event) last, take long', S tl'a'q' 'a:w 'S (season) be long', see -'a´ 10. under 'a´~'a' and -'a:w 3. under 'a:w1.*

Lq'Awa:k' *(from Tlingit łq'αyák'w)*

Lq'Awa:k' *(personal name) youngest brother in Alder People and Sun People story (34.) G (Harrington), L (see 34.0fn for discussion).*

Lid~LAd1 *(Lid more frequent than LAd; perhaps to be identified with Lid~LAd2)*

dA-Lid-g *(with thematic -g-repetitive)* S (tree, bush, branch) be dead and dried: **sdiLidgL** it (tree) is dead; dry wood *L (the latter gloss is probably the more appropriate, Active perfective nominalized,* **k'udALidgda'luw** big dead tree *M (Active imperfective nominalized as d-class noun), Harrington* tɑɬɬɑ̀tk 'dead dried tree' *G* **dALAdg** 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:* **disdiLidgL** dead trees or bushes *L,* **disdiLidgL sich' di:'a'** give me a piece of dry wood! *L,* **qAdisdiLidgL** "something about lumber" < pl. (wood) are dead and dry *M,* **qu'dAdALidg** it (tree) will die *L; with dl-class-mark for tsi:ny 'branch':* **dla:sdiLidgL** dead dry branches *L.*

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O-**Xd**-(**L**-?)**LAd-g** *uncertain form, attested only once, with Xd-class-mark for O, < -L-LAd-?*: **qu'XAdi:xLAdg** I'll split (?) wood *M.*

Lid~LAd2 *(Lid more frequent than LAd; perhaps to be identified with Lid~LAd1; expanded Le:d and Li:d)*

O-**gd-Lid(~LAd)-g** *(with thematic -g-repetitive and mark including g-class-mark 'filament-like')* S braid O, S braid O's hair: **xugAdi:Lidg** braid my hair! *L,* **gudALi:dk'inu:** they (cust) braid their (not own) hair *L,* **gAdi:Lidg**, **gAdi:LAdg** braid it (hair, wick)! *L; reflexive (where dA-classifier indicates that classifier of basic theme is zero):* **'AdgAda:dALAdg** braid your hair! *A,* **'AdgudAdALidginh** she's braiding her (own) hair *L,* **'AdgAdAdALe:dk'inu:** they (cust) braid their (own) hair *L.*

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gudALidg *(noun, gd-class or unclassified)* braid (of hair) *L*: **gudALidggudA'a:w** long braid *L,* **gudALidg sich' 'Ata'** give me a braid *L.*

LidguXa:g

LidguXa:g *(personal name) Jack Patty, father of* ***dAGi:dj****, Tlingit-Eyak man, bilingual, from Katalla, moved to Cordova after wife died, stayed with Anna Nelson, she kicked him out L.*

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Lit'kɑXa:g *(personal name) Alec Johnson, stepson of George Johnson (from Elain Ramos) (etymology unclear, in spite of Eyak stems Lid, Tlingit gunXA: 'abalone'; same as preceding?).*

Li~Li' *(perhaps related to LinhG, and/or to Li; Li' in Li'q' only, perhaps more properly to be analyzed Li-'q')*

Lich' *(adverb) (Li- as o of o-ch' 'to, continuous or repeated motion toward o', frequently with dA-* 'ipse'*: dALich', and/or with -a' augment, Lich'a', dALich'a', diLich'a', but Lich'a' (without dA-* 'ipse'*) attested twice in Rezanov only)* 1. always, usually, often, frequently, all the time *(attested with most verbal mode-aspects, except for Active perfective, and especially frequent with imperfectives, repetitive, and customary, citations sampling only from elicitations and complete for textual occurrences only through text 10.)*: **Lich'** *2a.1, 21M, 13.2, 19.2L, 20.32A, 47b.5, 7M,* **dALich'** *10.156A,* **diLich'** *19.7L,* **dALich'a'** *9.37, 11.55, 24.33, 61.22, 69.27, 70.11L,* **'u'yiliditahL dALich'** it was expected at any time *37b.79A, Rezanov* Тличь-а 'Часто ('often') oft' **Lich'a'**, **Lich' 'iGux'eh** I see you all the time *M,* **Lich'** often *M,* **'AXa: Lich' ga'ginh** my how he always gets tired *L,* **diLich'a'**, **diLich'** always *L,* **diLich' 'Ad k'a' ti:li'di'e:g** you must always wear it on your shoulders *L,* **Lich' 'AdALAgwe:Gk'inh** he (cust) lies all the time *S,* **diLich'a' 'iGAdAXAma'L** it's always growling *A, Rezanov* Тличахъ-

эхъ 'Поносъ ('diarrhoea') Diarrhöe' **Lich'a' Xe'X** often outside, **Lich' Xe'X yAX da:Xinh** he often goes (about) outside (close to house, to excrete, and back in) *L.*

2. *With Active perfective or Inceptive imperfective,* forever, for good, permanently *(here usually with dA-* 'ipse'*)*: **dALich'** *9.167, 20.101, 32.7, 13, 15, 23A,* **diLich'** *53.18L,* **dALich' 'a:ndAk'ah da: qa'a'ch'** we'll go away from here for good *L,* **q'ahdAq'Aw Lich' ya'** (*or* **yAX**) **sAkugL** it's finally broken for good *L,* **Lich' yAX sLiduxL** it caved in for good *L.*

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3. *With Inceptive conditional,* each time, every time: **dALich'**, **dALich'a'** *9.78A,* **Lich' qe'L 'AdiX Gah da:X k'a' 'u'e'ch'ahd ya' gu:Liya:nk'inh** every time a woman comes in you should (cust) stand up to make room for her *L.*

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4. *As attribute to nouns referring to periods of time, used adverbially,* every: **Lich' gah** every day *3.16M, 38.14, 14fnLM, 47b.14, 21, 29M, 47c.27L (cf. 2a.21M),* **Lich' se:L** every evening *9.79A,* **Lich' XAtl'** every night *39.4L,* **diLich' Li:dAwa:** *L,* **Lich' Li:dAwa:** every morning *33.63A,* **diLich' Li:dAwa: yAX GAda:k'** take a walk every morning! *L,* **Lich' tli:dAwa: 'Ad-lAxdAkwAs** I was my face every morning *S,* **Lich'** *(not Li'q')* **gah k'uLch'a:nGginh** she tans skins every day *L,* **Lich' xah** every summer *L; but see also Li'q' 3. at end.*

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Lidah *(adverb, Li- with -dah adverbializer)* always, continually, persistently *L*: *1a.1, 13, 1b.15, 2a.10, 29, 35M, 10.96, 96A, 19.21, 40.3L,* **Lidah Lq'e'g** the fire always keeps going out *LM,* **Lidah xq'ahsh** I keep chocking (on a bone) *L,* **Lidah sik'ahch' XAdla:'ya:k'inh** he (cust) keeps running away from me *L, with dA-* 'ipse': **dALidah k'udAlinhinh** he's continually drinking *L.*

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Li'q' *(adverb?, probably to be analyzed Li- as o of o-(')q' 'on o', frequently with dA- 'ipse' (citations sampling only of occurrences in text and elicitations)* 1. *independent, not as attribute to nominal,* all, every, each one, both, the whole, everything, everybody: **Li'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,* **dALi'q'** *67.6G,* **Li'q' dAXunhyu:qa'ch' 'ilAX'a'ch'** all of you go to amongst humans! *13.12L,* **Li'q' sikä' 'ilAX'a'ch'** all of you come with me! *9.114A,* **Li'q' 'udAya' da: qa' shA'a'ch'L** we all boarded it *59.11 Galushia Nelson,* **Li'q' dALAxwe:g yiLinhinh** she is all a groundhog *22.7L,* **Li'q' Lila:'GAyu:** they're all males, all are males *34.90L (cf. 25.100 below),* **Li'q' dAXunhyu:** all were people *18.42L (cf. below),* **'uqa'X yi:nhinu:, dik' 'a'd Li'q'G** some of them, by no means (?) all *69.3A,* **dALi'q'** both of them *67.4G,* **Li'q' wAX sitl' dAleh** they both said thus to me *68.117A, Galushia Nelson* ɒ̀tɬ́k' 'all or everybody' *BSdL 544* **dALi'q'**, *Rezanov* Тувахлекъ 'Вездѣ ('everywhere') überall', Туахлеккъ 'Всю̂ Alles', Туахлеккѣ 'Всѣ Alle', *Furuhjelm* Tuuhlekh 'all' **dA'wAX Li'q'** still, just all, everything, everyone, all yet.

2. *Used adverbially, perhaps incorrect*: **ts'a' qi' Li'q' k'u:Leh** place where it's all muddy everywhere *L (perhaps to be corrected to ... yiLeh),* **Li'q' 'a:nd xu'lidigah** I'm well (all) known here *L (perhaps to be corrected to Li'q' 'a:nd xu'li:Lgah 'all know me here'),* **Li'q' 'a:nd qa: 'u'lidigah** we're well known here *L (perhaps to be glossed 'we're all known here', or corrected to ... 'u'li:Lgah 'all know us here').*

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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,* **dALi'q'** *11.162A,* **dALi'q' dAXunhyu:** *64.11G,* **Li'q' dAXunhyu:** everybody, all people *M, 2a.25, 30M, 9.162, 62.19, 22, 25, 67.11G (cf. 18.42 above),* **dALi'q' Lila:'GAyu:** all the menfolk

25.11A (cf. 34.90 above), **dALi'q' ya:yu:** *L, 11.1A, 25.200, 49.110, 51.76, 77, 68.125A,* **Li'q' ya:yu:** everything, all sorts of things, all kinds of stuff *M, 2b.15, 5.4L, 7.4, 30, 43, 9.17, 160, 11.27, 70, 157, 24.7, 25.30A, 28.14, 45, 84A, 34.46L, 50M, 36.40A, 37a.16L, 37b.18, 53A, 47a.3L, 23M, 47c.30L, 49.111, 123, 51.24, 76, 68.51, 70.3A,* **dALi'q' ya:yu:dah** *11.140A,* **Li'q' ya:yu:dah** everything, all sorts of things, in every way, just about everything in the book *(adverb) 9.64, 102, 102A,* **dALi'q' 'Al ya:yu:** all these things *10.235A, 65.74A,* **dALi'q' 'Awyu:** *23.20A,* **Li'q' 'Aw ya:yu:** all those things, all that stuff *9.112, 23.19A,* **Li'q' 'Al ya:** this whole thing *11.162A,* **Li'q' 'Al dAXunhyu: xa'dAwahd 'iLit'ehyu:** all these things which people keep for themselves to eat *11.11A,* **dALi'q' la'mahdyu:** all kinds of berries *63.33G,* **Li'q' 'ahnu: shAshehLinu:** killed them both *47a.7L,* **Li'q' 'ulAX 'isiL'anhL** I saw them all *L,* **ts'ik' Li'q' lAXqa'ga' lAXch' qu'xtah** I'll give each and every one of you a dish *L; with noun referring to period of time, probably incorrect, see Lich' 4. above:* **Li'q' Li: dAwa: La'g 'Awa: dALich' 'ALya:k'inh** every morning he always (cust) brings wood (several trips) for it *M.*

Lila:' *(perhaps to be segmented Li-la:', perhaps nominalized Neuter imperfective of unidentified verb-theme LA-la:' or, if < LAla:', Active imperfective; informants unable to etymologize or inflect; perhaps related to LAni:'; Furuhjelm perhaps once Lina:')*

Lila:' *(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.11, 45b.1M, 47a.1, 47c.1, 22, 48.11, 49.6, 7, 38A, 52.3, 7, 14, 19, 53.5, 19, 22, 55.19, 58.11, 61.123, 68.86, 99, 102, 104A, Khromchenko* Хиля 'Мужчина' ('man'), *Furuhjelm* Lilia 'man', *Galushia Nelson* tɬílà·ʔ *or* tɬílà· 'man' *BSdL 542,* **Lila:'shA'anh** is it (newborn) a boy? *L,* **de:duw yiLe:, Lila:' da:X qe'L** which it is, a boy or a girl *23.123A,* **Lila:' sALe'L** it's (it, newborn, became) a boy *L,* he (pubescent, with changing voice) became a man *L,* **Lila:' xiLeh da:X 'iqe'li:xgu'k'** if I were a (grown) man I'd punch you in the face *LM,* **Lila:' 'i'inhinh** the man is married *L,* **Lila:' tsisinh** a man is copulating with her *S,* **dlAGA'i:sh Lila:' yiLeh** are you alone a man? *(i.e. you're not the only man in the world) 10.108A,* **dik' LinhGih Lila:' 'ALe:G** there's not only one man *(i.e. as preceding) 23.149A, Rezanov* Кодельчахаллиля 'Человѣкъ ('man') Mensch' *perhaps to be read* **k'udALch'a:q'Ginh Lila:'** deaf man *L,* **ku:'nuw Lila:'** big-bellied man *L,* **la'q' yicha'sh Lila:'** man with thick hands *L, Furuhjelm* Khalilna 'young', *perhaps to be read* **q'a:li(...)Lina:'** *archaic form,* **q'a:l Lila:'** young man, man in his prime *53.6L,* **Lila:'ga' 'udAGAleh 'Awa: sAliL** her mind became like a man's *49.55, 56, 57A, with suffixed adjective, connective -i-,* **Lila:'i'luw** big man *L, with suffixed -G-yu: 'personal, pl.':* **Lila:'GAyu:** men, menfolk, males *L, 10.23, 25.17, 100, 130A, 38.2LM, 49.71A, 66.3L,* **la'dnu: Lila:'GAyu:** two men *23.1A,* **'i:nsALyahLinu: Lila:'GAyu:** old men *28.128A,* **q'a:l Lila:'GAyu:** young men, men in their prime < now men *28.129A,* **Li'q' Lila:'GAyu:** they're all males *34.90L,* all the men *52.2L,* **Lila:'GAyu:ya' mAgAG** "men's" side of check game *L, used as attributive: Galushia Nelson* tɬílà·ˀ səqˀǎ·tsə̀kì 'boy ("man-child")' *BSdL 542* **Lila:' sAqe:ts'Akih** *49.156A,* **la'dnu: Lila:' sAqe:GAyu:** two male children *18.49L,* **Lila:' dAXunh** a male person *34.84L,* **Lila:' XAwa:** male dog *L,* **Lila:' shiyahsh** my son (male child) *(woman speaking) L,* **Lila:' sidAGe:'** my younger brother (male younger sibling) *L, attribute to d-class-noun:* **dALila:' ye:t'** male part of wild celery plant *L.*

2. jack, knave *(at cards) L.*

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3. *(personal name) Charlie Thomas, brother of Johnny Thomas, son of da:Xta:nn Fanny Scorn, oldest sister of Susie Abraham (from Elaine Ramos).*

LAkush'i:'ah *(unanalyzable, to be segmented perhaps LA-kush + 'i:'ah, 'LA-kush extends', LA-kush perhaps nominalized Active imperfective of otherwise unattested*

*theme LA-kush with LA-classifier, stem unidentifiable, L rejecting proposed Active perfective *sLikushL; more probably folk-etymologized borrowing from Tlingit łʊgšiyán, nugšiyán 'mink' (probably l- > n- > łʊ- under influence of łú 'nose'), note also Tsimshian (Rigsby) lišy̓áan, lisy̓éen, nisy̓éen 'mink'; for variants see below)*

LAkush'i:'ah *(noun, unclassified)* shrew(-mouse) *LA*: *17.9M, Harrington* lukkhṃ́c'íi'ɑ̀h 'mouse' *G, other variants:* **LAgush'i:'ah**, **LAkushdi:'ah** *A,* **LAk'ush'i:'ah** *A,* **sLik'ush'i:'ah** *M, often influenced by -k'ush-d-anatomical 'foot', but regularly LAkush'i:'ah as verified with L.*

LAnAs~LAnis~LinAs~Linis *(loan from Tlingit łʊnáṡ 'nose-ring')*

LAnAs~LAnis~LinAs~Linis *(noun, unclassified)* nose-ring, padlock: *Galushia Nelson* tɬínìs 'nose ring' *BSdL 551* **Linis**, **LAnis** padlock *M,* **LinAs** nose-ring, padlock *A,* **LinAsX lisdiXe'dzL** his nose is ringed with a nose-ring *A,* **LAnAsluw** big padlock *LM.*

Li:

Li:ny~Li:n *(form uncertain)*

Li:ny~Li:n *(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")*: **Li:ny La'g** Li:ny wood *L (heard Billy Dude say, "some kind of wood, found on the other side of Hawkins Island, i.e. not ordinarily found in the immediate Cordova area, cedar?"),* **Li:nyshA'Aw** is it Li:ny? *L (has heard, "some kind of spruce?"),* **k'udla:t'u' Li:ny** lots of Li:ny *L (perhaps influenced by tsi:ny 'branches', dl-class).*

LinhG *(perhaps related to Li~Li', therefore to be analyzed *Li-nG)*

LinhG *(numeral)* one: *with -ih (abstract, or associated with unclassified nouns), LinhGih, often also translatable as 'a certain', 'first', or, contrastively, 'other': 2b.16L, 8.15, 16, 9.130, 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, 46.1, 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* Тлинк-э '1.', *Anonymous* Тлехи '1.', *Baranov* Тлѣки '1.', *Khromchenko* Слеака '1.', *Wrangell* Тлхинке 'Eins', *Furuhjelm* Likhi, *Galushia Nelson* tɬʰkɛ '1.' *BSdL 552,* **LinhGih XAwa:** one dog *LM,* **LinhGih du:sh** one cat *L,* **LinhGih shishahL** I dug up one (clam) *L,* **LinhGih lAXa:** one of you pl. *L,* **'anh LinhGih k'ushiyah 'ula'X di:'yahLinh qe'Lda' sahLinh** he went over to that one angry women (of two) *47c.51L,* **'anh LinhGih qe'Lda' sahL** he went over to that other woman *47c.53L,* **'anh LinhGih 'anhdahd guLiya:n'L** one (person) is leaning against the other < that one is standing against him *L,* **LinhGih k'uk'ahsh** one foot *(measurement) LM,* **LinhGih ts'a'tl'g** one drop *M,* **LinhGih yahd** one yard *(measurement) L,* **LinhGih k'uXa'tl'L** one hour, **LinhGih sLi'Xa'tl'L** it's one o'clock, it struck one *L,* **LinhGihch'ahd ya:'a:g** 1:30 < half-way since one *L, often, especially in measurements of time, enumerating the number of times an event (measuring or marking time) takes place: 21b.24, 23.53, 25.119, 27b.14, 69.11, 12A;* **LinhGih da:X** one at a time *34.83L; as digit in higher numerals: Rezanov* Таккакоатлинкъ-э '11.', *Furuhjelm* Takhakhlikha 'eleven' **dAGa:X[k'a:d] LinhGih**, **dAGa:Xk'a:d LinhGih** eleven *MA,* **tle:qa:(g)k'a:d LinhGih** twenty-one *M; with dA-* 'ipse'*:* **dALinhGih** just one, exactly one *A, with diminutive -kih:* **'anh LinhGihkih** that small fellow, youngster *10.26A. In conjunction with classified nouns:* **LinhG XAda: gah** one day *43.16, 45b.10, 46.7, 47b.23, 27M (in all these instances not a measure of time but rather in the sense 'then on a certain day', perhaps under influence of English),* **LinhG XAda: gahwahd da: qa'qeh** we'll go (by boat) for one day *L,* **LinhGa:na: qAXah** one month *M,* **LinhGa:na: 'itl'** one mountain *L,* **LinhGa:na: tAGL** one

hammer *M,* **LinhG da: da:na:** one dollar *S,* **LinhG gAda: ma:** one lake *M,* **LinhG guka: le:L** one hair *LM,* **LinhG guka: la:X** one piece of string *L,* **LinhG guka: Ge:ts'** one strand of spruceroot *L,* **LinhG ti:na: k'uXah** one pelt *M,* **LinhG qi:na: k'uXehL** one piece of rope *M,* **LinhG qi:da: k'uk'ahsh** one (anatomical) foot *LM,* **LinhG lAXa:** one (berry) *M,* **LinhG lAXa: sich' lAXa'a'** give me one (berry)! *L,* **LinhG lAXa: k'ula:XlAXa'luw** one big eye *L. With -nu:lAya',* **LinhGnu:lAya'** one pair, *with no overt class-marks even in association with classified nouns:* **LinhGnu:lAya' sanhAsi:nL** one pair of socks *L,* **LinhGnu:lAya' tsa'k'** one pair of mittens *L. As o of postposition, with adverbial function in sentence:* **LinhGda'X** 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.l, 10L, 49.1A, 55.1, 56.1, 58.1L, 61.4aA;* **LinhGda:ch'** to one place *29.20A,* **dik' LinhGda:dG** not in one place *68.62A,* **LinhGda:d ts'a'** one spot muddy < mud in one place *L; with -dah adverbializer, LinhGdah 'still, motionless, without movement, without change of location':* **LinhGdah sAt'u'Linh** he suddenly "froze", suddenly ceased activity, became catatonic *L,* **LinhGdah 'a't'e:** sit still! *L,* **LinhGdah 'iLt'ux** hold it still! *L.*

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LinhGih yAsALqahL Monday < one day passed *L, Rezanov* Тулькоизылькатль 'Трерьяго дни vorgestern'. *(See also 62.26fnG.)*

Le(') *(irregular stem: Le' in all Inceptives and Actives, and in Neuter perfective, but Leh in Neuter imperfective and perhaps Neuter optative (attested only once), and Le: in Neuter imperfective negative and probably Neuter imperative (attested only once), Neuter conditional and Neuter subjunctive not clearly attested; the only other stem showing this type of variation is le('), to which Le(') is conceivably related (< L-le(')?); themes with Le(') show a dA-classifier where expected, never L- or LA-, and are all intransitive; the theme O-'-(l-)L-Xa´ may be considered to function as the causative of -Le('); all themes with -Le(') and O-'-(l-)L-Xa´ require a complement, abbreviated C)*

-Le(') 1a. C **-Le(')** S be, become (substantively an instance of) C: *2a.23, 3.17M, 9.35, 35, 36, 137, 138, 139, 10.124, 124, 188, 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, 54, 55, 56, 57, 75A, Rezanov* Аткольгетеэтлеиту 'Бѣдной ('poor') arm' **'a'd k'ulAX 'i:t'eh yiLinhinhduh** he sure is very rich, powerful, *Wrangell* Тексеконахалекъ 'Feind' **dik' sikuwa'na:G 'a'Le:G** he is (or you are) not my friend, fellow-clansman, relative *L, Galushia Nelson* ɒètɬə̀x̱ʷǻk sə̀tɬǎ'tɬì' 'he turned into a groundhog' *BSdL 559* **dALAxwe:g sALe'Linh**, tä'ya' ɒəqəqʷí·ɬät 'I turned into a fish' *BSdL 273, 559 probably to be read* **te'ya' …Le…**, **dlAGA'i:sh Lila:' yiLeh** are you alone a male (do you think you're the only man there is)? *10.188A,* **de:duw yiLe:, Lila:' da:X qe'L** which it wss, boy or girl *23.123A,* **Lila:' sALe'L** it's a boy (born) < it became a boy, he reached puberty, became a male *L,* **LAni:'i'luw sALe'L** he became a big boy *L,* **k'udi'lahG xiLeh da:X** if I were a big chief *L,* **'ulAX xi:l 'ahnu: yiLehlehd** because he was more of a shaman than they *56.21L,* **lah q'e' sdiLe'L** it became another village *68.54A,* **lixah GALe'Linh** he's turning into a grizzly-bear *L,* **ki:nXAch'iya' yiLeh** you're a crybaby *L,* **k'uq'Ach' 'ida'Xinhinh yiLinhinh** he's a tattle-tale *L,* **'AlAshgahX si'ehd Gi:Le'** I wish you'd be my wife (marry me) *L,* **k'Ayi:ny GALe'Linh** he's turning into a different thing *L,* **dAlu'qa'yah sALe'L** it formed a boil *L,* **dehdj yiLeh** it's a sandbar *L,* **ye:t' dAkinh GALe'L** wild celery is turning to wood *L, see also t'e:G, Lahdz, ch'ich', q'AXda:, yah for further examples; with dAXunh 'person' as C: dAXunh -Le(') 'S be, become a person': 19.16L, 20.79, 81A, 21a.18,*

31L, 23.56, 57, 83, 113, 114, 24.37, 29.8A, **dAXunh q'e' sdiLe'L** he turned back into a person *L; dAXunh -Le(') is also often used idiomatically 'S live, behave (live a certain way), be born': some of the textual occurrences may be interpreted both/either literally and/or idiomatically: 25.199, 29.26, 49.10A, other textual occurrences clearly idiomatically: 9.28, 20.90, 21b.23, 23.115, 25.29, 209A, 38.12LM, 49.5, 7, 9, 50.63, 51.12, 12, 18, 74, 84A, 57.2G,* **dAXunh sALe'L** you were born *M,* **sahdX dAXunh xiLeh** I'm old, I've been around a long time *L,* **'a:ndAX yi:nhinu: dik' wAX dAXunh 'a'Le:G** people hereabouts aren't like that, don't act that way < those around here are not people thus *L,* **dAk'e:(yu:)dunh dAXunh yiLeh** whatever kind of person he is *L,* **siga' dAXunh GALe'** be like me! *L,* **guGga' dAXunh yiLinhinh** he's a doublecrosser, liar *L,* **guGga' qa:Xa' dAXunh yiLinhinh** he's treacherous, deceitful with us *L,* **sLa'dah dAXunh yiLinhinh** he's a wonderful person *L,* **'a:wAyu: dAXunh qi:Linhinu:** they're bad, ill-mannered people *L,* **ta:dz te'ya'e'd dAXunh xiLeh** 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 more frequently absent than present, many classified nouns thus attested with no class-marks attested):* **dla:Xt'e'Gshg lAXi:Leh** they (berries) are unripe *L,* **dehdjda'luw dAGALe'L** it (already a sandbar?) is becoming a large sandbar *L,* **dAkinh dAsALe'L** it (wild celery) has turned to wood *L (cf. ye:t' dAkinh GALe'L 'wild celery is turning to wood'),* **dAq'Ada'ya: dAGALe'L** it (car) is getting old *L,* **k'a't'shgahX di:Leh** I wish it were an island *47c.59fnL (either d-class S, e.g. 'u'tl' 'driftwood', implied, or d-class-mark through influence of C, k'a't' 'island').*

1b. *With yd-thematic for 'fish-meat'*: **cha'ch' yAdi:Leh** it's red-salmon meat *L,* **Gi:nŋa:dAG yAdAGALe'L** salmon-meat is getting ripe-red *L,* **XAXg yAdi:Leh** fish-meat is fresh *L,* **k'udzu: yAdi:Leh** salmon-meat is good *L.*

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1c. C **-Le(')** S consist of C, S function as C: *25.51, 68.111A,* siaⁿyɪtɬʰ'iⁿ 'step-father' *BSdL 568A* **siya:n yiLinhinh** step-mother < she (who) "is" my mother *L,* sɔt'ayɪtɬʰ'iⁿ 'step-mother' *BSdL 568A* **sita:' yiLinhinh** step-father < he (who) "is" my father *L (cf. sita:' q'A'anh 'he's my (real) father').*

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1d. C **-Le(')** S be, become C-y, S have (much) C on it, C be (characteristically or adventitiously) present on S, S be "full of" C *(in certain cases, especially with nouns denoting natural phenomena or conditions, it is not clear whether the interpretation falls under 1a. above or 1c: see Lahdz, tsin'G, gust', ka:st', kihsh, k'u:y, xi'ch', qe:L, qAmAXch', q'Ayi:ny, Xu'ch', wehs, wa'q', di:ye:X under yAX)*: *10.33A, 16.13M, 41.1, 2, 45a.7L, 65.56, 57, 70A, Rezanov* Чышкетле 'Песчаное мѣсто sandige Stelle' **chi:shg yiLeh** it's sandy, Итакохетленъ 'Здоровъ gesund' **'idah q'AX yiLinh[inh]** he's quite plump < he's nicely endowed with body fat *L,* **tsi:n yiLeh** it has branches *M,* **t'its' sALe'L** it got icy *L (cf. t'its' sALe'Linh 'he turned to ice' 50.20A),* **XAsL yiLeh** it has a carved design on it *L,* **da:sh yiLeh** it has foam on it, is foamy *L,* **giyah xa:g yiLeh** water is steaming *L,* **k'ulAXAq'As xiLeh** I'm one-eyed *M,* **dAL sALe'Linh** he got full of blood, he got bloody, he bled *L,* **lAXkihga' di:ya' yiLeh** it's a little too salty *M,* **shahG yiLeh** it's slimy *L,* **k'uyA'e'd yiLinhinh** she has marks, evidence on her *M,* **tsa'LdA'e'd yiLinhinh** she has knife-marks on her *M,* **'a'tl'yA'e'd yiLeh** it (pelt) has toothmarks on it *L; ts'a' -Le(') 'S be, become muddy' (extensive paradigmatic elicitations of this were recorded, a sample of which follows):* **ts'a' yiLeh** it's muddy, you're muddy *L,* **ts'a' da: yiLeh** we're muddy *L,* **ts'a' lAXiLeh** you pl. are muddy *L,* **ts'a' yiLinhinu:**, **ts'a' qi:Linhinu:** they're muddy *L,* **dik'shuw ts'a' 'a'Le:G** (*or* **'ALe:G**) isn't it muddy? *LM,* **dik'sh ts'a' 'a'xwLe:G** aren't I muddy? *LM,* **ts'a' qu'(qA)lAXLe'** you pl. will get muddy *L,* **dik' ts'a' qa'Le'G** it won't get muddy *L,* **ts'a' da: (qA)sALe'L** we got muddy *L,* **ts'a' 'ALe:k'** it (cust) gets muddy *L,* **dik' ts'a' 'a'Le:k'G** it's not (cust) muddy *L,* **ts'a'shuw GALe'L** is it getting muddy? *LM,* **ts'a' (qA)GAlAXLe'L** you pl. are getting muddy *L,* **ts'a' GALe'** be muddy!, get muddy! *L,* **ts'a' 'iLe'** be muddy! *M,* **ts'a' 'ixiLe'** let me be muddy *L,* **ts'a' da: qa:liLe'**, **ts'a' da: 'i:Le'** let's be muddy *L,* **ts'a' 'i:Le'** let it be, get muddy *L,* **ts'a' 'a'liLeh** let it be muddy *L*

(only attested Neuter optative, stem form uncertain, should perhaps be Le'), **ts'a' q'e' diLeh** it's muddy again *M,* **dik' ts'a' 'a'dALe:G** it's not muddy anymore *M,* **ts'a' q'e' 'idiLe'** 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):* **t'its' di:Leh** it (board) is icy *M,* **dik' t'its' da'Le:G** it (board) isn't icy *M,* **gahG di:Leh** it (tree) is pitchy, pitchy place on tree *L,* **Gu:X guli:Leh** it (water) is full of bugs *L,* **qAmAXch'L dAGALe'L** it (ice) is getting rotten spots in it *L; occasionally, perhaps incorrectly by analogy, class-marks for classified C appear with unclassified S:* **GAdAq'Ayi:ny lAXi:Leh** it's foggy *L,* **qa't'LyAquh lAXi:Leh** it's full of moth larvae *L; with anatomical marks:* **XAs lAXAdi:Linhinh** his eyes are pussy *M,* **k'ahG 'i:nsALe'L** its (dog's) face got full of porcupine quills *L,* **ts'a' lixiLeh** my face is muddy *L,* **ts'a' li:Leh** its, your face is muddy *L,* **ts'a' da:** (**qA**)**li:Leh** our face(s) are muddy *L,* **ts'a'** (**qA**)**la:lAXiLeh** your pl. face(s) are muddy *L,* **ts'a' lAGi:Le'L** your face is getting muddy *L,* **ts'a'** (**qA**)**la:lAXsALe'L** your pl. face(s) got muddy *L,* **ts'a' 'i:nsiLe'L** my face got muddy *L,* **ts'a' li:xLe:k'** my face is (cust) muddy *L,* **dik'sh ts'a' la'yiLe:G** isn't your face muddy? *LM,* **ts'a' la:xiLe'X 'ixleh** I want to have a muddy face *L,* **ts'a' da:** (**qA**)**la:yiLe'** let's have muddy faces *L,* **dik'sh ts'a' guda'xwLe:G** isn't my rump muddy? *L,* **ts'a' gAda:xiLe'** let my rump be muddy *L (also recorded -Leh, typical of analogical forms especially frequent in optative),* **ts'a' qi:dAGi:Le'L** your feet are getting muddy *L,* **ts'a' qi:dixiLeh** my feet are muddy *L,* **ts'a' qi:di:xLe:k'** (*or* **qi:da:xLe:k'**) my feet (cust) get, are muddy *L.*

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1e. *With certain nouns denoting special activities as C,* S do, go C: **kus 'ALe'** urinate!, go pipi! *LM,* **kus GALe'** go pipi! *L,* **da' GALe'** defecate!, go poopoo! *L,* **da' qa'Lin'inh** he'll go poopoo *L,* **da' sALe'Linh** he messed his pants *L,* **didu'X da' siLe'L** I almost messed my pants *L,* **'Ami:n GALe'** pray! *L,* **'Ami:n qu'xLe'** I'll pray *M,* **'Ami:n siLe'L** I prayed *L,* **Li'q' hu:l sALe'L** it's all sold out *L.*

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1f. *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, 136, 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* Коауэтле 'Высоко ('high') hoch' **k'u'a:w yiLeh** it's long, Ковахетле 'Въ пору, Въ пропорцїю passend, nicht zu eng' **k'uwAX yiLeh** it's wide *M,* Ягучькесленъ 'Дитя, Реденокъ Kind' **ya:kuch'g(kih) yiLinhinh** he's small, **ya:kuts'g(kih) yiLinhinh** he's small *L,* Якучкетленке 'Мальчикъ Knabe' **ya:kuch'g(kih) yiLinhinhkih** small youngster *(nominalized, with -kih diminutive), Galushia Nelson* ɕu'lu· yɪtɬʰhɪʰ 'big man' *BSdL 553* **k'u'luw liLinhinh** he (who) is big, **Xa:'d k'ushiyah yiLeh** weather is lousy *M,* **k'ushiyah sALe'L** it spoiled, it (e.g. bread) turned out badly *L,* **ya'Xu:shgahX Xa:'d k'ushiyah qa'Le'** I hope it won't be nasty out *L,* **'a'q' silAGL dA'a: k'ushiyah yiLeh XAwa:** I threw it out because it's a bad dog < dog which is bad *L,* **k'ushiyah GALe'LGdAwa:** before it spoils, turns bad *L,* **ta:dz k'udzu: yiLinhinh** he formerly used to be good, pleasant, healthy *L,* **k'udzu: sich'a' yiLinhinh** he's nice to me *L,* **k'Adzu: sALe'Linh** he got well *L,* **sLi'mahdL siLmahdL da:X k'Adzu: sALe'L** I baked bread and it turned out well *L,* **k'udzu: GAlAXLe'** pl. be good! *L,* **k'udzu: 'iLXa' q'e' sdiLe'Linu:** they made up (reconciled) *L,* **k'e:d 'i:t'eh -- k'udzu: xiLeh** how are you? -- I'm fine *L,* **k'udzu: Gi:Le' da:X** if you're good *L,* **'AlAshgahX** (**Xa:'d**) **k'udzu: Gi:Le'** I hope it's nice (out) *L,* **'AlAshgahX k'udzu: Gi:Lin'inh** I hope he's nice, healthy *L,* **k'udzu: 'a'Le:** (**q'ah**) be good (finally)! *(only attested Neuter imperative),* **k'udzu: 'ALe:'** be good! *L,* **'u:d k'udzu: q'e' qu'dALe'** you'll get well again there *L,* **ya:dik' sALe'L** it shrank < it became short *M,* **ya:dik' qa'Le'** it'll get short *L,* **k'u'luw xiLeh da:X** if I were big *L,* **k'u'luw(kih) 'iLe' da:X** just as it's getting (slightly) big, grown up *L,* **ya:djidjg yiLinhinh** very slim person *L; with classified S or anatomical marks:* **k'uti:lAshiyah GALe'L** it (e.g. skin, rhubarb) is turning bad *L,* **giyah**

ya:gulAguhdg GALe'L water's getting very low *L,* **giyah k'ugAdli:'nuw sALe'L** water got very high *L,* **tanhXAdli:'nuw GALe'L** waves are getting big *L,* **k'uku:n'nuw yiLinhinh** he's big-bellied *M,* **ku:ndAkuts'g yiLeh** it (tree) is small at base *L,* **gi:wa:lehd dlu:n'nuw GALe'L** he's getting big-bellied because of (drinking) beer *L,* **ya:qi:dAkuts'g yiLeh** your feet are small *M.*

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1g. *With numeral as C*: *8.4, 10.157, 179, 11.80, 23.149, 32.2, 68.106A.*

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1h. (1) *With certain types of adverbs as C*: *with k'a: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.4, 55.7L, 61.55A (all these textual forms are Active perfective), Wrangell* Кателенину 'Böser Geist' *probably to be read* **k'a:dih yiLinhinu:**(?) (*or* **'i:Le'Linu:**(?)) those who are lost, gone (dead), **k'a:dihch' Le:gk'inu: dAXunhyu:** people who (cust) keep disappearing *28.86A (repetitive customary, only repetitive attested with this stem),* **k'a:dih GALe'** get lost! *L,* **k'a:dihshgahX 'i:Le'**, **'AlAshgahX k'a:dih Gi:Le'** I hope you get lost *M,* **k'a:dih q'e' GAdALe'** get lost again! *M,* **k'a:dih 'ixiLe'L** I'm lost *LM (L rejects Neuter imperfective with k'a:dih; this and the following are the only Neuter perfective forms attested with -Le(')),* **dik' k'a:dih 'a'xLe'LG** I'm not lost *L,* **k'a:dih 'i:Le'Linh** he's lost, absent *L,* **k'a:dih q'e' 'ixdiLe'L** I'm lost again *M,* **k'a:dih xdiLeh** I'm lost, absent again *M (Neuter imperfective, which L rejects)*; *with 'Ashdih '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),* **'Ashdih yiLinhinh** he's out of town *M; with dAqi:kih 'all gone, out of existence': 28.90, 51.10, 10A,* **dAqi:kih GALe'L** it (point of land) is washing away, he is almost dead (etc.) *L, with l-class-mark for S qAXah 'moon' thematized:* **dAqi:kih lAsALe'L** it (moon) has dwindled away to nothing; new moon *M; with other adverbs: 70.9A,* **'AnahshAkih yiLeh 'ALqah** it's fun to play cards *L,* **'AnahshAkih yiLeh k'uwah** it's fun to drink *L,* **dik' dAXu'ya:X 'a'Le:G** (*or* **'ALe:G**) it's not right, not true *L,* **didu'X siLe'L** I almost "had it" (I almost perished) *L, with q'e:yAXAch' 'backwards': 68.91, 125A.* (2) *With certain preverbs as C: with wAX 'that way, thus' and lAX 'this way, thus': 68.95, 129A, with yAX 'downward': 28.59A, with tsa' 'downhill, steep, deep': 23.136, 160, 37b.82, 83A,* **dik' tsa' 'ALe:G** it's not deep *M,* **'Al 'AwlAX tsa' yiLeh** this is deeper than that *M.* (3) *With o as C: with o-Xda:d 'without o' (with optional negative prefix, and once in text, apparently with negative suffix; cf. 3c. below): 61.2A, Rezanov* Учехтатетле 'Желетъ Weste' *(Radlov also lists* Учелехтатетеле 'Camisol', *apparently not to be found in the Rezanov ms.)* **'uch'AlihXda:d yiLeh** *M,* **'uch'AlihXda:d 'a'Leh** vest < it is sleeveless, armless *L (see under ch'Alih~ch'a:n), Rezanov* Утоохтадатле 'P.A. компанїе Compagnie russisch-amerikanische' *perhaps to be read* **…Xda:d 'a'Leh** it is …-less, **'uni:k'Xda:d 'a'Linhinh** he has no nose *L,* **'udAGAlehXda:d 'a'Linhinu:** promiscuous women < they have no sense *L,* **'udAGAlehXda:d yiLeh** he's got no sense *M,* **da:na:Xda:d xiLeh** I've got no money *M,* **si:nLXda:d xiLeh** I'm without shoes *M (see also 3d. and 3e. below)*; *with various other postpositional phrases as C (see also 2a., 2b., and 3d. below): with o-lAX 'more than o' (cf. -t'e´~-t'u´, which also occurs in this construction):* **'ulAX 'Aw yiLinhinh** it's too much for him, bigger than he *10.103A,* **'ilAX yiLeh** it's too much for you *10.138A, Rezanov* Алляхаэтле 'Выше ('higher') hoch (Comparat.)' *probably to be read* **'anhlAX** (*or* **'ulAX**, **'AllAX**, **'AwlAX**) **'anh** (*or* **'Aw**) **yiLeh** he (or it) is bigger than, too much for him (or it, this, that); *with o-ga' 'like o' (attested only once, from M, rejected by L; cf. -t'e´~-t'u´):* **ch'an'ga' 'ALe:k'** it (cust) get soft *M (should be -le:k'?),* **tanh xitl'ga' GALe'** wave is getting whitecap *L; with o-ya' 'belonging to o':* **'i: 'iya' sALe'L** it's (become) *yours L; with o-da' 'arrival at o': Rezanov* Текекотаатльэкъ 'Полочо ('(not?) steep') abschussig' *perhaps to be read* **dik' 'u:da' 'a'Le:G** it (e.g. road) doesn't reach there *L, or* **dik' …da' 'a'Le:G** there is no access to …; *with o-ka:X 'catching up with o':* **sika:Xd yiLinhinh** he's trying to catch up with me *L; with o-y-Xa:q' 'dependent on o,* grâce à *o':* **'uyAXa:q' siLe'L** I became completely dependent on him for food *L; with G-thematic and o-yAq' 'inside of o (not with opening at top)':* **'uyAq' li'**

(’i)Gi:Leh it has a deep hole, cavity inside *L,* **k’u’luw ’uyAq’ ’iGi:Leh** it's big inside *L.* (4) *A number of more or less problematical instances occur with various preverbs or o as C, in many of which the third person (definite) S would be more easily explained as in error for k'u-indefinite S (cf 3b.-g. below):* **XAwa:yu: dAXunhyu:qa’d yiLeh** dogs are amongst humans *13.14L,* **’a:nch’a:ch’ ya:li’d yiLeh** next to here is a sleeping-room *11.131, 131A,* **’ulu’luw sALe’L** it got a big hole in it *L,* **’uLqehXlu’ sALe’L** it got a hole in its bottom *(or* ***’uLqehX lu’ sALe’L*** its bottom became a hole*?) L,* **’ulu’ch’ GALe’L** a hole is forming in it, it's getting a hole in it *M,* **’Awya’d yAX dAqehXq’d GALe’L** 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', dAqehXq'd '(at rest, or nominalization of) on bottom of indeterminate o') L,* **ya:X sALe’L** 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,* **didit’u:ch’ ’uda:q’d 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,* **k’Adzu:la’ ’i:Le’** good luck! *L (see la').*

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2. *Indirect reflexives and indirect reciprocals (there is apparently some option and/or irregularity in the use of dA-classifier in these themes):* a. *Indirect reflexive (dA-classifier is perhaps optional where the postpositional phrase with reflexive o is not necessarily to be interpreted as C, and is otherwise obligatory)*: **’Ad’e’ch’ ’Ashdih yiLeh** he's away from home *M;* **’Ad’e’d qu’xdALe’** I'll be home *L,* **’Ad’e’d xdiLeh** I'm home *L,* **dA’a: ’Ad-lAXAde:’ dAXunh dilinhinh** in his own eyes he's a person *23.56A,* **dA’a: ’Ad-lAXAde:’d dAXunh sdiLe’L** in his own eyes he has turned into a person *L.*

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2b. *Indirect reciprocal (no dA-classifier where postpositional phrase with reciprocal o functions as C, dA-classifier otherwise obligatory)*: **’iLq’ yiLeh** they're stacked up < on top of one another *L,* **’iLd yiLeh** they're together *(with some space between them, i.e. apart) L,* **’iLdAGd yiLinhinu:** they're one above (upstream of) the other *L;* **dik’ k’udzu: ’iLXa’ ’a’dALe:Ginu:** they are not on good terms with each other *L,* **k’ulAXa:’ne: ’iLtl’ diLeh** they're partners with each other *16.1M.*

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3. *With k'u-indefinite as S:* C **k’u-Le(’)** someone, one, people, something be, become C *or, by extension of 'something be C',* C exist: a. C **k’u-Le(’)** someone, one, people, something be, become C: *25.209A, 34.91L, 50.63A,* **XAlahsdla:GAyu: k’uGALe’L** one is becoming White Men (Eyaks are assimilating) *(Billy Dude said) 72.9L (cf. 'Al XAlahsdla:GAyu: k'usALe'L 'there got to be these White People (present, Whites arrived on the scene)' 68.63A), Rezanov* Хаваколле 'Дурно hässlich' *perhaps* **XAwa: k’u:Leh** one is a dog (people act like dogs, times are bad) *72.6L; some instances may be interpreted either way: 61.13A,* **’uXa’ k’ushiyah q’e’ k’usdiLe’L** people became belligerent over it again; there arose trouble over it again *28.124A,* **k’ugu:nt’u’ k’usALe’L** one (Eyaks) became many; a large population came to exist *68.44A.*

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3b. *With k'u-indefinite as S and unpossessed noun as C*: (1) *'C exist substantively, there be such a thing as C' ('something be substantively an instance of C'): 2a.2M, 25.202A, 64.15G, 2a.2M, 25.202A, 64.15G,* **dik’ k’a’Le:G** there is no such thing *L,* **dik’** ***Santa Claus*** **k’a’Le:G** there is no *Santa Claus L,* **’a:n, dAXu’ya:X** ***Santa Claus*** **k’u:Leh** yes, *Santa Claus* does indeed exist *L,* **’ulah ya: q’uh k’usALe’L** he got into trouble < a thing concerning him came about *L,* **silah ya: k’u:Leh** I've gotten into trouble; it's my fault *L,* **k’ulah ya: k’uGALe’L** someone's getting into trouble *L.* (2) *'C be present (exist at a certain time and/or place)': 7.41, 10.230A, 16.4M, 24.20, 25.58, 73, 28.124A, 51.8A, 57.28G, 60.14, 61.13A, 62.7, 16 (Inceptive customary negative), 22, 23, 63.39, 64.15G, 68.1, 44, 49, 63A, Galushia Nelson* k’á’tɑùtłè· *or* k’átɑùtłè· 'sickness' *BSdL 552* **k’ahd k’u:Leh** sickness is present, **XAwa:t’u’ ’a:nd k’uGALe’L** there are getting to be many dogs here *L, frequently with qi' 'place where': 39.1, 47a.3, 47c.23L,* **k’u’luw**

k'uyA'e'd qi' k'u:Leh area in which a large grizzly-bear den is present *L,* **xan'Lq' diL qi' k'u:Leh** very bloody place *L,* **ts'a' qi' Li'q' k'u:Leh** place that's all muddy *L,* **xan'Lq' qi' q'a' k'usALe'L** place that got very bushy *L,* **tanhAyahsh k'ut'u' qi' k'u:Leh** where there's lots of driftwood *(good place to camp, place-name?) L,* **giyah qi' gAdla:GAL'a:Lya'd q'Aw sahx k'u:Leh** where water forms small puddles is where cockles are *L; place-names are frequently of this type: see tl'ihX, sahxw~sahx, chi:sh, cha:sh, ch'ihsh, ch'e:yu', giyah, lis, ye:t'; 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* Халякококотлель 'Осень Herbst' **XAla:g k'uGALe'L** it's getting to be winter *L,* **'a'd k'ushiyah XAla:g k'usALe'L** there came a very bad winter *L,* **gAsi:kih gah k'u:Leh** it's twilight, slightly daylight *L,* **qih ya:q'd k'uGALe'L** clouds are drifting apart, there'll be good weather < a clearing is forming in the sky *L,* **q'ahs k'usALe'L** it got completely clouded over *L,* **qehsq' k'uqa'Le'** there'll be moonlight *L,* **k'ihd'a'luw k'usALe'L** there got to be much dry snow *L,* **qi' gah k'u:Lehda' 'Axa:k'** I (cust) come to where it's daylight *L,* **GAdAq'Ayi:nyshgahX k'u:liLe'** let it be foggy (let there be fog) *L.*

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3c. *With k'u-indefinite S and possessed noun as C,* possessor's C exist, possessor have 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* Такалекоутлю 'Умной klug' **('u)dAGAleh k'u:Linhinu:** they're smart, have sense; smart people *L,* **'udAGAleh k'u:Leh** *cat's name* < it's smart *A,* **di-'wAX sidA'u:G k'u:Leh** I'm still alive < my breath still exists *L,* **'uXu:nLAyah k'uGALe'Linh** he's getting teeth (teething) *L,* **k'u:ndAlehkih k'uGALe'L** animals are getting their horns < something's small horns are coming into existence *L,* **q'Aq'ga' 'uni:k' 'Awa: k'u:Linhinu: sAqe:GAyu:** children who have noses like loons *24.26A, frequent in nominalizations:* **'ulAXALts'Alih k'u:Leh** cherries; prunes < they have pits *L,* **'uXu' k'u:Leh** mammals < they have fur *L,* **'ulAqah k'u:Leh** straight pin < it has a head *L,* **dik' 'uqa' k'a'Le:Ginh** woman who has no husband *L, see also shid~shAd.*

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3d. *With k'u-indefinite S and postpositional phrases as C*: **'ut'a'd k'u:Leh** there is a place behind it *60.34, 34A, Rezanov* Такекуятоотлекъ 'Пустой ('empty') leer' **dik' 'uya'd k'u:Leh** it (o with opening at top) has nothing in it *L,* **'uyAq' li' k'u:Leh** tube < it (o with opening not at top) has a deep interior, it's hollow inside *M,* **dik' 'uyAq' li' k'a'Le:G** it's not hollow inside *L,* **'uyAq' 'Ash k'u:Leh** it (e.g. tube) has a hollow (space) all the way through *L,* **qi'dAX dAlu' k'u:Leh** *place-name for "Cutoff" (canoe passage through Hawkins Island)* < where there is a passage through *M,* **'uqa' dAlu' k'u:Leh** *place-name for passage by Channel Islands* < there's a passage between them *L,* **qi:yAtl'ishqa' k'u:Leh tsa'k'** gloves < mitts which have interstices between the toes *L,* **'udjAXAdla:qa'X k'u:Linhinh** he (or she) is wearing earrings < he has ear-interstices *L, Galushia Nelson* ɔsʏⁿhtkatła *name of Gus Nelson (BSdL Genealogical Table)* **'usinhd k'u:Leh** < there is a hiding-place behind it (him?) *L,* **'isinhd k'u:Le:** *(probably confused with preceding)* < something is (hidden) behind you *A XIII.45.*

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3e. *With k'u-indefinite S and o-Xda:d 'without o' as C (these occur both with negative prefix and one also with negative suffix; cf. 1g. (3) above, by which these seem to be influenced)*: **'ida'ya:lAX 'udAGAlehXda:d k'a'Le:G** she's too senseless *49.82A (blend of dik' 'udAGAleh k'a'Le:G 'she has no sense' and 'ida'ya:lAX 'udAGAlehXda:d 'a'Leh (or yiLeh) 'she's too senseless'),* **giyahgAlAXda:d 'uq' k'a'Leh** *name of Little Mummy Island "no water on it" L (blend of dik' giyah 'uq' k'a'Le:G 'there is no water on it' and giyahgAlAXda:d 'uq' 'a'Leh (or yiLeh) 'it is without water on it, its surface is waterless').*

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3f. *With k'u-indefinite S and a pronoun to function as C, the C takes the form of the postpositional phrase o-X,* o exist, come into existence, *usually* o be born: *2a.11M,* **dik'**

dita:dz ’uX k’a’Le:G in olden times it didn't exist *36.25A,* **’u:d q’Aw siX k’usALe’L** that's where I was born *L.*

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4. *With thematic prefix combination qA-plural and X-thematic, 'many small', requiring Active imperfective (only attestations thereof with this stem) instead of Neuter imperfective)*: **dAqa:yu: lAX ya’X dAqi:kihch’ qAXALe’** sometimes it (rainbow) dwindled (by degrees) away upwards this way to nothing *51.10A,* **dlAGshg k’uqAXALe’** there's dirt all over the place < dirt is present (in many bits, over and over) *L.*

Le:sk’

Le:sk’ *(noun, Xd-class)* log (hewn or cut), plank, block (of wood), railroad tie *LMAS*: *Rezanov* Тляискехатокочке 'Бревно ('beam') Balken' **Le:sk’…XAdAkuch’g…**, **Le:sk’XAdAkuts’gkih** small little log *M,* **Le:sk’ ’u:d XAdAsAtahL, ’a:nch’ XAdi’LXahd** a log is lying there, drag it here! *L,* **Le:sk’ sich’ XAdi:ta’** (*or* **-’a’**) give me a log, plank, block (of wood)! *L,* **Le:sk’XAda’luw** big railroad ties *M,* **Le:sk’XAda:X xu’lAsALts’AXLinh** he threw a log at me *L.*

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Le:sk’Ayahd *(noun, d-class)* log-cabin < log-house *L.*

Leh *(perhaps to be identified with Le('), though form expected would be Le' unless Neuter imperfective, and prefixes for Neuter imperfective are lacking; perhaps rather to be identified with -L-le, though expected form would be Lih)*

-Leh *(attested in two forms only) with Lanhd 'smoke':* **LanhdLeh** *(noun)* tobacco, cigar, cigarette *L; with dzAwuL 'net' and g-class-mark 'filament-like' thematized:* **dzAwuLguLeh** *(noun, g-class)* yarn, twine, cord (e.g. for nets) *L (see dzAwuL for examples).*

Le’t’

Le’t’ *(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* Тльлетъ 'Яшикъ Kasten', *Galushia Nelson* łät’ *or* łät *BSdL 546,* ɢɔtsä ya’ łät 'meat box ("meat's box")' *BSdL 546 to be read* **k’utse’ya’ Le’t’**, **Le’t”a’luw** big box *LM,* **Le’t”Akih** little box *M,* **Le’t’ya’d sAtahL** it's in a box (with opening at top) *L,* **Le’t’yAq’d sAtahL** it's in a box (with opening not at top) *L,* **’Aw Le’t’ GALq’a’** set the box on its side! *L;* **Le’t’ga’ ’ALtl’a’g** draw a square! < mark it with the likeness of a box! *L.*

2. *(gdl-class?)* diamonds (suit at cards): **Le’t’ Xa:n’ gAdla:sa’yahL** 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.*

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-Le’t’ *attested as verb only in* **da’ GiLe’t’** *nickname for a white man with a square face* < box-face, *with combination of da' preverb and Gi-thematic 'face'.*

Le’L~Le’Lq’ *(free variation between Le'L-G and Le'Lq'; on one occasion L rejected Le'LG in favor of Le'Lq', but in the transcriptions of Li and Harrington Le'LG rather than Le'Lq' is clearly implied)*

Le’L-G~Le’Lq’ *(noun, unclassified)* down-feathers: **Le’Lq’** *LMA, 2a.6M, 19.17, 31L, 25.12, 75A,* **Le’LG** *LMA, 21b.58, 25.74, 75A, 38.9ML, Rezanov* Тлеэлькъ 'Пухъ Daunen', **Le’Lq”At’u’** lots of down-feathers *M;* **Le’LGga’ ’i:t’eh** it's light(-weight) < it's like down-feathers *LM.*

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Le’LGAtsi’lahL *(noun)* feather-pillow *L*: *Rezanov* Тлеелькцылятль 'Подушка Kopfkissen', *also* **Le’Lq’tsi’lahL**, **Le’Lq’tsu’lahL**, **Le’LGtsi’lahL**, **Le’LGtsu’lahL** *M.*

Le’xwtl’~Le’xtl’ *(Le'xwtl' attested from A and S)*

-Le’xwtl’~-Le’xtl’ *(noun, unclassified)* bladder (urinary), gallbladder: **k’uLe’xtl’** gallbladder *LM,* bladder *L,* **k’uLe’xwtl’** gallbladder *A,* "piss-bag" *S,* **k’uLe’xtl”a’luw** big bladder *L.*

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k’uLe’xtl’ga’ ’i:t’eh (**dide’L**) *(noun)* electric light bulb < (lamp) which is like a bladder *L.*

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k’uLe’xtl’ga’ lAXi:t’eh *(noun, lX-class)* grape < they (lX-class, berry-like) are like gallbladders *L.*

Le’xwts’~Le’xts’ *(Le'xwts' attested from A and Rezanov)*

Le’xwts’(**~Le’xts’**)**-L** *(noun, unclassified) (-**L**-suffix apparently absent in Rezanov)* wart: **Le’xts’L** wart *LM, Rezanov* Тлехуцъ 'Бороднавка Warze', **Le’xwts’L** wart *A,* **Le’xts’L’a’luw** big wart *LM.*

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dA-LA’xts’ S have wart, *attested only with anatomical marks*: **’idAyishah gAdisdiLe’xts’L** he's so stingy he has warts on his rump *(a standard expression) L, with qa' 'up out':* **qa’ yixsdiLe’xts’L** I got a "blister" on my hand *A,* I got a wart on my hand *L.*

La:

La:X *(loan from Tlingit łàx̣ 'red cedar')*

La:X *(noun, probably d-class)* red cedar (Thuya plicata) *LMA (not well known at Cordova, probably only as driftwood L)*: **La:Xda’luw** big red cedar *M (L uncertain),* **xitl’gä’ ’i:t’eh La:X** yellow cedar < white red cedar *A.*

Lahdz

Lahdz *(noun) remembered only in* **Lahdz yiLeh** hard, knotty (or wet?) wood, which burns long < it is Lahdz *L.*

La’1 *(perhaps related to tla' of tla'Xa'lahG; never pronounced tla' L)*

La’ *(noun, d-class)* glacier *LMA*: *49.147, 150, 150, 151, 151, 60.34, 34, 34, 34, 35, Galushia Nelson* t’ła’, *Old Man Dude* tła’ 'glacier, cf. [']Tlingit[']' *BSdL 537,* **La’da’luw** big glacier *M,* **La’dAkih** little glacier *M,* **La’dAXa’ xlah** I (often) camp by a glacier *L. Consistently unclassified at least in place-names; see subentries below.*

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La’dAts’iyuh glacier bear *(Ursus emmonsi) LA.*

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La’Xa’d *(place-name) Yakutat* < by glacier *G (Harrington).*

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La’Xa’ya’d *(place-name) Ankau, perhaps better: Yakutat Bay* < body of water by glacier *G (Harrington).*

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La’qa’d *(place-name) Mile 49 on Copper River Railway, Anna Nelson Harry's birthplace* < between glaciers *A XV.9*: **Xi:d La’qa’d** yonder amongst the glaciers *ST2.1A.*

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La’ GAqa:L *(place-name) Cape Stoss in Russel Fiord near Yakutat ("(place where two mountains) bite the glacier")* < carry glacier along in teeth *(possibly calque on Tlingit sit’ ya:’a:nadɣiG) G (Harrington), de Laguna 1952 ms. from John Ellis July 26, ŁAGAqaŁ 'Cape Stoss (Eyak "it's got the glacier in its mouth" like a dog with a bone)'.*

La’2 *(perhaps to be analyzed L-a' or LA-a' and related to a´2, or perhaps < L-sa' with metathesis from unattested verb-theme with stem -sa' and L-classifier, cf. du:xLideh)*

sLa’dah *(adverb) (with -dah adverbializer, probably to be analyzed s-La'-dah with unidentified s- prefix, or L-sa'-dah; once La'dah from A, but rejected by L)* beautiful(ly), pretty(ly), nice(ly), lovely, kindly *(prettier or nicer than k'udzu:dah, but not so pretty or nice as qe'-dl-LA-a´ L)*: **’a’d sLa’dah qi’ k’u:t’eh** a place where it's very beautiful *51.57A,* **sLa’dah ’i:t’eh** it's pretty *M,* **’Al ’AwlAX sLa’dah ’i:t’eh** this is prettier than that *M,* **La’dah ’i:t’inhinh** she's pretty (has a nice body, figure) *M (L rejects, corrects to sLa'dah),* **la’dnu: sLa’dah ’u’GAdA’inhinu: qe’LGAyu:** two pretty women *M,* **’idehdah sLa’dah ’u’dAGAdA’eh yahd** a very pretty house *M,* **sLa’dahsh xu’GAdA’eh** do I look pretty? *M,* **dik’ sLa’dah ’i’GAdA’a:nG** you don't look pretty *M,* **sLa’dah dAXunh yiLinhinh** she's a nice, kind person *(not necessarily pretty, but virtuous)* < she's a person beautifully *L,* **sLa’dah GALXe’tl’L** it's a nice night < it's nighting beautifully *L,* **sLa’dah lAG guGa’ya:L** weather (tide and shoreline) is lovely < tide is rising beautifully *L,* **sLa’dah ’i:nLilinhinh** a pretty-face person *A, with -kih 'diminutive':* **sLa’dahkih ’i:nLilinhinh** a cute-, pretty-faced person *A.*

La’ch’

-La’ch’ *(noun, unclassified)* stomach *(internal organ)*: *28.84, 85, 88, 88A, Rezanov* Котлячь 'Пузырь ('blister') Blase' **k’uLa’ch’** stomach *LMA,* **k’uLa’ch’kih** small stomach *M,* **k’uLa’ch’luwyu:** big stomachs *(not used literally, but of insects with large abdomens) 14.2, 6, 7L, Galushia Nelson* słìx̱ut’łx ɢɔ̀tłà’t’c *or* stìx̱ut’łx̱ ɢɔ̀łà’t’c 'bladder for harpoon ("inflated stomach")' *BSdL 549* **sLixu’tl’(g)L k’uLa’ch’** *or* **sdixu’tl’(g)L k’uLa’ch’** a stomach which has been inflated.

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dA-La’ch’ *attested only in* **’AdLa’ni:q’ga’ ’idiLa’ch’Linh** he's voracious < he has a stomach like a seagull's *(Neuter perfective) L.*

La’gw~La’g *(archaic final -gw well attested, cf. Tsimshian la’g^{w})*

La’gw~La’g *(noun, unclassified, or, sometimes for L, d-class)* wood, firewood: **La’g** *36.3, 4, 4, 65.46A,* wood (any kind) *L,* firewood *M, Rezanov* Тлякку 'Дрова Holz', *Old Man Dude* tłaq^{w} 'firewood' *BSdL 548* **La’gw** wood *AS (-gw with labialization very clear, especially for S),* **La’gw ’ALshAtl’g** saw wood! *S,* **k’udAshiyah La’g** bad wood *L,* **La’gda’luw** big (hunk of) wood *L,* **k’ut’u’ La’g** much wood *LM,* **ya:luhdg La’g** not much wood *M,* **sdi’li’ts’L La’g** wet green wood *L,* **LiqAts’X La’g** wood that's liable to split *L,* **La’g wAX ’AxLi:k’** I (cust) gather firewood *L,* **La’g qid qa’ di:’yahL** wood is piled up *M,* **La’g ’AdiXich’ ’ALya:’** bring in wood (pl. pieces, pl. loads)! *M,* **La’g ’AdiXich’ ’ALa’** bring in wood (pl. pieces, one load)! *M.*

La’q’

-La’q’ S (plant) die, wither: **GALa’q’L** it (flower, grass, tree) is dying *L,* **qa’La’q’** it (plant) will die *L,* **sALa’q’L** it (plant) died *LA,* **’ALa:q’k’** they (plants) (cust) wither and die *L.*

La:n

La:n *(noun)* baleen, whalebone *Rezanov*, plastic *L*, fungus sp. *LA*, "alchuck" *M*: *Rezanov* Тллянъ 'Китовые усы 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" (ɔ́lčə̀k, hard to tell from hemlock, very strong, fine grain, thick needles)', probably incorrect, influenced by Li:ny~Li:n, Lu:n, La: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:* **La:nshA’Aw** it that La:n?; *L thinks that La:n 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.*

Lanh *(attested only in Harrington ms. from G, unknown to L and M)*

Lanh *(noun)* bark: *George Johnson in Harrinton ms.* łą̨h, łłáh 'bark', lís-yə̀̃-łə̨̀h 'spruce bark' **lisya’ Lanh**, t’sɻttshɻ̨ yɑ’ łə̨̀h 'fir bark' **ts’i:ntsihya’ Lanh**, łáhláq’ lɑłxw̨ə̀h 'moss or lichen on spruce bark, lit. "that which grows on the bark"', *perhaps to be read* **LanhlAq’ lALxwah**, *with l-class-mark, which more correctly however would be* **Lanh(’)a:na:q’ lALxwah**, *or is perhaps in error for Lanhda:q' with d-class-mark. Neither L nor M could recall having heard Lanh; cf. Li:ny~Li:n, Lu:n, La:n.*

Lanhd

Lanhd *(noun)* 1. *(unclassified)* smoke *LM*: *3.5M, 18.10, 82, 27a.37L, 33.19, 36A, 47b.31M, 47c.32L, 65.18, 56, 57A, Rezanov* Тлляутъ 'Дымъ' *(not in Radlov), Anonymous* Тлантъ 'Дымъ', *Khromchenko* Тлеатъ *(-ле- barely legible)* 'Дымъ', *Galushia Nelson* tła^{n}’t, *Old Man Dude* tła^{n}t 'smole, dark blue' *BSdL 538, 553,* **Lanhd(’)a’luw** big smoke, lots of smoke *LM,* **Lanhd ts’u’ts’ginh** he's smoking < he's sucking smoke *L,* **’i:li:X q’unhAw Lanhd wAX Lih** he's pretending to smoke (tobacco) < it's (just) in intent that he's doing thus to smoke *(Lanhd wAX Linhinh 'he's smoking') L,* **Lanhd ’AdiXd ’iGALq’e’sL** smoke is getting thick indoors *M,* **Lanhd ’u’lAGALXa’** fill it (room, etc.) with smoke!, make it smoky! *L, for movement and position of smoke see 'i-d-(L-)'a and 'i-d-L-'a';* **Lanhdga’ ’i:t’eh** it's blue < it's like smoke (in color) *L; Galushia Nelson* úwá·tłx̣ɔ̀ɒɛ̀cà’ ła^{n}·t 'signal ("signal smoke")' *BSdL 552* **’uwa:LX ’u’dAga’ Lanhd** smoke according (by close attention) to which it is known, *Rezanov* Утлицколяткатетекоэте 'Сопка съ огнемъ' *(not in Radlov, 'volcano with fire') probably to be read* **’u:ntl’i’ts’G… Lanhd …gwa’ ’i:t’eh** it's like … smoke … its summit, Ляткатетъ 'Яма ('hole, pit') Höhle' **Lanhd…** *(in preceding).*

2. *(Xd-class)*: **Lanhd ’AdiXd ’iXAdAGA’a:L** (cloud of?) smoke is hovering inside (house) *L.*

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LanhdLeh *(noun) (-Leh not clearly identified, probably related to Lanhd wAX Lih above, and to following entry)* tobacco, cigar, cigarette *L.*

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LanhdAyAq’ ((wAX) dAleh) *(noun)* smoking-pipe *(< Lanhd 'uyAq' wAX dAleh 'smoke is acted thus upon in it')*: *Furuhjelm* Liataiahkhahtale 'pipe' **LanhdAyAq’** [**w**]**AX dAleh,** *Old Man Dude* łątceɣuχtɛlɛ *unpublished, no gloss, in fieldbook of Frederica de Laguna* **Lanhd**[**A**]**y**[**Aq’**]**wAX dAleh,** *Harrington* łą̨ht yə̀q’ tɑllə̀h 'smoking-pipe' *G,* **LanhdAyAq’ dAleh**, **LanhdAyAq’** smoking-pipe *L.*

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LanhdAyAq' qa'ah *(noun)* chimney *L,* stovepipe *A (< Lanhd 'uyAq' qa' 'ah 'smoke rises in it')*: *Rezanov* Тляантеехкага 'Труба Schornstein', *Old Man Dude* tłáⁿtíqá'à 'smokehole' *BSdL 545.*

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O-(**L**-?)**Lanhd**(**-g**) S smoke O *(with optional thematic -g-repetitive)*: **'ALanhd** smoke it (fish)! *L,* **Lich' xah te'ya' da: Lanhdg** every summer we smoke fish *L; passive:* **sdiLanhdgL** it (fish) has been smoked *L.*

La:n'

-La:n' *(noun, unclassified, or (archaically?) d-class)* thigh, upper leg: *37b.23, 23A (unclassified), Rezanov* Катлянъ 'Лядвеи Lenden' **qa:La:n'** our, human thigh, upper leg, *Galushia Nelson* ɢɔtłaⁿ·ʾ or ɢɔtłaⁿ· 'leg (whole, or thigh only?)' *BSdL 542,* síłą 'my leg (upper)' **siLa:n',** úxą 'his leg' **'uLa:n'** *unpublished in de Laguna fieldnotes,* **siLa:n'** my thigh, upper leg *L,* **k'uLa:n'luw** big thigh *LM,* **'uLa:n' 'Awa: sALk'in'L** his legs (thighs) are skinny *L,* **ch'iya'tl'GLa:n'** frog-legs *L; d-class:* **La:n'da'luw** big-thighs *(epithet) L,* **'iLa:n'dAya'd** your crotch *L.*

LuhL *(perhaps from Tlingit, Naish-Story łúł 'fireweed')*

LuhL *(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 Lu:n)*: **LuhLdAya' da:X sAqehL** he boated across in a (craft made of) LuhL *L (vaguely remembered, see also ta'xts'), transcription by Li; in note book from G implies LuhL, glossed 'spruce bark'.*

Lu'ch'

Lu'ch' *(noun, unclassified)* blister, swelling, bump ("goose egg" from blow, insect bite) *LM*: **Lu'ch"a'luw** big blister *LM.*

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dA-Lu'ch' S swell, get swelling: **GAdALu'ch'L** it's swelling *L,* **qu'dALu'ch'** it'll swell *L, often with qa' 'up out':* **qa' sdiLu'ch'L** a blister has formed, it's swollen up *L,* **qa' sdiLu'ch'gL** a blister formed *(with -g-repetitive thematized) A, with anatomical marks:* **lAGAxdALu'ch'L** my cheek is swelling (from e.g. bad tooth) *L,* **lAXAdixsdiLu'ch'L** my eye swelled up (from e.g. mosquito bite) *L.*

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O-(**L**-?)**Lu'ch'** *(perhaps derived from preceding, transitive (causative) thereof) attested only in* **la'q' qu'xLu'ch'** I'll break it (blister, with e.g. a needle) *L (la'q' 'thickness, deflation').*

Lu:n *(perhaps loan from Tlingit łù·n 'bark of hemlock or cottonwood' (Boas), 'ɑdłuní 'its bark' (Naish-Story))*

Lu:n *(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. she:t'.*

Lu:ndiyahs~Lu:ndiya:s *(-ya:s S and once L, regularly -yahs, unanalyzable, to be segmented perhaps Lu:n-diyahs or Lu:n-dA-yahs, for Lu:n- cf. Athapaskan *λunʔə 'mouse, small rodent', -diyahs or -dA-yahs not identifiable, entire form perhaps loan from Athapaskan)*

Lu:ndiyahs~Lu:ndiya:s *(noun, unclassified)* mouse, rat, vole *(apparently any small mouse- or rat-like rodent other than shrew)*: **Lu:ndiyahs** rat, mouse *LMA, 10.83, 83, 85A, 17.11M, 28.4, 42, 52, 37b.8, 9, 11, 14, 15, 18, 26, 29A, Rezanov* Тлютиасъ 'Мышъ Maus', *Anonymous* Тлутіасъ 'Мышъ', *Galushia Nelson* tɬuⁿtiyas 'mouse' *BSdL 539,* **Lu:ndiya:s** mouse *S,* **'AdsLi'yahL Lu:ndiyahs** monster rat *28.66, 76A, Galushia Nelson* tɬúⁿtiyasləu 'giant mouse' *BSdL 289, 553* **Lu:ndiyahsluw** huge rat *LM, 28.7, 16, 66, 70, 87A,* **Lu:ndiyahstah** mouse-skin, rat-skin *28.96, 96, 102, 108, 113, 136, 137A,* **Lu:ndiyahsXu'** rat-fur *28.79A,* **Lu:ndiyahsLa'ch'** rat-stomach *28.88A,* **Lu:ndiyahstse'** mouse-meat *37b.22A,* **Lu:ndiyahsLa:n'** mouse-thigh, -haunch *37b.24A,* **Lu:ndiyahsgulAXAde:L** rat-spine, -rack *37b.25A,* **Lu:ndiyahsgutl'ah** rat-tail *28.112, 113A,* **Lu:ndiya:sgutl'ah** plant-species (dog-fennel, yarrow?) *(same as XAwa:gutl'ah, q.v. under tl'ah~) L.*

dzits'

-d-L-dzits'-L *(noun)* receptacle and/or calyx, sepals, "stem" (of berry): **k'udALdzits'L** 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,* **'udALdzits'L** its (berry's) calyx (etc.) *L.*

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O-**lX-L-dzits'** S remove calyx (etc.) from O (berry): **lAXAxLdzits'** I'm removing the calyx (etc.) from them (berries) *L.*

dzAwuL *(also dzAwAL)*

dzAwuL *(noun, dl-class, occasionally also unclassified or g-class)* net, gillnet *(not dipnet)*: *21a.9L, 49.33A, 62.4G, Rezanov* Цавотль 'Неводъ Netz, Sacknetz' **dzAwuL** net (not dipnet) *M,* gillnet *LMA,* **k'udla:shiyah dzAwuL** bad net *L,* **dzAwuLdli:'nuw** big net *L,* **dzAwuLdla:'a:w** long net *L,* **dzAwuL 'u:d dla:sA'ahL** a net is there *L; unclassified (perhaps incorrect):* **'Aw te'ya' 'Aw dzAwuLtl' 'idehdah lah sdimAt'L** that fish really got twisted up badly around with the net *M (for verb see GAmAt')*; *g-class (perhaps influenced by dzAwuLguLeh):* **dzAwuLga'luw** big net *LM,* **ya:gAkuts'g dzAwuL** net is small *LM;* **qi:yALAchanhya' dzAwuL** spiderweb *L.*

,

dzAwuLguLeh *(noun, g-class)* net-cord, piece, ball of twine, yarn *L*: **dzAwuLgALehga'luw** big roll of twine *L,* **dzAwuLguLeh sich' gu:ta'** give me a piece of net-cord! *L.*

dzux *(expanded dze:x or dzu:x)*

O-**dzux** S stab, pierce, spear, poke O: *10.106, 107A, 17.2M, Rezanov* Сыцухль 'Колоть stechen' **sAdzuxL** you stabbed it, Аццуху 'Коли stechen (Imperat.)' **'Adzuxw** or **'Adzuxuh** stab it!, **'Adzux** stab it! *L,* **sidzuxL** I stabbed it *L,* **'anh sAdzuxLinh** he poked him *M,* **qu'xdzux** I'll stab it, I'll spear it (e.g. bear, fish) *L,* **'Aw 'Adze:xk'inh** *M,* **'Aw 'Adzu:xk'inh** he (cust) stabs it *L (L prefers dzu:x to dze:x),* **Ch'i:lehshiyah xusAdzuxL** I got a piercing pain in my side < Raven stabbed me *L, repetitive: 25.169A,* **Lich' xudzuxginh** he keeps poking me *L, reciprocal:* **'iLu' sdidzuxLinu:** they stabbed each other *L; passive: 63.22, 29, 30G (customary, with stem unexpanded),* **ya' dAdzuxk'** they would stab them to death *63.27G,* **'iqe'dAdzux** you'll get stabbed *L,* **xusdidzuxL** I got stabbed *L.*

,

O-(**d-**)**dzux** *(d-thematic optional with ya' 'completely')* S stab O much, S pierce hole in O *(d-thematic perhaps preferable in former meaning)*: **ya' disidzuxL** I stabbed it lots of times *L,* **ya' di:dzux** stab it lots! *L,* **ya' 'Adzux** pierce holes in it! *L,* **ya' sidzuxL** I poked holes in it *L,*

with d-class-mark for O (not thematic?): **ya' disidzuxL** I poked holes in it (e.g. board) *L; passive:* **ya' disdidzuxL** it (e.g. can, bucket) has had lots of holes poked in it *L.*

,

O-**(L-)dzux** *(L-classifier optional with o-X 'by means of o')* S stab O with o: **'Aw tl'i:X qa: ya' Ldzu:xk'inu:** they (cust) stab us through with spears *25.170A,* **'Aw tl'i:dj 'Aw sALdzuxLinh** he stabbed it with the spear *63.22G (with Tlingit o-j, equivalent of Eyak o-X, also often requiring Tlingit L-classifier),* **gehgLda:X sidzuxL** I speared it with a fish-spear *L.*

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O-**L-dzux** S poke O out of position: **'u:dik'ah qu'xLdzux** I'll poke it out of there *L,* **'ALdzux** poke it jabbingly! *L* (out of position?); *with la'q' 'deflation' and lX-anatomical 'eye':* **la'q' lAXAGALdzuxL** it's poking his eye out *L.*

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'Ad-gd-dA-dzux *(reflexive of O-dzux, with gd-anatomical 'rump')* S move rump buttingly: *with ya:n' 'down':* **ya:n' 'Adgu[di]xsdidzuxL** I sat down fast *L (-di- almost certainly to be supplied), repetitive, with o-X 'in contact with o':* **'uX 'AdgAdAxdAdzuxg** I'm butting it with my rump *L.*

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dzux-L *(noun) (with -L-instrumental)* 1. *(unclassified)* spearhead, sharp piercing instrument *(also perhaps 'pole, piling')*: **dzuxL** head of spear *A,* tent pole, pier piling *L (but cf. dza'tl', dzinhG, GAshk'),* **dzuxL'a'luw** big spearhead *LM,* **la'dih dzuxL** two sharp piercing instruments *L.*

2. *(d-class)* spear (head and shaft together): **dzuxLda'luw** big spear (whole thing) *L.*

,

'uX k'udzuxL *(noun)* awl *L*: *Rezanov* Охкоцохль 'Шило Ahle (Pfrieme)'. *Deverbalization with -L-instrumental of 'uX k'udAdzux,* < by means of it something is pierced.

dzi:dzi: *(unanalyzable, probably onomatopoetic and/or borrowing from Tlingit or Ahtna)*

dzi:dzi: *(noun, unclassified)* sandpiper, *attested only in Harrington from G tziitzii 'semipalmated sandpiper', Yakutat Tlingit hiin xaqhwatzíitzii (hin xaqʷαʒíʒi, because of call "tzÍtzÍtzÍtzÍ"; not clearly attested in published Tlingit word-lists, perhaps loan from Ahtna ʒiʒi 'bird (generic)'; unknown to L and A, M "has heard". Cf. also W. Soboleff hınx̣ìskαʒíʒi 'sandpiper' < 'ʒíʒi floating on surface of water', with no meaning for ʒíʒi.*

dzinhG *(probably related to dzahG~dzanhG, with inexplicable vowel alternation)*

'Ad-LA-dzinhG *(reflexive of unattested O-L-dzinhG)* S move self along in boat by poling: **'AdGALAdzinhGL** 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. dzahG~dzanhG, tsu:x).*

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-l-dzinhG(-L) *(noun) (with l-thematic, never actualized -lA-, cf. GAshk')* tent pole: **ts'isa:yahd'i:ndzinhG** tent poles *A,* **k'u:ndzinhG** poles (e.g. of a tent) *A, used unpossessed:* **'i:ndzinhG**, **'i:ndzinhGL** tent poles *L.*

dzahG~dzanhG *(probably related to dzinhG, with inexplicable vowel alternation; nasalization perhaps not original, influenced by dzinhG, dzanhd; L always dzahG, Rezanov, Galushia Nelson dzahG, M dzahG and dzanhG, A dzanhG)*

d-dzahG~dzanhG-L *(noun, d-class (A), unclassified (M; L uncertain))* cane, staff, walking-stick, prop, wand: *23.18A (-dzanhG-, d-class), 34.66, 66, 70M (hesitation between -dzanhG- and -dzahG-, unclassified), Rezanov* Тецакль 'Палка', Тецаакль 'Трость Stock, Stab', *Galushia Nelson* ɒát'cà'ktł 'wand used for slow dances' *BSdL 552,* **dAdzahGL** cane *LM,* prop used to hold things up *L,* **dAdzanhGL** cane, walking-stick *M,* **dAdzahGLda'luw** big cane *M,* **dAdzahGLkih**, **ya:kuts'g dAdzahGL** small cane *M.*

,

'Ad-LA-dzahG~dzanhG *(reflexive of unattested O-L-dzahG~dzanhG)* S move self with cane, stick: **dAwa: q'unh *Sun Man* 'uda' 'AdsLidzanhGLinh** at that point the *Sun Man* came to her trudging with a staff *34.62M (-dzanhG-),* **'AdGALAdzahGL** you're walking with a cane, you're pushing yourself along (e.g. on a sled along ice) *L. (The perambulative form yAX LAdzanhdXinh is also attested from L, glossed 'he's walking (about) with a cane', influenced by dzanhd 'snowshoe'; it should probably be read yAX 'AdLAdzahGXinh.)*

dza'tl'

dza'tl'(-g)(-L) *(noun) (with -g-repetitive and/or -L-instrumental optional)* peg, stake *(also* chisel?, *perhaps any rigid object to be forcibly driven into something)*: **dza'tl'** peg, stake *L,* **dza'tl'g**, **dza'tl'L** peg *L,* **dza'tl'gL** stake *L,* **dza'tl"a'luw** big chisel *LM.*

,

O-**dza'tl'** S chisel O, S chisel hole in O: **'Aw dza'tl'inh** he's chiselling it *L,* **'Adza'tl'** chisel it! *L, with ya' 'completely':* **ya' 'Adza'tl'** poke a hole (e.g. in bottom of clam-basket) in it (with e.g. a chisel)! *L,* **ya' GAdza'tl'** chisel it! *L.*

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O-**L-dza'tl'** 1. S drive a rigid O (e.g. peg, stake, piling) into something, so that O be fixed in position; S fix O in position by pegging: *Rezanov* Утыхалекольцатль 'Прибить что ('to nail sth.') annageln, anschlagen' **'u:dAX 'Al… GALdza'tl'** peg this in there!, fix this there by pegging!, *otherwise attested only in repetitive:* **'u:dAX yAX GALdza'tl'g** pound it (e.g. stake) down in, **'ALdza'tl'g** peg it! *L,* **qu'xLdza'tl'g** I'll peg it *L,* **ya:n'ch' 'ALdza'tl'g** peg it down in! *L.*

2a. *With qa' 'up out',* S chisel O out of something; S chisel something out of O: **'u:dAX qa' GALdza'tl'** chisel it out of it! *L.*

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2b. S chisel O, S chisel hole in O, *not clearly distinguished from O-dza'tl'*: **'ALdza'tl'** poke a hole in it with a chisel!, chisel it! *L,* **ya' GALdza'tl'** chisel it! *("seems same as ya' GAdza'tl'") L.*

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O-**dl-L-dza'tl'** 1. S drive poles, pilings, stakes in O (ground); S drive O (poles, pilings, stakes) in ground, *not clearly distinguished from O-L-dza'tl'* 1., *dl- perhaps thematized class-mark for O ('anh 'ground') or thematic 'in series', though series here are not always implied*: **'utl' ya:nu' dla:GALdza'tl'** drive it (e.g. paddle) in ground as a stake for it! *L (ya:nu' 'below surface', 'utl' 'with it),* **ya:n'ch' dla:siLdza'tl'L** I drove a stake down (into the ground) *L, repetitive* **ya:n'ch' dla:siLdza'tl'gL** I drove it (e.g. stick) down (into the ground); I hammered in pilings, poles, stakes *L,* **yAX k'uqu'dli:Ldza'tl'g** it'll drive in piles *L; passive* **ya:nu' dla:Lidza'tl'L** it (e.g. telephone pole) is planted in the ground *(Neuter perfective) L; with expanded stem:* **ya:n'ch' qAdla:siLdza:tl'L** I drove in a lot of stakes *L.*

2. S chisel hole in O, *not clearly distinguished from O-L-dza'tl' 2b., attested only once, perhaps in error*: **'Aw dla:sALdza'tl'Linh** he chiselled a hole in it *L (series of holes?).*

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'uX k'udza'tl'(g)L, 'uX k'udAdza'tl'(g) *(noun)* chisel, < by means of it something is chiselled: *Rezanov* Охкоцаатль 'Стругъ ('hand-plane') Hobel' **'uX k'udza'tl'L** chisel *M,* **'uX k'udza'tl'L**, **'uX k'udAdza'tl'**, **'uX k'udAdza'tl'g** chisel *L. Forms with -L-instrumental lack dA-classifier present in forms without -L-instrumental; deverbalization or nominalization of passive of O-dza'tl'.*

dza'L *(perhaps to be analyzed dza' with -L-instrumental)*

-l-dza'L *(noun) (with l-thematic, never realized -lA-) meaning uncertain*: **k'u:ndza'L** milt, semen (of king salmon only) *A (cf. tuh).*

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-gl-dza'L *(noun, unclassified?, with gl-class-mark 'liquid' thematized, never actualized -gulA-) meaning uncertain*: **'Al 'ugu:ndza'Lyu: 'Awa:, 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,* **k'ugu:ndza'L** back fin *A,* "that black red stuff by fish backbone" *L.*

dza:nt'

dza:nt' *(noun, usually ti:l-class, occasionally unclassified)* skunk-cabbage *LM*: *Galushia Nelson* tsɔⁿ·t *or* tsɔⁿ·t' 'skunk-cabbage' BSdL 541 **dza:nt'ch'iyahd** skunk-cabbage(-leaf)-hat *52.28L,* **'Aw dza:nt' ch'iyahdda:X k'ut'a' dAt'uh** the skunk-cabbage is used as a hat *L,* **dza:nt' 'u:d ti:nsAtahL** (*probably preferable to* **-'ahL**) a skunk-cabbage (leaf) is there *L,* **dza:nt' sich' ti:li:ta'** give me a skunk-cabbage! *L, (Harrington ms. has from George Johnson* sąat' (ą dull, ω-like), tzǫ́o't' 'skunk-cabbage', sąat' yα'x̱ά́ttaa 'skunk-cabbage efflorescence ("file")' **dza:nt'ya' XAt'a:** skunk-cabbage's file, *perhaps a calque on Tlingit, and* tsǫ́ωt' yα'qɛ́ɛts' 'skunk-cabbage roots' **dza:nt'ya' Ge:ts'** skunk-cabbage's (spruce-)roots). *Uses of the skunk-cabbage are also mentioned in BSdL 87, 96.*

dza:nts'

d-dA-dza:nts' *(attested only with d-thematic 'oral, noise')* S plead, implore, beg, pray: **da:dAdza:nts'** plead (e.g. with God)! *MA,* **qu'xdAdza:nts'** I'll implore *L,* **dixsdidza:nts'L** I implored *L, repetitive:* **dAxdAdza:nts'g** I keep imploring *L; with o-tl' 'with o' and o-wahd 'for the sake of o, in order for o':* **…wahd 'utl' dAxdAdza:nts'** I beg him to … *(with optative clause as o of o-wahd) L, with o-q' 'on o': 70.3A (cust),* **'uq' da: dAGAdAdza:nts' da:X** if we pray for it *70.3A; indirect reflexive: 61.22A,* **'Adq' da:didza:nts'** you must pray for yourself *61.23A.*

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(O?-)**d-L-dza:nts'** S beg (O?), *transitivity uncertain, -L-classifier perhaps due to presence of o-X 'by means of o'*: **dA'wAX gehsdahX 'anh dAGALdza:nts'Linh** he was begging him quite pitifully *37b.34A.*

dzanh

dzanh *(noun)* buzz-toy *L, BSdL 238 contains a description.*

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dzanhqAXah *(month-name) some winter? month L, April? A,* < buzz-toy-month.

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'i-LA-dzanh *(detransitivized form with indeterminate O, 'S buzz at things'?, of unattested O-L-dzanh)*: **'iLAdzanh** it's making a buzzing sound *L,* **'ixLAdzanh** I'm buzzing a buzz-toy *M, repetitive:* **'iLAdzanhg** it (hummingbird) is humming *L.*

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O-**qi:l-dzanh** S make O *(qi:l-class 'rope')* buzz, *with k'u-indefinite O*: **k'uqi:lAxdzanh** I'm buzzing a buzz-toy *L,* kind of yoyo *(nominalized) M.*

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'iLAdzanh *(noun) (nominalization of 'i-LA-dzanh)* 1. *(unclassified)* hummingbird, yoyo, buzzing sound *L, Old Man Dude* íɬátsɔ̀ⁿ 'humming-bird, gas boat' *BSdL 539, 550.*

2. *(d-class)* motorboat, skiff with outboard motor *L*: **'iLAdzanhda'luw** big gas boat *M,* **'iLAdzanh sich' di:'a'** bring me a gas boat! *L.*

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'iLAdzanhkih *(noun) (preceding with -kih diminutive)* hummingbird *L.*

dzanhd

dzanhd *(noun, d-class)* snowshoe: **dzanhddAdahd 'u'lixitah** I hear the sound of snowshoes *15.17M, Galushia Nelson* t'sɔⁿkt *or* tsɔⁿkt 'snowshoe', ɒə̀kíⁿ t'sɔⁿkt 'wooden snowshoe' *BSdL 550* **dAkinhdzanhd**, **dzanhdda'luw** big snowshoes *LM,* **dzanhd 'u:d dAsAtahL** (*or* **-'ahL**) a snowshoe is there *L,* **dzanhd k'ut'a' di:Lt'inhinh** he's using snowshoes *L,* **dzanhddAya' Ga:Linh** he's walking on snowshoes *L,* **la'd da: dzanhd** two snowshoes *L.*

,

dzanhddAyAXAta: *(noun)* Milky Way < trail under snowshoes *L. (Harrington ms. has* tsąaqhiittlaaqqα'è't 'Milky Way ("snowshoe trail")' *from George Johnson,* **dzanhdqi:dla:GA'e'd** < snowshoe tracks, *but L's form is probably the more authentic term); cf. Tlingit (Naish-Story) łq'αyák'ʷ x̲'υs'ití 'Milky Way' [łq'αyák'ʷ (mythical hero, see Eyak Text 34.)]'s foot-trail (= Eyak -qi:dla:GA'e'd), but Veniaminov чачигаит'и́ 'Млечный путь, т.е. дорога, по которой будто-бы прошелъ какой-то человѣкъ' ǯaǯi…'ití 'snowshoe ... tracks', on which G's form is more closely patterned than L's.)*

dzu: *(probably related to dzu'1, of which it is perhaps an expanded form)*

-dzu: *(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*: *Anonymous* Куццу 'Добро' *Baranov* Куцъ-цу 'Добро', *Khromchenko* (Коций /) Куцу 'Хорошо' **k'udzu:**, *3.13M, 9.90, 10.239, 244A, 16.19M, 28.91A, 31.5, 47c.23L, 49.4, 5A, 57.28G, 61.11, 11, 18A, 62.21, 64.11G, 70.5A,* **'anh 'i:nsALyahLinh qe'Lla:X k'Adzu: q'e' sdiLe'L** the old woman's eyes got well again *3.17M,* **Ga:ndich'ich'gyu:tl' q'unhAw k'udzu: q'[e'] ['Adu'sLiXa'L]** he got himself back on good terms with the birds *11.5A,* **dALi'q' 'ahnu: dAXunhyu: q'A'anh[nu:] k'udzu: 'udAGAleh yiLe:** all those people were in a good frame of mind *57.30G,* **'Aw k'udzu: q'e' sdiLe'L** that turned out to be another good thing *68.34A,* **dik' k'Adzu:G** not good *61.30A, Rezanov* Къ-уя коццу 'Вѣтеръ попутной gunstiger Wind' **k'u:y… k'udzu:** wind is favorable, *Khromchenko* Куцукуя 'Ясная погода' ('good weather') **k'udzu: k'u:y…** good wind, *Furuhjelm* Kutzuuva 'good', **'Aw k'udzu: 'Awa:** the good one, the best one of them *L,* **ta:dz k'udzu: yiLinhinh** he used to be good *L,* **k'Adzu: k'a' 'Adu'la:LiXah** you should be good (behave well) *L,* **xu: siya' XAwa: k'Adzu:** *my* dog is good *L,* **k'udzu: xah** nice summer *M,* **k'udzu: XAtl'** nice night *M,* **k'udzu: tsi:ndz** nice dream *L,* **k'Adzu: tsahgL** nice legend *M,* **k'udzu: gah** nice dance *L,* **k'udzu: dAq'Aw** good lunch *L,* **k'udzu: q'Ala:k'** pretty shirt *L,* **k'udzu: wAXah** good news *L; a number of additional instances are listed under Le(') 1e.; with q'ah 'finally' and dA-* 'ipse'*:* **q'ahdAk'Adzu:** real good *M.*

1b. *With class-marks (in association with classified nouns)*: **k'ulAXAdzu: la'mahd** good berries *29.20A,* **k'udAdzu:** good (eggs) *68.8A,* **k'udAdzu: tsi:ny** pretty song *L,* **k'udAdzu:**

wAsheh q'A'Aw that's a nice name *M,* **k'udAdzu: lisdAtah** good spruce-bark *L,* **k'ugu:ndzu: giyah** Holy Water *L.*

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1c. *With Gl-thematic ground'*: *10.12A, 11.169, 170, 170A,* **qi' k'uGa:ndzu:** where it's good ground (for camping) *L.*

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1d. *As o of certain postpositions*: *with o-wahd 'for the sake of o':* **k'udzu:wahd** for good (luck) *35.2, 37a.24L,* good luck! *L; with o-la', o-da' 'luck, fortune from o, omen, portent of o': Galushia Nelson* qə̀tsú··lá 'good weather! (called out in connection with magic rite)' *BSdL 555,* **k'Adzu:la'** good luck *L,* **k'udzu:la' k'a' 'i:Le'** good luck! *L,* **k'Adzu:da' qa: 'u'Ga:nsa'yahL** we got rich, lucky *L,* **k'Adzu:da' 'i'qe'GAli:'yah** you'll have good luck *L,* **k'udzu:da' xuGa:nsa'yahL** I had a year of good luck *L; with o-da:d 'near o, place of o': 5.8, 9L, 11.170A,* **k'Adzu:da:d k'a' ya:n' xu:liLteh** lay me down at a nice place *47c.8L; with o-da' 'arrival at o':* **qi' k'udzu:da' k'a' xu:nliLteh** take me to a nice place *47b.11M.*

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1e. *As o of o-Lch'a:d 'side of o'*: *Rezanov* Куцульчатъ 'На право rechts' **k'udzu:Lch'a:d** right side *M,* **k'udzu:Lch'a:d ya:** the right one *(as opposed to the left) 51.78, 80, 61.45, 46, 46, 55A,* **k'udzu:Lch'a:d yAX dAxLAle'gX** I'm right-handed *L. "When the right side twitches it means good luck" (BSdL 221).*

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1f. *With -dah adverbializer*: *3.14M, 9.88, 136, 10.130, 11.45, 21b.73, 24.11, 25.29, 39A, 26.12, 27a.35L, 29.16, 32.28A, 34.7, 25, 30L, 50, 55, 60, 64M, 37a.25L, 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,* **'Aw dAq'a:g 'uXa' k'Adzu:dah dAsAq'ahL** his fire got to burning well *1b.13M,* **k'udzudah sAlahLinu:** they had a good life *21.68A,* **k'udzu:dah 'i:nLilah** you're handsome-faced *29.13A,* **'anh k'uqa' k'Adzu:dah 'Awch' 'isAL'anhL** the husband took a good look at it *43.26M,* **k'udzu:dah LAgAmih** it's sweet < it tastes good *M,* **k'udzu:dah LAchanh** it smells good *L,* **k'udzu:dah 'u'GAx'eh** it looks good to me *L,* **k'udzu:dahsh xu'sLitsahL** am I dressed up nicely, prettily? *L,* **k'udzu:dah 'u'diLitsahL** they (e.g. Easter eggs) look pretty *L,* **dik' k'udzu:dah k'utsi:nk'Ginh** he (cust) doesn't sing well *L,* **dik' k'udzu:dah 'udahd 'u:la'dAta:G** it doesn't sound good *L,* **k'udzu:dah 'uXa' 'i:lihxilinhinu:** I'm happy with them *L,* **k'udzu:dah 'i:lihxileh** I'm in a good mood *M,* **k'Adzu:dah xusALdahLinh** he treated me well *L,* **k'udzu:dah ya:kihdah xusALiL** he paid me well *L,* **k'udzu:dah q'unh sALiL** you treated him right, fairly, justly, kindly, fittingly *L,* **k'Adzu:dah sAliL** he did something nice, kind *L,* **k'udzu:dah yAX gAda:dAte:** steer well! *A,* **k'udzu:dah 'isitsi:ndzL** I had a good dream *L,* **k'udzu:dah GALse'L** it's a nice evening < it's becoming evening nicely *L,* **k'Adzu:dah 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I feel well *L,* **k'Adzu:dah xu'Ga:nsa'yahL** I had a good year (of weather) *L,* **k'udzu:dah sid k'uXAda:k'** I (cust) get fed well *L.*

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2. *Dependent (suffixed to nouns).* a. *Suffixed to unclassified nouns (-(')A-dzu: with forms containing only one vowel)*: **XAwa:dzu:** good dog *L,* **xah'Adzu:** nice summer *L,* **XAtl'Adzu:** nice night *L,* **se:L'Adzu:** nice evening *L,* **ya:n'Adzu:** good medicine *M,* **ya:nahdtahdzu:** nice rug *L,* **tsa:lAXALdzu:** nice beach *L, Galushia Nelson* ɢòtə́kə́lɛ̀ɬtsù'aⁿ, ɢòtə́kə́lɛ̀t tsù'aⁿ 'Creek Where We Feel Better' *BSdL 273, 559* **k'udAGAlehdzu: 'a:n** good (frame of) mind River *(see also Swanton* Tlingit Myths and Texts *302, 312 "Amusement Creek").*

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2b. *Suffixed to nouns denoting humans, -'i-dzu: or -dzu:, in both attestations also with -kih diminutive*: **LAni:'idzu:kih** nice boy *L,* **qe'Ldzu:kih** pretty girl *L.*

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2c. *Suffixed to classified nouns*: **shdu:lihGdAdzu:** nice table *L,* **wAshehdAdzu:** nice name *L,* **dide'LdAdzu:** pretty lamp *L,* **da'ts'dAdzu:** nice basket-design *L,* **ya:n'gAlAdzu:** good medicine (liquid) *M,* **ts'u:gu:ndzu:** good milk *L,* **gahXAdAdzu:** lovely day *L,* **ya:n'lAXAdzu:** good medicine (pills) *M.*

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2d. *Suffixed to dAXunh 'person' in personal name* ***dAXunhdzu:**, *cf. dAXunh.*

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-dzu: S be good *(rare as verb, attested only once)*: **GAdzu: da:X** if it's good (weather) *65.52A.*

dzuhd *(perhaps ephemeral, cf. suhdz)*

d-LA-dzuhd *(with d-thematic 'noise' and/or 'fire')* S make sizzling noise: **dALAdzuhd** (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".*

dzu'1 *(probably related to dzu:, perhaps also dzu'2)*

LA-dzu' S improve (his lot) somewhat: **GAxLAdzu'L** I'm improving my lot a bit *L,* **qu'xLAdzu'** I'll improve my lot a bit *L,* **xsLidzu'L** I steadily improved my fortune; *with Xd-class-mark for S:* **gah XAdAGALAdzu'L** the sun is coming out a little on a cloudy day < the day is improving slightly *L,* **gah qu'XAdALAdzu'** the day'll get a bit better *L.*

dzu'2 *(perhaps to be identified with dzu'1, sarcastic)*

L-dzu' S do something very annoying *(extremely strong expression)*: *with wAX 'thus' and q'e' 'again, more':* **gu:dAg wAX q'e' LAdzu'** there you go again (doing the very thing I told you not to do anymore) *L,* **ya'Xu: wAX q'e' qu'LAdzu'** don't you do that again! *L,* **gu:dAg wAX q'e' sLidzu'Linh** he did the same damn thing again! *L; with ('iL-)k'e:-d 'how (the hell)?, what (the hell)?':* **'iLk'e:duh Ldzu'shiyah** what's that lousy thing doing?! (dog running in and out of here all the time, I'm sick of it) *L,* **k'e:duhnu: Ldzu'** what the hell do they think they're doing?! *L; with d-class-mark for S:* **'iLk'e:duh dALdzu'** what the hell's that thing doing?! (boat going by here all the time, I'm sick of it) *L.*

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G-L-dzu' S do something very annoying *(as above, with G-thematic of uncertain meaning, attested only in Active perfective)*: **gu:dAg wAX q'e' GALAdzu'** there you go again doing the same annoying thing *L.*

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d-L-dzu' *(with d-thematic 'oral, noise')* S make very annoying noise, say something very annoying *(extremely strong expression)*: **k'e:duhnu: dALdzu'** what the hell do they think they're doing (making noise like that)?! *L,* **'iLk'e:duh dALdzu', k'e:duh dALdzu'** that damn noise keeps bothering me *L.*

,

dG-L-dzu' S make very annoying noise, say something very annoying *(as above, with G-thematic of uncertain meaning included in mark, attested only in Active imperfective)*: **gu:dAg 'AwlA'e: q'e' dAGALAdzu'** 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 wAX q'e' dAGALAdzu'** there you go asking me for the same damn thing again! *L.*

tsidz

-tsidz-g *(adjective) (-g-repetitive thematized)* narrow, thin 1. *Independent or relativized*: **ya:tsidzg yiLeh** they're narrow *11.65A, Rezanov* Яцыцкъ 'Тонко dünn' **ya:tsidzg** narrow *MA, Rezanov* Атеяцыцъ 'Тонѣе dünn (Comparat.)' **'a'd ya:tsidz[g]** very thin, **ya:tsidzg kushxi:d** narrow (strip of) cloth *L; with class-marks in connection with classified nouns:* **ya:qi:lAtsidzg** thin (rope) *L,* **ya:lAtsidzg lAsAliL** it (moon) is in its last quarter < has gotten narrow *L.*

2. *Suffixed*: **ta:hAtsidzg** narrow trail *L; to classified nouns: Rezanov* Куткуцыцкъ 'Шолкъ ('silk') Seide' **k'u't'gutsidzg** fine thread, **shdu:lihGdAtsidzg** narrow table *L.*

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guka'dAtsidzg *(noun, unclassified)* pretty greenish duck species, pintail duck, *perhaps also 'Old Squaw (long-tailed duck, clangula hyemalis)'* < narrow-tail *L.*

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'i:ndzi'X ya:lAXAtsidzg *(noun, lX-class)* pear < front end of lX-class object narrow *L.*

,

-tsidz-g S be thin *(-g-repetitive thematized)*: *with la'q' 'thickness (least dimension)', attested in Active imperfective and Neuter imperfective ('A-prefix optional, yi- or 'i:-), no apparent distinction in meaning:* **la'q' 'i:tsidzg yu:xga:** thin skirt (light material) *M,* **la'q' tsidzg**, **la'q' yitsidzg**, **la'q' 'i:tsidzg** it's thin *L, with d-class-mark for S:* **shdu:lihG la'q' dAtsidzg** table is thin (of thin wood) *L,* **la'q' di:tsidzg** it (board) is thin (perhaps wide, but not thick) *M; with lX-class-mark, partly thematized:* **lAXAtsidzg** fine (grain) *M,* real soft cloth *L (both nominalized). A number of forms occur in Rezanov which may be read either as la'q' -tsidz-g or lX-tsidz-g:* Куштлетльакцыцке 'Дены seidenes Band, seidene Bänder' **k'ushtl'i'L la'q' tsidzg(kih)** or **lAXAtsidzg(kih)** thin (little) garters, Нехтляляхъцыцкъ 'Шолковой платокъ seidenes Tuch' **niLa: la'q' tsidzg** or **lAXAtsidzg** kerchief is thin, Ляхецыцке каццахъ 'Китайка chinesisches Seidenzeug, chinesisches Baumwollenzeug', Лякацыцкъе ацехъ 'Фанза Стерр' *(both listed under* 'Seide, Leinewand, Strumpfe'*)* **la'q' tsidzg** (*or* **yitsidzg**, **'i:tsidzg**) **GAts'AX** (*or* **q'Ats'AX**), *or* **lAXAtsidzg GAts'AX** (*or* **q'Ats'AX**) piece of thin cloth, Лакацыцкъ калиякуяйя *(first and last two letters partly illegible, reading uncertain)* 'Шолковая матерїа ('silk material') Seiden-Zeug' **lAXAtsidzg** (*or* **la'q' tsidzg, la'q' yitsidzg**) **k'ula'q'Aya'** (*or* **qa:la'q'Aya'**) thin clothing.

,

la'q' tsidzg *(noun, unclassified)* flounder *LS,* (flat) flask *L,* **la'q' yitsidzg**, **la'q' 'i:tsidzg** flounder *M*: *Rezanov* Лякацыцкъ 'Камбула, рыба Butte'. *Nominalized Active and Neuter imperfectives,* < it's thin..

,

ya:n'ch' k'udAtsidzg *(noun)* ten-pound lard-can < narrow at bottom *L. Nominalized Active imperfective,* < something (of d-class?) narrows toward bottom.

,

ma: la'q' Ga:nditsidzg *(place-name) Summit Lake near Yakutat* < narrow lake *G (Harrington), M (cf. Tlingit quGa:ts'a:ne:'a:).*

,

LA-tsidz-g S be thin *(-g-repetitive thematized, attested only in Inceptive perfective, with la'q', meaning not clearly distinguished from that of la'q' -tsidz-g in Active imperfective and Neuter imperfective)*: **kushxi:d la'q' GALAtsidzgL** cloth is thin *L, with d-class-mark for S:* **la'q' dAGALAtsidzgL tsidl** thin boards *65.12A.*

tsis

O-**tsis** S copulate with O *(term very objectionable to L and M)*: *Rezanov* Коуцысъ 'Совокупляться begatten, sich' **k'utsis** it is copulating with something, something is copulating

with it *(not polite) LM,* **'ixitsis** I'm copulating with you *(Neuter imperfective) S,* **Lila:' tsisinh** she's copulating with a man *S; passive:* **dAtsisinh** he, she's being copulated with, is having sexual intercourse *S.*

tsAdl~tsidl *(perhaps originally tsAd~tsid with -L-instrumental, but attested actualizations clearly -dl rather than -dL; no form tsAd~tsid could be elicited)*

tsAdl~tsidl *(noun, d-class)* board, plank, lumber: *21b.51 (tsAdl), 65.12A (tsidl), Rezanov* Цетль 'Доска Brett', *Galushia Nelson* tsətɬ 'drill-hearth or board' *BSdL 547,* **tsAdl** boards *LMS,* **tsidl** boards *L,* **tsAdlda'luw** big boards *M,* **la'd da: tsAdl** two boards *M,* **'Aw tsAdlda:q' ya:n' GAta'** set it down on the board! *LM,* **tsAdldAtsin'da'd** tip, end of board *L,* **tsAdl sich' di:'a'**, **tsAdl sich' di:ta'** give me a board! *L,* **tsAdl 'u:d dAsAtahL**, **tsAdl 'u:d dAsA'ahL** a board is there *L,* **dALa'q'd ya: tsAdl** outside board (of construction), facing *L.*

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tsAdldAts'ik' *(personal name) Anders Nelson, Anna Nelson Harry's father LA (transcribed ts'Atl'dAts'ik' in Notebook XV.10), same as 'AnAshih;* tsɑtɬɒɑtsəⁿk' *name of Chief Joe on BSdL Genealogical Table* < board-dish.

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tsidlAyahd *(noun, d-class)* lumber house (plank house) *L.*

,

tsidl dALXa:dL *(noun, unclassified)* duck species, smaller than, but like ch'Aq'i:nq', good eating *L,* teal duck *LM*: **tsAdl dALXa:dL** teal (or female mallard?) duck, always running about with its young, like dragging boards *M.* < it's dragging boards.

,

tsidl dAGAXe:L *(noun, unclassified)* small fish species *L,* small bug species in water *L (correction of preceding)* < it's carrying boards on its back.

tsAtl'~tsitl' *(expanded tsi:tl' and tse:tl')*

-tsAtl'~-tsitl' S slide, slip: **GAtsitl'L** it's sliding along *M,* **'u:dAX GAtsAtl'L** it's sliding along there *L,* **GAtsitl'** slide along! *M,* **siyAqa'X tsitl'**, **siyAqa'X tsAtl'** it's slipping between my fingers *M,* **qa:yAqa'X tsAtl' tsa'k'** (finger-)gloves < gloves which slide through our hand-interstices *L, with perambulative:* **'u:dAX yAX dAtsAtl'X** it's sliding around there *L, with d-class-mark for S:* **XahdL dAGAtsAtl'L** a car is going along *(like sled sliding) L, repetitive:* **'u:dAX qid tsAtl'g** it keeps sliding down there *L,* **'u:dAX yAX tsitl'g** it (window) keeps sliding down there *L,* **si:na'q' li' tsAtl'g** it (scarf) keeps sliding down off my head *L. Transitive (causative):* **sich' 'ALtsAtl'**, **sich' 'ALtsitl'** slide it to me! *L,* **'u:dAX ya'X qa' GALtsitl'** open it (window) < slide it up out along there! *L, with 'iLya' and perambulative:* **'iLya' yAX 'ALAtsitl'** slide it back and forth! *L,* **'iLya' 'Aw yAX LAtsitl'Xinu:**, **'iLya' 'Aw yAX LAtsitl'ginu:** *(repetitive)* they're sliding it back and forth *L; reflexive 'Ad-LA-tsAtl'~tsitl' 'S slide self, S skate, S sail (in boat)': 64.9 (customary, expanded tsi:tl'),* **'Adqu'xLAtsAtl'** I'll slide, sail *L, with perambulative:* **yAX 'AdLAtsitl'Xinh** he's sliding, skating around *LM,* **yAX 'AdxLAtsitl'X** I'm skating around *M,* **yAX 'Ada:LAtsitl'** slide, skate around! *L,* **yAX 'Ada:LAtsitl'** slide, skate around! *L,* **yAX da: 'AdLAtsitl'X**, **da: yAX 'AdLAtsitl'X** we're sliding, skating around *L,* **da: yAX 'AdLAtsi:tl'k'** we (cust) slide, skate around, *repetitive:* **yAX 'AdxLAtsitl'g**, **yAX 'AdxLAtsAtl'g** I'm skating around *L ("sounds more like 'trying to skate, sliding around without skates'" M)*; *passive, d-thematic optional with qid 'down':* **qid disLitsitl'L** it's been slid down *L.*

,

GALAtsAtl'~GALAtsitl' *(noun, unclassified)* land-otter: *32.17, 33.21, 25, 33, 49.53, 54A, 67.6G, Rezanov* Калецытль 'Выдра Otter', *Anonymous* Катлацатль 'Выдра', *Wrangell*

Катлецетль 'Fischotter', *Galushia Nelson* qətɬə́sət'ɬ *or* Ɋəɬésɛ̀t'ɬ 'land otter (or "to slide")' *BSdL 286, 539, 559,* **GALAtsitl'**, **GALAtsAtl'** land-otter *("because he slides") L,* **GALAtsAtl'luw** big land-otter *LM,* **GALAtsAtl'yu:** land-otters *32.17A,* **GALAtsAtl'tah**, **GALAtsitl'tah** land-otter skin *33.41, 41, 72, 72, 74, 74, 84A,* **GALAtsitl'Xa' ya:n'** fireweed roots < medicine against land-otter *L,* **GALAtsitl'Xa' ya:n'Lt'ahL** fireweed < leaves of medicine against land-otter *L.*

,

GALAtsitl'Xa' ya:n' *(noun)* medicine made from root of fireweed < medicine against land-otter *L.*

,

GALAtsitl'Xa' ya:n'Lt'ahL *(noun, unclassified?)* fireweed < leaf of medicine against land-otter *L (-L- perhaps in error).*

,

yAX 'Adistsitl'X *(gerundive of perambulative reflexive causative)* skating: **yAX 'Adistsitl'X xusALga'L** I'm tired of skating around < skating around has tired me *L.*

,

'uya' yAX 'Adistsitl'X *(noun) (above gerundive with 'uya' 'in them (o with opening at top)')* ice-skates *L.*

,

k'u:na'q' li' tse:tl' *(noun)* meat that's left on fat of skinned seal *M,* meat left on sealskin *("sounds like 'slides off our head'") L. Nominalized Active imperfective with expanded stem, k'u:na'q' 'down over one's head', li' 'deeply, along back from head towards tail', cf. si:na'q' li' tsAtl'g.*

tsALk'~tsiLk' *(latter less frequent; widely diffused form of unknown origin, widespread in Northern and perhaps Pacific Coast Athapaskan, Tlingit całg, Haida tco´lgî and perhaps further)*

tsALk'~tsiLk' *(noun, unclassified)* squirrel: **tsiLk'** *L,* **tsALk'** ground squirrel *LMA (same squirrel as dAldu:deh LA, "sounds like an Ahtna word" L, perhaps being replaced by dAldu:deh, a more recent loan), Rezanov* Цатльке 'Еврашка Zieselmaus (Spermophilus citillus)', *Galushia Nelson* tsətɬk' 'groundsquirrel' *BSdL 538, Rezanov* Тцылькехалиякъ 'Парка ('parka') Winterkleidung (Parka) von Spermophilus-Fellen' **tsALk'q'Ala:k'** squirrel(-skin)-shirt *L.*

,

tsALk'(A)ta:' *(personal name) Eyak man (maybe from Chitina?)* < father of gray squirrel *L (same as **dAldu:de:ta:'**). M has heard.*

tsAq's

-y-L-tsAq's-g-L *(noun, unclassified) (with y-anatomical 'hand', L-classifier, -g-repetitive thematized, -L-instrumental)* fingers: **yALtsAq'sgL'a:w** long-fingers *(epithet for octopus) 20.11A, Rezanov* Кацельцахске 'Палецъ Finger' **qa:yALtsAq'sg…,** *Furuhjelm* Khaiatzkhu **qa:yA[L]ts[A]q'[s]g[L]** our fingers, human fingers, *Furuhjelm* Iakhatztakhe 'toes' *(badly garbled form), Galushia Nelson* qaiɛ 'finger' *BSdL 542* **qa:yA[LtsAq'sgL],** kıyıtɬtsə'q'sktɬ 'finger' *BSdL 542* **k'AyALtsAq'sgL** someone's fingers, **k'uyALtsAq'sgL k'u'a:w** long fingers *M,* **siyALtsAq'sgL** my fingers *LMA,* **siyALtsAq'sgLqa'd** between my fingers *L.*

,

-qi:y-L-tsAq's-g-L *(noun) (as above, with qi:y-anatomical 'toes', attested only in BSdL) Galushia Nelson* ɢùq'ɛ́iyìtɬtsàq'sktɬ *or* ɢə̀qɛ́iyìtɬtsaq'sktɬ 'toes' *BSdL 542.*

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O-**L-tsAq’s-g** S cut O into fringes, S make O (fringes) *(attested only with ya' 'completely', -g- repetitive probably thematic)*: **ya’ siLtsAq’sgL** I made fringes *L; passive:* **ya’ sLitsAq’sgL** it's been cut into fringes *L.*

tsAX

-tsAX S be cut *(not freely used, attested only once, Active perfective)*: **sAtsAXL** it's cut, it has a hole in it *L.*

,

O-**L-tsAX** S cut O *(perhaps causative of preceding)*: *25.23, 24, 25A, 38.15LM, 49.43, 44, 52, 53, 54, 55, 58, 59, 67,* **’anh k’uqa’ t’ik’dahd k’usALtsAXL** the husband cut something off the tip of his bow *34.92L,* **ne:tl’da:X ’Al ’ulAqah ’Awa: qid qu’di:LtsAX** first you'll cut its head off *65.39A, Rezanov* Альцахъ 'Пили ('saw!') sägen (Imperat.)' **’ALtsAX** cut it! *L, Rezanov* Альцахль 'Пилить ('to saw') sägen' **’ALtsAX(L)**, Альцахъ 'Рѣзать schneiden', Хокольцахе 'Портной ('tailor') Schneider' **Xu’ k’uLtsAXinh** he cuts things to (finished) form, **siLtsAXL** I cut into it *L,* **Gu:dzLqa’X ’ALtsAX** cut it at the joint! *L,* **t’uhLga’da:X ’Aw sALtsAXLinh** he cut it in three (pieces, places) *L, with o-d 'from o':* **’ud k’uGALtsAX** cut something (a piece) off it! *L,* **’iLd GALtsAX** cut them apart! *(indirect reciprocal) L, with o-k'ah 'away from o': 49.93, 95A (indirect reciprocals), with o-q'Ak'ah 'off from on o': 65.28, 30A* **’ugAlAXAde:Lq’Ak’ah qi’yiLtsAX** you'll cut it off of its spine *65.29A, with o-q'Ach'ahd qa' 'up out from on o':* **’Al ’utsin’q’Ach’ahd qa’ sALtsAXLinh k’uq’AX** this fat which he cut out from off its neck *12.15G, with 'iLa'q' 'in layers, strips' (indirect reciprocal): 65.47A,* **yaqe:X ’iLa’q’ ’Aw qa’LtsAXinu:** the next day they would cut it into strips *37b.77A, with yAX 'apart, in two', or 'downward': 65.31, 39A,* **yAX GALtsAX** cut it in two! *L; repetitive:* **t’uhLga’da:d ’ALtsAXg** cut it in three (places, pieces)! *L; with class-marks for O:* **qi:lisiLtsAXL** I cut it (rope) *M,* **yAX qi:lAGALtsAX** cut it (rope) (through)! *L,* **le:L ’iXa’ yAX qu’gu:xLtsAX** I'll cut your hair *L; with anatomical marks:* **xuyAsALtsAXLinh** he cut my hand *L,* **’iqe’li:xLtsAX** I'll cut your hair *L; with 'i:li:X and vocalized classifier:* **’i:li:X xuqu’yALAtsAXinh** he tried to cut my hand *L; reflexive, with anatomical marks:* **’Adi:nxLAtse:Xk’** I (cust) cut my hair *L,* **’Ad-la:LAtsAX** cut your hair! *L,* **’AdyixsLitsAXL** I cut my hand *L; passive: 65.3, 4, 4, 9, 9, 10A,* **’ulAqah ’Awa: qid da:dAtse:Xk’** their heads are (cust) cut off *65.9A,* **’iLq’Ak’ah GAdAtsAXch’ahd** after it's been cut apart (in layers) *(indirect reciprocal, Inceptive conditional) 65.11A,* **’u:na’q’Ach’ k’usLitsAXL** its (dog's) nose has been cut < something has been cut back along its head; *(procedure makes good hunting-dog of poor one) L,* **sLitsAXL**, **sditsAXL** it's been cut *L,* **qu’dAtsAX** *(not -LA-)* it'll get cut *L.*

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O-**(d-)L-tsAX** S cut O *(with d-thematic, optional, usually with prevers 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:* **ya’d qa’ disiLtsAXL** I cut a hole in it, I cut a piece out of it *L; with ya' 'completely': O-L-tsAX: 65.36A,* **ya’ ’ALtsAX**, **ya’ GALtsAX** cut it up!, slice it! *L,* **ya’ GAxLtsAXL** I'm slicing it up *L,* **ya’ qu’xLtsAX** I'll slice it, I'll cut it to pieces *L, repetitive:* **ya:tsidzg da:X ya’ xLtsAXg** I'm slicing it up thin (babiche) *LM, O-d-L-tsAX: 10.38, 25.187A, 38.11M, 38.15, 17fnM, Rezanov* Кеятельцахъ 'Распороть auftrennen' **q’e’ ya’ d…LtsAX** S cut up O some more (?), Кеятельцахъ-у 'Распори auftrennen (Imperat.)' **q’e’ ya’ di:LtsAXuh** cut it up some more!; *with qid 'down off': O-L-tsAX: 49.145A,* **’Aw dide’L qid sALtsAXLinh** he cut down that lamp *5.5L, Rezanov* Учаткелькальцахъ 'Рѣжъ schneiden (Imperat.)' **’uch’ahd qid** (?) **GALtsAX** cut it down off it!, **’uch’ahd qid k’uGALtsAX**, **’uch’ahd qid k’u:LtsAX** cut something off it! *L,* **qid siLtsAXL** I cut it off (of something) *L, with l-class-mark for O (no d-): 11.168A, with d-class-mark for O (and/or d-thematic): 5.3, 29.3, 65.39A,* **’Aw ’uni:k’ qid dAsALtsAXLinh** he cut its beak off *26.9L, O-d-L-tsAX (with d-thematic, O not d-class): 11.164, 65.74, 76A,* **qid dAGALtsAX** cut it off! *L. Passive: with neither ya' nor qid, d-thematic perhaps*

analogical, O not d-class: **dA'e:dzg 'Awa:, 'u:dik'ah da:dAtse:Xk'** its meat-slabs, they are (cust) cut away from there *65.4A; with ya': 11.196A (no d-thematic), with qid: 65.9A (d-class O in both).*

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O-**gdl-L-tsAX** S cut O's throat, S behead O *(usually with qid 'down off'; in careful usage the meaning without qid is probably 'S cut O's throat', with qid 'S behead O')*: *21a.35,* **LinhGih xi:l qid gAdla:sALtsAXLinu:** one shaman they beheaded *53.10L,* **qid xugAdla:sALtsAXLinh** he cut my throat, he cut my head off *L,* **'iqe'gAdli:xLtsAX**, **qid 'iqe'gAdli:xLtsAX** I'll cut your throat, I'll cut your head off *L,* **qid gAdla:siLtsAXLinh** I cut his head off *L.*

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O-**X-L-tsAX** S cut up O to bits *(with ya:X 'destruction', requiring X-thematic)*: **ya:X qu'Xi:xLtsAX** I'll cut it all up *L.*

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O-**'-dl-L-tsAX** S cut O open: *10.29, 30, 31, 31A, 25.11, 12A, 28.84A, 38.9LM, 65.28A, 38, 39A,* **'u'qAdla:sALtsAXL** she cut them (pl.) open *25.40A, with ku:l-anatomical 'belly':* **'Aw 'u'ku:dla:GALtsAX** *L,* **'u'ku:ndla:GALtsAX** cut its belly open! *M,* **xu'ku:dla:sALtsAXLinh** *L,* **xu'ku:ndla:sALtsAXLinh** he cut my belly open *M,* **'i'qe'ku:dli:xLtsAX** *L,* **'i'qe'ku:ndli:xLtsAX** I'll cut your belly open *M,* **'u'qAku:ndla:GALtsAXinu:** cut their bellies open! *M,* **'u'ku:dla:siLtsAXL** I cut its belly open *L; passive: 65.37A,* **'u'dla:sLitsAXL** it's been cut open *11.190, 191, 191A, with ku:l-anatomical:* **'u'ku:ndla:sLitsAXL** its belly's been cut open *L.*

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'uX k'utsAXL *(noun, unclassified)* scissors *L*: *Rezanov* Ахкоцахль 'Пила ('saw (n.)') Säge', **k'u'luw 'uX k'utsAXL** big scissors *L. Deverbalized passive of o-X O-L-tsAX 'S cut O by means of o', with -L-instrumental.*

tsug *(expanded tse:g or tsu:g)*

tsug *(noun) (attested only in Rezanov)* swelling: *Rezanov* Ццыккъ 'Вередъ ('abcess') Geschwulst (Furunkel)'.

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dA-tsug S swell: *Rezanov* Стицукль 'Распухло geschwollen' **sditsugL** it has swollen, it's swollen *LM,* it (bread) has risen *M (L rejects this use),* **qu'dAtsug** it'll swell *L,* **dAtsu:gk'** it (cust) swells *L, with qa' 'up out':* **qa' sditsugL** a bump, "gooseegg" has formed *A (L prefers Lu'ch' for this), with anatomical-marks:* **'i:nxsditsugL** my face is swollen *L,* **qi:dixsditsugL** my feet are swollen **qi:dAxdAtse:gk'** my feet (cust) swell *L. Transitive (causative):* **'iLgiyiLinh q'A'anh xuqi:dAsALtsugL** it's a witch that made my feet swell *L; passive:* **xuqi:disLitsugL, 'iLgiyiLinhyA'e'd lAX sAliL** my feet have been made to swell, this is the work of a witch *L.*

tsi:~tsi:y *(usually tsi:, but tsi:y also fairly frequently attested)*

-tsi:~-tsi:y *(kinship noun, descending)* (man's) daughter, (man's) brother's daughter: *2b.1L, 11.99, 103, 109, 121, 68.111, 112, 112, 112A, Khromchenko* Сію *(in Ahtna column)* / Цio *(in Eyak column)* 'Дочь' *probably to be interpreted* **-tsi:yA** *(cf. 'son, brother, sister' also without possessive prefix) (see phonology in Grammar),* sɪtsi 'my daughter (man speaking)' *BSdL 566* **sitsi:** *LA,* sətiⁿsi 'father's older brother's daughter (man or woman speaking)' *BSdL 566* **sitinhtsi:**, sitsicia 'younger brother's daughter (man speaking)' *BSdL 567* **sitsi:shiyah** my daughter, my brother's daughter *(man speaking, angrily) L,* **sitsi:y** my daughter *(man speaking) L,* **sitsi:luw**, **sitsi:yluw** my big daughter *(man speaking) LMA,* **sitsi:kih** my little daughter *(man speaking) M,* my daughter *(man speaking, affectionately) L,* **sitsi:qa'** my son-in-law (daughter's husband) *(man speaking; not* -

tsi:y- L, though -tsi:y- is elsewhere also recorded from L) L, **'itsi:qa'** *LM,* **'i:tsi:yqa'** your (man's) daughter's husband *LA.*

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di:ye:Xtsi: *(mythological personage) Calm Weather's Daughter L, Galushia Nelson* ɒiäχ̣tsi 'Calm Weather's Daughter' *BSdL 300, 544.*

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ch'iya'tl'Gtsi: *(personal name) Mary Thomas* < frog's daughter *LA.*

tsi:y~tsi:~tsi:ny~tsi:n *(tsi:y probably preferred, but other form also frequent, probably influenced by tsi:~tsi:y and tsi:n~tsi:~tsi:ny: tsi:y implied by Rezanov and Anonymous, transcribed twice from L, twice from M, three times from A, twice (by Harrington) from G; tsi: four times from L, three times from M, twice from A; tsi:ny once from L, three times from A; tsi:n five times from L)*

tsi:y~tsi:~tsi:ny~tsi:n *(noun, d-class)* mussel: *Rezanov* Цыя 'Ракушка Muschel' **tsi:y…** *Anonymous* Цыи 'Ракушка черыя' ('black shellfish') **tsi:y** *LMA, 10.230, 247A,* **tsi:** *LMA, 1a.2M, 11.62A,* **tsi:ny** *L, 10.230, 230, 247A,* **tsi:n** mussels *L,* **tsi: sich' di:'a'** *(or* **di:ta'**, *but* **di:'a'** *perhaps preferred)* give me a mussel! *L,* **tsi:n 'u:d dAsA'ahL** *(or* **dAsAtahL**, *but* **dAsA'ahL** *perhaps preferred)* a mussel is there *L,* **tsi:da'luw** big mussels *LM,* **tsi:n diLiXanhL** mussels are meaty *L,* **tsi:n qu'di:xLyAq'shg** I'll open mussels *L,* **tsi:wAlahyu:** mussels people (mythical) *11.62A.*

tsi:ye: *(informants unable to analyze, probably to be taken as a simple broken stem)*

tsi:ye: *(noun) (attested only as C)* industrious, diligent, energetic, willing worker: *36.3A,* **tsi:ye: yiLinhinh** 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' tsi:ye: 'a'Le:Ginh** he's not industrious *L.*

tsi'~tsin'~tsi:n'~tse'~tsa'~tsiya' *(perhaps related to tsin'; highly complex variations largely predictable, but only on morphological basis, fairly clear original basic meaning throughout, 'head, front, downhill toward water')*

-tsin' *(noun, gd- or, perhaps in combination with l-anatomical 'head', gdl-class, perhaps also unclassified)* neck, nape: *Galushia Nelson* ɢùtsì' *or* (ɢùt'sì') 'neck' *BSdL 541* **k'utsin'** neck, nape *LMA, Galushia Nelson* i'ɪ tsi 'your neck' *BSdL 557* **'i: 'itsin'** *your* neck, qɛiyɛqa tsi 'our necks' *BSdL 557* **GAyAqa:tsin'** *our* necks, laχ̣ɛi·laχ̣ tsi 'your (pl.) necks' *BSdL 557* **lAXi: lAXtsin'** (pl.) *your* necks, **'utsin'q'Ach'ahd** from on its neck *12.15G (unclassified, perhaps incorrect),* **k'utsin' 'u:d gudAsA'ahL** a neck is there *L,* **k'utsin' sich' gudi:'ah** (*or* **gudli:'ah**) give me a neck! *L,* **sitsin' siya: gudAsALdAtl'Linh** he hurt my neck *L,* **k'ugudAchahsh k'utsin'** a thick neck *M,* **k'utsin'guda'luw** a big neck *L,* **tsin'gAdli:'nuw** big-neck *L (pejorative epithet),* **tsin'gAdla:'a:w** long neck *L (epithet),* **sitsin'gAdAk'u't'** my neck-tendons *L.*

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tsin'-~tsi'l- *(also tsin'l-, probably analogically; -l- perhaps archaic class-mark or l-anatomical, or perhaps phonological development *tsin'- > tsi'n- > tsi'l-, Rezanov once tsi'n; classification uncertain, apparently anatomical mark and/or attribute in compounds, sometimes thematized)* head, neck, nape: *in postpositional phrases:* o-**tsi'l-yAq'**, o-**tsin'l-yAq'** inside of o's head, back of o's head, neck *(Rezanov* Кацыниехтъ 'Затылокъ Nacken' **qa:tsin'nAyAq'd** our napes, human nape*),* o-**tsi'l-Xa'-d** (at rest) near o's head, **sitsin'lAXa'd sAtahL** my pillow < it's in position near my head, nape *L,* o-**tsin'-da'** tip, extremity of o, o-**tsin'-**

da'-ya' half, lesser part, tip of o, *in* **tsi'lahL** pillow, comb, *see 'lahL, in verbs, attested only in few themes:* o-**tsin'(l)-'lahL** S comb o's hair, **ya:n' tsin'(l)-LA-'a** S bow head, *in combination with d-thematic, 'oral, noise':* **tsin'd-le** S speak.

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o-**l-tsin'-d** *(postposition) (with -l-anatomical 'head', attested only with -d final)* (at rest) above, beyond o's head (on horizontal plane with o prone): **silAtsin'd ya' 'Ada:** sit (on floor) above, beyond my head! *L.*

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o-**tsi:n'-** *(postposition) (attested with -d, -da', -dAX, -X and -ch' finals)* (motion to) downhill closer to shore than o, downhill past o: **'Aw te'ya'le:tsi:n' q'e' sdiyahL** went back down to the king salmon *1b.5M, o-tsi:n'-d* (at rest) downhill below o (closer to water, in water): **sitsi:n'd** downhill below me *LM,* **sitsi:n'd sAtahL** it's downhill below me *L,* **sitsi:n'd sAlahLinh** he lives downhill below me *L,* **kushk'Asha:wtsi:n'd** *place-name,* Hartney Bay < downhill below Jay-Head *L, o-tsi:n'-da' '(arrival) at point downhill below o':* **sitsi:n'da' Ga:'** go downhill below me! *L, o-tsi:n'-dAX, o-tsi:n'-X '(motion with)in area downhill below o (closer to, in water)':* **sitsi:n'dAX k'iya' GAqe'**, **sitsi:n'X k'iya' GAqe'** land (in canoe) downhill below me! *L,* **sitsi:n'X sahL** he walked (by) downhill below me *L,* **GAyAXgug 'utsi:n'X 'Ash Ga'ya:Linh** a kayak went by down below him *22.3L,* **'utsi:n'X 'iXAGAqe:Linu:** some people were boating along below him *23.58A, o-tsin'-ch' '(continuous motion) to downhill below o':* **qa:tsi:'ch' sahLinh** he went further down below us *L.*

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tse'-X *(preverb) (attested only with -X final 'motion within area', L rejects e.g. proposed *tse'-d)* motion within area downhill near water, toward water, near shore: *9.106, 20.12, 27b.28, 27b.32A,* **tse'X q'e'** back down towards shore *49.97A,* **tse'X 'Aw GALXahd** drag it down to shore! *L,* **Xi:d tse'X 'iya'** walk down to the water! *L,* **tse'X Ga:'** go down (to bottom of hill below us)! *L,* **tse'X sahLinh** he went down (to bottom of hill, shore) *L,* **tse'X Ga:Linh** he's going down (to bottom of hill, shore, but not into water) *L.*

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XA-tsiya'- *(postpositional phrase, always with XA- 'area' as o, L rejects e.g. proposed *tsiya'X, *tsiya'd 'down at shore of body of water' attested with -d, -dAX, -X and -ch' finals)*: *with -d final:* **XAtsiya'd** (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* Хаццатъ 'Берегъ Ufer' *probably to be read* **XAts[iy]a'd** rather than *XAtsa'd, Хатецеасылятле 'Сосѣдъ ('neighbor') Nachbar' *probably to be read* **XAtsiya'd** *(rather than *XAdAtsiya')* **sAlahLinh** he who lives down by shore *L,* **XAtsiya'd ya:n' dAsAdahL** it (car) is parked down at the bottom of the hill *L,* **XAtsiya'd sAdahLinh** he's sitting, staying down at the beach below *L, with -X, -dAX finals 'motion with area':* **XAtsiya'X 'idAGALAyAq'shgL** was breaking open mussels down at shore *1b.1M,* **XAtsiya'dAX yAX da:Xinh** he's walking about on the shore *L, with final -ch' 'continuous motion toward':* **XAtsiya'ch' 'iya'** walk down to the shore! *L, with -da' final 'arrival at':* **XAtsiya'da' sAqehLinh** he boated to shore down below *L.*

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tsa' 1. *(preverb) (with zero final only)* 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, Anonymous* Ца 'Глубоко' ('deep'), **tsa' q'e'** *10.74, 25.101A,* **q'e' tsa'** back down *10.70, 37b.48A,* **tsa' dA-xAX** water recedes *10.227, 233, 235A,* **(o-da') tsa' l-qu** pl. S run down (to o) *25.181, 37b.69, 60.5A,* o-**da' tsa' Xdl-ya'** sg. S run down to o *10.99, 11.149A,* **(o-tl') tsa' lXdl-LA-'Adz** S (snow) avalanche down (with, over o) *23.135, 135, 135, 136A,* **'anhq' shA'a'ch'L** pl. descended in the village *25.119, 122A,* **ne:tl' tsa' qu'dALAqahG, 'Aw *nu:s*** soon it will "out" (come tumbling downhill), the *news 61.42A,* **tsa' Ga:'** go downhill *(not necessarily toward water) L,*

tsa' XAdi:LXe:dz, **tsa' XAda:LXe:dz** carry them (logs, on your shoulders, in several trips) down! *L,* **tsa' GAxa:L** I'm walking down the hill, walking deeper into water *(also tse'X in first meaning, but not in second) L,* **qidga' tsa' dAxe:Xk'** low-water mark < as far as the water (cust) recedes *(same as qidga' lahdz dAxe:Xk') L,* **'u:dAX tsa' 'Adqi:dAGALAtsu:xL** he's plodding along there < he's thrusting his own feet downhill along there *(idiomatic) L,* **tsa' 'uX sa'yahL** *place-name, see 'ya.*

2. *(noun, unclassified)*: *Rezanov* Цца 'Глубоко Tief' **tsa'** deep *LM, attested most frequently as C in tsa' -Le(') 'S (body of water, mud but not cavity) be, become deep':* **di:yAX tsa' GALe'LG** before it had gotten deep yet *23.136A,* **tsa' yiLeh** it's deep *M, 23.136A,* **'ida'ya:lAX tsa' yiLeh** it's too deep *L, 37b.82A,* **tsa'shuw yiLeh** is it deep? *M,* **dik' tsa' 'a'Le:G** it's shallow *M,* **'Al 'AwlAX tsa' yiLeh** this is deeper than that *M,* **('a'd) 'idehdah tsa' yiLeh** it's really (very) deep *M,* **('a'd) xan'Lq' tsa' yiLeh** it's (very) very deep *M, as o of o-ga' 'like o':* **tsa'ga' 'u'GAdA'eh** it looks deep *M, as o of o-qa' 'amongst o':* **tsa'qa' 'i:nsdiyahLinh** he got stuck in a deep spot *L, as o of o-ya'-X '(motion with)in o (with broad opening at top)':* **tsa'ya'X yAX dAla:X** it (fish) is swimming at a deep level *L.*

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LA-tsa' S (body of water, mud, but not cavity) be, become deep: **GALAtsa'L** it's getting deep *L,* **'idah GALAtsa'L** it's getting to be of the right depth *L,* **'idah qu'LAtsa'** it'll get to be of the right depth *L,* **'idah sLitsa'L** it got to be of the right depth *L,* **'ida'ya:'u'X 'iLitsa'** it's too shallow *L (Neuter imperfective).*

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-tsa'-kih *(kinship noun, non-ascending) (with thematized -kih 'diminutive, affectionate')* (woman's) older sister *(cf. -dAGe:' 'younger sibling' < o-dAG-'e' 'in place above, upland from o' and -:dz-kih '(woman's) brother' < 'forward of o, diminutive')*: *Furuhjelm* Tchaakhi 'elder sister' **[-]tsa'kih,** *Rezanov* Исцакъ-уэ 'Тетка Tante' *probably to be read* **sitsa'kih** *(corresponding Tlingit entry* Ахшета, *probably to be read* 'αχ̱šádx̱ 'my older sister' *(woman speaking)),* sɪtsa'ki' 'older sister (woman speaking)' *BSdL 566A,* sitsaki 'wife's older sister (man speaking)' *BSdL 567A (gloss probably incorrect)* **sitsa'kih** my older sister *(woman speaking, also used in direct address) LA,* **sitsa'kihGAyu:** my sisters *(woman speaking) L,* my older sister's people *70.10A,* **sitsa'kihluw** my big older sister *L,* sɪsta^{n}kiqa 'older sister's husband' *BSdL 567A* **sitsa'kihqa'**, **'utsa'kihqa'** her older sister's husband *29.73A,* sitsaqɛiyac 'older sister's son or daughter (woman speaking)' *BSdL 567A* **sitsa'kihyahsh** my older sister's child *(woman speaking),* **'anh k'utsa'kih** the older sister *9.83, 101, 23.50, 29.71A,* **'utsa'kih** her older sister *23.146, 148, 156, 29.7, 8, 10, 70A.*

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o-**l-tsa'** *(postposition) (with l-thematic, probably thematized l-anatomical 'head', attested only as -i:n-tsa', with zero final)* in front of o in boat, closer to bow of boat than o: **si:ntsa' GAda'** sit (move sitting, sidle to) in front of me (in boat)! *L.*

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'i:ntsa'- *(noun, unclassified) (derived from preceding, with zero o and -d, -da', -X, and -ch' finals)* bow, front (of boat, canoe): *with -d final 'at rest, nominalized': Rezanov* Инцатъ 'Носъ у Баидары Schnabel der Baidare' **'i:ntsa'd** bow, front (of boat, canoe) *LM,* **'i:ntsa'd sAdahL** he's sitting in the bow *L,* **'i:ntsa'd 'Awa: 'ALku:n'd** grab its bow! *L, with -ch' final 'continuous motion toward':* **'i:ntsa'ch' Ga:Linh** he's going toward the bow *L, with -da' final 'arrival at':* **'i:ntsa'da' Ga:'** move up to the bow! *L, with -X final 'motion within':* **'i:ntsa'X ya' qa' Ga:'** get (up out of the water) in(to boat at) the bow! *L.*

tsin~tsi:ny *(tsi:ny only in noun)*

tsi:ny~tsi:n~tsinh *(noun, d-class, or, especially with verb O-tsin, unclassified)* song: *Rezanov* Цыя 'Пѣсна Gesang, Lied' **tsi:ny…**, **tsi:ny** song *LM,* **tsi:n** song *L,* **k'udAdzu: tsi:ny** *L,* **k'udzu: tsi:ny** nice song *M,* **de: tsi:nyduh tsinh** what song is he singing? *L,* **xi:lya' tsi:ny tsinhinh** he's singing a shaman's song *L,* **xi:lyu:ya' tsinh** shamans' song *M, Rezanov* Цыеягохохтлинъ 'Шутить ('to joke') spassen, scherzen' **tsi:ny…ya'X wAX xLinhinh** I'm doing it to him while singing, **tsinhya'X wAX xLih** I'm doing it (to it) while singing *M.*

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-tsinh *(noun) (attested only with k'u-indefinite as prefix)* song: *Galushia Nelson* ɕə̀'tsíⁿ *or* utsiⁿ' *BSdL 551,* **k'utsinh** song *LMA,* phonograph record *A,* record player *L.*

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O-**tsin** *(two perambulative forms show invariable -tsinh, but stem is otherwise well established as variable -tsin)* S sing O (song): *Rezanov* Аццыи 'Пѣть singen' *perhaps to be read* **'Atsi:n** sing it! *or* **'anh tsinh** he's singing it, **dAXunhyu:dA'e' xtsinh** I'm singing a native song *L,* **de:dunh sAtsinhL** what did he sing? *L,* **xi:lya' tsi:ny tsinhinh** he's singing a shaman's song *L; otherwise with k'u-indefinite O (not thematized, verb consistently treated as transitive): 5.8, 10L, 10.11, 12, 12, 11.169, 185A, 38.12LM (howling of wolves), 47b.28M, 55.3L, 57.17, 18G, 70.11A,* **q'e' k'utsinh** sings again *10.20, 11.173A,* **q'e' k'uqu'xtsinh** I'll sing again *L,* **dAXunhyu:di:'q' k'uxtsinh** I'm singing a native song < I'm singing something in native style *L,* **xan'Lq' k'uxtsinh** I'm singing loud *M,* **da:n'Lga' k'uxtsinh** I'm singing softly *M,* **siXAwAX'a: k'uxtsinh** I'm singing for (to) my brother *L, a number of forms of this theme are given in BSdL 561, which will be identified here only by the glosses in parentheses:* **k'uxtsinh** I'm singing *M ('I sing'),* **k'u:tsinh** *LM,* **k'u:tsi:n** sing! *L ('i: k'- '*you*, sing!'),* **k'u:tsi:nshA'Aw** are you singing?, is that singing you're doing? *L (k'u:tsi:nsh 'are you singing?'), Anonymous* Куццынъ 'Поютъ' ('they're singing') **k'utsinh** he's singing, **'anh k'utsinh** he's singing *('he sings'), Furuhjelm* Kutzgi 'to sing' **k'utsinhinh** he's singing *L,* **GAyAG da: k'utsinh** *we*'re singing *('we sing'),* **lAXi: k'ulAXtsinh** *you* pl. are singing *('you pl. sing'),* **'ahnu: k'utsinh** they're singing *('they sing'),* **k'usitsinhL** I sang *LA ('I sang'),* **'i: k'usAtsinhL** *you* sang *('you sang'),* **'anh k'usAtsinhL** he sang *('he sang'),* **GAyAG da: k'usAtsinhL** **we** sang *('we sang'),* **lAXi: k'ulAXsAtsinhL** *you* pl. sang *('you pl. sang'),* **'ahnu: k'usAtsinhL** they sang *('they sang'),* **k'uqu'xtsinh** I'll sing *('I will sing'),* **'i: k'uqi'yitsinh** *you*'ll sing *('you will sing'),* **'anh k'uqa'tsinh** he'll sing *('he will sing'),* **GAyAG da: k'uqa'tsinh** *we*'ll sing *('we will sing'),* **'ahnu: k'uqa'tsinh** they'll sing *('they will sing'),* **dik' k'u:ntsinhG** you're not singing *('I don't sing'),* **'i: dik' k'u:ntsinhG** *you*'re not singing *('you don't sing'),* **'anh dik' k'utsinhG** he's not singing *('he doesn't sing'),* **GAyAG dik' da: k'utsinhG** *we*'re not singing *('we don't sing'),* **lAXi: dik' k'ulAXtsinhG** *you* pl. aren't singing *('you pl. don't sing'),* **'ahnu: dik' k'utsinhG** they're not singing *('they don't sing'),* **dik' k'uxtsinhG** I'm not singing *L,* **dik' k'utsinhGinh** he's not singing *L,* **k'uGAtsi:nLinh** he's keeping on singing *L,* he's singing *M,* **k'u:litsinhinh** let him sing *L,* **dik' k'udzu:dah k'utsi:nk'Ginh** he (cust) doesn't sing well *L,* **k'u:xtsi:nX sitl' dAlinhinh** he told me to sing *L, repetitive:* **k'utsi:ng** it (record player) is playing *L,* **da: k'utsi:ngk'** we (cust) sing *M, with perambulative:* **yAX k'udAtsinhXinh**, **yAX k'udAtsi:nXinh** *(former analogical)* he's singing here and there *LM,* **(silah) yAX k'udAtsi:nX** it (mosquito) is buzzing around (around me) *L,* **yAX k'u:ndAtsinh** sing about! *M; indirect reflexive: with o-l-yAq'-ch' '(continuously) into o l- anatomically':* **lAyAq'Ach' k'udAtsinhinh**, **'Ad-lAyAq'Ach' k'udAtsinh** he's humming *L,* **dAxu: lAyAq'Ach' k'uxdAtsinh**, **'Ad-lAyAq'Ach' k'uxdAtsinh** I'm humming; *passive:* **'Al k'u:nda'ch' gah yahddAt'a:Xd q'Aw 'ida: k'udAtsinh** this which is sung in church *70.11A,* **k'udAtsinh** someone is singing < something is being sung *L,* **qi' k'udAtsinh** place where they sing (in church) *L.*

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'iLlAXa:n' k'udAtsinhinu: *(noun)* derision song < they're singing in competition with each other. *Indirect reciprocal of preceding, attested from Galushia Nelson* ɬɬə́'qà ɢúɒ́tsìⁿ' ìnù

'derision song ("against-song-two")' *BSdL 551.*

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O-**L-tsin** S have O (song) sung *(causative of above, presumably with middle object as o of o-d)*: **'ALtsinh** make it sing! *M (should probably be 'ud k'u:Ltsinh)*; *indirect reflexive:* **'Adk'uxLAtsinh** I'm humming *M (< 'Ad-d k'-, 'I'm making myself sing something, appear to be singing').*

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k'utsi:nl *(also k'utsinh M, gerundive of O-tsin, with k'u-indefinite O)* singing: **k'utsi:nl xuGALga'L** *L,* **k'utsinh xuGALga'L** I'm getting tired of singing < singing is tiring me *M,* **k'utsi:nlya'X Ga:Linh** he's walking along singing *L,* **k'utsi:nlya'X yAX da:Xinh** he's walking about singing *M.*

tsi:ndz1

tsi:ndz *(noun, unclassified)* dream: *Rezanov* Цынцъ 'Сонъ Traum', *Galushia Nelson* sti^{n}·ts 'dream' *BSdL 552,* **k'udzu: tsi:ndz** a nice dream *L,* **tsi:ndz 'iXa' sitl' 'a'Xe:** tell me your dream! *L.*

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'i-tsi:ndz S dream *(with indeterminate O thematized)*: **'u:dAX q'Aw 'anh qe'L 'Aw'a:n' 'Adi:lihsLi'yahLinh 'ida: 'itsi:ndz** then it was that the woman thought of what she had dreamed *19.32L,* **dA'wAX k'e:'shuw 'i:ntsi:ndz q'Aw** perhaps it was you were just dreaming *32.35A,* **'ixtsi:ndz** I'm dreaming *LM,* **'a:nda' sahL 'ixtsi:ndz** I dreamt you came here *L,* **'isAtsi:ndzLsh** did you dream? *L,* **k'udzu:dah 'isitsi:ndzL** I had a pleasant dream, I had a dream of good portent *L,* **k'udzu:dah k'a' 'i:litsi:ndz** have a pleasant dream *L,* **k'udzu:dah k'a' 'i:litsi:ndzk'** (cust) have pleasant dreams *L,* **'i:tsi:ndzk'sh** do you (cust) dream? *L,* **xu: dik' 'ixtsi:ndzk'G** *I* (cust) never dream *L, with perambulative:* **'a:wAyu: yAX 'ixdAtsi:ndzk'** I (cust) have scary dreams, nightmares *L; causative O-L-tsi:ndz 'S make O dream':* **xusALtsi:ndzLinh** he made me dream *L.*

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O-**'-lX-LA-tsi:ndz** S dream about O: **'anh 'u'lAXAsLitsi:ndzLinh** she dreamed about him *19.11L,* **'i'lAXAxLAtsi:ndz** I'm dreaming about you *L,* **'i'qe'lAXAxLAtsi:ndz** I'll dream about you *L,* **xu: k'a' xu'lAXa:Litsi:ndz** (*or* **'u'**-) dream about *me L,* **k'u'lAXAxLAtsi:ndz** I'm dreaming about someone *L,* **du:d xu'lAXALAtsi:ndz** who's dreaming about me? *L,* **du:d 'u'lAXALAtsi:ndz** whom are you dreaming about ? *L, reciprocal:* **'iLu' 'u'lAXALAtsi:ndzinu:** they're dreaming about each other *L; passive:* **xu'lAXAsditsi:ndzLga' 'Ad xgAwih** I feel (it to be) like someone I've been dreamt about *L.*

tsi:ndz2 *(authenticity very doubtful, cf. ts'in'ts', ts'u'ts', k'ik'sh~k'i:nk'sh~k'i:ngsh, Gi:nq's)*

d-LA-tsi:ndz S make high-pitched squeaking sound *(with d-thematic 'noise')*: **dALAtsi:ndz** 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 tsi:dz1).*

tsi:n~tsi:~tsi:ny *(tsi:n probably preferred, but other forms also frequent, probably influenced by tsi:~tsi:y and tsi:y~tsi:~tsi:ny~tsi:n: tsi:n transcribed ten times from L, twice from M, twice from A, twice from S, three times (by Harrington) form G; tsi: implied by Rezanov (?), transcribed three times from L; tsi:ny once from L, once from M, five times from A, perhaps related to ts'i:ntsih)*

tsi:n~tsi:~tsi:ny *(noun, dl-class)* branch, limb (of tree), knot (in wood): **tsi:n** *LMAS, 11.144, 144A, Rezanov* Ццы 'Дупло' *(not in Radlov, perhaps here to be interpreted 'hollow in tree trunk, knothole'),* **tsi:** *L,* **tsi:ny** limb, branch (of tree), knot (in wood) *LMA, 50.21, 21, 21A,* **tsi:nydla:GA'e'd** knothole *A,* **tsi:ndli:'nuw** big branch *L,* **la'd dli:na: tsi:n** two branches *L,* **tsi:n XAdli:yanh** branches are sharp (at ends) *L,* **tsi:n 'u:d dla:sA'ahL** *(or* **dla:sAtahL**, *but* **dla:sA'ahL** *perhaps preferred)* a branch is there *L,* **tsi:n sich' dli:'a'** *(or* **dli:ta'**, *but* **dli:'a'** *perhaps preferred)* give me a branch! *L.*

tsinhd

O-**L-tsinhd** S throw, fling pl. O: *attested with a variety of preverbs and postpositional phrases: 'a'q' 'out (of the house)':* **'Aw 'a'q' 'ALtsi:ndk'inu:** they throw them out *9.78A (cust), qid 'down':* **Li'q' sich' qid GALtsinhd** throw everything down to me *15.6M, o-ya'ch' lahdz 'forward out into o':* **te'ya'ya' q'ahsh giyahya'ch' lahdz Ltsi:ndk'inh** she would throw the fishbones out in the water *46.3M, Xi:ch' 'away':* **Li'q' 'uX wAX k'udAlehyu: Xi:ch' sALtsinhdL** flung away all the tools *16.23M,* **Xi:ch' q'e' 'ALtsinhd** throw them away again! *L,* **ta'** into the water *12.6, 15, 17, 24G, 28.130A,* **ta' siLtsinhdL** I threw them in the water *(pl. O, in one container, pl. containers, or no container) L; frequently repetitive: with qid:* **dA'u:dAXya:kih 'u:dAX qid 'ALtsihdg** throw some things down there *15.11M, o-ya'd 'out of o': 25.14A* **'Aw Le'Lq' 'Awya'd Ltsinhdg** she strewed those down-feathers out *25.12A, Xi:ch': 38.9LM; with perambulative:* **yAX 'ALAtsinhd** scatter, strew them around!, sow it! *M; with class-marks for O, including repetitive:* **da: ya'X XAdALtsi:ndk'** we (cust) throw them (sticks, in stick-game) *L,* **ya'X XAdi:Ltsinhdg**, **ya'X XAda:Ltsinhdg** *(former preferable)* throw them up (sticks in stick-game)! *L,* **sich' ya'X dAtsinhdginh** he's throwing them (eggs) up to me (one at a time) *L,* **qi:nsiLtsinhdL** I threw it (rope) *M,* **k'uXehL sich' ya'X qi:nsALtsinhdLinh** he threw the painter up to me *L; reciprocal:* **'iLu' ya:n' sLitsinhdLinu:** they threw each other down *(wrestling) L; passive: with ta': 28.126, 133A,* **ta' sLitsinhdL**, **ta' sditsinhdL** they've been thrown in the water *L,* **'u:dAXyu: 'iLqa'X 'iditsinhdL** they've been strewn, scattered all over *(indirect reciprocal, Neuter perfective) L. With expanded stem:* **Li'q' ya:yu: ta'ch' xLtsi:nd** I'm throwing all the things one after another into the water *L.*

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'uX ya'd dAtsinhdg *(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 'uX ya'd k'uya: dAtsinhdg; k'uya: is probably to be read k'uya' 'into something (else)' as part of this term, or k'uya:', for alternative term, see ya:'.)*

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ya'X XAdAtsinhdL *(noun)* throwing-sticks, stick-game *L. Deverbalized passive of O-L-tsinhd, with -L-instrumental and Xd-class-mark for O. See BSdL 239-240 for a detailed description of this game.*

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ya'XAdAtsinhdLqAXah *(month-name) some (winter?) month* < throwing-stick-month *L.*

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ya'XXAdAdAtsinhdgqAXah *(month-name) same as above, August? A. With nominalization instead of deverbalization with -L-instrumental as above.*

tsinhG

O-**tsinhG** S handle, grab, carry (quantity of) O by hand, in handful: **'AtsinhG** grab a bunch of them!, grab a mass of it! *L,* **'Awya'd qa:nch' 'AtsinhG** clean it all up out of it (o with opening at top) with your hands! *L,* **Xi:da' 'Aw sAtsinhGLinh** he carried it (e.g. dirt) over there with his

hands *L; with class-marks for O:* **lAXa:tsinhG** grab a bunch, handful of them (berries)! *L,* **'u:ch' lAXi:tsinhG** carry them (berries) thither in your hands! *L,* **sich' di:tsinhG** bring me a buch, handful of them (eggs) in your hands! *L.*

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O-**L-tsinhG** S carry (quantity of) O in hands a long distance *(uncertain, attested only once, with lX-class-mark for O)*: **qu'lAXi:xLtsinhG** I'll carry them (berries) a long distance in my hands *L.*

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tsinhGta:' *L,* **tsi:Gta:'** *S,* **sinhGta:'** *L,* **ts'inhGta:'** *A (personal name) Eyak man S, one of Lena's grandmother's husbands, Lena's aunt's father L M thinks she has heard tsuhg-.*

tsin' *(perhaps earlier tsi'; perhaps related to tsi'~tsin'~tse'~tsa'~tsiya', but semantic relation not clear; cf. also Navaho preverb (Position 1. thematic adverb) tsi'-~tsi- 'uncertainty, confusion, wildness, fear', Hupa (Golla) cın tı(s-pf)-...-ł-kʸod / -l-dıł, -dıƛ' 'sg. / pl. flee for life')*

tsin'(-l)- *(thematic mark, subposition C, either in combination with l-thematic, *tsi'-nA-, or with l-mark as phonological development, *cin'- > tsi'n-, tsin'-l-)* disorder, confusion: *attested only in* O-**tsin'l-L-ya:'** S move "bits of junk" bit by bit, O-**tsin'(l)-(dA-)'a** S be, get in disorder, O-**tsin'(l)-(L-)'a** S jumble, scatter O, *in combination with lX-class-mark for O:* O-**tsin'lX-(L-)'a** S scatter O (berries).

tsin'tl'

tsin'tl'-g *(noun, unclassified) (with -g-repetitive thematic)* ashes *LMA,* soot *A*: *Rezanov* Цынклькъ 'Зола Asche, Lauge', **k'ut'u' tsin'tl'g** lots of ashes *LM.*

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tsin'tl'gga' 'i:t'eh *(noun)* flour, meal < it's like ashes *LM*: *Rezanov* Цынтлькокоете 'Провїантъ, Мýка Mehl', **tsin'tl'gga' 'i:t'ehyu:** quantities of flour *52.36L.*

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LA-tsin'tl'-g S make ashes: **'Axa: sLitsin'tl'gL** it (stove) sure has made lots of ashes! *L.*

tsin'G *(perhaps to be analyzed tsin' with -G-negative thematized)*

d-tsin'G S be naked *(attested only in Neuter imperfective, third person)*: **di:tsin'G** he's naked *LM, usually nominalized:* **di:tsin'G 'a'Le:Ginh** he's not naked *L, used adverbially:* **di:tsin'G yAX XAdla:da'ya:X** he's running around naked *L.*

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O-**L-tsin'G** S undress O, strip O naked: **GALtsin'Ginh** undress him! *L; reflexive* **'AdxsLitsin'GL** I'm naked < I've undressed myself *L,* **'AdsLitsin'GLinh** he took his clothes off *M,* **'Adqu'xLAtsin'G** I'll take all my clothes off *L.*

tse'

tse' *(noun, unclassified)* meat, flesh *(of any animal, but not of fish or fruit)*: **k'utse'** meat *LM, 9.105, 110, 113, 117, 119, 10.43, 45, 48A, 27a.42L, 37b.22, 76A, 63.36G, Anonymous* Кыцца 'Мясо', *Furuhjelm* Kutze 'meat, flesh', *Galushia Nelson* ɢɔtsä, ɢù̀tsä̀', ɢù'tsä̀' 'meat' *BSdL 546, 548,* **k'utse'yu:** meats, quantities of meat *27a.47L, 29.65A,* **k'utse'luw** large quantity of meat *10.49A,* big hunk of meat *L,* **k'utse'kih 'a'tl'inh** he's chewing a (small) piece of meat *M,* **ts'iyuhtse'** blackbear-meat *9.119, 49.123A, 63.36G,* **k'e'k'LAtse'** mink-meat *33.23, 24A, Rezanov* Киэльтеце *(with э inserted above)* 'Китовина Walfisch-Fleisch' **qe'yiLtehtse'** whale-meat *10.40,*

56, 68A, **Lu:ndiyahstse'** mouse-meat *37b.23A,* **gwe:Lta:gtse'** seal-meat *63.36G,* **k'uXa:shgtse'** beaver-meat *63.36G,* **dla:q'Aya'tse'** mountain-goat-meat *49.123A, 63.36G,* **dla:q'Aya'tse'yu:** quantities of mountain-goat-meat *7.4A,* **dik' k'utse' da: Xa:k'g** we (cust) don't eat meat *L,* **'AdiXi'Lch'a:d k'utse'** inside meat *(in Harrington, see 'AdiX 2b. under -'e'~)* **Xa:'d k'utse'** meat (kept) outdoors *L,* **sitse'** my flesh *L, 18.71L,* **'itse'xahch' Gi:le:L** you're losing weight *L,* **'utse'xah qi:liL** they're skinny *(more polite than k'in') L.*

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O-**l-L-tse'** S fatten O, "put some meat on" O *(see k'in' and q'AX for similar thematic prefixes)*: **'iqe'li:xLtse'** I'll feed you up, I'll "put some meat on you" *L.*

tse'q'

-tse'q' *(noun)* urine: **k'utse'q'** urine *(of any species, not considered for washing, cf. kus) LM,* **XAwa:tse'q'** dog-urine *LS, Rezanov* Хаоцехкоете *(*Хаоцех- *written above crossed-out* Кослитлекль- *see tl'a')* 'Желтой gelb', *Galushia Nelson* x̣ə̀wà tsā́·t 'urine, yellow ("dog urine")' *BSdL 542, 553, Anonymous* Хавацӄкъ тветӄ 'Желтый' **XAwa:tse'q'ga' 'i:t'eh** it's yellow < it's like dog-urine *L, see also 23.67A.*

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tse'q' *(noun, unclassified)* urination: *Rezanov* Цехъхуселькатль 'Мочу *(written over* Мочиться*)* harnen' **tse'q' xu: siLga'L** I need to urinate *M.*

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-tse'q' S urinate: **Lich' tse'q'** it (baby) is wet (urinates) all the time *L,* **qu'xtse'q'** I'll urinate *L,* **qa'tse'q'** it'll urinate *L,* **la'Xts'L sAtse'q'L** a meteor fell < a star urinated *(later rejected, see ts'Aq') L; indirect reflexive, with o-yAX 'under o':* **yAXAch'shunh q'Aw dAtse:q'k'inh** he apparently (cust) wets his bed *50.10A,* **yAX 'idAtse:q'k'** he (cust) wets his bed *50.11A.*

tsa1

O-**'-tsa** S buy O (with cash, not on credit): **'a'tse:** *L,* **'a'tsah** *M,* **'u'GAtsa'** buy it! *LM (both L and M prefer the latter, Inceptive, to be Active, L finding the Inceptive milder and more polite),* **'u'GAlAXtsa'**, **'a'lAXtsah** pl. buy it! *M,* **'u'qAGAtsa'** buy them (all)! *L,* **'Awa: k'u'GAtsa'** buy some! *L,* **'Awa: q'e' k'u'GAtsa'** buy some more! *L,* **Li'q' ya:yu: 'u'GAtsa:Linh** he's buying everything *L,* **'u'sitsahL** I bought it *LM,* **'u'qAsAtsahLinu:** they bought them (several things) *M,* **'Aw 'u'qAsAtsahL** they bought it, he bought them, they bought them *L,* **dik' 'Aw 'u'qAstsahLGinh** he didn't buy them *M,* **dik'shuh 'a'stsahLG** didn't you buy it? *LM,* **dik' 'u'xstsahLG** *M,* **dik' 'a'xstsahLG** I didn't buy it *L,* **dik'shuh 'Awa: k'a'stsahLG**, **dik'shuh 'Awa: k'u'stsahLG** *(former preferred)* didn't you buy any? *L,* **dik' 'Awa: k'u'xstsahLG** I didn't buy any *L,* **dik' k'u'xstsahLG** I didn't buy anything *L,* **'Awa: k'u'sAtsahLsh** did you buy any? *L,* **k'u'sAtsahLsh** did you buy anything? *L,* **qu'xtsah** I'll buy it *LM,* **'Awa: k'u'qu'xtsah** I'll buy some *L,* **dik'shuh qu'yitsahG** won't you buy it? *L,* **'AlAshgahX 'i: 'u'Gi:tsah** I wish *you*'d buy it *L,* **'u'xitsahwahd** so I may buy it *L,* **'u'i:tsahwahd**, **'u'litsahwahd** so you may buy it *L,* **'u'litsahwahd** so he may buy it *L,* **da: 'u'litsah** let's buy it *L,* **'Aw 'u'GAxtsa:X sitl' dAlinhinh** he told me to buy it *L,* **'a'xtsa:k'** I (cust) buy it *L,* **'a'tsa:k'inh** he (cust) buys it *L,* **'u'qAtsa:k'inu:** they (cust) buy them *L,* **'u'litsa:k'** (cust) buy it! *L, repetitive:* **'u'GAtsa:gk'** (cust) buy it! *L; with class-marks for O:* **dA'AwdAqa:' tsa'L 'u'disitsahL** I bought that same kind of knife *L,* **dA'AwlAXAqa:' la'mahd 'u'lAXAsitsahL** I bought that same kind of berries *L. Passive: 65.77A (cust),* **k'u'lAw q'A'Aw 'u'dAtsa:k'** a big price it was they'd be bought at *64.4G,* **'u'sditsahL** it's been bought *L,* **'Awa: q'e' k'u'sditsahL** some more have been bought *L.*

,

k'u'wAtsa:gL *(gerundive of repetitive with k'u-indefinite O)* shopping: **k'u'wAtsa:gL da: yAX LA'a'ch'X** we're going shopping *L.*

tsa2 *(themes of basic form O-…LA-tsa, suppletive for theme of form O-…G-(dA-)'a~'an under 'e~'an3 in mode-aspects other than Active imperfective)*

O-**'-l-LA-tsa** *(with l-anatomical 'head, face' thematized)* S stare (penetratingly) at O, look hard at O *(considered poor manners by L)*: **xu'liLitsahLinh** he's looking at me piercingly, he's staring at me *L,* **dik' xu:la'LAtsahLG** he's not staring at me *L,* **'u'lixLitsahL** I'm staring at it *L,* **xu'lisLitsahLinh** *(not xu'sLi-)* he stared at me *L,* **xu'lAGALAtsa:Linh** he's staring at me, looking at me, trying to stare me down, to make me uneasy *L,* **'i'lAGALAtsa:Linh** he's looking hard at you *L,* **'u'la:LAtsin'inh**, **'u'lAGALtsin'inh** *(latter, Inceptive, preferred)* stare at him! *L,* **da: 'u'la:Litsinhinh** let's stare at him *L,* **Lich' k'u'lALAtsinhinu:** they're watching something all the time *(Active imperfective) L.*

,

O-**LA-tsa** O be, become (clearly) visible, O show *(passive, not attested in first or second person for O or for possible S, but considered passive in accordance with the semitransitive below)*: **sLitsahL** it became visible *L,* **'u:ch' GALAtsa:L** it's becoming visible, starting to show there *L,* **qu'LAtsah** it'll become visible *(also interpretable as semitransitive) L,* **djig 'u:ch' li'LAtsah da:X** just as it was becoming visible *L,* **'idAdik' 'iLitsa:Gga'** in such a way that it doesn't show, isn't visible *L (non-negative prefixes problematical); with class-mark for O:* **'Aw tsa: 'u:ch' dla:GALAtsa:L** that rock is beginning to show there *L.*

,

O-**'-LA-tsa** *(passive)* O be, become (indistinctly) visible, O appear, seem, look (a certain way): **'ugulAXAde:L 'Awa: 'u:ch' 'u'GALAtsah da:X** when its spine shows there *65.10A,* **'u'GALAtsa:L** it's starting to show *M,* it's becoming somewhat visible *L,* **gusi:kih 'u'sLitsahL** it became a bit visible *L, often with qAnuh 'in sight':* **qAnuhch' 'u'GALAtsa:L** it's beginning to be visible (e.g. through fog) *L,* **qAnuh 'u'sLitsahL** it became visible *L; with o-ga' 'like o':* **XAwa:ga' xu'sLitsahL** I took on the appearance of a dog *L,* **XAwa:ga' 'i'qe'LAtsah** you'll look like a dog *LM,* **'iga' 'u'GALAtsa:Linh** she's taking after you (in looks) *L,* **k'Ayi:nyga' 'u'qu'LAtsah** it'll be (look) different *M; with -dah adverbializer:* **k'udlu:dah 'u'GALAtsa:L** it's getting to look nice *L,* **k'udzu:dah 'u'sLitsahL** it turned out to look good *L,* **k'Adzu:dahsh xu'sLitsahL** am I dressed up nicely? < have I taken on a nice appearance? *L; with class-mark for O:* **k'udzu:dah 'u'diLitsahL** they (Easter eggs) look nice *L (Neuter perfective).*

tsa~tsah *(perhaps related to tsa: and tsa'L)*

O-**Xd-tsa~-tsah** *(most forms from L, who hesitates between variable tsa and invariable tsah; Xd-thematic 'sharp', perhaps originally a thematized class-mark for O)* S sharpen O (at end, point): **XAdi:tsah** *(or* **XAdi:tsa:**, **XAdi:tse:**, *both latter rejected by L)* sharpen it (at point)! *L,* **'iLq'Asd XAdi:tsa'**, **'iLq'Asd XAdi:tsah** *(latter, but not former, later verified)* sharpen it (e.g. stick) at both ends! *(indirect reciprocal) L,* **XAdAGAtsa'** sharpen it (e.g. pencil)! *LM,* **XAdAGAxtsa:L** I'm sharpening it *L (elicited twice, later rejected by L),* **XAdAxtsah** I'm sharpening it *L,* **XAdisitsahL** I sharpened it *L,* **qu'XAdi:xtsah** I'll sharpen it *L,* **dik' qu'XAdi:xtsahG** *(or* **-tsa:G**, *not later verified)* I won't sharpen it *L,* **da: XAda:litsah**, **da: XAdAGi:tsah** let's sharpen it *L,* **XAdAxtsa:k'** I (cust) sharpen it *L; repetitive (strongly favors invariable tsah):* **XAdi:tsahg** *(or* **-tsa:g**, *not later verified)* sharpen it! *L,* **qu'XAdi:xtsahg** I'll sharpen it *L,* **XAdAxtsahg** I'm sharpening it *(later verified) L. Passive:* **XAdisditsahL** it's been sharpened *L,* **'iLq'Asd XAdiditsahL** it (stick) has been sharpened at both ends *(Neuter perfective, indirect reciprocal) L.*

,

Xd-tsah-L *(noun) (form uncertain, attested only in Rezanov)* scissors: Хотенцахль 'Ножницы Scheere', *implying approximately* **XAdi:ntsahL**, *perhaps with -L-instrumental, but* ен *in prefixes*

unexpected. (Normal -L-instrumental deverbalization of passive 'by means of it something is sharpened (at end)' would be 'uX k'uXAdAtsa'L or 'uX k'uXAdAtsahL.)

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GAsAtsah *(noun, unclassified) (with G- and s-thematic, cf. GAsALGahGL under GahG, GAlAXAsAXe:ts' under Xe:ts', GAsA(L)gwa:X(L) under gwa:X~ga:X.)* (wood-)shavings *LM*: **GAsAtsaht'u'**, **k'ut'u' GAsAtsah** lots of shavings (for fire) *M,* **GAsAtsahkih** small shavings *M,* **GAsAtsahluw** big shavings *L.*

tsa: *(perhaps related to tsa~tsah and/or tsa'L)*

tsa: *(noun, dl-class; archaically l-class, see subentries tsa:le:Xquh, tsa:lAXAL, tsa:lAq'AX)* stone, rock, skerry: *10.38A, 12.10, 30 (perhaps treated here as l-class), 31G, 16.26M, 20.46, 47, 50A, 35.3L, 50.51, 65.12, 20A, Rezanov* Цаа 'Камень Stein', *Anonymous* Цаа 'Камень просто' ('simple stone'), *Wrangell* Тца 'Stein', *Furuhjelm* Tsha 'stone, rock', *Old Man Dude* t'sa· 'rock' *BSdL 537, Rezanov* Цаа охсленель 'Каменной steinern' **tsa: wAX *sLiniL**, **tsa: wAX sLiliL** rock has been made (treated, fashioned) thus *M,* Хотклехъ-аца 'Пуля ('musket-ball') Flinten-Kugel', Хотликацца 'Зарядъ Flinten-Ladung' **xut'(g)LyAq' tsa:** stone in gun, **tsa:dla:kih** little stone *M,* **tsa:dli:'nuw** big rock *L,* big stone *M,* **tsa:dli:nAX shiLshehL** I killed him with a stone *M,* **tsa:dli:nAX 'iqe'li:xLts'AX** I'll throw a stone at you *L,* **tsa:dli:nAX siLts'AXL** pounded it with a rock *L,* **ya'Xu: tsa: qu'dli:Lts'AX** don't throw stones *L, see further examples under ts'AX,* **tsa: sich' dli:'a'** *(not -ta')* give me a stone! *L,* **tsa: 'u:d dla:sA'ahL** *(not -tahL)* a stone is there *L,* **tsa:dla:lu'qa: da: 'i:'a'ch'** let's go get some rocks *L,* **'Aw tsa:dli:na'q' ya:n' GAta'** set it down on that stone! *L,* **tsa:dli:na'q' qa' dAsa'yahL** it (ship) ran aground on a rock *L,* **tsa:dla:yAX dah** it lives, stays under a rock *L,* **tsa:dla:t'a:XAch' GALa'nik'L** it (bug) is crawling under a rock *L,* **tsa: XAdli:yanh** stone is sharp *L,* **tsa: 'u:dAX 'Ash dla:sAts'Aq'L** a stone whizzed by there *L,* **'uX tsa: dla:dAGahG** pickaxe < by means of it stones are chopped *L, as first element in compounds:* **tsa:dla:dAXunh**, **tsa:dAXunh** stone-man *10.220, 221, 229, 231, 237, 238A, Rezanov* Цатлятагысъ 'Топоръ американской amerikanische (steinerne) Axt' **tsa:dla:tAwi:s** stone axe *L, other such compounds listed separately below.*

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gwe:Lta:gya' tsa: *(possible place-name) Seal Rock* < seal's rock *G Harrington. (Possible calque of Tlingit.)*

,

GAdi:yAGya' tsa: *(place-name) Pinnacle Rock* < kittiwake's rock *L (G- verified, but perhaps to be corrected to g-).*

,

tsa:dla:Xe' *(noun, gl-class)* kerosene < stone-oil *L,* coal-oil *M*: **k'ugu:'nuw tsa:dla:Xe'** large quantity of kerosene *L.*

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tsa:dla:gAch'uh 1. *(noun, perhaps lX-class)* (modern gambling-) dice < stone-dice *L.*

2. *(place-name) "Dice Island" or Government Rock near Point Whitshed* < (modern gaming-)dice *L.*

,

tsa:guch'uh~tsa:gAch'uh *(place-name) island near Cordova (probably to be identified with preceding), possible reading of Furuhjelm* Tzakutzhu (Dall, 1870 Tzakatshu) 'island'.

,

tsa:dla:xix *M,* **tsa:dla:xwix** *L,* **tsa:dla:xixL, tsa:dla:xwixL** *L (place-name) "White" (?) Island, "Grass" (?) Island, a small bare islet near Government Rock LM.*

,

gu:nAtsa: *(noun, dl-class)* gold nugget, rock with gold in it < gold-stone: **gu:nAtsa: ’u:d dla:sA’ahL** a gold nugget is there *L.*

,

ya:q’Atsa: *(noun, dl-class?)* some kind of lucky stone < sky-stone *L.*

,

-dl-tsa: *(noun)* testicle: **’udla:tsa:** his testicles *L,* **sidla:tsa:** my testicles *S.*

,

tsa:le:Xquh, **tse: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 'Каракатица Sepia', *Galushia Nelson* tsáleχqà 'devilfish' *BSdL 540,* **dik’ tse:le:XquhG** not an octopus *20.78A,* **tse:le:Xquhluw** big octopus *20.67A,* **tse:le:XquhyAquhyu:** octopus-young *20.73, 73, 92A. (< tsa:-l-yAX-quh, nominalized Active imperfective 'pl. stay under rock', with tsa: archaically l-class.)*

,

tsa:lAXAL *(noun, unclassified)* small stones on beach *L, 47a.3L*, gravel *A*: *Galushia Nelson* tsà·làχà·tɬ, *Old Man Dude* tsálàxàtɬ 'small rocks on ground' *(unpublished in fieldnotes of de Laguna),* **tsa:lAXALdzu:** nice gravel(-beach) *L;* **tsa:lAXALluw** *place-name* < big gravel(-beach): 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·làxà·tɬɔu 'Fish Camp on Mountain Slough' *BSdL 544. See also discussion in Eyak Texts 68.54fn. (Meaning and grammatical class of XAL uncertain, tsa: archaically l-class.)*

,

tsa:lAq’AX *(noun) (form uncertain, attested only in Rezanov)*: *Rezanov* Цаллекахъ 'Ракъ Krebs' *(corresponding Tlingit form is* Цъ-ray s’áw 'Dungeness crab'*), perhaps to be read thus, 'rock-fat' with tsa: archaically l-class; cf. Harrington BAE ms. 4100 part I (typescript): Tlingit thé[γ]e thaa[γ]ii 'sea anemone' lit. 'fat on the rock', Eyak tshaaquq’ax lit. 'fat on the rock', in ms. [G] "would translate the Tl. as tsháaquqq’áx (with two dots below x) 'fat on the rock'". L and M do not remember a term for sea-anemone or recognize tsa:lAq'AX, tsa:GAq'AX or the like as a term referring to sea-anemone or any crab species. See also 'i:nsALxwa'L under xwa~xa~xAwa.*

,

tsa:lAXALluw *M,* **tsa:lAXa’luw** *L (place-name) (possible two locations mixed) Gravina? M; fish camp on Mountain Slough L; stretch on coast between Point Whitshed and Crystal Falls L* < big granular stone. *Galushia Nelson* tsá·làxà·tɬɔu *BSdL 544.*

tsahd

L-tsahd *(or perhaps LA-tsahd, intransitive attested only with perambulative 'reversal of motion', requiring vocalization of classifier)* S stretch, be elastic: **yAX LAtsahdX** it stretches (elastic, rubber); *transitive (causative), attested only in repetitive:* **xLtsahdg** I'm stretching it (band) *L, with qi:l-class-mark for O:* **qi:lAxLtsahdg** I'm stretching it (rope-like object) *L.*

tsahg1

tsahg(**-L**) *(noun, unclassified) (with -L-instrumental M, no -L-instrumental L)* legend, myth: *Galushia Nelson* tsa·q 'story' *BSdL 551,* **tsahg** legend *L,* **tsahgAdzu:** good legend *L,* **tsahgL** legend *M,* **k’udzu: tsahgL** good legend *M. See* Eyak Texts, *Introduction, for discussion.*

,

O-**tsahg** S tell legend about O: **Ch'i:lehshiyah qa'tsahginh** he'll tell a legend about Raven *L, with o-tl' 'with o':* **Ch'i:lehshiyah 'itl' qu'xtsahg** I'll tell you a legend about Raven *L, repetitive:* **Lich' Ch'i:lehshiyah tsahgginh** he always keeps telling Raven-myths *L; detransitivized, with indeterminate O:* **'itl' 'iqe'xdAtsahg** I'll tell you a legend *M,* **'ixsditsahgL** I told a legend *LM,* **'i:dAtsahg** tell a legend! *LM,* **'idAtsa:gk'inh** he (cust) tells legends *L.*

tsahg2 *(perhaps to be analyzed tsah with -g-repetitive)*

O-**L-tsahg** *(attested only from A, who does not explain the meaning clearly. L uncertain)*: **siLtsahgL** 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'xLtsahg** I'll make (cut?) it (tassel) *A; passive:* **sLitsahgL** it (e.g. tassel) has been made (cut?) *A.*

,

LitsahgL *(noun)* plant species, yellow flower, grows in wet places *A. Nominalized passive Neuter perfective.*

,

Ge:tsahg *(noun)* starfish *LA ("because it has lots of little lumps on it" A). Ge:- not identified.*

tsa'1

O-**L-tsa'** S give O (possession of deceased) away at potlatch: *with o-ch' 'to o':* **sich' 'Aw sALtsa'Linu:** they gave it (dead person's possession) to me at (funeral) potlatch *L,* **'ich' qu'xLtsa'** I'll give it to you at a potlatch *L.*

tsa'2 *(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)*

LA-tsa' S manifest desire to go, want to go, ask to go: **dAtli: q'unh q'e' LAtsin'inh** already she wants to go home *L; with o-tl' 'with o':* **'utl' xsLitsa'Linh** I asked him to go with me, I asked to go with him *L,* **'utl' xLAtsin'inh** I want to go (anyplace) with him *L,* **'utl' 'ALAtsin'inh** ask to go with him! *L,* **sitl' q'e' LAtsa'inh** *(non-umlauted)* he wants me to go (move) back home with him *L; with other postpositional phrases: 54.8G,* **'uXahd xLAtsin'inh** I want to go without him *L,* **k'a't'q'Ach' qu'xLAtsa'** I'll ask to go to the island *L; with perambulative:* **sika' yAX LAtsa'Xinh** she wants to go along with me all about (everywhere I go) *L. Use of this theme by G in 54.8, and in a number of forms recorded on file-slips from G by Li, indicates that for G the meaning may be simply 'S go, move'; the forms on the slips also show much uncertainty in the classifiers (LA-, L-, zero).*

tsa'L *(perhaps to be analyzed tsa with -L-instrumental, related to tsa~tsah and/or tsa:)*

tsa'L *(noun, d-class)* knife *LMA*: *26.9L, 28.58, 32.8, 14, 22A, Rezanov* Цахль *(with x inserted above)* 'Ножикъ Messer', *Anonymous* Цатль 'Ножъ', *Furuhjelm* Zall, *Galushia Nelson* tsatł 'man's knife' *BSdL 547,* **tsa'LdAkih** small knife *M, 38.8, 14LM, 65.5L,* **tsa'LdAgut'g** tiny knife *L,* **tsa'LdAyAquhyu:dAt'u'** lots of little knives *L,* **tsa'LdAt'u'** many knives *L,* **tsa'da'luw** big knife *LM,* **tsa'LdA'e'd yiLinhinh** she has knife-marks on her *M,* **tsa'LdAq'a'** (cutting-)edge of knife *L,* **dA'AwdAqa:' tsa'L 'u'disitsahL** I bought the same kind of knife *L,* **tsa'L 'u:d dAsa'ahL** *(or* **-tahL**, *but* **-'ahL** *probably preferred)* a knife is there *L,* **tsa'L sich' di:'a'** *(or* **-ta'**, *but* **-'a'** *probably preferred)* give me a knife! *L,* **k'u:ndAlehtsa'L** knife made of animal horn *L,* **'iLt'a'X yAX 'u'dla:dAta:X tsa'L** pocketknife < knife which folds together *L, Rezanov* Ехотлядетахъцаатль 'Ножикъ складой Taschenmesser'.

tsa’Lk’

Gl-(dA-)tsa’Lk’ S peck (?) at ground *(meaning uncertain, Gl-thematic 'ground')*: **Ga:ntsa’Lk’**, **GAlAdAtsa’Lk’** it (sparrow) is pecking *L.*

,

Ga:ntsa’Lk’ *(noun, unclassified)* sparrow, hunting *LMAS*: *10.110A, 34.9fnL. Nominalization of preceding.*

tsa’k’ *(loan from Tlingit cáx’ 'mittens')*

tsa’k’ *(noun, ti:l-class)* mittens, gloves *LMA*: *56.2, 6L, Galushia Nelson* tsa·q’ *BSdL 550,* **tsa’k’ sich’ ti:li:’a’**, **tsa’k’ sich’ ti:li:ta’** *(former later rejected)* give me a glove! *L,* **tsa’k’ ’u:d ti:nsAtahL** *(not -'ahL)* a glove is there *L,* **ch’id LinhG ti:na: tsa’k’, tla:X ’Awti:lAq’As** there's just one mitten, where's its mate? *L,* **k’uti:lAq’As tsa’k’** one mitten of a pair *L,* **LinhGnu:lAya’ tsa’k’** one pair of mittens *L,* **la’dnu:lAya’ tsa’k’** two pair of mittens *L,* **tsa’k’ti:’nuw** big gloves *M,* **qa:yAqa’X tsAtl’ tsa’k’** (finger-)gloves < mitts which slip between our fingers, through our hand-interstices *L,* **’uyAqa’X tsa’k’** his (finger-)gloves < mittens through his hand-interstices *L,* **qi:yAtl’ishqa’ k’u:Leh tsa’k’** (finger-)gloves < gloves whose foot-digit-interstices exist *L,* **’Aw tsa’k’yAtl’ishqa’d** (at rest) between the fingers of the glove *L.*

,

tsa’k’ma: *(personal name) Jenny Charles, lives around Juneau* < glove-mother *L,* < mother of tsa'k' *A (same as Tlingit cáx’ɬá, 'glove mother') LS.*

,

tsa’k’tla: *(personal name) Jenny Wright, same as Tlingit cáx’ɬá (i.e. tsa:x’-?) S. Cf. preceding.*

,

tsa’k’AlALma: *(personal name) Eyak woman L (not same as tsa'k'ma:; '... mother', but here L does not identify first elements as containing tsa'k' 'glove', -AlAL, resembling l-class-mark or l-thematic, and L-classifier, inexplicable, perhaps to be analyzed instead tsa' 'deep, downhill', with unidentified k'AlAL, perhaps stem, or perhaps to be analyzed k'u-liL with k'u-indefinite and unidentified stem liL.)*

tsa:’L *(perhaps to be analyzed tsa:' with -L-instrumental)*

tsa:’L *(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* Цаатль 'Бочка ('cask') Tonne', *Galushia Nelson* t’sa·tɬ 'box' *BSdL 259, 546, 558,* tsω·tɬ 'water-tight box or basket' *BSdL 546,* **la’dih tsa:’L** two food-boxes *L. BSdL 78-80 contains a description and illustration of tsa:'L.*

tsu:x

O-**tsu:x** S thrust O, shove O (into something): *attested only with a variety of preverbs and o: 34.83, 93L,* **’ahnu:gAdAyAq’ ’Aw qa’ qAsAtsu:xLinh da:X ’Aw Lich’a:ch’ ’Awa: ya:nu’ qAsAtsu:xL** she thrust them (sticks) up into their rumps and she thrust the other ends of them into the ground *47b.39M,* **gu:dAg ’Aw LinhGih ’Awya’X q’e:yAX sAtsu:xLinh** again he dipped another one down into it *34.85L,* **ya:n’ch’ q’e’ sitsu:xL** I pushed it down again, some more *M,* **ya:n’ q’e’ qu’xtsu:x** I'll push it back down *M,* **ya:n’ch’ ’Atsu:x** push it (e.g. stick) down (in e.g. ground)! *L,* **ta’ sitsu:xL** I dipped it in the water *L,* **’ulAXAde:’ ’Aw GAtsu:xinh** stick it in his eye! *L,* **yahd GAtsu:x** push it (boat) out!, launch it! *L,* **’iLqa’X yAX GAtsu:x** shuffle them (cards)! < thrust them down between each other! *(indirect reciprocal) A,* **’Awqa’ch’ GAxtsu:xL**

I'm pushing it between them *L, Rezanov* Итлехаицу 'Накрыть bedecken' **'iLyAX 'Atsu:x** stack them up! < thrust them one below the other! *(indirect reciprocal) L,* **'Awlu' sitsu:xL** I poked it through it *M,* **'Aw dAkinh 'Aw ditl'a'gqa' li' GAtsu:x** poke this stick into the book < deeply between the papers *L; with class-marks for O: d-class: 27b.18,* **'anhdAXa:na'q' 'Awda:X dAsAtsu:[xL]** she poked him in the back with it (staff) *23.18A,* **'ugutl'ah Xi:dAX qa' dAsAtsu:xL** it stuck its tail out over there *28.13A, ti:l-class: 48.10L,* **'anh k'u'ehd t'ahL giyahya'X yAX ti:lAtsu:xk'** the woman would dip a feather down in the water *48.5L, g-class, partly thematized:* **djahGLlAXAde:'X gu:tsu:x** thread a needle! *(O is k'u't', g-class) M,* **gu:tsu:x** thread a needle! *L,* **qu'gu:xtsu:x** I'll thread a needle *L,* **gAsitsu:xL** I threaded a needle *L,* **k'udAX guxtsu:xG** I can't thread a needle *L,* **da: gu:litsu:x** let's thread a needle *L, l-class: 33.14, 45A,* **dALi'q' LanhddAGd q'Aw 'Aw dAqa'X li:tsu:xk'** he would thrust them (paddles) all above the fire in the smoke *33.36A,* **ts'a'dAyAq' 'Aw 'i:nsAtsu:xL** he shoved it (paddle) into the mud *L, dl-class:* **dla:sha'L dla:sitsu:xL** I put in a fence *L, see also O-dl-tsu:x; with anatomical marks:* **'uya'X yAX 'iqe'li:xtsu:x** I'll shove your head down into it (e.g. bucket) *L; reflexive:* **ya:n'ch' 'AddAtsu:xginu:** they keep crouching low (in water) *(repetitive, see tsu:X), with anatomical marks:* **ya:n'ch' 'AdgAdAxdAtsu:x** I'm doing deep knee-bends < I'm thrusting my rump down *L,* **ya:n'ch' 'AdgAdALAtsu:xginh** he's doing knee-bands, he keeps squatting *A (repetitive, LA-classifier from influence of form which A was trying to identify, from M,* **ya:n'ch' 'AdgAdALAtsu:dzginh** he's moving his rump up and down, *which neither L or A accept, as also* **siX 'AdgAdALAtsu:dzginh** he's butting me with his rump *M, which should probably be* **siX 'AdgAdAdAtsu:xginh**), *with qi:d- 'foot': 51.78, 79A,* **'Adqi:dixsditsu:xL** I moved my foot *M,* **'u:dAX tsa' 'Adqi:dAGAdAtsu:xL** he's walking very slowly, plodding, dawdling along there < he's thrusting his feet downhill along there *L; passive:* **'Awlu' sditsu:xL** it has been poked through it *L, with Xd-class-mark for O:* **yAX XAdisditsu:xL** they (candles) have been thrust down (into their sockets) *L, with l-anatomical:* **ta'X yAX xulisditsu:xL** my head got ducked down into the water *L.*

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O-**d-tsu:x** S thrust O, shove O (into something) *(with d-thematic, meaning not clearly distinguished from that of O-tsu:x)*: *49.34, 34A (not d-class O),* **kugL 'ahnu:tl' yAX dAsAtsu:xL** she thrust sticks down (into the ground) with them (impaled on them) *47c.48L,* **ya' q'e' dAGAtsu:x** set it up straight again! *L.*

,

O-**dl-tsu:x** S baste (in sewing) *(probably with dl-class-mark for O djahGL 'needle' thematized)*: **dla:GAxtsu:xL** I'm basting with a running stitch *L,* **dla:sitsu:xL** I basted *L.*

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lAXAdAtsu:x *(noun)* musket (old gun) *L. Probably nominalized passive Active imperfective,* < lX-class O (shot, pellets) are thrust (into it).

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O-**L-tsu:x** S move O by thrusting with e.g. stick: **'ALtsu:x** pole it (boat)! *L,* **'Aw 'AXAkih 'u:ch' qu'xLtsu:x** I'll pole the canoe there *L,* **'ich' qu'xLtsu:x** I'll push it to you (with e.g. a stick) *L.*

tsu:X~tsu:G~tsu:x

tsu:X, *also* **tsu:x** *L,* **tsu:G** *("not **tsu:x**") A shallow place or island in Eyak River L.*

tsu'd~tsuhd

tsu'd *(noun, unclassified)* sleep *M*: *51.52A, Wrangell* Цу-уть 'Schlafen', *Furuhjelm* Tzut, *Anonymous* Цуцилкатль 'Хочетъ спать' ('he wants to sleep') **tsu'd siLga'L** I'm sleepy < I need sleep *LM,* **tsu'dyAq' yAX xda:X** I'm walking (about) in my sleep *L,* **tsu'dyAXa'ch' xya:g** I

keep dozing off < I keep succumbing to sleep *L; used adverbially: Rezanov* Цудельчехъ 'Эѣвать Gähnen' **tsu'd dALch'e:Xinh** he's yawning from drowsiness *L,* **tsu'd dishiLch'e:XL** I yawned sleepily *A.*

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tsu'd-L *(noun) (with -L-instrumental, or -L-gerundive?)* sleep: **tsu'dLga' ne:tl' 'Adqu'xLAt'uh** I'll nap a while < I'll make myself be like sleeping a while *L.*

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-tsu'd~-tsuhd *(-tsu'd correct in all forms; -tsuhd acceptable alternative only in perfectives, though attested also (analogically?) in a few Inceptive imperfectives; -tsuhd is preferred in the Active imperfective repetitive, but in Active imperative repetitives only -tsu'd is attested; exemplification given rather fully)* S sleep, go to sleep: *Inceptive perfective:* **GAtsu'dLinh** *LLM,* **GAtsuhdLinh** he's falling asleep, going to sleep *LL,* **GAxtsu'dL** *L,* **GAxtsuhdL** I'm falling asleep *L,* **gahXye'X GAtsuhdLinh** he's been sleeping all day *L,* **XAtl'ye'X GAtsuhdLinh** he slept all night long *L; Active perfective: 29.17, 18, 29.33A, 56.25L (all -ts'ud-),* **sAtsuhdLinh** he fell asleep *LLL,* **sAtsu'dLinh** he fell asleep, he slept *LML,* **sitsuhdL** I slept *M (L also, but L momentarily prefers sitsu'dL),* **yAq' sitsuhdL** I fell fast asleep *L,* **sitsu'dL** I slept, I fell asleep *L; Neuter perfective:* **yAq' 'ixitsu'dL** I'm fast asleep *L; Inceptive imperfective:* **qu'xtsu'd** I'll fall asleep *LLM,* I'll sleep *LLMLL (not -tsuhd MLL),* **dik' qu'xtsu'dG** I won't sleep *LM,* **qa'tsuhdLinh** he'll fall asleep *L (analogical, elicited immediately after perfectives), Rezanov* Яхокъуецуть 'Не спи schlafe nicht!' *(also listed, erroneously, under 'lache (spotte) nicht!')* **ya'Xu: qu'yitsu'd** don't go to sleep *L; Active imperfective: 2a.25M, 23.101, 25.2, 6, 42, 43, 71A, 63.43G,* **dAXunhyu: dik' q'e' dAtsu'dG** people couldn't sleep anymore *2a.20M,* **xtsu'd** I'm sleeping, I'm asleep *LMM,* **yitsu'd** you're sleeping *L,* **dik' xtsu'dG** *(not -tsuhd-)* I'm not sleeping *L,* **k'udAX xtsu'dG** I can't sleep *L, Anonymous* Тыкицунтага 'Не спитъ' ('he's not sleeping') **dik' yitsu'dG 'Awa:** but you're not sleeping, **dik'sh yitsu'dG** can't you sleep? *L, Khromchenko* Ацутъ 'Спать' **'anh tsu'd** he's sleeping, *Anonymous* Цути 'Спитъ' **tsu'dinh** *(not tsuhd-)* he's sleeping, he's asleep *LL, Inceptive optative:* **GAxitsu'dshgahX** I wish I could fall asleep *L; Active optative:* **'ixitsu'd** let me sleep *L,* **da: 'i:tsu'd** *(not -tsuhd)* let's sleep *L; Inceptive imperative:* **GAtsu'd** *(not -tsuhd)* go to sleep! *MLL; Active imperative: Rezanov* Ацутъ 'Спать schlafen' **'Atsu'd** sleep!, go to sleep! *LMLMLL (not -tsuhd LML),* **'Atsu'd q'ah** go to sleep finally! *LL (not -tsuhd L); Inceptive conditional:* **k'uGAtsu'd da:X** when they slept *25.27A,* **'anh xi:l GAtsu'd da:X** when the shaman was sleeping *56.23L; Inceptive subjunctive:* **GAxtsu'dX 'ixleh** I want to sleep *L; Active subjunctive:* **'Axtsu'dX 'ixleh** *(preferred to Inceptive)* I want to sleep *LL,* **'Atsu'd[X] 'ilinhinh** he (baby) is sleepy < he wants to sleep *A,* **'Atsu'dX 'utl' dAxlinhinh** I told him to sleep *L; repetitive: Active imperfective:* **qa:nch' xtsuhdg** I keep dozing off *LMLL,* I'm drowsing, almost asleep *L,* **qa:nch' xtsu'dg** I keep dozing off *("OK too") L; customary (with and without repetitive):* **gah 'Atsu:dk'inh** sleeps by day *25.6A,* **XAtl' tsu:dk'inh** sleeps by night *25.28A,* **gah tsu:dk'** sleep by day *29.29A,* **q'e:dah 'Atsu:dk'inh** he (cust) just sleeps *LM,* **tsu:dk'** *L,* **'Atsu:dk'inh** he (cust) sleeps *M,* **dik' 'Atsu:dk'Ginh**, **dik' tsu:dk'Ginh** he (cust) doesn't sleep *M,* **sahdX xtsu:dk'** I (cust) sleep late *M,* **xtsu:dk'** *LL,* **'Axtsu:dk'** I (cust) sleep *ML,* **dik' 'Axtsu:dk'G** I (cust) don't sleep *M,* **da: tsu:dk'** we (cust) sleep *L,* **da: 'Atsu:dgk'** we (cust) sleep *M,* **yitsu:dk'** you (cust) sleep *L,* **yitsu:dk'sh** do you (cust) sleep? *M,* **dik'sh yitsu:dk'G** don't you (cust) sleep? *M,* **lAXtsu:dk'** you pl. (cust) sleep *L,* **'AlAXtsu:dgk'sh** do you pl. (cust) sleep? *M,* **'Atsu:dgk'inu:**, **qAtsu:dgk'inu:** they (cust) sleep *M,* **'ixitsu:dk'wahd** so that I may (cust) sleep *LM,* **'i:tsu:dk'wahd** so that you may (cust) sleep *M,* so that he may (cust) sleep *M,* **dAwa'dshgahX GAxitsu:dk'** I wish I could (cust) fall asleep quickly *L (rare Inceptive optative customary). Transitive (causative):* **'ALtsu'dinh** put him to sleep! *M,* **GALtsu'dinh** put him to sleep *M, repetitive:* **'ALtsu'dginh** make him drowse! *M,* put him (baby) to sleep! *LM; reflexive:*

'Adqu'xLAtsu'd *(not -tsuhd)* I'll doze < I'll make myself sleep, look asleep *L,* **'Adqu'xLAtsu'd ne:tl'** I'll nap a while *L; passive:* **xusLitsuhdL**, **xusditsuhdL** I've been put to sleep *L.*

ts'id~ch'id *(former more frequent, perhaps also ts'it', cf. Yakutat Tlingit c'ɪs, Boas c'αs, č'αs 'only', see also 63.15, 25, 64.16G)*

ts'id~ch'id *(adverb)* only, just, merely *LMA*: **ts'id** *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,* **ch'id** *9.130, 10.118, 157, 157, 11.29A, 18.78L, 23.24, 97, 24.19, 44A, 40.14L, 49.70, 50.30A, 53.18L,* **ts'id xu:** just me *M,* **ts'id 'i:** just you *L,* **ts'id 'a: wAX 'Aw Lih** just he is doing thus to it *M,* **ts'id GAyAG** just we *M,* **ts'id lAXi:** just you pl. *M,* **ts'id 'ahnu:**, **ts'id 'AyAG** just, only, merely they *M,* **ts'id dlAGA'AyAG** just they alone *L,* **ch'id la'dih sich' 'ALa'** give me just, at least, at most two! *L;* **ts'idwAX~ch'idwAX** (< ts'id~ch'id + 'wAX 'thus', L rejects proposed *ts'id~lAX) only, just, merely *LMA,* **ts'idwAX** *1a.1, 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,* **ch'idwAX** *11.34, 23.139, 28.62A, 59.4 Galushia Nelson,* **ts'idwAX 'idA'a:nda' q'e' sdiyahL sitl' dAlinhinh** he only told me he came back here *L.*

,

dA-ts'id *(also -ts'it' once from A and M, L rejects; L also rejects *dich'id, with dA-* 'ipse'*)* gratis, for free, for nothing, in vain: **dits'id** for free, free of charge *L,* **di-'wAX dits'id q'Aw 'u:da' siyahL** I went there for nothing (gratis, or on wild-goose-chase), **dits'id q'Aw 'ahnu: Lxa:gL** he made them work for nothing *10.55A,* **dits'it' 'ich' qu'xtah** I'll give it to you gratis *M,* **dAts'it' 'ich' siLtahL** I gave it to you gratis *A.*

ts'it'

ts'its' *(perhaps loan from Tlingit: Naish-Story s'ús' 'harlequin duck', Boas s'ūs' (Swanton) 'a water-bird', Krause tsutsk 'Anas histrionica')*

ts'its'(-g) *(noun, unclassified) (sometimes with -g-repetitive)* duck species *(probably 'western harlequin', not well remembered by L and M)*: **ts'its'**, **ts'its'g** some kind of saltwater duck *L,* some kind of duck or gull *M,* **ts'its'g** small black and brown duck *(lives at shore, same at Tlingit s'ús') A (probably correct).*

ts'is

ni:Lts'isL *(noun)* porcupine's hole in rock crevasse *LA. Etymology unknown: perhaps a nominalized Neuter perfective of an unknown verb theme (O-)l-L-ts'is, but with unique prefix-initial n-, perhaps archaic form of l-thematic or class-mark, but, according to L, never actualized li:L- or 'i:nL-.*

ts'isa:~ts'Asa: *(loan from Tlingit s'ísa 'cloth', see 64.9fnG)*

ts'isa:~ts'Asa: *(noun, unclassified)* canvas, sail, tarpaulin: *Galushia Nelson* tísà· *or* tàsá, *Old Man Dude* t'sɛ́sá '(sail (or canvas)' *BSdL 550,* **ts'Asa:** canvas *M,* **ts'Asa:luw** big tarpaulin *LM,* **ts'isa:yahd** tent < canvas-house *L, 32.29A, 47c.21L (see further instances under yahd2), Galushia Nelson* tísá· ɣəɒɛ́tłtà' *or* tàsá *etc., Old Man Dude* t'sàsá ɣáɒɛ́tłɛ̀ 'mast' **ts'isa:XAdALte'** mast < sail-pole, -handle *LA (for further instances see under te'),* **ts'isa:XAdALte'ya' djuk'L** boom < mast's crosspiece *A,* **ts'isa:tsin'da'dAdjuk'L** gaff < crosspiece at tip of sail *A.*

ts'ik' *(loan from Tlingit s'íx' 'plate, dish', perhaps in some way also related to Eyak ts'a:g, cf. Athapaskan *c'ak' 'plate', Tsimshian c'ak' 'plate'; perhaps lent*

back into Yakutat Tlingit: c'ík' 'small plate', s'íx' 'larger plate' Sampson Harry, W. Soboleff)

ts'ik' *(noun, unclassified)* plate, dish *LMAS*: *Galushia Nelson* tsık', *Old Man Dude* t'sik' 'plate or wooden dish' *BSdL 546, Rezanov* Хетлькоетецыкъ 'Чашка ('cup') Schale' **xitl'gä' 'i:t'eh ts'ik'** white dish *L,* **'Aw k'AwAX ts'ik' sich' 'Ata'** give me that wide dish! *L,* **GAqe:L ts'ik'** elliptical dish *L, Anonymous* Цыкки 'Тарелка' **ts'ik'Akih** little dish, **ts'ik"a'luw** big plate *LM;* **ts'ik' 'uX 'Ak'uhdL** dishrag < dishes are wiped by means of it *65.20, 20, 20A.*

,

tsAdldAts'ik' *(personal name) Anders Nelson, Anna Nelson Harry's father LA (transcribed ts'Atl'dAts'ik' in Notebook XV.10), same as 'AnAshih;* tsɑtɬɒɑtsəⁿk' *name of Chief Joe on BSdL Genealogical Table* < board-dish.

ts'iyux

ts'iyux *(noun, unclassified)* mosquito *LMS*: *14.2, 8L, Rezanov* Цыюхъ 'Муха Fliege', 'Комаръ Mücke', *Furuhjelm* Zaiuh 'fly', **ts'iyuxluw** big mosquito *LM,* **ts'iyuxyu:** mosquitoes *14.1, 3L,* **ts'iyuxxa'dA'e'd** mosquito-bite *L.*

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ts'iyuxluw *(noun)* crane-fly < big mosquito *L.*

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ts'iyuxyAquh *(noun)* gnat, no-see-um, midge < mosquito young *L.*

,

ts'iyuxXa' ya: *(noun, unclassified)* mosquito-bar; cheesecloth < thing for mosquito *L.*

ts'iya'ts'

L-ts'iya'ts' S reach extreme degree of decay, rottenness, putrefaction, decomposition, mouldiness: *with ya' 'completely':* **ya' sALts'iya'ts'L** it (e.g. meat, food, clothing) got completely rotten or mouldy, went to pieces *L, with lX-class-mark for S:* **lAXAsALts'iya'ts'L** it (fruit) got completely spoiled *L,* **ya' lAXi:Lts'iya'ts'L q'AXAGi:ya:G** don't eat any badly rotten fruit! *L (Neuter perfective nominalized).*

,

qa:Xa' Lts'iya'ts' giyah *(noun) (attested only in Rezanov)* vodka, brandy: *Rezanov* Кахъальцыясъ-кая *(with* ъ- *inserted above)* 'Водка Brandtwein' < water which decays very badly for ("on") us.

ts'iyuh

ts'iyuh *(noun, unclassified)* 1. 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, Furuhjelm* Tziu, *Galushia Nelson* t'síyù' *or* t'síyù, *Old Man Dude* tsiyuⁿ *BSdL 538,* **ts'iyuhyu:** blackbears *25.207A,* **ts'iyuhluw** big blackbear *LM,* **ts'iyuhya' duxL** blackbear-trap *L, Galushia Nelson* t'síyúq'àt úχí·tiⁿ 'living among black bears' *BSdL 276, 558* **ts'iyuhqa'd wAX 'i:t'inhinh** she (who) is living amongst blackbears, **'Anik'eh ts'iyuh q'A'Aw** that's a scary blackbear *L,* **ts'iyuh 'Adu'qu'xLAXah** I'll turn myself into a blackbear *L,* **ts'iyuh xu'qu'LAle'** you'll think me a blackbear *M,* **ts'iyuhtse'** blackbear-meat *9.119, 49.123A, 63.36G,* **ts'iyuhXu'** blackbear-fur *25.207A.*

2. *(place-name) also* **ts'iyu:** *Tsiu River* < blackbear *S.*

,

***ts'iyuhkih** *probable source of place-name Chiuki River* < little blackbear *(cf. 2. above).*

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ku:nLda’ts’yAX ts’iyuh *(noun, unclassified)* cinnamon bear < blackbear under stump *A.*

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La’dAts’iyuh *(noun, unclassified)* glacier-bear *LA.*

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ts’iyuhya’ la’mahd *(noun, lX-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 ts'e:ts' A (see ts'e'ts').*

ts’AtAG *(loan from Tlingit s’itÁG)*

ts’AtAG *Situk River S.*

ts’Adl~ts’Atl’ *(form uncertain, perhaps spurious, arising out of confusion with tl'its'~tl'Ats' (metathetized) and ts'AL~ts'iL or related to ts'a:tl'2, ts'a:tl'1, ts'a'tl'1, of which it would be a reduced form)*

ts’Adl-G~-g, ts’Atl’ *(noun)* dirt: *Furuhjelm* Tzatlkh 'earth, land', *attempts to reelicit which yielded the following:* **ts’Adlg**, **ts’AdlG** dirt, dust *M (rejected by L),* **ts’Atl’ yiLeh** it's dirty (not exactly filthy) *L (rejected by M; L later rejects this and all similar forms: ts'Adl, ts'idl, ts'Atl', ts'itl', ts'Adlg, ts'idlg, ts'Atl'g, ts'itl'g, ts'AdlG, ts'idlG, ts'Atl'G, ts'itl'G).*

ts’AL~ts’iL *(ts'AL more frequent)*

ts’AL~ts’iL *(noun, unclassified) attested only as o of o-qa' 'between o, amongst o, interstice in o' in* **ts’ALqa’GAdi:’-** *(< ts'AL-qa'-Gd-'e'-)* smokehole: **ts’ALqa’GAdi:q’d** smokehole, in the smokehole *L, 11.34A, Galushia Nelson* tsítłqá’ɢəɒɛ̀iqt *or* tsìtłqaqɑɒɛ̀iqt *BSdL 545,* **ts’ALqa’GAdi:’X** through the smokehole *11.14, 34, 36, 42A. Earlier forms from L were ts'Atl'qa'GAdi:q'd, ts'itl'qa'GAdi:q'd, 19.20L, later corrected, verifying A's forms. Smokeholes are described and illustrated in BSdL 40.*

ts’Aga:d~ts’iga:d *(loan from Tlingit (Naish-Story) s’ɑg^{w}ád 'brown (thick hemlock bark)', (Sampson Harry) s’ɑgád 'brown substance resembling hemlock bark which drifts ashore, often ground into a powder (for pigment?)')*

ts’Aga:d~ts’iga:d *(noun, d-class or unclassified)* (unidentified) brown substance *(see above)*: *Galushia Nelson* ts’ə̀ɢə̀·t *or* s’tɑ̀ɢə̀t 'brown (can be applied to overcast sky)' *BSdL 553,* **ts’Aga:dga’ ’i:t’eh** brown *(a "fancy name", < it's like ts'Aga:d) L,* **ts’iga:dga’ ’i:t’eh Gu’L** brownish (?, tan?) blanket *L.*

ts’Axwe:L~ts’Axe:L *(loan from Tlingit c’əx^{w}èł 'crow')*

ts’Axwe:L *L,* **ts’Axe:L** *M (noun, unclassified)* (northwestern) crow (Corvus caurinus): **ts’Axwe:LyAquh** young crow *28.48A.*

ts’AG *(cf. Yakutat c’ɑ́ɢł 'real black paint, made from nexıntɛ́', form present in Yakutat Tlingit but not attested elsewhere in Tlingit, Constance Naish, personal communication, 18 April 1967; Amos Wallace, of Juneau, tells me, 8 June 1967, that ts'AGL is known and used in Juneau Tlingit, 'black', pigment made from nexıntɛ́' 'graphite'.)*

ts'AG-L *(noun) (with -L-instrumental?, occurring only as o of o-ga' 'like o') meaning not known, probably a substance only the color of which is remembered*: **ts'AGLga' 'i:t'eh** it's blackish (color of e.g. lake surface, cloud, smoke; not of dog, cat, bird) *L,* **q'ahs ts'AGLga' XAdAGAle:L** cloud is getting black *L,* **ts'AGLga' lAXi:t'eh** they (salmonberries) are ripe maroon color *L,* **ts'AGLga' 'u'GAdA'eh** it (e.g. boat) look indistinct in color (too far away to see well) *L.*

ts'Aq'1 *(perhaps to be identified with ts'Aq'2)*

-ts'Aq' S move very swiftly through air: **sAts'Aq'L** 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:* **tsa: 'u:dAX 'Ash dla:sAts'Aq'L** a stone sped, whizzed past by there *L.*

ts'Aq'2 *(perhaps to be identified with ts'Aq'1)*

k'udALts'Aq' *(noun, gd-class)* young grass *LM*: **k'udALts'Aq' guXAdah** it's eating young grass *L. To be analyzed either as noun -d-L-ts'Aq' with d-thematic and L-classifier, attested only with k'u-indefinite possessor, or as nominalized Active imperfective verb (O-)d-L-ts'Aq' with k'u-indefinite S or O.*

ts'AX1

ts'AX- *(probably noun, unclassified) meaning unknown, occurring only in ts'AXLiqa:tl', see qa:tl'.*

ts'AX2 *(perhaps to be identified with ts'AX3 and/or ts'AX4)*

GAts'AX, q'Ats'AX *(noun, unclassified) (prefix not identified, both forms well attested)* cloth: *Rezanov* Кацахсынгль 'Чулки ('stocking') Strümpfe' **GAts'AXsi:nL** (*or* **q'A-**) cloth shoes, Ляхецыцке каццахъ 'Китаика chinesisches Seidenzeug, chinesisches Baumwollenzeug', Лякацыцкъе ацехъ 'Фанза Crepp', *see under tsidz for reading of these,* Хытлькоетеацыгъ 'Холстына ('linen') Leinewand' **xitl'gä' 'i:t'eh** [**G**]**Ats'AX** (*or* [**q'**]**A-**) cloth which is white (like snow); *attested from modern informants only with -qa:' 'some of, piece of, kind of':* **GAts'AXqa:'** rags *A,* **q'Ats'AXqa:'** piece of rag, any kind of rag *L.*

ts'AX3 *(perhaps to be identified with ts'AX2 and/or ts'AX4; Wrangell č'əx ?)*

Gits'AX *(noun) (Gi- prefix not identified)* 1. *(unclassified)* copper *LM*: *Wrangell* Кеичахъ 'Kupfer', **Gits'AXt'u'** lots of copper *LM.*

2. *(dl-class)* copper nugget: **Gits'AX 'u:d dla:sA'ahL** a copper nugget is there *L.*

ts'AX4 *(perhaps to be identified with ts'AX2 and/or ts'AX3)*

O-**ts'AX** 1. S throw, hurl (usually sg.) O: **xts'AX** I'm throwing it *M; attested with a variety of preverbs and postpositional phrases, not all instances of which will be cited: with ya'X 'upwards' (often 'in normal parabolic trajectory of projectile'):* **Xi:ch' 'Aw ya'X sAts'AXLinh** he throw it out *63.7G,* **ya'X GAts'AX** throw it up! *L, Rezanov* Яхецагъ 'Брось werfen (Imperat.)' **ya'X 'Ats'AX** throw it (up)! *L, with o-ch' 'to o':* **dA'u:ch' giyahLtah 'uXa' sAts'AXL** she dropped her waterbucket right there < she threw her water-container right there *46.22M, Galushia Nelson* t'cílàcia q'itc t'sa·tɬ uχa sətsaχtɬ 'Where Old Raven threw his box' *BSdL 259, 558* **Ch'i:lehshiyah qi'ch' tsa:'L 'uXa' sAts'AXL** place at which Raven threw his box, **sich' ya'X GAts'AX** throw it up to me! *LM,* **Gu'L 'uch' ya'X sits'AXLinh** I threw a blanket up to him *M,* **sich' ya'X q'e' GAts'AX** *L,* **sich' q'e:ya'X GAts'AX** throw it back up to me! *LM,* **'uch' 'Aw da: q'e' 'i:ts'AXinh** let's throw it back up to him *M, with qa' 'up out':* **sich' qa' GAts'AX** throw it up to

me (from e.g. down in hole)! *L,* **sich' qa' q'e' GAts'AX**, **sich' q'e:qa' GAts'AX** throw it back up to me! *L, with Xi:ch' 'over there, away': 29.3 (d-class O), 51.32A (cust), 63.7G,* **q'e:dah sa'ch'ahd Xi:ch' da: da:dAts'e:Xk', 'Aw gahG, lisya' gahG** we'd immediately throw it away out of our mouth, that pitch, spruce pitch *51.30A (d-class O, indirect reflexive), Rezanov* Хечецагъ 'Бросать werfen' **Xi:ch' 'Ats'AX** *L,* **Xi:ch' GAts'AX** throw it over there!, throw it away! *L,* **dik' XAGi:ya:G da:X, Xi:ch' 'i:ts'AX** if you don't eat it, you should throw it away *L, with 'a'q' 'out (of the house)': 49.146A,* **'a'q' GAts'AX** throw it out! *M,* **'a'q' qu'xts'AX** I'll throw it out *M,* **ya'Xu: 'a'q' qi'yits'AX** don't throw it out *M,* **'a'q' sits'AXL** I threw it out *M, with ta' 'in the water': 28.122, 123, 29.36, 39A, 53.14L (last three all with d-class O),* **'anhlAqah ta' dAsAts'AXLinu:** they threw his head in the water *53.12L,* **ta' k'usits'AXL** I threw something in the water *L, with qid 'down off':* **dla:q'Aya'kAmah qid sAts'AXL** it (wolverine) threw down a mountain-goat stomach *15.5M,* **sich' qid GAts'AX** throw it down to me! *L, with ya:n' 'down':* **ya:n'ch' GAts'AX** throw it down! *L,* **sich' ya:n'ch' GAts'AX** throw it down to me! *M, with o-ya' 'into o (with broad opening at top)':* **'a:ngulAya' GAts'AX** throw it in the river! *L,* **'Awya' q'e' sits'AXL** I threw it back in there *L, with o-X 'in (punctual) contact with o':* **gu:dAg 'Aw q'e:da:X 'Ats'e:Xk'inh** again he would throw it against the wall *34.86L (cust)*; *with class-marks for O: d-class: 29.3, 36, 39, 51.30A (indirect reciprocal), 53.12, 14L, dl-class:* **sich' ya'X dla:GAts'AX** throw it (stone) up to me! *L,* **'Aw tsa: ta' dla:sits'AXL** I threw the stone in the water *L,* **ya'Xu: tsa: ya'X qu'dli:ts'AX** don't throw stones *L, a problematical form, in which O ('stone') is perhaps treated as l-class: 12.29-32fnG, qi:l-class:* **qi:lAGAts'AX** throw a rope! *M, lX-class:* **sich' ya'X lAXAGAts'AX** throw it (apple) up to me! *L,* **ya:n'ch' lAXAGAts'AX** throw it (apple) down! *L,* **sich' q'e' lAXi:ts'AX** throw it (ball) back to me! *L, with 'iLya' and perambulative 'back and forth' (indirect reciprocal):* **'iLya' yAX k'uqu'lAXAdAts'AXinu:** they'll play catch < they'll throw something lX-class back and forth *M,* **'iLya' sitl' yAX k'ulAXa:dAts'AX** play catch with me! *M,* **'iLya' yAX k'ulAXa:nlAXdAts'AX** pl. play catch! *M; indirect reflexive:* **'uyahshAshiyah'a: 'Aw ta' sdits'AXL** she jammed it in her pocket for her kid *49.131A, 51.30A; passive:* **Xi:ch' sdits'AXL** it's been thrown away *L,* **ta' dla:sdits'AXL** it (stone) was thrown in the water *L.*

2. *From some textual occurrences it appears that the meaning of O-ts'AX might be extended to 'S place, put O hurriedly'*: **dA'u:ch' giyahLtah 'uXa' sAts'AXL** she dropped her water-bucket right there *46.22M,* **'Aw ta' sdits'AXL** she jammed it in her pocket *(indirect reflexive) 49.131A.*

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3. *Primarily in Rezanov (archaically?), O-ts'AX is attested with the same meaning as O-L-ts'AX; see remarks with passives and indeterminate O under O-L-ts'AX and O-'-(l-)L-ts'AX*: *Rezanov* Аццахъ Куй 'schmieden (Imperat.)' **'Ats'AX** pound it!, Аццаху 'Ковать schmieden' **'Ats'AXuh** pound it! *L. See also the following nouns.*

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k'uts'AXinh *(noun, unclassified)* smith < he's pounding something *L*: *Rezanov* Коцъ-ахе 'Кузнецъ Schmied'. *Nominalized Active imperfective of O-ts'AX 3.*

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qi' k'udAts'AX *(noun)* smithy < place where something is pounded: *Rezanov* Кекутецахъ 'Кузница Schmiede'. *Nominalized passive Active imperfective of O-ts'AX 3. or of O-L-ts'AX.*

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'uq'Ach' k'uts'AXL *(noun)* anvil, *attested as such only in Rezanov*: Охочкуцахль 'Наковальня Amboss', *deverbalization with -L-instrumental of passive Active imperfective of either O-ts'AX 3. or O-L-ts'AX;* **'uq'Ach' k'udAts'AX** anvil < something is pounded on, against it *L (without -L-instrumental deverbalization).*

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tAwi:s XAdAts'AX *(noun, unclassified)* long-legged snipe *L. Exact analysis difficult: tAwi: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-ts'AX 3, see further under tAwi:s.*

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O-**d-ts'AX** S throw O *(with d-thematic optional with qu'q' 'on the fire')*: **qu'q' dAsAts'AXL** he threw it in the fire *L,* **qu'q' dAGAts'AX** throw it on the fire! *L.*

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yAX lAXAdAts'AX *(noun, lX-class)* ball *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective of O-ts'AX 1. with lX-class-mark for O and perambulative (< -ts'AX-X),* < it (lX-class) is thrown around.

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O-**L-ts'AX** S strike, hit, pound, break O (with held or thrown object) *(meaning not clearly distinguished from that of O-ts'AX 3.; presence of L-classifier perhaps due to the frequent presence of o-X 'by means of o' in the construction (o-X) O-L-ts'AX 'S strike O (with o)')*: **'ALts'AX** break it (cockle)! *L,* **siLts'AXL** I broke it (e.g. clamshell), I pounded it (with something, not my hand) *L,* **'ALts'AXuh** pound it! *L, with ya' 'completely':* **ya' 'ALts'AX**, **ya' GALts'AX** smash it (with e.g. rock)!, break it up! *L,* **ya' siLts'AXL** I smashed it all to pieces *L; with o-X 'by means of o', 'S strike, hit, pound, break O with (held or thrown) o, S throw o at O (striking O)', attested mainly with anatomical marks for O: l- 'head', partly thematized (not necessarily strongly specifying 'head') in the absence of other anatomical marks: 12.30G,* **dA'a: xitl'X 'Aw ch'i:leh 'i:nsALts'AXL** because you threw snow at the raven *43.11M,* **ya'Xu: xitl'X ch'i:leh qu'la:lAXLts'AX** don't throw snow at a raven *43.33M,* **tsa:dli:nAX 'iqe'dli:xLts'AX** I'll throw a stone at you (and hit you) *L,* **tsa:dli:nAX xulAsALts'AXLinh** he threw a stone at me *M,* **tsa:dli:nAX 'i:nsiLts'AXLinh** I hit him with a rock (held or thrown) *L,* **tsa:dli:nAX k'uqu'li:Lts'AXinh** he'll hit something with a stone *L,* **tsa:dli:nAX lAGALts'AX** hit him with a rock! *L,* **tsa:dli:nAX ya' lAGALts'AX** pound him with a rock! *L,* **tAGL'i:nAX xulAsALts'AXL** he threw a hammer at me *M,* **tAGL'a:nAX xu:nsALts'AXLinh** he threw a hammer at me (and hit me) *L,* **Le:sk'XAda:X xulAsALts'AXLinh** he hit me in the face with a (held or thrown) log *L,* **xitl'lAXAda:X xulALts'e:Xk'inh** he (cust) throws snowballs at me (and hits me) *LM, repetitive:* **xitl'lAXAda:X xulALts'AXginh** he keeps pelting me with snowballs *L, with no anatomical mark and preverb da'd 'front' specifying 'face':* **tsa:dli:nAX da'd 'isiLts'AXL** I hit you in the face with a rock *L, with other anatomical marks:* **tsa:dli:nAX xugAdAsALts'AXLinh** he hit me in the rump with a (thrown) stone *L; with l-anatomical thematized, no o-X:* **de:wahdduw Ch'i:leh li:Lts'AX** why do you pelt Raven? *43.8M; reciprocal, with l-anatomical thematized:* **tsa:dli:nAX 'iLu' 'i:nsLits'AXLinu:** they hit each other with rocks *L,* **tsa:dli:nAX 'iLu' qu'lALAts'AXinu:** they'll hit each other with rocks *L; passive (dA-classifier apparently preferred in Active perfective when no o-X is present, but also acceptable in presence of o-X):* **ya' sdits'AXL** it's been smashed *L,* **tsa:dli:nAX ya' sLits'AXL** it's been smashed with a rock *L,* **tsa:dli:nAX sdits'AXL** it's been pounded with a rock *L, with l-anatomical:* **xulisdits'AXL** I've been hit in the head (with something thrown) *L,* **tsa:dli:nAX xulisdits'AXL** (*or* **xu:nsdi-**) I've been hit on the head with a rock *L,* **dik' tsa:dli:nAX xu:nsdAts'AXLG** I didn't get hit on the head by (any of the thrown) rocks *L; with indeterminate O and perambulative (some of these forms are problematical in showing dA- instead of LA-classifier, again suggesting the theme O-ts'AX 3.), o-X yAX 'i-LA-ts'AX-X (or 'i-dA-ts'AX-X) 'S hit indeterminate O here and there with thrown o, S throw o around (at things)':* **xitl'X yAX 'iLAts'AXinh** he's throwing snow around *43.3M,* **ya'Xu: tsa:dli:nAX yAX 'iqe'LAts'AX** don't throw stones (about, at things) *L,* **tsa:dli:nAX da: yAX 'iqe'dAts'AX** we'll throw stones *L,* **tsa:dli:nAX yAX 'iLAts'AXinh** (*or* **'idA-**, **-ts'AXXinh**) 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, **da:X ’iGALts’AX** threw it against the wall *34.94L, repetitive: 34.83L.*

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O-’-(**l**-)**L-ts’AX** *(semitransitive of preceding, with l-anatomical partly thematized usually present except where other anatomical marks are present)* S throw something at O, try to hit O (success not explicit): *43.7M; with o-X 'by means of o', o-X O-'-(l-)L-ts'AX 'S throw o at O (may or say not hit O)': 43.5M,* **dAkinhX ’u’lAGALts’AXinh** throw a stick at him! *M,* **Le:sk’XAda:X xu’lAsALts’AXLinh** he threw a log at my face *L,* **tsa:dli:nAX xu’i:nsALts’AXLinh** (*or* **xu’lAsAL-**) he threw a stone at me *L,* **tsa:dli:nAX ’i’lisiLts’AXL** I threw a stone at you (perhaps hit you) *L,* **tsa:dli:nAX ’u’lAGALts’AX** throw a rock at it! *L,* **tsa:dli:nAX k’u’qu’li:Lts’AXinh** he'll throw stones at something *L, with other anatomical marks:* **dAkinhX ’u’qi:dAGALts’AXinh** throw a stick at his foot! *M,* **dAkinhX ’u’gAdALts’AXinh** throw a stick at his rump! *M; reciprocal* **tsa:dli:nAX ’iLu’ ’u’sLits’AXLinu:** they threw stones at each other *L; passive (dA-classifier in Active perfective, as in O-L-ts'AX):* **xu’lisdits’AXL** something was thrown at my hand *L,* **tsa:dli:nAX xu’lisdits’AXL** a stone was thrown at my head < there was an attempt at striking my head with a (thrown) stone *L.*

ts’Alih~ts’Al *(unique type of noun-stem variation: ts'Alih in possessed form, also archaically in non-possessed form; ts'Al in non-possessed form, rarely also in possessed form, probably anologically)*

ts’Al*(~**ts’Alih** archaic) (noun, unclassified)* bone *(anatomical, not as part of food)*: **ts’Al** bone *MS,* bone (of any kind, including fish, but not bone left after eating) *L, Rezanov* Цылля 'Берцо' ('shin') *(not in Radlov, 'shin, tibia') perhaps to be read* **ts’Alih**, *Furuhjelm* Zali, **ts’Al’a’luw** big bone *LM,* **ts’Al’Akih** small bone *LM,* **ts’AlX sLidu:ts’Linh** her nasal mucus has dried into bone *72.40M (song),* **ts’AlyAq’ya’ Xe:** marrow < grease of bone-interior *L.*

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sa’GAdAlah ts’Al *(noun, unclassified)* walrus < bones around mouth *M.*

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-ts’Alih*(~**-ts’Al** rare, probably analogical) (noun, unclassified)* bone *(anatomical)*: *28.85, 85, 118, 121, 127, 130, 133, 49.119A,* **k’uts’Alih** bones (of someone, something) *L, Galushia Nelson* qát’sùlì yàt 'Eagle House, Eyak' ("skeleton-house") *BSdL 545* **qa:ts’Alihyahd** our, human bones-house *(name of potlatch house at Eyak village),* t’cìlétsəlì’ name of Basket Pattern 11. ("raven-bone") *BSdL 547 (described and illustrated BSdL 82)* **ch’i:lehts’Alih**, **siGAla’ts’Alih**, **siGAla’ts’Al** my shoulderblade, shoulder-bone *L.*

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-L-ts’Alih*(~**-ts’Al** rare, probably analogical) (noun, usually unclassified)* 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:Lts’Alihshiyahyu:** (nasty) old human bones *34.122L (should perhaps be qa:ts'Alih-)*; *with d-class-mark partly thematized, -d-L-ts'Alih 'outer shell (of egg, crustacean, insect), skull':* **-lAqahdALts’Alih** skull < head-bone, -shell *28.88, 33.10A,* **k’udA’uhdgdALts’Alih** eggshell *M,* **k’udALts’Alih** (empty) shell (of egg) *A, Rezanov* Уталецалиуа 'Скорлупа Eierschale' **’udALts’Alih ’Awa:** its shell (of egg) *L,* **k’udALts’AlihyAq’ qa’ sahL** it hatched < it came out of the shell *M, Galushia Nelson* qùɒíɬtsílì’ kùγù·t *or* qùɒíɬtsílì kìγù·t 'shell bead' *BSdL 551* **k’udALts’AlihkAwu:d** (*or* **k’Ayu:d**), *apparently also d-class in meaning 'eggshell':* **k’udALts’Alih sich’ di:’a’** give me an eggshell! *L,* **k’udALts’Alih k’uda’luw** eggshell is big *M; with lX-class-mark for possessor, -lX-L-ts'Alih 'pit, seed (too large to eat, of fruit, berry)': see 'ulAXALts'Alih k'u:Leh below; with l-class-mark for possessor:* ìⁿtɬɣícк ìⁿtɬtsəlì’ *or* ìⁿtɬɣɻícк ìⁿtɬt’səlì’

name of Basket Pattern 2. ("amphineura-shells") *BSdL 547 (described and illustrated BSdL 82)* **'i:nLxi:shg'i:nLts'Alih** red abalone shell *L; with qi:d-anatomical:* **siqi:dALts'Alih** my foot-bones *L, with y-anatomical:* **siyALts'Alih**, **siyALts'Al** my finger-bones, my knuckles (?) *L.*

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'udALts'Alih k'u:Leh *(noun, unclassified)* brown bug species (lives under moss) *L or M (Austerlitz). Nominalized of 'it has a shell'.*

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'ulAXALts'Alih k'u:Leh *(noun, lX-class)* cherry; prune *L. Nominalized of 'it has a pit'.*

ts'Ala'1 *(perhaps to be identified with ts'Ala'2)*

ts'Ala' *(noun, unclassified)* smashed salmon roe, put up in pot for winter *L*: **ts'Ala'luw** large mass of potted roe *M.*

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O-**L-ts'Ala'** S make O (potted roe): **qu'xts'Ala'** I'll make a potted roe *L.*

ts'Ala'2 *(perhaps to be identified with ts'Ala'1, or related to ts'Alih~ts'Al)*

k'udAts'Ala' *(noun, unclassified)* kettle, pot *L (same as dji:ni:wAG)*: **k'u'luw k'udAts'Ala'** big kettle *L. Analysis uncertain: perhaps noun with k'u-indefinite possessor and d-thematic, or intransitive verb with k'u-indefinite as S and d-thematic or dA-classifier, or, especially if stem is to be identified with ts'Ala'1, passive of O-L-ts'Ala', 'some thing (potted roe) is made (in it?)', nominalized.*

ts'i:tl'~ts'i:ntl' *(ts'i:tl' more frequent, ts'i:ntl' not attested from A)*

ts'i:tl'-G *(noun)* seaweed species, long and brown, grows on rocks, resembles gAwa'ts' *A (uncertain, elicited in attempt to analyze ts'i:tl'Ga:leh; M thinks she has heard; unknown to L).*

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ts'i:tl'Ga:leh~ts'i:ntl'Ga:leh *(noun, unclassified)* crane *or* heron species *(exact identification uncertain, perhaps 'great blue heron'; see discussion in Eyak Texts 26.1fn.)*: **ts'i:tl'Ga:leh** *26.1, 7, 12L,* small crane or heron *LA,* long-legged crane *L,* **ts'i:ntl'Ga:leh** small crane or heron *M,* long-legged crane *L,* **ts'i:ntl'Ga:lehluw** big crane *LM, Harrington* s'ítł'qáalleh, sɑtł'qáalee 'Canada crane' *G. Analysis uncertain.*

ts'i:k'

L-ts'i:k' untended sore on S ulcerate: **sALts'i:k'L** it ulcerated (of untended sore) *L; with y-anatomical:* **yAGAxLts'i:k'** my hand is ulcerating (with untended sore) *L.*

ts'i'k' *(cf. Tlingit ɑ-c'ík'^{w}-d ??? 'he's pinching him' (Story))*

O-**ts'i'k'** S pinch O, S hold O between thumb and forefinger, S handle O in pinches: *Rezanov* Хуцыкъ 'Щипать kniefen' **xu:ts'i'k'** pinch me! *L,* **xuts'i'k'** it's pinching me *M,* **'Ats'i'k'inh** pinch him! *LA,* **xusAts'i'k'Linh** he pinched me *S,* **sits'i'k'Linh** I pinched him *L,* **'iqe'xts'i'k'** I'll pinch you *L,* **k'ud xusAts'i'k'L** something pinched me *(with k'u-indefinite o as o-d serving as S) L, with perambulative:* **yAX dAts'i'k'X** you're (moving it about) holding it between thumb and forefinger *L; repetitive, 'S be bitter, tart, piquant to O's taste':* **k'uts'i'k'g** it's bitter-tasting, tart, "hot" (to someone, people) *MA; with lX-class-mark for O, 'S pick O (berries) one by one', hence also 'S pick only few (berries)':* **lAXAxts'i'k'** I'm getting only a few berries *(derisive) L; indirect reflexive, repetitive, with o-sa' 'to o's mouth':* **dA'wAX sa'ch' 'AdAts'i'k'g** just take it

(snuff) in small pinches (there being little left)! *L; passive:* **xusdits'i'k'L** *(not xusLi-)* I got pinched *L,* **lAXAsdits'i'k'L** they (berries, being few) were picked one by one *L,* **lAXAdAts'i'k'** berries are poor picking *L.*

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O-**d-ts'i'k'** *(d-thematic optional (?) with qid 'down off')*: **qid dAGAts'i'k'** pinch it (part of something) off! *L.*

ts'i:n *(perhaps related to ts'Al~ts'Alih)*

ts'i:n *(numeral)* six *LMAS*: *2a.11M, Rezanov* Цунъ '6.' *(for phonology cf. 'uX k'u(')lA(L)ts'inhG under ts'inhG), Anonymous* Цынъ *(circumflex superscript insert after ы)* '6.', *Baranov* Цынъ *(circumflex superscript insert after ы)* '6.', *Khromchenko* Тецы '6.', *Wrangell* Цынь 'Sechs', *Furuhjelm* Tzi, *Galushia Nelson* t'si^{n}· *BSdL 553,* **ts'i:n qidda' GA'a'L** it's getting to be six o'clock < it (clock hand) is starting to extend in line with six *L;* **ts'i:nu:** six people *L, 49.23A;* **ts'i:nda'X** six times *L;* **dAGa:Xk'a:d ts'i:n** sixteen *A.*

,

la'dits'i:n *(numeral) (compound with la'dih 'two')* seven *LMAG,* eight *S*: *Rezanov* Лятецунъ '7.', *Anonymous* Латыцыннъ '7.', *Baranov* Латыцынъ '7.', *Khromchenko* Лятыцы '7.', *Wrangell* Ляатецынь 'Sieben', *Furuhjelm* Lhtatzi 'eight', *Galushia Nelson* la^{n}ɒɪtsi· *or* la^{n}ɒɪtsi^{n}· '7.' *BSdL 553,* **la'dits'i:n 'a:na: qAXah** seven months *L;* **la'dits'i:nu:** seven (people) *LM, 18.60L, 49.64A;* **la'dits'i:nda'X dAGa:q'** seventy < seven times ten *L;* **dAGa:Xk'a:d la'dits'i:n** seventeen *A.*

,

q'Adits'i:n *(numeral) (q'Adi- not clearly identifiable or analyzable)* eight *LMAG, 11.80, 80, 82, 25.131, 133, 133, 49.41, 42A (this numeral apparently has magical significance; see discussion in BSdL 206 and Eyak Texts 49.41fn)* seven *S*: *Rezanov* Катецунъ '8.', *Anonymous* Катыцынъ '8.', *Baranov* Катыцынъ '8.', *Khromchenko* Хатыцы '8.', *Wrangell* Катецынь 'Acht', *Furuhjelm* Khatatzi 'seven', Khatatzi 'twenty', *Galushia Nelson* ɢaɒí^{n}tsi^{n}· '8.', **'Al q'Adits'i:n ya: gah** this eighth day *49.45A;* **q'Adits'i:nnu:** eight (people) *49.64A;* **q'Adits'i:nda'X** eight times *11.88A;* **q'Adits'i:nda'X dAGa:q'** eighty < eight times ten *L, Furuhjelm* Khatatzi Takhakh 'thirty' **q'Adits'i:n**[**da'X**] **dAGa:q'**, **dAGa:Xk'a:d q'Adits'i:n** eighteen *A.*

ts'i:ntsih *(occasional variant ts'i:ntsih probably with regressive assimilation of nasality, or perhaps originally ts'i:tsinh, unanalyzable, to be segmented, if of Eyak origin, ts'i:n-tsih, ts'i:-tsinh, -tsinh perhaps related to tsi:n~tsi:~tsi:ny)*

ts'i:ntsih *(noun, perhaps d-class or unclassified)* subalpine fir (Abies lasiocarpa), *only vaguely identified by most informants*: **ts'i:ntsinh**, **ts'i:ntsih** pitchwood *(vague, "burns like candle, from inside of some kind of cut tree") L,* **ts'i:ntsih** alder *S,* spruce branches broken and dried, good for tinder *A,* **ts'i:ntsinh**, **dzi:ntsi:n** *M ("has heard, perhaps old wood in water, e.g. encrusted with barnacles"), Harrington from G* ts'ɪttshɻ̀, ts'ɪ̂itshɻ́h, ts'ɪ̂tshɻ̀ɪ 'fir', BAE ms. 4100 ts'ɪitshɻh, Tlingit git łeeγís '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.', **ts'i:ntsihya' gahG** pitch of pitchwood, *Harrington* ts'ɪttshɻ̀ yα'łɷ̀ɻh, ts'ɪitshɻ ya'łąh 'fir bark' **ts'i:ntsinhya' Lanh.**

ts'i:nG *(perhaps expanded form of ts'inhG)*

O-**L-ts'i:nG** S dip fingers in O to lick O off fingers, S dip O (fish) in sealoil to eat: *10.24A,* **'ALts'i:nG** dip it (piece of fish in sealoil, to eat)! *LM,* **siLts'i:nGL** I dipped it (fish in sealoil) *L,* **k'uxLts'i:nG** I'm dipping something (fish in sealoil) *M,* **Xe:gu:na'tl' xLts'i:nG** I'm (dipping it,

fish in sealoil and) eating it with sealoil *L, with ya'd 'empty':* **'Aw ya'd sALts'i:nGL** he dipped it empty *L; detransitivized with indeterminate O:* **'Awq'Ach' da: qu'lAdAte:, 'Aw qe'yiLtehlAXAde:'X 'ixLAts'i:nG** we'll eat our fill on it, I'm dipping in the whale's eye *11.183A, same with perambulative:* **xusALga'L, 'Aw qe'yiLtehlAXAde:'X yAX 'ixLAts'i:nGX** I'm tired of it, dipping my fingers around in that whale's eye *10.25A,* **'Awya'X yAX 'ixLAts'i:nGX** I dip my fingers in it (o with broad opening at top, to get indeterminate O to eat) *L, detransitivized with indeterminate O, repetitive, with lah 'around, in circular motion':* **'Awla:X'e'X lah 'iLAts'i:nGginu:, Xe:lu'qa:** they were dipping their fingers round in its eye, to get the grease *11.175A; reflexive, with y-anatomical:* **'AdyAxLAts'i:nG** I'm licking my fingers (for food) *L; passive, with ya'd 'empty':* **ya'd sdits'i:nGL**, **ya'd sLits'i:nGL** it (food) has been dipped out (vessel empty) *L,* **ya'd qu'dAts'i:nG** *(not qu'LA-)* it'll be dipped out empty *L.*

,

'its'i:nG *(gerundive of preceding)* dipping: *detransitivized with indeterminate O and perambulative:* **qe'yiLtehlAXAde:'X yAX 'its'i:nGXa'** from dipping about (for food) in a whale's eye *11.177A.*

ts'inhG *(perhaps two or three different homophonous stems, semantic connections very vague, perhaps also related to ts'i:nG)*

ts'inhG *(noun, unclassified)* alders *LM*: *16.21M, Anonymous* Цынкгъ 'Ольховое', *Galushia Nelson* t'sɪn 'alders' *BSdL 541,* **ts'inhG'a'luw** big alders *LM,* **ts'inhG'ALt'ahL** alder-leaf *9.77, 80A,* **ts'inhGdAXunhyu:** Alder People *34.1, 1M, Galushia Nelson* t'sɪn wʊla'iyu 'alder people' *BSdL 541,* **ts'inhGwAlahyu:** Alder People *34.119, 126, 127L,* **ts'inhGqa' 'i:nsdiyahLinh** he got entangled in alders *L.*

,

-y-(L-)ts'inhG(-L) *(noun) (with y-anatomical 'hand' and L-classifier and/or -L-instrumental)* fifth (or fourth?) finger: *Galushia Nelson* k'úyítɬtsìⁿ'ktɬ *or* kúyítɬsìⁿktɬ 'fourth finger' *BSdL 542* **k'uyALts'inhGL**, **siyAts'inhGL** my little finger *L.* my fourth finger *A,* my fingers (excluding thumb) *M,* **siyALts'inhGL**, **siyALts'inhG** my little finger *L (L fairly certain the meaning is 'fifth finger', rather than 'fourth finger').*

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O-**(l-)L-ts'inhG** *(with l-thematic absent in the presence of another mark)* S mark O *(less frequent than semitransitive below, no clear difference in meaning)*: **lisiLts'inhGL** I marked it, I blazed it, put a sign up *LM; with indeterminate O and perambulative:* **yAX 'ilAxLAts'inhGX** I'm going around marking things, I'm blazing trails *M; passive, with Xd-class-mark for O (l-mark absent):* **XAdisdits'inhGL** it (log) has been marked *L.*

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O-**'-(l-)L-ts'inhG(-L)** *(with l-thematic often absent in Active and Neuter perfectives, -L-instrumental (?) sometimes analogically retained)* S mark O: *Rezanov* Улильцытлькъ 'Вѣсить ('to weigh') wägen' *perhaps to be read* **'u'li:Lts'inhG** mark it! *(or conceivably* **'Aw li:Lts'in't'l'G** slap it, you're slapping it *especially if* Вѣсить *it to be corrected* Бѣсить *'to infuriate'),* **'u'li:Lts'inhGL** mark it! *L,* **qu'li:xLts'inhGL** I'll mark it *L,* **'u:dAXyu: k'u'li:Lts'inhG** blaze marks along the way < mark something all along there! *L,* **'u:dAX k'u'GAxLts'inhGL** I'm blazing a trail (marking something) along there *L,* **k'u'qu'li:xLts'inhG** I'll blaze a trail *L,* **'u:ch' k'u'lisiLts'inhGL** I marked it (to indicate location) *L,* **'u'lixiLts'inhGL** I have it (card) marked *(Neuter perfective) L, with perambulative:* **'u:dAX yAX k'u'qu'lAxLAts'inhG** I'll blaze a trail about along there *L, repetitive:* **'u'li:Lts'inhGg** mark it! *M,* **qu'li:xLts'inhGg** I'll mark it *M,* **ta: 'u'lAxLts'inhGgL** I'm blazing a trail *L; with d-class-mark for O:* **'u'dla:siLts'inhGL** I marked it (tree) *L; reflexive, with y-anatomical:* **'iya: 'Adu'yAxLAts'inhG** I'm marking my hand for you *(cheating at card) L; passive:*

’u’sdits’inhGL, **’u’sLits’inhGL** it (place) has been marked *L,* **’u:dAX k’u’dits’inhGL** it's blazed along there *(Neuter perfective) L, with dl-class-mark for O:* **’u’dla:sdits’inhGL**, **’u’dla:sLits’inhGL** it (stone) has been marked *L.*

,

’uX k’u(’)lA(L)ts’inhGL *(noun) (correct form uncertain)* marker, signet, cachet: *Rezanov* Охколицункльтъ 'Печать Petschaft' *'uX k'u…l…ts'…GL…, probably to be read* **-ts’inG-** *(cf. e.g. Цунъ tsi:n), deverbalization of preceding, transitive or semitransitive, classifier dropped with -L- instrumental,* **’uX k’ulALts’inhGL** marker, signet, cachet *M (perhaps more correctly 'uX k'u'lAts'inhGL, deverbalized passive semitransitive with -L-instrumental,* < by means of it something is marked*).*

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ts’inhGta:’ *(personal name) man's name A (tsinhG-, tsi:nG-, sinhG- L).*

ts’in’t’

-ts’in’t’ *(probably not freely used, attested mainly in Active perfective, with yAX 'downward', meaning not clearly distinguished from that of yAX L-ts'in't')* S sink, settle: **yAX sAts’in’t’L** they (e.g. tea-leaves) settled to the bottom *L,* it (sugar in water) settled to the bottom *M,* **yAX qa’ts’in’t’** it'll sink *L.*

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L-ts’in’t’ S (fish) flop (on land), *(with preverb indicating downward motion)* S sink, settle *(basic meaning perhaps 'S founder, flounder (out of natural element)')*: *with yAX 'downward': 25.50, 52A (cust), 48.20L,* **yAX sALts’in’t’L** it (e.g. sugar in water) settled, it (e.g. seal, boat) sank *L,* **yAX GALts’in’t’L** it's sinking *L,* **yAX GAxLts’in’t’L** I'm sinking *L,* **yAX ’ALts’i:nt’k’ya:X** lest it (cust) sink *L, with d-class-mark for S:* **yAX dAsALts’in’t’L** it (car) sank *61.65A, repetitive: 11.119A,* **Li’q’ ’Aw ’AXAkih yAX Lts’in’t’g** all those canoes were sinking *38.18LM,* **yAX xLts’in’t’g** I keep sinking *L; with ya:nu' 'below surface':* **ya:nu’ch’ ’ALts’i:nt’k’** he (cust) sinks *24.44A; with perambulative:* **yAX LAts’in’t’X** it (fish) is flopping about on land *L. Transitive (causative) yAX O-L-ts'in't' 'S sink O':* **yAX GALts’in’t’** sink it! *L,* **yAX GAxLts’in’t’L** I'm sinking it *L,* **siLts’in’t’L** I sank it *L,* **yAX qa: qu’yiLts’in’t’** you'll sink us *L.*

ts’in’tl’1 *(perhaps to be identified with ts'in'tl'2, basic meaning 'sharp striking action')*

O-**L-ts’in’tl’-g** *(with -g-repetitive thematized)* S fry O (fish in pan): **siLts’in’tl’gL** I fried it (fish in pan) *L,* **’Aw te’ya’ da: ’i:Lts’in’tl’g** let's fry that fish *(Minnie Stevens said to L, which puzzled L at first) L.*

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d-LA-ts’in’tl’-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized, d-thematic 'fire, bright' and/or 'noise')* S spark, S (fire) crackle, S (sparks) fly: *Rezanov* Тетляцылькъ 'Искра' *(not in Radlov),* **dALAts’in’tl’g** it's sparking *LM,* sparks are flying *L,* it (fire) is crackling *A. Transitive (causative): O-d-L-ts'in'tl'-g 'S make O (spark), S make O spark':* **di:Lts’in’tl’g** make a spark!, make it spark! *L.*

ts’in’tl’2 *(perhaps to be identified with ts'in'tl'1)*

O-**L-ts’in’tl’-g** *(with -g-repetitive thematized)* S slap O, hit O (with open hand): **’ALts’in’tl’g** slap it! *LM,* **dik’ qu’xLts’in’tl’gG** I won't slap it *M, with perambulative:* **Li’q’ ya:yu: yAX GAxLts’in’tl’g da:X** when I slap everything around *34.50M; with l-anatomical (partly thematized, not necessarily strongly specifying 'head, face'):* **’anh ’i:nsALts’in’tl’gLinh** he

slapped her face *18.29L, see ts'inhG for possible occurrence in Rezanov,* **'iqe'li:xLts'in'tl'g** I'll slap you *M,* **'iluxLts'in'tl'g** I'm slapping you *M,* **'Aw du:sh 'uXa' lALts'in'tl'ginh** he's slapping his (own or another's) cat *L,* **lAGALts'in'tl'ginh** hit his face! *M,* **li:Lts'in'tl'ginh** hit his head! *M, with qAla' 'beating up':* **dudunh qAla' la:yiLts'in'tl'g** that anyone should slap their faces (beating them up) *49.27A, with other anatomical marks:* **gAdAGALts'in'tl'g** hit his rump! *M,* **qi:dAGALts'in'tl'ginh** hit his foot! *M,* **yAGALts'in'tl'ginh** hit his hand! *M; with indeterminate O:* **'usa' 'iGALts'in'tl'ginh** slap him on the mouth! *M,* **'isa' 'iqe'xLts'in'tl'g** I'll slap your mouth *M,* **sisa' 'iliLts'in'tl'g 'u'sAq'e:'Linh** he tried to slap me on the mouth *L, with perambulative:* **'Aw 'uq' yAX 'ixLAts'in'tl'g** I slap it all over < I slap about on it *(-x dropped) L,* **giyahya'X yAX 'iLAts'in'tl'Xinh** I'm slapping water all around < I'm slapping around in water *(-g of repetitive dropped) L; reflexive, with anatomical marks:* **'Ad-lixsLits'in'tl'gL** I slapped my (own) face *L,* **'AdyAxLAts'in'tl'g** I'm clapping my hands *L,* **'AdyALAts'in'tl'ginh** he's clapping hands *LA,* **'Adya:LAts'in'tl'g** clap your hands! *L; passive, with anatomical marks:* **'iqe'lAdAts'in'tl'g** you'll get your face slapped *L,* **xugAdisLits'in'tl'gL**, **xugAdisdits'intl'gL** I got spanked *L,* **'iqe'gAdAdAts'in'tl'g** *(not -gAdALA-)* you'll get your rump slapped *L, with ya' 'completely':* **ya' 'iqe'gAdAdAts'in'tl'g** *(not -gAdALA-)* you'll get spanked *L.*

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O-**'-l-L-ts'in'tl'-g** *(semitransitive of preceding, with l-anatomical)* S slap at O's face, try to slap O's face: **xu'lAsALts'in'tl'gL da:X 'uya:X 'i:nxsLiXa'tl'L** he tried to slap my face but I dodged it *L.*

ts'in'ts'~ts'i'ts'~ts'i:nts'~ts'idz *(form uncertain, perhap spurious; cf. tsi:ndz, ts'u'ts', suhdz, k'ik'sh~k'i:nk'sh~k'i:ngsh, Gi:nq's)*

d-LA-ts'in'ts'(~etc.)-g *(with d-thematic 'noise' and -g-repetitive thematized)* S make a squeaking, creaking, hissing, or rubbing noise: **dALAts'in'ts'g** it's hissing *A,* **dALAts'i'ts'g**, **dALAts'i:nts'g**, **dALAts'idzg** 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).*

ts'e:LtAnn

ts'e:LtAnn *(personal name) Christina Jackson, Anna Nelson Harry's mother A XV.10.*

ts'ehXk' *(form uncertain, perhaps ts'ehxk')*

-ts'ehXk' *(noun, unclassified)* inside of pelt: **'uts'ehXk' 'Awa: k'udzu:** its inside (of hide) is good *(this can be determined only after fleshing, when the skin is on stretching-frame) L. L once of twice pronounced the form also ts'e:xk', appears uncertain which is right, but seems to favor -ts'ehXk'.*

ts'e'

gunuxts'e' *(noun, unclassified)* waterproof material for rainwear made of dried bear-intestines *LMA*: gə̀núx̣tsə́' *or* gùnúqtsə́' 'dried intestines' *BSdL 548, 550,* **gunuxts'e'luw** big beargut rainwear *LM. gunux- is probably a loan from Chugach, but -ts'e' certainly is not; -ts'e' does not, however, occur in other forms.*

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gunuxts'e'ga' 'i:t'eh *(noun)* cellophane < it's like gunuxts'e' *L.*

ts'e'ts'

ts'e'ts' *(noun, unclassified)* berrymash *LMAS (food made of smashed high-bush white currants boiled down, mixed with smashed salmon-roe, boiled again, without sugar,*

allowed to ferment and kept for winter): **ts'e'ts"a'luw** big pile of berrymash *M,* **k'ut'u' ts'e'ts'** lots of berrymash *L,* **ts'e'ts' qAmAXch'L GALe'L** berrymash is getting bubbles in it, fermenting *L. Berrymash is mentioned in BSdL 97.*

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O-**L-ts'e'ts'** *(basic meaning 'S squeeze or crush O', but attested mainly in various specialized or idiomatic uses, often with class-marks for O partly thematized)* 1. S smash, mash, squeeze, express O: a. *With l-anatomical*: **'iqe'li:xLts'e'ts'** I'll smash your head *(strong expression) L.*

1b. *With dl-class-mark for O, tsa: 'rock', partly thematized*: **dli:Lts'e'ts'** pick up (heated) stone with tongs! *L,* **'Aw dla:GALts'e'ts'Linh** he's holding it (hot rock) with tongs *L,* **'Awya'ch' 'Aw dla:Lts'e:ts'k'inu:** they (cust) lift them (hot rocks) into it (vessel, with tongs) *L,* **dla:Lts'e'ts'** lift a hot rock with tongs! *A; with dl-class-mark missing, probably incorrect:* **'ALts'e'ts'** lift a hot rock with tongs! *A.*

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1c. *With gl-class-mark for O (liquid) combined with d-thematic ('mouth'?)*: **'u:dAX 'Aw qa' gAdla:sALts'e'ts'L** he squirted it (water) up there (with e.g. water-pistol) *L,* **Xi:ch' 'Aw gudla:sAts'e'ts'Linh** he squirted it (water) out (of his mouth) *L (L-classifier missing, probably in error), with perambulative:* **'Aw yAX gudla:LAts'e'ts'Xinh** he's squirting it (water) around *L.*

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1d. *With lX-class-mark for O ('berries'),* S prepare berries in making berrymash: **k'ulAXi:Lts'e'ts'** make berrymash! < crush something lX-class! *L,* **k'ulAXi:ts'e'ts'** bust berries! *L (L-classifier missing, probably in error),* **lAXAxLts'e'ts'** I'm boiling berries for berrymash *L, with ya' 'completely':* **ya' lAXa:nLts'e'ts'** smash berries! *A.*

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2. S make O (berrymash): **'ALts'e'ts'** make berrymash! *L,* lift it (hot rock) with tongs *A (probably in error),* **siLts'e'ts'L** I made berrymash *L,* **qu'xLts'e'ts'** I'll make berrymash *L; detransitivized with indeterminate O:* **'iqe'xLAts'e'ts'** I'll cook berries in roe (make berrymash) *A,* **da: 'iLAts'e:ts'k'** we (cust) make berrymash *L; passive:* **sdits'e'ts'L** berrymash has been made *L.*

,

'uX yAX k'udla:dAts'e'ts'X *(noun)* tongs for handling hot rocks in cooking *L. Nominalization of passive Active imperfective with perambulative of O-L-ts'e'ts' 1b. above,* < by means of it something (dl-class) is squeezed and handled about. *These tongs are described in BSdL 94.*

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d-dA-ts'e'ts' S spit tobacco-quid *(with d-thematic 'oral', cf. intransitive d-dA-tux 'S spit')*: *with Xi:ch' 'away':* **Xi:ch' disdits'e'ts'Linh** he spit a quid of tobacco *L.*

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ts'e:ts' *(noun, lX-class) (expanded stem; authenticity uncertain)* red berry species, *same as ts'iyuhya' la'mahd A (L rejects, recognizing only ts'e'ts' 'berrymash').*

ts'e:' *(status as stem uncertain, see below)*

k'udAGAts'e:' *(noun, unclassified)* crack or gap between logs or planks of house; smokehole *LMA*: **k'udAGAts'e:'luw** big crack, big smokehole *LM,* **k'udAGAts'e:'e'd GALdu'** chink the crack! *M,* **k'udAGAts'e:"e'X 'uch' dla:XAxt'uhinu:** I'm looking at them through a crack in the wall *M. To be analyzed either k'u-dAG-ts'e:' 'ts'e:' above something' (o-dAG 'above o', with k'u- indefinite o), or, more probably, k'u-dA-GAts'-'e' '(empty) place of something which has been*

twisted' (no longer recognized as such, as shown by the use of k'udAGAts'e:' itself as o of o-'e' 'place of (absent) o').

ts'a:tl'1 *(perhaps to be identified with ts'a:tl'2 and expanded form of ts'a'tl'1, earlier meaning 'moss', in which infants were bedded, the modern Eyak term for 'moss' being k'uhdL 'wiper'; cf. Navaho c'á·l 'cradle', Sarsi c'á·l 'baby's moss-bag; cradle', Chipewyan t'θàl 'moss', l-t'θáł 'to be watery'; cf. also Indo-European origin 'wet', cf. English 'moss'.)*

ts'a:tl'(**-g**)(**-L**) *(noun, l-class or unclassified, with optional -g-repetitive and/or -L-instrumental)* baby-basket, cradle, cradleboard: **ts'a:tl'LAlAya'X** in baby-baskets *(l-class) 23.12A,* **ts'a:tl'g** cradle for infant *LMA,* **ts'a:tl'** cradle, cradleboard *L,* **ts'a:tl'L** cradle *LM,* **ts'a:tl'gL** cradle *L,* **ts'a:tl'L'a'luw** big cradle *LM, Furuhjelm* Tzatlkhijanak 'infant' *ts'a:tl'gya'nahG, **ts'a:tl'ya'lahG** baby < one who stays in cradle *L,* **ts'a:tl'ya'lahGAyu:** babies *L,* **di-'wAX ts'a:tl'ya'ch' da:k'inh** infant < he who still (cust) stays in cradle *L,* **ts'a:tl'ya' 'i:dahLinh** infant < he who stays *(Neuter perfective)* in cradle *L.*

ts'a:tl'2 *(perhaps to be identified with ts'a:tl'1 and expanded form of ts'a'tl'1)*

ts'a:tl'-g *(noun) (with -g-repetitive, uncertain, attested only in Furuhjelm; see also ts'Adl~ts'Atl')* (muddy, mossy, wet?) terrain: *Furuhjelm* Tzatlkh 'earth, land', *to be read* **ts'a:tl'g?** *(Attempts to reelicit this form from L and M yielded instead ts'Adl~ts'Atl'.)*

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Gl-ts'a:tl'-g *(uncertain, attested only on Li file-slip, not verified by L, M or A; with Gl-thematic 'ground' and -g-repetitive, either noun or Active imperfective verb)* : *Li* qą·t'sá·t'łkʻ 'muddy', *implying Ga:nts'a:tl'g.*

ts'a:g *(cf. ts'ik.)*

O-**L-ts'a:g** S bail O (boat): **'ALts'a:g** bail it (canoe)! *M,* **ya'd 'ALts'a:g** bail it out (empty)! *L,* **qu'xLts'a:g** I'll bail it *M,* **siLts'a:gL** I bailed it *M, repetitive:* **Lich' xLts'a:gg** I keep bailing all the time *L; detransitivized with indeterminate O:* **Lich' 'iLAts'a:ginh** he's bailing all the time *L.*

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ts'a:g-L *(noun, l-class or unclassified, with -L-instrumental)* bailing-basket, dipper, bucket *LM,* tin can *L*: *65.36, 36, 36, 36A, Galushia Nelson* t'sa·qł *or* tsa·qł 'bailing-basket for canoe' *BSdL 546,* **ts'a:gL'a'luw** big bailer *LM,* **'Aw ts'a:gLX ya'X GAqa'** scoop it (liquid) up with that dipper! *L,* **ts'a:gL sich' li:ta'** *(or* **li:'a'**, *but* **li:ta'** *perhaps preferred)* give me an (empty) bucket, dipper! *L,* **ts'a:gL 'u:d 'i:nsAtahL** an (empty) bucket is there *L.*

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O-**ts'a:g-L** S bail O (boat), *attested only from S, probably incorrect, with L-classifier missing and -L-instrumental from noun analogically retained*: **'Ats'a:gL** "bail 'em out!" *S.*

ts'ahLk'1 *(perhaps to be identified with ts'ahLk'2)*

L-ts'ahLk' S throb: **siya: Lts'ahLk'** it (part of me) throbs *L,* **siyAq'a'ts' siya: Lts'ahLk'** my hand throbs me *L,* **siyAq'a'ts' siya: GALts'ahLk'L** my hand is starting to throb *L, with anatomical mark:* **qi:dAxLts'ahLk'** my feet are throbbing *L.*

ts'ahLk'2 *(perhaps to be identified with ts'ahLk'1)*

-g-L-ts'ahLk' *(noun) (with g-thematic 'caudal, appendage' and -L-classifier)* tailbone, tail (of seal): **k'uguLts'ahLk'** seal's tailbone *LA,* **k'ugALts'ahLk'** tailbone, seal's tail *L.*

ts’ahs

O-**L-ts’ahs** S partly dry O (fish) *(i.e. semi-dry fish, cut any style, for relatively short time)*: **’ALts’ahs** dry fish partly! *L,* **qu’xLts’ahs** I'll semi-dry fish *L,* **siLts’ahsL** I semi-dried fish (cut any style) *L,* **da: Lts’a:sk’** we (cust) semi-dry fish *L; passive:* **sLits’ahsL**, **sdits’ahsL** fish has been semi-dried *L.*

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sALts’ahsL *(noun, unclassified)* semi-dry fish: **sALts’ahsL XAxah** I'm eating semi-dry fish *L (Active perfective nominalized).*

ts’ahG

-ts’ahG S be extremely soft and flimsy, be disintegrating, on the verge of disintegrating (upon being touched, from e.g. boiling or soaking), *attested only with ya' 'completely'*: **ya’ sAts’ahGL** it came apart or will fell apart at the slightest touch (from being boiled or soaked too long) *L. Transitive (causative):* **ya’ GALts’ahG** mash them! *M,* **ya’ siLts’ahGL** I mashed them (e.g. potatoes) *M,* I boiled them too long, too soft *L.*

ts’a’ *(cf. Tlingit s’à 'glacial mud' (Boas), s’é́ 'clay' (Naish-Story))*

ts’a’ *(noun, d-class)* clay, mud, silt (alluvial mud in mud-flats) *LMA*: *27b.18, 21A, Rezanov* Ца 'Грязь Koth', Цъ-а 'Клей ('glue') Leim' *perhaps also to be read* **ts’a’**, *Galushia Nelson* t’sɔ’ or t’sɑ’ 'mud (or gray)' *BSdL 537,* **ts’a’da’luw** large expanse of mud-flats *LM,* **ts’a’ ’u:d dAsA’ahL** a hunk of mud is there *L,* **ts’a’dAyAq’ ’Aw ’i:nsAtsu:xL** he pushed it (paddle) into the mud *L,* **ts’a’dAlu’qa: da: ’i:’a’ch’** let's go get some mud *L,* **ts’a’dAXa’ da: ’i:’a’ch’** let's go after mud *L,* **ts’a’ yiLeh** it's muddy *L (see further instances under Le()),* **ts’a’ qu’li:LXah** you'll get it muddy *M,* **ts’a’ga’ ’i:t’eh** it's gray < it's like alluvial mud (in color) *M.*

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ts’a’di:’q’Aya’d *(place-name) Marten River* < at on the place of alluvial mud *LA. (Nominalized o-ya' 'in o (with broad opening at top, e.g. body of water)', with ts'a'-d-'e'-q' as o, 'on place of alluvial mud'.)*

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ts’a’li’Xqid *(possible place-name) Muddy Bay* < silt bay *G Harrington. (Possible calque from Tlingit.)*

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-ts’a’~-ts’a *(latter form probably analogical, attested only once)* S be, become muddy: *with qa' 'up out': Rezanov* Касыцатль 'Грязно kothig, schmutzig' **qa’ sAts’a’L** it got muddy *L,* **qa’ ’i:ts’a’L** it's gotten all muddy (with alluvial mud) *(Neuter perfective) L,* **qa:nch’ GAts’a:L** it's getting muddy *L (implying -ts'a). Transitive (causative):* **’ALts’a’** spread mud on it! *M,* **qu’xLts’a’** I'll spread mud on it *L; passive:* **sdits’a’L** it (pipe) has been plugged, it (window) has been glazed (with putty-like material to stop leak) *L.*

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Gl-dA-ts’a’ *(with Gl-thematic 'ground')* S (ground) be, become muddy: **Ga:nsdits’a’L** it (floor, ground) is, got muddy *L, with 'AdiX 'indoors' and perambulative:* **’AdiX yAX GAlAGAdAts’a’L** floor (indoors) is getting muddy (here and there) *L,* **’AdiX yAX Ga:ndits’a’L** floor (indoors) is muddy (here and there) *(Neuter perfective) L.*

ts’a’tl’1 *(perhaps related to ts'a:tl'2 and ts'a:tl'1, or to be identified with ts'a'tl'2; see also ts'a'k')*

ts’a’tl’-g *(noun, unclassified) (with -g-repetitive)* drop (of liquid): *Rezanov* Цалькъ 'Капля Tropfen' **ts’a’tl’g** drop *M,* **LinhGih ts’a’tl’g** one drop *M.*

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L-ts’a’tl’-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized)* S (liquid) drip, leak (by drops): *Rezanov* Кеитахцалькъ 'Капать tröpfeln' **qi’dAX** [**L**]**ts’a’tl’g** *(presumably with L-classifier to be supplied),* **qi’dAX Lts’a’tl’g** where it's dripping *M,* **’u:d Lts’a’tl’g** it's dripping there *L,* **dik’ ’ALts’a’tl’gG** it's not leaking *L,* **gusi:kih Lts’a’tl’g** it's dripping a bit *LM,* **GALts’a’tl’gL** it's leaking, dripping *L,* **qa’Lts’a’tl’g** it'll leak *(not of canoe) L,* **’u:dAX sALts’a’tl’gL** it leaked (through) there *L; with gl-class-mark for S (clearly optional, perhaps poor usage, attested only from M):* **gAla:yiLts’a’tl’g** let it (water, juice) leak, drip *M. With expanded stem:* **qi’dAX Lts’a:tl’g** where it's dripping, leaking (in many places?) *L,* **gAlALts’a:tl’g** it keeps leaking (in many places?) *M.*

ts’a’tl’2 *(perhaps to be identified with ts'a'tl'1)*

d-LA-ts’a’tl’-g *(with d-thematic 'oral, noise' and -g-repetitive thematized)* S make clicking, clucking sound: **dAxLAts’a’tl’g** I'm making a clicking noise *(apical click, same as xq'a:'sg, see q'a:'s) L,* **dALAts’a’tl’g** it (bird) is clucking *L.*

ts’a’k’

’u:nahd qe’Lts’a’k’ *(month-name) LM, April* < "when water drips down from trees" *A. L, M, and A all associate this with the theme L-ts'a'tl'-g under ts'a'tl'1. The underlying theme, however, is probably 'i-L-ts'a'k' with 'i- prefix required by 'u:nahd 'in the month', which drops, umlauting qa' 'up out' to qe'.*

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L-ts’a’k’ *(uncertain: L may have offered this theme as justification for her analysis of the preceding)* S leak: **’u:dAX sALts’a’k’L** it leaked (through) there *L (meaning the same as that of 'u:dAX sALts'a'tl'gL L).*

ts’a:’

ts’a:’ *(noun, d-class)* umbilical cord (the part of the cord remaining after cutting) *L*: *Galushia Nelson* t’sa· 'umbilical cord' *BSdL 542,* **di-’wAX ts’a:’ ’uXa’ ’uX di:’ah** it (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.*

ts’an´ *(perhaps related to ts'a:nG and/or ch'a:nG)*

LA-ts’an´ S be strong, powerful, tough: *Neuter imperfective: 57.10, 26G,* **ta:dzdAlahGAyu: Lits’anh** old time people were tough *63.26G,* **xLits’anh** I'm strong *LM,* I was strong *L,* **dik’ ’a’xLAts’anhG** (*or* **-ts’a:nG**) I'm not strong *LM,* **q’e’ xLits’anh** I'm strong again *M,* **Lits’anh** you're strong *LM,* **dik’ ’a’LAts’anhG** (*or* **-ts’a:nG**) you're not strong *LM,* **Lits’inhinh** he's strong *LM,* **dik’ ’a’LAts’anhGinh** (*or* **-ts’a:nG-**) he's not strong *LM,* **da: Lits’anh**, **da: qALits’anh** we're strong *L,* **lAXLits’anh** you pl. are strong *LM,* **dik’ ’a’lAXLits’anhG** (*or* **-ts’a:nG**) you pl. aren't strong *LM,* **qALits’anh**, **qALits’inhinu:** they're strong *LM,* **dik’ qa’LAts’anhGinu:** (*or* **-ts’a:nG-**) they aren't strong *LM; Inceptive imperfective:* **qu’xLAts’anh** I'll get strong, I'll be strong *LM,* **dik’ qu’xLAts’anhG** *(or* **-ts’a:nG**, *but here L prefers the former,* **-ts’a:nG** *"is dragging your words")* I won't be strong *L,* **qu’LAts’anh** you'll be strong *LM,* it'll be strong (hard to break) *M,* **qu’LAts’inhinh** he'll be strong *L, Inceptive perfective:* **GAxLAts’an’L** I'm getting strong *LM,* **dik’ GAxLAts’an’LG** I'm not getting strong *M,* **GALAts’an’L** you're getting strong *LM,* **GALAts’an’Linh** he's getting strong *L,* **da:**

GALAts'an'L, **da: qAGALAts'an'L** we're getting strong *L,* **GAlAXLAts'an'L**, **qAGAlAXLAts'an'L** you pl. are getting strong *L,* **GALAts'an'L**, **qAGALAts'an'L** they're getting strong *L, Active perfective: 49.67fnL,* **xsLits'an'L** I got strong *LM,* **q'e' xsLits'an'L** I got strong again *LM,* **dik' 'AxsLAts'an'LG** I didn't get strong *LM,* **sLits'an'L** you got strong, it got strong *LM,* **dik' 'AsLAts'an'LG** you didn't get strong, it didn't get strong *M,* **da: sLits'an'L**, **da: qAsLits'an'L** we got strong *L,* **lAXsLits'an'L**, **qAlAXsLits'an'L** you pl. got strong *LM,* **dik' 'AlAXsLAts'an'LG** you pl. didn't get strong *M,* **qAsLits'an'Linu:** they got strong *L, Inceptive imperative:* **GALAts'an'** get strong *LM,* **GAlAXLAts'an'** pl. get strong! *L, Neuter imperative* **'a'LAts'anh** *M,* **'a'LAts'a:n** be strong! *L (but L prefers the Inceptive imperative), Inceptive optative:* **GAxLits'anhwahd** so I may get strong *L,* **'AlAshgahX GAxLits'anh** I wish I were strong *L,* **'AlAshgahX GALits'inhinh** I hope he's strong *L,* **'AlAshgahX GAlAXLits'anh** I hope you pl. are strong *L, Active (in preference to Neuter) optative:* **'ixLits'anhwahd** so I may be, get, stay strong *L,* **'iLits'anhwahd** so he may be, get, stay strong *L,* **'AlAshgahX 'iLits'inhinh** I hope he's strong *L,* **'a'd k'a:di'da: q'e' 'iLits'inhinh** he'll never be strong again *M, Neuter perfective (often avoided in favour of Active perfective, probably because of hesitation in the formation of the prefixes):* **'AlAshgahX 'a'Lits'inhinh** I hope he's strong *L (much prefers the Inceptive optative to this),* **'AlAshgahX Lich' 'a'xLits'anh** I hope I'm always strong *L,* **Lich' k'a' 'a'Lits'anh** always be strong *L (certain of correctness of form),* **Lich' k'a' 'a'lAXLits'anh** pl. always be strong *L, Inceptive conditional:* **GAxLAts'anh da:X** when I get strong *M, customary:* **qALAts'a:nk'** they're (cust) strong *M, repetitive customary:* **xLAts'a:ngk'** I keep getting strong *M; with o-ga' 'like o':* **dik' 'Awga' 'a'xLAts'a:nG** I'm not that strong *M,* **'uga' xLits'anh da:X** if I were strong enough for (e.g. to lift) it *L,* **di:yAX 'Awga' GALAts'an'LGinh** he's not strong enough (for it) yet *M,* **'uga'shuh Lits'anh q'Al 'i:t'ah** are you strong enough to carry this? *L, with o-lAX 'more than o':* **'ilAX xLits'anh** I'm stronger than you *L; with class-mark for S:* **diLits'anh** it (table) is strong *L,* **'AlAshgahX dAGALits'anh** I hope it (table) is strong *(Inceptive optative) L,* **'a'd k'a:di'da: q'e' da:Lits'anh** it (table) will never be strong again *(Active optative) M,* **'AlAshgahX 'Aw shdu:lihG da'Lits'anh** I hope that table is strong *(Neuter optative) L (but L much prefers the Inceptive optative; Neuter optative definitely not *da'yiLi- or *da'liLi- etc.),* **gAliLits'anh** it (liquor, tea) is strong *M,* **gu:nLits'anh giyah** hard liquor < water which is strong *L,* **dik' gu:nLAts'a:nG** *M,* **dik' gula'LAts'a:nG** it (liquor, tea) is not strong *LM (L rejects M's Active imperfective form),* **dik' gu:nLAts'a:nk'G** it (liquor, tea) is (cust) not strong *LM; with y-anatomical:* **Lich' k'a' ya'Lits'anh** always have strong hands *(Neuter optative) L. Transitive (causative):* **'ALts'an'** make it strong! *L,* **GALts'in'inh** make him strong! *M,* **'ixLts'anh** I'm making you strong *(Active imperfective) L,* **'iqe'xLts'anh** I'll make you strong *M; reflexive: indirect reciprocal with 'iL-lAX 'more than one another':* **'iLlAX da: 'Adqu'LAts'anh** we'll wrestle < we'll make ourselves stronger than one another *L; passive:* **sdits'an'Linh dAXunh** a person who's been made strong *L,* **'u:d q'e' xuqu'dAts'anh** I'll be made strong again there (e.g. at hospital) *L,* **'u:d q'e' 'iqe'dAts'anh** you'll be made strong again there *L.*

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'i:lih-LA-ts'an´ S be emotionally strong, brave, stout-hearted, hard-hearted, unsympathetic, strict, stoic, insensitive to pain (good or bad quality): **'i:lihLits'inhinh** he's hard-, stout-hearted *LM,* **dik' 'i:lihLAts'anhGinh** he's not hard-, stout-hearted *(negative of Active imperfective) L,* **'i:lihqALits'inhinu:shiyahyu:** mean hard-hearted people *(with -shiyah-yu: 'bad pl.') L,* **'ilah qe:lihxLAts'anh** I'll be hard-hearted with you *M,* **qe:lihxLAts'anh** I'll be brave *L,* **Li'q' 'ahnu: sAqe:GAyu: qe:lihqALAts'inhinu:** all those kids will be hard-hearted *L,* **'i:lihGALAts'an'** *LM,* **'i:lihGALAts'a:n'** be brave! *L,* **Lich' 'i:lih'a'LAts'a:n** always be stout-hearted! *(Neuter imperative) L,* **Lich' 'i:lih'a'lAXLAts'a:n** pl. always be stout-hearted! *(Neuter imperfective) L,* **'AlAshgahX 'i:lihGAxLits'anh** I wish I were stout-, hard-hearted (I wish it wouldn't bother me so) *L,* **Lich' k'a' 'i:lih'a'Lits'anh** (*or* **-ts'a:n**) always be stout-hearted *(Neuter optative) L,* **Lich' k'a' 'i:lih'a'lAXLits'anh** (*or* **-ts'a:n**) pl. always be stout-hearted *(Neuter optative) L.*

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l-LA-ts’an´ *(with l-thematic, cf. l-LA-ts'a:nG)* S do not weep easily: **’i:nLits’inhinh** he never cries, is stout-hearted, brave *L.*

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d-LA-ts’an´ *(with d-class-mark for da:na: 'dollar, coin, money' thematized)* S be expensive, S cost: *Rezanov* Тахлица 'Дорого theuer' **diLits’anh** *(not dALi-)* it's expensive *M, nominalized, 'silver': Rezanov* Тахлицу 'Серебро ('silver') Silber', **dik’ da’LAts’anhG** it's not expensive *M,* **dAGALAts’an’L** it's getting expensive *M,* **disLits’an’L** it got expensive *M,* **dik’ dAsLAts’an’LG** it didn't get expensive *M,* **dALAts’a:nk’** it's (cust) expensive *M,* **’AlAshgahX ’Awga’ da’Lits’anh** I hope it costs that much *(correct Neuter optative) M,* **’AlAshgahX diLits’anh** *M,* **’AlAshgahX di’Lits’anh** I hope it's expensive *L (both with incorrect analogical prefixes).*

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’ists’a:nl *(gerundive of LA-ts'an´)* strength: **’ists’a:nlch’iya’** Strength-Master *50.20A (in 50.15A the form occurs as dists'a:nlch'iya', with d- probably analogical from d-LA-ts'an´).*

ts’a:nG *(perhaps to be identified with ts'a:nG~ts'a:nX, or to be analyzed ts'an´-G, thematic negative of ts'an´, cf. ts'a:nG)*

LA-ts’a:nG S (duck) moult: **k’uGALAts’a:nGL** something (duck) is starting to moult *(not the same as k'uGALAch'a:nGL 'something is getting weak') L.*

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LAts’a:nG *(noun, unclassified)* moulting duck *LM. Nominalized Active imperfective of preceding.*

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’u:nahd ’iLAts’a:nG *(month-name) some month L, July A,* < month when they (ducks) moult. *('i-prefix required by 'u:nahd 'in its month'.)*

ts’a:nG~ts’a:nX *(both forms well attested, in free variation; perhaps to be identified with and/or influenced by ts'a:nG and/or ts'a:nX)*

ts’a:nG *(noun) (attested only in Rezanov)* tanned (and depilated?) hide of (land?) mammal: *Rezanov* Цаанкъ 'Ровлугъ' *(not in Radlov, ommited perhaps because of difficulty of Russian gloss).*

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(ti:l-)ts’a:nG~-ts’a:nX *(with optional ti:l-class-mark for S)* S (hide, pelt) be, become tanned: *Rezanov* Тинцахъ 'Лавтакъ' *(not in Radlov, 'dressed hide of sea mammal (e.g. seal); baidarka covering made of dressed sea mammal hide')* **ti:nts’a:nX** tanned hide *(Active imperfective nominalized),* **ti:nsAts’a:nXL** skin has become tanned *L. Transitive (causative) 'S tan O, dress O (skin)':* **’ALts’a:nX** tan it (skin)! *L,* **’Al ti:li:ts’a:nG** tan this (skin)! *L,* **qu’xLts’a:nX** I'll tan it *L,* **ti:lAxLts’a:nG** (*or* **ti:lAxLts’a:nX**) I'm tanning it *L,* **xLts’a:nX** I'm tanning it *L,* **siLts’a:nX**, **ti:lisiLts’a:nGL** I tanned it *L, repetitive:* **Lich’ gah k’uLts’a:nGginh** she keeps tanning (something, skins) every day *L,* **k’uti:lALts’a:nXginh** she keeps tanning (something, skins) *L; passive:* **sdits’a:nXL**, **sLits’a:nXL**, **sdits’a:nGL**, **sLits’a:nGL**, **ti:nsLits’a:nGL** it (skin) has been tanned *L,* **k’udzu:dah ti:nsLits’a:nXL** it (skin) has been tanned well *L,* **k’udzu:dah qu’dAts’a:nG** it (skin) will be tanned well (by someone) *L,* **siya: qu’dAts’a:nG** *(not qu'LA-, and not qu'dAts'a:nX, but the sudden rejection of the stem form ts'a:nX is very unexpected and inconsistent with much of the preceding, elicited on several widely spaced occasions)* it (skin) will be tanned for me *L.*

ts’a:nX *(perhaps to be identified with ts'a:nG~ts'a:nX)*

-ts’a:nX *(noun)* eyebrow: *Rezanov* Кацуахъ *(*у *raised slightly above line, but not an insert)* 'Брови Augenbraunen' **qa:ts’a:nX** our eyebrows, human eyebrows, **sits’a:nX** my eyebrows *LMA.*

ts’an’q’

ts’an’q’ *(noun, unclassified)* soft feces, runny stool (human or animal) *L*: **ts’an’q’At’u’** lots of soft feces *LM,* **ts’an’q’ siLga’L** I have diarrhoea (need to ??? a runny stool) *M.*

ts’u:~ts’uh *(ts'u: in noun, ts'uh in verb; form in verb uncertain, perhaps ts'u~ts'u´)*

ts’u: *(noun)* 1. *(l-class)* breast, teat, nipple *LM*: *Anonymous* Цу 'Женская груди' ('female breasts'), *Rezanov* Ццу 'Груди Brüste, weibliche, **ts’u:’a:’nuw** big breasts *LM,* **ts’u:lAkih** small breasts *M,* **ts’u:lAk’ah sAle’gLinh** she weaned him < she took him away from the breast *L.*

2. *(gl-class, occasionally unclassified)* milk *LM*: *Rezanov* Цуу 'Молоко Milch', *Anonymous* Цую 'Молоко', **ts’u:gu:’nuw** lots of milk *L,* **ts’u:gu:ndzu:** good milk *L,* **ts’u: gu:nsALsi’L** milk soured *L,* **ts’u: gAli:Lts’unhinh** he loves to guzzle milk *L; unclassified* **ts’u:tl’ giyah ’iLqa’ gAdla:siLyahL** I mixed water with milk (baby formula) *L.*

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ts’u:lAwa’ *(noun, unclassified)* ice cream *L. See O-l-L-wa' 'S grind, strain O'; ts'u: here treated as unclassified.*

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ts’u:dALah *(personal name) Minnie Johnson (at Yakutat) LMA. ts'u: treated as unclassified; analysis of -dALah uncertain, perhaps O-d-L-la, causative of O-dA-la 'S drink O' with dA- classifier reinterpreted as d-thematic 'oral', or perhaps unidentified theme with stem la~na, a1, a´1, a´2, or (y)a*: **ts’u:dALah q’i:dah Ge:t’L q’e’ ’anh sLiyahLinh** she's the very reincarnation of Minnie Johnson come back home *L.*

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-ts’u: *(noun) (form uncertain, attested only in Rezanov)* breast, teat: *Rezanov* Кыцъ-у 'Сосокъ, соценъ Zitze' *perhaps* **k’uts’u:** breast, teat *(possessed, with k'u-indefinite as possessor). See also O-ts'uh.*

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O-**ts’uh** S (especially infant) suck O: *with indeterminate O, 'S suckle':* **’its’unhinh** he's suckling *M,* **dik’ ’its’uhGinh** he's not suckling *M,* **’iGAts’uhLinh** he's starting to suck *M,* **’iqe’ts’unhinh** he'll suckle *M,* **’i:nts’unhinh** let him suck *M,* **’i:nts’uh** suck! *(said to baby) M,* **’iGAts’u’** suck! *M (rejected by L, who objects to the use of the Inceptive, not to the analogical stem-form -ts'u'), Rezanov* Кацу 'Сосать saugen', *prefix not identifiable, perhaps qa:ts'u:, possessed noun with qa:- 'our, human' as possessor. Transitive (causative):* **’anh Lts’unhinh** she's nursing him *M,* **sALts’uhLinh** she suckled him *M.*

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dAts’uh’i:’lAwA cow < big udder, *attested in Anonymous only:* Тацу илава 'Скотъ' ('cattle'), *dA-ts'uh 'that which is sucked on', 'i:(n)- l- class, cf. ts'u: above, -'lAwA 'big', which should be -'nAwA, but overcorrected, due to awareness of -n- sounding like Tlingit. Form appears to be* ad hoc *coinage.*

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lAXAdAts’uh *(noun, lX-class)* orange *(same as 'a:ndj) L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective of preceding, with lX-class-mark for O,* < lX-class O is sucked.

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O-**gl-L-ts’uh** *(attested only in Neuter imperfective and with gl-class-mark for O 'liquid', stem perhaps ts'u or ts'u´)* S love to guzzle O, S be constantly guzzling O: **ts’u: gAli:Lts’unhinh** he loves to guzzle milk *L,* **che:y gAli:Lts’unhinh** he loves to guzzle tea *L,* **’AXa: ’Aw gAli:Lts’unhinh** my how he loves to guzzle it (e.g. whiskey, milk)! *L.*

ts’u:x

ts’u:x *(noun, unclassified)* barnacle *LM*: **ts’u:x’a’luw** big barnacle *LM.*

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dA-ts’u:x *(attested only with dl-class-mark for S, tsa: 'rock')* S (rock) become heavily encrusted with barnacles: **dla:sdits’u:xL** it (rock) got full of barnacles *L.*

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L-ts’u:x *(attested only with l-anatomical)* S get lump or cyst on face: **’i:nsALts’u:xL** he got a lump, cyst on his face *L.*

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-d-L-ts’u:x(**-L**) *(noun) (with d-thematic ('oral'?), L-classifier, and optional -L-instrumental)* philtrum, vertically dimpled center of upper lip: **sidALts’u:x**, **sidALts’u:xL** the dimpled center section of my upper lip *L.*

ts’u’ts’

O-**ts’u’ts’-g** *(with -g-repetitive thematized)* S suck O (draw O into mouth by suction): **k’uts’u’ts’ginh** he's sucking something *M,* **’Aw ts’u’ts’ginh** he's sucking it (nipple) *L,* **Lanhd ts’u’ts’ginh** he's smoking (sucking smoke) *L, frequently idiomatic 'S smoke':* **k’u:ts’u’ts’gsh** do you smoke? *L,* **qu’xts’u’ts’g** I'll smoke a cigarette *L, with gl-class-mark for O:* **dAL ’iya: gAlAts’u’ts’g** it (mosquito) is sucking your blood *L; with expanded stem:* **dA’u:dAnuh ’Aw ’i:ts’u:ts’ginh** I give up! let him smoke (them, many cigarettes) *L; Rezanov* Уякыкуцуцке 'Трубка курителная' *(not in Radlov, 'smoking-pipe')* **’uyAq’ k’uts’u’ts’ginh** he's smoking (sucking) something in it.

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giyah gAlAts’u’ts’g *(noun)* boat pump < it sucks water *L.*

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’uyAq’ gulAdAts’u’ts’ *(noun)* sucking-tube: *Galushia Nelson* ùyə́q’əgə̀líɒ̀ìt’sə̀t’s *or* úyə́q’ùgùlíɒ̀ètsù’ts *BSdL 546. Nominalization of passive Active imperfective with gl-class-mark for O,* < in it liquid is sucked.

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sa’ GAdAts’u’ts’g *(noun, unclassified)* suckerfish *M (Gd-thematic with ? at the mouth).*

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d-LA-ts’u’ts’(**-g**) *(with d-thematic 'oral, noise' and usually with -g-repetitive)* 1. S make sucking sound, squeaking sound: **dALAts’u’ts’g** it's making a hissing sucking sound *L,* it (e.g. door) is squeaking *LMA,* **qu’dALAts’u’ts’g** it'll squeak *A,* **disLits’u’ts’gL** it squeaked *A,* **disLits’u’ts’L** it (weasel) made its (characteristic) noise *(non-repetitive) L,* **’e’lAwah dALAts’u’ts’g** weasel is making its (characteristic) sound *L; with expanded stem:* **dALAts’u:ts’g** it makes a kissing sucking sound *(imitated by means of an ingressive glottalized bilabial fricative) 21a.11L,* it (door) is squeaking *L,* sucking squeaking sound *A.*

2. *With o-X 'in (punctual) contact with o',* S adhere to o by suction: *attested mainly in Neuter and Active perfectives, with and without -g-repetitive:* **’iya:X diLits’u’ts’L** it's stuck to your hand *L,* **siqi:da:X disLits’u’ts’gL** it stuck to my foot *L,* **si:nAX disLits’u’ts’gL** it stuck to my face *L,* **siqi:da:q’ da:X disLits’u’ts’gL** it stuck (to a surface) on my foot *L, indirect*

reciprocal: **'iLX diLits'u'ts'gL** they're stuck together (by suction) *L; with expanded stem:* **da:X diLits'u:ts'L** it's stuck on something (indeterminate o), it adheres *L.*

,

O-**d-L-ts'u'ts'-g** *(semantically irregular causative of d-LA-ts'u'ts'-g)* S call O (weasel, with kissing sucking sound): **di:Lts'u'ts'g** call a weasel! *L.*

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da:X dALAts'u'ts'g *(noun)* bloodsucker, leech *M,* barnacle; anything that adheres like a leech or a suction-cup *L. (Nominalized Active perfective of d-LA-ts'u'ts'-g 2. above with indeterminate o of o-X).*

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disLits'u'ts'Lga' 'i:nLilinhinh *Eyaks' nickname for a certain White? (not Eyak) man* < suckerface *L.*

sdi:wAnn

sdi:wAnn *(personal name) man's name, same as* ***qAyuh dAqeh*** *LA.*

sla:wa:dih *(loan from Russian слава- 'glory', probably through Chugach, 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.*

sid *(expanded se:d; perhaps reduced form of sahd2)*

-**sid** pl. S (generally longitudinal, of definite and/or unchanging length) extend *(for sg. S see 'a '~'a', now used also for pl. S, especially with indirect reciprocal)*: **'a:nch'ahd 'i:sid** they (sticks) extend from here *L,* **ta: 'u:ch' 'i:sid** roads reach there *L,* **ta: 'a:nch'ahd sAsidL** roads start (have come to extend) from here *L,* **ta: 'u:dAX sAsidL** roads go by there *L; with class-marks for S:* **ya'X di:sid** they (boards) stick up *L,* **sich' di:sid** they (boards) extend towards me *L,* **sik'ahch' 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,* **k'ugu:nt'u' 'u:dAX gAli:sid** many streams run by there *L,* **'Awlu' gAli:sid** it (water) runs through several holes in it *L,* **'a:nch'ahd qi:li:sid** ropes extend from here *L,* **'u:dAX yAX 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 Xd-class-mark (see also Xd-sid with Xd-thematic):* **'Awta:s XAdi:sid** they (logs) lie across it (creek) *L,* **'u:da' XAdi:sid** they (logs) extend thither *L,* **tl'i:' 'uch' ya'X qid qAXAdi:sidinu:** bear-spears point up at them *34.107L, with gd-anatomical 'rump', partly thematized:* **ya:Xtl'Aqa' gAdi:sid** they (things) are upside-down *L, with l-anatomical:* **'AwXahd qa' qi:nsidinu:** their (pl.) heads are sticking up from behind it (wall) *L; with perambulative:* **'AXa: ta: 'u:dAX yAX GAdAsidL** my how roads are starting to extend all about there! *L,* **yAX qu'dAsid** they (roads) will extend in all directions *M,* **yAX didisidL** they (boards) lie (extend) all about *L,* **'a:n 'u:dAX yAX gu:nsdisidL** rivers (with shifting beds) run (have come to extend) about by there *L; indirect reciprocal:* **'iLga' 'idisid** they're the same length < they extend like each ther *(same as 'iLga' 'idi'ah, see also L-sid) L,* **'iLu' dAsid** they're linked together < they extend through each other *(Active imperfective, 'iL-lu') L,* **'iLqa' XAdidisid** dovetailed corner of log cabin < they (logs) extend to between each other **'iLtsin'da' XAdidisid** they (logs) are end to end *L. Transitive (causative):* **'u:ch' qu'xLsid** I'll stretch them (make them reach) towards there *M,* **'Aw shahG 'Awa: 'uXa:n' yAX 'i:Lsidwahd** so that he might make their slime run down off them (fish) *M,* **'Awqa'X 'ALsid** link them! < make them extend amongt them! *L; indirect reciprocal:* **'iLqa'X qu'xLsid** I'll link them together *L,* **'iLtsin'da' XAdAGALsid** set them (logs) end to end! *L,* **'iLka' XAdi:Lsid** set them (logs)

side by side! *L,* **'iLka'shuh 'i:nsALsidL** did you lay them (paddles) side by side? *L; passive:* **tl'i: 'uch' ya'X qid qAXAdidisidinu:** bearspears have been set pointing up at them *L.*

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'uni:k' 'Awa: qa' qi:sid *(noun, unclassified)* razor-clams *(same as dji:da:dAG)* < their pl. noses extend up out *L.*

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'iLqa'X (qA)dAsid *(noun, qi:l-class or unclassified)* chain: *Rezanov* Итлекатесыть 'Цѣпочка kleine Kette, Uhrkette' **'iLqa'X qAdAsid** chain < they're linked together, they extend amongst each other *L, Rezanov* Итляхатесетлюга 'Цѣпь Kette (grosse K.)' **'iLqa'X qAdisid-luw…** big chain *(unclassified),* **'iLqa'X dAsidqi:'nuw** *(uncertain)* big chain *L. Nominalized Neuter (Rezanov) and Active (L) imperfectives, indirect reciprocal, optional q-pluralizer.*

,

'iLu' dAse:d *(personal name) Old Man Dude LMA, Eyak man S, Spiridon 1927 Cordova Church record, Galushia Nelson* tɬʊ'ɒɪsät *BSdL Genealogical Table. Nominalized Active imperfective with expanded stem, indirect reciprocal with 'iL-lu' 'through (holes in) each other', which A interprets 'it is bent loop-like into a hook' and L 'linked together',* < plural extend through (holes in) each other.

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Xd-sid pl. S (of definite length) extend *(meaning not clearly distinguished from that of -sid; used with S definitely not Xd-class; the Xd-thematic is probably the combined result of several influences: Xd-class-mark for S (frequently e.g. 'logs'), Xd-thematic 'line' and X-thematic with q-pluralizer, also frequent in themes with -sid)*: **'a:nch'ahd XAdi:sid** they (sticks, unclassified) extend from here *L,* **qid XAdi:sid** they (sticks) extend beyond edge, down *L, with ya' 'completely, to a state of (vertical) rest':* **ya' qAXAdi:sid** they (trees, d-class) are high *(Neuter imperfective) L,* **ya' qAXAdAsid** they (sticks) stick up *(Active imperfective, normal with q-X-thematic) L.*

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Xdl-sid *attested only with ya'X 'up', perhaps to be corrected to ya' 'vertical',* pl. S extend upward: **ya'X XAdli:sid** they stick up *L (cf. following).*

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Gdl-sid *attested only with ya' 'completely, to a state of (vertical) rest',* pl. S be high: **ya' GAdli:sid** they're tall, high *M (L uncertain, cf. preceding).*

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'i-gdl-sid *(with gdl-thematic 'aquatic length', including gl-class-mark 'liquid') with yAX 'downward'*: **'u:d yAX 'igAdli:sid** several waterfalls are there *L.*

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L-sid *(L-classifier with comparative postpositional phrase o-ga' 'like o', apparently optional with themes with -sid, cf. indirect reciprocals under -sid)* pl. S extend comparatively: *indirect reciprocal:* **'iLga' 'iLisid** they're the same length < they extend like each other *(same as 'iLga' 'iLi'ah) L.*

sidgah *(loan from Tlingit shi:-t'ka; sidkA-, shi:dkA- L)*

sidgah *(place-name) Sitka*: **sidgahch'ahd** from Sitka *28.135A.*

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sidgahda:d *68.124A,* **sidkAda:d**, **shi:dkAda:d** *(place-name) area of Sitka L.*

,

sidgahdAlahGAyu: Sitka-people *68.83A.*

sit' *(never *sAt' L; expanded se:t')*

LA-sit'-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized)* S shiver, shudder, shake (from cold): **xLAsit'** I'm shivering, shuddering (from cold) *LM,* my teeth are chattering *M,* **GAxLAsit'gL** I'm getting shaky (from cold) *L,* **xLAse:t'gk'** I (cust) shiver *LM; with Xu:ndl-anatomical 'teeth':* **siXu:nLAyah siya: Xu:ndla:xLAsit'g** my teeth are chattering *L.*

sits' *(never *sAts' L)*

-sits' *(noun, ti:l-class)* skin (of fish): **k'usits'** (fish) skin *LMS, 65.32, 32A,* **'usits'** its skin (of fish) *L,* **k'usits'ti:'nuw** big fish skin *L,* **k'usits' 'u:d ti:nsAtahL** *(not -'ahL)* a fish skin is there *L,* **k'usits' sich' ti:li:ta'** *(not -'a')* give me a fish skin! *L.*

sik' *(expanded si:k', uncertain)*

d-L-sik' *(with d-thematic 'oral, noise')* S hiccough, S have hiccoughs: *Rezanov* Тохльсыкъ 'Икать schlucken, Aufstossen haben' **duxLsik'** I'm hiccoughing, I have the hiccoughs *LMA,* **qu'di:xLsik'** I'll get hiccoughs *LM,* **disiLsik'L** I hiccoughed *A,* **dAxLsi:k'k'** I (cust) hiccough *L,* **dALsi:k'k'inh** he (cust) hiccoughs *L (now uncertain).*

silke:d *(so read from only attestation in BSdL, probably to be identified as loan from Tlingit sɑnkèd 'dancing apron', cf. Tlingit kɑsán 'his waist', x̱'ʋskèd 'dancing leggings', dux̱'ùs 'his foot, leg', Eyak da'ke:d~da:ke:d)*

silke:d *(noun, perhaps ti:l-class)* goatskin shield, *attested only from Galushia Nelson* tsílqà·t *or* tsílqàt *or* (tsílkàt) '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 inyáⁿ·x̱á'tsi 555 for 'iya:nXa' Lsih, and the converse is fairly frequent, see qàtɬását'ɬ 539, gàɬésèt'ɬ 289, 539, 559 for GALAtsAtl'~GALAtsitl', t'ɬiⁿ sìⁿtàiyà· 549 for tl'i:ntsin'da'ya', sa' for tsa' 259, 558), because Tlingit s- > Eyak ts- would be unique, and none of the Eyak informants recognized the form, which was proposed to them only as tsilke:d, Tlingit -A- > Eyak -i- and Tlingit -n- > Eyak -l- are normal.*

siyAq'~siya'q'~sa'q' *(form uncertain: siyAq' L 6 times, M 3 times, 1 twice, siya'q' L 4 times, M once, sa'q' L 4 times, A once; perhaps influenced by sik'; expanded siye:k' LM, implying siyAq')*

(d-)L-siyAq'~-siya'q'~-sa'q' *(with d-thematic 'oral, noise', perhaps optional and/or due to influence of d-L-sik')* S belch: **dAxLsiyAq'**, **dAxLsiya'q'** *L,* **xLsa'q'** *A,* **duxLsiyAq'** I'm belching *LMA,* **dALsiyAq'**, **dALsiya'q'** it's belching *L,* **dALsiya'q'** *(not -siyAq')* it's belching *M,* **qu'xLsa'q'** *L,* **qu'di:xLsiyAq'** I'll belch *M,* **'ALsa'q'**, **dAGALsa'q'**, **di:LsiyAq'**, **di:Lsiya'q'** *L,* **da:LsiyAq'** belch! *LM,* **siLsa'q'L**, **disiLsiya'q'L**, **disiLsiyAq'L** I belched *M,* **sALsiyAq'Linh** he belched *A,* **dAxLsiye:q'k'** I (cust) belch *LM. (Note: infants were not belched 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 customary, 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 kill pl. O, S hunt pl. O (game, successfully): *Active imperfective:* **-siyuh** *28.94A, Inceptive imperfective:* **-siyuh** *53.4, 8L,* **lAXa: k'uqu'wAsiyuh** will hunt (kill pl. something, game) for you pl. *20.56A,* **qu'qi:xsiyuh** I'll kill them *L,* **dik' qu'qi:xsiyuhG** I won't kill them *L,* **lAXiqe'xsiyuh** I'll kill you pl. *L,* **'Awa: k'uqu'xsiyuh** I'll kill some of them *L (could also be interpreted 'I'll kill some things for them'),* **qu'xsiyuhinu:** I'll kill them *LA, Active perfective:* **-suhL** *7.22, 22, 25.178, 179, 184, 28.128, 128, 128 (negative), 129A, 42.23L, 49.32, 33, 33, 68A, 55.12L,* **-siyuhL** *53.9L,* **'ahnu:shuhnu: qAsAsuhL** did he kill them?, did they kill them? *M,* **qAsAsuhLinu:shuhnu:** did you kill them? *M,* **qAsisuhL**, **sisuhLinu:** *L,* **sisiyuhL**, **sisiyuhLinu:** I killed them *A, Inceptive perfective:* **qAGi:su:L** (*or* **-siyu:L**) you're killing them *L,* **GAxsiyu:Linu:** *(or* **-siyuhL** *or* **-si:L**, *but first form apparently preferred)* I'm killing them *A, Active imperative:* **'Asiyuhinu:** kill them! *L (uncertain), A, Inceptive imperative:* **qAGASiyu'** kill them! *L, customary:* **-si:k'** *9.121, 121, 24.82, 83, 25.159 (Inceptive), 166 (negative), 166, 171, 190 (Inceptive), 193, 28.19A,* **k'usi:k'inh** *M,* **k'usiyu:k'inh** he (cust) kills people *L,* **-si:yu:k'** *24.7, 25.164 (Inceptive), 37b.35A, repetitive:* **lAXa: k'uqa'siyuhg** will hunt (kill some things) for you pl. *20.56.A (out of context could also be interpreted 'will kill some of you'),* **'Aw Lu:ndiyahsluw siyuhginu: q'A'ahnu:** they're the ones the giant rat had been killing *28.87A; reciprocal: Inceptive imperfective: 61.101A (-siyinhinu:, with analogical umlaut),* **'iLu' qu'dAsuhinu:** *M,* **'iLu' qu'dAsiyuhinu:** they'll kill each other *L, 61.100A,* **'iLu' da: qu'dAsiyuh** we'll kill each other *L, Active imperfective:* **'iLu' dAsiyuhinu:** they're killing each other *L, Active perfective:* **'iLu' k'usdisuhL** some people killed each other *M,* **'iLu' sdisuhLinu:** they killed each other *M, Inceptive perfective:* **'iLu' GAdAsuhLinu:** *M (twice),* **'iLu' GAdAsiyu:L** they're killing each other *L, repetitive:* **'iLu' dAsi:ginu:**, **'iLu' dAsiyuhginu:** *(latter preferred)* they keep killing each other *L; passive: Active imperfective:* **-siyuh** *11.6A, Inceptive imperfective:* **-siyuh** *28.110A,* **lAXiqe'dAsiyuh** you pl. will get killed *L, Active perfective:* **-suhL** *10.67, 25.131A, 34.73M,* **qa: sdisuhL** we got killed *M,* **sdisuhL**, **sdisuhLinu:** they got killed *L.*

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qa: siyuhinu: *(noun)* murderers < they kill us, people *L.*

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ya:X O-**X-siyu~-su**(**~etc.**) *(X-thematic with ya:X 'destruction')* S kill O all off, S massacre O: **ya:X qu'Xi:suhinu:** he'll kill them all *LM,* **'ahnu: ya:X XAsAsuhL** she massacred them *49.64A.* **ya:X XAsAsuhLinu:** he killed them all *L,* **ya:X XAGAsu:Linu:** (*or* **-suhL**) he's killing them all *M,* **ya:X XAGAsu'inu:** *M,* **ya:X XAGAsiyu'inu:** kill them all! *L; reciprocal:* **'iLu' ya:X XAGAdAsiyuhLnu:** *(or* **-su:Linu:**, *former preferred)* they're killing each other all off *L; passive:* **ya:X XAsdisuhLinu:** they all were killed *M.*

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o-**X** O-**L-siyu~-su**(**~etc.**) *(L-classifier with o-X 'by means of o')* S kill pl. O by means of o: **xut'LX siLsiyuhLinu:** I killed them with a gun *L,* **tsa:dli:nAX siLsiyuhLinu:** I killed them with a rock *L; passive:* **tsa:dli:nAX lAXiqe'dAsiyuh** you pl. will get killed with a rock *L,* **tsa:dli:nAX sLisuhLinu:** they got killed with a rock *L.*

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'uX k'uLsiyuhyu: *(noun, unclassified)* weapons, hunting-gear *L. Nominalization of preceding, Active imperfective, with k'u-indefinite S or O and -yu: 'plural'; 'utl' da: k'usiyu:k' 'that which we (cust) kill things with' 37b.35A is a similar nominalization, but with o-tl' 'with o' instead of the probably more standard o-X. See also she for similar nominalizations.*

siyah *(possible stem attested only in a personal name)*

'uXa'XAsiyah *(personal name) Johnny MacIntyre's sister, murdered by her white husband tɔkuw John L, BSdL* əχa'χasíyùʔ, **'uXA'XAshiyah** *"bad things with her side" A, attempt at Eyak interpretation of Eyak 'u-Xa'-X(-)A- '(movement?) in close relation with her' and stem -siyah of unknown meaning.*

sAde:nn

sAde:nn *(personal name) Sedan Thomas, brother of Johnny Stevens, raised by q'e:dahd at Katalla L.*

sAxa:~sAxwa: *(from "Russian" sAxa:lga:)*

sAxa: *M,* **sAxwa:** *L (personal name)* Mike Duval (died Cordova, September 5, 1953) *LM,* səxa·q' *in BSdL (once quoted as Tlingit name).*

sAwa:g *(possibly from Russian соба́ка 'dog')*

sAwa:g *(personal name) Mike Sewak LM.*

sAnndi: *(loan from English 'Sunday', perhaps through Chinook Jargon; cf. Tlingit sándiχ'ag 'weekdays' ('between Sundays'))*

sAnndi:- *(noun, unclassified) perhaps not naturalized as 'Sunday', see 61.37A, but clearly naturalized as o of o-qa'-d '(nominalization of) between o' in* **sAnndi:qa'd** *(noun, unclassified)* week *LM,* **LinhGih sAndi:qa'd** one week *62.15G.*

sAnng~sAnAg *(loan from Tlingit (Sampson Harry) sɑng 'silk', from English 'silk', perhaps directly, or through Chinook Jargon, W. Soboleff sıng)*

sAnng~sAnAg *(noun, unclassified)* silk: **sAnng** silk *L,* **sAnAg'At'u'** lots of silk *LM.*

si´

L-si´ S rot, spoil, putrefy, become foul: **GALsi'**, **'ALsi'** rot! *L,* **qa'Lsih**, **qu'wALsih** it'll rot *L,* **dik' qa'LsihG**, **dik' qu'wALsihG** *(former preferred in negative)* it won't rot *L,* **'i:Lsih**, **Gi:Lsih** let it rot *L, Rezanov* Сальцыль 'Кисло sauer' **sALsi'L** it rotted, is rotten (and offensive-smelling) *LM,* **te'ya' sALsi'L da:X gAmAGga' sAt'u'L** fish rotted so it got like mud *L,* **'i:Lsi'L** it's spoiled *L,* **dik' 'a'Lsi'LG** it's not spoiled *L (Neuter perfectives),* **GALsi'L** it's getting rotten, starting to rot *L,* **'ALsi:k'** it (cust) spoils *LM, Active imperfective, often used in curses and adjectivally: Galushia Nelson* inyaⁿ·xá'tsi 'your mother has a rotten vagina' *BSdL 555* **'iya:nXa'**

Lsih it is rotting "on" your mother *(curse) L,* **Xa:'d Lsihshiyah** rotten lousy weather! < outside it's rotting-bad *(with suffixed adjective -shiyah 'bad') L,* **dAXunhiLsih** nasty person! *(with L-sih suffixed as adjective) L,* **chi'shdug dAXunhiLsih da' suhgLdah dAleh** that rotten guy (drunk) sure gives one a pain! *L; with class-marks for S:* **guliLsi:k'** it (urine) (cust) sours *33.13A,* **ts'u: gu:nsALsi'L** milk soured *L. Transitive (causative):* **te'ya' GALsi'**, **te'ya' 'ALsi'** *(former preferred)* make fish rot! *L; passive:* **sLisi'L** fish that has been made to rot *L.*

,

sALsi'L *(noun, unclassified)* rotten fish *(buried in ground, eaten) L, 58.3L. Nominalized Active perfective.*

,

sALsi'L'Akih *dog's name* < little foul one *A.*

,

'i:nLsih *(noun, probably l-class)* rotten fish-heads *(eaten, same as 'i:nLch'iya'k') L. Nominalized Active imperfective with l-anatomical 'head' for S.*

,

di:ya'tl' 'i:Lsih *(noun, unclassified)* salt-fish *L. di:ya'tl' 'with salt', 'i:Lsih 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,* **gAsi:kih gah k'u:Leh** there's a little daylight *L,* **gusi:kih ya:n' di:'yahL** it's coming down (raining) a little *S,* **gusi:kih tl'ehd 'Ata:** 'leave it (door) slightly open! *L,* **gusi:kih 'u'sLitsahL** it became somewhat visible *L,* **gusi:kih qid k'uq'Ats'g** he keeps biting off little pieces *L,* **gusi:kih Lts'a'tl'g** it's dripping slightly *M,* **gusi:kih gAli:'ah** there's a slight flow, trickle *M.*

si:nd~si:nt' *(some uncertainty, both forms apparently well attested, si:nd from LMA in elicitation, si:nt' from LM in elicitation and A in text; but L later rejects si:nt' in favor of si:nd, and transcripton by Li from Scar and/or Minnie Stevens in notebook and file-slip implies si:nd)*

-dl-si:nd~-si:nt' *(noun, with dl-thematic 'series'?)* ribs, ribs together with spine: **'udla:si:nt'** its spine and ribs, ribcage (including meat) *37b.25A, Rezanov* Катлясынтъ 'Ребро Rippe, Seite' *(in Rezanov also with 'Бокъ', but crossed out)* **qa:dla:si:nd** (*or* **-t'**) our, human ribs, **sidla:si:nt'** *M,* **sidla:si:nd** my ribs *LMA,* **k'udla:si:nt'** ribs (of person, animal, canoe) *L.*

si:ns

si:ns *(noun, unclassified)* mold *LM*: **si:ns'At'u'** lots of mold *L.*

,

lisda:q'AGi'si:ns *(noun)* beard lichen or moss, usnea *(gray tree fungus, hangs in bunches, same as lisgusi:nk') L. lis-d-q' 'on tree', Gi'-thematic with o-q'.*

,

g-si:ns *(noun, probably g-class, with g-class-mark 'filament-like' thematized)* gray hair: *Rezanov* Куссысъ 'Сѣдой grau(haarig)' **gusi:ns** a gray hair *L.*

,

dA-si:ns S get moldy: **sdisi:nsL** it got moldy *L, 41.2, 4L (nominalized, 'moldy food'),* **qu'dAsi:ns** it'll get moldy *LM,* **GAdAsi:nsL** it's getting moldy *L,* **dAsi:nsk'** *L,* **'AdAsi:nsk'** it (cust) gets

moldy *65.70A,* **dik' 'AdAsi:nsk'G** it (cust) doesn't get moldy *65.26A; with l-anatomical 'head':* **lAGAdAsi:nsLinh** his hair is turning white *L,* **lAGAxdAsi:nsL** I'm gettin gray-haired *L,* **qu'i:ndAsi:ns** you'll get gray-haired *M,* **'i:nxsdisi:nsL** I got gray-haired *L. Susceptive Neuter:* **Lisi:nsX** it gets moldy easily *L.*

,

sdisi:nsLyAXd gush *(place-name) in Yakutat area* < hills under moldy thing *G (Harrington).*

si:nk' *(earlier siq', phonologically ungrammatical, and si:q' transcribed from L and A, but S and later L fairly certain of si:nk'; sik' implied by transcription by Harrington from G; vowel -i:n- conceivably influenced by si:ns)*

-g-si:nk' *(noun, probably with g-class-mark 'filament-like' thematized, attested only as second element in compound with lis 'tree, spruce')* **lisgusi:nk'** usnea, beard moss or lichen < gray hairlike moss that hangs in bunches from spruce *LS, same as lisda:q'AGi'si:ns L, Harrington* lɪskɯssík' *(implying lisgusik')* 'moss or lichen hanging on spruce, poultice for eyes, usnea' *G.*

si:nq's *(earlier si:nq' rejected in favor of si:nq's, but cf. Gi:nq's, rom which there may be some influence)*

d-dA-si:nq's-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized, d-thematic 'oral, noise')* S (dog) whimper, whine: **disdisi:nq'sgL** it (dog) whimpered, whined *L (earlier stem-form in dAdAsi:nq' 'it (dog) is whimpering, whining' L later rejected by L).*

sinh1 *(invariable, except for a few analogical forms in Inceptive perfective and Inceptive imperative; perhaps to be identified with sinh2, semantic connection not clear)*

-sinh 1. (animate) S die: *Active perfective, 'S died, S be 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* Сысынль 'Умеръ gestorben', *Galushia Nelson* səsɪⁿtɬ 'dead' *BSdL 554* **sAsinhL** it's dead, it died *L, Rezanov* Сысынтли 'Мертвой todt', Сысынтли 'Дїаволъ Teufel' *(cf. Wrangell Камеленину k'a:dih yiLinhinu:)* **sAsinhLinh** he died, he's dead *M,* **dik' 'AssinhLG** it's not dead, it didn't die *L,* **k'e:dunh sAsinhL** how did he die? *M,* **k'usAsinhL** someone died *L,* **k'ugu:nt'u'inu: sAsinhL** many people died *28.106A,* **Li'q' dAXunhyu: sAsinhL** all the people have died *67.11G,* **Li'q' sAsinhLinu:** they're all dead *67.14G,* **dAqi:kih, sAsinhLinu:** all gone, they're dead *67.15G,* **qAsAsinhLinu:** they both died *68.122A,* **qAsAsinhL** they (dogs) died, are dead *L,* **dik' qAssinhLG** they didn't die *L,* **'Awa: k'uqAsAsinhL** some of them died *L, with o-Xa' '"on" o (in intimate relation with o':* **'anhXa' sAsinhLlehd** because it had died on her *8.18A,* **'uma: 'uXa' sAsinhLch'ahd** after their mother died on them *20.97A,* **siXa' sAsinhL** it (pet) died on me *L, with o-Xahd 'away from o, leaving o':* **'uma: 'uXahd sAsinhL** their mother had died from them *20.94A,* **'ahnu: siXahd sAsinhLinu:** those who have died from me, leaving me *70.10A, in other syntactic constructions:* **dAdu:d sAsinhL** anyone who died *28.116A,* **'ulAX 'isL'anhLinh sAsinhLGdALyAX** *(should be 'AssinhLG-?)* I saw him before he died *M,* **wAX k'u'Lilinhinh sisinhL** he thinks I'm dead *L, Galushia Nelson* sàsíⁿtɬìnù γʷúχàu *or* sàsíⁿtɬìnɔ̀ γʷúχàu 'ghost ("dead-person picture") *BSdL 552* **sAsinhLinu:wAXa:w** dead people's souls, images, **sAsinhLinu:ya' ye:t'** water hemlock (Cicuta) < dead people's wild celery *(poisonous?) L, Neuter perfective, 'S be dead': Rezanov* Коусъинль *(with ль written over ъ)* 'Умереть sterben' **k'usinhL** someone, something is dead *(perhaps first qu'wAsinh 'it is going to die'),* **'i:sinhL** it's dead *M,* **'ixisinhL** I'm dead *L,* **dik' 'a'xsinhLG** I'm not dead *L,* **qi:sinhL** they're dead *(surprising) L,* **dik' qa'sinhLG** they're not dead *(surprising) L,* **'i:sinhL da:X k'usALe'L** it was born dead,

stillborn *M; Inceptive perfective:* **GuxsinhL** I'm dying *L,* **Gi:sinhL** you're dying *L,* **GAxsi:nL** (*or* **-sinhL**) *(former analogical)* I'm dying *M,* **qAGAsi:nL** *(analogical)* they're dying *M, Anonymous and Baranov* Касылль 'Умиратъ' ('they're dying') **GAsinhL** it's dying *L (four times), M,* she's dying *61.106A,* **GAsinhLinh** he's dying *LA,* **'uch' Xa'dihch' qu'xinhinh GAsinhLGdALyAX** I'll visit him before he dies *M,* **ya'Xu: qa' qu'yiyah di:yAX GAxsi:nLG da:X** *(analogical stem-form)* don't go away before I die (while I'm not yet dead) *L,* **GAxsinhLGdAwa:** before I die *L; negative Active imperfective, 'S doesn't die' (in repeated attempts to kill it): 53.11, 16L; Inceptive imperfective:* **qi' qu'xsinh da:X qu'xsinh** when I die I'll die *(resignedly) 23.154fnA,* **qa'sinhinh** he was going to die *47a.2L,* he'll die *L,* **qa'sinh**, **qu'wAsinh** it'll die *M,* **di'wAX dAxa:gLdAwa: qa'sinhinh** he'll work til he dies < he'll die still working *L,* **dik' qa'sinhG** (**-si:nG** *"sounds funny"*) it won't die *L,* **dik' qu'xsi:nG** (*or* **-sinhG**) I won't die *M,* **ya'Xu:shgahX qa'sinhinh** let him not die *L,* **Li'q' qu'qi:sinh**, **Li'q' qAqa'sinh** *(former preferred)* they'll all die *L; Active optative:* **'i:sinhwahd** so they'd die *49.94A,* **da: qa'Lwa'ts'inh qi' 'i:sinhch'** we'll whip him to death (til he dies) *53.33A,* **qi' 'ixisinhch' qu'xdAxa:gL** I'll work till I die *L,* **q' 'ixisinhch' 'ilah qe'qe'xle'** I'll love you till I die *L,* **qi' 'i:sinhch' silah qe'lin'inh** he loved me till he died *L,* **'i:sinhinh** let him die *L,* **'ixisinh** I wish I were dead *L,* **qa:lisinh** *(not qa:yi-)* let them die *L,* **Li'q' da: qa:lisinh** let's all die *L,* **da: 'i:sinh** let's die *L; Inceptive optative:* **Gi:sinhinh** let him die *L,* **GAxisinh** I wish I were dead *L; Inceptive imperative:* **GAsin'** *(analogical stem-form)* die! *L; Active conditional:* **'isinh da:X** before he dies, just as he's about to die *L; Inceptive conditional:* **GAxsinh da:X** if I die, when I die *47b.17M, 47c.7L,* **Gi:sinh da:X** if you die, when you die *51.18A; Inceptive hortatory subjunctive:* **GAsinhXinh** let him die! *L; customary:* **'Asi:nk'** it (cust) dies *LM; with d-class-mark for S:* **dAsAsinhL** it (tree) died *L (see La'q', Lid~LAd, usually used for plants). Transitive (causative): reflexive, 'S play dead':* **'AdsLisinhL** it's playing dead *L,* **GAdAgiL 'AdsLisinhL** sun is eclipsed < sun is playing dead *(Minnie Steven said) L.*

2. S (inanimate) stop, cease to function: **'Aw *battery*dig 'Awa: sAsinhL** its battery also died *60.47A,* **'Aw le:diyuh sAsinhL** the radio went on the blink *L,* **silAXahd xu:siya' yAda'q' dAxa'ch' sAsinhL** I thought my watch had stopped *L.*

,

sAsinhLinu:ya' XAwa: *(noun)* butterfly *A,* moth *(not 'butterfly') M* < dead people's dog. *(Cf. 'Anik'ehdah 'i:t'eh under 'Anik'eh~'AnAk'eh~'Anik'ih~'AnAk'ih.)*

,

sAsinhLinu:ya' la'mahd *(noun, lX-class)* berry species, *not to be eaten* < dead people's berries *LM, perhaps* watermelonberry, cucumber root (Streptopus amplexifolius), *also other berries which were not to be eaten, see ch'e:yu', ch'u:q'.*

,

O-**L-sinh** *(semantically irregular causative cf. -sinh)* S put O in a deep sleep, S anaesthetize O: **GALsin'inh**, **'ALsinhinh** put him in a deep sleep! *L,* **da: Gi:Lsinhinh**, **da: 'i:Lsinhinh** let's put him in a deep sleep *L,* **'ixiLsinhinh** let me put him in deep sleep *L,* **qu'xLsinhinh** I'll put him in a deep sleep *L,* **sALsinhLinh** he put him in a deep sleep (anaesthesia) *L,* **xusALsinhL** he anaesthetized me *L; passive:* **sLisinhLinh**, **sdisinhLinh** he's been anaesthetized, put into a deep sleep *L,* **dik' 'AsdAsinhLGinh** he hasn't been put in a deep sleep *L,* **GAsAsinhLinh** he's being put into a deep sleep, being anaesthetized *L, Neuter perfective:* **'idisinhLinh** he's been put into a deep sleep, he's anaesthetized *L,* **dik' 'a'dAsinhLGinh** he's not anaesthetized *L.*

sinh2 *(perhaps to be identified with sinh1, semantic connection not clear)*

o-**sinh** *(postposition) (attested with zero, -d, -da', -X, and -ch' finals)* (motion to position) hidden behind o: **'usinh sahL** it went in hiding being it *L,* **k'usinh sahL** it hid being something (specific) *L,* **dAsinh sahL** it hid (behind indeterminate o) *L,* **k'usinh sa'yahL** it got hidden

behind something *L,* **tsa:dla:sinh** hidden behind arock *L,* **'Aw 'itl'a:nsinh sLi'ahL** sun went down (hidden) being that mountain *L,* **q'ahsXAdAsinh sLi'ahL** sun went out of sight behind the clouds *L, with -d final 'at rest, nominalization':* **'usinhd sAdahL** it sat, stayed hidden behind it *L,* **k'usinhd sAdahL** it's sitting behind something *L,* **'itl'lAsinhd** behind a mountain *M,* ɔsɪⁿntkatła *BSdL Genealogical Table* **'usinhd k'u:Leh** *name of Gus Nelson* < a place to hide behind him exists *LM,* **GALsinhd ya:** the one (of a series) hidden behind *L, with -X final 'motion within':* **q'ahsXAdAsinhX** (moving hidden, flying) behind, above the clouds *L,* **k'usinhX sAtahL** it's hidden (somewhere?) behind something *L,* **k'usinhX Ga:Linh** he's going, going along hidden behind something *L, with -da' final 'arrival at':* **k'usinhda' sahL** it went (and arrived) in hiding behind something *L, with -ch' final 'continuous motion':* **k'usinhch' sahL** it went (started off to) hiding behind something *L,* **sinhch' 'Aw GAdAta:Linh** he's hiding it behind himself *L (indirect reflexive).*

,

'usinhd k'u:Leh *(personal name) Gus Nelson (drowned in Eyak Lake, May, 7 1945)* < something is behind him/it *LM (u apparently on slip instead of u: implies Active imperfective instead of Neuter imperfecive, but -Le' expected for Active imperfective rather than -Leh), BSdL* ɔsɪⁿhtkatła.

,

'isinhd k'u:Le: *(personal name) Gus Nelson (George Johnson's mother's brother), or Annie George from Katalla* < something is (hidden) behind you *A XIII.45. Probably confused with preceding.*

,

o-**lX-sinh** *(postposition) (with lX-anatomical 'eyes', attested with zero and -d finals)* hidden from o's view: *Rezanov* Селягасынъ 'Застишъ einholen, erreichen' (mistranslation of Russian, 'you're blocking my view of it, standing my way') **silAXAsinh** out of my view, *with -d final 'at rest, nominalization':* **silAXAsinhd yiLeh** it's hidden from my sight *L.*

,

dl-sinh *(preverb, or locative, with dl-thematic, cf. dl-'anh, attested with zero and -d finals)* in hiding, into den, lair, cave, hole, burrow: **dla:sinh** in hiding, behind, under *M,* **dla:sinh sich' 'Ata'** sneak it to me! *M,* **sinh sahL** it went in hiding, it's hibernating (bear in den, cave) *LM,* **dla:sinh 'u'disLi'anhL** he, it went in hiding out of sight *L, with -d final 'at rest, nominalization':* **dla:sinhd sAdahL** it (bear) is in den, hibernating *L.*

sinhX1 *(perhaps to be identified with sinhX2 and/or related to sin'X)*

O-**sinhX**(-**g**) *(with -g-repetitive partly thematized)* S scrape, shave, plane O (either removing O from something or removing something from O): **xsinhXg** I'm shaving it *LM,* **k'uxsinhXg** I'm planning (something) *M,* **k'uxsinhX** I'm scraping something *L,* **'AsinhXg** scrape it! *L, Rezanov* Иллюо́кошкасыхкъ 'Бриться rasiren, sich' **'ilAGa:nsh GAsinhXg** shave your whiskers! *L,* **'anh 'ilAGa:nshdAXu' qa'sinhXg** he'll shave your whiskers *M, with class-mark for O:* **'Aw gahG 'u:dik'ah di:sinhX** scrape that gum away from there! *L,* **'Aw shdu:lihG di:sinhXg** scrape that table! *L,* **k'uti:luxsinhXg** I'm scraping something (skin) *LM,* **qu'ti:li:xsinhXg** I'll scrape it (skin) *L, with l-anatomical:* **xulAsAsinhXgLinh** he shaved my face *L; reflexive, with l-anatomical:* **'Adi:nxdAsinhXg** I'm shaving my face *LM,* **'Ad-la:dAsinhXg** shave your face *M,* **'Ad-lAxdAsi:nXk'** I (cust) shave my face *LM; passive:* **ti:nsdisinhXgL** it (skin) has been scraped *L,* **'ila:disinhXg-wahd** so that your face may get shaved *L.*

,

'uda:X 'Ad-lAsinhXgL *(noun, d-class)* razor *L. -L-instrumental deverbalization of O-sinhX-g, reflexive with l-anatomical and o-d-X 'by means of o (d-class, e.g. 'knife').*

,

qa:lAGa:nshdAXu' sinhXgL *(noun, d-class?)* razor, *attested only in Rezanov* Калькоашахосыххкль 'Бритва Rasirmesser'. *Deverbalization of O-sinhX-g with -L-instrumental,* < instrument for shaving our whiskers.

,

'uX k'uti:lAdAsinhX *(noun)* skin-scraper *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective,* < by means of it something (skin) is scraped.

sinhX2 *(perhaps to be identified with sinhX1 and/or related to sin'X)*

sinhX *(noun)* 1. *(Xd- or d-class, or unclassified)* resin (hardened sap inside grain of wood of any tree, highly flammable, used for tinder or kindling, *(perhaps d-class in texts, or the d-mark with the verbs may be optional d-thematic with qu'q' 'on fire') LM, 33.14, 47A,* tar *L*: **k'ut'u' sinhX** *L,* **sinhX k'udAt'u'** lots of resin *M,* **sinhX 'u:d XAdAsAtahL** (*or* **-'ahL**) a piece of resin (resinous log?) is there *L.*

2. *Attested only in Harrington:* sʃ̨hx̣ 'willow species with catkins, Salix alexensis' *G (unknown to M).*

,

ma:ya'ya' sinhX *(noun)* green scum on pond < sinhX belonging on lake *A.*

,

ya:nu' Gi'sinhX *(noun)* algae(?) *A,* green scum on mud *L. With ya:nu' 'below surface, underwater (where water has been)' and Gi'-thematic.*

sin'X *(perhaps related to sinhX1 and/or sinhX2)*

O-**L-sin'X** S pet, stroke, rub, caress O: **xLsin'X** I'm petting it *L,* I'm caressing it, petting it (by moving skin, not by patting) *M, with y-anatomical for O:* **xuyi:Lsin'X** rub my hand! *LM,* **'iqe'yi:xLsin'X** I'll rub your hand *LM,* **yisiLsin'XLinh** I rubbed his hand *LM,* **xuyALsi:nXk'inh** he (cust) rubs my hand *LM, repetitive:* **xuyALsin'Xginh** he keeps rubbing my hand *LM; passive, with l-anatomical:* **'iqe'lAdAsin'X** you'll get petted on the head *L.*

,

ch'an' xLsin'X *(personal name)* 1. *Lena's mother Sophie* < I'm petting something soft *L, M has heard, Galushia Nelson* t'cɔⁿ'xtɬx̣ *(name of L's maternal aunts, Galushia Nelson's sisters) BSdL Genealogical Table.*

2. *Lena's daughter Rosie L.*

sehd

O-**sehd** S trip, stumble over O: **k'usisehdL** I stumbled over something *L,* **'Aw sisehdL** I tripped over it *L,* **'Aw q'AGi:sehdG** watch out you don't trip over it! *(cautionary negative imperative) L.*

se'L~se:L *(se'L in verb, se:L in noun)*

se:L *(noun, unclassified)* evening, twilight, dusk *LM*: *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* Ссъ-эль 'Вечеръ Abend', **se:L'Adzu:** nice evening *L; with dA- 'ipse':* **dAse:L** just for the evening *65.45A; Rezanov* Съэилькоа 'Ужинать zu Abend essen' **se:Lk'Awah** evening meal, supper *L.*

,

L-se'L S (impersonal) become evening, twilight fall: *11.112, 25.84, 109, 65.15, 54A (Active conditional),* **GALse'L** it's getting to be evening *LA,* **k'udzu:dah GALse'L** it's a nice evening <

it's getting to be evening nicely *L,* **qa'Lse'L** it'll be evening *LA,* **'i:Lse'L, di'wAX gah k'u:Leh** it's evening *(Neuter perfective),* there's still daylight *L,* **sALse'L** it became evening *L,* **'ALse:Lk'** twilight (cust) falls *LM.*

sa:dgAG *(probably loan from Chugach, perhaps of Russian origin)*

sa:dgAG *(noun, probably unclassified)* cassock, priest's robe *L.*

sa:g *(loan from Tlingit sàg 'eulachon')*

sa:g *(noun, unclassified)* eulachon, candlefish (Thaleichthys pacificus) *(locally 'hooligan') LMAS*: *Tarkhanov* Сакъ, *Galushia Nelson* sa·k 'eulachon (candlefish)' *BSdL 540.*

,

sa:gqAXah *(month-name) February A,* < hooligan-month *L.*

sa:q's

sa:q's-g *(noun, unclassified) (with -g-thematic)* dulse (Rhodymenia palmata): **sa:q'sg** edible gren, silver or black seaweed, lettuce-like, that grows on rocks, black when dried for eating *LMA, Galushia Nelson* sa·qsk 'black seaweed' *BSdL 541,* **k'ut'u' sa:q'sg** lots of dulse *M,* **sa:q'sgdA'ehdg** dulse pressed and dried into hard block for winter, soaked to eat *L.*

sa:Xa: *(name of Tlingit origin, according to Sampson Harry)*

sa:Xa: *(personal name) Sock Stevens, somehow related to Scar Stevens L, father of Jack and Velma Stevens M, Eyak man S, brother of ts'ityuh S.*

sa:w *(laon from Tlingit possessed form sayí, sayí 'name, namesake')*

-sa:w *(noun, unclassified)* namesake: **sisa:w q'A'anh** he's my namesake, named after me *L,* **'isa:wshA'anh** is she named after you? *L.*

sahd1

-sahd *(noun, unclassified)* liver: **k'usahd** liver *LMA, 42.1, 9, 10, 23L,* **k'usahd 'AwyAq' da: li' Ldu:k'k'** we (cust) stuff liver into it (codfish stomach) *L,* **k'usahd-luw** big liver *LM,* **k'usahddAGe:'** spleen *M,* spleen (?, or pancreas?, dark bluish organ, much smaller than liver, not eaten) < liver's younger sibling *L.*

sahd2 *(perhaps related to sid)*

sahd-X *(adverb) (always with -X-thematic suffix)* for a long time: *9.166, 10.240A, 15.9M, 25.16A, 27a.19L, 2B.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,* **sahdX dAXunh** (**-Le(')**) S (be) a person for a long time, old person: *20.90, 24.86, 29.26, 51.12, 18, 60.24A,* **Li: sahdX** *31.8L,* **tli: sahdX** *60.24A,* **dAtli: sahdX** for a long time already *20.53, 21b.10, 24.17, 36.6, 61.116A,* **dAtli: sahdX ya: yahd** old house < house (which is) already one for a long time *L,* **'idah sahdX GAlisita'L** I've lived long enough *L,* **dik' sahdX qu'GAli:xta:G**, **dik' sahdX qu'di'xLA'u:GG** I won't live long *L, see further instances under Gl-ta´, d-('i-)LA-'u'G, Gl-qu´,* **sahdX xtsu:dgk'** I (cust) sleep late *M,* **dik' (sahdX) tl'a'q' qa'ahG** it won't last, take long *L, Rezanov* Течисатахъ 'Недолго, ненадолго kurze Zeit, auf kurze Zeit' *probably to be read* **dik' sahdXG** not for long, **sahdX da:X** after a long time, a long time (went by) and *26.11, 41.3L,* **dik' sahdXG da:X** not long afterwards, not a long time (went by) and *47a.4L,* **di:yAX sahdXGdAwa:** before long, before a long time (had passed) *24.24, 61.44A,* **dAgwa' sahdX** for long enough *25.139A,* **'ida'ya:lAX**

sahdX for too long *17b.14M, with suffixed -kih 'diminutive':* **sahdXkih da:X** after a little while, a little while (passed) and *61.7, 19A.*

sahs

sahs *(noun, unclassified)* sea-otter *LMAS*: *12.29, 64.1, 1, 10, 10, 11, 14, 18G, Rezanov* Саасъ 'Бобръ морской, Seebiber', *Anonymous* Ссасъ 'Бобръ морской', *Khromchenko* Сеесъ 'Бобръ', *Galushia Nelson* sa's *BSdL 539,* **sahs'a'luw** big sea-otter *LM,* **sahs'Akih** little sea-otter *M,* **sahsch'iya'** master sea-otter hunter *64.6G.*

,

sahs qi' dAdAda'ch'g *(place-name) outside of Strawberry Point (Hinchinbrook Island), Point Steele* < place where sea-otters are (repeatedly) drowned *L.*

sahxw~sahx *(sahxw LA, sahx LMA; sa:xw is the form used by S, who says it is the same as the Tlingit; Harrington's transcription from G also implies sa:xw, G "says that we have only one name for this in both languages. Later says that sáax̲^{w} 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 sàx^{w} is used only in Yakutat, Tlingit elsewhere yału·łè·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)*

sahxw~sahx *(noun, unclassified)* cockle, pecten: **sahxw** *LMA, 20.41A,* **sahx** cockles *LA, 10.235, 235A,* **sahx'a'luw** big cockles *LM,* **sahx sich' 'Ata'** give me a cockle! *L,* **sahx 'iLiXanhL** cockle is meaty *L,* **sahxwAyu:** cockles *20.41, 68.52A,* **sahx-wAlahyu:** (mythical) cockle-people, cockle-spirits *11.62, 62, 29.43A,* **sahxdAXunh** cockle-person *10.231, 245A,* **sahxdAXunhyu:**, **sahxwdAXunhyu:** cockle-people *10.231, 231A, Galushia Nelson* sah^{w}x̣a' *or* sax̲x̣a' 'cockles' *BSdL 540 probably given in connection with sahxXa' sha'L,* sáxɔya'c 'small clam like a cockle' ("cockle's baby") *BSdL 540* **sahxwAyahsh** *(perhaps species other than cockle, but unknown as such to L),* sàx yá' qáqɛ̀iyá' *or* sáx yá' q'áqɛ̀iyà' name of Basket Pattern 3. ("cockle's meat") *BSdL 547A (discussed and illustrated in BSdL 82)* **sahxyAq'AGi'ya'** cockle entrails *L,* **sahxdA'e:'sh** dried cockles strung on a string (good eating, but tough) *L.*

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sahx qi' k'u:Leh *(place-name) "near Bering River", but "this side of Katalla" (which would be near Softuk)* < place where there are cockles *L.*

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sahx qi' wAX dAleh *(perhaps a place-name)* < place where cockles are gotten *L.*

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sahxXa' sha'L *(noun)* digging-stick for cockles, clam-stick, *attested from Galushia Nelson* sax̲x̣a' catł 'clam stick' *BSdL 548.*

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sahxwlAGd *L,* **sa:xlAq'd** *S (place-name) Softuk* < upland, inland from cockles.

sa'1

sa' *(noun, usually g-class, sometimes unclassified)* inner bark, bast, phloem, cambium, and sap, especially of hemlock, scraped in spring, dried flake-like, and kept in sealoil for winter food *LM*: *11.36, 37A, Galushia Nelson* sa' 'sap' *BSdL 541,* '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 she:t'.),* **sa' guXinhinh** he's eating sa' *LM,*

k'ugAt'u' sa' lots of sa' *L,* **sa' sich' gu:'a'** (*or* **-ta'**) give me a piece of sa'! *L,* **sa' dAk'ah GAta'** split wood for sa'! < remove the sa'! *L,* **sa'tsa:'L** sa'-storage box *11.36A;* **lisgusa'** tree-sa' *or perhaps* sa' of spruce *("means same as sa'") L,* **k'ugut'u' lisgusa'** lots of sa' on tree *M.*

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O-**L**-**sa'** S make O (sa'): **sALsa'Lshuh** did you make sa'? *L; passive:* **sdisa'L** sa' has been made *L.*

sa'~sa: *(sa: only with -q'-d final)*

sa' *(preverb) (requiring Gd-thematic, attested only with zero final)* at the mouth: **sa' GAdixik'a'd** my mouth is sore, hurts < I hurt, am sore at the mouth *L,* **XAwa: sa' GAdi:qAshL** the dog has his mouth wide open (is agape at the mouth) *L,* **sa' GAdAGAGshg** whitefish *(see under GAGsh),* **sa' GAdAts'u'ts'g** suckerfish *(see under ts'u'ts'); perhaps also in sa' dA'ah, sa' lAXAdA'ah, see under 'a, sa' yAX 'Adla:LAq'AshXinh, see under q'Ash.*

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-sa' *(noun, derived from preverb, requiring Gd-thematic as if class-mark, used mainly as o of postpositions, in certain compounds, and in epithet with adjective)* mouth: **sisa'GAdAtl'a'** the corner of my mouth *L,* **'isa'GAdAlah 'iya: ya' qa'q'u'tl'** your lips will get chapped < it'll break up around your mouth *L,* **sa'GAdAlah ts'Al** walrus *M (probably to be corrected to 'usa'GAdAlah ts'Al 'bones around [its] mouth'),* **qa:sa'GAdAtl'Ats'** low-bush cranberries *(see under tl'its'~tl'Ats'),* **sa'GAda'luw** big-mouth *(pejorative epithet) L, 1a.7M.*

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o-**sa'** *(postposition) (attested with zero, -d, -X, -ch', and -ch'ahd finals)* 1. *with zero final:* into, to o's mouth: **'Awsa'** into its mouth *L,* **sisa' GAta'** put it in my mouth! *M,* **'isa' GAta'** put it in your mouth! *L, Rezanov* Сысалката 'Поцалуй küssen (Imperat.)' **sisa' lAGAta'** let me kiss you! < put your head to my mouth *LS, Rezanov* Илцеэнстакоутлинни 'Цаловать küssen' **'iLsä' 'i:nsdiquhLinu:** they're kissing < they put their heads mouth to mouth *L,* **siXu:nLAyah sisa' sALgu'k'Linh** he punched my teeth out (into my mouth) *L,* **'usa' 'iGAgu'k'inh** punch him in the mouth! < slap at his mouth! *M,* **'isa' 'iqe'xLts'in'tl'g** I'll slap you in the mouth *M,* **sisa' yAsa'yahL** I got it to eat effortlessly < it wandered into my mouth *L,* **sisa' 'a'L'e:** put (extend) it into my mouth! *L, in indirect reflexives:* **sa' GAdAta'** put it in your mouth! *L,* **sa' k'udla:Lidu'Linh** he's stuffed his mouth full < he's stuffed something into his (own) mouth *L,* **sa' k'udla:LiGa:shLinh** he's stuffed his mouth full of food < he's stuffed something (food) into his (own) mouth *L,* **ya'Xu: sa' k'uqu'dla:LAGa:sh** don't stuff your mouth with food! *L,* **sa' xsdi'ahL** I put it in my mouth *L,* **sa' dA'ah** Black Bull tobacco, **sa' lAXAdA'ah** candy, *see under 'a, with -d final 'at rest, from a position of rest' (also in nominalization, often indistinguishable from noun, see -sa'-d below):* **sisa'd** in my mouth *M,* **sisa'd sAtahL** it's in my mouth *L,* **'usa'd 'Aw LAXAXg** it quivers in his mouth *33.32A,* **dik' 'usa'd 'Aw lah da'yahG** it doesn't move in his mouth *33.43A,* **'ula't' 'usa'd qa' 'i:'inhinh** his tongue is hanging out of his mouth *M, Rezanov* Казаткея 'Слюна Speichel' **qa:sa'd giyah** saliva < water in our mouths, human mouth *(but also interpretable as compound qa:sa'dgiyah 'our mouth-water'),* **k'usa'd giyah** (*or* **k'usa'dgiyah**) saliva *M, in indirect reflexives:* **sa'd 'AdAchAG** use a for (in your mouth) *L,* **sa'd yAX La'na't'X** he pushes it around inside his mouth without eating it *L,* **sa'd qa' GAdAta'** take it out of your mouth! *L, with -X final 'movement within' and li' 'from open front end to closed back end, deeply into':* **sisa'X li' disLiqahGL** it fell into my mouth *L,* **'isa'X li' k'uqu'dli:xdu'** I'll stuff (something into) your mouth *L, with -ch' final 'continuous motion to' (also interpretable as noun):* **sisa'ch' GAxta:L** I'm moving it toward my mouth *L,* **'Awsa'ch' k'ulAX 'isAL'anhL** she saw something in its mouth *43.18M, in indirect reflexives (probably not interpretable as noun):* **sa'ch' GAxdAta:L** I'm moving it toward my mouth *L,* **dA'wAX sa'ch' 'AdAts'i'k'g** just take small pinches of it (e.g. snuff, into your mouth) *L, with final -ch'ahd 'away*

from', indirect reciprocal: **sa'ch'ahd Xi:ch' da: dAts'e:Xk'** we'd (cust) (take it) out of our mouths (and) throw it away *51.30A.*

2. into o (trap): **we'Lsa' sahL** it got caught in a snare *L,* **'Awsa'** into a trap *M,* **'usa' sahL** it got caught in it (trap) *L,* **dAsa' sahL** it fell, got caught (went into) a trap (into mouth of indeterminate o) *LM,* **dAsa' siyahL** I got caught in a trap *L, with -d final 'from a position of rest':* **'Awsa'd** out of it (trap) *L.*

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-sa'-d *(noun, unclassified) (postposition o-sa' nominalized with -d final)* mouth: *Furuhjelm* Khusat, *Galushia Nelson* ɢúsà't *BSdL 541* **k'usa'd** mouth *M,* **k'usa'd-luw** a big mouth *(not epithet) LM, Galushia Nelson* ι' sa't 'your mouth' **'isa'd**, α^n sa't 'his mouth' *BSdL 557* **'anhsa'd**, **'usa'd** his mouth *23.140A,* **k'usa'd-lah** around the mouth *M, Anonymous and Baranov* Кассатъ 'Ротъ', *Khromchenko* Касъ *(in Ahtna column)* / Касатъ *(in Eyak column)* 'Ротъ' **qa:sa'd** our mouths, human mouth, *Rezanov* Касатъ-ля 'Роть Mund' **qa:sa'd-lah** around our mouths, human mouth, **k'usa'dya'd** *place-name, perhaps of bay across from Ocean Point* < a mouth, as body of water, o with broad opening at top *M,* **sisa'dAk'ah 'Aw sALyahLinh** he took it (e.g. cigarette) out of my mouth *L,* **sisa'd yitl'a'dz** my mouth is stiff (I can't pronounce it) *L,* **'usa'd yAX dla:LAq'AshXinh** he's moving his jaw from side to side, distorting his mouth about *L,* **sisa'd siya: sdiGAmAt'L** my mouth puckered (from eating sour fruit) *L.*

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k'usa'dya'd *(place-name) right across from Ocean Dock at Cordova A; perhaps bay across from Ocean Point M* < (anatomical) mouth as body of water *A XIV.49.*

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o-**ga' LA-sa'd** *(verb derived from noun -sa'-d)* S have mouth like o: **'iga' 'iLisa'dinh** he has a mouth like yours *L.*

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-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* Касаххъ 'Небо во рту 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.*

sa'q'

'AdgudAsa'q', **'Adk'udAsa'q'** *(noun, unclassified)* (woman's) dress: **'AdgAdAsa'q'** dress *L,* **k'u'luw 'ud k'udAsa'q'** big dress *L. (Various forms transcribed from L: 'AdgAdAsa'q', 'Adk'udAsa'q', 'ud gAdAsa'q', 'ud k'udAsa'q', k'udAsa'q', but L finally favors the first, from the -gu- of which the forms with 'ud and k'u- can perhaps be most simply explained by phonological change and morphological reshaping. L cannot analyze the form, a nominalization of verb-theme, perhaps 'Ad-d k'u-dA-sa'q', indirect reflexive, cf. 'Adk'udAt'ux, 'AdgudAt'ux 'vest', or reflexive Active imperfective of O-g-sa'q' 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.)*

sa:' *(possible stem attested only in a personal name)*

'usa:' *(personal name) Eyak(?) woman A (L has heard), Jennie Karditoo A?. Phonology probably Eyak, 'u- 3 object or postpositional phrase.*

sanh1 *(also sa:n in compound; perhaps to be identified with sanh2)*

sanh *(noun, lXd-class or unclassified)* fluff, cotton grass (Eriophorum, "Alaska cotton") *LM*: **k'ut'u' sanh**, **sanhlAXAdAt'u'** *L,* **sanh'At'u'** lots of fluff *LM,* **sanh 'u:d lAXAdAsA'ahL** (*or* -

tahL) a piece of fluff is there *L,* **sanh sich' lAXAdi:'a'** (*or* **-ta'**) give me a piece of fluff! *L.*

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sanhga' -t'e´~-t'u´ S be soft < S be like cotton grass fluff *L, attested in Rezanov* Санкуета 'Мягко weich'.

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sanh(')Asi:nL, sa:nsi:nL *(noun, unclassified or qi:d-class)* stockings, socks, hose < cotton-shoes: **sanh'Asi:nL**, **sanhAsi:nL** *L,* **sa:nsi:nL** *MA (MA reject L's forms, which are, however, probably more conservative),* **sanh(')Asi:nL 'iya: 'iqe'di:xLih** I'll knit some socks for you *L,* **k'u'luw sanhAsi:nL**, **k'uqi:da'luw sanhAsi:nL** big socks *L,* **LinhGnu:lAya' sanhAsi:nL** one pair of socks *L,* **la'dnu:lAya' sanhAsi:nL** two pairs of socks *L.*

sanh2 *(invariable except for analogical form in Inceptive imperative)*

O-**l-sanh** S scrape fat and flesh from O (sealskin) *(not used of land-animal skins, for which see O-l-duh2)*: **lisanh**, **la:sanh** *(former preferred) L,* **lAGAsan'** *L (analogical),* **lAGAsanh** flesh it (sealskin)! *LM,* **qu'li:xsanh** I'll flesh it *LM,* **dik' 'u'li:xsanhG** *(not -sa:nG)* I won't flesh it *L,* **'i:nsisanhL**, **lisisanhL** I fleshed it *M,* **k'ulAxsanh** I'm fleshing (something, sealskin) *L,* **dik' k'ulAxsanhG** I'm not fleshing *L,* **da: la:yisanh** let's flesh it *L,* **li:xsa:nk'** I (cust) scrape fat off (sealskin) *L; passive:* **'i:nsdisanhL** it (sealskin has been fleshed) *L.*

su:t'

O-**su:t'** S sip, slurp O (noisily, impolite): **k'uxsu:t'** I'm sipping something, I'm slurping (noisily, bad manners) *LM,* **k'u:su:t'** sip! *M,* **'Aw su:t'inh** he's slurping it noisily *L,* **sisu:t'L** I sipped it *M,* **k'usu:t'k'inh** he (cust) slurps *LM, with li' 'deeply in cavity':* **li' 'Asu:t'** slurp it down!, swallow it! *L, with gl-class-mark for O (clearly optional):* **gAli:su:t'** slurp it (liquid)! *L, repetitive (partly thematized):* **k'u:su:t'g** slurp! *L,* **k'uqu'xsu:t'g** I'll slurp *L; indirect reflexive, with o-li' 'deeply in o':* **li' dAsu:t'** you're slurping it up, sucking it in (e.g. spaghetti) *(with ingressive φp^h-noise) M.*

suhdz *(M prefers su'ts', but this is rejected by L and A, unfluenced probably bu ts'u'ts', cf. alo ts'in'ts'~ts'i'ts'~ts'i:nts'~ts'idz and dzuhd)*

O-**suhdz-g** *(with -g-repetitive thematized)* 1. S make O (hissing, sizzling, boiling noise), *with k'u-indefinite as O*: **dji:nig k'usuhdzg** teakettle is hissing *L,* **k'usuhdzg** it's sizzling, boiling *LA,* **k'usu'ts'g** it's sizzling *M (rejected by L),* **Xa:n' k'usAsuhdzgL** it stopped (finished) hissing or sizzling *L.*

2. S put O (baby) to sleep by making hissing noise at it: **'Aw suhdzg** I'm blowing on it *M,* **xsuhdzginh** I'm hissing him (baby) to sleep *L,* **'Asuhdzginh** hiss him (baby) to sleep! *LA,* **'iqe'xsuhdzg** I'll hiss you to sleep *L,* **sisuhdzgLinh** I hissed him to sleep *L. (also perhaps 'S blow on O')*

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dA-suhdz-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized, perhaps passive of preceding, attested only in gl-class-marks for S (or O?))* S (O?) sizzle: **qu'gAlAdAsuhdzg** it (water) will sizzle *A.*

suhg *(perhaps to be analyzed suh-g with -g-repetitive, related to siyu~su, as L suggests)*

suhg-L *(noun, perhaps L-deverbalization or gerundive, perhaps of siyu~su, attested mainly with -dah adverbialized)* severe injury, severe illness *(strong expression)*: **suhgLdah siliL** something real bad happened to me *L,* **suhgLdah GAle:'** get sick! *L,* **suhgLdah siLiL** I git him

real hard, hurt him real bad *L,* **suhgLdah GALi:'** really let him have it! *(heard Scar Stevens say, a very strong expression) L,* **suhgLdah 'i:t'eh** it hurts (sensation upon striking funny-bone) *L,* **suhgLdah yAGALi:n'inh** really hurt his hand! *L; as o of o-wahd 'for the sake of o, in order that o', suhgLdAwahd, with -dA-either d-class-mark, or, more likely, reduction of -dah:* **suhgLdAwahd yAGALi:n'inh** really hurt his hand! *(meaning same as that of preceding) L; also with da' preverb (?, of limited occurrence, not clearly identified): Rezanov* Тасукльтатиля 'Шалишъ du lärmst', Тасукльтатеилле 'Шумѣть lärmen' **da' suhgLdah di:leh** you give one a pain (with your talk, noise) *L,* **chi'shdug dAXunhiLsih da' suhgLdah dAleh** that rotten guy (drunk) sure gives one a pain (with his noise, talk)! *L.*

su'

O-**su'** S make O (dry-salmon1, "newspaper-fish"), S cut, dry and smoke O (salmon, into "newspaper-fish") *(see Eyak Texts 65.1-6, 68-76 and fns, BSdL 95-96 for description and discussion)*: **sisu'L** I made dry-salmon1 *L,* **qu'xsu'** I'll make dry-salmon1 *L;* **sdisu'L** "newsparer-fish" have been made, are hung up, drying *L.*

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GAsu' *(noun, unclassified, with GA-prefix not clearly identified)* smoked salmon1, old-style "newspaper-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, Galushia Nelson* qàsù' *or* qású' 'salmon dried with backbone hanging out' *BSdL 548,* **GAsu'kih** little bit of dry-salmon1 *51.15, 15A,* **GAsu't'u'** lots of dry-salmon1 *LM,* **GAsu'luw** big "newspaper-fish" *L,* **GAsu' sich' 'Ata'** give me a dry-salmon1! *L,* **GAsu' Xinhinh** he's eating "newspaper-fish" *L.*

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O-**gd-su'** *(perhaps with gd-anatomical 'rump')* S make O (dry-salmon2, "necktie-fish"), S cut, dry and smoke O (salmon, into dry-salmon2) *(see Eyak Texts 65.28-36 and fns, BSdL 95-96 for description and discussion)*: **gAdi:su'** make dry-salmon2! *LM,* **qu'gAdi:xsu'** I'll make dry-salmon2, I'll cut salmon in dry-salmon2-style *L,* I'll dry fish (dry-salmon2) *LM,* **da: gAdAsu:k'** we (cust) make dry-salmon2 *L; passive:* **gAdisdisu'L** dry-salmon2 have been made *L.*

,

gd-su' *(noun, unclassified, perhaps also gd-class)* dry-salmon2: **gudAsu'** dry-salmon2 *LMA, 65.28, 28, 34, 36A,* **ya:gda:ddAlahGAyu:, wAX 'Aw 'u'li:'eh, nigta:y GAsu', … 'Aw gAdAsu'** Yakutaters, thus they call it, necktie-dry-salmon1, … that dry-salmon2 *65.34A,* **k'ut'u' gudAsu'** lots of dry-salmon2 *L,* **gudAsu' Xinhinh** he's eating dry-salmon2 *L,* **gudAsu'guda'luw** big dry-salmon2 *(gd-class) L,* **di:ya'tl' gudAsu'** salted dry-salmon2 < dry-salmon2 with salt *L.*

djiL *(djAL attested only once, in BSdL; widely diffused form, with irregular correspondences: Tlingit čáł 'storehouse' (N-S), tc'ał, tcał 'cache' (B, former misprint), Hupa dahǯił 'shelves in house for storage', Minto dəxdrəł 'platform cache'; perhaps also to be identified with djiL- in djiLqah; see also djish and dji:shqe:d)*

djiL *(noun, unclassified)* platform, bed, (platform-)cache, shelf *LMS*: *Rezanov* Чилль 'Потолокъ Decke des Zimmers', *Old Man Dude* tcatł 'roof' *BSdL 545, Galushia Nelson* tcɪtł, *Old Man Dude* tcɪ·tł 'bed (modern)' *BSdL 546,* **djiL'a'luw** big shelf *LM,* **k'u'luw djiL** big platform *L,* **'Aw djiL k'ut'a' 'ixiLt'eh** I'm using that bed *M,* **siyAXAga' 'idiyah djiL qu'xtsah** I'll buy a bed the right size for (under) me *L; as possessor of -yAquhyu: 'pl. offspring, small': Rezanov* Читлиекую 'Полка Fach, Repositorium', Читльякъ-ою *(with m and ъ- superscript inserts)* 'Шкапъ ('cupboard') Schrank' **djiLyAquhyu:** shelves *L,* little shelves *M.*

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O-**L-djiL** S make O (platform, shelf, bed): **'ALdjiL** make a shelf, bed! *L,* **qu'xLdjiL** I'll make a platform, shelves *L; passive:* **qu'dAdjiL** platform will be made *L.*

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O-**d-djiL** *(with d-class-mark for O (boards) thematized?)* S make O (platform cache), S make O into platform-cache: **k'udAGAdjiL** make a platform-cache! *18.72L.*

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dishdidjiL *(noun, d-class?)* platform-cache *L, Galushia Nelson* ɒísɒítcìtɬ 'platform cache' *BSdL 546. Nominalized passive Active perfective of preceding.*

djiLqa:~djiLqah *(L unable to etymologize, but probably Tlingit, djiLqá:d, generally associated with djiL 'platform cache', a diffusion, cf. Lower Tanana Athabaskan dreL < PA *djwrEL, Tlingit chÁL, as opposed to jiL, perhaps a doublet; -qa:d unidentified, not Eyak)*

djiLqa:d *(place-name) Bering River and/or Bering River Village, Chilkat SG,* **djiLqahd** *L, probably back-formation from djiLqah, Tschilkat Jakobsen 1883.*

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djiLqa:d sha: *(place-name) Gandil Mountain? S.*

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djiLqa: ma:ya'd *(place-name) Bering Lake S.*

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djiLqah *(place-name) Chilkat, attested as such only in Yatkhanov 1796* Chilka, Chilxa, *Galushia Nelson* ɒɹítɬqà' "a Yakutat village on Bering River" *BSdL 544; otherwise* **djiLqahya'd** *Bering River and/or Bering River Village L <* djiLqah as concavity, body of water, *hence probably* Bering River; *perhaps back-formation on djiLqa:d, -qah unidentified; Sampson Harry unable to etymologize, but cf. djiLqah yahd.*

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djiLqah yahd *(place-name) Chilkat Village L;* tcítɬqài yàt 'Eagle House, Alaganik ("bed house")' *BSdL 545; for the 1938 etymology, cf. especially Ahtna dzeł 'bed'.*

djidj

-**djidj** *(adjective) (with -g-repetitive thematized)* very narrow thin, skinny: **ya:djidjg yiLinhinh** a real skinny slim person *L.*

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-**djidj-g** *(with -g-repetitive thematized)* S be very narrow, thin, skinny: *with k'ushd-anatomical 'lower leg':* **k'ushdidjidjg** skinny leg, spindle-shanks < lower leg is very narrow *(Neuter imperfective) L.*

,

'uX 'idi:djidjg(L) na:wda'ke:d *(noun)* narrow-necked (whiskey-)bottle *L. (Problematical form, perhaps mistranscribed, evidently Neuter perfective of preceding with d-thematic (should be -di- instead of -di:-, dA-classifier?) and 'uX 'along it'?, cf. 'i:ndzi'X ya:lAXAtsidzg 'pear', or L-instrumental deverbalization with deleted classifier, 'by means of it…'.)*

djish *(perhaps related to dji:shqe:d; cf. also djiL)*

O-**djish** S make O (platform, or rack for drying fish?): **'Adjish** make a platform! *M (at first rejected by L, then later acknowledged; unknown to A; M's form 'ALdjish of same meaning,*

rejected by L, is probably influenced by O-L-djiL); passive: **shdidjishL** a rack for drying fish has been made *M,* **qu'dAdjish** a platform will be made *L.*

djig

djig(-L) *(adverb)* just, exactly: **djigL** *one hour***ga'dAX sAsinhL** she had been dead for just about exactly *one hour 61.111A (only attestation from A, L always djig),* **djig siXAw 'u:da' sahLinh** he got there just exactly the same time I did *L,* **djig ge:lA'a:gXAw k'uXa:k'inu:** they (cust) eat at noon sharp *L,* **djig 'u:da' siyahL da:X sAsinhLinh** I had just arrived there and he died *L,* **djig 'iqe'xgah da:X** … I was just about to dance and …, when … *L,* **djig yAX sAkugL da:X ya'X sLi'AdzL** just as it (e.g. bridge) broke he jumped off *L,* **djig ya:'a:gdAX yAX sAkugL** it broke exactly in half, exactly along the middle *L,* **djig 'Awch'a:q' yAX sAkugL** it broke right along it (line, mark) *L,* **djig 'uch'a:q' siyahLinh** I ran right into him, met him quite unexpectedly *L (L never heard *dAdjig (dA- 'ipse').).*

djiGAGda:wAG *(loan from Chugach cikurtaruaq 'looks like light reflected off ice')*

djiGAGda:wAG *(place-name) Strawberry Point L,* tcìɢə́χtà·ɔ̀q 'Eastern end of Hinchinbrook Island (Eskimo name)' *BSdL 544.*

djilah *(also djilahG A twice in text, L once, under influence of djilahG, but djilah in Rezanov and Wrangell, M five times, A once in elicitation, three times in text, L twice)*

-djilah *(noun, Xd-class) (attested only with ya: 'something, a thing' or 'world' as possessor)* **ya:djilah** rainbow *LMA, 51.1, 10A*: *Rezanov* Ячилля 'Радуга Regenbogen', *Wrangell* Яачила 'Nordlicht', **ya:djilah k'u:Leh** there's a rainbow *51.8A,* **ya:djilahXAda'luw** big rainbow *M,* **ya:djilahXAdA'a:w** big (long) rainbow *L,* **ya:djilahG** rainbow *LA,* **ya:djilahG ya:n' XAdAsAwusL** a rainbow formed (grew downward) *51.5A,* **ya:djilahG yiLeh** it's a rainbow *51.7A.*

djilahG *(best-authenticated form, also djAlahG, djilehG, djAlehG, dji'lahG, dji'lehG)*

djilahG *(noun, unclassified)* root of Kamchatka lily, black lily (Fritillarium), "Indian rice, wild rice", paste or pudding made from Kamchatka lily roots boiled and mixed with sealoil (as described in BSdL 96-97), jelly, gelatin (any gelatinous substance): *Rezanov* Чильлякъ 'Рѣпа Rübe', Чкльлякъ 'Сарана Sarana', *Anonymous* Чиллекъ *(first л superscript insert)* 'Сарана', *Galushia Nelson* ɒɹíláχq 'plant with three black petals Kamchatka lily?)' *BSdL 541,* **djilahG** Kamchatka lily roots, "Indian rice" pudding *LMA, also (less frequently, attested from L only)* **djilehG**, **djAlehG**, **djAlahG**, *the last perhaps represented in Galushia Nelson* tsulaq 'root of Kamchatka lily' *BSdL 541,* **k'ut'u' djilahG** lots of "Indian rice" *L, Rezanov* Хетлькоетечиллякъ 'Бѣлой хлѣбъ Brot, weisses' **xwitl'gwä' 'i:t'eh djilahG** white pudding, Чиляхкагохту 'Картофель Kartoffel' **djilahG**….

,

-lAqahyAq'AGi'djilahG *(noun, unclassified?)* brain < pasty substance inside head *(Gi'- thematic with o-yAq' 'in o', attested as such only from L, but probably the correct form)*: **silAqahyAq'A'dji'lahG** *A,* **silAqahyAq'AdjilahG** *M,* **silAqahyAq'AGi'djilahG** my brain *L,* **'ilAqahyAq'Adji'lahG** *A,* **'ilAqahyAq'AGi'djilahG** your brain *L,* **k'ulAqahyAq'dAdji'lehG** brains *LM (early elicitation). The -'- in the forms attested from M and A can be accounted for as due to the influence of the missing Gi'- attested in L's forms.*

djAXAlih *(loan from Chugach, perhaps curliq)*

djAXAlihya'd *(place-name) Gravina Bay L, Nelson Bay? or Gravina Bay? M < djAXAlih as o of o-ya'-d 'in concavity, body of water'.*

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djAXAlihtl'ahd *(place-name) way back in Gravina Bay L; head of Nelson Bay M, above Shepard Point L. (Cf. djAXAlihya'd.)*

djAmAdj *(cf. Chipewyan -zùz 'to make a ringing noise (of a small bell, or bunch of small pieces of metal, dry leaves, etc.) (l[-classifier])')*

djAmAdj- *attested only with -kih diminutive:* **djAmAdjAkih** *(personal name or epithet)* 1. *Dune Lankard, Lena's grandson.*

2. *talkative girl in Alder-Sun Myth Cycle, 34.97L (see detailed discussion in 34.0fn) Galushia Nelson* ɒjìmìtcə̀kì 'talkative (name of Sun's daughter in Tale 16)' *BSdL 554, and the exclamation* **'i:yah 'i:yah djAmAdjAkih** what a chatterbox you are! *L (either literary allusion or at origin of name).*

djAnu:g *(loan from Tlingit or Chinook Jargon)*

djAnu:g *(noun, unclassified)* Chinook Jargon *LS.*

dji:da:dAG *(loan from Chugach ciŋtaataq 'razor-clam', not used by Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

dji:da:dAG *(noun, unclassified)* razor-clam *LMS*: *10.230, 230, 248, 11.62, 133A, Galushia Nelson* ɒjìɒá·ɒə̀q 'clam' *540, same clam as* **'uni:k' 'Awa: qa' qi:sid** *L,* **dji:da:dAGkih** little razor-clams *M,* **dji:da:dAGluw** big razor-clams *L,* **dji:da:dAG 'iLiXanhL** razor-clam is meaty *L,* **dji:da:dAGdAXunh** razor-clam person *10.247, 249A,* **dji:da:dAGwAlahyu:** razor-clam people *11.64, 66, 29.49A,* **dji:da:dAGwAlahqe'L** razor-clam person-woman *11.92A.*

dji:dj *(perhaps related to djidj)*

dji:dj- *(noun, probably unclassified) attested only as possessor of* ***-dAkuhd*** *'lips' in* **dji:djdAkuhd** *(noun, unclassified)* fireweed (Epilobium) < roots are medicine for land-otter, grows mostly on rocks, about 3' high, has red-shaped flowers *L (M and A have heard the term, but cannot identify the plant, and none can identify the meaning of dji:dj-)*: **k'ut'u' dji:djdAkuhd** lots of fireweed *L.*

dji:shqe:d *(loan from Tlingit ǰišqèdi, name of Tlingit clan or sib of Eagle moiety, represented only from Controller Bay northwestward; perhaps related to djish, djiL, name perhaps ultimately of Athapaskan origin, see Eyak Texts 55.5-6fn, 57.3fn)*

dji:shqe: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 dji:shqe:d *54.6G,* **dji:shqe:dyu:** members of the dji:shqe:d clan *L, 54.1G.*

dji'd

O-**'-dji'd** S guess at O: **'u'GAdji'd** guess at it! *L,* **qu'xdji'd** I'll guess at it *L,* **'u'shidji'dL** I guessed at it *L,* **'idah 'u'shidji'dL** I guessed it right *L (Semitransitive only.).*

dji’tl’

-dji’tl’-g *(noun, unclassified) (with -g-thematic)* navel, bellybutton: *Rezanov* Качикл…къ *(letter, or perhaps two letters between л and к illegible, identified by Radlov as и)* 'Пупъ Nabel' **qa:dji’tl’g** our navel, human navel, **k’udji’tl’g** bellybutton *LM,* **sidji’tl’g** my navel *L,* **k’udji’tl’gluw** big navel *L.*

dji:ni:g~dji:nig *(loan from Chugach cainik 'teakettle, teapot with spout', from Russian чайник, not used by Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

dji:ni:g~dji:nig *(noun, unclassified)* teapot (with spout, for serving), teakettle *LM*: *56.27L,* **la’dih dji:ni:g** two teapots *56.28L,* **dji:nig k’usuhdzg** the teakettle is hissing *L,* **dji:ni:gluw** big teakettle *LM.*

dji:ni:wAG *(loan from Chugach cainiiɣuaq 'teakettle', partly from Russian чайни-, not used by Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

dji:ni:wAG *(noun, unclassified)* teakettle, kettle *L, same as* ***k'udAts'Ala'*** *L.*

dje:dj *(cf. Tlingit -djètc, -djétc, -djɛ́tc 'to depress, surprise' B, not known, however, to Sampson Harry of Yakutat)*

-dje:dj S be amazed, surprised *(pleasantly, not depressed)*: **shAdje:djL** they were amazed *2a.32M,* **qu’yidje:dj** you'll be surprised *(not depressed) M. More frequently transitive (causatie)* O-**L-dje:dj** S amaze O, surprise O (generally pleasantly): **xusALdje:djL** I'm surprised (pleasantly) < it surprised me *LM,* **’a’d xu:Ldje:djLinh** he amazed me greatly < he keeps me in a continuous state of great amazement *(Neuter perfective) L,* **GALdje:djinh** surprise her! *LM; reflexive,* S surprise self (pleasantly), be self-satisfied, proud, smug, S boast, brag, gloat, exult: **’idAGAxLAdeh da:X ’Adqu’xLAdje:dj** if I understand you (your speech) I'll be surprised, proud of myself *L,* **’AdLidje:djLinh** he's proud *(Neuter perfective) M,* **’AdxsLidje:djL** I surprised myself (by doing something great) *L,* **dik’ ’AdsLAdje:djLGinh**, **dik’ ’AdAsLAdje:djLGinh** he's not surprised (by himself) *L,* **’Adqu’LAdje:djinh** *(not 'AdA-)* he'll surprise himself *L, with o-X 'by o, at o':* **ya’Xu: k’ulAX ’ilAXit’ehX ’Adqu’lAXLAdje:dj** "don't brag that you have more than the other fellow" *1b.21M; passive:* **sLidje:djLinh** he was surprised *M,* **xushdidje:djL** I got surprised *L.*

dje:g

-dje:g S be tangled, jumbled, mixed up, confused: **shAdje:gL** it'll all tangled, mixed up *L, Galushia Nelson* ɢutcäkt 'cat's cradle ("tangled up")' *BSdL 551, probably gu- (g-class-mark for S, 'string') and -dje:g-, perhaps gu:dje:gL 'it (string) is tangled' (Neuter perfective). More frenquently transitive (causative)* O-**L-dje:g** S tangle, jumble O, mix O up: *with ya' 'completely':* **ya’ GALdje:g** tangle it up! *L,* **ya’ qu’xLdje:g** I'll tangle it up *L, with class-marks for O:* **qi:lAsALdje:gL** you tangled it up (rope) *L; passive:* **ya’ sLidje:gL** it got all tangled up, mixed up (by someone) *L,* **qi:lisLidje:gL** it (cord) is tangled *L, indirect reciprocal:* **’iLqa’ guLidje:gL** they (strings) are tangled together (amongst each other) *(Neuter perfective) L,* **’iLah gudidje:gL** it (string) is tangled *(Neuter perfective) L ('iL-lah 'around each other, one part around the other', form either intransitive or passive).*

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dje:g-L *(noun, with -L-instrumental?, or gerundive)* tangle, jumble, confusion, *attested only as o of o-ga' 'like o'*: **dje:gLga’ ’i:t’eh** things lie around all over < it's like a tangle, confusion *L,* **sidAGAleh siya: dje:gLga’ ’i:t’eh** (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.*

djehX~djAX *(djAX reduced form)*

-djehX *(noun, unclassified)* ear: *Rezanov* Качехъ 'Уши Ohren', *Anonymous and Baranov* Качехъ 'Ухо', *Khromchenko* (Сатцехъ /) Кацехъ 'Уши', *Furuhjelm* Khachikh **qa:djehX** our ears, human ears, *Galushia Nelson* ɕǿtcäx̱ *or* ɕǿtcäx *BSdL 541* **k'udjehX** an ear, ears *A,* **'AwdjehX GAqa:Linu:** they're biting their ears *60.27A,* **XAwa:djehX**, **XAwa:yu:djehX** dogs' ears *60.26, 26A,* **tla:X sidjehXluw** where are my big ears? *18.16L,* **k'udjehXluw** big ears *LM,* **djehXluw** big ears! *A,* **'idjehX 'iya: shLidlAGshgL** your ears got dirty *L,* **'udjehX Gu'inh** he's holding (warming) his ears *L,* **dAtli: 'idjehXt'e'ts'G 'iqe'xLXahd** I'm about to drag you by your ear *L,* **'udjehXga' li'X li:t'inhinh** he's smiling from ear to ear < he's smiling like his ears *L,* **'idjehXyAq'd** the inside of your ear *LM,* **Lich' 'udjehX 'Awa: GAxqa:Linh** I'm always biting his ear (harping at him, trying to make him obey) *72.2L,* **'AXa: 'udjehX 'Awa: k'u't'ga' 'i:t'inhinh** 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:LtahdjehX** sack-ears < where it's tied and corners stick out, easy to grip *L.*

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k'udjehX *(noun, -djehX 'ear' with indefinite possessor)* 1. *(unclassified)* dried apricots *A.*

2. *(lX-class)* berry species, *same as XAwa:djehX below, L.*

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XAwa:djehX *(noun, lX-class)* berry species, plant and fruit something like blueberry, leaves sticky (hair?), fruit whitish or yellowish, waxy, mealy, insipid, eaten only by children, "Russian candle" (Menziesia ferruginea?) < dog's ear *L.*

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-d-djehX *(noun, d-class) (with d-thematic, perhaps thematized class-mark for possessor, e.g. shdu:lihG 'table', tsAdl 'board')* corner *(viewed externally as a point; cf. Tlingit -gʊ́g 'ear', gʊ́g-š 'corner' (N-S), Old French corne 'corner, horn')*: **k'udAdjehX** corner *LA,* **'udAdjehX** its corner, point (e.g. of box, square) *L,* **la'd da: k'udAdjehX** two corners *L.*

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LA-djehX S have ears, *occurring only with o-ga' 'like o'*: **siga' 'iLidjehXinh** he has ears like mine *(Neuter imperfective) L.*

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(O-?)**g-dA-djehX** *(perhaps a passive, with g-class-mark for O or S 'thread')* O (or S) (thread) (accidentaly) get a small loop or knot in it in sewing: **siXa' gushdidjehXL** my thread got a little loop in it *(good omen, means item will sell easily) L.*

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-djAXA- *(noun, limited use in certain archaic constructions)* ear 1. *(unclassified or dl-class, as o of certain postpositions)*: **sidjAXAyAq' 'Aw diLich'a:q'L** it is (constantly) heard (audible) in my ears *(Neuter perfective) 70.11A,* **sidjAXAyAq'd** my earhole, my inner ear, inside my ear *L,* **k'udjAXAyAq'd**, **k'udjAXAdla:yAq'd** inside ear *L,* **djAXAyAq' li' 'AdyiLi'inhinh** he's got his fingers in his ears (to shut out noise) *(indirect reflexive) L,* **'udjAXAdla:qa'X k'u:Linhinh** 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*: **djAXAdli:'nuw** big ears *(pejorative) LM, 18.8L,* **djAXAdla:'a:w** long-ears *(epithet for rabbit, alert dog) L; in compounds:* **djAXAdla:k'u't'** tough-ears, thick-skinned shameless person < ear-tendon *(cf. 'udjehX 'Awa: k'u't'ga' 'i:t'inhinh under -djehX) L,* **djAXAtl'i'L** *(noun, unclassified)* earrings, *see main entry under tl'i.*

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3. *Homophonous forms to some extent identified with -djAXA- 'ear' by informants, but probably not Eyak origin*: *see place-names djAXAlihya'd and djAXAlihtl'ahd, and k'udjAXAya:sh 'marten'.*

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djAX *(syntactic class undetermined, perhaps preverb, or noun, unclassified; not freely used, occurring only in certain archaic constructions)* ear: o-**X djAX** O-**L-'ya** S hear o a distance, become aurally aware of o: **'uX djAX siLyahL** I heard it (at a distance), I became aware of it (by ear) *L,* **k'uX djAX siLyahL** I think I heard something *L,* **qa:X djAX qa'Lyah** he'll hear us (become aware of our presence) *L (o-X 'in contact with o', O-L-'ya1 'S get O in situation or condition', identify of O not clear, unless djAX, thus 'S have O (ear) in contact with o', but the word-order is then unusual, the o-X normally following the O.).*

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-djAX *(perhaps as above, but more likely postposition, attested only with zero-allomorph of reflexive o, possessed noun as o of o-X 'in contact with o', zero-allomorph also of -X, thus zero-djAX-X 'on one's own ear')* ear: **djAX k'uLitl'ihLinh** he's wearing earrings *L,* **djAX k'ulAXALitl'ihL** butterball duck < it's wearing ball-like earrings *L (see under tl'i).*

dje:' *(conceivably dje:'L; also ch'e:'(L) MA, under obvious strong influence of ch'e:', but L is fairly certain of dj-)*

-d-L-dje:'((-)**L**) *(noun, unclassified) (with d-thematic, perhaps d-class-mark for possessor 'egg' thematized, and -L(-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: **k'udALdje:'** *L (once),* **k'udALch'e:'L** *MA,* **k'udALdje:'L** eggyolk *L (five times), A,* **k'udALdje:'tl'** *(twice, or* **k'udALdje:'Ltl'** *once, preferred)* **'iLah gudla:sdi'yahL** it (the white) has gotten mixed together (around each other) with the yolk (in an unbroken egg) *L.*

dja: *(loan from English 'jar', perhaps not naturalized)*

dja: *(noun, unclassified)* jar *65.24, 25A.*

dja:t'

-dja:t' heavy S be immovable, stuck: **'u:d shAdja:t'L** it (big heavy thing) is stuck there (too heavy to move) *L.*

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O-**dja:t'** S pry O loose (without displacing it): **'Adja:t'** pry it *M, with ya'X 'up':* **ya'X qu'xdja:t'** I'll pry it up (but not remove it) *L.*

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O-**L-dja:t'** 1. S pry O loose (presumably displacing it): **'ALdja:t'** pry it up *L,* **'iLdja:t'** pry it (keep moving it by prying)! *L,* **siLdja:t'L** I pried it *M,* **'u:dik'ah siLdja:t'L** I pried it away from there *L,* **ya'X qu'xLdja:t'** I'll pry it up *L, with qa' 'up out':* **qa' GALdja:t'** pry it up, dig it up! *L, repetitive* O-**L-dja:t'-g** S repeatedly pry O, try to pry O loose: **xLdja:t'g** I'm prying it *M,* **da: Ldja:t'g** we keep prying it *LM,* **qu'xLdja:t'g** I'll pry it *M; passive:* **ya'X sLidja:t'L** it got pried up *L.*

2. *With qehX 'closed' or tl'ehd 'open',* S open or close O (with look, bolt, latch): **qehX 'Aw shALdja:t'Linu:** they bolted, barred it (door, from inside) shut *19.20L,* **qehX GALdja:t'** lock it up! *L,* **tl'ehd GALdja:t'** open it up! *L; indirect reflexive, with o-ch' 'at o', and indeterminate O:* **qehX 'Adch' 'ixsLidja:t'L** I locked myself out *L; reflexive:* **dA'a: qehX 'AdshLidja:t'L** it locked by itself (of lock, bolt, latch of any kind) *L; passive:* **tl'ehd sLidja:t'L**, **tl'ehd sdidja:t'L** it's been unlocked *L.*

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dja:t'L *(noun, unclassified) (with -L-instrumental)* crowbar, lever *LM*: **dja:t'L'a'luw** big crowbar *M,* **dja:t'L sich' 'Ata'** give me a crowbar! *L.*

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'uX tl'ehd k'u'Ldja:t'g *(noun, unclassified)* key *L (obsolescent, replaced by gAlu:dj). Form (or transcription?) uncertain: -'- not explained, nominalized Active imperfective of apparent o-X tl'ehd O-'-L-dja:t'-g 'S (repeatedly, semitransively) unlock O by means of o', with k'u-indefinite S or O.*

,

O-**d-L-dja:t'** *(d-thematic perhaps thematized d-class-mark for O, e.g. yahddAya'da'X 'rowboat, skiff')* S put lever under O (grounded boat) to free it: **di:Ldja:t'** put a stick under it (grounded boat) to loosen it *L (cf. shu:t').*

dja:q'

dja:q' *(noun, unclassified)* bullhead, sculpin (Hemilepidotum) *LM*: **dja:X'** *S (influenced by Tlingit wéx' 'bullhead'), Galushia Nelson* tca·k' 'bullhead' *BSdL 540,* **dja:q"a'luw** big bullhead *LM,* **'i:yah chi'shdug dAXunh 'a'd dja:q'ga' 'iLu' qa' li' didigudjL** 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.*

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dja:q' qi'dAX GAla:L *(noun) a certain constellation, "bunch of small stars together somewhere," which L cannot identify,* < where a bullhead is moving along *L, also* **dja:q' 'u:dAX GAla:L** < a bullhead is moving along there *L,* **dja:q' yAX dAla:X** < a bullhead is swimming about *L,* **dja:q' ya:q'dAX yAX dAla:X** < a bullhead is swimming about in the sky *L, perhaps* Pleïades, *cf. Swanton 26th Ann. Rep., B.A.E., 1904-1905, p. 427, 'the Pleïades were called Wēq! ("sculpin")', Naish-Story wéX' 'bullhead, sculpin'.*

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O-**L-dja:q'** *(M only, L rejects, probably blend of O-(L-)dja:t' and O-L-che'q')* S hook O (fish): *with qa' 'up out':* **qa' GALdja:q'** hook a fish! *M,* **qa' shiLdja:q'L** I hooked a fish *M.*

dja:bAni: *(loan from nineteenth-century English 'Japanese, Japanee' /ǯahpiníy/ ?)*

dja:bAni: *(noun, unclassified)* Japanese *L*: **dja:bAni:yu:** Japanese (pl.) *LA.*

djahG *(not attested without -L-suffix, probably to be interpreted in synchronic terms as unanalyzable djahGL)*

djahG-L *(noun, dl-class) (with -L-instrumental)* needle: *Rezanov* Чаакль 'Игла, иголка Nahnadel', *Anonymous* Чатль 'Игла', *Galushia Nelson* tcɔ'ktɬ *BSdL 547,* **djahGL** needle *LM,* **djahGLdli:'nuw** big needle *LM,* **djahGLdla:kih** little needle *M,* **djahGLdla:kuts'g** small needle *M,* **djahGL 'u:d dla:sAtahL** *(or* **-'ahL**, *former preferred)* a needle is there *L,* **djahGL sich' dli:ta'** *(or* **-'a'**, *former preferred)* give me a needle! *L; declassified, as possessor of -la:X 'eye' or -lAXAde:' 'eyehole': Rezanov* Чахлеляхъ 'Ушки въ иглѣ Nadel-Oehr' **djahGLla:X** eye of needle *LM,* **djahGLlAXAde:'X gu:tsu: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 -L-instrumental as part of the stem throughout the verb-forms, including those in Rezanov, suggesting derivation of the verb from the noun.*

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O-**djahG-L** *(-L retained throughout as part of the stem)* S sew, mend O: *25.53A, 38.19LM, Rezanov* Аччаклъ 'Починить flicken', Аччакль 'Шей! nähen (Imperat.)' **'AdjahGL** sew it! *LM,* Алисыааччакль 'Почини flicken (Imperat.)' **'Al**… **siya: 'AdjahGL** mend this for me!, **'Al siya: 'AdjahGL** sew this for me! *M,* Кончакль 'Шить nähen' **k'u:ndjahGL**, **k'u:djahGL** you're sewing (something); sew (something)! *M,* **k'uxdjahGL** I'm sewing something *M,* **qu'xdjahGL** I'll sew it *LM,* **k'udja:GLk'inh** he (cust) sews (something) *M,* **'Aw 'Awch' 'AdjahGL** sew it to that (parts of same thing)! *L,* **'ugulah shidjahGL** I sewed its hem, I hemmed it *(o-g-lah 'around o's hem') L,* **'Awlah 'Ash 'AdjahGL** sew it with a stitch over the edge (overcast whipstitch)! < sew it around it through! *L,* **XAli'dAX 'AdjahGL** sew it along inside from edge (without stitches that go over edge)! *(XAli'dAX 'motion within area distant from front thereof') L; indirect reciprocal:* **'iLli'X** (*or* **'iLi'X**) **'AdjahGL** sew it with backstitch (not going over edge) *('iLli'X 'motion deeply within each other, far from front edge of each other') L.*

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O-**g-djahG** *(with g-class-mark for O 'thread' thematized) attested only with perambulative,* **yAX** O-**g-dA-djahG-L-X** S tatoo, embroider < S sew O (thread) about; *tatooing was done with thread, see BSdL 61*: **yAX gushdidjahGL** you did embroidery, tattoing *L;* **'uya:q' yAX k'ushdidjahGL** her wrist is tatooed *L (either passive 'something (thread) has been tattoed (sewn about) on her wrist', or non-passive 'someone has tatooed on her wrist').*

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O-(**d-**)**L-djahG-L** *(d-thematic, apparently optional, not explained)* S sew O (two separate pieces together), S join (entirely separate) O by sewing: **'Aw 'Awch' 'ALdjahGL** sew it to that (two separate pieces)! *L; indirect reciprocal:* **'iLX dAGALdjahGL** sew them together! *('iLX 'in contact with each other') L, repetitive:* **'iLqa:nch'** (*or* **'iLqa'ch'**) **k'udi:LdjahGLg** you're making a crazy-quilt < you're (repeatedly) sewing (separate) things amongst each other *L,* **'iLqa:nch'sh k'Adi:LdjahGLg** are you making a crazy-quilt? *L.*

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-djahG(**-L**?) *(attested only in what may be Neuter perfective, -L therefore perhaps interpretable as perfective suffix)* S be pointed: *with ya'X 'upward':* **GALAqa:' a'X 'i:djahGL** "hollerer" (mythical fish) has pointed head *(head that comes to a point at top, "like a needle") (traditional epithet) 35.3, 4L (see fns to Eyak Texts 35. for discussion),* **ya'X 'i:djahGL** cap that has point sticking up, parka hood *L; indirect reciprocal:* ìtɬtáq íⁿtcàkɬ name of Basket Pattern 1. ("above-each-other pointed"), **'iLdAG 'i:ndjahGL** *(absence of dA-classifier problematical, if theme is taken to be intransitive). These forms can be interpreted as Neuter perfective, and the -L suffix identified as that of the perfective, theme simply -djahG, suggesting that the earlier meaning is 'pointed', rather than 'needle, sew', in spite of L's suggestion regarding ya'X 'i:ndjahGL "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 (ch'iyahd 'hat' or -sha:w 'head'), in which case the -L suffix would be the same as that of the preceding entries.*

dja'

O-**dja'** 1. S move O with abrupt violent jerking motion, S jerk O: *with various preverbs and postpositional phrases in text: 9, 95, 10.100, 102A, 18.67, 69, 73L, 28.62A, 45b.12M, 50.27, 29, 30A,* **dAde:ga'da:Xd ta' 'Aw 'Adja:k'inu:** each time they (cust) shoved them (canoes) in the water *25.50A,* **'udik'ah 'Adjin'inh** throw him out! < jerk him away from there! *L,* **ya:nu' shAdja'Linh** he jerked him underground *L,* **siyahd qa' shAdja'Linh** he snatched it out of my hand *L,* **shich'a:nda:X xushAdja'Linh** he grabbed me, yanked me by the arm *L, with perambulative, 'S shake O (about roughly):* **yAX 'AdAdja'** shake it! *L,* **yAX 'AdAdjin'inh**

shake him! *M,* **yAX xdAdja'X** I'm shaking it around *M,* **yAX 'ixdAdja'X** I'm shaking you *LM,* **yAX 'iqe'xdAdja'** I'll shake you *L,* **yAX xudAdja:k'inh** he (cust) shakes me about *L, repetitive:* **xudja'ginh** he keeps grabbing me *M,* **xu:dja'g** pull on me! *M,* **'iqe'xdja'g** I'll yank you *L,* **dik' xdja'gG** I'm not jerking it *L (see also O-dja' 2. below); with class-marks for O:* **qi:li:dja'** pull it (rope)! *M,* **'Aw qa' dla:shAdja'L** he yanked it (branch) out *50.21A, with da:X 'in (punctual) contact with indeterminate o':* **da:X qu'XAdi:xdja'** I'll strike it (match) *L, with yAX 'apart, in two':* **yAX qi:lAGAdja'** break it (rope)! *LM, repetitive:* **'Aw qi:lAdja'g** it (fish) is tugging on it (line) *M,* **le:L siXa' gushAdja'gLinh** he pulled my hair *M; indirect reflexive, with dl-class-mark for O:* **'Ad-lAXahd 'Aw 'AyAG q'uhnu: 'Aw qa' dla:shdidja'L** they thought themselves the ones who had pulled it (branch) out *50.31A; reflexive, with l-anatomical and ya:n'ch' 'downward':* **ya:n'ch' 'Ad-la:dAdja'** duck! < jerk your head down! *L, with perambulative:* **yAX 'AdAdAdja'X** it's jerking (itself about) *M; passive:* **qa' 'ididja'** that it might be pulled out *(Active optative) 50.26A; passive and indirect reflexive:* **t'a'q'e'ch' ch'a' xushdidja'L** I got yanked backward (by someone, towards himself) *L.*

2. *In certain figurative uses,* S arrest O, S mistreat O: *repetitive, with lahdz 'forward':* **'anh lahdz dja'g** they keep mistreating him < they keep jerking him forward *50.35A (see fn); passive:* **'iqe'dAdja'** you'll get arrested *L (see qa: dja'ginh below).*

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qa: dja'ginh *(noun, unclassified)* policeman *LS. Nominalized repetitive Active imperfective,* < he (who) arrests us, nabs us (repeatedly jerks us)'.

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yAX dAdja'X xut'L *(noun, unclassified)* pump-loading (-cocking) shotgun < gun which is jerked about *L. Relativized passive Active imperfective with perambulative.*

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da:XAdAdja'g, **da:XAdidja'g** *L,* **da:X 'AdAdja'g** *LMS (noun, Xd-class)* match, matchstick: **da:XAdidja'g sich' XAdi:'a'** (*or* **-ta'**) give me a match! *L,* **da:XAdidja'g 'u:d XAdAsAtahL** a match is there *L; declassified,* matchbook: **'Aw shdu:lihGda:q' 'i:tahL da:XAdidja'g sich' qu'xtah** I'll give you that matchbook which is on the table *L. Probably nominalized Active imperfective repetitive with da:X 'in (punctual) contact with indeterminate o' and Xd-class-mark for O',* < **da:X XAdAdja'g** you jerk (strike) it against something (repeatedly [necessary with early matches?]), *the structure no longer clearly recognized.*

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qid O-**d-dja'** *(d-thematic with qid 'down off')* S jerk O down off: *23.41 (O definitely unclassified), 10.9A (O 'heart' normally l-class, either shifted to d-class for 'lamp' or class-mark omitted).*

,

qid O-**gdl-dja'** S jerk O's head off: **dAtli: qid 'iqe'gAdli:xdja'** I'll yank your head off *(to dog, strong expression)* < I'm already about to jerk your head down off *L.*

,

O-**Xd-dja'** 1. *(Xd-thematic (class-mark?) for O 'line') With perambulative and 'a:wAyu: 'indiscriminately'*: **'a:wAyu: yAX XAdAxdAdja'X** I'm drawing a jerky line *L; passive:* **'a:wAyu: yAX XAdishdidja'L** a funny zigzag line has been drawn *L.*

2. *Stem* ***-dja'*** *replacing* ***-ta*** *in theme* **dAda'd** O-**Xd-(L-)ta** S open O (by lifting lid):: **dida'd 'Aw XAdAshAdja'Linh** he yanked it open (by jerking up lid) *2b.17L.*

,

O-**L-dja'** S pluck O: **k'uxLdja'** I'm plucking something (feathers, flowers) *M,* **'ALdja'** pluck it! *L,* **'Aw GAnuh 'ALdja'** pluck that duck! *L.*

,

L-dja’ S break (suddenly): *with yAX 'break, apart': 18.5L,* **’uyAch’ ’Aw yAX shALdja’Linh** I broke off in his hand *23.33A, with qi:l-class-mark for S 'rope':* **yAX qi:la:yiLdja’** let it (rope) break *M,* **yAX qi:sALdja’L** *L,* **yAX qi:nsALdja’L**, **yAX qi:lAsALdja’L** it (rope) broke *LM,* **dik’ yAX qi:lAshLdja’LG** *(or* **qi:nshLdja’LG**, *former preferred)* it (rope) didn't break *M,* **yAX qu’qi:li:Ldja’** *(not -qi:nL-)* it (rope) will break *M,* **yAX qi:lAGALdja’L** it (rope) is breaking, starting to break *M; indirect reciprocal with 'iLq' 'on each other', one part onto the other':* **’Aw ’uXa’ ’iLq’ shALdja’L** "it bust together on him" *(L's translation, approximately 'imploded') 23.30A (LA-classifier expected in indirect reciprocal in intransitive theme, perhaps treated here as transitive).*

dju’k’ *(transcribed also djuk', but carefully verified with L, who is certain of dju'k')*

dju’k’-L *(noun, unclassified) (with -L-instrumental)* crosspiece (of canoe), thwart: **djuk’** *LMA,* **dju’k’L** crosspiece, thwart *LM,* **la’dih dju’k’L** two thwarts *L,* **dju’k’L’a’luw** big crosspiece *LM;* **tsi’sa:XAdALte’ya’ djuk’L** boom *A (rejected by L, see te').* **ts’isa:tsin’da’dAdjuk’L** gaff < sail-tip-crosspiece *A.*

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O-**L-dju’k’** S make or install O (thwart, crosspiece): **’ALdju’k’** make, install a thwart! *L,* **qu’xLdju’k’** I'll make, install a thwart *L,* **siLdju’k’L** I made, installed a thwart *L.*

chid~chAd *(L prefers chid, M prefers chAd, expanded chi:d)*

chid-~chAd-X *(noun, unclassified) (with -X-thematic)* nits, louse-eggs: *Rezanov* Четхъ 'Гнида Nisse', **chAdX** *ML,* **chidX** nits *L (prefers latter form, not possessible),* **chAdX’At’u’** lots of louse-eggs *LM.*

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-chid-X *(-X-thematic retained as part of stem)* S become nitty, infested with nits: **shAchidXL** it got full of louse-eggs *L. Transitive (causative, perhaps also of (O-?)dA-chid-X below, if that is not a passive) 'S (louse) infest O with nits':* **qa’LchidX** they (lice) will lay eggs (on it?) *L.*

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(O-?)**dA-chid-X** *(perhaps passive of causative above)* S (or O?) become nitty: **shdichidXL** it got full of louse-eggs, *same as shichidXL above L.*

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dA-chid~-chAd-X S (louse) lay egg: **shdichidXL** it (louse) laid eggs *L,* **qu’dAchAdX** it (louse) will lay eggs *M,* **’Aw gugsgAyu: dAchi:dXk’** those lice (cust) lay eggs *L.*

chich’1 *(perhaps to be identified with chich'2; expanded chi:ch' or che:ch')*

O-**chich’** S break O: *with yAX 'apart, in two': 9.40, 41A,,* **Gets’gAXAq’kihk’ahsh yAX shAchich’L** he broke Little Magpie's foot *9.42A, Rezanov* Ехкачичи 'Гнуть biegen' **yAX qa’chich’inh** he'll break it, Ихкачичь 'Изломать brechen, zerbrechen (Transitiv)' **yAX qa’chich’** he'll break it, **yAX GAchich’** break it (e.g. stick)! *L,* **yAX qu’xchich’** I'll break it *L,* **’Aw dAkinh da: yAX che:ch’k’**, **’Aw dAkinh da: yAX chi:ch’k’** *("some people would say" the former, "but I would say" the latter)* we (cust) break the stick *L,* **’uqa’X ya:yu: ’Awa: yAX qAshichich’L** I broke some of them *L,* **’uGuhdq’Ach’ ’Aw yAX shAchich’Linh** he broke it over his knee *L, Inceptive (and Active) subjunctive:* **’Aw yAX GAxchich’X** *(or **’Axchich’X**, but L prefers the former, Inceptive)* **sitl’ dAlinhinh** he told me to break it *L, repetitive (partly thematized):* **yAX shichich’L** I broke it (e.g. stick) *L,* **yAX GAchich’gLinh** he's breaking it *M; with ya' 'completely':* **ya’ qu’xchich’** I'll break it in many pieces *L,* **ya’ GAchich’** break it all up!

L, **'uGuhdq'Ach' 'Aw ya' GAchich'Linh** he's breaking them (bunch of sticks) all up over his knee *L; passive, with yAX and d-class O:* **yAX dishdichich'L** it's been broken (e.g. board, by someone) *L; susceptive Neuter, with yAX:* **yAX Lichich'X** it breaks easily *L.*

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qid O-**gdl-chich'** S break O's head off: *repetitive:* **qid 'ahnu: gudla:ch**[**ich'**]**g** he kept breaking their necks off *50.46A.*

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O-**'**-(**l**-)**chich'** S break O part way through, crack O so that O lose its rigidity at cracked point: *with yAX 'break, apart':* **yAX 'u'shichich'L** I broke it (e.g. twig, not into two seperate pieces) *L; indirect reciprocal, with 'iLt'a'X 'one (part) behind the other, folded':* **'iLt'a'X 'u'lAGAchich'** fold it, bend it (till it snaps, but not into two separate pieces)! *L.*

chich'2 *(perhaps to be identified with chich'1)*

Xd-chich'(**-g**)(**-L**) *(noun, unclassified) (with Xd-thematic, perhaps thematized Xd-class-mark, and optional -g-repetitive and/or -L(-instrumental?))* corner (viewed from inside): *Rezanov* Хатечичль 'Уголъ Ecke' **XAdAchich'L** corner *LM, also* **XAdAchich'g** *L,* **XAdichich'gL** corner (e.g. of a room) *M,* **la'dih XAdAchich'L** two corners *L.*

chiyah

chiyah *(noun, lX-class)* dentalium *LA*: *Galushia Nelson* tcíyà 'dentalium shell' *BSdL 551,* **chiyah la'X lAXAdla:Li'yahLinh** he's wearing a dentalium necklace *L.*

chAG *(final -q' definitely not acceptable)*

-chAG S use a fork, *attested only in indirect reflexive with dA-classifier (perhaps in error for LA-classifier, indirect reflexive of O-L-chAG*: *with o-sa'd 'in o's mouth':* **sa'd 'AdAchAG** use a fork (putting food in your (own) mouth)! *L.*

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O-**L-chAG** S lift, handle O with a fork: **'ALchAG** fork it! *M,* pitch it (e.g. fish) with a fork! *L,* **qu'xLchAG** I'll fork it *M,* **siLchAGL** I forked it *M,* **da: Lche:Gk'** we (cust) fork it *M.*

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chAGL *(noun, unclassified) (with -L-instrumental)* fork, forked stick, table-fork *LMA*: **la'dih chAGL** two forks, two table-forks *L.*

chAq'~ch'Aq'~chuq'~ch'uq' *(form and status uncertain, ch'Aq', ch'uq' probably incorrect, perhaps loan from, or cognate with, Athapaskan -čʌq'ʷ 'genitals, testicles')*

-chAq'~-ch'Aq'~-chuq'~-ch'uq' *(noun)* genitals, penis, vulva: *Rezanov* Уччукъ 'Дѣтороднои удъ женской Glied, weibliches' *conceivably to be read* **'uchAq'** her genitals, *but probably to be read as loan from Eskimo, Yupik ucuk 'genitals', cf.* Уччуа 'Дѣтороднои удъ муской Glied, mannliches' *probably to be read Eskimo ucua 'his, her genitals', Galushia Nelson* ɕə́tcə̀q' 'penis' *BSdL 542 probably to be read* **k'uchAq'** someone's penis, genitals, *"Johnny Stevens' Ahtna wife used a word -ch'Aq'w or something like that for guch' ('penis') A, Sampson Harry, not know to LM.*

chAXch' *(L momentarily also chAXtl', but fairly certain of chAXch')*

-X-L-chAXch'-L *(noun) attested only with -Guhd 'knee' as possessor in* **-GuhdXALchAXch'L** kneecap: **siGuhdXALchAXch'L** my kneecap *(momentarily also -chAXtl'L, but finally rejected in favor of -chAXch'L) L (unable to analyze).*

chi:~chi' *(variation inexplicable, but cf. k'e:'~; with interrogatives, chi' in exclamations, perhaps two different stems, but evidently related semantically)*

-chi:- *(enclitic, syntactically unique, emphasizer with interrogatives)* ever, in the world: *with de:…-d 'what?', de:-chi:-d 'what ever?, what in the world?':* **de:chi:dA'Aw** what in the world is that? *L,* **dAde:chi:d da: da'qe'li:LXah** what ever will we have (in the way of possessions)? *11.54A, with postposition:* **de:wahchi:d wAX yileh** what ever did you do that for? *M, with du:…-d 'who?', du:-chi:-d 'who ever?, who in the world?':* **du:chi:ndA'anh** who ever is that? *M,* **du:chi:dunh 'udahd qu'li:tah** who ever would hear her? *20.14A,* **du:chi:duw lAwAdjga' 'i:t'eh** whoever is kind of bashful *69.15A, with da:…-d 'where?':* **da:chi:d** *where*?! *L, with tla:X 'where?', -d-interrogative enclitic not normal with tla:X but suffixed to -chi:-:* **tla:Xchi:d sita:'** where ever is my father? *42.20A, with k'e:…-d 'how?':* **k'e:chi:d** how ever?, how in the world?, how about?, what about?: *Rezanov* Кейчидудахъ 'Даромъ umsonst' **k'e:chi:duhda:X** what ever (could *I* do about it, having no time to fool with it)? *L,* **k'e:chi:d di:leh** *what* did you say? *M, further examples:* **k'e:chi:duhnu: 'Awa: k'uqu'xLih** how ever shall I get at any of them? *10.236A,* **du:chi:dunh 'udahd qu'li:tah** who ever would hear her? *20.14A,* **k'e:chi:dAl da: qa't'uh** what in the world will become of us? *23.148A, 11.182, 21b.38, 42, 53, 23.14A, 30.8L, 33.67A, 34.9, 15M, 19, 23, 28, 32, 36, 44L, 49, 53, 54, 58, 59M, see under k'e:-d.*

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('iL-)chi'-sh(-dAg~) *(exclamation, stem chi'-, often with 'iL- exclamatory prefix, and always followed by -sh-interrogative enclitic, usually combined with enclitic -dAg- 'also, too', frequent in exclamations, *chi'sh alone not attested)* my goodness!, dear me!, my heavens!, God!, gosh!, *ça alors! (expression of disgust, dismay, irritation, alarm)*: **'iLch'ish**, **'iLchi'shdug**, **chi'shdug** my goodness! *L,* **'iLchi'shdAg dAXunh dik' 'AdAwi'Lga' 'i:nliht'uhG** my goodness! the guy sure isn't in any hurry! *L,* **chi'shdug dAXunhiLsih da' suhgLdah dAleh** God! that rotten guy (drunk) sure is a pain! *L,* **chishdug ya:X sALe'L** gosh! it (my nice new blanket) got all messed up! *L,* **chi'shdug Xa:'d Lich' ya:Xtl'Aq'a'd gAdiLi'ahL** God!, what lousy (arse-end-up) weather! *72.35L,* **'i:yah chi'shdug dAXunh 'a'd dja:q'ga' qa' li' didigudjL** God! the guy sure is tight-lipped (like a hooked bullhead)! *72.16L,* **chi'shdug 'uk'ah 'i:nsitahL** dear me! I forgot it! *49.89A.*

chi:sh

chi:sh-g *(with -g-repetitive sometimes omitted, when following morph begins with g, q, X) (noun)* 1. *(lX-class)* (loose) sand, gravel: *Rezanov* Чишкъ 'Песокъ Sand' **chi:shg** sand *LMA,* gravel *L, Rezanov* Чышкетле 'Песчаное мѣсто sandige Stelle' **chi:shg yiLeh** it's sandy, **chi:shglAXAt'u'**, **k'ulAXAt'u' chi:shg** lots of sand *M,* **chi:shg sich' lAXi:La'** (*or* **lAXa:La'**) give me some sand! *L,* **chi:shg ta:q' 'iLqa:X lAXAGAxXuhLgL** I'm spreading (shovelling) sand about on the road *L; declassified, as o of o-ga' 'like o':* **chi:shga' sAliL** *(not chi:shgga')* it broke into smithereens, became pulverized *L.*

2. *(l-class (in text from A, cf. archaic l-classification of tsa: 'stone'), Xd-class (in text and constructions referring to 'bank, shore'), lX-class (in elicitations from M, probably influenced by chi:shg 1. and l- and Xd-class-marks for chi:shg 2.))* sandbank, sandy beach, gravel-beach: **chi:sh(g)XAda:q'd** on gravel-beach *1.3, 3.3, 6.2M,* **chi:shga:na'q'** onto gravel-beach *10.12, 27A,* **chi:shglAXa'luw** big sandbank *M,* **chi:shglAXA'a:w** long sandbank *M; Furuhjelm* Tchiishk 'town, village' **chi:shg**, *see chi:sh qi' k'u:Leh below.*

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xut'LyAq'd chi:shg *(noun, probably lX-class)* gunpowder < sand inside gun *L. Rezanov* Хотлекачижикъ 'Порохъ (Flinten) Pulver'.

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chi:sh qi' k'u:Leh *(place-name) village at western end of Eyak Lake, Old Town, Cordova* < place where there's sand, place where there's a sandy beach *L. Galushia Nelson* t'cí·cqèiɢɔtłè 'Former village at Cordova' *BSdL 18, 31, 544, Furuhjelm* Tchiishk 'town, village'.

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-chi:sh-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized)* S become pulverized: *with ya' 'completely':* **ya' shAchi:shgL** it (e.g. bottle, bread, any substance) broke into smithereens, it's smashed up to gravel *L. Transitive (causative):* **ya' shALchi:shgL** you broke it to smithereens, smashed it to bits, pulverized it *L.*

chihsh

-chihsh S (trapped prey) escape, get away: **shAchihshL** it (animal, fish) got away *L, with o-Xa' 'in intimate relation with o, "on" o':* **siXa' shAchihshL** it got away from me (game, fish, when I was sure I had it) *L.*

chi'ch'2 *(perhaps to be identified with ch'ich'1; see also ch'ihdj~ch'ihsh)*

ch'ich' *attested only in* **ch'ich'ishxah** *(noun, probably d-class; for 'ishxah see xwa~xa~xAwa)* wild celery turned to wood *(has hollow stem; 'seacoast angelica, cowparsnip, see lovage', or perhaps 'false hellebore') L*: **ch'ich'ishxah sALe'L** it (wild celery) turned to wood < it (plant) became ch'ich'ishxah *L (unable to analyze).*

che´

d-che´ *(attested only with d-thematic 'oral')* S be, become hungry: *Active perfective, 'S be (became) hungry': 10.217A, 46.26M, Wrangell* Таши-шетль 'Essen (ѣсть хочу)' **dishiche'L** I'm hungry *LM,* **dik' duxshche'LG** I'm not hungry *M,* **dAshAche'Lsh** are you hungry? *LM,* **dik'sh dAshche'LG** aren't you hungry? *LM, Anonymous* Тасчаль 'Есть хочетъ' ('he wants to eat') **dAsAche'L** he's hungry, **dAshAche'L** it's hungry *L,* **dAshAche'Linh** he's hungry *M,* **dik' dAshche'LGinh** he's not hungry *M,* **da:lAXshAche'Lsh** are you pl. hungry? *L,* **dik'sh da:lAXshche'LG** aren't you pl. hungry? *LM,* **dAshAche'Linu:**, **qAdAshAche'Linu:** they're hungry *L,* **'uqa'X yi:nhinu: k'udAshAche'L** some of them are hungry *L, Inceptive perfective, 'S be becoming hungry':* **dAGAxche'L** I'm getting hungry *LM,* **dAGi:che'Lsh** are you getting hungry? *LM,* **dik'sh dAGi:che'LG** aren't you getting hungry? *LM, Neuter perfective and imperfective, 'S be (constantly) hungry':* **Lich' di:che'Linh**, **dALich' di:chinhinh** he's always hungry *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **qu'di:xcheh** I'll be hungry *L,* **dik' qu'di:xchehG** *(not -che:G)* I won't be hungry *L,* **qu'di:chehsh** will you be hungry? *M,* **dik'sh qu'di:chehG** won't you be hungry? *M, Active optative:* **da:xicheh** let me be hungry *L,* **da:licheh**, **da:yicheh** it's OK for you to be hungry *L,* **qAda:yichinhinu:** let them be hungry *L,* **da:lAXicheh**, **qAda:lAXicheh** it's OK for you pl. to be hungry *L, with q'e' 'again, some more' and dA-classifier:* **'a'd k'a:di'da: q'e' da:dicheh** you'll never be hungry anymore *M, Inceptive optative:* **dAGi:cheh** it's OK for you to get hungry *L, Inceptive imperative (L unwilling to use other imperatives):* **dAGAche'** stay hungry!, be hungry!, get hungry! *L, customary:* **dAxche:k'** I'm (cust) hungry *LM,* **dAche:k'ya:X** lest he be hungry *L, repetitive:* **dAxche'g** I'm hungry off and on *M,* I keep getting hungry *L, Inceptive subjunctive (transcribed first summer, stem-form probably incorrect, should be -cheh-):* **dAGAxche:X siXe'linhinh** he wants me to be hungry *L,* **dAGi:che:X 'iXe'xleh** I want you to be hungry *L,* **dAGAche:X 'uXe'xlinhinh** I want him to be hungry *L,* **qAdAGAche:X 'uXa' 'ixlinhinu:** I want them to be hungry *L. Transitive (causative):* **xudAGi:Lche'L** you're making me hungry *M,* **qu'di:xLchinhinh** I'll make him hungry *M,* **xudAGALche'** make me hungry! *M.*

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dAche:l *(gerundive of preceding)* hunger, *as o of o-ya'X '(movement) in o (with broad opening at top)' with O-'-y-L-qa 'day dawns on O, O overnight'*: **dAche:lya'X xu'yAsALqahL** I had to camp overnight hungry *L, as o of o-y-Xa' 'on forearm of o, into clutches of o' with -'ya 'S involuntarily get into situation, condition':* **dAche:lyAXa' si'yahL** I got real hungry, I went hungry *L,* **dAche:lyAXa'shunh sa'yahL** did he go hungry? *L,* **dAche:lyAXa' GALya'** make him go hungry! *L, as o of o-ch' 'towards o' with 'i:lih-le 'S have emotional experience':* **dAche:lch' 'i:lihsAliLinh** he recovered his appetite (suddenly got hungry again, e.g. after long illness) *L.*

che:k'~che:tl'~che:L *(L uncertain, preferes che:k', A che:L)*

L-che:k' S be, become toothless: **'i:Lche:k'Linh** he (baby or old person) has no teeth *(Neuter perfective) L,* **shALche:k'L** you lost all your teeth *L (**'i:Lche:tl'L** and **shALche:tl'L** also recorded on both occasions this stem was elicited from L. -che:k'- on both occasions was the first and most spontaneous form; on the second occasion L for a while thought that "-che:tl'- sounds better than -che:k'-", but finally returned to her preference for -che:k'-), form from A (recorded on tape by Constance Naish 7 April 1967)* **shALche:LgLinh** 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.*

che:y~cha:y *(cha:y S only; cha:y perhaps loan from Chugach cai, though aspirate initial irregular, cf. dzi:ni:g~dji:nig, cha:shgAG, perhaps influenced by che:y; che:y perhaps loan from Yakutat Tlingit čey, obsolescent in Yakutat, Sampson Harry; che:y "real Eyak", cha:y "not real Eyak" L; one or both perhaps direct loan from Russian чай)*

che:y *LM,* **cha:y** *S (noun)* 1. *(unclassified)* tea(-leaves): **che:y'At'u'** lots of tea(-leaves) *LM,* **che:yAyu:** quantities of tea *52.36L.*

2. *(gl-class)* tea (beverage): **che:y da: shi:shk'** we (cust) drink tea *M,* **'Al che:y siXa' ya'd qu'xLshish** I'll drink this tea of mine up *61.68A,* **che:y gAli:Lts'unhinh** he loves to guzzle tea *L,* **'Aw che:y gAli:Lqa'd** boil that tea! *L,* **che:ygu:nt'u'**, **che:ygAlAt'u'** lots of tea *LM,* **che:ygulA'e' xdAle:gk'** I (cust) [get the urge to?] drink tea *L,* **'Aw che:y 'ida'ya:lAX gu:nsAduxL** that tea has (too many) leaves floating into it, floated to the top *L,* **gu:nsditugL che:y** tea with lots of leaves in it.

chehg

-chehg *(not freely used, attested only in Active perfective)* S rot (crumble, disintegrate, without putrefaction): **shAchehgL** it got rotten *L, with ya' 'completely':* **ya' shAchehgL** it rotted and disintegrated *L.*

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LA-chehg S rot (crumble, disintegrate, without putrefaction): **sLichehgL** it got rotten *L,* it crumbled *M,* **ya' sLichehgL** it rotted away *L,* **qu'LAchehg** it'll rot (vegetable or plant, not animal) *LM; with d-class-mark for S (tree, perhaps partly thematized):* **dALAchehg** rotten wood *(Active imperfective nominalized) LM,* **dishLichehgL** rotten wood *(Active perfective nominalized) S,* **yAq'Adqa: diLichehgL** old hollow tree is rotten *(Neuter perfective) L,* **qu'dALAchehg** it (wood) will rot *M,* **dALAche:gk'** it (wood) (cust) rots *M; with d-class-mark and ku:l-anatomical 'thickest part':* **ku:ndAGALAchehgL** it (tree at base) is rotting *L,* **ku:ndishLichehgL** it (tree at base) rotted *L. Transitive (causative): with d-class-mark for O:* **ya' dAGALchehg** make it (wood) rot! *M; passive:* **ya' shdichehgL** *"sounds like someone made it rot"* < it has been made to rot *L.*

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dAchehg(L) *(noun, probably d-class)* rotten dead tree: **dAchehg** rotten wood *M, Harrington* tɑttchehk.ɬ 'dead Tree' *G. Deverbalization, perhaps with -L-instrumental (or gerundive?).*

che’q’ *(final -G definitely not acceptable)*

O-**L-che’q’** S hook O: **’ALche’q’** hook it! *L,* **qu’xLche’q’** I'll hook it *L,* **siLche’q’L** I hooked *M, with indeterminate O and perambulative:* **yAX ’iLAche’q’Xinh** he's going about hooking things here and there *L; passive: 63.42fnG,* **xushLiche’q’L** I got hooked *L.*

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XAdAGd ’iLu’ Liche’q’L *(Neuter perfective nominalized, either direct reciprocal 'they have hooked each other above' or indirect reflexive (< 'iL-lu') passive 'they have been hooked through each other above') attested only in Harrington* ɣαttαqt ’ɪɬɬμ́’ɬi’tchéq’ɬ 'tree caught (lodged) in fork of other tree falling, Eng. "a hang-up"' *G.*

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che’q’L *(noun, unclassified) (with -L-instrumental)* hook *LMS, 63.42G,* halibut hook *S*: *Galushia Nelson* t’cä’ktɬ 'hook-like spear or rake for eulachon', *Old Man Dude* tcak’tɬ 'halibut hook' *BSdL 549 (descriptions in BSdL 120-121),* **che’q’L’a’luw** big hook *LM.*

cha *(form uncertain, perhaps chA, cha', or chan', occurring only in cha'nik'L, see (')nik'.)*

cha:d

-cha:d *(noun, unclassified)* 1. fin: **k’ucha:d** fins (any fin, of any fish) *L,* **k’ut’u’ ’ucha:d ’Awa:qa’ ’i:’ah** lots of (dorsal) fins are sticking up out (of water), fish are running abundantly *L.*

2. hump (of humpback salmon): **’ucha:d** its (humpback salmon's) hump *L,* **k’ucha:d-luw** big hump (of humpback salmon) *LM.*

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-cha:d *(verb theme attested only in Neuter perfective)* S have swelling, hump: **’i:cha:dL** it has a hump, swelling on it *L.*

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O-**L-cha:d** S cut off O (hump of humpback salmon): **’ALcha:d** cut it off (hump of humpback salmon)! *L; passive:* **sLicha:dL** hump of humpback salmon (cut off) *(a delicacy; Active perfective nominalized) L.*

cha:sh *(probably loan from Ahtna cas [cha:sh] 'edible (Hedysarum alpinum) root', widely diffused and phonologically irregular form of unidentified origin, Minto troθ, Tlingit cáʒ)*

cha:sh *(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),* **cha:sh’a’luw** big Hedysarum plant *LM,* **cha:shdALq’a’** Hedysarum stem *L.*

2. *(lX-class)* edible (Hedysarum) root, Indian potatoes *LM (L knows the Ahtna "had the same word")*: **cha:shlAXa’luw** big Indian potato *M.*

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cha:sh ’uya’d k’u:Leh *(place-name) on Alaganik Slough, first place on way up towards Alaganik (below nik'nishXAdAya'd~nishnik'XAdAya'd)* < there are Hedysarum plants in it (o with broad opening at top, body of water) *L.*

cha:shgAG *(loan from Chugach [čaškaq], from Russian* чашка*, Eyak aspirated initial probably due to influence of cha:shga:, q.v.)*

cha:shgAG *(noun, unclassified)* cup *LA (same as cha:shga:, and preferred to cha:shga: LA).*

cha:shga: *(loan from Yakutat Tlingit (Sampson Harry) čášga 'cup', from Russian* чашка; *see also cha:shgAG)*

cha:shga: *(noun, unclassified)* cup *LA (same as cha:shgAG, which L and A prefer)*: **cha:shga:t'u'** lots of cups *LM.*

chahd

LA-chahd-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized)* S (starving, ill, very fatigued) walk staggering, reeling, to destination: **GAxLAchahdgL** I'm barely making it (struggling along on foot) *L,* **qu'xLAchahdg** I'll try to stagger there (walk along, very weak, from sickness, hunger, fatigue, reeling or staggering) *L.*

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d-LA-chahd-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized, d-thematic 'oral, noise')* S (emotionally overcome, sobbing) talk with great difficulty: **dALAchahdginh** he (child, sobbing) is stammering, blubbering *L.*

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l-dA-chahd-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized, l-thematic)* 1. S (supply of food, fuel) run out, run short, fail: *with o-Xa' 'in intimate relation with o, "on" o':* **siXa' 'i:nshdichahdgL** my food ran short *L, with o-qa'X 'amongst o':* **'uqa'X 'i:nshdichahdgLinu:** there isn't enough food for (to distribute amongst) them *L.*

2. S keep travelling in spite of failure of food-, fuel-supply: **di-'wAX 'u:da' 'i:nxshdichahdgL** I barely made it there, I still arrived there somehow, though out of gas *L.*

chahsh~cha'sh *(cha'sh clearly preferred in Neuter imperfective and (analogically?) in Neuter perfective, chahsh generally preferred elsewhere, including in adjective)*

-chahsh *(adjective)* thick (in least dimension), coarse: 1. *Independent or relativized*: *Rezanov* Кучь-аашъ 'Толсто dick' **k'uchahsh** *(not -cha'sh LM)* a thick thing *M,* thick *L,* **k'uchahsh tl'ihst'** thick devilclub *M,* **k'uchahsh dAkinh** thick stick *L, Rezanov* Ауляхъ кучь-аашъ 'Толще dick (Comparativ)' **'AwlAX k'uchahsh** (something) thicker than that, *with class-marks in association with classified noun:* **k'ugAdAchahsh k'utsin'** thick neck *L,* **k'ulAXAchahsh** coarse (grain) *M.*

2. *Suffixed*: **dAkinhchahsh** thick stick *L, to classified noun:* **di:ya'gAlAchahsh** coarse salt *M.*

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3. *With la'q' 'thickness'*: *with d-class-mark: 57.27G,* **shdu:lihG la'q' dAchahsh** thick table (made of thick boards) *L, Xd-class-mark:* **la'q' XAdAchahsh** thick (log) *L, with anatomical marks, in pejorative epithets:* **la'q' qi:dAchahsh** thick-feet *18.8L,* **la'q' yAchahsh** thick-hands *18.8L.*

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lAXAchahsh *(noun, unclassified)* gunnysack < coarse-grained (cloth) *L.*

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-chahsh~-cha’sh S be thick (in least dimension), coarse, *usually with la'q' 'thickness'*: *Neuter imperfective (usually -cha’sh, clearly preferred to -chahsh): 65.4A,* **dik’ siyAq’A’ts’ la’q’ ’a’chahshG, dik’ sik’ahsh siya: la’q’ ’a’chahshG** my hands aren't coarse, my feet aren't coarse *18.16, 19, 19L (all -chahsh, perhaps mistranscribed),* **la’q’ yicha’sh** *L (twice),* **la’q’ ’i:cha’sh** it's thick *LMA (A four times),* **dik’ la’q’ ’a’cha’shG** *(not -chahsh-)* it's not thick *L,* **’AXa: la’q’ ’i:cha’sh** (*or* **-chahsh**) **kushxi:d** my what thick cloth! *L, with class-marks for S:* **q’ahs la’q’ XAdi:chahsh** clouds are thick *L,* **la’q’ di:chahsh** it (board) is thick *M (both the preceding perhaps mistranscribed),* **la’q’ li:cha’sh** it (fat on seal) is thick *L,* **dik’ la’q’ la’cha’shG** it (fat on seal) isn't thick *L, with y-anatomical:* **la’q’ yi:cha’sh Lila:’** man with thick hands *L; Neuter perfective* **la’q’ ’i:cha’shL** it's (become) thick (as a result of something) *L (stem-form perhaps analogical)*; *Inceptives and Actives (-chahsh generally preferred, at least by L):* **la’q’ qa’cha’sh** *LM,* **la’q’ qa’chahsh** *(not -cha'sh L, contradicting self)* it'll get thick *LM,* **la’q’Ach’ GAcha’shL** *M,* **la’q’ GAcha’shL** (*or* **-chahshL**) it's getting thick *L (twice),* **la’q’ GAchahshL** *(not -cha'shL, contradicting self)* it's getting thick; it's getting calloused *L,* **la’q’ shAcha’shL** *LM,* **la’q’ shAchahshL** it got thick *L, with d-class-mark for S:* **la’q’ dAshAcha’shL, ’Aw t’its’** it had gotten thick, that ice *57.9G. Transitive (causative):* **la’q’ GALcha’sh** make it thick! *M; with lX-class-mark for O (thematized?):* **lAXAGALchahsh** make it coarse! *M,* **da: lAXALcha:shk’** we (cust) make it coarse *M.*

cha’tl’

cha’tl’ *(noun)* 1. *(lX-class)* blueberries *LMA,* huckleberries *M (probably most local Vaccinium species except V. vitis idaea, V. oxycoccos)*: *20.1A, Rezanov* Чаатль 'Черника' *(not in Radlov, 'bilberry'),* **cha’tl’lAXAt’u’** lots of blueberries *M,* **’u:d ’i:na:d k’ulAXAt’u’ cha’tl’** there are lots of blueberries on the slope there *L,* **cha’tl’ ya:X lAXAGAle’gL** he's eating up all the blueberries *L.*

2. *(unclassified or declass.)* blueberry-bush, *(in certain construction)* blueberries: *20.2A,* **cha’tl’ ’i:nsa’mahdL** blueberries ripened *L,* **cha’tl’dALq’a’** stem of blueberry plant *L; as o of o-ga' 'like o': 66.10L,* **cha’tl’ga’ ’i:t’eh** it's dark blue color, black-and-blue color; a bruise *LM.*

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’AdAcha’tl’ *(noun, lX-class)* real blue blueberry species < genuine blueberries, blueberries *par excellence L.*

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XAdAGd cha’tl’ *(noun, lX-class) (attested only in Harrington from G,* x̣ɑddáqht-tchá’q’, *q' frequently misheard for tl' in Harrington)* large blueberry species < upstream blueberry, *unknown to L.*

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dA-cha’tl’ S (bruised) turn black-and-blue: **shdicha’tl’L** it (bruise) turned bluish *L.*

cha’ch’

cha’ch’ *(noun, unclassified)* red salmon, sockeye salmon (Oncorhynchus nerka) *LMASG*: *65.68, 70A, 67.13G, Rezanov* Чаачь 'Красная рыба Salmo lycaodon', *Anonymous* Чачу 'Рыба, красная', *Galushia Nelson* t’ca’t’c 'red or sockeye salmon' *BSdL 540,* **cha’ch’a’luw** big sockeye *L,* **cha’ch’At’u’** lots of red salmon *M,* **cha’ch’ yAdi:Leh** it's sockeye meat *L,* **di-’wAX cha’ch’ yAdi:Leh** it (salmon-meat) is still red *L,* **cha’ch’ga’ yAdi:t’eh** it (fish-meat) looks like (that of) sockeye *L.*

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cha’ch’qAXah *(month-name) "around May" L, "June" A,* < red salmon-month.

chan´ *(cha' in some syntactically ill-defined non-verbal forms; chan´ well established in verbs, but strongly influenced, for L and M, by Class I variable stem patterns)*

LA-chan´ S smell, have odor, stink *(similar to English 'smell', generally implying unpleasant odor unless otherwise specified)*: *imperfectives (always -chanh):* **LAchanh** it smells bad *LM,* it smells *L,* **dik' LAchanhG** it doesn't smell *L,* **k'udzu:dah LAchanh** it smells good *L,* **k'usha:dah LAchanh** it stinks *L, Rezanov* Кошиятлечанъ 'Воняеть stinken' **k'ushiyah LAchanh** something bad stinks, **LAchanhshiyah** smells-nasty *(epithet, with suffixed adjective 'bad') 1b.9M,* **qu'LAchanh** it'll smell *L, with class-marks for S:* **dALga' dALAch**[**anh**] it smells like blood *27b.20A,* **lAXALAchanh** any berry or flower that has a pungent odor *M (see separate entry), with qi:d-anatomical:* **qi:dALAchinhinh dAXunh** a person with smelly feet *L; perfectives (-chan'-):* **sLichan'L** it got stinky *A,* **GALAchan'L** it's getting stinky *A,* **k'usha:dah GALAchan'L** it's starting to smell bad *L; repetitive (stem-form analogical, should be -chan'-):* **GALAchanhg** it's smelly on and off *L.*

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sLa'dah gu:nLAchanh *(noun)* perfume < liquid smells beautifully *M.*

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lAXALAchanh *(nominalized Active imperfective of preceding, with lX-class for S 'berry-like' at least partly thematized, apparently used in referece to any vegetable or plant with a disagreeable or pungent odor, but also as the name or epithet for certain specific flora items) L* onions *('when onions first came to Alaganik trading post, the Eyaks would buy them, and children would chase each other about with them, crying lAXALAchanh; this word was used for a while for 'onions' until replaced by ye:LtAXi: from Tlingit'), M* any berry or flower that smells, *especially sAsinhLinu:ya' la'mahd*: *Harrington* lóχ̣áɬtcǽ˛ lɑχχ̣ɑɬɑtcǫ́ 'wild currant, Ribes laxiflorum?' *G,* lɑχχ̣ɑɬɑttchɔ̀χ̣h 'wild onion' G.

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qi:yALAchanh *(noun, unclassified)* daddy longlegs, harvestman *LM*: *40.14L,* **qi:yALAchanhya' dzAwuL** spiderweb *L. Nominalized Active imperfective with qi:y-anatomical,* < its toes stink*; apparently considered a loathsome and sinister creature by the Eyak.*

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O-**L-chan´** *(perhaps semantically irregular causative of LA-chan´)* S smell O: *27b.19fnA,* **'ahnu:** [**'u**]**qi:dla:GA'e'X Lchanh** they smelled her track *25.62A,* **xLchanh** I smell it, I'm smelling it *LM,* **qu'xLAchanh** I'll smell it *LS,* **dik' qu'xLAchanhG** *(not -cha:nG)* I won't smell it *L,* **GALchanhLGdAwa:** *(stem-form analogical)* before he smells it *L,* **siLchan'L** I smelled it *L, Rezanov* Колеальча 'Нюхать riechen', Калеальчу 'Понюхай riechen (Imperat.)' **q'Ale' 'ALchanh**(**uh**) now smell it!, **'ALchanh** *(not -chan'),* **GALchan'** smell it! *L,* **da: 'i:Lchanh** let's smell it *L,* **'Aw Lcha:nk'** he (cust) smells it *M,* **'Aw 'AxLchanhX sitl' dAlinhinh** he told me to smell it *L, repetitive:* **k'uxLchan'g** I smell something on and off *L, with d-class-mark for O: 27a.15L, 27b.19fnA, with qi:d-class-mark for O, 'S smell O's foot, S (dog) track O':* **xuqi:dAsALchanhL** *(stem-form analogical)* it sniffed my foot *L,* **'iqi:dAGALchan'L** it (dog) is tracking you *L, with l-anatomical, 'S kiss O' (< 'S smell O's face'): 47c.51L (Active optative), Anonymous* Нытлчунъ 'Нюхаетъ' ('he's smelling (it)') **nALchanh** you're smelling his face, **'anh la:yiLchanhwahd** to kiss her < so that he might smell her face *47b.42M,* **xu:li:Lchanh** kiss me! *M,* **li:Lchinhinh** kiss him! *L, with perambulative and qi:d-anatomical:* **yAX xuqi:dALAchan'X** *(or* **-chanhX**, *analogical)* it (dog) is tracking me down *L,* **yAX xuqu'qi:dALAchanh** it (dog) will track me down *L,* **yAX xuqi:dishLichan'L** it (dog) tracked me down *L, detransitivized with indeterminate O:* **siqi:dla:GA'e'X 'iGALAchan'L** it (dog) is sniffing along my track *L,* **'uqi:dla:GA'e'X 'i'LAchin'inh** smell his track! *(to dog) L, with perambulative:* **yAX**

'iLAchanhX *M,* **yAX 'iLAchan'X** it's sniffing around *MA,* **siq' yAX 'iLAcha:nX** *(analogical stem-form)* it's sniffing around on me *L,* **yAX 'ixLAchanhX**, **yAX 'ixLAchan'X** *(no preference, former analogical)* I'm sniffing around *L,* **da: yAX 'i:nLichanh** let's sniff around *L,* **yAX 'isLichan'L** it sniffed around *L, with Gl-thematic 'ground':* **yAX 'iGa:nLAcha:nX** *(stem-form analogical)* it (dog) is sniffing around on the ground *L; reciprocal, with l-anatomical:* **'iLu' lALAchinhinu:** they're kissing each other < they're smelling each other's face *L.*

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'Aw lALcha:nk' *(personal name) Anna's brother* ***wa:ndALsAnn*** *L ("maybe just a nickname" L)* < he (cust) kisses it.

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'ichan' *(personal name) woman's name L ("has to do with smell") (prefix perhaps indeterminate O),* **'ichan'k'** *(personal name) woman's name S (L considers this probably incorrect; perhaps influenced by the preceding).*

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k'uchan' *(personal name) man's or woman's name L (prefix indefinite S, O, or possessor).*

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qi:dALAchan' *pejorative epithet* < stinky-feet *L.*

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'Ana:shahLchan' *(noun, unclassified)* flower of Kamchatka lily < smelly flower *L (-L-chan' perhaps adjectival).*

cha:n *(perhaps related to chan´)*

cha:n *(noun, probably unclassified)* bait *LM.*

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O-**cha:n** *(stem-form also cha:n', L uncertain about variation of this type of stem in verbs)* S bait O (hook, trap): **sicha:nL**, **shicha:n'L** *(no clear preference)* I baited it (hook, trap) *L,* **qu'xcha:n'** I'll bait it (hook, trap) *L,* **GAcha:n'** bait it! *L.*

cha:nngu: *(loan from Russian чарка 'cup', probably through Tlingit, but not known to W. Soboleff)*

cha:nngu: *(noun, unclassified)* drinking-glass *L.*

cha:nnwa:nn~cha:nnAwa:nn *(loan from Tlingit čánwan 'Chinaman', from English, perhaps directly, or through Chinook Jargon)*

cha:nnwa:nn~cha:nnAwa:nn *(noun, unclassified)* Chinese, Chinaman: **cha:nnAwa:nn** Chinaman *L,* **'iyah cha:nnwa:nnyu:gu:t'u' 'a:nch' GA'a'ch'L** my there are a lot of Chinamen coming here! *L,* **cha:nnwa:nnyu:** Chinamen *L.*

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cha:nn(A)wa:nnyu:ya' ch'iyahd *(noun, unclassified?)* toadstool < Chinamen's hat *L.*

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cha:nnwa:nnyu:ya' na:w *(noun)* a certain alcoholic beverage < Chinamen's whiskey *L.*

chu:

-chu: *(kinship noun, ascending)* (maternal) grandmother, (maternal) grandmother's sister: sɪtcu' 'mother's mother's older sister (man speaking)' *BSdL 566A,* **sichu:** my mother's mother *(man or woman speaking) L; with suffixed adjective -shiyah (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, sɪtcucia 'mother's mother's younger sister (man speaking)' *BSdL 566A,* **sichu:shiyah** my mother's mother *(man or woman speaking, same as **sichu:**) L,* **'ichu:shiyah** your mother's mother *L; with suffixed -(GA-)yu: 'pl., etc., et al.', 'maternal grandmother, her siblings and their families', perhaps also 'mother's parents':* **'ichu:shiyahyu:** your grandmother's people, your mother's mother etc. *18.82L,* **shichu:yu:** my grandmother's people *57.2G,* **sichu:GAyu:** my mother's mother's people *L. Vocative (no prefix, unbroken form of suffixed adjective):* **chu:shah** *(not -shiyah)* grandmother! *L, 17.9M,* tcucia 'mother's mother (either sex speaking)' *BSdL 565A,* **chu:sha:** *name of Elaine Ramos.*

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-chu:-kih *(kinship noun, descending) (reciprocal to preceding, with -kih 'diminutive, affectionate')* (woman's) daughter's child, *probably also* (woman's) sister's daughter's child: *61.29fnA (here '(man's) sister's daughter's child'),* sitsuki 'daughter's child' *(woman speaking) BSdL 567A* **sichu:kih** my daughter's child *(woman speaking, also used in direct address) M.*

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chu:shah, *Eyak original of* **chu:sha:** *(personal name) Tlingit woman Elaine Abraham Ramos (1929-2016), daughter of Olaf and Susie Abraham of Yakutat (from Elaine Abraham).*

ch' *(postpositional stem, final element to postpositions, preverbs, locatives, and certain other forms, and initial element in postpositions o-ch'-a', o-ch'-a:, o-L-ch'-a:-, o-ch'-ahd, so analyzed and identified on the strength of clear semantic grounds, cf. especially the set d2, da', da:3, dahd, and X1, Xa'~Xa:, Xahd, not so analyzed only because insufficient semantic clarity)*

o-**ch'** *(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-L-te, O-(L-)ta, O-(L-)'a, O-L-'ya, O-L-ya:', O-L-(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 referring to motion setting out toward but clearly not specified as reaching o; occasionally attested with reflexive o, o never deleted, 'Adch', with indeterminate o, dAch', frequent with reciprocal o, 'iLch' (never *'iLi:ch' L); rather irregular with class-marks the last element of which is -l-: -l-ch' usually > -:nAch', in certain cases -:ch', occasionally but perhaps less correctly -lAch', and with giyah 'water' (gl-class) as o, consistently giyahgu:nch' (-:nch'); with marks the last element of which is not -l-, -C-ch' regularly -CAch', never *-Ca:ch': for semantically regular instances see d-LA-de (causative), -da, O-ta'tl', O-tux, d-dA-tux, O-L-te, O-(L-)ta, Xd-ta, O-gd-(L-)ta, O-'-(l-)(L-)ta, LA-t'ux, -t'e'q', O-L-t'Aq', -t'e´~-t'u´ 2d., 11., dlX-t'e´~-t'u´, O-tl'i 1a., 2., O-L-tl'i 1a., O-L-tsinhd, O-L-tsAtl', O-L-tsu:x, O-tsinhG, O-L-tsa' (tsa'1), O-ts'AX 1. (ts'AX4), -sid, Xu:ndl-L-gihdz-g, k'u-l-L-gu:nsh, O-L-gahG, LA-gAXts', 'i-ga´ , -kinhd, o-L-ku:n'd, O-kahL, d-L-k'a't', 'i-LA-xut', O-xu'tl'(-g), -xuL~ (causative), LA-xuL, O-L-qAtl', lXd-qAmAXts'-L, -qe, O-qa (qa1), O-qa (qa2), y-L-qa (qa3), LA-qa:', l-qu, O-q'Ats' 1., O-Xahd 1., O-L-Xahd 1., O-Xu'ts', d-LA-Xu'G, O-Xe, gld-~-wa'L~ (causative), l-wehs-g, O-*

(L-)wus~, -le'g 2., 7., O-lAG, 'i-leh~ 1., d-le 1b., 'i:lih-le, yAX l-dA-la-X (la~na2), LA-'nik', dA-'yahG 2., -'ya 4., 34a., d-'ya 2e., 3a., Gl-'ya 8., o-ch' yl-dA-'ya, Xdl-'ya, L-'ya (causative), O-L-ya:', 'iL-ch' O-'-l-L-'e:dz ('e'dz), -'a'ch', LA-'a'ch', O-dl-L-'e 1., 'i-L-'e~-'an 1., 8., O-(L-)'a 1., 16., -'a´ 2., 6b., 11., O-L-(y)a, O-'-(l-)L-(y)-a, LA-a: *with class- and anatomical marks:* **'u:nAch'** towards it (l-class) *L,* **tAGLa:lAch'**, **tAGLa:nAch'** *(latter preferred)* towards a hammer *L,* **tAGLAlAch' Ga:L**, **tAGLa:nAch' Ga:L** it (fly) is walking towards the hammer *L,* **ch'iyahd'a:nAch'** towards a hat *L,* **'itl'a:nAch'** towards a mountain *L,* **t'ahLti:nAch'** towards a feather, leaf *L,* **k'uXehLqi:lAch'** towards a rope *L,* **'i:nAch' dAGALk'a't'L** it's flying towards your head *L,* **tsa:dli:nAch'** towards a stone *L,* **tsa:dlAch' 'i:nL'an'** look at the stone! *M, see also o-lXdl-ch' below,* **giyahgu:nch'** *(consistently throughout),* **tsa'LdAch'** towards a knife *L,* **dAq'a:gdAch' 'ida'** move (sitting) towards the fire! *L,* **'Aw lisdAch' 'Aw XAwa: 'Al la:Xqi:nAX da:X GALtl'i:'** tie the dog up to that tree with this string! *L,* **lisdAch' 'i:nL'an'** look at the tree! *M,* **XahdLdAch' Ga:Linh** he's walking to the car *L,* **dzAwuhLguLehgAch'** towards the ball of yarn *L,* **tl'ihXgAdAch'** towards the grass *L,* **siqi:dAch'** towards my foot *L,* **siqi:dAch' dla:Xa't'eh** watch (what I'm doing with) my feet! *L,* **siyAch' dla:Xa't'eh** watch (what I'm doing with) my hands! *L,* **siyAch' dAGALk'a'L** it's flying towards my hand *L, see also o-y-ch' below,* **k'ugAdAch' dAxuLg** outboard motor < it continuously revolves at something's rump *L; with reflexive o:* **'Adch' dla:Xa'dAt'uh** look at yourself! *L,* **qehX 'Adch' 'ixsLidja:tl'L** I locked myself out *L (probably preverbialized); with indeterminate o:* **dAch'** O-**tl'i** S tie O up (to indeterminate o), **dAch' dAgAXts'** 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:* o1-**ch'** o2-**dAGAleh-yAq'-d k'u-ta** something be on o2's mind against o1, o-**ch' k'u-'-LA-tuh** S be too lazy for, to do o, o-**ch' d-q'e:k'** S be peeved at o, o-**ch' 'i:lih-le** S recover desire for o, o-**ch' d-'yahG** S yearn for o, o-**ch' ya' -'ya** S get used, habituated to o, o1-**ch' k'ushiyah** o2-**la'X d-'ya** o2 be angry with o1, o-**ch' d-'a:G** S tire of o (food), o1-**Xa'** o2-**ch' -sha´** S be stingy towards o2 about o1, o-**ch' d-le** S address, answer o *(cf. o-tl' d-le 'S say to o'),* **'Awch' 'ALxuL** screw it in(to it)! *L,* o-**ch' -le'g** S bother, molest, hut, touch (move hand to) o, o1-**ch'** o2-**d -le'g** S leave, grant o1 o2, o-**ch' d-'ya** there be extra S for o, o-**ch' dA-XAwi´** S have good luck from o, o-**ch' ('wAX) -t'e´~-t'u´** S be related to o < S be thus, live towards o *(-t'e´~-t'u´ 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':* **Xa:n' 'ixiLihch'** until I finish making it (canoe) *L (perhaps incomplete),* **'u'la:xiLgahch'** until I know *L (perhaps incomplete),* **qi' 'Awga'kih 'a'diyahch'**, **'ixi'ehga' 'a'diyahch'** until she's old enough, old enough for me to marry her *9.27A.*

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o-**y-ch'** *(postposition, with y-anatomical 'hand' thematized)* into o's clutches, victim to o: *see -t'e´~-t'u´ 12.,* **k'ushiyah 'iyAch' dAGAdAleh** you're getting yourself bad luck by playing with fire *L; once apparently o-y-y-ch' with k'u-indefinite o and thematized y-anatomical 'dangerous beast', perhaps incorrect:* **k'uyAyAch' qu'yiyah** you'll fall victim (go into the clutches of) a wild beast *L.*

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o-**lXdl-ch'** *(postposition, with mark including lX- or lXd-anatomical 'eye', always realized o-lAXAdla:ch')* in presence, view sight of o: o-**lXdl-ch' qAnuh** O-(**L-**)**ta** S show o O, o-**lXdl-ch' 'i-ga´** S dance for (in presence of) o.

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o-**d-ch'** *(postposition, with d-thematic 'oral, noise')* in order to hear o: *attested only in personal name:* **'udAch' k'uqAXA'a'ch'** *Agripina (maternal grandmother of Marie); Marie Smith-Jones* < people plurally come to the sound of her *M (cf. entry under 'a'ch').*

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-ch' *(final element to postpositions, preverbs, locatives, and certain adverbial forms) meaning and usage as for o-ch'; probably occurring as final to all postpositions, preverbs, locatives, and adverbs admitting the suffixation of any final, but not suffixed to forms ending in a consonant other than -' or -h without the interposition of -A-, e.g. o-q'-ch' > o-q'Ach'; with certain postpositions and preverbs ending in -a'~, requiring or optionally conditioning expansion and nasalization, -a'-ch' > 'a:nch': see 'iL-t'a'~, qa'~, y-qa'~ (qa'~qa:n), 'iL-qa'~, ya:X-tl'A-qa'~, (qa'~qa:n~qa:); for all instances see dAG, o-dAG, o-di:-ch', o-d-di:-ch', da', o-da', (o-)d-da', o-g-da'-, o-l-da'-, k'u:nda'ch', o-y-da', o-tsin'-da' (da'1), da:- (da:2), o-da:- (da:3), da:n', dla:da:n', ta', o-t'a', 'iL-t'a'~, t'a'q'e'ch'~, o-t'a:-X (t'a'~), o-tl'ah-, o-tsi:n'-, XA-tsiya'-, 'i:ntsa'- (tsi'~), o-sinh, o-sa', o-ch'-a:, o-L-ch'-a:-, Li-ch'-a:-, XA-sha:n-, o-ka:-X (ka'~), o-k'ah, 'AlA-k'ah, k'iya', o-xah, o-d-xwah-, qid, qi', tla: qi', qa'~, y-qa'~ (qa'~qa:n), o-qa', 'iL-qa'~, ya:X-tl'A-qa'~ (qa'~qa:n~qa:), qAnuh, o-q', o-l-q', o-dXl-q', (o-)q'Ayanh, Xi:-, o-Xa', Xa'-dih-, o-y-Xa', o-Xa:-X (Xa'~), Xa:', Xa:n', o-Xa:n', o-l-Xa:n', Xu', 'i:ndz-i'- (lahdz~), lAG, o-lAG (lAG2), la'q' (la'q'2), li', o-li', o-leh, lah (la~na1), o-lah (la~na2), o-la', o-la'q' (la'~na'), lu: (lu:2), o-lu', ya:nu' (lu'~nu'), yAna:' (na:'), yAq' (yAq'1), o-yAq' (yAq'2), yAq' (yAq'3), q'e:yAX (yAX2), o-yAX, o-L-yAX, o-d-L-yAX (yAX3), ya' (ya'2, ya'3), o-ya', ya' (ya'4), ya:-q', ya:n', o-'a:g, 'a'q', o-'ih- ('ih1), o-'e:-ch' ('e:1), o-'e', o-la:X-e'-, 'Ad-i-X, (o-)d-i:'-q' (e'~), Gdl-'a:w, dla:'anh ('anh1), o-'a:n', 'a:n- ('Al~), 'u:-, XA-yA-'u:- ('Aw~), to certain adverbs: see dAGida' (dAG), -dah 2. (dah3), Lich' (Li~Li'), k'a:dih~ (k'a:), dAqi:kih (qi:); occurrences of special semantic interest*: **'u:ch'** o-**dah 'u-'-l-ta** S hear o there *21b.29A, 34.118, 120, 122L,* **Xi:d ya:nu'ch' 'ahnu:dahd 'u'liditah, "giyah siLga'L …" dAlinhin:, Xi:d ya:nu'ch'** way yonder down below (surface) they are heard, "I'm thirsty …" they're saying, way down below *51.65-66A,* **GAdla:'a:wch' La' yiLeh** it's a glacier in the distance *61.34A,* **'u:ch' 'Ashdih yiLeh** is missing there *15.9M,* **'uyAq'Ach' k'utsinhinh** is singing inside it *11.185A (see also 10.13, 11.169A and cf. 'AwyAq'Ach'ahd k'utsinh 'sings from inside it' 10.12A),* **da:ch'duw ki:nXinh** where is it crying? *36.7A,* **qi'ch' k'utsin'dAleh** where someone is talking *37a.4, 7L (see also 30.3L),* **'u:ch' qAdAdA'a:t'inu:** they're crying there *24.24A (cf. 'u:d qAdA'a:t'inu: 'they're there crying, they're crying there' 24.25A, 'u:d ki:nXinh 'cries there' 23.64A),* **(Xi:d) Lanhd qi'ch' GAdA'eh** (way yonder) where smoke is visible *18.82, 47c.42L,* **te'ya'gutl'ah 'u:ch' GA'inhinh** she sees a fishtail there *46.7M,* **'Awsa'ch' k'ulAX 'isAL'anhL** she saw something in its mouth *43.18M,* **'u:ch' 'u'GALAtsah da:X** when it shows there *65.10A,* **dAde:d 'u:ch' Xi:yah** you may eat anything there *11.162A,* **dAXk'ih 'u:ch' 'uleh GAlAGa'ya:L da:Xdunhuw** a number of years are passing for her there and *25.40A,* **'ahnu: 'uqa'ch' sileh Ga:nsa'yahLinu:** those amongst whom I spent a year *25.183A,* o-**qa'-ch' 'i-'e** S (male) marry amongst o *11.3, 21b.67, 32.17A,* **'u:ch' 'isi'ehL, 'ahnu:qa'** he married there, amongst them *11.4A (cf. dAde:d Ga:ndich'ich'g-wAlahyu:qa'ch'ahd 'i:'e:k'inh 'he (cust) marries (from) amongst any sort of bird-people' 10.172A),* **dA'u:ch' 'anhd sAlAGLinh** he left her along there *4.19M,* **dA'u:ch' 'ahnu:k'ah sAle'gL** they left her be there *20.57A,* **dA'a:nch' sid sAle'gL** they let me be here *20.66A (cf. 'ich' 'ud qu'xle'g 'I'll grant it to you' 61.11, 18A, dA'u:d 'Awk'ah 'Ale'g 'leave' it be there!' 21b.31A),* **dA'u:ch' 'ahnu: sAlAGLinh** they abandoned her there *49.49A,* **dA'a:nch' 'AlAXlAGinh** 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 -ch' final, -ch' final may mean 'further': see especially ya:n'.*

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-ch'-L *(suffixes to verb stem, probably -ch'- with -L gerundive, attested with class I open stems only, stem long)* (in order) to, for (purpose of), *clearly attested in only two deverbalizations*: **k'uqu'wAshe:ch'L**, **k'uqa'she:ch'L**, **k'ushe:ch'L** hunting, to kill something, **k'uwa:ch'L** to eat, *requiring L-classifier in construction with verbs of locomotion; possibly also in le:ch', q.v.*

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o-**ch’-a’** *(postposition, o-ch' with -a' augment) meaning exactly as for o-ch', far less frequent than o-ch' (though relatively frequent in Rezanov) except with proper and place-names and foreign words as o, and with deleted reflexive o in indirect reflexive constructions*: *Rezanov* Анъ-ча 'Дать ('to give') geben' **’anhch’a’** to him, Хужича 'Дай ('give!') geben (Imperat.)' **xu: shich’a’** to *me!,* Тучатукосета 'Кому? wem?' **du:ch’a’duw …** to whom …?, **dAdu:ch’a’ ’Ata’** give it to anybody! *M,* **sich’a’ ’ALqAtl’**, **sich’a’ GALqAtl’** push it to me! *M, Rezanov* Чичаяхкателля 'Оберниць sich drehen, wenden (Imperat.)' **shich’a’ yAX GAdAla’** turn to face toward me!, Шичияллята 'Поворотись drehen, wenden (Imperat.)' **sich’a’ la’teh** turn close to me (in bed)! *L, Rezanov* Хенхичайта 'Вели' *(not in Radlov, 'order!, command!')* **Xi:nXinhch’a’ ’ita’** take it to him!, ***Molly*ch’a’ ’idA’ehdz** you're invited to *Molly's L,* **’u’sA’ehdzL, *djiLqa:d*ch’a’** invited them, to *Chilkat 57.3G,* ***Head of the Bay*ch’a’ sAXahL** they boated to the *Head of the Bay 68.102A,* **qi’ wAX k’u:t’ehch’a’** to camp *64.9G,* **qi’ wAX ’i:t’ehch’a’** to where they lived *57.31G;* **sich’ ’Ata’**, *never* ***sich’a’ ’Ata’** give it to me! *L; see also 11.125A; probably also in ch'an'winh'inh, perhaps also in ch'a'; with deleted reflexive o in indirect reflexive constructions ('Adch' or ch'a', never *ch' L, 'Adch'a' not attested):* **ch’a’** O-**’-dA-’ehdz** S invite, summon, call O over (to self), **ch’a’** (**’Ad-X**) O-**L-u’g**~ S hold O tight against self *(see O-L-u'g 1a., 2a. under le'g~),* **ch’a’ ’AdX GAxLAt’uxLinh** I'm holding him tight against me *L,* **ch’a’ GAdAshe’gLinh dAXunh** a person stooped (towards self, with age) *L,* **’utl’ ch’a’ yAxdAlinhinh** I motion him towads myself with my hand *L,* **qid ch’a’ GAxdAta:L** I'm taking it (e.g. gun) down (sideways, off the wall, towards myself) *L,* **qid ch’a’ GAxdAXahdL** I'm taking it (e.g. gun) down (lengthwise, off the wall, towards myself) *L,* **ch’a’ di’GALA’u’G** take a deep breath! *L,* **’u:ch’ahd ch’a’ xsdikinhdL** I jerked my hand quickly away from there (towards myself) *L,* **t’a’q’e’ch’ ch’a’ xusdidja’L** I got yanked backwards *L.*

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-ch’-a’ *(final element to postpositions, locatives, and certain adverbial forms, probably also to preverbs, though not so attested) meaning and usage exactly as for -ch' final, but far less frequent (except in Rezanov), perhaps slightly emphatic; suffixed, as -ch', with interposed -A- to forms ending with a consonant other than -' or -h*: *with postposition:* **’Awq’Ach’a’ yahd sAqehLinh** he boated out onto it *12.4G,* **k’a’t’q’Ach’a’ q’e’ ’idAlinhinu:** they wanted to get back (on)to the island *57.11G,* **yahdda’luwdAt’a:XAch’a’ sLi’ehLinh** she married into a big house *49.11A,* **’udAt’a:Xd ’Adqu’li:ta’LdAt’a:XAch’a’ ’Aw ’iLt’a’d sALahL** they (took them to and) hung them up in a smokehouse *37b.73A,* ***dja:*ya’ch’a’ ’AxLya:k’** I (cust) put them in *jars 65.24A (cf.* dja:*ya'ch' 65.25A),* **ma:ya’ch’a’ sahLinh** went to the lake *25.87A; with locatives:* **’u:ch’a’ qu’xah** I'll go over there *L,* thither *25.97, 98, 28.69, 60.20, 61.51A, Rezanov* Тоонча 'Куда нибудь irgend wohin' **dA’…ch’a’**, **’a:nch’a’ ’Adla:LA’e:k’** he (cust) sneaks hither *9.69A,* **Xi:ch’a’ qa: ’u’sdi’ehdzL** we're invited yonder *L, Rezanov* Хичъ-аа 'Туда dorthin' **Xi:ch’a’** way over thither, Тачъ-атъ 'Куда? wohin?' **da:ch’a’d** whither?, Тачаткессе 'Никуда nirgendshin' **da:ch’a’d …**; **Lich’a’, dALich’a’, diLich’a’** always *(= Lich', dALich', diLich') see under Li~Li'.*

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o-**ch’-a:** *(postposition, with expanded augment, attested with zero, -d, -X, -ch', and -ch'ahd finals)* in general direction of, oriented, moving towards (without reaching) o 1. *with zero final (relatively rare):* a.: **’u:ch’a’ sahL** you went right towards it (without seeing it), you got "hot" *L.*

1b. *With reciprocal o,* in a row, consecutively: *Rezanov* Ильчаилькакъ 'Воякой дѣнь ('every day') täglich' **’iLch’a: yALqa:g** days in a row < days keep dawning consecutively *M.*

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2. *With -d final 'uncertain)'*: **’ich’a:d GAt’e’q’Lda:X yAX guLA’a’ch’Xinu:** they're standing in a straight line (towards you) *M (perhaps for 'iLch'a:d 'in a row').*

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3. *With -ch' final:* a.: **sich'a:ch' Ga:Linh** he's walking towards me *L,* **'itl'a:nch'a:ch' Ga:Linh** he's going towards the mountain *M,* **sich'a:ch' GALqAtl'**, **sich'a:ch' 'ALqAtl'** push it in my direction! *M,* **'ich'a:ch' qi:q'ah da:X k'a' 'Al dAdzahGL 'uch'a:ch' ya'X 'i:tah** as it starts to burn towards you you should hold up this staff towards it *34.66M,* **sich'a:ch' yAX lAGAdAla'** turn around towards me! *M, with demonstrative locatives as o: 68.85A,* **'a:nch'a:ch' 'a:'**, **'a:nch'a:ch' 'iya'** come over here! *L,* **'u:ch'a:ch' sahLinh** he went in that direction *L,* **Xi:ch'a:ch' sahLinh** he went in yonder direction *L,* **Xi:ch'a:ch' yahd sAqehLinh** he boated way out yonder *L,* **Xi:ch'a:ch' GAqe:Linh** he's boating way thither *L.*

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3b. *Idiomatic,* next to, next after o (in order, rank, not physical proximity): *10.246, 247, 11.62, 63, 63, 63A,* **k'ulAX 'i:t'inhinhch'a:ch' yi:nhinh** second chief *BSdL 543,* **sich'a:ch' yi:nhinh** my next oldest sibling after me *L,* **GALdALyAX lahch'a:ch' yi:nhinh siXAwAX** my next-to-oldest older brother *(man speaking) L,* **k'udi'lahGch'a:ch' yi:nhinh** second chief of opposite moiety *BSdL 543,* **'anhch'a:ch' xu:** I'm the next (sibling) after him *L; with demonstrative locative as o:* **'a:nch'a:ch' ya:li'd yiLeh** next to here is a sleeping-room *11.131, 131A.*

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3c. *With reciprocal o*: **'iLch'a:ch'** lined up in a row *L.*

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4. *With -X final:* a.: *Rezanov* Шичахъ 'Напротивъ gegenüber (mir)' **shich'a:X** (moving within direction) towards me, **'Awch'a:X XAdAxiLtahL** I'm aiming, pointing it at it *L, Rezanov* Оучахальхотъ 'Цѣлить ('to aim') zielen' **'Awch'a:X 'ALxut'** shoot straight at it!, *see also o-ch'-a:-q' below; with demonstrative locative as o:* **Xi:ch'a:X yAX da:X** he's moving around across (bay) there *L.*

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4b. *Idiomatic,* helping o: o-**ch'a:X yAX dA-a-X** sg. S guard, protect o, o-**ch'a:X -a** sg. S help o, o-**ch'a:X -'a'ch'** pl. S help o, o-**ch'a:X 'i:lih-'ya** S be for (pro) o, on o's side, in favor of o, side with o; *frequently with deleted reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction:* **ch'a:X dA-a** S help self, control self, have control over situation, can "help it" *(often negative).*

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4c. *Perhaps in personal name* **ch'a:XAlah** *LMAS* < "coving around point" *LM (see XAlah and o-lah, but more likely < ch'a:X lah 'helper', see under la~na2).*

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5. *With -ch'ahd final 'from', with locative as o*: **'a:nch'a:ch'ahd** from this direction *65.4, 68.109A.*

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o-**ch'-a:-q'** *(postposition, o-ch'-a: compounde as o of o-q' 'on o', attested with zero and -d finals)* 1. in a straight line towards, aimed straight at o: *with zero final:* **'uch'a:q' 'isiLt'ik'L** I aimed and shot (arrow) straight at it *L,* **'Awch'a:q' 'isALxut'L** he got a direct hit (with gun) on it *LM, with -d final: 27a.4L,* **sich'a:q'd** even with me, lined up with me *L,* **k'uch'a:q'd XAdixiLtahL** I'm aiming it (at something) *M,* **k'uch'a:q'd XAdAGAta'** aim it (at something)! *M,* **'Awch'a:q'd 'u'lixiLXah** I'm aiming it at it *L,* **'Awch'a:q'd 'u'lAGALXa'** aim it at it! *L.*

2. at, along o (mark): **djig 'Awch'a:q' yAX sAkugL** it broke exactly along, at it (mark) *L.*

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3. unexpectedly encountering ("running straight into") o: **djig 'uch'a:q' siyahLinh** I ran right into him, met him unexpectedly *L,* **sich'a:q' sahLinh** he encountered me *L.*

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4. *Perhaps in personal name, of Cordova Eyak man,* **qu'Lch'a:q'ta:'**, *see qu'L.*

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5. *With reciprocal o,* in (a straight) line with each other: *with zero final: Rezanov* К… Ельчакъ (crossed out, replaced with Иттта 'idah 'alright') 'Прямо gerade' **'iLch'a:q'**, **'iLch'a:q' qALiyahL**, **'iLch'a:q' qAsdiyahL**, **'iLch'a:q' sAqLiyahL** they've been lined up straight in a row *L, with -d final:* **'iLch'a:q'd qAsALahL** they're lined up in a straight row *L.*

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o-**L-ch'-a:-** *(postposition, with -d, -X, -ch', and -ch'ahd finals)* side of o *(usually one of two opposing sides or directions, as left/right, upper/lower, inside/outside, front/back, frequently with postpositions or preverbs as o; not directly suffixed to forms ending in -X, where interposed -'i-~-i'-~-i-~-A- is required, probably reduced forms of 'e'~)* 1.: *with -d final 'at rest, nominalization': Rezanov* Тлегельчатъ 'На лѣво links' **tl'ihXiLch'a:d** *L,* **tl'ihXALch'a:d** left side *M, Rezanov* Куцульчатъ 'На право rechts' **k'udzu:Lch'a:d** right side *M,* **k'udzu:Lch'a:d ya:** (the one on the) right (side) *(of hand, foot, boot) 51.78, 80, 61.45, 46, 46, 46, 55A,* **k'udzu:Lch'a:d yAX dAxLAle'gX** I'm right-handed *L,* **XAla:gLch'a:d** autumn *M (L rejects),* **xwahdALch'a:d** towards summer *33.40A,* **XAdAGu:Lch'a:d** (**ya:**) **'uXu:nLAyah** his upper teeth *L,* **XAdAGu:Lch'a:d ya: 'udAkuhd** his upper lip *L,* **XAyAXu:Lch'a:d** (**ya:**) **'uXu:nLAyah** his lower teeth *L,* **XAyAXu:Lch'a:d ya: 'udAkuhd** his lower lip *L,* **XAyAXu:Lch'a:d ya: dik'** the lower ones not *28.78A,* (**Xi:d**) **XAyA'u:Lch'a:d** (yonder) way over (on the) farther (side) *11.179, 61.77A,* **sida'Lch'a:d** my front side *L,* **sida'Lch'a:d ya' qu'xtah** I'll put it in my bosom *L,* **sidAXa:na'q'Lch'a:d** my back side *L,* **'u:nda:'Lch'a:d** heads (face) side (of coin) *L,* **siwa:Lch'a:d yi:nhinh** the one (sibling) next after me (in a age) *L,* **XAli'Lcha:d** back, behind-side of area; downriver side *L,* **shi:da'Lch'a:d** west side *64.7G,* windward side *M,* **'AdiXi'Lch'a:d** interior side, inside surface *LM,* **'AdiXi'Lch'a:d k'utse'** inside meat *M,* diaphragm *G,* **ta:ya'dLch'a:d** (*perhaps for* **ta:ya'Lch'a:d**) front, doorway-side (of house, facing road) *M, BSdL 545,* **'iLlAXa:n'Lch'a:d** both sides (opposing sides, e.g. of paper) *L,* **ya:'a:gAGAda:lAya'Lch'a:d ya:** fourth finger (one on side of middle finger) *L; with -X final:* **dik' tl'ihXALch'a:X yAX dALAle'gXGinh** he's not left handed *61.47A,* **Xi:d XAyA'u:Lch'a:X q'Aw yAq' sAwehL** he swam ashore yonder way over on the far side *61.77A,* **XAli'Lch'a:X** (moving up from the) downriver (side) *L; with -ch' final:* **yAX'iLch'a:ch'** northwestward *32.26, 26A,* **Xe'X'iLch'a:ch' lah sAqehLinh** he (boating) turned out oceanward *M,* **'AdiXiLch'a:ch' lah sAqehLinh** he (boating) turned in shoreward *M,* **Xi:d XAyA'u:Lch'a:ch' lah sAqehLinh** he boated around over yonder to the other side (of point) *M, 43.31M,* **XAyA'u:Lch'a:ch' 'idAGAL'a:L** smoke is going farther away *L; with -ch'ahd final:* **yAX'iLch'a:ch'ahd** from the Northwest *68.109A.*

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Li-ch'-a:- *(postpositional phrase, with adverbial Li- 'one'? as o (see under Li~Li'), attested with -d, -ch', and -X finals)* one side, aside: *with -d final:* **Lich'a:d** aside (out of the way) *L,* **'u:d Lich'a:d ya:n' GAta'** set it down aside! *L,* **Lich'a:d sditl'a'gL** it's written on one side < one side is spotted *L; with -ch' final,* to one side, sideways, aslant; over (to the other side, to the revers, obverse side): **Lich'a:ch' ya:'a:g lAsAliL** moon is getting back to half-full *L,* **Lich'a:ch' yahd** hunter's lean-to < one-sided house *BSdL 545, L,* **Lich'a:ch' lAXi:xuL** his eyes are turned to one side *L,* **Lich'a:ch' qid d-'a´**, **Lich'a:ch' ya' d-'a´** S stand (extend) aslant, **Lich'a:ch' ya:n' dla:sAXa'tl'L** it fell over sideways *L,* **ch'id Lich'a:ch' yAX dALAle'gXinh** he uses only one hand *L,* **yAX 'AdAxwe:Lk', Lich'a:ch'** it's (cust) turned over, to the other side *65.10A,* **Lich'a:ch' 'Ash 'ALya:'** move them over to the other side! *L, nominalized:* **'Aw Lich'a:ch' 'Awa: ya:nu' qAsAtsu:xL** he thrust the other ends of them into the ground *47b.39M (perhaps for Lich'a:d); with -X final:* **Lich'a:X 'ugulAXAde:L 'Awa: 'u:ch' 'u'GALAtsah da:X** when its spine shows along one side there *65.10A,* **Lich'a:X gusi:kih dAGAL'ehd da:X** when they're a bit dry on one side *65.15A.*

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o-**ch'-ahd** *(postposition, with zero (-d) final only, < -ch'-...-d, for -d 'privative, ablative', perhaps -hd, see o-d and -d under d2, Xahd2, yahd3, yahd4)* 1a. (originating in or at and continuously or repeatedly moving or emanating) from o (with no reference to endpoint or destination), *occurrences incompletely cited*: *9.133, 11.37A, 14.6L, 15.15M, 24.57, 28.135, 51.28A, 63.12G, 68.59A, Rezanov* Учаткелькальцахъ 'Рѣжъ schneiden (Imperat.)' **'uch'ahd qid k'uGALtsAX**, **'uch'ahdqid k'u:LtsAX** cut something off (down from) it! *L,* **du:ch'ahdduw** whom (did you get that) from? *L,* **'uch'ahd GALk'u'd**(**uh**) wipe it off it! *(Rezanov 'Вычисти reinigen, Пыльно staubig'),* **shdu:lihGdAch'ahd qid disLiqahGL** it fell from the table *L,* **sich'ahd Ga:Linh** he's going away from me *L,* **sich'ahd sahLinh** he went away from me *L, with adverbialized postpositional phrase as o:* **dAne:tl'da:Xch'ahd** from the very beginning *L, with reciprocal o:* **'iLch'ahd q'e:yAX shdi'a'ch'Linu:** they went away from each other again *L.*

1b. *With verbal clause with qi' 'place where' as o*: *27.57fnA,* **giyah qi' li' gAli:'ahch'ahd** from where the stream runs down *21b.8A,* **'u:d qi' k'udAdA'ehdgch'ahd 'Aw ya'X sAXehL** he picked it up onto his back from where things were being dried there *9.156A,* **qi'dAX 'uXa' li' XAdla:sa'yahLch'ahd** from where she had run in by him *23.35A,* **'Aw giyahya' qi' sahLch'ahd** from where she went into the water *25.63A (or 'after she went into the water', see 2b. below).*

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1c. *With various more or less extended meanings*: o-**ch'ahd 'i:lih-'ya** S give o good luck < S be mentally situated emanating from o, **q'Aq' yiLinhinu:, 'uni:k'ch'ahd** they're grebes, (judging) from their noses *24.36A,* **sAqe:GAyu: da'sALXa'Linh, 'uqa'ch'ahd** she had children, by her husband *49.23A,* **'Aw lisch'ahd q'e' Xa:n' sALiLinu:** they made new ones from (out of) spruce *68.35A,* **qa:ta:'ch'ahd** (rainbow) is from God *51.6A.*

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2. from (time of) o, after, since o, a.: **1912ch'ahd** since 1912 *62.11G,* **LinhGihch'ahd ya:'a:g** 1:30 < half after one *L,* **dAGa:q'ch'ahd ya:'a:g** 10:30 *L,* **la'dih XAla:g 'uch'ahd 'i:nsdi'ahL** two winters are over since that *L,* **'uch'ahd leh Ga:nsa'yahL** a year ago < a year has passed since that *L,* **t'uhLga' 'uch'ahd yAsALqahL qi'dAX sAsinhL** he died three days ago < three since then have dawned, the time he died *L.*

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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,* **'Aw shAshehLch'ahd, 'Aw shAxa:shLch'ahd, 'Awahd 'isALq'ahL** 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:* **'wAX 'a'xLt'ehch'ahd q'Aw, 'iLt'a'd 'AxLya:k'** after I've kept them thus, I (cust) hand them up *65.13A, Inceptive conditional:* 56.4L, 65.11, 21, 50A; *with qi' 'place where, time when' in subordinated clause, perhaps incorrect, perhaps redundant, or perhaps specifically 'ever since when':* **qi' 'a:nda' 'isAL'anhLch'ahd yik'a'dinh** ever since he came here he's been sick *L,* **'Aw giyahya' qi' sahLch'ahd** from where she went into the water, *or perhaps* (ever) after she went into the water *25.63A.*

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-**ch'-ahd** *(final element to postpositions, preverbs, and locatives, suffixed to forms ending in -X, -q' with interposed -A- or -i-, as for -ch') meaning same as that of o-ch'-ahd: attested with o-tsin'-da' (da'1), o-da:- (da:3), o-t'a:-X (t'a'~), o-sa', o-ch'-a:, o-L-ch'-a:-, qi' tla: qi', o-qa' (qa'~qa:n~qa:), o-q' 1f., 1i., 3d., 3f., o-dXl-q', ya:nu' (lu'~nu'), o-yʌq' (yʌq'2), o-ya' (ya'4), 'Ad-i-X ('e'~), with locatives: da:- (da:2), Xi:-, 'a:n- ('Al~), XA-sha:n-, 'u:d- ('Aw~).*

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-**dAch'ahd** *(final element to postpositions locativized with XA- 'area' as o, -d final with -ch'ahd final) meaning same as that of o-ch'-ahd*: **Xi:d XAdAGdAch'ahd** from way above

23.128, 25.55A, **XAlahsdAch’ahd ’i-d-L-’a´** (offshore) wind comes (shoreward) from out in Gulf of Alaska.

ch’id *(see ts'id~ch'id)*

ch’idwuh *(evidently of Tlingit origin)*

ch’idwuh *(personal name) Sock Stevens's brother L, M has heard,* ***ch’idɣuh*** *brother of sa:Xa: S.*

ch’it’~ch’At’ *(L prefers ch'it')*

-l-ch’it’~-ch’At’ *(noun, attested only with l-anatomical 'head', here not usually, if ever, realized -lA-)* forehead *(of humans only)*: *Rezanov* Каинчитъ 'Лодъ Stirne' **qa:’i:nch’it’** our foreheads, human forehead *M,* **si:nch’it’** *LA,* **si:nch’At’** my forehead *LM (L prefers former; "may have heard" -lAch'it').*

ch’idj

-ch’idj *(noun, unclassified?)* elbow: *Rezanov* Каччичи 'Локоть Ellenbogen' **qa:ch’idj…** our elbows, human elbow, **’ich’idj** your elbow *LMAS.*

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O-**ch’idj** S elbow O: **’ishich’idjL** I elbowed you *L; passive:* **xushdich’idjL** I got elbowed *L.*

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’Ad-LA-ch’idj *(attested in reflexive only, theme O-L-ch'idj would presumably mean 'S move O out of position by elbowing it')* S put heads on hips,elbows out: **’AdxshLich’idjL** I put my hand(s) on my hip(s), elbow(s) out *L.*

ch’ich’1 *(perhaps redced form of ch'u'ch'~ch'u:ch', or to be identified with ch'ich'2 and/or, as suggested by L, with ch'ich'~ch'idj)*

O-**gd-ch’ich’-g** *(with -g-repetitive thematized and gd-thematic including g-class-mark for O 'spruceroot')* S tie excess length of O (spruceroot) into neat bundle (to keep it at handy length during weaving; coiled or folded back and forth, then tied loosely around middle): **gAdAxch’ich’g** I'm tying them (excess length of spruceroots) into neat bundles *L.*

ch’ich’~ch’idj *(perhaps to be identified with ch'ich'1 and/or ch'ich'2, or with ch'idj; ch'idj less frequent, but apparently also correct)*

Ga:ndich’ich’g (*or* **-ch’idj-**) *(noun, unclassified, probably nominalized Active imperfective of otherwise unattested theme dA-ch'ich' with -g-repetitive and Gl-thematic 'ground', 'S do (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, 17.11, 34.119, 47c.41, 42L, 51.54, 61.20, 20, 21A, with -yu: 'pl.':* **Ga:ndich’ich’gyu:** *10.54, 62, 119, 120, 172, 11.3, 5, 7, 49A, with -kih 'diminutive':* **Ga:ndich’ich’gkih** *34.9, 43.17, 21, 47b.28M, 47c.33, 34, 37L, with -yAquh-yu: 'small (young of), pl.':* **Ga:ndich’ich’gyAquhyu:** *7.22 (-ch'idj-), 11.23, 29, 24.70 (-ch'idj-), 25.203, 51.53A, with -wAlah-yu: 'people (mythical spirits of), pl.':* **Ga:ndich’ich’g-wAlahyu:** *11.3, 3, 49, 25.202A,* **Ga:ndich’ich’gni:k’** bird's beak (nose) *2.23M.*

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’Ami:nnya’ Ga:ndich’ich’g *(noun)* (barn?) swallow, church-swallow *(blue, with white belly that turns light orange in fall, 'church-, prayer-bird', so called because they build nests and*

fly about the church, considered to be bearers of religious message; same bird as k'u:nda'ch' gahya' Ga:ndich'ich'gyAquhyu:) L: 61.20A, **'Ami:nnya' Ga:ndich'ich'gyAquh(yu:)** little church-swallow(s) *51.54, 61.26A.*

,

k'u:nda'ch' gahya' Ga:ndich'ich'gyAquhyu: *(noun)* swallows < young church-birds *61.21A (same as 'Ami:nnya' Ga:ndich'ich'gyAquhyu:).*

ch'isht' *(expanded ch'i:sht')*

ch'isht' *(noun, unclassified)* fly-eggs *LM*: **ch'isht"At'u'** lots of fly-eggs *LM.*

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dA-ch'isht' S (blowfly) lay eggs: **qu'dAch'isht'** it (fly) will lay eggs *M.*

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O-**L-ch'isht'** S (blowfly) blow (lay eggs on) O: **'Aw k'utse' qa'Lch'isht'** they (flies) will lay eggs on that meat *L,* **'Aw Lch'isht'** it (fly) is laying eggs on it *M; passive:* **'Aw k'utse' shdich'isht'L** that meat got flyblown *L,* **dik' 'AshdAch'isht'LG** it's not flyblown *M,* **dAch'i:sht'k'** it (cust) gets flyblown *L.*

,

k'uLch'isht' *(noun, unclassified)* blowfly, bluebottle fly, housefly *LMA. Nominalized Active imperfective of precedng, with k'u-indefinite O,* < it lays fly-eggs on something.

ch'iyAq'

o-**ku:l-L-ch'iyAq'** *(apparently treated as postposition, perhaps undr influence of o-yAq' if not to be analyzed thus, with ku:l-anatomical 'belly, widest part', actualized here always -ku:n-, and L-classifier)* abdomen of o: **siku:nLch'iyAq' 'isAgu'k'L** he punched me in the belly *L; usually with -d-nominalizer: Rezanov* Какольчеяхтъ *(written above crossed-out Катлясынтъ, see si:nd~si:nt')* 'Бокъ' ('side') *(not in Radlov, 'side')* **qa:ku:nLch'iyAq'd** our abdomens, human abdomen, **k'uku:nLch'iyAq'd** abdomen, meat at side of abdomen *L,* **siku:nLch'iyAq'd** my abdomen *LMA.*

ch'iyahd

ch'iyahd *(noun)* 1. *(l-class)* hat *LMS*: *Rezanov* Чеятъ 'Шапка Mütze', *Anonymous* Чая 'Шляпа или шапка' ('hat or cap'), *Galushia Nelson* t'cíyàt' *or* cíàt' 'hood (cap or hat)' *BSdL 550, Rezanov* Чеятентлицка 'Тулья Boden der Mütze' **ch'iyahd'i:ntl'i'ts'G…** crown of hat, **ch'iyahddAshid** brim of hat *L, Galushia Nelson* únɒícìtɕù·tła' t'cíyàt' *or* únɒəcìtɕù·tła' t'cíyàt' 'cap with a peak' *BSdL 550* **'u:ndAshid k'u:Leh ch'iyahd** peaked cap *L,* **lAGAqe:L ch'iyahd** high-hat, fedora < oblong hat *L,* **lAGALAGAmAk'L ch'iyahd** (peakless) round hat *L,* **dza:nt'ch'iyahd** skunk-cabbage(-leaf)-hat *52.28L,* **k'uXa:shgch'iyahd** beaver-(skin-)hat *L,* **ch'iyahd'a:'nuw** big hat *M,* **ch'iyahdlAkih**, **ch'iyahd'AlAkih** little hat *M,* **ch'iyahd'AlAga'L** old beat-up worn-out hat *L,* **ch'iyahd sich' li:'a'** give me a hat! *L,* **ch'iyahd 'u:d 'i:nsA'ahL** *(or* **-tahL**, *but* **-'ahL** *clearly preferred)* a hat is there *L,* **'a:nd q'Al ch'iyahd siXa' lAx'ah** here's where I keep my hat *L,* **'Aw ch'iyahd siXa' 'i:nsAGAGshgL** my hat got out of shape *L,* **ch'iyahd sila'd lAGAq'e'sL** the hat is tight on my head *L,* **ch'iyahd la'X lixLi'ahL** I have a hat on *M,* **ch'iyahd 'itl' da'qe'li:LXah** I'll marry you < I'll get a hat with you *(reference to Russian Orthodox ritual, modern church wedding) 17.5M,* **'anh qe'Ltl' ch'iyahd da'lAGAxLXahX sitl' dAlinhinh** he told me to marry that woman *L (ch'iyahd here in preverbial position),* **ch'iyahd da'lAGAxLXahX 'ixleh** I want to get married *(man or woman speaking) L,* **'anhtl' ch'iyahd da'sALXa'Linh** he married her *M (ch'iyahd here in preverbial position),* **ch'iyahd da'qe'li:LXah** they'll get married *M,* **ch'iyahd da'li:LXinhinu:** they're married < they have a hat *M,* **ch'iyahd-lAga'** like a hat *M,* **ch'iyahd-**

lAyAq'd inside of hat *M,* **GAX ch'iyahd-lAyAq'Ach'ahd qa' sALXahdLinh** he pulled a rabbit out of a hat *M,* **ch'iyahd'a:na'tl' 'ALdah linhinu:** they're playing with a hat *L, declassified:* **ch'iyahdwah ya:** the makings of a hat *L.*

2. *(unclassified?)* shellfish species, *same as yahshya' ch'iyahd L.*

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-d-L-ch'iyahd *(noun, probably l-class, see also ch'iya'tl') attested only in* **k'ulehdALch'iyahd** rain-hat *L.*

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yahshya' ch'iyahd *(noun, unclassified?)* shellfish species *(same as ch'iyahd 2., 'round, maximum 1"-diameter, shell very thin, stuck, to rocks', perhaps 'slipper limpet')* < doll's hat *L.*

,

ch'iya'tl'Gya' ch'iyahd *(noun, unclassified?)* mushroom < frog's hat *(perhaps influenced by English 'toadstool', see also ch'iya'tl', guch') L.*

,

cha:nn(A)wa:nnyu:ya' ch'iyahd *(noun, unclassified?)* toadstool < Chinamen's hat *L.*

,

k'ulehya' ch'iyahd *(noun, unclassified?)* mushroom < rain-hat *G (Harrington).*

ch'iya' *(< o-ch' + ya'~Aya' ?)*

-ch'iya' *(noun, unclassified)* master, owner, expert, person who is apt at something: *with k'u- indefinite as possessor* **k'uch'iya'** 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:ch'iya'** president, chief < our master *L,* **'uch'iya'** their warrior-chief *34.118L,* **'uch'iya'yu:** their chiefs *38.10LM, Harrington* χαttάq't cittc'iyὰ' 'God' *G* **XAdAGd shich'iya'** my Master above, **dAXunhyu:ch'iya'** chief < master of people *L,* **sahsch'iya'** *64.6G,* **sahs'Ach'iya'yu:** master sea-otter hunters *L,* **la:xga:dAch'iya'** storekeeper, store owner, trader *L,* **'a:ngulAch'iya'sAqe:G** (mythical) river-chief's son *29.52A,* **k'uch'a'ch'iya'** warrior *M,* **qa'nu:ch'iya'** big fighter, ready fighter *L, with deverbalizations:* **tsin'dAle:ch'iya'** gossip-monger, blabbermouth, big talker *51.20, 23aA,* **dists'a:nlch'iya'**, **'ists'a:nlch'iya'** (mythical) master of strength *50.15, 20A, Rezanov* Хаклечь-эйя 'Плотникъ ('carpenter') Arbeiter (Zimmerman)' **xa:gLAch'iya'** master worker, Хакльчеялега 'Работай ('work!') arbeiten (Imperat.)' **xa:gLch'iya'lAw…** great master worker, **'ich'u'ch'iya'** thief; camp robber (Canada jay) *M,* **k'uwahch'iya'** big eater *L,* **ki:nXAch'iya' yiLinhinh** he's a crybaby *M,* **yAX 'isa:Xch'iya'** good walker, one who walks all over *L,* **dAqu:lAXA'ahch'iya'** tough guy, very fierce person *L,* **dAq'e:k'ch'iya'** fierce, ill-tempered irascible person *L.*

ch'iya'tl'

ch'iya'tl'G *(noun, unclassified)* frog *(perhaps also 'toad') LMASG, 10.125, 136, 152, 154, 156A, 34.5, 7M*: *Galushia Nelson* tcíàtłq 'frog' *BSdL 540,* **ch'iya'tl'Gluw** big frog *LM,* **ch'iya'tl'GLa:n'** frog-legs *L,* **ch'iya'tl'Gqe'L** frog-woman *10.128A,* **qe'L ch'iya'tl'G** female frog *10.125A.*

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ch'iya'tl'Gtsi: *(personal name) Mary Thomas* < frog's daughter *LA.*

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ch'iya'tl'Gya' ch'iyahd *(noun, unclassified?)* mushroom < frog's hat *(cf. below) L.*

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ch’iya’tl’Gya’ ’Amble:l *(noun, unclassified?)* mushroom < frog's umbrella *(cf. below and guch') L.*

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-d-L-ch’iya’tl’G *(noun, unclassified, cf. ch'iyahd) attested only in* **k’ulehdALch’iya’tl’G** umbrella < rain-frog *(rechecked and verified, cf. preceding) L*: **k’u’luw k’ulehdALch’iya’tl’G** big umbrella *L.*

ch’iya’k’w~ch’iya’k’ *(S clearly -k'w, LMA -k')*

L-ch’iya’k’ S smart, burn, sting (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)*: **GALch’iya’k’L** it burns, smarts *MA,* **sini:k’ siya: GALch’iya’k’L** my nose burns me, is raw *L,* **qa’Lch’iya’k’** it'll burn, smart *M, with anatomical marks:* **yAGAxLch’iya’k’L** my arm burns *L,* **lAGAxLch’iya’k’L** my face burns, smarts *L,* **lAXAGAxLch’iya’k’L** my eyes smart, burn *L. Transitive (causative):* **’iqe’xLch’iya’k’** I'll make you smart *LM; passive, with l-class-mark or -anatomical (see below):* **’i:nsdich’iya’k’L** rotten fishheads have been made *L.*

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’i:nLch’iya’k’wL *S,* **’i:nLch’iya’k’** *(noun, l-class)* rotten fishheads *(a piquant food, "same as 'i:nLsih" L) LMA*: **’i:nLchi’ya’k’lAt’u’** lots of rotten fishheads *M,* **’i:nLch’iya’k’ sich’ li:’a’** 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, -sha:w 'head'.*

ch’Aqe: *(from Ahtna ts’akae 'woman')*

ch’Aqe: *(personal name)* 1. *Scar Stevens's first wife So XIX.8 (cf. si:nahd).*

2. *Stepanita, mother of Nick Nelson and of Lena Brand, moved to Cordova from Katalla, earlier "Mrs. Irish," married to Irishman, later to N. P. Nelson L;*

,

3. *Eyak-Ahtna (Chitina) woman S.*

,

4. *youngest sister of two in Two Sisters Fishing story (ST27).*

ch’Aq’i:nq’ *(probably loan from Yakutat Tlingit č’ɑx̱’ínx̱’ S)*

ch’Aq’i:nq’ *(noun, unclassified)* mallard (Anas platyrhynchos) *LA,* duck (generic) *L,* goose *M (gloss rejected by L)*: *Furuhjelm* Ichikhekh 'mallard duck', **ch’Aq’i:nq’yu:** mallards *68.52A.*

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ch’Aq’i:nq’ta:’ *(personal name) Eyak man* < mallard's father *LS.*

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’AdAch’Aq’i:nq’ *(noun, unclassified)* mallard < real mallard, duck *par excellence L.*

ch’AX

-ch’AX *(noun, unclassified)* wing: *60.20, 22, 50A, Rezanov* Куччахъ 'Крыло Flügel' **k’uch’AX** wing *LM,* **k’uch’AX’a:w** long wings *M,* **k’uch’AXluw** big wings *L,* **’uch’AX ’Awa:** its wings *L; as o of o-L-yAX-d 'under o', -ch'AXALyAXd 'armpit (of humans), underarm, vulnerable spot under foreleg of game animals': 27b.5, 7, 10L, 63.9G, Harrington* cɪttc’ɑx̱̣x̱̣ɑɬyɑx̱̣t k’µx̱̣x̱̣µ̣’ 'my armpit hair' *G* **sich’AXALyAXd k’uXu’** the hair in my underarm.

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(’u)ch’AXtsin’da’X dAt’u:ch’ *(noun, unclassified)* mew gull (Larus canus) < (its) wing-tips are black *L, perhaps also 'Sabine's gull (Xema sabini)', and/or, less likely, 'herring gull (Larus argentatus)'.*

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tl’Aqa’gAdAlah ch’AX *(noun, unclassified)* bat < wings around rump *LM.*

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ch’AXXAdi:yanh *possible etymology of Yakutat Tlingit č’ɑx̱ɑdíya 'cormorant', same bird as gɑdíyɑɢ from Sampson Harry, but which he could not etymologize ('sharp-winged'), not confirmed in other Tlingit sources.*

ch’Alih~ch’a:n *(ch'Alih in noun, ch'a:n in anatomical mark; perhaps related to ch'a:n')*

-ch’Alih *(noun, unclassified)* 1. arm, forearm: *24.51, 51A, Galushia Nelson* k’ʊ́t’cɪ̀lì’ *or* k’ʊ́tcɪ̀lì 'arm' *BSdL 541* **k’uch’Alih** *LM,* x̱ʷusi t’cɪli *or* sɪ t’cɪli 'my arm' *BSdL 556* (**xu:**) **sich’Alih**, i’ɪ t’cɪli 'your arm' **’i: ’ich’Alih**, ɑⁿ t’cɪli 'his arm' *BSdL 557* **’anhch’Alih**, **k’uch’Alih’a:w** long arm *M,* **k’uch’Alihluw** big arm *M.*

2. sleeve: *Rezanov* Учелли 'Рукава Aermel' **’uch’Alih** its sleeve, **’uch’Alihdik’** its short sleeves *L; non-possessed (epithetical?):* **ch’Alihluw** big-sleeves *L,* **ch’Alih’a:w** long-sleeves *L,* **ch’AlihwAX** wide-sleeves *L.*

,

’uch’AlihXda:d yiLeh *M,* **’uch’AlihXda:d ’a’Leh** *(noun, unclassified)* vest < it's sleeveless *L, Rezanov* Учелехтатетле 'Желетъ Camisol, Weste'.

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ch’a:-d- *(anatomical mark, subposition C, occurring only in combination with d-mark perhaps archaic d-class-mark or ch'a:n, cf. k'ush-d- under k'ahsh~k'ush)* arm, forearm, *not in frequent use, occurrences listed in full*: *in verbs:* **yAX ch’a:ndisikugL** my arm broke *L,* **yAX qu’ch’a:ndi:kug** you'll break your arm *L,* **lah xuch’a:ndAsAGAts’Linh** he twisted my arm *L; with postpositions:* **sich’a:nda:q’d** on my arm *L,* **sich’a:nda:q’** it (fly) alighted on my arm *L,* **sich’a:ndAlah GAtl’i:’** wrap it (bandage) around my arm! *L,* **shich’a:nda:X xushAdja’Linh** he grabbed, jerked me by the arm *L; in epithet:* **ch’a:ndA’a:w** long-arms *L.*

ch’ugsh

ch’ugshg *(noun, unclassified, with -g-thematic)* roots of a plant resembling skunk-cabbage *(probably 'false hellebore') LMA,* hellebore? (same as Tlingit s’ígš) *A, Galushia Nelson* tcʊkck 'plant used for medicine that looks like a skunk-cabbage' *BSdL 541, 280,* **k’ut’u’ ch’ugshg** 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.*

ch’i:leh

ch’i:leh *(noun, unclassified)* Raven: *1a.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 Чиле 'Ворона Krähe, Rabe', *Anonymous* Ччели 'Богъ' ('God'), Чилли 'Ворона', *Baranov* Ччели 'Вогъ' ('God'), *Wrangell* Чиле 'Raabe', *Galushia Nelson* t'cílà 'raven' *BSdL 539,* **ch'i:lehshiyah** (Old) Raven *1a.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 ,* t'cílàcia, t'cílàcìa 'Raven' *BSdL 257, 259, 259, 259, 259, 261, 261, 264, 558, 558, 559, 559, 559,* **ch'i:lehshiyah xusAdzuxL** I got a sharp pain in my side < Raven stabbed me *L,* **ch'i:lehshiyah qi' k'usALma:L** where Raven made a lake *L,* **ch'i:lehkuts'gshiyah** Little Old Raven *1a.1M,* **ch'i:lehyAquh** young of raven *28.48, 55, 56, 57A,* **ch'i:lehyAquhyu:** pl. young of ravens *28.59A, Galushia Nelson* t'cılayu 'Raven Man' *BSdL 543* **ch'i:lehyu:** ravens, t'cìlɛ́tsə̀lì' name of Basket Pattern 11. ("raven bone") *BSdL 547A (illustration in BSdL 82)* **ch'i:lehts'Alih**; *Rezanov* Чиллетляшаль 'Цвѣты ('flowers') Blumen' *probably to be read* **ch'i:lehdla:sha'L** Raven-fort, Raven-fence *(though L has never heard of any plant or flower so named),* corresponding Tlingit entry Ельтаге yełtáx̣i 'onion' ('smell like raven').

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ch'i:lehyahd name of Raven potlatch house at Eyak < Raven-house *L, Galushia Nelson* t'cí·là yàt 'Raven House, Eyak', t'cílàyàt 'Raven potlatch house' *BSdL 545, also* **ch'i:lehya' yahd** < Raven's house *L, as distinguished from* t'cílàcia ya' 'Old Raven's House' *BSdL 545* **ch'i:lehshiyahya' yahd** Raven's house (in myth).

ch'ihdj~ch'ihsh *(authenticity uncertain, rejected by L; see ch'ich'2)*

ch'ihdj~ch'ihsh *(noun, probably d-class)* wild celery turned to wood *(has hollow stem; 'seacoast angelica, cowparsnip, sea lovage', or perhaps 'false hellebore')*: **ch'ihdj** dead celery *A,* some kind of alder *S (vague),* **ch'ihsh** wild celery turned to wood, hollow *L (M has heard, 'some kind of plant'). L later rejects ch'ihdj~ch'ihsh completely, in favor of ch'ich'ishxah.*

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ch'ihsh qi' k'u:Leh *(perhaps a place-name) (location not remembered)* < place where there's wild celery turned to wood *L. (Cf. chi:sh qi' k'u:Leh, by which this is probably influenced.)*

ch'i'ch'

ch'i'ch'X *(noun, unclassified, with -X-thematic)* shark *LM ("has very rough skin" L)*: *Galushia Nelson* t'citcx̣ 'shark ("rough")' *BSdL 540,* **ch'i'ch'X'a'luw** big shark *LM;* **ch'i'ch'XyAquh** young of shark *L.*

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ch'i'ch'XyAquh *(noun)* small shark species (dogfish?) *L.*

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xitl'ga' 'i:t'eh ch'i'ch'X *(noun)* white shark species (mud-shark?) < white shark *L.*

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L-ch'i'ch'-X *(with -X-thematic)* S be rough, *attested only from A and with d-class-mark for S (thematized?)*: **di:Lch'i'ch'X** it (e.g. board?) is rough *(Neuter imperfective) A.*

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O-**L-ch'i'ch'-X** *(with -X-thematic, probably causative of preceding)* S abrade, roughen O, S scour, scrub, brush O (e.g. table, floor) with a stiff brush, *attested only with d-class-mark for O (thematized?)*: **di:Lch'i'ch'X** brush it (board, with a stiff brush)! *M,* **dAxLch'i'ch'X** I'm abrading it with a wire brush (in scrubbing motion) *L,* **dishiLch'i'ch'XL** I scrubbed it (table, floor) with a scrubbrush *L.*

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’uX GAlAch’i’ch’X *(noun, unclassified?)* scrubbrush *A. Deverbalized passive of preceding with Gl-thematic 'ground, floor', -L-instrumental missing, perhaps because of retention of -X-thematic,* < by means of it it (ground, floor) is scrubbed.

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’uX k’uGAlALAch’i’ch’g, **’uX k’uGa:nLAch’i’ch’g** *(noun, unclassified?)* scrubbrush *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective of O-L-ch'i'ch'-X, with k'u-indefinite O, Gl-thematic, and -X-thematic replaced by -g-repetitive,* < by means of it something (ground, floor) is scrubbed.

ch’inhdG~ch’ihdG *(ch'ihdG A twice, L once, M once, ch'inhdG L twice, M once, Galushia Nelson; perhaps loan from Tlingit č’idgá 'skate', or perhaps more probably, especially if ch'inhdG is originally the more correct variant, diffused term of unknown origin, see also e.g. Haida (Swanton 1911) tc!ʼi̯tg 'skate'; after Eyak stem-initial dj-, ch-, ch'-, sh-, non-nasalized modified -i- is much more frequent than nasalized, so that ch'inhdG is accordingly less likely to be due to analogical influences than is ch'ihdG; cf: kuts'i:d~kuts'i:nd~kAts'i:nd for the converse)*

ch’ihdG *(noun, unclassified)* skate *A*: *Galushia Nelson* t’ci^{n}tq *or* t’cɪ^{n}tq 'skate' *BSdL 540,* **ch’inhdG** skate, ray *LM (L first heard of these when no longer a child),* **ch’ihdG q’A’Aw ’AX ’u’li:LXah** rays it was they (land-otters) had for canoes *33.33A,* **ch’ihdG’a’luw** big skate *M (L uncertain).*

ch’e:t’

’Ad-LA-ch’e:t’ *(attested in reflexive only)* S joke, be playful, silly, foolish, disobedient, mischievous, naughty *(reflexive perhaps in sense of 'S purposely make self a certain way' or 'pretend to be a certain way' or 'act a certain way wiht ulterior motive'*: *43.2M,* **’AdsLich’e:t’Linh** he was silly, foolish, didn't obey *M,* he's silly *L,* **dik’ ’AdsLAch’e:t’LGinh** he's not silly *L,* **’AdiLich’e:t’Linh** he's playful *(Neuter perfective) M,* **’Adqu’xLAch’e:t’** I'll play a joke *M, with perambulative:* **yAX ’AdALAch’e:t’** horse around! *M, repetitive:* **’AdLAch’e:t’ginh** he keeps joking *M.*

,

ch’e:t’Ashiyah *(noun, lX-class)* low-bush "stump" currants, gooseberries (Ribes laxiflorum, R. hudsonianum?) *LMA (with suffixed adjective 'bad', informants unable to explain ch'e:t'-, but associate it with the preceding).*

ch’e:k’

-ch’e:k’ *(not well remembered or not freely used)* S (a certain kind of wood) be very knotty, cross-grained (and hard to split, long-burning): **shAch’e:k’L** *"probably means the same as 'i:lihshAch'e:k'L" L.*

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’i:lih-ch’e:k’ S (person) be 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) be very knotty, cross-grained (and hard to split, long-burning): **’ita:’ma:ga’ ’i:lihshAch’e:k’L** damn! it's hard to split! < like you father's mother it (a certain kind of wood) is (has become) cross-grained *(Billy Dude said) L.*

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’i:lihshAch’e:k’L *(noun)* a certain kind of wood with a very gnarled grain, hard to split, burns long; a cranky mean nasty person *L. (Nominalization of preceding.)*

ch’e:yu’ *(perhaps related to ch'u:q')*

ch’e:yu’ *(noun, unclassified)* 1. wild celery turned to wood *(perhaps 'seacoast, angelica, cowparsnip', or 'false hellebore') L*: *Galushia Nelson* t’céiyù 'tube for popgun' BSdL 551 (probably made from the woddy hollow stalk of "wilf celery" or hellebore), **k’ut’u’ ch’e:yu’** lots of wild celery turned to wood *L.*

2. "alderberry" bushes (red-berries elde, Sambucus): **ch’e:yu’t’u’** lots of "alderberry" bushes *M,* **ch’e:yu’luw** big "alderberry" bushes *L. M*

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ch’e:yu’ya’ la’mahd *(noun, lX-class)* "alderberries" (elderberries) *LMA (same as ch'u:q'ya' la'mahd and sAsinhLinu:ya' la'mahd L).*

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ch’e:yu’t’u’ qi’ k’u:Leh *(probably a place-name)* < place where there are lots of alderberry-bushes *L.*

ch’ehX

d-ch’ehX *(with d-thematic 'oral')* S open mouth: **di:ch’ehXLinh** his mouth is open *(Neuter perfective) L,* **dik’ da’ch’ehXLGinh** his mouth isn't open *L,* **di’ch’ehX** open your mouth! *LMA,* **dAGAch’ehX** open your mouth! *L,* **q’e’ dAGAdAch’ehX** open your mouth again! *L,* **ya’Xu: qu’di:ch’ehX** don't open your mouth *L,* **qu’di:xch’ehX** I'll open my mouth *M,* **dAGAch’ehXLinh** he's opening his mouth *L,* **dishich’ehXL** I opened my mouth *LA, repetitive:* **dAch’ehXginh** he keeps opening and closing his mouth *M. Transitive (causative):* **dAGALch’ehXinh** open his mouth! *L.*

,

d-ch’e:X *(stem expanded, wih d-thematic 'oral')* S yawn: **dAGAch’e:XLinh** he's yawning *M,* **dAxch’e:X** I'm yawning *L,* **dAch’e:Xinh** he's yawning *L. Transitive (causative):* **xudi:Lch’e:X** you're making me yawn *L; reciprocal:* **’iLu’ da: dALAch’e:X** we're making each other yawn *L.*

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d-L-ch’e:X *(meaning not clearly distinguished from that of preceding, L-classifier perhaps originally in connection with frequent use of tsu'd 'sleep', now adverbially as O of transitive theme)* S yawn: **dAxLch’e:X** I'm yawning *(same as dAxch'e:X) L,* **dALch’e:Xinh** he's yawning *A,* **dAxLch’e:Xk’** I (cust) yawn *A, with tsu'd 'sleep' used adverbially: Rezanov* Цудельчехъ 'Зѣвать Gähnen' **tsu’d dALch’e:X** it's yawning sleepily, **tsu’d dALch’e:Xinh** *L,* **tsu’d dALch’ehXinh** *(M now rejects expanded stem)* he's yawning (from sleepiness) *M,* **tsu’d dAxLch’e:X** I'm yawning *L,* **tsu’d dishiLch’e:XL** I yawned *A.*

ch’e’1 *(for L also ch'e:'; probably to be identified with ch'e'2 and/or related to ch'e:'; cf. Tlingit (Veniaminov) amaámʌ’u 'ржавчина', (Naish-Story) ɢayés’ háƛ’i 'rust' ('iron-dung'), ’ìɢ háƛ’i 'verdigris' ('copper-dung'), (Boas) háʟ’ 'dung')*

’Ad-dA-ch’e’ *(attested only in reflexive)* S be, become rusty: **’Adsdich’e’L** *(also* **-ch’e:’L** *L)* it's rusted *LMA,* **’AdGAdAch’e’L** (*or* **-ch’e:’L** *L)* it's getting rusty *LMA,* **’Adqu’dAch’e’** (*or* **-ch’e:’** *L)* it'll get rusty *LMA,* **’Adidich’e:’L** *(expanded stem?)* it's got lots of rusty spots on it *(Neuter perfective) L, with class-marks for S:* **’Adqi:lisdich’e’L** it (chain) rusted *L,* **’Adqu’dAdAch’e’** it (knife) will rust *L,* **’Adisdich’e’L** (< **’Ad-d-**) it (knife) rusted *L.*

ch’e’2 *(perhaps to be identified with ch'e'1)*

ch’e’ *(noun, unclassified)* (firm) feces, dung *LM*: *Rezanov* Че 'Испражненїе Excremente', **lixahya’ ch’e’** grizzly-bear dung *18.6L,* **ch’e’At’u’** lots of dung *LM.*

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ch’e’ga’ lAXi:t’eh *(noun, lX-class)* brown beads *L. Nominalization,* < they (berry-like) are like feces (in color).

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-ch’e’ *(noun, unclassified)* (firm) feces, dung: **XAwa:ch’e’** dog feces *M; Rezanov* Катекльче 'Мѣдь Kupfer' **GAdAgiLch’e’** bras, dark shiny copper < sun-excrement *L (cf. Swanton* Social Conditions, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationships of the Tlingit Indians *26th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1908, p. 448, reference to "sun's manure" in a box of articles bringing wealth,* Катекльчеохсленель 'Мѣлной kupfern' **GAdAgALch’e’ wAX sLiniL** that's been done to brass, Катакыльчекоштлиль 'Позументъ ('galloon braid') Posument' **GAdAgiLch’e’ k’ushtl’i’L** brass(-colored, 'sun-excrement') garters *M,* ??? …"sleep" (dried mucus particles normally accumulating in inside corner of eye) < eye-excrement *L.*

,

lXd-(dA-)ch’e’ *(dA-classifier apparently optional)* S's eyes become "sandy" *(see above)*: **Lich’ lAXAdi:ch’e’Linh** his eyes are always "sandy" *(Neuter perfective) L,* **lAXAdixshdich’e’L** my eyes got full of "sleep" *L.*

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-ch’e’ S defecate: *Rezanov* Ачче 'Испражняться Cacare' **’Ach’e’** defecate!, **yich’e’** you're defecating *M, with perambulative:* **yAX dAch’e’X** it's defecating all about *M,* **ch’e:k’** it (cust) defecates *M.*

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qi’ch’ k’uch’e’ *(noun)* toilet *L. Nominalized of Active imperfective with k'u-indefinite S,* < place at, toward which one defecates.

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d-dA-ch’e’ *(with d-thematic unexplained)* S be, become befouled, covered with feced: **dishdich’e’L** it got full of feces *L.*

ch’e:’ *(perhaps expanded form of ch'e'1 and/or ch'e'2, see also dje:')*

lX-dA-ch’e:’ *(attested only with lX-class-mark for S)* S (berries) turn red: **lAXAGAdAch’e:’L** they (salmonberries) are turning red on one side *L,* **qu’lAXAdAch’e:’** they (berries) will turn red *L.*

,

’Ad-l-dA-ch’e:’ *(attested only reflexive with l-anatomical 'head, face')* S rouge face: **’Adi:ndAch’e:’inh** *(non-umlauted),* **’Adi:ndAch’i:n’inh** she's rougeing her face *L.*

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ni:k’AdAch’e:’ *(noun, unclassified, with d-class-mark for ni:k'- 'beak, nose')* shag, (pelagic) cormorant (Phalacrocorax pelagicus, P. auritus) < red-beak *LM; see also ni:ga:dAshi:n~, cf. also Tlingit łʊgán 'tufted puffin' ('red-beak').*

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’i:nda’ dich’e:’ *(noun, unclassified)* (belted) kingfisher *(same as ni:ga:dAshe:)* < front is red *A (name not known to L).*

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XAdAch’e:’, **XAdich’e:’** *(noun, unclassified, with Xd-thematic, perhaps thematized class-mark; latter form mre frequent)* red-tip clam *L, 10.230, 11.64A*: **XAdich’e:’dAXunhyu:** red-tip clam people *10.231, 231A,* **XAdich’e:’wAlahyu:** red-tip clam people (mythical spirits) *11.63, 63, 29.46A,* **k’ut’u’ XAdich’e:’** lots of red-tip clams *L.*

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shi:nda’ lAXi’Lch’e:’ *(noun, probably d-class)* small hemlock *("because it's half red") A (name unknown to L; shi:nda' 'to the creeks, northeastward', lX-thematic probably thematized class-mark 'berry-like', L-classifier and -i'-aspectival-modal prefix, none, of which is easily explained, cf. qa' lAXi'she:t' under she:t', perhaps in connection with expanded stem*

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-d-L-ch’e:’(-L) *(noun, unclassified, stem more correctly dje:', q.v.)* yolk: **k’udALch’e:’L** *A,* **k’udALch’e:’** egg yolk *M.*

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dla:ch’e:’ *(noun, unclassified, with dl-class-mark, probably for 'rock', thematized)* yelloweye rockfish, *locally* red snapper (Sebastes ruberrimus) *LM; as o of o-ga' 'like o', with -t'e´~t'u´ or -le,* S be, become red (like red snapper in color): *10.229, 11.63, 64, 96A, 66.10L, Rezanov* Тлячегуида 'Желтокъ яичной Eidotter' **dla:ch’e:’ga’ ’i:t’eh** it's red *M,* Тлячекольита 'Брусника', Тлячекольхете 'Красника Preisselbeere, Vaccinium vitis ideae' **dla:ch’e:’ga’ lAXi:t’eh** (any kind of) red berries *LM, Galushia Nelson* ɬá·t’cɛ̀·’ or ɬá·t’cɛ̀· 'red' *BSdL 553,* ɬa·t’cɛ·’ ke’i·t’ɛ’ qəlaq '"red appears shirt"' *BSdL 558* **dla:ch’e:’gä’ ’i:t’eh q’Ala:k’** red shirt, **dla:ch’e:’ga’ GAle:L** it's turning red *M,* **dla:ch’e:’ga’ ’i:nsAliLinh** his face turned red, he blushed *L.*

ch’a:L1 *(perhaps to be identified with ch'a:L2)*

-y-ch’a:L *(noun, unclassified, with y-anatomical 'hand')* index finger: *Galushia Nelson* k’ciyɛ́tcà·tɬ q’cyátcà·tɬ ‘first finger’, k’ʊ́yí’tcà·tɬ ‘thumb’ *BSdL 542* **k’uyAch’a:L** index finger, **shiyAch’a:L** my index finger *LMA.*

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’iyAch’a:Lkih *(noun)* little finger *A (preceding with -kih 'diminutive', in Li fieldnotes, not verified).*

ch’a:L2 *(perhaps to be identified with ch'a:L1)*

ch’a:L’ehd *(personal name) woman's name LMS, Rezanov* Чааэтлетъ 'Старуха ('old woman') altes Weib'.

ch’a:xw~ch’a:x *(Rezanov GS ch'a:xw, LM ch'a:x)*

ch’a:x *(noun, probably gl-class)* muddy silty water *L, Tarkhanov* Чахъ *(generic, but supposed place-name, first tributary to Kaliakh River; see General Introduction).*

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ch’a:xya’d *(place-name) North Arm of Eyak Lake, Power Creek* < (at rest) in muddy silty water *L.*

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gl-ch’a:xw~-ch’a:x S (water) be, become silty, muddy: **gu:nshAch’a:xwL** *63.41G,* **gu:nshAch’a:xL** it (water) got muddy, silty, cloudy *LM, Rezanov* Тыя-гунчухль 'Соль Salz' **di:ya’ gu:nch’a:xwL** saltwater is silty *(Neuter perfective),* **qu’gAli:ch’a:x** it (water) will cloud

up *L,* **gAlAch’a:xk’** it (water) (cust) clouds up *LM. Transitive (causative):* **gAlAGALch’a:x** make it (water) cloudy! *LM.*

,

gu:nch’a:xwL, **guli:ch’a:xwL** *S,* **gAli:ch’a:xL** *L (noun)* muddy water *LS. Nominalized Neuter perfective of gl-ch'a:xw~-ch'a:x.*

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gulAch’a:x *(noun)* muddy water *LM. Nominalized Active imperfective of gl-ch'a:xw~-ch'a:x.*

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gAlAch’a:xya’d *(place-name) "slough where we pick berries"? (location forgotten, perhaps same as ch'a:xya'd) L.*

ch’a:q’

O-**d-L-ch’a:q’** *(with d-thematic 'noise')* S hear O, S listen to O, S heed, obey O: *10.220A, 13.8, 44.4L, Rezanov* Тохльчааха 'Слышать hören' **duxLch’a:q’** I hear it, Тохльчааъ-ту *(ъ- superscript insert)* 'Слышу ich höre' **duxLch’a:q’duh** I heard it!, Тыильчакъжу 'Слышашьли? hörst du?' **di:Lch’a:q’shuh** do you hear it?, **’iduxLch’a:q'**, **’idAxLch’a:q’** I hear you *M,* **’idAxLch’a:q’ ’idAdi:leh** I heard what you said *L,* **’ida: da: dAsAliLsh di:Lch’a:q’** did you hear what we said? *M, with perambulative:* **yAX dAxLAch’a:q’X** I hear it about, I'm following its sound about *M; passive: 46.13, 18M (see also below),* **sidjAXAyAq’ ’Aw diLich’a:q’L** it is (constantly) audible in my ears *(Neuter perfective) 70.11A,* **qa: qu'dAdAch’a:q’** we'll be heard *L. Causative, with intermediate object as o of o-d,* o-**d** O-**d-L-ch’a:q’** S let o know < S cause o to hear O: **’id qu’di:xLch’a:q’** I'll let you know *L,* **sid ’Aw dAsALch’a:q’Linh** he let me know *L.*

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k’u-d-L-ch’a:q’ *(with k'u-indefinite O thematized, theme treated as intransitive, LA-classifier with q'e' 'again, some more')* S hear something, S can hear, S listen, be obedient, heedful: *39.4L, 46.9, 18M (LA-classifier with q'e', also interpretable as passive),* **dA’u:ch’ahd dik’ ’Awa: q’e’ k’uduxLAch’a:q’Ginu:** since then I haven't heard any more of them *68.123A, Rezanov* Котольчоохе *(ъ apparently written above second o, partly illegible)* 'Чуткой' *(not in Radlov, 'sharp-sensed, sharp-eared')* **k’udALch’a:q’inh** he hears something, he can hear, **k'uduxLch’a:q’** I hear something *M,* **’isAga’L k’udAxLch’a:q’** I hear you danced *L; with o-X 'in (punctual) contact with o',* o-**X k’u-d-L-ch’a:q’** S hear of, about o: *47a.6, 56.20L,* **’i:gahX k’udAxLch’a:q’** I hear you dancing *L,* **dA’AdXa’d ’uX k’udisiLch’a:q’L** I heard something unexpected < I heard something unexpectedly of it *L,* **’iX k’udAxLch’a:q’**, **’iX k’udishiLch’a:q’L** I heard (something) about you, of you *L.*

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O-**’-d-L-ch’a:q’** S hear O in a qualified way, vaguely: **’u’dishiLch’a:q’L** I sort of heard it, I heard it go by at a distance *L; with indeterminate O:* **wAX ’ida’dishiLch’a:q’L** well, that's the way *I* heard it < I heard things thus *L, with o-'e:X 'in search of o' and perambulative:* **’a’d ’idah ’Aw’e:X yAX ’ida’di’LAch’a:q’k’** he (cust) listens around very carefully for it *36.7A,* **’u’e:X yAX ’ida’dAxLAch’a:q’X** I'm listening around for it *L; passive, with o-da' 'arrival at o':* **sida’ ’u’disLich’a:q’L** I was sent a message < hearing (indirectly) of it arrived at me *L,* **k’ut’a’XAya’X sida’ ’u’disLich’a:q’L** my echo came back to me, it echoed back to me *L.*

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O-**d-L-ch’a:q’-G** *(with -G-negative thematized)* S be deaf to O, unable to hear O: *Rezanov* Тоухльчахахту 'Не слышу ich höre nicht' **duxLch’a:q’Gduh** I can't hear it! *M; usually with k'u-indefinite O: Rezanov* Кодельчахаллиля 'Человекъ Mensch', *probably to be read* **k’udALch’a:q’Ginh Lila:’** deaf man *L,* **k’udAGAxLch’a:q’LG** *(probably in error for -ch'a:q'GL)* I'm getting deaf *L.*

ch’a’

-ch’a’ *attested in only in* **k’uch’a’ch’iya’** warrior *M, not verified, k'u-indefinite prefix.*

ch’a:nG *(associated by informants with ts'an´, to which it is perhaps related, to be analyzed ch'an´-G, with -G-negative thematized)*

LA-ch’a:nG S be, become weak: *Neuter imperfective:* **xLich’a:nG** *M,* **’a’xLAch’a:nGinh** he's weak *L, Active imperfective:* **xLAch’a:nG** I'm weak *L; perfectives:* **GAxLAch’a:nGL** I'm getting weak *LM,* **siGuhd iya: GALAch’a:nGL** my knees are getting weak *L,* **xsLich’a:nGL** I got weak *LM,* **dik’ ’AxsLAch’a:nGLG** I didn't get weak *L;* **GALAch’a:nG** get weak! *M; with class-marks for S:* **dALAch’a:nG** it (table) is weak *L,* **dik’ dALAch’a:nGG** it (table) isn't weak *L,* **dAGALAch’a:nGL** it (table) is getting weak *L,* **disLich’a:nGL** it (table) got weak *L,* **gulAGALAch’a:nGL** it (beer) is getting flat *L. Transitive (causative):* **xuLch’a:nGk’** it (cust) makes me weak *M.*

,

sLich’a:nGL *(noun, unclassified)* moulting duck *L*: **sLich’a:nGLlu’qa: qu’xqeh** I'll go (by boat) to get some moulting ducks *L. Nominalized Active perfective of preceding,<* it has goten weak; *see ts'a:nG.*

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d-LA-ch’a:nG *(with d-class-mark for da:na: 'money' thematized)* S be cheap, S be (financially) poor, S be a cheapskate: **diLich’a:nGL** it's cheap *(Neuter perfective) L,* **dik’ da’LAch’a:nGLG** it's not cheap *L,* **dAGALAch’a:nGL** it's getting cheap *L,* **disLich’a:nGL** it is (got) cheap *LM,* **dik’ da’sLAch’a:nGLG** it's not cheap *(analogical, negative prefixes for Neuter and Active perfective both present) L,* **dik’ dALAch’a:nGk’G** it's (cust) not cheap *L.*

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da’LAch’a:nGinh *(noun)* cheapskate, poor man *28.97A. Nominalized Neuter imperfective of preceding, with negative prefix.*

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Gl-LA-ch’a:nG *(with Gl-thematic 'passage of time', cf. 'a:nG)* S be, become feeble with old age: **Ga:nxsLich’a:nGL** I've become feeble with old age *L.*

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l-LA-ch’a:nG *(with l-thematic, cf. l-LA-ts'an´)* S be a crybaby, weep readily: **la’LAch’a:nGinh** he's a crybaby *(Neuter imperfective, with negative prefix) L.*

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’i:lih-LA-ch’a:nG S be emotionally weak, cowardly, faint-, soft-, tender-hearted, sympathetic, sentimental, S break down, give in to feelings, be broken-hearted, despondent: **’i:lih’a’LAch’a:nG** he's soft-, faint-hearted *(nauter imperfective, with negative prefix) L,* **dik’ ’i:lih’a’LAch’a:nGGinh** he's not soft-, faint-hearted *L,* **’i:lihxsLich’a:nGL** I broke down (my emotional resistance broke) *L,* **dik’ ’i:lihsLAch’a:nGLGinh** he didn't break down, didn't give in *L,* **qe:lihxLAch’a:nG** I'll give in, break down, get soft-, faint-hearted *L. Transitive (causative):* **xu:lihsALch’a:nGLinh** he broke me down, made me give in, broke my heart *L.*

ch’an’

ch’an’ *(noun, unclassified)* soft fluffy substance *(no specific substance identified) LM*: *Rezanov* Чча 'Трутъ Feuerschwamm, Zunder' *perhaps to be read* **ch’an’**, **ch’an’ xLsin’X** *woman's name* < I'm petting something soft, *see sin'X; often as o of o-ga' 'like o': 65.20A,* **ch’an’ga’ GAle:L** it's getting soft *M,* **ch’an’ga’ GAxLi:L** I'm softening it *M, for further instances see le.*

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k’uch’an’ *(noun, unclassified, apparently with k'u-indefinite possessor, not attested with other possessors)* baby seal *("because it's soft and fluffy") L.*

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k’uch’an’yAquh seal pup; pussy-willow (catkins of Salix alexensis); anything soft and fluffy < small fluffy thing *L.*

ch’an’k’

’i-dA-ch’an’k’ *(attested only detransitivized with indeterminate O, underlying theme O-ch'an'k')* S clamber *(probably 'S clutch, claw, grope at indeterminate O')*: **’u:da’ ’ixsdich’an’k’L** I clambered thither *L, with perambulative:* **yAX ’ixdAch’an’k’X** I'm scratching, clambering around *L,* **yAX ’i:dAch’an’k’** clamber around! *L,* **yAX ’ixsdich’an’k’L** I clambered around *L.*

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’Ad-LA-ch’an’k’ *(attested only in reflexive)* S (prone) move self by grasping, clawing, clutching, S clamber, *with perambulative*: **yAX ’AdLAch’an’k’Xinh** he's clambering around *M.*

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qi:yAdAch’an’k’, **qi:yidich’an’k’** *(noun, unclassified)* Dungeness crab *LMS*: **qi:yidich’an’k’t’u’** lots of Dungeness crabs *LM. Nominalized Active (and Neuter?) imperfective of qi:y-dA-ch'an'k' with qi:y-anatomical 'toes',* < S's claws clutch.

ch’an’win’inh *(partly unanalyzable; articulated ch'an'ŋwin'inh with unique phone ŋw, velar nasal with incomplete closure and slight rounding, or as nasalized w with velar stricture more prominent than labial stricture, M once ch'a:'ŋinh probably incorrect; probably to be analyzed as postpositional phrase o-ch'-a' 'to o', with nominalized Active imperfective third person singular of theme -wa', -we', -wi', or -'wa', -'we', -'wi', with vowel nasalized and perhaps umlauted by -inh suffix, stem not further identifiable, 'he who …to o', statistically with likely -wa'; cf. Navaho o-a· ǯi-·-…ba'~ (< č'A-'-…wa') 'S be kind to o', Galice -ba' 'pity, have pity for' (cf. further e.g. Nw o-a· ǯi-:-…-li~ (< -L-ni) 'S trust O', Mattole o-ǯó-…-ni 'S help o', Hupa o-č'o (w.pf.)…-ne~ 'S help o'), see further certain Athapaskan kinship terms, especially for father's sisters, Hoju AA 58.2 (1956), ms. 22, 23, 25 or p.326)*

-ch’an’win’inh *(kinship noun, non-ascending)* sibling-in-law (of same sex as possessor): cɪtcaⁿ’wɪⁿ’iⁿ '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,* **sich’a:’ŋih** *M,* **sich’an’win’inh** my husband's sister, brother's wife *(woman speaking) LA, also used as vocative L,* **’ich’an’win’inh** your brother-in-law *20.63A,* **lAXch’an’win’inh** your pl. brother-in-law *20.56A, with -G-yu: 'personal pl.':* **sich’an’win’inhGAyu:** my siblings-in-law *L, 25.75A.*

ch’a:n’ *(perhaps related to ch'Alih~ch'a:n, cf. Tlingit keǯín, kiǯín 'five', -ǯín 'arm')*

ch’a:n’ *(numeral)* five: **ch’a:n’ih** *(abstract or with unclassified nouns)* five *LMS, Rezanov* Чаанъ-э '5.', *Anonymous* Цɛ '5.', *Baranov* Цѣ '5.', *Khromchenko* Чааа '5.', *Wrangell* Цоан-э 'fünf', *Furuhjelm* Tchai 'five', *Galushia Nelson* tcɔ́·ⁿɩ '5.' *BSdL 553,* **ch’a:n’ih XAwa:** five dogs *L;* **ch’a:n’ *mAnidz*ga’** about five minutes *65.25, 25A; with classified noun: 2a.11M;* **ch’a:n’nu:** five people *LM;* **ch’a:n’da’X** five times *L; Rezanov* Чаанъахтакакъ '50.' **ch’a:nda’X dAGa:q’**

fifty < five times ten *M,* **la’dich’a:n’da’X dAGa:q’** one hudred *(uncertain) M;* **dAGa:Xk’a:d ch’a:n’ih** fifteen *A.*

,

ch’a:n’ih yAsALqahL Friday < five days passed *L.*

ch’u:q’ *(perhaps to be analyzed ch'u:(')-, perhaps related to ch'e:yu', as o of o-q' 'on o')*

ch’u:q’- *(noun, perhaps 'red-berried alder (bush)') attested only as o of o-ya' 'belonging to o' in* **ch’u:q’ya’ la’mahd** "alderberries" (elderberries, Sambucus racemosa) *(inedible, same as ch'e:yu'ya' la'mahd, sAsinhLinu:ya' la'mahd) LA, 34.30L.*

ch’u’

O-**ch’u’** S steal O: *9.85, 98, 11.87, 118 (with dA-*ipse*?), 198, 201A, 34.55M (Inceptive conditional), with o-Xa' 'in intimate relation with o', here 'from o': 9.84, 119A, with o-ch'ahd 'from o' (perhaps under English influence):* **’uch’ahd k’uch’u’inh** he's stealing (something) from them *L,* **GAch’u’** steal it! *M,* **shich’u’L** I stole it *L,* **xu: qu’xch’u’** *I*'ll steal it *L,* **qa’ch’u’inh** he'll steal it *L; with indeterminate O:* **’iya: ’iqe’xch’u’** I'll steal for you *17.12M, Galushia Nelson* ìtcú^{n}’ì’ 'theft' *BSdL 552* **’ich’u’inh** he's stealing *LM,* **’ich’u:k’inh** he (cust) steals, he's a thief *M, with perambulative:* **yAX ’idAch’u’Xinh** he's going around stealing *M; with d-clas-mark for O: 11.118 (O 'money', lapse?),* **da:na: siXa’ dAshAch’u’Linh** he stole my money *L; passive, with d-class-mark for O:* **da:na: siXa’ dishdich’u’L** my money's been stolen *L.*

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O-**X-ch’u’** S steal much, many O: *with ya' 'completely': 11.204A, more frequently with ya:X 'destruction, consumption': 11.27A,* **Li’q’ ya:X qu’Xi:xch’u’** I'll steal everything *L.*

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’ich’u’ch’iya’ *(deverbalization with indeterminate O, and -ch'iya' 'master')* thief *M,* camp robber, Canada jay *(mother, Minnie Stevens, called it that) M.*

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le:L guch’u’ *(noun, unclassified, g-class O)* hummingbird *MA,* dragonfly *L* < it steals hair.

ch’u’ch’~ch’u:ch’ *(non-expanded form ch'u'ch' apparently obsolescent, perhaps related to ch'ich'2)*

ch’u:ch’ *(noun, unclassified)* snail, conch *LM*: **ch’u:ch”At’u’** lots of snails *L.*

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ch’u:ch’AlAkih *(noun, unclassied, with -kih 'diminutive' and l-anatomial 'head', thus 'little snail-head', or perhaps archaic class-mark for ch'u:ch' 'snail', thus 'little snail')* small bird species, about 3″ long, brown-gray, like sparrow, found out in flats *L.*

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-ch’u:ch’ *(noun) in* **-ni:k’AdAch’u:ch’** *(with d-class-mark for -ni:k' 'nose')* dimpled place where snot runs on upper lip (philtrum?): **sini:k’AdAch’u:ch’** place where snot runs on my upper lip *A. See ts'u:x.*

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-l-ch’u:ch’ *(noun, with l-anatomical 'head, face')* soft part (hollow) of cheek (part that can be sucked in): **silAch’u:ch’** the soft part of my cheek *L. See lu:ch', Gu:ch'.*

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O-**ch’u:ch’** S pinch O: **xushAch’u:ch’L** he pinched me *L,* **’iqe’xch’u:ch’** I'll pinch you *L (once pronounced -ch'u:sh, lapse?), with qa' 'up out' (mostly from M):* **qa’ ’isich’u:ch’L** I pinched you *M,* **qa’ ’iqe’xch’u:ch’** I'll pinch you *M,* **qa’ xuGAch’u:ch’** pinch me! *M, repetitive:* **qa:nch’ ’ixch’u:ch’g** I'm pinching you (with a twisting pulling motion) *LM,* **qa:nch’ xuch’u:ch’gk’inh** she (cust) pinches me *M, with indeterminate O and perambulative:* **yAX ’idAch’u:ch’Xinh** he's going about pinching people *M; passive, with gd-anatomical:* **xugAdishdich’u:ch’L** I got pinched on the rump (by someone) *L.*

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-ch’u:ch’ *(not freely used, attested only in Neuter perfective)* S be bent, crumpled, twisted, contorted, gnarled: *with ya' 'completely':* **ya’ ’i:ch’u:ch’L** it's all bent up (been that way a long time) *L.*

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LA-ch’u:ch’ *(meaning not clearly distinguished from that of preceding)* S be bent, crumpled, twisted, contorted, gnarled: **’iLich’u:ch’L** it's all bent up *(Neuter perfective) L,* **dik’ ’a’LAch’u:ch’LG** it's no all bent up *L, with ya' 'completely':* **ya’ ’iLi’ch’u:ch’L** it's all bent up, **ya’ shLich’u:ch’L** it's (become) all bent, crumpled up *LM, with y-anatomical:* **ya’ yisLich’u:ch’L** my hand's (become) all twisted up, gnarled *L. Transitive (causative):* **ya’ GALch’u’ch’** *M,* **ya’ GALch’u:ch’** bend it all up! *L (would not use M's form, though she thinks she has heard it),* **ya’ qu’xLch’u’ch’** I'll bend it all up *M, repetitive:* **ya’ xLch’u’ch’g** I'm crumpling it up *M, detransitivized with indeterminate O:* **ya’ ’ixLAch’u:ch’gk’** I (cust) crumpled things up *M, with perambulative:* **’uq’ yAX ’ixLAch’u:ch’X** I'm bending things on it here and there *M; passive:* **ya’ shdich’u:ch’L**, **ya’ shLich’u:ch’L** it got all bent up (by someone) *(latter homophonous with intransitive, "not so sue (in the case of shLich'u:ch'L) that someone did it (as in the case of shdich'u:ch'L), could have gotten that way itself") L.*

shdi:nn *(loan from Tlingit (Sampson Harry, W. Soboleff) šdín 'steel', from English, perhaps directly, or through Chinook Jargon)*

shdi:nn *(noun, unclassified)* iron, a hard metal *M* (steel?), bullets?, something hard like iron *L*: **shdi:nn’At’u’** lots of steel *LM.*

shdu:lihG *(loan from Chugach stuuluq 'table', from Russian стол, not used by Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

shdu:lihG *(noun, d-class)* table *LM, 61.43, 65.12, 20A, frequently used in eliciting constructions with d-class-marks*: **shdu:lihG ’u:d dAsAtahL** (*or* **-’ahL**) a table is there *L,* **’AlAshgahX ’Aw shdu:lihG da’Lits’anh** I hope that table is strong *L,* **’Aw shdu:lihG shich’ di:ta’** (*or* **-’a’**) bring me that table! *L,* **’Aw shdu:lihG di:sinhXg** scrape the table! *L,* **’Aw shdu:lihG di:Lk’u:d** wipe the table! *L,* **shdu:lihG Xu’ da’Leh** make a table! *L,* **’Aw shdu:lihG dla:GAL’e’** hide that table! *L,* **dAXk’ da: shdu:lihG da’li:LXah** how many tables do you have? *L,* **shdu:lihGda’luw** big table *L,* **shdu:lihGdAkuts’g**, **shdu:lihGdAkih** little table *L,* **shdu:lihGdAdzu:** good table *L,* **shdu:lihGdAshiyah** no-good table *L,* **shdu:lihGdA’a:w** long table *L,* **ya:dAdik’ shdu:lihG**, **shdu:lihGdAdik’** short table *L,* **shdu:lihG ya’ GAdla:’a:w** table is high *L,* **shdu:lihG ya’ GAdla:dik’** table is low *L,* **shdu:lihGdAtsidzg** narrow table *L,* **shdu:lihGdAwAX** wide table *L,* **shdu:lihG la’q’ dAtsidzg** table is (of) thin (wood) *L,* **shdu:lihG la’q’ dAchahsh** table is (of) thick (wood) *L,* **shdu:lihGdAguhdkih** tiny, miniature table *L,* [**dA**]**GALAgAmAk’ shdu:lihGa’luw** big roung table *L,* **dAGAqe:L shdu:lihG** oval table *L,* **shdu:lihGdAyAXd** under the table *L,* **’Aw shdu:lihGda:q’ ’i:tahL da:XAdidja’g ’ich’ qu’xtah** I'll give you that matchbook that's on the table *L,* **shdu:lihGdAch’ahd qid disLiqahGL** it fell from the table *L,* **shdu:lihGda:q’Ach’ahd qid disLiqahGL** it fell from the table-top *L,* **shdu:lihGdAlu’ qa:nch’ GAxk’uwahdjL** I'm pounding a nail into (through) the table *L,*

shdu:lihGdA'a:gd mid-table *M;* **shdu:lihGda:q' ya:nahd tah** tablecloth < it lies on a table (covering some surface) *L.*

shgAna:nn *(probably from Tlingit; first element in personal name)*

shgAna:nn *(personal name)* 1. *Tlingit woman L, Mrs. Caldwel M* < mother of shgAna:nn.

2. *sister of ts'u:dALah.*

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3. *Eyak woman S.*

shgu:lihdAG *(loan from Chugach skuulutaq 'fryping pan, skillet', from Russian сковорода, not used by Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

shgu:lihdAG *(noun, d-class)* frying-pan, skillet *LM*: **shgu:lihdAG 'u:d dAsAtahL** *(not *-'ahL)* a frying-pan is there *L,* **shgu:lihdAGda'luw** big skillet *LM.*

shgu:na:~sgu:na: *(sgu:na: M and Galushia Nelson only, perhaps incorrect; loan from English 'schooner' or perhaps Russian шхуна, perhaps through Tlingit or Chugach, for initial cf. shdi:n; Tlingit šgúna, W. Soboleff)*

shgu:na: *LM,* **sgu:na:** *(L rejects form) M (noun, d-class)* schooner *M, 59.10 Galushia Nelson*: **shgu:na: 'u:d dAsA'ahL** a schooner is there *L,* **shgu:na:da'luw** big schooner *M.*

shk'AX

shk'AX *(personal name) Scar Stevens (1879-1956) LMAS, Russian name Stipan (origin of English Scar), BSdL* cqəx̣.

shid~shAd *(shid more frequent than shAd)*

-d-shid *(noun, unclassified, d-thematic usually treated as constituent with stem rather than with other marks, or as dA-classifier, combining with e.g. l-mark to form -:nd- rather than -dl-, but in one instance treated as constituent with l-mark, -dl-)* edge, rim, brim, flare, flange: *Rezanov* Утешитъ 'Люкъ байдарочной Oeffnung der Baidare' **'udAshid** its edge *LM,* its hatch (of baidarka) *L,* **k'udAshid** edge, rim (e.g. of glass) *LM,* **na:wdAshid** funnel *L (influenced by na:wshida:),* **ch'iyahddAshid** (*or* **-shAd**) *(with l-class-mark for possessor missing)* brim of hat *L, Galushia Nelson* ʊ́nɒìcìtɕù·tɬà' t'cíyàt' *or* ʊ́nɒə̀cìtɕù·tɬà *etc.* 'cap with a peak' *BSdL 550* **'u:ndAshid k'u:Leh ch'iyahd** *(with l-class-mark for possessor) L,* **'u:dAshidqa'X k'u:Linhinh** she's wearing a labret < there is (something in) an interstice in her face *(with l-anatomical, nasalization missing) L;* **k'u'uGLdla:shAd** *(d-thematic treated as constituent with l-class-mark for possessor)* white part near heart of animal (thymus *or* fatty tissue?) *A.*

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ya'X dAshid k'u:Leh *(noun, probably unclassified)* pitcher with spout *L. Status of dAshid not clear, treated as verb with ya'X 'upward', ya'X dAshid as noun,* < there is a flaring upward.

shida: *(loan from Tlingit -šída, occurring only in na:wshida:, and probably associated by informants with Eyak shid~shAd)*

shitl'~shAtl' *(shitl' more frequent than shAtl', expanded shi:tl', perhaps reduced form of sha'tl')*

-shitl'~-shAtl' S wear thin (by abrasion): **shAshitl'** it's thin, it's worn thin *M,* **qa'shitl'** *M,* **qa'shAtl'** it'll get thin *A,* **GAshitl'L** it's wearing thin *L; with l-anatomical 'head',* S be, become

bald: *Rezanov* Иншешететли 'Плѣшивой kahlköpfig' **’i:nshAshitl’Linh** *L,* **lAshAshitl’Linh** he's (become) bald *M, with la'q' 'thickness' and qa' 'up out':* **la’q’ qa’ li:shitl’Linhg** he's bald *(Neuter perfective) L. Transitive (causative) O-L-sitl'(-g) (usually with -g-repetitive thematized)* S file, grin, saw, abrade O, S wear O thin: **’ALshitl’**, **’ALshitl’g** file it! *M,* **La’gw ’ALshAtl’g** saw wood! *S,* **qu’xLshitl’g** I'll saw it *M,* **shiLshitl’gL** I sawed it *M,* **GALshitl’L** he's grinding, abrading it, wearing it thin *L,* **xLshitl’g** I'm grinding it *M; passive: Rezanov* Шлишетлькельхоете 'Плоско platt' **shLishitl’Lgwä’ ’i:t’eh** it's like it's been ground (smooth), **shLishitl’gL** it's been sawed, smoothed *M, with ya' 'completely':* **ya’ shLishitl’L, ya’ shdishitl’L** *(former preferred)* it's been sawed through *L.*

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O-**shitl’~-shAtl’** *(meaning not clearly distinguished from that of O-L-shitl'(-g), causative of preceding; less frequently attested, perhaps in error)* S file, grind, saw, abrade O, S wear thin: **shAshitl’L** you rubbed it *M,* **k’ushi:tl’k’inh** he (cust) saws (something) *L.*

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’uX k’ushAtl’gL *A,* **’uX k’ushitl’gL** *(noun, unclassified)* saw *LM*: **’uX k’ushitl’gLluw** big saw *LM. Deverbalized passive of O-(L-)sitl'-g with -L-instrumental, k'u-indefinite O,* < by means of it something is sawed.

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lX-shitl’(-g) *(with lX-class-mark 'berry-like, granular' thematized, meaning apparently not clearly distinguished from that of -shitl'~-shAtl')* S wear thin (by abrasion): **lAXAGAshitl’L** it (garment) is wearing thin (e.g. at knees, elbows, seat) *L. Transitive (causative) (lX-mark may here refer to granula product)* S grind, grate O: **k’ulAXAxLshitl’g** I'm grating something (e.g. cheese, potatoes) *L (lX-class-mark regular for 'potatoes', but not for 'cheese').*

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k’ulAXALshitl’gL *(noun, probably lX-class)* sawdust *LM. Nominalized transitive of preceding, -L-suffix, perhaps gerundive, not easily explained with retention of L-classifier.*

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O-**Xd-L-shitl’-g** *(with Xd-thematic 'sharp', -g-repetitive thematized)* S file, grind O sharp: *18.10L, 28.57, 58A (may include d-class-mark for O 'knife'),* **k’uXAdAxLshitl’g** I'm filing something (sharp) *L,* **XAdi:Lshitl’g** grind it sharp (knife)! *M,* **’iLq’Asd XAdi:Lshitl’g** sharpen it (double-bladed axe) at both edges! *(indirect reciprocal) L.*

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O-**Xd-shitl’-g** *(as above, L-classifier missing, as in O-shitl'~-shAtl')* S file, grind O sharp: **tl’i:’Ayu: XAda:lAXshitl’g** pl. sharpen bear-spears! *(may include Xd-class-mark for O) 19.22L.*

shiL1 *(expanded she:L)*

gl-shiL-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized, attested only with gl-class-mark for S)* S (water) splosh, make sloshing noise: **giyah gAlAshiLg** water is sploshing, splashing, sloshing, swashing, making such a sound (as with the paddling of a canoe) *L.*

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gl-LA-shiL-g *(as above, meaning not clearly distinguished from that of preceding)* S (water) splosh, make sploshing noise: *nominalized as o of o-dahd 'sound of o':* **giyah gu:nLAshiLgdahd ’u’ditah** sound of sploshing water is heard *L.*

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LA-shiL(-g) *(usually with -g-repetitive, partly thematized) with qa' 'up out',* S (bunch of small fish, e.g. herring, trout) swarm at surface of water (as around bait), making sploshing sound: **’u:d qa’ ’iLishiL** they (a bunch of fish, e.g. herring, trout) are swarming busily at surface,

making a sploshing sound *(Neuter perfective) L,* **qa' 'ALAshe:Lk'** they (bunch of small fish) (cust) swarm at surface (around bait) *L,* **qa:nch' LAshiLg** *(repetitive not thematized)* they (small fish) are swarming at surface, making sploshing sound *L,* **qa' shLishiLgL** they (small fish) swarmed at surface (around bait) *L.*

shiL~shAL *(shAL from S only, perhaps non-assimilated Tlingit form; loan from Tlingit šáł 'spoon')*

shiL~shAL *(noun, d-class)* spoon: **shAL** *S, Rezanov* Шитль 'Лошка Löffel', *Anonymous* Шитль 'Лошка', *Galushia Nelson* cɪtɬ, *Old Man Dude* citɬ 'spoon' *BSdL 546* **shiL** spoon *LMA (same as, but much preferred to lu:shga:G L),* **shiL 'u:d dAsAtahL** (*or* **-'ahL**) a spoon is there *L,* **shiLda'luw** big spoon *LM, Old Man Dude* ɒana citɬ 'silver spoon ("money spoon")' *BSdL 546* **da:na:shiL** *(see da:na: 1.), Galushia Nelson* ɢúⁿɒɑ̀lɛ̀' cɪtɬ (*or* ɢúⁿnɒɛ̀lɛ̀' cɪtɬ) 'horn spoon' *BSdL 546* **k'u:ndAlehshiL**, ɒəkíⁿ cɪ̀tɬ 'wooden spoon' *BSdL 547* **dAkinhshiL**.

shiLwa:G~shiLwa:g

shiLwa:G~shiLwa:g *(personal name)* 1. *another name for George Johnson, after a strong man G in Li (cf. diyAG).*

2. *man's name, relative of George Johnson (from Elaine Ramos).*

shish *(L never heard shAsh; expanded shi:sh)*

O-**shish** S sip, drink O (tea or coffee), S have tea: *61.61, 70A (with k'u-indefinite S or O),* **k'uxshish** I'm sipping something, having tea *M,* **qu'xshish** I'll drink it (coffee, tea) *M,* **'Ashish** drink it! *MA,* sip tea! *S,* **'Axshi:shk'** *L,* **xshi:shk'** *(L prefers latter)* I (cust) sip it *LA,* **che:y da:shi:shk'** we (cust) drink tea *M, with perambulative:* **yAX k'udAshishXinh** he's going about (from house to house) having tea *M.*

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O-**gl-shish** *(with gl-class-mark for O thematized)* S sip, drink O (tea or coffee) from saucer: **gAli:shish**, **gAla:shih** *(former preferred)* sip it (tea) from saucer! *L.*

,

O-**L-shish** S sip, drink O (tea or coffee), finishing it: **shALshishL** you drank it (tea, coffee) all up *M; unusally with ya'd 'empty':* **'Al che:y siXa' ya'd qu'xLshish** I'll drink this tea of mine down *61.68A,* **ya'd shALshishL** *(not shAshishL)* you drank it up *L,* **ya'd qu'xLshish** I'll drink it up *L; passive:* **ya'd shLishishL**, **ya'd shdishishL** it's been drunk up *L,* **ya'd qu'dAshish** *(not -LA-)* it'll get drunk up *L.*

shig *(authenticity doubtful)*

shig *(noun)* long moss in water *A (A apparently certain, but unknown to M, and L definitely never heard; A later, 7 April with Constance Naish, no longer recognized the form).*

shigah

shigah *(personal name) Willie Dude LA, BSdL* cɪɢa'.

shiyah~shah~sha: *(shah in certain vocatives of kinship nouns and one personal name, sha: with -dah adverbialized, with one postposition, and in one personal name; also shiya: in song and in one personal name; perhaps related to sha'~shah and or lAXAsha:'ne:)*

-shiyah *(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 k'u-indefinite prefix.* a. *not in association with classified nouns: asyntactic or as S*: *Anonymous* Кушыя 'Худый', *Baranov* Кушия 'Худый', *Khromchenko* (Кушуй /) Кушуя 'Худо', **k'ushiyah**, *43.12M, 61.13A,* **k'ushiyah** o-**la'X d-'ya** o be, become angry < anger come over o *(see 'ya1), Rezanov* Кошиятъ 'Худо schlecht' **k'ushiyahd**…, *Furuhjelm* Kushiatu 'bad' **k'ushiyahduh** that's bad!, *Rezanov* Аткошиятъ 'Хуже schlecht (Comparat.)' **'a'd k'ushiyahd**… very bad, Кошшия 'Нечисто' *(not in Radlov, 'unclean'), Galushia Nelson* kəciyɛ 'bad or ugly' *BSdL 554, Rezanov* Кошиятлечанъ 'Воняеть stinken' **k'ushiyah LAchanh** something bad smells, **k'ushiyah 'iyAch' dAGAdAleh** you're getting yourself bad luck (by playing with fire) *L,* **k'ushiyah 'uXa' 'uyAq'd 'iLt'a' 'isA'ahLinh** the offenses against him he contains (are gathered) within himself *L, as O:* **k'ushiyah q'unhAw dAtli: tl'ihX sAL'ahL** he's already started trouble *L, as C:* **'Awdig k'ushiyah** that too is bad, evil *51.33A,* **Xa:'d k'ushiyah** bad (weather) out *LM,* **XAla:g k'ushiyah** winter is bad, hard *M,* **'i: 'iya' k'ushiyah** yours is no good *L,* **k'ushiyah 'iLe' da:X** as they (spruce-needles) begin to turn old and rotten *11.117A,* **Xa:'d k'ushiyah yiLeh** it was bad (weather) outside *M, 60.42A,* **k'ushiyah sALe'L** (I baked bread and) it turned out badly, it was a failure, it got spoiled (too bad to eat), he became bad *L,* **k'ushiyah GALe'LGdAwa: Xa:ne:** eat it before it spoils! *L,* **dA'a: k'ushiyah yiLinhinh** because he's no good *M,* **dA'a: k'ushiyah yiLeh XAwa:** because it's a bad dog < dog which is bad *L,* **-dAGAleh** o-**a: k'ushiyah -Le(')** o's mind be unhappy, o be sad, unhappy, in a bad mood *18.85L, 25.38, 29.38A, 62.22G,* **k'ushiyah 'u'lisiLXa'L** I wrecked it *M,* **k'ushiyah 'Adu'sLiXa'Linh** he acted, got bad (deliberately) < he made himself bad *L,* **sidAGAleh siya: k'ushiyah 'u'li:LXah** I feel guilty < it's making my mind unhappy *L, as o of postpositions:* **k'ushiyahya'X** in anger, in a fury, in a fit *47b.35M,* **k'ushiyahla'** bad luck *L, preceding (unclassified) nouns (relativized): Khromchenko* Кушуя-куя 'Худая погода' ('bad weather') **k'ushiyah k'u:y…** bad wind, **k'ushiyah qe'L** evil woman *21a.34, 48L,* **k'ushiyah sAqe:ts'Akih** naughty child *51.18A,* **k'ushiyah dAXunh** bad person *L, 51.18, 35A,* **'a'd k'ushiyah XAla:g 'idAsAliL** a very bad winter ensued *L, 45a.9L,* **'a'd k'ushiyah XAla:g k'ushALe'L** there was a very bad winter *L,* **k'ushiyah k'ahd** bad disease, syphilis *L.*

1b. *With class-marks*: **k'udAshiyah** no good, bad *(of wood, board, mussel, phonograph record, house, boat, knife, ice) L,* **k'udAshiyah lis** bad tree *L,* **k'udAshiyah La'g** bad firewood *L,* **'Aw yahd k'udAshiyah** that house is no good *L,* **k'ulAXAshiyah** no good, bad *(of sand, rice, berries, eyes) L,* **k'ugu:nshiyah** no good, bad *(of water, milk, sealoil, whiskey) L,* **k'uti:nshiyah** bad skin (poor pelt) *LM,* **k'uti:lAshiyah GALe'L** it (skin, rhubarb) is turning bad *L,* **tl'ihX k'ugAdAshiyah** grass is bad *L,* **k'ugushiyah** no good, bad *(of thread, yarn, sinew) L,* **k'ugAdla:shiyah** bad paint *L,* **k'udla:shiyah dzAwuL** bad net *L,* **k'uqi:lAshiyah** bad rope, chain *L,* **k'uXAdAshiyah** bad *(of day, log) L.*

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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)*: **ch'i:lehshiyah** (Old) Raven *(standard name for mythological 'Raven', as distinguished from generic 'raven') (see ch'i:leh),* **XAwa:shiyah** old dog, mutt *33.9, 49.101, 101, 108A,* bad dog, lousy mutt *L,* **qa:Lts'Alihshiyahyu:** old human bones *34.122L,* **LA'ahshiyah** old slave *(pejorative) 49.84, 88, 115A,* **we:gshgAshiyah siXa'** my old ulu *49.89A,* **-yahshAshiyah** (woman's) child, brat, kid *49.131, 133, 143A, Galushia Nelson* səqɛ́'tsə̀ciyɛ 'baby-ugly, bad baby ("baby-bad")' *BSdL 259, 554* **sAqe:ts'Ashiyah** *(sAqe:ts'A- does not otherwise occur without -kih 'diminutive'), Rezanov* Тагомушия 'Мущина Mann' **dAXunhishiyah** nasty fellow *9.28A,* old guy, character *(person one doesn't like) L,* **te'ya'shiyah** old fish *(contemptuous) 21b.5A,* **'Aw yida:shiyah q'A'Aw** it's that (evil) shaman's power *L,* **LAni:'shiyah**

bad boy *L,* **dAXunhyu:shiyah** "people" *(with sarcastic tone, like "*some *people") M, with certain kinship nouns (in more or less pejorative sense, see also -shiyah~-shah below):* **-'ehdAshiyah** old lady (wife) *10.271, 11.1, 2A,* **'uqa'shiyah** her old man (husband) *11.48, 50A,* **'uma:shiyah** her old mother *49.76, 78A,* **'uta:'shiyah** her old father *49.77A,* **'itl'la:shiyahyahsh** your old (female) cousin's child *61.102A, suffixed to nominalizations, exclamations, other adjectives (often epithets):* **'AXa: Xe'dAlinhinhshiyah** my what an old snob, dandy! *L,* **'a:wAyu: 'i:nsAxahLinhshiyah** he's a badly boorishly brought-up person *L,* **'AXa: dik' dAleh k'u'LAle:Ginhshiyah** what a disrespectful forward person! *L,* **'i:nLilinhinhshiyah** (**-shiya:** *in song*) funnyface, uglymug *(children's taunt) L,* **Xa:'d Lsihshiyah** weather is rotten lousy *L,* **'iLk'e:duh Ldzu'shiyah** what in God's name does that (lousy mutt) think it's doing? *L,* **'a:nya:nshiyah** *exclamation of anger at someone L,* **'uhshiyah** *exclamation of slight or mock irritation LM,* **'ihshiyah** *exclamation of extreme disgust or contempt M (L rejects),* **ch'i:lehkuts'gshiyah** Little Old Raven *1a.1M,* **Ge:ts'gAXAq'kuts'gshiyah** Little Old Magpie *9.9, 48A,* **'anhga'kih 'i:Lkuts'ginhkuts'gshiyah** a poor little guy like him *9.44A,* **k'a:dahkuts'gshiyah** a remarkably clever little youngster *M,* **ba:sha:kuts'shiyah** *personal name LM (see ba:sha:),* **k'uwAXluwshiyah** big fat old thing! *1b.9M,* **k'AlAwAXshiyah** old fat-head! *1b.9M,* **LAchanhshiyah** old stinky! *1b.9M,* **lAquhLq'AXshiyah** old fat-cheeks! *10.96A, with special meaning:* **ch'e:t'Ashiyah** low-bush currants *LM (see ch'e:t'),* **dla:q'Aya'shiyahyu:** sheep, mountain-sheep < bad, queer mountain-goats *L,* **dla:q'Aya'ga' 'i:t'ehshiyahyu:** mountain-sheep < bad, queer ones which are like mountain-goats *L,* **kAna:qa:shiyahyu:** (*same as* **kAna:qa:yu:**) Greeks *L.*

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2b. *with classified nouns*: **shdu:lihGdAshiyah** no-good table *L.*

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-shiyah~-shah *(suffixed to kinship nouns, -shah with certain vocatives) according to L, the ascending kinship nouns for parents' parents and parents' siblings can be followed by suffixed -shiyah which is entirely without meaning, and, in the case of those for the grandparents, suffixed -shah or -shiyah 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*: **-chu:shiyah** mother's mother *(same as -chu:, vocative chu:shah),* **-k'inhshah** father's mother *(same as -k'inh, vocative k'inhshah),* **-'uhshiyah** father's father *(same as -'uh, vocative 'uhshah),* **-'we:shGAshiyah** mother's father *(same as -'we:shG, vocative we:shGAshah),* **-ya:q'e'shiyah** mother's sister *(same as -ya:q'e', vocative ya:q'e', ya:q'e'shah, ya:q'e'shiyah),* **-'ahdAshiyah** father's sister *(same as -'ahd, vocative 'ahd, 'ahdshah, 'ahdAshiyah),* **-tinhshiyah** father's brother *(same as -tinh, vocative 'Atinh, tinhshiyah),* **-ga:gshiyah** mother's brother *(same as -ga:g, vocative 'Aga:g, ga:gshah); once however, L contradicted herself in part, stating that in the grandparent terms the -shiyah~-shah has no pejorative connotation whatsoever, but that in those for the parents' siblings, and all other kinship nouns, -shiyah (never reduced to -shah) retains some pejorative meaning. thus* **sitinhshiyah** my uncle (father's brother) (who e.g. "looks funny") *L. In the kinship terms from A in BSdL 565-568, suffixed -shiyah is used to distinguish the younger sibling from the older in atcia, akicia 'father's younger sister' (see 'ahd, tinh), aqaqcia 'mother's younger brother' (see ga:g), yaqɛ'cia 'mother's younger sister', yaqɛ'caɛyac 'mother's younger sister's son or daughter' (see ya:q'e'), siucia 'father's father's younger brother' (see 'uh1), sɪtcucia 'mother's mother's younger sister' (see chu:), sɪⁿskicia 'younger brother (woman speaking)' (see :ndz), siɪtkicia (with first i superscript) 'younger sister (man speaking)', sitqetkcia 'husband's younger sister' (see yid~yAq~wud); in certain others suffixed -shiyah distinguishes the children of a man's younger brother from those of his older brother (which are not distinguished from his own children): sɪsaqɛqcia 'younger brother's son (man speaking)' (see -sA-qe:-G 'man's son, man's brother's son'), sitsicia 'younger brother's daughter' (see tsi:~tsi:y 'man's daughter', and cf. sitsi:shiyah 'my daughter', man speaking, angrily L); in others -shiyah distinguishes a man's stepbrothers from his blood brothers: stawʊx̣cia 'older stepbrother' (see -XAwAX 'man's oldder brother'), sɪᴅaqaɛcia*

'younger stepbrother' (see -dAGe:' 'younger sibling'); the glossed for aqaqcia 'mother's older sister's son (man speaking)', siqaqcia 'mother's older broher's son (man speaking)', and qacia or ɋácia 'mother's father's older brother (either sex speaking)', probably all forms with -ga:g 'mother's brother' and -shiyah, are almost certainly incorrect.

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nAXAsha:ni *(personal name) George's cousin, Katalla, died ca. 1910 G Harrington, from original Eyak lAXAsha:'ne: 'big bad-eyes'.*

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k'usha:dah *(adverb)* badly (etc.): **k'usha:dah dAXunh -Le(')** S be a bad person < S be a person badly, S live evilly *9.28, 49.9A,* **k'usha:dah Gl-ta´** S be a bad person, mean < S live badly *9.29, 51.35A, L (see ta´),* **k'usha:dah 'Ad-'-dA-gAwi´~-gAw** S feel badly, ill *47c.6L, 69.27A,* **k'usha:dah** O-**'-gAwi´~-gAw** S feel (O) badly *L (see gAwi´~gAw),* **k'usha:dah -le** S turn bad, spoil *48.11L,* **k'usha:dah d-le** S speak evil, say something mean *61.14A, Rezanov* Кошатасакацль 'Криво schief, krumm' **k'usha:dah sAGAts'L** you twisted it badly, **k'usha:dah LA-gAmi´~-gAm** S taste bad *(see gAmi´~gAm),* **k'usha:dah LA-chan** S small bad *(see chan´),* **k'usha:dah 'i'GAx'eh** you look pretty sickly to me *L,* **lAXla:X lAXa' k'usha:dah 'u'lAXAGAdA'eh** your pl. eyes look pretty bad *L,* **Lich' k'usha:dah xu'li:'inhinh** he always calls me bad names *L,* **k'usha:dah sAqAts'L** it's ripped bad *L,* **k'usha:dah 'Adi:nLit'inhinh** he's making a snarling frowning face, he's a mean bossy person **sidAGAleh siya: k'usha:dah sALiLinh** he hurt my feelings *L,* **'udAXa:q' k'usha:dah da: dAleh** we're having trouble because of what he said *L,* **k'usha:dah 'i:lih-t'e´~-t'u´**, **k'usha:dah 'i:lih-le** S be angry, distusted *(see t'e´~t'u´, le),* **k'usha:dah** O-**'i:lih-Li** (**-L-le**) S anger, distust O *(see le),* **k'usha:dah yAX 'Adi:lihLa'ya:Xinh** he's thinking angry thoughts *L,* **k'usha:dah leh GAlAGa'ya:L** there's a bad winter < a year is passing badly *L.*

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k'usha:da' *(postpositional phrase)* bad luck *in* **k'usha:da'** o-**leh Gl-'ya** o have a bad year (year of bad luck) *(see -'ya1).*

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'AdXa'lAshiyah *(noun, unclassified)* good-for-nothing, ne'er-do-well *L, 50.41A. 'AdXa' 'in intimate relation with self'; lA- may represent l-thematic, or is perhaps a reduced form of -le 'S act', but deverbalized, as otherwise dA-classifier would be expected wth the indirect reflexive; also called 'AdXa'lih "for short" L.*

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ti:shiyah *(noun, probably ti:l-class, with ti:l-class-mark thematized, not actualized ti:lA-, and nasalization missing)* seaweed species *(resembles ribbon seaweed (Porphyra) in shape, but much broader and very long, heavy, same color as gAwa'ts' (Fucus), must grow way out to sea, and some drift ashore; no good for people to eat, though deer eat it L. (Ulva?, Devil's apron Laminaria? Alaria?)*

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shiyah 1. *(personal-name) 6-year-old girl at Kaliakh River Village, 1794* Shiia.

2. *dog's name L.*

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3. *(epithet) in* **shiyah lah lah** here, here, here's something for you *(to dog)* L.

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qe'Lshah *(personal name) woman's name L (qe'L 'woman').*

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qe'Lsha:kih *(personal name) Annie Johnson (1875-1964), Bering River Village, Yakutat, wife of George Johnson* < little old lady *A (as above, with -kih 'diminutive').*

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'a:ndAXshiya: *(personal name) Marion Henniger, Kaliakh, born Yakutat, ex-wife of qa:dahd'ah~qa:da:t'á: LA (unable to analyze, 'a:ndAX perhaps 'along here', and -shiya:, probably variant of -shiyah; see also 'a:ndAxut').*

shiya' *(occasionally also shiya´ implied by some Inceptive imperfective forms from L, but L clearly prefers invariable shiya'; perhaps related to she or to shiyah~shah~sha:)*

-shiya' S be, become exhausted, tired out, very fatigued: **shishiyahL** I'm exhausted *LM,* **shAshiya'L** it's exhausted *M,* **sAshiya'Linh** he's (become) exhausted *L,* **sAshiya'L** you're exhausted *L,* **GAxshiya'L** *L,* **Guxshiya'L** I'm becoming exhausted, all tired out *LM,* **qu'xshiya'**, **qu'xshiyah** *(former preferred)* I'll get, be exhausted *L,* **qu'yishiyah** you'll be exhausted *L,* **dA'u:d 'ixishiya'** alright let me be exhausted *L. Transitive (causative):* **xusALshiya'Linh** I'm tired of living < (that) I'm living has exhausted me *LM,* **'iqe'xLshiya'** I'll exhaust you *L,* **GALshiyin'inh** exhaust him! *L,* **'Aw da: 'i:Lshiya'** let's tire it out *L,* **k'u:nLshiya:k'** it's exhausting < it (cust) exhausts one *L.*

shAdinngAG *(loan from Chugach sətinkaq 'pig', from Russian свинка, not used by Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

shAdinngAG *(noun, unclassified)* pig: **shAdinngAGq'AX** bacon < pig-fat *L.*

shAshi: *(probably from Tlingit; first element in personal name)*

shAshi:ma: *(personal name) Eyak woman* < mother of shAshi: *L.*

shAX

dA-shAX-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized)* S be, become frosted: **sdishAXgL** it's frosted *M,* **GAdAshAXgL** it's getting frosted *L,* **qu'dAshAXgL** *(-L-suffix analogically retained from noun)* it'll frost up *M,* **dAshe:Xk'** *(-g-repetitive dropped)* it (cust) frosts up *M, with class-marks for S:* **dla:shdishAXgL** it (rock) is frosted *L,* **dishdishAXgL** it (ice) has frost on it *L.*

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Gl-dA-shAX-g *(as above, with Gl-thematized 'ground')* ground be, become frosted: **GAlishdishAXgL**, **Ga:nshdishAXgL** ground got frosty *LM,* **qu'Ga:ndAshAXg** there'll be frost on the ground *L.*

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shAXgL *(noun, unclassified, with -g-repetitive thematized and -L-gerundive?)* frost, hoarfrost, rime *LM*: **shAXgL'a'luw** big frost *L,* **shAXgL'At'u'** lots of frost *M.*

shAwe:na:~shAwe:nah *(shAwe:nah less frequent, perhaps incorrect; loan from Tlingit (Naish-Story) šaγéna, (Sampson Harry, S) šaγéna 'anchor')*

shAwe:na:~shAwe:nah *(noun, unclassified)* anchor: *Anonymous* Шагинна 'Якорь' **shAγe:na:**, **shAwe:nah** *L,* **shAwe:na:** anchor *LMA,* **shAwe:na:luw** big anchor *LM,* **shAwe:na:LXahdL**, **shAwe:na:ch' qi:gAdla:'ah** anchor-chain *L.*

shAlgih~sAlgih *(perhaps loan from Russian Сергей)*

shAlgih *LM,* **sAlgih** *S (personal name) Minnie Stevens's first husband, father of Mike Duval LMS (also* **silgAnn** *M).*

shAlAG *(loan from Chugach salaq 'butterclam', not used by Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

shAlAG *(noun, unclassified)* clam (generic), butterclam *LM, 3.12M, 10.230, 11.63A*: **shAlAGkih** little clams *M,* **shAlAGluw** big clams *L,* **shAlAG Lshiyinhinu:** they're digging clams *L,* **shAlAGdAXunh** butter-clam person *10.246A,* **shAlAGdAXunhyu:** butter-clam people *10.231A,* **shAlAGwAlahyu:** butter-clam people *11.62, 62A.*

shug *(perhaps loan from Tlingit, present at Yakutat but apparently not in all Tlingit dialects: Yakutat Shuk ó Shok 'Fresas' (Malaspina 1791), Ссíоку 'Клубника' (Davydov 1802-3), shAgw (Sampson Harry), šɪg^{w} 12.12fnG, Juneau shAgw (Amos Wallace), Sitka шáкɣ (Veniaminov 1846))*

shug *(noun, lX-class)* strawberries *LMAS*: *Anonymous* Суккъ 'Ягоды глубсника(?)' *(last Russian word partly illegible),* **shuglAXAt'u'** lots of strawberries *LM,* **shug 'a:nd lAXAsA'ahL** a strawberry (intact) is here *L,* **shug 'a:nd lAXAsAtahL** a strawberry (split) is here *L; declassified,* strawberry plant *or* strawberry (no longer in berry form): *12.12fnG, 37b.39, 51.74, 74A,* **shug'aLt'ahL** strawberry-leaf, -leaves *(as magic miniature weapon) 37b.29A, (in heavenly garden) 51.73A,* **shugdla:'ehdg** strawberries pressed together into a brick and dried for winter (soaked to eat) *L.*

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shug Lle:ch'inh *(personal name) wife of Junior Nelson Harry at Yakutat (not an Eyak woman)* < she's picking strawberries *A.*

shugLAG *(loan from Alutiiq suklluq)*

shugLAG *(place-name) Montague Island 47c.62L (M has heard), island in Prince William Sound G (Harrington).*

shuki:'Ad *(so read from only attestation in BSdL, probably to be identified as loan from Tlingit šɑki'ɑ́d 'dance hat with ermine tails')*

shuki:'Ad *(noun)* wand(?): *attested only from Galushia Nelson* cʊkíə̀t 'wand' *BSdL 552.*

shux *(expanded she:x)*

d-LA-shux *(attested only with unexplained d-thematic)* S put, keep legs extended and parallel: **dixsLishuxL** I straightened my legs out *L,* **dALAshe:k'inh** he (cust) straightens his legs out *L, with lu: 'over, ca. 180° turn':* **lu: dixsLishuxL** I turned over (in bed) by swinging one leg over the other, shifting weight *L. Transitive (causative):* **'iqe'di:xLshux** I'll straighten, stretch your legs out *L.*

shi:~shi:n *(shi: LMSG, shi:n A only)*

shi~shi:n *(noun)* 1. *(gl-class)* creek *LM*: *Old Man Dude* cî· 'stream' *BSdL 537,* **shi:gu:'nuw** big creek *LM,* **shi: yAX gAli:'ah** waterfall < creek extends downward *M.*

2. *(unclassified) as o of o-da' 'to, arrival at (front of) o',* **shi:da'**, **shi:nda'** 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)*: *Khromchenko* Ситокъ / Ситокуе 'Востокъ, Западъ' ('east', 'west') **shi:nda' k'u:y…**,

shi:nda' k'u:y *A,* **shi:da' k'u:y** westerly wind *LS (*< wind to, up the creeks *L),* **q'ahs shi:da'ch' 'idAGA'a:L** clouds are moving northeast *L,* **shi:da'Lch'a:d** west side *64.7G,* windward side *M,* **shi:nda' lAXi'Lch'e:'** small hemlock, half red *A (*< berries red on windward, west side?, *see ch'e:').*

shi:q' *(related forms present in Tlingit, šùx', and widely in Alaskan Athapaskan, e.g. Minto srux, but apparently only sporadically attested elsewhere, e.g. Carrier soh)*

shi:q' *(noun, unclassified)* robin *LMA, 10.203, 206A, 34.27L.*

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shi:q'ya'd *(place-name) Sheep Bay in Prince William Sound* < (at rest) in robin (as body of water, o with broad opening at top) *M (uncertain, probably influenced by English 'sheep').*

she *(perhaps related to shiya')*

O-**she** 1. S kill O *(sg. or pl. O, but for pl. O see also siyu~su~siyuh~suh~si:; this theme was elicited rather extensively for verbal inflection; forms with k'u-indefinite S or O and customaries are given separately at the end of this section)*: *Inceptive imperfective: Galushia Nelson* ɢɔ̀xcɑ̀·tɬ *or* ɢə́xcà·tɬ (*or* k'ɔxcätɬ) 'I kill' **GAxshe:L** I'm killing it *L,* x̱ʷusi ya' x̱əwa ɢɔxcä·tɬ 'I kill my dog' *BSdL 561* **xu: siya' XAwa: GAxshe:L** I'm killing *my* dog, x̱əwa qi·cä·tɬcʊ 'you are killing a dog' *BSdL 562* **XAwa: Gi:she:Lshuh** are you killing a dog?, x̱əwa' ɪx̱a' qi·cätɬcʊ 'you (emphatic) are killing a dog' **XAwa: 'iXa' Gi:she:Lshuh** are you killing your dog?, **xuGAshe:Linh** he's killing me *L,* **xuGAshe:Lidunh** he's killing me! *L,* **di:yAX xuGAshe:LGdAwa:** before they kill me *18.61L,* **'Ashi:n'inh 'iGAshe:LGdAwa:** kill him before he kills you! *L,* **'iGAshe:LGdALyAX GALxut'inh** shoot him before he kills you! *M, Active perfective: 1a.10, 1b.11M, 9.84, 104, 120, 10.46, 46, 101, 101, 198A, 18.80L, 20.87, 88A, 21a.38L, 27b.14, 28.35, 66, 70, 100, 129, 29.2, 73, 33.9A, 53.36L, 54.7, 16G, 55.28, 56.29L, 63.10, 13G,* **'Aw shAshehLch'ahd** after he'd killed it *1b.12M, 11.152A, Furuhjelm* Khasashli 'dead' *perhaps to be read* **qa: shAshehLinh** (*or* **sAshehLinh**) he killed us, he killed a human, *Galushia Nelson* cɪcɑ́tɬ'ɪ', cɪcätɬ'ɪ', cícɑ̀tɬ'ì' *in* 'murdered man', 'murder', 'to kill a member of the opposite moiety' *BSdL 543, 552, 554* **shAshehLinh** he killed him, **shishehL** I killed it, them *L,* **xu: shishehL** *I* killed it *M,* **'i: shAshehL** *you* killed it *L,* **shAshehL** you, it killed it *L,* **da: shAshehL** we killed it *L,* **lAXshAshehL** you pl. killed it *L,* **'ishishehL** I killed you *L,* **lAXishishehL** I killed you pl. *L,* **xushAshehL** you, it, they killed me *L,* **xushAshehLinh** he killed me *M,* **xulAXshAshehL** you pl. killed me *L,* **du:dA'anh 'Aw shAshehL** who is it that killed it? *M,* **qi' shishehLinh** where I killed him *M,* **'anh shAshehLinh** he (who) killed him *L,* **shAshehLinh** *L,* **shAshehLshuw** did you kill it? *LM,* **lAXshAshehLshuh** did you pl. kill it? *L,* **shishehLshuw** did I kill it? *L,* **qa: shishehL** I killed a person *M,* **qa: shAshehL** it killed a human, us *L,* **didu'X xushAshehLinh** he almost killed me *L,* **'anh qi' shishehLch' da: 'i:'a'ch'** let go to the place where I killed him *L,* **'anh shishehLinhch' da: 'i:'a'ch'** let's go to him whom I killed *L,* **XAwa: 'uXa' shAshehLinh** he killed his (own or another's) dog *L,* **'ishishehL k'u'xLileh** I intended to kill you, I thought I'd killed you *L, negative: 8.19, 10.200A, 27a.13L, 28.128A,* **dik' 'AxshshehLG** I didn't kill it *L,* **dik' 'AshshehLG** you didn't kill it *L,* **dik'shuh 'AshshehLG** *L,* **dik'shuw 'AshshehLG** didn't you kill it? *LM,* **dik'shuh lAXshshehLG** didn't you pl. kill it? *L,* **dik'shuw 'AxshshehLG** didn't I kill it? *LM, with q'e',* S kill anohter, 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,* **ya'Xu: xuqa'she:, ya'Xu: xuqa'shinhinu:** let them not kill me *20.68, 68A,* **qu'xsheh, qu'xshe:** I'll kill it, them *L,* **qu'yisheh** you'll kill it, them *L,* **qa'sheh** it'll kill it *L,* **da: qa'sheh** we'll kill it *L,* **qu'lAXsheh** you pl. will kill it *L,* **'iqe'xsheh** I'll kill you *L,* **lAXiqe'xsheh**, **lAXiqe'xshe:** I'll kill you pl. *L,* **xuqu'yisheh** you'll kill me *L,* **xuqa'sheh** it'll kill me *L,* **'iqe'sheh** it'll kill you *L,* **qa: qu'yisheh** you'll kill us *L,* **qa:**

qa'sheh it'll kill us *L,* **lAXiqe'sheh** it'll kill you pl. *L,* **da: 'iqe'sheh** we'll kill you *L,* **da: lAXiqe'sheh** we'll kill you pl. *L,* **xuqu'lAXsheh** you pl. will kill me *L,* **qa: qu'lAXsheh** you pl. will kill us *L,* **qa: qu'yisheh** (*or* **qi'yisheh**) you'll kill a human, us *M,* **Li'q' qu'qi:xsheh** I'll kill them all *M,* **'Aw qa'shinhinh**, **'Aw qu'wAshinhinh** he'll kill it *L,* **du:d qu'xsheh** whom shall I kill? *M,* **du:dA'anh xuqa'sheh** who is it that'll kill me? *M,* **de:dA'Aw xuqa'sheh** what is it that'll kill me? *M,* **de: 'Awa:duh qu'xsheh** which one shall I kill? *M,* **'anhq'A'anh xuqa'sheh** he's the one that'll kill me *M,* **qu'yishehshuw** will you kill it? *LM,* **xuqi'yishe:sh** will you kill me? *M,* **xuqa'sheh k'u'Lilinhinh** he intends to kill me *L,* **'iqe'xsheh k'u'xLileh** I think I'll kill you *L, negative:* **dik' XAwa: qu'xshe:G** I won't kill the dog *L,* **dik'shuw qi'yishehG** won't you kill it? *LM,* **dik' qu'xshehG** (*or* **-she:G**) I won't kill it *L,* **dik' 'anh qu'xshehG k'u'xLileh** I thought I wouldn't kill him, I didn't intend to kill him *L, with o-a: '(to provide) for o': 17.3, 10, 11M, with q'e',* S kill another, some more O: *37b.16A, Inceptive optative:* **da: Gi:shehshgahX** I wish we'd kill it *L, Active optative:* **'i:shinhinhwah ya:'e:X** looking for someone to kill *51.2L,* **'i:shehwahd** in order to kill him *56.28L,* **xu:nlishinhinh** let him kill me *L,* **xu:nlishinhinu:** let them kill me *LM,* **'ixishinhinh** let me kill him *L,* **'ixisheh** let me kill it, it's OK for me to kill it *L,* **'i:sheh** it's OK for you, him to kill it *L,* **'ilAXisheh** it's OK for you pl. to kill it *L,* **qa:lisheh**, **qa:yisheh** it's OK for them to kill it *L,* **'ilAXisheh k'a'** you pl. should kill it *L,* **da: 'i:sheh** let's kill it *LM, Inceptive imperative:* **GAshe'** *LM,* **GAshe:'** *(prefers latter)* kill it! *L, Active imperative:* **'Ashe:'**, **'Ashe:** *(latter less frequent)* kill it! *L,* **xu:she:'** kill me! *L,* **xu:lAXshe:'** pl. kill me! *L,* **'Ashi:n'inh** kill him! *L,* **'AlAXshi:n'inh** pl. kill him! *L, Inceptive conditional: 20.38, 25.31A,* **xuGAlAXsheh da:X** if you pl. kill me *19.17L,* **xuGi:sheh da:X** if you kill me *L,* **'iGAxsheh da:X** if I kill you *L, Inceptive subjunctive: 20.69fnA,* **'ahnu: GAshe:X 'ilinhinh** they want to kill him *56.21L,* **'Aw GAshe:X 'utl' dAxlinhinh** I told him to kill it *L,* **'Aw qAGAshe:X 'ileh** they want to kill it, them, it wants to kill them *L,* **Gi:she:X 'iXe'xleh** I want you to kill it *L,* **qAGi:she:X 'iXe'xleh** I want you to kill them *L, Active subjunctive: 54.2fnG,* **xu:she:X q'unhAw 'ileh** he wants to kill me *L, customary:* **xu:she:k'ya:X** lest he kill me *A; Active imperfective, with indeterminate O and perambulative:* **yAX 'idAshe:Xinh** he's going around killing *L; reflexive: Active perfective:* **'AdxshdishehL** I killed myself *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **'Adqu'xdAsheh** I'll kill myself *L,* **ya'Xu: 'Adqu'xdAsheh** don't let me kill myself *L,* **'Adqu'dAsheh** you'll kill yourself, it'll kill itself *L,* **da: 'Adqu'dAsheh** we'll kill ourselves *L,* **'Adqu'lAXdAsheh** you'll kill yourselves *L,* **'Adqu'dAshinhinu:** they'll kill themselves *L, Inceptive imperative:* **'AdGAdAshe:'** kill yourself! *L, Active imperative:* **'AdAdAshe:'** kill yourself! *L,* **'AdAlAXdAshe:'** kill yourselves! *L, Inceptive conditional:* **'AdGAdAsheh da:X** if you kill yourself *61.9, 10A, Inceptive subjunctive:* **'AdGAdAshe:X** (intending) to kill yourself *61.8A, Active subjunctive:* **'AdAdAshe:X** (intending) to kill himself *61.3, 4A; reciprocal: Inceptive imperfective:* **'iLu' da: qu'dAsheh** we'll kill each other *L,* **'iLu' qu'lAXdAsheh** (*or* **-she:**) you'll kill each other *M; passive: Inceptive perfective:* **xuGAdAshe:L** I'm getting killed *L,* **'iGAdAshe:Lsh** are you getting killed? *L,* **GAdAshe:Linh** he's getting killed *L,* **qa: GAdAshe:L** we're getting killed *L,* **lAXiGAdAshe:L** you pl. are getting killed *L,* **qAGAdAshe:L** they're getting killed *L, Active perfective: 9.103, 103, 111, 28.108A, 34.6M,* **xushdishehL** I got killed *L,* **'ishdishehL** you got killed *L,* **qa: shdishehL** we got killed *M,* **shdishehLinh** he got killed *L,* **qi' shdishehLda' 'isiL'anhL** I went to where he got killed *L,* **du:dA'anh shdishehL** who is it that got killed? *M,* **didu'X xushdishehL** I almost got killed *M, Inceptive imperfective:* **lixah qu'dAshe:** a grizzly-bear is to be killed *63.24G,* **xuqu'dAsheh** I'll get killed *LM,* **'iqe'dAsheh** you'll get killed *LM,* **qu'dAsheh** it'll get killed *LM,* **'iqe'dAsheh** you'll get killed *LM,* **qu'dAsheh** it'll get killed *LM,* **qa: qu'dAsheh** we'll get killed *LM,* **lAXiqe'dAsheh** you pl. will get killed *M,* **qa'qAdAsheh** they'll get killed *L,* **'u:d qi' qa: qu'dAsheh** there's where a person will get killed *L,* **'i:li:X q'unh xuqu'dAsheh** he's trying to get me killed *L, Active optative:* **xu:ndisheh** let me get killed *LM,* **qa: 'idisheh**, **qä: 'idisheh** let's get killed *L,* **'i:ndisheh** it's OK for you to get killed *L,* **'idishinhinh** let him get killed *L,* **lAXidisheh** (*should be* **lAXi:-**) it's OK for you pl. to get killed *L, Inceptive conditional: 64.11G. With k'u-*

indefinite S or O (with k'u-indefinite O 'S kill something, S make a kill, be successful in hunting'; see also further examples under customaries): Active perfective: **k'ushishehL** I killed something *9.114A,* **k'ushAshehL** it killed something, someone, someone, something killed him *M,* **'i:na:'d da: k'ushAshehL** we hunted, killed something on the mountainside *L, with o-a: 'of o':* **'ahnu:'a: k'ushAshehLinh** he killed some of them *49.31A,* **'Awa: k'ushishehL** I killed some of them *M,* **'Awa:shuh k'ushAshehL** did you kill any? *M, negative:* **dik' 'Awa: k'ushshehLGinh** he had no success in hunting, didn't kill anything *9.118, 23.18A, Inceptive imperfective (with k'u-indefinite O, frequently 'S be hunting'):* **k'uqu'wAshinhinh Lila:'** a hunting man *47c.1L,* **k'uqu'yisheh**, **k'uqi'yisheh** you'll kill someone, something *M,* **k'uqu'wAshinhinh** he'll kill something *L,* **'utl' k'uqu'xsheht'ahL** my hunting-leaf < leaf with *(not 'by means of' but 'having which along with me')* which I hunt, will kill something *37b.63A, Furuhjelm* Khukuvashe 'to kill' **k'uqu'wAsheh** it'll kill something, someone, something, someone will kill it *(frequently nominalized, see separate entry), with q'e' 'some more, another':* **q'e' k'uqu'xsheh** I'll kill another, something else *10.158, 158A, Active optative:* **k'u:xishehXa'X qu'xah** 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: 'Awa: k'uGAsheh** *(stem irregular, -she(:)' expected)* kill some for me! *25.149A, Inceptive conditional:* **k'uGAsheh da:X** whe he made a kill *19.3L; reflexive:* **qi' 'Adk'ushdishehL** place where someone killed himself *L,* **'Adsh k'ushdishehL** did someone kill himself? *L; passive:* **qi' k'ushdishehL** place where something got killed *10.66A,* **'Awa: k'ushdishehLinu:**, **'uqa'X yi:nhinu: 'Awa: k'ushdisheL** some of them got killed *L. Customary: Inceptive (relatively frequent with this theme, especially in the sense 'S try to kill O, be bent on killing O'): 8.16, 17A (repetitive),* **xuqa'she:k'inh** he's trying to kill me *L,* **qa: qa'she:k'inh** he's trying to kill us *L,* **k'uqa'she:k'** he (cust) hunts *23.18A, Active: 64.14G,* **dAXunhyu: she:k'inh** he (cust) kills people *L,* **k'uxshe:k'** I (cust) kill something *M,* **k'u:she:k' 'ileh** they want (cust) to kill something *20.69A (probably should be subjunctive k'u:she:k'X),* **dik' k'u:she:k'G** (cust) doesn't kill anyting, is (cust) unsuccessful in hunting *23.4A,* **dik' k'u:lishe:k'G** you (cust) don't kill anything, are (cust) unsuccessful in hunting *23.9, 16A,* **dik' dAde:kihdunh 'Ashe:k'G** he (cust) kills nothing at all *23.5A; passive: Active:* **'AdAshe:k'** *63.22G,* **dAshe:k'** is (cust) killed *63.28, 64.3, 10G,* **'uda:X dAshe:k'** is (cust) killed by means of them (d-class) *64.3fnG,* **k'ude:dah 'AdAshe:k'G** it's impossible to kill them (for them to be killed) *63.21G.*

2. *(figurative)* a. S "kill" (inanimate) O: *60.44, 45, 46A (lightning "kills" a radio).*

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2b. S hurt O badly: *Rezanov* Хошешейтль 'Мучить quälen' **xushAshehL** you, it really hurt me, Атхошешеиль 'Прибить кого Jemanden schlagen' **'a'd xushAshehL** you, it really hurt me badly, Яхокуаше 'Не мучь quäle nicht' **ya'Xu: qu'wAsheh** let it not kill it, **ya'Xu: qu'yisheh** don't kill it *M,* Аше 'Мучь' *(not in Radlov, 'torment!')* **'Ashe:'** kill it!, hurt it bad!; *with y-anatomical:* **xuyAGAshe:L** it (e.g. heavy burden) is killing my arms *L, with ya' 'completely':* **q'ahdAq'Aw ya' xuyAshAshehL** it finally just about killed my arms *L.*

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O-**d-she** *(as 2b. above, with d-thematic 'oral, noise')* S kill O's voice: **'ich' 'isqa:' xudAshAshehL** I yelled my lungs out at you < yelling at you just about killed my voice *L.*

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o-**X** O-(**L-**)**she** *(L-classifier preferred with o-X 'by means of o')* 1. S kill O by means of o: *19.30L (classifier zero),* **siyAq'a'ts'X shiLshehL** (*or* **shishehL**) I killed it with my hands *LM,* **sik'ahshX shiLshehL** (*or* **shishehL**) I killed it with my foot *LM,* **siXu:nLAyahX shiLshehL** (*or* **shishehL**) I killed it with my teeth *LM,* **tsa:dli:nAX shiLshehL** (*or* **shishehL**) I killed it with a rock *LM,* **dAkinhX 'Ashe:'** kill it with a stick! *LM,* **tsa:dli:nAX qu'xLsheh** (*or* **qu'xsheh**) I'll kill it with a rock *L; reflexive:* **xut'LX 'AdshLishehL** he killed himself with a gun *L,* **dAkinhX 'Adqu'xdAsheh** I'll kill myself with a stick *LM; passive:* **'uX k'udAshe:k'** by means of it something (ame) is (cust) killed *63.16G.*

2. *(figurative) indirect reflexive with o-y-X 'by means of o's hand'*: **ya:X xshLishehLinh** I beat him up good *L,* **ya:X 'iqe'xLAsheh** I'll beat you up < I'll practically kill you with my (own) hands) *L.*

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k'uqu'wAsheh, **k'uqa'sheh** *(latter less frequent; noun, unclassified, nominalized Inceptive imperfective with k'u-indefinite O (and/or S?) 'someone will kill it, something, one hunts it')* huntable animal, game *L, 13.1, 4L*: **k'uqa'shehXa'X yAX qu'xdah** I'll go around for game *9.16A.*

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'uX k'u-qu'-(L-)sheh-yu: *(noun, unclassified; nominalized Inceptive imperfective with k'u-indefinite O, inflected for S translating as possessor, with -yu: 'pl.', L-classifier optional with o-X 'by means of o', 'by means of them (pl.) S will kill something')* weapons, hunting-gear: **'uX k'uqu'xLshehyu:** my weapons *37b.31A, 47c.10L,* **'uX k'uqi'yiLshehyu:** your weapons *37b.48A,* **'uX k'uqu'wAshehyu:** hunting-gear *47c.25L.*

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k'uqa'she:l *(-l-gerundive with k'u-indefinite O and retaining Inceptive imperfective prefix)* hunting: **k'uqa'she:lXa'** for hunting, to hunt *28.18A ("guess that's alright" L).*

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k'uqu'wAshe:ch'L, **k'uqa'she:ch'L** *(latter less frequent, attested only in 25.17, 33.2A; gerundive with k'u-indefinite O, Inceptive imperfective prefix retained, suffixed -ch' 'toward', and -L-gerundive)* hunting: *used adverbially, requiring L-classifier with verbs of motion: 15.2, 29 (dA-classifier with verb in error for LA-), 15.4M, 19.2, 4L, 20.47, 25.17, 33.2A, 37a.1, 26, 42.6L, 47b.1M, 47c.2, 14L,* **k'uqu'wAshe:ch'L 'iLa'** go hunting! *M,* **k'uqu'wAshe:ch'L da: 'i:L'a'ch'** let's go hunting *L; (noun, unclassified) as C:* **k'uqu'wAshe:ch'L yiLinhinh** 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-Xa' 'for o': 47b.38M;* **'uX k'uqu'wAshe:ch'Lyu:** weapons *47b.20M (probably blend with 'uX k'uqu'wAshehyu:).*

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k'ushe:ch'L *(as above, lacking Inceptive imperfective prefix, attested only once, perhaps in error)* hunting: **k'ushe:ch'LX qu'xLah** I'll go hunting *L (cf. yAX 'ixe:t'LX qu'xLah 'I'll go shooting' (under xut')).*

she:t' *(probably expanded, full or reduced form not attested)*

O-**she:t'** S scrape O (inner side of bark, to obtain sa'): **'Ashe:t'** scrape it, shave it (bark, for sa')! *L,* **'Aw qahd 'Ashe:t'** scrape that bark (for sa')! *(not *sa' 'Ashe:t') L,* **xshe:t'** I'm scraping it *L,* **qu'xshe:t'** I'll scrape it *L,* **k'uxshe:t'** I'm scraping something (bark, for sa') *L; passive:* **k'ushdishe:t'L** something (bark) has been scraped (for sa') *L.*

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'uda:X k'ushe:t'L *(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 k'u-indefinite O and o-X 'by means of o' with d-class-mark for 'it (spoon)'.*

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qa' lAXi'she:t' *(noun)* plant species < grow 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 alaxensis), *or* yellow pond lily *L. Nominalization of theme with qa' 'up out', lX-class-mark for O 'berry-like', and -i'-aspectival-modal prefix, probably in connection with expanded stem, cf.*

shi:nda' lAXi'Lch'e:'; L does not definitely associate the stem with that of O-she:t' above, but the inside of the stalk may be scraped for food.

she:k'

-she:k' *(noun, d-class or unclassified)* chest, thorax: *Rezanov* Кашекъ 'Грудь Brust' **qa:she:k'** our chests, human thorax, *Galushia Nelson* ɕúcə̀·k' 'chest' *BSdL 542* **k'ushe:k', shishe:k'** my chest *LM,* **'ishe:k'** your chest *S, Rezanov* Кажекатехъ 'Внутренняя' *(not in Radlov, here evidently 'thoracic cavity')* **qa:she:k'Adi:'q'** our chest-cavities, human toracic cavity, **sishe:k'Adi:'q' yAX LAk'ahdX** I have a shooting pain all around inside my chest *L,* **'ishe:k'q'Ach' di:LGu'** warm (against) your chest (with a hot-water-bottle)! *L,* **k'ushe:k'luw** big chest *LM.*

sheh

wAsheh *(noun, d-class or unclassified)* name *LM*: *Furuhjelm* Vashsheh 'name', **xu: siya' wAsheh** my name *L,* **wAshehdAdzu:** nice name *L,* **k'udAdzu: wAsheh q'A'Aw** that's a nice name *M,* **wAsheh 'ila'X siLtahL** (*or* **disiLtahL**) I named you < I put a name on over your head *M,* **wAsheh 'ula'X siL'ahL** I named it *L,* **wAsheh 'ula'X qu'x'inhinh** I'll name him *L,* **de: wAshehd la'X 'iLi'ahL** what's your name? < what name do you have on over your (own) head? *L.*

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-wAsheh *(possessed form of preceding, probably incorrect)* name: **siwAsheh** my name *M (M later verifies form, but L again definitely rejects it).*

shehX

O-**L-shehX** S spilt O (small land animal, killed) open (to dry): **'ALshehX** split it (porcupine, rabbit) open to dry! *L,* **shiLshehXL** I laid it open, split it in half (to dry) *L; with l-anatomical:* **dAtli: 'iqe'li:xLshehX** I'm going to split your head open already! *(threat) L.*

she'g~shug *(reduced form shug implying full she'gw)*

-she'g S be, become bent, crooked: **GAshe'gL** it's getting crooked *M, with d-class-mark for S:* **di:she'gL** it (arrow) is crooked *(Neuter perfective) L; indirect reflexive:* **ch'a' GAdAshe'gLinh dAXunh** a person who is becoming stooped (bent over toward himself, with age, not voluntarily) *L,* **t'a'q'ich' GAshe'gLinh** he's leaning backwards *M (probably incorrect, dA-classified also missing). Transitive (causative):* **GALshe'g** bend it! *LM,* bend it over!, make it into a hook! *L,* **qu'xLshe'g** I'll bend it *M,* **da: qa'Lshe'g** we'll bend it *M,* **qu'lAXLshe'g** you pl. will bend it *M,* **shiLshe'gL** I bent it *M,* **GAxLshe'gL** I'm bending it *M,* **Gi:Lshe'gL** you're bending it *M,* **GAlAXLshe'gL** you pl. are bending it *M,* **qAGALshe'gL** they're bending it, them, it's bending them *M,* **'Aw GALshe'gX 'utl' dAlinhinh** I told him to bend it *L, with ya:n'-ch' 'downward':* **ya:n'ch' 'i:liLshe'g** let it bend you over *L,* **ya:n'ch' xu:nliLshe'g** let it bend me over *L; passive, with d-class-mark for O:* **dishdishe'gL, dishLishe'gL** it (arrow) has been bent (by someone) *L,* **'Awlu' 'i:'ah 'Ash 'a:nd 'idishe'gL** that which sticks through it has been bent through here (of tongue-clasp through tab with hole) *L.*

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O-**she:g** *(stem expanded, L-classifier lacking, perhaps in error)* S bend O in several places: **shishe:gL** I bent it in lots of places *L.*

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dA-she'g *(treated as non-passive, perhaps in error, attested from M only)* S be, become bent over, stooped: **xshdishe'gL** I'm bent over *M,* **'i: shdishe'gL** *you* are bent over *M,* **lAXshdishe'gL** you pl. are bent over *M,* **da: shdishe'gL** we're bent over *M.*

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dAGALAshugL *(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'.*

she’k’

L-she’k’ S, weeping, sob, choke, gasp for breath: **Lshe’k’inh** he's sobbing, gasping for breath while crying *L,* **’idAki:nX** (*or* **’idAdAdA’a:t’**) **q’e:dah Lshe’k’** he (baby) is crying (or bawling) so hard he's simply gasping *L.*

sha~sha´~shiyah *(shiyah probably expanded form, attested in Active imperfective only; considerable hesitation for all informants between sha and sha´: implying sha: shah in Active perfective L 6 times, M 3 times, A 4 times, sha: in Inceptive perfective L 3 times, M once, sha: in perambulative Active imperfective L once; implying sha´: sha' in Active perfective L once, M once, A 3 times, sha' in Inceptive perfective M once, A twice, shah in subjunctive L once)*

O-**sha~-sha´** S dig for O, S make hole in ground for O (to remove or to plant, bury O), S dig O (clam): **shishahL** I dug (for it) *A, with qa' 'up out':* **’Aw qa’ shAshahL** dug it up *6.7M,* **da: qa’ ’i:shah** let's dig it up (clam) *L,* **LinhGih qa’ shishahL** I dug up one clam *L,* **k’ut’u’ qa’ shishahL** I dug up many clams *L,* **qa’ GAsha’** dig it out! *L, with ya:nu' 'below surface':* **ya:nu’ qu’xshah** I'll bury it *L,* **ya:nu’ch’ GAxsha:L** I'm burying it *L, with class-marks for O:* **gushAshahL** he dug them (spruceroots) *A,* **’u:dik’ah dla:GAsha’** (*or* **-sha:’**) dig them (stones) out of (away from) there! *L; passive:* **k’At’u’ sALsi’L qi’ ya:nu’ ’idishahL** place where lots of rotten fish have been buried *58.3L.*

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O-**dl-sha** S dig series of holes in ground for O, S make O (fence, palisade, stockade, corral, fort), S fence O in, *with lah 'around, in a circle'*: **lah dla:GAsha:’** (*or* **-sha’**) make a fence!, fence it in! *L,* **lah dla:shishahL** I made a fence *L,* **lah dla:GAxsha:L** I'm making a fence *L.*

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O-**gdl-sha** *(as above, with gl-class-mark for O 'liquid' thematized)* S dig O (drainage ditch): **’u:dAX gAdli’sha’** dig a drainage ditch along there! *L,* **’u:dAX gAdla:shishahL** I dug a drainage ditch along there *L.*

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O-**Gl-sha~-sha´** *(with Gl-thematic 'ground')* S dig in ground for O, S dig ground: *11.23, with qa' 'up out':* **qa:nch’ GAlAGAsha:Linh** he's digging (the ground up) *M; detransitivized with indeterminate O:* **’iGa:nxdAshah** I'm digging in the ground *L,* **qi’ k’u’Ga:ndAshah** place where people are digging *L; with perambulative (also derivable from Gl-dA-sha~-sha´):* **yAX Ga:ndAsha:Xinh** he's digging around *L; passive:* **qa’ Ga:nshdisha’L** it (ground) has been dug (up) *M.*

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Gl-dA-sha~-sha´ S dig in ground, S dig a hole: *6.2, 3M,* **GAlAGAdAsha:Linh** he's digging in the ground *L,* **qa:nch’ GAlAxdAsha:k’** I (cust) dig holes *L,* **GAla:xdAshahX sitl’ dAlinhinh** he told me to dig *L; with perambulative: see O-Gl-sha~-sha´ above.*

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O-**L-sha~-sha´** S dig for O, S dig O (removing it from the ground), S dig clam *(meaning not always clearly distinguished from that of O-sha-~-sha´, but emphasis here appears to be on removal of O from its place in the ground)*: **’ALsha’** dig (e.g. for clams)! *L,* **GALsha’** dig (for it, dig it out)! *L,* **da: ’i:Lshah** let's dig (clams) *L,* **shALsha’L**, **shALshahL** he dug it *A,*

k'uqu'xLshah I'll dig for something *L,* **dik' k'uqu'xLshahG** (*or* **-sha:G**) I won't dig (for anything) *L,* **k'uxLshah** I'm digging for something *L,* **k'ushiLshahL** I dug for something *L,* **dik' ne:tl' k'uxLshahG** I'm not digging (for anything) just yet *L,* **lu:di:'d k'uLshinhinh** he's digging (for clams) on the tide-beach *L, with qa' 'up out': 23.137A, with class-marks for O:* **Ge:ts' guLsha:k'inu:** they (cust) dig for spruceroots *66.2L,* **Ge:ts' Xa:n' guGALshah da:X** when they're done digging spruceroots *66.3L,* **Ge:ts' da: guLshah** we're digging spruceroots *L,* **Ge:ts' guLshinhinh** he's digging spruceroots *L,* **Ge:ts' guLshinhinu:** they're digging spruceroots *L,* **'Aw da:na: qa' dishiLshahL** I dug the money up *L.*

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O-**Gl-L-sha**´ *(with Gl-thematic 'ground')* S dig O (ground), *attested only with perambulative*: **yAX GAla:LAsha'** dig around! *M,* **yAX GAlALAsha'Xinu:** they're digging around *M,* **yAX qu'Ga:xLAsha** *(stem irregular)* I'll dig around in the ground *L.*

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O-**L-shiyah** *(stem probably expanded, used only in Active imperfective)* S dig many O (removing one after another from the ground), S dig O habitually: **shAlAG Lshiyinhinu:** "they dig clams all the time" *L, with g-class-mark for O: 37a.9L,* **Ge:ts' guLshiyinhinu:** they dig spruceroots *L,* **Ge:ts' guLshiyinhinh** he digs (lots of) spruceroots *L,* **Ge:ts' guxLshiyah** I dig spruceroots (all the time) *L.*

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sha'L *(noun, unclassified, with -L-instrumental)* digging-stick *M*: *Galushia Nelson* ca'tł 'bark stick or peeling wedge', **la'dih sha'L** two digging-sticks *L.*

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sahxXa' sha'L *(noun)* digging-stick for cockles, clam-stick, *attested from Galushia Nelson* saχ̣χ̣a' catł 'clam stick' *BSdL 548.*

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dla:sha'L 1. *(noun, unclassified, see O-dl-sha)* fence *LM,* palisade, stockade, fort, corral *L*: **dla:sha'L Xa:n'ch' GALi:Linu:** they're building a fort *34.117L,* **dla:sha'L dla:sitsu:xL** I put a fence in *L,* **k'udzu: dla:sha'L** nice fence *L; Harrington* dláaccȁ'ł 'beaver dam' *G; Rezanov* Чиллетляшаль 'Цвѣты ('flowers') Blumen' *probably to be read* **ch'i:lehdla:sha'L** Raven-fort, Raven-fence, *see under ch'i:leh.*

2. *(place-name) on Mountain Slough at foot of Mt. Eccles just below village, where Eyaks hid from Aleuts LMA; deverbalization of O-dl-l-sha~ 'product of digging series of holes'*: *ST8.60, 61, ST14.1, 1, 2, 2fn, 6, 7, ST23.20A, Galushia Nelson* glacatł '"Fort," below Eyak on Eyak River, where a Russian post is said to have been established' *BSdL 18,* '"Fort," on the west (right) bank of Eyak River, about half a mile (800 m.) below the site of Eyak. The village is supposed to have been just below a large rock, which, because of its resemblance to a fort, has given the name to the village' *BSdL 30 (photograph Plate 4.2.); Rezanov* Тляшааль 'Кекуръ Felsblock' *(Кекуръ 'large columnar monolith at shore or standing in sea near cliff, i.e. 'stack, chimney (geol.)', 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* **dla:sha'L** *and referring the above and/or Mt. Eccles.*

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'Anu:shi:ya' dla:sha'L *(place-name) attested in Harrington* 'ɑnnúuccii yά'tlά'cɑ'ł 'Russian Fort at Ankau' (near Yakutat) *G* < Russian's Fort.

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dla:shLisha'L (or **-shahL**) *attested only in BSdL, Galushia Nelson* ɢlάctɬícà·tɬ 'fort, fish wier' *BSdL 545, 549. Nominalized passive Active perfective of O-dl-L-sha~-sha´, cf. O-dl-sha.*

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k’ushah *(gerundive of O-sha~-sha´ or O-L-sha~-sha´ with k'u-indefinite O)* digging: **k’ushah xuGALga’L** I'm getting tired of digging < digging is tiring me *L.*

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Ge’Gi’shah *(noun, Ge'- not identified as occurring elsewhere, perhaps Ga'-'i-Gi'-, Neuter perfective with Gi'- thematic, unexplained)* cemetery, graveyard *L.*

sha´~shah *(A sha´ only, L and M hesitate between sha´ and shah; perfectives from LA always with -g-repetitive, cf. tuh~tu´; perhaps related to shiyah~shah~sha:)*

-sha´~-shah S be stingy, possessive, jealous: *Neuter imperfective:* **xwishah** *S,* **xishah** I'm stingy *LM,* **dik’ ’a’xshahG** I'm not stingy *LM,* **yishah** you're stingy *LM,* **dik’ ’a’shahG** *M (probably incorrect),* **dik’ ’a’yishahG** you're not stingy *L,* **lAXishah** you pl. are stingy *LM,* **dik’ ’a’lAXshahG** you pl. aren't stingy *L,* **yishinhinh** he's stingy *LM,* **dik’ ’a’shahGinh** he's not stingy *LM,* **yishinhinu:** they're stingy *M,* **’idAyishah gAdisdiLe’xts’L** he's so stingy he has warts on his rump *(standard expression) L, Inceptive imperfective:* **qu’xshah** I'll be stingy *M,* **ya’Xu: qi’yishah** dont be stingy *M,* **dik’ qu’wAshahGinh**, **dik’ qa’shahGinh** he won't be stingy *M, Inceptive imperative:* **GAsha’** be stingy! *M, Inceptive perfective:* **GuxshahL** I'm getting stingy *M, repetitive:* **GAshahgLinh** *L,* **GAsha’gLinh** he's getting stingy *LA, Active perfective:* **shishahL** I got stingy *M,* **dik’ ’Ashsha’LGinh** he didn't get stingy *M, repetitive:* **shAshahgLinh** *L,* **shAsha’gLinh** he got stingy *LA; with o-Xa' 'in intimate relation with o',* S be stingy, possessive, jealous about, over o: *Rezanov* Тыкохахушакъ 'Нежаль ('not sorry') nichtbedauern' **dik’ ’uXa’ ’a’xwshahG** I'm not stingy, possessive, jealous about it, **da:na:dAXa’ xishah** I'm stingy with money *L,* **da:na:dAXa’ yishinhinh** he's stingy with money *M,* **dik’ da:na:dAXa’ ’a’shahGinh** he's not stingy with money *M,* **’anhXa’ yishinhinh** he's jealous, possessive of her *M,* **dik’ ’uXa’ xsha:k’G** I'm (cust) not stingy with it *L, with o-ch' 'toward o':* **’udAGe:’Xa’ ’anhch’ yishahXa’** because he (A) is possessive of his (A's) younger sister towards him (B) *(won't give him his younger sister) 9.71A; indirct reflexive:* **la’ch’ ’uXa’ xdishah** I'm too stingy to wear it < I'm stingy about it toward my (own) head covering *L.*

sha:she:nn *(loan ultimately from Russian саженъ '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)*

sha:she:nn *(noun, unclassified)* cordwood *LMA*: *Anonymous* Сасеинъ 'Померъ(?)', **sha:she:nnt’u’** lots of cordwood *M,* **sha:she:nn qid qa’ di:’yahL** cordwood is piled up *M,* **sha:she:nn qi’ dAGahGda:d** at place where cordwood is chopped *M.*

sha:XAlAG *(loan from Chugach saaʁalaq 'sugar' from Russian сахар, not used by Yakutat Tlingit, S, Sampson Harry)*

sha:XAlAG sugar *LMAS, 51.31, 31A*: **sha:XAlAG qa:Xa’ ’i:nsdi’ahL** we're out of sugar *L,* **sha:XAlAG siXa’ lAGAdA’a:L** I'm running out of sugar *L,* **’Aw sha:XAlAG qu’li:x’ah** I'll use up all the sugar *L,* **sha:XAlAGlu’qa: Ga:L** he's going to get sugar *L,* **sha:XAlAGt’u’** lots of sugar *LM.*

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sha:XAlAGga’ lAXAgAmih *(noun, lX-class)* candy < it (lX-class) tastes like sugar *L.*

sha:w *(perhaps a loan from Tlingit du-šá 'his head', ’ɑd-šáγi 'its head'; not felt in any case by L or M to be of foreign origin)*

-sha:w *(noun)* 1. *(l-class)* head (of human or any creature): *Rezanov* Шишаге 'Голова Kopf' **shisha:w**…, *Furuhjelm* Sishag 'head' **sisha:w** my head, **'usha:wa:na'q'Ach'ahd** from on her head *23.41A,* **'isha:w** your head *M, Anonymous and Baranov* Кушаги *(K- overstruck with C-)* 'Голова' **k'usha:Yi** > **k'usha:w** a head, **la'd 'a:na: k'usha:w** two heads *M,* **k'usha:w 'u:d 'i:nsA'ahL** a head is there *L, Galushia Nelson* täya'caw 'head (of fish, shrimps, etc.)' **te'ya'sha:w** fish-head *M,* **te'ay'sha:w sich' li:'a'** give me a fish-head! *L,* **sha:w(')a:'nuw** big-head *(pejorative epithet) LMA, 1b.6M (see 'luw);* **di:yanhsha:w'AlAkih** *(noun, unclassified)* "native canary" *(small songbird so named because of its call, "little stickleback-head") (see under yan');* **kushk'Asha:w** *place-name, Big Point at Hartney Bay* < bluejay-head *L (see kushk').*

2. *(unclassified)* head of hair *(human)*: **sisha:w sALt'uxLinh** he pulled my hair *L,* **'iLsha:w GALAt'uxLinu:** they're pulling each other's hair *L,* **'isha:w 'iya: shLidlAGshgL** your hair is dirty *L,* **sisha:w qu'xkus** I'll wash my hair *LM,* **sha:w qu'xdAkus** I'll wash my hair *(indirect reflexive) L (see kus for further examples);* **k'usha:wluw** big head of hair *M,* **sha:wa:'nuw** big head of hair *(epithet) L (l-class-mark perhaps incorrectly retained, or gloss perhaps incorrect; see 'luw).*

sha:lehG *(loan from Chugach saaliq 'shawl', from Russian шаль, not used by Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

sha:lehG *(noun, unclassified)* shawl *L*: **sha:lehGluw** big shawl *LM.*

shahG

shahG *(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)*: **shahG'a'luw** big gob of slime *LM,* **k'ut'u' shahG** lots of slime *M,* **'Aw shahG 'Awa: 'uXa:n' yAX 'i:Lsidwahd** to make their slime run down off them (fish) *M,* **'Aw shahG 'Awa: 'uXa:n' yAX LqAtl'g** their slime is sliding (running) down off them (fish) *L,* **shahG yiLeh** it's slimy *L.*

sha't'

-sha't' *(not freely used, attested only in Active perfective)* S become soft, pliable, soggy: **shAsha't'L** it's gotten old and soft, soggy, its tone is gone *(uncertain) L.*

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LA-sha't'(-g) *(with optional -g-repetitive partly thematized)* S be, become pliable, flexible, soft, soggy, wrinkled, sag, droop: **shLisha't'gL** it bends easily *L,* **GALAsha't'gL** it's getting pliable, flexible *L, with ya' 'completely':* **ya' shLisha't'L** it's become soft and flexible, it (e.g. stem of cut plant) has dropped *L, with l-anatomical:* **'i:nshLisha't'gL** his face has gotten wrinkled *L,* **ya' qu'la:lAXLAsha't'g** your pl. faces will get wrinkled *LA,* **ya' 'i:nLisha't'gLinh** his face is wrinkled *(Neuter perfective) L,* **ya' lAGALAsha't'gL** your face is getting wrinkled *L, with class-marks for S:* **ya' lAXAGALAsha't'gL** (*or* **-sha't'L**) it (orange) is getting old and soft *L, with yAX 'downward':* **yAX dAGALAsha't'gL** it (board) is sagging *L,* **yAX XAdAGALAsha't'gL** it (candle) is drooping *L. Transitive (causative):* **ya' GALsha't'g** wrinkle it (cloth) up! *L. Susceptive Neuter: Rezanov* Тлешатка 'Гнются biegsam' *probably to be read* **Lisha't'gX** it's flexible, pliable (liable to lose its rigidity, bend).

sha'tl' *(perhaps related to shitl'~shAtl')*

O-**sha'tl'** S sweep O (removing O from something or removing something from O): **'Asha'tl'** sweep it! *M, with 'a'q' 'out (of house)':* **'a'q' 'iqe'xsha'tl'** I'll sweep you out *L, with lX-class-mark for O:* **'a'q' lAXa:sha'tl'** sweep them (berries) out! *L, repetitive and indirect reciprocal*

with 'iLt'a' 'behind one another, together': **'iLt'a' qu'lAXi:xsha'tl'g** I'll sweep them (berries) together *L; passive:* **shdisha'tl'L** it (floor) has been swept *L.*

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Gl-dA-sha'tl' *(with Gl-thematic 'ground, floor')* S sweep the floor: **GAla:dAsha'tl'** *(not Ga:ndA-)* sweep the floor! *LM,* **GAla:lAXdAsha'tl'** *(not Ga:nla:-)* pl. sweep the floor! *L,* **GAlAdAsha'tl'inh**, **Ga:ndAsha'tl'inh** he's sweeping the floor *LM,* **Ga:nxdAsha'tl'** I'm sweeping the floor *M,* **GAlixsdisha'tl'L**, **Ga:nxsdisha'tl'L** I swept the floor *LM,* **dik' GAlAxsdAsha'tl'G**, **dik' gA:nxsdAsha'tl'LG** I didn't sweep the floor *LM,* **da: GAla:disha'tl'** *(not Ga:nli-)* let's sweep the floor *LM,* **GAlAxdAsha:tl'k'** I (cust) sweep the floor *M,* **GAlAdAsha:tl'k'** you (cust) sweep the floor *L,* **GAla:dAsha:tl'k'** (cust) sweep the floor! *L,* **GAla:diksha:tl'k'** you should (cust) sweep the floor *M, with lahdz 'forward':* **lahdz GAlAGAdAsha'tl'** sweep the floor from back to front (toward the door)! *M, with perambulative:* **yAX GAlAdAsha'tl'Xinh** he's going along sweeping the floor *M,* **Xa:n' yAX GAlisdisha'tl'** he's finished going along sweeping the floor *M.*

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'utl' GAlAsha'tl'L *(noun)* broom *L. Deverbalization of preceding with -L-instrumental,* < by means of it the floor is swept.

shu: *(perhaps reduced form of shuh)*

'A-shu:-kih *(attested only as C with O-'-(l-)L-Xa´; with 'A- 'exclamation, vocative' and -kih 'diminutive'; see also suhdz)* asleep *(of baby)*: **'Ashu:kih 'u'lAGALXin'inh** put him (baby) to sleep! *M,* **'Ashu:kih qu'li:xLXinhinh** I'll put him (baby) to sleep *M,* **'Ashu:kih 'u'lisiLXa'Linh** I put him (baby) to sleep *M,* **'Ashu:kih 'u'li:LXa:'kinh** she (cust) puts him (baby) to sleep *M.*

shu:t'

O-**L-shu:t'** *basic meaning uncertain, perhaps* S move O in an arc by means of a pole, one end of which is fixed: *with class-marks for O:* **di:Lshu:t'** lift, loosen, pry, free it (boat) with a stick, lever! *L (cf. dja:t'),* **da: qid qu'XAdi:Lshu:t'** we'll slide them (logs) downhill *L (end over end?, but cf. Hupa -Wʊt', Navaho -žo·d, Minto -zʊd 'to slide'); reflexive: with ya'X 'upward':* **ya'X 'AdxshLishu:t'L** I jumped up (with a pole, pole-vaulted) *L, with o-ta:s 'over, across o' and qa' 'up out':* **'Awta:s 'AdsLishu:t'Linh** he pole-vaulted over it *L, repetitive:* **k'uta:s qa:nch' 'AdLAshu:t'ginh** he's pole-vaulting (over something) *L.*

shu:wu: *(loan from Tlingit šuwú 'part of', occurring only in loans da:na:shu:wu:, gudshu:wu:)*

shuh *(M also shuhx, shux, probably imitative, rejected by L; L occasionally shu´, but LMA generally favor invariable shuh except for frequent analogical shu' in Inceptive imperative; perhaps related to shu:)*

ya:X Xdl-shuh *(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) go out: *34.67M,* **ya:X qu'XAdli:shuhx** *M,* **ya:X qu'XAdli:shuh** fire will go out *L,* **ya:X XAdla:GAshuhL** fire is going out *L,* **ya:X XAdla:shAshuhxL** *M,* **ya:X XAdla:shAshuhL** fire went out *LM,* light went out *A, repetitive:* **ya:X XAdla:shuhxg** *M,* **ya:X XAdla:shuhg** fire keeps going out *LM, with q'e' 'back, again':* **ya:X XAdla:shdishuhL** (fire) went back out *34.69M. Transitive (causative)* S extinguish, put, blow O (fire, light) out: *Rezanov* Яхатлякальчу 'Таси auslöschen (Imperat.)' **ya:X XAdla:GALshu'** put out the fire!, blow it out!, turn off the light! *68.94, 94, LMAS,* **ya:X XAdla:GALshuhx** put the fire out! *M,* **ya:X XAdla:GALshux** blog it (candle, match) out! *M,* **ya:X XAdla:GALshuh** put out the fire!, blow

it out! *L,* **ya:X qu'XAdli:xLshuh** I'll put out the fire, I'll blow it out, I'll turn it (light) off *L,* **dik' ya:X qu'XAdli:xLshuhG** *(or* **-shu:G**, *analogical)* I won't blow it out *L,* **ya:X XAdla:shiLshu'L** *L (analogical, implying shu'),* **ya:X XAdla:shiLshuhxL** *M,* **ya:X XAdla:shiLshuhL** I put out the fire, lamp *LM,* **da: ya:X XAdla:yiLshuh** let's blow it out *L,* **ya:X XAdla:GAxLshuhX sitl' dAlinhinh** he told me to extinguish it *L.*

gsgsgsgs *(cf. bsbsbsbs)*

gsgsgsgs *(animal call) used for calling a cat, or to comfort crying baby M, used for calling puppy L.*

gis *(L "may have heard" gAs but prefers gis, A gus, rejected by L; expanded gi:s or ge:s)*

O-**gis** S roast, warm, burn O on stick by fire: **'AwyAq' k'ugis** was roasting some of its insides *5.3L,* **'Agis** put it (e.g. hot dog) on a stick by the fire to roast! *LM,* **'Agus** roast it! *A (L has heard "only kids talk like that"),* **k'uxgis** 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,* **lAxgis** I'm roasting it (piece of fat) *L,* **'i:nsigisL** I roasted it (piece of fat) *L; passive:* **sdigisL** it's been roasted on a stick *M.*

gixdAG~gi:xdAG *(probably from Alutiiq, cf. qikertaq 'island')*

gixdAG *LS,* **gi:xdAG** *G (Harrington) (place-name) Martin Island(s)*: *67.2G (Li).*

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gi(:)xdAGlAGd *(place-name) Martin Point* < above gi(:)xdAG *G (Harrington), 67.3G (Li).*

,

gi(:)xdAGlAGd ma: *(place-name) Martin Lakes* < lakes above gi(:)xdAG *G (Harrington).*

gixLug *(probably from Chugach kuiglluk 'bad creek')*

gixLug *(also* **gixLuk'w**, *less correct) (place-name) Kiklukh River S.*

giyiL

-giyiL *(not freely used)* S become a witch: **sAgiyiLinh** he became a witch *L.*

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O-**L-giyiL** *(probably semantically irregular causative of preceding)* S bewitch, hex O, do O harm by sorcery, black magic: **'iqe'xLgiyiL** I'll hex you *L,* **GALgiyiLinh** hex him! *L,* **sALgiyiL** it's bewitched < you, he hexed it *L,* **xusALgiyiLinh** he worked witchcraft on me *L; passive:* **xusLigiyiL**, **xusdigiyiL** I've been hexed *L.*

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'iLgiyiL, **'iLgiyiLinh** *(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, Galushia Nelson* ítɬɢì·ítɬə́ *or* ítɬɢì'ítɬà *BSdL 543,* **'iLgiyiLinh q'A'anh xuqi:dAsALtsugL** a witch it is made my foot swell *L,* **xuqi:disLitsugL, 'iLgiyiLinhyA'e'd lAX sAliL** my foot's been made to swell, this is the handiword of a witch *L,* **dik' 'iLgiyiLG** she's not a witch *L,* **xu: 'iLgiyiL** 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.*

giyAG *(loan from Chugach kayaaq 'whetstone'; Kayak depot on Wingham Island)*

giyAG *(place-name) small island by Kayak Island S.*

giyAq' *(cf. giyAG)*

giyAq' *(place-name) Kayak Island S (wrong).*

giyah1

giyah *(noun, gl-class)* 1. (fresh, non-salt) water, (body of fresh) water, drinking-water *LMASG*: *2a.7M, 11.91A, 16.28M, 19.25L, 25.41, 58, 29.41M, 34.65M, 50.3, 51.71A, 57.6G , Rezanov* Кайя 'Вода Wasser', *Anonymous* Къ кая 'Вода', *Baranov* Къ кая 'Вода', *Khromchenko* Коя 'Вода', Кая 'Рѣка' ('river'), *Wrangell* Кая 'Wasser', *Furuhjelm* Kia 'water', *Galushia Nelson* cíyà, *Old Man Dude* kíyǻ 'water' *BSdL 537, Rezanov* Такегит-кая 'Жидко flüssig' *perhaps to be read* **dAqi:kih giyah** no more water, Такейкекеэту 'Просторно ('spacious') geräumig' *perhaps to be read* **dAqi:kih giyahduh** no more water! *L,* **k'ugu:'nuw giyah** *L,* **giyahgu:'nuw** lots (large volume) of water *M,* **giyah ya:gulAguhdg GALe'L** *(see gut')* water is getting very low *L,* **giyah k'ugAdli:'nuw sALe'L** water got very high *L,* **giyah 'u:dAX gAdli:'yahL** water ran all over there *L,* **ts'u:tl' giyah 'iLqa' gAdla:siLyahL** I mixed water together with milk *(baby formula) L,* **giyah gAli:tl'eh** water is cold *L,* **giyah xa:g yiLeh** water is steaming *L,* **giyah gAli:Lq'a'dg** boil water! *L,* **giyah 'ich' qu'gAli:xXu'ts'** I'll splash water at you *L,* **giyah gAlAwuginh** he's gulping water noisily *L,* **giyah gAli:LGu'** warm water! *L,* **giyah gAli:Lk'a'd** heat water! *L,* **giyah gu:nsALtl'Ala'L** water got stale *L,* **giyah gu:nLAshiLg**, **giyah gAlAshiLg** water is sploshing *L, as O of O-gl-L-'ya 'S handle water in container': 11.120A,* **giyah 'anhda' gu:nsALyahL** he brought water to her *34.82L,* **giyah sich' gAli:Lya'** bring me water! *L, 11.108, as o of postposition:* **giyahgu:nAX** O-**L-Xu'ts'** S splash water on O, *see xu'ts',* **giyahgAlA'e:X** (ask) about water *3.1M,* **giyahgAlA'e'** (bawl) for water *19.24L,* **giyahgAlAda'** to (shore and) water *20.18, 19A,* **giyahgu:na'q'** on surface of water *24.42A,* **giyahgu:ndAGd** *M,* **giyahgAlAdAGd** above (upland from) body of fresh water *M, 25.96A,* **'Aw giyahgAlAt'a'd** behind the water(falls) *25.59, 69A,* **giyahgu:nch'** to (get) water *2a.5M, 2b.7L, 21b.6, 25.86A, 44.5, 45a.2L, 46.7, 25M, 48.2, 7L,* **giyahgAlAlu'qa:** to get water *19.26L, 21b.10 (lacking gl-class-mark), 25.21, 23, 43A, 45b.10M,* **giyahgAlAya'd** in (body, container of) water *M; as O of verbs and o of postposition lacking gl-class-mark:* **giyah** O-**dA-la** S drink water *2a.7M, 51.71A, Wrangell* Кая, *see la1,* **giyah** O-**qa** S fetch water, carry water in container *2b.5, 6, 19.28L, 25.22, 26, 27, 94, 94A, 34.18LM, 48.5L, see qa,* **giyah** O-**L-ga´** S be thirsty *2b.1L, 11.107. 51.66, 69, 70, 72A, Rezanov* Кэя-, *Anonymous* Кія-, *see ga´1,* **giyahtl'** O-**l-ga:G** S mix O (not liquid) with water, *see ga:G,* **giyahya'(-)** 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,* **'Aw 'Aw giyahyAX yAX 'Ata'** set it down under (magically lifted body of) water! *11.90A,* **giyahwahd 'Aw yä' 'i:LXanhwahd** in order to melt it for water *43.16M; Furuhjelm* Kiaaliaga 'sea', *probably to be read* **giyahlAw…** ('big water', probably incorrect, lacking gl-class-mark and referring to salt-water); **giyah sdilahL** humpbacked salmon < it drank water, *(not explained, "deep talk, nowadays the word for it is ka:shk') L, see la1;* **giyah** (**qi'**) **yAX 'igAdli:L'ah** waterfalls < (place where) water extends downward *25.55, 55, 78, 79A, 38.21LM, see 'a´1;* **giyah qi' li' gAli:'ah** stream, creek, brook, tributary < place where water runs (extends) downstream *21b.8A, see 'a´1;* **giyah qi' tl'ehd dAxuLg** faucet < place where water is (repeatedly) turned (screwed) open, *see xuL;* **giyah gAlAts'u'ts'g** pump (for boat) < it sucks water, *see ts'u'ts';* **giyahXda:LAlah** water-bucket *L (probably < giyah 'uX da: LAlah 'by means of it we drink water)', see la1;* **giyah sdililahL** humpback salmon < it drank water?, *see la2.*

2. *Figurative,* clear liquid *(not water)*: *10.24A (in reference to fatty viscous matter in whale's eye, a delicacy, in 11.175A called Xe:), Rezanov* Калляхекея 'Слезы Thränen'

qa:la:XAgiyah our, human eye-water *('water' in eyes from watering of eyes, not 'tears (from weeping)') M,* **XAwa:lAXAde:'Gi'giyah** berry species < dog's-eye-water *LMA, see XAwa:, Rezanov* Кахъальцыясъ-кая 'Водка *(with ъ- inserted above)* Brandtwein' **qa:Xa' Lts'iya'ts' giyah** water which decays very badly for ("on") us, **giyah 'uyAq' gAli:'yahL** *L,* **giyah 'uyAq' gAdli:'yahL** M water-blister < water (serum) has collected in it (o without opening at top) *(Neuter perfective) LM, see 'ya.*

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giyahLtah *(noun, unclassified)* water-bucket < water-skin *46.22M.*

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'AdAgiyah *(noun, gl-class)* fresh (not salt-)water < real water, water *par excellence L.*

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giyahgAlAXda:d 'uq' k'a'Leh *(place-name) Little Mummy Island ("no water on it")* < there is no water on it *L, see le(') 3e.*

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k'ugu:ndzu: giyah *(noun, gl-class)* holy water < good water *L.*

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giyahgAlAXa' ya: *(noun, unclassified)* rubber boots < thing for water *L.*

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gu:nLits'anh giyah *(noun)* hard liquor < water which is strong, piquant *L.*

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'idah gu:nLAgAmih giyah *(noun)* syrup < water which tastes nice *M. Rezanov* Итакоулюкомыкая 'Патока Syrop'.

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k'usa'd giyah *(noun)* saliva < water which is in one's mouth *M*: *Rezanov* Казаткея 'Слюна Speichel' **qa:sa'd giyah** our, human saliva.

giyah2

-giyah *(probably kinship noun, ascending) attested in vocative only, meaning not clearly remembered: "Minnie Stevens addressed Mrs. Sheperd (native name 'ixuch', mother of Mike Sheperd) as 'Agiyah, though Minnie Stevens spoke of her as sidAGe:' '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 'ixuch' (Evelyn ("Evaline") Dude) on BSdL Genealogical Table.*

giyu:luhg~GAyu:luhg *(loan from Chugach kayuluk 'bullhead (fish)')*

giyu:luhg *LA,* **GAyu:luhg** *L (former "sounds better" L) (personal name) part-Aleut man, related to Scar Stevens L,* **gAyu:lu:g** *Eyak man S, BSdL* ɢiulʊq.

giŋiG *(probably from Chugach kangiq 'bay')*

giŋiGya'd *(place-name) Gravina Bay M < giŋiG as o of o-ya'd 'in o body of water').*

gAdi:yAG~GAdi:yAG *(earlier transcribed G-, confirmed in place-name, but g- confirmed in bird name; probably loan from Eskimo, Yupik təqiiyaaʁ 'arctic tern', but also used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry gɑdiyɑɢ, same bird as č'ɑχɑdíya 'cormorant', q.v. under ch'AX)*

gAdi:yAG *(noun, unclassified)* (black-legged) kittiwake (Rissa tridactyla) *L, perhaps also 'Bonaparte's gull (Larus philadelphia)' and/or 'Sabine's gull (Xema sabini)', Galushia Nelson* ɢəɒiq 'kittiwake (gull)' *BSdL 539.*

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GAdi:yAGya' tsa: *(place-name) Pinnacle Rock* < kittiwake's rock *L (G- verified, but perhaps to be corrected to g-).*

gAL~giL *(gAL M 3 times, A 3 times, S 3 times, G once, giL L 25 times, M 6 times; expanded gi:L)*

-gAL~-giL *(perhaps not freely used, attested only in Active perfective, see LA-gAL~-giL)* S shrivel (with heat?): **sAgiL** it shrivelled up *L. Transitive (causative, perhaps also, or primarily, that of LA-gAL~-giL) 'S make O shrivel, parch, "toast", fry O (especially fat or salmon skins) for eating':* **'ALgiL**, **'ALgAL** *(former preferred)* "toast" it (salmon skin)! *L,* **qu'xLgAL** I'll "toast" it *S,* **da: Lgi:Lk'** we (cust) "toast" it *LM; passive: with ya' 'completely':* **ya' sdigAL** it got warped by the sun *M (possibly intransitive dA-gAL, see GAdAgAL), with y-anatomical:* **xuyisLigiL** my hand has been made to atrophy (by e.g. a witch) *L.*

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O-**gAL~-giL** *(meaning not clearly distinguished from that of O-L-gAL~-giL, causative of -gAL~-giL or LA-gAL~-giL)* S make O shrivel (etc.): *Rezanov* Исыкиль 'Ожечь versengen' *perhaps to be read* **'i: sAgiL** *you* scorched it, *or* **'isAgiL** it scorched you *(or, intransitive,* you're scorched*), or* **'i:nsAgiL** your face is scorched, shrivelled *(intransitive) ???,* **k'uxgiL** I'm "toasting" something *L,* **k'u:nxigiL** let me "toast" something *L,* **k'u:nyigiL** you may "toast" something *L,* **k'u:ligiL** let him "toast" something *L, with class-mark for O:* **ti:lAxgiL** I'm "toasting" a fish-skin *L.*

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LA-gAL~-giL S shrivel, atrophy, curl up: **sLigiL** it (plant) shrivelled up *L (perhaps passive),* **GALAgiL** it's curling up (by itself) *L (not passive), with ya' 'completely':* **ya' sLigiL** it shrivelled up *L (perhaps passive), Rezanov* Елликэль 'Ожогъ, ожгла ?versengte (Präterit)' *perhaps to be read* **ya' LAgiL**, **ya' LigiL**, **ya' sLigiL**, **ya' 'iLigiL** (> yä'iLigiL) it is shrivelling up, it (is) shrivelled up, scorched *(Active imperfective, Neuter perfective, Active perfective, Neuter perfective, respectively) or perhaps… ??? S or O 'fat', or* **ya' li:giL** your face is getting scorched, *with y-anatomical:* **yisLigiLinh** his hand is atrophied, shrivelled *L,* **yixsLigiLinh** my hand is atrophied, shrivelled *L (not passive, cf. xuyisLigiL above). Transitive (causative): see -gAL~-gAL.*

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yAgAL *MA,* **yAgiL** *LM (personal name)* 1. *Anna Nelson Harry (born Cordova, January 6, 1906; died Juneau, February 1, 1982) LMA* < "shrivelled hand" *A, BSdL* yɪkəɬ.

2. *Yakutat girl, her father yAgAL'í:sh A.*

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GAdAgAL, GAdAgiL *(noun, unclassified)* sun: **GAdAgAL** *ASG, 65.53A,* **GAdAgiL** *LM, 2a.2, 4, 19, 34M, 2b.16L, Rezanov* Катакыль *(with ы superscript insert)* 'Солнце Sonne', *Anonymous* Катакаоутль *(with oy superscript insert)* 'Солнце', *Baranov* Катактль 'Солнце', *Khromchenko* Катакесъ 'Солнце', *Wrangell* Какетлхь *(second к probably transposed with m)* 'Sonne', *Furuhjelm* Khatakal, *Galushia Nelson* qátí'kətɬ 'sun' *BSdL 537,* **GAdAgiL yik'a'd** the sun is hot *L,* **GAdAgiL 'AdsLisinhL** the sun is eclipsed < the sun is playing dead *(Minnie Stevens said) L,* **GAdAgiL GALA'a:L** the sun is moving *L (for movement and positions of the sun, see LA-'a under 'a),* **GAdAgiLdAkinh** sun-sticks *34.77L,* **GAdAgiLsAqe:GAyu:** sun-children *34.126L, Galushia Nelson* qətɛqɛtɬ wʊla'iyu 'Sun people' *BSdL 537* **GAdAgALwAlahyu:**. *Nominalization of theme with gAL~giL ("because the sun is hot, dries everything up" L), but identification of*

affixes and exact underlying theme uncertain, perhaps Active imperfective of (O-)Gd-gAL~-giL with Gd-thematic 'place, weather', or Inceptive perfective of either passive of O-gAL~-giL or of otherwise not clearly attested dA-gAL~-giL.

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GAdAgALch'e', **GAdAgiLch'e'**, *Rezanov* Катекльче *in* 'Мѣдь Kupfer' *and* 'Мѣдной kupfern', Катакыльче *in* 'Позументъ Posument', *see ch'e'2.*

gAsiya:nn *(probably from Russian; cf. Cassian, Kassian)*

gAsiya:nn *(personal name) Lena's father L.*

gAXts'

-gAXts' S be, get sticky *(perhaps not freely used, attested only in Active perfective)*: **sAgAXts'L** he (child) got all sticky *L.*

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LA-gAXts' S be, get sticky, stick, adhere: **sLigAXts'L** it's sticky, it got sticky *L,* **LigAXts'** it's sticky *(Neuter imperfective) L, repetitive:* **LAgAXts'g** it keeps sticking *L, with o-X 'in contact with o' or o-ch' 'to o', 'S adhere to o':* **'Awch' 'iLigAXts'L**, **'AwX 'iLigAXts'L** it's stuck to it *(Neuter perfective) L,* **ya:nAX 'iLigAXts'L** it (e.g. linoleum) is stuck to the floor *(Neuter perfective) L,* **da:X qu'LAgAXts'** you'll be glued up (to indeterminate o) *51.23, 23aA (perhaps passive),* **dAda'X yAX 'iLigAXts'wahd** so the lid will stick down *65.25A, with class-mark for S:* **da:X diLigAXts'L** it (board?) is stuck on (to something) *L,* **ya:nAX diLigAXts'L** it (board) is stuck down to the floor (e.g. by nailing) *L,* **gahG siya:X diLigAXts'L** pitch is stuck to my hand *L, with y-anatomical:* **yAX yixsLigAXts'L** my hand's (become) stuck down *L, repetitive:* **'AwX yALAge:Xts'gk'** his hand (cust) sticks to it *36.37, 37, 38A; indirect reflexive:* **'AdX yALA[ge:Xts'k']** his hand (cust) sticks to himself *(unfinished) 36.38A. Transitive (causative):* **'Awch' GALgAXts'** stick it (e.g. stamp, wallpaper, tape) to it! *L,* **da:X GALgAXts'** *L,* **da:X 'ALgAXts'** stick it on (something)! *S,* **'Awch' qu'xLgAXts'** I'll stick it on it *L,* **'Awch' k'u:LgAXts'Linh** he's got a bandage on it *(Neuter perfective) L,* **'Awch' xLge:Xts'k'** I (cust) stick it on it *M, indirect reciprocal:* **'ALch' GALgAXts'**, **'iLX GALgAXts'** stick them together! *L; passive:* **da:X qu'LAgAXts'** you'll be glued up *51.23, 23aA (perhaps intransitive), see also following nominalizations.*

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'uX 'iLch' k'udAgAXts'g *(noun)* glue, paste *L. Nominalization passive Active imperfective of causative of preceding, with -g-repetitive thematized,* < by means of it something is made to stick together.

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dAch' dAgAXts'g *(noun)* bandage *L. As above,* < it is made to adhere to indeterminate o.

,

'AdiX da:X dAgAXts'g *(noun)* wallpaper *L. As above,* < it is made to adhere to indeterminate o indoors.

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k'uXe:gAXts' *name of mythological personage,* Property Woman *LM, 36.1, 42, 45, 47A. Probably nominalized Active imperfective of k'u-X y-gAXts' 'S's hand be sticky on something' (for -X-yA- > -Xe:- cf. tsa:-lA-yAX > tsa:le:X, -tl'A-yAq' > -tl'e:q'), see Eyak Texts 36. and fns.*

gAwi´~gAw *(gAw, also guw, gAwi:, in some imperfectives, especially negatives; expanded gAwi: LA, gAw, gu: M)*

'Ad O-**gAwi´~-gAw** *('Ad, 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 feel O (usually concrete O, by tactile sensation), S get, catch O (cold, cough): **'Aw 'Ad gAwinhinh** he felt it *10.18, 11.170A,* **'Ad xgAw** *MA,* **'Ad xgAwih** I feel it *LMA (A prefers latter),* **dik' 'Ad xgAwG** I don't feel it *LA,* **tl'ehd 'Ad xgAwih** I have a cold *L,* **'ula:X 'Awa: 'Ad xgAwih** I feel his eyes (looking at me) *L,* **'Ad 'ixgAwih** I feel you *L,* **dA'u:dAXya:kih 'Ad xgAwih** I feel something *L,* **'Ad qu'yigAw**, **'Ad qu'yigAwih** you'll feel it *L,* **dik' 'Ad qu'yigAwG** (*or* **-gAwihG**) you won't feel it *L,* **'Ad xuqu'yigAwih** you'll feel me *L,* **'Ad sigAwi'L** I felt it *L,* **'Awshuh sAgAwi'L** did you feel it? *L,* **'Ad xusAgAwi'L** you felt me *L,* **'Ad GAxgAwi'L** I'm beginning to feel it *L,* **k'udzu:dah 'Ad GAxgAwi'L** it feels good < I'm beginning to feel it pleasantly *L,* **qahdzX q'e:'Ad xgAwi:k'** I (cust) get a cough again *L, with o-ga' 'like o', 'S feel (usually concrete) O (tactilely, to be) like o': 32.41A,* **Li'q' 'ula'q'Aya'yu: 'uXa' ya' dAsAqAts'Lga' 'Ad xgAwih** it felt to me like all his clothes were in shreds *32.42A,* **xu'lAXAsditsi:ndzLga' 'Ad xgAwih** I feel (it to be) like I've been dreamt about *L. Causative, o-d O-L-gAwi´~-gAw 'S make o feel O':* **'id qu'xLgAwih** I'll make you feel it *L.*

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'Ad O-**dA-gAwi´~-gAw** *(perhaps indirect reflexive, with 'Ad-d, but rejected by L, probably analogical, influenced by preceding and reflexive of following)* S feel O: **'Ad xdAgAwih** I feel it *MA,* **dik' 'Ad xdAgAwG** I don't feel it *M,* **'Ad qu'xdAgAwih** I'll feel it *M,* **dA'u:dAXya:kih siliLga' 'AdAxdAgu:k'** I (cust) feel like I've accomplished something *34.11M.*

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O-**'-gAwi´~-gAw** *(O restricted to third person, or, more frequently, reflexive)* S feel O (it) a certain way *(not tactile sensation of concrete O), with o-ga' 'like o' or adverbs*: **k'usha:dah 'u'sigAwi'L** it felt bad < I felt it badly *L,* **siyAq'd siya: k'usha:dah 'u'GAxgAwi'L** my stomach is beginning to feel bad < I'm beginning to feel it in my insides badly *L; reflexive, 'Ad-'-dA-gAwi´~-gAw 'S feel a certain way (physically or emotionally)': 34.7, 16, 64M (-ga' lacking), 47b.9, 16M, 47c.6L, 69.27A,* **dA'u:dAXya:kihdah siliLga' 'AdAxdAgu:k'** I feel like I've accomplished something *34.11M,* **wut'ga' 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I feel like vomiting, nauseated *LM,* **dik' wut'ga' 'Adu'xdAgAwG** I don't feel nauseated *L,* **'iqe'xLwut'gwa' 'Adu'xdAguw** I feel like I'm going to vomit *G,* **dla:Xq'e:ts'ga' 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I feel nauseated *L,* **Ge'ga' 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I feel seasick *M,* **tl'ehga' 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I feel cold *L,* **k'ahdga' 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I feel sick *L,* **'Ashgga' 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I feel a sneeze coming on *L,* **'ula:X 'Awa: 'Ad xgAwihga' 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I feel like I feel his eyes (looking at me) *L,* **'a'd silAqahyAq' 'Ash k'ule'ggga' 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I feel very much like someone keeps reaching his hand through the inside of my head (with persistent harping questions) *L,* **k'udzu:dah 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I feel good *LS,* **dik' k'udzu:dah 'Adu'xdAgAwi:G** I don't feel good *S,* **di'dahkih 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I feel alright, a little better *M, repetitive:* **dAqa:yu: k'udzu:dah 'Adu'xdAgAwi'g** I sometimes (intermittently) feel good *L.*

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O-**L-gAwi´** *(uncertain, attested only once)* S make O feel (a certain way): **k'udzu:dah 'iqe'xLgAwih** I'll make you feel good *L (perhaps in error for 'i'qe-, see below).*

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O-**'-L-gAwi´** S make O feel (a certain way), *with o-ga' 'like o', o-lAX 'more than o', or adverbs*: **wut'ga' xu'LgAwih** he's making me feel nauseated *L,* **k'ulahga' xu'wALgAwinhinh** he's making me feel like drinking *L,* **XAwa:ga' xu'LgAwinhinu:** (*or* **xa'L-**) they're making me feel like a dog *L,* **XAwa:ga' xu'wiLgAwih** you're making me feel like a dog *L,* **XAwa:ga' 'i'xLgAwih** I'm making you feel like a dog *L,* **XAwa:ga' 'u'xLgAwinhinh** (*or* **'a'xL-**) I'm making him feel like a dog *L,* **wut'ga' 'u'wiLgAwinhinh** you're making him feel like vomiting *L,*

k'udzu:dah 'i'qe'LgAwih it (medicine) will make you feel good *L,* **k'ahd-lAX 'i'qe'wALgAwih** it'll make you feel sicker *L,* **XAwa:ga' xu'qu'yiLgAwih** you'll make me feel like a dog *L,* **XAwa:ga' xu'qa'LgAwinhinu:** they'll make me feel like a dog *L,* **XAwa:ga' xa'LgAwih** make me feel like a dog! *L,* **XAwa:ga' 'a'LgAwinhinu:** make them feel like a dog! *L,* **XAwa:ga' da: 'u'liLgAwih** let's make him feel like a dog *L.*

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'Ad-dA-gAw-G *(thematic negative)* S be, become numb: **'AdxdAgAwG** I'm numb *M,* **'AdGAxdAgAwGL** I'm getting numb *L.*

gAwa'ts' *(see wa'ts'2)*

gAmAG

gAmAG *(noun, unclassified)* (soft wet) mud *LMSG*: **gAmAGluw** big gob of soft mud *LM,* **te'ya' sALsi'L da:X gAmAGga' sAt'u'L** fish rotted so it became (soft) like mud *L.*

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-gAmAG S be, become muddy, S (earth) become soft mud: **sAgAmAGL** it (e.g. surface of road) got muddy *L, with qa' 'up out':* **qa' 'i:gAmAGL** it's all muddy *(Neuter perfective) L.*

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gdl-gAmAG *(with gdl-thematic, perhaps thematized dl-class-mark for 'anh 'earth' and gl-class-mark 'liquid', meaning not clearly distinguished from that of preceding)* S get all muddy, mired: *with qa' 'up out':* **qa' gAdla:sAgAmAGL** it got all muddy *L, with ya:nu' 'below surface':* **ya:nu' gAdla:sAgAmAGL** it got stuck in the mud, mired *L.*

gAmi´~gAm *(Anonymous кунъ perhaps implying gum; gAm occasionally in imperfective negative; expanded gAmi:)*

LA-gAmi´~-gAm 1. S taste: **LAgAmih** it tastes *A,* **dik' LAgAmihG** it doesn't taste *A; with o-ga' 'like o' or adverbs, 'S taste (a certain way)':* **sha:XAlAGga' LAgAmi:k'** it (cust) tastes sweet (like sugar) *51.32A, Rezanov* Итакотлякомы 'Сахаръ Zucker', *Anonymous* Итатликунъ 'Сахаръ' ('sugar') **'idah LAgAmih** it tastes nice *(perhaps used for 'sugar' before borrowing, through Chugach, of Russian Сахаръ sha:XAlAG), Rezanov* Адетадлякоми 'Сладко süss' **'a'd 'idah LAgAmih** it tastes very nice *M,* **k'usha:dah LAgAmih** it tastes bad *L,* **dik' di:ya'ga' LAgAmG** *L (M rejects),* **dik' di:ya'ga' LAgAmihG** it doesn't taste salty (like salt(water)) *LM,* **di:ya'ga' GALAgAmi'L** it's beginning to taste salty *L,* **di:ya'ga' sLigAmi'L** it got to taste salty *L,* **dik' di:ya'ga' qu'LAgAmihG** it won't taste salty *L, with class-mark for S: Rezanov* Итакоулюкомыкая 'Патока Syrop' **'idah gu:nLAgAmih giyah** syrup < water which tastes nice *M,* **dik' k'usha:dah qu'gu:nLAgAmG** it (liquid) won't taste bad *L,* **sha:XAlAGga' lAXALAgAmih** candy < it (lX-class, 'granular') tastes sweet (like sugar) *L.*

2. *Without any qualifier,* S taste bitter: **LAgAmih** it's bitter *MS,* **dik' LAgAmihG** it's not bitter *L.*

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O-**L-gAmi´~-gAm** S taste O: **'ALgAmih** *M,* **'ALgAmah** *G (probably incorrect),* **GALgAmih** *L (stem-form probably analogical),* **'Aw GALgAmi'** taste it! *L,* **k'uxLgAmih** I'm tasting something *M,* **'idah k'uLgAminhinh** he likes to eat, he's a good eater < he tastes something nicely *L,* **qu'xLgAmih** I'll taste it *M,* **dik' qu'xLgAmihG** I won't taste it *A,* **siLgAmi'L** I tasted it *M,* **'AxLgAmi:k'** I (cust) taste it *L, with gl-class-mark for O:* **'Aw gAlAGAxLAgAmihX sitl' dAleh** he told me to taste it (liquid) *(Inceptive subjunctive) L, repetitive* **'Aw gu:nLgAmi'ginh** she keeps tasting it (liquid) *L.*

gAldu:xa: *(loan from Chugach kaltuuxaq 'potato', from Russian картофель, not used by Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

gAldu:xa: *(noun, lX-class)* potato *LM*: **gAldu:xa:lAXAt'u'** lots of potatoes *M,* **lAXAt'e:G gAldu:xa:** raw potatoes *L,* **gAldu:xa:Lt'ahL** potato leaves, plants *L.*

gAlu:dj *(probably loan from Chugach kəluucaq 'key', from Russian ключ, not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

gAlu:dj *(noun, unclassified)* key *L*: **gAlu:djluw** big key *LM.*

gAnah~gunah *(perhaps loan from Chugach, source not identified, see below)*

gAnah-~gunah- *(perhaps noun, unclassified, or exclamation) occurring only in song fragment, with -kih 'diminutive, affectionate' and 'uch' 'to him, her, it'*: **'uch' gAnahkih**, **'uch' 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 gʊ́d 'dime', probably from English 'bit' through Chinook Jargon)*

gud *(noun, d-class, or probably preferably, unclassified)* dime, ten cents *LS*: **gud sich' 'Ata'** give me a dime! *L,* **k'udAt'u' gud**, **k'ut'u' gud** *M,* **guddAt'u'**, **gud'At'u'** lots of dimes *LM.*

gudshu:wu: *(loan from Tlingit gʊ́d šuwú 'nickel' i.e., 'half of, part of dime', cf. gud, da:na:shu:wu:)*

gudshu:wu: *(noun, d-class, or probably preferably, unclassified)* nickel, five cents *LS*: **gudshu:wu: sich' 'Ata'** give me a nickel! *L,* **gudshu:wu:t'u'** *L,* **gudshu:wu:dAt'u'** lots of nickels *LM.*

gut' *(attested first from L as guhd, probably under the influence of luhd~nuhd; 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:guhdg XAwa:** tiny dog *L, frequently with -kih 'diminutive':* **di'dah ya:gut'gkih 'ahnu:ch' sALtahL** he gave them just a tiny little bit *10.62A, with classified noun:* **giyah ya:gAlAguhdg GALe'L** water's getting very low *L.*

2. *Suffixed*: **XAwa:guhdgkih** tiny dog *L,* **na:wda'ke:dguhdgkih** tiny whiskey-bottle *L, to classified nouns:* **tsa'LdAgut'g** tiny knife *L,* **LAqahdAgut'g** tiny head *(epithet?) L,* **la'mahd-lAXAguhdg** tiny berries *L,* **shdu:lihGdAguhdgkih** tiny miniature doll-sized table *L.*

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-gut'-g S be, become tiny, *attested only with gl-class-mark*: **ma:sdla: gAlAGAgut'gL** piece of (melting) butter is getting very tiny *L.*

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gut'g *(personal name) Eyak girl* < "small" *L.*

guts' *(Furuhjelm implies gwAts')*

guts', *occurring only with de:3 in* **guts'de:** *(numeral)* nine *LMASG*: *Rezanov* Коцутъ-э '9.', *Anonymous* Куцтѣ '9.', *Baranov* Куцтѣ '9.', *Khromchenko* Коцутѣ '9.', *Wrangell* Куткте 'neun', *Furuhjelm* Kvatzte *probably to be read* **gwAts'de:**, *Galushia Nelson* ɢʊtsɒ̈ⁿ '9.' *BSdL 553,*

guts'de: ***mile*****ga' giyahgu:na'q' gAdli:L'a'** about nine miles out over the water *L,* **guts'de:** ***mile*****ga' GAdli:L'a'** about nine miles (overland) *L,* **guts'de:nu:** nine people *L,* **guts'de:Xa' yi:Lqa:k'** it (cust) gets light at nine o'clock *L,* **guts'de:da'X** nine times *L, Furuhjelm* Vetzte Takhakh 'one hundred' *probably to be read* **[g]wAts'de:[da'X] dAGa:q'** ninety < nice times ten; **dAGa:Xk'a:d guts'de:** nineteen *A.*

gust' *(LMAS, G gAst', perhaps confirmed by Rezanov; cf. ka:st', similar semantically and syntactically, as well as phonologically)*

gust' *(noun, unclassified)* flames *LMAS*: **gAst'** flame *G, Rezanov* Котъ-а 'Пламя' *(Radlov* 'Flamme аціуэ?, wohl пламя mit плавай schwimme verwechselt?'; *see we) perhaps to be read* **gAst'**, **gust' 'u:dAX qa' sAkinhdL** flames shot up there *51.79A,* **gust"a'luw** big flames *LM,* **gust' yiLeh** flames are flaring < it is flamey *MS,* **gust' 'u'lAGALXa'** build a big bonfire (outside, to scare bears)! < make it flamey! *L,* **gust'ga' 'i:t'inhinh** he has a fever < he's like flames *L,* **gust'ga' gulAleh** it (water) is spurting, gushing, spouting < it (liquid) is acting flame-like *L.*

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-gust' S (flame) flare, *with qa' 'up out'*: **qa' sAgust'L** they (flames) flared up *L.*

gudj1

d-dA-gudj *(with d-thematic 'oral')* S close mouth, clench teeth, keep mouth tightly closed, lips pursed: **da:dAgudj** close your mouth! *LM,* **di'dAgudj** *M,* **di-'wAX di'dAgudj** keep your mouth closed! *L,* **da:digudj k'a'**, **di-'wAX k'a' da:digudj** you should keep your mouth closed *L,* **dAGAdAgudjLinh** he's closing his mouth, clenching his teeth *M,* he has his mouth closed tight, lip folded in, pursed *L,* **disdigudjLinh** he closed his mouth *L,* **'i:yah chi'shdug dAXunh 'a' dja:q'ga' 'iLu' qa' li' didigudjL** my how the guy sure is awful tight-lipped (taciturn) just like a (hooked) bullhead! *(Neuter perfective) L, see 72.16fnL and lXd-dA-q'Ats', with o-q'Asd 'against, at the other end of o' and lah 'around, in circular motion':* **siq'Asd lah disdigudjLinh** he closed his mouth and averted his face from me (angrily, disdainfully) *L, with perambulative:* **yAX dAdAgudjXinh** he's got his mouth closed and is averting his face (in various directions, to avoid being fed) *L.*

gudj2 *(attested from A only, unknown to L)*

gudj *(noun)* "something you nearly trip over" *A, used syntactically as C*: **gudj siLe'L** I nearly tripped < I became gudj *A.*

gudjgih *(origin of name unknown)*

gudjgih *Charlie Chief LM, Eyak man S, BSdL* gutcki.

guch'

-guch' *(noun)* penis *(not known to L, M has heard)*: **siguch'** my penis *S,* **'iguch'** your penis *S,* **XAwa:guch'** dog's penis *S, Rezanov* Уччуа 'Дѣтороднои удъ муской Glied, männliches' *conceivably to be read* [**'ug**]**uch' 'Awa:** his, its penis *(informants unable to recognize any existing form resembling [uchua], but most likely to be read as loan from Chugach ucua 'his, her genitals', cf. chAq'~);) Rezanov* Кочькоете 'Рѣдька' *(not in Radlov, 'black radish, horseradish, charlock') perhaps to be read* **guch'gwä' 'i:t'eh** (*or* **k'uguch'-**) it resembles a penis, *perhaps 'Indian potato (Hedysarum alpinum)', 'wild sweetpotato (Potentilla pacifica)', or 'roseroot (Sedum roseum)'; Rezanov* Колельхакучь 'Грибы ('mushrooms') Pilze' *perhaps to be read* **k'ulehlAXAguch'** rain-penis, *conceivably the earlier term for 'mushroom, toadstool', for which otherwise no*

unproblematic not clearly modern term could be elicited, it is probable even since early contact times the native terms for genitals have been avoided, at least in dealings with Europeans.

guch'uh~gAch'uh *(guch'u' A (probably incorrect, by analogy with ch'u', rejected L); probably loan from Tlingit (Swanton 1908, p. 445) k!ìtc!u´ 'knee-shaped die < "buttocks-shape"', unknown to W. Soboleff)*

guch'uh~gAch'uh *(noun, unclassified)* die, gambling toy for throwing, made of wood *L*: *Galushia Nelson* gú'tcù 'dice' *BSdL 551 (for description, illustration, and use see BSdL 241)* **gAch'uhluw** big die *L.*

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guch'uhqAXah *L,* **guch'u'qAXah** *A (month-name)* < die(-throwing)-month *L, October?, August? A.*

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tsa:dla:gAch'uh 1. *(noun, perhaps lX-class)* (modern gambling-) dice < stone-dice *L.*

2. *(place-name) "Dice Island" or Government Rock near Point Whitshed* < (modern gaming-)dice *L.*

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tsa:guch'uh~tsa:gAch'uh *(place-name) island near Cordova (probably to be identified with preceding), possible reading of Furuhjelm* Tzakutzhu (Dall, 1870 Tzakatshu) 'island'.

gush

gush *(noun, Xdl-class)* sand dune, sandy hillock *LS (there are some at e.g. Mile 27, Strawberry Point; barren, soft, sandy L)*: **gushXAdla:t'u'** many sandy hills, dunes *L,* **gush qi' yiLeh** place where there are gush *(flats, "native peat poss", solid stringy dirt, chop it up for gardens, not loose like ts'a', but firm to walk on) M.*

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ya'X gushga' 'i:t'eh *(place-name) Hill Camp; east of Yakutat* < upwards hill-like *G (Harrington), M (Tlingit gu:chikiya:n).*

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sdisi:nsLyAXd gush *(place-name) in Yakutat area* < hills under moldy thing *G (Harrington).*

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O-**L-gush** S make O (hillock of sand): **siLgushL** I made a little sand hill *L.*

gugs *(Anonymous Кукус- implying gugws)*

gugs-g *(noun, unclassified) (at least usually with -g-repetitive thematized)* louse *LM*: *Rezanov* Кукуске 'Вошъ Laus', *Anonymous* Кукускъ 'Вошь', **gugs** louse *G (-g lacking, perhaps also correct),* **gugsg'At'u'** lots of lice *LM,* **gugsg 'u:na'q' yAX da:Xinh** a louse is walking around on his head *L,* **'Aw gugsgAyu: dAchi:dXk'** they lice (cust) lay eggs *L.*

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XAwa:ya' gugsg *(noun, unclassified)* flea < dog's louse *L.*

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-lX-L-gugs-g *(noun, probably lX-class, with lX-class-mark for possessor)* small seeds (of fruit): **k'ulAXALgugsg** seeds *L,* **'ulAXALgugsg** its seeds (small enough to eat, of fruit, berry) *L (cf. -lX-L-ts'Alih 'pit, seed (of fruit, too large to eat)').*

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dA-gugs-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized)* S be, become lousy, infested with lice: **dAgugsg** they get full of lice *L,* **sdigugsgL** it's become lousy *(especially of ducks in autumn) M,* **GAxdAgugsgL** I'm becoming infested with lice *L.*

guG~gwAG~gAG *(earlier gwAG, expanded gwe:G AS, ge:G L, gu:G M)*

-guG~-gAG S be, become deceitful, treacherous, a liar: *Rezanov* Сококли 'Лжошъ du lügst' **sAguGLinh** he lied *M (L rejects gloss),* he's a liar *LM,* **Lich' sAguGLinh dAXunh** a person who always lies *L (L does not like the use of this theme in reference to specific acts of lying),* **k'uge:Gk' 'a'd 'AwlAX q'unh ge:Gk'** he (cust) lies much worse than an inveterate liar < someone (cust) lies, he (cust) lies much more than that *L,* **sitl' 'Agu:Gk'inh** *M (L rejects),* **sitl' 'Age:Gk'inh** he (cust) lies to me *L, repetitive:* **'utl' 'AguGginh** keep lying to him! *M.*

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d-guG~-gwAG~-gAG *(with d-thematic 'oral', L uses theme only in causative reflexive)* S lie: *Rezanov* Утльтесакокль 'Солги lügen (Imperat.)' **'utl' dAsAguGL**, **'utl' dAsAguGLinh** you lied to him *M,* Сытльтесакокль 'Солгалъ lügen (Perf.)' **sitl' dAsAguGL** you lied to me, Утльтиихкуакъэхулле 'Солгать lügen' **'utl' di:xgwAGX 'ixleh** I want to lie to him. *Transitive (causative), reflexive 'Ad-d-LA-guG 'S tell lie, make self deceitful orally, with ulterior motive':* **dik' 'itl' 'Adqu'dAxLAguGG** I won't lie to you *L,* **sitl' 'AddisLiguGLinh** he lied to me *L,* **'AdALAgwe:Gk'** he (cust) lies *A, 7.45A,* **Lich' 'AdALAgwe:Gk'inh** *S,* **Lich' 'AdALAge:Gk'inh** he always (cust) tells lies *L, with qA-pluralizer, used thematically:* **'AdqAdALAgAG** you tell many lies *9.37A.*

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guG *(noun)* lie, deceit *M, as o of o-wahd 'for the sake of o'*: **'idehdah q'unhAw yAXa' xusLi'yahL, guGwahd** I was really taken in by his lies *L, as of o-q' 'on o':* **guGq' lahdz** O-**q-X-lAG** S mistreat O with lies, deceit < S throw O forward on lies, deceit *10.154, 155, 156A, as o of o-ga' 'like o':* **guGga' dAXunh yiLinhinh** he's a doublecrosser, liar < he lives (is a person) deceitfully *L,* **guGga' qa:Xa' dAXunh yiLinhinh**, **guGga' qa:Xa' GAlAtinhinh** he's treacherous (with us, with people) < he lives deceitfully with us *L, with -dah adverbializer 'deceitfully, untruthfully':* **guGdah** O-**Li** S fool, deceive O < S treat O deceitfully *17.1M,* **guGdah d-le** S tell a lie < S say untruthfully *53.29L,* **guGdah (**o-**tl')** O-**'-Xa** S tell (o) lies about O *10.142A,* **gwAGdah** *L,* **guGdah** (that's) a lie, not true *LM.*

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'ish-guG~-gwAG~-gAG *('ish- not clearly identified, perhaps gerundive, meaning not clearly distinguished from that of preceding)* lie, deceit: **'ishgwAG** *G,* **'ishgAG** lie *L, with -dah adverbializer: Rezanov* Ишкоктату 'Напрасно mit Unrecht' **'ishguGdahduh** it's a lie!, **'ishguGdah d-le** S tell lie *49.92A, Rezanov* Ишкохтатели 'Обманывать betrügen', Ишкохтатели 'Не правда unwahr' **'ishguGdah dAlinhinh** he's lying *L,* Ишкоктеэтльтохле 'Нарочно ('purposely') vorsätzlich, absichtlich' **'ishguGdäh 'itl' duxleh** I'm telling you a lie *L,* Яхоишкактакотиле 'Не лги lüge nicht!' **ya'Xu: 'ishguGdah qu'di:leh** don't lie *M,* **'ishguGdah di:leh** you're lying *A,* **dik' 'ishguGdah 'itl' qu'di:xlehG** I won't lie to you *L,* **dik' 'ishguGdah 'Aw 'a'Xa:k'G** he (cust) doesn't tell lies of it *61.58A, with dA-* 'ipse'*:* **dA'ishguGdah (**o-**tl')** o-**lah 'ida-'-dA-Xa** just lies are told (to o) about o *10.182, 183A.*

gi:wa: *(loan from Tlingit gíwa 'beer', from Russian пиво)*

gi:wa: *(noun, gl-class)* beer *LMSG*: **de: 'Awa:duh 'AnahshAkih 'uXe'i:leh, na:w da:X gi:wa:** which do you want, whiskey or beer? *L,* **dAde:d, gi:wa:, na:w** either one, whiskey, beer *L,* **gi:wa:gAlAt'u'** lots of beer *M,* **k'ugAlAt'u' gi:wa:** many beers, bottles of beer *L,* **gi:wa:gu:'nuw** large quantity of beer *LM,* **gi:wa: 'ulahXa' k'u'xsLituhgL** I got lazy from drinking beer *L,* **gi:wa: sida' GAqa'** bring me a keg of beer! < bring me beer in a container! *L,*

gi:wa:lehd ku:'nuw GALe'L he's getting a beer-belly < he's getting big-bellied because of beer(-drinking) *L,* **gi:wa:Ltah** (empty) bottle of beer *L.*

gihdz *(partly confused with, or related to gehdz~gihdz~gehs~gwehs)*

Xu:ndl-LA-gihdz-g *(with thematic mark including Xu:n-anatomical 'teeth', and -g-repetitive thematized)* S snarl, showing, baring teeth, fangs: **Xu:ndla:GALAgihdzgL** it (dog) is baring its fangs *L, with o-ch' 'at o':* **sich' Xu:ndla:GALAgihdzgL** it (dog) is baring its teeth at me *L,* **sich' qu'Xu:ndla:LAgihdzg** it (dog) will bare its teeth at me *L,* **sich' Xu:ndla:sLigihdzgL** it (dog) bare its teeth at me *L.*

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lX-L-gihdz-g *(with lX-anatomical 'eye' and -g-repetitive thematized)* S have something wrong with his eyes *(informants no longer remember exact condition)*: **lAXi:LgihdzgL** something is wrong with his eyes *(Neuter perfective) L,* **lAXAsALgihdzgLinh** he got something wrong with his eyes *LA ('puffed-up' (sty)? A, 'cataracts'? L).*

gihdj *(Rezanov perhaps implies gw…j)*

(O-)**lX-L-gihdj-g** *(with lX-class-mark 'granular' and -g-repetitive both thematized, perhaps transitive)* S (rain) drizzle, sprinkle O lightly: **lAXALgihdjg** (*first* **-gihdz-**) it's drizzling *L, as transitive with indeterminate O:* **'ilAXALgihdjg** it's drizzling < it's sprinkling indeterminate O *L; Rezanov* Кольгаль кучики 'Бусъ ('beads, drizzle') feiner Regen' *perhaps to be read* **k'ulAXALgw…djgih** he's sprinkling something, something is sprinkling him, *but see also kuts'~kuch' and XAL2.*

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O-**lXd-L-gihdj-g** *(as above, with d-thematic included in mark, attested from A only, perhaps incorrect)* S sprinkle O: **lAXAdALgihdjg** he's sprinkling water on it (plant) *A.*

gih~gi *(never labialized, perhaps related to gu: and/or to gwa'~ga')*

-gih *(enclitic, suffixed to independent personal pronouns only)* also, too: **xu:gih** me too *LM, 46.18M,* **xu:gihsh**, **xu:gihshdAg** me too? *L,* **dik'sh xu:gih** not me too?, (can't) I too? *L,* **'i:gih** you too *L,* **dA'i:gih 'a't'uhinh** (you too) make fun at him (back)! *L,* **lAXi:gih** you pl. too *L; L rejects proposed *'anhgih 'he too', see below.*

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-gi- *(enclitic, as above, with other enclitics, -dAg- 'also', and/or -sh-interrogative suffixed thereto)* also, too: **xu:gidig** *21b.74A,* **xu:gi:dAg** me too *MS (same as **xu:gih**, **xu:dAg** M),* **dAxu:gidug** me too *L,* **xu:gidug dik'** me neither < I too not *L,* **xu:gidAgsh** me too? *L,* **'i:gidig** *72.19L,* **'i:gidAg** *55.27L,* **dA'i:gidAg** you too *16.25M,* **'i:gishuh** *41.7L,* **'i:gishdug**, **'i:gidugsh** you too? *L,* **lAXi:gidug** *L,* **lAXi:gidig** you pl. too *53.34L,* **'a:gidug** *(not *'anhgidug) 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.*

ginAG *(loan from Chugach keneq 'fire')*

ginAG *(place-name) Kanak Island S, 12.18, 26, 67.4G (Li).*

gwe:Lta:g~ge:Lta:g~ke:Lta:g *(unanalyzable; gwe: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 gwe:L-ta:g, gwe:-L-ta:g, gwe:L-ta:-g, gwe:-L-ta:-g, perhaps repetitive Active imperfective of verb theme -L-ta with -g-repetitive, unidentified prefix or stem gwe:- or gwe:L, no clear connection with*

Tlingit g^{w}éł 'sack', Eyak q'Adl-gwe: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)

gwe:Lta:g~ge:Lta:g~ke:Lta:g *(noun, unclassified)* (hair-, Pacific harbor) seal (Phoca vitulina): *Rezanov* Коэльтакъ 'Нерпа Seekalb, Phoca vitulina', *Anonymous* Квитлтякъ *(в, л, т struck over, final к looks like н)* 'Нерпа или тюлень' ('seal or fur seal') **gwe:Lta:g** *AS, 62.30, 31, 63.29, 32G, Galushia Nelson* gɛ́łtàq *or* gɛ́ɬtà·q *or* gɛ́łtàk '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* gɛ́łtàq wúlá'ìyù 'seal people' *BSdL 283, 559* **ge:Lta:g-wAlahyu:**, **ge:Lta:gk'ahsh** seal flipper *L,* **ke:Lta:gXe'** seal-oil *9.158A,* **ke:Lta:gsi:nL** seal(-skin)-boots *51.43a, 44, 45, 80A,* **gwe:Lta:gtse'** seal-meat *63.36G.*

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gwe:Lta:gya' tsa: *(possible place-name) Seal Rock* < seal's rock *G Harrington. (Possible calque of Tlingit.)*

gwe:L~ge:L *(loan from Tlingit g^{w}éł 'sack', occurring only in loan q'Adlgwe:L~q'Adlge:L)*

gehdz~gihdz~gehs~gwehs *(earlier form perhaps gwehdz; gihdz under influence of gihdz, to which this stem is perhaps related, gehs~gwehs with suffixed -dah (cf. lahdz~lahs), occasionally also elsewhere, Rezanov implies perhaps reduced gus)*

-gehdz (*also* **-gihdz(-g)**, **-gehs**) S be very poor, miserable, wretched, pitiable: **sAgihdzLinh**, **sAgehsLinh**, **sAgehdzLinh** *(last preferred, first now seems wrong)* he's (become) very poor *L,* **GAxgihdzgL** I'm getting poor (no food, money, clothes, etc.) *L,* **q'ahdAq'unh sAgihdzgL** he's awful poor *L,* **k'uge:dzk'** some people are (cust) poor *L.*

,

da:X 'i-'-gdl-gehdz *(also -gehs, semitransitive with indeterminate O, gdl-thematic 'vertical suspension', and da:X 'in (punctual) contact with indeterminate o', attestations all Neuter perfective)* S barely hang on, S hang by a thread: **da:X 'i'gAdli:gehsL**, **da:X 'i'gAdli:gehdzL** *(latter preferred)* it's, he's about to fall, can't hang on any longer, is barely hanging on (to rope, edge) *L,* **'Aw k'uXehL da:X 'i'gAdli:gehsL** that rope is about to snap, is hanging by a thread *L,* **da:X 'i'gAdla:xigehdzL** I'm barely hanging on *L.*

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d-LA-gihdz-g *(perhaps a passive causative of -gehdz, attested only with d-class-mark for S)* S (board) be useless: **disLigihdzgL** it (board) is (has been rendered?) useless *L.*

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lX-L-gihdz *(stem perhaps correctly gihdz, or, more probably, influenced thereby, L-classifier also perhaps due to influence of lX-L-gihdz-g under gihdz)* S (berries) be poor and small, *attested only as nominalized Active perfective*: **lAXAsALgihdzgL** poor small berries (amongst good ones) *L.*

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gehs-~gwehs-dah *(adverb, with -dah adverbializer, often used as C or as exclamation, Rezanov apparently gus-dah)* for pity!, please!, in poor, wretched condition: **'Al gehsdah 'i:nt'inhinu:** these poor wretches *28.100A,* **gwehsdah** *G (contradicted by S, but apparently confirmed by Rezanov),* **gehsdah** poor thing! *MS,* **gehsdah xu:** poor me!, please! *MA, Rezanov* Кустахъ-у 'Пожалуй ('likely, indeed') gut' *apparently to be read* **gusdah xu:** *(L says she has "heard gusdah, but only part-Tlingits, like S, would say it that way, not real Eyaks", but note*

gehsdah from S above), **gehsdah 'i:t'inhinh**, **gehsdah 'anh dAXunh** poor fellow! *L, as o of o-X 'by means of o':* **dA'wAX gehsdahX 'anh dAGALdza:nts'Linh** he begged him quite pitifully *37b.34A.*

gehg *(G once gwehg, but G elsewhere and all others, including S, gehg)*

O-**L-gehg** S spear O (fish): **'ALgehg** spear it (fish)! *M,* **qu'xLgehg** I'll spear it *M.*

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gehgL *(noun, d-class) (with -L-instrumental)* fish-spear *LMAS, 63.29G*: **gwehgL** *G, Galushia Nelson* ka'tł *or* kä'tł 'harpoon (used from canoe)' *BSdL 549, Old Man Dude* gäktł *BSdL 549,* **gehgLda'luw** big fish-spear *M,* **gehgL sich' di:ta'** (*or* **-'a'**) give me a fish-spear! *L,* **gehgL 'u:d dAsAtahL, 'a:nch' di'LXahd** a spear is over there, drag it here! *L,* **gehgLda:X sidzuxL** I stabbed it with a fish-spear *L,* **gehgLda:tl'** with a fish-spear *21a.1L;* **gehg** shaft of spear *L (lacking -L-instrumental, probably a lapse, gehgL 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).*

gwehG~gehG~gwahG *(S gwehG, LMA gehG; G gwahG, confirmed by Rezanov and Anonymous, though L claims she has never heard gwahG; ealier clearly gw-, but e~a variation inexplicable and unique)*

l-L-gwehG~-gehG~-gwahG S be, become lonesome, sad, depressed: *Active perfective:* **'anh qe'L 'a'd lAsALgehGL** the woman got very lonesome *42.14L,* **lisiLgehGL** *MA,* **lisiLgwehGL** *S (twice),* **lisiLgwahGL** *G, Rezanov* Исылькоакль 'Скучно ('boring, dreary') traurig, betrubt' **'i:nsiLgwahGL** I'm (I've become) lonesome, *Anonymous* Исакваctль 'Жалѣетъ' ('he regrets') **'i:nsALgwahGL** you're (you've become) lonesome, **lAsALgehGLshuh** did you get lonesome? *M,* **dik'shuh lAsLgehGLG** didn't you get lonesome? *M, Neuter perfective:* **li:LgehGL** you're lonesome *M,* **li:LgehGLsh** are you lonesome? *M,* **lixiLgehGL** I'm lonesome *L,* **dik'sh la'yiLgehGLG** aren't you lonesome? *M, other mode-aspects:* **qu'li:xLgehG** I'll be lonesome *M,* **lAxLge:Gk'** I'm (cust) lonesome *LM,* **dik'sh li:Lge:Gk'G** don't you (cust) get lonesome? *L, with o-'e' 'in place of (absent) o':* **ne:tl'kihga' 'anh qe'L lAGALgehGLinh, 'uma:yu:'e'** pretty soon the woman started to get lonesome, for her mother's people *42.11L,* **'i'e' lixiLgehGL** I'm lonesome for you, I miss you *L,* **'i'e' lAGAxLgehGL** I'm getting lonesome for you *M,* **si'ehd'e'ch' lAGAxLgehGL** I'm getting lonesome for my wife *L.*

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lAgehG(**-L**) *(deverbalization of preceding, with optional -L-gerundive?)* loneliness, *as o of o-ga' 'like o'*: **lAgehGga' k'u:t'eh** it (something, place, ambiance) is lonesome *(of e.g. very still calm silent evening) L, with -dah adverbializer:* **lAgehGLdah** (*or* **lAgehGdah**) **k'u:t'eh** it's lonesome *(as preceding) L.*

ga´1 *(gwa´ sporadically, LG only, under influence of gwa´~ga´1,2; S and Rezanov regularly ga´)*

-ga´ 1. S be, become tired, sore, weary, bored: *Active perfective:* **sigwa'L** *G, Rezanov* Сыккаль 'Усталъ müde' **siga'L** I'm tired *LMAS,* I got tired *L,* I'm sore *M,* **'ulAX siga'L k'uXa:xiyah** I'm too tired to eat *L,* **'idAsiga'L**, **di'dAsiga'L**, **'ida: siga'L**, **di'da: siga'L** I'm so tired that … *L,* **xan'Lq' sigwa'L** I'm very tired *G,* **'AdiXd siga'L** I'm bored, tired (of being) indoors *L,* **dik' 'Axsga'LG** I'm not tired, I didn't get tired *L,* **sAga'Lsh** are you tired? *M,* **dik'sh 'Asga'LG** aren't you tired? *M,* **sAga'L** he got tired *51.50A,* **sAga'Linh** he's tired *L,* **sigu'a'L siya: sAga'L** my haunch is tired, sore *L,* **dik'sh 'AlAXsga'LG** aren't you pl. tired? *LM,* **q'ahdAq'uhnu: sAga'L** they're tired by now *L, Neuter perfective (note also Neuter imperfective):* **xiga'L**, **'ixiga'L** *(on one occasion L rejects former in favor of latter, on another, latter in favor of former,*

and on two others showed no preference) I'm all tired out, I'm always tired *L,* **dik' 'a'xga'LG** I'm not always tired, I'm not tired *L, Inceptive perfective:* **GAxga'L** I'm getting tired *LM,* **dik' Guxga'LG** *M,* **dik' GAxga'LG** I'm not getting tired *L,* **'AdiXd GAxga'L** I'm getting tired (of being shut in) indoors *L,* **GAga'L** she's getting tired *47c.58L, Neuter imperfective (both forms later rejected by L):* **'ixigah q'ah** I'm tired! *L,* **dik' 'a'xgahG** (*or* **-ga:G**) I'm not tired *L, other mode-aspects:* **qu'xgah** I'll be tired *M,* **dik' qu'xgahG** I won't get tired *L,* **qu'yigah** you'll get tired *L,* **qa'ginhinh** *(no labialization of -g-)* he'll be tired *S,* **dA'u:d 'i:ginhinh** alright let him be tired *L,* **'AlAshgahX 'i:gwinhinh**, **'AlAshgahX Gi:gwinhinh** *(labialization slight)* I wish he'd get tired *L,* **'Axga:k'** I (cust) get tired *LM,* **dik' 'Axga:k'G** *(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: Lich' ga** my how easily he always gets tired! *L,* **dA'Alga'kih Gah da:X ga'ginh** 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:* **gAdAsiga'L** my rump is sore *L,* **'ulAX gAdAsiga'L 'isda:l** my rump is too sore for sitting *L,* **'i:nsiga'L** my head is tired *L,* **yisiga'L** my hand is, got tired *L,* **yAGAxga'L** my hand is getting tired *L,* **ya:xiga'L** *(prefixes apparently optative, in error for yixi-)* my hand is always tired *(Neuter perfective) L,* **dik' ya'xga'LG** my hand isn't always tired *L,* **yAxga:k'** my hand (cust) gets tired *L,* **dik' yAxga:k'G** my hand (cust) doesn't get tired *L. Transitive (causative, note also O-L-ga´ below):* **xusALga'L** you tired me out *L,* **Gi:Lga'L** you're tiring it out *M,* **qi'yiLgah** you'll tire it out *M,* **GALga'** tire it out! *M,* **xuLga:k'inh** he (cust) tires, wearies, bores me *M,* **q'ahdAq'Aw xuGi:Lga'L, 'Aw k'ulah 'iXa'** you're making me sick and tired by now, (of, with) that drinking of yours *L,* **'Aw Giyah xusALga'L** I'm tired of that food < that food has tired me *L,* **giyah xusALga'L** I'm tired of water *L,* **'isda:l xusALga'L** I'm tired of sitting < sitting has tired me *L, attested also with a number of other gerundives, see tsAtl'~tsitl', ts'i:nG, xa:g, le, la2, 'ya1, ya:', a1, a2, a:n',* **qa: sALga'L, 'Al 'istu:ch'** we're tired of lying down < it has tired us, this lying *L,* **'isda:l xuGALga'L** I'm getting tired of sitting < sitting is tiring me *L, attested also with a number of other gerundives, see ta´, t'e´~t'u´, tsin~tsi:ny, sha~sha´~shiyah, gwa´~ga´1, ki:nX, xwa~xa~xAwah, qe1, qa1, qa´, qu, Xe, we, le, le('), la1, la2, 'ya1, ya:', 'a'tl', 'e~'an1, a1, a2, ya~a,* **'isda:l xuqa'Lgah** I'll get tired of sitting *LM.*

2. *With ya' 'completely',* S be, become ruined, wrecked, botched, turn out badly, don't work, be a failure, be in trouble, difficulty, go wrong, haywire: **ya' sAga'L** it turned out out badly, didn't work, it's botched, ruined, got spoiled, didn't come out right *L,* it's busted *S,* **sLi'mahdL siLmahdL da:X ya' sAga'L** I baked bread and it turned out badly *(though not so badly as in the case of k'ushiyah sALe'L) L,* **ya' da: sAga'L** we got into marital difficulty, our marriage is on the rocks *L,* **ya' 'i:ga'L** it's ruined *(Neuter perfective) L,* **dik' ya' 'a'ga'LG** it's not ruined *L,* **ya' qa'gah** it won't come out right *L,* **ya' GAga'L** it's not coming out right, something is going wrong with it *L,* **ya' 'Aga:k'** it (cust) never comes out right *L, with class-marks for S:* **ya' dla:sAga'L** it (net) went haywire, something's wrong with it (wheel) *L,* **ya' lAXAdi:ga'L** it (snowball) isn't right *(Neuter perfective) L,* **dik' lAXAda'ga'LG** it (snowman) isn't ruined *L, with y-anatomical:* **ya' yisiga'L** something is wrong with my hand *L. Transitive (causative):* **ya' GALga'**, **ya' 'ALgah** *(not -ga:)* ruin it! *L,* **ya' qu'xLgah** I'll ruin it *L,* **dik' ya' qu'xLgahG** *(not -ga:G)* I won't ruin it *L,* **ya' sALga'L** *L,* **'Aw ya' sALga'Linh** he ruined it *S,* **'i:nxgah da:X siqa' 'Aw ya' sALga'L** I was just getting started dancing and my husband spoiled it *L,* **ya' xusALga'L** you made trouble for me *L,* **ya' GALga'Linh** he's ruining it *L,* **ya' GAxLga'L** I'm wrecking it *L,* **ya' 'Aw 'i:Lginhinh**, **ya' 'Aw Gi:Lginhinh** let him ruin it *L.*

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O-**L-ga´** *(apparently transitive, somewhat confused with causative of -ga´ 1. above)* S have, get physical need of O, of ingesting or excreting O: *with tsu'd 'sleep' as O:* **tsu'd sALga'L** he got sleepy *51.22A, Anonymous* Цуцилкатль 'Хочетъ спать' ('he wants to sleep') **tsu'd siLga'L** I'm sleepy *LM,* **dik' tsu'd 'AxsLga'LG** I'm not sleepy *L, with giyah 'water' as O:* **LinhGda'X**

k’ulAX ’i:t’inhinhtsi:y giyah sALga’L once a chief's daughter was thirsty *2b.1L,* **giyah siLga’L** I'm thirsty *LS (S twice, with no labialization), 11.107, 51.65, 66, 69, 70, 71A,* I got thirsty *L, Anonymous* Кіяскаль *(к struck over л)* 'Пить хочетъ' ('he wants to drink') **giyah sA[L]ga’L** he's thirsty, **giyah da: sAga’L** we're thirsty *L,* **giyah GAxLga’L** I'm getting thirsty *L,* **giyah qu’xLgah** I'll be, get thirsty *L,* **dik’ giyah qu’xLgahG** *(not -ga:G)* I won't get thirsty *L,* **giyah qa’Lginhinh** he'll be thirsty *S,* **giyah ’i:Lginhinh** let him be thirsty *L,* **giyah Gi:Lginhinh** let him be, get thirsty *L,* **giyah ’ixiga’L** I'm thirsty "a long time" *(Neuter perfective) L,* **dik’ giyah ’a’xLga’LG** I'm not thirsty *L,* **dik’ giyah ’AxLga:k’G** I'm not (cust) thirsty *L, Rezanov* Кэягусулькатль 'Пить ('to drink') trinken' *perhaps to be read* **giyah k’usALga’L** someone is thirsty *M, or, with gl-class-mark for O,* **giyah gu:nsALga’L** you're thirsty *M, or* **giyah xusALga’L** I'm thirsty *L (gloss presumably in error for 'I'm tired of water', but cf. below), or, perhaps,* **giyah xu: siLga’L** *I*'m thirsty, *with tse'q' 'urine, urination' (indelicate) as O:* **tse’q’ siLga’L** I have to urinate *L, Rezanov* Цехъхуселькатль 'Мочу *(over crossed-out* Мочиться*)* harnen' *perhaps to be read* **tse’q’ xu: siLga’L** *I* have to urinate, *or perhaps tse'q' xusALga'L, which presumably should be glossed 'I'm tired of urine, urination' (cf. above), with kus 'urine, urination' (polite) as O:* **kus siLga’L** I have to urinate *LM, with ts'an'q' 'soft feces, runny stool' as O:* **ts’an’q’ siLga’L** I have diarrhoea *M.*

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d-ga´ *(with d-thematic 'oral, noise')* S be, get vocally tired: **dAGuxga’L ’itl’ tsin’dAle:l** I'm getting tired, talking to you *L ('itl' tsin'dAle:l in loose syntactic relationship, not S or O).*

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gah *(exclamation) "when you sit down tired, you say gah, with a sign (not gwah)" L.*

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-L-ga’-L *(perfective stem with perfective suffix and L-classifier, used as suffixed adjective)* old and battered, worn-out, beat-up: **kAna:’dLga’L** old worn-out beat-up coat *L,* **si:nL’ALga’L** old beat-up worn-out shoes *L, with l-class noun:* **ch’iyahd’AlALga’L** old battered hat *L.*

ga´2 *(perhaps related to gahX)*

O-**’-(l-)L-ga´** *(with l-thematic absent frequently in Active perfective and reflexive Neuter imperfective, rarely absent elsewhere)* 1. S know, recognize, learn, realize, find 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:* **-gahshuw** *23.9A,* **-ginhinhshunh** *52.24L, 3rd person S: 20.71, 25.145, 146, 147A, 54.4, 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’lixiLginhinh** I know him *L,* **’Aw wAXah ’u’lixiLgah** I know that story *L,* **’u’lixiLgah k’e:d qu’xleh**, **’u’lixiLgah ’idAqu’xleh** I know what I'll do *L,* **’u’lixiLgah de:d qu’xtsah** I know what I'll buy *L,* **’u’lixiLgah k’e:d yileh**, **’u’lixiLgah ’idAyileh** I know what you're doing *L,* **’u’lixiLgah k’e:d sAliL**, **’u’lixiLgah ’idAsAliL** I know what you did *L,* **’u’lixiLgah ’Aw ’utl’ ’u’sAXahLinh** I know what you told him of it, that you told him to it *L,* **’u’lixiLgah ’anh silah tsin’dAleh** I know he's talking about me *L,* **’u’lixiLgah ’ide:** (*or* **’idAsilah**) **dAleh** I know what he's saying about me *L,* **’u’lixiLgah ’u’li:Lgah** I know you know *L,* **’u’lixiLgah ’a:nda’** (*or* **’idA’a:nda’**) **q’e’ sdiyahL** I know he came back *L,* **’ida: k’udAxut’ ’u’lixiLgah**, **yAX k’uLAxut’X ’u’lixiLgah** I know how to shoot *M,* **yahd ’idAXu’ dAle:l ’u’lixiLgah** I know how to build a house *L,* **’u’lixiLgah yAX ’iswe:XL** I know how to swim *L,* **’idAk’udAqah ’u’lixiLgah** I know how to count *L,* **dAqi’dga’ ’u’lixiLgah** that's as far as I know *M,* **’u’xiLgah** I know (it) *(same as, but much less frequent than 'u'lixiLgah) L,* **’Aw yahddAlah Li’q’ k’u’lixiLgah** I know everything about that house *L,* **’i’lixiLgah** I know you *S,* **yAX ’iswe:Xsh ’u’li:Lgah** do you know how to swim? *L,* **yAX k’uLAxut’Xsh ’u’li:Lgah** do you know how to

shoot? *L,* **'u'li:Lgahshuh** do you know (it)? *L,* **'u'li:Lginhinhshunh** do you know him? *L,* **'u'li:Lgahsh k'e:d da: qa'leh** do you know what we should do? *L,* **'ida: da: sAliLsh 'u'li:Lgah** do you know what we did? *M,* **'u'lixiLgah 'u'li:Lgah** I know you know *L,* **xu'li:Lgahsh** *L,* **xu'li:Lga:sh** do you know me? *L, 10.225A,* **'u'li:Lginhinh** he knows *L,* **da: 'u'liLginhinh** we know him *L, Anonymous* Хухлякъ 'Незнаю' [**di**]**k' 'u:**[**la'**]**xL**[**g**]**a:G**, **dik' 'u'la'xLga:G** *(normal only in slow deliberate tempo)* I don't know *LMAS,* **'ida: da:** (*or* **'idAda:**) **qa'leh dik' 'u'la'xLga:G** I don't know what we'll do *M,* **dik' 'u:la'xLga:G** *(normal in all tempos)* I don't know *LMG (G slight labialization of -g-),* **dik' 'u:la'xLga:Ginh** I don't know him *L,* **dik' 'u:la'xLga:G k'e:'wAXdunh** (**xan'Lq'**) **k'uXah** (*or* **k'uXa:k'**) I don't know why he's eating *((cust) eats)* so (very) much *LM,* **dik' 'u:la'xLga:G qi'dAX** (*or* **dAXk'ihXa'd**) **q'e:'anh qu'xdAqeh** (*or* **qu'xdah**) I don't know what time (what hour) I'll get back home (by boat, on foot) *L,* **dik' 'u:la'xLga:G 'ida: 'a:nda' qu'wah** I don't know if he'll get here *L,* **dik' 'u:la'xLga:G qi'dAX** (**qu'xah**) I don't know the way (I'll go) *L,* **dik' 'i:la'xLga:G** I don't know you *L, 10.226A,* **dik'shuh** (*or* **-shuw**) **'u:la'yiLga:G** don't you know (it)? *L,* **dik'shunh 'u:la'yiLga:G** don't you know him? *L,* **dik'shuh 'u:la'yiLga:G 'anh 'ida: 'ilah dAleh** (*or* **'anh 'ilah 'ida: dAleh**, **'anh 'idA'ilah dAleh**, **'anh 'ilah 'idAdAleh**) don't you know what he's saying about you? *L,* **dik'sh xu:la'yiLga:G** don't you know me? *L,* **dik' 'u:la'Lga:Ginh** he doesn't know *L,* **dik'shuh** (*or* **-shuw**) **'u:la'lAXLga:G** don't you pl. know? *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **'u'qu'li:xLgah** I'll learn it *M,* **qu'li:xLgah** I'll learn it, I'll find out *L,* **'Aw qu'li:Lginhinh** he'll find out *S, 21b.22, 51.81A,* **dik' qu'li:LgahG** you won't know *36.22, 23A,* **dik' qu'li:LgahG** (*or* **-ga:G**, *former preferred)* he won't learn (it), won't find out *L,* **dik' 'Aw qu'li:LgahGinu:** (*or* **-ga:G-**, *former preferred)* they won't find out *L,* **dik' 'i'qe'li:LgahGinu:** (*or* **-ga:G-**, *former preferred)* they won't know you *L, Active perfective:* **'u'sALga'L** found out, realized, recognized *10.17A, 18.20, 57, 48.12, 52.27L,* **'u'lisiLga'Linh** I got to know him *L,* **'u'siLga'L**, **'u'lisiLga'L** *(apparently not 'u'i:nsiL-)* I learned how *L, Inceptive perfective:* **'u'lAGAxLga'L** I'm learning it *L,* **'Aw 'u'lAGALga'Linh** he's finding out *L, Neuter imperative:* **'u:la'Lgah q'ah** learn it finally! *L, Inceptive imperative:* **'u'lAGALga' q'ah** learn it finally! *L, Active optative (Neuter optative apparently avoided):* **'AlAshgahX 'u'la:xiLgah** I wish I knew *L,* **'u'la:xiLgahch'** until I know *L,* **'AlAshgahX 'u'la:yiLgah** I wish you knew, I hope you know *L,* **'u:dkih k'a' 'u'la:yiLgah** if only you knew how *L,* **da: 'u'la:yiLgah** let's find out, let's learn it *L, Inceptive optative:* **'AlAshgahX 'u'lAGAxiLgah** I wish I knew *L,* **'AlAshgahX 'u'lAGi:Lgah** I hope you know *L, Active conditional:* **'u'li'xLgah da:X 'a:nch'ahd ya:qa' sahL** just as I was getting to know her she went away from here *L, Inceptive subjunctive:* **'u'lAGAxLgahX 'uXe'xleh** I'd like to know him *L,* **'u'lAGAxLgahX 'ixleh** I want to learn it *L, customary:* **'u'lALga:k'** *33.18A,* **'u'li'Lga:k'** he (cust) knows, recognizes *33.34A,* **dik' 'ahnu: 'u'lALga:k'** they (cust) don't know *9.75A,* **qu'li:Lga:k'inh** he (cust) learns *(Inceptive customary) M; with class-marks for O:* **'Aw yahd 'u'dla:xiLgah** I know that house *L,* **'u'lAXAxiLgah** I know them (berries) *L,* **'u'gulixiLgah** I know it (beverage) *L, with qi:d-anatomical:* **'i'qi:dla:xiLgah** I know your footsteps *L; with indeterminate O:* **'ida'lixiLgah** I know some things, certains things (which I don't want to tell about) *L; with q'e' 'some more, again, any more' and LA-classifier (theme treated as intransitive, perhaps incorrectly):* **dik' q'e' 'u:la'xLAga:Ginh** I don't know him anymore *L,* **dik' q'e' 'u'xsLAga'LGinh** I didn't recognize him *L; reflexive, 'S pretend to know, S be knowledgeable, outgoing, smart':* **'Adk'u'liLigahwa:LX q'Aw dAXunh k'u:Leh** "one should know what one's talking about" < one should live (be a person) according (by attention) to one who is knowledgeable, know oneself *50.63A,* **'Adk'u'liLigahwa:LX q'Aw k'utsin'dAle:k'** one ought to know what one's talking about < one (cust) speaks accordingly as one's knowledgeable *L,* **'Adu'Liginhinh** he's knowledgeable, outgoing *L,* **'AXa: 'Adu'Liginhinhkih** my what a cute outgoing little one (child)! *L,* **'i:li:X q'unh 'Aw ditl'a'g 'Adu'Ligah** he's trying to pretend he can read *L,* **'Adk'u'liLiginhinh** he pretends to know everything (something) *L (with double O, reflexive and k'u-indefinite, or perhaps indirect reflexive, see causative below),* **'Adu:la'LAga:Ginh** he pretends not to know, he's ignorant, uninformed *L (dik' lacking, perhaps*

thematic negative, see separate entry); *passive:* **sAqe:ts'Akih yiLe: 'Awa: 'uXa' 'u'lid[iginhinu:]** it's known that it was their child *23.125A,* **qu'lAdAgah** it would be known *68.75A,* **dik' qi'ch' shA'a'ch'L 'uXa' 'u:la'dAga:G** the place they went to isn't known *20.103A,* **dik' 'u:la'dAga:G** it wasn't known *60.2A,* **Li'q' 'a:nd xu'lidigah** I'm well known here *L,* **Li'q' 'a:nd qa: 'u'lidigah** we're well known here *L, Galushia Nelson* ùwá·tɬxo̱ɒɛ́cà' ła^{n}·t 'signal ("signal-smoke")' *BSdL 552* **'uwa:LX 'u'digah Lanhd** smoke according (by attention) to which it is known. *Causative, o-d O-'-(l-)L-ga´ 'S teach o O':* **'id qu'li:xLgwah** *G,* **'id qu'li:xLgah** I'll teach you (it) *LMS,* **'Awd qu'li:xLgah** I'll teach it (it) *L,* **dik' 'id qu'li:xLgahG** I won't teach you *L,* **sid 'Aw 'u'li:Lginhinh** he's teaching me it *L,* **sid 'u'sALga'Linh** he taught me it *L, more frequently repetitive:* **'id qu'li:xLga'g** I'll teach you *L,* **dik' 'id qu'li:xLga'gG** I won't teach you *L,* **sid 'Aw 'u'lALga'ginh** he's teaching me it *L,* **sid 'u'sALga'gLinh** he taught me it *L,* **'id 'u'lAxwLga'g** I'm teaching you it *M,* **sid 'u'li:Lga'g**, **sid 'u'la:Lga'g**, **sid 'u'lAGALga'g** teach me (it)! *L,* ***Lena*** **sid 'Aw 'u'sALga'L** *Lena* taught it to me *L,* **'ud 'Aw da: 'u'la:yiLga'ginh** let's teach him it *L,* **sid k'u'li:Lga'ginh** my teacher < he who teaches me something *L,* **'id 'u'lAxwLga:gk'** I (cust) teach it to you *M,* **sid k'u'lALga:gk'inh** he (cust) teaches me something *L,* **k'ud k'u'li:Lga:ginh** a teacher < he who teaches someone something *L; indirect reflexive (uncertain):* **'Adk'u'liLiginhinh** he pretends to know everything (something) *L (perhaps < 'Ad-d k'u'liLiginhinh)*; *passive:* **qi' k'uch' k'u'lAdAga'g** *(probably in error for qi'(ch') k'ud k'u'lAdAga'g)* school < pleace where something is taught to someone *M.*

2. S think, consider O (to be) C *(uncertain, glosses perhaps misleading)*: **k'u'luw 'u'lixiLgah** I think it's big *M,* **yiLda:s 'u'lixiLgah** I think it's heavy *M.*

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k'ud k'u'li:Lga:ginh *(noun)* teacher < he who teaches someone something *L.*

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qi' k'uch' k'u'lAdAga'g school *M. Nominalized passive repetitive,* < place where something is taught to someone. *(Probably in error for qi'(ch') k'ud k'u'lAdAga'g.)*

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'Ad-'-(l-)LA-ga´-G *(thematic negative reflexive, uncertain, dik' lacking perhaps in error)* S pretend not to know, S be uninformed, ignorant: **'Adu:la'LAga:Ginh** he pretends not to know, he's uninformed, ignorant *L.*

gwa´~ga´1

'i-gwa´~-ga´ *(with indeterminate O thematized, treated as intransitive)* S dance: *Active imperative:* **'i:ngah** *M,* **'i:gah** dance! *L,* **'i:nlAXgah** pl. dance! *L, Inceptive imperative:* **'iGAga'** dance! *L, Active imperfective:* **'ixgwah** *S,* **'ixgah** I'm dancing *LM,* I was dancing *L,* **dik' 'ixgahG** I'm not dancing *L,* **'udAxah 'ixginhinu:** they're making me dance < I'm dancing at their command *L,* **'Awa: 'ixginhinh** I'm dancing for her (spectator) *L,* **'i:gah** you're dancing *M,* **'i:gahsh** are you dancing? *L,* **'i:gahX k'udAxLch'a:q'** I hear that you're dancing *L, Anonymous* Иквинъ 'Пляшетъ' **'igwinhinh** *S,* **'iginhinh** he's dancing *LMA,* **k'ugAka'tl' 'iginhinh** he's dancing with an (eagle-)tail *L,* **'ilAXgahsh** are you pl. dancing? *L,* **'iginhinu:** they're dancing *MA, 55.3L,* **'uqa'X yi:nhinu: 'Awa: 'iqAginhinu:** some of them are dancing *L,* **k'u'gah** someone, some people are dancing *L,* **dik' k'u'gahG** no one is dancing *L,* **'Awa: k'u'ginhinu:** some of them are dancing *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **'iqe'xgwah** *SG,* **'iqe'xgah** I'll dance *LM,* I was going to dance *L,* **djig 'iqe'xgah** I was just about to dance *L,* **dik' 'iqe'xgahG** I won't dance *L,* **ya'Xu: 'iqe'yigah** don't dance *M,* **'iqe'yigahsh** will you dance? *L,* **'iqe'gwinhinh** *S,* **'iqe'ginhinh** he'll dance *LM,* **'iqe'lAXgahsh** will you pl. dance? *L, Rezanov* Икеокуинну 'Пляска, игрушка Tanz, Festgelage' **'iqe'gwinhinu:** they'll dance, **k'u'qe'gah** someone, some people will dance *LM,* **'ida' k'u'qe'gah** someone will dance over to you *M, with q'e' 'again, some more' (dA-classifier showing treatment of theme as intransitive):* **q'e' k'u'qe'dAgah** *M,* **gu:dAg**

q’e’ k’u’qe’dAgah someone will dance again *L, Active perfective:* **’isiga’L** I danced *L,* **dik’ ’ixsga’LG** I didn't dance *L,* **’isAga’Lsh** did you dance? *L,* **dik’sh ’isga’LG** didn't you dance? *L,* **’isAga’L k’udAxLch’a:q’** I hear you danced *L,* **sidä’ ’isAga’Linh** he danced over to me *LM,* **da: ’isAga’L** we danced *L,* **’ilAXsAga’L** you pl. danced *L,* **’ilAXsAga’Lsh** did you pl. dance? *L,* **dik’sh ’ilAXsga’LG** didn't you pl. dance? *L,* **dik’sh ’ilAXsga’LG** didn't you pl. dance? *L,* **’isAga’Linu:**, **’iqAsAga’Linu:** they danced *L,* **k’u’sAga’L** someone, some people danced *L, Inceptive perfective:* **sich’ ’iGAga’Linh** he's dancing over to me *L, Active optative:* **’i:nxigah** let me dance *L,* **’itl’ ’i:xigah** let me dance with you *L, Rezanov* Илькоа 'Пляси tanzen (Imperat.)' *perhaps to be read* **’i:ligwah**, **’i:lihgah** you may dance *L,* **dA’u:d ’i:ngah** alright you may dance *L,* **da: ’i:ligah** let's dance *L,* **’i:nlAXigah** you pl. may dance *L,* **dA’u:d ’i:ginhinu:**, **dA’u:d ’i:liginhinu:** alright let them dance *L,* **dA’u:dshgahX k’u’ligah** *(not k’u:nli-)* I hope someone dances *L, Active conditional:* **’i:xgah da:X**, **’i:nxgah da:X** just as I was getting started dancing *L, Inceptive conditional:* **’iGAxgah da:X ’Axga:k’** if, when I dance I (cust) get tired *L, Active subjunctive:* **’i:xgahX ’ixleh** *(also* **’i:xigahX ’ixleh**, *hybrid form optative)* I want to dance *L,* **dik’ ’i:xigahX ’ixle:G** I don't want to dance *L (see preceding),* **’i:xgahX sitl’ dAlinhinh** he told me to dance *L,* **’ulAXAdla:ch’ ’i:ligahX** you should dance for him (in his presence, view) *(hortatory) L, Inceptive subjunctive:* **’iGAxgahX sitl’ dAlinhinh** he told me to dance *L, customary:* **’ixga:k’** I (cust) dance *M,* **dik’ ’ixga:k’G** I (cust) never dance *L,* **da: ’iga:k’** we (cust) dance *M,* **dAqa:yu: qi’ k’u’ga:k’** place where one (cust) dances sometimes *L, with perambulative:* **yAX ’idAga’X**, **yAX ’idAga’Xinh** *(or* **-gahXinh**, *stem-form analogical)* he's dancing around *M,* **yAX ’idAga’Xinu:** they're dancing around *L,* **yAX ’i: ’idAga’X** *you*'re dancing around *L,* **yAX xu: ’ixdAga’X** *I*'m dancing around *L,* **yAX ’ixdAga’X** *(or* **-gahX**, *analogical)* I'm dancing around *L,* **yAX k’u’dAga’X** someone's dancing around *L,* **q’e:yAX ’idAga’Xinh** he's dancing around again *L,* **silah yAX ’idAga’Xinh** he's dancing (around) around me *L,* **yAX ’i:ndAga’** *(stem-form uncertain)* dance around! *M,* **da: yAX ’iqe’dAgah** we'll dance around *M,* **da: yAX ’isdiga’L** we danced around *M. Transitive (causative, indeterminate O dropped):* **’ALgah** make it dance! *M,* make him dance! *L,* **xu:Lgah** make me dance! *L,* **’Awa: ’ALginhinh** make him dance for her *L.*

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k’u:nda’ch’ ’i-gwa´~-ga´ *(as above, with k'u-l-da'-ch' '(continuous movement) towards the front of k'u-indefinite o's head')* S cross self, make sign of the cross, pray *(theme 'i-gwa´~-ga´ perhaps earlier meaning 'ceremonial hand movement' rather than dance in the modern sense, with emphasis on foot movement)*: **k’u:nda’ch’ ’i:lAXgah** pl. cross yourselves! *51.9A,* **k’u:nda’ch’ ’iGAga’** *M,* **k’u:nda’ch’ ’i:gah** cross yourself! *LM,* **k’u:nda’ch’ ’ixgah** I'm crossing myself *L,* **k’u:nda’ch’ ’iginhinh** he's crossing himself *LM,* **k’u:nda’ch’ ’iqe’xgah** I'll cross myself *LM, Rezanov* Уэтльтыконтаче-асыкотль 'Жениться hierathen' **’u’ehdtl’ k’u:nda’ch’ ’isAgwa’L** he crossed himself (prayed in church) with his wife *("made it legal"),* **k’u:nda’ch’ isAga’Linh** he crossed himself *L,* **k’u:nda’ch’ dä: ’iga:k’** we (cust) cross ourselves *51.10A,* **k’u:nda’ch’ ’igah da:X** as we crossed ourselves *51.10A.*

,

’i-gwah~-gah *(perhaps gerundive, but probably incorrect, better gwah~gah below)* dancing, dance: *Furuhjelm* Ikva 'to dance' **’i…gwah** *(exact form not identifiable),* **’igah xusALga’L** I'm getting tired of dancing < dancing is tiring me *L.*

,

gwah~gah *(noun, unclassified, perhaps gerundive)* dance, dancing: *Rezanov* Коа 'Плясать tanzen' **gwah**, *Galushia Nelson* gà’ 'dance', gà’ítɛ̀·lɛ̀ *or* gà’ítɛ̀lɛ̀ 'dancing' *BSdL 552* **gah ’idAleh** a dance is taking place, **gah ’iqe’di:leh** a dance will take place *LA,* **k’udzu: gah XAtl’ ’idAsAliL** there was a nice dance last night *L,* **gah ’iqe’di:Linhinu:** they'll put on, hold, have a dance *L,* **gah Xa:n’ qa’yah** they'll be a dance < a dance will be done, accomplished *M,* **gah sid ’ALde’g** teach me to dance! *L,* **gah sid Lde’ginh** he's teaching me to dance *L,* **dik’sh dAqa:yu: gahch’**

yAX ’Ada’ya:Gk’G don't you sometimes (cust) get the urge to dance? *L,* **gahyAq’ yAX Ga:L** he's doing a fancy dance < he's going down in a dance *L.*

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k’u:nda’ch’ gwah~gah *(noun, unclassified, perhaps gerundive)* (act of) crossing oneself, sign of the cross, prayer: *Rezanov* Кунтачь??? 'Праздникъ Feiertag, Fest' **k’u:nda’ch’ gwah**, *Rezanov* Утачькоителе 'Образъ, крестъ Heiligenbild, Kreuz' **[k’]u:nda’ch’ gwah ’idAleh** prayer, crossing oneself is taking place, Утетахкодачкоэтелле 'Церковь Kirche' **’udAt’a:Xd k’u:nda’ch’ gwah ’idAleh** in it (building) prayer, crossing oneself takes place.

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k’u:nda’ch’ gahya’ Ga:ndich’ich’gyAquhyu: *(noun)* swallows < young church-birds *61.21A (same as 'Ami:nnya' Ga:ndich'ich'gyAquhyu:).*

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k’u:nda’ch’ gah yahd *(noun)* church < prayer-house *LM, 70.10, 11A.*

gwa´~ga´2 *(even LM often gwa´)*

l-dA-gwa´~-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-gwah 'corpse' below,* (very irritating) S die away, cease irritating presence; *verbal themes with gwa´~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:dik’ah la:dAgwa’** get the hell away from there!, beat it! *L,* **’a:ndAk’ah la:dAgwa’** (*or* **-gwah**, **-ga’**, **-gah**) clear out of here *L,* **’iyah ya:qa’ lAGAdAga’** oh go away!, oh beat it! *L,* **’a:ndAk’ah qu’lAdAgwah**, **’a:ndAk’ah qu’i:dAgwah** you'll clear out of here *L.*

,

ya’ dl-dA-gwa´~-ga´ *(cf. preceding, with additional d-thematic 'oral, noise' and ya' 'completely')* S shut up *(very strong and contemptuous)*: **ya’ dla:dAgah** *L,* **ya’ dla:dAga’** *L,* **ya’ dla:dAgwah** shut up! *LMASG (also known even to non-Eyak speaking Yakutat Tlingits; L prefers stems ending in -h to those ending in -' for the Active imperative in this particular theme; L also claims personally to prefer the forms with non-labialized -g-, though she does not follow this in practise; M also adds that her mother, who "talked pretty deep," seemed "real mad" when she said -gwah, and would talk that way to M's father, but would say, apparently more gently, -gah to M) ,* **ya’ dla:GAdAgwa’** shut up! *L,* **ya’ qu’dla:dAginhinh** he'll shut up *L,* **dik’ ya’ qu’dla:xdAgahG** *(not -ga:G)* I won't shut up *L,* **ya’ dla:sdigwa’Linh**, **ya’ dla:sdiga’Linh** he shut up *L,* **ya’ dla:GAdAga’Linh** he's shutting up *L,* **ya’ dla:diginhinh** let him shut up *L. Transitive (causative):* **ya’ ’iqe’dli:xLgwah** I'll make you shut up *L,* **ya’ qu’dli:xLgwinhinh** I'll make him shut up *L,* **ya’ dla:siLgwa’L** I made him shut up *L.*

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-l-gwah~-gah *(noun, unclassified)* corpse *(perhaps contemptuous)*: **k’ulAgah** *LM,* **k’ulAgwah** corpse *LMS, Galushia Nelson* ɢə̀lə́ɢà *or* ɢə̀lə́ɢà *or* ɢùlɑ́ɢà *or* ɢə̀lá’kà 'corpse' *BSdL 543,* **XAwa:lAgahyAX li’ ’iLit’uxL** you're clutched onto the underside of a dog-corpse *(contemptuous, of promiscuous woman) 49.70A,* **XAwa:lAgahyAXAch’ GALAt’uxL** she's holding onto the underside of a dog-corpse *(as preceding) L.*

ga:g1 *(note similarity to Tlingit -kág 'mother's brother', which may parallel that in Eyak -'ahd, Tlingit -ʔàd 'father's sister'; contrast -tinh and ya:q'e' '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 t'inh and Ginh; for the phonology, note the following diffused items with aspirates in Tlingit, non-aspirates in Athapaskan and/or Eyak: Tlingit tínx̱, Athapaskan (widespread) dənəx (or the like) 'bearberry (Arctostaphylos uva-ursi)', Tlingit tɑwé 'mountain-goat', Minto dəbe 'mountain-sheep', Tlingit (Yakutat) tʊq'ɑtáɬ, Eyak dAq'Ata:L 'trousers', Tlingit (Yakutat) gʊteẋ', Eyak k'udi:q' 'Chugach', Tlingit cín, Minto ʒən 'muskrat', Tlingit wɑcíx, Minto bəʒəy 'caribou', Tlingit čáɬ, Minto drəɬ, Eyak djiL 'platform cache')

-ga:g *(kinship noun, ascending)* (maternal) uncle: **siga:g** my mother's brother *LMASG, 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),* **'iga:g**, **'iga:gshiyah** your uncle (mother's brother) *L,* siqaqcia 'mother's older brother's son (man speaking)' *BSdL 566A* **siga:gshiyah** my uncle (mother's brother) *(either sex speaking, BSdL gloss probably incorrect),* aqaqcia 'mother's younger brother (either sex speaking)' *BSdL 565A* **-ga:gshiyah** *(prefix incorrectly taken from vocative, same as -ga:g, or perhaps '(maternal) uncle (who e.g. "looks funny")') (slightly pejorative), or perhaps correctly distinguishing younger from older brothers of mother, shiyah~shah~sha:),* aqaqcia 'mother's older sister's son (man speaking)' *(as preceding, gloss probably incorrect),* qacia (or ʠácia) 'mother's father's older brother (either sex speaking)' *probably to be read* **-ga:gshiyah** *(gloss incorrect, L recognizes no existing form resembling [qašia] or [ɢəšia]); vocative:* **'Aga:g**, **ga:gshah** uncle! *(not *ga:g, *ga:gshiyah, *'Aga:gshah or *'Aga:gshiyah) L;* **-ga:g-GA-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:g2

-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-),* **'iqi:yAga:gX yAX 'ALeh** walk (about) on tiptoe! *L,* **'uqi:yAga:gX 'Aw 'u'sAle'gLinh** he grasped it with his toes *L;* **qi:yAga:gluw** big big-toe! *(epithet) LM.*

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-y-ga:g *(as above, with y-anatomical 'hand', probably in error for qi:y-)* big toe: **siyAga:g** my big toe *MS (S twice with no labialization of -g-).*

ga:x *(loan from Tlingit gáx^{w} 'duck' (generic?), see below, and Swanton (1909 p. 208) gāx̱^{u} 'black duck', Veniaminov (Googh ??? káxw 'widgeon, black duck'))*

ga:x *(noun, unclassified)* black, saltwater duck species, has brown (?) head, good to eat *L*: *Rezanov* Кахъ 'Утка Ente' *(corresponding Tlingit entry Кахъ, but this may represent Tlingit ɢàx̱ 'merganser' instead), Harrington from G Tlingit kaax^{w} = C[ordova Eyak] ditto, actually used in both languages, 'black diver, squawduck, locally called helldiver, and sometimes spoken of as saltwater duck (pelagic cormorant, Phalacrocorax pelagicus)'.*

ga:G *(unknown to S)*

O-**l-ga:G** S mix O (not liquid) with water *(often with giyah 'water' specified as o of o-tl' 'with o', not felt to be redundant even though theme itself specifies mixing with water)*: **li:ga:G** mix it with water! *LM,* **giyahtl' 'Aw lisiga:GL** I mixed it with water *L, with ta'-ch' '(continuous movement) into water':* **ta'ch' lAxga:G** I'm mixing it with water (e.g. in river) *M,* **giyahtl'**

lAxga:G I'm mixing it with water (e.g. in pot) *M; passive:* **lisdiga:GL** it's been mixed with water *LM.*

,

'iLqa' O-**l-(L-)ga:G** *(L-classifier apparently optional with 'iLqa' 'amongst, mingled with one another', indirect reciprocal)* S mix O (not liquid) thoroughly together with water: **giyahtl' 'iLqa' qu'li:xLga:G** I'll mix it with water *L,* **'Al gahG giyahtl' 'iLqa' lAGALga:G** mix this pitch with water *L,* **'iLqa:nch' lAGAxLga:GL** I'm mixing it (e.g. pancake mix) with water *L.*

,

'iLqa' O-**gdl-(L-)ga:G** *(as preceding, L-classifier presumably optional, with gdl-thematic < gl-class-mark 'liquid' and d-thematic 'bright')* S mix O (colors, dye) together: **'iLqa' gAdla:siga:GL** I mixed colors together *L; passive:* **'iLqa' gAdla:diga:GL** colors are blended *(Neuter perfective) L.*

gwa:X~ga:X

Gl-gwa:X~-ga:X *(noun, lX-class) (with Gl-thematic, perhaps 'ground')* high-bush cranberry (Viburnum edule): **GAlAgwa:X** *ASG (S -gw- twice, with clear labialization),* **GAlAga:X** red high-bush cranberries *LM,* **GAlAga:XlAXa'luw** big high-bush cranberries *M.*

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O-**L-ga:X** S crush O (berry, high-bush cranberry only?), S put up (crushed?) O (high-bush cranberries) in sealoil for winter food: **'ALga:X** bust them (berries)! *M,* **qu'xLga:X** I'll put up high-bush cranberries in sealoil for winter *L; passive:* **sLiga:XL** high-bush cranberries have been put up in sealoil for winter *L, with lX-class-mark for O:* **lAXAsdiga:XL** high-bush cranberries have been put up in sealoil for winter *L.*

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G-sA-(L-)gwa:X~-ga:X(-L) *(noun, unclassified) (exact form uncertain)* spruce-cone, *probably also 'cone (of any conifer)'*: **GAsAga:X**, **GAsAgwa:XL**, **GAsALga:Xtl'** *L,* **GAsALgahGL** *G (with slight labialization of -g-, undoubtedly influenced by gahG, q.v.),* **k'AsAga:X** *A (probably incorrect),* **GAsALga:X** spruce-cones *LM (L seems to prefer GAsALga:X, which is probably the correct form; GAsALga:Xtl' "same as GAsALga:X", but see the following),* **GAsALga:Xtl' q'unhAw 'a:nda' sAqehL** he arrived (by boat) here with (a boatload of) spruce-cones *(which were evidently used for some purpose) L.*

ga:mAgih *(origin of name unidentified)*

ga:mAgih *(personal name) Gus Nelson's daughter Anna LMA,* **ga:mAkih** *S, rejected by L.*

gah~ge:

gah *(noun, Xd-class)* day (period of 24 hours), daytime (period of daylight), daylight *LMAS*: *Khromchenko* Ka 'День', *Wrangell* Ka 'Tag', **gwah** daytime *G (L never heard form with gw-), Rezanov* -коа- *perhaps to be read* **gwah**, *see le('),* **gahXAdAdzu:** nice day *L,* **gah k'uXAdA'a:w** day (is) long *L,* **k'uXAda'luw gahch' yAGALqa:L** a big day is coming < it's dawning toward a big day *L,* **gah XAdAsAkuts'gL** days got short *M,* **gah XAdla:GAdA'a:L** day is waning *L,* **'u:d gah XAdla:siL'ahL** I spent the day there *L,* **gah XAdAGALAdzu'L** the day is improving (sun is coming out) a bit *L,* **gah qu'XAdALAdzu'** the day will improve a bit *L,* **gahXAdA'a:w sAquhLinu:** they've been sitting all day long *L, often as C in C k'u-Le(') 'something be C, C exist, be present': 2a.21M, 11.156A, 19.18L, 28.41, 41A,* **di-'wAX gah k'u:Leh** it's still daylight *L,* **qi' gah k'u:Lehda' 'Axa:k'** I (cust) come to where it's daylight *L,* **gAsi:kih gah k'u:Leh** it's dim (slightly) daylight, twilight *L,* **gusi:kih gah XAdAGA'inhinh** he sees a little daylight *2a.27M, frequently adverbial: gah 'by day, during the daytime': 25.18, 19, 29.29A,* **dA'Aw 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,* **LinhG XAda: gah** one day *(in the sense 'and then one (certain) day', perhaps influenced by English, attested only from M) 43.16, 45b.10, 46.1, 47b.23, 27M,* **la'd XAda: gah** two days *M,* **'Al q'Adits'i:n ya: gah** on the eighth day *49.45A,* **LinhG XAda: gahwahd da: qa'qeh** we'll go (on boat trip) for one day *L,* **Lich' gah** every day *3.15M, 38.14LM, 47b.14, 21, 29M,* **Lich' gah k'uLch'a:nGginh** she keeps tanning skins every day *L,* **Lich' gahXAdAqa'ga'** every single day *38.14fnLM, 47c.27L,* **gahXAdAtsin'da'ya'** about half a day *59.4 Galushia Nelson,* **de: gahyAq'duw** what day? *L, Rezanov* Кахъ-эхъ 'День Tag' *probably to be read* **gahX ye'X** all day long *L,* **gahX ye'X 'idAx-we:ts'k'** I (cust) weave all day long *L,* **gahX ye'X yik'a'dinh** he was sick all day *L,* **gahX ye'X yAX 'u'GAxdA'a:nL** I've been looking for it all day *L;* **q'a:lgah** today *(q'a:l 'now') MS, 25.113A,* **sitl' 'u'GAXa' k'e:d q'a:lgah yileh** tell me what you did today! *L,* **dik' q'a:lgah Xu' 'u'qu'di:'a:G** it won't be settled today *L;* **tli: XAtl' gah** yesterday *(tli: XAtl' 'last nigth, already night') M.*

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ge:-l-'a:g *(postpositional phrase, ge:- as o of o-'a:g 'middle, center of o, half-way point of o', with vowel of ge:- and l-mark not explained, cf. xahlA'a:g)* noon, midday: **ge:lA'a:g** *LMASG,* **ge:li'a:g** *(-i- not explained, perhaps due to same influence as that responsible for -e:-)* noon, midday *LS,* **ge:lA'a:gd** noon *(nominalized),* at noon *S,* **ge:lA'a:g GAlAGa'ya:L** it (time) is becoming noon *L,* **ne:tl' ge:lA'a:gda' qu'LA'ah** soon it'll be (sun will arrive at high) noon *L,* **djig ge:lA'a:gXAw k'uXa:k'inu:** they (cust) eat at (simultaneously with) noon sharp *L;* **ge:lA'a:g ya:** noon meal, lunch < noon thing *L,* **ge:lA'a:g ya: LAqa:'** noon siren (thing) is blowing (howling) *L,* **ge:lA'a:g ya:da' Ga:nsa'yahL**, **ge:lA'a:g ya:'a:n' Ga:nsa'yahL** it became noon < time passed to noon *L.*

gahG

gahG *(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,* **lisya' gahG** spruce-pitch *51.25, 30, 31A,* **gahGda'luw** big hunk of pitch *L,* **gahG 'u:d dAsA'ahL** a hunk of pitch is there *L,* **gahG sich' di:'a'** give me a piece of pitch! *L,* **gahG di:Leh** pitchy place on tree < it (d-class) is pitchy *M,* **'Aw gahG 'u:dik'ah di:sinhX** scrape that pitch off there! *L,* **gahG dA'a'tl' xuGALga'L** I'm getting tired of chewing gum *L,* **gahG siya:X diLigAXts'L** pitch is stuck to my hand *L,* **ts'i:ntsihya' gahG** pitch from pitchwood *L,* **gahG dALk'ik'shg** he's popping his chewing-gum *L, declassified:* **'Al gahG giyahtl' 'iLqa' lAGALga:G** mix this pitch with water! *L.*

2. *(lX-class)* bullet, shell, shot (for gun) *LM*: *Old Man Dude* ɑaẋq 'shell for rifle' *BSdL 549,* **gahGlAXAt'u'** lots of gunshells *L,* **gahG 'u:d lAXAsA'ahL** a bullet is there *L,* **gahG 'u:d lAXAsA'ahL** a bullet is there *L,* **gahG sich' lAXa:'a'** give me a bullet! *L,* **gahG 'uyAq'd** it's loaded < bullets (are) in it *L,* **gahGlAXA'e'** bullet-hole, bullet-mark *L.*

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3. *(unclassified)* lead sinker for net *M*: **k'ut'u' gahG** lots of sinkers *L,* **gahG 'u:d sAtahL** a sinker is there *L.*

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-d-L-gahG(-L) *attested only in* **qa:ni:ch"AdALgahG(L)**, **qa:ni:k"AdALgahG**, *see ni:ch', ni:k'.*

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L-gahG 1. S be, become pitchy, sticky with pitch: **sALgahGL** it's (become) sticky with pitch *LM.*

2. S stick, adhere: **'Aw 'u:ch' GALgahGL** *(with slight labialization of -g-)* it's sticking to there *G (L rejects, see gAXts').*

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LA-gahG S be, become pitchy, sticky with pitch, S stick adhere: **sLigahGL** it's full of gum *L, repetitive:* **LAgahGg** it keeps sticking *M (L rejects, see gAXts').*

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O-**L-gahG** *(causative of L-gahG and/or of LA-gahG; L apparently feels these forms to be unnatural and prefers themes with gAXts' in all cases)* S glue O with pitch, S smear O with pitch: **'Aw 'iLX sALgahGLinh** he glued them together *M (indirect reciprocal, L rejects),* **'ALgahG** glue it! *M (L rejects),* **'Aw 'uch' GALgahG** stick it to it with pitch! *L, with perambulative:* **yAX xLAgahGX** I'm sticking it all around *M; passive:* **sdigahGL** it has been glued (to something) with pitch *LM, with perambulative:* **yAX sdigahGL** it has been smeared all over with pitch *M.*

gahX *(not *gwahX; perhaps to be segmented gah-X, gah- perhaps related to ga´2, perhaps subjunctive wth -X suffix, or perhaps as o of o-X, perhaps related to gih~gi)*

-sh-gahX *(desiderative enclitic, always with prefixed -sh, probably -sh-interrogative enclitic)* would that, I wish that, I hope that, *requiring optative except with ya'Xu: 'let not', which requires Inceptive imperfective:* 1. *suffixed to 'AlA-, probably archaic form of 'Al 'this' (L rejects proposed *'Aw(A)shgahX)* a. *initial in optative clause*: **'AlAshgahX xu'yAla:yitinhinh** I hope he's expecting me *L,* **'AlAshgahX 'iGAxi'eh** I wish I could marry you *L,* **'AlAshgahX 'iGAxi'eh** I wish I could marry you *L,* **'AlAshgahX 'a:nda' Gi:yah** I hope you come *L,* **'AlAshgahX 'a:nda' q'e' Gi:dah** I hope you come back *L,* **'AlAshgahX siXa' k'uXa:liyah** would that you could eat with me *1a.12M, further attestations under C -Le('), O-LA-de´, O-d-LA-de´, o-dahd 'u-'-l-ta, Gl-ta´, o-ch' dlX-t'e´~-t'u´, O-'-ts, LA-ts'an´, d-LA-ts'an´, 'i:lih-LA-ts'an´, -ga´ 1., O-'-(l-)L-ga´, l-xwa~-xa, d-LA-Ga', y-L-qa, -q'u'tl', O-d-L-XAwi´~-XAw, O-L-'mahd, O-tsin'(l)-'lahL, 'i-leh~-le:- 4h., Xu' O-L-i (-le 19.), dA-la', o-ga' l-LA-la´, o-lah yAX 'Ad-'i:lih-LA-'ya-X, d-('i-)LA-'u'G, O-'e, O-G-'e~-'an, o-lAX 'i-L-'e~-an, yAX ('i-)LA-'a, 'i-d-'a, Gdl-L-'a' 2., qe'-O-dl-L-a´, O-X-a (a2), o-d O-X-L-a (a2), once 'AshgahX in song 70.6A, probably to be corrected or normalized to 'AlAshgahX.*

1b. *As above, with prohibitive clause with ya'Xu:, verb in Inceptive imperfective*: **'AlAshgahX ya'Xu: qa'q'u'tl'** I hope it won't break *L,* **'AlAshgahx ya'Xu: 'a:nda' q'e' qu'yidah** I hope you don't come back *L,* **'AlAshgahX ya'Xu: qa' qu'dALAdinhinh** I hope he doesn't understand us *L.*

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1c. *As 1a., with negative clause with dik', requiring rare and marginally acceptable negative optative*: **'AlAshgahX dik' qa: da'LAde:Ginu:** I hope they don't understand us *L,* **'AlAshgahX dik' qa: dAGALide:Ginh** I hope he doesn't understand us *L ("sounds funny", L prefers form under 1b.),* **'AlAshgahX dik' 'Aw lAGi:LmahGinh** I hope he doesn't wreck it *L.*

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2. *Suffixed to first word or major constituent in clause,* a.: **GAdAq'Ayi:nyshgahX k'u:liLe'** I wish it to be foggy *L,* **xu: siga'shgahX 'udAGAleh 'Awa: 'a'lit'uhinu:** I wish their minds were like mine *70.8A,* **Gi:q'u'tl'shgahX** I hope it breaks *L,* **silahshgahX qe'lin'inh** I hope he loves me *M,* **ts'iyuxshgahX xu'GALilin'inh** I hope he thinks me a bear *M,* **'a:ndAXshgahX siXa' qa' lAGi:tinhinh** would that he stick his head out here by me *L, attested also in o-lAX 'i-L-'e~-'an 28.2A, dA-a´, C -Le(') 47c.58L, O-X-a 1b.14M, Xa:n' O-X-a, with certain forms frequently introducing optative clause:* **dA'u:dshgahX k'u'ligah** I hope there's dancing *L,* **dA'u:dshgahX 'ida'k'u'liXah** I hope someone's telling a story *L,* **dA'u:dAXyi:nhinu:shgahX 'Aw'a:n Gi:'a'ch'** would that some people come upon it *11.173A,* **dA'u:dAXyi:nkinhshgahX 'u'a:n' Gi:ya:** would that someone come upon it *11.172A,* **dAXunhkihshgahX si'a:n' Gi:ya:** I wish some (kind) person would come upon me *10.218A.*

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2b. *Suffixed to ya'Xu:*: **ya’Xu:shgahX** I hope not, would that it not *LS, in prohibitive clause, verb in Inceptive imperfective:* **ya’Xu:shgahX qa’sinhinh** I hope he's not dead *L,* **ya’Xu:shgahX Xa:’d k’ushiyah qa’Le’** I hope it won't be bad weather *L; with verb incorrectly in optative:* **ya’Xu:shgahX ’iLiqa’t’g** I hope it doesn't ferment *M.*

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2c. *Suffixed to dik'*: **dik’shgahX** I hope not, would that it not *LM, with negative clause, requiring rare and marginally acceptable negative optative:* **dik’shgahX ’a’xk’a’dG** I wish I weren't sick *L ("sounds funny" L),* **dik’shgahX k’usha:dah GAla:yita:G** I hope you're not mean *L ("sounds funny" L),* **dik’shgahX ’Aw lAGi:LmahGinh** I hope he doesn't wreck it *L,* **dik’shgahX lAGAdimahG** I hope nothing goes wrong with it *L (acceptable and normal L).*

ga’ts’

ga’ts’(**-g**)(**-L**) *(noun, unclassified) (with -g-repetitive and/or L-instrumental)* ladder, stairway: **ga’ts’gL** *L, 51.7, 7A,* **gwa’ts’L** *G (labialization not confirmed by Rezanov),* **ga’ts’L** *A, Rezanov* Кацкъ 'Лѣсница Treppe', Кацкъ *(crossed out, replaced by Таяттъ ta:ya'd)* 'Крыльцо Hausflur' **ga’ts’g**, **ga’ts’gL’a’luw** big ladder *L,* **ga’ts’gXu:lA’a:w** long ladder *("maybe", speculating that ga'ts'g may be Xu:l-class 'tooth-like') L,* **ga’ts’gLX ’u:na’q’ qa’ sahLinh** he went up (on it by means of it) a ladder *L,* **ga’ts’gLX ’u:na’q’ qid sahLinh** he went down (on it by means of) a ladder *L.*

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O-**ga’ts’** S make O (step by staircase): **qAlahqa’ga’ qu’xga’ts’** I'll make (construct) four steps *L.*

ga’ch’ *(from L only, not remembered by MAS)*

L-ga’ch’-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized, probably intransitive)* S be shaky, weak?: *with o-Xa' 'in intimate relation with o':* **siGuhdXa’ xLga’ch’g** my knees are weak *(from age) L, 72.1L (Raven sings, hungry),* **siGuhdXa’ GAxLga’ch’gL** I'm getting weak in the knees *L; with lXd- anatomical 'eyes':* **lAXAduxLga’ch’g** I have weak eyes (involuntary blinking, not necessarily poor vision) *L.*

gwa’~ga’~gu’wA *(velar initial perhaps always labialized in Rezanov; vowel very often reduced in texts and written with umlaut especially in o-ga' 'i:t'eh > o-gä' 'i:t'eh 'be like o'; gu'wA- in gu'wA-L-wahg-L probably a variant of -gwa'-; cf. qu-wA- as variant of qa'- (< *qwA-'-) in future; morphosyntactically unique to enclitics, see -ga' 13. below)*

o-**gwa’~-ga’** *(comparative postposition, meaning both 'identical with, (exactly) same as, equals o' and 'approximately, about, like, resembling o' at the same time, making shades of meaning mostly impossible to distinguish, whereas different morphological occurrences are much clearer)* 1a. like o, same as o, equal to o (in quantity or identity): *9.146, 10.170, 189A, 27a.16L, 36.17, 49.55, 57, 50.50, 68.2A,* **siga’** like me *M,* **siga’ dAXunh GALe’** be like me! *L,* o-**ga’ -t’e´** ~ **-t’u´** be like o, resemble o, o-**ga’** O-**Li** make O like o, o-**ga’** O-**’-LA-tsa** O look like o, have appearance of o, o-**ga’ LA-gAmi´** ~ **-gAm** taste like o, **XAwa:ga’** O-**’-L-gAwi´** make O feel like a dog, **dA’Al dAXunyu: Xahyu:ga’ k’uXinhinu:** they ate things just like these things which people eat *25.30A,* **’i: ’iga’ gu’wALwahgL xu:** I'm of the same tribe as *you L,* **la’dih k’uk’ahshga’ ’i:L’a’** it's two feet long *M,* o-**ga’ ya’** O-**Gdl-L-’a’** make O the same height as o, **k’Ayi:nyga’ ’i:t’eh** it's different < it's like something different *M, with demonstratives as o:* **’Alga’ ’i:LwAX** it's this wide < it's wide like this *M,* **’AlAshgahX ’Awga’ da’Lits’inh** I hope it costs that much *M,* **dik’ ’Awga’ ’a’xLAts’a:nG** I'm not that strong *M,* **’Alga’** (**L-**)**’a** be this long, **’Alga’** O-**L-’a** make O this long, **’Alga’ GAlAGa’yah da:X** around this time of year *M,* at this

time of year, of the day < when time comes like this (one of year, day) *L, in anatomical comparisons:* **siga' 'iLini:k'inh** he has a nose like mine *L,* **dik' 'iga' 'a'LAni:k'Ginh** his nose isn't like yours *L,* **'iga' 'iLisa'dinh** he has a mouth like yours *L,* **siga' 'iLidjehXinh** he has ears like mine *L,* **GAnuhga' 'iLik'ahshinh** he's duck-footed *L,* **siga' yiLiq'a'ts'inh** he has hands like me, mine *L,* **'iga' 'iLila:Xinh** he has eyes like you(rs) *L,* o-**ga' l-LA-la** resemble o facially *(especially in epithets),* **'iLga' l-LA-la** resemble each other facially, **'AyAwihga' 'i:nLilah** grotesque mask < it is worn on the face, having a face like 'AyAwih *L, with verb themes derived from -le 'act, do':* o-**ga' -le** become like o, o-**ga' q'e' dA-le** become like o again, **dAXunhyu:ga' wAX dAGAle:'** say it in Eyak! < say thus like Eyaks! *L,* o-(**dA**)**ga' tsin'd-le** talk like o (same language), **yALqa:gga' 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, with classified nouns as o:* **ch'iyahd-lAga'** like a hat *M,* **-qi:lAga'** like a rope *M, with dA-* 'ipse': *23.72, 65.46, 66A,* **dA'iga' Giyah da'lixiLXah** I have just as much food as you *M,* **di-'idiyah-ga'** in one piece, intact, whole < just as it is in size *(with relativized Neuter imperfective, used as adverb).*

1b. *With reciprocal o,* like each other: *65.5A,* **'iLga' ya' Gdl-LA-'a'** pl. be the same height, **'iLga' dA-t'e´ ~ -t'u´** pl. be like each other, **'iLga' 'idit'eh** suit of clothing < they (jacket and trousers) are like each other *L,* **'iLga' 'idisid**, **'iLga' 'iLisid**, **'iLga' 'idi'ah**, **'iLga' 'iLi'ah** they're the same length < they extend like each other *L,* **'iLga' qa:nch' lAGALAxa:Linu:** they're growing up alike (like each other) *L,* **'iLga' Xu' GALqAtl'** smooth it out! < rub it to a finished state like each other!, **dA'iLga'** O-**'-dA-'e ~ -'an** Os look alike, o-**ga'** (**L-**)**'a** be as long as o, **dA'iLga' dA-a´** pl. be the same size.

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1c. *More or less lexicalized in phrases for color terms,* like o (in color): **xitl'ga' 'i:t'eh** it's white < it's like snow (in color) *M, Rezanov* Тиякоите 'Зеленой grün', Тиягойте 'Голубой hellblau' **di:ya'ga' 'i:t'eh** it's green < it's like saltwater *L, Rezanov* Тельтючькуете 'Даба ('dark blue') schwarzes, chinesisches Baumwollenzeug', Тальтучкоэте 'Бутылка' *(not in Radlov, 'bottle'),* Тыльтучькоете 'Синей dunkelblau', Кельтучь коетэ 'Чорной schwarz', *Furuhjelm* Iltuchkvaite 'black' *probably all to be read* **dALt'u:ch'gwä' 'i:t'eh** it's black *S,* **dALt'u:ch'ga' 'i:t'eh** it's black < it's like charcoal *L, Rezanov* Хаоцехкоете *(Хаоцех- written above crossed-out Кослитлекль-, see tl'a')* 'Желтой gelb' **XAwa:tse'q'ga' 'i:t'eh** it's yellow < it's like dog-urine *L, see also 23.67A,* **ts'Aga:dga' 'i:t'eh** it's brown < it's like ts'Aga:d (i.e. brown substance resembling hemlock bark) *(a "fancy name") L, Rezanov* Тлячегуида 'Желтокъ яичной Eidotter' **dla:ch'e:'ga' 'i:t'eh** it's red < it's like red snapper *M, apparently less lexicalized:* **Lanhdga' 'i:t'eh** it's blue < it's like smoke *L,* **ts'a'ga' 'i:t'eh** it's gray < it's like alluvial mud *M,* **ch'e'ga' lAXi:t'eh** brown beads < they (berry-like) are like feces *L,* **cha'tl'ga' 'i:t'eh** it's dark blue, black-and-blue; a bruise < it's like blueberries, *Rezanov* Такакуэте 'Красной Feuerfarben, roth' **dAq'a:ggwä' 'i:t'eh**, *Furuhjelm* Takhahkvaite 'red' **dAq'a:ggwa' 'i:t'eh** it's red < it's like fire *L,* **gu:nLdisLga' gAdli:t'eh** it (dye) is a dark reddish color < it's like clotted blood *L,* **ts'AGLga' 'i:t'eh** it's blackish (color of e.g. lake surface, cloud, smoke; not of dog, cat, bird) *L,* **ts'AGLga' lAXi:t'eh** they (salmonberries) are ripe maroon color *L,* **qa:ni:ch' 'AdALgahG(L)ga' gAdli:t'eh** some kind of pinkish dye < it's (bright-colored liquid) is like nose-pitch(?) in color *(also perhaps qa:ni:k' 'AdALgahGga' gAdli:t'eh L) L, 66.10L.*

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1d. *More or less lexicalized in idioms, similes*: **'AdLa'ni:q'ga' 'idiLa'ch'Linh** he's voracious < he has a stomach like a seagull's *L,* **nahGAts'e:ga' 'i:t'inhinh** he's lean, skinny < he's like a fox *A,* **'i:yah chi'shdug dAXunh 'a'd dja:q'ga' 'iLu' qa' li' didAgudjL** my how the guy sure is awful tight-lipped (taciturn) < keeps his mouth clamped shut just like a bullhead (on a hook) *72.16L,* **XAwa:ga'** shameful, disgusting < like a dog *M,* **guts'ga' 'i:t'inhinh** he has a fever < he's like flames *L,* **dla:XA'i:nddla:'e'dga' 'i:nLila:X** he has narrow slit-like eyes < he has eyes like buttonholes *L,* **Le't'ga' 'ALtl'a'g** draw a square! < mark it with the likeness of a box! *L,* **dAXunhga' k'u:Ltl'a'g** draw (a picture of) a man! < mark something with the likeness of a

person! *L,* **Xe:ga' gAlAle:g** water is intermittently calm < it (water) repeatedly gets like grease *L,* **Xe:ga' k'uGAle:L** water's getting calm < something is getting like grease *L,* **Xe:ga' k'u:t'eh** water's calm < something is like grease *M,* **chi:shga'** *(not chi:shgga')* **sAliL** it broke into smithereens, became pulverized < it became like sand *L,* **GAqe:Lga' 'i:t'eh** it's elliptical *L,* **sidAGAleh siya: dje:gLga' 'i:t'eh** (I've so much to do that) I'm all confused, flustered < my mind is like a tangle *L, Rezanov* Санкуета 'Мягко weich' **sanhga' 'i:t'eh** it's soft (like cotton grass fluff) *L,* **ch'an'ga'** O-**Li** make O soft < it's like ch'an' (i.e. soft fluffy substance) *M, 65.20A, nominalized as new coinages: Rezanov* Цынтлькокоете 'Провїантъ, Мýка Mehl' **tsin'tl'gga' 'i:t'eh** flour < it's like ashes *LM,* **t'its'ga' 'i:t'eh** glass < it's like ice *M,* **sha:XAlAGga' lAXAgAmih** candy < it (lX-class) tastes like sugar *L,* **k'uLe'xtl'ga' 'i:t'eh dide'L** light bulb < light which is like bladder *L,* **GAma:gwa' 'i:t'eh** millet < it's like maggots *M, in biota names:* **XAlahsdla:GAyu:ga' 'i:nLila:X** spoonbill duck < it has eyes like white men *L,* **dAXunhga' 'i:nLida:'** small own (or hawk?) species < it has a face like a person's *LM,* **dAXunhyu:ga' 'i:nLilah** hawk species < has face like people's *M,* **dAXunhyu:ga' 'i:nLida:'** small owl species < has face like people's, **dla:q'Aya'ga' 'i:t'ehshiyahyu:** mountain-sheep < bad, queer ones which are like mountain-goats *L, idiomatic, with* ***k'u-*** *'indefinite' as o and* ***l-ta*** *'singular have head in position':* **k'uga' yAX 'i:ndAta:Xinh** he acts snooty, stuck-up, conceited < he goes around with his head like someone, something *72.10fnA.*

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1e. *In curses or insults, with certain kin terms*: **'ita:'k'inhyAku:nch'ga' GAlAGAta'** live, be like your father's paternal grandmother's thumb! *A,* **'ita:'ma:ga' 'i:lihshAch'e:k'L** '(this wood, difficult to split) is cross-grained like your father's mother! *(Billy Dude cursed) 72.36L.*

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2. according with o, fitting o: **sidAGAlehga' 'i:t'eh** it pleases me < it is like, according to my mind *M,* **'anh qe'L 'AdAX dik' 'udAGAlehga' 'Aw 'a't'u:G** the woman however was not pleased by that *34.8M,* **'u:dAga' 'idiyah** it fits (there) *M.*

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3. as far as o: *23.162A, 56.2, 12L,* **'udjehXga' li'X li:t'inhinh** he's smiling from ear to ear *L,* **ta: qidga' 'i:'ah** end of the trail < as far as the trail extends *L,* **qidga' lahdz dAxe:Xk'** *L, 10.227A,* **qidga' tsa' dAxe:Xk'** low-water mark < as far as tide empties *L,* **qidga' k'uyAX 'ah** *place-name* < as far as it extends (from) under something, the end of its extent under something *L,* **dAqi'dga' 'u'lixiLgah** that's as far as I know it *M,* **siGuhdga' ya:nu' siwehsL** I sank in (snow) down to (as far as) my knees *L.*

,

4. *With 'u- and 'Aw- as o,* enough for o: *9.27A, 66.9L,* **'uga' xLits'anh da:X** if I were strong enough for (e.g. lift) it *L,* **di:yAX 'Awga' GALAts'an'LGinh** he's not strong enough (for it) yet *M,* **'uga'shuh Lits'anh q'Al 'i:tah** are you strong enough to carry this? *L,* **dik' 'uga' k'uXa'tl' da'qe'li:xLXahG 'ixiL'eh** I won't have enough time to see you *L,* **'AlAshgahX 'Awga' da'Lits'anh** I hope it costs that much *M,* **dik' 'Awga' 'a'xLAts'a:nG** I'm not that strong *M,* **q'ahdAq'Aw 'Awga' sdiya'L sich' 'Aw 'i:Ltehga'** finally it's big enough to give to me *L.*

,

5. *With y- qualifier 'hand':* o-**y-ga'** of size/power that o can handle, overcome: **siyAga' 'idiyah** it's a size I can handle (like my hand in size) *L,* **dA'uyAgä' 'idiyahkih** a little one just the right size for her to handle *25.25A,* **qa:yAga' 'Aw Xu' gAsAquhL** it (dog) chased them (goats) into our range (right for us to handle) *L,* **siyAga' 'u'GAdA'inhinh** he looks like a pushover for me, easy for me to handle, beat up *L.*

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6. *Combined idiomatically with other postpositions:* a. o-**qa'-ga'** each of o, every single o: **qA-lah-qa'-ga'** four < each of four (fingers) around *qwA- *(PAE pronoun 'place, event, present in e.g. qi' < *qwA-e'-),* **ts'ik' Li'q' lAXqa'ga' lAXch' qu'xtah** I'll give you each a plate

L, **qa:qa'ga'** each one of us *L,* **lAXqa'ga' lAXch' k'uqu'xtah** I'll give something to each one of you *L,* **Lich' gahXAdAqa'ga'** every single day *38.14fnLM, 47c.27L.*

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6b. o-**yAq'-A-ga'** of size fitting inside of o: **'AwyAq'Aga' dA-a´** be the right size for interior of o, **dik' 'AwyAq'Aga' qi:da'yida:G** your foot's not big enough for (inside) it *L.*

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6c. o-**xa'-dA-ga'** according to o's taste in food: (**o-**)**xa'dAga'** O-**L-t'e´** ~ **-t'u´** cook O just right for o to eat.

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6d. o-**la'-ga'** fitting o's head: o-**la'-ga' dA-a´** be the right size for o's head.

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6e. o-**yAX-A-ga'** (1) fitting size for under o: **siyAXAga' 'idiyah djiL qu'xtsah** I'll buy a bed big enough for under me *L.* (2) enough for o: *65.81A,* **XAla:gyAXAga' Giyah 'u'sile'gL** I bought just enough food for (to last the) winter *M.*

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6f. o-**li' di:-ga'** anger, spite toward o: **'anhli' di:ga' 'ilinhinh** he's mad at him *L,* **'ili' di:ga' 'ixleh** I'm somewhat peeved at you *L.*

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7. *In measurements of time and distance*: *61.10A,* **ya:'a:gAga' qAXah** half-moon *M,* **ya:'a:gAga' 'Awa: sich' 'Ata'** give me half of it! *L,* **guts'de: milega' giyahgu:na'q' gAdli:L'a'** it extends nine miles over the water *L,* **guts'de:** ***mile*****ga' GAdli:L'a'** about nine miles (overland) *L,* **la'dih k'uXa'tl'ga' 'u:ch' xu'Ga:nsa'yahL** I spent two hours there *L,* **didA'i: 'a:ndga' 'a:nd ya' qu'xdah** as long as you're here I'll stay here *L.*

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8. *With verbal nouns*: **lAXAXALga' xle:g** I get dizzy spells < I repeatedly do, it repeatedly happens to me like vertigo *M,* **'uyAX 'isyahGLga' linhinh** he makes me disgusted, sick and tired of him < he acts like annoyance with it *L,* **gust'ga' gAlAleh** water is spurting, gushing, spouting < it (liquid) is acting flame-like *L,* **cha'nik'Lga' dAsAliLinh** he said something funny *L,* **'uyAX 'isyahGLga'** (*or* **'isyahGLdah**) **di:leh** you give one a pain with your noise! *L,* **tsu'dga' ne:tl' 'Adqu'xLAt'uh** I'll nap for a while *L,* **guGga'** (**qa:Xa'**) **dAXunh yiLinhinh** he's treacherous, a double-crosser, liar (with us) *L, with O-****'-gAwi´*** *~* ***-gAw*** *'feel O (it) a certain way':* **wut'ga' 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I feel like vomiting, nauseated *LM,* **wut'ga' xu'LgAwih** he's making me feel like vomiting *L,* **dik' wut'ga' 'Adu'xdAgAwG** I don't feel nauseated *L,* **dla:Xq'e:ts'ga' 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I feel like vomiting *L,* **k'ahdga' 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I feel sick *L,* **tl'ehga' 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I feel cold *L,* **Ge'ga' 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I feel seasick *M,* **Xanhga' 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I feel like crying *L,* **'Ashgga' 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I feel a sneeze coming on *L,* **wut'ga'** O-**'-L-gAwi´** make O feel nauseated, like vomiting *L,* **k'ulahga' xu'wALgAwinhinh** he's making me feel like drinking *L.*

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9. *With interrogative de:-d 'what?' as o,* a. how (much), to what degree?: *21a.6L, 23.3, 55, 65.46, 69A,* **de:ga'dunh 'i:L'a'** how tall is he? *M,* **de:ga'duw qi:li:L'a'** how long is it (rope)? *LM,* **de:ga'duw 'Aw xutl' 'u:d qa' lAXAdla:LA'e:dzk'** quite a bit of it (snow) (cust) piles up there *L,* **de:ga'dunh ya:kihdah 'isALiL** how much did he pay you? *L,* **de:ga'd da:na: 'iXa'**, **de:ga'd da:na: da'li:LXah** how much money do you have? *M,* **de:ga'd ma:sdla: da'li:LXah** how much butter do you have? *L,* **de:ga'duw 'iXa' k'uLit'u'** how many do you have? < how abundant is something for you? *L.*

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9b. *Derived with -da:X,* **de:ga'da:Xd** when? (at any time, past, present, or future): *Rezanov* Текотахтъ 'Всегда immer' **de:ga'da:Xd** when? (in past or future) *LM,* **de:ga'da:Xduw dALAxwe:gyu: qa:nch' 'a'a:ch'k'** when groundhogs (cust) come out *23.55A,* **de:ga'da:Xd**

te'ya'yu: q'e' 'AdAla:k' when the salmon (cust) come back *21b.25A,* **dAde:ga'da:Xd** anytime *M,* **dAde:ga'da:Xd ta' 'Aw 'Adja:k'inu:** each time they (cust) shoved them in the water *25.50A,* **dA'wAX dAde:ga'da:Xd wAX da: 'i:lihsAliL** just any time we felt like it *65.69A.*

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10. *As head in two numerals*: **t'uh-L-ga'** three, **qAlah-qa'-ga'** four *(see 5a. above).*

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11. *In some adverbials*: **da:n'-L-ga'** slowly, **dAwa'-d(-ga')** quickly, **ne:tl'(-kih(-ga'))** soon, **q'a:l-ga'** nowadays, **q'a:l-kih-ga'** just a short while ago, **lAGiga'** < **lAG-'e'-ga'** a little way up from shore, **lAX-kih-ga'** a little too much, **'AdAwi'Lga' 'i:lih'a't'e:** get a move on!, hurry up! *L.*

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12. *As subordinator of verbal clauses*: **lAXAxiXALga' xle:g** I'm having dizzy spells < I'm repeatedly, intermittently like I'm dizzy, drunk *M,* **'iqe'xLwut'gwa' 'Adu'xdAguw** I feel like I'm going to vomit *G,* **'ula:X 'Awa: 'Ad xgAwihga' 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I have the feeling he's looking at me < I feel like I feel his eyesight *L,* **'a'd silAqahyAq' 'Ash k'ule'ggga' 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I feel very much like someone keeps reaching his hand through the inside of my head (with persistent harping questions) *L,* **di-'idiyah-ga'** *(with relativized Neuter imperfective, used as adverb)* in one piece, intact, whole < just as it is in size, **la'X yAX k'udiditl'ihLga' 'u'GAdA'eh** bad weather < it looks like someone has his face draped, veiled *72.34L.*

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13. *Attached to enclitics, morphosyntactically unique, see o-**ga'** under preverbals under Morphology in Grammar; always with the meaning of wonderment at quantity: a. With o-ch'ahd 'from o', often with da:-d 'where'*: **'u:ch'ahdq'Awga' siXa' k'uLit'u'** that's where I have so much stuff from *L,* **da:ch'ahdduwga' te'ya' 'iXa' k'uLit'u'** where'd you get all those fish? < whence are fish that abundant for you? *L,* **da:ch'ahdduhnu:ga' sAqe:GAyu: 'iXa'** where'd you get all those kids? *L.*

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13b. *As above, with k'e:'wAXd 'why'*: **dik' 'u:la'xLga:G k'e:'wAXdunhga' xan'Lq' k'uXa:k'** I don't know why he eats so much *M,* **dik' 'u:la'xLga:G k'e:'wAXdunhga' k'uXah** I don't know why he eats so much *L.*

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14. *Combined with -kih 'diminutive', often with dA-* 'ipse', *meaning more* exactly: *9.44, 25.48A,* **dA'Alga'kih 'Ada:LA'u'G** take a short little rest like this! *L,* **di:ya'ga'kih 'u'lAGALXa'** make it a little salty! *L (cf. **di:ya' 'u'lAGALXa'** 'make it salty!').*

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dA-gwa'~-ga' *(with dA- indeterminate o)* sufficient, enough: *10.270, 270, 11.53, 20.52, 24.100, 25.139A, 30.6L, 49.68, 68fn, 51.86, 61.89A,* **dAgwa' q'A'Aw** *S, 54.9G,* **dAgwa' q'Aw** *G,* **dAga' q'Aw** enough! *M,* **dAga' q'ah** enough (already!) *L,* **dik' duga'G** not enough *LM,* **dAgwa' q'Aw giyah 'ich' xqa:k'** I've (cust) brought you water enough *L.*

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gu'wA-L-wahg-L *(gu'wA- probably a variant of -gwa'-; cf. qu-wA- as variant of qa'- (< *qwA-'-) in future) see wahg.*

ga'q'

-ga'q'-L *(noun, l-class, stem not attested without -L, not clearly identified)* Adam's apple, larynx, throat: **k'uga'q'L** throat *A,* **siga'q'L** my throat *LA,* **'iga'q'L** your Adam's apple *L,* **ga'q'L'a:'nuw** big Adam's apple *(epithet) L.*

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-d-ga’q’-L *(noun, d-class or unclassified, with d-thematic, probably 'oral', -L as above)* throat, windpipe, trachea: **k’udAga’q’L** throat *L,* **’idAga’q’L** your throat *S, Rezanov* Катакакль 'Шея ('neck') Hals', Каткакль 'Горно Kehle' **qa:dAga’q’L** our throats, human throat, **’idAga’q’L qu’xle’g** I'll choke, strangle you < I'll size your throat *L,* **sidAga’q’L dAGALq’a’k’L** I'm choking < it's splitting my throat *L,* **sidAga’q’L siya: ’iLch’ dAGa’ya:L** I'm getting hoarse < my throat's closing together *L,* **sidAga’q’Ldi:’q’d** inside of my throat *L,* **sidAga’q’Ldi:’q’d siya: yik’a’d** my throat is sore *L,* **sidAga’q’Ldi:’q’d dAt’a’ k’u:’yahL** something is stuck in my throat *L; Rezanov* Тыкаклихочель 'Ожерелье ('necklace') Halschmuck', Тыкаклихуачель 'Платокъ ('kerchief') Halstuch' **dAga’q’L…xwa’ch’L**, *see xwa'ch'~xa'ch'.*

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dAga’q’LdAlah ’a’L necklace *A. Lacking possessive prefix, with perhaps indirect reflexive theme. Probably -L-instrumental deverbalization of -dAga'q'L-d-lah O-(L-)'a 'S place O around throat'.*

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***dAga’q’L di:’ah** *(noun, unclassified) possible interpretation of Rezanov* Такахльтеа 'цапля' *(not in Radlov 'heron', corresponding Tlingit entry тльяка łáx̱’ 'heron')* < its neck (d-class) extends.

ga:ndAG~ga:dAG~gulAdAG *(ga:dAG L only, gulAdAG A only; loan from Tlingit (Naish-Story) kɑntáɢʷ, (Sampson Harry) gɑnɑdáɢʷ, (S, G) gɑntáɢʷ 'blue lupine (Lupinus nootkatensis)', cf. also Chugach akaataq 'lupine')*

ga:ndAG~ga:dAG~gulAdAG *(noun, probably unclassified) unidentified plant species ('blue lupine'?)*: **ga:ndAG** plant *("we dig them up and eat them") S,* **ga:dAG**, **ga:ndAG** *L has heard, but cannot identify, vaguely identified with GALAtsitl'Xa' ya:n'Lt'ahL 'fireweed', gulAdAG 'same as Tlingit gɑnɑdáɢʷ' A (gɑnɑ- probably identified with Eyak gl-class-mark 'liquid', and -dɑɢʷ perhaps with Eyak o-dAG 'upland from, above o').*

gu: *(perhaps related to gwa'~ga' and/or to gih~gi)*

gu:-dAg~-dig~-dug *(adverb) (stem gu:-, always with enclitic -dAg~-dig~-dug 'also, too', M rejects proposed *gu:gih, *gu:gidAg)* again: *frequent in texts and elicitations, small sampling only of occurrences in text: 6.12M, 11.3, 52, 78, 78, 133, 136, 151A, 27a.34, 34.85, 85, 86, 87L, Rezanov* Кỳтакъ 'Еще noch' **gu:dAg** again *M,* **gu:dAgsh** *(not *gu:shdAg)* again? *L; frequently with preverb q'e'~q'e:- 'back, again, some more, another', redundant in translation: 9.39, 11.2, 172A, 27b.45A,* **gu:dAg ’Aw ts’inhG’ALt’ahL q’e’ ’Adu’LiXah** he turned himself this time into an alder leaf *9.80A (not 'again'), or with k'Ayi:ny~k'inh- 'different, another':* **q’e:’shk’ da:X gu:dAg k’Ayi:ny Ga:ndich’ich’g** Bluejay and (again) another bird *6.1M,* **k’inhda:d yahd ’uXa’ gu:dig** in a different place (they had) a house again *49.20A.*

gu:dAX *(origin of name unknown)*

gu:dAX *(personal name) Mike Sewak S, LM never heard.*

gu:suxk’~gu:sAxk’~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, see esp. sáx’ 'inside hemlock bark')*

gu:suxk’ *(noun, or perhaps Active imperfective of verb theme (O-)g-suxk') attested only in* **gu:suxk’da:X dAk’ah GAta’, 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:X*

dAk'ah GAta', sa'wahd '... it! and take it away from indeterminate o!, for bast', unknown to L).

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gu:sAxk'Ata:' *(personal name) man's name, same as Tlingit gusəxk(h)ə'í:š A,* **gu:sihxk'Ata:'**, **gu:suhxk'Ata:'** *part-Eyak, part-Tlingit man, not respected (Tlingit gusəxkɑ'íš name of man)* < father of g- *L.*

gu:djgAlAG~Gu:djgAlAG *(g- more frequent and probably more correct, but G- also well-established and verified by L; loan from Chugach kuuckalaq 'eagle', cf. also Ahtna šgulɑɢ 'eagle', not used by Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

gu:djgAlAG~Gu:djgAlAG *(noun, unclassified)* eagle *LM*: *8.1, 2, 4, 15, 18A, 42.20L, 60.21A, Rezanov* Кучколюкъ 'Орелъ Alder', *Anonymous* Куцкалахъ 'Орюль', *Wrangell* Ткочкалакъ 'Alder', *Galushia Nelson* gútcgàlàg *BSdL 264, 539, 559,* **gu:djgAlAGkih** eaglet *8.8A,* **gu:djgAlAGgAka'** eagle-tail *(used for dancing) L, Galushia Nelson* gútcgàlàg yàt 'Eagle potlatch house' *BSdL 545* **gu:djgAlAGyahd** eagle-house.

gu:gah~gu:gwah *(origin of name unknown)*

gu:gah *LM,* **gu:gwah** *S (personal name) Minnie Stevens, Nadezhda (born 1887; died Cordova, January 21, 1961) LMS, BSdL* guga. *Minnie Stevens told L that her grandfather said the name came from gu:g, some sort of root, unknown to both L and A.*

gu:guh

gu:guh *dog's name M?*

gu:xyAG *(loan from Chugach kuuxiaq 'coffee', from Russian кофе, not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

gu:xyAG *(noun, gl-class)* coffee (as beverage) *L (as beans probably lX-class, as ground probably unclassified).*

gu:l *(perhaps related to gwa´~ga´1, see below, or to gah~ge:, cf. PA *g^{w}e~ 'day, bright')*

-gu:l*, attested only in* **qe'gu:l** *(noun, unclassified, probably gerundive of verb-theme qa' 'i-gu:-, with qa' 'up out')* thunderbird, thunder, lightning *LMASG, 60.14, 29, 35, 36, 45, 48A*: *Rezanov* Кекоуль 'Молнїя Blitz', *Anonymous* Ккакулу 'Громъ', *Wrangell* Кагяуль 'Donner', *perhaps to be read* **qe'gAwl** *(L at first thinks she may have heard qe'gAwl, later says she has never heard it pronounced thus), or, more likely, with transpositions of гя, an unlikely Russian transcription in any case of -gA-, to be read* **qa' 'igu:l**, *Galushia Nelson* kˇai *crossed out, then* qaí'kˇul 'thunderbird' *transcribed by Norman Reynolds in notebooks of de Laguna, not published, perhaps confirming the latter reading of Wrangell,* **qe'gu:l-dahd 'u'-l-dA-ta** sound of thunder(bird) be heard, there be thunder *8.12, 23, 57A (see also o-dahd O-'-l-L-ya:'), Rezanov* Кекоульта туудида 'Молнїя блистаетъ es blitzt' **qe'gu:ldahd 'u'liditah** sound of thunder(bird) is heard *L,* **qe'gu:l 'iL'a:ng** there is lightning, lightning strikes, thunder(bird) bolts < thunderbird (repeatedly) travels *LM,* **qe'gu:lluw** big thunder *M. Etymology clearly qa' 'up out', umlauted by prefix 'i-, or, less likely, yi-, dropped by the living informants, with -gu:l, probably l-gerundive, perhaps, irregularly, of 'i-gwa´~ga´ 'dance, ceremonial hand movement'. For description and discussion of the Eyak thunderbird and beliefs connected with thunder, see Eyak Texts 60. and BSdL 233.*

gu’k’1 *(perhaps to be identified with gu'k'2)*

O-**gu’k’** S punch O, knock on O, S strike O with closed fist: **’Agu’k’inh** punch him! *M,* **xusAgu’k’Linh** he punched me *L,* **xugu:k’k’inh** he (cust) punches me *M, with l-anatomical, apparently partly thematized, not necessarily referring specifically to 'face':* **si:na’q’ yAGAdAle:’, xulAsAgu’k’L** make it up to me, that you punched my face in *9.32A,* **li:gu’k’inh** punch him! *L,* **li:gu’k’** punch him in the face! *S,* **qu’li:xgu’k’inh** I'll punch him *M,* **’iqe’li:xgu’k’** I'll punch you in the nose (face) *LMG,* **’i:nsigu’k’Linh** I punched him *M,* **xAlAsAgu’k’Linh** he punched me *L,* **’anh ne:tl’ q’Aw xu:nsAgu’k’L** *he* punched me first *M,* **xuli:gu:k’k’ya:X** lest he punch me *L, with ya' 'completely', 'S punch O's face in': 9.10, 12, 18, 29, 30, 46A,* **ya’ k’ula:yigu’k’wahd** so that he can punch somebody's face in *9.29A, with ku:l-anatomical:* **ku:li:gu’k’inh** punch him in the belly! *LM,* **ku:nsigu’k’Linh**, **ku:lisigu’k’Linh** I punched him in the belly *L,* **xuku:lAsAgu’k’Linh** *L,* **xuku:sAgu’k’Linh** *L,* **xuku:nsAgu’k’Linh** he punched me in the belly *LM,* **’iqe’ku:li:xgu’k’** I'll punch you in the belly *L,* **’iku:la:yigu’k’inh**, **’iku:lAGi:gu’k’inh** let him punch you in the belly *L, with d-class-mark for O, partly thematized:* **k’udi:gu’k’** knock (on something, door)! *M,* **di:gu’k’uh** knock on it (door)! *L, Rezanov* Текокъ 'Постучись klopfen, poltern (Imperat.)' *probably to be read* **di:gu’k’** knock on it (door)!; *with indeterminate O and o:* **’usa’ ’iGAgu’k’inh** punch him in the mouth! *L,* **sisa’ ’isAgu’k’Linh** he punched me in the mouth *L,* **siku:nLch’AyAq’ ’isAgu’k’L** he punched me in the belly (abdomen) *L,* **ya:n’ sitl’ ’isAgu’k’Linh** he punched me down < he punched down with me *L,* **qid ’utl’ ’isigu’k’L** I knocked it off (accidentally) < I punched down off with it *L; reciprocal:* **’iLu’ dAgu’k’inu:** they're punching each other *L,* **’iLu’ qu’dAgu’k’inu:** they'll punch each other *L,* **’iLu’ q’e’** (*or* **q’e:’iLu’**) **qu’dAgu’k’inu:** they'll punch each other again *L,* **’iLu’ da: q’e’ qu’dAgu’k’** we'll punch each other again *L, with perambulative:* **’iLu’ da: q’e:yAX ’idigu’k’** let's go around punching each other some more *L; passive:* **xusdigu’k’L** *(not -sLi-)* I got punched *L.*

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O-**’-gu’k’** *(semitransitive of preceding)* S punch at O (contact not specified), *with l-anatomical (thematized)*: **xu’lAsAgu’k’Linh** he punched at me *L, with ku:l-anatomical:* **xu’ku:nsAgu’k’Linh** he punched at my belly *L.*

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O-(**L**-)**gu’k’** *(L-classifier apparently optional)* S displace O by punching: **siXu:nLAyah sisa’ sALgu’Linh** he punched my teeth out (into my mouth) *L,* **qid sigu’k’L**, **qid siLgu’k’L** I punched it off (intentionally) *L,* **’a’q’ xusAgu’k’L**, **’a’q’ xusALgu’k’L** he punched me out (of the house) *L.*

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gu’k’L *(noun) (with -L-instrumental)* fist *LG.*

gu’k’2 *(perhaps to be identified with gu'k'1)*

LA-gu’k’ S be, become humpbacked: **GAxLAgu’k’L** I'm a hunchback *(Inceptive perfective, indicating state as part of process) L,* **GALAgu’k’Linh** he's a hunchback *L,* **sLigu’k’Linh** he became hunchbacked *L.*

gunux *(perhaps loan from Chugach kanax- 'gutskin', not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry) see ts'e'.*

gu:n *(loan from Tlingit (Sampson Harry, W. Soboleff) gún 'gold', from English, perhaps directly, or through Chinook Jargon)*

gu:n *(noun, unclassified)* gold *LMS*: **gu:n’At’u’** lots of gold *LM.*

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gu:nAtsa: *(noun, dl-class)* rock with gold in it, gold nugget < gold rock *L*: **gu:nAtsa: ’u:d dla:sA’ahL** a rock with gold in it is there *L.*

gu:nsh

k’u-l-L-gu:nsh *(remembered by L only as transitive with thematized k'u-indefinite O and probably l-anatomical 'face', basic meaning not clear)* S squint, narrow eyes to slit: **k’AlAGALgu:nshLinh** he's squinting, with eyes narrowed to a slit *L, with o-ch' 'at o':* **sich’ k’AlAGALgu:nshLinh** he's squinting at me *L, with perambulative:* **Lich’ yAX k’u:nLgAgu:nshXinh** he's always going around squinting (from weak eyesight) *L.*

gu:nehG~gu:nihG *(loan from Chugach kuuniq 'horse', from Russian конь or конек, not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

gu:nehG *(noun, unclassified)* horse *L*: **gu:nihGluw** *M,* **gu:nehGluw** big horse *L,* **gu:nehG ya’ GAdla:’a:w** big (high) horse *L.*

kid *(perhaps reduced form of kihd, or of kinhd)*

O-(**lX-**)**kid** *(with optional lX-class-mark for O)* S knock O (blueberries) off bush: **sikidL** I knocked them (blueberries) off *(first break blueberry-branches off plant, set them on canvas, then slap them with hand so that blueberries fall onto canvas; done with blueberries only) L,* **qu’lAXi:xkid** I'll knock them (blueberries) off *L; passive:* **lAXAsdikidL** they (blueberries) have been knocked off *L.*

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dA-kid *(perhaps in error for dA-kihd, elicited after the preceding, by which it may have been influenced)* S (light snow) fall: **sdikidL** light snow has fallen *L.*

kidz *(first transcribed kihdz)*

kidz *(noun)* 1. *(classification not ascertained)* seaweed *("long hair like, in river") A,* some kind of green seaweed *L ("catches on nets, no use"), perhaps 'widgeon grass (Ruppia maritima)', 'pondweed (Potamogeton)', 'rush', or, especially, 'eel grass (Zostera marina)' (probably resembling or used to make binder twine), or 'beach rye (Elymus mollis)'?.*

2. *(qi:l-class)* coarse cheap twine or packing-cord, binder twine: **kidzqi:lA’a:w** long piece of binder twine *M,* **kidzqi:lAt’u’** lots of binder twine *M.*

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kidzk’uXehL *(noun)* coarse cheap twine, packing-cord, binder twine *LM. First transcribed kihdzk'uXehL from both L and M, later apparently kidz- from both. Probably either resembling or made from kidz 1..*

kAŋgu:dz *(loan from English, perhaps 'canned goods', perhaps not naturalized)*

kAŋgu:dz *(noun, probably unclassified)* tools?: **qe’LGAyu:ya’ kAŋgu:dz** women's tools?, *old Eyak lady, da: qa'Lyi:n'inh used to say L (L thinks this may have been intended to be English, but could not identify the English).*

kAwAs~kAwAsk’ *(also kAwus, kuwus, kAwis, kAwusk', kuwusk', most frequently kAwus(k'); also free alternation between k…s-g and k…sk', A usually k…sk', LM usually k…s-g)*

kAwAs-g~kAwAsk'(-L) *(noun, l-class) (stem alternating freely between kAwAsk' and kAwAs with -g-repetitive thematized, rarely attested without -L-suffix, probably instrumental; no verb-theme remembered)* canoe paddle: *Rezanov* Кавоске 'Весло Ruder', *Anonymous* Кавасκгъ 'Веселко байдарочное' ('baidara paddle'), *Galushia Nelson* kuʊsktɬ *or* kúʊ̀skìɬ, *Old Man Dude* koɪsk 'paddle' *BSdL 550,* **kuwusk'** *A,* **kuwusk'L** *LA, 33.22, 35, 44A,* **kAwusk'L** *L, 33.51, 49.33, 37A,* **kAwAsk'L** or **kAwAsgL** *(no preference) L,* **kAwisgL** *M,* **kAwusgL** *L, 33.19A, 37a.16L, 71.17LM,* **kAwusgL sich' li:'a'** *(or* **-ta'**, *former perhaps preferred)* give me a paddle! *L,* **kAwusgL 'u:d 'i:nsA'ahL** (*or* **-tahL**) a paddle is there *L,* **kAwusgL 'u:d lAsAtahL, 'a:nch' li'LXahd** a paddle is there, drag it here! *L,* **kAwusk'L dla:sAq'ahL** a paddle burned *L,* **kAwusgL'i:'nuw** big paddle *LM,* **kAwusk'Lyu:** *33.14, 14A,* **kAwusgLyu:** *47b.12, 20M, 47c.25L,* **kuwusgLyu:** canoe paddles, paddle(s) etc. *47c.10L.*

kAwu:d *(loan from Tlingit kawúd 'beads')*

kAwu:d *(noun, lX-class)* beads *M*: **kAwu:d-lAXAt'u'** lots of beads *LM, Galushia Nelson* qùɒíɬtsílì' k'ùγù·t *or* qùɒíɬtsíɬlì kìγù·t 'shell bead' *BSdL 551* **k'udALts'Alih kAwu:d**, **'anhya' kAwu:d la'X lAXAdla:ya'L** his bead-necklace *21a.36L,* **kAwu:d-lAXAdla:'e'X** (through) holes in beads for stringing *L.*

kAle:st' *(loan from Tlingit (Naish-Story, Sampson Harry) kɑnésd 'cross, crucifix', from Russian крест 'cross; club (at cards)'; Eyak final -t' probably due to influence of tl'ihst', chisht', gust', ka:st')*

kAle:st' *(noun, probably unclassified)* 1. cross, crucifix *LA.*

2. clubs *(suit at cards) L.*

kAna:qa: *(loan from nineteenth-century English 'Kanaka' /kɨnáhkɨh/, probably through Tlingit, in which English -kɨh yielded irregular qa under influence of qá 'person', cf. t'u:ch'qa:; probably obsolete in Yakutat Tlingit, not known to Sampson Harry, W. Soboleff)*

kAna:qa:- *(noun, unclassified) probably originally* Hawaiian, Polynesian: **kAna:qa:yu:** Greeks *LA,* Mexicans, Spaniards *("because they speak different") A,* **kAna:qa:shiyahyu:** Greeks < bad kAna:qa:yu: *(same people as kAna:qa:yu:) L.*

kAna's

kAna's *(noun, unclassified)* wolverine *LM*: *10.52A, 15.1, 3, 5, 8, 14, 18, 20, 22, 26, 34.52M, Galushia Nelson* kùnǻ'əs: *or* kùná·'əsˁ (with strong final aspiration) 'wolverine' *BSdL 538,* **kAna'syu:** wolverines *10.51A,* **kAna'sluw** big wolverine *LM.*

kAna:'d~kAna:'Ad *(loan from Tlingit (Naish-Story) kina'ád, kinag'ád, (Sampson Harry) kɑnag'ád, (W. Soboleff) kɪna'ád 'topcoat')*

kAna:'d~kAna:'Ad *(noun, unclassified)* coat: **kAna:'d** *LMA,* **kAna:'Ad** coat *L,* **kAna:'d sila'q' GAta'** put a coat on me!, give me a coat (to put on)! *M,* **kAna:'Ad-luw** big coat *M,* **kAna:'dLga'L** old beat-up worn-out coat *L,* **q'Aq'ya' kAna:'d**, **q'Aq'kAna:'d** loon's coat (of feathers) *24.40A,* **dik' kAna:'d da:lA'LXa:G** he (transformed man couldn't fly because he) didn't have a (loon's) coat *24.45A,* **GALa'q'dya' kAna:'d** *L,* **GALla'q'dya' kAna:'Ad** *(both probably to be corrected to* **GAL(l)a'q'd ya: kAna:'(A)d)** overcoat, topcoat < coat which is the outermost one of a series hung over something *LM.*

kut’i:k’~k’ut’i:k’~k’udi:k’ *(for variation see below; loan, phonologically irregular, from Tlingit (Sampson Harry, S) kɑt’íx̱’, (W. Soboleff) kɑt’íx̱’ 'chewing-tobacco', < 'pounded, compressed')*

kut’i:k’~k’ut’i:k’~k’udi:k’ *(noun, probably unclassified)* chewing-tobacco: **k’udi:k’** tobacco for chewing and swallowing *M (probably influenced by k'u-indefinite prefix, perhaps also by k'udi:q'),* **k’ut’i:k’** *LA (later rejected by L),* **kut’i:k’** "star" brand plug tobacco *L.*

kuts’~kuch’ *(kuch' implied by Rezanov at least 11 times, by Khromchenko and Wrangell once, kuts' implied once by both Anonymous and Baranov, twice by Furuhjelm and perhaps once by Rezanov; all modern informants kuts' exclusively, except for kuch' consistently in one place-name from L; L does not otherwise remember hearing kuch'; a change kuch' > kuts' apparently took place during the nineteenth century; for the (rare not clearly assimilative) alternation of the type ts'~ch', attested otherwise only in stem-initials, see also ts'id~ch'id, and ch'an´, ts'a:nG, ts'a:nG~ts'a:nX, and ch'a:nG)*

-kuts’-~-kuch’-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, 37b.6, 26A, 64.3G, 65.84A,* **ya:kuts’g Le’t’ya’ch’** into a little box *28.119A, Anonymous* Ялюцкъ *(к struck over л)* 'Малый', *Baranov* Ялюцъ [sic] 'Малый', *Khromchenko* Кучетъ *(in Ahtna column)* / Якучъ *(in Eyak column)* 'Мало', *Wrangell* Яакучкъ 'Klein' **ya:kuch’g**, **ya:kuts’g** *(not **-kuts’-** LS)* little *LMS, Galushia Nelson* ya·kʊtskɪtɬ *or* yá·kʊ̀tsk 'small (used for bird or pencil)' *BSdL 553* **ya:kuts’g (yiLeh)** (it's) small, *as C in C -Le(') often nominalized, 'child' ('S who be small'): Rezanov* Ягучькесленъ 'Дитя, реденокъ Kind' **ya:kuch’g yiLinhinh**, Якучкетленке 'Мальчикъ Knabe' **ya:kuts’g yiLinhinhkih** he(-diminutive) who is little, **ya:kuts’g yiLinhinu:** youngsters *51.74A,* **XAwa: ya:kuts’g** dog (is) small *M; in reference to classified nouns:* **ya:lAXAkuts’gkih** small bit of (broken-up) roe *10.116A,* **la’mahd ya:lAXAkuts’g** berries (are) small *L, Furuhjelm* Iakulkutzku *perhaps to be read* **ya:gulAkuts’g** small amount of liquid *L, Galushia Nelson* yáɒə̀kʊ̀tsk *or* yátə̀kʊ̀tsk 'small (used for tree, knife, house)' *BSdL 554* **ya:dAkuts’g**, **dzAwuL ya:gAkuts’g** net (is) small *M; with anatomical marks:* **ya:qi:dAkuts’g yiLeh** your feet are small < you're small-footed *M, with ya:- lacking, perhaps in error:* **ku:ndAkuts’g yiLeh** it (tree) is small at base *L.*

2. *Suffixed* a. *to unclassified nouns*: *Rezanov* Ягахекучики 'Баидарка kleine Baidare' **ya’XAkihkuch’g(kih)** small umiak, Кольгаль кучики 'Бусъ feiner Regen' *perhaps to be read* **k’ulAXALkuts’g(kih)**, *see XAL2 and gihdj, Anonymous* Акуликуцкъ 'Река малая' **’a:ngulAkuts’g** little river, Макуликуцкъ 'Озеро малое' **ma:gulAkuts’g** little lake, *with -gl- 'liquid' instead of -gd- standard qualifier,* **XAwa:kuts’gkih** small dog *L,* **’Ali:mahdAlihkuch’g** *(not -kuts'-) place-name,* small bay north of Hartney Bay < little 'Ali:mahdAlih *L (cf. 'Ali:mahdAlihluw),* **dja:nnlAquhLkuts’g** *Eyaks' epithet for a certain white man* < John small-cheeks *LM, with nouns referring to humans, sometimes with -i-: Furuhjelm* Kelikutzkuki 'girl' **qe’Likuts’gkih** little girl *L, Rezanov* Яхосалькучику 'Дѣвочка kleines Mädchen' **ya’X Xu’ sahLkuts’gkih** "small girl just grown up" *L (i.e. 'girl who has just reached puberty'?; cf. personal name ya'X Xu' sahLi'luw), with suffixed -shiyah (pejorative force lessened or absent):* **Ch’i:lehkuts’gshiyah** Little Old Raven *1a.1M,* **Ge:ts’gAXAq’kuts’gshiyah** Little Old Magpie *9.9, 48A,* **’anhga’kih ’i:Lkuts’ginhkuts’gshiyah** a poor little fellow who's small like that *9.44A,* **ba:sha:kuts’gshiyah** *personal name LM (see ba:sha:),* **k’a:dahkuts’gshiyah** a remarkably clever little youngster *M.*

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2b. *to classified nouns*: *Rezanov* Тляискехатокочке 'Бревно ('beam') Balken' **Le:sk'… XAdAkuch'…**, **Le:sk'XAdAkuts'g**, **Le:sk'XAdAkuts'gkih** small log, small plank *L,* **djahGLdla:kuts'g** small needle *M,* **'itl'lAkuts'g** small mountain *M.*

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2c. *with Gi'-thematic*: *with -lX-de:', in epithet:* **lAXAde:'Gi'kuts'g** small-eyes *L; with o-yAq' 'inside (of) o': Rezanov* Уяхакейкучкъ 'Уско ('narrow') eng, schmal', Уехъ-акайкучке 'Не въ пору, не въ пропорцїи eng, schmal, zu klein, zu eng (von Kleidern)', Атъуяхакейкучкъ 'Уже ('narrower') eng, schmal (Comparat.)', *all perhaps to be read* (**'a'd**) **'uyAq'AGi'kuch'g**(**kih**) it's (very) small inside, **'uyAq'AGi'kuts'g** it's small inside, its inside is too small (to accomodate something) *L (all, however, perhaps to be read 'uyAq' 'iGi:-, see below).*

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'i-G-kuts'-~-kuch'-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized, with G-thematic with certain postpositional phrases, 'i- not clearly identified, perhaps thematized indeterminate O, theme perhaps transitive; attested mainly in Neuter imperfective)* S be too small (for something else, indeterminate O?): *with o-yAq' 'inside (of) o':* **'uyAq' 'iGi:kuts'g** it's small inside, its inside is too small (for something else) *L, see also 2c. above,* **'Aw yu:xga: 'uyAq' 'iGi:kuts'g** that skirt is too small *L,* **dik' 'uyAq' 'iGa'kuts'gG** it's not too small (inside) *L,* **'uyAq' 'iqe'Gi:kuts'g** it'll get too small (inside) *L; with o-l-yAq' (l-anatomical thematized):* **lAyAq' 'iGi:kuts'g** voice (is) soft, voice (is) high-pitched *L (probably in error either for either 'ulAyAq' 'iGi:kuts'g, or, as epithet, belonging under 2c. above, lAyAq'AGi'kuts'g 'soft-voice, high-voice')*; *with o-d-q' 'on d-class o':* **'uda:q' 'iGi:kuts'g** its surface (of d-class o) is too small (for something else) *L.*

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-kuts'-g *(uncertain, sparsely attested, probably not freely used)* S be small, too small: *with class-marks for S:* **la'mahd lAXi:kuts'g** berries are small *L, Rezanov* Коасготесокоцль *(with г written over what is perhaps ъ)* 'Прояснѣваетъ es heitert sich (der Himmel)' *perhaps to be read* **q'wahs XAdAsAkuts'L** *(the only possible instance of -kuts'- in Rezanov and the only instance then of -kuts'-~-kuch'- without -g, therefore an unlikely reading; see qAts'),* **q'ahs XAdAsAkuts'L** clouds got small *M (uncertain, elicited in attempt to identify the Rezanov),* **gah XAdAsAkuts'L** days got short *M (elicited in connection with the preceding, probably incorrect). Transitive (causative): attested in passive only:* **sLikuts'gL** it has been made too small *L.*

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-L-kuts'-g *(as above, with L-classifier with certain postpositional phrases of comparison)* S be small in comparison with something else *(attested in Neuter perfective only)*: *with o-'u'X 'less than o, short of o': Rezanov* Ауухелькучка 'Маленькой klein' **'Aw'u'X 'i:Lkuch'g**, **'Aw'u'X 'i:Lkuts'g** it's smaller than that *L,* **'i'u'X 'ixiLkuts'g** I'm smaller than you *L, with o-ga' 'like o':* **'anhga'kih 'i:Lkuts'ginhkuts'gshiyah** poor little guy who is as small as him(-diminutive) *9.44A; indirect reciprocal:* **'iL'u'X 'iLikuts'g** one is smaller than the other *L, with 'iLda:X 'next to, in comparison with one another':* **'iLda:X 'iLikuts'g** one is smaller than the other *M (M, and L, uncertain of correctness).*

kuts'i:d~kuts'i:nd~kAts'i:nd *(loan from Tlingit kaꞩ'íd 'screw', nasalized vowel due to influence of high frequency of nasalized modified -i- as opposed to that of non-nasalized modified -i- after initial dz-, ts-, ts'-, s- of Eyak stems; cf. ch'inhdG~ch'ihdG for the converse)*

kuts'i:d~kuts'i:nd~kAts'i:nd *(noun, unclassified)* screw: **kuts'i:d** *A,* **kuts'i:nd** screw *L,* **kAts'i:nd-luw** big screw *L;* **kuts'i:nd'e'X li' dAxuLg** bolt (for screw) *L (see under xuL~xwAL~XAL).*

kus *(element, possibly to be identified with kus~kwAs, in kusdla:L'ehdg, q.v. under 'ehd2, and in tl'e:kus)*

kust'a:t' *(loan from (NS) Tlingit kɑst'át' 'crazy-quilt', W. Soboleff 'cotton, light blanket, surgical gauze')*

kust'a:t' *(noun, unclassified)* quilt *L*: **kust'a:t'luw** big crazy-quilt *M.*

kus~kwAs *(kwAs S and G only, under Tlingit influence; expanded ke:s LMA, kwe:s S; loan from Tlingt k^{w}ɑs 'urine (polite, 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 'ALe'** *M,* **kus GALe'** go pipi! *(to child) L,* **kus siLga'L** I need to urinate *M.*

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kus'Akih *(noun, probably unclassified, with -kih 'diminutive, affectionate')* vulva *(nursery term) A. (Note Veniaminov (Geogh ???) kus ???.*

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O-**kus~-kwAs** S wash O *(originally in urine, but no longer necessarily with any reference to urine, ambiguous as in English, 'S wash (something off) O, S wash O (off something)')*: *Rezanov* Какосъ 'Мой waschen, etwas (Imperat.)', Какъ-осъ 'Мытъ waschen, etwas' **GAkus** wash it!, **'Akus** wash it! *M,* **'usha:w 'Akus** wash his hair! *L,* **shisha:w qu'xkus** I'll wash my hair *LM,* **'anhsha:w kusinh** he's washing his (another's) hair *L,* **'usha:w kusinh** he's washing his (own, another's) hair *L,* **k'ukusinh** he's washing something *L,* **Li'q' 'Aw GAma: 'Awq'Ach'ahd sAkusLinh** he washed all the maggots off it *45a.8L,* **'Aw GAma: 'Awk'ah sAkusLinh** he washed the maggots off it *45b.1M,* **'uyAq'a'ts' q'unhnu: 'Awya'X ke:sk'** they (cust) wash their (own) hands in it (bowl of urine) *33.17A; detransitivized with indeterminate O:* **'i:ndAkus** do laundry! *L,* **'iqe'xdAkus** I'll do laundry *L,* **'ixdAkus** I'm doing wash, laundry *L,* **dik' 'ixdAkusG** I'm not doing laundry *L, with perambulative:* **yAX 'idAkusXinh** he's going around washing things *M; indirect reflexive:* **'i: sha:w 'AdAkus** you, wash your hair! *L,* **sha:w qu'xdAkus** I'll wash my hair *L,* **'anh sha:w dAkus** he's washing his (own) hair *L; reflexive:* **'AdAdAkus**, **'Ada:dAkus** take a bath!, wash yourself! *LM,* **'Adqu'xdAkwAs** I'll take a bath *G,* **'AdxdAkus** I'm taking a bath *M,* **'AddAkusinh** he's washing himself *M,* **'AdixsdikusL** I washed myself *L,* **dik' 'AdAxsdAkusLG** I didn't wash myself *L,* **di:yAX 'AdAxsdAkusLG** I haven't washed myself yet *L,* **di:yAX 'AdGAxlAkusLG** I'm not washing myself yet *L, with l-anatomical: Rezanov* Охатлекатакузъ 'Умойся waschen, sich (Imperat.)' **wAX** (*or* **'uX**) **'Ad-lAGAdAkus** wash your face thus! (*or* by means of it!), Атлекатакузъ 'Умыться waschen, sich' **'Ad-lAGAdAkus** *L,* **'Ad-la:dAkus** wash your face! *L,* **'Adqu'lAxdAkus** I'll wash my face *S,* **'Ad-lAxdAkwAs** I'm washing my face, **'Ad-lAdAkusinu:** they wash their faces *33.50, 50A, Rezanov* Кажетенстекузль 'Умывался ли? hast du dich gewaschen?' **q'ahsh 'Adi:nsdikusL** have you finally washed your face?, **'Ad-lAxdAke:sk'** *L,* **'Ad-lAxsdAkwe:sk'** I (cust) wash my face *S,* **'Ad-la:dikuswahd** that they might wash their faces *L, with y-anatomical:* **'Adya:dAkus** wash your hands! *LA,* **'AdyAxdAkus** I'm washing my hands *L,* **'uch' k'u'xLituhg, dAqa:yu:, 'Adya:xdikus** I was lazy about it, sometimes, to wash my hands *A,* **'AdyuxdAke:sk'** *A,* **'AdyAxdAke:sk'** I (cust) wash my hands *LM,* **'Adya:ndAke:sk'**, **'Adya:dAke:sk'** (cust) wash your hands! *L; passive:* **qu'dAkus** it'll be washed *M,* **dAkus** it's being washed *M,* **sdikusL** it's been washed *M (see also nominalizations below)*; *problematical forms in Rezanov:* Кыхтокусъ 'Вымой waschen, etwas (Imperat.)' *perhaps to be read* **qu'xdAkus** I'll be washed,

[**’Ad**]**qu’xdAkus** I'll wash myself, *or, most likely,* [**’i**]**qe’xdAkus** I'll do washing, laundry, Эттегонстекузль 'Умы вался ich? habe mich? gewaschen' *perhaps to be read* **’idah** [**’Ad**]**k’u:nsdikusL** someone washed his (own) face well *or* **’Ad(A)ku:nsdikusL** you washed your belly *or* **’Ad**(**A**)**qa:nsdikusL** they (pl.) washed their (own) faces.

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sdikusLyu: *(noun, unclassified)* clean laundry: **sdikusLyu: ’AdiX GALa:’** bring the clean laundry in! *L. Passive Active perfective nominalized with -yu: 'pl.'.*

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’uya’X k’udAkus *(noun, probably unclassified)* washing machine *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective,* < something is washed in it (movement in o with broad opening at top).

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’uya’X ’AdsdinkusL *(noun, probably unclassified)* bath tub. *Nominalized passive Active perfective* < has washed self in it (movement in o with broad opening at top)'.

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’uya’X ’Ad-lAkus *(noun, probably unclassified)* wash basin, sink *L. Deverbalization of reflexive with l-anatomical,* < washes one's face in it (movement in o with broad opening at top).

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’uya’X ’ikusL *(noun, probably unclassified)* washtub *L. -L-instrumental deverbalization of detransitivized theme with indeterminate O,* < washing is done in it (movement in o with broad opening at top).

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’idAkus mAshi:nn *(noun, probably unclassified)* washing machine *L. Nominalization of theme detransitivized with indeterminate O, 'washing', as attribute.*

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’uX GAlAkusL *(noun, probably unclassified)* scrubbrush *L. -L- instrumental deverbalization of passive theme with Gl-thematic 'ground, floor',* < by means of it floor is washed.

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qa:Xu:nLAyah ’uX dAkus *(noun, probably unclassified)* toothbrush *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective,* < by means of it our teeth are washed.

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gAlAdAkus *(noun, perhaps gl-class or unclassified)* big September tide. *Nominalized Active imperfective of theme gl-dA-kus intransitive, or passive of O-gl-(L-)kus, not otherwise attested, with thematized gl-class-mark for S or O 'liquid', "washes everything out" L.*

kushdAqa: *(loan from Tlingit ku:shdá:-qá: 'land-otter person')*

kushdAqa: *(place-name) Kushtaka Lake (Devil Lake) S.*

kushdAnn~kushdinn *(origin unknown)*

kushdAnnta:’ *A,* **kushdinnta:’** *L (personal name) Joe Nelson, son of Anna A, man's name L, M has heard, also* **qAshdAta:’** *A;* **kushtAnn’i:sh** *(from Elaine Ramos),* **qAshdAni:sh** *A.*

kushk’ *(cf. q'e:'shk')*

kushk’ *(noun, unclassified)* bluejay, Steller's jay (Cyanocitta stelleri) *LA (obsolescent, largely replaced by q'e:'shk' from Tlingit x̱’éšx’^{w}).*

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kushk’Ata:’ *(personal name) Eyak man* < father of bluejay *L.*

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kushk’Asha:w *(place-name) Big Point at Hartney Bay* < bluejay head *L.*

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kushk’Asha:wya’d (1), **kushk’Asha:wtsi:n’d** (2) *(place-name) Hartney Bay* < in kushk'Asha:w (as body of water) (1), < downhill from, below kushk'Asha:w (2) *L. (Cf. 'Ali:mahdAlihluw.)*

kushxi:d *(L once kushxwi:d; loan from Tlingit kašxíd (Naish-Story) 'cloth', (Sampson Harry) 'striped cloth', (S) 'calico')*

kushxi:d *(noun, unclassified)* cloth *L*: **kushxwi:d** cloth *L,* **kushxi:d ’u:d sAtahL** a piece of cloth is there *M,* **kushxi:d-luw** big piece of cloth *LM,* **kushxi:d la’q’ GALAtsidzgL** the cloth is thin *L,* **’AXa: la’q’ ’i:chahs** (*or* **-cha’sh**) **kushxi:d** my what thick cloth! *L,* **ya:tsidzg kushxi:d** narrow (strip of) cloth *L.*

kug *(expanded ke:g)*

-kug S break: **sAkugL** it broke *L; usually with preverbs: with yAX 'apart, in two': Active perfective 7.26A, Rezanov* Ихсукукль 'Изломалъ zerbrach' **yAX sAkugL** it (e.g. stick) broke *L,* **’utsin’da’d ’Awa: yAX sAkugL** the tip of it is broken off *L,* **q’ahdAq’Aw Lich’ yAX sAkugL** it's finally broken for good *L,* **djig yAX sAkugL da:X ya’X sLi’AdzL** just as it broke he jumped off it *L,* **djig ’Awch’a:q’ yAX sAkugL** it broke right along it (mark) *L,* **djig ya:’a:gdAX yAX sAkugL** it broke right in half (in the middle) *L,* **sitl’ yAX sAkugL** it (e.g. bridge) broke with me (on it) *L,* **siXa’ yAX sAkugL** it broke "on" me (to my dismay) *L,* **’uqa’X ya:yu: ’Awa: yAX qAsAkugL** some of them are broken *L,* **’Awa: yAX k’usAkugL** one of them is broken *L, Neuter perfective:* **’uni:k’ ’Awa: yAX ’i:kugL** its beak was broken *26.1, 7L,* **’uqa’X ya:yu: ’Awa: yAX qi:kugL** some of them are broken *L,* **’Awa: yAX k’u:kugL** one of them is broken *L, other mode-aspects:* **yAX GAkugLGdAwa:** before it breaks *L,* **yAX qa’kug** it (e.g. stick) will break *L,* **yAX ke:gk’**, **yAX ’Ake:gk’** it (cust) breaks *L,* **dik’ yAX ’Ake:gk’G** it (cust) doesn't break *M, with ya' 'completely':* **q’ahdAq’Aw Lich’ ya’ sAkugL** it's finally all broken up for good *L,* **ya’ qa’kug** it'll break to pieces *L, with tl'ehd 'open', repetitive:* **tl’ehd kugg** it keeps breaking open *(figurative, of house full of food) 49.137, 138A, with d-class-mark for S:* **qu’LXa:dL, t’ik’L ’uXa’ yAX dAsAkugL** his bow, his bow-and-arrow had broken *7.26A,* **dik’ yAX dAke:gk’G** it (board) (cust) doesn't break *M, with anatomical marks:* **yAX ku:ndAsAkugL** it broke (e.g. tree at base, gun, at stock, axe-handle near head) *L,* **yAX ch’a:ndisikugL** my arm broke *L,* **yAX qu’ch’a:ndi:kug** you'll break your arm *L,* **yAX k’ushdAsAkugLinh** he broke his (lower) leg *L,* **yAX qu’k’ushdi:kug** you'll break your (lower) leg *L,* **yAX qAk’ushdAsAkugLinu:** they broke their legs *L,* **yAX qu’qAk’ushdi:kuginu:** they'll break their legs *L,* **yAX gAlAXi:kugL** its back (spine) is broken *(Neuter perfective) L. Transitive (causative) 'S cause O to break' (indirectly, not 'S break O'): passive:* **yAX sdikugL** it's been caused to break (e.g. bridge, by someone, but not directly) *L; used more freely by M, probably incorrectly:* **’ALkug** break off sticks! *M,* **yAX siLkugL** I broke it (stick) *M, passive:* **sdikugL** it's been broken off *M,* **dAkug** it's being broken off *M; also, from M, transitive forms with zero-classifier, almost certainly incorrect:* **’Akug** break it (stick)! *M,* **yAX GAkug** break it (stick) off! *M,* **yAX k’ushdAGAkuginh** break his leg! *M, and one intransitive form with L-classifier:* **sALkugL** it (stick) broke off *M. Susceptive Neuter:* **qALikugX** *M,* **LikugX** it (e.g. stick) is brittle, fragile, breaks easily *L,* **LikugX dAkinh** brittle stick *L,* **dik’ ’a’LAkugXG** it (e.g. stick) doesn't break easily *L, with d-class-mark for S:* **qAdiLikugX** it (board) breaks easily *M.*

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qid d-kug *(with d-thematic with qid 'down off')* S break off: **qid dAsAkugL** it broke off *L,* **k'u'a:w 'uyAq'a'ts' 'Awa: qid dAsAkugL** the minute-hand (its long hand) broke off *L.*

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ya:n' dl-kug *(with dl-thematic 'fall over' and ya:n' 'down')* S break and topple over: *including d-class-mark for S:* **ya:n' dla:sAkugL lis** wind-fallen trees < trees which have broken, falling over *L, 68.14A.*

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kugL *(noun, unclassified) (with -L-suffix, perhaps instrumental)* broken stick, dead dry stick, stick for hanging drying fish on, roasting-stick, spit *LM*: *47b.39M, 47c.48L,* **kugL'a'luw** big piece of stick *LM,* **kugL'Akih** little piece of stick *M.*

ki:wa:la: *(loan from Tlingit (Harrington from G, W. Soboleff) kiwá 'à 'heaven for spirits, dog-heaven, place where dead go')*

ki:wa:la: 1. *(place-name) Valhalla, at Mile 11 on Copper River Railway A XV.10, ST8.8, 54, 30.12, 12, 12, 13fnA.*

2. *(place-name) place out in flats (vaguely remembered) L.*

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3. *sea-monster A (very vaguely remembered in Eyak).*

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:* **XAwa:kih** little dog, cute, nice little dog *LM, see also GALAduk'L, -dAleh, -La'ch', dAdzahGL, -qa:' 1., Ge:LgAlid, GAnuh, 'Anuh, -wAXa:w~, dji:da:dAG, -tse', GAsAtsah (tsa~tsah), k'u:nLda'ts', Ge:ts'gAXAq', Ga:ndich'ich'g, -q'AX, GAsu', q'a:lilah (la~na1, 61.104A), 'Ana:shah, shAlAG, gu:djgAlAG~; suffixed to classified nouns:* **shdu:lihGdAkih** little table *L,* **k'utahti:lAkih** little pelt, bit of pelt *M,* **k'uLt'ahLti:lAkih** little leaf *M,* **tl'e:yu'dAkih** little hemlock *M,* **La'dAkih** little glacier *M,* **djahGLdla:kih** little needle *M,* **lAGAshk'LXAdAkih** small pole *M,* **'a:ngulAkih** little river, creek *L, Tarkhanov, Rezanov,* **tsa'LdAkih** small knife *M, 38.8, 14LM, 66.5L,* **ma:gAdAkih** small lake, pond *L,* **k'uXu:nLAyahXu:lAkih** small teeth *L; suffixed to l-class nouns, connective -(')A- usually preceding -lA-, often even where suffixed to polyvocalic forms:* **ts'u:lAkih** small breasts *L,* **XuhLgAlAkih** small shovel *L,* **tAGLAlAkih** small hammer *L, Rezanov,* **ch'iyahd-lAkih** *L,* **ch'iyahd'AlAkih** small hat *M,* **'i:ndit'u:ch'lAkih** small black gumboots *M; with certain nouns referring to humans, connective -i-:* **dAXunhikih** little (miniature) person *37b.47A (cf. dAXunhkih under 3. below), see also qe'L, LAni:'; suffixed to unclassified monovocalic nouns, with connective -(')A-, -'- usually and probably more correctly present:* **'AX'Akih** small boat, model boat *L (cf. 'AXAkih 'canoe' under 2. below), see also du:sh, duhsk', ta:, tAL~, Le't', ts'Alih~, sahs, kugL, GAX, qe'L, k'u:y; suffixed to kinship nouns, meaning usually affectionate, 'nice, dear': see qa', -Ginh, -tsi:~, -dAGe:', with irregular connective -(')A-, see -'ehd, -yahsh; suffixed to nouns with suffixed adjective or to independent adjective:* **XAwa:luwkih** fairly big dog, good-sized dog, nice big dog *L,* **k'u'luwkih** pretty big, fair-sized, just about grown up *L, 49.29, 30A,* **LAni:'idzu:kih** nice little boy *L,* **qe'Ldzu:kih** nice girl, pretty girl *L, especially frequent with -kuts'-~ 'little', and -gut'-~ 'tiny'; suffixed to forms with thematized suffixed -kih:* **'AXAkihkih** little canoe *L,* **si:ndzkihkih** my little brother *(affectionate, Scar Stevens called L this) L; suffixed to numeral:* **'anh LinhGihkih** that small one (person), youngster *10.26A; suffixed to nominalized verbs:* **ya:kuts'gkih yiLinhinhkih** little one (who is small), small child *L, Rezanov,* **'AXa: 'Adu'liLiginhinhkih** my what a cute outgoing, knowledgeable little child! < my how he (dim.)

knows himself! *L,* **'Aw xwitl'gä' 'i:t'ehkih** that little white one *23.28A,* **dA'uyAgä' 'idiyahkih** a small one just the right size for her to handle *25.25A, see further instances under 2. below; suffixed to postpositional phrases:* **(dA)'Alga'kih** (just) this little bit, like this (small size, degree, distance) *25.48A,* **dA'Alga'kih Gah da:X ga'ginh** when he goes just (a short way) like this he keeps getting tired *L,* **'anhga'kih 'i:Lkuts'ginhkuts'gshiyah** poor little fellow as small as he *9.44A,* **qi' 'Awga'kih 'a'diyahch'** until she's big enough (though still small) < until she's sized like that little bit *9.27A,* **'Aw'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:* **'Aw qi'dAXkih la'q' 'i:cha'shda:X** along the place along where (dim.) it (meat) is (rather?) thick *65.4A,* **lu:di:'dkih q'Aw sAdahL** stayed on the (dim.) tide-beach (doing a little beachcombing) *10.2A,* **Xi:d XAlAGdAq'Asdkih q'unh sAdahL** way at the back end of that little place she sat *23.45A,* **XAyA'u:dkih** a little further over there *M; in combination with -GA-yu: 'pl.':* **qe'LAkihGAyu:** young women *29.1A (corrected by L to qe'LGAyu:kih, probably incorrect, of original transcribed dictation).*

2. *Thematized, 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*: **k'udAGAlehkih** spider sp. *(k'udAGAleh 'someone's mind'),* **'AXAkih** canoe *(not 'AX'Akih, cf. 'AX 'boat', 'AX'Akih 'small boat, model boat'),* **ch'u:ch'AlAkih** bird sp. *L (ch'u:ch' 'snail'),* **di:yanhsha:w'AlAkih** bird sp. *M (di:yanh-sha:w 'stickleback-head'),* **q'Adl'Akih** *cat's name A (q'Adl 'pot'),* **'igAtl'ahdAkih** *dog's name A ('igAtl'ah 'your tail'),* **kus'Akih** vulva *(nursery term) A (kus 'urine, urination'),* **du:sha:Gkih** *man's name L (du:sha:G man's name),* **ka:ta:dAkih** twenty-five cents *L (same meaning as ka:ta:),* **ya:q'e'kih** *personal name LM (ya:q'e' '(maternal) aunt (vocative)'; cf. a:~ya:),* **k'uyahshAkih** *cat's name L (k'uyahsh 'a (woman's) child; with irregular connective -A-),* **tl'la:kih** cross-cousin *(vocative only, not *tl'la:) L (-tl'-la: 'cross cousin'),* **sALsi'L'Akih** *dog's name (sALsi'L 'it is rotten, foul', nominalization, with irregular connective -'A-),* **'iLAdzanhkih** hummingbird *L ('iLAdzanh 'it buzzes', nominalization),* **k'uLGAdjgkih** propeller, fan *L (k'uLGAdjg 'propeller, that which paddles'),* **sAqe:ts'Akih** child *(with irregular connective -A-, see qe:ts'~),* **qe:ts'kih**, **qAts'kih** *('child', vocative, with irregular lack of connective -A-, see qe:ts'~),* **XAwa:kihta:'** *Eyak man's name* < little dog's father *(where XAwa:kih is perhaps a personal name) LA,* **qe'Lsha:kih** *Eyak woman's name,* Annie Johnson *A (see under shiyah~shah~sha:), in two partly unanalyzable nouns:* **'uk'ahyAkih** nobleman, **ya'XAkih** large canoe, *thematized in kinship terms for siblings:* **-tsa'kih** (woman's) older sister, **-:dzkih** (woman's) brother, **-Ad-~-kih** (man's) sister, *thematized in grandchild terms reciprocal to grandparent terms:* **-chu:kih** (woman's) daughter child *(-chu: 'maternal grandmother'),* **-'we:shGAkih** (man's) daughter's child *(-'we:sh-G 'maternal grandfather'),* **-'uhkih** (man's) son's child *(-'uh 'paternal grandfather'), with irregular -lA- connective:* **-k'inhlAkih** (woman's) son's child *(-k'inh 'paternal grandmother'), with -GAyu: 'pl.':* **-:dzkihGAyu:** (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:* **dA'u:dAXya:kih** something, anything *(dA'u:dAX ya: 'a thing anywhere'),* **dA'u:dAXyi:nkih** someone, anyone *(dA'u:dAX yi:nhinh 'a person anywhere', with irregular deletion of -inh),* **dAde:kih…-d** anything at all, the slightest little thing *L, 10.58, 177, 23.5A (dA-de:…-d 'anything, whatever')*; *suffixed to forms not occurring without -kih in the formation of certain adverbials and nouns occurring syntactically only as C:* **gusi:kih** a little bit, slightly *(see si:),* **dAqi:kih** all gone, no more left *(see qi:),* **'AnahshAkih** fun, pleasant *(probably with irregular -A- connective),* **'Ashu:kih** asleep (of baby) *(see shu:),* **ya:kihdah** payment *(ya: 'a thing', with -dah adverbializer, cf. dA'u:dAXya:kih above),* **gAnahkih~gunahkih** here!; *suffixed to adverbs:* **sahdXkih** (after) a little while *61.7, 19A (sahd-X 'long (time)'),* **di'dahkih** fairly well, decent, a bit better *M (di'dah 'fine, alright, safe'* < *dA-* '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:* **dAlahkih**

(for a little something) to drink *L (see dAlah under 1a)*; *suffixed to adverbs, as o of o-ga' 'like o', in o used adverbially:* **ne:tl'kihga'** after a little while, pretty soon *(ne:tl' 'after a while, soon, first'),* **q'a:lkihga'** just a short while ago *M, 11.95A (q'a:l 'now, nowadays, shortly ago'),* **lAXkihga'** a little too much *M (lAX 'too much').*

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3. *Suffixed to clause-initial adverbs and nouns, in certain optative constructions*: **'u:dkih**, **dA'u:dkih**, **tlanhkih** would that, if only *(see 'u:, tlanh),* **dAXunhkihshgahX si'a:n' Gi:ya:** would that (some nice, some) person would (kindly, or other) come upon me *10.218A.*

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kih *(perhaps to be identified with -kih, used independently as personal name)* 1. *Billy Dude LMAS,* ki' *name of Billy Dude and brothers of Johnny Stevens in BSdL genealogical table.*

2. *brothers of Johnny Stevens.*

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3. *shaman (?),* Kai, *mentioned by Abercrombie, BSdL 226-228.*

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4. *perhaps also* Ke *in Seton-Kerr 158.*

kihd *(perhaps related to kid)*

kihd *(noun, lX-class M, perhaps as flakes, unclassified L, perhaps as mass)* light dry soft snow *L,* snow *M (perhaps 'wet snow, easily packed into a ball')*: **kihd-lAXAt'u'** lots of dry snow *M,* **kihd'a'luw k'usALe'L** there got to be lots of dry snow *L.*

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dA-kihd *(see kid)* S (light snow) fall: **xan'Lq' sdikihdL** lots of dry snow came down < it light-dry-snowed very much *L.*

kihs~kihsh *(kihs attested in Rezanov only, L and M kihsh, probably reshaping of stem, of forgotten meaning, under influence of kihsh)*

ti:l-kihs~-kihsh *(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* Тыликисъ 'Щавель дикой' *(not in Radlov, 'wild sorrel, wild dock') probably to be read* **ti:lAkihs** *(not -kihsh),* **ti:lAkihsh** rhubarb *L (L cannot specify meaning of -kihsh, or explain its connection with O-kihsh 'S dipnet O, S poke holes in O', but guesses "because they grow near kihdj (in earlier elicitations also kihsh) 'swamp').*

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qi:lAkihsh *(noun) (with qi:l-class-mark thematized, 'rope-like', authenticity uncertain, perhaps simply ephemeral variant of ti:lAkihsh)* some kind of plant *L (remembers only vaguely; M thinks she has heard, not the same as ti:lAkihsh).*

kihdj~kihsh *(kihsh in earlier elicitations from both L and M, but L later kihdj, rejecting kihsh; see also kihs~kihsh)*

kihdj~kihsh *(noun)* swamp, bog, marsh: **kihsh** swamp, swampy place *L,* springy dry meadow *M,* **kihsh yiLeh** it's swampy *L,* **kihdjya'X GAxa:L** I'm walking along in a swamp (water not very deep) *L,* **kihdjya' 'i:nxsLi'AdzL** I fell (unexpectedly) into a small swampy puddle *L.*

kihsh

O-**kihsh** 1. S poke hole in O, riddle O with hole: *with ya' 'completely':* **ya' 'Akihsh** poke it full of holes! *L.*

2. S scoop, catch O with dipnet: **da: ki:shk'** we (cust) catch it with a dipnet *L, with qa', qa:nch' 'up out': 21a.8, 28, 34L, 21b.25,* **'Aw q'unh 'Aw qa:nch' ki:shk'** so he would dipnet them out *24.12A,* **'ahnu: qa' 'Aki:shk'inh** they scoop him out *21a.9L,* **tli:XAtl' qa' xulAXshAkihshL** you dipnetted me out yesterday *21b.63A,* **qa' GAkihsh** scoop it out (with a dipnet)! *M, with ya'X 'upward':* **ya'X GAkihsh** scoop it up (with a dipnet)! *L, repetitive: 24.8A,* **'Aw qa:nch' 'Aki:shgk'** he (cust) dipnets them out *24.8A,* **da: qa:nch' ki:shgk'** we (cust) scoop them up with a dipnet *M; detransitivized with indeterminate O:* **dAXunh 'idAki:shk', te'ya'Xa'** a person (cust) dipnets, for fish *21a.8L, with perambulative:* **yAX 'idAkihshXinh** he's going around scooping with a dipnet *M.*

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kihshL *(noun, dl-class) (at least usually with -L-instrumental)* dipnet *LM*: **kihsh** dipnet *S,* **kihshLdli:'nuw** big dipnet *M,* **kihshLdla:yAq'd** in a dipnet *M,* **kihshL sich' dli:'a'** *(or* **-ta'**, *former probably preferred)* give me a dipnet! *L,* **kihshL 'u:d dla:sA'ahL** *(or* **-tahL**, *former probably preferred)* a dipnet is there *L;* **kihshLtl'A'a:G** bucket with holes in the bottom *L. For description, illustration, and discussion of dipnets and their use, see BSdL 118-119.*

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qa:la:X 'ikihsh *(personal name) Aleksandr Kalaxikish* < our eyes are sharp, *Cordova Church records 1906.*

ki:nq'

'Ad-l-LA-ki:nq' *(attested in reflexive only, with l-thematic, perhaps causative of underlying -ki:nq', but no simpler themes could be elicited with this stem)* S be bashful, shy, (sexually) modest: **'Ad-lALAki:nq'inh** he's acting bashful, (sexually) modest, coy *(Active imperfective) L.*

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'Ad-'-LA-ki:nq' S be bashful, shy: **'Adu'Liki:nq'inh** he's bashful *L,* **dik' 'Adu'LAki:nq'Ginh** he's not bashful *LM (Neuter imperfectives),* **'Adu'sLiki:nq'Linh** he got shy *L.*

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O-**'-lX-L-ki:nq'** S be bashful, (sexually) modest with O, S practise avoidance-behavior with O (member of opposite sex, same moiety): **xu'lAXi:Lki:nq'inh** he's bashful with me *L,* **'u'lAXi:xLki:nq'inu:** I practise avoidance-behavior with them (of opposite sex, same moiety) *L (Neuter imperfectives)*; *reciprocal:* **XAlahsdla:GAyu: k'uGALe'L, k'a:dih 'uda:X q'e' k'u'lAXa:nLiki:nq'** 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 be bashful, (sexually) modest, practise avoidance-behavior':* **'Adu'lAXLiki:nq'inh** he's bashful, modest *L,* **dik' 'Adu:lAXa'LAki:nq'Ginh** he's not modest *L (Neuter perfectives),* **'Adu'lAXsLiki:nq'Linh** he got modest *L.*

ki:nX *(kwi:nX perhaps also remembered, but only following xw-~x-)*

-ki:nX 1. S weep, cry: *Active imperfective:* **xki:nX** I'm crying *LM, 32.34A,* **xu: xkwi:nX** me, I'm crying *("deep talk, the way old folks said it") L,* **xu: 'idehdah xkwi:nX** me, I'm really crying *L ("Billy Dude used to say, just before he died" L remembers; M rejects these forms, "doesn't sound Eyak, not like Billy Dude either"; the form L remembers may have been xwki:nX, or, if -kwi:nX, with the labialization transferred from xw-),* **dik' xki:nXG** I'm not crying *L,* **yiki:nX** you're crying *LM,* **qAlAXki:nX** *L,* **lAXki:nX** you pl. are crying *LM,* **da: qAki:nX** *L,* **da: ki:nX** we're crying *LM,* **k'uki:nX** 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,* **ki:nX** it's crying *LMS, Anonymous* Кынхи 'Плачетъ' **ki:nXinh** he's crying, **Lich' ki:nX** it's always crying *M,* **qe'LGAyu: ki:nX** (*or* **qAki:nX**, **ki:nXinu:**, **qAki:nXinu:**) womenfolk are crying *L,* **ki:nX**, **qAki:nX** they're crying *LM,* **ki:nXinh** he's crying *MSG,* **dik' ki:nXGinh** she's

not crying *L,* **'a'd ki:nXinh** *L,* **xan'Lq' ki:nXinh** she's crying hard *4.14M,* **di-'wAX ki:nXdAwa:** while he's still crying *L,* **di-'wAX ki:nXinh** he's still crying *L,* **'idAki:nX q'e:dah Lshe'k'** he's crying so (hard) he's simply gasping *L, Rezanov* Хенгикенхъ *(with second* н *superscript insert)* 'Плачь weinen (Imperat.)' **Xi:nXinh ki:nX** that fellow's crying, Кенхитъ-у 'Плакалъ weinte' **ki:nXidunh** he's crying (rush to him)! *L,* **ki:nXinu:duh** they're crying (rush to them)! *L, with o-'e', 'S cry for o (absent o, o which S don't have and want)': 2a.12M, 2b.15L, 23.46, 49.133, 136A, with o-Xa' 'S cry over o': 33.82A, with o-'ihd 'behind o', 'S cry after (departed) o': 51.89A, with o-ya:q' (< o-y-q' 'on o's hand'), 'S cry because of what o do, o make S cry':* **de:ya:q'd yiki:nX** what's making you cry? *L 34.79L, with o-d-ya:q' 'S cry because of what o say':* **sidAya:q' ki:nXinh** I made him cry (by saying something) *L, with o-wahd 'in order that o' (with optative clause as o': 33.79A, with optative clause, o-wahd lacking, 'S cry (in order) that ...': 49.133A, with q'e' 'again, some more': 49.133A,* **dik' q'e' dAki:nXGinh** he's not crying anymore *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **qu'xki:nX** I'll cry *LM,* **Xa:n' qu'xki:nX** I'll stop (finish) crying *L,* **qi'yiki:nX** you'll cry *LM,* **siya:q' qu'yiki:nX** I'll make you cry *L,* **ya'Xu: qi'yiki:nX** *51.85A, Rezanov* Яхокъуекенгъ 'Не плачь weine nicht!' **ya'Xu: qu'yiki:nX** don't cry *L,* **da: qa'ki:nX** we'll cry *LM,* **qu'lAXki:nX** you pl. will cry *LM,* **qa'ki:nX** it'll cry *M,* **qa'ki:nXinh** he'll cry *LS,* **qa'ki:nXinu:**, **qa'qi:ki:nXinu:** they'll cry *L, with o-Xa' '"on" o (to o's dismay)':* **ya'Xu: 'iXa' qa'ki:nXinh** don't let him cry "on" you *L, with q'e' 'again, some more':* **q'e' qu'xdAki:nX** I'll cry again *M,* **da: q'e' qu'dAki:nX** we'll cry again *M, customary:* **ki:nXk'inh** *(not 'A- L)* she (cust) cries *LM, 47c.28L,* **xki:nXk'** *(not 'Ax- L)* I (cust) cry *LM,* **dik' xki:nXk'G** I (cust) never cry *M,* **'uXa' xki:nXk'** I (cust) cry over it *L,* **yiki:nXk'sh** *(not yi:- L)* do you (cust) cry? *LM,* **dik'sh yiki:nXk'G** don't you ever (cust) cry? *M,* **dik' ki:nXk'Ginh** he (cust) never cries *M, Inceptive customary:* **'uXa' qu'xki:nXk'** I (cust) start to cry over it *L, with qa' 'up out', 'S burst out crying, S start to cry':* **qa' xki:nXk'** I (cust) start to cry *M, Active perfective:* **siki:nXL** I cried *M,* **sAki:nXL** you cried, it cried *M,* **dik'sh 'Aski:nXLG** didn't you cry? *M,* **da: sAki:nXL** we cried *M,* **lAXsAki:nXL** you pl. cried *M,* **Xa:n' sAki:nXL** he stopped (finished) crying *L,* **qa' sAki:nXLinh** he started crying *L,* **q'e' xsdiki:nXL** I cried again *M,* **da: q'e' sdiki:nXL** we cried again *M,* **'AdXa'd ye'X sAki:nXLinh** *M,* **'AdXa'd ya'X sAki:nXLinh** he suddenly burst out crying *L, Inceptive perfective:* **qa:nch' GAxki:nXL** I'm starting to cry *M,* **qa:nch' GAki:nXLinh** he's starting to cry *L,* **'uch' 'Aw 'Atin'inh (di:yAX) GAki:nXLdAwa:** give it to him before he starts crying (while he's not (yet) crying)! *L, Active imperative:* **'Aki:nX** cry! *M, Active optative:* **'ixiki:nX** let me cry *L,* **k'a:dih 'uda:X 'ixiki:nX** no use for me to cry *M,* **k'a:dih 'uda:X 'i:ki:nX** no use for you to cry *M,* **k'a:dih 'uda:X k'uliki:nX** no use for one to cry *LM,* **dik' q'e' 'idiki:nX 'iXe'xle:G** I don't want to cry anymore *M (perhaps hybrid with subjunctive, -X-X > -X), with perambulative (-X-X > -X):* **yAX xdAki:nX** I'm going around crying *M,* **yAX dAki:nX** you're, it's going around crying *M,* **da: yAX dAki:nX** we're going around crying *M,* **yAX lAXdAki:nX** you pl. are going around crying *M,* **yAX k'udAki:nX** someone's going around crying *M,* **yAX qu'xdAki:nX** I'll go around crying *M,* **yAX q'e' qu'xdAki:nX** I'll go around crying again *M,* **yAX xsdiki:nXL** I went around crying *M,* **yAX sdiki:nXL** you, it went around crying *M,* **da: yAX sdiki:nXL** we went around crying *M,* **yAX lAXsdiki:nXL** you pl. went around crying *M,* **yAX qAsdiki:nXLinu:** *(or* **sdi-**, *former preferred)* they went around crying *M,* **yAX q'e' xsdiki:nXL** I went around crying again *M,* **da: yAX q'e' sdiki:nXL** we went around again *M, repetitive:* **'anhXa' ki:nXginh** she keeps crying over him *47b.22M,* **dik' ki:nXgGinh** he doesn't cry (even occasionally, off and on) *L. Transitive (causative):* **'iqe'xLki:nX** I'll make you cry *LM,* **xuLki:nXk'** *(not xu:L- L)* it (cust) makes me cry *LM,* **'iLki:nXk'** it (cust) makes you cry *M,* **'ALki:nXk'inh** it (cust) makes her cry *M, with lX-class-mark for S:* **lAXALki:nXk'inh** they (onions) (cust) make her cry *M (rejected by L)*; *indirect reflexive with ya:q' 'because of what S do' (< o-y-q' 'on o's hand', here S's own):* **ya:q' xLAki:nXinh** I'm making him cry *(especially by e.g. tickling him too hard) L,* **ya:q' xuLAki:nX** he made me cry *L,* **ya:q' 'iqe'xLAki:nX** I'll make you cry *L,* **ya'Xu: q'e' ya:q' qu'LAki:nXinh** don't make him cry again *L; reflexive: 'Ad-LA-ki:nX 'S make self cry, pretend to cry, whine, cry for*

ulterior motive': **'AdLAki:nXinh** he (child) is whining, pretending to cry *L; reflexive and indirect reflexive with yAq' 'inside S's self':* **yAq' 'AdLAki:nXinh** he's sobbing *(same as Lshe'k'inh) L,* **yAq' 'AdsLiki:nXLinh** he whimpered *L; passive:* **sdiki:nXLinh** he was made to cry *L. Susceptive Neuter (-X-X > -X):* **Liki:nXinh** he cries easily *L.*

2. S (wolf, dog) howl, wail, cry: *usually as a group, usually with qA-plural:* **qAki:nX** they howl *25.66, 67A,* **Li'q' qAki:nXinu:** they (wolf-people) all howled *38.25LM,* **qu'qAki:nX** *(should be qu'qi:ki:nX?)* they'll howl *M,* **qAsAki:nXL** they howled *M, with perambulative:* **yAX qAdAki:nX** they go around howling *M,* **yAX qAsdiki:nXL** they went around howling *M; with o-la' 'evil omen for o':* **'ula' ki:nX q'Aw**, **'ula' q'Aw ki:nX** it (dog) is howling (for no apparent reason) *(a bad omen) L.*

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'iski:nX *(gerundive)* crying, weeping: **'iski:nX xuGALga'L** I'm getting tired of crying < crying is tiring me *L.*

,

ki:nX *(noun)* 1. *(unclassified)* crying, weeping, howling (of wolves, dogs), act of crying, urge to cry: **'ulah q'Aw ki:nX 'idAle:k'** around it they (cust) go howling (wolves, to cook it) *25.36A, Rezanov* Кенхъ *(with н superscript insert)* 'Плакать weinen' **ki:nX**, **ki:nX siXa:n' sa'yahL** I got over a crying spell *M,* **ki:nX 'ula'X di:'yahL** he has an urge to cry *M,* **sAqe:ts'Akihya' ki:nX** a child's crying *36.6A,* **ki:nXAch'iya' yiLinhinh** he's a crybaby *M,* **'u:d ki:nXch'ahd** after crying there *47c.32L,* **ki:nXya:X** lest she cry < to avoid crying *L,* **ki:nXAya'X q'e' GAda:L** she's going home crying *47b.25M,* **ki:nXAya'X Ga:Linh** she's walking along crying *L,* **ki:nXAya'X yAX da:Xinh** he's walking around crying *L.*

2. *(gl-class)* tears *M*: **ki:nX 'u:nAX yAX gAli:'ah** a tear is running down his face *L,* **'u:nAX yAX gula'GA'a'Linh** a tear is starting to run down his face *L.*

,

XAwa: 'uya'd ki:nX *(place-name) below old cannery on Eyak River, 2 to 3 miles from its mouth* < a dog wails in it (body of water) *L.*

kinh *(perhaps related to ku:l~ku:n~kAmah~kAw, see also ka:n)*

d-kinh *(noun, unclassified) (with d-thematic)* stick, wood: *1b.5M, 34.81, 88L, 65.21A,* dry wood *6.5M,* **dAkinh** sticks *M,* wood *S, Rezanov* Такке 'Деревянной hölzern', *Anonymous* Ттаки 'Дерево', *Baranov* Т таки 'Дерево', *Furuhjelm* Takhi 'tree', *Galushia Nelson* ɒə́kìⁿ 'plunger for popgun', ɒə̀kìⁿ· *BSdL 551, 554, Old Man Dude* ɒákìⁿ· 'wooden' *BSdL 554,* **dikinhluw** big stick *LM, 1b.4M,* **dAkinht'u'** lots of sticks *L,* **'Aw dAkinh'a:wyu:** those long sticks *L,* **dAkinh 'u:dAXyu: qAsALahL** sticks are lying all over there *L,* **dAkinh 'u:dAXyu: yAqa' di:'yahL** sticks are piled up all over there *L,* **'Aw dAkinh k'a't' 'u'siLXa'L** I turned the stick into an island *L,* **'Aw dAkinh 'Aw ditl'a'gqa' li' GAtsu:x** poke that stick into the book (between the pages)! *L,* **ye:t' dAkinh GALe'L** wild celery is turning to wood *L,* **'Al dAkinh XAdla:GAta'** latch, bolt the door with this stick! < put this stick as bolt for door! *L,* **XAdla:tah dAkinh** latch-stick *L,* **dila' dAkinh** hard wood *L,* **chAGLga' 'i:t'eh dAkinh** forked stick < stick which is like a fork *M,* **dAkinhX siLshehL** (*or* **shishehL**) I killed it with a stick *L,* **'Aw Ge:ts' dAkinhq' gu:xa'ch'** tie that spruceroot on a stick! *L,* **dAkinhXa' da: 'a'ch'** we're going for sticks *L; in compounds: Galushia Nelson* ɒəkiⁿ cìtɬ 'wooden spoon' *BSdL 547* **dAkinhsiL**, ɒəkíⁿ t'sɔⁿkt 'wooden snowshoe' *BSdL 550* **dAkinhdzanhd**, **GAdAgiLdAkinh** sun-sticks *34.77L.*

kinhd *(perhaps related to kid)*

-kinhd S (inanimate) make quick sudden motion, dart, shoot, S (human) make quick sudden motion with hand: *with qa' 'up out':* **gust' 'u:dAX qa' sAkinhdL** flames shot up there *51.79A,*

with o-ch' 'toward o': **'uch' sikinhdL** I quickly grabbed, snatched at it *L,* **'uch' sikinhdgL** *(with -g-repetitive perhaps thematized)* I touched it quickly *M,* **'uch' 'Akinhdg** touch it quickly *M, with qid 'down off' and o-tl' 'with o':* **qid 'utl' sikinhdL** I knocked it off < I moved my hand quickly with it down off *M,* **qid 'utl' GAkinhd** knock it off! *M; indirect reflexive:* **'u:ch'ahd ch'a' xsdikinhdL** I jerked my hand quickly back away from there < I made a quick motion with my hand thence toward myself *L,* **t'a' xsdikinhdL** I quickly darted my hand into (and out of) my pocket *L.*

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O-**L-kinhd** *(semantically irregular causative of preceding)* S cause O to make quick sudden motion *(not attested with the meaning 'S cause (human) O to make quick sudden hand-motion', but rather 'S displace O (human or otherwise) with quick sudden motion (of hand or otherwise)')*: **GALkinhd** give it a quick shove! *L,* **siLkinhd** I knocked it over *L,* **ya:n'ch' 'ALkinhd** push it down! *A,* **ya:n' siLkinhdL** I knocked it over, I knocked it down *L,* **ya:n' xusALkinhdLinh** he shoved me down *L,* **ya'X siLkinhd** I knocked it upwards (e.g. balloon, thing lying on tent roof, by slapping off from inside) *L,* **'Aw qid Lki:ndk'inu:** they (cust) knock it off *L, repetitive* **xLkinhdg** I keep shoving it *L,* **xLkinhdginh** I keep shoving him along (walking behind him) *L, with l-anatomical:* **'Aw q'Adlya'X 'anh yAX 'i:nsALkinhdL** he jammed her head down into the pot *L, 27b.53A; indirect reflexive: with k'ah 'away from self':* **k'ah xsLikinhdL** 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 swipe, snitch, steal O':* **ya:X xsLikinhdL** I swiped it *L,* **ya:X k'uxsLikinhdL** I swiped something *L, with d-class-mark for O:* **ya:X dixsLikinhdL** I pinched some money, I swiped, snitched it (money, knife) *L.*

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o-**X d-LA-kinhd** *(with d-thematic, probably 'free fall', and o-X 'in (spatially or temporally) punctual contact with o')* S knock, bump against, jostle, shove o: **'uX dixsLikinhdL** I knocked against it in falling *L,* **siX disLikinhdLinh** he jostled me as he went by *L,* **ta'ch' xan'Lq' 'anhX disLikinhdL** he shoved her violently into the water *L,* **'anh qe'LX ta'ch' xan'Lq' disLikinhdLinh** he shoved the woman violently into the water *L.*

ke:nnli: *(loan from English 'cannery' /kæhnriy/)*

ke:nnli: *(noun, probably d-class or unclassified)* cannery *L, see also 61.77A.*

ke'L *(origin of name unknown; cf. qe'L)*

ke'L 1. *Eyak woman, not qe'L L.*

2. *Vickie Demmert of Yakutat, daughter of MaryAnn Paquette (from Elaine Ramos).*

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 CA as mark with numeral > Ca:, or with consonantal postpositions > -Ca:C)* 1. *As mark with numerals*: **LinhG guka: le:L** one hair *M,* **LinhG guka: Ge:ts'** one (strand of) spruceroot *L,* **la'd gAka: Ge:ts'** two spruceroots *M,* **LinhG guka: la:X** one string *L,* **la'd gAka: la:X** two strings *M,* **la'd gAka: k'u't'** two sinews, threads *M,* **dAXk' guka:dA'Aw** how many strands is that? *L; uncertain, guka: perhaps to be deleted:* **le:L guka: yiLeh** it's got (loose) hair on it *L.*

2. *As o of nonsyllabic postpositions*: **'Aw k'ulAqah q'e:lAG 'Ada:g, le:Lguka:X** the head kept walking back ashore, on (by means of its) hair *53.13L,* **Ge:ts'gAka:X dAGida' (gA)di:'yahL** it's full of spruceroots *L;* **siguka:q'd** the lower part, hem of my dress, coat < (at

rest, nominalization of) on me (g-anatomical or thematic) *L; cf. le:Lgu:t'e'ts'G 'by (holding onto) the hair' (< le:L-g-l-t'e'ts'-G) 49.36A, le:Lgulah 'around the hair' 49.33A, le:LguXa' ya:n' 'medicine for hair' L, Ge:ts'guXa' 'for spruceroots' 66.1L.*

ka:ta: *(perhaps loan from Tlingit (Sampson Harry) kʷáda 'quarter', Walter Soboleff kʷáta or kʷáda, or perhaps direct loan from English)*

ka:ta: *(noun, d-class)* quarter-dollar, twenty-five cents *L*: **ka:ta: sich' di:'a'** give me a quarter! *L.*

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ka:ta:dAkih *(noun, d-class)* quarter-dollar, twenty-five cents *L (same as preceding, 'quarter, diminutive, affectionate').*

ka:st' *(cf. gust', similar semantically and syntactically, as well as phonologically)*

ka:st' *(noun) (attested only as C)* storm: **ka:st' GALe'L** it (weather) is developing into a storm (of rain, wind, snow) *L,* **ka:st' gAlAGALe'L** it (water) is becoming stormy, splashing, lashed all about in big waves (in strong north wind) *L.*

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dA-ka:st' S (storm, blizzard) rage: **sdika:st'L** there was a blizzard *L,* **GAdAka:st'L** there is a blizzard *L,* **qi:dla:GA'e' 'isdika:st'L** track has become covered with (blown) sand, dry snow *L (construction not clear, perhaps incorrect, o lacking in o-qi:dl-'e' 'track of o's feet' and 'i- of verb not identified, cf. 'i-dA-t'u'ch', dA-tl'Adj~).*

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yAqa' lXdl-dA-ka:st' S (snow) pile up in drift: **yAqa' lAXAdla:sdika:st'L** a snowdrift piled up *L.*

ka:dj

ka:dj *(noun, gl-class)* soup *LM*: **k'ugu:'nuw ka:dj** *L,* **ka:djgu:'nuw** large quantity of soup *M,* **ka:dj 'u'qu'gAli:xq'e:'** I'll try the soup *L,* **'Aw ka:dj gAli:Lq'e'** cool off that soup! *L,* **'Aw ka:dj gAlAGALq'e'L** the soup is cooling off *L,* **gu:nsditugL ka:dj** thick soup (has lots of stuff in it) < soup which is thick *L,* **ka:djya'd** in the (container of) soup *M.*

ka:shk' *(earlier kwa:shk', 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 kʷášk' G, Sampson Harry, Davydov (ca. 1803) Кваскъ 'Горбуша'; also the name of Humpy Creek on the east side of Yakutat Bay; the kʷášk'qʷan, 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 Kâ´ck!-qoan")*

ka:shk' *(noun, unclassified)* humpback salmon, pink salmon "humpy" (Oncorhynchus gorbuscha) *LMS*: *60.3A,* **kwa:shk'** *(Yakutat Tlingit form)* humpback salmon *S, 67.14G, Galushia Nelson* kack' *or* kask' 'hump-back salmon' *BSdL 540,* **ka:shk'a'luw** big humpy *LM,* **ka:shk"Akih** little humpy *M,* **ka:shk'Xa' da: qa'qeh** we'll go (by boat) after humpies *L (note also giyah sdilahL "deep talk" (obsolescent) for 'humpback salmon' ('it drank water'), not explained L).*

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kwa:shk' *(place-name) Humpy Creek* < humpback salmon *G (Harrington), implying **qw-**.*

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ka:shk'dAlahGAyu: *(noun)* humpback salmon (Humpy Creek) people *(sib at Yakutat Bay, kʷášk'qʷan) L.*

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ni:k'AdAka:shk' *(epithet)* a person with a hooked aquiline nose < nose-humpy *L.*

ka:w *(loan from English 'cow', perhaps not naturalized, see also xa:s, dAleh)*

ka:w *(noun, unclassified)* cow: *51.41, 42, 46A,* **ka:w'Ayu:** *51.61A,* **ka:wAyu:** cows *61.79, 79A.*

kahL *(Anonymous and Li's transcriptions, all from G, all imply kwahL; 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-**kahL** S (dog) bark at O: *Anonymous* Кваатль 'Собака лаетъ' ('dog is barking'), *labialization here possibly* **xukahL** [**xwkwahL**] it's barking at me, **xukahL** it's barking at me *L,* **'ikahL** it's barking at you *L,* **qa: kahL** it's barking at us *L,* **qa: kahL XAwa:** a dog that barks at people *L,* **xuqAkahL** they're barking at me *M,* **qa: qa'kahL** they'll bark at us *L,* **xusAkahL** it barked at me *M,* **xuqAsAkahL** they barked at me *M,* **xuka:Lk'** it (cust) barks at me *L, repetitive:* **xukahLg** it barks on and off at me *L, with yAX (preverb) of unknown meaning:* **yAX xukahLg** it (dog) barks on and off at me *L,* **yAX qa: kahLg**, **qa: yAX kahLg** *(former preferred)* it (dog) barks intermittently at us *L; with indeterminate O, 'S (dog) bark':* **'ikahL** it's barking *LMS,* **'i:kahL** bark! *M,* **'iqe'kahL** it'll bark *LM,* **'isAkahL** it barked *LM,* **dik' 'iskahLG** it didn't bark *L,* **'ika:Lk'** it (cust) barks *LM, with o-ch' 'at o' (attested from M only, probably influenced by English, rejected by L):* **sich' 'iqAkahL** they're barking at me *M,* **sich' 'iqe'qAkahL** they'll bark at me *M,* **sich' 'isAkahL** it barked at me *M, also detransitivized (with dA-classifier, probably also incorrect):* **sich' 'isdikahL** it barked at me *M, with o-'ihX '(motion) behind o':* **si'ihX 'iGAlahL** it's following behind me barking *L, with perambulative:* **yAX 'idAkahLX** it's barking around, going around barking *LM. Forms transcribed by Li form G on file-cards:* xwúkʿwàʿł 'it barks at me', datłí· xwúkʿwàʿł 'it already (barks at me)', xwúqʿu'αkwàʿł 'it'll (bark at me)' **xuqu'wAkahL**, 'αukwàł 'it barks at it' *63.18G.*

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O-**L-kahL** S make O (dog) bark *(uncertain, attested from M only, expected regular causative o-d O-L-kahL 'S make o bark at O')*: **'ALkahL** make it bark! *M.*

,

dA'a: 'AddAkahL *(noun, unclassified)* coyote *A, Li (on file-card)* da'áʿ dαkʿwàł **dA'a: 'AdAkwahL**. *Nominalized Active imperfective reflexive of O-kahL,* < it itself barks at itself.

ka' *(perhaps related to ka:)*

-g-ka' *(noun, d-class or unclassified, with g-thematic 'caudal, appendage')* tail (of a bird): **'uguka'** its tail *L, 24.65, 65, 65, 68, 69A,* **k'ugAka'** tail (of a bird) *L,* **k'uguka'da'luw** big tail (of a bird) *L,* **k'ugAka' 'u:d dAsAtahL** (*or* **sAtahL**) a (bird's) tail is there *L,* **k'ugAka'tl' 'iginhinh** he's dancing with a(n eagle's) tail *L,* **gu:djgAlAGgAka'** eagle's tail *(used for dancing);* **guka'dAtsidzg** pintail duck (Anas acuta), *perhaps also 'oldsquaw (Clangula hiemalis)'* < narrow-tail *(epithet) LM.*

ka'L

O-**L-ka'L** S inherit, claim O (at funeral potlatch): *Galushia Nelson* sɪtɬqatɬ 'I want it' (at funeral potlatch) *BSdL 171,* sɪtɬqa·tɬ 'I want (such-and-such)' *BSdL 554* **siLka'L** I claimed it (at funeral potlatch) *L (but see also O-L-q'a' 'S present O (at funeral potlatch)'),* **'Aw sALka'L** he inherited it (at funeral potlatch) *L,* **'Aw qu'xLka'L** I'll inherit it (at funeral potlatch) *L, with d-class-mark for O:* **k'udAt'u' da:na: dAsALka'Linh** he inherited a lot of money *L; passive:* **sLika'L** 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 entertaining, best at consoling the bereaved, gets the most presents at the funeral potlatch. The last such traditional Eyak potlatches that L knows of or attended took place ca. 1914-1915.)*

ka'~ka: *(ka: only in form with -X final, perhaps related to -kAwa'- of -kAwa'na:-G, see -na:-G under la:~na:1)*

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: 'Awa:d lAXa: sika' leh** which of you wants to go with me? *L,* **sika' la:GAyu:** people who are going along with me *L,* **sika' yAX LAtsa'Xinh** he wants to go about with me, wants to go everywhere I go *L, o-ka -'a'ch' 'pl. S go along with o': 9.114, 115, 10.109, 113A, 29.47fnL, with reciprocal o:* **'iLka' GAdA'a'ch'Linu:** they're walking side by side in same direction *L,* **'iLka' yAX dA'a'ch'Xinu:** they go around together *M,* **sika' 'a:'**, **sikä' 'iya'**, **sika' 'iya'** come with me! *L, 10.250, 266A, 40.7L,* **qa:ka' 'a:'**, **qa:ka' 'iya'** *L,* **qa:kä' 'iya'** come with us! *23.89A,* **sika' Ga:Linh** 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' sahLinh** he came with me *L,* **k'uka' 'u:ch' sahL** he went thither with someone (specific) *L, with indeterminate o:* **dAka' 'u:ch' sahL** he went there accompanied *L, further occurrences of o-ka' -a 'sg. S go with o': 10.252, 262, 11.129A, 18.81, 21a.5L, 23.43, 44A, 31.6L, 32.48, 49, 33.54A, 40.9, 55.23L,* **k'Ade:däh 'ika' GAxa:LG** I can't go with you *10.251,* **'u:dzkihGAyu:ka' q'e' sdiyahLinh** she went back with her brothers *18.86L; with verbs indicating position, 'side by side, parallel, facing in same direction':* **sika' yAX lAGAdAla'** turn to face the same way as Inceptive imperative *M, with reciprocal o:* **'iLka' yAX 'i:ndilahLinu:** they're lying "like spoons" < they're facing the same way *M,* **'iLka' 'idi'ah** they are (extend) close and parallel *L,* **'iLka' XAdidi'ah** they (logs) extend in the same direction *L,* **'iLka' XAdi:Lsid** set them (pl. logs) side by side! *L,* **'iLka'shuh 'i:nsALsidL** did you set them (pl. paddles) side by side (with blades in same direction?)? *L;* **du:ka'd** who with? *L.*

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o-**ka:-X** *(postposition) (derived from o-ka' with -X final, attested with zero, -d, and -ch' finals)*
1. *with verbs of locomotion, requiring thematic 'i-'-(d)-,* coming, catching up with, to, overtaking o: *with zero final:* **'ika:X 'i'dAsAwe:Linh** he caught up with you swimming *L, see further attestations under 'i-'-Xdl-'ya, 'i-'-(d-)'a'ch'; with -ch' final:* **'ika:XAch' 'i'dAGAx-we:L** I'm catching up to you swimming *L, see further attestations under 'i-'-Xdl-'ya, 'i-'-(d-)a.*

2. *With -d final,* in a state of wanting, trying to catch up with o: **sika:Xd yiLinhinh** he's trying to catch up with me *L.*

ka:n *(perhaps related to ku:l~ku:n~kAmah~kAw, with basic meaning 'belly, pregnancy', cf. Athapaskan *-kan 'belly, womb, bowels, abdominal cavity', *(-)kan 'rain', *łə-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 (də-)kən 'stick, tree, wood' -kən-ə' 'base, handle, thickest part',*

*earlier *kan~kʌn 'belly, thickest part', with shift of reduced -ʌ- to -ə- conditioned by initial k-; cf. Haida dal 'stomach; rain', dáłgiyáa 'pregnant')*

o-**ka:n** *(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:n k'u-le 'something (rain, bad weather) happen because of o's "sin"')*: **'anhka:n' q'Al k'uleh** this rain's her fault < this something is happening because of her abortion, infanticide *L,* **sika:n k'uleh** the rain is my "fault" *L,* **k'uka:n k'uleh** there's bad weather (rain, snowstorm) because of someone's "sin" *L,* **'uka:n k'ulinhinh** the bad weather is her fault *L,* **k'uka:n k'usAliL** 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:Le:G *(origin of name unknown)*

ku:Le:G *(personal name) Lena Nacktan (born Cordova, July 4, 1902; died Anchorage, March 21, 1972), named after Scar Stevens's sister LMA, BSdL* gułäq.

ku:shti:L *(loan from Yakutat Tlingit (Sampson Harry) kištíł 'mocassins')*

ku:shti:L *(noun, unclassified)* mocassins, low shoes *LMA*: **ku:shti:Lluw** big mocassins *LM.*

ku:l~ku:n~kAmah~kAw *(also kumah, and perhaps also, kuw, ku:nw, for variations see below; perhaps related to kinh, and/or to ka:n; basic meaning 'thickest part, belly')*

-kAmah~-kumah *(noun, unclassified)* belly: *Galushia Nelson* gùkúmà' *BSdL 542* **k'ukumah**, **k'ukAmah** belly, stomach, abdomen *LM, 15.15M (perhaps incorrectly referring specifically to the stomach itself as an organ),* **dla:q'Aya'kAmah** mountain-goat stomach *15.5, 8, 21M,* **'ukumahda:X**, **'ukAmahda:X** (cut fish open) ventrally < in the area of, along its belly *65.28, 37, 37, 38, 39A,* **k'ukAmahluw** a big belly *LM.*

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-d-L-ku:n *(noun, unclassified) (with L-classifier and probably d-class-mark for possessor)* butt-end, base, rooted stump, thickest part: **k'udALku:n** butt-end of something (tree), thickest part of something (tree), thickest part of something (e.g. log) *LMA,* **k'udALku:n'luw** big stump *LM (probably analogical with ku:'nuw below, to be corrected to -ku:nluw),* **lisdALku:n** roots (or base?) of spruce *L,* **tl'e:yu'dALku:n** roots (or base?) of hemlock *L.*

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-s-L-ku:n~-ku:nw~-kuw~-kAw *(noun, unclassified) (stem form uncertain, with L-classifier and s-thematic)* (stump, base with?) roots: **ye:t'sALku:n** *10.206, 212A,* **ye:t'sALku:nw** wild-celery roots *(good for eye-poultice) A,* **k'usALku:n** roots *LM,* **k'usALkuw** root-stump, *same as Tlingit ʔaqaχàdi, also '"Black Bull tobacco roots"' S,* **k'usALkuw**, **k'usALkAw**, **k'usALku:n** some kind of roots *(also having to do with 'some kind of leaf-tobacco') L.*

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ku:l-~ku:n- *(anatomical mark, subposition C, not to be analyzed *ku:-l-)* belly, thickest part: *in verbs:* O-**ku:l-gu'k'** S punch O in belly, O-**'-ku:l-gu'k'** S punch at O's belly, O-**ku:l-L-q'a'k'** S split O's belly open, open O ventrally, O-**ku:l-L-Xa'Xch'-X-g** S tickle O's belly, **lahdz ku:l-'ya** S's belly become bloated, *with adjective k'uku:'nuw 'big-bellied person',* **q'Adlku:'nuw** big-bellied pot, **ku:'nuw** big-bellied, paunchy *(epithet), in postpositional phrase:* o-**ku:l-yAq'** into o's belly, abdomen *8.7, 8A, in nouns:* **ku:n-L-da'ts'** stump, **-ku:n-L-ch'iyAq'** abdomen, **-ku:l-kuhs-L** brisket; *in combination with d-class-mark, sometimes thematized, ku:nd- (not*

ku:dl-) 'base, thickest part (of d-class object, e.g. tree)':* **ku:nd-LA-chehg S (tree at base) rot, **yAX ku:nd-kug** S (tree at base, rifle at stock, axe-handle near head) break, O-**ku:nd-L-GahG** S chop O (tree at base), *with adjectives:* **lisku:nda'luw** tree big at base, **ku:ndAkuts'g** small-based (tree), *in nouns:* **-ku:nd-L-tl'a'** stock (of gun), part of (axe-)handle nearest head, *in* **XAdAGd ku:ndAGALa:L** cocktail glass, goblet < their thickest parts are at the top *(nominalization), in combination with dl-thematic in verb, ku:ndl-:* O-**'-ku:ndl-L-tsAX** S cut O's belly open.

ku:lih *(origin of name unknown)*

ku:lih *(personal name)* 1. *Eyak man S, BSdL* kuli.

2. *Minnie Stevens's mother's brother LM.*

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3. *Marie's brother(s) LM.*

kuhd

-d-kuhd *(noun, d-class, perhaps also unclassified, with d-thematic, perhaps 'oral')* lip(s) (of human), chops (of e.g. dog): *Rezanov* Катъ-экутъ 'Губы Lippen' **qa:dAkuhd** our, human lips, **sidAkuhd** my lips *LM,* **XAdAGu:Lch'a:d ya: 'udAkuhd** his upper lip *L,* **XAyAXu:Lch'a:d ya: 'udAkuhd** his lower lip *L,* **'idAkuhd 'iya: ya' qu'di:q'u'tl'** your lips will get chapped *L,* **'udAkuhddAlah yAX 'iLa'na't'g** it (dog) is licking its chops *L,* **k'udAkuhd-luw** big lips *LM;* **dji:djdAkuhd** fireweek (Epilobium) *LMA (see dji:dj; informants identify -dA-kuhd here with 'lips', but cannot explain rest of form).*

kuhs

kuhsL *(noun) (attested only with -L-suffix, perhaps instrumental, no verb-theme remembered)* 1. *(ti:l-class)* breechclout, loincloth; apron (worn at home or e.g. at work in cannery) *LM*: **kuhsLti:'nuw** big apron *LM,* **kuhsL 'u:d ti:nsAtahL** *(not -'ahL)* a breechclout, apron is there *L,* **kuhsL sich' ti:li:ta'** *(not -'a')* give me an apron, breechclout! *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. *(Xd-class) (attested only from M, not verified)* fringes: **kuhsL 'ulah XAdi:'ah** there is a fringe (a fringe extends) around it *M.*

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-ku:l-kuhs-L *(noun) (as above, possessed, with ku:l-anatomical 'thickest part, belly' thematized)* brisket *(or perhaps 'plate, flank')*: **k'uku:lAkuhsL** fatty meat cut out of front of abdomen, brisket *LM.*

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qu:lAkuhsL *(noun) (attested in BSdL only)* war apron: *Galushia Nelson* kùlə kùstł *BSdL 550 (The first word is translated as "war") perhaps to be read* **ku:lAkuhsL** belly apron, *but more likely, given the remark about the meaning of the prefixes, qu:lAkuhsL. "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.*

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kuhsLAkih *M,* **kuhsLti:lAkih** *(noun)* bib < small apron *L.*

kuha:g~kuXa:g *(form and status uncertain, probably loan from Tlingit kahág^{w}, non-possessed form of -kahág^{w}-u '-row', Boas kahak^{u}· 'salmon-roe', Swanton quhā ′k^{u}·, Harrington khuxwaak, also 'kidney', equivalent to Eyak q'Ama:; see also q'e:shkuha:gu:~q'e:shkuXa:gu:)*

kuha:g~kuXa:g *(noun, lX-class)* berry species, *probably 'soapberry (Shepherdia canadensis)', 'Canada buffaloberry (Lepargyraea canadensis)', or 'black crowberry, curlewberry (Empetrum nigrum)', attested only in Rezanov Шикша, кухакъ (not in Radlov, 'berries of Empetrum nigrum'), corresponding Tlingit entry хытгли, perhaps to be read kag^{w}ł'i 'soapberry', Harrington from G (BAE ms. 4100) çúkwtł'ii 'soapberry, Canada buffaloberry (Lepargyraea canadensis)', Vemianinov* Хи́тл'и 'Шикша (Ягода)', *probably 'Empetrum nigrum'.*

ku'd

O-**L-ku'd** S send O on errand: **'iLku'dinh** send him (on an errand)! *LM,* **'iqe'xLku'd** I'll send you on an errand *M,* **siLku'dLinh** I sent him for something *L,* **xu:Lku:dk'inh** he (cust) sends me on errands *L, with o-lu'qa: (not o-Xa') 'for, to get o':* **na:wgAlAlu'qa: siLku'dLinh** he sent him for whiskey *L, with perambulative:* **yAX xuLAku'dXinh** he sends me about on errands *LM, passive:* **na:wgAlAlu'qa: xusLiku'dL** (*or* **xusdi-**) I've been sent for whiskey *L, with perambulative, nominalized: Galushia Nelson* yə́x̣ɒə́kú·txè' 'messenger ("one sent for something")' *BSdL 543* **yAX dAku'dXinh** he who is sent around (on errands, with messages), ɒìk'qàɒà'á^{n}· qè yə̀x̣ɒə̀qtxè 'unseen messenger ("not-seen one-sent-for-something")' *BSdL 310* **dik' GAdA'a:nGinh yAX dAku'dXinh** he who is not seen who is sent around (on errands, with messages).

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yAX dAku'dXinu: *(noun)* priest's helpers, acolytes *L.*

ku:nch'1 *(also ku:ch', L only)*

-y-ku:nch' *(noun, unclassified) (with y-anatomical 'hand')* thumb: *34.100, 37a.9L, 37b.37A,* **siyAku:ch'** *L,* **siyAku:nch'** my thumb *LMS,* **yAku:nch'luw** big thumb *(epithet) LM; in curses (perhaps associated with ku:nch'2):* **'ita:'ma:yAku:nch'** your father's mother's thumb! *(curse) L,* **'ita:'k'inhyAku:nch'ga' GAlAGAta'** 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'Lyi:n'inh, would say this to her thumb, which had something wrong with it and was always bandaged, when she knocked it and it hurt" L).*

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-qi:y-ku:nch' *(noun) (with qi:y-anatomical 'toes', attested in BSdL only)* big toe: *Galushia Nelson* gù'qéiyìkù^{n}·tc *or* gə̀qéiyàkù^{n}·tc *BSdL 542* **k'uqi:yAku:nch'**.

ku:nch'2 *(see ku:nch'1)*

ku:nch' *(noun)* fart (perhaps noiseless) *M.*

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-ku:nch' S break wind, fart (perhaps noiselessly) *L.*

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O-**L-ku:nch'** S fart on O: **'ALku:nch'** fart on it! *M.*

ku:n'd

O-**L-ku:n'd** S grab, snatch, seize, catch O *(O not necessarily moving, action quicker than that of O-'-le'g)*: *9.94A, 23.80, 81, 83, 28.6A, 36.42A, 37a.14L, 37b.27, 28, 29, 51A, 38.7LM, 49.143, 61.54A,* **dla:q'Aya'kAmah sALku:n'dL** he grabbed the mountain-goat stomach *15.21M,* **'Aw te'ya'yAquhyu: GuxLku:'d da:X** *(lack of nasalization)* when I snatch those little fish *34.33L,* **dAda:dAXduw 'isALku:n'dL** having grabbed you anywhere *or* she has/will have grabbed you anywhere *36.16A,* **'ALku:n'd** grab it *LMA,* catch it! *L,* **'uk'ahshda:X 'Aw sALku:n'dL** he seized it by the foot, leg *50.57A,* **'i:ntsa'd 'Awa: 'ALku:n'd** grab its bow (boat)! *L,* **'ALku:n'dinh** *L,* **GALku:n'dinh** grab him! *M,* **qu'xLku:n'd** I'll grab it *M,* I'll catch it *G,* **'iqe'xLku:n'd** I'll grab you *L,* **siLku:n'dL** I grabbed it *LM (a fast move, faster than 'u'sile'gL, O not necessarily moving L),* **sALku:n'dL** it grabbed it (e.g. eagle grabbed fish) *L,* **didu'X siLku:n'dL** I almost caught it *L,* **Li'q' xuqAsALku:n'dL** *(not *qAxusAL-)* they all grabbed me *L,* **xuGALku:n'dL** it's grabbing me *L,* **k'udAX 'AxLku:n'dG** *(with analogical negative prefix)* I can't grab it *L,* **'Aw 'ALku:n'dX 'utl' dAlinhinh** I told him to catch it *L,* **xu:Lku:ndk'inh** he (cust) grabs me *L, repetitive:* **'ahnu: Lku:n'dg** he kept grabbing them *50.45A,* **'ALku:n'dg** grab several! *M,* **xu:Lku:n'dgk'inh** he (cust) keeps grabbing me *M, with class-marks for O:* **'Awgutl'ah dAsALku:n'dL** he grabbed her tail *23.32A,* **'Aw dAsALku:n'dL** he grabbed them (fish-tails) *L,* **lAXAsiLku:n'dL** I caught it (ball) *L; detransitivized with indeterminate O: with o-ch' 'toward o':* **'uch' 'ixsLiku:n'dL** I grabbed at it *L, with o-Xa:X 'wide of o, missing o':* **'ulAXAXa:X 'ixsLiku:n'dL** I missed it (ball) *L; passive:* **xusdiku:n'dL** (*or* **xusLi-**) I got grabbed *L,* **'iqe'dAku:n'd** *(not 'iqe'LA-)* you'll get grabbed *L, repetitive:* **xudAku:n'dg** I'm being grabbed at *M.*

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ku:n'd *(personal name) 25-year-old woman at Kaliakh River Village (cf. 'ALku:n'd 'grab it!'), 1794* El'kunt".

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O-**d-L-ku:n'd** *(with d-thematic 'oral, noise')* S be cantankerous, irritable, contentious, abusive with O, attack O verbally, "jump down O's throat": **q'e:dah xudi:Lku:ndk'inh** right away he "jumps on me" for the least thing I say, looking for trouble, quarrelsome *L.*

k'1 *(perhaps related to k'e: and/or to k'e'~k'e:')*

-k' *(numeral)* (indefinite) number, many, amount, *used only as suffix in the following combinations*: **dAXk'…-d** how many?, a number, a few, quite a few, *see dAX*; **'lAXk'** this many, *see 'lAX*; **'wAXk'** that many, *see 'wAX.*

k'2

-k' *(verbal suffix)* customarily, *suffix marking customary form of verb, see grammar.*

k'3 *(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 t'ahLk'~t'a'Lk', tsa'Lk', ts'ahLk'2, duhsk', Le:sk', kAwAs~kAwAsk', duhshk', ka:shk', kushk', GAshk', ts'ehXk' (ts'ehxk'?), and certain forms which are diffused or of uncertain origin, see gu:suxk', tsALk', q'e:'shk', tuxk'.*

k'igsh~k'ik'sh *(L also k'i'k'sh, consistently -k'sh, MA -gsh; perhaps related to (reduced form of) k'ahgsh, k'i:ngsh, and/or k'ik'sh~k'i:nk'sh~k'i:ngsh; cf. also q'AGsh)*

k’igshg *(noun) (with -g-repetitive thematized)* plant, bush species *("like a little tree, blue, not good for anything") A.*

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dlX-k’igsh-~-k’ik’sh-g *(noun, lX-class) (with dlX-thematic and -g-repetitive thematized)* berry species: **dla:Xk’igshg** *MA (A twice, L rejects),* **dla:Xk’ik’shg** *L (consistently, 6 times, also -k'ik'sh- 3 times, probably under influence of k'ik'sh~k'i:nk'sh~k'i:ngsh),* "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* Ψляхъкекушкъ *(last letter partly illegible, probably ъ written over e, or e written over ъ)* Толокнянка, ягода *(not in Radlov, 'bearberry (Arctostaphylos uva-ursi, A. alpina)', but corresponding Tlingit entry is* Какехетлькъ *q’ekɑxéƛ’g 'St. Jacob's berry, dogwood berry, bunchberry (Cornus canadensis)')* **dla:Xk’igwshg** *or* **dla:Xk’ik’wshg**.

k’ik’sh~k’i:nk’sh~k’i:ngsh *(L also k'in'k'sh, k'i'k'sh, consistently -k'sh as in k'igsh~k'ik'sh, A -gsh as in k'igsh~k'i'k'sh; influenced by, and perhaps related to k'igsh~k'ik'sh, k'i:ngsh, also influenced by Gi:nq's, ts'in'ts'~ts'i'ts'~ts'i:nts'~ts'idz, tsi:ndz2, or perhaps a blend of several of these)*

d-LA-k’ik’sh-~-k’i:nk’sh-~-k’i:ngsh-g *(with d-thematic 'noise' and -g-repetitive thematized)* S make (sharp or grinding) squeaking, creaking, or popping sound: **dALAk’i’k’shg** it's making a grinding creaking sound *L,* **dALAk’i:nk’shg** (*or* **-k’in’k’sh-**, **-k’i:ngsh-**) *L,* **dALAk’i:ngshg** it's making a squeaky noise *A,* **dALAk’ik’shg** it (floor, house) is creaking, squeaking *L (twice),* it (e.g. chewing-gum) is making a popping noise *L (cf. dla:Xk'ik'shg 'berries ("pop when chewed")' L). Transitive (causative):* **gahG dALk’ik’shg** he's popping his chewing-gum while chewing it *L.*

k’iya’ *(conceivably < k'u-ya' 'into something (vessel with broad opening at top)', see end of 2. below and ya')*

k’iya’ *(preverb) (attested only with zero and -ch' finals, not elicitable as postposition)* 1. landing, ashore, to edge of body of water, *attested only with themes -qe 'S travel by boat' and 'i-X-Xa 'S (pl. boats) travel as fleet'*: *with zero final:* **k’iya’ sAqehLinh** he (boating) landed *L,* **k’iya’ qa’qinhinh** he'll land *L,* **XAsha:ndAX k’iya’ GAqe’** land close by! *L,* **sitsi:n’X** (*or* **sitsi:n’dAX**) **k’iya’ GAqe’** land downhill below me! *L,* **k’iya’ ’iXa:nXa:k’** fleet would (cust) land *59.4 Galushia Nelson, with -ch' final:* **k’iya’ch’ GAqe:L** he's landing *L, 47c.46L.*

2. *With no clear meaning with themes d-'iL 'S spill' and O-d-'iL 'S pour, dump, spill O', q.v. under 'iL1.*

k’iya’t’

k’iya’t’ *(noun, unclassified)* fish-meat, cooked fish-meat *LMA*: *65.32, 40A (for 'raw fish-meat' see t'e:G).*

k’Awahdj~k’uwahdj *(expanded k'Awa:dj)*

O-**k’Awahdj~-k’uwahdj** S nail, tack O, S pound, drive in O (nail): **’Ak’Awahdj** nail it! *L,* **sik’AwahdjL** I nailed it *L,* **dik’ ’AxsLk’AwahdjLG** I didn't nail it *L,* **GAxk’uwahdjL** *L,* **xk’uwahdj** I'm pounding in a nail *M,* **k’uxk’uwahdj** I'm nailing something, driving a nail into something *L,* **shdu:lihGdAlu’ qa:nch’ GAxk’uwahdjL** I'm pounding a nail into a table *L,* **de:duw yik’uwahdj** what are you nailing? *L,* **’Aw ditl’a’g ’u:d yAX GAk’uwahdj** tack the paper down there *L (cf. below).*

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O-**L-k’Awahdj~-k’uwahdj** S fasten O by nailing, tacking, *usually with o-X 'to (in contact with) o'*: **’Aw ditl’a’g ’u:d yAX GALk’uwahdj** tack the paper down (to something) there *L,* **’AwXa:n’ yAX GALk’Awahdj** nail it down all the way along it! *L,* **da: da:X Lk’Awa:djk’** we (cust) nail it to something *L, with d-class-mark for O:* **ya:nAX dAGAxLk’uwahdjL** I'm nailing it (board) to the floor *L, indirect reciprocal:* **’iLX GALk’uwahdj** tack them together! *L; passive:* **da:X ’idik’uwahdjL** it's been nailed to something (wall) *(Neuter perfective) L,* **ya:nAX ’idik’uwahdjL** it's been nailed to the floor *(Neuter perfective) L,* **’iLX shdik’uwahdjL** they've been tacked together *M.*

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XAdAGd da:X dAdAk’uwahdjg *(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.

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k’uwahdjL *(noun, unclassified) (with -L-instrumental)* nail, tack *LM*: **k’uwahdjLXAla’X li’ GAta’** hang it up on a nail! *L,* **k’u’a:w k’uwahdjL** long nail *L,* **k’uwahdjLluw** big tacks *LM;* **k’uwahdjLyAquh** small tack, thumbtack < young of k'uwahdjL *L.*

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k’uwahdjLluw *Eyaks "used to call some big bearded white man that; he always rowed, never used an outboard motor"* < big tacks *LM.*

k’Aldi:ta:’~shk’Aldi:ta:’ *(whole probably Ahtna ’u’eL sk’eldiita’ Eskalida, Chitina family name)*

k’Aldi:ta:’ *(personal name) Copper River chief, Eyaks thought to be descended from him A.*

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shk’Aldi:ta:’ *(personal name) Chitina man L.*

k’AlAL *(probably unidentified element in personal name, see tsa'k'AlALma: under tsa'k')*

k’Ayi:ny~k’inh *(k'Ayi:ny phonetically usually k'Añyi(:)nŋg, M once k'Ayinh, A twice and L once in isolation k'uyi:ny, cf. q'Ayi:ny~)*

k’Ayi:ny *(numeral) (not used of persons, see k'ula:G)* 1. other, different: *11.49A,* **k’Ayi:ny Ga:ndich’ich’g** another bird *6.1M,* **k’Ayi:ny Le’t’ya’ch’** into a different box *65.76, 76A,* **k’Ayi:ny gu’wALwahg** another tribe, foreign tribe *28.102, 102, 104, 121A,* **k’Ayi:ny ’anhq’** in another land, foreign territory *10.166, 28.104, 133, 134, 32.16, 25A,* **k’Ayi:ny lahq’** in foreign villages *68.84, 84A,* **k’Ayi:nylah ’utl’ da: tsin’dAleh** we spoke to him about other (matters) *32.50A,* **k’uyi:ny** *LA,* **k’Ayinh** *M,* **k’Ayi:ny** other, different, another one, it's different *LMA,* **k’Ayi:ny q’A’Aw** it's different *L,* **dik’ ’AlG, ’Aw k’Ayi:ny** not this one, the other one *M,* **k’Ayi:ny XAwa:** a different dog *L,* **k’Ayi:nygä’ ’i:t’eh** it's different < it's like another *M (cf. 3. below),* **k’Ayi:nyga’ ’u’qu’LAtsah** it'll look different *LM,* **k’Ayi:nylAXAqa:’ sich’ lAXa:’ah** bring me another kind, different (orange)! *L,* **k’Ayi:nygAqa:’ sida’** (*or* **sich’**) **gu:La’** (*or* **guGALa’**) bring me some others (spruceroots)! *L; with classified nouns (overt or not):* **k’Ayi:ny guda: ma:** a different lake *L,* **k’Ayi:ny da: yahd** a different house *L,* **k’Ayi:ny da: ’a:nda’ dAsa’yahL** a different one (ship) came *L,* **k’Ayi:ny ’a:na: sich’ li:’a’** give me a different one (hammer)! *L,* **k’Ayi:ny gu:na: sich’ gAli:Lya’** bring me a different one (drink)! *L,* **k’Ayi:ny guka: sich’ gu:ta’** (*or* **-’a’**) give me a different one (spruceroot)! *L,* **k’Ayi:ny lAXa:** different

ones (berries) *L,* **k'Ayi:ny ti:na:** a different one (skin) *L,* **k'Ayi:ny qi:na:** a different one (rope) *L.*

2. wrong, incorrect, mistaken: **k'Ayi:ny ta:'e'X 'i:nxsdima'L** I made the mistake of taking the wrong road *L,* **k'Ayi:nyq'As** unmatched pair *L; see also k'Ayi:nyyu: below.*.

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3. willing, eager, doughty, industrious person, *only in idiom*: **k'Ayi:nyga' 'i:t'inhinh** "he never hesitates, is willing to do any job you ask him" *(a good quality)* < he is like something else *L (cf. under 1. above).*

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k'Ayi:nyyu: *(noun, unclassified) (attested only with -yu: 'plural')* Devils *L (perhaps European idiom,* < adversaries, *or perhaps native, see 1. and 2. above 'foreign, wrong').*

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k'inh- *(numeral, or noun, unclassified, attested only as o of o-da:- 'area of, near, at o' with various finals, L rejects *k'Ayi:nyda:d sAlahLinh 'he lived at a different place', "doesn't sound too good, better k'inhda:d")* other, different *in postpositional phrase k'inhda:- 'another, different place, elsewhere'*: *with -d final:* **k'inhda:d** at a separate, different place, elsewhere *LM, 9.166, 10.166, 28.102, 134A, 42.5, 47a.5L, 49.20A,* **k'inhda:d sAlahLinh** he lives at another place *L, with -ch' final: 9.165, 10.161, 165A,* **k'inhda:ch' sAqehLinh** he boated to another place *L,* **k'inhda:ch' GAqe:Linh** he's boating to another place *L, with -da' final:* **k'inhda:da' sAqehLinh** he boated to (and arrived at) another place *L.*

,

o-**k'inh-da:-d** *(postpositional phrase, with -d final, as above, with -k'inh possessed)* different, other, separate place, apart, away from o: **qe'LGAyu:k'inhda:d dAXunh yiLinhinh** he avoids women (abstaining from hunt) < he lives (is a person) separate from women *L,* **dAXunhyu:k'inhda:d sAdahLinh** she's menstruating < she's staying separate from people *L, with reciprocal o:* **'iLk'inhda:d XAdisLiyahL** they (logs) have been put in different places from each other *L,* **sahdX 'iLk'inhda:d wAX 'idit'eh** they lived apart a long time *16.18M.*

k'udi:q'~k'Adi:q' *(rare alternant k'Ade:q' L once; unanalyzable, to be segmented, if of Eyak origin, k'u-di:q', conceivably k'u-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 k'ʋtéx', gʋtéx', gutéx' '"Aleut" (i.e. Eskimo)', but further down the coast Naish-Story gʋtéx' qwán 'Eyak Indian', for correspondence Eyak -d- Tlingit -t- see Eyak ga:g1, Tlingit form perhaps related to or influenced by kα-yα-dex' 'to be ashamed, disgraced')*

k'udi:q'~k'Adi:q' *(noun, unclassified)* Eskimo, Chugach *(locally called 'Aleut')*: **k'Adi:q'** *52.11, 37L,* **k'u:di:q'** Aleut *49.31A, 52.10, 53.42L, Galushia Nelson* ɡɔɒéɪyàq *or* ɡɔɒɛɪq' 'Eskimo' *BSdL 543,* **k'Ade:q'** *personal name (of Eyak? man)* < Aleut *L, Anonymous* Ктекаю 'Кадьяцкй [sic]' **k'Adi:q'Ayu:** *52.2, 19, 22, 23L, 54.1, 2, 7, 16G,* **k'udi:q'Ayu:** Aleuts *LMAS, 49.30, 32, 40, 59, 64, 50.44A, 58.2, 8, 27, 29L, 54.10G (not *k'udi:q'GAyu: L), Galushia Nelson* ɡɔɒɛ̀ɪqɛ̀ɪyu 'Eskimos' *BSdL 543,* **k'udi:q'Ayu:ya' lah** Aleuts' village *53.1L.*

,

k'udi:q'Ayu:ya' lah *(place-name) near Mummy Island* < Aleuts' village *L, 53.1L.*

k'uda: *(loan from Tlingit x'áda 'file', O-y-x'ad 'roughen O')*

k'uda: *(noun, unclassified)* file *LA*: **k'uda:luw** big file *LM,* **'Aw k'uda: qu'xLxahd** I'll make that file into a barbed spearhead *L.*

k’uLdiya:nn *(probably loan from Ahtna ’ıldıyanı 'spruce hen', probably influenced by k'uLdAtl'g, q.v. under dAtl')*

k’uLdiya:nn *(noun, unclassified)* (spruce) grouse (Canachites canadensis) *LMAS.*

k’udjAXAya:sh *(unanalyzable, perhaps to be segmented k'u-djAXA-ya:sh with k'u-indefinite as possessor or S or O of verb-theme, -djAXA- reduced form of djehX 'ears', -ya:sh unidentifiable noun or verb stem, or perhaps early (and folk-etymologized?) loan from Athapaskan, cf. Ahtna (Pinart) čahaše 'sable' (Doroschin) čehauše 'Zobel', not known to Ahtna informants, Tanaina (Osgood, Kachemak and Kenai only), k’ač’aγóša, Ingalik gəcəγəyə, Nulato Koyukon (Zagoskin)* Коцогея*, Holikachuk sugə, Tanana Village suʒa, Minto cugi, Ahtna cugi, cuga, all probably partly irregular developments of *(k’ə-)čᴀx̣ʷᴀ- + *-yə, *-šə, *-yᴀšə-, or *-gə)*

k’udjAXAya:sh *(noun, unclassified)* marten *LAS*: *67.5G, Rezanov* Кичагаяшъ 'Норка, звѣрь ('mink') Nörz, Mustela lutreola', *Anonymous* Куцяхиасъ 'Соболь' ('sable').

k’ush~k’Ash *(perhaps to be identified with reduced form k'ahsh~k'ush, as apparently by L, or perhaps reduced form of k'a:'sh)*

shALk’ushL *A,* **sALk’AshL** *MA,* **sALk’ushL** *L (noun, unclassified)* small diving duck species *LMA, "something wrong with its foot, has different kind of foot from duck" L (doubtless by association with k'ahsh~k'ush and/or q'Ash), "never straightens neck, always dives, jumps around" M (perhaps also association with q'Ash), "small gray bird" A (probably 'dipper, water ouzel (Cinclus mexicanus)'), 'grebe (horned or Holboell's' ("not eaten, supposed to be people") L (cf. LAk'ush below, q'Aq'). Nominalized Active perfective of theme (O-)L-k'ush~-k'Ash of unknown meaning.*

,

LAk’ush *(noun, unclassified)* grebe *("some kind of smallish duck, not supposed to eat it") L. Cf. preceding, q'Aq', and also LAkush'i:'ah, by which the form and/or meaning may be influenced. Nominalized Active imperfective of theme LA-k'ush of unknown meaning.*

k’ug *(earlier transcribed also k'u'g, k'u'k', later checked and rejected in favor of k'ug by L and A; expanded k'e:g)*

dA-k’ug S have, get (muscular) cramp, spasm: **xsdik’ugL** I got a cramp *LM,* **sdik’ugL** it's got a cramp in it *A,* **qu’xdAk’ug** I'll get a cramp *LM,* **qu’dAk’ug** you'll get a cramp (in muscle) *L,* **xdAk’e:gk’** I (cust) get a cramp *LM, with anatomical marks:* **yixsdik’ugL** I got a cramp in my hand, arm *L,* **qi:dixsdik’ugL** I got a cramp in my foot, leg *L, repetitive:* **dAk’ugginh** he keeps getting (muscular) cramps *L,* **qi:dAxdAk’ugg** I keep getting a cramp in my foot, leg *L.*

k’u~k’A *(modern form freely alternating, original form uncertain as to labialization, probably related to k' of dik'2, k'a:, k'ah)*

k’u-~k’A- *(negative prefix to interrogative pronominal stems)* not, no, *see k'u-de: 'nothing', k'u-de:-dah 'in no way' under de:1, k'u-du: 'no one' under du:, k'u-dAX 'cannot' under dAX.*

k’umah~k’Amah *(conceivably to be analyzed -mah with k'u-indefinite prefix)*

k’umah~k’Amah *(noun, unclassified)* sea lion (Steller's, Eumetopia jubata): **k’Amah** *50.52, 55A,* **k’umah** sea lion *50.55, 58, 60, 61A, Rezanov* Кума 'Сиучь Seelöwe, Phoca leonina',

Galushia Nelson k’úmà’ *or* k’úmàq 'sea-lion' *BSdL 539, Rezanov* Коммайляакашхо *(with* a *superscript insert)* 'Усы сиучьи Seebären-Bart', **k’umahlAGa:nshdAXu’** sea lion whiskers, Коммаа-ацъ 'Стрѣла сиучья Seelöwenpfeil oder Speer' **k’umah ’A’Adz** spear a sea lion!, Кумаяко 'Сиучонокъ junger (kleiner) Seelöwe' **k’umahyAquh** see lion pup, **k’umahluw** big sea lion *LM.*

k’ula:G *(historically probably analyzable as k'u-la:-G: see below, cf. also k'udi'lahG under 'lahG)*

-k’ula:G- *(noun, unclassified) (probably analyzable historically as reduced form of postpositional phrase o-k'ah < o-*k'wah 'away from o', -la:-, see la:~na:1, and -G personal) attested in plural only* **sik’ula:GAyu:** not my people, people other than mine (not of my kind) *L.*

,

k’ula:G(-ih) *(numeral, cf. k'Ayi:ny~, or noun, unclassified, probably derived from above, no longer identified as postpositional phrase)* someone else, another, a different person: **k’ula:G** *L, 11.48, 33.56, 56, 66A,* **k’ula:Gih** someone else, another, a different person *L, 25.103A, 33.76A,* **k’ula:Gih qe’L** another woman *48.1L,* **k’ula:Gih’ehd** someone else's wife *33.59A, Rezanov* Колякекоанака 'Вогватъ ('wage war') Krieg führen' **k’ula:Gihkuwa’na:G q’A’anh** he's some else's friend *L,* **k’ula:GAya’ du:sh** someone else's (not his own) car *L,* **dik’ k’ula:GAya’ sAqe:GAyu:G** they're not someone else's children *24.32A,* **k’ula:GiXa’** with someone else *17.7LM, 25.102A, Wrangell* Кулакаю 'Fremder', **k’ula:GAyu:** other people *L, 11.5, 49, 113, 28.140A,* **k’ula:GAyu: xi:lGAyu:** other shamans *56.20L,* **k’ula:Ginu:** other people *(same as k'ula:GAyu:) L,* **k’ula:Ginu:** (*or* **k’ula:GAyu:**) **q’A’ahnu: qa:’e’ qa’a’ch’** other will change place with us, take our place, shift *L.*

k’i:ngsh *(G k'i:nk'sh, L also k'i:nk'sh, k'in'k'sh, but clearly favors k'i:ngsh; perhaps related to and/or influenced by k'ahgsh, k'igsh~k'ik'sh, k'ik'sh~k'i:nk'sh~k'i:ngsh; cf. also q'AGsh)*

-k’i:ngsh(-g) *(noun) (with -g-repetitive thematized except in form from G) attested only as second element in compound with q'Ama: (l-class)* (intact) salmon-roe, roe-sac, *with l-class-mark*: **q’Ama:lAk’i:nk’sh** *G,* **q’Ama:lAk’i:ngshg** *("-k'i:ngshg sounds best")* dry salmon-roe *L.*

,

lX-L-k’i:ngsh-g *1. With lX-class-mark for S ('loose roe') apparently thematized (see above, and also lAXALk'i:ngshg below, the product, l-class, apparently '(intact) salmon-roe')* S (salmon-roe) dry: **lAXAsALk’i:ngshgL** salmon-roe dried *L. Transitive (causative):* **lAXi:Lk’i:ngshg** make dry salmon-roe! *M,* **qu’lAXi:xLk’i:ngshg** I'll dry salmon-roe *L.*

2. *With lX-anatomical*: **lAXAsALk’i:ngshgLinh** *M,* **’ula:X lAXAsALk’in’k’shgLinh** (*or* **-k’i:nk’sh-**, **-k’i’k’sh-**) something is wrong with his eyes *L,* **lAXAsALk’i:ngshgL** his eyes got dry and scabby (like dry salmon-roe) *L.*

,

3. *With lX-mark thematized, perhaps incorrectly*: **lAXALk’i:ngshg** (he has a) scabby rash *M.*

,

lXd-L-k’i:ngsh-g *(variant of 2. above, with lXd-anatomical 'eyes')* : **lAXAdAsALk’i:ngshgLinh** something is wrong with his eyes *L.*

,

LA-k’i:ngsh-g S (scab) dry: **GALAk’i:ngshgL** scab is drying *L,* **sLik’i:ngshgL** scab dried up *L.*

,

lX-LA-k’i:ngsh-g *(variant of lX-L-k'i:ngsh-g, cf. L-k'ahgsh-g, LA-k'ahgsh-g, equivalent to preceding with lX-anatomical)* : **lAXAxsLik’i:ngshgL** something is wrong with my eye *L.*

,

lAXALk’i:ngshg *(noun, l-class)* dried (intact?) salmon-roe *LM*: **k’ulAt’u’ lAXALk’i:ngshg** lots of dried salmon-roe *L. Nominalized Active imperfective of lX-L-k'i:ngsh-g 1.*

k’i:nk’sh

k’i:nk’sh *(personal name) 20-year-old wife at Kaliakh River Village, 1794* Kin-ksh".

k’inh

-k’inh *(kinship noun, ascending)* (paternal) grandmother *(probably also 'paternal grandmother's sister')*: *Rezanov* Каакенъ 'Бабка Grossmutter' **qa:k’inh** our (paternal) grandmother, **sik’inh** my father's mother *(man or woman speaking) L; with suffixed adjective -shiyah, here without any clear meaning, perhaps respectful:* **sik’inhshiyah** my father's mother *(man or woman speaking, "same as sik'inh") L,* **’ik’inhshiyah** your father's mother *L;* **’ita:’k’inhyAku:nch’ga’ GAlAGAta’** live like your father's (paternal) grandmother's thumb! *L (curse, see ta:', ku:nch'1). Vocative:* akiⁿ 'father's older sister (woman speaking)', akɪⁿ (?) 'father's mother (man speaking)', akiⁿ (?) 'mother's mother's older sister (woman speaking)' *BSdL 564-566A all probably* **’Ak’inh** (paternal) grandmother!, (paternal) grandmother's sister!, kɪⁿca 'father's mother (woman speaking)' *BSdL 565A* **k’inhshah** (paternal) grandmother! *L (Billy Dude also called Minnie Stevens this L; no kinship between them is shown on the BSdL Genealogical Table),* akiⁿcia 'father's younger sister (woman speaking)' *BSdL 565A perhaps* **’Ak’inhshiyah** *(occurrence of 'A-prefix and -shiyah suffix probably in error, also unbroken, -shah expected in vocative; see also tinh, 'ahd).*

,

-k’inh-lA-kih *(kinship noun, descending) (reciprocal to preceding, with -kih diminutive, affectionate; -lA- not class- or thematic mark, probably due to unique phonological development *-k'wAn-A- > *-k'winh-nA- > k'inh-lA- cf. qa'1; L rejects -k'inh(')A)kih; this development does not take place with suffixed -shiyah or -shah, L rejects *-k'inhlAshiyah, *-k'inhlAshah)* (woman's) son's child *(probably also 'woman's sister's son's child')*: sʊkɪⁿlakɪⁿ 'son's child (woman speaking)' *BSdL 567A* **sik’inhlAkih** my son's child *(woman speaking, serves also in direct address) L.*

k’in’

L-k’in’ (specific part of) S be skinny, scrawny, lean, emaciated *(often somewhat derogatory)*: **’uLa:n’ ’Awa: sALk’in’L** his legs (thighs) are (have become) skinny *L,* **’uyAda’ ’Awa: sALk’in’L** its legs are skinny *L; with anatomical marks:* **k’ushdAsALk’in’Linh** his (lower) legs are skinny *(not polite) L.*

,

da’ G-L-k’in’ *(with G-thematic with da' 'face')* S's face be skinny, gaunt: **da’ Gi:Lk’in’Linh** his face is skinny *L,* **da’ GixiLk’in’L** my face is skinny *L (Neuter perfectives),* **da’ qu’Gi:xLk’in’** my face will get skinny *L.*

,

l-L-k’in’ S be (generally) skinny, scrawny, lean, emaciated *(often somewhat derogatory)*: *Neuter perfective:* **lixiLk’in’L** I'm skinny *L,* **dik’ la’xLk’in’LG** I'm not skinny *L,* **q’AXa: li:Lk’in’Linh** my how skinny she is! *M,* **li:Lk’in’L** it (clam, cockle) is lean, skinny (not much meat on it) *L (cf. Xan2), Active perfective:* **lisiLk’in’L** I got skinny *L,* **’i:nsALk’in’L** it's skinny

LM, **'anh Lila:' 'i:nsALk'in'L** that man is skinny *L,* **t'uhLga' 'i:nsALk'in'L XAwa:yu:** three skinny dogs *L, Inceptive perfective:* **lAGAxLk'in'L** I'm getting skinny *L,* **lAGi:Lk'in'L** you're getting skinny *M,* **lAGALk'in'Linh** he's getting skinny *LM, other mode-aspects:* **qu'li:Lk'in'** it'll get skinny *M,* **dik' qu'li:Lk'in'G** it won't be skinny *M,* **la:yiLk'in'inh** let him be skinny, get skinny *L,* **lAGi:Lk'in'inh** let him get skinny *L,* **li:xLk'i:nk'** I (cust) get skinny *L (Neuters?). Transitive (causative):* **lAGALk'in'** make it get skinny! *L; passive:* **xulisdik'in'L** I was made to get skinny (by someone, doctor) *L.*

k'in't'

O-**k'in't'** S scratch O: *36.16, 17, 18, 45A,* **Xa:ngAdi:nya:n k'uXa:shg sAk'in't'Lga' sALiL** Porcupine sort of scratched Beaver *16.11M,* **dik' 'Awa: 'i:ndä:' 'iya: qa'k'in't'G** she won't scratch your face however *36.18A,* **'iGe't' 'iya: qa'k'in't', dAda:dAXd** she'll scratch your body, anywhere *36.19A,* **'anh k'uXe:gAXts' sAk'in't'Linh dAXunh** the man whom Property Woman has scratched *36.42A, Rezanov* Асыкетль 'Царапать kratzen' **'anh sAk'in't'L** it scratched him, he scratched it, **'Ak'in't'** scratch it! *LMS,* **qu'xk'in't'** I'll scratch it *LG,* **dA'u:dAXya:kih xuk'in't'** something is scratching me *L; with k'ud (k'u-indefinite o of o-d, translating as S):* **k'ud xuk'in't'** something is scratching me *L,* **k'ud xusAk'in't'L** (I was walking along and) something scratched me *L (L rejects *k'ud xusdik'in't'L, and also *'Awd xusAk'in't'L 'it scratched me', as ungrammatical)*; *with l-anatomical:* **k'e:d du:sh k'ulAk'in't'ga'** like how a cat scratches one *36.17A,* **'iqe'li:xk'in't'** I'll scratch your face *L; with indeterminate O and perambulative:* **yAX 'i:nxdAk'in't' da:X** as I get to scratching around *34.11M (Active conditional),* **yAX 'idAk'in't'Xinh sAqe:ts'Akih** a child who scratches *L; reflexive:* **'AdAk'in't'inh** he's scratching himself *M,* **'AdxdAk'in't'** I'm scratching myself *L,* **'Adisdik'in't'Linh** he scratched himself *M, with l-anatomical:* **'Adi:nsdik'in't'Linh** he scratched his (own) face *L,* **'Ad-lisdik'in't'Lsh**, **'Adsh lisdik'in't'L**, **'Adsh 'i:nsdik'in't'L** did you scratch your face? *L, cautionary negative Inceptive imperative:* **'Adq'AlAGAdAk'in't'G** (be careful you) don't (accidentally) scratch your face! *L; passive:* **sdik'in't'L** it got scratched *M,* **xusdik'in't'L** I got scratched (by someone, something) *L,* **xuGAdAk'in't'L** *(not xuGALA-)* I'm being scratched *L, with l-anatomical:* **xi:nsdik'in't'L** my face got scratched *L.*

,

O-**'-k'in't'** S scratch at O, try to scratch O *(success not necessarily implied)*: *with l-anatomical:* **xu'i:nsALk'in't'L** it (cat) tried to scratch my face *L.*

,

ya' O-**d-k'in't'** *(with d-thematic, perhaps optional, with ya' 'completely', or perhaps thematized class-mark for O, e.g. 'board, floor')* S scratch O all up: **'Aw ya' dAsAk'in't'L** he scratched it all up *L.*

,

yAX O-**Gl-dA-k'in't'-X** *(with perambulative and Gl-thematic 'ground' as O)* S scratch around on ground: **yAX Ga:ndAk'in't'X** it's scratching around on the ground *LM.*

,

lAXAdAk'in't' *(noun)* pimples *M (rejected by L). Nominalized passive Active imperfective with lX-class-mark for O 'granular, berry-like' thematized,* < they (granular) are scratched.

k'e: *(perhaps to be analyzed k'-e: and related to k'2 and/or to k'e:'~k'e' and/or to 'e'~, cf. chi:~chi')*

k'e:…-d *(interrogative adverb)* 1. how?, how: **k'e:d** *2b.4L, 36.17, 51.60(?), 76A, 53.27L,* **k'e:duw** *1a.5, 1b.3, 2a.9M, 21b.30, 24.19A, 34.65M, 37b.20, 61.46, 46, 65.1A,* **k'e:duh** *11.126A,* **k'e:dunh** *7.9, 9, 11.6, 21b.21, 69.25, 25A,* **k'e:duhnu:** *28.94A, 34.6M,* **k'e:dunh sAsinhL** how

did he die?, **k'e:d 'AdiX sahL** how did you get in? *M,* **k'e:duw 'Aw te'ya' qu'xsheh** how'll I kill that fish? *L, with certain themes, especially -le 'S do, act, happen to S', O-L-i 'S do to O', d-le 'S say', O-'-Xa 'S tell of O', and for C in O-'-(l)-'e 'S call O C', usually translating 'what?, what': 2a.33, 15.10M, 20.10, 21b.3, 9, 33, 23.103, 25.116A, 57.11G, 70.3A,* **dik' 'Aw 'u:la'Lga:G k'e:duhnu: 'Ale:k'** they didn't know what had become of them *28.86A,* **k'e:d sAliL** what happened to you?, what did you do? *10.222, 32.31A (cf.* ***k'e:d wAX sAliL*** how it happened (thus) *2a.9M),* **k'e:d 'i: qi'yileh** *34.24, 29, 37, 45L,* **dik' k'e:dunh 'AsliLG** nothing happened to her *49.121A (cf. 20.23, 49.122A),* **k'e:d di:leh** *M,* **k'e:duh di:leh** what are you saying? *43.23M,* **k'e:dunh dAleh** what's he saying? *M, (cf.* ***k'e:dunh dAle:, qu'di:leh*** how he says, (how) he'll say (it) *69.25A),* **k'e:d yileh** what are you doing? *M,* **k'e:dunh leh** what's he doing? *M,* **k'e:dunh qa'leh** what'll he do?, what'll happen to, become of him? *M,* **k'e:dunh sALiL** what did you do to him? *L,* **k'e:dunh qa:tl' 'ida'Xah** what(ever) he told us *51.12A,* **k'e:duw 'ulah qa:tl' 'ida'k'u'Xah** what one preaches to us about it *70.6A, Rezanov* Кедедуде-э 'Имя Name' **k'e:d 'Adu'dA'eh** what's your, its name?, **k'e:d xu'li:'eh** what did you call me? *L, with theme -t'e´~t'u ´ 'how be, fare S?, what's wrong, the matter with S, what become of S?':* **k'e:duw 'i:t'eh** how is it? (how does the story go?) *10.97A,* **k'e:duw 'i:t'e:** what's wrong (with you)? *10.268A, Anonymous* Кети теау 'Какъ называютъ' ('what do they call it?') **k'e:d 'i:t'eh 'Aw** how is that?, **k'e:d 'i:t'eh** how are you? *L,* **k'e:duw qu'wAt'uh** how it'll be *62.16G; occasionally with exclamatory force (cf. 5 below):* **k'e:duw 'udAGAlehyAq' 'anh sAliLinh** (my) how she pleased him *10.127A,* **k'e:duhnu: Ldzu'** what the hell are the doing?!, **k'e:duhnu: dALdzu'** what a hell of a noise! *L, asyntactically, without verb: Rezanov* Кейту 'Чето? was?' **k'e:duh** *18.39, 26.6, 27a.20, 34.110L,* **k'e:duw** how (is that)?, what (happened, is the matter, wrong)? *24.19, 94, 61.96A,* **k'e:dunh** how, what (is it with him, the matter, wrong with him)? *23.104, 24.48A,* **k'e:duhnu:** how, what (is it with them, etc.)? *24.30, 29.97A, also* **k'e:d** *36.36, 50.48, 51.60(?), 65.34, 56A,* **k'e:duw** how (is it, does the story go)?, what (is it called)? *36.33, 60.53A; once lacking -d, probably in error:* **k'e: qi' k'u:t'ehlAX 'isAL'anhLinu:** they saw what was going on there, "what the place was all about" *34.125L; once used incorrectly in* **dik' du:duw 'u:la'Lga:G k'e:duw te'ya' k'At'u' qu'Le'** 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 dA-* 'ipse' ***dA-k'e:…-d*** however, in whatever way, in any way whatever *(see also 3b.)*: **dAk'e:dunh dAXunh yiLeh** whatever, no matter what kind of a person he is *L,* **dAk'e:d k'uqa'leh** *61.12A,* **dAk'e:d k'uqu'wAleh** however things will happen, whatever will happen *61.27A, lacking -d, probably in error:* **dAk'e: gudli:t'eh** it is of any color *66.10L, in negative or prohibitive clauses:* **dik' 'a'd dAk'e:dunh 'Ad-la'LAt'inhinh** there's no sign of anger or pain on his face < he's not grimacing much in any way *L,* **dik' dAk'e:dunh 'anhtl' dAsliLG** she didn't say anything to him *25.106A,* **dik' dAk'e:duh q'e' dAle:G** nothing more happens *25.206A,* **dik' dAk'e:duw 'AsliLG** nothing happened to it *49.122A (cf. 49.121, 20.23A),* **dik' dAk'e:duh ti:li:le:k'G** nothing (cust) happens to it (feather) *48.6L,* **dik' dAk'e:duh yAX 'Adi:lihLa'ya:XG** he didn't think anything of (amiss about) it *31.5L,* **ya'Xu: dAk'e:d xuqu'lAXLih** pl. don't do anything (harm) to me *19.14L.*

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1c. *With enclitic -sh(-d)* I wonder: **k'e:shdunh sAliL** wondering what happened to him *61.43A.*

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2. *With -chi:- emphatic '-ever, in the world?' (see also 4b.),* ***k'e:-chi:-duh*** how ever?, how in the world?, what ever?, what in the world?: *11.182fnA,* **k'e:chi:duw 'i:t'eh** what ever is it with it?, what in the world is wrong with it? *21b.42A,* **k'e:chi:d da: qa' t'uh** what in the world will become of us? *23.148A,* **k'e:chi:d qa't'uh** what ever will come of it? *21b.53A,* **k'e:chi:duw qu'xt'uh** what in the world will become of me? *23.14A,* **k'e:chi:d 'i: qu'yileh** *34.19L,* **k'e:chi:d 'i: qi'yileh** what ever will *you* do? *34.48, 54, 59M,* **k'e:chi:duhnu: 'Awa: k'uqu'xLih** how ever will I get any of them? *10.236A,* **k'e:chi:d di:leh** *what* did you say? *L.*

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2b. *In non-verbal clauses, subordinate to nominal* how about…?, what about…?: **k’e:chi:d GAyAG** what about us? *30.8L,* **k’e:chi:d xu:** what, how about me? *34.9, 13M, 22, 28, 32, 35, 43L, 53, 57M,* **k’e:chi:dunh ’anh LinhGih ’Awa:** what about that other one? *33.67A,* **k’e:chi:duw ’Aw te’ya’yu:lA’e: ’uGAdA’eh ’Awa:** what about that one of them that looks different from (normal) salmon? *21b.38A; Rezanov* Кейчидудахъ 'Даромъ umsonst' **k’e:chi:duh da:X** "what can *I* do about it, I've got no time to monkey with it" *L (perhaps for* ***k’e:chi:d ’uda:X*** what ever's the use?*).*

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3. *With yu: 'plural':* a. ***k’e:-…-yu:-d*** in all kinds of ways, all kinds of things: **k’e:yu: q’e’ k’uGAdAle:L da:Xduw** all kinds of things were happening again, more was happening in all sorts of ways *11.133A.*

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3b. *As above, with dA-* 'ipse' *(cf. 1b.)*: **dAk’e:yu:dAw** in whatever way, in any way whatever, in all kinds of ways, anything, whatever *L,* **dAk’e:yu:dunh dAXunh yiLeh** whatever, no matter what kind of person he is *L;* **dAk’e:duwyu: yAX ’idiLi’ah** it (wind) is blowing every which way *L.*

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4. *With incorporated 'wAX 'thus'* a. ***k’e:-’wAX-d*** *(< k'e: 'wAX-d 'how is it thus?')* how come?, why?, why *(< how comes it to be thus that…?)*: *3.1M, 43.10M,* **k’e:’wAXduw dik’ ’AdAxwe:Xk’G** why doesn't it (cust) ebb? *L,* **k’e:’wAXduh wAX yileh** why do you do that? *L,* **dik’ ’u:la’xLga:G k’e:’wAXdunhga’ ([’Aw]ga’?) xan’Lq’ k’uXa:k’** I don't know why he (cust) eats so much *M,* **dik’ ’u:la’xLga:G k’e:’wAXdunhga’ ([’Aw]ga’?) k’uXah** I don't know why he eats so much *L.*

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4b. *As above, with enclitic -sh(-d)* I wonder: **k’e:’wAXshduhnu: wAX ’i:t’eh** how come, I wonder, are they that way? *24.33A.*

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4c. *As 4a., with emphatic -chi:-*: **k’e:’wAXchi:duh** why ever?, why in the world is that?, how on earth does it come to be thus? *L.*

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5. *With 'iL- exclamatory (cf. 1a.),* ***’iL-k’e:…-d*** how the hell?, what do S think he's doing?, there go S doing *(speaker irritated)*: **’iLk’e:dunh gu:dAg q’e’ ’i’di:Lqe’dX** what does he think he's doing, asking you again? *L,* **’iLk’e:duh dALdzu’** there's that damn noise!, what's that (damn boat) doing? *L,* **’iLk’e:duh Ldzu’shiyah** what's that (damn) no-good (dog think it's) doing? *L.*

k’e’k’

k’e’k’L *(noun, unclassified) (with -L-suffix)* mink *LMASG*: *33.22, 26, 26A, 67.6G,* **k’e’k’L’Atse’** mink-meat *33.23, 24A,* **k’e’k’L’Atah** mink-skin *33.41, 72, 74A,* **k’e’k’L’a’luw** big mink *LM.*

k’e’~k’e:’ *(perhaps related to k'2 and/or to k'e:; cf. chi:~chi:', for variation see below)*

k’e’-~k’e:’-sh *(adverb) (stem k'e'-~k'e:'- apparently in free variation, but k'e:'- more frequent from A, k'e'- clearly preferred in elicitations from L; attested only with enclitic -sh interrogative thematized; usually following form modified by meaning)* perhaps, maybe, probably, approximately, about: **k’e:’sh** *A, 51.46A,* **k’e:’shuh** *10.51, 11.80, 24.88A,* **k’e:’shuw** *10.51, 85, 32.35, 37b.54, 51.46, 69, 70.2A,* **k’e:’shunh** *51.95, 69.24, 28A,* **k’e’shunh** *21b.12, 23.105, 61.75A,* **k’e’shuhnu:** *28.1A,* **’wAX k’e:’sh** *LM,* **’wAX k’e’sh** *(preceding twice rejected)*

maybe (so) *L,* **'wAX k'e:'shuh** maybe (so), approximately (thus) *L,* **'wAX k'e'sh la'dih** about two *L,* **'wAX k'e'shunh dAleh** that (thus) is about what he said *L,* **'lAX k'e'shunh dAleh** this is about what he said *L,* **tsa' k'e:'shuw yiLeh** *M,* **tsa' k'e'shuw yiLeh** it might be deep *L,* **'iqe'dAsheh k'e'sh** you might get killed *M,* **dAXu' k'e:'shA'Aw** (*later changed to* **k'e'shA'Aw**) maybe that's right *L,* **dAXu' k'e:'shA'anh** (*later changed to* **k'e'shA'anh**) **dAleh** maybe he's telling the truth *L,* **k'a:di'da: k'e'sh 'u:dAX da:X 'ixiyah** I don't think I'll make it across < I'll probably never get across along there *L,* **dik' k'e'sh 'i:lAX q'e' 'iqe'xLA'a:nG** maybe I won't see you again *L,* **qu'lAdAmah k'e'shuh** something might go wrong with it *L,* **'uch' k'e'shuh qu'dAXAwih** maybe you'll be rewarded for it *L,* **di'wAX k'e'shuh 'ich' sdiXAwi'L** you'll probably yet have good luck for it *L.*

k'a: *(form of stem stem uncertain, conceivably k'a:d, see below; initial not labialized in Russian sources, Rezanov twice, Wrangell once; perhaps related to k'a:d and/or to k'ah and/or to k'u2, see also dik'2, k'ula:G, 'lahG)*

k'a:dih~k'a:di- *(probably < k'a:dih, though conceivably k'a:d-ih, cf. 'Ash-dih)* 1. *(locative) (attested with zero and -ch' finals), attested only as C:* gone, away, absent, vanished, disappeared, missing, lost, destroyed: *with zero final:* ***k'a:dih -Le(')*** S be gone, become lost, etc.: *20.53, 23.53, 73, 25.116, 116A, 27a.23L, 28.9, 29.37, 54, 37b.44, 37b.44A, 45A, 38.24LM, 47a.4, 55L, see further instances under -Le(') 1g(1)., without verb (-Le(') deleted): 11.22, 22, 11.203, 21b.14A, 47b.23M, 47c.29A, 47c.30, 31L, 49.148, 61.64A, with meaning 'destroyed (shot) away' 61.55, 61.123A,* **k'a:dih qu'li:xLXinhinh** I'll make him get lost *M, Wrangell* Кателенину 'Böser Geist' *probably to be read* **k'a:dih yiLinhinu:**(?) (*or* **'i:Le'Linu:**(?)) those who are lost, gone (dead), **la'dih XAlahsd ya: 'uXu:nLAyah k'a:dih** his two front teeth are missing *L,* **la'dih 'uXu:nLAyah 'Awa: k'a:dih** two of his teeth are missing *L; with -sh interrogative enclitic:* **k'a'dish** (is she still) vanished? any sign of her? *18.52L; with -ch' final:* **k'a:dihch' 'ALe:gk'inu:** they (cust) keep disappearing *28.54A.*

2. *In combination with postpositional phrase 'uda:X 'in contrast with it':* a.: **k'a:dih 'uda:X**, **k'a:di'uda:X** it's no use, pointless, useless, futile *L, usually used as optative clause introducer:* **k'a:dih 'uda:X 'ixiki:nX** it's no use for me to cry *M,* **k'a:dih 'uda:X 'i:ki:nX** it's no use for you to cry *M,* **k'a:dih 'uda:X k'uliki:nX** no use crying *M,* **k'a:dih 'uda:X 'iLu' q'e' k'u'lAXa:nLiki:nq'** no use one being demure with one another anymore *72.9L.*

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2b. *With dA-* 'ipse': **dik'a:di'uda:X sida' q'e' 'idiyah** it's pointless for you to come back to me *33.77A.*

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3. *In combination with 'ida:~'idA-* how, in such a way, such that: **k'a:di'da:** never (in future), *usually as optative clause introducer: 11.128, 23.153, 28.54, 36.10, 37b.81A,* **k'a:di'da: lAG 'i:Lyinhinu:, 'ahnu: qe'LGAyu:** you'll never win them, those women *11.74A,* **'anh dAXunh k'Ade:dah 'Aw ma:gAdAta:s 'Ash 'A[sahLG]** that man could not get across that lake *37b.81A,* **k'a:di'da: q'e' 'iLi'eh** she would never remarry *49.26A,* **k'a:di'da: k'e'sh 'u:dAX da:X 'ixiyah** I don't think I'll make it across < I'll perhaps never get across along there *L, with -sh interrogative enclitic:* **k'a:di'da:sh 'u:dAX 'ik'a' 'AdiX 'ixiyah** can I ever go in there with you? *23.43A, preceded by adverb 'a'd 'very, very much':* **'a'd k'a:di'da:** never (would I do that, etc.)! *M,* **'a'd k'a:di'da: 'a:nch' q'e' 'ixdiyah** I'll never come back here *M,* **'a'd k'a:di'da: q'e' 'i:xiqah** I'll never bite you again *M,* **'a'd k'a:di'da: q'e' da:dicheh** you'll never be hungry again *M,* **'a'd k'a:di'da: q'e' 'iLits'inhinh** he'll never be strong again *M,* **'a'd k'a:di'da: q'e' da:Lits'anh** it (table) will never be strong again *M,* **'a'd k'a:di'da: q'e:yAX 'ixdiweh** I'll never go swimming again *M,* **'a'd k'a:di'dah 'ulah q'e:yAX 'Adi:lih'ixLi'yah** I'll never think about it again *M.*

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3b. *As preceding; with perhaps different meaning (cf. 2. above)* must never, it'd never do to…: **k'a:di'da: 'Aw q'AdjXda:d 'iXa' yAX 'idiyah** you must never, it'd never do for you to go about without your hair-ribbon *23.51A.*

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4. *With -duh emphatic enclitic, meaning or meanings uncertains,* a.: **k'a:diduh** "no more" *L (cf. 3. above, 5. below).*

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4b. "around all over" *(?)*: **k'a:diduh qa: qa'Lxut'inu:** "they're shooting around all over at us" *L* ***(qa: qa'Lxut'inu:*** they'll shoot us (with gun)*, cf. 1. above).*

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5. *Form uncertain*: *Rezanov* Кадъ-этъ 'Нѣтъ nein' *perhaps to be read* **k'a:di…**, perhaps **k'a:did[uh]**.

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k'a:dah *(exclamation or adverb, probably < k'a:-dah with -dah adverbializer, though conceivably < k'a:d-ah, cf. di:k'-ah)* 1. well!, what do you know?!, don't tell me! *(incredulous, pleasant surprise),* so you succeeded! *L*: **k'a:dah 'u:da' sahL** well, don't tell me, you got there! *L,* **k'a:dah kuts'gshiyah** my what a remarkable (clever) little youngster! *(pleased) M.*

2. nothing *(?)*: *Rezanov* Къ-аата 'Ничего nichts' *probably to be read* **k'a:dah**.

k'a:d *(Rezanov implies k'wa:d; perhaps to be analyzed k'a:-d and/or identified with k'a: and/or with k'1 and/or k'w2)*

k'a:-d *(postposition) (used only in complex numerals)* o plus n digits: *Rezanov* Таккакоатлинкъ-э '11.' *probably to be read* **dAGa:Xk'wa:d LinhGih**, **dAGa:Xk'a:d LinhGih** eleven *MA,* **tle:qa:(g)k'a:d LinhGih** twenty-one *M, see further instances under la'd, t'uhL, qAlah, ch'a:n', ts'i:n, guts', Ga:.*

k'a:Lge:~ka:Lge: *(origin of name unknown)*

k'a:Lge: *LM,* **ka:Lge:** *S (personal name)* 1. *Eyak woman LMS, BSdL* k'atɬɢɛ'.

2. *Pauline, chief Charlie's daughter (Austerlitz).*

k'ah *(Rezanov four times, Wrangell once without labialization, Rezanov four times perhaps implying labialization, see discussion under l-ta; perhaps related to k'a: and/or to k'u2, see also dik'2, k'ula:G, 'lahG, 'uk'ahyAkih)*

o-**k'ah** *(postposition) (attested with zero and -ch' finals, also under 2., with -X 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 *-k'a'; cf. o-ch'ahd, Athapaskan *o-č'ən, 'motion originating at and emanating from (not necessarily definite removal to any distance) from o)* a.: *with zero final:* **sik'ah** away from me *L,* **sik'ah sAdahLinh** he sidled away from me *L,* **'Awk'ah 'Axihs** rip it off it! *L,* **'Awk'ah disLiqahGL** a piece flew (fell) off it *L,* **'Aw k'utse'k'ah k'usAq'Ats'L** it (dog) bit a piece off the meat *L,* **'ik'ah qu'XAdli:xyah** I'll run away from you *L,* **'Aw GAma: 'Awk'ah sAkusLinh** he washed the maggots off it *45b.8M, o-k'ah -a 'S go away from o, leave o': 11.60A, 11.133, 61.22A,* **Lila:' 'u'ehdk'ah Ga:X 'ileh** a man wanted to leave his wife *47a.1L,* **sik'ah sahLinh** he went, walked away from me, left me (temporarily or for good) *L, o-k'ah l-L-ya:' 'S keep forgetting o': 69.26, 26, 70.3A, frequently attested in o-k'ah l-ta 'S forget (move head away from) o' and o-k'ah -le'g 'S unhand, stop bothering, release o, leave o alone, q.v., Rezanov* сыкаалегу 'Пусти loslassen (Imperat., lass (mich?) los!)' **sik'ah 'Ale'gw**; *with reciprocal o:* **'iLk'ah** (take

them) apart! *L,* **'iLk'ah GALa'** push them apart! *L,* **'iLk'ah shdi'a'ch'Linu:** they (spouses) separated *L,* **'iLk'ah GALXahdinu:** separate them (from fighting)! < drag them apart! *L,* **'iLk'ah** O-**L-tsAX** S cut O apart *49.93, 95A; with indeterminate o:* **gu:sAXk'da:X dAk'ah GAta'** fan out (separate) wood fiber from sap! *A; with zero reflexive o in indirect reflexive constructions:* **k'ah sLikinhdL** I gave it a quick shove away (from myself) *L,* **k'ah xsLilugLinu:** I pushed them away (from myself) *L, most frequently attested in* **k'ah l-dA-ta** S forget self, be forgetful *(see o-k'ah l-ta, four uncertain forms from Rezanov perhaps imply -k'wah).*

1b. *With -ch' final, usually with Inceptive and Neuter imperfectives, customary, repetitive*: **'Awk'ahch' wusg** it (paint, peel) is crumbling off it *L,* **sik'ahch' XAdla:Ga'ya:L** he's running away from me *L,* **Lidah sik'ahch' XAdla:'ya:k'inh** he continually (cust) runs away from me *L,* o-**k'ahch' l-L-ya:'** S keep forgetting o, **'Awk'ahch' 'ALte'k'g** chop off wet outside part off it (wood)! *L,* **sik'ahch' di:sid** they (boards) extend away from me *L; with reciprocal o:* **'iLk'ahch' qid didi'ah** they (boards) point away from each other *L; with zero reflexive o in indirect reflexive constructions:* **k'ahch' xLAle'gg** I keep pushing it away (from myself) with my hand *L,* **k'ahch' xuGALya:L** he's making me forget my distress < he's making me be away from myself *(causative) L.*

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2. *Compounded as final with other postpositions and with locatives,* a. *with zero final*: *with postposition o-q' 'on o':* **'Awtah 'Awq'Ak'ah sALtahLinu:** they took the skin off (from on) it *37b.21A,* o-**q'Ak'ah** O-**L-tsAX** S cut O off (from on) o *65.9, 9, 10, 11, 28, 29, 30A,* **dA'e:dzg 'Awq'Ak'ah wAX dAle:k'** meat-slabs are (cust) removed off it (salmon) *65.9A,* **'uyAq'AGi'ya' 'uq'Ak'ah qi'yiLah** you'll remove its entrails from (on) it *65.38A (misused),* **'Awq'Ak'ah sahL** got down off (from on top of) it *28.11A,* **Gu'L siq'Ak'ah GAta'** take the blanket off me! *M,* **qu'q'Ak'ah dAGALya'** take it (pot) off the fire! *L,* **'Awq'Ak'ah lAXAdla:sALyahLinh** he took them (berries in container) off it *L,* **t'ahLti:na'q'Ak'ah** off (from on) a leaf, feather *L, with o-ya' 'in o with broad opening at top':* o-**ya'k'ah sLi'AdzL** jumped out of, clear of o (conveyance) *49.142, 61.75, 76A, with other postpositions:* **'udAda'k'ah k'uGAta'** take the lid off it! *M (perhaps incorrect),* **'iLqa'k'ah lAXAGALa'** separate, sort them (berries) out (from amongst each other)! *L,* **qa:qa'k'ah 'a:'** go away from (between) us! *L,* **sidALyAXAk'ah 'a:** get out of my way (from in front of me)! *L,* **sidAwa:k'ah 'a:'** get out of my way! *L,* **si'e'k'ah 'a:** get out of my way! *L (see also 2c.), with postpositions with -d final:* **si'e'dAk'ah 'a:** get out of my place, way! *L (see also 2c., Rezanov),* **sisa'dAk'ah 'Aw sALyahLinh** he took it (cigarette) out of my mouth *L,* **sixa'dAk'ah 'Aw sALyahLinh** he took it (food) away from me as I was eating it *L, with locatives (with -d final):* **'u:dik'ah** away (from there) *9.106, 108, 112, 10.44, 52, 53, 68.A, 21a.16L, 36.39, 60.29, 30, 32, 33, 65.3, 4A (with various themes),* **'u:dik'ah gusiLdahL** I chased it away *L,* **'u:dik'ah qu'xLdjux** I'll poke it out of there *L,* **'Aw gahX 'u:dik'ah di:sinhX** scrape that gum off! *L,* **'u:dik'ah siLdja:t'L** I pried it away *L,* **'u:dik'ah 'Adjin'inh** throw him out! *L,* **'u:dik'ah dla:GAsha(:)'** dig them (stones) out! *L,* **'u:dik'ah la:dAgwa'** beat it!, clear out! *L,* **'u:dik'ah di'Lk'a't'** fly away! *L,* **'u:dik'ah sALxutl'** it blew away *L,* **'u:dik'ah 'Axihs** rip it off! *L,* **'u:dik'ah ya'X siLGAdjL** I lifted and removed it from there with the end of a stick *L,* **'u:dik'ah sAlahLinu:** they moved away *L,* **'u:dik'ah 'AlAGinh** throw him out! *L, Rezanov* Утака-а 'Прочь fort! weg!' **'u:dik'ah 'a:'** *L, also irregularly contracted* **'u:dik'a:'** go away!, get out of there! *LM,* **'a:ndAk'ah la:dAgwa'** clear out of here! *L,* **Li'q' 'a:ndAk'ah 'Aw 'i:nsAL'ahL** he pillaged it all away from here *11.33A.*

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2b. *With -ch' final, as 1b., 2a.*: **'u:dik'ahch'** *10.45, 48A,* **'u:dik'ahch' gu:Lda:g** try to chase it away! *L,* **'u:dik'ahch'shuh qu'gu:Ldah** will you chase it away? *L, see further instances under O-g-L-da.*

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2c. *With -X final, attested only in compound o-'e'-k'ah 'away from o's place'*: **si'e'k'ahX 'a:'** get out of my way (place where I'm working)! *L, perhaps also in Rezanov* Сыетекагъ-а 'Посторонитьса ausweichen, aus dem Wege gehen' *perhaps to be read* **si'e'dAk'ahX 'a:'** *with -d final of o-'e', or perhaps* **si'e'dAk'ah Ga:'** get out of my way!.

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'AlA-k'ah *(preverb) (attested with zero and -ch' finals; probably < 'AlA- archaic form of 'Al 'this' as o of o-k'ah 'away from o', basic meaning probably 'uncovering')* 1. uncovering, up off (opening, uncovering something): **'AlAk'ah 'Aw sALtahLinh, k'e:d dAGALAwa'Lga' 'Aw 'AlAk'ah sALtahL** he uncovered it like how a trapdoor (is opened) he uncovered it *51.59-60fbA,* **'AlAk'ah 'u'dla:GAta'** open it (hatch over hole)! *L,* **'AlAk'ah GALa' da:X 'Axut'** take them (blankets) off (the bed) and shake them! *L.*

2. up out of bed, awakening, arising: *Rezanov* Илькаа 'Вставай steh auf! (vom Liegen)', *Wrangell* Алик-каа 'aufstehen' **'AlAk'ah** (get) up (out of bed)!, *or perhaps* **'AlAk'ah 'a:'** get up (out of bed)!, *usually with theme -a 'sg S go' or -'a'ch' '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'ch'),* **'AlAk'ah Ga:'** get out of bed! *LM, 21b.57A,* **'AlAk'ah Gi:yah da:X** when you get up *51.77, 61.22, 65.47A,* **'AlAk'ah da: qa'a'ch'** we'll get up *M,* **'AlAk'ahsh qu'lAX'a'ch'** will you pl. get up? *M,* **'AlAk'ah qu'xah** I'll get up *M, see further instances under -a1, causatives:* **'AlAk'ah 'iqe'xLah** I'll get you out of bed *M,* **'AlAk'ah qu'xLinhinh** I'll get him out of bed *M,* **'AlAk'ah siLahLinh** I got him out of bed *M,* **'AlAk'ah da: 'i:Linhinh** let's get him out of bed *L,* **'AlAk'ah da: 'i:L'a'ch'** let's get them out of bed *L; with -ch' final: 18.50fnL,* **'AlAk'ahch' da: GA'a'ch'L** we're getting out of bed *M,* **'AlAk'ahch' GAxa:L**, **'AlAk'ahch' Guxa:L** I'm getting out of bed *M,* **siqa' 'AlAk'ahch' xu:nLya:k'** my husband (cust) gets me out of bed *M (probably to be corrected to xu:nLa:k'),* **si'ehd 'AlAk'ahch' 'AxLya:k'** I (cust) get my wife out of bed *M (probably to be corrected to 'AxLa:k').*

k'ahd~k'a'd *(k'a'd in Neuter imperfective of verb and in preverb, k'ahd in Active and Inceptive of verb and in noun)*

-k'ahd-~k'a'd 1. S hurt, pain (physically or emotionally), ache, be in pain, be sick, ill sore *(frequently in the construction S o-a: -k'ahd~-k'a'd 'S (frequently part of o's body) hurt o')*: *Neuter imperfective (always -k'a'd): 10.202, 216, 224, 240, 241, 32.45, 46, 46 (emotionally), 36.35A, 47c.17, 19L, 69.27A (emotionally),* **de:wahdduw sila:X siya: yik'a'd** why do my eyes hurt? *3.9M,* **xwik'a'd** *L,* **xik'a'd** I'm sick *LMA, Anonymous* Екатъ 'Больный' ('fighting', *cf. Baranov below*), *Baranov* Екатъ 'Больный' ('fighting') **yik'a'd** you're sick *L, Rezanov* Икаате 'Больно schmerzhaft' (under 'krank'), *Galushia Nelson* yìk'á·'dìⁿ *or* yìká·'dì 'sick person, patient' *BSdL 543, 554* **yik'a'dinh** he (who) is sick, yík'à·t (*or* yìká·t) 'sick or hot' *BSdL 551* **yik'a'd,** *Rezanov* Икателля 'Боленъ krank' **yik'a'dinh la:** he's sick! *L,* **siya: yik'a'd** it hurts me *M,* **sidAGAleh siya: yik'a'd** I'm sorry, I'm worried < my mind pains me *L,* **siyAq'd siya: yik'a'd** my stomach (my inside) aches *L,* **siGu:dzLqa'd siya: yik'a'd** my joints ache *L,* **XAwa: siXa' yik'a'd** my dog is sick *L,* **xu: siya' XAwa: yik'a'd** *my* dog is sick *L; other mode-aspects (all normally -k'ahd): Galushia Nelson* ìtàkálè' iyà qàk'àt 'you'll feel sorry' *BSdL 264, 558* **'idAGAleh 'iya: qa'k'ahd** < your mind will pain you, **qu'xk'ahd** I'll get sick *LA,* **GAxk'ahdL** I'm getting sick *LA,* **sik'ahdL** I got sick *L,* **sAk'ahdLinh** he got sick *A,* **'i:k'ahdinh** let him get sick *L,* **dik'shgahX 'a'xk'a'dG** 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: dAk'a:k'** it (my head) (cust) aches me *L,* **q'Ama: siya: li:k'a'd** my kidneys hurt *L,* **q'As siya: lAXi:k'a'd** my tonsils hurt *L; with anatomical marks:* **lixik'a'd**, **'i:nxik'a'd** my head hurts (externally), my face hurts *L; with Gd-thematic with sa' 'mouth' used preverbially:* **sa' GAdixik'a'd** my mouth is sore, hurts *L. Transitive (causative):* **xuyAGi:Lk'ahdL** you're hurting my hand *L; reflexive: 'S make self sick, pretend to be sick, act,*

be sick (for ulterior motive)': **'u'ehdda' q'e' sLik'a'dLinh** he came back to his wife apparently sick *47b.16M,* **'AdAxLAk'a'd** I'm groaning *M (L rejects gloss and stem-form),* **'AdixLik'a'd** I'm making believe I'm sick *LM,* **'AdLik'a'dinh** he's pretending to be sick *L,* **'Adqu'xLAk'ahd** I'll pretend to be sick *L,* **'AdALAk'ahd** pretend you're sick! *L.*

2. S (animate) have a fever, S (inanimate) be hot *("hotter than -Gu'", not used with Gd-thematic of place, weather L)*: *Galushia Nelson* yík'à·t *or* (yìká·t) 'sick or hot' *BSdL 554,* **yik'a'd** it's hot, he's hot, feverish *L,* it's burning-hot *M,* **GAdAgiL yik'a'd** the sun (itself) is hot *L; with class-marks for S: Rezanov* Куликкатъ 'Горячо kochend, siedend' **gAli:k'a'd** it (water) is hot, hot water *M,* **dli:k'a'd** it (stone) is hot *L. Transitive (causative):* **dla:GALk'ahd**, **dli:Lk'ahd** *(earlier* **-k'a'd**, **-k'a'd**, *analogical)* heat it (stone) up! *L,* **'Aw tsa: k'a' dla:yiLk'ahd** *(earlier* **-k'a'd**, *analogical)* you should heat it (stone) up *L,* **qu'dli:xLk'ahd** I'll heat it (stone) up *L.*

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L-k'ahd~-k'a'd S (shooting pain) move: *with qa' 'up out':* **siqi:dAXa'X qä' 'i:Lk'a'dL** a pain shoots up along my leg *L,* **siyAXa'X qä' 'i:Lk'a'dL** a pain shoots up along my arm *L,* **siqi:dAyAq' qa' 'i:Lk'ahdL** a pain shoots up in my leg *L (Neuter perfectives, note indecision, earlier forms -k'a'd-, later -k'ahd-),* **siqi:dAyAq' qa' sALk'ahdL** a pain shot up in my leg *L, with perambulative:* **sishe:k'Adi:'q' yAX LAk'ahdX** pains are shooting around in my chest *L,* **'uyAq' yAX LAk'ahdXinh** he has cramps, pains around inside him *L; repetitive:* **Lich' Lk'ahdg** he often gets sick *L (either to be glossed more correctly 'pains always keep shooting' or L-classifier is in error).*

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O-**d-L-k'ahd~-k'a'd** *(probably causative of 1. above with d-thematic 'oral, noise')* S (O?) make O (S?) sick (figuratively with talk) *(glosses appear to indicate 'O make S sick with talk', or that the theme is intransitive, 'S be, become sick from (someone's) talking', but as suffix -inh cooccurs with overt subject pronoun and with no overt o in the construction, -inh must be interpreted as representing O, and the theme thus transitive)*: **dixiLk'a'dinh** he makes me sick, gives me a pain, the way he talks *L (twice),* **'a'd di:Lk'a'dinh** he makes him very sick, the way he talks *L.*

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k'ahd(**-L**) *(noun, unclassified, perhaps gerundive, -L-suffix with -dah adverbializer, not with postpositions)* pain, sickness, disease: **k'ahd** pain, sickness *LM,* **k'ahdL** pain *M, Galushia Nelson* k'á'tɢùtɬè· *or* k'átɢútɬè· 'sickness' *BSdL 552,* **k'ahd k'u:Leh** there is sickness, **k'ushiyah k'ahd** bad disease *L,* **k'ahdLdah siliL** I got hurt *L,* **k'ahdLdah xusALiL** you hurt me *L,* **k'ahdLdah 'iqe'xLih** I'll hurt you *L,* **k'ahdLdah xuGi:Li:L** you're hurting me *L,* **k'ahdLdah xusdiLiL** (*or* **xusLi-**) I got hurt (by something, someone) *L,* **k'ahdLdah xuGAdAle:L** I'm being hurt *L,* **k'ahdLdah 'iqe'dAleh** you'll be hurt (by someone, something) *L,* **k'ahdga' 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I feel sick *L,* **k'ahdlAX 'i'qe'wALgAwih** it'll make you feel sicker *L,* **k'ahdyAXa'ch' GAxya:L** I'm succumbing to a disease *L,* **k'a'dyAXa' sa'yahLinh** he was overcome by pain *L (recorded earlier, probably in error for k'ahd-).*

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k'ushiyah k'ahd *(noun)* syphilis < bad disease *M.*

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k'a'd *(preverb)* pain, insanity, trance, *attested in two constructions only*: **siya: k'a'd k'udAsLiqahGL** something got stuck in my throat, made me choke < something fell painfully for me *(or perhaps 'something (part of me) fell painfully'),* **'Awa:** *(first recorded 'uya:, probably incorrect)* **k'a'd k'uqu'dALAqahG** he'll choke on something (food) *L; k'a'd ya' -'ya 'S be, become crazy, be in, go into a trance':* **k'a'd ya' sa'yahLinh** he went crazy, he went into a trance *L,* **k'a'd ya' xuqi'yiLyah** you'll drive me crazy *L, for further examples see 'ya1 ('S become involuntarily situated completely in a state of (exteme mental) anguish, trance').*

k’ahsh~k’ush *(earlier basic form *k'wahsh, implied perhaps once in Rezanov, reduced form also k'Ash, k'ish, occurring in anatomical mark only, perhaps to be identified with k'ush~k'Ash)*

-k’ahsh *(noun) 1. (unclassified or qi:d-class, and once, perhaps archaically, d-class, see also k'ush-d- below)* foot, (lower) leg *(of human, animal, bird, piece of furniture),* paw *(especially hind-paw),* flipper *(of seal)*: *Rezanov* Кокоашъ 'Ластъ Fuss von Thieren, Tatze' **k’uk’wahsh** *(labialization of stem-initial perhaps due only to influence of prefix), Galushia Nelson* ɢʊ’q’a’c *or* ɢɔ’q’a’c 'foot' *BSdL 542* **k’uk’ahsh** a foot *LM, Rezanov* Кагашъ 'Нога Fuss', *Baranov* Какасъ 'Ноги', *Khromchenko* Какамъ (< шъ?) 'Ноги', *Furuhjelm* Khakhash 'leg' **qa:k’ahsh** our feet, human foot, *Anonymous* Сыкасъ *(with reverse assimilation)* 'Ноги' **sik’ahsh**, *Galushia Nelson* si q’a’c 'my foot' *BSdL 556* **sik’ahsh**, **sik’ahsh siya: shAq’a:’shL** my leg got stiff *L,* **dik’ sik’ahsh siya: la’q’ ’a’chahshG** my feet aren't thick *18.19L,* **sik’ahshX siLshehL** I killed it with my foot *L, Galushia Nelson* i’ q’a’c 'your foot' *BSdL 557* **’ik’ahsh** *51.78, 80A,* **’anhk’ahsh** his (bird's) foot *9.40, 41A,* **’uk’ahsh** it, his foot, feet, leg *23.66, 139, 24.37, 48, 49, 96, 51.79, 60.51, 51, 51A,* **q’Aq’ga’ ’uk’ahsh ’Awa: ’i:t’inhinh** *24.50A,* **’uk’ahsh ’Awa: q’Aq’ga’ ’i:t’inhinh** his feet were like a grebe('s) *24.53A,* **’uk’ahsh’a:w** it's long legs *L,* **’uk’ahsh ’Awa: ’iLch’ GAtl’i:’** tie its legs together! *L,* **’uk’ahsht’e’ts’G ya’X GAta’** lift it (chair) by its leg! *L,* **’uk’ahsht’e’ts’G ’iLt’ux** grab it (chair) by the leg! *L,* **’uk’ahsh ’Awa: lAshAq’AshL** its leg (of chair) is broken *L,* **ge:Lta:gk’ahsh** seal-flipper *L,* **Ge:ts’gAXAq’kihk’ahsh** Little Magpie's foot *9.42A,* **’Awk’ahsh yAX qid dAsAq’Ats’L** it bit its foot off *L (d-mark perhaps thematic with qid),* **’Awk’ahsh yAX dAsAq’Ats’L** it bit its foot off (apart) *L (probably with d-class-mark for O),* **’uk’ahshd-, ’Awk’ahshda:X ’Aw sALku:n’dL** he siezed it (sea-lion) by the foot (flipper) *50.57A ('Awk'ahsh as o of o-X, clearly d-class),* **k’uk’ahshluw k’uk’ahshqi:da’luw** big foot *LM,* **LinhG qi:da: k’uk’ahsh** one (disembodied) foot *LM,* **LinhGih k’uk’ahsh** one (disembodied) foot *M (L rejects gloss, see below),* **LinhG qi:da: k’uk’ahsh sich’ qi:di:ta’** give me one foot! *L,* **k’uk’ahsh sich’ qi:di:’a’** give me a foot! *L.*

2. *(unclassified)* foot *(measure of length)*: **LinhGih k’uk’ahsh** one foot (1') *L,* **la’dih k’uk’ahshga’ ’i:L’a’** it's two feet long *M.*

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o-**ga’ LA-k’ahsh** S have foot like o: **GAnuhga’ ’iLik’ahshinh** he's duck-footed *L.*

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k’ush- *(reduced form of preceding, only certain attestation not in combination with d-mark) see k'ushtl'i'L under tl'i.*

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k’ush-d- *(anatomical mark, subposition C, perhaps always in combination with d-mark, perhaps archaic class-mark, see -k'ahsh, cf. ch'a:n-dA- under ch'Alih-ch'a:n)* lower leg, foot: *in verbs:* **yAX k’ushdkug**, **yAX k’ushd-q’u’tl’** S's leg break, **k’ushd-L-kin’** S be skinny-legged, **k’ushd-djidj-g** S be skinny-legged, spindle-shanked, **k’ushd-LA-q’AX** S (baby) be fat-legged, *with adjectives, attested only in epithets, with zero possessive prefix:* **k’ushdAdik’** short-legs, **k’ushdA’a:w** long-legs, snipe, deer, *also personal name of woman (see subentry below),* **k’ushda’luw** big-legs, *in postpositional phrases:* o-**k’ushd-da:d** (at rest in area) near o's lower leg, o's ankle, o-**k’ushd-lah** around o's lower leg, o's pants-cuff, *in noun, structure uncertain:* -**k’ushdAq’u’** (*also* -**k’AshdAq’u’**, -**k’ishdAq’u’**, *Rezanov* -кштакъ-о) calf of leg, *see q'u'2*; *lacking d-mark, perhaps haplological, in o-da'-d '(nominalization of) front of o',* **-k’ushda’d** front of lower leg, shin, *attested from M only.*

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k’ushdA’a:w *(personal name) Tlingit-Eyak girl, daughter of Billy Boswell, born ca. 1895, had sister Nellie, related to Anna* < long-legs *L.*

k’ahg *(perhaps to be analyzed k'ah with thematized -g-repetitive)*

l-dA-k’ahg S (child) play (relatively sedentarily and structuredly, e.g. make-believe, with toys, dolls): *39.4L,* **Xa:’d ’i:ndAk’ahg[inu:]** they were playing outside *38.3LM,* **ya’Xu: qu’la:lAXdAk’ahg** pl. don't play (with dolls) *LM, 39.2L,* **lAdAk’ahg** he (child) is playing (with something) *LM,* **’itl’ qu’lAxdAk’ahg** I'll play with you *L,* **’Awtl’ lAdAk’ahg** he (boy) is playing (make-believe) with it (toy) *L,* **’utl’ la:xdAk’ahgX sitl’ dAlinhinh** he told me to play with him *(Active subjunctive) L.*

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lAk’ahg *(gerundive)* play (with toys, dolls, make-believe) *L*

k’ahgsh *(perhaps related to k'i:ngsh, k'igsh~k'ik'sh; cf. also q'AGsh)*

k’ahgshg *(noun, unclassified) (with -g-repetitive thematized)* scab *LMA*: *36.34, 36, 43, 43A,* **k’ahgshg’a’luw** big scab *LM.*

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L-k’ahgsh-g S have, get scab, S (scab) form: **sALk’ahgshgL** a scab formed *M,* **qu’wALk’ahgshg** a scab will form *LM, with y-anatomical:* **yisiLk’ahgshgL** my hand got a scab on it *L.*

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LA-k’ahgsh-g S have, get scab, be, get scabby, rough-surfaced, S (scab) form *(meaning not distinguished, at least in part, from that of preceding; cf. lX-L-k'i:gsh-g and lX-LA-k'i:ngsh-g)*: **sLik’ahgshgL** it got scabby, a scab formed *L,* **GALAk’ahgshgL** a scab is forming *L, with y-anatomical:* **yixsLik’ahgshgL** my hand got a scab on it *("same as yisiLk'ahgshgL") L, of inanimate d-class S:* **dishLik’ahgshgL** it (board, ice) got rough-surfaced *L.*

k’ahG

k’ahG *(noun, d-class)* porcupine quills *LM*: *Galushia Nelson* k’a’q *or* k’aq *BSdL 548,* **k’ahGda’luw** big porcupine quills *M,* **k’ahG sich’ di:’a’** (*or* **-ta’**) give me a porcupine quill! *L; as C in construction as C -Le(') and C O-'-(l-)L-Xa´:* **dA’u:dAXdAg k’ahG ’uq’ k’u:Leh** even then there were quills on him (porcupine) *16.4M,* **k’ahG sALe’L** he got full of quills *16.13M,* **k’ahG ’i:nsALe’L** its (dog's) head got full of quills *L,* **k’ahG ’i’sALXa’L** it got you full of quills *L,* **k’ahG ’i’qe’li:xLXah** I'll get you full of quills *L.*

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qa’ -k’ahG *(with qa' 'up out')* S get full of porcupine quills, *attested only with l-anatomical*: **qa’ ’i:nsAk’ahGL** its (dog's) head got full of quills *L.*

k’a’

k’a’ *(syntactically unique form, perhaps more properly suffix like -shgahX, 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, *in polite commands or wishes*: *in text with second person S: 9.13A, 18.83, 27a.4L, 47b.17M, 47c.8L, 49.7A,* **’idehdah k’a’ ’a:nd ’uch’AXALyAXd ’Aw ya’ XAda:yitah** point it right at its underarm here *27b.5A,* **qi’ k’udzu:da’ k’a’ xu:nliLteh** take me to a nice place *47b.11M,* **k’udzu:dah k’a’ ’Adq’ ’Awa: k’a’ da:didza:nts’, dALich’a’** you must pray well for yourself about it, always *61.22A, with first person S:* **k’ulAX ’i:t’inhinh k’a’ ’ixiLe’** may I be

rich *36.39A, with k'a' following clause subordinated by da:X 'if, when, and':* **'ich'a:ch' di:q'ah da:X k'a' 'Al dAdzahGL 'uch'a:ch' ya'X 'i:tah** as it starts to burn towards you should hold up this staff towards it *34.66M,* **da:X k'a' 'AXAkih siXa' siq'Ach' yAX dla:yiL'ah** and turn my canoe over on top of me *47b.11M,* **'AlAk'ah Gi:yah da:X(,) k'a' 'Aw *ka:w*Ayu: 'iXa' 'anh 'utl' Gi:'a'ch' da:X, q'e:dah qa: ta'X yAX 'i:nLyi:n'inhdä' 'i:yah** when you get up, you must when you get home with those *cows* of yours, go immediately to a priest *51.77A, with prohibitive clause:* **dA'u:dAXya:kihdah GAxleh da:X k'a' ya'Xu: ya:nu' xuqi'yiLteh** if anything happens to me don't bury me *47b.10M,* **GAxsinh da:X k'a' ya'Xu: ya:nu' xuqu'yiLteh** if I die don't bury me *47c.7L, following subordinated prohibitive clause:* **ya'Xu: xuqa'she: k'a' 'utl' da:yileh** you'd better tell them they must not kill me *20.68A, in elicitations:* **Lich' qe'L 'AdiX Gah da:X k'a' 'u'e'ch'ahd ya' gu:Liya:nk'inh** always when a woman comes in you should stand to make place for her *L,* **'ilAXisheh k'a'** by all means pl. go ahead and kill it *L,* **'i:liga' k'a'** by all means go ahead and dance *L,* **'AdiLiGu' k'a'** do go warm yourself *M,* **da:digudj k'a'** you should keep your mouth closed *L,* **xuda:yiLXAwih k'a'** believe me *L,* **sida:d k'a' gu:nLiya:n'** stand near me *M,* **siXa' k'a' da:LiGa'** be quiet for me *L,* **'Adq'k'a' 'a'Lit'eh** wear it *L,* **yAX k'a' 'idiyah** take a walk *L,* **'u:ch' k'a' 'i:yah** go there *M,* **Gu'yAq'd k'a' yä' 'i:dah** stay in the warmth *M,* **dA'u:d k'a' yä' 'i:dah** stay right there *M,* **dA'a:nd k'a' yä' 'i:dah** stay right here *M,* **dAXu'ya:X k'a' 'u:ch' 'i:yah** be sure to go there *M,* **ya' k'a' da'li:L'ah** stand it up *L,* **ya' k'a' XAda:liL'ah** stand it (log) up *L,* **ya'X k'a' XAda:liLah** (*or* **XAda:yiLah**) pick them (watches) up *L,* **'idAGi:ya:LXa' k'a' qe'lile'** watch your step (how you go) *L,* **yAX dA'a'ch'Xyu:Xa' k'a' 'u'yAla:ditah** watch out for (expect) dangerous animals *L,* **sidAXa'X k'a' qä' 'i:lile'** heed what I say *L,* **dAGAlehyAq'd k'a' ya' 'idita:** remember (keep it in your mind) *L,* **di'wAX k'a' da:digudj** keep your mouth closed *L,* **di'wAX k'a' 'i:Lwa'k'** boil it some more < keep it boiling *L,* **ya:n'ch' k'a' yAX 'iLiya:'** you should set them down here and there along the way *L,* **'Aw tsa: k'a' dla:yiLk'ahd** heat up that stove *L,* **k'ushiyah k'a' 'ula'X da:yiLya:ginh** try to anger him *L,* **k'udzu:dah k'a' 'i:lih'a'li:t'eh** be happy *L,* **k'udzu: k'a' 'Adu'la:LiXah** be good *L,* **dAq'uw k'a' k'ut'u' 'u'la:yiLXah** have lots of provisions *L,* **'isda:l k'a' 'ud 'i:Lde'g** teach it (dog) to sit *L,* **'ud k'a' k'uliLde'g** teach it something *L,* **k'udzu:la' k'a' 'i:Le'** (have) good luck! *L,* **k'udzu:dah k'a' 'i:litsi:ndz** have a nice dream *L,* **k'udzu:dah k'a' 'i:nlitsi:ndzk'** (cust) have nice dreams *L,* **Lich' k'a' 'a'Lits'anh** always be strong *L,* **Lich' k'a' 'a'lAXLits'anh** pl. always be strong *L,* **Lich' k'a' ya'Lits'anh** always have strong hands *L,* **Lich' k'a' 'i:lih'a'Lits'anh** always be stout-hearted *L,* **Lich' k'a' 'i:lih'a'lAXLits'anh** pl. always be stout-hearted *L,* **k'ut'u' dAq'Aw k'a' 'i:Lah** take lots of provisions *L,* **k'ut'u' dAq'Aw k'a' 'i:La:k'** (cust) take lots of provisions *L,* **diLich' 'Ad k'a' ti:li'di'e:k'** you must always (cust) wear it over your shoulders *L,* **di'wAX k'ut'e'ts'G k'a' yAX 'idiyah** keep going around hanging onto things a while yet *(to convalescent) L, following independent personal pronoun:* **xu: k'a' 'u'lAXa:LAtsi:ndz** (*or* **xu'lAXa:LAtsi:ndz**) dream about me *L,* **xu: k'a'** let it be *me*, let *me* do it *L; in combination with other optative clause introducers:* **tlanhkih k'a'** *(see tlanh),* **'u:dkih k'a'** would that *('u:dkih also attested without k'a', see 'u:~).*

k'a't'1

d-L-k'a't' *(with d-thematic, perhaps 'free fall(, flight) through air')* 1. sg. S (bird, plane) fly *(for flight of pl. S see X-'ya, for flight of objects blown by wind see xu'tl'~xA'tl')*: *in texts, with various preverbs and postpositional phrases: o-tl' 'with o (in tow, in clutches)': 2.14, 19M, 9.96, 12.97A, 40.11fnL, o-yAq'(d) qa' 'up out of (inside of) o': 5.12L, 10.12, 11.192A, o-yAq' li' 'deeply into o': 5.3L, 10.5, 6, 34A, o-yAq' yAX 'down into (inside of) o': 11.155, 158A, o-ch' 'toward o': 2a.19M, 10.4, 5, 165, 11.38, 40, 65.84A, o-da' 'to (arriving at) o': 40.11fnL, 47.28M, ya'X 'upward (taking off)': 7.38, 9.96A, 47c.41L, 49.49A, Xi:d lAGe'X 'way upland': 9.97A, yahd 'out to sea': 10.4, 5A, 'u:dik'ah 'away from there': 60.33M, 'u:ch'ahd 'from there': 7.38A, o-Xahd 'away from o, leaving o behind': 10.165A, o-ta:s 'over, across o': 34.82L, o-dALyAX 'in front of o': 47.39L, q'e'~q'e:- 'back, again' (with LA-classifier): 40.11fn, 47c.41L, without preverbs or o*

specifying such or otherwise, often 'sg. S fly away': 2a.14M, 2b.18L; **dAsALk'a't'L** it (e.g. duck) flew away *M,* **qu'di:Lk'a't'** it'll fly *M,* **si:nAX dAsALk'a't'L** it flew by (brushing) my head *L,* **siya:X dAsALk'a't'L** it flew by (brushing) my hand *L,* **si:nda'X dAsALk'a't'L** it (fly) landed on my face *L,* **siyAda'X dAsALk'a't'L** it (fly) landed on my inside forearm *L,* **dAGALk'a't'L** it's flying (somewhere) *M,* **ya'X dAsALk'a't'L** it took off *L,* **ya'X dAGALk'a't'L** it's taking off *L,* **si:nda'ch' dAGALk'a't'L** it's flying toward my face *L,* **siyAda'ch' dAGAk'a't'L** it's flying toward my inside forearm *L,* **siyAch' dAGALk'a't'L** it's flying toward my hand *L,* **si:nAch' dAGALk'a't'L** it's flying toward my head *L,* **'u:dAX dAGALk'a't'L** it's flying along there *L,* **dAGALk'a't'** *L,* **di:Lk'a't'** *M,* **di'Lk'a't'** fly (away, straight ahead)! *L,* **'u:dik'ah di'Lk'a't'** fly away! *L,* **q'e:yahd disLik'a't'L** it (bird) flew back south (out to sea, on annual migration) *M, with perambulative: 2a.11M, 3.4M, 5.1L,* **yAX da:LAk'a't'** fly about! *M,* **yAX qu'dALAk'a't'** it'll fly (about) *M, Rezanov* Ехтатликъ-атехъ 'Летѣть fliegen' *(see also yAX dALAk'a't'X below)* **yAX dALAk'a't'X** it's flying around *L; repetitive:* **'u:ch' dALk'a't'g** it's trying to fly there (e.g. against wind) *L. Transitive (causative), reflexive, 'S make self fly, pretend to fly, flap wings':* **'AdAGALAk'a't'L** it's flapping its wings *M,* **'Adqu'dALAk'a't'** it'll flap its wings *M (verified by M, but not by L, cf. t'ahLk'~t'a'Lk').*

2. S (human, sg. or pl.) fly (in airplane): **ya:kuts'g *'e:plane*ya'd *si:tAg*ch' da: qu'di:Lk'a't'** we'll fly to *Situck* in a small *airplane 65.84A (approved by L, but L prefers o-tl' d-L-k'a't' 'S (plane) fly with o (human)' for indicating plane travel by humans).*

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yAX dALAk'a't'X *(noun, unclassified)* bird, airplane *L*: *Furuhjelm* Iahkhataliakhatl 'bird', *Rezanov* Яхтатлекъ-атехъ-ю 'Птица Vogel' **yAX dALAk'a't'Xyu:** birds < it flies around, pl. *L.*

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L-k'a't' S (inanimate) fly (involuntarily) *(later rejected by L)*: **ya'X sALk'a't'L** it (e.g. paper, leaf) flew up *L.*

k'a't'2

'i:nLk'a't' *(noun, unclassified) (with l-thematic, never realized as lA-, perhaps thematized class-mark or l-anatomical, and L-classifier)* sea urchin, sea egg *LMS*: *4.2, 10, 13M,* **'i:nLk'a't'luw** big sea urchin *LM.*

k'a't'3 *(probably loan from Tlingit x'át' 'island')*

k'a't' *(noun, unclassified)* 1. island *LMG*: *12.21, 22, 23, 25G, 47c.58, 60L, 67.2, 4G, Rezanov* Каатъ 'Островъ Insel', *Anonymous* Катъ 'Островъ', *Khromchenko* Катъ 'Островъ', *Galushia Nelson* qa·t *BSdL 537, Old Man Dude* k'a:t'‘ *BSdL 537* **k'a't'**, *Khromchenko* Катакатъ 'Море' ('sea') **GAda**-? **-k'a't'** island?, *immediately preceding k'a't' 'island',* **k'a't"a'luw** big island *LM,* **k'a't'q'Ach'a'** *57.2G,* **k'a't'q'Ach'** onto an island *57.7, 31, 64.8G,* **'Aw k'a't'q'Ach' qu'xLAtsa'** I'll ask to go to that island *L;* **k'a't' k'ulahG dAXunh** Kodiak Islander *L,* **k'a't' GAlahyu:**, **k'a't' k'ulahGAyu:** (true) Aleuts *L (probably all to be corrected to k'a't'q'AlahG(Ayu:) 'dweller(s) on island', and probably all meaning, indiscriminately, 'Kodiak Eskimo, (true) Aleut').*

2. *(place-name) Hawkins Island L, Galushia Nelson* qa·t *BSdL 544.*

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k'a't"a'luw 1. *(place-name) Observation Island (across from Shepard Point)* < big island *L.*

2. *(place-name) Spike Island, attested from Galushia Nelson* k'á'ɒá'lù *or* k'áɒàlà 'Spike Island' *BSdL 544.*

k'a:'sh *(perhaps related to k'ush~k'Ash)*

O-**l-L-k'a:'sh** *(with l-thematic, cf. t'a'q')* S hook O (halibut, cod) in sea with hook and handline: **'i:nsiLk'a:'shL** I hooked it (halibut) *L, with qa' 'up out':* **qa' lAGALk'a:'sh** hook it (halibut, cod) out! *L,* **qa' qu'li:xLk'a:'sh** I'll hook it (halibut, with handline) *L,* **qa' qa:nshiLk'a:'shL** *(not qi:n-)* I hooked them (out) *(with qA-plural) L; detransitivized with indeterminate O, 'S go fishing, handlining (in sea for halibut, cod)': Rezanov* Интлякажи 'Удить angeln' **'i:nLAk'a:'shinh** he's fishing, handlining (in sea, for halibut, cod) *L,* **'i:nxLAk'a:'sh** I'm fishing with hook and handline *M,* **'i:nLAk'a:'sh** *LM,* **'ila:LAk'a:'sh** go handlining (for halibut, cod)! *M,* **'iqe'i:xLAk'a:'sh** *L,* **'iqe'lAxLAk'a:'sh** I'll go handlining (for halibut, cod) *M; passive:* **qa' qa:nsLik'a:'shL** they (halibut, cod) got hooked (out) *L (with qA-plural).*

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k'a:'shL *(noun, unclassified) (with -L-instrumental)* fish hook (large type for halibut and cod) *L*: *Galushia Nelson* k'a·ctł 'halibut hook' *BSdL 549* **la'dih k'a:'shL** two halibut-hooks *L. These are described, illustrated and discussed in BSdL 118-121.*

k'u:y *(Rezanov and Khromchenko clearly and consistently imply [k'uya, k'uyA], and certain modern forms also imply earlier k'u:yA- and perhaps k'uyA-)*

k'u:y *(noun, unclassified)* wind *LMASG*: *Rezanov* Къ-уя 'Вѣтеръ Wind', *Furuhjelm* Kiui, *Galushia Nelson* k'úyì *or* k'ú·ì *BSdL 538, Rezanov* Къ-уя коццу 'Вѣтеръ попутной gunstiger wind' **k'u:y… k'udzu:** wind is favorable, Къ-уя кошшия 'Вѣтеръ противной widriger Wind' **k'u:y… k'ushiyah** wind is unfavorable, *Khromchenko* Куцукуя 'Ясная погода' ('good weather') **k'udzu: k'u:y…** good wind, Кушуя-куя 'Худая погода' ('bad weather') **k'ushiyah k'u:y…** bad wind, **dAqi:kih k'u:y, 'ida'ya:lAX GAdisdiGu'L** there's no "air" (breeze, wind), it's too hot (stuffy) *L,* **gusi:kih k'u:y** a slight breeze *M,* **k'u:ydA'ehdg** dry wind *L,* **GAdAGu' k'u:y** warm wind ("Chinook"?) *L,* **k'u:yya:X siLqehL** I boated protected from (avoiding) the wind *L,* **k'u:yyAquh** slight breeze < young of wind *L,* **k'uyAyahsh**, **k'u:yAyahsh** very slight breeze < wind's (woman's) child *L,* **k'uyAkih** *(thus transcribed, not verified)* slight wind *M, Rezanov* Къ-уяляга 'Буря Sturm' **k'u:ya'lAw…**, **k'uya'luw** *(thus transcribed, not verified) M,* **k'u:ya'luw** *(not k'u:y'a'luw)* big wind *L (twice),* **k'u:y lu: Ga:L** wind is changing direction *L,* **k'u:y 'idAGAle:L** it's getting windy *L,* **k'u:y 'iqe'di:leh** wind will increase *L (k'u:y 'i-d-le 'wind be, become active'),* **k'u:y 'i-d-L-'a´** wind blow, move (especially with regard to direction) *57.20, 25, 64.8G (see examples under 'i-d-L-'a´), Rezanov* Коютльхокъ 'Погодливо stürmisch, windig' **k'u:y… LAXu:G** wind blows (with some force), *33.3A (see examples under Xu'G1), Rezanov* Утакъ-ояхокль 'Парусъ ('sail') Segel' **… k'u:y… Xu'GL** *probably deverbalization with -L-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 Whitshed 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, north westerly to easterly, is called Xa:, q.v. About four other directions for wind are distinguished, though apparently somewhat confused in the modern memory:* 1) **shi:da' k'u:y** westerly wind *LSG,* < wind to the creeks *(i.e. blows from the west or southwest and is channelled up the streams).* 2) **yAq'Ach' k'u:y** southwesterly wind *S,* southeasterly wind *G (in Li's notes, twice),* offshore wind *M,* < wind toward the shore *(which would support S's gloss, probably wind from the Southwest or Southwest-by-south, but which does not blow up the creeks).* 3) **'i:ndzi'X k'u:y** southerly wind *L,* north wind < northward? *S ('i:ndzi'X '(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) **yAXe'X k'u: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)*; **yAX'iLch'a: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 yAXe'X k'u:y with yAq'Ach' k'u:y.

k'uhd~k'u'd~k'u:'d *(apparently in more or less free variation in verb, k'u:'d perhaps expanded form, but expanded k'u:d also frequent; k'uhd in noun)*

O-**L-k'uhd~k'u'd~k'u:'d** S wipe O (removing something from O, removing O from something) *(expanded forms, O-L-k'u:d 'S wipe thoroughly with repeated motions', will be listed together with the non-expanded, presumably 'S wipe O with one motion', from which it is often not distinguished semantically, at least in the glosses)*: *Active imperative (-k'uhd L twice, M once; -k'u'd L 9 times, M 3 times; -k'u:'d M twice, A once; L clearly prefers -k'u'd):* **'ALk'uhd** *LM,* **'ALk'u'd** *LM,* **'ALk'u:'d** *MA,* **'Aw 'ALk'u:d** wipe it! *L,* **'Aw dlAGshg 'ALk'u'd** (*or* **-k'u:d**) wipe that dirt (e.g. off the table)! *L,* **'ini:k' 'ALk'u'd** wipe your nose! *L,* **'itl'Aqa'd 'ALk'u'd** wipe your anus! *L, Inceptive imperative: Rezanov* Калькуутъ 'Тереть reiben' *(-кuум- more likely to indicate -k'u'd or k'u:'d than -k'uhd)* **GALk'u'd** *(or* **-k'uhd**, *former preferred)* wipe it! *L, Rezanov* Катлькооту 'Вычистить ('cleaned/brushed out') reinigen' **GALk'u'duh** (*or* **-k'u:'d-**) wipe it!, Учатъ-калькооту 'Вычисти reinigen (Imperat.)' **'u:ch'ahd** (*or* **'uch'ahd**) **GALk'u'duh** (*or* **-k'u:'d-**), Учатъкалькоотъ 'Пыльно ('dusty') staubig' **'uch'ahd** (*or* **'u:-**) **GALk'u'd** (*or* **-k'u:'d**) wipe it from it *(or* from there*)*!, *Inceptive imperfective:* **qu'xLk'uhd** *L (3 times), A (once),* **qu'xLk'u'd** *L (twice), M (twice),* **qu'xLk'u:'d** *M (once), A (once),* **qu'xLk'u:d** I'll wipe it *L,* **dik' qu'xLk'u'dG** I won't wipe it *L, Active perfective:* **siLk'uhdL** *L (twice), M (once), A (once),* **siLk'u'dL** *L (twice), M (twice),* **siLk'u:'dL** I wiped it *M, repetitive:* **'ALk'uhdginh**, **'ALk'u'dginh**, **'ALk'u:dginh** wipe him (repeatedly)! *L,* **xLk'uhdg** *A,* **xLk'u'dg** I keep wiping it *M; with class-marks for O:* **'Aw shdu:lihG di:Lk'u'd** (*or* **-k'u:d**) wipe that table (free of dirt)! *L, frequently with d-class-mark perhaps partly thematized ('floor, board', etc.):* **disiLk'u:dL** I wiped it (floor, free of water), I wiped it (well, many times) *L,* **disiLk'uhdL** (*or* **-k'u'dL**) I wiped it *("not as well as in disiLk'u:dL") L,* **dAxLk'u:dk'** I (cust) wipe it *L, repetitive:* **dAxLk'u:dgk'** I (cust) wipe it *M,* **gu:nsiLk'u:dL** I wiped it (water, off e.g. the floor) *L; with l-anatomical: Rezanov* Исылькутль 'Слѣпой ('blind') blind', Изылькутль 'Кривой, одноглазой einäurig' *perhaps to be read* **'i:nsALk'u…dL** or **'i:nsiLk'u…dL** he (A) wiped his (B's) face, you wiped his face *or* I wiped his face, I wiped your face, **'i:nsALk'u'dL** you wiped its face *M; reflexive, with l-anatomical:* **'Ad-la:LAk'u:d** (*or* **-k'uhd**, **-k'u'd**) wipe your face! *L,* **'Adqu'lAxLAk'u:d** (*or* **-k'uhd**, **-k'u'd**) I'll wipe my face *L,* **'Ad-lAxLAk'u:d** (*or* **-k'uhd**, **-k'u'd**) I'm wiping my face *L,* **'Adi:nxsLik'u:dL** (*or* **-k'uhdL**, **-k'u'dL**) I wiped my face *L; passive:* **sLik'u'dL**, **sdik'u'dL** it's been wiped *L,* **dAk'u:'d** it's being wiped *M.*

,

ya' O-**gdl-L-k'u:d** *(with gl-class-mark for O 'liquid' thematized and d-thematic, perhaps optional with ya' 'completely')* S wipe inside of vessel clean: **ya' gAdli:Lk'u:d** wipe it (the inside of e.g. a bowl, cup) clean! *L.*

,

xut'LyAq'd 'uX dAk'u:d *(noun, d-class)* cleaning-rod (for rifle) *L*: **la'd da: xut'LyAq'd 'uX dAk'u:d** two cleaning-rods *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective, with expanded stem,* < the inside of a rifle is wiped by means of it.

,

ts'ik' 'uX 'Ak'uhdL *(noun, unclassified)* dishrag *65.20, 20, 20A. Deverbalization with -L-instrumental,* < dishes are wiped by means of it.

,

’uX ’Adk’u:nLAk’u:d *(noun, unclassified)* towel *L. Nominalized reflexive Active imperfective with k'u-indefinite S, l-anatomical, expanded stem,* < by means of it one wipes one's (own) face.

,

’uX ’Ad-lAk’u…dL *(noun, unclassified) (attested only in Rezanov)* towel: *Rezanov* Охотлекоутль 'Полотенцо Handtuch'. *Deverbalization with -L-instrumental of preceding.*

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k’uhdL *(noun) (usually lXd-class, with -L-instrumental)* moss (Sphagnum) *LM, 49.40A (unclassified)*: *Rezanov* Коутль 'Мохъ Moos', **k’uhdLlAXAda’luw** *LM,* **k’uhdL’a’luw** big piece, expanse of moss *L,* **k’uhdL sich’ lAXAdi:’a’** (*or* **-ta’**) give me some moss! *L,* **k’ihdL ’u:d lAXAdAsA’ahL** (*or* **-tahL**) 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 ts'a:tl'1, tsa:tl'2, tsa'tl'1.*

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GAdAk’uhdL *(noun) (probably with Gd-thematic 'place')* mossy ground *L.*

,

k’uhdLdla:’mahd *(noun, lX-class)* berry species (tasty red berries that grow near Chitina in October, ferment easily) < moss-berries *A. k'uhdL here perhaps d-class.*

k’u’t’

k’u’t’ *(noun, g-class)* thread, sinew, nerve, tendon, blood vessel, vein, artery *LM*: *Rezanov* Кутъ 'Нитки Garn', Куттъ 'Жила Sehne, Ader', *Anonymous* Ккутъ 'Нитка' ('thread'), *Galushia Nelson* k’ó̱t’ 'thread or sinew' *BSdL 548, Rezanov* Куткуцыцкъ 'Шолкъ ('silk') Seide' **k’u’t’gutsidzg** thin thread, **k’ugA’a:w k’u’t’** long thread *L,* **la’d gAka: k’u’t’** two threads, sinews (etc.) *M,* **k’u’t’ ’u:d gusAtahL** *(or* **-’ahL**, *former much preferred)* a piece of thread, sinew is there *L,* **k’u’t’ sich’ gu:’a’** (*or* **-ta’**) give me a piece of sinew! *L,* **’AXa: ’udjehX k’u’t’gä’ ’i:t’inhinh** my how his ear is like tendon! *L (see djAXAdla:k'u't' below)*; **sitsin’gAdAk’u’t’** my neck-tendon *L.*

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-k’u’t’ *(noun, g-class) (possessed form, attested only with anatomical marks)* tendon, nerve, blood vessel, vein, artery: *with l-anatomical:* **’ilAk’u’t’** the veins of your temple *L; with y-anatomical:* **siyAk’u’t’** my hand-veins *L,* **k’ugAt’u’ siyAk’u’t’** my many hand-veins *L.*

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djAXAdla:k’u’t’ *(epithet)* ear-tendon, tendon-ears *(of thick-skinned person who isn't ashamed no matter what people say of him) L.*

xwik’~xik’ *(xwik' LA, xik' L)*

O-**xwik’,** O-**L-xik’,** O-**dA-xwik’** *(correct use of classifier probably not precisely remembered)* S peel or flatten O (spruceroot or basket-straw) by drawing through teeth or with knife *(precise meaning not clearly remembered; see also XAq' and, more general terms, xihs, XAt')*: *attested only with class-marks for O:* **guxxwik’** I'm peeling it (spruceroot) by drawing it through my teeth *A,* I'm splitting them (basket-roots) with a knife *L;* **Ge:ts’ gAxLxik’** I'm splitting spruceroots *L;* **da’ts’ da:dAxwik’** draw basket-design straws through your teeth! *A (apparently with dA-classifier, or perhaps incorrectly glossed, to be interpreted O-d-xwik': **da'ts' da: dAxwik'** we're drawing basket design straws through our teeth).*

xix~xwix *(xwix L only, A and M regularly xix; A once xihx; L never heard xux or xAx; reduced form, perhaps related to xwi:x~xi:x)*

-L-xix~-xwix(-L) *(noun) (with L-classifier, optional -L-suffix)* white part 1. **-d-L-xix~-xwix(-L)** *(with d-class-mark for possessor)* eggwhite: **k'udALxwix** *L,* **k'udALxixL** *LA (same as k'udALxix L),* **k'udALxix** *(not k'udALxwix M)* eggwhite *LM.*

2. **-lX-L-xix-L** *(with lX-anatomical)* white of eye: **-lAXALxihxL** *A,* **'ilAXALxixL** the white of your eye *L.*

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lX-L-xix *(with lX-anatomical)* S have, develop cataract in eye: **lAXAsiLxixL** I have a white spot on my eye, pupil all turned white (cataract) *LM,* **lAXAGAxLxixL** I'm getting a cataract on my eye *L.*

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d-L-xix~-xwix *(with d-class-mark for S)* S (egg) mature, develop into chick: **dAGALxwixL**, **dAGALxixL** egg is turning into chick, the white is turning into feathers *L,* **dAsALxixL** eggwhite turned into feathers *L.*

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d-LA-xix *(as above, meaning not distinguished from that of above, no preference between L- and LA-classifiers)* S (egg) mature, develop into chick: **disLixixL** 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).*

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tsa:dla:xix *LM,* **tsa:dla:xixL, tsa:dla:xwix, tsa:dla:xwixL** *L place-name, "Grass Island, White Island" (islet near Government Rock, so called "because it's bare") LM. With dl-class-mark for tsa: 'rock, skerry'.*

xwAd~xud~xAd *(A xwAd, LM xud, S xAd)*

O-**xwAd~-xud~-xAd** S shake O: **'AxAd** shake it! *S,* **'AxwAd** shake it (e.g. box)! *A,* **'Axud** shake it (e.g. rag)! *LM,* **'AlAk'ahd GALa' da:X 'Axud** take them (covers, blankets) off (the bed) and shake them! *L,* **'Aw sixwAdL** I shook it *A.*

xwAdj~xudj~xAch'~xuch' *(xwAdj A, xudj LA, xAch' S, xuch' L; perhaps two different stems, xwAdj~xudj and xAch'~xuch'; perhaps reduced form of xwa'ch'~xa'ch'; perhaps also influenced in part by Tlingit -x^{w}αs' 'to hang (tr.)')*

O-**xwAdj** S hang O up (e.g. clothes on line) *(from A only, unknown to L)*: **sixwAdjL** I hung stuff up *(same as si'wi'gL) A,* **qu'xxwAdj** I'll hang it up *(same as 'iLt'a'd qu'li:x'ah) A (elicited as explanation of following personal name, perhaps influenced by Tlingit -x^{w}αs' 'to hang (tr.)').*

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'ixuch' *L,* **'ixAch'** *S,* **'ixudj** *L,* **'ixAdj** *A (personal name)* 1. *Evelyn Dude Navarro (born Cordova, October 23, 1928; died Juneau, September 11, 2004), daughter of William and Mary Dude LA. Carefully checked for -dj, but earlier perhaps consistently -ch' LMS and BSdL* ιxυt'c 'Evaline [sic] Dude', *also in church and census records. Origin and analysis unclear, possibly with stem -x(w)Adj/ch'. 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.

2. *Mike Shepherd's mother LA.*

xAsh *(status and form uncertain, perhaps related to xa:sh)*

O-**L-xAsh** S gouge O: **GALxAsh** gouge it! *A (uncertain, perhaps GALXAsh, see under Xish~Xihsh1, perhaps under influence of e.g. xa:sh, xihs).*

xAX *(LMS earlier occassionally xahX, probably mistranscribed in at least some cases, regularly xAX LMASG, Rezanov, Old Man Dude, xw- only once from L and A)*

-xAX *(not freely used, attested only in Active perfective)* S be, become empty *(meaning not distinguished from that of dA-xAX 2. below)*: **dAtli: sAxAXL** it (salmon) has already emptied (itself of eggs), spawned *L, with ya'd 'empty':* **ya'd sAxAXL** water went out of it *(of e.g. leaky old boat at low tide) L.*

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dA-xAX 1. S (tide) ebb: **xan'Lq' 'idixAXwahd** so that it will greatly ebb *3.14M, 3.16M, 4.15M, 4.18M, 11.78A, Rezanov* Катехахль 'Убыль воды Ebbe', *Anonymous* Катагатль 'Отливъ воды' ('low tide') *perhaps to be read* **GAdAxAXL** tide is going out, getting low *LM,* **sdixwAXL** *A,* **sdixAXL** tide is low, ebbtide *LMG,* **qu'dAxAX** tide will ebb *LM,* **'idixAXL** tide is low, out *A (Neuter perfective),* **dAxe:XL** tide is low, out *A (Neuter perfective),* **dAxe:Xk'** tide (cust) ebbs *M, repetitive:* **dAxAXg** tide keeps ebbing *L, with ya'd 'empty':* **ya'd sdixAXL** tie is low, out *AS, with Xu' 'complete': Old Man Dude* x̱ó̱tsíx̱à̱x̱tɬ 'low tide' *BSdL 537* **Xu' sdixAXL** tide is low, out *S, with tsa' 'downhill, deep':* **ne:tl' tsa' GAdAxAX da:X** soon when the water goes down *10.233A,* **Li'q' 'Al ya:yu: qa' GAdAxAX da:X** all these things when the ebb uncovers them *10.235A,* **qidga' tsa' dAxe:Xk'** low-water mark < as far down as it ebbs *L, 10.227A,* **qidga' tsa' sdixAXLda:d** at low-water mark < at as far down as it has ebbed *10.235A, with lahdz 'forward, out to sea':* **qidga' lahdz dAxe:Xk'** low-water mark *L, with gl-class-mark for S (clearly optional and rarely used):* **q'e' gAlAGAdAxAXL** tide is going back out *L. Transitive (causative): with lu: 'ca. 180° turn':* **'Aw lu: GALxAX** make the tide turn to ebb! *3.12M.*

2. S be, become empty *(frequently indistinguishable from passive of O-L-xaX below, meaning not distinguished from that of -xAX)*: **ya'd sdixAXL** it (e.g. tub) leaked empty *L,* **ya'd 'idixAXL** it (e.g. bottle) is empty *L (Neuter perfective).*

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3. *With qa' 'up out',* S be, become uncovered at low tide: **Li'q' 'Al ya:yu: qa' GadAxAX da:X** when all these things become uncovered at low tide *10.235A (uncertain, perhaps with syntactic break: Li'q' 'Al ya:yu: qa' -- GAdAxAX da:X 'all these things up out [will emerge] -- when the tide ebbs').*

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O-**L-xAX** S empty O *(causative of either -xAX or dA-xAX 2.)*: **ya'd GALxwahX**, **ya'd GALxahX** empty it (bottle)! *L,* **ya'd qu'xLxahX** I'll empty it *L, with o-yAq' qa' 'up out from inside of o':* **'AwyAq' qa' GALxAX** empty them (eggs) out of it (salmon)! *L; passive:* **sdixahXL** it (bottle) is empty < has been emptied? *L,* **ya'd 'idixAXL** it (bottle) is empty < has been emptied? *L (Neuter perfective).*

xAlAki:nah *(loan from English 'Filipino', perhaps nineteeth-century, /filɨpíynɨh/)*

xAlAki:nah- *(noun, unclassified)* Filipino: **xAlAki:nahyu:** Filipinos *A.*

xut' *(expanded xe:t', xu:t'; basic meaning obscure, perhaps two or more different stems, perhaps reduced form of xwe't'~xe't'~xa't'. Themes with stem xut' seem to fall into two main semantic categories: 1) ya:n' dl-xut' 'S fall over', 'Ad-gdl-xut' 'S somersault', 'Ad-Gdl-xut'-g 'S seesaw', and 2) LA-xut'-g 'S's skin (of hand, foot)*

pucker, shrivel (from long immersion in water)', which may be related to k'u-l-L-xwe't'~-xe't'~-xa't' 'S grimace, pout (about to cry)'; however, the simplest theme, O-L-xut' 'S shoot O (with gun)' is, perplexingly, of recent origin, and semantically related to this is perhaps O-lX-L-xut'-g 'S squeeze roe out of (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-**L-xut'** 1. S shoot O (with gun): *37b.41A, 61.38A, 61.107A, 61.111A, 61.112A, 61.118A,* **'anh k'udi:q' sALxut'L** he shot the Aleut *52.10L,* **'uyAq'a'ts' sALxut'L** he shot his hand *61.37, 45, 46A,* **'anhdAXa:na'q'dAX 'anh sALxut'L** he shot her in the back *61.113A, Rezanov* Альхотъ-у *(with -y crossed out)* 'Стрѣлять изъ ружья schiessen, ein Gewehr abfeurn', Альхотъ-у 'Стрѣляй schiessen (Imperat.)' **'ALxut'uh**, **'ALxut'** shoot it! *LMS,* **'ALxut'inh** shoot him! *(L heard Nikolai Nelson say as child, for 'ALxut', 'ALxut'inh la:), Rezanov* Иялькотъ 'Цѣлься ('he aimed') zielen (Imperat.)' **'iya' 'ALxut'** go on shoot (it)!, Оучахалькотъ 'Цѣлить ('to aim') zielen' **'Awch'a:X 'ALxut'** shoot directly at it!, **xu:nLxut'** shoot me! *M,* **qa: 'ALxut'** shoot us! *M,* **'iGAshe:LGdALyAX GALxut'inh** shoot him before he kills you! *M,* **q'e' GALxut'inh** shoot him again *M,* **qa: q'e' 'ALxut'** shoot us again *M, Rezanov* Яхохъуильхутъ 'Не стрѣляй schiesse nicht!' **ya'Xu: qu'yiLxut'** don't shoot (it), **ya'Xu: xuqu'yiLxut'** don't shoot me *L,* **ya'Xu: 'iya:tl' xuqa'Lxut'inh** don't let him shoot me (with your permission) *L,* **xusALxut'Linh** he shot me *LM,* **siLxut'Lshuw** did I hit it? *LM,* **dik'shuw 'AxsLxut'LG** didn't I hit it? *LM,* **'ALxe:t'k'inh** he (cust) shoots it *L,* **'Awa: k'u:Lxu:t'k'** he (cust) shoots some *64.18G,* **'uGuhd siLxut'Linh** I shot his knee *M,* **'uGuhdda:d siLxut'Linh** I shot him at his knee *M,* **'usa' siLxut'Linh** I shot him in the mouth *M,* **'ushe:k'da:d da'd GALxut'inh** shoot him in the chest! *L,* **sidAXa:na'q'd xusALxut'Linh** he shot me in the back *L, with anatomical marks for O:* **qu'qi:di:xLxut'inh** I'll shoot him in the foot *M,* **qi:disiLxut'Linh** I shot him in the foot *M,* **qu'li:xLxut'inh** I'll shoot him in the head *M,* **lisiLxut'Linh** I shot him in the head *M,* **lAGALxut'** shoot him in the head! *L,* **qu'yi:xLxut'inh** I'll shoot him in the hand *L,* **yisiLxut'Linh** I shot him in the hand *M,* **yAGALxut'** shoot him in the hand! *L,* **gAdAGALxut'** shoot him in the rump! *L, with indeterminate O:* **'isiLxut'L** I shot (a gun, at indeterminate O) *M,* **'udAXa:na'q' 'iGALxut'inh** shoot him in the back!, shoot at his back! *L,* **'udAXa:na'q' 'iqe'xLxut'** I'll shoot him in the back *L,* **sidAXa:na'q'd 'isALxut'L** he shot right at it, got a direct hit *L,* **'Awch'a:q' 'isALxut'L** he shot right at it, got a direct hit *LM,* **'AwXa:X 'isiLxut'L** I missed it (shot wide of it) *A,* **'AwXa:X 'isALxut'L** he missed it *L,* **'ilA'e:dz da:X 'uXa:X 'isALxut'L** they (flying ducks) were "stepping" on your head and you missed *(Billy Dude said to L) L, with vocalic classifier (apparently optional):* **ya'Xu: ('iya:tl') 'iqe'LAxut'inh** don't let him shoot (with your permission) *L,* **'uXa:X 'ixsLixut'L** I missed it *M,* **siXa:X 'iqe'LAxut'** you'll miss me *M,* **siXa:X 'isLixut'L** you missed me *M, vocalic classifier obligatory with o-ch' 'toward, at o':* **ya'Xu: sich' 'iqe'LAxut'** don't shoot at me *M,* **'ALxut'inh di:yAX 'ich' 'iGALAxut'LGdAwa:** shoot him before he shoots at you *L,* **sich' 'isLixut'Linh** he shot at me *LM,* **dik' sich' 'isLAxut'LGinh** he didn't shoot at me *L,* **sich' k'u'LAxut'** someone's shooting at me *L, with perambulative:* **yAX 'iLAxut'Xinh** he's going around shooting *M,* **'Al 'u'tl' yAX 'ixLAxut'X** this with which (having which along) I shoot *37b.63A,* **yAX 'ixLAxut'X** I'm going around shooting *M,* I'm shooting around (at nothing) in particular *L,* **yAX 'iqe'xLAxut'** I'll go around shooting *M,* **q'e:yAX 'iqe'LAxut'inh** he'll go around shooting again *M,* **yAX k'u'LAxut'X 'u'lixiLgah** I know how to shoot < I know (how) one shoots about *L,* **yAX k'u'LAxut'Xsh 'u'li:Lgah** do you know how to shoot? *L; repetitive:* **'ALxut'g** shoot! *M, detransitivized with indeterminate O:* **'ixLAxut'g** I'm shooting (at nothing in particular) *L,* **k'u'LAxut'g** someone is shooting *L,* **k'u'qe'LAxut'g** there'll be shooting *L, with perambulative:* **yAX 'i:nLAxut'g** go around shooting! *M; reflexive:* **'AdsLixut'Linh** he shot himself *61.116, 119A; passive:* [**s**]**Lixut'L** he got shot *61.37A,* **xusLixut'L**, **xusdixut'L** I got shot *L,* **'ida:**

k'udAxut' 'u'lixiLgah I know how to shoot < I know how something is shot *M,* **'iqe'dAxut'** *(not 'iqe'LA-)* you'll get shot *L, repetitive: 62.30fnG (optative Active passive).*

2. S shoot, fire O (gun): *cautionary negative Inceptive imperative:* **'Aw xut'L q'AGALxut'Ginh** don't let him shoot that gun! *L.*

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O-**'-L-xut'** S shoot at O, try to shoot O, take potshot at O: **xu'sALxut'Linh** he shot at me *L (M rejects)*; *passive:* **xu'sLixut'L**, **xu'sdixut'L** someone took a potshot at me < I've been taken a potshot at *L.*

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xut'L *(noun, unclassified) (with -L-instrumental)* 1. gun, rifle *LMAG*: *37b.40, 40A, 52.9L, 64.15, 17G,* **xut'L lahdz sLidlahGL** gun went off < gun exploded forward *61.41A, Rezanov* Хотль 'Ружье Flinte', *Old Man Dude* x̱ʷut'tł 'shotgun or rifle' *BSdL 548,* **xut'LX siLsiyuhLinu:** I killed them with a gun *L,* **xut'LX 'AdsLishehL** he killed himself with a gun *L,* **'Aw xut'L qid sich' GAXahd** hand me (lengthwise) that gun down (off the wall)! *L,* **xut'Ltl' siXa' k'u:LyahLinh** he's bothering me with a gun *L, Rezanov* хоткляллега 'Пушка ('cannon') Kanone' **xut'L'a'lAw…**, **xut'L'a'luw** *LM,* **k'u'luw xut'L** big gun *M, Rezanov* Хотллекую 'Пистолетъ Pistol' **xut'LyAquhyu:** pistols, **xut'LyAquh** revolver < young of rifle *L, Rezanov* Хотлехъ-аца 'Пуля Flinten-Kugel', Хотликацца 'Зарадъ Flinten-Ladung' **xut'LyAq'Atsa:** musket-ball < stone inside rifle *L, Rezanov* Хутлекачижикъ 'Порохъ (Flinten) Pulver' **xut'LyAq'Ach'i:shg** gunpowder < powder inside gun *L, Rezanov* Хотлехалидея 'Пышъ Flinter-Propfen' **xut'LyAq' li' di:'ah** ramrod < it (d-class) extends deeply into inside of gun, **xut'LyAq'd 'uX dAk'u:d** cleaning-rod (for rifle) < by means of it the inside of a gun is wiped *L, Rezanov* Хотлькахакава 'Кремень ('musket-flint') Flinten-Stein' **xut'L… 'Awa:** gun… of it *(-кахак- not identified).*

2. trigger: **'Aw xut'L li' 'u'sALu'gL** he pulled the trigger < he depressed the trigger back (away from front) *61.107A.*

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'iLXa'X 'idi'ah xut'L *(noun)* double-barrelled shotgun < rifle (the parts of) which extend alongside each other *L.*

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'uwa:LX k'uqa'xut'L *(noun, unclassified)* sight at end of gun *L,* target; columbine (Aquilegia) *("because columbine is used for target-practice") M. Deverbalization with -L-instrumental of passive Inceptive imperfective,* < according (by close attention) to it something will be shot.

,

yAX 'ixe:t'L *(gerundive, with expanded stem, indeterminate O, perambulative)* shooting (about): **yAX 'ixe:t'LX qu'xLah** I'll go shooting *L (should perhaps be yAX 'ixe:t'XL).*

,

yAX 'isxut' *(gerundive, with perambulative, perhaps indeterminate O)* shooting (about): **yAX 'isxut' sid 'ALde'g** teach me how to shoot! *L.*

,

yAX 'ixut'X *(gerundive, with perambulative, indeterminate O)* shooting (about): **yAX 'ixut'X 'iqe'di:leh** there'll be shooting *L.*

,

ya:n' dl-xut' *(with dl-thematic, ya:n' 'down')* S topple, fall over: **yahd ya:n' dla:sAxut'L** house (d-class) toppled over *L.*

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gdl-xut' *(with dl-thematic and gd-anatomical 'rump' thematized or g-class-mark (e.g. 'roots'))*: *with qa' 'up out':* **qa' gudla:sAxut'L** it (tree, d-class) fell over (roots coming out) *L. Transitive (causative), reflexive, repetitive:* (**'ita:s**) **qa:nch' 'AdgAdla:xLAxut'g** I'm doing somersaults (with, over you) *L, with perambulative:* **yAX 'AdGAdla:LAxut'X** he's somersaulting (about) *L (thus transcribed, -GA- probably in error for -gA-).*

,

qa:nch' 'AdgAdla:LAxut'g *(noun, unclassified)* black bass < it somersaults, flips self over *L (probably a rockfish (Sebastodes)).*

,

'Ad-Gdl-LA-xut'-g *(reflexive causative repetitive, with Gdl-thematic)* S rock back and forth, seesaw: **da: 'AdGAdla:Lixut'g** let's seesaw *L;* **'AdGAdla:LAxut'X** *M (-X probably in error for -g),* **'AdGAdla:LAxut'g** seesaw < it rocks back and forth *LM.*

,

yAX 'AdGAdla:LAxut'X *(noun, unclassified)* black cod, blue cod, sablefish (Anoplopoma fimbria) < it rocks around*, "flips self over" LM (perhaps mistranscribed for yAX 'AdgA-).*

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yAX 'AdGAdla:LAxut'X 'uq' 'isda'L *(noun, unclassified)* rocking-chair *M.*

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O-**lX-L-xut'-g** *(with -g-repetitive and lX-class mark for O 'loose roe' thematized)* S squeeze roe out of O (ripe salmon): **k'ulAXAxLxut'g** I'm squeezing roe out of something (salmon) *L.*

,

lAXALxut'gL *(noun, probably lX-class, -L-suffix perhaps in error)* roe of ripe salmon squeezed out *("squeezes and it squirts out", a delicacy) M. Nominalized Active imperfective of preceding.*

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LA-xut'-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized)* S's skin become puckered, shrivelled and white from e.g. long immersion in water: *attested only with anatomical marks:* **qi:dixsLixut'gL** my feet got white and shrivelled (from being sweaty and in boots all day) *L,* **yixsLixut'gL** the skin of my hands got white and shrivelled, wrinkled (from being in water a long time) *L.*

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'a:nda'xut'g *personal name, Minnie Stevens (same person as gu:gah) A*: **'a:nda'xut'gma:** *Minnie Steven's mother A,* aⁿt'axʊt'qma *BSdL Genealogical Table (name of three women);* **'a:ndAxut'** *Marie Smith (?) LM,* **'a:ndAxut'ma:** *Minnie Stevens M. Form uncertain, A's apparently agreeing with that in BSdL, 'a:nda' 'hither', 'a:nd 'here', stem with -g-repetitive. Informants unable to analyze. Cf. also 'a:ndAXshiya:.*

xuL~xwAL~xAL *(LM always xuL; A xwAL 10 times, xuL 4 times, xAL once; S xAL twice, G xwAL once, xAL once (in Harrington); expanded xwe:L LA, xe:L LM; Rezanov* хетль*, perhaps expanded stem.)*

-xuL~-xwAL~-xAL S (moving) roll, S (stationary) revolve, turn, whirl: **xuL xuL xuL** rolling rolling rolling *(spoken refrain at end of beachcombing Raven's song) 72.39fnL,* **yAq'Ach'** o-**tl' GAxwAL** it's rolling against the shore with o (inside) *10.19, 19A,* **lAG GAxuL**, **lAG GAxwAL** it's rolling against (up) the shore *11.171, 171, 171, 172A,* **ya:n' 'Axe:Lk'** it (cust) "drops dead" (rolls down) *35.5L,* **lah GAxuL**, **lah GAxwAL** they swirl around *51.68, 68, 69A,* **GAxuL** it's rolling *M,* **Xa:'d lah GAxuL** the world (the outside) is turning *L (traditional cosmological observation),* **'Aw Xa:'d 'i'a:n' qa'xuL, qi'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 misfortune of others L,* **lu: sAxuL** it's upside-down < it turned over (ca. 180°) *L,* **lu: 'i:xuL** it's upside-down *(Neuter perfective) LM, with class-marks for S:* **gulAxuL** it (water) swirls, whirlpool *L,* **qid lAXA:xe:Lk'** it (ball) (cust) rolls down off *LM, with anatomical marks:* **Lich'a:ch' lAXi:xuL** his eyes are turned to one side *L,* **ya:X tl'Aqa' lAXi:xuL** his eyes are rolled up (upside-down) *L (Neuter perfectives),* **yAX qi:disixuL** my ankle turned < my foot turned downward, over *L, with qe:s and g(l)-mark 'ankle':* **yAX qe:s gu:nsixuL** I turned my ankle *L,* **ya'Xu: qe:s qu'gAli:xuL** don't turn your ankle *L, with perambulative:* **yAX dAxwALX** *G,* **yAX dAxuLX** it's rolling around *M,* **'uq' yAX k'usdixuL** something rolled around on it *M,* **yAX 'idAxe:Lk'** it (cust) rolls (about) *M,* **'iLya' yAX lAXAdAxuLX** it (ball) is rolling back and forth *L, repetitive:* **q'e:yAXAch' dAdAxuLg** it (log) keeps rolling back *L,* **lAG xuLg** it keeps rolling against the shore (in the breakers) *L,* **silAqahyAq'd siya: lah xuLg** my head is spinning < the inside of my head keeps spinning around, *from drunkenness M, with lX-anatomical:* **tsi'd ya:Xtl'Aqa:nch' siXa' lAXAxwALginh** his eyes are just rolling upside-down at me *8.13A,* **ya:X tl'Aqa:nch' lAXAxxuLg** my eyes keep rolling up (upside-down) (from e.g. extreme sleepiness) *L. Transitive (causative):* **GuxLxuL** I'm rolling it *M,* **qu'xLxuL** I'll roll it, I'll turn it (over) *L,* **yAX qu'xLxuL**, **lu: qu'xLxuL** I'll turn it over, I'll turn it inside-out *L, Rezanov* Яхкатльхетль 'Поверни drehen, wenden (Imperat.)' **yAX GALx…L** turn it over! *(perhaps with expanded stem),* Яляльхетль 'Повернуть ('to turn') drehen, wenden' **…ALx…L** *(prefixes not identified),* **'Awch' 'ALxuL** screw it in! < twirl it toward it! *L, with class-marks for O:* **ya'X dAGALxwAL** turn it (wick, i.e. lamp) up! *A,* **ya:nch' yAX dAGALxwAL** turn it (wick, i.e. lamp) (further) down! *A,* **sich' lAXi'LxuL** roll it (ball) to me! *L, repetitive:* **qid 'Aw lAXAdALxuLginh** she keeps rolling them (snowballs) down *18.56L; reciprocal:* **'iLu' ya:n' GAlAXLAxuL** pl. wrestle! < roll each other down! *L; reflexive: 1a.13M, 1b.19M,* **qid 'AdsLixwAL, 'itl'a:na'q'Ach'ahd** she rolled herself down, from a mountain-top *23.157A,* **Xi:d XAdAGd, GAdla:'a:w qi'ch' qid 'AdsLixAL** up yonder, she rolled herself a long way down *23.159A, with perambulative:* **tsa:dli:na'q' yAX 'AdALAxwe:Lk'** it (cust) rolls (itself) around on a skerry *35.3L, with l-anatomical:* **yAX 'Ad-lAxLAxuLX** I'm shaking my head < I'm turning, rolling my head about *M; passive:* **lu: 'AdAxwe:Lk'**, **yAX 'AdAxwe:Lk'** it's (cust) turned over *65.3, 4, 10A, see also nominalizations below.*

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dla:GAxuL *(noun, dl-class)* wheel *L*: **dla:GAxAL** grindstone *S. Nominalized Inceptive perfective with dl-class-mark for S, perhaps originally 'stone'.*

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'uq' k'uqAdla:xuL *(noun)* railroad track *L. Nominalized Active imperfective,* < on them something pl. wheeled rolls.

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'uX qa:nch' k'uxuLg *(noun)* corkscrew *L. Nominalized Active imperfective repetitive,* < by means of it one (repeatedly) turns, screws it up out *(lacking L-classifier, or perhaps passive,* < by means of it something is screwed up out*, lacking dA-classifier, or perhaps deverbalization of either, lacking -L-instrumental).*

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yAX dAxwALX *G,* **yAX dAxALX** *S,* **yAX dAxuLX** *(noun, unclassified)* barrel, keg, cask *LM. Nominalized Active imperfective with perambulative,* < it rolls around*, or perhaps passive,* < it's rolled around: **yAX dAxuLXluw** big barrel *M;* **yAX dAxuLX qi' ya:nu' 'iditahL** well < place where a keg is submerged *L; Harrington* yɑx̣tɑx̣x̣ɑ́ɬx̣ 'wheel of salmon trap' *G* **yAX dAxALX**.

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k'ugAdAch' dAxuLg *(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.

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k'uts'i:nd'e'X li' dAxuLg *(noun)* bolt, nut (for screw) *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective repetitive,* < it's (repeatedly) turned deeply into the place for screw.

,

giyah qi' tl'ehd dAxuLg *(noun)* water-faucet *L. Nominalization as above,* < place where water is (repeatedly) turned open.

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LA-xuL S (animate) turn (voluntarily): **'anh qe'L,** […]**, lu: sLixuL** the woman, […], turned around *3.7M,* **lu: xsLixuL** I turned around *M,* **sich' lu: GALAxuL** turn over toward me (to face me, in bed)! *L,* **siq'Asd lu: GALAxuL** turn over away from me (facing away from me, in bed)! *L, with l-anatomical, repetitive:* **lALAxuLginh** he's shaking his head (in gesture of negation) *L.*

,

O-**'-xuL** *(semitransitive with thematized O)* (part of) S (e.g. motor) roll, turn over (part way) *(identity of O vague)*: **'u'sAxuL** it (motor) "turned over" (once, but didn't start) *L.*

,

yAX O-**'-dl-xuL** *(semitransitive with thematized O, with dl-thematic, and yAX 'down over')* S capsize *(identity of O vague)*: **yAX 'u'dla:sAxuL** it (canoe) capsized *L.*

xi:sh

'i:nLxi:shg *(noun, l-class)* red abalone, red "gumboots" *LMA (unknown to S) (eaten raw or cooked, but tough and insipid L)*: **k'ulAt'u' 'i:nLxi:shg** lots of red abalone *M,* **'i:nLxi:shg'a:'nuw** *L,* **'i:nLxi:shg'i:'nuw** big red abalone *LM,* **'i:nLxi:shg sich' li:"a'** *(not -ta')* give me a red abalone! *L,* **'i:nLxi:shg 'u:d 'i:nsA'ahL** a red gumboot is there *L,* **'i:nLxi:shg XAlinhinh** he's eating red abalone *L,* **'i:nLxi:shg Xa:ne:** eat red abalone! *L,* **'i:nLxi:shgya' q'ahsh** red abalone shell L *(no specific term remembered for 'nacre, mother-of-pearl');* ìⁿtɬɣíck ìⁿtɬtsə̀lì' *or* ìⁿtɬɣíck ìⁿtɬt'sə̀lí' name of Basket Pattern 2. ("amphineura-shells") *BSdL 547 (described and illustrated in BSdL 82)* **'i:nLxi:shg'i:nLts'Alih** red abalone shell *("sounds like it could be the name of a basket pattern") L. Nominalized Active imperfective of theme (O-)l-L-xi:sh-g, of unknown meaning; not realized lAL-.*

xwi:x~xi:x *(attested from L only; perhaps related to xix~xwix, expanded or full form, basic meaning 'white, bare')*

k'uxwi:x, k'uxi:x *(noun, unclassified)* large mature northern bald eagle (Haliaeetus leucocephalus alascanus) *(has white head, same bird as Gu:djgAlAG, gu:djgAlAG) L. Stem -xwi:x~-xi:x attested only with k'u-indefinite prefix, either S or O of verb, or possessor of noun.*

xi:l *(xi:l LMSG, Wrangell xi:la…, xwi: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, Khromchenko* Хиля 'Мущина' ('male'), *Wrangell* Хіила 'Schaman' **xi:lA**, *Galushia Nelson* x̲ʷi·l 'shaman' *BSdL 543* **xwi:l** shaman *A,* **xi:l sich'ahd 'i:lihsa'yahL** shaman gave me good luck *L,* **xi:lya' tsi:ny tsinhinh** he's singing a shaman's song, incantation *L,* **xi:la'luw** great shaman *L,* **xi:l'a'luw yiLinhinh** he's a great shaman *LM,* **xi:lGAyu:** shamans *56.20, 30L,* **xi:lqe'L** shaman-woman *19.11L,* **xi:lyAq' k'utsinhinh** he's singing a shaman's song *M (< xi:l-lA-yAq'?, see o-yAq' 4. under yAq'2).*

xi:ya'X *(initialy labialized by A only, not LMS or in Rezanov; perhaps to be analyzed xi:ya'-X or xi:-ya'-X and related to xa'; S twice xi:ya'L, but uncertain)*

-xi:ya'X *(noun, unclassified)* 1. chin, lower jaw, mandible: *Rezanov* Кахеахъ 'Борода ('beard') Bart' **qa:xiya'X** our, human chin, **sixi:ya'L** *S,* **sixi:ya'X** my chin, jaw *LM,* **'ixiya'X** your chin *L,* **k'uxwi:ya'X** *A,* **k'uxi:ya'X** chin, jawbone *L,* **k'uxi:ya'Xluw** big chin *LM,* **'uxi:ya'Xda:d 'Awa: li'X wAX 'i:t'inhinh** his chin is dimpled *M,* **ts'iyux sixi:ya'Xq' ya:n' sAdahL** a mosquito landed on my chin *L.*

2. *In epithet with deleted possessive prefix, with k'u-t'a' 'behind, obstructed by something'*: **k'ut'a' xi:ya'X** mimicker, mocker *LM,* **k'ut'a' xi:ya'X 'ida' 'u'disLich'a:q'L** my echo came back < the sound of mimicking reached me *L.*

xihs *(regularly xihs, xwihs only once from L, also occasionally xinhs in early transcriptions from LM)*

O-**xihs** S rip, tear, split O (specifically lengthwise): *Rezanov* И…лякахысъ *(with И...ляк crossed out, perhaps т between И and л)* 'Раздѣри zerreissen (Imperat.)' **'Axinhs** *LM,* **'Axihs** rip it!, tear it! *LASG,* **sixihsL** I tore it *L, with yAX 'apart':* **'Aw yAX GAxihs** rip it apart! *L, with o-d 'apart from o':* **siyAd sAxihsL** you ripped it (e.g. bandage) off my hand, *with o-k'ah 'away from o':* **'Awk'ah 'Axihs** rip it (e.g. bandage) off it! *L,* **'u:dik'ah 'Axihs** rip it off there! *L, indirect reciprocal: 50.58A,* **ya:'a:gdAX 'iLi:d 'Aw sAxihsL** he ripped it apart right down the middle *50.59A,* **'iLd GAxihs**, **'iLi:d GAxihs** rip it apart! *L, Rezanov* Илькаахысъ 'Разодрать zerreissen' **'iLk'ah 'Axihs** rip them apart!, *with class-mark for O:* **'iLd dAsAxihsL** you split it (board) *L,* **'Aw guxi:sk'** they (cust) split them (spruceroots) *66.4L,* **'Aw Xa:n' guGAxihs da:X** when they finish splitting them (spruceroots) *66.6L, repetitive:* **'Aw 'uyAq' 'i:dahL xihsginh** she kept tearing her clothes *18.20L.*

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ya' O-**(d-)xihs** *(with d-thematic optional (usual) with ya' 'completely')* S rip O to bits, tear O up, S (brown bear) maul O: *18.74, 18.76L, 68.102, 68.104A,* **Li'q' ya:yu: ya' dAGuxxihs da:X** when I rip everything to bits *34.46L (all with d-, all of brown bear mauling),* **ya' qu'xxihs** I'll rip it to pieces *L,* **ya' 'iqe'di:xxihs** I'll rip you to bits *L,* **ya' sixihsL**, **ya' disixihsL** I ripped it to pieces *L,* **'Aw ya' dAGAxihsLGdAwa:** before he rips it up *L; passive:* **ya' disdixihsL**, **ya' sdixihsL** it's all ripped up *L.*

,

ya:X O-**X-xihs** *(with X-thematic with ya:X 'destruction, consumption')* S (systematically, deliberately) rip, tear O all to bits: **ya:X qu'Xi:xxihs** I'll tear it all up, I'll rip it to shreds (and spend a long time doing it) *L.*

,

O-**L-xihs** S rip, tear, split O lengthwise *(and/or 'to make useful products')*: **'ALxinhs**, **'ALxihs** split it (into shingles)!, rip it! *L,* **'iLd 'Aw sALxihsL** they split it apart (to make digging-sticks) *23.136A,* **da: Lxi:sk'** we (cust) rip it *L,* **yAX GALxihs** rip it apart (transversely)! *L,* **ya' siLxihsL** I split it (for kindling) *L, with d-class-mark for O:* **di:Lxwihs** split it (wood, for shingles)! *L.*

xi'ts'1 *(perhaps to be identified with xi'ts'2)*

GALAxi'ts'L *(noun)* (some kind of) hill *L. Nominalized Inceptive perfective of otherwise unattested theme LA-xi'ts', of unknown meaning.*

,

GALAxi'ts'L yiLeh *(perhaps a place-name) (location not remembered)* < it's a hill *L.*

xi’ts’2 *(xwi'ts' only in BSdL, where labialization may be due to influence of prefix, also once from L; perhaps to be identified with xi'ts'1; perhaps loan from Tlingit -xís’ 'shin')*

-xi’ts’ *(noun, d-class)* shin: *Galushia Nelson* k’ʊ́xʷí’ts *or* ɢə̀xʷíts 'lower-leg' *BSdL 542* **k’uxi’ts’** shin *LMASG, Harrington* sɪχ̱χ̱í’ts’ *G* **sixi’ts’** my shin *A,* **’ixi’ts’** your shin *S,* **k’uxi’ts’luw** big shin *LM.*

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xi’ts’dA’a:w *(noun, unclassified)* long-legged snipe *(uncertain),* deer *(epithet)* < long-shins *L.*

xi’ts’~xits’ *(xwi'ts' from G in Li text only, where labialization may be due to influence of prefix; M also xu'ts', probably in error; reduced form xits' usually in noun, xi'ts' usually in verb)*

GAxits’ *(noun, unclassified) (with G-thematic)* drum *L*: *(four times), A,* **GAxi’ts’** *G, also* **k’uxi’ts’** *L,* **dAxits’**, **k’uxu’ts’** *M,* **xi’ts’** *S (all early transcriptions),* **’Aw GAxwits’dig LXa’tl’ginu:** they're beating the drum *57.19G (transcribed q’ə̀xʷì’t’s with ɪ written over ə and t’s over t’c),* **dAxi’ts’luw** *LM (early transcription),* **k’u’luw GAxits’** big drum *L,* **GAxits’ Gahdjginh** he's beating a drum *L;* **GAxits’ GAta:Linh** drummer < he's carrying a drum *L.*

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(O)-**xi’ts’** S beat O (drum) *or perhaps intransitive* S drum: **’Axi’ts’** beat the drum! *LMS,* **k’uxu’ts’inh** he's drumming (something) *M,* **’Aw dAxits’ginh** he's beating a drum *M (early transcriptions, latter repetitive, with perhaps d-thematic 'noise').*

,

da:X ’i:nLAxi’ts’(g) *(noun, unclassified)* woodpecker *L, theme o-X l-L-xi'ts'(-g) 'S drum with head on o', here* < it (repeatedly) drums with its head on indeterminate o: **da: ’i:nLAxi’ts’** < we drum with our heads *M,* **’a:nda’ ’i:nLAxi’ts’** < it drums with its head thither, woodpecker *A (both latter forms clearly less likely to be correct than L's).*

xwe:g~xe:g *(xwe:g LMASG, Galushia Nelson, Rezanov, xe:g LM only)*

d-LA-xwe:g~-xe:g *(with d-thematic 'oral, noise')* S whistle: *22.5L, 23.60A,* **’ahnu:tl’ dALAxwe:g** he whistled at them *(may also be translated,* for them he was a groundhog*) 23.61A,* **da:LAxe:g**, **dAGALAxe:g** *(former preferred, not di’LA-)* whistle! *L,* **disLixwe:gLinh** he whistled (once) *L,* **dAxLAxwe:g** I'm whistling *L.*

,

dALAxwe:g, **dALAxe:g** *(noun, unclassified)* 1. groundhog, whistler, hoary marmot (Marmota caligata): **dALAxwe: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, Anonymous* Тлятлухикъ *(-лят- partly illegible)* 'Свистить' ('it whistles'), *Galushia Nelson* ɒɛ̀tɬə̀xʷǎ·k *or* ɒə̀tɬə̀xʷǎ·k 'ground hog' *BSdL 538, 559,* **dALAxe:g** groundhog *LM,* **dALAxwe:gkih** little groundhog *23.83A,* **dALAxwe:gyu:** groundhogs *23.55, 94, 116, 139A,* **dALAxwe:g-wAlahyu:** groundhog-people *23.151A,* **dALAxwe:gluw** big groundhog *LM. Nominalized Active imperfective,* < it whistles.

2. duck sp.: **dALAxe:g** some kind of duck *L,* **dALAxwe:g GAnuh** 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)'.*

,

O-**d-L-xe:g** S whistle at O: **xudAsALxe:gLinh** he whistled at me *L; passive:* **xudisdixe:gL**, **xudisLixe:gL** I got whistled at *L,* **xudAdAxe:g** *(not xudALA-)* I'm being whistled at *L.*

,

dAxwe:g, **dAxe:g** *(gerundive)* whistling noise *L*: *Rezanov* Тахуекъ 'Свистѣть pfeifen' **dAxwe:g**.

xwehd~xehd *(LSG xwehd, LM xehd)*

-xwehd~-xehd S fade, become colorless: **sAxehdL** its color is gone, it's faded *LM,* **GAxehdL** it's fading *L,* **qa'xehd** it'll fade *LM, with gl-class-mark for S:* **gAlAsAxehdL** it (water) cleared up, sediment in it settled *M, Li* gúlìxʷìt 'water is clear' G *(probably to be read **gulAxwehd**, see also gAlAxwehd below). Transitive (causative): with yAX 'downward' (referring to dipping, settling, pouring):* **yAX siLxwehdL** *S,* **yAX siLxehdL** I filtered it *L,* **yAX qu'xLxehd** I'll rinse the colour out of it *L, with o-lu' yAX 'downward through (hole in) o':* **'Awlu' yAX qu'xLxehd** I'll strain it through it *L (see 'ulu' yAX k'udAxwehd below), repetitive:* **dAlu' yAX xxehdg** I'm straining, filtering it (through indeterminate o) *M.*

,

gl-LA-xwehd~-xehd *(with gl-class-mark for S)* S (water) be, become clear, pure (not muddy, silty) *(meaning apparently not clearly distinguished from that of gl-xwehd~-xehd above)*: **gu:nsLixwehdL** clear water < water cleared *G, with yAX 'downward' (probably referring to settling of sediment):* **yAX gu:nsLixehdL** water is clear **yAX qu'gu:nLAxehd** water will get clear *L.*

,

gAlAxwehd *(place-name) somewhere to the east of the mouth of Mountain Slough, in Copper River flats* < water clears *L.*

,

'ulu' yAX k'udAxwehd *(noun)* strainer, filter *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective,* < through (holes in) it something is strained downward.

xwe't'~xe't'~xa't' *(xwe't' L, xe't' LM, xa't' M only, not verified; perhaps related to xut')*

k'u-L-xwe't'~-xe't' *(with thematized k'u-indefinite O)* S grimace: **k'uGALxe't'Linh** *M (first rejected by L, later approved),* **k'uGALxwe't'Linh** he's grimacing *L (Inceptive imperfectives, literal meaning translatable as 'he's starting to xwe't' something', as part of a process leading to some state).*

,

k'u-l-L-xwe't'~-xe't' *(as above, with l-thematic)* S grimace, pout (especially a child, contorting the face and projecting the lower lip, about to start crying or trying not to cry): **k'ulAGALxe't'L** *LM,* **k'uLAGALxwe't'Linh** he's grimacing, pouting (about to cry) *L,* **k'uqu'li:Lxe't'inh** he'll grimace, pout (before crying) *LM,* **ya'Xu: k'uqu'li:Lxwe't'** don't pout *L,* **k'uli'Lxe't'** grimace!, pout! *LM, with perambulative:* **yAX k'u:LAxe't'Xinh** he's pouting around, sulking *L,* **ya'Xu: yAX k'uqu'i:LAxwe't'** don't pout (around) *L.*

,

'Ad-l-LA-xa't' *(reflexive; M, once only, not verified, stem perhaps in error for xe't')* S sulk: *with perambulative:* **'Ad-lALAxa't'Xinh** he (child) is sulking (around) *M.*

xwa~xa~xAwa *(xwa SG, Rezanov, Furuhjelm, LM occasionally, A 3 times, xa LM usually, A 3 times; xAwa in certain nouns, perhaps to be interpreted xAwa', see*

subentry 'i:nsALxwa'L, cf. also ta´, tAwah; perhaps related to xwa´~xa´~xwah~xah, and/or to xah, and/or to xa:nih; cf. also l-L-'ya)

l-xwa~-xa S grow, grow up, mature: **la:xe:, li:xa'** (**la:xa'** *barely acceptable*), **lAGAxa'** grow up! *L,* **qu'li:xxah** I'll grow up *L,* **dik' qu'li:xxahG** (*or* **-xa:G**) I won't grow up *L,* **qu'li:xinhinh** he'll grow up *L,* **lAGuxxa:L** *LM,* **lAGAxxa:L** *L,* **lAGuxxwa:L** I'm growing up *M,* **lAGi:xa:L** you're growing up *M,* **lAGAxwa:L** *MG, 24.39A,* **lAGAxa:L** it's growing up *L, Rezanov* Калеллякаховль 'Молодой jung' **q'a:l… lAGAxwa:L** it's growing now (yet) *L,* **lAGAxa:Linh** he's growing up *L,* **'i:nsixwahL** I've grown up *L,* **lAsAxwahLinh** he's grown up *S,* **qAlAsAxwahLinu:** they grew up *28.131A, with Xa:n' or Xu' 'complete':* **Xa:n' lAsAxahLinh** he's grown up < he's done growing (up) *L,* **Xu' 'i:nsixahL** I'm full grown *L,* **Xu' 'i:nsAxahL**, **Xu' lAsAxahL** it's full grown *L, with suffixed -shiyah 'bad':* **(dA)'a:wAyu: 'i:nsAxahLinhshiyah q'A'anh** he's a poorly brought-up boor < he's a bad indiscriminately (barbarically) grown one *L,* **dik' Xu' la'xahLG** it's not full grown *L (Neuter perfective),* **'AlAshgahX lAGAxixah** I wish I'd grow up *L,* **'AlAshgahX la:xixah** I wish I were grown up *L,* **da: la:yixah** let's grow up *L, Inceptive subjunctive:* **lAGAxxa:X 'ixleh** I want to grow *L, hortatory Inceptive subjunctive:* **lAGAxa:Xinh** may he grow! *L, hortatory Active subjunctive:* **li:xa:Xinh** may he grow up! *(i.e. 'may he live to maturity!' said when baby sneezes) L, Active imperfective:* **'u:d lAxwah** it (normally) grows there, it belongs growing there *L,* **'u:d lAxa:X** 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:* **dla:sAxahL** it (tree, wild celery) grew *L.*

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l-L-xwa~-xa 1. *(with obligatory L-classifier)* S grow, grow up to certain extent or in certain way relative to o: **'ilAX dAwa'd q'Aw 'i:nsiLxahL** I've grown faster than you *L; indirect reciprocal: with qa' 'up, out':* **'iLga' qa:nch' lAGALAxa:Linu:** they're growing up alike (like each other) *L.*

2. *(with L-classifier at least in certain cases optional)* S grow, grow up to certain extent or in certain way *(not relative to o, meaning not clearly distinguished, at least in certain cases, from that of l-xwa~-xa)*: **lAsALxahLinh** he's grown up *(same as **lAsAxahLinh**) M, Furuhjelm* Isalhvali 'old' **'i:nsALxwahLinh** he's grown up, *with qa' 'up out':* **'ulAGa:nshdAXu' qa' lAsALxahLinh** his whiskers have grown out *23.141A, with Xu' 'complete':* **Xu' 'i:nsiLxahL** (*same as* **Xu' 'i:nsixahL**) I'm full grown *L,* **Xu' 'i:nsALxahL**, **Xu' lAsALxahL** (*same as* **Xu' 'i:nsAxahL, Xu' lAsAxahL**) it's full grown *L,* **dik' Xu' la'LxahLG** (*same as* **dik' Xu' la'xahLG**) it's not full grown *L (Neuter perfective), with dit'a' '(stuck) behind indeterminate o, blocked, with difficulty':* **dit'a' li:LxahL** it's not growing properly (not fast enough, stunted) *L (Neuter perfective).*

,

l-dA-xa S (inanimate, plant, *or perhaps S in fixed position*) grow: *with qehX 'closed':* **qehX 'i:nsdixahL** it's clogged *L,* **'uyAq' 'iq'a:gL qehX 'i:ndixahL** stove is plugged (with soot) *L (Neuter perfective), with d-class-mark for S:* **di:'q' dla:dixahL** egg is maturing inside (chick embryo is growing) *L (Neuter perfective),* **di:'q' dla:sdixahL** egg is turning into a bird *A; see also lAdAxa:g, 'idAxa:g, and qi' k'u:ndAxa:g below.*

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O-**l-L-xwa~-xa** *(causative of l-xwa~-xa, l-L-xwa~-xa, and/or l-dA-xa above)* S make O grow, raise O, bring O up: **li:Lxinhinh**, **la:Lxinhinh** make him grow up! *L,* **qu'li:xLxinhinh** I'll raise him *L,* **dik' qu'li:xLxahGinh** (*or* **-xa:G-**) I won't raise him *L,* **xulAsALxahLinh**, **xu:nsALxahLinh** he raised me *L, often repetitive, with repetitive apparently thematized:* **dAxu: q'Aw qu'li:xLxa:G** I'll raise her myself *9.26A,* **xuqu'li:Lxa:gsh** will you raise me? *L,* **qu'li:Lxa:gshuh** will you make it grow? *(said in pity for undersized animal) L,* **lAxLxa:g** I'm raising it *M,* **xulALxa:g** he's raising me *L,* **xulAGALxa:gLinh** he's raising me *L,* **'anh**

xulAsALxa:gLinh, **'anh xu:nsALxa:gLinh** *he* raised me *L; indirect reflexive:* **dAxu: 'Ad'a: qu'lAxLAxa:ginh** I'll raise her for myself *9.27A; reflexive* **dA'a: 'Adi:nsLixahLinh** he raised himself (by himself) *L,* **dAtli: dA'a: 'Ad-la:Lixa:gga' 'a'GAda'L** he's getting big enough to take care of himself L *(Active optative repetitive); passive:* **xulAdAxa:g** I'm being raised, taken care of *L,* **'a:nd xu:nsixahL**, **'a:nd xu:nsLixahL** I was raised here *L.*

,

lAdAxa:g, **'idAxa:g** *(probably < **'i:ndAxa:g**) (noun, unclassified)* green, (any) plant *L. Nominalized Active imperfective repetitive of l-dA-xa and/or of passive of O-l-L-xwa~-xa,* < it's growing, being raised.

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'idAxa:gma: *(personal name) Eyak woman L (< "growing-mother" L)* < mother of growing thing *(L considers this a beautiful name; M has heard).*

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qi' k'u:ndAxa:g *(noun)* garden *L. As above, with k'u-indefinite S or O,* < place where something grows, is raised.

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-l-xa:g *(gerundive of repetitive of O-l-L-xwa~-xa)* raising, caring for: **'ilAxa:g xuGALga'L** I'm getting tired of caring for you < raising you is tiring me *L,* **xuGALga'L sAqe:GAyu: 'ulAxa:g** I'm tired of raising children < it's tiring me, children, raising them *L.*

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-ishxah *(perhaps gerundive, but lacking l-thematic) attested only in* **ch'ich'ishxah** *(noun, probably d-class)* wild celery turned to wood *L, see ch'ich'2.*

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'i:nsAxwa'L *(noun) (attested from G in Harrington only, form probably incorrect, perhaps to be read 'i:nsALxAwa'L or 'i:nsALxwahL)* seaweed species: *Harrington* 'ɪ̂ssɑɬx̲wɑ̓ɬ *(Tlingit thaɣɣeetíi)* 'Dutchman's breeches, seaweed with pods (says this means something like growing on rocks)'. *The Tlingit is to be read tɑɣedí, Naish-Story tɑyedí 'yellow seaweed (a seaweed on which herring spawn)', probably reduced form of tɛ́ 'rock' with possessed yed 'fat'; see also 'i:nLxAwah below and tsa:lAq'AX; apparently nominalized Active perfective of l-L-xwa~-xa,* < it grew.

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LanhlAq' lALxwah *(noun) (attested from G in Harrington only, -LA- of LanhlAq' probably incorrect)* moss or lichen on spruce bark < that which grows on the bark. *See Lanh. Nominalized Active imperfective of l-L-xwa~-xa,* < it (normally) grows on bark.

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'i:nLxAwah *(noun, ti:l-class)* red ribbon seaweed, red laver, sea lettuce (Porphyra laciniata) *LSA*: **'i:nxAwah 'u:d ti:nsAtahL** a (piece of) ribbon seaweed is there *L,* **'i:nLxAwah sich' ti:li:'a'** (*or* **-ta'**) give me (a piece of) ribbon seaweed! *L, Harrington* 'ɪ̂ɪɬx̲ùwwɑ̀h, 'íɪɬx̲uwwɑh 'red ribbon seaweed' *G. Underlying theme l-L-xAwa, explained by L "something is growing". M rejects this form, insisting, on two separate occasions, that the correct form is 'i:nLtAwah, perhaps under the influence of ta´, l-ta´ 'S live'. This seaweed was dried and eaten.*

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ma:ya'X qa:nLxAwah, **ma:ya'X qa:LxAwah**, **ma:ya'X qa:nLxAwa:** *(noun, unclassified)* water lilies (yellow pond lily, spatterdock (Nuphar polysepalum)) *L*: **k'ut'u' ma:ya'X qa:nLxAwa:** many water lilies *L. Theme as above with qA-plural and ma:ya'X '(movement) on lake', 'pl. grow (all about?) on lake'. Harrington* máayɑ́'t qhʷállɛ̄ɬx̲ʷɑh *(-x̲ʷɑh accentless)* 'pond lily, "that which grows on the lake"', *to be read* **ma:ya'd qAlALxwah** *or perhaps* **ma:ya'd**

qAlALxAwah, *but read by M as* **ma:ya'd k'ulALxwah** < something (normally) grows on lake, *same plant as* **ma:ya'dya' 'Ana:shah**.

xwa´~xa´~xwah~xah *(xwa´~xa´ in verb, xwah~xah in noun; xw- SG, Rezanov, A usually, x- Galushia Nelson, M, L usually; perhaps related to xwa´~xa´~xAwah and/or to xah; note also Athapaskan, PA *x^{w}â 'sun', *šên 'summer')*

L-xwa´~-xa S (it) become summer, S (summer) come: *Galushia Nelson* ɕə́tɬx̣ə̀ɬ 'spring' *BSdL 538,* **GALxa'L** *LM,* **GALxwa'L** it's becoming summer, summer is coming *G, 10.86, 87, 23.55, 49.115, 51.46, 68.25A, Anonymous* Екатльхватль 'Весна' ('spring') **yAGALxwa'L** it's becoming summer, **sALxa'L** *M, 32.5, 33.40A, Khromchenko* Сатхотль 'Лето' **sALxwa'L** it became summer, summer came *S, 10.89, 68.24A, with Xu' 'complete':* **Xu' sALxa'L** it became summer *M,* **'u:ch' siq' sALxa'L** I spent the summer there < it summered on me thither *L,* **Lich' qi' 'i:Lxa'L** place where it's always summer *L (Neuter perfective),* **qi' Lxwah** place where it's summer *L (Active imperfective),* **qa'Lxah** *L,* **qu'wALxah** it'll become summer, summer will come *M,* **dik' qa'LxahG** it won't be summer *M,* **qi'dAX qa'Lxah** before it becomes summer *M,* that's when summer will come < as soon as, at the time that summer will come *L,* **GALxah da:X** when it becomes summer *24.73A.*

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qi:Lxa: *(place-name) Italio River* < **qi' Lxah** where it's summer(?) *G (Harrington), M.*

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xwah, **xah** *(noun, unclassified)* summer: *Rezanov* Хоа 'Лѣто Sommer' **xah** *LS, 62.7, 16, 63.40G, 68.26A, Anonymous* Фа 'Лѣто', *Galushia Nelson* x̣ə' 'summer' *BSdL 538* **xah** LM, 43.32M **'AldALyAX ya: xwah** this last summer < summer before this one *69.5A,* **'Al'ihd xwah** next summer < summer after this *S,* **k'Adzu: xah** *M,* **xah'Adzu:** nice summer *L,* **xahch' GAlAGa'ya:L** it's becoming summer < time is passing toward summer *L,* **Lich' xah** every summer *L,* **'Al xahX ye'X yik'a'dinh** he's been sick all this summer long *L,* **xah tl'a'q' 'i:'ah** it's a long summer < summer extends long *L,* **xah dik' tl'a'q' 'As'a'LG** it wasn't a long summer *L,* **xah tl'a'q' 'a:w** long summer *L,* **xah ya:'a:gd** midsummer *L (probably incorrect,* < summer, the middle*),* **xahlA'a:gd** midsummer *L (cf. ge:-l-'a:g under gah~ge:),* **xwahdALch'a:d** toward summer *33.40A (d-mark either analogical with e.g. -d-L-yAX or thematic, but probably not indication of d-class for xwah).*

xa:s *(so read from only attestations in Rezanov, less likely xahs or xa's, not known to modern informants, loan from Tlingit xàs 'cow, horse', perhaps from English 'horse'; see also ka:w)*

xa:s *(noun, unclassified)* cow: *attested only in Rezanov* Хассъ 'Корова Kuh' *(corresponding Tlingit entry* Хассъ*), and* Хассъ-ка 'Быкъ' *(not in Radlow,* 'bull'*, corresponding Tlingit entry* Хассъ-хохъ xàs x̣úx̣ 'cow's male, husband'*) to be read* ***xa:sqa'*** bull < cow's male, husband.

xa:sh *(xwa:sh from G and A only, S xa:sh; perhaps loan from Tlingit -xàš~-xáš~-xáš 'to cut up, carve', probably related to xAsh)*

O-**xa:sh** S cut up, carve, butcher, skin O (animal), S clean, "slime" O (fish): *1b.12M, 28.89, 37b.19, 20, 20A, 42.17L,* **'Awtahlu'qa: 'Aw shAxwa:shL** they butchered it to get its skin *28.83A,* **'Al te'ya'yu: Xa:n' qu'xxwa:sh** I'm going to finish cleaning these salmon *21b.32A,* **'Axa:sh** skin it! *L,* clean it (fish)! *S,* **'Axwa:sh** skin it! *AG,* **k'u:xa:sh** "slime", clean (something, fish)! *M,* **sixa:shL** I skinned it *LS,* **qu'xxa:sh** I'll cut it (fish, animal) up *S,* I'll skin it *M, customary:* **'Aw xa:shk'inu:** they (cust) clean them (fish) *60.3A,* **'udAXa:na'q'dAX q'Aw da: xwa:shk'** *65.73A,* **'udAXa:na'q'dAX da: 'Axwa:shk'** we (cust) cut them (fish, open) along their back

65.75A; passive: **lixahyu: dAxa:sh** brownbears are butchered *37b.20A,* **qi' k'ushdixa:shLda:d** at a place where something (fish) had been cleaned *46.4M,* **shdixa:shL** *(not shLi-)* it (fish) has been cleaned, it (animal) has been skinned *L, customary:* **dAxa:shk'** *60.2A, 63.43G,* **'AdAxwa:shk'** they (fish) are (cust) cleaned *65.2A, repetitive (-g- perhaps in error for -k'- customary):* **qi' k'uxa:shgda:d** at a place where something (fish) are being cleaned *46.1M,* **qi' Xa:n' k'uGAdAxa:shgLda'** to a place where something (fish) were finishing being cleaned *46.2M.*

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'uX k'udAxa:sh *(noun)* large curved carving-knife *L*: *Galushia Nelson* ú^{n}ẋqə́ɒə́xà·c *or* ə́ẋqə́ɒə́xà·c 'lancet' *BSdL 547 Nominalized passive Active imperfective,* < by means of it something is carved.

xa:g *(xa:g LMASG, Rezanov, xwa:g A once only, S once with slight labialization)*

O-**xa:g-L** *(probably with -L-suffix thematized, as below; not freely used, attested only in Active perfective)* S work on O: **sixa:gL** I worked on it *L, with d-class-mark for O:* **'Aw yahd xu: disixa:gL** *I* worked on that house *L.*

,

dA-xa:g-L *(with -L-suffix thematized, treated as part of the stem)* S work: *10.131fnA, Rezanov* Хоттыхакль 'Недосугъ ('no leisure') Arbeit' **xwdAxa:gL**, **xwdAxwa:gL** *A,* **xdAxa:gL** I'm working *M,* **'AdAxa:gL** work! *M,* **qu'xdAxa:gL** I'll work *MG,* **qi' 'ixisinhch' qu'xdAxa:gL** I'll work till I die *L,* **di'wAX dAxa:gLdAwa: qa'sinhinh** he'll work till he dies < he'll still be working whereupon he'll die *L,* **du:'a:d dAxa:gL** for whom are you working? *M,* **siya: dAxa:gLinh** he's working for me *M,* **'Awa: xdAxa:gLlehd** because I'm working for him *L,* **'AnahshAkih 'AwXe'linhinh 'Awa: xdAxa:gL** he likes the work I do for him *L,* **'AnahshAkih 'AwXe'linhinh 'Awa: 'ixdixa:gL** he wants me to work for him *L,* **'AnahshAkihshuh 'AwXe'lAXleh lAXa: 'ixdixa:gL** do you pl. want me to work for you? *L (Active optative),* **xdAxa:gL xu'Lilinhinh** he thinks I'm working *M,* **dAxa:gL 'i'xLileh** I thought you were working *M,* **Lich' dAxa:gLinh** *(with slight labialization of -**x**-)* he's always working, busy *S,* **GAdAxa:gL** you're working a lot (all day long) *L (Inceptive perfective, act as part of (long) process), with o-tl' 'with o', here 'on o' (cf. nominalization below):* **'utl' xdAxa:gL** I'm working on it *LM, with o-Xa:n' 'the full length of o'?:* **te'ya'Xa:n' xsdixa:gL** I finished fishing, finished work on fish *A. Transitive (causative): 10.131fnA,* **dits'id q'Aw 'ahnu: Lxa:gL** he makes them work for nothing *10.55A,* **'iqe'xLxa:gL** I'll make you work *L,* **'ida'ya:lAX xu:Lxa:gL** you make me work too much *L.*

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xa:gL *(noun, unclassified) (with thematic -L-suffix)* work, job *S*: *Rezanov* Хакль 'Работать arbeiten', **xa:gL'a'luw** big job *LM,* **xa:gLyAXA' sa'yahLinh** he died, passed out, succumbed from (over)work *L,* **xa:gL ya:n' sALdahL** he stopped the work *L, Rezanov* Хаклечь-эйя 'Плотникъ ('carpenter') Arbeiter (Zimmermann)' **xa:gLAch'iya'** master worker, hard worker, Хакльчеялега 'Работай ('work!') arbeiten (Imperat.)' **xa:gLch'iya'lAw…** great master worker.

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'isxa:gL *(gerundive)* working: **'isxa:gL xusALga'L** I'm tired of working < working has tired me *L.*

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'utl' k'udAxa:gL *(noun)* tools < one works with them (along) *M (cf. o-tl' dA-xa:g-L 'S work on O' above; 'tools' should perhaps more correctly be 'uX k'udAxa:gL 'one works by means of them').*

xwa:g~xa:g *(xwa:g AS, Rezanov, xa:g LM; perhaps xwa:-g, cf. xahL)*

xwa:g *AS,* **xa:g** *(noun, unclassified)* steam, steaminess *LM*: **xa:g'a'luw** large amount of steam *LM,* **xa:g 'iGALq'e'sL** steam is getting thick (permeating air) *L,* **giyah xa:g yiLeh** water is steamy *L; Rezanov* Антляхуакъ 'Иней Reiffrost' **'anhdla:xwa:g**, **'anhdla:xa:g** mist < ground-steam *L.*

xah1 *(perhaps to be identified with xwah~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 -ch' finals)* loss, removal of o (contents, covering, clothing, foreign matter): *attested only with theme -le ('S act, do, happen to S') 'S experience loss of o' and causative O-L-i 'S remove o from O', see -le 15a.-c., and with Gl-le.:* **tl'its'xah Ga:nsAliL** the ground has become free, clear of mud *L.*

xah2 *(perhaps related to xwa~xa~xAwa, 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, 7a.2, 22, 34, 43L, 37b, 9, 9, 71A, 47c.55, 58L, 63.4, 6, 8, 13, 24, 67.6G, 68.102, 102, 103A, Rezanov* Лиха 'Медвѣдь Bär', *Anonymous* Ілиха 'Медведь', *Khromchenko* Наха 'Медведь' **lixah** (< **n**-), *Wrangell* Леха 'Bär', *Furuhjelm* Liha 'bear (brown)', *Galushia Nelson* lɪχ̱a' *or* lɪxa' 'brown bear' *BSdL 538,* **lixahyu:** grizzly-bears *25.178, 37b.20A,* **lixahyAquhyu:** brownbear cubs *18.83L,* **lixah'i:nda:'** brownbear-face *(as mask) 47b.36M, 47c.44L,* lìxá'lìɛɒà' *or* lìxáyìɒà' name of Basket Pattern 9. ("brown-bear-ulna") *BSdL 547, illustrated in BSdL 82* **lixahyAda'** browbear forearm, *Galushia Nelson* lɪxa' wʊla'ɪyu 'brown bear people' *BSdL 279* **lixahwAlahyu:**, **lixahya' ta:'e'X** along a grizzly-bear's trail *18.4L,* **lixahya' ch'e'yAq'd** in some grizzly-bear's dung *18.6L,* **lixahya' duxL** grizzly-bear's dung *18.6L,* **lixahya' duxL** grizzly-bear trap *L,* **lixahluw** big brownbear *LM,* **xu: lixah**, **lixah q'Al xu:** I'm a brownbear *L,* **lixahga' 'u'sLitsa'L** it turned out to look like a brownbear *L,* **silAXahd lixah q'A'Aw** 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, lA- > li- where no longer identified as such, the shift of earlier -A- to -i- being quite regular in stems before or after earlier (non-labialized) g, k, k', x, earlier lAx therefore regularly modern lix; theme perhaps l-xwa~-xa 'S grow', here perhaps 'overgrown' (though the lack of labialization is puzzling), cf. l-L-'ya 'S grow old' and 'AdsLi'yahL 'monster, giant'. Grizzly- or brownbears are also frequently referred to indirectly by k'u-indefinite pronoun as o of o-y-da'-X 'into the clutches of o', o-y-'e'-d 'place of (absent) o's handiword'.*

xahd *(xwahd A only)*

xahd *(xahd-(g-)L G only; noun, unclassified)* barbed spear head, harpoon head *(on end of gahgL) LMS (S twice, no labialization)*: **xwahd** spear point *A,* **xahdL**, **xahdgL** *(with -L- instrumental, optional -g-repetitive, both probably incorrect)* spear head *G, 63.29, 64.3G, Jacobsen* katt 'harpoon head', katt-klistilkrat'l 'copper harpoon arrowhead for sea otter' *BSdL 110 probably to be read* **xahd …**, *Galushia Nelson* x̱at' 'harpoon head' *BSdL 549,* **xahd'a'luw** big barbed harpoon point *LM,* **xahd 'uXAla'X li' dAya:'** (*or* **li' dAtah**) groove at end of shaft where xahd is inserted < xahd is hung deeply on it *L. These are described and their uses discussed in BSdL 109-111, 115-117; Plate 13 contains photographs of several.*

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O-**L-xahd** S make O (xahd), S make O into xahd: **'Aw k'uda: qu'xLxahd** I'll make that file into a xahd *L; passive:* **sdixahdL** it's been shaped into a xahd (piece of metal with barbs cut into it, for

use as harpoon head) *L.*

xahL *(xwahL attested from A only, unknown to S; perhaps xah-L, cf. xwa:g~)*

'Ad-dA-xahL *(attested in reflexive only)* S take steambath, sweatbath: **'AdxdAxahL** I'm taking a sweatbath *L,* **'AdxsdixahL** I took a sweetbath *L,* **'AdAdAxahL** take a sweatbath! *L,* **'Adqu'xdAxwahL** *A,* **'Adqu'xdAxahL** I'll take a sweatbath *LMA,* **'AddAxa:Lk'inh** he (cust) takes a sweatbath *LM.*

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qi' 'Adk'udAxahL *(noun, apparently unclassified)* sweathouse < place where one takes a sweatbath *LM*: *53.7L. Sweathouses are discussed in BSdL 44.*

xahs~xa's~xa:s~xwa:s *(expanded form xa:s~xwa:s regularly in Neuter imperfective and in non-verbal forms, xahs~xa's in other mode-aspects, but also occasionally (analogically?) xa:s~xwa:s, with xahs favored by L in Active perfective, xa's in Inceptive imperfective; expanded form L usually xa:s, occasionally xwa:s, M always xa:s, A xwa:s once, xa:s once, G xwa:s twice, S xwa:s, Rezanov xwa:s twice, xa:s twice)*

xwa:s~xa:s *(noun, unclassified) (of limited syntactic occurrence)* lucky, ominous, tabu, dangerous, strange: **xa:s q'A'Aw** it's a lucky one *(e.g. of strange fish, not to be eaten or hurt) L,* **xa:s yiLeh** it's bad luck, tabu *L; adverbialized with -dah:* **xa:sdah k'usAliL** something strange (unprecedented and ominous) has happened *L,* **xa:sdah k'uleh** something strange is happening *(one says this when one sees e.g. a fish one has never seen before) L.*

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xwa:sAXe' *L,* **xa:sAXe'** *(noun, unclassified)* soap < magic grease, tabu grease *LM*: *Rezanov* Хассухе 'Мыло Seife', Хасъ-ахе 'Свѣча ('candle') Licht, Talglicht', **xa:sAXe't'u'** lots of soap *M,* **xa:sAXe'luw** big hunk of soap *L.*

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O-**'-L-xa:s** S abstain from, avoid tabu O: **'u'GALxa:s** avoid it!, don't break tabu (in order to stay lucky)! *L,* **'u'siLxa:sL** I avoided it, abstained from it (something tabu) *L; with 'Ad reflexive pronoun as preverb, phonologically fused with verb:* **'Adu'GALxa:s** don't break tabu! *L,* **'Adu'siLxa:sL** I observed tabu *L,* **'Adu'GAxLxa:sL** I'm observing tabu *L,* **'Ad k'u'sALxa:sL** someone, people fasted (during Lent) *L; reflexive, with 'Ad treated regularly, with vocalic classifier, perhaps analogical:* **'Adk'u'Lixa:sL** someone, people are fasting, abstaining (during Lent) *(Neuter perfective) M,* **'Adu'xLixa:s** I'm abstaining, observing tabu *(Neuter imperfective) L.*

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lX-LA-xahs~-xa's~-xa:s~-xwa:s *(with lX-thematic, phonologically irregular, realized -lAX- instead of -lAXA- in positive Neuter imperfective (except with second person pl. S), and probably optionally in Active perfective negative, Inceptive imperfective, cust; regular (-lAXA-) in transitive with L-classifier, but -lAX- probably optionally in reflexive with LA-classifier; see also O-'-lX-LA-xahs(~etc.))* S be, become afraid, scared: *Neuter imperfective:* **lAXxwLixwa:s** *AS,* **lAXxLixwa:s** *G,* **lAXxLixa:s** I'm scared *LM,* **dik' lAXa'xLAxa:sG** I'm not scared *L,* **lAXLixa:ssh** are you scared? *L,* **dik'sh lAXa'LAxa:sG** aren't you scared? *L, Rezanov* Ляхлехоасе 'Ровкой ('shy (timid)') furchtsam' **lAXLixwa:sinh**, **lAXLixwa:s** *G,* **lAXLixa:sinh** he's scared *L,* **da: lAXLixa:s**, **da: qAlAXLixa:s** we're scared *L,* **qAlAXa:nlAXLixa:ssh** are you pl. scared? *L,* **dik'sh lAXa'lAXLAxa:sG** aren't you pl. scared? *L,* **lAXLixa:sinu:** *18.65L,* **qAlAXLixa:sinu:** they're scared *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **qu'lAXAxLAxa:s** *L (once),* **qu'lAXAxLAxa's** I'll be scared *L (4 times),* **qu'lAXALAxa:s** you'll be scared *L,*

qu'lAXALAxa:sinh, qu'lAXLAxa:sinh he'll be scared *L,* **da: qu'(qA)lAX(A)LAxa:s** we'll be scared *L,* **qu'qAlAXa:lAXLAxa:s** you pl. will be scared *L,* **qu'qAlAXLAxa:s** they'll be scared *L, Inceptive perfective:* **lAXAGAxLAxa:sL** *L (twice),* **lAXAGAxLAxahsL** I'm getting scared *L (4 times),* **lAXAGALAxa:sLsh** are you getting scared? *L,* **lAXAGALAxa:sinh** he's getting scared *L,* **lAXAGAlAXLAxa:sLsh**, **qAlAXAGAlAXLAxa:sLsh** are you pl. getting scared? *L, Active perfective:* **lAXxsLixahsL** I get scared *L (6 times),* **dik' lAXAxsLAxahsLG**, **dik' lAXxsLAxahsLG** I didn't get scared *L,* **lAXsLixa:sLsh** did you get scared? *M,* **dik'sh lAXAsLAxa:sLG** didn't you get scared? *M,* **lAXsLixahsinu:**, **lAXsLixahsL** they got scared *19.19, 34.106, 106L, Active optative:* **dA'u:d lAXa:nLixa:s** it's alright if you're scared *L,* **dA'u:d lAXa:nlAXLixa:s** it's alright if you pl. are scared *L, Active conditional:* **lAXi'xLAxahs da:X** just as I was starting to get scared *L, customary:* **lAXLAxa:sk'inh** he's (cust) scared *L,* **dik' lAXLAxa:sk'Ginh** he's (cust) not scared *L, Active perfective repetitive:* **lAXxsLixa:gL** I got scared *L,* **lAXsLixa:sgL** you got scared *L,* **lAXsLixa:sgLinh** he got scared *L. Transitive (causative):* **xulAXAGi:LxahsL** you're scaring me *L,* **xulAXAsALxahsL** you scared me *L,* **xulAXAsALxahsLinh** *(or* **-xa's-**, *but not -xa:s-)* he scared me *L,* **lAXAGALxahsinh** (*or* **-xa's-**) scare him! *L, usually repetitive,* S threaten O, try to scare O, S scare O: **'iqe'lAXi:xLxahsg** I'll try to scare you, I'll threaten you *L,* **ya'Xu: xuqu'lAXi:Lxa'sg** don't threaten me *L, repetitive thematized:* **lAXAxLxa:sginh** I'm scaring him *M,* **'ilAXAxwLxa:sg** M, **'ilAXAxLxa:sg** I'm threatening you, I'm scaring you *LM,* **xulAXi:xLxa:sg** you're scaring me *M,* **'ilAXAsiLxa:sgL** I scared you *L,* **xulAXAGi:Lxa:sgL** you're starting to scare me *M,* **qu'lAXi:xLxa:sginh** I'll scare him *M,* **'iqe'lAXi:xLxa:sg** I'll scare you *L; with 'Ad reflexive pronoun used preverbally,* S scare O *(meaning not clearly distinguished from that of causative without preverbal 'Ad):* **'Ad xulAXAsALxahsLinh** *(or* **-xa's-**, *but not -xa:s-)* he scared me *(same as* ***xulAXAsALxahsLinh****) L,* **'Adsh 'ilAXAsiLxahsL** did I scare you? *L,* **'Ad qu'lAXi:xLxahs** I'll scare it *L, repetitive:* **'Ad xulAXALxahsginh** *(not -xa's-)* he keeps scaring me *L, with repetitive thematized:* **'Ad lAXa:Lxahsginh** scare him! *L,* **'Ad lAXAxwLxa:sginh** I'm scaring him *M,* **'Ad 'iqe'lAXi:xLxa:sg** I'll scare you *M,* **'Ad q'e' lAXi:xLxa:sginh** I'll scare him again *M; (direct) reflexive, with repetitive thematized:* **'Ad-lAXxsLixa:sgL** I scared myself *L,* **'Ad-lAXxLAxa:sg** I'm scaring myself *L,* **'Adqu'lAXAxLAxa:sg** I'll scare myself *L.*

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O-**'-lX-LA-xahs~-xa's~-xa:s~-xwa:s** S be, become scared, afraid of O: *Neuter imperfective:* **'anh 'Aw 'u'lAXLixa:sinh** she was afraid of it *28.16A,* **'anh 'u'lAXxLixa:s** I'm afraid of him *L,* **'u'lAXxLixa:s** I'm scared of it, I'm afraid of it *L, 71.14LM,* **dik' 'u:lAXa'xLAxa:sG** I'm not afraid of it *L,* **dik' 'u'qAlAXa'xLAxa:sGinu:**, **dik' 'u:qAlAXa'xLAxa:sGinu:** I'm not afraid of them *L,* **'i'lAXxLixa:s** I'm afraid of you *L,* **'u'qAlAXLixa:sinu:shuh** are you afraid of them? *L,* **xu'lAXLixa:sinh** he's afraid of me *L,* **'i'lAXLixa:sinh**, **'anh 'i'lAXLixa:s** he's afraid of you *L,* **'i'lAXLixa:s**, **'Aw 'i'lAXLixa:s** it's afraid of you *L,* **lAXi'lAXLixa:sinh** he's afraid of you pl. *L,* **qa: 'u'lAXLixa:sinh** he's afraid of us *L,* **k'u'lAXLixa:s** he's afraid of something *L, other mode-aspects:* **'u'qu'lAXAxLAxa's** I'll get scared of him *L,* **dik' 'u'qu'lAXAxLAxa'sG** I won't be scared of him *L,* **xu'qu'lAXALAxa's** she'll be scared of me *L (twice),* **'i'lAXxsLixahsL** I got scared of you *L (3 times),* **xu'lAXAGALAxa'sLinh** *(or* **-xahs-**, *but* **-xa's-** *perhaps preferred)* he's getting scared of me *L.*

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lAXisxwa:s *(gerundive)* fear, danger: *Rezanov* Яхульхысхосъ 'Не бось fürchte nicht!' **ya'Xu: lAXisxwa:s** let there not be fear, don't fear, *with -dah abverbializer:* **lAXisxwa:sdah 'ida'dAXah** a scary story is being told *L.*

xwah~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-xwah~-xah** *(postposition) (attested only with d-thematic, perhaps 'oral, noise' with zero and perhaps -ch' final, but not attested with repetitive, customary, or Inceptive perfective, with which -ch' final might occur)* by o's command, orders, o making, forcing S to act: **'udAxwah wAX siliLinh** he made me do it (do thus) *L,* **'anhdAxwah wAX siLiLinh** he made me do it (do thus to it) *L,* **'idAxwah 'Aw wAX 'a'Le:hinh** make him do it! < let him do thus to it at your command *L,* **'anhdAxwah XAsiyahL** he made me eat it *L,* **sidAxwah** because I said so, because I told him to *M,* **'Al 'idAxwah 'iqa:X** have it (let it at your command) carry this in its teeth *L,* **'i: 'idAxwah 'Aw k'iya' dAsA'iL** you *told* him to spill it *L,* **xu: sidAxwah q'unh 'Aw dAxa:gL** *I* told him to do that job *L,* **'udAxah 'ixginhinu:** they're making me dance *L,* **sidAxah 'Adqu'LA'u:G** I'll make you rest *M.*

xa' *(initial never labialized by L, labialized in one of four instances from A; perhaps related to xi:ya'X)*

xa' *(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 preverbial position and as O of 'iL-yAq' O-(L-)ta, 'iL-yAq' 'apart, open, outspread' (of eyes, legs, arms, cheek, joint or corner), O-(L-)ta 'S position O'*: **'iLyAq' xa' GAta'** open your mouth! *L,* **'iLyAq' xa' 'i:LtahL** he has his mouth open *L,* **'iLyAq' sALtahL** it (flower) opened up (like mouth) *L.*

2. eating, appetite: *only in* **yAX 'i:lih xa' dAxda'ya:X** I'm hungry but don't know for what *L, analysis uncertain, see separate subentry under 'ya and 'i:li:-'i:lih- 2a. under le(')~li.*

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-xa'- *(noun, d-class, or perhaps postposition o-xa'-d- with d-final)* 1. bite (of o): *as o of o-'e'-d 'nominalization of place of o':* **ts'iyuxxa'dA'e'd** mosquito bite *L.*

2. food for (o), for (o) to eat, within (o's) eating-range: *as o of o-k'ah 'away from o':* **'ixa'dAk'ah siLyahL** I took it away from you while you were eating it *L,* **sixa'dAk'ah 'Aw sALyahLinh** he took it from me while I was eating it *L, as o of o-ch' 'to o':* **'uxa'dAch' k'uGAxta:L** I'm putting something to within range of where it can eat *L, as o of o-xa' 'by, near o':* **'ixa'dAXa' ya:n' siLtahL** I set it down by you where you can eat it *L,* **'ixa'dAXa' siLtahL** I took food away from you *L (perhaps in error for 'ixa'dA-Xahd), as o of o-wahd 'for (the sake of) o':* **dAxu: 'ixa'dAwahd qu'xLinh** I'll cook it for you (prepare it for your eating) myself *L,* **lah 'ixa'dAwahd siLiL** here! I cooked it for you *L, in indirect reflexive constructions:* **dA'a: 'Awa: xwa'dAwahd 'Aw LAle:k'inh** she herself (cust) prepares it for herself to eat *25.32A,* **'Al 'a:nd xa'dAwahd xsLiyahL** this which I put here for myself to eat *10.82A,* **xa'dAwahd 'idit'ehyu:** things kept for themselves to eat *11.10A,* **Li'q' 'Al dAXunhyu: xa'dAwahd 'iLit'ehyu:** 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'dAga' 'a'LAt'e:** cook it just right for yourself to eat! *L.*

xwa'ch'~xa'ch' *(labialization pattern unusual: Rezanov xwa'ch' (at least 3 times), but S, who almost always agrees with Rezanov xa'ch' twice, xwa'ch' once, L and M more often xa'ch', but frequently also xwa'ch', A xa'ch' once, xwa'ch' once; perhaps related to xwAdj~xudj~xAch'~xuch')*

O-**xwa'ch'~-xa'ch'** S tie O (knot, cord, O to something), S knot O: **'Axa'ch'** tie a knot! *L,* **'Axwa'ch'** tie it! *LS,* **xxa'ch'** I'm tying a knot *M,* **qu'xxa'ch'** I'll tie a knot *L,* **sixa'ch'L** I tied a knot *L,* **k'ushixa'ch'L** I tied something *L,* **da: xa:ch'k'** we (cust) tie a knot *L, (indirect reciprocal) with 'iLu' (li') qa' 'up out (deeply) through each other':* **'iLu' li' qa' GAxa'ch'** tie them together (through each other)! *L, Rezanov* Итлюкаожихачль *(*o *uncertain)* 'Узель Knoten' **'iLu' qa' ('Aw?) shixa'ch'L** I knotted them together, *with o-q' 'on o':* **k'uXehL 'uq' GAxa'ch'**

tie a string on (around) it *L,* **da:q' GAxwa'ch'** tie it up (to indeterminate o)! *L,* **da:q' qu'xxwa'ch'** I'll tie it up *L, with class-mark for O:* **qi:li:xwa'ch'** knot it (rope)! *L,* **qi:lAGAxa'ch'** tie it (rope)! *S,* **da:q' qi:lAGAxa'ch'** tie it (rope, onto something)! *L,* **'Aw Ge:ts' dAkinhq' gu:xa'ch'** tie that spruceroot on a stick! *L,* **'utsin'da'd ne:tl' 'Awa: gu:xa'ch'** first knot the end of it (thread)! *L, repetitive:* **da:q' 'Aw xwa'ch'ginh** she kept tying them (one after another) onto things *18.21L,* **xxa'ch'g** I'm tying (trying to tie?) a knot *L; indirect reflexive:* **'i:na'q' GAdAxa'ch'** tie it around (onto) your head! *L, see also nominalizations below; passive:* **'idixa'ch'L** knot is tied *A,* **'Awtsin'da' 'idixa'ch'L** it's tied to the end of it *L (Neuter perfectives),* **da:q' sdixwa'ch'L** it's tied up (on something) *L,* **'iLu' qa' shdixa'ch'L** they're knotted together *L, with class-mark for O:* **gushdixa'ch'L** it (string) has a knot in it *L, with l-anatomical:* **'iLu' qa' li' 'i:nshdixa'ch'Lga' 'Adi:nLit'inhinh** 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.*

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O-**d-xa'ch'** *(with d-thematic, meaning apparently not clearly distinguished from that of preceding, see also nominalizations below)* S tie O (knot, cord, O to something), S knot O: *with g-class-mark for O:* **gAdishixa'ch'L** I tied it (string) *M; passive:* **disdixa'ch'L** knot is tied *S.*

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o-**X** O-**L-xa'ch'** *(L-classifier with o-X 'in contact with o')* S fix position of O by tying to o: **'iLX siLxa'ch'L** *(not sixa'ch'L)* I tied them together *L; passive:* **'iLX sLixa'ch'L** they've been tied together *L (indirect reciprocals).*

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'i:na'q' dAxwa'ch' *(noun, unclassified)* babushka, kerchief *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective, indirect reflexive,* < it's tied over one's head.

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yAda'q' dAxa'ch' *(noun, unclassified)* wristwatch *L*: **silAXahd xu: siya' yAda'q' dAxa'ch' sAsinhL** I thought *my* wristwatch stopped (died) *L. As above,* < it's tied on one's forearm, wrist.

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yAda'q' xwa'ch'L *(attested only in Rezanov, probable reading)* bracelet (?): *Rezanov* Итакохоачель 'Зарукавье' *(not in Radlov, 'bracelet'?). Probably -L-instrumental deverbalization of preceding.*

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dAga'q'L… xwa'ch'L *(noun) (correct form uncertain)* neckerchief *(anything tied around neck)*: *Rezanov* Тыкаклихочель 'Ожерелье ('necklace') Halsschmuck', Тыкаклихуачель 'Платокъ ('kerchief') Halstuch', **dAga'q'L dAxwa'ch'L** *L,* **k'udAga'q'L dAxwa'ch'L** something tied around one's neck *M. Forms all problematical in lacking postposition, probably o-q', with -dAga'q'L; Rezanov forms probably -L-instrumental deverbalizations as in preceding, but forms from L and M are either a blend of dAxwa'ch' and xwa'ch'L or are -L-instrumental deverbalizations of passive of O-d-xwa'ch'.*

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xwa'ch', xa'ch'L *(noun, unclassified) (with optional -L-instrumental)* knot *L*: **k'u'luw xa'ch'L** big knot *L.*

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-d-L-xa'ch'(-g)-L *(noun) (with d-class-mark with -ni:k', -ni:ch' 'nose', L-classifier, optional -g-repetitive, -L-instrumental)* : *in* **'ini:k'AdALxa'ch'gL** the septum of your nose *L,* **sini:k'AdALxa'ch'L**, **sini:ch'AdALxa'ch'L** the septum of my nose *L.*

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GAdAshAxa'ch' *LM,* **GAdAshAxwa'ch'** *A (noun, unclassified) (probably with d-thematic, perhaps as in O-d-xa'ch' or perhaps 'fire, bright', and G- and s-thematic, cf. GAsAtsah; L also earlier GAdAshAxa'ch'L, with -L-suffix, probably analogical)* wick: **GAdAshAxa'ch'L Xu' 'a'Lih** make a wick! *L,* **GAdAshAxa'ch'luw** big wick *L.*

xa:nih *(perhaps loan from Athapaskan, PA *xân-î 'old one, thing that is old', and related thus, or perhaps directly, to Eyak xwa(~etc.); cf. also Tlingit (Boas) -šan' 'old', -šan 'poor', -šàn 'old person, poor thing', xen '??? salmon')*

xa:nih *(noun, unclassified)* very old salmon, ready to die, red and turning yellow in spots *LS*: **xa:nih sALe'L** it (salmon) got very old *L.*

xan'Lq' *(perhaps to be analyzed xan'L-q' with Xan'L as o of o-q' 'on o'; initial not labialized by S or G)*

xan'Lq' *(adverb)* very, very much, quite, extremely, violently, greatly, mightily, a lot *LMS*: **xan'Lq' 'idixAXwahd** so it's greatly ebb *3.14M,* **xan'Lq' ki:nXinh** "cried like hell" *4.14M,* **xan'Lq' xwik'a'd** I'm very sick *47c.19L,* **xan'Lq' sAtsu'dLinh** fell deep asleep *56.25L,* **xan'Lq' tsa' yiLeh** it's quite deep *M,* **xan'Lq' k'uxtsinh** I'm singing loudly, **dik' 'u:la'xLga:G k'e:'wAXdunhga' xan'Lq' k'uXa:k'** I don't know why he (cust) eats so very much *M,* **xan'Lq' sigwa'L** I'm very tired *G,* **xan'Lq' siwut'L** I vomited a lot *M,* **xan'Lq' sdikihdL** lots of dry snow fell *L,* **xan'Lq' diL qi' k'u:Leh** place where it's very bloody *L,* **xan'Lq' qi' q'a' k'usALe'L** place where it got very bushy *L, modified by other adverbs:* **'a'd xan'Lq'** *(always in that order)* very much *L,* **'a'd xan'Lq' silAX 'i:Lin'inh** he's very much taller than I *M,* **'a'd xan'Lq' tsa' yiLeh** it's extremely deep *M,* **'idehdah xan'Lq' 'udahd 'u'la:LAya:k'** its sound is (cust) heard quite loudly *60.20A,* **'ida: xan'Lq' k'uXAsahL la'q' sAq'Ats'L** he's eaten so very much he burst *15.27M.*

xu:~xu~xw~x *(probably related to si- first person singular pronominal possessive and o of postposition, from irregular PAE alternation *xw~š~s)*

xu: *(independent personal pronoun)* I, me *LM*: *Rezanov* Ху '*Я* Ich', *Anonymous and Baranov* Ху '*Я*', *Khromchenko* Ху '*Я*', *Wrangell* Ху-у 'Ich', *in non-verbal clauses:* **'i: da:X xu:** you and I *M,* **xu: da:X …** I and … *70.2A,* **xu: lixah** I (am) a grizzly-bear *L,* **xu: GALqa' 'i:nah** I'm the middle one (of siblings) *L,* **dik' xu:G** not me *L,* **xu:sh 'idah** am I alright?, will I do? *34.5M,* **xu: k'a'** let it be *me*, let *me* do it *L, Rezanov* Кустахъ-у 'Пожалуй ('likely, indeed') gut' **gw[e]hsdah xu:**, **gehsdah xu:** poor me!, please! *M,* **ts'id xu:** just me, only I *M,* **'anhch'a:ch' xu:** I'm the next one < next to him in age am I *L,* **'iqa'kih xu:** I your "dear husband" *(sardonic) 27a.45L,* **k'e:chi:d xu:** how about me?, what about *me*? *34.9, 13M, 23, 28, 32, 36, 43L, 53, 58M,* **xu: q'A'Aw** that's me *21b.63A,* **xu: q'A'Al** it's me, this is me *25.90A,* **'i:shuh – 'a:n, xu: q'A'Al** hello – hello < is it you? – yes, it's me *L,* **du:dA'i: – xu: q'A'Al – du: xu:d** who are you? – it's me – who is "me"? *(Minnie and/or Scar Stevens (in Li))* **… q'Al xu:** I am … < … this is, I *10.227, 25.162A,* **lixah q'Al xu:** I'm a grizzly-bear *L,* **'i'ihX lah q'Al xu:** I'm your junior *L,* **dA'a:ndAlahG q'Al xu:** I'm a local *L,* **'a:nd xu:**, also combined **'a:ndAxu:** I'm here *LM,* **di'wAX 'a:nd xu:dAwa: 'Adya:ndAkus** while I'm still here wash your hands! *L, amphasizing S:* **xu: k'uch'iya' xiLeh** *I*'m a good hunter *42.2L,* **xu: di:yAX dAXunh GuxwLe'LG** *I* was not yet born *57.2G,* **'Al *mAnndi:*yAq'd q'A'Aw xu: qu'xwqe:** this *Monday* it is I'll boat off *62.26G,* **xu: wAX 'AxLi:k'** *I* do thus to it *65.11A,* **dik' 'Awa: xu: 'Awa: 'AwlA'e: tsin'duxle:[G]** but I wasn't the one though that speak differently *68.115A,* **neh, xu: k'uqu'xLGAdjg** never mind, *I*'ll paddle *71.19LM,* **yAX xu: 'ixdAga'X** I'm dancing around *L,* **q'Ale' xu: wAX qu'xLih** now *I*'ll do it *L, Rezanov* Хуаткооха 'Домой nach Hause' **xu: … qu'xah** *I* shall go …, хукутеяшъ 'Бабка повивальная Hebamme' *I*'ll give birth *M, emphasizing O:* **xu: k'a' 'u'lAXa:LAtsi:ndz** (*or*

xu’lAXa:LAtsi:ndz) dream about *me L, emphasizing possessive prefix: Rezanov* Хуссы-а 'Надовно bedurfen (ich b.?)', *Khromchenko* Ху-сія 'Моя' **xu: siya’** (it's) *mine L, Galushia Nelson* x̱ʷusi ya’ x̱əwa’ 'my dog' *BSdL 556* **xu: siya’ XAwa: k’uzu:, ’i: ’iya’ k’ushiyah** my dog is good, yours is no good *L,* **xu: siya’ k’udzu:, ’i: ’iya’ k’ushiyah** mine is good, yours is no good *L,* **xu: siXa’** *I*'ve got it (the key) *L,* **xu: siXa’ q’Ama:** *I*'ve got roe *40.6L,* **xu: siga’** like *me 51.84, 70.8A, Rezanov* Хужича 'Дай geben (Imperat.)' **xu: shich’a’** to *me*, *Khromchenko* Хуля накукнѣ 'Я люблю' **xu:**[**’u**]**lah** (**-nah**) **qe’xwneh** *I* love it, *emphasizing possessive pronoun: Galushia Nelson* x̱ʷusi ya’ ni·k’ 'my nose' *BSdL 556* **xu: sini:k’** *my* nose, x̱ʷusi laqa 'my head' **xu: silAqah**, x̱ʷusi t’cɬi *or* sɪ t’cɬi 'my arm' **xu: sich’Alih**, αⁿɒax̱u· la·x̱(?) 'our (he and I) eyes' *BSdL 557, probably to be corrected to* **’anh da:X xu: qa:la:X** he and I, our eyes; *with certain enclitics -gih~-gi- 'too, also' (used only with independent personal pronouns), -dAg- 'too, also', -sh interrogative: Furuhjelm* Hutak 'I' **xu:dAg** *M,* **xu:gih** *LM, 46.18M,* **xu:gidAg** *MS,* **xu:gidig** me too, I also *21b.74A,* **xu:dAg ’idAxLih q’A’Aw** I (too) am feeling the same way, just as bad as you *L,* **xu:gidAg ’iqe’di:xLih** I'll feel just as bas as you; I'll knit too *L,* **xu:gidug dik’** me neither (I too not) *L,* **dik’sh xu:gih** (can)not I too? *L,* **xu:gihsh**, **xu:gihshdAg**, **xu:gidAgsh** me too? *L; with proclitic dA-* 'ipse'*: Rezanov* Тыху 'Самъ, сама selbst (ich?)' **dAxu:** I myself *9.25, 26A, 53.28L,* let *me* do that *M,* **neh, dAxu: wAX qu’xLih** never mind, give it here, I'll do it (to it) myself *LM,* **dAxu: ’AdxsLilahL** I saved *myself L,* **dAxu: siya: ’idAxLih** I'm knitting it for *myself L,* **dAxu: ’Ad qu’ti:xdA’eh** *I*'ll put it over *my* shoulders *L,* **dAxu: ’ixa’dAwahd qu’xLih** I'll cook for you myself *L,* **dAxu: siya’ XAwa:** my own dog *L,* **’idehdah dAxu: sita:’** my real father (really my own father) *L,* **dAxu:gidug** me too *L, with proclitic dlAGA- 'alone' (used only with independent personal pronouns):* **dlAGAxu:** just me all alone, I'm alone *LM (L rejects combination with dA-* 'ipse'*, not *dlAGAdAxu: or *dAdlAGAxu:),* **k’Ade:dah dlAGAxu: ’a:nda’ ’AxLya:’G** I can't bring them all alone *11.44A.*

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xu-~xw-~x- *(verb prefix)* me *(first person singular direct object pronoun of verb, see grammar).*

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x-~xw- *(verb prefix)* I *(first person singular subject pronoun, see grammar).*

xu’tl’~xitl’~xutl’~xAtl’ *(reduced form xitl'~xutl'~xAtl', also xwitl', xwAtl', variants listed in order of frequency, not including occurrences in Austerlitz's notes: xitl' L 22 times, M 22 times, A 12 times, Minnie and/or Scar Stevens (Li) once, Rezanov хытль 3 times, хетль 3 times, Wrangell хетль once; xutl' L 13 times, M twice, A twice, S 4 times, Galushia Nelson (BSdL) 7 times, Old Man Dude (BSdL) once; xAtl' L twice, G (Li) 5 times, Khromchenko twice, Furuhjelm twice, Anonymous once, Baranov once; xwitl' A 4 times (once in Li); xwAtl' A once, Galushia Nelson (Reynolds ms.) once; expanded xe:tl')*

O-**xu’tl’**(**-g**) *(with optional -g-repetitive, partly thematized, generally referring to repeated puffs)* S blow on O: *Anonymous and Baranov* Хутлкъ 'Восдухъ' ('air') **xxu’tl’g** I'm blowing on it, **xusAxu’tl’Linh** he blew on me *L,* **’Axu’tl’** blow (on it)! *L, with d-class-mark for O:* **di:xu’tl’** blow on the fire! *L; usually with indeterminate O and preverbs, postpositional phrases: with qa' 'up out': 10.5A,* **k’u’luw qe’yiLteh qa:nch’ ’ixu’tl’g** a big whale was spouting out *11.154A,* **qa’ ’isAxu’tl’L** it (e.g. whale) spouted *L,* **qa:nch’ ’ixu’tl’g** bubbles are coming up to surface where school of fish is swimming < they (repeatedly) blow up out *L, with o-yAq' 'into o (not with broad opening at top)': 34.101L,* **’uyAq’ ’iGAxu’tl’**, **’uyAq’ ’iGAxu’tl’g** *M,* **’uyAq’ ’i:xu’tl’g** blow into it! *L,* **’uyAq’ ’iqe’xxu’tl’g** I'll blow into it *L,* **’AwyAq’Ach’ ’ixu’tl’ginh** he's blowing into it (pipe) *L,* **’uyAq’ k’u’xu:tl’k’** one (cust) blows into it *L, with o-ya' 'into o (with broad opening at top)':* **’uya’ch’ ’ixxu’tl’g** I'm blowing on it (e.g bowl of soup) *L,* **’uya’ch’ ’i:xu’tl’g** you're

blowing on it *L,* **'Awya'ch' 'ixu'tl'ginh** he's blowing on it *L,* **ya'Xu: 'uya'ch' 'iqe'yi'xu'tl'g** don't blow on it *L, detransitivized with indeterminate O and vocalic classifier, with o-ch' 'toward, at o':* **'uch' 'ixsdixu'tl'L** I blew at it *L,* **sich' 'idAxu'tl'g** it (cat) is "spitting", hissing (in anger) at me *L,* **'ich' 'iqe'dAxu'tl'g** it (cat) will "spit" at you L; *indirect reflexive, with o-yAq'e:q' 'into o's hand':* **yAtl'e:q' 'iGAdAxu'tl'L** he's blowing on his hands (to warm them) *L.*

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k'uxu'tl' *(noun, unclassified)* killerwhale, blackfish, pilot whale *L (probably includes 'Pacific killer whale (Orcines orca)', Pacific blackfish (Globicephala scammoni)', and perhaps also 'grampus (Grampus griseus)')*: *Rezanov* Кохутль 'Касатка Delphinus, orca oder leucas', *Galushia Nelson* ɢoxu·t'ł 'whale or walrus' *BSdL 539,* ɢuxut'ł wʊlá'ʻiyù 'blackfish people' *BSdL 282, 539* **k'uxu'tl'wAlahyu:**. *Nominalized Active perfective, apparently* < it blows on something.

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qe'xu:tl' *(noun, unclassified)* porpoise, dolphin *LSG (probably includes 'longsnout dolphin (Stenella styx), right whale dolphin (Lissodelphus borealis), Pacific white-sided dolphin (Lagnorhynchus obliquidens), Pacifix harbour porpoise (Phocoena vomerina), Dall porpoise (Phocoenoides dalli)')*: *Rezanov* Кейхутль 'Свинкая морская Delphinus', *Anonymous and Baranov* Кихутль 'Свинья' ('pig'), *Galushia Nelson* qä'xutł 'porpoise' *BSdL 539,* k'ä́'x̱út'ł wùlá'ìyù 'porpoise people' *BSdL 280, 539* **qe'xu:tl'wAlahyu:**. *Nominalized Active imperfective with expanded stem, indeterminate O and qa' 'up out', < qa' 'ixu:tl' 'it spouts'.*

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'uX k'udAxu'tl'g(L?) *(noun) (attested in Rezanov only)* bellows: *Rezanov* Оккотехутль 'Мъха Blasebalg'. *Nominalized Active imperfective,* < by means of it one blows on something (d-class, fire).

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dAq'a:g 'uX dAdAxu'tl'g *(noun)* bellows *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective repetitive,* < by means of it fire is blown upon.

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dAxu'tl'g *(noun) (attested in BSdL only)* blowgun: *Galushia Nelson* ɒə̀x̱út'łk 'blowgun' *BSdL 551. Nominalized passive Active imperfective repetitive, apparently* < it is blown upon *(see also dAxu'tl'g 'balloon' below).*

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'u(dA)yAq'(Ach') k'u'xu'tl'g *(noun)* whistle, flute, bugle: **'udAyAq'Ach' k'u'xu'tl'g** bugle *L, Rezanov* Утекахутлькъ 'Дудка Flöte' **'udAyAq' k'u'xu'tl'g** *or perhaps to be read* **'udAyAq' 'Axu'tl'g** blow into it (flute)!, *Galushia Nelson* úyə́q'èt'c ɢù x̱ùt'łk' *or* úyúɢà·tc ɢùxùt'łk' 'whistle' ("into blowing") *BSdL 552* **'uyAq'Ach' k'u'xu'tl'g.** *Nominalized Active imperfective repetitive with indeterminate O and k'u-indefinite S, o-(d-)yAq'(-ch') '(continuously) into o' (with optional d-thematic 'noise').*

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qi'dAX 'Aw qa:nch' 'ixu'tl'g blowhole < place through which it (whale) repeatedly blows upward: **'Aw qi'dAX 'Aw qa:nch' 'ixu'tl'gda:X q'Aw 'AwyAq' yAX dAsALk'a't'L** through its blowhole it was he (Raven) flew down into it (whale) *11.155A.*

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O-**L-xu'tl'** S move O by blowing on it: **siLxu'tl'L** I blew on it (so it moved) *L,* **'u:dik'ah siLxu'tl'L** I blew it away from there *L,* **qid siLxu'tl'L** I blew it (down) off *L.*

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ya:X O-**Xdl-L-xu'tl'** *(with ya:X 'consumption, destruction')* S blow O (fire, light out): *Rezanov* Яхатлякальхутльке 'Тасиы auslöschen' **ya:X XAdla:GALxu'tl'Linh** he's blowing it

(fire) out *L,* **ya:X XAdla:siLxu'tl'L** I blew it (candle) out *L.*

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LA-xu'tl' S become inflated, puffed up, swell: **sLixu'tl'L** it's swollen up *L,* **GALAxu'tl'L** it's inflating, it (bread) is rising *L,* **dik' 'ALAxu'tl'G** it (bread) isn't rising *L ('A- analogical). Transitive (causative), O-L-xu'tl'(-g) (with -g-repetitive partly thematized, referring to repeated puffs):* **xLxu'tl'g** I'm inflating it (e.g. balloon); *passive: Galushia Nelson* słix̱út'łx ɢɔ̀tłà't'c *or* stix̱út'łx̱ ɢɔ̀łà't'c 'bladder for harpoon' ("inflated stomach") *BSdL 549* **sLixu'tl'L k'uLa'ch'** or **sdixu'tl'L k'uLa'ch'** stomach which has been inflated *(see also nominalizations below).*

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sLixu'tl'gL *(noun, unclassified)* bread; balloon *LM. Nominalized Active perfective repetitive,* < it inflated, puffed up.

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'i:nsLixu'tl'L *(noun, unclassified)* immature seal (not pup) *L. Nominalized Active perfective with l-anatomical,* < its face puffed up.

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dAxu'tl'g *(noun, unclassified)* balloon *LM*: **dAxu'tl'g'a'luw** big balloon *M. Nominalized passive Active imperfective repetitive,* < it is inflated (with repeated puffs).

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xitl'~xutl'~xAtl' *(also xwitl', xwAtl'; 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,* **xitl'** *MAG,* **xutl'** snow *S, Rezanov* Хытль 'Снѣгъ Schnee', *Anonymous* Хатль 'Снегъ', *Khromchenko* Хатль *(a struck over э)* 'Снѣгъ', *Wrangell* Хетль 'Schnee', *Galushia Nelson* xut'ł, *Old Man Dude* xut'ł *or* (xʊt'ł (*with arch below x*)) *BSdL 538, Furuhjelm* Kaltu *probably to be read* **xAtl'duh** snow!, *as S in ya:n' d-'ya 'snow fall, come down, it snow':* **xAtl' ya:n' dAGa'yahwahd** for winter (when it snows) *63.38G,* **xAtl' ya:n' dAGa'yah da:X** when it snows *63.39G, Rezanov* хытль яндасаяль 'Снѣгъ идетъ es schneiet', **xutl' na:n'** (*for* **ya:n'**) **dAsa'yahL** it's snowing *S,* **xitl'a'luw ya:n'ch' dAGa'ya:L** a big snow is falling *L,* **xitl'a'luw** big expanse of snow on ground *LM, Galushia Nelson* xʷʊ́t'ł yà' x̣ù'tłk *or* (xʷʊ́t'łiyà' x̣ù'tłk (*with arch below x*)) 'snow shovel ("snow's shovel")' *BSdL 548,* **xutl'ya' XuhLg(L)**; *as o of o-ga' 'like o' (here 'like o in color') usually in constructions with -le or -t'e'~-t'u' 'S be, become white (like snow), snow-white': 23.29, 31A,* **'u:nda:' 'Awa: ya:'a:gAga' dla:ch'e:'gä' 'i:t'inhinu: qe'LGAyu:, 'Aw q'uhnu: xitl'ga' da' Gi:t'inhinu:** women whose faces are half red, then white-faced ones *10.229A,* **'Aw xwitl'gä' 'i:t'ehkih q'unhAw,** […] **xitl'gä' 'i:t'eh dALAxwe:g** that little white one, […] a white groundhog *23.28A, Rezanov* Хетлькоэте 'Бѣлой weiss' **xitl'gwä' 'i:t'eh**, *Khromchenko* Хаткосъ / Хаткоетѣ 'Белый' **xAtl'gwä' 'i:t'eh**, *Furuhjelm* Hatlkvaite 'white' **xAtl'gwa' 'i:t'eh**, **xutl'ga' 'i:t'eh** *LS,* **xitl'ga' 'i:teh** it's white < it's like snow (in color) *M, Furuhjelm* Khatl 'green' *probably to be read* **xAtl'** *(misunderstanding), Galushia Nelson* x̱ʷutł *or* xʷʊt'ł 'white' *BSdL 553, Rezanov* Хетлькоетечиллякъ 'Бѣлой хлѣбъ ('white bread') weisses Brot' **xitl'gwä' 'i:t'eh djilahG** pudding which is white, Хетлькоетецыкъ 'Чашка ('cup') Schale' **xitl'gwä' 'i:t'eh ts'ik'** dish which is white, Хытлькоетеацытъ 'Холстына Leinewand' **xitl'gwä' 'i:t'eh GAts'AX** (*or* **q'Ats'AX**) cloth which is white, **xitl'ga' 'i:t'eh ch'i'ch'X** white shark species (mud-shark?) *L,* **xitl'ga' sAt'u'L**, **xitl'ga' sAliL** it turned white *M,* **xitl'ga' GAle:L** it's turning white *M,* **xitl'ga' 'u:nda:' 'Awa: sAliL** he turned pale < his face got white *L,* **xitl'ga' da' GAxle:L** I'm getting pale < I'm turning white in front *L, see further instances under le, -t'e'~-t'u' 5.,* **tanh xitl'ga' GALe'L** waves are getting whitecaps *L, Anonymous* Хатльялли 'Бело' ('white'), *Baranov* Хатльелли 'Бело' ('white') **xAtl' yiLeh** < it's snow.

2. *(lX-class)* snowflake: **xitl'lAXAwAX** big (wide) snowflakes *L,* **xitl'lAXa'luw** lots of snow in air *M (L rejects, perhaps because of gloss only).*

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3. *(lXd-class)* a. snowball (< wet snow that packs easily?): *18.56L,* **xitl'lAXAda:X xulALts'e:Xk'inh** he (cust) throws snowballs at me *LM,* **xitl'lAXAda:d ya:n' GAta'** set it down by the snowball! *L, see also dAq'.*

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b. large mass of (heavy?) snow: *in* **xitl'lAXAda:q'Aya'** snowslide, avalanche *L (see ya'~o-ya', see also lXdl-LA-'Adz).*

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L-xitl'~-xutl'~-xAtl' 1. S be blown (by wind), blow, waft, be airborne: **giyahya'd ya:n' sALxitl'Linh** he wafted down into the water *2a.6M,* **ya'X sALxAtl'L** it (piece of paper, blown by wind) flew up *L,* **'u:dik'ah sALxutl'L** it blew away *L, with perambulative:* **yAX LAxutl'X** it's blowing around *LM,* **yAX 'iLAXe:tl'k'** it's (cust) blown around, blows around *LM; indirect reciprocal:* **'iLX GALAxwAtl' da:X** when they (clouds) drift together (into contact with each other) *60.59A. Transitive (causative), reflexive,* S cause self to be blown: *Galushia Nelson* **qa:tl' 'AdAX 'u:ch' 'AdGALAxwAtl'L** it was sailing thither with us *59.12fn,* **yAX 'Adqu'xLAxitl'** I'll go sailing around *M, repetitive:* **'u:dAX 'AdGALAxAtl'gL** it's sailing by there *L.*

2. *With perambulative,* S twich *(from M only, not verified)*: **yAX LAxitl'Xinh** he's twitching *M.*

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dA-xitl'~-xutl' 1. S (snow) fall, it snow: *Galushia Nelson* ɒə́xùt'ɬ 'falling snow' *BSdL 538,* ɒəx̯ʊt'ɬ 'it's snowing' *BSdL 555,* **dAxutl'** *L,* **dAxitl'** it's snowing *M,* **Xa:'d dAxutl'** it's snowing outside *L,* **qu'dAxitl'** it'll snow *M,* **dAxe:tl'k'** it (cust) snows *M.*

2. S (snow) slide, avalanche: **'u:nAX yAX GAdAxutl'L** it's avalanching down it (mountain, l-class) *L,* **'itl'a:nahd sdixutl'L** snow slid way down the mountain *L.*

xu'ch'

xu'ch' *(noun) (attested only as C)* rough wood: **xu'ch' GALe'L** it's getting rough *(of wood dragged around) L.*

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-xu'ch' *(attested only with k'u-indefinite prefix, perhaps as S of verb, or possessor of noun, attested syntactically only as C, nominalized if verb)* something rough, *or* something is rough: **k'uxu'ch' di:Leh** it (board) is rough *L.*

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dA-xu'ch' *(causative of preceding)* S (especially wood) be, become rough from abrasion: **GAdAxu'ch'L** it (especially wood) is getting rough *L.*

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k'uxu'ch'(-L) *(noun) (attested only as C, with k'u-indefinite and, for A, -L- suffix, perhaps nominalization or deverbalization of verb theme)* rough: **k'uxu'ch'L** rough *A,* **k'uxu'ch' di:Leh** it (board) is rough *L.*

Giya:q' *(etymology unknown)*

Giya:q' *(place-name) Dolgi Island G (Harrington).*

Giyah *(probably to be analyzed Gi-ah with Gi-thematic and a2 'eat')*

Giyah *(noun, unclassified)* food *LM*: *Galushia Nelson* qía 'food' *(unpublished in de Laguna fieldnotes)* **k'ut'u' Giyah** *Rezanov* Кыятаане 'Потчивать bewirthen' *probably to be read* **Gi:yah Xa:ne:** eat food! *L,* **'Aw Giyah xusALga'L** I'm tired of that food < that food has tired me *L,* **Giyah siXa' GALAluhdgL** I'm running short of grub < food is becoming little with me *L,* **Giyah**

dAGAdA'a:t'L food is getting scarce *L,* **Giyah 'u:d di:'yahL** it's full of food there (no room for more) < food is accumulated there *L,* **XAla:gyAXAga' Giyah 'u'sile'gL** I bought just enough grub for winter *L,* **'ilAX Giyah da'lixiLXah** I have more food than you *M,* **'i'u'X Giyah da'lixiLXah** I have as much food as you *M,* **Giyahq'Ach'Ahd** plenty, (over) abundance of food < from on food *L, 49.137A,* **Giyahyu:** foods (pl.), foodstuffs *7.9, 11.21, 21A.*

GAts'1 *(perhaps to be identified with GAts'2, and/or perhaps related to Ge:ts' and/or GAmAts')*

O-**GAts'** S twist, wring O, wring O out: **'Aw [s]AGAts'[L]** he wrang them out *51.52A, Rezanov* Акъ-коцъ 'Выжать pressen, ausringen' **'AGAts'** twist it, wring it, wring it out! *M,* **k'uxGAts'** I'm wringing something *LM,* **'Aw sAGAts'Linh** he wrang it out *M, Rezanov* Кошатасакацль 'Криво schief, krumm' **k'usha:dah sAGAts'L** you twisted it badly, **'iqe'xGAts'** I'll wring your neck < I'll wring you *A,* **qa' qu'xGAts'** I'll twist it (stump) up out (of ground) *L, see qa' O-L-GAts'; repetitive:* **ta'd qa:nch' 'AGAts'g** wring them (clothes, repeatedly up) out (of water)! *L, with anatomical marks:* **lu: 'iqe'yi:xGAts'** I'll twist your arm (around, ca. 180°) *L,* **lah xuyAGe:ts'k'inh** he (cust) twists my arm (around, in circular motion) *M,* **lah xuch'a:ndAsAGAts'Linh** he twisted my fore(-arm) *L; passive:* **dAGAts'** it's being twisted *M,* **sdiGAts'L** they've been twisted *L;* **k'udAGAts'e:'**, *see ts'e:'.*

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qa' O-**l-GAts'** *(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-GAts')* S wrench O (stump) up out (of ground): **qa' li:GAts'** pull it (stump) up out of the ground! *L,* **qa' qu'li:xGAts'** I'll twist it (stump) up out *(same as **qa' qu'xGAts')** L.*

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l-dA-GAts' *(with l-thematic as above, perhaps, in certain instances, passive of O-l-GAts')* S be, become twisted, warped: **'i:nsdiGAts'L, lisdiGAts'L** it's twisted, warped, it got twisted (by itself) *L,* **ya'Xu: dAwa'd lah qu'i:ndAGAts'** don't twist your head around fast *(danger of wrenching your neck) L (l-mark clearly anatomical here, cf. lah l-dA-GAmAts').*

GAts'2 *(perhaps to be identified with GAts'1)*

GAts' *(noun, unclassified)* dry-salmon3 *(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' *BSdL 548,* **k'ut'u' GAts'** lots of smokefish *L,* **GAts'wahya:** the makings of dry-salmon3 *65.37A.*

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O-**L-GAts'** S make O (dry-salmon3), S cut O (salmon) dry-salmon3-style: **qi'yiLGAts'** you'll cause them (dry-salmon3) to twist *65.48,* you'll make dry-salmon3 *49A,* **'Awq'Ats' gu:dig GAsu' q'e' qi'yiLGAts'** on top of them again you'll make some dry-salmon1 into dry-salmon3 *65.65A,* **q'e' k'uqi'yiLGAts'** you'll make some more dry-salmon3 *65.66A,* **Li'q' Gi:LGAts'ch'ahd** after you've cut them all dry-salmon3-style *65.50A,* **qu'xLGAts'** I'll make smoke-fish (dry-salmon3) *L; passive:* **sdiGAts'L** they (salmon) have been made into smokefish *L.*

GAdj

O-**GAdj** S act upon O with end of stick-like instrument, S act with stick-like O: **'AGAdj** push it sideways with the end of a stick! *L,* stroke!, paddle (a single stroke)! *M,* **'iqe'GAdj** it'll butt you with its horns *L, with qa' 'up out':* **qa' GAGAdj** remove it (sliver, with needle)! *L, with la'q' 'thickness, collapse, explode':* **la'q' GAGAdj** puncture it (blister)! *L,* **la'q' siGAdjL** I burst it with the end of a stick, I burst it (blister, with needle) *L, with ya'X 'up':* **ya'X siGAdjL** I lifted it

up (not completely out of place) with a stick *L; reciprocal, repetitive:* (**k'u:ndAlehX**) **'iLu' dAGAdjg** they (e.g. goats) are butting each other (with horns) *L.*

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O-**L-GAdj** 1. S move O (some distance from original position) with end of stick-like instrument: **'u:dik'ah ya'X siLGAdjL** I lifted it up away from there with the end of a stick *L, usually repetitive:* **ya'X qi'yiLGAdjg** you'll lift it up with a stick *A,* **'u:ch' GAxLGAdjgL** I'm pushing it thither with a stick *L,* **'u:ch' qAxLGAdjg** I'm pushing them thither (one after another) with a stick *L, with qa:nch' '(continuously, repeatedly) up out':* **qa:nch' k'uxLGe:djk'** I (cust) crochet < I (cust) lift something (stitch) up out at the end of a stick-like instrument *L,* **'anhX ya'X sALGAdjgL** it (goat) butted him up into the air *L (should either read* **'anh***, or be interpreted* it (goat) butted them (horns) up in the air striking (in contact with) him < S move stick-like O*)*; *repetitive most frequently with the meaning* S paddle boat: *Rezanov* Алькачику 'Греби rudern (Imperat.)' **'ALGAdjguh** *L,* **'ALGAdjg** paddle (it)! *M,* **'i:ndzi'X 'ALGAdjg** paddle (it) straight ahead! *L,* **t'a'q'e'ch' GALGAdjg** paddle (it) backwards, backwater! *L, usually with k'u-indefinite O* S paddle (something, boat): **xu: k'uqu'xLGAdjg** *I*'ll paddle *71.19LM,* **'i: k'udzu:dah k'u:nLGAdjg** *you* paddle well *71.20LM, Rezanov* Коулькачика 'Тресть въ байдарѣ, гресть въ байдаркѣ rudern, in einer Baidare' **k'u:LGAdjg** *(*и *and final* a *probably indication of careful listening to voiceless resonance of -dj- and -g)* paddle!, you're paddling, **k'uLGAdjginh** he's paddling *M,* **'idehdah k'uLGAdjginh** he's paddling hard *M,* **k'uxLGe:djgk'** I (cust) paddle *M; with perambulative:* **yAX 'ALAGAdjg** move it around with a stick! *L; detransitivized (or perhaps progressive) with indeterminate O and lah 'around, in circular motion':* **lah 'ixsLiGAdjgL** I stirred it *L; passive:* **'ida: k'udAGAdj**[**g**?] **sid 'ALde'g** teach me how to paddle < teach me how something is paddled! *M.*

2. S puncture O with end of stick-like instrument *(meaning not clearly distinguished from that of O-GAdj)*: **la'q' siLGAdjgL** I put a needle in it to burst it *L, with ya' 'completely':* **'anh ya' shALGAdjL** it (bull) gored him (with its horns) *A.*

,

O-**d-L-GAdj-g** *(with d-thematic)* S tow O at end of e.g. rope (over water only?, S in boat only?): **yAq' q'uhnu: 'Aw lahdz qu'di:LGAdjg** they were going to tow it toward to the shore *28.72A, 28.82A,* **'u:ch' 'iqe'di:xLGAdjg** I'll tow you thither (in canoe) *L.*

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k'uLGAdjg *(noun, unclassified)* propeller (of boat, airplane) *L. Nominalized Active imperfective,* < it paddles.

,

k'uLGAdjgkih *(noun, unclassified)* propeller, fan *L. As above, with -kih diminutive.*

,

'uX k'udAGAdjg *(noun, l-class)* oar, canoe paddle *M. Nominalized passive Active imperfective,* < by means of it something is paddled.

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'uq'Ach' t'a'q'e'ch' k'udAGAdjg *(noun)* oarlocks, rowlocks *L. As above,* < (continually, repeatedly) upon, against them something is paddled backwards.

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'uq'Ach' k'uGAdjgL *(noun)* oarlocks, rowlocks *L. -L-instrumental deverbalization of preceding, lacking t'a'q'e'ch' 'backwards', perhaps incorrectly.*

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'u:nAX t'a'q'e'ch' k'uGAdjgL *(noun, l-class)* oar *L*: **la'da:na: 'u:nAX t'a'q'e'ch' k'uGAdjgL** two oars *L. As above,* < by means of them (l-class) something is paddled backwards.

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k'uGAdjg(-L) *(gerundive)* paddling: *71.18, 20LM, Rezanov* Яхохъ-кокочке 'Не греби rudere nicht!' *perhaps to be read* **ya'Xu: k'uGAdjg** *or* **ya'Xu: q'Ak'uGAdjg** no paddling!.

,

'u:ntl'i'ts'd t'a'q'e'ch' k'uLGAdjg *L,* **'u:ntl'i'ts'd t'a'q'ich' k'uLGAdjg** *(noun, unclassified)* helicopter *M. Nominalized Active imperfective,* < it paddles backwards at the top of its head.

GAsh *(form and status uncertain, cf. GAshk', q'Ash, but cf. also Chipewyan gγèz, Hupa łı-…-gıW, dı-l-gıW 'to be forked', Navaho -giš 'V-shaped gap, forked')*

…-LA-GAsh *attested only in Harrington* yá'ẋtıclıqqǟcł 'forked pole' *G, clearly nominalized Active perfective of theme ya'X d-LA-GAsh 'S be 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-)L-GAsh, itself perhaps causative of (d-)GAsh 'S be forked', or perhaps to be read ya' XAdishLiGAshL, with ya' 'completely' and Xd-class-mark for S or O (e.g. 'pole'), theme otherwise as above; stem conceivably in error for q'As or GAshk'.*

GAshgahGdjAlih *(loan from Chugach?; cf. GAsh)*

GAshgahGdjAlih *(place-name) Twin Rocks (near Mummy Island) L.*

GAshk' *(see also GAsh)*

lAGAshk'L *(noun, Xd-class)* post, pole, tent-pole, mooring-post, forked pole as support, support pole (leaning or vertical) *LMA*: **lAGAshk'LXAdA'a:w** long pole *M,* **lAGAshk'LXAda'luw** big pole *M,* **lAGAshk'LXAdAkih** small pole *M,* **lAGAshk'L 'u:d XAdAsAtahL** a pole is (lies) there *L,* **lAGAshk'L sich' XAdi:ta'** *(not -'a')* give me a pole! *L, in compounds,* totem-pole: *Galushia Nelson* -ləkəcktł *or* -ləkəktł 'totem pole (prefix with eagle or raven)' **-lAGAshk'L** totem-pole *L,* **'AyAwihlAGAshk'L** totem pole < mask-, grotesque face-pole *L.*

,

dla:GAshk'L *(noun) (as above, perhaps with dl-thematic 'series')* series of poles, pole as one of series, wooden fence-post *L*: **ts'isa:yahdya' dla:GAshk'L dA'u:d** tent-poles are still there, right there *L.*

GAG1 *(perhaps reduced form of GehG or of GahG, perhaps to be identified with GAG2)*

GAGAG *(noun, unclassified) (with G-thematic, cf. GAsALGahGL)* round wooden disc, quoit, quoit game *LA*: *Galushia Nelson* qɔqɔk 'partner game' *BSdL 551 (described in BSdL 240)*, **GAGAG sich' 'Ata'** (*or* **'A'a'**) give me a quoit! *L,* **GAGAG 'u:d sAtahL** (*or* **sA'ahL**) a quoit is there *L,* **GAGAG 'iqe'di:leh** a quoit game will be held *L.*

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GAGAGXqAXah *(month-name) some winter month* < quoit-month *LA. (First -X- probably only phonetic, at least earlier.)*

GAG2 *(A guG, gAG, perhaps by assimilation with prefix; L rejects g-initial, insists, on two separate occasions, on GAG; perhaps to be identified with GAG1, basic meaning perhaps 'round thing')*

-gunA-GAG *(noun, unclassified) (-gunA- not identified, perhaps archaic form of -gulA-, gl-mark)* hip: **sigunAguG, sigunAgAG** *A,* **sigwAnAGAG** *LM,* **sigunAGAG** my hip(s) *L.*

GAGs

LA-GAGs-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized)* 1. S curl, be, become curly: **GALAGAGsgL** it's curling up by itself *L, with l-anatomical 'head' or class-mark for S (-sha:w 'head, head of hair') thematized:* **lAGALAGAGsgLinh** his hair is getting curly *L,* **'i:nxsLiGAGsgL** I'm curly-haired, my hair got curly *L,* **lisLiGAGsgLinh, 'i:nsLiGAGsgL** he's curly-haired *L, with g-class-mark for S (le:L 'hair'):* **gusLiGAGsgLinh** his hair got curly *L,* **dik' guLAGAGsgG** straight, hard-to-curl hair *(nominalized Active imperfective)* < it (hair) doesn't curl *L. Transitive (causative):* **'ALGAGsg** curl it! *L,* **siLGAGsgL** I curled it (with a swiping motion) *L,* **'iqe'li:xLGAGsg** I'll curl your hair *L, reflexive:* **'AdluxLAGAGsg** I'm curling my hair *M.*

2. S be, become cold and numb (in extremities) *(< 'curls'?), with y- or qi:d-anatomical only, of S's hands or feet (not applicable to e.g. ears)*: **yAGAxLAGAGsgL** my hand is getting cold and numb *(earlier yAGAxLAq'AGsgL, under influence of q'Aq'2, but stem-initial G- subsequently rechecked and verified several times) L,* **yixsLiGAGsgL** my hand got cold and numb *L,* **qi:dAGAxLAGAGsgL** my feet are getting cold and numb *LA.*

,

lAGAGsg *(attested only in Rezanov)* curly-head: *Rezanov* Лакакске 'Кудравой kraushaarig'. *Deverbalization, epithet, with l-anatomical or class-mark.*

GAGsh

-GAGsh-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized)* S be, become assymetrical, lopsided, crooked, bent out of shape, flared: *with l-class-mark for S:* **'Aw ch'iyahd siXa' 'i:nsAGAGshgL** my hat got out of shape *L,* **tl'A'a:G 'i:nsAGAGshgL** basket is lopsided, bent out of shape; basket is flared (symmetrically or asymmetrically) at upper rim *L; see nominalizations below.*

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sa' GAdAGAGshg *(noun, unclassified) (with Gd-thematic with sa' 'mouth')* whitefish *MA*: *Galushia Nelson* sá'qə̀ɒə́qə̀kck *or* sáqə́tə́qákck 'whitefish' *BSdL 540. Nominalized Active imperfective, "because its mouth has a flared lip" M.*

,

ya'X dAGAGshg *(noun, unclassified)* pitcher *LMA*: **ya'X dAGAGshgluw** big pitcher *M. With ya'X 'upward' and d-thematic or class-mark ('lip'?), or perhaps passive of causative of -GAGsh-g, nominalized Active imperfective,* < it's flared upward.

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LA-GAGsh-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized)* S limp, hop, skip on one foot: **GAxLAGAGshgL** I'm limping *L,* **GALAGAGshgLinh** he's limping *A, with perambulative:* **yAX xLAGAGshg** I'm limping (around) *M,* **yAX xLAGAGshgX** I'm hopping (around) on one foot *L,* **yAX LAGAGshg** it's hopping (around) on one foot *L (M rejects gloss),* it's limping (around) *M,* **yAX LAGAGshgXinh** he's hopping, skipping around on one foot *L.*

,

d-dA-GAGsh-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized and d-thematic 'oral')* S's lower lig hang, protrude loosely: **dAGAdAGAGshgL** his lower lip is hanging loosely *L.*

GAX *(widely diffused form of unknown origin, Athapaskan *gaẋ, Tlingit gαẋ, present also in Tsimshian, Bella Coola and probably further)*

GAX *(noun, unclassified)* rabbit *LM*: *Rezanov* Кахъ 'Заецъ, ушанъ Hase', **GAX'a'luw** big rabbit *M,* **GAX'Akih** little rabbit *M.*

GAXtl' *(probably loan from Tlingit gúɢł', or perhaps a widely diffused term of unknown origin, cf. widespread northern Athapaskan *ɢaɢʷəš 'swan')*

GAXtl' *(noun, unclassified)* swan *LM (probably 'whistling swan (Olor columbianus)' and 'trumpeter swan (Olor buccinator)')*: *Rezanov* Кохтль 'Лебедь Schwan', *Wrangell* Коктль 'Schwan', *Galushia Nelson* ɢɔχt'ɬ 'swan' *BSdL 539,* **GuGtl'Gu'L** swan(-skin) blanket *63.3, 7G (blend of Tlingit and Eyak forms).*

GAmAd~GAmAdl *(definitely not GAmAt' L, perhaps related to Guhd~Gu'd~Gunhd)*

-gu:LGAmAdL *(noun, unclassified) (also* **-gu:LGAmAdl***, probably < -d-L, phonological opposition between -d-L and -dl unstable; L also* **-gu:nLGAmAdL***,* **-gu:nLGAmAdl***, nasalization probably analogical) attested only with* **-qe:s** *(noun, probably g-class) probably* Achilles' tendon, **-qe:sgu:LGAmAdL** anklebone, ankle-joint: **siqe:sgu:nLGAmAdL, siqe:sgu:nLGAmAdl** *L,* **siqe:sgu:LGAmAdL** my anklebone *LA,* **siqe:sgu:LGAmAdL siya: yAX sLiduxL** my ankle turned (lost support) *L,* **siqe:sgu:LGAmAdL siya: 'iLya'd qa' disLiqahGL** my ankle went out of joint, dislocated (fell up out from in each other) *L. Probably nominalized Neuter perfective of verb theme L-GAmAd with g-class-mark for S, 'it (Achilles' tendon?) is in … state' or transitive (perhaps causative) of O-(L-)GAmAd 'it keeps it (Achilles' tendon?) in … state'.*

GAmAt' *(LMA all very uncertain of exact form of stem: M tl'AmAt' once, mAt' 4 times, A q'AmAst' (expanded q'Ame:st'), q'AmAs (expanded q'Ame:s), L tl'AmAt' once, mAt' twice, tAmAt' once, t'AmAt' once, GAmAdl (or GAmAd-L) 3 times, GAmAt' 7 times; after condiderable thought on several occasions, L concludes with some conviction that GAmAt' "sounds best"; see also GAmAd~GAmAdl, GAmAts', qAmAXts')*

dA-GAmAt' S twist, contort, pucker *(or perhaps in certain instances, passive 'O be twisted, contorted, puckered')*: **sisa'd siya: sdiGAmAt'L** my mouth puckered (involuntarily, e.g. from eating sour berries) *L (twice), frequently with lah 'around, in circular motion':* **sila't' siya: lah sdimAt'L** my tongue got all puckered up (from e.g. sour berries) *L,* **q'e:dah 'Awtl' lah sdimAt'L** it's sure wrung and twisted badly (with it) *M,* **'Aw te'ya' 'Aw dzAwuLtl' 'idehdah lah sdimAt'L** that fish is really badly twisted around (entangled) with the net *M, with l-anatomical (partly thematized, referring apparently to 'mouth, tongue, neck', and in one case 'ankle', as well as to 'face, head'):* **he'eh q'e:dah läh 'i:nxsdiGAmAt'L** my goodness it sure made my mouth (tongue, face) pucker right up! < (exclamation) my face straightaway contorted around, *from e.g. eating sour fruit L (quite spontaneous),* **lah lAxdAq'Ame:st'k', lah lAxdAq'Ame:sk'** my tongue (cust) puckers *A,* **siqe:sguya'd siya: lah 'i:nsdiGAmAdL** my ankle twisted *L (with l-thematic probably analogical and stem-form influenced by GAmAd~GAmAdl). Transitive (causative),* S twist, wring O: **lah 'Al 'ALGAmAdl** (*or* **-GAmAd-L**, *see preceding)* twist this! *L,* **qu'xLGAmAdl** (*or* **-GAmAd-L**) I'll twist it *L,* **sidAga'q'L lah sALtl'AmAt'Linh** he wrang my neck *M, with l-anatomical (partly thematized):* **xulALq'AmAst'L** it puckered my tongue *A, with gdl-anatomical:* **lah 'iqe'gAdlixLmAt', lah 'iqe'gAdla:xLAmAt'** I'll wring your neck *M,* **lah xugAdla:sLimAt'Linh** he wrang my neck *M (LA-classifier in latter forms to be attributed to lack of stem-initial consonant, -L-CAmAt' > -L-AmAt' > -LA-mAt'). Two forms are also transcribed with zero-classifier, both repetitive, both uncertain, and both with uncertain glosses:* **lah**

'iqe'li:xGAmAt'g I'll wring your neck (?) *L (clearly a transitive),* **lah siq'AmAst'gL** my mouth puckered (?) *A (probably intransitive).*

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gl-LA-GAmAt'-g~-L *(attested only with gl-class-mark for S, in Active imperfective, twice with -g-repetitive thematized, once with thematic -L-suffix)* S (water) be hard: **gulALAGAmAt'L** (*or* **tl'AmAt'**-, **-t'AmAt'**-), **gAlALAt'AmAt'g**, **gAlALAGAmAt'g** *(last much preferred)* it (water) is too "soft" (i.e. hard), "soap won't take, can't wash in it" *L.*

GAmAts' *(A q'AmAXst' twice, q'AmAXts' 5 times, L q'AmAXts' once, GAmAXts' once, GAmAts' 6 times; confusion with GAmAt', qAmAXts'; L certain of correctness of GAmAts', uncertain of q'AmAXts', GAmAXts'; q'AmAXst' undoubtedly incorrect, blend of A's q'AmAs(t') and q'AmAXts' perhaps related to GAts'1)*

O-**GAmAts'** S twist, wring O: **siGAmAts'L** I twisted it *L, with qi:l-class-mark for O:* **qi:li:GAmAts'** twist it (wire)! *L, with gd-class-mark or gdl-anatomical and lah 'around, in circular motion':* **'itsin' 'iya: lah qu'gAdi:xGAmAts'** (*or* **qu'gAdli:x**-) I'll wring your neck *L,* **dAtli: lah 'iqe'gAdli:xGAmAts'** I'll wring your neck < I'm already about to wring your neck around *(belligerent threat, L is pretty sure she has heard Billy Dude, drunk, say this) L,* **'utsin' 'Awa: lah gAdla:GAmAts'** wring its (duck's) neck! *L, repetitive:* **qu'xq'AmAXst'g** I'll twist them (strands, together) *A; reflexive:* **'Awtl' 'Adsdiq'AmAXts'L** it got itself all twisted together with it *A; passive:* **sdiq'AmAXst'L, sdiq'AmAXts'L** it's braided, twisted together *A.*

,

O-**g-L-GAmAts'** *(stem -q'AmAXts', attested only with g-class-mark for O)* S affect position of O (strand) with respect to another by twisting: **'iLX qu'gu:xLq'AmAXts'** I'll twist them (strands) together *A,* **'iLd da: guLq'AmAXts'** we're taking the strands apart (by untwisting) *A, repetitive:* **'iLd da: gusALq'AmAXts'gL** we took (untwisted) the strands apart *A (indirect reciprocals).*

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lah l-dA-GAmAts' *(stem -GAmAXts', attested only with l-anatomical 'head' and lah 'around, in circular motion', cf. l-dA-GAts', dA-GAmAt')* S twist, wrench, get crink in neck: **lah 'i:nxsdiGAmAXts'L** my neck got twisted, got a crink in it from turning my head (too fast?) *L.*

GAmAk'

-GAmAk' *(adjective, as epithet (see GAmAk', gAdAGAmAk' below) or, rarely, suffixed)* round: *suffixed to gd-class noun:* **ma:gAdAGAmAk'** *(perhaps a place-name)* < round lake *67.3fnG (cf. under ma:~ma:').*

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GAmAk' *dog's name* < round *L.*

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gAdAGAmAk' *(noun, unclassified) (with gd-anatomical)* gnat *(epithet)* < round-rump *M, or nominalized Active imperfective of following,* < it's round-rumped: **gAdAGAmAk't'u'** lots of gnats *M.*

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-GAmAk' *(not freely used, attested only in Active perfective, and perhaps in Active imperfective in preceding and following nominalizations)* S be, become round: **sAGAmAk'L** it got round *L.*

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lisya' GAmAk' *(noun) (attested only in Harrington from G)* spruce-burl: *Harrington* líss yɑ' qɑ̀mmɑ̀q 'spruce burl (lump), cancer: lit. "tree's kind-of-round-thing on it"', **lisya' GAmAk'** that which is round belonging to spruce. *Apparently nominalized Active imperfective of preceding.*

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LA-GAmAk' S be, become round, spherical: **ts'idwAX GALAGAmAk'L q'[Aw]** it's simply round this way *24.66A, Rezanov* Катлякамукль 'Кругло rund' **GALAGAmAk'L** it's round *LMS (Inceptive perfective, indicating stage of a process),* **qu'LAGAmAk'** it'll be round *L, with class-marks for S:* **dla:GALAGAmAk'L tsa:** round rocks *65.20A, Rezanov* Тлякахлякамыкль 'Пуговица ('button') Knopf' **dla:GALAGAmAk'L** it (d-class, e.g. stone, button) is round *L,* **lAGALAGAmAk'L ch'iyahd** round peakless hat *L,* **gu:nsLiGAmAk'L** it (gl-class, milk) soured and curled *("because of round things (curds) in it") L, with gd-anatomical:* **gudAGALAGAmAk'L, gAdAGALAGAmAk'L** it's round-rumped, short-tailed *L, 24.62, 71, 85, 85A.*

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GALAGAmAk'L *(noun, d-class)* circle, hoop *M*: **GALAGAmAk'Lda'luw** big hoop, big circle *M. Nominalized Inceptive perfective.*

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GALAGAmAk'L 'uq' 'isda'L *(noun)* stool < round chair *L.*

,

O-**L-GAmAk'** *(causative of -GAmAk' and/or of LA-GAmAk')* S make O round, spherical: **GALGAmAk', 'ALGAmAk'** make it round! *L,* **xLGAmAk'** I'm making it round *L, with lXd-class-mark for O:* **lAXAdAxLGAmAk'** I'm rounding a snowball; *passive:* **sLiGAmAk'L** it's been made round *L.*

GAma:

GAma: *(noun, unclassified)* maggots, little creamy white bugs on rotting meat or fish *LM*: *45a.7, 8L, 45b.8M, 47c.36L, Rezanov* Камма 'Червь ('worm') Wurm', *Anonymous* Камма 'Червякъ' ('worm').

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GAma:gwa' 'i:t'eh *(noun) (attested in Rezanov only)* millet: Камагуэтте 'Пшено ('wheat') Hirse', *probably to be read* **GAma:gwa' 'i:t'eh** it's like maggots *rather than* **q'Ama:gwa' 'i:t'eh** it's like roe, *cf. corresponding Tlingit entry Гуннехатеэкухъ first elements wùn 'maggot' yáx 'like'.*

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dA-GAma' S be infested with, eaten by maggots: *with ya' 'completely':* **ya' sdiGAma'L** it was all maggot-eaten, full of maggots *45.67LM.*

GAlAG *(probably imitative, cf. Ga:G, GAyAG)*

GAlAG *(exclamation) cry of Raven "when its throat is wet", portent of rainy weather L*: *Galushia Nelson* qə̀ləq '"rain" announced by Raven' *BSdL 538,* 'when [Raven] calls qələq it means rain' *BSdL 235.*

GAlAXAlAXah *(analysis uncertain, perhaps nominalized Active imperfective of O-X-a 'S eat O', with gl-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 -lAX- as second person plural S pronoun instead of lX-class-mark, but this might be*

phonologically irregular for GAlAXa:lAXah 'you pl. are eating ground', and would also be unique for a nominalization)

GAlAXAlAXah *(noun, unclassified)* tadpole *L*: **GAlAXAlAXah Xinhinh** he's eating tadpoles *L,* **GAlAXAlAXahluw** big tadpole *L.*

GAla' *(perhaps to be analyzed GA-la', with G-thematic but more likely cognate with Athapaskan *-gân-~-gàn- 'arm', related perhaps also to Eyak Ga:, cf. Tlingit ǯınkàd 'ten', ǯín 'arm')*

-GAla' *(noun, Xd-class or unclassified)* shoulder, shoulderblade, *also perhaps* front leg (of quadruped): **siGAla'** my shoulder *LMS,* my shoulderblade *LM,* **k'uGAla'** shoulder, **k'uGAla' qu'xLmahd** I'll cook a shoulder (of meat) *L, Harrington* k'̀qqàllὰ 'front leg of bear or dog' **k'uGAla'**, **k'uGAla'XAda:q'd** on (something's, someone's) shoulders *L, Rezanov* Какаляхатагъ 'Плеча Schultern' **qa:GAla'XAda:q'** on our, human shoulders, **siGAla'ts'Al, siGAla'ts'Alih** my shoulder-blade, shoulderbone *L;* **qu'LXa:dLGAla'** notch at end of bow *A, also real name of djAmAdjAkih (see Eyak texts 34.92fn)* < bow-shoulder *A.*

GAlu:shiya' *(probably loan from Alutiiq qalusiaq 'ladle, spoon')*

GAlu:shiya' *(personal name)* 1. *Galushia Nelson (died July 8, 1938) LMS,* **GAluh** *"short for Galushia" L.*

2. *Gary Saska L.*

GAnuh *(perhaps to be segmented GA-nuh, cf. 'Anuh, GAyAG)*

GAnuh *(noun, unclassified)* ducks, waterfowl, fowl, bird (generic) *LM*: *52.2L, Anonymous* Къ кану 'Птица' ('bird'), *Baranov* Къ канну 'Птица' ('bird') **G-GAnuh**, *Wrangell* Каннъ-ну 'Vogel' ('bird'), *Galushia Nelson* qa̋nù' *or* qá·nù 'duck' *BSdL 339,* **GAnuhyu:** ducks *24.69, 28.20A,* **GAnuhluw** big duck *M,* **GAnuhkih** little duck *M,* **'Aw GAnuh 'ALdja'** pluck that duck! *L,* **GAnuhga' 'iLik'ahshinh** he's duck-footed *L,* **'Ami:nnya' GAnuh** (barn?) swallow *M (see under 'Ami:n),* **di:ya'ya'd GAnuh** salt-water duck, canvasback *L,* **dALAxwe:g GAnuh** 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)*) Rezanov* Канюяко 'Курица Henne' **GAnuhyAquh** young duck, duckling; **di:ya'ya'd GAnuh** saltwater-duck (generic), canvasback (Aythya valisineria) *L, perhaps also* greater *and/or* lesser scaup (Aythya marila, A. affinis).

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'AdAGAnuh *(noun, unclassified) L* (unidentified) duck species (real duck, duck *par excellence*). *L. Perhaps 'mallard', same as 'AdAch'Aq'i:nq'.*

GAyAG *(GAyAG + qa: > GAyAqa:, dlAGA- + GAyAG > dlAGAyAG; perhaps to be segmented GA-yAG, cf. 'AyAG~'uyAG)*

GAyAG *(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,* **GAyAG ne:tl'** first *us*, *us* first *M,* **ts'id GAyAG** just us *M, Rezanov* Куюхтактуахъ 'Тоже dasselbe' *probably to be read* **GAyAGdAg dA'wAX** we too yet, us too the same way, **GAyAGdug** *L, 14.7L,* **GAyAGdAg** we too *25.173A (**GAyAGgidug** probably incorrect L),* **GAyAGshdug**, **GAyAGdugsh**, **GAyAGshdAg** we too? *L,* **GAL'ihd ya: 'i:ya:G dAXunhyu: q'Al GAyAG** we're the last Eyaks *L,* **dA'a:ndAlahGAyu: q'Al GAyAG** we're locals *L, Rezanov* Каюо̆ку 'Вы ('you (pl.)') ihr', Каюо̆ку

'Мы wir' **GAyAG q'A'Aw** that's us, *Galushia Nelson* í·γìyàqɒ̀láqɛ̀iyù· 'we are Eyaks' *BSdL 554* **GAyAG 'i:ya:GdAlahGAyu:,** *with dA-* 'ipse'*:* **dAGAyAG** we (ourselves) *M; with dlAGA- 'alone', by haplology* **dlAGAyAG** *(not *dlAGAGAyAG L)* we alone, all alone by ourselves *LM, 49.107A, combined for emphasis with possessive prefix or pronominal o of postposition qa:- > GAyAqa:- (not *GAyAGqa:):* **GAyAqa:ga'** like us *25.195, 199A, with dA-* 'ipse'*:* **dAGAyAqa:ga'** just like us *25.195, 68.126A, often with tsin'd-le 'S speak like us, speak our language, Eyak': 68.78, 87, 91, 97, 99, 110, 125, 125, 69.19A,* **dik' GAyAqa:ga'** (*or* **GAyAqa:dAga'**) **tsin'dAlehGinh** he doesn't speak like us, Eyak *L,* **GAyAqa:ga' wAX dAGAle:'** say it in our language! < say thus like us! *L, as o of o-qa:' 'of o's kind, part of o':* **dAGAyAqa:qa:'** of our own kind, tribe *68.85A,* **dAGAyAqa:qa:'shA'Aw** are they of our kind? *68.88A,* **dik' dAGAyAqa:qa:'G** they're not of our own kind *68.90A, as o of o-Xa' 'with o':* **GAyAqa:Xa'** for us *68.129A, as o of o-ya' 'belonging to o': Rezanov* Каюкая 'Наши unsere' **GAyAqa:ya'** (it's) ours *L, Galushia Nelson* qɛi'yɛqai ya' ẋəwa' 'our dog' *BSdL 557* **GAyAqa:ya' XAwa:**, *as possessive: Galushia Nelson* qɛiyɛq'· la·ẋ(?) 'our eyes' *BSdL 557* **GAyAqa:la:X**, qɛiyɛqa tsi 'our necks' **GAyAqa:tsin'**, qɛi'yı'qa· ma 'our mother' **GAyAqa:ma:**, *irregularly, with suffixes or enclitics not normally affixed to possessive pronouns:* **GAyAqa:dug** we too *L, Furuhjelm* Khuiukhaiu 'we', *Galushia Nelson* qɛiyə'qa·yu (should be: qɛiyaqiyu?) 'my clan people' *BSdL 543* **GAyAqa:yu:** we *L.*

GAyAXgug *(loan from Chugach qayaʁpak 'large kayak, baidarka', not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

GAyAXgug *(noun, unclassified)* 1. kayak, baidarka *LM*: *Khromchenko* Таякхукъ 'Байдарка', *12.4, 14, 22G, 22.3L,* **GAyAXgugluw** big bardarka *M.*

2. *dog's name M.*

Gi:dj~Gwi:dj~Gwe:ch'

dAGi:dj *(personal name) Tlingit-Eyak girl, raised at Katalla, her father LidguXa:g spoke Eyak L.*

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dAGwi:dj *(personal name) woman's name S. (Cf. Tlingit dAGwi:dj 'discarded stuff' Sampson Harry, perhaps not otherwise attested in Tlingit.)*

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dAGwe:ch' *(personal name) Judy Ramos, daughter of Elaine Ramos G, Elaine Ramos. (Cf. dAGi:dj and dAGwi:dj above.)*

Gi:ŋa:dAG *(distorted form Gi:ya:ndAG, di:ya:ndAG from G in Li, rejected by LA; loan from Chugach qiŋaataq 'red ripe salmon' ('it's pregnant'), not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

Gi:ŋa:dAG *(noun, unclassified)* red ripe salmon upstream *LA*: *63.30fnG, 65, 71.72A, 67.13fnG, 68.41A, Galushia Nelson* qí·ŋa^{n}tàq *or* qíŋatàq 'red salmon when it turns red in fresh water' *BSdL 540,* **Gi:ŋa:dAG yAGAdALe'L** meat of red-salmon is turning ripe red *L,* **Gi:ŋa:dAGyu:** red ripe salmon, pl. *68.52A.*

Gi:nq's *(L first Gi:nq's, later momentarily Gi:nq'sh, but later clearly favour Gi:nq's; cf. k'ik'sh~k'ink'sh~k'i:ngsh, si:nq's, Ge'q'sh, cf Tlingit ɢıẋ' 'squeak', Eyak Ge'q'dja:)*

LA-Gi:nq’s-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized)* S squeak, creak: **LAGi:nq’sg** it's squeaking, creaking *L.*

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d-LA-Gi:nq’s-g *(as above, with d-thematic 'oral, noise')* S squeak, creak, wheeze *(meaning not clearly distinguished, at least in part, from that of preceding)*: **dALAGi:nq’sginh** he's wheezing, wheezing through his nose while asleep *M,* **dALAGi:nq’sg**, **dALAGi:nq’sg** *(latter clearly preferred)* it (e.g. door) squeaks (slowly or sharply), it creaks *(same as LAGi:nq'sg) L,* **dALAGi:nq’shgya:X ’a’Le:** *(should perhaps be dALAGi:nq'sgk'ya:X 'a'Le:)* fix it from squeaking! < act upon it lest it squeak! *L, with qi:l- or qi:dl-class-mark for S:* **qi:dla:LAGi:nq’sg** it (e.g. wire, spring) squeaks *L.*

Ginh

-Ginh *(kinship noun, non-ascending)* (woman's) brother's child *perhaps also* husband's (? brother's /? sister's) child: *Anonymous* Сакенъ 'Дитя' **siGinh** my cross-sibling's child *(if < -нъ correct, but cf. Baranov -къ, see sAqe:G under qe:),* **siGinh** my nephew, my niece (of brother, woman speaking) *LMA, serves also as vocative L,* **siGinhkih** my brother's child *(woman speaking, affectionately) L (with -kih diminutive).*

Ge: *(perhaps two or more different morphemes, perhaps originally prefix or sequence of prefixes, e.g. GA-yA-)*

Ge:- *(element or elements of unknown morphological classification, of unidentified meaning), occurring in Ge:tsahg 'starfish', see tsahg2, Ge:Xah~Ge:Xa: 'dentalium?, mother-of-pearl?, kind of rock?', see Xah~Xa: (perhaps also analyzable Ge:X-ah), Ge:LgAlid 'horned owl', perhaps to be analyzed Ge:-L-gAlid (or Ge:L-gAlid, see gAlid).*

Ge:t’ *(perhaps expanded form of Ge't')*

Ge:t’L *(perhaps n, unclassified, -L-suffix apparently obligatory, attested in one construction only, used adverbially)* (re)incarnate, very image of S: **Ge:t’L q’e’ ’anh sdiyahLinh** 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,* **ts’u:dALah q’i:dah Ge:t’L q’e’ ’anh sdiyahLinh** he's the very reincarnation of ts'u:dALah < ts'u:dALah *(woman's name)* has come back home reincarnate *L; see also Ge:t' 28.14fnA.*

Ge:LgAlid *(unanalyzable, segmentable, perhaps Ge:-L-gAlid or Ge:L-gAlid)*

Ge:LgAlid *(noun)* great horned owl (Bubo virginianus): *40.16, 16fnL, 49.154, 154, 156, 156, 157A.*

Ge:ts’ *(perhaps expanded form GAts')*

Ge:ts’ *(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* Кейцъ 'Корень Wurzel', *Galushia Nelson* qats *or* qəts 'prepared spruce roots *BSdL 548,* **LinhG guka: Ge:ts’** one (strand of) spruceroot *L,* **la’d gAka: Ge:ts’** two spruceroots *M,* **Ge:ts’gut’u’** lots of spruceroots *L,* **Ge:ts’ga’luw** big spruceroot *M,* **Ge:ts’gu’a:w** long spruceroot *M,* **Ge:ts’ sich’ gu:’a’** (*or* **-ta’**) give me a spruceroot! *L,* **Ge:ts’ ’u:d gusAtahL** *(not -'ahL)* a spruceroot is there *L,* **Ge:ts’ gu’a’tl’inh** he's chewing a spruceroot *M,* **Ge:ts’ guXinhinh** he's eating spruceroots *LM (spruceroots were not actually eaten),* **Ge:ts’ guLshiyinhinu:** they're digging spruceroots *L,* **Ge:ts’ gAxLxik’** I'm splitting spruceroots *L,*

Ge:ts' gAxXAq' I'm peeling spruceroots *L,* **Ge:ts' gAxqa:g** I'm holding spruceroots in my teeth *L,* **'Aw Ge:ts' dAkinhq' gu:xa'ch'** tie that spruceroot onto a stick! *L,* **Ge:ts'guXa' da: 'a'ch'** we're going for spruceroots *L;* **Ge:ts'guXAq'**, **Ge:ts'gAXAq'** magpie, *see XAq'*; *occasionally also d- or gd-class, perhaps incorrectly:* **Ge:ts' 'u:d dAsAtahL** a spruceroot is there *L,* **k'ugAdAshiyah Ge:ts'** poor quality spruceroot *L,* **la'd gAda: Ge:ts'** two spruceroots *M; reclassified qi:l-'rope-like':* **Ge:ts'qi:nAX** by means of rope made of spruceroot (spruceroot in the form, function of rope) *11.14M; as root of plant other than spruce, attested specifically only in Harrington from G, perhaps incorrect,* tsṓwot yα'qέεts' 'skung cabbage roots' **dza:nt'ya' Ge:ts'**, *but* qεεts' 'spruce roots'.

Gehd

O-**lX-L-Gehd** *(with lX-thematic)* S dandle, fondle, cuddle, jounce, play with O (baby, pet): **k'Adu: 'iya: lAXALGehGlehd q'Al, 'iya: qu'lAXi:xLGehdinh** this is because noone dandles him for you, I'll dandle him for you *8.6A,* **'iya: q'Aw lAXAsiLGehdL** I dandled him for you *8.14A,* **lAXa:LGehd** play with it (pup)! *L,* **lAXa:nLGehdinh** *A,* **lAXi:LGehdinh** dandle him (baby)! *8.10A,* **qu'lAXi:xLGehd** I'll dandle it *L,* **'iqe'lAXi:xLGehd** I'll dandle you *L,* **lAXALGehdinh** she's dandling him *L,* **lAXAxLGehdinh** I'm dandling him *L,* **lAXAsiLGehdL** I dandled it *L, repetitive (probably thematized):* **lAXa:nLGehdginh** dandle him! *8.11A.*

GehG *(perhaps related to GAG; confused with Ge'q')*

GehG- *(meaning and morphological classification not clear) attested only in* **GehGdA'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 ('GehG-egg', where GehG- is either a noun, 'GehG-egg', or relativized Active imperfective of a verb, 'egg which ...s, which is ...').*

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O-**L-GehG** S cooper, put hoop, ring on O (keg): **qu'xLGehG** I'll put hoops on a keg *L (L has definitely heard this).*

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sdiGehGL *(noun)* keg *(uncertain) L. Nominalized passive Active perfective of O-L-GehG,* < it has been coopered.

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dla:GehGL *(noun, perhaps dl-class) (with dl-thematic and -L-suffix, perhaps -L-instrumental deverbalization of theme O-dl-L-GehG 'S put hoop around dl-class O', or 'S make hoop, ring of dl-class O (tsi:n 'branch')' or 'for dl-class O' (dzAwuL 'net')', cf. dla:Ge'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*.

Ge'1

-Ge' S be, become seasick: **siGe'L** I'm seasick *M,* I got seasick *L,* **qu'xGe'** I'll be, get seasick *LM,* **GAxGe'L** I'm getting seasick *L.*

,

Ge' *(noun, unclassified)* seasickness: **Ge'ga' 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I'm seasick < I feel like seasickness *M.*

Ge'2 *(perhaps to be identified with Ga', umlauted)*

Ga'- *occurring only in* **Ge'Gi'shah** graveyard, cemetery *LA. Informants unable to analyze completely, see sha~sha´~shiyah; meaning of Ge'- perhaps 'corpse'.*

Ge't' *(earlier transcribe Ge'd from LM, but later rejected by L for Ge't', and consistently -t' in taped texts from A; perhaps related to Ge:t')*

-Ge't' *(noun, unclassified)* (whole) body, torso, whole (of living thing): **'uGe't'** their bodies *24.27, 36aA,* **'iGe't'** your body *36.19A, Furuhjelm* Khakhet 'body' **qa:Ge't'** our bodies, human body, **k'uGe'd** *LM (later rejected by L),* **k'uGe't'** body, whole body *LM,* whole thing *(of e.g. berry) L,* **k'uGe'd-luw** big body *LM (earlier transcription),* **'iGe'd 'Akus** take a bath! < wash your body! *L (earlier transcription);* **Ge't'luw** big-body *(pejorative epithet) 10.94A.*

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Ge't' *(noun, unclassified) (perhaps incorrect as non-possessed form, or non-possessed form perhaps Ge:t')* (whole) body: **Ge'd** whole body (of e.g. fish, whale, not cut up) *L (earlier transcription), Rezanov* Кеэтъ *(with э superscript insert)* 'Юпка' *(not in Radlov,* 'skirt'*) perhaps to be read* **Ge't'***; Ge:t' see 28.14fnA.*

Ge'q' *(confused with GehG)*

Ge'q' *(noun, d-class)* bracelet *L (7 times), M (3 times), A (twice),* hoop *L (3 times)*: **Ge'q'da'luw** big bracelet *M,* **Ge'q' sich' di:'a'** give me a bracelet! *L (twice),* **Ge'q' 'u:d dAsA'ahL** *(not -tahL)* a bracelet is there *L.*

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Ge'q'L *(noun, d-class) (with -L-suffix perhaps optional, meaning not clearly distinguished from that of preceding)* bracelet *M (once),* hoop *L (once),* piston-ring *L (once)*: *Galushia Nelson* qa·t'ɬ 'bracelet' *BSdL 551 probably to be read* **qe'q'L, Ge'q'Lda'luw** big bracelet *M.*

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dla:Ge'q' *(noun) (with dl-thematic, cf. dla:GehGL, for which it is perhaps an error)* rim, ring, hoop of drum (not quite complete circle) *A.*

Ge'q'sh *(perhaps related to or partly confused with Gi:nq's, Ge'q'dja:)*

Ge'q'shg *(noun, unclassified) (with -g-repetitive thematized)* earwax, soot, clogging substance *LMA*: **Ge'q'shg'a'luw** big hunk of earwax *M,* **sidjehXyAq'd Ge'q'shg** wax in my ear *M.*

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d-Ge'q'sh-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized, d-mark perhaps thematic, or class-mark)* S be, become clogged: **'AwyAq' dAshAGe'q'shgL** it (pipe, chimney) got clogged inside *L (theme perhaps transitive O-d-Ge'q'sh-g 'S clog O' < 'it (substance) clogged its inside').*

,

dA-Ge'q'sh-g *(perhaps passive of preceding)* S (O?) be, become clogged: **q'e:dah 'AwyAq'd shdiGe'q'shgL** it just got all clogged up < its inside simply got clogged *L.*

,

d-LA-Ge'q'sh-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized and d-thematic 'noise')* S squeak, creak: **dALAGe'q'shg** it (box, spring, floor) squeaks, it creaks (sharply or slowly) *LMA,* **yahd dALAGe'q'shg** 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 k'ik'sh~k'i:nk'sh~k'i:ngsh, Gi:nq's).*

Ga: *(occurring only in dAGa:q', dAGa:X perhaps to analyzed dAG-a:-q', dAG-a:-X, dA-G-a:-q', dA-G-a:-X or dA-Ga:q'~-Ga:X; perhaps related to GAla' 'shoulder' (< 'arm'? cf. Tlingit ǯınkàd 'ten' -ǯín 'arm'), -q'~X perhaps postposition o-q' 'on o' with variant phonologically conditioned (irregularly) by following -k'a:d, or o-X 'in contact with o')*

dAGa:q'~dAGa:X- *(numeral) (dAGa:X- before k'a:d)* ten: **dAGa:q'** ten *LMS, 49.56, 61.92A, Rezanov* Таккакъ '10.', *Anonymous* Ткаакъ '10.', *Baranov* Такаакъ '10.', *Khromchenko* Каканъ [sic] '10.', *Wrangell* Такакхъ 'Zehn', *Furuhjelm* Takhakh 'ten', *Galushia Nelson* taqaq' 'ten' *BSdL 553,* **dAGa:q'Xa'** at ten (o'clock) *61.92A,* **dAGa:q'ch'ahd ya:'a:g** 10:30 (o'clock) < half from, since ten *L,* **dAGa:q' sileh Ga:nsa'yahL** I am, turned ten years old *L,* **dAGa:q'da'X** ten times *L,* **dAGA:q'nu:** ten people *L, in numerals, multiples of ten, numeral-da'X dAGa:q' 'n tines ten, n-ty' (beginning with thirty):* **t'uhLga'da'X dAGa:q'** thirty *M, Rezanov* Тоолькоаахтакакъ '30.' **t'uhLgwa'[d]a'X dAGa:q'**, *Wrangell* Тутлокехакъ 'dreissig' **t'uhLgw[a'da'X d]AGA:q'**, **qAlahqa'gwa'da'X dAGa:q'** forty *62.11G, Rezanov* Клякакаиахтакакъ *(with second* а *written over illegible letter, perhaps* в, *unidentifiable strokes written as superscript insert between* и and а*)* '40.' **qAlahqa'g(w)a'[d]a'X dAGA:q'**, **ch'a:n'da'X dAGa:q'** fifty *M, Rezanov* Чаанъахтакакъ '50.' **ch'a:n'[d]a'X dAGa:q' la'dits'i:nda'X dAGa:q'** seventy *L,* **q'Adits'i:nda'X dAGa:q'** eighty *L, Furuhjelm* Khatatzi Takhakh 'thirty' *probably to be read* **q'Adits'in[da'X] dAGa:q'**, *Furuhjelm* Vetzte Takhakh 'one hundred' *probably to be read* **[g]wAts'de:[da'X] dAGa:q'** ninety, *Wrangell* Такакхъ лекакхъ *perhaps to be read* **dAGa:q'da'X dAGa:q'** one hundred *L, or* **dAGa:q' tle:qa:g** ten twenty, **la'dih ts'a:n'da'X dAGa:q'** one hundred < two fifties *M,* **wAXda'X dAGa:q'** *(holding up ten fingers)* one hundred < thus times ten *L; with -k'a:d 'plus n digits':* **dAGa:Xk'a:d LinhGih** eleven *MA, Rezanov* Таккакоатлинкъ-э '11.' **dAGa:[X]k'wa:d LinhGih**, *Furuhjelm* Takhakhlikha 'eleven' **dAGa:X[k'a:d] LinhGih**, **dAGa:Xk'a:d la'dih** twelve *MA, Furuhjelm* Takhakhliaati 'twelve' **dAGa:X[k'a:d] la'dih**, **dAGa:Xk'a:d t'uhLga'** thirteen *A,* **dAGa:Xk'a:d qAlahqa'ga'** fourteen *A,* **dAGa:Xk'a:d qAlahqa'ga' 'uleh GAli:'yahL** he was fourteen years old *61.31A,* **dAGa:Xk'a:d ch'a:n'ih** fifteen *A,* **dAGa:Xk'a:d ts'i:n** sixteen, **dAGa:Xk'a:d la'dits'i:n** seventeen *A,* **dAGa:Xk'a:d q'Adits'i:n** eighteen *A,* **dAGa:Xk'a:d guts'de:** nineteen *A, Anonymous* Тлекакъ кватакаанъ *(final нъ for къ)* '30.', *Baranov* Тлѣкакъ кватакаакъ '30.' **tle:qa:gk'wa:d dAGa:q'**, *Khromchenko* Тлекакъ катекокъ '30.' **tle:qa:gk'wa:d dAGa:q'** < twenty plus ten, *Anonymous* Латитъ тлекакъ кватакаакъ '40.' [sic], *Baranov* Лати-тлѣкваакваа-такаакъ '50.' **la'dih tle:qa:gk'wa:d dAGa:q'** < two twenty plus ten, *Anonymous* Лати-тлеква аакъва '50.' **la'dih tle:-k'wa-a:q'-k'wa-** *or the like, confused effort, Baranov* Тлѣкакъ-тыкаакъ '1000.' **tle:qa:g dAGa:q'** < twenty ten.

Ga:dAG

Ga:dAG *(place-name) small bay on island ¼ mile from Crab.(?) Island ("small strawberries and long grass there") (cf. Contac Island) G (Harrington).*

Ga:Lda:le:~Ga:Lda:leh *(probably from Alutiiq qalltali 'make a basket!')*

Ga:Lda:le: *LA,* **Ga:Lda:leh** *L (personal name) sister of Gus Nelson LA.*

Ga:djih *(unanalyzable, to be segmented Ga:dj-ih, or Ga:-djih, cf. 'Adjih, Gu:djih, Ga:gAleh, Ga:leh, Tlingit ɢàɢ 'lynx')*

Ga:djih *(noun, unclassified)* lynx *LM*: *Galushia Nelson* qátcì· 'lynx' *BSdL 538.*

Ga:sh *(not Ga:nsh, L insists)*

o-**sa' k'u-dl-LA-Ga:sh** *(attested in indirect reflexive only, with o-sa' 'into o's mouth', k'u-indefinite O, and dl-thematic, cf. e.g. O-dl-L-du', underlying theme O-dl-L-Ga:sh)* S stuff mouth with food so it bulges < S stuff, cram something (food) into own mouth: **sa' k'udla:LiGa:shLinh** he's got his mouth stuffed, crammed bulging full of food *L (Neuter perfective),* **ya'Xu: sa' k'uqu'dla:LAGa:sh** don't stuff your mouth with food *L.*

Ga:gAleh *(A also Ga:guleh, rejected by L; unanalyzable, originally segmentable, Ga:-gAleh, Ga:g-leh, Ga:-g-leh, stem perhaps gAleh or leh, perhaps related to le(')~li, le~(l)i~ni, or le, prefix Ga:-, perhaps Gl-thematic, or another stem Ga:g or Ga: with -g-repetitive, or g-thematic; informants unable to etymologize or inflect; cf. Ga:leh, Ga:djih)*

Ga:gAleh *(noun, unclassified)* fish, somewhat smaller than cod *LA (also Ga:guleh A, rejected by L). "Shouldn't eat them" L, "can't eat them" A; probably* tomcod (Microgadus proximus) *or* lingcod, cultus (Ophiodon elongatus).

Ga:G *(imitative, probably widespread in Pacific Northwest, cf. Tlingit (Boas) ga 'cry of Raven', cf. also Eyak GAlAG, GAyAG)*

Ga:G *(exclamation)* caw *(call of Raven) M*: *2b.18, 18, 5.13, 13, 13L, 11.37, 40, 193A.*

Ga:leh *(see ts'i:tl'~ts'i:ntl', Ga:leh perhaps stem, or perhaps to be segmented Ga:-leh, or G-a:-leh, cf. Ga:gAleh)*

Gahdj

O-**Gahdj-g** *(attested only with -g-repetitive)* S make O resound by pounding, beating, striking, tapping: **'Aw Gahdjginh** he's rattling it *M (L rejects gloss),* he's making it sound by hitting it (not by shaking it) *L,* **GAxits' Gahdjginh** he's beating a drum *L,* **k'uxGahdjg** I'm drumming on something *L,* **'AGahdjg** hit it, pound it (and make it resound)! *L, with class-marks for O:* **lis dAGahdjg** woodpecker < it makes a pounding noise on a tree *L,* **'Aw lAXAGahdjginh** he's ringing a bell *L; reflexive, with qi:d-anatomical:* **'Adqi:dAdAGahdjginh** he's tapping with his foot *L, see also 'AddAGahdjg below; passive, with lX-class-mark for O:* **lAXAdAGahdjg** a bell is ringing (being rung) *LM,* **lAXAsdiGahdjgL** a bell rang *L, see also nominalizations below.*

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dAGahdjg *(noun, perhaps lX-class)* bell *L,* rattle *M (L rejects gloss)*: *Rezanov* Таккачькъ 'Колоколъ Glocke', Такаачьклеэте 'Барабанъ Trommel' **dAGahdjg…,** -леэте *perhaps to be read* **-ga' 'i:t'eh**, **dAGahdjgga' 'i:t'eh** it's like a bell *M. Nominalized passive Active imperfective,* < it is made to resound by striking.

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'AddAGahdjg *(noun, perhaps lX-class)* bell. *L. As above, reflexive instead of passive.*

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lAXAdAGahdjg *(noun, probably lX-class)* bell *(perhaps smaller than preceding) L. As dAGahdjg, with lX-class-mark for O 'granular, berry-like'.*

GahG *(perhaps related to GAG1)*

O-**GahG** S hew, chop O (transversely, or not specifically lengthwise): **'Aw qe'yiLteh GahGinu:** they were chopping up the whale *5.11L,* **k'uxGahG** I'm chopping something (wood or otherwise), I'm splitting wood *M,* **k'uGahGinh** he's chopping wood *M,* **'AGahG** chop wood! *S,* make it (hew it, by chopping)! *L,* **'AXAkih xGahG** I'm making a (dugout) canoe *L,* **dik' 'AXAkih xGahGG** I'm not making a canoe *L,* **'AXAkih siGahGL** I made a canoe *L, with yAX 'apart':* **yAX GAGahG** chop it apart (transversely)! *L,* **yAX siGahGL** I chopped it apart (transversely) *L, with d-class-mark for O (and perhaps optional d-thematic with qid 'down off'):* **'Awgutl'ah qid dAsAGahGLinu:** they chopped its tail off *28.64, 65A, with gl-class-mark for O:* **ya: gAlAxGahG** I'm chopping, pecking at something (water) *(snipe would say) L (see ya:*

gAlAGahG below), passive: **sha:she:nn qi' dAGahGda:d** at a place where cordwood is being chopped *L.*

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ya: gAlAGahG *(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).

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'uX tsa: dla:dAGahG *(noun)* pickaxe *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective with dl-class-mark for O,* < by means of it stones are chopped.

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ya:n' O-**dl-GahG** *(with ya:n' 'down' and dl-thematic 'falling over')* S fell, chop down O (tree, d-class): **lis ya:n'ch' dla:Ga:Gk'inh, La'gwahd** he chops down trees, for firewood *36.4A,* **k'uda'luw t'AXgsg, 'Aw ya:n' dla:sAGahGL** big cottonwood, they chopped them down *68.30A.*

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O-**L-GahG** S chop, split O (specifically lengthwise): **'ALGahG** chop wood! *MS, with ya' 'completely':* **ya' 'ALGahG** split it (wood)! *L, with yAX 'apart':* **yAX GALGahG** chop it apart lengthwise! *L,* **yAX siLGahGL** I chopped it apart lengthwise *L; with ku:l-anatomical 'thickest part, belly' and d-class-mark for O (L-classifier perhaps in error, or perhaps glosses of O-GahG and O-L-GahG should be reversed):* **ku:ndi:LGahG** chop tree at base! *L,* **qu'ku:ndi:xLGahG** I'll chop it (tree, at base) *L.*

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GAsALGahGL *(noun, probably unclassified)* wood chips *L. Nominalized Active perfective, with G-thematic, cf. GAGAG, GAsAtsah.*

Ga' *(perhaps related to Ge'; meaning similar to that of gwa~ga2 but much milder and less contemptuous)*

LA-Ga' S quit, cease work, activity: **xsLiGa'L** I quit working, stopped activity *L. Transitive (causative):* **'iqe'xLGa'** I'll make you quit working, playing *L.*

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d-LA-Ga' *(with d-thematic 'oral, noise')* S quiet down, stop making (oral) noise, stop talking, stop crying: **disLiGa'L** he became quiet *32.49A,* **di'LAGa'** stop talking! *L,* **di'LAGa' q'ah** shut up, pipe down finally! *L,* **di'lAXLAGa'** pl. stop talking! *L,* **disLiGa'Linh** he's stopped crying, he shut up, he quieted down *L,* **qAdisLiGa'Linu:** they quieted down *L,* **dAGALAGa'Linh** he's quieting down *L,* **diLiGa'Linh** he's quiet *(Neuter perfective) L,* **qu'dALAGin'inh** he'll shut up, **'AlAshgahX dAGALiGin'inh** I wish he'd hush, pipe down *L,* **siXa' k'a' da:LiGa'** don't cry "on" me < you should be quiet with me *L. Transitive (causative):* **di:LGin'inh** shut him up! *L,* **dAGAxLGa'Linh** I'm quieting him down *L; reflexive:* **'Adi'LAGa'** quiet down!, hush! *49.134, 134, 51.115A.*

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O-**dl-L-Ga'** *(with dl-thematic, cf. gwa´~ga´2, probably causative of dl-LA-Ga')* S silence O *(meaning not distinguished from that of causative of d-LA-Ga')*: **dli:LGin'inh** shut him up! *(same as di:LGin'inh) L, passive:* **dla:sdiGa'Linh** he's been silenced, shut up (by someone) *L.*

Ga't'

LA-Ga't' S crawl: **'iLAGa't'** crawl! *M,* **'a:nch' 'iLAGa't'** crawl hither! *L,* **GALAGa't'Linh** he's crawling (along) *M,* **'a:nch' GALAGa't'Linh** he's crawling hither *L,* **k'uGALAGa't'L** someone's crawling *L, with qa' 'up out': Rezanov* Какетлякатъ 'Шагъ ('step') Schritt' *perhaps to*

be read **qa' GALAGa't'** crawl up out (of there)!, *with perambulative:* **'u:d yina:'dAX yAX LAGa't'Xinh** he (baby) is crawling about on the floor there *L,* **yAX 'iLAGa:t'k'inu:** they (cust) crawl about *M.*

Ga:nsh *(Rezanov каш 3 times, кош once, коаш once, o in transcription perhaps indication of nasalized vowel rather than of stem-initial Gw-)*

-l-Ga:nsh *(noun, unclassified) (apparently also d-class, with l-anatomical 'head, face')* lower half of face, region around mouth: **silAGa:nsh** my chin *S,* **silAGa:nsh siya: GAXAwa'sL** my mouth and nose itch *L, Rezanov* Иллюкошкасыхкъ 'Бриться rasiren, sich' **'ilAGa:nsh GAsinhXg** shave your whiskers! *L; in compound with -Xu' 'hair, fur' perhaps d-class, unless -dA- is to be interpreted as d-thematic, perhaps 'oral':* **'ulAGa:nshdAXu' qa' lAsALxahLinh** his whiskers had grown out *23.141A,* **'ilAGa:nshdAXu'** your beard, moustache *L,* **'anh 'ilAGa:nshdAXu' qa'sinhXg** he'll shave your whiskers *M,* **k'ulAGa:nshdAXu'luw** big beard, big moustache *M, but forms in Rezanov appear to imply* **-lAGa:nshXu'** *or* **-lAGa:nshAXu'**: Калякашху 'Усы Schnauzbart' **qa:lAGa:nshXu'** our whiskers, human whiskers, Кеильтеильакашхо 'Усы китовые Walfisch-Barten' **qe'yiLtehlAGa:nshXu'** whale-whiskers, Коммайльяакашхо *(with second* a *superscript insert)* 'Усы сиучьи Seebären-Bart' **k'umahlAGa:nshXu'** sea-otter-whiskers, Калькоашахосыхкль 'Бритва Rasirmesser' **qa:lAGa:nshXu' sinhXgL** human whiskers shaver.

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lAGa:nsh'a:w *(noun, unclassified) (attested in Rezanov only)* pig: *Rezanov* люкашъ-аya 'Свинья ('pig') Schwein' *perhaps to be read* **lAGa:nsh'a:w…** *(epithet,* < long-snout*).*

Ga:nAXte: *(loan from Tlingit ɢanɑx̱tèdi, name of clan or sib of Raven moiety, represented amongst the Tlingit from Chilkat on Lynn Canal northwestward)*

Ga:nAXte: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 Ga:nAXte: clan *L.*

Ga:nihG *(loan from Chugach qaaniq 'porpoise', not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

Ga:nihG *(noun, unclassified)* porpoise *A,* killerwhale, blackfish *L*: *Galushia Nelson* qá·nìq' *or* qáⁿ·nìq' 'blackfish whale' *BSdL 539.*

Ganhd

Ganhd-g(-L) *(noun, unclassified) (with -g-repetitive thematized and optional -L-suffix)* (spruce-)needle: **Ganhdg** *M, 11.118, 123A,* **GanhdgL** spruce-needle *LM, 2b.8L, 11.121A,* **'Al lisya' GanhdgL** these spruce-needles *11.116A.*

Gu:dz

Gu:dz-L *(noun, unclassified) (with thematic -L-suffix) attested only as o of o-qa' 'between o, interstice of o'*: **Gu:dzLqa'd** joint(s) (of bones) *L,* **Gu:dzLqa'X 'AltsAX** cut it at the joint! *L.*

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-Gu:dz(-L) *(noun, unclassified) (-L-suffix apparently optional) as above, possessed*: **siGu:dzqa'd** my joints *L,* **siGu:dzLqa'd siya: yik'a'd** my joints ache *L.*

Gu:djih *(widely diffused form of unknown origin, Tlingit gùǯ, Haida gōdj 'wolf', perhaps loan from Tlingit with -ih added on analogy with 'Adjih, 'Ani:djih,*

Ga:djih)

Gu:djih *(noun, unclassified)* wolf *LMA*: *9.107A, 17.1M, 25.68, 119, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 131, 133, 144, 159, 161, 162, 175A, Khromchenko* Куты 'Волкъ', *Wrangell, Galushia Nelson* ɢó·tci *BSdL 538,* ɢotci·yu 'Wolf People' *BSdL 543* **Gu:djihyu:** 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, 25.124, 152, 161, 161, 161, 212A,* **Gu:djihGAyu:** wolves, wolf-people *(with -G-personal suffix, as with nouns referring to humans) 25.165, 192A,* **Gu:djihwAlahyu:** wolf-people *25.5, 5, 13, 14, 34, 36, 49, 120, 179, 189, 201, 204A,* **Gu:djihyu:dAGAleh** wolves' minds *25.137A.*

Gu:ch' *(of doubtful authenticity, A only, rejected by L)*

-l-Gu:ch' *(noun, with l-anatomical)* fleshy part of cheek: **k'ulAGu:ch'** the fleshy part of one's cheek *A (rejected by L, cf. lu:ch', ch'u:ch', -l-quhL).*

Gu:G1

-l-Gu:G *(noun) (with l-anatomical)* inside of skin of fishhead from eye forward: **k'ulAGu:G** 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.*

Gu:G2 *(unknown to L, who doubts its authenticity, see dA-Gu')*

d-L-Gu:G *(with d-thematic 'oral, noise')* S (human infant, not e.g. adult or pup) be, become hungry, fretful, fussy: **dAsALGu:GLinh** he (baby, not pup, adult) is (has become) hungry *M,* he (baby) is hungry, fretful, fussy, hard to satisfy *A.*

Gu:X

Gu:X *(noun, unclassified)* water-bug species *A (same as Tlingit ƛ'aq'ʷantí),* tiny black water-bugs in stagnant pond or well, maximum ½ 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*: **k'ut'u' Gu:X 'uya'd** there are lots of water-bugs in it *L,* **Gu:X gAli:Leh** it (water) is full of water-bugs *L. Separate drawings by L and A of these in Krauss fieldnotes, vol. VIII, p. 7.*

Guhd~Gu'd~Gunhd *(Guhd~Gu'd apparently (now) in entirely free variation in verb, Guhd~Gunhd in noun, A consistently Gunhd, all other always Guhd, perhaps related to GAmAd~GAmAdl)*

-Guhd, -Gunhd *(noun, unclassified)* knee: **'uGunhd** *A, 24.95A,* **'uGuhd** his knee *M, Rezavnov* Какоутъ 'Колѣно Knie' **qa:Guhd** our knees, human knee, *Li* -qu't' *G,* -qo't' *Minnie and/or Scar Stevens, to be read* **-Guhd**, **k'uGuhd-luw** big knee *LM,* **'iGuhd 'iLdahd GALa'** put your knees together! *L,* **siGuhd siya: sALdAtl'L** he hurt my knee *L,* **siGuhd siya: sALqAtl'L** I skinned my knee *L,* **siGuhd siya: GALAch'a:nGL** my knees are getting weak *L,* **siGuhd siya: GAlAGAdA'a:nGL** my knees are getting weak with old age *LM,* **siGuhdXa' GAxLga'ch'gL** I'm getting shaky in the knees *L,* **siGuhdXa' xLga'ch'g** I'm shaky in the knees (from hunger) *L, 72.39fnL,* **'uGuhdq'Ach' 'Aw yAX shAch'ich'Linh** he broke it (stick) over his knee *L,* **siGuhdga' ya:nu' siwehsL** I sank in (snow) down to (as far as) my knees *L,* **siGuhdyAXd** the underside, inside of my knee *L,* **siGuhdXALchAXch'L** my kneecap *L.*

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Gunhd *(noun, unclassified) (treated once as non-possessed, perhaps incorrectly)* knee: **dAXunhyu:ya' Gunhdga'** like people's knees *24.95A.*

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O-**Guhd~-Gu'd** S knee O, strike O with knee: **'Aw sAGuhdLinh** he kneed it (kicked it with his knee) *L; with indeterminate O and yAX 'downward',* S kneel, *perhaps also* S squat: **yAX 'iGAGuhd** *L (twice),* **yAX 'iGAGu'd** kneel! *LM (each twice),* **yAX 'iqe'xGu'd** *M,* **yAX 'iqe'xGuhd** I'll kneel *L, M (twice),* **yAX 'isiGuhdL** (*or* **-Gu'd-**) I kneeled *M,* **yAX 'isAGuhdLinh** (*or* **-Gu'd-**) he kneeled *L,* **yAX 'ixiGuhdL** *LM,* **yAX 'ixiGu'dL** I'm kneeling *M,* I'm sitting on my heels *M,* **dik' yAX 'a'xGuhdLG** I'm not kneeling *L,* **'iLyAq' yAX 'i:GuhdLinh** he's squatting (?) *L (Neuter perfectives),* **yAX dä: 'iGu:dk'** *M,* **da: yAX 'iGu:dk'** we (cust) kneel *L,* **dik' da: yAX 'iGu:dk'G** we (cust) don't kneel *L, with ya:n'ch' '(continuously, further) down':* **ya:n'ch' 'iGAxGu'dL** I'm kneeling *(in the process of kneeling downward) M, repetitive:* **ya:n'ch' 'iGuhdginh** he's sagging at the knees *M.*

Gu'

Gu' *(noun)* 1. *(unclassified)* heat, warmth: **'Al Gu'** this heat (is such that…) *M,* **Gu'ya'X leh GAlAGa'ya:L** this winter's warm < season (time) is passing in warmth *L,* **Gu'yAq'd k'a' yä' 'i:dah** stay in the warmth *M.*

2. *(gl-class)* sweat, perspiration: **Gu' si:nAX yAX gAli:'ah** sweat is running down my face *L,* **Gu' si:nAX yAX gulAGA'a'L** sweat has started to run down my face *L,* **Gu' 'i:na'q' qa:nch' GAle:L** sweat is forming on your face *L.*

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de:Gu' *(noun)* sweathouse, sweatbath *L (same as qi' 'Adk'udAxahL). de:- not identified, see de:2.*

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Gu'L *(noun, unclassified) (with -L- instrumental)* blanket *LM*: *49.134, 134, 51.115A, Galushia Nelson* qɔ'tɬ 'blanket' *BSdL 550,* **'Aw Gu'L sich' 'Ata'** give me that blanket! *M,* **Gu'L sila'q' GAta'** put a blanket on me! *M,* **Gu'L siq'Ak'ah 'Ata'** take the blanket off me! *M,* **Gu'L siq'Ak'ah 'ALa'** take the blankets off me! *M,* **'Aw Gu'L 'Ad qu'xdA'eh** I'll put that blanket over my shoulders *L;* **ts'iga:dga' 'i:t'eh Gu'L** (certain specific kind of) brownish blanket *L;* **Gu'Lq' ya:nahd tah** bedspread < it lies on, covering, blanket *L;* ***GuGtl'*Gu'L** *swan*-blanket *(first element Tlingit form) 63.3, 6G.*

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gudla:Gu'L *(noun, unclassified) (with gl-thematic 'color, dye')* Chilkat blanket *L.*

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dA-Gu' S be warm: *Rezanov* Стекотль 'Потъ ('sweat') Schweiss', *Anonymous* Стакутль 'СпотѢлъ(?)' *(Russian word largely illegible)* **sdiGu'L** it's warm, has gotten warm *M, 60.6A, Rezanov* Устыкооль 'Жарко heiss' **'Aw sdiGu'L** it got warm, **xsdiGu'L** I'm warm, I got warm *L,* **'ida'ya:lAX xsdiGu'L** I'm too warm *L,* **'idah xsdiGu'L** I'm nicely warm *L,* **dAGu'** it's getting warm *M,* **qu'dAGu'** it'll get warm *M,* **qu'xdAGu'** I'll get, be warm *L,* **GAdAGu'L** he's getting warm *40.13L,* **GAxdAGu'L** I'm getting warm *L,* **'idAGu' da:X** as he begins to warm up *21a.15L,* **dAGu:k'inh** he (boy) is (cust) warm (fretful, may have fever) *L (speculating on Gu:G2), forms in Furuhjelm, badly garbled, but probably all representing themes with Gu':* Stehuvaliaa 'warm, hot' **sdiGu'L la:** it's warm!, Iesitu 'summer', Iesetgu 'autumn', Ittekhu 'spring', *to be read* **sdiGu'L** it got warm, **diGu'** it's warm *(Neuter imperfective) or the like, cf. Furuhjelm forms glossed 'winter, morning'; with gl-class-mark for S:* **gu:nsdiGu'L** *M, 34.64M,* **gAlisdiGu'L** water got warm, hot *LM ("not as hot as gAli:k'a'd", M),* **qu'gu:ndAGu'** *M,* **qu'gAlAdAGu'** water will get warm *M, 16.29M,* **gAla:diGu'** let water get warm *M. Transitive (causative):* **'ALGu'** warm it up! *M,* **'iqe'xLGu'** I'll warm you up *M,* **xLGu'** I'm warming it up *M,* **yiLGu'shuh** are you warming it up? *L,* **q'e' xLGu'** I'm warming it again *M,* **'udjehX LGu'inh** he's holding (warming) his ears *L,* **Gi:LGu'shuh** are you warming it up? *L,* **siLGu'L** I warmed

it up *L,* **xuLGu:k'** it (cust) warms me *M,* **'Aw 'ALGu'X 'utl' dAxlinhinh** I told him to warm it up *L, repetitive:* **xLGu'g** I'm warming it up *LM,* **'iya: xLGu'g** I'm warming it up for you *L,* **qu'xLGu'g** I'll warm it up *L,* **siLGu'gL** I warmed it up *("guess you could say that") L, with class-mark for O:* **'itl' li:LGu'k'** you (cust) heat up mountains *34.65M,* **'Aw gAli:LGu'X 'utl' dAXlinhinh** I told him to warm it (water) *L, with y-anatomical:* **'iqe'yi:xLGu'** I'll warm your hands *L, reflexive:* **'Ada:LAGu', 'AdALAGu'** warm yourself! *M,* **'Adqu'xLAGu'** I'll warm myself *L,* **'AdxLAGu'** I'm warming myself *L,* **q'e' 'AdxLAGu'** I'm warming myself again *M,* **'AdxsLiGu'L** I warmed myself *L,* **'AdixLiGu'L** I'm keeping myself warm *M (Neuter perfective),* **'AdiLiGu' k'a'** you should warm yourself *M, with y-anatomical:* **'AdyAxLAGu'** I'm warming my hands *L; passive:* **xusdiGu'L, xusLiGu'L** I got warmed up (by someone, something) *L.*

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diGu'wahya: *(noun, unclassified)* heavy garment for warmth < something for the sake of warmth *L*: **diGu'** it's warm *(apparently Neuter imperfective of d-Gu'; should perhaps be 'idiGu' Active optative) as o of o-wahya: 'makings of o'.)*

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o-**tl' 'i-dA-Gu'** *(underlying theme apparently O-Gu', detransitivized with indeterminate O, with o-tl' 'with o')* it is warm for o, o sweat: **sitl' 'isdiGu'L** it's warm for me *L,* I'm sweating *M,* **sitl' 'iqe'dAGu'** I'll sweat *M,* **'utl' 'idAGu:k'inh** he (baby) is (cust) warm < it's (cust) warm for him *L, Rezanov* Хутлестакотль 'Потѣть schwitzen' ***xu… …tl' 'isdiGu'L*** *perhaps for* **xu: sitl' 'isdiGu'L** me, I'm sweating *(xu- form for O rather than for o.)*

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Gd-dA-Gu' *(with Gd-thematic 'place')* S (place) be, become warm: **qi' GAdisdiGu'Lda:d** at a warm place < at where place is, got warm *21a.13, 14, 30L, 24.21M, 33.12A, Anonymous and Baranov* Катыстакуль 'Тепло' **GAdisdiGu'L** it's warm, it was warm, it got warm (place, weather) *L,* **Xa:'d GAdisdiGu'L** warm weather < it got warm outside *M,* **dAqi:kih k'u:y, 'ida'ya:lAX GAdisdiGu'L** no more air (wind), it's too hot *L,* **'ida: GAdisdiGu'L** it's so hot that… *M,* **GAdAGAdAGu'L** it's getting warm *L,* **q'e' GAdAGAdAGu'L** it's getting warm again *L,* **qu'GAdAdAGu'** I'll get, be warm *LM,* **GAdidiGu'** place is hot *L (Neuter imperfective),* **'a:nd GAda:diGu'wahd** so it'll get warm here *L,* **'a:nd GAdAGAdAGu' da:X** when it gets warm here *L,* **GAdAGAdAGu' da:X** if (when) it gets warm *L, 16.28M,* **GAda:dAGu' da:X, GAdi'dAGu' da:X** when it starts to get warm, just as it begins to get wam *L, repetitive:* **GAda:dAGu'g da:X** if (or when) it gets warm *L. Transitive (causative):* **GAdAGALGu'** warm the place up! *M,* **qu'GAdi:xLGu'** I'll warm the place up *M.*

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GAdAGu' *(apparently noun, perhaps deverbalization of preceding, uncertain)* warm weather: *Rezanov* Катакъ-о 'Тепло warm' **GAdAGu'** warm weather *(?, perhaps Inceptive imperative of dA-Gu',* get warm!*),* **GAdAGu' k'u:y** warm wind, Chinook *L (*warm-weather wind*?, should perhaps be dAGu' k'u:y 'warm wind').*

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Gl-dA-Gu' *(with Gl-thematic 'ground')* S (ground) be, become warm: **Ga:nsdiGu'L, GAlisdiGu'L** ground got warm *M.*

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o-**qAch'** (O-?)**d-L-Gu'** *(with d-thematic and/or class-mark for O, perhaps transitive, and o-qAch' 'against, continually upon o')* S put warm thing (O?) against o to warm o, *(or perhaps originally)* S warm O for application to o: **'ilAqahq'Ach' di:LGu'** warm your head (with these)! *10.209A,* **'ishe:k'q'Ach' di:LGu'** warm your chest (with e.g. hot-water-bottle)! *L. Problematical forms: both -l-qah 'head' and -she:k' 'chest' are d-class nouns so that with postposed o-q'Ach', the expected forms would be 'ilAqahda:q'Ach' and 'ishe:k'da:q'Ach', but a d-*

mark appears instead with the verb and not in o-q'Ach' as expected; earlier perhaps these constructions were 'ilAqah 'uq'Ach' di:LGu', 'ishe:k' 'uq'Ach' di:LGu' 'warm your head, chest against it!', but see 'uya' 'Adq'Ach' k'udAdAGu' below, in which a thematic d-mark clearly occurs in the verb.

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'uya' 'Adq'Ach' k'udAdAGu' *(noun)* hot-water bottle *L. Nominalized passive of preceding, literal interpretation problematical,* < in it (o with broad opening at top) something is warmed against oneself.

Gu'ts'

-Gu'ts' *(noun, unclassified)* scale (of fish): **k'uGu'ts'** scales (of fish) *LMA,* **k'uGu'ts't'u'** lots of scales *M.*

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-l-Gu'ts' *(noun) (with l-anatomical 'head')* dandruff: **silAGu'ts'** dandruff (on my head) < my head-scales *LMA.*

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O-**L-Gu'ts'** S scale (remove scales from) O (fish): **'ALGu'ts'** scale it (fish)! *M.*

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qa' y-Gu'ts' *(attested only with y-anatomical 'hand' and qa' 'up out')* S's hands get full of herring-scales (from handling herrings): **qa' yisiGu'ts'L** my hands got full of herring-scales *L.*

qi *(see qid)*

qid *(qid always, with one exceptional instance qich', not verified, but if authentic and not to be analyzed qid-ch', then implying that qid is to be analyzed qi-d; in certain instances partly confused with qi', see qidga' below)*

qid *(preverb) (always with zero (? -d) final, with one exception under 5c. below, with -ch' 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')* 1. 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 ch'a' GAxdAta:L** I'm taking it (e.g. gun) down (sideways, off wall, towards myself) *L,* **qid Ga:'** come down! *L,* **qid qi'yiyah** you'll walk off (the edge) *L, see also O-L-ta'tl', O-(L-)ta (1a.13, 1b.16M), O-L-tsinhd (15.6, 11M), O-(d-)L-tsAX*, O-gdl-tsAX, O-d-ts'i'k'*, O-tsAX 1., -sid*, Xd-sid, qid O-d-dja'*, qid O-gdl-dja', qid O-gdl-ch'ich', O-L-shu:t', O-gu'k', O-(L-)gu'k', -kinhd, O-L-kinhd, qid d-kug*, O-L-xu'tl', -xuL-, -xuL- (transitive, 18.56L, 23.157, 159A), O-GahG, L-qAtl', d-LA-qahG, qid 'Ad-LA-qe, O-q'Ats' 1.*, O-Xahd 1., O-L-XAd, -wAs- 4., O-LAG, O-L-ya:' (11.162, 65.20, 20A), qid (d)-'ya*, O-d-'iL, dl-LA-'Adz 1c., lXdl-LA-'Adz 1., qid O-gdl-(L-)'a, O-l-(L-)'a (28.45A), -'a´ 6a., O-L-(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 necessarily downward) *L, see also -'a´ 6a.*

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3a. (extending) rigidly from attached point in certain direction, aimed: **tl'i: 'uch' ya'X qid qAXAdidisidinu:** bear-spears have been set pointing up at them *34.107L, see also -'a´ 6b.*, 6c.*, sometimes in combination with ya'X 'up':* **ya'X qid** pointing rigidly upward.

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3b. *perhaps as 3a., meaning problematical*: **'uyAtl'e:q'd 'iLch' qid 'u'li:LtahLinh** he has his hands palms together < he has his palms folded pointing at each other, *perhaps more accurately* he has his finger-tips together, palms facing *L*

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4. extra, left over, overaccumulated: *see d-'ya 2d. S accumulate.*

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5a. *with li'X '(motion within area) back from open front end'*: **li'X qid** back from edge, *see li' 3a, see also ts'a'li'Xqid, a possible place-name, under ts'a'.*

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5b.: **li'X qid** bay, *see li' 3b.*

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5c. *With -ch' final (<? qi-ch',? qid-ch')* continuous motion *(note however that with Inceptive perfectives elsewhere, as well as repetitives and customaries, the form is consistently qid)*: **li'X qich' Ga:L** he's going (from front side over and) down the back side (of hill) *L, not verified, perhaps incorrect.*

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qidga' *(probably reduced form of qi'-d-ga') see under qi'.*

qich'

qAtl'

O-**qAtl'** S slide, push, rub O along surface without moving O very far out of place: **sAqAtl'Linh** he slid it (without moving it very far out of place) *L. Transitive (causative), passive:* **sdiqAtl'L** it's been pushed a bit *L.*

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L-qAtl' S slip, slide, rub against, along surface: **qa'LqAtl'** it'll slip (not keep position on slippery surface) *M,* **siGuhd siya: da:q' sALqAtl'L** I skinned my knee < my knee rubbed on something (a surface) *L, with qid 'down off, downhill':* **xitl' qid GALqAtl'L** snow started to slide down *23.128A,* **qid sALqAtl'L** it slid down *23.129A,* **qid qu'xLqAtl'** I'll slip (downhill) *L, with ya:n' 'down':* **ne:tl'kihga' lixahya' ch'e'yAq'd ya:n' sALqAtl'Linh** pretty soon she slipped and fell on some grizzly-bear dung *18.6L,* **k'ut'u'da'X ya:n' sALqAtl'Linh** many times she slipped and fell *18.7L,* **ya:n' siLqAtl'L** I slipped and fell *L, with yAX 'downward':* **'Aw shahG 'Awa: 'uXa:n' yAX 'i:LqAtl'** that their slime may run down off (the length of) them *21b.39A, repetitive:* **'Aw shahG 'Awa: 'uXa:n' yAX LqAtl'g** their slime slides down off them *M,* **sitah siq' li' LqAtl'g** my skin is peeling, flaking off < my skin keeps sliding deeply in (away from front) on me *L,* **siyahd qa:nch' LqAtl'g** it keeps slipping out of my hand < up out from my hand *L. Transitive (causative): S rub O along surface, S rub O:* **siLqAtl'L** I pushed it *M,* **qu'xLqAtl'** I'll push it *M,* **'iLqAtl'** push! *M,* **GALqAtl'** make him slip! *M,* **xusALqAtl'L** he made me slip *L,* **ya:n' xusALqAtl'L** he made me slip and fall *L,* **sich' GALqAtl', sich'a' GALqAtl', sich' 'ALqAtl', sich'a' 'ALqAtl'** push it to, toward me! *M,* **sida' GALqAtl', sida' 'ALqAtl'** push it (all the way) to me! *M,* **sich'a:ch' GALqAtl', sich'a:ch' 'ALqAtl'** push it towards me, in my direction! *M,* **sid GALqAtl', sid 'ALqAtl'** push it all the way to (touching) me, rub it on me! *M,* **'iLga' Xu' GALqAtl'** smooth it out! < rub it to a finished state like each other! *M; with o-X 'in contact with o, by means of o', 'S rub O against o, S rub O by means of o:* **'AwX xLqAtl'** I'm rubbing it on it *L, with gd-anatomical:* **'i:nLk'a't'X 'anh gAdAsALqAtl'XLinh** he rubbed her rump with a sea-urchin *4.13M (-X- of verb probably analogical), with perambulative:* **yAX 'ALqAtl'X** rub it (around)! *M (-X- probably analogical from L-qAtl'-X below), with class-marks for O:* **'Awq' yAX lAXAxLAqAtl'X** I'm rubbing it (e.g. onion) around on it (e.g. meat) *L,* **'Aw yAX disLiqAtl'Linh** she rubbed it (arrow) around *27.11L; reflexive:* **'u:ch' 'AdxsLiqAtl'L** I

slid myself thither *L, with anatomical mark:* **'iLX 'Adya:nLAqAtl'X** rub your hands together! *M (-***X** *probably analogical), with perambulative:* **yAX 'Adqu'yAxLAqAtl'X** I'll rub my hands (around) *M (-X probably analogical), repetitive:* **'iLX 'AdXu:ndla:LAqAtl'ginh** he's gnashing his teeth *L; passive:* **sLiqAtl'L** it's been slip, pushed *L.*

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L-qAtl'-X *(with -X-thematic, perhaps related to -X of susceptive Neuter, there perhaps originally causative of unattested LA-qAtl'-X 'it's liable to slip', attested only in Neuter imperfective)* S be slippery: *Rezanov* Елькатльхъ 'Гладко ('smooth') glatt' **yiLqAtl'X** it's slippery *LM,* **dik' 'a'LqAtl'XG** it's not slippery *L, with d-class-mark for S:* **di:LqAtl'X** it (ice) is slippery *LM. Transitive (causative):* **GALqAtl'X** make it slippery! *M.*

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Gl-L-qAtl'-X *(as above, with Gl-thematic 'ground')* S (ground) be slippery: **GAli:LqAtl'X** the ground is slippery, it's slippery underfoot *LM,* **ya'Xu: qi' GAli:LqAtl'Xda:X yAX qu'yidah** don't walk around in place where it's slippery underfoot *L.*

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'uya' lAXAqAtl'L *(noun)* mortar: *probable reading of Rezanov* Уяляхакатль 'Ступа, игать Mörser'. *-L-instrumental deverbalization,* < (it lX-class) is rubbed in it.

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'uX lAXAqAtl'L *(noun)* pestle: *probable reading of Rezanov* Охлякакатль 'Пестикъ Mörserkeule'. *-L-instrumental deverbalization,* < by means of it it (lX-class) is rubbed.

qAts'1 *(perhaps to be identified with qAts'2)*

-qAts' S crack, split, rip, tear: **sAqAts'L** it's ripped, it tore *L,* **k'usha:dah sAqAts'L** it's badly split, ripped *L,* **'anh 'u:dAX sAqAts'L** the ground is cracked along there *M, with la'q' 'thickness, collapse, explode':* **'ida: xan'Lq' k'uXAsahL, la'q' sAqAts'L** he had eaten very much, he burst *15.27M,* **la'q' sAqAts'L** it burst *LM,* **di'dAk'uXAsahL la'q' sAqAts'Linh** he ate so much he burst *L,* **k'uqu'Xi:xah qi' la'q' 'ixiqAts'ch'** I'll eat till I burst *L,* **la'q' qa'qAts'** it'll burst *M,* **la'q' GAqAts'L** it's bursting *M, with class-marks for S:* **di:qAts'L** it (e.g. table) is cracked *M,* **dik' da'qAts'LG** it (table) isn't cracked *M (Neuter perfective),* **dA'u:d da'liqAts'** let it (table) crack! *M, Rezanov* Коасготесокоцль *(with г written over* ъ*)* 'Прояснѣваеть es heitert sich (der Himmel) auf' *probably to be read* **qwahs XAdAsAqAts'L** clouds split, *indirect reciprocal, with no dA-classifier: Rezanov* Илькасакацль 'Трещина Riss, Spalte' **'iLk'ah sAqAts'L** it split apart (away from each other), or perhaps **'iLd k'usAqAts'L** something split apart (apart from each other), *with d-class-mark for S:* **'iLd dAsAqAts'L** it (board) split apart *L,* **'iLd qu'di:qAts'** it (board) will split apart *L, with gd-anatomical 'rump':* **'iLd gudAsAqAts'L** pants ripped (at seat) *L. Transitive (causative), attested only with la'q':* **la'q' GALqAts'** burst it! *M,* **la'q' Lqe:ts'k'** it (cust) bursts it *M; passive:* **la'q' sdiqAts'L, la'q' sLiqAts'L** it's been burst *L. Susceptive Neuter:* **LiqAts'X La'g** wood that's liable to split *L.*

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ya' (d)-qAts' *(with d-thematic with ya' 'completely')* S rip to bits: **'u'la'q'Aya'(yu:) 'uXa' ya' dAsAqAts'L** all his clothes were in tatters, shreds *31.41, 42A;* **ya' 'i:qAts'LyAq' 'i:dahL** he's dressed in rags *L (nominalized Neuter perfective).*

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k'uLqAts'L(-G) *(noun, unclassified)* rags, tatters: **k'uLqAts'LyAq' 'i:dahL** he's dressed in rags *L,* **k'uLqAts'LG** all raged *A (probably influenced by qAts'LG, see qAts'2). L-classifier and -L-suffix not clearly explained, with k'u-indefinite S or O, apparently transitive (causative), not perfective.*

qAts’2 *(perhaps to be identified with qAts'1)*

qAts’LG *(noun, unclassified) (with -L- and -G-thematic suffixes)* male salmon *LMA*: **qAts’LG’a’luw** big male salmon *M.*

qAsh

-qAsh (part of) S be, become wide open, spread wide apart: *with 'iLyAq' '(from?) inside one another':* **’iLyAq’ ’i:qAshL** he has his legs spread wide apart *L (Neuter perfective), with lX(d)-anatomical:* **’iLyAq’ lAXAdiqAshL** he has his eyes wide open *L,* **lAXAdAshAqAshLinh** he opened his eyes wide *L; with Gd-thematic with sa' 'mouth':* **XAwa: sa’ GAdi:qAshL** dog has its mouth wide open *L (Neuter perfective). Transitive (causative), reflexive:* **’Ad-lAXAdishLiqAshLinh** he opened his eyes wide *A,* **Lich’ ’Ad-lAXAdisLiqAshLinh** he always has his eyes open wide *A, with qa:nch' '(continuously) up out':* **qa:nch’ ’Ad-lAXAdishLiqAshLinh** his eyes are open wide, staring *A.*

qAw~quw *(M quh, cf. qih, qAnuh)*

qAw *LA,* **quw** *L* clearing, bare open place on mountainside *(a good place to sight bear from L)*: **qAw’a’luw** big open place on mountainside *L,* **qAwda:q’** *(uncertain)* **yAX da:X** he's walking about on an open place on the mountainside *L. M claims the form is quh, not qAw or quw, but this is probably by confusion with qih; qAw verified twice by both L and A.*

qAmAXts’ *(cf. GAmAts')*

-qAmAXts’ S (top) spin: *with ya' 'up out, begin':* **qa’ sAqAmAXts’L** it (top) started to spin *L. Transitive (causative):* **qu’xLqAmAXts’** I'll spin a top *L.*

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qAmAXts’L *(noun, unclassified) (with -L-instrumental)* top (spinning toy) *LA*: **qAmAXts’Lluw** big top *L.*

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qAmAXts’LqAXah *(month-name) some month* < top-month *L (L cannot remember what time of year this month was).*

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lXd-qAmAXts’-L *(with lXd-anatomical 'eyes', and -L-suffix retained throughout)* S (child) stare (at someone): **lAXAdAqAmAXts’L** he (child) is looking, staring straight at one *L,* **sich’ qu’lAXAdi:qAmAXts’inh** he'll stare straight at me *L.*

qAmAXch’ *(cf. dAmAXch')*

qAmAXch’(**-L**) *(noun, d-class) (with optional -L- suffix)* 1. hole, rotten spot in ice: **qAmAXch’** *LA,* **qAmAXch’L** airhole in ice, rotten spot in ice, spot that never freezes solidly over, where airbubbles often come up *LA,* **qAmAXch’Lda’luw** big hole in ice *L,* **qAmAXch’LdA’e’ q’AGi:ya:G** watch out, don't walk into rotten spot on ice! *L,* **’Aw qAmAXch’LdA’e’ ’a:k’ya:X** lest he walk into a rotten spot on the ice! *L*

2. *(noun) (attested only as C)* rotten (of ice), bubbling, fermenting *(attested only as C)*: **qAmAXch’L dAGALe’L** it (d-class, ice) is getting holes in it, rotting *L,* **qAmAXch’L GALe’L** it (e.g. berrymash) is getting bubbles in it, it's boiling, fermenting, bubbles are coming up in it *L.*

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d-dA-qAmAXch’(**-L**) *(with d-class-mark for S 'ice', attested only in Inceptive perfective, -L-suffix possibly thematic, or only perfective)* S (ice) rot: **dAGAdAqAmAXch’L** ice is rotting *L.*

qAlah

qAlah- *(element, perhaps originally noun, unclassified) occurring only in* **qAlahqa'ga'** *LM*, **qAlahqa'gwa'** *(numeral)* four *S, 64.3G*: *Rezanov* Кляхакъ-о '4.' **qAlahqa'ga'**, *Anonymous and Baranov* Калаквака '4.' **qAlahqwa'ga'**, *Khromchenko* Кунакака '4.' **qAnahqa'ga'**, *Wrangell* Калакакуа 'Vier' *Furuhjelm* Khuliakhakva 'four', Khanakvaka 'one thousand' **qAlahqa'gwa'**, **qAlahqwa'ga'**, *Galushia Nelson* kalá'qa'qa' '4.' *BSdL 553,* **qAlahqa'ga' XAwa:** four dogs *LM,* **qAlahqa'ga'nu:** four people *LM,* **qAlahqa'ga'ga' qu'xga'ts'** I'll make (a stairway of about) four steps *L;* **dAGa:Xk'a:d qAlahqa'ga' 'uleh GAli:'yahL** he was fourteen years old *61.31A,* **qAlahqa'ga'da'X** four times *19.16, 16L, 27b.38A, 62.15G,* **qAlahqa'gwa'da'X dAGa:q' XAla:gw** forty winters *62.11G, Rezanov* Клякакаиахтакакъ *(with a second* а *written over illegible letter, perhaps* в, *unidentifiable strokes written as superscript insert between* и *and* а) '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* **gahXAdAqa'ga'** every single day*, o-qa' 'amongst o', o-ga' 'like, approximately o', cf. also t'uhLga' '3'.*

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qAlahqa'ga' yAsALqahL Thursday < four days passed *L.*

qAla' *(perhaps related to qa:q' and/or qa'ni:~qa'nu: and/or qAyuh and/or qu:(l))*

qAla' *(preverb)* beating up *usually with theme O-L-i 'S act upon O, do something to O', in qAla' O-L-i 'S beat O up', see under -le 21. (le~(l)i~ni:)*: *once elsewhere:* **du:dunh qAla' la:yiLts'in'tl'g** that anyone should slap their faces (beating them up) *49.27A.*

qAnixah~qAnuxah~qAnuhxah *(origin unclear; see qAnuh)*

qAnixah *LM,* **qAnuxah**, **qAnuhxah** *A* 1. *Eyak man LM.*

2. *Lena's mother's brother L.*

qAnu:g

qAnu:g *(personal name) man's name LM, Seton-Karr 1887* Cronook *at Kayak Island.*

qAnuh *(perhaps to be analyzed qA-nuh, cf. nuh, GAnuh, 'Anuh, or perhaps related to qih and/or qAw~quw, see also qAnixah~qAnuxah~qAnuhxah)*

qAnuh *(preverb) (attested with zero, -d, -X, and -ch' finals)* into position of visibility, into open view, showing, on exhibit, display, in public: *with zero final:* **'u:dAX q'uhnu: dAXunhyu:lAXAdla:ch' 'Aw qAnuh sALtahL** then they exhibited it before people's eyes *28.94A,* **qa:ch' qAnuh GAta'** show us *34.65M,* **'ich' qAnuh qu'xtah, 'Al 'utl' da: k'usiyu:k'** I'll show you, this which we (cust) kill things with *37b.35A,* **'ulAXAdla:ch' 'ik'ahsh qAnuh qi'yitinhinh** you'll display your foot before his eyes *51.80A,* **dA'u:dAXyi:nkih sich' qAnuh sALtahL** someone showed it to me *L,* **'Al 'ich' qAnuh qu'xtah** I'll show you this *L,* **dAtli: 'ich' qAnuh qu'xtah** I'll "show" you *(threat) L,* **qAnuh GAta'** display it! *L,* **'i(lAXAdla:)ch' 'Aw qAnuh siLtahL** I showed it to you(r eyes) *L,* **qAnuh GALyin'inh** expose him! (denounce him publicly!) *L,* **qAnuh 'anh 'i:LyahLinh** S is denouncing, bawling O (spouse) out in public (for infidelity) *L,* **qAnuh sAqehLinu: la:** they (boating) have come into view, see! *L,* **qAnuh xwah** I (walking) come into sight *A (see also qAnixah~),* **qAnuh 'u'sLitsahL** it became visible *L; with -d final:* **qAnuhd ya' 'Ate:** put (leave) it in an open place! *L,* **qAnuhd 'Aw sALtahLinh** he put (left) it in an open place *L; with -X final:* **qAnuhX GAqe:Linh** he's boating along in an open place *L; with -ch' final:* **'ahnu:ch' qAnuhch' 'ALyi:n'inu:** they keep showing her O *38.7LM,* **qAnuhch' 'u'GALAtsa:L** it's becoming visible (e.g. through fog) *L.*

qAyuh *(perhaps related to qa:q' and/or qAla' and/or qu:(l) and/or qa'ni:~qa'nu:, or conceivably to be analyzed qA-yuh)*

qAyuh *(preverb) (having unique property of requiring LA-classifier in intransitive verbs of locomotion, with which it generally occurs, and because requiring not only L-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 go ... for self')* belligerently, fighting-mad, for a fight, attacking: **'AwXa' q'uhnu: 'iLq' qAyuh sLi'a'ch'L** they went to fight with each other over it *28.103A,* **'anhda' qAyuh sLiyahL** she attacked him *47c.55L,* **xut'Ltl' 'u:ch' qAyuh sLi'a'ch'Linh** with a rifle he came there ready to fight *52.9L,* **qAyuh GALAqe:Linh** he's coming (by boat) for a fight *L,* **'iLch' qAyuh GALA'a'ch'Linu:** they're going fighting-mad at, attacking each other *L,* **'uch' qAyuh qu'xLih** I go fight him, go at him fighting-mad *L,* **qAyuh sLiyahLinh** he went to fight, attacked *L, apparently always following other preverbs:* **lahdz qAyuh sLiyahL** went forward to fight *18.66L,* **'ich' lu: qAyuh qa'Lah** will turn around fighting-mad at you *36.15A,* **Lich' yAX La:Xinh** he's always going around fighting-mad *L.*

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qAyuh dAqeh *LA,* **qAyu: dAqeh** *S (personal name) Eyak man, Chief Joe LAS. Etymologized by informants < "goes (by boat) fighting-mad", but with vocalized form of zero- rather than of L-classifier; perhaps therefore folk-etymological influence of qAyuh LA-qe on Eskimo name qayugtaq (from Eyak point of view GAyuxdAq-, qAyuxdAq-, qAyuh dAq-).*

qu *(perhaps related to qu´, quh1 and/or quh2; see also quhL; Active imperfective usually qe:)*

-qu 1. pl. S (human or anthropomorphized animal) sit (be in, get into position, *cf. -da for sg. S*): (1) *Active perfective, used with force of Neuter, 'S be stationary in sitting position':* **dA'u:d sAquhLinu:** they were sitting right there *28.33A,* **dA'u:d sAquhLga' 'u'GAdA'inhinu:** they looked like they were sitting right there *47b.40M,* **k'ugu:nt'u' dAXunhyu: qi' sAquhL** at place where many people were sitting *30.3L,* **'udAya'd k'usAquhL** some people were sitting in it (car) *61.59, 64A,* **la'dnu: sAquhL** two people are sitting *M,* **sAquhLinu:** they're sitting *L,* **gahXAdA'a:w sAquhLinu:** they've been sitting all day long *L,* **'u:d k'usAquhL** someone (pl.) are sitting there *L; indirect reciprocal:* **'iLXa' sdiquhLinu:** they're sitting by each other; they're having a love affair *M. (2) Neuter perfective, transitive (causative), indirect reciprocal:* **'iLlAG 'i:LquhLinh, 'iLlAG 'i:LquhLinu:** 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* Итлякекуулькуль 'Своякъ ('brother-in-law') Schwager' **'iLlAG… k'u:LquhL** he has (someone pl.) co-wives, someone has them as co-wives. *(3) Active imperfective, used in customary or ethical sense:* **'a:ndshAl sAqe:GAyu: quh** is here where the children (normally) sit? *L,* **dik' 'u:d sAqe:GAyu: quhG** 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, imperative apparently always Active:* **ya' 'AlAXquh** *L,* **ya' 'AlAXqe:** *(latter clearly preferred)* pl. sit!, pl. stay seated! *LS, 18.43L,* **dA'u:d ya' 'AlAXqe:** pl. stay seated right there! *L,* **'Awq' ya' qa'quh** pl. will sit on it *28.96, 98A,* **ya' 'Aqu:X 'utl' dAxlinhinu:** I told them to sit down *L.*

2. pl. S (human or animal) stay, remain *(within certain location, bodily position unspecified), often indistinguishable from 1. above (cf. -da for sg. S)*: *(1) Active perfective, with force of Neuter:* **lu:di:'X lah 'Aqu:k'inu:** they sit around on the tide-beach *10.237A,* **'ahnu: LA'ahGAyu: q'Aw 'a:nd sAquhL** the slaves it was were sitting here *11.132A,* **LinhGda'X XAwa:yu: k'uqu'wAshehqa'd sAquhL** dogs stayed amongst game animals *13.1L,* **dA'u:d Xa:'d sAquhLinu:** they stayed right there outside *29.58A,* **ma:gAdAtl'Alah sAquhLinu:'a:n' sahL** he came upon those who live around lake *37b.2A,* **ma:gAdAtl'Alah sAquhLinu:** lake-

dwarves *37b.86A,* **Li'q' dAXunhyu: q'A'Aw 'AdiXd sAquhL** all the people are sitting at home *62.25G, (2) Neuter perfective: see nominalization below. (3) Active imperfective, used in customary sense:* **t'its'da:q' q'A'Aw qu:, 'Aw ge:Lta:g** on the ice it is they sit, the seal *62.28G, see also* ***tsa:le:Xquh*** octopus < it (pl.?) stays under rock, *under tsa:,* ***sAqe:GAyu: 'uyAq' 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:* **lu:di:'d ya' 'Aqu:k'inu:** they stay on the tide-beach *10.234A,* **('ahnu:) qe'LGAyu: lu:di:'d ya' 'Aqu:k'** those women stay on the tide-beach *10.235A,* womenfolk would sit on the tide-beach *60.3A (customaries),* **ya' 'Aqu:X 'utl' dAxlinhinu:** I told them to stay *L, indirect reflexive, with 'Ad'e'd 'at (one's own) home':* **'Ad'e'd ya' 'AlAXdAqe:** pl. stay home! *L,* **'Ad'e'd da: ya' qu'dAquh** we'll stay home *L. Transitive (causative):* **'AdiXd lAXiqe'xLquh** I'll make you pl. stay indoors, home *L.*

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3. pl. S move while in sitting position *(cf. -da for sg. S)*: *with perambulative:* **yAX 'AlAXdAqu:** *(not -qe:, which would be homophonous with 'go boating, boat around' M, but M is perhaps incorrect in rejecting the form for this reason)* pl. sit around restlessly, sidle about! *M,* **da: yAX 'idiquh** let's sit around *M (no distinction made between continuous and interrupted sitting position).*

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4. *with ya:n' 'down',* pl. S move downward (from standing) into sitting position *(cf. -da for sg. S), imperative probably always Inceptive*: **ya:n' GAlAXqu'** pl. sit down! *LM,* **da: ya:n' qa'quh** we'll sit down *L,* **dik' da: ya:n' qa'qu:G** we won't sit down *L,* **ya:n' qa'quhinu:** they'll sit down *LM,* **ya:n' sAquhLinu:** they sat down *LM, 25.23L, 29.64A,* **da: ya:n' 'i:nquh** let's sit down *L,* **ya:n' Gi:quhinu:, ya:n' 'i:quhinu:** let them sit down *L. Transitive (causative):* **ya:n' lAXiqe'xLquh** I'll make you pl. sit down *L.*

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5. *with lihXda:d 'without activity, silent, minding own business' (cf. -da for sg. S)*: **lihXda:d ya' 'AlAXqe: q'ah** pl. quiet down, be still, silent, finally! *L,* **lihXda:d sAquhLinu:** they quieted down *L.*

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6. *with o-yAq'* in o, pl. S be dressed in o, wear o: **'AwyAq' 'Aqu:k'inu:** they're (cust) dressed in it *24.40A,* **k'uyAq' GAlAXqu'** pl. get dressed (in something)! *L. Transitive (causative):* **'AwyAq' lAXiqe'xLquh** I'll dress you pl. in that *L.*

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7. *with o-'e'd 'in the place of o'*, S live on o (for nourishment) *(cf. -da for sg. S)*: **ts'idwAX 'Aw q'uhnu: 'Aw'e'd sAquhL, dAte'ya'yu:** only on that they used to live, such fish *25.208A,* **te'ya'e'd da: quh** we live on fish *L.*

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8. pl. S fare *(intransitive not attested, cf. -da for sg. S)*: *Transitive (causative), S treat O, with ya' 'completely, to state of rest':* **k'udzu:dah ya' lAXiqe'xLquh** I'll treat you pl. well *L, perhaps more precisely to be glossed* I'll make you pl. end up well..

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'isqu:l *(gerundive)* sitting (of pl. persons): **'isqu:l qAGALga'Linu:** they're getting tired of sitting < sitting is tiring them *L.*

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'uq' 'isqu'L bench < for plural to sit on, *attested in Anonymous only:* Акашкулъ 'Стулъ или кресла' ('chair or easy-chair').

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'iLgutl'a' 'idiquhL *(place-name) (first transcribed* ***'iLk'utl'a' 'idiquhL****) North and Observation Islands L. Nominalized Neuter perfective, indirect reciprocal,* < they're situated one behind the other.

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LA-qu pl. S (waterfowl) sit, alight, swim, float, on surface of water *(cf. LA-da for sg. S)*: **ta' sLiquhL** they (ducks) landed on the water *L,* **yahd 'ALAqu:k'** they (loons) (cust) swim out to sea *24.41A, with perambulative:* **giyahgu:na'q' yAX LAqu:k'inu:** they'd (loons) swim around on top of the water *24.42A,* **yAX LAqu:X** they (live ducks) are floating, swimming about *L,* fish are swimming around *L (probably in error, see l-qu 2b). Transitive (causative), with perambulative:* **yAX 'ALAquh** make them (ducks) swim about! *L; reflexive:* **'AdGALAqu:L** they (fish) were floating (expressly to be taken) *46.25M (perhaps incorrect).*

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d-L-qu pl. S (dead or inanimate, perhaps also sg. S considered as mass) float, drift: **k'u:nLda'ts'yAquhyu: lAG dALqu:k'** small stumps (cust) drift ashore *10.258A, with perambulative:* **yAX dALAqu:X** they're (sticks, dead ducks, bugs, bunch of anything drifting around in water) floating around *LM; with class-marks for S:* **'u'tl' qi'da' di:LquhL** good camping place < where pl. pieces of driftwood, dead logs, have drifted to *L (d-class S, Neuter perfective),* **dla:GALqu:L** net (dl-class) is set (in proper condition in still water) *L.*

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yAX dALAqu:X *(noun, probably d-class)* large pieces of driftwood < they drift about *L.*

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O-**g-L-qu** S chase pl. O *(causative of underlying g-LA-qu pl. S flee, unattested, cf. g-LA-da for sg. S)*: **dAXunhyu:qa'ch' da: lAXiqe'Lquh** we'll banish you to amongst humans *13.11L,* **Xi:ch' gu:Lqu'** chase them away! *L,* **qa:yAga' Xu' gAsALquhL** it (dog) chased them (goats) into our range *L, with perambulative:* **yAX gu:LAqu:** chase them around! *L, indirect reflexive:* **'AwX q'Aw k'ah da: q'e' gu:LAqu:k'** by means of them we (cust) chase them back away from ourselves *A, reciprocal:* **'iLu' yAX guLAqu:X** they're chasing each other around *L,* **'iLu' yAX gu:Liquh** let them chase each other around *L.*

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gd-dA-qu pl. S flee *(meaning not clearly distinguished from that of g-LA-qu, cf. gd-dA-da for sg. S)*: **gudAGALAqu:Linu:** they're running away scared *L. Transitive (causative):* **lAXiqe'gAdi:xLquh** I'll chase, scare you pl. away *L.*

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dl-dA-qu pl. S be, run short of food, starve *(cf. dl-dA-da for sg. S)*: **k'udla:sdiquhL** they ran short of food *41.3L,* **LinhGda'X 'a'd dita:dz q'Aw 'ahnu: dla:sdiquhLinu:** once very long ago they ran short of food *43.1M,* **'u:ch'ahd q'uhnu: k'udla:sdiquhL** after that then they ran short of food *43.15M,* **'Aw XAla:g dla:sdiquhLinu:** that winter they ran short of food *45b.9M,* **k'udla:sdiquhL** they ran short of food *46.6M,* **da: qu'dla:dAquh** *(or* **-qu:***, former preferred)* we'll run short of food *L,* **dla:sdiquhLinu:** they're short of grub *L,* **dik' da: q'e' qu'dla:dAqu:G** we won't run short of food anymore *46.32M,* **da: dla:dAqu:k'** we (cust) run short of food *L, with ya' 'completely':* **ya' qu'dla:dAquhinu:** they'll run out of food and starve *L,* **ya' qu'dla:sdiquhLinu:** they ran out of food *L,* **da: ya' dla:dAquhya:X** lest we run out of food and starve *L. Transitive (causative):* **ya' dli:Lquhinu:** starve them! *L,* **ya' dla:GAxLqu:Linu:** I'm starving them *L,* **ya' dla:siLquhLinu:** I starved them *L; passive:* **ya' qa: dla:GAdAqu:L** we're being starved *L.*

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l-qu 1. *(with l-anatomical 'head')* pl. S have head in position, move head *(cf. l-ta for sg. S; pl. S either l-ta or l-qu)*: **ya:n'ch' qAli:quhLinu:** their heads are drooping *L (Neuter imperfective),* **la'q' qa' 'i:nsAquhLinu:** they looked upward *L, indirect reciprocal: Rezanov* Ильцеэнстакоутлинни 'Цаловать küssen' **'iLsä' 'i:nsdiquhLinu:, 'iLsa' 'i:nsdiquhLinu:** they're kissing < they put their heads mouth-to-mouth *L.*

2. *(with l-thematic)* a. pl. S run, sg. S run with another object *(for sg. S see Xdl-'ya)*: *textual occurrences: without locative preverbs or postpositional phrases frequently* pl. S run away: **'i:nsAquhLinu:, 'ahnu:yAquhyu:** they ran, those wee folk *37a.11L,* **'anhtl' 'i:nsAquhLinh** he ran away with him (carrying him on his shoulder) *52.13L (sg. S, pl. involved), other textual occurrences: with 'AdiX 'in(to house)':* **'AdiX k'u:nsAquhL** some (people) ran in *11.20A,* **'AdiX 'i:nsAquhL** they ran in *11.21A, with o-ch' 'to, toward o':* **'u:ch' k'ulAsAquhL** some ran there *25.99A,* **dALi'q' Lila:'GAyu: 'u:ch' lAsAquhL** all the menfolk ran there *25.100A, with o-da' 'to, arrival at o':* **'Aw 'u:dä' 'i:nsAquhL** they ran thither *25.60A,* **'u:da' 'i:nsAquhL** they got there running *25.61A,* **'uga' dAXunhyu: 'uda' tsa' 'i:nsAquhL** people like her ran down to her *25.181A,* **sAqe:GAyu: 'u:da' tsa' li:qu:k'** children would run down to there *60.5A, with tsa' 'downhill, down to shore':* **'uga' dAXunhyu: 'uda' tsa' 'i:nsAquhL** people like her ran down to her *25.181A,* **'i:yah 'ahnu: qe'LGAyu: tsa' lAGAqu:L** goodness how those women came running down! *37b.69A,* **sAqe:GAyu: 'u:da' tsa' li:qu:k'** children would run down to there *60.5A, with q'e' 'back, home':* **te'ya'tl' q'e' lisdiquhLinh** she ran back home with the fish *46.22M, with perambulative:* **Gu'Lq' 'uXa' 'Aw yAX lAdAqu:Xinh** they were running around on his blanket *61.21A,* **'u:ch'ahd q'unhuw 'AwlAX 'isAL'anhL, 'Aw 'Ami:nnya' Ga:ndich'ich'gyAquhyu: 'uq' yAX 'i:ndAqu:Xinh** then it was he saw them, those young church-shallows running around on it *61.26A (with o-q' 'on o', S 'birds'),* **'iLya' yAX 'i:ndAqu:X** they ran back and forth *25.65A, indirect reciprocal, with 'iLqa:X 'scattering, mixing' and qa' 'up, out':* **'iLqa:X qä' 'i:nsdiquhL** they dispersed, escaped in all directions *23.30A; elicited instances, arranged by mode-aspect: imperatives:* **li'lAXqu'** pl. run! *L,* **u:ch' li'lAXqu', 'u:ch' la:lAXqu'** *(former probably preferred)* pl. run there! *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **da: qu'li:quh** we'll run *L,* **qu'li:quhinu:** they'll run *L, Inceptive perfective: Galushia Nelson* qɛ̀iyə́q'ɒ́ləqàqù·tɬ *or* qɛ̀iyə́qɒ́ləqə̀qù·tɬ 'we run' *BSdL 560* **GAyAG da: lAGAqu:L** *we*'re running, **da: lAGAqu:L** we're running *M, Galushia Nelson* lə̀χí·ləqə̀qlàχqù·tɬ *or* làχɛ́ilàχələ̀χqù·tɬ 'you pl. run' *BSdL 560* **lAXi: GAlAXqu:L** *you* pl. are running, **siXahd 'i'lAGAqu:Linu:** they're pulling away from me (running) *L,* ά^{n}'nùlə́qə́qù·tɬ 'they run' *BSdL 560* **'ahnu: lAGAqu:L, lAGAqu:Linu:** they're running *L, Active perfective:* **'i:nsAquhLinu:** they ran *L, Active optative:* **da: la:yiquh** let's run *L,* **dA'u:d la:yiquhinu:** alright let them run *L,* **'u:ch' la:yiquhinu:** let them run thither *L, with qa' 'up out':* **da: qa' la:yiquh** let's escape *L, customary:* **li:qu:k'inu:** they run *L, with perambulative:* **yAX la:lAXdAquh** pl. run around! *L,* **dA'u:d yAX la:diquhinu:** alright let them run around *L,* **'u:d ya:n'dAX yAX lAdAqu:Xinu:** they're running around down there *L, indirect reciprocal: with 'iLi:X 'in contact with one another':* **'iLi:X 'i:sdiquhLinu:** they brushed against each other as they ran *L, with 'iLlAXa:n' 'in competition with one another': Galushia Nelson* ítɬìχá^{n} ɕ́ólítíqɔtɬ **'iLlAXa:n' k'ulidiquhL** some people are running a race, **'iLlAXa:n' 'i:ndiquhLinu:** they're racing (on foot) *L (Neuter perfectives),* **'iLlAXa:n' lAGAlAXdAqu'** pl. race each other! *L,* **'iLlAXa:n' qu'i:ndAquhinu:** they'll race each other (running) *L. Transitive (causative): attested once with 'iLt'a' 'gathering together', which should probably be supplied in both other instances, 'S corral O, herd O together':* **'iLt'a' lAGALqu'** corral them up! *LM,* **lAGuxLqu:L** I'm corraling them up *M (without 'iLt'a' probably more precisely to be glossed* I'm making them run*),* **qu'qAli:xLquh** I'll corral them up *M.* **te'ya'yu: q'e:yahd qu'i:ndAquh** the salmon are going to go back out to sea *21a.20L,*

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2b. pl. S (fish) be, move, swim in school, pl. fish, swim, run: **dA'u:dga' te'ya' li:qu:k'** fish would stay, swarm right there *56.12L, with 'iLt'a' 'gather together':* **'iLt'a' li:quhL** fish are in a school (not moving) *L (Neuter perfective), with q'e:yahd 'back out to sea' (dA-classifier):* **te'ya'yu: q'e:yahd 'i:nsdiquhL** the salmon went back out to sea *21a.5L,* **te'ya'yu: q'e:yahd lAGAdAquh da:X** when the salmon go back out to sea *21a.32L,* **'AsyAq'Ach' lAqu:g** fish are going (one after another) into the weir *L,* **'AwyAq' 'Ash lAqu:g** they (fish) go (one after another) right (into and) through it (weir too coarse) *L.*

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’iLlAXa:n’ lAqu:g *(gerundive repetitive of 'iLlAXa:n' l-dA-qu 'pl. S race each other running')* footrace: **’iLlAXa:n’ lAqu:g ’iqe’di:leh** there'll be a footrace *L.*

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o-**Xahd ’i-’-l-qu** *(with o-Xahd 'away from o, leaving o behind')* pl. S, running, pull away from o: **qa:Xahd ’i’qe’li:quhinu:** they'll pull away from us (running) *L.*

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o-**t’a’ ’i:lih-qu** *(with o-t'a' 'behind o, dependent on o')* pl. S depend on, count on o *(for sg. or pl. S see 'i:lih-ta)*: **’it’a’ da: ’i:lihyiquhL** we're counting on you *L (Neuter perfective, yi-prefix, more normal for Neuter imperfective, verified, not -'i:-).*

quwAka:nn~qAwAka:nn *(loan from Tlingit qʊwɑkàn 'deer')*

quwAka:nn *(noun, unclassified)* (Sitka black-tailed) deer (Odocoileus columbianus) *LM*: *Anonymous* Кааканъ 'Олень' *probably to be read* **qAγAka:nn** deer, **qAwAka:nn** deer *17.3M.*

qi:

dAqi:kih *(noun or adverb) (attested only as C, with d-thematic or perhaps dA-* 'ipse'*, and -kih diminutive)* all gone, no more, none left, vanished, missing, dead, out of existence, nonexistent: *Anonymous* Ткики 'Нетъ' ('no'), **’u’e:X ’u:da’ q’e’ k’ushLi’a’ch’L da:X k’a:dih, dAqi:kih** some people came back, they were looking for it and it had vanished, all gone *11.203A,* **dAqi:kih qi’GA’e’d, dAqi:kih Gu’L** there's no place for a bed, there's no blanket *18.28L,* **dAqi:kih giyah** there was no more water *19.25L,* **’u:da’ ’anhtl’ sAqehL da:X dAqi:kih** he arrived there with her and they were no more *42.22L,* **dAqi:kih, sAsinhLinu:** all gone, they're dead *67.15G,* **dAqi:kih** he's missing, all gone, there is none (anymore, never was any) *LM, Old Man Dude* taqɛ́ikɪ that's all (end of story) *BSdL 555,* ("Taqeiqɪ, that's all", *BSdL 289, not a closing formula, but referring rather to a man's death*) **dAqi:kihduh** all gone! *L,* **q’e:dah dAqi:kih** that's all, no more; there simply is none, it's all gone already *L, Rezanov* Такейкекеэту 'Просторно ('spacious') geräumig' *perhaps to be read* **dAqi:kih giyahdah** they're no more water (in it)! *L, or* **dAqi:kih Gi:’ehduh** all gone, you see! **dAqi:kih k’u:y, ’ida’ya:lAX GAdisdiGu’L** there's no air (no more wind), it's too hot *L,* **dAqi:kih k’ulAXa’luw** there are no big ones (lX-class, berries) left *L,* **dAqi:kih GALe’L** it is becoming nonexistent (e.g. point of land washing away, person dying) *L,* **ya’X dAqi:kihch’ qAXALe’** it (rainbow) dwindles upward bit by bit to nothing *51.11A,* **dAqi:kih q’e’ ’AdALe:k’** it (rainbow) would (cust) dwindle back to nothing *51.11A,* **dAqi:kih lAsALe’L** moon has become new < l-class S has waned to nothing *L.*

qih~quh *(perhaps related to qAw~quw, cf. 'luw~'nuw~'li'~'lu' and/or qAnuh; M also quh, probably under influence of qAw~quw)*

qih *LA,* **quh** *M (noun, d-class)* 1. meadow, muskeg, prairie, flat unforested area (swampy or dry), bog, swamp *LMA*: **’Aw qihda:q’ ya: xitl’qa’X** on those snow-meadows *51.46A,* clear place, bare spot on mountainside *A (momentary and uncertain, probably confused with qAw~quw),* **quhda:q’d qihda:q’d** on a clearing meadow *M,* **qihda’luw** big prairie *M,* **qihda:q’ yAX da:X** he's walking around in a meadow *L,* **qihda:q’ya’ t’ahL** various plant species that grow on unforested meadow < leaves that belong on meadow *L*

2. clearing (in sky): **qih ya:q’d k’uGALe’L** clouds are drifting apart, there'll be good weather < there is becoming a clearing in the sky.

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qihda:q’ lAXALAyah *(noun, lX-class)* bog cranberries (Vaccinium oxycoccos) < pl. lX-class are on bog *LA*: *Rezanov* Кейтахольхатлея 'Клюква Moosbeere, Vaccinium oxycoccus'.

qi' *(qe' rare allegro variant, see qi'GA'e'd, qi' 1c.; also partly confused with qid, see qi' 1c.)*

qi' 1. *(relative locative, syntactically unique, attested with zero, -ch', -ch'ahd, -dAX 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 and preverbal S or O pronouns)* (place) where:

a. *with zero final*: (place) at where: **dAwa: q'Aw te'ya'le: qi' 'AdGALAduxL'a:n' k'u'dishLiyAq'shgL** then as he opened one he came upon where King Salmon was floating *1a.4M,* **qi'da' 'idishLiyAq'shgLda:d te'ya'le: qi' 'AdGALAduxL'a:n' sahL q'Aw** he came upon where a king salmon was floating to where he was opening mussels *1b.2M,* **k'Agu:nt'u'inu: te'ya' wAX Linhinu:, qi' 'i:LXe'tl'Lda:d** many people were fishing, where it was dark *2a.15M,* **te'ya' qi' wAX dAlehda:d** where there was fishing *2a.18M,* **'Aw te'ya', 'Aw qi' Ga:nshdishahLyAq' 'Aw sALtahLinh** the fish, he set it in where he had dug the ground *6.3M,* **'Aw qi' qa' k'uyAsAliL** where it was hollowed out *6.9M,* **'ahnu: sALtehLinh, qid qi' wAX 'i:t'ehch'** they carried him, down to where they live *9.49A,* **lAGtli:X qi' qa' sLiXahdL** where halibut had been dragged up *9.123A,* **qi' dAdA'ehdg** where it was being dried *9.123A,* **qi' k'ushdishehL** where something had been killed *10.66A,* **qi' k'udAdA'ehdg, qi' k'udAsiyuh** a place where things were being dried, a place where things were being killed *11.6A,* **Xi:d qi' wAX k'u:t'ehch' sLiyahL** they had been left yonder at where people were staying *11.200A,* **qi' k'uqAdla:di'ehL'a:n' shA'a'ch'Linu:** they came upon a place where some things were hidden *15.4M,* **giyah qi' li' guli:'ahch'ahd** from where the stream runs down *21b.8A,* **qi' 'iLAduxda:X** by where he was trapping *23.6A,* **dAXunhyu: qi' wAX 'i:t'ehlAGdAX tsa' sahL** she went down above where people live *25.83A,* **'u:d 'ahnu: qi'ch' tsin'dAleh, k'ugu:nt'u' dAXunhyu: qi' sAquhL** there where they were speaking at, a place where many people were sitting *30.3L,* **'a'd qi' ya' GAdli:'ahda:Xdahd GAxah da:X k'Adzu:dah siliL 'i:lihxt'uh** when I come up against a very steep place I feel I've done well *34.60M,* **k'e: qi' k'ut'ehlAX 'isAL'anhLinu:, ts'inhGwAlahyu:** they saw what was going on there, the Alder People *34.125M,* **ta:dz yi:nhinu: qi' sAlahLda:d, k'ugu:nt'u' sAqe:GAyu: qi' k'u:Leh** at a place where old-time people lived, a place where there were many children *39.1L,* **dA'AwdAwa: q'unh ch'i:leh qi' sAdahL'a:n' sahL** thereupon he came upon where a raven was sitting *43.4M,* **dita:dz q'Aw qe'Likih qi' k'udAxa:shda:d k'uXa'X qe'le:k'** long ago a girl would watch where fish were being cleaned *46.1M,* **qi' Xa:n' k'uGAdAxa:shgLda' 'a:k'inh** she would go to where they were finishing being cleaned *46.2M,* **dA'AwdAwa: q'unh la'dnu: qe'LGAyu: qi' sAlahL'a:n' sAqehL** then he came upon where two women lived *47b.6M,* **Lanhd qi' 'i:'ahlAX 'isAL'anhLinh** she saw where smoke was rising *47b.31M,* **k'udzu:dah 'a'd sLa'dah qi' k'u:t'eh, qi' qa' sa'yahLda:d** a wonderfully beautiful place, where he woke up at *51.57A,* **q'e:dah Li'q' 'AyAG 'ahnu: q'e:lah sdiqehLinu:, 'Aw k'a't'q'Ach', qi' wAX 'i:t'ehch'a'** they all of them boated straight back home, to the island, to where they lived *57.31G,* **'Al *cloud* qi' sdiGu'L** where these *clouds* have gotten warm *60.59A,* **Xa:n'ch' 'a'q' qi' yAX 'iLi'ahLda:X** outdoors out by where it's sunshine *65.52A,* **sha:she:n qi' dAGahGda:d** at place where cordwood is chopped *M,* **ya'Xu: qi' GAli:LqAtl'da:X yAX qu'yidah** don't walk about in area where the ground is slippery *L,* **qi' sAdahLda' Ga:'** go to where he's sitting *L,* **'anh qi' sishehLch' da: 'i:'a'ch'** *L,* **qi' shishehLinhch' da: 'i:'a'ch'** let's go to where I killed him *M,* **qi' shdishehLda' 'isiL'anhL** I went to where he was killed *L,* **qi' shishehLinh q'unh** that's where I killed him *L,* **'u:d qi' qa: qu'dAsheh** there (is) where someone (we) will get killed *L,* **dAqa:yu: qi' k'u'ga:k'** place where one (cust) dances sometimes *L,* **qi' Lxwah** place where it's summer *L,* **Lich' qi' 'i:Lxa'L** place

where it's always summer *L,* **xu: qi' xdah** (that's) where *I* (normally) sit *L,* **xu: qi' xteh** that's where I (normally) lie *L,* **qi' k'u'Ga:ndAshah** place where one digs in the ground *L,* **sahx qi' wAX dAleh** place where cockles are dry *L,* **'u:d q'Aw qi' da: k'u:Lyahd** there's where we have a village *L,* **t'ah qi' lAG dla:Lya:'** where waves lap ashore *L,* **'Aw qi' lA'ah** the place where it (hat, normally) belongs *L, following S and preceding O: Galushia Nelson* **dAXunh qi' GALAtsitl' 'i:nsAL'ahL** where a man killed lots of land-otters, *BSdL 386, 556, Galushia Nelson* **Ch'i:lehshiyah qi' 'anh Xa:n' sALiL** where Old Raven made the earth, *BSdL 257, 556, preceding or following certain adverbs:* **dA'u:d tli: qi' ya:n' sAtehL** right there where you have already lain down *51.77A,* **qi' tli:dAwa: lu:di:'X 'ALdah linhinu:** where they were playing early in the morning on the beach *11.174A, preceding or following postpositional phrase where o is not pronoun:* **'Aw giyahya' qi' sahLch'ahd** from where she went into the water *25.63A,* **giyahgu:nch' qi' siyahLda:d** at where I went for water *46.25M, very frequent in the formation of more or less well-established nominalizations:* **qi' GAdisdiGu'Lda:d** at a warm place **qi' GAdisdiGu'Lda:d ya' 'AlAXLte:** set it where it's warm! *21a.13L,* **qi' GAdisdiGu'Lda:d ya:' 'ALte:k'inu:** they set it down where it's warm *21a.14L,* **qi' GAdisdiGu'Lda:d 'ahnu: ya:n' 'ALyi:n'inh** they set him down where it's warm *21a.30,* **Xi:d qi' GAdisdiGu'Lda:d ya' di:Le:** set them over there at where it's warm *24.21A,* **qi' GAdisdiGu'Lda:d 'Aw ya' gAli:Lya:k'** he would set it at a place where it was warm *33.12A,* **qi' wAX k'u:t'eh** camp < place where people live *11.200A,* **Xi:d qi' wAX k'u:t'ehch' sLiyahL** they (pieces) had been left yonder at where people were staying *11.200A,* **'AdLAtsi:tl'k'inh, qi' wAX k'u:t'ehch'a'** he'd sail, to hunting-camp *64.9G,* **wAX q'A'Aw 'Adu'dA'e:, qi' wAX k'u:t'eh** thus it was called, where they stayed *64.12G,* **qi' k'udAdA'ehdg** place where things are being dried **'u:d qi' k'udAdA'ehdgda:d** there at a place where things are being dried *9.150A,* **'Aw Xe: 'u:d, qi' k'udAdA'ehdgch'ahd** that oil there, from where things are being dried *9.156A,* **qi' k'udAdA'ehdg** a place where things were being dried *11.6A,* (**giyah**) **qi' yAX 'igAdli:L'ah** waterfalls < place where it (water) extends down *25.55, 75, 76A,* **'Aw giyah qi' yAX 'igAdli:L'ah'e:X yAX 'iLA'a:nk'** she would look around for a place where that water falls *25.78A,* **giyah qi' yAX 'igAdli:L'ah, 'Awt'a'd 'u'yAsALqahL** where water falls, she spent the night behind them *25.80A,* **qi' 'Adk'u'dAtah** smokehouse *L,* **qi' 'Adk'u'dAtah 'uXa' Lich' dAGida' di:'yahL** his smokehouse was always full *47b.4M,* **qi' teh 'uXa'** its lying-place *L,* **qi' k'udAqa'dg** fireplace < place where something is boiled *LM, Rezanov, Galushia Nelson* **qi' qa: XAdla:sLiq'ahL** pyre < place where people have been incinerated *BSdL 546,* **ya:nu' qi' k'uyi:liL** bear-pit < place where someone has dug underground *BSdL 549,* **qi' ya:nu' k'uGAdAteh** grave *BSdL 546,* **yAX dAxuL qi' ya:nu' 'iditahL** well < place where a keg is submerged *L,* **qi' qa' k'Ayi:nliL** grave, ditch, hole, pit < place where someone has dug out *L,* **qi' ya:nu' k'Ayi:nliL'e' 'i:nsdiyahLinh** he got stick in a ditch *L,* **Lich' k'uleh qi' ya:n' di:'yahL** rainy place < where rain is always falling *L,* **qi' 'ida'sdi'ehdzL** potlatch *M,* **qi' k'udAts'AX** smithy < place where something is pounded *L, Rezanov,* **qi' 'Adk'udAxahL** sweathouse *LM,* **qi' 'Adk'udAxahLt'a:Xd 'anh dla:sAL'ehLinh** she hid him in the sweatbath *53.7L,* **qi' sLiduk'Lq' qa' shA'a'ch'L** they climbed a hillhock < they went up on where it's humped *L,* **qi' k'ud k'u'lAdAga'g** school < place where people are made to learn things *M,* **giyah qi' tl'ehd dAxuLg** faucet < place where water is turned on *L,* **qi' k'u:ndAxa:g** garden < place where things grow *L,* **Xi:d qi' 'itl' yAX li:'ahda:d** yonder at foot of mountain (where mountain extends down) *L,* **giyah qi' gAdla:GAL'a:L** puddle *L, in place-name:* **'AXAkih qi' XAta:s dAya:'** *Canoe Passage through Hawkins Island* < place where canoes are taken across *L,* **sahs qi' dAdAda'ch'g** place where sea-otters are drowned *L; where verb is C -Le(') 'S be C', qi' preceding C:* **dAXunhyu: qi' k'ugu:nt'u'inu: yiLinhinu:lehd** because it's a place where people are many *29.58A,* **Xi:d qi' tsa' yiLeh** yonder where it's deep *23.160A, with k'u-indefinite S of -Le(') 'something be C, C exist, be present', qi' once preceding C:* **qi' gah k'u:Lehda' 'Axa:k'** I (cust) come to where there's daylight *L, qi' usually following C:* **'anh k'u'ehd k'udzu: qi' k'u:Lehda' 'anh sALtehL** 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' k'u:Leh or qi' C k'u:Leh 'place where something is C, where C is present, exists' with k'u:Leh deleted, with C, usually independent adjective, following qi': **qi' k'uGa:ndzu:** place where there's good ground (for camping) *L,* **qi' k'uGa:ndzu:** where there's good ground *10.12A,* **qi' k'uGa:ndzu:da:X sitl' yAq' GALAdAxw.** float ashore with me where there's good ground *11.169A,* **qi' k'uGa:ndzu:da:d** at where the ground's good *11.170A,* **qi' k'uGa:'nuw** place where there's lots of ground *L,* **qi' k'AGi'luw** big hole, place, room *L,* **'Aw qi' k'ugu:nt'u'** the place where there are many people *51.73A, with noun as C:* **qi' chi:shgGAlAdzu:da:X** at a place where there is a nice gravel-beach *11.170A, see also qi'GA'e'd below, with noun as C, preceding qi', syntactic structure uncertain, attested only asyntactically:* **qe'LGAyu:shuh qi'** women there? < (is it) a place where (there are) women? *10.228A,* **dik' dAXunh qi'G** nobody there < not a place where there are people, a place where there is no person *51.53, 61.109*; *in clauses not lacking verb occasionally apparently synonymous with 'u:d 'there', with relative force, as in preceding, apparently lacking:* **qi'shuh GAdi:tl'eh** is it a cold place? *(i.e. 'is it a place where it's cold?', cf. 'u:dshuh GAdi:tl'eh 'is it cold there?') L,* **dik' dA'u:dAXya:kih qi' 'AstahLG** nothing was (left) there < a place where not anything was *7.42A,* **k'e: qi' k'u:t'ehlAX 'isAL'anhLinu:** they saw what the place was all about < they saw how somehing was there *34.125L*

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b. *with various finals: with -ch' final:* place toward, to which, at which (continually, repeatedly): **Xi:d Lanhd qi'ch' GAdA'eh** yonder where smokes appears *18.82L,* **dik' qi'ch' shA'a'ch'L 'uXa' 'Aw 'u:la'dAga:G** it wasn't known where they went to *20.103A,* **Xi:d XAdAGd, GAdla:'a:w qi'ch' qid 'AdsLixAL** up yonder, she rolled herself a long way down *22.159A,* **'u:d 'ahnu: qi'ch' tsin'dAleh, k'ugu:nt'u' dAXunhyu: qi' sAquhL** there where they were speaking at, a place where many people were sitting *30.3L,* **dik' GAdla:'a:wdG qi'ch' da: GA'a'ch'L** it's not far where we're going to *31.9L,* **'u:dAXyu: qi'ch' k'utsin'dAlehda:Xyu:** all over in the places where there was speaking at *37a.4L,* **'Aw qi'ch' k'utsin'dAlehda:d** by where there was speaking at *37a.7L,* **'Aw Lanhd qi'ch' GAdA'eh** where that smoke is visible *47c.42L,* **qi'ch' yAX k'udA'a'ch'X** toilet < place to which people go about *L,* **Ch'i:lehshiyah qi'ch' tsa:'L 'uXa' sAts'AXL** Where Old Raven threw his box < place toward which Raven threw his food-box *BSdL 259, 558,* **tla:X 'Aw qi'ch' Ga:L** where's the place he's going to? *L,* **qi'ch' 'anhtl' 'a'q' shA'a'ch'Lda:X** at the place he went out with him towards *23.128A; with -ch'ahd final,* place from which: **Xi:d qi'ch'ahd li' sAXahLda:d** at the place where they had boated downriver from *68.49A,* **qi'ch'ahd 'iXAsAqehLda:d** at the place where they had boated away from *9.149A,* **qi'ch'ahd 'utl' 'ahnu: shA'a'ch'Lda:X** at the place where they had gone with her from *25.75A; with -dAX final* (movement within area, in various places) along place where, *par où: Galushia Nelson* **Ch'i:lehshiyah qi'dAX we:sh 'uXa' tsa' sALXahdL** Where Old Raven dragged his drying-rack < place along where Raven dragged his drying-rack down toward shore *BSdL 259, 559,* **'Aw dALAxwe:g qi'dAX 'uXa' li' XAdla:sa'yahLch'ahd** from the place along where the groundhog had run in by him *23.35A,* **qi'dAX Lts'a'tl'g** where (place along where) it's dripping *LM, Rezanov,* **'Aw qi'dAX yAX k'u:Leh** where something (hole) exists downward *28.59A,* **dik' 'u:la'xLga:G qi'dAX** (**qu'xah**) I don't know the way (to go, along which I'll go) *L,* **qi'dAX k'udzu: yiLeh** where it (skin) was in good condition *28.91A, with -kih diminutive:* **'Aw qi'dAXkih la'q' 'i:cha'shda: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'dAX GAdli:dik'** shortcut < place along where overland distance is short *L,* **dja:q' qi'dAX GAla:L** (a certain) constellation (Pleiades?) < place where a bullhead is moving along *L,* **qi'dAX 'Aw qa:nch' 'ixu'tl'g** blowhole < the place through which it repeatedly blows upward *11.155A, with -da' final,* place to (arrival at) where: **'utl' qi'da' di:LquhL** place to which driftwood has floated *L,* **qi'da' 'idisLiyAq'shgLda:d** at the place where he had arrived breaking mussels *1b.2M,* **gAdla:'a:w qi'da 'iXAqe: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 gAdla:'a:w qi' (k'u:Leh) '(there*

is) a long distance over water' as o of o-da' 'iXAqe:k' 'boats go to o', cf. 23.159A, 31.9, 16L, the exact interpretation and analysis of which are in part similarly uncertain).

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c. *with -d final, as o of o-ga' 'like, equal to o (in quality or quantity)', usually reduced to qidga', perhaps by partial confusion with qid*, point as far as, limit to which, limit at which, end: **qi'dga' li' GAqehda:d** at about as far as he could boat downstream *56.2L, with dA-* 'ipse'*:* **dAqi'dga' 'u'lixiLgah** that's as far as I know it *M, reduced* **qidga' k'uyAX 'ah** *place-name (earlier transcribed* ***qe'gwa'qAyAX'ah, qe:ga'k'uyAXA'ah*** *S) see 'a) L,* **ta: qidga' 'i:'ah** end of the road *L,* **qidga' tsa' sdixAXLda:d** *10.235A,* **qidga' tsa' dAXe:Xk'da:d** *10.227A,* **qidga' tsa' dAxe:k', qidga' lahdz dAxe:Xk'** low-water mark *L, see under xAX.*

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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

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a. *with zero final, resulting nominalized clause as o of postposition*: *with verb in Active optative, clause as o of o-ch' 'to o',* until (past or present, realized or not): **qi' 'Awga'kih 'a'diyahch'** until she's big enough *9.27A,* **ya'Xu: lah q'e' qu'qi:la:lAXLyah, qi' ya:n'ch' GAdla:yiwa'Lch'** don't shake it again, until you reach bottom *34.114L,* **qi' 'u:da' q'e' 'idiqehch'** until he boated back there *56.3L,* **qi' 'Aw shahG 'Awa: Li'q' 'uXa:n' yAX gAla:di'ahch'** until their slime all runs down off them *65.42A,* **qi' la:xditehch' k'uqu'Xi:xah** I'll eat until I'm full *L,* **k'uqu'Xi:xah qi' la'q' 'ixiqAts'ch'** I'll eat until I burst *L,* **ya'Xu: k'uqu'Xi:yah qi' 'anh q'e' 'idiyahch'** don't eat until he goes back *L,* **qi' 'ixisinhch' qu'xdAxa:gL** I'll work until I die *L,* **qi' 'ixisinhch' 'ilah qe'qe'xleh** I'll love you until I die *L,* **qi' 'i:sinhch' silah qe'lin'inh** he loved me until he died *L,* **qi' qi' gAla:yitl'ehch'** until it (water) gets cool *L,* **dik' 'ich' qu'xta:G qi' 'uq' xu:Lilehch'** I won't give it to you until you pay me *L, in text, prepausally, with -ch' probably to be supplied:* **qi' 'Aw ya:X 'i:le'g**[**ch'**] until he had eaten it all up *10.57A, but* **qi' 'a'd 'idah da:yiL'eh**[**dch'**] until they get really very dry *65.23A, and* **qi' da:yiL'ehd**[**ch'**] until they dry *65.51A, conceivably to be interpreted without supplying [-ch'], 'where they might dry'*; *with verb in Active perfective, clause as o of o-ch'ahd 'from o',* since the time when: **qi' 'a:nda' 'isAL'anhLch'ahd yik'a'dinh** ever since he arrived here he's been sick *L, with verb in Inceptive imperfective, clause with conjunction da:X 'when, if':* **qi' qu'xsinh da:X qu'xsinh** when I die I'll die, if I die I die *23.154A,*

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b. *with -dAX final, qi'dAX* the time at which, as soon as, when: **dik' 'u:la'xLga:G qi'dAX q'e:'anh qu'xdAqeh** I don't know when I'll (boating) get back home *L (also, under 1b.,* I don't know by what route I'd boat back home*),* **qi'dAX qa'Lxah** when summer will come *L,* before it becomes summer *M,* **Li: t'uhLga' 'uch'ahd yAsALqahL, qi'dAX sAsinhL** already three days have passed since (it, the time when) he died *L, with dA-* 'ipse': **dAqi'dAX 'Adlah 'u'xsditahL** as soon as I found out about myself *32.21A;* **qi'dAX 'AnahshAkih da: 'i'a'ch' da:X** as soon as we get going having a good time *30.9L (apparently blend of qi'dAX 'AnahshAkihya'X da: GA'a'ch'L 'soon as we've started going along having a good time' and 'AnahshAkihya'X da: 'i'a'ch' da:X 'just as we get going having a good time', but originally glossed "anyplace we go happy", which would require correction to 'i'a:ch'k'da:X 'at the place along which we (cust) go having good time').*

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qi' k'u:Lyahd 1. *(noun)* camp < place where someone has a house *(Neuter imperfective).*

2. *(perhaps a place-name) (location not remembered).*

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qi' k'u:LAyahd *(place-name) two canyons on Point Reclus* < at where some things are kept *L.*

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qi'dAX dAlu' k'u:Leh *(place-name) "cutoff", canoe passageway through Hawkins Island* < place along where a hole exists through something *M.*

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sahx qi' wAX dAleh *(perhaps a place-name)* < place where cockles are gotten *L.*

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ch'ihsh qi' k'u:Leh *(perhaps a place-name) (location not remembered)* < place where there's wild celery turned to wood *L. (Cf. chi:sh qi' k'u:Leh, by which this is probably influenced.)*

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ch'e:yu't'u' qi' k'u:Leh *(probably a place-name)* < place where there are lots of alderberry-bushes *L.*

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tanhAyahsh k'ut'u' qi' k'u:Leh *(perhaps a place-name) "good place to camp"* < where there's lots of tidal debris, driftwood *L.*

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ye:t' k'udAyAq' qi' k'u:Leh *(place-name) vaguely remembered (location forgotten)* < place where there's wild celery inside something d-class *L.*

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qi'GA'e'd *(noun, unclassified)* bed *L*: **dAqi:kih qi'GA'e'd** there's no place for a bed *18.28L, occasional allegro variant* **qe'GA'e'd**, *originally transcribed qe'Ge:'d in 18.28L,* **Lich' 'Aw qi'GA'e'd** (*or* **qe'GA'e'd**) **'iXA' Xu' GAle:gk'** always (cust) make your bed! *L, Old Man Dude* qe'qä'ät 'bed (modern)' *BSdL 546. See qi' 1a. towards end, 'e',* < place where (there is) a place (of something absent).

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qi:Lxa: *(place-name) Italio River* < **qi' Lxah** where it's summer(?) *G (Harrington), M.*

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tla: qi' *(locative) (attested only with -ch' and -ch'ahd finals)* some place or other, wherever that way be, if such a place does indeed exist, *see under tla:.*

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qi'ya:da:d *(adverb, postpositional phrase, < o qi' ya:-da:-d '(at rest, nominalization of) in vicinity of a thing at a place, time'*) someplace, anyplace (indefinite) *L.*

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qi'ya:da:X *(adverb, postpositional phrase, < qi' ya:-da:-X '(movement in area) in vicinity of a thing at a place, time')* 1. sometime, anytime (indefinite) *L*: **qi'ya:da:X 'a:nch' ch'ä' 'iqe'xdA'ehdz** I'll invite you over sometime *M,* **qi'ya:da:X k'Adzu:da' xu'qu'GAli:'yah** some day I'll get lucky *L,* **'Aw XA:'d 'i'a:n' qa'xuL, qi'ya:da:X, 'i:gidig** the world will turn on you, sometime, you too *72.19L, with dA-* 'ipse'*:* **dAqi'ya:da:X** sometime, anytime (at all) *LA.*

2. *with d-emphatic*: **qi'ya:da:Xd(A'Aw)** sometimes **qi'ya:da:XdA'Aw k'ut'u' 'ALe:k', 'Aw te'ya'** sometimes they are many, the fish *62.6G,* **xwah qi'ya:da:XdA'Aw 'AdAX dik' te'ya' k'u:Le:k'G** summers sometimes however there are no fish *62.7G,* **qi'ya:da:XdA'Aw lis** sometimes a tree *63.20G,* **qi'ya:da:Xd LinhGih sahs, la'dih, qi'ya:da:Xd t'uhLga' sahs dAshe:k'** sometimes one sea-otter, two, sometimes three sea-otters would be killed *64.10G, not verified from other informants, perhaps misused for dAqa:yu: 'sometimes', under influence of local English in which 'sometimes' > 'sometime'.*

qe

qe S go, travel by boat (in single boat, of any kind), S boat (for purpose of transporting self, not boat) *occurring frequently and with a great variety of preverbs and postpositional phrases in texts: with no locative preverbs or postpositional phrases, often with the meaning 'S boat off, S go away (by boat)', or in Inceptive perfective, 'S be boating along': Inceptive perfective:* **GAqe:Linu:** they're coming *7.12A,* they were boating *23.58A,* **'u:ndzkihGAyu: q'Aw GAqe:L, GAqe:L** her brothers were traveling along, boating *20.45A,* **dAXunh GAqe:L** a person was boating along *26.3L,* **'anh Lila:' dAXunh GAqe:LlAX 'isAL'anhLinh** that man saw a person boating along *53.22L,* **dA'wAX GAqe:LdAwa:** as they were still boating *68.9A, in other mode-aspects:* **'u:ch' sAqehLinu:** they're on their way boating thither *7.13A,* **sAqehLinu: q'A'ahnu:** they boated *68.109A,* **q'Ale' dä: 'i:qe:** now let's be off! *10.148A,* **sAqehLinh** he boated off *42.7L,* **qu'xqeh** I'll go out *43.30M,* **dAq'e:dah sAqehLinh** she immediately boated off *49.98A,* **GAqeh da:X te'ya'yu:** when he boated off salmon *56.1L, Inceptive conditional, in frequent usages without da:X 'if, when':* **qi'dga' li' GAqehda:d** at about as far as he could boat downstream *56.2L,* **Xi:d qa:q'Ayanhda' GAqinhinh, qa:da:lahda' GAqinhinh** he who might come to our homeland yonder, he who might voyage to Katalla *69.11A, with o-ya' 'in o (with broad opening at top)'* S boat in (boat, vessel made of) o: **'Awya' q'uhnu: GAqe:L** in those they're coming *7.16A,* **'AXAkihya' yAX 'idAqe:k'inh** she would boat around in her canoe *25.157A,* **'Aw 'AXAya' yAX dAqe:Xinu:** they were boating around in canoes *37b.5A,* **'Aw ya:kuts'g 'AX 'Awya' da:X GAqe:Linh** that small canoe she was boating across in it *38.17LM,* **'Aw t'AXgsga' 'AXya' li' sAqehL** they boated down in those cottonwood-like canoes *68.2A, with o-ch' 'to, towards o':* **'u:ch' 'iXAGAqe:Linu:** some people were boating thither *7.17A,* **'u:dAX q'uhnu: 'u:ch' sAqehL** then they went there by boat *28.71A,* **da:X 'u:ch' da:X sAqehLinh** and he boated across thither *38.10LM,* **'u:ch' 'anhtl' sAqehLinh** he took her there *42.15L,* **'u:ch' GAqe:L** they were getting there *42.16L,* **Xi:d XAyA'u:Lch'a:ch' lah sAqehLinh** he boated around way over to the other side (of the point) yonder *43.31M,* **'u:ch' sAqehL da:X Li'q' 'ahnu: shAshehLinu:** she boated there and killed them both *47a.7L,* **'u'ehdch' q'e' sdiqehLinh** he boated back to his wife *47c.5L,* **'ahnu: qe'LGAyu:ch' q'e' sdiqehLinh** he boated back to those women *47c.12L,* **qe'LGAyu:ch' yAX dAqe:Xihsh q'A'anh** he was boating "around" to the women one may well suppose *47c.13L,* **'AXdjinnguG k'iya'ch' GAqe:L** 'AXdjinnguG was landing *47c.46L,* **'u:ch' sAqehLinh** she boated there *49.116A,* **'u:ch' q'e' qu'dAqinhinh** she was going to boat back there *49.117A,* **'u:ch' q'e' sdiqehL** she boated back there *49.118A,* **'anh 'u:ch' sAqehL** she boated there *49.120A,* **'u:ch' da: qa'qeh** we'll boat there *49.140A, 52.15L,* **'Ad'e'ch' q'e' 'AdAqe:k'inh** he would boat back home *56.7, 15, 18L,* **q'e:dah Li'q' 'AyAG 'ahnu: q'e:lah sdiqehLinu:, 'Aw k'a't'q'Ach', qi' wAX 'i:t'ehch'a'** they all of them boated straight back home, to the island, to where they lived *57.31G,* **Xi:dAX Xi:ch' qi'yiqehch'ahd** after you've boated yonder by way over there *60.63A,* **yAX dAqe:X, 'i:ya:Gya'ch'** they boated around, into Eyak Lake *68.32A,* **'u:dAX 'Aw *Eyak Lake*ch' sAqehL** they boated to *Eyak Lake 68.41A, with o-da' 'to, arriving at o':* **dAqi'ya:da:X 'a:nda' qu'lAXqeh. q'e' qu'lAXdAqe:** you'll boat here some time. you'll boat back here *20.59, 60A,* **'ich'an'win'inhGAyu: 'a:nda' sAqehL** your brothers-in-law boated here *20.61A,* **'Awda' sAqehL** he boated over to it *26.5L,* **'udä' 'iXAGAqeh da:X** when a boat would come to him *33.14A,* **'ahnu: dAXunyu:, 'uda' sAqehLinu:** those people, who boated to him *33.21A,* **'uqa'GAyAquhGAyu: 'uda' q'e' sdiqehL** their little husbands had come boating home to them *37b.70A,* **'anhda' q'e' sdiqehLinh** he boated back to her *42.8L,* **'u:da' 'anhtl' sAqehL** he arrived there with her *42.22L,* **di'wAX q'uhnu: 'AXdjinnguG 'ahnu:da' q'e' sdiqehL** they were just thus as 'AXdjinnguG came boating back to them *47b.41M,* **'u:da' sAqehL** boated there *49.123, 141A,* **LinhGih Lila:' 'u:da' q'e' sdiqehL** one (Eyak) man boated back there *52.7L,* ***Constantine Harbor*, 'u:da' sAqehL** *Constantine Harbor*, they landed there *52.16L,* **dAXunhyu: k'udi:q'Ayu:ya' lahda' sAqehL** people landed at an Aleut village *53.1L,* **qi' 'u:da' q'e'**

'idiqehch' until he boated back there *56.3L,* **'u:da' q'e' 'AdAqe:k'inh** he'd boat back there *56.4L,* **dA'u:da' q'e' GAdAqeh da:X** when he boated back to that same place *56.16L,* **'Aw t'uhLga' ya: 'u:da' da: sAqehL** on the third one we arrived there *59.6 Galushia Nelson,* **gAdla:'a:w qi'da' 'iXAqe:k'** it was far where the boats would go to *64.7G,* **'AnAXAnAGda' sAqehL** they arrived at Alaganik *68.9A, with o-Xahd 'away from o, leaving o behind':* **k'Ayi:ny 'anhq'Ach' 'anhXahd 'Aqe:k'inh** he keeps boating off to different lands without her *10.166A,* **'ahnu:Xahd q'e' sdiqehL** they boated back without her *20.58, 60A,* **'ahnu:Xahd da:X sAqehL** they boated across away from them *34.68M,* **Lich' 'u'ehdXahd yAX dAqe:Xinh** he was always boating around without his wife *47b.5M,* **'u'ehdXahd q'e' 'AdAqe:k'inh** again he kept boating off without his wife *47b.13M,* **dA'u:d 'ahnu:Xahd sAqehLinh** they boated off leaving them right there *49.100A, with o-ch'ahd 'away from o':* **'u:ch'ahd sAqehL** he boated away from there *47a.5L,* **'u:ch'ahd sAqehLinh** he boated away from there *47b.38M,* **Xi:dAX Xi:ch' qi'yiqehch'ahd** after you've boated yonder by way over there *60.63A,* **Xi:d XAdAGdAch'ahd q'unhuw dAXunhyu:, 'Aw t'AXgsga' 'AXya' li' sAqehL** from way upriver it was the people, they boated down in those cottowood-like canoes *68.2A, with o-Xa' 'for (to get o), by (near) o':* **yAqe:X, lAGtli:XXa' qu'xqeh** tomorrow morning, I'll boat for halibut *9.122A,* **ke:Lta:gXa' lAXa: q'e' qu'xdAqeh** I'll boat some more after seal for you pl. *9.142A,* **te'ya'le:Xa' qu'xqeh** I'll boat after king salmon *10.90A,* **'u:d 'ahnu:Xa' yAq' sAqehL** they boated ashore by her there *20.51A,* **la'mahd-lAXAXa' k'e'shuhnu: GAqe:L** they were probably boating for berries *28.1A,* **'u:ch'ahd sAqehLinh, k'uqu'wAshe:ch'LXa'** he boated away from there, to hunt *47b.38M,* **Li'q' Lila:'GAyu: GAnuhXa' sAqehL** all the menfolk had boated away after ducks *52.2L,* **'anhXa' yAq' sAqehL** he boated ashore by him *53.24L,* **te'ya'Xa' da: qa'qe:** we'll boat after fish *62.18L,* **xu: qu'xwqe:, ge:Lta:gXa'** *I*'ll boat off, for seal *62.26L,* **LinhGih dAXunh q'unhAw k'uXa:shgXa' q'unhAw sAqehL** a certain man had boated after beaver *63.1G,* **Ge:ts'guXa' 'Aqe:k'** they would boat after spruceroot *66.1L, with o-lu'qa: 'to get o':* **'ich'an'win'inhGAyu: 'a:nda' sAqehL, silu'qa:** your brothers-in-law boated here, to get me *20.61,* **'ukuwa'na:GAyu: q'uw 'ulu'qa: 'u:da' 'Aqe:k'** his relatives it was would boat there to get him *33.7M,* **'anh k'uta:' k'Ade:dah Xa:ndiyahlu'qa: q'e:yAX dAqe:XGinh** the father couldn't go boating around anymore to get food *43.14M, with o-'a:n' 'encoutering, coming upon o':* **dAXu'ya:X 'uga' dAXunhyu: 'u'a:n' sAqehLinh** people truly like him came upon him *33.40A,* **dA'AwdAwa: q'unh la'dnu: qe'LGAyu: qi' sAlahL'a:n' sAqehL** then he came upon where two women lived *47b.6M,* **dA'AwdAwa: la'dnu: qe'LGAyu:'a:n' sAqehLinh** then he came upon two women *47c.3L,* **k'udi:q'Ayu: q'uhnu: 'u'a:n' sAqehL** Aleuts came upon them *49.30A,* **'ahnu:'a:n' sAqehL** she came upon them *49.61A,* **'Aw'a:n' sAqehLinu:, k'udA'uhdg** they came upon them, eggs *68.5A, with o-a: '(to provide) for o, on behalf of o':* **xu: 'iya: yAX qu'xdAqeh** I will boat around for you *9.15A, with o-ta:s 'over, across o':* **'Aw 'a:ngAlAta:s GAqe:L** she started boating across the river *25.47A,* **ma:gudAta:s 'Ash sAqehLinu:** they got across the lake *37b.67A,* **ma:gAdAta:s 'Ash sAqehLinu:** they had boated clear across the lake *37b.80A, with o-tl' 'with o (along)':* **'uqa' 'utl' yAX dAqe:Xinh** her husband was boating around with her *25.1A,* **'a:ngAlA'a:n' 'ahnu: sALXe'dzL, da:X 'ahnu:tl' da:X sAqehLinh** with it on their shoulders they came upon a river *25.14A,* **'ahnu:tl' q'e' 'anh sdiqehL** he boated back home with them *33.55A,* **'Aw tl'i:, Lich' k'uqu'wAshe:ch'L 'Awtl' yAX LAqe:Xinh** that spear, he always boated around hunting with it along *37a.26L,* **'u:ch' 'anhtl' sAqehLinh** he took her there *42.15L,* **'u:da' 'anhtl' sAqehL da:X dAqi:kih** he arrived there with her and they were no more *42.22L,* **'ahnu:tl' yahd sAqehL** they boated out to sea with him *50.47A,* **LinhGih dAXunh q'unhAw k'uXa:shgXa' q'unhAw sAqehL, tl'i:ntl' q'unhAw, tl'i:ntl' q'unhAw 'uXa'** a certain man had boated after beaver, with a spear, with his spear *63.1G, with o-lah 'around o':* **'u:d ma:gAdAlah GAqe:Linu:** they were boating around the lake there *71.21LM, with o-lahsdAX '(movement in area) forward of, further out to sea than o':* **'Aw 'AdsLi'yahLlahsdAX GAqe:L** they were boating in front of that monster('s place) *28.2A, with o-tsi:n'X '(movement in area) downhill from o':* **'u(l)tsi:n'X 'iXAGAqe:Linu:, GAqe:Linu:** people where boating along below

him *23.58A, with o-q'Ach' 'onto o':* **k'Ayi:ny 'anhq'Ach' 'anhXahd 'Aqe:k'inh** he keeps boating off to different lands without her *10.166A,* **'Awq'Ach'a' yahd sAqehLinh** he went out to it *12.4G,* **tsa:dli:na'q'Ach' sAqehL** they boated onto a skerry *50.51A,* **q'e:dah Li'q' 'AyAG 'ahnu: q'e:lah sdiqehLinu:, 'Aw k'a't'q'Ach', qi' wAX 'i:t'ehch'a'** they all of them boated straight back home, to the island, to where they lived *57.31G, with o-'ihX '(movement in area) behind o':* **'ahnu:'ihd da:X sAqehLinh** they boated across after her *38.20LM, with o-da:X '(movement in area) near, by o':* **'AnAXAnAG da:X dAG sAqehLinu:** they boated upstram by Alaganik *68.10A, with k'iya'-ch' 'landing':* **'AXdjinnguG k'iya'ch' GAqe:L** 'AXdjinnguG was landing *47c.46L, with 'Ad-'e'-ch' '(to S's own) home'* **'Ad'e'ch' q'e' 'AdAqe:k'inh** he would boat back home *56.7L, with o-ya'ch' 'into o (body of water)':* **yAX dAqe:X, 'i:ya:Gya'ch'** they boated around, into Eyak Lake *68.32A, with o-ya'X '(movement (with)in body of water)':* **'a:ngu:'nuwya'X q'uhnu: li' sAqehL** down the Copper River it was they boated *68.3A, with o-wa:LX 'according to, by close attention to o':* **dA'Aw 'a:n 'ida: yAX gu:di'ah 'Awa:LX q'uhnu: yAX dAqe:X** following along the way that river flows around they were boating around *68.4A, with yAq' 'ashore':* **'u:d 'ahnu:Xa' yAq' sAqehL** they boated ashore by her there *20.51A,* **dAtli: yAq' sAqehL** she had already landed ashore *25.54A,* **'anh qe'L yAq' sAqehL da:X XAdla:sa'yahL** the girl landed and ran *38.20LM,* **'anhXa' yAq' sAqehL** he boated ashore by him *53.24L, with yahd 'out to sea, away from shore':* **'Awq'Ach'a' yahd sAqehLinh, 'Aw ch'i:leh GAyAXgugwya'd** he went out to it, the Raven in a kayak *12.4G,* **yahd q'Aw sAqehL** he boated out to sea *20.83A,* **yahd da: qa'qeh** we are going to go to sea *21a.21L,* **dAtli: yAqe:X q'e:yahd qu'xwdAqe:** already tomorrow I shall go back out to sea *21b.75A,* **yahd q'e' sdiqehL** they put back out *37.66A,* **dAtli: yahd qa'qeh** already they're about to put out *49.88A,* **'ahnu:tl' yahd sAqehL** they boated out to sea with him *50.47A,* **yahd yAX 'AdAqe:k'** they boat around out to sea *62.4G, with li' 'downstream':* **qi'dga' li' GAqehda:d** at about as far as he could boat downstream *56.2L,* **'Aw t'AXgsga' 'AXya' li' sAqehL** they boated down in those cottonwood-like canoes *68.2A, 3.105A, with dAG 'upstream':* **'AnAXAnAG da:X dAG sAqehLinu:** they boated upstream by Alaganik *68.10A,* **q'e:dAG sdiqehLinu:** they boated back upstream *68.37A, with dAGe'X '(movement in area) upstream':* **'a:ndAX Xi:dAX dAGe'X, Xi:dAX Xi:ch' qi'yiqeh** by here up along yonder, after you've boated yonder by way over there *60.63A, with da:X 'across':* **'ahnu:tl' da:X sAqehLinh** they boated across with her *25.14A,* **'ahnu:Xahd da:X sAqehL** he boated across away from them *34.68M,* **'u:ch' da:X sAqehLinh** he boated across thither *38.10LM,* **'Awya' da:X GAqe:Linh** she was boating across in it *38.17LM,* **'ahnu:'ihd da:X sAqehLinh** they boated across after her *38.20LM,* **dAxu: qahdldAya' q'e:da:X xsdiqehL** by myself I boated back across in a bark (vessel) *53.28L, with lah 'around (in circular motion)':* **Xi:d XAyA'u:Lch'a:ch' lah sAqehLinh** he boated around way over to the other side (of the point) yonder *43.31M,* **q'e:dah Li'q' 'AyAG 'ahnu: q'e:lah sdiqehLinu:** they all of them boated straight back home *57.31G,* **gu:dig lah q'e' qu'dAqeh** you'll boat around once more again *60.63A, with 'Ash 'completely by, past':* **ma:gudAta:s 'Ash sAqehLinu:** they got across the lake *37b.67A,* **ma:gAdAta:s 'Ash sAqehLinu:** they had boated clear across the lake *37b.80A, with 'anh 'home' (always with q'e'~q'e:- 'back'):* **'ahnu:tl' q'e' 'anh sdiqehL** he boated back home with them *33.55A,* **'u:dAX 'Awa: dAwa'd 'anh q'e' sdiqehLinh** that time however he quickly came back *47c.16L,* **q'e' 'anh sdiqehL** she boated back home *49.125A, with q'e'~q'e:- 'back, again, home, some more, another S':* **'Aw 'uda' q'e' 'iXa:ndAqe:k'inh** more of those boats would come to him *33.29A,* **q'e' sdiqehLinu:** they boated home *37b.68A,* **gu:dAg q'e' sdiqehL** again he boated off *42.10L,* **q'e' qu'dAqeh** they were going to boat back *49.85A, with perambulative, frequently in sense 'S boat around hunting, S go hunting (by boat): elicited occurrences, arranged by mode-aspect: imperatives:* **'Aqe'** *L, Rezanov* Иккэ 'Поѣзжай fahren (Imperat.)' **'iqe'** go (by boat)! *LMS,* **'u:ch' 'Aqe', 'u:ch' 'iqe', 'u:ch' GAqe'** boat thither! *L,* **li'X 'iqe'** boat downstream! *L,* **dAGe'X 'iqe'** boat upstream:! *L,* **lAGe'X 'iqe'** boat up (e.g. inlet to Orca)! *L,* **'i:ndzi'X 'iqe'** boat straight ahead! *L,* **sika' 'iqe'** boat with me! *L,* **duhsk'XAda:q'd** (*or* **'uhsXAda:q'd**) **k'iya' GAqe'** land to the riverbank! *L,* **XAsha:ndAX k'iya' GAqe'** land

close! *L,* **sitsi:n'X k'iya' GAqe', sitsi:n'dAX k'iya' GAqe'** land downhill below me! *L,* **'ulu' 'Ash GAqe'** boat past through it! *L,* **'u:ch' 'ilAXqe', 'u:ch' 'AlAXqe', 'u:ch' GAlAXqe'** pl. boat thither! *L, Rezanov* Ачткеке 'Приѣхать zurückkehren' **'a:nch' q'e' … dAqe: …, 'a:nch' q'e' 'idAqe:** *L,* **'a:nch' q'e' 'idAqe', 'a:nch' q'e' GAdAqe'** boat back hither! *M, Rezanov* Кудтудахъачткедеке *(with Куд crossed out)* 'Приѣзжай zurückkehren (Imperat.)' **dA'u:dAX 'a:nch' q'e' …dAqe…** boat back hither, right along there, right there! **dA'u:dAX 'a:nch' q'e' 'AdAqe'** come back here the same way (you went)! *L,* **yAX 'AdAqe:** *(not *yAX 'idAqe: L) LM,* **yAX 'idAqe', yAX GAdAqe:'** *(these latter two forms later rejected by L)* boat about!, go boating! *L,* **'a:nch' q'e:yAX GAdAqe:'** boat back here! *L, Inceptive imperfective: Rezanov* Коохке 'Ѣхать fahren' **qu'xqeh** I'll go (by boat) *L,* **'u:ch' qu'xqeh** (*or* **-qe:**) I'll boat there *L,* **dik' 'u:ch' qu'xqe:G** (*or* **-qehG**) I won't boat there *L,* **dik' yAqahwahd qu'xqe:G** I won't camp overnight (on boat trip) *L,* **qi' yAq' qu'xqeh** place where I'll land *L,* **djiLqahya'ch' qu'xqeh** I'll boat to Bering River *L, Rezanov* Яхокъуекке 'Не ѣзди fahre nicht' **ya'Xu: qu'yiqeh** don't go (by boat), **duhsk'XAda:q'd da: k'iya' qa'qeh** (*or* **k'iya' da: qa'qeh**) we'll land on the riverbank *L,* **giyah sdilahLXa'** (*or* **ka:shk'Xa'**) **da: qa'qeh** we'll go (by boat) after humpback salmon *L,* **yAqa: da: qa'qeh** we'll go in the morning *M,* **yAXe'X da: qa'qeh** we'll boat southwest (out Orca Inlet) *L,* (**LinhG**) **yAqahwahd da: qa'qeh** we'll go for one day (on boat trip inviting one overnight) *L,* **LihG XAda: gahwahd da: qa'qeh** we'll go for one day *L,* **'u:ch'shuhnu: qa'qeh** will they go there? *L,* **k'iya' qa'qinhinh** he'll land *L,* **dik' 'u:la'xLga:G qi'dAX q'e:'anh qu'xdAqeh** I don't know when I'll get back home *L,* **dik' 'u:la'xLga:G dAXk'iXa'd q'e:'anh qu'xdAqeh** I don't know what time (o'clock) I'll get back home *L,* **yAX qu'xdAqe:** (*or* **-qeh**) I'll boat around, go boating *L,* **dik' yAX qu'xdAqe:G** I won't go boating *L,* **yAX qu'dAqinhinh** he'll go boating *M, Inceptive perfective:* **Xi:ch' GAxqe:L** I'm boating over there *L,* **'u:ch' GAxqe:L** I'm boating thither *L,* **yAq'Ach' GAxqe:L** I'm landing *L,* **XAdla:da:X GAxqe:L** I'm boating along shore *L,* **GAqe:Linh** he's boating along, he's going by boat *M,* **'u:ch' GAqe:Linh** he's boating thither *L,* **dAG GAqe:Linh** he's boating upstream *L,* **li'X GAqe:L**, **li' GAqe:Linh** he's boating downstream *L,* **da:X GAqe:Linh** he's boating across *L,* **'u:dAX 'a:nch' da:X GAqe:Linh** he's coming across there hither *L,* **Xi:ch'a:ch' GAqe:Linh** he's going way over in yonder direction *L,* **'a:ngulAya'X da: GAqe:L** we're boating along in the water *L,* **ma:guda'X da: GAqe:L** we're boating at lake's outlet *M,* **k'iya'ch' GAqe:Linh** he's landing *L,* **qAnuhX GAqe:Linh** he's boating along in open place, open to view *L,* **XAdi:'q'Ach'** (**GAdi:'q'Ach'** *L*) **GAqe:Linh** he's boating out toward the breakers *M,* **XAlah GAqe:Linh** he's coming around a point *LM,* **XAlahch' GAqe:Linh** he's coming, going around a point (canoe partly visible to speaker) *LM,* **lah GAqe:Linh** he's boating around (in circular path) *M,* **dAtli: 'a:nch' GAqe:Liduhnu:, dAtli: 'a:nch' GAqe:Linu:duhnu:** they're coming already! *L,* **XAyuh 'a:nch' GAqe:Linu:** they're coming! *(urgent, 'do something!') L,* **ma:tl'ahch' da: GAqe:L** we're boating towards head of inlet on lake *L,* **k'inhda:ch' GAqe:Linh** he's boating to a different place *L,* **yAX GAdAqe:Linh** he's boating about (a long time, all day long) *L (considering this a somewhat unnatural form), Active perfective:* **siqehL** I went (by boat) *L,* **'u:ch' siqehL** I went thither (by boat), set off thither *L,* **'Aw'a:n' siqehL** I came upon it (while boating) *L,* **yAq' siqehL** I landed *L,* **tsa:dli:na'q' qa' siqehL** I ran up on a rock *L,* **wa'q' qa' siqehL** I ran aground in shallows *L,* **sAqehLinh** he went (by boat), he boated off *M,* **Xi:d XAyA'u:Lch'a:ch' lah sAqehLinh** he boated around yonder point *M,* **'a:nch' sAqehLinh** I boated thither, set off thither *L,* **XAtsiya'da' sAqehLinh** he arrived down below (at shore) *L,* **k'iya' sAqehLinh** he landed *L,* **k'inhda:ch' sAqehLinh** he boated to a different place *L,* **k'inhda:da' sAqehLinh** he arrived at a different place *L,* **si'a:n' sAqehLinh** he came upon me (while boating) *L,* **XAlah sAqehLinh** he boated around a point *M,* **Xe'X'iLch'a:ch' lah sAqehLinh** he turned around outward (away from shore) *L,* **'AdiXiLch'a:ch' lah sAqehLinh** he turned around inward (toward shore) *M,* **Xi:ch'a:ch' yahd sAqehLinh** he went out in yonder direction *L,* **djiLqahya'ch'ahd 'a:nda' sAqehLinh** he arrived here from Bering River *L,* **ta'xts'LdAya' q'unh da:X sAqehL** in (a vessel made of some kind of) bark it was he boated across *(see also qahdl, LuhL, te:k') L,*

qAnuh sAqehLinu: la: they've come into view, see! *L,* **GAsALga:Xtl' qunhAw 'a:nda' sAqehLinh** he came here with (a boatload of) spruce cones *L, Galushia Nelson* ɕɬtàq wúla'ìyù ʊt'ɬ qɛi·yáq stɨqə̀tɬi 'he returned to shore with the seal people' *BSdL 283, 559* **ge:Lta:g-wAlahyu: 'utl' q'e:yAq' sdiqehLinh** seal people, he boated back to shore with them, **yAX xsdiqehL** I went boating, I boated about *L,* **yAX sdiqehLinh** he boated about *M, Active imperfective, attested only with perambulative:* **yAX xdAqe:X** I'm boating about, **'iLya' yAX xdAqe:X** I'm boating back and forth *L,* **yAX dAqe:Xinh** he's boating about *LM,* **dik' yAX dAqe:XGinh** he's not boating about *L, Neuter perfective, attested only in indirect reflexive with 'iLlAXa:n' 'in competition with one another':* **'iLlAXa:n' 'idiqehL** they're racing each other (by boat) *L, Galushia Nelson* ɨtɬɨχáⁿ ixɪɒɪqäɬ 'canoe race' *BSdL 551 perhaps with perambulative:* **'iLlAXA:n' yAX 'idiqehL** they're racing each other about**,** *Active optative:* **'u:ch' 'i:qinhinh** let him go there (by boat) *L,* **'u:ch' da: 'i:qeh** let's go there *L,* **q'Ale' da: 'i:qe'** let's go! *L,* **da: yAX 'idiqeh** *(or* **-qe:** *L) LM,* **yAX da: 'idiqe:** let's go boating *L,* **da: yAX 'idiqehwahd** *(not -qe:-)* so that we may go boating *L, Inceptive optative:* **'u:ch' Gi:qinhinh** let him boat there *L, Active subjunctive:* **'u:ch' 'ilAXqe:X lAXtl' dAxleh** I told you pl. to go there *L,* **dik' 'ilAXqe:XG lAXtl' dAxleh** I told you pl. not to go *L, Active customary:* **da: 'Aqe:k'** we (cust) go by boat *M,* **'Aw'a:n' 'Axqe:k'** I (cust) come upon it (while boating) *L,* **yAX 'idAqe:k'inh** he (cust) boats, used to boat about *M,* **da: yAX 'idAqe:k'** we (cust) go boating *L, Inceptive imperfective customary, with perambulative:* **yAX qu'dAqe:k'inh** he'll (cust) go boating *M.*

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L-qe *(with L-classifier required in certain constructions)* S go, travel by boat (for certain purpose, in certain way): *with k'uqu'wAshe:ch'L 'hunting':* **k'uqu'wAshe:ch'L sALqehL** went hunting (by boat) *37a.1L,* **k'uqu'wAshe:ch'L qu'xLqe:** I'll go hunting (by boat) *42.6L, with perambulative:* **k'uqu'wAshe:ch'L yAX LAqe:Xinh** goes about hunting (by boat) *33.2A, 37a.26L, 47b.3M, 47c.2L;* **k'u:yya:X siLqehL** I boated to someplace protected from wind < I boated avoiding wind *L (perhaps to be analyzed O-L-qe).*

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qAyuh LA-qe *(LA-classifier required with qAyuh 'belligerently, fighting-mad, attacking)* S go (by boat) to fight: **qAyuh GALAqe:Linh** he's coming (by boat) for a fight *L.*

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qAyuh dAqeh *LA,* **qAyu: dAqeh** *S (personal name) Eyak man, Chief Joe LAS. Etymologized by informants < "goes (by boat) fighting-mad", but with vocalized form of zero- rather than of L-classifier; perhaps therefore folk-etymological influence of qAyuh LA-qe on Eskimo name qayugtaq (from Eyak point of view GAyuxdAq-, qAyuxdAq-, qAyuh dAq-).*

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'isqe:l *(gerundive of -qe)* boating (in definite direction): **'isqe:l xuGALga'L** I'm getting tired of the trip < boating is tiring me *L.*

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yAX 'isqe:X(-L) *(gerundive of -qe with perambulative)* boating (in no definite direction): **yAX 'isqe:X xuGALga'L** I'm getting tired of boating (about) *L,* **yAX 'isqe:XL xusALga'L** I'm tired of boating (around) *L,* **yAX 'isqe:XXa' 'AnahshAkih 'ixleh** I like boating *L,* **yAX 'isqe:X sid 'ALde'g** teach me how to paddle a canoe (how to boat)! *L.*

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'uwa:LX yAX k'udAqe:g *(noun, unclassified)* compass *L. Nominalized Active imperfective repetitive (-g-repetitive perhaps in error however for -k'-cust) with perambulative, <* according, by close attention to it one (? customarily,? repeatedly) navigates about.

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'i-X-qe *(with X-thematic and apparently indeterminate O)* S (boat, unknow person(s) in boat) travel: **'u:ch' 'iXAGAqe:Linu:** some people were boating thither *7.17A,* **qi'ch'ahd 'iXAsAqehLda:d** at where they had boated away from he came upon them *9.149A,* **'u(l)tsi:n'X 'iXAGAqe:Linu:** people where boating along below him *23.58A,* **'udä' 'iXa:nqe:k'inh** boats would come to him *33.7A,* **'udä' 'iXAGAqeh da:X** when a boat would come to him *33.14, 23A,* **gAdla:'a:w qi'da' 'iXAqe:k'** it was far when the boats would go to *64.7G,* **'Aw 'u:da' q'e' 'iXa:ndAqe:k'inh, gu:dAg, 'ulu'qa:** some more boats (cust) arrive there, again, to get him *33.29A,* **k'udzu:wahd 'Aw'a:n' 'iXa:nqe:k'** it's good luck to come upon it < a boat (cust) comes upon it for good *35.2L, with perambulative:* **yahd yAX 'AdAqe:k'** boats (cust) go about out to sea *62.5G,* **'u:ch' 'iqe'Xi:qeh** someone (unknown) will go there (by boat) *L,* **lAXch' 'iqe'Xi:qeh** someone (unknown) will come to you pl. (by boat), a boat will come to you pl. *L.*

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O-**L-qe** *(transitivity uncertain)* S boat O (boat, for purpose of transporting boat rather than self), S move, use O (boat, model boat), S pole O (boat): **'iLqe'** pole it! *M,* **'iLqe', 'iLqe:'** use a boat! *L,* **da: GALqe:L** we're poling along in a boat **'u:ch' 'ALqe', 'u:ch' GALqe'** paddle the boat there! *L,* **Xi:ch' GAxLqe:L** I'm paddling a boat over there (for the purpose of having the boat there) *L, with perambulative:* **yAX 'ALAqe:** play with a toy boat! < move it (boat) about! *L, repetitive:* **Xi:ch' qAxLqe:g** I'm taking them (boats, one by one, by water) over there *L; see also k'u:yya:X siLqehL under L-qe*.

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qid 'Ad-LA-qe *(reflexive of O-L-qe, with qid 'downhill')* S (animate) slide self downhill: **qid 'AdGALAqe', qid 'Ada:LAqe'** slide down! *L,* **qid 'Adqu'LAqeh** it (e.g. otter) will slide down *M,* **qid 'Adqu'xLAqeh** (*or* **-qe:**) I'll slide down *L,* **dik' qid 'Adqu'xLAqe:G** (*or* **-qehG**) I won't slide down *L,* **qid 'AdGALAqe:L** they (otters) are sliding down *M,* **qid 'AdGALAqe:Linh** he's sliding down (right now) *L,* **qid 'AdsLiqehLinh** he slid down *L,* **da: qid 'Ada:Liqeh**, **qid da: 'Ada:Liqeh** *(not -qe:)* let's slide down *L,* **qid da: 'AdLAqe:k'** we (cust) slide down *M; repetitive,* S slide down repeatedly, go sliding*:* **qid 'AdGALAqe:g**, **qid 'Ada:LAqe:g**, **qid 'AdALAqe:g** *(no preference)* go sliding! *L,* **qid 'Adqu'xLAqe:g** I'll go sliding *LM,* **qid 'Adqu'LAqe:ginu:** they'll slide down (repeatedly) *L,* **qid 'AdLAqe:ginh, qid 'AdALAqe:ginh** *(former preferred)* he's sliding down (repeatedly) *L,* **qid 'AdxLAqe:g**, **qid 'AdGAxLAqe:gL** I'm sliding down (repeatedly) *L (former preferred, latter might imply "all day long" L),* **qid 'AdsLiqe:gLinh** he slid down (repeatedly) *LM,* **da: qid 'Ada:Liqe:g, qid da: 'Ada:Liqe:g** let's go sliding *L,* **da: qid 'Ada:LAqe:g da:X** just as we (land-otters) get started sliding (repeatedly) *30.9L (Active conditional).*

qeixwnei

qeixwnei *(personal name) Tlingit name of Nora Marks Dauenhauer (1927-2017) of Juneau, daughter of Emma Marks of Yakutat, name known to be of Eyak origin, qe'xwleh (cf. o-lah qe'x(w)le' 'I love o, I have upwelling of feeling about o'; cf. qe'-le' under le(')~li').*

qe: *(perhaps related to qe:ts'-qAts', and/or to qe'L)*

-sA-qe:-G *(kinship noun, descending) (with s-thematic prefix and -G-thematic suffix)* (man's) son, (man's) brother's son: *Baranov* Сакекъ 'Дитя' ('child'), ***sAqe:G** son *(man speaking), requiring possessive prefix, but cf. following, Khromchenko* Акекъ *(in Ahtna column)* / Сакекъ *(with macron over first к, in Eyak column)* 'Сынъ' ('son'), *first form conceivably* *?**'Aqe:G**, *unique vocative for descending generation, or miscopied; for second form cf. Baranov, perhaps correct at that period, cf. sAqe:GAyu:, but cf. 'daughter, brother, sister' also without possessive prefix,* **sisAqe:G** my son *(man speaking) LMS,* my nephew (brother's son) *(man speaking) L, serves also as vocative LM, Wrangell* Сисакхенъ 'Sohn', sısaqaɛq 'son (man speaking)' *BSdL 566,* sətɪⁿsaqaɛq

'father's older brother's son (either sex speaking) *BSdL 655* **sit'inhsAqe:G** my father's brother's son, sɪχʊχsaqaɛq 'older brother's son, daughter (man speaking)' *BSdL 567* **siXAwAXsAqe:G** my older brother's son *(man speaking)* sɪsaqɛqcia 'younger brother's son (man speaking)' *BSdL 567* **sisAqe:Gshiyah** my brother's son *(man speaking, suffixed -shiyah with perhaps mild pejorative force),* **tla:X 'isAqe:G** where's your son? *(S would say to a woman, incorrectly) M, (see 68.128-129fn),* **'a:ngulAch'iya'sAqe:G** river-master's son *29.51A. Baranov*

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sAqe:GAyu: *(noun, unclassified) (as above, with -yu: 'plural')* children, babies, kids, youngsters *L*: *Anonymous* Сакекью 'Сынъ' ('son'), *Baranov* Сакѣкъ-ю 'Сынъ' ('son'), *1b.21M, 10.23, 24, 11.174A, 18.49L, 20.96, 23.19, 24.24, 25, 26, 54, 28.128A, 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, 67A, Rezanov* Сукекеитою 'Дѣти Kinder (Plur.)' **sAqe:GA[yu:]'it'u'yu:** many children *(cf. Келькаинту 'Онѣ sie, f.g.' qe'LGA[yu:]'it'u' 'many women'),* **dik' k'ula:GAya' sAqe:GAyu:G** not another's children *24.32A,* **dA'i: 'iya' sAqe:GAyu:** your own children *24.32A,* **qe'LsAqe:GAyu:** female children, girls *38.2LM,* **Lila:'sAqe:GAyu:** male children, boys *18.49L,* **GAdAgiLsAqe:GAyu:** sun-children *34.126L,* **q'a:l sAqe:GAyu:** youngsters, young people < now (still) children *(up into twenties) 51.74, 61.100A,* **q'a:l yi:nhinu: sAqe:GAyu:** children nowadays, present-day children *65.75, 79A,* **sAqe:GAyu:Xa'X qe'le' xuGALga'L** I'm getting tired of babysitting *L,* **xuGALga'L sAqe:GAyu: 'ulAxa:g** I'm getting tired of raising kids *L,* **dAXk'nu:d sAqe:GAyu: 'iXa'** *M,* **dAXk'nu: sAqe:GAyu:d da'li:LXah** how many children do you have? *L,* **k'ugu:nt'u'inu: sAqe:GAyu: da'li:LXinhinh** she has many children *L,* **dik' sAqe:GAyu: da:la'LXa:Ginh** she has no children *L,* **sAqe:GAyu: 'uyAq' quh** womb < children stay in it *A.*

qe:tl' *(perhaps to be analyzed qe:-tl', qe:- perhaps related to qi:1 'foot', with postposition o-tl' 'with o')*

-qe:tl'- *(morphological and syntactic classification not determined) occurring only in* **qi:dAqe:tl'G** barefoot *L, with qi:d-anatomical 'foot' and -G-thematic suffix, perhaps negative.*

qe:L1 *(perhaps to be analyzed qe:-L, with -L-perfective suffix, stem qe, or perhaps loan from Tlingit qéła 'large dish, platter')*

GAqe:L *(probably nominalized Inceptive perfective of verb-theme -qe or -qe:L cf. Inceptive perfective use of GAmAk' 'round')* elliptical, oval, oblong: *Rezanov* Какаилькоэте 'Продолговато länglich' **GAqe:Lgwä' 'i:t'eh, GAqe:Lga' 'i:t'eh** it's elliptical *L,* **GAqe:L ts'ik'** oval dish *L, with classified nouns:* **dAGAqe:L shdu:lihG** oval table *L,* **lAGAqe:L ch'iyahd** high-hat or fedora *L; Rezanov* Уяхекаиль 'Широко ('wide') breit' *probably to be read* **'uya' GAqe:L** it (inside of o with broad opening at top) is oval, Уяхекетлиле 'Ширѣ ('wider') breit (Comparativ.)' **'uya' GAqe:L yiLeh** it's an oval (vessel) *L.*

qe:L2 *(probably related to qe'L)*

qe:L *(personal name) daughter of Annie Johnson (1903-1933) (source: Frederica de Laguna, p.c. 1/1/67). Probably Tlingit adaptation of qe'L 'woman'; cf. qe'Lsha:kih.*

qe:ts'~qAts' *(qe:ts' expanded form, qAts' reduced form, perhaps to be analyzed qe-, perhaps related to qe'L, with unidentified -ts'-suffix)*

qe:ts'-kih *(noun, unclassified) (attested only with -kih diminutive) occurring only as vocative (not *qe:ts'Akih, lack of connective -A- normal in epithets, vocatives)* child: *Furuhjelm* Khetzkisaha 'daughter' **qe:ts'kih siXa'** my child *L.*

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qAts'kih *(noun, unclassified) (as above) occurring only as vocative (as above)* child: **qAts'kih** child *(mother or father says to boy or girl) L,* **qAts'kih siXa'** my child *L.*

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sA-qe:ts'- *(noun, unclassified) (with s-thematic prefix)* child, baby *(sg. only)*: *occurring only with suffixed adjectives and -kih diminutive* **sAqe:ts'i'luw** big child, big baby *L; with irregular connective -A-: Galushia Nelson* səqɛ́'tsəciyɛ̀ 'bad baby ("baby bad") *BSdL 259, 554* **sAqe:ts'Ashiyah** *L; usually with -kih diminutive:* **sAqe:ts'Akih** baby, child, youngster, young person *(up at leat 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, 171, 61.31, 41, 48, 54A, Galushia Nelson* səqɛ́'ts (*should be:* səq'ǻts?) 'child' *BSdL 542 (-kih diminutive missing, probably in error),* səqǻ·tsəkì *or* səq'ǻ·tsəkì 'baby' *BSdL 542,* **sAqe:ts'Akih 'anhyAq' sahL** she got pregnant < a child went into her *2a.7M, 2b.15L, 24.17A,* **sAqe:ts'Akih 'uyAq' sAdahLinh** she got pregnant < a child sat, stayed in her *23.111A,* **sAqe:ts'Akih da'sALXa'Linh** she had (gave birth to) a baby *2a.8M, 23.138A,* **sAqe:ts'Akihta:'** child's father *55.23L,* **sAqe:ts'Akih 'uyAq'd dah** womb < a child stays in it *A,* **GAL'ihXlah sAqe:ts'Akih** youngest child *(last of a series) L, Galushia Nelson* tɬílà·' səq'ǻ·tsəkì 'boy (literally: "man-child")' *BSdL 542* **Lila:'sAqe:ts'Akih** *49.156A,* **Lila:' sAqe:ts'Akih da'sALXa'Linh** she had a boy baby *L, Galushia Nelson* q'ätɬ səq'ǻ·tsəkì 'girl (literally: "woman-child")' *BSdL 542* **qe'LsAqe:ts'Akih** *28.37A, 38.6, 8, 11, 71.11LM,* **q'a:l sAqe:ts'Akih** young person, youngster < now (still) a child (in teens and twenties) *3.17M, 42.1, 55.8L, 61.104A,* **sAqe:ts'Akihya' dAq'Aw** black dirt in creases of baby's hands < child's lunch, provisions *(should not remove) L,* **sAqe:ts'Akihwahya:** (mythical) materials for making, makings of, a baby *L.*

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qi' sAqe:ts'Akih da'k'u'lALXa:k' *(noun)* maternity hospital < place where one has children *L.*

qe:s *(perhaps to be analyzed qe:-s, qe:- perhaps related to qe:tl' and/or to qi:1 'foot', with unidentified -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'q' yAX dAq'Ats'g** 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:sdAya'd** back of my knee *L (perhaps incorrect),* **siqe:sgu:dAya'd** my ankle, the back of my ankle *L (-gu:dA- probably analogical),* **siqe:sgu:nLGAmAdL** *L,* **siqe:sgu:nLGAmAdl, siqe:sgu:LGAmAdL** my ankle, anklebone *LA,* **-gu:LGAmAdL** *probably originally Neuter perfective verb, with g-class-mark for S, correctly gu:-, but L, who is erratic with nasalization, especially in prefixes, nasalizes, gu:n-, then reinterprets class-mark as gl-, see occurrences under GAmAd~GAmAdl.*

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qe:s *(probably g-class-noun, requiring (analogical) gl-class-mark for S, and occurring in preverbal position)* ankle: **ya'Xu: qe:s qu'gAli:xuL** don't turn your ankle *L,* **yAX qe:s gu:sixuL** I turned my ankle (down) *L.*

qehsq' *(perhap 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)* moonlight *LAS*: **qehsq' 'iLi'ahL** it's moonlight, moonlight is shining *L,* **qe:sq' k'u:Leh** there's moonlight *M,* **qehsq' k'uqa'Le'**

there'll be moonlight *L,* **qe:sq'dAyAq'** in the moonlight *M.*

qehX *(perhaps originally qeh-X, perhaps related to qehX~qe:X, basic meaning perhaps 'closed, filled aperture')*

-L-qehX *(noun, unclassified) (perhaps derived from postposition below with L-classifier)* 1. bottom (of vessel): **k'uLqehX** bottom of something *L,* **'uLqehX** its bottom (of box) *(in case of box turned on side, L feels that 'uLqehX would then refer to the side prone on the floor, not the vertical bottom) L,* **'AwLqehX ne:tl' we:ts'k'inu:** they (cust) first weave the bottom *66.8L,* **'uLqehX lu' sALe'L** its bottom developed a hole *L.*

2. surface placed beneath: *with k'u-indefinite possessor:* **k'uLqehX** saucer *L,* **k'uLqehXluw** big saucer *L; see also following.*

,

mAgAGdALqehX *(noun, probably d-class)* 1. chessboard, checkerboard *LA*: **mAgAG-d-L-qehX mAgAG** checker-like game, pieces *(unclassified), meaning of -L-qehX as 2. above, with d-thematic probably thematized class-mark for 'board'.*

2. *cat's name A.*

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k'udALqehX *(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.*

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o-**L-qehX-d** *(postposition) (derived from -L-qehX above, or perhaps vice-versa)* bottom of o (vessel), *attested with -d final 'at rest, nominalization'*: **tl'A'a:GLqehXd** (on?) the bottom of a basket *M.*

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(o-)**yAX-dA-qehX-q'** *(postpositional phrase, exact analysis uncertain, -qehX- as o of o-q' 'on o', (o-)yAX postposition 'under o' perhaps with -d final 'at rest, nominalization', compounded with -qehX-q', thus o-yAX-d-yehX-q', or with zero final (or, with yAX (preverb) 'downward') d-thematic or dA-classifier with -qehX-q', or perhaps o-yAX dA-qehX-q' with dA-indeterminate o of o-qehX-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:* **yAXdAqehXq' ya:** the one on the bottom *L,* **'Awya'd yAXdAqe:Xq' sAtahL** 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':* **Xi:d XAyAXdAqehXq'da:d** (at rest) yonder in vicinity of bottom of area (foot of mountain) *L, with -d final:* **'Awya'd yAXdAqehXq'd GALe'L** 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 dAGAta'** close it! *M,* **qehX (dA)GAta'** close it (door)! *L,* **qehX li' dAGAta'** close the door tight! *L,* **qehX 'Aw sALtahL** they (beavers) dammed it *L,* **qehX 'Aw sditahL** it (alarm clock) has been turned off *L,* **qe:X 'AdyAGAta'** close your hand! *M,* **ta:ya'd 'iXa' qehX dAGALtl'i:'** tie your door(way) shut! *L,* **qehX k'udAGAXahd** close the shades, curtains! < pull something (? d-class, d-thematic) closed! *L,* **'i:nda'd qehX GAdAle'g** cover your face (with your hand)! *L,* **dAda'd qehX 'idile'gLinh** he's covering his mouth with his hand *L,* **qehX 'Aw sA'a'tl'L** they (beavers)

dammed it *A, see further instances under O-L-dja:t' 2., l-dA-xa (xwa-), and (most frequently attested) -'ya 6.*

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,* **k’uqe’guya’d** animal's hips *A; and in* **-qe'-g-wa'** bile, gall, gall bladder*, perhaps also* spleen*:* **k’uqe’gAwa’** 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’gAwa’** bile *A (unpossessed, perhaps incorrectly). Informants unable to analyze either form; see ya' and wa'2.*

qe’d

O-**’-qe’d** S ask, inquire about O: **xu’wAqe’dinh** he's asking about me (e.g. boss, wanting me to come to work) *L,* **xu’wAqe’dinu:shuhnu:** are they asking about me? *L,* **’u’siqe’dLinh** I inquired about him (concerning e.g. his health, whereabouts) *L, with perambulative:* **yAX ’u’xdAqe’dX** I'm asking around, investigating about it *L,* **yAX ’i’xdAqe’dX** I was inquiring about you *L; passive:* **’u’sdiqe’dL** it's missed, being inquired about *L.*

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O-**’-d-L-qe’d-X** *(with -X-thematic suffix, deleted in perfective, apparently also in customary, d-thematic, perhaps 'oral', L-classifier perhaps due to generalization from fragment forms with o-'e:-X)* S ask O a question, question O: **Ch’i:leh k’u’di:Lqe’dX** Raven asked someone *3.1M,* **’i:nsALyahLinh qe’L ’anh ’u’di:Lqe’dX** Old Lady asked him *4.11M,* **’anh k’A’ehd ’anh ’u’di:Lqe’dX** that wife asked him *10.175A,* **’anh ’u’di:Lqe’dX** he asked him *10.228A,* **ts’iyux ’u’di:Lqe’dX** they (waterbugs) asked the mosquitos *14.2L,* **’ahnu: k’uXAwAXGAyu: ’ahnu: ’u’di:Lqe’dX** his older brothers asked him *18.52L,* **’ahnu: k’utl’ yi:nhinu: ’ahnu: ’u’di:Lqe’dX** her companions asked her *25.111A,* **’Aw ’u’di:Lqe’dXinh** he asked it (crane) *26.6L,* **yehs ’anh ’u’di:Lqe’dX** *27a.20L,* **’Aw yehs ’anh ’u’di:Lqe’dX** the loon asked him *27a.30L,* **’Aw ’ahnu: ’u’di:Lqe’dX** they (little women) asked them (cockle-people) *29.44A,* **ch’iya’tl’G ’uda’ sahL da:X ’anh ’u’di:Lqe’dXinh** Frog cam to her and he asked her *34.5M,* **’anh qe’L ’anh ’u’di:Lqe’dX** the woman asked him (Frog) *34.6M,* **’anh qe’L ’anh ’u’di:Lqe’dX** the woman asked him (little bird) *34.10, 24, 29, 37, 41, 45M,* **’ahnu: ’u’di:Lqe’dXinh** they (people) asked him *41.7L,* **k’udi:q’Ayu: ’ahnu: ’u’di:Lqe’dX** the Aleuts asked him *53.27L,* **’u:d ’ahnu: ’u’di:Lqe’dXinh** there they asked him *53.31L,* **siga:g ’u’disiLqe’dL** *68.88A,* **siga:g ’u’di:xLqe’dX** I asked my uncle *68.107A,* **’u’di:Lqe’dXinh** ask him! *LM,* **dA’u:dAXyi:nkih ’u’di:Lqe’dX** ask somebody! *L,* **dA’u:dAXyi:nhinu: ’u’di:Lqe’dX** ask some people! *L,* **xu’di:Lqe’dXinh** he's asking me *M,* **k’u’di:Lqe’dX** he's asking (someone) *M,* **’iLk’e:duh gu:dAg q’e’ ’i’di:Lqe’dX** what's he doing asking you again? *(irritated,* how the hell does he ask you again?*) L,* **qu’di:xLqe’dXinh** I'll ask him *M,* **’u’disiLqe’dLinh** *(not -X)* I asked him *LM,* **’u’di:Lqe’dk’inh** he (cust) asks him *M, with o-'e:X 'in search of o',* o-**’e:X** O-**’-d-L-qe’d-X** S ask O about, for o: **da:na:dA’e:X xu’di:Lqe’dXinh** he's asking me for money *L,* **da:na:dA’e:X ’u’di:xLqe’dX** I'm asking him for money *L,* **dik’ da:na:dA’e:X ’u’di:xLqe’dXGinh** I'm not asking him for money *L,* **yahddA’e:X ’uXa’ xu’di:Lqe’dXinh** he asked me about his house *L,* **dA’u:dAXya:kih’e:X ’u’di:Lqe’dX** he asked him about something *L,* **Li’q’ ya:yu:’e:X ’u’di:Lqe’dXinh** he asked him about, for all sorts of things *L,* **’i’e:X** (**’i’e:nX** *M*) **xu’di:Lqe’dXinh** she's been asking me about you *LM,* **’i’e:X ’u’di:xLqe’dX** I asked him about you *L,* **si’e:Xshunh ’i’di:Lqe’dX** has he been asking you about me? *L,* **qahdzX ’idAdi:t’ux’e:X ’i’di:Lqe’dXinh** he (doctor) asks you if you're spitting with your cough *L,* **ya’Xu: ’u’e:X xu’qu’di:Lqe’dX** don't ask me about it *L,* **’i’e:X k’u’dAsALqe’dL** someone asked about you *L,* **tli: XAtl’ ’i’e:X xu’dAsALqe’dLinh** he asked me about you yesterday *L,*

cautionary negative Inceptive imperative: **si’e:X q’A’u’dAGi:Lqe’dXGinh** don't ask him about me! *L, with perambulative:* **’i’e:X yAX ’u’dAxLAqe’dXinu:** I go around asking them about you *L, with indeterminate O:* **’ida’di:Lqe’dXinh** he's asking around, inquiring, investigating (of no one in particular) *L,* **’i’e:X ’ida’di:xLqe’dX** I've been asking around about you *L,* **Li’q’ ’i’e:X ’ida’di:xLqe’dX** I've been asking all around about you *L,* **’i’e:X ’ida’qAdi:Lqe’dXinu:** they pl. have been asking around about you *L,* **’i’e:X** (**’i’e:nX** *M*) **’ida’di:Lqe’dXinh** he's been asking (around) about you *LM,* **dik’ ’i’e:nX ’ida’dAsLqe’dLGinh** he didn't ask (people) about you *M,* **Li’q’ ya:yu:’e:X ’ida’di:Lqe’dXinh** he's been asking (around) about all sorts of things *L,* **yahddA’e:X ’uXa’ ’ida’di:Lqe’dXinh** he asked (people) about his house *L,* **si’e:Xshunh ’ida’di:Lqe’dX** has he been asking (people) about me? *L,* **ya’Xu: ’u’e:X ’ida’qu’di:Lqe’dX** *(probably in error for 'ida'qe'di:Lqe'dX)* don't ask about it *L,* **lAX’e:X ’ida’di:Lqe’dXinu:** they're asking about you pl. *L, with perambulative:* **’i’e:X yAX ’ida’dAxLAqe’dXinu:** I'm going around asking people, investigating about you *L; passive:* **’u’dAdAqe’dXinh** he was asked *6.11M, 37b.48A,* **’i’e:X xu’disdiqe’dL, ’i’e:X xu’disLiqe’dL** I was asked about you *L.*

qe’L *(perhaps to be analyzed qe'-L with -L-suffix perhaps instrumental, qe'- perhaps related to qe:)*

qe’L *(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, 211, 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* Кеэлль 'Дѣвка Mädchen, Magd', *Anonymous* Катль 'Девка', *Khromchenko* Кешъ 'Женщина' ('woman'), *Wrangell* Кяятхель 'Weib', *Galushia Nelson* q’ätł *or* qätł 'woman' *BSdL 542,* **lu:ya’ qe’L** tide-woman *3.14M,* **dji:da:dAGya’ qe’L** razon-clam-woman *11.133A,* **k’ushiyah qe’L** evil woman *21a.34, 38L,* **k’udi:q’ qe’L** Aleut woman *53.14L,* **k’udzu:dah ’u’GAdA’inhinh qe’L** good-looking woman *58.1L,* **’i:nsALyahLinh qe’L** old woman, old lady *3.17, 4.7, 11, 14, 71.22LM,* **’anh qe’L** that girl, this girl, that woman, this woman *L,* **’Al qe’L** this female (animal) *L,* **’Aw qe’L** that female (animal) *L, 10.132A,* **qe’LshA’anh** is it a girl? (of newborn) *L,* **qe’L’Akih, qe’LAkih, qe’L’ikih, qe’Likih** girl, young girl, little girl, young woman, little female *LM, 10.126, 11.96, 23.35, 80, 83, 111, 160, 28.40, 29.13A, 29.13A, 34.72, 75M, 37a.15L, 46.1M, 49.93A,* **qe’LAkihGAyu:** little girls *29.1,* **qe’LAkihma:** little girl's mother *34.73M,* **qe’L’a’luw** *LM,* **qe’L’i’luw** big woman *L,* **qe’Ldzu:kih** pretty girl *L, Furuhjelm* Kelikutzuki (*Dall 1870* kelikútskuki) **qe’Li’kuts’gkih** little girl *L, Khromchenko* Канакешъ *(in Ahtna column; <is> probably miscopy)* 'Дѣвка' ('girl') **q’a:nA qe’L** female in her prime, young lady, **qe’LGAyu:** 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’LGAyu:** two women, two girls *31.2L, 33.58A, 47b.6, 33M, 47c.3, 47L, 99.32, 68.86, 99A,* **k’udzu: qe’LGAyu:** good(-looking) women *31.5L,* **qe’LGAyu:ya’ mAgAG** "women's" side of checker-game *L,* **dik’ qe’LGAyu:de:leh q’e’ ’Ada:k’G** he stays away from women < he doesn't (cust) go around women anymore, *abstaining for good luck in hunt L,* **qe’LGAyu: k’inhda:d dAXunh yiLinhinh** he stays away from women < he lives apart from women, *as preceding L,* **qe’LGAyu:ya’ kAnggu:dz** women's tools ***(da: qa'Lyi:n'inh*** *used to say) L, Rezanov* Келькаинту 'Онѣ sie, 3te Person Plur. Des persönl. Fürwortes, f.g.' *perhaps to be read* **qe’LGA[yu:]’it’u’** (cf. Сукдекеитою 'Дѣти Kinder (Plur.)' **sAqe:GA[yu:]'it'u'yu:** many children), **qe’LGAyu:’it’u’(yu:)** lots of women *L,* **la’dnu: sLa’dah ’u’GAdA’inhinu: qe’LGAyu:** two beautiful-looking women *M,* **qe’LGAyu:yAquhGAyu:** young little girls *29.40A; as first part of*

compound: **qe'LsAqe:ts'Akih** girl, girl-child *28.37A, 38.6, 8, 11, 71.10LM, Galushia Nelson* q'ätɬ sə̀q'ä́·tsə̀kì 'girl ("woman-child")' *BSdL 542* **qe'LsAqe:GAyu:** girls, girl-children *38.2LM,* **qe'Lch'iya'tl'G** female frog *10.125A, with possessed nouns:* **qe'Lqa"AdXALA'ahdAXanhyu:** female horseclam-people *10.247A,* **qe'Lsiyahsh** my daughter *(woman speaking, to distinguish from son) L (cf.* **qe'LyahshGAyu:** woman's children *49.32, 32A),* **qe'LsidAGe:'** my younger sister *(to distinguish from younger brother) L, as second element in compounds:* **ch'iya'tl'Gqe'L** frog-woman *10.190A,* **'u'tl'wAlahqe'L** driftwood-spirit-woman *11.76A,* **dji:da:dAGwAlahqe'L** razor-clam-spirit-woman *11.92A,* **xi:lqe'L** shaman-woman *19.11L,* **q'Aq'wAlahyu:qe'L** loon-people-woman *24.5A,* **q'Aq'wAlahqe'L** loon-spirit-woman *24.17A, with classified noun as first element:* **'u'tl'dAqe'L** *11.71A,* **'u'tl'qe'L** driftwood-woman *11.85A,* **'itl'AlAqe'L** mountain-woman *23.6, 9A; in personal names: see entries below (cf. also ke'L).*

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qe'Lshah *(personal name) woman's name L (qe'L 'woman').*

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qe'Lsha:kih *(personal name) Annie Johnson (1875-1964), Bering River Village, Yakutat, wife of George Johnson* < little old lady *A (as above, with -kih 'diminutive').*

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qe'LGAyu:ya' na:w *(noun)* wine < women's whiskey *L.*

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qe'LGAyu:ya' 'a:n 1. *(place-name) Lost River (near Yakutat) LA XV.1.*

2. *(place-name) Old Woman River, near hangar at Cordova* < women's river *L (confused with yahGAyu:ya' 'a:n?).*

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dAqe'L ye:t' *(noun) (dA-prefix not clearly identified, perhaps d-class-mark for ye:t 'wild celery', d-class)* "female" part of wild celery plant *L.*

qe'GAwah *(first element in personal name; probably from qa' 'i-GAwah, Eyak but GAwah otherwise unattested)*

qe'GAwahta:' *(personal name) Eyak man* < father of qe'GAwah *LS.*

qa1

O-**qa** S handle O (liquid, water unless otherwise specified) in container, S bring, fetch O (water): **giyah sich' 'iqa'** fetch me water *2b.5L,* **'iya', giyah 'uch' 'iqin'inh** go, fetch her water *2b.6L,* **'anh dA'Aw giyah sAqahLinh** he fetched that very water *2b.10L,* **giyah sAqe:ts'Akihda' sAqahLinh** he fetched the water to the child *19.28L,* **'Aw giyah qa:k'** she would fetch water *25.27A,* **'anh dik' giyah lAG 'AsqahLGinh** he didn't fetch any water *25.94A,* **giyah Lich' qa:k'inh, Lich' gah** she would always fetch water, every day *38.14LM,* **giyah lAG GAqah da:X** when he fetched water up *48.5L,* **giyah q'e' sAqahL** he fetched the water back up *48.10L,* **'iqa'** fetch water! *M,* **giyah sich' 'iqa'** *LM,* **sich' 'Aqa'**, **giyah sich' 'Aqa'** bring me water! *L,* **gi:wa: sida' GAqa'** bring me (e.g. a keg of) beer! *L,* **qu'xqah** I'll fetch water *M,* **giyah 'ich' qu'xqah** *(not -qa:)* I'll bring you water *L,* **dik' giyah 'ida' qu'xqa:G** I won't bring you water *L (L very reluctant to say, considering the form extremely impolite),* **GAqa:Linh** he's fetching water *M,* **k'uGuxqa:L** I'm carrying something (water) in a bucket *M,* **giyah 'ida' GAxqa:L** I'm bringing you water **giyah 'uda' siqahLinh** I brought him water *L,* **sAqahLinh** he fetched water *M,* **da: 'i:qah, da: Gi:qah** let's fetch water *L,* **giyah xqa:k'** I (cust) fetch water *M,* **dAgwa' q'Aw giyah 'ich' xqa:k'** I've (cust) brought you water enough *L,* **lAGAch' k'uxqa:k'** I (cust) carry something (water in container) up from shore *M, repetitive:* **'anh giyah 'Aw lAG qa:gk'inh** she would carry up water from shore *25.22A,* **'Aw giyah qa:gk'inh** she kept on fetching water *25.26A*

(customaries), **lAG k'uqa:gk'inh** he (cust) fetches water up the bank *M,* **dik' giyah 'ich' qu'xqa:gG** I won't keep bringing you water *L,* **giyah 'uya'ch' 'Aqa:g** ladle water into it! *L,* **'Aw ts'a:gLX ya'X GAqa'** scoop it (water) up with that bailer! *L, with perambulative:* **yAX 'AdAqa'** *(not -qe:, because of homophony with yAX 'AdAqe: 'boat about!')* carry water about! *M,* **yAX dAqa:Xinh** he's carrying water around *L,* **yAX k'udAqa:Xinh** he's carrying something (water) around *M,* **giyah yAX xdAqa:X** I'm carrying a bucket of water around (not necessarily fetching from source) *L,* **yAX k'usdiqahLinh** he carried something (water) around *M.*

qa2

O-**qa** S bite O, hold, carry O in teeth, beak: **'Aw 'AX 'Aw 'Aqa:k'inh** he would bite the canoes *33.31A,* **q'e:dah 'Aw sAqahLinh** he forthwith bit it (canoe) *33.42A,* **'AwdjehX GAqa:Lin**[**u:**] they (women) started in biting their (dogs) ears *60.27A,* **sAqahLinu:** they (women) bit them (dogs' ears) *60.28A,* **GAqa'** *LM,* **'Aqa'** bite it! *L,* **'iqa'** hold it in your teeth!, bite it! *L, Rezanov* Икуава 'Кусать Beissen' *perhaps to be read* **'iqwa'uh** bite it! **'ilAXqa'** pl. bite them! *60.26A,* **qu'xqah** *(not *-qa:)* I'll bite it *L,* **dik' qu'xqahG** (*or* **-qa:G**) I won't bite it *L,* **xuqa'qah** it'll bite me *M,* **xuqu'qi:qah** they'll bite me *M,* **xuGAqa:L** it's biting me *LM,* **xuGAqa:Lduh** it's biting me! *L,* **Lich' 'udjehX 'Awa: GAxqa:Linh** I'm always biting his ear, holding his ear in my teeth *(trying to make him obey) 72.2L,* **GAqa:L** it's biting it, it's holding it in its teeth *L,* **'ich' GAqa:L** it (e.g. dog) is bringing it (e.g. stick) to you in its teeth *L,* **siqahL** I bit it *M,* **xu: sAqahLinh** *I* bit him *M,* **XAwa: 'anh sAqahL** a dog bit him *M,* **'Aw XAwa: du:sh sAqahL** the dog bit the cat *M,* **'Aw du:sh XAwa: sAqahL** the cat bit the dog *M,* **XAwa: siXa' 'anh siqahL** my dog bit him *L,* **xusAqahL** it bit me *(not as severely as in xusAq'Ats'L) L,* **xuqAsAqahL** they bit me *M,* **dik'sh xusqahLG** didn't you bite me? *L,* **'Aw XAwa: dAkinh 'anhda' sAqahL, 'Aw XAwa: dAkinh 'uda' sAqahLinh** the dog brought him a stick in its mouth *L,* **'Awch'ahd k'usAqahL** he bit something from it *11.37A,* **da: 'i:qah, da: Gi:qah** let's bite it *L,* **'a'd k'a:di'da: q'e' 'i:xiqah** I'll never bite you again *M,* **dik' xu:liqahG 'AwXe'xleh** "don't looks like he gonna bite me" < it shouldn't bite me, I want that *L (rare and perhaps incorrect negative optative),* **'Aw 'ixqa:X sitl' dAlinhinh** he told me to bite it *L, hortatory Active desiderative:* **'Al 'idAxwah 'iqa:X** tell it (dog) to carry this in its teeth < let it carry this in its teeth by your command! *L, repetitive:* **xqa:g** I'm nibbling it, I'm biting it repeatedly *L,* **'Aw XAwa: qa: qa:g** that dog keeps biting us, people *L,* **xuqa:g** it's biting me *M,* **'Aw qa:g** they (fish) are just nibbling *(cf. 'Aw sAq'Ats'L 'it (fish) bit it (hook, bait) hard') L,* **qa: GAqa:gX 'udAGAleh 'Awa: t'unhinh** her mind would be bent on biting us, humans *25.138A, with perambulative and indeterminate O:* **yAX 'idAqa:X XAwa:** vicious dog < a dog that goes around biting, **'Aw XAwa: dik' yAX 'idAqa:Xk'G** that dog doesn't bite *L (retention of -X- probably in error)*; **xu:nqa:k'** it (cust) bites me *M (perhaps with l-anatominal,* < it (cust) bites my head, face*), with class-marks for O:* **la'mahd 'a:nda' lAXAsAqahL** it brought a berry here in its beak *43.22M,* **Ge:ts' gAxqa:g** I'm holding a spruceroot in my teeth *L; with k'u-indefinite as o of o-d, translating as S:* **k'ud xuGAqa:L** something is biting me *L,* **k'ud 'iqe'qah** something will bite you *L,* **k'ud xusAqahL** *(not *k'ud xusdiqahL)* something bit me *L; passive:* **xusdiqahL** *(not xusLi-)* I got bitten *L, causative,* o-**d** O-**L-qa** S grip O in o (jawed o, e.g. pliers) < S cause o to bite O, grip O in teeth: **'Awd GALqa'** grip it (e.g. with pliers, in sewing machine)! *L,* **'Ald GALqa'** grip this (in pliers)! *L (probably mistranslated, for* grip it (with this)*!), passive:* **'Awd sLiqahL** "it's gripped in there" < it (e.g. pliers) has been made to grip it *L.*

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'uX k'udAqah *(noun)* pliers, pincers, tongs *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective* < by means of it something is gripped *L.*

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'uX qa' k'uqa'L *(noun) (attested in Rezanov only, reading uncertain)* pincers, tongs: *Rezanov* Ухкакокаль 'Клещи Kniefzange'. *Probably -L- deverbalization of preceding, with qa' 'up out'.*

qa3

O-**l-L-qa** S dissuade, stop, prevent O (not by physical restraint) from acting: **'i:nsiLqahLinh** I dissuaded, stopped him *L,* **'i:nsiLqahLinu:** I made them (kids) stop (playing) *L,* **qu'li:xLqinhinu:** I'll make them stop *L, frequently repetitive,* S repeatedly try to dissuade O, tell, warn O not to do something, forbid O to do something*:* **xulAsALqa:gLinh** he tried to stop, prevent me from doing it *M,* he told me to stop, desist *L,* **lAxLqa:ginh** I'm trying to stop, dissuade him *L,* **lAxLqa:ginu:** I'm making them (kids) stop (playing, fighting) *L (success apparently in question),* **li:Lqa:ginu:** make them (i.e. try to make them) stop playing! *L,* **lAxLqa:ginh, dA'Awtl' (sili'dahd) sahLinh** I tried to stop, prevent, dissuade him, but he went anyway (despite me) *M,* **'Aw Ch'i:leh, dik' qu'li:Lqa:gG** that Raven, you can't stop him *11.163A, with o-q'Asd 'against, from o':* **'Awq'Asd lALqa:g** forbids him to touch it *11.164A,* told him not to (go there) *61.35A,* **dAtli:dug 'Awq'Asd lAxLqa:ginh** but I told him not to!, I already warned him against it! *L,* **'Awq'Asd 'ilAxLqa:g** I'm telling you not to touch that *L,* **'anhq'Asd xulAsALqa:gL** you warned me to stop fooling with her *L,* **'ugAlAq'Asd 'ilAxLqa:g** I advise you not to drink < I urge you to abstrain from it (liquid) *L.*

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O-**dl-L-qa** *(as above, with d-thematic 'oral, noise')* S dissuade, stop, prevent O (not by physical restraint) from making noise, S quiet, silence O, shut O up: **dla:siLqahLinu:** I shut them up *L;* **dla:xLqa:ginh** I'm making him (i.e. trying to make him) stop making noise *L; passive:* **qa: dla:sLiqa:gL** we've been quieted down (e.g. we were having a loud party and someone came in and told us to be quiet) *L.*

qa4

y-L-qa S (impersonal) dawn, it gets light, daylight comes, a period of 24 hours passes: *Rezanov* Якалькадль 'Разсвѣтаятъ es wird hell, taget', *Anonymous* Екатлькатль 'Утро' ('morning') **yAGALqa:L** it's dawning, getting light, day is breaking *LM, 2a.29, 9.67, 21b.56, 23.25, 29.18A,* **'uq' yAGALqa:L** it was getting light on them *25.123A,* **q'a:l lahdz yAGALqa:L** now it's dawning in the south *23.24fnA,* **k'uXAda'luw gahch' yAGALqa:L** a big day is coming < it's dawning towards a big day *L, Rezanov* Есылькатль 'Свѣтло hell', *Baranov* Есилкаль 'День' **yAsALqahL** it's dawned, got light, a day passed *LM, 10.49, 21b.60, 25.72, 32.10A,* **'u:ch'ahd yAsALqahL** then it got light, a day passed after that, *often used adverbially,* a day later, the next day *25.117, 25.124A,* **'u:ch'ahd q'e' yisLiqahL** then another day dawned, the next day *50.47A,* **Li: t'uhLga' 'u:ch'ahd yAsALqahL qi'dAX sAsinhL** he died three days ago < already three days have passed since then, the time when he died *L,* **siq' yAsALqahL** it got light on me *L,* **qu'yi:Lqah** *(or* **-qa:** *L)* it'll dawn *LM,* **ya:yiLqah**, **ya:nliLqah** *(former preferred)* let it get light *L,* **'AlAshgahX ya:yiLqah, 'AlAshgahX ya:liLqah** would that it get light *L,* **yAGALqah da:X** when it gets light *L, 9.78A, 25.150A,* **yi'Lqah da:X** just as it begins to get light *28.39A,* **yi'Lqah da:X yAX 'A'a:k'** *(not ya:L-)* just as it starts to get light *(e.g. in midwinter)* the sun goes down *L,* **yALqa:k'** it (cust) dawns *M,* **guts'de:Xa' yi:Lqa:k'** it (cust) gets light at nine o'clock *L,* **dAqa:yu: ya:Lqa:k'** sometimes it (cust) gets light, sometimes there are days, some days *25.207A, repetitive: Rezanov* Ильчаилькакъ 'Воякой дѣнь ('every day') täglich' **'iLch'a: yALqa:g** days pass consecutively, days in a row *M,* **yALqa:gga' 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.*

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LinhGih yAsALqahL Monday < one day passed *L, Rezanov* Тулькоизылькатль 'Трерьяго дни vorgestern'. *(See also 62.26fnG.)*

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la'dih yAsALqahL Tuesday < two days passed *L.*

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t’uhLga’ yAsALqahL Wednesday < three days passed *L, Rezanov* Тулькоизылькатль 'Третьяго дни vorgestern'.

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qAlahqa’ga’ yAsALqahL Thursday < four days passed *L.*

,

ch’a:n’ih yAsALqahL Friday < five days passed *L.*

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’Awa:LX qAyALqah *(noun) name of a certain large star which is visible at dawn, probably* morning star, (visible) planet, *especially* Venus *L. Nominalized Active imperfective, with unexplained qA-pluralizer,* < according, by close attention to it, it (they?) dawns.

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yAqah *(noun, unclassified) (probably gerundive of y-L-qah)* dawn, daylight, day, 24-hour period *S*: *Anonymous* Якга 'День' ('day'), *Furuhjelm* Iakha 'day', Iakhaa 'light' **LinhGih yAqahwahd da: qa’qeh** we'll go (on boat trip) for one day *(same as LinhG XAda: gahwahd) L,* **dik’ yAqahwahd qu’xqe:G** I'm not going to camp overnight (on boat trip) *L,* **yAqa: da: qa’qeh** we'll go in the morning *M (not verified, probably in error for yAqah, used adverbially, or, more likely, for yAqe:X).*

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yAqe:X *(adverb) (perhaps < *yAqah-yAX, o-yAX 'under o')* tomorrow, on the morrow, in the morning (after tonight) *LMS*: *9.122, 21b.75, 25.114, 37b.77, 50.25A, Rezanov* Екаэхъ 'Завтра morgen (adv.)', *Anonymous* Икихъ 'После' ('after'), **yAqe:X Li:dAwa:** *M, 25.150A,* **yAqe:X tli:dAwa:** tomorrow morning, early on the morrow *9.143, 23.21, 25.114, 61.94A,* **’u:ch’ahd yAqe:X** on the morrow after that, the next day *29.33A, 57.28G, 59.14 Galushia Nelson, 61.85A,* **’u:ch’ahd yAqe:X tli:dAwa:** early on the morrow after that *65.47A,* **’u:ch’ahd yAqe:X se:L** in this evening of the next day *50.47A, Rezanov* Якехвоякехъ 'Послѣ завтра übermorgen' **yAqe:Xwa: yAqe:X** day after tomorrow *LM (not rechecked, perhaps in error for* **yAqe:X 'Awa: yAqe:X** tomorrow, its tomorrow*).*

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O-**’-y-L-qa** O spend a night, O camp overnight, O spend 24-hour period (< it dawns on O): **’u:d ’u’yAGALqa’** spend the night there! *M,* **’u:d xu’qu’yi:Lqah** I'll camp there (overnight) *L,* **dik’ ’u:d xu’qu’yi:Lqa:G** *(not -qahG)* I won't overnight there *L,* **’a:nd qa: qu’yi:Lqah** we'll camp here *LM,* **’Awt’a’d ’u’yAsALqahL** she spent nights behind it *25.80A,* **’u:d ’Aw LinhGih ’u’yAsALqahL** she spent that one day (24-hour period) there *25.119A,* **dAtli: dAGa:q’ ’u’yAsALqahL** already she had spent ten days *49.56A,* **la’dih ’u:ch’ahd ’u:ch’ qa: ’u’yAsALqahL** we overnighted twice (on our way) thence thither *59.5 Galushia Nelson,* **’u:d qa: ’u’yAsALqahL** we spent the night there *M,* **’u:d xu’yAsALqahL** I camped there *L,* **tli: t’uhLga’ ’a:nd xu’yAsALqahL** I've already been here three days *L,* **dAche:lya’X xu’yAsALqahL** I spent a hungry night *L,* **’u:d q’Aw qa: ’u’ya:yiLqahwahd** that we might spend the night there *59.5A Galushia Nelson,* **’a:nd qa: ’u’ya:yiLqah** let's stay here overnight *LM,* **’a:nd xu’ya:yiLqahXa’ ’AnahshAkih ’ixleh** I want to camp here *L,* **’u:d ’i’ya:yiLqah** you may camp there *L,* **’a:nd xu’yAGALqa:X ’ixleh** I want to camp here *L, repetitive:* **xuGALqa’L ’a:nd xu’yALqa:g** I'm getting tired of camping here < it's tiring me (that) I've been (repeatedly) camping here *L,* **qa: ’u’yALqa:gk’** we (cust) spend the night *M.*

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o-**da’-y-L-qa** o be forced to camp overnight without food: **’u:d sida’yAsALqahL** *(not xuda'-)* I got stuck there without food and had to spend the night *L,* **’u:d qa:da’yAsALqahL** *(not qa: 'uda'-)* we got stuck there without food and had to spend the night *L,* **’u:d ’ida’qe’yi:Lqah** *(not 'ida'qu'-)* you'll get stuck there without food *L,* **’u:d ’uda’qe’yi:Lqah** *(not 'uda-qu'-)* he'll get

stuck there without food *L,* **'u:d qa:da'qe'yi:Lqah** *(not qa:da'qu'-)* we'll get stuck there without food *L. This unique morphological construction is probably the result of the coalescence of the postpositional phrase o-da' 'to, arriving at, encountering o' and the verb theme y-L-qa, o-da' being morphophonemically treated as an indeterminate O in a semitransitive verb theme, of the form 'ida'-, following which the allomorph of the Inceptive imperfective prefix is -qe'- (not -qu'-), thus regularly 'ida'qe'-, and here o-da'qe'- rather than the expected o-da' qu'-; L also clearly prefers not to insert sh-interrogative particles after -da'-, thus* **'uda'yAsALqahLshunh** did he get stuck without food? *rather than *'uda'shunh yAsALqahL, a further indication that o-da'- is now to be treated as part of the verb proper, even though the allomorphs of the personal pronouns remain clearly those of o, not of O of verb.*

qa´ *(perhaps related to qah2)*

O-**L-qa´** *(M only, L in every case prefers the semitransitive below, and is doubtful of the correctness of the non-semitransitive)* S count O: **GALqa', 'ALqah** count it! *M,* **k'uxLqah** I'm counting (something) *M,* **siLqa'L** I counted (it) *M, with d-class mark for O:* **dAGALqa'** *L,* **di:Lqah** count it (money)! *LM (same as 'u'dAGALqa', 'u'di:Lqah, but these latter "sound better" L).*

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O-**'-L-qa´** S count O *(meaning not clearly distinguished from that of preceding)*: *Rezanov* Уалькею 'Сочти zahlen' **'Aw 'a'Lqe:'uh** *L,* **'a'Lqe:, 'a'Lqah, 'u'GALqa'** *(not *'a'Lqa:)* count it! *L,* **qu'xLqah** I'll count it *LM,* **'a'xLqah, 'u'xLqah, 'u'GAxLqa'L** I'm counting it *L,* **te'ya' q'Aw 'a'xLqah** (*or* **'u'xL-**) fish it is I'm counting *L,* **dik' 'a'xLqahG, dik' 'u'xLqahG** I'm not counting it *L,* **'u'yiLqahshuh** are you counting it.? *L,* **de:duh 'u'yiLqah** what are you counting? *L,* **'a'Lqinhinh** he's counting it *L,* **dik' 'u'LqahGinh** he's not counting it *L,* **te'ya' q'Aw 'uGwALqinhinh** fish it is he's counting *L,* **k'u'xLqah, k'a'xLqah** I'm counting (something) *L,* **dik' k'a'xLqahG** I'm not counting *L,* **k'a'Lqinhinh** he's counting (something), calculating *L,* **'u'siLqa'L** I counted it *LM,* **da: 'u'liLqah** let's count it *L,* **'Aw 'a'xLqahX sitl' dAlinhinh, 'u'GAxLqahX sitl' dAlinhinh** he told me to count them *L; with class-marks for O:* **'u'di:Lqah, 'u'dAGALqa'** count it (money)! *L,* **'u'di:xLqah** I'm counting it (e.g. money, eggs) *L,* **qu'di:xLqah** I'll count it (money) *L,* **dik' qu'di:xLqahG** *(not -qa:G)* I won't count it (money) *L,* **'u'lAXi:xLqah** I'm counting them (berries) *L,* **'u'lAXa:Lqah** count them (berries)! *L, repetitive:* **'u'dALqa'ginh** he keeps counting it (money) *M; with indeterminate O:* **'ida'xLqah** I'm counting (abstractly) *L (L never heard, but "guess you could say that")*; *reflexive, with y-anatomical:* **'Adu'yAGALAqa'L dAXk'nu:dunh sAsuhL** he (witch) was counting on his fingers how many people he had killed *55.12L,* **'Adu'yAGALAqa'Linh** he's counting on his fingers *55.20L,* **'Adu'yAxLAqah** I'm counting on my fingers < I'm counting my fingers *L; passive:* **'idAk'u'dAqah** (*or* **'ida: k'u'dAqah**) **sid 'ALde'g** teach me how to count! < teach me how something is counted *L,* **'idAk'u'dAqah 'Aw 'u'lixiLgah** I know how to count *L.*

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k'uwAqah *(gerundive) (with k'u-indefinite O)* counting (something): **k'uwAqah xuGALga'L** I'm getting tired of counting < counting is tiring me *L.*

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k'u'wALqinhinh *(noun, unclassified)* priest < he who counts something *L*

qa: *(loan from Tlingit qá 'person', occurring only in loans tle:qa:, t'u:ch'qa:, see also kAna:qa:)*

qa:1

dA-qa: *(adverb) (prefix either dA-* 'ipse' *or d-thematic)* once in a while, occasionally, intermittently, partly, vaguely: **dAqa:** e.g. something vaguely visible *M,* once in a while, on and off *L,* **dAqa: k'uGAdA'eh** something that can hardly be seen *L,* **dAqa: qa:nch' di'LA'u:G** he takes a deep breath every once in a while *L; with -yu: 'plural':* **dAqa:yu:** sometimes *LM, (frequently with customary or repetitive verbs) 11.116, 11.117A,* **dAqa:yu: ya:Lqa:k'** sometimes there are days *25.207A,* **dAqa:yu:, lAX, ya'X, dAqi:kihch' qAXALe'** sometimes, this way, upwards, it (rainbow) dwindled to nothing *51.10A; 51.18, 51.28, 60.4, 60.5, 65.13, 65.19, 65.19, 69.25A,* **dAqa:yu: k'ut'a' xLt'u:k'** I (cust) use it occasionally *M,* **dik'sh dAqa:yu: gahch' yAX 'Ada'ya:Gk'G** don't you (cust) get the urge to dance sometimes? *L,* **dAqa:yu: qi' k'u'ga:k'** a place where one sometimes (cust) dances, sometimes people dance there *L,* **'ulAXshunh 'i:nL'a:k' dAqa:yu:** do you (cust) see him sometimes? *L,* **dAqa:yu: wAX dAxLi:k** I (repeatedly) make music sometimes *L,* **dAqa:yu: k'udzu:dah 'Adu'xdAgAwi'g** I sometime feel good (on and off) *L,* **dAqa:yu: 'idah 'i:lihle:ginh** he (repeatedly) gets happy spells *L,* **dAqa:yu: dAdAle:g** it (fire) sometimes sputters *L,* **dAqa:yu: 'Awlu' gulA'a'g** water gets through there sometimes *L.*

qa:2

-qa: *(element of unidentified morphological classification and unidentified meaning, occurring in yAq'Adqa:, dAq'Adqa:, dla:q'Adqa:, see q'Ad1)*

qa:3 *(element attested only in combination with lu' in postposition o-lu'qa:, see lu' for comparisons)*

o-**lu'qa:** *(postposition) (always with zero final; postpositional phrases with o-lu'qa: 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: **dAkinhluwlu'qa:** to get a big stick *1b.4M,* **'Awlu'qa:** to get it *7.25A, 7.27A,* **k'uq'AXlu'qa:** to get the fat *9.93A,* **'anhlu'qa:** to get her *9.102A,* **'Aw k'utse'lu'qa:** to get the meat *9.114A,* **'ahnu:lu'qa:** to get them *10.70A,* **'Aw yAq'AGi'ya'lu'qa:** to get those entrails *10.119A,* **'ahnu: 'ulu'qa: 'AdAwi'L 'Adu'i:nLiXinhinu: qe'LGAyu:qa'** amongst those women that you're so crazy to have *10.190A,* **'Al Giyahlu'qa:** to get this food *11.30A,* **Xe:lu'qa:** to get the grease *11.175A,* **k'uLa'ch'luwyu:lu'qa:** to get big bellies *14.7L,* **silu'qa:** to get me *20.61A,* **q'Ale' 'u:ch' 'ulu'qa: 'iya'** better go there get it *21b.44A, they should come here to get me* **'a:nda' silu'qa: GA'a'ch'X** *25.92A,* **'ulu'qa: da: yAX 'idA'a:ch'k'** we (cust) go around to get them *25.203A,* **'ulu'qa:** to get him *33.7A, 33.23A, 33.29A,* **Xa:ndiyahlu'qa:** to get food *43.14M,* **xitl'lu'qa:** to get snow *44.16M,* **dla:q'Aya'yu:lu'qa:** to get mountain-goats *49.109A,* **te'ya'lu'qa:** to get fish *52.1L,* **qa:lu'qa:** to get us *59.10 Galushia Nelson,* **ge:Lta:gyu:lu'qa:** to get seals *68.48A,* **giyahlu'qa:** *(without class-mark) 21b.10A,* **giyahgAlu'qa:** *(haplological) 19.26L,* **giyahgulAlu'qa:, giyahgAlAlu'qa:** to fetch water *25.21, 23, 44, 86A, 45b.10M,* **qe'LGAyu:lu'qa:** questing after women, skirt-chasing *10.187, 261A,* **'Aw t'ik'LdAlu'qa:** to get that arrow *27b.17A,* **'Awtahlu'qa: 'Aw shAxwa:shL** they butchered it for its skin *28.84fnA,* **'i:nsLiwa'Ltahlu'qa: 'uXa' ya:nu'ch' 'Ale:gk'inh** he (cust) reaches his hand underwater to retrieve his snuff-can *56.16L,* **na:wgAlAlu'qa:** o-**tl' da:X 'i-'-d-le** S beg o for whisky, **da:na:dAlu'qa:** o-**tl' da:X 'i-'-d-le** S beg o for money, **XahdLdAlu'qa: 'iya'** go get a car! *L,* **qa:Xa' 'i:ndi'ahLlu'qa: 'iya'** go get (some more of) what we're out of *L,* **sha:XAlAGlu'qa: Ga:Linh** he's going to get some sugar *L,* **te'ya'lu'qa:** (*or* **te'ya'Xa'**) **sahL** he went after fish *L,* o-**lu'qa:** *(or* o-**Xa'***)* **da: 'i:'ach'** let's go get o (whether we know where to get it or not) *M,* **tl'ihXgAdAlu'qa:** (*or* **-gAdAXa'**) **da: 'i:'a'ch'** let's go get some grass *L,* **tsa:dla:lu'qa:** (*or* **-dla:Xa'**) **da: 'i:'a'ch'** let's go get some stones *L,* **ts'a'dAlu'qa:** (*or* **-dAXa'**) **da: 'i:'a'ch'** let's go get some mud *L,* **k'utahti:lAlu'qa: da: 'i:'a'ch'** let's go get some skins *L,* **ya:yu:lu'qa: da: 'i:'a'ch'** 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: **’a’d lAX’ihXlah xiLehlu’qa:, si:na’q’ yAX ’ilAXdA’a’ch’X** 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, …

qa:dAwug *(see wug)*

qa:dAwi:nah~ka:dAwi:nah~qa:dAγi:na: *(origin probably Tlingit)*

qa:dAwi:nah *LM,* **ka:dAwi:nah** *L,* **qa:dAγi:na:** *S, 54.5, 16G (personal name) Katalla man, major figure in Text 54., BSdL* qàɒùwínà *text 26.*

qa:ta:lah

qa:ta:lah *(place-name) Katalla L, 69.10, 11A, also* **qa:ta:la:** *68.15A,* **kAta:lah** *62.1G (Harrington),* **qAta:lA** *67.1G (Harrington).*

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qa:ta:lahda:d *(place-name) Katalla area 69.13A.*

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qa:ta:lahya’d *(place-name) Katalla* < (at rest) in Katalla (as body of water) *L.*

qa:tl’ *(perhaps loan from Athapaskan, cf. PA *nA-qatl' '(various) Rubus species', widespread in Alaskan Athapaskan)*

-qa:tl’ *(occurring only in -Liqa:tl', apparently Neuter imperfective of verb theme (O-)LA-qa:tl') in* **ts’AXLiqa:tl’** *(noun, lX-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* Цахлекатль 'Морошка' (*not in Radlov,* 'cloudberry').

qa:qw’chAnn~qa:q’chAnn

qa:qw’chAnn *S,* **qa:q’chAnn** *M (personal name) Eyak man, brother of qa:qw'ALlu:s and of ta:sq'Ani:X S, in Text 34., L has heard qa:qw'djAnn, Sampson Harry Tlingit qa:kw’chAn "stinky-boy", Elaine Ramos "used to call George Johnson that".*

qa:qw’ALlus *(origin unclear, -l- not Tlingit, -qw’- not Eyak)*

qa:qw’ALlus *(personal name) brother of qa:qw'chAnn and of ta:sq'Ani:X S, in Text 34..*

qa:qw’Ani:k’

qa:qw’Ani:k’ *(personal name) name of man L, S hasn't heard, A hasn't heard, but cf. Sampson Harry Lqa:q'Awnu:k', unable to etymologize.*

qa:q’ *(perhaps to be analyzed qa:'-q' with o-q' 'on o', qa:(')- perhaps related to qu:(l), and/or qAla', and/or qAyuh, and/or qa'ni:~qa'nu:, cf. Athapaskan *O-L-qa-(g) 'S pierce, wound, shoot O with arrow', Chipewyan -kàγá 'wound', Mattole gak’eh 'scar' < *qa-q'-, see further comparisons under qa'ni~qa'nu:)*

GALqa:q’ *(preverb) (perhaps postpositional phrase o-qa:(')-q' with GA-L- (G-thematic, L-classifier) 'of a series' as o)* grazing, nicking, creasing, wounding slightly, *attested only in*

construction with O-L-i 'S act upon, do something to O': *52.11L,* **GALqa:q' siLiL** I grazed, nicked, creased it, wounded it slightly *LM,* **GALqa:q' xusALiLinh** he wounded me *L.*

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'iLqa:q' *(preverb) (as preceding, from M only, perhaps 'i-L- with L-classifier and 'i- verbal prefix, perhaps indeterminate o, or perhaps influenced by 'iL- reciprocal o, or 'iL- exclamatory prefix)* grazing *(etc., as above)*: **'iLqa:q' siLiLinh** I wounded, grazed him *M.*

qah1

-qah *element of unidentified morphological classification and unidentified meaning, occurring in* **'u'qah** *(adverb or exclamation)* okay, alright, willingly: **'u'qah siq' q'e:ya:nahd lAGAdAta'** alright, lay your head back down on me! *27a.32L,* **'u'qah** okay (it's a deal) *47c.37L,* **'u'qah da: 'i:'a'ch'** okay, let's go *M.*

qah2 *(perhaps to be identified with qa´)*

-qah *occurring only in* **'ALqah** *(noun, unclassified)* playing-cards, card-game *LMS, Galushia Nelson* átłqà 'stick game' *BSdL 551 (described in BSdL 239-240)*: **'AnahshAkih yiLeh 'ALqah** it's fun to play cards *L,* **dAXk'id 'ALqah 'iXa'** how many card you got? *L,* **'ALqah 'iqe'di:leh** there'll be a card-game *L,* **'ALqah 'idAxLih** I'm playing cards *L. Perhaps Active imperative of theme O-L-qa´ S count O; cf. also 'ALdah 'play' under dah2.*

qah3

-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 -sha:w except that -sha:w includes the meaning 'head of hair, (head-)hair')*: **silAqah** my head *LMS, 10.205, 224, 70.11A,* **'ilAqahda:q' ya' 'Ate:** put it on your head! *10.208A,* **'ulAqah** its head, his head *10.202, 240, 241, 61.123, 65.9A,* **'AwlAqah** his head *53.12L, Galushia Nelson* ǫ́ùlàqà 'head (only of creatures with a neck)' *BSdL 541 (the evidence from other informants clearly disagrees with this, -lAqah referring also to the heads of e.g. fish, whale),* **k'ulAqah** a head, something's, someone's head *LM,* **'Aw k'ulAqah** that head *29.12, 14A, 53.13L,* **k'ulAqah 'iXa' q'A'Aw** it's your head *(severed head in your possession) 29.11A,* **k'ulAqah 'u:d dAsA'ahL** (*or* **-tahL**) a head is there *L,* **k'ulAqah sich' di:'a'** (*or* **-ta'**) give me a head! *L,* **k'ulAqahda'luw** a big head *M,* **qa:lAqah** our heads, human head *L, Galushia Nelson* ɒaχɔⁿ laqa 'someone's head' *BSdL 541, 556* **dAXunhlAqah** a person's head, χəwa laqa 'dog's head' *BSdL 556* **XAwa:lAqah**, **qe'yiLtehlAqah** whalehead *12.13G,* **qe'yiLtehlAqahda'luw** big whalehead *29.35A, in epithets:* **lAqahda'luw** big-head *(pejorative) L, 10.93, 11, 139A,* **lAqahdAguhdg** tiny-head *L (see gut')*; *frequently declassified, especially as o of postposition:* **silAqahyAq'd didi'yahGL** (the inside of) my head aches *M (see further instances under 'yahG),* **silAqahyAq'd siya: lah xuLg** (the inside of) my head is spinning (from drunkenness) *M,* **'a'd silAqahyAq' 'Ash k'ule'ggga' 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I feel just like someone keeps reaching through (the inside of) my head (with incessant harping questions) *L,* **silAqahxah siliL** I lost my (good) senses *M,* **'ulAqahxahch' GAle:Linh** he's losing his (good) senses *M,* **'ilAqahq'Ach'** onto, against your head *10.209A,* **'ulAqah 'Awa: k'ude:dah lah 'AdLa'ya:XG** they couldn't move their heads (from amazement, fear) *60.23A;* **-lAqahyAq'AGi'djilahG** brains, *see djilahG,* **-lAqahdALts'Alih** skull, *see ts'Alih - tsAl.*

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'ulAqah k'u:Leh *(noun)* straight-pin < it has a head, its head exists *L.*

qah4

-qah *(defective verb) (attested only in Active imperfective and Active imperative, with 'A- 'i- prefix as in cust, and lacking -X in perambulative)* pl. animate S customarily come, go, move: **ta'ch' 'Aqinhinu:** they (humans) go into the water *L, 50.3A,* **ta'ch' 'Aqah** they (animals) go into water *L,* **ta' 'Aqah** they (animals, ducks, seals) go into water *L,* **ta'ch' 'AlAXqah** pl. go into the water! *L,* **ta'd qa' 'Aqah** they (animals) come out of the water **'u:ch' 'Aqah** they go thither *L,* **'u:da' 'Aqah** they get there *L,* **k'u'a:n' 'Aqah** they come upon one, people, around people *(same as* **k'u'a:n' 'A'a:ch'k'***) L,* **k'u'a:n' q'e' 'AdAqah** they come around people again, some more *L,* **dik' k'u'a:n' q'e' 'AdAqahG** they don't come upon one, around people anymore *L, 25.135, 211A,* **dik' k'ude:leh q'e' 'AdAqahG** they don't come around one, people anymore *25.212A,* **'a'q' da: 'Aqah** we'd go outside *51.10A, with perambulative:* **ya:nu'ch' yAX 'idAqah** they (waterfowl) swim around underwater, dive up and down *L, 24.73A.*

qahdl *(perhaps originally qahd-L, but L prefers qahdl to qahdL)*

qahdl bark (of tree) *LMA*: *Furuhjelm* Khatl 'bark', *Galushia Nelson* qatɬ *or* qa'tɬ 'bark' *BSdL 541,* **qahdl sich' di:ta'** (*or* **'Ata'**) give me a piece of bark! *L,* **qahdldAt'u'** lots of bark *LM,* **qahdldAk'ah GAta'** split bark from sap layer! < take it away from the bark! *L,* **'Aw qahdl 'Ashe:t'** scrape the bark (removing inner sap layer)! *L,* **qahdldAya' q'e:da:X xsdiqehL** I boated back across in (a vessel made of) bark *53.28L;* **qahdlAyahd** *name of potlatch house at Eyak, Mile 5* < bark-house *L, Galushia Nelson* qatɬiya ɒət'a·x̣təlaqɛiyu 'Bark House People (bark-house(?) under-people)' *BSdL 544* **qahdlAyahddAt'a:XdAlahGAyu:** those living in Bark-House, *see discussion in BSdL 37-38, 124, 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-L;* ***qahdlX*** *L,* ***qahdlg*** tree bark *LM.*

qahdz *(Rezanov perhaps qwahdz)*

LA-qahdz-X *(with -X-thematic suffix, deleted, probably optionally, in perfectives and customary)* S cough: **xLAqahdzX** I'm coughing *M,* **LAqahdzXinh** he's coughing *LMS,* **dALgu:nAX LAqahdzXinh** he's coughing blood *L,* **'ALAqahdzX** cough! *MA,* **qu'xLAqahdzX** I'll cough *M,* **xsLiqahdzL** I coughed *M. Transitive (causative):* **xusALqahdzXL** it made me cough *L,* **'ALqahdzXinh** make him cough! *M,* **xuLqa:dzk'** it (cust) makes me cough *M.*

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qahdzX *(noun, unclassified or gerundive, with -X-thematic suffix)* cough, cold (malady): *Rezanov* Коацехъ 'Кашель Husten', **qahdzX 'Ad GAxgAwi'L** I'm catching cold *L,* **qahdzX q'e' 'Ad xgAwi:k'** I (cust) get a cough again *L,* **qahdzX 'idAdi:t'ux'e:X 'idi:Lqe'dXinh** he (doctor) asks you if you're coughing up phlegm < spitting a cough *L.*

qahG

d-LA-qahG *(with d-thematic 'free fall')* sg. S fall: **q'e:dah disLiqahG** it fell immediately *27b.11A,* **dALAqahG** some one person or thing is falling (down some distance, not just falling over) *L, usually with preverbs and/or o with ya:n' 'down':* **Xi:d yina:'d ya:n' disLiqahGL da:X** way down to the bottom it (food-box) fell *7.37A,* **ya:n' disLiqahGL** he fell down *10.196A,* he had fallen down *10.200A,* **ya:n' dixsLiqahGL** I fell down *10.223A,* **ya:n' disLiqahGL** it (moose) had fallen down *27b.16A,* **ya:n' qu'dALAqahG** you'll fall down *36.21A,* **'anh qe'L ya:n' disLiqahGL** the woman fell down *47c.52L,* **'anhdAg ya:n' disLiqahGL** she too fell down *47c.54L,* **'anh Lwa'ts' da:X dik' q'e:ya:n' dAsLAqahGLGinh** he whipped him but he didn't fall back down *50.17A,* **di'dah dik' q'e:dah ya:n' q'unh dAsLAqahGL[G]** she didn't fall down quite right away *61.114A,* **t'a'q'e'ch' ya:n' disLiqahGL** *L,* **dAG ya' ya:n' disLiqahGL** he fell down backwards (landed chest up) *L, with qid 'down off, downhill':* **'Aw q'Aw La'da:q' q'unh qid disLiqahGL** then he (husband) fell down on the glacier *49.151A,* **qid disLiqahGL**

da:X q'unh sAsinhL, 'anh k'uqa' he fell down and he died, the husband *49.152A,* **didu'X qid dixsLiqahGL** I almost fell off *L,* **qid dAGALAqahGL** it's falling *M,* **la'Xts'L qid disLiqahGL** (shooting) star fell *L,* **'itl'a:na'q'Ach'ahd qid disLiqahGL** it fell from the mountain-top *L,* **shdu:lihGda:q'Ach'ahd qid disLiqahGL** it fell from the table-top *L,* **shdu:lihGdAch'ahd qid disLiqahGL** it fell from the table *L,* **yina:'ch' qid disLiqahGL** it fell to the floor, ground *L, cautionary negative Inceptive imperative:* **qid q'AdAGALAqahGG** don't fall off! *L,* **'anh sAqe:ts'Akih 'iXa' q'Aqid dAGALqahGG** don't let your baby fall off! *L, with ta' 'into water':* **ta' k'e'shunh disLiqahGL** maybe he (salmon-boy) fell in the water *21b.12A,* ***Philip Brooks*** **'Awa:, dAdi:yAX ta' dAGALqahGLG** as for *Philip Brooks*, it hadn't yet fallen into the water *61.75A,* **Lila:' ta' disLiqahGL** a man fell in the water *L, with ya' 'completely, to a state of rest':* **ya' disLiqahGLinh, dAG ya' disLiqahGLinh** he fell backwards *L, with qa' 'up out':* **siqe:sgu:LGAmAdL siya: 'iLya'd qa' disLiqahGL** my ankle went out of joint (fell up out from inside each other) *L,* **'ula'd qa' dixsLiqahGL** I tripped over it (fell up out hanging on it) *M, with o-ya' 'into o (with broad opening at top)':* **'Awya' disLiqahGL** he fell into it (water) *2b.9L,* **'Awya' k'udisLiqahGL** something dropped into it *L, with o-yAq' 'into o (not with broad opening at top)', and 'Ash 'completely past, by':* **'uyAq' 'Ash disLiqahGL** it fell into it (e.g. trap) *L, and yAX 'downward':* **xitl'yAq' q'unh yAX disLiqahGL** she fell down into the snow *23.160A, with various other preverbs and postpositional phrases:* **siyahd disLiqahGL** it fell, dropped from my hand *L,* **yAq' disLiqahGL** it fell ashore *10.15A,* **ya:nu' 'disLiqahGLinh** he fell in (through surface into hole) *58.6L,* **'Awk'ah disLiqahGL** it flew off it (piece fell away from it in chopping) *L,* **sisa'X li' disLiqahGL** it fell (deeply) into my mouth *L,* **siya: k'a'd k'udisLiqahGL** I choked on something < something fell painfully for me *L,* **'Awa:** *(or* **'uya:**, *probably analogical)* **k'uqu'dALAqahG** he'll choke on something *L, with perambulative:* **yAX dALAqahGXinh** he's staggering, stumbling around *M; figurative, with abstract S:* **ne:tl' tsa' qu'dALAqahG, 'Aw *nu:s*** pretty soon it'll be out, that *news* < pretty soon it'll come tumbling downhill, that *news 61.42A,* **'Aw 'Al k'u:nda'ch' gah yahddAt'a:Xd da: tsi:nk' sidAGAlehyAq' disLiqahGL** that which we (cust) sing in this church goes through my mind < falls into, penetrates my mind *71.10A; with classified S:* **q'e:yAX dla:sLiqahGL** it (stone) bounced back *L, repetitive, with ya'X 'up':* **ya'X lAXAdALAqahGg** it (ball) is bouncing *L. Transitive (causative): with ya:n'ch' '(continuously, further) down':* **ya:n'ch' disiLqahGL** I dropped it, made it fall further down *L; Rezanov* Учителькакль 'уронить fallen lassen' *perhaps to be read* **'u:ch' dis[i]LqahGL** I dropped it, made it fall thither *or intransitive* **'u:ch' disL[i]qahGL** it fell thither.

qa'1 *(perhaps earlier *qan', cf. Athapaskan -qAn^{ʔ} 'husband', see discussion at end of entry)*

-qa' *(noun, unclassified)* husband: **siqa'** my husband *L, 18.10L (used as vocative too, but this use is apparently considered somewhat indelicate and avoided by the use of other expressions, especially* **siXa' wAX 'i:t'inhinh** 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 -^{a}kq^{ʔ}" Haile 1950, p.201), Rezanov* Сыкка 'Мужъ Mann, Ehemann?', *Anonymous* Шкха 'Мужъ' *presumably* **siqa'** my husband, *Furuhjelm* Sekha, *BSdL 565* sitqa **siqa'** my husband, **siqa' 'AlAk'ahch' xu:nLya:k'** my husband (cust) gets me out of bed *M,* **siqa' sid dik' k'uXALa:k'Ginh** my husband (cust) never feeds me *L,* **siqa'tl' 'ilah wAX qu'di:xleh** I'll tell my husband (thus) about you *L,* **'i:nxgah da:X siqa' 'Aw ya' sALga'L** I was just getting started dancing when my husband spoiled it *L, Baranov* Икха 'Мужъ' ('man') **'iqa'** your husband, *33.81A,* **'uch' ya' qu'yi'yinhinh, 'iqa', ne:tl'** you'll get used to him, your husband, pretty soon *L,* **'uqa'** her husband *10.194, 18.13, 20.67, 23.110, 142, 25.1, 4, 102, 102A, 27a.12L, 27b.1, 23, 33.62, 63, 75, 79A, 34.90, 100, 42.12L, 43.20M, 48.4, 12, 19L, 49.23, 24A,* their husband *29.63A,* **dik' 'uqa'G** not her husband *18.20L,* **dik' 'uqa'Xa' 'a't'e'q'LGinh** she's unfaithful to her husband < she isn't straight with her husband *L,* **dik' 'uqa' k'a'Le:Ginh** spinster, old maid, widow, unmarried woman < she has no husband, her husband doesn't exist, *Rezanov* Окаоа

'Пѣтухъ ('rooster') Hahn' **'uqa' 'Awa:** the husband of them, male of a pair *L, Rezanov (not in Radlov)* Хассъ-ка 'Быкъ' **xa:sqa'** bull < cow's male, husband, **lAXqa'** your pl. husband *(lapse) 20.56A,* **'anh k'uqa'** the husband *18.14, 36, 34.79, 92, 42.6, 19L, 43.26, 29M, 48.14, 16L, 49.152, 61.123A, Rezanov* Сытакеяка 'Свояченица ('sister-in-law') Schwägerin' **sidAGe:'qa'** *(or perhaps, incorrectly,* **sidAGe:'ya' qa'***)* my younger sister's husband, **'utsa'kihqa'** her older sister's husband *29.73A,* sɪstaⁿkiqa 'older sister's husband (woman speaking)' *BSdL 567A* **sitsa'kihqa', sitsi:qa'** my daughter's husband *(man speaking) L,* **'itsi:yqa'** *LA,* **'itsi:qa'** your daughter's husband *(speaking to man) LM,* **tlu:dzqa'** king (at card) < queen's husband *L,* **siqa'ahd** my husband's maternal aunt *L,* sitqaχawəχ 'husband's older brother' *BSdL 567A* **siqa'XAwAX** *(not -lAXAwAX)* my husband's older brother *L,* sitaɒqaɛ 'husband's younger brother' *BSdL 567A* **siqa'dAGe:'** *(not -lAdAGe:')* my husband's younger sibling *L,* sitqaɛtki, sitqɛtkicia 'husband's older or younger sister' *BSdL 568A* **siqa'yidkih, siqa'yidkihshiyah** my husband's sister, *BSdL 568A* sitqaχuwəχtsi 'husband's father's older brother' **siqa'XAwAXtsi:** my husband's older brother's daughter, sitqaɒqaɛyɛtsi 'husband's father's younger brother' *BSdL 568A probably to be read* **siqa'dAGe:'tsi:** *or (incorrectly)* **siqa'dAGe:'ya' tsi:** my husband's younger brother's daughter, *with -shiyah* her husband ("old man") *(mildly disrespectful and pejorative) 11.48, 50A, with -kih 'diminutive, affectionate':* **siqa'kih** *(not -lAkih)* my dear hubby *(guiltily, appeasing) L, 27a.43L, 27b.52A,* **'iqa'kih** your dear hubby *(sarcastic) 27a.45L;* **'uqa'GAyu:** their husbands *25.185A,* **siqa'GAyu:** my husband's family, my husband etc. *L,* **'uqa'GAyAquhGAyu:** their (dwarves') little husbands *37b.70A,* **siqa'lA'ehdG** my husband's sister *(Minnie Stevens called L this) L (cf.* **silA'ehdGAyu:** my sisters *(woman speaking), but L rejects* **silAqa'GAyu:** my brothers *(woman speaking)),* **'uqa'lA'ehdG** her sister-in-law *L. It is possible that -lA- here is a phonological development from earlier *-qan'-, cf. k'inh, but cf. also -lA-'ehd-G.*

qa't'1 *(Rezanov коат twice, кот twice, хот once, кат once, Furuhjelm khvat once, probably usually implying qwa't'; frequently transcribed qa'd from L and M, but carefully verified as qa't' with L and A)*

LA-qa't'-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized, rarely omitted, probably in error)* S boil, cook, ferment, effervesce: **LAqa't'g** it's cooking, boiling *MAS, 51.67A,* **dik' LAqa't'gG** it's not fermenting *M,* **k'utse' LAqa't'g** meat is cooking *L,* **sLiqa't'gL** it's fermented, it cooked *M, Galushia Nelson* słíqàtkɬ gʊ̀tsə̀' *or* słíqà'tkɬ etc. 'boiled meat' *BSdL 548* **sLiqa't'gL k'utse'** meat which has boiled *(also interpretable as passive* meat which has been boiled*),* **dik' 'AsLAqa't'gLG** it didn't ferment *M,* **GALAqa't'gL** it's fermenting < it's starting to ferment *M,* it's boiling < it's starting to boil *L,* **dik' GALAqa't'gLG** it's not fermenting *M,* **qu'LAqa't'g** it'll ferment *M,* **'Aw gahGdAya'd qu'LAqa't'g** you'll boil in the pitch *51.25A,* **dik' qu'LAqa't'gG** it won't ferment *M,* **'iLiqa't'g** let it ferment *M,* **ya'Xu:shgahX 'iLiqa't'g** I hope it doesn't ferment *M, with class-marks for S:* **gahG dALAqa't'g** pitch is boiling *51.26A, Rezanov* Кутлекотъ 'Кипятокъ kochendes, siedendes Wasser' *perhaps to be read* **gu:nLAqwa't'** water is boiling *or* **k'uLAqwa't'** something is boiling *(cf.* Куликкатъ 'Горячо kochend, siedend' **guli:k'a'd** water is hot, *but the* -тл- *here must be read -L-),* **gu:nLAqa'd** water is boiling *L,* **qu'gAlALAqa't'g** water will boil *M, with qa' 'up, out':* **'a:ngulAyu: qa' gAlisLiqa't'gL** rivers boiled up *34.68M, cautionary negative Inceptive imperative:* **'Aw che:y/ka:dj q'AgAlAGALAqa'dgG** don't let the tea/soup boil! *L, see also* **gu:nLAqa't'g** *below, with perambulative:* **siyAq'd siya: yAX k'uLAqa't'g** *M,* **siyAq'd siya: yAX k'u'LAqa'dX** my stomach is rumbling, grumbling, growling < something is boiling, effervescing in my inside *LM. Transitive (causative):* **k'usiLqa't'gL** I've boiled something *10.263A, 10.264A,* **sALqa't'gL** *10.270A,* **dik' k'uLqa't'gG** they (wolf-people) didn't boil anything *25.35A,* **'Aw Lqa't'g** she's boiling it (moose) *27b.26A,* **'u:d k'ALqa't'ginh, 'anh k'u'ehd** she was boiling something there, that wife *27b.50A,* **'anh, 'iya: k'uxLqa't'g siqa'kih** ah! I'm boiling something for you my dear husband *27b.52A,* **GALqa'dg** *L,* **'ALqa't'g** cook it! *LMA, Rezanov* Колькоаткэ 'Поваръ Koch'

k’uLqwa’t’ginh he (who) cooks (something) *(nominalization)*, *Rezanov* Теякоулькотка 'Ловить рыбу fischen' *probably to be read* **te’ya’ k’uLqwa’t’g** someone is cooking fish *(cf. corresponding Tlingit entry* Катсутта *Tlingit* x̱ád 'salmon' sɪ-tá 'to boil'*),* **k’uxLqa’t’g** I'm boiling something *M,* **qu’xLqa’t’g** I'll cook it *LM (carefully checked for -t'-),* **xLqa:t’k’** I (cust) boil it *65.25A,* **da:Lqa:t’k’** we (cust) boil it *65.36A, with class-marks for O:* **’Aw dAsALqa’t’gLinu:** they boiled them (eggs) *68.7, 7A,* **gAli:Lqa’t’g** boil it (water)! *M,* **giyah gAli:Lqa’t’g** boil water! *L,* **’Aw che:y gAli:Lqa’d** boil that tea! *L,* **giyah gAli:Lqa:t’k’** you (cust) make water boil *34.65M,* **’Al ’a:ngulAyu: gAlAGAxLqa’t’g da:X** when I make these rivers boil *34.64M, with da'(ch') '(continuously, repeatedly) into jar, can':* **da’ch’ ’ALqa’dg** put it (food) up in jar, can it! *L,* **la’mahd da’ch’ lAXAxLqa’dg** I'm canning berries *L,* **da’ lAXAsiLqa’dgL** I canned berries *L; passive:* **k’ushiyah sALe’L ’idiqa’dglAX sAliL** it's too spoiled for cooking < it turned bad, it got more than it can be cooked *L (Active optative), see also nominalizations below.*

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gu:LAqa’t’g *(noun, gl-class)* soda-pop, pop (any carbonated drink). *Nominalized Active imperfective with gl-class-mark for S,* < effervescent liquid.

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qi’ k’udAqa’dg *(noun)* hearth, fireplace, kitchen *LM*: *Rezanov* Кекутакатке 'Очагъ Herd' **qi’ k’udAqa’t’g.** *Nominalized passive Active imperfective* < place where something is boiled.

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’uya’X k’udAqa’t’g *(noun, unclassified)* cooking-pot, pressure-cooker: *65.25, 36A, Rezanov* Уюкотахотке 'Котелъ Kessel' **’uya’X k’udAqwa’t’g,** *Furuhjelm* Iakhutakhvat 'kettle', *Galushia Nelson* uiyáx̱qəɒəq’ətq’ *or* uiyáxq’əɒaq’ətq 'cooking basket' *BSdL 546,* **’uya’X k’udAqa’dg** cooking-basket *L.*

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qa’t’g *(probably deverbalization of LA-qa't'g and/or of causative thereof)* boiling, act of cooking: *Rezanov* Коаткъ 'Варить kochen' **qwa’t’g, la’mahd da’ qa’t’g** canned fruit *L.*

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da’ lAXAqa’dg *(noun)* fruit preserves, jam, jelly, canned berries *L.*

qa’t’2 *(frequently transcribed qa'd from L and M, but verified as qa't' with L and A, perhaps to be identified with qa't'3)*

O-**L-qa’t’**(**-g**)(**-L**) *(with optional -g-repetitive thematized and usually with thematic -L-suffix, perhaps analogical from qa't'(-g)-L below)* S patch O: **’ALqa’t’L** *A,* **’ALqa’t’gL** *L,* **GALqa’dgL** *M,* **GALqa’t’gL** patch it! *L,* **qu’xLqa’d** *L,* **qu’xLqa’t’gL, qu’xLqa’t’, qu’xLqa’dgL** I'll patch it *M,* **k’uxLqa’dgL** *M,* **k’uxLqa’t’gL** I'm patching something *L; passive:* **sdiqa’dgL** it's been patched *M, with gd-anatomical 'rump':* **gudisLiqa’t’gL, gudisLiqa’t’L** they (pants) are patched on seat *L.*

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qa’t’L *(noun) (probably with -L-instrumental)* patch *M.*

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l-LA-qa’t’-g(**-L**) *(perhaps passive, attested only in Neuter perfective, -L-perfective suffix required, attested only with -l-da:' 'face' as S, l-mark either anatomical (redundant) or thematic)* : **’u:nda:’ ’Awa: ’i:nLiqa’t’gL** his face has ring-worm on it *L (L associates this with 'patches').*

qa’t’3 *(also transcribed qa'd from L and M, but verified as qa't' with L and M; perhaps to be identified with qa't'2)*

qa’t’LyAquh *(noun)* insect species: **qa’dLyAquh** moth larvae *M,* **qa’t’LyAquh** moth larvae *(get into clothes) LMA*, very small larvae, some redish, most bluish, smallest visible insect, smaller than louse, found in bunches of ten to twenty on e.g. windowsill, on strawberries *L,* **qa’dLyAquh lAXi:Leh** they (berries?) are infested with **qa'dLyAquh** *L. With* **-yAquh** young, offspring*, meaning perhaps originally 'offspring of patch, miniature patch', but not associated with qa't'2 by modern informants.*

qa’~qa:n *(qa:n only in form qa:n-ch' with -ch' final)*

qa’~qa:n- *(preverb) (with zero and -ch' finals, variant qa:n- with -ch' final; instances with zero and -ch' final not generally listed separately, -ch' final usually (rarely zero) with repetitives, customaries, Inceptive perfective, O-L-ya:', often with O-L-(y)a, expanded stems, very rare elsewhere; generally following in combination with other preverbs, including q'e'~q'e:-, except sometimes li'; in certain cases umlauted and fused in sandhi with following verb, see especially 2c.)* 1.a 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, excizing, 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 ya'X, with which qa'- seems to overlap semantically in part)*: **qa’ qu’(li:)xGAts’** I'll twist it (stump) up out (of the ground) *L,* **ta’d qa:nch’ ’AGAts’g** wring them (clothes, repeatedly) up out (of water)! *L,* **’ugutl’ah Xi:dAX qa’ dAsAtsu:xL** it poked its tail out over there *28.13A,* **’ahnu:gAdAyAq’ ’Aw qa’ sAtsu:xLinh** she thrust them up into their rectums *47b.39M, see further dA-da:sh, O-L-du'k', LA-dux 1., -da 9., O-L-te'k', O-L-te (9.48, 28.111A, 53.24L), O-L-ta (including indirect reflexives and passives), l-ta, dA-t'its', LA-t'its', LA-t'Aq', O-l-L-t'a'q', LA-dlahG, O-L-dza'tl' 2a., -tsAtl'-, O-tsinhG, O-L-tsAX (12.15G), O-(d-)L-tsAX, O-L-ts'e'ts' 1c., O-L-ts'AX 1., -sid, 'uni:k' 'Awa: qa' qi:sid, O-L-dja:t', O-L-dja:q', O-dja', qa' lAXi'she:t', O-L-shu:t', -shitl'-, LA-shiL(-g), O-sha-, O-Gl-sha-, Gl-dA-sha-, O-L-sha, -gust', -kinhd, O-kihsh 2., L-k'ahd-, d-L-k'a't' 1., O-l-L-k'a:'sh, gdl-xut', qa:nch' 'AdgAdla:LAxut'g, O-xu'tl'(-g), 'uX qa:nch' k'uxuLg, O-xa'ch', dA-xAX 3., O-L-xAX, O-GAts', qa' O-l-GAts', O-GAdj, O-L-GAdj 1., LA-qa't'-g, L-qAtl', -qAsh, d-LA-qahG, o-q' qa' -qe (S (boating) run aground on o), -qah, l-qu 1., 2a., d-q'a, Xdl-q'a, o-yAq' qa' Gdl-q'a, qa' O-d-q'a'k', o-yAq' qa:nch' d-q'a'k', O-q'Ats' 4b., O-Xahd 1., O-L-Xahd 1., O-L-XAd, O-XuhL(-g), O-Xa'ts', -Xe (28.123A), gdl-~Gdl-wa'L~-wahL (transitive), O-we'ts' (34.100, 66.9L), -wus- 7., -le'g 2a., O-lAG (reflexive), o-yAq' qa' Gd-'la'G-, -le 26., y-le 2., -la 1. (12.2, 5, 7, 29G), LA-'nik', -'ya 1b.(1), 18., d-'ya 2b., 2d.(2), gl-'ya 1., 2., Xdl-'ya 1., O-L-ya:', O-l-L-ya:' (24.12M), O-'Adz 2., LA-'Adz 3., dl-LA-'Adz 2., lXdl-LA-'Adz 2., qa:nch' 'a:ch', -'a'ch' (18.66L, 25.129, 27b.39, 28.40, 41A, 53.3L, 59.11 Galushia Nelson), g-LA-'a'ch', d-('i-)LA-'u'G, O-(L-)'a 8., 18c., LA-'a 1., 'i-'a 2., O-l-(L-)'a 1. (11.15A), 3b., but cf. (qa'- 2c. below), O-'-gdl-(L-)'a 2b., -'a´ 2., LanhdAyAq' qa' 'ah, qa'AdXALA'ah, q'a:k'qa'ah, O-L-(y)a, -a, g-LA-a:n'; with q'e'~q'e:-'back, again, some more, another (S or O)', usually q'e' qa': in text:* **k’ude:dah ’u:dAX q’e’ qa’ ’Ada:k’[G]** he (Raven) can't get back out of it (whale) *11.187A,* **dik’ude:dah qe’yiLtehyAq’ q’e’ qa’ ’Ada:k’G** he's got no way to get back up out of the whale *11.188A,* **k’AdAX ’u:dAX q’e’ qa’ ’AsdahLG** he (porcupine) couldn't get back up out there *16.5M,* **gu:dAg dAXunhyu: q’e’ qa’ ’Aki:shk’** again people dipnet him out *21a.28L,* **’anh q’e’ qa’ sAkihshL** she dipnetted him out *21a.34L,* **’anhtl’ q’e’ qa’ shdi’a’ch’[L]** he came back up with him *27b.47, 48A, qa' ... q'e' (irregular):* **qa’ ’anhtl’ q’e’ shdi’a’ch’L** he (loon) came back up with him (man) *27a.29L, q'e:qa':* **’AwXahd q’e:qa’ ’Adya:dAXa:dk’inh** he (shaman) would pull his hand back up out without it (glove) *56.2L,* **’u:ch’ahd q’e:qa’ xsdiyahL** I came back up from there *(articulated q'e:sa', perhaps for q'e:tsa' 'back down(hill)', but edited text stands as Lena heard it) 61.53fnA, in elicitations:* **’Awya’d q’e’ qa’ siLtahL** I fished it back out of it (body of

water) *L,* **ta'd q'e' qa' xusALXahdLinh** he dragged me back out of the water *M,* **ta'd q'e' qa' 'AdAwe:sk'** it (cust) bobs back up to the surface *LM,* **q'e' qa' sdiwusLinh** he surfaced *M,* **ya:nu'ch'ahd q'e' qa' sdiyahLinh** he came back up from under (surface) *L,* **t'its'dAlu' q'e' qa' sdiyahL** it came back up through the ice *L, upon specific query:* **sich' qa' q'e'** (*or* **q'e:qa'** *or* **q'e' qa'**) **GAts'AX** throw it back up to me! *L; umlauted and fused with following form, < qa' 'i-:* **qe'xu:tl'** porpoise, dolphin, **yahdqe'dAq'ah** aurora borealis, *see also* ***qe'yiLyeh*** whale*, and 2c., 3b. below.*

1b. biting, stinging, pinching (with twisting motion): **qa'** o-**ts'u:ch'** S pinch O with twisting motion, **qa'** o-**q'Ats'** S (insect) sting O, **qa:nch' k'uq'Ats'g** horsefly, **qa:nch' k'uq'Ats'gluwyu:** hornets.

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1c. eruption on skin: *see dA-Lu'ch' S get blister, dA-Le'xts' S get wart, dA-tsug S get "goose egg", o-y-lu' qa' LA-q'a:'sh' S leave red (pressure-)mark on o's hand, dAlu' qa' la'yah boil, abcess, o-lu' qa' k'u-lX-'ya S get pox, pimples.*

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1d. *often 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' 1c. under lu'~nu'.*

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2. *with more idiomatic meaning:* a. starting, activating, bursting out …ing (from a state of inactivity): **qa' -ki:nX** S burt out crying, start to cry, **qa' sAqAmAXts'L** it started to spin (like a top) *L,* **'Aw qa' GAta'** make it (motor) go faster! *L,* **qa:nch' -tsuhd-g** S keep dozing off (repeatedly start to sleep), **ya'Xu: qa' qu'yiyah** don't leave < don't start to go, *also* don't climb up, don't (walking) escape *L,* **qa' -'ya** S (motor) start *(-'ya 18b.)*, **qa' -'ya** S (waves) roll *(-'ya 18c.)*, *with other preverb li'-X following:* **qa' li'X 'i:nsiliL** I burst out laughing *L.*

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2b. into consciousness, life: **qa' -'ya** S awaken, revive *(-'ya 18a.)*, *with q'e'~q'e:-:* **q'e:qa' sdi'yahLinh** he revived, came back to life *L,* **dik' q'e' qa' 'AsLa'yahLGinh** he couldn't be revived *61.83A,* **qa' 'isya:l** staying awake *(gerundive).*

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2c. awareness: *with theme 'i-le(')* S have emotion, *qa' 'i-le(') always qe'-le', with qa' umlauted and fused as prefix to verb, e.g. with k'u- indefinite S preceding, k'u-qe'-, very frequent set of themes, see under le(')~li; likewise in qe'-dl-LA-a´ qe'-O-dl-LA-a´, q.v. under a´2; see also O-l-(L-)'a 3b., and -'ya 18d.*

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2d. surface covered with, full of foreign substance, -y: *in certain verb-themes derived from noun-stems: see -tsa'- S be, become (alluvial) muddy, -gAmAG, gdl-gAmAG S be, become (soft) muddy, qa' l-k'ahG S's face gets full of porcupine quills, qa' y-Gu'ts' S's hands get full of herring-scales, qa' O-L-Xu'sh S get O all full of thorns, qa' y-Xe:' S's hands get greasy (Xe:-).*

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3. *Miscellaneous problematical instances*: **la'q' qa' li:shitl'Linh** he's bald *L (see -shitl'-),* **shdu:lihGdAlu' qa:nch' Guxk'uwahdjL** I'm pounding a nail (up?) through a table *L,* **'ulah qa' 'u'yixsLiq'a:'shL** my hand's become paralyzed (up?) around it (from carrying it too long) *L,* **k'ula:G 'uXa' ya' qa' sahLinh** someone else went with him, he changed partners *L,* **'iLtl' qa' 'AdiLi'yahLinu:** they get along well together *L (see 2. above, -'ya 18d.),* **qa'GAdi'Lya:'** Alaska daisies *(see under ya:'),* **qa' lAXi'she:t'** plant species *(see under she:t'),* **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 a1)),* **'u:nahd qe'Lts'a'k'** (< *qa' 'i-L-ts'a'k') month name *(see under ts'a'k').*

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y-qa'-~qa:n- *(preverb, with y-thematic, stem-variant qa:n- as above, probably requiring d-thematic 'accumulation' in verb)* piling up, accumulating: **yAqa' lAXAdla:sdika:st'L** a snowdrift piled up *L,* **yAqa' k'udisiL'ahL** I collected something (money, in church) *M (O-(L-)'a 12.),* **dAkinh yAqa:nch' dAGAxLa:L** I'm stacking up sticks *L, see d-'ya 2c. for most occurrences.*

qa'~qa:n~qa: *(qa:n in certain forms with -ch' final, qa: in certain forms with reciprocal o and -X final)*

o-**qa'** *(postposition) (with zero, -d, -X, and -ch' finals)* 1a. between, amongst, in(to) interstice, interval between, amongst, mixed, involved with o: *with zero final:* **dAXunhyu:qa'** amongst people *9.62, 10.178, 23.110, 25.74, 28.47A,* **'ahnu: 'ulu'qa: 'AdAwi'L 'Adu'i:nLiXinhinu: qe'LGAyu:qa'** amongst those women that you're so crazy to have *10.190A,* **'uqa'** amongst them *10.238A, 24.57A, 24.84A,* **dA'Al Ga:ndich'ich'g-wAlahyu:qa' sahLinh** he went amongst the same bird-people *11.3A,* **'ahnu:qa'** amongst them *11.4, 25.82A, 33.20fnL,* **'Aw Gu:djihyu:qa' yAsa'yahLlehd** because she had ended up amongst those wolves *25.152A,* **'Awqa' Xdl-'ya** S run into the midst of them (the sea-lions) *33.20fnL,* **qa:qa' sAdahLinh** he sat down between us *L,* **'Awqa' k'u'sALXa'Linh** he added something into it *M,* **giyah 'AwgAlAqa' 'u'sALXa'Linh** he mixed water into it (whiskey) *M,* **Li'q' lahqa' 'Aw 'u'qu'wAXinhinh** he'll tell it all over the place (amongst all habitations) *L,* **'Awqa' sAlahL** it fish swam to amongst them (joined the school) *L,* **'uqa' sa'yahL** you're involved in, with it *L,* **qa:qa' sa'yahL** he's involved with, mixed with us *L,* **qa:qa' sahLinh** he came amongst, between us *L,* **qa:qa' qu'winhinh** he'll join us *L,* **qa:qa' Ga:'**, **qa:qa' 'a:'** join us! **tsa'qa' 'i:nsdiyahLinh** he got stuck in a deep spot < he went unsuspectingly into, involvement in a deep spot *L,* **t'inhGqa' 'i:nsdiyahLinh** he got entangled in the alders *L,* **qi:yAtl'i:shqa' k'u:Leh tsa'k'** finger-gloves *L,* **'Aw dAkinh 'Aw ditl'a'gqa' li' GAtsu:x** push the stick into the book (deeply between the pages)! *L,* **qa:qa' la:Ginh** person living amongst us *L,* **'uqa' yisi'yahL** I got, ended up, mixed up with, involved with them *L,* **'uqa' k'u:'yahL** it's full of lint < something is mixed with it *L,* **qa:qa' yi:nhinu:** people who are (living) amongst us *L,* **na:XAgqa'ya'** yellowleg goose < amongst Canada geese *L,* **siXu:ntl'gAdla:qa' k'u:'yahL** something is stuck between my teeth *L (analysis uncertain, see -tl'- under tl'ah-)*; *with -d final 'at rest, from a position of rest':* **wAX 'i:leh da:X, dA'u:d 'uqa'd ya' 'Adi:n'inu:** if you wish, go right ahead and stay amongst them *10.190A,* **LinhGda'X XAwa:yu: k'uqu'wAshehqa'd sAquhL** once dogs stayed amongst game animals *13.1L,* **'Awlehd XAwa:yu: dAXunhqa'd yiLeh, q'a:l** therefore dogs are amongst people, now *13.14L,* **'Awqa'd dinhinh** he stays amongst them *21a.19L,* **tli:XAtl', k'e:duw yile:, 'Aw te'ya'yu:qa'd** yesterday, what were you doing, amongst those salmon? *21b.64A,* **'a'd sahdX q'unhuw GAlAta:, 'Awqa'd** he lived a very long time, amongst them *24.86A,* **qa:ga' Gu:djihyu: lAXqa'd** wolves like us are amongst you (pl.) *25.161A,* **'uga' Gu:djihGAyu: qa:qa'd k'ugu:nt'u'** wolf-folk like them are many amongst us *25.192A,* **'Al shug'AL't'ahLqa'd, 'ALdah leh** amongst those strawberry-leaves, they were playing *51.73A,* **LinhGih leh GAla'yah qa:qa'd ya' GAdah da:X** if they stayed one year amongst us *69.12A,* **'Aw dAXunhyu: 'uqa'd-lehd** because people (are) amongst them *24.67A,* **'ahnu: 'uqa'ch' sileh Ga:nsa'yahLinu:qa'd si'a:n' shA'a'ch'L** they came upon me amongst those amongst whom I had spent a year *25.183A,* **qa:qa'd** between us *M,* **ts'iyuhqa'd** amongst the bears *M,* **siyALtsAq'sgLqa'd** between my fingers *L,* **siqi:yAtl'ishqa'd** between my toes *L,* **'Aw tsa'k'yAtl'ishqa'd** between the fingers of the glove *L,* **'ahnu:qa'd sAdahLinh** he sat (and stayed) between them *L,* **qa:qa'd sAdahLinh** he sat down (and stayed) amongst us *L,* **'Awqa'd 'Aw ya:n' sALtahL** he set it down between them *L,* **'Awqa'd qa' GAta'** choose it from amongst them *L,* **lAXqa'd ya:n' qu'xdah** I'll sit down between you *L,* **qa'd ya:n' silahLinu:** I settled down, moved in amongst them *L,* **'ahnu:qa'd ya:n'ch' GAla:Linh** he's settling down (already) amongst them *L, nominalized with -d final:* **siGu:dzLqa'd siya: yik'a'd** my joints hurt *L,* **yAXe'X dAlu'qa'd** *place-name, Canoe*

Passage on Hawkins Island L, **LinhGih sAndi:qa'd** one week < one between-Sundays *62.15G, with anatomical marks:* **siyAqa'd qa' GAXahd** pull it (out) from between my hands! *L,* **siqi:dAqa'd** my crotch, between my legs M, *see also -tl'e-qa'-*; *with -X final 'movement within area':* **'Awyu:qa'X 'utl' yAX k'ushdi'a'ch'Lch'ahd q'unh** after someone took him around amongst those things *51.77A,* **'uqa'X 'i:L'in'inu:** look amongst them *52.26L,* **Gu:dzLqa'X 'ALtsAX** cut it at the joint! *L,* **'ahnu:qa'X sAdahLinh** he sat, sidled between them *L,* **lAXqa'X ya:n' qu'xdah** I'll sit down between you *L,* **'Awqa'X 'Aw ya:n' sALtahL** he set it down between them *L,* **'uqa'X dAlu' k'u:Leh** place-name, Passage by Channel Islands *L,* **lisdAqa'X yAX XAdla:da'ya:Xinh** he's running around amongst the trees *L,* **qa:qa'X 'Ash sahL** he walked through between us *L,* **qa:qa'X GA:Linh** he's walking along between us *L,* **qa:qa'X 'iya'** walk along between us! *L,* **qa:qa'X Ga:'** walk (by) between us! *L, with anatomical marks:* **qa:yAqa'X tsAtl'** it slips through our fingers *L,* **siyAqa'X** between (through) my fingers *L,* **'uyAqa'X tsa'k'** finger-gloves *L,* **siqi:dAqa'X 'Ash sahL** it went through between my feet *L, with -ch' final:* **Ga:ndich'ich'g-wAlahyu:qa'ch' 'isA'ehLinh** he married into the midst of the bird-people *11.3A,* **dAXunhyu:qa'ch' da: lAXiqe'gu:Lquh** we will banish you to amongst people *13.11L,* **'iya', Li'q' dAXunhyu:qa'ch' 'ilAX'a'ch'** come on, all of you go to amongst people *13.12L,* **dAXunhyu:qa'ch' da: qa'a'ch'** we will go to amongst people *13.13L,* **q'Ale' te'ya'yu:qa'ch' 'iya'** better go to amongst the salmon *21b.17A,* **'uqa'ch' 'isi'ehL** I married amongst them *21b.67A,* **duxLqa'ch' 'iXa' qi'yiyah** you'll go to amongst your traps *23.21A,* **duxL, 'Alyu:qa'ch' 'uXa' sahL** traps, he went amongst these things of his *23.26A,* **dAXunhyu:qa'ch' 'ahnu:tl' shA'a'ch'L** he went with them to amongst people *23.92A,* **dik' 'ukuwa'na:GAyu:qa'ch' q'e: 'i:lihdAt'u:G** he no longer wanted to go back to amongst his relatives *24.75A,* **'ahnu: 'uqa'ch' sileh Ga:sa'yahLinu:qa'd** amongst those amongst whom I spent a year *25.183A,* **GALAtsitl'yu:qa'ch' q'Aw 'isi'ehL** I have married amongst the land-otters *32.17A,* **lAXqa'ch' q'e' GAxda:L q'Aw** I was coming back to your midst *32.21A,* **'ukuwa'na:GAyu:qa'ch' q'e' XAdla:sdi'yahL** he ran back to amongst his kinfolk *37b.47A,* **'AdGAdAsheh da:X ts'id Xi:d 'Al dAq'a:gyu:qa'ch' q'A'Aw qi'yiyah, di'da: GAli:tahga'** if you kill yourself you'll only go yonder amongst these Fires, for as long as you live *61.10A,* **'ahnu:qa'ch'** *(not -qa:nch')* **GAda:Linh** he's sidling in between them *L,* **qa:qa'ch' Ga:Linh** he's coming between, amongst us, he's joining us *L,* **'Awqa'ch' GAxtsu:xL** I'm pushing it between them *L; with -ch'ahd final or compounded as o of o-ch'ahd 'from o':* **'uqa'ch'ahd k'a:dih sALe'L** he'd been missing from their midst *37b.44, 45A,* **dAde:d Ga:ndich'ich'yu:qa'ch'ahd 'i:'e:k'inh** he (cust) marries (women) from amongst any kind of birds *10.172A; with o-k'ah 'away from o':* **qa:qa'k'ah 'a:'** go away from between us! *L, with -dAX final (perhaps to be corrected to -X):* **t'ahLqa'dAX 'ahnu:da' 'Adla:sLi'ahLinu:** they sneaked to them through the foliage *38.4-5fnLM.*

1b. *With indeterminate o*: *with zero final:* **'Awtl' dAqa' dAGA'iL** pour it in (mixed with something) with it! *(of two liquids) M,* **dAqa' sahLinh** he got involved with, joined some people *L, with -X final:* **dAqa'X ya:n'ya:k'** *personal name L (see entry under 'ya),* **dAqa'X yAsa'yahL** he wandered about (amongst indeterminate o) *L, see also 2a., 3.*

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1c. *With GA-L- (GA-thematic, L-classifier) as o, 'of a series'*: *with zero final:* **xu: GALqa' 'i:nah** I'm in the middle one (of a series of siblings) *L, with -d final:* **GALqa'd sAtahL** it's between them (two things) *L, with -X final:* **GALqa'X ya' 'Ate:** lie down (middlemost) between them (two things)! *L,* **GALqa'X GAta'** put it between them (so it's the middle of the three)! *L.*

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2a. *With -X final,* into, through, hole, eye, pierced aperture in o: **'udAshidqa'X k'u:Linhinh** she's wearing a labret *L,* **'udjAXAdla:qa'X k'u:Linhinh** she's wearing earrings **'Awqa'X 'ALsid** put them through them (holes, linking them)! *L,* **k'uqa'X 'i:ndAXe'dzg** hook (for eyelet) *L,* **'idAq'Ats'dAqa'X dla:GAL'a'** button your collar! < put button through hole in your collar! *L; with indeterminate o:* **dAqa'X lAGALXe'dz** lock it < put hook through (eye)! *L,*

dla:XA'i:nd 'iXa' dAqa'X dla:GAL'a' button your buttons (through holes)! *L; with reciprocal o:* **'iLqa'X XAdidisid** dovetail joint *L,* **'iLqa'X qu'xLsid** I'll link them *L,* **'iLqa'X qAdAsid** chain *L,* **'iLqa'X lidiXe'dzL** they (two hooks) are hooked together *L,* **'iLqa'X 'i:'yahL** they're linked together *L*

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2b. *With -d final, and indeterminate o,* (from a position) at rest in aperture in o: **dAqa'd 'i:nsdiXe'dzL** it (hook) came unhooked (out of eyelet) *L.*

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3. *With -X final and indeterminate o,* over the fire, in the fire *(cf. o-lu' 2.)*: **dAqa'X** over the fire, in the fire *33.14, 36, 45A.*

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4. *With -X final, attribute to ya:yu: 'ones (things)', yi:nhinu: 'ones (people)',* (some) of o: **'uqa'X ya:yu:** some (things) of them *L,* **'uqa'X ya:yu: 'Awa: yAX qAsichich'L** I broke some of them *L,* **'uqa'X yi:nhinu:** some (people) of them *L, 28.88A, 28.109A, 51.65A, 51.67A, 60.23A, 65.78A, 68.60A, 69.3A, 69.23A; cf.ya:-qa' below.*

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5. *With -X final,* distributing, sharing amongst o: **lAXqa'X qu'xLah** I'll pass them around amongst you *L,* **'Awqa'X 'i:nshdchahdgLinu:** there wasn't enough food to go around (amongst them) *L,* **'ahnu:qa'X 'Aw GALa:Linh** he's giving each a share *L; in indirect reflexive with zero reflexive o: Rezanov* Какъауяслиатенна 'Раздѣлить theilen' **qa'X 'Aw ya: sLiyahLinu:** *M,* **qa'X 'Aw ya:n' sLiyahLinu:** they passed it around, each was given a share *L* (they distributed a thing amongst themselves *M,* they set them down distributed amongst themselves *L*), *Rezanov* Какъ-ояляхлиау 'Раздѣли theilen (Imperat.)' **qa'X 'Aw ya: 'AlAXLya:'uh**?, **qa'X 'Aw ya: 'AlAXLya:'** pl. pass it around (so each has a share)! *M.*

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6. *With zero final,* contributing, investing, cost-sharing with o: **siqa' k'uGAta'** contribute a share to it with me! *L,* **siqa' da:na: dAGAL'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*

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7. *Meaning and/or identification uncertain*: **ts'ALqa'GAdi:'-** smokehole, *see ts'AL-; see also -qe'- in -qe'-g-ya'-d, -qe'-g-wa' under qe', conceivably < o-qa'-'i-g- with -qa'- umlauted to -qe'-.*

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dAqa'X *(personal name)* < in between *M (9/22/98) (cf. dAqa'X ya:n'ya:k' under 'ya).*

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'uqa'X dAlu' k'u:Leh *(place-name) passage by Channel Islands* < there's a passage between them *L.*

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k'ulAqa' *(postpositional phrase, with k'u- indefinite o and l- thematic, perhaps thematized class-mark for o 'moon', thus 'between moons, at new moon')* pitch-dark: *attested only in* **k'ulAqa' GALXe'tl' da:X** when in gets pitch-dark *L, 28.38A.*

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o-**qa'-gwa'~-ga'** *(postposition) (o-qa' compounded as o of o-gwa'- 'like, equal to o (in quantity, quality)')* 1. each, every single o: **qa:qa'ga'** each one of us *L,* **lAXqa'ga' lAXch' k'uqu'xtah** I'll give something to each one of you *L,* **dik' Li'q' lAXqa'ga' lAXch' qu'xtah** I'll give you each a plate *L,* **Lich' gahXAdAqa'ga'** every single day *38.14fnLM, 47c.27L*

2. **qAlah-qa'-gwa'-** four, *see qAlah.*

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'iL-qa'~-qa:n- *(postpositional phrase, often used preverbially, o-qa' with reciprocal o, attested with zero, -d, -X, and -ch' finals, stem -qa' in all forms, but with -ch' final -qa:n- more frequent, cf. ya:X-tl'A-qa'~-qa:n-)* amongst each other, (mixed, mingled, tangled) together: **'iLqa' guLidje:gL, 'iLqa' gudi'yahL** they're tangled together *L,* **'iLqa' gAdla:siLyahL** I mixed them (liquids) together *L,* **'iLqa' GAXahd** shuffle them (cards)! *M,* **'iLqa' gu'yAda'yinhinu:** they (peoples) will be (end up) mixed together *L,* **Li'q' 'iLqa' yisdi'yahLinu:** they all mingled *L,* **'iLqa' dAGA'iL** pour them together! *M,* **'iLqa' 'Aw tsin'sAL'ahLinh** he mixed them (dry substances) together *L,* **'iLqa' gAdla:siga:GL** I mixed dyes *L,* **'iLqa' gAdla:diga:GL** dyes are mixed *L,* **giyahtl' 'iLqa' qu'li:xga:G** I'll mix it together with water *L,* **'iLqa' dla:sdi'yahL** it (net) got tangled *L,* **'iLqa' gAdla:sdi'AdzL** various colors are mixed in streaks; they (ducks) got chased into confusion together *L,* **'iLqa' lAXAsiLahL** I mixed berries together *L,* **'iLqa' lAXAsLiyahL** berries are mixed together *L,* **'iLqa' 'i:nsdiquhL** they dispersed in all direction (amongst each other) *25.49A; with -d final:* **'iLqa'd qa' GALXAd** untangle it! *L; with -X final (cf. 'iL-qa:-X):* **'iLqa'X yAX GAtsu:X** shuffle them (cards)! *A,* **'iLqa'X yAX 'AdiLiq'e'sLinu:** they're crowded together *L,* **'iLqa'X 'AdyixsLi'ahL** I clasped my hands fingers laced together *L, with -ch' final (stem -qa'- or -qa:n-):* **'iLqa'ch'** (*or* **'iLqa:nch'**) **k'udi:LdjahGLg** you're making a crazy-quilt < you're repeatedly sewing things amongst each other *L,* **'iLqa:nch'sh k'udi:LdjahGLg** are you making a crazy-quilt? *L,* **'iLqa:nch' tsin'lAGAx'a:L** I'm mixing them (dry substances) together *L,* **'iLqa:nch' lAGAxga:GL** I'm mixing them together *L,* **'iLqa'ch'** (*or* **'iLqa:nch'**) **lAXAGAxLa:L** I'm mixing them (berries) together *L; with -k'ah final or compounded as o of o-k'ah 'away from o':* **'iLqa'k'ah lAXAGALa'** unmix, sort them (berries)! *L.*

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'iL-qa:-X *(postpositional phrase, often used preverbially, probably derived from 'iL-qa'- with expanded stem and -X final, attested with zero and -ch' finals)* dispersed, scattered, confused: *with zero final:* **'iLqa:X sa'yahL, 'iLqa:X 'i:'yahL** it's scattered all over *L,* **GAdAq'Ayi:nytl' 'iLqa:X sLi'ahL** the sun dissipated the fog *L,* **q'ahsXAda:tl' 'iLqa:X sLi'ahL** the sun dispersed the clouds *L,* **'iLqa:X tsin'(li)di'ahL** they (flowers) are scattered, spread around *L,* **'iLqa:X** o-**tsin'(l)-(L-)'a** S scatter O, **'iLqa:X 'Aw 'i:LahL, 'iLqa:X 'Aw qi:La:L** they jumbled and scattered all over *L,* **'iLqa:X GALa'** pile them up all about! *M,* **'iLqa:X qä' 'i:nsdiquhL** they dispersed, escaping in all directions *23.30A,* **ta:q' 'iLqa:X lAXAGAxXuhLgL** I'm spreading it (gravel) on the road with a shovel *L; with -ch' final:* **'iLqa:XAch' tsin'lAGAdA'a:Linh** he's scattering, spreading, mixing it all about *L.*

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-tl'A-qa'-d *(noun, unclassified) (postpositional phrase nominalized with -d final, with -tl'A-, reduced form of -tl'ah- 'back end' as o of o-qa' 'between o')* 1. arse, buttocks, cleft of buttocks, anus, rectum: **sitl'Aqa'd** my anus, rectum *M,* **'itl'Aqa'd** your arse, arse-hole *S,* **'itl'Aqa'd 'ALk'u'd** wipe your anus! *L,* **XAwa:tl'Aqa'd** small red berry species, which grows in bunches of three or four on moss < dog's anus *L.*

2. *In place-name*: **ma:tl'Aqa'd** *Cordova end Eyak Lake L (cf. ma:tl'ahd).*

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tl'Aqa'gAdAlah ch'AX *(noun, unclassified)* bat < wings around rump *LM*: *Probably epithet, with deleted possesive pronoun and o, o-tl'A-qa'-gd-lah. 'around o's gd-class (or anatomical, 'rump') -tl'A-qa'-).*

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ya:X-tl'A-qa'~-qa:n- *(preverb) (or adverb, attested with zero and -ch' finals only, stem -qa' with zero final, -qa:n- more frequently than -qa'- with -ch' final, cf. 'iL-qa'~-qa:n-; identification of ya:X uncertain, conceivably expanded form of ya'X 'up', thus 'arse-end up')* upside-down: *with zero final:* **ya:Xtl'Aqa' lAXi:xuL** his eyes are rooled, turned up *L,*

ya:Xtl'Aqa' 'u:dAX li' GALAduxL it (bottle) is floating downstream along there upside-down *L, requiring thematized gd-anatomical, 'rump', with themes -'a' (sg.) S extend, -sid pl. S extend:* **ya:Xtl'Aqa' gudAsA'a'L** it was upside-down (for a moment) *L,* **ya:Xtl'Aqa' gAdi:'ah** it (table) is upside-down *L,* **ya:Xtl'Aqa' gAdi:sid** they're upside-down *L; with -ch' final:* **ya:Xtl'Aqa'ch', ya:Xtl'Aqa:nch'** upside down *L,* **ya:Xtl'Aqa:nch' siXa' lAXAxwALginh** his eyes are rolling up at me *8.13A,* **ya:Xtl'Aqa:nch' lAXAxxuLg** my eyes keep rolling (from sleepiness) *L.*

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ya:-qa' *(preverb) (attested with zero final only, ya: 'thing' as o of o-qa')* away (from area, e.g. out of town): **'anh k'uma:dig ya:qa' sahL** the mother too went away *49.78A,* **'uyahshdAg, ya:qa' sahL** her child too, went away *49.80A,* **'Al *dju:nn*'i:nahd da: ya:qa' qa'a'ch'** now this month of *June* we'll go away *65.83A,* **(li'X, lAGe'X) 'Aw ya:qa' sALtahLinh** he took it away (downriver, upriver) *M,* **ya:qa' lAGAdAga'** beat it!, clear out!, go away! *L,* **ya:qa' da: qa'a'ch'** we'll go, move away *L,* **ya:qa' qu'xah** I'll go away *L,* **'a:nch'ahd ya:qa' siyahL** I left here *L,* **ya:qa' sahL** it went away *L,* **siXda:d ya:qa' sahLinh** he went away without me *L; with q'e'~q'e:- 'back, again':* **q'e:ya:qa'** *21a.22L, 21.32L, 21b.74A,* **q'e:ya:qa' qu'xdah** I'll go back away *L,* **siq'Ayanhch' q'e' ya:qa' qu'xdah** I'll go back (away) to my homeland *L,* **'a:nch'ahd ya:qa' q'e' qu'xdah** I'll leave here for home *L;* **k'ula:G 'uXa' ya:qa' sahLinh** "he changed partners, someone else went with him" < another went away(?) with him *L.*

qa'ni:~qa'nu: *(forms with -i: and -u: in free variation for L only, MA Rezanov -i: only, A rejects -u:; to be analyzed perhaps qA-ni:~-nu:, qA- 'plural', but more probably qa'-ni:~-nu:, qa' (preverb) 'up out, suddenly breaking out', -ni: perhaps to be identified with le~(l)i~ni:, perhaps gerundive, L's -nu: variant perhaps due to influence of -nu: relative enclitic 'pl. humans', or, perhaps most likely, qa'-ni:~-nu:, qa'n-ni:~-nu:, or qa'n-i:~-u:, where qa'- or qa'n- is related to qu:(l) and/or qAla' and/or qAyuh, basic meaning 'belligerence', with -ni:~-nu: as preceding, or -i:~u: of uncertain identity, cf. especially Galice -hwa-kaš~-kąq (momentaneous), -hwa-kaa~-ka' (continuative) 'to fight, go to war', for further comparison see qa:q', qAla', qAyuh, qu:(l))*

qa'ni:~qa'nu: *(noun, perhaps gerundive)* fight(ing): **qa'ni:** *(not qa'nu:)* fight *A, Rezanov* Яхокъ-аканне 'Не дерись prügle dich nicht!' **ya'Xu: q'ah qa'ni:** *M,* **ya'Xu: qa'ni:** don't fight!, no fighting! *LM,* **qa:nu:ch'i'ya'** big fighter < fighting-master *L,* **qa'ni:Xa'X sahL** he went looking for a fight *L,* **qa'nu:Xa'X GA'a'ch'Linu:duh** they're getting into a fight! *L, attested most frequently as O of O-L-'ya 'S fight', see instances under -'ya 38.*

qa:'1

qa:' *(noun, unclassified)* hollering: *attested only as o of o-dahd 'sound of o':* **qa:'dahd** hollering voice *L.*

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LA-qa:' S shout, yell, holler, scream, call, cry out, S (dog) bay, S (siren) blow: **kAna's sLiqa:'L, "sidAwa: 'a't'e:"** wolverine yelled, "wait for me!" *15.22M,* **LAqi:n'inh** she cried out *20.13A,* **dAXunh 'a'q' sLiqa:'L** a person yelled out *41.11L,* **'anh qe'L LAqa:'** the woman screamed *52.6L,* **'ALAqa:'** holler! *LM,* **xLAqa:'** I'm hollering *M,* **GALAqa:'Linh** he's hollering *(continuing act) L,* **qu'xLAqa:'** I'll holler *M,* **xsLiqa:'L** I hollered *M, with o-ch' 'at, to o':* **'ahnu:ch' sLiqa:'Linh** she yelled to them *22.4L,* **'ahnu:ch' yAX sLiqa:'Linh** he yelled down to them *23.59A,* **'u:da' 'anhtl' shA'a'ch'L da:X 'uch'iya'yu:ch' sLiqa:'L** they arrived there with her and called to their chiefs *38.10LM,* **'anhch' sLiqa:'Linh** he yelled to him *53.23L, with o-wahd 'for the sake of, for o',* S (dog) bay at O (located prey): **lAXwahd da: qu'LAqa:** we

(dogs) will bay at you pl. *13.13L,* **ge:li'a:g ya: LAqa:'** noon siren is blowing (at cannery) < noon-thing is screaming, it's screaming noon-hour *L,* **dA'u:dAXyi:nkih LAqa:'dahd 'u'li:tinhinh** she hears (the sound of) someone yelling *45b.2M (cf. qa:' above), with perambulative:* **yAX LAqa:'Xinh** he's going around hollering *LM, customary:* **LAqa:gk'inh** he (cust) hollers *M. Transitive (causative):* **'ALqa:'** blow it (horn, siren), make it holler! *LM.*

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'isqa:' *(gerundive) (of LA-qa:')* (act of) yelling, screaming: **'ich' 'isqa:' xudAshAshehL** I screamed my lungs out at you < yelling at you killed my voice *L.*

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k'uLAqa:' *(noun)* siren < something screams *L.*

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GALAqa:' *(noun, unclassified) (with G-thematic)* "hollerer" (mythical fish or sea-monster) *L*: *35.2, 4 and fns L.*

qa:'2 *(perhaps related to qa'-qa:n-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'wAX 'Aw la'mahd-lAXAqa:' XAlAXa:ne:** eat just some (not all) of those berries! *L, with suffixed -yu: 'plural':* **'uqa:'yu:** some (individuals) of them *L,* **lAXi: lAXqa:'yu:** some of you pl. *L,* **'uqa:'yu: 'Awa: dA'u:d siLahL** I left some of them there *L, with suffixed -kih 'diminutive':* **'uqa:'kih 'Awa: sich' 'Ata'** give me a bit (single), little (piece) of it! *L.*

2. -'s kind, type, tribe: **'uqa:' 'ahnu: 'u'Lileh** they (loon-people) thought him (a man) one of their kind *24.2A,* **dik' 'Awa: q'e' k'uduxLAch'a:q'Ginu:, 'ahnu:qa:'** I haven't heard any more of them, of their kind *68.123A,* **lAXqa:'** your pl. kind, tribe *25.63, 63fnA,* **dik' GAyAqa:qa:'G** (they're) not (of) our kind, tribe *68.90A,* **'uqa:' 'ahnu: 'u'Lileh** he considered them to be (of) his (own) kind, tribe *L,* **siqa:' yi:nhinu: q'A'ahnu:** they're my (own) kind, people *L, frequently with dA-* 'ipse'*:* **dA'uqa:', dA'uga' ch'i:leh q'A'anh** of his own kind, she's a raven just like him *10.170A,* **lAXqa:', dAlAXqa:' q'Aw GAyAG, lAXqa:' dAXunhyu: q'Al GAyAG** your pl. kind, we're of your own kind, we're your kind of people *(the second and third instances are articulated o-qa' 'amongst o', which is also plausible here) 25.163, 163fn,* **dAGAyAqa:qa:', dAXunhyu:** of our kind, people *68.85A,* **du:yu:dA'ahnu:, dAGAyAqa:qa:'shA'Aw** who are they, of our own kind *68.88A,* **dA'Awqa:'** they're the same < (it's of) that very kind, it's own kind *L,* **dA'AwdAqa:' tsa'L 'u'disitsahL** I brought the same (that very) kind of knife *L,* **dA'AwlAXAqa:' la'mahd 'u'lAXsitsahL** I brought the same (that very) kind of berries *L.*

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3. *Ambiguous occurrences*: **k'Ayi:nylAXAqa:' sich' lAXa:'ah** bring me a different orange < bring me one (lX-class O) of a different kind!, bring me a different individual of them *L,* **k'Ayi:nygAqa:' sida'** (*or* **sich'**) **gu:La'** (*or* **guGALa'**) bring me a different kind (of them, pl. spruceroots), bring me different ones (individuals of them)! *L;* **GAts'AXqa:', q'Ats'AXqa:'** piece of rag *see ts'AX2.*

qu´ *(perhaps related to qu; cf. ta´)*

Gl-qu´ *(with Gl-thematic 'time')* pl. S live, be alive *(for sg. and also pl. S see Gl-ta´)*: *Rezanov* Таккелько 'Живой lebendig' **da: GAlAquh** we're alive *L,* **GAlAquh** they're alive *L,* **dik' GAlAqu:Ginu:** they're not alive *L,* **sahdX Ga:nsAqu'L** they lived a long time *L,* **q'e' GAlAGAqu'Linu:** they're coming alive again *L, nominalized with -yu: 'pl.':* **Li'q' 'Al GAlAquhyu:** all these living things *25.200A.*

qu:sk'e:d *(loan from Tlingit qusk'èdi, name of Tlingit clan or sib, represented from Sitka northwestward, of Raven moiety at leat from Dry Bay northwestward)*

qu:sk'e:d *name of Tlingit clan or sib of Raven moiety extended to the Eyak, of which G's maternal was a member L, or (noun, unclassified)* a member of the qu:sk'e:d clan *L.*

qu:(l) *(form uncertain, perhaps to be analyzed qu:-l, perhaps related to qa:q' and/or qAla' and/or qa'ni:~qa'nu: and/or qAyuh)*

qu:l- *(stem or prefix) occurring in two forms only*: **qu:lAkuhsL** war apron*, attested in BSdL only, perhaps rather to be read* ku:lAkuhsL*, see under kuhs;* **dAqu:lAXA'ah** fierce, mean, tough person*, see under 'ah2, to be analyzed dA-qu:-lAXA-'ah or dA-qu:lA-XA-'ah, dA-*'ipse'*, qu:(l)- 'belligerent'(?), X-thematic, or lX-thematic, stem -'ah.*

quh1 *(perhaps to be identified with qu and/or with qu´)*

-y-quh *(noun, unclassified) (with y-thematic)* 1. young, offspring (of animals): **'uyAquh** its young *L,* **la'dih 'uyAquh** her two young (of octopus) *20.73A,* **'uyAquhyu:** her young (pl., of octopus) *20.91, 93A,* their pups (of seal) *62.31, 31G,* **k'uyAquhyu:** the young (of octopus) *20.73A, Rezanov* Хаваякъ-о 'Щенокъ junger Hund', Хаваяко 'Кошка ('cat') Katze' **XAwa:yAquh** puppy-dog *LM, also dog's name A,* **lixahyAquhyu:** grizzly-bear cubs *18.83L,* **tse:le:XquhyAquhyu:** octopus-young *20.73, 73, 92A,* **q'Aq'yAquhyu:** young loons *24.73A,* **ts'Axwe:LyAquh** young crows *28.48A,* **ch'i:lehyAquh** *28.48, 55, 56, 57, 60A,* **ch'i:lehyAquhyu:** young ravens *28.60A, Rezanov* Атакеко 'Котикъ морской junger Seebär' **'a:da:gyAquh** fur-seal pup, Кумаяко 'Сиучонокъ junger Seelöwe' **k'umahyAquh** sea-lion pup, **te'ya'yAquh** 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'ya:XyAquhyu:** little birds *10.45, 150A,* **Ga:ndich'ich'gyAquhyu:, Ga:ndich'idjgyAquhyu:** small land song-birds, little birds *7.22, 11.23, 29, 24.70, 25.203, 51.53A,* **k'u:nda'ch' gahya' Ga:ndich'ich'gyAquhyu:** *61.21A,* **'Ami:nnya' Ga:ndich'ich'gyAquh** *51.54A,* **'Ami:nnya' Ga:ndich'ich'gyAquhyu:** little church-swallows *61.26A,* **te'ya'yAquhyu:** small fish, little fish *24.8A, 34.33L,* **Lu:ndiyahsyAquh** mice (rather than rats, or young) *L, also of plants:* **lisyAquh** small spruce, sapling *A, also of humans, humorously, ironically, or with the meaning 'dwarves', or of anthropomorphized animals:* **dAXunhyAquhyu:** little people, wee folk, dwarves *7.22A, 37a.9L,* **'ahnu:yAquhyu:** those wee folk *37.10, 11L,* **k'uyAquhyu:** little (human) beings *37b.1A,* **'uyahshyAquhyu:** her (eagle's) little children *8.4A,* **'iyahshGAyAquhGAyu:** your (octopus woman's) children *20.76A,* **'u'ehdkuwa'na:GAyAquhyu:** *11.8A,* **'u'ehdkuwa'na:GAyAquhGAyu:** his (raven) wife's little relatives *11.8fnL,* **qe'LGAyu:yAquhGAyu:** little women *29.40A,* **'uqa'GAyAquhGAyu:** their little (dwarf) husbands *37b.70A, also of inanimate objects:* **ku:nLda'ts'yAquhyu:** little stumps *10.258A,* **'AXAkihyAquhyu:** model canoes *L,* **k'uwahdjLyAquh** small tacks, thumbtacks *L, with classified noun as possessor (not order of d- and Xdl-class-marks and y-thematic indicating immediate constituents tsa'LdA-, tanhXAdla:-+-yAquh):* **tsa'LdAyAquhdAt'u'** many small knives *L,* **tanhXAdla:yAquh** little wave *L.*

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3. *figuratively*, specific small variety of or resembling species or generic type: *of animals:* **ch'i'ch'XyAquh** (specific) small species of shark (? dogfish) *L,* **ts'iyuxyAquh** gnats, no-see-ums, midges < mosquito-young, **q'Adilich'yAquhyu:** small cod species or species resembling cod *(not actually young of q'Adilich') L, Rezanov* Канюякъо 'Курица Henne' **GAnuhyAquh** < small waterfowl; **k'uch'an'yAquh** seal pup, willow catkin, pussy willow < small fluffy thing *L;* **qa't'LyAquh** small insect species, moth larvae < ? small patches *(see qa't'3), of inanimate objects: Rezanov* Читлиекую 'Полка Fach, Repositorium', Читльякъ-ою *(with* т *and* ъ- *superscript inserts)* 'Шкапъ ('cupboard') Schrank' **djiLyAquhyu:** shelves *L,* little shelves *M,* <

small platform, Хотлькую 'Пистолетъ Pistol' **xut'LyAquhyu:** pistols, **xut'LyAquh** revolver < small rifle *L,* **disLi'ehdgLyAquh** crackers, soda-crackers, cookies < small pilot-bread *L.*

quh2 *(perhaps to be identified with quh1, related to qu and/or to qu´)*

GAdla:Lquh *(noun)* lungs *LM. Probably a nominalized Active imperfective, with Gl- and d-thematic, to be identified with d-L-qu 'pl. inanimate S float' and/or Gl-qu´ 'pl. S live'.*

quhL *(perhaps to be analyzed quh-L and related to qu)*

-l-quhL *(noun, unclassified) (with l-anatomical 'head, face')* cheek *(perhaps especially 'cheek-bone, bony part of cheek')*: *Anonymous* Калакутль *(with m superscript insert)* 'Щеки', *Baranov* Калаку 'Щеки' **qa:lAquhL** our cheeks, human cheeks, **silAquhL** my cheeks *LMA,* **'ilAquhLluw 'iya:** your big cheeks *(insult) 10.96, 96A,* **k'ulAquhLluw** big cheeks *M, in epithets:* **lAquhLluw** big-cheeks *(pejorative) 11.139A,* **lAquhLq'AX** fat-cheeks *(pejorative) 11.139,* **lAquhLq'AXluw** big-fat-cheeks *(pejorative) 10.93,* **lAquhLq'AXshiyah** nasty-fat-cheeks *(pejorative) 10.96A.*

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dja:nnlAquhLkuts'g *nickname of some Swede who "had a small chin"* < little-cheek-John *LM.*

quhXch'

k'uLquhXch'L *(noun)* lamp-chimney (cylindrical glass on oil-lamp) *LMA*: *To be analyzed k'u-L-quhXch'-L, with k'u-indefinite prefix, L-classifier, thematic -L-suffix; informants unable to analyze or to remember quhXch' in any other context, or the form with any other meaning.*

qu' *(perhaps related to qu:(1) and/or qu'-qu:n, and/or qu'L)*

qu'- *(prefix) attested only in three nouns, probably all -L-instrumental deverbalizations, meaning uncertain, conceivably* plural longitudinal elements *or perhaps* surface, partition: **qu'ta'L** floor *L (verified; other variants:* ***qu'tahL, qu'tehL*** *L, later rejected,* ***k'u:t'aL*** floor *L, not verified, Rezanov* Коольтааль 'Полъ Fussboden'*, probably to be read* ***qu'Lta'L****, not verified; -ta sg. S lie in position)*; **qa:lah wAX qu't'u'L** fence around grave *L (qa:lah wAX -t'e´~-t'u´ S be thus around us),* **qu'wa'L** drape, curtain *LA (earlier transcriptions, not verified:* **qu'wahL, qu'dAwa'L** *L; cf. wa'L covering, O-L-wa'L S hang, suspend O over aperture); see also qu'LXa:dL and qu'Lch'a:q'ta:' under qu'L, which may belong here.*

qu'L *(uncertain, perhaps to be analyzed qu'-L, qu'- to be identified with qu', and/or related to qu:(l) and/or qu'-qu:n)*

qu'L- *(stem, prefix, or set of prefixes) occurring only in two forms:*

qu'LXa:d(-L) *(noun)* bow, *see under Xahd (-Xa:d(-L) -L-instrumental deverbalization of O-L-Xahd 2. S draw O (bow) with expanded stem, cf. also -L-Xahd(-L) string, cable).*

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qu'Lch'a:q'ta:' *(personal name) Cordova Eyak man S (unknown to L and A, who are unable to etymologize)* < father of qu'Lch'a:q'; *conceivably connected with O-d-L-ch'a:q' S hear O, but more likely qu'L- as o of o-ch'-a:-q' 'in straight line direct towards o, aiming at o'.*

qu'~qu:~qu:n *(cf. Athapaskan *qʊnˀ 'fire')*

qu' *(preverb) (of limited occurrence as such, in one instance requiring d-thematic with verb, in one not)* on, into the fire: **qu' dAGALya:'** put them on the fire! *L (perhaps incorrect, early elicitation, attempted explanation of following),* **qu'GALya:'** shield-fern sprouts < put them in the fire! *L, (perhaps < qu'q' 'ALya:', see under ya:').*

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qu'-q' *(postpositional phrase, with qu'-, perhaps noun, unclassified as o of o-q' 'on o', usually requiring d-thematic with verbs, attested with zero and -d finals, and compounded as o of o-k'ah)* onto, into, over the fire: *with zero final* **sinhX qu'q' di:Lya:k'ih** he would put pieces of resin on the fire *33.14A,* **'Awa: qu'q' 'Aw dAsALahLinh** he put pieces of that stuff in the fire *33.46A,* **sinhX, 'Aw qu'q' dAsALahL** resin, he put pieces of that in the fire *33.47A,* **qu'q' GAta', qu'q' dAGAta'** put it in the fire! *L,* **qu'q' sAtahL** it's over the fire *L,* **qu'q' dAGAts'AX** throw it in the fire! *LA,* **qu'q' disLiqahGL** it fell into the fire **qu'q' dAGALya'** put it (pot, O in container) over the fire! *L,* **qu'q' k'ugAdla:GALya'** put it (pot of something liquid) over the fire! *M,* **qu'q' lAXAdla:sALyahLinh** he put it (container of berries) over the fire *L, with -d final:* **qu'q'd sAtahL** it's in the fire *L, compounded as o of o-k'ah 'away from o':* **qu'q'Ak'ah dAGALya'** take it (container of something) off the fire! *L.*

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qu:'e'd *(postpositional phrase, with qu:-, perhaps noun, unclassified, 'fire' as o of o-'e'd '(at rest in, nominalization of) place of fire'))* domestic fire, fireplace, fire-bed: *Old Man Dude* qóa̋t 'fire' *BSdL 538,* **'Aw qu:'e'd ya:nu' GAta'** bury it in the fire-bed! *10.209A.*

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qu:~qu:n- *(M once rejects qu:n-, probably noun, d-class)* fire: *attested only as o of postposition:* **qu:ndAdAGdAX** (movement about) over the fire *L, usually as o of o-Xa' 'by, near o': with zero final:* **qu:dAXa'** *(not *qu:ndAXa')* (to) by the fire *M, with d-final:* **qu:ndAXa'd** by the fire *L,* **qu:dAXa'd ya' 'Ade:** sit, stay by the fire! *L,* **qu:ndAXa'd ya:n' sAdahLinh** he sat down by the fire *40.12L,* **dAq'a:gda'luw qu:ndAXa'd sAdahLinh** 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,* **dAq'a:gda'luwqu:ndAXa'd** *with qu:nd- as class-mark), with -X final 'motion within area' (cf. o-lu' 2a. under lu'nu'):* **qu:ndAXa'X 'Aw 'ALmahd** cook it by the fire! *M, with -ch' final:* **qu:ndAXa'ch' Ga:Linh** he's going toward the fireside *L.*

q' *(perhaps related to q'e'2, q'e'~q'e:)*

o-**q'** *(postposition) (with zero, -d, -dAX, -ch', -ch'ahd, and -k'ah finals, but irregular in that zero final occurs instead of -d and -dAX finals, 'at rest' and movement within area', where these are expected with unclassified pronominal or nominal o, and also optionally where o is a preverb or another postposition, or is classified or includes a thematic or anatomical mark; morphophonemics with marks are like those of o-tl': > -:na'q' where last element is l-, -Ca:q' where otherwise; requiring connective -A- where followed by ch', k'; under major subdivision 1. are listen 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,* **siq'** on top of me *L,* **'Awq'** *(not *'Awq'd)* **sAdahL** it's sitting on it *L,* **'Awq'** *(not *'Awq'd)* **sAtahL** it's on it *L,* **'uq' 'isda'L** chair, **'uq' 'iste'L**, **'uq' k'uteh** something (not bed) to lie on, **djiLq' da: 'i:Ltah** let's cache it (put it on platform) *M,* **'Awq' qu'qi:dAxLAtah** I'll put my foot on it *L,* **siq' gAdi:t'uxL** they (clothes) are tight on me *L,* **le:lu:d 'uq' k'uXAdla:xuL** railroad tracks *L,* **giyahgAlAXda:d**

'uq' k'a'Lih *place-name* < there's no water on it, **'Aw Ge:ts' dikinhq' gu:xa'ch'** tie the spruceroot on a stick! *L,* **k'uXehL 'uq' GAxa'ch'** tie a string around it! *L,* **qa:q' dla:Xa'tl'g** it (tree) fall over on us *L,* **lAXALAtug 'uq' Xa:n'ch' lAXa'yah** table for rice *L,* **di:ya' 'uq' qu'gAli:xLah** I'll put salt on it *L,* **ta:lAwa'Lq' Ga:Linh** he's walking along on the edge of the road *L,* **ta:q' 'iya'** walk on the road! *L,* **'Awq' ya:n' GAta'** set it down on it! *L,* **ts'iyux sixi:ya'Xq' ya:n' sAdahL** a mosquito alighted on my chin *L,* **siq' yAX 'iLAdu'k'Xinh** he's squeezing me all over (squeezing about on me) *L,* **'Aw 'uq' yAX 'ixLAts'in'tl'g** I'm slapping all over it *L,* **siq' yAX 'iLcha:nX** it's sniffing me all over *L,* **'uq' yAX 'ixLAch'u:ch'g** I'm bending things all along on it *L,* **'Awq' yAX lAXAxLAqAtl'X** I'm rubbing it (onion) about on it *L,* **di:ya' 'uq' qu'gu:nxLAwus** I'll sprinkle salt all over it *L,* o-**q' yAX dA-le'g-X** S grope, feel, palpate, touch about on o, o-**q' li' -le'g** S stroke, pet o from head back, **ta:q' 'iLqa:X lAXAGAxXuhLgL** I'm spreading it (gravel) on the road with a shovel *L,* o-**q' yAX 'i-'e'dz** S step on o, **'Awq' 'Ash XAdi:'ah** it (log) is (extends completely by) over it *L,* **dAda:dAXyu:duw 'uq' k'uGALtl'a'g** mark it on either side! < mark something on it all over! *M,* **yAXiya:q' ya:nahd tah** bedsheet < it's on mattress *L,* **Gu'Lq' ya:nahd tah** bedspread < it's on blanket *L, with class-marks ending in l- (see also o-l-q', o-dXl-q' below): 10.12A,* **'Aw ch'iyahd'a:na'q' ya:n' GAta'** set it down on the hat! *LM,* **tAGL'a:na'q' ya:n' GAta'** set it down on the hammer! *LM,* **tAGL'a:na'q' sAdahL** it (fly) is sitting on a hammer *L,* **'u:na'q'** on it (l-class) *L,* **'u:na'q' yAX sdiyahL** I walked around on top of it (mountain) *L,* **'u:na'q' qa' sahL** she went up it (ladder) *L,* **'itl'a:na'q'** up a, on a mountain *28.123, 124A,* **k'utahti:na'q'** *(not *-ti:nq', -*ti:lAq' M)* **ya:n' GAta'** set it down on a pelt! *LM,* **t'ahLti:na'q'** on a leaf, feather *L,* **k'uXehLqi:na'q' da:X Ga:L** he's walking across on a rope *L, o-gl-q': 11.162, 24.42, 54A, 48.15L,* **'a:ngu:na'q' Ga:Linh** he's walking along the surface of the river *L,* **guts'de: *mile*ga' giyahgu:na'q' gAdli:L'a'** it's nine miles over the water *L,* **Xe:gu:na'q' da:X Ga:L** it's walking across on grease *L, see also qe:sgu:na'q' under qe:s,* **tsa:dli:na'q'** on a rock, skerry *20.50A, 35.3L,* **'Aw tsa:dli:na'q' ya:n' GAta'** set it down on the stone! *LM,* **tsa:dli:na'q' qa' siqehL** I went aground on a rock *L,* **tsa:dli:na'q' qa' dAsa'yahL** ship grounded on a rock *L,* **'anhdli:na'q' 'Ana:shah** flower species < flower on ground *L,* **'anhdli:na'q' t'ahL** plant species < leaf on ground *L,* **XAdli:na'q' yAX da:Xinh** he's walking around on the riverbank *L, with class-marks with other last elements:* **q'Ama:lAXa:q' ya:n' GAta'** set it down on the roe! *L, o-d-q': 10.36, 208, 11.194, 21b.51, 24.23, 25. 129A, 42.21L, 49.71, 51.7A, 57.3G, 65.12A,* **t'its'da:q' ya:n' GAta'** set it down on the glace! *M,* **'Aw tsAdlda:q' ya:n' GAta'** set it down on the board! *LM,* **tsa'Lda:q' ya:n' GAta'** set it down on the knife! *L,* **'udA'uhdgda:q' sAdahL** it's sitting on its eggs *L,* **XahdLda:q' sAdahL** it's sitting on top of the car *L,* **'Aw shdu:lihGda:q' 'i:tahL da:XAdidja'g** *L,* **qihda:q'** on a meadow, *see qih,* **'uda:q' yAX 'Ade:** walk about on it (ice)! *L,* **'Awda:q' da:X sahL** he walked across on that (board) *L,* **t'its'da:q' yahd Ga:Linh** he's going out on the ice *L,* **k'u:ta'Lda:q' ya:nahd tah** rug < covers floor *L,* **shdu:lihGda:q' ya:nahd tah** tablecloth < covers table *L,* **yahdda:q' yAX da:X** he's walking about on the roof *L,* **didit'u:ch' yahdda:q' ya:nahd tah** sheet-iron *L,* **tl'ihXguda:q' da:X Ga:Linh** he's walking across on the grass *L,* **La'gXAda:q' da:X Ga:Linh** he's walking across on wood *L, Rezanov* Какаляхатагъ 'Плеча Schultern' **qa:GAla'XAda:q'** on our shoulders, **'a:nd ta:XAda:q'** here on the pier *61.57A,* **'uhsXAda:q' Ga:Linh** he's walking along the riverbank *L,* **'uhsXAda:q' guGALa:n'Linh** he's standing on the riverbank *L (see also 2d.(4) below), with -ch'a:n-d-anatomical:* **sich'a:nda:q' sAdahL** it (fly) alighted on my forearm *L, with qi:d-anatomical:* **siqi:da:q'** on (top of) my foot *L,* **siqi:da:q' da:X disLits'u:ts'L** it's stuck to my foot *L,* **Li'q' siqi:da:q' wAX GAle:L** 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:-:* **dzAwuLguLehguka:q' ya:n' GAta'** set it down on the twine! *L; nominalized, as o of o-ya' 'of o' (ya'5):* **qihda:q'ya' t'ahL** plant species < leaves of meadow-surface *L,* **lisda:q'ya' le:L** tree fungus, *nominalized with ya'~Aya': see dla:q'Aya', xitl'lAXAda:q'Aya', also -la'q'Aya', GALa'q'Aya', -tl'a'q'Aya' under ya'~Aya', as attribute in compound:* **qa:q'Ayahd** grave-house < house over us *L, as attribute in compound or construction requiring Gi-thematic:*

lisda:q'AGi'si:ns tree fungus *L,* **'uda:q' 'iGi:kuts'g** its surface (of d-class o?) is too small *L, see also 'uq'AGit'u' under 3d. below.*

1b. *With -d final 'at rest, nominalization of' (here only with classified o, see also 2., 3. below)*: **'itl'a:na'q'd** on a mountain *9.105A,* **'itl'a:na'q'd yi:nhinu:** mountain people *M,* **chi:shXAda:q'd** on a gravel beach *1a.3M,* **lis 'uXAda:q'd k'u:Leh** *place-name* < there are trees on it (Xd-class) *L,* **duhsk'XAda:q'd**, **'uhsXAda:q'd** on a riverbank *L,* **k'uGAla'XAda:q'd** on someone's shoulders *L,* **didit'u:ch' 'uda:q'd yiLeh** cannery < iron roof is on it (d-class) *L,* **t'its'da:q'd yahd Ga:Linh** he's going out on the ice *L, with anatomical marks:* **silAXAda:q'd** my eyelid *L,* **sich'a:nda:q'd** on my forearm *L,* **siguka:q'd** the lower part, hem, of my dress, coat *L.*

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1c. *With -dAX final 'movement within area' (here only with classified o, see also 1b.)*: **yahdda:q'(dAX) yAX da:X** he's walking about on the roof *L,* **yahddAq'a'da:q'dAX yAX da:X** he's walking about on the corner of the roof *L.*

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1d. *With -ch' final, o-q'Ach' 'continuous or repeated motion or pressure onto o'*: *10.209A, 27a.24, 26L, 47b.11, 17, 20M, 47c.9, 24L, 65.64A,* **'uq'Ach' da:X 'i:tahL** stretching-frame *LM,* **'uq'Ach' qi:disLitahL** he put his foot on it *L,* **'Awq'Ach' 'Aw GALtl'a'gLdAwa:** before he writes on it *L,* **'uq'Ach' k'uts'AXL** *Rezanov,* **'uq'Ach' k'udAts'AX** anvil *L,* **'uGuhdq'Ach'** O-**chich'** S break O over his knee, **'uq'Ach' k'uGAdjgL**, **'uq'Ach' t'a'q'e'ch' k'udAGAdjg** oarlocks *L,* **'ishe:k'q'Ach' di:LGu'** warm your chest (with hot-water-bottle against it)! *L,* **duhq'Ach' sdiq'u'L** herring spawned on kelp *L,* **k'uq'Ach' 'Adla:LAXa'tl'** thing which falls over on one *L,* **'uq'Ach'** O-**gl-Xu'ts'** S splash O (water) on him, **'Awq'Ach' k'udAwe:shg** (stick) on which something (fish) is hung *L,* **'uq'Ach' k'uqi:dALAyah** footstool *L,* **siq'Ach' k'iya' dAsA'iL** you spilled it on me *L,* o-**d-q'Ach'** onto d-class o *16.7M, 49.150, 150, 65.20A,* **shdu:lihGda:q'Ach' k'iya'ch' dAGA'iLinh** he's pouring it on the table *L,* **'itl'a:na'q'Ach'** onto, up a mountain *7.34, 9.109, 29.35, 49.109A,* **'itl'a:na'q'Ach' Ga:L** he's climbing a mountain *L,* **'itl'a:na'q'Ach' da: GA'a'ch'L** we're going up on a hill *L,* **tsa:dli:na'q'Ach'** onto a rock *10.38, 20.47, 50.51A.*

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1e. *With -ch'a' final (-ch' final with -a' augment)*: **'Awq'Ach'a' yahd sAqehLinh** he boated out towards it (island) *12.4G.* **k'a't'q'Ach'a'** (on)to an island *57.2G.*

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1f. *With -ch'ahd final 'from', o-q'Ach' 'off of (from on) o'*: *12.15G, 36.39A, 45a.8L,* **'uq'Ach'ahd sitl' 'ida'Xe:** read (off) it to me! *L,* **'uq'Ach'ahd 'ida'dAXah** newspaper, Bible *L,* **'itl'a:na'q'Ach'ahd** from a mountain-top *L, 7.35, 23.157, 25.55, 29.39A,* **'itl'a:na'q'Ach'ahd qid disLiqahGL** it fell down (from top of) a mountain *L,* **'usha:wa:na'q'Ach'ahd** off her head *23.41A,* **shdu:lihGda:q'Ach'ahd qid disLiqahGL** it fell down off a tabletop *L,* **'uda:q'Ach'ahd k'uXAdah** (aboriginal) table *L.*

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1g. *With -k'ah final or as o of o-k'ah, o-q'Ak'ah 'away (to some remove, clear) from o'*: *28.11, 65.9, 9, 9, 28, 29, 38,* **'Awq'Ak'ah lAXAdla:sALyahLinh** he took it (pot of berries) off it (fire) *L,* **Gu'L siq'Ak'ah 'ALa'** take blankets off me! *L,* **t'ahLti:na'q'Ak'ah** from, off a leaf, feather *L.*

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1h. *With reciprocal o, attested with zero, -ch', -k'ah finals, meaning sometimes somewhat idiomatic, used preverbially, often not requiring vocalization of classifier in intransitive themes*: **'iLq' shAdja'L** they (groundhogs in sack) "bust together" (imploded, burst out of sack and dispersed) *23.30A,* **'iLq' qAyuh shLi'a'ch'L** they attacked each other *28.103A,* **'iLq' yiLeh** they're stacked up *L,* **'iLq' dA-XAd** S come apart (from on each other) at corner,

seam, **'iLq' yAqa' XAdidi'ahL** they (logs) are piled up *L,* **'iLq' qä' 'idi'a'ch'L** they're mating *M,* **'iLq' siLahL** I put them one on top of the other *L,* **'iLq' qa:nch' dAGAxLa:L** I'm stackiong them (boards) *L, with -ch' final:* **'iLq'Ach' qa' Gi:Lah da:X** when you've stacked them up *65.62A, with -k'ah final:* **'iLq'Ak'ah** O-**tsAX** S cut O apart in layers, strips *65.10, 11A.*

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1i. *With reflexive o (for zero variant of or deleted reflexive o pronoun see o-l-q', o-y-q', also q'e'~q'e:), attested with zero, -ch', and -ch'ahd finals, in indirect reflexive constructions, requiring vocalization of classifier in verb*: **'Adq' lixditahL** my head is inclined to side < my head is on myself *L,* **'Adq' wAX 'a'LAt'eh** wear it! *L,* **'Adq' k'a' wAX 'a'Lit'eh** wear it *L,* **'Adq' dAxdAleh** I'm groaning *(making vocal noise on myself) L, with -ch' final:* **'uya' 'Adq'Ach' k'udAdAGu'** hot-water-bottle, **with -ch'ahd final:** 'Adq'Ach'ahd wAX **O-**LA-le *(S remove O off self) 36.39, 40A.*

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1j. *With indeterminate o, da:q' 'on something (indeterminate surface)', attested with zero and -d finals*: *da:q': 10.32A, 18.21L, 21b.34, 46A,* **da:q' 'i:dahL** it's perched (on tree), he's sitting (on something, surface) *L,* **'u:d da:q' 'i:dahLinh** he's sitting there *L,* **'u:d da:q' 'i:tu'ch'Linu:** they're lying there *L,* **'u:d da:q' 'i:tehLinh** *(not *'u:d 'i:tehLinh)* he's lying there *L,* **'u:d da:q' 'i:tahL** it's up (on surface) there *L,* **XAdAGu:ch' da:q' GAta'** set it up there! *L,* **da:q'** O-**xwa'ch'** S tie O up (on something), **siGuhd siya: da:q' siLqAtl'L** 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:q'd**.

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1k. *With indeterminate o and (partly thematized) d-class-mark, attested with -d and -ch' finals*: **dAda:q'd** on deck *M,* **dAda:q'Ach' sahL** he went on top (to top of house, deck of ship) *L.*

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1l. *With XA- 'area' as o, see 2d.(4) below.*

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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-t'a'q', t'a'q'e'ch'~(t'a'~), qu'~qu:n~, probably also in la'q' (la'~), Li'q' (Li~Li'), possibly also in sa'q', t'e'q', ga'q', Ge'q', wa'q', 'a'q', conceivably also in other stems listed as of the form CV'q'.*

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2b. *As final in certain forms ending with fricative: see qehX, conceivably also in Le'Lq'é , xan'Lq', qehsq'~, wahsq', ni:sq', though the phonological patterning of these probably indicates unanalyzable stem with final cluster, see phonology in grammar.*

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2c. *As final element in postpositions and other forms of the shape Ca' or Ca'~Ca:, vowel expanded with -q': see o-Xa:-q', o-d-Xa:-q', o-y-Xa:-q' (Xa'~), -sa:-q'-d (sa'~), -ch'-a:-q' (ch'), ya:-q' (ya:), probably also in dA-Ga:-q' (Ga:), GA-L-qa:q' 'i-L-qa:q' (qa:q').*

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2d. *As final element in certain forms of the shame -da:q', difficult of certain analysis because of the homophony of o-d-q' (with d-class-mark or d-thematic), dA-q' (with indeterminate o), o-da'-q' (though cf. o-y-da'-q', perhaps incorrect), o-da:-q', and -da:'-q', all > -da:q'*: (1) **'i:nda'q'** on one's own face, *< o-l-da'-q' or -l-da:'-q', see da', da:';* (2) **XAdAGida:q'** upstairs, in loft, above, etc., *< XA-dAG-'e'-da'-q', -d-q'-, d-q', or -da:-q', see o-dAG 2c.;* (3) **'a:ngu:nda:q'd** *M,* **'a:nguda:q'd** riverbank, riverside *LM,* **'a:nguda:q'** on the riverside *L, 45b.6M,* **'a:n-g(l)-da'-q'**, *o-g-da', or -da:-q', meaning perhaps suggesting latter*

rather than former analysis; (4) **XAda:q'** *(attested with -d, -dAX, and -da' finals):* **XAda:q'd** riverbank *L,* out in the flats *M, Galushia Nelson* x̣ə̀lá·stə̀xétà·qt 'Egg Islands (literally "outside the mainland")' *BSdL 544* **XAlahsd XAda:q'd** < on flats in area out forward to sea *L,* **qa:dAwug XAda:q'd** *place-name (Egg Island near Katalla, see qa:dAwug, wug) L,* **XAda:q'dAX yAX da:Xinh** was walking about along the riverbank *45a.2L,* **XAda:q'(A)da' sahLinh** he went out to the flats, beach *L; analysis perhaps XA- 'area' as o of o-da:-q' 'on vicinity of o', o-da'-q' 'on front of o', o-d-q' 'on d-class o' (e.g. ts'a' 'alluvial mud', with d-class-mark thematized), (XA-)Xd-q' 'on Xd-class o, area' (e.g. 'uhs, duhsk' 'riverbank'), with Xd-class-mark thematized, and/or XA- o deleted by haplology, orlakcing o pronoun, cf. forms with Xd-class-mark under 1a., 1b. above, and (o-)d-i:'-q' 6c. under 'e'~.*

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2e. *As final element in forms with expanded and ablauted vowel: see (o-)d-i:'-q' under 'e'~, perhaps also ch'u:q'.*

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3. *With more or less idiomatic meaning (see also especially o-l-q' 2., o-y-q' 2.):* a. *with zero and perhaps also -ch' final, of natural phenomena, especially seasonal or diurnal, taking place concerning o*: o-**q' L-Xe'tl'** it becomes dark, night fall "on" *10.10, 25.69A,* **'uq' sALXAla:gLinh** it became winter "on" him *23.54A,* **'u:ch' siq' sALxa'L** I spent summer there *L,* **siq' yAsALqahL** day broke "on" me *L,* **siq' yAX sA'ahL** sun set "on" me *L; perhaps also in* o-**q' L-da:s** S be heavy for o *and in* o-**q' lAG g-'ya** tide rise over o; *with -ch' final, perhaps in* **siq'Ach' GAlAGa'ya:L** I'm approaching term (in gestation) < time is coming upon me *L.*

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3b. *With zero final only,* (compensation; prayer, payment) for o, for (revenge on) o: o-**q'** O-**LA-le**, o-**q' y-dA-le**, o-**q' ya:kihdah** S pay, repay (O) for o *(see also o-l-q' 2.),* **'uq' da: dAGAdAdza:nts' da:X** if we pray for it *70.3A,* o-**q'** O-**LtsAX** S cut O for revenge on o *49.58, 58, 59, 67A; with reflexive o, in indirect reflexive constructions:* **'Adq' yisdiliLinh** he paid for himself *33.74A,* **'Adq' ('Awa: k'a') da:didza:nts'** you should pray for yourself *61.22, 23A, probably also in* **'Adq' dAxdAleh** I'm groaning < I'm making vocal noise on, for myself *L.*

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3c. *With -ch' final only, perhaps closely related to 3b.,* blame, tattling on o: o-**q'Ach'** O-**X-(L-)ta** S blame O on o, o-**q'Ach'** O-**'-Xa** S tell, tattle on o (concerning O); *see alos o-l-q' 1. near end.*

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3d. *With zero, -ch'ahd, and perhaps also -ch' finals,* (from) abundance, by virtue of o (< (from) on top of o), *see also especially o-y-Xa:-q' under Xa'~*: *with zero final:* **'uq'AGit'u'** "I've got a bunch of them" *L,* **'i: 'iya' 'uq'AGit'u', xu: siya' ya:luhdg** you've got "a bunch" of them, I a few *L, perhaps also in* **xitl'lAXAda:q'Aya'** snowslide < that which results from an abundance of snow? *L, most frequently with -ch'ahd final:* **Giyahq'Ach'ahd** plenty of food *L,* for (due to abundance) of food *49.137A,* **ya:yu:q'Ach'ahd** plenty of clothes, goods *L,* **ya:yu:q'Ach'ahd tsin'dAlinhinh** he brags about his possessions *L, perhaps also in* **'Awq'Ach'ahd q'Aw k'ulAX 'i:t'e:** from that he's rich *36.48A, also perhaps, with -ch' final, in* **'Awq'Ach' da: qu'lAdAte:** we'll eat our fill on it *11.183A.*

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3e. *Miscellaneous partly idiomatic uses, not referring to literal physical placement or position 'on o'*: **qa:q' 'Adi:lihLa'ya:k'** he (cust) thinks upon (?) us *70.4, 4A,* **guGq' lahdz xuqAXi:lAG** you mistreat me with (throw me forward upon) lies *10.155, 156A;* **sitah siq' li' LqAtl'g** my skin is peeling < my skin keeps sliding down (?) on (?) me *L.*

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3f. *Frequent, perhaps partly idiomatic use with nouns lah 1a. 'camp, village, town' (under la~na1), 'anh1 'land, territory, habitation', and k'a't' 'island', q.v., as o, attested with*

zero, -d, -dAX, -ch', -ch'a', and -ch'ahd finals.

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o-**l-q'** *(postposition) (with l-anatomical 'head', partly thematized; form o-:na'q', homophonous, semantically indistinguishable form, and probably equivalent to o-l-la'q', see la'~; attested with zero, -d, and -ch' finals, once perhapsas o of o-da'-d 'front of o', and often with deleted reflexive o, form 'i:na'q', with other than pronoun as o, form probably -'i:na'q', not attested)* 1. on Ps' head *(non-idiomatic)*: *with zero final:* o-**:na'q' li' -le'g~** S pet o on head (form front toward back), **Gu' 'i:na'q' qa:nch' GAle:L** sweat is forming on your face *L,* **gugsg 'u:na'q' yAX da:Xinh** a louse is walking about on his head *L,* o-**:na'q' li' -tsAtl'** S (e.g. scarf) slides down of o's head, **'u:na'q' ya:n' GAle'g** put your hand down on his head! *L,* **'u:na'q' lahdz 'Ale'g** pet its head (forward)! *L, with deleted reflexive o:* **'i:na'q'** O-**dA-xwa'ch'** S tie O (scarf) on own head; *with -d final:* **si:na'q'd ya:n' sAdahL** it (fly) alighted on my head *L,* **si:na'q'd ya:n' sAle'gL** he touched (put his hand down on) the top of my head *L,* **si:na'q'd** on top of my head *L, with deleted reflexive o:* **'i:na'q'd wAX sLit'u'L** she wore it on her head *47b.36M; with -ch' final (perhaps idiomatic, cf. o-q' 3b.):* **'u:na'q'Ach' k'usLits'AXL** 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-da'-d 'front of o', or perhaps with da'-d 'up':* **si:na'q'da'd Ga:L** it (bug) is walking upward on my face *L.*

2. *Idiomatic,* mistreatment of o: **si:na'q' yAGAdAle'** make it up to me! < pay for your mistreatment of me!, pay for my head! *9.32A,* **si:na'q' yAX 'ilAXdA'a:ch'k'** you pl. (cust) mistreat me (walk about on my head) *50.64A.*

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o-**dXl-q'** *(postposition) (form o-dAXa:na'q', analysis uncertain, order of marks non-canonic, perhaps o-d-Xl-q', cf. o-d-L-yAX 'in front of o', o-Xl-ya'-d 'vagina', or o-dX-l-la'-q', cf. la'~, especially o-dX-la'-d,but L rejects e.g. proposed *o-dAxa:na'd, *o-(lA)ya:na'q'd, etc., cf. also Xa:n'; attested with zero, -d, -dAX, -ch', and -ch'ahd finals)* on, at o's back, behind o: *with zero final: 23.18A,* **'udAXa:na'q' 'iqe'xLxut'inh** I'll shoot at his back *L,* **'udAXa:na'q' 'iGALxut'** shoot him in the back! *L, with -d final: 9.105, 27b.34, 65.73A,* **sidAXa:na'q'd** behind me, my back, on my back *L,* **sidAXa:na'q'd 'isALxut'inh** (*or* **xusAL-**) he shot me in the back *L,* **sidAXa:na'q'd 'Awa: silah tsin'dAle:k'inh** he (cust) talks about me, behind my back *L,* **sidAXa:na'q'd guGALa:n'Linh** he's standing behind me *L, with -dAX final: o-dAXa:na'q'dAX '(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,* **sidAXa:na'q'dAX yAX da:X** it's walking around behind my back, on my back *L, with -ch' final: 27b.34A,* **sidAXa:na'q'Ach' Ga:Linh** he's climbing up on my back *L, with -ch'ahd final:* **'udAXa:na'q'Ach'ahd** off (from on) her back *36.14A; as o of o-L-ch'-a:-d 'on side, direction of o':* **sidAXa:na'q'Lch'a:d** on the back, dorsal side of me *M.*

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o-**y-dXl-q'** *(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: **siyAdAXa:na'q'** on the outside surface of my forearm *L,* **siyAdAXa:na'q'd** (on) the back of my hand, outside surface of my forearm *L.*

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o-**y-q'** *(postposition) (with y-anatomical 'hand', form o-ya:q', frequently with deleted reflexive o; attested with zero and -d finals)* on o's hand, wrist: **siya:q' ya:n' sALtahL** you set it down on my hand *L,* **'uya:q' yAX k'ugushdidjahGLinh** her wrist is tattooed *L,* **Li'q' siya:q' wAX GAle:L** my whole hand is becoming affected *L, with -d final:* **siya:q'd** on the back of my hand *M,* (anywhere) on my hand, wrist *L; with deleted reflexive o in indirect reflexive constructions:* **ya:q'd wAX 'a'LAt'eh** wear it on your wrist! *L,* **ya:q'd wAX 'ixLit'eh** I'm wearing it on my wrist *L.*

2 *Idiomatic,* bothered, hurt by o: **siya:q' dAsAliLinh** I hurt, bothered him *L,* **de:ya:q'd yiki:nX** why are you crying, what's making you cry? < hurt by what are you crying? *L, 34.79L,* **siya:q' qu'yiki:nX** I'll make you cry *(especially to child, e.g. by tickling) L, with deleted reflexive o:* **ya:q' xLAki:nXinh** I'm making him cry (by my own hand) *L,* **ya:q' xuLAki:nX** he's making me cry *L,* **ya:q' 'iqe'xLAki:nX** I'll make you cry *L, in preverbial position:* **ya'Xu: q'e' ya:q' qu'LAki:nXinh** don't make him cry anymore *L.*

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o-**d-y-q'** *(postposition) (as above, mark combined with d-thematic 'oral, noise')* hurt, bothered by what o say: **sidAya:q' ki:nXinh** I said something and made him cry < hurt by what I said he's crying *L.*

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'2)*

q'iXah *(noun, unclassified)* belligerent fleet of boats, naval war *L (uncertain, "something about war")*: **q'iXah 'a:nch' GAXA:L** a fleet of canoes is coming here for war *L.*

q'Ad *(LM earlier q'dA, L then GAd, later verified with L as q'Ad)*

-q'Ad- *(element of unknown morphological classification and unknown meaning) occurring only in* **-q'Adqa:** hollow place, hole, *occurring only with thematic marks:*

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yAq'Adqa: *(noun, d-class) (with y-thematic)* (standing) hollow tree (dead and rotting) *L (wood of these was burned, the ashes thereof mixed with tobacco for smoking), earlier* **yAq'dAqa:** old dead hollow tree, still standing *LM,* **yAGAdqa:** hollow tree *L*: **yAq'dAqa:da'luw** big hollow tree *M,* **yAq'Adqa: diLichehgL** dead and rotting standing hollow tree *L,* **'Aw yAGAdqa:dAyAq'd sAdahL** it's staying in a hollow tree *L.*

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dAq'Adqa: *(noun, probably d-class) (with d-thematic, perhaps thematized d-class-mark for 'tree')* hole, den of animal in prone hollow tree *L.*

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dla:q'Adqa: *(noun) (with dl-thematic, probably thematized dl-class-mark for 'stone')* porcupine's hole under rock *L.*

q'Adi1 *(perhaps to be analyzed q'A-di, q'A- perhaps to be identified with q'ah~q'a:~q'A and/or q'Adi2)*

q'Adi- *(element of unknown morphological classification and unknown meaning) occurring only in* **q'Adits'i:n** *(numeral)* eight; *see ts'i:n. Perhaps q'AdA- > q'Adi- by assimilation to vowel of -ts'i:n.*

q'Adi2 *(LMS q'Adi, LM also earlier GAdi, verified q'Adi with L; perhaps to be analyzed q'A-di, q'A- perhaps to be identified with q'ah~q'a:~q'A)*

q'Adi- *(element of unknown morphological classification and unknown meaning) occurring only in* **q'Adilich'** gray cod; *see Lich'. Perhaps q'AdA- > q'Adi- by assimilation to vowel of -Lich'.*

q'Adl *(q'wAdl Anonymous and G only, under influence of Tlingit; loan from Tlingit q'ʷáλ 'cooking-pot', see also in q'Adlgwe:L~q'Adlge:L)*

q’Adl *(noun, unclassified)* pot, cooking-pot *LM*: *Anonymous* Кватль 'Котоль большой, котликъ' **q’wAdl** cooking-pot *G,* **’Aw q’Adlya’X** into the cooking-pot *27b.53A,* **q’Adl’a’luw** big cooking-pot, cauldron *LM,* **’Aw q’Adl’a’luwya’d** in that big cauldron *51.67A, with ku:l- anatomical 'belly, widest part':* **q’Adlku:’nuw** big bellied round pot, cauldron *L, Furuhjelm* Iakhutakhuat 'kettle' *conceivably to be read* **ya’X dAq’Adl** "might be some kind of pot" *L, but see 'uya'X k'udAqa't'g under qa't'1.*

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q’Adl’Akih *cat's name* < small pot *A.*

q’Adlgwe:L~q’Adlge:L *(A once q'wAdlge:L under influence of Tlingit; loan from Tlingit q’ʷáλ gʷéł (Sampson Harry) 'pot' ('pot-sack'), see also q'Adl, but W. Soboleff x̱’ʊ́ł’ gʷéł 'bottle' < 'belly bag', influenced in any case by q'Adl- in Eyak.)*

q’Adlgwe:L~q’Adlge:L *(noun, unclassified)* bottle, quart: **q’Adlgwe:L** *SG,* **q’wAdlge:L** bottle *A,* **q’Adlge:L** bottle, quart *LM,* **q’Adlge:Lluw** big bottle *LM.*

q’Ats’1 *(perhaps reduced form of q'a'ts'2; Rezanov twice implies q'Ach', twice q'Ats')*

O-**q’Ats’** 1. S bite severely, take bite out of O: **’Aq’Ats’** bite it!, bite if off! *M,* **xusAq’Ats’L** it (animal) bit me *LM ("harder than xusAqahL" L),* **’Aw sAq’Ats’L** it (fish) really bit into it (hook) *L,* **’Aw k’utse’k’ah k’usAq’Ats’L** it (dog) bit a piece (something) off the meat *L, with qid 'down off', repetitive:* **gusi:kih qid k’uq’Ats’g** he keeps biting off little bits *L, with d-class-mark for O (and/or optional d-thematic) with qid 'down off', yAX 'apart':* **’Awk’ahsh qid dAsAq’Ats’L**, **’Awk’ahsh yAX dAsAq’Ats’L** it bit its foot off *L, with perambulative and dA-classifier (?, or perhaps yAX 'apart' and d-class-mark), repetitive:* **’Awqe:sgu:na’q’ yAX dAq’Ats’g** it (wolf) (repeatedly) bites it (deer) (here and there?) on lower hind leg *(Billy Dude explaining how wolf kills deer) L; detransitivized with indeterminate O and o-ch' 'at o', repetitive:* **sich’ ’idAGAts’g** *(G transcribed in error for q')* it's snapping at me *M.*

2. S (bird) catch O in beak: **’Aw sAq’Ats’L** it (bird) caught it (fly) in its beak *L, with indeterminate O and perambulative:* **yAX ’idAq’Ats’X** it (bird) catches things (here and there) in its beak *M; see also 4b. below.*

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3. S (hunter, trap) catch, trap O: **yAX ’idAq’Ats’X qa: ’Aq’e:ts’k’** traps (cust) trap, grip, clamp, clutch us *30.9L; see nominalization below.*

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4. *With qa' 'up out'* a. S (insect) sting, bite O: **qa’ xusAq’Ats’L** it (mosquito) bit me *L.*

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4b. S pull, wrench O up out of ground (in beak?) *(perhaps to be identified with 2. above)*: **’Aw qa’ sAq’Ats’L** it (robin) pulled it (wild-celery-root) up *10.206A.*

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yAX ’idAq’Ats’X *(noun, unclassified)* (steel-clamp) trap *LM*: *30.9L,* **yAX ’idAq’Ats’Xsa’ sahL** it got caught in (went into mouth of) a trap *L. Nominalized Active imperfective with indeterminate O and perambulative,* < it traps indeterminate O here and there.

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qa:nch’ k’uq’Ats’g *(noun, unclassified)* hornet, horsefly *L (earlier gloss 'hornet', later, perhaps more correctly 'horsefly'). Nominalized Active imperfective repetitive,* < it (repeatedly) stings one.

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qa:nch' k'uq'Ats'gluwyu: *(noun, unclassified)* hornets < pl. big qa:nch' k'uq'Ats'g *L.*

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'uX k'udAq'Ats' *(noun)* pincers *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective,* < by means of it something is bitten, pinched off.

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'uX qid k'uq'Ats'gL *(noun) attested only in Rezanov* Охкиткокечкль 'Щипци ('candle-snuffers') Lichtscheere' *probably to be read* ***'uX qid k'uq'Ats'gL*** *or perhaps* ***'uX qid k'uq'e:ts'k'L****, -L-instrumental deverbalization of preceding, repetitive or perhaps cust, with qid 'down off'.*

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lX(d)-(dA)-q'Ats' *(with lX(d)-anatomical 'eyes' and optional dA-classifier, L always and sometimes M lXd-dA-, M sometimes lXd- or lX-dA-, Rezanov lX-, lXd-dA-)* S close eyes, wink, blink: *Rezanov* Нахасакацль 'Косой ('squinting') schielend' **nAXAsAq'Ats'L** he closed his eyes, blinked, **lAXAdAq'Ats'inh** he's closing his eyes, blinking, flinching *M,* **lAXAdAGAdAq'Ats'** shut your eyes! *L,* **lAXAdisdiq'Ats'L** you closed your eyes, winked *L,* **lAXAdisdiq'Ats'Lsh** did you wink? *M,* **dik'sh lAXAdAsdAq'Ats'Linh** didn't you wink? *M, with o-tl' 'with o':* **sitl' lAXAdisdiq'Ats'Linh** he winked at me *L, with 'iLu' qa' 'up out through each other' (i.e. as if knotted together, tightly):* **'iLu' qa' lAXAdisdiq'Ats'L** he winced *L, repetitive: Rezanov* Ляхатетагацуке 'Мигать ('to blink') winken, mit den Augen' **lAXAdAdAq'Ats'…ginh**, **sitl' lAXAdAdAq'Ats'ginh** he's winking at me *L,* **lAXAxdAq'Ats'g** I'm winking, blinking *L. Transitive (causative): Rezanov* Ляхатехлькочке 'Щуриться blinzeln' **lAXAdAxLq'Ats'ginh** I'm making him blink, **'ilAXAdAxLq'Ats'g** I'm making you blink *L.*

q'Ats'2 *(perhaps to be identified with q'Ats'1, basic meaning 'gripping tightly between two things', or perhaps, less likely, related to Athapaskan *-q'^{w}AƷ 'neck')*

-d-q'Ats' *(noun, d-class) (with d-thematic)* collar: **k'udAq'Ats'** (someone's) collar *LM,* **sidAq'Ats'dAlah** around my collar *L,* **'idAq'Ats'dAqa'X dla:GAL'a'** button your collar! < put it (button, dl-class) through the interstices in your collar (collar-button-holes)! *L.*

q'Ats'3

q'Ats' *(noun, gl-class or unclassified)* slough *LA*: **q'Ats'gu:'nuw** big slough *M,* **q'Ats'ya' 'i:nxsLi'AdzL** I fell headlong into a "small swamp" *L.*

q'Ats'4

q'Ats' *element in possible analysis of q'Ats'AX 'cloth', see ts'AX2.*

q'As1

q'As *(noun, lX-class)* gland, lymph node, tonsil *LMA*: **q'AslAXa'luw** big gland *LM,* **q'As siya: lAXi:k'a'd** my tonsils hurt *L; Harrington* səqqhéétsʼiiqʼὰs 'womb' **sAq'e:ts'…q'As** < child-gland, *not verified.*

q'As2

q'As *(noun, unclassified)* one of a pair of o: **k'uq'As** one side, one of a pair *M,* **k'Ayi:nyq'As** unmatched pair < one different (of pair) *L, with class marks for possessor:* **'udAq'As sich' di:'a'** give me one of them (of pair of e.g. snowshoes)! *L,* **k'uti:lAq'As tsa'k'** one mitt (of a pair) *L,* **ch'id LinhG ti:na: tsa'k', tla:X 'Awti:lAq'As 'Awa:** (there's) just one mitt, where's its mate? *L,*

with anatomical marks: **k'ulAXAq'As** one-eyed *M,* one-eyed person *L,* **k'ulAXAq'As xiLeh** I'm one-eyed *M,* **k'uqi:dAq'As** one-legged *M,* **k'uyAq'As** one-handed *M.*

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o-**q'As-d** *(postposition) (with -d final)* 1. at opposite side, end of o, at one side, end of o (opposed to other side, end), facing in opposite direction from o: **siq'Asd ya:n' GAte'** lie down with your head toward my feet! *L,* **siq'Asd lu: GALAxuL** roll over away from me (facing away from me, in bed)! *L, Galushia Nelson* xàlə́qɒ̀qə̀st '"head" or rear of the house' *BSdL 545* **XAlAGdAq'Asd** 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 XAlAGdAq'Asdkih q'unh sAdahL** way at the back end of that little place (burrow) she sat *23.45A,* **ta:ya'dAq'Asd** front door-end of house *L, with reciprocal o:* **'iLq'Asd XAdidi'ah** they (e.g. logs) lie parellel, extending in opposite directions *L,* **'iLq'Asd XAdi:ntsah** sharpen it (e.g. stick) at both ends! *L,* **'iLq'Asd XAdi:Lshitl'g** sharpen it (double-edged axe) on both edges! *L,* **'iLq'Asd di'Lt'ux** push, hold the two ends apart! *L,* **'iLq'Asd yAX 'i:ndilahLinu:** they're standing back to back *L,* **'iLq'Asd 'u'li:'yahL** it droops on both sides (like Y) *L.*

2. avoiding, abstaining from o: **siq'Asd lah dishdigudjLinh** he closed his mouth tight and averted his face from me (snobbishly or in anger) *L,* o-**q'Asd** O-**l-L-qa** S advise O against o, warn O not to, forbid O to, stop O from having anything to do with, from touching o, *see qa4, with gl-class o:* **'ugAlAq'Asd 'ilAxqa:g** I advise you to abstain from it (drinking) *L.*

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O-**L-q'As** S split O in half, remove half, one side of O: **'ALq'As** split it in half! *L,* **qu'xLq'As** I'll split it in two *L,* **siLq'AsL** I split it in two, I removed one side of it (e.g. opened fish) *L; passive:* **sdiq'AsL**, **sLiq'AsL** it's been split in half *L.*

q'Adj

q'Adj *(noun, unclassified)* ribbon, hair-ribbon, ribbon (symbolically equivalent to 'tail', of female groundhog) *L, 23.36, 37, 41, 41, 46, 49, 51, 51A*: **k'u'a:w q'Adj** long ribbon *L.*

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O-**q'Adj** S tie ribbon around O: *with l-anatomical:* **'i:nsiq'AdjLinh** I tied a ribbon around her head *L; reflexive:* **'Ad-lisdiq'AdjLinh** she has a ribbon, bow tied in her hair *L; passive:* **sdiq'AdjL** it has a ribbon tied around it *L.*

q'Ash *(perhaps reduced form of q'a:'sh; see also GAsh)*

-q'Ash S be, become bent out of (right-angled) shape, position *(meaning not clearly distinguished from that of following, apparently not freely used, following preferred)*: **siXa' shAq'AshL** (*same as* **siXa' lAshAq'AshL**) it got "lopsided" "on" me *L.*

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l-q'Ash *(with l-thematic)* S be, become bent out of (right-angled) shape, position: **lAGAq'AshL** 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,* **siXa' lAshAq'AshL** (*same as* **siXa' shAq'AshL**) it got "lopsided" "on" me **'uk'ahsh 'Awa: lAshAq'AshL** its leg (of chair) is crooked, bent out of vertical *L,* **qu'li:q'Ash** it'll get bent out of (rectangular, right-angled) shape *L. Transitive (causative):* **qu'li:xLq'Ash** I'll bend it out of (right-angled) shape *L,* **lAGAxLq'Ash** I'm bending it out of (right-angled) shape *L,* **'i:nsiLq'AshL** I bent it out of (right-angled) shape *L.*

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g-q’Ash *(with g-thematic, perhaps anatomical or class-mark thematized)* S limp, be, become lame, crippled (in legs): **gushAq’AshL** you're limping *L,* **gushAq’AshLinh** he's limping, he's lame, he's a cripple *M.*

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o-**sa’ yAX** O-**dl-LA-q’Ash-X** *(perhaps causative of l-q'Ash above with perambulative)* S move jaw from side to side (as in gnashing teeth or of horse chewing), distorting mouth: **’usa’d yAX dla:LAq’AshXinh** he's moving his jaw from side to side *L; indirect reflexive (?):* **sa’ yAX ’Adla:LAq’AshXinh** *(same as preceding)* he's moving his jaw from side to side *L, perhaps to be corrected to sa' yAX dla:LAq'AshXinh, where sa' is here to be interpreted as preverb, 'he's distorting himself at the mouth'.*

q’AGsh

q’AGshg *(noun, unclassified) (with -g-repetitive thematized)* gristle *MA,* scab, earwax *M (L rejects all these glosses)*: **q’AGshg’a’luw** big hunk of gristle *M. L is probably correct in rejecting these glosses, especially the latter two; cf. Ge'q'sh.*

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-q’AGsh-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized)* S (skin, leather) dry and stiffen *(not freely used, attested in Active perfective only, meaning not clearly distinguished from that of LA-q'AGsh-g)*: **sAq’AGshgL** it (above, skin) got dry and stiff *L.*

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LA-q’AGsh-g *(as above)* S (skin, leather) dry and stiffen: **sLiq’AGshgL** it (shoe, skin) got dry and stiff *(same as sAq'AGshgL) L,* dry skin *A, with l-anatomical:* **’i:nxsLiq’AGshgL** my skin (face) got dry *L. Transitive (causative):* **’ALq’AGshg** make it dry and stiff and hard! *L.*

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L-q’AGsh-g *(as above)* S's skin get dry and flaky and peel: **sALq’AGshgLinh** his skin got dry and flaky and is peeling *M. Uncertain, not verified.*

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lAXALq’AGshg *LM,* **lAXAq’AGshg** *L (noun, lX-class) (nominalization of preceding with lX-class-mark for S)* dogwood berries, blackberries *LM,* tiny black berries, grow on meadow *L*: *Harrington has the following from G:* lɑχ̣χ̣ɑttɑkk’ík’ 'dogwood or dogwood berries, bunch berry' **lAXAdAk’ik’**, lɑχ̣χ̣ɑłłɑk’ḿk’c 'Russian gate ("crunches when chewed")' **lAXALAk’uk’sh** *(both of which are equivalent to Yakutat q’ekɑxéƛ’g which Naish and Story gloss 'St. Jacob's berry'),* lɑχ̣χ̣ɑłłɑkk’ák’c 'red berries', *probably to be read* **lAXALAq’AGsh**, *these items all being partly confused with tla:Xk'igshg, q.v. under k'igshg~k'ik'shg;* **dla:Xq’AGshg** 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 alnifolia or A. florida)', and/or 'commandra, timberberry, dogberry (Geocaulon lividum)', and/or 'blackberry, crowberry, curlewberry (Empetrum nigrum)'.*

q’Aq’1

q’Aq’ *(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* k’ɔq’ 'loon' *BSdL 539,* **q’Aq’wAlahyu:** loon-people *24.2, 10A,* **q’Aq’wAlahyu:qe’L** *24.5, 5A,* **q’Aq’wAlahqe’L** loon-people-woman *24.17A,* **q’Aq’yAquhyu:** loon-young *24.73A,* **q’Aq’kAna:’d** loon-coat *24.40A,* **q’Aq’ch’Alih** loon-arm *24.51A. This bird is probably 'Holboell's red-necked grebe (Colymba grisegna holboelli)', or, less likely, the 'American horned grebe (Podiceps auritus cornutus), rather than a loon. The q'Aq' 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, but 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 q'Aq' may be imitative of the cry.*

q’Aq’2 *(perhaps earlier q'wAq'w, q'uq', Rezanov кок, кук)*

LA-q’Aq’ S have, get a (muscular) cramp: **LAq’Aq’** he has a cramp (anywhere on body) *M, not verified, perhaps blend of dA-k'ug and y-LA-q'Aq'.*

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y-LA-q’Aq’ *(with y-anatomical, the only theme known to L with this stem)* S close hand, make a fist: *Rezanov* Экаклякокль 'Кулакъ Faust' **yAGALAq’uq’L** you're closing your hand, making a fist, **yAGAxLAq’Aq’L** I'm making a fist *L,* **yAGALAq’Aq’** close your hand! *LA,* **qu’yAxLAq’Aq’** I'll close my hand *L,* **yixsLiq’Aq’L** my hand is closed *L,* **yisLiq’Aq’Linh** his hand is closed, cramped closed *L, with ya' 'completely':* **yä’ yALAq’Aq’** your hand is cramped closed *M, with o-tl' 'with o': Rezanov* Утлеиллякукъ 'Выжми ('he wrang/squeezed out') pressen, ausringen (Imperat.)' **’utl’ yi’LAq’Aq’** hold it (tight) in your hand! < close your hand with it (in it)! *L, repetitive:* **yALAq’Aq’ginh** he keeps (opening and) closing his hands *L.*

q’AX

q’AX *(noun, l-class or unclassified)* fat (not rendered), blubber *M*: *49.147A (unclassified), Rezanov* Итакохетленъ 'Здоровъ gesund' **’idah q’AX yiLinhinh** he's nicely fat, plump, **q’AX sich’ li:’a’** give me (a piece of) fat, blubber! *L.*

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-q’AX *(noun, l-class or unclassified)* fat (not rendered), blubber: **k’uq’AX** fat *9.84, 88, 93, 93, 94A, 12.15, 23G, 49.144A (all unclassified),* **k’uq’AX’AlA’e’** for fat *(l-class) 49.133A,* **k’uq’AXyu:** quantities of fat *10.85A,* **k’uq’AXkih** bit of fat *49.131A,* **k’uq’AXluw** big piece of fat *M,* **k’ulAt’u’ k’uq’AX** lots of fat *L,* **k’uq’AX ’u:d ’i:nsA’ahL** *(not -tahL)* a piece of fat is there *L,* **dla:q’Aya’q’AX** mountain goat-fat *49.123, 133A (unclassified),* **shAdingAGq’AX** bacon < pig-fat *L.*

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q’AXde: *(exclamation, epithet)* greedy *(especially of child who persistently begs for fat to eat) LM*: **q’AXde: xiLeh** I'm greedy *M,* **q’AXde: yiLeh** you're greedy *M,* **q’AXde: yiLinhinh** he's greedy, never satisfied, always hungry *M; Galushia Nelson* ɢəqáχtɛ̀ 'fat' *BSdL 548,* "called for fat: 'ɢə́qə́χtɛ̀!'" *BSdL 315, probably to be read* **k’uq’AXde:**, *with possessed instead of non-possessed noun. See de:4 for -de:.*

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tsa:lAq’AX *(noun)* sea-anemone, crab species?, *see under tsa:.*

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-q’AX *(adjective)* fat, *occurring as suffix in pejorative epithets only*: **lAquhLq’AX** fat-cheeks! *11.138A,* **lAquhLq’AXluw** big-fat-cheeks! *10.93A,* **lAquhLq’AXshiyah** nasty-fat-cheeks! *10.96A.*

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LA-q’AX S be, become fat: *Rezanov* Слихахль 'Жирно fett (adj.)' **sLiq’AXL** it is, got fat, *with k'ushd-anatomical:* **k’ushdisLiq’AXLinh** he (e.g. baby) has, got fat, chubby legs *L.*

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l-LA-q'AX *(with l-thematic, probably l-anatomical 'head, face' thematized)* S be, become (generally) fat: **lixLiq'AXL** I'm fat *L,* **dik' la'xLAq'AXLG** I'm not fat *L (Neuter perfectives),* **'i:nsLiq'AXL** it's fat *M,* **q'AXa: lisLiq'AXLinh** my how fat she is! *M,* **lixsLiq'AXL** I'm fat *L (Active perfectives),* **'i:Liq'AXya:X dik' xa'Lq' k'uXa:Ginh** he's not eating much lest he get fat *L. Transitive (causative), repetitive (apparently thematized):* **li:Lq'AXginh** fatten him up (with repeated feedings)! *L.*

q'Aw~q'uw

d-q'Aw~-q'uw *(noun, unclassified) (with d-thematic, or perhaps dA-classifier)* lunch, provisions, grub (food for a trip): *11.149A,* **dAq'Aw 'iXa' Xa:ne:** eat your lunch! *L,* **k'udzu: dAq'Aw q'A'Aw** that's a good lunch *L,* **k'ut'u' dAq'Aw k'a' 'i:Lah** you should take lots of grub *L,* **dAq'uw k'a' k'ut'u' 'u'la:yiLXah** you should take lots of grub < you should have your provisions plentiful *L,* **dAq'Awyu:** provisions *21a.24L.*

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sAqe:ts'Akihya' dAq'Aw *(noun, unclassified)* black dirt accumulated in creases of baby's hands < child's lunch, provisions *(bad luck if removed) L.*

q'Ama: *(perhaps related to q'u'1 and/or q'u'2; cf. Tlingit -kαhág^{w}-, 'kidney, roe')*

q'Ama: *(noun)* 1. *(l-class)* a. kidney *LMA (this apparently applies to any animal other than fish, for which see dza'L*: **q'Ama:'a:'nuw** big kidney *L,* **q'Ama: 'u:d lAsALahL** kidneys are there *L,* **q'Ama: siya: li:k'a'd** my kidneys hurt *L.*

1b. *(l-class)* salmon roe, fish-eggs (still intact ovarian sac) *LMAG*: **q'Ama:'i:'nuw** large roe (intact) *L,* **q'Ama: 'u:d 'i:nsA'ahL** *(not -tahL)* a roe-sac is there *L,* **q'Ama: sich' li:'a'** give me (a sac of roe) *L;* **q'Ama:lAk'i:nk'sh** *G,* **q'Ama:lAk'i:ngshg** dried salmon-roe *L.*

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2. *(lX-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* Кама 'Икра Fischrogen', **q'Ama:lAXa'luw** big hunk of (separated) salmon-roe *LM,* **q'Ama:lAXa:q' ya:n' GAta'** set it down on top of some roe! *L.*

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3. *(probably unclassified)* female salmon *L.*

q'Ama'

-l-q'Ama' *(stem of unknown meaning, with l-thematic) occurring only in* **'ishta:lAq'Ama'** *formula for beginning story or especially myth L*: **'ishta:lAq'Ama: Ch'i:lehshiyah wAX leh** once upon a time Raven was doing such and such *L. 'ishta: (adverb) 'long ago'.*

q'Ale' *(perhaps related to q'ah~q'a:~q'A, q'e:, q'Adi1,2, and/or q'2)*

q'Ale' *(exclamation)* now!, now then!, by now (it's time to), you'd better 1.: **neh q'Ale'** let me see it! *M,* show me it! *L.*

2. *Emphatic 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,* **q'Ale' 'i: 'ALXahd** now then *you* pull it! *L,* **q'Ale' 'i: ne:tl' 'Awa: k'uXa:ne:** now then *you* eat some first! *L, with optatives: 10.148A,* **q'Ale' da: 'i:'a'ch'** now let's go *L,* **q'Ale' da: 'i:qeh** now let's go (by boat) *L,* **q'Ale' da: 'u'litsah** let's buy it *L,* **q'Ale' xu: ['u]yAq'Ach' 'Adu'qi:da:xdiq'e:'** now let *me* try my feet in them *L,* **q'Ale' xu: 'ixiLXahd** let *me* pull it *L, with Inceptive imperfective: 10.133A (unfinished),* **q'Aleh xu: wAX qu'xLih** let *me* do it < now then I'll do thus to it *L;* **q'Ale' 'AlAXuh** now give it to me! *L.*

q’Ala:k’

q’Ala:k’ *(noun, unclassified)* shirt *LS*: *Rezanov* Калиякъ 'Камлея Kamleja (Sommerkleidung)', *Anonymous* Кллякъ 'Рубашка', Кильякъ 'Камлея' ('parka'), *Galushia Nelson* qálà·q (*or* ɑ́là·q *or* ɑ́là·q) *BSdL 550,* **k’udzu: q’Ala:k’** nice shirt (man's or woman's) *L, Galushia Nelson* ɑla·t’cɛ·’ kɛ’i·t’ɛ’ qəlaq "red appears shirt" *BSdL 558* **dla:ch’e:’gä’ ’i:t’eh q’Ala:k’** red shirt < shirt which is like red-snapper (in color), *Rezanov* Тцылькехалиякъ 'Парка ('parka') Winterkleidung (Parka) von Spermophilus-Fellen' **tsALk’Aq’Ala:k’** shirt, upper garment (made of squirrel skins) *L, Galushia Nelson* ɡ̀ənúχ̣tsɑ́’ ɑ̀là·q *or* ɡ̀ùnúqtsɑ́’ etc. 'gutskin shirt' *BSdL 550* **gunuxts’e’q’Ala:k’**.

q’AnAGAma:~q’AnAqAma:~q’AnnqAma:~q’AnAXAma:

q’AnAGAma: *(personal name) Sofiia (born ca. 1880), older sister of gu:gah (RO Church records; see my letter to M 9/26/98); cf. following).*

,

q’AnAqAma: *LM,* **q’AnnqAma:** *LM,* **q’AnAXAma:** *S (personal name)* 1. *Eyak woman LS.*

2. *Sophie Borodkin LM (but cf. tAnAGAma:).*

q’Ayi:ny~q’Ayinh~q’Anih *(L usually q'Ayi:ny, phonetically q’əñyį·ŋg, occasionally q'Ayinh, phonetically q’əñyįh, S q'Ayi:ny phonetically q’əñyį·ŋ, MAG and Galushia Nelson q'Anih, cf. k'Ayi:ny)*

Gd-q’Ayi:ny~-q’Ayinh~-q’Anih *(noun, unclassified, occasionally perhaps also Xd-class, with Gd-thematic 'place')* fog: **GAdAq’Ayi:ny** *LS,* **GAdAq’Ayinh** *L,* **GAdAq’Anih** fog *MAG, Galushia Nelson* q’ətə́q’ən·ì 'fog' *BSdL 538* **GAdAq’Anih**, **GAdAq’Ayi:nytl’ (’iLqa:X) sLi’ahL** the fog dissipated < (the sun) rose with the fog (dissipating it) *L,* **GAdAq’Ayi:ny k’u:Leh** there's fog, it's foggy *34.116, 117L,* **’AlAshgahX GAdAq’Ayi:ny k’u:liLe’**, **’AlAshgahX GAdAq’Ayi:ny k’uGi:Le’**, **GAdAq’Ayi:nyshgahX k’u:liLe’** would that it be, get foggy *L,* **dik’ GAdAq’Ayi:ny k’uqa’Le’G** it won't be foggy *L,* **GAdAq’Ayi:ny ’isALq’e’sL** fog got real bad *L, as S of 'i-(d-)'a (referring to movement of cloud, fog):* **GAdAq’Ayi:ny ’a:nch’ ’idAGA’a:L** (*or* **’iGA’a:L**) fog is coming here *L,* **GAdAq’Ayi:ny ’a:nda’ ’isdAsA’ahL** fog came here *L,* **GAdAq’Ayi:ny ya’X ’idAGA’a:L** (*or* **’iGA’a:L**) fog is lifting, clearing *L,* **GAdAq’Ayi:ny ya’X ’idAsA’ahL** *34.124L,* **GAdAq’Ayi:ny ya’X ’isA’ahL** fog lifted *L,* **GAdAq’Ayi:ny ya’X ’iqe’ah** fog will lift *L,* **GAdAq’Ayi:ny ya:n’ ’idAsA’ahL** fog came down *L,* **’AlAshgahX GAdAq’Ayi:ny ’u:dik’ah ’ida:li’a:** I wish that the fog would go away *L, Galushia Nelson* ìt’ɬ á·nàq’ q’ətə́q’ən·ì ínàⁿ·χ̣ lì’ìχ̣àqàtɬt’à’ɒà·χ̣ 'when the fog is hanging half-way down the mountain' *BSdL 264, 558 perhaps to be read* **’itl’a:na’q’ GAdAq’Anih ’i:na:’X li’ yAX ’iGA…dA’ah da:X**, **’itl’a:na’q’ GAdAq’Ayi:ny ’i:nAX yAX ’idAGA’ah da:X** when the fog on the mountain hangs down over it *L,* **GAdAq’Ayi:ny ’a:nch’ XAdAGAwusL** fog is moving in here *M (Xd-class, like q'ahs 'clous'),* **GAdAq’Ayi:ny lAXi:Leh** it's foggy *L (interpretation and correctness uncertain, < 'it (lX-class) is foggy').*

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-lXd-q’Ayi:ny *(noun) (with lXd-anatomical 'eyes')* eyebrow (of infant): **silAXAdAq’Ayi:ny** my eyebrows *(of baby, whose eyebrows are just beginning to show) L.*

q’Ayanh *(phonetically q’əñąh more frequently than q’əyąh)*

-q’Ayanh *(noun, unclassified or postposition?)* homeland: **Xi:d qa:q’Ayanhda’ GAqinhinh** he who might come (by boat) to our homeland yonder *69.11A,* **siq’Ayanhch’ q’e’ ya:qa’ qu’xdah** I'll go away back to my homeland *L,* **dA’u:d siq’Ayanhdda:d ya’ qu’xdah** I'll stay right there in my home country *L,* **siq’AyanhX yAX ’ixsLi’anhL** I travelled about in my homeland *L.*

q’ihdj

dA-q’ihdj S be, become rancid, bitter, sour, spoiled, *attested only with class-marks for S*: **gu:nshdiq’ihdjL** it (e.g. butter, lard, Crisco, sealoil) got rancid *(referring to bad taste, not odor) L,* **lAXAshdiq’ihdjL** they (berries) spoiled, turned bitter, sour *L.*

q’e: *(also q'i: in some early transcriptions from L; stem conceivably q'e:d, but see below; perhaps related to q'ah~, q'Ale', q'Adi1,2, and/or q'3)*

q’e:dah *(adverb) (probably to be segmented q'e:-dah with -dah adverbializer; cf. e.g. Navaho k’ad~k’a· 'now', k’ad 'that's all' (frequent in or as closing formula of texts), Minto k’ɒda 'that's all, enough!', Navaho k’adí 'enough!, time is up', Minto k’odid 'now')* 1. 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,* **q’e:dah ’Adqi:dAGALAXan’Linh, ’idAXAdla:Ga’ya:Linh** his feet are fairly fluttering, vibrating, he's running so fast *72.22L,* **q’e:dah ’uqi:dAya’d-lAX ’ixL’a:nk’inh** (he runs away so fast) all I (cust) ever see is the soles of his feet **wa:w ’u:d k’ut’u’, q’e:dah ’u:d GALAtugLga’ GAle:L** there are so many herring there, it's (quite) like it's (downright) swollen up with them *L,* **q’e:dah ’Awtl’ lah sdimAt’L** it's really (downright) twisted up badly with it *M, with enclitic -dig 'also':* **q’e:dahdig ’Aw’a:n’ ’a:k’** he (cust) comes upon it right away too *9.144A; in transcriptions from L of first and second summers also q'i:dah, at least with very close allophone of /e:/ if not /i:/, but not verified by other informants or attested again from L:* **di’dAsiga’L q’i:dah qu’xtsu’d** I'm so tired I'll (forthwith) fall asleep *L,* **di’dAsiga’L q’e:dah xtsu’d** I'm so tired I'm (simply) falling asleep *L,* **q’i:dah** (*or* **q’e:dah**, **dAq’i:dah**, **dAq’e:dah**) **k’ulALma:k’inh** "it don't take him long to ruin it" < he (cust) ruins it forthwith *L,* **q’e:dah** *(or* **q’i:dah**, *not dAq'e:dah, dAq'i:dah)* **dAqi:kih** it's all gone already < it's simply all gone *L,* **q’i:dah wAX ’u’xLilinhinh, ’u:da’ qu’winhinh** I *know* he'll go there < I outright believe thus of him, he'll arrive there *L.*

2. *With proclitic dA-* '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,* **dAq’e:dah** (*or* **dAq’i:dah**, **q’e:dah**, **q’i:dah**) **k’ulALma:k’inh** he (cust) ruins it forthwith *L.*

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2b. *Meaning clearly restricted to* that's all (there is to it, the extend of it): **dAq’e:dah** that's all there is (to it, of it), that's the end of it, it's all gone *A, 11.61A, 41.5L, perhaps also in 10.256fn, 20.89, 89A, 42.1, 45a.6L,* **dAq’e:dah**, **dAq’i:dah** it's all gone *L,* **dAq’e:dahshuh te’ya’ ’iXa’ -- ’a:n, dAq’e:dah q’Aw** is that all the fish you have? -- yes, that's all *L, Galushia Nelson* ɒàqɛ́iɒàqà’àu 'that's all (end of story)' *BSdL 306, 555* **dAq’e:dah** (**q’A’Aw~q’Aw**) that's all, the end *(frequent 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:ts’

dla:Xq’e:ts’ *(noun, unclassified) (with dlX-thematic)* nausea, retching, gagging, seasickness, stomach-upset *LMA*: *Rezanov* Тляхкейцъ 'Рвать Erbrechen, vomitus', **dla:Xq’e:ts’ sila’X dAsa’yahL** I got nauseated, seasick, I felt like vomiting *L, Rezanov* Тляхкецилляхтесаятль 'Тошно Erbrechen haben, vomiturire' **dla:Xq’e:ts’ ’ila’X dAsa’yahL** you gagged *M,* **dla:Xq’e:ts’ sila’X dAGa’ya:L** I'm getting nauseated *L,* **dla:Xq’e:ts’ga’ ’Adu’xdAgAwih** I feel like vomiting *L.*

q’e:sAyAX

q’e:sAyAX *(personal name) Elsie Sewak, wife of Mike Sewak ("has to do with splitting spruceroots"; cf. Ge:ts', sAk', but perhaps of Tlingit origin, and Elsie Sewak was not Eyak and did not speak Eyak) A XVI.69.*

q’e:shkuha:gu:~q’e:shkuXa:gu: *(former less frequent, loan from Tlingit q’eškaháagu 'very small cranberries', -kaháagu '-roe, -kidney', see also kuha:g~kuXa:g, Veniaminov к’ешь кагáкъ 'Брусника агода', к’ешь собственно значитъ семга (рыба) а кагáкъ--икра, cf. Rezanov Tlingit Ашкаку 'Брусника', Eyak тлячекольхита dla:ch'e:'gwa' lAXi:t'eh 'red berries', W. Soboleff unable to identify q'e:sh-.)*

q’e:shkuha:gu:~q’e:shkuXa:gu: *(noun, lX-class)* berry species *L (unable to identify or etymologize, "sounds like Tlingit", but word used by Eyaks L).*

q’e:g *(partly confused with q'e:k'; not to be analyzed q'e-g with -g-repetitive, at least from L's point of view; cf. however, Tlingit yaa-q’e 'to blame')*

d-LA-q’e:g *(with d-thematic 'oral, noise')* S shout, speak loudly and angrily, crossly, harshly, nastily, abusively; S (animal) make angry noise: **dALAq’e:ginh** he's shouting angrily *L,* **’Aw lixah disLiq’e:gL** the grizzly-bear made an angry noise *L, with o-ch' 'at, to o':* **’uch’ dAxLAq’e:ginh** I talk nasty to him *L,* **sich’ disLiq’e:gLinh** he talked loud and mean and nasty to me *L,* **’ich’ qu’dALAq’e:ginh** he'll talk very mad and mean to you *L; indirect reflexive (perhaps of causative) with 'Ad-lAXa:n'ch' 'opposite oneself, in competition with oneself':* **’Ad-lAXa:n’ch’ dAxLAq’e:ginh** I answer him back nastily *L. Transitive (causative):* **xudALq’e:ginh** he's making me mad *L (stem not mistranscribed, but cf. q'e:k'),* **’iqe’di:Lq’e:ginh** he'll make you mad at him *L.*

q’e:k’ *(partly confused with q'e:g; Rezanov implies q'e:k'w, but S q'e:k')*

d-q’e:k’ S be, become mad, angry, peeved, irritated: *Rezanov* Такаэку 'Браниться ('quarrel') schimpfen', Такаику 'Сердиться zürnen' **dAq’e:k’w** *(or perhaps* **dAq’e:gw**, *deverbalization),* **Lich’ dAGAq’e:k’Linh** he's always getting mad *S, with o-ch' 'at, to o':* **sich’ dAGAq’e:k’Linh** he's getting peeved, mad at me *LM,* **’ich’ dAGAxq’e:k’L** I'm getting sore at you *L,* **’ich’ qu’di:q’e:k’** I'll get mad at you *L,* **’uch’ disiq’e:k’L** I got peeved at him *L,* **sich’ di:q’e:k’Linh** she's peeved at me *L (Neuter perfective), with perambulative:* **yAX dAdAq’e:k’Xinh** he's going around peeved *L. Transitive (causative):* **xudAGi:Lq’e:k’L** you're making me mad *L; with k'ud (k'u-indefinite o of o-d, translating as S):* **k’udsh ’idAGALq’e:k’** is something making you mad? *L; passive:* **disdiq’e:k’Linh**, **disLiq’e:k’Linh** he's been angered (by someone, something) *L.*

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dAq’e:k’ch’iya’ *(noun, unclassified)* angry, cross, snappy, irritable, mean person < anger-master *LM, Rezanov* Такайкучейя 'Сердитой zornig' ***dAq’e:k’wch’iya’***.

q’e:k’Atl’ *(loan from Tlingit x̱’éx’ʷaɬ’ 'pin')*

q’e:k’Atl’ *(noun, unclassified)* (common, straight) pin *L.*

q’e’1

L-q’e’ 1. S cool off: *16.18M, Rezanov* Сылькаэль 'Простылъ abgekült' **sALq’e’L** it cooled off, *with gl-class-mark for S:* **’Aw ka:dj gulAGALq’e’L** the soup is cooling *L. Transitive (causative):* **siLq’e’L** I cooled it off *L, often repetitive:* **Lq’e’ginh** he's cooling it (before eating it) *M,*

16.17M, **xLq'e'g** I'm cooling it off *L,* **qu'xLq'e'g** I'll cool it off *L, with gl-class-mark for O:* **'Aw ka:dj gAli:Lq'e'** cool that soup! *L; passive:* **sdiq'e'L** it's been cooled off *L.*

2. S (fire) go out, die: **sALq'e'L** fire went out *LMS,* **qa'Lq'e'** fire will die *M,* **GALq'e'L** fire is dying *L,* **dA'u:d 'i:Lq'e'** alright let the fire die *L, repetitive:* **Lq'e'g** the fire keeps dying *L. Transitive (causative):* **dAq'a:g GALq'e'** extinguish the fire! *MS,* **GALq'e'** put it (fire) out! *L,* **'Aw GAxLq'e'X sitl' dAlinhinh** he told me to extinguish it (fire) *L; with d-class-mark for O (fire):* **dAGALq'e'** put it (fire) out *(same as GALq'e') L; passive:* **sdiq'e'L**, **sLiq'e'L** it (fire) has been extinguished *L. Lack of expected d-class-mark for S or O (fire) perhaps indicates that L-q'e' 2. is to be considered a derivative of L-q'e' 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-dA-la 'S drink O' (necessarily liquid), in which the gl-class-mark for liquid O does not appear.*

q'e'2

-q'e' *(probably originally noun, for meaning cf. Navaho k'é, -k'éi~-k'ê·i 'relative', Hupa -q'eey 'brother-in-law', Chipewyan -k'í 'younger sibling'; perhaps related to q'e'~q'e:, and/or perhaps < o-q'-A-ya', see ya'~Aya', -dAGe:' under dAG, and further under a:~ya:) occurring only in* **-ya:q'e'~-wa:q'e'** (maternal) aunt.

q'e's

-q'e's S be jammed, stuck wedged, crowded in tight place, S (available space) be too small for contents, S (contents) be too large for available space, *Active perfective frequently in sense 'stuck', Inceptive perfective frequently in sens 'tight'*: **'u:d sAq'e'sL** it's stuck there (in space that's too tight) *L,* **'u:dAX yAX sAq'e'sL** it's stuck (down?) along there *L,* **'u:d GAq'e'sL** it's stuck, getting stuck there *L,* **'u:dAX li' 'i:q'e'sL** it's stuck (way back) under there *L (Neuter perfective),* **sAq'e'sL** you're crowding me < you're (you've proven) too big (for this space) *L, with class-marks for S:* **'uyAq' dAsAq'e'sL** it (arrow) is stuck in it *L,* **ch'iyahd sila'd lAGAq'e'sL** my hat is too tight on my head *L, with qi:d-anatomical:* **'uyAq'** (*or* **'uyAq'd**) **qi:dAGAxq'e'sL** my shoes are too tight < my feet are too big in them, for their interior *L. Transitive (causative):* **'isiLq'e'sL** I jammed, crowded you (in some place) *L,* **'u:dAX li' GALq'e's** squeeze it way back in there (e.g. under the bed) *L; with indeterminate O,* **'uyahd 'iGALq'e'sL** there is an ice-jam in it (river, choked with broken ice) *L, often with meaning 'S be thick (fill, permeate atmosphere)':* **'iGALq'e'sL** it (e.g. smoke, odor) is thick, gettick thick *L,* **'AdiXd 'iGALq'e'sL** it (e.g. odor) is getting overpoweringly thick indoors *M,* **xa:g 'iGALq'e'sL** steam is thick *M,* **GAdAq'Ayi:ny 'iGALq'e'sL** fog is thick *M,* **GAdAq'Ayi:ny 'isALq'e'sL** fog got real bad *L,* **sLa'dah gu:nLAchanh 'iGALq'e'sL** (the odor of) perfume is getting thick *M; reflexive, indirect reciprocal, with yAX 'downward' (?, or perhaps perambulative):* **'iLqa'X yAX 'AdiLiq'e'sLinu:** they're jammed, crowded together < they've crowded themselves down (?, about?) amongst each other *L;* **xuGAdAq'e'sL** I'm getting crowded (in here) *L,* **xusdiq'e'sL**, **xusLiq'e'sL** I'm crowded, jammed (in here by someone, something) *L.*

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LA-q'e's S squeeze (self) through tight places: **'u:dAX li' xsLiq'e'sL** I squeezed myself (way back) in there *L,* **'u:dAX 'a'q' GALAq'e'sL** it (e.g. cat) is squeezing out (of house, e.g. through slightly open door) *L.*

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dl-dA-q'e's *(with dl-thematic, see end of entry)* S (with horizontal surface) list, tilt, be not level *(perhaps passive of O-dl-L-q'e's)*: **dla:GAdAq'e'sL** it (table, floor, boat) slants, tilts *L. Transitive (causative, or perhaps base form) 'S make O (with horizontal surface) tilt':* **dla:siLq'e'sL** I tilted it (e.g. table, by putting something under leg) *L, with Xu' 'to finished shape,*

right straight': **Xu' dla:GALq'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 wedge O (stone)'.*

q'e'~q'e: *(perhaps related to q'e'2 and/or to be analyzed -q'-'e', with deleted reflexive o of o-q' 'on o' compounded with o-'e' 'in place of (absent) o', i.e. '(returning to, refilling) place on absent self', cf. Athapaskan *o-q'ə(-d), Eyak o-q'(-d) '(at rest, nominalization of) on o', Athapaskan *o-q'e(')-Ø, -X, -d, variously 'place where o have 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 k'é 'friend, kin' and other comparisons made under q'e'2; cf. especially also t'a'q'e'ch'~ under t'a'~, o-'e' 1b. under 'e'~; perhaps present also in personal names q'e'teh, q'e:dahd)*

q'e'~q'e:- *(preverb) (always with zero final, q'e:- 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 q'e'~q'e:- is clearly established as preverbial, always following, never preceding independent S, O, C or postpositional phrases; its position with regard to other preverbs is as follows: sometimes following other preverbs (form q'e'), sometimes preceding and not combined (form q'e'), sometimes preceding and combined (form q'e:-), 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 pv q'e', but q'e' pv and q'e:-pv not rare, see da:X, ta', tsa' (tsi'~), tse'-X (tsi'~), tsi:n' (tsi'~), lAG2, li', lah (la~na1), lah (la~na2), lu:1, with preverbs with initial q- or X- usually q'e' pv, relatively rarely pv q'e' or q'e:-pv, see qa'~qa:n, qa'ni:~, qAla', Xu'2, Xa:n', with preverbs with initial '- pv q'e', q'e' pv, and q'e:-pv with approximately equal frequency, see 'a'q'2, 'anh1, 'Ash2, and 'Ad-i-X ('e'~), and with preverbs with initial y- most frequently q'e:-pv, not rarely pv q'e', and relatively rarely q'e' pv, see ya'1,2, ya:n', ya:nahd (nahd), ya'X, yAX2,3, ya:X, yahd3, ya:nu' (lu'~nu'), yAq'1, ya:qa' (qa'~qa:n~qa:), with preverbial personal pronouns da: 'first person plural S', qa: 'first person plural O', and 'iLu' 'reciprocal O', q'e'~q'e: very rarely precedes, perhaps never precedes in natural style, and never precedes in combinatory form q'e:-) The meaning of q'e'~q'e:- 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 distinguish that is has not been considered practical here to classify most of the occurrences in subdivisions 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 reversal of which, or compensation for which, is indicated by the theme with q'e'~q'e:-:* a. *repetition by 'another' S (involving same O, C, o, where present), or involving 'another' O, C, or o (by same S, involving same other O, C, or o), where 'another' 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 find O', perhaps especially 'S recover 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 q'e'~q'e:- occurs with very high frequency in the corpus, in perhaps as many as seven hundred instances, most instances under 1a.-c. will be referred to only by the themes with which they are attested, with full citation for relatively few examples:

1a.-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. 'anh1 or a locative postpositional phrase, e.g. 'Ad'e'ch' 'home' is usually also present, the meaning of q'e'~q'e:- thus falling under b.(2), meaning c. also relatively infrequent:*: **LinhGih 'Aw q'e' sALt'i:k'L** he shot it once more *(b.(1)) 27b.14A,* **'anh LinhGihda' q'e' sdiyahL** he (next) went over to the other one *(a.(1)) 47c.44L,* **gu:dAg 'Aw LinhGih 'Awya'X q'e:yAX sAtsu:xLinh** she dipped another one down into it *(a.(1)) 35.85L,* **'Aw t'ahL giyahya'X yAX q'e' ti:lAtsu:x** dipped the feather down in the water again *(b.(1)) 48.10L,* **gu:dAg 'AdiX q'e' k'ushALdja'Linh, XAwa:** again he yanked something in, (this time) a dog *(a.(2)) 18.69L,* **q'e' k'uqu'xsheh** I'll kill something (else) *(a.(2)) 10.158, 158A,* **'Aw q'e' qa'shinhinu:** they're going to kill (another one of) those again *(a.(1)) 37b.16A,* **'anhdug q'e' shishehL** he too is (another) one I killed *(a.(1)) 55.16, 12, 26L,* **gu:dAg q'e' sdiqehL** he went (hunting, by boat) again *(b.(1)) 42.10L,* **q'e' sdiqehLinu:** they boated back home *(b.(3)) 37b.68A,* **'ahnu:da' q'e' sdiqehL** he boated back to them *(b.(2)) 47b.41M,* **q'e' li' sdiqehL** 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 especially 68.18-21, 33-34, 36-37, 42-43A and fns),* **ke:Lta:gXa' lAXa: q'e' qu'xdAqeh** I'll go some more (hunting, by boat) for seal (this time, previously something else) for you pl. *(a.(2) and/or b.(2)) 9.142A,* **k'ula:GiXa' q'e' wAX 'idit'inhinh** was already remarried to (living again with) another person *(a.(1)) 25.102A,* **k'uXa' q'e' wAX 'idit'eh** had been living with someone (same people) again *(b.(1) or b.(2)) 25.139A,* S C **q'e' dA-Le(')** S become C again *(b.(2)) 3.13, 17, 17M, 25.136, 139, 28.124, 51.10A, 63.40G, 68.34A,* S **dAXunh q'e' dA-Le(')** S become a person again, turn back into a person *(b.(2)) 19.16, 21a.31L, 38.12LM,* **lah q'e' sdiLe'L** S (another place) also became a town, it (place) became another town *(a.(1)) 68.54A,* **'Aw q'e:yAq' sAlAGLinh** he threw another on ashore *(a.(1)) 46.21M,* **q'e:yAX sAlAGL** threw him back down *(b.(2)) 40.11fnL,* **gu:dAg q'e' GAdA'a'ch'Linu:** they're going along some more again *(b.(1)) 18.34L,* **q'e' GAdA'a'ch'Linu:** they're on their way back home *(b.(2) or b.(3)) 18.3, 46L,* **gu:dig** o-**'a:n' q'e' shdi'a'ch'L** going along some more, they came upon o, going along they next came upon o *(a.(2) or b.(1)) 29.46, 48A,* o-**'a:n' q'e' shdi'a'ch'L** coming back they found her *(b.(2)) 9.159A,* o-**'a:n' q'e' dA-a** S, going along again, back, home, come 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 q'e' Xu' dAxLih** I'm building another house *(a.(1)) M,* **q'e' Xu' qu'xLih** I'll make, fix it again *(b.(1) or b.(2)) L,* **dik' q'e' 'u'xLAga'LGinh** I didn't recognize him *(b.(2)) L,* **k'ugu:nt'u'inu: 'u:da' q'e' shdi'a'ch'L** many more people arrived there *(a.(1)) L,* **q'e' GAta'** 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,* **q'e' siLtehL** I found it (pup) *(c.) L,* **Xi:da' q'e' siLtehL** I carried it (pup) yonder again, back yonder *(b.(1) or b.(2)) L,* **q'e' gu:nsiLyahL** I found it (vessel of liquid) *(c.) L, for further examples of c. see O-L-te, O-(L-)ta, O-(L-)'a 4., O-L-ya:'; for further examples of all meanings, see the following themes (where theme is followed by comma only, attestations with q'e'~q'e:- are*

from elicitations only, where followed by text number only, found only in text, where followed by comma, then text number, found both in elicitations and text): L-dAtl', -da 2a., 4c., 10.154A, 47.40L, O-L-duh, LA-ta'tl', -te 1.(5), O-L-te, 8.9A, 16.6M, 23.87, 90A, O-(L-)ta, 6.9M, 23.36, 37, 38, 44, 47, 49A, 34.70M, 45a.8L, 45b.8fnM, l-ta 24b.42A, 'u-'-(l-)ta 1. 25.124, 60.43A, Gl-ta´, 21a.39L, O-L-t'a'L~, dA-t'its', O-L-t'ik' 27b.14A, -t'e´~t'u´ 2b. 25.102, 139A, 56.6L, 68.61A, 3. 70.10A, 'i:lih--t'e´~-t'u´, 24.75A, l--t'e´~-t'u´, dlX--t'e´~-t'u´, O-tl'i 1c. 21a.29L, 2. 33.73, 74A, 42.10, 53.25L, -Le(') 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, L-dzu', G-L-dzu', d-L-dzu', O-L-tsinhd, -tsu'd~ 2a.20M, O-tsu:x, 34.85A, 48.10L, O-d-tsu:x, O-L-tsAX 65.4, 10A, O-tsin, 10.20, 11.173A, O-'-tsa (tsa1), LA-tsa', O-ts'AX 1., 34.86, 53.15L, O-'-(l-)L-ts'AX 43.7M, LA-ts'an´, O-siyu~ 25.164, 190A, O-djahGL 38.19LM, O-dja' 18.69L, d-che´, O-d-L-ch'a:q' 46.13, 18M, 68.123, d-ch'ehX, O-she 10.158, 158, 37b.16A, 55.16, 21, 26, ya:X Xdl-shuh 34.69M, O-gu'k', 'i-gwa´~, 'Ad O-gAwi´~, O-kihsh 2. 21a.28, 34L, O-'-lX-L-ki:nq' 72.9L, -ki:nX 1., d-L-k'a't', 40.11fn, 47c.41L, O-L-xut' 1., dA-xAX, 11.78A, dA-Gu', Gd-dA-Gu', O-'-d-L-qe'd-X, d-LA-qahG 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-X-qe 33.29A, O-qa (qa1) 48.10L, O-qa (qa2), y-L-qa (qa4) 50.47A, -qah (qah4), 25.135, 211, 212A, dl-dA-qu 46.32M, l-qu 1. 46.22M, 2. 21a.5, 21, 32L, Gl-qu´, O-'-q'e:' 68.33A, d-q'a, 'i-L-q'a 65.55, 57A, O-Xahd 1. 56.2L, O-L-Xahd 1., 34.109L, L-Xe'tl' 25.118, 124A, dl-Xa'tl', O-L-Xa'tl' 1. 16.22M, -Xe's~, -XAwa's~, O-L-Xa'Xch'-X, L-XAla:g 23.119A, O-'-Xa (Xa1), 24.100, 102A, -Xa (Xa2) 68.18, 19, 20, 36, 42, 60A, O-'-(l-)L-Xa´ 1a.-c. 10.110A, 1e.-g., 2. 9.80, 11.5A, C da-'(l-)L-Xa´ , gdl-~Gdl-wa'L~-wahL 34.113L, O-we'ts' 66.1L, -wus~ 7., -we, 27a.34L, 27b.45A, -'mahd, l-dA-ma´ 61.97, 98A,dA-'li'ts', -le'g~ 1a. 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-L-u'g~ 1a., O-lAG (lAG1) 40.11L, 46.21M, qe'-le' (le(')~) 1a., 2b., 10.162A, 'i-leh~ (le(')~) 1a. 57.7, 11G, 4d. 16.19M, 4f., 16.19M, 23.110, 110A, -le~ 1a. 28.140, 36.44A, 2.11.33, 25.206A, 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 1a. 1a.14, 1b.20, 47b.17M, 61.95A, 1b. 48.12L, tsin'd-le 1. 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~na1) 1. 21a.6, 37, 33L, 21b.25, 72A, 2. 49.19, 81A, 'u:nahd q'e:lu: 'idAla:k', O-'-L-la, 18.38L, O-'-yahd, dA-'yahG 2., 19.12L, -'ya 1b., 17., 10.201, 36.24A, 18a., 61.83A, 34a. 34.114L, 38. 28.125A, o-Xa' k'u-L-'ya 25.134, 173, 198, 203, 205A, d-'ya 1a., X-'ya, 7.39A, 14.1L, y-'ya 25.81A, Xdl-'ya 1., 23.69, 100, 25.93, 28.30, 37b.46, 47. 49.91, 97A, 55.18L, 'Ad-'i:lih-LA-'ya 2. 70.4A, 3., L-'ya (causative), O-L-'ya:' 9.76A, 45a.14, 56.10L, 65.16, 23A, O-'-(l-)L-ya:' 21b.59A, LA-'Adz 1., -'a'ch', 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, 33.85A, 34.72M, 38.26LM, 40.11L, 51.79A, 52.14L, 61.86A, L-'a'ch' 2., 10.49, 104, 11.203A, gdl-'a'ch' 33.86A, d-('i-)LA-'u'G, O-'e 2., 47a.5L, LA-'e 25.151, 152, 49.24, 25, 26A, O-dl-L-'e 9.70, 23.98A, 55.5L, (k'u-)G-'e~-'an 61.4, 17A, 'i-L-'e~-'an 1. 14.2L, 3. 68.124A, 6. 37a.4, 6L, 8., 46.19M, 9. 31.15, 49.19, 19L, 10a., 21a.26L, 21b.73, 76A, O-(L-)'a 11., LA-'a 2., O-L-(y)a, 10.74A, 15.7M, 65.50, 54A, O-X-a, 23.93, 93, 24.80, 81A, o-d O-X-L-a, dA-a´ 1., g-LA-a:n', most frequently with -a 'sg. S go' 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, L-a 10.104, 23.108A, gdl-a.

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2. *Exceptional instances violating one or more of the rules stated in introduction:* a. *combinatory from q'e:- immediately preceding verb, occasionally in elicitations and dictated texts, never verified as such, often rejected for q'e' in rechecking with L or M, apparently rare in taped texts from A, but clearly occurring e.g. in dik' 'a'd k'ugu:nt'u' q'e' 'AdALe:G 'they no longer are very numerous' 68.58A, and dik' 'ukuwa'na:GAyu:qa'ch' q'e' 'i:lihdAt'u:G '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 q'e:- 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 q'e' k'utsin'dAdAleh** again someone spoke *37a.6L, and* **gu:dAg giyahgu:nch' q'e' 'Ada:k'inh** again he used to go some more for water *48.7L, were originally transcribed q'e:-k'u-, q'e:-'A-, but later changed; examples in elicitation, mostly later changed:* **'iLu' q'e: qu'LAdAtl'** they'll hurt each other *L,* **'iLu' da: q'e: qu'dAgu'k'** we'll punch each other again *L,* **yAX q'e: 'u'GAdAyah** measure it again! *L,* **'idehdah q'e: da:dAq'a:g da:X** when it gets to burning well again *L, see further instance under 2b.*

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2b. *Irregular order*: (1) *preceding C, only in* **gu:dAg sahdX q'e:'Ashdih diLinhinh** he was gone a long time again *56.14L, where 'Ashdih might be interpreted as a preverb;* (2) *preceding postpositional phrases:* **q'e' qa:q'**, **q'e:qa:q'** some more upon us *70.4, 4A (uncertain, poetic, in song),* **q'e:da:X** some more against something *34.86L, in which da:X < o-X 'in contact with indeterminate o might be interpreted as a preverb,* **ya'Xu: q'e' ya:q' qu'LAki:nXinh** don't make him cry again *L, in which o-y-q' with deleted reflexive o 'on own hand' is apparently interpreted as a preverb, and in some elicitations which were intended for the investigation of the permissibility of such preverbial orders, including also first person plural and reciprocal pronouns:* **'iLu' da: q'e:'idigu'k'** *(first preference),* **da: 'iLu' q'e:'idigu'k'** *(second preference),* **q'e:'iLu' da: 'idigu'k'**, **q'e:da: 'iLu' 'idigu'k'** *(third preferences, "sounds OK too")* let's punch each other again *L,* **da: q'e:yAX 'idi'a'ch'** (*also, less spontaneously,* **q'e:da: yAX**, **yAX da: q'e'**, **yAX q'e:da:**, **da: yAX q'e'**) let's take a walk again *M, but with clear postpositional phrase the reaction is stronger:* **sich' q'e:ya'X GAts'AX** throw it back up to me! *M, second preference* **sich' ya'X q'e'**, *but* **q'e'sich' ya'X**, **q'e:ya'X sich'**, **ya'X q'e:sich'** *are probably unacceptable, "doesn't sound right; you'd know it was somebody who didn't know how to talk right" M; but* **q'e:'AdyAq'Ach' GAda'ya:Linh** he's coming to (back into self) *L, where 'AdyAq'Ach', though perhaps treated preverbially, is clearly to be interpreted as a postpositional phrase, yet never preceding 'AdiX 'in(to house)', which is otherwise generally treated as a preverb though in origin a postpositional phrase with reflexive o just as 'AdyAq'Ach', < 'Ad-'e'-X, see 'AdiX under 'e'~.*

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2c. *Thematized in combinatory form q'e:- and order preceding other preverb, such that the meaning of q'e:-pv differs partly from that of q'e' pv or pv q'e'*: **q'e:yAX dA-a+-'a'ch'** (sg.+pl.) S turn back; (sg.+pl.) S walk about again, *but* **yAX q'e' dA-a+-'a'ch'** (sg.+pl.) S walk about again *(not 'turn back'); see q'e:yAX 'turning back, backwards' under yAX3; q'e:yahd 'back out to sea; fall migration of salmon and fowl', see under yahd3; in both cases it is apparently the most frequent form, combinatory q'e:- preceding another preverb with initial y-, q'e:-y-, which takes on the specialized idiomatic meaning,and not q'e' y-, or y- q'e'.*

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2d. *Requiring vocalized classifier in formally transitive verbs: in O-'-(l-)L-ga´ 'S know O' perhaps in error, in O-X-a 'S eat O', (k'u-)GA-'e~-'an 'S can see', O-Xa' k'u-L-'ya 'S bother o' usually with thematized k'u-indefinite O with which verb is treated as intransitive; not attested as failingto vocalize classifier of instransitives or of transitives detransitivized with indeterminate O.*

q’e:’

O-**’-q’e:’** S try, attempt, test, take a chance, risk at O: **’a’q’e:’** try it (test it, attempt it)! *LMA,* **’Awa: k’u’q’e:’**, **’Awa: k’a’q’e:’** try one (of them)! *L,* **xu’q’e:’**, **xa’q’e:’** *(latter preferred)* try me out! *L,* **qa: ’a’q’e:’** try us out! *L,* **qu’xq’e:’** I'll try it *LM,* I'll take a chance on it, I'll risk it *L,* **’Aw ’a’q’e:’inh** *(rare non-umlauted form)* he's trying it *L, 24.43A,* **’u’siq’e:’L** I tried it *LM,* **’Aw ’u’sAq’e:’L** they tried them (eggs) *68.8A (d-class-mark for O missing),* **’Aw q’e’ ’u’sAq’e:’L** they tried that (spruce) next *68.33A (d-class-mark for O missing), with optative clause:* **sisa’ ’iliLts’in’tl’g ’u’sAq’e:’Linh** he tried to slap me in the mouth *L,* **’a’q’e:k’, ’AwgAlAt’a’X li’ ’i:yah** she (cust) tries to go in behind it (waterfalls) *25.79A,* **’Aw ’u’wAq’e:k’**, … **’u:dAX qä’ ’i:yah** he (cust) tries, to climb up out of there *28.27A, with gl-class-mark for O:* **ka:dj ’u’qu’gAli:xq’e:’** I'll try soup *L; reflexive* **’Adu’xdAq’e:’** I'm practising (e.g. making practice, trial runs for a race) *L,* **’Adu’qu’xdAq’e:’**, **’Adqu’xdAq’e:’** I'll try myself out, I'll practice *L, with qi:d-anatomical:* **q’Ale’ xu: ’uyAq’Ach’ ’Adu’qi:da:xdiq’e:’** now let *me* try them (shoes) on my feet) < now let *me* try my feet into them *L; passive:* **’Aw ’u’dAq’e:k’, ’u’dAq’e:k’, qa’ ’ididja’** it was (cust) attempted, it was (cust) attempted, to pull it (that it might be pulled) out *50.26A.*

q’e:’shk’ *(loan from Tlingit x̱’éšx’ʷ 'Steller's jay', partly onomatopoetic, widely diffused, see also kushk', q'e:shkuha:gu:~q'e:shkuXa:gu:)*

q’e:’shk’ *(noun, unclassified)* Steller's jay (Cyanocitta stelleri) *LA, locally called 'bluejay': 6.1M, 10.60, 83, 210A, 34.18L,* **q’e:’shk’yu:** *10.48A,* **q’e:’shk’Ayu:** bluejays *10.53A.*

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q’e:’shk’ya’ la’mahd *(noun, lX-class)* berry species *L,* cranberry species *A* < bluejay's berries *(probably calque on or influenced by Tlingit q’eškahágu, Eyak q'e:shkuha:gu: or q'e:shkuXa:gu:, q.v., informants associating, incorrectly, q'e:sh- with q'e:'shk').*

q’a

d-q’a *(with d-thematic 'fire, bright')* S burn: **dAsAq’ahL** it burned *M,* **’Aw dAq’a:g ’uXa’ k’udzu:dah dAsAq’ahL** his fire got to burning well *16.13M, Rezanov* Кадесокъальту 'Сожечь verbrennen' *to be read* **k’udAsAq’ahLduh** something burned! *or, with qa' 'up out',* **qa’ dAsAq’ahLduh** it burst into flame, **k’udAsAq’ahL** something burned down *L,* **dAGAq’a:L** it's burning *M,* **k’udAGAq’a:L** something is burning *L,* **de:ga’guw ’idiyah, ’Aw La’g, dA’Awgwa’ q’Aw dAq’a:k’** what size it is, the firewood, that's just how much it (cust) burns *65.46A,* **’i:ch’a:ch’ di:q’ah da:X** as it starts to burn toward you *34.66M,* **di’q’ah da:X** as it starts to burn *L, with class-marks for S:* **dAsAq’ahL** it (resin) burned *33.48A (d-class S),* **yahd dAsAq’ahL** house is on fire *L (d-class S),* **dAsAq’ahL** they (paddles) burned *33.51, 53A (l-class-mark for S missing),* **dla:sAq’ahL** it (paddle) burned *L,* **gAdAsAq’ahL** it (grass) burned *L (gd-class); repetitive:* **dAq’a:g** it's burning, fire is burning *L,* **’idehdah q’e’ da:dAq’a:g** as it starts to burn well again *L.*

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dAq’a:g *(noun, usually d-class, occasionally unclassified, 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* Такакъ 'Огонь Feuer', *Anonymous* Ткаакъ 'Огонь', Такак...ль *(form and gloss partly illegible)* 'Гора огне …' ('mountain with fire, volcano'), *Baranov* Ткаакъ 'Огонь', *Khromchenko* Тахакъ 'Огонь', *Wrangell* Такгакъ 'Feuer', *Furuhjelm* Takhak, *Galushia Nelson* ɒəqá·q 'fire' *BSdL 538,* **dAq’a:g disdilehL** fire fizzled, crackled, made a noise *(one's ancestors speaking) L,* **dAq’a:gda’luw** big fire *LM,* **dAq’a:g ’uX dAdAxu’tl’g** bellows, *see under xu'tl'~xitl'~xutl'~xAtl', Rezanov* Такакуэте 'Красной Feuerfarben, roth', *Khromchenko* Taro-

коетѣ 'Красный' **dAq'a:ggwä' 'i:t'eh**, *Furuhjelm* Takhahkvaite 'red' **dAq'a:ggwa' 'i:t'eh** it's red (like fire in color) *L, Anonymous and Baranov* Тыкакъ яли 'Красной' ('red') **dAq'a:g yiLeh** < it's fire, *as o of postpositions otherwise always with d-class-mark:* **dAq'a:gdAda:d** near the fire *6.10M,* **dAq'a:gdAdAGd** above the fire *24.23A,* **dAq'a:gdAlu'X** O-**L-'mahd** S cook O over, above (motion through (a hole in)) a fire *L, 25.38A,* **dAq'a:gdAlah** around the fire *57.16G,* **dAq'a:gdAch' 'ida'** sidle towards the fire! *L,* **dAq'a:gdAyAq'd** in the fire *M, see also* **dAq'a:gda:tl' 'AX**, **dAq'a:gdAwa:LX '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, dAq'a:gdAyAq' 'i:nAX k'uqu'dAda'ya:k'** way down below, you'll be tormented in (hell)fire *51.19A,* **Xi:d 'Al dAq'a:gyu:qa'ch' q'A'Aw qi'yiyah** you'll to amongst those yonder fires (Hell) *61.10A.*

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ya:q'd k'udAq'ah *(noun)* northern lights, aurora borealis *M, possible reading of Anonymous* Ятгытага 'Мольнія' ('lightning') *and Galushia Nelson* yát'qàɒàq'à *or* yát'qàɒàqà 'nothern lights *BSdL 538. Nominalized Active imperfective of d-q'a,* < something is burning in the sky.

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yahdqe'dAq'ah *(noun)* northern lights, aurora borealis *L. Cf. above, possible reading of BSdL form, but problematical to analyze, perhaps yahd qa' dAq'ah 'it burns up out to sea, in the south', or, conceivably, 'a house goes up in flames', or to account for vowel of qe', perhaps yahd qa' 'idAq'ah 'a fire is ignited out to sea', passive of O-(d-)L-q'a with indeterminate O.*

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O-**(d-)L-q'a** *(causative of d-q'a, irregular in that d-thematic 'fire, bright' is optional)* S burn, ignite O: **dAGALq'a'** light it (bonefire)! *L,* burn it! *M,* **di:Lq'a'**, **'ALq'a:** *L,* **'ALq'a'** set it afire! *LM,* **GALq'a'** burn it, set it afire! *L,* **dAGALq'a'** burn it!, ignite it!, kindle, light it (fire)! *L,* turn it (light) on! *L, Rezanov* Кеэкъальхао 'Сожги verbrennen (Imperat.)' **(q'e'?) GALq'a'uh** burn it (again?)!, **'Aw dAtl'a'g dAGALq'a'**, **'Aw dAtl'a'g GALq'a'** set that paper on fire! *L,* **qu'di:xLq'ah** I'll burn it *M,* **qu'xLq'ah** I'll ignite it *L,* **dik' qu'xLq'ahG** (*or* **-q'a:G**) I won't ignite it *L,* **k'udAGAxLq'ah da:X** when I make something burn *34.66M,* **dAsALq'ahL** it singed it *A,* **disiLq'ahL** I turned on a light *M, repetitive:* **'ALq'a:g** burn it!, keep it burning! *L, Rezanov* Кыльхакъ 'Огниво Feuerstahl' *perhaps to be read* **GALq'a:g** keep igniting it!, try to ignite it!, *with Xahd 'loss of covering (e.g. of hair, paint)':* **Xahd di:Lq'a:g** singe it (e.g. quills off porcupine)! *L,* **Xahd qu'di:xLq'ah** I'll singe it (porcupine) *M, with class-marks for O:* **'Aw gudALq'a:gk'** they (cust) burn them (spruceroot) *66.3L (g-class O), Rezanov* Ачкатеилькао 'Посвѣти leuchten' **… XAdi:Lq'a'uh** light it (candle)! *L (Xd-class O); passive Galushia Nelson* stɬqʾatɬ 'fire' *BSdL 538* **sLiq'ahL** it's been ignited, burned.

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dAdAq'a:g *(noun)* incense *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective repetitive of O-(d-)L-q'a,* < it is kept burning.

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dla:dAq'a:g *(noun, probably dl-class)* coal *67.7, 10G. As above, with dl-class-mark for O,* < they (stones) are kept burning.

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dide'L qi:dla:Lq'a:g *(noun, qi:l-class)* electric light wire *L*: **dide'L qi:dla:Lq'a:g 'u:dAX lAG qi:li:t'uxL** electric light wires stretch up (the inlet to Orca cannery) along there. *Nominalized 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.

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'i-L-q'a *(with indeterminate O thematized, and never with d-thematic)* S build, make, light a fire, keep a fire going < S cause indeterminate O to burn: **'iGALq'a'** light a fire! *LM, 68.93, 95A,* build a fire! *M,* make a fire! *L,* **'i:nLq'a'** start a fire! *L,* **'Aw ditl'a'gtl' 'iGALq'a'** light a fire with that paper! *L,* **'uyAXd 'iqe'yiLq'ah** (*or* **-q'a:**) you'll keep a fire going under it *65.43, 45A,* **'uyAX q'e' 'iqe'LAq'ah** you'll light another fire under it *65.55A,* **dik' 'uyAXd q'e' 'iqe'LAq'a:G** you won't keep any more fire going under it *65.57A,* **'iqe'xLq'ah** I'll light a fire *LM,* **'iGAxLq'a:L** I'm lighting a fire *L,* (**'Awahd**) **'isALq'ahL** he built a fire (for it, to roast it) *1a.10, 1b.12, 6.3M,* **'iqAsALq'ahL** they built a fire *16.7M,* **'isiLq'ahL** I lit a fire *LM,* **'i:Lq'ah** you may light a fire *L,* **'uyAXd 'i:nxLq'a:k'** I (cust) light a fire under it *65.16, 16, 17A,* **'uyAX 'iGAxLq'ah da:X** when I make a fire under them *65.19A, repetitive:* **'iLq'a:ginh** she's keeping a fire going *27a.39L,* **'uyAq'd k'u'Lq'a:g** someone is keeping a fire burning in it *L,* **'uyAXd 'iqe'yiLq'a:g** you'll keep a fire going under it *65.45A,* **dik' 'iqe'xLq'a:gG** I won't keep a fire going *L.*

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'uyAq' k'u'Lq'a:g *(noun, unclassified)* stove *L. Nominalized Active imperfective repetitive of 'i-L-q'a,* < someone keeps a fire burning in it.

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'uyAq' 'iq'a:gL *(noun, unclassified)* stove *L*: **'uyAq' 'i:q'a:gL qehX 'i:ndixahL** stove's clogged up with soot *LM, Old Man Dude* ùyùq'é'q'àq 'iron stove' *BSdL 546. -L-instrumental deverbalization of preceding.*

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'uyAq' q'a'L *(noun, unclassified)* stove, oven, *possible reading of Rezanov* Уекъкатль 'Печь, Печка Backofen', *stem q'a with L-instrumental.*

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Xdl-q'a S burn up, burn down, burn out, burn to a crisp, incinerate, *frequently, but not always, with ya:X 'consumption, destruction', which generally requires X-thematic*: **ya:X XAdla:sAq'ahL** they (radio tubes) burned out *60.47A,* **ya:X XAdla:sAq'ahL** it burned down, all up *LM,* **ya:X XAdla:Gi:q'ah**, **ya:X XAdla:yiq'ah** let it burn up *L, Rezanov* Яхатлякакатль 'Горѣть brennen' **ya:X XAdla:GAq'a:L** it's burning up, *Rezanov* Яхтлеилька 'Жарить braten' **yAX XAdli:Lq'a'**, **yAX XAdla:GALq'a'** *L,* **yAX XAdla:Lq'a:** fry it! *M,* **yAX XAdla:siLq'ahL** I fried it *M, with qa' 'up out':* **'anhtl' 'Aw qa' XAdla:sALq'ahLinh** he burnt it all up with (including) her *27a.47L,* **ya'Xu: xuqu'XAdli:nLq'ah** don't exorcize me, don't burn me in effigy *M,* **qa' XAdla:sALq'ahLinu:** they exorcized her (from e.g. promiscuity, infanticide, by burning some of her clothes) *L, repetitive:* **yAX k'uXAdla:xLq'a:g** I'm frying something *M,* **yAX XAdli:Lq'a:g**, **yAX XAdla:Lq'a:g** fry it! *L,* **dAdu:d sAsinhL 'ahnu: ya:X XAdli:Lq'a:gk'** whoever died they used (cust) to cremate *28.116A; with indeterminate O:* **sini:sq'yAX 'iXAdla:sALq'ahL** I feel like sneezing < it has burned under my nostrils *L,* **siyAq' qa' 'iXAdli:q'ah** *(probably in error for 'iXAdli:Lq'ah)* I have heartburn < it burns up out in me *(Neuter perfective) M (not verified); reciprocal:* **'iLu' q'uhnu: ya:X XAdla:LAq'a:gk'** they (cust) cremate one another *28.115; passive: see nominalizations below.*

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qi' qa: XAdla:sLiq'ahL *(noun)* funeral pyre, *probable reading of Galushia Nelson* qɪ'qa'xət'ła·a· stɬiq'atɬ 'pyre ("where- ? fire") *BSdL 546. Nominalized passive Active perfective,* < place where we, humans, have been burned.

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yAX XAdla:sLiq'ahL *(noun)* pancake *L. Nominalized Active perfective,* < it has been fried.

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’udAya’X yAX k’uXAdla:dAq’a:g *(noun, d-class)* frying-pan, skillet *L (same as shgu:lihdAG, but "too long a name"). Nominalized passive Active imperfective repetitive, with o-d-ya'X '(movement) in d-class o with broad opening at top',* < something is fried in it.

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o-**yAq’ qa’ Gdl-q’a** *(with o-yAq' 'in o', qa' 'up out' and Gdl-thematic)* o have heartburn: **siyAq’ qa’ GAdli:q’ahL** I have heartburn < it's burning up out inside me *(Neuter perfective) LM.*

q’a:dya:g *(unanalyzable, clearly to be segmented q'a:d-ya:g, perhaps further q'a:-d and/or ya:-g)*

q’a:dya:g *(attested only as locative)* into slavery: *attested only in* ***k’u’di’lahG xiLeh da:X q’a:dya:g ’iqe’xLteh*** "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.*

q’a:ch’

d-q’a:ch’ *(with d-thematic 'oral')* S have, get heartburn, indigestion, dyspepsia, discomfort in upper digestive tract, *also, perhaps, 'S have, get (discomfort from) water in nasal passages'*: **dishq’a:ch’L** I got uncomfortable feeling and am belching after eating greasy food; I got water up my nose *M,* I got heartburn, indigestion, from eating too much food that didn't agree with me *L.*

q’a:k’

q’a:k’- *(noun, unclassified) occurring only in* **q’a:k’qa’ah** *(noun, unclassified)* fishbones, the spine and ribs of fish, especially as cut out *LA, 65.4, 75, 76, 76A. To be analyzed either q’a:k’qa’ 'ah 'it extends, lies between q’a:k’', or q’a:k’ qa’ ’ah 'q’a:k’ extends up out'.*

q’ahs *(Rezanov Коасъ twice, Wrangell Коясъ, probably implying q’ʷahs, cf. Athapaskan *q’ʷʌs or *q’ʊs)*

q’ahs *(noun, Xd-class)* cloud *LMS*: *Rezanov* Коасъ 'Нѣбо ('sky') Himmel', *Anonymous* Кхаасъ 'Небо' ('sky'), *Khromchenko* Косъ 'Облако', *Wrangell* Коясъ *(perhaps originally Коасъ in ms., changed in course of publication)* 'Wolke', *both probably to be read* **q’wahs**, **q’ahsXAdAt’u’** lots of clouds *M,* **q’ahsXAdAsinh sLi’ahL** sun went behind a cloud *L,* **q’ahsXAdAsinhX** flying (movement) above (hidden by) the clouds *L,* **q’ahsXAdAyAq’** in the clouds *M,* **q’ahsXAda:tl’ ’iLqa:X sLi’ahL** clouds are dissipated, scattered *L,* **q’ahs XAdAGAwusL** clouds are moving, spreading over *L,* **q’ahs XAdi:we:sk’** it (cust) clouds over *M, Rezanov* Коасготесокоцль *(with г written over ъ)* 'Прояснѣваетъ es heitert sich (der Himmel) auf' *probably to be read* **q’wahs XAdAsAqAts’L** clouds split, *or perhaps* **q’ahs XAdAsAkuts’gL** clouds got small *M (uncertain),* **q’ahs la’q’ XAdi:chahs** clouds are thick *L,* **q’ahs ts’AGLga’ XAdAGAle:L** clouds is getting blackish *L,* **q’ahs XAdAGd** (there are) high clouds, clouds on high *M,* **q’ahs k’usALe’L** it got cloudy, clouded over < clouds, cloud cover came into existence *L, Anonymous* Кацкутля 'Мрачный день' ('gloomy day') **q’ahs k’u:Leh** there are clouds, *declassified in* **q’ahs ’idAGA’a:L** clouds are, cloud cover is moving *L, Anonymous* Касъ хатакатль 'Облака' **q’ahs ’iXAdAGA’a:L**, **q’ahs XAdAGA’a’L** clouds are forming *see 'i-d-'a. Harrington* q’áhstɑllάhqɑyyὺ 'old name for whites and Russians, "horizon people"' *G,* **q’ahsdAlahGAyu:** < cloud-dwellers, *not used by Cordova Eyak L, probably a calque on Tlingit gus’k’i qʷán 'white man, American' ('cloud-people', cf. Tlingit gús’ 'cloudy sky', see also Krauss (tr. Gunther 1956) 252, 258, Swanton RBAE 26:414), perhaps reinforced by phonological similarity to standard Eyak XAlahsdla:GAyu: 'white people, Americans'.*

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q’ahsdAlahGAyu:tsin’da’d *(place-name) Ocean Point, Russian Point* < cloud people tip *G (Harrington),* q’áhs tάllάhqὰyyùu 'Ocean (Russian) Point' *(name of Ocean Cape?, near Yakutat). (Probably calque on English 'Russian Point'.)*

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q’ahsdAlahGAyu:ya’ ma: *(place-name) Saltwater Lake* < cloud people's lake *G (Harrington),* k’ahs tαllαhqαyyuuyα’mâa 'name of salt water lake at GJ's smokehouse'. *(Probably a calque on Tlingit k’útsk’i-q^{w}án-’âγi guc’k’i q^{w}án ’áγi.)*

q’ahsh

q’ahsh *(noun, unclassified)* 1. bone (in meat, fish), bony food *LMS*: *41.4L, Rezanov* Къ-ашъ 'Кость Knochen', Къ-ашъ охсленель 'Костяной knochern' **q’ahsh wAX sLiniL**, **q’ahsh wAX sLiliL** it's made of bone < a bone has been made thus *L,* **q’ahsh yiLeh** bony food < that which is bony *41.1, 2, 11L,* **la’dih q’ahsh** two bones *L,* **q’ahshxah ’a’Le:** take the bone out, (de)bone it! *LS,* **q’ahshxahch’ ’Aw GALi:Linh** he's (de)boning it *L,* **’utsi’lAyAq’ya’ q’ahsh** bone inside fishhead < bone of the inside of its head *M,* **te’ya’ya’ q’ahsh** fish bones *46.3M.*

2. shell *(perhaps incorrect) in* **’i:nLxi:shk’ya’ q’ahsh** shell of red-abalone *L.*

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-q’ahsh S choke (especially on a bone): **Lidah xq’ahsh** I'm continually choking (on anything, but especially on a bone) *L,* **sAq’ahshLinh** he choked on a bone *L,* **siq’ahshL** I choked on a bone *L, cautionary negative Inceptive imperative* **’iXa’ q’AGAq’ahshGinh** don't let him (baby) choke "on" you! *L.*

q’ah~q’a:~q’A *(q'a: presumably expanded form of stem, q'A reduced; perhaps related to q'Ale', q'Adi1,2, q'e:, and/or q'2)*

q’ah~q’A- *(exclamation or exclamatory proclitic, L rejects proposed *dAq'ah with dA-* 'ipse'*; reduced form q'A- 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’lAGALga’ q’ah**, **’u’la’Lga’ q’ah** learn it (finally)! *L,* **Xa:ne: q’ah** eat it already! *L,* **Xa:n’ k’uXAGa:’ q’ah** finish eating already! *L,* **Xa:n’ Ga’ya’ q’ah** get ready (finally)! *L,* **di’LAGa’ q’ag** pipe down already! *L,* **’Atsu’d q’ah** now go to sleep! *L,* **k’Adzu: ’a’Le: q’ah** be good (finally)! *L,* **’u:ch’ ’iya’ q’ah** go there (finally)! *M; with emphatic enclitics to verb (cf. 1a.(4)):* **’Aw ’a’Lq’e:’uh q’ah** count it (finally)! *L,* **’iya’duh q’ah** now go (finally)! *L.* (2) *With optative:* **da: Xa:n’ ’i:’yah q’ah** let's get ready to go (finally) *L.* (3) *Without verb:* **duga’ q’ah** (that's, let that be) enough (by) now! *L; Rezanov* Калля 'Прощай ('goodbye') lebe wohl! (Abschiedsformel)', *Anonymous* Калла 'Прощай' ('goodbye') ***q’ah la:**, ***q’ah lah** *(cf. 1b. and 1c. below).* (4) *Following forms with enclitic -nuh, see under nuh.*

1b. *Clause-initial, with enclitic -sh-interrogative*: (1) **q’ahshuw** ready to go?, ready (for anything)? *L,* **q’ahsh Xa:n’ ’i:’yahL** are you ready to go (now)? *L,* **q’ahshuhla:** ready to go?, goodbye? *L (cf. 1a.(3), 1c.(2), 'lah~'la:),* **q’ahshuw Gi:’eh** do you (finally) see it? *71.3LM,* **q’ahshAw ta’d qa:nch’ yiLya:’** are you rinsing it (finally)? *L, Rezanov* Кажетенстекузль ‘Умывался ли? hast du dich gewaschen’ **q’ahsh ’Adi:nsdikusL** have you (finally) washed your face? *L,* **q’ahshuh sich’ qu’yiLtah** will you (finally) give me that (cat)? *L.* (2) *With q'-emphatic following in clause, 'by now, apparently, no doubt':* **q’ahsh q’Aw**, **q’ahshuw q’Aw** by now, no doubt, presumably *11.10A,* **q’ahsh ’Aw dAni:gihshunh q’Aw, ’Aw Lqa’t’g** by now that moose no doubt, she's cooking it *27b.26A,* **q’ahsh dAtli:shuh q’uw** apparently by now already *10.135A.*

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1c. *Clause-initial, with enclitic -d-emphatic*: (1) **q'ahdAw** finally *33.54A,* **q'ahduh qu'xah** I'm going now < by now I'll go, I'll finally go *L, with -uh reduced to -A-, combined with following form:* **q'ahdAk'Adzu:** (it's finally, this is finally a) real good (one) *M, most frequently combined with q'-emphatic (L rejecting proposed forms without -d-enclitic, *q'ah q'Aw and the like) 'finally, by now, at last', or often with weakened meaning '(by) this time really)':* **q'ahdAq'Aw 'Awga' sdiya'L sich' 'Aw 'i:Ltehga'** finally it's big enough to give to me *L,* **q'ahdAq'Aw qu'xqeh** well, I'm going now (by boat) *L,* **q'ahdAq'unh sAga'L** he's tired *L,* **q'ahdAq'uhnu: sAga'L** they're tired *L,* **q'ahdAq'uw xuGi:Lga'L** I'm tired of you < you're tiring me by now *L,* **q'ahdAq'Aw yAXdAq'ehXq'd GALe'L** it (level of fish) is getting down to the bottom (of barrel) *L,* **q'ahdAq'Aw xusALga'L, 'ulah 'Awa:** I'm tired of drinking it < it has tired me by now, drinking it *L,* **q'ahdAq'Aw ya' xuyAshAshehL** it really just about killed my arms (carrying it so long) *L,* **q'ahdAq'Aw Lich' ya'** (*or* **yAX**) **sAkugL** it's broken for good (this time, finally) *L,* **q'ahdAq'Aw lAXxsLixahsL** I really got scared *L.* (2) *Combined with 'lah~'la: (cf. 1a.(3), 1b. above): -'uh of enclitic not reduced: Galushia Nelson* qatu·la· 'goodbye' *BSdL 554* **q'ahduh la:**, **q'ahdu'la:** *(former later rejected)* well, I'm ready to go now, goodbye *L, -uh- > -A-, -A-'- > -i'-:* **q'ahdi'lah** goodbye *LMA.*

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2. *Full form freely varying with reduced proclitic form, reduced proclitic form more frequent, preceding or proclitic form more frequent, preceding or proclitic to verb or preverb or postpositional phrase, required in two types of construction:* a. *in cautionary negative Inceptive imperative(? including 3s) (cf. TL "admonitive") clauses: reduced proclitic q'A-*: *to verb:* **ya'Xu: 'Aw xut'L q'AGALxut'Ginh** let him not shoot that gun! *L,* **'Aw q'AGi:sehdG** don't trip over it! *L,* **'Aw che:y/ka:dj q'AgAlAGALAqa't'gG** don't let that tea/soup boil! *L,* **'u:dAX q'AyAlAGAdAma:G** don't make the mistake of going (along) there! *L,* **ya' lAXi:Ltsi'ya'ts'L q'AXAGi:ya:G** don't eat any rotten fruit! *L,* **'Aw q'AXAGa:Ginh** let him not eat it! *L,* **qid q'AdAGALAqahGG** don't fall off! *L,* **'iXa' q'AGAq'ahshGinh** don't let him choke on you! *L,* **'AwlAX q'A'iGALA'a:nGinh** don't let him see it! *L,* **dAmAXch'LdA'e' q'AGi:ya:G** don't fall through hole in ice! *L,* **si'e:X q'A'u'dAGi:Lqe'dXGinh** don't ask him about me! *L, proclitic to preverb:* **'anh sAqe:ts'Akih 'iXa' q'Aqid dAGALAqahGG** don't let your baby fall off! *L,* **'Aw XAwa: q'AyAX GAda:G** don't let that dog walk around! *L; full form, preceding verb:* **'Aw q'ah Gi:sehdG** don't trip over it! *L,* **'Awla'd q'ah lAGi:Xa'tl'G** don't trip and fall over it! *L, preceding postpositional phrase:* **k'ushiyah q'ah 'ula'X dAGi:Lya:Ginh** don't anger him! *L.*

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2b. *In prohibitive clauses with ya'Xu: and gerundive,* no -ing!, *attested several times, but in Rezanov only, twice as хъ-a, twice as хъ-, once as къ-a, once as къ, preceding preverbs where present, for instances see ya'Xu: at end of article.*

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dA-q'A-da'-ya: *(noun) (attested only as C or as attribute, probably dA-* 'ipse'*, -q'A- reduced form of q'ah or q'e:, -da'- probably to be identified with qa'4, ya: 'one, thing', cf. 'i-da'-ya:- 'that of proper, tolerable degree' in 'ida'ya:lAX 'excessively', 'ida'ya:'u'X 'insufficiently')* old (one): **dAq'Ada'ya:** old, an old (not new) one *L,* **dAq'Ada'ya: 'AX** old boat *L,* **dAq'Ada'ya: yahd** old house *L,* **dAq'Ada'ya: dAGALe'L** it (car) is getting old *L; invariable and not occurring without -ya: L.*

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dAq'Ada'ya:lah *(place-name) Old Town (at Cordova) L.*

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q'a:-ya: *(noun) (q'a: 'now' and ya: 'one, thing', cf. dA-q'A-da'-ya:)* new (one): *not in reference to classified nouns: Rezanov* Къ-айя 'Новой neu' **q'a:ya:** new *M,* **q'a:ya: sich' GAta'** give me a new one! *L; with class-mark as attribute to classified noun:* **q'a:dAya: yahd** new house *L.*

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q’a:-l *(adverb) (-l conceivably to be interpreted as part of stem-variant, cf. q'Ale', 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 q'a:li…, cf. 'Al~, ts'Alih~ts'Al, ch'Alih~ch'a:n)* 1. now, in, at the present, nowadays, at this moment, very soon, just a short while ago, *tout à l'heure* a.: **q’a:l** right now *L,* now (at this moment) *11.32, 25.113, 62.16, 68.57, 70.10, 24A,* now (very soon) *2&b.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’ q’a:lG** not (right) now *25.114A,* **q’a:lsh** (do you mean) now(-adays)? *68.68A,* **q’a:l ’Awa:** nowadays however *62.10, 64.13G, 65.82, 82, 68.74A,* **tli: gAli:tl’eh da:X q’a:l ’Awa: dik’** the water was (once) cold, but not now though *M,* **q’a:l ne:tl’da:X** now for the first time *36.29A,* **q’a:l ne:tl’da:X k’uqu’xdAlah** this is my first drink < now I'll drink something for the first time *L,* **dik’ q’a:l k’uXAxahG** I'm not eating anything now *L, Rezanov* Калеллякахоль 'Молодой jung' **q’a:li… lAGAx[a:]L**, **q’a:l lAGAxwa:L** he's, it's still (now) growing *L,* **q’a:l yi:nhinu: sAqe:GAyu:** present-day children, those who are now children *68.75, 77, 77A (cf. q'a:l sAqe:GAyu: under 2b. below); with proclitic dA-* 'ipse'*:* **dAq’a:l** right now *M.*

1b. *With -kih 'diminutive' as o of o-ga' 'like o', used adverbially (cf. ne:tl'-kih-ga'),* just a short while ago: *11.95A,* **q’a:lkihga’ ’a:nda’ sahLinh** he just arrived here *M.*

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1c. *As noun, o of o-ga' 'like o'*: **dik’ q’a:lga’G** (it was) not like (it is) nowadays *60.3A.*

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2. *As attribute to nouns or other adverbs* a. *as attribute to temporal adverb or noun used adverbially,* this, to- (of this day): **(q’a:l) XAtl’ k’ulAX ’iqe’yiL’eh** you'll see something tonight *L, Rezanov* Калетлеильтава 'Рано frühe', *probably to be read* **q’a:li… tli:dAwa:** this morning, **q’a:lgah** *(written as compound)* today *M, 25.113A,* **sitl’ ’u’GAXa’ k’e:d q’a:lgah yileh** tell me what you did today! *L,* **dik’ q’a:lgah Xu’ ’u’qu’di:’a:G** it won't be setteled today *L.*

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2b. *As attribute to nouns designating humans,* young, in prime, not old: *Khromchenko* Канакешъ 'Дѣвка' ('girl') **q’a:nA qe’L** woman in her prime < woman now, **q’a:l sAqe:ts’Akih** young person, youngster *3.17M, 42.1, 55.8L, 61.104A (idiomatic, not as literally 'young child' but rather 'young adult, older child, late adolescent'),* **q’a:l sAqe:GAyu:** young people, young adults *51.74, 61.100, 100A (idiomatic, as preceding, cf. also q'a:l yi:nhinu: sAqe:GAyu: under 1a.),* **q’a:l Lila:’** young man *53.6L,* **q’a:l Lila:’GAyu:** men in their prime *28.129A, Furuhjelm* Khalilna 'young', *to be read either* **q’a:li(…)Lina:’** *(archaic, > q'a:l Lila:'), or* **q’a:linah**, *see following: (combined with lah 2b. under la~na1)* **q’a:lilah** a youth in her prime *32.19A,* **q’a:lAlah** young (not full grown) person *L,* middle-aged person *M,* **q’a:lAlah yiLeh** he's young *M,* **q’a:lAlahGAyu:** *L,* **q’a:lAlahyu:** people in the prime of life *51.74A, with -kih 'diminutive':* **q’a:lilahkih** a young person (woman in her ealry twenties) *61.104A.*

q’a’1 *(perhaps to be identified with q'a'2)*

-q’a’ *(noun, perhaps d-class)* edge: **’uq’a’** its edge (e.g. of box) *L, with classified nouns:* **yahddAq’a’da:q’dAX yAX da:X** he's walking about on the edge of (the roof of) the house *L,* **tsa’LdAq’a’** knife-edge *L,* **’ulAq’a’** its edge (of axe-blade) *L,* **’itl’lAq’a’** "corner" of mountain, horizontal ridges (shoulder) of mountain *L.*

q’a’2 *(perhaps to be identified with q'a'1)*

O-**q’a’** S set 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 Le’t’ GAq’a’** set that box on its side! *L,* **qu’xq’a’** I'll set it (as prop) behind it *L,* **’u:dAX ’Aq’a’** prop it (e.g. tent-flap

with stick) < set it (stick) at angle as prop along there! *L,* **qAGAxq'a'L** I'm standing them up (e.g. books) *L, with class-marks for O:* **'u:dAX di:q'a'** 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:dAX qAdi:q'a'** set them (boards) as props (for e.g. tent-flaps) along there! *L, with lX-anatomical:* **lAXi:q'a'Linh** he's crosseyed *LM (Neuter perfective),* **lAXAGAxq'a'L** I'm (getting?) crosseyed *L,* **qu'lAXi:xq'a'** I'll get crosseyed *L; reflexive:* **'u:dAX 'AdGAdAq'a'Linh** he's leaning against there *L, with l-class-mark:* **'Ad-lAGAdAq'a'Linh** he's got his head tilted, inclined to one side *L, with perambulative and anatomical marks:* **yAX 'AdyAdAq'a'X** he's twisting, bending his wrist about *L,* **yAX 'Adqi:dAdAq'a'X** he's twisting, bending his feet, ankles about *L; passive:* **sdiq'a'L** it's been put (as prop) behind it *L, see also dA-q'a' below.*

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dA-q'a' S be, become set sideways (at angle, especially right ankle, 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-q'a')*: **'uq' 'isda'L 'u:d GAdAq'a'L** a chair lies on its side there *L,* **yahdAya'da'X 'u:d GAdAq'a'L** (a beached) boat lies on its side there *L,* **'iXu:nLAyah 'iya: GAdAq'a'L** your tooth is coming in wrong, crooked *L, with class-marks for S (or O?):* **dla:GAdAq'a'L** rock is set sideways, on its side *L, see also nominalizations below. Transitive (causative, meaning not clearly distinguished from that og O-q'a', but perhaps more properly also basic transitive):* **qAGAxLq'a'L** I'm standing them up (e.g. books) *(same as qAGAxq'a'L) L; reflexive, with qi:d-anatomical and perambulative:* **yAX 'Adqi:dALAq'a'Xinh** he (baby) is turning his feet about, soles together *L.*

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lAGAdAq'a'L *(noun, l-class)* axe, hatchet *LM*: *18.10L, Rezanov* Лякатакъ-атль 'Топоръруской russische (eiserne) Axt', *Furuhjelm* Nakhatakhal **naGAdAq'a'L**, *Galushia Nelson* lə́qə́ɒə́q'ὰ·tɬ 'axe' *BSdL 547,* **lAGAdAq'a'L sich' li:'a'** *(twice),* **lAGAdAq'a'L sich' 'A'a'** (*or* **-ta'**) give me an axe! *L,* **lAGAdAq'a'L 'u:d 'i:nsA'ahL**, **lAGAdAq'a'L 'u:d lAsA'ahL** *(not -tahL, twice)* an axe is there *L,* **lAGAdAq'a'Lluw** big axe *L,* **lAGAdAq'a'Lyu:** axes, axes etc. *28.58A;* **'iLq'Asd lAGAdAq'a'L** double-bladed axe *('iLq'Asd 'at opposite ends, both ends, sides') L;* **lAGAdAq'a'Ldla:Lte'** axe-handle *L. Nominalized Inceptive perfective of dA-q'a', with l-anatomical 'head' or archaic class-mark for 'stone',* < it (stone, head) is set sideways.

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dla:GAdAq'a'L *(noun, probably dl-class)* crevice in rock (formed by rock set or leaning sideways) *L. Nominalization, as above, with dl-class-mark for 'stone'.*

q'a'3

O-**L-q'a'** 1. S give, present, offer, bequeath O to person of oppostite moiety at funeral potlatch: **'ALq'a'** present it (to person of opposite moiety at funeral potlatch)! *A,* **siLq'a'L** I presented it (etc.) *A,* **qu'xLq'a'** I'll present it (etc.) *A,* **'Aw 'i:Lq'a'wahd** in order to present it (etc.) *A; Galushia Nelson* sətɬqätɬ 'widow or widower' *BSdL 543, perhaps to be read* **sALq'a'L** 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 perambulative,* S direct, call O (square dance, dancers) *(earlier meaning probalby 'S direct O (ceremony) about, as master-of-ceremonies')*: **'Aw yAX LAq'a'Xinh** he's calling at a square dance, directing it; *see also nominalization below.*

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yAX k'uLAq'a'Xinh *(noun, unclassified)* square-dance caller *L. Nominalized of 2. above,* < he (who) directs something, people about, acts as master-of-ceremonies.

q’a’4

q’a’ *(noun, unclassified)* 1. thick bushes (of any kind, e.g. alders, willow), thicket, heavy underbrush *LM*: **xan’Lq’ qi’ q’a’ sALe’L** place where it got very bushy *L,* **q’a’wAlahyu:** alder(-thicket) people *(mythical race) L.*

2. twig of bush, stick from bush: *18.3L,* **XAdi:yanh q’a’** sharp stick (for use as roasting-stick, skewer) *L.*

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-d-L-q’a’ *(noun, unclassified)* stem of plant *and/or perhaps* non-edible part of edible plant: **cha:shdALq’a’** Hedysarum-stems *(part of plant above ground with edible tuber root) L,* **cha’tl’dALq’a’** blueberry-stems *L,* **ch’atl’dALq’a’ k’u’a:w** blueberry stems are long *L.*

q’a’ts’1

q’a’ts’ *(noun)* 1. *(unclassified)* (mature) salmonberry bushes (Rubus spectabilis) *LM*: **q’a’ts”At’u’** lots of salmonberry bushes *L.*

2. *(d-class)* old woody salmonberry bushes *LMA*: **q’a’ts’dAt’u’** lots of old woody salmonberry bushes *M.*

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q’a’ts’la’mahd *(noun, lX-class)* salmonberries < q'a'ts'-berries *LMAS, 43.19M, Rezanov* Кацляматъ 'Малина Himbeere'.

q’a’ts’2 *(perhaps related to q'Ats'1)*

-y-q’a’ts’ *(noun, unclassified) (with y-anatomical 'hand, arm')* hand, forepaw: **siyAq’a’ts’** my hand(s) *MA,* my hands, forepaws *18.16, 17L, Rezanov* Скацльтукъ 'Выжалъ presste' *perhaps to be read* **s[iyA]q’a’ts’ Ldu’k’** he's squeezing my hand, **siyAq’a’ts’ siya: Lts’ahLk’** my hand throbs *L,* **siyAq’a’ts’ch’ dla:XAxit’eh** I'm looking at my hand *L,* **siyAq’a’ts’X shiLshehL** I killed it with my hands *L,* **’iyAq’a’ts’X** with your hand *L,* **’iyAq’a’ts’t’e’ts’G da:X ’iqe’xLtl’ih** I'll tie you up by your hands *L,* **’uyAq’a’ts’** 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,* **dA’uyAq’a’ts’** his very own hands *32.39A,* **k’Adzu:Lch’a:d ya: ’uyAq’a’ts’** his right hand *61.45, 46A,* **’uyAq’a’ts’X** with his hand *L,* **’uyAq’a’ts’ch’ dla:Xi:t’inhinh** he's looking at his hands *L,* **’uyAq’a’ts’luw** his big hands *M,* **k’u’a:w ’uyAq’a’ts’ ’Awa: qid dAsAkugL** the minute hand broke off < its long hand broke down off *L,* **’anhyAq’a’ts’ch’ dla:Xi:t’inhinh** he's looking at his (another's) hands *L, Rezanov* Каякъ-ацъ 'Рука Hand (Arm)', *Anonymous* Кайкацъ 'Рука и руки' ('hand and hands'), *Baranov* Каикацъ 'Рука' ('arm'), *Khromchenko* Каяцъ *(in Ahtna column)* / Каякуцъ 'Руки' ('hands'), *Furuhjelm* Kaiekhatz 'arm' **qa:yAq’a’ts’** our hands, human hand, **k’udzu:Lch’a:d qa:yAq’a’ts’** our right hand *61.55A, Galushia Nelson* k’úyàqà·tc 'hand' *BSdL 541* **k’uyAq’a’ts’** (someone's) hand *L,* **la’dih k’uyaq’a’ts’** two hands *M,* **k’uyAq’a’ts’ch’ dla:Xi:t’inhinh** he's looking at someone's hands *L,* **qe’yiLtehyAq’a’ts’** whale-hand *(lapse for qe'yiLtehlAqah 'whale-head' 12.13G).*

,

y-LA-q’a’ts’ S have hands: **siga’ yiLiq’a’ts’inh** he has hands like me, mine *L,* **’AwlA’e: yiLiq’a’ts’inh** he has strange, different, abnormal hands *L.*

,

-l-q’a’ts’ *(noun) (with l-anatomical 'head, face') attested only in Harrington G,* jaw, angle of jaw: síllāqq’ὰ’ts’ 'my lower jaw or back angle thereof' **silAq’a’ts’.** *Unknown to L, perhaps influenced by Tlingit x̱’áx̱’ 'jaw'.*

q’a’k’1

O-**L-q’a’k’** S splay, split O open *(used especially of fish, cf. shehX)*: *65.40A,* **GALq’a’k’** *L,* **’ALq’a’k’** split it (e.g. fish, porcupine, seal) open! *LMA,* **ya:’a:gAga’ ’ALq’a’k’** split it (stick) half-way (through half its length, to make forked stick for pulling spruceroot through to peel spruceroot)! *L,* **qu’xLq’a’k’** I'll split it (fish) open *L,* **te’ya’ siLq’a’k’L** I split a fish open *L,* **’iLd Gi:Lq’a’k’ da:X** when you've split them apart *65.41A, with anatomical marks:* **qu’li:xLq’a’k’** I'll split its head open *L,* **qu’ku:li:xLq’a’k’** I'll split its belly open, open it (fish) ventrally *L,* **ku:li:Lq’a’k’, te’ya’ ku:lAGALq’a’k’** split it (fish) open ventrally! *L,* **te’ya’ ku:nsiLq’a’k’L** I split a fish open ventrally *L, with d-class-mark for O:* **ya:’a:gAga’ di:Lq’a’k’** split it (board) half-way (through half its length)! *L,* **lis dALq’a’k’** it (lightning) splits a tree *L; passive:* **sdiq’a’k’L**, **sLiq’a’k’L** it (fish) has been split open *L, with d-class-mark for O:* **ye:t’ disLiq’a’k’L** wild celery has been split *L.*

q’a’k’2 *(uncertain, perhaps lapse for q'a)*

qa’ O-**d-q’a’k’** *(attested only with qa' 'up out' and d-, perhaps thematic)* S (sun) burn, parch O (vegetation): **qa’ dAsAq’a’k’L** it (sun) burned the vegetation (too hot, drought) *L. Not verified, perhaps momentary lapse for dAsAq'ahL.*

q’a’k’~q’a’q’ *(form uncertain, perhaps to be identified with, or influenced by q'a'k'1 and/or q'a'k'2)*

o-**yAq’ qa:nch’ d-q’a’k’~q’a’q’** *(with o-yAq' 'in o', qa:nch' '(continuously) up out', and d- thematic 'oral')* S choke: **siyAq’ qa:nch’ dAGAxq’a’q’L** (*the following day:* **-q’a’k’L**) I'm choking *("my windpipe feels like it's splitting") L.*

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(O?)-**d-L-q’a’k’** *(perhaps causative of preceding, perhaps with d-class-mark for O)* S (impersonal?) choke O (throat), *or* S (throat) choke: **sidAga’q’L dAGALq’a’k’L** I'm choking < my throat is choking *or* it's choking my throat *L.*

q’a:’s1 *(perhaps to be identified with q'a:'s2)*

-q’a:’s-g *(attested only with -g-repetitive, perhaps thematized, perhaps transitive as below)* S make clicking, clucking sound (apical or lateral click) in surprise (at O?): **xq’a:’sg** I'm making a clicking sound *L,* **siq’a:’sgL** 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. 'Ad-LA-q'a:'s(-g) under q'a:'s2.*

,

O-**q’a:’s-g** *(as preceding, clearly transitive)* S make clicking sound (apical or lateral click) at O in surprise: **’Aw q’a:’sginh** he's clicking at it (in surprise, not in disapproval or regret) *L.*

,

dA-q’a:’s-g *(as preceding, perhaps the only proper intransitive form)* S make clicking sound (apical or lateral click): **sdiq’a:’sL** he made a clicking sound *L.*

q’a:’s2 *(perhaps to be identified with q'a:'s1, partly confused wiht q'a:'sh)*

O-**q’a:’s-g** *(attested only with -g-repetitive, probably thematized, stem once -q'a:'s- and once, perhaps incorrectly, -q'a:'sh-, or influenced by q'a:'sh)* S straighten O out by stretching, *attested only with l-class-mark for O*: **tl’A’a:G siXa’ lAxq’a:’sg** I'm straightening my (crooked, bent) basket out *L,* **tl’A’a:G ’iXa’ li:q’a:’shg** straighten your basket out! *L.*

,

'Ad-LA-q'a:'s(-g) *(with -g-repetitive partly thematized, reflexive of unattested O-L-q'a:'s)* S stretch self (e.g. upon awakening) extend limbs: **'AdxLAq'a:'s**, **'AdxLA'q'a:'sg** I'm stretching myself (e.g. after sleep) *L,* **'AdxsLiq'a:'sL**, **'AdxsLiq'a:'sgL** I stretched *L,* **'AdLAq'a:'sginh** he (very small baby) is extending and moving his arms and legs *L, with perambulative:* **yAX 'AdLAq'a:'sX** I'm stretching (my limbs about, after sleep) *L. Stretching oneself was considered bad manners for adults Eyaks L; cf. q'a:'s1.*

q'a:'sh

-q'a:'sh S be, become stiff, rigid *(attested only in Active imperfective, not freely used, meaning not clearly distinguished from that of LA-q'a:'sh 1. below)*: **sik'ahsh siya: shAq'a:'shL** my leg is, got stiff (I can't bend it) *L.*

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LA-q'a:'sh 1. S be, become stiff, rigid, cramped, paralyzed: **sLiq'a:'shL** it's stiff (of e.g. meat, corpse, cloth) *L,* **Xu' sLiq'a:'shL** it (any corpse) has completely stiffened (with rigot mortis) *L, with perambulative (?):* **yAX sLiq'a:'shLinh** his hand is cramped and paralyzed (with or without atrophy) *L,* **yAX xsLiq'a:'shL** *(perhaps transcribed in error for yixsLiq'a:'shL with y-anatomical)* my hand is paralyzed and cramped (from holding on so tight) *L.*

2. *With o-lu' qa' 'up out of, through hole in o',* tight S leave pressure-mark on (skin of) o: **siyAlu' qa' shLiq'a:'shL** it (e.g. watchband) left a red mark on my wrist *L, with d-class-mark for S:* **siyAlu' qa' dishLiq'a:'shL** it (ring) left a red mark on my finger *L.*

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O-**L-q'a:'sh-g** *(causative of either -q'a:'sh or LA-q'a:'sh, attested only with (partly thematized) -g-repetitive)* S press O flat, iron O, crease O (with pressure): **'ALq'a:'shg** iron it!, press it flat!, crease it! *L,* **qu'xLq'a:'shg** I'll iron it, press it flat *L; passive, nominalized with -yu: 'plural':* **sLiq'a:'shgLyu:** pile of ironed clothes *L.*

,

O-**'-(l-)L-q'a:'sh** *(with l-thematic dropped in passive Active perfective)* S crease O: **'u'li:Lq'a:'sh** crease it! *L; passive:* **'u'sLiq'a:'shL** it's been creased *L.*

,

o-**lah qa'** O-**'-y-LA-q'a:'sh** *(attested only with o-lah qa' 'up out around o' and y-anatomical, semantically intransitive, third person object thematic)* S's hand be, become cramped, paralyzed around o (from gripping o long): **'ulah qa' 'u'yixsLiq'a:'shL** 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.*

,

'uX k'uq'a:'shgL *(noun)* pressing-iron *(L-instrumental deverbalization)* < by means of it something is pressed *L.*

q'a:n'd

LA-q'a:n'd S leave in a huff, angry: **GAxLAq'a:n'dL** I'm leaving in a huff, going home mad, stalking out offended *L, with perambulative:* **yAX LAq'a:n'dX** he's going around mad (e.g. at one person) and won't talk to anybody *L (also interpretable as perambulative of O-L-q'a:n'd below). Transitive (causative):* **xuqu'yiLq'a:n'd** you'll make me get mad and stalk off *L.*

,

O-**L-q'a:n'd** S leave O in a huff: **siLq'a:n'dL** I left it (e.g. food) and walked away mad (not necessarily in anger at the food itself) *L.*

q’u´ *(confused with q'u' bu M only; conceivably related to q'u'2)*

L-q’u´ S be, become damp, wet: *Rezanov* Сыльхоутль 'Морко nass' **sALq’u’L** it got damp *LMA,* **GALq’u’L** it's getting damp *LA,* **’i:Lq’u’L** it's damp *L (Neuter perfective),* **qu’wALq’uh** *L,* **qu’wALq’u’** *M,* **qa’Lq’uh** it'll get damp *LA,* **dik’ qa’Lq’uhG** *(not -q'u:G L)* it won't get damp *LA,* **’i:Lq’uhwahd** so it'll get damp *L, with dl-class-mark for S:* **dla:sALq’u’L** it (net) got wet *L. Transitive (causative):* **’iLq’u’** *M,* **’ALq’u’**, **GALq’u’** dampen it! *L, Rezanov* Илько-у 'Намочить nassmachen' **’iLq’u’uh** dampen it!.

q’u’1 *(confused with q'u´ by M only, perhaps to be identified with q'u'2 and related to q'Ama:)*

dA-q’u’ 1. S (herring) spawn: **sdiq’u’L** they (herring) spawned *LA,* **’Aw wa:wyu: sdiq’u’L** those herring spawned *M,* **duhq’Ach’ sdiq’u’L** they (herring) spawned on kelp *M,* **qu’dAq’u’** they (herring) will spawn **wa:w qu’dAq’u’** herring will spawn *A,* **’Aw wa:wyu: qu’dAq’uh** those herring will spawn *M,* **dAq’u’** they (herring) are spawning *LMA,* **dAq’u:k’** they (herring) (cust) spawn *L.*

2. S get full of herring spawn: *with dl-class-mark for S:* **dla:sdiq’u’L** it (net) got full of herring spawn *L.*

q’u’2 *(M once q'uh, M otherwise and LA q'u'; perhaps to be identified with q'u'1 and/or related to q'Ama: 'roe(-sac), kidney', for semantic cf. Athapaskan *k’ʷək’ʷ 'abscess, kidney', *k’ʷək’ʷ or *k’ʷəxʷ 'calf of leg', Eyak k'ahsh~k'ush 'lower leg', Russian икра 'spawn, calf of leg'; or, conceivably to be identified with q'u´, with basic meaning 'soft, wet', cf. French 'mollet')*

-k’ushd-q’u’ *(noun, unclassified) (with k'ushd-anatomical 'lower leg')* calf of leg: *Rezanov* Ккштакъо 'Икра Waden' **qa:k’AshdAq’u’**, **qa:k’ishdAq’uh** *M,* **qa:k’ushdAq’u’** the calves of our legs, calf of human leg *LMA,* **sik’ishdAq’u’** *M,* **sik’AshdAq’u’** the calf of my leg *MA,* **k’uk’ushdAq’u’** calf of a leg *A,* **’ik’ushdAq’u’luw** your big calves *M.*

q’u’tl’

-qu’tl’ S break: **dik’ qa’q’u’tl’G** it won't break *L,* **dik’ qu’qi:q’u’tl’G** they won't break *L,* **’AlAshgahX ya’Xu: qa’q’u’tl’** I hope it won't break *L,* **’AlAshgahX Gi:q’u’tl’**, **Gi:q’u’tl’shgahX** I hope it breaks *L, with ya' 'completely': 7.37A,* **ya’ qa’q’u’tl’** it'll break to bits, shatter *L,* **ya’ qu’qi:q’u’tl’** they'll break to bits *L,* **’AlAshgahX ya’ ’i:q’u’tl’** I hope it breaks up *L,* **’AlAshgahX ya’ qa:liq’u’tl’** I hope they break up *L,* **si:nda:’ siya’ ya’ GAq’u’tl’L** my face is getting chapped *L,* **’isa’GAdAlah ’iya: ya’ qa’q’u’tl’** your lips (around your mouth) will get chapped *L, with class-marks for S:* **t’its’ ya’ dAGAq’u’tl’L** ice is starting to break up *57.13, 27G,* **t’its’dig ya’ dAGAq’u’tl’** ice too break up! *(shaman's incantation) 57.22G,* **’idAkuhd ’iya: ya’ qu’di:q’u’tl’** your lips will get chapped *L,* **t’its’ ya’ di:qu’tl’L, ’uya’d ’iGALq’e’sL** ice is broken *(Neuter perfective),* (and) jammed in it (river) *L,* **tanh XAdla:q’u’tl’** wave is breaking *L,* **XAdla:q’u’tl’** whitecap < it (wave) is breaking *L, with l-anatomical:* **ya’ qu’li:q’u’tl’** your face will get chapped *M, with k'ushd-anatomical and yAX 'apart, in two':* **yAX k’ushdAsAq’u’tl’Linh** he broke his leg, his leg broke *L (perhaps more correctly with stem kug). Transitive (causative):* **’ALq’u’tl’** break it! *L,* **siLq’u’tl’** I broke it *LM,* **ya’ siLq’u’tl’** I broke it all up *L,* **’ALq’u:tl’Lk’inh** he (cust) breaks it *L, with class-mark for O:* **di:Lq’u’tl’**, **dAGALq’u’tl’** break it, them (eggs)! *L; passive:* **sdiq’u’tl’L**, **sLiq’u’tl’** it got broken (by someone, something) *L. Susceptive Neuter:* **Liq’u’tl’X** it's fragile *L,* **qALiq’u’tl’X** fragile things *L,* **dik’ ’a’LAq’u’tl’XG** it's not fragile *L,* **dik’ qa’LAq’u’tl’XG** they're not fragile *L.*

X1 *(perhaps to be identified with one or more homophonous morphs; see also (-)X- below)*

o-**X** *(postposition; with anatomical, thematic, or class-marks the last element of which is -l-, -l-X > -:nAX, or where the last element is not -l-, -C-X > -Ca:X)* 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 -L-classifier, where paired with theme with zero classifier, zero classifier theme meaning 'S act upon O', L-classifier theme meaning 'S substantially change or fix position or condition of O by such action' (cf. 2. below), often with indeterminate o (da:X), with reciprocal o ('iLX or 'iLi:X), and with reflexive o (o never deleted without intervening mark, 'AdX, but see ya:X below)* a.: **siX k'udAsALdehL** someone shone a light on me *L,* o-**X LA-t'its'** S freeze (adhering) to o, **siX k'usALt'ik'L** his arrow grazed me *L,* o-**X** O-**L-tl'i** S tie O to o, **da:X** O-**L-tl'i** S tie O up (to indeterminate o) *(cf. o-ch' O-tl'i 'S tie O to o'),* **'uX 'iqe'xLAtl'a'g** I'll spot it up < I'll strike glancing blows at it *L,* **'uX 'AdgAdAxdAdzuxg** I'm butting it with my rump *L,* o-**X d-LA-ts'u'ts'**(**-g**) S adhere to o by suction, **da:X dALAts'u'ts'g** leech, O-**L-ts'AX** *34.83fn,* **'iLX dAGALdjahGL** sew them together! *L,* **da:X** O-**Xd-dja'** S strike O (match), **da:XAdAdja'g** match, **da:X 'i-'-gdl-gehdz** S barely hangs on (to indeterminate o), **'Aw 'iLX sALgahGLinh** he glued them together *M,* o-**X LA-gAXts'** S stick to o, **'AdiX da:X dAgAXts'g** wallpaper, **k'uXe:gAXts'** Property Woman *(< k'uX yAgAXts'),* o-**X d-LA-kinhd** S jostle o, **si:nAX dAsALk'a't'L** it flew by grazing my head *L,* **siya:X dAsALk'a't'L** it flew by grazing my hand *L,* **da:X** O-**L-k'Awahdj** S nail O up (to indeterminate o, wall), **ya:nAX** O-**L-k'Awahdj** S nail O down (to floor), **'iLX** O-**L-k'Awahdj** S nail O together, **XAdAGd da:X dAdAk'uwahdjg** plyboards for ceiling *L,* **'iLX GALAxwAtl' da:X** when they drift together *60.59A,* **'u:nAX yAX GAdAxutl'L** snow is sliding down it (mountain) *L,* **da:X 'i:nLAxi'ts'**(**-g**) woodpecker *L,* o-**X** O-**L-xa'ts'** S tie O to o, *(cf. o-q' O-xwa'ch'~ 'S tie O (on)to o'),* **'iLX** O-**g-L-GAmAts'** S twist O (strands) together, o-**X** O-**L-qAtl'** S rub O against o, **'iLi:X 'i:nsdiquhLinu:** they brushed against each other as they ran *L,* **'iLX** O-**L-Xahd** S fasten O together, **'ahnu: da:X lALXa'tl'ginu:** she dashes their brains out (swinging their hands against indeterminate o) *49.65A,* **'iLX siXa'ts'L** I sewed it loosely together *L,* **'uX GAle'g** touch it! *L,* **ch'iyahd'a:nAX sile'gL** my hand touched, brushed against a hat *L,* **siya:X sAle'gLinh** he touched my hand *L,* **'Ad-lAXAda:X xdAlugg** I'm rubbing my eyes *L,* **ch'a' 'AdX** O-**L-u'g**~, O-**LA-le'g**~ S hold O close to self, **'uX yisiliL** my hand brushed against it *L,* o-**X -'ya** *(-'ya 1b.(2), 8.)* S come into contact with o, **siX dla:sa'yahL** it fell over, touching me as it fell *M,* o-**X yd-'ya** o get S (hunting) *(modest)* < S wander into contact with o, o-**X Xdl-'ya** S running glance against o, o-**X d-dA-'e'dz** S brace self with feet against o, o-**X dl-LA-'Adz** S bump head, stub toe against o, o-**l-X** (**-:nAX**) **-'a´** S extend, run down o's face, **'itl'la:X** *(irregular)* **ya:n'ch' gAlAGA'ah da:X** when water runs down along the mountain *34.64M,* o-**X -'a´** S extend to (point on) o, **'iLX didi'ah** seam, joint, **'iLX 'ulu' k'udA'ah** dovetail joint, **XAdAGd da:X qu'di:xLah** I'll set up a fish rack *L,* **'i:Li:X GALa'** juxtapose them! *L,* **siX sahL** it went by, brushing against me *L,* **siqi:ya:X** in contact with my toe *L,* **t'ahLti:nAX** in contact with a feather, leaf *L,* **ch'iyahd'a:nAX** in contact with a hat *L,* **ch'iyahd'a:nAX** in contact with a hat *L,* **'u:nAX** in contact with it (l-class) *L; with l-class-mark and evidently deleted o:* **GAdAq'Ayi:ny 'i:nAX** *(for 'i:na:'X?)* **yAX 'idAGA'ah da:X** when the fog hangs part way down it (mountain) *L; with indeterminate o, evidently used as preverb:* **gu:dAg 'Aw q'e:da:X 'Ats'e:Xk'inh** again he (cust) throw them against the wall *34.86L, see also stem da:X.*

1b. displacing o with violent movement *(?, probably extension of 1a. above)*: **'anhX ya'X shALGAdjgL** it (goat) butted him up in the air with its horns *L,* **'anh qe'LX ta'ch' xan'Lq' disLikinhdLinh** he shoved the woman violently into the water *L (perhaps incorrect in both instances).*

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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-**X k'u-d-L-ch'a:q'** S hear (something) about, of o, **'igahX k'udAXLch'a:q'** I hear you dancing *L,* o-**X** O-**'-LA-le(')** S know (O) about, of, find (O) out about o, o-**Xa' ya:-X 'Ad-'-LA-le(')** S appreciate o's favor, be beholden to o < S feel self in contact with (?) a thing in relation to o, o-**X djAX** O-**L-'ya** S hear distant o < S put ear in contact with o, **tl'eh** o-**X 'i-'-d-'ya** S catch cold < cold catch up with o, o-**X 'i-'-lXdl-XAL**, o-**X 'i-'-lXdl-we'q'** S get half drunk and run out of liquor, *see also o-l-X and ya:X below.*

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1d. *Meaning vague, uncertain,* along o?, *probably derived from 1a.*: **tsa' 'uX sa'yahL** *place-name,* **'uX 'idi:djidjgL na:wda'ke:d** narrow-necked bottle, *perhaps also in dAXu'ya:X 'true'; see also 'AlAX, tl'a:X under tl'a:.*

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1e. into existence as o, *perhaps specialized extension of 1a. (cf. also Tlingit o-X s-ti 'S be, become a o')*: o-**X k'u-Le(')** *(usually only with pronoun as o)* S come into existence, be born < something come into existence as o *(see -Le(') 3f.),* **xitl'X 'uXa' k'u'luw sALe'L** snow piled high (got big) on them *43.13M,* **ts'AlX sLidu:ts'Linh** her snot has dried bone-hard < her dry snot has dried into existence as bone *(poetic, in song) 72.40M, see also ya:X 1b. (ya:X3).*

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1f. *Meaning derived from 1. and/or a., more or less figurative, in certain cases showing shift of zero or dA-classifier in verb to L- or LA-*: *basic zero or dA-, no shift:* o-**X dAGida' d-'ya** S be full of o, o-**X Xdl-ta** S act as bolt, crossbar for o *and causative* O-**Xdl-(L-)ta** S set O as bolt for o, **'uX k'uXAdla:dAtah**, **'uX k'uXAdla:ta'L** latch, lock, o-**tl' da:X 'i-'-d-le** S beg o persistently; *shift not attested, perhaps optional:* **ga'ts'gLX qa'/qid -a** S climb up/down (on, by means of) ladder, **LinAsX lisdiXe'dzL** she's wearing a nose-ring *L; underlying classifier L- or LA-:* **'uk'ahshda:X 'Aw sALku:n'dL** seized it by the foot *50.57A,* o-**X LA-t'ux** S hold onto o, **'Awgutl'ahda:X 'Adu'gudla:Li'ahL** held onto her by the trail *23.37A,* o-**X** O-**'-L-'ya'X** S ask o for O, **dALgu:nAX LAqahdzXinh** he's coughing (with) blood *L, with verb-clause as o:* **ya'Xu: k'ulAX 'i:t'ehX 'Adqu'lAXLAdje:dj** don't pl. brag that you have more than the other fellow *1b.21M; showing shift:* **dALgu:nAX Xe'X yAX La:Xinh** he has a bloody stool < he's walking about outside near the house (excreting) with blood *L (cf. -qi:yAga:gX yAX LA-a-X 'S go about on tiptoe', yAX dA-a-X 'S go about', and with no shift, and, with no shift, o-X phrase as epilogue: 'Aw k'ulAqah q'e:lAG 'Ada:g, le:Lguka:X 'the head kept walking back ashore, on its hair' 53.12L),* o-**X 'Ad-'-LA-de'L** S hoard o, o-**X 'i:lih-LA-'a:t'** S fall for, become enamoured of, crazy about o, *with adverb as o:* **gehsdahX 'anh dAGALdza:nts'Linh** beg him pitifully *37b.34A.*

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2. by means of, with o (as instrument), *in certain cases showing required or optional but preferable shift of zero (or dA-)classifier in verb to L- (or LA-), there existing no basic theme with L- (or LA-)classifier (cf. similar phenomenon in Tlingit with Tlingit o-j 'by means of o', noted IJAL 34.201)*: *see* o-**X** O-(**L-**)**she** S kill O with o, o-**X** O-(**L-**)**siyu~** S kill pl. O with o, o-**X** O-(**L-**)**dzux** S stab O with o, o-**X** O-**dl-(L-)du'** S caulk, chink, plug O with o, o-**X** O-**l-(L-)da'ts'** S decorate O (basket) with o (decorative straws), *or, where basic themes with both sets of classifiers are present, attested only or preferably with theme with L-: see* o-**X** O-**L--Xu'ts'** S slap O with o, o-**X** O-**L-ts'AX** S hit O with (held or thrown) o, o-**X** O-**L-qAtl'** S rub O with o, o-**X** O-**L-sha~** S dig O out with o, *and see especially, with discussion,* o1-**X (**o2**-X)** O-**L-tl'i** S tie O (to o2) with o1, *with themes attested only with basic L-classifier also without o-X: see O-L-wa'ts' 'S whip O', O-'-(l-)L-ts'AX 'S try to hit O', O-LXe'~ 'S smear, paint, grease O', O-L-ya:n' 'S cure O', ya:kihdah O-L-i 'S pay O', O-L-Xa'tl' 'S club O', attested only with zero (perhaps optional L-)classifier: see O-GAdj 'S move O with end of stick', O-qa 'S handle O (liquid) in container', O-Xd-Xahd 'S draw O (line)', O-'-le'g~ 'S grab O';* **de:Xd ya:kihdah xuqu'yiLih -- GAma:X** what will you pay me with? -- with maggots *47c.35-36L, see also 37a.16L, 37b.53A,* **'uda:X dAshe:k'**

are (cust) killed by means of it (d-class) *64.3fnG,* **dla:ch'e:'ga' gAdli:t'ehX 'ALXe'** paint it (with) red (dye)! *M, L-classifier usually present where o-X is clearly bound syntactically in verb clause, but absent where o-X in epilogue:* **'AwX q'uhnu: 'Aw lALda:ts'k'** with those they (cust) decorate them *66.10L,* **'Aw lAda:ts'k'inu:, da'ts'da:X** they (cust) decorate them, with decorative straws *66.9L, miscellaneous textual occurrences, o-X 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-:* **tl'ihXgAda:X** with grass, **chi:shglAXa:X** with sand, **Le:sk'XAda:X** with a log, **t'ik'Lda:X** with an arrow, **gehgLda:X** with a spear, **Ge:ts'guka:X** with spruceroot, **tl'i:XAda:X** with a bear-spear, **xitl'lAXAda:X** with snowballs, *final element -l-, -l-X > -:nAX:* **tAGL'a:nAX**, **tAGL'i:nAX** with a hammer, **kAwusk'L'a:nAX** with a paddle, **GALAtsitl'tahti:nAX** with land-otter skins, **k'uXehLqi:nAX** with a rope, **la:Xqi:nAX** with a cord, **Ge:ts'qi:nAX** with a spruceroot-rope, **giyahgu:nAX** with water *(cf. 'Al winegAlAkihX 'Ada:LAya:n' 'cure yourself with this little bit of wine!' L),* **dALgu:nAX** with blood *(1f. above),* **tsa:dli:nAX** with a rock, **dzAwuLdli:nAX** with a net, **dzAwuLdli:nAX** with a net, **tsi:ndli:nAX** with a net; *perhaps incorrect in* **sita:'lisda:X Xa:n'/Xu' sALiL** my father made it (canoe) out of (by means of?) a tree *L (cf. o-da:- 2c. under da:3); very frequent in nouns derived from verb themes, usually passive (Active imperfective, with classifier, if ever shifted to L-, reverting to dA- instead of LA- as is usual in non-perfective passives), 'by means of it O be acted upon', frequently with k'u-indefinite O, and frequently deverbalized with L-instrumental suffix to verb, dA-classifier deleted: see* **'uX k'udla:dAdu'** cork, chink, plug, **'uX dAda'd k'uXAdAta'L** key, **'uX k'uXAdla:ta'L** lock, **'uX k'uXAdla:dAtah** latch, **'uX k'udAtl'ishg** something to shine things with, **'uX k'utl'a'gL** ink, pen, pencil, **'uX k'udAdza'tl'(g)**, **'uX k'udza'tl'(g)L** chisel, **'uX k'udzuxL** awl, **'uX ya'd k'udAtsinhdg** pier, **'uX k'utsAXL** scissors, **'uX yAX k'udla:dAts'e'ts'X** tongs for handling hot rocks, **'uX k'u'lAts'inhGL** marker, signet, cachet, **'uda:X 'Ad-lAsinhXgL** razor, **'uX k'uti:lAdAsinhXg** skin scraper, **'uX GAlAch'i'ch'X**, **'uX k'uGAlAch'i'ch'g**, **'uX k'uGa:nLAch'i'ch'g** scrubbrush, **'uda:X k'ushe:t'L** cambium-scraping spoon, **'uX k'ushitl'gL** saw, **'uX GAlAsha'tl'L** broom, **'uX 'iLch' k'udAgAXts'g** glue, paste, **qa:Xu:nLAyah 'uX dAkus** toothbrush, **xut'LyAq'd 'uX dAk'u:d** cleaning-rod, **ts'ik' 'uX 'Ak'uhdL** dishrag, **'uX 'Adk'u:nLAk'u:d**, **'uX 'Ad-lAk'u…dL** towel, **dAq'a:g 'uX dAdAxu'tl'g**, **'uX k'udAxu'tl'g** bellows, **'uX qa:nch' k'uxuLgL** corkscrew, **'uX k'udAxa:sh** carving-knife, **'uX k'udAGAdjg** oar, paddle, **'u:nAX t'a'q'e'ch' k'uGAdjgL** oar, **'uX tsa: dla:dAGahG** pickaxe, **'uX lAXAqAtl'L** pestle, **'uX k'udAqah**, **'uX qa' k'uqa'L** pliers, pincers, tongs **'uX k'udAq'Ats'** pincers, **'uX qid k'uq'Ats'g** snuffers, **'uX k'uq'a:shgL** pressing-iron, **'uX yAX k'ulAXAdAXa'tl'X** shinny-stick, **'uX ya' k'uXehdzL** meat chopper, **'uX k'AdAXAs** curved knife, **'uX yAX k'udAXe:X**, **'uX yAX k'uqu'dAXeh** pack strap, **'ugu:nAX k'uXe'L** paint, **sLi'mahdL 'uX dAXe'** spread for bread, **'uX 'Ad-lAXe'** ointment for face, **'uX k'udAwa'ts'** whip, **'uX 'Adk'uLAwa'ts'** willow boughs for slapping self in steam bath, **'uX 'Adk'utsi'la'lahL** comb, **'uX wAX k'udAleh** tool, **'uX dAk'udAleh** knitting needle, **'uX yAX k'u'dAyahdX** measuring stick, **'uX ya'd k'uya:'** pier, *non-passive (see also reflexives amongst preceding), classifier usually shifted to L-, LA-:* **'uX tl'ehd k'u'Ldja:t'g** key, **giyahXda:LAlah** water bucket *(< giyah 'uX da: LAlah, cf. giyah da: dAlah 'we drink water'),* **'uX k'uLsiyuhyu:**, **'uX k'uLsi:g** weapons, *in Inceptive imperfective, inflected for S:* **'uX k'uqu'wAshehyu:** hunting-gear, **'uX k'uqu'xLshehyu:** my hunting-gear, **'uX k'uqi'yiLshehyu:** your hunting-gear.

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3. *Status and identity uncertain, preceding other postpositions or preverbs*: *o-X-da:d 'without o' (see o-da:- 3b. under da:3, note however giyahgAlAXda:d 'uq' k'a'Lih place-name, 'there's no water on it', for expected giyahgu:nAXda:d); o-X-ye'X~-ya'X 'all o long'*: **gahXye'X** all day long, **xahXya'X** all summer long *(cf. XAtl'ye'X 'all night long', XAla:gya'X 'all winter long' with -X-, see under ye'X~ya'X);* **ya:-X-tlA-qa'** upside-down.

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o-**l-X** *(postposition) (with l-anatomical thematized, always realized o-:nAX, 'in contact with o's head', or perhaps < o-l-lAX 'past, beyond, too much for o's head')* tormenting, discomfiting, inconveniencing o: o-**:nAX k'u-d-'ya** o be tormented, have a hard time *and causative* o-**:nAX k'u-d-L-'ya** S torment o, give o a hard time, *see d-'ya 3c.;* **si:nAX yAX da:Xinh** he's walking about angrily around me, won't talk or recognize me *L.*

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ya:X *(postpositional phrase, perhaps preverbialized, < o-y-X 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 L-, then to LA-; see also ya:X1, ya:X2)* with own hand *(attested as such in two themes only)*: **ya:X 'iqe'xLAsheh** I'll beat you up good < I'll practically kill you with my own hands *L,* **ya:X sLishehLinh** I beat him up good *L,* **yAX xsLikinhdL** I swiped it < I imparted a quick motion to it with my (own) hand *L,* **ya:X k'uxsLikinhdL** I swiped something *L,* **ya:X dixsLikinhdL** I swiped it (money, knife) *L.*

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-X *(final element to postpositions and preverbs, probably occurring with all postpositions which occur with non-zero finals, but not suffixed directly to forms ending in -a:n', in which cases -dAX final occurs to the exclusion of -X final, or to forms ending in a consonant other than -' or -h, in which cases either a variant of 'e'~ is interposed (preverbs) or -dAX final occurs (postpositions) to the exclusion of -X final)* 1a. movement (originating within or without and continuing) within (area designated by stem of postposition or preverb): *e.g.* **ta'X sahLinh** he walked into the water (and continued some distance), he walked in the water (waded some distance) *(cf. ta' sahLinh 'he walked into the water (and stopped)'),* **qa:qa'X Ga:'** walk between us (we stationary or moving)!, **qa:qa'X 'iya'** walk (along) between us (we moving)! *(cf. qa:qa' Ga:' 'join us!, come between us, into our midst!'), for all instances see the following: o-da', (o-)d-da', o-g-da'-, o-l-da'-, o-y-da', o-tsin'-da' (da'1), o-da:'-, Xdl-da:-X (da:3), ta', o-t'a', (o-)d-tl'a' (tl'ah~), o-tsi:n'-, tse'-X, XA-tsiya'-, 'i:ntsa'- (tsi'~), o-sinh (sinh2), o-sa', o-ch'-a:, o-L-ch'-a: (ch'), o-k'ah, o-qa', 'iL-qa'~ (qa'~qa:n~qa:), qAnuh, (o-)q'Ayanh, o-Xa', o-y-Xa', o-d-Xa', 'i:ndz-i'- (lahdz~), li', o-li', o-la', o-X-la'-, o-y-X-la'-, o-lu', ya:nu' (lu'~nu'), yAma:'-, o-:-na:'-, 'i:na:'- (na:'), o-ya', ya' (ya'4), ya:nAX (ya:(n)), o-'ih-, o-d-'ih-X ('ih1), o-'e:-X ('e:1), o-'e', o-d-'e', o-lXdl-'e', o-qi:dl-GA-'e', o-lXd-e:'-, o-d-i:'- ('e'~), requiring interposition of variant of 'e'~ or special form of stem: lAG-'e'-X (lAG2), dAG-'e'-X (dAG), yAX-e'-X, XA-yAX-e'-X (yAX4, tse'-X (tsi'~), lu:-d-i:'-X (lu:2), XA-shlA-X (sha:n).*

1b. *With various idiomatic meanings*: *see o-y-da' 2. (da'1), o-da:- 2., da:X (da:3), o-t'a' 8., 10, o-ch'-a: 1b. (ch'), o-qa' 2a., 3., 4., 5. (qa'~qa:n~qa:), o-Xa' 5., o-d-Xa' 2., li' 1b., 3., 4, o-la' 3., o-lu' 2a., o-ya' 2. (ya'4), o-'ih- 6., o-d-'ih-X ('ih1), o-'e:-X ('e:1), o-d-'e' 2.; see also wa:L, 'a:li'LX, tla:X (tla:).*

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2. *With idiomatic meaning, thematized, stem with -X final treated as new stem, to which other finals may be suffixed:* a. *with stem(-augment) expanded, -a'-X > -a:-X*: *o-t'a:-X (t'a'~), o-ka:-X (ka'~), 'iL-qa:-X (qa'~qa:n~qa:), o-Xa:-X (Xa'~); see also Ga:.*

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2b. *As 2a., -'e'-X > -i-X*: *'Ad-i-X ('e'~).*

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3. *As probable or possible final in analysis of postpositional, preverbial and certain other forms attested only as ending in -X, listed as stems, meaning idiomatic*: *see stems da'X, da:X, du'X, di:yAX, tl'ihX4, Xi:ya'X, qehX, qehX~, Xi:nX, ye'X~, ya'X ya:X1, ya:X2, 'u'X, 'AlAX.*

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4. *Meaning 'manner' in analysis of demonstrative and interrogative preverbs or adverbs*: **wAX** thus, in that way *('Aw~),* **'lAX** thus, in this way *('Al),* **dAX** how.

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-dAX *(final element to postpositions, preverbs, and demonstrative and interrogative locatives, composite of -d final with -X final; occurring only as final to forms also occurring with -d final, occurring to the exclusion of -X final to preverbs ending in -a:n', postpositions ending in consonants other than -' or -h, demonstrative and interrogative locatives, and problematical Xa:', qi'; also occurring as final to certain forms which also occur with -X final) meaning always regular, identical with that of -X final* 1a.:: *occurring to the exclusion of -X final: see o-dAG, o-t'a:-X (t'a'), o-q', o-dXl-q' (q'), o-lahdz~, o-lAG (lAG2), yAX (preverb, perhaps exceptional, yAq'1), o-yAq' (yAq'2), o-yAX, o-L-yAX, o-d-L-yAX (yAX3), ya:-q' (ya:), o-'a:g, 'Ad-i-X ('e'~), o-l-Xa:n', ya:n', Xa:', qi', locatives 'u:- ('Aw~), 'a:n- ('Al~), Xi:-, da:- (da:2); to forms also occurring with -X final, meaning not clearly distinguished from that of o-X final except where that of -X final is idiomatic (-X 1b.): see (o-)d-da' (da'1), o-da:- (da:3), ta', o-tsi:n', XA-tsiya'- (tsi'~), XA-sha:n- (sha:n~), o-li', lu:-d-i:'-, yAna:'-, 'i:na:'- (na:'), o-'ih- ('ih1).*

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(-)**X-** *(possible or probable initial component of postpositions and preverbs) meaning perhaps '(movement in?) contact with'*: *see especially Xahd2, Xa'~, Xa:n', XAw~.*

Xish~Xihsh1 *(Xish most frequent but phonologically irregular, L five times, M once, A three times, at least some of which may be mistranscriptions for Xihsh; Xihsh L twice, M once; M also Xush, Xuhsh, XihxshX, xihsh, xish, xihshX, under influence of Xu:'sh, xihsh, and Xish~Xihsh2; perhaps to be identified with Xish~Xish, and perhaps related to XAsh, Xa:sh, and/or Xu:'sh)*

Xish~Xihsh *(noun)* scar: *Rezanov* Тыхыш *(Ты crossed out)* 'Рубецъ Narbe' **Xihsh** *L,* **Xish** *L (twice), A,* **Xush** *(three times),* **Xuhsh**, **xihxshX** *M (all these forms from M rejected by L).*

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LA-Xish~-Xihsh S be, become scarred: **sLiXishL** it's scarred *LA,* **sLiXishLinh** he's scarred *A,* **xsLixihshL** I'm scarred *M, with ya' 'completely':* **ya' sLixishL** it's gashed up, all roughed up *M, with l-anatomical:* **'i:nxsLiXishL** my face is scarred *L,* **'i:nsLiXihshLinh**, **'i:nsLiXishLinh** his face is scarred *L,* **ya' liLixihshXinh** his face is scarred *M. Transitive (causative):* **qu'xLXuhsh** I'll scar it *L,* **ya' GALXihxshX** scar it up! *M; passive:* **ya' 'idiXihshLinh** he's all scarred up *M (Neuter perfective).*

Xish~Xihsh2 *(perhaps to be identified with Xish~Xihsh1; Xish most frequent, but phonologically irregular, L five times M once, A three times, S once, at least some of which may be mistranscriptions for Xihsh; Xihsh L three times, M once, S once; L once xihsh, xish, later rejected by L, M also Xis, all probably under influence of xihs and Xish~Xihsh1)*

Xish~Xihsh *(noun)* 1. *(Xd-class, perhaps also unclassified)* spear-, arrow-head, -point: *Jacobsen* krich 'arrow head of bone' *BSdL 105 (photograph of specimen in BSdL Plate 13.8), Galushia Nelson* ҳıc 'arrow head' *BSdL 549,* **Xish** *L (twice), A (three times), S,* **Xihsh** *LMS,* **xish**, **xihsh** *L (L later rejects),* **Xis'a'luw**, **Xish'a'luw** *M,* **XishXAda'luw** big spearpoint *L,* **XishXAdA'e'd** mark, place where point has penetrated *L.*

2. *(gdl-class?, cf. Le't' 2.)* spades (suit at cards): **Xish, Xihsh** spades *L,* **Xish Xa:n' gAdla:sa'yahL** I got a trump in spades (in "66" card-game) *L.*

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la't' Xish *(place-name) perhaps near Italio River* < spearhead-tongue *(epithet) G (Harrington).*

XAd *(perhaps reduced form of Xahd, cf. especially O-L-Xahd 3.)*

-XAd *(not freely used, attested only in Active perfective) with ya' completely,* S come, fall apart: **ya' sAXAdL** it came, fell apart *L (Inceptive imperfective 'it'll come apart' not *qa'XAd L).*

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dA-XAd S come loose, apart, fall apart *(meaning not clearly distinguished from that of preceding)*: *with ya' 'completely':* **ya' qu'dAXAd** it'll come loose *M,* it'll come apart *L,* **ya' GAdAXAdL** it's coming loose *M,* **Li'q' ya' sdiXAdL** it's all fallen apart (at seams, e.g. where it's glued) *L,* **q'e' ya' sdiXAdL**, **ya' q'e' sdiXAdL** it's all fallen apart again *L, indirect reciprocal (also interpretable as O-XAd), with 'iLq' 'on each other':* **'iLq' GAdAXAdL** it's starting to come apart *L.*

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O-**L-XAd** *(causative of either -XAd or dA-XAd)* S take O apart, loosen, untie O: **'ALXAd** take it apart! *S,* untie it! *L, with qid 'down off':* **qid xuGALXAd** let me loose (from e.g. rope)! *L, with ya' 'completely':* **ya' qu'xLXAd** I'll untie, unravel it *LM,* **ya' GAxLXAdL** I'm taking it apart *L, with 'iLqa'd qa' 'up out from amongst each other':* **'iLqa'd qa' GALXAd** untangle it! *L, with 'iLd, 'iLihd, 'iLi:d 'apart from each other':* **'iLd** (*or* **'iLihd**, **'iLi:d**) **GALXAd** rip it (rag) apart!, take it apart! *L, forms from M with stem -Xahd, all rejected by L who corrects them to -XAd, and corrects 'off' in gloss to 'apart':* **'iLd GALXahd** pull it off *M,* **'iLd qu'xLXahd** I'll pull it off *M,* **'iLd siLXahdL** I pulled it off *M,* **'iLd GAxLXahdL** I'm pulling it off *M, repetitive customary:* **'iLd 'Aw LXa:dgk'inh** he (cust) pull it off *M (implying -Xahd),* **'Aw LXAdgk'inh** he (cust) undoes it *M (also incorrect, with stem not expanded),* **Lich' 'iLd k'uLXe:dk'inh** he's (cust) always taking something apart *L, with qi:l-class-mark for O:* **qi:li:LXAd** loosen it (rope that's tight)! *L,* **ya' qi:lAGuxLXAdL** I'm untying it (rope) *L, repetitive:* **xLXAdg** I keep trying to take it apart *L; reflexive: Rezanov* Яадетляхатъ 'Раздѣвайся ('to undress') auskleiden, sich' **ya' 'AdALAXAd** you're loosening your clothes, **ya' 'AdGALAXAd**, **ya' 'Ada:LAXAd** loosen your clothes! < take yourself apart!, loosen yourself! *L; passive:* **ya' sdiXAdL** it's been taken apart *L.*

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'iLq' dAXe:d *dog's name ("takes things apart") L. Active imperfective with expanded stem; gloss not appropriate with dA-classifier, however form seeming to mean 'it keeps coming apart (one part from on the other)'.*

XAt'

O-**XAt'** S peel O: **'AXAt'**, **GAXAt'** *(former preferred)* peel it! *L,* **xXAt'** *(not *GAxXAt'L)* I'm peeling it *L,* **qu'xXAt'** I'll peel it (banana) *L, with class-marks for O:* **ye:t' qu'di:xXAt'** I'll peel wild celery *L,* **tl'e'tl'G di:XAt'** *(much preferred to da:XAt')* peel salmonberry sprout! *L,* **guxXAt'** I'm peeling it (spruceroot) *L,* **qu'gu:xXAt'** I'll strip it (spruceroot) *L,* **lAXi:XAt'**, **lAXa:XAt'**, **lAXAGAXAt'** peel it (fruit, e.g. orange)! *L,* **lAXAxXAt'** I'm peeling it (orange) *L,* **qu'lAXi:xXAt'** I'll peel it (orange) *L,* **lAXAsAXAt'L** I peeled it (orange) *L; passive:* **lAXAsdiXAt'L** peeled fruit *L,* **lAXAdAXe:t'k'** they (oranges) are (cust) peeled *L.*

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lAXAdAXAt' *(noun, lX-class)* orange *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective with lX-class-mark for O,* < it (fruit) is peeled.

XAt'a: *(Galushia Nelson perhaps Xut'a:; loan from Tlingit x̱ʊ́t'a 'adze')*

XAt'a: *(noun, unclassified)* adze *L, 33.4A*: *Galushia Nelson* xʊ̀t'á· *BSdL 547 perhaps to be read* **Xut'a:**, **XAt'a: sich' 'A'a'** (*or* **-ta'**) give me an adze! *L,* **XAt'a: 'u:d sA'ahL** (*or* **-tahL**) an adze is there *L,* **XAt'a:luw** big adze *LM.*

XAL1

lX-XAL *(with lX-thematic)* S be, become dizzy, intoxicated, drunk: **lAXAGAXAL** *(not lAXi:-, lAXa:-)* get drunk! *L,* **qu'lAXi:xXAL** I'll get drunk *LM,* I'll get dizzy *M,* **ya'Xu:** (**'iya:tl'**) **qu'lAXi:xXAL** don't let me (with your permission) get drunk *L, Rezanov* Нахасахаттле 'Пьянъ betrunken' **nAXAsAXALinh** he is, got drunk, **lAXAsAXAL** he got drunk *S,* **lAXAsiXAL** I got drunk *LA,* I'm dizzy, drunk *L,* **da: lAXa:yiXAL**, **da: lAXAGi:XAL** let's get drunk *L,* **lAXAXe:Lk'inh** she (cust) gets drunk *LM, 49.3fnL (no forms, e.g. *lAXAxXe:L, with expanded stem without -k'-customary), Neuter imperfective (or Neuter perfective):* **lAXAxiXAL** I'm drunk, dizzy *LM,* **dik' lAXa'xXALG** I'm not drunk *LM,* **lAXi:XALinh** he's drunk, dizzy *M,* **lAXAxiXALga' xle:g** I'm drunk, dizzy < I repeatedly do, fare like I'm drunk, dizzy *M, repetitive:* **lAXAxXALg** I'm dizzy *L. Transitive (causative): passive:* **lAXAsdiXALinh** he's been gotten drunk ("someone got him drunk") *L.*

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lAXAXAL *(noun, unclassified, or perhaps gerundive)* drunkenness, intoxication, dizziness, vertigo: **lAXAXAL 'ula'X di:'yahL** he has an urge to get drunk *M,* **lAXAXALga' xle:g** I get dizzy spells < I repeatedly do, it repeatedly happens to me like vertigo *M.*

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o-**X 'i-'-lXdl-XAL** *(with o-X 'in contact with o', semitransitive with thematized indeterminate O, dl-thematic combined with lX-, cf. o-X 'i-'-lXdl-we'q')* S (supply of liquor) run out leaving o unsatisfied, only partly drunk: **siX 'i'lAXAdli:XAL** I got (only) half-drunk and the liquor gave out *L (Neuter perfective or Neuter imperfective).*

XAL2

-XAL *(stem of uncertain morphological classification and uncertain meaning) perhaps* fine, granular, *occurring only in* **tsa:lAXAL** small stones, gravel, pebbles (as on beach), *probably with archaic l-class-mark for tsa: 'stone' q.v., and perhaps in Rezanov* Кольгаль кучики 'Бусъ feiner Regen' *perhaps to be read* **gulAXALkuch'g(kih)** < small fine granular liquid *(with gl-class-mark 'liquid') or perhaps* **k'ulAXAL-**, *with l-thematic, perhaps then l-thematic in* ***tsa:lAXAL*** *as well; see also kuts'~kuch'.*

XALt'u:ch' *(loan from Tlingit χat'ùč' Naish-Story, χəɬtúč' Yakutat, Sampson Harry, stem also present in t'u'ch', t'u:ch'qa:)*

XALt'u:ch' *(noun, unclassified)* black (phase of red) fox *LAS.*

XAs

O-**XAs** S carve design in O, S carve O (design): **GAXAs** *L,* **'AXAs** carve it! *LMA,* **qu'xXAs** I'll carve it *L,* **xXAs**, **GAxXAsL** *(meaning of both the same)* I'm carving it *L,* **k'uxXAs**, **k'uGAxXAsL** *(meaning of both the same)* I'm carving something *L,* **da: Xe:sk'** we (cust) carve a design *L,* **k'uxXe:sk'** I (cust) carve something *L, (no expanded stem without -k'-customary L), repetitive:* **k'uXAsginh** he keeps carving something *L; passive:* **sdiXAsL** a design has been carved *L.*

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'uX k'udAXAs *(noun, probably d-class)* knife for carving designs in wood with laterally curved pointed blade *L, Galushia Nelson* ʊxqəɒəxəs 'crooked knife' *BSdL 547. Nominalized*

passive Active imperfective, < by means of it something is carved.

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XAsL *(noun) (with -L-instrumental, or perhaps gerundive)* carved design (in wood): **XAsL yiLeh** it has a carved design on it *L.*

XAsqa:k' *(loan from Tlingit x̱ʌsqáx' 'cross fox')*

XAsqa:k' *(noun, unclassified)* cross fox *(color phase of 'red fox') LS.*

XAdj

-L-XAdj-g-L *(noun) (with -L-classifier, -g-repetitive thematized, and -L-suffix, no underlying verb-theme identified)* skeleton, skull: **k'uLXAdjgL** skeleton *L,* **'iLXAdjgL** your skeleton, skull *L.*

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-d-L-XAdj-g-L *(noun) (as above, with d-thematic, perhaps d-class-mark thematized)* empty, lifeless frame, building, container, body: **k'udALXAdjgL** skeleton, mummy, empty house, box, bottle *LM.*

XAsh *(status and form uncertain, perhaps reduced from Xish~Xihsh2, Xa:sh, and/or Xu:'sh)*

O-**L-XAsh** *(uncertain)* S gouge, make mark on O: **GALXAsh** make a mark on it! *M,* gouge it! *A (uncertain, perhaps GALxAsh, see xAsh; L rejects, in favor of O-L-XAsh),* **qu'xLXAsh** I'll make a mark on it *M.*

XAG

-d-XAG-L *(noun) (with d-thematic, perhaps class-mark for possessor, form from M lacking -L-suffix, perhaps instrumental)* gunwhale, strip of board along upper edge of side of boat, canoe: **'udAXAGL** its gunwhale, side (of boat, canoe) *LA,* **'udAXAG** strip along sides of boat *M.*

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dA-XAG *(perhaps passive, uncertain)* S (O?) have carving on it: **sdiXAGL** it has fancy carvings on it *(L uncertain, perhaps for sdiXAsL, see XAs, attempt at explanation of preceding.*

XAq'

O-**XAq'** *(exact basic meaning uncertain)* 1. S carve notch in O: **qu'xXAq'** I'll carve a notch in it *L. Transitive (causative): passive, with Xd-class-marks for O:* **XAdisdiXAq'L** they (logs) have notches carved in them *L.*

2. S flatten, smooth, peel O with knife, plane, or teeth: **yiXAq'** you're pulling it through your teeth *A, with class-marks for O:* **qu'di:xXAq'** I'll peel it (wild celery) with my teeth *A,* I'll smooth it (board) *L,* **guxXAq'** I'm flattening them (spruceroots, already split) by running knife along them *L,* **Ge:ts' guxXAq'** I'm skinning spruceroots *L,* **Ge:ts' qu'gu:xXAq'** I'll peel spruceroots *L (some uncertainty, evidently, about exact meaning; see also xik', XAt').*

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Ge:ts'gAXAq' *(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 (Ge:ts'guXAq'), Galushia Nelson* qɛt'sɢəaq' 'magpie' *BSdL 261, 539,* **Ge:ts'gAXAq'yu:** magpies *9.113, 115, 128, 153, 157, 10.53, 68A, 42.18L,* **Ge:ts'gAXAq'kuts'gshiyah** Little Old Magpie *9.9, 48A,* **Ge:ts'gAXAq'kih** little Magpie *9.42A,*

Ge:ts'gAXAq'kihk'ahsh little Magpie's leg *9.42A,* **Ge:ts'gAXAq'kuwa'na:GAyu:** Magpie's relatives *9.43, 44A,* **Ge:ts'gAXAq'dAGe:'** Magpie's younger sister *9.68, 102A,* **Ge:ts'gAXAq"i:ndzkihGAyu:** magpie(-girl's) brothers *9.116A.*

XAX

XAXg *(noun, unclassified)* fresh (of fish, meat) *LMS, attested in syntactic construction only as C*: **XAXg yAdi:Leh** it (fish, meat) is fresh *L.*

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LA-XAX-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized)* S (e.g. caught fish, still alive) quiver, twitch: **'usa'd 'Aw LAXAXg** it quivers in his mouth *33.32A,* **dA'wAX LAXAXg** it (caught fish) is still quivering, twitching *L, with l-anatomical:* **'i:nLAXAXg** it (cheek part of severed fish head) still quivers, twitches *L.*

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d-LA-XAX-g *(as above, with d-thematic 'oral, noise')* S snore: **dAGALAXAXg** *L,* **da:LAXAXg** snore! *LM,* **dAxLAXAXg** I'm snoring *L,* **dALAXAXginh** he's snoring *LMA,* **qu'dAxLAXAXg** I'll snore *M,* **disLiXAXgLinh** he snored *M,* **dixsLiXAXgL** I snored *L,* **dik' dAxsLAXAXgLG** I didn't snore *L,* **dALAXAXk'inh** *(incorrect with unexpanded stem) L,* **dALAXe:Xk'inh** he (cust) snores *LM,* **dik' dAxLAXe:Xgk'G** I (cust) don't snore *L, Neuter imperfective with force of customary:* **'AXa: diLiXAXginh** my what a snorer he is! *L,* **dik' da'LAXAXginh** he's not a snorer *L; with qA-plural thematized:* **XAtl'ye'X qAdALAXAXginh** he snores all night long *L.*

XAXdAlih *(probably from Chugach)*

XAXdAlih *(place-name) Katalla S.*

XAw~Xuw *(perhaps related to XAwi~)*

o-**XAw~-Xuw** *(postposition) (always with zero final)* simultaneous with, at same time as o: **siXuw** simultaneous, even with me *M,* **siXAw k'uXa:k'inh** he (cust) eats the same time as I do *L,* **djig ge:lA'a:gXAw k'uXa:k'inu:** they (cust) eat at noon sharp *L,* (**djig**) **siXuw 'u:da' sahLinh** he got there (exactly) at the same time as I *L,* **'uXAw** (*or* **'uXuw**) **qa' si'yahL** I woke up at the same time he did *L, with reciprocal o:* **'iLXAw** (*or* **'iLXuw**) **k'uXAda:k'inu:** they (cust) eat at the same time (as each other) *L,* **'iLXAw 'u:da' da: shdi'a'ch'L** we got there simultaneously *L.*

XAwAX *(possible analysis and/or relationship to Athapaskan *-unəχə, *-unəχe, Tlingit hú́nχ^{w} not clear)*

-**XAwAX** *(kinship noun, non-ascending)* (man's) older brother *(probably extended to '(man's) older male parallel cousin')*: *Baranov* Хавахъ 'Братъ', *Khromchenko* Товакъ *(in Ahtna column, obvious miscopy)* / Ховахъ *(in Eyak column)* 'Братъ', -**XAwAX**, *both missing possessive prefix, cf. sAqe:G under qe:, Anonymous* Сахавахъ 'Брат', *Furuhjelm* Sekavah 'brother (elder)', sɪχawʊχ 'older brother (man speaking)' *BSdL 566A* **siXAwAX** my older brother *(man speaking),* **siXAwAX'a: k'uxtsinh** I (man) am singing to my older brother *L,* **siXAwAXGAyu:** my brothers *(man speaking) L,* **GALdALyAXlah siXAwAX** my oldest brother *(man speaking) L,* **GALdALyAXlahch'a:ch' yi:nhinh siXAwAX** my second-oldest brother < the one next to my oldest older brother *(man speaking) L,* sɪχʊχsəqaɛq 'older brother's son, older brother's daughter (man speaking)' *BSdL 567A* **siXAwAXsAqe:G** my older brother's son *(man speaking),* sɪχaχat 'older brother's wife (man speaking)' *BSdL 567A* **siXAwAX'ehd**, sɪtawʊχcia 'older step-brother (man speaking?' *BSdL 568 probably to be read* **siXAwAXshiyah** my older brother *(man speaking,*

mildly pejorative), **'iXAwAX** your older brother *(speaking to man) 34.32A,* **'uXAwAX** his older brother *L, 50.52, 55, 64A,* **'uXAwAXGAyu:** his older brothers *18.58L, 50.2, 5, 12, 38, 39, 47, 47, 47A, Rezanov* Кахаохъ 'Братъ Bruder' **qa:XAwAX** our older brother *(men speaking),* **'anh k'uXAwAX** the (man's) older brother *50.54, 65,* **'ahnu: k'uXAwAXGAyu:** the (man's) older brothers *18.52L, 50.24, 29A,* sitqaχawəχ 'husband's older brother (woman speaking)' *BSdL 567* **siqa'XAwAX** my husband's older brother *L,* sitqaχuwəχtsi 'husband's father's older brother (woman speaking)' *BSdL 568* **siqa'XAwAXtsi:** my husband's older brother's daughter *or perhaps* **sita:'XAwAXtsi:** my father's older brother's daughter.

XAwi´~XAw *(occasionally also XAwi:, Xu:, perhaps related to XAw~Xuw, basic meaning 'coincide')*

O-**d-L-XAwi´~-XAw** *(with d-thematic, perhaps 'oral, noise')* S believe O, agree with O: *Inceptive imperfective:* **qu'di:xLXAw** I'll believe it *L,* **'iqe'di:xLXAwih** I'll believe you *A,* **'iqe'di:LXAwinhinh** he'll believe you *L,* **dik' xuqu'di:LXAwihG** (*or* **-XAwG**) you won't believe me *L,* **dik' xuqu'di:LXAwihGinh** he won't believe me *A, Active imperfective:* **'idAxLXAw** *L,* **'idAxLXAwih** I believe you *LMA,* I agree with you *LM,* **dAxLXAwinhinh** I agree with him *L, Active imperfective or Neuter imperfective:* **xudi:LXAwsh**, **xudi:LXAwihsh** do you believe me? *L, Neuter imperfective:* **'idixiLXAwih** I believe you *L,* **da: di:LXAwinhinh** we believed him *51.12A,* **xudi:LXAwinhinh** he believes me *LA,* **'idi:LXAwinhinh** he believes you *L,* **dixiLXAwinhinh** I believe him *L,* **dAde:dunh di:LXAwinhinh** he believes anything *L,* **dik' da'xLXu:Ginh** I don't believe him *L,* **dik' da'xwLXAwG** I don't believe them *61.33A,* **dik' 'ida'xLXAwG** *LA (not -XAwihG L),* **dik' 'ida'xLXAwi:G** I don't believe you *A,* **dik' xuda'LXu:Ginh** *L,* **dik' xuda'LXAwGinh** he doesn't believe me *LA,* **dik' k'uda'LXAwGinh** he's a skeptic *L, Inceptive perfective:* **dAGAxLXAwi'Linh** I'm beginning to believe him *L,* **'idAGAxLXAwi'L** I'm getting to believe you *A, Active perfective:* **disiLXAwi'L** I believed it *L,* **dik' xudAsLXAwi'LGinh** (*or* **-Xu:'LGinh**) he didn't believe me *L, Active optative:* **xuda:yiLXAwih** (**k'a'**) you ought to believe me *L, 61.125A,* **'AwXa' da:yiLXAwih** they should believe in it *70.6A,* **'AlAshgahX xuda:yiLXAwih** I hope you believe me *L, Active imperative:* **xuda:LXAw**, **xudi:LXAw** (*sounds better than* **-XAwih**) believe me! *L, Inceptive imperative:* **xudAGALXAw…** believe me *L (cannot remember stem-form), customary:* **'Aw di:LXAwk'inh** he (cust) believes it *L.*

,

dA-XAwi´~-XAw S have fortune, luck: *with k'udzu:dah 'well':* **k'Adzu:dah qu'dAXAwih** you'll have good luck *26.12L,* **k'Adzu:dah sdiXAwi'Linh** he became lucky *37a.25L, with o-ch' 'towards o':* **'ich' xsdiXAwi'L** I'm lucky to run across you *L,* **'uch' xsdiXAwi'L** I (finally and surprisingly) had the luck to get it (that I so badly wanted), I was rewarded with it *L,* **k'uch' xsdiXAwi'L** I had good luck (e.g. lucky find of something) *L,* **'uch' k'e'shuh qu'dAXAwih** maybe you'll get rewarded for it *L,* **di'wAX k'e'shuh 'ich' sdiXAwi'L** you might yet have good luck for that *L (gloss perhaps incorrect).*

XAwa: *(perhaps related to XAma(h)~XAma´ and/or to Xanh2, or analyzable as X-thematic with stem -a: or -wa:, informants unable to etymologize)*

XAwa: *(noun, unclassified)* dog: *Davydov (in Двукратное Путешествіевъ Америку… 1812, [Appendix I] 'Словарь нарѣчій народов назы ваемыхъ Колужами, обитающихъ между заливомъ Чугачою и Якутатомъ' [p. XII]) 'Собака' Кетль (Tlingit kè·λ 'dog'), and added in parentheses, по Якут.* Хаува *in [real?] Yakutat language* **XAwa:** *(collected from a Yakutat Tlingit in 1802 or 1803; for further discussion see historical introduction to Grammar), Rezanov* Хава 'Собака Hund', *Anonymous* Хава 'Собака', *Baranov* Хава 'Собака', *Khromchenko* Хова 'Собака', *Wrangell* Xay-a 'Hund', *Furuhjelm* Hava, *Galushia Nelson* χ̱ə́wà· *or* xə́wà *BSdL 538,* χ̱əwa' *BSdL 556, 557, 557, 557, 558, 562,* χ̱əwa *BSdL 557, 557, 561, 562,* **XAwa:** 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, 25G, **XAwa: sAqahL** a dog bit it *M,* **'Aw XAwa: du:sh sAqahL** the dog bit a cat *M,* **'Aw du:sh XAwa: sAqahL** the cat bit a dog *M,* **XAwa: 'Aw Xah** a dog is eating it *L,* **XAwa: giyah dALah** a dog is drinking water *L, Rezanov* Хаваколле 'Дурно hässlich' **XAwa: k'u:Leh** one is a dog, people are dogs, **XAwa: k'u:Leh, 'a'd 'AwlAX q'uhnu: 'i:t'eh** people are dogs, they're much more so than that *(i.e. 'O tempora! O mores!') L,* **LinhGih XAwa:** one dog *LM,* **la'dih XAwa:** two dogs *LM,* **t'uhLga' XAwa:** three dogs *LM,* **dAXk'ih XAwa:d 'iXa'** how many dogs do you have? *L,* **k'Ayi:ny XAwa:** a different dog *L,* **xu: siya' XAwa: siXa'** my dog is at home *L,* **xu: siya' XAwa: k'udzu:, 'i: 'iya' k'ushiyah** my dog is good, yours is bad *L, Galushia Nelson* ẋəwa·yu 'dogs' *BSdL 558* **XAwa:yu:** *13.1, 2, 8, 12, 12L, 60.29A,* **t'u'Lga' 'i:nsALk'in'L XAwa:yu:** three skinny dogs *L,* **XAwa:shiyah** bad dog, old dog, mutt *L, 33.9, 49.101, 108A,* **XAwa:dzu:** good dog *L,* **XAwa:kih** little dog *LM,* nice (little) dog *L, Galushia Nelson* ẋəwaki ta 'puppy's father' *BSdL 556* **XAwa:kihta:'** *also Eyak man's name A, name of Nikolai Nelson (?) L (see entry below),* **XAwa:kuts'gkih** little dog *L, Galushia Nelson* ɑu'lu· ẋəwa· 'big dog' *BSdL 553* **k'u'luw XAwa:**, **XAwa:luw** big dog *L,* **XAwa:luwkih** nice big dog *(affectionate) M,* **XAwa:guhdgkih**, **ya:guhdg XAwa:** tiny dog *L,* **XAwa:t'u' 'a:nd k'uGALe'L** there are getting to be lots of dogs here *L,* **XAwa: 'a:nd gulAGAluhdgL** dogs are becoming few here *L,* **XAwa:tl' 'u:da' shA'a'ch'L** he went there with a dog *M,* **XAwa:ga'** shameful, disgusting < like a dog *M, Rezanov* Хаваяко 'Кошка Katze', Хаваякъ-о 'Щенокъ junger Hund' **XAwa:yAquh** puppy *M, Galushia Nelson* ẋəwa laqa 'dog's head' **XAwa:lAqah**, ẋəwa nɪ·k 'dog's nose' **XAwa:ni:k'**, ẋəwa la·ẋ 'dog's eye' *BSdL 556* **XAwa:la:X**, **XAwa:guch'** dog's penis *S,* **XAwa:djehX** dog's ears *60.26A, also* berry species (Menziesia ferruginea?) *L (see djehX~djAX),* **XAwa:yu:djehX** dogs' ears *60.26A,* **XAwa:gutl'ah** plant species (dog fennel, yarrow?) *L (see tl'a~tl'A),* **XAwa:ch'e'** dog-feces *M, Galushia Nelson* ẋə̀wà tsə́·t 'urine, yellow ("dog urine") *BSdL 542, 553* **XAwa:tse'q'** *LS, Rezanov* Хаоцехкоете *(Хаоцех- written above crossed-out Кослитлекль-, see tl'a')* 'Желтой gelb', *Anonymous* Хавацѣкъ тветѣ 'Желтый', *Baranov* Хавацкъ тветѣ 'Желтый' **XAwa:tse'q'ga' 'i:t'eh** it's yellow < it's like dog-urine *L,* **XAwa:lAgah** dog's corpse *49.70A,* **XAwa:(lAgah)yAXAch' GALAt'uxL** she's clutching onto the underside of a dog('s corpse) *(contemptuous for promiscuous woman) L,* **XAwa:qe'L** girl dog < dog's wife, dog-girl, *not good Eyak M;* **'ehdGXAwa:** bitch *LM,* **Lila:'XAwa:** male dog *L;* **XAwa:ya' gugsg** fleas < dog's lice *L.*

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dAqu:lAXA'ah XAwa: *(noun)* bulldog < fierce-looking dog *L.*

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sAsinhLinu:ya' XAwa: *(noun)* butterfly *A,* moth *(not 'butterfly') M* < dead people's dog. *(Cf. 'Anik'ehdah 'i:t'eh under 'Anik'eh~'AnAk'eh~'Anik'ih~'AnAk'ih.)*

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XAwa:yAquh *dog's name* < puppy *A.*

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XAwa: 'uya'd ki:nX *(place-name) below old cannery on Eyak River, 2 to 3 miles from its mouth* < a dog wails in it (body of water) *L.*

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XAwa:kihta:' *(personal name) Eyak man A, Nikolai Nelson? L* < little dog's father *(where XAwa:kih is perhaps a personal name).*

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XAwa:tl'Aqa'd *(noun, lX-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)').*

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XAwa:lAXAde:'Gi'giyah *(noun, lX-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)').*

XAwa's~Xa:s *(Xa:s apparently expanded form of XAwa's; perhaps related to Xe's~XAs)*

-XAwa's~-Xa:s S itch, have, get an itch: *-XAwa's (full, non-expanded form) attested in Inceptive perfective but not Active imperfective (except repetitive):* **GAXAwa'sL** it's itchy *L,* it itches *A,* **sini:k' siya: GAXAwa'sL** my nose itches *L,* **silAGa:nsh siya: GAXAwa'sL** my mouth and nose region itches *L,* **siXAwa'sL** it itched me (once) *L, with anatomical marks:* **yisiXAwa'sL** my hand itched (a short time) *L,* **qi:dAGAxXAwa'sL** *(not *qi:dAxXAwa's)* my foot itches *L, repetitive:* **qi:dAxXAwa'sg** *(preferable to qi:dAxXa:sg)* my foot itches (off and on) *L. With expanded stem -Xa:s, attested in both Active perfective and Inceptive perfective, also Neuter perfective, but -XAwa's clearly preferred to -Xa:s in repetitive, apparently referring to more persistent itch than -XAwa's:* **yiXa:s** it itches *LM (Neuter imperfective),* **xXa:s** I have an itch *L,* **Xa:sinh** he has an itch *M,* **GAxXa:sL** I'm itchy *L,* **GAXa:sL** it itches *(omen: if left hand itches, he'll get some money; if right hand itches, he'll spend money) L,* **sini:k' siya: GAXa:sL** my nose itches me *L,* **siXa:sL** I was itchy *L,* **sAXa:sL** it itched *M,* **qu'wAXa:s** it'll itch *L,* **'iya: qa'Xa:s** it'll itch you *M,* **dik' q'e' xdAXa:sG** I don't itch anymore *L,* **dik' q'e' qu'dAXa:sG** it won't itch anymore *L, with anatomical marks:* **qi:dAxXa:s** my foot itches (right now) *LM,* **qi:dAGAxXa:sL** *(preferred to qi:dAGAxXAwa'sL)* my foot itches (continually), keeps itching *L,* **Lich' yAxXa:s** my hand keeps itching *L,* **yisiXa:sL** my hand itched (for a long time) *L, repetitive:* **qi:dAxXa:sg** my foot keeps itching, itches on and off *(but qi:dAxXAwa'sg much preferred) L. Transitive (causative): with ya' 'completely':* **ya' qu'xLXa:s** I'll make it itch *M.*

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o-**tl' 'i-XAwa's~-Xa:s** *(apparently transitive with indeterminate O)* S (impersonal) itch o < it itches indeterminate O with o: **sitl' 'iGAXAwa'sL** it itches me *L. With expanded stem:* **sitl' 'iGAXa:sL** it itches me *(for a long time, longer than sitl' 'iGAXAwa'sL) L.*

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Xa:s *(noun, or perhaps gerundive)* itch, itchiness *LMA.*

XAma(h)~XAma´ *(L and A both uncertain of stem form; probably related to Xanh2, perhaps also to Xanh1 and/or to XAwa:)*

O-**XAma(h)~-XAma´** S (dog) growl at O: **xuXAmah** it's growling at me *L,* **'Aw du:sh XAmah** it's growling at the cat *L,* **'iqe'XAmah** it'll growl at you *L,* **xusAXAmahL** it growled at me *L, detransitivized with indeterminate O and dA-classifier:* **'idAXAmah** it (dog) is growling *LMA,* **'iqe'dAXAmah** it'll growl *L,* **'isdiXAma'L**, **'isdiXAmahL** it growled *LA,* **diLich'a' 'iGAdAXAma'L** it's always growling *A, repetitive:* **'idAXAma:g** it keeps growling *L.*

XAmah *(perhaps related to Xan2)*

'i:nLXAmah *(noun, unclassified) (with l-thematic, never realized lA-, and L-classifier)* bracket, fungus, conk *LM*: **'i:nLXAmahluw** big bracket fungus *L.*

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ta'd 'i:nLAXAmah *(noun)* 1. sponge < bracket fungus in water *L.*

2. fish heads in gunnysack soaked in lake for about two weeks, then cooked and eaten *L.*

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ya:nu'X 'i:nLXAmah *(noun)* sponge < bracket fungus below surface (of water) *L.*

XAla:g *(G once XAla:gw, G elsewhere and all other informants, including S, XAla:g)*

XAla:g *(noun, unclassified)* winter *LMAS*: *18.55L, 43.24, 46.5M, Rezanov* Халлякъ 'Зима Winter', *Anonymous* Халакъ 'Зима', *Khromchenko* Халякъ 'Зима', *Galushia Nelson* ẋalakł *BSdL 538, often used adverbially, 'in winter': 25.207A, 45b.9M, 50.22A,* **XAla:g tl'a'q' qa'ah** winter will be long *L,* **XAla:g tl'a'q' 'i:'ah** winter is long *L,* **XAla:g tl'a'q' sA'a'L** winter was long *L,* **XAla:g tl'a'q' GA'a'L** winter is getting to be long *L,* **XAla:g dik' tl'a'q' 'As'a'LG** winter wasn't long *L,* **XAla:g tl'a'q' 'a:w** long winter *L,* **XAla:g k'ushiyah** winter is bad *M,* **'a'd k'ushiyah XAla:g 'idAsAliL** a very bad winter occurred *L, 45a.9L (but not *'a'd k'ushiyah XAla:g 'iqe'di:leh for 'a very bad winter will occur' L),* **XAla:g qa:Xa' k'u'luw qa'Le'** winter will be very hard (big) on us *43.9M,* **XAla:g 'iGi'a:w GALe'L** winter is getting to be long *L,* **XAla:g ya:'a:g GAlAsa'yahL** winter had half passed *49.115A,* **XAla:g Ga:nsa'yahL** winter came *M,* **XAla:g 'i:nsdi'ahL** winter is ending *L,* **la'dih XAla:g 'u:ch'ahd 'i:nsdi'ahL** two winters passed (since) then *L,* **'u:d XAla:g qu'li:x'ah** I'll spend winter there *L,* **XAla:g 'i:nsAL'ahLinh** she spent the winter *18.48L,* **qAlahqa'gwa'da'X dAGa:q' XAla:gw** forty winters *62.11G, Rezanov* Халакококотлель 'Осень Herbst' **XAla:g k'uGALe'L** it's becoming winter *L,* **'a'd k'ushiyah XAla:g k'usALe'L** there was a very bad winter *L,* **'a'd k'ushiyah XAla:g k'uqa'Le'** there'll be a very bad winter *L,* **XAla:g-wahd** for winter *(with reference to accumulating food or money to last the winter) 16.20M, 62.23, 63.31, 33, 37, 38G, 65.27, 27, 36, 67, 71A,* **XAla:gyAXAga'** just enough for winter *65.81A,* **XAla:gyAXAga' Giyah 'u'sile'gL** I bought just enough food for winter *L,* **XAla:gch' GAlAGa'ya:L** winter's coming < time is passing toward winter *S,* **XAla:gLch'a:d** autumn *M (L has never heard, but "you could say that")* < in the direction of winter, **XAla:gya'X yik'a'dinh** he was sick all winter *L,* **XAla:g ya:'a:gd** in the middle of winter *L.*

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XAla:g'ilA'a:g ya: qAXah *(month-name) January* < midwinter-month *A (unknown to L).*

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L-XAla:g S (winter) come, S (it) become winter: *Galushia Nelson* gə́·tɬẋálákł 'fall' *BSdL 538* **GALXAla:gL** it's autumn, it's becoming winter *L, 21b.74A,* **q'e' GALAXAla:gL** it's turning winter again *23.119A,* **qu'LXAla:g**, **qa'LXAla:g** *(latter more probably correct)* winter will come *L,* **sALXAla:gL** winter came *L, 43.3M,* **'uq' sALXAla:gLinh** winter came on him *23.54A,* **'iLXAla:g da:X** as it starts to become winter *21b.72A.*

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O-**'-L-XAla:g** S (winter) come upon O, O winter: **'u:ch' xu'sALXAla:gL** I wintered there *L.*

XAlah *(perhaps to be analyzed XA-lah, see o-lah 1e. under la~na2, see also ch'a:XAlah under o-ch'-a: 4c. under -ch')*

-d-L-XAlah *(with d-thematic, probably thematized d-class-mark, and -L-classifier)* 1. *(noun, d-class)* butt-end (?, of tree): **lisdALXAlah** some part of tree *L,* **k'udALXAlah** butt-end of something (tree) *L,* **k'udALXAlahda'luw** *(uncertain)* big butt-end, stump of tree *M.*

2. *(perhaps postposition, classification uncertain, d-thematic apparently always present)* around corner of o: **'udALXAlah** around the corner of it (e.g. table, d-class) *L,* **Le't'dALXAlah** around the corner of a box (unclassified) *L.*

XAya:nih~GAya:nih *(GAya:nih S only, perhaps incorrect; loan from Athapaskan, probably Ahtna: Wrangell Анна-и, Allen Konái, Pinart 'gnai, general Ahtna γanay*

*'caribou', Tanaina (Upper Inlet, Osgood) γanó·, (Susitna, Osgood) ánnóyi 'caribou', Upper Kuskokwim xuniyi 'animal', Sarsi xɑní 'cow, buffalo', a widely diffused term, also Chugach ʁənaayiq 'caribou', in Eyak with metathesis of -n- and -y-, cf. also Navaho ’ayáni 'buffalo' (< ’a-yán-í 'that which eats something'), probably *-ə-na-yə, PA *-ə-ya-nə)*

XAya:nih *(noun, unclassified)* caribou *("a Copper River word") L*: *Rezanov* Хаяна 'Олень Rennthier', *Wrangell* Хаяне 'Rennthier', *Galushia Nelson* x̣èiyǎ·nì *or* x̣èiyá·nì 'caribou or moose' *BSdL 538,* **GAya:nih** moose *S. Neither caribou nor moose, both very recent to the coast, are well known to the Eyak.*

XAyuh *(conceivably to be segmented XA-yuh, cf. qAyuh)*

XAyuh *(exclamation) (clause-initial)* quick! do something (about it)! *(expression on danger, alarm and urgency) L*: *with imperative:* **XAyuh ’ALku:n’d** quick! grab it! *L, with reference to alarm, danger itself:* **XAyuh ’anh lALXa’tl’inh** quick do something! he's hitting him! *L,* **XAyuh ’a:nda’ sahL** do something quick! he's come here! *L,* **XAyuh ’a:nch’ GAqe:Linu:** quick do something! they're (already, by boat) arriving *L,* **XAyuh qid dAGALAqahGL** do something quick! it's falling! *L.*

Xe *(perhaps related to stem XehL, see subentry XehL below)*

O-**Xe** S "pack", carry O on back, S pick up O onto back: **’iXe’** (’AXe’ perhaps also acceptable, but ’iXe’ much preferred; not *’AXe: L) pack it on your back! *LM,* **k’u’Xe’** pack something on your back! *L, with ya'X 'up':* **ya’X GAXe’** pick it up onto your back! *L,* **’u:ch’ qu’xXeh** (*or* **-Xe:**) I'll pack it thither on my back *L,* **qu’xXeh** I'll pack it on my back *LM,* **dik’ ’u:ch’ qu’xXehG** *(or* **-Xe:G**, *former much preferred)* I won't pack it there (on my back) *L, Active perfective: 7.34, 9.145, 28.55A,* **sAXehLinh** he packed it *M,* **’u:da’ sAXehLinh** he packed it thither (on his back) *L,* **k’utse’ ’a:nda’ sAXehLinh** he packed the meat hither (on his back) *L, with tsa' 'downhill, to shore': 9.117A, with qa' 'up out': 28.123A, with o-ch' 'to o': 28.56A, with ya'X 'up', 'S picked O up onto back': 9.151, 156, 28.40A, Inceptive perfective: 23.30, 36.12A,* **GAXe:Linh** he's packing it (along) on his back (any burden, or portaging canoe) *LM,* **k’uGuxXe:L** I'm packing something (on my back) *LM, with o-ch' 'to o': 9.152, 157A,* **’u:ch’ GAXe:Linh** he's packing it thither *L,* **’u:ch’ da: ’i:Xeh** let's pack it thither! *L,* **’AdiX ’Aw ’AXe:k’** he (cust) carries them in(to house) *23.3A,* **’anhch’ Xe:k’** he (cust) packs it (on his back) to her *49.112fn, 112A, with perambulative:* **Lich’ ’Aw yAX dAXe:Xinh** he packs it around (on his back) all the time *L,* **yAX ’AdAXe:** pack it about! *M,* **da: yAX ’idiXeh** let's pack it about *M,* **yAX ’ixdAXe:k’** I (cust) pack it about

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o-**qA-X-Xe** *(with X-thematic with qA-plural)* S "pack", carry small thing on back *(derisive)*: **qAXAXinhinh** he's packing (ridiculously) small things *L,* **dA’Alga’kih ’idiyah dik’ qAXAXehGinh** "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 perfective.*

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tAGL lAGAXe:L *(noun, unclassified)* large-bodied spider species < it's packing a hammer on its back *M. Nominalized Inceptive perfective with l-class-mark for O.*

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tsidl dAGAXe:L *(noun, unclassified)* small waterbug species < it's packing boards on its back *L. As above, with d-class-mark for O.*

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’uyAq’ yAX k’udAXe:X *(noun, unclassified)* packsack *38.7LM. Nominalized passive Active imperfective with perambulative,* < in it something is carried about on the back.

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’uX yAX k’udAXe:X *(noun)* pack-strap, tumpline *L. As above,* < by means of it something is carried about on the back. *Form from Galushia Nelson* ʊχqʊqə́téχέ’ *or* ʊχqʊqə’téχέ’ 'pack strap' *BSdL 550 perhaps to be read as passive Inceptive imperfective* **’uX k’uqu’dAXeh** ‘by means of it something will be carried on the back’.

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XehL *(noun, unclassified)* backpack, burden *LA*: **k’u’luw XehL**, **XehL’a’luw** big pack *L. Stem apparently with -L-suffix, irregular in that expected form would be *Xe'L; see stem XehL, to which the form should perhaps be assigned. Form from Galushia Nelson* χε’ 'pack' *BSdL 550 difficult to identify; L never heard noun of form *Xeh or *Xe' meaning 'pack'.*

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k’uXe:l *(gerundive) (with k'u-indefinite O)* (act of) "packing", carrying (something) on back: **k’uXe:l xuGALga’L** I'm getting tired of packing < carrying something on my back is tiring me *L.*

Xe:ts’

GAlAXAsAXe:ts’ *(noun, lX-class) (mark including lX-class mark, cf. also GAsA(L)gwa:X and GAlAgwa:X under gwa:X~ga:X, GAsAtsah under tsa~tsah, GAsALGahGL under GahG)* big dark or black blueberries *LMA, "they get bigger when it rains" A, perhaps 'thin-leaved blueberry (Vaccinium membranceum or V. chamassonis)'*: **GAlAXAsAXe:ts’ XAlAXAGa:Linh** he's eating big blueberries *L,* **GAlAXAsAXe:ts’ k’ulAXa’luw** big big blueberries *L.*

Xe:dj

O-**dl-L-Xe:dj** *(with dl-class-mark for O)* S strike O (stone), making sparks: **dla:GALXe:dj** make sparks (with a stone)! *LA.*

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dla:LXe:dj(-**g**(-**L**)) *(noun, dl-class) (with optional -g-repetitive thematized, and sometimes, perhaps incorrectly, -L-instrumental)* quartz, shiny crystalline flakes in e.g. granite: **dla:LXe:djg** *M,* **dla:LXe:dj** white quartz *L,* **dla:LXe:djgL** white quartz, shiny flakes in stone *A,* **dla:Xe:djg ’u:d dla:sA’ahL** a quartz-stone is there *L,* **dla:LXe:djgLga’ ’i:t’eh** "shiny stuff" < it's like quartz, crystalline *A.*

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dla:LXe:djgtsin’da’d *(place-name) White Quartz Point* < quartz extremity, tip *G (Harrington).*

Xe:~Xe’

Xe: *(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 'sealoil'), 11.175 ('mucus in socket of whale's eye'), Rezanov* Хэ 'Жиръ Fett', *Wrangell* Хxе 'Fett' *as C in C -Le(') 'S be, become greasy, oily, covered with grease': 7.28, 10.32, 65.70A,* **Xe: yixiLeh** my hands are greasy *L,* **Xe: sALe’L** it got all greasy *L,* **Xe: ’ich’ qu’gAli:xLyah** I'll give you some grease (in container) *M,* **Xe: sich’ gAli:’a’** give me a piece of (rendered) fat! *L,* **k’ugu:’nuw Xe:** *L,* **Xe:gu:’nuw** large quantity of grease, sealoil *M,* **Xe:ga’ k’u:t’eh** water's calm < something is like grease *M,* **Xe:ga’ k’uGAle:L** water's getting calm < something is getting like grease *L,* **Xe:ga’ gulAle:g** water is intermittently

calm < it (water) repeatedly gets like grease *L,* **Xe:gu:na'q'** on (the surface of) grease *L,* **Xe:gu:na'tl' xLts'i:nG** I eat it with (dipping it in) sealoil *L, frequently declassified as o of o-ya' 'in o (with broad opening at top)', 'in sealoil' (of food thus preserved and/or eaten with sealoil): 7.33, 10.44, 137, 140, 143, 146, 49.123A, 63.37G.*

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-Xe' *(noun, gl-class) (possessed form of above)* oil, grease, (rendered) fat (of something): **ke:Lta:gXe'** *9.158A,* **gwe:Lta:gXe'** sealoil *63.32fnG,* **te'ya'Xe'** fish-oil *M,* **tsa:dla:Xe'** kerosene, coal-oil < stone-oil *LM,* **k'ugu:'nuw tsa:dla:Xe'** large quantity of kerosene *L;* **xwa:sAXe'** *L,* **xa:sAXe'** *(unclassified)* soap < tabu-grease *LM, Rezanov* Хассухе 'Мыло Seife', Хасъ-ахе 'СвЂча ('candle') Licht, Talglicht', *see xahs~xa's~xwahs.*

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Xe:ya' disLiyahL k'udA'uhdg *(deverbalization)* eggs preserved in sealoil for winter *L. Active perfective relativized.*

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k'uyAq'iGiXe' *(noun)* marrow *L. With k'uyAq' 'inside something' and Gi-thematic.*

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ts'AlyAq'ya' Xe: *(noun)* marrow < tallow belonging to inside of bone *L (form uncertain, preceding more probably correct).*

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qa' y-Xe:' *(attested only with expanded stem, y-anatomical, and qa' 'up out')* S's hand be, become greasy: **qa' yisiXe:'L** my hands got greasy *L.*

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O-**L-Xe'~-Xe:'** *(perhaps semantically irregular causative of unattested -Xe'~-Xe:' 'S be, become greasy', -Xe:' presumably expanded stem)* S grease, oil, lubricate O; S paint O *(expanded stem apparently in free variation with non-expanded stem, except that meaning 'S paint O' is not attested with expanded stem)*: **GALXe'** paint it!, grease it! *LM,* **'ALXe'** grease it! *M,* oil it (e.g. engine)! *L,* **tla:ch'e:'ga' gAdli:t'ehX 'ALXe'** paint it (with) red *M,* **ma:sdla:X 'ALXe'** smear it with butter! *L,* **GALXe:'** grease it! *L,* **'ALXe:'** grease it!, oil it (with e.g. sealoil)! *L, Rezanov* Альхе 'Мажъ schmieren, salben, reiben (Imperat.)' *to be read* **'ALXe'** or **'ALXe:**, **qu'xLXe'** I'll paint it *LMA,* I'll grease it *L, Rezanov* Кокохльхе 'Мажать schmieren, salben, reiben' *probably to be read* **k'uqu'xLXe'** or **k'uqu'xLXe:'** I'll grease something, Яхоку-эльхе 'Не мажъ schmiere nicht' **ya'Xu: qu'yiLXe'** or **-Xe:'** don't grease it, **siLXe'L** I painted it *LMA,* I greased it *M,* **siLXe:'L** I oiled, greased it *L,* **dAxLXe:k'** I (cust) grease it *M (apparently with d-class-mark for O); reflexive, with l-anatomical:* (**'uX**) **'Ad-la:LAXe'** grease your face (with it)! *L; passive:* **dAtli: sLiXe:'L** it's greased up already *L.*

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sLi'mahdL 'uX dAXe' *(noun)* spread (e.g. jam, butter) for bread < bread is smeared with it *L. Passive of preceding.*

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'ugu:nAX k'uXe'L *(noun, gl- or gdl-class)* paint *L*: **k'ugu:'nuw 'ugu:nAX k'uXe'L** large quantity of paint *L,* **'ugu:nAX k'uXe'Lgudla:t'u'** lots of paint *L. Deverbalized passive with -L-instrumental,* < by means of it (liquid) something is painted.

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'uX 'Ad-lAXe' *(noun)* mountain goat-fat as ointment for face *L. Form probably incorrect in lacking -L-instrumental or classifier,* < by means of it one greases one's face.

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'i-LA-Xe:' *(detransitivized theme with indeterminate O, expanded stem)* S render fat: **'ixLAXe:'** I'm rendering fat *L.*

XehL *(perhaps related to Xe)*

O-**L-XehL** S tie O (with rope), bundle O, roll O up: *Rezanov* Эльхетль 'Завязать binden, zusammenbinden, zubinden' **'ALXehL**, **GALXehL** tie it! *M,* **k'uXehLX GALXehL** bundle it together with string! *L,* **qu'xLXehL** I'll tie it *M,* **qi'yiLXehL** you'll tie it *65.67A,* **GAxLXehL** I'm bundling them (blankets, all in one bunch) *L,* **siLXehL** I tied it *M,* I rolled it (my sleeping bag) up *L,* **da: LXe:Lk'** we (cust) tie it *M, with yAX 'down':* **'Aw dAda'X yAX sALXehL** tied the cover down on him *7.33, 34A,* **yAX GALXehL** tie it down! *LM, Active imperfective, -g- repetitive probably to be supplied:* **xLXehL[g]** I'm bundling them (blankets, one after another, separately) *L.*

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k'uXehL *(noun, qi:l-class, occasionally unclassified)* rope, cord, twine, string *L*: *12.6, 8, 11G ('(harpoon-)line'), 34.104, 108L,* **ya:qi:lAdik' k'uXehL** short rope *L,* **k'uqi:lA'a:w k'uXehL** long rope *L,* **LinhG qi:na: k'uXehL** one rope *M,* **k'uXehL 'u:d qi:nsA'ahL** a piece of rope, cord, twine is there *L,* **k'uXehL sich' qi:li:La'** give me some (a pile of) rope, some ropes! *L,* **'Aw k'uXehL da:X 'i'gAdli:gehsL** that rope is hanging by a thread, about to snap *L,* **k'uXehL 'uq' GAxa'ch'** tie a string around it! *L,* **k'uXehL sich' ya'X qi:nsALtsinhdLinh** he flung the painter up to me *L,* **k'uXehLqi:nAX xusALwa'ts'Linh** he whipped me with a rope *L,* **k'uXehLX GALXehL** tie it (bundle) together with string! *L,* **k'uXehLla'd GAta'** hang it on a rope! *L,* **k'uXehLqi:lAda:d ya:n' GAta'** set it down by the rope! *L,* **k'uXehLqi:na'q' da:X Ga:L** he's walking across on a rope *L,* **k'uXehLqi:lAch'** toward a rope *L; in compounds:* **kidzk'uXehL** binder twine, *see kidz,* **didit'u:ch'k'uXehL** chain; Russian whip, knout < iron-rope *L, see t'u'ch', Galushia Nelson* gə̀x́ətɬ tə̀tɬ *or* gə̀x̌ǎtɬ tə̀tɬ 'fire drill' ("string-drill") *BSdL 547* **k'uXehLtAL,** *see tAL,* **q'u'LXahdLXehL** bowstring *M (L rejects), see Xahd. Exact analysis uncertain, perhaps deverbalization, perhaps with -L-instrumental (-L-L > -L); k'u-indefinite prefix invariable, L rejecting e.g. *'uXehL; see also stem Xe, especially subentry XehL.*

Xehdz

O-**Xehdz** S chop notch, dent, nick in O: **'AXehdz** chop nicks in it! *M,* **qu'xXehdz** I'll make a notch in it, chop a dent in it *LM,* **xXehdz** I'm chopping nicks in it *L,* **k'uGAxXehdzL gahXAdA'a:w** I'm chopping nicks in it all day long *L, with ya' 'completely':* **ya' qu'xXehdz** I'll dent it all up, tenderize it (meat) *LM,* **ya' siXehdzL** I dented it all up, tenderized *LM,* **ya' 'AxXe:dzk'** I (cust) dent it all up, tenderize it *L,* **si'ehd 'Aw yä' 'AXe:dzk'** my wife (cust) tenderizes it *L, repetitive:* **ya' 'AxXe:dzgk'** I (cust) dent it all up, tenderize it *M, with class-marks for O:* **ya' dAGAXehdz** chop, dent it (board, table) all over! *LM,* **ya' XAdi:Xehdz** make nicks, marks on it (log)! *L; passive:* **ya' sdiXehdzL** it's been nicked up *L.*

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'uX ya' k'uXehdzL *(noun)* meat-chopper *L. -L-instrumental deverbalization of passive Active imperfective,* < by means of it something is nicked all up.

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O-**L-Xehdz** *(L uncertain of correctness of all forms with -L-classifier, meaning not distinguished from that of O-Xehdz)* S chop, notch, dent, nick in O: **xLXehdz** I'm nicking it *(same as xXehdz) L,* **siLXehdzL** I nicked it *L; passive:* **ya' sLiXehdzL** it's been nicked up *L.*

Xe'tl'~XAtl' *(reduced form XAtl' in noun, full Xe'tl' in verb)*

L-Xe’tl’ S (it) be, get dark, S (night) fall: *Active perfective:* **sALXe’tl’L** 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* Сыльхатль 'Ночь Nacht', Исальхатль 'Темно dunkel' *perhaps to be read* **ya’ sALXe’tl’L** it got completely dark, **yAX sALXe’tl’L** it's completely dark (downward) *L,* **Xu’ sALXe’tl’L** it's completely dark *L,* **’uq’ sALXe’tl’L** it got dark on him, her, night fell on him, her *10.10, 10, 25.69A,* **q’e’ sLiXe’tl’L** it got dark again, another night fell *25.118, 124A, Neuter perfective:* **’i:LXe’tl’L** it's dark, it's real dark, it's (permanently, seasonally) dark (e.g. around December) *LM, 2.1, 15M,* **dik’ ’a’LXe’tl’LG** it's not dark (days aren't short) *L, Inceptive perfective: Anonymous* Катльхатль 'Вечеръ' ('evening') **GALXe’tl’L** it's getting dark, night is falling *LMG, 10.39A, 18.23L, 25.17, 17, 76A, Furuhjelm* Khalhetlliutu 'darkness' **GALXe’tl’Lduh** it's getting dark (already)! *L, with yAX 'downward': Rezanov* Ехкатльхатль 'Смеркается, сумерки es wird dunkel' **yAX GALXe’tl’L** night is falling, it's getting dark *M,* **sLa’dah GALXe’tl’L** nice night < it's getting dark beautifully *L,* **silAXAde:’d GALXe’tl’L** I'm faint, blacking out, passing out (from illness, standing up too quickly) < it's getting dark in my eyes *L,* **di:yAX ’a’d ’idah GALXe’tl’LG** it hasn't yet gotten quite completely dark *11.125A, Inceptive imperfective: Rezanov* Коульхетль 'Поздо ('late') spät' **qu’wALXe’tl’** *M,* **qa’LXe’tl’** it's going to get dark *5.3L, Inceptive conditional:* **GALXe’tl’ da:X** when it gets dark *28.18, 18A,* **dAne:tl’ GALXe’tl’ da:X** when it first gets dark *11.112, 112A,* **’Aw k’ulAqa’ GALXe’tl’ da:X** when it gets pitch-dark *28.38A, Active conditional:* **’iLXe’tl’ da:X** just as it starts to get dark *L, 25.17, 17, 76, 78A, customary:* **’ALXe:tl’k’** it (cust) gets dark *LM,* **dik’ ’ALXe:tl’k’G** it (cust) doesn't get dark *L.*

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O-**’-L-Xe’tl’** S (it) get dark on O, S (night) fall on O: **xu’sALXe’tl’L** it got dark on me *L,* **’i’qe’LXe’tl’** it'll get dark on you *L.*

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XAtl’ *(noun, unclassified)* night, darkness *LM*: *Anonymous and Baranov* Хатлль 'Ночь', *Khromchenko* Хатль 'Ночь', *Wrangell* Хатль '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,* **XAtl’ k’usAtsinhLinh** he sang at night *L,* **LinhGih XAtl’** in one night, for one night *9.130, 10.43A, 34.42L, 65.13, 43A,* **t’uhLga’ XAtl’** three nights *25.81A,* **Lich’ XAtl’** every night *39.4L,* **k’udzu: XAtl’** *M,* **XAtl’Adzu:** nice night *L, Furuhjelm* Hatltu 'evening' **XAtl’duh** it's dark (already)! *L,* **XAtl’ye’X** all night long *L, 50.14, 65.44A,* **XAtl’ye’X qAdALAXAXginh** he snores all night *L,* **XAtl’ye’X yik’a’dinh** he was sick all night *L,* **XAtl’lA’a:g** midnight *LM; also, adverbially, 'tonight, last night':* **XAtl’ k’ulAX ’iqe’yiL’eh** you'll see something tonight *L,* **k’udzu: gah XAtl’ ’idAsAliL** there was a good dance last night; **tli:XAtl’** last night, yesterday < already-night *21b.63, 64A, Rezanov* Тлехатль 'Вчера gestern', *Furuhjelm* Tlehatl 'yesterday', **tli:XAtl’ ’i’e:X xu’dAsALqe’dLinh** he asked me about you yesterday *L,* **tli:XAtl’dALyAX** day before yesterday < before yesterday *L,* **tli:XAtl’ gah** yesterday (during the) day *M, Furuhjelm* Tlehatltu 'tomorrow' **tli: XAtl’duh** (it's) already night!, *or perhaps* **tli:XAtl’duh** last night!; **q’a:lXAtl’ k’ulAX ’iqe’yiL’eh** you'll see something tonight < now-night *L.*

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tli: XAtl’ *(supposed place-name) camp near Point Whitshed attested as such only in 1938.19 as tɬɨxatl, kɬɛx̣atl, said to mean "lots of clams," which seems impossible, and is almost certainly tli: XAtl' 'yesterday, last night'* < already a night. *Galushia Nelson* tɬɨx̣atɬ *BSdL 544.*

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XAtl’di:’q’d *(noun, unclassified)* jail *("because it's dark inside") L (see (o-)d-i:'-q' 8c. under 'e'~)*: **XAtl’di:’q’dch’ahd qa’ XAdla:sa’yahL** he escaped from jail *L.*

Xe’dz

O-**L-Xe’dz** S shoulder O, S pick O up onto shoulders, S carry O on shoulders, on head:: **’iLXe’dz** shoulder it! *LA,* pick it up onto your shoulders! *LM,* **’u:ch’ GALXe’dz**, **’u:ch’ ’ALXe’dz**, **’u:ch’ ’iLXe’dz** carry it thither on your shoulders (one trip)! *L,* **Xi:ch’ ’ALXe’dz** pack it over there on your shoulders, head! *M,* **siLXe’dzL** I picked it up onto my shoulders *LM,* **’u:da’ siLXe’dzL** I carried it there on my shoulders (one trip) *LM,* **’a:ngAlA’a:n’ ’ahnu: sALXe’dzL** they came to a river carrying her on their shoulders *25.14A,* **GALXe’dzLinh** he's picking it up onto his shoulders *M,* **GALXe’dzL** are carrying it (along) on their shoulders *25.7, 10A,* **Xi:ch’ GAxLXe’dzL** I'm carrying it, them on my shoulders (one trip) *L,* **qu’xLXe’dz** I'll shoulder it *LM,* **’u:ch’ qu’xLXe’dz** I'll carry it there on my shoulders, head *M,* I'll pack it there on my shoulders (one trip) *L, with ya'X 'up', 'S pick up O onto shoulders': 25.6A, 52.12L,* **ya’X GALXe’dz** pick it up onto your shoulders! *LM,* **ya’X siLXe’dzL** I shouldered it *L, with d-class-mark for O:* **’Aw dAsALXe’dzLinu:** they shouldered and carried it (whalehead) *29.35A, with perambulative:* **yAX xLAXe’dzX** I'm carrying it around on my shoulders *L; passive:* **GAdAXe’dzLinh** she's being carried (on someone's shoulders) *25.9, 9A. With expanded stem, frequent without -k'-customary, meaning same as above, but with reference to action on several objects in succession, or successive actions or trips':* **’u:ch’ ’ALXe:dz** *(not 'iL- or GAL-)* carry it, them there on your shoulders (several trips)! *L,* **’u:da’ siLXe:dzL** I carried them there on my shoulders (several trips) *L,* **Xi:ch’ xLXe:dz** I'm carrying them over there (one after another) on my shoulders *L,* **’u:ch’ qu’xLXe:dz** I'll carry them there on my shoulders (several trips) *L,* **lAGe’X ’Aw ’ALXe:dzk’** he (cust) carries them up from shore *33.35A, with perambulative:* **yAX ’ALAXe:dz** carry it around on your shoulders, head! *M,* **yAX ’iLAXe:dzk’inh** he (cust) packs them around on his head, shoulders *LM, with Xd-class-marks for O:* **Le:sk’ tsa’ XAdi:LXe:dz** (*or* **XAda:-**) carry logs down to shore on your shoulders! *L,* **ya’X XAdi:LXe:dz** pick them (logs) up onto your shoulders! *L,* **tsa’ qu’XAdi:xLXe:dz** I'll carry them (logs) down to shore on my shoulders *L.*

Xe’s~XAs *(M also Xehs, but consistently rejected by L; Xe's in verb, reduced XAs in noun; perhaps related to XAwa's~Xa:s)*

dA-Xe’s S be, become infected, pussy: **sdiXe’sL** *(not -Xehs-)* it's infected *L,* **qu’dAXe’s** *(not -Xehs-)* it'll get infected *L, attested usually with ya' 'completely':* **ya’ sdiXehsL** *M (L rejects),* **ya’ sdiXe’sL** it got infected *LM,* **ya’ GAdAXehsL** *M (L rejects),* **ya’ GAdAXe’sL** it's getting infected *LMA,* **ya’ qu’dAXehs** *M (L rejects),* **ya’ qu’dAXe’s** it'll get infected *LM,* it'll get all pussy *L,* **ya’ dAXe:sk’** it (cust) gets infected *M, with y-anatomical:* **yAGAxdAXe’sL** my hand's getting infected *L,* **ya’ yixsdiXe’sL** my hand got infected *L,* **q’e:ya’ yAxdAXe:sk’** my hand (cust) gets infected again *L, repetitive:* **q’e:ya’ yAxdAXe’sg** my hand keeps getting infected again *L.*

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XAs *(noun, gl-class)* pus *LMA*: **XAsgu:’nuw** large amount of pus *M,* **XAs lAXAdixiLeh** my eyes are pussy *L,* **XAs lAXAdi:Linhinh** his eyes are full of puss, matter *M.*

Xe’dj

l-dA-Xe’dj *(with l-thematic, perhaps thematized class- or anatomical mark)* S hook, be hooked (through something else), S (hook) move into or out of e.g. eyelet *(perhaps passive of O-l-L-Xe'dj, 'S hook O (through something else)'*: *with o-qa'- 'between o, through interstice in o':* **dAqa’d ’i:nsdiXe’djL** hook came out (of eyelet, from between indeterminate o) *L, indirect reciprocal:* **’iLqa’X lidiXe’djL** they (two hooks or hook-ends, couplers, links) are hooked, linked, coupled together *L (Neuter perfective),* **LinAsX lisdiXe’djLinh** 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):* **dAqa’X lAGALXe’dj** put the hook in (eyelet)! *L,* **’Awlu’**

lAGALXe'dj put the hook through (hole in) it (eyelet)! *L,* **'Awlu' lAGAxLXe'djL** *(not Active imperfective *lAxLXe'dj)* I'm putting the hook through it (eyelet) *L.*

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k'uqa'X 'i:ndAXe'djg *(noun)* hook (that hooks through eyelet). *Nominalized Active imperfective repetitive,* < it (repeatedly) hooks (is hooked) through something.

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'iLu' dA-Xe'dj-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* ɬútahǎ·tcɒɛnu 'wrestling' *BSdL 551* **'iLu' dAXe'djginu:** < they (repeatedly) hook each other, *with y-anatomical:* **'iLu' yAdAXe'djginu:** they're hand-, indian-wrestling *L.*

Xe'X *(perhaps to be analyzed X-e'-X, XA- 'area' as o of o-'e' '(vacant) place of o' with -X final 'movement within area')*

Xe'X *(preverb) (with zero (-X?) final only)* 1. outdoors, outside of house (but not far away?): *23.146A,* **Xe'X sahLinh** he went out *L,* **Xe'X qu'xah** (= 'a'q' qu'xah) I'll go out *L,* **Xe'X Ga:Linh** he's going out *L, in combination with other preverbs, perhaps always preceding:* **Xe'X yAX lAGAdAla'** turn around to face the outside! *L,* **Xe'X 'a'q' sahLinh** he went out *L,* **Xe'X 'a'q' qu'xah** I'll go out *L,* **Xe'X 'a'q'Ach' Ga:Linh** 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, urinating),* "to the bathroom, toilet": **Xe'X sahLinh** he "went", he went out (not far), and/or excreted *L,* **Xi:ch' Xe'X sahLinh** he "went" over there *L, Rezanov* Тличахъэхъ 'Помосъ Diarrhöe' **Lich'a' Xe'X** frequently ("going") out, **'AwyAq'Ach' Xe'X sahL** he "went" into it (urinated on it) *50.23A,* **Xe'X yAX xsdi'yahGL** I have (physical need) to "go" *L, with perambulative forms of verb -a 'sg. S go':* **Xe'X yAX xda:X** I have diarrhea < I go about outside, in and out *L,* **sAqe:GAyu:ya', 'Aw Xe'X yAX da:X** children's, that which they "go" *23.19A,* **dALgu:nAX Xe'X yAX xLa:X** I have a bloody stool < I excrete with blood *L.*

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3. *As o of o-'i-~-i'-~-i-L-ch'-a:- 'side, direction of o',* out oceanward, away from shore *(cf. 'Ad-i-X 2a. under 'e'~)*: **Xe'Xi'Lch'a:ch' lah sAqehLinh** he (boating) turned outward away from shore *M.*

Xa1

O-**'-Xa** *(tends to be treated as intransitive, see indirect reciprocal and forms with indeterminate O)* S tells (of specific, something specific about) O: *frequently with wAX 'thus' and/or o-tl' 'to o' and/or o-lah 'about, concerning o', thus wAX o1-lah o2-tl' O-'-Xa 'S tell thus (to) o2 (of) O about o1'*: *imperatives:* (o-**tl'**) **xu'liXah** tell (o) of me! *20.20, 21A, Rezanov* Ука-ха 'Скази sagen, reden (Imperat.)' **'uGAXa'** tell it!, out of with it! *L,* **sitl' 'u'wAXe:** *M,* **sitl' 'a'Xe:**, **sitl' 'a'Xah**, **sitl' 'u'GAXa'** tell me it, tell me about it (a certain thing)! *L,* **tsi:ndz 'iXa' sitl' 'a'Xe:** tell me your dream! *L,* **sitl' 'u'GAXa', k'e:d q'a:gah yileh** tell me what you did today! *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **'itl' 'u'qu'xXah**, **'itl' qu'xXah** I'll tell you it *L,* **dik' 'itl' qu'xXa:G** *(not -XahG) L,* **dik' 'itl' qu'xXahG** I won't tell you (it) *4.12M,* **'Aw qa:tl' qa'Xinhinh** he'll tell us of it *21b.23A,* **ya'Xu: siya:ntl' qi'yiXah, GAlAxtah** don't tell my mother I'm alive *49.127A,* **'a'd ya'Xu: 'Aw 'utl' qi'yiXinhinh** by all means don't tell her that *49.129A,* **dik' 'anhtl' qu'yiXahG** you won't tell her (it) *49.128A, Rezanov* Тетокояха 'Что скажеш? was sagst du?' **de:dAw qu'yiXah** *or* **de:d 'u'qu'yiXah** what are you going to tell?, **ya'Xu: 'utl' 'u'qu'yiXinhinh** don't tell him (it) *L,* **Liq' lahqa' 'Aw 'u'qu'wAXinhinh** (*or* **'u'qa'Xinhinh**) he'll tell it every place *L, Active imperfective: with first person sg. S: 23.16,*

70.2A, **dita:dz 'itl' 'a'xXah, 'Aw yahd k'udAshiyah** I told you long ago that house is no good *L, second person sg. S:* **gu:dAg sitl' q'e' 'u'yiXah** you're telling me about it again (complaining) *L,* **de:duh** (*or* **de:duw**) **'u'yiXah** what are you telling about, reporting? *L, third person S:* **'a'Xa:** *9.20, 25.189A,* **'a'Xah** *25.116A, 38.1LM, 51.14, 16, 60.59A,* **'u'wAXa:** *10.46A,* **'a'Xinhinh** *10.34, 35, 106A,* **XAwa: 'uXa' sitl' 'a'Xinhinh** he's telling me of his dog *L,* **XAwa:lah sitl' 'a'Xinhinh** he's telling me (something specific) about a dog *L,* **dA'u:dAXyi:nkih 'Aw 'a'Xah** someone is telling about it *L,* **du:d 'itl' 'Aw 'a'Xah** who's telling you that? *L, second person pl. S:* **tla:Xuh wAX 'u'lAXXah** where's that you pl. are telling thus about? *20.80A, Inceptive perfective:* **'ulah 'u'GAxXa:L** I'm in the process of telling a long story about it *L, Active perfective: 29.39, 56A,* **dAtli: sitl' 'Aw 'u'sAXahLinh** he told me that already *L,* **dAtli: sitl' 'u'sAXahL** you told me (it) already *M,* **'u'lixiLgah 'Aw 'utl' 'u'sAXahLinh** I know you told him that *L,* **dita:dz 'itl' 'u'siXahL, 'Aw yahd k'udAshiyah** I told you long ago that house is no good *L,* **dik' 'Aw qa:tl' 'a'sXahLG** he didn't tell us that *61.50A,* **dik' 'Aw sitl' 'a'sXahLGinu:** they didn't tell me that *69.9A, Active optative:* **'utl' 'Aw da: 'u'liXinhinh** let's tell him that *L, with perambulative:* **da: yAX 'u'diXah** let's tell it about *M, customary:* **'itl' 'a'xXa:k'** I (cust) tell you *61.86, 87, 87A, 21a.17L, 36.45A (negative),* **Li'q' ya:yu: 'a'Xa:k'inh** he (cust) tells everything *L, with ('ish)guGdah 'deceitfully', 'S (cust) tell lie about O': 10.142A,* **dik' 'ishguGdah 'Aw 'a'xXa:k'G** I (cust) don't tell lies of it *61.58A, repetitive:* **Lich' dA'Aw sitl' 'a'Xa:ginh** he keeps telling me the very same thing all the time *L; indirect reciprocal (treated as intransitive, with dA-classifier):* **'iLtl' 'u'dAXah** they tell each other of it *10.35A; passive:* **'u'dAXa:** *51.6, 60, 21, 36, 49, 49 53A,* **'u'dAXah** is told of *36.49, 60.34A,* **dik' 'Aw 'u'dAXahG** that wasn't told of it *23.123A,* **dik' q'e' 'u'dAXahGinu:** no more is told of them *24.100A,* **dAtli: 'ilah sitl' 'u'sdiXahL** I've already been told that about you *L,* **dita:dz sitl' 'u'sdiXahL** that's been told me long ago *M. With indeterminate O (treated as intransitive, dA-classifier with q'e' 'again, some more') 'S tell story, general account, things': frequently with wAX 'thus' and/or o-tl' 'to o' and/or o-lah 'about, concerning o': imperatives:* **qa:tl' 'ida'Xe:** tell us a story! *LM,* **sitl' 'ida'Xe:** tell me a story (about anything)! *LM, with o-q'Ach'ahd 'from on o':* **'uq'Ach'ahd sitl' 'ida'Xe:** read it to me! < tell me a story from on it! *L (see also nominalizations below), Inceptive imperfective:* **'ida'qe'xXah** I'll tell a story *57.1G,* **'itl' 'ida'qe'xXah** I'll tell you a (long) story (about anything) *LM, with o-q'Ach' '(continuously) onto o, against o':* **ya'Xu: siq'Ach' 'ida'qe'yiXah** don't tattle, tell on me *LM,* **ya'Xu: siq'Ach' q'e' 'ida'qe'dAXah** don't tell on me again *M,* **'iq'Ach' 'ida'k'u'qe'Xah** someone will tell on you *L,* **dik' 'iq'Ach' 'ida'k'u'qe'XahG** no one will tell on you *L,* **'u:d 'ida'k'u'qe'Xah** someone will tell a story there *L,* **qa:tl' 'ida'k'u'qe'Xah** someone will tell us a story *M, Active imperfective: first person sg. S:* **'itl' 'ida'xXa:** *61.53A,* **'itl' 'ida'xXah** I tell you *61.124, 125A,* **'ida'xXah** I'm telling a story *M, third person S:* **'ida'Xah** *10.229, 231, 25.191, 201A, 35.1L, 51.12, 12, 25, 61.56A,* **'ida'Xa:** *11.145, 25.189, 51.14, 15, 69.10, 21A,* **'uma:lah sitl' 'ida'Xinhinh** he's telling me about his mother *L,* **dA'a: 'ulah sitl' 'ida'Xinhinh** he's telling me about himself *L,* **'Aw 'u'sAtsa'L sitl' 'ida'Xinhinh** he told me he bought it *L,* **qa:tl' 'ida'Xinhinh** he's telling us a story *L,* **k'uq'Ach' 'ida'Xinhinh yiLinhinh** he's a tattle-tale, tale-bearer < he is one who tells on one *M,* **dA'u:dAXyi:nkih 'ida'Xah** someone is telling a story *L,* **dA'u:dAXyi:nkih sitl' 'ida'Xah 'i: 'Ad'e'd** someone told me you were home *L, with indefinite S: 12.1fnG,* **'ulah 'ida'k'u'Xa:** one tells (things) about it *51.11, 70.6, 6A,* **'u:d 'ida'k'u'Xah** someone is telling stories there *L,* **'ida'k'u'wAXah** someone is telling a story *M,* **dik' 'ulah q'e' k'u'da'dAXahG** one does not tell anymore about them *24.102A (irregular form with k'u-indefinite S preceding 'ida'-indeterminate O, expected form 'ida'k'u'dAXahG), Inceptive perfective:* **'ida'GAxXa:L** I'm in the process of telling a (long) story *L, Active perfective:* **'itl' 'ida'siXahL** I told you a story *M,* **siq'Ach' 'ida'sAXahLinh** he told on me *LM,* **sitl' 'ida'k'u'sAXahL** someone told stories there *L,* **k'e:duh 'utl' 'ida'sAXahL** what did you tell him? *L,* **du:d 'itl' 'ida'sAXahL** who told you that (story)? *L,* **siq'Ach' q'e' 'ida'sdiXahLinh** he told on me again *M, Active optative:* **dA'u:dshgahX 'ida'k'u'liXah** I wish someone would tell a story *L, Active conditional:* **sitl' 'ida'Xah da:X** just as he'd gotten started

telling me a story *L, customary:* **'ida'yiXa:k'** you (cust) tell things *11.181A,* **'ida'xXa:k'** I (cust) tell stories *M,* **sitl' 'ida'Xa:k'inh** he (cust) tells me a story *M, with perambulative:* **yAX 'ida'dAXe:** tell it (story, rumors) about! *M; passive: 12.1G, 51.4A,* **wAX q'Al 'ida'dAXa:** *12.19G,* **wAX q'Al 'ida'dAXah** thus it's told *M,* **'ilah sitl' 'ida'dAXah** I'm told (stories) about you *L,* **de:duh 'ida'dAXah** what (stories, rumors, reports) are being told? *M,* **lAXisxwa:sdah 'ida'dAXah** a scary story is being told *L,* **dA'ishguGdah q'Aw silah ('itl') 'ida'dAXa:** just lies are being told (to you) about me *10.182, 183A,* **dik' 'ulah q'e' 'ida'dAXahG** nothing more is told about them *L,* **'iq'Ach' 'ida'qe'dAXah** you'll be told on *L,* **'a:nd sitl' 'u'dAXa:k'** I'm (cust) told here *10.179A,* **qi' 'ida'dAXa:k'** place where stories are (cust) told *L.*

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k'utl' 'ida'Xinhinh *(noun, unclassified)* preacher *31.1L. Nominalized Active imperfective,* < he who tells one things, stories.

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'uq'Ach'ahd 'ida'GAXah *(noun, unclassified)* Bible *L. Nominalization, as above, passive: 'it is read from',* < things, stories are told from on it.

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'uq'Ach'ahd 'ida'dAXah ditl'a'g *(noun, unclassified)* newspaper *L. Nominalization, as above,* < paper from on which things, stories are told.

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wAXah *(noun, unclassified)* story, news *L: 12.1, 57.1, 32G,* **'Aw wAXah 'u'lixiLgah** I know that story *L,* **k'udzu: wAXah q'A'Aw** that's a good story *L,* **k'udzu: wAXah** good news *L. wA-prefix perhaps wA- 'mythological', or wA-phonological as in 'u'wAXah etc.*

Xa2 *(probably loan from Tlingit, ẋá 'war, warrior' (Boas), 'attacking force' (Naish-Story), yα-ẋà 'to paddle, go by boat', 'αẋá 'canoe paddle'; see also 'AdAwi'L)*

Xa: *(noun, probably unclassified)* war, battle (at sea), attack (by boat): *54.1, 1, 9, 13G,* **Xa: 'idAleh** there's a canoe fight going on *L.*

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-Xah *see q'iXah.*

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-Xa S travel in pl. boats, S travel as a fleet (often with belligerent intent): **'ilAXXa'**, **GAlAXXa'** *(former much preferred)* pl. go (in fleet) *L,* **'u:ch' 'ilAXXa'**, **'u:ch' GAlAXXa'** pl. go there in fleet (for war)! *L,* **qa'Xah** they'll go in boats *L,* **dAtli: qa'Xinhinu:** they're about to leave (in boats) *37b.45A,* **'a:nch' qa'Xah**, **'a:nch' qu'wAXah** they'll come here (in boats) *L,* **dik' 'a:nch' qu'wAXa:G** they won't come here (in boats) *L,* **GAXa:L** they're going (along) in fleet *L,* **'a:nch' GAXa:L** they're coming here (in fleet) *L,* **qi'Xah 'a:nch' GAXa:L** a warlike fleet is coming here *L,* **'u:ch' GAXa:L** are going there in fleet (for war) *7.19A,* **sAXahL** they went (as a fleet) *L, 68.100A,* **'a:nda' sAXahL** they arrived here (as a fleet) *L, 68.109A,* **yAq' sAXahL** they landed ashore (as a fleet) *37b.18A,* **li' sAXahL** they boated downriver (as a fleet) *68.19, 49, 51, 81A,* **q'e' li' sdiXahL** they (another group) boated (as a fleet) downriver *65.20A,* **dik' dAGe'X q'e' 'AsdAXahLG** they didn't boat back upriver (as a fleet) *68.18A,* **dik' 'u:da' q'e' 'AsdAXahLG** they didn't boat back there (as a fleet) *68.19A,* **q'e:dAG sdiXahL** they boated back uprived *68.36A,* **dAGe'X** o-**ch'a' sAXahL** they boated (as a fleet) up to o *68.101A,* o-**ch' q'e' 'AdAXe:k'** they (cust) boated (as a fleet) back to o *68.60A, with perambulative 'reversal of motion':* **dik' q'e:yAX 'AdAXa:k'G** they (cust) never went back (as a fleet) *68.42A; repetitive:* **'a:nch' Xa:ginu:** they're coming here in one boat after another *L (Active imperfective not used without repetitive or perambulative, and Inceptive perfective not used with repetitive L); with d-class-mark for S 'boats':* **'a:nch' dAGAXa:L** boats are coming *L; indirect reciprocal, with*

'iLlAXa:n' 'in competition with one another': **'iLlAXa:n' 'idiXahL** they're racing (in canoes) *L (Neuter perfective),* **'iLlAXa:n' da: 'idAXa:k'** we (cust) raced each other (in canoes) *59.3 Galushia Nelson.*

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'i-X-Xa *(with X-thematic and apparently indeterminate O)* S (fleet of boats, unknown persons in boats) travel: **'u:ch' 'iXAGAXa:L** fleet was going thither *59.4 Galushia Nelson,* **'u:ch' 'iXAsAXahL** fleet of boats went thither *59.2 Galushia Nelson,* **k'iya' 'iXa:nXa:k'** fleet (cust) landed ashore *59.4 Galushia Nelson, with perambulative:* **yAX 'iXAdAXa:k'** groups of canoes (cust) travelled about *68.27, 28A.*

Xa´

O-'-(**l**-)**L-Xa´** *(l-thematic usually omitted in Active perfective, and frequently omitted in forms with vocalized classifier, though rarely in non-Inceptive imperfective) requires complement: C O-'-(l-)L-Xa´ 'S make O (be) C' (functions suppletively as causative of C-Le(') 'S be, become C', with the same semantic subclassifications as listed under -Le(') 1., thus* S make, turn O into (a substantive instance of) C, S make O function, use, have O (functioning) as C, S make O C-y, get O "full of" C, S make O C *(where C is adjective, certain adverbs, preverbs, postpositional phrases, or certain forms attested syntactically only C)* 1a.-c.: *2a.23, 24, 4.7M, 7.14, 10.149, 11.26, 31,* **gust' 'u'lAGALXa'** build a big bonfire (outside, to scare bears)! < make it flame! *L,* **'anh xi:l 'Aw XAwa: dAkinh 'u'sALXa'L** the shaman turned the dog into a stick *L,* **'Aw dAkinh k'a't' qu'li:xLXah** I'll turn that stick into an island *L,* **'Aw dAkinh k'a't' 'u'siLXa'L** I turned that stick into an island *L,* **'i: LA'ah 'i'qe'li:xLXah** I'll keep you as a slave *L,* **'Aw Le't' 'uq' 'isda'L 'u'lixiLXah** I use, keep that box for a chair *L,* **yAXAya: 'u'lixiLXah** I use it for a mattress *M,* **XAyAXu:d ya: 'Aw 'u'sALXa'Linh** he added it to (hid it in) the pile (to fill out the pile) < he made it serve as something under there *M,* **'Awtl' ya: 'Aw 'u'sALXa'Linh** he made do with it (as makeshift, hodge-podge) < he made it serve as something with it *M,* **ts'a' qu'li:xLXah** you'll get it all muddy *M,* **di:ya' qu'li:xLXah** I'll salt it (fish) *L,* **di:ya' 'u'lAGALXa'** make it salty! *L,* **di:ya'ga'kih 'u'lAGALXa'** make it a little salty! *L,* **di:ya'shuh 'u'sALXa'L** did you make it salty? *L,* **Lanhd 'u'lAGALXa'** make it smoky! *L,* **k'ahG 'i'qe'li:xLXah** I'll get you full of quills *L,* **hu:lshuh qu'li:LXah** are you going to sell it? *L,* **hu:l qu'li:xLXah** I'll sell it *M,* **dik' hu:l qu'li:xLXahG** (*or* **-Xa:G**) I won't sell it *L,* **'Ala:dunh 'Aw 'AX hu:l 'u'lAGi:LXah** *L (no gloss, probably 'he even has to sell the canoe'), with class-marks for O:* **XahdL 'uXa' xu:l 'u'dla:sALXa'Linh** he sold his car *L,* **XahdL siXa' hu:l 'u'dla:GAxLXa'L** I'm (in procress of) selling my car *L,* **hu:l 'u'dla:GALXa'**, **hu:l 'u'dli:LXa'** *(but not 'u'dla:L-)* sell it (car)! *L,* **hu:l 'u'lAXAsiLXa'L** I sold them (berries) *L, repetitive:* **XahdL siXa' 'u'dla:xLXa'g** I'm trying to sell my car *L; indirect reflexive, with possessed noun as C, possessor same person as S:* **'Al Ga:ndich'ich'gyu: 'ukuwa'na:G 'Aw 'u'LiXah** he has, treats those birds as his partners, relatives *10.54A,* **'ukuwa'na:G q'e' 'u'LiXah** he made him his partner again *10.110A.*

1e.-g.: *with adjectives as C: 61.11, 11, 18A (Active optative),* **k'ushiyah 'u'lisiLXa'L** I wrecked it (made it bad) *M,* **ya:dik' 'u'lAGALXa'** make it short! *M,* **k'u'luw 'u'lAGALXa'** make it big! *M,* **dAq'uw k'a' k'ut'u' 'u'la:yiLXah** you should take lots of provisions < you should make provisions plentiful *L,* **sita:' 'Aw XAwa: k'udzu: 'u'sALXa'L** my father made the dog (be) good *L,* **sidAGAleh siya: k'ushiyah 'u'li:LXah** I feel guilty < it's making my mind bad *L, with certain adverbs as C:* **k'a:dih qu'li:xLXinhinh** I'll make him get lost *M, with 'Ashdih 'whereabouts unknown', 'S wonder about O': 2b.13L,* **'Ashdih 'u'lixiLXah** I wonder about it *L, 69.29A,* **'Ashdih xu'li:LXinhinh** he wonders about me (my welfare, etc.) *L, with dAXu' 'right, correct, true':* **dAXu' da: 'u'li:LXah** we took it to be true, held it for the truth *51.16A (cf. O-'-dl-L-Xa´), with didu'X 'almost':* **didu'X 'u'siLXa'L** I let him have it, almost did him in, almost killed him *L,* **tli: didu'X 'i'qe'li:xLXah** I'm about to really let you have it *L,* **didu'X**

'u'siLXa'Linu:, **didu'X 'u'qAsiLXa'Linu:** I almost did them in *L, with preverbs and postpositional phrases as C:* **ta'd 'u'lixiLXah** I'm keeping it in water, soaking it *L,* **t'its'dAlu' k'u'sALXahL** he made (something into) a hole in the ice *16.6M,* **'Awch'a:q'd k'a' siya: 'u'la:yiLXah** you must aim it at it for me *27a.4L,* **'Awch'a:q'd 'u'lAGALXa'** aim it at it! *L,* **'Awch'a:q'd 'u'lixiLXah** I'm aiming it at it *L,* **'Awqa' k'u'sALXa'Linh** he added something to it < he made something (be) amongst them *M,* **giyah 'AwgAlAqa' 'u'sALXa'Linh** he watered it (whiskey) < he made water be amongst it (liquid) *M, with forms as C attested only as C: with 'Ashu:kih, see shu:, with 'Ani:djih 'punishment, just deserts', repetitive:* **'Ani:djih 'u'li:LXa'ginh** punish him! *L,* **'Ani:djih 'i'qe'li:xLXa'g** I'll teach you a lesson, punish you *L,* **'Ani:djih 'i'siLXa'gL** I taught you a lesson, punished you *L; problematical forms: indirect reciprocal with q'e' and LA-classifier, form treated as intransitive,* **'iLtl' k'udzu: q'e' k'u'sLiXa'Linu:** they reconciled < they made something good again with one another *L (not verified), form apparently with indeterminate O (cf. C da-'-(l-)L-Xa'):* **k'ut'u'yu: wAX 'ida'lixiLXah** I've got a lot of stuff < I have many things (indeterminate O) thus *11.44A.*

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2. *Reflexive and passive: reflexive:* S make self (be) C, turn self into C, pretend to be C: *imperatives:* **XAwa: 'Adu'lAGALAXa'** pretend to be, act like a dog! *M,* **k'udzu: 'Adu'la:lAXLAXa'** pl. be good, act good! *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **de:dA'Aw 'Adqu'lAxLAXah** what shall I turn myself into? *11.115A,* **XAwa: 'Adqu'lAxLAXah** I'll pretend to be, act like a dog *M,* **XAwa: da: 'Adqu'lALAXah** we'll pretend to be, act like dogs *M,* **ts'iyuh 'Adu'qu'xLAXah**, **ts'iyuh 'Adqu'xLAXah** I'll turn myself into a blackbear *L, Neuter imperfective:* C **'Adu'LiXah** *3.6M, 9.51, 20, 24.4A, 40.16fnL, 50.1A,* **'Adu'LiXinhinh** *50.13, 14A,* **'Adu'liLiXa:** *11.119A,* **'Adu'liLiXinhinh** *9.61, 50.41A,* **XAwa: 'Adu'LiXah**, **XAwa: 'Adu'liLiXinhinh** he's pretending to be a dog, acting like a dog, has himself in the form of a dog *M,* **hu:l 'Adu'LiXinhinh** she's a prostitute < she has herself for sale *L,* **silAXa:'ne: 'Adu'LiXinhinh** he claims to be my relative *M,* **'Aw du:sh siXa' dAXunh 'Adu'LiXah** that cat of mine sure makes itself at home with me < that cat with me acts like a person *L, Inceptive perfective:* **k'ushiyah 'Adu'GALAXa'Linu:** they (children) are getting, starting to act bad (deliberately) *L, Active perfective:* **'Adu'sLiXa'L** *2a.6, 22M, 2b.8L, 7.7, 9.52, 55A, 11.5fnL, 20.25, 24.1, 27, 77A,* **k'ushiyah 'Adu'sLiXa'Linh** he got bad (deliberately) *L, Active optative:* **k'Adzu: k'a' 'Adu'la:LiXah** you should be good *L, Inceptive conditional: 51.18A, Active conditional: 69.14A, customary:* **'Adu'lALAXa:k'** *9.75A,* **'Adu'LAXa:k'** *33.21A,* **XAwa: 'Adu'LAXa:k'inh** he (cust) pretends to be a dog *M,* **k'ushiyah 'Adu'LAXa:k'inu:** they (cust) get bad **k'ude:dahshuhnu: 'uqa' dAXunh 'Adu'la:LAXa:k'G** isn't there any way you could (cust) turn yourself into a person amongst them? *10.238A, repetitive:* **k'ushiyah 'Adu'sLiXa'gLinh** he (child) was bad off and on *M; passive:* **didu'X xu'lisdiXa'L**, **didu'X xu'lisLiXa'L** I was almost had, almost done in, almost killed *L,* **dAtli: hu:l 'u'lisLiXa'L** it's been sold already *L,* **'Aw Le't' 'uq' 'isda'L 'u'sLiXa'L** (*or* **'u'sdiXa'L**) that box is used (made to function) as a chair *L, repetitive:* **'Ani:djih 'i'qe'dAXa'g** you'll get punished, taught a lesson *L.*

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O-**'-dl-L-Xa´** *(as above, with d-thematic 'oral noise') attested only with dAxu' 'true, correct, right',* S believe O < S hold O's word as true, correct, right: **dAXu' 'i'dla:xiLXah** I believe you *L,* **dik' dAXu' 'i'dla'xLXa:G** I don't believe you *L,* **dik' dAXu' xu'dla'LXa:Ginh** he doesn't believe me *L,* **dik' dAXu' 'u'dla'xLXa:Ginh** I don't believe him *L,* **dik' dAXu' xu'qu'dli:LXahG** you won't believe me *L,* **dAXu' xu'dla:sALXa'Linh** he belived me *L.*

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'Ad-'i:lih-LA-Xa´ *(with 'i:lih 'mind', attested only in reflexive) attested only with 'Ashdih 'whereabouts unknown',* S lose consciousness: **'Ashdih 'Adqe:lihLAXa:** you'll become unconscious, you'll faint, pass out *36.20A.*

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C **da-’-(l-)L-Xa´** *(da- prefix does not occur as such in any other theme, but is probably related to 'ida-, to be analyzed 'i-da-, which functions as indeterminate O in most semitransitives; theme is treated as intransitive, showing LA-classifier with e.g. q'e' 'again, another', or when C is possessed noun with possessor same person as S; not 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; l-thematic is almost always dropped in the Active perfective and forms with LA-classifier, apparently never dropped elsewhere)* S have, own, possess, get, obtain, give birth to C: *Inceptive imperfective:* **dAde:chi:d da: da’qe’li:LXa:** what ever will we have? *11.54A,* **ch’iyahd da’qe’li:LXah** they'll get married < they'll get a hat *(see ch'iyahd) M,* **ch’iyahd ’itl’ da’qe’li:xLXah** I'll marry you < I'll get a hat with you *17.5M,* **XahdL da’qe’li:xLXah** I'll own a car *L,* **Xahd q’e’ da’qe’xLAXah** I'll own a car again, I'll get another car *L,* **sAqe:ts’Akih da’qe’li:LXinhinh** she'll have a baby *L,* **dik’ ’uga’ k’uXa’tl’ da’qe’li:xLXahG ’ixiL’eh** I won't have enough time to see you *L, Neuter imperfective:* **da’li:LXah** *49.83, 51.43aA,* **da’li:LXinhinh** has *11.110, 49.21, 84A,* **XahdL da’lixiLXah** I own a car *LM,* **’Aw XAwa: da’lixiLXah** I own that dog *L,* **’i: da’lixiLXah** I have you (to depend on) *L,* **’ilAX Giyah da’lixiLXah** I have more food than you *M,* **’i’u’X Giyah da’lixiLXah** I have less food than you *M,* **dA’iga’ Giyah da’lixiLXah** I have just as much food as you *M,* **dik’ dA’u:dAXya:kih da:la’xLXa:G** *23.15A,* **dik’ dAde:d da’la’xXa:G**, **dik’ dAde:d da:la’xLXa:G** I don't have anything *L,* **dik’ XahdL da:la’xLXa:G** I don't have a car *L,* **yahdsh da’li:LXah** do you own a house? *L,* **dAXk’nu: sAqe:GAyu:d da’li:LXah** how many children do you have? *L,* **dAXk’ da: shdu:lihGd da’li:LXah** how many tables do you own? *L,* **de:ga’d ma:sdla: da’li:LXah** how much better do you have? *L,* **de:ga’d da:na: da’li:LXah** how much money do you have? *L,* **di’wAX xu: ’a:nd da’li:LXah** (well at least) you still have *me* here *L,* **k’ugu:nt’u’inu: sAqe:GAyu: da’li:LXinhinh** she has many children *L,* **k’u’luw yAda: da’li:LXinhinh** she has great (shamanistic) power *L,* **’AXa: le:Lgu’a:w da’li:LXinhinh** my what long hair she has! *L,* **yAX ’iLA’a:nXinh da’li:LXinhinh** he has a watchman *L,* **dik’ kAna:’d da:la’LXa:G** he has no coat *24.45A,* **dik’ sAqe:GAyu: da:la’LXa:Ginh** she has no children *L,* **ch’iyahd da’li:LXinhinu:** they're married *M, Inceptive perfective:* **XAwa:yAquhyu: da’lAGALXa’L** *(not da'GAL-)* she's having pups *L, Active perfective:* **da’sALXa’L**, **da’sALXa’Linh** *2a.8, 36M, 26.14L, 7.15fnA, 18.49L, 20.73, 23.138A, 34.76L, 49.21, 22, 22, 23A,* **didu’X ’utl’ ch’iyahd da’siLXa’Linh** I almost married her *L,* **XahdL q’e’ da’xsLiXa’L** I own a car again, I got another car *L,* **’anhtl’ ch’iyahd da’sALXa’Linh** he married her *M,* **XahdL da’lAsALXa’Linh** he got a car *L,* **Lila:’ sAqe:ts’Akih da’sALXa’Linh** she had a boy baby *L,* **XAwa:yAquhyu: da’sALXa’L** (*or* **da’lAsALXa’L**) she had pups *L,* **dik’ sAqe:ts’Akih da’lAsLXa’LG** she didn't have a baby *L,* **qi’ sAqe:ts’Akih da’k’u’sALXa’L** place where someone had a baby *L, Active optative:* **XahdL da: da’la:yiLXah** we should have a car *L,* **’Al k’a’ da’la:xiLXah** may I have this *36.39A,* **Li’q’ ya:yu: da’la:xiLXah** may I have all sorts of things *36.40A, Inceptive subjunctive:* **ch’iyahd da’lAGAxLXahX ’ixleh** I want to get married *L,* **’anh qe’Ltl’ ch’iyahd da’lAGAxLXahX sitl’ dAlinhinh** he told me to marry that woman *L, customary:* **da’lALXa:k’** *64.17G, repetitive:* **sAqe:GAyu: da’lALXa’ginu:** they kept having children *68.45, 67A.*

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qi’ sAqe:ts’Akih da’k’u’lALXa:k’ *(noun)* maternity hospital < place where one has children *L.*

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o-**X ’ida’-L-Xa´** S have (give birth to) o: **xah ’iX ’ida’siLXa’L** I had (gave birth to) you in the summer *L (L entirely uncertain of correctness of this form, cf. o-X k'u-Le(')).*

Xa:1

Xa: *(noun, unclassified, occasionally (archaically?) d-class)* 1. northwind (a cold northerly wind coming down off Chugach mountain range and glaciers) *LS*: *Khromchenko* Xae / Xa 'Северъ' ('north'), **Xa: LAXu:G** northwind is blowing hard *L,* **Xa: 'idAGAle:L** northwind is blowing (becoming active) *L,* **Xa: li' 'iqe'di:L'ah** northwind will come down *L,* **Xa: li' 'idi:L'ah** northwind is coming down *M,* **Xa: li' 'idAGAL'a'L** (*or* **'ida'GAL'a'L**) northwind is starting to come down *L,* **Xa: di:tl'eh** northwind is cold *L (here apparently d-class, cf. d-LA-yAX).*

2. north (area of Chugach mountain range and glaciers), *as o of o-yAX-d '(at rest in, nominalization of) under o'*: **Xa:yAXd** north *L.*

Xa:2 *(see also Ge:Xa'~Ge:Xah)*

guXa: *(noun, unclassified or g-class, 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*: **gAXa:da' 'anhtl' shA'a'ch'Linh** he arrived at a stump with her *18.24L,* **guXa:luw** big stump *LM,* **guXa:guyAX 'ilAX'a'ch'** pl. go under a stump! *(if great horned owl says this there will be rain) L.*

Xa:3

'A-~q'A-Xa: *(exclamation) (clause-initial, stem -Xa: with 'A- exclamatory or q'A-, probably q'-emphatic prefixes in free variation)* my!, gosh!, (my) how …!, (my) what …! *(expression of amazement or irritation)*: *72.4, 5, 11, 13, 14L,* **q'AXa:** *same as* **'AXa:** *L, in verbal clauses:* **'AXa: 'Aw gAli:Lts'uhinh** my how he loves to guzzle it! *L,* **'AXa: diLiXAXginh** my how he snores! *L,* **'AXa: le:Lgu'a:w da'li:LXinhinh** my what long hair she has! *L,* **q'AXa: lisLiq'AXLinh/li:Lk'in'Linh** my how fat/skinny she is! *M,* **q'AXa: ya' GAdli:'ah** my how high it is! *M,* **'AXa: sLits'in'tl'gL** it (store) sure makes (lots of) ashes! *L,* **'AXa: ta: 'u:dAX yAX GAdAsidL** my how roads extend there in many directions! *L,* **q'AXa: 'a'd wAX 'i:t'inhinh** 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:* **q'AXa: k'u'a:w** my how long it is! *M,* **q'AXa:** (*or* **'AXa:**) **k'u'a:w 'AX/'AXAkih** my what a long boat/canoe! *L,* **q'AXa:** (*or* **'AXa:**) **ya:dAdik' shdu:lihG** my what a low table! *L,* **q'AXa:** (*or* **'AXa:**) **la'q' 'i:chahsh/-cha'sh kushxi:d** my what thick cloth! *L, with nominalized verb and suffixed adjectives:* **q'AXa: Xe'dilinhinhshiyah** what a fop! *L,* **'AXa: 'Adu'Liginhinhkih** my what a cute knowledgeable child! *L.*

Xa:dj

-Xa:dj *(noun, unclassified)* gills: **'uXa:dj 'Awa:** its gills *A,* **k'uXa:dj** gills *LMA,* **k'uXa:djt'u'** lots of gills *LM.*

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k'uXa:dj *(personal name) John Williams, Tlingit-speaking man from Dry Bay, living at Yakutat* < "gills" *A.*

Xa:sh *(perhaps related to Xish~Xihsh1,2, XAsh, and/or Xu:'sh)*

O-**Xa:sh-g** *(with -g-repetitive thematized)* S gnaw, nibble, chew O: **'Aw Xa:shg** it's gnawing it *LM,* **k'uXa:shginh** he's gnawing something *M, with d-class-mark for O and yAX 'apart':* **'Aw yAX dAshAXa:shgL** it (beaver) chewed through it (tree) *L.*

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k’uXa:shg *(noun, unclassified)* beaver *LMAS*: *16.1, 2, 6, 9, 11, 14, 17, 22, 23, 25, 29M, 63.3, 5G, Wrangell* Кохашкъ 'Biber', *Furuhjelm* Khuhashk, *Galushia Nelson* qə́x̣à·ck *or* qə́x̣à·ckə̀ *or* ɋə́x̣à·ckə̀ *BSdL 539,* **k’uXa:shgtse’** beaver-meat *63.36G,* **k’uXa:shgch’iyahd** beaver(-skin)-hat *L.*

Xah1 *(perhaps to be identified with Xah2, basic meaning 'round', see also Ge:Xa:~Ge:Xah)*

qAXah *(noun, l-class) (qA-prefix not identified)* moon, month *LMA*: *2a.2, 4, 14, 19M, 26.16L, Rezanov* Каха 'Мѣсяцъ, луна Mond, Monat', *Anonymous* Каха 'Мѣсяцъ', *Baranov* Каха 'Месяцъ', *Khromchenko* Хаха 'Луна', *Wrangell* Каха 'Mond', *Galushia Nelson* qàx̣á’ *or* qàx̣á 'moon' *BSdL 537,* **LinhGa:na: qAXah** one month *M,* **la’da:na: qAXah** two months *M,* **dAXk’ ’a:na:d qAXah** in a few months *70.3fnA,* **k’ulAt’u’ qAXah** many months *M,* **qAXah ’ula’X ’i:nsa’yahL** she's a month pregnant *L,* **la’dits’i:n ’a:na: qAXah ’ula’X ’i:nsa’yahL** she's seven months pregnant *L; expressions concerning phases of the moon, in which l-class-mark for S 'moon' is thematized and the noun qAXah usually omitted:* **Xu’ ’i:nsAt’u’L**, **Xu’ ’i:nsAliL**, **(qAXah) Xu’ lAsAliL** moon became full *L,* **Xu’ li:liL** moon is full *L (Neuter perfective),* **ya:’a:gAga’ qAXah** half-moon *M,* **ya:’a:g lAsAliL**, **ya:’a:g ’i:nsAliL** *(not **’i:nsAt’u’L**)* moon is half *L,* **Lich’a:ch’ ya:’a:g lAsAliL** moon is getting back to half (on one side) *L,* **ya:’a:gAch’ lAGAle:L** moon is getting close to half full *L; expression concerning movement and complete phases of the moon, with theme LA-'a, l-class-mark lacking:* **qAXah GALA’a:L** the moon is moving *L,* **qAXah q’e’ sLi’ahL** moon (just a rim) has started to increase again *L,* **dAXk’a:na: qAXahd sLi’ahL** how many new moons (have passed)? *L, L and A remember the names of many months, totalling in fact eighteen, so that some months had more than one name and/or some of the recorded month-names are not authentic; they do not remember the order of these months, however, and in many cases remember but vaguely or not at all to what season of the year they belong; thirteen of the names take the form of a compound, the second member (head) of which is qAXah: of six of these the first member is the name of a toy or game (which were appropriate to certain months only; see remarks in BSdL 238-242, which however are not sufficient to help establish the order or seasonal positions of the months):* **GAGAGXqAXah** quoit-month *(in winter) LA,* **ya’X XAdAtsinhdLqAXah**, **ya’X XAdAdAtsinhd qAXah** throwing-stick month *(winter?) L,* **ya’X XAdAtsinhg qAXah** *(August?) A,* **mAgAGqAXah** checkers-month *(winter) L,* **qAmAXts’LqAXah** (spinning-)top-month *L,* **dzanhqAXah** buzz-toy-month *(winter?) L, (April?) A,* **guch’uhqAXah** die-month *(April?, August?) A, in three others the first member is the name of a fish (which perhaps runs during that month):* **cha’ch’qAXah** red salmon month *(around May) L, (June) A,* **sa:gqAXah** eulachon-month *L, (February) A,* **dAGlahqAXah** (Dolly Varden or rainbow) trout-month *L, (November?) A, the first member of three others also refers to natural phenomena:* **la’mahdqAXah** berry-month *LA, (autumn?) L,* **XAla:g’ilA’a:g ya: qAXah** midwinter month *(January) A (unknown to L),* **na:’dqAXah** month (when sun goes) further down (slope) *(September?) A (unknown to L), and one apparently contains the Tlingit numeral nás’g 'three':* **nAts’gLqAXah** *(winter?) L; the other five names begin with 'u:nahd 'in (its) month' and refer to natural phenomena:* **’u:nahd q’e:lu: ’idAla:k’** month when they (king salmon) return *(March) A (unknown to L),* **’u:nahd qe’Lts’a’k’** *LM, (April, when water drips down from trees) A (interpretation uncertain, see ts'a'k'),* **’u:nahd ’idAyahsh** month when animals give birth to young *(May) L (also apparently a place-name in Yakutat Bay, see yahsh),* **’u:nahd ’iLAts’a:nG** month when ducks moult *L, (July) A,* **’u:nahd ’iLA’ah** month when sun shines *L; Wrangell* Я-итяткаха 'Blitz' *probably to be read* **…qAXah**, *perhaps the name of a specific month, but the first part cannot be identified; Furuhjelm* Takhnakhah 'moon' *probably to be read either* **dAGnahqAXah** *(= dAGlahqAXah 'trout-month') or perhaps* **dAXk’a:na:d qAXah** how many months?, a few months.

Xah2 *(perhaps to be identified with Xah1)*

'ishXah *(noun, unclassified) ('ish- not identified)* round bowl, (round-bottomed) mixing-bowl *LA*: **'ishXahga' 'i:t'eh** it's like a bowl, crater *L,* **'ishXah sich' 'Ata'** give me a mixing-bowl! *L.*

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'ishXahya'd *(place-name) Sheep Bay in Prince William Sound* < in round bowl *LM ('ishXah as o of o-ya'd 'in o with broad opening at top, body of water').*

Xahd1 *(perhaps to be identified with Xanhd~Xahd, perhaps related to XAd)*

O-**Xahd** 1. S move, handle O of some length directly by hand for relatively short distance along the axis of its length, lengthwise: **sich' 'AXahd** hand, pass it to me (sg. or pl. O of some length, e.g. stick, spear, gun, log) lengthwise! *L,* **'Aw xut'L qid sich' GAXahd** hand me that gun down (off the wall, lengthwise)! *L,* **'AXAkih da: lAG GAXahdL** we're dragging a canoe ashore *L,* **ya'X GAxXahdL** I'm sliding, pulling it upwards *L, with qa' 'up out':* **'Aw dAkinh qa' GAXahd** pull those sticks up! *M,* **qa' GAXahd**, **qa' 'AXahd**, **qa' 'iXahd** pull it (stick) out! *L,* **qa' qu'xXahd** I'll pull it (stick) out *L,* **qa' siXahdL** I yanked it out *M,* **GAX ch'iyahd-lAyAq'Ach'ahd qa' sAXahLinh** he pulled a rabbit out of a hat *M,* **siyAqa'd qa' GAXahd** pull it from between my hands! *L, with class-marks for O:* **qa' qi:li:Xahd** pull it (rope) out (in one motion)! *L, indirect reflexive, with ch'a' 'toward oneself':* **qid ch'a' GAxdAXahdL** I'm taking it (gun) down (off the wall, lengthwise, towards myself) *(qid ch'a' GAxdAta:L, if sideways) L; reflexive: with perambulative:* **yAX 'AdxdAXahdX** I'm stretching myself (about) *M, with y-anatomical:* **'AwXahd q'e:qa' 'Adya:dAXa:dk'inh** 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:nch' 'AXa:d** pull it out (with several motions)! *L,* **qa' 'AXa:d** *(not *qa' GAXa: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 *M.*

2. S pull, stretch, extend O (along axis of its length, without moving anchored end from position) *(in some cases difficult to distinguish by glossed from 1. above)*: **'ula't' sich' lahdz sAXahdLinh** he stuck his tongue out at me *M, repetitive:* **'ula't' lahdz Xahdginh** he's sticking his tongue out *L, with class-mark for O:* **qehX k'udAGAXahd** close the shades, curtains! < pull something d-class closed! *L,* **'iLyahd k'uqi:lAXahdinu:** they're having a tug-of-war < they're pulling something (a rope) out of each others' hands *(indirect recipocal) L, indirect reflexive, with ch'a' 'toward oneself': Rezanov* Чаатахатъ 'Тянуть ziehen' **ch'a' 'AdAXahd** pull it (toward yourself)! *L,* Итлякохчаатахатъ 'Тяни ziehen (Imperat.)' **… ch'a' 'AdAXahd, ch'a' qu'xdAXahd** I'll pull it *L, repetitive, with qi:l-class-mark for O:* **ch'a' qi:la:dAXahdg** pull on it (rope, toward yourself)! *M.*

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3. S handle (deal, shuffle) O (playing cards) *see Xanhd~Xahd.*

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yAX dAdAXahdX *(noun)* accordion *("you pull it back and forth") L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective of O-Xahd 2. with perambulative,* < it is stretched with reversal of motion with noise.

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dAlu' lahdz yAX dAXahdX *(noun)* bureau, chest of drawers *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective of O-Xahd 1. with perambulative 'reversal of motion',* < they (drawers) are pulled forward in and out through (holes in) something.

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O-**Xd-Xahd** 1. *(With Xd-thematic 'line', perhaps thematized class-mark originally for O 'pole')* S draw O (line): **k'uqu'XAdi:xXahd** I'll draw something (a line) *L,* **'u:dAX 'Aw XAdAGAXahdLinh** he's drawing it (a line) along there (by walking along dragging a stick) *L,* **dAkinhX 'a:ndAX XAdAGAxXahdL** I'm drawing a line along here with a stick *L, with lah 'around, in circular motion':* **lah quXAdi:xXahd** I'll draw a circle *with perambulative and 'a:wAyu: 'bizarre, indiscriminately':* **'a:wAyu: yAX XAdAxdAXahdX** I'm drawing a zigzag line *L; passive:* x̣àɒístíx̣àtɬ name of Basket Pattern 8. *BSdL 547 (illustrated in BSdL 82, plain line)* **XAdisdiXahdL** a line has been drawn.

2. *(Xd- perhaps thematic, or incorrect class-mark for O, belonging under O-Xahd 2. above)* S draw O (breath): **'ide'u:G li' XAdi:Xahd** take a deep breath! < draw your breath deeply in! *L.*

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O-**L-Xahd** 1. S pull, haul, tow (relatively heavy) O (at the end of e.g. a rope, not necessarily along any surface), S pull, drag (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:* **'iLXahd** drag it! *M,* **t'a'q'e'ch' 'iLXahd** pull it backwards! *L,* **'iLXahdinh** drag him! *L,* **'ALXahd** pull it! *L,* **q'Ale' 'i: 'ALXahd** now *you* pull it! *L,* **'u:ch' 'iLXahd**, **'u:ch' 'ALXahd**, **'u:ch' GALXahd** pull it thither! *L,* **'a:nch' 'iLXahd** drag it (e.g. box) here! *L,* **sich' 'ALXahd** drag it (along the ground) to me! *L,* **Xi:ch' 'iLXahdinh** drag him there! *51.58A,* **'AdiX xuGALXahd** drag me in! *47c.18L,* **ya'X 'ALXahd** haul, pull it up! *L,* **qa' GALXahd** pull it (anchor) up!, weigh anchore! *LA,* **'a:ndAX qa' xuGALXahd** pull me out of here! *L,* **'AXAya' qa' xuGALXahd** pull me up (out of water) into the canoe! *L,* **'iLk'ah GALXahdinu:** pull them apart (from fight)! *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **qu'xLXahd** I'll drag it *M,* I'll pull it *L,* I'll drag them (single trip) *L,* **ya'X qu'xLXahd** I'll haul, pull it up *L,* **'u:dAX qa' 'iqe'xLXahd** I'll pull you out of there *L,* **dAtli: 'idjehXt'e'ts'G 'iqe'xLXahd** I'm (already) going to drag you by the ear *L; Inceptive perfective:* **'a:ndAX GAxLXahdL** I'm dragging it along here *L, with tse'X 'down along shore' 20.12A, with lAG 'up from shore':* **lAG GAxLXahdL** I'm hauling it up *M, Active perfective:* **siLXahdL** I dragged it *M,* I dragged it there (one trip) *L, with tsa' 'down toward shore': 43.29M, Galushia Nelson* t'cilàcia qiɒax̣ wɛc ux̣a' sa' sətɬx̣atɬ 'Where Old Raven dragged his drying rack' *BSdL 259, 558* **Ch'i:lehshiyah qi'dAX we:sh 'uXa' tsa' sALXahdL** place along where Raven dragged his drying-rack down toward shore, *with lAG 'up from shore': 10.122, 29.6, 37b.18A, with qa' 'up out': 11.35, 36A,* **ta'd q'e' qa' xusALXahdLinh** he pulled me back up out of the water *M,* **qa' siLXahdL** I pulled up the anchor *A, with 'AdiX 'in(to house)': 47c.20L, with o-t'a' 'behind o': 9.131A, with o-da' 'to o': 20.19fnL, 51.59A, with ya'X 'up':* **ya'X siLXahdL** I pulled, hauled it up *L,* **q'e:ya'X sALXahdL** hauled them back up *34.109L, with other preverbs and postpositional phrases:* **ma:gAdAya'ch'ahd yAq' q'e' xusALXahdLinh** he dragged me back ashore out from in the lake *M, optatives:* **q'Ale' xu: 'ixiLXahd** now let *me* pull it *L,* **'u:ch' da: 'i:LXahd**, **'u:ch' da: Gi:LXahd** *(not *'i'LXahd)* let's pull it thither *L, with class-marks for O:* **'u:ch'ahd 'Aw lAG dAsALXahdLinu:** they dragged it (whalehead) thence up shore *29.6A,* **di'LXahd** pull it (sled)! *M,* **dAGALXahdLinh** he's pulling it (sled) *M,* **da:da:yiLXahd** let's pull it (sled)! *M,* **qu'di:xLXahd** I'll pull it (sled)! *L,* **'a:nd li'LXahd** drag it (paddle) here! *L,* **'a:nch' XAdi'LXahd** drag it (log) here! *L, repetitive:* **da: LXahdg** we're hauling it away (with repeated pulling motions) *M (lack of postpositional phrases and preverbs here implying 'away'),* **xLXahdg** I keep trying to drag it (one thing) *L (no Active imperfective *xLXahd without e.g. repetitive, no Inceptive imperfective repetitive *GAxLXahdgL L); indirect reflexive, with ch'a' 'toward oneself':* **ch'a' 'ALAXahd** pull it (toward yourself)! *M,* **ch'a' GAxLAXahdL** I'm pulling it toward myself *L; passive:* **lAGtli:X qi' qa' sLiXahdL** 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 objects:* **'iLXa:dinh** drag him (in sled)!

L, **qu'xLXa:dinh** I'll pull him (in sled) *L,* **xLXa:d** I'm dragging them (several trips) *L,* **GAxLXa:dL** I'm dragging them (several trips, activity taking all day) *L,* **qu'xLXa:d** I'll drag them (several trips) *L,* **siLXa:dL** I dragged them (several trips) *L,* **'u:ch' 'ALXa:d** *(not *GALXa:d)* pull them thither (several trips)! *L,* **'u:ch' da: 'i:LXa:d** *(not *Gi:LXa:d)* let's drag them thither (several trip) *L,* **'u:dAX 'Aw li' sALXa:dL** it (dog) dragged it (pieces of food) back in there *L,* **'Aw 'anhch' LXa:dk'** he (cust) drags it to her *49.111A, with class-mark for O:* **qu'di:xLXa:d** I'll pull it (sled) *(but -Xahd preferred) L; passive:* **dAXa:d** it's being hauled away (e.g. several loads of trash) *M (lack of preverbs and postpositional phrases implying 'away'); no repetitive with expanded stem (no *GAxLXa:dgL, *xLXa:dg) L.*

2. S draw O (bow): **'ALXahd** draw it (bow)! *A,* draw your bow! *L.*

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3. S fasten O (loosely, temporarily): *Rezanov* Кальхатъ 'Завяжи binden, zusammenbinden, zubinden (Imperat.)' **GALXahd** fasten it!, *with 'iLX 'in contact with each other' or 'iLch' 'to each other':* **'iLX GALXahd** *LM,* **'iLch' GALXahd** fasten, sew them (loosely, temporarily) together! *L,* **'iLX qu'xLXahd** I'll fasten them together *LM,* **'iLX GAxLXahdL** I'm fastening them together *M,* **'iLX siLXahdL** I fastened them together *M, repetitive:* **'iLX 'Aw LXa:dk'inh** he (cust) fastens them together *M.*

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Xahd *(noun, probably g- or qi:l-class, attested only in Rezanov)* rope, string, cord, cable: *Rezanov* Хаттъ 'Веревка Seil, Strick, Schnur', Хаттъ 'Якорь ('anchor') Anker' *(gloss probably incorrect).*

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-L-Xahd(**-L**) *(noun, probably g- or qi:l-class, with optional -L-instrumental)* cable, string: *Galushia Nelson* qù'tɬχàtɬχàtɬ *or* qɔ́'tɬχà·tɬχà·tɬ 'bow string' *BSdL 549* **qu'LXa:dLXahdL**, **qu'LXahdLXahd** bowstring *L,* **shAwe:na:LXahdL** anchor-cable *L.*

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XahdL *(noun, d-class) (with -L-instrumental)* sled, sledge *LMA,* automobile, conveyance (e.g. wagon, car of train) *LA*: *61.59, 64.71, 75A ('car'), also* **Xahdl** *M (L rejects), Galushia Nelson* χatɬ *or* χa'tɬ 'sled' *BSdL 550 (see BSdL 55 for description and discussion),* **XahdLda'luw** big sled, big car *M,* **XahdL 'u:d dAsA'ahL** (*or* **-tahL**) a car, sled is there *L,* **XahdL sich' dAsAL'ahL** he gave me a sled *L,* **XahdL da'qe'li:xLXah** I'll get a car *L,* **XahdL da'lixiLXah** I own a car *L,* **XahdL 'iXa' hu:l 'u'dla:GAxLXa'L** I'm selling my car *L (for further instances see Xa'),* **XahdL dAGAtsAtl'L** a car is going (sliding) along *L,* **XahdLdAlu'qa: 'iya'** go get a car! *L,* **XuhdLdAch' Ga:Linh** he's walking toward the car *L,* **XahdLda:q' 'i:dahL** it's sitting (perched) on top of the car *L,* **XahdLda:tl'** with a car, sled *L,* **XahdL 'iLda:X 'Ash XAdla:sdi'yahLinu:** (people in) cars glanced each other as they ran by each other *L,* **XahdLdAlAXa:n'd sAtahL** it's across from the car *L.*

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qu'LXa:d(**-L**) *(noun, unclassified)* bow (weapon): **qu'LXa:d** *LS (S has used them),* Хотлхотъ *(cited as Хомлхотльъ in Radlov from Buschmann)* 'Bogen', *Anonymous and Baranov* Кульхатль 'Лукъ' **qu'LXa:dL** *A, 7.26A, 27.3L, Jacobsen* kot'l-krat'l *(cited in BSdL 103), Galushia Nelson* qú'tɬχa·tɬ (*or* qɔ́'tɬχàtɬ) 'bow' *BSdL 549,* **qu'LXa:dLX** with bows *34.126L; L and M earlier offered various forms, hazily remembered:* **k'uLXa:d**, **k'uLXa:dL** *M,* **qu'LXahdL** *L, which are probably all incorrect; Galushia Nelson* à'tuwɪtɬ wɑt ɒɑ qu'tɬχa·tɬ (*or* ətuwɪtɬ etc.) 'war bow ("war-for-bow")' *BSdL 549* **'AdAwi'Lwahd qu'LXa:dL** < bow for war; **qu'LXa:dLGAla'** notch for string at end of bow, *also real name of djAmAdjAkih in Eyak Texts 34.* < bow shoulder *A;* **qu'LXa:dLXahd**, **qu'LXa:dLXehL** bowstring, *(see -L-Xahd(-L) and XehL). Expanded stem with optional -L-instrumental, L-classifier retained, for qu'- see qu'~qu:1.*

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tsidl dALXa:dL *(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)'. Nominalized Active imperfective of O-L-Xa:d 1. with expanded stem and d-class-mark for O, inexplicable (perhaps incorrect) -L-suffix (cf. qu'LXa:d(-L)),* < it's dragging boards along (one after another).

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O-**gdl-L-Xahd** *(with gdl-thematic, probably including g-class-mark and/or gd-thematic 'tight')* S tighten O (bowstring): **qu'gAdli:xLXahd** I'll tighten bowstring *L.*

Xahd2 *(probably to be analyzed X-ah-d, with X- to be identified with X as in o-X 'in contact with o', o-Xa' '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 Ga'ya:L** it's shedding hair, the pain is peeling off it *L,* **Xahd GALya'** make its hair fall off (not e.g. by scraping, but e.g. by boiling)! *L,* **Xahd lAGi:'ya:L** you're getting bald *M,* **Xahd di:Lq'a:g** singe it! *L,* **Xahd qu'di:xLq'ah** 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' 'i:'ah** it's sticking out (up) from behind something *L,* **Xahd qa:nch' GALA'a:L** sun is coming up (e.g. over hill) *L, Rezanov* Хатъ-канчекаатль 'Восхажденїе солнца Sonnenaufgang' **Xahd qa:nch' 'iGA'a:L** sun is coming up (over hill, obstruction).

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o-**Xahd** *(postposition) (always with zero (-d?) final)* 1. away from, going 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, 6.2L,* o-**Xahd -sinh** S die, leaving o (survivor) *20.94, 70.10A,* o-**Xahd 'Ad-dl-LA-we'ts'** S sneak away from o, o-**Xahd Xdl-'ya** S run away from, leaving o, escape from o, **'uXahd xLAtsin'inh** I want to go without him *L,* **'uXahd da: 'i:'a'ch'** let's get away from him *L,* **siXahd Ga:Linh** he's leaving me *M,* **siXahd sahLinh** he left without me *M, M,* **siXahd 'iya'** go on ahead without me!, don't wait for me! *M,* **siXahd 'i'XAdla:sa'yahLinh** he (running) pulled away from me *L,* **qa:Xahd 'i'qe'li:quhinu:** they (running) will pull away from us *L,* **siXahd 'i'lAGAqu:Linu:** they (running) are pulling away from me *L.*

2. (into visible from hidden position) out from behind o *(cf. Xahd 2. below), only with themes -'a'~/-sid 'sg. / pl. S extend'*: **'AwXahd qa' 'i:'inhinh** he's showing, sticking his head up over it (e.g. fence, wall) *L,* **'AwXahd qa' qi:nsidinu:** they're behind it, showing their heads up over it *L,* **'AwXahd qa:nch' GA'a'L** it's starting to show extending upwards from behind it *L,* **'AwXahd qid GA'a'L** it's starting to show extending out horizontally from behind it *L,* **'AwXahd yAX 'i:'ah** it's showing downwards from behind it *L.*

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o-**y-Xahd** *(postposition) (as above, with y-anatomical 'hand' thematized)* (forcibly) out of o's hand, from o (o unwilling): **siyAXahd 'Aw sALtahLinh** he took it, wrested it from me *M,* he took it out of my hand (against my will) *L,* **siyAXahd 'Aw GAta:Linh** he's taking it away from me *M,* **siyAXahd XAdla:sa'yahL** it (frog) got away from me *L.*

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o-**d-Xahd** *(postposition) (as o-Xahd, with d-thematic 'oral, noise')* away from o as o is talking: **sidAXahd q'e' sdiyahL** you went home, walking out on me as I was talking *L,* **sidAXahd shA'a'ch'Linu:** they walked out on me right in the middle of what I was saying *L.*

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o-**d-y-Xahd** *(postposition) (with combination of y-anatomical and d-thematic)* away from o's oppressive oral noise: **'udAyAXahd 'iyin'inh** go away from him, so you won't be bothered by his constant nagging! *L.*

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o-**l-Xahd** *(postposition) (as o-Xahd, with l-thematic, probably thematized l-anatomical 'head')* so o think, believe (rightly or wrongly), in o's opinion: *34.80L,* **silAXahd** I think *L,* **silAXahd lixah q'A'Aw** I thought it was a bear *M,* I think it's a bear (right or wrong) *L,* **silAXahd sAsinhL** I thought you were dead *M,* **silAXahd xu: siya' yAda'q' dAxa'ch' sAsinhL** I thought *my* watch had stopped *L,* **'ulAXahd q'Aw 'anh shAshehL** she thought she (same person as o) had killed me *10.198A; with reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction:* **'Ad-lAXahd 'Aw 'AyAG q'uhnu: 'Aw qa' dla:shdidja'L** they thought it was they themselves who had pulled it out *50.31A.*

XahL

XahLg *(noun, unclassified) (with -g-repetitive thematized)* rattle (baby's, shaman's, or ceremonial), wand (for potlatch dances) *L, Galushia Nelson* x̣a'tłk 'rattle' *BSdL 552.*

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O-**L-XahL-g** *(with -g-repetitive thematized)* S rattle O, shake O (rattle): **'Aw LXahLginh** he's shaking a rattle *L.*

Xahdz

-y-L-Xahdz-L *(noun, unclassified) (with y-anatomical)* nails, claws: **siyALXahdzL** my fingernails *M,* **k'uyALXahdzL** (back or front) claws *LM, Galushia Nelson* qáyítłx̣à'tstł *or* qáiyítłx̣àtstł 'fingernail' *BSdL 542* **qa:yALXahdzL** our, human fingernails, **k'uyALXahdzL'a:w** long fingernails *M; forms from Rezanov and Furuhjelm apparently lacking -L-classifier: Rezanov* Каяхацль 'Ногти Nägel der Finger und Zehen' **qa:yAXahdzL**, *Furuhjelm* Iakasha 'nails' *perhaps to be read* **-yAXahdzL**, *cursive Cyrillic -кацль or -хацль perhaps misinterpreted -каша in copying.*

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-qi:y-L-Xahdz-L *(noun, unclassified) (with qi:y-anatomical)* toenails, claws: **siqi:yALXahdzL** my toenails *LM,* **k'uqi:yALXahdzL** (back and front) claws *(same as k'uyALXahdzL in reference to animals) L.*

Xa'tl'

Xa'tl'-g, **Xa'tl'(-g)-L** *(noun) (with optional thematized -g-repetitive and/or optional -L-instrumental)* 1. *(unclassified)* club: *Galushia Nelson* x̣at'łk (*or* x̣̂at'łk) 'club' *BSdL 549* **Xa'tl'g** *LM, 31.12L,* **Xa'tl'L** *M (but L prefers Xa'tl'g to Xa'tl'L or Xa'tl'gL),* **Xa'tl'gX** with a (wooden) club *L,* **Xa'tl'gL'a'luw** big (wooden) club *LM.*

2. *(dl-class)* (stone) club: **Xa'tl'gLtli:'nuw** big (stone) club *M.*

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3. *Rezanov* ???

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L-Xa'tl' *(with l-thematic, perhaps anatomical)* S fall over (hitting, striking head): **ya'Xu: qu'li:Xa'tl'** don't fall (and bump your head) *L, with ya:n' 'down':* **ya:n' 'i:nsAXa'tl'Linh** he fell

down (over forward, and hit his head *L,* **ya:n' 'i:nsiXa'tl'L** I fell down *L, cautionary negative Inceptive imperative, with o-la'd 'hanging on o':* **'Awla'd q'ah lAGi:Xa'tl'G** don't trip over it! *L.*

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dl-Xa'tl' *(perhaps as above, with d-class-mark for S ('tree?') thematized, or with dl-thematic)* 1. S (not human) fall over: **'Awlu' 'Ash dla:sAXa'tl'L** it (tree) fell down through it *L, repetitive:* **qa:q' dla:Xa'tl'g** it (tree) keeps falling down on us *L, usually with ya:n' 'down':* **lis ya:n' dla:sAXa'tl'L** tree fall over *L,* **Lich'a:ch' ya:n' dla:sAXa'tl'L** it fell over sideways, to one side *L,* **'i:ndzi'X ya:n' dla:sAXa'tl'L** it fell over forward *L,* **t'a'q'e'ch' ya:n' dla:sAXa'tl'L** it fell over backward *L; Rezanov* Какетляхаль *(or* -каль *?)* 'Стучать ('to knock') klopfen, poltern' *perhaps to be read* **qa:q' … dla:Xa'tl'** it falls over on us, *cf. last entry under following transitives, see also Xa:n', with perambulative 'reversal of motion' and optional 'iLya':* (**'iLya'**) **yAX dla:dAXa'tl'X** (heavy-bottomed) thing which rocks back and forth but never falls over *L. Transitive (causative):* **ya:n' dla:siLXa'tl'L** I knocked it over, down (with stick, club, hand) *M,* **ya:n' q'e' dla:siLXa'tl'L** I knocked it back over *M,* **'Aw ya:n' dli:LXa:tl'k'inh** he (cust) knocks it over *M.*

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k'uq'Ach' 'Adla:LAXa'tl'L *(noun)* "a big thing which falls down on you and you never get up; kids were told about it to scare them" < it falls (makes itself fall) over onto one *L. Reflexive of preceding.*

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ya'X O**-dl-L-Xa'tl'** *(as causative of preceding, with ya'X 'up')* S stand, right O: **ya'X q'e' dla:GALXa'tl'** stand it back up! *L.*

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LA-Xa'tl' S move with quick jerk to side 1. *With l-anatomical 'head'*: **xu'lAsALts'in'tl'L da:X** (**'uya:X**) **'i:nxsLiXa'tl'L** he tried to slap me but I dodged, jerked my head (avoiding it) *L.*

2. *Perhaps passive of O-L-Xa'tl' 'S (clock, hour) strike'*: **LinhGih sLiXa'tl'L** it's one o'clock, the clock struck one *(or 'one (hour) has been struck'?) L,* **dAXk'id sLiXa'tl'L** what time is it? < how many has it (clock) struck, how many (hours) have been struck? *L. See also 'AdLAXa'tl' below and 'i-L-Xa'tl' under O-L-Xa'tl'.*

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O**-L-Xa'tl'** *(perhaps, at least in many cases, semantically more or less irregular causative of l-Xa'tl', LA-Xa'tl')* 1. S strike, hit, club O (with instrument other than hand): **siLXa'tl'Linh** I clubbed him *M, repetitive:* **'Aw GAxwits'dig 'Awa: LXa'tl'ginu:** they beat the drum too for them *57.19G, usually with l-anatomical 'head' partly thematized, probably not necessarily specifying 'head', 'S club O, S club O' over the head' (cf. also l-Xa'tl', of which this may, at least in some cases, be the causative): Active perfective:* **'i:nsALXa'tl'L** *1a.19M,* **lAsALXa'tl'L** clubbed him (over the head) *10.194, 195, 197, 200, 29.72A,* **xulAsALXa'tl'** clubbed me over the head *10.233A, with o-X 'with, by means of o': 8.18A, 16.12, 22M, with yAX 'downward':* **'Aw yAX lAsALXa'tl'L** he (Raven) clubbed it (king salmon) over the head *(yAX, not normally used here, probably a mistranscription of ya' 'utterly', in which case ya' lAsALXa'tl'L might be translated 'clobbered it over the head') 1b.11M, with ya' 'completely', 'clobbered him': 10.193(?), 11.144, 144, 147A, imperatives:* **lAGALXa'tl'** hit him in the head! *L,* **li:LXa'tl'** *29.71A,* **li:LXa'tl'inh** club him! *LM,* hit him in the head! *L,* **li:LXa'tl'uh** hit it (on the head)! *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **'iqe'li:xLXa'tl'** I'll club you *M, Active imperfective:* **'anh lALXa'tl'inh** he's hitting him *L, customary:* **li:Xa:tl'k'** *33.20, 20, 23fnA, repetitive, Active imperfective:* **yi:nnwa:yu:, qa: lALXa'tl'ginu:** shore patrol < sailors, they repeatedly club us, people over the head *L, see also under 2. below, with d-class-mark for O:* **ya'Xu: qu'di:LXa'tl'** don't hit it (board) *L; with indeterminate O:* S (clock) strike, tick, S (clock, time, hours) pass: **'iGALXa'tl'L** it (clock) is ticking *L,* **dAtli: 'iGALXa'tl'L** time is already passing, "time flies" *11.195A,* **dAXk'ida'dAw**

'isALXa'tl'L what time is it? < to how many has it struck? *L; with indeterminate O, vocalic classifier, with or without l-anatomica:* **'ahnu:qa' 'Aw 'i:nLAXa:tl'k'** he (cust) takes a club to them (their heads) < he (cust) clubs indeterminate O amongst them *33.20fnL; reflexive: see nominalization below; reciprocal: Galushia Nelson* ɬtɬʊⁿyaⁿtck'ɑɬɑhatɬ 'wrestling' *BSdL 551* **'iLu' ya:n'ch' k'uLAXa'tl'** < one is knocking one another down, *repetitive:* **'iLu' ya:n'ch' LAXa'tl'ginu:** they're wrestling < they're repeatedly knocking, trying to knock each other down *L; passive (see also nominalizations below): with ya' 'completely':* **ya' xusdiXa'tl'L**, **ya' xusLiXa'tl'L** I got beat up *L, with l-anatomical, partly thematized:* **'Awya'X yAX 'i:nsLiXa'tl'L** he got knocked, beaten down into it *11.37A,* **ya' 'ilAGAdAXa'tl' da:X** if/when you get clobbered over the head *10.272A,* **xu:nsLiXa'tl'L**, **xu:nsdiXa'tl'L** I got hit on the head *L.*

2. S swing O (like club, or on string): *with lah 'around, in circular motion':* **lah GAxLXa'tl'L** I'm swinging it around (on a string) *L, with d-class-mark for O:* **'ugutl'ah q'Aw lah dAGALXa'tl'L** it was banging, flailing its tail around *20.44A, repetitive with l-anatomical, partly thematized, and o-X 'in contact with o' with indeterminate o:* **'ahnu: da:X lALXa'tl'ginu:** she dashed their brains out < she (repeatedly) swings them (their heads) against something *49.65A.*

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qA-X-L-Xa'tl' *(with qA-plural and X-thematic, repeated action)* S repeatedly shake, swing, brandish O: **da: lAX qAXALXa'tl'** we keep shaking, swinging them like this *A.*

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'AdLAXa'tl' *(noun, unclassified)* clock *L (four times, once also 'AdLAXa'tl'g with -g- repetitive, twice, probably incorrectly, 'AdLAXa'tl'L with -L-instrumental L)*: **'Aw 'AdLAXa'tl'L di'wAX Ga:L** the clock is still going *L. Nominalized reflexive Active imperfective of O-L-Xa'tl',* < it strikes itself.

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t'a'd dAtah 'AdLAXa'tl'L *(noun, unclassified?)* pocket-watch < clock which is kept in one's pocket *L. Relativized passive(?) Active imperfective indirect reflexive.*

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'AdXa'tl'g *(noun, uncertain) possible reading of Furuhjelm* Athalkh 'heart', *perhaps deverbalized repetitive reflexive of O-L-Xa'tl',* < it beats (itself, repeatedly).

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yAX lAXAdAXa'tl'X *(noun, lX-class)* shinny-ball *L, Galushia Nelson* yáx̣làx̣à ɒàxàtɬx 'shinny ("ball-hit") *BSdL 551. Nominalized passive Active imperfective of O-L-Xa'tl' with perambulative and lX-class-mark for O,* < it (ball) is hit about (with clubs).

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'uX yAX (k'u)lAXAdAXa'tl'X *(noun, unclassified)* shinny-stick, bat: *Galushia Nelson* uxyáx̣làx̣à ɒàxàtɬx 'shinny stick' *BSdL 551,* **'uX yAX k'ulAXAdAXa'tl'X** shinny-stick, bat *L. As above,* < by means of it (something) it (ball) is hit about.

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k'uXa'tl' *(noun, unclassified)* hour, (clock-)time *M*: **LinhGih k'uXa'tl'** one hour *L (see also 61.111A),* **k'uXa'tl'tsin'da'ya'** one half-hour *L,* **la'dih k'uXa'tl'ga' 'u:ch' xu'Ga:nsa'yahL** I spent about two hours there *L,* **dik' 'uga' k'uXa'tl' da'qe'li:xLXahG 'ixiL'eh** I won't have enough time to see you *L. Exact analysis not clear, prefix k'u-indefinite; perhaps (otherwise unattested) simple intransitive -Xa'tl', '(something) strikes, bangs, ticks, makes knocking noise'.*

Xa'L *(perhaps to be analyzed Xa or Xa´ with -L-instrumental)*

-L-Xa'L *(noun) (with -L-classifier)* handle (semicircular type, on container): **'uLXa'L** its handle (of cup, basket, pot, not of e.g. axe) *L,* **'uLXa'Lshuh k'u:Leh** does it have a handle? < does its handle exist? *L.*

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-d-L-Xa'L *(noun) (as above, with d-thematic, perhaps thematized class-mark for possessor)* "button" (adductor muscle? of clam): **k'udALXa'L** "button" of clam *L.*

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-dl-Xa'L *(noun) (perhaps with d-thematic and l-class-mark for possessor)* handle of basket: **k'udla:Xa'L** basket handle *L (uncertain).*

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O-**L-Xa'L** S make handle for, put handle on O (container): **'Aw Le't' siLXa'L** I put a handle on the box *L,* **'Aw Le't' qu'xLXa'L** I'll put a handle on the box *L; passive:* **'Aw Le't' sdiXa'L** that box has had a handle put on it *L.*

Xa'ts'

O-**Xa'ts'** S lace, braid, stitch, sew O loosely: **'AXa'ts'** lace them (your shoes)! *L,* **GAXa'ts'** sew it (one thing) loosely, temporarily! *L, with qa' 'up out':* **si:nL siXa' qa' qu'xXa'ts'** I'll lace my shoes up *L,* **qa:nch' GAxXa'ts'L** I'm lacing them (my shoes) up *L,* **'ugAlah siXa'ts'L** I stitched its hem loosely *L,* **'iLX siXa'ts'L** I sewed it (one thing) together loosely, temporarily *L, repetitive:* **qa:nch' xXa'ts'g** I'm trying to lace it (shoes) *L (no Active imperfective without -g-repetitive or expanded stem L), with class-mark for O:* **lAXAGAxXa'ts'L** I'm lacing it (ball) *L; passive:* **sdiXa'ts'L** it's laced *L. With expanded stem:* **qa:nch' xXa:ts'** I'm spending a long time trying hard to lace it (my shoe) *L.*

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O-**gd-Xa'ts'** *(with gd-thematic, perhaps g-class-mark 'filament like' and d-thematic 'bright, color', cf. Lid~LAd2)* S braid O round something, embroider or sew gimp on O, weave O into fabric: **gAdisiXa'ts'L** I brailed it around something, I embroidered it, sewed gimp on it, wove it into fabric or mat *L.*

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O-**L-Xa'ts'** lace, sew (separate) O (together with another), fix O (to something else) by lacing, sewing loosely: **GALXa'ts'** lace, sex them (two separate things, together)! *L.*

Xa'Xch'

O-**L-Xa'Xch'-X~-g** *(usually with -X-thematic suffix sometimes dropped in perfective and customary, perhaps ca sative of susceptive Neuter below; less frequently from A and M, with -g-repetitive thematized, form from Rezanov perhaps without thematic suffix)* S tickle O: **xu:LXa'Xch'X** *LM,* **xu:LXa'Xch'g** tickle me! *A,* **xu:LXa'Xch'X** you're tickling me *L,* **xuLXa'Xch'X** it's tickling me *LM,* **'ixLXa'Xch'X** I'm tickling you *M,* **dik' 'ixLXa'Xch'gG** I'm not tickling you *A,* **dik' xLXa'Xch'XGinh** I'm not tickling him *L,* **'iqe'xLXa'Xch'X** *LM,* **'iqe'xLXa'Xch'g** I'll tickle you *MA,* **dik' q'e' 'iqe'xLXa'Xch'XG** I won't tickle you anymore *L,* **'isiLXa'Xch'L** I tickled you *LM,* **dik' 'ixsLXa'Xch'LG**, **dik' 'ixsLXa'Xch'gLG** *M,* **dik' 'ixsLXa'Xch'XLG** I didn't tickle you *L,* **xushALXa'Xch'Linh** he tickled me *L,* **dik' xushLXa'Xch'XLGinh** he didn't tickle me *L,* **xuGALXa'Xch'XLGdAwa:** before he tickles me *L, customary (expanded stem only with -k'-customary):* **Lich' xuLXa:Xch'k'inh** he always (cust) tickles me *L,* **dik' 'AxLXa:Xch'Xk'G** I don't (cust) tickle it *L,* **dik' q'e' 'iqe'xLXa:Xch'k'G** I won't (cust) tickle you anymore *L, with anatomical marks for O:* **lAXiqe'qi:di:xLXa'Xch'X** I'll tickle your (pl.) feet *L,* **lAXiqe'qAku:li:xLXa'Xch'X** I'll tickle your bellies *L,* **dik' lAXiqAku:lAxsLXa'Xch'XLG** *L,* **dik' lAXiqAku:nlAxsLXa'Xch'gLG** I didn't tickle your (pl.)

bellies *M, Rezanov* Хуильхахче 'Щекотно jucken (es juckt)' *perhaps to be read* **xuyALXa'Xch'inh** he's tickling my hand; *with perambulative and indeterminate O:* **yAX 'iLAXa'Xch'Xinh** he's going around tickling people *L; passive:* **xudAXa'Xch'X** I'm being tickled *L,* **xusLiXa'Xch'XL** I get tickled *L.*

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LA-Xa'Xch'-X~-g *(susceptive Neuter, with Neuter imperfective only, perhaps basic form, of which preceding is perhaps causative, -g-repetitive instead of -X-thematic from M only, rejected by L)* S be ticklish: **dik' 'a'xLAXa'Xch'gG** I'm not ticklish *M,* **LiXa'Xch'Xinh** *(not -ginh)* he's ticklish *L,* **dik' 'a'LAXa'Xch'XGinh** he's not ticklish *L.*

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GALAXa'Xch'XL *(noun)* dimple *L. Nominalized Inceptive perfective of otherwise unattested theme, LA-Xa'Xch'-X 'S be, become dimpled'.*

Xa'~Xa: *(perhaps to be analyzed X-a', cf. especially o-X 'in contact with o', with -a' augment; expanded where compounded as o of o-q' and thematically expanded in certain forms with -X final; with second person plural pronoun as o lAX-Xa' > lAXa', with lX-class-mark o-lX-Xa' > o-lAXAXa', sometimes haplologically o-lAXa')*

o-**Xa'** *(postposition) (with zero, -d, and -X finals)* 1. *(with zero final only)* a. of o, o's, in (alienable) possession of o *(with pronoun as attribute in construction with unpossessed or kinship nouns, not anatomical or integral part of o, for which see o-a:; in irregular class with o-a: in following rather than preceding head noun, in origin perhaps relativization of 1b.(9) below)*: **XAwa: 'anhXa'** his dog *M,* **XAwa: 'uXa'** his, their (own) dog *M,* **XAwa: qa:Xa'** our dog *M,* **XAwa: lAXa'** your pl. dog *M,* **XAwa: 'uXa' shAshehLinh** he killed his (own) dog *L,* **qi' teh 'uXa'** its lying-place *L,* **la:X siXa'** my string *M, Furuhjelm* Khetzkisaha 'daughter' **qAts'kih siXa'** my daughter *L,* **xuGi:Lga'L, 'Aw k'ulah 'iXa'** you're tiring me out, (with) that drinking of yours *L,* **le:L 'iXa' yAX qu'gu:xLtsAX** I'll cut your hair *L,* **le:L 'uXa' 'uXa:n' yAX gu:'ah** her hair hangs way down on her *L,* **'Aw du:sh 'uXa' lALts'in'tl'ginh** he's slapping his (own) cat *L,* **XAwa: 'iXa' Gi:she:Lshuh** are you killing your (own) dog? *L,* **Ch'i:lehshiyah qi'ch' tsa:' 'uXa' sAts'AXL** Where Old Raven threw his box *BSdL 259, 558,* **Ch'i:lehshiyah qi'dAX we:sh 'uXa' tsa' sALXahdL** Where Old Raven dragged his drying rack *BSdL 259, 558,* **XAwa: siXa' 'anh sAqahL** my dog bit him *L,* **XahdL 'uXa' hu:l 'u'dla:sALXa'Linh** he sold his car *L,* **ditl'a'g siXa', da:dAXshduw yAGa'ya:L** I wonder where my letter is (travelling) *M,* **'a:ndshAl sAqe:ts'Akih 'iXa' ya:n' 'i:Lt'e:k'** is this where you (cust) bed your child? *L,* **'a:ndshAl ditl'a'g 'iXa' tah** is this where your book belongs? *L,* **'a:ndshAl ditl'a'g 'iXa' yiLtah** is this where you put your book? *L,* **ta:ya'd 'iXa' qehX dAGALtl'i:'** tie your door shut! *L,* **tanh siXa' qi:dAlah qu'xdAtl'ih** I'll wrap it around my feet as stockings *L,* **ya:yu: siXa' ya:xahch' GAxLi:L** I'm taking off my clothes *L,* **di'wAX ts'a:' 'uXa' 'uX di:'ah** his umbilical cord is still attached to him *L,* **yida: 'uXa' 'uda' sahLinh** his shamanistic power came to him *L,* **tsu'd siXa' yAX xda:X** I'm walking around in my sleep *L,* **si:nL siXa' qa' qu'xXa'ts'** I'll lace my shoes *L,* **tl'A'a:G 'iXa' li:q'a:'shg** straighten out your basket! *L,* **tsi:ndz 'iXa' sitl' 'a'Xe:** tell me your dream! *L,* **'u:d Li'q' da:na: siXa' dla:siL'ahL** I spent all my money there *L,* **dla:XA'i:nd 'iXa' qa' dla:GAL'a'** button your buttons! *L,* **dAq'Aw 'iXa' Xa:ne:** eat your lunch! *L, following head noun as o of postposition:* **tanhyAq' 'iXa' GALA'e'dz** 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, 26, 46, 51, 24.54, 25.11, 12, 37b.40, 60A, 47b.20, 22M, 49.26, 33, 51.46, 79A, 56.2L,* **k'ulAqah 'iXa'** your (whale-)head

29.11A, with enclitic -dAG~: ***dakacís*** **'uXa'dig** his buoy too *11.6G,* **Li'q' ya:yu: siXa'dug** all my stuff too *47a.3L, cf.* **'Aw GAyAXgugdig 'uXa'** 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 proximity and/or alienable possession):* **'iXa'** somewhere with you *L,* **lAXa'** with you pl. *M (< lAX-Xa'),* **siXa'** with me *LM,* **t'AXgsgdAXa' da: k'uqa'Lle:ch'L** we'll pick berries by the cottonwood *L,* **'uk'ushdAXa'** his lower leg near ankle *L,* **dik' dAXunhXa' q'e' 'AsdAdahLGinh** he's not living with anyone anymore *L,* o-**Xa' Xa'dihd -da** S visit o, **'a:ndAXshgahX siXa' qa' lAGi:tinhinh** would that he show his head here by me *L,* **o-Xa' 'wAX -t'e´~-t'u´** S live with, be married to o, o-**Xa' k'u-X-a** S eat (in company) with o, o-**Xa' LA-t'u'** o have abundance of S, **'iXa' 'Adu'xLileh** I though myself (right there) with you *L,* **La'dAXa' xlah** I camp by the glacier *L -see also tla'Xa'lahG 'Tlingit'),* **siXa' da:n' sa'yahL** it bumped against me *L,* **'ixa'dAXa' ya:n' siLyahL** I put it by where you can eat it *L,* o-**Xa' ya' 'Ad-dl-LA-'e** S spy on o, o-**Xa' -da** S sit by, stay with o: *1b.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: **dAGa:q'Xa'** at ten o'clock *61.11, 11, 92, 92A,* **guts'de:Xa' yi:Lqa:k'** it (cust) gets light at nine o'clock *L,* **dik' 'u:la'xLga:G dAXk'iXa'd q'e' 'anh qu'xdah** I don't know what time I'll get back home *L;* (3) "on", discomfiting o, to o's consternation, happening in relation to o but not intended by o: *Rezanov* Кахъ-алцыасъ-кая 'Водка Brandtwein' **qa:Xa' Lts'iya'ts' giyah** water which has putrefied "on" us *L,* **qa:Xa' ya:n' sAdahL** it (motor) conked out "on" us *M,* **siXa' sAsinhL** it died "on" me *L,* **siXa' k'a' da:LiGa'** don't cry "on" me, keep quiet with me, for me *L,* o-**Xa' dA-we'q'** (supply of) S run short, low "on" o, **che:y qa:Xa' yilu'd** we're short of tea *L,* **Giyah siXa' GALAluhdgL** I'm running short of food *L,* o-**Xa' l-dA-'a** o run out of S < S become expended "on" o, **siXa' 'i:nshdichahdgL** I ran out of food *L,* **siXa' shAchihshL** it (prey that I'd nearly caught) got away from me *L,* o-**Xa'** O-**'-le'g** S take O away from o, **siXa' yAX sAkugL** it broke "on" me *L,* **siGuhdXa' GAxLga'ch'gL** my knees are getting weak *L,* **'iya:nXa' Lsih** your mother has a rotten vagina *(curse) BSdL 555 ('it is rotten "on" your mother'),* **siXa' lAsAq'AshL** it got lopsided "on" me *L,* **'iXa' q'AGAq'ahshGinh** don't let him choke "on" you! *L,* **siXa' gAdisLiXuhXL** it (cloth) gathered "on" me *L,* **siXa' gushdidjehXL** my thread knotted *L,* **siXa' dla:sdima'L** I got it all messed up (talking) *L,* **siXa' k'usdi'li'ts'L** my clothes got wet *L,* o-**Xa' k'u-L-'ya**, o-**Xa' k'u-d-L-'ya** S bother o, *textual occurrences: 10.69, 84, 85, 85, 23.30, 35, 88, 29.37A, 43.13, 47b.43M, 51.42, 48, 70.10A,* o-**Xa' -sinh** S die "on" o *8.18, 18, 19, 20.97, 23.155, 49.77A,* o-**Xa'** O-**ch'u'** S steal O from o *9.84, 119A; frequently in construction ambiguous with a., noun o-Xa' verb, with o-Xa' attribute to noun and/or verb:* **XAwa: siya: yik'a'd** my dog is sick ("on" me) *L,* **sLi'mahdL siXa' la'q' sAta'ch'L** my bread went flat ("on" me) *L,* **da:na: siXa' dAshAch'u'Linh** he stole my money (from me) *L,* **'ixa'dAXa' siLtehL** I took it away from you while you were eating it *L,* **'Aw ch'iyahd siXa' 'i:nshAGAGshgL** my hat got out of shape ("on" me) *L,* **XAwa:shiyah siXa' 'Aw si:nL siXa' ya' qAdAsA'a'tl'L** my/some lousy dog chewed up my shoes ("on" me) *L,* **k'ushiyah 'uXa'** the evil (perpetrated) against him *L, ambiguous textual occurrences: 7.26, 33.57A, 37a.12L, 38.17LM, 43.9, 13M, 49.78,137, 138A;* (4) because of, over, concerning, on account of o, *especially of emotional reactions:* o-**Xa' -sha´** S be stingy with, jealous, possessive of o, **da:na:dAXa' xishah** I'm stingy with money *L, Rezanov* Тыкоха-хушакъ 'Нежаль nichtbedauern' **dik' 'uXa' 'a'xshahG** I'm not stingy with it *L, Rezanov* Аусыхаете 'Жаль bedauern' **[k'usha:dah] 'Aw siXa' 'i:t'eh** I'm sorry about that < that is badly with me *L,* o-**Xa' -ki:nX** S cry over o, o-**Xa' lah qa' 'i-le'** S get feelings hurt, be disappointed by o, o-**Xa' 'i-leh** S like o *('i-leh~ 3.-7., usually umlauted and coalesced with verb as o-Xe'leh~),* **la'mahd-lA(XA)Xe'xleh** I like berries *L,* o-**Xa' ya' 'i:lih-'ya** S be disappointed by o, **'uXa' ya:X 'Adu'xsLile'L** I appreciate that *L,* **k'udzu:dah** o-**Xa'** O-**'i:lih-L-i** S make O happy with o, **'idah** o-**Xa' 'i:lih-le**, **k'udzu:dah** O-**Xa' 'i:lih-le**, **'AnahshAkih** o-**Xa' 'i:lih-le**, **'AnahskAkih** o-**Xa'**

'i:lih-t'e´~-t'u´ S like o, **k'usha:dah** o-**Xa' i:lih-le** S dislike, be angry with o, o-**Xa' (o-tl') 'AdAwi'L 'i-d-L-i** S be excited, wage war (with o) over o *8.15, 11.11, 37b.27, 28.104, 104A,* **Lu:ndiyahstahti:lAXa' 'AdAwi'L 'idALih** they waged war over a rat-skin *28.136A,* o1-**X k'ushiyah** o2-**la'X d-'ya** o2 get angry over o1, **'uXa' k'ushiyah q'e' sdiLe'L** there arose more evil over it *28.124A,* **de:Xa'dAw qAla'** O-**L-i** why do S beat up O? *9.44A,* **'uXa' 'i:nAX k'uqu'dAda'ya:k'** you'll (cust) be tormented because of it *51.34A,* **'uXa' q'e' qa'ni: sdi'yahL** they fought ovrer it again *L,* o-**Xa' qAyu: LA-'a/-'a'ch'** sg. /pl. S attack over o *28.103, 36.15, 20fnA;* (5) *with verb or deverbalization subordinated as o,* because of, from o-ing: **gi:wa: 'ulahXa' k'u'xLituhgL** I got lazy from drinking beer *L,* **yAX 'ute:XXa' k'u'qu'LAtuhg** it'll get lazy from lying around *L,* **'udAGe:'Xa' 'anhch' yishahXa'** because he's stingy with him over his sister *9.71A,* **tl'ehyAXa' si'yahL, qe'yiLtehlAXAde:'X yAX 'its'i:nGXa'** I got a chill, from dipping my finger in the whale's eye *11.177A,* **dik' dA'u:dAXya:kih'a:n' 'AsahLGXa' 'Aw qAla' sALiL** because he found nothing, he beat him up *9.9A,* **dik' 'Awa: k'ushshehLGXa' 'anh ya' lAsAgu'k'Linh** 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-lu'qa:)* **Ge:ts'guXa' da: 'a'ch'** we're going to get spruceroots *L,* **la'mahd-lAXAXa' da: 'a'ch'** we're going to get berries *L,* **dAkinhXa' da: 'a'ch'** we're going to get sticks *L,* **lisdAXa' da: 'a'ch'** we're going to get spruce *L,* **tl'ihXgAdAXa' da: 'i:'a'ch'** let's go get some grass *L,* **tsa:dla:Xa' da: 'i:'a'ch'** let's go get some stones *L,* **ts'a'dAXa' da: 'i:'a'ch'** let's got get some mud *L, textual occurrences: with -qe 'S go (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 construction noun1-Xa' noun2,* (noun2) for (use with, storage of, protection against) o (noun1): **sahxXa' sha'L** clam-stick *G,* **ts'iyuxXa' ya:** cheesecloth, mosquito-bar *L,* **le:LguXa' ya:n'** (plant used for) hair-medicine *L,* **GALAtsitl'Xa' ya:n'** fireweed < medicine against land-otter *L;* (8) for, in (dimensional, moral) relation to o: **siXa' yi'lih** it's too big for me *L,* o-**Xa' dA-a´** S fit, be certain size for o, o1-**yAq'** o2-**Xa' 'i-G-'li´** (inside of) o1 is too big for o2, **'Alga'kih yAq'Ach' 'uXa' gAdla:sAdik'L** the distance to shore for her had shortened to this little bit *25.48A,* **guGga' qa:Xa' dAXunh yiLinhinh**, **guGga' qa:Xa' GAlAtinhinh** he's treacherous with us *L,* **dik' 'uqa'Xa' 'a't'e'q'LGinh** she cheats on (isn't straight with) her husband *M; (9)* as C in construction without verb, *S be in possession of, at the home of, with , on (person of) o, o have S: 49.20A,* **XAwa: 'anhXa'** he has a dog *M,* **XAwa: 'ahnu:Xa'** they have a dog *M,* **dAq'e:dahshuh te'ya' 'iXa'** is that all the fish you have? *L,* **de:ga'd da:na: 'iXa'** how much money do you have? *M,* **dAXk'nu:d sAqe:GAyu: 'iXa'** how many children do you have? *M,* **xu: siXa'** *I*'ve got it (e.g. key) *L,* **dAXk'ih XAwa:d 'iXa'** how many dogs do you have? *L,* **dAXk'AlAXa:d la'mahd 'iXa'** how many berries do you have? *L,* **dAXk'ihd te'ya' 'iXa'** as many fish as you have *65.50A,* **da:ch'ahdduw te'ya' 'iXa'** where did you get that fish from? *L,* **xu: siya' XAwa: siXa'** *my* dog is at (my) home *L,* **k'ugu:nt'u'inu: LA'ahGAyu: 'uXa'** had many slaves *11.109A,* **'Aw XAwa: 'uXa', 'uXa', dA'uXa'** that dog of his, was with him, right (there) with him *33.5A,* **qe'LsAqe:ts'Akih tsa'LdAkih 'uXa'** the girl had a small knife on her *38.8LM,* **xu: siXa' q'Ama:** *I*'ve got roe (at my place) *40.6L,* **'a:nd siXa'** (I have them) here with me *46.27M,* **'Aw tl'i: 'Awa: 'uXa'** as for the spear he had it with him *63.2G,* **tl'i:tl' q'unhAw 'uXa'** with his spear (that he had) with him *63.1G;* (10) *as preceding, with dA-* 'ipse'*:* **dA'uXa'** his own, right by him *33.5A, see also (1);* (11) *with theme C -Le(') 'S be C' overt or deleted,* for, as far as o be concerned: **'iXu:nLAyah q'Aw 'uX wAX k'udAleh 'iXa' qa'Le'** your teeth will be your tools, will be tools for you *16.24, 25M,* **lixah 'uXa' q'Aw** it's a grizzly-bear for them *37b.9A,* **ts'iyuh 'uXa' q'A'Aw** it's a blackbear for them *37b.26A, or perhaps nominalized* it's their (version of a) blackbear, etc., *thus also* **q'e:yAXAch' 'Aw 'uXa' yiLeh** it's backwards for them, they have it backwards, theirs (their version) is backwards *68.91,125A,* ***'sitsi:'*** **'Aw 'uXa' yiLinhinu:** their version is "sitsi:", it's "sitsi:" for them *68.111A,* **'AyAG 'uXa' 'Awa: wAX 'Aw yiLinhinu:** theirs however is thus, for them however it is thus *68.95A;* (12) *with vague, general, or uncertain*

meaning, for, in relation to o: **dAGAlehga' 'Aw 'uXa' sLiliLinh** he did it on purpose < he did it to it for him according to his own mind *L,* **'Aw 'uXa' sa'mahdL** it cooked for him *1b.14M,* o-**Xa'** O-**'-le'g** S accept O from o *9.159, 161A,* **'anhXa' 'u'sAle'gL** he took (her berries) for her *18.14L,* **dik' qi'ch' shA'a'ch'L 'uXa' 'Aw 'u'la:dAga:G** it wasn't known where they went *20.103A (perhaps 'the (their) place to which they went, it wasn't known'),* **sAqe:ts'Akih yiLe: 'Awa: 'uXa' 'u'lidiginhinu:** it's known that it was their child < that is was their child however for them was known *23.125A;* (13) *with reciprocal o in indirect reciprocal constructions: 16.19M, 54.14G,* **'iLXa' k'Adzu: q'e' qe:lihdAt'uhinu:**, **k'Adzu: 'iLXa' q'e' qu'dALi'inu:** they'll reconcile *L,* **'iLXa' sdiquhLinu:** they're sitting, staying together; they're having a love affair *M,* **sitl' 'iLXa' dAlinhinh** my sweetheart < he who talks with me with each other *L,* **'iLXa'di'yah** *personal name, see under 'ya;* (14) *with reflexive o in indirect reflexive constructions:* (a) *with overt reflexive o:* **'AdXa' 'anh sLilahL** he got him to live with him *15.2M,* **'AdXa'lAshiyah** ne'er-do-well < bad with himself, *see under shiyah~;* (14b) *with deleted reflexive o:* **yAX dA'a'ch'Xyu: k'a' Xa' 'u'yAla:ditah** you should watch out for (expect for yourself) prowling animals *L, usually umlauted and coalesced with verb 'i:lih-, 'i-leh~:* **Xa' 'i:lih-dA-t'e´~-t'u´ > Xe'-(i:)lih-dA-t'e´~-t'u´**, **Xa' 'i-dA-leh~ > Xe'-dA-leh~** S become, be conceited, foppish, dress up fancy < S like self, *Rezanov* Тычкоатхетгетельни 'Щеголь, щеголина ('fop, dandy') eitel' **Lich' gwah 'a'd Xe'd- Xe'dAlinhinh** every day he's very dressed up; (14c) *probably with deleted reflexive o and with dA-* 'ipse'*:* **dAXa' ya' qu'xdAtah** I'll keep it (right near myself, as my very own) *L, see also 4., 5a. below.*

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2. *Attested with zero, -d, and -X finals, with certain anatomical marks (see separate subentries for y-anatomical and thematic marks)*: *with l-anatomical 'head':* **silAXa'd sAtahL**, **silAXa' sAtahL** it's right by my head (as I'm prone) *L; with tsin'l-anatomical 'head, neck':* **sitsin'lAXa'd sAtahL** pillow < that which is by my neck as I'm prone *L,* **'a:nd 'utsin'lAXa'd 'Aw ya' 'Ata:k'inh** it's (cust) here by his head *36.28A; with qi:d-anatomical 'foot':* **siqi:dAXa'X qä' 'i:Lk'a'dL** pain is shooting up along my leg *L; see also -k'ush-d-Xa' 'lower leg near ankle'.*

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3. *Attested with -d, -ch', and -X finals, with qu:-~qu:n-d- 'fire' as o, see qu'~qu:~qu:n.*

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4. *With -d final only and reflexive o, sometimes with proclitic dA-* 'ipse' *and/or as o of o-ye'X~-ya'X, 'Ad-Xa'-d '(from a position of rest) with respect to self, spontaneously?', not used as indirect reflexive*: **dA'AdXa'dya'X** *56.26L,* **'AdXa'dye'X** *M (L rejects),* **'AdXa'd** suddenly, all at once, abruptly, unexpectedly *L,* **dA'AdXa'd sitl' 'u'sdiXahL** something unexpected was told me *L,* **dA'AdXa'd 'uX k'udishiLch'a:q'L** I hear of something unexpected *L,* **'AdXa'd ya:n' sAdahL** he stopped abruptly *L.* **'AdXa'dya'X Litug q'A'Aw** suddenly it's swollen up *L,* **'AdXa'dye'X li'X qu'li:xleh** *M,* **'AdXa'dya'X li'X qu'li:xleh** I'll burst out laughing *L,* **'AdXa'dya'X sAki:nXLinh** *L,* **'AdXa'dye'X sAki:nXLinh** he burst out crying *M.*

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5. *With -X final only, o-Xa'X* a. along, alongside, close to o: **siXa'X yAX da:X** it (e.g. spider) is walking along me *L,* **siXa'X yAX 'AdGAdla:LAwa'LX** it's hanging down by me *L,* **'uXa'X yAX XAdi:'ah** a stripe extends down along it *L,* **'anh LinhGih 'anhXa'x qa' guLiya:n'L** one is standing leaning against the other *L,* **o-Xa'X qe'-le'** *(qa' 'i-le', see le(')~li)* S watch o carefully, pay attention to, care for, be careful with, babysit, heed, remember o, **'uXa'XAshiyah** *name of Eyak woman LMA, BSdL Genealogical Table ("bad things with her side" A); with reciprocal o in indirect reciprocal constructions:* **'iLXa'X qa' guLi'a'ch'Linu:** they're standing leaning against each other *L,* **'iLXa'X 'idi'ah** they extend parallel and touching *L,* **'iLXa'X 'idi'ah xut'L** double-barrelled shotgun *L; with deleted reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction:* **Xa'X yAX 'isLi'anhLinh** she looked herself over *22.6L.*

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5b. *With verbs of locomotions and noun or verbal form denoting activity as o,* lacking for o, for purpose of o: **qa'ni:Xa'X sahL** he went looking for a fight *L,* **qa'nu:Xa'X GA'a'ch'Linu:** they're getting into a fight *L,* **'AnahshAkihXa'X shA'a'ch'Linu:** they went to have a good time *29.66A,* **'AwXa'X q'Aw yAX 'i:da:k'** that's what you (cust) go around for *11.56A, with deverbalized Inceptive imperfective verb as o:* **k'uqa'shehXa'X yAX qu'xdah** I'll go around hunting *9.16A, with Active optative verb subordinated as o:* **k'uxishehXa'X qu'xah** I'll go hunting *L.*

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Xa'dih- *(preverb) (to be analyzed Xa'-dih or Xa'-d-ih, see dih, attested with -d, -ch', and -da' finals)* on a visit: *with -d final:* **Xa'dihd** visiting someone *L,* **da:d Xa'dihd** where are you going to visit? *L,* **'uXa' Xa'dihd sidahLinh** I'm visiting him *L,* **siXa' Xa'dihd sAdahLinh** he's visiting me *M; with -ch' final:* **'uch' Xa'dihch' 'iyin'inh** go visit him! *M,* **'uch' Xa'dihch' qu'xinhinh** I'll go visit him *M,* **'uch' Xa'dihch' Guxa:L** I'm going on a visit to him *M; with -da' final:* **Ch'i:lehshiyah qi' gu:djgAlAGda' Xa'dihda' sahL** Where Raven visitied Eagle *BSdL 559.*

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o-**y-Xa'** *(postposition) (with y-anatomical 'hand', attested with zero, -ch', and -X finals)* 1a. to the hand of, lending to o, into o's charge: **siyAXa' GAta'** hand it to me! *L,* **'iyAXa' qu'xtah** I'll hand it to you *L,* **du:yAXa'duw k'udAsAL'ahL** to whom did you lend money? *M,* o-**y-Xa'** O-**L-(y)a** S lend pl. O to o, **k'uyAXa' siLtehL** I lent it (pup) to someone *L.*

1b. *With y-anatomical thematized, with theme -'ya, with zero and -ch' finals*: o-**y-Xa' -'ya** S succumb, fall victim, prey to o, fall into o's clutches, be overcome by o.

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1c. *With y-anatomical and k'u-indefinite o thematized, with classificatory themes*: o-**ch' k'uyAXa'** O-**L-te** S send O (living being) (away) to o, **'ich' k'uyAXa' qu'xtah** I'll send it to you *M,* **k'uyAXa'** O-**L-(y)a** S send pl. O away.

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1d. *As 1c., uncertain*: **k'uyAXa' siLtehL** "I taught someone" *L ('I gave, lent him to someone, sent him away');* **siyAXa' GALin'inh** "teach me it!" *L ('give, lend them (pl.persons) to me'), not verified.*

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2. *With -X final*: **siyAXa'X lahdz** (touched, moved) forward along the heel of my hand *L,* **siyAXa'X qä' 'i:Lk'a'dL** pain is shooting up along my arm *L.*

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o-**d-Xa'** *(postposition) (with d-thematic 'oral, noise', attested with zero and -X finals)* 1. *with zero final,* talking back to, arguing with, impudent with, sassing o, *with theme tsin'd-le 'S speak' only*: *50.38A,* **ya'Xu: sidAXa' qu'tsin'di:leh** don't give me any back-talk (just do it!) *L.*

2. *With -X final, o-d-Xa'-X 'movement within area of o's oral noise', with theme qe'-le' (< qa' 'i-le')* S heed, pay close attention to, obey (words of) o, *see qe'-le' 2b. under le(')~li.*

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o-**Xa:-q'** *(postposition) (with -q' final or compounded as o of o-q' 'on o', with expanded stem, attested with zero final only)* on account of, because of, over o: **'uXa:q' 'anhch' k'ushiyah 'ula'X dAsa'yahL** he got angry with him over it *L,* **Lu:ndiyahstahti:lAXa:q' 'AdAwi'L 'idALinhinu:** they're warring over a rat-skin *L.*

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o-**d-Xa:-q'** *(as preceding, with d-thematic 'oral, noise')* on account of what o say: **'udAXa:q' k'usha:dah da: dAleh** we're arguing over, having trouble because of what he said *L.*

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o-**y-Xa:-q'** *(as preceding, with y-anatomical 'hand' thematized, attested also with -d final)* dependent on, thanks to, by virtue, means of o: *37b.50, 53a, 64A,* **'uyAXa:q' siLe'L** I became completely dependent on him for food *L,* **de:yAXa:q'duw 'AdsLilahLinh** he barely escaped < by virtue of what did he escape? *M,* **'AwyAXa:q' q'unh 'AdsLilahLinh** *M,* **'AwyAXa:q'd q'unh 'AdsLilahLinh** that's how, thanks to that he escaped *63.12G, with verbal clase subordinated as o:* **Li'q' ya:yu:X siXa' ya:kihdah siLiLyAXa:q' q'unh, sik'ah q'e' sdile'gL** by virtue of my paying him with all my things, he released me *37b.53A.*

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o-**Xa:-X** *(postposition) (with -X final thematized and expanded stem, attested with zero and -ch' finals)* 1. *with zero (-X) final:* missing, going wide of (passing by without making desired contact with) o: **'uXa:X sidahL** I missed it (chair) as I sat down *L,* **'AwXa:X sAdahLinh** he missed it (chair) as he sat down *L,* **'uXa:X dixsdituxL** I spat at it and missed *L,* **'uXa:X 'isiLt'ik'L** I shot an arrow at it and missed *L,* **'ulAXAXa:X 'ixsLiku:n'dL** I missed it (catching ball) *L,* o-**Xa:X 'i-L-xut'**, o-**Xa:X 'i-LA-xut'** S shoot at o with gun and miss

2. *With -ch' final,* swerving, veering off of, deviating, diverging from o: **ta:XAdAXa:XAch' Gi:ya:L** you're going off the road *L.*

Xa:' *(perhaps Xa:'d if Xa:'-ch' < Xa:'d-ch', perhaps to be analyzed X-a:' or XA-a(:)', perhaps related to Xe'X)*

Xa:'(d) *(preverb) (attested, if Xa:', only with -d, -X, and -ch' finals, if Xa:'d, only with zero, -X, and -ch' finals where -d-X and -d-ch' irregularly > -dAX, -ch')* outside, outdoors: 1a. *with -d final 'at rest'*: **Xa:'d** outside, outdoors *LM, 25.150, 29.58A, 34.3M, 38.2, 3LM, 51.9, 65.14, 52A,* **Xa:'d GAdisdiGu'L** it's warm outside *M,* **Xa:'d ya:n' GAta'** set it down outside! *L,* **'u:d Xa:'d Lteh** he (normally) puts him outside there *L,* **Xa:'d ya' 'Ade:** stay, sit outside! *L,* **Xa:'d sAdahLinh** he's staying, sitting outdoors *L,* **Xa:'d ya:n'ch' GAda:Linh** he's (in the process of) sitting down outdoors *L,* **Xa:'d da: k'uXa:liyah** let's eat outside *L,* **Xa:'d dAxutl'** it's snowing outside *L.*

1b. *Nominalized with -d final,* the outdoors, weather, world, universe: **('Al) Xa:'d** (this) whole world, universe *L,* **Xa:'d lah GAxuL** the world is turning around, the earth (or firmanent?) is revolving *L,* **'Aw Xa:'d 'i'a:n' qa'xuL, qi'ya:da:X, 'i:gidig** the world will turn upon, sometime, you too < your time will come too e.g. to be poor *M, 72.19L,* **Xa:'d k'ushiyah** weather (is) bad *LM,* **Xa:'d Lsihshiyah** weather is lousy-rotten *L,* **Xa:'d k'ushiyah yiLeh** weather is bad *M, 60.42A,* **ya'Xu:shgahX Xa:'d k'ushiyah qa'Le'** I hope the weather isn't bad *L,* **Xa:'d Lich' ya:Xtl'Aqa'd gAdiLi'ahL** the weather is always miserable < the world is always arse-end up *72.35L.*

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2. *With -(dA)X final 'motion within area'* a.: *60.56, 57, 58A,* **Xa:'dAX da: yAX 'idi'a'ch'** let's take a walk about outside *L, with 'a'q' '(motion from inside of dwelling to) outside':* **'u:d Xa:'dAX 'a'q' sahLinh** went out outside there *23.76A.*

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2b. *As above, with -yu: 'pl.', Xa:'dAXyu: 'all about outside'*: **dA'Al Xa:'dAXyu: 'u:nAX k'uda'ya:k' q'Al 'a'd yik'a'd** it's just this his misery all around outside that hurts (me) *33.46A, with dA-* 'ipse'*:* **dAXa:'dAXyu: 'u:nAX k'uda'ya:k'inh** he (cust) goes through misery all about outside *32.44A.*

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3. *With -ch' final '(movement) towards', probably activity or position with fixed orientation toward outdoors rather than actual movement from indoors to outdoors*: **Xa:'ch' yAX lAGAdAla'** turn to face outdoors! *M, with 'a'q':* **Xa:'ch' 'a'q' qi'yiLah** you'll take

them outside *65.22A,* **Xa:'ch' 'a'q' qi' yAX 'iLi'ahLda:X** (movement) out outdoors where it's sunshine *65.52A.*

Xan1 *(some forms Xa from M, rarely from L, not from A; perhaps to be identified with Xan2 and/or related to Xanh1)*

L-Xan S melt, thaw: **sALXanhL** it melted *M,* **GALXa:nL** it's melting *L,* **qa'LXanh** *(perhaps also -Xa:n, but -Xanh preferred)* it'll melt *L,* **dik' qa'LXa:nG** (*or* **-XanhG**) it won't melt *L, with ya' 'completely': 50.21fnA,* **ya' sALXanhL** it melted away *L,* **ya' GALXa:nL** it (snow) is melting *MA,* **ya' qa'LXanh** it'll melt *M,* **ya' 'i:LXanh**, **ya' Gi:LXanh** let it melt *L,* **ya' 'ALXa:nk'** it (snow) (cust) melts *M, with class-mark for S:* **t'its' ya' qu'di:LXanh** ice will melt *16.28M,* **dAsALXanhL** it (ice) melted *L,* **dAGALXa:nL** it (ice) is melting *L,* **di:LXanhL** it (ice) is melted *L (Neuter perfective),* **gAlAGALXa:nL** it's thawing (e.g. ice into water) *M (attempt to interpret Rezanov from listed below under Gl-L-Xan). Transitive (causative):* **'ALXanh**, **'ALXa:n** melt it! *L,* **ya' GALXan'** *LM,* **ya' GALXa:n'** melt it (away)! *L,* **ya' qu'xLXanh** I'll melt it *M,* **GAxLXa:nL** I'm melting it (snow) *L (no Active imperfective L),* **'Aw ya' 'i:LXanhwahd** in order to melt it (snow for water) *43.16M, repetitive:* **xLXa:ng** I'm melting it (snow) *L,* **ya' 'ALXa:ng** melt it! *M; passive:* **ya' sLiXanhL** it's been melted down (by someone) *L.*

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Gl-L-Xan *(with Gl-thematic 'ground')* S (ground, environment) thaw, *attested in Rezanov only*: Калякальхангль 'Таетъ es thaust' *probably to be read* **GAlAGALXa:nL** it (ground, etc.) is thawing.

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dA-Xan S be hot, warm, feverish: *attested only with l-anatomical 'head' or dl-class-mark for S 'rock, stone':* **'i:nsdiXanhL** his head is hot *L;* **dla:sdiXahL** stone is hot *M (perhaps a passive). Transitive (causative):* **dla:GALXa'** warm it (stone) up! *M,* **dla:GAxLXa:L** I'm warming it (stone) up *M,* **dla:siLXahL** I warmed it (stone) up *M,* **qu'dli:xLXah** I'll warm it (stone) up *M.*

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dl-dA-Xan *(with dl-thematic, perhaps l-anatomical and d-thematic 'fire, bright')* S be feverish, too hot, hot: **dla:xsdiXanhL** I got a fever *L,* **dla:sdiXanhL** *M,* **dla:sdiXanhLinh** he has a fever *L, Rezanov* Тлястегатль-коете 'Жаръ, горячка Fieberhitze' **dla:sdiXahLga' 'i:t'eh** it's like you have a fever, you're hot (with fever) *M,* **dla:sdiXanhL** it (e.g. stove) is too hot *L,* **dla:GAdAXa:nLinh**, **dla:GAdAXa:Linh** he's getting a fever *L,* **dla:GAxdAXa:nL** I'm getting a fever *A,* **dla:GAdAXahL** it's getting hot *M (stem form certainly incorrect),* **qu'dla:xdAXah** I'll get a fever *L,* **qu'dla:dAXah** it'll get hot *M,* **qu'dla:dAXanh** it'll get too hot *L. Transitive (causative):* **dla:GALXa'** make it hot! *M (not used of heating water L).*

Xan2 *(perhaps to be identified with Xan1, and/or related to XAmah)*

LA-Xan S (mollusk) be, become fat, meaty, full: **dji:da:dAG 'iLiXanhL** clam is fat *L,* **sahx 'iLiXanhL** cockle is fat *L,* **dik' qa'LAXanhLG** they (mollusks) aren't fat *L (Neuter perfectives),* **qAGALAXa:nL** they (mollusks) are getting fat *L,* **qu'qALAXanh** they (mollusks) will get fat *L,* **qAsLiXanhL** they (mollusks) got fat *L, with d-class-mark for S:* **tsi:n diLiXanhL** mussel is fat, full *L.*

Xan´

-Xan´ S be fast, swift, fleet(-footed), move very quickly, rapidly: **xiXanh** I'm swift *L,* **'AwlAX yiXanh** you're swifter than it *L,* **dik' silAX 'a'yiXanhG** you're not fleeter than I *L,* **'AwlAX yiXanh** it's swifter than that *L,* **dik' xu: siga' 'a'lAXXanhG** you pl. aren't as fast as *I L,*

qu'xXanh I'll be fleet-footed *L,* **sAXan'Linh** he became fleet-footed *L,* **GAXan'Linh** he's getting fleet-footed *L, with anatomical marks:* **yAGAXan'Linh** he's moving his hands fast, working fast with his hands *L,* **qu'yi:xXa:nk'** I (cust) work fast with my hands *L (I cust), indirect reciprocal with perambulative:* **'iLlAX yAX yAGAdAXan'Linh** he's getting faster at hand-work < he's moving his hands about faster than one another *L. Transitive (causative): reflexive:* **'AdyAGALAXan'Linh** he's moving his hand fast (e.g. hammering fast, shaking his finger) *L,* **'Adqi:dAGALAXan'Linh** he's moving, fluttering his feet fast *L,* **q'e:dah 'Adqi:dAGALAXan'Linh 'idAXAdla:Ga'ya:Linh** his feet are moving, fluttering so fast you can hardly see them he's running so *L.*

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k'u-Xdl-L-Xan´ *(probably causative of preceding with k'u-indefinite S or O and Xdl-thematic, perhaps 'wave-like, undulating' ('something causes it to flutter fast, vibrate', or 'it causes something ...')* alarm clock go off, ring *(probably of hammer on external bell)*: **k'uXAdla:GALXan'L** alarm clock is ringing *L,* **k'uXAdla:sALXan'L** alarm clock went off *L,* **k'uqu'XAdli:LXanh** alarm clock will ring *L. Rezanov* Какетляхаль *(or* -каль *?)* 'Стучать ('to knock') klopfen, poltern' *perhaps to be read as related form; see also Xa'tl'.*

Xa:nngAwAta:nn

Xa:nngAwAta:nn *(personal name) Anna's aunt, Billy Jackson's wife(?) A.*

Xanh1 *(perhaps related to Xan1 or to Xanh2 and/or to XAma(h)~XAma´)*

Xanh *(noun, unclassified)* desire to weep, cry: **Xanh 'ula'X di:'yahL** he feels like crying < desire to cry came over him *L,* **Xanh sila'X di:'yahL** I feel like crying (but hold back) *L,* **Xanhga' ['Adu'xdAgAwih]** [I feel] like crying *L,* **Xanhdah k'u:t'eh** it (something, e.g. lonesome place) makes one feel like crying *(Minnie Stevens said, remembering dead friends there) L.*

Xanh2 *(perhaps Xan, stem form uncertain, A only, unknown to L; probably related to XAma(h)~XAma´, perhaps also to XAwa: and/or to be identified with Xanh1)*

O-**Xanh** S (dog) growl at O: **k'uXanh** it's growling at something *A,* **k'ushAXanhL** it growled at something *A.*

Xanhd~Xahd *(LMS Xahd, Xanhd A only, perhapsto be identified with Xahd, see under O-Xahd 3.)*

O-**Xanhd~-Xahd** S deal O (playing-cards): **'iXahd** *M,* **'AXahd** (-**Xanhd** *"maybe"*) *L,* **'ALXahd** *(L-classifier probably incorrect, perhaps influenced by 'ALqah, q.v. under qah2)* deal cards! *S,* **GAxXahdL** *(not -Xanhd-, as far as L knows)* I'm dealing *L,* **qu'xXahd** I'll deal *M,* **qa'Xanhd** he'll deal *A,* **dAtli: siXanhdL** I dealt already *A, with 'iLqa' 'amongst each other':* **'iLqa' GAXahd** shuffle! *M.*

Xa:n' *(perhaps related to Xa'~Xa: and/or to be segmented X-a:n', perhaps related also to o-d-Xa:na'-q' under la')*

Xa:n' *(preverb) (with zero and -ch' finals)* to completion, finish, stop, equilibrium, settlement, carried out to conclusion *(semantic range partly overlapping with that of Xu')*: *most frequent in* **Xa:n' -le** S be over with, *especially causative* **Xa:n'** O-**L-i** S construct, build, accomplish, fix, finish O, get O over with; S get (revenge) even with O; S dress O; S prepare, lay out O (corpse) *(see -le 18.), and in* **Xa:n' -'ya** S (job) be done, finished, S (thing) be made, S (event) be over with, take place, S (matter, decision, plan) be agreed upon; S be, become ready; S get all dressed

up, *with other themes:* **Xa:n'** O-**X-a** S finish eating O, **Xa:n' -ki:nX** S stop crying, **Xa:n' l-xwa~** S grow up, **Xa:n'** O-**xa:sh** S finish butchering, cleaning O *(21b.32A, 46.2M),* **Xa:n' lAGAda'ts' da:X** when it was done being decorated *66.11L,* **Xa:n' k'usAsuhdzgL** it stopped hissing, sizzling *L,* **q'e:Xa:n' shAdjahGL** sewed it back up (repaired it) *38.19LM,* **Xa:n' yAX GAlishdisha'tl'Linh** he's gone along and swept *M,* **Ge:ts' Xa:n' guGALshah da:X** when they were done digging spruceroots *66.3L,* **'Aw Xa:n' guGAxihs da:X** when they were done splitting them (spruceroots) *66.6L,* **Xa:n' 'AdAwi'L 'idAsALiL** they finished waging war *28.111A,* **Xa:n'** O-**'-i-d-L-i** S finish knitting *('i-d-le 4.).*

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o-**Xa:n'** *(postposition) (with zero and -ch' finals)* 1. (along, for) the entire length of o: **'Aw shahG 'Awa: 'uXa:n' yAX 'iLsidwahd** so their slime will run down off (the entire length of) them *21b.39A,* o-**Xa:n' yAX** O-**gl-dA-'a´** O (slime) be made to run down off o (fish) *65.42, 43A (passives),* **-Xan yAX -wus** pl. S fall, extend down (the length of) o *11.87, 88A,* **('uhdzgL) siXa:n' yAX sAliL** I got shivers down my spine *M,* **'uXa:n' yAX k'uXAdi:'ah** a stripe extends all the way down it *L,* **'uXa:n' yAX gu:'inhinh** her hair hands all the way down on her *L,* **'iXa:n' yAX k'uqu'gu:'ah** your slip will show *M (see further instances under -'a´ 3.),* **siXa:n' qä' 'i:'ah** it extends up alongside me (my full height) *L,* **'uXa:n' sahL** he walked the whole length of it, to the end of it *L,* **'AwXa:n' yAX GALk'uwahj** nail it down all the way along it! *L.*

2. recovery, recuperation, return to normalcy, equilibrium of o, *in one theme only, o-Xa:n' -'ya 'o recover from, get over S (disturbance)' (perhaps 'S (disturbance) finish passing over the entire length of o')*: **siXa:n' sa'yahL** I regained my health, spirits, I got over it *M,* **ki:nX siXa:n' sa'yahL** I got over a crying jag *M,* **siXa:n'ch' Ga'ya:L** I'm getting over it *M,* **siXa:n'ch' 'i'yah da:X** just as I start to get over it *L, see also (o-)Xa:n' below.*

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(o-)**Xa:n'** *(preverb or postposition, interpretation uncertain) meaning as in Xa:n' or o-Xa:n'*: **dA'a: 'i:lih( )Xa:n' k'uGALa'yah** he'll get over it (emotionally) himself *72.18L (see -'ya 39. and o-Xa:n' 2. above),* **Le't'/Xish( )Xa:n' gAdla:sa'yahL** I got (there became) a trump in diamonds/spades *(at "66") L (see gdl-'ya 2.),* **te'ya'( )Xa:n' xsdixa:gL** I finished fishing *A (see xa:g).*

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o-**l-Xa:n'** *(postposition) (with l-thematic, perhaps l-anatomical 'head' thematized)* 1a. *(with zero and -ch' finals)* to equilibrium in (personal) relationship with o, avenging o: o-**l-Xa:n' y-le** S avenge, get revenge for o, o-**l-Xa:n'** O-**L-i** S get revenge on O for o *(-le 25c.),* **'ulAXa:n' 'iqe'xLih** I'll get even with you for it *L, frequently with reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction:* **'Ad-lAXa:n' 'iqe'xLAleh** I'll get even with you (avenge myself on you) *L,* **'Ad-lAXa:n' qu'yAxdAleh** I'll get even, avenge myself *L,* **'Ad-lAXa:n'ch' dAxLAq'e:ginh** I answer him back nasty < I keep speaking angrily at him to avenge myself *L.*

1b. *(with zero, -ch', and -d finals)* in competition with o: *with zero final (with Neuter perfective and other mode-aspects):* **'ulAXa:n' 'ixile'gLinh** I have a bet with him *L, frequently with reciprocal o in indirect reciprocal construction:* **'iLlAXa:n' 'idile'gLinu:** they have a bet with each other *L, see further instances under -le'g~ 12., -we ('swimming race'), l-qu ('footrace'), -xa ('canoe race'),* **'iLlAXa:n' yAX 'idiqehL** they're canoe-racing < they're boating about in competition with each other *L, Galushia Nelson* **'iLlAXa:n' k'udAtsinhinu:** derision song < they're singing in competition with each other *BSdL 551,* **'iLlAXa:n' 'idi'a'ch'L** they're gambling *M,* **'utl' 'iLlAXa:n' 'ixdi'a'ch'Linh** I'm racing him < I'm going in competition with each other with him *L, with -ch' final:* **silAXa:n'ch' GAle'gLinh** he's betting with me *L, see further instances under -le'g~ 12., with -d final: Galushia Nelson* **'iLlAXa:n'd yAX k'u'Lit'Ak'L(X)** shooting match *BSdL 551 (see O-L-t'ik'~),* **ya'Xu: silAXa:n'd qu'tsin'di:leh** don't sass me, don't talk back to me, don't argue with me *L.*

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2a. *(with -d final 'at rest', and -dAX final 'movement within area')* (on) opposite (side from) o, across from o: **silAXa:n'd** across from me (e.g. at table) *LM,* **silAXa:n'd ya:n' GAda'** sit down across from me! *L, with classified noun as o, class-mark not combined with l-thematic:* **XahdLdAlAXa:n'd** *(not *XahdLdla:Xa:n'd)* **sAtahL** it's opposite the car *L,* **tsa:dla:lAXa:n'd sAtahL** it's opposite the stone *L (not *tsa:dla:Xa:n'd);* **silAXa:n'dAX Gi:ya:L** you're walking across from me (e.g. on opposite bank of river) *L.*

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2b. *(as o of o-L-ch'-a:-d 'on side of o', with reciprocal o)*: **'iLlAXa:n'Lch'a:d** on opposite sides, both sides (of e.g. paper) *L.*

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3. *(with -dAX final thematized, -d final added, uncertain, and inadequately documented, from M only, not verified)* on account of, fault of o, to spite o?: **'ulAXa:n'dAXd** (he did something bad) on account of it *M.*

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4. *In probable analysis of -lAXe:'nah, occasionally (M only) -lAXa:'ne:, see -nah(-G-) under la~na1.*

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o-**y-Xa:n'** *(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-Xa', see 1b.3fn, 2a.16, 4.5fnM, -le 25b.*

2. avenging o, *probably in error for o-l-Xa:n' 1a. in 34.6fnM.*

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3. charity for, kindness to o: **siyAXa:n' sAle'gLinh** 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:l~Xu:n1 *(perhaps to be segmented Xu:-l, -l perhaps archaid class-mark)*

Xu:l-~Xu:n- *(anatomical and class-mark)* tooth, teeth, *not freely used*: *in nouns:* **-Xu:n-L-tl'Ala'** gums *(perhaps nominalized verb, see tl'Ala' 1.),* **-Xu:n-LA-yah** tooth *(see below); with adjectives:* **k'uXu:nLAyahXu:'nuw** big teeth *LMA,* **ga'ts'gLXu:LA'a:w** long(-runged?) ladder *L (uncertain),* **k'uXu:nLAyahXu:lAkih** small tooth *L; with postpositions:* **-Xu:lA'e'd** toothmarks *A,* **'uXu:nLAyahXu:lA'e'd yiLinhinh** he's got its toothmarks on him *A,* **siXu:ntl'gAdla:qa' k'u:'yahL** something is stuck in (the interstices between) my teeth *L; in verbs, in combination with d-thematic 'oral' or dl-thematic 'series', '(set of) teeth':* **siXu:nLAyah siya: Xu:ndla:xLAsit'g** my teeth are chattering *L (perhaps more correctly 'my teeth, I'm teeth-shivering'),* **'iLX 'AdXu:ndla:LAqAtl'ginh** he's gnashing his teeth *L,* **Xu:ndl-LA-gihdz-g** S snarl, baring fangs, *with Xu:l-mark alone, '(one) tooth':* **siXu:nLAyah siya: Xu:nd'yahGL** one of my teeth is aching *L,* **k'uXu:nLAyah 'u:d Xu:nsA'ahL** a tooth is there, **k'uXu:nLAyah sich' Xu:li:'a'** give me a tooth! *L.*

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-Xu:n-LA-yah *(noun, Xu:l-class or unclassified, probably originally nominalized verb Xu:l-LA-yah 'pl. Xu:l-class S be in position', see under (y)a)* tooth, teeth *(also of comb, also 'rungs' of ladder)*: *Galushia Nelson* gə̀x̲ɔ́ⁿtl̀ìyə̀' *or* gàxɔ́ⁿtl̀ìyà 'teeth' *BSdL 541* **k'uXu:nLAyah** tooth, teeth (adult or milk teeth) *LM, Rezanov* Кахонтлея 'Зубы Zähne', *Anonymous* Кахунъ лея 'Зубы', *Baranov* Кахунълѣя 'Зубы', *Khromchenko* (Каху /) Кахунтлію 'Зубы' **qa:Xu:nLAyah** our teeth, human teeth, **qa:Xu:nLAyah 'uX dAkus** toothbrush *(see under kus),* **siXu:nLAyah** my tooth, teeth *LMAS,* **-Xu:nLAyah** o-**a: d-dA-'yahG** o's teeth ache, **siXu:nLAyah sisa' sALgu'k'Linh** he punched my teeth "out" (into my mouth) *L,* **siXu:nLAyah lah da'ya:X** my tooth is loose, wiggles *M,* **siXu:nLAyahX siLshehL** (*or* **shishehL**) I killed it with my teeth *LM,*

'iXu:nLAyah your teeth *16.24, 25M,* **'iXu:nLAyah 'iya: GAdAq'a'L** your tooth is coming in crooked *L,* **'uXu:nLAyah** its teeth (of animal, comb) *L,* **'uXu:nLAyah k'uGALe'Linh** he's teething *L,* **XAdAGu:Lch'a:d (ya:) 'uXu:nLAyah**, **XAdAGu:d ya: 'uXu:nLAyah** his upper teeth *L,* **XAyAXu:Lch'a:d (ya:) 'uXu:nLAyah**, **XAyAXu:d ya: 'uXu:nLAyah** his lower teeth *L,* **la'dih 'uXu:nLAyah 'Awa: k'a:dih** two of his teeth are missing *L,* **la'dih XAlahsd ya: 'uXu:nLAyah k'a:dih** his two front teeth are missing *L,* **'uXu:nLAyah 'Awa: XAdiyinhinh** his teeth are sharp *L,* **'uXu:nLAyah 'Awa: k'u'a:w** its teeth are long *28.77A,* **k'uXu:nLAyahluw** big teeth *M, see under Xu:l-~ above for instance in which -Xu:nLAyah is clearly classified.*

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k'uXu:nLAyah *(place-name) Lake Kahuntla* < tooth *LS, first reported by Martin, 1903.*

Xu:l~Xu:n2 *(perhaps to be analyzed Xu:-l, cf. Athapaskan *-Xu' 'tooth')*

Xu:l-~Xu:n- *(anatomical mark, subposition C, occasionally used as class-mark, attested mainly thematically, not freely used)* teeth: *in verbs:* **Xu:l-'a** S (tooth) be in position, O-**Xu:l-(L-)'a** S handle O (tooth), **Xu:l-d-'yahG** S (tooth) ache, *with adjectives:* **-Xu:'nuw** small (teeth), **-Xu:lA'a:w** long-toothed, -runged ladder, *in postpositional phrases:* o-**Xu:-lA-'e'-d** o's toothmarks, o-**Xu:n-tl-gdl-qa'** in interstices between o's teeth, *in nouns:* **-Xu:n-L-tl'Ala'** gums, *most frequently in noun* **-Xu:nLAyah**, **-Xu:nLiyah** tooth *from nominalized verb Xu:l-LA-(y)a 'pl. (Xu:l-class or anatomical) be in position'; in combination with d- or dl-thematic, 'teeth, fangs':* **Xu:ndl-LA-sit'-g** S's teeth chatter, **Xu:ndl-LA-guhdz-g** S snarl, bare fangs, **'iL-X 'Ad-Xu:ndl-LA-qAtl'-g** S gnash teeth (cause own teeth to slide against each other) *(these last three themes cannot be clearly analyzed as including a dl-thematic mark, cf. e.g. LA-sit'-g 'S shiver', so that the Xu:dl- mark in all three may well be Xu:l- combined with d-thematic, perhaps 'oral', and the fact that the resulting combination is always Xu:ndl-, never *Xu:nd- would then indicate that Xu:l- is to be further analyzed Xu:-l-; cf. ku:l~ku:n~).*

XuhL

XuhLg *(noun, l-class) (with -g-repetitive thematized)* shovel *LMAS*: *23.136A (declassified, perhaps incorrectly), Rezanov* Ххулькъ 'Лопата Schaufel', *Galushia Nelson* x̣ʊ'tłk 'shovel' *BSdL 548,* **XuhLg 'u:d 'i:nsAtahL** *(or* **-'ahL**, *probably slight preference for former)* a shovel is there *L,* **XuhLg sich' li:ta'** (*or* **-'a'**) give me a shovel! *L,* **XuhLg'a:'nuw** *LM,* **XuhLg'i:'nuw** *M,* **XuhLga:'nuw**, **XuhLgAla'luw** *(L prefers forms with -a:-)* big shovel *L, Galushia Nelson* xút'ł yà' x̣ù'tłk (*or* x̲ʷút'łiyà' x̣ù'tłk) 'snow shovel' ("snow's shovel") *BSdL 548* **xutl'ya' XuhLg**.

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-XuhL-g *(noun) (as above)* breastbone, sternum *(presumably resembling a shovel?)*: **siXuhLg** my breastbone *L.*

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O-**XuhL**(**-g**) *(usually with -g-repetitive)* S shovel O (removing O from something or removing something from O): *Rezanov* Ахъ-олькъ *(with ъ- superscript insert)* 'Рой ('dig!') graben (Imperat.)' **'AXuhLg** shovel it!, **qa:nch' 'AXuhLg** shovel it (dirt, snow) (up) out! *L,* **'a'q' GAXuhLg** shovel them (bones) out (of the house)! *49.119, 119A,* **xXuhLg** I'm shovelling it *L,* **siXuhLgL** I shovelled it *L,* **dAtli: 'a'q' 'i:XuhLgwahd** in order to shovel them out *49.120A, with class-marks for O:* **di:XuhLg** shovel it (ice?)! *L,* **t'its' dAxXuhLg** I'm shovelling the ice (clear for skating) *L,* **t'its' dAGAxXuhLgL** I'm (in the process of) shovelling the ice (clear for skating, taking a long time) *L,* **ta: XAdAGAxXuhLgL** I'm shovelling the (plank) sidewalk *L,* **ta:q' 'iLqa:X lAXAGAxXuhLgL** I'm spreading it (gravel) on the road (with the shovel) *L; passive:* **sdiXuhLgL** it's shovelled off *(ambiguous, as in English) L.*

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Gl-dA-XuhL-g *(with Gl-thematic 'ground' and dA-classifier)* S dig, shovel in ground: *Rezanov* Кантахъ-олькъ *(with ъ- superscript insert)* 'Рыть graben' **Ga:ndAXuhLg** you're digging in the ground *L,* **Ga:ndAXuhLginh** he's digging in the ground *L.*

XuhX

XuhX *(noun, unclassified)* worm *LMA,* worm-like creature (with or without legs), earthworm *L,* bug *M*: *Harrington* xux, x̣µx̣ 'moth' *G,* **XuhX 'iLt'a'X GALAXu'GL** worm is contracting, shrinking *L,* **XuhX'At'u'** lots of bugs, worms *M,* **XuhX'a'luw** big bug *M.*

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XuhX'a'luwyu: snakes < big worms *M.*

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gd-LA-XuhX *(with gd-thematic, perhaps 'tight')* S (cloth) gather, pucker: **(siXa') gAdisLiXahXL** it (cloth, where thread is pulled or seam incorrectly matched) gathered ("on" me) *L.*

Xu'1

-Xu' *(noun, unclassified)* fur, (body-)hair *(not single strands, or of head)*: *Rezanov* Кохъ-о 'Шерость Haar der Thiere' **k'uXu'** animal fur *LM,* **k'uXu'a:w** long fur *L,* **k'uXu't'u'** lots of fur *L,* **'uXu'** its fur, his (body-)hair *28.79, 90, 32.40A,* **'uXu' k'u:Linhinh** he's hairy *32.39A,* **'uXu' k'u:Leh** mammals < they have fur *L,* **'uXu' 'ud wusg** its hair is falling out *L,* **'uXu' 'Awa: k'u'a:w** its fur is long *M,* **ts'iyuhXu'** blackbear-fur *28.79A,* **Lu:ndiyahXu'** rat-fur *28.79A,* **-lAGa:nshdAXu'** moustache, whiskers *see Ga:nsh; with Xl- or l-anatomical: Harrington* 'íh xαllαx̣x̣µ̣' '[your] genital hair' *probably to be read* **'iXAlAXu'**, 'îi 'ìllὰxxọ̀' 'your genital hair' **'i: 'ilAXu'**, x̣úu sıllαx̣x̣µ' *or* -ọ̀' 'my genital hair' **Xu: silAXu'**; *these forms could not be verified: the first is perhaps properly 'your pubic hair' (cf. -XAlAya'd 'vulva, vagina'), but silAXu' seems to mean 'my facial hair', not 'my pubic hair' M.*

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'uXu' k'u:Leh mammals < they have fur *L.*

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dA-Xu' S be, become hairy, furry, fuzzy: **sdiXu'L** it's (become) hairy *M,* **sdiXu'L** he's hairy (including 'hairy on pubis') *M,* **sdiXu'Lga' 'i:t'eh** it's fuzzy < it's like it's hairy *L,* **qu'dAXu'inh** he'll be hairy *M,* **qu'xdAXu'** I'll get hairy *L.*

,

lAXAsdiXu'L *(noun)* 1. *(lX-class) (with lX-class-mark for S)* peach < it (berry-like) is hairy *L.*

2. *(unclassified) (with lX-thematic 'grain, coarseness')* flannel *L. Nominalized Active perfective of dA-Xu'.*

Xu'2

Xu' *(preverb) (with zero and -ch' 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 Xa:n', which further has considerable overlap with Xu')*: **Xu'** O-**L-i** S make, build, fix, repair, shape, fashion, carve, finish O, plane O smooth *(see -le 19., Xu' k'uliL under le~),* **Xu' l-le**, **Xu' l-t'e´~-t'u´** S (moon) be, become full *(see l-le 2., l-t'e´~-t'u´ 2.),* **Xu' O-le'g~** S make O (bed), smooth O (blanket) out *(see O-le'g~ 3.),* **Xu' -'ya** S become finished; S

become found out, disclosed, come to light *(see -'ya 21.),* **Xu' Ga'ya:L**, **Xu'ch' Ga'ya:L** *(but not Xa:n'(ch') Ga'ya:L)* it's coming to light, being found out *L,* **Xu' 'u-'-d-'a´** S be, become agreed upon, decided upon, settled, **Xu'** O-**'-d-L-'a´** S decide, plan, agree on, settle O, prevail in argument concerning, have own way concerning O, **'iLtl' da: Xu' tsin'disdiliL** we talked it over together *L,* **Xu' l-xwa~**, **Xu' l-L-xwa~** S be, become full-grown, **Xu' sALXe'tl'L** it became completely dark *L,* **Xu' sALxa'L** it became (completely) summer *L,* **Xu' sdixAXL** tide has (completely) ebbed *Old Man Dude, S,* **Xu' gu:nsa'yahL** high tide's about stopped (complete) *L,* **Xu' 'u'dla:sa'yahL** it levelled out, straightened out *L,* **Xu' -t'e'q'** S become straight, level, **Xu' dla:GALq'e's** level it (surface)! *L,* **Xu'** O-**gd-(L-)ta** S steer O straight, straighten course of O, **Xu' q'e' GAda:Linh** he's walking right again *L,* **Xu' siyahL** I walked straight *L,* **ya'X Xu' sahLi'luw** *personal name* < grew straight up big? *L, BSdL Genealogical Table,* **ya'X Xu' sahLkuts'kih** small girl just grown up *L,* **qa:yAga' 'Aw Xu' gAsALquhL** it (dog) chased them (goats) into our range (right for us to handle) *L.*

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dA-Xu' *(preverb Xu' with proclitic dA-* 'ipse'*, but usually used as adverb, C, or asyntactically)* true, right, correct, sure, certain, real, actual, genuine 1.: **dAXu' k'e:'shA'anh dAleh** maybe he's telling the truth (saying truly) *L,* **dAXu'shuw wAX silah dAleh** is it true he's saying thus about me? *1b.18M,* **dAXu' q'A'Aw** that's right, true *L,* **dAXu' k'e:'shA'Aw** maybe that's right *L, Rezanov* Тахоутъ-у 'Правда ('truth') wahr' **dAXu'duh** true indeed!, **dAXu'** O-**'-dl-L-Xa´** S believe O, hold O's word as true.

2. *In combination with (-)(')ya:X of uncertain analysis, identification, meaning and function (perhaps verb-stem -'ya with -X suffix of hortatory subjunctive, as in *dA-Xu' 'ya:X 'may it be disclosed (as indeed true)!' or ya: 'thing' as o of o-X), dAXu'ya:X, meaning and syntactic function approximately as in 1. above*: **dAXu'ya:X** that's right true *L,* **dAXu'ya:X dAlinhinh q'A'anh** he's telling the truth *L,* **dAXu'ya:X q'unh** (**'itl'**) **dAleh** he's telling (you) the truth *L,* **dAXu'ya:X dAGi:le:X** you should tell the truth *L,* **dAXu'ya:X 'anhshA'anh** is it certain he's the one? *52.30L,* **dAXu'ya:X k'a' 'u:ch' 'i:yah** be sure to go there *M,* **dAXu'ya:X Santa Claus k'u:Leh** there truly, actually is a Santa Claus *L,* **dik' dAXu'ya:X 'ALe:G** it's not right, not true *L,* **'u'ehd, dAXu'ya:X, dA'anh ne:tl'da:X yi:nhinh 'u'ehd** his wife, truly, his original (real) wife *10.174A,* **dAXu'ya:X dAXunhyu: q'A'ahnu:** they're genuine, actual (not fake) people *33.52A,* **dAXu'ya:X 'uga' dAXunhyu:** real people like him, people truly like him *33.40A,* **'idehdah dAXu'ya:X … yahd** real, genuine, actual, veritable houses, houses truly worthy of the name *68.16A.*

Xu'ts'

O-**Xu'ts'** S slap, lash, whip, splash O: **'iqe'xXu'ts'** I'll whip you *L,* I'll slap you (with e.g. willow boughs in steambath) *L,* **siXu'ts'L** I whipped, lashed it (with e.g. branches rope) *M, with gl-class-mark for O:* **gAli:Xu'ts'** splash it (water)! *LM,* **giyah 'ich' qu'gAli:xXu'ts'** I'll splash water at you *L,* **sich' 'Aw gAlAXu'ts'inh** he's splashing it (water) at me *L, with perambulative:* **yAX gu:ndAXu'ts'Xinh** she's splashing (water) around *L;* **reflexive** 'AdxdAxu'ts' *(I'm slapping myself (with willow bough in steambath)) L. With expanded stem:* **sich' 'Aw gAlAXu:ts'inh** he's splashing it (water) at me (lots, all the time) *L,* **Lich' giyah sich' gu:nsAXu:ts'L** he splashed water at me all the time *L,* **Lich' 'iq'Ach' qu'gAli:Xu:ts'inh** he'll splash water on you all the time *L,* **'uq'Ach' da: gAla:yiXu:ts'** let's splash (water) on him (lots, all the time) *L.*

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O-**L-Xu'ts'** S slap, lash, whip, splash O *(meaning not clearly distinguished from that of preceding)*: **'ALXu'ts'** slap it (with e.g. willow boughs)! *LM,* **'iqe'xLXu'ts'** I'll slap you *(same as 'iqe'xXu'ts', and 'iqe'xXu'ts' "sounds better") L, with l-anatomical:* **giyahgu:nAX xu:nsALXu'ts'Linh** he splashed water in my face < he splashed my face with water *L, with perambulative:* **yAX 'ALAXu'ts'** slap, splash it around! *M,* **yAX 'ALAXu:ts'k'inh** he (cust)

slaps, splashes it around *M, with gl-class-mark for O:* **yAX gAla:LAXu'ts'** splash it (water) around! *M, with indeterminate O:* **giyahgu:nAX yAX 'iLAXu'ts'Xinh** he's splashing water around < he's splashing about (at things) with water *L. L uncertain of correctness of all forms with L-~LA-classifier except for those with postpositional phrase o-X 'with, by means of o'.*

Xu'G1 *(perhaps to be identified with Xu'G2)*

LA-Xu'G S exerts self, strain (with all one's might): *Furuhjelm* Atliahukh 'strong' **'ALAXu'G** *(or perhaps -Xu:G, see below), or perhaps* **'a'd LAXu'G** (*or* **-Xu:G**) he's, you're exerting self very hard, **'ALAXu'G**, **'iLAXu'G** exert yourself (very hard, to move, lift something)! *LM, frequently with o-wahd 'for o, to do, move o':* **'uwahd 'iLAXu'G** exert yourself at it! *L,* **'uwahd GALAXu'G** try hard (to lift it)! *L,* **qu'xLAXu'G** I'll exert myself *LM,* **xsLiXu'GL** I exerted myself *MA,* **'uwahd xsLiXu'GL** I exerted myself (made one straining effort) at it *L,* **GALAXu'GLinh** he's exerting himself *M,* **'uwahd GAxLAXu'GL** I'm trying very hard (one effort) at it *L, repetitive:* **'uwahd xLAXu'Gg** I keep trying very hard (to lift, move it) *L (no Active imperfective *xLAXu'G without repetitive or expanded stem L). With expanded stem, meaning as above, but with reference to repeated persistent effort:* **'ALAXu:G** exert yourself! *LA,* **'uwahd GALAXu:G** *L,* **'uwahd 'ALAXu:G** *(not *'iLAXu:G L)* exert yourself to do it! *A,* try long and hard to lift it! *L,* **qu'xLAXu:G** I'll exert myself *LMA,* **xsLiXu:GL** I exerted myself *MA,* **sahdX 'uwahd sLiXu:GL da:X k'udAX** he tried hard it for a long time but in vain *L, Active imperfective: 24.47fnA,* **LAXu:Ginh** he's exerting himself *M,* **xLAXu:G** I'm exerting myself *A,* **'uwahd xLAXu:G** I'm trying long and hard at it *L, Inceptive perfective:* **GAxLAXu:GL** I'm exerting myself *A,* **'uwahd GAxLAXu:GL** I'm trying long and hard at it *L (L much prefers Active imperfective to Inceptive perfective here; no repetitive *xLAXu:Gg with expanded stem L).*

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(**y-**)**LA-Xu'G** *(y-thematic only in perambulative)* S (wind) blow forcefully: **k'u:y yAq' sLiXu'GL** a wind blew shoreward *33.3A,* **k'u:y GALAXu'GL** wind is starting to blow *L,* **Xa: GALAXu'GL** *(not Active imperfective *LAXu'G)* northwind is getting strong *L,* **k'u:y qu'LAXu'G** wind will blow *L, with perambulative:* **(k'u:y) yAX yALAXu'GX** it (wind) is blowing about *L,* **dA'Ashdih yAX yALAXu'GX** wind is blowing about every which way *LM,* **dA'Ashdih yAX qu'yALAXu'G** wind will blow about every which way *LM. With expanded stem 'S (wind) blow forcefully and repeatedly or continuously': Rezanov* Коютльхокъ 'Погодливо stürmisch, windig' **k'u:y**… **LAXu:G**, **k'u:y LAXu:G** wind is blowing *LA,* **Xa: LAXu:G** *(not Inceptive perfective *GALAXu:GL)* northwind is blowing *L.*

,

d-LA-Xu'G *(with d-thematic 'oral, noise')* S yell, shout as loud as S can, raise voice loud: **disLiXu'GL** he yelled loud (once) *L,* **dALAXu'G** he's talking loud, yelling at top of his voice *LA, also probable reading of Anonymous* Татлеякъ 'Вздыхаетъ' ('he's sighing') *(cf. dALA'u'G 'he's taking breaths'). With expanded stem: 'S yell loud and repeatedly or continuously': 20.22fnA,* **da:LAXu:G** talk, yell loud! *A,* **'uch' da:LAXu:Ginh** yell loud to him (he's far away, or deaf)! *L,* **dALAXu:Ginh** he's yelling loud, hollering long distance, raising his voice *L,* **disLiXu:GLinh** he yelled loud (many times) *L.*

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o-**wahd 'Ad-l-LA-Xu'G-g** *(reflexive causative with l-thematic, thematized -g-repetitive, and o-wahd 'for the sake of, in order to do o')* S tug, pull hard at o: **'uwahd 'Ad-lAxLAXu'Gg** I'm tugging (long and) hard at it *L.*

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Xu'GL *(part of noun, probably deverbalization with -L-instrumental) attested only in Rezanov* Утакъояхокль 'Парусъ Segel' ***… k'u:y… Xu'GL***.

Xu’G2 *(perhaps to be identified with Xu'G1, basic meaning perhaps 'sudden forceful contraction')*

’iLt’a’X LA-Xu’G *(with 'iLt'a'X 'gathering together')* S shrink, contract: **’iLt’a’X GALAXu’GL** it's shrinking *LA,* they (clothes) are shrinking, it (blanket) is shrinking, it (worm, clam thrown in hot water) is contracting, shrinking *L,* **XuhX ’iLt’a’X GALAXu’GL** worm is contracting *L,* **’iLt’a’X sLiXu’GL** it shrank *LA,* it (blanket, clam thrown in hot water) shrank, contracted *L,* **’iLt’a’X qu’LAXu’G** it'll shrink *LA,* **’iLt’a’X LAXu:Gk’** it (cust) shrinks *L. Transitive (causative):* **’iLt’a’X GALXu’G** make it shrink, contract! *L; reflexive:* **’iLt’a’X ’AdGALAXu’GL** it (worm) is contracting, shrinking *L,* **’iLt’a’X ’AdGAxLAXu’GL** I'm huddling, hunching myself down into my coat, holding it tight around me (in the cold) *L.*

Xu:’sh *(Xu:'sh probably correct form, L ten times, M twice, A three times, M also Xu'sh eight times, Xuhsh four times, Xu:shg once, A also Xu:sh once, Gu:shg once (rejected by L and M), L also Xu:ch' twice; perhaps related to Xi:sh~Xihsh1,2, XAsh, and/or Xa:sh)*

Xu:’sh *(noun, unclassified)* thorns, thorny spine of devilclub, sliver: **Xu:’sh** *L (eight times), M (twice),* thorns *A (three times),* thorn of devilclub *L (twice),* **Xuhsh** thorns *M (three times),* sliver *M,* **Xu’sh** thorns *M (four times),* thorn of devilclub *M (twice),* **Xu:sh** thorns *A,* **Gu:shg** *A (rejected by L and M),* **Xu:’sh** *L,* **Xu’sh**, **Xu:shg** thorns of devilclub *M;* **’anhdla:Xu:ch’** earth's devilclub-needles *(metaphorical for trees) 34.112fnL.*

,

qa’ O-**L-Xu’sh** *(with qa' 'up out')* S get O all full of thorns: **qa’ GALXu’sh** get it all full of thorns! *M.*

bsbsbsbs *(cf. gsgsgsgs, probably of European origin)*

bsbsbsbs *(animal call) used for calling a cat L.*

bish *(probably nursery language, authenticity and origin uncertain)*

bish *(exclamation)* seagull-eggs! *L heard Johnny Nelson as child say this upon seeing seagull eggs, doesn't know where he got the expression.*

bAlu:shgAG~bAlu:shga: *(loan from Chugach pəluuskaq 'snuff', from Russian понюшка, not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

bAlu:shgAG~bAlu:shga: *(noun, unclassified)* snuff *LM (for sniffing, Aleut homemade snuff, Black Bull tobacco ground with mortar and pestle), little used by Eyaks.*

ba:sgAG *(loan from Chugach paaskaq 'Easter', from Russian nacxa, not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

ba:sgAG *(noun, probably unclassified)* Easter *LM, see also 51.37A.*

ba:shih~ba:sih *(loan perhaps through Chugach from Russian боже, not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

ba:shih~ba:sih *(noun, unclassified)* God, Christ *L.*

ba:sha: *(loan from Russian, perhaps through Alutiiq; first element in personal name)*

ba:sha:kuts'gshiyah *(personal name) Paul Alec L and/or Paul Eli M, part Eyak, part Aleut LM* < little old Pasha/Basha.

witl' *(once also wutl', expanded once wi:tl')*

LA-witl' S be startled, start, jump, twitch, jerk, dodge: **GALAwitl'** twitch!, jump! *M,* **xsLiwitl'L** I started, jumped *M,* I dodged *L,* **'ALAwi:tl'k'inh** he (cust) starts *M, with o-ya:X 'avoiding o':* **'uya:X GALAwitl'** dodge it! *LM,* **'uya:X xsLiwitl'L** I dodged it *MA. Transitive (causative):* **xusALwitl'L** it startled me *LM; passive:* **xusLiwitl'L**, **xusdiwitl'L** I got startled, was made to jump *L.*

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lXd-LA-witl'-~-wutl'-g *(with lXd-anatomical and -g-repetitive thematized)* S have tic in eye, excessive involuntary blinking, squinting: **lAXAdALAwitl'ginh**, **lAXAdALAwutl'ginh** he has an eye-tic, blinks, squints (involuntarily) *L; cf. wAd~wihd~wehd~wahd, wehs, wahs, wus~wAs.*

wiL~wAL~wuL *(most frequently wiL)*

wiL~wAL~wuL *(noun, usually unclassified, occasionally l-class)* wedge: **wuL**, **wAL** *L,* **wiL** wedge *LM, Galushia Nelson* wł *BSdL 548,* **wiL'a:'nuw** *M,* **wiL'a'luw** *(latter preferred)* big wedge *LM,* **wiL sich' 'A'a'**, **wiL sich' 'Ata'**, **wiL sich' li:'a'** give me a (iron) wedge! *L.*

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O-**L-wiL~-wAL** S put wedge in O, S split O with wedge: **GALwiL** put a wedge in it! *M,* **qu'xLwAL** I'll split it with a wedge *L, with ya' 'completely':* **ya' GAxLwAL** I'm splitting it with a wedge *(not Active imperfective) L,* **ya' siLwiL** I split it all up (wood, with a wedge) *L, repetitive:* **ya' xLwALg** I'm splitting it (wood, with wedge) *L, with Xd-class-mark for O:* **ya' XAdAGAxLwAL**, **ya' XAdAxLwAL** I'm splitting them (logs, with wedge) *L; passive:* **ya' sLiwAL** it (wood) has been split (with wedge) *L.*

widj~wAdj~wudj *(widj more frequent than wAdj or wudj, expanded once we:dj)*

l-widj~-wAdj~-wudj *(with l-thematic)* S be, become ashamed, shy, bashful: *Inceptive imperative:* **lAGAwidj** *M,* **lAGAwudj** be ashamed! *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **qu'li:x-widj** I'll be ashamed *M, Active imperfective:* **du:chi:duw lAwAdjga' 'i:t'eh** whoever is kind of bashful *69.15A,* **lAx-widj** "I get bashful right away" *L,* **lAwAdjinh sAqe:ts'Akih** a bashful, ashamed child *L, Inceptive perfective:* **lAGAx-widjL** I'm getting ashamed *M,* I'm getting bashful *L, Active perfective:* **lisiwidjL** *M,* **'i:nsiwidjL** I'm ashamed *A,* I got ashamed *L, Neuter perfective:* **li:widjL** you're ashamed *M, customary:* **lAwe:djk'inh** he's (cust) ashamed *L. Transitive (causative):* **'iqe'li:xLwidj** I'll shame you *M,* **xulAGi:LwidjL** you're making me ashamed *M,* **xulAsALwidjL** you shamed me *M,* **'ilisiLwidjL** I shamed you *M,* **'i:nsiLwidjLinh** I shamed him *M,* **'Aw 'i:nsALwudjLinh** that shamed him *41.11L, repetitive customary (with incorrect non-expanded stem):* **xuli:Lwidjgk'inh** he (cust) shames me *LM. Susceptive Neuter:* **lixLiwidjX** I get ashamed easily *L.*

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dl-widj *(as above, with d-thematic 'oral, noise')* S be, become ashamed of what S say: **dla:shiwidjL** I'm ashamed (of something I said) *L.*

wish~wAsh

O-**wish~-wAsh** S paddle, row O, backwater O *(meaning not clearly remembered)*: **k'ux-wAsh** I'm rowing (something) *("kids playing, seems like backwater rowing, pushing hands away from chest") L, with t'a'q'e'ch' 'backwards':* **t'a'q'e'ch' 'Awish** backwater! *L.*

wAd~wihd~wehd~yehd *(form of non-reduced stem uncertain or perhaps more than one stem, confused, confused also in certain cases with wehs, wahs, wus~wAs)*

LA-wAd-~-wihd-~-wehd-~-wahd-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized)* 1. *(with l-anatomical)* S's head twitch, shake, nod, bob *(involuntary tic)*: **lALAwehdginh** his head shakes *L, also nickname of one Eyak woman and one white man who had such a tic L,* **lALAwAdginh** his head twitches *L (now preferred to preceding),* **lAxLAyehdg** "it's shooting in my head" *A,* **'u:dAX lAGALAwAdgL** his head is twitching (there) *L, with perambulative or perhaps 'downward':* **yAX lALAwahdginh** his head nods, bobs, twitches to side (involuntarily) *L (L later prefers following form or form with stem wahs),* **yAX lALAwAdg** his head nods, bobs, twitches to side (involuntarily) *L,* **'i:nxLAwudg**, **'i:nxLAwAdg**, **yAX 'i:nxLAwAdg** my head twitches (up and down or sideways) *L.*

2. *(with lXd-anatomical)* S's eyelid quiver, flutter, twitch *(involuntarily)*: **lAXAdAxLAwAdg** my eyelid is quivering *(omen that I'll see someone) L (see also wehs, wahs, witl', wus~wAs).*

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3. *(attested only with 'i:-prefix, perhaps to be explicited as denasalized 'i:n- for l-thematic, cf. wus~wAs)* S (free end of branch) bob and flap: **'a:nya'd 'i:LAwahdg** free end of branch (e.g. of alder) bobs and flaps in flowing river *L.*

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4. *Transitive (causative, with Xd-class-mark for O and perambulative)* S wave, swish O (alders) about so they whistle: **yAX XAdAxLAwihdg**, (next day, preferred) **yAX XAdAxLAwAdg** I'm waving alders so they whistle (to scare wolves) *L.*

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lALAwehdginh *nickname of one Eyak woman and one white man who had a tic* < his/her head shakes *L.*

wAts'dAL

wAts'dAL *(personal name) Johnny Thomas, brother of Charlie Thomas, son of da:Xta:nn Fanny Scorn, oldest sister of Susie Abraham (from Elaine Ramos).*

wAsi:lih *(loan from Russian Василий)*

wAsi:lih *(personal name) Willy Dude LM.*

wAGda:na: *(loan from Tlingit wɑɢ dána 'eyeglasses', see da:na:, Tlingit wàɢ, reduced wɑɢ 'eye', occurring in Eyak in this loan only, which is probably not completely analyzable from an Eyak point of view)*

wAGda:na: *(noun, d-class)* eyeglasses *L ("looks like money", L recognizes -da:na: but not meaning of wAG-)*: **wAG da:na: siXa' sich' di:'a'** give me my eyeglasses *L;* **'uq' da:na:** eyeglasses *M (reshaping, 'money, silver on it', rejected by L).*

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wAGda:na:dALtah *(noun, unclassified)* eyeglasse-case < eyeglass-container *L (see -L-tah 3. under tah)*: **k'ut'u' wAGda:na:dALtah** lots of eyeglass-cases *L.*

wAX

-wAX *(adjective)* wide, broad 1. *Independent or relativized*: **k'uwAX** wide thing *L, 11.88A, Rezanov* Ковахетле 'Въ пору, въ пропорцiю passend, nicht zu eng, von Kleidern', **k'AwAX**

yiLeh it's wide *M,* **dik' 'a'd k'AwAX 'a'Le:G** they're not very wide *11.65A,* **'Aw k'AwAX ts'ik' sich' 'Ata'** give me the wide dish! *L,* **k'uwAX ta:** a wide trail *M,* **k'uwAXluwshiyah** nasty-big-broad-thing *(pejorative epithet) 1b.9M, with class-marks (in association with classified nouns):* **k'udAwAX** wide *(of e.g. board) L,* **k'ulAXAwAX** wide, big, coarse *(of e.g. snowflakes, hail, pebbles) LM, with l-anatomical:* **k'ulAwAXshiyah** nasty-broad-head *(pejorative epithet) 1b.9M.*

2. *Dependent (suffixed to nouns)*: **ch'AlihwAX** wide sleeves *L,* **ta:hAwAX** wide trail *L,* **'uq' 'iste'LwAX** wide bed, *with classified nouns:* **shdu:lihGdAwAX** wide table *L,* **xitl'lAXAwAX ya:n' di:'yahL** big snowflakes are falling *L, Harrington* tɬ'ɨhχ̣lɑxxɑɬtµwwäχ̣ 'wide grass' **tl'ihXlAXAdAwAX** *(tl'ihX 'grass' irregularly, perhaps incorrectly, treated as lXd-class noun, like e.g. k'uhdL 'moss', perhaps a specific kind of grass).*

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-wAX S be, become wide *(perhaps not freely used in intransitive, attested only in Active perfective)*: **sAwAXL** it got wide *L. Transitive (causative):* **'ALwAX**, **GALwAX** make it wide! *L,* **qu'xLwAX** I'll make it wide *L,* **siLwAXL** I made it wide *L.*

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L-wAX *(L-classifier with comparative postpositional pharases o-ga' 'like o', o-lAX 'more than o', also attested once without such postpositional phrases)* S be, become wide, broad (relative to something else): **'Alga' 'i:LwAX** it's this wide < it's wide like this *M,* **'AwlAX 'i:LwAX** it's wider than that, it's too wide, it's too wide for that *L (Neuter imperfectives),* **'AwlAX qa'LwAX** it'll be wider than that *L,* **'AwlAX sALwAXL** it got wider than that, got too wide for it *L,* **'ida'ya:lAX sALwAXL** it got too wide *L,* **'ida'ya:lAX GALwAXL** it's getting too wide *L, with d-class-mark for S, postpositional phrase lacking:* **di:LwAX** it (e.g. board) is wide *L (Neuter imperfective).*

wAXa:w~yAXa:w *(yAXa:w preferred only after prefixes with -i-; loan from Tlingit possessed form yαhayí, yαhawú 'shadow, soul')*

-wAXa:w~-yAXa:w *(noun, unclassified)* shadow, picture, image, soul: **siwAXa:w**, **siyAXa:w** picture of me, my shadow, my soul *L,* **'iyAXa:w** pictures of you *L, Galushia Nelson* gúγʷúχ̣àu *or* góγʷúχ̣àu 'picture or reflection' *BSdL 552* **k'uwAXa:w**, **k'uyAXa:w** *(former preferred)* picture, soul, shadow; holy picture, icon *L,* **siXa' k'uwAXa:w** my picture (picture belonging to me) *L,* **'anhwAXa:w**, **'anhyAXa:w** *(former preferred)* his picture, soul, shadow *L,* sàsíⁿtɬìnù γʷúχ̣àu *or* sàsíⁿtɬìnɔ̀ γʷúχ̣àu 'ghost ("dead-person picture")' *BSdL 552* **sAsinhLinu:wAXa:w** dead people's souls, shadows, **k'uwAXa:wluw** big picture, shadow *L,* **k'uyAXa:w'a:w** long shadow *M,* **k'uyAXa:wdik'** short shadow *M,* **k'uyAXa:wkih** little shadow *M.*

wud~wid

wut'~wAt' *(wAt' implied by Anonymous and Baranov only; expanded we:t')*

wut' *(noun, unclassified)* vomit *M*: **wut'L'At'u'** lots of vomit *M (-L-suffix probably incorrect),* **wut'ga' 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I feel like vomiting, nauseated *LM,* **wut'ga' xu'LgAwih** he's making me feel like vomiting *L.*

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-wut' *(noun)* 1. vomit: **siwut'** my vomit *L.*

2. belly, stomach, paunch: *Rezanov* Каготтъ 'Брюхо Bauch' **qa:wut'**, *Anonymous and Baranov* Кавватъ 'Брюхо' ***qa:wAt'** human belly, our belly, *attested with this meaning only in Rezanov, Anonymous and Baranov, not known as such to L M or A; this is the probable earlier meaning of the stem, cf. Athapaskan *wət' 'belly', but it seems peculiar that the meaning attested*

in those three Russian sources is no longer remembered at all by the modern informants, unless Rezanov, Anonymous and Baranov are Yakutat Tlingit where the meaning persisted longer than at Copper River delta.

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-wut' S vomit: **GAx-wut'** *L,* **x-wut'** I'm vomiting *LM,* **dik' x-wut'G** I'm not vomiting *L,* **qu'x-wut'** I'll vomit *M,* **siwut'L** I vomited *L,* **sAwut'Linh** he vomited *40.13L,* **xan'Lq' siwut'L** I threw up a lot *M,* **GAwut'** vomit! *LM,* **x-we:t'k'** I (cust) vomit *LMA.*

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O-**L-wut'** S vomit O: **qiyiLichanh sALwut'Linh** he vomited up spiders *40.14L; with indeterminate O:* **'iqe'xLwut'gwa' 'Adu'xdAgAw** I feel like I'm going to vomit *G.*

wus~wAs *(wus more frequent than wAs, 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 wAd~wihd~wehd~wahd~yehd, witl', wahs)*

-wus~wAs *(with several overlapping areas of meaning, the corresponding transitives (causatives) to some of which are irregular, with zero- or optional L-classifier; these are listed in separate subentries)* 1. S (longitudinal, of variable or indefinite length) extend *(for extension of S of unchanging length or definite length see 'a'~'a')*: **'u:da' sAwusL** it reaches there *M,* **ta: 'a:nda' sAwusL** a road reaches, ends here *(attention to end of road here, other and perhaps unknown) L,* **ta: 'a:nch' GAwusL** a road (being built) is reaching here *L,* **ta: 'u:dAX sAwusL** roads go, a road goes by there *L,* **ta: 'u:ch' 'i:wusL** a road reaches, roads reach there *L (Neuter perfective),* **'u:dAX 'i:wusL** it (e.g. fence) stretches along there *M (Neuter perfective), with class-marks for S:* **qid qi:lAGAwusL** it (rope) is coming down (free end coming into view) *L,* **yAX qi:lAGAwusL** it (rope) is, they (ropes) are going down (held end in view) *L,* **'u:dAX yAX qi:li:wusL** it (rope) hangs, they (ropes) hang down by there (held end not in view) *L (Neuter perfective), with perambulative:* **'a:n 'a:ndAX yAX gu:nsdiwusL** a river (with shifting bed or channels) goes by here *L. Transitive listed under O-(L-)wus~-wAs.*

2. S (of irregular, indefinite or complex shape) move, extend, expand: *11.88A (see 11.86-88fn),* **k'uq'AX 'u:dAX 'Ash sAwusL** the fat expanded past there (into a glacier) *49.147A,* **ya:n' GAwus da:X** when it (rainbow = stairway) extended down (formed) *51.7A, frequently with Xd-class nouns as S:* **ya:djilahG ya:n' XAdAsAwusL** a rainbow formed (extended down) *51.5A,* **q'ahs XAdi:we:sk'** it (cust) clouds over < clouds (cust) expand, move, extend *M,* **GAdAq'Anih 'a:nch' XAdAGAwusL** fog is moving in here *M,* **'u:dAX XAdAGAwusL** it (cloud, fog) is moving along there *M, repetitive: 11.87, 87A (see 11.87-88fn). No clearly corresponding transitive attested.*

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3. S (granular substance) move as mass, be in position, scatter, fall: **'u:d sAwusL** it (e.g. sugar) is (has gotten) there in a pile *L, repetitive, with lX-class-mark for S:* **k'ulAXAwusg** something (e.g. rain, hail, sand, snow) moves "in spurts" *M (see separate subentry k'AlAXAwAs below), with perambulative (both instances perhaps passives of transitive with zero- or L-classifier):* **'u:dAXyu: yAX 'idiwusL** it (e.g. sugar) is spread, spilled about all over *L (Neuter perfective), with gl-class-mark for S:* **yAX gu:nsdiwAsL** it (salt) is spilled about *L. Transitive (causative), attested only with L-classifier: with perambulative:* **di:ya' 'uq' yAX qu'gu:nxLAwus** I'll sprinkle salt about on it *L.*

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4. pl. S fall: *with yAX 'downward': 11.87, 87, 88A (see 11.86-88fn), with qid 'down off':* **qid qAsAwusL** they fell *M,* **qid 'i:wus** let them fall *L,* **qid 'Awe:sk'** they (cust) fall *M,* **qid we:sk'** they (spruce-needles) (cust) fall *11.117A,* **giyahya'ch' dAqa:yu: we:sk'** sometimes they fall into

the water *11.117A; with -g-repetitive, partly thematized: with o-k'ah-ch' 'continuous or repeated motion away from o':* **'Awk'ahch' wusg** paint on surface keeps crumbling, peeling, flaking off of it some *L, with o-d 'separate from o':* **'uXu' 'ud wusg** its fur is shedding, coming out *L. No clearly corresponding transitives attested.*

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5. *With ya' 'completely',* S crumble, fall apart (into many pieces): **ya' sAwusL** it (e.g. cake, bread, cracker, mud) crumbled *LM,* it (anything) fell apart (when touched) *L,* **ya' GAwusL** it (e.g. cake, bread, mud) is crumbling *L,* **ya' 'i:wusL** it's crumbled, it's in crumbs *M (Neuter perfective),* **ya' qAwusk'** *(non-expanded stem probably incorrect)* they (cust) crumble *M. Transitive (causative), attested with L-classifier only:* **ya' GALwus** crumble it! *L,* **ya' siLwusL** I crumbled it up *M.*

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6. S (natural surface) be too soft to support weight, collapse, cave it *(cf. wehs)*: *repetitive:* **'Aw lAX ya:nu'ch' wAsg da:X xwitl', 'AwyAq'Ach' 'uXa' wusginh** it kept giving way and the snow, it kept caving in under him *51.48A. No corresponding transitives attested.*

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7. *With qa' 'up out',* S emerge, surface (from water) *(cf. wAd~wihd~wehd~wahd)*: **dAtli: 'Aw dAkinh qa:nch' GAwusL** that stick is, those sticks are already beginning to show, emerge (as tide recedes) *L,* **q'e' qa' sdiwusLinh** he surfaced (re-emerged) *M,* **ta'd qa' 'Awe:sk'** they (cust) bob up out of the water *20.44A,* **ta'd q'e' qa' 'AdAwe:sk'** it (loose end of something) (cust) bobs back up to the surface of the water *LM. No corresponding transitives attested.*

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yAX O-**wus~-wAs** *(transitive attested only with zero-classifier and with yAX 'downward')* 1. S turn O inside out *(perhaps corresponding to intransitive in meaning 2.)*: **yAX GAwus** turn it inside out! *LM,* **yAX GAx-wusL** I'm turning it inside out *L,* **yAX siwusL** I turned it inside out *LMA, repetitive:* **yAX qAx-wusg** I'm turning them (one after another) inside out *L,* **yAX x-wusg** I'm trying to turn it inside out *L,* **dik' yAX x-wusgG** (*or* **'Ax-wusgG**) I'm not turning them inside out *L.*

2. *Repetitive, with o-lu' 'through (holes in) o',* S sift O through o *(probably corresponding to intransitive in meaning 3. and/or 4.)*: **'ulu' yAX x-wusg** I'm sifting it (e.g. flour) through it *L. See also nominalization below.*

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O-(**L**-)**wus~-wAs** *(L-classifier apparently optional, corresponding as causative to intransitive in meanings 1. and 2.; no clear distinction in meaning between forms with zero- and L-classifiers, but latter perhaps causatives of LA-wus~-wAs below)* S stretch O, cause (linear) O to extend: **'ALwus** stretch it! *M,* **ya:n'ch' GAx-wusL** I'm stretching it (e.g. cloth) downward *L,* **ya'X GAx-wusL** I'm stretching it upward *L, repetitive:* **'ALwAsg** stretch it! *M, with class-marks for O:* **qi:lAGAwus**, **qi:lAGALwus** stretch it (rope)! *L,* **sich' qi:li:Lwus** let it (rope) loose at me! *L,* **'Aw dAGALwusLinu:** they're making them (e.g. line of boards) extend (somewhere) *LM, with qi:d-anatomical 'foot' serving as class-mark:* **qi:di:Lwus** stretch it (shoe)! *L.*

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LA-wus~-wAs S stretch: *Anonymous* Катлявастль 'Постельная занавеска' ('bedcurtain') **GALAwAsL** it's stretching, **qu'LAwus** it'll stretch (e.g. shoe, by itself) *L, usually with perambulative (or perhaps 'reversal of motion'):* **yAX LAwusX** it (e.g. sweater) stretches; it's stretchy, elastic *L (see also nominalization below), with qi:l-class-mark for S:* **yAX qi:LAwusX**, **yAX qi:LAwAsX** *(nasalization omitted)* it (rope) is stretchy, stretching *L. For transitive (causative) see O-(L-)wus~-wAs.*

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lXd-LA-wus-g *(with lXd-anatomical 'eye' and -g-repetitive thematized, cf. wAd~wihd~wehd~wahd~yehd, witl', wehs, wahs)* S have tic in eye: **lAXAdAxLAwusg** I have an eye tic *A.*

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yAX ’Ad-LA-wus-X *(reflexive of causative of -wus~-wAs or LA-wus~-wAs with perambulative)* S (bird) glide, soar about (without flapping wings): **yAX ’AdLAwusX** it (bird) is gliding about without flapping its wings *L.*

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k’AlAXAwAs *(in noun, uncertain, attested in Rezanov only)* fog, mist: *possible reading of* Каляхъ-оэсъ 'Туманъ Nebel'. *Perhaps nominalized Active imperfective of -wus~-wAs 3., with lX-class-mark for S,* < something lX-class (granular) moves as mass.

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GAnAwAs *(place-name) Knight Island in Yakutat Bay A and Sampson Harry, Tlingit ɢanaẇás, probably of Eyak origin, nominalized Active imperfective of -wus~-wAs 2. or perhaps 6., with Gl-thematic 'ground',* < irregular mass of land extends, *or perhaps* < ground is soft, yielding.

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GAnAwAsga:tsidzg *(place-name) in Eleanor Cove, Yakutat Bay, near Knight Island* < narrow GAnAwAs *A and Sampson Harry (analysis of -ga:- not clear, perhaps GAnAwAsg-, repetitive, as with -wus~-wAs 6.).*

wug

k’u-wug *(with k'u-indefinite O, perhaps thematized)* S grunt, strain, try hard, exert self with great effort, paddle hard: **k’ux-wug** I'm grunting *L,* **k’u:wug** strain hard to do it!, paddle hard (e.g. against wind)! *L, with o-wahd 'for the sake of o':* **’uwahd k’usiwugL** I grunted (in trying hard) to do it (e.g. lift heavy object) *L, repetitive:* **k’u:wugg** keep straining hard to do it!, keep paddling hard (e.g. against the wind)! *L.*

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O-**gl-wug** *(as above, without k'u-indefinite O, with gl-class-mark for O)* S noisily gulp down O (liquid) with grunts of relief: **giyah gAlAwuginh** he (e.g. thirsty child) is noisily gulping it (water) down with grunts of relief *L,* **ya’Xu: qu’gAli:wug** don't gulp it so *L.*

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qa:dAwug XAda:q’d *(place-name) Egg Island near Katalla L. (Analysis uncertain, qa:- 'us'? as O of *O-dA-wug < -wug 'grunt', XAda:q'd '(at rest, nominalization) on Xd-class o ((river)bank?)'.)*

’wi’g

O-**’wi’g** S hang pl. O in series: **Ga’wi’g** hang them up in a row (clothes, fish, on line, stick)! *L,* **x-wi’g**, **qAx-wi’g**, **qAGAx-wi’gL** *L,* **qAGAx-wi’gL** I'm hanging them up *LA,* **qu’x-wi’g** I'll hang them up *L,* **Xi:d dAla’d qu’x-wi’g** I'll hang them up (on something) over there *M,* **si’wi’gL** I hung them up *LA (same as sixwAdjL A),* **sa’wi’gL** he hung them up *L, repetitive:* **x-wi’gg** I'm hanging them up (one after another, in row) *M; passive:* **sdi’wi’gL** they (clothes) are hung on a line *L (no forms with expanded stem, or with L-classifier L).*

we1

-**we** S (human or mammal) swim *(in definite direction, not of waterfowl or fish)*: *imperatives:* **’iwe’** swim! *L, Rezanov* Ачиуэ 'Плыви Flamme(?) wohl плама mit плавай schwimme

verweckselt?', 'schwimen (Imperat.)' **'a:nch' 'iwe'** swim hither! *L,* **'u:ch' GAwe'** *L,* **'u:ch' 'iwe'** (*or* **'Awe'**, *not -we: L)* swim thither! *LM,* **li' 'iwe'** swim downstream! *M,* **dAG 'iwe'** swim downstream! *M,* **yahd GAwe'** 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:ch' qu'xweh** *(or* **we:** *L)* I'll swim thither *LM,* **dik' 'u:ch' qu'x-we:G** (*or* **-wehG**) I won't swim thither *L,* **lah qu'winhinh** he'll swim in a circle *M (should perhaps be qa'winhinh),* **q'e' qu'xdAweh** I'll swim back *M,* **qu'qi:weh** they'll swim *M, Inceptive perfective: 27b.37fnA, 47c.57L,* **Xi:ch' GAx-we:L** I'm swimming over there *M,* **Gux-we:L** I'm swimming (along) *L,* **lah GAx-we:L** I'm swimming around (in a circle) *LM, Rezanov* Кауэ-этли 'Плавать schwimmen' **GAwe:Linh** he's swimming (along, away), **GAwe:L** it (animal) is swimming *L,* **Xi:ch' GAwe:Linh** he's swimming thither (**'u:dAX**) **da:X GAwe:Linh** he's swimming across (there) *L,* **ya:nu'X GAwe:Linh** he's swimming (along) underwater *L,* **yahd GAwe:Linh** he's swimming out (to sea) *L,* **q'e' GAxdAwe:L** I'm swimming back *M, Active perfective:* **siwehL** I swam *L,* **Xi:ch' siwehL** I swam over there *M,* **lah siwehL** I swam around (in a circle) *M,* **di'du'X dik' 'u:da' 'AxswehLG** I almost didn't get there (swimming) *M,* **yAq' sAwehL** swam ashore *47c.61L, 61.77A,* **lah sAwehLinh** he swam around (in a circle) *M,* **'u:ch' sAwehLinh** she swam thither *L, 47b.4M,* **dik' 'u:ch' 'AswehLGinh** he didn't swim there *L,* **'u:ch' da: sAwehL** we swam (towards) there *L,* **'u:da' da: sAwehL** we swam (and arrived) there *L,* **da:X sAwehL** it (bear, dog, seal, person, not bird, fish) swam across *L,* **'a:ndAX q'unhAw da:X sAwehLinh** here it was he swam across *L,* **yahd sAwehLinh** he swam out (to sea) *L,* o-**lah 'anhtl' sAwehL** it (loon) swam around o with him (person, on its back) *27a.28L,* o-**lah q'e' sdiwehL** it (loon) swam back, some more around o with him (on its back) *27a.34L, 27b.45A,* **q'e' xsdiwehL** I swam back *M, Active optative:* **'u:ch' 'ixiweh** let me swim (towards) there *L,* **'u:da' 'ixiweh** let me swim (and arrive) there *L,* (**'u:ch'**) **da: 'i:weh** *(or* **-we:**, *former more frequent)* let's swim (thither) *L,* **'a'd k'a:di'da: q'e' 'ixdiweh** I'll never swim (there) again *M, Inceptive conditional:* **'u:ch' GAx-weh da:X** if/when I swim there *L,* **'u:ch' Gi:weh da:X** if/when you swim thither *L, Active conditional:* **'u:ch' 'ixweh da:X** if/when I('ve started to) swim thither *L, Inceptive subjunctive:* **'u:da' GAwe:X 'utl' dAxlinhinh** I told thim to swim there *L, Active subjunctive:* **'u:ch' 'ix-we:X sitl' dAleh** he told me to swim thither *L, customary:* **'Ax-we:k'** I (cust) swim (there) *L, repetitive: Inceptive imperfective* **'u:ch' qu'x-we:g** I'll try to swim there *L, Active imperfective:* **x-we:g** I'm trying to swim (there) *L (no Active imperfective, e.g. *x-weh except with e.g. repetitive L),* **'u:ch' we:ginh** he's trying to swim there *L,* **k'udAX 'u:da' 'Ax-we:gG** I can't get there (trying to swim) *L, Active subjunctive:* **'a:nch' 'Awe:g da:X** if/when he'(s started to try to) swim here *L,* **'u:ch' 'Ax-we:g da:X** if/when I('ve started to try to) swim there *L, with perambulative, 'S swim (in no particular direction)': Active imperative:* **yAX 'AdAwe:** swim!, go swimming! *LM, Inceptive imperfective* **yAX qu'xdAwe:**, **yAX qu'xdAweh** I'll go swimming *LM,* **dik' yAX qu'xdAwe:G** I won't go swimming *L, Active imperfective:* **yAX xdAwe:X** I'm swimming (about) *LM,* **k'udAX yAX xdAwe:XG** I can't swim *L,* **'ida: yAX k'udAwe:X sid 'ALde'g** teach me how to swim! < teach me how one swims about! *M,* **'iLya' yAX xdAwe:X** I'm swimming back and forth *L,* **'iLya' yAX dAwe:Xinh** he's swimming back and forth *M, Active perfective:* **(dAtli:) yAX xsdiwehL** I (already) went swimming *LM,* **da: yAX sdiwehL** we went swimming *L, Active optative:* **yAX 'ixdiwe:** let me go swimming *L,* **da: yAX 'idiwe:** *L (twice),* **da: yAX 'idiweh** let's go swimming *LM (L rejects former, probably incorrectly), Active conditional:* **yAX 'AdAweh da:X** *(not -we:)* if/when you (start to) swim (about) *L, Active subjunctive:* **yAX 'AdAwe:X 'utl' dAxlinhinh** I told him to go swimming *L,* **yAX 'AxdAwe:X 'ixleh** I want to go swimming *L, customary:* **yAX 'ixdAwe:k'** I (cust) go swimming *L,* **yAX 'idAwe:k'inh** he (cust) goes swimming *L,* **yAX 'AdAwe:k'** they (seals) (cust) swim about *62.29G,* **da: yAX 'idAwe:k'** we (cust) go swimming, swim (about) *LM, indirect reciprocal with 'iLlAXa:n' 'in competition with one another': Neuter perfective:* **'iLlAXa:n' 'idiwehLinu:** they're racing (swimming) *L, Active optative:* **'iLlAXa:n' da: 'idiweh** let's race (swimming) *L.*

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yAX ’iswe:X(-L) *(gerundive of preceding with perambulative)* swimming *(as art or pastime)*: **’u’lixiLgah yAX ’iswe:X** I know how to swim *L,* **yAX ’iswe:Xsh ’u’li:Lgah**, **yAX ’iswe:XLsh ’u’li:Lgah** do you know how to swim? *L,* **yAX ’iswe:X sid ’ALde’g** teach me how to swim *L,* **yAX ’iswe:X xuGALga’L** I'm getting tired of swimming < swimming (about) is tiring me *L,* **yAX ’iswe:XXa’ ’AnahshAkih ’ixleh** I like to swim *L,* **yAX ’iswe:Xch’ yAX xsdi’yahGL** I got a desire to swim *L,* **yAX ’iswe:Xch’ yAX xda’ya:Gk’** I (cust) get a desire to swim *L, Rezanov* Яхохъ-аясуэхъ 'Не плыви schwimme nicht!' **ya’Xu: … …swe:X**, *perhaps to be read* **ya’Xu: q’ah yAX ’iswe:X** no swimming!.

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o-**ka:X ’i-’-d-we** *(with o-ka:X 'catching up to o', apparently with indeterminate O and d-thematic)* S catch up to o (swimming): **’ika:X ’i’dAsAwehLinh** he caught up to you (swimming) *L,* **’ika:XAch’ ’i’dAGAx-we:L** I'm catching up to you (swimming) *L.*

we2 *(see we'L, we:g2)*

we:ch’

we:ch’ *(noun)* stick with a number of fish or slabs of fish-meat impaled on it, for hanging or carrying *(not the same as we:sh) L.*

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O-**we:ch’** S impale fish or slabs of fish-meat on a stick: **qi:we:ch’** string pl. fish on a stick! *L; see also we:sh.*

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O-**qA-X-we:ch’** *(with X-thematic with qA- 'plural')* S impale pl. fish or slabs of fish-meat one after another on a stick: **qAXAx-we:ch’** I string them on fish-sticks *65.22, 22A.*

we:sh

we:sh(-g) *(noun, unclassified, perhaps also d- or Xd-class, with optional -g-repetitive)* rack of sticks for drying fish (outdoors), *to be distinguished from we:ch', but possibly also referring to individual sticks upon which drying fish are hung, or partly confused with we:ch'*: *Galushia Nelson* wɛc 'drying rack (out-doors?)' *BSdL 259, 547, 558,* **we:sh**, **we:shg** drying-rack, fish-rack, fish-stick *L,* **we:shAyu:** fish-racks, fish-racks, etc. *21a.20L,* **we:sh’a’luw** *L,* **we:shda’luw** big drying-rack *M,* **we:shgXAdAla’d GALa’** hang them (fish) on a stick (rack?)! *L.*

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’Awq’Ach’ k’udAwe:shg *(noun)* stick to hang fish on *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective repetitive,* < something is (repeatedly) hung onto it; *underlying verb theme not used as such, stem perhaps in error for -we:ch'-.*

’we:sh

-’we:sh-G *(kinship noun, ascending)* (maternal) grandfather, (maternal) grandfather's brother: **si’we:shG** my grandfather (mother's father) *LMA, BSdL 565A* ciwɛck 'mother's father's younger brother (either sex speaking)' **shi’we:shG**, **’i’we:shG** your grandfather *L,* **’u’we:shG** his mother's father *L, with suffixed -shiyah:* **si’we:shGAshiyah** my (maternal) grandfather *32.12A,* **’i’we:shGAshiyah** your grandfather (mother's father) or his brothers *LM,* **’u’we:shGAshiyah** his (maternal) grandfather *2a.13M, 32.5, 6, 7, 28A,* **’anh k’u’we:shGAshiyah** the (maternal) grandfather *32.29A. Vocative: BSdL 565A* wɛckaca 'mother's father (either sex speaking)' **we:shGAshah** grandfather! *L.*

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-'we:sh-G-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'*: *BSdL 567* ciwɛckaki 'daughter's child (man speaking)' **shi'we:shGAkih** my grandson *32.43A,* **shi'we:shGAkih** my daughter's child *(man speaking, serves also as vocative) L.*

we:g1 *(perhaps to be identified with we:g2)*

we:g *(noun, unclassified)* headband *L*: *Galushia Nelson* wɛ·ktɬ 'band or cord' *BSdL 548 (perhaps to be read we'L),* í·nà wɛ̀·ktɬ 'head band' *BSdL 550* **'i:nah we:gL** *(or* **we'L** *?)* (head-?)band around head, **we:g'a'luw** big headband *L.*

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O-**l-we:g** *(with l-anatomical)* S put headband on O's head: **'iqe'li:x-we:g** I'll put a headband on you *L; reflexive* **'Ad-lisdiwe:gL** *L,* **'Adi:nsdiwe:gLinh** he has a headband on *S,* **'Adi:xsdiwe:gL** I put a headband on *L.*

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o-**l-lah** O-**we:g** S put O (headband, as headband) on, around o's head: **'i:nah GAwe:g** put it (headband, as headband) around your head! *L.*

we:g2 *(probably related to we'L, with expanded stem and thematized -g-repetitive, under influence of O-L-wa'L(-g) 1. and we:g1, attested from A only)*

O-**L-we:g** S slice O (skin) into babiche, thongs: **'ALwe:g** (*same as* **'ALwe:L**) slice it (skin) into babiche! *A.*

we:g3 *(perhaps to be identified with we:g1 and/or related to we'L, if analyzed we with -g-repetitive thematized)*

O-**L-we:g** S cut, slice O (skin) into thongs, babiche: **'ALwe:g** slice it (skin into babiche)! *(same as 'ALwe:L) A (twice), M has heard her mother say, but cannot remember the meaning.*

we:gsh

we:gsh(-g) *(noun, usually dl-class, perhaps also d-class or unclassified, usually with -g-repetitive)* ulu: **we:gsh** *G ("could say it that way" MA),* **we:gshg** ulu (woman's scraper-knife for splitting fish etc.) *LMAS, Galushia Nelson* wäkck 'woman's knife (ulo)' *BSdL 309, 547,* **we:gshgda'luw** *M (L rejects),* **we:gshgdli:'nuw** big ulu *L,* **we:gshg 'u:d dla:sA'ahL** *(or* **-tahL**, *former probably preferred)* an ulu is there *L,* **we:gshg sich' dli:'a'** *(or* **-ta'**, *former perhaps preferred)* give me an ulu! *L,* **we:gshgAshiyah siXa'** my old ulu *(pejorative) A (here unclassified).*

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dla:GALAwe:gshgL *(noun, probably d- or dl-class)* some kind of flat rock or stone slab *L. Apparently nominalized Inceptive perfective of verb-theme LA-we:gsh-g with dl-class-mark for S 'stone'.*

we:X

we:X *classification and meaning unknown, attested only in musical fragment *** (!)* **we:X we:X Ch'i:lehshiyahyu:** we:X we:X Ravens *(Scar Stevens used to sing, last note about one tone lower than the others) M (L never heard we:X or the song).*

wehs *(perhaps related to wus~wAs; partly confused with wahs and wAd~wihd~wehd~wahd~yehd)*

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* Уэсъ-итли 'Болото ('swamp') Sumpf' **wehs yiLeh** it's a wehs *LM. Perhaps nominalized Active imperfective of verb-theme -wehs(-g).*

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lAXAwehsg *(noun)* quicksand *L. Perhaps nominalized Active imperfective, as above, with lX-class-mark for S, e.g. chi:shg 'sand'.*

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dla:wehs *(noun)* tundra, muskeg: *Rezanov* Тляуэсъ 'Тундра Tundra' **dla:wehs** tundra, muskeg *L (uncertain). Perhaps nominalized Active imperfective, as above, with dl-class-mark for S, e.g. 'anh 'earth'.*

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ya:nu' -wehs *(with ya:nu' 'down through surface')* S sink, founder in soft natural surface: **siGuhdga' ya:nu' siwehsL** I sank in (e.g. snow, mud) down to (as far as) my knees *L.*

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l-wehs-g *(with l-thematic and -g-repetitive thematized)* S collapse, "die" (figuratively) for lack of e.g. food or drink: **dAtli: lAGAx-wehsgL** I'm already "dying" (for some of the food or drink you're having) *L,* **lAsAwehsgLinh** he collapsed, "died" (for lack of food or drink) *L,* **'ich' qu'li:wehsginh** he'll "collapse" on (at) you (if you don't give him some of your food, drink) *L.*

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LA-wehs-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized; stem first elicited as wahs, q.v., then changed to wehs, see also wus~wAs, wAd~wihd~wehd~wahd-yehd, witl')* S (part of eye) quiver: **sila:X siya: LAwehsg** my (upper) eyelid quivers (repeatedly droops) *(omen that I'll see someone) L,* **sila:XyAXd siya: LAwehsg** my lower eyelid (undereye) quivers *(omen that I'll cry) L, with lXd-anatomical 'eye':* **lAXAdAxLAwehsg** my (upper) eyelid quivers *(omen that I'll see someone) L.*

wehx *(wehxw A only, all others, including S and Rezanov wehx)*

wehx *(noun, lX-class)* high-bush gray or white currants *LMS, ('blue currant (Ribes bracteosum)' and/or 'swamp gooseberry (Ribes lacustre)')*: *Rezanov* Уэхъ 'Смородика' *(not in Radlov, 'currants'),* **wehxw** currants *A, Harrington (from G and G's wife)* **wehx** wild currant *(same as Tlingit šàx 'grey currant'),* **wehxlAXAt'u'** lots of currants *M.*

we'L *(perhaps to be analyzed we with -L-instrumental, perhaps related to we:g2)*

we'L *(noun, qi:l- or g-class, or unclassified)* snare, lasso *LM*: *Galushia Nelson* wɛ'tɬ 'snare' *BSdL 549,* **we'L'a'luw** *L,* **we'Lqi:'nuw** big snare *LM,* **la'dih we'L** two snares *L, perhaps also* **la'd gAlAXAda: we'L** two (loops, eyes of) snares *L (with g-class-mark and lXd-anatomical 'eye'),* **we'LlAXAdAyAq' sahL**, **we'LgAlAXAdAyAq' sahL** it got caught (went) in (the loop, eye of) a snare *L,* **we'Lsa' sahL** it got caught (went) in (the mouth of) a snare *L.*

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O-**L-we'L** 1. S snare, lasso O: **qu'xLwe'L** I'll lasso it *M,* I'll snare it *LMS,* **qu'yiLwe'L** you'll spring a snare on it *A,* **'iqe'xLwe'L** I'll snare, lasso you *L,* **siLwe'L** I lassoed it *M,* I snared it *LA,* **GALwe'L** lasso it! *M, repetitive:* **'AlAXLwe'Lg** pl. snare them! *28.48, 49A; passive:* **sLiwe'L** it's been snared *L,* **xusdiwe'L** I've been snared *L, repetitive:* **dAwe'Lg** they're being snared *28.50, 50A.*

2. S cut, slice O (skin) into thongs, babiche *(this was done spirally starting at outside 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 -L-instrumental of derived form retained*

throughout, also in expanded form; see we:g2): **qu'xLwe'L**, **qu'xLwe'** *(latter uncertain)* I'll slice it (skin into babiche) *L, frequently with expanded stem:* **'ALwe:L** slice it (skin)! *A,* **qi'yiLwe:L** you'll slice it (skin) *A, with ya' 'completely':* **ya' qu'xLwe:L** I slice it (skin) up into babiche (for e.g. snowshoe-netting, by cutting specially from outer edge) *L,* **ya' GALwe'** *(uncertain),* **ya' GALwe'L**, **ya' GALwe:L**, **ya' qi:lAGALwe:L** slice it (skin) into thongs! *L; passive:* **ya' sLiwe'L**, **ya' sLiwe:L**, **ya' sdiwe'L**, **ya' sdiwe:L** it's all sliced up (into babiche) *L, Galushia Nelson* stɬìwɛ́·tɬ ɢɔ̀tà' *or* stɬìwɛ́·tɬ ɢɔ̀tà 'thong ("cut skin")' *BSdL 548* **sLiwe:L k'utah** skin which has been sliced into thong, *see also following.*

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sLiwe'L, **sLiwe:L** *(noun)* babiche *L. Nominalized passive Active perfective* < (skin) which has been sliced into babiche.

we'ts' *(M often wa'ts', probably under influence of wa'ts', L and A both insisting that we'ts' is the only correct form)*

O-**we'ts'** S weave O: **'Awa'ts'** *M (L and A reject),* **'Awe'ts'** weave it! *LMA,* **x-wa'ts'** *M,* **x-we'ts'** I'm weaving it (fabric, basketry) *L,* **qu'x-wa'ts'** I'll weave it *M,* **GAx-we'ts'L** *(perhaps acceptable)* I'm weaving it *L,* **siwa'ts'L** *M,* **siwe'ts'L** I wove it *L, with qa' 'up out':* **'Awga' 'Aw qa' GAwe'ts' da:X** when they've woven it (sides of basket) up high enough *66.9L,* **'AwLqehX ne:tl' we:ts'ginu:** first they (cust) weave the bottom *66.8L,* **'Aw q'e' we:ts'k'inu:** they (cust) weave it some more *66.11L, repetitive:* **da: k'Awa:ts'gk'** we (cust) weave something *M; detransitivized with indeterminate O and dA-classifier:* **'uyAku:nch'lah qä' 'isdiwe'ts'Linh** he wove (something) up around his thumb *34.100L,* **gahXye'X 'ixdAwe:ts'k'** I (cust) weave all day long *L (expanded stem with -k'-customary only L)*; *passive:* **sdiwe'ts'L** it's woven *L.*

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we'ts', **wa'ts'** *(noun)* weaving, woven work *M.*

we'ch'

O-**dl-L-we'ch'** *(attested only with dl-thematic)* S fool, cheat, deceive O: **dli:Lwe'ch'** fool it! *L,* **'a'q' dla:GALwe'ch'** entice him out (of the house)!, get rid of him (by deceit)! *L,* **qu'dli:xLwe'ch'** I'll fool it (e.g. sneak up to unsuspecting seal) *L,* **xudla:sALwe'ch'Linh** he fooled, cheated, deceived me *L,* **dik' xudla:sLwe'ch'LGinh** he didn't fool, cheat, deceive me *L,* **dla:GAxLwe'ch'Linh** I'm fooling him *(no Active imperfective) L.*

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'Ad-dl-LA-we'ch' *(semantically irregular reflexive of preceding)* S sneak: *without preverbs or postpositional phrases,* S sneak away, out: **'Adqu'dla:xLAwe'ch'** I'll sneak out *LMA,* **'Adla:sLiwe'ch'Linh** he sneaked away *L, with o-Xahd 'away from o (leaving o behind)':* **'uXahd 'Adla:LAwe'ch'** *L,* **'uXahd 'Adli'LAwe'ch'** sneak away from it! *LM,* **'uXahd 'Adla:LAwe'ch'inh**, **'uXahd 'Adli'LAwe'ch'inh**, **'uXahd 'Adla:GALAwe'ch'inh** sneak away from him!, avoid him! *L,* **sAqe:GAyu:Xahd** (*or* **'uqa'Xahd**) **'Adla:LAwe:ch'k'inh** she (cust) sneaks away from the children (or her husband) *L, with 'Ash 'completely by, through, past' and o-da:X '(movement in) vicinity of o' or o-ta:s 'across o':* **'uda:X 'Ash 'Adla:xsLiwe'ch'Linh**, **'uta:s 'Ash 'Adla:xsLiwe'ch'Linh** I sneaked by him *L,* **sida:X 'Ash 'Adla:sLiwe'ch'Linu:**, **sita:s 'Ash 'Adla:sLiwe'ch'Linu:** they sneaked by me *L.*

we'q'

-we'q' S run out, short of liquor: **GAx-we'q'L** I'm running out of liquor *(refers to alcoholic drinks only) L,* **da: GAwe'q'L** we're running out of liquor *L.*

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o-**Xa' dA-we'q'** *(with o-Xa' 'in intimate relation with o, "on" o')* (supply of) S run short, out on o *(class-marks never used, even with classified S)*: **siXa' GAdAwe'q'L** "I'm running short of stuff" *(same as siXa' lAGAdA'a:L) L,* **da:na: siXa' GAdAwe'q'L** *(not dAGAdA-)* I'm running out of money *L,* **na:w qa:Xa' GAdAwe'q'L** *(not gulAGAdA-)* we're running out of whiskey *L,* **siXa' sdiwe'q'L** I ran out of it, it's running low on me *L; cf. l-dA-chahd-g.*

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o-**X 'i-'-lXdl-we'q'** *(with o-X 'in contact with o', semitransitive with thematized indeterminate O, dl-thematic combined with lX-thematic, cf. o-X 'i-'-lXdl-XAL)* S (supply of liquor) run out leaving o unsatisfied, only partly drunk: **siX 'i'lAXAdli:we'q'L** I'm only half-drunk and out of liquor *L (Neuter perfective),* **qa:X 'i'qe'lAXAdli:we'q'** we'll get only half-drunk and the liquor will give out *L.*

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-L-yAX 'before o' under yAX3, stem perhaps related to dAwa'd, wa:L, wah1, cf. also Galice kašdabaa 'morning' < *qa-x- 'dawn' as o of *o-dAwa, Chipewyan o-bà 'waiting for o', Navaho o-baˀ 'waiting for o', proceding ahead of, beyond o', also Kutchin vành, Minto bən-daneˀ 'morning', Navaho ˀa(h)-bíní 'morning', bíní 'during', all of which suggest an analysis of Eyak dA-wa: rather than broken stem dAwa:)*

o-**wa:** *(postposition) (uncertain)* after o: **yAqe:Xwa: yAqe:X** day after tomorrow *L (conmistranscription for* **yAqe:X 'Awa: yAqe:X** tomorrow, it's tomorrow, *not verified),* **siwa:Lch'a:d yi:nhinh** next oldest sibling after me *L ('he who is on the afterside of me', but conceivably < si-wa:L-L-).*

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o-**d-wa:** *(postposition) (probably with d-thematic, cf. o-d-L-yAX 'before o' under yAX3)* 1. *with nominal or pronominal o:* a. in front of o: **sidAwa: qa' sahL** it (seal) emerged right in front of me *L; with -k'ah final '(removal to some distance) away from':* **sidAwa:k'ah 'a:'** get out of my way! *L.*

1b. waiting for o, *in o-d-wa: -t'e´~-t'u´ 'S wait for o', see -t'e´~-t'u´ 13.*: *Rezanov* Сытоу-а 'Подожди warten (Imperat.)' **sidAwa:** (wait) for me!.

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2. *With subordinated verbal clauses as o:* a. waiting for o, *requiring optative in subordinate clause for unrealized event*: **dla:ch'e:'ga' 'i:lehdAwa: 'ixit'eh** I'm waiting for it to turn red *M.*

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2b. *With surbordinated clause in Inceptive perfective with negative -G,* before *('while not (yet) ...')*: (1) **'uch' 'Aw 'Atin'inh GAki:nXLGdAwa:** give it to him before he cries! *L,* **yAX GAkugLGdAwa:** before it breaks *L,* **'uk'ah lAGi:ta:LGdAwa:** before you forget *L,* **'ida'ya:lAX GAxtl'e'LGdAwa:** before I get too cold *L,* **'Awq'Ach' GALtl'a'gLGdAwa:** before he writes on it *L,* **k'ushiyah GALe'LGdAwa: Xa:ne:** eat it before it turns bad! *L,* **GAxsinhLGdAwa:** before I die *L,* **GALchanhLGdAwa:** before he smells it *L,* **'Asi:n'inh 'iGAshe:LGdAwa:** kill him before he kills you! *L,* **'Aw ya' dAGAxihsLGdAwa:** before he rips it up *L,* **xuGALXa'Xch'XLGdAwa:** before he tickles me *L,* **sdikusLyu: 'AdiX GALa:' q'e' GAda'li'ts'LGdAwa:** bring the laundry in before it gets wet again! *L,* **'ilAX 'iGAL'a:nLGdAwa:** before he sees you *L,* **XAGa:LGdAwa:** before he eats it *L,* **Lich' 'Adya:dAke:sk' k'uXAGi:ya:LGdAwa:** always (cust) wash your hands before you eat! *L,* **q'e' Gi:da:LGdAwa:** before you go home *L;* (2) *with subordinated clause preceded by di:yAX 'not*

yet', itself requiring -G negative: **LinhGih qu'xsheh di:yAX xuGAshe:LGdAwa:** I'll kill one before they kill me *18.61L,* **di:yAX 'ahnu: ya:n'ch' GAdla:GALwa'LGdAwa:, wAX 'ahnu:tl' dAlinhinu:** before he lowered them down, he said thus to them *34.104L,* **'uch' 'Aw 'Atin'inh di:yAX GAki:nXLGdAwa:** give it to him before he cries! *L,* **di:yAX 'uk'ah lAGi:ta:LGdAwa:** before you forget *L,* **ya'Xu: k'uqu'Xi:yah di:yAX ya:n' Gi:da:LGdAwa:** don't eat before you sit down *L,* **'ALxut'inh di:yAX 'iGALxut'LGdAwa:** shoot him before he shoots you! *L.*

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2c. *With subordinated clause not in negative, frequently followed by q'-emphatic, distinguished from dAwa: (conjuction, artificially) only by lack of pause),* while …, as …, … whereupon, … and then: **'u:da' siyahLdAwa: sAsinhL** as I got there he died *(not possible to tell e.g. whether I had a chance to talk to him) L,* **yahd Xa:n' dAsAliLdAwa:** they built a house and then *49.17A,* **GAdAq'Ayi:ny k'uLehdAwa:** while it was foggy *34.117L,* **ku:nLda'ts'kihtl' wAX dAlehdAwa: q'Aw k'u:nLda'ts'kih k'ushiyah 'ula'X dAsa'yahL** was saying thus to Stump whereupon Stump got mad *1b.15M; more frequently with dA'wAX 'still, just thus' in subordinated clause: 25.210, 68.9, 15A,* **dA'wAX dAlehdAwa: q'A'Aw k'uleh ya:n' dAGa'ya:L** he was saying just thus whereupon rain started to come down *57.24G,* **di-'wAX dAxa:gLdAwa: qa'sinhinh** he'll work till he dies < while he's still working he'll die *L,* **dA'wAXyu: xlehdAwa: q'Aw yahd Xa:n' disiliL** after many tries I (finally) built a house < I did just such things whereupon I built a house *L, with subordinated non-verbal clause:* **di-'wAX 'a:nd xu:dAwa: 'Adya:ndAkus** wash your hands while I'm still here! *L.*

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3. *With adverb as o:* a.: *with tl'i:~Li: 'already' as o,* **tl'i:dAwa:**, **Li:dAwa:** morning, in the morning, early, *see under tl'i:~Li:.*

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3b. *With sahdX 'for a long time' as o, with di:yAX 'not yet', negative -G suffix with sahdX uncertain*: **di:yAX sahdX[G?]dAwa: q'Aw** before long *24.24, 61.44A.*

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4. *With demonstrative pronoun 'Aw 'that' as o, always followed by q'-emphatic,* thereupon, and then, *as clause-introducer in texts from A*: *37b.35, 50.15, 43A;* **'AwdAwa: q'unhuw, 'uX k'usi:k' 'uXa' yAX sAkugL** then his weapon broke *7.24, with dA-* 'ipse' *and q'-emphatic, as clause-introducer in texts from A and M, dA'AwdAwa: q'-: 37b.8A, 43.4, 47b.6M;* **[dA]'AwdAwa: q'uhnu: 'Aw shAsheL** finally they killed it *37b.14A, with dA-* 'ipse' *and without q'-emphatic, consistent usage of L: 18.55, 80, 37a.8, 47c.3, 21, 42, 48.8L,* **dA'AwdAwa: GAdAq'Ayi:ny ya'X 'idAsA'ahL** thereupon the fog lifted *34.124L,* **'u:da' sahLinh, dA'AwdAwa: wAX sAliL** when he got there it happened < he got there, thereupon it happened *L.*

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dAwa: *(conjunction, or adverb as clause-introduced, 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 occassionally distinguishable from 2c. by the presence of third person (non-relativizing) suffixes -inh, -inu: to preceding verb, cf. da:X 'and, when')* and then, thereupon, whereupon: *without following q'-emphatic only in 38.17, 19LM, with following q'-emphatic: 1a.4, 8, 1b.10M, 10.3, 15, 22, 186, 11.62A, 16.22M, 21.60, 24.87, 34.62, 47b.8, 18, 23, 28, 30M, 49.29A, -inh, -inu: suffixes to verb present in 16.22M, 38.17LM, 48b.8, 18, 23, 30M,* **'u:da' sahLinh dAwa: q'Aw wAX sAliL** when he got there it happened < he got there whereupon it happened *(same as 'u:da' sahLinh dA'AwdAwa: wAX sAliL under 4. above) L.*

wa:L *(attested only in form -wa:L(-X), clearly to be segmented wa:L-X, and probably further wa:-L-X, cf. 'a:li'LX < *'a:n-'e'-L-X 'following along river'?; cf. further Chipewyan -bi̱ in hòbi̱ 'leading, as an example to'; perhaps also related to Eyak wa'L1, wa'L2, wah1)*

o-**wa:L(-X)** *(postposition)* 1. *without final -X, attestations rare and uncertain, exact meaning uncertain*: **'uwa:L k'uqa'xut'L** gunsight *L,* target, columbine *(because the flower was used as a target in shooting-practice) M (L-instrumental deverbalization,* < by close attention to it something will be shot, *perhaps mistranscribed for 'uwa:LX),* **siwa:Lch'a:d yi:nhinh** next oldest sibling after me *L (perhaps si-wa:- 'after me' as o of o-L-ch'a:d yi:nhinh 'he who is at one side of o', or perhaps si-wa:L-L-),* **'Awa:L** following it, subsequent, consequent to it *L (< 'Aw-wa:-L, 'u-wa:-L, 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 k'ushe:ch'LX qu'xLah 'I'll go hunting' under she, yAX 'ixe:t'LX qu'xLah 'I'll go shooting about' under xut'), meaning as under 3.*: **dAq'a:gdAwa:LX 'AX**, **dAq'a:gdAwa:LX 'AX** steamboat *("looks like a fire") L (< 'a boat (detectable) by close attention, following a fire'),* **'Awa:L qAyALqah**, **'Awa:LX qAyALqah** a certain star appearing just before dawn *L ('Venus'?, former perhaps mistranscription,* < *'following it pl. dawn').*

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3. *Attestations with final -X, o-wa:L-X* by, with careful attention to, observation of, remembering, following along after, imitation of o (with o as sign, clue, indication, guide, example): **'Awa:LX** (< 'u-wa:LX, 'Aw-wa:LX) by careful attention to it (etc.) *21b.72, 33.18, 34A, 38.9M, 63.18G, 68.4A,* **'uwa:LX yAX k'udAqe:g** compass < by using it as indication one repeatedly boats about *L, Galushia Nelson* ùwá·tɬxsomethingɢà' ɬaⁿ·t 'signal ("signal-smoke")' *BSdL 552* **'uwa:LX 'u'dAgah Lanhd** < smoke by observation of which it is known, **'uwa:LX 'uXa'X qa'qu'xleh** I'll remember it < I'll heed it remembering it *M,* **siwa:LX Ga:Linh** he's following along the same way I go *L,* **siwa:LX sahL** you went like I did, followed me *L,* **siwa:LX 'ile'**, **siwa:LX GAle:'** do like I do! *L,* **siwa:LX linhinh** he's imitating what I do *L,* **'iwa:LX qu'xLih** I'll do to it like you do *L,* **siwa:LX 'Adi:nLilinhinh** he's making faces at me *LM (imitative or not L),* **Lich' siwa:LX 'Ad-lALAt'uhinh** he's always making faces at me *L,* **siwa:LX 'Ad-lisLiliLinh** he made a face at me *L, with noun as o: 25.74, 127A,* **qi'ch'ahd 'utl' 'ahnu: shA'a'ch'Lda:X 'Aw Le'Lq'wa:LX q'e' GAda:L** she was going back by following along those feathers along where they had gone with her from *25.75A,* **XAwa:wa:LX** by following dogs *63.25G, with verbal clause subordinated as o:* **k'ulAX 'i:t'inhinh GALe'Lwa:LX q'uw 'ulah k'u'li:ta:k'** it's by noting that he's becoming rich that one finds it out about him *36.46A,* o-**lAX 'isAL'anhL, dAdAlehwa:LX** she saw o, by noting its chirping *43.17M,* **'Adk'u'liLigahwa:LX q'Aw dAXunh k'u:Leh** it's by close attention to knowing oneself that one should live (is a person) *50.63A,* **'Adk'uliLigahwa:LX k'utsin'dAle:k'** one ought to know what one's talking about < one (cust) speaks with care to self-knowledge, sophistication *L.*

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o-**d-wa:L-X** *(postposition) (as 3. above, with d-thematic 'oral, noise')* by careful attention (etc.) to o's oral noise: **sidAwa:LX dAlinhinh** he's imitating what I say *L.*

wa:dzu:G

wa:dzu:G *(personal name) Billy Jackson, Anna's uncle LA.*

wa:ts'e:~ya:ts'e' *(loan from Tlingit Ya:s'e: 'Mount St. Elias')*

wa:ts'e:ya'd~ya:ts'e'ya'd *(place-name) Icy Bay G (Harrington) < wa:ts'e:~ya:ts'e' as o of o-ya' 'into o with broad opening at top, as body of water'. (Cf. ya:wt'a:dishah.)*

wa:gAsik'

wa:gAsik' *(personal name) Eyak man, perhaps Minnie Stevens's brother L.*

wa:w *(loan from Tlingit yàw, yàw 'herring')*

wa:w *(noun, unclassified)* herring *LMA*: *Rezanov* Гагу 'Сельди Häring', **wa:w'At'u'** many herring *LM,* **wa:w 'u:d k'At'u', q'e:dah 'u:d GALAtugLga' GAle:L** there are many herring there, it's like it's getting simply swollen with them *L,* **'Aw wa:wyu: qu'dAq'uh** those herring are going to spawn *M.*

wah1 *(perhaps related to wa:, wa:L, dAwa'd, cf. also e.g. Navaho -bą· 'because of', Hupa -miñ /-mɪŋ/ '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*: **'AXAkihwah ya:'e:X qu'xLah** I'll go look for raw material to make a canoe with *L,* **ch'iyahdwah ya:** the makings of a hat *L,* **sAqe:ts'Akihwah ya:** (mythical) makings of a baby, **nigidahta:'wah ya:** *personal name* < Nikita's father-to-be *L (see under nigidah),* **GAts'wah ya:** the makings of dry-salmon3 *65.37A,* **k'u'ehdwah ya:** a potential wife *10.124,* **de:wah ya:dAw** why? *L,* **de:wah ya:dA'Aw** what's that good for? *L,* **de:wah ya: Lu:ndiyahstahdAw** what good is a rat-skin? *28.138A.*

1b. *With subordinate verb-clause in optative*: **diGu'wah ya:** heavy garment for warmth *L,* **qu'Xi:dahwah ya:** foodstuff, something to eat < that which might be eaten *25.31, 148A,* **'i:shinhinhwah ya:'e:X** looking for someone to (whom he might) kill *52.2L,* **k'udzu: 'idAGAleh 'iya: 'u'la:xiLXahwah ya:** the wherewithal wherewith I might make your mind content *61.18A.*

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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:wahdd > de:wahd, see examples under o-wah-d below.*

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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): **Xa:n' 'i:'yahwahd** the makings of it < in order that it be made, finished *M,* o-**da' sahLinh, 'anh la:yiLchanhwahd** went over to o, (in order) to kiss her *47b.42M, 47c.51fnL,* **'idla:yiLmahwahd q'unh wAXyu: 'itl' dAGAle:L** it's to get you confused that he's saying such things to you *L,* **silah qe'i:lihle'wahd qu'xLinhinh** I'll make him love me < I'll act upon him so that he'll love me *L,* **sidAXa'X qe'i:lihle'wahd 'iqe'xLih** I'll make you heed me *L,* **gAla:yitl'ehwahd** so that it (liquid) will get cold *L,* **'AXAkih Xu' 'ixiLihwahd** 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 LA-dux 1. (5.8L), -da, O-L-te (9.100, 121A), -tsu'd~, O-'-tsa, LA-ch'an´, -sid (causative), O-sinhX(-g), -sinh (49.94A), O-X-ch'u' (11.27A), O-she 1. (56.28A), O-gu'k' (9.29A), LA-gAXts' (65.25A), Gd-dA-Gu', O-'-y-L-qa (qa4) (59.4 Galushia Nelson), O-L-q'a' 1. (q'a'3), L-q'u´, O-XuhL(-g) (49.120A), L-Xan (43.16M), -'mahd (6.4M), O-tsi'(l)~-'lahL, -la 1. (la~na1) (11.150A), d-L-'ehd(-g) (65.50, 84A), d-dA-'a:t' 2. (60.26A), -'a'ch' (15.2M), 'i-L-'e~-'an 10a. (38.9LM), O-l-(L-)'a 1. (11.10A), O-X-a (1b.17, 18, 3.12M, 53.2L), o-d O-X-L-a, -a (33.79A, 38.9LM), O-kus (33.2fnL), sometimes awkward to translate with certain main verbs:* o-**tl' d-dA-dza:nts'** …**wahd** S plead with o to …, **k'u-tsinh** …**wahd** S sing so that … *(5.8L),* O-**'-'ehdz** …**wahd** S invite O to … *(53.2L, 59.8 Galushia Nelson),* **'uqa'da' q'e' 'idiyahwahd ki:nX** she's crying to go back to her husband *33.79A,* …**wahd 'i-le(')** S want that … *(70.5A),* **'ich' 'ud qu'xle'g, k'udzu: 'idAGAleh 'u'la:yiLXahwahd** I'll grant it to you, so that you may have peace of mind *61.11A,* **k'udzu:dah 'ich'a:X qu'xah, xan'Lq' 'idixAXwahd** I'll help you well, so that the tide will greatly 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* Теватъ 'На что 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:X siya: yik'a'd** why do my eyes hurt? *3.9M, perhaps questionable also in* **de:wahd sili' 'idi:Lah** why (for what purpose) do you hate me? *M,* **de:wahchi:dAw wAX yileh** why ever are you doing that *M (-d-ch- > -ch-),* **siwahd** for, on account of me, for my sake *L,* **k'uqu'wAshe:ch'Lwahd 'ixiLt'ehdAg** also what I use for hunting *3.14M,* **'AdAwi'Lwahd** for marauding *11.28A,* **dA'Awahd q'Aw wAXyu: 'Awtl' dAGAle:L** it was exactly for that purpose that he was saying such things to it *11.150,* **GAL'ihdwahd** for the last time *20.89A, frequently 'for (acting upon, making, getting, containing) o':* **la'mahdwahd tl'A'a:G** berry-basket, basket for berries *Galushia Nelson BSdL 546, L,* **kuswahd 'Aw sALtahL** he placed it (as receptacle) for urine, urination *33.10A,* **tl'A'a:Gwahd 'Aw wAX Li:k'inu:** they (cust) process them for making baskets (out of) *66.6L,* **lis ya:n'ch' dla:Ga:Gk'inh, La'g-wahd** he (cust) chops down trees, for firewood *36.5A,* **giyahwahd 'Aw ya' 'i:LXahwahd** in order to melt it for water *43.16M,* **'Awahd** (< **'Aw-wahd**, **'u-wahd**) **'isALq'ahL** kindled a fire for (to roast) it *1a.10, 1b.12M,* **t'ich'gL 'Awahd wAX dAle:k'** props are (cust) made, obtained for it *65.5A,* **tsa: 'Awahd, dla:GALAGAmAk'L tsa: 'Awahd 'AdiX dli:xLya:k'** rocks for them, I (cust) bring round rocks inside for them *65.20A,* **tsa'LdAkih 'Awwahd k'ut'a' dALt'uhinu:** they use a small knife for (splitting) it *66.5L; 'for, (to serve, be) as o':* **dA'u:d 'ahnu: sALt'uxL, LA'ahwahd** they kept her right there, as a slave *38.13LM,* **kAna's nahGAts'e: 'utl'ila:wahd 'u'sAle'gL** wolverine chose fox for, as his cousin *15.1M; 'for (duration of) o (period of time)':* **XAla:g-wahd** (supply of money, food) for winter *16.20M, 62.23, 63.31, 33, 37, 38G, 65.27, 27A, with nominalized verbal phrases as o:* **xAtl' ya:n' dAGa'yahwahd** for winter (when snow falls) *L; 'for (protection against) o':* **'Awahd 'i:t'inhinh** he's ready, prepared for it *7.20A,* **tsa'LdA'e:X siwahd yAX LAle'gXlehd** because you groped for a knife for (protection against) me *32.22A; with independent nominalized adjective as o, 'for o luck':* **k'udzu:wahd** (may it be) for, (here's to) good luck! *L,* **k'udzu:wahd 'Aw'a:n' 'iXa:nqe:k'** it's good luck to (cust) come (boating) upon it *35.2L,* **k'udzu:wahd 'Aw k'ut'a' sALt'u'Linh** he kept, used it for good luck *37a.24L; with theme O-'-'ehdz 'S invite O', 'to o':* **qa: lAG 'u'sdi'ehdzL, q'e:dah k'uwahwahd** we were invited ashore, straightaway to eat *59.8 Galushia Nelson*; o-**wahd d-dA-dza:nts'** S beg for o; *with theme o-ch'a:X -a / -'a'ch' 'sg. / pl. S help o', 'with, at, concerning, in, to do o': 10.48A* **ch'a:X sLi'a'ch'L** he made them help him *10.45A,* **Li'q' ya:yu:wahd ch'a:X dinhinh** he helps himself to everything *L,* **sich'a:X Ga:' -- de:wahdd -- 'Al te'ya'wahd** help me! -- with that? -- with (preparing) these fish *21b.35-37A,* **'uch'a:X da: qa'a'ch'inu:, dAde:wahdd** we'll help them, with anything *25.165A,* **dik' 'ich'a:X da: q'e' qu'dA'a'ch'G, dik' dAde:wahdG** (< -d-d-G?) we won't help you anymore, not with anything *10.60A, with verb themes referring to strenuous effort, 'at o':* o-**wahd LA-Xu'G** S strain, exert self hard at o, **'uwahd k'usiwugL** I grunted at (trying to lift) it; *with theme LA-qa:' 'S yell', '(baying) at o':* **lAXwahd da: qu'LAqa:'** we (dogs) will bay at you pl. *13.13L; with l-anatomical, rejected here by L:* **k'ulAwahd Xa:n' 'ixiLihwahd** so that I may fashion it into a head *M; perhaps with d-class-mark, see o-d-wahd below.*

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3. *With certain nouns referring to undesirable behaviour or characteristics as o, meaning clearly aberrant from that of 2., perhaps idiomatic,* with, by, out of o: **'idehdah q'unhuw yAXa' xusLi'yahL, guGwahd** I was really taken in by his lies < he really made me play into his (own) hands, with lying *L,* **ch'id XAwa:lAgahyAX li' 'iLit'uxL, dAGAlehXda:dwahd** you're just clutched under a dog-corpse (extremely promiscuous), out of, with senselessness, wantonness *49.70A.*

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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 have enough of S to eat, be 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'dAwahd** for o to eat, *see under xa'.*

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3. *With suhgL 'harm, great injury' as o, either d-class, or with d-thematic, or reduced suhgLdah, see suhg.*

wah2

wah *(exclamation, imitative of dog barking)*: **wah wah** bow-wow *L.*

wah3 *(possible stem, 'white'?, see 'e'lAwah)*

wahd *(almost certainly to be analyzed wah-d)*

wahs *(uncertain, perhaps blend of wAd~wihd~wehd~wahd~yehd, wehs, wahsq')*

LA-wahs-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized, attested only with anatomical marks) with l-anatomical and yAX 'downward':* S's head nod, droop involuntarily: **yAX lALAwahsginh** (*first* -**wahd**-) his head nods, droops *L, with lXd-anatomical:* **lAXAdAxLAwahsg** (*changed to* -**wehs**-) my (upper) eyelid quivers *(omen that I'll see someone) L.*

wahsq' *(perhaps to be analyzed wahs- with o-q' 'on o', form from M wa'sG, but verified twice by both L and A as wahsq')*

-l-wahsq' *(noun) (with l-anatomical 'head')* temple: *Rezanov* Калеваска 'Виски Schläfe' **qa:lAwahsq'**, **qa:lAwa'sG** the temples of our head *M,* **silAwahsq'** my temples *LA,* **k'ulAwahsq'** temple *L.*

wahg

gu'wALwahg(-L) *(gu'- perhaps reduced form of o-gwa' 'like o', wA- perhaps wA- phonological as in verbs, e.g. Inceptive imperfective qa'L~qu'wAL-, -L-suffix used by L (not A), probably incorrectly in form with -L-classifier; perhaps underlying intransitive verb theme L-wahg, of unknown meaning)* tribesman, member of tribe, tribelet, ethnic group, clan: **k'Ayi:ny gu'wALwahg** *20.104A,* **k'Ayi:ny gu'wALwahgyu:** members of a different tribe *20.102, 102A,* **dA'iLda:X gu'wALwahgyu:** people of various tribelets, clans *68.72A,* **de: gu'wALwahgLdA'anh** what tribe is he of? *L,* **'i: 'iga' gu'wALwahgL xu:** I'm of the same tribe as *you L.*

wa'

wa'1

O-**l-L-wa'** *(with l-thematic)* S grind, strain, sift O: **li:Lwa'** strain it!, sift it!, grind it! *M, with ya' 'completely':* **ya' li:Lwa'** *L,* **ya' lAGALwa'** grind it up! *M,* **ya' qu'li:xLwa'** I'll grind it up *M,* **'Awlu' yAX qu'li:xLwa'** I'll strain, sift it (dry material, e.g. flour) < I'll strain it downward through (holes in) that *L,* **ya' lAxLwa'**, **ya' lAGAxLwa'L** I'm grinding it up *L.*

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'i:nsLiwa'L *(noun, unclassified)* snuff (Copenhagen-type, originally ground with mortar and pestle) *LM*: *Galushia Nelson* íⁿłìwàł 'snuff' *BSdL 548,* **'i:nsLiwa'Ltah** snuff-can, snuff-box

56.10, 16L. Nominalized passive Active perfective, < it's been ground up. *BSdL 547 (illustration in BSdL 82, discussion BSdL 84)* íⁿstłìwà·tɬ *name of Basket Pattern 7 ("heat waves"), probably to be read* **'i:nsLiwa'L**, *but perhaps to be interpreted with stem wa'L rather than wa'.*

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'ulu' yAX k'u:ndAwa' *(noun)* sieve *M (unknown to L). Nominalized Active imperfective,* < something is sifted downward through (holes in) it.

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'uya'X k'u:ndAwa' *(noun)* mortar, bowl for grinding *L. As preceding,* < something is ground in it (o with broad opening at top).

,

'uyAX k'u:ndAwa' *(noun)* ice-cream freezer *("because of crank") L. As preceding,* < something is ground, sifted (?) under it.

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-l-wa' *(attested only as suffixed adjective)* ground-up, *in* **ts'u:lAwa'** ice-cream < ground-up milk *L.*

wa'2

wa'd *(see dAwa'd)*

wa'L1 *(on one occasion also transcribed wa' from L, perhaps in error; form perhaps to be analyzed wa' with -L-instrumental; perhaps to be identified with wa'L2 and/or related to wa:L, wa:, wah#, cf. Athapaskan *-wa(nˀ) 'edge, alongside of')*

-l-wa'L *(noun, unclassified) (with l-thematic)* edge, rim: **'ulAwa'** *L,* **'ulAwa'L** its edge, rim *LMA,* **k'ulAwa'L** rim, edge *LM,* fins *M (not known to L with that meaning),* **k'ulAwa'Lluw** big fins *M,* **k'ulAwa'**, **sLi'mahdLlAwa'** heel of loaf of bread *L,* **'AwlAwa'Lq'** on the edge of it *L,* **ta:lAwa'Lq' Ga:Linh** he's walking along on the edge on the road *L,* **'AwlAwa'Lch'** to the edge of it *L.*

wa'L2 *(perhaps to be identified with wa'L1 and/or related to wa'L~wahL)*

wa'L *(noun)* covering (of e.g. cloth, over aperture) *L*

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te'wa'L *(noun)* type of fish trap, weir *A,* small rack or grid, made of sticks, put on top of, k'udAGAdAya'L, for drying e.g. roe, bark *L*: *Galushia Nelson* tă'wà·tɬ *or* táwàtɬ 'drying rack (in the house?)' *BSdL 547. Analysis uncertain: te'- perhaps to be identified with ta' 'in water', umlauted by (dropped) 'i- prefix with wa'L, in which case A's gloss would be the more correct or earlier meaning, or perhaps A's gloss is due to false etymology.*

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qu'wa'L *(noun) (prefix qu'- of uncertain meaning)* curtain, drape (cloth suspended over aperture).

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'Awa:lAGe'd qu'wa'L *L,* **'Awa:lAGe'X qu'wa'L** *LA (noun)* window-curtains < curtains (at rest, moving) in window-place *LA.*

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ta:ya'X qu'wa'L *(noun)* door curtain *A*

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qu'dAwa'L *(noun) (as above, dA-prefix either classifier or d-thematic)* covering, curtain *L.*

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GAdAwa'L *(noun)* curtain *L. Analysis uncertain, perhaps with Gd-thematic 'place', or nominalized Inceptive perfective of theme dA-wa'L, perhaps passive of following,* < it is being hung.

,

O-**L-wa'L** S hang, suspend O over aperture, S cover O (aperture, with suspended cloth): **'ALwa'L** pull the shade!, cover it (opening, with e.g. rag, curtain)! *LM,* **qu'xLwa'L** 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,* **'u:dAX qu'xLwa'L** I'll hang it there (as curtain) *L; passive:* **'u:dAX qu'dAwa'L** it'll be hung there (as curtain) *L,* **'u:d sLiwa'L** it's been covered there (with curtains) *L.*

wa'L~wahL *(wa'L and wahL partly in free variation, perhaps originally wahL, confused with wa'L2, to which it may be related)*

gdl-~Gdl-wa'L~-wahL *(perhaps two different themes, at least partly confused; with gdl- thematic apparently in at least partly free variation with Gdl-thematic 'vertical', M usually Gdl-, L and A usually Gdl- where reference is to vertical movement, gdl- for lateral movement; intransitives more frequently with stem wa'L, repetitives usually with stem wahL)* S (container, in container) hang (or move while) suspended vertically (e.g. by ropes): **GAdAgiL, qAXah, da:X la'Xts'L gAdla:GAwa'L** the sun, moon and stars were hanging *2a.4M,* **'u:d gAdla:GAwa'L** it's hanging suspended there *L, with ya:n' 'downward', 'S (container, in container) move downward suspended (on e.g. rope)':* **ya:n' GAdla:sAwa'Linu:** they (in basket on rope) reached bottom *34.115L,* **ya:n'ch' GAdla:sAwa'Linu:** they went further down (suspended) *34.105L,* **qi' ya:n'ch' GAdla:yiwa'Lch'** until you reach bottom (suspended) *34.114L,* **ya:n' GAdla:GAlAXwa'L da:X** when you reach bottom (suspended) *34.104L, with perambulative:* **dA'u:d yAX gAdla:dAwa'LX** it's swinging about right there (suspended from above) *L,* **dA'u:d 'iLya' yAX gAdla:dAwa'LX** it's swinging back and forth right there (suspended from above) *L. Transitive (causative): with ya:n'ch' '(continuous movement) down':* **di:yAX 'anh ya:n'ch' GAdla:GALwa'LGdAwa:** before he lowered them (in basket on rope) *34.104L,* **gu:dAg 'ahnu: q'e:ya:n'ch' GAdla:sALwa'L** he lowered them back down again *34.113L,* **ya:n'ch' gAdla:GAxLwa'L** I'm lowering it (suspended thing) *L, with o-ch' 'towards o':* **'ich' qu'gAdli:xLwa'L** I'll swing it (suspended thing) toward you *L, repetitive:* **gudli:LwahLginh** swing him (baby in hammock)! *LA,* **GAdli:LwahLg** *M,* **gAdli:LwahLg** swing it! *L,* **qu'GAdli:xLwahLg** *M,* **qu'gAdli:xLwahLg** I'll swing it *L,* **GAdla:xLwahLg** *M,* **gAdla:xLwahLg** I'm swinging it *L,* **gAdla:xLwahLginh** I'm swinging him (baby in hammock) *LA,* **GAdla:siLwahLgL** *M,* **gAdla:siLwahLgL** I swing it *L,* **gAdla:siLwahLginh** I swing him (baby in hammock) *L, with qa:nch' '(continuous or repeated movement) up out':* **qa:nch' GAdla:sALwa'LgL** *L,* **qa:nch' GAdla:sALwahLgL** he hauled, hoisted them up (one after another on a rope) *11.14A; reflexive* **ya:n'ch' 'AdgAdla:GALAwa'L** it (spider) is hanging (on its thread), letting itself down *L, with yAX 'downward':* **siXa'X yAX 'AdGAdla:GALAwa'L** it (e.g. spider) is hanging down by me *L, repetitive:* **'AdGAdla:LAwa'Lg** *A,* **'AdGAdla:LAwa'Lg** it's (suspended) swinging (itself back and forth) *M, with perambulative:* **yAX 'AdGAdla:LAwa'LX** it (suspended) is swinging (about) *MA.*

,

gudla:wahLg *(noun, unclassified)* hammock, swing (for baby) *L. Nominalized Active imperfective repetitive,* < it swings suspended: **'AdgAdla:wahLg** *38.12LM (probably incorrect: nominalized causative reflexive should be 'AdgAdla:LAwahLg, deverbalized, 'AdgAdla:wahLgL).*

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’Ad(k’u)GAdla:LAwa’L *(noun, unclassified)* hammock: **’AdGAdla:LAwa’Lluw** *M,* **’Adk’uGAdla:LAwa’Lluw** big hammock *L. Nominalized Active imperfective of reflexive causative,* < it (he, someone) causes self to hang suspended.

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dAGALAwa’L *LMA,* **dAGALAwahL** *(noun, d-class)* door (the solid part that swings, closing and opening doorway) *LMA*: *51.60A, Old Man Dude* ɒàqétłùwàtł *BSdL 545,* **dAGALAwa’Lda’luw** big door *M,* **dAGALAwahL ’u:d dAsAtahL** a door is (lying) there *L. Probably nominalized Inceptive perfective of theme LA-wa'L~-wahL with d-class-mark for S (e.g. 'board'),* < it (board) is hanging, swinging (suspended).

wa’ts’1

O-**L-wa’ts’(-g)** *(with -g-repetitive partly thematized)* S whip O: **’ALwa’ts’g** *L,* **’ALwa’ts’** whip it! *LMA,* **xu:Lwa’ts’** whip me! *50.19A,* **xLwa’ts’**, **xLwa’ts’g** I'm whipping it *LM,* **xLwa’ts’inh** I'm whipping him *L (no Inceptive imperfective *GAxLwa'ts'Linh L),* **Lwa’ts’(inh)** whips, lashes him *50.16, 17, 20A,* **qu’xLwa’ts’g** I'll whip it *L,* **’iqe’xLwa’ts’** I'll whip you *52.33L,* **lAXi:gidig da: lAXiqe’Lwa’ts’** we'll whip *you* pl. too *53.33L,* **’anh qa’Lwa’ts’** he's going to whip him *52.34L,* **ya’Xu: xuqu’yiLwa’ts’** don't whip me *52.34L,* **sALwa’ts’L** whipped him *50.16, 20A,* **siLwa’ts’L** I whipped it *LM,* **siLwa’ts’Linh** I whipped him *L,* **k’uXehLqi:nAX xusALwa’ts’Linh** he whipped me with a rope *L; passive:* **sdiwa’ts’Linh** he got whipped *L,* **’iqe’dAwa’ts’** you'll get whipped *L.*

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wa’ts’L, wa’ts’gL *(noun) (with -L-instrumental and optional -g-repetitive)* whip *M (L uncertain of correctness of form).*

,

’uX k’udAwa’ts’ *(noun)* whip *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective,* < by means of it one, something is whipped.

,

’uX ’Adk’uLAwa’ts’ *(noun)* willow boughs used for slapping self in steambath *L. Nominalized reflexive, as above,* < by means of it one whips oneself.

wa’ts’2 *(uncertain, -wa'ts' attested from M only, not known to L; other forms perhaps unanalyzable stem gAwa'ts' rather than g-wa'ts')*

-wa’ts’ *(noun)* web or membrane over "eye" of cockle: **’uwa’ts’** web or membrane over its (cockle's) "eye" *M (L never heard).*

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-g-wa’ts’ *(noun) (with g-thematic, or perhaps unanalyzable stem -gAwa'ts')* mesentery: **sigAwa’ts’** my mesentery *LA.*

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gAwa’ts’ *(noun, unclassified)* seaweed species, rockweed (Fucus, Ascophyllum) *LM, 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* Кауацъ 'Морская капуста Algen (Seetang, Fucus)', *Galushia Nelson* ɕ̀wàt’s 'seaweed with balls that pop (Fucus?)' *BSdL 541,* **gAwa’ts’t’u’** lots of rockweed *L.*

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dla:q’Aya’ya’ gAwa’ts’ fat around intestines of mountain-goat < mountain-goat's gAwa'ts' *A.*

wa’k’

LA-wa’k’ S be, become cooked tender by boiling: **GALAwa’k’L** it (meat) is getting cooked tender *L. Transitive (causative):* **di-’wAX k’a’ ’i:Lwa’k’** boil it some more! < keep it boiling yet! *L,* **dAtli: siLwa’k’L** I cooked it (something originally tough) tender *L; passive:* **sdiwa’k’L** it's been boiled *L.*

wa’q’ *(possibly to be analyzed wa' as o of o-q' 'on o')*

wa’q’ *(noun)* shallows, shallow place *LM*: **wa’q’ qa’ siqehL** I ran aground on a shallow place *L (wa'q' perhaps used adverbially 'I boated up out (on) a shallow place, or perhaps to be read wa'q'qa' with wa'q' as o of o-qa' 'amongst o'),* **wa’q’ yiLeh** it's shallow *L.*

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-wa’q’ S be, become shallow: *Rezanov* Атыгахту 'Мѣль Untiefe' *probably to be read* **’a’d yiwa’q’duh** it's very shallow indeed *L (Neuter imperfective),* **GAwa’q’L** it's getting shallow *L,* **sAwa’q’L** it got shallow *L.*

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LA-wa’q’ S be, become shallow *(meaning not clearing distinguished from that of preceding)*: **’iLiwa’q’L** it's shallow *(as the result of some process or event) L (Neuter perfective),* **GALAwa’q’L** it's getting shallow *LM,* **sLiwa’q’L** *(not sdi-)* it got shallow *L,* **qu’LAwa’q’** it'll get shallow *M (no forms with expanded stem *wa:q' L).*

wa:ndALsAnn

wa:ndALsAnn *(personal name)* 1. *Anna and Galushia Nelson's son Johnny LM.*

2. *Blind Sampson O'Shaw (1866-1948) of Yakutat (transcribed Yandułsin by Frederica de Laguna), probably Anna's mother's brother (Frederica de Laguna, p.c. 1/1/67). BSdL* wɑnɒɛłsɑn.

wa:ndjAŋAG~ma:djAŋAG~ma:djAmAG *(loan from Alutiiq maacungaq 'little grandmother')*

wa:ndjAŋAG *L* (*variants:* **ma:djAŋAG**, **ma:djAmAG**) *(personal name) Frieda A XV.8, Old Man Dude's wife LM, BSdL* waⁿtcɪnʊq.

mAdjidug~mAdjiduhg *(mAdjiduhg L only; loan from Chugach mačuutaq 'codfish roe', not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

mAdjidug~mAdjiduhg *(noun)* 1. *(l-class)* intact piece of codfish roe, roe-sac *LM*: **mAdjidug ’u:d ’i:sA’ahL** a piece of cod eggs is there *L.*

2. *(probably unclassified)* cod stomach, stuffed with cod-liver, for eating *M.*

,

3. *(probably lX-class)* loose codfish roe *L.*

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mAdjiduhgdAq’Ata:L *(noun, unclassified)* bloomers < codfish-roe-pants *("looks like codfish-eggs") L.*

mAshi:nn *(loan from English 'machine', perhaps not naturalized, see 'idAkus mAshi:nn under kus.)*

mAshuhg *(loan from Russian* мешок*, perhaps direct, but more probably through Chugach misuk 'bag', not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

mAshuhg *(noun, unclassified)* sack, gunnysack *L*: **mAshuhgluw** big sack *LM,* **lAXAchahsh mAshuhg** coarse gunnysack *L.*

mAgAG *(loan from Chugach makaq 'checker(-piece)', perhaps of Russian origin, not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

mAgAG *(noun, unclassified)* (piece, game of) checkers *LMS*: *Galushia Nelson* mə́kə̀q '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' piece (or 'kings'?) had hats, the board being like a modern checkerboard; the term extends to modern American checkers),* **mAgAG 'idAle:l** checker-playing *44.1L,* **mAgAG 'iqe'di:leh** there'll be a checker-game *L,* **mAgAG 'iqe'di:xLih** I'll play checkers *L (see further instances under 'i-d-le,* ***mAgAG wAX qu'xLih*** I'll play checkers *M (which L considers to mean* I'll make checkers*, see further instances under transitives of -le 4a.),* **mAgAG Xu' qa'Linhinu:** they'll make a checker-set *L,* **mAgAGt'u'** lots of checkers *LM,* **qe'LGAyu:ya' mAgAG** women's side of checkers game < women's checkers *L,* **Lila:'GAyu:ya' mAgAG** men's side of checkers game < men's checkers *L.*

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mAgAGdALqehX *(noun, probably d-class)* 1. checker-board < checkers-bottom *L.*

2. *cat's name A.*

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mAgAGqAXah *(month-name) some winter month* < checkers-month *L.*

mAlsha: *(possibly from Russian)*

mAlsha: *(personal name) invisible slave in Text 21. L (M has heard someone called that), cf. BSdL* mə́lcà.

mAnidz~minidz *(loan from English 'minutes', perhaps not naturalized)*

mAnidz~minidz *(noun, unclassified)* minutes (time) *A*: *65.25, 25A.*

mi:sha: *(loan from Russian Muua)*

mi:sha: *(personal name)* 1. *Mike James L.*

2. *Paul Alec M.*

ma´

l-dA-ma´ S get hurt, ruined, wrecked, make mistake, do something unfortunate, break 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:* **k'uqu'lAdAmah** someone was going to come to grief, get hurt *61.28A,* **gu:dAg 'Awa: q'e' k'uqu'lAdAmah**, **gu:dAg q'e' k'uqu'lAdAmah** again someone of them is going to get hurt, someone else is going to get hurt *61.97-98A,* **qu'lAdAmah** will get hurt *61.29A,* **'u:d qu'lAdAmah** you'll get hurt there *61.36A,* **dik' k'udzu:dah 'udahd 'u:la'dAta:G, qu'lAdAmah k'e'shuh** it doesn't sound good, maybe something will go wrong with it *L,* **dik' qu'lAdAmahG** nothing will go wrong with it, it won't break down *L, Active perfective: 61.39, 53A,* **'i:nsdima'L** it's ruined *L,* **'i:nxsdima'L** I've been hurt *L,* **k'Ayi:ny ta:'e'X 'i:nxsdima'L** 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): **dik'shgahX lAGAdimahG** I hope nothing goes wrong with it *L. Transitive (causative); imperatives:* **li:Lmah**, **li:Lma'** *L,* **lAGALma'** spoil it!, ruin it! *LM, Inceptive imperfective:* **qu'li:xLmah** I'll spoil it *LM,* **qu'li:Lminhinh** he'll spoil it *LMA, Active imperfective:* **'Aw lALminhinh** he's wrecking it *(same as following?) L, Inceptive perfective:* **'Aw lAGALma'Linh** he's wrecking it *L,* **lAGi:Lma'L** you're ruining it *L, Active perfective:* **'i:nsiLma'L** I spoiled it *LM,* **dAtli: 'Aw 'i:nsALma'Linh** he's ruined it already *L, Active optative:* **dA'u:d 'Aw la:yiLminhinh** alright let him ruin it *L, Inceptive optative:* **lAGi:Lminhinh** let him ruin it *L, negative (see remarks under basic intransitive):* **dik'shgahX 'Aw lAGi:LmahGinh**, **'AlAshgahX dik' 'Aw lAGi:LmahGinh** I hope he doesn't wreck it *L, Inceptive conditional:* **lAGi:Lmah da:X** if you wreck it *L, Inceptive and Active subjunctives:* **'Aw lAGAxLmahX sitl' dAlinhinh**, **'Aw lixLmahX sitl' dAlinhinh** *(but not *li'xLmahX or *la:xLmahX)* he told me to wreck it *L, customary:* **k'ulALma:k'inh** he (cust) wrecks something *L, with perambulative:* **qa: yAX qu'i:nLAmihinu:** they'll get us hurt < they'll go about hurting us *L, repetitive:* **k'ulALma'ginh** he's wrecking (trying to wreck) something *L; reflexive:* **'Adqu'i:nLAmah** you'll hurt yourself *L,* **'Adqu'lALAmah** he'll hurt himself *61.29fnA,* **'Adi:nxsLima'L** I hurt myself *L,* **'Ad-lisLima'Linh**, **'Adi:nsLima'Linh** *(not 'AdilisLi-)* he hurt himself *L, passive:* **xu:nsdima'L**, **xu:nsLima'L** I've been hurt (by someone) *L. Susceptive Neuter:* **'i:nLima'X, liLima'X** it (e.g. machine) keeps breaking down, is liable to break down, is undependable *LM.*

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dl-dA-ma´ *(as preceding, with d-thematic 'oral, noice')* S say something unfortunate, bad, get all mixed up in speech: **dla:sdima'Linh** he said something which brought bad luck *LM,* **'uXa' dla:sdima'L** I got it all messed up (what I was saying) *L (should be corrected to 'uXa' dla:xsdima'L or perhaps siXa' dla:sdima'L),* **silah dla:sdima'Linh** he cursed(?) me < he said something unfortunate, bad about me *M (uncertain). Transitive (causative):* **'idla:yiLmahd q'unh wAXyu: 'itl' dAGAle:L** it's to get you all mixed up, confuse you in what you're saying that he's saying such things to you *L.*

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yl-dA-ma´ S make mistake in going someplace: **'u:da' ya:nxsdima'L** I made the mistake of going there (e.g. didn't have fun, got hurt) *L, cautionary negative Inceptive imperative:* **'u:dAX q'AyAlAGAdAmahG** don't make the mistake of going by there! *L.*

ma:sdla:~ma:slah *(ma:slah M only; loan from Russian* масло*, perhaps directly through Chugach maaslaq 'butter', but also used, at least formerly, in Yakutat Tlingit, masdla, which might also be the immediate source of the Eyak form)*

ma:sdla:~ma:slah *(noun, gl-class)* butter: **ma:slah** *M,* **ma:sdla:** butter *LMA,* **ma:sdla: 'u:d gu:nsA'ahL** a piece of butter is there *L,* **ma:sdla:gAlAt'u'** lots of butter *LM,* **ma:sdla: gAlAGAgut'gL** piece of butter is getting tiny *L,* **sLi'mahdL da:X ma:sdla:** bread and butter *L, declassified(?):* **ma:sdla:X 'ALXe'** snear it (bread) with butter! *L.*

ma:~mah1

ma:~mah2

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 'Озеро See', *Anonymous* Маа 'Озеро большое' ('big lake'), *Khromchenko* Ma 'Озеро', *Wrangell* Маа 'Landsee', Яа 'Meer' *(probably misprint due to misreading of cursive upper case Cyrillic M, see also 'a:n1), Furuhjelm* Vva *(probably copyist's misreading of cursive upper case Cyrillic M)*, *Old Man Dude* ma· *BSdL*

537, **ma:guda'luw** *L,* **k'ugAda'luw ma:** big lake *27b.46A,* **ma:gAdAkih** small lake, pond *L, Anonymous* Макуликуцкъ 'Озеро малое' **ma:gulAkuts'g** little lake, *with -gl- 'liquid' instead of -gd- standard qualifier,* **LinhG guda: ma:** one lake *M,* **k'Ayi:ny guda: ma:** a different lake *L,* **ma: 'u:d gAdAsA'ahL** *(or -tahL, former probably preferred)* a lake is there *L,* **ma:gAdA'a:n' sahLinh** he came upon a lake *27a.19L,* **ma:gAdAta:s** across a lake *37b.67, 80, 81A,* **ma:gudAlah** *27a.28, 34L,* **ma:gAdAtl'Alah** around a lake *27b.37, 37b.3A, 71.1LM,* **ma:gAdAtl'Alah sAquhLinu:** lake-dwarves < they who stay around a lake *37b.2, 4, 86, 86 ('AwgAdAlah 27b.38A, 'AwgAdAtl'Alah around it (lake) 27b.45A), Galushia Nelson* maⁿkɑɒɪtɬiyaɒəχɔⁿ'iyu 'Around-the-Lake-People (dwarfs)' *BSdL 544* **ma:gAdAtl'Alah dAXunhyu:** *L,* **ma:gudAya'ch'ahd yAq' q'e' xusALXahdLinh** he dragged me back ashore from in a lake *M, without class-mark as o of o-ya'(d) '(nominalization of, at rest in) o with broad opening at top', as topographical feature: 25.86, 87A, 71, 21LM,* **ma:ya'ch'** toward a lake *M, as o of other postpositions, without class-marks, as topographical feature, often place-names (for which see subentries below)):* **ma:guda'd** outlet of lake *M,* **ma:guda'X da: GAqe:L** we're boating (along) in the mouth of the lake *M,* **ma:tl'ahch' da: GAqe:L** we're boating toward the head of the bay (arm of lake) *L.*

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dile:Li: ma: *(place-name) unidentified lake in area of Bering Lake 67.3G.*

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gi(:)xdAGlAGd ma: *(place-name) Martin Lakes* < lakes above gi(:)xdAG *G (Harrington).*

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q'ahsdAlahGAyu:ya' ma: *(place-name) Saltwater Lake* < cloud people's lake *G (Harrington),* k'ahs tɑllɑhqɑyyuuyɑ'mâa 'name of salt water lake at GJ's smokehouse'. *(Probably a calque on Tlingit k'ótsk'i-qʷán-'âγi guc'k'i qʷán 'áγi.)*

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k'uLA'ahya' ma: *(place-name) "Muskrat Lake", on Ibek Creek?, just beyond Mile 7* < muskrat's lake *L.*

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ma: la'q' Ga:nditsidzg *(place-name) Summit Lake near Yakutat* < narrow lake *G (Harrington), M (cf. Tlingit quGa:ts'a:ne:'a:).*

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ma:tl'ahd *(place-name) arm of Eyak Lake at Mile 5* < upper end of lake *L.*

,

ma:tl'Aqa'd *(place-name) end of Eyak Lake at Old Town, Cordova* < lake's anus, between lake's buttocks *L.*

,

ma:sa:q'd *(place-name) pond at Mile 6* < lake's palate? *L.*

,

ma:gAdAGAmAk' *(perhaps a place-name) somewhere above Bering Lake* < round lake *67.3fnG.*

,

ma:ya'ch' XAta:s *(place-name) Cordova town, at Odiak Slough* < toward area across the lake *G (Harrington).*

,

djiLqa: ma:ya'd *(place-name) Bering Lake S.*

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ma:ya'X qa:LxAwah, **ma:ya'X qa:nLxAwah**, **ma:ya'X qa:nLxAwa:** *L,* **ma:ya'd k'ulALxwah** *M,* **ma:ya'dya' 'Ana:shah** *LM (noun)* water lilies (Nuphar polysepalum) *(see also ma:ya'ya' below).*

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ma:ya'ya' *(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:ya'ya' 'ida' qu'wah** lake-things will come to you *(i.e. you'll go into a withdrawn schizoid state) L,* **ma:ya'ya' sA'ehLinh** lake-things married her *(she went into a withdrawn schizoid state; a lovesick girl that L knew well, was completely withdrawn, sang to herself and wouldn't talk to people; Mary Dude died of this) L.*

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k'u-L-ma:' S make something (lake): **Ch'i:lehshiyah qi' k'usALma:'L** place where Raven made a lake *L,* **k'uqu'xLma:'** I'll make a lake *L.*

'mahd

-'mahd S cook, bake *(become done, well-done by any cooking process)*: *Inceptive imperfective:* **qa'mahd** it'll bake *L,* **dik' qa:Xa' qa'mahdG** it won't cook for us *6.6M, Inceptive perfective:* **Ga'mahdL** it's cooking, it got started cooking *1.11M, 20.43A,* **di:yAXshuw Ga'mahdLG** isn't it baking yet? *M, Active perfective: 1b.14A,* **'Aw te'ya' Ch'i:lehshiyahXa' sa'mahdL** the fish had gotten cooked for Raven *1b.16A,* **te'ya'sh sa'mahdL** has the fish cooked? *6.11M,* **sa'mahdL** it's baked *L,* **sa'mahdLduh** it's cooked (done, already)! *L, Active optative:* **'i:'mahdwahd** so it'd cook *6.4M, with d-class-mark for S:* (**yAq'**) **dAsa'mahdL** they (eggs) are hard-boiled (inside) *L, customary:* **ma:dk'** *20.38A,* **'a'ma:dk'** it (cust) cooks *20.38A, Inceptive conditional:* **Ga'mahd da:X** when it cooks *28.25A, with ya' 'completely':* S cook completely, S get burned, overcooked: **ya' si'mahdL** I got burned *M,* **ya'sh sa'mahdL** did you get burned? *M,* **dik' ya' 'AxsmahdLG** I didn't get burned *M,* **dik'sh ya' 'AlAXsmahdLG** didn't you (pl.) get burned? *M,* **ya'sh q'e' sdi'mahdL** did you get burned again? *M,* **dik'sh q'e' ya' 'Asda'mahdLG** didn't you get burned again? *M,* **ya' sa'mahdL** it's cooked up *L,* **'ida'ya:lAX ya' sa'mahdL** 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'inh** he (cust) gets burned *L, with anatomical marks:* **ya' 'i:nsa'mahdL** her head got burned, scalded *27b.54A,* **ya' lisi'mahdL** my face got burned *M,* **dik'sh ya' lAsmahdLG** didn't your face get burned? *M,* **ya' yisi'mahdLsh** did your hand get burned? *M,* **dik'sh ya' yAsmahdLG** didn't your hand get burned? *M,* **dik' ya' yAxsmahdLG** my hand didn't get burned *M. Transitive (causative): Active imperative:* **'ALmahd** cook it!, bake it! *L,* **qu:dAXa'X 'ALmahd** cook it by the fire! *M, Inceptive imperfective:* **k'uqu'xLmahd** I'll bake something *L,* **k'uGAla' qu'xLmahd** I'll cook a shoulder *L, Active imperfective:* **'Aw Lmahd** is cooking it *20.35, 25.37, 28.22, 35A,* **'ahnu:'a: 'Aw Lmahd** cooks it for them *28.23, 35A,* **dAq'a:gdAlu'X q'unh k'uLmahd** is cooking something by the fire *25.38A,* **'Aw Lmahdinh** he's baking it *L,* **k'uxLmahd** I'm baking something *LM, Active perfective:* **k'usiLmahdL** I baked something *L,* **sLi'mahdL siLmahdL** I baked bread *L,* **sLi'mahdL sALmahdL dik' 'AnahshAkih 'uXe'xle:G** I don't like the bread you baked *M,* **dik' sLi'mahdL 'AsLmahdLG** he didn't bake bread *L, Active optative:* **'AlAshgahX 'i: 'Aw 'i:Lmahd** I wish *you*'d bake it *L,* **'AlAshgahX 'anh 'Aw 'i:Lmahd** I wish *he*'d bake it *L, customary:* **'Aw Lma:dk'** (cust) cooks it *20.37, 41, 33.27A,* **k'uxLma:dk'** I (cust) bake something *L, repetitive:* **Lmahdg** keeps cooking them *20.40A; passive:* **sdi'mahdLshuw** is it (has it been) baked? *LM,* **dik' 'Asda'mahdLG** it isn't (hasn't been) baked *M, see also nominalizations below.*

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sLi'mahdL *(noun, unclassified)* bread *LM*: **sLi'mahdLt'u'** lots of bread *LM,* **sLi'mahdLluw** big loaf, hunk of break *L,* **sLi'mahdL sALmahdL** you baked bread *M,* **sLi'mahdL da:X**

ma:sdla: bread and butter *L,* **sLi'mahdL wAX sdiliL** (*or* **sLiliL**) bread has been made *L,* **sLi'mahdL siXa' la'q' sAta'ch'L** my bread went flat *L,* **sLi'mahdLlAwa'**[**L**?] heel of bread *L. Nominalized passive Active perfective,* < it has been baked.

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sLi'mahdL 'uX dAXe' *(noun)* spread (e.g. jam, butter) for bread < bread is smeared with it *L.*

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'uyAq' k'uda'mahd *(noun)* oven *L. Relativized passive Active imperfective,* < that in which something is usitatively baked.

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qi' k'uda'mahd *(noun)* oven *L. As preceding,* < place where something is baked.

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l-'mahd *(with l-thematic, no class-mark for lX-class S)* S (berry) ripen, mature: **lAGa'mahdL** they (berries) are getting ripe *LA,* **lAsa'mahdL** they (berries) ripened *A,* **cha'tl' 'i:nsa'mahdL** blueberries ripened *L.*

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la'mahd *(noun, lX-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*: *Rezanov* Ляммать 'Ягоды Beeren', *Anonymous* Ламматъ 'Ягоды малина' ('raspberries'), *Wrangell* Ламать 'Beere', *Old Man Dude* lá'màt 'barrel' [sic] *BSdL 546,* **la'mahd-lAXAXa'** *(or, frequently, by haplology -**lAXa')*** (go) for berries *18.1L, 28.1, 29.19A,* **la'mahd-lAXAXa' da: 'a'ch'** we're going for berries *L,* **la'mahd-lAXa' 'AnahshAkih 'ixleh**, **la'mahd 'AnahshAkih 'ulAXe'xleh** *M,* **la'mahd 'AnahshAkih 'ulAXAXe'xleh** I like berries *L,* **dik' la'mahd 'AnahshAkih 'ulAXe'xle:G** I don't like berries *M,* **la'mahdyu:** berries, various kinds of berries *29.65, 51.77A, 63.33G,* **k'ulAXAdzu: la'mahd** good berries *29.20A,* **la'mahd ya:lAXAkuts'g**, **la'mahd lAXi:kuts'g** berries are small *L,* **la'mahd-lAXAguhdg** tiny berries *L,* **la'mahd lAXi:luhdg** berries are few *L,* **la'mahd 'a:nd lAXAGAluhdgL** berries are becoming few here *L,* **la'mahd 'ich' qu'lAXi:xLah** I'll give you some berries (not in container) *M,* **la'mahd sich' lAXa:La'** give me some berries (not in container)! *L,* **la'mahd sich' lAXa:Lya'** give me (e.g. a bucket of) berries! *L,* **la'mahd 'u:d lAXAsA'ahL** a berry (intact) is there *L,* **la'mahd 'u:d lAXAsAtahL** a berry (e.g. split, crushed) is there *L,* **la'mahd lAXi:tsinhG** grab a bunch (handful) of berries! *L,* **'Aw la'mahd-lAXAqa:' XAlAXa:ne:** eat some (not all) of those berries *L,* **dA'AwlAXAqa:' la'mahd 'u'lAXAsitsahL** I bought the same kind of berries *L,* **'Aw la'mahd lAXAdla:GAL'e'** hide those berries! *L,* **la'mahd da'ch' lAXAxLqa'dg** I'm canning berries *L,* **la'mahd 'ahnu:d XAlAXAsALahL** fed them berries *18.45L,* **LinhG lAXa: la'mahd sich' lAXA'a'** give me one berry! *LM,* **dAXk' lAXa: la'mahdd 'iXa'** how many berries do you have? *L, noun la'mahd frequently omitted, lX-class-mark sufficient to indicate 'berry':* **ya:lAXAluhdg** few berries *L,* **dAqi:kih k'ulAXa'luw** there are no big berries left *L,* **XAlAXinhinh** he's eating berries *L; as first element of compound: Galushia Nelson* la'mat'wat' ɒətła'aq *or* la'matɒətła'aq 'berry basket' *BSdL 546* **la'mahdwahd tl'A'a:G** basket for berries *or **la'mahdtl'A'a:G*** berry-basket; *head of compound in the names of a few berry species:* **q'a'ts'la'mahd** salmonberries (Rubus spectabilis) *LMAS, 43.19M, Rezanov* Кацляматъ 'Малина Himbeere', **'i:nsALyahLinhla'mahd** yellow salmonberries *M (*< old person berries, *evidently not the same as **'i:nsALyahLinhya' la'mahd**),* **k'uhdLdla:'mahd** berry species < moss-berries *(see k'uhd~k'u'd~k'u:'d) A; a larger number of names of berry species take the form o-ya' la'mahd 'berries of, belonging to o':* **ts'iyuhya' la'mahd** < blackbear's berries, **sAsinhLinu:ya' la'mahd** < dead-people's berries, **ch'u:q'ya' la'mahd** < ch'u:q"s berries, **ch'e:yu'ya' la'mahd** < ch'e:yu"s berries, **XAlahsdla:GAyu:ya' la'mahd** < white men's berries,

'i:nsALyahLinhya' la'mahd < old person's berries, **q'e:'shk'ya' la'mahd** < bluejay's berries, *see ts'iyuh, sinh1, ch'u:q', ch'e:yu', la:~na:1, 'ya and q'e:'shk', respectively.*

,

la'mahdqAXah *(month-name) some autumn? month* < berry-month *LA.*

ma' *(perhaps related to dAma', ma:~mah)*

ma' *(nursery word)* food, eating *(of any kind, children's word) L.*

lits' *(expanded li:ts'; perhaps to be identified with lits'~lAts')*

LA-lits' S be, become smooth, slick, slippery: **sLilits'L** it got smooth, it's slippery *L,* **GALAlits'L** it's getting smooth *L,* **qu'LAlits'** it'll be smooth *L, with d-class-mark for S:* **diLilits'L** it (ice) is slippery *L (Neuter perfective). Transitive (causative):* **'ALlits'** *L,* **GALlits'** smooth it! *LM, with d-class-mark for O:* **dAxLlits'**, **dAGAxLlits'L** *(latter preferred)* I'm smoothing it (table) *L.*

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Gl-LA-lits' *(with Gl-thematic 'ground')* S (ground) be, become smooth, slick, slippery: **Ga:nsLilits'L** the ground is smooth, slick, slippery *L,* **Ga:nLAli:ts'k'** ground (cust) gets slippery *L. Other forms, implying Gl-lits' and Gl-dA-lits' earlier given by L and M, later rejected by L:* **Ga:nsAlits'L** *L,* **Ga:nsdilits'L** ground is smooth *LM (both later rejected with conviction by L).*

lits'~lAts' *(pronounced lAts' by Sampson Harry, a Yakutat Tlingit, not an Eyak-speaker; perhaps to be identified with lits')*

lAts' *(place-name) Fountain Stream at 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 ts' lacking in Eskimo; stem probably to be identified with following.*

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'i:Llits', 'i:Llits'L *(noun)* cliff, steep "smooth" cliff *L. Nominalized Neuter imperfective or Neuter perfective of theme L-lits', meaning unknown, but associated by L with LA-lits' 'S be smooth'.*

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* Лиссъ 'Дерево Baum', Лиссъ 'Лѣсъ Wald', *Wrangell* Лисъ 'Wald', *Furuhjelm* Liss 'wood', *Galushia Nelson* lɪ·s· 'forest' *BSdL 540,* k'ətə'lu· lɪs 'big tree' *BSdL 553* **k'Ada'luw lis**, **k'udAshiyah lis** no-good tree *L,* tɬɪx̱ qa'ɔ'ɒa'ɒɛ'ɛ lɪs '"green (grass) looks-like tree" (i.e. tree is green)' *BSdL 558* **tl'ihXga' 'u'dAGAdA'eh lis**, **lis 'a:nd dAGAluhdgL** trees are getting to be few here *L,* **lis ya:n' dla:sAXa'tl'L** tree fell over *L,* **ya:n' dla:sAkugL lis** wind-fallen trees *68.14A,* **lis 'u:d dAsAtahL** *(or* **-'ahL** *former perhaps preferred)* a spruce lies there *L,* **lis sich' di:'a'** (*or* **-ta'**) give me a spruce! *L,* **la'd da: lis** two spruce trees *M,* **lisdAt'u'** lots of spruce *M,* **lis 'uXAda:q'd k'u:Leh** *place-name, Egg Island* < there are trees on it (Xd-class) *L; as o of postpositions and in compounds, with d-class-mark:* **lisda:q' ya:n' sAdahL** he alighted on a tree *11.194A,* **lisda:q'ya' le:L** black beard lichen < hair which belongs on tree *L,* **lisda:q'AGi'si:ns** grey beard lichen < mold on tree *L,* **lisda:X GALtl'i:'** tie it to a tree! *L,* **lisdAch' 'Aw 'Atl'i:'** tie it (directly) to a tree! *L,* **lisdAch' 'i:nL'an'** look at the tree! *M,* **lisdAyAXd** *16.26M,* **lisdAyAX** under a tree *49.38A,* **lisdAXa' da: 'a'ch'** we're going for some spruce *L,* **lisdAtsin'da'd** tree tips (extremities of branches) *L,* **lisdAya'd** inside (hollow stading)

spruce *L,* **lisdAyAq'd** inside (hollow prone) spruce *L,* **'Aw lisdAyAq'Ach' Ga:L** it's going into a (hollow prone) spruce *L,* **lisdAyAq' qALa'nik'** woodworm < worms in spruce, tree *L,* **lisdALXAlah** some part of tree *L, see XAlah,* **lisdAtah** spruce-bark *L, Galushia Nelson* lí·stáɒáx̣ɔ̀ⁿ *or* lí·stáɒə́x̣ɔ̀ⁿ 'Tree Man' *BSdL 544,* lístáɒáx̣ɔ̀ⁿ'iyù 'Tree People' *BSdL 308* **lisdAdAXunhyu:** *37b.54A, as preceding, without d-class-mark:* **listsi:n** *S,* **lisya' tsi:ny** tree-branches *50.22A;* **lisya' tsi:ndli:nAX** with a tree-limb *11.144A,* **lisya' 'a:L** spruce-boughs *A, 68.12A,* **lisya' GanhdgL** spruce-needles *11.116A, Harrington from G:* lɪsyɑ'qɑ̀htɬ 'bracket fungus, conk', *to be read* **lisya' GahdL**, *incorrect, probably blend of* **lisya' GanhdL** *and* **lisya' GanhdL** **lisya' gahG** spruce-pitch *51.30, 31A,* **lisch'ahd** from spruce *51.28, 68.35A,* **listsin'** extremities of tree (tips of branches, top) *L,* **listsin'da'X qAXa'yah** chickadees < pl. fly at extremities of trees *L, 7.11, 39A,* **lisqa'd 'i:nsdiyahL** he got entangled amongst the trees *L,* **lisyAquh** small spruce, sapling *A,* **lisgusa'** tree-bark and -sap, *see sa'1,* **lisgusi:nk'** grey beard lichen, *see si:nk'; with ku:l-anatomical 'belly, widest part':* **lisku:nda'luw** tree big at base *L; with dl-class-mark: Harrington* lístlàakhì 'spruce balls, tips of boughs' **lisdla:kih** < little (dl- or l-class) spruce *(l-mark perhaps anatomical, form not verified); Rezanov* Ятеятелисъ 'Мачта Mastbaum' *probably to be read* **yahdAya'dAlis**, *not known to L, see yahdAya'da'X.*

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'AdAlis *(noun, d-class)* spruce *(as distinguished from 'tree')* < genuine lis, lis *par excellence L, Galushia Nelson* à'ɒélí·s 'spruce' *BSdL 540.*

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lis dAGahdjg *(noun, unclassified)* woodpecker < it bangs on trees *L (probably 'Valdez downy woodpekcer (Dendrocopos pubescens glacialis)' and/or 'northern three-toed woodpecker (Picoides tridactylus fasciatus'). Harrington records from G* listukukʷ, lístu̱kku̱kʷ 'woodpecker, lit. tree pecker', *to be read lis dAgug, but this form is incorrect, due to the influence of Tlingit gɑndadagúg and perhaps also Eyak O-gu'k' 'S punch, knock on O with fist'.*

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lis 'uXAda:q'd k'u:Leh *(place-name) Egg Island* < there are trees on it (Xd-class) *L.*

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lisyAq' dAG gAli:'ah *(place-name) on Eyak River above 'itl'a:ndi:(')ya'd L. Nominalized Neuter imperfective,* < it (water) runs upstream into a tree, inside (through) a tree, *see -'a´ 2., 9..*

lich'

-lich' *stem occurring only in* **q'Adilich'** *(noun, unclassified)* gray cod (Gadus macrocephalus) *LM, also, less frequently,* **q'AdAlich'** *LMS, earlier also* **GAdilich'**, *Rezanov* Кательличь *(with second vertical stroke of u blotted, resembling ю)* 'Треска Kabeljau', *probably to be read* **q'Adilich'**, *for prefix see q'Adi2; Anonymous* Кати луцъ 'Рыба, треска', *implying -luts', cf. Rezanov -luch';* **q'Adilich'yAquhyu:** cod-like fish species, smaller than cod *(not young of q'Adilich') L (perhaps various lingcod, hake, greenling, pollack species).*

liglig *(loan from Chugach, Yupik ləqłəq 'goose'; status in Eyak uncertain, see also lAXAliŋahdaalig)*

liglig *(noun, unclassified)* brant *L (later rejected as being "Aleut" only, not used by Eyak).*

lAL *(possible unidentified stem in personal name, see tsa'k'AlALma: under tsa'k')*

lAG1

O-**lAG** S throw, push, precipitate O (living being), handle O (living being) violently, roughly: **dA'a:nch' 'AlAXlAGinh** pl. abandon her (forcibly) right here! *49.81A,* **dA'u:ch' 'ahnu: sAlAGLinh** they abandoned her right there *49.99A,* **'u:dik'ah 'AlAGinh** throw him out of there! *L,* **'a:ndik'ah 'iqe'xlAG** I'll throw you out of here *L, Rezanov* Хичеяхеллякъ 'Толкать stossen' **Xi:ch' ya'X 'AlAG** throw it (e.g. dog) (up) over there, away! *M,* **Xi:ch' 'iqe'xlAG** I'll fire you *L,* **'ahnu: 'a'q' sAlAGLinh** they threw him out (of the house) *9.46, 47A,* **'a'q' silAGL, dA'a: k'ushiyah yiLeh XAwa:** I threw it out, because it's a bad dob *L,* **ch'i:leh qid GAlAG** throw the ravens down! *28.60A,* **qid 'anh sAlAGL** *7.35A,* **'ahnu: qid sAlAGL** they threw him down *7.36A,* **'Aw sAlAGL** threw it (fish) up from shore *1b.11M,* **yAq' sAlAGL** threw it (fish) ashore *46.17M,* **'Aw q'e:yAq' sAlAGLinh** he threw it (another fish) ashore *46.21M,* **'u:dAX 'anh q'e:yAX sAlAGL** she threw, dropped him back down through there *40.11fnL,* **'Awya' 'Aw sAlAGLinu:** they threw him in it (box) *7.33A,* **ta' 'anh** (*or* **'anh ta'**) **sAlAGLinh** he pushed, threw him in the water *L,* **Lila:' q'A'anh 'anh ta'** (*or* **ta' 'anh**) **sAlAGL** a man it was pushed him into the water *L,* **qe'L q'unhAw ta' sAlAGL** a woman it was he pushed into the water *L,* **ta' q'unh**(**Aw**) **'anh sAlAGL** into the water it was he pushed her *L,* **'anh qe'L ta' sAlAGLinh** he pushed the woman into the water *L,* **Lila:' ta' 'anh** (*or* **'anh ta'**) **sAlAGL** a man pushed her into the water **Lila:' qe'L ta' sAlAGL** a man pushed a woman into the water *L, with perambulative:* **ya'Xu: yAX xuqu'dAlAG** don't beat me up < don't throw me around *L,* **yAX xu'dAle:Gk'** you (cust) mistreat me *L; reflexive:* **'AddAle:Gk'** it (cust) jumps *M,* **'AdGAdAlAGL** it's trotting, galloping (along), it (frong) is hopping, jumping (along) *M, with ya'X 'up':* **ya'X 'AdsdilAGLinh** he jumped (up) *M,* **ya'X 'AdxsdilAGL** I jumped (up) *M,* **ya'X da: 'AdsdilAGL** we jumped (up) *M,* **lAGe'X 'AdGAdAlAGL** is hopping (about, along) on shore *10.254A,* **qid 'AdsdilAGL** jumped down (off) *15.26M,* **qid 'Adqu'xdAlAG** I'll jump down *M, with qa' 'up out':* **te'ya' qa' 'AdsdilAGL** fish jumped *21b.70A,* **qa' 'AdAdAle:Gk'** (fish) (cust) jump *21b.71A,* **dik' te'ya' qa' 'AdGAdAlAGG da:X** when the fish aren't jumping *21b.69A,* **'u:ch' qa' 'Adqu'xdAlAG** I'll jump up thither *M, with o-q' 'on o' and ya' 'completely, to a state of rest':* o-**q' ya' 'AdsdilAGLinh** he jumped onto o *27.7, 7A,* **'uqi:dAyAX 'AdAxwdAlAG da:X** when I start to jump under their feet *34.20M,* **'u'u'X 'AdsdilAGLinh** he jumped short of it (not far enough) *L,* **'uta:s 'AdGAdAlAG** jump over, across it! *L,* **'uta:s 'Adqu'xdAlAG** I'll jump over, across it *L, indirect reciprocal:* **'iLta:s qa:nch' 'AddAlAGinu:** they're playing leapfrog (jumping up over each other) *(not a native game) L, with perambulative:* **yAX 'AdxdAlAGX** I'm jumping around *L,* **yAX 'AddAlAGXinh** he's jumping around (two feet together) *LM,* **yAX 'Adqu'xdAlAG** I'll jump around *M,* **'a:ngulah yAX 'AdAxdAlAG da:X** when I jump about around a river *34.16M,* **'u:dAXyu: yAX 'AddAle:Gk'inh** he (cust) jumps around all over *L, repetitive: Rezanov* Яхать-теллякакъ-э 'Скакать springen' **ya'X 'AddAlAGginh** he keeps jumping (up and down) *M; passive, repetitive: Galushia Nelson* yá'χɒáləχkì *or* yá'χɒ́ləχkì 'tossing in a sealskin' *BSdL 551* **ya'X dAlAGginh** he's being blanket-tossed (repeatedly tossed up) *(also name of pastime, native to Eskimo but not to Eyak) L,* **ya'X xudAlAGg** I'm being blanket-tossed *L.*

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lahdz O-**qA-X-lAG** *(with X-thematic with qA-pluralizer thematized, 'pl. acts' and lahdz 'forward', cf. O-dja' 2.)* S mistreat O, *attested only with guG-q' 'on lies'*: **guGq' lahdz xuqAXi:lAG** you keep pushing me around with lies, deceit *10.155, 156A.*

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O-**L-lAG** *(perhaps causative of 'Ad-dA-lAG)* S make O jump: *repetitive:* **ya'X 'iqe'xLlAGg** I'll make you keep jumping up and down *L, with perambulative:* **yAX 'iqe'xdAlAG** I'll make you jump around *M.*

lAG2 *(viariant nAG very doubtful, see under o-lAG 1., L rejects proposed *'u:nAG; cf. dAG, with which lAG2 shares certain formal and semantic peculiarities)*

lAG *(preverb, attested with zero, -d, and -ch' finals, also compounded with 'e'~ with -X final, 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*: **lAG** up on bank of a body of water *L,* **lAG Ga:'** walk to shore!, walk up from shore! *M,* **lAG GAxa:L** I'm coming out of the water towards the beach *L,* **lAG sahLinh** he went up the shore, bank (to higher ground) *L,* **'anhda' lAG sahLinh** he went up the shore to her *11.76A (cf. 3. below), see also -tle'X, lAGtli:X, -xuL~, O-qa (25.22, 94A, 48.5, 10L, qa1), d-L-qu, O-Xahd 1., O-L-Xahd 1., O-lAG (1b.11M), -'ya 1b., 19, g-'ya, gl-'ya 1., Xdl-'ya (49.142, 143A), O-'-'ehdz (passive), -'a'ch' (38.11LM, 49.144A), O-l-(L-)'a (9.125, 11.202A), -'a´ 8., O-L-(y)a (10.39, 40, 41, 25.185, 186A), -a (10.221A), with q'e'~q'e:- 'back, again':* **giyah lAG q'e' sAqahL** brought water back up from shore *48.10L,* **q'e' lAG sdiyahLinh** he came back up from shore *L,* **q'e:lAG 'Ada:g** it keeps walking back up ashore *53.13, 15L; with -d final 'at rest' (rare): 33.72A; with -ch' final 'continuous or repeated motion toward' (rare, usually zero final also with this meaning):* **lAGAch' k'uxqa:k'** I (cust) carry water up from shore *M; with -X final, only compounded as o of o-'e' 'in place of o', lAGe'X < lAG-'e'-X 'movement within area shoreward, up from shore':* **k'Ade:dah lAGe'X 'ika' qu'xah** I won't be able to go up from shore with you *10.252A,* **'anhka' lAGe'X sahL** she went up from shore with him *10.262A,* **lAGe'X sahL** he went up the bank *1b.4M,* **lAGe'X 'Awtl' dAGALk'a't'L** is flying upland with it *9.97A,* **lAGE'X 'AdGAdAlAGL** hops along on shore *10.254A; compounded as o of o-'e', compounded as o of o-ga' 'like o', lAGiga' < lAG-'e'-ga':* **'u:d lAGiga' 'anh sALtehLinh** she put him (his body to rest) a little way up from shore *47b.20M.*

2. up inlet, upriver *(range uncertain, perhaps only 'up Orca inlet', or perhaps 'up (any) inlet', including perhaps 'up river', i.e. 'in-upland via body of water', cf. o-lAG 3.)*: *with zero final:* **dide'L qi:dla:Lq'a:g 'u:dAX lAG qi:li:t'uxL** electric light wires are strung (stretch) along there up Orca Inlet to Orca (cannery) *L; with -X final, only compounded as o of o-'e', as under 1.:* **lAGe'X 'iqe'** boat up the inlet to Orca! *L, perhaps loosely glossed:* **lAGe'X 'Aw (ya:qa') sALtahLinh** he took it (away) upriver *M.*

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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 BSdL 34, 42-3)*: *with zero final:* **'anhda' lAG sahL** he went in (to the back end of the dwelling) to her *23.47A (cf. 1. above, 11.76A), with -ch' final 'continuous or repeated motion toward':* **lAGAch' Ga:Linh** he's walking toward the back end of the house, room *M; with -X final, only compounded as o of o-'e':* **lAGe'X Ga:Linh** he's walking toward (within?) the back end of the house, room *M.*

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4. to church *(perhaps because church was built on high ground, but see also 5b.), attested with zero final only*: *51.84fn,* **lAG Ga:'** go to church! *M (cf. lAG Ga:' 'go ashore!, go up from shore!' M),* **lAG k'ushA'a'ch'L** people went to church *51.37, 37, 37A.*

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5. lose, win (in game, gambling), gain, ear, *attested with zero final only*: *51.84fn,* **lAG -'ya** *(see -'ya 19.)* S lose (in game, gambling), *causative* o-**Xa' lAG** O-**L-'ya** S win O from o, **lAG** O-**L-'ya** S win, beat O, *passive:* O be won, gained, earned; *original meaning of intransitive 'S be, become involuntarily situated ashore (stranded?)', or perhaps back formation from transitive 'S get O ashore, win O', see especially causatives in 10.257, 11.74A, where meaning is ambiguous, perhaps a pun, 'S (Raven) cause O (mullusk-women) to be involuntarily situated ashore' and/or 'S win O'.*

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o-**lAG** *(postposition, attested with zero, -d, -ch' finals, and with -dAX final instead of compounded as o of o-'e' with -X final, also compounded as o of o-da', and, with -d final, as o of o-ch'ahd)* 1. ashore from, in-, upland from o: *with zero final, attested only with Xdl-class*

noun as o: **tanhXAdli:lAG Ga:L** he's walking along by (inside, ashore from) the waves *L,* **tanhXAdla:lAG GAxa:L** *L,* **tanhXAdli:lAG GAxa:L** I'm walking along by (inside) the waves *(Raven's song) 72.39L, forms in BSdL* tán ɒlìnàx qə́tłà·tł 'waves behind was-walking *and* t'án ɒlinaqt ɑauχ̣ła·tł (t'án t'łinaqt qəχ̣ła·tł) 'waves behind I-am-going' *BSdL 261, 559, in both cases probably to be interpreted* **tanh**[**XA**]**dli:nAX GA**(**x**)**La:L** *rather than* ***-dli:nAG**, *because of fairly certain L-classifier, explicable only as optionally required with o-X 'by means of o', and L in any case has -dla:lAG or -dli:lAG, L also rejects proposed form *'u:nAG, that is 'u-l-lAG with l- anatomical or thematic; with -d final 'at rest':* **silAGd** above, uphill from me *M,* **silAGd wAX 'i:t'eh** he lives above (further from shore than) me *M, with XA- 'area' as o: Baranov* Халакъ 'Небо' ('sky') **XAlAG** upland, **Xi:d XAlAGd** yonder upland *10.259, 11.71, 98, 131, 21b.27, 60.34A,* **'a:nd XAlAGd** upland here *11.73A,* **'u:d XAlAGd** upland there *11.141A, nominalized with -d final in place-names:* **sahxwlAGd** *L,* **sa:xlAGd** *Softuk* < above cockles *S,* **gixdAGlAGd** *Marten Point* < ashore from Marten Islands *67.2G, with -d final compounded with o-ch'ahd 'from o':* **Xi:d XAlAGdAch'ahd q'unh xitl' qid GALqAtl'L** snow started to avalanche down from way up yonder *23.128A; with -dAX final 'movement within area':* **qa:lAGdAX Xi:ch' XAdla:sa'yahL** ran away along above us *61.49A,* o-**lAGdAX tsa' sahL** came downhill above o *25.83, 84A; compounded as o of o-da' 'arrival at o':* **'ahnu:lAGAda' 'Adla:sLi'ehLinh** she sneaked up (skirting them) above them *47b.31aM (perhaps < -lAG-i-da' < -'e'-).*

2. down to shore above o, *attested with zero and -ch' finals*: *with zero final:* **silAG sahLinh** he came down to meet me at shore *L, with -ch' final:* **silAGAch' Ga:Linh** he's coming down to meet me at shore *L.*

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3. up inlet, upriver *(see lAG 2.), attested with -d and -dAX finals*: *with -d final 'at rest' and with XA- 'area' and with XA- 'area' as o:* **XAlAGd** in the area of Orca cannery *L, with -dAX final 'movement within area':* **silAGdAX** *(not *silAGe'X)* **yAX da:X** he's walking about upstream from me *L.*

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4. behind, farther to the rear of house, room than, farther from door-side than o a. *with -d final at rest*: **ya:yu:lAGd** behind (farther to the rear of the room than) the things *L.*

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4b. *With -d final, compounded as o of o-q'Asd 'at opposite end of o'*: *Galushia Nelson* xàlə́qɒə̀qə̀st '"head" or rear of the house' *BSdL 545* **XAlAGdAq'Asd** the back, rear of the room, house *L, with -kih 'diminutive':* **Xi:d XAlAGdAq'Asdkih q'unh sAdahL** way back at the innermost end of that little place she was sitting *23.45A.*

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4c. *With -d final, and GA-L- (G-thematic, L-classifier) as o 'of a series'*: **GALlAGd sAtahL** it's at the last (farthest back toward rear of room?) position in a row.

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4d. *With zero final and reciprocal o*: **'iLlAG 'i:nLquhL** 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).*

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o-**d-lAG** *(postposition, as above, with d-thematic of unidentified meaning, attested with zero final only)* down to shore to meet o: **qa:dAlAG k'ushA'a'ch'L** people came down to shore to meet us *59.7 Galushia Nelson,* **sidAlAG k'usahL** someone came down to shore to meet me *L,* **sidAlAG sahL** you came down to shore to meet me *L.*

lAX *(conceivably PAE nA- 'second person', -χ̣^{w} < -q^{w}- 'plural')*

lAX-i: *(independent personal pronoun, -i: either expanded -i- of lAX-i- below and/or as 'i: second person singular pronoun)* ye, you *(second person plural, inclusive or exclusive)*: *Khromchenko* Лахи 'Мы' ('we') **lAXi:** you pl. *L,* **dik' dAXunhyu:G lAXi:** you aren't people *31.13L,* **ts'id lAXi:** only you pl. *M, with -gih~and -dAg~ enclitics, 'too':* **lAXi:gidig da: lAXiqe'Lwa'ts'** we'll whip *you* pl. too *53.34L,* **lAXi:gih**, **lAXi:gidug** *(not *lAXi:dug)* you pl. too *L, emphasizing possessor or o:* **lAXi: lAX'e:X** (asking) about you pl. *L,* **lAXi: lAXqa:'yu:** some of you *L,* **lAXi: lAXya'** *your* pl., *yours* pl. *L, BSdL 557, 557,* **lAXi: lAX-** *your* pl. *BSdL 557, 557, 557; with proclitic dA-* 'ipse': **dAlAXi:** you yourselves *M,* **dAlAXi: wAX 'a'lAXLeh** do it yourselves! *L, with proclitic dlAGA- 'alone, solitary':* **dlAGAlAXi:** only you pl., all alone by yourselves *LM.*

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lAX-i- *(verbal prefix, -i- perhaps to be identified with 'i- 'second person singular', see also lAX-i: above)* ye, you *(second person plural O, inclusive or exclusive), see grammar.*

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lAX- *(personal prefix, second person plural, inclusive or exclusive)* 1. *(verbal prefix)* ye, you *(second person plural S), see grammar.*

2a. *(possessive prefix of possessive nouns)* your pl., *see grammar, also some examples under lAX-i: above.*

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2b. *(o prefix of postpositions)* you, *see grammar*: *also e.g.* **lAXla:X lAXa:** your pl. eyes *L,* **du: lAXa:d** which of you? *L,* **LinhGih lAXa:** one of you *L,* **lAXa'** (< **lAX-Xa'**) yours, with you *M,* **ts'ik' Li'q' lAXqa'ga' lAXch' qu'xtah** I'll give each of you a plate *L.*

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3. *Apparently used as or with independent pronoun, only with certain enclitics*: *Furuhjelm* Liahshu (< *ляхшу) 'ye' **lAXshuh** hello < is it you pl.?, **lAXi: lAXdug** you pl. too *L.*

lAX1 *(cf. Tlingit nèx̱, néx̱, néx̱ 'to be safe')*

-lAX S (prey) escape, save self, get away: **sAlAXL** it (prey) got away *L. Transitive (causative):* S save, (medically, not shamanistically) cure, heal O: **xuGALlAX** save me! *M,* heal me! *L,* **'iqe'xLlAX** I'll save you *M,* **Lich' k'uLle:Xk'inh** he (cust) cures pne, people *L; reflexive:* **'AdxsLilAXL** I saved myself, I recovered (from grave illness) *L; passive:* **xusLilAXL** I got cured *L,* **'u:d 'iqe'dAlAX** you'll get cured there *L.*

lAX~nAX *(variant nAX uncertain, see o-:-nAX below)*

o-**lAX** *(postposition, always with zero final; one of three comparative postpositions, cf. o-gwa'~ 'like, equal to o', o-'u'X 'less than, shore of o')* 1. more than, to a greater degree (positive) than, surpassing, too much for o: **silAX** more than me *L,* **'Al 'AwlAX sLa'dah 'i:t'eh** this is prettier than that *M,* **'Al 'AwlAX tsa' yiLeh** this is deeper than that *M,* o-**lAX -t'e ´~-t'u´** S be more powerful than, surpass, overcome, prevail over o, **k'u-lAX -t'e´~-t'u´** S be powerful, rich, **'ilAX k'ulAX 'ixit'eh** I have more than you *M,* **k'ulAX 'i:t'inhinh** chief, rich man, o-**lAX -Le(')** S be too much for, bigger than o, **'ilAX xLits'anh** I'm stronger than you *L,* **'AwlAX k'uchahsh** thicker than that *L,* **'ilAX Giyah da'lixiLXah** I have more food than you *M,* **'ilAX sileh GAli:'yahL** I'm older than you *L,* **k'uge:Gk', 'a'd 'AwlAX q'unh ge:Gk'** someone (cust) lies, much worse than that he (cust) lies *L,* **XAwa: k'u:Leh, 'a'd 'AwlAX q'uhnu: 'i:t'eh** people are dogs, they're much worse than (they surpass) that *L,* **k'ahd-lAX 'i'qe'wALgAwih** it'll make you feel sicker (more than sick) *L,* **'ilAX dAwa'd q'Aw 'i:nsiLxahL** I grew faster than you *L,* o-**lAX -Xa:n´** S be fleeter than o, o-**lAX Gl-'ya** it gets too late for o < time passes beyond o, **silAX sAliL** 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,* **'AwlAX dAtli: 'i:nsALyahLinu:** they're

already too old for that *65.79A,* **'AwlAX 'itl' d-dA-le** S get into heated argument (say too much to each other, *with reciprocal o,* surpassing each other, competing: **'iLlAX da: 'Adqu'LAts'anh** we'll wrestle (make ourselves stronger than each other) *L,* **k'ulah 'iLlAX dAlinhinu:** they're competing drinking *L,* **k'ulah 'iLlAX tsin'dAdAlinhinu:** they're arguing (speaking in competition) about something *L, also* more and more: **'iLlAX yAX yAGAdAXan'Linh** he's getting faster at handiwork < his hand-movements 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'L k'uXa:nxiyah** I'm too tired to eat < I'm more tired than it, that I might eat something *L (note also 'ulAX gAdAsiga'L 'isda:l 'my rump is too sore for (it,) sitting' L),* **k'ushiyah sALe'L, Xa:ndiyahlAX sAliL** it got too spoiled to eat < it got bad, it got too bad that it might be eaten *L,* **k'ushiyah sALe'L, 'idiqa'dglAX sAliL** it got to spoiled too cook *L;* **'ida'ya:lAX** too much, beyond what is tolerable (in general), excessively *LM,* **'ida'ya:lAX yiLda:s 'ixitah** it's too heavy for me to handle *L,* **'ida'ya:lAX tsa' yiLeh** it's too deep *L,* **'ida'ya:lAX 'id k'u'GAxLtuhgLGdAwa:** before I make you too lazy *L,* **'Aw che:y 'ida'ya:lAX gu:nsAduxL** the tea had too many leaves so that they floated up top *L,* **'ida'ya:lAX LA-t'u'** S be too numerous, **'ida'ya:lAX xu:Lxa:gL** you make me work too much *L,* **'ida'ya:lAX tsin'dAGAle:L** he's talking too long and for no good reason *L,* **'ida'ya:lAX lAsALyahL** got too old (died of old age) *25.155A; requiring L-classifier in certain themes of adjectival origin referring to dimension:* o-**lAX L-'a'** *(cf. -'a')* S be longer, taller than (extend beyond) o, **'a'd xan'Lq' silAX 'i:L'in'inh** he's very much taller than I *LM,* o-**lAX** L-**wAX** S be wider than o, too wide for o, **'ida'ya:lAX L-wAX** S be too wide *(cf. -wAX); with anatomical marks for o:* **siyAlAX ti:ndiyah** it (glove) is too big for my hand *L (see also o-y-lAX below),* **siqi:dAlAX 'idiyah** they (shoes) are too big for my feet *L;* **sila'lAX 'i:ndiyah** it (hat) is too big for (over) my head *L (see also o-:-nAX below).*

2. *With verbs referring to locomotion,* beyond, past, farther than o: **silAX sahLinh** he went farther than O *L,* **dik' 'AwlAX 'Ala:k'G** they (fish) (cust) do not swim beyond that point *56.13L.*

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3. *Idiomatic*: o-**lAX Gl-'ya** S become (visibly) pregnant < time pass past o, too much time pass for o, o be too late; o-**lAX 'i-L-'e~-'an** S see o < S travel beyond o *(standard suppletive for O-G-'e~ 'S see O' in all forms except simple Active imperfective),* **k'u-lAX 'i-L-'an-g** S menstruate (keep seeing something), *with anatomical marks for o:* **'iqi:dAlAX 'isiL'anhL** I saw your foot *L,* **'uyAlAX 'isiL'anhL** I saw his hand *L.*

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o-**y-lAX** *(postposition, with y-anatomical 'hand', thematized)* too much for o('s hand) to handle: **siyAlAX sAliL** it got to be too much for me, I couldn't stand it, handle it *L.*

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o-**:-nAX** *(postposition, with l-anatomical 'head' thematized, analyzed as o-l-X 'in contact with o's head, face', but perhaps o-l-lAX 'too much for o's head, face') see o-l-X under X1.*

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lAX-kih-ga' *(postpositional phrase, lAX 'too much' with suffixed -kih 'diminutive' as o of o-gwa'~ 'like o', cf. ne:tl-kih-ga', q'a:l-kih-ga'; conceivably 'lAX 'this way' (under 'Al~) rather than lAX~, but *'wAX-kih-ga' not attested)* a little too much: **lAXkihga' di:ya' yiLeh** it's a little too salty *M,* **lAXkihga' dAdAleh** there's (a little) too much noise *G (Li).*

lAXAsha:'ne: *(partly unanalyzable, with lX-anatomical 'eyes', to be segmented perhaps -sha'-ne:, -sha:n'-e:, -sha:-'ne:, -sha:n-'e:, -sha:'-'ne:, or -sha:n'-'e:, conceivably -sha: related to shiyah~shah~sha: 'bad', 'ne: to le: or 'e: to 'e or 'e~'an)*

lAXAsha:'ne: *(epithet)* squinter *LA (applied to a particular person, considered humorous, connoting some ridicule),* **lAXAsALgihdzgLinh, 'anh lAXAsha:'ne:** he's got something wrong with his eye, that fellow "squinter" *A, known to Sampson Harry (Tlingit) as nɑχɑšàni.*

lAXAliŋahda:lig *(loan from Chugach nərəninərtaləx 'pl. where there are good things to eat')*

lAXAliŋahda:lig *(place-name) Middle Arm of Eyak Lake L.*

lAbAbu:dz *(loan from English 'rubber boots', see also lAbah)*

lAbAbu:dz *(noun, probably unclassified)* rubber boots *L.*

lAbah *(loan from English 'rubber', see also lAbAdu:dz)*

lAbah *(noun, probably unclassified)* rubber, rubber boots *L.*

lAya' *(possible stem)*

'luw~'nuw~'li´~'lu' *('luw~'nuw in adjective and verb, also 'lAw~'nAw, but vowel more frequently, probably arbitrarily, transcribed u than A, 'li´, 'lu' in verbs; 'nuw~'nAw only in adjectives following l-mark or marks ending in l-; Russian sources consistently show a vowel following -Y: Rezanov -ляга six times, implying -'lAYa…, -люга once, implying -'luYa…, -лега twice, implying -'lAYa… or (reading -ë-) -'luYa…, Anonymous and Baranov once -лага, implying -'lAYa…, Wrangell once -леге, implying -'lAYi… or -'luYi…, Furuhjelm once -liaga < *-ляга, implying -'lAYa…, once -lian, probably misreading of -liau on intermediate copy; perhaps related to le:; for alternation -i´~-uw cf. qih and qAw~quw, also 'a:w1 and 'a´~'a')*

-'luw~-'nuw *(adjective)* big, large, huge, enormous, great 1. *Independent or relativized:* a. *not in association with classified nouns*: *independent: Rezanov* Кулляга 'Большой gross', *Anonymous* Кь-кьулага 'Велики', *Baranov* Ккулага 'Велики' (*both implying* **k'-k'u'lAYA**), *Wrangell* Кулеге 'gross', *Furuhjelm* Kulian 'great, large', *Galushia Nelson* ɢu'lu· *or* (k'ulu·) 'big (can be applied to a canoe, bird, man, dog, but not to a house or tree)' *BSdL 553* **k'u'luw**, **k'u'lAw** big *M,* **k'u'luw -Le(')** S be, become big, large, grown-up *20.91, 92, 24.39, 40, 74, 28.131A, 34.102L, 43.13M, 60.21, 65.7A,* **yiLda:s da:X k'u'luw yiLeh** it's heavy and it's big *M,* **k'u'luw sALe'L** it got big *M,* **k'u'luw xiLeh 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* ɢu'lu· yɪtɬʰhɪʰ 'big man' *BSdL 553* **k'u'luw yiLinhinh** he (who) is big, he was big, enormous *37b.58A,* **XAla:g qa:Xa' k'u'luw qa'Le'** winter will be severe, hard, on us *43.9M,* **k'u'luw q'Aw, la:** it's sure big! *L,* **k'u'luw q'Aw, 'Aw qe'yiLteh** it was big, that whale *10.42A, Rezanov* Куллягату 'Великъ gross' **k'u'lAw**…**duh** it's big (indeed)!, Коулягаya 'Больше gross (Comparativ.)' **k'u'lAw**… **'Awa:**, **k'u'luw 'Awa:** a big one of them *L,* **'Aw k'u'luw 'Awa:** the big one, biggest one of them *L, 9.92A,* **dik' 'Aw k'u'luwG** not the big one *M,* **GAdi:tl'eh, k'u'lAw** it was cold, a great (cold spell) *57.4G,* **k'Alehdig, k'u'luw ya:n' dAGa'ya:X** rain too, let a big one come down *57.21G,* **'uch'AX 'Awa: k'u'luw** its wings are big *60.50A,* **k'u'luw q'A'Aw 'u'dAtsa:k'** a big (price) it was (cust) bought at *64.4G,* **k'u'luw 'u'lixiLgah** I think it's (know it to be) big *M,* **wAX 'u'dAXa: k'u'luw, k'u'luw 'Aw 'u'dAXa:** thus is told of it (that it's) big, it's reported to be big *60.49A,* **'uyAq'd 'Awa: k'u'luw** it(s inside) is (too) big *L, with -kih diminutive suffix:* **k'u'luwkih qAsAle'L** they grew pretty big *49.29, 30A,* **k'u'luwkih 'iLe' da:X** just as it starts to get rather big, fair-sized *L, relativized: usually preceding noun:* **'a'd k'u'luw qe'yiLteh** a very

big whale *28.76A,* **k’u’luw xut’L** big gun *M,* **k’u’luw xi:l** great shaman *56.1L, attested also with k'uyA'e'd 'grizzly-den', 'ud k'udAsa'q' 'dress', ts'u:x 'barnacle', yAda: 'shamanistic power", duhshk' 'snipe', sanhAsi:nL 'stockings', lAGtli:X 'halibut', te'ya'le: 'king salmon', qe'yiLteh 'whale', lu: 'ebb-tide', tsa' 'deep (place)', ke:Lta:g 'seal', 'AX 'boat', 'AXAkih 'canoe', XAwa: 'dog', less frequently (and less correctly?) following noun (real meaning '(is) big'?), usually from M:* **dAXunh k’u’lAw** a huge person *(perhaps 'the fellow is huge') 37b.58A, attested also (mostly in elicitation from M) with 'i:nsdile:L 'merganser', si:nL 'shoes', q'Adlge:L 'bottle', gahG '(gob of) pitch'.*

1b. *With class-marks (in association with classified nouns)*: **dAqi:kih k’ulAXa’luw** no big ones (berries) left *L,* **dik’ ’Aw q’Ama: ’Awa: k’ulAXa’luw ’ALe:G** its roe wasn't big *10.117A,* **GAlAXAsAXe:ts’ k’ulAXa’luw** (large species of) blueberries are large *L, Galushia Nelson* k’ətá’lù· *or* k’ùtálù· 'big (used for house or tree)', k’əta’lu· lıs 'big tree', k’ətə’lu· 'big tree' **k’uda’luw lis**, k’ətə’lu yat 'big house' *BSdL 553* **k’uda’luw yahd**, **yahd Xa:n’ dAsALiL, k’uda’luw** they built houses, big ones *68.16A,* **k’uda’luw t’AXgsg** big cottonwood *68.30A,* **k’uXAda’luw gahch’ yAGALga:L** a big, great day is coming *L,* **k’ugAda’luw ma:** big lake *27b.46A,* **dik’ k’udli:’nuwG** not a big one (a stone) *L,* **k’ugu:’nuw giyah** lots of water, large quantity of water *L, attested also with ka:dj 'soup', dAL 'blood', Xe: 'seal oil', tsa: 'sealoil', tsa:dla:Xe' 'kerosene',* **’u:nAX k’uXe’L** paint *L,* **’i:ndit’u:ch’ k’u:’nuw** big black abalone *M,* **ch’iyahd k’u:’nuw** big hat *M.*

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1c. *With anatomical marks*: **k’ugAda’luw** large-rumped, **k’uqi:da’luw sanhAsinhL** big(-footed) stockings *L,* **k’uku:’nuw yiLinhinh** (he's) a big-bellied person *MA,* **lisku:nda’luw** big-based tree *L; lacking k'u-indefinite in epithets, generally pejorative:* **ku:’nuw Lila:’** big-bellied man *L,* **gi:wa:lehd ku:’nuw GALe’L** he's getting paunchy because of beer *L,* **ku:’nuw** big-belly!, paunchy! *L,* **qi:da’luw** big-feet! *L,* **gAda’luw** big-rump! *L,* **k’ushda’luw** big-(lower-)legs! *L.*

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1d. *With Gl-thematic 'ground'*: **qi’ k’uGa:’nuw** place where there's lots of ground *L.*

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1e. *With Xdl-themati 'shore'*: **giyah k’uXAdli:’nuw sALe’L** water (in rain, floodtide) reached a very high level *L.*

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1f. *With -dah adverbializer*: **k’u’luwdah** enormously, greatly *57.20G.*

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2. *Dependent:* a. *suffixed to unclassified nouns*: (1) *with connective vowel -'a-'luw, -'a-'lAw, rarely (with certain exceptions) -a-'luw, -a-'lAw, when suffixed to noun-forms, not in epithets, containing only one vowel: Rezanov* Хотклялле́га 'Пушка ('cannon') Kanone' **xut’gL’a’lAw…**, **xutL’a’luw** big gun *LM,* **Lanhd’a’luw** *M,* **Lanhda’luw** large (amount of) smoke *L,* **XuhX’a’luwyu:** snakes < big worms *M, attested also with q'Adl 'pot', ts'Al 'bone', da:sh '(amount of) foam', du:ts' '(gob of) dried snot', duhshk' 'snipe', ta: 'trail', tAL 'drill', tl'ihst' 'devilclub', Le't' 'box', Le'Lq' 'feather', Le'xts'L 'wart', Lanhd 'smoke', dza'tl' 'chisel', dzuxL 'spear point', ts'inhG 'alders', ts'a:tl'G 'cradle', ts'a:gL 'dipper', ts'u:x 'barnacle', si:nL 'shoe', sahs 'sea-otter', sahx 'cockle', djiL 'shelf', dja:t'L 'crowbar', dja:q' 'bullhead', dju'k'L 'thwart', che'q'L 'hook', cha'ch' 'red salmon', cha:sh 'hedysarum plant', ch'i'ch'X 'shark', ch'ihdG 'skate, ray', ch'ugsg 'skunk-cabbage roots', shahG '(gob of) slime', shAXgL '(amount of) hoarfrost', Lu'ch' 'blister', gust' 'flame', ka:shk' 'humpback salmon', kugL 'dry stick', k'e'k'L 'mink', k'a't' 'island', xitl' (amount of) snow (on ground)', xahd 'spearhead', xa:gL 'job', xa:g '(amount of) steam', Ge'q'shg '(amount of) earwax', GAX 'rabbit', qe'L 'woman', qAts'LG 'male salmon', k'ahgshg 'scab', q'AGshg '(piece of) gristle', Xish 'spearhead', Xa'tl'gL '(wooden) club', XuhX 'worm', la'q' 'eel', la'Xts'L 'star', 'a:L 'spruce bough', 'As 'crab-pot', ya:n' 'medicine' ('powerful'), kihd '(amount of) dry now', we'L 'snare', wiL 'wedge', we:sh 'drying-rack', k'uhdL '(amount of) moss', we:g 'headband', ts'ik' 'plate', ye:nn 'sea*

cucumber', hu:l 'sale', qAw 'open place on mountainside', tsa:'L 'food box'; (2) *with connective vowel frequently or exclusively -a'luw, -a'lAw, 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. 2.(2b) below: Rezanov* Къуяляга 'Буря sturm' **k'u(:)ya'lAw…**, **k'uya'luw** *LM (with nonlengthened -u-, but not rechecked),* **k'u:ya'luw** *(not *k'u:y'a'luw)* big wind *L,* **xi:la'luw** great shaman *L,* **xi:l'a'luw yiLinhinh** he's a great shaman *LM;* (3) *With connective -(')i- with certain nouns and nominalized verb-phrases referring to human beings:* **dAXunhi'lAw** a big person *LM, 37b.51A,* a great man *A,* **LAni:'i'luw** big boy *L,* **qe'L'i'luw** big woman *L (also* **qe'L'a'luw** *M),* **sAqe:ts'i'luw** big child, big baby *L,* **Lila:'i'luw** big man *L,* **k'u'Lit'uhi'luw** big lazy lout *M,* **ya'X Xu' sahLi'luw** *LM,* **ya'X Xu' sahL'i'luw** *name of Eyak woman, Mary Nelson A (ya'ẋ'sa'tłe'lu in BSdL genealogical table, 'went, grew straight up big' L);* (4) *With no connective vowel:* (a) *in (pejorative) epithet with one-vowel stem lacking possessive prefix (prefix zeroed out):* **djehXluw** big-ears! *A,* **Ge't'luw** big-body! *10.94A, with preverb Xa:'d 'outdoors' used as noun, lack of connective vowel inexplicable:* **'Al Xa:'d-luw** the whole world, universe < the great outdoors *L;* (4) *suffixed to noun-forms containing more than one vowel, form automatically -luw, -lAw, with -'- not overt immediately following consonant or vowel-length: Rezanov* Хакльчеялега 'Работай ('work!') arbeiten (Imperat.)' **xa:gLch'iya'lAw…** great master worker, Итляхатесетлюга 'Цѣпь Kette (grosse K.)' **'iLqa'X qAdisid-luw…** big chain, *Furuhjelm* Kaiaaliaga 'sea' **giyahlAwa…** < great water, Khalhetlliutu 'darkness' **GALXe'tl'Lluwduh**(?) great darkness indeed!, **ts'iyuxluw** big mosquito *LM,* crane-fly *L,* **qa:nch' k'uq'Ats'gluwyu:** hornets *L, attested also with dAqu:lAXA'ah 'fierce man', -wAXa:w, -yAXa:w 'picture, shadow', -tsi: '(man's) daughter', ch'Alih 'sleeve', -ch'Alih 'arm', -l-da:' 'face', GALAduk'L 'mound', -l-dAleh 'antler', la:Ltah 'purse', 'i:nsdile:L 'merganser', -La'ch' 'stomach', -La:n' 'thigh', Lu:ndiyahs 'mouse, rat', dAdzahGL 'cane', tsi'lahL 'pillow, comb', GALAtsAtl' 'land-otter', tsa:le:Xquh 'octopus', -tse' '(piece of) meat', GAsAtsah 'shavings', ts'i:tl'Ga:leh 'heron', kAts'i:nd 'screw', k'udAGAts'e:' 'smokehole, crack', gunuxts'e' 'beargut rainclothes', ts'iyuh 'blackbear', ts'Ala' '(amount of) potted roe', -sa'd 'mouth', -sahd 'liver', -djehX 'ear', -ch'a:d 'hump of humpback salmon', -ch'AX 'wing', ch'iya'tl'G 'frog', ch'e:yu' 'alderberry bush', 'uX k'ushitl'gL 'saw', -she:k' 'chest (anat.)', q'Adlge:L 'bottle', qe'gu:l 'thunder', qe'yiLteh 'whale', gAmAG '(gob of) wet mud', dAkinh 'stick' -kAmah 'belly', -guka' '(bird's) tail', -dAkuhd 'lips', kAna's 'wolverine', 'i:nLk'a't' 'sea urchin', -k'ahsh 'foot', Xa:gAdi:nyanh 'porcupine', k'Amah 'sea-lion', k'uwahdjL 'tack, nail', -xich' 'skin', dAxi'ts' 'drum', -xi:ya'X 'chin', dALAxe:g 'groundhog', lixah 'grizzly bear', yAX dAxuLX 'barrel', dAxu'tl'g 'balloon', -dAga'q'L 'throat', ya'XdAGAGshg 'pitcher', -lAGa:nshdAXu' 'moustache, beard', -Guhd 'knee', GAnuh 'duck', XAwa: 'dog', -lAquhL 'cheek', -yAq'a'ts' 'hand', 'uya'X k'udAq'a't'g 'pressure-cooker', -q'AX 'piece of fat', -k'ushdAq'u' 'calf of leg', lAGAdAq'a'L 'axe', guXa: 'stump', xa:sAXe' '(piece of) soap', -Xu:nLAyah 'tooth', -'e'd 'place, imprint', -lAwa'L 'fin', 'AdGAdla:LAwa'LX 'hammock', sLi'mahdL '(pieces of) bread, -lu' 'hole', -ni:k' 'nose', 'Ana:shah 'flower', -'uGL 'heart', LAnAs 'padlock, nose-ring', gAludj 'key', k'uLqehX 'saucer', kAna:'Ad 'coat', lAGAshk'L 'pole', 'Awa:dAG 'buoy, float', k'uda: 'file', XAt'a: 'adze', tAwi:s '(iron) axe', shAwe:na: 'anchor', ts'Asa: 'tarpaulin', 'a:nke:we: 'flag', ku:shti:L 'moccasin', dAq'Ata:L 'trousers', niLa: 'handkerchief', 'Awa:lAG 'window', dji:da:dAG 'clam', yidiguG 'thimble', yu:xga: 'skirt', k'ushXi:d '(piece of) cloth', gu:nihG, gu:nehG 'horse', sha:lehG 'shawl', mAshuhg 'sack', dji:ni:g 'teapot', li'Xi:ni: 'laugh', yAda: 'shamanistic power', -Ge't' 'body', kust'a:t' 'quilt', na:wda'ke:d 'whiskey-bottle', GAlAXAlAXah 'tadpole', gAch'uh '(gaming-)die', GAsu' 'dry-salmon', -ts'akih '(woman's) older sister', GAyAXgug 'kayak', 'i:nLXAma: 'bracket-fungus', qAmAXts'L 'top (toy)', 'Ali:mahdAlih, tsa:lAXAL (place-names); with -kih diminutive, affectionate:* **XAwa:luwkih** big dog *(affectionate) M; in (pejorative) epithets: attested with -ni:k' 'nose', -lAquhL 'cheeks', -ch'Alih 'arms, sleeves' (?), -qi:yAga:g 'big toe', -yAku:nch' 'thumb',* **lAquhLq'AXluw** big-frat-cheeks! *10.93A,* **k'uwAXluwshiyah** nasty big-broad-thing! *1b.9M;* (4d) *suffixed to 'AwA'ah- 'thank you':* **'AwA'ahluw** many thanks *L (L later adds, "not good Eyak, S would talk like that"), Rezanov* Агуалягата 'Спасибо ich? danke', *Anonymous* Аваалагата

'Благодарю' ('I give thanks') **'AYA'ahlAYAdah** big thanks *(but L later qualifies: "not good Eyak, only 'Tlingits', e.g. S, would say this"; M (8/96) rejects for 'AwA'ahdahlAw), with -dah adverbializer, cf. 'AwA'ahdah 'thank you' under 'ah2.*

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2b. *Suffixed to classified nouns*: (1) *with d-class nouns:* **-da'luw**, *attested with tsi: 'mussel', t'its' '(piece of) ice', tl'e:yu' 'hemlock', k'udALidg 'dead tree', La' 'glacier', 'iLAdzanh 'gas boat', dzuxL 'spear', dzanhd 'snowshoe', tsAdl 'board', tsa'L 'knife', ts'a' '(expanse of) mud in flats', -dALts'Alih 'shell', gehgL 'fish spear', gahG '(gob of) pitch', k'ahG 'porcupine quill', Ge'q'(L) 'bracelet', ya:n' dA'a'L 'ring', GALAGAmAk'L 'hoop', -gutl'ah 'tail', qih 'meadow', yAq'dAqa: 'hollow tree', -lAqah 'head', qe'yiLtehlAqah 'whale-head', dAq'a:g 'fire', XahdL 'sled, car', k'udALXAlah 'butt-end of tree', we:gshg 'ulu', dAGALAwahL 'door', k'ulah 'grizzly-den', ye:t' 'wild celery', yahd 'house', -dA'uhdg 'egg', shgu:lihdAG 'skillet', la:xga: 'store', we:sh 'drying rack', 'u'tl' '(piece of) driftwood', shdu:lihG 'table', -guka' '(bird's) tail, shiL 'spoon', k'a't' 'island', La:X 'red cedar', shgu:na: 'schooner', dAmAXch'L, qAmAXch'L 'soft, rotten spot in, hole in ice', dehdj 'sandbar', qu'ta'L 'floor', lisku:n- 'tree at base',* **yahdda'luw't'a:X** *29.56A,* **yahdda'luwdAt'a:X** in(to) a big house *20.26, 49.11A,* **tsa'Lda'luwdAt'u'** lots of big knives *L, in pejorative) epithets:* **lAqahda'luw** big-head! *L, 10.93, 11.139A,* **gutl'ahda'luw** big-tail! *L, 10.94, 11.140A,* **ni:k'da'luw** big-nose! *L, 18.8L,* **La:n'da'luw** big-thigh! *(L uncertain), with gd-class nouns:* **-guda'luw**, **-gAda'luw**, *attested with ma: 'lake', -tsin' 'neck', gudAsu' 'dry salmon', with Xd-class nouns:* **-XAda'luw**, *attested with Le:sk' 'log', ya:djilah 'rainbow', lAGAshk'L 'pole', Xih 'spearpoint', tAwi:s '(wooden) axe', with lXd-class nouns:* **k'uhdLlAXAda'luw** big (piece, expanse of) moss *L, with lX-class nouns:* **-lAXa'luw**, *attested with chi:shg 'gravel', cha:sh 'hedysarum root', GAlAga:X 'cranberries', xitl' 'snowflakes', q'As 'gland', k'uleh 'rain (falling)', ye:LtAXi: 'onions', q'Ama: '(piece, amount of loose) roe', in (pejorative) epithet:* **la:XlAXa'luw** big-eyes! *M, 1a.7M, with numerals, syntactically inexplicable or incorrect:* **LinhG lAXa'luw** one big one (berry) *L,* **LinhG lAXa: lAXa'luw** one big one (eye) *L, with g-class nouns:* **-ga'luw**, *(never *-gu'luw L), attested with dzAwuL 'net', dzAwuLgALeh '(roll) of twine', Ge:ts' 'spruceroot', k'u't' 'tendon, sinew';* (2) *with class-mark the last element of which is l-:* (a) *with l-class nouns,* **-'a:'nuw** *(once -a:'nuw, see also (2b) below), or, L less frequently, M more frequently and perhaps less correctly, -'i:'nuw, also M occasionally, and L once, -la'luw, but L rejects -la'luw or strongly prefers -'a:'nuw or -'i:'nuw:* **XuhLg'i:'nuw** *M,* **XuhLga:'nuw** *L,* **XuhLgAla'luw**, **XuhLg'a:'nuw** big shovel *LM,* **'i:nLxi:shgla'luw**, **'i:nLxi:shg'i:'nuw** *M,* **'i:nLxi:shg'a:'nuw** big red abalone *L,* **kAwAsgla'luw**, **kAwAsgL'i:'nuw** *(L much prefers latter)* big canoe paddle *LM,* **q'Ama:'i:'nuw** big roe(-sac), **q'Ama:'a:'nuw** big kidney *L (elicited on separate occasions, correlatio between differences in form and gloss probably fortuitous), other forms attested only with -'a:nuw: ch'iyahd 'hat', wiL 'wedge', 'itl' 'mountain', -'uGL 'heart', ts'u: 'breast', tl'A'a:G 'basket', ga'q'L 'Adam's apple', tAGL 'hammer';* (2b) *with l-class noun -sha:w 'head' in (pejorative) epithet, lacking possessive prefix, form highly variable and irregular, probably a reflection of an earlier broken form of the stem, -sha:wa…, cf. 2a.(2) above:* **sha:w'a'nuw** *LMA,* **sha:w'a:'nuw**, **sha:wa'nuw** *L,* **sha:wa:'nuw** big-head!, big head-of-hair! *1b.6M;* (2c) *with nouns of other classes, the last element of the mark of which is l-: with ti:l-class nouns, -ti:'nuw (M occasionally -ti:la'luw, once -ti:'luw, both rejected by L):* **k'utahti:'nuw**, **k'utahti:la'luw** big pelt *M,* **k'uLt'ahLti:la'luw** *M,* **k'uLt'ahLti:'nuw** big leaf *L,* **k'usits'ti:la'luw** *M,* **k'usits'ti:'nuw** big fish-skin *L,* **tsa'k'Lti:'nuw** big glove *M,* **dza:nt'ti:'nuw** big skunk-cabbage(-leaf) *L,* **kuhsLti:'nuw** big apron *LM, with dl-class noun, invariably -dli:'nuw: attested with 'anh 'land', tsa: 'stone', djahGL 'needle', kihshL 'dipnet', Xa'tl'gL '(stone) club', dla:XA'i:nd 'button', tsi:n 'branch', tAwi:s '(stone) axe', dzAwuL 'net', we:gshg 'ulu', in (pejorative) epithet* **djAXAdli:'nuw** big-ears! *LMA, 18.8L, with gl-class nouns, invariably -gu:'nuw 'large (amount, volume, gob, body of liquid)': attested with shi: 'creek', giyah 'water', ka:dj 'soup', kus 'urine', q'Ats' 'slough', Xe: 'seal oil', XAs 'pus', ts'u: 'milk', gu:nLdAsL 'blood-clot', 'a:n 'river', with qi:l-class nouns, invariably -qi:'nuw: attested with k'u't' 'tendon', we'L 'snare', 'iLqa'X dAsid 'chain', duh 'hose kelp', with qi:dl-class noun:*

duhqi:dli:'nuw big hose kelp *L, with Xdl-class nouns:* **tanhXAdli:'nuw** big waves *L,* **'uhsXAdli:'nuw** big riverbank *L.*

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2c. *With anatomical or class-like anatomical or thematic marks*: **k'uXu:nLAyahXu:'nuw** big(-toothed?) teeth *LM,* **q'Adlku:'nuw** large-bellied pot *L,* **lisku:nda'luw** tree big at base *L,* **k'uk'ahshqi:da'luw** big(-footed?) foot *LM, in (pejorative) epithet:* **tsin'gAdla:'luw** *(probably incorrect),* **tsin'gAdli:'nuw** big-neck! *L,* **sa'GAda'luw** big-mouth! *L, 1a.7M,* **k'ushda'luw** big-feet! *M.*

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3. *With Gi-thematic, with certain preverbs or postpositional phrases, generally referring to cavities or spaces*: (1) *Independent:* **qi' k'AGi'luw** big hole, place, room *M,* **qi' k'AGi'luw dla:'anhd** big den, big cave < place of a large den cave *L;* (2a) *Dependent, with o-lXd-'e' 'place of o's eyes':* **'ilAXAde:'Gi'luw** your big eyes *11.139A, in (pejorative) epithet:* **lAXAde:'Gi'luw** big-eyes! *L, 10.96A;* (2b) *with da' 'front, face', in (pejorative) epithet:* **da' Gi'luw** big-face! *11.139A, 18.8L;* (2c) **dla:'anhddAGi'luw** *(perhaps to be corrected to dla:'anhdAGi'luw)* big den, lair *M;* (2d) *with o-l-yAq' 'in o's head', perhaps in epithet: Rezanov* Леехкаккеилляга 'Громко laut' **lAyAq'AGi'lAwa…**, **lAyAq"iGi'nuw** *(-'i- perhaps analogical with verbal forms below)* loud voice, low-pitched voice *L.*

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nAXAsha:ni *(personal name) George's cousin, Katalla, died ca. 1910 G Harrington, from original Eyak lAXAsha:'ne: 'big bad-eyes'.*

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-'li´ S be too big, oversize *(attested in Neuter imperfective only)*: *with o-Xa' 'in relation with, for o':* **siXa' yi'lih** it's too big for me *L,* **dik' siXa' 'a'lihG** it's not too big for me *L, with d-class-mark for S:* **di:'lih** it (e.g. board) is too big *L.*

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'i-G-'li´ *(with 'i-G-thematic, with postpositional phrases o-yAq' '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) be, become big (with respect to something else to fit it) *(see also 'i-Gi-'luw below)*: *Neuter imperfective:* **'uyAq' 'iGi:'lih** it's big enough (inside, for something else) *L,* **dik' 'uyAq' 'iGa'lihG** 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 appearing in postpositional phrases instead of in verb:* **'Aw yahd 'udAyAq' 'iGi:'lih** the inside of that house is too big *L (probably better 'Aw yahddAyAq' or glossed 'that house, its inside is too big'),* **'Aw ch'iyahd 'ulAya' 'iGi:'lih** (the inside of) that hat is too big *L (probably better 'Aw ch'iyahd-lAyAq' or glossed 'that hat, its inside is too big'), in other mode-aspects, with o-Xa' 'in relation with, for o':* **'uyAq' siXa' 'iGAsa'li'L** it got too big for me (inside) *L,* **'uyAq' siXa' 'iGAGa'li'L** it's getting too big for me (inside) *L,* **'uyAq' siXa' 'iqe'Gi:'lih** it'll get too big (inside) for me *L.*

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'i-G-'luw *(as above, stem-form perhaps analogical)* S (cavity, or cavity in S) be, become big (without respect to something else?) *(these forms and those above elicited on various different occasions without attempt to determine difference in meaning; general correlation between difference of stem-forms and of glosses perhaps fortuitous)*: *Neuter imperfective:* **'uyAq' 'iGi:'luw** it's too big for it *L,* it's big inside *M,* **dik' 'uyAq' 'iGa'luwG** it's not big inside *L,* **'uyAq' 'iqe'Gi:'luw** it'll get big inside *L,* **'uyAq' 'iGAsa'luwL** it got big inside *L.*

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L-lu' *(intransitivity uncertain, perhaps only O-L-lu', causative of preceding with irregular stem form, but cf. 'a´~'a', stem-form -'a' in intransitives with L-classifier)* S stretch out of

shape: **sALlu'L** it stretched out of shape *L (perhaps 'you, it stretched it out of shape'),* **qa'Llu'** it'll stretch out of shape *L (perhaps 'you'll, it'll stretch it out of shape'). Transitive (causative):* **qu'xLlu'** I'll make it bigger inside, I'll enlarge it *L; passive:* **sLilu'L** it's been made bigger, enlarged *L.*

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'e'lAwah *(conceivably to be analyzed -'e'-lAwah with archaic form of stem, as epithet 'large-track, big-imprint')* weasel *LMAS, see 'e'lAwah (unanalyzed).*

li' *(perhaps two or more historically different stems, semantic differences not clearly reconciled, see especially discussion under li' 4.; with several sporadic variants of varying significance: le', rejected by L, persistently recurs, especially under o-li' 3. in text (10.210, 211, 51.33, 35, 84A), and under li' 3b. in certain toponym-like forms from G in Harrington; it is possible that the form le' is thus also historically authentic, cf. Navaho bine'di 'behind it', góne' 'inside (an enclosure)', and that e > i under nasal umlaut, possibly also further to be analyzed l-e', especially where referring to 'face, emotion' as under li' 1b., o-li' 2., 3., see l-thematic and 'e'~; forms with n- initial are attested only in Tlingitized place-names in the Yakutat area, ni'-, ne'-, ne:-, and M rejects proposed forms like *si:ni', *'u:ni'; other, more sporadic, variants also occu, which are more certain to be momentary lapses: yi', see y-le 2., and lu' under o-li' 1d., 1e., 4., clearly under the influence of o-lu' (lu'~nu'); regular variant -i' following -L- of reciprocal o 'iL- and L-classifier in GA-L-; the form li' also occurs once as a sporadic variant for lu: (24.72fnA), and as an established variant for lu' in li'shda:dGAdA'eh, q.v. under 'e~an3)*

li' *(preverb, attested with zero, -X, and (rarely) -ch' finals only)* 1a. deeply back into cavity, from open front end to back end of cavity, *with zero final only, frequent with postpositional phrases such as o-yAq' 'into o (not with broad opening at top), into o's mouth, o-yAX 'under o', o-qa' 'amongst, between o', o-sa'-X 'into o's mouth', or 'u:dAX '(along) there'*: **'uyAq' li' GAda'** stay (deep) inside it! *M,* **siyAX li' GAta'** put it (way in) under me! *M,* **'uyAq' li' k'u:Leh**, **'uyAq' li' GiLeh** hollow thing, pipe, it has a cavity inside *LM,* **sisa'X li' disLiqahGL** it fell into my mouth *L,* **'u:dAX 'Aw li' sALXa:dL** it (dog) dragged them (pieces of food, one by one) way back in (along) there *L,* **'uyAq' li' sahL** it went into it *M,* **'uyAq' li' Ga:'** go into it! *M, see also O-L-du'k', O-L-du' (49.39, 40A), O-L-te (28.21, 35, 112, 49.38A), O-(L-)ta (29.98fn, 27b.35, 40A), LA-t'ux (49.70A), O-tsu:x, d-L-k'a't' (5.3L, 10.5, 6, 34A), xahd 'uXAla'X li' dAtah, xahd 'uXAla'X li' dAya:', -q'e's, LA-q'e's, O-L-u'g~ 1a. (le'g~), y-le 2., tsin'd-le (72.2L), LA-'nik', -'ya 11., gdl-'ya 1., Xdl-'ya (23.25A, 38.22LM), -'a'ch' (20.26, 26A), -'a´ 5a., xut'LyAq' li' di:'ah, Gdl-'a´ 2., 'i-G-'a:w, -a (10.254, 18.26L, 25.79A); also, in reference to shallow cavities:* **qehX li' dAGAta'** shut the door tight! *L, with various postpositional phrases with reciprocal o, 'iL-ch' 'toward each other', 'iL-lah 'around each other', 'iL-t'a'-X '(movement) behind each other' in themes referring to folding, see O-'-(l-)(L-)ta, O-'-(l-)L-ya:n', and with 'iL-(l)u' li' qa', 'iL-(l)u' qa' li' 'up out deeply through each other' in themes referring to knotting, see o-d-gudj (72.16L) O-xwa'ch'-; also 'deeply into self' in certain themes referring to breathing in, swallowing down, but partly uncertain or inconsistent, cf. 1b. and o-li' 2., see O-Xd-Xahd 2., O-su:t', li' O-LA-'ni:q'.*

1b. indentation, dimple *(?, exact meaning uncertain, always with -X final), 'uxi:ya'Xda:d 'Awa: li'X wAX 'i:t'inhinh 'his chin is dimpled' M (-t'e´~-t'u´ 2e.), and with themes with l-anatomical 'head, face', l-t'e´~-t'u´ 1a. 'S be, become a certain way facially', l-le 1b. 'S act facially', meaning 'S laugh, smile', li'Xi:ni: 'laughter'; also in li'X*

di'GALA'u'G 'take a deep breath' L, but this form is probably indirect reflexive with zero reflexive o.

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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-)q' 'on o('s head)':* **k'u:na'q' li' tse:tl'** meat left on sealskin < slides down off head *LM,* **si:nna'q' li' tsAtl'g** it (scarf) keeps sliding down off my head *L,* **sitah siq' li' LqAtl'g** my skin is peeling (sliding down me) *L, o-q' li' -le'g~ 'S pet o (from head) toward tail', o-L-q' li' -le'g~ 'S pet o on head, from head toward tail' (-le'g~ 9.), perhaps also in 'Aw xut'L li' 'u'sALu'gL 'he pulled the trigger' 61.54A (see O-'-L-u'g under le'g~).*

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2b. way back, down onto impaling object (e.g. in hanging, puttin something on peg, nail, bolt onto screw, ring onto finger) *(always with zero final), usually with postpositional phrase o-XA-la'-X '(movement) hanging on, down over head of o'*: **k'uwahdjLXAla'X li' GAta'** hang it on a nail! *L,* **dAXAla'X li' 'iditahL** it's hanging (on something peg-like) *9.84, 86A,* **dAXAla'X li' 'AdAya:k'** they're (cust) hung (on something peg-like) *65.5fnA,* **dAkinhXAla'X li' xLya:k'** I (cust) hang them on a stick *65.21A,* **dAXAla'X li' qi'yiLah** you'll hang them up *65.41fnA,* **dAXAla'X li' qu'dAyah** they'll be hung up (e.g. on a nail) *L, see also O-(L-)'a 18d., 18e., 19., also in k'uts'i:nd'e'X li' dAxuLg 'bolt for screw' L.*

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3a. *With -X final, preceding other preverb qid 'down off, off edge, pointing at', li'X qid 'back from front edge, set back'*: **li'X qid GAda'** move (sitting, sidle) (from front edge) back (into back of area)! *L,* **li'X qid GALtin'inh** move him (child) back from edge! *L,* **li'X qich' Ga:L** he's going (from front side over and) down the back side (of hill) *L.*

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3b. *As above,* bay, *in certain place names in Yakutat area, sometimes with n- initial, ni'-, ne:-, also li'-, le'- from G, see also 3c.*: neex̣qhít (*or* -εε-) 'some small bay' *G (Harrington), Sampson Harry* nex̣qɑd tɑ̀ 'Sawmill Cove' *(Tlingit, < Eyak li'X qid), also in other place-names (?, calques) in Yakutat area from G in Harrington:* lí'x̣-qhɪt x̣'å't' 'bay island' **li'X qid x'át'** *(Tlingit, Eyak k'a't' 'island'),* ts'ά' lé'x̣qhít 'muddy bay' **ts'a' le'X qid** *(ts'a' 'alluvial mud'),* sáhs lí'x̣-qhít *(last í with parenthesized accent)* 'sea-otter bay' **sahs li'X qid** *(sahs 'sea otter'); completely unknown to and rejected by L in meaning 'bay'.*

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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:* ní'x̣x̣ɑqqɑtthɑ́ał, nɪɪx̣x̣ɑkkɑtthɑ́al 'little point on Contac Island' G (Harrington) *probably to be read* **ni'X…GAta:L** *perhaps < Eyak li'X GAta:L 'it (sg., unclassified) is moving into back, in back (?) downriver' (?, see 4.).*

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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 Alaksa 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, -X, and (rarely) -ch' finals,* downriver: *with zero final, 'movement in downriver direction'*: **li' 'iwe'** swim downstream! *M,* **li' GAqe:Linh** he's boating down *L, see also LA-dux 1., -qe (56.2L, 68.2, 3A), -Xa (68.18, 49A Xa2), li'lah (la~na1), gdl-'ya 1.,*

-'a´ 5a., li' gAli:'ah ('a´~'a'), with q'e'~q'e:- 'back, again': **q'e' li' sdiqehL** another S boated down *68.21A,* S boated back down *68.105A,* **q'e' li' sdiXahL** S (another group in fleet) boated down *68.20A; with -ch' final:* **li'ch' Ga:Linh** he's walking downriver *L; with -X final* downriver, movement in area downriver: **li'X GAta:Linh** he's taking it downriver *M,* **li'X 'Aw** (**ya:qa'**) **sALtahLinh** he took it (away) downriver *M,* **li'X 'iqe'** boat downriver! *L,* **li'X GAqe:L** he's boating downriver *L,* **li'X yAX da:Xinh** he's walking about downriver *L.*

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4b. *With -X final, as preceding, referring to ebbing of tide at river-mouth or shore*: **li'X LAduxg** tide keeps ebbing down a bit *L,* **li'X gAli:'ah** tide is going out *L.*

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4a. *With zero final,* down (from mountains) southward, *in* **Xa: li' 'i-d-('-)L-'a´** northwind comes down from over Chugach range.

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li'X qid *(place-name) Broken Oar Cove* < downstream off *G (Harrington). (Original Eyak for Tlingit ne:Xqid 'some small bay'.) (Cf. ts'a'li'Xqid under ts'a'.)*

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ni'X XAGAta:L *(place-name) little point on Contac Island* < carrying it downstream *G (Harrington) (Eyak origin of ne:XAGAta:L, Tlingitized with n- initial).*

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o-**li'** *(postposition) (attested with zero, -d, -X, -dAX, -ch' 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 -d final 'at rest'*: *25.58A,* **ya:yu:li'd** way in back behind the stuff *M,* **'Awli'd sAtahL** it's behind it *M,* **'Awli'd ya:n' GAta'** set it down behind it *L,* **sili'd sAtehLinh** he's lying on the wall side of me in bed *M,* **k'uli'd sAtahL** it's behind something *L,* **k'Ali'd sahL** it went behind something *L; with -X and -dAX finals 'movement within area': 23.98fnA,* **sili'X ya:n' GAte'** lie down on wall side of me! *M,* **k'uli'X sAtahL** it's behind something *L,* **sili'dAX** (**da:X**) **XAdla:sa'yahL** he rand by (across) right behind me *L,* **sili'dAX** (**'Ash**) **sahL** he went (completely) by behind me *L; with -ch' final 'continuous or repeated motion to', attested only in indirect reflexive constructions:* **li'ch' 'Aw LAya:k'inh** he (cust) stows it behind himself *23.97, 98fnA,* **li'ch' 'Aw GAdAta:Linh** he's putting it behind himself *L.*

1b. *With reciprocal o and -X final* motion in area back of each other *or perhaps* motion deeply within each other: **'iLi'X** (*or* **'iLli'X**) **'AdjahGL** saw it with backstitch not going over edge! *L (see also 1c.).*

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1c. *With XA- 'area' as o*: *with -d final:* **XAli'd** way in the back *L,* **XAli'd 'AwyAq' sAdahL** it's sitting at the innermost end inside of it *L, with -dAX final:* **XAli'dAX yAX da:X** it's walking about at the innermost end (of cavity) *L,* **XAli'dAX 'AdjahGL** sew it along inside from edge (with stitch that doesn't go over edge)! *L; compounded with o-d-'e'-q'-d:* **XAli'di:'q'd** way inside pipe, way under bed *L, compounded with o-L-ts'a:- 'on side of':* **XAli'Lch'a:d** on the behind, back side *L,* **XAli'Lch'a:X** (movement) on the behind, back side (of area, cavity) *L.*

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1d. *With GA-L- (G-thematic, L-classifier) 'of a series' as o, with -d final*: **GALli'd ya:** the hindmost, innermost one *L,* **'u:d GALu'd sAtahL** *(momentary lapse),* **'u:d GALi'd** (*or* **GALli'd**) **sAtahL** it's in innermost, hindmost position *L.*

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1e. *With indeterminate o, nominalized with -d final*: **dAli'd** sleeping-place, sleeping-room in smokehouse *L.*

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1f. *With ya: 'thing' as o, nominalized with -d final*: *Galushia Nelson* yá·lìt 'sleeping room' *BSdL 545* **ya:li'd** back room, sleeping room *LM, 11.131, 131A,* **ya:lu'd** *(momentary lapse, 11.131fnA),* **XAyAXd ya:yAli'd** *(probably to be corrected to ya:li'd)* in lower storey *L (probably to be glossed 'back room downstairs') L.*

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2. *With meaning* deeply into o (mouth): a. *with zero final, in indirect reflexive constructions only, uncertain, perhaps used preverbially, see li' O-LA-'ni:q' 'S swallow O' and O-su:t' 'S slurp O'.*

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2b. *Meaning as above, with XA- 'area' as o, compounded as o of o-ch'ahd 'from o'*: **XAli'ch'ahd qa:nch' di'LA'u'Gginh** he's sighing (repeatedly breathing up out from deeply inside) *L.*

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3. *In certain themes referring to 'dislike, hate, spite, anger against o':* a. *with zero final*: o-**li' 'i-d-L-a´** S hate o, be angry at o, o-**li' 'Ad-d-LA-a´** S pretend to hate, be angry at o, *articulated o-le' 51.33, 35, 84fnA.*

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3b. *As above, compounded as o of o-dahd '(with pressure) against o',* o-**li'-dahd** in spite of, to spite, in anger against o: **'ili'dahd wAX qu'xleh** I'll do thus to spite you *L,* **sili'dahd sahLinh** he left in a huff at me *M,* **sili'dahd Ga:Linh** he's leaving in a huff against, to spite me *M.*

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3c. *As above, with form di: of uncertain morphological and syntactic classification, either compounded as o of o-di: or with preverb di:*: o1-**li'**( )**di:** o2-**la'X d-'ya** o2 be, become angry at o1, *see under o-'ya 3a.,* o-**li' di: 'i-d-L-le** S be, become angry at o, *see 'i-d-le 2b. (le~(l)i~ni), form or phrase as o of o-ga' 'like o':* o-**li'**( )**di:ga' 'i-leh~-le:-**, *see 'i-leh~-le:- 2b. (le(')), articulated o-le' 10.210, 211A.*

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4. downriver, downstream, from further downriver than o, *attested only with XA- 'area' as o*: *with -d final:* **XAli'd wAX 'i:t'eh** he lives downriver *L,* **Xi:d XAli'd** way downstream there *M, with dA- 'ipse': Furuhjelm* Tehaliu 'river' *perhaps to be read* **dAXAli'**[**dd**]**uh** indeed downriver!, **dAXAli'd** downriver *L; compounded as o of o-L-ch'a:- 'side of o':* **XAli'Lch'a:d** (at rest) (on) downriver (side) *L,* **XAlu'Lch'a:X** from downriver *L, later corrected to* **XAli'Lch'a:X**, *to be glossed* (motion) on downriver side, *or further corrected to* **XAli'ch'ahd** from downriver.

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'a:li'LX *(form perhaps including o-li') see 'a:li'LX.*

'li'ts'

-'li'ts' *(not freely used, attested only in Active perfective)* S be, become wet: **sa'li'ts'L** it got wet *L.*

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dA-'li'ts' S be, become wet *(meaning not distinguished from that of preceding)*: **sdi'li'ts'L** it's wet, it got wet *L, 51.46A,* **sdi'li'ts'Linh** he (baby) is wet, wet self (with urine) *LM,* **xsdi'li'ts'L** I got wet *L,* **sdi'li'ts'L La'g** green wet wood *L,* **siXa' k'usdi'li'ts'L** my clothes got wet < something got wet "on", with me *L,* **qu'da'li'ts'** you'll get wet *L,* **qu'xda'li'ts'** I'll get wet *L,* **sdikusLyu: 'AdiX GALa:', q'e' GAda'li'ts'LGdAwa:** bring the laundry in before it gets wet again! *L,* **dA'u:d 'idi'li'ts'** never mind let it get wet *L, repetitive:* **da'li'ts'ginh** he keeps getting wet *L, with dl-class-mark for S:* **dla:sdi'li'ts'L** it (net) got wet *L. Transitive (causative):* **GALli'ts'** get it wet! *MA.*

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'Ad-dA-'li'ts' *(reflexive of unattested O-'li'ts' 'S wet O', dA-classifier perhaps in error for LA-)* S (baby) wet self (with urine): **'Adsdi'li'ts'Linh** he (baby) wet himself *L.*

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li'ts' *(noun, unclassified, gerundive)* dampness: **li'ts'ya:X** to prevent, avoid dampness *L.*

le *(with non-reduced form in Active perfective, perhaps related to or to be identified with le~(l)i~ni)*

d-dA-le *(with d-thematic 'oral, noise' and/or class-mark for S 'fire' thematized)* S (fire) sputter, fizzle, crackle *(supposed to be ancestors speaking)*: **disdilehL** it (fire) is sputtering, sputtered *LA,* **dAq'a:g dislilehL** fire is sputtering, sputtered, fizzled *(ancestors speaking) L,* **dAGAdAle:L** it (fire) is sputtering *A,* **dAq'a:g dAGAdAle:L** fire keeps sputtering (a long time) *L,* **dAq'a:g dAdAleh** fire is sputtering *L,* **qu'dAdAleh** it (fire) will sputter *A, repetitive:* **dAqa:yu: dAdAle:g** sometimes it (fire) sputters *L; see also d-dA-le, d-G-dA-le, d-G-leh, under le~(l)i~ni.*

le(')~li *(irregular stem, resembling Le('), to which it may be related; Rezanov le(') nine times, ne(') once; attested in three major themes: O-'-LA-le('), used in all mode-aspects, stem -le' in all forms except Neuter imperfective, in which the stem (positive) is -leh or (negative) -le:-G; qe'-le', used in all mode-aspects except Neuter, stem invariably -le'; and 'i-leh (negative 'i-le:-G), 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 other constructions)*

C O-**'-LA-le(')** *(freely used in all mode-aspects, stem -leh in Neuter imperfective (positive, -le:- in negative), elsewhere -le', cf. Le('), O-'-(l-)L-Xa')* S believe, think, reckon (rightly or wrongly), intend O to be C: *with noun as C:* **XAwa: q'Aw 'u'xLileh** I thought it was a dog *M,* **dik' ts'iyuh 'u'xLAle:G** I didn't think it was a bear *M,* **dik' ts'iyuh 'i'xLAle:G** I don't think you're a bear *M,* **ts'iyuh 'i'xsLile'L** I thought you were a bear *M,* **dik' ts'iyuh 'i'xsLAle'LG** I didn't think you were a bear *M,* **ts'iyuh 'u'GAxLAle'L** I'm beginning to think it's a bear *M,* **ts'iyuh xu'qu'LAle'** you'll think I'm a bear *M,* **ts'iyuhshgahX xu'GALilin'inh** I hope he thinks I'm a bear *M,* **'ita:' 'i'xsLile'L** I took you for your father *M; with postpositional phrases as C: 24.2A,* **'uqa:' 'ahnu: 'u'Lileh** he thinks they're his own people (of his kind) *L; with verb-phrase as C:* **dAxa:gL 'i'xLileh** I thought you were working *M,* **xdAxa:gL xu'Lilinhinh** he thinks I'm working *M, with k'u-indefinite O:* **xuqa'sheh k'u'Lilinhinh** he intends to kill me *L,* **'iqe'xsheh k'u'xLileh** I think I'll kill you *L,* **'ishishehL k'u'xLileh** I thought I'd killed you *L,* **dik' 'anh qu'xshehG k'u'xLileh** I thought I didn't kill him, I didn't intend to kill him *L; with dAleh (deverbalized form of d-le 'S say, act orally') as C:* **dAleh 'i'xLileh** 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'Xu: dAleh xu'qu'LAle'** don't stand on ceremony with me *L,* **'AXa: dik' dAleh k'u'LAle:Ginhshiyah, Li'q' ya:yu:wahd ch'a' dinhinh** my what nerve he has, helps himself to everything < he doesn't stand on ceremony with me … *L; with wAX 'thus' as C: 9.107, 10.198, 23.43fn, 147, 51.95A,* **q'e:dah wAX 'u'xLilinhinh 'u:da' quwinhinh** I *know* he'll go there < I simply believe (have faith, assume, take for granted) thus of him that he'll go there *L, with k'u-indefinite O: 47c.14L,* **wAX k'u'qu'LAle'** you'll think so *L,* **wAX k'u'Lilinhinh sisinhL** he thinks I'm dead < he thinks thus that I've died *L,* **wAX k'u'xLileh** I think so, thus I believe *L; with o-X, attested only with pronoun as o,* S be, become aware of o, *attested only from L, with third person O, perhaps to be*

corrected to k'u-indefinite, thus S think something be o, S be, become aware of existence of o, *cf. o-X k'u-Le('), cf. also o-X k'u-d-L-ch'a:q' 'S hear of o', o-X djAX O-L-'ya 'S hear o at distance'):* **'uX 'u'xLileh** I know about it, I heard about it, I'm aware of it *L,* **dik' 'uX 'u'xLAle:G** I don't know about it, I've not heard about it *L,* **'uX 'u'xsLile'L** I found out about it *L,* **'uX qu'xLAle'** I'll find out about it *L,* **dAtli: 'iX 'u'xLileh** I already heard about (what) you (did) *L, with wAX perhaps mistranscribed for 'uX:* **wAX 'u'xLileh da:Xshuh wAX qu'xLih** if presumably I had realized that I would have done thus to it *(ambiguous in Eyak as in English) L,* **dik' wAX 'u'xLile:Gduh** I didn't realize that! *L,* **dik' wAX 'u'xLAle:Gduh wAX siLiL** I did it unintentionally < indeed I wasn't aware of it, indeed I didn't thing to I did thus to it *L, Rezanov* Тыкахуакохлиннекту 'Ненарочно unvorsätzlich' **dik'** (**'uX**… *or* **wAX**) **k'u'xLAne:Gduh**, Тыкохкоохлилекъ 'Никому' *(not in Radlov, 'to no one'),* Тыкохкохлилюкъ 'Ничего недѣлаю ich mache nichts' **dik' wAX** (*or* **'uX**) **k'u'xLAle:G** I don't think so (*or* I wasn't aware of it), Хохлилекъ 'Не умѣю ich verstehe nicht', Гохлелекъ 'Не знаю ich verstehe nicht' *both probably to be read* [**dik' wA**]**X** (*or* [**dik' 'u**]**X**) **'u'xLAle:G** I don't think so (of it) *or* I'm not aware of it, **… k'u'xLAle:G** I don't think so, I'm not aware of it; *reflexive: with o-yAX 'under o':* **'a'd 'iyAX 'Adu'xLileh** I sure envy, admire you *(a compliment, you did better than I)* < I consider myself very much under you *L, with o-Xa' 'in intimate relation with o':* **'iXa' 'Adu'xLileh** I thought myself (right there) with you *L, with o-Xa' and ya:X, probably to be analyzed ya: 'something, a thing, something or other' as o of o-X as with non-reflexive above:* **'iXa' ya:X 'Adu'xLileh** I really appreciate your (kind and unexpected) favor *L,* **'uXa' ya:X 'Adu'xsLile'L** I sure appreciate his unexpected favor *L.*

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qe'-le' *(< qa' 'i-le', with preverb qa' 'up out', here 'emergence, awakening, awareness', fused with verb proper, always umlauted by 'i-prefix of verb which is never overt as such (cf. qe'-dl-LA-a´ under a´2); k'u-indefinite S occurs before qe', rather than after, in all spontaneous forms; attested in all mode-aspects expect Neuters; stem sometimes analogically -leh from M, also, though more rarely, from L)* 1. *With o-lah 'around o, concerning o'* a. S love, like o < S have, get emergent, feelings, emotional awareness concerning o: *Active imperfective:* **'ilah qe'xleh**, **'ilah qe'xle'** *(former analogical, less frequent)* I love you *LM,* **dik' 'ilah qe'xle:G** *M (analogical),* **dik' 'ilah qe'xle'G** I don't love you *L,* **si'uGLlAyAq'Ach'ahd 'ilah qe'xleh** I love you with all my heart < I love you from inside my heart *L,* **'Al si'uGL 'ich' qu'li:x'ah 'idA'ilah qe'xleh** I'd give you this heart of mine I love you so *L (standard expressions, stem analogical),* **'ilah da: qe'le'** we love you *L,* **'ulah qe'xle'** I love it *M, Rezanov* Улякехуленъ 'Любить lieben' **'ulah qe'xwlin'inh**, Улякесли 'Люблю ich liebe' *probably to be read* **'ulah qe'xlin'inh** *(not -linhinh L)* I love him *LM, Khromchenko* Хуля накукнѣ 'Я люблю' **xu:**[**'u**]**lah** (**-nah**) **qe'xwneh** *I* love it, **qi' 'i:sinhch' silah qe'lin'inh** he loved me till he died *L,* **'ilah qe'qAlin'inu:** they love you *M,* **'ulah q'e' qu'xdAle'** I love it again *M, with k'u-indefinite S:* **silah qe'k'ule'** *L (not spontaneous, elicited as acceptable alternative to following),* **silah k'uqe'le'** somebody loves me *LM,* **'ilah k'uqe'le'** somebody loves you *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **'ulah qe'qe'xle'** I'll love it *M,* **'ulah qe'qe'xlin'inh** I'll make up with him *L,* **'ulah q'e' qe'qe'xdAle'** I'll love it again *M,* **'ilah qe'qe'xle'** I'll love you *M,* **dik' 'ilah qe'qe'xle:G** I won't love you *M (stem analogical),* **qi"ixisinhch' 'ilah qe'qe'xleh** I'll love you till I die *L (stem analogical),* **'ulah qe'qe'yilin'inu:** you shall love them *61.15A, with k'u-indefinite S:* **'ilah k'uqe'qe'leh** somebody will love you *L (stem analogical), Active perfective:* **'ulah qe'sile'L** I fell in love with it *M,* I got to like it *L,* **'ulahshunh qe'sAle'L** did you make up with him? *L,* **'ilah qe'siliL** I loved you *M (stem confused with le-),* **'ulah qe'sile'Linh** I loved him *L, Inceptive perfective:* **'ulah qe'GAxle'L** I'm getting to like it *L,* **'ulah qe'GAxle'Linh** I'm getting to love him *L,* **'ilah qe'GAxle'L** 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:* **'iLlah qe'dAlin'inu:** they love each other *LM,* **'iLlah qe'GAlAXdAle'** pl. love each other! *L, with o-tl' 'with o':* **'ahnu:tl' 'iLlah qe'sdile'L** they fell in love with each other *(of one man and two*

women) 47b.16fnM, **'utl' 'iLlah** (*or* **'iLah**) **qe'xdAlinhinh dAXunh** my friend < person with whom I love each other *L (stem analogical).*

1b. *Indirect reflexive, with o-Xa' 'in intimate relation with o',* S be, become disappointed, have, get feelings hurt by o: **siXa' lah qe'dAlin'inh** I hurt his feelings *L,* **'uXa' lah qe'qe'xdAlin'inh** I'll get hurt feelings over, disappointed by him *L,* **'uXa' lah qe'xsdile'Linh** I got my feelings hurt, disappointed by him *L,* **'uXa' lah qe'GAxdAle'Linh** I'm getting disappointed, hurt by him *L.* < S have, get emergent feeling, emotional awareness concerning self over o

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2a. *With o-Xa'X '(movement within area) close by o',* S watch (over), be attentive to, be careful with, care for, take care of, remember o: *Active imperative:* **'uXa'X qe'i:le'** be careful with it! *L,* **'uXa'X qe'i:lin'inh** take care of him! *L, with o-wa:LX 'by careful attention to o':* **'Awa:LX 'uXa'X qe'i:lAXle'** pl. take good care of them! *21b.72A; Inceptive imperfective:* **k'udzu:dah 'iXa'X qe'qe'xle'** I'll take good care of you *49.103A,* **k'udzu:dah siXa'X qe'qe'yile' da:X** if you'll take good care of me *49.106A,* **'uXa'X qe'qe'xle'** I'll be careful with it *L,* **'uXa'X qe'qe'xlin'inh** (*or* **-linhinh**) I'll take care of him, I'll watch him *L,* **siXa'X qe'qe'lin'inh** 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 *M,* **dik' 'iXa'X da: q'e' qe'qe'dAle'G** we won't watch you any more *M,* **'idAGAxa:L 'uXa'X qe'qe'xle'** I'll watch my step (how I'm going) *L,* **dik' 'iXa'X qe'qe'xle'G** I won't watch you *A,* **dik' 'iXa'X qe'qe'xle'Ginh** I won't pay any attention to him *A,* I won't watch him *L, with k'u-indefinite S:* **'iXa'X k'uqe'qe'le'** somebody will take care of you *L, with o-wa:LX 'by close attention to o':* **'uwa:LX 'uXa'X qe'qe'xle'** I'll remember it *M, Active imperfective:* **'AwXa'X qe'le'** he's taking care of them (cows) *51.41, 41A,* **'ahnu:Xa'X qe'le'** they (doctors) took care of him *61.52A,* **dik' 'AwXa'X qe'le'Ginh** she doesn't pay any attention to it *49.50A,* **'uXa'X qe'xle'** I'm watching it *M,* **'uXa'X qe'lin'inh** he's babysitting him *M,* **'uXa'X qe'xlin'inh** I'm watching him *A,* **dik' 'uXa'X qe'xle'Ginh** I'm not watching him *A,* **siXa'X qe'lin'inh** he's watching over me *M,* **di'wAXshuw 'uXa'X qe'i:leh** do you remember it? *M (stem analogical), with k'u-indefinite S: 10.162A,* **k'udzu:dah 'uXa'X k'uqe'le'** they (one) took good care of, kept careful watch over her *25.39fnA, Active optative:* **'idAGi:ya:LXa'X k'a' qe'lile'** you should watch your step (how you're going) *L, Active subjunctive:* **sAqe:GAyu:Xa'X 'uXa' qe'i:xle'X sitl' dAlinhinh** he told me to babysit his children *L,* **sAqe:GAyu:Xa'X qe'i:xle'X 'ixleh** I want to babysit children *L, customary:* **k'uXa'X qe'le:k'** she would (cust) watch people *46.1M; transcribed with -g-repetitive, perhaps in error, Active perfective:* **gahXye'X 'uXa'X qe'sile'gL** I watched him all day *M,* **XAtl'ye'X 'uXa'X qe'sile'gL** I watched him all night *M; indirect reciprocal:* **'iLXa'X qe'lAXdAle'**, **'iLXa'X qe'GAlAXdAle'** pl. take care of each other! *L (Active and Inceptive imperatives).*

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2b. *With o-d-Xa'X (as above, with d-thematic, 'oral, noise')* S heed, listen carefully to, obey o: **'a'd k'udzu:dah 'udAXa'X da: qe'lin'inh** we pay very close attention to what he says *51.15A,* **dik' 'anhdAXa'X qe'le:G** she didn't pay any attention to him (what he said) *10.159A,* **dik' sidAXa'X qe'yile:G** you didn't heed me *15.24fnM (prefix and stem-form analogical),* **dik' 'uma:dAXa'X qe'le'Ginh** he doesn't obey his mother *M,* **'idAXa'X qe'qe'xle'** I'll heed you *M,* **dik' 'idAXa'X qe'qe'xle'G** I won't heed you *M,* **'idAXa'X da: qe'qe'le'** we'll heed you *M, with k'u-indefinite S:* **dik' 'udAXa'X q'e' qe'k'udAle'Ginh** *L (not spontaneous),* **dik' 'udAXa'X q'e' k'uqe'dAle'Ginh** no one heeds him, pays attention to him (what he says) anymore *L, 10.162A,* **sidAXa'X k'a' qe'i:lile'** you should mind what I say *L,* **sidAXa'X qe'i:lile'wahd** so that you'll mind me *L,* **dik' 'uma:dAXa'X qe'le:k'Ginh** he (cust) doesn't mind his mother *M,* **dik' 'udAXa'X da: qe'le:k'G** we (cust) didn't heed him *51.13, 14A.*

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qe'-le' *(gerundive)* 1. *Of preceding, 2a. 'caring for, watching over o'*: **sAqe:GAyu:Xa'X qe'le' xuGALga'L** I'm getting tired of babysitting < watching over children is tiring me *L.*

2. *Of preceding, 1a., indirect reciprocal,* love *in compound* **'iLlah qe'dAle' t'ahL** love-leaf *(leaf from which love-potion was made) L.*

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'i-leh~-le:- *(negative 'i-le:-G, positive very rarely 'i-le:, negative very rarely 'i-leh-G; 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-'-LA-le(') (and Le(')); first person singular, for example, 'ixleh, not *xileh, negative 'ixle:G, not *'a'xle:G, with dA-classifier 'ixdAleh, 'ixdAle:G, not *('i)xdileh, *'a'xdAle:G; themes very frequently with postpositional phrase o-Xa' '(in (intimate) relation) with o', with which the verb proper coalesces, in all but unusually slowed or careful style, in close sandhi (the -Xa' being umlauted to -Xe', and the 'i- usually dropping))* S be in state of mind: 1. *With certain postpositional phrases referring to motion:* a. *with o-ch' 'toward o'* S want to go to o: **djiLqahya'ch' 'ixleh** I want to go to Chilkat *L,* **'u:ch' 'ixleh** I want to go there *L,* **'u:ch' q'e' 'ixdAleh** I want to go back there *L,* **k'a't'q'Ach'a' q'e' 'idAlinhinu:** they wanted to go back to the island *57.11G,* **k'a't'q'Ach' q'e' 'idAle:k'inu:** they (cust) wanted to go back to the island *57.7G, indirect reflexive:* **'Ad'e'ch' q'e' 'ixdAleh** I want to go back home *L.*

1b. *With o-ka' 'along with o'*: **du: 'Awa:d lAXa: sika' leh** (*should probably be corrected to* **sika' 'ilah** *or* **sike'leh**) which one of you wants to go with me? *L.*

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2. *With certain other postpositional phrases:* a. *with o-l-lah 'around o's head',* S respect o: **'u:nah 'ixlinhinh** I think the world of him, I respect him *L.*

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2. *With o-li'( )di:ga' 'anger, spite toward o'*: **'ili'**( )**di:ga' 'ixleh** I'm somewhat peeved at you *L,* **'anhli'**( )**di:ga' 'ilinhinh** he's mad at him *L.*

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3a. *With o-Xa' '(in (intimate) relation) with o' (see also 4. through 7. below),* S like 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'linhinh** he likes me *L, indirect reciprocal and with o-tl' 'with o':* **sitl' 'iLXe'dAlinhinh** my sweetheart < he who likes one another with me *L, indirect reflexive:* **Xa' 'i-dA-leh** S like self, be proud, conceited, snobbish, uppity, dandy, dressed up, elegantly or foppishly dressed: **Xe'dAlinhinh** he's stuck-up, snobbish, all dressed up, dressed foppishly *L,* **Xe'xdAleh** I'm proud of myself *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **Xe'qe'xdAle'** (*corrected from* **Xa'qe'xdAleh**, **Xe'qu'xdAleh**) I'll get dresssed fancy *L (forced elicitation, L much prefers Xe'qe:lihxdAt'uh),* **'AXa: Xe'dAlinhinhshiyah** what a dandy, fop he is! *L, Rezanov* Тычкоатхетгетельни 'Щеголь, Щеголина eitel' *probably to be read* **Lich' gwah 'a'd Xe'd-Xe'dAlinhinh** *or* **Lich' gwah 'AdXe'd- Xe'dAlinhinh** every day he's very dressed-up.

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3b. *Indirect reflexive with ch'a' 'toward self' and o-Xa'*: **ch'a' 'AwXe'dAlinhinu:** they want it for themselves *28.102A.*

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3c. *With o-ga' 'like o' and o-Xa'*: **'a'd 'a:nd siqi:dAyAxdga' 'iXe'xleh** I'm so mad at you! < I have you emotionally very much like here under my feet *L.*

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4. *With certain adverbs:*: **wAX 'i:leh da:X** if you want to, if you're thus inclined *L, 10.190A (Neuter conditional),* **'idehdah wAX 'ileh** he was quite willing *15.3M; with 'wAX and o-Xa' '(in (intimate) relation) with o':* **wAX 'ahnu:Xe'linhinh** they like him somewhat *9.134A,* **dik' wAX 'ile:G, dik' wAX 'AwXe'le:G, 'udAGe:' k'uch' 'i:Lteh** isn't willing, isn't inclined toward that,

to give her little sister away to anyone *9.83A,* **dik' wAX 'anhXe'le:Ginh** he doesn't care for, want her *33.80A.* a. *with 'wAX 'thus'*

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4b. *With 'idah 'nicely, well, alright, fairly'*: *Rezanov* Итаихле 'Радюсь, Радь froh, fröhlich' **'idah 'ixleh** I'm pretty happy, in a good mood, Итаильни *(-льни written over crossed-out лле, or perhaps me, see t'e´~t'u´)* 'Радоваться froh sein, sich freuen' **'idah 'ilinhinh** (*or* **'idah 'ileh**) he's happy *L,* is in a fine mood *27a.41L; with o-Xa',* S be happy with o, S like o: **dik' 'idah 'AwXe'le:G** doesn't care for that, didn't like it much *34.12M,* **'idah siXe'linhinh** he likes me *L,* **dik' 'idah siXe'le:Ginh** he doesn't like me, isn't happy with me *L,* **'idahsh siXe'lAXleh** do you pl. like me? *L.*

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4c. *With k'usha:dah 'badly'*: **k'usha:dah 'ilinhinh** he's in a bad mood, he's angry, mad *L; with o-Xa':* **k'usha:dahsh siXa' yileh** are you mad at me? *L.*

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4d. *With k'udzu:dah 'well' and o-Xa'*: **k'udzu:dah siXe'linhinh** he likes me *L,* **tli:XAtl' k'udzu:dah siXe'linhinh** he liked me fine last night *L, indirect reciprocal:* **k'Adzu:** (*should probably be corrected to* **k'Adzu:dah**) **'iLXa' q'e' 'idilinhinu:** they like each other again *16.19M.*

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4e. *With 'AdAwi'L 'excitement, hurry, war'*: **'AdAwi'L 'ixleh** I'm in a hurry *L.*

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4f. *With 'AnahshAkih 'fun, pleasure', attested only with o-Xa', o-Xa' following 'AnahshAkih where o is pronoun, preceding where o is other than pronoun,* S like o (unqualifiedly): (1) *with pronoun as o:* (1a). *frequently with appositive noun as prologue or epilogue:* **'AnahshAkih** o-**Xe'leh** likes o: *9.68, 73, 92, 10.120, 49.6, 7, 51.29A, 54.3fnG,* **'AnahshAkih siXe'linhinh** he loves me *L,* **dik' 'AnahshAkih siXe'le:Ginh** he doesn't love me *L,* **dik' 'AnahshAkih** o-**Xe'le:G** doesn't like o *9.73, 74, 10.267A, 34.56M, 54.14G, 60.32A,* **dik' 'AnahshAkih 'anhXa' 'idAle:G** he doesn't like her anymore *23.110, 110fnA,* **la'mahd 'AnahshAkih 'ulAXe'xleh** *M,* **la'mahd 'AnahshAkih 'ulAXAXe'xleh** I like berries < berries I like them *L,* **'AnahshAkih 'uXe'xleh** *L, 42.1L,* **'AnahshAkih 'uXa' 'ixleh** I like it *M,* **dik' 'AnahshAkih 'uXe'xle:G** I don't like it *A,* **dik' la'mahd 'AnahshAkih 'ulAXe'xle:G** I don't like berries *M,* **dik' 'AnahshAkih 'iXa' q'e' 'ixdAle:G** I don't like you anymore *L,* **sLi'mahdL sALmahdL dik' 'AnahshAkih 'uXe'xle:G** 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' 'Aw sALmahdL sLi'mahdLXa' 'AnahshAkih 'ixle:G),* **de: 'Awa:duh 'AnahshAki 'uXe'i:leh, na:w da:X giyah** which do you like (better), whiskey or beer? *L,* **'AnahshAkih 'uXe'yileh** you like it *51.25A,* **dik' 'AnahshAkih 'uXe'yile:G** you don't like it *10.269A (form of second person pronoun prefix perhaps incorrect, analogical, or incorrectly transcribed in these allegro forms, better perhaps -Xe'i:l-),* **'AnahshAkih 'iXa' dä: 'ileh** we like you *L,* **'AnahshAkih 'uXe'lAXleh** you pl. like it *9.141A;* (1b.) *negative, with optative verb clause in apposition with o ('u-, 'Aw- 'it, that')* S don't like, want it, that … should …: **dik' 'AnahshAkih 'uXe'le:G** (*or* **'AwXe'le:G**): *2b.3L, 9.101, 10.267, 23.40, 33.61, 49.25, 27, 51.25A,* **dik' 'AnahshAkih 'uXe'xle:G 'ulah yAX 'Adi:lih'ixLi'yah** I don't want, like to think about it *L, positive:* **'AnahshAkih 'uXe'xleh 'ulAX 'i:nxiL'eh** I'd like to see it < I want it that I should see it *71.4LM,* **'AnahshAkih 'AwXe'linhinh 'Awa: 'ixdixa:gL** he wants me to work for him < he wants, likes that I should work for him *L,* **'AnahshAkihshuh 'AwXe'lAXleh lAXa: 'ixdixa:gL** do you pl. want me to work for you? *L;* (1c.) *with appositive clause in imperfective,* S like (the fact) that… do …: **'AnahshAkih 'AwXe'linhinh 'Awa: xdAxa:gL** he likes the work I do for him < he likes it that I'm working for him *L,* **lAX k'u:t'e: 'AnahshAkih 'uXe'xleh** I like this weather < I like (the fact) that something's this way *M, negative: 9.73A;* (2) *with form other than pronoun as o of o-Xa' (tighter syntax, much less frequent than preceding type of construction, especially in text): with noun as o of o-Xa':* **la'mahd-lAXa' 'AnahshAkih 'ixleh** I like berries *M, with gerundive as o of o-Xa': 44.1L,* **na:w dAlahXa'**

'AnahshAkih 'ilinhinh he likes to drink whiskey *L,* **'u:d 'isda:lXa' 'AnahshAkih 'ilinhinh** he likes to sit there *L,* **GAlAta:lXa' 'AnahshAkih 'ixleh** I like life *L,* **yAX 'iswe:XXa' 'AnahshAkih 'ixleh** I like swimming (about) *L,* **yAX 'isqe:XXa' 'AnahshAkih 'ixleh** I like boating (about) *L, with optative verb-clause subordinated as o of o-Xa':* **dik' 'AwXa' k'u:nliLyahXa' 'AnahshAkih 'ile:Ginh** she didn't want to interfere with them *46.8M,* **'a:nd xu'ya:yiLqahXa' 'AnahshAkih 'ixleh** I want to camp here *L,* **sahdX GAla:xitahXa' 'AnahshAkih 'ixleh** I want to (that I should) like a long time *L; indirect reciprocal: 54.14G,* **dik' 'AnahshAkih 'iLXa' 'idAle:Ginu:** they don't like each other *L,* **'AnahshAkih 'iLXa' 'idAlinhinu:** they like each other *L.*

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4g. *As above, customary (Neuter)*: **'AnahshAkih 'uXe'le:k'** they (cust) like it *51.29A.*

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4h. *Mode-aspects other than Neuter imperfective or customary, from M only, some probably incorrect, with analogical stem-form, and others with le-, certainly incorrect*: **'Aw la'mahd 'AnahshAkih 'ulAXa' qe'yileh** you'll like those berries *M,* **'AnahshAkih 'uXa' 'iqe'xleh** I'll like it *M,* **dik' 'AnahshAkih 'uXa' 'iqe'xle:G** I won't like it *M,* **'AnahshAkih 'uXa' 'iGAxle:L** I'm getting to like it *M,* **'AnahshAkih 'uXa' 'isiliL** I liked it *M,* **dik' 'AnahshAkih 'uXa' 'ixsliLG** (*or* **'ixsle'LG**) I didn't like it *M,* **'AlAshgahX 'AnahshAkih 'uXe'iGi:linhinh** I hope he likes it *M (but "sounds too short", better 'AlAshgahX 'AnahshAkih 'uXe'i:lihGi:linhinh, see 'i:lih-~-:lih- below).*

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5. *With subordinate subjunctive verb-clauses* a. *where S of sbjunctive verb is the same person as S of 'i-leh*: (1) *where subjunctive is intransitive (verb with o-Xa'):* **'AwlAXa:n' q'e' yAGAdAle:X 'ileh** they want to get revenge for it *28.132A,* **'anhXa' wAX 'a't'u:X 'ileh** wanted to marry (live with) her *42.1L,* **'u'ehdk'ah Ga:X 'ileh** wanted to leave his wife *47a.1L,* **'ulAX 'iGuxL'e:X 'ixleh** I want to see him *M, Rezanov* Утльтиихкуакъ эхулле 'Солгать lügen' **'utl' di:xgwAG**[**X**] **'ixwleh** I want to lie to him, **dik' 'ulAX 'iGuxL'e:X 'ixle:G** I don't want to see him *M,* **GAxLA'AshgX 'ixleh** I want to sneeze *L,* **dik' GAxLA'AshgX 'ixlehG** I don't want to sneeze *L,* **GALA'AshgXsh 'i:leh** do you want to sneeze? *L,* **q'e' 'ixda:X 'ixleh** I want to go home *L,* **q'e' 'i:da:X 'i:leh** you want to go home *L,* **ya' 'Ada:X 'ilinhinh**, **ya:n' GAda:X 'ilinhinh** he wants to sit down *L,* **dik' ya:n' 'Axda:X 'ixlehG** I don't want to sit down *L,* **ya' 'Axte:X 'ixleh**, **ya:n' GAxte:X 'ixleh** I want to lie down *L,* **'Axtsu'dX 'ixleh**, **GAxtsu'dX 'ixleh** *(former preferred)* I want to sleep *L,* **ch'iyahd da'lAGAxLXahX 'ixleh** I (man or woman) want to get married *L,* **'i:xgahX 'ixleh** I want to dance *L,* **yAX 'AxdAwe:X 'ixleh** I want to go swimming *L,* **sAqe:GAyu:Xa'X qe'i:xle'X 'ixleh** I want to babysit *L,* **GAxLA'e:X 'ixleh** I (woman) want to get married *L,* **dik' 'ulah yAX 'Adi:lih'AxLa'ya:X 'ixle:G** I don't want to think about it *M, for further examples see da, te, tsu'd~tsuhd;* (2) *where subordinate subjunctive is transitive, without o-Xa':* **k'uGuxdAla:X 'ixleh** I want to drink something *M,* **dik' k'uGuxdAla:X 'ixle:G** I don't want to drink anything *M,* **'Aw 'AxdAla:X** (*or* **GAxdAla:X**, *former preferred, not* ***'ixdAla:X**) **'ixleh** I want to drink it *L,* **'Aw qAGAshe:X 'ileh** they want to kill it, it wants, they want to kill them *L,* **'ahnu: GAshe:X 'ilinhinh** they want to kill him *56.21L,* **xu:she:X q'unhAw 'ileh** he wants to kill me *L,* **xuGAshe:X 'ileh** they want to kill me *20.69fnA,* **k'u:she:k'**[**X**] **'ileh** they want to kill things *20.69fnA,* **GAxLda:sgX 'ixleh** I want to weigh it *L,* **li:xduhX 'ixleh** I want to flesh skin *L,* **ya:n' 'Adla:GAxLa'ya:X 'ixleh** I want to fall over *L (reflexive),* **'Aw Xu' GALya:X 'ilinhinh** he wants to find (it) out *L,* **k'u'xLte:Xsh 'ixleh** I want to be carrying something *72.39fnL (poetic),* **'Aw Xa:na:X 'ileh** he wants to eat it *L,* **'Aw Xa:xa:X** (*or* **XAGAxa:X**) **'ixleh** I want to eat it *L,* **'u'lAGAxLgahX 'ixleh** I want to learn it *L,* **dAGAxLAdehX 'ixleh** I want to have it (linguistic skill) *L;* (3) *with o-Xa', relatively rare, and only where subordinate subjunctive is transitive:* **di:xLda'ch'X 'uXe'xleh** I want to drown it *L,* **k'ut'a' 'a'xLt'u:X 'uXe'xleh** I want to use it *L,* **'ich' 'Axta:X 'uXe'xleh** I want to give it to you *L,* **'u'lAGAxLgahX 'uXe'xleh** I'd like to know him *L.*

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5b. *Where S of subjunctive verb, transitive or intransitive, is different person from that of 'i-leh*: (1) *with o-Xa', where o of o-Xa' is same person as S of subjunctive verb, reinforcing change of S from that of 'i-leh:* **dAGi:che:X 'iXe'xleh** I want you to be hungry *L,* **dAGAxche:X siXa' 'ilinhinu:** they want me to be hungry *L (see further instances under che´),* **dla:ch'e:ga' GAle:X 'uXe'xleh** I want it to turn red *M,* **wAX GAle:X 'uXe'xleh** I want it to happen, do thus *L,* **siya: 'ulAXa:n' yAGi:le:X 'iXe'xleh** I want you to avenge them for me *34.74M,* **Gi:she:X 'iXe'xleh** I want you to kill it *L,* **Gi:she:X 'iXe'xlinhinh** I want you to kill him *L,* **qAGi:she:X 'iXe'xleh** I want you to kill them *L;* (2) *with o-Xa' lacking, relatively rare:* **dAXu' ya:X dAGi:le:X 'ixleh** I want you to tell the truth *L,* **'a:nd xu'yAGALqa:X '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).*

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6. *With subordinate verb in optative, much less frequently than in subjunctive, same meaning, and perhaps incorrect; use of o-Xa' perhaps same as in construction with subordinate verb in subjunctive, but o-Xa' apparently more frequently present with no change of S and more frequently absent with change of S*: **dla:Xidu' 'uXe'xleh** I want to caulk it *L,* **'ich' 'ixitah 'uXe'xleh** I want to give it to you *L,* **dik' q'e' 'idiki:nX 'iXe'xle:G** I don't want you to cry anymore *M,* **dik' xu:liqahG 'AwXe'xleh** "don't looks like he goona bite me" *L (with rare negative optative, 'I want that it not bite me'),* **da: yAX 'idi'a'ch'sh 'i:leh** do you want to take a walk? < do you want that we should walk about? *L.*

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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-Xa' present where subordinate is transitive*: **ya' 'ixida:X 'ixleh** I want to stay seated *L,* **ya' 'ixite:X 'ixleh** I want to lie down *L,* **'i:xigahX 'ixleh** I want to dance *L,* **dik' 'i:xigahX 'ixle:G** I don't want to dance *L,* **la:xiduhX 'uXe'xle:**, **lAGAXiduhX 'uXe'xle:** I want to flesh it (skin) *L.*

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8. *With subordinate verb in Active perfective*: **di'wAX sidahL 'ixleh** I want to stay seated *L ('I want yet that I am seated' cf. Eyak Texts 20.54, 55fn).*

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'i:lih-~-:lih- *(form of Neuter theme 'i-leh incorporated as prefix in other verb-themes, in position immediately following that of Inceptive imperfective prefix qu'-: qu' + -lih- > qe:lih-, with prefix O of transitive verbs: xu-, 'i-, k'u-, lAXi-, 'Ad-, + -:lih > xu:lih-, 'i:lih-, k'u:lih-, lAXi:lih-, 'Adi: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 -Li) and -t'e´~-t'u´ in same themes as Neuter imperfective 'i-leh, adding little or nothing to the meaning but serving as bearers of mode-aspect inflection; o-t'a' 'i:lih-(dA-)ta 'sg. S depend on o', o-t'a' 'i:lih-qu 'pl. S depend on o', 'i:lih-LA-ts'an´ 'S be, become emotionally strong', 'i:lih-LA-ch'a:nG 'S be, become emotionally weak', 'i:lih-ch'e:k' 'S be, become irascible, cross-grained', 'Ashdih 'Ad-'i:lih-LA-Xa´ 'S lose consciousness', o-X 'i:lih-LA-'a:t' 'S be, become enamoured of o', o-ch'ahd yAX 'i:lih-'ya, o-Xa' ya' 'i:lih-'ya 'S be disappointed in, by o', o-ch'ahd 'i:lih-'ya 'S give o good luck', o-ch'a:X 'i:lih-'ya 'S be in favor of o', 'Ad-'i:lih-LA'ya 'S think'.*

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'i:li:-~'i:lih- *(morphological classification uncertain, variant of preceding occurring apparently in postpositional phrases, probably with zero allomorph of reflexive o)* 1. **'i:li:X** *(probably to be analyzed 'Ad-'i:li:-X, with postposition o-X)* intention, attempt, pretense, *usually followed by q'-emphatic and usually requiring vocalization of classifier in verb*

theme: *clearly vocalizing classifier:* **'i:li:X (q'unhAw) xuqu'yALAtsAXinh** he tried to cut my hand *L (cf. xuqu'yi:LtsAXinh 'he'll cut my hand'),* **'i:li:X q'Aw XAxdah** I make a stab at, desultory effort at eating it, pretend to eat it *L (cf. XAxah 'I'm eating it'),* **'i:li:X XAdla:GAda'ya:Linh** he's trotting, jogging, running slowly along *L (cf. XAdla:Ga'ya:Linh 'he's running along'),* **'i:li:X q'unh xuqu'dAsheh** he intends to kill, me, he's trying to get me killed *L (perhaps passive xuqu'dAsheh 'that I'll be killed'); with verb themes with vocalic classifier without 'i:li:X:* **'i:li:X q'unh q'e' GAda:L** he's trying (e.g. drunk) to walk home *L,* **'i:li:X q'unh ditl'a'g 'Adu'Ligah** he's making believe he can read *L,* **'i:li:X q'unhAw 'uli' 'Adqu'di:xLah** I'll pretend I don't like him *L; with classifier not vocalized, perhaps incorrect:* **'i:li:X q'unh sitl' li'X lAleh** he made a token effort to smile at me *M (perhaps to be corrected to lAdAleh),* **'i:lih q'unhAw Lanhd wAX Lih** he pretends he can smoke *L (perhaps to be corrected to LAleh),* **'i:li:X q'unh dAXunhyu:ga' tsin'dAleh** he pretends he can talk Eyak (talk like people) *L (perhaps to be corrected tsin'dAdAleh).*

2a. **yAX 'i:lihxa' dAxda'ya:X** "I'm hungry for something but don't know what" *L, basic theme d-'ya with yAX-progressive, requiring dA-classifier, perhaps also, with zero allomorph of reflexive o, indirect reflexive with 'Ad-'i:lih-xa', or indirect reflexive with 'Ad-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.*

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2b. **dA'a: 'i:lihXa:n' k'uGALa'yah da:X 'a:nda' q'e' qa'dinhinh** when he gets over it himself he'll come back here *L, to be analyzed as preceding, 'Ad-'i:lih-Xa:n', or 'Ad-Xa:n' (o-Xa:n' 'entire length of o'), or Xa:n' (preverb, 'completion, equilibrium').*

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'i:lih *(used preverbially instead of incorporated in verb, apparently rare)* emotionally: **k'Adzu:dah siXä' 'i:lih 'iqe'xLih** (*same as* **k'Adzu:dah siXä' 'iqe:lihxLih**) I'll make you happy with me *L,* **k'Adzu:dah 'uXa' 'i:lih xusALiL** (*same as* **k'Adzu:dah 'uXa' xu:lihsALiLinh**) she made me like her *L.*

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o-**'e'**(-) **dA-le'g** *(perhaps with stem to be analyzed as le(') with -g-repetitive thematized, otherwise not so occurring) see le'g~le'gw~u'g~(l)ug.*

le~(l)i~ni *(irregular in Active and Neuter perfectives, stem always reduced -(l)i-L (with Rezanov 3 times implying -niL); with zero or vocalic classifiers otherwise always regular le, but with L-classifier stem-initial l- drops and vowel is regularly -i, thus L-le > Li; this relationship, between intransitive themes of the form -le and the transitive causative) thereof, O-Li, and of the transitive with vocalized classifier dA-~LA-le, is quite regular, with practically no analogical forms, such as *L-le, *L-li, *LA-li, or *dA-Li arising, in spite of the probable great age of the irregularity, cf. Navaho 'á-š-nééh 'I act (thus)', 'á-š-łééh 'I make it' ('I act thus upon it'), 'á-l-nééh 'it is made' ('it is acted thus upon' < *-LA-ne); imperatives, however, are rather irregular and variable: Inceptive imperative -le:' L 13 times, M 4 times, A 5 times, -le' L 6 times, M 3 times, -le: L twice, M once, -leh M once; 'i-Active imperative: -le' L 4 times, M twice, -le:' L once; regular Active imperative: -le:' L 3 times, -le: M twice, -le' L once, -leh L once; imperatives with L-classifier are still more irregular and variable: of these the Inceptive imperative is most regular: -Li:' L 11 times, M twice, -Li' M twice, simple Active and 'i-Active imperatives are infrequent: simple -Lih L twice, -Li: M 3 times, -Le: M once, -Leh L once, 'i-Active -Li:' L once, M once, -Li: L once, but the most frequent imperative*

*with -L-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 Le('): -Le: L 13 times, M 3 times, S once, -Leh L 10 times, -Le:' L twice, -Lih L twice, -Li: L once; positive imperfectives usually -leh, but -le: is not infrequent, especially in texts from A (with L-classifier, usually -Lih, but -Li: twice in texts from A, and -Le:, analogical, once in text from G), but negative imperfectives more frequently -le:-G than -leh-G (Active -le:G L 4 times, M twice, and, in text, A 7 times, G once, -lehG L twice, in text A 3 times, L once; Inceptive -lehG L twice, M 3 times, A twice in text, -lehG L twice), and -L-i:-G somewhat more frenquently than -L-ih-G (Active -Li:G L twice, M twice, A in text 4 times, -LihG L 3 times, Inceptive -Li:G L 3 times, M 3 times, -LihG L 5 times), positive conditional -leh, -Lih, negative conditional -le:G A in text once, optatives always -leh, -Lih, Inceptive perfective always -le:L, -Li:L, Active and Neuter perfectives always -liL, -LiL (note also Rezanov forms in -niL mentioned earlier), subjunctives always -le:X, -Li:X, repetitives -le:g, -Li:g, customaries -le:k', -Li:k', and perambulative -le:X; in one deverbalization 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 corresponding intransitives; theme of extremely high frequency; frequently interchangeable (except for Active imperfectives) with -t'e´~-t'u´ (except for Neuter imperfectives thereof)* 1. *With no adverbs, prevers, or postpositional phrases, other than negative adverbs:* a. something (often bad, injurious) happen to S *(see also 31. below)*: **dik' 'AsliLGinh** nothing (bad) happened to her *20.23A,* **dik' GAxle:G da:X** if nothing happens to me (if I don't die) *21b.76A; with k'ude:dah 'no way, impossible':* **k'ude:dah lehG** it can't do anything *26.2L,* **k'ude:dah q'e' dAle:G** nothing more can happen to them, they can't do anything anymore *28.140A. Transitive (causative):* **dik' 'AxsLiLGinh** I didn't do anything to him *8.14A;* **dik' lAXiqe'xLihG** I won't do anything (bad) to you pl. *19.15L,* **dik' 'iLi:Ginh** he who hasn't been doing anything to you *51.35A; reflexive:* **q'e' 'AdALAle:k'** he (cust) does it to (dresses) himself again *36.44A,* **de:lehdshduw Li:k'** I wonder why He does it to them *70.3A.*

1b. *Transitive (causative),* S get, get at O, *cf. 2b., 4b., with k'ude:dah as above, and o-a: 'of o' and k'u-indefinite O, cf. also 2b.*: **k'ude:dah 'Awa: k'uxLi:G** I have no way of obtaining any *25.147A.*

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2. *With k'e:-d 'how?, how', generally translating as 'what?, what' (see also -t'e´~-t'u´ 1.)*: *2a.33fnM, 10.222A, 15.10M, 20.10, 21b.64, 25.116, 32.31A, 34.10M, 24, 29, 37, 45L, 49.121A, 57.11G, 70.3A,* **k'e:d yileh** what are you doing?, what's happening to you? *LM,* **k'e:dunh leh** what's he doing? *M,* **k'e:dunh qa'leh** what's he going to do?, what'll become of him? *M,* **sitl' 'u'GAXa' k'e:d q'a:lgah yileh** tell me what you've been doing today! *L,* **'u'li:Lgahsh k'e:d da: qa'leh** do you know what we should do? *L,* **k'e:d da: qa'leh** what'll we do?, what'll become of us? *M,* **k'e:d sAliL** what did you do?, what happened to you? *LM,* **k'e:d k'usAliL** what happened? *M,* **'u'lixiLgah k'e:d qu'xleh** I know what I'll do *L,* **'u'lixiLgah k'e:d yileh** I know what you're doing *L,* **'u'lixiLgah k'e:d sAliL** I know what you did *L,* **dik' 'u:la'Lga:G k'e:duhnu: 'Ale:k'** they don't know what's been (cust) becoming of them *28.86A;*

with (dA-)k'e:-(yu:)(-d) '(ipse) any way (pl.) at all': **k'e:yu: q'e' k'uGAdAle:L** all sorts of further things are happening *11.133A,* **dAk'e:d k'uqa'leh, dAk'e:d k'uqu'wAleh** whatever will happen *61.12A,* **dAk'e:yu:d 'iya: qu'xleh** I'll do anything, all sorts of things for you *L,* **dik' dAk'e:duh q'e' dAle:G** nothing more at all happened to them *25.206A,* **'Aw XAwa:dAg dik' dAk'e:duw 'AsliLG** nothing at all happened to the dog either *61.12A, with ti:l-class-mark for S:* **'Aw t'ahL dik' dAk'e:duh ti:lAle:k'G** nothing (cust) happens to the feather *48.6L, with k'e:-chi:-d 'how ever, how on earth?':* **k'e:chi:d 'i: qu'yileh** *34.18, 49L,* **k'e:chi:d 'i: qi'yileh** what ever, what on earth will *you* do? *34.15, 48, 54, 63M, with k'e:-sh-d '(I wonder) how':* **k'e:shduh sAliL** (I wonder) what happened to him *61.43A. Transitive (causative):* a. **k'e:duh 'anh sALiL** what did he do to him? *8.12A,* **k'e:duh xuqa'Lih** what will it do to me? *21b.3A,* **k'e:duh da: qa'Linhinh** what shall we do with him? *21b.21A,* **k'e:duw qi'yiLi:** what are you going to do with it? *21b.33A,* **k'e:dunh lAXsALiL** what did you pl. do to her? *23.103A,* **k'e:dunh sALiL** what did you do to her? *L;* **ya'Xu: dAk'e:d xuqu'lAXLih** pl. don't do anything (any harm) to me *19.14L.*

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2b. *Transitive (causative),* S get, get at O, *cf. 1b., 4b.*: **k'e:dunh 'Aw qa'Lih** how he was going to get at it *11.6A; attested mainly with o-a: 'of o' and k'u-indefinite O, 'some of o':* **k'e:dunh 'Awa: 'Aw k'uqa'Lih** how he'll get any (of it) *7.9fnA;* **k'e:chi:duhnu: 'Awa: k'uqu'xLih** how'll I get at any of them? *10.236A.*

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3. *With 'ida:~'idA- abstract relative, meaning identical with non-interrogative k'e:-d 'how'*: **'ida: 'anh sAliL, dik' 'u:la'Lga:G** what happened to him, she didn't know *47b.26M,* **'ida: k'uqa'leh** what will happen *61.87, 88A,* **'uk'ah lisitahL, 'idAqu'xleh** I forgot what I was going to do *L,* **'iGAx'eh 'idAyileh** I see what you're doing, I saw what you did *L,* **'u'lixiLgah 'idAqu'xleh** (*same as* … **k'e:d qu'xleh**) I know what I'll do *L,* **'u'lixiLgah 'idAyileh** (*same as* **… k'e:d yileh**) I know what you're doing *L,* **'u'lixiLgah 'idAsAliL** (*same as* **… k'e:d sAliL**) I know what you did *L,* **'ida: da: sAliLsh 'u'li:Lgah** do you know what we did? *M,* **'ida: da:** (*or* **'idAda:**) **qa'leh dik' 'u:la'xLga:G** I don't know what we'll do, what will become of us, happen to us *M.*

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4a. *With 'wAX 'thus', ordinarily translating as 'that',* S do thus, S do that, that happen to S, S become thus *(see also -t'e'~-t'u' 2.)*: *9.11, 41, 10.53A, 17.6M, 23.147, 24.75, 28.40, 49.66A, 51.95, 70.3A,* **k'e:duw wAX sAliL** how that happened to it *2a.9M,* **k'a:di'da: wAX 'i:leh** that'll never happen *23.153A,* **wAX q'Aw q'e' qu'dAle:** that might happen again *51.95A,* **Lich' wAX 'ile:k'inh** she'd (cust) always do thus *46.4M,* **wAX le:k'** it (cust) happens *60.59A, with qi:d-anatomical:* **wAX qi:dAsAliL** that happened to your foot, your foot got that way *51.81A, idiomatically:* **wAX qa'leh** "it's a deal", it'll happen thus *9.22A,* **dik' wAX qa'le:G** "nothing doing", it won't happen thus *9.21A, Rezanov* Охкалеэтль 'Начало Anfang' **wAX GAle:L** that's happening, it's in the process of doing, happening, becoming thus, that *L, Rezanov* Охсалетль 'Начинать anfangen' **wAX sAliL** that happened, it did thus, that *LM; other elicitations:* **wAX qu'wAleh** *L,* **wAX qa'leh** it'll happen *LM,* **dik' wAX qa'lehG** (*or* **-le:G**) it won't happen *L,* **Li'q' siqi:da:q' wAX qa'leh** my whole foot will get involved (with spreading sore) < that'll happen on my whole foot *M,* **'ili'dahd wAX qu'xlih** I'll do it to spite you *M,* **'AyAG wAX qa'linhinu:** *they*'ll do it *M,* **wAX leh** it's happening *M,* **du:dA'anh wAX leh** who did, is doing that? *M,* **'anh dAXunh wAX leh** that guy did, is doing it *L,* **k'e:'wAXduh wAX yileh** why do, how come you do that? *L,* **de:wahchi:d wAX yileh** why in the world did you do that? *M,* **dik' 'uya:tl' wAX xle:Ginh** he doesn't allow me to do that < I don't do it with his permission *M,* **silAXa:L q'Aw wAX le:** it happened in my presence, view *L,* **Li'q' siya:q' wAX GAle:L** my whole hand is getting involved (with spreading sore) < it's in the process of happening on my whole hand *M,* **dA'a: wAX sAliLinh** he did it himself *M,* **wAX Gi:leh**, **wAX 'i:leh** let it happen *L,* **k'a:di'da: 'uya:tl' wAX 'ixilinhinh** he'll never let me do it *M,* **wAX GAle:X 'uXe'xleh** I want that to happen *L,* **wAX da: 'ile:k'** we (cust) do thus *M; with*

(dA-)'wAX-yu: ('ipse thus pl.'): **dAtli: sahdX wAXyu: GAle:L** those things have been happening for a long time already *36.6A,* **dA'wAXyu: leh** they did thus (the same, just such things, over and over) *68.15A,* **dA'wAXyu: xleh dAwa: q'Aw yahd Xa:n' disiLiL** after many times, I (finally) built a (decent) house *L. Transitive (causative):* S act thus upon O, do thus, that to O, S process, treat O, S make, produce O: *8.8, 9, 11.31, 28.92, 120, 100.48, 61.48, 65.32, 33, 33A,* **dik' 'Aw wAX Li:G** they don't do thus to it *65.78A,* **tl'e:yu' wAX sALiLinu:** they made them out of hemlock < they did thus to hemlock *68.15A,* **gudAsu' wAX qi'yiLih** you'll make, produce dry-fish *65.28A, customary:* **tl'A'a:Gyu: wAX Li:k'inh** she (cust) makes baskets < she (cust) does thus to baskets *10.168A,* **xu: wAX 'AxLi:k'** *I* (cust) do thus to it *65.11A,* **wAX da: 'ALi:k'** *65.36A,* **da: wAX Li:k'** *60.4, 65.68, 71, 75, 79A,* **wAX da: Li:k'** *65.72, 82A,* **da: wAX 'ALi:k'** we (cust) do thus to it, process it thus, produce it *65.79, 81A, Inceptive conditional:* **wAX 'iGALih da:X** if/when it does thus to you *36.20A,* **wAX GAxLihch'ahd** after I've done thus to it *65.21A, with various postpositional phrases:* **tl'A'a:Gwahd 'Aw wAX 'ALi:k'inu:** they (cust) processed them thus for baskets *66.6L,* **ts'a:gLya'ch' da: wAX Li:k'** we (cust) can it (process it into a can) *65.36A,* **Le't'ya'ch' da: wAX Li:k'** we (cust) vox it (process it into a box) *65.76A,* **ts'id XAla:gyAXAga' da: wAX 'ALi:k'** we (cust) make (process) just anough for winter *65.81A,* **gu:dAg 'Awq'Ach' q'e' wAX k'uqi'yiLi:** again you'll put (process) some more on top of them *65.64A,* **'Awq'Ach'ahd wAX GALih da:X** if/when he takes it off of it *36.39A,* **'AwyAq'Ach' 'Aw wAX Li:k'** he (cust) puts it into it *36.38A, with o-da:X 'in form of o', specifying that 'S process O, producing o', rather than 'S process O, producing O':* **GAsu'da:X da: wAX Li:k'** we (cust) make it into dry-fish *65.68A; Rezanov* Тыкохкохлилюкъ 'Ничего недѣляю ich mache nichts' *perhaps to be read* **dik' wAX k'uxLi:G** I'm not doing anything < I'm not doing thus to something, anything, I'm not making anything *M, or perhaps* **dik' wAX GAxLi:LG** I'm not doing that to it, *but see under C O-'-LA-le('),* Тетохетлили? 'Что дѣляешъ was machst du?' *perhaps to be read* **de:d wAX yiLih** what are you doing that to?, what are you making? *L,* Хенгеохсатлиль 'Они sie' **XinhXih wAX sALiL** that guy did that (to it) *M,* Тахлицу охсотлиль *entered beneath* 'Серебро' *(not in Radlov) probably to be read* **dALAts'anh wAX sALiL** he, you made it of silver, he, you did that to silver, Тоаохельни 'Виноватъ ('guilty') schuldig' **dA'a: wAX Linhinh** he did that (to it) himself, Цыеягохохтлинъ 'Шутить ('to joke') spassen, scherzen' **tsi:ny…ya'X … wAX Linhinh** he's doing that to it while singing, **tsi:nyya'X** (*or* **tsinhya'X**) **wAX xLih** I'm doing it (to it) while singing *M; other elicitations, 'to it' often to be supplied in glosses: Active imperative (prefix and stem analogical with Neuter Le(')):* **wAX 'a'Le:** do it that way, thus! *L,* do it! *L,* **k'ut'u' wAX 'a'Leh** make lots of them! < do thus to many! *L,* **dAlAXi: wAX 'a'LAxLeh** do it yourselves *L, Inceptive imperative:* **lAX wAX GAxLi:'** make it this way! *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **dAxu: wAX qu'xLih** I'll do, make it myself *LM,* **dik' wAX qu'xLihG**, **dik' wAX qu'xLi:G** I won't do it, I wasn't intending to do it *L,* **wAXshunh qu'xLih** shall I do it to him?, do I have to do it to him? *L,* **wAXshuh qu'yiLih** will you do that? *L,* **dA'AyAG wAX qa'Linhinu:** they'll do it themselves *M, Active imperfective:* **ts'id 'a: wAX 'Aw Lih** just he does that to it *M,* **wAX xLih** I'm making it (and with assured success) *L,* **dik' 'AXAkih wAX xLi:G** I'm not making a canoe *L,* **k'uwa: wAX xLih** I'm making it for somebody *L, Inceptive perfective:* **wAX GAxLi:L** I'm making it (and taking all day, may not succeed) *L, Active perfective:* **wAX siLiL** I did it *L,* **'anhdAxwah wAX siLiL** *A,* **'udAxwah wAX siLiLinh** he made me do it < I did it to it by his command *L,* **de:d wAX sALiL** what did you make?, what did you do (it to)? *M, Inceptive subjunctive:* **wAX GAxLi:X 'uXe'xleh** I want to do it *L, with d-class-mark for O:* **da'ts' da: wAX dALih** we're making a basket-design *L, idiomatic or uncertain:* ***mAsde:g*** **wAX sALiL** he made a *mistake 20.84, 32.8A (choice of verb probably influenced by English),* **'i:li:X q'unhAw Lanhd wAX Lih** he pretends he's smoking *L (cf. LanhdAyAq' wAX dAleh under Lanhd), with mAgAG as O, M only (L considers to mean 'S make, get checkers', see 'i-d-le):* **mAgAG wAX 'a'Le:** play checkers *M,* **ya'Xu: 'ida'ya:lAX mAgAG qu'yiLih** *44.2fnM,* **mAgAG wAX qu'xLih** (*preferred to* **… 'iqe'di:xLih**) I'll play checkers *M,* **mAgAG wAX xLih** I'm playing checkers *M; indirect reflexive:* **'Aw k'ahgshg 'Adq'Ach'ahd**

wAX LAle: he takes the scab off of himself *36.43A,* **'Adq'Ach'ahd 'Aw wAX LAleh** he takes it off of himself 36.39fnA; *reflexive:* **dik' dA'a: q'Aw wAX 'AdAsLAliLG** he didn't do that to himself *61.40A; passive: 65.85fnA,* **t'ich'gL 'Awahd wAX dAle:k'** props are (cust) made for it *65.5A,* **dik' wAX dAle:G** that's not done to it *65.7A,* **'Awq'Ak'ah wAX dAle:k'** they are (cust) made, taken (cut) off of it *65.9A,* **wAX GAdAleh da:X** when that's been done to it *65.26A,* **wAX q'Aw dAle:k'** that's (cust) done to it *65.35A,* **Xe:ya'ch' wAX dAle:k'** it's (cust) put into sealoil *63.37G,* **dA'e:ts'gda:X wAX dAle:** it's made into the form of meat-slabs *65.8A, Rezanov* Тетитучь охсленель 'Желѣзной eisern' **didit'u:ch' wAX sLiniL**, **didit'u:ch' wAX sLiliL** that's been done to iron, it's made of iron *LM,* Къашъ охсленелъ 'Костяной knöchern' **q'ahsh wAX sLiniL** that's been done to bone, Катекльчеохсленель 'Мѣдной kupfern' **GAdAgALch'e' wAX sLiniL** that's been done to brass, Цаа охсленель 'Каменной steinern' **tsa: wAX sLiniL** that's been done to stone, **wAX sLiliL** it's been made, done, processed *L,* **wAX q'Aw sdiliL**, **wAX q'Aw sLiliL** that's what was done to it *L,* **sLi'mahdL wAX sLiliL** (*or* **sdi-**) bread's been made *L,* **la'da' wAX dAleh** there are two ways to do it < that's done two ways *L,* **la'di'da:X wAX dAleh** there are two different ways to do it *L; Rezanov* Ухатилету 'Здѣлать machen, thun', Ухатилле 'Здѣлай machen, thun (Imperat.)', *interpretation uncertain, perhaps passive, to be read* **wAX** … **dAleh**(**duh**) that's being done(!).

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4b. *Transitive (causative) only, with 'wAX 'thus':* S get, obtain, pick, gather, collect, accumulate O *(where O is generally supply of food or fuel, meaning partly overlapping with that of causative of 4a., see also 1b., 2b., qA-X-le)*: **'Aw lisch'ahd gahG da: wAX Li:k'** we'd (cust) obtain pitch from spruce *51.28A (d-class mark for O lacking),* **La'g wAX Li:k'** he (cust) gets (collects and/or chops and/or piles up) firewood *36.3A,* **'Aw wAX Lih** he does that (gets firewood) *36.5A,* **La'g wAX 'AxLi:k'** I (cust) pile up firewood *L,* **'ida'ya:lAX 'i:nLk'a't' wAX siLiL** I got, caught, picked too many sea-urchins *4.10M (l-class-mark for O lacking), with te'ya' 'fish' as O,* S go fishing (commercially, for cannery): **te'ya' wAX GALi:'**, **te'ya' wAX 'ALi:**, **te'ya' wAX 'ALe:** *M,* **te'ya' wAX 'iLi:'** *L,* **te'ya' wAX 'a'Le:** go fishing (commercially, for cannery)! *LM,* **te'ya' da: wAX qa'Li:** we'll go fishing *62.15G,* **te'ya' wAX Linhinu:** they're fishing *2a.15M,* **te'ya' da: wAX Lih** we were fishing *32.5A,* **te'ya' wAX lAXsALiL** you pl. fished *M,* **te'ya' wAX da: 'i:Lih** let's go fishing *L,* **te'ya' wAX Li:k'inh** he (cust) fishes *L, with d-class-mark for O (k'udA'uhdg 'eggs'):* **k'udAt'u' wAX dAsALiL** they gathered many (eggs) *68.8A; passive:* **dALi'q' la'mahdyu: XAla:g-wahd wAX dAle:k'** all kinds of berries are (cust) gathered (and/or put up) for winter *63.33G (lX-class-mark for O lacking),* **sahx qi' wAX dAleh** where cockles are dug *L,* **te'ya' wAX dAleh** fish are caught, there is fishing, (commercial) fishing is done *62.14G,* **te'ya' qi' wAX dAlehda:d** at where there's fishing *2a.18M;* **q'A:l dik' de:duw wAX dAle:G** now nothing is going on, there's no fishing being done *62.24G;* **'Al te'ya' wAX dAlehdAg** this fishing too *62.14G (used as deverbalization).*

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5. *With 'lAX 'this way, thus' ordinarily translating as 'this'*: **'iLgiyiLinhyA'e'd lAX sAliL** this is the handiword of a witch < this happened, it happened this way as the handiwork of a witch *L; indirect reciprocal: Rezanov* Илькатааляхтеле 'Помириться versöhnen, sich' *perhaps to be read* **'iLga' da: lAX dAleh** we do this like each other (act in agreement?). *Transitive (causative):* **lAX 'a'Le:** do it (to it) this way!, do this to it! *L; passive:* **lAX q'Aw sLiliL, lAX q'Aw sdiliL** this is how it was done to it, this is what was done to it *L.*

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6. *With 'ALdah '(free, non-sedentary, unstructured) play'*: *11.174A, 13.2, 8, 8L, 38.2LM, 51.73, 74, 75A,* **ya'Xu: 'ALdah qu'lAXleh** pl. don't play *13.4L,* **'ALdah 'Ale:'**, **'ALdah 'ile:'** *L,* **'ALdah 'Ale:** *M (uncertain),* **'ALdah GAle'** *M,* **'ALdah 'ile'** play! *LM,* **'ALdah 'AlAXle:**, **'ALdah GAlAXle'**, **'ALdah GAlAXle:'** *M,* **'ALdah 'AlAXle:'** *L,* **'ALdah 'ilAXle'** pl. play! *LM,* **'ALdah q'e' 'AdAle:** play again, some more! *M,* **'ALdah qu'xleh** I'll play *LM,* **dik' 'ALdah qu'xle:G** I won't play *M,* **'ALdah xLeh** I'm playing *LM,* **dik' 'ALdah xle:G** I'm not

playing *M,* **'ALdah GAxle:L** I'm starting to play *M,* **'ALdah siliL** I played *LM,* **'ALdah 'ixileh** let me play *L,* **'ALdah da: 'i:leh, 'ALdah da: Gi:leh** let's play *M,* **dA'u:duh 'ALdah 'i:linhinu:** alright let them play *L,* **'ALdah 'ixle:k'** I (cust) play *L, frequently with o-tl' 'with o (as toy or as playmate)': 60.6, 61.41A,* **da:na:da:tl' 'ALdah' linhinu:** they're playing with money *L,* **Le:sk'XAda:tl' 'ALdah Linhinu:** they're playing with logs *L,* **dAdu:tl'dunh dik' 'ALdah le:Ginh** there's no one he won't play with *L; indirect reciprocal:* **ne:tl' 'iLtl' 'ALdah q'e' qu'dAlinhinu:** soon they'd be playing together again *72.1L.*

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7. *With 'idah 'well, alright, nicely, decently' (see also Gl-LA-le)*: *Rezanov* Итасалельту 'Чисто rein' **'idah sAliLduh** it's gotten nice, clean! *L. Transitive (causative): 21b.73A ('S treat O well, clean O (fish) well'),* **'anh qe'L 'idah 'Aw Li:k'** the woman (cust) fixes, prepares, cleans it (food) *47.113LA, Rezanov* Итааутлини 'Лутче besser, gut (Comparat.)' **'idah 'Aw Linhinh** he's making it nice, better, clean, fixing it *L,* **'idah xLih** I'm making it nice *L,* **'uda:q'd 'Awa: 'idah 'a'Leh** fix its roof! *L,* **'idah GALi:'** clean it! *L,* **dik' 'AdiXd 'idah 'AsLiLGinh** he didn't clean house (the indoors) *L, repetitive:* **'Aw 'idah Li:ginh** he keeps cleaning, fixing it up *L; passive:* **'idah sdiliL** ***(or* sLiliL)** it got made nice, cleaned (by someone) *L.*

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8. *With adverbs formed from adjectives with -dah*: **k'Adzu:dah sAliLinh** he did something nice (kind) *L,* **k'Adzu:dah siliL** I've done well *34.7, 16, 50, 55, 60, 64M, wit ti:l-class-mark for S:* **'Aw k'uLt'ahL k'usha:dah ti:nsAliL** the feather turned bad, spoiled *48.11L. Transitive (causative): 21b.73fnA,* **sidAGAleh siya: k'usha:dah sALiLinh** he hurt my feelings < he treated my feelings badly *L,* **k'udzu:dah q'unh sALiL** you did the right, fair, fitting thing to him *L.*

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9. *With adverbs formed from stem ya: 'thing' with -dah (see also qA-X-le)*: **Li'q' ya:yu:dah GAle:L** he's doing all sorts of things *9.102, 102A,* **dA'u:dAXya:kihdah siliL** I've done (accomplished) something *34.11M,* **dA'u:dAXya:kihdah GAxleh da:X** if anything happens to me (if I die) *47b.10M,* **dA'u:dAXya:kihdah q'e' k'uqu'dAle:** something else, more, further (bad) is going to happen *61.99A. Not attested but probably used in transitive (causative).*

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10. *Transitive (causative) only, with ya:kih 'thing-diminutive' adverbialized with -dah, used as preverb, 'payment', cf. o-q' y-dA-le and o-q' O-LA-le,* S pay, repay O, pay O off < S do a little something to O: *46.31M,* **dAya:kihdah siLiLinh** I paid him off *37b.52A,* **ya:kihdah xusALiLinh** he paid me back (with money, service) *M,* **k'udzu:dah ya:kihdah xusALiL** he paid me well *L,* **de:ga'dunh ya:kihdah 'isALiL** how much did he pay you? *L, repetitive:* **ya:kihdahch' xLi:g** I kept trying to pay him *37b.61A, with o-X 'by means of, with o':* **Li'q' ya:yu:X 'anh ya:kihdahch' Li:k'inh** she tried to pay him off with all sorts of things *37a.16L,* **Li'q' ya:yu:X siXa' ya:kihdah siLiL** I paid him with all my stuff *37b.53A,* **de:Xd ya:kihdah xuqu'yiLih** whay will you pay me with? *47c.35L,* **te'ya'X ya:kihdah 'iqe'xLih** I'll pay you with a fish *L, with o-q' 'on o':* **'uq' ya:kihdah 'iqe'xLih** I'll pay you for it *L.*

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11. *With other adverbs formed with -dah (see also -t'e´~-t'u´ 3.)*: **suhgLdah GAle:'** (*or* **GAle'**, **GAle:**) get sick! *L,* **suhgLdah siliL** something very bad happened to me *L,* **'AnahshAkihdah sAliLinh** he did something nice, pleasant (fun to watch) *L. Transitive (causative):* **'uchu:shiyah guGdah sALiL** he deceived his grandmother *17.1M,* **suhgLdah siLiL** I did something very bad to him, hit him very hard, injured him severely *L,* **suhgLdah GALi:'** really let him have it!, hurt him bad! *L,* **k'ahdLdah xusALiL** you hurt me *L,* **k'ahdLdah xuGi:Li:L** you're hurting me *L; reflexive:* **'iyahdah 'AdsLiliL** he got himself all dirty *L,* **k'ahdLdah xusLiliL** (*or* **xusdi-**) I got hurt *(by some agent) L,* **k'ahdLdah xuGAdAle:L** *(not xuGALA-)* I'm getting hurt *(by some agent) L,* **k'ahdLdah 'iqe'dAleh** *(not 'iqe'LA-)* you'll get hurt *(by some agent) L.*

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12. *With dAwa'd(-ga'),* S hurry: **dAwa'd le:** he's hurrying *L,* **dAwa'dga' 'ile'** hurry! *15.16M, with perambulative:* **dAwa'd yAX qu'xdAleh** I'll hurry about *L; see also 'i-d-le 3.*

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13. *With o-ga' 'like o'*: (1) *with noun as o,* S come to resemble o, become, act like o, turn, get o *(see also -t'e´~-t'u´ 5.) Rezanov* Хаваколле 'Дурно hässlich' *perhaps to be read* **XAwa:ga' leh** he's acting shamefully like a dog, *frequently with respect to color or texture:* **dla:ch'e:'ga' GAle:L** it's turning red (starting to resemble red-snapper) *M,* **dla:ch'e:'ga' 'i:lehdAwa: 'ixit'eh** I'm waiting for it to turn red *M,* **dla:ch'e:'ga' GAle:X 'uXe'xleh** I want it to turn red *M,* **di:ya'ga' GAle:L** it's turning green (starting to resemble salt water) *L,* **di:ya'ga' 'Ale:k'** it (cust) turns green *L,* **xitl'ga' sAliL** it turned white (became like snow in color) *L,* **xitl'ga' q'e' sdiliL** it turned white again *M,* **xitl'ga' 'u:nda:' 'Awa: sAliL** she turned pale < her face got white *L,* **'Alga' dALt'u:ch'ga' sAliL** it became black (like charcoal) like this *51.79A,* **ch'an'ga' qa'leh** it'll get soft (like fluff) *L,* **ch'an'ga' GAxle:L** I'm getting soft *L,* **ch'an'ga' le:k'** *65.20A,* **ch'an'ga' 'Ale:k'** it (cust) gets soft *M,* **chi:shga' sAliL** it broke to smithereens (became like gravel, powder) *L, with Xd-class-mark for S:* **q'ahs ts'AGLga' XAdAGAle:L** cloud is getting blackish *L;* (2) *with gl-class-mark for S 'water' thematized:* **gust'ga' gAlAleh** water is spurting < acting like gushing *L, repetitive:* **Xe:ga' gAlAle:g** water gets intermittently calm (like grease) *L;* (3) *with k'u-indefinite S (of water, weather, ambiance, cf. 31 below):* **Xe:ga' k'uGAle:L** weather (water) is getting calm (like grease) *L;* (4a) S become like o: **'Al 'udAGAleh 'Awa: Gu:djihyu:dAGAlehga' dAdu'X sAliL** her mind became almost like wolves' minds *25.137A;* (4b) S become like that of o: *23.140A,* **Lila:'ga' 'udAGAleh 'Awa: sAliL** 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 k'ut'u', q'e:dah 'u:d GALAtugLga' GAle:L** many herring are there, it's actually getting sort of, as if swollen (with them) *72.30L,* **sALq'e'Lga' sAliL** it sort of colled off, cooled off enough *1b.18M,* **'u:d Xu' le:gga' linhinh** he made a bed of sorts there *18.29L, repetitive:* **lAXAxiXALga' xle:g** I'm having dizzy spells < I'm repeatedly, intermittently like I'm dizzy, drunk *M,* **yALqa: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:* **'uyAX 'isyahGLga' linhinh** he's disgusting, tiresome < he acts like disgust with him *L, repetitive:* **lAXAXALga' ga' xLe:g** I get dizzy spells < I keep acting like vertigo *LM;* (7) *with pronouns as o:* **siga' 'a'le:** *(L uncertain of form of verb, prefix analogical, as if Neuter)* be, act like me! *L,* **dik' 'Awga'G q'Aw 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' GALi:'** make it green! *L,* **ch'an'ga' GALi'**, **ch'an'ga' GALi:'**, **ch'an'ga' 'iLi:'** *M,* **ch'an'ga' 'a'Le:** make it soft!, soften it up! *L,* **dik' ch'an'ga' qu'xLi:G** I won't soften it *M,* **ch'an'ga' xLih** *M,* **ch'an'ga' GAxLi:L** I'm softening it *LM,* **Xa:ngAdi:nya:n k'uXa:shg sAk'in't'Lga' sALiL** Porcupine sort of scratched Beaver *16.11M,* **gu:dAg dA'Awgwa' q'e' qi'yiLih** again you'll be just like that to some more *65.66A, repetitive:* **ch'an'ga' 'ALi:g** make it soft (with repeated movements)! *M,* **ch'an'ga' xLig**, **ch'an'ga' GAxLi:gL** I'm making it soft *M,* **ch'an'ga' siLi:gL** I softened it *M; indirect reflexive:* **dAGAlehga' 'Aw 'uXa' sLiliLinh** he did it to it on purpose (like, according to his own mind) *L.*

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13b. *With o-ga' and da' 'front, face'*: **xitl'ga' da' GAxle:L** my face is getting white < I'm beginning to resemble snow (in color) in front *L.*

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14b. *With o-lAX 'more than o' (see also -t'e´~-t'u´ 8.)*: **silAX sAliL** it was too much for me, I couldn't bear it, it got to be more than I could take *L,* **k'ushiyah sALe'L, Xa:ndiyahlAX sAliL** it got too spoiled to eat < it became bad, it did so more than it might be eaten *L,* **k'ushiyah sALe'L** it got too spoiled to cook (than that it might be cooked) *L; indirect reciprocal: Rezanov* Каляильлехотилли 'Бить schlagen' *perhaps to be read* **qa:lah 'iLlAX** [**k'**]**udAleh** some people are fighting, disputing (overcoming each other) about us, *see also 21. below.*

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14b. *With o-y-lAX 'more than o's hand'*: **siyAlAX sALiL** it was too much for me to handle, got to be more than I could take *L.*

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15. *With o-xah 'loss, removal of o' (see also Gl-le)*: a. **sidA'u:Gxah siliL** I lost my breath *L,* **silAqahxah siliL** I lost my (good) senses < I lost my head *M,* **'ulAqahxahch' GAle:Linh** he's losing his (good) senses *M,* **'udAGAlehxahch' GAle:Linh** he's getting senile (losing his mind) *M,* **'utahxahch' GAle:L** it's losing its skin, its skin is peeling *L,* **'itse'xahch' Gi:le:L** you're losing weight (your flesh) *L,* **'utse'xah qi:liL** they're skinny < they pl. have lost their flesh *(Neuter perfective, more polite than themes with k'in') L, with gl-class-mark for S:* **da:shxahch' gAlAGAle:L** it (liquid) is losing its foam, the foam on it is subsiding *L. Transitive (causative):* **q'ahshxah 'a'Le:** take the bone out of it! *LS,* **'udAtahxah 'a'Le:'** peel its bark off it! *L (d-class-mark for O lacking),* **'Awxah 'a'Le:'** remove that (e.g. lint) from it (e.g. cloth)! *L,* **'udAtahxahch' GAxLi:L** I'm peeling it (bark, shell) off it (tree, egg) *L (d-class-mark for O lacking),* **q'ahshxahch' GALe:Linh** he's taking the bones out of it *L,* **dAq'Ata:L le:Lguxah GAxLi:L** I'm removing (loose) hairs from a pair of pants *L,* **'Awxah sALiLinh** he removed it (lint) from it (cloth) *L,* **'Awtahxahch' 'Aw 'ALi:k'inu:** they (cust) remove their skins from them *66.3L, (lacking g-class-mark for O, Ge:ts' 'spruceroot').*

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15b. *With k'u-indefinite o,* S undress O, S clean O < S remove something from O: **k'uxah sALiLinh** he cleaned it (fish) *L, 1a.10M,* **k'uxahch' 'anh GALi:Linh** he's undressing him *L, repetitive:* **k'uxahch' xLi:g** I'm cleaning them (fish, one after another) *L; reflexive:* **k'uxahch' 'AdGAxLAle:L** I'm getting undressed *L,* **k'uxah 'AdLAle:'** get undressed! *L,* **k'uxah 'AdxsLiliL** I got undressed *L,* **k'uxah 'Adqu'LAlinhinh** he'll get undressed *L,* **k'uxahch' 'AdGALAleh da:X** as they (menstruating women) clean themselves *23.17A;* **k'uxah 'Ada'Le:** *M,* **k'uxah 'Ada:Leh** get undressed! *L (read 'Ada…LAle…, reflexive definitely incorrect without vocalized classifier).*

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15c. *With ya:(-yu:) 'thing(s)' as o of o-xah*: (1) *meaning regular, equivalent to that of k'u-xah O-L-i: reflexive:* **ya:xahch' 'AdGALAle:Linh** he's taking something (a garment) off *L,* **ya:yu:xahch' 'AdGALAle:Linh** he's taking things (his clothes) off *L;* (2) *with irregular shift in meaning, more frequent than regular construction under 15b.(1) above,* S take O off *instead of 'S take thing off O', wherein ya:xah is used as preverb 'off (in undressing)' rather than postpositional phrase with regular meaning 'removal of something' (cf. ya:-qa' 'amongst something' > 'away'):* **ya:xah GALi:'** take it (garment) off! *L (otherwise to be corrected to ya:xah 'AdGALAle:' 'undress yourself!', or glossed 'undress it!'),* **'Aw ya:xah sALiL** he took them (boots) off *51.52A (otherwise to be corrected to 'Awxah 'AdsLiliL, or glossed 'he undressed it'),* **'ila'q'Ayu:, Li'q' ya:xah Gi:Lih da:X** your clothes, when you take them all off *56.11A (otherwise to be corrected to 'Awxah 'AdGALAleh da:X, or glossed 'your clothes, when you undress them all'),* **ya:yu: siXa' ya:xahch' GAxLi:L** I'm taking off my clothes *L (otherwise to be corrected to ya:yu:xahch' siXa' 'AdGAxLAle:L, or glossed 'I'm undressing my things' or 'my things (clothes), I'm undressing them'),* **'Aw k'udzu:Lch'a:d ya: ke:Lta:gsi:nL 'iXa' ya:xwah qi'yiLih** you'll take off your right seal(-skin)-boot *51.80A; passive:* **'Al 'ugu:ndza'Lyu: 'Awa: ya:xwah dAle:k'** its kidneys are (cust) removed *65.3A (otherwise to be recorrected to 'Al 'ugu:ndza'Lyu:xwah 'Awa: dAle:k' or glossed 'its kidneys are (cust) cleaned').*

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16. *With o-wa:LX 'by close attention to o'*: **siwa:LX GAle:'** *(or* **GAle'**, *former preferred),* **siwa:LX 'ile'** do like I do! *L,* **siwa:LX linhinh** he's imitating me, copying what I do *L. Transitive (causative):* **'iwa:LX qu'xLih** I'll do (to) it like you do *L.*

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17a. *With o-d-wahd 'for the sake of o orally'*: **sidAwahd GAle:L** I'm getting full of it (food) *L,* **sidAwahd sAliL** I got tired of it, had enough of it (food) *L;* **sidAwahd siliL** I'm satisfied *M,* **sidAwahd GAxle:L** I'm getting satisfied *M (these forms from M with first person S of verb as well as o of postposition probably incorrect); problematical form: dik' sidAwahd le:XG '"I never get tired of it"' L (perhaps in error for negative customary le:k'G, or negative hortatory subjunctive, 'let me never tire of it', but lacking appropriate prefixes). Transitive (causative):* **'idAwahd qu'xLih** I'll satisfy you (give you enough) *M.*

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17b. *With o-xa'dAwahd 'for the sake of o's eating', transitive (causative)*: **dAxu: 'ixa'dAwahd qu'xLih** I'll work (prepare it for you to eat) myself *L,* **lah, 'ixa'dAwahd siLiL** here, I cooked for you *L; indirect reflexive:* **dA'a: 'Awa: xa'dAwahd 'Aw LAle:k'** she (cust) prepares it herself for herself to eat *25.32A.*

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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'xLinhinh** I'll make him love me (act on him so he'll love me) *L,* **sidAXa'X qe'i:lile'wahd 'iqe'xLih** I'll make you mind me *L, with preverb Xa:n' 'to completion':* **xan'Lq' 'idixAXwahd 'Aw Xa:n' sALiLinh** she accomplished (doing that to) it so the tide would go greatly down *3.15M.*

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18. *With Xa:n' 'to completion, equilibrium'*: **wAX 'utl' Xa:n' k'usAliL** thus that was over with < something had finished happening thus with them *50.47A. Usually transitive (causative),* S make, construct, build, accomplish, fix, finish, dress O, get even with O, get O over with': *7.15, 28.17, 33.11A, 66.4L, 68.29A,* **'Aw Xa:n' qAsALih** he made them *11.81A,* **XAdAGd si'e'd Xa:n' k'uGALi:Xinu:** they should build something high up as a place for me *18.72L,* **Xa:n' 'iqe'xLih** I'll get even with you *27a.46L,* **dla:sha'L Xa:n'ch' GALi:Linu:** they're building a palisade *34.117L,* **'anh Xa:n'ch' GALi:Linh** she's dressin him (laying out his corpse) *47b.19M,* **'Al te'ya' Xa:n' GAxwLih da:X** when I'm done with (cleaning) these fish *21b.73A,* **'AX q'e' Xa:n' sALiL** they made some more canoes *68.35, 40A,* **'Aw Xa:n' sALiLih** he finished (making) it *M,* **Xa:n' 'Aw sALiLinh** he fixed, finished it *L,* **Xa:n' qu'xLih** I'll make it *M,* I'll fix it *L,* **k'a:di'da: Xa:n' 'ixiLih** I can't make it, I'll never finish it *M,* **Xa:n' siLiL** I finished it (making a canoe) *L,* **Xa:n' 'ixiLihch'** until I finish it *L,* **Xa:n' GALi:'** fix it! *L,* **Xa:n'ch' 'Aw GALi:Linh** he's fixing it *L, Galushia Nelson* t'cílàcia qiəⁿx̣ ɔⁿ səɬìtɬ 'where Old Raven made the earth' *BSdL 257, 559,* **ch'i:lehshiyah qi' 'anh Xa:n' sALiL** *L,* **'idAXa:n' sALiLshA'Aw** it that the way you made it? *L,* **k'ulAwahd Xa:n' 'ixiLihwahd** so that I might make a head out of it (fashion it for something l-anatomically) *M, with o-da:X 'in form of o':* **XuhLgLda:X 'Aw Xa:n' sAliL** they fashioned them into shovels *23.136A,* **'AXAkihda:X Xa:n' sALiL** they made it into canoes *68.31A, with d-class-mark for O:* **dik' xu: siga' yahd Xa:n' qu'di:LihG** you won't build a house like *I* do *16.26M,* **yahd Xa:n' dAsALiL** they built a house *49.12, 13, 14, 17, 17, 68.14, 16A,* **yahd Xa:n' disiLiL** I built a house *L; reflexive:* **Xa:n' 'Adqu'xLAleh** I'll get dressed up *L,* I'll put my clothes on *M,* **Xa:n'ch' 'AdGALAle:Linh** he's getting all dressed up *L,* **Xa:n' 'AdiLiliLinh** he put (has) his clothes on *(Neuter perfective) M,* **Xa:n' 'AdALAle:k'** he (cust) dressed himself *36.44A; passive:* **Xa:n' sLiliL** it's been finished, done *L.*

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19. *With Xu' 'right, straight, complete',* S make, build, fix, shape, plane, carve O: **Xu' 'ALi:'** carve it! *M,* **Xu' 'a'Le'** make it! *L,* **Xu' GALi:'** fix it!, shape it up (by carving)! *L,* **Le't' Xu' 'a'Le:** *(or* **'a'Leh**, **'a'Li:**, *but* **'a'Le:** *preferred)* make a box! *L,* **GAdAshAxa'ch'L Xu' 'a'Lih** make a wick! *L,* **'AXAkih Xu' 'a'Le:**, **'AXAkih Xu' GALi:'** make a canoe! *L,* **Xu' qu'xLih** I'll plane it, I'll shape it, I'll make it *L,* **Le't' Xu' qu'xLih** I'll make a box *L,* **dik' Le't' Xu' qu'xLihG** I won't make a box *L,* **mAgAG Xu' qu'Linhinu:** they'll make checkers *L,* **q'e' qu'xLih** I'll make it again, make another *L,* **dik' qu'xLihG** I won't make it *L,* **dik' 'AXAkih Xu' qu'xLi:G** (*or* **-LihG**) I won't make a canoe *L,* **Le't' Xu' xLih** I'm making a box *L,* **Xu' 'Aw**

Linhinh he's making it *L,* **dik' 'AXAkih Xu' xLihG** (*or* **-Li:G**) I'm not making a canoe *L,* **dik' Xu' xLihG** I'm not making it *L,* **Xu'ch' GALi:Linh** he's shaping it *L,* **Xu' siLiL** I carved it, made it *L,* **Le't' Xu' da: sALiL** we made a box, made some boxes *L,* **Xu' 'Aw sALiLinh** he shaped it *L,* **'AXAkih Xu' 'ixiLihwahd** so I can make a canoe *L,* **'AXAkih Xu' 'i:Linhinh** let him make a canoe *L,* **da: Xu' 'i:Lih** let's make it *L,* **Le't' Xu' xLi:k'** I (cust) make boxes *L,* **Xu' k'uxLi:k'** I (cust) make something *L, with d-class-mark for O:* **yahd Xu' da'Lih**, **yahd Xu' di:Lih** *(latter preferred),* **yahd Xu' da'Leh** *L,* **yahd Xu' da'Le:** *L (M rejects),* **yahd Xu' di:Li:**, **yahd Xu' dAGALi'** build a house! *M,* **shdu:lihG Xu' da'Leh** make a table! *L,* **t'ik'L Xu' da'Leh** make an arrow! *L,* **dik' yahd Xu' qu'di:xLi:G** I won't build a house *M,* **yahd Xu' dAxLih** I'm building a house *LM,* **yahd Xu' dALinhinh** he's building a house *L,* **dik' yahd Xu' dAxLi:G** I'm not building a house *M,* **yahd q'e' Xu' dAxLih** I'm building another house *M,* **yahd Xu' dAGAxLi:L** I'm starting to build a house *M,* **yahd Xu' disiLiL** I built a house *M,* **dik' yahd Xu' dAxsLiLG** I didn't build a house *M,* **yahd Xu' da: dAGi:Lih**, **yahd Xu' da: da:yiLih** let's build a house *M,* **yahd Xu' da:yiLinhinh**, **yahd Xu' dAGi:Linhinh** let him build a house *L; passive:* **'AXAkih 'idAdAXu' dAleh sid 'ALde'g** teach me how to make a canoe (how a canoe is made)! *L,* **'Aw 'AXAkih dAtli: Xu' sdiliL** (*or* **sLiliL**) that canoe has been made already *L (but L prefers them Xa:n' -'ya for this meaning),* **Xu' sLiliL** it's done *L, with o-da:X 'in the form of o':* **yahshda:X Xu' dAleh** it is being made into a doll *L,* **ch'iyahdda:X Xu' dAleh** it is being made into a hat *L, with d-class-mark for O:* **di:yAX Xu' dAGAdAle:LG** it hasn't been planed yet *L.*

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20. *With o-la' 'disastrous for o' (see also 31b. below, and d-le 1e.)*: **'ula' yileh q'Aw** "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 reflexive:* **'Ad-la' q'Aw dAle:** you bring bad things on yourself *L,* **la' sdiliLinh** he got himself into trouble *L.*

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21. *With qAla' 'beating up', transitive (causative)*: **qAla' sALiL** he, she beat him, her up *9.9A, 16.14M, 52.4, 21L,* **'anh q'e' qAla' sALiL** he beat him up again *9.38, 38, 39A,* **qAla' Li:k'** *9.72A,* **qAla' 'ALi:k'** (cust) beats him up *9.71, 72A,* **de:Xa'dAw qAla' 'i:Li:k'** what do you (cust) beat him up for? *9.44A,* **dik' 'ahnu:'a: qAla' k'uLi:Ginh** she doesn't beat any of them up *49.28A,* **du:dunh qAla' 'i:Lih** that anyone should beat them up *49.27A,* **qAla' 'a'Le:** beat it up! *L,* **qAla' qu'xLinhinh** I'll beat him up *L,* **qAla' lAXiqe'Linhinh** he'll beat you pl. up *L,* **qAla' xusALiLinh** he beat me up *L; reciprocal:* **qAla' 'iLu' sLiliLinu:** they beat each other up *L; passive:* **qAla' sLiliLinh**, **qAla' sdiliLinh** he got beat up *L,* **qAla' 'iqe'dAleh** you'll get beat up *L,* **qAla' 'AdAle:k'** (cust) gets beaten up *9.73A; see also 14a. above, Rezanov form, perhaps to be read* **qAla' 'iLlAX k'udAleh** 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.

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22. *With GALqa:q', 'iLqa:q' 'grazing, wounding slightly', transitive (causative)*: *52.11L,* **'iLqa:q' siLiLinh** I wounded, grazed him *M,* **GALqa:q' siLiLinh** I grazed, nicked, creased it, wounded it slightly *LM.*

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23. *With o-dAGAleh-yAq' 'in o's mind',* S please o, capture o's fancy: *10.127, 129, 245, 11.100A, 34.70aM, 36.14, 68.38A,* **'udAGAlehyAq' 'Ale:k'inh** (cust) pleases him *11.49A,* **'idAGAlehyAq' le:k'** (cust) pleases you *11.56A; indirect reflexive:* **dAGAlehyAq'Ach' GAdAle:Linh** he's getting proud of himself *L,* **dAGAlehyAq' 'AxdAle:k'** I'm (cust) pleased with myself *34.6L.*

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24. *With o-di:-ch' 'in spite of o, trouble from o'*: a. **'udi:ch' leh** he's asking for it (trouble from it) *L,* **'udi:ch' sAliL** he asked for trouble (from it) *L,* **k'udi:ch' q'unhAw leh** he's heading for trouble (from something) *L.*

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24b. *With o-d-di-ch' 'in spite of what o say'*: **sidAdi:ch' sAliL** you wouldn't listen to what I said and got into trouble, "I told you so" *L.*

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25a. *With o-Xa:n' 'along the whole length of o' and yAX 'downward'*: **siXa:n' yAX sAliL** I got the shivers up and own my spine < it acted downward the length of me *M,* **'uhdzgL siXa:n' wAX yAX sAliL** I got shivers up and down me < shivers acted downward the length of me thus *L.*

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25b. *With o-y-Xa:n' 'along the whole length of, even with o's hand'*: **k'e:duh siyAXa:n' qa'leh** how'll I get it? < how will it play into my hands? *1b.3fnM,* **di'dah 'uyAXa:n' 'Aw sAliL** he (groping) finally found it < it quite played into his hands *6.9M.*

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25c. *With o-l-Xa:n' 'even with o's head', transitive (causative),* S get revenge on O for o, *cf. -y-le 3.*: **'anhlAXa:n' 'anh sALiL** they got revenge on him for him *9.45A,* **sita:'lAXa:n' da:qa'Lih** we'll get revenge on it for my father *20.45A,* **'ulAXa:n' 'iqe'xLih** I'll get even with (for it) *L; indirect reflexive:* **'Ad-lAXa:n' 'iqe'xLAleh** I'll get even with you (for myself) *L,* **'Ad-lAXa:n' qu'xLAlininh** I'll get even with him *L,* **'Ad-lAXa:n' xsLiliLinh** I got even with him *L; problematical form::* **dik' du:d 'Ad-lAXa:n' 'AsdAliLG** *54.10G,* **dik' du:dunh 'Ad-lAXa:n' 'AsdAliLG** nobody got revenge *54.15G (classifier to be corrected to -LA-, or, if intransitive, verb corrected to yAsdAliLG, or perhaps passive, 'nobody was gotten revenge upon for himself' (cf. 'Adtl' yAX dla:dAle:X)).*

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26. *With o-l-q' 'on o's head' and qa:n-ch' '(continuous motion) up out'*: **Gu' 'i:na'q' qa:nch' GAle:L** sweat is forming on your face *L.*

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27. *With o-X 'in contact with o'*: **'AlX sAliLinh** he brushed against this *L.*

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28. *With o-'a:n' 'coming upon o'*: **'u'a:n' k'usAliLinh** someone touched him, (accidentally) came upon him *61.4aA.*

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29. *With o-ya:X 'avoiding o', transitive (causative)*: **dALAGi:nq'sgya:X 'a'Le:** fix it from squeaking! *L.*

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30. *With 'i:lih 'state of mind' as preverb, see also under le(') and 'i:lih-le, transitive (causative)*: **k'Adzu:dah siXä' 'i:lih 'iqe'xLih** I'll make you happy with me *L,* **k'Adzu:dah 'uXa' 'i:lih xusALiLinh** he made me happy with him *L.*

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31. *With k'u-indefinite S,* something happen, *in special meaning (see also k'u-t'e´~-t'u´)*: 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 k'u-lX-le): see k'uleh (nominalized) 'rain'.*.

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31b. *As above, with o-la' 'disaster for o' (cf. 20. above and d-le 1e.)*: **'ula' q'Aw k'uleh** there's a severe storm, unseasonably bad weather < disastrously for her it is that something's happening *(because of her infanticide or abortion) M.*

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31c. *With o-ka:n 'because of o's misdeed, sin (especially infanticide or abortion)'*: **'uka:n q'Al k'ulinhinh** this rain, bad weather is her fault < because of her misdeed this is something is happening *L,* **k'uka:n k'usAliL** bad weather occurred because of someone's

misdeed *L,* **sika:n k'uleh** the rain is my fault *L,* **k'uka:n k'uleh** the bad weather, snowstorm is because of someone's misdeed *L.*

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31d. *With xa:sda' 'tabu, ominous, strange'*: **xa:sda' k'usAliL** something strange and unprecedented happened *L,* **xa:sda' k'uleh** something strange and unprecendented is happening *(one says this when one sees e.g. a kind of fish one has never seen before) L.*

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32. *Problematical instance*: **'ulah q'Aw ki:nX 'idAle:k'** they (wolves) would (cust) circle around it howling *25.36A (perhaps passive 'howling was (cust) done around it', or perhaps dA-classifier with o-lah, ki:nX 'cry' used preverbially, as translated; see also 'i-d-le 3.).*

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k'uleh *(noun, unclassified or lX-class)* rain *LMS*: *57.14, 21, 24G, Rezanov* Кулле 'Дождь Regen', *Khromchenko* Кулѣ / Кулѣ 'Дождь', *Wrangell* Куле 'Regen', *Galushia Nelson* q'ʊ́·lɛ̀' *or* q'ʊ́lɛ̀ 'rain' *BSdL 538, Rezanov* Кулле Ядысаатль 'Дожжъ идетъ es regnet' **k'uleh ya:n' dAsa'yahL** rain fell, **k'ulehlAXa'luw ya:n' di:'yahL** big rain is falling *L (see further instances under ya:n' d-'ya), see also k'ulehdALch'iyahd 'rainhat', k'ulehya' ch'iyahd 'toadstool' under ch'iyahd, k'ulehdALch'iya'tl'G 'umbrella' under ch'iya'tl', Rezanov* Колельхакучь 'Грибы Pilze' *probably to be read* **k'ulehlAXAguch'** mushroom < rain-penis. *Nominalized Active imperfective of -le with k'u-indefinite S,* < something is happening; *see -le 31.*

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dik' 'AwA'ah le:GAshiyah *(noun, unclassified)* ingrate: **'AXa: dik' 'AwA'ah le:GAshiyah** my what a no-good ingrate! *L. Nominalized negative Active imperfective, < le:-G-inh-shiyah with suffixed -shiyah 'bad' and 'AwA'ah 'thanks',* < he who does not thank.

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Xu' k'uliL *(noun)* plane (for carpentry) *L. Deverbalized passive with -L-instrumental, stem form perhaps incorrect, and perhaps also incorrect in lacking 'uX 'by means of it',* < (by means of it) something is planed *(see -le 19.).*

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'uX wAX k'udAleh *(noun, unclassified)* tool(s), gear: *16.24, 25M,* **'uX wAX k'udAlehyu:** tools, gear *16.23M. Nominalized passive Active imperfective,* < by means of it something is done, made, acted thus upon *(see -le 4a.).*

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LanhdAyAq' (**(wAX) dAleh**) smoking-pipe < **Lanhd 'uyAq' wAX dAleh** 'in it smoke is acted thus upon', *see under Lanhd.*

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-le:l *(gerundive of -le, in meanings corresponding to various of the above)* 1. *Intransitive, with 'ALdah (see -le 6.)*: **'ALdah 'isle:l xusALga'L** I'm tired of playing < playing has tired me *M,* **'ALdah le:l** playing around (of children, especially outside) *L,* **'ALdah le:lXa' qu'xah** I'll go (to) play *L.*

2. *Transititve (causative)*: **te'ya' wAX 'Ale:lga' GAxdah da:X** when I get big enough for (commercial fishing (for cannery) *L (see -le 4b.);* **'AXAkih Xu' 'Ale:lsh Lideh** do you know how to make a canoe? *L,* **'AXAkih 'idAXu' 'Ale:l sid 'ALde'g** teach me how to make a canoe! < teach me canoe-making! *L,* **'AXAkih Xu' 'Ale:k**[**Xa'**] **'ixleh** (**-Xa'** *probably to be supplied*) I want to make a canoe *L (see -le 19.), with d-class-mark for O:* **yahd Xu' dAle:l xuGALga'L** I'm getting tired of building a house < house-building is tiring me *L,* **yahd 'idAXu' dAle:l 'u'lixiLgah** I know how to build a house *L.*

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-Li:l *(analogical gerundive of transitive -L-i, L-classifier and stem form probably incorrect)* : **'Aw wAX 'isLi:l xuGALga'L** I'm getting tired of making it < doing thus to it is tiring me *LM (see -le 4a.).*

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lih *(deverbalization of -le)* activity, *as o of -Xda:d 'without o'*: *28.60A, Rezanov* Лехтадеате 'Молчать schweigen' **lihXda:d ya' 'Ade:** (sg.) quiet down! < sit, stay inactive! *L,* **dA'Ashdih, lihXda:d ya' 'Ada:k'inh** seemingly unconcerned, he (cust) remained silent, minding hiw own business *50.8-9A,* **lihXda:d ya' 'AlAXqe: q'ah** pl. quiet down finally! *L,* **lihXda:d ya' sAquhLinu:** they quieted down *L,* **lihXda:d GAlAtinhinh** a quiet unobtrusive person < he who lives inactively *L.*

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qA-X-le *(with X-thematic with qA-plural, attested in Active imperfective only)* S act many times, do many acts: **'Aw ch'i:leh Li'q' ya:yu:dah qAXAlinhinh** that raven does all sorts of things *9.64A (see -le 9.). Transitive (causative):* **ts'inhG wAX qAXALinhinu:** they're gathering (lots of) alders *16.21M ("maybe alright to say" L, see -le 4b.).*

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ya'X k'u-lX-le *(with ya'X 'up', lX-class-mark thematized, and k'u-indefinite S, see k'uleh, -le 31.)* S (rain) stop: **ya'X k'ulAXAGAle:L** rain is stopping *(it is supposed that when rain stops, the water goes back up) L.*

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ya' Xd-le *(with ya' 'completely, to a state of rest', perhaps in error for ya'X 'up', cf. preceding subentry, and Xd-class-mark for q'ahs 'clouds' thematized)* S (clouds) lift, clear: *Rezanov* Ягатесыльэль 'Ясно heiter, klar' **ya' XAdAsAliL** clouds lifted *L.*

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d-le *(with d-thematic 'oral, noise')* 1a. S say *(frequently with 'wAX 'thus', and/or o-tl' 'with (to) o', o-tl' following 'wAX where o is a pronoun, preceding 'wAX otherwise*: *Inceptive imperative:* **wAX 'utl' dAGAli:n'inh shich' 'iya:X** tell him to come to me! < say to him thus that he should come to me *18.11L,* o-**tl' wAX dAGAle:'** tell o thus! *18.71L,* **dA'wAX 'utl' dAGAli:n'inh 'a:nch' 'a'q' Ga:X** just tell her to come out here! *23.39A,* **wAX 'utl' dAGAli:n'inu:** … **'a:nda' silu'qa: GA'a'ch'X** tell them to come here to get me! *25.92A,* o-**tl' wAX dAGAle:'** say thus to o! *25.159A,* **wAX 'utl' dAGAli:n'inu:** say thus to them! *25.164A,* **wAX dAGAle'** say it < say so, thus! *L,* **'a:n dAGAle:'** say yes! *M,* **ya'Xu: 'utl' dAGAli:n'inh** tell him no, not to! *L,* **ya'Xu: 'utl' dAGAle:'** (*or* **dAGAle'**) tell it no, not to! *L,* **dAXunhyu:ga' wAX dAGAle:'** say it in Eyak! < say thus like people! *L,* **GAyAqa:ga' wAX dAGAle:'** say it in Eyak! < say thus like *us*! *L; Active imperative (relatively rare):* **ya'Xu: 'utl' di:lin'inh** tell him no, not to! *(same as with dAGAli:n'inh) L; Inceptive imperfective: stem -leh, -linh-: 10.270fn, 20.70, 24.31, 25.19, 69.25A, stem -le:: 68.94A, negative -le:G: 68.93A,* **'itl' qu'di:xleh** I'll tell you *L,* **wAX qu'di:xleh** I'll say thus, so *LM,* **wAXsh qu'di:leh** will you say thus? *L,* **wAX da: qu'di:leh** we'll say thus *L,* **wAX qu'da:lAXleh** you pl. will say thus *L,* **qe'LGAyu: wAX qu'qAdi:leh** women will say thus *L,* **wAX k'uqu'di:leh** someone will say thus *L,* **'ilah wAX 'utl' qu'di:xleh** I'll say thus to him about you *L,* **siqa'tl' 'ilah wAX qu'di:xleh** I'll tell my husband about you < I'll say thus about you to my husband *L,* **'uk'ahshuh 'i:nsAtahL 'idAsitl' qu'di:leh** did you forget what you were going to say to me? *L,* **'uk'ah 'i:nsitahL 'idAqu'di:xleh** I forgot what I was going to say *L,* **'uk'ah 'iqe'li:xLtah 'idAqu'di:leh** I'll make you forget what you're going to say *L,* **'a:n qu'di:xleh** I'll say yes *M,* **dik' 'a:n qu'di:xle:G** I won't say yes *M, with forms adverbialized with -dah:* **dA'u:dAXya:kihdah qu'di:xleh** I'll say something *L, Rezanov* Яхоишкактакотиле 'Не лги lüge nicht!' **ya'Xu: 'ishguGdah qu'di:leh** don't lie *LM,* **dik' 'ishguGdah 'itl' qu'di:xle:G** 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*

frequent in narrative functioning as quotative (instances not exhaustively cited), less so with subjunctive clauses: with no 'wAX or o-tl', following quotation, relatively infrequent: stem -leh, -linh-: 4.15, 34.4, 14M, 50.33A, 55.21, 26L, 65.85fnA, non-umlauted -lehinh 32.33A, with 'wAX, no o-tl', 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-tl', no 'wAX, following or preceding quotation: with stem -leh, -linh-: 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-umlauted -lehinh 37b.31A, with wAX o-tl', 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, **wAX 'utl' da: dAleh** we said thus to him *32.31A, with stem -le:: 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-tl' wAX, where o is other than pronoun, following or preceding quotation: with stem -leh, -linh-: 1a.12, 13, 1b.15M, 2b.1L, 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 -le:: 29.7, 10A, with o-tl' wAX where o is pronoun, rare and probably incorrect: 16.34M, 29.47A, 52.19L, with o-lah:* **wAX silah dAleh** he says thus about me *1b.8M,* **'ilah dAlehdAg** also says about you *1b.9M, with wAXyu: 'thus pl.':* **wAXyu: 'Awtl' dAleh** such things he says to it *10.93, 11.150A, with 'ida:~'idA-:* **'idA'utl' dAleh** what they said to her *25.189A,* **'ida: 'utl' 'Aw dAleh** what it was saying to her *47b.30M,* **dAq'e:dah q'unhAw 'ida: sitl' dAleh** that's all he said to me *61.126A, with forms adverbialized with -dah:* **dA'wAX 'ishguGdah q'unhuw wAX dAleh** she just lied < just deceitfully it was she said thus *49.92A,* **guGdah dAleh** he's lying *53.29L, with k'e:-d 'how, how?':* **k'e:duh di:leh** what are you saying? *43.23M,* **k'e:duh dAle:** how he says it *69.25A, with q'e' 'again, some more':* **gu:dAg 'u'ehdtl' wAX q'e' dAdAlinhinh** he said thus again to his wife *47b.17M, with 'a:n 'yes' or dik' 'no':* **'anh dAXunh dik' dAleh** the man said no *53.32L,* **'a:n 'anhtl' dAleh** said yes to him *61.24A, elicitations:* **'a:n dAxleh** I say yes *M,* **dik' 'a:n dAxle:G** I'm not saying yes *M,* **'a:n dAlinhinh** he says yes *M,* **k'e:d di:leh**, **k'e:duh di:leh** what are you saying?, what did you say? *LM,* **k'e:chi:d di:leh** what ever are you saying?, *what* did you say? *M,* **k'e:dunh dAleh** what's he saying? *M,* **du:dA'anh wAX dAleh** who said that? *M,* **wAX duxleh** *M,* **wAX dAxleh** I say so *L,* **wAX di:leh** you say so *L,* **wAX da: dAeh** we say so *L,* **wAX da:lAXleh** you pl. say so *L,* **wAX qAdAlinhinu:** they say so *L,* **qe'LGAyu: wAX qAdAleh** women say so *L,* **wAX dAlinhinh** he says so, that, thus, in those words *L,* **lAX dAlinhinh** he says so, this, thus, in these words *L,* **k'e:d lAX di:leh** how do you say this? *M,* **wAX k'e'shunh dAleh** that's approximately, probably what he said *L,* **lAX k'e'shunh dAleh** this is approximately, probably what he said *L, Rezanov* Ишкохтатели 'Обманивать betrügen', Ишкохтатели 'Не правда unwahr' **'ishguGdah dAlinhinh** he's lying *L,* **'ishguGdah di:leh** you're lying *A, Rezanov* Ишкоктеэтльтохле 'Нарочно vorsätzlich, absichtlich' **'ishguGdäh 'itl' dAxwleh**, **'ishguGdah 'itl' dAxleh** I'm telling you a lie *L,* **cha'nik'Ldah dAlinhinh** he said something funny *L, Rezanov* Нетльхутльделенъ 'Объшать versprechen' **"ne:tl'…" 'utl' di:linhinh** "pretty soon," you say to him *L,* **dAXu' ya:X q'unh 'itl' dAleh** he's telling you the truth *L,* **dAXu' ya:X q'unh dAleh**, **dAXu' ya:X dAlinhinh q'A'anh** he's telling the truth *L,* **dAwa'd le: sitl' dAlinhinh** he told me he's hurrying *L,* **dAk'e:yu:dunh dik' 'anhtl' dAle:G**, **dAk'e:dunh dik' 'anhtl' dAle:G** there's nothing he doesn't tell her *L, with 'ida:, 'idA-:* **'uk'ah**

lisitahL ’idAdi:leh I forgot what you said *L,* **’idAXLch’a:q’ ’idAdi:leh** I heard what you said *L,* **dik’shuh ’u:la’yiLga:G ’anh ’ida: ’ilah dAleh** (*or* **’anh ’ilah ’ida: dAleh**, **’anh ’ilah ’idAdAleh**, **’anh ’idA’ilah dAleh**) don't you know what he's saying about you? *L,* **’u’lixiLgah ’ah ’idAsilah dAleh** (*or* **’anh ’ida: silah dAleh**, **’anh silah ’idAdAleh**, **’anh silah ’ida: dAleh**) I know what he's saying about me *L,* **ts’idwAX ’idA’a:nda’ q’e’ sdiyahL sitl’ dAlinhinh** he only told me that he came back here *L, with subjunctive clauses, 'S tell O to ...' ('S say (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:ch’ ’ilAXqe:X lAXtl’ dAxleh** I told you pl. not to boat there *L,* **dik’ ’u:ch’ ’ilAXqe:XG lAXtl’ dAxleh** I told you pl. not to boat there *L,* **’Aw Xa:xa:X sitl’ dAlinhinh** he told me to eat it *L,* **dik’ ’Aw Xa:xa:XG sitl’ dAlinhinh** he told me not to eat it *L,* **’u:da’ GAxa:X sitl’ da:lAXleh** you pl. told me to go there *L,* **dAXu’ ya:X dAGi:le:X ’itl’ dAxleh** I told you to tell the truth *L, see further instances under de´, da, duh2, ta, -t'e´~~t'u´ (various themes), tsin~tsiny, tsa1, chich'1, chan´, sha~sha´~shiyah, shuh, gwa´~ga´1, gAmi´~gAm, k'ahg, qa´, qa2, q'e'1, C da-'-(l-)L-Xa´, wa, ma´, qe'-le('), LA-'e, O-'-(l-)-'e~-'an, 'i-L-'e~-'an, a1, O-X-a2, O-L-(y)a; Active perfective: no 'wAX or o-tl': 11.37, 40, 177, 29.45, 49.134A, 54.9G, with wAX, no o-tl': 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-tl', no 'wAX: 8.19A, 16.25M, 20.60, 25.159, 27b.41, 61.50, 63, 67.89A, with wAX o-tl', 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-tl' wAX, where o is other than pronoun: 25.185, 27b.3, 29.60, 60.26A, negative:* **dik’ dAk’e:dunh ’anhtl’ dAsliLG** she didn't say anything to him *25.106A, with q'e':* **sitl’ q’e’ disdiliLinh** he said to me again, further *61.95A,* **k’ude:dah q’e’ dAsdAliLG** couldn't say anything anymore (was dumbfounded) *1a.14, 1b.20M, with o-lah:* **wAX q’uhnu: ’Awlah dAsAliL** thus they said (discussed) about it *28.97A, elicited forms:* **wAX disiliL** I said so, thus *LM,* **wAX dAsAliL** you said so, thus *L,* **wAX da: dAsAliL** we said so, thus *L,* **wAX da:lAXsAliL** you pl. said so, thus *L,* **qe’LGAyu: wAX dAsAliL** women said so, thus *L,* **wAX k’udAsAliL** someone, something said so, thus *L,* **’ilah wAX sitl’ dAsAliLinh** he said that to me about you *L,* **’a:n disiliL** I said yes *M,* **’ida: da: dAsAliLsh di:Lch’a:q’** did you hear what we said? *M,* **’ida: dAsAliL, ’idAdAsAliL** what he said *M,* **cha’nik’Lga’ dAsAliLinh** he said something funny *L; Inceptive perfective:* o-**tl’ q’Aw wAXyu:** is saying such things to o *10.94A,* **dA’Awahd q’Aw wAXyu: ’Awtl’ dAGAle:L** for just that reason he was saying such things to it *11.150A,* **’idla:yiLmahwahd q’unh wAXyu: ’itl’ dAGAle:L** it's to get you confused in what you're saying that he's saying such things to you *L,* **dA’wAX ’a:wAyu: ’Awtl’ dAGAle:L** he's saying just such nasty things to it *10.108A,* **di:yAX ya’Xu: ’Awtl’ dAGAle:LG da:X** before she said no (don't) to it *34.47L; Inceptive optative:* **dA’u:dkih k’a’ dAGi:leh** would that you say that *L, Active optative:* **ya’Xu: xuqa’she: k’a’ ’utl’ da:yileh** you should tell them not to kill me *20.68A,* **wAX ’utl’ da:yilinhinu:** you should say thus to them *25.172A,* **ya’Xu: ’uk’ah qu’li:ta: wAX ’utl’ da:yileh** don't forget to say thus to them *25.175A,* **wAXsh da:xileh** should I say that? *L,* **wAX da:yileh** it's okay for you to say that *L,* **dA’u:d qe’L wAX da:yileh** it's alright for a woman to say that *L,* **wAX da: da:yileh** let's say no *L,* **wAX da:lAXileh** it's alright for you pl. to say that *L,* **wAX qAda:yileh** it's alright for them to say that *L,* **’a:n da: da:yileh** let's say yes *M; Inceptive conditional:* **’itl’ dAGAleh da:X** when he, they say to you *68.93, 111A; Inceptive subjunctive:* **dAXu’ ya:X dAGi:le:X** you should tell the truth! *L (hortatory),* **dAXu’ ya:X dAGi:le:X ’ixleh** I want you to tell the truth *L,* **dAXu’ ya:X dAGi:le:X ’itl’ dAxleh** I told you to tell the truth *L; customary: Active imperfectives:* o-**tl’ wAX da: di’le:k’** we (cust) say thus to o *1b.21M,* o-**tl’ wAX di:le:k’inh** he (cust) says to o *21a.20L,* **wAx ’Awtl’ di’le:k’inh** (*or* **di:le:k’inh**) *35.4L,* **wAX ’Awtl’ dAle:k’inh** he (cust) says to it *25.148A,* **wAX dAle:k’(inh)** he (cust) says thus *25.162, 36.39, 39, 40, 41A,* **dAle:k’** they (cust) say *28.101A,* o-**tl’ wAX k’udi:le:k’** one (cust) says thus to o *43.33M,* **wAX qa:tl’ dAle:k’(inh)** (cust) said to us *51.8, 27A,* **wAX ’utl’ k’udAle:k’** someone would (cust) say to them *60.7, 55fnA,* **’i:ya:GdAlahGAyu:ga’ sitl’ di:le:k’inu:** they (cust) talk Eyak (say like Eyaks) to me *69.23A,* **wAX da: di’le:k’** we (cust) say thus *M,* **k’e:d wAX k’udi:le:k’** how does one

(cust) say that? *M,* **silah di'le:k'inh** he (cust) says about me *L,* **Lich' ya'Xu: sitl' di:le:k'** (*or* **da:yile:k'**) you (cust) always tell me not to *L (latter form perhaps optative),* **Lich' ya'Xu: 'utl' dAxle:k'inh** *(not da:xle:k'inh)* I always tell him not to *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **ya'Xu: 'Awa: dAXunhyu:tl' k'usha:dah qu'di:le:k'** don't however (cust) say evil things to people *61.14A, Active imperative:* o-**tl' wAX di:le:k'** (cust) say thus to o! *21b.72A; indirect reciprocal:* **wAX 'iLtl' da: di'dAle:k'** we (cust) say thus to each other *M,* **'AwlAX 'iLtl' dAdAlinhinu:** they're arguing too much < they're saying more than that to each other *L,* **'AwlAX 'iLtl' dAGAdAle:Linu:** they're getting into a heated argument *L, Rezanov* Илькатааляхтеле 'Помириться versöhnen, sich' *perhaps to be read* **'iLga' da:lAXdAleh** you pl. say it like one another (agree?), *or perhaps optative thereof* **'iLga' da:lAXdileh** you pl. should agree(?), *or perhaps an imperative; see also -le~-L-i 5.; indirect reflexive:* **wAX dA'a: 'Adtl' dAdAlinhinh** thus he said to himself *23.118A.*

1b. *With o-ch' 'to o',* S speak, talk to, greet, address o, S answer o: **'Aw 'uch' dAsAliL** it answered him *10.125A,* **dik' 'anhch' dAsliLG(inh)** she didn't greet, say anything to, answer him *25.105A,* he didn't answer her *34.75M,* didn't answer him *50.65A,* **'uch' 'anh dAsAliLinh** she spoke to him *48.8L,* **'a:gidug 'anhch' dAsAliLinh** he too spoke to her, answered her *48.9L,* **'ida: 'u'ehdch' 'anh dAsAliL'e:X** to see if he had spoken to his wife *48.6L,* **'u'ehdch' q'e' disdiliL** he had spoken again to his wife *48.12L,* **'uch' dAsAliL** spoke to, addessed him *51.55A,* **'uch' k'udAsAliL** someone spoke to, addressed him *51.58A,* **'anh LinhGih wAX 'uch' dAsAliL** the other answered him thus *51.58A,* **dik' 'uch' k'udAsliLGinh** no one answered him *61.6A,* **k'ude:dah dA'u:dAXyi:nkih 'uch' di:le:k'Ginh** no one (cust) could answer him *3.2M,* **dik' 'ahnu:ch' di:le:k'G(inh)** he (cust) doesn't answer them *50.7, 34A,* **'uwAlahyu: qa:ch' dAGAleh da:X** when their spirits speak to us *25.203A,* **de:lehdduh dik' sich' di:le:k'G** *(changed later to* **da:yile:k'G**, *perhaps incorrect)* why don't you (cust) talk to me? *L,* **'ich' qu'di:xleh** I'll answer you *L,* **'anhch' da:yileh** so she may speak to him *25.85A.*

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1c. *With o-d-'e'-X '(movement) in place of o's oral noise'*: **'idA'e'X dAsiliL** I said it like you did *L (same as 'idA'e'X dixsLiliL, see o-d-'e'-X d-LA-le).*

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1d. *With o-d-wa:LX 'by close attention to, according to o's oral noise'*: **sidAwa:LX dAlinhinh** he's copying, imitating me (in what I say) *L.*

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1e. *With o-la' 'disastrous for o' (cf. -le 20., 31b.)*: **'ula' dAsAliLinh** he said something which brought on disaster *M,* he brought disaster on her by saying something *L; indirect reflexive:* **la' disdiliLinh** he said something which brought disaster on himself *L.*

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2. S make noise, sound (not necessarily oral or articulate speech) *(see also d-dA-le)*: *11.37, 40A (?), Rezanov* Тасукльтатиля 'Шалишъ du lärmst', Тасукльтатеилле 'Шумѣть lärmen' **da' suhgLdah di:leh** you give one a pain with your noise! *L,* **chi'shdug dAXunhiLsih da' suhgLdah dAleh** what a noisy pain that rotten guy (drunk) is! *L (see suhg),* **'uyAX 'isyahGLdah** (*or* **'isyahGLga'**) **di:leh** you give one a pain with you noise! *L; indirect reflexive (possibly of d-dA-le), with 'Ad-q' 'on self':* **'Adq' dAxdAleh** I'm groaning *M. Transitive (causative): with 'wAX 'thus',* S make O sound, play music on o': ***radio*** **wAX dAxLih** I was playing the radio *60.41, 42A,* **wAX di'Li:** play music (on it)! *L,* **wAX k'uqu'di:xLih** I'll play music (on something) *L,* **wAX k'udAxLih** I'm playing music (on something) *L, repetitive:* **dAqa:yu: wAX dAxLi:g** I make music (on it) sometimes *L.*

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3. *Problematical instances*: **siya:q' dAsAliLinh** I hurt, bothered him *L (with o-y-q' 'on o's hand', cf. o-y-q' -ki:nX 'o make S cry', perhaps 'he made a noise because of something I did (with my hand)';* **'udAXa:q' k'usha:dah da: dAleh** we're having trouble 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:q'); see also d-G-dA-le.*

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d-dA-le *(with d-thematic 'oral noise', see also stem le)* S make (non-vocal) noise, S (animal) make characteristic noise, call: **qAdAdAleh** they (crows) clamored, cawed *28.61, 61A,* **dAdAlehwa:LX** noting its chirping *43.17M,* **dAdAleh** it's making a noise, it (bird) is chirping *M,* **disdiliL** they (birds) sang *L,* **qu'dAdAleh** there'll be a big noise *L,* **didileh** there's a big noise all of a sudden *L (Neuter imperfective),* **lAXkihgwa' dAdAleh** there's too much noise *G (from Li),* **siyAq'd siya: dAdAleh** my stomach is rumbling < my insides are making a noise *L.*

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dAleh *(deverbalization of d-le) used as C in construction C O-'-LA-le(') 'S stand on ceremony with O': see C O-'-LA-le(') under le(').*

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tsin'd-le *(with tsin'd-thematic 'speech', cf. -tsin' 'neck', -tsin 'to sing', d-thematic 'oral, noise')* 1. S speak, talk: *Inceptive imperative: Rezanov* Цындагале 'Говорить sprechen', *Anonymous* Чинтакали [sic] 'Говори' **tsin'dAGAle(:)(')** speak!, *frequently with o-tl' 'with o' (sometimes implying special or sexual intimacy with o) and/or o-lah 'about o' (sometimes impying slander or backbiting of o): Inceptive imperfective:* **ya'Xu: 'i'ehdtl' qu'tsin'di:leh** don't seak to your (ex-)wife *48.3L,* **qu'tsin'di:linhinh** he'll talk *L,* **dik' 'anh 'anhtl' qu'tsin'dAlehGinh** he won't speak with her *48.4L, Active imperfective:* **tsin'dAleh**, **tsin'dAlinh-** *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,* **du:tl'duw tsin'di:leh** who are you talking to? *9.58A,* **k'Ayi:nylah 'utl' da: tsin'dAleh** we spoke to him of other matters *32.50A,* **qi'ch' k'utsin'dAlehda:Xyu:** places at which one was talking *37a.4L,* **'Aw qi'ch' k'utsin'dAlehda:d** that place where someone was talking *37a.7L,* **silah tsin'dAlinhinh** he's talking about me, he's talking behind my back, saying nasty things about me *L,* **di'da:yu:** (*or* **'ida:yu:) silah tsin'dAleh q'unhAw** such are the (nasty) things he says of me (behind my back) *L,* (**'utl'**) **tsin'duxleh** I'm talking (to him) *L, with q'e':* **dik' 'ulah q'e' k'utsin'dAdAle:G** no one speaks anymore about them *24.101, 49.158A,* **gu:dAg q'e' k'utsin'dAdAleh** again someone talked *37a.6L, Inceptive perfective:* **tsin'dAGAxle:L** I'm talking (a long time), I'm in the midst of a long monologue *L,* **'ida'ya:lAX tsin'dAGAle:L** he's talking too long, too much, for no good reason *L, Active perfective: with Xa:n' 'to completion':* **'ulah dAtli: da: Xa:n' tsin'dAsAliL** we've already talked it over, finished discussing it *L, Neuter perfective (highly rhetorical and colorful):* **Lich' 'udjAXAyAq' li' tsin'dixiliLinh** 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 tsin'dAGi:leh da:X** if you talk about it *51.24A, Active conditional:* **'utl' tsin'di'xleh da:X**, **'utl' tsin'da:xleh da:X** just as I was getting started talking *L, Active customary:* **'ahnu:tl' tsin'dAle:k'inu:** I used to speak with them *68.114A,* **di'dah tsin'dAle:k'inh** he speaks pretty well *69.24A,* **sitl' tsin'dAle:k'inu:** they (cust) speak to me *69.23A,* **silah tsin'dAle:k'inh** he (cust) talks about me (behind my back) *M,* **dik' silah tsin'dAle:k'Ginh** he (cust) never talks about me *L,* **'Adk'u'liLigahwa:LX k'utsin'dAle:k'** one ought to know what one's talking about < one (cust) talks accordingly as one know oneself *L; indirect reciprocal:* **'iLtl' tsin'dAGAdAleh da:X** when they speak to each other *68.88A, with Xu' 'right, complete':* **'iLtl' da: Xu' tsin'disdiliL** we talked it over, straghtened it out, reached an agreement with each other *L,* **'iLi:tl' tsin'dAdAlinhinu:** they're talking together MiL; *indirect reflexive (with zero-classifier occasionally, perhaps incorrectly, not vocalized to dA-, cf. also q'e:yAXAch' tsin'd-(dA-)le below):* **dA'a: 'Adtl' q'unhuw tsin'dAdAle:k'** he (cust) talks to himself *36.42A,* **dA'a: 'Adtl' tsin'dAlinhinh** he's talking to himself *L (twice),* **dA'a: 'Ad-lah tsin'dAlinhinh** he's talking about himself *L.*

2. *With certain postpositional and adverbial phrases referring to specific language or language differences*: *with o-ga' 'like o':* **'i:ya:GdAlahGAyu:ga' tsin'dAlehinu:** they speak

like Eyaks (speak Eyak) *68.87A (non-umlauted stem),* **'i:ya:GdAlahGAyu:ga' sitl' tsin'dAle:** speaks Eyak to me *69.4A,* **'i:ya:GdAlahGAyu:ga' tsin'dAleh da:X** if they spoke Eyak *68.75A,* **dik' 'AdAX 'i:ya:GdAlahGAyu:ga' tsin'dAlehG** they don't however speak Eyak *68.76A,* **dik' GAyAqa:ga' tsin'dAle:Ginu:** they don't speak like us (don't speak Eyak) *68.78A,* **dAGAyAqa:ga' tsin'dAleh**, **-linhinu:** they speak just like us (speak Eyak) *68.91, 99, 110, 125, 125A,* **dAGAyAqa:ga' 'utl' da: tsin'dAle:k'inu:** we (cust) speak Eyak to them *69.19A,* **dik' GAyAqa:ga'** *(or* **GAyAqa:dAga'**, *with* ***d****-thematic, 'oral, noise')* **tsin'dAlehGinh** he doesn't talk like us, doesn't talk Eyak *L,* **dAXunhyu:ga' sitl' tsin'dAle:** speaks like people (speaks Eyak to me) *69.4A,* **dAXunhyu:ga' q'unhnu: tsin'dAle:** they speak Eyak *69.6A,* **dAXunhyu:ga' da: tsin'dAle:** we speak Eyak *69.10A,* **'i:li:X q'unh dAXunhyu:ga' tsin'dAleh** he pretends he can talk Eyak *L,* **'idehdah dAXunhyu:ga' tsin'dAGAxleh da:X 'a:nch'ahd ya:qa' qu'xdah** when I get to talking Eyak pretty well I'll leave here *L,* **'idehdah dAXunhyu:ga' tsin'di'xleh** (*or* **tsin'da:xleh**) **da:X 'a:nch'ahd ya:qa' siyahL** just as I was getting to talking Eyak pretty well I left here *L,* **XAlahsdla:GAyu:ga' k'utsin'dAleh** one speaks like white people (speaks English) *68.77A,* **XAlahsdla:GAyu:ga' tsin'dAlinhinu:** they speak English *68.79A,* **tla'Xa'lahGAyu:ga' tsin'dAleh** speaks like Tlingits (speaks Tlingit) *69.6, 14A,* **dik' tla'Xa'lahGAyu:ga' 'utl' da: tsin'dAle:k'G** we (cust) don't speak Tlingit to them *69.18A; with o-d-'e'-q' 'on o's oral-noise place, in o's language':* **dik' dA'AyAGAdi:'q' tsin'dAle:Ginu:** they don't talk in their own language *68.78A,* **qa:di:'q' tsin'dAle:k'** they (cust) speak in our language *69.12A,* **qa:di:'q' tsin'dAlinhinh** he's talking in our language *L,* **sidi:'q' tsin'dAlinhinh** he's talking in my language *L; with o-l-'e: 'different from o':* **'ulA'e: tsin'dAle:** they speak a language different from theirs *68.82A,* **gusi:kih 'ahnu:lA'e: tsin'dAlinhinu:** they speak slightly differently from them *68.83A,* **dik' … 'AwlA'e: tsin'duxle:G** I don't speak differently from that (the norm) *68.115A,* **'AwlA'e: tsin'dAlinhinu:** they talk foreign, a different language, abnormally *L (see also nominalization below), with o-da:X 'contrasting with o':* **k'uda:X** (*or* **'Awda:X**) **tsin'dAlinhinh** 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 tsin'dAlinhinh** he talks differently from one *L;* **la'da: q'uhnu: tsi'ndAleh** *69.7A,* **la'dah tsin'dAlinhinu:** they talk both ways, both languages, bilingually *69.8A. Transitive (causative):* **GAyAqa:ga' 'iqe'tsin'di:xLih** I'll make you talk like us (talk Eyak) *L,* **sidi:'q' 'iqe'tsin'di:xLih** I'll make you talk in my language *L.*

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3. *With certain postpositional, preverbal, and adverbial phrases referring to manner*: *with o-t'a'X '(movement) behind, under cover of o':* **'it'a'X tsin'dAxleh** I speak on your behalf, cover up for you *L, with ya:t'a'X '(movement) behind, under cover of a thing':* **ya:t'a'X tsin'dAGAle:** whisper! *L,* **ya:t'a'X tsin'dAlinhinh** he's whispering *LM, with o-d-'e'-X '(movement) in o's oral-noise place' and qa' 'up out':* **sidA'e'X qa' tsin'dAsAliLinh** he interrupted me (talking) *L,* **k'udA'e'X qa' tsin'dAle:k'inh** he (cust) interrupts one (talking) *L, with o-d-Xa' 'in intimate relationship with o's oral noise':* **dik' 'uXAwAXGAyu:dAXa' tsin'dAle:Ginh** he doesn't talk back to his older brothers *50.38A,* **sidAXa' tsin'dAleh** you talk back to me (respond with talk, balking, instead of complying with what I say) *L,* **ya'Xu: sidAXa' qu'tsin'di:leh** don't give me any talk (just do what I say!) *L, with o-l-Xa:n' 'in competition with o':* **ya'Xu: silAXa:n' qu'tsin'di:leh** don't sass me, don't talk back to, argue with me *L with ya:yu:q'Ach'ahd 'from on top of things, abundance':* **ya:yu:q'Ach'ahd tsin'dAlinhinh** he's bragging (about his possessions) *L; with 'wAX 'thus':* **dA'wAX q'uhnu: tsin'dAle:** just thus it is they speak *68.80A,* **wAX q'uhnu: tsin'dAle:** thus it is they speak *68.113A; with q'e:yAXAch' 'continuous motion reversed back' (with zero-classifier often perhaps incorrectly, not vocalized to dA-, cf. indirect reflexive under 2. above):* **qe:yAXAch' tsin'dAlinhinu:** *68.97, 124, 124A,* **q'e:yAXAch' tsin'dAdAleh**, **-linhinu:** they talk backwards *68.110, 119, 127A,* **ts'id q'e:yAXAch' tsin'di:leh** you (just) talk backwards *68.117, 118A,* **q'e:yAXAch' tsin'dAdAlinhinh** he who speaks backwards *68.104A.*

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o-**tl' tsin'dAlinhinh** *(noun, unclassified)* o's sweetheart: **sitl' tsin'dAlinhinh** my sweetheart *L. Nominalized Active imperfective.*

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'AwlA'e: tsin'dAlinhinu: *(noun, unclassified)* non-English-speaking Caucasians, especially Scandinavians(?): **'AwlA'e: tsin'dAlinhinu:** Swedes *LA, also* Finns, Danes, Norwegians *L, also* Greeks *A. Nominalized Active imperfective,* < they who speak different from that (the norm).

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'uqi:lAyAq' k'utsin'dAleh *(noun)* telephone *L. Nominalized Active imperfective, with o-yAq' 'in it' and qi:l-class-mark,* < one speaks into it (rope-like things).

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tsin'dAleh, tsin'dAle: *(noun, unclassified)* speech, language: *sometimes syntac.tically ambiguous, interpretable also as verbal form:* **dAXunhyu:( )tsin'dAlehdahd 'u'sAtahLinh** he heard the sound of people talking *30.1L,* **dAXunhyu:( )tsin'dAlehdahd 'u'li:tinhinh** he hears the sound of people's speech *37a.2L,* **'ahnu: li' sAquhLinu:( )tsi'ndAleh** those who boated downriver's speech *68.81A, Rezanov* Цынталле 'Языкъ, Разговоръ Sprache', Цынталле 'Говори sprechen (Imperat.)', *Furuhjelm* Tzutale 'to speak' *(-u- perhaps copyist's error for Cyrillic u, perhaps also influenced by preceding entry Tzut 'sleep'), unambiguously non-verbal:* **'Al dAGAqa:ga' tsin'dAle:** this language just like ours, Eyak *68.97A,* **tsin'dAleh**, **tsin'dAle:** talk, language, speech *M,* **tsin'dAle: xusALga'L** I'm tired of talking < talk has tired me *L,* **dA'wAX dA'AyAGAya' tsin'dAle: q'unh** it's just *their* own language *68.81A,* **tsin'dAle:ch'iya'** big talker, jabbermouth, blabbermouth, gossip-monger < talk-master *51.20, 23aA;* **ya:t'a'X tsin'dAleh** whispering *L.*

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tsin'dAle:l *(gerundive)* act of, art of talking, language, speech: **tsin'dAle:l sid 'ALde'g** teach me language! *L,* **'itl' tsin'dAle:l xu'GALtuhgL** talking to you is making me lazy *L,* **dAGuxga'L 'itl' tsin'dAle:l** I'm getting tired < I'm getting vocally tired, talking to you *(probabl syntactically incorrect) L.*

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'i-d-le *(intransitive, 'i-prefix apparently not indeterminate O, d-thematic inexplicable, cf. certain themes under 'a, a´2, and 'a´~'a')* 1a. *(intransitive)* S (activity, phenomenon) occur, go on, take place, happen, come into play, become active, there be S (activity, phenomenon): *Inceptive imperfective:* **'AdAwi'L 'iqe'di:leh** there'll be a war *L,* **k'u:y 'iqe'di:leh** wind will pick up, increase, become active *L,* **gah 'iqe'di:leh** there'll be a dance *L,* **mAgAG 'iqe'di:leh** there'll be a checkers-game *L, attested also with 'ALqah 'card-game', k'ulah 'drinking, k'uwah 'eating', 'iLlAXa:n' lAqu:g 'footrace', yAX 'ixut'X 'shooting (about with guns)', GAGAG 'quoit game', Active imperfective:* **dAtli: 'idAleh** it's already happening, going on *61.117A,* **ta:dz 'AdAwi'L 'idAleh** long ago there was a war *34.1M, Rezanov* Утачькоителе 'Образъ, Крестъ Heiligenbild, Kreuz' [**k'**]**u:nda'ch' gwah 'idAleh** praying, crossing oneself is going on, Утетахкодачкоэтелле 'Церковь Kirche' **'udAt'a:Xd k'u:nda'ch' gwah 'idAleh** church < in it (building) praying, crossing oneself is going on *L, Galushia Nelson* gà'ítɛ̀·lɛ̀ or gà'ítɛ̀lɛ̀ 'dancing' *BSdL 552* **gah 'idAleh** dancing is going on, **Xa: 'idAleh** there's a canoe fight, naval battle going on *L, Inceptive perfective:* **tanh 'idAGAle:L** it's getting wavy, waves are getting active *L,* **k'u:y 'idAGAle:L** it's getting windy *L,* **Xa: 'idAGAle:L** northwind is getting strong *L, Active perfective:* **'a'd k'ushiyah XAla:g 'idAsAliL** a very bad winter occurred *45a.19L (but not used of this in Inceptive imperfective: rather ... k'uqa'Le' 'there'll be ...' L),* **k'udzu: gah XAtl' 'idAsAliL** there was a very nice dance last night *L.*

1b. *Transitive (causative)* S carry on O (activity): *Inceptive imperative:* **mAgAG 'ida'Le:** play checkers! *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **'utl' 'AdAwi'L 'iqe'di:Lihinu:** they'll wage war with them, rid them, maraud against them *7.18, 20A,* **'AdAwi'L da: 'iqe'di:Lih** we'll go on raid, marauding, warring *11.9A,* **mAgAG 'iqe'di:xLih** I'll play checkers *LM,* **mAgAG da: 'iqe'di:Lih** we'll play checkers *L,* **hu:l da: 'iqe'di:Lih** we'll sell stuff, have a sale *L,* **gah 'iqe'di:xLih** I'll do

a dance *L,* **gah ’iqe’di:Linhinu:** they'll have a dance *L, Active imperfective:* **’AdAwi’L ’idALih**, **-Linh-** S go on raid, warpath, maraud, wage war, be excited, wrought up, infuriated, *often with o-tl' 'with, against o' and/or o-Xa' 'over o': 8.15, 15, 11.8, 11, 11, 18, 22, 34.126fnL, 37b.27A,* **’Awtl’ ’AdAwi’L ’idAxLih** I'm excited with, over it *L, with o-lah 'about o': 27b.29A,* **’Awlah ’AdAwi’L ’idALinhinu:** they're in a hubbub about it *37a.11A, with q'e':* **k’ude:dah k’udu:yu:tl’ ’AdAwi’L q’e’ ’idALAlehGinu:** they can't wage war with anybody anymore *28.141A, with o-Xa:q':* **Lu:ndiyahstahti:nlAXa:q’ ’AdAwi’L ’idALinhinu:** they're warring over a mouse-skin *L, with 'AnahshAkih 'fun, pleasure':* **’AnahshAkih ’idALih**, **-Linh** S be having a good time: *29.67A, 47b.38M, 55.2, 13L,* **’AnahshAkih ’idAxLih** I'm having a good time *M,* **’AnahshAkih ’iqe’di:xLih** I'll have a good time *M, with other O: 44.4L,* **mAgAG ’idAxLih** I'm playing checkers *L,* **’ALqah ’idAxLih** I'm playing cards *L, Rezanov* Хультатеиль 'Мѣнать tauschen' *perhapsto be read* **hu:l da: ’idALih** we're having a sale *L,* **lu: ’idALinhinh** he's beachcombing *L, Active perfective:* **’AdAwi’L ’AwXa’ ’idAsALiL** they waged war over it *28.104, 104A,* **Xa:n’ ’AdAwi’L ’idAsALiL** they finished waging war *28.111A,* **mAgAG da: ’idAsALiL** we played checkers *L,* **’AnahshAkih ’idisiLiL** I had a good time *L, Active optative:* **mAgAG da: ’ida:yiLih** let's play checkers *L, Active conditional:* **’AnahshAkih ’ida’xLih da:X** just as I was starting to have a good time *L; indirect reflexive, classifier, probably incorrectly, not vocalized:* **dlAGA’a: ’Adtl’ ’AnahshAkih ’idALih** is having a good time by (with) himself all alone *55.19L (verb should probably be corrected to 'idALAleh).*

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2a. *With o-tl' 'with o',* S affect, matter to, concern o: **dik’ ’udAGAlehtl’ ’Aw ’idAle:G** it didn't concen, worry them < it didn't affect their minds *28.110A,* **’a’d si’uGL’a:na’tl’ ’iqe’di:leh** it'll touch me very deeply < it'll affect my heart very much *L,* **’a’d si’uGL’a:na’tl’ ’idAsAliL** it touched me very deeply *L.*

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2b. *Transitive (apparently sematically irregular, analysis uncertain)*: **xu:dAg ’idAxLih q’A’Aw** I too feel that way, feel just as bad about it, sympathize *L,* **xu:gidAg ’iqe’di:xLih** I'll feel the same way as you do *L ('i-perhaps to be analyzed as second person irregular O); with o-li' di: 'spite at o':* **’ili’ di: ’idALih** I'm mad at you *L.*

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3. *Problematical instances*: **dAwa’d ’ixdAleh** I'm hurrying *L (perhaps incorrect, see -le 12.);* **’ulah q’Aw ki:nX ’idAle:k’** they (wolves) (cust) go around (carry on?) around it crying (howling) *25.36A (probably incorrect, if theme 'i-d-le; see -le 32.).*

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4. *Transitive only, O-'-i-d-L-i, ('i-)dA-k'u-Li (highly irregular; where O is k'u-indefinite the 'i-prefix usually drops, and before the k'u-, itself still appearing in O pronoun position, before e.g. qu'- Inceptive imperfective, there appears a dA-prefix instead of d- in thematic prefix position; expected class-mark for classified O, e.g. l- for ch'iyahd 'hat' also fails to appear in all cases)* S knit O: a. *forms without k'u-indefinite O: Inceptive imperative:* **ch’iyahd siya: Xa:n’ ’idAGALi:’** knit (finish knitting) a hat for me! *L, Active imperative:* **ch’iyahd siya: ’ida’Leh** knit a hat for me! *L,* **’Aw ’idi:Lih** knit it! *L,* **siya: ’idi:Li:** knit (it) for me! *M, Inceptive imperfective:* **’iqe’di:xLih** I'll knit (it) *L,* **dA’u:dAXya:kih ’iya: ’iqe’di:xLih** I'll knit something for you *L,* **sanh’Asi:nL siya: ’iqe’di:xLih** *(not *('i)dAqu'xLih, *('i)dAqu'di:xLih)* I'll knit socks for you *L,* **ch’iyahd ’Awa: ’iqe’di:xLih** I'll knit a hat for him *L,* **xu:gidAg ’iqe’di:xLih** I too will knit (it) *L, Active imperfective:* **’idAxLih** I'm knitting (it) *L,* **dAxu: siya: ’idAxLih** I'm knitting it for myself *L,* **sanh’Asi:nL ’iya: ’idAxLih** I'm knitting socks for you *L,* **de:d ’idi:Lih** what are you knitting? *LM,* **ch’iyahd ’idAxLih** I'm knitting a hat *L, Active perfective:* **’Awa: ’idisiLiLinh** I knitted it for him *M,* **du:d ’Aw ’iya: ’idAsALiL** who knitted that for you? *L,* **ch’iyahd ’idisiLiL** I knitted a hat *M,* **ch’iyahd Xa:n’ ’idisiLiL** I finished knitting a hat *M,* **gu:dAg ch’iyahd ’Awa: q’e’ ’idisiLiLinh** I knitted another hat again for him *L, Active optative:* **ch’iyahd**

'Awa: da: 'ida:yiLinhinh let's knit a hat for him *L; passive:* **'idisLiliL** it's been knitted *L,* **siya: Xa:n' 'idisLiliL**, **siya: Xa:n' 'idisdiliL** it's been (finished being) knitted for me *L.*

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4b. *With k'u-indefinite O*: *Active imperative:* **siya: dAk'a'Leh** knit something for me! *L,* **gu:dAg siya: q'e' 'idAk'a'Leh** knit something for me again! *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **'idAk'uqu'xLih** *M,* **dAk'uqu'xLih** I'll knit something *L,* **xu:gidAg dAk'uqu'xLih** I too will knit something *L,* **'iya: dAk'uqu'xLih** I'll knit something for you *L, Active imperfective:* **'idAk'uxLih** *M,* **dAk'uxLih** *(not *k'u'dAxLih)* I'm knitting something *L,* **dik' xu: dAk'uxLihG** *I*'m not knitting *L,* **'iya: dAk'uxLih** I'm knitting something for you *L,* **dAk'u:Li:sh** are you knitting (something)? *L,* **siya:sh dAk'u:Lih** are you knitting something for me? *L,* **Lich' dAk'uLinhinh** she's always knitting (something) *L, Active optative:* **'uwa: da: dAk'u'liLih** let's knit something for him *L, customary:* **Lich' dAk'u:Li:k'inh** she always (cust) knits something *L; passive:* **'idAdAk'udAleh sid 'ALde'g** teach me to knit < teach me how something is knitted! *L.*

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4c. *Form uncertain*: **'ida: 'idAk'uLih sid 'ALde'g** teach me to knit! *L, perhaps in error for 'idAk'uxLih (thus 'teach me how I knit something!'), or perhaps to be interpreted 'teach me how one knits (it)!', which would be th only attestation of the theme O-'i-d-Li with k'u-indefinite S, and perhaps indicative that the causative of 'i-d-le 1.-3. above is also thus irregular.*

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'idAle:l *(gerundive of transitive 'i-d-L-i)* 1. carrying on O (activity): **mAgAG 'idAle:l** playing checkers *L, 44.1L.*

2. knitting *L.*

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'uX dAk'udAleh *(noun)* knitting-needle *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective,* < by means of it something is knitted.

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O-**'i-dA-g-L-i,** O-**'i-gd-L-i** *(as above, with g-glass-mark for O, but usually appearing irregularly following dA-prefix, normal order for d-thematic prefix with g-class-mark being gd-)* S make, use O (yarn): **'iqe'gAdi:xLih** I'll use yarn *L,* **'idAgusiLiL** I used yarn *L; passive:* **'idAgusdiliL** yarn is made *L.*

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'idAgAdAleh *(noun, g-class)* yarn *L*: **'idAgAdAleh 'u:d gusAtahL** a piece of yarn is there *L,* **'idAgAdAlehgu'a:w** long piece of yarn *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective,* < it (filament-like) is used (in knitting).

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di:nyanh 'uya'd 'idAdAleh *(place-name) Kokinhenik, Coquenhena (local English kowkɨnhíynə, kowpɨnhíynə) Island in Copper River Delta, site of cannery 1890-1897 <* sticklebacks carry on in it (concavity) *L (< Tlingit k'ɑgɑnhíni < k'agán 'pinfish, stickleback', hín 'river'), Eyak di:yanh 'stickleback' (see yan´), 'uya'd 'in it (o with broad opening at top, body of water), 'idAdAleh problematical, perhaps passive under -le 4b. with 'idA- abstract relative instead of wAX, or perhaps passive under -le 7. with 'idah reduced ('sticklebacks are cleaned there'?), "nice place to get sticklebacks" L.*

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o-**tl' da:X 'i-'-d-le** *(analysis uncertain, 'i- and d- prefixes as in 'i-d-le, with -'- as in semitransitive, with o-tl' 'with o' and preverb da:X, not clearly identified, perhaps 'across')* S beg o: **sitl' da:X 'i'di:liLinh** he begged me persistently *L (Neuter perfective), usually with o-lu'qa: 'to get o':* **da:na:dAlu'qa: sitl' da:X 'i'di:liLinh** he's begging me for money, persistently trying to wheedle money out of me *L (Neuter perfective),* **na:wgAlAlu'qa: sitl' da:X**

’i’dAlinhinh he's begging me for whiskey *L (Active imperfective),* **da:nadAlu’qa: sitl’ da:X ’i’dAle:k’** he (cust) begs me for money *L;* **dAlehkih sitl’ da:X ’i’dAlinhinh** he's begging me for a little drink *L (apparently with dAlahkih as O, analysis uncertain, perhaps incorrect).*

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l-le *(see also l-t'e´~-t'u´)* 1. *(with l-anatomical 'head, face', partly thematized)* S act facially: a. **dla:ch’e:’ga’ ’i:nsAliLinh** he blushed, his face got red *L. Transitive (causative): reflexive, with o-wa:LX 'according to, by close attention to o':* **siwa:LX ’Adi:nLAlinhinh** he's making mocking faces at me *L (stem interpretable also as la´),* **siwa:LX ’Ad-lisLiliLinh** he made a mocking face at me *L.*

1b. *With li'X '(movement) deeply in from open front end to closed back end', here perhaps in reference to dimpling of face,* S smile, laugh: *Inceptive imperative: Rezanov* Лехлькъ-але 'Смѣйся lachen (Imperat.)' **li’X lAGAle:’** laugh! *LM, with o-tl' 'with o':* **sitl’ li’ lAGAle’** smile at me! *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **li’X qu’li:xleh** I'll smile *LM,* **dik’ li’X qu’li:xle:G** I won't smile *M,* **’AdXa’d ya’X** (**’AdXa’d ye’X** *M*) **qu’li:xleh** I'll burst out laughing < I'll smile, laugh suddenly *LM,* **ya’Xu: li’X qu’la:lAXleh** pl. don't laugh *13.5L, with o-lah 'about, concerning o', here '(derisively) at o':* **ya’Xu: ’ulah li’X qu’la:lAXleh** pl. don't laugh about it *60.9A, Active imperfective: 13.3, 9, 34.123, 55.14, 22, 25L,* **li’X lAxwleh**, **li’X lu’xleh** I'm smiling, laughing *M,* **li’X lAxleh** I'm smiling *L,* **dik’ li’X lAxwle:G** I'm not smiling *M, Anonymous* Лехильни 'Смеются' ('they're laughing') **li’X lAlinhinh** he's laughing *L, with o-tl': 29.68, 70A,* **’i:li:X q’unh sitl’ li’X lAleh** he made a token effort to smile at me *M, with o-lah: 60.10A,* **silah li’X lAlinhinh** he's laughing at me *L, Active perfective:* **li’X ’i:nsiliL** I smiled *LM,* **dik’ li’X lAxsliLG**, **dik’ li’X ’i:nxsliLG** I didn't smile *LM, with qa' 'up out':* **qa’ li’X ’i:nsiliL** I burst out laughing *L, customary:* **li’X lAle:k’** they'd (cust) laugh *60.11A,* **silah li’X lAle:k’inu:** they used (cust) to laugh at me *68.116A, repetitive:* **li’X lAle:ginh** he gets laughing spells *L, indirect reflexive with o-tl':* **dA’a: ’Adtl’ li’X lAdAle:ginh** he get spells of laughing all by, with himself *L. Transitive (causative):* **li’X ’iqe’li:xLih** I'll make you laugh, smile *L,* **li’X xu:nsALiL** you made me laugh, smile *L; reflexive, with o-tl':* **’itl’ ’Adqu’lAxLAleh** I'll smile at you (with ulterior motive) *M,* **dik’ ’itl’ ’Adqu’lAxLAle:G** I won't smile at you *M,* **’itl’ ’Ad-lixileh** *(Neuter imperfective, probably incorrect),* **’itl’ ’Ad-lAxLAleh** I'm smiling at you *M,* **sitl’ li’X ’Ad-liLilinhinh** *(Neuter imperfective, probably incorrect),* **sitl’ li’X ’Ad-lALAlinhinh** he's smiling at me *M,* **sitl’ li’X ’Ad-lisLiliLinh** he smiled at me *M; passive:* **dik’ li’X xuqu’lAdAle:G** I won't be made to smile, laugh *L,* **li’X xu:nsLiliL**, **li’X xu:nsdiliL** I was made to smile, laugh *L.*

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2. *With l-class-mark for S partly thematized, where S 'moon' is usually not otherwise overtly represented, in reference to lunar phases*: *with Xu' 'complete':* **qAXah Xu’ lAsAliL** moon is (got) full *L,* **Xu’ ’i:nsAliL** (*same as* **Xu’ ’i:nsAt’u’L**) it (moon) got full *(no need to say qAXah) L,* **Xu’ li:liL** it's full (moon) *L (Neuter perfective), with k'u-indfinite S:* **Xu’ k’u:nsAliL** moon got full < something l-class became complete *28.51A,* **Xu’ k’ulAGAleh da:X** when the moon beomes full *25.52A, with ya:'a:g 'half, middle':* **ya:’a:g lAsAliL, ya:’a:g ’i:nsAliL** *(not 'i:nsAt'u'L in this case)* moon is (became) half *L,* **ya:’a:gAch’ lAGAle:L** moon is getting to be half *L, with adjective, perhaps incorrectly, where adjective is either nominalized S, o of o-ga' 'like o' to be supplied:* **ya:lAtsidzg lAsAliL** moon got narrow *(moon got narrow) L.*

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li’Xi:ni: *(noun, classified, or irregular gerundive of l-le 1b. above)* laughter *L*: *Rezanov* Лехэнне 'Смѣяться lachen', Яхохъ-лехенне 'Не смѣйся lache (spotte) nicht!' *(Eyak form not in Radlov, who has mistakenly taken in its place Яхох-Уеџутъ from the next page, see tsu'd~tsuhd)* **ya’Xu: li’Xi:ni:** or **q’Ali’Xi:ni:** no laughing!, **li’Xi:ni: qa:la’X di:’yahL** we feel like laughing < desire to laugh has come over us *L,* **li’Xi:ni:luw** big laugh *LM.*

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y-le *(with y-anatomical)* 1. S act with hands: *with o-X 'in contact with o':* **'uX yisiliL** "my hand pretty near touch it" (brushed against it) *L, indirect reflexive with ch'a' 'towards self' and o-tl' 'with o':* **'utl' ch'a' yAxdAlinhinh** I'm motioning him towards myself with my hand, beckoning him *L. Transitive:* S act upon O's hands: **suhgdAwahd yAGALi:n'inh**, **suhgLdah yAGALi:n'inh** really hurt his hand! *L; reflexive, with 'ALdah 'playing':* **'ALdah 'AdyALAlinhinh** he's fidgeting with his hands *L.*

2. *With y-anatomical thematized,* S dig, make hollow: **'u:dAX yAGAle:L** (**yAGAliLinh** M, stem analogical) he's digging a hole, ditch, grave (along) there *L, with qa' 'up out':* **qa' yAsAliL** dug a hole *18.63L,* **'Aw qi' qa' k'uyAsAliL** that place where someone had dug a hole *6.9M,* **qa' yAGAle:'** dig a hole (any way, with hands or e.g. shovel)! *M,* **qa' qu'yi:xleh** I'll dig a hole *M,* **qa' k'uyAsAliL** a hole is dug < someone dug a hole *M,* **da: qa' ya:nyileh** let's dig a hole *M,* **qa:nch' k'uyAGAli:L** (*stem analogical, should be corrected to* **-le:L**) someone is digging a hole there *M, with o-ya'd 'in o (with broad opening at top):* **'uya'd qa' yAGAle:'** make a bowl! < make a hollow in it! *L, Neuter perfectives:* **qi' qa' k'Ayi:nliL** grave, ditch, hole < place where someone has dug *L,* **qi' qa' k'Ayi:nliL'e' 'i:nsdiyahLinh** he got stuck in a ditch *L,* **'a:nd qa' k'uyi:liL** someone dug here, there's a hole here *M, with ya:nu' 'below surface': Galushia Nelson* yàⁿnù' qèi' ɢəyɛ́ilítɬ *or* yànù' etc. 'bear-pit ("in-thing-under there dig")' *BSdL 549* **ya:nu' qi' k'Ayi:liL**, *with o-yAq' 'in o (not with broad opening at top)':* **'uyAq' yAGAle'** disembowel it completely! *L,* **'udAyAq'Ach' yAGuxle:L** *M,* **'udAyAq'Ach' yAGAxle:L** 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):* **'uyAq' yi' yAGAleh** hollow it out! *M (stem-form probably incorrect),* **'uyAq' li' yAGAle:'** *(not yi')* make a hollow in it! *L,* **'uyAq' yi' qu'yi:xleh** I'll hollow it out *M,* **'uyAq'** (*or* **'uyAq'Ach'**) **yi' yAGuxle:L** I'm hollowing it out *M.*

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3. *With y-thematic, probably y-anatomical thematized*: *with o-l-Xa:n' 'in equilibrium, completition, even with o (with l-anatomical thematized, 'o's head')',* S avenge o, get revenge for o, *cf. -le 25.:* **k'e:duhnu: 'uyAXa:n' qu'yi:leh** *M ('uyAXa:n' incorrectly, by anticipation of y-le),* **k'u:duhnu: 'ulAXa:n' qu'yi:leh** how will you avenge them? *34.6fnL,* o-**lAXa:n' qu'yi:linhinu:** they'll avenge o *34.80, 99L,* **'ilAXa:n' qu'yi:xleh** I'll avenge you *L,* o-**lAXa:n' yAsAliLinu:** they avenged o *34.128L,* **siya: 'ulAXa:n' yAGi:le:X 'iXe'xleh** I want you to avenge them for me *34.74fnM (yA- incorrectly omitted),* **'AwlAXa:n' q'e' yAGAdAle:X 'ileh** they want to get revenge for it *28.132A,* **dik' 'AwlAXa:n' q'e' yAsdAliLGinh** they didn't get revenge for it *28.132A; indirect reflexive:* **'Ad-lAXa:n' qu'yAxdAleh** I'll get even < I'll avenge myself *L,* **'Ad-lAXa:n' yixsdiliLinh** I got even with him *L (probably incorrect, no referent for -inh third person singular; influenced by indirect reflexive transitive 'Ad-lAXa:n' O-LA-le; cf. o-q' y-dA-le).*

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o-**q' y-dA-le** *(with y-thematic, probably y-anatomical thematized, and o-q' 'on o'; dA- classifier inexplicable, probably irregularly derived from indirect reflexive, cf. indirect reflexive here, y-le 3., especially last instance, o-q' O-LA-le, and -le 10.)* S pay for o: **'uq' yAGAdAle'**, **'uq' yAGAdAle:'**, **'uq' ya:ndAle:'**, **'uq' ya:dAle:'** pay for it! *L,* **'uq' qu'yAxdAleh** I'll pay for it *L, Rezanov* Коюхтелле 'Заплатить bezahlen' [**'uq'**] **qu'yAxwdAleh** I'll pay [for it?], Укуятте 'Заплачу ich werde bezahlen' *perhaps to be read* **'uq' qu'yA**[**x**]**dA**[**l**]**eh**, **'uq' yixsdiliL** I paid for it *L, with o-l-q' "on o's head':* **si:na'q' yAGAdAle:'** make it up to me, repay me (for damages)! *9.32A; indirect reflexive:* **'Adq' yisdiliLinh,** … o-**X,** … **dAXunhyu: 'anh q'e' sAtl'ihL** he paid for himself, … with o, … (for the fact that) people had transported him back home *33.74fnA.*

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o-**q'** O-**LA-le** *(LA-classifier inexplicable, like dA- in y-dA-le, q.v.; see also -le 10.; with o-q' 'on o')* S pay O for o: **'Awq' qu'xLAlinhinh** I'll pay her for it *52.35L,* **'uq' 'iqe'xLAleh** I'll pay you for it *L,* **'Awq' xuLAlinhLinh** he's paying me for it *L,* **'uq' xuGALAleh da:X** if/when you

pay me for it *L,* **qi' 'uq' xu:Lilehch'** until you pay me for it *L; passive:* **'uq' sLiliL** it's paid for *L (gloss should probably read 'you/he paid him for it', or 'he's been paid for it').*

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o-**d-'e'-X d-LA-le** *(with d-thematic 'oral, noise', LA-classifier inexplicable and optional, cf. d-le 1c., and with o-d-'e'-X '(movement) in place of o's oral noise')* S say like o say, imitate, mimic, copy o in speech: **'idA'e'X dixsLiliL** (*same as* **'idA'e'X disiliL**) I said it like you did *L,* **'idA'e'X qu'dAxLAleh** I'll say it like you do *L,* **sidA'e'X da:LAleh**, **sidA'e'X di'LAle'** say it like I do! *L.*

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Gl-le *(with Gl-thematic 'ground')* something happen to S (ground): *with o-xah 'loss, removal of o' (cf. -le 15.):* **tl'its'xah Ga:nsAliL** the ground is free, clear of mud *L.*

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Gl-LA-le *(as above, perhaps transitive)* S do something to the ground: *with 'idah 'well, alright, nicely, decently' (cf. -le 7.):* **'idah Ga:nxsiliL** I cleared ground *L,* **'idah qu'GAlAxLAleh** I'll clear ground *L,* **'idah Ga:nxLAleh** I'm clearing ground *L.*

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'Ad-tl' O-**dl-LA-le** *(indirect reflexive with 'Ad-tl' 'with self' of probable underlying transitive O-dl-L-i 'S act on O (dl-class)' with dl-class-mark for O 'wheel' thematized)* S bicycle < S move wheel along with self: **'u:dAX 'Adtl' 'Aw dla:xsLiliL** I rode it (bicycle) along there *L,* **'u:dAX 'Adtl' 'Aw dla:GALAle:Linh** he's riding it (bicycle) along there *L.*

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'Adtl' yAX dla:dAle:X *(noun)* bicycle *L. Nominalized Active imperfective with perambulative; perhaps intransitive 'it (wheels) acts about with itself' or passive 'it (wheels) is ridden about with oneself' (cf. -le 26c., last instance).*

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'i:lih-le *(serving for non-Neuter forms of 'i-le('), inflected for mode-aspect, apparently synonymous with 'i:lih-t'e´~-t'u´, though L at one point suggests that this indicates stronger feeling than 'i:lih-le)* S get into state of mind, get to feel a certain way emotionally: *with o-ch' 'towards o',* S recover desire, ability for o *(perhaps in this case not synonymous with o-ch' 'i:lih-t'e´~-t'u'):* **'Awch' 'i:lihsAliLinh** he recovered his desire for it *L,* **'Awch' 'i:lihGAle:Linh** he's recovering his desire for it *L,* **'Awch' qe:lihwAlinhinh** he'll recover his desire for it *L,* **dAche:lch' 'i:lihsAliLinh** he recovered his appetite, hunger *L,* **k'uwahch' 'i:lihsAliLinh** he recovered his appetite, ability to eat *L,* **qe'sa:lch' 'i:lihsAliLinh** he recovered his ability to walk (walks all the time now, after illness) *L,* **k'uch' q'e' 'i:lihGAxdAle:L** I'm regaining my appetite (for something) *L; with 'wAX 'thus':* **wAX da: 'i:lihsAliL** we felt like it *65.69A; with 'idah 'fine, nice, alright, pretty well' and o-Xa' 'in intimate relation with o':* **'idah siXa' 'i:lihGAle:Linh** he's getting to like me *L,* **'idah siXa' 'i:lihsAliLinh** he got to like me *L, repetitive:* **dAqa:yu: 'idah 'i:lihle:ginh** he gets spells of feeling alright once in a while *L, with k'usha:dah 'badly':* **k'usha:dah 'i:lihsAliLinh** he got mad *L,* **k'usha:dah 'i:lihGAle:Linh** he's getting mad *LM,* **dik' k'usha:dah 'i:lih'AsliLGinh** he didn't get mad *L,* **k'usha:dah 'uXa' 'i:lihGAxle:Linu:** I'm getting disgusted with them *L,* **k'usha:dah 'uXa' 'i:lihxilihinu:** *M (Neuter imperfective, L rejects),* **k'usha:dah 'uXa' 'i:lihxiliLinu:** I'm disgusted with them *L,* **k'usha:dah 'iXa' 'i:lihxiliL** I'm angry with you *L (Neuter perfectives), with k'udzu:dah 'well':* **k'udzu:dah 'i:lihxileh** *M (Neuter imperfective, L rejects),* **k'udzu:dah 'i:lihxiliL** I'm in a good mood *L,* **k'udzu:dah 'i:lihyiliL** (**'i:lihyileh** M, L rejects) **da:X qa' sa'yahL** he woke up in a good mood < being in a good mood he woke up *L,* **k'udzu:dah 'uXa' 'i:lihxilinhinu:** *M (Neuter imperfective, L rejects),* **k'udzu:dah 'uXa' 'i:lihxiliLinu:** I'm happy with them *L,* **'AlAshgahX k'udzu:dah siXa' 'i:lih'i:leh** I hope you're well disposed toward me *L (Active optative); with 'AnahshAkih 'fun, pleasure':* **'AnahshAkih 'uXe'lihsiliL**, **'AnahshAkih 'uXa' 'i:lihsiliL** I liked it, I got to

like it *L,* **dik' 'AnahshAkih 'uXe'lih'AsliLG** he didn't like it *L,* **'a'd 'AnahshAkih 'uXä' 'i:lihsAliL** he got to like her a lot *(but not as much as ... 'i:lihsAt'u'L) L,* **'AnahshAkih 'uXa' 'i:lihGAxle:L** I'm getting to like it *L,* **'Aw XAwa:yu:ch' 'AnahshAkih 'i:lihGi:le:L** are you getting to like those dogs? *M,* **'AnahshAkih siXa' 'i:lihGAle:Linh** he's getting to like me *M,* **'AnahshAkih siXa' q'e' 'i:lihGAdAle:Linh** he's getting to like me again *M, Active optative:* **'AlAshgahX 'Aw XAwa:yu: 'AnahshAkih 'uXe'lih'ixileh** I wish I could like those dogs *M, Inceptive optative:* **'AlAshgahX 'Aw XAwa:yu: 'uXe'lihGAxileh** I wsh I could get to like those dogs *M,* **'AlAshgahX 'Aw XAwa:yu: 'AnahshAkih 'uXe'lihGi:leh** I hope you're getting to like those dogs *M,* **'AlAshgahX 'AnahshAkih 'uXä' 'i:lihGi:linhinh** I hope he likes it *M; indirect reciprocal, with q'e':* **'iLXa' k'udzu:[dah] q'e' 'i:lihsdiliLinu:** they reconciled, got on good terms with each other again *M. Transitive (causative):* **k'usha:dah xu:lihsALiLinh** he made me angry *L,* **k'udzu:dah xu:lihsALiLinh** he made me happy *L,* **kAdzu:dah 'uXa' xu:lihsALiLinh** he made me like her *L,* **k'usha:dah xu:lihGi:Li:L** you're making me angry *L,* **k'usha:dah qa: 'i:lihGi:Li:L** you're making us angry *L,* **k'usha:dah 'i:lihGi:Li:Linu:** you're making them angry *L,* **k'usha:dahsh lAXi:lihGAxLi:L** am I making you pl. angry? *L,* **k'usha:dah 'ahnu: xu:lihqAGALi:L** they're making me angry *L,* **k'Adzu:dah siXä' 'iqe:lihxLih** I'll make you like me *L, repetitive:* **k'usha:dah xu:lihLi:ginh** he repeatedly makes me angry *L. See also 'i:lih O-L-i and 'i:lih under le(')~li.*

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d-G-dA-le *(problematical form) in* **k'ushiyah 'iyAch' dAGAdAleh** *'you're bringing yourself bad luck (by playing with fire)' L (unable to analyze, k'ushiyah 'evil' (S?), 'i-y-ch' 'to your hand', verb with d-class-mark thematized ('fire'?), -GA- apparently representing G-thematic, not Inceptive; see also d-dA-le, d-le 3., d-G-leh (dAGAleh), (d-)G-L-dzu', O-G-'e~'an.*

le: *(once leh; perhaps < 'le: and related to 'luw~'nuw~'li´~'lu' and/or to -'ne: of lAXAsha:'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, 9A, 67.13G, Galushia Nelson* tɛ́i'yá'lɛ· *or* tɛ́iyátłɛ̀· *BSdL 540,* **te'ya'le:yAq'AGi'ya'** king salmon entrails *10.100A,* **te'ya'le:dA'e:dzg** slab of king salmon meat *10.140, 149A,* **te'ya'leh** king salmon *11.138A. Perhaps < 'big fish', but L unable to etymologize.*

le:diyuh *(loan from English 'radio' /réydiyow/ or perhaps /rɛ́hdiyow/)*

le:diyuh *(noun, unclassified)* radio *L*: **'Aw le:diyuh sAsinhL** the radio went on the blink, died *L, see also 60.41ff.*

le:L *(Khromchenko and Furuhjelm ne:L, perhaps related to 'lahL)*

le:L *(noun, g-class)* hair (of a human head) *LMS*: *Rezanov* Лleель 'Воросы Haar', *Anonymous* Летль 'Волосы', *Baranov* Лѣлль 'Волосы', *Khromchenko* Нъель / Нюсль 'Волосы', *Furuhjelm* Nell 'hair', *Galushia Nelson* lä·ł 'hair' *BSdL 541,* **le:L 'u:d gusAtahL** a hair is there *L,* **LinhG guka: le:L** one hair *L,* **LinhG gAka: le:L si:na'q'Ach'ahd gushAdja'Linh** he pulled one hair out of my head *M,* **le:L 'iXa' yAX qu'gu:xLtsAX** I'll cut your hair *L,* **le:L siXa' xuGAXa:dLinh**, **le:L siXa' xushAdja'gLinh** *(latter preferred)* he pulled my hair *M (both verbs should probably be corrected to gu-),* **le:L guka: yiLeh** it (.e. chair) is full of hair *L (guka: should probably be omitted),* **le:L 'u:dAXyu:ga' ya' gu:'a'** hairs lie (extend) scattered every which way all over *L,* **le:L 'uXa'** his hair *(not *'ule:L) L,* **qe'LGAyu:ya' le:L** women's hair *23.19A,* **le:LgAt'u'** many hairs *M,* **le:Lgu'a:w** long hair, long-haired person *L,* **'AXa: le:Lgu'a:w da'li:LXinhinh** my what long hair she has! *L,* **le:Llah**, **le:Lgulah** around (her) hair *49.33, 33fnA,*

’Aw k’ulAqah q’e:lAG ’Ada:g, le:Lguka:X the (severed) head keeps walking back ashore, on its hair *53.13L,* **le:Lgu:nt’e’ts’G** (holding her) by the hair *(gl-class-mark probably in error) 49.36A;* **lisda:q’ya’ le:L** black tree lichen, black beard moss *(Usnea barbata species, like lisda:q'AGi'si:ns or lisgusi:nk', but black)* < hair belonging on tree *L;* **le:L guch’u’** hummingbird *MA,* dragonfly *L* < it steals hair.

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-le:L *(noun, possessed form of above, authenticity doubtful)* hair: **’ile:L** your hair *M (L rejects, "can't say that", or e.g. *k'ule:L, *sile:L), Furuhjelm* Inell 'beard' *perhaps to be read* **’i:ne:L** your hair, *or perhaps form with l-anatomical,* **’i:nne:L** (your?) face-hair.

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le:LguXa’ ya:n’ *(noun)* (unidentified) high yellow flower < medicine for hair *L.*

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’i:nsdile:L *(noun, unclassified)* sawbill duck *M ('merganser', i.e. 'American common merganser (Mergus merganser americanus), red-breasted merganser (Mergus serrator serrator)', and perhaps also 'hooded merganser (Lophodytes cucullatus)'),* **’i:nsdile:Lluw** big sawbill *M. Nominalized Active perfective of verb theme, not otherwise used, l-dA-le:L with l-analogical,* < S have hairs on head *(referring to merganser's crest).*

le:ch’ *(usually -le:ch'-L with thematized -L-suffix, perhaps gerundive, and thu related to le, cf. she, -she:-ch'-L; or perhaps not to be thus analyzed, cf. Navaho -niš~-niž, Chipewyan -nὲs, Minto -nvʒ 'to pluck')*

O-**L-le:ch’-L** *(with -L-suffix thematized as part of stem)* S pick O (berries) *(no lX-class-mark for O)*: **’ALle:ch’L** pick berries! *L,* **cha’tl’ Lle:ch’Linu:** they're picking blueberries *20.2A,* **’Aw Lle:ch’Linh** she's picking them (berries) *20.3A,* **xLle:ch’L** I'm picking berries *L,* **k’uLle:ch’L** was berrypicking *47b.27M,* **da: k’uqa’Lle:ch’L** we'll go berrypicking *L,* **k’uqu’xLle:ch’L** I'll go berrypicking *M,* **qu’xLel:ch’L** I'll pick berries *L,* **siLle:ch’L** I picked berries *L,* **sALle:ch’Linu:** they'd picked berries *18.2L,* **dA’wAX GALle:ch’L** they're still picking berries *20.3A,* **Li’q’ ch’u:q’ya’ la’mahd GuxLle:ch’L da:X** when I pick all the "alderberries" *34.30L,* **da: k’uLle:ch’Lk’** we (cust) pick berries *L; with Xd-class-mark for O (GAdAq'Ayi:ny 'frog') in figurative use:* **XAdi:Lle:ch’L** gather it (fog) by handfuls (into your hat)! *(in order to make fog lift, a custom) L; passive:* **sdile:ch’L** they (berries) have been picked *L,* **Li’q’ sLile:ch’L** (*or* **sdi-**) they (berries) have all been picked *L.*

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shug Lle:ch’inh *(personal name) wife of Junior Nelson Harry at Yakutat (not an Eyak woman)* < she's picking strawberries *A. Nominalized Active imperfective, archaic, lacking -L-suffix.*

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ye:ch’ ye:ch’ila: *(childish)* berrypicking! *(Nikolai Nelson used to say as young child, not a traditional form, but rather one individual child's early speech) L.*

le:lu:d *(loan from English 'railroad')*

le:lu:d *(noun, perhaps d-class or unclassified)* railroad-train *L.*

leh *(perhaps related to la~na2, dA-leh)*

leh *(preverb) (attested only with zero final)* through complete seasonal cycle, year, *attested only with theme Gl-'ya 'time pass', see Gl-'ya 2a., leh GAla'yah.*

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o-**leh** *(postposition) (with zero, and -ch' finals)* year for o, year of o's life, *attested only with theme Gl-'ya 'time pass', see Gl-'ya 2b.*

lehd *(perhaps to be analyzed leh-d, perhaps related to leh, la~na2, or conceivably to li', cf. wah1)*

o-**lehd** *(postposition, attested only with zero (-d?) final)* because of o *(with reference to antecedent reason, not final cause), occurrences not completely listed*: **silehd** because of me *L,* **'ulehd wAX sAt'u'L** she became thus because of it *49.67A,* **'ulehd sLits'an'L** because of that she became strong *49.67fnL,* **k'a:di'da: q'e' 'iLi'eh, 'ahnu: sAqe:GAyu:lehd 'uXa'** she would never remarry, because of her children *49.26A,* **gi:wa:lehd ku:'nuw GALe'L** he's getting a beer-belly < he's getting paunchy because of beer *L, relativized:* **'u'li:Lgahshuw, 'ulehd dik' k'u:lishe:k'G** do you know (it), why (the reason, that because of which) you (cust) don't kill anything? *23.9A,* **'itl' 'a'xXah, 'ulehd dik' k'u:lishe:k'G** I'm telling you (it), why you (cust) don't kill anything *23.16A,* **'Awlehd** *(usually followed by q'- emphatic)* because of that (it is), that's why, therefore: *1b.21M, 9.69, 10.48, 224, 11.50A, 13.14L, 20.66, 23.42, 24.13, 55, 25.194, 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:lehdduw** why (is it)?, **de:lehdduw dik' sich' da:yile:k'G** why don't you (cust) talk to me? *L,* **de:lehd dik' sida 'i:ya:k'G** why don't you (cust) come to (visit) me? *L,* **de:lehddunh dik' sida' 'a:k'G** why doesn't he (cust) come visit me? *L,* **de:lehdduw k'a:dih dALe'L** why she had been absent *25.116A,* **qu'li:Lginhinh de:lehddAw wAX qi:dAsAliL** he'll know why your foot got thus *51.81A, with sh-interrogative:* **de:lehdshduw** I wonder why *L,* **de:lehdshduhnu: wAX liLilah** why, I wonder, are their faces like that? *24.34A,* **de:lehdshdAw wAX siliL** I wonder why thus has befallen me *70.3A,* **de:lehdshduw Li: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, 10.108, 200, 11.148, 23.110, 32.14, 14, 22, 31.29A,* **'ida'ya:lAX 'iLit'u' lehd q'Aw, yiLda:slehd q'Aw** because there was too much of it, because it was too heavy *9.105A,* **'ahnu: GAshe:X 'ilinhinh, 'ulAX xi:l 'ahnu: yiLehlehd** they wanted to kill him, because he was more of a shaman than they *56.21L,* **dik' 'AnahshAkih 'AwXe'le:Glehd, 'u:dik'eh sahL** because it didn't like that, it went away *60.32A,* **'Al te'ya'le: 'Awa:, k'u'luw yiLehlehd, dik' wAX dAle:G** as for these kind-salmon, because they're big, they're not processed thus *65.7A,* **'Aw Gu:djihyu:qa' yAsa'yahLlehd, dik' q'e' 'ALA'e:k'G** because she had ended up amongst the wolves, she couldn't (cust) remarry *25.152A, once with non-verbal clause:* **'Aw dAXunhyu: 'uqa'd-lehd q'Aw wAX 'i:t'eh** because those people (are) amongst them (it is) they are thus *24.67A, clause sometimes introduced by dA'a: 'for, because':* **dA'a: 'Awa: xdAxa:gLlehd** because I work for him *L,* **dA'a: 'i:nsALyahLlehd** because he's old *51.17A,* **dik' 'uyAXd q'e' 'iqe'LAq'a:G dA'a: 'ida'ya:lAX Lanhd qa'Le'lehd** you won't keep any more fire burning under there because it would be too smoky *65.57A.*

le'g~le'gw~u'g~(l)ug *(in forms immediately preceded by L-classifier, initial l- lacking and vowel shifted to u, except in one form from Rezanov perhaps implying -L-e'g; Reezanov otherwise implies in two instances le'g, in three ambiguously le'gw or le'g-uh, and in three others unambiguously le'gw, 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 LA-classifier vocalizer from L-, the stem is usually le'g, but analogical lu'g 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 le:g, frequent use independent of -k'-customary)*

-le'g~-le'gw *(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 1b.)* 1. S move hand(s), act with hand(s) a.: *with no postpositional phrases or locative preverbs,* S grope (along): **dA'wAX 'ile'g** just grope (along) *27b.31, 31A; with ya'X 'upward':* **Xi:ch' ya'X GAle'g** reach your hand up over there! *M, with (ta'd) ya:nu'(-ch') '(repeated motion) under surface (of water)':* **ta'd ya:nu' 'Ale:gk'inh** he'd (cust) reach his hand down underwater *56.2L,* **q'e:ya:nu' 'AdAle:gk'inh** he'd (cust) reach his hand back down underwater *56.5L,* o-**lu'qa: 'uXa' ya:nu'ch' 'Ale:gk'inh** he'd (cust) reach his hand down underwater to get his o *56.16L, with ta'X '(motion) in water' and perambulative:* **ta'X yAX xdAle'gX** I work with my hands in water *L.*

1b. *Repetitive, with reduced stem*: *with ta'X as above and yAX 'downward':* **ta'X yAX 'Alugg** keep dipping your hands in water! *L.*

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2. *With o-ch' 'toward o',* S touch, molest, bother, hurt, lay hands on o a.: *Active imperative:* **'uch' 'Ale'ginh** go over to him!, pick him up! *M (glossed probably loose), Rezanov* Учаллего 'Взять nehmen' **'u:ch' 'Ale'gu:h** *or* **'uch' 'Ale'gw** touch it!, *Inceptive imperfective:* **ya'Xu: 'uch' qi'yile'g** don't touch it! *10.7, 11.163A, Rezanov* Яхохъшкоилекъ 'Нетронь anrühren, rühr' (mich?) nicht an!' **ya'Xu: sich' qu'yile'g** *LM,* **ya'Xu: sich' qi'yile'g** don't touch me!, don't hurt me! *MS,* **'uch' qu'xle'g** I'll touch it *L, with qa' 'up out':* **yidigAG lAXch' qa' qa'le'g** Bogeyman will (come up out of the ground and) get you *39.3L, Inceptive perfective:* **dAq'a:g 'uch' GAle'gL** the fire is reaching her *34.70M (used figuratively here, perhaps incorrectly), Active perfective:* **'anhch' sAle'gLinh** he touched her *47b.45M,* **yidigAG 'uch' qa' sAle'gLinh** Bogeyman (came up out of ground and) got her *39.4L,* **dik' 'anhch' 'Asle'gLG** didn't touch, hurt, bother him *19.29L,* **dik' 'anhch' q'e' 'AsdAle'gLGinh** he didn't bother her anymore *4.20M,* **'uch' sile'gL** I touched it *L,* **sich' sAle'gLinh** he molested, hurt me *L; indirect reciprocal:* **'iLch' sdile'gLinu:** they're fighting with each other; they're having a war *L.*

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2b. *Repetitive, with non-reduced stem*: **sich' le'gginh** he's bothering, hurting me *L,* **dik' 'ich' 'Axle'ggG**, **dik' 'ich' xle'ggG** I'm not bothering, hurting you *L,* **Lich' sich' le'gginh** she keeps hurting me *L.*

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2c. *With expanded stem, attested only from M*: **'uch' 'Ale:ginh** go over to him!, pick him up! *M (glosses probably loose),* **ya'Xu: sich' qi'yile:g** don't touch me! *M.*

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2d. *Repetitive, with expanded stem, indirect reciprocal*: **Lich' 'iLch' dAle:gginu:** they're always fighting *L.*

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3. *With o-da' 'to (actual arrival at) o'*: **'uda' sile'gL** I moved my hand to it *L,* **k'udAX 'uda' 'Axle:gk'G** I (cust) can't reach it *L.*

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4. *With o-X 'in contact with o'*: **'uX GAle'g** touch it! *L,* **ch'iyahd'a:nAX sile'gL** my hand touched, brushed a hat *L,* **siya:X sAle'gLinh** he touched my hand *L.*

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5. *With o-'a:n' 'coming upon o'*: **k'udAX 'Aw'a:n' 'Asle'gLGinh** he (groping) couldn't find them, groped in vain for them *4.4M.*

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6. *With o-k'ah 'away from o'*: *Active imperative:* **sik'ah 'Ale'g** leave me alone!, unhand me!, release me!, let me go! *LS, 4.14, 14M, 37b.32A, Rezanov* Сыкаалегу 'Пусти loslassen, Impart. lass (mich?) los!' **sik'ah 'Ale'gw** *(not to be read -guh),* **'Awk'ahd 'Ale'g** leave it alone! *21b.31A,*

'uk'ah 'Ale'g let it go!, release it! *L,* **'uk'ah 'AlAXle'guh** pl. leave them be! *60.7A, Active perfective: 20.57, 25.132, 133, 133, 37b.42, 42, 62, 64A,* **sik'ah q'e' sdile'gL** he released me *37b.53A,* **ts'u:lAk'ah sAle'gLinh** he (baby) has been weaned < he's given up the breast *L, Active optative:* **sik'ah 'i:le'g-wahd** so he'd release me *37b.61A, Inceptive conditional:* **sik'ah Gi:le'g da:X** *37b.31A,* **sik'ah q'e' GAdAle'g da:X** if you release me *37b.31, 32A, Active subjunctive:* **qa:k'ah 'Ale'gX** that they should leave us alone *25.172A, customary:* **dik' 'Awk'ah 'Ale:gk'G** they wouldn't (cust) let go of it *28.109A.*

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7. *With o-d 'separated from o'*: **sid GAle'g** leave me alone!, don't bother me! *L,* **'udAd 'Ale'g** let it go!, unhand it (table)! *L,* **'u:d 'ulAd 'Ale'g** leave it (hat) there! *L,* **dA'Alga'kih 'a:nch' 'id qu'xle'g** I'll leave you here a little while, **'u:dAX 'id q'e' qu'xdAle'g** then I'll release you *37a.18L, with o-ch' 'toward o, to o':* **'ich' 'ud qu'xle'g** I'll leave it with you *L,* I'll grant it (power) to you *61.11, 18A,* **dA'u:ch' 'anhd sAle'gLinh** he left her right there *4.19M,* **'anhd q'e' sdile'gLinh** he released her *37a.20L,* **'Aw 'uch' 'ud sile'gL** I left it with him *L,* **sid sAle'gLinh** he left me alone, stopped bothering me *L,* **sid sAle'gLinh** he left me alone, stopped bothering me *L,* **dA'a:nch' sid sAle'gL** they left me here *20.16A.*

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8. *With o-ta:s 'over, across o'*: **sita:s GAle'g** put your arm around me! *LM, Rezanov* Цытаскалегу 'Обнять umarmen' **sita:s GAle'gw** *(not to be read -guh).*

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9. *With o-q' 'on o':* a.: *with li' 'from front end toward back end':* **'uq' li' sile'gL** I petted, stroked it (one stroke) *("all the way down to its tail, sounds like") L, with o-l-q' 'on o's hand':* **'u:na'q' li' 'Ale'g** pet, stroke its head! *L,* **'u:na'q' li' sile'gL** I petted it *A, with lahdz 'forward from back toward front:'* **'u:na'q' lahdz 'Ale'g** pet its head (opposite of usual direction)! *L, with ya:n' 'down':* **'u:na'q' ya:n' GAle'g** put your hand down on its head! *L,* **si:na'q' ya:n' sAle'gLinh** he touched the top of my head *M, with perambulative:* o-**q' yAX dAle'gXinh** he feels, gropes around on it *9.88, 32.6A,* **'uq' yAX xdAle'gX** I felt around on it *32.37, 41A,* I'm touching it all over *L, Rezanov* Ухэхетелегъ-о 'Щупать betasten' **'uq' yAX 'AdAle'guh** *L (or possibly 'uq' yAX 'AdAle'gw),* **'uq' yAX 'AdAle'g** feel around on it!, palpate it! *L.*

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9b. *With expanded stem*: **'uq' li' 'Ale:g** pet it! *LM,* **'u:na'q' li' 'Ale: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:na'q' li' qu'xle:g** I'll pet you(r head) *A,* **'uq' li' xle:g** I'm petting it *L,* **'uq' li' sile:gL** I petted it (several strokes) *L; indirect reflexive, with perambulative:* **'Adq' yAX dAle:gk'** he (cust) feels, gropes around on himself *36.32A.*

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10. *With o-yAq' 'in o (not with broad opening at top)':* a.: *with o-l-yAq'-ch' '(continuous movement) into o's head':* **silAyAq'Ach' GAle'gL** it (drink) is going to (penetrating) my head *L (-Ach' perhaps in error for 'Ash, cf. 10b.), with o-ku:l-yAq' 'in o's belly':* **'anhku:lAyAq' sAle'gL** he (Raven) clawed into his (eaglet's) belly *8.7A.*

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10b. *Repetitive, with non-reduced stem*: **'a'd silAqahyAq' 'Ash k'ule'ggga' 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I feel like someone keeps reaching his hand clear through my head (iwht incessant repeated questions) *L.*

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11. *With o-ya'X 'in o (with broad opening at top)' and perambulative*: **qe'LGAyu: ts'a:tl'LAlAya'X yAX 'AdAle'g da:X** as women fuss with their hands inside baby-baskets *23.12A (Active conditional).*

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12. *With o-l-Xa:n' 'in competition with o',* S bet with o a.: **silAXa:n' GAle'g** bet with me! *L,* **'ilAXa:n' qu'xle'g** I'll bet you *L,* **silAXa:n'ch' GAle'gLinh** he's betting me *L,* **silAXa:n' sAle'gLinh** he bet me *L,* **'ilAXa:n' sile'gL** I bet you *L, Neuter perfective:* **'ulAXa:n' 'ixile'gLinh** I have a bet with him *L,* **dik' 'ulAXa:n' 'a'xle'gLGinh** I don't have a bet with him *L,* **'ulAXa:n' q'e' 'ixdile'gLinh** I have another bet with him *L; indirect reciprocal:* **'iLlAXa:n' 'idile'gLinu:** they have a bet with each other *L,* **dik' 'iLlAXa:n' 'a'dAle'gLGinu:** they don't have a bet with each other *L,* **Lich' 'iLlAXa:n'ch' dAle:gk'inu:** they always (cust) have a bet with each other *L.*

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12b. *Repetitive, with non-reduced stem*: **silAXa:n'ch' le:gginh** he keeps trying to bet me *L.*

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13. *With o-y-Xa:n'*: **siyAXa:n' sAle'gLinh** "he gave me a little something when I was down and out" *(a kindly, unceremonious, and unsolicited act of chariy) M.*

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14. *Indirect reciprocal with 'iLu' < 'iL-lu' 'through each other'*: *Rezanov* Таитлиуттилеко 'Драться prügeln, sich, kämpfen' *probably to be read* **da: 'iLu' 'idile'gw** *(with change of -uy- to -yu-; not to be read -guh),* **da: 'iLu' 'idile'g** let's hold onto each other, let's clinch *M,* **da: 'iLu' ya:ndile'g** let's hold (link) hands *M (Active optatives).*

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15. *Indirect reflexive, with qehX 'closed' and o-l-da'd 'on o's face (head-front)' and, o-d-da'd 'on o's mouth (oral-front?)'*: **'i:nda'd qehX GAdAle'g** cover your face (with your hand)! *L,* **dAda'd qehX 'idile'gLinh** he's got his mouth covered (with his hand) *L (Neuter perfective).*

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o-**'e:X yAX LA-le'g-X** *(underlying theme same as above, with o-'e:X 'in search of o' requiring L-classifier, and perambulative, requiring vocalization thereof)* S grope, feel about in search of o: **'Aw tsa'LdA'e:X yAX LAle'gX** he gropes about for the knife *32.8A,* **tsa'LdA'e:X … yAX LAle'gXlehd** because you were groping about for a knife *32.14A,* **tsa'LdA'e:X siwahd yAX LAle'gXlehd** because you were groping about for a knife for (use against) me *32.22A.*

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d-LA-le'g *(with d-thematic and LA-classifier, perhaps basic L-classifier, but all attested forms either indirect reciprocal, indirect reflexive, or perambularive, requiring vocalic classifier)* S have hands, arms in certain position, use hands (without acting on or in relationship with anything else specific other than S's body): *indirect reciprocal:* **'iLya' diLile'gL, 'iLch'a:ndAya' diLile'gL** he has his arms folded together (across his chest) *L,* **'iLyAq' diLile'gL** he ahs his arms outspread *L (Neuter perfectives); indirect reflexive with o-l-dahd 'against o's head':* **'i:ndahd dixLile'gL** I'm resting my head on my hand < I've got my hand against my head *L; with perambulative:* **yAX dALAle'gXinh** he's using, working with his hands < he's moving his hands about *L,* **k'udzu:Lch'a:d yAX dAxLAle'gX** I'm right-handed < I work with my right hand *L,* **dik' tl'ihXALch'a:X yAX dALAle'gXGinh q'A'anh** he's not left-handed *61.47A,* **ch'id Lich'a:ch' yAX dALAle'gXinh** he uses only one hand < he uses his hand(s) on one side only *L.*

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o-**'e' dA-le'g** *(stem here conceivably to be analyzed -le'-g, identified as le(') with -g-repetitive; with o-'e'(-X) '(motion within) place of (absent) o')* S be, get hungry for o, have, get desire, urge for o: **'Aw'e' sdile'gL** he got hungry for it *1b.3M,* **li:ya'e' xsdile'gL** I am, got hungry for beach-food *LM,* **'idehdah 'u'e' xsdile'gL** I'm quite hungry for that, really would like it (to eat) *L,* **te'ya'e'X xsdile'gL** I'm hungry for fish *L,* **'u'e'X xsdile'gL** I have an urge for it *L,* **che:ygulA'e' xdAle:gk'** I (cust) [get he urge to?] drink tea *L.*

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O-**le’g-~lug-** *(-lug- regularly with -g-repetitive, elsewhere -le'g, A also, analogically, -lu'g in repetitive and non-repetitive)* 1. S touch O with hand, applying some pressure, S rub, massage O: a.: *(non-expanded forms: -le'g from LM, A usually -lu'g, probably analogical, thoguh A also seems to make the distinction, not elsewhere substantiated, -le'g for 'bony part' (as O), -lu'g for 'soft part')* **sile’gL** I pressed it with my fingers *M, usually with ya' 'completely':* **ya’ GAlu’g**, **ya’ ’Alu’g** rub, massage (soft part of) it *A,* **ya’ GAxle’gL** I'm rubbing, massaging it (bony part) *A,* **ya’ xusAle’gLinh** he touched, rubbed me all over *L,* **ya’ qu’xle’g** I'll rub, massage (soft part of) it *A,* **ya’ Gi:lu’gL** 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),* **’Awa: ’Alugginh** 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-lX-da:-X '(movement within area) of o's eyes' or o-lXd-'e' 'in place of o's eyes':* **’Ad-lAXAda:X xdAlugg**, **’Ad-lAXAde:’ xdAlugg** I'm rubbing my eyes *L.*

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1c. *With expanded stem*: **xu:le:g** massage me! *L (preferred to xu:lugg),* **xule:gginh** he's giving me a massage *L,* **ya’ xle:ginh** I'm massaging him *L, with y-anatomical:* **xuyi:le:g** massage my hand! *L; repetitive:* **’Awa: ’Ale:gginh** massage (aching) part of him! *M; customary:* **xu:le:gk’inh** he (cust) massages me *M; reflexive, with qi:d-anatomical:* **’Adqi:dAxdAle:g** I'm rubbing my foot *L.*

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2. S eat O a.: **sile’gL** I ate it *L, usually with ya:X 'consumption, destruction',* S eat O all up, devour O: *Inceptive imperative:* **ya:X GAle’g** eat it up! *LMA, Inceptive imperfective:* **ya:X qu’xle’g** I'll eat it up *M,* **’Aw ya:X qa’le’ginh** he'll eat it up *L,* **ya:X ’iqe’xle’g** I'll eat you up *LA,* **ya:X lAXiqe’xle’g** I'll eat you pl. up *M,* **qa:lah ya:X k’uqa’le’ginh** he'll eat us out of house and home < he'll devour something around us *L, Inceptive perfective: 10.135A,* **Li’q’ ya:yu: qa:Xa’ ya:X GAle’gL** he's eating everything up "on" us *7.30A,* **’AwyAq’d ya:X k’uGAle’gLinh** he's eating things up inside it *10.7, 7, 7A,* **ya:X xuGAle’gL** he's eating me up *L, Active perfective:* **’Aw ya:X sAle’gLinh** he ate it up *LA,* **ya:X sAle’gL** ate it up *5.4L, 6.8M, 7.31, 43, 10.150, 11.164, 164A,* **ya:X sile’gL** I ate it up *MA,* **’AwyAq’ ya:X k’usAle’gL** he ate up something inside it *10.9A, Active optative:* **qi’ ’Aw ya:X ’i:le’gch’** until he's eaten it all up *10.57A, customary:* **ya:X ’Ale:gk’** (cust) eats it up *10.82, 85, 141A, with lX-class-mark for O:* **Li’q’ q’Ama: ya:X lAXAGuxle’g da:X** when I eat up all the (loose) roe *34.20L (Inceptive conditional),* **cha’tl’ ya:X lAXAGAle’gL** he's eating up all the blueberries *L.*

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2b. *With ya:X and reduced stem, repetitive*: **’Aw ya:X lugginh** he keeps eating them up *L, 10.139, 139A.*

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2c. *With ya:X and expanded stem (non-customary), rare*: **’Aw ya:X GAle:gL** he's eating it (one thing after another) all up *10.135A.*

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3. *With Xu' 'to finished form, straight' (pehraps intransitive),* S make O (bed), smooth O (e.g. blanket) out a.: **’u:d Xu’ GAle’g** make a bed there! *18.24L,* **Xu’ GAle’g** spread it (blanket) out!, smooth it out! *M,* make the bed! *LM,* **Li’q’ qi’ Xu’ GAle’g** make all the beds! < make the beds everywhere *L,* **Xu’ qu’xle’g** I'll make the bed *M,* **Xu’ sile’gL** I made the bed *M.*

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3b. *With expanded stem*: **Xu’ sile:gL** I made (several) beds *L,* **’u:d Xu’ le:gga’ linhinh** he made a bed of sorts there < he did like he spread several (e.g. blankets) there *18.29L,* **Xu’ le:ginh** he's making the bed *L,* **Xu’ GAle:gLinh** he's making beds (all day?) *L ("suppose you could say that"),* **Lich’ ’Aw qi’GA’e’d ’iXa’ Xu’ GAle:gk’** (cust) always make your bed! *L.*

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O-**’-le’g~-lug-** *(as preceding, semitransitive)* S take, grab, seize, snatch, abduct, choose, accept O, S buy O (on credit or with cash): *imperative:* **xa’le’g** *46.10, 10, 13, 13M,* **xu’wAle’g** grab me!, take me! *L, Rezanov* Уллегъ 'Держи halten (Imperat.)' **’u’wAle’g**, Уллеко 'Возми nehmen (Imperat.)' **’u’wAle’guh** (*or* **’u’wAle’gw**), *Anonymous* Уатлликъ *(m superscript insert)* 'Возьми' **’u’wAle’g**, **’a’le’g** grab it! *L, frequently with o-Xa' 'in intimate relation with o', here 'from o', also 'for o':* **’uXa’ ’Aw ’a’le’ginh**, **’uXa’ ’Aw ’u’GAle’g** take it away from him! *M,* **’Awtsin’da’d ’Awa: ’a’le’g** grab the end of it! *L,* **’u:ch’ahd ’a’le’guh** remove it from there! *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **ya’Xu: ’Aw ’uXa’ qu’lAXle’g** pl. dont accept it from him *19.161A,* **lAX qi’yile’g** you'll seize it this way *11.89A,* **’u:ch’ahd ’i’qe’le’g** it'll take you away *21b.4A,* **’ahnu: q’e’ qa’le’ginh** they were going to get him back *23.75A,* **siXa’ qu’lAXle’g** pl. don't take her from me *23.88A,* **qu’xle’g** I'll buy it *M,* I'll grab it *A,* **ya’Xu: xu’qu’yile’g** don't grab me *L,* **’a:nch’ahd lAXi’qe’xle’g** I'll take you pl. away from here *M,* **’idAga’q’L qu’xle’g** I'll strangle you < I'll seize your throat *L, Inceptive perfective:* **xu’GAle’gL** he's grabbing me *L,* **’uXa’ ’Aw ’u’Guxle’gLinh** I'm taking it away from him *M, Active perfective: 10.69, 11.85A, 21a.4L, 21b.15A, 31.2L, 37b.27fnAL,* **’utl’ila:wahd ’u’sAle’gL** chose him for his cousin *15.1M,* **’anhXa’ ’Aw ’u’sAle’gL** took (and carried) them for her *18.14L,* **’Awa: k’u’sAle’gL** he grabbed one of them *37b.28A,* **’u’sile’gL** I bought it, I took it *L,* I grabbed it *A,* **xu’sAle’gLinh** he took me (away), abducted me *M,* **’u:ch’ahd ’Aw ”usAle’gLinh** he took it away from there *L,* **XAla:gyAXAga’ Giyah ’u’sile’gL** I bought just enough food for winter *L,* **’uqi:yAga:gX ’Aw ’u’sAle’gLinh** he grabbed it with his toes *L, Inceptive conditional:* **’u’GAxle’g da:X** if I take it *L, Active subjunctive:* **’Aw ’a’le’gX ’utl’ dAxlinhinh** I told him to take it *L, customary:* **k’a’le:gk’** they (cust) take something *10.80A,* **’a’le:gk’** he (cust) takes it *10.85, 36.29A,* **’Aw q’e’ ’a’le:gk’inh** he (cust) gets it back, recovers it *56.17L, with class-marks for O:* **’Aw kAwusgL ’u’li:le’g** grab the paddle! *71.17LM,* **’Awgutl’ah ’u’dAsAle’gL** he grabbed the tails *45a.12L,* **ya’Xu: ’Aw ’uXa’ qu’gAla:lAXle’g** pl. don't accept it (liquid) from him *9.159A, with y-anatomical:* **xu’yAsAle’gLinh** he grabbed my hand *L; passive:* **xu’sdile’gL** I got abducted, taken away *M,* **q’e’ ’u’sdile’gL** he was recaptured, he also was captured *23.85, 86, 86A.*

,

O-**L-u’g~-ug-**, O-**LA-(~-dA-)le’g~-lu’g~-lug-** *(stem-initial l- always dropped with L-classifier, Rezanov once perhaps -L-e'g; forms with vocalized classifier, listed separately, always show restored l-, but stem apparently freely -le'g or -lu'g, the latter however somewhat less frequent and probably analogical; repetitive once -ug-, once -u'g-, once -le'g; reduced -lug- also perhaps spread to non-repetitive)* S move, affect position of O with manual pressure: 1a.: **GALu’g** push it (with your hand, e.g. away, along)! *L,* **’Aw Xi:ch’ GALu’g** push it away, push it way over there (with your hand)! *M,* **ya:n’ch’ GALu’g** push it down (with your hand)! *LM,* **ya:n’ch’ ’ALu’g** push it down! *LM,* push, flip it (toggle-switch) down! *A,* **ya’X ’ALu’g** push, flip it (toggle-switch) up! *A,* **la’q’ GALu’g** crush it (with your hand)! *L,* **’Aw’e’X li’ GALu’g** ply, stuff it in that < push it deeply in place of that *L,* **ya:n’ch’ siLu’gL** I pushed it down (with my hand) *LM,* **ya:n’ch’ q’e’ siLu’gL** I pushed it back down *L,* **ya:n’ch’ ’ixiLu’gL** I'm holding it down (with my hand) *L (Neuter perfective); indirect reciprocal:* **’iLyAq’ GALu’g** push them apart (with your hand)! *L; indirect reflexive with ch'a' 'towards self' and usually also 'AdX 'in contact with self' (classifier not vocalized, irregular, postpositional phrases with reflexive o perhaps to be considered preverbizalized): Rezanov* Чатхутлекъ 'Обними umarmen (Imperat.)' *perhaps to be read* **ch’a’ ’AdX xu:Le’g** *(only attested form with L-classifier and e-vowel in stem, or perhaps to be read -Lu'g by interpreting Cyrillic e as ë)* grab me to and hold me tight against yourself!, **ch’a’ ’AdX xuGALu’g** hold me tight! *L,* grab me to you! *M,* **ch’a’ ’anh GALu’g** grab him (toward yourself)! *L,* **ch’a’ ’AdX ’iqe’xLu’g** I'll told you tight *L.*

1b. *Repetitive*: **ya:n'ch' 'AxLu'gg**, **ya:n'ch' xLugg** I keep pushing it down, I'm pushing them (one after another) down *L (latter form given later and probaly the more correct).*

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2a. *With vocalized classifier*: *(direct) reciprocal:* **'iLu' ch'a' 'AdX GALAle'gL** they (people) are holding each other close, tight *L,* **'iLu' ch'a' 'AdX GALAlu'gL** they (dogs) are holding each other close, tight *L (probably an attempt at an* ad hoc *explanation for the viariation, not elsewhere substantiated); with perambulative:* **yAX 'ALAle'g** rub it (fast and hard) *L,* massage it! *M,* **yAX xLAle'gX** I'm massaging it *M,* **'Aw yAX xLAle'gX** I'm pushing it around (with my hand) *L,* **yAX xLAle'gX** I'm rubbing it (e.g. body) hard *LM,* **'u:dAXyu: 'Aw yAX LAlu'gXinh** he's pushing it around all over (with his hand) *L; reflexive, with y-anatomical 'hand' and ya'X 'up':* **ya'X 'AdyiLile'gL** he has his hands raised *L,* **ya'X 'AdyixLile'gL** I have (both) my hand raised *L (Neuter perfectives); passive:* **ya:n'ch' sLile'gL**, **ya:n'ch' sdile'gL** it's been pushed down *L.*

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2b. *As above, stem reduced (by analogy with repetitive, or incorrectly transcribed)*: *indirect reflexive:* **k'ah xsLilugLinu:** I pushed them all (people) away from myself *L (probably to be corrected to either -lu'gL- or -luggL-); with 'iLya' and perambulative:* **'iLya' yAX xLAlugX** I'm pushing it back and forth *L,* **'iLya' da: yAX LAlugX** we're pushing it back and forth *L (probably to be corrected to -lu'gX or perhaps -lugg); passive:* **ya:n'ch' sLilugL** it got pushed down *L (to be corrected to -Lu'gL).*

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2c. *Repetitive*: *indirect reflexive:* **k'ahch' xLAle'gg** I keep pushing it away from myself with my hand *L.*

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2d. *With expanded stem*: *with perambulative:* **yAX 'ALAle:g** massage it! *M.*

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O-**'-L-u'g** *(semitransitive of preceding)* S move, affect position of part of O with manual pressure: *with li' 'deeply in, towards back from front' and xut'L 'gun' as O,* S pull trigger: **'Aw xut'L li' 'u'sALu'gL** he pulled the trigger *(61.54A)*

la

O-**dA-la** S drink O *(generally without gl-class-mark for O 'liquid')*: *Inceptive imperative: Rezanov* Кателля! 'Пей trinken (Imperat.)', *Furuhjelm* Khatilia 'to drink' **GAdAla'**, **'Aw GAdAla:'** drink it! *L,* **q'e' GAdAla'** drink it some more! *L, Active imperative:* **'AdAlah** *L,* **'AdAla:** *M,* **'AdAle:** *L (twice),* **'Aw 'AdAla:'** drink it! *l,* **'Al 'AdAleh** drink this! *L, Inceptive imperfective: Wrangell* Каякухтала 'Пить буд trinken' **giyah qu'xdAlah** I'll drink water, **qu'xdAlah** *(not -la:)* I'll drink it *L,* **dik' qu'xdAla:G** (*or* **-lahG**) I won't drink it *L,* **k'uqu'xdAlah** I'll drink something *L,* **q'a:l ne:tl' da:X k'uqu'xdAlah** this is my first drink < now for the first time I'm drinking something *L,* **GAL'ihd ya: qu'xdAlah** this is my last drink < I'll drink a last one *L, Active imperfective:* **xdAlah** I'm drinking it *L,* **giyah xdAlah** I'm drinking water *M,* **k'uxdAlah** I'm drinking (something) *LM,* **dik' k'uxdAla:G** I'm not drinking anything *LM,* **dAlah** you're drinking it, it's drinking it *L,* **k'udAlah** you're drinking (something), it's drinking (something) *LM,* **k'udAlahya:X** lest there be drinking *L ('lest he drink something'?, or 'lest someone drink it'?),* **q'e' k'uxdAlahya:X** lest I drink anymore *L,* **da: dAlah** we're drinking it *LM,* **lAXdAlahshuh** are you pl. drinking it? *LM,* **'Aw dAlinhinh** he's drinking it *L,* **dik' 'Aw dAla:Ginh** (*or* **-lahG-**) he's not drinking it *L,* **dik' giyah dAlahG** they weren't drinking water *51.71A,* **dALidah k'udAlinhinh** he's continually drinking *L,* **'Al *wine* xdAlah** I'm drinking this wine *(not steadily or for a long time like following) L, Inceptive perfective:* **'Al *wine* GAxdAla:L** I keep drinking this *wine L,* **k'uGAxdAla:L** I'm in the proces of drinking something (a long time, constantly) *L,* **k'uGAdAla:Linh** he's "always" drinking *L, Active perfective:* **sdilahL(inh)** drank

it *2a.7M, 2b.11L,* **xsdilahL** I drank it *L, Active optative:* **giyah 'ixdilah** let me drink water *L,* **dA'u:d 'ixdilah** let me drink it *L,* **dA'u:duh 'idilinhinh** let him drink it *L,* **da: 'idilah** let's drink it *L,* **'u:dkih k'a' k'u:dilah da: k'u:dilah** I wish you'd drink (so) we could drink (together) < would that you drink something that we might drink something *L,* **tlanh qi'ch'ahd giyah 'ixdilah** whence would I get water to drink? *L, Active conditional:* **'ixdAlah da:X** just as I got started drinking it *L, Active subjunctive:* **'Aw 'AxdAla:X 'ixleh** *L, Inceptive subjunctive:* **'Aw GAxdAla:X 'ixleh** I want to drink it *L (but L prefers Active),* **k'uGuxdAla:X 'ixleh** I want to drink something *M,* **dik' k'uGuxdAla:X 'ixle:G** I don't want to drink anything *M, with perambulative, acttive optative:* **da: yAX k'u:ndilah** let's go around drinking (something) *M, customary:* **xdAla:k'** I (cust) drink it *L,* **k'udAla:k'inh** he (cust) drinks (something) *L (Active imperfectives),* **'idila:k'** (cust) drink it! *L (Active imperative),* **dA'u:duh 'idila:k'inh** let him (cust) drink it *L (Active optative); indirect reciprocal:* **k'ulah 'iLlAX dAlinhinu:** they're trying to outdrink each other < they're drinking more than each other about something *L; with gl-class-mark for O,* S drink O (some special liquid): **gAlAxdAlah** I'm drinking it (e.g. whiskey) *M,* I'm drinking it *("probably not water, more like medicine") L. Passive not used, see -'ya 23., l-dA-'a*

,

o-**d** O-**L-la** *(causative of transitive)* S make o drink O, give o O to drink: **sid GALla'** give it to me to drink!, make me drink it! *L;* **'id qu'xLlah** I'll make you drink it, give it to you to drink *L,* **'id siLlahL** I made you drink *L.*

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dAlah *(deverbalization)* drinking, drink, *attested only as o of* o-**Xa' na:w dAlahXa' 'AnahshAkih 'ilinhinh** he likes to drink whiskey *L (perhaps incorrect), and with -kih diminutive suffix in* **dAlahkih sitl' da:X 'i'dAlinhinh** he begs me for a drink *L.*

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-lah *(gerundive)* drinking: *with indefinite O:* **k'ulah 'iqe'di:leh** there'll be drinking, drinking wil go on *L,* **k'ulah xuGALga'L** I'm getting tired of drinking < drinking (something) is tiring me *L,* **'AnahshAkih yiLeh k'ulah** it's fun to drink (something) *L,* **q'ah dAq'Aw xuGi:Lga'L, 'Aw k'ulah 'iXa'** you're tiring me out already, (with) that drinking of yours *L,* **k'ulahga' xu'wALgAwinhinh** he's making me feel like drinking *L, with third person O:* **q'ah dAq'Aw xusALga'L, 'ulah 'Awa:** I'm tired of drinking it < it's tired me out finally, drinking that *L,* **giwa: 'ulahXa' k'u'xsLituhgL** I got lay from drinking beer *L.*

,

giyah sdilahL *(noun, unclassified)* humpback salmon *L ("deep talk" for same fish is ka:shk', < 'it drank water' ?)*: **giyah sdilahLXa' da: qa'qeh** we'll boat after humpies *L.*

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giyah da: LAlah *(noun)* water bucket *L (L unable to etymologize, but has to do with "drinking," perhaps < giyah 'uX da: LAlah 'by means of it we drink water', with LA- for dA- classifier required by o-X 'by means of o', nominalized Active imperfective).*

la~na1 *(complex of stem-forms, united here under the basic meaning of 'live or move incertain locality or position' and more or less clear derivatives thereof, probably to be identified with la:~na:1 and possibly also la~na2, see also comparative remarks (with Athapaskan and Tlingit under O-L-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) move, live, go, about the business of living, in natural medium (as fish, school of fish in water, people, community on territory, in locality)')* 1. S (fish, aquatic animal, individually or in school) swim (under water), move

(in water): **qa'lah** it (fish) will swim (away) *M,* **qu'qi:lah** they (fish) will swim away *M,* **q'e:yahd qu'dAlah** they (fish) will go back out to sea *21b.72A,* **'anhtl' GAla:L** it (loon) is swiming along (underwater) with him *27b.37A,* **te'ya' GAla:L** fish is, are swimming (along) *M,* o-**lah 'anhtl' sAlahL** it (loon) swam (underwater) around o with him *27b.38A,* **lahdz sAlahL** it (dead rat) moved forward out (in water) *28.67A,* **qAsAlahL** they (fish) swam *M,* **Xi:ch' sAlahL** it, they (fish) swam away, way over there *M, with o-da' 'to o' and q'e' 'back': 21a.27, 33L, with qa' 'up out':* **qa' sAlahL** it (sea-otter) surfaced, emerged *12.2, 5, 7, 29G, with o-qa' 'amongst o':* **'Awqa' sAlahL** it (fish) swam into school (amongst them) *L,* **'uXa' yAq' 'i:lahwahd** so it'd swim ashore by him *11.150A,* **'a:li'LX 'i:lahL** they're way up creek or lake, gathered near beach (to spawn) *(of all salmon but king) L (Neuter perfective),* **'AwyAq'Ach' q'Aw 'Ala:k'** they (cust) swim into them *62.5G,* **dik' 'AwlAX 'Ala:k'G** they (cust) don't swim past that *56.13L,* **q'e' 'AdAla:k'** (fish) (cust) swim back *21a.6L, 21.25A, Inceptive conditional (without da:X):* **te'ya' 'u:da' dAG GAlah** fish (which) might swim upriver to there *68.50A, with perambulative:* **yAX dAla:X** it (fish, or duck underwater) is swimming around *L,* **'anhtl' yAX dAla:X** it (whale) was swimming around with him (inside) *11.162A,* **dja:q' ya:q'dAX yAX dAla:X** bullhead is swimming, moving around in the sky *(of a constellation) L,* **tsa'ya'X yAX dAla:X** they (fish) are swimming around at a deep level *L.*

2. S (human, group of persons) move, establish residence, household, camp, dwell, live (in certain locality): *'i-Active imperative:* **'ila'** move (your residence)! *L,* **'ilAXla'** pl. move (your residence)! *L,* **qu'xlah** I'll move *LM, 32.26A,* **da: qa'lah** we'll move *L, 32.26A,* **qa'linhinu:** they're going to move camp *L, 49.74A,* **'u:ch'ahd q'e' qu'dAlah** they're going to move back from there *49.81A,* **dik' qa'lahGinu:** (*or* **-la:G-**) they won't move *L,* **GAxwla:L** I'm moving *L,* **GAla:Linu:** they're moving *L,* **'a:nch' da: GAla:L** we're moving here *L, Active perfective (both in usual sense and in Neuter sense),* S moved, have moved, established camp, residence, S live, dwell (at certain locality): *7.1, 2A, 27a.10L, 28.134, 134, 135A, 39.1L, 47b.67, 49.18, 30, 30a, 68.59A,* **q'e' sdilahLinh** she moved again *49.19A,* **'ahnu:Xahd sAlahL** she moved (household) away from them *49.17A,* **k'udzu:dah sAlahLinu:** they have a good life, live well *21b.68A, Rezanov* Салляль 'Жить leben' **sAlahL** you, he, they moved, dwell, live (somewhere), **silahL** I moved *L,* **'u:dik'ah sAlahLinu:** they moved away from there *L,* Хатецеасылятле 'Сосѣдъ Nachbar' **XAtsiya'd sAlahLinh** he (who) lives down by the shore *LM,* **k'inhda:d sAlahLinh** he lives in another place *L,* **sitsi:n'd sAlahLinh** he lives below (downhill from and closer to shore than) me *L,* **yina:'d sAlahLinu:** those who live downhill below *L,* **siyAXd sAlahLinu:** those who live below me *L, Active imperfective (in customary or ethical sense, see also lah below)* S ordinarily, customarily live, below living (at certain locality): **'a:nd da: lah** we live here *L,* **'a:nd xlah** here is where I (often) camp *L,* **'u:d xlah** I camp there *L,* **La'dAXa' xlah** I camp (often) by a glacier *L (cf. tla'), Active optative:* **da: 'i:lah** let's move *L,* **dA'u:d 'ixilah** let me move, let me camp right there *L, with ya:n' 'down':* o-**Xa' ya:n' sAlahL** they camped, settled down by, near o *10.56, 56A,* **'u:d q'uhnu: ya:n' sAlahL** there they settled down *68.11A,* **'u:d ya:n' sAlahLinu:** they settled down there *68.39A,* **'a:nd ya:n' GAla:'** settle down here! *L,* **'Awqa'd ya:n' silahLinu:** I moved in, settle down amongst them *L,* **'ahnu:qa'd ya:n'ch' GAla:Linh** he's moving in, settling down amongst them *L, with lah 'home' (see lah 1. below):* **'utl' lah k'usAlahLinh** people moved (household) with her *25.140, 140A,* **'u:ch' 'utl' lah sAlahLinh** they moved there with her *25.143A,* **'u:da' lah sAlahL** they moved there *68.59A,* ***Cordova*da' lah sAlahL** they moved to, took up residence at Cordova *68.60A, Rezanov* Келясалятль 'Селенїе, жило Wohnort, Ansiedelung' **qi' lah sAlahL** place where they live *L (or perhaps qi'lah 'place around which they live', see o-lah below); with perambulative:* **yAX 'AdAla:** move around! *L,* **yAX dAla:Xinu:** they're moving about, migrating nomadically *L. Transitive (causative), only semantically regular attestation, see also O-L-la below): indirect reflexive:* **'AdXa' 'anh sLilahL** had him live with him(self) *15.2M.*

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dAG lah *(noun, unclassified) (nominalized Active imperfective of -la 1. with dAG 'upstrem, upland', 'it swims, they swim (staying, or in direction of) upstream')* trout (generic) *LM (species present: 'cutthroat or salmon trout (Salmo clarki)', 'rainbow or steelhead trout (Salmo gairdneri)', 'Arctic charr (Salvelinus alpinus)', 'Dolly Varden charr (Salvelinus malma)'), M 'rainbow or steelhead trout, Dolly Varden charr', G cutthroat or salmon trout (in Harrington and Li), Galushia Nelson* ɒə́qlà’ *or* ɒə́qlà 'trout' *BSdL 540.*

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li’ lah *(noun, unclassified) (nominalized Active imperfective of -la 1. 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* lí’là’ *or* lí’là 'rainbow trout' *BSdL 540.*

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te’ya’ga’ ’i:t’eh dAG lah *(noun, unclassified)* cutthroat or salmon trout *M,* small silver trout species *L* < salmon-like trout.

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dAGlahqAXah *(month-name) November? A,* < trout-month *L (L does not know what time of year this was), Furuhjelm* Takhnakhah 'month' *probably to be read* **dAGnahqAXah**.

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’u:nahd q’e:lu: ’idAla:k’ *(month-name) March* < month when they (king salmon) (cust) return *A (unknown to L) ('i-prefix probably required by 'u:nahd).*

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yAX dAla:X *(noun)* a certain star < it moves around *L*: *Furuhjelm* Nakhtanah 'star' *perhaps to be read* **yAX dAna:X** *(perhaps with initial Cyrillic u miscopied as и).*

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dja:q’ qi’dAX GAla:L *(noun) a certain constellation, "bunch of small stars together somewhere," which L cannot identify,* < where a bullhead is moving along *L, also* **dja:q’ ’u:dAX GAla:L** < a bullhead is moving along there *L,* **dja:q’ yAX dAla:X** < a bullhead is swimming about *L,* **dja:q’ ya:q’dAX yAX dAla:X** < a bullhead is swimming about in the sky *L, perhaps* Pleïades, *cf. Swanton 26th Ann. Rep., B.A.E., 1904-1905, p. 427, 'the Pleïades were called Wēq! ("sculpin")', Naish-Story wéX' 'bullhead, sculpin'.*

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yAq’ la:X *(noun, unclassified)* eulachon *A ("because they bury themselves in the sand"). yAq' 'ashore', but verb-stem problematic, apparently with -X suffix for perambulative, but preverb yAX absent, or perhaps a subjunctive form without prefix.*

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yAX ’isla:X *(gerundive of -la 2., above with perambulative)* moving (household) about: **yAX ’isla:X xuGALga’L** I'm tired of moving around < moving about is tiring me *L.*

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O-**L-la** *(semantically irregular causatives of -la; cf. widely in Athapaskan, where the intransitive -na means 'to live, to move', and transitives O-L-na mean 'to save O, to win O in gambling, to capture O': e.g. Navaho -nééh~-ná 'to move residence', -ł-nééh~-ná 'to win', -ł-nááh~-naa’ 'to cause to move', -ł-nááh~-ná 'to capture', Sarcee -nạ 'to live', -nah~-nạ 'to move camp', -ł-nạh~-nạ 'to win in gambling', Chipewyan -nà~-ná 'to live', -ł-nà~-ná 'to save one's life', cf. also Tlingit sì-nèx̱ 'to save some one; a supernatural being takes some one away' and Swanton* Tlingit Myths and Texts *p. 28)* 1. S rescue, save O('s life): *Galushia Nelson* xú·là 'save me!' *BSdL 313,* x̱úⁿtłà· *or* x̱ú·tła 'help me' *BSdL 555,* **xu:Lla’**, **xu:nLla’**, **xu:Lla:’**, **xuGALla’** save me! *L,* **’iqe’xLlah** I'll save you *L,* **’iGAxLla:L** I'm saving you *L,*

'isiLlahL I saved you *L,* **xusALlahL** he saved me *L,* you saved me *M,* **ts'iyux qa: sALlahL** mosquitoes saved us *14.8L,* **'Aw sALlahLinh** he rescued it *26.10L, reflexive: 33.4A, 52.37L,* **'AdqAsLilahLinu:** they saved themselves, survived *34.2M,* **'AdsLilahL** it's safe *M,* you're safe, you're saved *L,* **'AdxsLilahL** I'm safe *M,* I saved myself *L,* **dik' 'AdsLAlahLG**, **dik' 'AdAsLAlahLG** you're not safe, saved *L, with o-y-Xa:q' 'thanks to, by virtue of, dependent on o':* **'AwyAXa:q'd q'unhAw 'Awch'ahd 'AdsLilahLinh** by virtue of that he escaped from it *63.12G,* **di'wAX de:yAXa:q'dunh 'AdsLilahL** he barely recovered, narrowly escaped < just by virtue of what did he escape? *L,* **de:yAXa:q'dunhuw 'AdsLilahLinh** he barely escaped *M,* **'AwyAXa:q' q'unhuw 'AdsLilahLinh** that's how he escaped *M.*

2. S (especially supernatural being) abduct O: **sALlahL** abducted him, her *19.9L, 20.19, 24, 24A,* **xusALlahL** abducted me *20.80, 23.117A; with k'u-indefinite as o of o-d, translating as S, especially in reference to land-otters:* **k'ud xusALlahL** something (animal) "got a hold of me" *L,* **k'ud sALlahLinh** something (grizzly bears) have "taken him" *19.8L,* **k'ud 'iqe'Llah** something (e.g. land-otters) will "take you away" *L,* **k'ud sALlahLinu:** people (who have been) "taken away" by land-otters *L.*

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O-**'-L-la** *(semitransitive of O-L-la 1.)* S remove O from dangerous situation: **'u'siLlahLinh** I took, chased him away (out of danger) *L, with perambulative:* **yAX 'u'xLAla:Xinh** I keep him hidden around (so no one will hurt him) *L; reflexive:* **'Adu'xsLilahL** I ran away scared, saved myself, fled *L,* **'uya:X 'Ada'xsLilahL** I fled from it, avoiding it *L,* **yahd 'Adu'sLilahLinh** he fled out to sea, saved himself by boating out to sea *L, with q'e:yAX 'reversal of motion': 18.38L,* **q'e:yAX 'Adu'xsLilahL** I turned and fled, ran back away, saving myself *L.*

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lah *(noun, unclassified) (perhaps nominalized Active imperfective of -la 2. above)* 1a. (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-L-yAX 'in front of, before, prior to o':* **GALdALyAX(A)lah** the oldest, older one (e.g. of series of siblings, of pair of wives) *L, 9.73, 33.59, 75, 84, 50.55fnA,* **GALdALyAX lah siXAwAX** my oldest brother *(man speaking) L,* **GALdALyAX lahch'a:ch' yi:nhinh siXAwAX** my second oldest elder brother < my older brother who is next to the oldest *(man speaking) L, Rezanov* Итатлехля 'Меньшой der jüngere (Bruder?)' **'idALyAX lah** he's older than you *LM,* **sidALyAX lah** he's older than me, the next youngest before me *L;* (2) *following o-'ih-X '(movement within position) following, behind o':* **GAL'ihX lah** the youngest, younger one (of series, pair) *L, 18.59, 33.60, 69, 50.55A,* **GAL'ihX lah sAqe:ts'Akih** the youngest child *L,* **'a'd lAX'ihXlah xiLeh** I'm much younger than you pl. *50.64A,* **si'ihX lah** my younger sisted he's younger than me, "everybody that's behind me" *L,* **'i'ihX lah q'Al xu:** I'm younger than you *L.*

2b. *Following temporal adverbs*: (1) *With q'a: 'now':* **q'a:lilah** a youth in his prime *32.19A, Furuhjelm* Khalilna *perhaps archaic* **q'a:linah**, **q'a:lAlah yiLeh** he's young, a middle-aged person *M,* he's young (not fully mature) *L,* **q'a:lilahyu:** people in their prime *51.74A,* **q'a:lAlahyu:** younger people of today, the younger generation *L,* **q'a:lilahkih** a young person (woman in her twnties) *61.104A;* (2) *with 'ishta: 'long ago, in olden times':* **'ishta:lahyu:** *(not *ta:dzlahyu:)* people of olden days, our ancestors *L; see also ch'a:XAlah.*

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lah *(preverb)* home, settlement of household, community *(cf. 'anh (preverb) under 'anh1), attested only with -la 'S move, camp, live', see above, and -qe 'S go by boat'*: **q'e:lah sdiqe'Linu:** they boated back home *57.31G, and (uncertain, perhaps lah 'around') 60.63, 63, 64A.*

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-lah *(noun)* 1. *(unclassified)* hole, den, burrow, lair *(of animal)*: **'ulahch' Ga:L** it's going into its hole *M,* **'ulahyAq' qa' lAsAtahL** it (rat) came (stuck its head) out of its hole *L.*

2. *(d-class, with k'u-indefinite possessor referring to grizzly bear)* hole, den *(of grizzly bear)* < something's hole: **k'ulah** bear-hole *L,* **k'ulahda'luw** big bear-hole *L,* **k'ulahdA'a:n' shA'a'ch'Linu:** thye came to a habitation (of grizzly bears) *18.35L.*

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-wA-lah *(noun, unclassified) (-wA- prefix of uncertain meaning)* mythical spirit, sprite *(see BSdL 230-232, 504-505, and Eyak Texts 25.5fn for discussion)*: *Galushia Nelson* wʊla'iyu· 'animal souls or owners' *BSdL 544, 558,* wʊla' 'animal soul' *BSdL 558* **-wulah(yu:)** *(probably isolated by author's analysis, not used unpossessed),* **'uwAlah** *25.200A,* **'uwAlahyu:** their spirits *25.203A, attested also with noun as possessor: q'a' 'alder-thicket', GAdAgiL 'sun' (see gAL~giL), k'uxu'tl' 'killerwhale, blackfish' (see xutl'~xitl'~xutl'~xAtl'), ts'inhG 'alders', tsi: 'mussels (see tsi:y~-tsi:~tsi:ny~tsi:n), te'ya' 'fish, salmon' (see ya'), lixah 'grizzly-bear' (see xah), ge:Lta:g 'seal', Ga:ndich'ich'g 'small land- or song-birds' (see ch'ich'~ch'idj), shAlAG '(butter-)clam', dji:da:dAG 'razor-clam', sahx 'cockle', qa' 'AdXALA'ah 'horse-clams' (see 'a'~'a'), XAdich'e:' 'red-tip clam' (see ch'e:'), 'u'tl' 'driftwood', dALAxwe:g 'groundhog' (see xwe:g~xe:g, q'Aq'l 'loon, grebe', Gu:djih 'wolf'.*

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-lah-G *(element, suffixed to postpositional phrases to form nouns, with -G personal, clearly to be identified in origin with one or more forms of the shape lah under this stem; see especially lah (noun) 2., see also la:~na:1, 'lahG, and ya'~Aya')* 1. person who belongs to, inhabitant of a certain locality: *following place-name, joined with -dA-, probably -d 'at rest in': Galushia Nelson* í·γìyàqɒ̀làq '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:GdAlahG**, í·γìyàqɒ̀làqɛ̀iyù 'inhabitants of Eyak, Eyaks' *BSdL 543, 554,* **'i:ya:GdAlahGAyu:** Eyaks *(most properly 'inhabitants of Eyak Village at Mile 6') LMA, 24.60, 68.68, 45, 47, 58, 58, 68, 71, 75, 87, 69.4, 23A,* **ya:Gwda:dAlahGAyu:** *62.9G,* **ya:gda:ddAlahGAyu:** *68.83A,* **ya:gda:dAlahGAyu:** Yakutaters, inhabitants of Yakutat *65.34, 69.1, 2, 11A,* **sidgahdAlahGAyu:** Sitkans *68.83A,* **ka:shk'dAlahGAyu:** Humpy (humpback salmon) Creek people *(Eyak moiety in Yakutat Bay) L,* **tAXe:ldAlahGAyu:** Taral (Chitina) people (middle Copper River Ahtnas) *68.82A,* **'a:dna:'ya'dAlahGAyu:** Copper River people (Ahtnas) *M, with XA-dAG-d 'at rest upland of area':* **XAdAGdAlahGAyu:** Ahtna Indians way up Copper River *M,* upper-Copper River Ahtnas and all other interior Alaskan Athapaskans (thought to be cannibals) *L, with demonstrative locatives:* **dA'a:ndAlahG q'Al xu:** I'm a local < an inhabitant of right here this is I *L,* **dA'a:ndAlahGinh** a local *L (-inh suffix probably incorrect),* **(dA)'a:ndAlahGAyu:** locals, inhabitants of (right) here, people hereabouts *L, 24.59A, 62.21G, 69.1A,* **dA'a:ndAlahGAyu: q'Al GAyAG** we're locals *L, 60.107A,* **'u:dAlahGAyu:** inhabitants of there *L, after certain postpositional phrases, without connective -dA-,* **qa:qa'lahGAyu:** people who live, are established amongst us, who have been with, amongst us for a long time *L (see also la:-G- under la:1), Galushia Nelson* t'łá'ẋà'là'q *or* (tłáẋá'lá') *or* (qłá'ẋàlàq) 'Tlingit' *BSdL 543* **tla'Xa'lahG**, t'łá'ẋà'là'qɛ̀iyù *or* qłá'ẋàlàqɛ̀iyù 'Tlingits (glacier-people)' *BSdL 543,* **tla'Xa'lahGAyu:** Tlingits (all Tlingits, including those of Controller Bay and Yakutat as well as beyond) *L, 69.6, 13, 14, 14, 16, 17A,* **k'a't'GAlahGAyu:** (real) Aleuts (from Aleutian chain) *L,* **k'a't'k'ulahGAyu:** Kodiak Eskimos *L (both probably to be corrected to k'a't'q'AlahGAyu: 'inhabitants on an island, islanders'), analogical forms, probably incorrect:* **k'Ayi:ny 'anhq'dAlahGAyu:** inhabitants of another country *28.104A,* **'AwdAlahGAyu:** inhabitants of that *67.14G,* **ta:dzdAlahGAyu:** old time people (inhabitans of long ago) *63.26G.*

2. *Above,* person who belongs in certain position, *attested only with postpositional phrases, k'utl'a'q' or gutl'a'q' 'in stern of boat'*: **k'utl'a'q'AlahG**, **gutl'a'q'AlahG** captain (of

boat) *L, and with ts'a:tl'(g)ya' 'in a baby-basket': Furuhjelm* Tzatlkhijanak 'infant' **ts'a:tl'gya'nahG**, **tl'a:tl'ya'lahG** baby *L,* **ts'a:tl'ya'lahGAyu:** babies *L.*

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3. *See 'lahG.*

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-nah(**-G-**) *(element, probably closely related to lah 2. above and/or -lah-G, earlier -*nah > -*lah, but -*nA-nah (with -*nA- representing later l-thematic or -anatomical 'head, face') > -inah)* 1. person who is in certain chronological order by reason of birth, *with postpositional phrase GA-L-qa' 'in between in a series'*: **xu: GALqa'i:nah** I'm the middle one (of a series of siblings) *L. Not attested with -yu: 'plural'.*

2. *In* **-lAXe:'nah** *(analysis uncertain, most likely with postpositional phrase o-l-Xa:n' 'across from, opposite, even with o', cf. o-Xa:n' 'the whole length of o', earlier o-*n-Xa:nn'-(nA-)nah; -G- personal suffix appears with -yu: 'plural' but not otherwise)* wife's sister's husband, partner, *see also -la:(-G) under la:~na:2*: *Furuhjelm* Senaheana 'friend' **sinAXe:'nah**, *Galushia Nelson* sìlàx̣ä^{n}·nà 'partner (a fellow-clansman)' *BSdL 269, 543 (see also discussion in BSdL 138, 460)* **silAXe:'nah** "two men married to sisters" (my wife's sister's husband) *LA,* **silAXe:'nahGAyu:** my partners *L;* **k'ulAXa:'ne: 'iLtl' diLeh** were partners with each other *16.1M,* **silAXa:'ne: 'Adu'LiXinhinh** he claims to be my relative *M (L rejects variant -Xa:'ne:, "never heard", very probably incorrect).*

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-nah-G *(as above, with -G personal suffix both without and with -yu: 'plural') attested only in* **ya:nahG**(**Ayu:**) *(ya:- not clearly identifiable, see ya:(nn), which form perhaps not Eyak in origin)* Ahtna Indian(s) (especially from middle Copper River): *Galushia Nelson* yá^{n}nàq 'Coper River Indian' *BSdL 543* **ya:nahG**, yá^{n}nàqɛ̀iyù 'Copper River Indians' *BSdL 543* **ya:nahGAyu:** Ahtna Indians *L,* Ahtna Indians from Chitina *M.*

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ya:nahGAyu:Xa'[**d**] *(place-name) Dry Bay* < by the Ahtna *G (Harrington) (probably calque from Tlingit GunaXu).*

la~na2 *(na only under o-lah; forms here united under basic meaning 'circular motion' and derivatives thereof; perhaps to be identified with la~na1, with basic meaning 'circular or arcing motion restricted to certain surface from center by ???; semantically also related to leh, de:leh, nahd)*

yAX l-dA-la-X *(with l-anatomical 'head, face' and perambulative as 'reversal of motion' thematized, underlying theme without perambulative probably l-la, conceivably different stem from following)* S turn to face in certain direction: *with no locative preverbs or postpositional phrases,* S turn away, face the other way: **yAX 'i:ndilahL** his head is turned (away) *L,* **yAX 'i:ndilahLinu:** they're back to back *M,* they're turned away from each other *L (Neuter perfectives),* **yAX qu'lAdAlah** he'll turn around to face the other way *L, with various postpositional phrases and preverbs:* **sich' yAX lAGAdAla'** turn to face me! *M,* **sich'a:ch' yAX lAGAdAla'** turn around toward me! *M,* **sida'ch' yAX lAGAdAla:'** turn toward me (facing my front, while lying) *L,* **Xe'X yAX lAGAdAla'** *L,* **Xa:'ch' yAX lAGAdAla'** turn around to face the outside! *LM,* **sika' yAX lAGAdAla'** turn and face the same way I'm facing *L,* **'ich' yAX qu'lAXdAlah** I'll turn and face you *M,* **si:nda'd yAX 'i:ndilahL** he's facing me (in my head-front) *M (Neuter perfective),* **'uch' yAX lixsdilahLinh** I turned and faced him *M,* **'uch' yAX lAGAxdAla:Linh** I'm turning to face him *M, indirect reciprocal, Neuter perfective:* **'iLka' yAX 'i:ndilahLinu:** they're facing the same direction, lying "like spoons" *M,* **'iLq'Asd yAX 'i:ndilahLinu:** they're back to back *L.*

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yAX dA-la-X *(as above, but apparently with l-anatomical lacking, attested only in Rezanov)* S turn: *Rezanov* Хашляхехъкателля 'Поворотиться drehen sich, sich wenden' **XAshlAX yAX GAdAla'** turn closer (to me)!, Чичаяхкателля 'Обернись drehen sich, sich wenden (Imperat.) **shich'a' yAX GAdAla'** turn toward me!.

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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 -X perambulative suffix)*: **lah 'Aw GAta:Linh** he's turning it around, he's carrying it around in a circle *M,* **lah siLtahL** I turned it around (360° or more) *M,* **lah GAqe:Linh** he's turning around (boating), he's boating in a circle *M,* **Xe'X'iLch'a:ch' lah sAqehLinh** he (boating) turned outward (toward ocean) *M,* **'AdixiLch'a:ch' lah sAqehLinh** he (boating) turned inward (toward shore) *M,* **lah XAdla:si'yahL** I ran in a circle *M,* **lah gushLi'a'ch'Linu:** they're standing in a circle *M,* **k'ut'u' lah GAx'eh** I see around lot, see lots of places *L (either 'I see lots of things around', or, with lah a. undr la~na1, 'I see lots of places, villages',* **sit'a'X lah disiLahL** I put them (eggs) around (my middle) inside my shirt *L,* **lah siyahL** I want in a circle *M,* **lah Ga:'** turn (ca. 360°)! *L,* **'anhch' lah sahLinh** he turned around towards her *18.15L,* **qAlahqa'ga'da'X ('AdiX) lah GAxah da:X** when I've walked (in a circle) around (inside) four times *19.16, 16L, see also l-ta (transitive), O-tl'i: 2. (21a.23fnL, uncertain), O-dl-sha, -qe (43.31M), O-Xd-Xahd 1., O-L-Xa'tl' 2., -we, 'Ad-dl-LA-'e 1. (47b.31aM), and also a number of themes referring to twisting, turning, stirring: O-X-L-)ta 2., 3., d-dA-gudj, -xuL~, dA-GAmAt', O-GAts', l-dA-GAts', O-GAmAts', lah l-dA-GAmAts', O-L-GAdj 1.; with q'e'~q'e:- 'back again':* **q'e:lah** *57.31G,* **lah q'e'** *60.63A (perhaps with preverb lah under la~na1), in combination with perambulative, 'reversal of motion':* **lah yAX XAdAta:X** I keep switching sides paddling *L, see also -'ya 34b. and 2. below.*

2. *(requiring vocalization of classifier in intransitives and, like perambulative, -X suffix to stem in Active imperfective), with one basic theme only, see -'ya 34a.*

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o-**lah** *(postposition) (always with zero final, except for -ch' final once under 1e.)* 1a. (more or less circular motion) around o, (in position) surrounding o: **silah** around me *L,* **qa:lah wAX k'u't'u'L** grave-fence *L,* o-**lah** O-**tl'i** S wrap O around o, **sa'GAdAlah ts'Al** walrus < bones around mouth *M,* **tl'Aqa'gAdAlah ch'AX** bat < wings around rump *M, Rezanov* Касатъ-ля 'Ротъ Mund' **qa:sa'd-lah** around our mouths, **'Awlah 'Ash 'AdjahGL** sew it with stitch over edge around it! *L,* **silah yAX k'udAtsi:nX** they (mosquitoes) are buzzing (singing) about around me *L,* **silah yAX 'idAga'Xinh** he's dancing about around me *L,* **'ulah qa' 'u'yixsLiq'a:'shL** my hand is paralyzed around it (from carrying it too long) *L,* **'uyAku:nch'lah qa' 'isdiwe'ts'Linh** wove up around his thumb *34.100L,* o-**lah yAX 'AdAxdAlAG da:X** when I jump about around o *34.16M,* **'ulah q'Aw ki:nX 'idAle:k'** they (cust) circle it howling *25.36A,* **'udAkuhddAlah yAX 'iLa'na't'g** it's licking its chops *L,* **silah qi:li:'yahL** rope is wrapped around me *L,* **silah dAsa'yahL** it (boat) went around me *L,* **'ulah guGa'ya:L** water is coming (tide is rising) up around it *M,* **'ulah gushLi'a'ch'Linh** pl. stood surrounding him *44.5L,* **'Al 'anhlah GAxah da:X** when I go around the world *34.42L; further instances with class- or anatomical marks (see 1d. below for form with l-anatomical):* **ma:gAdAlah** around a lake, around (in) a lake *L, 27a.28, 34L, 27b.38A, 71.21LM,* **ma:gAdAtl'Alah** around a lake *27b.37, 45, 37b.2, 3, 4, 86, 86A, 71.1LM,* **dAq'a:gdAlah** around the fire *57.16G,* **qihdAlah** around a meadow *L,* **tsAdldAlah** around a board *L,* **sidAq'Ats'dAlah** around my collar *L,* **'Aw t'uhLga' da: yahddAlah Ga:'** walk around those three houses! *L,* **dAga'q'LdAlah 'a'L** ribbon around neck *L,* **'Aw XahdLdAlah sahL** he walked around the car *L,* **dzAwuLguLehgulah** around a ball of yarn *L,* **k'utahti:lAlah** *(apparently not *-ti:nah)* around a skin *L,* **tAGLlAlah** *(apparently not *-i:nah or *-a:nah)* around a hammer *L,* **tsa:dli:lah** *(apparently not *-dli:nah)* around a stone *L,* **sigulah** around the bottom (hem) of my dress *M,* **'ugAlah shidjahGL** I hemmed it *L,* **'ugAlah siXa'ts'L** I stitched

its hem loosely *L,* **sik'ushdAlah** my pants-cuffs < around my lower legs *L,* **dAq'Ata:Lk'ushdAlah** pants-cuffs *L,* **sich'a:ndAlah** my shirt-cuffs around my lower arm *L,* **sich'a:ndAlah GAtl'i:'** wrap it (bandage) around my forearm! *L,* **tanh siXa' (si)qi:dAlah qu'xdAtl'ih** I'll wrap my (burlap) socks around my feet *L, see also 34.7fn,* **siyAlah** around my hand *L,* **'isa'GAdAlah 'iya: ya' qa'q'u'tl'** your lips will get chapped *L, Rezanov* Каляхателля 'Зрачокъ Pupille' **qa:lAXAdAlah** around our eyes, **k'ulAXAdAlah** around the eye *M; with indeterminate o:* **Ge:ts' 'uXa' dAlah gusdi'yahL** her spruceroots got caught (on, around something) *37a.12L.*

1b. *With reflexive o 'iL-, 'iLlah or 'iLah 'around each other', frequently also 'tangled, mixed together'*: **'iL(l)ah** O-**tl'i** S tie, wrap, fold, coil O (together), **'iLah tsin'lAGA'a'** mix them together! *M, see also gdl-'ya 1., and -'ya 3. (with 'iL(l)ah perhaps sometimes used preverbially).*

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1c. *With special meaning* in arc away from, avoiding, averted from o *(i.e. with S, not o as center)*: **'Aw kuslah lAta:k'** they (cust) avert their heads from the urine *33.17A (cf. 2a. below, and 'u:ch' lah 'Adla:si'ehL 'she sneaked around (skirting) thither' 47b.31M.*

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1d. *With l-anatomical,* o-**:-nahd** around o's head: **'i:nah GAwe:g** put headband around your head! *L,* **si:nah** around my head *L,* **si:nah yAX da:Xinh** "sounds like 'he's walking around my head'" *L, with zero(?) o: Galushia Nelson* í·nà wè·ktł 'head band' *BSdL 550* **'i:nah we:gL**; *with figurative meaning:* **'u:nah 'ixlinhinh** I respect, think the world of him *L ('i-leh~2a. 'S have emotion').*

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1e. *With XA- 'area' as o,* around a large land-mass, *once* down over mountains, *usually* around a point of land: **XAlah yAX 'idi:L'ah** it (wind?) came down from (the other side of the Chugach) mountains *L,* **'u:d XAlah sLidahL** it (duck) swam around the point there *M,* **XAlah sAqehLinh** he boated around a point *M,* **XAlah GAqe:Linh** he's boating around a point *M,* **XAlah sahL**, *or, with dA- 'ipse'(?),* **dAXAlah sahL** he came around a point or corner *L, with -ch' final (perhaps incorrect):* **XAlahch' GAqe:Linh** he's boating around a point (boat becoming partly visible) *M.*

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2a. *With more or less figurative meaning* about, around o: o-**lah l-ta** S look O over *(cf. 1c. above and 2b. below),* **silah dla:sdima'Linh** he cursed(?, said something unfortunate?) about me *M,* o-**lah yAX 'i-dA-yu'-X** S curse o, *with reflexive o:* **'Ad-lah yAX 'iLA'a:nXinh** he looks about around (on) himself *24.52fnA,* **qa:lah ya:X k'uqa'le'ginh** he'll eat us out of house and home < he'll devour something around us *L.*

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2b. *With figurative meaning* about, concerning o: o-**lah 'u-'-(l-)ta** S become aware of, notice, find out about o *('u-'-(l-)ta 2.),* **du:lahdunh** about whom (is he talking)? *L,* **de:lahdunh** about what (is he talking)? *L,* **da:d-lahdunh** about what place (is he talking)? *L,* **de:lah da:dd** about what place? *L,* **k'ulah 'iLlAX qu'dAdAt'uhinu:** they'll argue about something *L,* **'ilah qe:lihxLAts'anh** I'll be hard-hearted with you *M,* **'Aw yahddAlah Li'q' k'u'lixiLgah** I know everything about that house *L,* o-**lah** (o-**tl'**) O-**'-Xa** S tell (o) O about o, o-**lah** (o-**tl'**) **'i-dA-'-Xa** S tell (o) about o, **silah dla:sdima'Linh** he cursed(?, said something unfortunate?) about me *M,* o-**lah qe'-le'** S love (have upsurging emotion concerning) o, o-**lah d-le** S say about o, o-**lah tsin'd-le** S talk, speak about o, o-**lah li'X l-le** S laugh about, at o, **'AdAwi'L** o-**lah 'i-d-le** *(transitive)* S be, become excited about, over o, o-**lah yAX 'Ad-'i:lih-LA-'ya-X** S think about o, **dik' 'ilah ya: 'ALe:Gyu:** things which don't concern you < those which are not a thing concerning you *51.24A (cf. 2c. below),* o-**lah yAX dA-a** S take care of, nurse o < S walk about concerning o, *with reciprocal o, 'iLlah or 'iLah: see qe'le' 1a.,* **'iLlah qe'dAle't'ahL** love potion

L, **dik' 'iLlah yAX dA'a'ch'[X]Ginu:** they don't take care of each other *L, with reflexive o:* **'Ad-lah 'u'sditahL** he found out about himself *23.62A,* **'Ad-lah 'u'xsditahL** I found out about myself *32.21A,* **dA'a: 'Ad-lah tsin'dAlinhinh** he's talking about himself *L, with zero reflexive o:* o-**Xa' lah qe'-d-le** S be disappointed, have feelings hurt by o < S have upsurge of feeling concerning self in relation with o, *see qe'-le' 1b.*

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2c. *With figurative meaning* fault of (attributable to) o: **de:lahdunhAw 'a'q' sahL** 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 ya: (k'u-)Le(')** S (something) be, become a thing concerning, attributable to o: **dik' dAdu:lah ya:duw 'a'Le:G** it's no one's fault *61.32A,* **silah ya: k'u:Leh** it's my fault, I got into trouble < something is a thing, a thing exists concerning, attributable to me *L,* **'ulah ya: q'unh k'usALe'L** he got into trouble *L,* **k'ulah ya: k'uGALe'L** someone is, people are getting into trouble *L.*

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ch'a:XAlah *(personal name) Jerry Nelson, son of Anna and Galushia Nelson LMA* < "coming around point" *LM. (Cf. XA-lah, 'around area/point', ch'a:X 'toward (self)'; cf. also ch'a:XAna: below.)*

2. *Tlingit man S.*

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3. *part-Tlingit man, shot by Sewak L.*

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ch'a:XAna: *(personal name) John Henry of Yakutat (from Elain Ramos) (etymology unclear; cf. ch'a:XAlah above).*

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-d-L-XAlah *(perhaps XA-lah under o-lah 1e. as postposition, with d-thematic and L-classifier, but listed as separate stem) see XAlah.*

la´ *(perhaps related to la' and to l-anatomical mark)*

l-LA-la´ *(with l-anatomical 'head, face')* S be, become (involuntarily) a certain way facially, *frequent in Neuter imperfective*: *with no adverbs, preverbs, or postpositional phrases:* **'i:nLilah** you're good-looking *M, with suffixed -shiyah 'bad':* **'i:nLilinhinhshiyah** "funnyface, uglymug" *(children's taunt) 72.41L, with wAX 'thus':* **de:lehdshduhnu: wAX liLilah** I wonder why their faces are like that *24.34A, with adverbs formed with -dah:* **k'udzu:dah 'i:nLilah** you're good-looking *29.13A,* **k'udzu:dah 'i:nLilinhinh** he's good-looking *29.16A,* **k'udzu:dah 'i:nLilinhinh qe'L** pretty-faced woman *10.130A,* **sLa'dah 'i:nLilinhinh**, **sLa'dahkih 'i:nLilinhinh** a pretty-faced person *A, with o-ga' 'like o':* **siga' lAGALAlah da:X dik' k'udzu:dah qu'lALAlahGinh** if he looks like me he won't look good *L,* **siga' 'i:nLilinhinh** he looks like me (facially) *L,* **siga' 'i:nLilah** you look like me *L,* **dik' siga' la'LAlahG** you don't look like me *L,* **dik' siga' la'LAla:G** he doesn't look like me *M,* **dik' 'iga' la'LAla:Ginh** his face isn't like yours *L,* **'iga' lAGALAla'Linh** he's getting to look like you *L,* **dik' 'iga' qu'i:nLAlahGinh** he won't look like you *L,* **siga' 'i:nsLila'Linh** he got to look like me *L,* **'AlAshgahX 'iga' lAGALilinhinh** I hope he looks like you *L,* **'AyAwihga' 'i:nLilah** it (a mask) has a face like 'AyAwih *L, in nicknames:* **disLits'u'ts'Lga' 'i:nLilinhinh** "suckerface" *(of a white man) L,* **disLi'ehdgLga' 'i:nLilinhinh** "pilot-bread-face" *(of a white man) L,* **'i:nshdit'ich'Lga' 'i:nLilinhinh** she has a face like it's propped (inside, from cheek to cheek) *(of a wide-cheeked Chugach woman) L; indirect reflexive:* **'iLga' 'i:nLilinhinu:**, **'iLga' 'i:nLilah**, **'iLga' liLilah** they look like each other (facially) *L, with 'iL-da:X 'contrasting with each other':* **'iLda:X k'u:nLilah** all kinds of strange faces, new people, different faces < people's faces contrast *L. Transitive (causative): with ya' 'completely',* S strike, hit O hard in face, bust O's face in: **ya' li:Llin'inh** bust his puss in! *L,* **ya' 'i:nsiLla'Linh** I busted

his face in *L; reflexive,* S be, become (voluntarily), act a certain way facially: *with o-wa:LX 'by close attention to o':* **siwa:LX 'Adi:nLilinhinh** he's making faces at me (imitative or not) *LM (see also l-le 1a.), with perambulative:* **yAX 'Ad-lALAla'Xinh**, **yAX 'Adi:nLAla'Xinh** he's making faces, grimacing, pouting *LM,* **ya'Xu: yAX 'Adqu'i:nLAlah** don't make faces *L.*

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dAXunhga' 'i:nLilah *L,* **dAXunhyu:ga' 'i:nLilah** *LM (noun, unclassified)* small owl species or some kind of hawk *(same as dAXunhyu:ga' 'i:nLida:' L). Nominalized Neuter imperfective,* < it has a face like a person, like people.

la: *(perhaps related to and/or to be identified with 'lah~'la: 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* Икателля 'Боленъ krank' **yik'a'dinh, la:** he's sick!, he's sick, see *L,* **ya:n' di:'yahL, la:** it's raining! *L,* **q'ahdAq'Aw qu'xqeh, la:** well, I'm (finally) going (boating off) now *L,* **da: q'e' 'idi'a'ch', la:** let's go home now *L,* **qAnuh sAqehLinu:** they've come (boated) into view, see!? *L,* **'a:nda' q'e' sdiyahLinh, la:** my (well what do you know), he got back! *L,* **k'u'luw q'Aw, la:** my, it's sure big *L; L also remembers, what is probably the same form in the childish (nursery) speech of Nikolai Nelson:* **'Adxut' 'Axut'ila:** shooting *(see xut'), and* **ye:ch', ye:ch'ila:** berrypicking *(see le:ch').*

la:d *(loan from English 'lard')*

la:d *(noun, perhaps gl-class)* lard *L.*

la:xga: *(loan from Russian лавка, probably through Chugach laaxkaq 'store', not used by Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

la:xga: *(noun, d-class)* store *L*: **la:xga: dAsAL'ahLinh** he owns, runs the store *L,* **la:xga: 'u:d dAsA'ahL** a store is there *L,* **la:xga:da'luw** big store *L.*

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la:xga:dAch'iya' *(noun, unclassified)* storekeeper, trader < store-master *L.*

la:X

la:X *(noun)* 1. *(g-class?)* nettle (Urtica gracilis) *L*: *Anonymous* Лахъ 'Трава папоротникъ' ('grass fern').

2. *(g-class)* string, cord *LM*: **LinhG guka: la:X** one piece of cord *L,* **la'd gAka: la:X** two strings *M,* **la:X 'u:d gusAtahL** *(not -'ahL)* a piece of cord is there *L,* **la:X sich' gu:'a'** (*or* **-ta'**) give me a piece of cord! *L,* **la:X siXa'** my string *M,* **la:XgAt'u'** lots of cord *L.*

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3. *(qi:l-class)* (heavy) cord, string, (light) rope: **la'd qi:na: la:X** two (heavy) strings *M,* **la:X qi:lAda:d ya:n' GAta'** set it down by the rope! *L,* **'Al la:Xqi:nAX 'ALch' GALtl'i:'** tie them together with this string! *L,* **'Aw lisdAch' 'Aw XAwa: 'Al la:Xqi:nAX da:X GALtl'i:'** tie the dog up to that tree with this string! *L.*

la:X~lAXA *(full or expanded la:X in stem, reduced lAXA in anatomical, class-, and thematic mark)*

-la:X *(noun)* 1a. *(lX-class)* eye: *Galushia Nelson* -la·x̣ 'eye, eyes' *(with various possessors) BSdL 541, 556, 557, 557, 557, 557, 557, 557,* **sila:X** my eye *M,* **'ila:X** your eye *MS,* **'anhla:X**, **'ula:X** his eye *M, Rezanov* Калляхъ 'Глаза Auge', *Anonymous and Baranov* Калахъ 'Глаза', *Khromchenko* Калахъ *(in both Ahtna and Eyak columns)* 'Глаза' **qa:la:X** our eyes, human eyes, *Furuhjelm* Khuliah (< *лях) 'eye', **lAXla:X lAXa: k'usha:dah 'u'lAXAGAdA'eh** you pl. eyes look bad *L,* **k'ula:X sich' lAXa:'a'** give me an eye! *L,* **LinhG lAXa: k'ula:XlAXa'luw** one big eye *L, Rezanov* Калляхэкея 'Слезы Thränen' **qa:la:XAgiyah** our eye-water *(from watering of eyes, not tears from weeping) M,* **'ula:XlAXA'e'd** its eyehole (in skull); peephole for its eye (in wall) *M, with deleted possessive prefix in pejorative epithet:* **la:XlAXa'luw** big-eyes! *MA, 1a.7M.*

1b. *(unclassified)* eye-region *(vague)*: *3.9, 13, 17M,* **sila:X siya: LAwehsg** my (upper) eyelid quivers *(omen that I'll see someone) L,* **sila:XyAXd siya: LAwehsg** my lower eyelid quivers *(omen that I'll cry) L,* **'Awla:X'e'X lahdz 'iLAts'inhGginu:** they dig their fingers into its (whale's) eye(-socket) *11.175A.*

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2. *(unclassified) figurative uses:* a.: **k'ula:X** "eye" (of cockle) *M* (siphon?); *Rezanov* Чахлеляхъ 'Ушки въ иглѣ Nadel-Oehr' **djahGL(A)la:X** eye of needle *M.*

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2b. eyesight, sight, imagination: **'ula:XXda:d** without his eyesight, sightless *61.2A;* **'ula:X 'Awa: 'Ad xgAwihga' 'Adu'xdAgAw** I have the feeling he's looking at me < I feel like I feel his eyesight *L; usually in postpositional phrase o-la:X-e'- 'in o's sight, imagination', see under 'e'~.*

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o-**ga' (l-)LA-la:X** *(with optional l-anatomical 'face', o-ga' 'like o')* S have eyes like o: **'iga' 'iLila:Xinh** he has eyes like you(rs) *L,* **dla:XA'i:nddla:'e'dga' 'i:nLila:X** he has narrow slitty eyes (like buttonholes) *L,* **XAlahsdla:GAyu:ga' 'i:nLila:X**, **XAlahsdla:GAyu:ga' 'iLila:X** spoonbill duck < it has eyes like white men *L.*

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lAXA- *(lX-anatomical, class-, and thematic mark, subposition C, for phonology see grammar; clearly reduced form of stem la:X)* 1. *anatomical mark,* eye *(see also lAXAdA- below)*: *in verbs: see O-(lX-)L-dAtl' 'S hurt O('s eye)', la'q' O-(lX-)L-dzux 'S poke O('s eye) out', (lX-)L-ch'iya'k' 'S('s eyes) smart', lX-L-gihdz-g, lX-L(A)-k'i:ngsh-g, lX-L(A)-k'i:ngsh-g 'S have something wrong with his eye', (lX)-xuL 'S('s eyes) roll', lX-L-xix 'S have cataracts', (lX)-qAts' 'S('s eye) burst', lX-q'a' 'S be crosseyed',* **lah 'Ad lAXAsLi'yahLinh** he moved his eyes around *L,* **lAXla:X lAXa: k'ushiyah 'u'lAXAGAdA'eh** your pl. eyes look bad *L; in nouns: -lX-L-du'tl'-g- L, -lX-du:ts' 'part of eye', -lX-L-xix-L 'white of eye', -lX-q'As 'one-eyed, one eye of pair', -lX-L- t'u:ch' 'pupil of eye'; in postpositional phrases:* **silAXAsinhd yiLeh** it's hidden from my (eye-)sight *L,* **'ula:X lAXA'e'd** its eyehole (in skull); peephole (in wall) *M, o-lX-a:L 'in o's presence, view'; in epithet:* **lAXAsha:'ne:** squinter *L. also original Eyak of personal name (cf. shiyah~ and 'luw~).*

2a. *Class-mark (of fairly large class of nouns, relatively clearly predictable semantically, including all beries and round fruits nd many vegetables, many coarsely granular substances or objects, eyes, balls, clearly derived from 'eye(-ball)'; the following is a fairly complete listing of the membership: -la:X 'eye', yAX lAXAdAts'AX 'ball', yAX lAXAdAXa'tl'X 'shinny-ball'; la'mahd 'berry' (and various species listed under 'mahd), shug 'strawberry', cha'tl', 'AdAcha'tl', XAdAGd cha'tl', GAlAXAsAXe:ts' 'blueberry species', GAlAgwa:X 'high-bush cranberry', qihda:q' lAXALAyah, sa' GAdAtl'its', q'e:shkuha:gu: 'cranberry species', ch'e:t'Ashiyah, wehx 'currant species', ts'AXLiqa:tl' 'nagoonberry' dla:Xt'e'Gshg 'unripe berries', la'q' lAXa'yah 'old berries', lAXALq'AGshg, dla:Xk'igshg, ts'e:ts', XAwa:tl'Aqa'd, XAwa:lAXAde:'Gi'giyah, XAwa:djehX 'berry species', lAXAdAdu'k' 'lemon', lAXAdAXAt', lAXAdAts'uh, 'a:ndj 'orange', 'a:bAls 'apple', lAXAsdiXu'L 'peach',*

'i:ndzi'X ya:lAXAtsidzg 'pear', 'ulAXALts'Alih k'u:Leh 'prune, cherry', k'uLe'xtl'ga' lAXi:t'eh 'grape', lAXALAtug 'rice', lAXAdla:'ehd 'raisins', gAldu:xa: 'potato', ye:LtAXi:, lAXALAchanh 'onion', t'e:G da:X XAlAXAdah 'carrot', cha:sh 'hedysarum root', k'ulehlAXAguch' 'radish'?, -lX-L-ts'Alih 'pit', -lX-L-gugs-g 'seed', ya:nu' lAXAdAya:' 'seeds (for sowing)', -q'As 'gland', lAXAt'its' 'hail', kihd 'dry snow', kAwu:d 'bead', di:ya'ga' lAXi:t'eh 'green bead', ch'e'ga' lAXi:t'eh 'brown bead', chiyah 'dentalium', lAXAdAtis 'dice', sha:XAlAGga' lAXALAgAmih 'candy', lAXAdAGahdjg, dAGahdjg, 'AddAGahdjg '(small) bell', and several nouns of variable class: ya:n' 'pill', gahG 'bullet, shot', xitl' 'snowflake', k'uleh 'rain(drops)', t'ahL 'broken-up leaf', chi:shg 'gravel', q'Ama: 'loose, separated roe') attested in a large number of verbs: see O-L-du'k', O-L-dAq', O-L-tAs-g, LA-tux, -ta, O-(L-)ta, LA-t'its', -t'e:G, -t'e´~-t'u´ 5a., -Le(') 1a., 1c., O-lX-L-dzits', O-tsinhG, O-'-tsa, O-L-ts'e'ts', L-ts'iya'ts', O-ts'i'k', O-ts'AX, lX-dA-ch'e:', LA-sha't'(-g), lX-shitl'(-g), O-sha'tl', O-L-ga:X, O-'-(l-)L-ga´, O-(lX-)kid, O-L-ku:n'd, -k'ahd, O-lX-L-xut'-g, -xuL (intransitive and causative), O-Gahdj-g, LA-qa't'-g (causative), O-'-L-qa´, O-qa (qa2), dA-q'ihdh, O-XAt', O-XuhL(-g), O-Xa'ts', O-'-(l-)L-Xa´, -wus 3., O-le'g 2., ya'X k'u-lX-le, o-lu' qa' k'u-lX-'ya, L-'ya, O-L-ya:', -'a, O-(L-)'a, L-(y)a, O-L-(y)a, dA-a´, combined with other thematic marks in preceding subpositions: see O-X-a 'S eat O', o-d O-X-L-a 'S feed o O', (with tsin'-thematic 'confusion' also of subposition C) **'iLqa:X 'Aw tsin'lAXAGA'a'Linh** he's spreading them (berries) all about *L; in adjectives: see -t'u', -dzu:, -shiyah, -gut'-g, -kuts'-g, -wAX, -luhd-g, -'lAw, -tsidz-g, -chahsh; in a large number of nouns and nominalizations: see many of the lX-class nouns listed above, and the following, not themselves lX-class: xitl'lAXAdAq' 'snowball', lX-(L-)tl'its' 'slush', djAX k'ulAXALitl'ihL 'duck species', lAXAdAtsu:x 'musket', lAXAchahsh 'gunnysack', shi:da' lAXi'Lch'e:' 'hemlock species', qa' lAXi'she:t' 'plant species', k'ulAXALshitl'gL 'sawdust', lAXAdAk'in't' 'pimples', lAXALk'igshg 'dry roe', lAXALxut'gL 'roe', lAXAsdiXu'L 'flannel' (cf. 'peach'), lAXALAtug 'uq' Xa:n'ch' lAXa'yah 'rice-table', k'ulehlAXAguch' 'mushroom', lAXAwehsg 'quicksand', perhaps also in GAlAXAlAXah 'radpole' (with preceding Gl-thematic 'ground' and X-thematic); in postpositions: see o-gwa'~, o-Xa' 1b., o-Xa:-X (Xa'~), o-q' 1a., o-X, o-'e' 1a., 4. (dA-le'g).*

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2b. *Class-mark, but probably partly thematized: with adjectives -tsidz-g 'thin', -chahsh 'thick', also with reference to grain, texture, especially of fabric, 'fine', 'coarse', lAXAchahsh 'gunnysack'; lX-shitl' 'S (cloth) wear thin'; with reference to precipitation and moisture in air: lX-L-gihdj-g 'it drizzles', k'AlAXAwusg 'fog', see also GAdAq'Ayi:ny, and ya'X k'u-lX-le, k'uleh above; perhaps also with reference to skin eruptions: see lAXAdAk'in't' 'pimples', o-lu' qa' k'u-lX-'ya 'o get pox, pustules' above.*

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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-'-lX-L-ki:nq' 'S be shy, sexually modest, practice avoidance behavior with O' (cf. 'Ad-'-L-ki:nq' 'S be shy', 'Ad-l-L-ki:nq' 'S be shy, sexually modest'), lX-LA-xahs~ 'S be afraid' (irregular lAX- for regular lAXA- in intransitive forms), O-'-lX-LA-xahs~ 'S be afraid of O' (cf. O-'-L-xa:s 'S abstain from, avoid taby O') O-'-lX-LA-tsi:ndz 'S dream about O' (cf. 'i-tsi:ndz 'S dream'); lX-XAL 'S be dizzy, drunk' (XAL1, see also XAL2); O-lX-L-Gehd 'S jounce, dandle O (baby)'; in two nouns of uncertain analysis: dAqu:lAXA'ah 'fierce person', GAlAXAlAXah 'tadpole'.*

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lAXAdA- *(lXd-anatomical and class-mark, clearly lX-mark combined with d-class-mark 'solid round' and 'expanse of')* 1a. *anatomical mark,* eye *('eyeball' and also broadly 'eye-region'), more frequent than lX-anatomical alone*: *in verbs: lXd-L(A)-t'a'Lk' 'S blink, flutter eyelids', (lXd-)dA-Lu'ch' 'S('s eye) swell', XAs lXd-Le(') 'S's eye be pussy', lXd-(dA-)ch'e' 'S's eyes*

be "sandy"', (lXd-)L-ga'ts'-g 'S have weak (eyes)', (lXd)-qAsh 'S('s eyes) be wide open', lXd-qAmAXts'-L 'S (child) stare', lX(d)-(dA-)q'Ats' 'S close eyes, wink, blink', (lXd-)LA-wAd~, lXd-LA-witl'-g, (lXd)-LA-wehs-g, (lXd-)LA-wahs-g, lXd-LA-wus-g 'S have (various types of) eye-tic', O-lXd-(L-)yAq'sh-g 'S rub O's eyes', 'iLyAq'Ach' lXd-'ya-g 'S's eyes keep closing from sleepiness' (-'ya 5.); in nouns: -lXd-L-t'ahLk' 'eyelashes', -lXd-q'Ayi:ny 'baby's eyebrows'; in postpositions: o-lXd-e:' '(in) o's eye' ('e'~), o-(lXd-)q' 'on o('s eye); o's eyelid', **'Ad-lAXAda:X xdAlugg** I'm rubbing my eyes *L,* **k'ulAXAdAlah** around something's eye *L.*

1b. *Figuratively extended, with optional g-class-mark in preceding subposition*: **we'LlAXAdAyAq'**, **we'LgAlAXAdAyAq'** in (the loop, eye of) a snare.

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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: xitl', xitl'lAXAdAq' 'snowball', xitl' 'expanse of snow on ground', k'uhdL 'moss' (perhaps semantically derived from preceding), sanh 'fluff' (perhaps semantically derived from preceding))*: *mark manifested in nouns and postpositional phrases:* **xitl'lAXAda:q'Aya'** snowlide, **k'ulAXAdA'e'd** place where there was snow, **xitl'lAXAdAda:d** near a snowball, *in adjectives: see -t'u', -'lAw, in verbs: see O-lXd-(L-)dAq', -ta, O-(L-)ta, -tl'ahdz, -ga´ 2. (ga´1), -xuL (causative), L-'ya (causative), -'iL, -'a, O-(L-)'a, O-L-(y)a; class-mark perhaps thematized:* O-**lXd-L-gihdj-g** S sprinkle water on O.

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lAXAdla:- *(lXdl-mark, combination of lX-class-mark and various d-thematic marks, also combination of lX-class-mark and dl-thematic, also combination of lX-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 lX-mark in that lX- with d-class-mark > lAXAdA-, whereas lX- with d-thematic > lAXAdla:-, homophonous with lX- with dl-, the only possible exception attested being in O-lXd-L-gihdj-g 'S sprinkle water on O' listed above)* 1a. *lX-class-mark with various d-thematic marks: lXdl-L-'ehd 'S (berries) dry' (d-L-'ehd 'S dry'), lAXAdla:'ehd 'raisins', O-lXdl-'iL 'S spill O (berries)' (O-d-'iL 'S spill O'), lXdl-L-qahG 'S (ball) fall' (d-LA-qahG 'S fall'), dAGida' lXdl-'ya 'S be full (of berries)' (dAGida' d-'ya 'S be full'), O-lXdl-L-'ya 'S move O (container of berries) onto or off of fire' (O-d-L-'ya 'S move O (in container) onto or off of fire'), O-lXdl-'e:'sh 'S string O (beads)' (O-d-'e:'sh S string O').*

1b. *With d- or dl-thematic, analysis uncertain: yAqa' lXdl-dA-ka:st' 'S (snow) pile up in drift' (dA-ka:st' ' S (storm, blizzard) rage', lXdl-LA-'Adz 'S (snow) avalanche, drift, pile up' (LA-'Adz 'S jump, plunge headlong', dl-LA-'Adz 'S fall over'); la'X O-lXdl-LA-(y)a 'S wear O (bead necklace)'.*

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1c. *With dl-thematic: O-lXdl-L-'e 'S hide O (berries)' (O-dl-L-'e 'S hide O').*

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2. *lX-anatomical, perhaps also lX-class-mark, with d- or dl-thematic, attested in postpositional phrases only: o-lXdl-ch' 'into view of o'; kAwu:d-lAXAdla:'e'X 'hole (eye?) in bead for stringing'.*

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3. *lX-thematic, with d- or dl-tematic:* o-X 'i-'-lXdl-XAL, o-X 'i-'-lXdl-we'q' 'o get half drunk and supply of liquor run out' (cf. lX-XAL 'S be dizzy, drunk', dA-we'q' 'S (supply) run short').

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-gulAXA- *(g-class- or anatomical marks with lX-class-mark) see under gu.*

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-gulAXAdA- *(g-class-mark with lXd-anatomical) see under gu.*

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GAlAXA- *(G-thematic with lX-class-mark) see Xe:ts'.*

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GAlAXAlAXA- *(perhaps Gl-thematic, X-thematic, lX-class-mark) see GAlAXAlAXah.*

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XAlAXA- *(X-thematic with lX-class-mark) see O-X-a.*

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dla:X *(d-thematic of subposition A or B with lX-mark) see dla:X.*

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tsin'lAX- *(tsin'-thematic with lX-class-mark) see tsin'.*

la:~na:1 *(probably related to la:~na:2 and la~na1, see especially lah 2. and lah-G)*

-la:(-G-) *(noun, unclassified, or perhaps suffix, with -G- personal suffix only in plural) attested with postpositional phrase o-tl' 'with o' in special kinship term* **-tl'-la:** cross-cousin: **sitl'Ala:** *(not -la:G)* 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,* sɪtɬta 'father's older sister's son (man speaking), father's older sister'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 perhaps not in the latter three, -nah(-G) 2. under la~na, also discussion in BSdL 568-569),* **'utl'ila:wahd 'u'sAle'gL** chose him for his cousin *15.1M,* **'itl'la:(shiyahyahsh)** your (female) cross-cousin's child *61.102fnA,* **sitl'Ala:GAyu:** my cousins *(who can marry each other) L; vocative, with -kih diminutive suffix:* **tl'la:kih** (cross-)cousin! *L.*

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-la:-G *(as above, with -G-personal suffix in both singular and plural)* 1. *with postpositional phrases: with o-ka' 'along with, in same direction as o', attested only in plural:* **sika'la:GAyu:** *(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:Ginh** *(perhaps to be corrected to -G-ih)* a person who is (happens to be) living with us *(more like qa:qa' yi:nhinh 'one who is (happens to be) amongst us' than like* **qa:qa'lahGAyu:** people who are (established) living with us, who have been with, amongst us for a long time) *L.*

2. *In possible analysis of* (-)**k'u-la:-G** someone else, other people, *where (-)k'u- is perhaps from postpositional phrase o-k'ah, see k'ula:G.*

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3. *In probable analysis of* **XAlahsdla:G(Ayu:)** person(s) of the white race, *earlier* Russian(s), *later (in American period)* American(s), English-speaker(s), *from XA-lahdz-d-la:-G (or perhaps from XA-lahdz-d-lah-G, but which should more regularly develop *XAlahsdAlahG)* person who is (from, belongs?) in area forward (out to sea, overseas), *containing postpositional phrase o-lahdz 'forward to o'*: **XAlahsdla:G** white person, American *L, Anonymous* Хласлак?я *(one letter not identified)* 'Биссеръ' ('beads') **XAlahsdla:Gya'** belongs to Russians, **XAlahsdla:GAyu:** whites, Americans *60.59, 60A, 64.13G, 67.55, 63A, Rezanov* Халяслякаю 'Руской Russe', *Wrangell* Калятляхъ-каю 'Russe', **XAlahsdla:GAyu:ga'** in English < like whites *(with verbs referring to speech) 50.50, 67.77A,* **XAlahsdla:GAyu:ga' 'i:t'inhinu:** Swedes *A (unknown to L, 'they're like Americans'),* **XAlahsdla:GAyu:ga' 'i:nLila:X** duck species, shoveler < it has eyes like white men's *L,* **XAlahsdla:GAyu: k'uGALe'L** one is

becoming white men (Eyaks are assimilating) *72.9L, Rezanov* Халястлякею *(crossed out, probably for XAlahsdla:GAyu:[ya' dla:q'Aya'] 'white men['s mountain-sheep]', replaced with* Тлакаякоете *dla:q'Aya'gwä' 'i:t'eh 'it's like a mountain-goat')* 'Коза Ziege', **XAlahsdla:GAyu:ya' la'mahd** apples, any store-bought fruit < white men's berries *L.*

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-na:-G *(as above, with -G personal in both singular and plural) in probable analysis of* **-kAwa'na:G(Ayu:)**, **-kuwa'na:G(Ayu:)** member of same moiety, relative, kin, partner, friend *(from -kAwa'-na:-G, -kAwa' perhaps variant of postpositional phrase o-ka' 'along with, in same direction as o', see also sika'la:GAyu: under -la:-G- 1.)*: **-kuwa'na:G(Ayu:)** 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, 34.73M, 37b.47, 64A, 57.11G, 69.14, 24, 70.1, 6, 8A,* **sikAwa'na:G**, **sikuwa'na:G** my friend, partner *LMA,* my relation *A,* member of same moiety as I *L,* **sikuwa'na:GAyu:** my "cousins" *L, (not *sikuwa'na:Gih), Rezanov* Кованакаю 'Ваши ('your (pl.)') euere' **-kuwa'na:GAyu:**, Калякекоанака 'Вогватъ Krieg führen' **k'ula:Gihkuwa'na:G q'A'anh** he's someone else's friend *L, Rezanov* Цкованака 'Землякъ Landsmann' **sikuwa'na:G q'A'anh** he's my friend, kin, *Wrangell* Секоанакъ 'Freund', Тексеконахалекъ 'Feind' **dik' sikuwa'na:G 'a'Le:G** he's, you're not my friend.

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XAlahsdla:GAyu:ga' 'i:t'inhinu: *(noun)* Swedes *A (unknown to L)* < they're like Americans.

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XAlahsdla:GAyu:ga' 'i:nLila:X, **XAlahsdla:GAyu:ga' 'iLila:X** *(noun)* duck species, shoveler, spoonbill duck < it has eyes like white men's *L.*

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XAlahsdla:GAyu:ya' la'mahd *(noun)* apples, any store-bought fruit < white men's berries *L.*

la:~na:2 *(la: LA, 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* Ляльта 'Мѣшокъ Sack' **la:Ltah** bag, sack, pouch, purse, pocketbook *L, 36.31, 38, 39A, Rezanov* Нальта 'Сумка Tasche' **na:Ltah**; **'iLdAGAla:Ltah** fancy beaded sewing-bag < one pouch above the other *L; see -L-tah, la:Ltah, 'iLdAGAla:Ltah under tah.*

2. **la:sA'ah** pot, cauldron *L, 7.36A, for -sA'ah see sA.*

lah *(perhaps related to and/or to be identified with 'lah~'la:, la:, and/or nah, see also neh, gAnah~gunah)*

lah *(interjection, generally utterance-initial)* behold, here, here you are, take it *LM (speaker uses when about to hand interlocutor something)*: *8.10A, 34.93L, 50.19A,* **lah 'ixa'dAwahd siLiL** here, I cooked it for you to eat *L;* **shiyah lah lah (lah)** here here here Mutt (here's some food for you) < Nasty here here (here) *(spoken to dog) L.*

'lahL *(probably historically *-n-'ahL > -'nahL > -'lahL, cf. general Athapaskan ci'ał 'pillow', Navaho o-í-ci-ni-l-'ał (stem invariable), or -'a·ł, -'a·l 'S rest (own) head on o', Hupa k'ʸ-e ce-...-ł-'ɑł, -'aƛ' 'rest one's head on a headrest, wooden pillow')*

O-**tsi'(l)-~-tsin'(l)-'lahL** *(with archaic tsi'-, tsi'l-, tsin'-, or tsin'l-anatomical 'head', cf. Eyak -tsin' 'neck', Athapaskan -tsi' 'head', in Rezanov perhaps also tsan'- or tsun'-)* S comb O's hair: **xutsi'li:'lahL** comb my hair! *L,* **tsi'li:'lahLinh** comb his hair! *L,* **'iqe'tsi'li:xlahL** I'll

comb your hair *L,* **'anh tsi'la'lahLinh** he's combing her hair *L,* **dik' 'anh tsi'lAslahLGinh** he didn't comb her hair *L, Rezanov* Хуцанлятль 'Чеши kämmen (Imperat.)' **xuts…'lahL,** *exact identification of nasalized vowel and of tense aspect uncertain,* … comb… my hair; *reflexive:* **'Adtsi'la:da'lahL** comb your hair! *LMA,* **'Adqu'tsi'xda'lahL** I'll comb my hair *LM,* **'Adtsi'lAda'lahLinh**, **'Adtsin'da'lahLinh** she's combing her hair *L,* **'Adshunh tsin'da'lahL**, **'Adtsin'da'lahLinhsunh** is she combing her hair? *L,* **'Adq'unh tsin'da'lahL** she's combing her hair (that's what she's doing) *L, Rezanov* Ацынталятль 'Чесать kämmen' **'Adtsin'da'lahL** he's combing his hair, *Rezanov* Ацухтеллятль 'Вычесалъ ? kämmte' *probably to be read* **'Adtsin'xw[s]di'lahL**, **'Adtsi'xsdi'lahL** I combed my hair *L,* **dik' 'Adtsi'xsda'lahLG** I didn't comb my hair *L,* **'Adtsin'sdi'lahLinh** she combed her hair *L,* **'AlAshgahX Adtsi'lAGAdi'lahL** I wish you'd comb your hair *L.* **Lich 'Adtsi'la:di'lahL** you should always comb your hair *L,* **'Adtsi'la:xdi'lahLwahd** so that I might comb my hair *L,* **qe'LGAyu: 'Adtsi'la:da'lahL da:X** as women comb their hair *23.10A (Active conditional).*

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tsi'lahL *(noun, unclassified, with archaic tsi'-anatomical, as above, occasionally also tsu'lahL from L and especially M)* pillow, comb: **tsi'lahL** pillow *LMA, 25.11, 12A,* comb *LM,* **tsu'lahL** comb *M, Rezanov* Цыллядль 'Гредень Kamm', *Anonymous* Цылаль 'Подушка', *Galushia Nelson* t'sí'làtł or tsí'làtł 'wooden pillow' *BSdL 546,* **tsi'lahLluw**, **tsu'lahLluw** big pillow, big comb *LM,* **tsi'lahLtah** (< **tsi'lahL-L-tah**) pillowcase *L, Rezanov* Тлеелькцылятль 'Подушка Kopfkissen' **Le'Lq'tsi'lahL**, **Le'LGtsi'lahL**, **Le'Lq'tsu'lahL**, **Le'LGtsu'lahL** feather- (down-)pillow *M.*

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'uX 'Adk'Atsi'la'lahL *(noun)* comb *(as distinguished from 'pillow') LA. Deverbalized reflexive of verbal theme, probably with -L-instrumental,* < by means of it one combs one's hair.

lahdz~lahs~nahs~'i:ndz~:ndz *(initial optionally zero after L-classifier, n- after Xdl-class-mark, final -s before -d final, reduced 'i:ndz~:ndz)*

lahdz *(preverb, with zero final only)* forward 1. *(not 'at, to sea')*: *18.66L, 25.72, 27b.9fn, 33.37A,* **lahdz sLidlahGL** it (gun) went off *L, 61.41A,* **lahdz 'Ad-qi:d-dA-tsu:x** S thrust feet forward *51.78, 79A,* **lahdz ku:lAGAxya:L** my stomach's getting bloated *L,* **lahdz GAlAGAdAsa'tl'** sweep the floor from back to front (toward door)! *M,* **-la't'** (o-**ch'**) **lahdz** O-**Xahd**(**-g**) S stick tongue out (at o), **'ula't' sich' lahdz qä' 'i:L'inhinh** he's sticking his tongue out at me *L,* **'u:na'q' lahdz 'Ale'g** pet its head forward (toward nose)! *L,* **lahdz** O-**L-t'ik'** S graze O with arrow, **dAlu' lahdz yAX dAXahdX** bureau of drawers *L,* **lahdz di'LA'u'G** exhale! *L,* **lahdz -'a´** S extend forward, **'i:ndzi'da' lahdz Ga:'** go forward to bow (of boat)! *L,* **'i:ndzi'ch' lahdz Ga:Linh** he's going forward to the bow *L,* **siyAXa'X lahdz** forward along the heel of my hand *L; in idioms:* **lahdz dja'g** they mistreat him (jerk him forward) *50.35A,* **guGq' lahdz xuqAXi:lAG** you torment me with lies (throw me forward 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,* **lahdz** O-**d-L-GAdj-g** S tow O forward out to sea *L, 28.72A,* **lahdz yAGALqa:L** it's dawning in the south *23.24A,* **qidga' lahdz dAxe:Xk'** low-water mark < as far as water recedes forward *L,* **ta'X lahdz GAxa:L** I'm walking forward (deeper) in water *L.*

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o-**lahdz~-lahs~-~nahs-** *(postposition, -s- with -d final, -n- with Xdl-class-mark, attested with zero, -d, and -dAX finals)* forward, in front of, on open side of, out to sea from, south of: **silahdz ya:n' GAte'** lie down to sleep on outside (of bed, not wall-side) of me! *M, with -d final 'at rest':* **silahsd ya:n' GAte'** *(as preceding) L,* **silahsd** in front of me *L,* **'Awlahsd ya:n' GAta'** set it down in front of it! *L,* **'Awlahsd sAtahL** it's in front of it *L,* **silahsd guGALa:n'L** he's standing in front of me *L,* **silahsd sAdahLinh** he who's sitting in front of me *L,* **tanhXAdli:nahsd**

outside the waves, breakers *37a.21L, with -dAX final 'movement within': 28.2A,* **silahsdAX (’Ash) sahL** it went (completely) by in front of me *L.*

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GA-L-lahdz-~-ahdz~-lahs- *(as above, with GA-L- 'of a series' as o)* foremost, furthest forward of a series, furthest out to sea, southernmost: *with -d final 'at rest':* **GALlahsd sAtahL** it's (in position at) the first in line, row *L.*

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GALahdzAya’ *L,* **GALa:dziya’** *S (place-name) eastern part of Copper River delta, probably between Coquenhena and Softuk LS (earlier note reads "Nichewak" instead of "Coquenhena") < GA-L-lahdz 'furthest out to sea, southernmost' as o of o-ya' 'into o with broad opening at top, as body of water' or perhaps 'Aya'~ 'that which is'.*

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XA-lahs-d *(as above, with XA- 'area' as o, attested only nominalized with -d final)* in front, out at sea, south, "outside" (over the Gulf of Alaska): **XAlahsd** outside, overseas, south, in Seattle *L,* out at sea *11.97, 97A, 21a.18, 24L, 64.1G,* in front *25.28A,* **la’dih XAlahsd ya: ’uXu:nLiyah ’Awa: k’a:dih** two of his front teeth are missing *L,* **XAlahsd dAXunhyu:** "outside" people, non-Alaskans *L, Anonymous* Халастлакъ 'Рускихъ называютъ' **XAlahsdla:G** (< **XA-lahs-d-la:-G**) white man, *see under la:~na:1, Rezanov* Халяцткольгеитенъ 'Государь Kaiser (Russen-Beherrscher)' **XAlahsd** *(archaic* **XAlahdzd** *?)* **k’ulAX ’i:t’inhinh** overseas chief, **XAlahsdAch’ahd ’idi:L’ah** wind is coming from off ocean, southerly *L,* **XAlahsdAch’ahd ’ida’GAL’a’L** wind is starting to come from off ocean *L,* **XAlahsdAda’** to (arrival at a point) out at sea *21a.23L.*

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XAlahsd *(place-name) village at Boswell Bay, cannery site* < outside *L, Galushia Nelson* x̣ə́lá·st *BSdL 544.*

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XAlahsdAXAda:q’d *(place-name) Egg Islands* < on outside (as Xd-class o) *L, Galushia Nelson* x̣ə́lá·stə́xétà·qt *BSdL 544.*

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-’i:ndz-~-:ndz-kih *(kinship noun, non-ascending, -i-:ndz- > -i:ndz-, -u-:ndz > -u:ndz-, otherwise -'i:ndz-, reduced postpositional phrase, nominalized, with -kih 'diminutive, affectionate', cf. -tsa'-kih '(woman's) older sister' and -dAGe:' 'younger sibling' under dAG; L frequently -'i:dz-~-:dz- with loss of nasalization)* (woman's) brother: sɪⁿski 'older brother (woman speaking)' *BSdL 566A* **si:ndzkih** my brothers *(older or younger, woman speaking) LMA (also used in direct address L),* **’anh GAL’ihX lah ’i:dzkih** your youngest brother *18.59L,* **’u:ndzkih** her brother *LM, 18.56L,* **k’u:dzkih** the (woman's) brother *18.50, 57, 67, 80L,* **qa:’i:ndzkih** our brother *(women speaking) LM,* siatɪⁿski 'wife's older brother (man speaking)' *BSdL 567A* **si’ehd’i:ndzkih** my wife's brother *L,* sɪⁿskiat 'older or younger brother's wife (woman speaking)' *BSdL 517A* **si:ndzkih’ehd** my brother's wife *(woman speaking),* sɪⁿskicia 'younger brother (woman speaking)' *BSdL 566A* **si:ndzkihshiyah** *(woman speaking, perhaps slightly pejorative),* **si:ndzkihGAyu:** my brothers *(woman speaking) 34.6fnL,* **’i:dzkihyu:** *18.71L,* **’i:dzkihGAyu:** *18.60L,* **’i:ndzkihGAyu:** your brother *(to woman) 20.68, 29.39A,* **’u:dzkihGAyu:** *18.80, 86L,* **’u:ndzkihGAyu:** her, their brothers *9.116, 116, 116, 121, 161, 20.45, 48, 60, 89, 29.27A,* **k’u:ndzkihGAyu:** the (woman's, women's) brother *9.154, 29.33A,* **Ge:ts’gAXAq’ ’i:ndzkihGAyu:** the magpie(-girl)'s brothers *9.116A, with suffixed -kih 'diminutive, affectionate':* **si:ndzkihkih** my little sister *(Scar Stevens called L this) L.*

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'i:ndz-i'- *(postpositional phrase, < *nAdz-'e'-, with reduced form of preverb lahdz as o of postposition o-'e' 'in place of o', cf. Navaho ná·s-e· 'onward, lengthwise'; sometimes 'i:ndz-in'- with assimilation to nasal, L frequently 'i:dz- with loss of nasalization; attested with -d, -da', -ch', and -X finals)* 1. in bow of boat *with -d final 'at rest'*: **'i:ndzi'd sALahL** they (things) are in the front (of the boat) *L,* **'i:ndzi'd sAdahLinh** he's sitting in the bow *L, with -da' final 'arrival at':* **'i:ndzi'da' lahdz Ga:'** go forward to the bow! *L, with -ch' final 'continuous motion toward':* **'i:ndzi'ch' lahdz Ga:Linh** he's going forward to the bow *L.*

2. *With -X final 'movement within',* forward, in front, out to sea, overseas, south, to Seattle: **'i:ndzin'X** south *LA,* **'i:ndzi'X k'u:y** southerly wind (from off ocean) *LS,* **'i:dzi'X 'ALGAdjg** paddle forwards! *L,* **'i:ndzi'X 'iqe'** boat forwards! *L,* **'i:ndzi'X GALAda:L** it (duck) is swimming in front (of boat) *L,* **'i:ndzi'X ya:n' dla:sAXa'tl'L** it fell over frontwards *L,* **'i:ndzi'X 'isAL'ahL** he travelled south *L,* **'i:ndzi'X k'uyAXa' siLtehL** I sent him away to Seattle *M,* **'i:dzi'X ya:lAXAtsidzg** pear < narrow toward the front *L.*

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o-**'i:ndz-~-:ndz-i'-d** *(postpositional phrase, as above, attested with -d final only)* in front of o (person, in boat?), in front, bow of o (boat): **'u:ndzi'd ya' 'Ade:** sit in its bow! *L,* **si:ndzi'd ya' 'Ade:** sit in front of me (in boat)! *L (uncertain).*

'lahs *(perhaps borrowed from Tlingit nàs- 'intestines')*

-'lahs *(noun, qi:dl-class, perhaps also unclassified)* intestines, guts: *Rezanov* Колясъ 'Кишки Eingeweide' **k'u'lahs** intestines *A,* **si'lahs** my intestines *L,* **k'u'lahs'a:w** *M,* **k'u'lahsqi:dla:'a:w** long intestines *L.*

'lahG *(Galushia Nelson once 'nahG, twice 'lahG, L never heard 'nahG; perhaps to be analyzed 'lah-G, or '-lah-G, -lah-G to be identified with -lah-G under la~na1)*

k'udi'lahG *(noun, unclassified)* chief of opposite moiety *L*: *Galushia Nelson* ɒəɒə'làq 'term of address for chief who is host at a potlatch' *BSdL 543,* qəɒinaq cɪcätɬ'ɪ' 'to kill a member of the opposite moiety' *BSdL 554* **k'udi'nahG shAshehLinh** he killed a chief of the opposite moiety, **k'udi'lahG xiLeh da:X q'a:d ya:g 'iqe'xLteh** if I were a "big chief" I'd give you away into slavery *(standard expression used with disobedient child) L. Identification of prefixes and analysis uncertain: perhaps k'u-indefinite, -di- (or -di'- ?) perhaps d-hematic, or classifier; form perhaps Neuter imperfective of otherwise unattested verb theme; more likely, however, reduced form of k'a:di'- of some negative meaning, with -lah-G, see la~na1; cf. also k'ula:G).*

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k'udi'lahGch'a:ch' yi:nhinh *(noun) attested from Galushia Nelson* gàɒɛ́ilàq t'ca·t'cɪniⁿ 'second chief of opposite moiety' *BSdL 543* < he who is next to the chief of the opposite moiety *L.*

'lah~'la: *(perhaps to be identified with lah and/or la:)*

-'lah *(element of uncertain morphological classification and meaning) attested only in* **q'ahdi'lah** goodbye *(used at routine leavetaking) LM (q'ah 'finally', dA-* 'ipse' *(or -d- 'indeed')) and in* **q'ahshuhlah** ready to go? *(used at proposed routine leavetaking) L (as preceding, -sh-uh interrogative).*

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-'la: *(as above) attested only in* **q'ahduhla:** *L (L later rejects in favor of following),* **q'ahdu'la:** I'm ready to go now *(used just before routine leavetaking) L, (cf. above and q'ahduh qu'xah 'I'm (really) going now, finally' L), Galushia Nelson* qatu·la 'goodby' *BSdL 554,* **q'ahshuhla:** ready to go now? *L; Rezanov* Калля 'Прощай lebe wohl!

(abschiedsformel)' *and Anonymous* Калла 'Прощай' *probably to be read* **q'ahla:** *or* **q'ahlah**, *not attested from modern informants;* **'AwA'ahla:** thanks *(somewhat flippant, not as sincere or good usage as 'AwA'ahdah) L.*

la'1

-la' S be, become hard, tough, strong, tight, firm, difficult *(not freely used, attested only in Active perfective, meaning same as that of dA-la' below)*: **sAla'L** it got tough *(same as sdila'L) L. Transitive (causative): see dA-la' below.*

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dA-la' S be, become hard, tough, strong, tight, firm, difficult: *Neuter imperfective: Rezanov* Тилла 'Крѣпко fest, stark' **dila'** it (e.g. meat) is tough, it's hard, difficult, tight, firm, he's tough, strong, lean *M, Rezanov* Теляальтатъ-андасаль 'Не во вреня unzeitig, zur Unzeit' *perhaps* **dila'**… **da:d 'a:nda' sahL** you came here at a difficult place, point; **dila' dAkinh** hard wood < wood which is hard *L,* **dik' 'a'dAla'G** it's not hard, tight, firm, tough *LM, Inceptive imperfective:* **qu'dAla'** it'll get hard *M, Inceptive perfective:* **GAdAla'L** it's getting hard, tough *L, Active perfective:* **sdila'L** 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):* **dA'u:d 'idila'** let it get hard *L (Active),* **'AlAshgahX 'idila'** *L (Active),* **'AlAshgahX GAdila'** *L (Inceptive),* **'AlAshgahX 'i'dila'** I hope it's tough *(Neuter?, uncertain, perhaps incorrect), with class-marks for S:* **'AlAshgahX qi:lidila'** *(not qi:la'dila')* I hope it (rope) is tough *M,* **'AlAshgahX didila'** *L (Active),* **'AlAshgahX dAGAdila'** *L (Inceptive),* **'AlAshgahX di'dila'** I hope it (board) is hard *L (Neuter?, uncertain, perhaps incorrect). Transitive (causative, also identifiable as causative of -la' above):* **GALla'** make it hard! *M,* **qu'xLla'** I'll make it hard *L,* **xLla'**, **GAxLla'L** I'm making it hard *L,* **siLla'L** I made it hard *L,* **dA'u:d 'ixiLla'** let me make it hard *L,* **dA'u:d da: 'i:Lla'** let's make it hard *L.*

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dA-la'-G *(as above, thematic negative)* S be, become weak, rotten, tender, worn, flabby, ragged, loose, S disintegrate: *Active imperfective: Rezanov* Тыльлякту 'Не крѣпко nicht fest' **dAla'Gduh** it's rotten, weak! *M, Inceptive perfective:* **GAdAla'GL** it's disintegrating *(especially of cloth or vegetable matter) L.*

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ya' (d-)dA-la'-G *(as above, with ottional d-thematic with ya' 'completely')* S be, become completely weak, rotten, etc., S disintegrate: *Inceptive imperfective:* **ya' qu'dAla'G** it (cloth, overcooked food) will disintegrate *L, Inceptive perfective:* **ya' GAdAla'GL** it (cloth) is getting ragged, (overcooked food) is disintegrating *LM,* **ya' dAGAdAla'GL** it (cloth, boots) is getting rotten *L,* it's wearing through *A, Active perfective: Rezanov* Ядестилякль 'Гнило verfault' **ya' disdila'GL** clothes, blankt, boots got rotten, disintegrated, have started to fall apart *LMA, customary:* **ya' 'AdAla:Glk'** it (cloth, food) (cust) disintegrates *LM. Transitive (causative):* **ya' GALla'G** cook it (meat) tender! *L,* **'iya: ya' qu'xLla'G** I'll tenderize it (meat) for you *L, passive:* **ya' sdila'GL** it (meat) has been tenderized *L.*

la'2 *(perhaps to be identified with la'~na')*

o-**la'** *(postposition) (with zero final only)* 1. omen, sign of o: *Galushia Nelson* qə̀tsú··lá 'good weather! (called out in connection with magic rite)' *BSdL 555,* **k'udzu:la'** good luck *L,* **k'udzu:la' k'a' 'i:Le'** (may it be for) good luck! *L,* **k'ushiyahla'** bad luck *L,* **'Aw la' q'Aw** that's a sign that something will happen *M.*

2. *With personal pronoun as o,* disaster for o: o-**la' -le** *(-le 20., 31b.)* S act disastrously for o, o-**la' d-le** *(d-le 1e.)* S say something disastrous for o, **'ula' ki:nX q'Aw**, **'ula' q'Aw ki:nX** it (dog) is howling (for no apparent reason) *(a bad omen) L, with overt reflexive pronoun as o in*

indirect reflexive construction: **'Ad-la' q'Aw dAle:** you do bad things to yourself < you act disastrously for yourself *L, with deleted reflexive pronoun:* **la' sdiliLinh** he brought trouble on himself *L,* **la' disdiliLinh** he brought disaster on himself by what he said *L.*

la'd *(in certain cases la'd-d > la'd-)*

la'd *(numeral)* two: *with -ih, abstract and in conjunction with unclassified nouns:* **la'dih** two *LS, 9.147, 10.76, 11.82, 25.77, 37b.7A, 56.28L, 56.5 Galsuhia Nelson, 64.10G, Rezanov* Ляатъ-тэ '2.', *Anonymous and Baranov* Лати '2.', *Khromchenko* Ляты '2.', *Wrangell* Лоате 'Zwei', *Furuhjelm* Lhati 'two', *Galushia Nelson* lá·'ɒì '2.' *BSdL 552,* **wAX k'e'sh la'dih** about two *L,* **ch'id la'dih sich' 'ALa'** give me just (exactly, at least, at most) two! *L,* **'Al la'dih 'Awa: 'ich' qu'xLah** I'll give you these two of them *10.72A,* **la'dih sich' di:'yahL** I've got two extra, two more than I need *L,* **la'dih 'uyAquh** her two young *20.73A,* **la'dih XAwa:** two dogs *LM,* **la'dih k'uyAq'a'ts'** two hands *M,* **la'dih 'As** two crabpots *M,* **la'dih k'ukahshga' 'i:L'a'** it's two feet long *M,* **la'dih 'uXu:nLAyah 'Awa: k'a:dih** two of his teeth are missing *L,* **la'dih XAlahsd ya: 'uXu:nLAyah 'Awa: k'a:dih** two of his front teeth are missing *L,* **la'dih tsa:'L** two food-boxes *L,* **la'dih XAdAchich'L** two corners *L,* **la'dih chAGL** two forks *L,* **la'dih sha'L** two clam-digging sticks *L,* **la'dih k'a:'shL** two halibut hooks *L,* **la'dih k'uXa'tl'ga' 'u:ch' xu'Ga:nsa'yahL** I spent two hours there *L,* **la'dih leh Ga:nsa'yahL** two years passed *L,* **la'dih 'uleh Ga:nsa'yahL** it's two years old *L,* **la'dih 'uch'ahd leh Ga:nsa'yahL** two years have passed sinced that *L,* **la'dih XAla:g 'uch'ahd 'i:nsdi'ahL** two winters passed after that *L; with classified nouns:* **la'd da: te'ya'gutl'ah** two fish-tails *45a.11L, 45b.11M,* **la'd da: tsAdl** two boards *M,* **la'd da: lis** two spruce trees *M,* **la'd da: dzanhd** two snowshoes *L,* **la'd da: k'udAdjehX** two corners *L,* **la'da:** (< **la'd da:**) **xut'LyAq'd 'uX dAk'u:d** two cleaning-rods *L,* **la'd dli:na: dla:XA'i:nd** two buttons *M,* **la'dli:na:** (< **la'd dli:na:**) **tsi:n** two branches *L,* **la'd guka:** two (filament-like objects) *L,* **la'd gAka: Ge:ts'** two spruceroots *M,* **la'd gAka: k'u't'** two threads, sinews *M,* **la'd gAka: la:X** two strings *M,* **la'd qi:na: la:X** two (heavy) cords *M,* **la'd XAda: gah** two days *M, 65.19A,* **la'd 'a:na: k'usha:w** two heads *M,* **la'da:na: qAXah** two months *M,* **la'da:na: 'itl'** two mountains *M,* **la'da:na: 'u:nAX t'a'q'e'ch' k'uGAdjgL** two oars *L,* **la'da:na: ch'iyahd sich' di:'yahL** I have two extra hats *L,* **la'd lAXa: lAXAdAtisg** two dice *L; with -nu:, referring to humans (or anthropomorphized animals):* **la'dnu:** 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,* **'ahnu: la'dnu: xi:lGAyu:** those two shamans *56.30L,* **la'dnu: sLa'dah 'u'GAdA'inhinu: qe'LGAyu:** two pretty women *M,* **la'dnu: 'u:d sALtehL** two drunks, corpses lie there *L, with -nu:lAya' 'pair':* **la'dnu:lAya' sanhAsi:nL** two pairs of stockings *L,* **la'dnu:lAya' si:nL** two pairs of shoes *L,* **la'dnu:lAya' tsa'k'** two pairs of mitts *L, with dA-* 'ipse': **dAla'dnu:** the two (of us) *62.12G; as o of postpositions:* **la'da'X** (< **la'dda'X**) twice *L, 27b.15, 38, 45, 50.20A,* **la'da'X 'isA'e'dzLinh** he took two steps < he stepped twoice *L,* **la'da'X 'iqe'xL'e'dz** I'll take two steps *L,* **la'da'X k'u'sALtahL** he (baby) took two steps *L,* **la'da'X 'u'siLtahL** I turned two pages of it *L, Galushia Nelson* lá'ɒá'ẋi·yà' *or* lá'ɒáẋi'à 'two-pronged fish-spear' ('double coming together') *BSdL 549* **la'da'X 'i:'ah** < it extends twice(?) *L,* **la'da:d** (< **la'dda:d**) two places *L, 25.30A,* **la'da:d sALahL Le't'** two boxes there < boxes which are in two places, **la'da:d dAsALahL yahd** two houses together < houses places against each other in two places *L, with -dah adverbializer:* **la'dah** (< **la'ddah**) two ways (in two languages) *69.8A,* **la'da: q'ahnu: tsin'dAleh** *(-da: of latter unusual variant?)* they speak two languages, both languages *69.7A; problematical forms:* **la'da' wAX dAleh** there are two ways to do it < it is done thus two ways *L (-da' perhaps in error for -dah, see also da'3),* **la'di'da:X 'iLda:X wAX dAleh** there are two different ways to do it *L (cf. k'a:di'da:X 'never', k'a:dih 'uda:X 'no use, futile'); as element in complex numerals;* **la'dits'i:n** seven *(see ts'i:n),* **dAGa:Xk'a:d la'dih** twelve, **la'dih ch'a:n'da'X dAGa:q'** one hundred; *see further instances under tle:qa: and Ga:.*

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la’dih yAsALqahL Tuesday < two days passed *L.*

la’t’~’na’t’ *(la't' in noun (Rezanov na't'), 'na't' in verb)*

-la’t’ *(noun, unclassified)* tongue: *Anonymous* Каллатъ 'Языкъ', *Khromchenko* Кала *(in Ahtna column)* / Калатъ *(in Eyak column)* 'Языкъ' **qa:la’t’**, *Furuhjelm* Khaleth 'tongue' *probably to be read* **qa:la’t’**, *Rezanov* Канатъ 'Языкъ Zunge' **qa:na’t’** our tongues, human tongue, *Galushia Nelson* kúla·t (or k’ula·t’) 'tongue' *BSdL 541* **k’ula’t’** a tongue *LMAS,* **sila’t’ yitl’a’dz** my tongue is tied, stiff (I can't pronounce it) *LS,* **sila’t’ sAtl’ahdzL** my tongue got tied, stiff *L,* **’ila’t’X da:X qu’LAtl’ih** *51.20A,* **’ila’t’t’e’ts’G** … **da:X qu’LAtl’ih** you'll be tied up (to something) by your tongue *51.21A,* **’u:d da:X qu’LAgAXts’, ’ila’t’t’e’ts’G** you'll be glued up to something there, by your tongue *51.23A,* **’ula’t’ lahdz Xahdginh** he keeps sticking his tongue out *L,* **’ula’t’ sich’ lahdz sAXahdLinh** he stuck his tongue out at me *L,* **’ula’t’ sich’ lahdz qä’ ’i:L’inhinh** he's got his tongue sticking out at me *L,* **’ula’t’ ’AwyAq’ qa’ ’i:’inhinh** his tongue is hanging out *L,* **k’ula’t’luw** big tongue *L,* **k’ula’t”a:w** long tongue *M.*

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na:XAgla’t’ *(noun)* some kind of plant, *perhaps* mare's tail, horsetail (Equisetum) < goose-tongue *L (perhaps a calque on English 'goosetongue (seaside plantain, Plantago maritima)', 'goosegrass').*

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la’t’ Xish *(place-name) perhaps near Italio River* < spearhead-tongue *(epithet) G (Harrington).*

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O-**L-’na’t’** 1. *(with -g-repetitive thematized)* S lick O: **’ALna’t’g** lick it! *LM,* **qu’xLna’t’g** I'll lick it *M,* **qa’Lna’t’g** it'll lick it *L,* **xLna’t’g** I'm licking it *M, with ya:X 'consumption, destruction':* **ya:X GAxwLna’t’gL** I'm licking it all up *15.15M,* **siLna’t’gL** I licked it *L,* **ya’d ’Aw sALna’t’gL** I licked it empty *L; reciprocal:* **’iu’ La’na’t’g** they're licking each other *L; Rezanov* Атлинаткъ 'Лизатъ lecken' *probably to be read* **’AdL…’na’t’g** *implied -i-vowel of classifier inexplicable, with y-anatomical:* **’AdyAxLa’na’t’g** I'm licking my hand *L; with indeterminate O and perambulative:* **’udAkuhddAlah yAX ’iLa’na’t’g** 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 perambulative,* S push O around in own mouth without eating O, suck on O in mouth: **sa’d yAX La’na’t’X** he's pushing it around in his mouth without eating it *L.*

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dA’a: ’AdLa’na’t’g *(noun)* snow which melts right away on ground < it itself licks itself (right up) *L. Reflexive of O-L-'na't' 1.*

’la’G~la’G *(form uncertain)*

o-**yAq’ qa’ Gd-’la’G~-la’G** *(with o-yAq' 'in o', qa' 'up out', and Gd-thematic, probably thematized class-mark or anatomical for 'mouth' cf. o-yAq' qa' Gdl-q'a)* o have, get indigestion and coated tongue: **siyAq’ qa’ GAdi’la’GL, siyAq’ GAdi:’la’GL** *(former given first, latter more probably correct)* my tongue is coated and I have indigestion *(happens to overfed babies too) L (Neuter perfective),* **siyAq’ qa’ GAdAsAla’GL** I got indigestion and my tongue became coated *L (uncertain).*

la’q’1

la’q’ *(noun, unclassified)* eel *LM (perhaps 'burbot (Lota lota)', and/or 'lamprey (Entosphenus tridentatus, E. lamottei)' and/or 'snipe eel (Avocettina gilli)')*: **la’q”a’luw** big eel *LM.*

la’q’2 *(perhaps to be analyzed la'-q' and identified with la'~na' and o-q' 'on o')*

la’q’ *(preverb, with zero final only except once, from M, with -ch' final, rejected by L)* 1. in thickness (least of three dimensions): **’a’d ’iLga’ la’q’ GAdah da:X** if they're very uniformly thick *65.5A,* **’idah la’q’ ’idiyah** is rather thick *65.9A,* **la’q’ -chahsh~-cha’sh** S be, become thick, **la’q’Ach’ GAcha’shL** *M (L rejects),* **la’q’ GAcha’shL** it's getting thick *L,* **la’q’ -tsidz-g**, **la’q’ LA-tsidz-g** S be, become thin.

2. flat, collapse, deflation: **la’q’ GA’e’dz** smash it with your foot! *L,* **la’q’ GALu’g** crus it with your hand! *L,* **sLi’mahdL siXa’ la’q’ shAta’ch’L** my bread went flat on me *L,* **la’q’ -qAts’** S burst, **la’q’** O-**L-qAts’** S burst O, **la’q’ -’ya** S burst, deflate, **la’q’ lAXa’yah** old berries in autumn *L,* **la’q’** O-**GAdj**, **la’q’** O-**L-GAdj** S puncture (and deflate, collapse) O with end of stick, **la’q’ qu’xLu’ch’** I'll break it (blister, with needle) *L.*

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3. *With reference to poking out eye*: **la’q’ lAXAGA’a’** take its eyebell out! *L,* **la’q’ lAXAGALdzuxL** it's poking its eye out *L.*

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4. *With reference to baldness*: **la’q’ qa’ li:shitl’Linh** he's bald < his head is worn up out thin *L.*

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5. *With terms referring to position of head,* looking upwards: **la’q’ lisitahL** I raised my head *L, also with preverbs qa' 'up out':* **la’q’ qa’ lisitahL** I raised my head *L,* **la’q’ qa’ lixitahL** my head is facing upwards *L,* **la’q’ qa’ ’i:nsAquhLinu:** they looked upwards *L.*

la’Xts’ *(Rezanov and Wrangell both imply affricate, probably dl-)*

la’Xts’-L *(noun, unclassified) (L-suffix lacking only in form from S)* star: **la’Xts’L** star *LMA, 2a.2, 4, 14, 19M, 2b.16L, also perhaps* starfish *L, Rezanov* Тляхцтль 'Звѣзды ('stars') Sterne', *Anonymous* Лахцыль 'Звѣзды' ('stars'), *Baranov* Лахцыль 'Звезды' ('stars'), *Khromchenko* Лахчль *(in Ahtna column)* / Ляхчу *(in Eyak column)* 'Звезды' ('stars'), *Wrangell* Тляхекль *(perhaps printer's error for Тляхскль)* 'Sterne', *Galushia Nelson* la’x̣tsł *or* lax̣tsł *BSdL 537,* **la’Xts’** star *S,* **la’Xts’L’At’u’** lots of stars *M,* **la’Xts’L’a’luw** big star *L,* **la’Xts’L qid disLiqahGL** shooting star fell < star fell down *L,* **la’Xts’L sAtse’q’L** shooting star fell < star urinated *L (later rejected in favor of following),* **la’Xts’L sAts’Aq’L** shooting star fell < star whizzed through the air *L.*

la’~na’ *(variant na' attested only once, perhaps analogical, see last subentry; following L-classifier often L-la' > La'; perhaps to be identified with la'2 and/or related to la'q'2, perhaps to be analyzed l-a', l-anatomical 'head' perhaps with -a' augment, original meaning perhaps 'on head, down over head'; derivational possibilities rather fully explored, L rejecting e.g. *XAla', *dAL(l)a'd, *o-gula'd, *o-yAla', *la'd)*

o-**la’**- *(postposition) (attested only with -d, -ch', and -X finals, or compounded as o of o-q', o-ga', o-lAX, o-'u'X)* 1. *With -d final,* (at rest, from a position a rest) hanging over, hanging on, draped, covering, tripping over (end, top, head) of o: a. **ch’iyahd sila’d** a hat is on my head *M,* **k’uXehLla’d GAta’** hang it over the rope! *L,* **sila’d k’uGAta’** cover me up! < drape something over me! *M,* **tsidldAla’d GAta’** hang it over a board! *L,* **tsidldAla’d ’Aw sALtahLinh** he hung it over a board *L,* **’Aw ’uq’ ’isla’Lla’d GAta’** drape it over that chair! *M,* **sila’d GAta’** put it over me!, drape it over my back and shoulders! *M,* **’ula’d qa’ dixsLiqahGL** I tripped over

it *M,* **'ula'd sa'yahLinh** he tripped over it *L,* **sila'd k'u:nLahL** I'm covered up *M,* **ch'iyahd sila'd lAGAq'e'sL** my hat is too tight on my head *L,* **'Awla'd q'ah lAGi:Xa'tl'G** don't trip over it! *L,* **we:shgXAdAla'd GALa'** hang them (fish) on a stick! *L.*

1b. *With dA-indeterminate o*: *7.8, 49.144A,* **dAla'd 'Aw 'Ash shAdja'L** he yanked it off (of what it was hanging on) *9.95A,* **Xi:d dAla'd qu'x-wi'g**, **Xi:d dAla'd qu'xLah** I'll hang them over there *M,* **'a:nd dAla'd qu'xLah** I'll hang them here *L,* **dAla'd qu'xtah** I'll hang it up *L,* **dAla'd dli:'yahL** it (net) is hanging on something *L,* **dAla'd 'i:'yahL** it's hanging up *L.*

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1c. *With GA-L- 'extreme of series' as o*: **GALla'd 'i:tahL** it's at the top of the pile *L.*

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1d. *With deleted reflexive o in indirect reflexive constructions*: **la'd qa' l-dA-'a** S take (own) hat off, **la'dsh k'uLiyahL** are you covered up? < have you something draped over yourself? *M,* **la'd k'uxLiyahL** I'm covered up *M,* **la'd wAX 'a'LAt'eh** wear it! *L,* **la'd k'a' wAX 'a'Lit'eh** you should wear it *L.*

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1e. *With y-anatomical*: **siyAla'd GAta'** hang it over my forearm! *L.*

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2. *With -ch' final,* (continuous, incomplete, repeated motion toward) onto (hanging over) o: a. **sila'ch' k'uLyi:n'inh** he's covering me up (with one thing after another), he's giving me clothes *M.*

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2b. *With deleted reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction*: **la'ch' 'uXa' xdishah** I'm too stingy to wear it *L.*

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3. *With -X final '(movement onto position) hanging over o', frequently figurative*: a. **sila'X GAya'** put it (hat, dress) on me! *M,* **'ula'X yAX dAGA'a'** put it (ring) on his finger! *L,* **'Awla'X yAX dAGALa'** cover it up with them (boards)! *L,* o-**la'X** O-(**L-**)**'a** S name o 0 *(0-(L-)'a 18.),* **sila'Xma:** *personal name L (see entry below),* **wAsheh 'ila'X** (**di**)**siLtahL** I named you *M,* o-**la'X Gl-'ya** o be late, **qAXah 'ula'X 'i:nsa'yahL** she's a month pregnant *L,* o-**la'X d-'ya** S (feeling, urge) come over o *(d-'ya 3.),* **k'ushiyah** o-**la'X d-'ya** o become angry, o-**la'X k'u-d-'ya** o become sexually excited.

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3b. *With deleted reflexive o in ndirect reflexive constructions*: **la'X yAX** O-**dA-tl'i** S have O (scarf, amnion) on, **la'X** O-**dA**(~**LA**)-**'a** S be named (*s'appeller*) O, **la'X** O-(**l-**)**dA**(~**LA**)-**'a** S put, have O (hat) on, **la'X 'ixLi'ahL** I have something on my head *L,* **la'X dAya'L** necklace *LA,* **la'X lAXAdla:ya'L** bead-necklace *21a.35, 37L,* **la'X lAXAdla:LiyahL** S have O (bead-necklace) on *21a.37L,* **chiyah la'X lAXAdla:Li'yahLinh** he's wearing a dentalium necklace *L.*

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4. *With -q' final or compounded as o of o-q' 'on o', then also with -d and -ch' finals,* on, covering o (as e.g. clothing): a. **sila'q'** on me (as clothes), covering me, over me *M,* **kAna:'d sila'q' GAta'** give me a coat!, put a coat on me! *M,* **Gu'L sila'q' GAta'** put a blanket over me! *M,* **sila'q' GAta'** cover me up with it! *M,* **'ula'q' k'uGAta'** cover it up! *M,* **sila'q' k'usALtahL** he gave me a garment to put on *M,* **-la'q'Aya'** clothing *(see ya'~Aya').*

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4b. *With -ch' final*: **sila'q'Ach' k'uGAta:Linh** he's putting a garment on me *M,* **sila'q'Ach' k'uLyi:n'inh** he's covering me up, giving me clothes, putting one thing after another on me *M.*

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4c. *With GA-L- 'extreme of series' as o, with zero and -d finals*: **GALla'q' GAta'** put it (blanket) on top of the pile! *L,* **GALa'q'Aya'** outside coat or cover *L,* **GALa'q'd** outermost (of garments) *L,* **GALa'q'dya' kAna:'d** *L,* **GALla'q'dya' kAna:'d** overcoat *M.*

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4c. *Perhaps with dA-indeterminate o and L-classifier, and -d final, uncertain, perhaps analogical with above*: **dALa'q'd ya: tsAdl** outside boards, facing, siding *L.*

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4e. *With reciprocal o,* in layers, strips: **'iLa'q'** O-**L-tsAX** S cut O into strips *37b.77, 65.47A.*

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5. *Compounded as o of postpositions o-ga' 'like o', o-'u'X 'less than o', o-lAX 'more than o'*: o-**la'ga' l-dA-a´** S (hat) fit o's head, **sila'ga' q'e' sdiya'L** it fits my head again *L,* **sila'u'X 'idiyah** it's too small for my head *L (but cf. silA'u'X 'i:ndiyah 'it (hat) is too small for my head'),* **'ila'u'X la'GAda'L** it (hat) is getting too small for my head *L,* **sila'lAX 'i:ndiyah** it (hat) is too big for my head *L.*

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sila'Xma: *(personal name) Eyak woman LA, mother of tsa'k'ma: A* < mother of hanging-on-me.

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o-**X-la'-** *(postposition) (with X-thematic, attested only with -d, -X, and -q' finals)* hanging, impaled on (over head, end of protruding) o 1. *with -X final*: a. **'u:d 'AwXAla'X sAtahL** it's hanging on that (peg) there *L, often with preverb li' 'back from front end':* **'uXAla'X li' dAtah**, **'uXAla'X li' dAya:'** notch on shaft (of spear, arrow) for head *L,* **k'uwahdjLXAla'X li' GAta'** hang it on a nail! *L,* **dAkinhXAla'X li' xLya:k'** I (cust) hang them on sticks *65.21A.*

1b. *With -X final and dA-indeterminate o*: **dAXAla'X GAta'** put it (head) on (spear)! *L,* **'u:d dAXAla'X sAtahL** it's hanging (on e.g. peg) there *L, often with li' 'from front toward back end': 10.84, 86, 65.5, 11A,* **dAXAla'X li' ti:lAGA'a'** hang it (skin) up (on nail on wall)! *L,* **dAXAla'X li' qu'dAyah** they'll be hung up *L.*

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2. *With -d final and dA-indeterminate o*: **dAXAla'd 'i:tahL** it's impaled (e.g. on spear) *L.*

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3. *With -q' final or as o of o-q' 'on o' and with dA-indeterminate o*: **dAXAla'q' 'i:tahL** it's impaled (e.g. on spear) *L.*

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o-**y-X-la'-** *(postposition) (with X-thematic as above, combined with y-anatomical 'hand', constituent structure [-y-[X-la'-]], attested with -d and -X finals only)* (impaled) on o's finger: o-**yAXAla'X** (**li'**) O-**d-**(**L-**)**'a** S put O (ring) on o's finger, o-**yAXAla'd qa'** O-**d-**(**L-**)**'a** S take O (ring) off o's finger.

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o-**:n-na'-d** *(< o-l-la'-, 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: **'i:na'd qa' GAdAta'** take it (dress) off (up over your head)! *L.*

la:'

-la:' S get wet, damp: **qa'la:'** it'll get wet *L,* **GAla:'L** it's getting wet *L,* **sAla:'L** it got damp *L,* **sila:'L** I got wet *L. Transitive (causative):* **GALla:'** make it wet! *LM,* **qu'xLla:'** I'll make it wet *L; passive:* **qu'dAla:'** it'll get wet *M,* **GAdAla:'L** it's getting wet *M,* **sdila:'L** 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. *xsdila:'L 'I got wet').*

lu:1 *(perhaps to be identified with lu:2)*

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°) *L (in contrast to lah, which refers to ca. 360° turn)*: **lu: siLtahL** I turned it (paper, blanket) over *M,* **lu: GAta'** turn it over! *L,* **lu: qu'xtah** I'll turn it over *L,* **lu: lAGAta'** turn your head! *L,* **lu: 'i:nsitahL** I turned my head *L,* **lu: lixitahL** my head is turned to side *L,* **lu: 'u'lAGAta'** turn it (page)! *L,* **'Aw ya:yu: lu: sALahL** things are all switched, changed around *L,* **'Aw lu: Lya:k'inh** she (cust) turns it over *10.132, 132A,* **lu: 'AxLya:k'** I (cust) turn them over *65.15A,* **lu: gu:Li'a'ch'inu:** that they (standing) may face about *70.8A,* **'ich' lu: qAyuh qa'Lah** she'll turn belligerently about toward you *36.15, 20A,* **lu: 'i:yahL** he (walking, has) turned around *L (cf. 1a. under lu:2),* **lu: sahL** he turned around *L,* **lu: Ga:'** turn around (ca. 180°) *L,* **lu: dixsLishuxL** I turned over (in bed, by shifting weight one leg over the other) *L,* **lu: 'iqe'yi:xGAts'** I'll twist your arm *L,* **k'u:y lu: Ga:L** wind is changing (reversing) *L, see further under -xuL~, LA-xuL, 'i-d-('-)L-'a'; with q'e'~q'e:- 'back, again':* **'u:nahd q'e:lu: 'idAla:k'** *month name,* March < month in which they (king salmon) (cust) return *A (unknown to L; conceivably lu:2, 'back to tide-beach').*

lu:2 *(probably related to li:ya', and perhaps to be identified with lu:1, basic meaning 'turning-point, -area (of tide)', but cf. perhaps Athapaskan nu: 'island'; once li', momentary lapse, 24.72A)*

lu: *(preverb) (attested with zero and -ch' finals)* 1a. high tide, turn of tide, area of turn of tide: *with zero final:* **lu: sa'yahL** tide came in *M,* **lu: gu:'yahL** tide is high (at turning-point) *M,* (**lu:**) **k'ugu:n'ya:** big September tide *L,* **Lich' lu: k'u:Leh** it's always high tide *4.6M,* **Lich' lu: k'u'li:LXah** always keeps the tide high *4.7M, with -ch' final:* **lu:ch' 'isAL'anhLinh** looked at the tide *4.17M.*

1b. *Used as noun,* tide: **k'u'luw lu:** big tide *10.244, 28.75A, perhaps incorrectly in* **'anh lu:ya' qe'L** the tide-woman *3.14M,* **'Aw lu: GALxAX** make the tide go out! *3.12M.*

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2a. at tide-beach, food-gathering at low tide, beachcombing, clam-digging: *with zero final:* **lu: 'i:yahL** has gone beachcombing *1a.1M (cf. lu: 'i:yahL 'he has turned around' L under lu:1), with -ch' final: Galushia Nelson* lu·tc 'beach food (i.e. shell-fish, seaweed, etc.)' *BSdL 540* **lu:ch'** to tide-beach for food-gathering, lu·tc qi·ya 'she is going after beach food' *BSdL 560* **lu:ch' qi'yiyah** you'll go beachcombing, **lu:ch' da: 'i:'a'ch'** let's go clamdigging *L,* **lu:ch' sahLinh** he went clamdigging, beachcombing *L.*

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2b. *Used as noun,* (activity of) food-gathering at tide-beach: **lu:** beach food *M (loosely glossed),* **lu: 'idALinhinh** he's food-gathering at tide-beach *L.*

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lu:-d-i:'- *(postpositional phrase, preverb or noun lu:, d-class, as o of o-d-'e' 'in place of (d-class) o', attested with -d, -dAX, -X finals)* on tide-beach: *with -d final: 10.1, 227, 227, 230, 234, 235, 244A, Rezanov* Лютытъ 'Лайда' *(not in Radlov, 'tide-beach'),* **lu:di:'d k'uLshinhinh** he's clam-digging on the beach *L, nominalized:* **lu:di:'dya' tsa:dla:dAXunh** stone-man of tide-beach *10.221A,* **lu:di:'dya' shAlAGdAXunhyu:** clam-people of tide-beach *10.231A, with suffixed -kih 'diminutive':* **lu:di:'dkih q'Aw sAdahL** he was staying doing a bit of beachcombing *10.2A, with -X and -dAX finals 'movement within area':* **lu:di:'X** *10.233, 234, 237, 29.1A,* **Xi:d li'di:'X** yonder on tide-beach *24.72A (lapse for lu:di:'X L),* **lu:di:'X yAX da:Xinh**, **lu:di:'dAX yAX da:Xinh** he's walking about on the tide-beach *L,* **lu:di:'dAX 'iLt'a:nch' k'uLyi:n'inh** he's beachcombing (gathering something together in plural acts on tide-beach) *L,* **dlAGAxu:kih 'a:ndAX lu:di:'dAXyu: yAX 'Axda:k'** quite alone around here I walk around on the beach at low tide *ST12.27A.*

lu:sga:G *(loan from Chugach luuskaq 'spoon', from Russian лошка)*

lu:sga:G *(noun, perhaps d-class)* spoon, *perhaps pejorative, same as shiL, which is much preferred to lu:sga:G for 'spoon' L.*

lu:ch'

-lu:ch' *(noun, d-class)* inside of cheek, soft part of cheek: **silu:ch'** inside o my cheek, soft part of my cheek *L,* **k'ulu:ch'** inside of one's cheek *LMA, Rezanov* Каллючь 'Щека Wange' **qa:lu:ch'** inside of our cheeks, of human cheek, Каллючатехъ 'Десна Zahnfleisch' **qa:lu:ch'AdAyAq'** or **-Adi:'q'** inside of our (inside) cheeks *(Tlingit entry is Kaɣyŭuumy to be read qa waštú 'inside of human cheeks', not 'gums'),* **'ulu:ch'da:q'd** on his cheek *M,* **k'Alu:ch'AdAtl'a'd** inside cheek at corner of one's mouth *L,* **'u:d 'ilu:ch'AdAtl'a'd ya' 'Ate:** leave it (tobacco) inside your cheek! *L.*

lu:shAnn *(loan from nineteenth-century English 'Russian' /rúwšɨn/; cf. Tlingit 'ɑnúši, which L knows but claims was not used by Eyaks; both forms perhaps influenced or perhaps reinforced by more recent English 'Aleutian' /ɨlúwšɨn/)*

lu:shAnn *(noun, unclassified)* 1. Russian *52.24, 26L*: **lu:shAnnyu:** Russians *L, 52.18, 22, 26, 30, 32, 53.33, 34L.*

2. *dog's name L.*

luhd~lu'd~nuhd *(lu'd in Neuter of verb, nuhd with l-class-mark immediately preceding stem, luhd elsewhere)*

-luhd-~-nuhd-g *(adjective, usually with -g-repetitive thematized)* few: *independent or relativized in association with unclassified nouns: Rezanov* Яллютъ 'Мало wenig' **ya:luhd** *(only attestation of repetitive with -g-repetitive lacking), Anonymous* Я лутыкъ 'Мало' ('little') **ya:luhdg** few, little (in number or quantity) *L, 60.3A,* **La'g ya:luhdg** there's litte firewood *M,* **'i: 'iya' 'uq'AGit'u', xu: siya' ya:luhdg** you've got plenty, I have (only) a few *L, in association with classified nouns:* **ya:dAluhdg** few (boards) *L,* few (eggs) *M,* **ya:XAdAluhdg** few (matches, logs) *L,* **ya:lAXAluhdg** few (berries) *L,* **ya:lAluhdg**, **ya:'a:nuhdg** few (things of l-class) *L; with special gl-class-mark for humans (used only with this stem and t'u' 'many'):* **ya:gu:nuhdg** few people *L,* **ts'idwAX ya:gu:nuhdg** just a few people *L.*

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-luhd(-g)~-lu'd *(-lu'd in Neuter imperfective and perhaps Neuter perfective with thematized -g-repetitive lacking, elsewhere -luhd)* S be, become few: **yilu'd** they are few *L,* **che:y qa:Xa' yilu'd** we have too little, very little tea(-leaves) < tea is little "on", with us *L (Neuter imperfectives),* **qa'luhdg** they'll be few *L,* **siXa' sAluhdL** they became too few for me *L,* **k'uGAluhdgL** something is becoming few, scarce *L, with class-marks for S:* **XAdi:lu'dL** they (matches) are few *L (Neuter perfective),* **la'mahd lAXi:luhdg** berries are few, scarce *L (Neuter imperfective),* **la'mahd 'a:nd lAXAGAluhdgL** berries are getting to be few, scarce here *L,* **lis 'a:nd dAGAluhdgL** trees are becoming few here *L, with special gl-class-mark for human S:* **da: gAli:lu'd** we are few, too few *L (Neuter imperfective),* **dAXunhyu: 'a:nd gulAGAluhdgL** dogs are becoming few here *L (probably incorrectly used). Transitive (causative):* **siXa' sALluhdgL** you gave me too few < you caused them to be (too) few "on", for me *L.*

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LA-luhd-g *(as above, meaning not clearly distinguished from that of above)* S be, become few: **Giyah siXa' GALAluhdgL** I'm running short of grub < food is becoming (too) little "on", for me *L.*

lu' *(never with n-initial; element of uncertain meaning, attested only in postposition o-lu'qa: 'for, after, in order to obtain o'; probably not to be identified with lu'~nu', cf. Minto o-nuka 'for, after, in order to obtain o', Chipewyan o-ǹkà 'looking for o', Navaho o-ˊká 'á-díšní 'I'm calling (after) o')* see ***qa:3.***

lu'~nu' *(nu' only in ya:nu', 'iL-lu' usually > 'iLu'; li' established variant in one form, see li'shda:dGAdA'eh; the form lu' also occurs as a sporadic variant (momentary lapse) for li', see o-li' 1d., 1e., 4. under li'; probably not to be identified with lu', cf. Navaho nǫk'eh 'storage pit', no·' 'storage pit, what is stored up', no'- prefix in 'to store underground', Mattole -no·(-y)- 'things stored up', Chipewyan -nùzı́ (postposition) 'through')*

lu'-d *(preverb) (attested only once, not verified, with -d final 'at rest')* in a hole: **lu'd sAtahL** it's in a hole *L (perhaps to be corrected to dAlu'd).*

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o-**lu'** *(postposition) (attested with zero, -d, -X, and -ch' finals, but -d final only under 1d., -X only under 2a., and -ch' rare)* through o, hole in o: *with zero final: Rezanov* Уллю 'Дира Loch' **'ulu'** hole (in it) *M,* **'Awlu'** through it *M, Rezanov* Уллюуа 'Петлица Knopfloch' **'ulu' 'Awa:** hole in it for it, **silu'** (bullet went) through me *M,* **'Aw k'utahlu'** through the skin *M,* **'ulu' k'u:Leh** there's a hole in it *L, with suffixed adjective -'luw 'big', o-lu' perhaps nominalized:* **k'u'lu'luw** big hole (in something) *M,* **'ulu'luw sALe'L** it developed into a big hole in it *L,* **'uLqehXlu' sALe'L** it developed into a hole in the bottom of it *L,* **t'its'dAlu' k'u'sALXa'L** made (something into, cause there to exist) a hole in the ice *16.6M,* o-**lu' gl-'a**ˊ S (water) run, leak out of o, through hole in o *(-'aˊ 17.),* o-**lu' gl-sid** S (water) run (in pl. streams) through hole in o, **'Awlu' sitsu:xL** I poked it through it *L,* **'Awlu' sditsu:xL** a hole's been poked through it *L,* o-**lu'** O-**l-L-Xe'dj** S hook, link O through o, **'ulu' 'i:'ah** tab with hole < it extends through (hole in) it *L,* **'iLX 'ulu' k'udA'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 1b., 1c.):* o-**lu' qa' k'u-lX-'ya** o have pox, pimples < something lX-class come up out through (holes in) o, **t'its'dAlu' q'e' qa' sdiyahL** it came back up through (hole in) ice *L,* **shdu:lihGdAlu' qa:nch' GAxk'uwahdjL** I'm driving a nail into a table *L (probably to be corrected to ya:n'ch' or glossed 'up through'), with y-anatomical:* **siyAlu'** through (hole in) my hand *L,* **siyAlu' qa' shLiq'a:'shL** it (watchband) left a red mark on my wrist *L,* **siyAlu' qa' dishLiq'a:'shL** it (ring) left a red mark on my finger *L, with yAX 'downward' (see also 1b.):* **'ulu' yAX k'udAxwehd** strainer *L,* o-**lu' yAX** O-**L-xwehd** S strain O (down) through o, o-**lu' yAX** O-**wus-g** S sift O (down) through o, o-**lu' yAX** O-**l-L-wa'** S strain O (down) through o, *with 'Ash 'completely by, past':* **'ulu' 'Ash 'ixsLit'ik'L** I shot (with arrow) a hole through it *L,* **'ulu' 'Ash GAqe'** boat through it (under bridge)! *L,* **'Awlu' 'Ash dla:sAXa'tl'L** it (tree) fell crashing down through it *L,* **ch'iyahdAdAlu' 'Ash XAdla:sa'yahL** it (bullet) went clear through the hat *L,* **t'ik'L 'ulu' 'Ash' di:'inhinh** an arrow is sticking clear through him *L; with -ch' final:* **'ulu'ch' GALe'L** a hole is forming < it is developing into a hole in it *M.*

1b. *With indeterminate o,* through (hole in) indeterminate o, through o: **qi'dAX dAlu' k'u:Leh** *place-name,* place by where there is a passage through (Hawkins Island) *M,* **'uqa'X dAlu' k'u:Leh** *place-name* < there is a passage between them (Channel Island) *L,* **dAlu' sahLinh** he went through (ice, board collapsed under him) *L, 16.5M,* **'Aw sAqe:ts'Akih 'u:ch' dAlu' GALte'** put the baby back thither through there! *L, with preverbs:* **dAlu' qa' la'yah** boil, abscess < it forms up through *LM,* **'utl' dAlu' qa' k'u'a'L** safety pin < something is extended up through with it *L,* **dAlu' yAX** O-**L-xehd** S strain O (down through), **dAlu' yAX sa'yahL** it caved in *M,* **dAlu' lahdz yAX dAXahdX** bureau of drawers < they are pulled forward back and forth through

L; compounded with o of o-qa'-d nominalized with -d final: **yAXe'X dAlu'qa'd** *place-name* < interstice of passage through in certain direction (in Hawkins Island) *L.*

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1c. *With reciprocal o, 'iLu' more frequently than 'iLlu'*: **'iLu' dAse:d** *name of Old Man Dude LAS,* **'iLu' dAsid** they're linked together *L,* **'iLu' yAdAXe'djginu:** they're hand-wrestling < their hands are hooked together *L,* **XAdAGd 'iLu' Liche'q'L** hang-up *(i.e. tree lodged in fork of another)* < they're hooked together above *G (Harrington), frequently with qa' 'up out', sometimes also with li' 'deeply into cavity',* (deeply) up out through each other, *basically with reference to knotting:* **'iLu' qa' sdixa'ch'L** they're hooked (knotted) together *L,* **'iLu' li' qa' GAxa'ch'** tie them (rope and rag) together! *L, frequently used in idioms referring to certain facial expressions:* **'iLu' qa' lAXAdisdiq'Ats'L** he winced < he clamped his eyes up out through each other *L,* **'iLu' qa' li' 'i:nsdixa'ch'Lga' 'Adi:nLit'inhinh** he looks mean, frowns fiercely < he's making his face look like he's facially tied in an overhand knot *L,* **'a'd dja:q'ga' 'iLu' qa' li' didigudjL** he's got his mouth clamped shut like a (hooked) bullhead (taciturn) *L.*

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1d. *With XA- 'area' as o and -d final*: **XAlu'd** at rest way inside (deep hole, cavity in, through area) *L.*

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2. *With certain special idiomatic meanings* a. in, over, by, *with -X final 'motion within area', with dAq'a:g 'fire' (d-class) as o*: *25.38A,* **dAq'u:gdAlu'X** O-**L-'mahd** S cook O by the fire *(cf. qu:-~qu:n- under qu'~ and o-qa' 3.).*

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2b. Reflected in o, *with -ch' final*: *see G-dA-'e~-'an, 'ulu'ch'da:dGAdA'eh, and modern but established variant li'shda:dGAdA'eh 'mirror' (< 'ulu'ch' da: 'AdGAdA'eh 'we see ourselves (reflected) in it') under 'e~'an3,* **'ulu'ch' 'AdyAGAxdA'eh** I see my hand reflected (in it) *L.*

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yAXe'X dAlu'qa'd *(place-name) Canoe Passage on Hawkins Island (on east-west axis, southwest of Cordova)* < interstices of passage through indeterminate o in? direction *(nominalization) L.*

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qi' k'uGi:lu' *(noun, unclassified)* smokehole (ad hoc *term used by M)*: **qi' k'uGi:lu'da:X** through the smokehole *2a.14fnM* < movement in area of place where something is, has a hole *(underlying verb theme G-lu' 'S be, have hole in it', perhaps incorrect).*

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ya:nu' *(preverb) (attested with zero, -d, -X, -ch' and -ch'ahd finals < ya:(n) (< *yAnA)-nu', 'through (hole in) bottom surface', with development of -n- > -l- blocked by preceding nasal)* down below surface, underground, underwater: *with zero final:* **'a'd ya:nu'** very deep underwater *49.35A,* **ya:nu'** O-**L-te** S inter (animate) O, **qi' ya:nu' k'uGAdAteh** grave *BSdL 546, L,* **ya:nu' GAta'** bury it! *L, 10.209A,* submerge it!, *L,* **yAX dAxuLX qi' ya:nu' 'iditahL** well < place where a keg is submerged *L,* **ya:nu' 'i:nsAtahL** it put its head underwater *L,* **ya:nu' disLiqahGLinh** he fell in (hole) *58.6L,* **GAlAxtah da:X ya:nu' xusLi'yahL** I was buried alive < I was living and I was put underground in a container *L,* **ya:nu' Ga:'** dive in! *L,* **ya:nu' sahLinh** he dove in, went underwater *L, see also O-dl-L-dza'tl' 1., 0-tsu:x (47b.39M), O-d-tsu:x (49.34, 34A), O-dja', O-sha~, gdl-gAmAG, ya:nu', -wehs, -le'g 1a., y-le 2., -'a'ch' (27a.27L, 27b.36A), with q'e'~q'e:- 'back, again':* **q'e:ya:nu' 'Ale:gk'** (cust) reaches his hand back underwater *56.5L,* **q'e:ya:nu' 'ALyi:n'inh** he keeps putting O back underwater *56.10L,* **q'e:ya:nu' sdiyahL** submerged again *27b.44L; with -d final 'at rest':* **ya:nu'd** it's underground, underwater *L,* **Xi:d ya:nu'd** way down (underground) there (in Hell) *51.19, 19A,* **ya:nu'd ya:** underwater thing *10.116A,* **ya:nu'd sAtahL** it's underground, underwater *L; with -ch' final:* **Xi:d**

ya:nu'ch' 'ahnu:dahd 'u'liditah their sound is heard way down there (on earth from in Heaven) *51.65, 66A,* **ya:nu'ch' 'ALts'i:nt'k'** it (cust) sinks *24.44A,* **ya:nu'ch' GAxsha:L** I'm burying it *L,* **ya:nu'ch' yAX 'idAqah** they (loons) keep diving up and down underwater *L, 24.73A,* **ya:nu'ch' wAsg** it (snow) keeps caving in, giving way *51.48A,* **ya:nu'ch' 'Ale:gk'inh** he (cust) reaches his hand underwater *56.16L,* **dik' ta:dz 'iLu' ya:nu'ch' k'uLAya:k'G** people didn't use (cust) to bury each other *28.114A,* **ya:nu'ch' lAXAdAya:'** seeds for planting *L; with -X final:* **ya:n'uch' GAwe:Linh** he's swimming underwater *L,* **ya:nu'ch' yAX La'nik'X** it (bug) crawls around underground *L,* **ya:nu'X 'i:nLXAmah** sponge *L, with -ch'ahd final or compounded as o of o-ch'ahd 'from o':* **ya:nu'ch'ahd k'uXah** they (ducks) dip head underwater to eat < they eat something from underwater *L,* **ya:nu'ch'ahd q'e' qa' sdiyahLinh** he came back up from underwater *L.*

niLa: *(loan from Tlingit (S) níła, (Sampson Harry) nαła 'handkerchief', dαnαł 'blow your nose'; nαła not used in central Tlingit (W. Soboleff))*

niLa: *(noun, unclassified)* hankerchief *LMA,* kerchief, scarf, bandana, babushka *LA*: *Anonymous and Baranov* Нылла 'Платы' ('clothes'), **niLa:luw** big handkerchief *LM, Rezanov* Нехтляляхъцыцкъ 'Шолковая плагокъ ('silk suit') seidenes Tuch' **niLa:lAXAtsidzg** fine (thin) handkerchief, kerchief.

nigidah *(loan from Russian Никита; first element in personal name)*

nigidahta:'wahya: *(personal name) name of man L; nigidah- from Russian Никита, -ta:'-wah-ya: 'material for father', unique as personal name.*

'nik'

LA-'nik' S wriggle, crawl, creep, move along like insect or worm with belly on or close to the ground: **'ich' qu'xLa'nik'** I'll crawl to you *L,* **'u:da' sLi'nik'L** it (worm) wriggled thither *L,* **'AdiX sLi'nik'Linh** he (drunk) dragged himself in(doors) *L,* **tsa:yAX li' sLi'nik'L** it (worm) crawled in under rock *L,* **'Awt'a:X qa' sLi'nik'L** it (worm) crawled out from under it *L,* **tsa:dla:t'a:XAch' GALa'nik'L** it (bug) is crawling under a rock *L,* **GALa'nik'L** they (e.g. bugs) are crawling along *L, with perambulative:* **yAX La'nik'X** it (e.g. worm, bug) is moving about *LS,* **yAX La'nik'Xinh** he (drunk) is crawling around *L,* **ya:nu'X yAX La'nik'X** it (worm) is crawling about underground *L.*

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GALa'nik'L *(noun, unclassified)* creeping bugs, insects, worms *LA. Nominalized Inceptive perfective.*

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qALa'nik' *(noun, unclassified, nominalized Active imperfective of preceding with qA- 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, 7L.*

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lisdAyAq' qALa'nik' *(noun, unclassified, as above, lisdAyAq' 'inside trees')* "woodworms" *L (probably same as above).*

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ta'd qALa'nik' *(noun, unclassified, as above, with ta'd 'in water')* small fish species *("live under water, look like dead wood") L.*

(')nik' *(form uncertain, either nik' or 'nik', conceivably < 'ik' or ik')*

-(')nik'-L *occurring only in* **cha'nik'L** *(noun, of limited and uncertain suntactic use; etymology uncertain, < chA-'nik'-L, ch'a-(')nik'-L, or chan'-(')(n)ik'-L, all elements except -L-suffix of unknown analysis, identification and meaning, informants unable to analyze)* funny, joke, funny thing *LMS*: *wih -dah averbializer:* **cha'nik'Ldah 'i:t'eh** it's funny *LA, as o of o-ga' 'like o':* **cha'nik'Lga' dAsAliLinh** he said something funny *L.*

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cha'nik'LdAXunh *(noun, compound(?))* jokester, comedian, funny person, person who always makes me laugh *L.*

nik'nish~nishnik' *(origin uncertain)*

nik'nishXAdAya'd~nishnik'XAdAya'd *(place-name) Valhalla, "Wallhollow", near Coquenhena, on Alaganik Slough, above cha:sh 'uya'd k'u:Leh < n- of Xd-class 'in body of water' L.*

nAdnish *(cf. nik'nish~nishnik')*

nAdnish *(place-name) "place in flats" M.*

nAts'g *(loan from Tlingit nαs'g 'three', not used in month-name (W. Soboleff))*

nAts'g-L- *occurring only in* **nAts'gLqAXah** *(month-name) some winter? month L; L has heard of this month, and is also aware that nAts'g- is a borrowed form of a Tlingit numeral, but does not know which numeral.*

ni:sq' *(conceivably to be analyzed ni:s-q' with ni:s- as o of o-q' 'on o', perhaps related to ni:k' and/or ni:ch')*

-ni:sq' *(noun, unclassified)* nostril: **k'uni:sq'** nostrils *LMA,* **k'uni:sX'** nostrils *S (final consonant Tlingit), Furuhjelm* Khaneskh 'nose' **qa:ni:sq'** our, human nostrils, **sini:sq'yAq'd** inside my nostril *L, as o of o-yAX:* **'uni:sq'yAX qi:li'inhinh** it (rope-like) hangs under her nostrils *(in song about snot-nosed girl) 72.40M,* **'ini:sq'yAX gAli:'ah** your nose is running < it (liquid) extends down under your nostrils *L,* **sini:sq'yAX 'iXAdla:sALq'ahL** I feel like sneezing < it has burned under my nostrils *L.*

ni:ch' *(closely associated by L and M with ni:k', but the historical authenticity of such a relationship is quite uncertain, no other ch'~k' alternations attested, perhaps also related to ni:sq')*

-ni:ch' *(noun, perhaps, archaically, d-class, see subentries below)* nose*? LM (both uncertain).*

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-ni:ch'-d-L-xa'ch'-L *(noun)* septum of nose, *also -ni:k'-d-L-xa'ch'(-g)-L, see xwa'ch'~xa'ch'.*

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-ni:ch'-d-L-gahG(-L) *(noun, perhaps d-class, see gahG '(spruce-) pitch', -d- perhaps d-class mark for -ni:ch', or perhaps d-thematic)* pink substance of unknown origin: **qani:ch"AdALgahG** 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"AdALgahG, 'nose-pitch'?), most authentically attested as o of o-ga' 'like o', here 'like o (in color)' in* **qa:ni:ch"AdALgahGLga' gAdli:t'eh** *L,* **qa:ni:ch"AdALgahGga' gAdli:t'eh** some kind of pinkish dye *L, 66.10L ('it (bright-colored liquid) is like nose-pitch(?) in color', also perhaps qa:ni:k"AdALgahGga' gAdli:t'eh L).*

ni:ga:dAshi:n~ni:k'a:dAshe:~nik'a:dAshe: *(unanalyzable; ni:ga:dAshi:n L four times, ni:ga:dAshe: M once, nik'a:dAshe: A twice, M once; name influenced and perhaps related to but not the same bird as ni:k'AdAch'e:', q.v. under ch'e:'; to be segmented perhaps ni:g-~ni:k'-~-a:-dA-she:~-shi:n, ni:k'- perhaps 'nose', dA- perhaps dA-classifier or d-thematic, and she: perhaps O-she 'S kill O', or so folk-etymologized under these influences; cf. Tlingit ƛαχαnès', which A etymologizes 'it kills with its nose'; perhaps not of Eyak origin)*

ni:ga:dAshi:n~ni:k'a:dAshe:~nik'a:dAshe: *(noun, unclassified)* (belted) kingfisher *LMA, 34.32L (for variants see preceding); not the same bird as ni:k'AdAch'e:' L, same kind as 'i:nda' di:ch'e:' A.*

ni:k' *(Rezanov implies ni:k'w, but all other sources, including S ni:k'; perhaps related to ni:ch' 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 -A- generally appears between stem-final -k'- and the following -d-, conceivably < *-k'ud- < -k'wd-)* nose, beak: *unclassified: Rezanov* Каннеко 'Ноздри ('nostrils') Nasenlöcher' **qa:ni:k'w**, *Anonymous* Канникъ *(first н superscript insert, и partly illegible)* 'Носъ', *Baranov* Каникъ 'Носъ' **qa:ni:k'** our noses, human nose, *Galushia Nelson* ɕúnì·k' 'nose' *BSdL 541* **k'uni:k'** a nose, **k'uni:k'luw** a big nose *LM,* **sini:k'** my nose *MS,* **tla:X sini:k'luw** where's my big nose? *18.16L,* **sini:k' siya: GAXa:sL** my nose itches *L,* **sini:k' siya: qehX 'i:'yahL** my nose is stuffed up *L,* **sini:k' siya: GALch'iya'k'L** my nose is raw (burns, stings) *L, Galushia Nelson* x̱ʷusɪ ni·k' 'my nose' *BSdL 556* **xu: sini:k'** *my* nose, **'ini:k' 'ALk'u'd** wipe your nose! *L,* **'ini:k' 'iya: shLidlAGshgL** your nose has gotten dirty *L,* **ya'Xu: 'ini:k' 'iXa' k'uqu'yiLyah** don't pick (meddle with) your nose *L,* **'ini:k'luw** your big nose *1b.6M,* **'uni:k'** his nose *LMA, 23.140A,* its beak, their beaks *2a.23M, 24.26, 28, 29, 30, 35, 35A, 26.1, 7, 9L,* **'uni:k'luw** his big nose *L,* **q'e:dah gu:nLdAsL da:X 'uni:k'yAX 'Aw yAX gAli:'inhinh** his nose is all clotted with blood < it (blood) having straightaway clotted extends down under his nose *L, Galushia Nelson* x̣əwa nɪ·k 'dog's nose' *BSdL 556* **XAwa:ni:k'**, **Ga:ndich'ich'gni:k'** bird's beak *2a.23M,* **ch'i:lehni:k'** raven's beak *2a.23fnL; d-class, see also subentries below:* **ni:k'Ada'luw**, **ni:k'da'luw** big-nose! *(pejorative epithet) 18.8L,* **sini:k'AdAtsin'da'd** tip of my nose *L.*

,

-ni:k'-d-ch'u:ch' *(noun)* philtrum: **sini:k'AdAch'u:ch'** place where snot runs on my upper lip *A. See ch'u'ch'~ch'u:ch'.*

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-ni:k'-d-L-xa'ch'(-g)-L *(noun)* septum of nose, *also -ni:ch'd-L-xa'ch'-L, see ni:ch', xwa'ch'~xa'ch'.*

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ni:k'AdAka:shk' *(noun, unclassified)* person with hooked, aquiline nose *L. Epithet,* humback-salmon nose!.

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ni:k'AdAch'e:' *(noun, unclassified)* shag, (double-crested?) cormorant < red-beak *LM.*

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'uni:k' 'Awa: qa' qi:sid *(noun, unclassified)* razor-clams < their noses extend up out *(same as dji:da:dAG) L.*

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o-**ga’ LA-ni:k’** *(with o-ga' 'like o')* S have nose like o: **siga’ iLini:k’inh** he has a nose like mine *L,* **dik’ ’iga’ ’a’LAni:k’Ginh** his nose isn't like yours *L (Neuter imperfectives).*

’ni:q’ *(Rezanov perhaps implying also reduced 'nAq')*

li’ O-**LA-’ni:q’** *(probably indirect reflexive, with o-li' 'deeply inside o from open front toward closed back end', with zero-allomorph of reflexive o, requiring vocalic classifier, underlying theme probably O-L-'ni:q')* S swallow O: **li’ GALa’ni:q’** swallow it! *LM,* **li’ qu’xLa’ni:q’** I'll swallow it *M,* **’Adjih li’ ’iqe’La’ni:q’** 'Adjih will swallow you *L, Rezanov* Аулислинакатле 'Глотать schlucken, verschlucken' *perhaps to be read* **’Aw li’ sLi’nAq’Linh** he swallowed it, **li’ xsLi’ni:q’L** I swallowed it *LMA, with class-marks for O:* **li’ lAXAsLi’ni:q’L** he'd swallowed it (lose roe), gulped it down *10.113, 115A,* **tsa’L li’ qu’dAxLa’ni:q’** I'll swallow a knife *L; passive:* **li’ sLi’ni:q’L**, **li’ sdi’ni:q’L** it got swallowed *L.*

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’AdLa’ni:q’ *(noun, unclassified)* seagull *LM (probably especially 'glaucous-winged gull (Larus glaucescens)' and/or 'herring gull (Larus argentatus)')*: *Rezanov* Атлянехъ 'Чайка' *(not in Radlov, 'gull'), Anonymous* Тлянекъ 'Чайка', *Galushia Nelson* àt’ɬáⁿnìɥ or ət’ɬáⁿ’nìɥ 'sea-gull' *BSdL 539, Rezanov* Атляннагъ 'Говорушка, родъ чайка' *(not in Radlov, 'kittiwake, type of gull', probably here with reduced stem 'AdLa'nAq'),* **’AdLa’ni:q’ ’u:dAX XAGa’ya:L** seagulls are flying along there *M. Nominalized Active imperfective, apparently of reflexive of unattested O-L-'ni:q', perhaps a causative, or indirect reflexive causative 'Ad-d O-LA-'ni:q'.*

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’AdLa’ni:q’ga’ dA-La’ch’ S be voracious < S have a stomach like a seagull's, *attested only in* **’AdLa’ni:q’ga’ ’idiLa’ch’inh** he's voracious, a glutton *L (Neuter perfective).*

ne:tl’

ne:tl’ *(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, 51.62afn, 61.42A, Rezanov* Нетль 'Ужо ('afterwards') nachher, später', *Anonymous* Нетль 'Теперь' ('now'), *Rezanov* Нетльхутльтеленъ 'Обѣшать versprechen' **"ne:tl’", wAX ’utl’ dAlinhinh** "soon", thus he says to him, **netl’ k’udzu: qa’Lin’inh** soon he'll be good *L,* **ne:tl’ qe’qe’dli:Lah** soon it'll be pretty *L,* **ne:tl’ ge:lA’a:gda’ qu’LA’ah** soon it'll be noon *L,* **’uch’ ya’ qu’yi’yinhinh, ’iqa’, ne:tl’** you'll get used to him, your husband, after a while, soon, in due time *72.8L,* **ne:tl’ qa’Lse’L** 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* Нетлю 'Послѣ später' **ne:tl’uh** later *L, 48.16L,* **"ne:tl’uh", ’itl’ dAlinhinh** "pretty soon", he says to you *L, with suffixed -kih 'diminutive', as o of o-ga' 'like o':* **ne:tl’kihga’** 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:tl’kihga’ Xu’ ’u’qu’di:’ah** it'll be settled pretty soon *L.*

2. for a while, moment (yet): *10.134, 270, 270, 49.90A, 62afn George Johnson,* **’Adqu’xLAtsu’d, ne:tl’, tsu’dga’ ne:tl’ ’Adqu’xLAt’uh** I'll nap for a while *L,* **ya’ ne:tl’ gu:nLa:n’** (*or* **gu’La:n’**) stand up for a while! *L,* **dit’a’ ne:tl’ Ga:’** stop (walking) for a while! *L, Rezanov* Туутнетлькотлянъ 'Постой bleib stehen (warte)!' **dA’u:d ne:tl’ gu’La:n’** 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:tl’** for a while yet *10.232, 20.54, 55, 62, 21b.39fnA; in negative or prohibitive clauses,* yet, quite yet: **dik’ ne:tl’ k’uxshahG** I'm not digging yet *L,* **ya’Xu: ne:tl’ qu’yiyah** don't go yet *L,* **ya’Xu: ne:tl’ ’u:ch’ qu’yiyah** don't go there quite yet *10.232A.*

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3. before something else (in time), beforehand, first, originally: **yAX gAdla:xLA'Adzg, ne:tl'** I'm shaking it (bottle of medine), before (using) *M,* **'anh ne:tl' q'Aw xu:nsAgu'k'L** *he* punched me first *M,* **GAyAG ne:tl'** us first, we (saw it) first *M,* **q'Ale' 'i: ne:tl' 'Awa: k'uXa:ne:** *you* eat some first! *L,* **'utsin'da'd ne:tl' 'Awa: gu:xa'ch'** first tie a knot at the end of it (thread)! *L,* **'anh ne:tl' q'Aw shdishehL** he was the first killed *28.108A,* **'uLqehX ne:tl' we:ts'k'inu:** they would first weave the bottom *66.8L, partly ambiguous in text: 49.90A, 21b.39fnA (with di'dah), 23.16A, 48.16L (with -uh enclitic); frequently as o of o-da:-X 'at the time of o, when o (< 'movement within area of o'),* **ne:tl'da:X** 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* Нетльтахъ 'Прежде ('before, earlier') früher, ehemals', **q'a:l ne:tl'da:X k'uqu'xdAlah** this is my first drink < now for the first time I'm drinking something *L,* **'anh ne:tl'da:X yi:nhinh 'u'ehd** his first, original wife *10.174A, 47c.55, 48.8L, with dA-* 'ipse', *as o of o-ch'ahd 'from o':* **dAne:tl'da:Xch'ahd** from the very beginning, since the very first *L.*

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 q'Ale'** now let me see that! *LM,* **neh 'AlAXuh** now give me that! *L,* **neh ya' 'ALAdux** now stop that! *L,* **neh Xi:ch' 'Ats'AX** now throw that away! *L,* **neh sidALyAXAk'ah 'a:** now get out of my way! *L,* **neh XAyA'u:ch' gu:La:n', 'u:dAX 'Ash qu'xah** now stand back!, I'm coming through *L,* **neh dAxu: wAX qu'xLih** never mind *I*'ll do it myself, I may as well do it myself *L,* **neh, xu: k'uqu'xLGAdjg** alright, never mind, *I*'ll paddle *71.19LM.*

na:XAg *(unanalyzable, perhaps loan from Chugach, not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

na:XAg *(noun, unclassified)* Canada goose *LM*: *34.35L, 68.52A, Wrangell* Haракъ 'Gans', *Galushia Nelson* náx̣àq *or* náx̣ə̀q 'goose' *BSdL 539,* **na:XAgLt'ahL** goose-feather *L,* **na:XAgyu: 'Aw Xah** geese eat it *A (perhaps also name of grassy plant, Equisetum arvense, same as tl'e:kus), Galushia Nelson* nax̣ək yàt 'Raven House, Alaganik ("goose-house")' *BSdL 545* **na:XAgyahd**.

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na:XAgta:' *(personal name) Eyak man S, Johnny Nacktan or MacIntyre (Nacktan < na:XAgta:')* < goose's father, *father of Ponty Nacktan, half-Eyak, half-Chugach LM,* naxakta *in BSdL appears twice, as name of maternal grandfather of Gus Nelson, Galushia Nelson, Lena's mother, and (by another daughter) of another Johnny MacIntyre named naxakta.*

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na:XAgqa'ya' *(noun, unclassified)* yellowleg (white-fronted) goose (Anser albifrons) < that which is amongst geese *L.*

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na:XAgla't' *(noun)* some kind of plant, *perhaps* mare's tail, horsetail (Equisetum) < goose-tongue *L (perhaps a calque on English 'goosetongue (seaside plantain, Plantago maritima)', 'goosegrass').*

na:Xe:lih *(probably from Chugach)*

na:Xe:lih *(place-name) slough or river in Copper River Delta near Mile 9 or 10 on Airport Road, or on Eyak River less than ½ mile below Mile 6 bridge L.*

na:w *(loan from Tlingit náw 'whiskey', ultimately of European origin, 'rum', probably through Chinook Jargon, but note also Veniaminov Нáм 'Водка, т.е. ромъ (испорченное Русское слово)', occurring also in na:wshida:, na:wda'ke:d, see da'ke:d~da:ke:d)*

na:w *(noun, gl-class)* whiskey, hard liquor *LS*: **na:w dAlahXa' 'AnahshAkih 'ilinhinh** he likes to drink whiskey *L,* **de: 'Awa:duh 'AnahshAkih 'uXe'i:leh, na:w da:X gi:wa:** which do you like, whiskey or beer? *L,* **dAde:d, gi:wa:, na:w** either one, whiskey, beer *L,* **na:wgu:nt'u'** lots of whiskey *M,* **na:wgu:'nuw** large amount of whiskey *LM,* **na:wgAlAlu'qa: sitl' da:X 'i'dAlinhinh** he's begging me for whiskey *L,* **na:w qa:Xa' GAdAwe'q'L** our whiskey is running out *L.*

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cha:nnwa:nnyu:ya' na:w *(noun)* a certain alcoholic beverage < Chinamen's whiskey *L.*

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qe'LGAyu:ya' na:w *(noun)* wine < women's whiskey *L.*

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'uX 'idi:djidjg(L) na:wda'ke:d *(noun)* narrow-necked (whiskey-)bottle *L. (Problematical form, perhaps mistranscribed, evidently Neuter perfective of -djidj-g 'S be very narrow' with d-thematic (should be -di- instead of -di:-, dA-classifier?) and 'uX 'along it'?, cf. 'i:ndzi'X ya:lAXAtsidzg 'pear', or L-instrumental deverbalization with deleted classifier, 'by means of it…'.)*

na:wshida: *(loan from Tlingit náw šída 'funnel' S, < 'whiskey-…', šída pehaps to be identified with (Naish-Story) šɑdà 'helmet' < 'head-rim', but note also O-y-šád 'catch O', šáda 'catcher')*

na:wshida: *(noun, unclassified)* funnel *L (same as na:wdAshid, q.v. under shid~shAd).*

nah *(form uncertain, perhaps related to ah, see also neh, gAnah~gunah)*

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 reticence),* **nah** *A (uncertain, not embarrassed, suspects it is an Ahtna expression).*

nahd *(never *lahd, shift of n- to l- blocked in every case by presence of l-thematic prefix, *-n-nahd > *-:-nahd instead of *-l-lah-d 'around o's head', and/or n-ah-d (cf. dahd), related to la'~, perhaps more than one stem, semantics not clear)*

o-**:-nahd** *(postposition, with -:- variant of l-thematic)* 1. 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 'Aw 'iLitahLinh** he has it (e.g. rag) hanging down over his face *L (uncertain, perhaps to be corrected to 'i:nah or 'i:na'q').*

1b. *(with l-mark, perhaps thematized l-anatomical)*: **'u:nahd k'uGa'ya:L** water is rising up over something (freeing it) *LM (thus transcribed, to be corrected to guGa'yahL, perhaps 'tide is covering its head', perhaps also to be corrected to 'u:nah, 'tide is flooding around its head', cf. 'ulah guGa'ya:L 'tide is rising around it (freeing it, e.g. beached boat)' L.*

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1c. *(wih l-class-mark for o)*: **'itl'a:nahd sdixutl'L** snow slid way down the mountain *L.*

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2. *(probably with l-class-mark for o, qAXah 'moon', thematized)* in month of o, *requiring 'i- prefix with verbs, frequent in month-names*: *see 'u:nahd q'e:lu: 'idAla:k', 'u:nahd qe'Lts'a'k', 'u:nahd 'idAyahsh, 'u:nahd 'iLAts'a:nG, 'u:nahd 'iLA'ah, discussed and interpreted under Xah1,* ***sAgtAmbih*****'i:nahd** month of September *60.42A,* ***dju:n*****'i:nahd** month of June *65.83A.*

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si:nahd *(personal name) Sofiia, first wife of Scar Stevens, born ca. 1880, Tlingit, mother of Billy Hansen <* "around my head" *L. RO Church records, see also my letter to Marie 9/26/98; cf. ch'Aqe: same person?), M has heard 10/3/98.*

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si:nah(d) *(personal name) Sophie's aunt, married to Gus Wilson, died ca. 1916 So XIX.12. (Cf. si:nahd above.)*

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ya:nahd *(preverb, probably < *yAnA-nahd, see ya:(n) meaning clearly related to that of o-:-nahd 1. above, always with zero (-d?) final)* flat down onto and covering some surface: **ya:nahd GAta'** set it down (on and covering some of the floor, ground)! *L,* **ya:nahd 'Aw GAta:Linh** he's setting it down *L,* **ya:nahd lAGAta'** put your head down! *L,* **ya:nahd 'i:nsitahL** I lay my head down (on something) *L,* **'u:d ya:nahd 'i:tahL** it's down there (lying flat, covering some surface) *L, Galushia Nelson* yánàⁿt ɒ̀tà' *or* yá·nàt ɒ̀tà' 'grass mat' *BSdL 546* **ya:nahd dAtah** < it belongs set on floor covering surface, *with q'e'~q'e:- 'back, again':* **q'e:ya:nahd** *27a.32, 33L, 27b.42, 43A, frequently with o-q' 'on (top of) o':* o-**q' ya:nahd -te** S lie down on, covering o *20.33, 34, 36, 38, 38, 42, 27b.34, 28.24A,* o-**q' ya:nahd l-ta** S lay head down on o *27a.26, 32, 33L, 27b.42, 43A,* **'uq' ya:nahd 'AxLya:k'** I (cust) set them down on (and covering) it *65.12, 13A,* **'AXAkih siq' ya:nahd 'u'dla:GA'a'** turn my canoe over on me *47a.32L, frequent in nominalizations with tah 'it belongs lying in position':* (**k'uta'Lda:q'**) **ya:nahd tah** rug < it covers (floor) *L,* **shdu:lihGda:q' ya:nahd tah** tablecloth < it covers table *L,* **didit'u:ch' yahdda:q' ya:nahd tah** sheet-iron < it covers iron-house, cannery *L,* **yAXiya:q' ya:nahd tah** bedsheet < it covers mattress *L,* **Gu'Lq' ya:nahd tah** bedspread < it covers blanket *L.*

nahGAts'e: *(loan from Athapaskan or Tlingit of widely diffused form, throughout Athapaskan, Na-Dene, and further, perhaps of Athapaskan origin, cf. Ahtna naɢɑc'e, Tlingit naɢɑs'é, also in Haida, Tsimshian, and beyond)*

nahGAts'e: *(noun, unclassified)* (red) fox *LA*: *15.1, 6, 10, 16, 20, 23M, 34.40L, Rezanov* Накадце 'Лисица Fuchs', *Anonymous* Накацатль *(end possibly careless)* 'Лисица', *Wrangell* Накатце 'Fuchs', *Galushia Nelson* náⁿ'qət'sà· *or* náqətsà· 'fox' *BSdL 538.*

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nahGAts'e:ga' -t'e´~-t'u´ S be lean, skinny < S be like a fox, *attested only in* **nahGAts'e:ga' 'i:t'inhinh** he's lean, skinny *A.*

na:' *(perhaps < -a:n', cf. ya:n', Xa:n', da:n', qa'~qa:n, t'a'~)*

yAna:'- *(also yina:'-, preverb, attested with -d, -dAX, -X, and -ch' finals, not zero, probably *yAnA-a:n', see ya:(n))* down below, at lower level, on bottom, floor, ground: *with -d final: Rezanov* Еннаатъ 'Въ низу unten' **yAna:'d** on the floor, ground, bottom *L,* Енатльте 'Наклонись bücken, sich (Imperat.)', Яхо енатльте 'Не наклонися bücke dich nicht! (**ya'Xu:**) **yAna:'d** (don't) … down!, **yAna:'d yä' 'ALte:** set it (animate) down on ground! *L,* **'Awya'd yina:'d sAtahL** it's down on the bottom in it (with broad opening at top) *L,* **'u:d yina:'d sAtahL** it's down there (e.g.

on the floor) *L,* **'u:d yina:'d siLtahL** I put, left it down on the floor *L,* **yina:'d sAlahLinu:** those who live down below me *L,* **'u:d yAna:'d** she's down there (way downhill below us) *L,* **'u:d yina:'d** it's down there *M,* **Xi:d yina:'d** way over down there *L,* **Xi:d yina:'d ya:n' disLiqahGL** it fell down to bottom (of mountain) over there *7.37A,* **Xi:d yina:'d 'AlAk'ah Gi:yah da:X** when you get up (out of bed) way down there (on earth) *51.77A, with -dAX and -X finals 'motion within area':* **yAna:'X yAX k'uda:X** someone is walking around down below *L,* **'u:d yAna:'dAX yAX LAGa't'Xinh** he (baby) is crawling around on the floor there *L, with -ch' final 'continuous or repeated motion towards':* **yina:'ch' qid disLiqahGL** it fell down (off) to the ground *L,* **yAna:'ch' 'i:nL'an'** look down at the ground! *M.*

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o-**:-na:'**- *(postposition) (attested with -d, and -X finals, not zero, probably -nA-a:n', with -nA- representing l-class-mark for o 'itl' 'mountain', partly thematized)* on o (mountainside): *with -d final:* **'itl'a:na:'d sAtahL** it's on a mountainside *L,* **'Aw'a:na:'d sAtahL** it's up on that (hillside, mountainside) *L,* **ya:na:'d sAtahL** it's up on it (hillside, mountainside, side of an l-class thing) *L; with -X final:* **'itl'a:na:'X tsa' Ga:'** come down the mountainside! *L, apparently compounded as o of o-da:d 'in area of o':* **'itl'a:na:'Xda:d Ga:'** go up the mountainside! *L (probably to be corrected to 'itl'a:na:'X da'd Ga:').*

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'i:na:'- *(preverb) (attested with -d, -dAX, and -X finals, not zero, < postposition o-:-na:'- above preverbalized with zero o)* 1. on hillside, mountainside: *with -d final:* **'i:na:'d** on the mountainside *L,* **'i:na:'d sAtahL** it's up on a hill, steep place *L,* **'u:d 'i:na:'d k'ulAXAt'u' cha'tl'** (there are) lots of blueberries on the hillside *L,* **'i:na:'d da: k'ushAshehL** we killed something on the montainside *L,* **'i:na:'d qu'winhinh** he'll go up on the mountainside *L, with -X and -dAX finals:* **'i:na:'X yAX k'uda:X** someone is walking around on a hillside *L,* **'i:na:'dAX yAX da:X** he's walking around on a mountainside *L.*

2. up high (not necessarily on hill-, mountainside): *with -d final:* **'u:ch'ahd 'i:na:'d Gah da:X** when they climb down from there *(up on tree) 63.22G (perhaps incorrect, but cf. 'i:na:'d sAtahL 'it's up on a steep place' L above).*

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na:'dqAXah *(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 nAts'gLqAXah).*

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Xi:na:'d *(with -d final locative)* 1. *(o-:-na:'d with XA- 'area' as o)* on mountainside: **Xi:d Xi:na:'d** on the mountainside *L.*

2. *(probably < *XA-yA-na:'d, cf. XAyA'u:d)* downstairs: **Xi:d Xi:na:'d** (yonder) downstairs, yonder down below.

nu:s *(loan from English 'news', perhaps not naturalized)*

nu:s *(noun, unclassified)* news *61.42A.*

nu:djAg~nu:djAG *(loan from Chugach nuuciq '(movement at) point')*

nu:djAg *L,* **nu:djAG** *SG (place-name) Nuchek*: *54.8G,* **nu:djAgch'** to Nuchek *53.30L.*

nu:yeh *(loan from English 'New Year')*

nu:yeh *(noun, probably unclassified)* New Year *L.*

yid~yAd

yA *(perhaps also yAd, 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:'*** *(never -wA-)* father-in-law, *see under -ta:' father, conceivably < -yAd-ta:'.*

2. *Meaning uncertain*: *in* ***-yA-danh*** *(never -wA-)* mother-in-law, *see under danh, which occurs only in this form, conceivably < yAd-anh, cf. preceding and -a:n~ mother, but see also following.*

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3. (man's) son: *in* ***-yA-'ehd*** (man's) daughter-in-law, *see under -'ehd wife, and cf. Athapaskan *-yA'A '(man's) son', perhaps of different origin from -yA- 1. and 2. above.*

yAq'1 *(perhaps to be identified with yAq'2 and/or yAq'3, but semantic relation not clear)*

yAq' *(preverb) (with zero, -ch', -d, and -dAX finals)* ashore, to shore, to land *(but not 'upland', cf. lAG2)*: *Anonymous* Якгъ 'Мелко' ('shallow'), **yAq' sAtle'XL** flipped ashore *1b.10M, 10.98, 11.143, 148A,* **sitl' yAq' GALAduxX** let it float ashore with me *10.12A,* **di'dah yAq' disLiqahGL** it safely fell ashore *10.15A,* **yAq' sLiduxL** it floated ashore *10.16A,* it had floated ashore *10.17A,* **Xi:d chi:shga:na'q' yAq' sLiduxL q'A'Aw** it's the one that floated ashore onto yonder gravel-beach *10.27A,* **'Aw te'ya'le: yAq' sAtle'XL** that king salmon had flipped ashore *10.108A,* **'Aw te'ya'le: 'uXa' yAq' 'i:lahwahd** so that the king salmon would swim ashore by him *11.150A,* **qi' k'uGa:ndzu:da:X sitl' yAq' GALAdAxw** float ashore with me by where there's good ground *11.169A,* **sitl' yAq' GALAdux** float ashore with me *11.170A,* **yAq' sahL** he went ashore *16.16M,* **'u:d 'ahnu:Xa' yAq' sAqehL** they boated ashore by her there *20.51A,* **dAtli: yAq' sAqehL** he had already landed ashore *25.54A,* **yAq' q'uhnu: 'Aw lahdz qu'di:LGAdjg** they were going to tow it forward to the shore *28.72A,* **'Aw yAq' dAshALGAdjgLinu:** they towed it ashore *28.82A,* **k'u:y yAq' sLiXu'GL** a shoreward wind blew *33.3A,* **Li'q' yAq' sAXahL** they all landed *37b.18A,* **'anh qe'L yAq' sAqehL** the girl landed *38.20LM,* **'Aw LinhGih 'u:ch'ahd yAq' sAlAGLinh** she threw that one ashore from there *46.17M,* **'u:d yAq' sAwehL** she swam to shore there *47c.61L,* **'anhXa' yAq' sAqehL** he boated ashore by him *53.24L,* **ya:yu:, tanhAyahshyu: yAq'dAX 'ahnu:ch' 'AdqAdla:LA'inhinu:** some things, tidal debris they sneaked along the shore to him *56.22L,* **yAq' sAwehL** he swam ashore *61.77A,* **yAq'** onto island, mainland, from ocean, lake, river *L,* **yAq' sAqahL** I (boating) landed *L,* **qi' yAq' qu'xqeh** where I (boating) will land *L,* **'Awgutl'ah 'Aw yAq' sALahLinh** she pulled the fishtails up *(i.e.* ashore*) M,* **yAq' siyahL** I waded ashore *L, with q'e'~q'e:- 'back, again':* **'Aw q'e:yAq' sAlAGLinh** he threw another one ashore *46.21LM,* **ma:gAdAya'ch'ahd yAq' q'e' xusALXahdLinh** he pulled me back ashore out of the lake *M, Galushia Nelson* **ge:Lta:g-wAlahyu:tl' q'e:yAq' sdiqehLinh** he (boating) returned to shore with the seal-people *BSdL 238, 559, with -ch' final 'towards shore, (continuous or repeated motion) to shore':* **dAtli: 'Alga'kih yAq'Ach' 'uXa' gAdla:sAdik'L** already the (aquatic) distance to shore for her had shortened to this little bit *25.48A,* **yAq'Ach' 'utl' GAxwAL** is rolling against shore with him (inside) *10.19, 19A,* **yAq'Ach' GAxqe:L** I (boating) am landing *L,* **yAq'Ach' 'ALya:'** put them ashore (in several acts)! *L,* **yAq'Ach' dla:Lya:'** waves are lapping against shore *L,* **yAq'Ach' k'u:y** shoreward wind *MSG; with -d final '(at rest) on shore, ashore':* **yAq'd sAdahLinh** he's sitting on shore *L,* **yAq'd sAtahL** it's ashore *L, perhaps nominalized Galushia Nelson* yəqt 'shore' *BSdL 537* **yAq'd**; *with -dAX final (-d final plus -X final) '(motion within area) on shore':* **yAq'dAX 'ahnu:ch' 'AdqAdla:LA'inhinu:** they sneak towards him along the shore *56.22L,* **yAq'dAX yAX da:X** it's walking about on shore *L.*

yAq'2 *(in -tl'A-yAq' > -tl'e:q'; perhaps to be identified with yAq'1 and/or yAq'3, but semantic relation not clear; probably also in some instances of (o-)d-i:'-q' under 'e'~)*

o-**yAq'** *(postposition) (with zero, -d, -ch', -dAX, -ch'ahd finals; clearly attested with d-class-mark as -dAyAq', but not with dA- indeterminate o, some instances of (o-)d-i:'-q' ('e'~) perhaps to be identified as dA-yAq' and o-d-yAq')* 1. in(to) o (not with broad opening at top), *cf. o-ya' under ya'4; not generally used of topographical features; L rejects proposed *XAyAq', *XAlAyAq', with XA- 'area' as o: finals irregular, different from other postpositions in that zero final usually occurs where -d and -(dA)X 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. tsu'd 'sleep', gah 'dance', -dAGAleh 'mind', qehsq'~q'e:sq' 'moonlight', Gu' 'warmth', 'wAX '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:* **sAqe:ts'Akih 'anhyAq' sahL** a child got into her *(o-yAq' -a is a standard idiom for 'o become pregnant with S') 2a.7M,* **'AwyAq' li' dAsALk'a't'L** he flew in inside it *5.3L,* **'Aw qi' Ga:nshdishahLyAq' 'Aw sALtahLinh** he set it in where he had dug the ground *6.3M,* **'Awshunh q'uw ts'id 'anhku:lAyAq' sAle'gL** apparently he just clawed into its belly *8.7A,* **'Aw q'Aw 'AwyAq' ya:X k'usAle'gL** then he had eaten all up some things inside it *10.9A,* **'Aw 'uyAq' 'i:dahL xihsginh** she kept tearing her clothes *18.20L,* **sAqe:ts'Akih 'uyAq sAdahLinh** she got with child *23.111A,* **'Aw q'Aq'ya'kAna:'d, 'AwyAq' 'Aqu:k'inu:** those loon's coats, they'd dress in them *24.40A,* **'uLa'ch'yAq'[d] sALahL** were in its stomach *28.84, 85, 88A,* **'AwyAq' 'isAxu'tl'Linh** he blow into it *34.101L,* **La:LtahyAq' 'Aw GAt[a:LG]** before he puts it in the pouch *36.39A,* **'uyAq' yAX k'udAXe:XyAq' ['ahnu:] 'anh sALtehL** they put her in the back-pack *38.7LM,* **'AdgAdla:wahLgyAq' 'ahnu: sALtehL** they put her in the swing-hammock *38.12LM,* **ya:nu' 'anh shAdja'L, 'anhdla:yAq'** he jerked him underground, into the earth *39.5L,* **la'd da: te'ya'gutl'ahlAX 'isAL'anhLinh, t'its'dAyAq'** he saw two fishtails, in the ice *45b.11M,* **dAq'a:gdAyAq' 'i:nAX k'uqu'dAda'ya:k'** you will be tormented in the fire *(idiomatic for* in Hell*) 51.19A,* ***'i:sdA*sAndi:yAq', lAG k'ushA'a'ch'L** on *Easter Sunder*, they went to church *51.37(day)A,* **'AwyAq' 'iLi'e'dzL, ke:Lta:gsi:nL** he had his feet in them, seal-boots *51.44A,* **sidjAXAyAq' 'Aw diLich'a:q'L** in my ears it is heard *70.11A,* o-**yAq' -da** S dress in o *(-da 6.),* **k'uyAq' GAlAXqu'** pl. get dressed (in something)! *L,* **'AwyAq' lAXiqe'xLquh** I'll dress you pl. in it *L,* **'AwyAq' 'Aqu:k'inu:** they're (cust) dressed in it *24.40A,* **XAli'd 'AwyAq' sAdahL** he's sitting at innermost end of hole < at back closed end of area, he's sitting in it *L,* **'uyAq' k'usiLdu'L** I stuffed it < I stuffed something into it *L,* **'uyAq' 'i:nsiLdu'L** I stuffed its head *L,* **'uyAq' GAta'** put it in it (box with opening at side)! *L,* **'AwyAq' siLtahL** I put it in it *L,* **'AwyAq' qu'xtah** I'll put it in it *L,* **ts'a'dAyAq' 'Aw 'i:nsAtsu:xL** he shoved it (paddle) into the mud *L,* **ye:t' k'udAyAq' qi' k'u:Leh** *place-name* < where there's wild celery in it (d-class) *L,* o-**yAq' 'i-xu'tl'(-g)** S blow into o, **'AwyAq' dAshAGe'q'shgL** it (pipe, chimney) got clogged *L,* **sAqe:GAyu: 'uyAq' quh** womb < children stay in it *A,* **'uyAq' dAsAq'e'sL** it's stuck in it *L,* **'uyAq' qi:dAGAxq'e'sL** my shoes are too tight < my feet are crowded in them *L,* **'uyAq' k'u'Lq'a:g** someone's burning things in it, stove *L,* **'uyAq' 'iq'a:gL** stove *LM,* **'uyAq' k'uda'mahd** oven < something is cooked in it *L,* **'uqi:lAyAq' k'utsin'dAleh** telephone < someone speaks into it (rope-like) *L,* **LanhdAyAq'(dAleh)** smoking-pipe *L (< Lanhd 'uyAq' dAleh 'smoke is acted upon in it', see Lanhd),* o-**yAq' y-le** S disembowel, hollow out o < S act

with hands in o *(see y-le 2.),* **lisdAyAq' qALa'nik'** woodworms < they crawl in trees *L,* **giyah 'uyAq' gAli:'yah** blister < water is stuck in it *L,* **k'uyAq' yAsa'yahL** it (e.g. letter) was sent, travelled in something *M,* **tanhyAq' 'iXa' 'iGA'e'dz** put your feet into your socks! *L,* **'uyAq' k'uGAdA'eh** binoculars < something is seen in it *L, Rezanov,* **k'uyAq' siLahL** I put them in something *L,* **we'LlAXAdAyAq' sahL**, **we'L 'ugAlAXAdAyAq' sahL** it got caught (went into) a snare *L,* **'uyAq' k'uts'u'ts'ginh** he's smoking (sucking something in it) *Rezanov,* **'uyAq' gAlAdAts'u'ts'g** sucking-tube < liquid is sucked in it *Galushia Nelson,* **sidAGAlehyAq' disLiqahGL** it goes though (has fallen into) my mind *70.10A,* o-**dAGAlehyAq' -t'e´~-t'u´,** o-**dAGAlehyAq' -le** S please o < S be a certain way, acts in o's mind *(see dAGAleh),* **wAXyAq'** in this way, thus *L ('wAX),* **qe:sq'dAyAq'** in the moonlight *M,* **t'its'dAyAq'** in ice *M,* **de: gahyAq'dAw** on what day? *L, with various preverbs: with perambulative:* **'uyAq' yAX LAk'uhdXinh** pains, cramps hurt about inside him *L,* **'uyAq' yAX k'u'LA'a:nX** binoculars, telescope < one looks about in it *L, Rezanov,* **tsu'dyAq' yAX xda:X** I'm walking about in my sleep *L, with li' 'deeply in, from open front to closed back end': 5.3L, 10.5A, 10.6A, 10.34A, 28.112A, 37b.40A, 40.39(month)A, 40.40(month)A,* o-**yAq' li'** O-**L-du'k'** S stuff O into o, **'uyAq' li' k'u:Leh** it has deep hollow in it *LM,* o-**yAq' li' G-le** o be hollow, o-**yAq' li' y-le** S hollow o out, **'udjAXAyAq' li' tsin'dixiliLinh** I'm (literally, *Np*) way inside his ear speaking *72.2L,* **'AwyAq' li' sa'yahL** it's stuck way inside it *L,* **xut'LyAq' li' di:'ah** ramrod < d-class extends way into rifle *L, Rezanov,* **djAXAyAq' li' 'AdyiLi'inh** he's stopping his ears with his fingers < he has his hands extending way into his ears *L,* **'uyAq' li' k'u'lAXAGALXa'** load it (rifle)! *Rezanov,* **dik' 'uyAq' li' 'iGa'a:wG** it's not long (cavity) inside *L,* **'uyAq' li' sahL** it went way in it *M,* **'uyAq' li' Ga:'** go way in it! *M, with 'Ash 'though':* **'uyAq' 'Ash k'u:Leh** there's a hole all the way through it *L,* **'uyAq' 'Ash disLiqahGL** it fell down through it (into trap) *L,* **'AwyAq' 'Ash lAqu:g** they (fish) keep swimming right through it (mesh too coarse) *L,* **'uyAq' 'Ash XAdla:sa'yahL** it ran through it, arrow went through it *L,* **'uyAq' 'Ash qu'xLA'Adzg** I'll jump through it (e.g. hoop) *L,* **'a'd silAqehyAq' 'Ash k'ule'ggga' 'AdxdAgAwih** I feel very much like someone is reaching through my head (with repeated questions) *72.15L,* **'AwyAq' 'Ash sahL** it went through it (e.g. tube) *L, with yAX 'downward', 'down into o': 10.55A, 10.158A, 23.160A, 27b.18A, 53.31A,* **gahyAq' yAX Ga:L** he's dancing fancy < going down into a dance *L, 'down out of o': 10.100A, 10.102A,* **'uyAq' yAX k'ugu:n'yahL** he's got diarrhea *L,* **'uni:k'yAq' 'Aw yAX gAli:'inhinh** it (liquid) extends down from (in) his nose *L, with qa' 'up out', 'up into o':* **'ahnu:gAdAyAq' qa' qAsAtsu:xLinh** she thrust them up their rectums *47b.39M,* up out of o: *3.5M, 10.6A, 11.188A, 11.192A, 23.20A, 36.11A, 45.11L, 49.96A, 65.28A, 65.38A, 65.39A,* o-**yAq' qa'** O-**L-du'k'** S squeeze O out of o, **'AwyAq' qa' GAta'** take it out of it *L,* **'AwyAq' qa' siLtahL** I took it out of it *L,* **'ulahyAq' qa' lAsAtahL** it stuck its head out of its hole *L,* **'AwyAq' qa' GALxAX** empty it (eggs) out of it (salmon)! *L,* **LanhdAyAq' qa'ah** smokehole *(< Lanhd 'uyAq' qa' 'ah 'smoke extends up out of it', see Lanhd),* **dAL 'uyAq' qa' gu:nsa'yahL** he hemorrhaged < blood went up out of him *L,* **'ula't' 'uyAq' qa' 'i:'inhinh** his tongue's hanging out *L,* **'AwyAq' qa' sahL** it got out of it *L,* **Le't'yAq' qa' sahL** it got out of the box *L,* **k'udALts'AliLyAq' qa' sahL** egg hatched *M, 'up within o':* o-**yAq' qa' Gdl-q'a** o has heartburn, o-**qi:dAyAq' qa' L-k'ahd** pains shoot up o's leg, o-**yAq' d-(L-)q'a'k'~-q'a'q'** o choke, *in compounds, with adjectives, requiring Gi-thematic, see* **-lAqahyAq'AGi'djilahG** brains *(under djilahG),* **-yAq'AGi'ya'** entrails *(under ya'~Aya'),* **lAyAq'iGich'e'** unpleasant voice, **-yAq'iGiXe'** marrow *(under Xe:~Xe'), kuts'~kuch', -'luw~-'nuw 3., 'i-G-'li´, 'i-G-'luw, 'i-G-'a:w, o-yAq' li' G-le, with -ch' final, o-yAq'Ach' '(continuous or repeated movement) into o, continuous or repeated movement or action in o, (movement towards) into o': 10.14A, 11.169A, 11.185A, 36.38A, 36.38A, 50.22A, 50.23A, 51.48A, 62.5G,* o-**yAq'Ach' 'i-xu'tl'-g** S blow into o, **'AsyAq'Ach' lAqu:g** fish are trapped in (keep swimming into weir) *L,* **'uyAq'Ach' 'Adu'qi:da:xdiq'e:'** let me try my feet in them (shoes) *L,* **'udAyAq'Ach' yAGAxle:L** I'm hollowing it (tree) out *L,* **'uyAq'(Ach') li' yAGAxle:L** I'm hollowing it out *L,* **silAyAq'Ach' GAle'gL** it (drink) is going to (reaching into) my head *L,* **dAGAlehyAq'Ach' GAdAle:Linh** he's getting proud of himself *L,*

k'uyAq'Ach' 'Alya:' put them (one by one) into something! *L,* **k'uyAq'Ach' qu'xLya:'** I'll put them (one by one) into something *L,* **'uyAq'(Ach') k'uya'L** container (to put things in) *L; with -d final '(at rest) in o': 10.6A, 10.7A, 10.7A, 10.7A, 10.118A, 11.160A, 11.161A, 18.6L (probably to be corrected to zero final), 28.84A, 28.85A, 28.88A, 28.88A, 60.6A, 62.26G (day),* **sAqe:ts'Akih 'uyAq'd dah** womb < child stays in it *L,* **'uyAq'd k'uteh** sleeping bag *L (also* ***'uya' k'uteh****),* **k'uyAq'd sAtahL** it's in something *L,* **'AwyAq'd sAtahL** it's in it *L,* **'AwyAq'd siLtahL** I left it in it *L,* **dAGAlehyAq'd k'uxsLitahL** I have something on my mind *L,* **sich' 'udAGAlehyAq'd k'usAtahLinh** he has something in his mind against me *L,* **k'ulAqahyAq'dAdjilehG** brains *M (djilahG),* **'uyAq'd gahG** charge for gun < shot in it *L,* **'uyAq'd qi:dAGAxq'e'sL** my foot's cramped in it (shoe) *L,* **'uyAq'd ya:** the thing inside it *L,* **k'ushiyah 'uXa' 'uyAq'd 'iLt'a' 'isA'ahLinh** he has pent up all the evil against him within himself *L,* **'uyAq'd k'ulAXAdiyahL** it (gun) is loaded *L, with ya' 'to a position of rest':* **'AwyAq'd ya' qu'xtah** I'll leave it in it *L,* **'idAGAlehyAq'd k'a' ya' 'idita:** remember! < keep it in your mind! *L,* **Gu'yAq'd yä' 'i:dah** stay in the warmth! *M, elicited without verb, with -d final '(at rest) in o' or nominalized 'the inside of o':* **siyAq'd** inside of me *L,* **sidAga'q'LyAq'd** inside of my throat *M,* **sini:sq'('iGi)yAq'd** inside my nostril *L, with l-anatomical:* **silAyAq'd** back of my neck *M (< 'inside my head', see also under 3. below), see also -tsin' (tsi'~tsin~), with classified nouns:* **t'ich'dAyAq'd** in ice *M,* **dAq'a:gdAyAq'd** in fire *M,* **ch'iyahd-lAyAq'd** in a hat *M,* **k'utahti:lAyAq'd** in a skin *M,* **q'ahsXAdAyAq'd** in the clouds *M,* **tl'ihXgAdAyAq'd** in the grass *M,* **kihshLdla:yAq'd** in a dipnet *M,* **'itl'AlAyAq'd** inside a mountain *L,* **yahdda'luwdAyAq'd** in a cannery *L,* **lisdAyAq'd** in a (hollow prone) spruce *L, with -d final nominalized 'the inside of o':* **'udAyAq'd k'u:Leh** there's a hollow inside it (d-class, tree) *L,* **'uyAq'd li' GAdli:'ah** (cavity) inside extends deep *L,* **xut'LyAq'd 'uX dAk'u:d** cleaning rod < the inside of a rifle is wiped by means of it *L,* **'AwyAq'd shdiGe'q'shgL** its inside is clogged *L,* **'AwyAq'd siya: lah xuLg** my head is spinning < that inside of me is spinning around *M,* **siyAq'd siya: yik'a'd** my stomach hurts *L,* **siyAq'd siya: yAX k'uLAqa't'X** *LM,* **siyAq'd siya: dAdAleh** my stomach is rumbling *M,* **siyAq'd siya: disdi'yahGL** my stomach aches *M, Rezanov,* **siyAq'd siya: k'usha:dah 'u'GAxgAwi'L** my stomach is starting to feel bad *L; with -dAX final '(movement with)in o' (usually zero, especially with preverbs):* **'AwyAq'dAX gAli:'ah** it (water) runs through it (pipe) *L,* **'AwyAq'dAX yAX da:X** it's walking around inside it *L,* **'anhdla:yAq'dAX** out of the ground *36.11fnL; with -ch'ahd final or as o of o-ch'ahd 'from o', 'out of from inside o':* **'anhyAq'Ach'ahd** out of the ground *M,* **GAX ch'iyahdlAyAq'Ach'ahd qa' sALXahdLinh** he pulled a rabbit up out of a hat *M,* **si'uGLlAyAq'Ach'ahd 'ilah qe'xleh** I love you from my heart *L,* **'AwyAq'Ach'ahd k'utsinh** sings (from) inside it *10.12A (cf. 11.185A)*; *as o of o-ya' 'belonging to o':* **'utsin'lAyAq'ya' q'ahs** bone of inside of its head (of fish) *M,* **ts'AlyAq'ya' Xe:** marrow < grease of inside of bone *L, as o of o-ga' 'like o':* **dik' 'AwyAq'Aga' qi:da'yida:G** 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 irregular, cf. o-ya' 3. under ya'4)* a. *semantically regular,* into each other: **'iLyAq' Gata'** put one (e.g. glass) inside the other! *L,* **'iLyAq' yAX GALa'** pile them (e.g. glasses) (down) into each other *L.*

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2b. closed *(of eyes, used preverbially, classifier not vocalized in intransitive verbs)*: **'iLyAq' k'usiLtahL** I closed my eyes < I put one part of something into the other *M,* **'iLyAq' k'u:LtahLinh** he has his eyes closed *M,* **'iLyAq' k'uGAta'** close your eyes! *L,* **'iLyAq' k'uqu'xtah** I'll close my eyes *L, with -ch' final:* **'iLyAq'Ach' lAXAdAxya:g** my eyes keep closing *L (see -'ya 5.)*; *with yAX 'downward', 'with folded legs, squatting':* **'iLyAq' yAX 'i:dahLinh** he's squatting *L,* **'iLyAq' yAX GAda:Linh** he's doing a dance squatting < moving in squatting position *L.*

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2c. apart, outspread, wide open *(from original position together, but not clearly inside each other, used preverbially, classifier not vocalized in intransitive verbs)*: **'iLyAq' wAX**

'i:t'eh it (e.g. box) is coming apart at corner *(probably < 'apart, it's thus') L,* **'iLyAq' 'i:nsiLt'uxL** I grabbed his cheeks and pulled them apart < I stretched his face apart *L,* **'iLyAq' lAXAdi:qAshL** his eyes are wide open *L,* **'iLyAq' 'i:qAshL** he has his legs spread wide apart *L,* **'iLyAq' diLile'gL** he has his arms outspread *L,* **'iLyAq' 'iGA'e'dz** spread your legs! *L,* **'iLyAq' 'isi'e'dzL** I spread my legs apart *L, with xa' as O:* **'iLyAq' xa' GAta'** open your mouth! *L,* **'iLyAq' xa' 'i:LtahLinh** he has his mouth open *L,* **'iLyAq' xa' sALtahL** it (flower) opened *L.*

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3. *With reflexive o, pronominal o always 'Ad- rather than zero in all certain attestations without class-marks, semantically irregular or idiomatic*: **'AdyAq'** (**q'e'**) **dA-'ya** S come to, regain consciousness, sober up *10.210, 36.24, 25A, see -'ya 17., apparently preverbial in* **q'e:'AdyAq'Ach' GAda'ya:Linh** he's coming to *M, for other possible occurrences, see yAq' (preverb) below; in* **'AdyAq'Ach' k'u'xu'tl'g** bugle *L not reflexive, <* **'udAyAq'Ach' k'u'xu'tl'g** one blow repeatedly into it (d-class, noisemaking)*; with l-anatomical 'head':* **'Ad-lAyAq'Ach' k'uxdAtsinh**, **lAyAq'Ach' k'uxdAtsinh** I'm humming *L,* **'Ad-lAyAq'Ach' k'udAtsinhinh**, **lAyAq'Ach' k'udAtsinhinh** he's humming *L; see also l-yAq' below.*

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4. *Problematical or uncertain instances*: **lisyAq' dAG gAli:'ah** *place-name, interpreted by L as* < water runs up by trees, *but with d-class-mark for lis lacking*; **dA'AwyAq'Ach' 'Aw 'utl' yAX LAduxX** it drifts about with him inside it *10.14A, perhaps to be interpreted* **dA'Aw -- yAq'Ach' -- 'Aw 'utl' yAX LAduxX** then -- towards shore -- it drifts about with him (in it) *with preverb yAq'-Ach' under yAq'1*; **xi:lyAq' k'utsinhinh** shaman is singing (shaman's song) *M, not verified by L,* < he's singing something in a shaman, *unless to be interpreted* **xi:l yAq' k'utsinhinh** *with yAq' preverbial, but -inh suffix would not be expected with xi:l as independent S, see however preverb yAq' under yAq'2 and yAq'3, and (o-)d-i:'-q' under 'e'~, or perhaps < xi:l-lA-yAq', cf following.*

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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 Gi-thematic)* voice, throat: **lAyAq'** inside throat *L,* **lAyAq' 'iGi:kuts'g** (he's) soft-, high-voiced *L,* **lAyAq' 'iGi:'luw** (he's) loud-, low-voiced *L, Rezanov;* **lAyAq'AGich'e'** unpleasant gravelly voice, poor singing voice *L.*

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o-**y-tl'e:q'** *(postposition) (< -y-tl'A-yAq', with -y-tl'A- 'inner end of hand', with reduced form of -tl'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: 23.13A, 50.18A, Rezanov* Каитлекъ 'Ладонь Handfläche, innere' **qa:yAtl'e:q'** into our palms, **siyAtl'e:q'** in the palm of my hand *LM,* **siyAtl'e:q' GAta'** put it in my hand! *LM,* o-**y-tl'e:q' y-'ya** S (prey) fall into o's hand, *zero reflexive o in indirect reciprocal constructions:* **yAtl'e:q' 'isdituxL**, **yAtl'e:q' disdituxL** he spit in his hand *L,* **yAtl'e:q' 'iqe'xdAtux, yAtl'e:q' qu'dAxdAtux** I'll spit in my hand *L,* **yAtl'e:q' yAGAdAxu'tl'L** he's blowing in his hands *L, with -ch' final:* **siyAtl'e:q'Ach' 'Aw Lyi:n'inh** he's putting them (one by one) into my hand *L, with -d final 'at rest':* **siyAtl'e:q'd** in my hand *M,* in the palm of my hand *L,* **siyAtl'e:q'd sAtahL** it's in my hand *L, with reciprocal o:* **'iLyAtl'e:q'd q'e' 'AdsLiyahLinu:** they shook hands again < they put themselves back palm to palm *L, nominalized with -d final:* **siyAtl'e:q'd siya: sAts'i'k'Linh** he pinched the palm of my hand *L,* **'uyAtl'e:q'd 'iLch' qid 'u'li:LtahLinh** he has his hands palms togethers *L.*

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yAq' *(preverb) (infrequent, perhaps not to be identified with yAq'2 and/or to be identified with yAq'1 and/or yAq'3)* 1. fast, deep (asleep), *(cf. o-yAq' 3.) attested only in -tsu'd~-tsuhd 'S sleep'*: **yAq' sitsuhdL** I fell fast asleep *L,* **yAq' 'ixitsu'dL** I'm fast asleep *L.*

2. muffled, muted, inside self *(cf. ('Ad)lAyAq'Ach' k'u-dA-tsinh 'S hum' under o-yAq' 3.), attested only with 'Ad-LA-ki:nX 'S make self cry, pretend to cry, whine', causative reflexive of -ki:nX 'S weep'*: **yAq' 'AdLAki:nXinh** he's sobbing *L,* **yAq' 'AdsLiki:nXLinh** he whimpered *L; see also xi:lyAq' k'utsinhinh under o-yAq' 4. above, and (o-)d-i:'-q' under 'e'~.*

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3. *Meaning uncertain, perhaps* inside, *attested only in* **yAq' dAsa'mahdL** they (eggs) are hard boiled *L, same meaning as dAsa'mahdL; see also 4. below and (o-)d-i:'-q' under 'e'~.*

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4. *Uncertain*: **yAq' gAla'yah** bile *L, perhaps to be corrected to* o-**yAq' gAla'yah**, < liquid, humor is in o.

yAq'3 *(perhaps to be identified with yAq'1 and/or yAq'2)*

yAq' *(preverb) (with zero final in all instances, perhaps also used with -ch' 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 go' with l-thematic as in l-dA-a 'sg. S misgo, get lost'*: **yAq' l-a** S be, become startled, scared, *with causative:* **yAq'** O-**l-L-a** S startle, scare O, *and* **yAq' l-dA-a** S be, become tabooed, hexed, bewitched, *with causative:* **yAq'** O-**l-L-a** S hex, bewitch O, *see a3.*

yAq'sh *(M also shiyAq', shAq', siyAq', rejected by L and A)*

O-**L-yAq'sh-g** *(with -g-repetitive thematized)* S pry O (bivalve) open: **'ALyAq'shg** open it (clam, by prying, with one shell to open a new one, or with knife)! *LMA,* **qu'xLyAq'shg** I'll pry it (clam) open *L,* **xLyAq'shg** I'm prying it (clam) open *A,* **k'uxLyAq'shg** I'm prying something (clam) open *L,* **siLyAq'shgL** I opened a clam *L,* **dik' 'AxLye:q'shk'G** I never (cust) open clams *L, with d-class-mark for O ('mussel'):* **qu'di:xLyAq'shg** I'll pry it (mussel) open *L,* **da: dALye:q'shgk'** 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):* **'idAGALAyAq'shgL** he's opening mussels *LM (L later rejects), 1a.3, 1b.1M,* **'iqe'dALAyAq'shginh** he'll open mussels *M (L rejects),* **qi'da' 'idisLiyAq'shgLda: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 *1b.2M,* o-**'a:n' k'u'dishLiyAq'shgL** he came upon o as he was going along opening mussels *1a.4M (S k'u-indefinite, gloss to be corrected to 'someone (as he) mussel-opened (came) upon o'); passive:* **dishLiyAq'shgL** it (mussel) has been pried open *LM.*

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O-**yAq'sh-g** S pry O (bivalve) open *(uncertain, meaning not distinguished from that of preceding)*: **siyAq'shgL** I opened it (clam) *L (uncertain, meaning in any case the same as that of siLyAq'shgL).*

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O-**L-shiyAq'-~shAq'~shiyAq'** S pry O (bivalve) open *(from M only, rejected with conviction by L and A, clearly not authentic, perhaps partly influenced by siyAq'~siya'q'~sa'q')*: **'ALshiyAq'**, **'ALsiyAq'** I'm opening clams *M (L rejects, corrects to* ***k'uxLyAq'shg****),* **k'uLshAq'inh** he's opening clams *M,* **k'uqu'xLshiyAq'** I'll open clams *M,* **k'usiLshAq'L** I opened a clam *M, repetitive:* **k'uLshe:q'gk'inh** he (cust) opens clams *M.*

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O-**lXd-(L-)yAq'sh-g** *(with lXd-anatomical 'eye' and -g-repetitive thematized; non-reflexive with L-classifier, reflexive with LA-classifier from M, dA-classifier from L, latter implying underlying zero-classifier in non-reflexive)* S rub O's eyes: **'iqe'lAXAdi:xLyAq'shg** I'll rub

your eyes *MA; reflexive:* **'Ad-lAXAdAdAyAq'shg** he's rubbing his (own) eyes *L,* **da: 'Ad-lAXAdALAye:q'shgk'** *M,* **da: 'Ad-lAXAdAdAye:q'shgk'** we (cust) rub our eyes *L.*

yAX1 *(perhaps related to yAX~ye:X and/or to yAX3)*

O-**yAX(-g)** *(usually with -g-repetitive thematized)* S rub O (usually pelt, in tanning, in folds against itself) to soften it: **'Aw xyAXg** I'm softening skin *L, often with ya' 'completely':* **'Aw ya' xyAXg**, **'Aw ya' GAxyAXgL** *L,* **ya' GuxyAXgL** I'm softening skin by rubbing it *MA,* **ya' k'uyAXginh** he's rubbing something (a skin) to soften it *L,* **ya' qu'xyAXg** I'll rub it (skin) *L,* **ya' qa'yAXginh** he'll soften a skin *L,* **ya' siyAXgL**, **ya' siyAXL** I rubbed, softened skin *L,* **ya' sAyAXgLinh** he rubbed it (skin) soft *L, with ti:l-class-mark for O (clearly optional):* **k'uti:lAxyAXg** I'm rubbing something (skin) soft *LM,* **k'uti:li:yAXg** rub a skin soft! *M; passive:* **ti:sdiyAXg** skin has been rubbed soft *L.*

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O-**L-yAX-g** S rub O (usually pet, in tanning, in folds against itself) to soften it *(meaning apparently not distinguished from that of preceding)*: **ya' GAxwLyAXgL** I'm rubbing a skin (in folds against itself) to soften it *M,* **ya' siLyAXgL** I rubbed a skin soft *L (uncertain, "*maybe *means same as ya' siyAXgL")*.

yAX2 *(perhaps to be identified with yAX3, yAX4, and/or yAX5; assigned here are all and only all preverbs requiring vocalization of classifier, at least in intransitives, of verbs)*

yAX *(preverb) (always with zero final, called perambulative, requiring vocalization of classifier in all forms, transitive as well as intransitive, and -X suffix in all non-repetitive, non-customary Active imperfectives, and in gerundives, phonetically zero with stem-final -X, sometimes occurring overtly, perhaps incorrectly, in a few Active imperfective repetitives, especially where -g-repetitive is highly thematized, in sequence -g-X, or, in other cases, replacing -g-repetitive, for examples see references below with -g-repetitive; form of CV stems CV:X, CV´ stems CV'X; 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 q'e'~q'e:-, always precede yAX)* 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 imperfective, and rare with Inceptive perfective, the Inceptive perfective with perambulative meaning 'S … about all day long, for a long time')*: *see O-'-de'L 2., O-L-du'k', LA-dux 1., yAX 'AdALAduxX, d-LA-de, yAX dALAde:X, -da 3a., 4a., LA-da, g-LA-da, O-L-ta'tl', -te 3., O-L-te, O-(L-)ta 1., O-X-(L-)ta 2., O-gd-(L-)ta, 'Ad-y-dA(~LA)-ta, l-ta, O-L-t'a'L~-t'a'X, O-L-t'ux, -t'e'q' (transitive), LA-t'Aq', -tle'X 1., O-tl'i 2., 'Ad-LA-dzahG~-dzanhG, O-L-tsinhd, -tsAtl'~-tsitl' (transitive), 'i-tsi:ndz, O-tsin, LA-tsa', LA-ts'in't', O-L-ts'i'tl'-g (ts'in'tl' 2.), O-L-ts'e'ts' 1c., 'uX yAX k'udla:dAts'e'ts'X, O-ts'i'k', O-'-(l-)L-ts'inhG, O-L-ts'i:nG, yAX lAXAdAts'AX, Gl-dA-ts'a', -sid, O-g-djahG, O-dja' 1., O-Xd-dja' 1., O-L-chan´, 'Ad-LA-ch'e:t', O-ch'u:ch', (transitive, ch'u'ts'~), 'i-dA-ch'an'k', yAX 'Ad-LA-ch'an'k', O-d-L-ch'a:q', -ch'e', Gl-dA-sha'tl', O-shish, -she'g (transitive), O-Gl-sha~-sha´, O-Gl-L-sha´, k'u-l-L-gu:nsh, O-L-gahG, 'i-gwa´~-ga´, O-L-ku'd, -ki:nX, L-k'ahd~-k'a'd, yAX O-Gl-dA-k'in't'-X, d-L-k'a't' 1., yAX dALAk'a't'X, k'u-l-L-xwe't'~-xe't', 'Ad-l-LA-xa't' (xwe't'~), gdl-xut', L-xitl'~ 1., 2. (xu'tl'~), -xuL, yAX dAxwALX (xuL~), LA-Ga't', O-L-GAdj 1., LA-GAGsh-g, O-'-qe'd, O-'-d-L-qe'd-X, LA-qa't'g, L-qAtl' (transitive), d-LA-qahG, -qe, L-qe, 'uwa:LX yAX k'udAqe:g, O-L-qe, O-qa (qa1), LA-qa:', -qu 3., LA-qu, d-LA-qu, yAX dALAqu:X, O-g-L-qu, l-qu 2a., -qah (defective verb, no -X, qah4), LA-q'a:n'd, O-q'Ats' 1., 'Ad-LA-q'a:'s(-g), LA-q'a:'sh (?), o-sa' yAX O-dl-LA-q'Ash-X, d-q'e:k', O-L-q'a' 2., yAX k'uLAq'a'Xinh (q'a'2), dA-q'a' (transitive, q'a'3), O-*

Xahd 1., O-Xd-Xahd 1., yAX lAXAdAdAXa'tl'X, 'uX yAX (k'u)lAXAdAXa'tl'X, O-L-Xe'dz, O-Xu'ts', O-L-Xu'ts', (y-)LA-Xu'G, O-Xe, 'uyAq' yAX k'udAXe:X, 'uX yAX k'udAXe:X, O-'-Xa, 'i-X-Xa, LA-wAd~- 1., 4., gdl-~Gdl-wa'L~-wahL, -wus~ 1., 3., LA-wus~, yAX 'Ad-LA-wus-X, -we, l-dA-ma´ (transitive), O-L-'na't' 1., 2. (la't'~'na't'), -le'g~ 9a., 9b., 11., o-'e:X yAX LA-le'g-X, d-LA-le'g, O-L-u'g- 2a., (le'g~), O-LAG, O-L-lAG, -le~ 12., 'Adtl' yAX dla:dAle:X (le~), l-LA-la´ (transitive), O-dA-la (la), -la 1., 2., yAX dAla:X, O-'-L-la (la~na1), LA-'nik', O-'-yahd, d-'yahG 2. (?), O-'-yAX (yAX~ye:X), -'ya 34b., yAX 'i:lihxa' d-dA-'ya-X, dl-'ya 4., X-'ya, yAX XAda'ya:X, y-'ya, Xdl-'ya 1., 'Ad-'i:lih-LA-'ya 3., L-'ya (transitive), O-yu', O-'a'tl' 1., O-L-'e'dz, LA-'Adz 9., (O-)gdl-LA-'Adz 1., -'a'ch', yAX dA'a'ch'X, qi'ch' yAX k'udA'a'ch'X, 'uya'ch' yAX k'udA'a'ch'X, L-'a'ch', g-LA-'a'ch', O-dl-'e, O-qi:d-L-'e', O-'-'e~-'an, 'i-L-'e~-'an 1., 5., 6., 7., 'uyAq' yAX k'u'LA'a:nX, O-(L-)'a 6., yAX ('i-)LA-'a (?), 'i-d-'a 3., -'a´ 4., 'i-d-('-)L-'a´ 1., 2., -a, L-a, k'u-'-Xdl-d-a (a1), O-X-a (a2), O-L-(y)a, g-LA-a:n', O-L-ya:', and the following transitive themes used detransitivized with indeterminate O with perambulative, where the basic meaning is altered from 'S act in a certain way upon specific O' to 'S act in a certain way here and there, at random, on any, no specific O': O-ta'tl', O-L-tAL, O-tAGL, O-L-t'i'k'~, O-L-ts'in'tl'-g (ts'in'tl'2), O-(l-)L-ts'inhG, O-L-ts'AX, O-L-tse'q', O-L-chan´, LA-ch'u:ch' (transitive, ts'u'ch'), O-'-d-L-ch'a:q', O-ch'u', O-she 1., O-kahL, O-kus, O-kihsh 1., O-k'in't', O-L-xut', O-'-d-L-qe'd-X, O-qa (qa2), O-q'Ats' 2., 3., yAX 'idAq'Ats'X, O-L-Xu'ts', O-L-Xa'Xch'-X~-g, O-'-Xa, O-L-'na't' (la't'~); the following gerundives and -L-instrumental deverbalizations with perambulative are attested, usually with -X suffix, sometimes with -L, and sometimes with -X-L: yAX 'ute:X (te), yAX 'Adistsitl'X (tsitl'~tsAtl'), yAX 'ixe:t'L, yAX 'isxut', yAX 'ixut'X (xut'), qe:X(-L) (qe), yAX 'iswe:X(-L) (we), yAX 'isla:X (la~na1), yAX XAdla:'ya:X, yAX 'Adi:lihya:X ('ya), yAX 'u'wA'a:nX, 'uyAq' yAX ... 'an'L ('e~'an3), yAX 'isa:X (a1); occurring with a large number of postpositional phrases and other preverbs, mostly with -X or -dAX 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'LGAyu:ch' yAX dAqe:Xinhsh q'A'anh** he was boating "around" to those women one may suppose *(ironic) 47c.13L, with o-lah 'around o': 24.52A, see also 'i-gwa´~-ga´, O-L-'na't'-g (la't'~), 'Ad-'i:lih-LA-'ya 3., O-yu',* **dik' 'iLlah yAX dA'a'ch'[X]Ginu:** 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 2. below):* **ya'X yAX xdAta:X** I keep picking it up and (setting it) down *(in one place or series of places?) L,* **ya:n'ch' yAX 'AdAde:** (*or* **-da:**) sit down here and there along the way! *L,* **ya:n'ch' k'a' yAX 'iLiya:'** you should set them down once in a while along the way *L,* **ya:nu'ch' yAX 'idAqah** they keep swimming around underwater and/or diving up and down *L, 24.37A; with certain verbs of locomotion, also '(go around) hunting', see -qe, -'a'ch', -a; with -'a'ch' 'pl. S go' and -a 'sg. S go', often, but not always with preverb Xe'X '(a short distance) outside the house', with reference to defecation, urination, as in English 'to "go"': 23.19A, 33.12A,* **Xe'X yAX de:X** I have diarrhea *L,* **dALgu:nAX Xe'X yAX xLa:X** I have a bloody stool *L,* **'uya'ch' yAX dA'a'ch'X** urine bowl < pl. "go" into it *L,* **qi'ch' yAX dA'a'ch'X** toilet < place to which pl. "go" *L, see also dA-'yahG 2.; with g-LA-'a'ch' 'pl. S stand' and g-LA-a:n' 'sg. S stand', often apparently not necessarily referring to movement about while standing, occasionally perhaps 'in a line':* **'ich'a:d GAt'e'q'Lda:X yAX guLA'a'ch'Xinu:** they're standing in a straight line towards you *M,* **yAX 'i:nLAtALX** drill a line of holes! M *(to be corrected to -tAL)*; *with preverb q'e'~q'e:- 'about again, some more': yAX q'e', see -ki:nX, O-'-yahd, 'Ad-'i:lih-LA-'ya 3., -'a'ch', -a, or q'e:yAX, see O-L-t'a'L~-t'a'X, O-gu'k', 'i-gwa´~-ga´, O-L-xut', O-'-yahd, -'Ad-'i-lih-LA-'ya 3., -'a'ch', -a,* **yAX q'e' da:Xinh** he's taking a walk again, walking about some more *(not 'he's walking back, turning back') LM, but* **q'e:yAX da:Xinh** he's taking a walk again, walking about some more, *also* he's walking back, turning back *LM, cf. q'e:-yAX below.*

2. reversal of motion, *requiring vocalization of classifier (cf. yAX 3., 4., under yAX3) and -X suffix as 1. above* a. (single) reversal of motion, back, turn about: **yAX l-dA-la-X** S turn about to face in certain direction, *see under la~na2,* **yAX 'idiyah** (you should) come back *L*

(normally to be interpreted 'you should walk about, take a walk', perhaps to be corrected to q'e:yAX 'idiyah, see q'e:-yAX below).

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2b. back and forth, to and fro, (repeated) reversal of motion: *see 'Ad-gdl-LA-ta, 'Ad-'-gdl-LA-ta, O-'-(l-)(L-)ta, 'iLt'a'X yAX 'u'dla:dAta:X, yAX dAdja'X xut'L, gdl-xut', yaX 'AdGAdla:LAxut'X, o-sa' yAX O-dl-LA-q'Ash-X, LA-wAd-~ 1., 4. (?) gdl-~Gdl-wa'L~-wahL, -'ya 34.(?), g-'ya, dl-'ya 4., 'Ad-'-gdl-L-(y)a (or -ya:') (?), with various preverbs:* **ya'X yAX xdAta:X** I keep picking it up and (setting it) down *(in one place or series of places?) L,* **'a'q'Ach' yAX xda:X** I keep walking (in and) out of the house *M,* **ya'Xu: 'a'q'Ach' yAX qu'yidah** don't keep coming (in and) out of the house *L,* **lah yAX XAxdAta:X** I keep switching sides paddling *L (cf. lah qu'Xi:xtah 'I'll switch sides' L),* **ya:nu'ch' yAX 'idAqah** they keep swimming around underwater and/or diving up and down *L, 24.37A,* **dAlu' lahdz yAX dAXahdX** bureau of drawers < they are pulled forward (and back) through holes *L,* **'a:wAyu: yAX XAdAxdAdja'X** (*or* **-XahdX**) I'm drawing a funny zigzag line *L; also with certain themes referring to elasticity:* **yAX LAtsahdX** it stretches, is elastic *L, see also LA-wus~,* **yAX dAdAXahdX** accordion < it (d-class, with noise) is stretched back and forth *L.*

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2c. *With 'iLya' (see o-ya' 3b. under ya'4),* back and forth, to and fro, *same meaning as 2b., but more explicit and perhaps more frequent*: *see O-tl'i 2., -tsAtl'~-tsitl' (transitive), O-ts'AX 1., -xuL, -qe, l-qu 2a., dl-Xa'tl', gdl-~Gdl-wa'L~wahL, -we, O-L-u'g~ (le'g~), Xdl-'ya, -'a'ch' O-'-gdl-(L-)'a 1., -'a (a1).*

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q'e:-yAX *(preverb) (with zero and -ch' finals, q'e'~q'e:- 'back, again, some more' with yAX 2. 'reversal of motion', never here in order yAX q'e')* 1. *With zero final 'back, turning back' (single reversal of motion), requiring, but perhaps not always, vocalization of classifier in intransitive verbs, and, unlike yAX (preverb) above, not vocalizing classifier of transitive verbs, perhaps requiring -X 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*: **'ich' q'e:yAX qu'xtah** I'll give it back to you, I'll get even with you *M,* **q'e:yAX 'Adu'xsLilahL** I turned and fled *L,* **q'e:yAX dAGA'a'** pay it back! *L,* **dAtli: 'ich' q'e:yAX disiL'ahL** I paid you back already *L (O-(L-)'a 11.),* **sich' q'e:yAX qi:lAGALa'** give me it (rope) back! *M, in (o-ch') q'e:yAX 'i-L-'e~-'an 'S look back (at o)' (with indeterminate O) once with non-vocalic classifier: 48.18L, and twice with vocalic classifier: 31.15L, 48.19L, with intransitives:* **q'e:yAX dla:sLiqahGL** it (stone) bounced back *L,* **'a:nch' q'e:yAX GAdAqe:'** boat back here! *L,* **dik' q'e:yAX 'AdAXa:k'** they (cust) never went back (as a fleet) *68.42A,* **'Ad'e'ch' q'e:yAX sdi'yahGL** I long to go back home *L, see also Xdl-'ya 1., -'a'ch', -a, the only non-repetitive non-customary Active imperfective instance being* **q'e:yAX da:Xinh** he's turning, going back *LM.*

2. *With -ch' final,* (repeated or continuous motion) back, backward, a. *requiring vocalized classifier, no attestations with non-repetitive non-customary Active imperfective, requirement of -X suffix to stem uncertain*: **q'e: yAXAch' dAdAxuhLg** it (log) keeps rolling back *L (repetitive), with additional following q'e':* **q'e:yAXAch' q'e' XAdla:GAxda'ya:L** I'm turning back again < I having turned back again, am running back again *L.*

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2b. (continuously) backwards, *optionally vocalizing classifier, no -X suffix with non-repetitive non-customary Active imperfective, attested as preverb with one theme only, q'e:yAXAch' tsin'd-(dA-)le 'S speak backwards'*: *see tsin'd-le 3. under le~, used nominally as C in* **q'e:yAXAch' 'Aw 'uXa' yiLeh** it's backwards for them, theirs in backwards *68.91, 125A, and asyntactic in 68.92, 96, 115, 115, 127, 129A.*

yAX3 *(in one instance of -lA-yAX- > -le:X-; perhaps related to yAX1 and/or to yAX~ye:X, basic meaning 'subdue, lower', and/or to be identified with yAX2, yAX4, and/or yAX5; occasionally difficult to distinguish as preverb from yAX2 where classifier in verb is vocalized)*

yAX *(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)*: **giyahyAX yAX 'Aya:** put it down under the water! *11.90A,* **sit'a'X yAX siLtahL** I put it (down) in my pocket *L,* **t'a'X yAX GAdAta'** put it (down) in your pocket! *L,* **t'a'X yAX 'i:nditahLinh** he has his head down in his coat, collar *L,* **tsa:'Lya' yAX li:tahL** he had his head down in the food-box *7.28A,* **'iLyAq' yAX GALa'** pile them (glasses) (down) one inside the other! *L,* **'Awla'X yAX dAGALa'** cover it with boards! < hang boards down over it! *L,* **gahyAq' yAX Ga:L** he's dancing fancy < he's going downwards in a dance *L,* **'a:ndAX 'Aw yAX 'ALya:'** move them (one by one) downward along here! *11.86A, see further LA-dux 3., -da 2b., 3b., O-L-te (37b.30, 60A), O-L-t'ux (49.36A), O-tl'i:' 1., 1d., la'X yAX dAdAtl'ih, -Le(') 1g. (2, 4), O-L-dza'tl' 1., O-dl-L-dza'tl' 1., -tsitl'~-tsAtl', O-tsu:x (27b.18A, 34.83, 85, 93, 45.5, 10L), O-L-tsAX (65.31, 39A, uncertain), -ts'in't', L-ts'in't', -sid, 'i-gdl-sid, O-dja' (10.100, 102A), LA-sha't'(-g), LA-gAXts', O-L-kinhd, d-L-k'a't' (11.155, 158A), O-L-k'Awahdz~, -xwehd~, gl-LA-xwehd~, 'ulu' yAX k'udAxwehd, dA-xitl'~ 2., -xuL~ (transitive), O-Guhd~, L-qAtl', d-LA-qahG (23.160A), LA-qa:' (23.59A), -q'e's, O-L-Xa'tl' 1. (11.37A, 16.11M), O-L-XehL, LA-wAd~ 1. (uncertain), gdl-~Gdl-wa'L~-wahL (reflexive), LA-wahs-g, -wus 1., 2., (11.87, 87 88A), 4., yAX O-wus~ 2., O-l-L-wa', 'ulu' yAX k'u:ndAwa', -le'g~ 1b., o-lAG (40.11fnL), -le 25a., -'ya 6b., 32., yAX O(-d)-L-'ya, 'uya'X yAX k'u'ya:gL, gl-'ya 1., 2., gdl-'ya 1., 'i:lih-'ya 2b., O-L-ya:' (51.31, 65.25, 25, 25, 25A), qa: ta'X yAX 'i:nLyi:n'inh, O-'e'dz 2c., O-L-'e'dz 2., dl-LA-'Adz 1b., 'i-L-'e~-'an 7. (uncertain), -'a 2., 'i-'a 2., 'i-d-'a 1., O-l-(L-)'a 3a., -'a´ 3., yAX XAdi:'ah, dAXAyAXd yAX XAdA'a'L, 'i-d-('-)L-'a´ 2., yAX 'i-gdl-L-'a´, with q'e'~q'e:- 'back, again':* **yAX q'e'** *48.10L, q'e:yAX 34.85, 40.11fnL, with other preverbs (rare):* **ya:n'ch' yAX dAGALxwAL** turn it (lamp wick) down! *A,* **ya:n'ch' yAX gu:nsA'a'L**, **yAna:'ch' yAX gu:nsA'a'L** it (spilt liquid) ran down to the floor *L.*

2. impaled: **yAX** O-(**L**-)**'a** S roast O on spit *(cf. O-tl'i 1d., and especially O-(L-)'a 18g., 19.).*

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3. (turning) over *assigned to yAX3 rather than yAX2 'reversal of motion' because not requiring vocalization of classifier, see -xuL~, yAX O-'-dl-xuL, d-'ya 1b., O-'-dl-(L-)'a.*

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4. inside-out *assigned to yAX3 rather than yAX2 'reversal of motion' because not requiring vocalization of classifier, see -xuL~ (transitive), yAX O-wus~ 1.*

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yAXdAqehXq' *(postpositional phrase, used preverbially, preverb yAX 'downward' compounded with -dA-qehX-q' 'on bottom') see qehX~, o-yAX 5c., below.*

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yAXAya: *(noun, unclassified) (preverb yAX 'downward', perhaps originally postposition o-yAX 'under', with zero reflexive o 'under self' in irregular compound with ya: 'thing, one', cf. q…XAya… below)* mattress *L*: *Rezanov* Яхайя 'Постель ('bed') Bett', Яхаяульха 'Намостить ('to pave, plaster') pflastern(?)' *perhaps to be read* **yAXAya: 'u'l…Xa…**, *Anonymous* Ягхія 'Постеля' ('bed, bedding') **yAXAya:**, **yAXAya:wahd** for a mattress *9.77A.*

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o-**yAX** *(postposition) (attested with zero, -d, -dAX, and -ch' finals)* 1. under, beneath, underneath, below o: *with zero final, '(motion to) under o': 47c.25L, 65.55A,* **'uyAX 'iqe'yiLq'ah** you'll light a fire under it *65.45A,* **siyAX** under me *L,* **'AwyAX GAta'** put it under

that! *L,* **'Aw k'utahti:lAyAX dla:GAL'e'** hide it under that skin! *L,* **'ini:sq'yAX k'ugAli:'ah** your nose is running *L, see also -'a´ 23.,* **qidga' k'uyAX 'ah**, **k'uyAX sahL** he went under something (specific) *L, with indeterminate o:* **dAyAX sahL** he went under something (non-specific) *L, see also dAyAX dla:ditahL, with Neuter and Active imperfectives '(at rest) under o',* **'AwyAX 'i:tahL** it's under it *L, see also dAyAX dla:ditahL, 'uyAX k'u:ndAwa',* **tsa:dla:yAX dah** it lives under a rock *L, see also tsa:le:Xquh below, with gl-class-mark for o:* o-**gulAyAX** under o (liquid) *10.254, 11.90, 90, 29.42A, with qi:d-anatomical:* **'uqi:dAyAX 'AdAxwdAlAG da:X** when I jump under their feet *34.7M, with l-anatomical (?): see 'u(lA)yAX k'uya'L under (y)a, in non-verbal constructions:* **dzanhddAyAXAta:** Milky Way < trail under snowshoes *L,* **ku:nLda'ts'yAX ts'iyuh** cinnamon bear < blackbear under stump *A,* **LanhdyAXAyahd** smokehouse < house under smoke? *18.10L, with li' 'deeply in from open front end to closed back end': 10.254A, 38.22LM, 49.38, 70A,* **siyAX li' GAta'** put it under me! *M,* **tsa:yAX li' sLi'nik'L** it crawled under a rock *L, with yAX 'downward': 11.90, 90A, with lahdz 'forward': 11.91A, with reciprocal o:* **'iLyAX 'Atsu:x** stack them up! < thrust them under each other *L, with zero reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction:* **yAX 'Aw li' 'ALAte:k'** it (cust) puts it (animate) under itself *28.21, 35A,* **yAX 'idAtse:q'k'** he (cust) wets his bed (urinates under himself) *50.11A; with -d final 'at rest': 63.2, 5G, 63.44G, 65.16, 16, 17, 18, 19, 51, 57A,* **Le't'yAXd** under the box *M,* **siyAXd** below me *M,* under me *L,* **Xa:yAXd** north < under the northwind *L, Rezanov* Ауяхтъ 'Подъ unter' **'AwyAXd** under it *L,* **tsa:dla:yAXd** under a rock *L, 16.26M,* **lisdAyAXd** under a tree *16.26M,* **shdu:lihGdAyAXd** under the table *L,* **ta:XAdAyAXd** under the bridge *L,* **'AwyAXd ya:** the underneath, lower one *L,* **'AwyAXd sAtahL** it's under it *L,* **siyAXd sAlahLinu:** they who live (in storey?) below me *L,* **'uyAXd 'iqe'yiLq'ah** you'll keep a fire burning under it *65.43, 45A, with indeterminate o:* **'u:d dAyAXd** underneath (something) over there *L,* **dAyAXd sAtahL** it's underneath (something) *L, with l-anatomical:* **silAyAXd** under my head *L, nominalized with -d final:* **'AwdAyAXd** it's underside (of table) *L,* **siGuhdyAXd** the underside of my knee *L,* **sila:XyAXd siya: LAwehsg** my lower eyelid (the underside of my eye) quivers *L, see also -ts'AXALyAXd below, with -dAX final 'movement within area':* **'AwyAXdaX XAdi:'ah** it (log, line) extends under that *L, with -ch' final '(continuous or repeated) motion towards': 61.115A,* **XAwa:lAgahyAXAch' GALAt'uxL** she's very promiscuous < she clings to the underside of a dog-corpse *L, with zero reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction:* **yAXAch'shunh q'Aw dAtse:q'k'inh** he would (cust) apparently wet his bed (urinate under himself) *50.10A, see also yAXAya: above.*

2. *With figurative meanings,* inferior to o, oppressed by o: **'a'd 'iyAX 'Adu'xLileh** I sure envy, admire you < I consider myself very much beneath you *L, see also o-yAX dA-'yahG 1. 'S be annoyed with, sick of o' and gerundive o-yAX 'isyahGL.*

,

2b. *With d-thematic 'oral, noise', in figurative meaning, see o-d-yAX dA-'yahG 'S be annoyed with, sick of o's noise, talk', and gerundive o-d-yAX 'isyahGL; with reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction, with 'Ash 'completely by, past, through'*: **'AddAyAX 'Ash xsLitehLinh** I really let loose, let him have it, bawled him out < I put him through under my talk *L.*

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2c. *With qi:d-anatomical, in figurative meaning, with -d final 'at rest', compounded as o of o-ga' 'like o'*: **'a'd 'a:nd siqi:dAyAXdga' 'iXe'xleh** (I'm so mad at you) I'd very much like you here under my feet *L.*

,

3. *Compounded as o of o-ga' 'under o',* enough (in extent, supply) for o: **siyAXAga' 'idiyah djiL qu'xtsah** I'll buy a bed big enough for under me *L,* **XAla:gyAXAga' Giyah 'u'sile'gL** I bought just enough food for (to last the) winter *L,* **ts'id XAla:gyAXAga' da: wAX 'ALi:k'** we (cust) make just enough for winter *65.81A.*

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4. *Nominalized with -Aya', with gd-anatomical 'rump'*: **k'ugAdAyAXAya'** diapers < things for under someone's buttocks *L, see ya'~Aya', qe:XAya' below.*

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5. *Locativized with XA- 'area' as o:* a. *with -d final 'at rest'*: **'u:d XAyAXd** (at rest) in area down below, underneath *L,* **XAyAXd ya: ya:li'd** (at rest) in the back room of the lower storey, downstairs *L.*

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5b. *As above, compounded with -u:- 'there', demonstrative locative (see also 6b.) with -d final 'at rest'*: **XAyAXu:d ya: 'uXu:nLAyah** his lower teeth < the ones, his teeth, in lower area *L,* **XAyAXu:d ya: 'Aw 'u'sALXa'Linh** he included, hid an odd one in the pile to fill it out < he made it serve as an underneath one *M, compounded with -L-ch'a:d 'at rest in direction of': 28.78A,* **XAyAXu:nLch'a:d (ya:) 'uXu:nLAyah** his lower teeth *L,* **XAyAXu:Lch'a:d (ya:) 'udAkuhd** his lower lip *L.*

,

5c. *As 5a., compounded with (-dA)-qehX-q' 'on bottom' (cf. yAXdAqehXq')*: **Xi:d XAyAXdAq'ehXq'da: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*: **'u:d dAXAyAXd** (*same as* **'u:d XAyAXd**) (at rest) in area down below, underneath *L,* **dAXAyAXd yAX XAdA'a'L** lantern *(-L-instrumental deverbalization of < it (Xd-class, candle) is extended down at rest in lower area (socket)) L.*

,

6. *With GA-L- (G-thematic, L-classifier) as o (see also o-d-L-yAX 1b., 2b.) 'of series',* **GALyAX** nethermost, lowest position of a series: a. *with zero final, see GALyAX below; with -d final 'at rest'*: **GALyAXd ya:** the bottom, lowest one *L.*

,

6b. *As above, compounded with -u:- 'there', demonstrative locative stem (see also 5b.): with -d final 'at rest'*: **GALyAXu:d** way underneath the stuff < (at rest) in nethermost position there *M.*

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tsa:le:Xquh *(noun, unclassified) (< tsa:-lA-yAX-quh 'pl. stay under rock')* octopus, *see tsa:le:Xquh, tse:le:Xquh under tsa:.*

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q…XAya… *(noun) (form uncertain) attested in Rezanov only* Кехыя 'Башмаки Schuhe', *to be read* **qe:X-** *or* **qe:yAX-** *< qa:yAX- 'under us', or qi:X-, qi:yAX- < qi:-yAX 'under (one's own) feet' with zero reflexive o (cf. yAXAya: above), nominalized with ya'~Aya' (cf. k'ugAdAyAXAya' under o-yAX 4.), thus qe:(yA)XAya', qi:(yA)XAya' or compounded with ya: 'thing' (cf. yAXAya: above), thus qe:(yA)XAya:, qi:(yA)XAya:, 'thing under us', or 'thing under one's own feet, shoes'.*

,

GALyAX *(place-name) Kaliakh River* < lowermost *S*: *Tarkhanov (1796)* Халтехъ, Хатлехъ, *Tebenkov (1849)* Кальехъ, *Coast Pilot (1869)* Kaliekh, *Emmons (quoted in BSdL 82-86, 336)* Guth-le-uk-, Guth-luh-ku, Guthleuk, Guth-le-uk, *other variant* Gultheeth, Kul-thee-eth, Kulthieth; *etymology either Eyak, see o-yAX 6. above, or Eskimo, cf. Yupik qałiaʁ 'the top, uppermost one', used in Eskimo place-names.*

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o-**L-yAX-** *(postposition) (with L-classifier, attested -d and -dAX finals) with only -ch'AX (see under -ch'AX 'wing') as o, in* **-ch'AXALyAXd(-)** armpit, vulnerable spot under foreleg of

game animals: *with -d final 'at rest':* **'uch'AXALyAXd** at its underarm *27b.5, 7A,* **sich'AXALyAXd k'uXu'** the hair in my armpit *G (Harrington), nominalized:* **sich'AXALyAXd** my armpit *L, with -dAX final 'motion within':* **'uch'AXALyAXdAX** through its underarm *27b.10A, 63.9G.*

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o-**d-L-yAX** *(postposition) (with d-thematic, cf. di:yAX and L-classifier, cf. o-L-yAX, o-dAwa')* 1. *attested with zero, -d, -dAX, -ch', and k'ah finals* a. (moving) before, in front, ahead of (moving) o (in space): *with zero final:* **sidALyAX Ga:Linh** he's walking along in front of, before me *L,* **sidALyAX guGALa:n'Linh** he's standing in front of me *M,* **'anhdALyAX dAGALk'a't'L** it's flying along ahead of her *47c.39L, with -d final 'at rest in area, nominalization':* **sidALyAXd** in front of, ahead of me *L,* **sidALyAXd yi:nhinh** the one (person) ahead of me *L,* **sidALyAX 'ilAX'a'ch'** pl. walk ahead of me! *31.10L,* **'ahnu:dALyAX shA'a'ch'L** they went ahead of him *31.11L, with -dAX final 'movement within area':* **'idALyAXdAX qa' qu'wah** it'll come up in front of you *36.11A, with -ch' final '(continuous, repeated) movement toward' and reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction:* **'AddALyAXAch' 'anh 'u'dALA'ehdzinh** he (A) is calling to him (B) to (come around from behind and) go ahead of him (A) *L, with -k'ah final or as o of o-k'ah 'away from o':* **sidALyAX(A)k'ah 'a:** get out of my way! *L.*

1b. *With GA-L- as o (G-thematic, L-classifier) 'of a series' (see also 2b. below and o-yAX 6.),* **GALdALyAX** foremost of a series (in space)': *Rezanov* Кыльтыкахкоутлянъ 'пятиться zurückweichen' *probably to be read* **GALdALyAX gu:nLa:n'** stand foremost (of a series)!, *with -d final 'at rest':* **GALdALyAXd** at the head of the line *L.*

,

2. *(attested with zero final only)* a. before o (in time): **tli:XAtl'dALyAX** day before yesterday < before last night *L,* **sidALyAXlah** next youngest (sibling) before me *L,* **'idALyAXlah** your elder sibling (next youngest before you) *L,* **qa:dALyAX yi:nhinu:** our ancestors < those (people) before us *L,* **'Al dALyAX ya: xwah** last summer < the one, summer, before this *69.5A,* **sidALyAX 'u:da' sahLinh** he got there before me *L,* **'i'a:n' qa'a'ch' sidALyAX** 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:yAX):* **GA'a'ch'L[G]dALyAX** before they went *47.73M,* **'iGAshe:LGdALyAX GALxut'inh** shoot him before he kills you! *M,* **'uch' Xa'dihch' qu'Xinhinh, GAsinhLGdALyAX** I'll go visit him, before he dies *M,* **'ulAX 'isAL'anhLinh, sAsinhLGdALyAX** I saw him before he died *M (probably to be corrected to GAsinhLdALyAX, or perhaps 'AssinhLG- or sAsinhLdALyAX).*

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2b. *With GA-L- (with G-thematic and L-classifier) 'of series' (see also 1b. above and o-yAX 6.),* **GALdALyAX** first of a series (in time): **GALdALyAX(A)lah** eldest (of siblings) *L, 9.73A.*

yAX4 *(probably more than one stem, some or all of which are to be identified with yAX2, yAX3, yAX5, 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-)LA-'a** S (sun) rise, *perhaps unique reduced form of ya'X 'up', or perhaps perambulative, especially 'reversal of motion, return' (yAX2).*

2. *Attested only in* **yAX L-Xe'tl'** S (it, night) become completely dark, *perhaps to be identified with yAX 'downward'.*

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3. *Attested only in* **yAX Xdl-q'a** *(transitive)* S fry O, **yAX XAdla:sLiq'ahL** pancake *L,* **'udAya'X yAX k'uXAdla:dAq'a:g** frying pan, skillet *L, perhaps unique reduced form of ya:X 'consumption, destruction', or to be identified with yAX 'downward', or '(turning) over'.*

,

4. *Attested only in* **yAX** O-**kahL** S (dog) bark at O, *apparently meaning same as O-kahL, perhaps 'downward'.*

,

5. *Attested only in* o-**ch' yAX dA-'yahG** S long to (go to) o *(dA-'yahG 2.), perhaps perambulative, especially, sometimes, but not always, 'reversal of motion', and/or 'downward' (cf. dA-'yahG 1.).*

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6. *Attested only in* **'iLda:X yAX tsa:'L** two boxes together *L (verified, unable to etymologize; 'iLda:X '(motion in area) near each other').*

,

yAXe'X *(postpositional phrase, used preverbially, preverb yAX 'downward'? (from Chugach Range in north?), compounded with -'e'-X '(movement within empty) place of o', cf. yAX'iLch'a:- XAyAXe'X below, L rejects proposed *yAXe'd)* northwestward, on north-south axis?: **yAXe'X** west *A,* **yAXe'X k'u:y** southeasterly wind *LMS, Minnie and/or Scar Stevens (Austerlitz),* southwesterly wind *A, G (Li),* **yAXe'X da: qa'qeh** we'll boat out Orca inlet *(southwestward) L,* **Xa: yAXe'X LAXu:G** north (?) wind is blowing *L,* **(q'ahs) yAXe'X 'idAGA'a'L** they (clouds) are moving northwest?, southeast? *L,* **yAXe'X dAlu'qa'd** *place-name, canoe passage in Hawkins Island (on east-west axis, southwest of Cordova, nominalization of 'interstices of passage through indeterminate o in? direction') L.*

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yAX'iLch'a:- *(postpositional phrase, used abverbially, yAX, as above, compounded with -'e'-L-ch'a:- 'in direction of (empty) place of o')* northwest: *with -ch' final, 'continuous motion toward': north(west-)ward (from Yakutat toward Cordova) 32.26, 26A, with -ch'ahd final, 'continuous movement from, from the northwest* (from Katalla to Yakutat) *68.109A.*

,

XAyAXe'X *(postpositional phrase, perhaps used preverbially, as yAXe'X above, but with o-yAX postposition with XA- 'area' as o)* northwest?: **XAyAXe'X** "same as yAXe'X" *L; L rejects proposed *siyAXe'X, *siyAXe'd.*

yAX5 *(perhaps to be identified with yAX2, yAX3, and/or yAX4, basic meaning perhaps 'down off', cf. qid)*

yAX *(preverb) (attested with zero final, with all mode-aspects and repetitive and cust)* apart, in two: *see O-L-tsAX, O-dja', L-dja', O-ch'ich', O-'-(d-)chich', -kug, O-xihs, O-L-xihs, -qu'tl', O-d-q'Ats' 1., O-Xa:sh-g.*

yAX~ye:X *(yAX reduced, ye:X expanded form of (reduced?) stem; perhaps related to yAX1 and/or to yAX3, basic meaning 'subdue, lower'?)*

d-LA-yAX *(with d-thematic, perhaps archaic class-mark for S)* S (wind) calm, abate: *Rezanov* Таслиехль 'Вѣтеръ тихой Windstille', Теслиехль 'Тихая погода Windstille' **disLiyAXL** wind calmed down *L,* **dAGALAyAXL** wind is abating *LM,* **qu'dALAyAX** wind will calm down *L.*

,

di:ye:X *(noun, unclassified) (deverbalization of preceding with expanded stem)* calm weather *L*: **di:ye:X yiLeh**, **di:ye:Xga' k'u:t'eh** it's calm (no wind, not otherwise necessarily good

weather) *L,* **di:ye:X GALe'L** it (wind) is calming down *L; Galushia Nelson* ɒiäχtsi 'Calm Weather's Daughter' *BSdL 300, 544* **di:ye:Xtsi:** *L (mythological personage, see BSdL 300, 512, Eyak Texts 48.0fn).*

,

O-**'-ye:X** S train O for hunting: **'u'siye:XL** I trained it (dog, for hunting) *L, with perambulative:* **'Aw yAX 'u'dAye:Xinh** he's training it (dog, for hunting) *L,* **'Aw yAX 'u'sdiye:XL** I trained him (dog, for hunting) *L; reflexive:* **'Adu'dAye:Xinh** he's abstaining (etc., in preparation for hunt) *L (uncertain),* **yAX 'Adu'dAye:Xinh** he's putting himself through rigorous training (for hunt) *L; passive:* **'u'sdiye:XL XAwa:** dog which has been trained (for hunting) *L.*

,

O-**'-L-ye:X** S train O for hunting *(uncertain, meaning not distinguished from that of preceding)*: **qu'xLye:X** I'll make a hunter of him (dog) *L,* **'u'siLye:XL** I trained it (dog, for hunting) *L (later changed to **'u'siye:XL**).*

yAXuh *(unanalyzable, segmentable, yA-Xuh, yAX-uh, or yA-X-uh, cf. ya'Xu:)*

yAXuh *(exclamation) (attested also with -uh, suffix 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*: **tl'a'q' qu'li:'ah, yAXuh** you'll ruin it, leave it alone! *L,* **yAXuhuh** *(as preceding) L,* don't ask for trouble (don't say that!) *28.3A.*

yAna:'~yina:' *(probably yA(n)-na:', with final nasal element of first segment blocking development of -na:' to *-la:', perhaps a stem or set of prefixes of earlier form *yAnA-, probably related to ya:(n) and/or ya:n', meaning probably 'down, floor, ground, bottom') see under na:'.*

yA'~Aya' *(ya' following ' and vowels, Aya' elsewhere, basic form perhaps Aya', the A- of which is not to be interpreted as a connective vowel, or, if ya', perhaps to be identified with ya'5, see especially o-ya' 1b., 1c., and/or with ya'4)*

-ya'~-Aya' *(element suffixed to preverbs and o to form nouns, cf. lah 2., -lah-G, -nah(-G), -nah-G under la~na1 for element of similar distribution; not freely used: meaning of nouns so derived generally somewhat idiomatic; though the list below is probably 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~na1 cited above), occurrences listed as separate subentries below.*

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-la'q'Aya' *(noun, unclassified) (o-la'-q' 'on, draped, hung over o')* clothing: *2a.23M, 32.41, 36.10, 37b.59A,* **sila'q'Aya'** my clothes *M,* **k'ula'q'Aya'** clothing *L,* **-la'q'Aya'yu:** garments, articles of clothing *32.42, 36.10, 11A.*

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GALa'q'Aya' *(noun, unclassified) (GA-L-la'-q' 'outermost of series draped or hung')* overcoat, outermost coat or covering garment *L.*

,

la'XAya' *(noun) (form uncertain, attested in Rezanov only, o-la'-X '(movement) onto, hanging onto o', perhaps to be corrected to (-)la'q'Aya')* cloak, fur coat: *Rezanov* Ляхайя 'Капотъ Capote', Ляхайя 'Шуба Pelz'.

,

-tl’a’q’Aya’ *(noun, probably unclassified, o-tl'a'-q' 'on rear end, stern of o')* rudder, steering-paddle, -oar: *Rezanov* Утлякая 'Руль Steuerruder' **’utl’a’q’Aya’** its rudder *M, Galushia Nelson* qə̀t’ɬáqɛ̀iyà’ *or* qùtɬáqɛ̀iyà 'steering paddle or rudder' *BSdL 550* **k’utl’a’q’Aya’** rudder *MA.*

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dla:q’Aya’ *(noun, unclassified) (interpreted by informants as o-dl-q'- 'on dl-class o (rocks)', though this would regularly be o-dli:na'q'-, and the zero o is also irregular; perhaps rather to be analyzed dla:-q'- with dla:- stem not attested elsewhere, or, still less likely, dl-q'Aya', stem q'Aya' with dl-thematic prefix)* mountain-goat (Oreamnos americanus) *LM*: *9.84, 10.67, 71, 25.148, 150, 178, 207A, 34.57A, Anonymous and Baranov* Тлакая 'Овца' ('sheep'), Тлакгагь 'Баранъ' ('ram, sheep') *(implying dla:q'Aγ), Galushia Nelson* tɬá·q’ɛ̀iyà’ *or* tɬá’qɛ̀iyə̀ *BSdL 538,* **dla:q’Aya’yu:** mountain-goats *10.186, 25.207, 49.109A,* **dla:q’Aya’tse’** mountain-goat meat *49.123A,* **dla:q’Aya’tse’yu:** quantities of mountain-goat meat *7.4A,* **dla:q’Aya’kAmah** mountain-goat stomach *15.5, 8, 21M,* **dla:q’Aya’q’AX** mountain-goat fat *49.124, 133A,* **dla:q’Aya’ya’ gAwa’ts’** mountain-goat mesentery *A, Rezanov* Халястлякею *(crossed out, see following entry)* 'Коза Ziege' **XAlahsdla:GAyu:** white men, Russians *probably for* ***XAlahsdla:GAyu:ya’ dla:q’Aya’** white men's mountain goat.

,

dla:q’Aya’ga’ ’i:t’eh, **dla:q’Aya’ga’ t’uh** *(noun, unclassified) (preceding as o in nominalized Neuter or Active imperfective of o-ga', -t'e´~-t'u´ 'S be like o')* (domestic?) goat, (domestic) sheep, mountain sheep: *Rezanov* Халястлякею Тлякаекоете *(first word crossed out, see above)* 'Коза Ziege' **dla:q’Aya’gwa’ ’i:t’eh, dla:q’Aya’gä’ ’i:t’eh** *A,* **dla:q’Aya’ga’ t’uh** sheep *M,* **dla:q’Aya’gA’i:t’ehshiyahyu:** mountain sheep (Ovis dalli) *L (<* those pejorative which resemble a mountain-goat*, see following).*

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dla:q’Aya’shiyah *(noun, unclassified) (with suffixed adjective -shiyah 'bad')* domestic sheep, mountain sheep: **dla:q’Aya’shiyahyu:** domestic sheep, mountain sheep (pl.) *L.*

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xitl’lAXAda:q’Aya’ *(noun, probably unclassified, xitl'-lXd-q' 'on (from abundance of?) snow (lXd-class)')* snowslide, avalanche *L.*

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-a:q’e’ *(perhaps < *-a:q'-Aya') see a:-ya:, q'e'1.*

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-yAq’AGi’ya’ *(noun, unclassified) (o-yAq' 'in o' with Gi'-thematic with o-yAq')* 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,* **k’uyAq’AGi’ya’** guts *LM,* **sahxyAq’AGi’ya’** cockle-entrails *L (name of basket pattern, see under sahx),* **te’ya’yAq’AGi’ya’** fish entrails *60.6A (cf.* **te'ya'yAq'd ya:** that stuff inside fish *60.6A),* **te’ya’le:yAq’AGi’ya’** king-salmon entrails *10.100, 120A.*

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-t’a:XAya’ *(noun, unclassified) (o-t'a:-X 'behind, under (a covering, a sheltering) o')* underclothes, under-layer of clothes, lining *(not necessarily those worn nearest skin)*: *Rezanov* Утъ-ахайя 'Подкладка Unterfutter, Unterlage' **’ut’a:XAya’** its lining *L,* **k’ut’a:XAya’** underclothes *L.*

,

GALt’a:XAya’ *(noun, unclassified) (GA-L-t'a:-X 'undermost, hindmost of series (of covering, sheltering objects)')* underwear *(layer of clothes worn nearest skin) M*: *Rezanov* Кыльтахая 'Рубашка ('shirt') Hemd'.

,

-gd-yAXAya' *(noun, unclassified) (o-gd-yAX 'under o', with gd-anatomical 'rump')* diaper: **k'ugAdAyAXAya'** diapers *L.*

,

-dAGe:' *(perhaps < *o-dAG-Aya') see under dAG.*

,

XAdAGAya' *(noun) (attested only of probable reading of form in Rezanov and Khromchenko)* God < thing above: *Rezanov* Хатаке-а 'Богъ Gott', *Khromchenko* Хатакія 'Богъ' ('God') *(XA-dAG- 'above, in heaven', see dAG).*

,

q…XAya' *(noun) (attested only as possible reading of form in Rezanov)* shoe: *Rezanov* Кехыя 'Башмаки Schuhe', *perhaps to be read* **qe:XAya'** *(< qa:-yAX- 'under feet' (or -Aya:, see under yAX3).*

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yahdAya' *(noun, probably d-class, or unclassified, yahd 'out to sea')* boat, *attested only in Rezanov* Ятеятелисъ 'Мачта Mastbaum' **yahdAya'dAlis** mast *(not known to modern informants, < yahdAya'-d-lis 'boat-tree') and in* **yahdAya'da'X** rowboat *L*, skiff *A (informants unable to etymologize, probably < yahdAya'-d-'AX 'boat which is, goes out to sea'),* **yahdAya'da'X 'u:d GAdAq'a'L** a (beached) rowboat is turned on its side *L.*

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GALahdzAya' *place-name (GA-L-lahdz-) see under lahdz~.*

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-dAda'ya' *(noun, unclassified) (o-d-da' 'front of o' with d-thematic 'opening of lid, cover of o')* lid, cover: *Rezanov* Утетая 'Крышка Deckel' **'udAda'ya'** its lid, cover, **k'udAda'ya'** lid, cover (of e.g. pot) *L.*

,

-tsin'da'ya' *(noun, unclassified) (o-tsin'-da' 'to, at tip, extremity of o')* 1. half, lesser part, fraction: *Rezanov* Цынтая 'Половина Hälfte' **tsin'da'ya', k'utsin'da'ya'** half of something *M,* **'utsin'da'ya'** less than half of it, anything between half and a small fraction of it *L,* **'utsin'da'ya' sich' 'Ata'** give me half of it! *L,* **k'uXa'tl'tsin'da'ya'** half an hour *L,* **gahXAdAtsin'da'ya'** in about half a day *59.13 Galushia Nelson (used adverbially)*; **'utsin'da'ya'** *23.138A,* **'utsin'da'dya'** about half of him *or* his extremities? *23.113A (probably to be corrected to 'utsin'da'ya' or 'utsin'da'd ya: 'his extremities', see 2.).*

2. tip, extremity, *attested clearly only in Galushia Nelson* t'łiⁿ sìⁿtàiyà· *or* t'łi· tsìⁿtàiyà 'point of bear spear' *BSdL 549* **tl'i:tsin'da'ya'**.

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na:XAgqa'ya' *(na:XAg-qa' 'amongst geese') see under na:XAg.*

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ma:ya'ya' *(ma:-ya', 'in a lake') see under ma:~ma:'.*

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te'ya' *(noun, unclassified) (ta'- 'in water', irregularly umlauted, cf. qe'yiLteh 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* Те-я 'Рыба Fisch', Тей-я 'Кижучь Salmo sanguinolentus', *Anonymous* Т-тая 'Рыба', *Baranov* Тъ тая 'Рыба', *only attestation of original version, before shift of ta'- to te'-, Wrangell* Тяе-я 'Fisch', *Furuhjelm* Teia, *Galushia Nelson* tä'ya' *BSdL 273, 540, 559,* **te'ya' wAX** o-**L-i** S

fish commercially *2a.15M, 32.5A, 62.4, 9, 14, 15G, see further examples under -le 4b.,* **te'ya'** o-**X-a** S eat fish, *see under O-X-a,* **dAq'e:dahshuh te'ya' 'iXa'** is that all the fish you have? *L,* **te'ya' sALsi'L** fish rotted *L,* **te'ya'e'd xdah, te'ya'e'd dAXunh xiLeh** I live (subsist) on fish *L,* **'Aw te'ya' da: 'i:Lts'in'tl'g** let's fry that fish *L,* **di:'q' sLi'yahL te'ya'** roasted fish *L,* **dA'e:'sh te'ya'** fish strung on string *L,* **dAGAdAde:L te'ya'** candlefish, needlefish *M (see dAGAdAde:L under de),* **te'ya'ga' 'i:t'eh dAG lah** trout species *(see under la~na1), Galushia Nelson* tä'ya'caw 'head (of fish, shrimp, etc.)' *BSdL 541* **te'ya'sha:w** fishhead *M,* **te'ya'sha:w sich' li:'a'** give me a fishhead! *L, Galushia Nelson* t'áiyà'ú·là·'yù *or* t'ǎ'yà'úlà'yù 'salmon people' *BSdL 544* **te'ya'wAlahyu:** (mythical) salmon-spirits, **te'ya'Xe'** 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'GAyu:** *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'ahsh** fish's bones *46.3M,* **te'ya'gutl'ah** *45a.6, 11, 14L, 45b.6, 11, 12, 46.7, 20M,* **te'ya'yAq'AGi'ya'** fish-entrails *60.6A.*

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te'ya'le: *see le:.*

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'AdAte'ya' *(noun, unclassified) (with 'AdA- 'real,* par excellence*')* silver salmon, coho (Oncorhynchus kisutch) *L*: *21a.1L, Galushia Nelson* àɒàtɛ́iyà' 'silver salmon' *BSdL 540.*

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li:ya' *(noun, unclassified) (probably < lu:-ya' with irregular umlaut of lu: 'on tide-beach', cf. lu:ya' qe'L 'tide-woman' 3.14M)* beach-food, seafood (edible molluscae, crustaceans), clams *LM*: **li:ya'e' xsdile'gL** I'm hungry for seafood *LM.*

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di:ya' *(probably < di:-ya') see di:ya'.*

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-nu:lAya' *(suffix to numerals, -nu: 'pl. humans' < *-nu:n, *-nu:n-Aya' regularly > -nu:lAya', but see also following, conceivably to be analyzed instead -lAya' or -l-ya')* pair: **LinhGnu:lAya' sanhAsi:nL** one pair of stockings *L,* **la'dnu:lAya' sanhAsi:nL** two pairs of stockings *L,* **la'dnu:lAya' si:nL** two pairs of shoes *L, without class mark also with classified nouns:* **LinhGnu:lAya' tsa'k'** one pair of mitts *L,* **la'dnu:lAya' tsa'k'** two pairs of mitts *L.*

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ya:'a:gAgAda:lAya' *(noun, unclassified) (ya:-'a:g-gd-l-ya', ya:-'a:g 'middle of something', -gAda:lAya' probably *-g-da:n-Aya' with g-thematic, -da:n- unidentified stem)* middle finger *LMA.*

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ya:'a:gAgAda:lAya'Lch'a:d ya: *(noun, unclassified)* fourth finger, ring finger < the one next to the middle finger *L.*

yi:nnwa: *(loan from Tlingit (Sampson Harry) yαnwa 'navy', (W. Soboleff) < 'people who come ashore')*

yi:nnwa: *(noun, unclassified)* sailor, shore patrolman *L*: **yi:nnwa:yu: qa: lALxa'tl'ginu:** sailors, shore patrol, coast guard club us over the head *L.*

ye:t'

ye:t' *(noun, d-class)* wild celery *LM, probably 'cowparsnip' (Heracleum lanatum) and perhaps also 'seacoast angelica' (Angelica lucida)*: *10.206A, Rezanov* Еэтъ 'Сладкая Трава,

пучки' *(not in Radlov, 'sweet grass, in bunches')*, **ye:t' sich' di:'a'** give me a piece of wild celery! *L,* **ye:t' 'u:d dAsAtahL** (*or* -**'ahL**) a piece of wild celery is there *L,* **ye:t'dAt'u'** lots of wild celery *M,* **ye:t'da'luw** big piece of wild celery *L,* **ye:t' disLiq'a'k'L** wild celery is split *L,* **ye:t' qu'di:xXAt'** I'll peel wild celery *L,* **ye:t' dAkinh GALe'L** wild celery is turning woody *L (d-class-mark for S lacking, perhaps declassified),* **dALi:La:' ye:t'** male part of wild celery plant *L;* **dAqe'L ye:t'** female part of wild celery plant *L;* **ye:t'sALku:n** wild celery root *(good for poultices, e.g. for eye) A, 10.206, 212A.*

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sAsinhLinu:ya' ye:t' *(noun, d-class)* plant like wild celery *L (but smaller, with dark skin and strong smell,* < dead people's wild celery, *probably 'poison water hemlock' (Cicuta mackenziana)).*

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ye:t' k'udAyAq' qi' k'u:Leh *(place-name) vaguely remembered (location forgotten)* < place where there's wild celery inside something d-class *L.*

ye:LtAXi: *(loan from Yakutat Tlingit (S) yełtíx̱i, (Sampson Harry) ye·łtáx̱i 'onions', not used for 'onion' in Central Tlingit (S))*

ye:LtAXi: *(noun, lX-class)* onions *LM*: **ye:LtAXi:lAXa'luw** big onions *LM; "when onions first came to Alaganik trading post no one wanted them, kids would chase each other around with them saying lAXALAchanh 'stink berry', and that was the name first used for onions, until later the Tlingit ye:LtAXi: took its place" L.*

ye:nn *(loan from Tlingit yèn 'sea cucumber')*

ye:nn *(noun, unclassified)* sea cucumber *M*: **ye:nn'a'luw** big sea cucumber *LM.*

yehs

yehs *(noun, unclassified)* loon *L (probably 'arctic loon' (Gavia arctica) and/or 'common loon' (Gavia immer), "larger than q'Aq', makes different noise", locally called also 'Russian turkey')*: *27a.19, 20, 30, 36L, 27b.33, 57A.*

ye's

ye's *(noun, unclassified)* food taken or to be taken home from potlatch *L*: *55.8, 17L.*

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O-**ye's** S take O (food) home from potlatch: **te'ya' 'iya: siye'sL** I brought a fish for you (from potlatch) *L; detransitivized, with indeterminate O:* **'iya: 'iqe'xdAye's** I'll bring you food from a potlatch *L,* **siya' 'isdiye'sLinh** he brought me food from a potlatch *L,* **'ixsdiye'sL** I saved some food at a potlatch and took it home with me *L.*

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sdiye'sL *(noun, unclassified)* food brought home from a potlatch: **'Al sdiye'sL 'iLya'** take this (food from a potlatch, in a container)! *L. Nominalized passive Active perfective.*

ye'X~ya'X *(variation irregular, of two types, one in which M regularly has ye'X, L ya'X, another in which L regularly alternates; probably to be analyzed ye'-~ya'-X, with ya' perhaps to be identified with ya'4, see especially o-ya' 2. thereunder, and/or ye' perhaps to be analyzed y-e', see y-anatomical and 'e'~; see also ya'X, ya'2)*

o-**ye'X~-ya'X** *(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, XAtl' 'night', XAla:g 'winter', gah-X 'day' apparently with an -X suffix or postposition, normally Xd-class but here declassified, but xah-X 'summer', with same -X suffix or postposition, -ye'X alternant used with the diurnal terms, -ya'X with seasonal; the resulting phrases are probably used preverbially*: *Rezanov* Кахъ-эхъ 'Дѣнь Tag' **gahXye'X** all day long *L,* **gahXye'X 'ixdAwe:ts'k'** I (cust) weave all day long *L,* **gahXye'X yik'a'dinh** he was sick all day *L,* **gahXye'X 'uXa'X qe'sile'L** I watched him all day *L,* **gahXye'X GAtsuhdLinh** he's sleeping all day long *L,* **XAtl'ye'X** *(not *XAtl'Xye'X, *XAtl'Xya'X, *XAtl'ya'X)* all night long *L, 50.14, 65.44A,* **XAtl'ye'X qAdALAXAXginh** he snores all night long *L,* **XAtl'ye'X 'uXa'X qe'sile'L** I watched him all night *L,* **XAtl'ye'X GAtsuhdLinh** he's sleeping all night long *L,* **xahXya'X yik'a'dinh** he was sick all summer *L,* **XAla:gya'X yik'a'dinh** he was sick all winter *L.*

2. during?, *in* **'AdXa'dye'X** *M (L rejects),* **'AdXa'dya'X** suddenly *L, same meaning as 'Adya'd along, < 'Ad-Xa'-d '(at rest) by, with self' (< 'spontaneously'?). If L's, and not M's form is historically correct, perhaps ya'X is to be identified with preverb ya'X 'up'.*

'ya *(often 'ye: in regular Active imperative; stem of L-'ya 'S (in container) be, get 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 'ya is that with postpositional phrases with reciprocal o (indirect reciprocals), the expected vocalization of the classifier, zero- > dA-, L- > LA- fails to take place, see -'ya 2c., 2d., 3., 4., 5., gdl-'ya 1., O-'-l-'ya; the basic meaning of the stem, insofar as this is isolable, seems to be 'S (animate or inanimate, sg. or pl. involuntarily) be, get in situation, be, become restricted to situation; S (in situation, medium) move, act (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 move (restrictedly in medium), cf. Xd-'ya, X-'ya)* a. S (dugout, kayak) move, travel through water: **'u'ihX 'Aw yahd sa'yahL** it (canoe) set out after her *25.54A,* **GAyAXgug 'utsi:n'X 'Ash Ga'ya:Linh** a baidarka was passing by down below her *22.3L.*

1b. *With d-class-mark for S (perhaps partly thematized)*: (1) S (large boat) move, travel through water: **'a:nch' q'e' dAGAda'ya:L** it (steamer, not canoe) is coming back here *L,* **'AdiXich' dAGa'ya:L** it (steamer) is coming in *L,* **k'Ayi:ny da: 'a:nda' sa'yahL** a different one (steamer) came in *L,* **XAsha:nch' dAGa'ya:L** it (steamer) is getting closer *M,* **tsa:dli:na'q' qa' dAsa'yahL** it (ship) ran up aground on a rock *L,* **'u:da' dAsa'yahL** (steamer) arrived there *58.1L,* **qa:lu'qa: shgu:na: lAG dAsa'yahL** a schooner landed to fetch us *59.10 Galushia Nelson*; (2) **siX 'i'dAsa'yahLih** *(probably to be corrected to siX dAsa'yahLinh)* "*sounds like* somebody

came by in a boat" *M (cf. -'ya 8., 'i-'-'ya);* (3) S (d-class: boat, car) move: **silah dAsa'yahL** it (boat, car) ran (in circle) around me *M (but cf. Xdl-'ya 2.).*

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2. *With o-qa' 'between, amongst o' (see also y-'ya)* a. S be, become caught between, amongst o, tangled, mixed up with, involved with o: **'uqa' sa'yahL** you're involved in it *L,* **qa:qa' sa'yahLinh** he got involved, mixed up with us *L,* **siXu:ntl'gAdla:qa' k'u:'yahL** something is stuck between my teeth *L (Neuter perfective),* **'uqa' k'u:'yahL** it's full of lint < something is tangled, mixed amongst it *L (Neuter perfective).*

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2b. *With 'iLqa' 'amongst each other' (see also gdl-'ya 1.), indirect reciprocal*: *with class-marks for S:* **'iLqa' gudi'yahL** they (strings) are tangled together *L (Neuter perfective),* **'iLqa' dla:sdi'yahL** it (net) got all twisted and tangled *L.*

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2c. *With 'iLqa'X '(movement) amongst, between each other'*: **'iLqa'X 'i:'yahL** they're linked together *L ('iLqa'X apparently used preverbially, otherwise indirect reciprocal with zero-classifier to be vocalized to dA-, thus 'idi'yahL).*

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2d. *With 'iLqa:X 'scattered' preverbial*: **'iLqa:X 'i:'yahL** *L (Neuter perfective),* **'iLqa:X sa'yahL** they're scattered all over *L.*

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3. *With o-lah 'around o'*, S get tangled with o: *with class-marks for S:* **silah qi:li:'yahL** it (rope) is wrapped around me *M (Neuter perfective), with 'iLlah, 'iLah 'around each other', sometimes as indirect reciprocal (requiring vocalic classifier, see also gdl-'ya 1.), sometimes as preverb (with zero-classifier in verb):* **'iLah k'uGa'ya:L** it (something) is getting tangled *L (probably to be corrected to guGa'ya:L with g-class-mark for S 'string'),* **'iLah gudi'yahL** it (string) is tangled *LM (Neuter perfective),* **'iLah gusdi'yahL** it (string) got tangled *L;* **Ge:ts' 'uXa' dAlah gusdi'yahL** her spruceroots got caught (around indeterminate o) *37a.12L (to be corrected to gusa'yahL, dA-classifier analogical with preceding forms; passive of causative,* her spruceroots were made to get caught on something*, unlikely reading in context).*

,

4. *With 'iL-ch' 'toward each other', apparently used preverbially, zero classifier not vocalized to dA- as in indirect reciprocal*: **sidAga'q'L siya: 'iLch' Ga'ya:L** my throat's getting hoarse < my throat is coming together *LA.*

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5. *With 'iL-yAq'-ch' '(continuous) motion into each other' apparently used preverbially, zero-classifier not vocalized to dA- as in indirect reciprocal, with lXd-anatomical 'eyes'*: *repetitive:* **'iLyAq'Ach' lAXAdAxya:g** my eyes keep closing (from sleepiness) *L.*

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6. *With o-t'a' 'behind o'* a. S be, become stuck, stopped, blocked, obstructed behind (specific) o: *Rezanov* Кытасъ-аятль 'Тѣсно eng, gedrängt' **k'ut'a' sa'yahL** it got stuck (behind something), blocked by something (specific) *L, Rezanov (?)* **k'ut'a'ch' Ga'ya:L** it's getting stuck behind something *L;* **k'ut'a'X 'i:'yahL** it's stuck against something, won't go any farther *L (-X 'movement within area', perhaps to be deleted). Transitive (causative): with yAX 'downward' (see -'ya 32.):* **k'ut'a'X yAX GALya'** stick it (get it stuck) down behind something! *L.*

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6b. *With o-t'a' with indeterminate o,* S be, become stuck, stopped, obstructed (behind non-specific o), S stop, S be, become difficult *(see also gl-'ya)*: **dAt'a' qa'yah** it'll get stuck *L,* **'u:d dit'a' si'yahL** I stopped there *L,* o-**da:d dAt'a' sa'yahLinh** he stopped by o *2a.18M,* **dit'a' sa'yahL** it got stuck, it became difficult *L,* **dit'a'ch'** *(not *dit'a:nch')* **Ga'ya:L** it's getting stuck, difficult *L, Neuter perfective:* **sidAga'q'Ldi:'q'd dAt'a' k'u:'yahL** something is stuck in

my throat *L, with g-class-mark for S:* **dit'a' gu:'yahL** it (string) is stuck (won't pull) *L, Active perfective: (see dAt'a'yah).*

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7. *With o-sinh 'concealed behind o'*: **k'usinh sa'yahL** it got (concealed) behind something *L.*

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8. *With o-X 'in contact with o'*, S come in contact with o *(see also -'ya 1b(2), o-X djAX, O-L-'ya, d-'ya 3c., dl-'ya 3., o-X yd-'ya, Xdl-'ya 1., o-X 'i-'-d-'ya)*: **ya:X sa'yahL** it came into contact with, brushed against something *L; with o-y-X 'in contact with o's hand':* **siya:X sa'yahL** it brushed by my hand *L,* **di'dah siya:X sa'yahL** I finally got something I wanted badly for a long time < it fairly, safely came in contact with my hand *L.*

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9. *With o-'a:n' 'coming upon o' (see also Gl-'ya 6., 'Ad-'i:lih-LA-'ya 1.), general meaning uncertain,* S (malady, bodily disturbance?) manifest self upon, affect o: **si'a:n'ch' Ga'ya:L** it (a cold etc.) is coming upon me *M, with l-class-mark for S, repetitive:* **si'uGL si'a:n'ch' la'ya:g** my heart is beating fast, palpitating *AL.*

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10. *With o-ya' 'in o (with broad opening at top)*, S fall, be, get stuck in (unable to get out of) o *(see also -'ya 22.)*: **'Awya' sa'yahL** it's stuck in it, he fell into it (and can't get out) *L.*

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11. *With o-yAq' 'in o' and li' 'deeply inside, from open front toward closed back end'*: **'AwyAq' li' sa'yahL** it's stuck way inside it *L.*

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12. *With o-y-Xa' 'by, in (intimate) relation with o's hand, succumbing to o, overcome by o'*, S succumb to o, be overcome by o, fall victim to o, perish from o *(cf. -'ya 13., y-'ya, o-X yd-'ya)*: **xa:gLyAXa' sa'yahL** he died, passed out from (over)work *L,* **k'a'dyAXa' sa'yahLinh** he was overcome by pain *L,* **'uyAXa' si'yahL** I fell into its clutches *L,* **dAche:lyAXa' si'yahL** I hungered, starved *L,* **dAche:lyAXa'shunh sa'yahL** did he hunger, starve? *L,* **'a:n, dAche:lyAXa' q'unh sa'yahL, 'a:n, dAche:l q'unh 'AwyAXa' sa'yahL** yes, starve he did *L,* **de:yAXa'dunh sa'yahL** what did he succumb to?, what did him in? *L,* **tl'ehyAXa' si'yahL** I caught a chill *11.177, 177A,* **tl'ehyAXa' k'usa'yahL** one succumbed to, died of cold *61.79A,* **la'yahyAXa' sa'yahL** he succumbed to old age *25.156A,* **'AwyAXa' sa'yahL** she was overcome by, perished from it *27b.55A,* **dAXk'nu:duw 'uyAXa' qa'yah** how many would perish from it *28.110A,* **'idehdah 'iyAXa' si'yahL** I really let you do me in *L,* **k'ahdyAXa'ch' GAxya:L** I'm succumbing to disease *L,* **dAtl'yAXa'ch' Ga'ya:Linh** he's succumbing to old disease (old injury, T.B.) *L, repetitive:* **tsu'dyAXa'ch' xya:g** I keep dozing off *L; uncertain instances:* **te'ya', k'ut'u' 'uyAXa:n' sa'yahLinu:** fish, they got lots *2a.16M (see fn),* **di'dah 'uyAXa' 'Aw sa'yahL** he finally found it (groping) *4.5LM (see footnote, 'uyAda'X perhaps more appropriate). Transitive (causative):* **dAche:lyAXa' GALya'** starve it! *L; passive:* **'idehdah q'unh 'AwyAXa' XusLi'yahL, guGwahd** I was really taken in by that, by his lies < really I was made to succumb to that, for deceit *L.*

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13. *With o-y-da'-X '(movement) onto o's hand-front'*, o get S, S play into o's hand *(cf. -'ya 12., y-'ya)*: **dAwa'd siyAda'X sa'yahL** I got it quickly and easily, it played right into my hands *L,* **dAwa'd siyAda'X Ga'yah da:X** if I get it quickly *L; see also 68.103A.*

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14. *With o-Xa:n' 'the full length of o, to equilibrium for o' (cf. -'ya 20., 40., gdl-'ya 2.),* o recover from, get over S (emotional disturbance or ill health): **siXa:n' sa'yahL** I recovered my health, spirits, I got over it *M,* **ki:nX siXa:n' Ga'ya:L** I'm getting over it *M,* **siXa:n'ch'**

'i'yah da:X qahdzX q'e:'Ad xgAwi:k' just as I'm starting to get over it (cold) I (cust) get a cough again *L (Active conditional).*

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15. *With o-la'-d '(at rest) hanging on o',* S be, get hung up on o, trip over o: **dAla'd 'i:'yahL** it's hanging up (on indeterminate o) *M (Neuter perfective),* **'ula'd sa'yahLinh** he tripped over it *M, with dl-class-mark for S:* **dAla'd dli:'yahL** it (net) is hanging up *L.*

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16. *With o-la'-X '(movement) down over (hanging on) o'* a. *With l-class-mark for S 'month, moon',* o be a certain number of months pregnant *(cf. d-'ya 30., Gl-'ya 3a., 4.)*: **qAXah 'ula'X 'i:nsa'yahL** she's a month pregnant *L,* **la'dits'i:n 'a:na: qAXah 'ula'X 'i:nsa'yahL** she's seven months pregnant *L.*

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16b. *Transitive (causative): indirect reflexive, with lXdl-mark for O (< lX- 'granular' and gl-thematic 'series') (stem perhaps in error for (y)a, see same theme under (y)a)*: **chiyah la'X lAXAdla:Li'yahLinh** he's wearing a dentalium necklace < he's causing a series of dentalium to hang over himself *L (Neuter perfective).*

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17. *Indirect reflexive, with 'Ad-yAq' 'into self',* S come to, regain consciousness, sober up: **'AdyAq' sdi'yahL** he sobered up *M,* **'AdyAq' GAda'yah da:X** when you come to *36.25A, with q'e' 'back, again':* **q'e: 'AdyAq'Ach' GAda'ya:Linh** he's coming to *M,* **'AdyAq' q'e' sdi'yahL** he came to *10.201A,* **'AdyAq' q'e' qu'da'yah** you'll come to *36.24A.*

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18. *With qa' 'up, out' (see also 1b.(1), qa' 'isya:l, dAlu' qa' la'yah, o-lu' qa' k'u-lX-'ya, d-'ya 2., gl-'ya, Xdl-'ya 1.)* a. S awaken, revive: **qa' Ga'ya'** wake up! *L,* **qa:nch' GAxya:L** I'm waking up *L,* **qa:nch' Ga'ya:Linh** he's waking up *L,* **qa' si'yahL** I woke up *L,* **'uXAw qa' si'yahL** I woke up the same time he did *L,* **qa' sa'yahL** woke up *LM, 23.102, 25.7, 29.37, 51.53, 54, 57A, 56.26L,* **'idah qa' sa'yahL** really woke up, became wide awake *56.29L,* **k'usha:dah 'i:lihyileh da:X qa' sa'yahL** he woke up in a bad mood *M,* **q'e:qa' sdi'yahLinh** he came back to life, revived *L,* **qa' 'ixi'yahL** I'm awake *L,* **qa' 'i:'yahL** he's awake *L (Neuter perfectives),* **qa' Gi:'yah da:X** when you wake up *51.79A. Transitive (causative):* **qa' GALyi:n'inh** *M,* **qa' GALyi:n'inh** wake him up! *LM,* **qa' xuGALya'** wake me up! *M,* **qa' 'iqe'xLyah** I'll wake you up *M,* **qa' lAXiqe'xLyah** I'll wake you pl. up *M,* **'ahnu: qa' 'ALya:k'inh** they'd (cust) wake him up *56.23A; reflexive: Galushia Nelson* qá'áɒítłíyá'łì 'wake (staying by dead body)' *BSdL 552* **qa' 'AdiLi'yahLinh** he's staying, keeping himself awake, **qa' 'AdiLi'yahLinu:** they're staying awake *L,* **qa' 'AdixLi'yahL** I'm staying, keeping myself awake *L (Neuter perfectives),* **qa' 'Adqu'xLa'yah** I'll keep myself awake *L; passive:* **dik' q'e' qa' 'AsLa'yahLGinh** he wasn't reawakened, couldn't be revived *61.83A.*

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18b. S (motor) start: **qa' sa'yahL** it (motor) started *L,* **qa' 'i'yah da:X q'e:ya:n' 'AdAda:k'** just as it starts getting started it (cust) conks out *L (Active conditional). Transitive (causative): repetitive* **'Aw qa:nch' Lya:ginh** he's starting it (motor) *L.*

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18c. *With tanh 'waves' (normally Xdl-class, here declassified) as S*: **tanh qa' 'i:'yahL** waves are rolling *M,* wave is coming *L.*

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18d. *Transitive (causative) reflexive and indirect reciprocal, with 'iL-tl' 'with each other', perhaps with d-thematic (cf. d-'ya 2b., 'Ad-d-'ya)*: **'iLtl' qa' 'AdiLi'yahLinu:** they get along well, are compatible, happy together *L (perhaps to be interpreted 'AddiLi'yahLinu:, see d-'ya 3., 'Ad-LA-'ya, 'Ad-d-LA-'ya.).*

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19. *With lAG 'ashore, up from shore'*, S lose (e.g. in contest) *(cf. g-'ya, gl-'ya)*: **lAG si'yahL** I lost (in game) *L,* **lAG Ga'ya:Linh** he's losing *M. Transitive (causative),* S win O, S beat O (in game): **lAG k'uGALya'** win (something)!, beat (someone)! *M,* **lAG k'uqu'xLyah** I'll win *M,* **lAG k'uGALya:Linh** he's winning *M,* **lAG k'usiLyahL** I won *M,* **lAG 'isiLyahL** I beat you (in game) *L,* **dik' lAG qi'yiLya:G** you won't win it *61.9, 9A,* **lAG 'iqe'xLyah** I'll beat you *L,* **lAG xusALyahLinh** he beat me *L,* **k'udAX 'anh lAG 'a'LyahLGinh** he couldn't win her *10.257A (Neuter perfective, meaning here perhaps literal,* he couldn't get, keep her ashore*),* **k'a:di'da: lAG 'i:Lyi:nhinu:** you'll never win them *11.74A (Active optative, meaning perhaps literal as preceding), with d-class-mark for O:* **siXa' lAG dAsALyahL** you won it (money) from me *L; passive:* **da:na:dig k'ut'u' lAG da'ya:k'** money too, much is (cust) earned *62.8fnG (d-class-mark for O lacking).*

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20. *With Xa:n' 'to completion, finished' (cf. -'ya 14., 40., lAXALAtug 'uq' Xa:n'ch' lAXa'yah)*: a. S (job) be done, finished, S (thing) be made, S (event) be over with: **Xa:n' sa'yahL** it (job) is done, it's finished, it's over *L,* **wAX Xa:n' 'i:'yahL** it's made out of it < S is finished thus *L (Neuter perfective),* **Xa:n'ch' Ga'ya:L** it's getting finished, approaching completion *L,* **Xa:n' qa'yah** it'll be over, finished *L,* **Xa:n' 'i:'yahwahd** the makings of something < that which is for the sake of being made *M, with l-class-mark for S:* **qi' Xa:n' la:yi'yahch'** until it (basket) is finished *6.11L.*

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20b. S (event) take place: **gah Xa:n' qa'yah** there'll be a dance *M,* **'AdAwi'L Xa:n'ch' Ga'ya:L** war is brewing *L,* **'AdAwi'L Xa:n' sa'yahL** there was a war *L.*

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20c. S be, become ready (e.g. to go somewhere): **q'ahsh Xa:n' 'i:'yahL** are you (finally) ready to go? *L (Neuter perfective),* **Xa:n' Ga'ya' q'uh** get ready (to go, finally)! *L,* **Xa:n'ch' GAxya:L** I'm getting ready *L,* **Xa:n'ch' Ga'ya:Linh** he's getting ready *L,* **Xa:n' 'i:'yahLinh** he's ready *L (Neuter perfective).*

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20d. S be, get all dressed up nicely: **Xa:n' xyah** *L (Active imperfective),* **Xa:n' 'ixi'yahL** I'm all dressed up nice *L,* **Xa:n' 'i:'yahLinh** he's all dressed up *L (Neuter perfectives),* **Xa:n'ch' Ga'ya:Linh** he's getting all dressed up *L,* **'anh Lila:' Xa:n' sa'yahL** the man had gotten all dressed up *58.1L,* **Xa:n' 'Axya:k'** I (cust) get all dressed up *L.*

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20e. S (matter, decision, plan) be, become agreed upon: **Xa:n' sa'yahL** it's agreed on *L.*

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21. *With Xu' 'right, straight, to completion, finished' (see also gl-'ya 1., O-'-dl-'ya 2., meaning partly overlapping with 20a.)* a. S (job, thing) be done, finished, over: **Xu' sa'yahL** it's done, it's finished, over *L,* **Xu' qa'yah** it'll be finished *L.*

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21b. S (secret, deceit, person with secret, deceit) be found out, discovered, exposed: **Xu' qa'yah** it'll be found out *L,* **Xu' Ga'ya:L, Xu'ch' Ga'ya:L** it's getting found out, coming to light *L,* **Xu' sa'yahL** it's been found out *L. Transitive (causative):* **Xu'shuh sALyahL** did you find out (about it, him)? *L,* **'Aw Xu' GALya:X 'ilinhinh** he wants to find out about it *L,* **Xu'** *(not Xa:n')* **'isiLyahL** I found out about you *L.*

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21c. *(Uncertain)*: *Rezanov* Уэтахосыяль 'Мѣсячное очищеніе Menstruation' *perhaps to be read* **'u'ehd, 'anh Xu' sa'yahL** ? his wife, she was found out, *identification of 'u'ehd and s...'yahL relatively certain.*

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22. *With ya' 'completely, to a state of rest' (see 'i:lih-'ya 3.)* a. *with o-ch' 'to o'*, S be, become used, accustomed, adjusted, trained to o: **'uch' ya' qu'yi'yah** you'll get used to it *L,* **'uch' qu'yi'yinhinh, 'iqa', ne:tl'** you'll get used to him, your husband, pretty soon *72.8L,* **'uch' ya' si'yahL** I got used to it *L,* **dA'a: q'Aw 'uch' ya' si'yahL** I've got the habit *L,* **'Awch' q'Aw ya' sa'yahL** she got used, adjusted to it *20.72A,* **'uch' ya' GAxya:L** I'm getting used to it *LM,* **'anhch' ya' GAxya:L** I'm geting used to her *L. Transitive (causative):* **'Awch' ya' qu'xLyah** I'll get it used to it, train it *L,* **'Awch' ya' siLyahL** I trained it (for that) *L, repetitive:* **'Awch' ya' sdi'yahL** it's been trained (to, for that) *L.*

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22b. *With k'a'd 'pain, trance, insanity' used adverbially (perhaps, however, to be interpreted k'a'dya' with k'a'd as o of o-ya' 'in o', forms with q'-emphatics between k'a'd and ya' requiring former interpretations, form with (-)ya'ch' requiring latter; see -'ya 10.)* S be, become insane, crazy *(extensive paradigmatic material elicited)*: *Inceptive imperative:* **k'a'd ya' Ga'ya'** go crazy! *M, Inceptive imperfective:* **k'a'd ya' qu'xyah** I'll go crazy *L,* **dik' k'a'd ya' qu'xya:G** I won't go crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' qi'yi'yah** you'll go crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' qu'yinhinh** *M (probably incorrect; not qu'winhinh M),* **k'a'd ya' qa'yinhinh** he'll go crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' da: qa'yah** we'll go crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' qu'lAXyah** you pl. will go crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' qu'qi:'yinhinu:** they'll go crazy *L, Active imperfective:* **k'a'd ya' xyah** I go crazy (at times) *L, Inceptive perfective:* **k'a'd ya' GAxya:L** *L,* **k'a'd ya'ch'** (? **k'a'dya'ch'**) **GAxya:L** I'm going crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' Gi:'ya:L** you're going crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' Ga'ya:Linh** he's going crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' da: Ga'ya:L** we're going crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' GAlAXya:L** you pl. are going crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' qAGa'ya:Linu:** they're going crazy *L, Active perfective:* **k'a'd ya' si'yahL** I went crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' sa'yahL** you went crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' sa'yahLinh** he went crazy, he went into a trance *L,* **k'a'd ya' da: sa'yahL** we went crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' qAlAXsa'yahL** you pl. went crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' qAsa'yahLinu:** they went crazy *L,* **k'a'dshunh ya' sa'yahL** did he go crazy? *L,* **k'a'd q'unh ya' sa'yahL** he went *crazy L, Neuter perfective:* **k'a'd yä' 'ixi'yahL** I'm crazy *L,* **k'a'd yä' 'i:'yahL** you're crazy *LM,* **k'a'd yä' 'i:'yahLinh** he's crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' da: 'i:'yahL** we're crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' 'ilAXi'yahL** you pl. are crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' qi:'yahLinu:** they're crazy *L, Active optative:* **k'a'd yä' ixi'yah** let me go crazy *L,* **k'a'd yä' 'i:'yinhinh** let him go crazy *L. Transitive (causative): Inceptive imperfective:* **k'a'd yä' 'iqe'xLyah** I'll drive you crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' qu'xLyinhinh** I'll drive him crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' lAXiqe'xLyah** I'll drive you pl. crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' qu'qi:xLyinhinu:** I'll drive them crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' xuqu'yiLyah** you'll drive me crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' xuqa'Lyinhinh** he'll drive me crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' xuqu'lAXLyah** you pl. will drive me crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' xuqu'qALyinhinu:** they'll drive me crazy *L (to be corrected to* ***xuqu'qi:Lyinhinu:****), Inceptive perfective:* **k'a'd yä' 'iGAxLya:L** I'm driving you crazy *L,* **k'u'd ya' GAxLya:Linh** I'm driving him crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' lAXiGAxLya:L** I'm driving you pl. crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' GAxLya:Linu:, k'a'd ya' qAGAxLya:Linu:** I'm driving them crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' qa: GALya:Linh** he's driving us crazy *L, Active perfective:* **k'a'd ya' 'isiLyahL** I drove you crazy *L, Active optative:* **k'a'd yä' 'i:Lyah** let him drive him crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' 'i:lihLyah** let him drive you crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' xu:nliLyah** let him drive me crazy *L,* **k'a'd ya' qa: qi:Lyinhinh** *(or* **qAliLyinhinh**, **qa:nliLyinhinh**, *but not qa:yiLyinhinh)* let him drive us crazy *L.*

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23. *With ya'd 'empty'*, S be, become empty: **ya'd sa'yahL** it's (become) empty, it's all drunk up *(used instead of passive of O-dA-la S drink O to avoid homophony) L.*

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24. *With qehX, qe:X 'closed'*, S is, become closed, close: **qe:X 'i:'yahL** it's closed *M,* **sini:k' siya: qehX 'i:'yahL** my nose is stuffed up *L (Neuter perfectives),* **qehX sa'yahL** it closed *L,* **qehX Ga'ya:L** it's closing *L, with d-class-mark for S: Rezanov* Кетысаяль 'Густо dicht' *perhaps to be read* **qehX dAsa'yahL** it (e.g. door) closed, it (e.g.) store is closed *LA,* **qe:X dAsa'yahL** *A (L rejects).*

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25. *With tl'ehd 'open'*, S be, become open, open: **tl'ehd 'i:'yahL** it's open *LM (Neuter perfective),* **tl'ehd Ga'ya:L** it's opening *L, with d-class-mark for S:* **tl'ehd dAGa'ya:L** it (door) is opening *L.*

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26. *With la'q' 'thickness, bursting, collapse'*, S burst, deflate *(see also la'q' lAXa'yah)*: **la'q' sa'yahL** it burst *M,* it deflated *LM,* **la'q' Ga'ya:L** it's deflating *L.*

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27. *With Xahd 'loss of covering, out of hiding'*, S lose, shed hair, paint: **Xahd Ga'ya:L** it's shedding hair, the paint is peeling off it *L, with l-anatomical 'head',* S become bald*:* **Xahd lAGi:'ya:L** you're getting bald *M. Transitive (causative):* **Xahd GALya'** scrape hair off it!, dehair it! *L, gloss later changed:* cause it to lose its hair (not by e.g. scraping)! *L.*

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28. *With ya:n' 'down'*, S fall *(cf. d-'ya 1a., gl-'ya 1., dl-'ya 2.)*: *Rezanov* Янсаятль 'Упасть fallen' **ya:n' sa'yahL** it fell down *L,* **ya:n' si'yahL** I fell down *L.*

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29. *With da:n' 'obstructed, up against obstacle'*: **da:n' sa'yahL** it got stuck *L,* **siXa' da:n' sa'yahL** it bumped against me *L,* **da:n'ch' Ga'ya:L** it's getting about as far as it can go (against barrier) *L,* **da:n' 'i:'yahL** it's stuck, won't go any farther, is up against something *L (Neuter perfective).*

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30. *With 'Ash 'through'*, S (water) soak, osmose through, S be, become thoroughly soaked *(cf. -'ya 1a., Xdl-'ya)*: **'Ash sa'yahL** it got soaked *L,* **'Ash Ga'ya:L** it's getting soaked, water is oozing, osmosing through *L,* **'Ash Ga'yah da:X 'ALAte:gk'** when it gets soaked it (cust) swells up *L.*

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31. *With lu: 'ca. 180° turn, reversal of tide'*: **lu: sa'yahL** tide came in (reached turning-point) *M (see g-'ya, lack of g-thematic perhaps in error).*

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32. *With yAX 'downward'*, S sink, collapse, subside (fall restrictedly, not free fall) *(see also -'ya 6b., yAX O-(d-)L-'ya, d-'ya 1b., gl-'ya, gdl-'ya 1., 'i:lih-'ya 2b.)*: **'Awya'X yAX qa'yah** they (dry fish packed in box) will settle down into it *65.62A,* **'Aw Le't'ya'X ya:n'ch' yAX qa'yah** they'll sink further down into the box *65.63A,* **dAlu' yAX sa'yahL** it caved in (through (hole in) indeterminate o) *M, repetitive:* **yAX XAda'ya:XdAwa: yAX ya:g** spring snow which falls before the birds come back < it keeps falling (? bit by bit,? subsiding) pending (return of) flying creatures *L.*

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33. *With lahdz 'forward'*: **lahdz sa'yahL** it (moose) pitched forward *27b.9fnA, with ku:l-anatomical 'belly':* **lahdz ku:lAGAxya:L** my stomach's getting bloated *L.*

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34. *Progressives:* a. *with lah 'around, in circular motion', requiring, like perambulative, -X suffix in Active imperfective, and vocalization of zero-classifier to dA- in intransitive, but, unlike perambulative, non-vocalized L- in transitive (causative, non-reflexive)*, S (attached to place) move restrictedly, wiggle, shake, flap, flutter, palpitate, agitate, writhe, beat (in place, without changing location): **siXu:nLAyah lah da'ya:X** my tooth is loose (and wiggles) *M,* **'anh lah da'ya:X** the earth is quaking, there's an earthquake *S,* **'anh lah qu'da'yah** the earth will quake *L,* **'a:nke:we: lah da'ya:X** flag is flapping in the breeze *L,* **dik' q'e:lah da'ya:XG** it (beached whale) moves no more *11.72A,* **dik' 'usa'd 'Aw lah da'ya:XG** it doesn't quiver (show signs of life) in his mouth *33.43A, with l-class-mark for S:* **si'uGL lah 'i:nsdi'yahL** my heart beat fast, palpitated *L,* **lah lAGAda'yahL** (*to be corrected to* **-'ya:L**) it (my heart) has started to pound, palpitate *L,* **si'uGL lah qu'i:nda'yah** my heart will pound *L. Transitive*

(causative, with -X suffix but L-classifier not vocalized in non-reflexive) lah O-L-'ya-X 'S move, shake, wave, wag, wiggle (stationary) O': **'uch'AX lah GALyah da:X** when it flaps its wings *60.20, 22A, with class-marks for O:* **lah dAGALya'** shake it (tree)! *M,* **lah duxLya:X** I'm shaking it (tree) *M,* **'Aw lah dALya:X** he's shaking it (tree) *M,* **'ugAtl'ah lah dALya:X** it's wagging its tail *L,* **… k'a' k'uXehL lah qi:la:lAXiLyah** you pl. should shake the rope *34.104L,* **'Aw k'uXehL lah qi:sALyahLinh** she shook the rope *34.108L,* **ya'Xu: lah q'e' qu'qi:la:lAXLyah** pl. don't shake it (rope) anymore *34.114L,* **'Aw lah qi:nsALyahLinu:** they shook it (rope) *34.115L; reflexive:* **lah 'AdLa'ya:X** it's moving (e.g. showing signs of life) *M,* **lah 'AdxLa'ya:X** I'm moving myself around (e.g. writhing) *L,* **k'udAX lah 'AdxLa'ya:XG** I can't move *L,* **'ulAqah 'Awa:, k'ude:dah 'AdLa'ya:XG** their heads, they couldn't move (they were transfixed) *60.23fnA,* **lah 'Adqu'xLa'yah** I'll move myself around (e.g. writhe) *L,* **lah 'AdxsLi'yahL** I moved my body, budged (not far, just sat up, lay down, wriggled, rolled over, etc.) *L,* **'Aw te'ya' lah 'AdALa'ya:X** the fish wiggled *46.16M, with anatomical marks:* **lah 'AdyuxLa'ya:X** I'm waving my hand *M,* **lah 'AdyALa'ya:Xinh** he's waving his hands *L,* **'ich' lah 'AdyALa'ya:Xinh** he's waving his hand at you *M,* **'ich' lah 'Adqu'yAxLa'ya:X** (*to be corrected to* **-yah**) I'll wave my hand at you *M,* **'uch' lah 'Adqu'yAxLa'yinhinh** I'll wave my hand at him *L,* **sich' lah 'AdyisLi'yahLinh** he waved his hand at me *M,* **lah 'AdyisLi'yahLinh** he moved his hand around *L,* **lah 'Adqi:dAxLa'ya:X** I'm moving my foot around *L,* **lah 'Adqi:disLi'yahLinh** he moved his foot around *L,* **lah 'Adqi:dAxLa'yah** I'll move my foot around *L,* **lah 'Ad-lisLi'yahLinh** he moved his head around *L,* **lah 'AdgAdisLi'yahLinh** he wiggled his rump *L,* **lah 'Ad-lAXAsLi'yahLinh** he moved his eyes around *L.*

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34b. *With perambulative, sparsely attested, mainly from M, in causative reflexive only, with anatomical marks, perambulative indicating movement about (not essentially circular), and therefore less appropriate semantically for movement of stationary or anchored object, meaning apparently the same as that of lah 'Ad-LA-'ya-X*: **yAX 'Adqi:duxLa'ya:X** I'm moving my feet around *M,* **yAX 'Ad-lAxLa'ya:X** I'm moving my head around *L; with yAX and lah together:* **lah yAX 'Adya:nLa'ye:** wave your hand! *M,* **lah da: yAX 'Adya:nLi'yah** let's wave our hands *M.*

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35. *With qAnuh 'on display', attested in transitive (causative) only*, S expose, denounce O publicly: **qAnuh GALyin'inh** expose (denounce) him publicly! *L,* **qAnuh 'anh 'i:LyahLinh** he's denouncing her (wife, publicly, for infidelity) *L (Neuter perfective).*

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36. *With di:'q' 'in something' (see (o-)d-i:'-q' 8b. under 'a'~), attested in transitive (causative) only (conceivably basic L-'ya 'S (in container) be, get in position' rather than of -'ya)*, S roast O (in e.g. oven) < S put O (already in container?) in something: **te'ya' di:'q' qu'xLyah** I'll roast a fish *L,* **'Aw di'q' qu'xLyah** I'll roast it (anything, in oven) *L; passive:* **di:'q' sLi'yahL te'ya'** roasted fish < fish that has been roasted *L.*

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37. *With o-k'ah-ch' '(continuous motion) away from o', apparently transitive (causative) of indirect reflexive 'Ad-k'ah-ch' 'away from self' (cf. also o-k'ah l-ta 'S forget O')* S make O forget self: **k'ahch' xuGALya:L** it (e.g. drinking) is making me forget my distress *L (see also ya:', for which the stem of this form is possibly a mistranscription).*

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38. *With qa'ni:, qa'nu: 'fight' as S (?, with q'e' requiring vocalization of zero-classifier to dA-, or perhaps passive)* S (fight) go on: **'uXa' q'e' qa'ni: sdi'yahL** there was another fight over it *28.125A (or perhaps* another fight was carried on over it*). Transitive (causative, perhaps basic): Rezanov* Канеляхлия 'Дерись kämpfe!' *(under* 'prügeln, sich'*)* **qa'ni: 'AlAXLya…** pl. fight! *or perhaps Ai* **qa'ni: lAXLyah** you pl. (ordinarily, often) fight, **qa'ni: 'ilAXiLyahL** you pl. are in a fight, having a quarrel *M,* **qa'nu: 'i:LyahLinu:** they fought *L (Neuter perfectives),* o-

tl' qa'ni: sALyahL fought with o *20.85, 96, 98A,* **qa'nu: siLyahL** I fought *L,* **'itl' qa'nu: qu'xLyah, 'itl' qa'ni: qu'xLyah** I'll fight (with you) *L; indirect reciprocal:* **'iLtl' qa'ni: qu'La'yinhinu:, 'iLtl' qa'nu: qu'La'yinhinu:** they'll fight with each other *L.*

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39. *With 'i:lih 'emotional, state of mind', as adverb or as o of o-Xa:n', perhaps indirect reflexive of transitive (causative) with o-Xa:n' as preceding (see -'ya 14., 20.)*: **dA'a: 'i:lihXa:n'** (*or?* **'i:lih Xa:n'**) **k'uGALa'yah da:X** when he gets over it *72.18L, either* when something causes itself emotionally to recover, *or* when it causes someone's state of mind to recover *(see 'i:li:~'i:lih- 2b. under le(')~li).*

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XAdla:sLi'yahL *(uncertain, stem perhaps (y)a, q.v.) x̣àtɬáⁿ· stɬìatɬ name of Basket Pattern 6. ("one-after-the-other" like waves) BSdL 547 (described and illustrated in BSdL 82). Nominalized passive Active perfective with Xdl-class-mark for O 'waves',* < they (waves) have been caused to be in state*; see also subentry Xdl-'ya, of which this form is probably not an instance.*

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tsa' 'uX sa'yahL *(place-name) location unknown to A, name unknown to L. Nominalized Active perfective with tsa' 'downhill (toward shore)' and o-X 'in contact with o',* < it went (fell) downhill brushing by it, into contact with it. *Cf. Galushia Nelson* tá'ùx̣tsà yàt *or* táùx̣tsà yàt 'Raven House, Gravina Bay' *BSdL 545.*

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qa' 'isya:l *(gerundive of -'ya 18a.)* waking: **qa' 'isya:l xuGALga'L** I'm getting tired of staying up < walking is tiring me *L.*

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dAXunhyu:k'ah 'i:'yahL *(noun, unclassified)* menstruant *L*: *Galushia Nelson* ɒəx̣ɔⁿiyu ɢəyatɬ 'menstruating woman (?), menstrual hut' *BSdL 543. Nominalized Neuter perfective,* < (that which) is situated away from people.

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dAt'a'yah *(noun, unclassified)* difficult (matter, thing) *L*: **dik' dAt'a'yahG** easy, not difficult *L,* **dAt'a'yah GALe'L** it's getting difficult *L,* **dAt'a'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 Active imperfective of -'ya 6b.*

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dAlu' qa' la'yah *(noun)* boil, abcess *LM*: **dAlu' qa' la'yah sALe'L** a boil formed < it became a boil *L, with o-lu' 'through (hole in) o' with indeterminate o, qa' 'up out' (see -'ya 18.), either nominalized Active imperfective perhaps with l-anatomical 'face', or deverbalization of l-L-'a 'grow old' (<? 'growth'), cf. l-L-'ya and la'yah, and o-lu' qa' k'u-lX-'ya.*

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'Ad-LA-'ya *(reflexive of causative, perhaps with zero allomorph of l-thematic, cf. l-L-'ya) attested only in Active perfective*, **'AdsLi'yahL** (mythical) giant monster animal, *relativized or nominalized*: *Galushia Nelson* ət'stɬi'yatɬ 'monster animal' *BSdL 293, 544* **'AdsLi'yahL** mythical giant animal *L,* monster (rat) *28.2, 17A,* **'AdsLi'yahL Lu:ndiyahs** monster-rat *28.66, 76, 96A. See also -'ya 18c.*

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lAXALAtug 'uq' Xa:n'ch' lAXa'yah *(noun, perhaps d-class)* table for rice (in church) *L. Nominalized Active imperfective with lX-class-mark for S, o-q' 'on o', and Xa:n'-ch' '(continuous movement towards) completion' (see -'ya 20.),* < rice is prepared, readied on it.

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la’q’ lAXa’yah *(noun, lX-class)* old berries in autumn, still on or fallen off bush *L. Nominalized Active imperfective of -'ya 26., with lX-class-mark for S 'berries',* < they (berries) burst.

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o-**lu’ qa’ k’u-lX-’ya** *(with o-lu 'through (hole in) o', qa' 'up out', k'u-indefinite S, lX-class-mark for S 'granular', cf. dAlu' qa' la'yah)* o have, get pox, pimples, pustule < something granular comes up through o: **’ulu’ qa’ k’ulAXi:’yahL** he has pox *L,* **si:nda:’lu’ qa’ k’ulAXi:’yahL** I have pimple(s) on my face *L (Neuter perfectives).*

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o-**X djAX** O-**L-’ya** *(with o-X 'in contact with o' (see -'ya 8.), and djAX 'ear' as O of transitive, perhaps treated as preverb)* S hear o at distance, become aurally aware of o: **k’uX djAX siLyahL** I think I hear something *L,* **’uX djAX siLyahL** I heard it (far away), became distantly aware of it by ear *L,* **qa:X djAX qa’Lyah** he'll hear us (at a distance) *L.*

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o-**Xa’ k’u-L-’ya** *(basic form uncertain, with k'u-indefinite O thematized, treated as intransitive, perhaps causative of basic, not clearly attested k'u-'ya, k'u-LA-'ya, or k'u-dA-'ya, with o-Xa' 'in (intimate) relation with o', cf. d-'ya 3c., 'i:lih-'ya 3.)* S interfere, meddle with, bother, disturb o < S put something in relationship with o: *Neuter perfective:* **siXa’ k’u:nLyahL** *M,* **siXa’ k’u:LyahL** you're bothering me *LM,* **xut’Ltl’ siXa’ k’u:LyahLinh** he's bothering me with a gun *L,* **qa:Xa’ k’u:LyahL** they're bothering us *52.19L,* **’iXa’ k’u:xiLyahL** I'm bothering you *M,* **’iXa’sh k’u:xiLyahL** am I bothering you? *M,* **siXa’ k’u:lAXiLyahL** you pl. are bothering me *M, other mode-aspects:* **’iXa’ k’uqu’xLyah** I'll bother you *M,* **’uXa’ k’uqu’lAXLyinhinh** you pl. will bother him *M,* **ya’Xu: ’ini:k’Xa’ k’uqu’yiLyah** don't pick (meddle with) your nose *L,* **de:dAl siXa’ k’usALyahL** what's this that has interfered with me? *20.6A,* **qa:Xa’ k’usALyahL** they've bothered us *25.194A,* **siXa’ k’usALyahLinh** he bothered me *M,* **dik’ ’AwXa’ k’u:nliLyahXa’ ’AnahshAkih ’ile:Ginh** she didn't like to disturb them *46.8M, with q'e' 'back, again, some more' (classifier vocalized to LA-, as in intransitive verb):* **dik’ ’uXa’ da: q’e’ k’uLa’yahG** we don't bother them anymore *25.103A (Active imperfective),* **dik’ lAXa’ da: q’e’ k’uqu’La’yah** we won't bother you pl. anymore *25.173A,* **dik’ ’uXa’ da: q’e’ k’uqu’La’ya:Ginu:** we won't bother them anymore *25.198A, with third person S, or perhaps passive:* **dik’ dAXunhyu:Xa’ q’e’ k’usLa’yahLG** they didn't bother people anymore 25.134A *(or perhaps* people weren't bothered anymore*)*; *passive:* **’uXa’ k’usLi’yahL** something interfered with her < she was interfered with something (< something was put in relation with her) *20.4A,* **’uk’ushdAXa’ k’usLa’yahL** something interfered with her lower leg *20.5, 6A,* **dik’ ’uXa’ q’e’ k’uda’yahG** they aren't bothered anymore *25.205A (Active imperfective, passive, or perhaps basic intransitive k'u-dA-'ya, or, with q'e' requiring vocalization of zero-classifier to dA-, conceivably k'u-'ya but attested forms fit pattern of passive of L-classifier transitive, with LA- in Active perfective, dA- elsewhere).*

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o-**Xa’ k’u-d-L-’ya** *(as preceding, with d-thematic 'oral, noise')* S bother o (with talk), kid, tease o: *Neuter perfective:* **’iXa’ k’udixiLyahL** I'm kidding, teasing you *L,* **siXa’ k’udi:LyahLinh** he's bothering me (with talk) *L,* **’iXa’ k’udi:LyahLinh** he's kidding you, joking with you *A.*

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’iLXa’di’yah *(personal name)* 1. *Lena's younger brothers John, Nick L,* **’iLXa’di:’yah** *LM, corrected to* **’iLXa’di’yah** *by L,* ɪtła’deya’ *in BSdL genealogical table. Etymology not clear: 'iL-Xa' 'by, in (intimate) relation with each other', indirect reciprocal, with zero-classifier vocalized to dA-; verbal form perhaps Neuter imperfective, but this is rare or not otherwise attested in themes with 'ya, and the form should be 'idi'yah or, in close sandhi*

with 'iLXa', 'iLXe'di'yah, not 'iLXa'-; perhaps instead Active imperfective, with da'yah > di'yah, of o-Xa' (k'u)-(d-)L-'ya, 'bothering, teasing, kidding with each other'; A etymologizes 'bothering each other'.

2. *Lena's son John L.*

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yAX O(**-d**)**-L-'ya** *(causative of -'ya 32. with optional (?) d-thematic? 'color, bright', uncertain)* S dye O (S dip O): **yAX dAGALya'** dye it! *L,* **'Aw yAX qu'xLya:** I'll dye it *L,* **yAX k'uLya:k'** *no gloss M (<?* one (cust) dyes, dips it*), passive:* **yAX sdi'yahL** *no gloss M (<? it's been dyed, dipped).*

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'uya'X yAX k'u'ya:gL *(noun)* dye *L. Deverbalized passive repetitive of preceding with L-instrumental,* < something is repeatedly dipped down (dyed) (with motion with)in it (o with broad opening at top).

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qid (**d**)**-'ya** *(with qid 'down off', d-thematic optional with qid)* S (deciduous) fall: **t'ahL qid Ga'ya:L** foliage is falling (in autumn) *LM, with d-class-mark for S:* **qid dAsa'yahL** it (bark of tree) has fallen off *M.*

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d-'ya *(with (obligatory) d-thematic, apparently in three meanings; see also -'ya 18d., gdl-(d)-'ya)*

1. *(with d-thematic 'free fall', cf. qid (d)-'ya)* a. *with ya:n' 'down' (see -'ya 28.),* S (precipitation) come down: *with S not specified by independent noun, usually 'rain falls':* **ya:n' di:'yahL la:** it's raining, see! *L, Anonymous* Надасаятль 'Дождь' **ya:n' dAsa'yahL** it has rained, **ya:n' di:'yahLLtah q'Al *Cordova*** this Cordova's a rain-hole (rain-bag) *L,* **gusi:kih ya:n' di:'yahL** it's raining slightly *S (Neuter perfectives),* **ya:n'ch' q'e' dAGAda'ya:L** it's starting to rain again *L, once* S (snow) fall*:* **gusi:kih ya:n' dAsa'yahL** it snowed a little *23.127, 127A, with overtly specified S: Rezanov* Кулле ядысаатль 'Дожжъ идетъ es regnet' **k'uleh ya:n' dAsa'yahL** rain fell, it's raining *S,* **k'uleh ya:n' di:'yahL** it's raining *L,* **Lich' qi' k'uleh ya:n' di:'yahL** it's always raining there, place where it's always raining *L,* **k'ulehlAXa'luw ya:n' di:'yahL** big rain is falling (in big raindrops) *L,* **k'uleh ya:n'ch' dAGa'ya:L** rain is starting to fall *L, 57.24G,* **k'uleh ya:n' qu'di:'yah** rain will fall *L,* **dA'u:d ya:n' da:li'yah** let it rain *L,* **'AlAshgahX k'uleh ya:n' dAGi:'yah** would that it rain *L,* **k'Alehdig, k'u'luw ya:n' dAGa'ya:X** rain too, let a big one come down *57.21G (hortatory Inceptive subjunctive), Rezanov* Хытль яндасаятль 'Снѣгъ идетъ es schneit (=Schnee fällt)' **xutl' ya:n' dAsa'yahL** snow came down, it's snowing *S,* **xitl'a'luw ya:n'ch' dAGa'ya:L** big snowfal is starting *L,* **xitl'lAXAwAX ya:n' di:'yahL** big snowflakes are falling *L (Neuter perfective),* **xAtl' ya:n' dAGa'yah da:X** when snow falls, winter *63.39G, nominalized Inceptive conditional in* **xAtl' ya:n' dAGa'yahwahd** for when snow falls, for winter *63.38G, Rezanov* Нахатецъ яндасаяль 'Градъ идетъ es hagelt' **nAXAt'its' ya:n' dAsa'yahL, lAXAt'its' ya:n' dAsa'yahL** it hailed *LS,* **dik' lAXAt'its' ya:n' da'yahLG** *(Neuter perfective),* **lAXALtl'Ats' ya:n' di:'yahL** wet snow is falling *L (Neuter perfective),* **Le'Lq' ya:n' qu'di:'yah** down-feathers will rain down *19.17L,* **Le'Lq' ya:n' dAsa'yahL** down-feathers rained down *19.31L.*

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1b. *With yAX 'downward' (see -'ya 32.)* S (boat, or person with boat) capsize: **didu'X yAX disi'yahL** I almost capsized *L,* **yAX dAsa'yahLinh** he capsized *28.8, 33.1, 1, 3A,* **yAX dAsa'yahLinu:** they capsized *32.1, 2, 2A,* **'AXAkih 'utl' yAX dAsa'yahL** the canoe capsized with them (in it) *28.5A,* **sitl' yAX dAsa'yahL** it capsized with me (in it) *L,* **dik' yAX qu'di:xya:G** I won't capsize *L, cautionary negative Inceptive imperative:* **yAX q'AdAGi:'ya:G** watch out you don't capsize! *L,* **yAX q'AdAGAlAXya:G** watch out you pl. don't capsize! *L.*

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2. *(With d-thematic? 'accumulation')* S accumulate: a. *with no postpositional phrases or preverbs*: *with class-mark for S:* **k'At'u'da:d qAlAXAdli:'yahL** they (berries, lX-class) are piled in several places *L,* **tl'ihX gAdi:'yahL** grass (gd-class) is in several piles *L.*

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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*: **GALAtsitl'tah, q'e:dah de:ga'duw qa' di:'yahLinh** 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').*

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2c. *With yAqa' 'piling up'*: **yAqa' di:'yahL** it's piled up *L,* **yAqa:nch' dAGa'ya:L** it's piling up *L,* **dAkinh 'u:dAXyu: yAqa' di:'yahL** sticks are piled up all over *L, with class-marks for S:* **yAqa' lAXAdli:'yahL** it (sand, lX-class) is in a pile *L,* **k'At'u'da:d yAqa' XAdi:'yahL** they (logs, Xd-class) are piled in several places *L,* **k'ut'u'da:d yAqa' ti:dli:'yahL** skins (ti:l-class) are piled in several places *L,* **k'ut'u'da:d yAqa' qi:dli:'yahL** ropes (qi:l-class) are piled in several places *L; indirect reciprocal:* **'iLq' yAqa' XAdidi'yahL** they (logs, Xd-class) are piled on top of each other *L.*

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2d. *With qid 'down off, extending beyond edge' (cf. qid (d)'ya)*: (1) S be left over, extra*:* **qid dAsa'yahL** it's left over (can't be packed in anymore) *M;* (2) *with qid and qa' 'up out',* (? extra) S be piled up*:* **sha:she:n qid qa' di:'yahL** cordwood is piled up *M,* **La'g qid qa' di:'yahL** firewood is piled up *M.*

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2e. *With o-ch' 'to o'*, o has extra S, more S than o need or can use: **la'dih sich' di:'yahL** I've got two extra *L,* **la'da:na: ch'iyahd sich' di:'yahL** I've got two extra hats *L.*

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2f. *With dAGida' 'full' (probably < dAG-'e'-da' 'to, arrival at place above, top' see also g-'ya, gdl-'ya 1.)*: (1) S be full: **dAGida' di:'yahL** it's full *L, 7.5, 19A,* **Li'q' 'Aw duxL 'uXa' dAGida' di:'yahLinh** all his traps were full *23.27A,* **'AXAkih dAGida' di:'yahL** a canoe was full *33.72A,* **qi' 'Adk'u'dAtah 'uXa' Lich' dAGida' di:'yahL** his smokehouse was always full *47.4M (Neuter perfectives),* **dAGida'ch' dAGa'ya:L** it's getting full *L,* **dAGida' dAGa'yah da:X** when it's full *65.67A,* **'Aw Le't' dAGida' dAGa'yah da:X** when the box is full *65.67A,* **dik' 'Aw Le't' 'iXa' dAGida' da'Ga'yahG da:X** if your box isn't full *65.64A (verb to be corrected to dA-, actualized da'- by analogy with negative Neuter perfective dik' dAGida' da'yahLG), with o-X 'by means of o':* **da:na:da:X dAGida' di:'yahL** it's full of money *L,* **Ge:ts'gAka:X dAGida' di:'yahL** it's full of spruceroots *L;* (2) *With suffix for third person human involved as S, O or o, here irregular, or perhaps S:* **'AXAkih, ya:kuts'g, q'e:dah 'uya' dAGida' di:'yahLinu:** a canoe, a small one, was simply full of them (? people) inside *37b.6A;* (3) S (contents) fill container *(perhaps incorrect):* **dAGida' Giyah 'u:d di:'yahL** it's full of food < food is accumulated to fullmness there *L;* (4) *With class-mark, partly thematized, for classified filling contents, but probably with container, not contents, as S:* **Ge:ts'gAka:X dAGida' gAdi:'yahL** it's full of spruceroots *L,* **dAGida' gAdli:'yahL** it's full of water *L (see also gdl-'ya 1.),* **dAGida' gudla:Ga'ya:L** it's getting full of water *L,* **dAGida' lAXAdli:'yahL** it's full of berries *L,* **dAGida'ch' lAXAdla:Ga'ya:L** it's getting full of berries *L,* **dAGida' ti:dli:'yahL** it's full of skins *L (cf. 33.41, 72A* canoe full (of skins) *with no ti:l-class-mark). Transitive (causative):* **dAGida' dAGALya'** fill it up! *L.*

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3. *(With d-thematic? 'emotional')* a. *with o-la'-X '(movement) hanging over o' (cf. -'ya 16., Gl-'ya 3a., 4.)* S (feeling, urge) come over o *(verb clause (e.g. in optative) cannot be used as S, L rejecting e.g. *da: yAX 'idi'a'ch'sh 'ila'X dAsa'yahL for 'do you feel like walking (that we should take a walk)?')*: *Rezanov* Сыляхтесаяль 'Хочу ich will' **sila'X**

dAsa'yahL feeling, urge came over me, Иляхшидасаяль 'Хочешъ ли? willst du?' **'ila'Xsh… dAsa'yahL** did feeling, urge come over you?, *with k'ushiyah 'evil, anger' as S, Active perfective:* **k'ushiyah 'ula'X dAsa'yahL** 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 o-ch' 'at o':* **'Aw q'unhAw te'ya'le: q'Aw Ch'i:lehch' k'ushiyah 'ula'X dAsa'yahL** so the king salmon got angry at the Raven *10.97A,* **wAX q'unh 'anhch' k'ushiyah 'ula'X dAsa'yahL** thus she got angry at him *10.151A,* **dAXunhyu: 'Awch' k'ushiyah 'ula'X dAsa'yahL** people got mad at him *11.37A,* **'uXa:q' 'anhch' k'ushiyah 'ula'X dAsa'yahL** he got angry with him over it *L,* **'AwXa' q'Aw 'anhch' k'ushiyah 'ula'X dAsa'yahL** got mad at him over it *9.8A,* **k'ushiyah sila'X dAsa'yahL** I got mad *M,* **dik' k'ushiyah sila'X dAsyahLG** I didn't get mad *M, Inceptive perfective:* **k'ushiyah 'ula'X dAGa'ya:L** is getting angry *1b.7M,* **k'ushiyah sila'X dAGa'ya:L** I'm getting mad *M,* **dik' k'ushiyah sila'X dAGa'ya:LG** I'm not getting mad *M, Neuter perfective:* **k'ushiyah 'ula'X di:'yahL** is angry; **'Aw ku:nLda'ts'kih k'ushiyah 'ula'X di:'yahL** the stump was angry *1b.19M,* **'anh LinhGih k'ushiyah 'ula'X di:'yahL** the other was ill-tempered *47c.50, 51L,* **'anhch' k'ushiyah 'ula'X di:'yahLinh** she's angry with him *11.47A,* **k'ushiyah 'ula'X di:'yahLinh** he's (always) mad *L,* **k'ushiyah sila'X di:'yahL** I'm angry *M,* **dik' k'ushiyah sila'X da'yahLG** I'm not angry *M, other mode-aspects:* **dik'dAg 'ahnu:ch' k'Ashiyah 'ula'X di:'ya:k'G** nor does he (cust) get angry at them *50.39A,* **k'ushiyah sila'X qu'di:'yah** I'll get, be angry *M,* **dik' k'ushiyah sila'X qu'di:'ya:G** I won't be angry *M,* **k'ushiyah 'ula'X da:li'yinhinh** let him be angry *L,* **k'ushiyah sila'X dAGa'yah da:X** when I get angry *34.46L, with other S: Rezanov* Тляхецъ-илляхтесаятль 'Тошно Erbrechen haben, vomiturire, vomiturio', **dla:Xq'e:ts' sila'X dAsa'yahL** I feel like puking, I'm nauseated, I got seasick *L,* **dla:Xq'e:ts' 'ila'X dAsa'yahL** you gagged *M,* **dla:Xq'e:ts' sila'X dAGa'ya:L** I'm getting nauseated *L, o1-li'di: o2-la'X d-'ya 'o2 be, get angry at, have grudge against o1',* **'anh 'anhli' di: 'ula'X di:'yahLinh, 'Aw q'e:'shk'** he had a grudge against him, that bluejay *10.210A,* **Ch'i:lehli' di: 'ula'X dAsa'yahL** he had gotten peeved at Raven *10.211A,* **'ili' di: sila'X di:'yahL** I'm mad at you *L,* **'ili' di: sila'X dAGa'ya:L** I'm getting mad at you *L,* **Xanh sila'X di:'yahL** I feel like crying (but hold back) *L,* **ki:nX 'ula'X di:'yahL** he feels like crying *M,* **lAXAXAL 'ula'X di:'yahL** he feels like getting drunk *M,* **li'Xi:ni: qa:la'X di:'yahL** we feel like laughing *L. Transitive (causative):* **ya'Xu: k'ushiyah 'ila'X qu'di:Lyinhinh** don't let him anger you *L,* **ya'Xu: k'ushiyah 'ila'X qu'di:xLyah** don't let me anger you *L, cautionary negative Inceptive imperative:* **k'ushiyah q'ah 'ula'X dAGi:Lya:Ginh** watch out you don't anger him! *L, repetitive:* **k'ushiyah k'a' 'ula'X da:yiLya:ginh** you should try to anger him *L.*

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3b. *As 3a. with k'u-indefinite S*, o (male or female) be, become sexually excited (< a certain urge comes over o): **sila'X k'udi:'yahL** I have an erection *S,* **'ula'X k'udi:'yahLinh** he (or she) is sexually excited *M (Neuter perfective).*

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3c. *With k'u-indefinite S and o-l-X 'in contact with o's head' (cf. -'ya 8., o-Xa' k'u-L-'ya)*, o have a hard time, hardship, misery, suffer: **si:nAX k'uqu'di:'yah** I'll have a hard time, suffer *L,* **si:nAX k'udAGa'yahL** I'm having a hard time, suffering *M,* **si:nAX k'udAsa'yahL** I had a hard time *L,* **qe'LGAyu:lu'qa: 'i:nAX k'uda'ya:k'** you (cust) have a hard time in quest after women *10.264A,* **dAXa:'dAXyu: 'u:nAX k'uda'ya:k'inh** he's (cust) in misery all about outside *32.44, 216A, repetitive:* **dik' 'i: 'iga' si:nAX k'uqu'di:'ya:gG** I won't keep having a hard time like *you 16.27M. Transitive (causative):* **'i:nAX k'uqu'di:xLyah** I'll give you a hard time, cause you to suffer hardship *L,* **si:nAX k'udAGi:Lya:L** you're giving me a hard time *L,* **'u:nAX k'udisiLyahL** I gave him a hard time *L,* **si:nAX k'udAsALyahLinh** he tortured me, made me suffer *M,* **'ida'ya:lAX 'u:nAX da: k'udALya:k'inu:** we (cust) cause them too much misery *30.7L, repetitive:* **si:nAX k'udALya:gk'inh** he (cust) keeps giving me a hard time *L,* **si:nAX k'udi:Lya:g** you're tormenting me *L; passive:* **'uXa' 'i:nAX k'uqu'dAda'ya:k'** you'll (cust) be tormented for it *51.34A,* **Xi:d ya:nu'd dAq'a:gdAyAq' 'i:nAX k'uqu'dAda'ya:k'** you'll (cust)

be tormented in the (Hell-)fires down below there *51.19A, repetitive:* **qa:ta:' 'u:nAX k'udAda'ya:g** Lent < out Father, his torment *L.*

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3d. *See -'ya 18c.*

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yAX 'i:lih xa' d-dA-'ya-X *(with d-thematic? 'oral', perambulative, for 'i:lih xa' and analyses of form see 'i:li-~'i:lih 2a. under le(')~li)* S be hungry without knowing what for: **yAX 'i:lih xa' dAxda'ya:X** I'm hungry but don't know what for *L.*

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'Ad-d-LA-'ya *(with d-thematic, perhaps 'oral, noise', reflexive of causative)* S sing medicine-song, shamanistic incantation: **'AddAxLa'yah** I'm singing a medicine song *LM,* **'AdALa'yinhinh** *M,* **'AddALa'yinhinh** he's singing a medicine song *LM,* **'Adqu'dAxLa'yah** I'll sing a medicine-song *L.*

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Xd-'ya *(with Xd-class-mark for S 'clouds', partly thematized, cf. 'ya 1., X-'ya)* S (clouds) move, be, get in certain state, formation: **XAdAGa'ya:L** clouds are moving *M, Rezanov* Итакатлиятль 'Туча Wolke' *perhaps to be read* **'idah XAdi:'yahL** clouds are in formation for favorable weather *L (Neuter perfective).*

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g-'ya *(with g-thematic, 'tide(-line?)', perhaps thematized g-class-mark for S 'filament-like', or originally gl-class-mark 'liquid' with l- lost with loss of nasalization)* S (tide, tide-line) be, get in certain state: *with lu: 'turn over (ca. 180°)' (see -'ya 31.):* **lu: gu:'yahL** tide's in high (at turning point), it's hight-tide *M (Neuter perfective), with lAG 'up ashore': Rezanov* Лякъкокоятль 'Прибыль воды Fluth', *Anonymous* Лык-кукуятль 'Приливъ воды' **lAG guGa'ya:L** tide's coming in high, rising *L, 10.254, 11.69A,* **sLa'dah lAG guGa'ya:L** there's nice weather, tide and shoreline are lovely < tide is rising beautifully *L,* **'uq' lAG gAsa'yahLinu:** tide rose up over (engulfing) them *10.255, 11.70A,* **lAG gu'yah da:X** just as the tide starts to come in *11.89, 89A, with dAGida' 'full' (see d-'ya 2f.):* **dAGida'ch' guGa'ya:L** tide's coming in very high *L, with o-lah 'around o':* **'ulah guGa'ya:L** tide is rising around it (freeing it, e.g. beached boat) *M;* **'u:nahd k'uGa'ya:L** water is rising up over something *LM (perhaps to be corrected to* ***'u:nah guGa'ya:L*** tide is rising up around its head*),* **lu: sa'yahL** tide came in *M (perhaps to be corrected to lu: gusa'yahL 'tide reached turning-point'), with perambulative, 'reversal of motion':* **yAX gu'da'ya:k'** tide (cust) laps (sluggishly) back and forth *L, also, idiomatically* he (cust) dawdles, stalls, is lazy *L.*

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gl-'ya *(with gl-class-mark for S 'liquid', partly thematized, partly overlapping with g-'ya)* 1. S (water in natural topograpical body) be, get in certain state (tidal phenomenon or otherwise): **lAG gAli:'yahL** water is high *M,* **dit'a' gAli:'yahL** tide is (remains, stuck) high *L (cf. -'ya 6b.),* **'idah qa' gAli:'yahL** tide is at a nice height *L,* **'idah gAli:'yahL** incoming tide is slowing down, about to go out again < water is in a nice state *L (Neuter perfectives),* **di:yAX ya:n'ch' yAX gAlAGa'ya:LG** tide hasn't started to ebb down yet *L,* **k'e:'wAXduw dik' ya:n'ch' gAli:'ya:k'G** how come tide doesn't (cust) ebb? *43.1M,* **Xu' gu:nsa'yahL** high tide's about stopped < water has reached a complete state *L (see -'ya 21.),* **'Aw giyah ya'X gu:nsa'yahL** the water lifted up (magically) *29.7A.*

2. S (bodily humor) run, *with yAX 'downward' (see -'ya 32.) or qa' 'up out' (see -'ya 18.)*: **'uyAq' yAX k'ugu:'yahL** *(probably to be corrected to k'ugu:n'yahL or k'ugAli:'yahL)* he has diarrhea < something (liquid) flows downward in him *L (Neuter perfective),* **'idAtl'a'X yAX gulAGa'ya:L** you're running (with liquid coming down) at the corner of your mouth, drooling *L, repetitive:* **dAL siyAq' qa:nch' gula'ya:g** I'm spitting blood < blood repeatedly comes up out

(from) inside me *L,* **dAL 'uyAq' qa' gu:nsa'yahL** he hemorrhaged *L, see also giyah 'uyAq' qa' gAli:'yahL, yAq' gAla'yah, -'a´#.*

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k'ugu:n'ya:, lu: k'ugu:n'ya: *(noun)* big tide which comes in September *L. Probably nominalized Active imperfective,* < something (water in natural body) be, get in a state, *with optional lu: 'turning point'.*

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yAq' gAla'yah *(noun, gl-class)* bile *L. Perhaps nominalized Active imperfective with gl-class-mark for S, yAq' probably postposition, in error for o-yAq' 'inside o', or perhaps with zeroed-out 'Ad-reflexive o, perhaps deverbalized indirect reflexive,* < it (liquid) be in a state inside (? oneself).

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giyah 'uyAq' gAli:'yahL *L,* **giyah 'uyAq' gAdli:'yahL** *(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.

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gdl-'ya *(with gdl-thematic)* 1. *(combination of gl-class-mrk for S 'liquid' with d-thematic of various meanings, see gl-'ya, d-'ya)*: *Rezanov* Удахликутлякаяль 'Каплетъ es tröpfelt' **'u:dAX li' gAdla:Ga'ya:L** it (water) is starting to run (downstream) along there, Итакатлиятль 'Туча Wolke' *perhaps to be read* **'idah gAli:'yahL** it (water) is in nice state *(cf. gl-'ya):* **'idAtl'a'X yAX k'ugAdla:Ga'ya:L** something (liquid) is running down from the corner of your mouth *L,* **'u:dAX gAdli:'yahL** water ran (has accumulated?) along there *L,* **dAGida' gAdli:'yahL** it's high tide < water has accumulated full *L (Neuter perfectives, cf. d-'ya 2f., g-'ya), indirect reciprocal:* **k'udALdje:'tl' 'iLlah gudla:sdi'yahL** the white and yolk (of unbroken egg) got mixed together < they (liquids) got mixed around each other with the yolk *L (see -'ya 3.). Transitive (causative): with 'iLqa' 'amongst each other' (see -'ya 2b.):* **'iLqa' gAdla:siLyahL** I mixed them (two liquids, e.g. coffee and milk) together *L,* **ts'u:tl' giyah 'iLqa' gAdla:siLyahL** I mixed baby formula < I mixed water with milk amongst each other *L.*

2. *With Le't', Xish (suits at cards) as S with Xa:n' 'finish, complete' or as o of o-Xa:n' (see Le't', Xish~Xihsh2, -'ya 14., 20., Xa:')*: **Le't' Xa:n'** (*or* **Le't'Xa:n'**?) **gAdla:sa'yahL** I got a trump in diamonds (at "66") < diamonds have become complete *L,* **Xish Xa:n'** (*or ?* **XishXa:n'**) **gAdla:sa'yahL** I got a trump in spades (at "66") *L.*

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dl-'ya *(with dl-thematic)* S (unstable) tilt, slant, lean (off vertical axis): 1.: **dla:Ga'ya:L** it's leaning over (slowly) *M, repetitive:* **dla'ya:g** it's leaning over slowly (bit by bit) *M.*

2. *With ya:n' 'down' (see -'ya 28., d-'ya 1a.)* a. S fall, keel, topple over: **ya:n' dla:sa'yahL** toppled over *47b.43, 46M,* **ya:n' dla:sa'yahLinh** he keeled over *L. Transitive (causative): reflexive:* **ya:n' 'Adla:GAxLa'ya:X 'ixleh** I want to (that I should make myself) fall over *L.*

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2b. *With idiomatic meaning*, S fall immediately to sleep effortlessly: **ya:n' dla:sa'yahLinh** he went to sleep the minute his head touched the pillow *L. Transitive (causative): reflexive:* **ya:n' 'Adla:Li'yahLinh** he's lying down resting a while (? having immediately fallen asleep) *L (Neuter perfective).*

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2c. *Transitive (causative) only, with ya:n'-ch' '(continuous movement) down, farther down'*, S bend, stoop over: *reflexive:* **ya:n'ch' 'Adqu'dla:xLa'yah** I'll bend down *L,* **ya:n'ch' 'Adla:GAxLa'ya:L** I'm (in the process of) bending over *LM,* **ya:n'ch' 'Adla:xsLi'yahL** I bent

over, bent down *M,* **ya:n'ch' 'Adla:xLi'yahL** I'm bent over, stooped *LM,* **ya:n'ch' 'Adla:Li'yahLinh** a person who is stooped (with age) *L (Neuter perfective),* **ya:n'ch' 'Adla:Li'yinhyinh** let him bend down *L; passive:* **ya:n'ch' xudla:sdi'yahL** I got bent over *L,* **ya:n'ch' dla:sdi'yahLinh** he got bent over (by something) *L.*

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3. *With o-X 'in contact with o'*: **siX dla:sa'yahL** it fell (inclined?) over by me, touching me on the way *M.*

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4. *With perambulative*, S teeter, totter, sway, stagger, wobble, rock about: **yAX dla:GAda'ya:L** he started to totter around *47c.21L. Transitive (causative): repetitive:* **yAX dla:xLa'ya:ginh** I'm holding him (baby) against my shoulder or breast and gently rocking him *L (see qa:dla:Lya:g).*

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5. *Reflexive (causative): indirect reflexive with o-t'a'-q'(-'e'-ch') '(continuous movement toward (empty) place) behind o'*: **t'a'q'ich' 'Adla:GALa'ya'** lean backwards! *M,* **t'a'q'e'ch' 'Adla:xLi'yahL, t'a'q'ich' 'Adla:xLi'yahL** I'm leaning backwards *M (Neuter perfectives),* **t'a'q' 'Adqu'dla:xLa'yah** I'll lean back (against something behind me) *(of e.g. sick person in bed) L.*

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qa:dla:Lya:g *(personal name) Yakutat woman L. Active imperfective repetitive causative, probably as in 4. above, without perambulative,* < causes us to lean repetitively *(including resting child on shoulder or breast, dl-'ya 'lean').*

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O-**'-dl-'ya** *(semitransitivized form of dl-'ya, probably intransitive, O thematic, 'u- only, cf. O-'-l-'ya)* 1. S (stable) tilt, slant, lean (off vertical axis): **'u'dla:sa'yahL** it (stick, tree) is (came to be) standing at a slant *L, with Xd-class-mark for S:* **'u'XAdla:sa'yahL** it (mast) is (came to be) standing at a slant *L.*

2. *With Xu' 'right, straight' (see, -'ya 21.)*: **Xu' 'u'dla:sa'yahL** it levelled, stopped, tilting, stabilized straight up *L.*

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O-**'-l-'ya** *(analogical semitransitive, probably intransitive, O thematic, 'u- only, cf. O-'-dl-'ya)* (upper part of, one side of two-sided vertical) S droop, curl downward (failing to maintain vertical rigidity): *Neuter perfective:* **'u'li:'yahL** one side of it is drooping, curling down *(as shape of printed lower care r) L,* **'iLq'Asd 'u'li:'yahL** it droops, curls down on both sides *(as shape of upper case Greek upsilon) L (indirect reciprocal, perhaps to be corrected to 'iLq'Asd 'u'lidi'yahL).*

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Gl-'ya *(with Gl-thematic 'passage of time')* S (time) pass: 1.: **sahdX GAlAGa'ya:L** 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-ch', see Gl-'ya 8., 10.):* **XAla:g Ga:nsa'yahL** winter came *L.*

2a. *With leh 'seasonal cycle, year': (see also Gl-'ya 11.)*: **Gu'ya'X leh GAlAGa'ya:L** this winter's warm < the year is passing in warmth *L,* **k'usha:dah leh GAlAGa'ya:L** this winter is severe < the year is passing badly, severely *L,* **leh Ga:nsa'yahL** a year passed *L, 21a.33L,* **la'dih leh Ga:nsa'yahL** two years went by *L,* **la'dih 'u:ch'ahd Ga:nsa'yahL** two years ago, two years since then have passed *L.*

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2b. *With o-leh 'year for o, year of o's life'*: *Rezanov* Уллекасыэль 'Тодъ Jahr' **'uleh Ga:nsa'yahL** a year passed for him, he spent a year *10.242, 243, 244A, 19.11L, 21b.24, 33.39A,*

Rezanov Утулякасыэль 'въ прошломъ годѣ im vorigen Jahr' **'u:d 'uleh Ga:nsa'yahL, 'u:ch' 'uleh Ga:nsa'yahLinh** he spent a year there *33.38A,* **dAtli: dAXk'ih 'u:ch' 'uleh GAlAGa'ya:L da:Xdunhuw** already a number of years are passing for her there and *25.40A,* **'ahnu: 'uqa'ch' sileh Ga:nsa'yahLinu:** those amongst whom I spent a year *25.183A,* **k'usha:da' sileh Ga:nsa'yahL** I had a bad year (year of bad luck) *L,* **k'usha:da' sileh qu'GAli:'yah** I'll have an unlucky year *L,* **dAGa:Xk'a:d qAlahqa'ga' 'uleh GAli:'yahL** he was fourteen years old *61.31A (Neuter perfective),* **'uleh GAlAGa'ya:Linh** she's getting to be a year old *L,* **silehch' GAlAGa'ya:L** my birthday, anniversary is coming *M,* **la'dih 'uleh Ga:nsa'yahL** it's two years old *L,* **dAGa:q' sileh Ga:nsa'yahL** I'm ten years old *L,* **'ilAX sileh GAli:'yahL** I'm older than you < more years are past for me than you *L (Neuter perfective)*; **'uleh GAli:'yahL** 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).*

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3. *With o-lAX 'more than o, too much for, beyond, past o'*: a. S be, become (visibly pregnant) *(see also Gl-'ya 2b., 3b., 4.)*: *Rezanov* Уляхеконсыятль 'Брюхата schwanger' **'ulAX … Ga:nsa'yahL, 'ulAX Ga:nsa'yahL** she is, got pregnant *LA (rechecked and verified several times with L),* **'ulAX GAlAGa'ya:Linh** she's becoming (visibly) pregnant *L, 2b.12L,* **da:ch'ahdd 'anhlAX GAlAGa'yahL** how (whence) is she getting (visibly) pregnant? *2b.13L. Transitive (causative):* **'anhlAX Ga:nsALyahLinh** he made her pregnant *L.*

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3b. S (time) become too late for o *(see also Gl-'ya 4.)*: **'ulAX GAlAsa'yahL, 'ulAX Ga:nsa'yahL** it is, got too late for it (e.g. to go there) *L.*

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4. *With o-la'X '(movement) down over (hanging on) o'*: **sila'X Ga:nsa'yahL** I was too late *L (perhaps to be corrected to **silAX**).*

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5. *With o-q'-ch' '(continuous movement) onto o'*: **siq'Ach' GAlAGa'ya:L** my term (in gestation) is approaching *M (Inceptive perfective, only attestation, other mode-aspects perhaps with o-q').*

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6. *With o-'a:n' 'coming upon o' (see -'ya 9.)*: **ge:li'a:g ya:'a:n' Ga:nsa'yahL** noon came < time passed to midday thing *L,* **'u'a:n' Ga:nsa'yahL** time for it (to do it) came *L,* **'u'a:nch' GAlAGa'ya:L** it's getting to be time for it (to do that) *L.*

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7. *With o-da' '(arrival) at o'*: **ya:da' Ga:nsa'yahL** it's noon sharp *L.*

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8. *With o-ch' 'to, toward, at o'*: **XAla:gch' GAlAGa'ya:L** it's getting to be winter *S,* **Xahch' GAlAGa'ya:L** it's getting to be summer *L.*

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9. *With o-ga' 'like o'*: **'Awga' GAlAGa'ya:L** it's getting to be that (same) time (of the day, year, again in a cycle) *L,* **'Awga' Ga:nsa'yahL** that same time the next year *21a.27L,* **'Alga' GAlAGa'yah da:X** around this time of year *M,* at this time of year, of the day < when time comes like this (one of year, day) *L.*

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10. *With o-'a:g '(to) middle of o' (see also Gl-'ya 1.)*: **XAla:g ya:'a:g GAlAsa'yahL** it became midwinter *49.115A <?* winter passed to mid-point, **ge:lA'a:g GAlAGa'ya:L** it's getting to be noon *L (ge:lA'a:g perhaps S,* ? noon is passing*).*

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11. *With o-lah 'around o'*: **'ulah Ga:nsa'yahL** it turned one year old *L (probably in error for 'uleh, influenced perhaps by o-lAX, o-la'X).*

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leh GAla’yah *(noun, unclassified)* year: *often used adverbially:* **LinhGih leh GAla’yah** (for) one year *23.53, 69.11, 12A,* **’Aw’ihd leh GAla’yah** the year after that, the next year *21a.27, 56.9L,* **’Al’ihd ya: leh GAla’yah** next year < the one (year) after this *L.*

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O-**’-Gl-’ya** *(with Gl-thematic 'passage of time')* S (time) pass for O, with certain significance for O, O spend time: **dik’ ’u’qu’GAli:’ya:Ginh** she hasn't much more time to live *61.102A,* **la’dih k’uXa’tl’ga’ ’u:ch’ xu’Ga:nsa’yahL** I spent two hours there *L, with o-da' 'o's luck, fortune':* **qi’ya:da:X k’udzu:da’ xu’qu’GAli:’yah** I'll get lucky sometime *L,* **k’Adzu:da’ qa: ’u’Ga:nsa’yahL** we (suddenly) got, turned lucky, rich *L,* **k’udzu:da’ ’i’qe’GAli:’yah** you'll have good luck < a lucky time will pass for you *L,* **k’usha:da’ xu’Ga:nsa’yahL** I had a period of bad luck *L,* **k’udzu:da’ xu’Ga:nsa’yahL** I had a period of good luck, a good year *L; with adverb formed with -dah adverbializer:* **k’udzu:dah xu’Ga:nsa’yahL** I had a period, year of good weather *L.*

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X-’ya *(with X-thematic, perhaps 'plural', thus 'pl. move (restrictedly in medium)', cf. -'ya 1., Xd-'ya, Xdl-'ya)* pl. S fly: *with no locative postpositional phrases or preverbs,* pl. S fly (along, away): **qu’qAXi:’yah** they'll fly away *L,* **qAXAGa’ya:L** they're flying along, away *L,* **qAXAsa’yahL** they flew away *L, with ya'X 'up':* **ya’X XAsa’yahL, ya’X qAXAsa’yahL** *L,* **ya’X XAsa’yahLinu:** they took off, flew away *49.155, 156A,* **ya’X qu’Xi:’yah** they'll take off and fly away *L,* **ya’X XAGa’ya:L** they're taking off *L, with other locative postpositional phrases and preverbs:* **q’e’ XAsdi’yahL** they flew back *L, 7.39A,* **’a:nch’ q’e’ XAGAda’ya:L** they (birds, airplanes) are flying back hither *L,* **’a:nda’ q’e’ XAsdi’yahL** they flew back here *L,* **q’e:yahd XAsdi’yahL** they flew back out to sea *14.1L,* **’a’q’ XAsa’yahL** they flew out *L,* **Xi:ch’ qAXAsa’yahL** they flew over there *M,* **’AdLa’ni:q’ ’u:dAX XAGa’ya:L** gulls are flying along there *M, with perambulative (see also yAX XAda'ya:X):* **yAX XAda’ya:X** they're flying about *LM,* **yAX qu’XAda’yah** they'll fly around *L.*

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yAX XAda’ya:X *(noun, unclassified)* flying things, birds (generic) *L*: ɪxat’a’ya· 'a flying bird' *BSdL 539,* **yAX XAda’ya:Xyu:** birds *68.52A,* **yAX XAda’ya:XyAquhyu:** little birds *10.45, 150A,* **yAX XAda’ya:XdAwa: yAX ya:g** spring snow < that which repeatedly comes down (subsides?) pending the birds(' return) *L. Nominalized Active imperfective with perambulative,* < those which fly about.

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listsin’da’(X) qAXa’yah *(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)*: **listsin’da’ qAXa’yah** *L,* **listsin’da’X qAXa’yah** chickadees *7.11A,* **listsin’da’X qAXa’yahyu:** chickadees *7.39A. Nominalized Active imperfective with qA- 'plural',* < they fly at the tips, extremities of trees, spruce.

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y-’ya *(with y-thematic, see also 'i-'-'ya)* S move, travel passively, without voluntary destination, be sent, wander, end up, fare: **ditl’a’g siXa’, da:dAXshduw yAGa’ya:L** my letter, (along) where, I wonder, is it going? *M,* **dAtli: yAsa’yahL** it's on its way, has been sent already *M,* **sida’ yAsa’yahL** it (letter, sent dog) got to me *M,* **di’dah ’a:nda’ yisi’yahL** I got here safely (not under my own control) *M,* **di’dah q’e:’anh yisdi’yahL** she got back, ended up back home safely *25.81A,* **Li’q’ ’a:nch’ yAsa’yahL** all that's ended up here *9.28A,* **k’uyAq’ yAsa’yahL** it went, was sent in something (as in package) *M,* **’uqa’ yisi’yahL** I got mixed up (involuntarily) with them < I ended up amongst them *L (see -'ya 2.),* **dAXunh ’uqa’ yAsa’yahL** a

person ended up amongst them *24.84A,* **'Aw Gu:djihyu:qa' yAsa'yahLlehd** because she had ended up amongst those wolves *25.152A,* **dAqa'X yAsa'yahL** it wandered about < it wandered amongst indeterminate o *L,* **sisa' yAsa'yahL** I got it to eat effortlessly < it ended up in my mouth *L,* **dik' dAde:d 'iyAtl'e:q'd ya:n'ya:k'G** you (cust) never get anything (hunting) < nothing ever (cust) ends up in your palms *23.13A (see also -'ya 12., 13., o-X yd-'ya),* **'iyAtl'e:q' qu'yi:'yah** it (prey) will fall into your hands (hunting) *L,* **siyAtl'e:q' yAsa'yahL** I got it (hunting) < it ended up in my hands *(properly modest way to report success in hunting) L, with perambulative:* **yAX yAda'ya:X** wanders about *10.163, 164A, indirect reciprocal:* **'iLtl' yAX yAda'ya:X** they wandered about together *68.106A,* **Li'q' 'iLqa' yisdi'yahLinu:** they (people) are all mixed, mingled (amongst each other) *L,* **'iLqa' qu'yAda'yinhinu:** they'll mix, mingle *L; problematical form:* **siyAda'X yisdi'yahL** I got it (hunting) *(properly modest way to report success) L (<* it ended up on my arm-front*, dA-classifier inexplicable, perhaps passive of unattested causative, or perhaps influenced by yd-'ya below); see also 68.103A. Transitive (causative): reflexive:* **dAXunhyu:qa' q'Aw 'Adya:La'ya:k'** you've been (making yourself look as though you were innocently) wandering, staying, ending up amongst people *10.178A.*

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qAya'yah *(personal name) Jumbo Johnson of Katalla, brother of George Johnson (died July 24, 1941) M, "sending away, send him all over" L. Active imperfective of y-'ya with thematized qA- 'plural',* < he wanders a lot, to many places (?) *LM.*

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dAqa'X ya:n'ya:k' *(personal name) Mary Nelson, oldest daughter of Gus Nelson L, earlier transcribed dAqa'X ya:'ya:nk', probably from dAqa'X ya:(n)'ya:k' < 'she (customarily) wanders among something (indeterminate)'), BSdL Genealogical Table* ɒaqaχ'ia'yaⁿk'.

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o-**X yd-'ya** *(with yd-thematic, cf. y-'ya, -'ya 8., and o-X 'in contact with o')* S hunt o (game) successfully: **di'dah 'uX yidisi'yahL** I got it (hunting) *(properly modest way to report success, <?* I fairly wandered into contact with it*) L.*

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o-**ch' yl-dA-'ya** *(with yl-thematic, cf. y-'ya and l-dA-a)* S get stuck, wedged, stranded at o (place where S unfortunately ends up): **'a:nch' ya:nxsdi'yahL, 'a:nch' yAlixsdi'yahL** I got stuck here (e.g. by bad weather) *L,* **'u:ch' ya:sdi'yahL** it's stuck, wedged in there (against it) *L,* **'a:nch' ya:nxdi'yahL** I'm stuck here *L (Neuter perfective),* **'u:ch' qu'ya:nxda'yah** I'll get stuck there *L,* **ya'Xu: 'u:ch' qu'ya:nda'yah** don't get stuck there *L.*

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Xdl-'ya 1. sg. S run: *with no locative postpositional phrases or adverbs,* S run (along, away): *'i-Active imperative:* **XAdli:'ya', XAdli:'ya'duh** run! *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **qu'XAdli:xyah** I'll run *L,* **ya'Xu: qu'XAdli:'yah, di'wAX 'iya'** don't run, just walk! *L,* **qu'XAdli:'yah** it'll run *L, Inceptive perfective: Galushia Nelson* χàtɬá·qɔ̀χ̣yà·tɬ *or* χ̣àtɬáqùχ̣yàtɬ 'I run' *BSdL 560* **XAdla:Guxya:L** *M,* **XAdla:GAxya:L** I'm running (along) *L, Galushia Nelson* í'íχ̣àtɬá·qɛ̀iyà·tɬ *or* í'íχ̣àtɬá·qɛ̀iyàtɬ 'you run' *BSdL 560* **'i: XAdla:Gi:'ya:L** *you*'re running, **XAdla:Gi:'ya:L** you're running (along) *M, Galushia Nelson* χ̣ə̀tɬá'qɛ̀iyàtɬì *or* χ̣àtɬá'ɛ̀iyàtɬì 'he runs' *BSdL 560* **XAdla:Ga'ya:Linh** he's running (along) *M,* **XAdla:Ga'ya:L** it's running (along) *L,* **q'e:dah 'Adqi:dAGALAXan'Linh 'idAXAdla:Ga'ya:Linh** his feet are simply fluttering, he's running so (fast) *72.22L,* **'i:li:X XAdla:Ga'ya:Linh** he's trotting, running slowly, jogging along *L, Active perfective,* S run (away)*:* **dla:q'Aya'kAmah sALku:n'dL da:X XAdla:sa'yahL** he grabbed the mountain-goat stomach and ran *15.21M,* **'anh LinhGih qe'LsAqe:ts'Akih XAdla:sa'yahL** that one girl ran *38.6LM,* **'anh qe'L yAq' sAqehL da:X XAdla:sa'yahL** the girl landed and ran *38.20LM,* **XAdla:sa'yahLinh** he ran off *53.21L, Galushia Nelson* χ̣atɬa·si'yatɬ or χ̣atɬasiyatɬ 'I ran' *BSdL 560* **XAdla:si'yahL** I ran *L, Active optative:* **XAdla:xiyah** let me run *L, with various*

locative postpositional phrases and/or preverbs: **sit'a:ch' XAdla:sa'yahLinh** he ran around behind me (for protection) *M,* **'a'q' XAdla:Ga'ya'** run out! *M,* **'a'q' qu'XAdli:xyah** I'll run out *M,* **'a'q' q'e' XAdla:GAda'ya'** run back out! *M,* **'a'q' qu'XAdla:xda'yah** I'll run back out *M,* **'a'q' qu'XAdli:'yinhinh** he'll run out *M,* **'a'q' q'e' qu'XAdla:da'yinhinh** he'll run back out *M,* **'a'q'Ach' XAdla:GAxya:L** I'm running out *M,* **'a'q' XAdla:si'yahL** I ran out *M,* **'a'q' XAdla:sa'yahL** he ran out *19.27, 48.13L,* **q'e' qu'XAdla:da'yah** I'll run again, some more *M,* **q'e' XAdla:sa'yahL** I ran again, some more **'u:ch' 'AdiX q'e' XAdla:sdi'yahL** he ran back in there *23.69A,* **q'e' XAdla:sdi'yahL** he ran back, he ran home *25.93A, 55.18L,* **'u:ch' q'e' XAdla:sdi'yahL** ran back there *28.30, 49.13A,* **'u:dAX q'e:tsa' XAdla:GAda'ya:L** he's running back downhill shoreward along there *37b.46A,* **tse'X q'e' XAdla:sdi'yahLinh** she ran back down to shore *49.97A,* **lAG XAdla:sa'yahL** she ran up from shore *49.142, 143A,* o-**da' tsa' XAdla:sa'yahL** ran down (the bank) to o *10.99, 11.149A,* **dla:'anhch' XAdla:Ga'ya:L** is running into its hole *23.32A,* **qi'dAX 'uXa' li' XAdla:sa'yahLch'ahd** from where she had run in by him *23.35A,* **lah'e' XAdla:sa'yahLinh** she ran into her hole *22.9L,* o-**'ihX XAdla:sa'yahL** ran after o *23.84A, 48.14L,* **'u'ihX XAdli:'yin'inh** run after him! *M,* **'i'ihX qu'XAdli:xyah** I'll pursue you *LM,* **'u:da' 'AdiX XAdla:sa'yahL** he ran in (arriving) there *25.96A,* **'u:ch' XAdla:sa'yahLinh** she ran thither *37a.22L,* **'a:ngu:na'q' XAdla:Ga'ya:Linh** she's running along on (the surface of) the river *48.15L,* o-**qa'ch' q'e' XAdla:sdi'yahL** he ran back to amongst o *37b.47A,* o-**da' XAdla:sa'yahLinh** she arrived (running) at o *38.21LM,* **'AwyAX li' XAdla:sa'yahL** she ran in under it *38.22LM,* **qa:lAGdAX Xi:ch' XAdla:sa'yahL, 'uma:ch'** ran over there above us, to his mother *61.49A,* **yahddAyAXAch' XAdla:sa'yahL** ran underneath the house *61.115A,* **lah XAdla:si'yahL** I ran in a circle *M,* **siXahd qu'XAdli:'yah** it'll get away from me *L,* **'iXahd qu'XAdli:xyah** I'll run away from you (not escaping, you willing) *L,* **sik'ahch' XAdla:Ga'ya:Linh** he's running away from me *L,* **Lidah sik'ahch' XAdla:'ya:k'inh** he's always (cust) running away from me *L,* **'ich' qu'XAdli:xyah** I'll run to you *L,* **sita:s 'Ash qu'XAdli:'yinhinh** he'll run by past me *L,* **sida:X 'Ash XAdla:sa'yahL**, **sita:s XAdla:sa'yahL** he ran by past me *L,* **sida:X 'Ash q'e' XAdla:sdi'yahLinh** he ran by me again *L,* **sili'dAX XAdla:sa'yahL** he ran right by behind me *L,* **sili'dAX da:X XAdla:sa'yahL** he ran across behind me *L,* **da:n' XAdla:sa'yahLinh** he ran up against something; he got into trouble *M,* **siX XAdla:sa'yahL** he ran by me, touching, brushing, glancing against me *M,* **ya:X XAdla:sa'yahL** it ran along glancing by something *L,* **guXa:X XAdla:sa'yahL** it ran by glancing a stump *L,* **shdu:lihGda:X XAdla:sa'yahL** it ran by glancing a table *L,* **'uyAq' 'Ash XAdla:sa'yahL** it ran through it *L (see also Xdl-'ya 2.), with yAX-perambulative or 'reversal of motion':* **yAX XAdla:da'ya:Xinh** he's running around *L,* **lisdAqa'X yAX XAdla:da'ya:Xinh** he's running around amongst the trees *L,* **'Awya'X yAX XAdla:da'ya:X** it (e.g. rat) is running around in it (bowl, canoe, pot) *L,* **q'e:yAX qu'XAdla:xda'yah** I'll run back *L,* **q'e:yAX XAdla:xsdi'yahL** I ran back *L,* **q'e:yAXAch' q'e' XAdla:GAxda'ya:L** I'm running back again *L,* **'iLya' yAX XAdla:sdi'yahLinh** he ran back and forth *M, with qa' 'up out',* S run up out, S run away, escape: **qa' XAdla:Ga'ya'** run away! *M ("doesn't sound good" L),* **q'e' qa' XAdla:sdi'yahL** he escaped home (running) *23.100A,* **'Awya' qa' XAdla:sa'yahLinh** she escaped (running) into it (canoe) *25.45A,* **'u:ch' qa' XAdla:sa'yahLinh** he ran up thither *50.54, 57A,* **qa' XAdla:Ga'ya:L** it was running up (out of water onto skerry) *50.60A,* **qa' qu'XAdli:xyah** I'll run away *M,* **qa' qu'XAdli:'yinhinh** he'll run away *M,* **qa:nch' XAdla:GAxya:L** I'm running away *M,* **qa:nch' XAdla:Ga'ya:Linh** he's running away *M,* **qa' XAdla:si'yahL** I ran away *M,* **qa' XAdla:sa'yahLinh** he ran away *M,* **qa' XAdla:sa'yahL** he escaped (e.g. from jail) *L,* **XAtl'di:'q'ch'ahd qa' XAdla:sa'yahLinh** he escaped from jail *L,* **'AdiXich'ahd qa' XAdla:sa'yahLinh** he escaped from inside (house) *L,* **Le't'ya'ch'ahd qa' XAdla:sa'yahL** it escaped from box *L,* **dA'u:d qa' XAdla:li'yinhinh** alright let him run away *L; indirect reflexive:* **'Ad'e'ch' q'e' qu'XAdla:xda'yah** I'll run back home *M, indirect reciprocal (note irregular, perhaps incorrect, use for pl. S, see also Xdl-'ya 2.):* **'iLda' XAdla:sdi'yahLinu:** they ran head-on into each other *L. Transitive (causative):* **'a'q' XAdla:GALyin'inh** run him out! *M,* **'a'q'**

'iqe'XAdli:xLyah I'll run you out *M,* **'a'q' XAdla:siLyahLinh** I ran him out *M,* **'a'q'shunh XAdla:sALyahL** did you run him out? *M,* **qa' XAdla:GALyin'inh** run him away! *M ("doesn't sound good" L),* **qä' 'iqe'XAdli:xLyah** I'll run you away *M.*

2. sg. (? also pl.) S (missile, vehicle) move, *attested only with 'Ash 'by, past' (cf. -'ya 30.)*: **'uyAq' 'Ash XAdla:sa'yahL** it (arrow, d-class) went clear through it *L,* **ch'iyahdAlAlu' 'Ash XAdla:sa'yahL** it (bullet) went clear through the hat *L; indirect reciprocal (cf. indirect recipocal under Xdl-'ya 1.):* **XahdL 'iLda:X 'Ash XAdla:sdi'yahLinu:** two cars (d-class, or people in cars) glanced by each other *L.*

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yAX XAdla:'ya:X *(gerundive of Xdl-'ya 1. with perambulative)* running (about): **yAX XAdla:'ya:X xusALga'L** I'm tired of running around < running about has tired me *L.*

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'i-'-Xdl-'ya sg. S (running) catch up to or pull away from another running being: *with o-ka:X 'catching up to o':* **sika:X 'i'XAdla:sa'yahL** he caught up to me (running) *LM,* **'anhka:X 'i'XAdla:sa'yahL** caught up to her *37a.13L,* **'ika:XAch' 'i'XAdla:GAxya:L** I'm catching up to you *L,* **'uka:XAch' 'i'XAdli'xyah da:X** just as I was beginning to catch up with him *L (Active conditional)*; **siXahd 'i'XAdla:sa'yahLinh** he's pulled away from me (gotten further ahead of me, running) *L.*

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'i-'-d-'ya *(semitransitive? with 'i-indeterminate O, uncertain, perhaps y-'ya, q.v., see also -'ya 1b(2).)* S fall behind or catch up to other moving object: **'a'd 'u'ihch' da: yAGa'ya:L** we're falling a lot further and further behind it *L (thus transcribed, perhaps to be corrected to 'i'Ga'ya:L).*

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o-**X 'i-'-d-'ya** *(semitransitive? with 'i-indeterminate O, d-thematic, and o-X 'in contact with o') with tl'eh 'cold, chill' only attested S*, o catch S (cold, chill): **tl'eh siX 'i'qe'di:'yah** I'll catch a cold *L,* **tl'eh siX 'i'dAGa'ya:L** I'm catching cold *L,* **tl'ehsh 'iX 'i'dAGa'ya:L** are you catching cold? *L,* **tl'eh siX 'i'dAsa'yahL** I caught a cold *L,* I got a chill *M,* **tl'eh siX 'i'di:'yahL** I have a cold, chill, beginnig of a cold *L (Neuter perfective)*; **siX 'i'dAsa'yahLinh** "*sounds like* somebody came by me in a boat" *M (see -'ya 1b(2).).*

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'i:lih-'ya *(with 'i:lih- 'state of mind')* 1. *With o-ch'a:X 'movement in direction towards o, helping o*, S be on o's side, in favor of, for o: **shich'a:Xsh 'i:lih'i:'yahL** are you on my side, for me? *L,* **'ich'a:X 'i:lih'ixi'yahL** I'm on your side, I'm for you *L (Neuter perfectives).*

2. *With o-ch'ahd 'from o'*, S give o good luck, reward o *(see also k'uch'ahd 'i:lihsa'yahL)*: **'ich'ahd qe:lihxyah** I'll give you good luck, reward you *(shaman might say) L,* **xi:l sich'ahd 'i:lihsa'yahL** the shaman gave me good luck *L,* **sich'ahd k'ud 'i:lihsa'yahL** something gave me good luck *L (with k'u-indefinite as o of o-d, translating as S, probably incorrect, to be corrected to k'u:lihsa'yahL),* **sich'ahd 'i:lihsa'yahL** I got good luck from it *L,* **tl'anhkih k'a' k'uch'ahd 'i:lihyi'yah k'a'** would that something be lucky *10.124A,* **'Aw yehs q'Aw 'uch'ahd 'i:lihsa'yahL** the loon it was gave him good luck, rewarded him *27b.57A,* **'uch'ahd 'Aw 'i:lihsa'yahLinh** that gave him good luck *45a.13L.*

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2b. *With o-ch'ahd and yAX 'downward' (see -'ya 32.)*, S be disappointed in, let down by o: **'uch'ahd 'i:lihsi'yahL** I'm disappointed in it (expected a bigger share) *L.*

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3. *With o-Xa' 'by, in (intimate) relation with o', and ya' 'completely, to a state of rest' (see -'ya 22., o-Xa' k'u-L-'ya)*, S be disappointed in, by o: **'uXa' ya' 'i:lihsi'yahLinh** I was

disappointed by her *L.*

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k'uch'ahd 'i:lihsa'yahL *(noun, unclassified)* amulet, good-luck charm *L*: *Galushia Nelson* gùt'cátìlìsà'ìyàtł *or* gùt'cátìlìsà'yàtł 'good-luck charm or amulet' *BSdL 551. Nominalized Active perfective of 'i-lih-'ya 2.*

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'Ad-'i:lih-LA-'ya *(reflexive of causative transitive of 'i:lih-'ya)* S think: 1. *with o-'a:n' 'coming upon o (see -'ya 9.)* S think of o, remember o, o occur to, come to S in thought: **'u'a:n' 'Adi:lihxsLi'yahL** I thought of it, it came to me (thinking, trying to remember) *L,* **didu'X 'u'a:n' 'Adi:lihxsLi'yahL** I almost had it (it came to the tip of my tongue) *L,* **dik' 'u'a:n' 'Adi:lihxsLa'yahLG** I couldn't think of it (hit upon it) *L,* **'Aw'a:n' 'Adi:lihsLi'yahLinh** it (finally, belatedly) occured to him, her *1b.3M, 19.32L,* **'u'a:nch' 'Adi:lihGAxLa'ya:L** it's coming to me (trying to remember) *L,* **'u'a:n' da: 'Adi:lihGALa'yah da:X** when we thought of it *51.30, 32A.*

2. *With o-q' 'on o'*, S think about, upon o *(? poetic)*: **dA'wAX q'e' qa:q' 'Adi:lihLa'ya:k'** He (God) continues to think upon us *70.4A.*

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3. *With perambulative*, S think, ponder, consider, *frequently with o-lah 'about o'*: *Active imperfective:* **'Awlah yAX 'Adi:lihLa'ya:Xinh** he thought about it *1a.5M,* **'Awlah yAX 'Adi:lihLa'ya:X** he was thinking about it *1b.3M, 37b.17A,* he thought about it *7.9A,* **'Awlah yAX 'Adi:lihLa'ya:X k'e:dunh 'Aw qe'Lih** he (Raven) was thinking about how he was going to get at it *11.6A,* **'anh qe'L sahdX yAX 'Adi:lihLa'ya:X di:yAX "ya'xu:" 'Awtl' dAGAle:LG da:X** the woman thought a long time before she said "No" to it *34.47L,* **yAX 'Adi:lihxLa'ya:X** *(not *'Ad yAX 'i:lih-)* I'm thinking *LM,* **'ulah yAX 'Adi:lihxLa'ya:X** I'm thinking about it *M,* **'ilah yAX 'Adi:lihxLa'ya:X** I'm thinking about you *L,* **dik' 'ulah 'Adi:lihxLa'ya:G** I'm not thinking about it *L (probably to be corrected to -ya:XG),* **'ilah yAX 'Adk'u:lihLa'ya:X** someone's thinking about you *LM,* **si'ehd-lah q'e:yAX 'Adi:lihxLa'ya:X** I'm thinking about my wife again *L,* **dik' 'ulah q'e:yAX 'Adi:lihxLa'ya:XG** I'm not thinking about her anymore *L,* **k'usha:dah yAX 'Adi:lihLa'ya:Xinh** he's thinking evil, angry things *L,* **dik' dAk'e:duh yAX 'Adi:lihLa'ya:XG** he didn't think anything (amiss about it) *31.5L, Inceptive imperfective:* **'ulah yAX 'Adqe:lihxLa'ya:** *L,* **'ulah yAX 'Adqe:lihxLa'yah** I'll think about it, I'll think it over *LM,* **dik' 'ulah 'Adqe:lihxLa'ya:G** I won't think about it *L;* **silah yAX 'Adk'u'qe:lihLa'yah** (*or* ? **'Adk'uqe:lih-**) someone will think about me *L,* **'ilah yAX 'Adk'u'qe:lihLa'yah** someone will think about you *M,* **'ilah yAX q'e' 'Adk'u'qe:lihLa'yah** someone will think about you again *M,* **silahsh yAX 'Adqe:lihLa'yah** will you think about me? *L,* **ya'Xu: 'ulah yAX 'Adqe:lihLa'yah** don't think about it *L,* **ya'Xu 'ulah da: q'e:yAX 'Adqe:lihLa'yah** let's not think about it anymore *L,* **'ilah yAX 'Adi:lihqu'xLa'yah** I'll think about you *M (uncertain, probably to be corrected to 'Adqe:lihxLa'yah), Active perfective:* **wAX q'unhAw 'Adi:lihsLi'yahL** thus he thought *7.10A,* **'ulah yAX 'Adi:lihxsLi'yahL** I thought about it *L, Inceptive perfective:* **silah q'e:yAX 'Adi:lihGALa'ya:Linh** he's starting to think about me again *L, Active imperative:* **'ulah yAX 'Adi:lihLa'ye:** *L, 17.8M,* **'ulah yAX 'Adi:lih'ALa'ye:** *(L prefers former, M latter)* think about it! *LM, Active optative:* **'ulah da: yAX 'Adi:lihLi'yah** *M,* **'ulah da: yAX 'Adi:lih'iLi'yah** let's think about it *L,* **'ulah da: q'e:yAX 'Adi:lih'iLi'yah** (*or* **-ya:**, *or, less correct,* **'Adi:lihLi-**) let's think about it some more *L,* **'AlAshgahX silah yAX 'Adi:lih'iLi'yinhinh** I hope he's thinking about me *M,* **'a'd k'a:di'da: 'ulah q'e:yAX 'Adi:lih'ixLi'yah** I'll never think about it anymore *M,* **dik' 'AnahshAkih 'uXe'xle:G 'ulah yAX 'Adi:lih'ixLi'yah** I don't like to think about it *L, Active subjunctive:* **dik' 'ulah yAX 'Adi:lih'AxLa'ya:X 'ixle:G** I don't want to think about it *M, customary (Active imperfective):* **'Awlah yAX 'Adi:lihLa'ya:k'inh, dALich'a'** he keeps thinking about it, all the time *24.33A,* **'ida'ya:lAX Lich' yAX 'Adi:lih'iLi'ya:k'inh** he's always thinking too much *L.*

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yAX ’Adi:lihya:X *(gerundive of preceding)* thinking: **yAX ’Adi:lihya:X xuGALga’L** I'm getting tired of thinking < thinking is tiring me *L.*

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l-L-’ya *(with l-thematic, see also 'Ad-LA-'ya)* (animate) S be, become old: **li’Lya’** get old! *L,* **qu’li:xLyah** I'll get old *L,* **qu’li:Lyinhinh** he'll grow old *LM,* **lAGAxLya:L** I'm getting old *L,* **’i:nsiLyahL, lisiLyahL** I'm old, I got old *LM,* **lAsALyahL** you're old *M, Anonymous* Инсытльятль 'Старикъ' ('old man') **’i:nsALyahL**, **lAsALyahLinh** he's old, he got old *L,* **’AwlAX dAtli: ’i:nsALyahLinu:** they're already too old for (to do) that *65.79A,* **’ida’ya:lAX k’e:’shunh ’i:nsALyahL** perhaps he got too old (died perhaps of old age) *24.88, 89A,* **’ida’ya:lAX lAsALyahL** got too old, died of old age *25.155A,* **dA’a: ’i:nsALyahLlehd** because he was old *51.17A,* **’a:nd da: ’i:nsALyahL** we've grown old here *62.12G, frequently relativized:* **’i:nsALyahLinh qe’L** old lady *3.17, 4.2, 11, 14M, 71.22LM,* **’i:nsALyahLinu: Lila:’GAyu:** old men *28.128A, or nominalized:* **’i:nsALyahLinh** an old person *11.30, 51.12, 15, 18, 25.5, 60.24, 26A,* **’i:nsALyahLinhla’mahd** some kind of berry (not salmonberry) *M,* **’i:nsALyahLinhya’ la’mahd** yellow salmonberries < old person's berries *L,* **’i:nsALyahLinhXu:nLAyah** sweet corn (maize) < old person's teeth *G (in Harrington).*

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li:Lya:q’ta:’ *(personal name) very old shaman in 1910, Old Man Dude's father or grandfather L. A etymologizes li:Lya:G-, which might well be thematic negative 'does not age', except that prefix vowel -i:- is problematical.*

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la’yah *(noun, unclassified)* old age: **la’yahyAXa’ sa’yahLinh** she succumbed to old age *25.156A.? Deverbalization of l-L-'ya.*

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L-’ya S (in container) be, get in position *(see also Eyak Texts 65.25fn)*: **’u:d sALyahL** it (in container) is (has gotten) there *L, with class-marks for S:* **dAsALyahL** they (e.g. eggs in container) are (got) in position *L,* **di:LyahL** they (e.g. eggs in container) are in position *L (Neuter perfective),* **gAlAsALyahL** it (e.g bucket of water, bottle of whiskey) is (got) in position *M,* **lAXAsALyahL** they (berries in e.g. bucket) are (got) in position *M, Active imperfective in customary or ethical sense:* **’u:d lAXALyah** it (bucket of berries) belongs there *L,* **dik’ ’u:d lAXALyahG** it (bucket of berries) doesn't belong there, that's not its proper place *L. Transitive (causative):* S handle, position O (in container)*:* **’Al sdiye’sL ’iLya’** take this potlach food (in container, somewhere)! *L, with ya' 'completely, to a state of rest': Rezanov* Удиятлия 'Поставь stellen, hinlegen (Imperat.)' **’u:d ya’ ’ALya’** set it there!, Яатлиеу 'Поставить stellen, hinlegen' **ya’ ’ALye:…uh** set it (in place)!, *see also ya:', with ya:n' 'down':* **’Aw ye’s ya:n’ sALyahL** he set the potlatch-food (in container) down *55.17L,* **’ixa’dAXa’ ya:n’ siLyahL** I set it down where you could reach it to eat (by your eating-range) *L, with o-ch' 'to o':* **’Aw ye’s ’uXa’ ’uch’ ’iLyin’inh** take that potlatch-food of his to him (in container)! *55.8L,* **sahx sich’ ’ALya’** give me (a bucket of) cockles! *L,* **GAsu’ sich’ ’ALya’** give me (a container full of) dry-salmon! *L,* **XAsha:nch’ ’ALya’** move it (? in container) closer! *M,* **k’uch’ ’ALya’** give it (pot of stew) away (to someone)! *L,* **k’uch’ qu’xLyah** I'll give it away *L,* **k’uch’ siLyahL** I gave it away *L, with o-k'ah 'away from o':* **’ixa’dAk’ah siLyahL** I took it away from you while you were eating it *L,* **sixa’dAk’ah ’Aw sALyahLinh** he took it away from me while I was eating it < he took it away from my eating-range *L,* **sisa’dAk’ah ’Aw sALyahLinh** he took it (cigarette, i.e. tobacco in container) out of my mouth *L, with class-marks for O:* **giyah sich’ gAli:Lya’** bring me water! *11.108A,* **sich’ gAli:Lya’** give me it (a vessel of water, salt, grease, butter)! *LM,* **k’Ayi:ny gu:na: sich’ gAli:Lya’** give me a different one (drink)! *L,* **sich’ gAlAGALya’** give me it (container of grease)! *M,* **Xe: ’ich’ qu’gAlixLyah** *(not -ya:)* I'll give you grease (in container) *M,* **dik’ Xe:**

'ich' qu'gAli:xLya:G *(not -yahG)* I won't bring you grease (in container) *M,* **sich' gAlAsALyahLinh** he gave me it (container of grease) *M,* **'Aw giyah 'anhda' gu:nsALyahLinh** he brought her the water *11.120A, 34.82L,* **'ahnu:ch' 'Aw gu:nsALyahLinh, 'Aw kus** he gave it to them, the urine (in container) *33.49A,* **sich' gAlAGALya:Linh** he's bringing me it (container of grease) *M,* **q'e' gu:siLyahL** I found it (vessel of liquid) *L, customary (indistinguishable from cust of O-L-ya:' 'S handle pl. O, O several times', see ya:'):* **'Aw ya' gAli:Lya:k'** he (cust) sets it (bowl of urine) *33.12A,* **'ahnu:ch' 'anh 'Aw gAli:Lya:k'** he (cust) give it (bowl of urine) to them *33.16A,* **'Aw kus 'ahnu:ch' lahdz 'Aw gAli:Lya:k'** he (cust) brings the urine (in bowl) forward to them *33.37A,* **sich' lAXa:Lya'** *L,* **sich' lAXi:Lya'** bring me them (berries in bucket)! *M, Active imperfective in customary or ethical sense:* **dik' 'u:d lAxLyahG** that's not where I keep them (hats in box) *L,* **sich' li:Lya'** give me them (fishheads in bucket)! *L,* **sich' lAXAdi:Lya'** give me them (snowballs in bucket)! *L,* **sich' XAdi:Lya'** give me them (box of matches)! *L,* **sich' dli:Lya'** give me them (box of buttons)! *L,* **sich' di:Lya'** give me them (basket of eggs)! *L,* **sich' gAdi:Lya'** give me it (grass in container)! *L; with perambulative:* **yAX 'Ala'ye:** carry them around (in container)! *L,* **yAX 'Aw La'ya:Xinh** he's carrying it around (in container) *L,* **dik' yAX qu'xLa'yahG** I won't carry them around (in container) *L,* **yAX gu:La'ya:Xinh** he's carrying container of liquid around *LM,* **da: yAX gAla:Li'yah** let's carry it (vessel of liquid) around *M,* **yAX gAla:La'ya', yAX gAla:La'ye:** carry it (vessel of liquid) around! *M,* **yAX lAXa:La'ye:** carry it (container of berries) around! *M; passive:* **GAlAxtah da:X ya:nu' xusLi'yahL** I was buried alive < I was living and I was put underground in a container *L,* **'u:da' xusLi'yahL** I was taken there in a container *L,* **'u:da' lAXAsLi'yahL, 'u:da' lAXAsdi'yahL** they (berries in container) were brought there *L,* **sich' lAXAsdi'yahL** they (berries in container) were given to me *M,* **k'uch' qu'lAXAda'yah** they (berries in container) will be given to someone *M.*

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'ut'e'ts'G ya'X k'uda'ya:k' *(noun, probably unclassified)* removable handle for lifting tub or vat in cannery *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective customary with o-t'e'ts'-G 'by means of o as handle, grip' and ya'X 'up',* < with it as handle, by gripping it something in container is (cust) lifted.

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o-**q'** O-**d-L-'ya** *(with qu' 'fire' as overt or implied o of o-q' 'on o', requiring d-thematic 'fire, bright')* S set O (in container) on, over fire: **qu'q' dAGALya'** put it (pot of anything) over the fire! *L, with class-marks for O:* **dAwa'dga' qu'q' k'ugAdla:GALya'** hurry put pot (of something liquid) on the fire! *M,* **qu'q' lAXAdla:sALyahLinh** he put a pot of berries over the fire *L;* **qu'q'Ak'ah dAGALya'** take it (pot of anything) off the fire! *L;* **'Awq'Ak'ah lAXAdla:sALyahLinh** he took it (pot of berries) off it (fire) *L.*

(y)a *(stem form unique in that -y- initial is deleted immediately following L- classifier, L- classifier remains as such. With (d)A- classifier present, -y- remains. Gerund is -ya:l. In Active imperative e-shift as usual, optionally, -L-e:, presumably -LA-ye:. Stem almost certainly related to -ya:' of L-ya:' referring to plural acts, a special persistive of L-(y)a. The theme L-(y)a is classificatory, semantically related to (L)-ta and (L)-'a, in that it replaces these when subject of intransitive or object of transitive (causative) is inanimate plural instead of singular, in basic classificatory themes, though not in other derived themes with those same stems. Note, however, directive O-'-(l-)L-(y)a, parallel to O-'-(l-)(L-)ta 'move part of O'.)*

L-(y)a 1. pl. inanimate be in position: *with unclassified S: Active perfective:* **sALahL** they (pots, pans) are in position *M,* **qAsALahL** they (dogs, people) are in position *(= -tu'ch'L) M,* **'u:d sALahL** they (sticks) lie there *L,* **'i:ndzi'd sALahL** they (things) are sitting in the front of the boat *L,* **la'da:d sALahL Le't'** two boxes there *L,* **'iLda:d sALahL** they're near each other *L,*

Neuter perfective: **la'da:d 'iLdahd 'iLiyahL** two boxes together there *L, with class-mark for S: Active perfective:* **qi:lAsALahL** it (rope) is in position *(plurality is semantic trait of 'rope', even singular) M,* **lAXAsALahL** they (apples) are in position *M,* **dla:sALahL** they (stones) are in position *M,* **lAsALahL** they (hammers) are in position *M,* **q'Ama: 'u:d lAsALahL** kidneys lie there *L,* **la'(d)da:d dAsALahL yahd** two houses there *L, Neuter perfective:* **la'dda:d 'iLdahd diLiyahL yahd** two houses together there *L, Active imperfective usitative:* **'u:dshAw lALah** is that where they (hats) belong? *L,* **dik' 'u:d lALahG** that's not where they (hats) belong *L. Transitive (causative):* handle, move, place pl. inanimate O: *Walker and Strange* Atlok 'One more, give me more' *to be read* **'ALa'** give them! *(cf. O-ta, but cf. also Chugach alla(q) 'another'), with unclassified O: with ya:n' 'down': Inceptive imperative:* **'Aw Le'LGch'ahd 'uq' ya:n' k'uGALa'** put some of those down-feathers down on it! *21b.58A,* **ya:n' GALa'** set things down! *M,* **'idah ya:n' GALe'** pick things up!, arrange them! *M, Inceptive imperfective:* **ya:n' qu'xLah** I'll set them down *M,* **'idah ya:n' qu'xLah** I'll pick things up, arrange them *M, Active perfective:* **ya:n' siLahL** I set them down *M,* **'idah ya:n' siLahL** I picked things up, arranged them *M, with ya'X 'upwards': Active imperative:* **'Aw ch'iyahd ya: da:X 'Aw k'udA'uhdgyu: ya'X 'ALa'** pick up those eggs and hats! *(with mixed noun classes, here l- and d-, result is no class mark) L, with o-t'a'- 'under o's clothing, in o's pocket', frequently with zero prefix: Active imperative:* **t'a' 'ALAya:'** (*or* **'ALAya:**) put them in your pocket! *L,* **dA'u:d 'it'a'd ya' 'ALe:** keep them in your pocket! *L, Inceptive perfective:* **t'a'ch' 'Aw GALAya:Linh** he's putting them in his pocket (in one motion) *L, Active perfective:* **t'a' xsLiyahL** I put them in my pocket *L, with o-ch' 'toward o': 'i-imperative:* **sich' 'iLa'** give them to me! *M, Active imperative:* **sich' 'ALa'** give them to me! *LM, 27b.3A, Walker* Chitlo 'give me more', *Strange* Chitlo 'More, give me more' *to be read* [**shi**]**ch' 'ALa'** give me them! *(cf. O-ta),* **k'uch' 'ALah** give them away! *L,* **ch'id la'dih sich' 'ALa'** give me just, at most, at least two! *L, Inceptive imperfective: 37b.31A,* **'Al la'dih 'Awa: lAXch' qu'xLah** I'll give you these two of them *10.72A,* **k'uch' qu'xLah** I'll give them away *LM, Active perfective: 27b.4A, 37b.74A,* **k'uch' siLahL** I gave them away *L, 37b.49A,* **sich' 'Aw q'e' sALahLinh** he gave them back to me *L, with various other preverbs and postpositional phrases: 'i-imperative:* **'ahnu: 'iyahshGAyAquhGAyu: 'iLa'** take those offspring of yours! *20.76A, Inceptive imperative: 21a.23L, 25.185A,* **k'uyAXa' GALi'inu:** send them away! *L,* **siyAXa' GALa'** lend them to me! *L,* **'iyAda' GALa'** carry them (e.g. sticks) on your inside forearm *L,* **sdikusLyu: 'AdiX GALa:' q'e' GAda'li'ts'LGdAwa:** bring in laundry, before it gets wet again! *L,* **we:shgXAdAla'd GALa'** hang (pl.) fish on stick! *L,* **AlAk'ah GALa' da:X 'Axut'** take them (blankets, covers) off (the bed) and shake them! *L, Active imperative: 11.86A,* **k'udAGAdiya'Lda:q' ya' 'ALe:** set them on the drying-rack! *24.23A,* **Gu'L siq'Ak'ah 'ALa'** take blankets off me! *M,* **La'g 'AdiXich' 'ALa'** bring in wood (in one trip)! *M,* **ya'd qa:nch' 'ALa'** rinse them (all in one batch)! *M, Inceptive imperfective: 9.17A, 15.7M, 65.28, 38, 39, 52, 54, 55, 56, 67A,* **'Ad'e'ch' da: qu'wALah** we'll take them home *15.12M,* **'iyAXa' qu'xLah** I'll lend them to you *L,* **'u:da' qu'xLah** I'll carry pups over there *L,* **Xi:dAla'd qu'xLah** I'll hang them up there *M,* **'a:nd dAla'd qu'xLah** I'll hang it (them) here *L,* **'Aw yAX qa'LAyinhinh** he'll carry those around *L,* **lAXqa'X qu'xLah** I'll pass them around amongst you pl. *L, Inceptive perfective:* **'ahnu:qa'X 'Aw GALa:Linh** he's giving each a share *L, Active perfective: 2a.34fnM, 9.54, 106, 108, 112, 109, 125, 134, 150, 10.68, 73, 74, 80, 144, 24.24, 25.196, 28.84, 88, 37b.72A, 45a.12L, 46.23, 47b.39M, 47c.25L, 50.18, 76, 77A, 59.9 Galushia Nelson,* **'Awqa:' lAG sALahLinu:, qe'yiLtehtse'** they took some of it up from shore, whalemeat *10.40A,* **du:yu:dA'ahnu: 'Al 'a:nd xa'dAwahd xsLiyahLyu:, 'Aw ya:X 'Ale:gk'** who are they that have been eating up these things which I keep here for myself to eat? *10.82A,* **'AXAyu: XAtsiya'd sALahL** there were boats down at shore *25.20A,* **'Al dAXunhyu:ts'Alih 'uLa'ch'yAq'd sALahL** these people's bones were in its stomach *28.85A,* **k'uyAXa' siLahLinu:** I sent them away! *L,* **dAkinh 'u:dAXyu: qAsALahL** (individual) sticks are scattered all over there *L,* **k'uyAq' siLahL** I put them in something *(not k'uyAq'Ach') L,* **'uqa:'yu: 'Awa: dA'u:d siLahL** I left some of them there *L,* **'Awya' q'e' siLahL** I put them back in there *L,* **'Aw ya:yu: lu:**

sALahL things are all switched, changed around *L,* **'Aw Le't'ya'd sALahL** they (things) are in the box *L,* **ta'd qa' siLahL** I rinsed them *L,* **q'e' siLahL** I found them (e.g. deck of cards, pups, bunch of fish, pair of shoes) *L, Inceptive subjunctive:* **'Awya' GAxLah da:X** when I've put them in them (jars) *65.25, 25, 25A, Active subjunctive:* **dAqa:yu: LinhGih XAtl' 'u:d ya' 'AxLah da:X** sometimes when I've left them there for one night *65.13A, customary:* **Li'q' Li:dAwa: La'g 'Awa: 'ALa:k'inh** every morning he brings in wood (on trip) *M,* **'u:d 'AxLa:k'** I (cust) leave them there *L, with perambulative: Active imperfective:* **yAX 'Aw LAya:Xinh** he's carrying them around *L,* **Li'q' ya:yu: yAX LAya:Xinh** he's carrying all the things around with him *M, Active optative:* **kAwusgLyu: da:X Li'q' ya:yu: k'uqu'wAshe:ch'Lwahd k'ut'a' 'ixiLt'ehyu:dAg siq' yä' 'i:Lah** set on top of me paddles and also everything that I use for hunting *47b.12M,* **da: yAX 'iLiyah** let's carry them around *M, customary:* **'Aw Xe:ya'ch' 'Aw 'ALya:k'** he is putting them up in sealoil *10.143A,* **yAX LAya:k'inh** he (cust) carries them around *L, indirect reciprocal: Inceptive imperative:* **'iGuhd 'iLdahd GALa'** put your knees together! *L,* **'iLyAq' yAX GALa'** pile (glasses) one inside the other! *L,* **'iLt'a' GALa'** pick them up! *L,* stick them up (sheets of paper)! < put them one behind the other! *M,* **'iLq' qa' GALa'** pile them up! *M,* **LinhGda:d 'iLt'a' GALa'** pile it up in one place! *L,* **'iLqa:X GALa'** put it here and there (in piles)! *M,* **sitl' 'iLd GALa'** split it with me! *M,* **'iLya'd qa' GALa'** take them (telescoped glasses) apart! *L,* **'iLi:X GALa'** put them together! *L, Active imperative:* **'iLk'ah 'ALa'** push them apart! *L,* **'iLt'a'd 'ALa'uh** hang them up! *L, Inceptive imperfective: 65.[41], 41, 42, 50, 52, 59A,* **'Al te'ya' 'Awa: dAwa'd 'iLt'a'd da: qa'Lah** as for these salmon right away we're going to hang them up *21b.39A,* **'iLt'a'd qu'xLah** I'll hang them up (fish, clothes on line, hooks) *M,* **'iLt'a' qu'xLah** I'll gather them up *M,* **'iL[d] da: qa'Lah** we'll share, split food *M, Inceptive perfective:* **'iLqa'ch' GAxLa:L** I'm mixing them together *L,* **'iLt'a'ch' GAxLa:L** I'm setting them up in row *L, Active perfective: 25.188, 33.44A, 37b.75, 76A,* **'udAt'a:Xd 'Adqu'li:ta'LdAt'a:XAch'a' 'Aw 'iLt'a'd sALahL** they hung them up in the curing-house *37b.73A,* **'iL[d] da: sALahL** we shared it (food) *M,* **'iLt'a' siLahL** I gathered them (sticks) together *LM,* **'iLch' k'usLiyahLinu:** they gave each other something *(not -LahL) L,* **'iLch' ya:yu: sALahLinu:** they gave each other things *L, Bill* **da:X** *Jack* **'iLch' k'usLiyahLinu:** *Bill* and *Jack* gave each other things *L,* **'iLch'a:q'd qAsALahL** they're lined up *L,* **'iLch'a:q'(d) qAsiLahL** I lined them up *L,* **'iLt'a'd siLahL** I hung them (clothes) up *L,* **'iLq' siLahL** I put them one on top of the other *L,* **'iLd 'Aw sALahLinh** he split, shared it (including food) *L,* **ya:'a:gdAX 'iLd 'Aw sALahLinu:** they divided it (fabric, food) in half *L, Neuter perfective:* **Li'q' ya:yu: qi' 'iLt'a'd 'i:LahL** a place where all sorts of goods were hanging *11.157A,* **Li'q' k'utse' 'iLt'a'd 'i:LahL** she had all that meat hanging up *27a.42L,* **'iLqa:X 'Aw 'i:LahL** clothes are spread around *L,* **'iLqa:X qi:LahL** everything is misplaced and jumbled up helter-skelter *L,* **'iLch'a:q' qALiyahL** they're all lined up in a row *L,* **'iLt'a' 'ixiLahL** I've set them in row *L, Inceptive subjunctive:* **'iLq'Ach' qa' Gi:Lah da:X** when you've stacked them up on top of each other *65.62A, passive: Inceptive imperfective:* **k'uch' qu'dAyah** they'll be given away *M,* **dAXAla'X li' qu'dAyah** they'll be hung up (e.g. on a nail) *L, Active perfective: 10.41, 11.197, 199, 28.121A,* **da:d k'usLiyahL** where some things have been left *9.144A,* **Xi:d qi' wAX k'u:t'ehch' sLiyahL** they (pieces) had been left yonder at where people were staying *11.200A,* **ya:n' sLiyahL** they've been set down *M,* **siyAXa' sLiyahL** they've been lent to me *L,* **k'uch' sLiyahL**, **k'uch' sdiyahL** they've been given away *L,* **k'uch' sdiyahL** they (e.g. pots, pans) have been given away *M,* **ta'd qa' sLiyahL** (*or* **sdiyahL**) they've been rinsed *L,* **qa'X 'Aw ya' sLiyahLinu:** it got passed around (so each had a share) *M,* **'iLda:d sLiyahL** they've been put near each other *L,* **'iLch'a:q' qAsdiyahL** (*or* **qAsLiyahL**) they've been lined up in a row *L. With class-mark for O: with ya'X 'upwards': Active imperative:* **ya'X ti:li:La'** (*or* **ti:la:La'**) pick them (skins) up! *L,* **ya'X XAdi:La'** (*or* **XAda:La'**) pick them (matches) up! *L, Active optative:* **ya'Xk'a' XAda:liLah** (*or* **XAda:yiLah**) pick them (matches) up! *L, desideratives:* **ya'X dAGAxLa:X** *(or* **di:x-**, *former preferred)* **sitl' dAlinhinh** he told me to pick them up *L,* **'Aw ya'X dAGAlAXLa:X** (*also* **da:-lAX-** *or* **di'-lAX-**, *but not* ***di:-lAX-**) **lAXtl' dAxleh** I told you pl. to pick them up *L,* **'Aw ya'X di'xLa:X sitl' dAlinhinh** he

told me to pick them up *L, with o-t'a- 'under o's clothing, in o's pocket', frequently with zero o because indirect reflexive: Active imperative:* **t'a'd qa' dAGALAya'** take it (money) out of your pocket! *L, Active perfective:* **sit'a'X lah disiLahL** I put them (eggs) in my shirt (above belt, usual way to carry eggs) (in circle) *L, with o-ch' 'toward o': 'i-imperative:* **sich' di:La'** give me them (e.g. fishtails, digging-sticks, shovels, clamshells, eggs, frying pans, guitars, spoons, wood made into useful objects, knives, arrows)! *(sg. -ta') L,* **t'ik'L sich' di:La'** give me arrows! *L,* **dla:XA'i:nd sich' dli:La'** give me buttons! *L,* **tsa: sich' dli:La'** give me rocks, stones! *L,* **sich' ti:li:La'** give me rhubarb or skins! *L,* **k'utah sich' ti:li:La'** give me skins! *L,* **tl'ihX sich' gAdi:La'** give me (a pile of) grass! *L,* **da:XAdidja'g sich' XAdi:La'** give me matches! *L,* **k'uXehL sich' qi:li:La'** give me a pile of rope, ropes *L,* **sich' li:La'** give them (e.g. hammers, rotten fishheads) to me! *L,* **sich' lAXi:La'** give me some (berries)! *M,* **chi:shg sich' lAXi:La'** give me some sand! *L,* **sich' lAXAdi:La'** give me them (snowballs)! *L,* **duh sich' qi:dli:La'** give me (a pile of) hose-kelp! *L, Active imperative:* **'Aw Ge:ts' sich' gu:La'** give me those spruceroots! *L,* **sich' lAXa:La'** give me some (berries)! *L,* **chi:shg sich' lAXa:La'** give me some sand! *L,* **sich' q'e' lAXi:La'** give me more (berries)! *M,* **k'Ayi:nygAqa:' sich'** (*or* **sida'**) **gu:La'** (*or* **guGALa'**) bring me some others (spruceroots)! *L, Inceptive imperative:* **sich' q'e:yAX qi:lAGALa'** give me them (ropes) back! *M,* **la'mahd sich' lAXAGALa'** give me some berries! *M, Inceptive imperfective: 10.111, 114A,* **'uch' 'Aw qu'di:xLinhinh 'a:nda' Gah da:X** I'll give them to him when he comes here *M,* **'uch' 'Aw qu'di:xLinhinh GAxsinh da:X** I'll give them to him when I die *M,* **ya:'a:gdAX 'ich' qu'di:xLah** I'll give you half (my money) *L,* **la'mahd 'ich' qu'lAXi:xLah** I'll give you some berries *M,* **dik' la'mahd 'ich' qu'lAXi:xLa:G** I won't give you any berries *M, Inceptive perfective:* **la'mahd sich' lAXAGALa:L** he's giving me some berries *M, Active perfective:* **t'uhLga' ti:na: GALAtsitl'tah 'anhch' ti:nsALahLinh** he gave her three land-otter-skins *33.84A,* **la'mahd sich' lAXAsALahLinh** he gave me some berries *M, Active optative:* **la'mahd 'uch' da: lAXa:nyiLinhinh** let's give him some berries *M, with various other preverbs and postpositional phrases: Inceptive imperative:* **'Aw la'X yAX dAGALa'** cover it up (with e.g. boards)! *L, Active imperative: 24.22A,* **Xi:d qi' GAdisdiGu'Lda:d ya' di:Le:** set them over there at where it's warm! *24.21A, Inceptive imperfective:* **di:ya' 'uq' qu'gAli:xLah** I'll salt it (food) *L,* **XAdAGd da:X qu'di:xLah** I'll set up a fish-rack < I'll set them (**d**-class) across (?), in contact with indeterminate o (?) up above *L, Inceptive perfective:* **dAkinh yAqa:nch' dAGAxLa:L** I'm piling up sticks *(not *yAqa'ch') L, Active perfective: 25.177A, 33.46, 47A,* **'Aw 'uq'Ats' qa' 'Adqi:disLiyahL** he put both his feet on it (e.g. a footstool) *L,* **q'e' lAXAsiLAhL** I found pl. round objects (shells, berries) *L,* **q'e' qi:siLahL** I found it (a rope) *L,* **'iLyAtl'e:q'd q'e' 'AdyisLiyahLinu:** they shook hands again *L, Neuter perfective:* **da:na: 'iyAXa' dixiLahL** I lent you money *L,* **da:na: 'uyAXa' dixiLahL** I have some money on loan to him *L, with perambulative: Active imperfective:* **yAX lAXALAya:Xinh** he's carrying them (berries) around *M,* **yAX qi:lALAya:Xinh** he's carrying it (rope) around *M, indirect reciprocal: 'i-imperative:* **'iLqa:nch' di'La'** stack them up (logs)! *M, Inceptive imperative:* **'iLqa'k'ah lAXAGALa'** separate them (berries) out, unmix them (berries)! *L,* **'iLya'd qa' xuyAGALa:'** try to open my hand (pl. fingers)! *L, Inceptive perfective:* **'iLqa:nch' dAGuxLa:L** I'm piling them (sticks) up *M,* **'iLqa'ch'** (*or* **'iLqa:nch'**) **lAXAGAxLa:L** I'm mixing berries *L,* **'iLq' qa:nch' dAGAxLa:L** I'm stacking them (boards) *L, Active perfective:* **'iLqa' lAXAsiLahL** I mixed them (berries) *L,* **'iLqa' lAXAsLiyahL** they (berries) are mixed *L, Neuter perfective:* **'iLqa' lAXAsLiyahL** they (berries) are mixed together *L; passive: Active perfective:* **'iLk'inhda:d XAdisLiyahL** they (sticks) have been put in separate place from each other *L.*

2. *With perambulative and k'u- indefinite as O,* trap: *Active perfective:* **k'usiLahL** I set a trap *L, with perambulative: Active imperfective:* **yAX k'uxLAya:X** I'm trapping *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **yAX k'uqu'xLAyah** I'll go trapping *L.*

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3. o-**yAq'(d) k'u-lX-L-(y)a** load o (gun) < put something berry-like into o (gun): *Inceptive imperative:* **'uyAq' k'ulAXAGALa:'** load it (gun)! *L; passive: Neuter perfective:*

’uyAq’d k’ulAXAdiyahL gun is loaded *L.*

,

O-’-(l-)L-(y)a *(directive of O-L-(y)a; basic meaning 'move part of pl. O (O intact but articulated or articulatable)') attested with 'iLch' 'toward each other',* fold pl. O: *Active perfective:* **’iLch’ ’u’lisiLahL** I folded them *L (cf. 'iLch' 'u'qa:ditahL 'they're folded' L).*

,

’Aya:l *(gerund)* carrying: **’u:ch’ ’Aya:l xuGALga’L** I'm getting tired of carrying them thither *L.*

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qi’ k’u:LAyahd *(place-name) two canyons on Point Reclus* < at where some things are kept *L.*

,

’iLd ’iLiyahL *(place-name) Sister Islands, south of Head Island, near Yakutat* < placed apart *G (Harrington) (possibly calque of Tlingit).*

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XAdAGd ku:ndAGALa:L *(noun)* cocktail glasses, goblets < their thickest part is at the top *L. Nominalized Inceptive perfective.*

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-Xu:nLAyah *(noun)* tooth, teeth *(also of comb, also 'rungs' of ladder)* < teeth have been placed. *Active imperfective usitative, passive, relativized and converted to possessed noun.*

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ta:sGALah *(noun)* belt *37b.30, 60A. < ?, cf. o-ta:s 'across over o', subject like rope.*

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ts’u:dALah *(personal name) Minnie Johnson (at Yakutat) LMA. Active imperfective. Cf. ts'u: 'woman's breast', but -dA-?.*

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XAdAG dALAyah *(noun)* fish-drying rack < they (d-class?) are put up above *L. Active imperfective usitative passive relativized, maybe relativized or nominalized.*

,

’uq’Ach’ k’uqi:dALAyah *(noun)* footstool < one's feet are onto it with repeated motion *L. Active imperfective usitative passive relativized.*

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qihda:q’ lAXALAyah *(noun)* cranberry species (Vaccinium oxycoccos) < they (berry-like) are on meadow *A. Relativization.*

,

di:ya’ ’uya’d gulALah *(noun)* saltwater *L. Active imperfective relativized.*

,

Xe:ya’ disLiyahL k’udA’uhdg *(deverbalization)* eggs preserved in sealoil for winter *L. Active perfective relativized.*

,

XAdAGAya’L *(deverbalization)* fish-drying rack *L, with XA-dAG 'area above'.*

,

k’udAGAdiya’L *(deverbalization)* rack (boards) above fire, ca. 8' high, for smoking fish *L*: **k’udAGAdiya’Lda:q’ ya’ ’ALe:** set them on the drying-rack! *24.23A.*

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la'X dAya'L *(deverbalization)* necklace *LA, with la'X 'down over head'. dA- must be noun class marker, or dA- classifier (or -'L) erroneous, but cf. next, with dl-.*

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(**kAwu:d**) **la'X lAXAdla:ya'L** *(deverbalization)* bead necklace < O-**lXdl-L-(y)a** put series of **lX**-class (berry-like) O *21a.36, 37L.*

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'uyAq'(**Ach'**) **k'uya'L** *(deverbalization)* container < something (e.g. box) to put, stove things in *(e.g. meat) L.*

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XAdla:sLi('?)**yahL** Basket Pattern 6., *see under 'ya.*

ya:1 *(see a:~ya:)*

ya:2 *(see also 'Aya:, ya:X1, ya:X3, q'a:dya:g)*

ya: *(indefinite pronoun, often, where referring to non-humans, with suffixed -yu: 'plural', and where referring to humans, unique in taking umlaut in verbal suffixed -inh 'singular', -inu: 'plural')* 1a. *(never with suffix)* something, a thing: *11.162, 49.51A,* **de: ya:dA'Aw** what is that thing? *L,* **ya:X XAdla:sa'yahL** it ran by glancing against something *L,* **ya:X sa'yahL** it came into contact with something *L; asyntactic, frequently serving as vocalized pause,* something-or-other, whatchamacallit, uh, er *(cf. 'Aya:, 'a:2): 7.28, 9.51, 166, 10.24, 48, 115, 117, 203, 206, 227, 230, 11.10, 28.48, 79, 33.22, 36.10, 18, 58.48, 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:q'Ach'ahd tsin'dAlinhinh** he brags about his possessions *L,* **ya:yu:q'Ach'ahd** plenty of clothes *L,* **ya:yu:lu'qa: da: 'i:'a'ch'** let's go get some things, some stuff *L,* **ya:yu:li'd** way in back of some goods *L,* **ya:-yu:-xah 'Ad-LA-le** S undress, *frequent in* (**dA**)**Li'q' ya:yu:** everything, all sorts of things, (**dA**)**Li'q' 'Al ya:yu:** all these things, **Li'q' 'Aw ya:yu:** all those things, *see Li'q' under Li~Li'; adverbialized with -dah,* (**dA**)**Li'q' ya:yu:dah** all sorts of things, just about everything (happens): *9.64, 102, 102, 11.140A.*

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1c. *(as head of construction with o, locative, or certain temporal adverbs as attribute, frequently itself as attribute in larger nominal phrase)* one (which, who): **k'udAda'd ya:** the one on top *L,* **GALda'd ya:** the topmost one *L,* **'udAGg yi:nhinu:** people upland of them *68.82A,* **Xi:d XAdAGd yi:nhinu:** yonder uplanders *68.81A,* **GALdAGd ya:** the uppermost one *L,* **'utl' yi:nhinh** his companion, partner *23.7A,* **sitl' yi:nhinh** my companion, partner *LM,* o-**tl' yi:nhinu:** companions *6.1, 5, 8, 10M, 11.180A, 19.6L, 25.111A, 37.21, 55.3L, Rezanov* Сыатлеэнъ 'Невѣстка Schwägerin' **si'ehdtl'** (**si'ahdtl'**?) **yi:nhinh** my wife's (my maternal aunt's?) companion, **'Awtl' ya: 'Aw 'u'sALXa'Linh** he made do with it (makeshift) < he made it serve as a thing which is with it *M,* **GALsinhd ya:** the one hidden behind *L,* **'uch'ahd ya: k'uLa'ch'luwyu: q'A'Aw** that's where big stomachs are from < big stomachs are (a thing) from that *14.6L,* **da:ch'ahd ya:dA'Aw** where is that (a thing) from? *L, 43.28M,* o-**ch'a:ch' yi:nhinh** he who is next (in rank, age) to o *(see o-ch'-a: 3b. under ch')*, o-**L-ch'a:-d ya:** the one on the o side *(see o-L-ch'-a:- under ch')*, **siwa:Lch'a:d yi:nhinh** the next oldest one after me *L,* **qa:qa' yi:nhinu:** people who are (incidentally or well-established) amongst us *L,* **GALqa'd ya:** the one in between *L,* **'uqa'X yi:nhinu:** 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:n~qa:),* **'uqa'X yi:nhinu: k'udAshAche'L** some of them are hungry *L,* **'uqa'X yi:nhinu: 'Awa: 'iqAginhinu:** some of them are dancing *L,* **'uqa'X yi:nhinu: 'Awa: k'ushdishehL** some of them got killed *L,* **'uqa'X ya:yu: 'Awa: yAX qAsAkugL** some of them broke *L,* **'Aqa'X ya:yu: 'Awa: yAX qAshichich'L** I broke some of them *L,* **siqa:' yi:nhinu: q'A'ahnu:** they're my own people *L,* **'itl'a:na'q'd yi:nhinu:** people on

a mountain, mountain-dwellers *M,* **k'Ayi:ny 'anhq' yi:nhinu:** people in another country *28.133A,* **yAX dAqehXq' ya:** the one on the bottom *L,* **'Aw qihda:q' ya: xitl'** meadow-snow < the snow which is on the meadow *51.46A,* **dALa'q'd ya: tsAtl'** siding < outer board *L (see o-la'- 4d. under la'~na'),* **tsi'yuxXa' ya:** mosquito-bar, cheesecloth < one which is for mosquitos *L,* **giyahgAlAXa' ya:** boots < things for water *L,* o-**wah ya:** makings of, raw material for, potential o *(see o-wah under wah1)*, **la'dih XAlahsd ya: 'uXu:nLAyah** his two front teeth *L,* **XAli'd ya:** the one, the thing way in back, way downstream *L,* **GALli'd ya:** the backmost, innermost one *L,* o-**lah ya:** -**Le(')** S (be a thing which) concern o, is o's business, be fault of o *(see o-lah 2c. under la~na2)*, **ya:nu'd ya:** underwater thing *11.106, 116A, Rezanov* Уехтея 'Бѣлокъ яичной Eiweiss' **'uyAq'd ya:** the thing inside it, **te'ya'yAq'd ya:** fish-innards *60.6A,* **yAXAya:** mattress *(see under yAX3)*, **'AwyAXd ya:** the one below it *L,* **GALyAXd ya:** the lowest one *L,* **XAyAXd ya:** lower storey *L,* **'AldALyAXd ya: xwah** last summer < the summer which is the one before this *69.5A,* **qa:dALyAX yi:nhinu:** our ancestors (predecessors) *L,* **sidALyAXd yi:nhinh** the person in front of me *L,* o-**'ih-d yi:nhinh (yi:nhinu:)** the person(s) behind o, **GAL-'ih-d ya:** last (of a series), end (see 'ih1), **'Aw ya:'a:gd ya: sich' 'Ata'** give me the middle one! *L; with locatives as attribute:* **XAdAGu:d ya: 'uXu:nLAyah** his upper teeth *L,* **XAyAXu:d ya: 'Aw 'u'sALXa'Linh** he did a odd one underneath to fill the pile out < he made it serve as a thing which is underneath *M,* **'u:d yi:nhinh** the person there *L,* **'u:d yi:nhinu:** people (who are incidentally or established) there *L,* **'Aw 'u:d ya:dAGd** above that thing (which is) there *L,* **Xi:d yi:nhinh** the person way over there *L,* **'anh 'a:nd yi:nhinh** this person here *L,* **'a:ndAX yi:nhinu:** people around here, locals *L, see also* **dA'u:dAX-ya:-** *below; with certain temporal adverbs as attribute:* **ta:dz ya:** old times, old-time one *12.1, 62.12, 14G,* **'Al 'ishta: ya: GAlAta:l** these old-time ways of life *61.33A,* **'ishta: yi:nhinu:** *L,* **ta:dz yi:nhinu:** old-time people *L, 39.1, 66.1L,* **'ahnu: ne:tl'da:X yi:nhinu:** those first (original) people *68.18A,* **'anh ne:tl'da:X yi:nhinh 'u'ehd** his first wife *10.174A, 47c.55, 48.8L,* **dAtli: sahdX ya: yahd** old house < a house which is one for a long time already *L,* **q'a:l yi:nhinu: sAqe:GAyu:** present-day children *68.75, 77A, see also 4. below.*

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1d. meal, meal-time: **Li:dAwa: ya:** breakfast < morning one *L,* **ge:li'a:g ya:** lunch < noon one *L,* **ge:lA'a:g ya:da' Ga:nsa'yahL** it's noon, lunch-time *L,* **ge:li'a:g ya: LAqa:'** noon (lunch) siren blows *L.*

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1e. *(with numeral as attribute)* -th one: **'Al q'Adits'i:n ya: gah** the eighth day *49.45A,* **'Aw t'uhLga' ya: 'u:da' da: sAqehL** on the third (day) we arrived (boating) there *59.6 Galushia Nelson.*

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2. *(as o of certain postpositions) with idiomatic meaning, generally 'area':* a. *(as o of o-q' 'on o') ya:-q' (postpositional phrases, attested with zero, -d, -dAX, -ch', and -ch'ahd finals)* sky, heavens, firmament: *with zero final:* **ya:q' qa' sahLinh** he went up into the sky *L, perhaps also in Wrangell* Я-а 'Himmel'*, in compound* **ya:q'Atsa:** some kind of lucky stone < sky-stone *L; with -d final, '(at rest) in the sky, in Heaven':* **ya:q'd** in the sky *61.9A,* **qih ya:q' k'uGALe'L** the cloud are clearing < a clearing is forming in the sky *L, nominalized: Galushia Nelson* ya·qt *BSdL 537,* ya·kt *BSdL 537, 558* **ya:q'd** sky *M, with -dAX final:* **dja:q' ya:q'dAX yAX dAla:X** a certain constellation < a bullhead is moving about in the sky *L, with -ch' final:* **ya:q'Ach' ['Awtl'] qAdAsALk'a't'L** he (Raven) flew up into the sky with them *2a.19M,* **'anh qe'L'Akihtl' ya:q'Ach' q'e' shdi'a'ch'Linh** he went back to the sky with the girl *34.72M,* **'anh qe'L'Akihtl' ya:q'Ach' q'e' sdiyahL** he went back to the sky with the girl *34.75M,* **ya:q'Ach' 'i:nL'an'** look at the sky! *M, with -ch'ahd final:* **ya:q'Ach'ahd ya:n' sahL** it came down from the sky *L.*

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2b. *(as o of o-qa' 'amongst o')* **ya:-qa'** *(preverb)* away*, see under qa'~qa:n~qa:.*

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2c. *(as o of o-li'-d '(at rest in, nominalization of) closed back (from open front) of o')* **ya:-li'-d** back room, sleeping room, *see o-li' 1f.*

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2d. *(as o of o-da:- 'near o', with preverb qi' 'place where, time when' as attribute)* **qi'ya:da:d** someplace, anyplace (indefinite), **qi'ya:da:X** sometime, anytime (indefinite), *see under qi', o-da:- 1., 2e. under da:3.*

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2e. *With other irregular or uncertain meanings in* **ya:-t'a'-X tsin'd-le** S whisper *(see o-t'a' 5. under t'a'~, tsin'd-le 3.)*, **ya:-xah** removal of clothes *(see xah, -le 15.).*

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2f. *(with gl-class-mark, 'liquid')* body of water: **ya:gu:na'q'** on (the surface of a body of) water *11.162A,* **ya:gu:na'q'd** out in salt water *L,* **k'ut'u' ya:gAlAta:s dAGAxLk'a't' da:X** when I fly over many bodies of water *34.38L,* **ya: gAlAxGahG** I peck at water *L,* **ya: GAlAGahG** snipe.

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2g. *(with Gl-thematic, 'ground')* **ya:GAlA'a:gd** in the middle on the ground *30.3, 5L.*

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3. *(with suffixed adjectives of negative valence, cf. k'u-indefinite pronominal prefix with adjectives of POS valence) see dik' 'short', tsidz, djidj 'narrow', kuts'~ 'small', gut' 'tiny', luhd~ 'few'.*

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4. *Written as compound but identification of ya: fairly clear: see* **q'a:-ya:** new < recent thing *(under q'ah~),* **dA-q'A-da'-ya:** old *(under q'ah~), less certain in* **'i-da'-ya:-lAX** too much, excessively, more than the desirable or tolerable, **'i-da'-ya:-'u'X** too little, insufficient, less than, short of the desirable or tolerable *(under 'i1, da'6, lAX-, 'u'X).*

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5. *Identification uncertain, probably with -d interrogative enclitic, with 'Ashdih 'whereabouts unknown, questionable, unconcerned, I don't know' as attribute*: **'Ashdih ya:d** I don't know, *see 'Ashdih.*

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6. *Possible element in analysis of* **ya:djilah** rainbow, *see djilah.*

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7. *Seemingly as preverb, uncertain and not clearly verified, attested in two themes only*: **'uch' ya: sdi'yahL** it's wedged in, stuck to it < it (a thing?) has been caused to be situated towards it *L; Rezanov* Какъауяслиятленна 'Раздѣлить theilen' **qa'X 'Aw ya: sLiyahLinu:** they passed it around < they distributed a thing (?) amongst themselves *M, Rezanov* Какъ-ояляхлиау 'Раздѣли theilen (Imperat.)' **qa'X 'Aw ya: 'AlAXLya:'?, qa'X 'Aw ya: 'AlAXLya:'uh** pl. pass it around so each has a share! *M (see o-qa' 5. under qa'~qa:n~qa:; perhaps in error for ya:n').*

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ya:ta:s 'i:'ah *(place-name) Point Manby* < it extends across a thing *A XIV.41, A XV.1.*

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dA'u:dAX-ya:- *(indefinite pronoun, with locative dA-'u:-dAX 'right along there' as attribute)* something, anything, someone, anyone, *always with suffix:* 1a. *with umlauting suffix -inu: 'plural human' (rare?)*: **dA'u:dAX yi:nhinu:** some people, any people *11.173A.*

1b. *With umlauting suffix -inh 'singular human', and adjectival suffix -kih 'diminutive', with unique phological development ya:-inh-kih > yi:nhinh-kih > yi:nkih*: **dA'u:dAXyi:nkih** someone, anyone, somebody, anybody *11.172, 185, 186A, 15.13, 34.4, 45b.2M, 71.16LM, frequent in negative constructions:* **dik' dA'u:dAXyi:nkih 'Aw 'u:la'Lga:G** nobody knew it *2a.9, 33M,* **dik' 'AnahshAkih 'AwXe'le:Ginh dA'u:dAXyi:nkih 'uda' 'i:yah** he didn't like it

that anybody should get to her *2b.3L,* **k'ude:dah dA'u:dAXyi:nkih 'uch' di:le:k'Ginh** noone could answer him *3.2M,* **dik' dA'u:dAXyi:nkihlAX 'isL'anhLGinh (q'unh)** he didn't see anyone *45b.5M,* she didn't see anyone *46.12M.*

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1c. *With suffix -kih 'diminutive'*: **dA'u:dAXya:kih** something, anything, **dA'u:dAXya:kih 'u:dAX qid 'ALtsinhdg** throw some things down there *15.11M, in negative constructions:* **dik' dA'u:dAXya:kih qi' 'AstahLG** nothing was there *7.42A,* there was nothing there *10.50A,* **dik' [dA]'u:dAXya:kih'a:n' 'AsahLGXa'** because he didn't find anything *9.9A,* **dik', dik' dA'u:dAXya:kih** no, there's nothing (left) *10.147A,* **hanh q'a:l dik' dA'u:dAXya:kih qa:Xa' 'AstahL[G]** goodness now there's nothing left of ours *11.32A,* **dik' dA'u:dAXya:kih 'a:ndG** there's nothing here *15.8, 14M,* **dik' dA'u:dAXya:kihdahd 'u'lAxwstahLG** I didn't hear anything *15.18M,* **dik' dA'u:dAXya:kih da:la'xLXa:G** I don't have anything *23.15A,* **dik' dA'u:dAXya:kihlAX 'isL'anhLGinh** he didn't see anything *45a.5A.*

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2. *As 1c., adverbialized with -dah*: **dA'u:dAXya:kihdah** something (substantial, significant) happening, accomplished *34.11, 47b.10M, 61.99A.*

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ya:-kih-dah *(preverbialized adverb, ya: 'something' with -kih 'diminutive',? 'little favor', adverbialized with -dah)* payment: *see -le 10.*

ya:gda:d *(loan from Tlingit ya:gwda:d, meaning not clear, but not likely from Eyak di:ya'guda'd 'mouth/outlet of saltwater')*

ya:gda:d *(place-name) (variants:* **ya:gAda:d** *28.16A,* **ya:kAda:d**, **ya:kAta:d** *(English influence) 12.32fn, 32.1A,* **ya:Gda:d**, **ya:Gwda:d** *62.2, 3G) Yakutat L, 69.21A.*

ya:gAte:γi *(loan from Tlingit yαgwteγi~yαgwdeγi)*

ya:gAte:γi *(place-name) (no longer known to the Cordova Eyaks) Yakataga. Galushia Nelson* yɛkutɛγuwi *BSdL 545.*

ya:guh *(loan from Russian Яков)*

ya:guh *(personal name) man in A's story Text 51.*: *51.38, 38fn, 40, 42, 64, 64, 77, 78, 94A.*

ya:X1 *(perhaps to be identified with ya:X2 and/or ya:X3, and/or related to ya'4, either < o-y-X 'in contact with, by means of o's hand' with deleted reflexive o, or similarly o-ya'-X '(movement with)in o with broad opening at top' with -X final thematized and expanded stem)*

o-**ya:X** *(postposition) (always with zero (-X?) final; usually requiring shift of zero to L-, dA- to LA-classifier in verb, cf. o-X; attested with nouns, pronouns, deverbalizations and verbal clauses as o; verbal clause as o frequently in customary, though not necessarily cust in meaning)* avoiding, preventing, warding off o; lest … 1. *with no shift of classifier in main clause (perhaps incorrect)*: **'i:Liq'AXya:X dik' xan'Lq' k'uXa:Ginh** lest he get fat he's not eating much *L,* **siya:X 'u:ch'ahd sahLinh** he left there, avoiding me *L.*

2. *Attested without main verb or with main verb already with LA-classifier*: *subordinated verb customary:* **'Aw qAmAXch'LdA'e' 'a:k'ya:X** lest he walk into a hole in the ice *L,* **dAche:k'ya:X** lest he hunger *L,* **yAX 'ALts'i:nt'k'ya:X** lest it sink *L,* **xuli:gu:k'k'ya:X** so he won't punch me *L,* **xu:she:k'ya:X 'uya:X 'Adla:xsLi'ehL** I stole away from him lest he kill me *A; subordinated verb not customary:* **ki:nXya:X** so she won't cry, lest she cry *L,* **da: ya' dla:dAquhya:X** lest we run short of food *L,* **q'e' k'uxdAlahya:X** so I won't drink anymore *L,*

k'udAlahya:X lest there be drinking *L,* **dALAGi:nq'shgya:X 'a'Le:** fix it from squeaking! *L; with deverbalizations or pronouns as o:* **lits'ya:X** to prevent dampness *L,* **'uya:X 'Adu'xsLilahL** I saved myself from it *L,* **siya:X 'Adla:sLi'ehLinh** he hid from me *L,* **ya'Xu: siya:X qu'guLAdah** don't be scared off by me *L,* **siya:X gusLidahL** it ran away from me, scared *L,* **siya:X GALAda:L** it (duck) is swimming away from me, scared *L,* **'uya:X GALAwitl'** dodge it! *LM,* **'uya:X xsLiwitl'L** I dodged it *MA.*

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3. *With main verb showing shift of classifier*: **k'u:yya:X siLqehL** I boated to a place protected from the wind *L,* **'uya:X siLahLinh** I avoided (went avoiding) him *L,* **siya:X sALahLinh** he avoided me *L,* **'uya:X GALi:n'inh** avoid him! *L,* **'iLya:X yAX LA'a'ch'Xinu:** they're (going about) avoiding each other *L.*

ya:X2 *(perhaps to be identified with ya:X1 and/or ya:X3)*

ya:X *(preverb) (always with zero (-X?) final)* 1. total destruction, consumption: a. *requiring X-thematic in verb (perhaps 'plural actions' and/or resegmentation, ya:X ... > ya:X-... > ya:X X-...)*: *see O-X-siyu~ 'S kill pl. O', O-X-ch'u' 'S steal O',* **ya:X qu'Xi:xLtsAX** I'll cut it to bits *L,* **ya:X qu'Xi:xxihs** I'll rip it to shreds *L,* **ya:X XAsi'AdzL** I speared them all *L.*

1b. *With themes with Xdl-thematic attested as such without ya:X, but perhaps originally with d- or dl-thematic 'fire' combined with X-thematic arising from resegmentation*: *see Xdl-shuh 'S (fire) go out' (and causative), O-Xdl-L-xu'tl' 'S blow O (fire) out', Xdl-q'a 'S burn up' (and causative), here also yAX Xdl-q'a, perhaps reduced, see yAX 3. (yAX4).*

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1c. *With verb with X-thematic well-established without ya:X*: *see O-X-a 'S eat O'.*

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1d. *With verb without X-thematic*: **ya:X** O-**le'g~** S devour, eat O all up, *see O-le'g~ 2.;* **ya:X GAxwLna't'gL** I'm licking it up *15.15M.*

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2. *See also ya:X 1a., 1b. under ya:X3.*

ya:X3 *(miscellaneous and uncertain in origin and identification, perhaps all to be analyzed ya:-X with ya: as o of o-X 'by means of, in contact with o', and/or o-y-X 'by means of, in contact with o's hand' with deleted reflexive o)*

ya:X 1. *(preverb)* a. *(probably o-y-X with deleted reflexive o, requiring vocalized LA-classifier)*: *see ya:X O-LA-she 'S beat up O badly', ya:X O-LA-kinhd 'S swipe O'.*

1b. *(perhaps ya:-X here 'something coming into existence', see o-X 1e.)* dirty, messed-up: **chi'shdug ya:X sALe'L** goodness, it (my new blanket) got all messed up with something *L.*

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1c. *(perhaps ya:-X here 'aware of something, favor', see o-X 1c.)* beholden?: o-**Xa' ya:X 'Ad-'-LA-le(')** S appreciate o's favor, be beholden to o.

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2. *Origin, classification, and meaning unknown:* a. **dAXu'ya:X** right, true, certain, *see dA-Xu' 2. under Xu'2.*

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2b. **ya:X-tl'A-qa'~** upside-down, *see under qa'~qa:n~qa:, o-X.*

ya:XdAlig

ya:XdAlig *(place-name) bay north of Middle Arm L.*

ya:wt'a:dishah *(probably from Tlingit)*

ya:wt'a:dishah *(place-name) Icy Bay L XIII.36. (Cf. wa:ts'e:ya'd~ya:ts'e'ya'd.)*

ya:(n) *(occurring in preverbs ya:nAX, ya:nahd, ya:nu', perhaps also ya:nah, to be analyzed ya:n-X, ya:-nahd, ya:-nu', and ya:-nah respectively, the retention of initial -n- of -nahd-, -nu', and -nah to be attributed to a preceding nasal element blocking the development of -n- to -l-, probably the same nasal element as in ya:nAX; perhaps a stem or set of prefixes of earlier from *yAnA-, perhaps to be identified with yl-thematic, or perhaps related to ya:n', see also yAna:' to which ya:(n) is probably related; meaning clearly 'down, ground, floor, bottom')*

ya:nAX *(preverb) (ya:n- as o of o-X 'in contact with o')* (fixed) on, in contact with ground, floor: **ya:nAX diLit'its'L** it (board) is frozen to the ground *L,* **ya:nAX qi:Lit'its'L** it (rope) is frozen to the ground *L,* **ya:nAX 'iLigAXts'L** it (linoleum) is glued to the floor *L,* **ya:nAX diLigAXts'L** it (board) is glued to the floor *L,* **ya:nAX dAGAxLk'uwahdjL** I'm nailing it (board) to the floor *L,* **ya:nAX 'idik'uwahdjL** it's nailed to the floor *L.*

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ya:nu' *(preverb) (ya:(n)- as o of o-lu'~-nu' 'through (hole in) o', attested with zero, -d, -ch', and -ch'ahd finals)* underground, underwater, *see under lu'~nu'.*

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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.*

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ya:nah *(noun, unclassified) (perhaps ya:(n)-nah-G)* Ahtna Indian, *see -nah-G under la~na1.*

yah

yah *(noun, unclassified)* girl at menarche: **yah sALe'Linh** she's attained puberty < she became menarcheal *L (uncertain, usage not free, but L in any case confident of analysis of following), with -G- personal and -yu: 'plural':* **yahGAyu:** pubescent girls, girls having their first menstruation *L, Galushia Nelson* yá'qɛ̀iyù 'adolescent girl' *BSdL 542,* yá'qɛ̀iyu' yà' yàt 'girl's puberty shelter or cave' *BSdL 546* **yahGAyu:ya' yahd** menarcheal girls' house.

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yahGAyu:ya' 'a:n' *(place-name) small creek near old [seaplane?] hangar at Cordova, on Eyak Lake* < menarcheal girls' river *L (cf. qe'LGAyu:ya' 'a:n).*

yahd1 *(perhaps to be identified with yahd2, or perhaps loan from Tlingit wád 'measure of length of outstretched arms' (W. Soboleff); see discussion under subentry yahd below; cf. also Yupik əyagtuq 'extends arm')*

yahd *(noun, unclassified)* yard *(unit of measure) L*: **LinhGih 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' of Tlingit wàd 'portion' ???.*

,

O-**'-yahd** S measure O: *with qi:l-class-mark for O:* **'u'qi:li:yahd** measure it (rope)! *L,* **'u'qi:lAGAxyahdL** I'm measuring it (a long rope) < I'm in the process of measuring it,

measuring it along *L,* **'u'qi:lAxyahd** I'm measuring it (a short rope) *L,* **'u'qi:nsiyahdL** I measured it (rope) *L, with perambulative:* **yAX 'u'dAyahd, yAX 'a'dAyahd** *(latter probably incorrect)* measure it (in various directions)! *L,* **yAX q'e' 'u'GAdAyahd, q'e:yAX 'u'GAdAyahd** measure it again! *L,* **yAX qu'xdAyahd** I'll measure it *L,* **yAX 'u'dAyahdXinh** he's measuring it *L,* **yAX 'u'xsdiyahdL** I measured it *L,* **'Aw yAX sdiyahLinh** he measured it *M (L rejects non-semitransitive form), with d-class-mark for O:* **'Aw yahd yAX 'u'disdiyahdLinh** he measured the house *L; passive:* **'u'sdiyahdL** it's been measured (for one dimension only) *L,* **yAX 'u'sdiyahdL** it's measured (in various directions) *L.*

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'u'sdiyahdL *(noun, unclassified)* yardgoods *L. Nominalized passive Active perfective,* < it's been measured (for one dimension).

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yAX k'u'dAyahdXinu: *(noun, unclassified)* surveyors *L. Nominalized Active imperfective with perambulative,* < they measure something (in various directions).

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'uX yAX k'u'dAyahdX *(noun, unclassified?)* measuring-stick *L. As above, passive,* < by means of it something is measured (in various directions).

yahd2 *(perhaps to be identified with yahd1)*

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* Я 'Лавка Bude', Яттъ 'Юрта ('tent, hut') Jurte (Zelt)', *Anonymous* Ятъ 'Барабара или шалашъ' ('barabara or hut'), *Furuhjelm* Iatt 'house', *Galushia Nelson* yat 'house' *BSdL 545, 557, 557, 557, 557, 557, 558,* yatɛiyu 'houses' *BSdL 558* **yahd(d)Ayu:**, k'ətə'lu yat 'big house' *BSdL 553* **k'uda'luw yahd, yahdda'luw** big house *LM,* **yahdda'luwdAt'a:X**(-) in(to) a big house *L, 20.26, 29.56, 49.11A,* **yahddAt'a:Xd** in a big house *L, 20.26A, 52.221, 57.5fnG, Galushia Nelson* yat ɒɛ'ɒa·xɛtc 'potlatch at new house' *BSdL 552* **yahddAt'a:X 'ehdz** potlatch in house, yá'tɒà·kt *(said slowly)*, yά'ɒàkt *(said fast)* 'roof' *BSdL 545* **yahdda:q'(d)** on top of a house, roof *L, 25.129A, 42.21L, 49.71A,* **yahdda:q' yAX da:X, yahdda:q'dAX yAX da:X** it's walking about on the roof *L,* **yahd 'u:d dAsA'ahL** *(perhaps also* **-tahL***, but former much preferred)* a house is there *L, as O of Xa:n' O-L-i 'S build a house' see -le 18. under le~,* **'Aw t'uhLga' da: yahddAlah Ga:'** go around those three houses! *M,* **k'Ayi:ny da: yahd** a different house *L,* **q'a:dAya: yahd** a new house *L,* **dAtli: sahdX ya: yahd, dAq'Ada'ya: yahd** an old house *L,* **yahdsh da'li:LXah** do you own a house? *L,* **'Aw yahd 'u'dla:xiLgah** I know that house *L,* **'Aw yahddAlah Li'q' k'u'lixiLgah** I know everything about that house *L,* **yahddA'e:X 'uXa' xu'di:Lqe'dXinh** he asked me about his house *L,* **'Aw yahd k'udAshiyah** that house is no good *L,* **yahd'i:nda'd** upper portion of front (gable) of house *M,* **yahddAq'a'da:q'dAX yAX da:X** it's walking about on the roof-corner *L,* **la'd da: 'iLdahd diLiyahL yahd** two houses (placed) against each other, double house *L,* **'Aw yahd xu: disixa:gL** *I* worked on that house *L,* **yahd ya:n' dla:sAxut'L** a work tumbled over *L,* **yahd dAsAq'ahL** a house is on fire *L,* **'Aw yahd yAX 'u'disdiyahdLinh** he measured the house *L,* **'Aw yahd 'udAyAq' 'iGi:'lih** that house, its interior is big *L,* **yahddA'a:w** long house, cannery *L,* **yahddA'a:wdAyAq'd** in a cannery *L; Galushia Nelson* t'cílàcia ya' yat 'Old Raven's House' *BSdL 259, 545* **Ch'i:lehshiyahya' yahd,** yá'qèiyu' yà' yàt 'girl's puberty shelter or cave' *BSdL 546* **yahGAyu:ya' yahd** menarcheal girls' house; *as head of compounds:* **ts'isa:yahd** tent < canvas-house *L, 47e.21L,* **ts'isa:yahddAt'a:XAch'ahd** from inside a tent *32.29A,* **ts'isa:yahd'i:ndzinhG** *A,* **ts'isa:yahdya' dla:GAshk'L** tent-poles *L,* **Le:sk'Ayahd** log cabin *L,* **k'utahyahd** skin-house *M,* **qahdlAyahd** bark-house, *name of potlatch house at Eyak Village, Mile 5 L, Galushia Nelson* qatɬiya ɒət'a·χ̣təlaqɛiyu 'Bark House People' *BSdL 544* **qahdlAyahddAt'a:XdAlahGAyu:** those living in Bark-House, *see discussion under qahdl,*

Galushia Nelson tá’ùx̣tsà yàt *or* táùx̣tsà yàt 'Raven House, Gravina Bay' *BSdL 545* **ta’xts’Ayahd** ta'xts'-house *68.14, 14A,* potlatch-house at Bering River *L, see discussion under ta'xts',* **tl’e:yu’yahd** hemlock-house *68.15A, Galushia Nelson* tsítɬqài yàt 'Eagle House, Alaganik ("bed house") *BSdL 545* **djiLqahyahd** Chilkat House *or* **djiLqahya’d** Chilkat, Bering River, nax̣ək yàt 'Raven House, Alaganik ("gouse-house") *BSdL 545* **na:XAgyahd,** qát’sùlì yàt 'Eagle House, Eyak' ("skeleton-house") *BSdL 545* **qa:ts’Alihyahd** < our bones-house, t’cí·là yàt 'Raven House, Eyak ("raven-house")', 'Raven potlatch house' *BSdL 545* **Ch’i:lehyahd,** ɢútcɢàlàq yàt 'Eagle potlatch house' *BSdL 545* **gu:djgAlAGyahd** eagle-house *L, as head of compound with postpositional phrase:* **k’uq’Ayahd, qa:q’Ayahd** grave-house *(small type over grave)* < house on someone, house on us, humans *L,* **LanhdAyAXAyahd** smokehouse < under-smoke house *18.10L.*

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Lich’a:ch’ yahd *(noun)* lean-to < one-sided house *L, attested from Galushia Nelson* łìt’cá·t’c yàt *or* łìtcá·t’c yàt 'hunter's lean-to' *BSdL 545.*

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k’u:nda’ch’ gah yahd *(noun)* church < prayer-house *LM, 70.10, 11A.*

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O-**L-yahd** S make O (house): **GALyahd** make a house, tent! *L,* **qu’xLyahd** I'll make a house *L,* **’u:d q’Aw da: k’uLyahd** that's where we have our village, houses, camp *L (Active imperfective).*

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qi’ k’u:Lyahd 1. *(noun)* camp < place where someone has a house *(Neuter imperfective).*

2. *(perhaps a place-name) (location not remembered).*

yahd3 *(perhaps to be identified with and analyzed as yahd4)*

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: *Anonymous* Ят? *(end illegible)* 'Морѣ' ('sea') *probably* **yahd** out to sea, Ятхатѣа 'Мысъ' ('point of land') **yahd XAdi:’ah** it sticks way out (to sea) *M 6/96,* **yahd ’i:’ahta:’** *personal name* < father of that which juts out to sea *(see under 'a´~'a'),* **’Awch’ yahd dAsALk’a’t’L** he flew out of it *10.4, 5A,* **’Awq’Ach’a’ yahd sAqehLinh** he went out to it *12.4G,* **yahd q’Aw sAqehL** he boated out to sea *20.83A,* **’Aw sAqe:ts’Akih ’Awka’ yahd sahL** the boy went out with them *21a.5L,* **yahd da: qa’qeh** we are going to go out to sea *21a.21L,* **’Aw yahd ’ALAqu:k’** they'd swim out to sea *24.41A,* **’Adtl’ ’Aw yahd sLita’tl’L(inh)** she launched herself out with a kick, she kicked it out with herself *(latter translation more literal) 25.46, 47A,* **’u’ihX ’Aw yahd sa’yahL** it (canoe) set out after her *25.54A,* **yahd q’e’ sdiqehL** they put back out *37b.66A,* **dAtli: yahd qa’qeh** already they're about to put out! *49.88A,* **’ahnu:tl’ yahd sAqehL** thy boated out to sea with him *50.47A,* **yahd yAX ’AdAqe:k’** they (cust) boat around out to sea *62.4G,* **yahd GAtsu:x** launch it (boat)! *L,* **Xi:ch’a:ch’ yahd sAqehLinh** he boated towards way over there across open sea *L,* **yahd GAwe’** swim out to sea! *L,* **yahd GAwe:Linh** he's swimming out to sea *L,* **yahd sAwehLinh** he swam out to sea *L,* **yahd ’Adu’sLilahLinh** he saved himself by going out to sea *L,* **yahd GA’Adz** push it (boat) out! *L,* **yahd si’AdzL** I launched it (boat) *L,* **yahd siL’AdzL** I pushed it (boat) well out *L,* **yahd ’i:’ah** point of land, promontory, *subentry under 'a´~'a',* **yahd sahLinh** he went "outside", to Seattle, overseas *M,* **t’its’da:q’d yahd Ga:Linh** he's walking out on ice *L; with q'e'~q'e:- 'back, again', always attested q'e:yahd, with special reference to fall migration of salmon and fowl:* **ts’iyuxyu: q’e:yahd XAsdi’yahL** mosquitos flew back out over the water *14.1L,* **te’ya’yu: q’e:yahd ’i:nsdiquhL** the salmon (pl.) went back out to sea *21a.5L,* **q’e:yahd qu’dAlah** they will go back out to sea *21b.72A,* **dAtli: yAqe:X q’e:yahd qu’xwdAqe:** early tomorrow I shall go back out to sea *21b.75A, with additional following q'e', perhaps incorrect, redundant, or further suggesting semantic specialization of q'e:yahd:* **q’e:yahd q’e’ disLik’a’t’L** it (bird) flew back south again *M;* **yahdqe’dAq’ah** aurora borealis, *identification of yahd*

uncertain, see subentry under q'a; Rezanov Ятъ 'Судно ('boat') Schiff' *probably to be read* **yahd** out to sea, *see following:* **yahdAya'da'X** rowboat, skiff *probably < yahd-Aya'-d-'AX,* **yahdAya'dAlis** mast *(Rezanov) < yahd-Aya'-d-lis, see subentries under ya'~Aya'.*

yahd4 *(perhaps to be identified with yahd3, probably to be analyzed y-ah-d with y- anatomical and -ah-d with -d final 'private, ablative')*

o-**yahd** *(postposition) (always with zero (-d?) final, L rejects proposed *siyah, *siyahX, *siyahch', *XAyahd, *XAlAyahd)* out of, from o's hand *(cf. o-y-Xahd, O-y-d)*: **'uyahd 'Aw siLtahLinh** I took it from his hand *L,* **siyahd siLtahL** he took it from my hand *L,* **'iLyahd qi:li'lAXLAt'ux** pl. play tug-for-war (against each other)! *L,* **qa:yahd qi:li'lAXLt'ux** pl. play tug-of-war against us! *L,* **'iLyahd k'uqi:dAXahdinu:** they're having a tug-of-war *L,* **siyahd disLiqahGL** it dropped out of my hand *L,* **siyahd sahL** it got away from me *L,* **dik' 'uyahd 'Aw ti:nsdA'ahLG** it (pelt) wasn't wrested from them *L, often with preverb qa' 'up out':* **dik' 'uyahd 'Aw qa' 'AsdAtahLGinu:** it wasn't wrested from them *28.105, 107A,* **'uyahd 'Aw qa' GAlAXtin'inh** take it of his hand *61.106A,* **'uyahd 'Aw qa' GAta'** take it out of his hand! *61.108A,* **siyahd qa' shAdja'Linh** he grabbed, jerked it out of my hand *L,* **siyahd qa:nch' LqAtl'g** it keeps slipping out my hand *L.*

yahsh

yahsh *(noun, unclassified)* doll *M*: *Galushia Nelson* yatc 'doll' *BSdL 551,* **k'udzu: yahsh** nice doll *L,* **yahshda:X Xu' dAleh** it's to be made into a doll *L;* **yahshya' ch'iyahd** shellfish species < doll's hat *L (see ch'iyahd).*

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O-**L-yahsh** S play with O (doll): **k'uLyahshinh** she's playing with something (a doll) *L,* **qu'xLyahsh** I'll play with it (doll) *L.*

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-**yahsh** *(noun, unclassified)* (woman's) child, (woman's) sister's child: **'anhyahsh** *23.124A,* **'uyahsh** her child, her son, her daughter *20.1, 15, 23.124, 124A, 34.2, 3, 71M, 49.80, 68.44, 112A, Rezanov* Сы-ашъ 'Сынъ ('son') Sohn', Сыашъ 'Дочь ('daughter') Tochter', *Anonymous and Baranov* Сыясь *(with reverse assimilation)* 'Дочь' ('daughter'), *Furuhjelm* Siash 'son', *BSdL 566* siac 'son, daughter (woman speaking)', *BSdL 567A* 'older sister's son, older sister's daughter, younger sister's son, younger sister's daughter (woman speaking)' **siyahsh** my child, my sister's child *(woman speaking) L, 34.4M, 61.43A, used (incorrectly?) as vocative:* **shiyahsh** my child *46.24, 26M, Rezanov* Иящъ 'Внукъ ('grandson') Enkel' **'iyahsh** your child, sister's child *(to woman)*, Иящъ-иящъ 'Внучка ('granddaughter') Enkelin' **'iyahshyahsh** your daughter's child, your sister's daughter's child *(to woman)*, **qe'L siyahsh** my daughter (woman-child) *(woman speaking, to distinguish daughter from son) L,* **Lila:' shiyahsh** my son (man-child) *(woman speaking, to distinguish son from daughter) L, BSdL 566A* ya·qɛ'yac 'mother's older sister's son, mother's older sister's daughter (woman speaking)' *probably to be read* **ya:q'e', 'iyahsh** mother's sister (vocative), your daughter, *BSdL 566, 567A* ya·qɛ'caɛyac 'mother's younger sister's son, mother's younger sister's daughter (woman speaking)', *probably to be read* **ya:q'e'shah, 'iyahsh** brother's sister (respectful?, vocative), your daughter, *BSdL 567* sitsaqeiyac 'older sister's son, (woman speaking)' **sitsa'kihyahsh** my older sister's child *(woman speaking)*, *BSdL 567A* siɒaqɛiyayac 'younger sister's son, younger sister's daughter (woman speaking)' **sidAGe:'yahsh** my younger sister's child *(woman speaking)*, **'itl'la:shiyahyahsh** your (female) cross-cousin's (pejorative) child *61.102A, with suffixed -A-kih (-A- irregular and inexplicable)* (woman's) child (affectionate, diminutive): **siyahshAkih** my little child *(woman speaking) M, 8.12, 23.143A, used as vocative (perhaps incorrectly): 46.30M,* **'iyahshAkih** your little child *(to mother eagle) 8.5, 10A,* **'anh k'uyahshAkih** the little (woman's) child *20.17A,* **'uyahshAkih** her little child, son,

daughter *8.3, 15, 18, 18, 20.2, 23.122, 145A, with suffixed -A-shiyah,* (woman's) child (pejorative): **'uyahshAshiyah** her kid, brat *49.131, 143A,* **'anh k'uyahshAshiyah** the (woman's) kid *49.133A, with suffix -G-A-yu: 'pl.' (of humans):* **siyahshGAyu:** my children *(woman speaking) L,* **'uyahshGAyu:** her, their children *18.65, 82L, 49.47, 60.5A,* ***Marie*yahshGAyu:** *Marie*'s children *A,* **'anh qe'LyahshGAyu:** that woman's children *49.32, 32A,* **'iLyahshGAyu:** mother and child, mother and children *L, of more or less anthropomorphized animals:* **'uyahshyAquhyu:** her children, young, offspring *(of eagle) 8.4A,* **'iyahshGAyAquhGAyu:** your children, young, offspring *(of woman married to octopus) 20.76A; vocative (perhaps incorrect, as other vocatives attested for descending kinship terms, and* **siyahsh***,* **siyahshAkih** *attested in text as vocative):* **yahsh** child! *(woman speaking) L (not verified)*; *in figurative use:* **tanhAyahsh, tanhdla:yahsh, tanhXAdla:yahsh, 'anhdla:yahsh** *L,* **'anhAyahsh** tidal debris *(material, mainly organic, left forming a line at high-water mark on beach,* wave's child, earth's child*) LM,* **tanhAyahsh k'ut'u' qi' k'u:Leh** place where there's lots of tidal debris, driftwood *L,* **tanhAyahshyu:** bits of tidal debris, driftwood *56.22L,* **k'uyAyahsh, k'u:yAyahsh** slight breeze < wind's child *L (here perhaps in archaic use as suffixed adjective 'small', as widespread in Athapaskan, but see also k'u:yyAquh).*

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k'uyahshAkih *cat's name* < little (woman's) child *L.*

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gAnAya:sh~gAnAyahsh *(place-name) Johnson Slough (and Island) in Situk area, where Anna lived A.XVI.43, Kunayosh Creek, 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 ganiác-, gʊniac- 'Johnson Slough', presumably < Eyak* *gAlAyahsh 'small water feature'; *see also 'u:nahd 'idAyahsh, 'ulah dAyahsh.*

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dA-yahsh S give birth: **qu'xdAyahsh** I'll have a baby *L, Rezanov* Хукухтеяшъ 'Бабка повиваль ная ('midwife') Hebamme' **xu: qu'xdAyahsh** *I*'m going to have a baby *M,* **qu'dAyahshinh** she'll have a baby *M, Rezanov* Коте-ашъ 'Родиться ('to be born') geboren werden' **qu'dAyahsh** she'll, you'll give birth, **GAdAyahshLinh** she's giving birth *L, Rezanov* Штеяшль 'Родила gebären, sie hat geboren, ist niedergekommen', **'anh shdiyahshL** *L,* **shdiyahshLinh** she gave birth, had a baby *LM.*

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'u:nahd 'idAyahsh (1) *or* **'ulah dAyahsh** (2) *(place-name) Point Latouche* < month when animals have young, calving-time (1), < (Ravens?) give birth around it (2) *(probable origin of Tlingit 'u:na:dAya:sh 'Point Reclus') G (Harrington).*: *in fieldnotes of Frederica de Laguna for Yakutat 1952, from John Ellis, June 15,* inatiyac 'Pt. Latouche'*, July 26* Inat'ɛ·yac 'Pt. Latouche' < in front of stone-platform*, etymology probably incorrect, Harrington from G* ẋαllĨ'tyaa 'úunαttαyyαhc 'lower point at Yakutat' (**XAli'd ya: 'u:na:dAyahsh**) 'uunαttαyyàhc 'Pt. Reclus' < [Raven] has young in there, 'ú·ná·tIyâ·c, 'uunnaaddi:yyâac 'Pt. Latouche' *(no etymology, same as Y[akutat Tlingit name])*, Sampson Harry ['uná·ʔdəyá·š] 'Point Latouche in upper Yakutat Bay', *perhaps < Eyak* **'u:nahd 'idAyahsh** *or perhaps* **'ulah dAyahsh** they have their young around it.

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'u:nahd 'idAyahsh *(month-name) May A,* < month when animals have young, calving-time *L ('i- prefix required by 'u:nahd 'in its month').*

'yahG

dA-'yahG 1. *With o-yAX 'under o'*, S be, become annoyed with, disgusted with, tired of, sick of o, o bother S, give S a "pain": **siyAX sdi'yahGLinh** he got sick of me *L, with o-d-yAX 'under o's oral noise':* **'udAyAX xdi'yahGinu:** I'm sick and tired of their talk *L,*

sAqe:GAyu:dAyAX xdi'yahGL I'm sick of kids(' noise), children's noise, talk disgusts me *L (Neuter imperfective).*

2. *With perambulative (?) and o-ch' 'to o'*, S want badly, long, yearn for, have, get strong urge, desire, physical need to do o, go to o: **djiLqa'ch' yAX xsdi'yahGL** I want, long (have gotten the need, desire) to go to Bering River *L,* **'a:nch' q'e:yAX xsdi'yahGL** I long, yearn to come back here *19.12L,* **'Ad'e'ch' q'e:yAX xsdi'yahGL** I long to go back home, yearn for home *L (indirect reflexive),* **yAX 'iswe:Xch' yAX xsdi'yahGL** I wanted badly, got the urge, desire, to go swimming *L,* **yAX 'iswe:Xch' yAX xda'ya:Gk'** I (cust) get a strong desire to go swimming *L,* **dik'sh dAqa:yu: gahch' yAX 'Ada'ya:Gk'G** don't you sometimes (cust) get the urge to dance? *L, with Xe'X 'outdoors (but not far from house)':* **Xe'X yAX xsdi'yahGL** I have to go, bad (need to urinate, defecate) < I have gotten a strong physical need to go out *L, with no preverbals: Khromchenko* Яхустыякль 'Я хочу' ('I want') **yAX xsdi'yahGL** I long, yearn (to do it).

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3. *With Xu:l-class-mark or anatomical 'tooth'*: **siXu:nLAyah Xu:ndi'yahGL** one of my teeth aches *L (uncertain, perhaps incorrect, cf. d-dA-'yahG below).*

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o-**yAX 'isyahGL** *(gerundive of dA-'yahG 1. above) as o of o-ga' 'like o' or adverbialized with -dah*: **'uyAX 'isyahGLga' linhinh** he makes me disgusted, sick and tired of him < he acts like annoyance with it *L,* **'uyAX 'isyahGLdah di:leh, 'uyAX 'isyahGLga' di:leh** you give me a pain with your talk, noise < you act orally like annoyance with it, annoyingly with it *L, as exclamation:* **'uyAX 'isyahGL** what a pain, annoyance that is! *L,* **'udAyAX 'isyahGL** what a pain, annoyance that (talk, noise) is! *L.*

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d-dA-'yahG *(as above, with d-thematic)* S ache: *Rezanov* Сыахцадестиякль 'Голоденъ ('hungry') hungrig' **siyAq'd siya: disdi'yahGL** my stomach aches, ached < my inside (of me) got to aching (me) *M,* **siXu:nLAyah siya: disdi'yahGL** my tooth ached *M,* **'iXu:nLAyah 'iya: qu'dAda'yahG** your tooth will ache *M,* **siXu:nLAyah siya: didi'yahGL** my tooth, teeth ache(s) *M (Neuter perfective),* **silAqahyAq'd siya: didi'yahGL** (the inside of) my head aches *M (Neuter perfective),* **silAqahyAq'd siya: dAGAda'yahGL** I'm getting a headache *M,* **silAqahyAq'd siya: dAda'ya:Gk'** I (cust) get a headache *M. Transitive (causative):* **silAqahyAq'd siya: dAGi:LyahGL** you're giving me a headache *M,* **silAqahyAq'd siya: dAsALyahGLinh** he gave me a headache *M.*

ya'1 *(perhaps to be analyzed y-a' with initial y-thematic or anatomical 'hand' and -a' augment, basic original meaning perhaps 'in hand, to a final state of rest in hand, cavity with broad opening at top', see also ya'2-5, ya'~Aya', ya'X, yahd3, yahd4, ya:n'; frequently realized yA- in sandhi with following Active imperative prefix 'A-)*

ya' *(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-dA-da, dl-dA-qu, O-L-ta'tl', LA-ta'tl', O-tAGL, O-L-tAGL, O-L-tl'a', O-dza'tl', O-L-tsAq's-g, O-L-ts'in'tl'-g (ts'in'tl'2), O-L-ts'e'ts' 1d., L-ts'iya'ts', -ts'ahG, -dje:g, O-chich', -chi:sh-g, -chehg, LA-chehg, -ch'u:ch', LA-ch'u:ch' (ch'u'ch'), LA-sha't'-g, -shitl'~-shAtl', O-she 2b., -gAL~-giL, LA-gAL~-giL, O-gu'k', -ga´ 2. (ga´1), O-kihsh 1., -kug, O-L-GAdj 2., O-L-GahG, dA-GAma' (GAma:~GAma'), -qu-tl', y-LA-q'Aq' (q'Aq'2), -XAd, dA-XAd, O-L-XAd, O-L-Xa'tl' 1., O-Xehdz, O-L-Xehdz, dA-Xe's, -Xawa's~-Xa:s, LA-Xish~-Xihsh, L-Xan (Xa1), O-L-wiL~-wAL, O-L-we'L 2., -wus~-wAs 5., O-l-L-wa', -mahd, O-le'g~-lug- 1, l-LA-la´, O-yAX(-g), O-L-yAX-g (yAX1), O-'e'dz 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., -tu'ch' (4), -te 1.(4), O-L-te, O-(L-)ta 1., O-gd-(L-)ta, O-(L-)'a 3., O-L-ya:', O-L-(y)a, L-'ya.*

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1c. *Miscellaneous instances in which the meaning of ya' 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-LA-a:n', g-LA-'a'ch', LA-dux, d-LA-dux, dl-dA-gwa~-ga´ (gwa´~ga´2), dl-dA-da, dl-dA-qu, d-LA-qahG, O-lAG, o-ch' ya' -'ya (-'ya 22a.), k'a'd ya' -'ya (-'ya 22b.), o-Xa' 'i:lih-'ya ('i:lih-'ya 3.), o-Xa' ya' 'Ad-dl-LA-'e (O-dl-L-'e), 'u:dAXyu:ga' ya' -'a'~'a´.*

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1d. *As 1a., but with attested optional d-thematic in verb where such d-thematic does not occur in theme without ya', perhaps under influence of 2. below, see O-(d-)dzux, O-(d-)-L-tsAX, ya' O-(d-)xihs, ya' (d-)qAts', ya' (d-)dA-la'-G, ya' O-(d-)'a'tl', and perhaps also in ya' d-L-t'ink', ya' O-(d-)k'in't' (O-k'in't'), ya' O-gdl-L-k'u:d (k'uhd~); probably some and possibly many of the themes listed under 1a. belong in this category, there being no criteria apparent for predicting the optional d-thematic prefix.*

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2. vertical, to a vertical state of rest *(cf. ya'X)* a. *with (required) d-thematic in verb which such d-thematic does not occur in theme without ya', see ya' d-'a´, perhaps also in Xd-sid, Xdl-sid, O-d-tsu:X.*

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2b. on vertical axis, *with verbs with Gdl-thematic referring to overland length or extension, see Gdl-dik', Gdl-sid, Gdl-'a´ 1., Gdl-L-'a' 2. ('a´~'a'), GAdla:'a:w 3.*

ya'2 *(perhaps to be identified with some or all of ya1, 3-5, but semantic relationship not clear, see also ye'X~ya'X)*

ya' *(preverb, perhaps alway with zero final as ya'1, or perhaps also with -ch' final as ya'3, documentation inadequate)* unexpectedly, unexpected arrival, *attested only with Active perfective of one verb theme, -a 'sg. S go (on foot)'*: **ya' sahLinh** he returned unexpectedly *A,* **ya' sahL** he came unexpectedly *L,* **ya' q'e' sdiyahL** he came back unexpectedly *L.*

ya'3 *(perhaps to be identified with ya'1 and/or ya'2 and/or ya'4, but semantic relationship not clear; see also o-ya' 3d. under ya'4)*

ya' *(preverb)* in(to) a frenzy, trance, state of exaltation, exultation, euphoria, *attested with both zero and -ch' final, apparently indiscriminately, with two themes only, -a 'sg. S go' and -'a'ch' 'pl. S go', probably originally with reference to ceremonial or shamanistic dance resulting in trance*: **ya'ch' Ga:Lih** he's dancing frenziedly, fancy-dancing, he's going into a trance *L,* **ya'ch' GA'a'ch'Linu:** they're dancing frenziedly *L,* **ya'ch' qu'xah** I'll make whoopee *M,* **ya'ch' qa'a'ch'inu:** they'll dance frenziedly *L,* **ya'ch' k'uqa'a'ch'** they'll really whoop it up *M,* **ya' sahLinh** he (dancing) went into a trance *L,* **ya'a:k'** *personal name* < he (cust) dances himself into a frenzy *L (see entry under a1), M also gives forms with 'iLya'ch', rejected by L, see o-ya' 3d. under ya' 4.*

ya'4 *(perhaps to be identified with ya'1 and/or ya'2 and/or ya'3, but semantic relationship not clear)*

o-**ya'** *(postposition) (stem invariable with all finals, zero, -d, -X, -ch', -ch'a', -ch'ahd, -k'ah, 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 classified noun or refers to a classified noun, and 1.(3) describes usage with finals.) 1. *basic meaning* in(to) a (vessel) with broad opening at top *(as contrasted with o-yAq' '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'd, *siya'X), attested with Le't' 'box', tsa'L 'food-box', ts'a:gL 'dipper', ts'a:tl' 'baby basket', 'uya'X k'udAqa't'g 'cooking-pot', q'Adl 'pot', 'AdgAdla:LAwahLg 'hammock' (also with o-yAq', 38.12fn1M), dja: 'jar', lis '(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 'uX k'ut'u'L 'container', 'udAya'X ya:X k'uXAdla:dAq'a:g 'frying-pan', 'uya'ch'ahd giyah k'udAlah 'drinking-glass', di:ya' 'uya'ch' gu:dAya:', di:ya' 'uya'd gAlALah 'salt-cellar, -shaker', 'uya'X 'Ad-lAkus 'washbasin', 'uya'X 'ikusL 'washtub', 'uya'X 'AdsdikusL 'bathtub', 'uya'X k'udAkus 'washing-machine', 'uya'X k'udAqa't'g 'cooking-basket', 'uya'X k'u:ndAwa' 'mortar'; also* in(to) o (substance in vessel with broad opening at top)*, attested with giyah 'water', ka:dj 'soup', Xe: 'rendered fat, sealoil', gahG 'pitch', kus 'urine' as o or clear reference of pronominal o, also in 'uya'X yAX k'u'ya:gL 'eye' < 'something is dyed (repeatedly dipped down) into it (substance)' L; also* in(to) o (conveyance) *(including modern car, airplane), attested with 'AX 'boat', 'AXAkih canoe, XahdL 'sled, car', shgu:na: 'schooner',* airplane *(60.62A) as o or clear reference of pronominal o, also with dzanhd 'snowshoe': dzanhddAya' Ga:Linh 'he's walking on snowshoes', and in 'uya' yAX 'Adistsitl'X 'ice-skates' < 'sliding about in them', not with other footwear, cf. tahyAq' 'iXa' GALA'e'dz 'put your feet in your stockings!' L, 'AwyAq' 'iLi'e'dzL 'he had his feet in them (boots)' 51.44A; also* in(to vessel, boat, made of) o*, see qahdl, ta'xts', t'e:k', LuhL; 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: 'uya' 'ishtu'ch'L 'blanket' < 'pl. lie on it',* GuGtl'*Gu'Lya' q'unhAw sAtehLinh 'he lay on a swan('s-down) blanket' 63.36, but cf. Gu'Lq' 'on the blanket' 61.21, 21A, 'uya' k'uteh (also 'uyAq' k'uteh) 'sleeping-bag' < 'one lies in it', see also 'hammock' 38.12fnLM, quite irregularly in 'Aw ch'iyahd 'ulAya' (changed from 'ulAyAq') 'iGi:'lih 'that hat, it's big (inside)' L, cf. ch'iyahd-lAyAq'd 'in a hat' M, and in 'uya' 'Adq'Ach' k'udAdAGu' 'hot water bottle' L; regularly* in(to) o *where o refers to a topographical feature, generally a body of water, which may be considered concave, see giyah '(natural body) of water', di:ya' 'salt-water, ocean', ma: 'lake', 'a:n 'river', tsa' 'deep', q'Ats' 'slough', kihdz 'bog', all of which are classified nouns, but which more often than not appear without class-marks as o of o-ya', also with XA- 'area' as o: 'u:d XAya'd sAtahL 'it's over there (in that concave topographical area)' L, or with demonstrative locative (rare): 'u:dAya' yAX gu:nsdiwusL '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 ts'a'di:'q'Aya'd (under ts'a'), djiLqah, djAXAlih, ch'a:x, shi:q', giŋiG, kushk'Asha:w (kushk'), k'usa'dya'd (-sa'-d), qa:ta:lah, XAta:sya'd (ta:s), nishnik'~, 'itl'a:ndi:ya' ('itl'1), 'i:ya:G, 'a:nXdAlih, 'a:lihgAG, 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:nyanh 'uya'd 'idAdAleh (le~), cha:sh 'uya'd k'u:Leh (cha:sh), XAwa: 'uya'd ki:nX (XAwa:); 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-mention 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: siyAya'd*

sAdahL 'it (e.g. mosquito) has slighted on my hand' L, the rest, semantically more irregular, are listed as separate subentries below, see also 'iL-ch'a:n-d-ya' under 3a., below, and ta:-ya'(-d) 'doorway' under ta: 'road'. (2) *Use of classmarks with classified noun as o is normal, except where o is body of water or liquid in vessel: ma:ya' 'in(to) lake' is more frequent than ma:gudAya', giyahya' 'in(to) water (in natural body or in container)' is more frequent than giyahgulAya', 'a:nya' 'in(to) river' is slightly more frequent than 'a:ngulAya', and Xe:ya' 'in(to) sealoil' is attested to the exclusion of Xe:gulAya', di:ya'ya' 'in(to) salt water, ocean' is attested to the exclusion of di:ya'gulAya', (gl-)ch'a:xya' 'in(to) muddy water', but not (gl-)ch'a:xgulAya', and once each ka:djya' 'in(to) soup', q'Ats'ya' 'in(to) slough', kihdjya' 'in(to) swamp' instead of ka:djgulAya', q'Ats'gulAya', kihdjgulAya', but cf. gahGdAya' 'in(to boiling) pitch' 51.25A, not gahGya'; where o is a pronoun referring to a classified noun, usage is also normal, with class-marks frequently omitted) see e.g. 'udAya'd 'in it (car)' 61.59, 64A, but 'uya'd 61.64, 72A, 'AwdAya'k'ah 'out of, clear of it (car)' 61.26A, but 'Awya'k'ah 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*: **'Awya' disLiqahGL** he fell into it *2b.9L,* **'Awya' 'Aw sAlAGLinu:, 'Aw Xe:ya'** they threw him into it, into the seal-oil *7.33A,* **Xe:ya' 'Aw sALahL** he put them up in sealoil *10.144A,* **'Awya' qa' XAdla:sa'yahLinh** she ran and embarked into it *25.45A,* **'Aw giyahya' qi' sahLch'ahd 'AdAX dik'** not however from where she had gone into the water *25.63A,* **'Awya' 'Aw dAsAL'ahLinu:** they put it in it *29.6A,* **'Aw tsa:'Lya' 'Aw dAsAL'ahLinu:** they put it in the food-box *29.7A,* **'AdgAdla:wahLgya' 'ahnu: sALtehL** they put her in a swing hammock *38.12fnLM,* **Li'q' 'udAya' da: qa' shA'a'ch'L** we all climbed up on board it *59.11 Galushia Nelson,* **'Awya' GAxLah da:X** when I've put them in them *65.25A,* **'uya' da: qa'a'ch'** we'll get into it *71.13LM,* **'Awya'** into it (box, cup) *L,* **'Awya' sahLinh** he got into it (canoe) *L,* **'Awya' siLtahL** I put it in it (box, pot, boat, car) *L,* **'Awya' GAta'** put it in it (box)! *L,* **'a:ngulAya' GALts'AX** throw it in the river! *L,* **'Awya' k'udisLiqahGL** something fell into it *L,* **'Awya' sa'yahL** it got stuck in, fell into it *L,* **k'uya' dAGA'iL** dump it into something! *L, Rezanov,* **k'uya' dAsA'inL** he dumped it into something *L, Rezanov,* **Xe:ya' disLiyahL k'udA'uhdg** eggs preserved (put) in sealoil *L,* **'Awya' sLit'its'L** it got frozen into it *L,* **'Awya' q'e' sits'AXL** I threw it back into it *L,* **'Awya' q'e' siLtahL** I put it back into it *L,* **'Awya' q'e' siLahL** I put them back in it (all at once) *L,* **q'Ats'ya' 'i:nxsLi'AdzL** I fell headlong into the slough *L,* **kihdzya' 'i:nxsLi'AdzL** 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':* **'Awya' qa' XAdla:sa'yahLinh** she ran and embarked into it *25.45A,* **Li'q' 'udAya' da: qa' shA'a'ch'L** we all climbed up on board it *59.11 Galushia Nelson,* **'AXAya' qa' xuGALXahd** pull me out (of water) into canoe! *M,* **'uya' qa' Ga:'** get in it (canoe, from water, from land)! *L,* **'i:ntsa'Xya' qa' Ga:'** get in the bow! *L,* **'Awya' qa' sahLinh** 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:* **tsa:'Lya' yAX li:tahL** his head down in the food-box *7.28A,* **'AXAkih, ya:kuts'g, q'e:dah 'uya' dAGida' di:'yahLinu:** canoes, little ones, were simply full of them *37b.6A,* **'Awya' 'i:tahL** it's in it (box) *L,* **ts'a:tl'ya' 'i:dahLinh** infant < he who stays in baby-basket *L, travelling at rest in conveyance:* **'Awya' q'uhnu: GAqe:L** in those (boats) they're coming *7.16A,* **'Aw 'AXAkihya' q'uhnu: 'ahnu: GALXe'dzL** they were carrying her in the canoe on their shoulders *25.10A,* **dA'a: q'unh 'AXAkihya' yAX 'idAqe:k'inh, dlAGA'a:** by herself she would boat around in her canoe, all alone *25.157A,* **'Aw ya:kuts'g 'AX 'Awya' da:X sAqe:Linh** that small canoe she was boating across in it *38.17LM,* **dAxu: qahdldAya' q'e:da:X xsdiqehL** by myself I boated back across in a bark (vessel) *53.28L,* **'a:ndAX *airplane*ya' 'Awa: dik' gudla:['a:]w 'ALe:G** by there in an *airplane* though it's not far *60.62A,* **'Aw t'AXgsga' 'AXya' li' sAqehL** they boated down in those cottonwood-like canoes *68.2A,* **'Awya' q'uhnu:, yAX dAqe:[X], 'i:ya:Gya'ch'** in those it was, they boated around, into

Eyak Lake *68.32A, further* **dzanhddAya' Ga:Linh** he's walking on snowshoes *L,* **ta'xts'LdAya'** (*or* **qahdldAya'**, **LuhLdAya'**, **te:k'dAya'**) **da:X sAqehL** he boated across in (a vessel made of some kind of) bark *L, see also e.g.* **'uya' yAX 'Adistsitl'X** skates; *with -d final* (at rest, remaining, already) in o: **'AXAkih(d)ya'd sALahLdig** also that which was in a canoe *9.125A,* **'Aw *kerosene-can*ya'dG** in a *kerosene-can 9.146A,* **tsa:'Lya'd q'Aw wAX dAt'u:, Xe:** in a food-box it was kept, (seal-)oil *9.146A,* **'u:d giyahya'd sAtahL** it was lying there in the water *11.118A,* **giyahya'd 'iLtl' wAX 'idit'eh** they lived together in the water *16.3M,* **'a: 'Awa: 'AXAkihya'd tsu'dinh** she though was asleep in the canoe *25.2A,* **ma:ya'd** in the lake *25.86A,* **Le't'ya'd 'Aw ya' 'ALya:k'** they used to leave them in a box *28.117A,* **qe'yiLtehlAqahda'luw 'u:d Le't'ya'd** a big whalehead was there in the box *29.35A,* **'Aw gahGdAya'd qu'LAqa't'g** you'll boil in the pitch *51.25A,* **'Aw gahG dALAqa't'gya'd** in the boiling pitch *51.26A,* **'Aw q'Adl'a'luwya'd** in that big pot *51.67A,* **k'ugu:nt'u'inu: 'uya'd** lots of them in it *51.68A,* **ta:ya'd** in the doorway *55.17L,* **'udAya'd** in it (car) *61.59, 64A,* **'uya'd** in it (car) *(d-class-mark missing) 61.64, 72A,* **'itl'a:ndi:ya'd** Mountain Slough < ***'itl'*** mountain *(l-class), o-**i:**- < o-**'e'** 'in (vacant) place of o'(?), unexplained **d**-class-mark, o-**ya'd** (at rest, nominalization) in o (with opening at top, body of water) 68.54fnA,* **'i:ya:Gya'd** at Eyak *68.61A,* **giyahya'd ya:nu' dAsAtsu:xLinh** probably they thrust it underwater (and held it there) *49.34A,* **giyahya'd ya:n' sALxitl'Linh** he wafted down into the water *2a.6M (probably to be corrected to **giyahya'**),* **ma:ya'd yAX dAqe:Xinu:** they boated about in the lake *71.21LM (probably to be corrected to **ma:ya'X**, non-textual incidences),* **Le't'ya'd** in the box *M,* **giyahya'd, giyahgAlAya'd** in the water *M,* **ka:djya'd** in the soup *M,* **di:ya'ya'd** in the salt water, ocean *L,* **di:ya'ya'd GAnuh** salt-water duck *LM,* **'u:d 'Awya'd** over there in that *L,* **Xi:XAya'd** in yonder container *L,* **k'ut'u' Gu:X 'uya'd** lots of bugs are in it *L,* **'uya'd sAdahLinh** he sat in it (canoe) *L,* **'Awya'd tah** it belongs in it (box) *L,* **'Awya'd sAtahL** it's in it (box) *L,* **'Awya'd sAtehL** it (animal) is lying in it (box) *L,* **dik' 'uya'd k'ustahLG** nothing's in it *L,* **dik' 'uya'd k'u'Le:G** there's nothing in it *L, Rezanov,* **'Aw Le't'ya'd sALahL** they're in that box *L,* **'u:d XAya'd sAtahL** it's there in that (concave) area *L,* **'Awya'd q'e' sditahL** it's back in there *L,* **'uya'd 'iGALq'e'sL** ice jams in it (river) *L, see also place-names and coinages listed under (1) above, with preverbs ya' 'to state of rest':* **'AXAya'd ya' guGALa:n' da:X** if you stand up in your canoe *21b.69A,* **Le't'ya'd 'Aw ya' 'ALya:k'** they used to leave them in a box *28.117A,* **'Awya'd ya' qu'xtah** I'll leave it in it *L,* **'Awya'd ya' 'Ade:** sit down, stay sitting (already) in it *L, 'Awya', with ya:n' 'down':* **'Awya'd ya:n' GAda'** sit down (already) in it *L, with other preverbs:* **'Awya'd yina:'d sAtahL, 'Awya'd yAX dAqehXq' sAtahL** 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 Ltsinhdg** she threw them out of it *25.12, 14A,* **'Awya'd sahL** he got out of it (canoe, car) *L, usually with preverb qa' 'up out':* **'uyAq'a'ts'X 'Awya'd 'Aw qa' sALtahL** she picked it up out of the water with her hand *11.121A,* **'Awya'd 'Aw qa' sALtahLinh** he took it (bone) out of it (soup) *M,* **'Awya'd qa' GAta'** take it out of it (boat, pot)! *L,* **'a:nya'd q'e' qa' siLtahL** I fished it back out of the river *L,* **'uya'd qa' yAGAle:'** hollow it out, make a bowl! *L,* **Le't'ya'd qa' sahL** it got out of the box *L,* **'Awya'd qa:nch' Ga:Linh** he's getting out of it (canoe) *L,* **'Awya'd qa:nch' 'AtsinhG** 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 -X final* (movement starting within or starting outside but continuing well with)in o *(see also 2. below):* **'Awya'X k'e:[sk']** they would wash their hands in it *33.17A,* **'AXya'X** *personal name* < (moving about with)in canoe *LM (see under 'AX),* **ma:ya'X qa:LxAwah** water lilies < pl. grow in lake *L,* **'a:ngulAya'X da: GAqe:L** we're boating along in the river *L, see also coinages listed under (1) above, more frequently with certain preverbs: with yAX 'downwards':* **'Awya'X yAX 'i:nsLiXa'tl'L** he got clobbered down into it *11.37A,* **'Aw q'Adlya'X 'anh yAX 'i:nsALkinhdL** he jammed her head down into the cooking-pot *27b.53A,* **'Awya'X 'Aw yAX tsu:xginh** he was dipping them down into it *34.83L,* **'Awya'X q'e:yAX sAtsu:xLinh** he dipped another one down into it *34.85L,* **'Al 'Awya'X yAX GAtsu:x** dip this down in it *34.93L,* **'anh k'u'ehd t'ahL**

giyahya'X yAX ti:lAtsu:xk' the wife would dip a feather down in the water *48.5L,* **'anh LinhGih k'u'ehd 'Aw t'ahL giyahya'X yAX q'e' ti:lAtsu:x** that other wife dipped the feather down in the water again *48.10L,* **dA'wAX ch'a:n'** ***mAnidz*ga' q'Aw 'uya'X k'udAqa't'gya'X yAX 'AxLya:k'** I put them down in a covered pot for just about five *minutes 65.25A,* **'Awya'X yAX qa'yah** they'll settle down in it *65.62A,* **'Aw Le't'ya'X ya:n'ch' yAX qa'yah, 'iLtl'** they'll settle down lower in the box, together *65.63A,* **'uya'X yAX 'iqe'li:xtsu:x** I'll thrust your head down into it (bucket) *L, with perambulative:* **qe'LGAyu: ts'a:tl'LAlAya'X yAX 'AdAle'g da:X, k'uXi:yah** as women fuss their hands in baby-baskets, you eat *23.12A,* **giyahya'X yAX 'iLAts'in'tl'Xinh** he's splashing around in water *L,* **'uya'X yAX XAdla:da'ya:X** it (rat) is running around in it *L,* **'Awya'X yAX 'ixLAts'i:nGX** I'm dipping my finger around in it (to eat) *L,* **tsa'ya'X yAX dAla:X** they (fish) are swimming around at deep level *L, with lah 'around (in circular motion)':* o-**ya'X lah 'i-X-(L-)ta** S stir (in) o, *but cf.* **'uya'd lah GAxuL** swirl around in it *51.68A, with other preverbs: li' 'downstream':* **'a:ngu:'nuwya'X q'uhnu: li' sAqehL** down the Copper River it was they boated *68.3A,* **'a'q' dik' ta:ya'X 'Aw 'a'q' lAsL'ahLG** he didn't make off with it out through the doorway *11.13A, q'e:dAG 'back upstream':* **'i:ya:Gya'X q'e:dAG sdiXahL** they boated back upstream into Eyak Lake *68.36; with -ch' final '(continuous or repeated motion) into o, towards o (concave topographical feature)', frequent with customary:* **'Aw Xe:ya'ch' 'Aw 'ALya:k'** he is putting them up in sealoil *10.143A,* **Xe:ya'ch' q'unh 'Aw 'ALya:k'** he's storing them in sealoil *10.146A,* **giyahya'ch' dAqa:yu: we:sk'** sometimes they fall in the water *11.117A,* **'Al 'ahnu:ts'Alih, Le't'ya'ch' 'Aw 'iLt'a' 'ALya:k'** their bones, they used to gather them into a box *28.118A,* **ya:kuts'g Le't'ya'ch', 'Aw 'iLt'a' Lya:k'** into a little box, they used to gather them *28.119A,* **'Awya'ch' q'unhuw kus** into it urine *33.12A,* **dAGAL'ehd da:X q'A'Aw Xe:ya'ch' wAX dAle:k', XAla:gwahd** when it dried it used to be put up in sealoil, for the winter *63.37G,* **'u:d Le't'ya'ch' 'AxLya:k'** I put them in boxes there *65.27A,* **ts'a:gLya'ch' da: wAX Li:k'** we process it into cans *65.36A,* **'Aw 'uya'X k'udAqa't'gluwya'ch' da: Lqa:t'k'** we (cust) boil them in the big covered put *65.36A,* **'Aw q'a:k'qa'a[h 'A]wa: k'Ayi:ny Le't'ya'ch' da: wAX Li:k'** we put its spine-and-ribs into a different box *65.76A,* **'Aw GAsu'dig k'Ayi:ny Le't'ya'ch' da: wAX Li:k'** we put the dry-salmon also into a different box *65.76A,* **'Awya'ch' 'Aw dla:Lts'e:ts'k'inu:** they (cust) put them (hot rocks) into it with tongs *L, with O-(L-)ya:' 'S handle pl. O in pl. acts':* **'AXAya'ch' dAya:'** it was being loaded into the boats *37b.22A,* **Le't'ya'ch' qi'yiLya:'** you'll put them in boxes *65.59A,* **di:ya' 'uya'ch' gu:ndAya:'** salt-cellar *L, with repetitive* o-**ya'-ch' 'i-xu'tl'-g** S blow on, into o (e.g. soup), **giyah 'uya'ch' 'Aqa:g** keep ladling water into it! *L, with Inceptive perfective* **Lu:ndiyahsLa:n' GAta:L, 'AXAya'ch'** they were carrying a mouse-thigh, into a boat *37b.24A,* **'itl'a:ndi:ya'ddig 'Awa:, k'ugu:nt'u' GALe'L** Mountain Slough too though, they were becoming populous *68.54A,* **k'uya'ch' 'Aw dAGA'iLinh** he's pouring it into something *L,* **'Awya'ch' Ga:Linh** he's getting into it (canoe) *L, with non-perfective Neuter:* **giyah 'uya'ch' gula'L'e:** make water run, have, keep water running into it! *L,* **'a:ngulAya'ch' qid gAli:'ah** water runs down into river *L, with other mode-aspects or asyntactic:* **'u:dAX q'unh 'ahnu: k'Ayi:ny gu'wALwahgyu: 'Awlah 'u'sAtahL, 'anh 'uk'ahyAkihts'Alih 'iLt'a' sLiyahL, 'Aw Le't'ya'ch'** then that other tribe found out about it, that that bigshot's bones had been gathered together, into that box *28.121A,* **LinhG Xada: gah giyahgAlAlu'qa: sahLinh, 'a:ngu:nya'ch'** one day he went to get water, in the river *45b.10M,* **'u:dAX q'unh giyahya'ch' 'isAL'anhL** so then she looked into the water *46.15M,* **te'ya'yu: dAsAL'ehdgL, Xe:ya'ch'** fish she had dried, in sealoil *49.123A,* **'AXAkihya'ch' q'e' sdiyahL** he went back into his canoe *50.66A,* **dita:dz q'Aw djiLqahya'ch' qa: 'u'sdi'ehdzL** long ago we were invited to Chilkat *59.1 Galushia Nelson,* **dAche'q', 'AXAkihya'ch'** they were hooked, into the canoe *63.42G,* ***dja:*ya'ch' GAxLyah da:X** when I've put them in *jars 65.25A,* **yAX dAqe:X, 'i:ya:Gya'ch'** they boated around, into Eyak Lake *68.32A,* **ma:ya'ch'** towards the lake *M,* **'uya'ch' yAX k'udA'a'ch'X** urine-pot *L,* **'AXya'ch' sahLinh** he got into a boat *L (< started getting, made such a motion and desisted?), in* **giyahya'ch' ta' sLi'AdzLinh** he jumped into the water *4.3M,* **giyahya'ch'** *is redundant with ta'*

'into the water' and should probably in any case be corrected to **giyahya'**; *with -ch'-a' final, same as -ch':* **ma:ya'ch'a' sahLinh** he had gone to the lake *25.87A,* ***dja:*ya'ch'a' 'AxLya:k'** I (cust) put them in jars *65.24A; with -ch'ahd functioning as final or as o of o-ch'ahd 'away from o':* ***kAta:lah*ya'ch'ahd** from Katalla *62.1G,* **djiLqahya'ch'ahd 'a:nda' sAqehL** he boated hither from Chilkat *L,* **ma:gAdAya'ch'ahd yAq' q'e' xusALXahdLinh** he dragged me back ashore out of the lake *M,* **'uya'ch'ahd giyah k'udAlah** glass < one drinks water out of it *L,* **Le't'ya'ch'ahd qa' XAdla:sa'yahL** it escaped out of the box *L, with -k'ah functioning as final or as o of o-k'ah 'clear away from o':* o-**ya'k'ah sLi'AdzL** jumped clear of, out of o *49.142, 61.75, 76A.*

2. *With -X final always, and abstract noun, deverbalization, gerundive, perhaps also o as o,* o-inh, while o, during o, in o: **tsinhya'X wAX xLih** I'm doing (thus to) in while singing *M,* **tsinhya'X wAX 'Aw Linhinh** he's doing (thus to) it while singing *M,* **k'utsi:nyya'X Ga:Linh** he's walking along singing *L,* **dA'a:t'ya'X Ga:Linh** he's walking along bawling *L,* **ki:nXAya'X Ga:Linh** he's walking along weeping *L,* **ki:nXAya'X q'e' GAda:L** she's going home weeping *47b.25M,* **k'ushiyahya'X 'u:ch'ahd 'Ad'e'ch' q'e' sdiyahLinh** she went back home thence angry (in evil, anger) *47b.35M,* **dAche:lya'X xu'yAsALqahL** I got stuck overnight and went hungry < it dawned on me in hunger *L,* **qi'dAX 'AnahshAkihya'X da: 'i'a'ch' da:X** whenever we get going having a good time (going in pleasure) *30.9L,* **Gu'ya'X leh GAlAGa'ya:L** this winter is warm < a year is passing in warmth *L; for* **'AdXa'dya'X** suddenly, **XAla:gya'X** all winter long, **xahXya'X** all summer long, *see ye'X~ya'X.*

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3. *With reciprocal o*: a. *with zero final, used as preverb, not requiring vocalization of classifier with intransitive themes*: (1) *'iLya' 'folding, crossing (of arms or legs)':* **'iLya' 'iGA'e'dz** cross your legs! *L,* **'iLya' 'isi'e'dzL** I sit tailor-fashion *L,* **'iLya' diLile'gL 'iLch'a:ndAya'** *(with -ch'a:n-d-anatomical 'forearm')* **diLile'gL** he has his arm folded together (elbows bent, hands tucked) across his chest *L (cf. 'iLyAq' under yAq').* (2) full *(of moon):* **'iLya' sLi'ahL** moon is full *M (rejected by L).*

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3b. *With zero final and perambulative 'reversal of motion'*: **'iLya' yAX** back and forth, *see under yAX 2c. (yAX2).*

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3c. *With -d final 'from position at rest' and qa' 'up out', 'iLya'd qa' 'one out of the other, apart (from intussuscepted, telescoped, folded position)'*: **siqe:sgu:nLGAmAtL siya: 'iLya'd qa' disLiqahGL** my ankle went out of joint, dislocated *L,* **'iLya'd GALa'** take them (telescoped glasses) apart! *L,* **'iLya'd qa' xuyAGALa:'** try to open my hand! *L.*

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3d. *With -ch' 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 ya'3)*: **'iLya'ch' GA'a'ch'Linu:** they're dancing frenziedly *M,* **'iLya'ch' qa'a'ch'inu:** they'll dance frenziedly *M,* **'iLya' sdi'a'ch'Linu:** they danced frenziedly *M.*

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ya' *(preverb) (very rare, attested with zero, -X and -ch' finals, not verified)* in(to) vessel with broad opening at top: *with zero final and qa' 'up out':* **ya' qa' 'anh sALtehLinh** he took him aboard (up out (of water, danger ?) into canoe) *53.24L (uncertain, originally transcribed* ***ya:qa'*** away, *perhaps correctly, and cf.* ***'Awya' qa' Ga:*** get aboard it! *L), perhaps also in* **'i:ntsa'X ya' qa' Ga:'** get in at the bow! *L (unless* **'i:ntsa'X** bow *is to be interpreted as o of o-ya', thus* **i:ntsa'Xya'** into the bow*), also* **ya:qa' sahL** he went out in a boat *L (perhaps to be corrected to* ***ya' qa' sahL****, or glossed* he went away*)*; *with -X final 'movement within area', with lah 'around, in circular motion':* **ya'X lah 'iXAsiLyahL** I stirred it < I stirred around in a vessel *L (perhaps to be*

corrected to ***'uya'X*** in it*)*; *with -ch' final 'continuous, repeated motion toward', regular with O-L-ya:' 'S handle pl. O in series':* **ya'ch' lAXAxLya:'** I'm canning berries (into several cans) *L.*

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ya'-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: **ya'd Ga:'** get out (of boat, car)! *L,* **ya'd sahL** he got out (of boat, car) *L,* **ya'd shA'a'ch'Linu:** they disembarked *52.17L,* **ya'd sLi'AdzLinh** she jumped out (of canoe) *49.141, 141A,* **'uX ya'd k'uya:'** pier *L, with qa' 'up out':* **ya'd qa' disiLtsAXL** I cut a piece out of it, cut a hole in it *L,* **ya'd qa:nch' 'ALa'** rinse them (one batch)! *M,* **ya'd qa:nch' 'ALya:'** rinse them (one by one)! *M.*

2. to emptiness, empty (involving vessel or topographical feature with broad opening at top): **ya'd siLtahL** I emptied it, drank it empty *L, see also O-L-ts'a:g, O-L-ts'i:nG, O-L-shish, -xAX, dA-xAX, O-L-'na't' (la't'~'na't'), -ya' 23., d-L-'ehd(-g).*

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-Xl-ya'-d *(noun) (o-Xl-ya' with -Xl-thematic of uncertain meaning, nominalized with -d final)* vagina, vulva: **'iXAlAya'd** your vagina, vulva *LS.*

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-qi:d-ya'(-d) *(noun, unclassified) (o-qi:d-ya' with qi:d-anatomical 'foot', usually nominalized with -d final)* sole of foot: *Rezanov* Какетеятъ 'Подошва Fussohle' **qa:qi:dAya'd** the soles of our feet, human sole, **k'uqi:dAya'd** (one's) sole *L,* **siqi:dAya'** the sole of my foot *L,* **q'e:dah 'uqi:dAya'd-lAX 'ixL'a:nk'inh** (he runs away so fast) all I (cust) see is the soles of his feet *L.*

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-qe:-d-ya'-d *(noun)* inside, back of knee, *see under qe:s.*

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-qe:s-g-ya'-d *(noun)* ankle, *see under qe:s.*

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-qe:s-gu:nd-ya'-d *(noun)* ankle, *see under qe:s.*

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-qe:s-g-ya'-d *(noun)* haunch *(etc.) see under qe'.*

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-La:n'-d-ya'-d *(noun)* crotch, *see under La:n'.*

ya'5 *(perhaps to be identified with and analyzed as ya'1, basic meaning 'in hand')*

o-**ya'** *(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 emphasis*: **qa:ya' XAwa:** our dog *M,* **lAXya' XAwa:** your (pl.) dog *M, with independent personal pronoun:* **xu: siya' XAwa:** *my* dog *M,* **dAxu: siya' XAwa:** my own dog *L,* **'i: 'iya' XAwa:** *your* dog *M,* **dA'a: 'uya' XAwa:** his own dog *LM,* **dA'uyAG 'uya' XAwa:** their own dog *L,* **xu: siya' XAwa: siXa'** my dog is at home *L,* **dA'i: 'iya' sAqe:GAyu:** your own children *24.32A,* **silAXahd xu: siya' yAda'q' dAxa'ch' sAsinhL** I thought my watch had stopped *L,* **dA'AyAGAya' tsin'dAleh** their own language *68.81A, further examples in BSdL 556-557, with demonstrative pronoun as o:* **'anhya' XAwa:** his dog *M,* **'ahnu:ya' XAwa:** their dog *M,* **'ahnu:ya' k'usahd** their livers *(i.e.* livers of something that they had in their possession*, here used incorrectly) 42.23L,* **'anhya' ya:li'd** her sleeping-room *11.131A,* **'anhya' yahd** her house *4.8M, further examples in BSdL 556-557, with interrogative as o:* **du:ya' 'AXdA'Aw** whose boats are those? *L, with nouns, nominal phrases, or nominalizations as o (where o is classified noun, no class mark appears*

before -ya'): **dAXunhya' lah** people's village *58.1L,* **kAgwAnta:nya' lah** k-clan's village *67.8G,* **'i:ya:Gya' lah, 'i:ya:Gya' 'anh** Eyak Village *L,* **dALAxwe:gya' lah** groundhog-burrow *22.2L,* **k'udi:q'Ayu:ya' lah** Aleuts' village *(place-name) L, 53.1L,* **k'uLA'ahya' ma:** *"Muskrat Lake" (place-name) L,* **qe'LGAyu:ya' 'a:n** *Old Women's River (place-name) L,* **yahGAyu:ya' 'a:n** *Menarcheal Girls' River (place-name) L,* **GAdi:yAGya' tsa:** *kittiwake rock (place-name) L,* **qe'LGAyu:ya' mAgAG** "women's" side of checkers game *L,* **Lila:'GAyu:ya' mAgAG** "men's" side of checkers game *L,* **qe'LGAyu:ya' na:w** wine < women's whiskey *L,* **qe'LGAyu:ya' Le:L** women's hair *23.19A,* **ye:t'ya' *roots*** wild celery *roots 10.206A,* **'a:mihyu:ya' da:gdih** army doctors *61.52A,* **dji:shqe:di:ya' 'anh** dji:shqe:d-clan's land *67.1G,* **xi:lya' tsi:ny** shaman's song *L,* **xi:lyu:ya' tsinh** shamans' song *L,* **ts'isa:XAdALte'ya' dju'k'L** boom < mast's crosspiece *A,* **yahshya' ch'iyahd** shellfish species < doll's hat *L,* **cha:nAwa:nyu:ya' ch'iyahd** toadstool < Chinamen's hat *L,* **ch'iya'tl'Gya' ch'iyahd** mushroom < frog's hat *L,* **cha:nAwa:nyu:ya' na:w** "Chinamen's" whiskey *L,* **sAsinhLinu:ya' XAwa:** moth < dead people's dog *LMA,* **sAsinhLinu:ya' la'mahd** berry species < dead people's berries *LM,* **sAsinhLinu:ya' ye:t'** plant species < dead people's wild celery *L,* **'i:nsALyahLinhya' la'mahd** berry species < old person's berries *M,* **q'e:'shk'ya' la'mahd** berry species < jay's berries *LA,* **ch'u:q'ya' la'mahd, ch'e:yu'ya' la'mahd** berry species *LMA,* **ts'iyuhya' la'mahd** berry species < bear's berries *LA,* **XAlahsdla:GAyu:ya' la'mahd** store fruit < white men's berries *L,* **Ch'i:lehshiyahya' yahd** Raven's house *BSdL 259, 545,* **yahGAyu:ya' yahd** girls' puberty shelter *BSdL 546,* **ts'i:ntsihya' gahG** pitch from pitchwood *L,* **XAwa:ya' gugsg** flea < dog's louse *L,* **te'ya'ya' q'ahsh** fish bones *46.3M,* **'i:nLxi:shgya' q'ahsh** abalone shell *L,* **sAqe:ts'Akihya' dAq'uw** dirt in creases of baby's palms < baby's lunch *L,* **sAqe:ts'Akihya' ki:nX** a child's crying *36.6A,* **dla:q'Aya'ya' gAwa'ts'** mountain-goat fat *L,* **lixahya' ta:** grizzly bear's trail *18.4L,* **lixahya' ch'e'** grizzly bear's droppings *18.6L,* **'u'ehdya' Lahd** his wife's smoke *27a.38L,* **shugya' t'ahL** strawberry-leaf *37b.39A,* **'a:nya' t'its'** river-ice *57.27G,* **lisya' tsi:ny** spruce-branch *11.144, 50.21A,* **lisya' 'a:L** spruce-boughs *LAG,* **lisya' GAmAk'** spruce-burl *G (Harrington),* **'Ami:nnya' GAnuh** *M,* **'Ami:nnya' Ga:ndich'ich'g** *51.54, 61.20, 26A,* **k'u:nda'ch' gahya' Ga:ndich'ich'g** barn swallow < prayer-bird *61.21A,* **'AXdjinnguGya' 'AXAkih** 'AXdjinnguG's canoe *47b.34M,* ***Peter George*ya' XahdL** *Peter George*'s car *61.71A,* ***Lena*ya' sAqe:GAyu:** *Lena*'s children *A,* **dji:da:dAGya' qe'L** razor-clam woman *11.133A,* **k'ula:GAya' sAqe:GAyu:** another's children *24.32A,* **'ita:'ya' LA'ahGAyu:** your father's slaves *11.129A,* **q'Aq'ya' kAna'd** loon's coat *24.40A,* **'Aw sidAGe:'ya' q'Adj** my younger sister's hair-ribbon *23.36, 37A,* **qi:yiLichanhya' dzAwuL** spider's web *L (cf. 2. below),* **dAXunhya' Gunhd** person's knee's *24.95A (-Gunh 'knee' normally possessed, here used as non-possessed, perhaps incorrectly).*

1b. *Where o is postpositional phrase, or preverb, in some cases perhaps to be identified with ya'~Aya'~iya' or with ya'4*: **lu:di:'dya' tsa:dla:dAXunh** tide-beach stone-man *10.231A,* **lu:di:'dya' shAlAGdAXunhyu:** tide-beach butterclam-people *10.231A,* **lu:ya' qe'L** tide-woman *3.14M,* **GALla'q'dya' kAna:'d** overcoat *L,* **qihda:q'ya' t'ahL** plant species < leaves on meadow *L,* **lisda:q'ya' le:L** beard-moss < hair on spruce *L,* **ma:ya'ya' sinhX** pond-scum *A,* **ma:ya'dya' 'Ana:shah** pond-lilies *L,* **ts'AlyAq'ya' Xe:** marrow < bone interior's grease *L.*

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1c. *Nominalized* o's *(functioning as head, not attribute, of noun phrase)*: *with personal pronoun as o, rare without independent personal pronoun preceding for emphasis:* **'Awa: 'uya' k'uGi:Le'** that some of it might become theirs *54.3G, with independent personal pronoun: Rezanov* Хуссы-а 'Надобно bedürfen', *Khromchenko* Ху-сія 'Моя' **xu: siya'** mine, it's *mine L,* И-я 'Его' ('his') **'i: 'iya'** it's yours *L,* Іяшу 'Твоя' **'i: 'iya'shAw** is it *yours*?, **'i: 'iya' sALe'L** it became yours *L,* **xu: siya' XAwa: k'udzu:, 'i: 'iya' k'ushiyah** my dog is good, yours bad *L,* **xu: siya' k'udzu:, 'i: 'iya' k'ushiyah** mine's good, your's bad *L,* **'i: 'iya' 'uq'AGit'u', xu: siya' ya:luhdg** you've plenty, I've few < yours is abundant, mine few *L, Rezanov* Коюкая 'Наши unsere' **GAyAqa:ya'** ours *L,* **lAXi: lAXya'** yours (pl.) *L,* **'AyAGAya'** theirs *10.80A, with demonstrative pronoun as o:* **'anhya'** his *L,* **'ahnu:ya'** theirs *L, with interrogative as o: Rezanov*

Туятали 'Чей wessen' **du:ya'dAl…** whose is this? *L, with nouns, nominal phrases, or nominalizations as o:* **tl'A'a:Gya' k'uXehL 'uXa'** her basket-strap *18.5L,* **dAXunhyu:ya'** people's *9.86, 140, 148, 159, 160, 162, 10.186A,* **ch'i:lehya'** Raven's *10.80, 80A,* **sAqe:GAyu:ya'** children's *23.19A,* ***cannery*ya'** cannery's *61.77A,* **k'ula:Giya'** someone else's *L; with postpositional phrase as o (as in 1b. above):* **k'Ayi:ny lahq'Aya'** that of foreign villages *68.84A (cf. ya'~Aya').*

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2. (utensil, vessel, trap used specifically) for o *(far less frequent than 1., see also o-Xa', o-wahd)*: **xutl'ya' XuhLgL** snow shovel *BSdL 548, L,* **k'utse'ya' Le't'** meat box *BSdL 546, L,* **Xe:ya' tsa:'L** grease box *7.28A,* **ts'iyuhya' duxL** black-bear trap *L,* **lixahya' duxL** grizzly-bear trap *L (cf.* **qi:yiLichanhya' dzAwuL** spiderweb < spider's net *under 1a.),* **k'ulehya' ch'iyahd** mushroom < rain-hat *G (Harrington).*

ya'X *(perhaps to be analyzed ya'-X, identified with ya'4 'in vessel with broad opening at top, concave topographical feature', with -X final 'movement within area', or with ya'1, subentry ya' 2., 'movement along vertical axis'; see also yAX)*

ya'X 1. *(preverb) (always with zero (-X?) 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-L-ta'tl', O-tux, d-dA-tux, O-(L-)ta 1., l-ta, 'Ad-y-dA(~LA)-ta, ya'X 'i:nLta:X, O-t'i'ch'(-L)~-t'Ach'(-L), O-L-t'ik'~-t'Ak', O-gdl-LA-t'ik', O-L-t'ux, LA-t'ux, O-d-L-t'Aq', O-L-tl'i: 2b., -Le(') 4., O-L-tsinhd, ya'X XAdAtsinhdL, O-ts'AX, -sid, Xdl-sid, O-dja:t', O-L-dja:t', -djahG(-L), ya'X dAshid k'u:Leh, O-L-shu:t', O-kihsh 2., d-L-k'a't', L-k'a't', L-xitl'~-xutl'~-xAtl' 1., -xuL~-xwAL~-xAL (transitive), O-gAdj, O-L-GAdj 1., GAsh, ya'X dAGAGshg, d-LA-qahG, O-qa (qa1), O-Xahd 1., O-L-Xahd 1., O-L-Xe'dz, O-Xe, O-(L-)wus~-wAs, -le'g~-le'gw 1a., O-L-u'g~-ug 1a., 2a. (le'g~), O-lAG, ya'X k'u-lX-le, ya' Xd-le, X-'ya, 'ut'e'ts'G ya'X k'uda'ya:k' ('ya), 'Ad-'-gdl-LA-ya:', O-'e'dz 2b., O-'Adz 1b., LA-'Adz 2., 'i-L-'e~-'an 11., O-(L-)'a 7., LA-'a 1., 'i-'a 1., 'i-d-'a 1., 3., 'i-d-('-)L-'a´ 1., O-L-(y)a ; in certain cases, directly preceding verb theme referring to extension which begins with Xd-class-mark or -thematic, there is some confusion between ya'X and ya' 2. 'vertical, to a vertical state of rest', see Xdl-sid, ya' d-'a´; in combination with other preverbs, apparently always preceding, except, sometimes, q'e'~q'e:-: with qid 'pointing, aiming':* **ya'X qid** pointing, aimed up *(see -sid, passive), -'a´ 6b., with qa' 'up out':* **ya'X qa'** up, *see -da 9.(2), -tsAtl'~-tsitl' (transitive), with Xu' 'right, straight, complete':* **ya'X Xu' sahL-** *personal name* < grew right up straight *(analysis uncertain, see under a1), with yAX 'reversal of motion':* **ya'X yAX xdAta:X** I keep lifting it up and setting it down *L, with q'e'~q'e:- 'back, again, some more':* **ya'X q'e'**, *see O-(L-)ta, O-ts'AX, ya'X O-dl-L-Xa'tl', q'e:ya'X, see O-(L-)ta (34.70M), O-ts'AX, d-L-k'a't' (47c.41L), O-L-Xahd 1..*

2. *(noun, uncertain)* upper part: *in clause lacking verb, 23.115A.*

'ya'X

O-**'-L-'ya'X** S ask for, want O: *Rezanov* Уухлияхтъ *(with* у *written over* а*)* 'Прошу ich bitte' **'Aw 'u'xLya'X…**, **'Aw 'a'xLya'X…**, **'Aw 'u'xLya'X** I want it, I'm asking for it *L,* **'i'Lya'X** he (e.g. boss) wants you, is asking for you *L, Rezanov* Катлияхъ 'Проси bitten (Imperat.)' **qa'Lya'X**, **'Aw qa'Lya'Xinh**, **'Aw 'u'qa'Lya'Xinh** he'll ask for it *L, with o-X 'in contact with o':* **ya'Xu: 'uX k'uqu'yiLya'Xinh** don't ask him for anything *L,* **'iX 'a'xLya'X** I want it from you, I'm asking you for it *L, Rezanov* Хынхохатляхъ 'Велыть' (not in Radloff, 'to order, command') **Xi:nX[inh] 'uX 'a'Lya'X** ask him for it!, **'Aw 'uX 'a'Lya'Xinh** tell him to give it to you!, ask him for it! *L, Rezanov* Аугокатлияхъ 'Просить bitten', **'Aw ('uX) 'u'GALya'X** ask (him) for it; *passive:* **'u'sLi'ya'XL** it's been asked for *L.*

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k’u’wa’ya’X *(uncertain, gerundive of preceding with k'u-indefinite O)* asking for something: *possible reading in Rezanov* Яхокъкавояхъ 'Не проси bitte nicht!', *perhaps* **ya’Xu: q’Ak’u’wa’ya’X** no asking for anything!, *lack of -L-classifier otherwise inexplicable, L rejecting all themes with zero classifier.*

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O-**’-d-L-’ya’X** *(with d-thematic, perhaps 'oral, noise')* S beg persistently for O, *with o-X as above*: **siX k’u’dALya’Xinh** he's begging, pestering me for something *L.*

ya’XAkih *(partly analyzable, with -kih 'diminutive', ya'X- perhaps < o-ya'-X '(movement with)in o (with broad opening at top)' with zero o, or preverb ya'X 'up', or perhaps o-ya' 'in o (with broad opening at top)', i.e. 'vessel', or 'body of water' with zero o, and 'AX 'boat')*

ya’XAkih *(noun, unclassified)* large canoe, war canoe, umiak *L*: *Rezanov* Ягаке 'Баидара ('baidar') Baidare', *Anonymous* Яхакги 'Байдара', *Galushia Nelson* yàxə́qɛ’ *or* yàⁿxə́qɛ’ 'sealskin umiak (for war)' *BSdL 550, Rezanov* Ягакекучики 'Баидарка ('baidarka') kleine Baidare' **ya’XAkihkuch’gkih** small umiak.

ya’Xu: *(unanalyzable, segmentable ya'X-u:, ya'-Xu:, ya'-X-u:, cf. yAxuh; L rejects proposed *ya'XAw, *ya'Xuh)*

ya’Xu: *(exclamation)* no!, don't!, don't do that!, let not …!, let it not happen!, not to, *general prohibitive*: *independent: 17.9M, 21b.2A, 34b.47L, 48.17L,* **ya’Xu: ’utl’ dAGAli:n’inh** tell him not to, tell him "don't" *L, Rezanov* Яхоенатльте 'Не наклонися bücke dich nicht' *perhaps to be read* **ya’Xu:, yAna:’d ’Alte:** 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 elicitations) 'don't ...': 1b.21M, 5.3L, 9.159, 161A, 10.7A, 10.232A, 11.53A, 11.163A, 13.4, 5L, 17.6M, 24.21A, 39.2L, 48.3L, 49.127A, 51.85A, 52.34L, 58.2L, 60.9A, 61.14, 29, 35A, Rezanov* Яхоикшкактакотиле 'Не лги lüge nicht!' **ya’Xu: ’ishguGdah qu’di:leh** don't lie, Яхохъшколекъ 'Нетронъ rühr (mich? nicht an!' **ya’Xu: …ch’ qu’yile’g** don't touch …, Яхохъуильхуть 'Не стрѣляи schiesse nicht!' **ya’Xu: qu’yiLxut’** don't shoot it, Яхоку-эльхе 'Не мажь schmiere nicht!' **ya’Xu: qu’yiLXe’** don't grease it, Яхокуаше 'Не мучь quäle nicht!' **ya’Xu: qu’yisheh** don't kill it *(or* **ya’Xu: qu’wAsheh** let it not kill it?*),* Яхокъуекке 'Не ѣжди fahre nicht' **ya’Xu: qu’yiqeh** don't go (by boat), Яхосытавакуетту 'Не дожидаися warte nicht!' **ya’Xu: sidAwa: qu’yit’uh** don't wait for me, Яхокъуецутъ 'Не спи schafe nicht!' **ya’Xu: qu’yitsu’d** don't sleep, Яхокъуекенгъ 'Не плачь weine nicht!' **ya’Xu: qu’yiki:nX** don't weep, Яхутанкотитакъ 'Не стучи klopfe nich' **ya’Xu: … qu’di:…** don't … *(preverb and stem not identified, with d-thematic 'oral, noise' or class-mark for O, perhaps 'door, board, wood'), with first person singular S:* **ya’Xu: ’Adqu’xdAsheh** let me not kill myself *(a drink said) L,* **ya’Xu: k’ushiyah ’ila’X qu’di:xLyah** let me not anger you *L, with o-ya:tl' 'with o's permission':* **ya’Xu: ’iya:tl’ qu’lAXi:xXAL** don't let me get drunk *L, with first person plural S:* **ya’Xu: te’ya’ da: qu’Xi:wah** let's not eat fish *L,* **ya’Xu: ’ulah da: q’e:yAX ’Adqe:lihLa’yah** let's not think about it any more *L, with third person S: 18.71, 80L, 20.68, 68A, 25.159, 164A (cust),* **ya’Xu: ’iXa’ qa’ki:nXinh** don't let him cry "on" you *L,* **ya’Xu: ’iya:tl’ qa’Lxut’inh** don't let him shoot me < let him not shoot me with your permisson *L,* **ya’Xu: (’iya:tl’) ’iqe’LAxut’** don't let him shoot *L,* **ya’Xu: k’ushiyah ’ila’X qu’di:Lyinhinh** let him not anger you *L, with preceding 'AlAshgahX or suffixed -shgahX 'would that, I hope that':* **ya’Xu:shgahX** I hope not *L,* **’AlAshgahX ya’Xu: qa’qu’tl’** I hope it doesn't break *L,* **’AlAshgahX ya’Xu: qa: qu’dALAdinhinh** I hope he doesn't understand us *L,* **ya’Xu:shgahX qa’sinhinh** I hope he doesn't die *L,* **ya’Xu:shgahX Xa:’d k’ushiyah qa’Le’** I hope it's not nasty weather *L, with optative clause (almost certainly incorrect):* **ya’Xu:shgahX ’iLiqa’t’g** I hope it doesn't ferment *M; with 'a'd 'very much':* **’a’d**

ya'Xu: never!, by no means (let that happen)! *M,* **'a'd ya'Xu: 'Aw 'utl' qi'yiXinhinh** by all means, whatever you do, don't tell her that! *49.129A; with gerundive, attested mainly in Rezanov, mostly not verified by modern informants, and usually with* -хъ-а-, -хъ--, -къ-а- *between ya'Xu: and verb, probably representing q'ah~q'A- as in cautionary negative Inceptive imperative* Яхохъ-атетухъ 'Не плюй speie nicht!' **ya'Xu: q'ah dAtux** no spitting!, Яхохъ-кокочке 'Не греби rudere nicht!' **ya'Xu: q'Ak'uGAdjg…** no paddling!, Яхохъ-лехенне 'Не смѣйся [lache (spotte) nicht!]' **ya'Xu: q'Ali'xi:ni:** no laughing, Яхохъ-аясуэхъ 'Неплыви schwimme nicht!' **ya'Xu: q'ah yA[X 'i]swe:X** no swimming!, Яхокъ-аканне 'Не дерись prügle dich nicht!' **ya'Xu: q'ah qa'ni:** no fighting!, Яхокъкавояхъ 'Не проси bitte nicht!' *perhaps* **ya'Xu: q'Ak'u'wa'ya'X** no asking for anything!, Яхульхысхосъ 'Не бось fürchte nicht!' **ya'Xu: lAXisxwa:s** no being scared!.

ya:' *(stem almost certainly related to that in O-L-(y)a pl. classificatory, q.v.; probably expanded as in persistive, with -' coda as in verbs derived from nouns ending in V:, e.g. -ma:' < ma: 'lake')*

L-ya:' multiply be in position or move, *attested only in reference to movement of waves; wider use perhaps possible, but not tested*: **yAq'Ach' dla:Lya:'** they (waves) lap up, keep lapping up on shore *L,* **tanh qi' lAG dla:Lya:'** where waves lap ashore *L.*

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O-**L-ya:'** handle O in pl. acts: *with qa'~qa:nch' 'up out': Active imperative:* **ta'd qa:nch' 'ALya:'** rinse it in water! *L,* **ya'd qa:nch' 'ALya:'** rinse them (one by one)! *M, Active perfective:* **ta'd qa' siLya:'L** I rinsed it (dipping it in and out several times) *L, Active imperfective:* **ta'd qa:nch' xLya:'** I'm rinsing it in water *M,* **q'ahshAw ta'd qa:nch' yiLya:'** are you rinsing it (finally)? *L, with ya:n' 'down': Active imperative:* **'u:d ya:nch' 'ALya:'** set them down there! *M, Active imperfective:* **ya:nch' xLya:'** I'm setting them down one after another *M,* **qi' GAdisdiGu'Lda:d 'ahnu: ya:n' 'ALyi:n'inh** they set him down where it's warm *21a.30L, Active optative:* **ya:nch'k'a' yAX 'iLiya:'** set them down once in a while along the way *L, customary: 65.12, 13A,* **dik' 'uya:tl' ya:n' k'u'xLya:'k'Ginh** he never lets me (cust) set it down *M, with o-ch' 'to, toward o': Active imperative:* **sich' 'ALya:'** give them to me (one by one)! *LM, Inceptive imperfective:* **k'uch' qu'xLya:'** I'll give them away (in successive separate acts) *L, Active perfective:* **k'uch' siLya:'L** I gave them away *L, Active imperfective:* **dik' 'ahnu:ch' k'u:Lya:'Ginh** he doesn't give them anything *10.58A,* **dik' dAde:kihduhnu: 'ahnu:ch' 'ALya:'G** he doesn't give them a single little bit *10.59A,* **k'uch' k'ALyi:n'inh** she's giving away things *L, customary:* **'ahnu:ch' 'Aw 'ALya:'k'** it would give them to them *28.25A, repetitive:* **k'uch' k'uxLya:'g** I give something away (hand things out at potlatch) *LM, with various other preverbs and postpositional phrases: Active imperative:* **da:X 'ALya:'** stretch skin on frame! *L,* **La'g 'AdiXich' 'ALya:'** bring in wood (several trips)! *M, Rezanov* Какъояляхлиау 'Раздѣли theilen (Imperat.)' **qa'X 'Aw ya: 'AlAXLya:'**?, **qa'X 'Aw ya: 'AlAXLya:'uh** pl. pass it around so each has a share! *M (ya: perhaps in error for ya:n'),* **da'ch' 'ALya:'** put them in a box, closed(?) container! *L,* **k'uyAq'Ach' 'ALya:'** put them inside something (one at a time)! *L,* **yAq'Ach' 'ALya:'** put the goods ashore! *L,* **Lich'a:ch' 'Ash 'ALya:'** move them over to the other side! *L,* **'iLt'a' 'ALya:'** set them in row! *L,* **'iLt'a:nch' 'ALya:'** gather them up! *L, Inceptive imperfective: 65.59A,* **da:X qu'xLya:'** I'll stretch skin on frame *L,* **k'uyAq'Ach' qu'xLya:'** I'll put them inside something (one at a time)! *L, Active imperfective: 10.38, 45, 65.3A, 66.7L,* **k'ude:dah dlAGAxu: 'a:nda' 'AxLya:'G** I can't bring it here all by myself *11.44A,* **'u:ch'ahd qid yiLya:' da:X dik'** you may take them down but not *11.162A,* **'AnahshAkihga' 'i:t'eh 'ahnu:ch' qAnuhch' Lyi:n'inu:** they kept showing her nice things *38.7LM,* **'i:nsLiwa'Ltah 'uXa' 'u:d q'e:ya:nu' 'ALyi:n'inh** he'd put his snuff-can this time down underwater there *56.10L,* **da'ch' xLya:'** I'm putting canned goods etc. (already canned) away (e.g. for winter, in boxes, shelves) *L,* **t'a'ch'** *(not *t'a:nch')* **xLAya:'** I'm putting them in my pocket *L,* **siyAtl'e:q'Ach' 'Aw Lyi:n'inh** he's putting it towards, in my palm *L,* **sila'ch' k'uLyi:n'inh** he's

covering me up, giving me clothes *M,* **sila'q'Ach' k'uLyi:n'inh** he's covering me up, putting things on me, giving me clothes *M,* **'Aw ditl'a'g ch'iyahd'e'X 'iya: xLya:'** I'm trading you these books for your hat(s) *L,* **'iLt'a'd xLya:'** I'm hanging them up (one after another) *L,* **'iLt'a:nch'** *(not 'iLt'a'ch')* **xLya:'** I'm gathering them up *L,* **lu:di:'dAX 'iLt'a:nch' k'uLyi:n'inh** he's beachcombing *L,* **'Aw ya:yu: 'iL'e'X LAyi:'inu:** they're trading each other things *L, customary: 9.53, 76, 77, 127, 10.132, 132, 140, 143, 146, 145A, 21a.2L, 23.97, 28.117, 118, 119, 33.35A, 45a.14L, 51.31, 65.5, 6, 12, 13, 14, 15, 15, 19, 20, 20, 23, 24, 25, 25, 25, 25, 27, 27, 36A,* **'Aw dAsAL'ehdL 'Awa:, Xe:ya'ch' q'Aw 'AxLya:'k'** that of it which is dry, I've been putting up in sealoil *10.137A,* **dik' ta:dz 'iLu' ya:nu'ch' k'uLAya:'k'G** in the old days they didn't use to bury one another *28.114A,* **siqa' 'AlAk'ahch' xu:nLya:'k'** my husband always gets me out of bed *M,* **si'ehd 'AlAk'ahch' 'AxLya:'k'** I (cust) get my wife out of bed *M (cf. L-a for non-customary),* **Lich' sitl' 'iLd k'uLya:'k'inh** he (cust) always splits things with me *L, repetitive:* **'iLt'a'd qi'yiLya:g** you'll hang them up *65.33A,* **Li'q' Li:dAwa: La'g 'Awa: dALich' 'ALya:'gk'inh** every morning he always (cust) brings wood (several trips) *M; passive: Active perfective:* **k'uch' sLiya:'L** (*or* **sdiya:'L**) they've been given away (to someone, one after another) *L,* **Li'q' ya:yu: k'uch' sdiya:'L** they've all been given away (separately) *L, Active imperfective:* **'AXAya'ch' dAya:'** it was being loaded into the boats *37b.22A, customary:* **'uch' 'Aw 'AdAya:'k'inh, 'Aw qu'Xi:dahwahya:** it was given to her, that foodstuff *25.31A, with class-, anatomical, and thematic marks for O, with various uses of qualifiers: imperatives:* **qu' dAGALya:'** put it on the fire! *L,* **da:na: dA'u:ch' di:Lya:'** save up money! *L,* **sich' tsin'li:Lya:'** move that pile of junk over to me (bit by bit)! *L,* **'a:nch' lAXa:Lya:'** bring berries here (several trips)! *L,* **sich' lAXa:Lya:'** bring me berries (several trips)! *L, Active perfective:* **lAXAsALya:'Linh** he brought, handled berries (in several trips) *L, Active imperfective:* **da:na: dA'u:ch' di:Lya:'** you're saving up money *L,* **'Al tsa'L 'Aw'e'X 'iya:** (*or* **'ich'**) **dAxLya:'** I'm trading you this knife for that *L,* **da'ch' lAXAxLya:'** I'm canning berries *L,* **, 'iLt'a:nch'** (*or* **'iLt'a'ch'**) **dAxLya:'** I'm gathering them (eggs) up *L, customary: 29.21, 22, 24, 33.14, 14, 37, 65.12, 20A,* **k'ulAXAdzu: la'mahd q'uhnu:, LinhGda:ch' 'Aw lAXALya:'k'** the good berries, those they would put in one place *29.20A.*

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'iLt'a:nch' k'uya:' *(gerund or verbal noun)* gathering: **xAGALga'L 'iLt'a:nch' k'uya:'** I'm getting tired of picking things up *L,* **'iLt'a:nch' k'uya:' xusALga'L** I'm tired of picking things up *L.*

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l-L-ya:' move head in pl. acts: *Active imperative:* **ya:nch' li:Lya:'** nod! *(in prayer) L, Inceptive imperfective:* **ya:nch' qu'li:xLya:'** "I'll cross myself, pray" *M, Active perfective:* **ya:nch' lAsALya:n'Linh** he nodded his head (several times) *L (nasalization verified but presumably under influence of ya:nch' and -inh),* **ya:nch' 'Ad-lisLiya:'Linh** he nodded his head *M, Active imperfective:* **ya:nch' lAxLya:'** "I'm praying" *M,* **ya:nch' lALyi:n'inh** he's nodding his head (praying) *LM.*

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O-**l-L-ya:'** gather all up in pl. acts: *customary:* **qe'LGAyu:lu'qa: dAXunhyu:'a: tsa' la:yiLya:'k'** you (cust) pillage stuff downhill for people in order to get women *10.187A,* **'Aw li:Lya:'k'inh** he'd get a haul of them *23.2A,*

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o-**k'ahch'** O-**l-L-ya:'** keep forgetting: *Active imperfective:* **'uk'ahch' lAxLya:'** I keep forgetting it *L,* **'uk'ahch' Lich' lAxLya:'** I keep forgetting *L, customary:* **'uk'ahch' lAGALya:'k'** he tries to make him forget *L (cf. -k'ah lA-L-ta 'make one forget'),* **'uk'ahch' Lich' lAxLya:'k'** I (cust) keep forgetting *L,* **dAqa:yu: 'Awa:, 'Awk'ah li:Lya:'k'inh 'Aw k'e:dunh dAle:, qu'di:le:,**

'Awk'ah li:Lya:'k' sometimes however, he forgets how to say it, how he'll say it, he forgets *69.25, 26A,* **'uk'ah da: li:Lya:'k'** we forget it *70.3A.*

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o-**dahd** O-**'-l-L-ya:'** hear o pl. times, hear o one after another: *Active imperfective:* **'udahd 'u'lAxLya:'** I keep hearing it *L,* **'ahnu:dahd Lich' 'u'lALyi:n'inh** he would always hear their sound *56.24L, customary:* **sAqe:ts'Akihya' ki:nX q'Aw 'Awdahd 'u'lALya:'k'** it's the sound of a child crying he hears *36.6A; passive,* sound of o be heard, o make sound: *Active imperative:* **'udahd 'u'la:LAya:'** (repeatedly) make noises (on several occasions)! *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **qa:dahd 'u'qu'lAdAya:'** our noise will be heard repeatedly *L, Active imperfective:* **'idAGu' da:X 'u:ch' 'udahd 'u'la:LAya:'** as it starts warming up its sound is heard there *21a.15L,* **dik' 'udahd q'e' 'u'lALAya:'G** no more of its sounds were heard *21b.59A, customary:* **'udahd 'u'la:LAya:'k'** (cust) make (separate) noises! *L,* **te'ya'yu:lA'e: 'udahd 'u'la:LAya:'k'** it makes a sound different from other salmon *21a.10L.*

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'iLt'a'X li' O-**'(-l)-L-ya:'** fold pl. O one after another: *Inceptive imperfective:* **'iLt'a'X li' 'u'qu'lAdAya:'** I'll fold them (one after another) *L, Active imperfective:* **'iLt'a'X li' 'u'lAxLya:'** I'm folding them (one after another) *L.*

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'Adu-'-gdl-LA-ya:' curl: *Active imperfective:* **ya'X 'Adu'gudla:LAya:'** they curl upwards *65.61A, customary:* **yAX 'Adu'gudli:LAya:'k'** he somersaults, flips over, curls over *M,* **'Aw kAwusgLdig yAX 'Adu'gudli'LAya:'k', 'u:d, 'Aw LanhddAGd** also the paddles would curl, there, over the smoke *33.19A.*

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qu'GALya:' shield-fern sprouts < put them in the fire! *L, 9.52A*: **qu'GALya:'yu:** shieldfern-sprouts *23.95A,* **qu'GALya:'LdALt'ahL** *(hesitation-form, blend of -L-t'ahL and -d-L-t'ahL) 9.55A,* **qu'GALya:'Lt'ahL** leaf of edible shield-fern *L, 9.52, 61, 76A. Unique relativization of Inceptive imperative.*

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qa' GAdi'Lya:', **qa' gAdi'Lya:'** Alaska daisies *LM. Apparently nominalized 'i- imperative, perhaps analogous to 'i- imperative of customary.*

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xahd 'uXAla'X li' dAya:' groove at end of shaft where barbed spear head is inserted < barbed spear head is hung deeply on it *L. Active imperfective, passive.*

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'AXAkih qi' XAta:s dAya:' *(place-name)* 1. *canoe passage in Hawkins Island* < place where canoes are taken across *L.*

2. *creek above Boswell Bay.*

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'uX ya'd k'uya:' pier < by means of it some things are unloaded one after another out of boats *L. With zero suffix.*

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k'uch' k'ALyi:n'inh *(personal name) Lena's grandmother, Mrs Chief Joe* < she gives away things *L. Active imperfective relativized.*

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qa: ta'X (**yAX**) **'i:nLyi:n'inh** priest < he puts our heads (down) into water *LMA, 51.77, 79, 80, 82, 89A. Active imperfective relativized.*

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di:ya’ ’uya’ch’ gu:ndAya:’ salt shaker (i.e. cellar?) < salt is put into it bit by bit *L. Passive relativized.*

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ya:nu’ch’ lAXAdAya:’ seeds (for planting) < granular are put underground one after another *L. Active imperfective.*

yan´

di:yanh, di:ya:n *(noun, unclassified)* "stickerback" *LMS, (probably 'three-spine stickleback', Gasterosteus aculeatus, and 'nine-spine stickleback', Pungitius pungitius), usually pronounced [di:nyah] LM, [di:nyanh, di:nñyah] L, [di:nnya:n] MS*: **di:nyaht’u’** lots of stickerbacks *LM, Nominalized Neuter imperfective with d-thematic, theme d-yan´ not otherwise attested.*

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di:nyanh ’uya’d ’idAdAleh *(place-name) Kokinhenik, Coquenhena (local English kowkɨnhíynə, kowpɨnhíynə) Island in Copper River Delta, site of cannery 1890-1897 <* sticklebacks carry on in it (concavity) *L (< Tlingit k’agʌnhíni < k’agʌ́n 'pinfish, stickleback', hín 'river'), Eyak di:yanh 'stickleback' (see yan´), 'uya'd 'in it (o with broad opening at top, body of water), 'idAdAleh problematical, perhaps passive under -le 4b. with 'idA- abstract relative instead of wAX, or perhaps passive under -le 7. with 'idah reduced ('sticklebacks are cleaned there'?), "nice place to get sticklebacks" L.*

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di:yanhsha:w’AlAkih *(noun, unclassified)* "native canary" *M ([di:nyah-], unidentified bird, so named because its call sounds like this form)* < little stickleback-head.

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Xd-yan´ *(with Xd-thematic 'sharp')* S be, become sharp: *Neuter imperfective Rezanov* Хаттейя 'Острой scharf', **XAdi:yanh** it's sharp, sharp-pointed, sharp-edged *[XAdi:nñyah] LMA,* **dik’ XAda’ya:nG** it's not sharp *[XAda'ñya:G] M,* **XAdi:yanh q’a’** sharp stick (for use in roasting) < stick which is sharp *L,* **’uXu:nLAyah ’Awa: XAdi:yinhinh** his teeth are sharp *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **qu’XAdi:yanh** it'll be sharp *[qu'XAdi:nyah] L,* **dik’ qu’XAdiyanhG** it won't be sharp *[qu'XAdi:nyahG] L, Inceptive perfective:* **XAdAGAyan’L** it's getting sharp *[XAdAGAñya'L] LM, Active perfective:* **XAdAsAyan’L** it got sharp *[XAdAsAñya'L] L,* **dik’ XAdAsyan’LG** it's not (it didn't get) sharp *L, repetitive Inceptive perfective:* **XAdAGAyan’gL** it's getting sharp *L, with dl-class-mark for S:* **tsi:n XAdli:yanh** branches are sharp *L. Transitive (causative):* **XAdi:Lya:n’** sharpen it! *LM,* **XAdisiLyan’L** I sharpened it *L.*

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-Xd-yanh *(adjective, uncertain)* sharp: *suffixed to dl-class-noun:* **tsa:XAdla:yah** sharp stone *L (uncertain, perhaps Active imperfective).*

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Xd-yan´-G *(with thematic negative)* S be, become dull: *Neuter imperfective, with negative prefix: Rezanov* Хатаиякату 'Туπо stumpf' **XAda’ya:Gduh** it's dull!, **XAda’ya:G** it's dull *[XAda'ñya:G] A,* **XAdAGAya:n’LG** (*to be corrected to* **-yan’LG**) it's (getting) dull *M.*

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Xa:gudi:yanh *(noun, unclassified)* porcupine *LMAS, base form etymologically reconstructed, actualized also Xa:n-, -gA-, -di:n-, -yah, -ya:, -ya:n, thus transcribed* **Xa:ngAdi:nyanh** *16.1M,* **Xa:ngAdi:nya:n** *16.6, 8, 9, 12, 15, 22, 24, 27, 31M,* **Xa:ngAdi:nyah** *23.133A,* **Xa:gAdi:nya:** *S,* **Xa:gAdi:nyah** *LA, Harrington* ɣaakkɯttíinyʊ̈h *G, Li* ɣą́·kədį́·yà *(with nasalization under í· erased out) G, Galushia Nelson* ɣágəɒínáyà’ *or* ɣákátíyà*, Old Man*

Dude xákə́tíyà ("skin is sharp") *BSdL 538*: **Xa:ngAdi:yah'luw** big porcupine *LM. Nominalized Neuter imperfective, probably with g-thematic or gd-anatomical 'rump', perhaps in combination with Xd-thematic, Xa:- (or Xa:n-?) being inexplicable or irregular for XA-,? 'it's sharp-rumped'. See also Eyak Texts 16.0fn..*

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ts'AXXAdi:yanh (?)

ya:n' *(perhaps related to ya:(n) and/or to yAna:'-, perhaps to be analyzed y-a:n', cf. Xa:n', da:n', na:', cf. also e.g. qa'~qa:n~qa:, and therefore perhaps related to ya'1, thus *ya'~ya:n, ya:n being the form with -ch' final, ya:n' a back-formation)*

ya:n' *(preverb) (usually with zero or -ch' final, very rarely with -d and -dAX finals; in combination with other preverb yAX always in order ya:n'ch' yAX, in combination with q'e'~q'e:- ya:n'(ch') q'e' or q'e:ya:n'(ch'))* down *(not necessarily with limited or controlled motion, generally to ground, floor, or horizontal plane as natural resting-place, cf. yAX under yAX3)*: *with -d final 'at rest' (rare, only one attestation):* **'u:d ya:n'd sAtahL** it's (at rest) down there *L, with -dAX final 'motion within area' (rare, only one attestation):* **'u:d ya:n'dAX yAX lAdAqu:Xinu:** 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 ya:n'-ch') with repetitive, customary, O-L-ya:n':* **ya:n' GALa'** set them down!, **'idah ya:n' GALa'** pick them up!, arrange them! < set them down nicely! *M,* **ya:n' qu'xLah** I'll set them down *M,* **'idah ya:n' qu'xLah** I'll pick them up, arrange them *M,* **ya:n' siLahL** I set them down *M,* **'idah ya:n' siLahL** I picked them up, arranged them *M,* **'idah 'Aw ya:n' sALahLinu:** they arranged (beached) them (canoes) *59.9 Galushia Nelson,* **'uq' ya:n' k'uGALa'** put some down on it! *21b.58A,* **qa'X 'Aw ya:n' sLiyahL** each was given a share < they were put down amongst themselves *L, Rezanov* Какъ-ояляхлиау 'Раздѣли theilen (Imperat.)' **qa'X 'Aw ya:n'** (?) **'AlAXLAya:'uh** pl. share them!, **qa'X 'Aw ya:'AlAXLya:'** (*i.e.* **ya:n' 'AlAXLAya:'** ?) pl. pass it around! *M, Rezanov* Какъауслиатенна 'Раздѣлить theilen' **qa'X 'Aw ya:n'** (?) **sLiyahLinu:** (*or* **sLiya:'Linu:**) they shared them, **dik' 'uya:tl' ya:n' k'u:xLya:'G** he doesn't let me set them down < I don't set them down with his permission *M,* **dik' 'uya:tl' ya:n' k'u'xLya:k'Ginh** he doesn't (cust) let me set them down *M, for further zero finals with O-L-ya:' see 21a.30L, 65.12, 13fnA, see also -da 4., 10., -tu'ch' (3.), -te (5.), L-te, O-L-te, O-L-ta 1., O-tsu:x, O-gu'k', O-L-kinhd, ya:n' dl-kug, L-xitl'~ 1. (xu'tl'~), -xuL~ (transitive reciprocal), ya:n' O-dl-GahG, L-qAtl', d-LA-qahG, -qu 4., gdl-~Gdl-wa'L~-wahL, -wus- 2., dl-Xa'tl', -le'g 9a., -la 2., (la~na1), -'ya 28., d-'ya 1a., dl-'ya 2., O-(L-)'a 9., 'i-d-'a 1., ya:n' tsin'(l)-LA-'a, ya:n'dA'a'L ('a'~), -a (60.3, 15, 19A), with q'e'~q'e:-:* **ya:n' q'e' qu'xdAteh** I'll lie down again *M,* **ya:n' q'e' xsditehL** I lay back down *M,* **ya:n' q'e' qu'xtsu:x** I'll push it back down *M,* **ya:n' q'e' dla:siLXa'tl'L** I knocked it back over *M,* **ya:n' q'e' 'AdAda:k'** it (cust) alights back down *47c.40L,* **ya:n' q'e' 'AdAda:k'** it (motor) (cust) conks back out *L,* **q'e:ya:n'** *also in 6.9M, 50.17A; with -ch' final, ya:n'ch'* (continuous or repeated motion) downward to, toward bottom, floor, ground, horizontal plane as natural resting place*, usual with Inceptive perfective, rep, cust, O-L-ya:', otherwise, e.g. with Inceptive imperfective, Active imperative, generally meaning* further down: **ya:n'ch' xLya:'** I'm setting them down one after another *M,* **'u:d ya:n'ch' 'ALya:'** set them down there! *M, see also -da 4., l-ta, O-L-dza'tl', O-dl-L-dza'tl', ya:n'ch' k'udAtsidzg, O-tsu:x, O-ts'AX 1., O-dja', (28.62A), -she'g, O-L-kinhd, O-Guhd-, l-qu 1., gdl-~Gdl-wa'L~-wahL, O-(L-)wus~, O-L-Xa'tl' (reciprocal), O-L-u'g~ 1a., 2a., 2b., (le'g~), -la 2. (la~na1), l-L-ya:', d-'ya 1a., gl-'ya 1., O-'e'dz, O-L-'e'dz, 'i-L-'e~-'an 8., -'a 2., -'a' 3., 11., note* **ya:n'ch' GAda', ya:n'ch' 'Ade:** sit further down! *L, (see further instances under -da 3a., l-ta, l-L-ya:', dl-'ya 2c., with q'e'~q'e:- 'back again':* **ya:n'ch' q'e' sitsu:xL** I pushed it down again *M,* **ya:n'ch' q'e' siLu'gL** I pushed it back down (with my hand) *L,* **ya:n'ch' q'e' dAGAda'ya:L** it's starting to rain again *L,* **q'e:ya:n'ch' GAdla:sALwa'L** he lowered them back down *34.113L,*

with other preverbs: with perambulative: **ya:n'ch' k'a' yAX 'iLiya:'** you should set them down here and there along the way *L,* **ya:n'ch' yAX 'AdAde:** (*or* **'AdAda:**) sit down here and there along the way! *L, with yAX 'downward, (turning) over':* **di:yAX ya:n'ch' yAX gAlAGa'ya:LG** it (tide) hasn't started to ebb yet *L,* **ya:n'ch' yAX dAGALxwAL** turn it (lamp wick) down! *A,* **ya:n'ch' yAX gu:nsA'a'L** it (spilt water) ran down to the floor *L,* **'Aw Le't'ya'X ya:n'ch' yAX qa'yah** they'll sink further down in the box *65.63A,* **'AXAkih siXa' siq'Ach' ya:n'ch' yAX 'u'dla:yi'ah** you should turn my canoe over down on top of me *47c.9L; used nominally in* **'a:nd ya:n'ch' 'Awa: dALAxwe:g yiLinhinh** this here lower part of him was a groundhog < he was a groundhog toward the bottom *23.114A, cf.* ***ya:n'ch' k'udAtsizg***.

ya:n'~ya:n *(ya:n' perhaps incorrect)*

ya:n'~ya:n *(noun)* medicine 1. *(unclassified)* medicine (generic or of unspecified physical or shamanistic type) *MAS (transcribed* ***ya:n*** *MA,* ***nya:*** *A)*: *Rezanov* Ия 'Лѣкарство Arzenei', **ya:n'Adzu:** good medicine (neither pills nor liquid) *M,* **ya:n'a'luw** great medicine (neither pills nor liquid) *M.*

2. *(gl-class)* (liquid) medicine: **ya:n'gAlAdzu:** good (liquid) medicine *M.*

,

3. *(lX-class)* (granular) medicine, pills: **ya:n'lAXAdzu:** good pills *M,* **ya:n' 'u:d lAXAsA'ahL** a pill (intact) is there *L,* **ya:n' 'u:d lAXAsAtahL** a pill (broken) is there *L.*

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le:LguXa' ya:n' *(noun)* (unidentified) high yellow flower < medicine for hair *L.*

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GALAtsitl'Xa' ya:n' *(noun)* medicine made from root of fireweed < medicine against land-otter *L.*

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GALAtsitl'Xa' ya:n'Lt'ahL *(noun, unclassified?)* fireweed < leaf of medicine against land-otter *L (-L- perhaps in error).*

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O-**L-ya:n'** S doctor, treat, cure O *(originally shamanistic, not necessarily literally 'cures')*: **xu:Lya:n'** cure me! *LM,* doctor me up! *L,* **silAqah siya: 'ALya:n'** cure my head! *10.205A,* **'iqe'xLya:n'** I'll cure you *MA,* **'isiLya:n'L** I cured you *M,* **siLya:n'Linh** I cured him *A; with y-anatomical 'hand':* **xuya:Lya:n'** doctor my hand! *L; reflexive:* **'Ada:LAya:n'** doctor yourself *['Ada:Liñya:n'] L,* **'Aw *wine*gAlAkihX 'Ada:LAya:n'** doctor yourself with that little bit of *wine*! *L, Rezanov* Атлияи 'Лѣчить heilen' *perhaps to be read* **'ALya:n'inh** cure him! *or* **'AdLAya:n'inh** *(non-umlauted form),* **'AdLAyi:n'inh** he's doctoring himself *L; passive:* **xusLiya:n'L, xusdiya:n'L** I got cured, I've been doctored *L,* **xuqu'dAya:n'** *(not -LA-)* I'll get cured *L.*

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qa: Lyi:n'inh *(noun, unclassified)* doctor *L. Nominalized Active imperfective,* < he (who) cures us, *see also 61.52A.*

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da: qa'Lyi:n'inh *(personal name) mother of Gus Nelson's wife Mary, wife of 'AmAdxuh, died very old ca. 1920. Nominalized Inceptive imperfective,* < we shall doctor her *L. (Earlier transcribed da: qa'Li:'inh.)*

yu:xga: *(loan from Russian* юбка, *probably through Chugach yuupkaaq 'skirt', not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

yu:xga: *(noun, unclassified)* skirt *LM*: **yu:xga:luw** big skirt *LM,* **la'q' 'i:tsidzg yu:xga:** skirt of thin material *M,* **'Aw yu:xga: 'uyAq' 'iGi:kuts'g** the (inside of the) skirt is small *L.*

yu' *(L momentarily also yu'd, lated rejected)*

O-**yu'** S curse, swear at O: **xusAyu'dLinh** *(later rejected),* **xusAyu'Linh** he swore at me *L,* **qu'xyu'd** I'll swear at him *(later rejected) L,* **xuyu'inh** he's cursing me *A; the following forms, detransitivized with indeterminate O, perambulative, and o-lah 'around o' are the only ones attested from M and in any case much preferred by L to the former:* **'ulah yAX 'i:dAyu'inh** curse him! *LM,* swear at him! *L,* **'ilah yAX 'iqe'xdAyu'** I'll curse you *M,* **'ulah yAX 'iqe'xdAyu'inh** I'll curse him *M,* **'ulah yAX 'ixdAyu'Xinh** I'm cursing him *M,* **silah yAX k'u'dAyu'X** someone is swearing at me *L,* **silah yAX 'isdiyu'Linh** he cursed me *L,* **'ulah yAX 'ixsdiyu'L** I cursed him *M,* **silah yAX 'i'dAyu:k'inh** he (cust) curses me *LM,* he (cust) calls me bad names *M.*

'itl'1 *(perhaps to be identified with 'itl'2)*

'itl' *(noun, l-class)* mountain, (large) hill *LMA*: *9.110, 23.157, 25.80A, 34.64M, Rezanov* Итль 'Гора Berg', *Galushia Nelson* ɯ'ł, *Old Man Dude* it'ł 'mountain' *BSdL 537* **LinhGa:na: 'itl'** one mountain *L,* **la'da:na: 'itl'**, **la'd 'a:na: 'itl'** two mountains *M,* **'itl'AlAt'u'** many mountains *L,* **'itl"a:'nuw** big mountain *M,* **'itl'lAkuts'g** little mountain *M,* **Xi:d qi' 'itl' yAX li:'ahda:d** at the foot of the mountain < yonder (at rest) in the area of the place where a mountain extends downward *L, Galushia Nelson* it'ł á·nàq' 'mountain-on' *BSdL 264, 537, 558* **'itl'a:na'q'** on top of a mountain *LM, 28.124A,* **'itl'a:na'q'd** (at rest) on mountain-top *9.105A,* **'itl'a:na'q'd yi:nhinu:** mountain-people *M,* **'itl"a:na'q'Ach'** *7.34, 9.109A,* **'itl'a:na'q'Ach'** (continuous motion) onto mountain(-top) *M, 29.35, 49.109A,* **'itl"a:na'q'Ach'ahd** *7.35A,* **'itl'a:na'q'Ach'ahd** from top of mountain *LM, 23.157, 25.55, 29.39A,* **'itl'a:nAch'** toward a mountain *L,* **'itl'a:nch'a:ch'** toward (in the direction of, next to) a mountain *M,* **'itl'lAsinhd** (at rest) behind a mountain *M,* **'itl'a:nsinh sLi'ahL** sun went behind a mountain *L,* **'itl'a:nta:s** *M,* **'itl'AlAta:s** over (across) a mountain *25.77A,* **'itl'AlAt'a'(-ch')** (continuous motion to) behind a mountain *9.110, 126, 131, 131A,* **'itl'AlAyAq'** inside a mountain *L,* **'itl'a:nt'a:X** inside a mountain (as dwelling) *L,* **'itl'a:ntl'in'ts'd** on mountain-peak *M, as o of o-d 'separate from o':* **'itl'a:nahd sdixutl'L** snow slid down mountain *L, as o of o-X 'in contact with o':* **'itl'la:X ya:n'ch' gAlAGA'ah da:X** when water runs down mountains *34.64M (-la:X perhaps incorrect),* **'itl'a:na:X tsa' Ga:'** come down the mountainside! *L (perhaps to be corrected to -a:nAX, or -a:na:'X, see na:'),* **'itl'a:na:d sAtahL** it's up on the mountainside *L (perhaps to be correced to -a:na:'d, see na:').*

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'itl'AlAqe'L *(mythological personage)* mountain-woman *23.6, 9A.*

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'itl'a:ndi:(')ya'd *A,* **'itl'a:ndiya'd** *L (also attested with -da' and -X finals) (place-name) Mountain Slough, Eyak River where cannery is now* < **'itl'** mountain (**l**-class), **-d** *unexplained*, o-**i:(')**- < o-**'e'** in (vacant) place of o, o-**ya'** in o (with opening at top, body of water) *L, 68.54, 54, 54fn, ST29.8, ST30.12A, ST31.12, 13, 16A. Old Man Dude* ít'łátì 'Mountain Slough' *BSdL 544.*

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'itl'a:ndahd 'igAli:LtahL *(place-name) on Eyak River; at Mountain Slough, near Eyak Village, between 'itl'a:ndi:(')ya'd and tsu:x; "water comes up close to mountain" L* < **'itl'a:ndahd** up close to, against mountain, **'i-gl-(L-)ta** gl-class ('liquid') S keep indeterminate O in position.

'itl'2 *(perhaps to be identified with 'itl'1, or reduced form of 'a'tl')*

O-**’itl’** S (beaver) dam O (body of water) *(uncertain, attested only on tape from A recorded by Constance Naish 7 April 1967)*: *'beaverbank', the way we say it:* **’Aw sA’itl’Linh**, **’Aw k’uXa:shk’**, **’Aw sA’itl’L** *A (< 'he dammed it, the beaver, it dammed it', but articulated 'Aw si'itl'Linh, 'Aw si'itl'L, probably progressive assimilation of -A- rather than indication of first person sg. S).*

’iL1 *(expanded 'i:L)*

d-’iL *(with d-thematic, perhaps 'free fall')* S spill: *with k'iya' 'to landing-place' (?):* **k’iya’ dAsA’iL** it spilled *L,* **k’iya’ siXa’ dAsA’iL** I spilled it (accidentally) < it spilled "on" me *L, with lXd-class-mark for S:* **k’iya’ lAXAdAsA’iL** they (snowballs) spilled *L, with lX-class-mark for S, repetitive:* **la’mahd siXa’ k’iya’ch’ lAXAdla:’iLg** my berries keep spilling *18.12L.*

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O-**d-’iL** *(basic transitive, not regularly derived causative from d-'iL in that classifier is zero, not L-; L rejects all proposed forms with L-classifier, or without d-thematic)* S spill, dump, pour O: *with either ya'd 'empty' or o-ya' 'into o (with broad opening at top)': Rezanov* Ауэтекелль 'Лей giesse!' *to be read either* **’Aw ya’d dAGA’iL** pour it out! *L, or* **’Awya’ dAGA’iL** pour it into it!, Куятеилль 'Просывать vergiessen, verschütten' **k’uya’ di:’iL**, **k’uya’ dAGA’iL** pour, dump it into something! *L, Rezanov* Куятесыилль 'Просывалъ vergiessen, verschütten, (?vergoss Präterit)' **k’uya’ disi’iL** I dumped, poured it into something, **k’uya’ dAsA’iL** you dumped, poured it into something *L, Rezanov* Сыатетасаиль 'Пролилъ vergiessen, verschütten' …**dAsA’iL** you poured, dumped it…, **k’uya’ch’ ’Aw dAGA’iLinh** he's pouring it into something *L, with k'iya' 'to landing-place' (?):* **k’iya’ dAGA’iL** pour it! *M,* **k’iya’ch’ dAGux’iL** I'm pouring it (water, sand, flour, etc.) *M,* **k’iya’ch’ ’Aw dAGA’iLinh** he's spilling, pouring it *L,* **shdu:lihGda:q’Ach’ k’iya’ch’ dAGA’iLinh** he's pouring it onto a table *L,* **k’iya’ ’Aw dAsA’iLinh** he spilled it *L,* **k’iya’ disi’iL** I spilled it (on purpose) *L,* I poured it *M,* **siq’Ach’ k’iya’ dAsA’iL** you spilled it on me *L,* **k’iya’ qu’di:x’iL** I'll pour it *M,* **k’iya’ ’Aw qu’di:’iLinh** he'll spill it *L,* **k’iya’ di:’i:Lk’inh** *M,* **k’iya’ch’ di:’i:Lk’inh** he (cust) pours it *L, with qid 'down off':* **’u:ch’ ’Aw qid dAsA’iLinu:** they dumped them down there *28.55, 59, 59A, with o-d-xwah 'by o's command':* **’i: ’idAxwah dAsA’iL** *you* made him, told him to spill it *L, o-l-da'-X '(movement with)in o's head-front':* **si:nda’X k’udAsA’iLinh** he spilled something on my face *M, with o-qa' and o-tl' 'with o':* **’Awtl’ dAqa’ dAGA’iL** pour it to mix with it! < pour it amongst indeterminate o with it *M (L rejects),* **’Awtl’ ’iLqa’ dAGA’iL** pour them together! < pour it amongst each other with it! *L,* **’iLqa’ dAGA’iL** pour them together! *M, with lX-class-mark for O:* **qu’lAXAdli:x’iL** I'll spill them (berries) *L,* **lAXAdla:GA’iLinh** he's spilling them (berries) *L,* **lAXAdla:sA’iLinh** he spilled them (berries) *L, with perambulative:* **yAX da:dA’iLX** pour it around! *M (to be corrected to -'iL)*; *passive: repetitive: see nominalization below.*

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Xi:ch’ dAdA’iLgyu: *(noun, unclassified)* junk, refuse, garbage, discarded stuff *L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective repetitive with Xi:-ch' 'to over there' and -yu: 'plural'.*

’iL2 *('iL- reciprocal o, see grammar)*

’ili:nah

’ili:nah *(personal name) Russian name of Lena, Elena L.*

’ilu:duhg *(loan from Chugach ilutuuk 'deep')*

’ilu:duhg *(place-name) Simpson Bay LM, Galushia Nelson* ɪlu·tɪk *BSdL 544.*

Ad~id~wud~yid *(basic form probably Ad~yAd, yAd 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 -iyAd-, -iwud, -iwid-, -u-+-Ad- > -uwud-, -Awud-, -uyid-, occasionally -uyAd-, -uwid-, -a:-+-Ad- > -a:yid-, -X-+-Ad- -X-yid, forms -uyid-, -iwud-, -uwid- probably analogical, regularly probably -y-+-Ad- > -yAd-, -yid-, -w-+-Ad- > -wAd-, -wud-)*

-Ad-~-id-~-wud-~-yid-kih *(kinship noun, non-ascending) (with -kih 'diminutive, affectionate')* (man's) sister (older or younger), *also* (man's) female parallel cousin: *Anonymous* Сиеткьѣ 'Сестра', *Baranov* Сi'етквѣ 'Сестра', sıtki 'older sister (man speaking)' *BSdL 566A* **siyidkih** *LMS,* **siyAdkih** *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,* **'Awudkih** *L, 9.135, 135, 135, 136A,* **'uwudkih** *L, 9.138A,* **'uyidkih** *L, 18.51, 57L,* **'uyAdkih** his sister *21a.37L,* **'anh k'uyidkih** *18.56L,* **'anh k'uyAdkih** the sister *34.106L,* **qa:yidkih** our sister *L,* **lAXyidkih** your pl. sister *L,* sıtkicia 'younger sister (man speaking)' *BSdL 566A* **siyidkihshiyah** *(with suffixed adjective -shiyah, perhaps slightly pejorative)* my sister *(man speaking),* **siyidkihGAyu:** my sisters *L,* **'AwudkihGAyu:** *20.89A,* **'AwudkihGAyu:** his sisters, their sisters *29.64A,* sitqaɛtki 'husband's older sister' *BSdL 568A* **siqa'yidkih** husband's sister, sitqɛtkicia 'husband's younger sister' *BSdL 568A* **siqä'yidkihshiyah** my husband's sister *(perhaps slightly pejorative).*

'AdA *(analysis uncertain, perhaps 'Ad- reflexive, or 'A- exclamatory and dA-* 'ipse'*, or perhaps reduced 'a'd)*

'AdA- *(prefix to nouns)* real, genuine, basic, *par excellence*: **'AdAcha'tl'** blueberry species *L (cha'tl' 'blueberry'),* **'AdAlis** spruce *L (lis 'tree, spruce'),* **'AdAch'Aq'i:nq'** mallard *L (ch'Aq'i:nq' 'duck'),* **'AdAgiyah** fresh (not salt-) water *(giyah 'water'),* **'AdAGAnuh** mallard? *L (GAnuh 'waterfowl'),* **'AdAte'ya'** silver salmon *L, 21a.L, BSdL 540 (te'ya' 'fish, salmon'),* **'AdA'anh** mainland *L, 14.3L ('anh 'land'); cf. 'a'd dAXunhyu: 'truly people, real, genuine (not fake) people L.*

'AdAX *(analysis uncertain, conceivably 'Ad- 'reflexive' with postpositional -X, but more likely 'A-dAX, see dAX)*

'AdAX *(adverb)* however, though: *2a.23M, 24.97, 61.31A, 62.22G, frequently following 'Awa: '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' 'AdAX** not however *(< dik'udAX 'nohow, cannot'?) 2a.17a, 37M, 28.78fn, 68.76A;* **k'e:d 'AdAX 'u:d yileh** what are you doing there then (in that case, since you claim there's little of interest there)? *15.10M; identification and meaning uncertain: 59.2fn, 12fn Galushia Nelson.*

'AdAwi'L *(loan from Tlingit 'ɑdɑwúλ 'difficulty, trouble, war, excitement', ša-d-wʊλ 'S hurry')*

'AdAwi'L *(noun, unclassified, but syntactically irregular, often in preverbial position)* war, battle, raid, marauding, rampage, frenzy, turmoil, excitement, bustle, hurry *LMA*: *34.126L, 50.43A, Galushia Nelson* á'tùwìtł *or* ətùıtł 'war' *BSdL 552,* ɑ'tuwıtł wɑt ɒɑ qʊ'tɬχa·tł (or ətuwıtł etc.) 'war bow' *BSdL 549* **'AdAwi'Lwahd qu'LXa:dL**, **'AdAwi'Lwahd** in order to maraud *11.28A, as S of 'i-d-le 'S (event) occur':* **ta:dz 'AdAwi'L 'idAleh** long ago there was a war *34.1M,* **'AdAwi'L 'iqe'di:leh** there'll be a war *L, as O of transitive of same theme:* **'AdAwi'L da: 'iqe'di:Lih** we'll go marauding *11.9A,* **'ahnu: 'AdAwi'L 'idALinhinu:** those marauders *11.22A,*

in preverbial position, following other preverb: **Xa:n' 'AdAwi'L 'idAsALiL** 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-tl' 'with o' and o-Xa' 'in relation with o', here used irregularly and ambiguously, o-tl' '(excited) over o, (war, raid) against, along with o', o-Xa' '(excited) at, over o, (war) against, over o', often difficult to interpret:* **'Awtl' 'AdAwi'L 'idAxLih** I'm excited about it *L,* **'utl' 'AdAwi'L 'iqe'di:Linhinu:** they'll wage war with them *7.18, 20A,* o-**tl' 'AdAwi'L 'idALih** excited over o *8.15A,* **'AdAwi'L 'utl' 'idALinhinu:** they went marauding with him *11.8A,* **'ahnu:tl' 'AdAwi'L 'idALinh** he went on a raid with them *11.11A,* **'ahnu: 'utl' 'idALinhinu:** those with whom he was warring *11.18A,* **k'udu:yu:tl' 'AdAwi'L q'e' 'idALAlehGinu:** they couldn't wage war with anybody anymore *28.141A,* **dA'wAX 'anhXa' 'Awtl' 'AdAwi'L 'idALih** she was still in a frenzy at him over it *8.15A,* **'ahnu:Xa' 'AdAwi'L 'idALih** he went on a raid against them *11.11A,* **'AdAwi'L 'AwXa' 'idAsALiL** waged war over it *28.104, 104A,* **Lu:ndiyahstahti:lAXa' 'AdAwi'L 'idALih** waged war over a rat-skin *28.136A,* **dA'wAX 'ahnu: 'AwXa' 'AdAwi'L 'idALih** they were bustling about over them *37b.27A, with o-lah 'around, concerning o':* **'AdAwi'L 'Awläh 'idALinhinu:** they're in a hubbub over it *37b.11A,* **'Aw Lu:ndiyahslah 'AdAwi'L 'idALiht'a'X** preoccupied in their excitement over the rat *27b.29A, with o-Xa:q' 'on account of':* **Lu:ndiyahstahti:lAXa:q' 'AdAwi'L 'idALinhinu:** they waged war over a mouse-skin *L, with o-d, with o as intermediate object of causative construction:* **ts'inhGwAlahyu:d 'AdAwi'L 'idALinhinu:** waged war against the alder-people *34.126L ('made the alder-people wage war, get excited'?, perhaps incorrect), in other constructions: as C in* **'ahnu: 'ulu'qa: 'AdAwi'L 'Adu'i:nLiXinhinu: qe'LGAyu:qa'** amongst those women you've got yourself so excited to have *10.190A, as S:* **'AdAwi'L Xa:n' sa'yahL** there was a war *L,* **'AdAwi'L Xa:n'ch' Ga'ya:L** war is coming *L, as o of o-ga' 'i:lih-t'e´~-t'u´ 'S be, get in state of mind like o':* **'AdAwi'Lga' 'i:lih'a't'e:** get a move on!, hurry up! *L,* **'iLchi'shdug dik' dAXunh 'AdAwi'Lga' 'i:liht'uhG** my that guy sure isn't in any hurry! *L,* **'AdAwi'L 'ixleh** *(probably to be corrected to 'AdAwi'Lga')* I'm in a hurry *L.*

'ALbah *(loan from Chugach əlpa 'murre', not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

'ALbah *(noun, unclassified)* scoter, eider *M,* gray and white sea bird *L, Galushia Nelson* éłвà 'eider duck' *BSdL 539, perhaps more correctly 'common murre (Uria aalge)'.*

'Adz *(perhaps related to 'e:dz~'e:ts'; not *'idz L)*

O-**'Adz** 1. S spear O a. *with determinate O*: *Rezanov* Коммаа-ацъ 'Стрѣла сиучья Seelöwenpfiel oder Speer' **k'umah 'A'Adz** spear a sea-lion!, **'Aw sA'AdzLinh** he speared it *12.5G,* **si'AdzL** I speared it *L,* **'A'e:dzk'inh** he (cust) spears it *L, with d-class-mark for O:* **dAsA'AdzL** you speared it (board) *L; passive:* **xusdi'AdzL** *(not xusLi-)* I've been speared *L,* **ge:Lta:g sdi'AdzL** a seal has been speared *L.*

1b. *With indeterminate O,* S throw spear (not spearing or hitting any particular O): *with ya'X 'up (as trajectory of thrown thing)', repetitive:* **ya'X 'ix'Adzg** I keep throwing a spear (e.g. for practice) *L,* **sita:s k'u'sA'AdzL** someone threw a spear over (missing) me *L.*

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1c. *Forms from Rezanov, partly unidentifiable*: Коускучьэхлеэцъ 'Стрѣлять стрѣлкою ('to shoot arrow') Pfeil abschiessen', Яхлеэцъ 'Стрѣляи ('shoot') Pfeil abschiessen (Imperat.)' …**'Adz**, *classifier seemingly LA-, perhaps with first person singular S x-LA-'Adz, or with ya'X 'up', but meaning more appropriate to O-'Adz than to LA-'Adz.*

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2. S precipitate, throw, launch, impel O with sudden force, speed: **'A'Adz** launch it!, throw it! *M,* **gehgL 'A'Adz** throw a spear! *M, with yahd 'out to sea':* **yahd GA'Adz** launch it

(canoe)! *L,* **yahd si'AdzL** I launched it (canoe) *L. Transitive (causative): reflexive, with qa' 'up out':* **'u:ch' qa' 'Adsdi'AdzL** jumped up there *15.5M (perhaps incorrect, blend of 'AdsdilAGL and sLi'AdzL).*

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O-**L-'Adz** S move, substantially change position of O by precipitating, launching, impelling with sudden force, speed: *with yahd 'out to sea':* **yahd siL'AdzL** I pushed it (canoe) out *(further than in yahd si'AdzL) L (see O-'Adz 2.).*

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O-'-**'Adz** *(semitransitive of O-'Adz 1.)* S throw spear at O (not necessarily hitting O): **xu'sA'AdzLinh** he threw a spear at me *L, with o-ta:s 'over, across o':* **sita:s k'u'sA'AdzL** he threw a spear over me at something (specific) *L; passive:* **sita:s k'u'sdi'AdzL** spear missed me < something had a spear thrown at it over, across me *L.*

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ya:X O-**X-'Adz** *(with X-thematic with ya:X 'destruction')* S spear all O: **ya:X XAsi'AdzL** I speared them all *L.*

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LA-'Adz S jump, leap, precipitate, plunge headlong 1. *with ta' 'into water'*: *4.3M, 29.41A,* **ta' sLi'AdzLinh** he jumped, plunged, dove into the water (headlong, any way, quickly) *LM (cf. ta' 'AdsdilAGLinh 'he jumped into the water (feet first)' L),* **ta' xsLi'AdzL** I jumped into the water (quickly) *M,* **ta' qu'xLA'Adz** I'll jump into the water (quickly) *M,* **gu:dAg q'e' ta' xsLi'AdzL** I jumped back into the water again *M, with d-class-mark for S:* **ta' disLi'AdzL** it (car) plunged into the water *61.60, 62, 71A,* **'utl' 'Aw ta' disLi'AdzLinh** it (car) plunged into the water with him (in it) *61.72A.*

2. *With ya'X 'up'*: **ya'X xsLi'AdzL** I jumped up suddenly *M.*

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3. *With qa' 'up out'*: **te'ya' qa' sLi'AdzL** it (fish) jumped *L,* **qa:nch' LA'e:dzk'** it (fish) (cust) jumps *21a.7L.*

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4. *o-ya'-k'ah 'away from inside o (with broad opening at top)'*: o-**ya'k'ah sLi'AdzL** jumped out and clear of o *49.142, 61.75, 76A.*

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5. *With ya'd 'empty, out of canoe'*: **ya'd sLi'AdzLinh** she jumped out (of the canoe) *49.141, 141A.*

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6. *With o-q' 'on o' and ya' 'completely, to a state of rest'*: **'Aw lixah 'Awq' ya' sLi'AdzL** the brownbear pounced on it *63.8G.*

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7. *With o-yAq' 'in o' and 'Ash 'through, past', repetitive*: **'uyAq' 'Ash qu'xLA'Adzg** I'll jump through it (e.g. hoop, repeatedly) *L.*

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8. *With Xdl-class-mark for S*: **tanh XAdla:sLi'AdzL** waves, ocean swells rolled *L.*

,

9. *With perambulative*: **yAX LA'AdzX** you're jumping around *M.*

,

o-**ya' l-LA-'Adz** *(with o-ya' 'in o (with broad opening at top)' and l-thematic 'going wrong')* S (unsuspecting) fall in o: **q'Ats'ya' 'i:nxsLi'AdzL, kihdjya' 'i:nxsLi'AdzL** I fell into a small swamp (I was walking along, unsuspecting) *L.*

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dl-LA-’Adz *(with dl-thematic, apparently of various origins)* 1. *(with dl-thematic 'fall over', perhaps including d-thematic 'free fall' and/or l-anatomical 'head')* S fall over a. *with o-X 'in contact with o'*: **’uX dla:xsLi’AdzL** I bumped (my head, stubbed my toe) against it *L,* **da:X dla:xsLi’AdzL** I bumped my head, stubbed my toe (against indeterminate o, wall) *L,* **’uX qu’dla:xLA’Adz** I'll bump my head against it *L,* **’AwdAtl’a’X dla:xsLi’AdzL** I bumped my head against the corner, ledge of it *L,* **dik’ ’udAtl’a’X dla:xsLA’AdzLG** I didn't bump my head against the corner of it *L.*

1b. *With yAX 'downward', repetitive*: **yAX dla:xLA’Adzg** my head keeps drooping (with drowsiness) *L; Rezanov* Яхтлятеацхль 'Дремать schlummern' **yAX dla:di’AdzgL** your head is drooped *(Neuter perfective, but dA-classifier probably incorrect in terms of modern Cordova Eyak).*

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1c. *With qid 'down off'*: **’u:ch’ qid dla:sLi’AdzL** stuff fell down there *L,* **qid dla:xsLi’AdzL** I fell over (head first) *L.*

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2. *With dl-thematic probably containing d-thematic 'accumulate' and qa' 'up out',* S accumulate: **de:ga’duw qa’ dla:LA’e:dzk’** quite a number of them (cust) accumulate *25.207A; see also lXdl-LA-'Adz 2.*

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lXdl-LA-’Adz *(with dl-thematic, see dl-LA-'Adz, and lX-class-mark, probably partly thematized)* 1. S (snow, material on bare mountainside) avalanche: *often with k'u-indefinite S, partly thematized, qid 'down off', tsa' 'downhill', and/or o-tl' 'with o' ('over, on, burying o'):* **’utl’ qid k’ulAXAdla:sLi’AdzLinh** he was buried in an avalanche < something lX-class precipitated down off with him *23.130, 143A,* **(’u:dAX) (’utl’) tsa’ k’ulAXAdla:GALA’AdzL(inh)** it's avalanching down (along there) (over him) *23.135, 135A,* **tsa’ lAXAdla:sLi’AdzL** *23.136A,* **qid lAXAdla:sLi’AdzL** there was an avalanche *23.136, 144A. repetitive:* **k’ulAXAdla:LA’Adzg** there's a snowslide, avalanche *M.*

2. *(See dl-LA-'Adz 2.)* S (snow) accumulate: **de:ga’duw ’Aw xutl’ ’u:d qa’ lAXAdla:LA’e:dzk’** quite a bit of it (snow) (cust) piles up there *L.*

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(O-)**gdl-LA-’Adz** *(with gdl-thematic of various origins, all attested forms interpretable as requiring vocalized classifier, from underlying unattested *O-gdl-L-'Adz, perhaps causative of either *gdl-LA-'Adz, *gdl-'Adz, or *gdl-dA-'Adz)* 1. *with gdl-thematic containing gl-class-mark for O 'liquid', with perambulative (of underlying *O-gdl-L-'Adz)*: **yAX gAdla:LA’Adz** shake it (bottle of liquid)! *LM,* **yAX gAdla:xLA’AdzX** I'm shaking it (bottle of medicine) *M.*

2. *Indirect reciprocal with 'iL-qa' 'amongst each other'*: **’iLqa’ gAdla:sLi’AdzL** 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-thematic 'fire, bright', either passive of *O-gdl-L-'Adz, or intransitive gdl-LA-'Adz).*

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3. *Indirect reciprocal with 'iL-qa' as above, containing g- or gd-thematic as in g-LA-da~-qu, gd-dA-da~-qu 'S flee'*: **’iLqa’ gAdla:sLi’AdzL** they (moulting ducks, dogs) have been chased into confusion together *L (either intransitive gdl-LA-'Adz or passive of O-gdl-L-'Adz).*

’As *(not *'is L)*

’As *(noun, unclassified)* pot-, basket-like trap for fish, crabs *LMA*: *Galushia Nelson* ’äs *or* ’as 'basket fish-trap' *BSdL 549,* **’As’a’luw** big crab-pot *LM,* **la’dih ’As** two crab-pots *M,*

'AsyAq'Ach' lAqu:g they (fish) are running (and getting trapped, one after another) in a fish-trap *L.*

'Adjih *(unanalyzable, perhaps segmentable 'A-djih or 'Adj-ih, cf. especially 'Ani:djih, Ga:djih, perhaps loan from Eskimo, Yupik aci 'down below, underneath', see 39.3-5 where it is evident that yidiguG, also a bogeyman for scaring children, with a name of Eskimo origin, is an underground being)*

'Adjih *(noun, unclassified)* ghost, demon, bogeyman, ghoul, goblin *(for scaring children only) L*: **'Adjih 'a:nda' qu'wah** bogeyman will come here *L,* **'Adjih li' 'iqe'LA'ni:q'** bogeyman will swallow you *L,* **'Adjihdahd 'u'ditah** the sound of the bogeyman is heard, 'Adjih is making noise *L.*

'Ash1 *(not *'ish L)*

LA-'Ash-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized except in customary)* S sneeze: **GALA'Ashg** *L,* **'ALA'Ashg** sneeze! *LM,* **xLA'Ashg** I'm sneezing *LM,* **dik' xLA'AshgG** I'm not sneezing *L,* **gahXye'X xLA'Ashg**, **gahXye'X GAxLA'AshgL** I've been sneezing all day long *L,* **qu'xLA'Ashg** I'll sneeze *M,* **dik' qu'xLA'AshgG** I won't sneeze *A,* **xsLi'AshgL** I sneezed *LM,* **dik' 'AxsLA'AshgLG** I didn't sneeze *LM,* **GAxLA'AshgX 'ixleh** I want to sneeze *L,* **dik' GAxLA'AshgX 'ixlehG** I don't want to sneeze *L,* **GALA'AshgXsh 'i:leh** do you want to sneeze? *L,* **xLA'e:shk'** I (cust) sneeze *LA. Transitive (causative):* **Lich' xuL'Ashg** it always makes me sneeze *L.*

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'Ash-g *(deverbalization of preceding)* sneeze: *Rezanov* Ашкъ 'Чихать niesen' **'Ashg** a sneeze, **'Ashgga' 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I feel a sneeze coming on < I feel like a sneeze *L.*

'Ash2 *(sometimes 'As by assimilation to s- initial of s-perfective verbs, never *'ish; perhaps related to shlA~sha:n)*

'Ash *(preverb) (with zero final only)* (completely) by, past through: **'uyAq' 'Ash k'u:Leh** there's a hole all the way through it *L,* **'ulu' 'Ash 'ixsLit'ik'L** I shot a hole (an arrow) through it *L,* **'u:dAX 'Ash 'isLit'ik'Linh** he shot an arrow by there *L,* **tsa: 'u:dAX 'Ash dla:sAts'Aq'L** a stone whizzed by there *L,* **'Awlah 'Ash 'AdjahGL** sew it around the edge (with overcast whipstitch)! *L,* **dAla'd 'Aw 'Ash shAdja'L** he jerked it (completely) off (peg) *9.95A,* **'Ash 'a:nd 'idishe'gL** it (hook) has been bent through (hole) here *L,* **'AwyAq' 'Ash disLiqahGL** it fell down through (into) it *L,* **ma:gAdAta:s 'As sAqehLinu:** they boated across the lake *37b.67, 80A,* **'ulu' 'Ash GAqe'** boat through (under bridge)! *L,* **'AwyAq' 'Ash lAqu:g** they (fish) keep running right through it (coarse net) *L,* **'u:dAX 'As sAwusL** expanded along by there (obstructing pursuers) *49.147A,* o-**da:X 'Ash 'Ad-dl-LA-we'ch'**, o-**ta:s 'Ash 'Ad-dl-LA-we'ch'**, o-**da:X 'Ash 'Ad-dl-LA-'e** S sneak by, past o, **'a'd silAqahyAq' 'Ash k'ule'ggga' 'Adu'xdAgAwih** I feel just like someone's reaching through, completely into my head (with incessant repeated questions) *72.15L,* **Lich'a:ch' 'Ash 'ALya:'** move them over to the other side! *L,* **'Awq' 'Ash XAdi:'ah** it (log) lies (extending completely across and by) over it *L,* **'uyAq' 'Ash qu'xLA'Adz** I'll jump through it (hoop) *L,* **'a:nd 'Ash sahL** it went by over here *L,* **'u:d 'As sahL** it went by over there *L,* **'u:dAX 'Ash qu'xah** I'll go by there *L,* **'AwyAq' 'As sahL** it went through it (e.g. pipe) *L,* **siqi:dAqa'X 'As sahL** it (dog) walked through between my legs *L,* **qa:qa'X 'As sahL** he walked (through) between us *L,* **sida:X 'As sahLinh** he went by me *L,* **sili'dAX / silahsdAX 'As sahL** he walked by in front of/behind me *L,* **k'ude:dah 'Aw ma:gAdAta:s 'Ash 'AsahLG** couldn't get across the lake *37b.81A, see further instances under -'ya 1a. 30., Xdl-'ya 1., 2.*

’Ashdih *(once 'Ashdi: L in 2b. below; to be analyzed 'Ash-dih, perhaps further 'A-sh-, 'A- exclamatory prefix and -sh interrogative enclitic)*

’Ashdih 1. *(exclamation, asyntactic)* a. I don't know, perhaps *(evasive or vague) LM, 51.2, 4A.*

1b. *With dA-* 'ipse': **dA’Ashdih** unconcerned, he doesn't care *50.8, 40A.*

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1c. *With ya:-d (ya: 'thing'?, -d interrogative or emphatic enclitic)*: **’Ashdih ya:d** I don't know *L,* **’Ashdih ya:d, dik’ k’e’sh ’ilAX q’e’ ’iqe’xLA’anhG** I don't know, maybe I won't see you again *L.*

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2a. *(adverb) (used as C in certain verbal constructions)* whereabouts unknown, absent, unconscious, indefinite, questionable: *as C in C -Le(') 'S be C': 'Ashdih -Le(') 'S be absent, out of sight, away, out of town': 10.175A, 15.9, 47b.14M, 56.4, 14L,* **’Ashdih yiLinhinh** he's out of town *M,* **’Ad’e’ch’ ’Ashdih yiLeh** he's away from home *L, as C in C O-'-(l-)L-Xa´ 'S cause O to be C':* **’Ashdih** O-**’-(l-)L-Xa´** S wonder about O *2b.13L, 69.29A,* **’Ashdih ’u’lixiLXah** I wonder about it *L,* **’Ashdih xu’li:Linhinh** he's wondering about me (e.g. concerned for my welfare) *L, reflexive 'Ad-'i:lih-LA-Xa´:* **’Ashdih ’Adqe:lihLAXa:** you'll lose consciousness *36.20, 20A.*

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2b. *With dA-* 'ipse', every which way, all over the place, indiscriminately: **dA’Ashdih yAX ’iLAxut’X** he's shooting around all over the place *L,* **dA’Ashdih yAX yALAXu:G** the wind is blowing every which way *LM,* **dA’Ashdih yAX qu’yALAXu:G** the wind will blow every which way *M.*

’AX *(perhaps reduced to 'X in yahd'ya'da'X and ya'XAkih)*

’AX *(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* Ахъ 'Boot', *Furuhjelm* Ahh 'canoe', *Galushia Nelson* ’əχ 'large canoe (for war)' *BSdL 550,* **’AXAya’(-)** in boat (o with broad opening at top) *21b.69, 37b.5, 22, 23, 49.142A,* **’AXAyu:** boats *25.20A, 59.2, 9 Galushia Nelson,* **t’AXgsga’ ’AXya’** in boats (made of something) like cottonwood *68.2A,* **’AX’At’u’** lots of boats *L,* **k’u’a:w ’AX** long boat *L,* **’AXAya’ch’ sahLinh** he got into the boat *L,* **’AXAya’ qa’ xuGALXahd** pull me out (of water) into the boat! *L,* **du:ya’ ’AXdA’Aw** whose boats are those? *L,* **dAq’Ada’ya: ’AX** old skiff *L;* **’AX’Akih** small boat, toy boat, model boat *(not the same as 'AXAkih) LM (regular diminutive, cf. 'AXAkih below).*

2. *(d-class)* large fuel-powered boat: **dAq’a:gda:tl’ ’AX** steamboat < boat with fire *LM, 58.1L,* **dAq’a:gda:tl’ ’AXdAya’ch’ q’e’ sdi’yahLinh** he went back on board the steamer *58.7L.*

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dAq’a:gdAwa:LX ’AX *(noun)* steamboat < boat (the movements of which can be followed?) by attention to (evidence of) fire *L.*

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’AXya’X *(personal name) Eyak man* < (movement with)in boat *LM.*

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’AXAkih *(noun, unclassified) ('AX with diminutive, juncture lost; see also Chugach: Rezanov Акквикъ 'Баидара', Birket-Smith ᴀʀᴀqvik 'dug-out', probably borrowed from Eyak)* (standard Eyak) dugout canoe *(not the same as 'AX'Akih) LMS (same as Yakutat Tlingit č’ıyaš (< Athapaskan *k^{w}’əy-(y)ax^{w}) 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, 68.29, 31A, 71.1, 11LM, Galushia Nelson* əχ́ákí, *Old Man Dude* àχ́ákì 'small canoe (for hunting)' *BSdL 550, Galushia Nelson* αχa·ki’ *BSdL 558,* ʊ’lu^{w}· χaki 'big canoe' *BSdL 553* **k’u’luw ’AXAkih**, **k’u’a:w ’AXAkih** long canoe *L,* **’AXAkihya’(-)** in canoe (o with broad opening at top) *12.17G, 25.2, 9,*

157, 50.66A, 63.42G, **'AXAkihyu:** canoe etc. *47c.31L,* **'AXAkih xGahG** I'm making (hewing) a canoe *M,* **'AXAkihwah ya:** the makings of a canoe *L,* **'AXAkihkih** little canoe, model canoe *L,* **'AXAkihyAquhyu:** model dugout canoes *L.*

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'AXAkih qi' XAta:s dAya:' 1. *(place-name) Canoe Passage in Hawkins Island, Prince William Sound* < place where canoes are carried across area *L.*

2. *(place-name) Creek above Boswell Bay L.*

'AXdjinnguG *(story and name from Alutiiq)*

'AXdjinnguG *(personal name) Aleut protagonist in story (Text 47. (a, b, and c)) LM: 47a. L, 47b.0, 1, 1fn, 2, 23, 28, 34, 38, 39, 41, 41fn, 47M, 47c.1, 29, 34, 46L.*

'Abeh *(widely diffused form, of unknown origin, Minto 'Aba 'pain, sick, ouch!', Yakutat Tlingit 'ɑbɛ 'ouch!' Sampson Harry, not known to W. Soboleff)*

'Abeh *(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 Ahtna, not know to W. Soboleff)*

'Aba: *(exclamation)* boo!, peekaboo! *L, said to children as speaker uncovers his (own) eyes ("Taral [Chitina Ahtna] people use that word, maybe Eyaks too" A).*

'Awa:dAG *(loan from Chugach awaataq 'sealing bladder-float', not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

'Awa:dAG *(noun, unclassified)* buoy, float, originally made of inflated seal stomach *LA,* floats, cords of gillnet *L*: **'Awa:dAGluw** big buoy *LM.*

'Awa:lAG *(loan from Chugach əɣaaləq 'window', not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

'Awa:lAG *(noun, unclassified)* window *LA*: *Rezanov* Игалякъ 'Окошко Fenster', *Old Man Dude* aɣalaq *BSdL 545,* **'Awa:lAGluw** big window *LM.*

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'Awa:lAGe'd qu'wa'L *L,* **'Awa:lAGe'X qu'wa'L** *LA* window-curtains < curtains (at rest, moving) in window-place *LA.*

'Awa:yAG *(loan from Chugach aɣaayuq / aɣaiyuq 'cormorant', not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry; Rezanov 'Уриль Cormoran (Phalacrocorax bicristata)', Unalaska Агаюкъ, Kodiak Агашокъ, Chugach Агаюкъ, Kenai Йякъ, Tlingit Юку yùG, Eyak Аккъ not identifiable)*

'Awa:yAG *(noun, unclassified)* shag, cormorant *L. Galushia Nelson* àwáiyàq *or* àwá·iyəq 'cormorant (shag)' *BSdL 539, probably 'pelagic cormorant (Phalacrocorax pelagicus)', perhaps also 'double crested cormorant (Phalacrocorax auritus)'.*

'Amble:l *(loan from English 'umbrella')*

’Amble:l *(noun, probably unclassified) occurring only in* **ch’iya’tl’Gya’ ’Amble:l** mushroom, toadstool < frog's umbrella *L (probably partial calque on English 'toadstool', see ch'iya'tl'G, ch'iyahd).*

’AmAdxuh *(probably from Alutiiq)*

’AmAdxuh *(personal name)* 1. *husband, Frank, of da: qa'Lyi:n'inh L.*

2. *Eyak man S, or Aleut M, husband of Sophie's grandmother old Lady Frank so his surname was Frank So XIX.26.*

’Ami:nn *(loan from Russian аминь, probably through Chugach, not used by Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

’Ami:nn *(noun, unclassified)* prayer, act of prayer, paternoster *M*: **’Ami:nn GALe’** pray! *L,* **’Ami:nn qu’xLe’** I'll pray *M,* **’Ami:nn siLe’L** I prayed *L.*

,

’Ami:nnya’ Ga:ndich’ich’g (barn?) swallow, church-swallow *(blue, with white belly that turns light orange in fall, 'church-, prayer-bird', so called because they build nests and fly about the church, considered to be bearers of religious message; same bird as k'u:nda'ch' gahya' Ga:ndich'ich'gyAquhyu:) L*: *61.20A,* **’Ami:nnya’ Ga:ndich’ich’gyAquh(yu:)** little church-swallow(s) *51.54, 61.26A.*

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’Ami:nnya’ GAnuh kind of sparrow < prayer-ducks *(perhaps same bird as preceding) M.*

’AmahdjAlih *(from Chugach)*

’AmahdjAlih *(place-name) mountain somewhere ("lots of gold around there") L.*

’AlAX *(perhaps to be segmented 'A-lAX as singular Active imperative of defective verb, or 'Al-X, cf. especially 'AlAshgahX, 'AlAk'ah under 'Al~; L rejects proposed *GAlAXuh, *'AlAXlAX, *'AwAX; cf. tl'a:X (tla:))*

’AlAX *(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* Алляхо 'Отдай zurückgeben (Imperat.)' **’AlAXuh** give me that! *LM,* **neh ’AlAXuh** okay hand it over! *L,* **q’Ale’ ’AlAXuh** now then give me that! *L,* **’AlAXinh** give, hand him (baby) to me! *L,* **’AlAXuh, ’Aw t’ik’L da:X qu’LXa:dL siXa’** give them here, my arrows and bow! *27a.3L,* **’AlAX, ’Aw t’ik’L siXa’, sich’ ’ALa’** give me them here, my bow-and-arrow, give them to me! *27b.3A,* **’AlAXuh q’Ama:** give me roe! *40.4L.*

’Ali:wAnn *(probably of Alutiiq origin)*

’Ali:wAnn *(personal name) Eyak man L.*

’Ali:mahdAlih *(loan from Chugach alimartuli 'having many chum salmon')*

’Ali:mahdAlihkuch’g *(place-name) small bay north of Hartney Bay L (with adjective -kuch'- ~-kuts'- 'small').*

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’Ali:mahdAlihluw *(place-name) Hartney Bay L (with adjective -'lAw 'big', cf. kushk'Asha:w, kushk'Asha:wtsi:n'd)*

’Ala:bAG *(loan from Chugach alaapaq 'Negro', from Russian apan 'blackamoor', not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

’Ala:bAG *(noun, unclassified)* negro *L (pejorative?, same as t'u:ch'qa:, which is much preferred).*

’Alu:sAsdAG *(loan from Chugach aluusistuaq 'Christmas', from Russian рождество, not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

’Alu:sAsdAG *(noun, probably unclassified)* Christmas *LM (not much used by Eyaks M).*

’Anik’eh~’AnAk’eh~’Anik’ih~’AnAk’ih *(unanalyzable, originally segmentable, 'A-nik'-~-nAk'-eh~-ih, 'A-ni-~-nA-k'eh~-k'ih, 'Ani-~'AnA-k'eh~-k'ih, 'Ani-~'AnA~k'-eh~-ih, 'A-ni-~-nA-k'-eh~-ih, or 'Anik'-~'AnAk'-eh~-ih, cf. 'AnA'ah under 'ah2, 'AnAshih, 'Ani:djih; L rejects proposed *'Ak'ih, *'Ak'eh, *'Anik', *'AnAk')*

’Anik’eh~’AnAk’eh~’Anik’ih~’AnAk’ih *(exclamation) (also attested as C and adverbialized with -dah)* scary! danger! beware!, demon, devil, bogeyman, ghoul, goblin: **’AnAk’eh** *L,* **’Anik’eh** scary!, devil *LS, exclamation for scaring children M,* **’Anik’ih** devil! *(to scare children),* dangerous animal! *(warning, not for children only) L,* **’Anik’ih Ga:nihG** watch out! a killerwhale! *L,* **’Anik’eh ts’iyuh q’A’Aw** what a frightening, dangerous blackbear! *L,* **’Anik’ih q’A’Aw**, **’Anik’eh q’A’Aw** that's a dangerous animal! (don't play with it!) *L,* **’Anik’eh sALe’Linh** he's dead (and turned into a ghost, demon) *(warning to children, who were not supposed to touch dead people) L,* **’Anik’ehdah ’i:t’eh** a large moth *L (uncertain, cf. sAsinhLinu:ya' XAwa: under XAwa:),* **’Anik’ehdah ’Adi:nLit’inhinh** he's making ridiculous, scary, grotesque, funny faces *L.*

’AnAshih *(probably from Russian A)*

’AnAshih *(personal name) Anders Nelson, Anna's father LM, same as tsAdldAts'ik', BSdL* ənaci.

’AnAXAnAG *(loan from Chugach alarneq 'switchback in slough, mistake (place easy to get lost)', but through Tlingit, hence -n- instead of -l-, normally -l- in English and literature; locally pronounced /æ̂ɬigǽnɨk/)*

’AnAXAnAG *(place-name)* Alaganik village *LMS, 68.1, 1fn, (9), 9, 10, ST8.1, 1, 8, ST29.1, ST31.11, 11A, Holmberg map 1855* Alaghānik, *Petroff 1882* Alaganuk, *1893* Alaganak*, Jacobsen 1884* Allaganak, *Krause 1885* Allaganak *(< Jacobsen), Allen 1885* Anáhanuk, *Abercrombie 1900* Alaganik, *Galushia Nelson* ənàx̣ànàq, *Old Man Dude* ánàx̣ànàk *BSdL 544.*

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’AnAXAnAGya’d *(place-name) Alaganik Slough L, Galushia Nelson* ənax̣anaqyat (or ənax̣anaqya’t) *BSdL 544.*

,

’AnAXAnAGguda’d *(place-name) mouth of Alaganik Slough L.*

’Ani:djAwahG *(loan from Chugach Anicaruaq)*

’Ani:djAwahG *(place-name) Nichawak River S.*

’Ani:djih *(unanalyzable, probably segmentable 'A-ni:-djih, 'Ani:-djih, 'Ani:dj-ih, or 'A-ni:dj-ih, cf. especially 'Adjih, 'Anik'eh~'AnAk'eh~'Anik'ih~'AnAk'ih, or perhaps loan from Eskimo, Yupik niici 'pl. hear!, obey!', cf. also Tlingit (W. Soboleff) yαnαžì 'punish him!', O-yα-y-žì 'S punish O')*

’Ani:djih *(noun) (attested only as C)* punished, taught a lesson: **’Ani:djih sALe’Linh** he learned his lesson (got punished) *L, with O-'-(l-)L-Xa´ apparently always in repetitive:* **’Ani:djih ’u’li:LXa’ginh** punish him! *L,* **’Ani:djih ’iqe’li:xLXa’g** I'll punish you, teach you a lesson *L,* **’Ani:djih ’i’siLXa’gL** I punished you *L,* **’Ani:djih ’i’qe’dAXa’g** you'll get caught up with, get punished, taught a lesson *L.*

’Ana:shah *(unanalyzable, segmentable perhaps 'Ana:sh-ah, 'Ana:-shah, 'Ana:-sh-ah, 'A-na:sh-ah, 'A-na:-sh-ah, 'A-na:-shah, cf. especially 'AnA'ah under 'ah2, 'AnahshAkih, 'AnAshih)*

’Ana:shah *(noun, unclassified)* flower, blossom *LMA*: *38.7fnML,* **’Ana:shah qe’dla:Liyah** flower is pretty, beautiful *L,* **’Ana:shahluw** big flower *LM,* **’Ana:shahkih** little flower *L.*

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’Ana:shahLchan’ *(noun, unclassified)* flower of Kamchatka lily < smelly flower *L.*

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’anhdli:na’q’ ’Ana:shah *(noun, unclassified)* various flower species that grow on the ground < flower on ground *L.*

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ma:ya’dya’ ’Ana:shah *(noun, unclassified)* water lilies, pond-lilies < flowers that belong in a lake *LM (associated with supernatural power, see subentries under ma:~ma:').*

’Ana:G

’Ana:G *(personal name) Anna's uncle, Charlie A XV.8, L has heard, thought to be of Aleut origin.*

’AnahshAkih *(partly unanalyzable, with -kih 'diminutive, affectionate', stem perhaps 'Anahsh-, or to be segmented 'A-nahsh-, 'Anah-shA-, 'A-nah-shA-, cf. especially 'Ana:shah, 'AnAshih)*

’AnahshAkih 1. *(adverb)* pleasant, enjoyable, desireable: *in construction with o-Xa' 'i-leh~-le:-4f., o-Xa' 'i:lih-le, o-Xa' 'i:lih-t'e´~-t'u´, q.v. under le(')~li, le~(l)i~ni, and t'e´~t'u´ respectively, with 'AnahshAkih preceding o-Xa' where o is pronoun, following o-Xa' where o is noun, gerundive, or optative clause 'S like, want (come to like, want) o'.*

2. *(noun, unclassified)* fun, pleasure, amusement: *as O of transitive (causative) of 'i-d-le, 'S carry on O (activity)', q.v. under le~(l)i~ni, 'S have a good time, fun', sometimes with sexual connotation; as C of -Le(') 'S be C':* **’AnahshAkih yiLeh ’ALqah** it's fun to play cards *L,* **’AnahshAkih yiLeh k’ulah** it's fun to drink *L,* **’u:dAX ’a’d ’AnahshAkih sidAGAleh siya: qa’Le’** then my spirit will be very content *70.9A; as o of postpositional phrases:* **’AnahshAkihXa’X shA’a’ch’Linu:** they went for a good time *(with sexual connotation) 29.66A,* **qi’dAX ’AnahshAkihya’X da: ’i’a’ch’ da:X** as soon as we get going having a good time *30.9L,* **’AnahshAkihga’ ’i:t’eh** something nice *38.7fnM (uncertain), adverbialized with -dah:* **’AnahshAkihdah sAliLinh** he did something nice, interesting (fun to watch) *L.*

’Anuh *(perhaps to be segmented 'A-nuh, cf. GAnuh, nuh)*

'Anuh *(noun, unclassified)* (prepubescent) penis *LM*: **'Anuhkih** little (prepubescent) penis *(diminutive, affectionate) L (nursery term).*

'AyAG~'uyAG *('AyAG much more frequent than 'uyAG; perhaps to be segmented 'A-~'u-yAG, cf. GAyAG)*

'AyAG~'uyAG *(independent personal pronoun)* they, them (third person plural): **'AyAG wAX qa'linhinu:** *they*'ll do it *M,* **ts'id 'AyAG** only they *M,* **'Ad-lAXahd 'Aw 'AyAG q'unhnu: 'Aw qa' dla:shdidja'L** they thought it was they themselves who pulled it out *50.31A,* **q'e:dah Li'q' 'AyAG 'ahnu: q'e:lah sdiqehLinu:** they all boated right back home *57.31G,* **'AyAG wAX 'i:lih'a't'eh da:X** whenever they feel like it *68.48A,* **'uyAGdug**, **'AyAGdAg**, **'uyAGdAg** they too *L,* **'Awlehd q'unhnu: 'AyAGdig qa:Xa' k'usALyahL** that's why they too (in their turn) bother us *25.22A,* **'AyAGshdAg** they too? *L (L uncertain, perhaps incorrect),* **'AyAG 'Awa:** they however, as for them, they on the other hand *25.37, 68.111, 119A, with dA-* 'ipse'*:* **dA'AyAG wAX qa'linhinu:** they'll do it themselves *LM,* **'AXAyu: 'Awa:, dA'AyAG 'idah 'Aw ya:n' sALahLinu:** as for the boats, they themselves beached them properly *59.9 Galushia Nelson,* **dlAGA'AyAG** they all alone by themselves *LM,* **ts'id dlAGA'AyAG** just they all alone by themselves *L, in apposition with pronominal o of postpositional phrase:* **'AyAG 'uXa' 'Awa: wAX yiLinhinu:** for *them* however it is thus *68.95A,* **dA'uyAG 'uya' XAwa:** their own dog *L, more frequently (unlike other independent personal pronouns) as o of postposition, but with irregular connective -A- probably representing earlier 'u-:* **'uyAGAya' 'Awa:** theirs however *10.80A,* **dA'AyAGAya' tsin'dAle:** their own language *68.81A,* **dA'AyAGAdi:'q'** in their own language *68.78A,* **dA'AyAGAga' k'uXah** they eat in their own style (like themselves) *25.34, 34A.*

'AyAwih *(unanalyzable, probably loan from Yakutat Tlingit, see Swanton* Tlingit Myths and Texts*, 1909, p. 89-91 Aya'y.î 'mythical ghoulish chief of Yakutat area', not known to W. Soboleff)*

'AyAwih *(noun, unclassified)* 1. a scary creature, ghoul, goblin *L*: **'i:nda:'q' wAX dAt'uh, 'AyAwihga' 'i:nLilah** grotesque mask < it is worn on the face, having a face like 'AyAwih *L.*

2. mask *LM*: *Rezanov* Аягу 'Личина, Харя Maske', *Galushia Nelson* áyúγì *or* áyúγì 'mask' *BSdL 550,* **'AyAwihlAGAshk'L** totem-pole < grotesque mask pole *L.*

'Aya: *(perhaps variant of ya: or to be analyzed 'A-ya:)*

'Aya: 1. *(pronoun-like noun, unclassified)* something-or-other, so-and-so, what's-his-name, whatchacallit, *L, often functioning as vocalized pause* uh, er: *12.1, 54.17, 67.1G, as o of o-ch' 'to o':* **'Aya:ch' qu'xah** I'll go over to so-and-so *L,* **'Aya:ch' qu'xtah** I'll give it to what's-his-name *L.*

2. *(exclamation)* a. well, what do you know *(expression of surprise)*: **'Aya: 'anh 'u:dAX Ga:L** well, what do you know, he's coming! *L.*

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2b. watch out!, look out!, careful! *(urgent expression warning of immediate danger)*: **'Aya:** look out! (car's coming) *L.*

'Ayanh *(articulated 'A(ñ)yanh, perhaps variant of 'a:yah)*

'Ayanh *(exclamation)* I'm sorry! excuse me! *(expression of pity, commiseration, especially regret) L*: *Galushia Nelson* ənya^{n} ejaculation of sympathy *BSdL 554,* **'Ayanh shiyahshAkih siXa', k'e:duw 'anh sALiL** oh my poor little child!, what did you do to him? *8.12A.*

’Ayu:Gih *(unanalyzable, segmentable, perhaps 'Ayu:G-ih, 'A-yu:G-ih, 'Ayu:-Gih, 'A-yu:-Gih, 'Ayu:-G-ih, 'A-yu:-G-ih, cf. especially k'ula:-G-ih, with -G- personal, or -G- thematic negative, or perhaps loan from Eskimo, Yupik ayuuqi 'be thus!, impersonate!')*

’Ayu:Gih *(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 'AdXa'lAshiyah.*

’uk’ahyAkih *(unanalyzable, though clearly to be segmented 'u-k'ah-yA-kih, 'u-k'ah 'away from it, him', -y-kih 'diminutive' with y-anatomical 'hand'(?) or y-thematic, but semantically and morphologically inexplicable; conceivably < 'uk'ah ya:kih 'a little something (payment?) away from it, him'; perhaps vaguely related to or influenced by the Tlingit equivalent ’àn yádi 'prince, noble' (’àn 'town', yádi 'child, small version'), and/or Tlingit ’ánk’^{w} 'little prince', or perhaps Eyak folk-etymology of ’ánk’^{w} yádi 'little prince's child', influenced by Eyak -kih 'diminutive, affectionate', and/or -yAquh 'young, offspring, small version'; note also distorted articulations, -'uk'ahyAkwih- 28.121fnA, 'uk'uhyAkih 28.130fnA, and forms from G and Galushia Nelson noted below; L rejects proposed *sik'ahyAkih, *'uk'ahlAkih)*

’uk’ahyAkih *(noun, unclassified)* noble, prince, big-shot, affluent, rich, powerful person *LA, 28.96, 96, 98, 101, 108, 111, 121, 126, 130, 133,* **’uk’^{w}ahyAkih** *(Li ’u̓q̓wá(’)a̓yik‘i, with a written over u and g written over q’, glossed 'prince', perhaps articulated ’ək’^{w}ə(’)yəkih) 64.6G, Galushia Nelson* wakaiyɛkɛ 'noble' *BSdL 543.*

’uG *(perhaps reduced form of 'u'G)*

-’uG-L *(noun, l-class) (with -L-instrumental, and/or perhaps deverbalization of unattested verb-theme)* 1. heart: **’Aw’uGL** *10.9A,* **’u’uGL** its heart *10.8, 9, 11.168, 168, 168A, Rezanov* Суукль 'Сердце Herz', **si’uGL** my heart *M,* **k’u’uGL** a heart *LMA,* **k’u’uGL sich’ li:’a’** give me a heart! *L,* **k’u’uGL ’u:d lAsA’ahL** a heart's there *L,* **k’u’uGL’a:’nuw** big heart *L,* **si’uGL si’a:nch’ la’ya:g** my heart is palpitating, beating fast *L,* **si’uGL lah ’i:nsdi’yahL** my heart beat fast *L,* **’a’d si’uGtl’ ’idAsAliL**, **’a’d si’uGL’a:na’tl’ ’idAsAliL** it touched my heart (touched me deeply) *L,* **’Al si’uGL ’ich’ qu’li:x’ah, ’idA’ilah qe’xleh** I'd give you this heart of mine, I love you so *L,* **si’uGLlAyAq’Ach’ahd ’ilah qe’xleh** I love you with all (from the inside of) my heart *L.*

2. **k’u’uGL** hearts (suit at cards) *L.*

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k’u’uGLdla:shAd *(noun)* white part near heart of animal *('thymus' or 'fatty tissue'?) A.*

’i:ya:G *(loan from Chugach igya’aq < igyaraq 'throat, outlet of lake', used elsewhere as place-names throughout Alaska, e.g. Eegyak, Igiak, Igiayarok)*

’i:ya:G *(place-name) Eyak Village at Mile 6 LMA, 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·γiaq *BSdL 544,* í·γìyàq *BSdL 18; the origin of the name Odiak has not been identified, but it is probably not related to Eyak; the Russian Угаляхмют-, Угаленц- Ugalakhmiut, Ugalenz, etc., are from Chugach uŋalarmiut 'those who live in the southeast' which is probably referred not only to the Eyak but also to the Chugach who lived east of Prince William Sound; Chugach for 'Eyak People' specifically is*

iɣyarmiut; Wallamute and Lakhamute are probably also to be read u[ŋ]ala[r]miut, [uŋa]larmiut; this name was not used by the Eyak themselves; Eyak is now pronounced / íyæk/ in the English of the Cordova people, both white and native; the origin and justification for the alternate pronunciation /áyæk/ listed in Webster's Third International is not clear.

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'i:ya:Gda:d *(place-name) area of Eyak (Village)* < near Eyak, (at rest in, nominalization of) the vicinity of Eyak *68.1, 22, 36, 38, 45, 46, 47A.*

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'i:ya:Gguda'd *(place-name) mouth of Eyak River* < outlet of Eyak Lake *L*: *Old Man Dude* iɣiyákùtàt 'Eyak River' *BSdL 544.*

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'i:ya:Gya'd *(place-name) Eyak Lake* < in Eyak (as o with broad opening at top, topographical feature, especially lake or river) *L, 68.32, 36, 56, 60, 60, 61A.*

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'i:ya:Gya' 'anh (1), **'i:ya:Gya' lah** (2), **'i:ya:Glah** (3) *(place-name) Eyak Village at Mile 6* < (inhabited) territory, village of, in Eyak' (1-2), < Eyak Village (3) *L.*

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'i:ya:GdAlahG Eyak < inhabitant of Eyak: Eeak tella *Emmons 1903, Galuhsia Nelson* íɣìyàɢɒ̀làq 'Eyak' *BSdL 543, plural:* í·ɣìyàqɒ̀láqɛ̀iyu· *BSdL 543, 554* **'i:ya:GdAlahGAyu:** 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:GdAlahGAyu:ga' tsin'd-le** S speak Eyak (speak like Eyaks) *68.75, 76, 87A.*

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'i:ya:GdAXunhyu: Eyak Indians: **GAL'ihd ya: 'i:ya:GdAXunhyu: q'Al GAyAG** we're the last Eyak Indians *L.*

'i:yah~'iyah *(perhaps originally to be identified with 'i:yah, second person singular optative of -a 'sg. S go')*

'i:yah~'iyah *(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*: **'i:yah sitl'e'L** gosh, I'm cold! *4.9M,* **'i:yah 'ahnu: qe'LGAyu: tsa' lAGAqu:L** goodness how those women ran down to shore! *37b.69A,* **'iyah cha:nwa:ngu:t'u' 'a:nch' GA'a'ch'L** wow there's sure a lot of Chinamen coming here! *L,* **'i:yah chi'shdug dAXunh 'a'd dja:q'ga' 'iLu' qa' li' didigudjL** God! that guy sure keeps tight-lipped as a (hooked) bullhead! *72.16L.* **'i:yah tl'i:ts'ga' 'AdiLit'inhinh** whew, he (baby) has sure wet himself! *L; in imperative sentence:* **'iyah ya:qa' lAGAdAga'** beat it, go away!, for God's sake, beat it! *L; repeated:* **'iyah 'iyah** too much! *L,* **'iyäh 'iyah djAmAdjAkih** my my, such a chatter box! *L,* **'iyah 'iyah 'ida'ya:lAX 'udahd 'u'ditah** gee whiz, he makes too much noise! *L; used as nominal: adverbialized with -dah:* **'iyahdah** dirty! *L,* **'iyahdah 'AdsLiliL** he got (himself) all dirty *L, as o of o-ga' 'like o':* **dAtli: 'iGALXa'tl'L da:X 'i:yahga' dAwa'd …** it's already getting to be time (for you to leave) and my how quickly … (time flies), my, better hurry … (and finish) *11.195A.*

'i:~'i~yi~i~:(~zero) *(perhaps related to -i:~-i-(~-zero) with lAX- second person plural pronoun)*

’i: *(independent personal pronoun)* you *(second person singular) LM*: *Rezanov* И 'Ты du', Ии 'Его, ему ihm, ihr', Ии 'Ея, ей ihn, sie', *Khromchenko* Иї 'Ты', *Wrangell* ы 'du' **’i:**, *Walker* Esh-est-esh 'ho. you. do you hear', *Strange* Esht-est-esh 'Ho! you! do you hear? calling to one' *to be read* **’i:sh(d), ’i:shd, ’i:sh** you? (I wonder), I wonder if it's you, you?; *M has not heard 'i:sh or 'i:sh as such, but only* **’i:shdAw** I wonder if it's you *(see General Introduction), Rezanov* Ишшу 'Здравствуй guten Tag, ein Gruss', *Furuhjelm* Ishu 'thou', *Galushia Nelson* icu 'is it you? (greeting)' *BSdL 554* **’i:shuw**, **’i:shuh** hello < is it you? *LM,* **’i: da:X 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,* **yAX ’i: ’idAga’X** *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* Иякъ-алле 'Твой dein' **’i: ’iya’ q’A’Al…** this is *yours*, *Khromchenko* Іяшу 'Твоя' **’i: ’iya’shAw** is it yours?, И-я 'Его' ('his') **’i: ’iya’** yours, **xu: siya’ k’udzu:, ’i: ’iya’ k’ushiyah** mine's good, yours is no good *L,* **’i: ’iya’ sALe’L** it became yours *L, Galushia Nelson* ’i’ι ya’ 'your' *BSdL 557, 557, emphasizing possessive pronoun: 61.11A, Galushia Nelson* i’ι 'your' *BSdL 557, 557, 557, in other constructions:* **’i: q’A’Aw** you're the one *50.6A,* it's up to you *57.12G,* **di’dA’i: ’a:ndga’ ’a:nd ya’ qu’xdah** as long as you('re) here I'll stay here *L,* **da:ch’ahdduw ’i: ’a:nd** whence (are) *you* here? *21b.62A,* **tla:XA’i:** where are you? *M,* **du:dA’i:** who are you? *M, with enclitic -gih, -gi-dAg~ 'too, also':* **’i:gih** you too *L,* **’i:gidAg ’iqe’xshe:** I'll kill *you* too *55.27L,* **’Aw Xa:’d ’i’a:n’ qa’xuL, qi’ya:da:X, ’i:gidig** the world will turn on (against) you, some day, you too *72.19L,* **’i:gidugsh**, **’i:gishdug** you too? *L,* **’i:gishuh ’Awa: k’uqu’Xi:yah** will *you* too eat any? *41.7L, with proclitic dA-* 'ipse'*:* **dA’i:gidAg** you yourself too *16.25M, Anonymous* Тыгису 'Здавствуй' ('hello') **dA’i:shuh** is it actually *you*?, **dA’i:shuh ’a:nda’ q’e’ sdiyahL** is it actually *you* come back? *25.104A,* **dA’i:shuh wAX dAleh** are *you* the one that said that? *M (8/7/96),* **dA’i:** you yourself *M, 61.11A,* **dA’i: ’Adch’ (q’e’) ’i:nLA’an’** look at yourself (again)! *M,* **’i: k’udzu:dah k’uLGAdjg** *you* paddle well *71.20LM,* **dA’i: lAXi:LGehdinh** jounce him yourself! *8.11A,* **’uch’ ’iya’ dA’i:** go to it, yourself! *27a.17L,* **dA’i: ’iya’ sAqe:GAyu: q’ahnu:** they're your own children *24.32A, with proclitic dlAGA- 'alone, all by self (isolated)':* **dlAGA’i:** you (are) all alone *LM,* **dlAGA’i:sh Lila:’ yiLeh** are you alone a man? < do you think you're the only man in the world? *10.188A.*

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’i- *(pronominal prefix)* 1. you *(second person singular direct object of verb) see grammar.*

2. you *(second person singular object of postposition) see grammar.*

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3. your *(second person singular possessive prefix with possessed nouns) see grammar.*

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(-)**yi-~-i-~-:**-(~(-)zero) *(pronominal verbal prefix)* you *(second person singular subject of verb) see grammar.*

’ih1

o-**ih-** *(postposition) (attested with -d, -X, and, rarely, -dAX, -da', -ch' finals)* after, behind, in pursuit of, following o (in space or time) 1. *with -d final 'at rest' (here 'without horizontal motion with respect to o')* a. *with noun or pronoun as o*: *38.20fnLM, 51.89A, 63.19fnG,* **si’ihd** way behind me *L, Rezanov* Суидиате 'Въ переди vorn' **si’ihd ya’ ’Ade:** sit, stay behind me!, **’u’ihd qa’ sLidAxL** *12.9G,* **’u’ihd qa’ sahL** it emerged behind them *28.4A,* **si’ihd ’u:da’ sahLinh** he got there after I did *L,* **si’ihd yi:nhinh** the person behind me *L,* **’ahnu:’ihd yi:nhinu:** those (who had remained) behind them *68.20A,* **’Aw’ihd q’unhnu: wAX dAle:k’** after that he (cust) says thus *36.39A (cf. 5. below),* **’Al’ihd xwah** next summer < summer after this *S,* **’Al’ihd ya: leh GAla’yah** next year *L,* **’Aw’ihd leh GAla’yah** the next year (after that) *21a.27, 56.9L.*

1b. *With GA-L- (G-thematic, L-classifier) 'of series' as o*: **GAL'ihd** at the end of the line *L;* **GAL'ihd ya:** last one *L, 11.16, 16, 42, 33.88fn, 37b.18A,* **GAL'ihd ya: sidA'u:G** my last breath *L, 20.22A,* **GAL'ihd ya: qu'xdAleh** this is my last drink (for a while, forever) < I'll drink a last one *L,* **GAL'ihd ya: 'i:ya:G dAXunhyu: q'Al GAyAG** we're the last Eyaks *L,* **GAL'ihd yi:nhinu:** the last people (left) *L;* **GAL'ihdwahd** for the last (time?) *20.89A.*

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1c. *With verbal clause as o*: **'anh sahL'ihd** after he left *L.*

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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 XAdli:'yin'inh** run after him! *L,* **'i'ihX qu'XAdli:xyah** I'll pursue you *LM,* **si'ihX Ga:Linh** 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 'iGAkahL** it (dog) is following me barking *L,* o-**'ihX d-dA-'a:nt'** S (following or stationary) bawl after (moving) o, *with reciprocal o:* **'iL'ihX GAdA'a'ch'Linu:** they're following each other (single file) *L,* o-**'ihX lah** o's junior, younger sibling, *see lah 2. under la~na1.*

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3. *With -dAX final 'motion within area'*: **qa:'ihdAX yAX da:Xinh** he's walking around behind, following us *L (but probably less closely with respect to motion of o than indicated by o-'ihX).*

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4. *With -ch' final 'continuous motion towards'* a. farther and farther behind: **'a'd 'u'ihch' da: yAGa'ya:L** we're falling very much farther and farther behind it *L.*

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4b. closer and closer behind o: **'i'ihch' Ga:Linh** he's coming up behind you *L.*

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5. *With -da' final 'arrival at'*: **si'ihda' sahL** he came to my place after I left < he arrived to behind me, but being still behind, I having left *L.*

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6. *With -X final (cf. 3. and o-d-'ih-X below)* after (the example of), imitating o: **'ahnu: sAqe:GAyu:'ihX 'uXa'** after (the example of, trying to imitate) his children *24.54A,* **'i'ihX 'u'lAGAx'a:nL** I'm imitating you(r actions) *L.*

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o-**d-'ih-X** *(postposition) (with d-thematic 'oral, noise' and -X final, cf. o-'ih- 6. above)* after o('s) vocal example), imitating, repeating after o: **'idA'ihX qu'li:x'eh** I'll repeat after you *L,* **'idA'ihX 'u'lAGAx'a:nL** I'm repeating (vocally) after you *L.*

'ih2

'ih *(exclamation)* disgusting!, revolting!, ugh!, fie! *(expression of disgust or contempt) LM*: *with suffixed -shiyah 'pejorative':* **'ihshiyah** disgusting! *M (L rejects).*

'i:nd

dla:XA'i:nd *(noun, dl-class) (probably with lX-class-mark 'granular, berry-like' and perhaps dl-class-mark or thematic, irregularly combined, meaning of stem not isolable)* button *LMA*: **dla:XA'i:nd sich' dli:'a'** give me a button! *L,* **dla:XA'i:nd sich' dli:La'** give me some buttons! *L,* **dla:XA'i:nd sich' dli:Lya'** give me (e.g. a box of) buttons! *L,* **dla:XA'i:nd 'u:d dla:sA'ahL** a button is there *L,* **dla:XA'i:nddli:'nuw** big button *M,* **la'd dli:na: dla:XA'i:nd** two buttons *M,* **Ge:Xahdla:XA'i:nd** mother-of-pearl button *L,* **dla:XA'i:nd 'iXa' dAqa'X**

dla:GAL'a' button your buttons! < cause your buttons to extend through (motion between) indeterminate o)! *L.*

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dla:XA'i:nddla:(GA)'e'd *(nominalized postpositional phrase, with dla:XA'i:nd as o of o-(GA)-'e'-d '(empty) place of o')* buttonhole: **dla:XA'i:nddla:GA'e'd** buttonhole *L,* **dla:XA'i:nddla:'e'dga' 'i:nLila:X** he has narrow slit-like eyes < he has eyes like buttonholes *L.*

'e *(in spite of diversity of meaning of themes, probably one stem, with basic meaning 'to protect, conceal')*

O-**'e** S (man) marry, keep O (woman) 1. *with determinate O*: **xu:'e:'** marry me! *(woman speaking to man) L,* **xuGA'e'** marry me! *(woman speaking to man) L ("would sound funny" L),* **'iqe'x'eh** *L,* **'iqe'x'e:** I'll marry you *(man speaking to woman) 49.101, 102, 104A,* **qu'x'inhinh** I'll marry her *L, Active imperfective (or perhaps incorrect Neuter imperfective):* **xu'inhinh** he's married to me *L (correct Neuter imperfective probably *xu:'inhinh),* **k'ula:G 'inhinh** someone else is married to her *33.57A, Active perfective:* **si'ehLinh** *32.19A,* **'anh si'ehL** I married her *L,* **ma:ya'ya' sA'ehLinh** lake-thing married her (she went into a withdrawn schizoid state) *L (see under ma:),* **sA'ehL(inh)** married her *10.164, 20.29, 30, 31, 23.52, 24.15, 25.103, 33.60, 66A,* **k'ula:Ginh 'isA'ehL** another man has married you *33.76A, Neuter perfective:* **'ixi'ehLinh** I'm married to her *L (uncertain), Active optative:* **'ixi'ehga' 'a'diyahch'** til she's big enough for me to marry her *9.27A,* **sidAGe:'kih 'i:'eh** that he should marry my little sister *9.29A, Inceptive optative:* **'AlAshgahX 'iGAxi'eh** I wish I might marry you *(man speaking) L.*

2. *With indeterminate O,* S (man) get married: *Inceptive imperfective:* **'anh Lila:' 'iqe'eh** that man will get married *L,* **'iqe'inhinh** he'll get married *L,* **dik' 'iqe'ehGinh** he won't get married *L,* **'iqe'x'eh** I'll get married *L, Active imperfective:* **'i'inhinh** he's married, he's a married man *L, 33.56A,* **dik' 'i'ehGinh** he's not married, he's a bachelor *L, Neuter imperfective (or Active imperfective with dA-classifier > di- by umlaut):* **gu:dAg q'e' 'idi'inhinh** he's remarried again *L,* **k'inhda:d lahq' q'e' 'idi'inhinh** he's remarried at a village in another place *47a.5L, Inceptive perfective:* **di:yAX q'e' 'iGAdA'e:LGinh** he's not remarrying yet *L, Active perfective: Rezanov* Иссыэль 'Женщина Weib, Frauenzimmer überhaupt', *Anonymous* Исаитль 'Женился' ('he got married') **'isA'ehL** you, he got married, **'isi'ehL** I got married *(man speaking) LM, 32.18A,* o-**qa'ch' 'isi'ehL** I've married into amongst o *21b.67, 32.17A,* **dAXk'ih 'anhq'Ach'ahddAw 'isA'ehL** how many lands have you married (taken wives) from? *10.181A,* o-**qa'ch' 'isA'ehLinh** he married amongst o *11.3A,* **'u:ch' 'isA'ehL, 'ahnu:qa'** he married there, amongst them *11.4A, Rezanov* Тыкысъэлькъ 'Холостой ('bachelor') unverheirathet' **dik' 'is'ehLG** you haven't married, **'isA'ehLsh** did you get married *(spoken to man) L,* **gu:dAg q'e' 'isdi'ehLinh** he's gotten married again *L, Active optative:* **tlanhkih k'a' 'ixi'eh**, **'AlAshgahX 'ixi'eh**, **'u:dkih k'a' 'ixi'eh** I wish I were married *L (probably to be corrected to 'i:nxi'eh, 'i:xi'eh), customary:* **'i:'e:k'** he (cust) takes wives, keeps women *10.171A,* **dAde:d Ga:ndich'ich'gyu:qa'ch'ahd 'i:'e:k'inh** he keeps taking wives from amongst any kind of birds *10.172A,* **'ix'e:k'** I (cust) take wives *11.58A.*

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'Ad-LA-'e *(reflexive causative, irregularly derived from O-'e, see 11.56-59fn)* S (man) marry, take wife, keep woman (with ulterior motive, or pretend, make self appear to do so): *customary:* **'AdALA'e:k'** you (cust) take wives *11.56, 56A,* **'AdALA'e:k'inh** he (cust) takes wives *11.57A,* **'AdxLA'e:k'** I (cust) take wives *11.58A,* **dik' 'AdxLA'e:k'G** I don't (cust) take wives *11.59A.*

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LA-'e S (woman) marry *(not used for translating English e.g. 'she married him', for which see o-Xa' wAX -t'e´~-t'u´, ch'iyahd o-tl' da-'-(l-)L-Xa´)*: *Inceptive imperative:* **GALA'e'** get married! *(spoken to woman) L, Inceptive imperfective:* **'anh qe'L qu'LA'eh** that woman will

marry *L,* **qu'LA'eh** she'll get married *L,* **qu'xLA'eh** I'll get married *(woman speaking) L,* **dik' qu'xLA'ehG** (*or* **-'e:G**) I won't marry *(woman speaking) L, Active imperfective (perhaps incorrect):* **xLA'eh** I'm married *(woman speaking) M,* **dik' LA'ehGinh** *L,* **dik' 'ALA'ehG** she isn't married *33.68A (form uncertain), Neuter imperfective (perhaps incorrect, classifier LA- > Li- perhaps by umlaut, negative analogical):* **Li'inhinh** she's married, a married woman *L (three times),* **dik' 'a'LA'ehGinh** she's not married, unmarried woman, spinster *L, Neuter perfective (perhaps incorrect):* **dik' 'a'LA'ehLGinh** unmarried woman *L, Active perfective:* **xsLi'ehL** I got married, I'm married *(woman speaking) L,* **sLi'ehLinh** she married *49.10, 10, 12A,* **yahdda'luwdAt'a:XAch'a' sLi'ehLinh** she married into a big house *49.11A,* **dik' 'AsLA'ehLGinh** she hasn't married *33.68A,* unmarried woman *L, Active optative:* **q'e' 'iLi'eh** that she should remarry *49.25, 26A,* **dAtli: 'iLi'eh k'a'** you should be married already *(spoken to woman) 49.69A, Inceptive subjunctive:* **GAxLA'e:X 'ixleh** I want to get married *(woman speaking) L,* **GALA'e:X 'itl' dAxleh** I'm telling you to get married *(spoken to woman) L, customary:* **dik' q'e' 'ALA'e:k'Ginh** *25.151A,* **dik' q'e' 'ALA'e:k'G** *25.152A,* **dik' q'e' LA'e:k'Ginh** she (cust) doesn't remarry *49.24A.*

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o-**d** O-**L-'e** *(probably originally causative irregularly derived from unattested basic transitive O-'e, 'S protect O', with intermediate object as o of o-d, 'S cause o to protect O', but here semantically irregular 'S cause O to protect o', conceivably also irregularly derived from or influenced by 'Ad-d O-dA-'e below)* S put O (covering, as cape) over o's shoulders: **'Aw 'id qu'xL'eh** I'll put it (e.g. blanket) over your shoulders *L, with ti:l-class-mark for O:* **sid ti:lAGAL'e'** put it (pelt) over my shoulders! *L,* **'id qu'ti:li:xL'eh** I'll put it (pelt) over your shoulders *L.*

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'Ad-d O-**dA-'e** *(indirect reflexive, irregularly derived from o-d O-L-'e with dA- instead of expected LA-classifier, or perhaps from reanalysis, with 'Ad-d < 'Ad- of unattested reflexive 'Ad-dA-'e 'S protect self', regular reflexive of O-'e 'S protect O')* S put O over own shoulders (as covering, cape): **'Aw Gu'L 'Ad qu'xdA'eh** I'll put that blanket over my shoulders *L, with ti:l-class-mark for O ('pelt'):* **'Ad ti:lAGAdA'e'**, **'Ad ti:lAGAdA'e:'**, **'Ad ti:la:dA'e:** put it over your shoulders! *L,* **'Ad qu'ti:xdA'eh**, **'Ad qu'ti:nxdA'eh**, **'Ad qu'ti:lAxdA'eh** I'll put it over my shoulders (as cape) *L,* **'Adshuh ti:ndA'eh** are you wearing it over your shoulders? *L (Active imperfective),* **'Aw 'Ad ti:lAGAdA'e:L** he's putting it over his shoulders *L (Inceptive perfective),* **'Aw 'Ad ti:di'ehLinh** he's wearing it as a cape *L (Neuter perfective),* **'Ad 'Aw ti:nsdi'ehLinh** he put it over his shoulders *L,* **'Ad ti:xsdi'ehL** I put it over my shoulders *L (Active perfectives),* **diLich' 'Ad k'a' ti:li'di'e:k'** you must (cust) always wear it over your shoulders *L (rarely attested customary 'i-Active optative or Neuter optative).*

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'Adti:dA'eh *(noun, probably ti:l-class)* shawl, skin thrown over shoulders, cape *L. Nominalized passive of 'Ad-d O-dA-'e with ti:l-class-mark for O,* < it (skin) be worn over one's shoulders as protection for oneself.

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O-**dl-L-'e** *(with dl-thematic of uncertain origin)* 1. S hide, conceal O: *Rezanov* Тлитль-э 'Спрячь verstecken (Imperat.)' **dli:L'e'**, **dli:L'eh**, **dla:GAL'e'**, **dla:L'e:'** *(last least preferred)* hide it! *L,* **'Awt'a:X dla:GAL'e'**, **'Awt'a'd dla:GAL'e'** hide it behind that! *L,* **'Aw k'utahti:lAyAX dla:GAL'e'** hide it under that skin! *L,* **'iqe'dli:xL'eh** I'll hide you *L, 53.5L,* **qu'dli:xL'eh** I'll hide it *L,* **dik' qu'dli:xL'ehG** (*or* **-'e:G**) I won't hide it *L,* **dla:GAxL'e:L** I'm (in the process of) hiding it *L, Rezanov* Аутлясальэтль 'Спрятать verstecken' **'Aw dla:sAL'ehL** you hid it *L,* **'anh dla:sAL'ehLinh** she hid him *18.68, 53.7L,* **'ahnu: 'AdiX dla:sAL'ehLinh** she hid them inside *49.47A,* **k'udla:siL'ehL** I hid something *L,* **dli:L'ehL** you've hidden it *L*

(Neuter perfective), **Lich' 'Aw dli:L'ehLinh** he always keeps it hidden *L (Neuter perfective),* **dla:xiL'ehL** I've got it hidden, am keeping it hidden *L (Neuter perfective),* **dik' dla:xL'ehLG** I'm not hiding it *L (Neuter perfective, probably to be corrected to dik' dla'xL'ehLG),* **da: dla:yiL'eh**, **da: dla:Gi:L'eh** *(former preferred)* let's hide it *L,* **dla:xL'e:k'** I (cust) hide it *L, with class-marks for O:* **'Aw shdu:lihG dla:GAL'e'** hide that table (d-class)! *L,* **'Aw k'utah ti:dla:GAL'e'** hide that skin (ti:l-class)! *L,* **'Aw la'mahd lAXAdla:GAL'e'** hide those berries (lX-class)! *L; indirect reflexive:* **'Ad'a: qu'lAXAdla:xLA'eh** I'll hide them (berries) for myself *L; reflexive, 'S hide self', or with locational preverbs and/or postpositional phrases, 'S sneak, move with stealth':* **'Adla:GALA'e'** hide! *LM,* **'Adla:GAlAXLA'e'** pl. hide! *L,* **'Adqu'dla:xLA'eh** I'll hide *L,* **'uda:X 'Ash 'Adqu'dla:xLA'eh** I'll sneak by past him *L,* **'Adqu'dla:LA'inhinh** he'll sneak (away) *L,* **'a'q' 'Adqu'dla:xLA'eh** I'll sneak out *L,* **yAq'dAX 'ahnu:ch' 'AdqAdla:LA'inhinu:** they sneak up along the shore toward him *56.22L,* **'Adla:sLi'ehLinh** he's hiding, he hid himself *L,* **'a:nd da: 'Adla:sLi'ehL** we're in hiding here *13.7L,* o-**'ihX 'Adla:sLi'ehL** sneaked along behind o *9.154, 154, 155A, o-da' 'Adla:sLi'ehL 'sneaked to o': 23.78A, 37a.7L, 38.4, 4LM, 47b.31aM,* **'a'q' 'Adla:sLi'ehL** sneaked out *9.66, 67A,* **q'e:'a'q' 'Adla:sLi'ehLinh** he sneaked back out *55.5L,* **sit'a'X 'a'q' 'Adla:sLi'ehL** he sneaked out while I wasn't looking (was otherwise occupied, distracted) *L,* **q'e' 'Adla:sLi'ehL** sneaked back home *23.98A,* **(**o-**dAXa:na'q'dAx) 'AdiX 'Adla:sLi'ehL** sneaked in (behind o's back) *47b.39M, 55.24L,* **'uXahd 'Adla:sLi'ehL** sneaked away from them *23.98A,* **'u:dAX lahdz 'Adla:sLi'ehL** sneaked forward along there *25.72A,* **'u:ch' lah 'Adla:sLi'ehL** sneaked towards there (skirting) around *47b.31aM,* **yahddAyAXAch' 'Adla:sLi'ehL** crept under the house *61.115A,* **sida'X 'Adla:sLi'ehLinh** he sneaked right into me *L,* **siya:X 'Adla:sLi'ehLinh** he hid from me (sneaked avoiding me) *L,* **Lich' 'Adla:xLi'ehL** I always keep myself hidden *L (Neuter perfective),* **da: 'Adla:Li'eh**, **da: 'Adla:GALi'eh** let's hide *L,* **'a:nch'a' 'Adla:LA'e:k'** (cust) sneaks hither *9.69A,* **'Adla:LA'e:k'inh** he (cust) hides *M, repetitive:* **'a:nch' q'e' 'Adla:LA'e:gk'** (cust) keeps sneaking back hither *9.70A, with o-Xa' 'in intimate relation with, by o' and ya' 'completely, to a state of rest', 'S sneak up on o, spy on o':* **'uXa' ya' 'Adla:lAXLA'in'inu:** pl. spy on them! *29.30A,* **'ahnu:Xa' ya' 'Adla:sLi'ehL** they sneaked up on her *23.79A,* **'ahnu:Xa' ya' 'Adla:Li'ehLinu:** are spying on them *29.30A (Neuter perfective), with perambulative:* **yAX 'Adla:LA'e:** sneak around! *LM,* **yAX 'Adqu'dla:xLA'eh** (*or* **-'e:**) I'll sneak around *L,* **dik' yAX 'Adqu'dla:xLA'ehG** (*or* **-'e:G**) I won't sneak around *L,* **yAX 'Adla:xLA'e:X** I'm sneaking around *M,* **yAX 'Adla:LA'e:X** he's, they're sneaking around *L, 52.2L,* **dik' yAX 'Adla:xLA'e:XG** I'm not sneaking around *L,* **da: yAX 'Adla:Li'eh** let's sneak around *LM,* **yAX 'Adla:LA'e:k'inh** he's sneaky < he (cust) sneaks around *L, with y-anatomical:* **yAX 'AdyAdla:xLA'e:X** I'm moving my hands quietly, stealthily *L, with qi:d-anatomical:* **yAX 'Adqi:dla:xLA'e:X** I'm walking around quietly (e.g. so as not to wake people) < I'm moving my feet around quietly, stealthily *L; passive:* **xudla:xLi'ehL, xudla:sdi'ehL** I've been hidden *L,* **dla:sLi'ehLyu:** cached-away things *34.25L,* **qAdla:sLi'ehL'a:n'** (coming) upon cached-away things *34.155M,* **qi' k'uqAdla:di'ehL'a:n'ch'** (coming) upon place where something pl. were being kept hidden *15.4M (Neuter perfective),* **dla:di'ehL** it's hidden *L (Neuter perfective), Active imperfective used in customary or ethical sense:* **'u:d dla:dA'eh** that's its hiding-place < it's (ordinarily) hidden there *L,* **dik' 'u:d dla:dA'ehG** (*or* **-'e:G**) that's not its hiding-place *L (see also dl-LA-'e below).*

2. S deceive, fool, cheat O: **'iqe'dli:xL'eh** I'll deceive you, fool you, lie to you *LM,* **dik' 'iqe'dli:xL'ehG** (*or* **-'e:G**) I won't deceive you *L,* **dAXunhyu: q'Aw** (**dALich'a'**) **qAdli:L'eh** you (always) fool people *11.55, 55, 55A,* **dAtli: qa: dla:GAL'e:L** is fooling us already *11.18A,* **dik' 'idla:GAxL'e:LG** I'm not cheating you *L,* **'idla:siL'ehL** I fooled, cheated you *L,* **xudla:sAL'ehLinh** he cheated me *L; passive:* **xudla:sLi'ehL**, **xudla:sdi'ehL** I've been fooled *L.*

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dl-LA-’e *(probably in error for reflexive of o-dl-L-'e)* S hide: **’u:d dla:xLA’eh** that's my hiding-place *L (see last entry under O-dl-L-'e 1. above),* **’u:d dla:xLA’e:k’** that's my hiding place < I (cust) hide there *L (probably to be corrected to 'Adla:- in both cases).*

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-LA’eh *unanalyzable element in dAGLA'eh, q.v.*

’e~’an1 *(not here identified with 'e~'an2 or 'e~'an3 for lack of clear semantic connection, though themes with all three stems are all fundamentally transitive, and perhaps share historically a common meaning 'S act 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 'a:n L once, A once, 'e: A once, Active perfective 'anh L 4 times, M 7 times, A once, 'eh L 3 times, M 3 times, positive Inceptive imperfective 'eh L twice, M twice, negative Inceptive imperfective 'e: M twice, 'a:n L once, 'eh L once, 'anh L once, positive Active imperfective 'eh L 7 times, M 4 times, A 6 times, G twice, 'e: A 3 times, G 3 times, negative Active imperfective 'eh L 3 times, 'anh L once, 'a:n A once, Inceptive imperative 'e' M once, Active imperative 'eh L twice, M 3 times, Inceptive conditional 'eh L once, Inceptive subjunctive 'a:n L once, cust 'e: M once; these patterns, insofar as statistically significant, are substantially the same as those for 'e~'an2 and 'e~'an3, with the possible exceptions of the Active imperative and perhaps also the negative imperfectives and the subjunctive)*

O-’-(**l**-)’**e**~-’**an** *(semitransitive with l-thematic, omitted only in non-Inceptive reflexives, always, and, often, in Active perfective)* 1. S call, call upon, hail O, call O by name: **’u’li:’eh** call him! *M,* **’Aw XAwa: ’u’li:’eh** call that dog! *L,* **’i’qe’li:x’eh** I'll call you *L,* **dik’ ’i’qe’li:x’e:G** I won't call you *M,* **dik’ qu’li:x’ehG** (*or* **-’anhG**, **-’a:nG**) I won't call it *L,* **’i’li:x’eh** I'm calling you *L,* **xu’li:’eh** he's calling me *M,* **dik’ XAwa: ’u’li:x’ehG** I'm not calling the dog *L,* **dik’ da: ’u’li:’anhGinh** we're not calling him *L,* **’u’li:’inhinu:** he called them *2a.30M,* **’Aw ’u’li:’e:** he calls upon it *10.203, 203A,* **’uqa’ ’u’li:’eh** she called her husband *43.20L,* **’anh ’u’li:’inhinh** he called her *61.5A,* **xu’lAsA’ehLsh** *L (M "has heard"),* **xu’lAsA’anhLsh** did you call me? *M,* **xu’lAsA’anhLinh** he called, hailed me *M,* **dik’ ’u’lAxs’anhLG** I didn't call it *L,* **’i’lAGA’a:nLinh** he's calling you (for a long time, many times) *L,* **’u’lAGAx’a:nX sitl’ dAleh** he told me to call him *L; reflexive:* **’Adu’lAGAdA’eh da:X** if it calls its own name *35.5L; passive:* **xu’lAdA’eh** I'm being called *M.*

2. *(Passive rare, reflexive used where passive expected)* a. *With adverbs, preverbs or postpositional phrases,* S call O a certain way: **Lich’ ’a:wAyu: xu’li:’inhinh** he always calls me nasty names *L,* **k’e:d xu’li:’eh** what (how) did you call me? *L,* **Lidah ’a:wAyu: ’u’lAGA’a:nL** continually calls it impolite names *10.96A,* **dALi’q’ ya:yu:dah ’anh ’u’lAGA’e:L** he's calling all sorts of names *11.140A,* **wAX ’Aw ’u’li:’eh** *65.34A,* **wAX ’u’li:’e:** they call it thus *65.34A,* **’AwlA’e: ’u’li:’eh** they call it differently *68.92A,* **’Al ’ida: da: k’u’li:’eh** this what we call something *68.91A; with indeterminate O:* **Lich’ ’a:wAyu: ’ida’li:’inhinh** he always calls people impolite names *L,* **Lich’ k’usha:dah ’ida’li:’inhinh** he always calls people bad names *L; reflexive:* **’uk’ah ’i:nsitahL, ’idA’Adu’dA’eh** I forgot it, what it's called *50.48A, Rezanov* Кедетуде-э 'Имя Name' **k’e:d ’Adu’dA’eh** what's your name? < comment t'appelles-tu ?, **k’e:d ’i: ’Adu’dA’eh** what's *your* name? *L,* **wAX ’Adu’dA’e:** it's called thus *12.32, 64.12G,* **XAlahsdla:GAyu:ga’ wAX ’Adu’dA’eh** like white men (in English) it's called thus *50.50A,* **dik’ wAX ’Adu’dA’a:nG** it's not called thus *A.*

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2b. *With noun as C,* S call O C: **XAwa: xu'lAGA'e'** *M,* **XAwa: xu'li:'eh** call me a dog! *LM,* **XAwa: 'i'qe'li:x'eh** I'll call you a dog *LM,* **dik' XAwa: 'i'qe'li:x'e:G** I won't call you a dog *M,* **yAX dAxuLX da: 'u'li:'eh** we call it a barrel *M,* **'Ami:nnya' Ga:ndich'ich'g GAyAG da: 'u'li:'eh** prayer-birds *we* call them *61.20A,* **nigta:y-GAsu' 'Aw 'u'li:'inhinu:** *necktie*-fish they call it *65.34A,* **'Al 'uq' 'isda'L 'Aw 'u'li:'eh** you call this chair that *68.92A,* **'utsi: 'Awa:, 'udAGe:' 'Aw 'u'li:'inhinu:** their daughters, they call them their younger siblings *68.112A,* **XAwa: 'u'li:x'inhinh** I'm calling him a dog *L,* **dik' XAwa: 'u'li:x'ehGinh** I'm not calling him a dog *L,* **dik' XAwa: 'i'li:x'ehG** I'm not calling you a dog *L,* **'Ala:dshdAg XAwa: xu'li:'eh** *M,* **'Ala:dunh XAwa: xu'li:'eh** he even called me a dog *L,* **XAwa: 'u'si'anhLinh** *M,* **XAwa: 'u'si'ehLinh** *L,* **XAwa: 'u'lisi'anhLinh** I called him a dog *LM,* **XAwa: xu'sA'anhLinh**, **XAwa: xu'sA'ehLinh**, **XAwa: xu'lAsA'anhLinh**, **XAwa: xu'lAsA'ehLinh** he called me a dog *LM,* **dik' XAwa: 'i'lAxs'anhLG** I didn't call you a dog *LM,* **XAwa: xu'li'e:k'inh** he (cust) calls me a dog *M; reflexive:* C **'Adu'xdA'eh** my name is C < je m'appelle C *L,* C **'Adu'dA'eh** *12.14, 67.1G,* C **'Adu'dA'inhinh** *47b.1fnM, 47c.1L, 51.38, 61.40A,* C **'Adu'dA'e:** is called C *54.5G,* **sti:wAn 'Adu'sdi'anhL** he was called Steven *A,* **sahsch'iya' 'uk'ahyAkih 'Adu'dA'e:k'** expert sea-otter hunters were (cust) called "princes" *64.6G; passive:* C **xu'lAdA'eh** I'm being called C *M.*

'e~'an2 *(not here identified with 'e~'an1 or 'e~'an3 for lack of clear semantic connection; stem-variation, so far as attested, like that of 'e~'an1 and 'e~'an3)*

o-**'ih-X** O-**'-l-'e~-'an** *(semitransitive with l-thematic, probably omitted under same conditions as O-'-(l-)'e~-'an under 'e~'an1, but here attested only in Inceptives, theme attested only with o-'ih-X 'movement in area along behind, following o', O attested only as 'u- third person, perhaps thematized, theme perhaps as intransitive)* S copy, imitate o, do as o do: **'i'ihX 'u'lAGAx'a:nL** I'm doing whatever you're doing, copying you *L.*

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o-**d-'ih-X** O-**'-l-'e~-'an** *(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 'e~'an1)* S imitate o vocally, say as o say, mimic o: **'idA'ihX qu'li:x'eh** I'll say whatever you do *L,* **'idA'ihX 'u'lAGAx'a:nL** I'm repeating (along) after you *L.*

'e~'an3 *(not here identified with 'e~'an1 or 'e~'an2 for lack of clear semantic connection, perhaps also related to 'a:n' and/or 'e:X; stem-variation: Inceptive perfective 'a:n always, Active perfective almost always 'anh (L 'eh once only) except for G who consistently has 'eh, Neuter perfective 'anh M once, positive Inceptive imperfective usually 'eh, A twice 'e:, and L, with perambulative, once, positive Active imperfective usually 'eh but in text 'e: A 3 times, G once, with -sh- interrogative 'eh L twice, 'e: L twice, M once, and, doubtfully, in theme 'i-L- 'anh A twice, negative Inceptive imperfective always 'a:n, negative Active imperfective almost always 'a:n, M twice 'e:, Inceptive imperative L once 'e', Active imperative (not with perambulative) usually 'an', L 'e' 3 times, Active imperative with perambulative usually 'e:, M twice 'a:n, L once 'a:n', once 'e:', M once 'eh, optatives usually 'eh, Inceptive optative M once 'anh, Inceptive conditional 'eh, subjunctives 'a:n L four times, 'e: M twice, L once, Active imperfective with perambulative always 'a:n, all -g-repetitives and -G-thematic negatives 'a:n, customary almost always 'a:n, L once 'e:; themes irregular and partially suppletive)*

O-**G-’e~-’an** *(with special G-thematic, cf. G-L-dzu', d-G-dA-le, perhaps of same position as and related to GA- Inceptive mode-aspect prefix; theme occurring exclusively in what is here considered Active imperfective and not with repetitive or perambulative, and only twice, perhaps incorrectly, in cust; for other mode-aspects and derived forms of non-passive see o-lAX 'i-L-'e~-'a:n, for other mode-aspects of passive see tsa2; note also that in the simplest theme meaning 'S see O' with Athapaskan stem *-’en in Navaho occurs in one mode-aspect only, called by Young and Morgan "progressive", with yi-progressive prefix, but lacking the expected -L-suffix of the Athapaskan progressive (cognate with Eyak Inceptive perfective), thus yish’į < *ɢə-š-’en, Eyak GAx'eh 'I see it'; Navaho also has suppletive cé·~cą́ in other mode-aspects)* S see O, can see O: *Rezanov* Каху-э 'Вижу ich sehe', *Galushia Nelson* ɢə́x̲ʷà’ *or* ɢə́xʷà 'I see' **GAx’eh** *L,* **Gux’eh** I see it, I saw it *M, 46.29M,* **dik’ Gux’a:nG** *71.1, 6LM,* **dik’ GAx’a:nG** I don't see it *L, Rezanov* Кахоанкто *(first o perhaps to be interpreted в)* 'Не видно unsichtbar' *perhaps to be read* [**dik’**] **GAxw’a:nGduh** I don't see it! *L,* **Gux’inhinh** I see him, her *M,* **dik’ GAx’e:Ginh** I don't see him *M,* **ts’iyuh Gux’eh** I see a bear *M,* **’a:nch’ Ga:L da:X GAxw’inhinh** I see him coming *L,* **k’ude:dah GAx’a:nG** I can't see it *L, Galushia Nelson* αⁿ’ɢəxʷà’ *or* άⁿ’ɢəxʷè 'I see him' **’anh GAxw’eh**, xʷu·ɢəxʷɛ’laχ̣ɛi *or* xʷúɢə’xʷɛ̀ 'you pl. see' *BSdL 560* **xu: GAxw’eh (lAXi:)** *I* see it (*you pl.*), **’u:ch’ GAx’eh** I see it there < I see it thither *L,* **’iGux’eh** I see you *M,* **dik’ ’iGAx’a:nG** *11.128A,* **dik’ ’iGux’e:G** I don't see you *M,* **’iGAx’eh ’idAyileh** I see what you're doing < I see you, what you're doing *L,* **’iGAx’eh k’uXi:yah** I see you eating < I see you, you're eating *L,* **’iGAx’eh de:d ’u’sAtsahL** I see what you bought *L,* **’iGAx’eh de:d XAsahL** I see what you ate *L,* **’iGAx’eh ’Aw ’u’sAtsahL** I see what you bought < I see you, that which you bought *L, Galushia Nelson* χ̲ʷui·’ɕəχ̲ʷä’ *or* xʷu·ı’ɢəxʷa 'I see you' *BSdL 560* **xu: ’iGAxw’eh** *I* see you, **k’uGux’eh** I see something *M,* **’a:nd ’Awa: k’uGAxw’inhinu:** I saw some of them here *68.85A,* **Gi:’e:** *11.116A,* **Gi:’eh** you see it *M,* **de:d Gi:’eh** what do you see? *LM,* **Gi:’inhinh** you see him *M,* **q’ahshuw Gi:’eh** do you see it finally? *71.3LM, Galushia Nelson* qɛi’äc *or* qɛi’ac 'you see' *BSdL 560* **Gi:’ehsh** *L,* **Gi:’ehshuw** do you see it? *46.29M, Galushia Nelson* icαⁿqɛi’ä’ 'you see him' *BSdL 560* **’i:sh ’anh Gi:’eh** do *you* see him?, *Rezanov* Такейкекеэту 'Просторно ('spacious') geräumig' *perhaps to be read* **dAqi:kih, Gi:’ehduh** all gone, you see!, **xuGi:’eh** you see me *M,* **xuGi:’e:sh**, **xuGi:’ehsh** do you see me? *L,* **dik’ xuGi:’a:nG** you don't see me *11.127A, Furuhjelm* Aukhaatu 'to see' *perhaps to be read* **’Aw GA’ehdunh** he sees it!, *see also 'anhan', Galushia Nelson* aˠuqɛi’ɪⁿhɪⁿ *or* auqɛ’ɪⁿhɪⁿ 'he sees' **’Aw GA’inhinh** he sees it, άⁿ’nù· áˠùà’à *or* άⁿnù·àˠùqà’à 'they see' **’ahnu: ’Aw GA’eh** they see it, αⁿ’ αˠuqɛi’ä’ 'he sees him' **’anh ’Aw GA’eh** he sees it, άⁿ’qèi’ìⁿhìⁿ’ 'he sees him' **’anh GA’inhinh**, άⁿ’nù·’qèi’ìⁿhìⁿ 'they see him' *BSdL 560* **’ahnu: GA’inhinh** they see him, he sees them, **’anh k’uma: ’anh GA’eh** the mother sees him *43.8M,* **’i:nLk’a’d GA’inhinh** sees sea-urchins *4.2M,* **te’ya’gutl’ah ’u:ch’ GA’inhinh** she saw a fishtail there (thither) *46.7M,* **q’a:l ne:tl’da:X wAX ’Aw GA’ehlehd** because he sees it thus now for the first time *36.29A,* **’anh Ch’i:leh dik’ GA’a:nG** doesn't see the Raven *3.7M,* **xuGA’inhinh** he sees me *LM, Galushia Nelson* αⁿ’i’qä’ä’ *or* αⁿ’ì’qà’à 'he sees you' *BSdL 560* **’anh ’iGA’eh**, **’iGA’inhinh** he sees you *M, Galushia Nelson* αⁿ’nu’ı’qä’ä *or* άⁿ’nùìqà’à 'they see you' *BSdL 560* **’ahnu: ’iGA’eh, dik’ ’AdAX k’uGA’a:nG** he couldn't see anything however *2a.17aM, Galushia Nelson* qɛiyəɢɒ·qä’ä *or* qɛiyáɢɒ́·qà’à 'we see' **GAyAG da: GA’eh** *we* see it, qaiyɛqɒa·ı’qä’ä *or* qaiyáɢɒ́·ì’qà’à 'we see you' *BSdL 560* **GAyAG da: ’iGA’eh** *we* see you, **’Aw Xi:d ’AdA’anhsh GAlAX’ehsh** do you pl. see that yonder mainland? *14.3L, Galushia Nelson* qàláχ̣ìⁿhìⁿcù *or* qàláχ̣ìⁿhìⁿcù 'you pl. see him' *BSdL 560* **GAlAX’inhinhshuh** do you pl. see him?; *customary (perhaps incorrect):* **Gi:’e:k’ihshunh** do you (cust) see him? *L, with class-marks for O:* **gusi:kih gah XAdAGA’inhinh** he sees a little daylight *2a.17M,* **’Aw lissh dAGi:’eh** do you see that tree? *71.9LM, with qi:d-anatomical:* **’iqi:dAGA’eh** I see your foot *L; reflexive:* **’AdGuxdA’eh** I see myself *M,* **’AdGAdA’eh** you see yourself *M,* **’AdGAdA’inhinh** he sees himself *M, see also G-dA-'e~-'an, with y-anatomical and o-lu'-ch' '(continuous motion) through (hole in) o':* **’ulu’ch’ ’AdyAGAdA’eh** I see the reflection of my hand in it < I see my hand through it *L; passive, 'S be seen, can be seen, be visible, show':*

’u:ch’ GAdA’e: *12.31G,* **’u:ch’ GAdA’eh** it's visible, can be seen, shows there (thither) *L, Rezanov* Учкате-этъ 'Видно ('evident') sichtbar' **’u:ch’ GAdA’ehd[uh]** it shows there!, **Lanhd qi’ch’ GAdA’eh** where (whither) smoke is visible *18.82, 47c.42L,* **’Awlu’ch’ GAdA’eh** it shows through it *L, Galushia Nelson* ɒìk’ qàɒà’aⁿ qè yə̀x̣ɒə̀qtxè 'unseen messenger ("not seen one sent-for-something")' *BSdL 310, 554* **dik’ GAdA’a:nGinh yAX dAku’dXinh** he who is sent about on errands who is not seen, **dik’ GAdA’a:nG** it's invisible *L,* **dik’ xuGAdA’a:nG** I'm invisible *L,* **dAqa: k’uGAdA’eh** "something you can hardly see" < something is sometimes visible *L, customary (uncertain, perhaps incorrect)* **dik’ GAdA’a:nk’G** they (cust) can't be seen *63.41G.*

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’uyAq’ k’uGAdA’eh *(noun, unclassified)* field-glasses, binoculars, telescope *L, Rezanov* Уяххокоте 'Очки Brille' *probably to be read* **’uyAq’ k’uGAdA’eh**, *perhaps earlier form for 'spectacles'. Nominalized passive Active imperfective,* < in it something is seen.

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G-dA-’e~-’an *(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*: **’ulu’ch’ da: GAdA’eh** we see ourselves in (through) it *L (perhaps to be corrected to 'ulu'ch' qa: GAdA'eh, or 'ulu'ch' da: 'AdGAdA'eh), with l-anatomical:* Улючьтаалькате-э 'Стекло ('glass') Glas' *perhaps to be read* **’ulu’ch’ da: lAGAdA’eh** our faces can be seen in (through) it *or perhaps to be corrected to 'ulu'ch' da: 'AdGAdA'eh or 'Ad-lAGAdA'eh; see also below.*

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’ulu’ch’da:dGAdA’eh *(noun, unclassified)* mirror, *probable interpretation of Rezanov* Улючитаткате 'Зеркало Spiegel', *and in Rezanov* Улючьтакатекоэте 'Лоснетъ glänzend, es glänzt, schillert' **’ulu’ch’da:dGAdA’ehgwä’ ’i:t’eh** *it's like a mirror. For etymology see below.*

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li’shda:dGAdA’eh *L,* **li’shde:dGAdA’eh** *M (noun, unclassified)* mirror. *L and M unable to etymologize, probably < 'ulu'ch' da: 'AdGAdA'eh 'we see ourselves in (through) it', as shown by the more archaic Rezanov form; M insists on li'shde:d-, L on li'shda:d-.*

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(k’u-)G-’e~-’an *(usually with thematized k'u-indefinite O, treated as intransitive, Active imperfective only, for other mode aspects see 'i-L-'e~-'an 10d.)* S can see, have sight: **k’Adzu:dah k’uGux’eh** I see well *L,* **k’udzu:dah k’uGA’inhinh** he sees well *27a.35L,* **dik’ GAx’a:nG** I can't see *27b.29A (probably not to be glossed 'I can't see it', perhaps to be corrected to dik' k'uGAx'a:nG),* **gusi:kih q’Al k’uGAx’e:** I can see a (this) little bit *27b.41A,* **k’uGi:’e:sh** can you see? *27a.30L,* **’idah k’uGA’eh** he can see fine *27b.48A,* **dik’ k’uGAx’a:nG** I can't see *32.38A,* **dik’ q’e’ k’uGAdA’a:nGinh** he couldn't see anymore *61.4A,* **dik’ q’Aw q’e’ k’uGAdA’a:nG** not that you'll see again *61.17A;* **gu:dAg q’e’ GuxdA’eh** I saw it again *M (so glossed, perhaps for 'I can see again', or to be corrected to gu:dAg q'e' Gux'eh).*

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k’u-(G-)’a:n-G *(with thematic -G negative and thematized k'u-indefinite O, intransitive, used in all mode aspects, with G-thematic in Active imperfective, from which theme is doubtless derived)* S be, become blind: **k’uGux’a:nG** *M,* **k’uGAx’a:nG** I'm blind *L, 27a.21L, Anonymous* Кгукаакъ 'Слепой' **k’uGA’a:nG** (he's) blind, **k’uGA’a:nGinh** he's blind *27b.1, 1A,* **k’uGA’a:nGinh dAXunh** a blind person *27a.1L,* **dik’ k’uGA’a:nGGinh** she's not blind *27b.24A,* **k’uGAx’a:nGL** I'm going blind *L,* **k’usi’a:nGL** I am (went) blind *L,* **k’usA’a:nGLinh** he went blind *61.1A.*

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O-**’-G-’e~-’an** *(semitransitive of O-G-'e~-'an, Active imperfective only, for meaning in other mode-aspects see tsa2)* S see O in a certain condition, O look a certain way to S, *with adverbs formed with -dah adverbializer*: **k’usha:dah ’i’GAx’eh** you look pretty sick (bad) to me *L,* **k’udzu:dah ’u’GAx’eh** it looks good to me *L; usually passive, 'O look, seem a certain way':* **k’udzu:dah ’u’GAdA’eh** it looks good *9.88A,* **k’Adzu:dah ’u’GAx’eh** it looks good to me *L; usually passive, 'O look, seem a certain way':* **k’udzu:dah ’u’GAdA’eh** it looks good *9.88A,* **k’Adzu:dah ’u’GAdA’inhinh qe’L** good-looking woman *58.1L,* **sLa’dahsh xu’GAdA’eh** do I look pretty? *M,* **dik’ sLa’dah ’i’GAdA’a:nG** you don't look pretty *M,* **la’dnu: sLa’dah ’u’GAdA’inhinu: qe’LGAyu:** two beautiful women *M, with o-la:X-'e'-d 'in o's eyes':* **sila:Xe’d k’udzu:dah ’u’GAdA’eh** it looks good to me *M, with wAX 'thus' and indefinite O:* **wAX ’ila:Xe’d k’u’GAdA’eh** things look thus in your eyes *(i.e. 'you're having hallucinations') 46.26M, with o-l-'e: 'different from o':* o-**lA’e: ’u’GAdA’e:** *21b.26A,* o-**lA’e: ’u’GAdA’eh** looks different from o *21b.38A, with o-ga' 'like o': 16.2, 43.19M,* **diLt’u:ch’ga’ ’u’GAdA’eh** it looks black *14.4L,* **dA’u:d sAquhLga’ ’u’GAdA’inhinu:** they look like they're sitting right there *47b.40M,* **tsa’ga’ ’u’GAdA’eh** it looks deep *M,* **’iga’ ’u’GAdA’inhinh** he looks like you *L,* **dA’iLga’ ’u’GAdA’eh** they look just alike *M,* **ts’AGLga’ ’u’GAdA’eh** it (distant boat) looks like indistinct color *L,* **la’X yAX k’udiditl’ihLga’ ’u’GAdA’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’GAdA’inhinh** he looks like a pushover for me, easy for me to handle, beat up *L, with class-marks for O: Galushia Nelson* tɬx qa’ɔ’ɒa’qa’ɒɛ’ɛ lɪs 'green (grass) looks-like tree' i.e. 'tree is green' *BSdL 558* **tl’ihXga’ ’u’dAGAdA’eh lis** a tree which looks like grass, **’idehdah sLa’dah ’u’dAGAdA’eh yahd** a really beautiful house *M,* **lAXla:X lAXa: k’usha:dah ’u’lAXAGAdA’eh** you pl. eyes look bad *L.*

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O-**’-l-G-dA-’e~-’an** *(with l-anatomical 'head, face' thematized, Active imperfective only, for other mode aspects, and vocalic classifier, see O-'-l-LA-tsa under tsa2)* S stare penetratingly at O, stare O down, discountenance O: **xu’lAGAdA’inhinh** he's staring hard at me *L.*

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O-**’-’e~-’an** S look (in definite direction, area) for O *(perhaps without involving travel for any great distance, all mode-aspects)*: **’u:dAX ’u’GA’e’** look along there for it! *L,* **’u:dAX ’u’si’anhL** I looked along there for it *L, more frequently with perambulative: Rezanov* Exотте 'Искать suchen' **yAX ’u’dA’e:**, **yAX ’u’dA’a:n** *L,* **yAX ’u’dA’a:n’** *(uncertain of stem-form)* look (about) for it! *M, Rezanov* Утахъэхотте 'Ищи suchen (Imperat.)' **’u:dAX yAX ’u’dA’e:** look about for it (along) there!, **yAX ’u’xdA’a:nX** I'm looking for it *L,* **’u:dAX yAX ’u’dA’a:nX** you're looking around there for it *M,* **gahXye’X yAX ’u’GAxdA’a:nL** I've been looking around for it all day long *L,* **yAX ’u’xsdi’anhL** I looked for it *L,* **yAX ’i’xsdi’anhL** I looked around for you *L (but L prefers 'i'e:X yAX 'ixLA'a:nX; L rejects proposed form with indeterminate O *yAX 'ida'dA'a:nXinh 'he's looking around').*

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yAX ’u’wA’a:nX *(gerundive)* looking around for it: **yAX ’u’wA’a:nX xuGALga’L** I'm getting tired of looking around for it < looking around for it is tiring me *L.*

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’i-L-’e~-’an *(with indeterminate O, detransitivized, basic meaning 'S travel along (by unspecified means, but in a position to see), S go along seeing, S look'; with certain postpositional phrases the choice of gloss between 'travel' and 'look' is clear, but with others, dependent on context or arbitrary)* 1. S journey, travel, go (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 look', but here are listed the instances in which it occurs glossed, or clearly with the meaning from context, S travel: *with no directional or locational preverbs or postpositional phrases:* **'iqe'xL'eh** I'll go away, travel somewhere *L,* **'i:nL'anhLinh** he's travelling, he's away, out of town *M (Neuter perfective), with o-ch' 'to, toward o':* **'u:ch' 'i:nL'an'** go there! *L,* **'u:ch' 'iqe'xL'eh** I'm going to travel there *L,* **dik' 'u:ch' 'iqe'xL'a:nG** I won't go there *L,* **'u:ch' 'iGAxL'a:nL** I'm on my way there *L,* **'u:ch' 'isAL'anhL** he travelled there *L,* **gahXAdAtsin'da'ya' 'u:ch' da: 'isAL'anhL** we travelled for about half a day thither *59.13 Galushia Nelson,* **'u:ch' 'i:liL'inhinh** let him travel thither *L, with o-da' 'to, arrival at o':* **di:yAX 'a:nda' 'iGAxL'a:nLG** before I came here (moved from Cordova to Yakutat) *61.1A,* **qi' sdishehLda' 'isiL'anhL** I went to where he got killed *L,* **'a:nda' 'isiL'anhL** *61.2A,* **'a:nda' 'isiL'ehL** I came here *(moved from Cordova/Katalla to Yakutat) 62.1, 1, 2G,* **ne:tl'da:X 'a:nda' 'isiL'anhL** when I first, first when I came here *(to Yakutat) 68.85, 88A,* **ne:tl'da:X 'a:nda' da: 'isAL'ehL** when we first, first when we came here *(to Yakutat) 62.9G,* **dAtli: q'a:l XAlahsdla:GAyu: 'u:da' 'isAL'anhL** by now already whites had reached there *(penetrated to and settled at Cordova) 68.57A,* **da:ch'ahdduw 'a:nda' q'e' 'ilAXsLi'anhL** where have you pl. returned here from? *14.2L,* **'u:da' 'iGAxL'eh da:X** if, when I get there *L, with other locationals or directionals:* **'i:ndzi'X 'isAL'anhL** he travelled south (straight forward, out into Gulf of Alaska) *L,* **lahq'Ach'ahd 'isAL'anhLinh** he left town *M,* **'u:d q'e' 'ixsLi'ehL**, **'u:d q'e' 'ixsLi'anhL** I went back there *L, with perambulative:* **yAX 'iLA'e:** *(also possibly -'a:n, M "never heard")* go travelling (around)! *M,* **yAX 'iqe'xLA'e:** I'll travel around *L,* **yAX 'ixLA'a:nX** I'm travelling *M,* **yAX 'iLA'a:nXinh** he's travelling *LM,* **da: yAX 'iLA'a:nX** we're travelling *L,* **yAX 'ixsLi'anhL** I travelled around, went sightseeing, on a trip *L,* **dik' yAX 'ixsLA'anhLG** I didn't travel *L,* **siq'AyanhX yAX 'ixsLi'anhL** I travelled around inside my homeland *L,* **da: yAX 'i:Li'eh** *L,* **da: yAX 'i:nLi'anh** let's travel around *M,* **yAX 'i'xLA'a:nk'** I (cust) travel about *M.*

2. S (lightning, thunder) bolt, flash, strike *('thunderbird travels')*: **'isAL'anhL** it (lightning, thunder) bolted, flashed, struck *60.54, 55A,* **Xi:ch' 'iGAL'eh da:X** when it (lightning) flashes over there *60.52A,* **Xi:ch' 'iL'a:nk'** it (cust) flash over there *60.53A, repetitive:* **'iL'a:ng** it (lightning, thunder) flashes, bolts, strikes, there is a lightning, thunder *60.16, 16, 17, 18A,* **qe'gu:l 'iL'a:ng** thunder(-bird), lightning is striking *LM.*

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3. *With o-'a:n' 'coming upon o',* S (travelling or not) find o, come upon o (looking for o or not): **'u'a:n' 'isiL'anhLinh** I found him *L,* **'u'a:n' 'isAL'anhL** came upon, encountered it *11.62A,* **sidgahda:d 'Awa: k'u'a:n' q'e' 'ixsLi'anhLinu:** I came across, met some more of them at Sitka *68.124A,* **k'udAX 'ahnu:'a:n' 'isLA'anhLGinh** they couldn't find him *53.20L,* **'u'a:n' k'u'sAL'anhLinh** someone found him *61.80A,* **dik' 'u'a:n' k'u'sL'anhLGinh** no one found her *38.4LM,* **dik' 'u'a:n' k'u'i'L'a:nk'Ginh** no one (cust) could find him *32.4A,* **dla:sLi'ehLyu:'a:n' 'iGuxL'eh da:X** when I find cached-away things *34.25L.*

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4. *With o-'e:X 'in search of o' (itself requiring -L-classifier),* S look, search (in definite direction for o, go, toward (to definite place) in search of o: **'u'e:X 'iqe'xL'inhinh** I'll go look for her *10.271, 271A,* **'Aw'e:X 'isAL'anhLinu:** they looked for it *11.21A,* o-**'e:X 'isAL'anhL** she looked for o *23.142, 142A,* **'ahnu:'e:X 'iL'anh** they look for her *38.23LM,* **'AdiXich' q'e:dah 'ahnu:'e:X 'i:nL'a:nk'** it (cust) came in immediately looking for them *28.32A.*

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5. *With o-'e:X as above and perambulative,* S look around, search for o: **'u'e:X yAX 'i:nLA'eh, 'u'e:X yAX 'i:LA'e:, 'u'e:X yAX 'i:nLA'e:** look for it! *L,* **'Aw dALAxwe:g'e:X yAX 'i:nLA'e:** look for groundhogs! *9.4A,* **'u'e:X yAX 'iqe'xLA'eh** I'll look for it *L, o-'e:X yAX*

'iLA'a:nX 'looks, searches for for o': 3.8M, 11.24, 114, 25.85, 120, 33.70, 37b.86A, 38.23LM, 51.43, 46A, 53.19L, **'u'e:X yAX 'ixLA'a:nX** I'm looking for it *L,* **'Aw 'u'e:X yAX 'iLA'a:nX** what you're looking for *51.61A,* **'u'e:X da: yAX 'iLA'a:nX** we're looking for it *L,* **'AwlA'e:X yAX 'iLA'a:nXinh** he's looking for it (e.g. hat, paddle) *L,* **'u'e:X yAX k'u'LA'a:nXinu:** someone was looking around for them *32.2A,* **tsa'LdA'e:X yAX 'iLA'a:nXlehd** because you were looking for a knife *32.14A,* **'u'e:X yAX 'ixsLi'anhL** I looked for it *L,* **'u'e:X da: yAX 'i:Li'eh**, **'u'e:X da: yAX 'i:nLi'eh** let's look for it *L,* **'Aw'e:X yAX 'i:LA'e:X** (*or* **-'a:nX**) **'utl' dAxlinhinh** I told him to look for it *L,* o-**'e:X yAX 'i'LA'a:nk'** *19.6L,* o-**'e:X yAX 'iLA'a:nk'** (cust) looks, searches for o *18.51L, 25.76, 78, 33.62, 63A.*

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6. *With perambulative (see also 1., 7., 9.)*: **yAX 'iLA'a:nXinh** looks around *25.8, 51.54A,* **XAtsiya'X yAX 'iLA'a:nXinh** he's looking around down by the shore *L,* **gu:dAg q'e:yAX 'iLA'a:nXinh** he looks around some more again *37a.6L,* **gu:dAg q'e:yAX 'i'LA'a:nk'inh** he (cust) looks around again some more *34a.4L.*

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7. *Indirect reflexive, with perambulative or perhaps yAX 'downward'*: **Xa'X yAX 'isLi'anhLinh** she looked herself over < she looked down along herself *22.6fnL,* **'Ad-lah yAX 'ALA'anh** he looks down around himself *24.52fnA.*

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8. *With o-ch' 'to, toward o',* S (go to and) look 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* Уччииль-а 'Видѣть sehen', Учиитлянъ 'Смотрѣть sehen' **'u:ch' 'i:L'an'** (ground) look there! *21b.13A,* **'uch' 'i:nL'an'** look at it! *M,* look at them! *46.28M,* **'uch' 'i:L'e'** (go and) look at it! *27a.9L,* **'Awch' 'i:nL'an'** look at that! *M,* **'Alch' 'i:nL'an'** look at this! *M,* **sich' 'i:nL'e'** *L,* **sich' 'i:nL'an'** look at me! *M, 18.15L, 29.14, 14A,* **lisdAch' 'i:nL'an'** look at the tree! *M,* **ya:q'Ach' 'i:nL'an'** look at the sky! *M,* **ya:n'ch' 'i:nL'an'** look down! *M, 51.60A,* **yAnu:'ch' 'i:nL'an'** look at the ground! *M,* **Xi:ch' 'i:nL'e'** *27a.34L,* **Xi:ch' 'i:nL'an'** look over there! *M, 27b.40M,* **dik' dAXunhch' q'e' 'iqe'LA'a:nGinh** (he's so conceited) he won't look at people anymore *L,* **'uch' 'isAL'ehLinh** looked at it *12.20, 27G,* o-**ch' 'isAL'anhL** looked at o *11.101, 20.7, 29.15A, 30.2L, 43.26, 46.15M,* **'uyAq'a'ts'ch' 'isAL'anhL** looked at his (own) hand, **'uk'ahshch' 'isAL'anhL** looked at his (own) feet *23.66, 24.49A,* **'u:ch' q'e' 'isLi'anhL** looked there again *46.19M,* **lu:ch' 'isAL'anhLinh** (went and?) looked at the tide-beach *4.18M,* **'u:ch' dä: 'isAL'anhL** we (went and) looked there *61.37A,* **'uch' 'i:xL'a:nX sitl' dAleh** he told me to look at it *L, Active imperfective:* **'Awch' 'iL'anh** looks at it *36.30A (probably unfinished customary -'a:nk'), customary:* **'u:ch' 'i:nL'a:nk'inh** (cust) (goes and?) looks there *28.51A, repetitive:* o-**ch' 'iLa:nginh** keeps looking at o *2a.10M, 11.125A,* **'ahnu:ch' 'iL'a:ngk'inh** (cust) keeps looking at them *25.42A; indirect reflexive:* **dA'i: 'Adch' 'i:nLA'an'** look at yourself! *M,* **dA'i: 'Adch' q'e' 'i:nLA'an'** look at yourself again! *M.*

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9. *With q'e:yAX 'backwards' (vocalization of classifier apparently optional, see also 1., 6., 7.)*: **q'e:yAX 'isLi'anhLinh** looked back *31.15L,* **'ich' q'e:yAX 'iqe'xL'eh** I'll look back at you *48.18L,* **'uqa'ch' q'e:yAX 'isLi'anhLinh** she looked back at her husband *48.19L.*

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10. *With o-lAX 'more than o, past, beyond o'* a. S see o *('S travel past o'?, suppletive for O-G-'e~-'an in all mode-aspects other than Active imperfective, and for forms with -g- repetitive, or customary)*: *Active perfective: o-lAX 'isAL'anhL '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, 38.2LM, 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,* **'Awsa'ch' k'ulAX 'isAL'anhL** saw something in its mouth *43.18M ('looked at its mouth past something'?, see 8.),* **'anh Lila:' GAqe:LlAX 'isAL'anhLinh** saw (that) a man (was) boating

along *53.22L,* **dik' 'Awa: k'ulAX 'isL'anhLG** didn't see any of them *9.7A,* **dik' o-lAX 'isL'anhLGinh** didn't see o *45a.5L, 45b.5, 46.12M,* **'AwlAX q'e' 'isLA'anhLinh** he saw it again *26.12L,* **dik' 'anhlAX q'e' 'isLA'anhLGih** he didn't see him again *21a.26L,* **dik' 'ahnu:lAX q'e' 'isLA'anhLGinh** he didn't see them anymore *37a.23L,* **k'ulAX q'e' 'isLi'anhLinu:** they saw another one *37b.15A,* **'ilAX 'isiL'anhL** I saw you *M,* **dik' 'ilAX 'ixsL'anhLG** I didn't see you *11.130, 130A,* **'ulAX 'isiL'anhL** I saw it *L,* **dik' 'ulAX 'ixsL'anhLG** I never saw it *60.37A,* I didn't see it *L,* **'uyAlAX 'isiL'anhL** I saw his hand *L,* **'iqi:dAlAX 'isiL'anhL** I saw your foot *L,* **Li'q' 'ulAX 'isiL'anhLinu:** I saw them all *L (not acceptable to insert qA- 'plural' in any position in sentence L),* **dik' dAde:(kih)lAXd 'ixsL'anhLG** I didn't see anything (at all) *10.176, 177A,* **silAXsh 'isAL'anhL** did you see me? *L,* **dAXunhlAXsh 'isAL'anhL** did you see a person? *29.50A,* **de:lAXd 'isAL'anhL** what did you see? *L,* **dik' 'ulAX 'isL'anhLG** you didn't see it *M,* **dik' 'ulAX 'ilAXsL'anhLG** you pl. didn't see it *M,* **silAX k'u'sAL'anhL** someone saw me *LM,* **dik' silAX k'u'isL'anhLG** no one saw me *M (perhaps to be corrected to, perhaps optionally k'u'sL'anhLG, k'a'sL'anhLG),* **dik' 'ulAX k'u'isL'anhLG** no one saw it *M (as preceding),* **dA'u:ch'ahd dik' 'ulAX q'e' k'u'sLA'anhLGinh** since then no one has seen him anymore *39.6, 44.6L, Inceptive perfective:* **'ulAX 'iGAxL'a:nL** I'm starting to see it *L,* **dAdi:yAX 'ulAX k'u'GAL'a:nLG** nobody yet ever saw it *L,* **'ilAX 'iGAL'a:nLGdAwa:** before he sees you *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **'ilAX 'iqe'xL'eh** I'll see you *M,* **dik' 'ulAX 'iqe'xL'a:nG** I won't see it *L,* **'ilAX q'e' 'iqe'xLA'eh** I'll see you again *LM,* **dik' k'e'sh 'ilAX q'e' 'iqe'xLA'a:nG** maybe I won't see you again *L,* **lAXlAX q'e' 'iqe'xLA'eh** I'll see you pl. again *21b.73A,* **'ulAX 'iqe'yiLeh** you'll see it *10.233A, 71.9LM,* **q'a:l XAtl' k'ulAX 'iqe'yiLeh** you'll see something tonight *L,* **dik' 'a:nd qa:lAX 'iqe'lAXLA'a:nG** you pl. won't see us here anymore *32.27A,* **silAX q'e' 'iqe'lAXLA'e:** you pl. will see me again *21b.76A,* **dA'u:dAXyi:nkih qa:lAX 'iqe'L'eh** someone will see us *15.13M,* **dik' dA'u:dAXyi:nkih qa:lAX 'iqe'L'a:nG** no one will see us *71.16LM,* **silAX k'u'qe'L'eh** someone will see me *L, Active imperfective (perhaps incorrect, normally O-G-'e~-'an):* **dik' k'ulAX 'i'xL'a:nG** I don't see anything *L (perhaps from repetitive -'a:gG or customary -'a:k'G, for which see below; L later rejects all proposed Active imperfective forms, e.g. *'ulAX 'ixL'eh 'I see it', or Neuter perfectives or imperfectives with this theme), Inceptive optative:* **'AlAshgahX 'ulAX 'iGAxiL'eh** I wish I might see it *L,* **'ulAXshgahX 'iGAxiL'eh** I hope I see him *L,* **'ulAXshgahX 'iGi:L'eh** I hope you see him *L,* **'ulAXshgahX dä: 'iGi:L'e:** I hope we see it *28.2A, Active optative:* **dik' 'uga' k'uXa'tl' da'qe'li:xLXa:G 'ilAX 'i:xiL'eh** I won't have enough time to see you *L,* **'AnahshAkih 'uXe'xLeh 'ulAX 'i:nxiL'eh** I'd like to see it *71.4LM,* **'ulAXshgahX 'i:nxiL'inhinh** I hope I see him *L,* **'ulAX da: 'i:liL'eh** let's see it *L,* **'ulAX 'i:liL'inhinh** let him see it *L,* **'uma:yu: 'AwlAX 'i:liL'ehwahd** so that her mother etc. would see it *38.9LM, Inceptive conditional:* **'ulAX 'iGAxL'eh da:X** when I see it *L,* **'ulAX 'iGi:L'eh da:X** when you see them *20.70A,* **'AwlAX 'iGAL'eh da:X** when he/she sees it *25.79, 36.29A,* **'ulAX k'u'GAL'eh da:X** when someone sees it *51.18A, Inceptive subjunctive:* **'ulAX 'iGuxL'e:X 'ixleh** *M,* **'ulAX 'iGAxL'a:nX 'ixleh** I want to see it *L,* **dik' 'ulAX 'iGuxL'e:X 'ixle:G** I don't want to see him *M, As* **'ulAX 'i'xL'a:nX 'ixleh** I want to see it *L, cautionary negative Inceptive imperative:* **'AwlAX q'A'iGAL'a:nGinh** be careful he doesn't see it! *L, repetitive (Active imperfective):* **'ulAX 'ixL'a:ng** I keep seeing it, see it off and on *L,* **k'ude:dah 'ulAX 'i:xL'a:ngG** I can't see it *L,* **dik' 'ulAX 'i'xL'a:ngG** I don't see it *L, customary:* **'ulAX 'ixL'a:nk'inh** I (cust) see him *L,* **q'e:dah 'uqi:dAya'd-lAX 'ixL'a:nk'inh** all I (cust) ever see is the soles of his feet (he runs away so fast) *L,* **'ulAX q'Aw 'iL'a:nk'** you (cust) see it *51.6A,* **wAX 'ulAX 'i:nlAXL'a:nk'** you pl. (cust) see them thus *21b.69A,* **'ulAXshunh 'i:nL'a:nk'** do you (cust) see him? *L,* **dik' dAXunh 'ulAX 'i'La:nk'Ginh** no person ever (cust) sees him *L,* **dik' dAXunhyu:lAX 'i'L'a:nk'Ginh** he (cust) doesn't see people *37a.3, 5L,* **dik' 'ulAX 'i'xL'a:nk'Ginh** I (cust) never see him *L,* **dik'shunh 'ulAX 'i'yiL'a:nk'G, lahq'dAXyu:** don't you (cust) see him, around town? *L,* **silAX k'u'i:nL'a:nk'** someone (cust) sees me *M,* **dik' silAX k'u'i'L'a:nk'G** no one ever (cust) sees me *M,* **dik' 'ulAX k'u'i'L'a:nk'Ginh** no one (cust) sees him *LM; indirect reciprocal:* **'iLlAX**

da: ’iLA’a:nk’ we (cust) see each other *L,* **dik’ ’iLlAX da: ’i’LA’a:nk’** we (cust) don't see each other *L.*

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10b. S foresee O *(attested in cust only)*: *Active:* **’AwlAX ’iL’a:nk’** *61.27, 27, 28A,* **’AwlAX ’i:nL’a:nk’** he (cust) would foresee it *61.57A, Inceptive:* **’ulAX ’iqe’yiL’a:nk’** you'll (cust) foresee it *61.12, 14A.*

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10c. *With k'u-indefinite as o of o-lAX and repetitive, both perhaps thematized,* S menstruate (< S keep seeing, keep seeing something), *Ai*: **k’ulAX ’iL’a:nginh** she's menstruating *M (M unable to explain).*

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10d. *With k'u-indefinite as o of o-lAX, thematized (suppletive for (k'u-)G-'e~-'an)* S see (have, get sight): **wAX q’Aw k’ulAX q’e’ ’isLi’anhL** thus he regained his sight *27b.58A,* **dik’ k’ulAX q’e’ ’isLA’anhLG** he couldn't see anymore, lost his sight *10.11A.*

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11. *With ya'X 'upward'*: **ya’X ’i:nL’an’** look up! *M.*

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12. *With o-qa'-X '(movement) amongst o'*: **’uqa’X ’i:L’in’inu:** look them over, look amongst them! *(to pick the guilty one) 52.26L.*

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’uyAq’ yAX k’u’LA’a:nX *(noun, unclassified)* field-glasses, binoculars, telescope *L. Nominalized Active imperfective with perambulative,* < one looks around in it.

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’uyAq’ yAX …’an’L *(noun)* telescope, *probable reading of Rezanov* Уяхъ-эхааль 'Труба зрительная Fernrohr'. *Deverbalization with -L- instrumental of preceding, or perhaps of O-'-'e~-'an, perhaps to be read 'uyAq' yAX [k']a'an'L.*

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yAX ’iLA’a:nXinh *(noun)* watchman *L, 2a.16M. Relativized of 'i-L-'e~-'an 6. above.*

’e: *(loan from English 'air')*

’e: *(noun, probably unclassified)* air *LA, 65.25A.*

’e:1 *(with the exception of one uncertain form from A, always 'e:X, but nevertheless almost certainly to be analyzed 'e:-X, either expanded form of stem in o-'e'-X '(movement) in place of (absent) o', or with 'e:- related to 'a:n' and/or 'e~'an3, with -X final or perhaps -X subjunctive or perambulative suffix, stem then to be identified as verbal, conceivably also to be identified as verbal, conceivably also to be identified with 'e:2; M occasionally phonologically non-canonic 'e:nX, rejected by L and A, influenced by 'a:n' and/or 'e~'an3)*

o-**’e:-X** *(postposition) (with -X final only; requiring L-(~LA-)classifier in certain, but not all themes which otherwise occur without L-classifier, cf. k'uqu'wAshe:ch'L, k'ushe:ch'LX, under she, o-ya:X)* looking for, asking for, about, whether, missing, in search of o: *asyntactic:* o-**’e:X** *5.1, 52.2L,* o-**’e:nX** *2a.17, 3.1M,* **si’e:nX** *M,* **si’e:X** looking for me *LA,* **’AwgulA’e:X** looking for it (liquid) *25.77A, L-(~LA-)classifier not required:* o-**’e:X l-ta** S notice o be missing, miss o, o-**’e:X d-dA-’a:t’** S bawl for (absent) o, *requiring L-(~LA-)classifier:* o-**’e:X L-’a’ch’** pl. S go looking for o *10.49, 104, 11.203A, 19.6L,* o-**’e:X L-a** sg. S go in search of o *10.104, 11.91, 23.108, 49.153A,* **’AXAkihwahya:’e:X qu’xLah** I'll go looking for the makings of a canoe *L,* o-**’e:X yAX LA-le’g-X** S grope about for o *52.8, 14, 22A (< yAX dA-le'g-X*

'S move hands about' < -le'g 'S move hands'), incorrectly lacking L-classifier: **qe'L'e:X 'u:ch' Ga:Linh** went there looking for a woman *58.1L; with themes otherwise with L-classifier:* **'Aw'e:X yAX 'ida'di'LAch'a:q'k'** he (cust) listens about for it *36.7A,* **'u'e:X yAX 'ida'dAxLAch'a:q'X** I'm listening (about) for it *L, frequent in* o-**'e:X** O-**'-d-L-qe'd-X** S ask O about o, for o, *most frequent in* o-**'e:X 'i-L-'e~-'an** S look for o, *see 'i-L-'e~-'an 4., 5. under 'e~'an3; with verbal clause as o, 'whether, to see if ...':* **qahdzX 'idAdi:t'ux'e:X 'i'di:Lqe'dXinh** he (doctor) asks you if you have a spitting-cough *L,* **'ida: 'u'ehdch' 'anh dAsAliL'e:X** to find out if he had spoken to his wife *48.5L,* **'ahnu:ch' 'iL'a:ngk'inh, 'ida: tsu'd, k'utsu'd'e:X** she (cust) keeps looking at them, whether they're sleeping, to see if they're sleeping *25.42A.*

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o-**'e:-ch'** *(postposition) (with -ch' final)* looking for o: **si'e:ch'** looking for me *A (not verified, status uncertain, there being many instances of o-'e:-X, without -ch' final with repetitive, cust, Inceptive perfective, with which -ch' final is normal).*

'e:2 *(conceivably to be identified with 'e:1)*

o-**l-'e:** *(postposition) (with l-thematic, zero final only)* 1. different from o, unlike (normal) o: *24.98, 32.50, 68.92A,* **te'ya'yu:lA'e:** different from (normal) salmon *21a.10L, 21b.26, 38, 38, 42A,* o-**l-'e: tsin'd-le** S speak differently from o *68.82, 82, 83, 115A,* **silA'e: 'uni:k' 'Awa: 'i:t'inhinu:** their noses are different from mine *24.30A,* **gu:dAg 'AwlA'e: q'e' GALAdzu'** there you go pestering me again with yet another (different from that) request *L, with 'Aw as o 'that', often here 'the norm':* **'AwlA'e:** abnormal(ly), queer, odd(ly), different(ly), strange, foreign, peculiar *L,* **'AwlA'e: 'i:t'eh** it's different (etc.) *L,* **'AwlA'e: yiLiq'a'ts'inh** he's got queer hands *L,* **'AwlA'e: tsin'dAlinhinu:** they talk a foreign language, *(nominalized)* Scandinavians *LA,* **dik' 'Awa: xu: 'Awa: 'AwlA'e: tsin'duxle:G** *I* wasn't the one though who spoke peculiarly *68.115A.*

2. **'AwlA'e:** menstruating < abnormal: **'AwlA'e: 'i:t'inhinh** she's menstruating *M,* **qe'LGAyu: 'AwlA'e: 'i:t'eh** women are menstruating *23.17, 19A.*

'e:dz~'e:ts' *('e:ts' less frequent, perhaps incorrect; 'e:dz perhaps expanded form of 'Adz)*

dA'e:dzg *(noun, unclassified) (perhaps nominalized passive Active imperfective of unattested verb-theme, *O-'e:dz-g, with dA- representing dA-classifier, or deverbalization of passive of *O-d-'e:dz-g with dA- representing d-thematic, with thematized -g-repetitive)* dried slices or slabs of fish-meat *LMA*: *65.4, 65A,* **dA'e:ts'g** *65.8A, Galushia Nelson* dä'ätsk 'dried salmon, when meat from spine is dried separately' *BSdL 548,* **lAGtli:XdA'e:ts'g** slabs of dried halibut-meat *9.124A,* **te'ya'le:dA'e:dzg** *10.140A,* **te'ya'le:dA'e:dzgyu:** dried slabs of king-salmon meat *10.149A.*

'ehd1

-'ehd 1. *(kinship noun, non-ascending)* wife: *Rezanov* Сыэтъ 'Жена Weib (Gattin)', *Anonymous* Сіетъ 'Жена' ('woman'), *Furuhjelm* Siet 'wife', siat 'wife (man speaking)' *BSdL 567A* **si'ehd** my wife *LM, 10.223, 33.65A, 62.1, 11G, serves also as vocative L,* **si'ehd'e'ch' lAGAxLgehGL** I'm getting lonesome for my wife *L,* siatⁿski 'wife's older brother (man speaking)' *BSdL 567A* **si'ehd'i:ndzkih** my wife's brother *L, Rezanov* Сыатлеэнъ 'Невѣстка ('daughter-in-law') Schwägerin' *perhaps to be read* **si'ehdtl' yi:nhinh** person who is with my wife, **'AlAshgahX si'ehd Gi:Le'** I wish you'd be my wife (will you marry me?) *L,* **'i'ehd** your wife *9.13A, 48.3L,* **dik' 'i'ehdG q'A'Al** this isn't your wife *61.7A,* **'anh'ehd** his wife *23.102A, Rezanov* Уэитъ 'Женатой verheirathet' **'u'ehd** 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, Anonymous*

Ивѣтъ *(ѣ struck over e)* 'Жена' ('woman') *probably to be read* **'i-, w-, 'i'ehd** your, his, your wife, *Baranov* Ивѣтъ 'Жена' ('woman') *probably to be read* **'i- 'u'ehd** your -- his wife, **'ahnu: 'u'ehdkuwa'na:GAyAquhyu:** his wife's little relatives *11.8A,* **'anh GALdALyAXlah 'u'ehd** his older wife *33.84A,* **'anh ne:tl'da:X yi:nhinh 'u'ehd** his first, original, former wife *10.174A, 47c.55, 48.8L, Rezanov* Уэтльтыконтаче-асыкотль 'Жениться heirathen' **'u'ehdtl' k'u:nda'ch' 'isAgwa'L** he prayed (crossed himself, made ceremonial hand movements towards face) with his wife *(i.e. "made it legal"),* Уэтахосыяль 'Мѣсячное очищенїе Menstruation' **'u'ehd… sa'yahL** *see -'ya 21c.,* **k'u'ehd** a wife *10.124, 124A,* **'anh k'u'ehd** 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,* **'anh LinhGih k'u'ehd** the other wife *48.10L, with -(')A-kih (with irregular connective vowel) 'diminutive, affectionate':* **si'ehd'Akih** my little wife *(affectionate) 23.87, 103A, also used as vocative L,* **'u'ehd'Akih** his little wife *23.76, 84, 98, 111A, with -(')A-shiyah (with irregular connective vowel) 'bad, old' (pejorative):* **si'ehdAshiyah** my "old lady" *10.271A,* **'u'ehdAshiyah** his "old lady" *11.1, 2, 43, 43A, with -G 'personal' and -yu: 'plural, etc.':* **si'ehdGAyu:** my wives, my wife's relatives *L,* **si'ehdGAyu: q'A'ahnu:** they're my wives *29.61A,* **dAXk'nu: 'i'ehdGAyu:d** how many (are) your wives (paramours)? *10.179, 180A,* **Ch'i:leh'ehd** Raven's wife *10.169A,* **k'ula:Gih'ehd** someone else's wife *33.59A,* **'AXdjinnguG'ehd** 'AXdjinnguG's wife *47b.39M,* sɪχaχat 'older brother's wife (man speaking)' *BSdL 567A* **siXAwAX'ehd**, sɪⁿskiat 'older or younger brother's wife (woman speaking)' *BSdL 567A* **si:ndzkih'ehd**.

2. *(noun, unclassified)* female (of a pair): **'u'ehd 'Awa:** the female (of a pair of animals) *L.*

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3. *Probable element in* **ch'a:L'ehd** *(personal name) woman's name LS, Rezanov* Чааэтлетъ 'Старуха ('old woman') altes Weib'.

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-'ehd-G-yu: *(kinship noun, non-ascending) (with -G 'personal' and -yu: 'plural')* wife's sisters *(special meaning in addition to 'wives, wife's relatives')*: **si'ehdGAyu:** my wife's sisters *L.*

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'ehd-G *(noun, unclassified) (with -G 'personal', 'animal'?, used as attributive)* female *L*: **'ehdG XAwa:** bitch < female dog *LM.*

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-l-'ehd-G *(kinship noun, non-ascending) (of restricted use, with inexplicable l-thematic, conceivably a phonological survival of *-n- of earlier Eyak *-qan', cf. Athapaskan *-qᴀn' 'husband', in 2. below)* 1. *With -yu: 'plural',* (man's) sisters (collective only): **silA'ehdGAyu:** my sisters *(man speaking) L.*

2. *As head of compound with -qa' 'husband',* husband's sister: **siqa'lA'ehdG** my husband's sister *L (Minnie Stevens called L this),* **'uqa'lA'ehdG** her husband sister *L.*

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-yA-'ehd *(kinship noun, non-ascending) (with yA-prefix here meaning '(man's) son')* (man's) daughter-in-law: **siyA'ehd** my daughter-in-law (son's wife) *(man speaking) L.*

'ehd2

d-L-'ehd(-g) *(with d-thematic, sometimes -g-repetitive thematized in basic intransitive, always in causative transitive)* S (foodstuff, anything wet or moist) be, become dry: **qu'di:L'ehd** it'll dry *M, Rezanov* Тылльэтка 'Сушить trocknen' *perhaps to be read* **dAL'ehd q'ah** it's finally drying, **dAL'ehdg** is drying *9.124A, Rezanov* Тасыль-этль 'Сухой trocken' **dAsAL'ehdL** it's dry, it got dry, it dried *M, 11.148A, Galushia Nelson* ɒəsətɬǻtɬ gʊ̀tsə̀' 'dried meat' *BSdL 548* ('meat which has dried'), **dAsAL'ehdL dAkinh** dry sticks *6.5M,* **dAsAL'ehdgL lAGtli:X** dry halibut *9.136A,* **'Aw dAsAL'ehdL 'Awa:** that of it which is dry *10.137A,* **di:yAX**

qAdAGAL'ehdLG they aren't dry yet *M,* **da:yiL'ehd(-wahd)** (in order) that they might dry *51.52, 65.50A,* **qi' ('a'd 'idah) da:yiL'ehdch'** until they get (very nicely) dry, **dAGAL'ehd da:X** when it's dry *63.37G, 65.24, 24, 59, 76A,* **'idehdah dAGAL'ehd da:X** when they're real dry *65.24A,* **Lich'a:X gusi:kih dAGAL'ehd da:X** when it's slightly dry on one side *65.15A,* **('a'd 'idehdah) di'L'ehd da:X** when it starts to get (really very) dry *65.20, 20A,* **'Aw gusi:kih, dik' 'a'd dAGAL'ehdG da:X** when it's a little, not very dry *65.36A,* **dAL'e:dk'** they (cust) dry *65.58, 58, 58A, with class-marks for S:* **lAXAdla:GAL'ehdL** they (berries, lX-class) are drying up *L,* **giyah ya'd gAdla:sAL'ehdgL** water (gl-class) evaporated away (to emptiness) *L. Transitive (causative), 'S dry O (foodstuff: fish, meat, berries, in the sun insofar as possible, but usually also by smoking; anything wet or moist)':* **'Aw qu'di:L'ehdginh** he was going to dry it *10.123A,* **te'ya' qu'di:L'ehdginu:** those who were going to dry fish *49.83A,* **dA'Aw GAdAgAL q'Aw qu'di:L'ehdg** the sun itself will dry it *65.53A,* **k'uqu'di:L'ehdginu:** they were going to dry things (food) *49.75A,* **k'udAL'ehdginu:** they're drying things (food) *7.3A,* O **dAL'ehdg** dries O *7.4, 10.123, 49.79, 114, 114A, 56.19L,* **dAxL'ehdg**, **dAGAxL'ehdgL** I'm drying it *L,* O **dAsAL'ehdgL** dried O *28.91, 49.123, 124A,* **k'udisiL'ehdgL** I dried the halibut *9.129A,* **LinhGih XAtl'shuw 'Aw dAsAL'ehdgL** you dried it in one night? *9.130A,* **da: k'uda:yiL'ehdgwahd** in order that we may dry stuff *67.84A,* **te'ya'yu: dAL'e:dk'inh** he (cust) dried salmon *56.8L, with dl-class-mark for O:* **dli:L'ehdg** dry it (net)! *L; reflexive:* **'AdALA'ehdg** is drying himself *16.8M, with l-anatomical:* **'Addla:LA'ehd** dry your face! *(articulated 'Adla:-) L, with y-anatomical:* **'AdyAdAGALA'ehd** dry your hands! *L; passive:* **'Al te'ya'yu: qu'dAdA'ehdg** these fish were going to be dried *25.142A,* **qi' dAdA'ehdg** place where it is being dried *9.123A (see nominalization below),* **dAdA'ehdg** is being dried *63.44fnG,* **dAdA'e:dk'** is (cust) dried *63.31, 36fnG.*

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qi' k'udAdA'ehdg *(noun, unclassified)* camping-place for drying food *9.150, 156, 11.6A. Nominalized passive Active imperfective,* < place where something is being dried.

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'udAt'a:Xd k'udAdA'ehdg *(noun) unpublished and crossed-out form in de Laguna field notebook, from Galushia Nelson, in hand of Norman Reynolds,* ODATAKŁTKUTITATT *no gloss* smokehouse, drying-house < in the shelter of it (building, d-class) something is being dried. *Nominalized passive Active imperfective.*

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disLi'ehdgL *(noun, unclassified)* pilot bread, hardtack *L. Nominalized passive Active perfective,* < it has been dried.

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disLi'ehdgLga' 'i:nLilinhinh *nickname for certain white man* < he has a face like pilot bread *L.*

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disLi'ehdgLyAquh *(noun)* soda crackers, biscuits, cookies < small, young of pilot bread *L.*

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-d-'ehd(-g) *(adjective) (attested only as suffix, with d-thematic and usually -g-repetitive thematized)* dry: **k'u:ydA'ehdg** dry wind *L,* **sa:q'sgdA'ehdg** dulse (Rhodymenia palmata) pressed into block and dried for winter, soaked to eat *L,* **shugdla:'ehd** 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).*

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lAXAdla:'ehd *(noun, lX-class) (with d-thematic and lX-class-mark 'berries')* raisins *L.*

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kusdla:L'ehdg *(noun, unclassified)* very small hairy crab species, inedible, found in hordes *L (unable to etymologize, "sounds like drying up water", first element probably '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)'.)*

'ehdz

O-'-'**ehdz** S call, summon, invite O (for any reason, or to potlatch, party): **'u'GA'ehdzinu:** invite them! *L,* **lAXi'qe'x'ehdz** I'll invite you pl. *L, Galushia Nelson* ísìyàtcł *or* ísìàtcł 'you are invited to a potlatch' *BSdL 554* **'i'si'ehdzL** I invited you, **'u'sA'ehdzL, djiLqa:dch'a'** they invited them, to Bering River *57.3,* **'ahnu: 'u'sA'ehdzLinu:** those whom they had invited *57.7G,* **da: 'u'li'ehdzinu:** let's invite them *L; indirect reflexive, with ch'a' 'to oneself', 'S call, summon, invite O over (to S's self)': Rezanov* Чоотеэцъ 'Звать rufen', Чаату-эцъ 'Повови rufen (Imperat.)' **ch'a' 'u'dA'ehdz**, **ch'a' 'a'dA'ehdzinh** call, summon him! *L,* **'a:nch' ch'a' 'u'dA'ehdzinh** call him over here! *M,* **ch'a' 'u'GAdA'ehdzinh** invite, call him over! *L,* **ch'a' 'i'qe'xdA'ehdz** I'll invite you over *L,* **qi'ya:da:X ch'ä' 'i'qe'xdA'ehdz** I'll call you over sometime *M,* **ch'a' qu'xdA'ehdzinh** I'll call, summon him *L,* **ch'a' 'Aw 'u'dA'ehdz** he invites her *10.225A,* **ch'a' 'a'dA'ehdz** invites them *33.15, 15A,* **'u:ch'a' ch'a' lAXi'dA'ehdzinh** she's summoning you pl. there to herself *25.98A,* ***Molly*** **ch'a' 'i'dA'ehdz** *Molly* is inviting you (to herself) *L,* **ch'a' 'u'sdi'ehdzL** invited, called, summoned him/her/them *10.204, 24.3, 25.89A,* **ch'a' 'u'sdi'ehdzL, 'ahnu:tl' k'uXa:nliyahwahd** invited them, to eat with them *53.2L,* **'u:ch'a' ch'a' xu'sdi'ehdzL** she summoned me there to herself *25.97A,* **ch'a' 'u'xsdi'ehdzLinh** I summoned, called him *L, Rezanov* Чаашиустеэцль 'Въ пору, во време ('timely, on time') rechtzeitig, zu rechter Zeit' **ch'a'sh 'i: 'u'sdi'ehdzL** did *you* summon him?; *passive:* **xu'sdi'ehdzL** I'm invited *L,* **'i'sdi'ehdzL** you're invited to a potlatch *L,* ***Molly*****-ch'a' 'i'sdi'ehdzL** you're invited to *Molly*'s *L,* **Xi:ch'a' qa: 'u'sdi'ehdzL** we're invited over there *L,* **qa: 'u'sdi'ehdzL** we're invited to a potlatch *L, 59.14 Galushia Nelson,* **djiLqahya'ch' qa: 'u'sdi'ehdzL** we were invited to a potlatch at Bering River *19.1 Galushia Nelson,* **qa: lAG 'u'sdi'ehdzL, k'uwahdahd** we were invited up (ashore), for a meal *59.8 Galushia Nelson,* **'u'sdi'ehdzLinh** was invited to a potlatch *55.1L.*

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'ida-'-'ehdz *(as preceding, with indeterminate O)* S give, call, hold potlatch, party: **'ida'GA'ehdz** give a party, potlatch! *LM,* **'ida'qe'x'ehdz** I'll have a potlatch *L,* **'ida'si'ehdzL** I gave a potlatch, threw a party *L,* **'ida'k'usA'ehdzL** someone had a potlatch *L,* **'ida'sA'ehdzLinu:** they gave a potlatch, invited people, they who gave a potlatch *28.92, 93A, 55.7L, 57.2G, Old Man Dude* ìɒá'wàɛts 'potlatch house' *BSdL 545* **'ida'wA'ehdz** they're having a potlatch *(or perhaps deverbalization, 'potlatch'),* **da: 'ida'li'ehdz** let's have a potlatch *L,* **'ida'GAlAX'ehdz da:X** when you pl. have a potlatch *25.163A; passive: Galushia Nelson* ìⁿ'ɒákàɒà'ètc 'potlatch' *BSdL 552* **'ida'qe'dA'ehdz** there'll be a potlatch *L, Galushia Nelson* ìtá'stɛ̀iyätcł *or* ìtá'stìàtcł 'they are giving a potlatch' *BSdL 554* **'ida'sdi'ehdzL** a potlatch has been held, called.

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'ehdz *(noun) attested only in* yatɒɛ'ɒa·xɛtc 'potlatch at new house': **yahddAt'a:X 'ehdz** potlatch (in a house) *L.*

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'Ad-d-L-yAX-ch' O-'**-d-LA-'ehdz** *(indirect reflexive with 'Ad-d-L-yAX-ch' '(continuous motion) to in front of, before oneself', indirect reflexive of underlying unattested *O-'-d-L-'ehdz with d-thematic, perhaps 'oral, noise')* S call to, tell O to proceed ahead of (instead of behind) S: **'AddALyAXAch' 'anh 'u'dALA'ehdzinh** he (A) is telling him (B) to go ahead of him (A) *(e.g. because of danger ahead) L.*

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qi' 'ida'sdi'ehdzL *(noun, unclassified)* potlatch *M. Nominalized passive Active perfective with indeterminate O,* < place where potlatch has been held, called.

'e'dz

O-**'e'dz** S touch, affect, act upon O with foot *(frequently with expanded stem -'e:dz, referring to repeated action or action upon succession of O):* 1a. *with ya:n'(-ch') '(continued, repeated motion) down'*: **ya:n'ch' 'A'e:dz** push it down (down on it several times, down on them) with your foot! *LM,* **ya:n'ch' si'e'dzL** I pushed it (further) down with my foot *M,* **ya:n'ch' 'Aw GA'e'dzLinh** he's pushing it down with his foot *M, repetitive:* **ya:n'ch' 'A'e:dzg** keep pushing it, them down with your foot! *M.*

1b. *With la'q' 'thickness, collapse'*: **la'q' GA'e'dz** smash it with your foot! *L.*

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1c. *With ya' 'completely'*: **ya' si'e'dzL** I wore them (shoes) completely out *L.*

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1d. *With l-anatomical*: **'ilA'e:dz da:X 'uXa:X 'isALxut'L** it was stepping on your head and you missed it *(Billy Dude said to L shooting ducks) 72.21L.*

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2. *With indeterminate O,* S move, position feet, step: a. *with no postpositional phrases or preverbs*: **'iGA'e'dz** take a step! *M,* **la'da'X 'isA'e'dzLinh** he took two steps < he stepped twice *L,* **la'da'X 'iqe'x'e'dz** I'll take two steps *L.*

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2b. *With ya'X 'up'*: **ya'X 'i:'e'dz** lift your leg up! *L,* **ya'X 'i:'e:dz** lift your leg up (several times)! *L.*

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2c. *With o-q' 'on o' and yAX 'downward'*: **'uq' yAX 'i:'e'dz** *(not -'e:dz) L,* **'uq' yAX 'iGA'e'dz** step on it! *LM,* **'uq' yAX 'iqe'x'e'dz** I'll step on it *LM,* **'uq' yAX 'iGux'e'dzL** I'm stepping on it *L,* **'uq' yAX 'isi'e'dzL** I stepped on it *L,* **'Awq' yAX 'i:'e'dzLinh** he's stepping (has his feet) on it *M (Neuter perfective),* **'Awq' yAX 'iGA'e'dzX 'utl' dAxlinhinh** I told him to step on it *L.*

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2d. *With t'a'q'e'ch' 'backward'*: **t'a'q'e'ch' 'isi'e'dzL** I took a step backwards *L.*

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2e. *With o-ta:s 'over, across o'*: **'uta:s 'iGA'e'dz** step over it! *L,* **sita:s 'iGA'e'dz** step over me! *L, repetitive:* **sita:s 'i:'e'dzginh** he keeps stepping over me *L (prefix probably analogical, to be corrected to 'i-); indirect reciprocal:* **'iLta:s 'isi'e'dzL** I sit with legs crossed *L.*

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2f. *With 'iL-yAq' 'inside each other', indirect reciprocal*: **'iLyAq' 'iGA'e'dz** spread your legs! *L,* **'iLyAq' 'isi'e'dzL** I sit with legs outspread *L.*

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2g. *With 'iL-ya' 'in each other (o with broad opening at top)'*: **'iLya' 'iGA'e'dz** cross your legs! *L,* **'iLya' 'isi'e'dzL** I sit with legs crossed tailor-fashion *L.*

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O-**L-'e'dz** S move, fix position, substantially affect O with foot *(frequent with expanded stem)* 1. *with many of the same preverbs as O-'e'dz 1.*: **'u:da' siL'e'dzL** I moved it there with my foot (one movement) *L,* **'u:ch' xL'e:dz** I'm moving it there with my foot (pl. O and/or pl. movements) *L,* **la'q' GAL'e'dz** crush it (completely and permanently) with your foot *L,* **ya:n'ch' GAL'e'dz** push it down with your foot! *M,* **ya:n'ch' 'iqe'xL'e'dz** I'll push it down with my foot *M, repetitive:* **ya:n'ch' 'AL'e'dzg** *A,* **ya:n'ch' 'AL'e:dzg** keep pushing it down with your foot!

M, with perambulative: **'u:dAX yAX xLA'e'dzX** I'm moving it about there with my foot *L,* **'u:dAX yAX xLA'e:dzX** I'm moving them (one after another) about there with my foot *L.*

2. *With yAX 'downward' and anatomical-marks,* S hold (part of o) down with foot: **ya'Xu: yAX xuqi:di:L'e'dz** don't step on my foot (never have yet) *L,* **ya'Xu: yAX xuqi:di:L'e:dz** don't keep stepping on my foot *L,* **yAX xuqi:dAL'e:dzinh** he keeps stepping on my foot *L; reflexive:* **yAX 'AdguLi'e'dzL** she's a good, virtuous woman, not a high-stepper < she holds her own hem down with her feet *72.25fnL, cf. 72.24fnL.*

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o-**yAq' LA-'e'dz** S put, have feet in o (footwear): **tanhyAq' 'iXa' GALA'e'dz** put your socks on! < put your feet in your socks! *L,* **'AwyAq' 'iLi'e'dzL** he has them (boots) on < he had his feet in them *51.44A (Neuter perfective).*

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o-**X d-dA-'e'dz** *(with d-thematic, perhaps thematized d-class-mark)* S brace self with feet against o: **k'uX dAGAdA'e'dz** brace yourself with your feet against something! *L,* **'uX dixdi'e'dzL** I'm pushing against it with my feet, braced against it *L (Neuter perfective).*

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'iL-ch' O-**'-l-L-'e:dz** *(with 'iL-ch' 'toward each other', cf. O-'-(l-)(L-)ta 'S move part of (articulable) O')* S fold O with feet: **'iLch' 'u'li:L'e:dz** fold them with your feet! *L.*

'e'lAwah *(unanalyzable: 'e'- conceivably to be identified with 'e'- 'place of, track of' and -'lAwah with -'luw- 'big', but more likely loan from early Athapaskan or cognate with Proto-Athapaskan *(-)nə-wa(-yə) 'weasel', with nə- corresponding with Eyak l-thematic or anatomical and stem *-wa with optional relative enclitic '(that which is) gray')*

'e'lAwah *(noun, unclassified)* weasel *LMAS*: **'e'lAwah dALAts'u'ts'g** weasel is making its (characteristic) sound *L; L never heard *-nAwah; the weasel ('short tailed weasel, ermine', Mustela erminea) has a black tail, white body in winter, brown body in summer L.*

'e'~e'~e:'~'i~i~i'~i:' *(variation irregular, largely inexplicable, see below; cf. also Navaho -e: in '-Way', t'ą·'-e· 'backward', ná·s-e· 'onward'; perhaps related to 'e:2, perhaps present also in q'e'~q'e:, Xe'X, ye'X, certain variants, especially tse', of tsi'~; partly confused or homophonous with yAq'3 under (o-)d-i:'-q' below)*

O-**qi:d-L-'e'** *(with qi:d-anatomical 'foot')* S track down, follow track, trail of O: **'iqi:dAGAL'e'L** it (dog) is tracking you down *L,* **qa: qi:dAGAL'e'Linu:** they're tracking us down *L,* **'iqi:dAsAL'e'L** it tracked you down *L, frequently with perambulative:* **yAX qi:duxLA'e'X** I'm tracking it down *L,* **yAX xuqi:dALA'e'X** it (dog) is (going about) tracking me *L,* **yAX k'uqi:dALA'e'X** it, he is tracking something, someone *L,* **yAX xuqu'qi:dALA'e'** it'll track me *L,* **yAX 'iqe'qi:dALA'e'** it'll track you *L,* **yAX xuqi:disLi'e'L** it tracked me down *L.*

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o-**'e'** *(postposition) (attested with zero, -d, -da', -X, -ch', and -k'ah finals)* 1a. into place, stead, lieu, trace, sign, mark, imprint, home of (temporarily, intermittently, permanently, partly absent or perforated) o: *with zero final:* **'Aw 'Al'e'** this (is) in that's place, instead of that *L,* **'i'e' 'i:nxsdiyahL** I went to your place but you weren't there < I went to your vacated place *L,* **'Aw giyahgAlA'e' q'AGi:ya:G** 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 sAdahLinh** he's sitting in my place *L,* **'u'e'd** at her place, home *L,* **k'u'e'd** imprint (of body), trace (that something's been

there), bed *L,* **k'u'e'd-luw** large imprint (of something) *M (nominalized), Rezanov* Сыетъ 'Посторониться ('step aside!') ausweichen, aus dem Weg gehen' **si'e'd** (in) my place, way *L,* **'u:d 'u'e'd** that's its (normal) place *L,* **ts'iyuxxa'dA'e'd** mosquito-bite *L,* **qu:'e'd** fireplace, fire-bed *10.209A,* **XAdAGd si'e'd Xa:n' k'uGALi:Xinu:** let them build something high up as a place for me (my corpse) *18.7L, with class- and anatomical marks:* **tsa'LdA'e'd yiLinhinh** she has knife-marks on her *M,* **XishdA'e'd** place where weapon-point went in *L,* **di:ya'gAlA'e'd** *place-name near Yakutat* salt-water place (salt-water absent or intermittently present) *L,* **gahGlAXA'e'd** bullet-mark, -hole *L,* **'ula:XlAXA'e'd** it's eyehole, -socket in its skull; peephole in wall < place of its absent, intermittently present eye *L,* **k'ulAXAdA'e'd** place where there was snow *L,* **k'uqi:dA'e'd** footprint *L,* **'ugAdA'e'd** sitzmark, where his rump has left an imprint in snow, mud *L,* **'uXu:nLAyahXu:lA'e'd yiLinhinh** he's got its teethmarks on him *A; with -d final compounded as o of o-k'ah 'away from o': Rezanov* Сыетекагъ-а 'Посторонись ('to step aside') ausweichen, aus dem Weg gehen (Imperat.)' **si'e'dAk'ah 'a:(')** (*or* **Ga:'**) get out of my way! *L; with -da' final 'arrival at':* **'i'e'da' siyahL** I went to your place (though you weren't home) *L,* **si'e'da' sahLinh** he came to, arrived at my home *L; with -ch' final 'continuous, repeated motion to':* **si'e'ch' q'e' qu'xdah** I'll go back to my place *M; with -X final 'motion within area':* **kuts'i:nd'e'X li' dAxuLg** bolt < it is screwed in through place for screw *L,* **'i'e'X yAX xda:X** I went to (took a walk within) your place (but you weren't home) *L,* **si'e'X yAX da:Xinh** he came to my place (but I wasn't home) *L,* **si'e'X yAX sAdahLinh** he married my ex-wife < he settled down in my (former) place *L,* **'Awla:X'e'X lahdz 'iLAts'i:Gginu:** they dip their fingers forward into its eye(-socket) *11.175A,* **'Aw'e'X siLtahL** I traded it for that *L, (o1-'e'X) (o2-a:, -ch') O-L-ya:' 'S trade, barter, exchange O (with, to o2) (for o1)', with reciprocal o:* **'Aw ya:yu: 'iL'e'X LAyi:n'inu:** they're trading those things (for each other) *L; with -k'ah final:* **si'e'k'ah 'a:**, **si'e'k'ahX 'a:'** get out of my way (place where I'm working)! *L.*

1b. *With reflexive o (not attested with zero or -X final, L rejecting *'Ad'e'X, see 'Ad-i-X below)*: *with -d final:* **'Ad'e'd** home, at home *L, 68.12A,* **dik' 'Ad'e'dG** not at home *L,* **dA'u:dAXyi:nkih sitl' 'ida'Xah 'i: 'Ad'e'd** someone told me you're at home *L, in indirect reflexive verbal clauses:* **'Ad'e'd xdAdah** I stay home *L,* **'Ad'e'd dAdah** he stays home *L,* **Lich' 'Ad'e'd dAdinhinh** he always stays home *L,* **'Ad'e'd ya' qu'xdAdah** I'll stay home *L,* **'Ad'e'd ya' 'AdAde:** stay home! *L,* **'Ad'e'd ya' 'AlAXdAqe:** pl. stay home! *L,* **'Ad'e'd da: ya' qu'dAquh** we'll stay home *L,* **'Ad'e'd ya' 'AdAda:k'** (cust) stays home *28.53A,* **'Ad'e'd ya' 'ALAda:k'inh** (cust) makes O (O is (cust) made to?) stay home *10.167A,* **'Ad'e'd xdiLeh** I'm at home *L,* **'Ad'e'd qu'xdALe'** I'll be at home *L; with -da' final:* **'Ad'e'da'shunh q'e' qa'dah** will he get back home? *M,* **'Ad'e'da' q'e' sdiyahL** he got back home *55.6L; with -ch' final:* **'Ad'e'ch' q'e' qu'XAdla:da'yah** I'll run back home *M,* **dik'sh 'Ad'e'ch' q'e' 'AlAXshdA'a'ch'LG** didn't you pl. go back home? *M,* **'Ad'e'ch' q'e' 'AdAqe:k'inh** he'd (cust) boat back home *56.7, 15, 18L,* **'a:nch'ahd 'Ad'e'ch' q'e' qu'xLah** I'll take it (stuff) back home hence *15.7M,* **'Ad'e'ch' da: qu'wALah** we'll take it back home *15.12M,* **'Ad'e'ch' q'e' 'ixdileh** I want (to go) back home *L,* **'Ad'e'ch' q'e:yAX xsdi'yahGL** I long for (to turn around and go back) home *L,* **'Ad'e'ch' 'Ashdih yiLeh** he's away from home *M,* **'Ad'e'ch' q'e' sdiyahLinh** he went back home *M, 16.7, 47b.25M,* **'Ad'e'ch'sh q'e' qu'yidah** will you go back home? *M,* **dik'sh 'Ad'e'ch' q'e' Gi:da:LG** aren't you going back home? *M, further instances in 43.6M and paradigmatic elicitations from M.*

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2. into o *(where o itself refers to an absence, aperture, cavity)*: *with zero final:* **qAmAXch'LdA'e'** (*or* **dAmAXch'LdA'e'**) **q'AGi:ya:G** careful you don't fall into a hole in the ice! *L,* **lah'e' XAdla:sa'yahLinh** he ran into a burrow *22.9L,* **qi' qa' k'Ayi:nliL'e' 'i:nsdiyahLinh** he got stuck in a ditch *L, with -d final:* **dALAxwe:gya' lah'e'd sAdahLinh** stayed in groundhog's burrow *22.2L,* **k'udAGAts'e:'e'd GALdu'** chink the crack in the wall! *M,* **'Awa:lAGA'e'd qu'wa'L** window-curtain *L, with -X final:* **'Awa:lAGA'e'X qu'wa'L** window-curtain, drapes *L,* **'Aw'e'X li' GALu'g** plug, stuff it (way) into it (hole)! *L,* **k'udAGAts'e:'e'X**

'uch' dla:XAxt'uhinu: I'm watching them through a crack in the wall *M,* **ta:'e'X 'iya'** follow the trail! *L,* **k'Ayi:ny ta:'e'X 'i:nxsdima'L** I took the wrong road *L,* **lixahya' ta:'e'X Ga:L** was going along a grizzly-bear trail *18.4L.*

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3. *With indeterminate o and -d final (cf. (o-)d-i:'-q' 8.)*: **dA'e'd sAdahLinh** 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.?*

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4. for (lack, want of) o *(with zero, -X, and -ch' finals only)*: *with zero final:* **li:ya'e' xsdile'gL** I'm hungry for seafood *LM,* **'i'e' lAGAxLgehGL** I'm getting lonesome for you *M,* **'uma:'e' disdi'a:t'Linh** he bawled for his mother *L,* o-**'e' -ki:nX** S cry for o *2a.12M, 2b.15L, 23.46, 49.133, 136A, further instances under o-'e' dA-le'g, d-dA-'a:t', l-L-gwehG~; uncertain or incorrect usages:* **'Aw'e' 'udAGAleh** his mind (is) on it *A,* **q'e:dah yahd 'uXa' tl'ehd kugg, Giyah'e', GAyahq'Ach'ahd tl'ehd 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 'Aw'e' ki:nX 'crying for it (food)' 49.136A); with -X final:* **te'ya'e'X xsdile'gL** I'm hungry for fish *L,* **'u'e'X xsdile'gL** I have a desire for it *L; with -ch' final:* **si'ehd'e'ch' lAGAxLgehGL** I'm getting lonesome for my wife *L.*

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5. (subsisting) on o *(with -d final only)*: *with themes dAXunh -Le(') 'S live (be a person)' (-Le(') 1a.), -da 7. (-da 'sg. S stay'), -qu 7. (-qu 'pl. S stay'): 25.208, 209, 33.23A,* **'u'e'd da: dAXunh yiLeh** we live on it *L,* **ta:dz te'ya'e'd dAXunh xiLeh** 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.*

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k'u'e'd *(place-name) Krutoi Island ("where Jack Ellis has his blue fox farm" G)* < place of (absent) something *G (Harrington).*

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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:* **dAXunhyu:dA'e' tsinhinh** he's singing an Indian song *L,* **dAXunhyu:dA'e' xtsinh** I'm singing native style *L, with -X final:* o-**d-'e'-X d-le**, o-**d-'e'-X d-LA-le** *(d-le 1d.)* S say like o, copy, mimick o in speech.

2. interrupting o('s speech) *(with -X final only, and preverb qa' 'up out')*: **sidA'e'X qa' tsin'dAsAliLinh** he interrupted me *L,* **k'udA'e'X qa' tsin'dAle:k'inh** he (cust) interrupts one *L.*

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-y-'e'-d *(noun, unclassified, postposition o-'e' 1. with y-thematic, probably thematized y-anatomical 'hand', attested only nominalized with -d final)* 1. mark, sign, evidence (< o's handiwork?): **k'uyA'e'd yiLinhinh** she has marks, evidence (of something) on her *M,* **xuqi:disLitsugL; 'iLgiyiLinhyA'e'd lAX sAliL** my foot has been made to swell up; (it must be the handiwork of) a which has done this *L,* **'a'tl'yA'e'd yiLeh** it (pelt) has bite-mark (from fighting) on it *L.*

2. *With k'u-indefinite possessor (< o)*: **k'uyA'e'd** grizzly-bear's den < handiwork of something (fearful) *L,* **k'u'luw k'uyA'e'd qi' k'u:Leh** area where there's a large grizzly-den present *L.*

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o-**lXdl-'e'-X** *(postposition) (o-'e' 1. with dl-thematic 'series', see -qi:dl-GA-'e' below, attested only with lX-class o and -X final)* (through series of) holes in (lX-class) o: **kAwu:d-lAXAdla:'e'X** (through) holes in beads for stringing *L.*

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o-**qi:dl-GA-'e'** *(postposition) (o-'e' 1. with dl-'series' and GA-thematic, and qi:d-anatomical 'foot', attested with zero, -d, and -X finals)* on track, trail, spoor, (series of) footprints of o: *with zero final:* **siqi:dla:GA'e' sahLinh** he followed (in) my trail *L,* **qa:qi:dla:GA'e' 'i:'a'ch'Linu:** they're on our trail *L, lacking o and with inexplicable 'i- prefix in verb, perhaps thematic required with o-'e', cf. o-lXd-e:' below:* **qi:dla:GA'e' 'ishditl'AdjL** wet snow covered the trail *L,* **qi:dla:GA'e' 'isdika:st'L** dry snow, sand, blizzard covered over the trail *L, with -X final:* **'iqi:dla:GA'e'X GAxa:L** I'm following along your trail *L,* **'iqi:dla:GA'e'X qu'xah** I'll follow your tracks *L,* **'uqi:dla:GA'e'X … Lchanh** they smelled (her along) her track *25.62, 62A,* **'uqi:dla:GA'e'X 'i'LAchinhinh** sniff (along) his track! *L,* **siqi:dla:GA'e'X 'iGALAchan'L** it (dog, sniffing) is following (along) my trail *L, with -d final, nominalized:* **'anhqi:dla:GA'e'd, 'anh qe'Lqi:dla:GA'e'dwa:LX** her trail, by (following with close attention to) the woman's trail *25.127A,* **dzanhdqi:dla:GA'e'd** Milky Way *(see dzanhd).*

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-dl-(GA-)'e'-d *(noun, probably unclassified, postposition o-'e' 1. with dl-class-mark for o, GA-thematic, attested only nominalized with -d final)* hole of, for (intermittently, permanently absent dl-class possessor): **tsi:nydla:GA'e'd** knothole *A,* **dla:XA'i:nddla:GA'e'd** buttonhole *L,* **dla:XA'i:nddla:'e'dga' 'i:nLila:X** he has narrow slitty eyes (like buttonholes) *L (perhaps to be corrected to -dla:GA'e'd-, or GA-thematic perhaps truly optional, analogical by influence of o-qi:dl-GA-'e' and/or qi'GA'e'd~).*

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qi'GA'e'd~qe'GA'e'd~qi'Ge:'d *(noun, unclassified) (latter forms less frequent, allegro only; qi' 'place where', GA-'e'-d o-'e' 1. with GA-thematic, nominalized with -d final)* bed *L: 18.28L, Old Man Dude* qe'qą̀'ą̀t 'bed (modern)' *BSdL 546,* **Lich' 'Aw qi'GA'e'd** (*or* **qe'GA'e'd**) **'iXa' Xu' GAle:gk'** (cust) make your bed! *L.*

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o-**lXd-e:'** *(postposition) (with lXd-anatomical 'eye', -lAXAdA'e' > -lAXAde:', but for different phonological development of -dA-'e'~ cf. k'ulAXAdA'e'd 'place where there was snow', 'ula:XlAXA'e'd 'eye-socket' under o-'e' 1a., and -la:X-e' below, also o-d-i:', o-d-i:'-q' below; attested with zero, -d, and -X finals)* 1. in o's eye *(literal)*: *with zero final:* **'ulAXAde:' 'Aw GAtsu:xinh** poke it in his eye! *L; with reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction:* **'Ad-lAXAde:' xdAlugg** I'm rubbing (in) my eyes *L, nominalized, requiring Gi'-thematic with suffixed adjective, in epithets:* **'ilAXAde:'Gi'luw** (your) big eyes! *(pejorative) 11.139A, more correctly with deleted o (or possessor):* **lAXAde:'Gi'luw** big-eyes! *(pejorative) 10.96A,* **lAXAde:'Gi'kuts'g** small-eyed (people) *L, in compound:* **XAwa:lAXAde:'Gi'giyah** berry species < dog's-eye-water *LMA, perhaps nominalized, perhaps requiring otherwise inexplicable 'i- prefix to verb (see also under o-qi:dl-GA-'e'):* o-**lXd-e:' 'i-dA-t'u'ch'** o get black eye; *with -d final 'at rest in, nominalization of':* **'ilAXAde:'d** the inside of your eye *LM,* **silAXAde:'d** in my eye *L,* **silAXAde:'d yAX gAli:'ah** my eye is watering < it (gl-class, liquid) extends down from (a position at rest in) my eye *M; with -X final 'movement within area':* o-**lXd-e:'X** O-**L-ts'i:nG** S dip O (here humor) with finger out of o's (here whale's) eye to lick *10.24, 25, 11.177, 183A,* **djahGLlAXAde:'X gu:tsu: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-lXd-e:' S C -Le(') 'S look like a C to o': 20.27, 25.121, 51.7A,* **'ulAXAde:' dAXunh 'Aw yiLeh** in their eyes it was a person, she looked human to them *23.83A, with reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction:* **dA'a: 'Ad-lAXAde:'d dAXunh diLinhinh** in his own eyes he was a person *23.56A,* **dA'a: 'Ad-lAXAde:'d dAXunh sdiLe'L** in his own eyes he had turned into a person *L, with S C O-'-l-L-Xa' 'S make O C' (suppletive causative of preceding):* **dAXunhyu: qa:lAXAde:'d 'u'li:LXinhinh** he has them looking like people in our eyes *11.30A.*

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2b. *Perhaps less figurative*: **silAXAde:'d GALXe'tl'L** I'm getting faint, blacking, passing out < it's getting dark in my eyes *L.*

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-dAG-e:' *(kinship noun, non-ascending) (probably < o-dAG-'e' 'in place above, higher than, upland from o', cf. -tsa'-kih '(woman's) older sister' (< 'below, downhill from, diminutive'), -:dz-kih '(woman's) brother' (< 'forward of, diminutive'), cf. also -dAG-e'-~ below; conceivably however < -d-Ge:' or -d-GA-e:')* younger sibling, *see under dAG.*

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k'udAGAts'e:' *(probably < k'u-dA-GAts'-e:') see ts'e:'.*

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o-**la:X-e'-** *(postpositional phrase, with -la:X 'eye', declassified, cf. 'ula:XlAXA'e', k'ulAXAdA'e' under o-'e' 1a., and o-lXd-e:'; with -d and -ch' finals only)* in o's eyes, imagination, sight: **sila:Xe'd**, **sila:Xe'ch'** to my eyes, in my sight *M,* **sila:Xe'd k'udzu:dah 'u'GAdA'eh** it looks good to me *M,* **wAX 'ila:Xe'd k'u'GAdA'eh** you're seeing things, imagining things, having hallucinations < something looks thus in your eyes *46.26M.*

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(o-)**dAG-e'-~-i-** *(variants of o-'e' compounded with preverb and postposition (o-)dAG, -e'- required with -X final, -i- in compound with -da' and -da:q' (< -d-q') as final elements) see dAG 1., 2., d-'ya 2f., o-dAG 2b.*

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lAG-e'-~-i- *(variants of o-'e' compounded with preverb and postposition (o-)lAG, -e'- required with -X final, -i- in compound with -ga' as final element) see lAG 1., 2., 3., o-lAG 1.*

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(**XA-**)**yAX-e'-X** *see under yAX3.*

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X-e'-X *see Xe'X.*

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t'a'-q'-e'-~-i-ch' *(L regularly t'a'q'e'ch', M regularly t'a'q'ich') see under t'a'~.*

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'Ad-i-X *(preverb) (< postpositional phrase *'Ad-'e'-X, which L rejects as such, o-'e' 1b. with -X 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, -dAX, -ch', and -ch'ahd finals, connective vowel with -ch' and -ch'ahd finals -i-, 'AdiXich' < 'Ad-'e'-X-(A)ch', cf. -i'-~-'i-~-i-L-ch'a:- 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,* **'AdiX 'Adqu'xdAlAG** I'll jump in(to house) *A,* **'AdiX qu:Lda'** chase it in! *L,* **sdikusLyu: 'AdiX GALa'** bring in the laundry! *L,* **'AdiX Ga:'** come in! *L, 18.36L, 23.44A,* **'AdiX sahLinh** he went in *L, 29.56A, 40.6L, 47b.47M, 55.10L,* **'u:d 'AdiX sahL** went in there *18.29, 31, 41, 42, 27.40, 55.10L,* **'AdiX 'iqe'di:(L)'ah** it (smoke) will come in (house) *L,* **Lich' qe'L 'AdiX Gah da:X** always when a woman comes in *L, always preceding q'e':* **'AdiX q'e'** *9.76, 167A, 18.69L, 23.69, 28.39, 65.16, 54A,* **'AdiX q'e' sdiyahLinh** he came, went back in *L, 7.25, 27A, once preceding postpositional phrase with pronominal o:* **'AdiX 'Awtl' shA'a'ch'L** 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,* **dik' dAXunh 'u:d 'AdiXdG** (there was) no person in there *7.32A,* **'AdiXd ya' 'Ade:** stay inside! *L (cf. 'Ad'e'd ya' 'Ada: 'stay*

at home!' L), **'AdiXd sAdahLinh** he's inside *L,* **'AdiXd GAxga'L** I'm getting tired of being confined indoors *L,* **'AdiXd siga'L** I got bored indoors *L,* **'AdiXd ya' lAXiqe'xLquh** I'll make you pl. stay indoors *L,* **'AdiXd 'iGALq'e'sL** it (smoke, odor) is getting thick indoors *M,* **Lanhd 'AdiXd 'iXAdAGA'a:L** smoke is hovering inside the house *L,* **dik' 'AdiXd 'idah 'AsLiLGinh** he didn't clean house (the indoors) *L, preceding preverb:* **qAlahqa'ga'da'X 'AdiX lah GAxah da:X** when I walk four times around inside *19.16L, with proclitic dA-* 'ipse'*:* **dA'AdiXd** (she stayed) right indoors *25.126A; with -dAX final:* **'AdiXdAX yAX da:Xinh** he's walking about indoors *L,* **'AdiXdAX yAX Ga:ndits'a'L** the floor inside is muddy (here and there) *L,* **'AdiXdAX yAX GAlAGAdAts'a'L** the floor is getting muddy *L; with -ch' final: 9.53, 77, 80A, 19.21L, 21b.43, 23.91, 28.11, 32, 32.48, 49, 33.15, 65.56A,* **La'g 'AdiXich' GALa'** bring in (one load of) firewood! *M,* **La'g 'AdiXich' GALya:'** bring in (several loads of) firewood! *M,* **'AdiXich' 'idAGA'a:L** (*or* **'idAGAL'a'L**) it (smoke) is coming indoors *L,* **'AdiXich' Ga:Linh** he's coming in *L, 18.37L, 28.31A; with -ch'ahd final:* **'AdiXich'ahd qa' XAdla:sa'yahLinh** he escaped (running, up out) from inside the house *L.*

2. *With figurative meaning* a. *(attested with -ch' final only, and as o of o-'i-~-i'-~-i-L-ch'a:- 'side of, direction of o')* in toward shore: **'AdiXich' dAGa'ya:L** it (steamer) is coming in *L,* **'AdiXiLch'a:ch' lah sAqehLinh** he (boating) turned (around) in shoreward *M.*

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2b. *(attested only as o of o-'i-~-i'-~-i-L-ch'a:- 'side of, direction of o')* inner surface, inside, interior (of anything): **'AdiXi'Lch'a:d** inside, interior of anything, inner surface (e.g. of box) *L, Harrington* 'αttáχχíi'łtc'áa'th k'uttsé' 'diaphragm' *G* **'AdAXi'Lch'a:d k'utse'** *(perhaps calque on Tlingit néełnɪɣɣaạtliiɣɣìi 'a 'diaphragm', nêł 'inside of house, home', -λiɣí 'flesh'),* **'AdiXi'Lch'a:d k'utse'** inside meat *M (meaning apparently not clear to M, perhaps 'meat (kept) indoors').*

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o-**'i-~-i'-~-i-L-ch'a:-** *(postpositional phrase, o-L-ch'a:- (-ch'-a:-) 'side of, direction of o, o-ch' 'toward o' with -a:-, expanded augment, L-classifier, requiring connective -'i-~-i'-~-i-, occasionally also ~-A-, with irregular variation, at least partly free, where o is a form, itself usually a preverb or postposition, ending in -X; in spite of the predictability of its presence, -'i-~ is (or was) probably of morphemic status, and to be identified with 'e'~) see tl'ihX3, Xe'X, yAX3, dAX, and o-L-ch'-a: under ch'.*

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(o-)**'i:ndz**-(~-**:dz**-)**i'**- *see under lahdz~, cf. Navaho ná·s-e· 'onward'.*

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'a:l-i'- *in possible analysis of 'a:li'LX, q.v.*

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o-**d-i:'**- *(cf. o-lXd-e:', reason for different phonological development not clear; attested with -d, -X, and -dAX 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:2.*

2. *With -X final only, in* ***ts'ALqa'GAdi:'X*** through the smokehole *11.14, 34, 36, 42A, see (o-)d-i:'-q' 6b. below.*

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(o-)**d-i:'-q'** *(with d-mark as last element of class- or thematic mark, or with dA- indeterminate o, with -q' final or as o of o-q' 'on o', but probably in some cases to be interpreted as < -dA-yAq' with stem yAq'3 of o-yAq' 'in o', rather than -dA-'e'-q', but cf. such forms as regular -dAyAq', and where -CA-yAq' is clearly shown to undergo morphophonological change, the result is -Ce:q', see -y-tl'e:q' < -y-tl'A-yAq', cf. also tsa:le:X- < tsa:-lA-yAX-; attested with zero, -d, and -ch' finals)* 1. *with d-class-mark for o*: *with zero final: Rezanov* Каллючатехъ

'Десна Zahnfleisch' *perhaps to be read* **qa:lu:ch'Adi:'q'** inside of my (inside) cheek, *see lu:ch',* Кажекатехъ 'Внутренная' ('inside') *(not in Radlov, 'interior') probably to be read* **qa:she:k'Adi:'q'** inside our, human thorax, **shishe:k'Adi:'q' yAX LAk'ahdX** I have shooting pains (about) in my chest *L; with -d final:* **sidAga'q'Ldi:'q'd** the inside of my throat *L,* **sidAga'q'Ldi:'q'd siya: yik'a'd** my throat is sore *L,* **sidAga'q'Ldi:'q'd dAt'a' k'u:'yahL** something is stuck in my throat *L; as o of o-ya'-d '(at rest in, nominalization of) in o (with broad opening at top)' (here topographical):* **ts'a'di:'q'Aya'd** *place-name,* Marten River < at on the place of alluvial mud *(see under ts'a').*

2. *With d-thematic 'oral, noise', zero final only (cf. o-d-'e'),* in o's vocal manner: *68.78A,* **qa:di:'q' tsin'dAlinhinh** he talks our language *L,* **sidi:'q' tsin'dAlinhinh** he speaks my language *L,* **sidi:'q' 'iqe'tsin'di:xLih** I'll make you talk my language *L,* **dAXunhyu:di:'q' tsinhinh** he's singing (it) Indian-style *L,* **dAXunhyu:di:'q'** (*same as* dAXunhyu:dA'e'**)** k'uxtsinh I'm singing a Native song *L; with reflexive o, clause perhaps indirect reflexive, but lacking vocalized classifier in verb, or perhaps < 'AdA- 'genuine, real':* **'Addi:'q' tsin'dAlinhinh** he talks "deep" (i.e. archaic, difficult, elegant Eyak) *L.*

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3. *In possible etymology of k'udi:q' '"Aleut" (Chugach)', see k'udi:q'~.*

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4. *As 1. and 3. 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-yAq'), attested with -d final only*: **silAdi:'q'd** way back inside my nose and throat *L.*

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5. *With XA-li'(-d?) 'deeply in closed end of area' perhaps with -d final, or with d-class or thematic mark, or perhaps to be read XAli' di:'q'd with di:'q'd as in 8. below; with -d final*: **XAli'di:'q'd** way inside there (e.g. in pipe, under bed) *L.*

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6. *With Gd-thematic 'place', attested with zero, -d, and -ch' finals* a. breakers: **'a:nguda'd GAdi:'q'Ach'** into the breakers at the mouth of the river *68.48A,* **GAdi:'q'Ach' GAqe:Linh** he's boating out toward the breakers *L.*

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6b. ***ts'ALqa'GAdi:'q'(-)*** smokehole, *see under ts'AL~, o-qa' 7. under qa'~qa:n~qa:.*

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7. *With Xd-thematic, perhaps incorrect and under influence of XAda:q', see o-q' 2d.(4), with reference to low offshore Egg Islands; attested with -d and -ch' finals*: **XAdi:'q'd** out in the breakers *M,* **XAdi:'q'Ach' GAqe:Linh** he's boating out towards the breakers *M;* **'uhsXAdi:'q'd** *place-name (?, somewhere on Copper River Delta)* < on river bank *L.*

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8. *With dA- indeterminate o (cf. o-'e' 3.), attested with zero and -d finals:* inside (indeterminate o, completely closed area): a.: **di:'q'd sAtahL** it's inside (something) *L (cf. k'uyAq'd 'it's inside something (specific)' L).*

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8b. *With causative of theme -'ya 36.,* in oven, baking, roasting: **'Aw di:'q' qu'xLyah** I'll roast it *L,* **te'ya' di:'q' qu'xLyah** I'll roast a fish *L,* **di:'q' sLi'yahL te'ya'** roasted fish *L.*

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8c. *With XAtl' 'night, darkness' in compound (?), -d final only*: **XAtl'di:'q'd** jail ("because it's dark inside") *L (perhaps actually < XAtl' di:'q'd 'confined at night'),* **XAtl'di:'q'dch'ahd qa' XAdla:sa'yahLinh** he escaped from jail *L.*

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8d. *With reference to egg (d-class, perhaps in direct reflexive with deleted o)*: **di:'q' dla:sdixahL**, **di:'q' dla:dixahL** it (inside of egg) is developing into a chick *L.*

’e:’sh

O-**d-’e:’sh** *(with d-thematic)* S string O on string: **qu’di:x’e:’sh** I'll string them (fish) *L, with lX-class-mark for O:* **k’ulAXAdli:’e:’sh** string beads! < string something lX-class! *L,* **lAXAdli:’e:’sh** string them (beads)! *M,* **k’ulAXAdla:x’e:’sh** I'm stringing beads *L,* **lAXAdla:x’e:’sh** I'm stringing them (beads) *M.*

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-d-’e:’sh *(deverbalization of passive of O-d-'e:'sh)* string of: **sahxdA’e:’sh** dried cockles on a string *L,* **dA’e:’sh te’ya’** fish on a string *L (probably to be corrected to dAdA'e:'sh te'ya' 'fish which are strung' or to te'ya'dA'e:'sh).*

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-a 1. sg. walk, go *(of singular animal with legs (human, animal, even insect)); more broadly, default locomotion (cf. 'a'ch' for pl.)*: *'i-imperative: 16.30M, 21b.5, 17, 44A, 22a.17, 36, 27a.8L, 27b.32, 32.48, 33.81A, 40.7L, Rezanov* ия 'gehen (Infin.)', *Khromchenko* И-я 'Поди сюда' ('come here') **’iya’** go!, go ahead and … *L, 26.6L, 8.6, 9.3, 3A, 13.12 (see 'a'ch'), 18.36, 27a.17, 36L, 27b.30A, 31.10L (see 'a'ch'),* **’iya’ ’iya’** come now!, come come!, go ahead and … *(i.e. with impatient and/or irritated expectation for 2s to do something) L,* **’iya’duh** (**q’ah**) go ahead, go! *L,* **’iya’ ’AdiX Ga:’** go ahead, go in! *L,* **’u:ch’ qa:nch’ ’iya’** walk up (the hill)! *L, Rezanov* Аччье 'komm her!', *Anonymous* Анчія 'Поди сюда', *Baranov* Анчїя 'Поди сюда', *Khromchenko* А чю̑ 'Поди прочь' ('go away!'), *Wrangell* Аанчія 'komm her!' **’a:nch’ ’iya’** come here! *8.5, 10.148, 11.71, 24.3, 25.89, 27b.29, 30, 29.4A, 31.4, 40.7L, 43.20M, 51.62, 64A, 52.32L,* **’a:nch’ ’iya’ q’ah** come here (already, finally)! *20.51A, Rezanov* Учия 'vorbei' **’u:ch’ ’iya’** go over there! *L,* **’u:ch’ ’iya’ q’ah** go there (already, finally)! *M, Rezanov* Хычь-ие **Xi:ch’ ’iya’** go away! *G,* **’a:nch’a:ch’ ’iya’** come over here! *L,* **XAsha:ndAX ’iya’** come closer! *L,* **’u:d da:X ’iya’** go across it (e.g. channel)! *L,* **’uch’ Xa’dihch’ ’iyin’inh** visit him! *M,* **tse’X ’iya’** go down to shore! *L,* **siXahd ’iya’** go on ahead without me!, don't wait for me! *M,* **’udAyAXahd ’iyin’inh** go away from him, so you won't be bothered by his constant nagging! *L,* **sika’ ’iya’**, **sike’iya’** (< **sika’ ’iya’**) come with me! *L, 10.250, 266A,* **qa:ka’ ’iya’** accompany us! *L, 23.89A,* **ta:q’ ’iya’** walk on road! *L,* **ta:’e’X ’iya’** follow the trail! *L,* **si’ihX ’iya’** walk behind me!; follow me! *L, 47c.38L,* **’i: giyahgAlu’qa: ’Awa: ’iyin’inh** *you* go get water for him! *19.26L,* **Xahd**[**L**]**dAlu’qa: ’iya’** go get, in search of a car! *L,* **qa:Xa’ ’i:di’ahLlu’qa: ’iya’** go after what we're out of! *L,* **qa:qa’X ’iya’** walk along between us! *L,* **ya’Xu: qu’XAdli:’yah, di’wAX ’iya’** don't run, just walk! *L,* **q’e’ ’ida:’** go home! *L, 33.81, 20.19A, Inceptive imperative: 23.44A,* **’a’q’ Ga:’** go out! *LM,* **’uya’ qa’ Ga:’** get in (canoe) (from land)! *L,* **’Awya’ qa’ Ga:’** get into it (boat, car, etc.)! (from anywhere) *L,* **’i:ntsa’X ya’ qa’ Ga:’** get in the bow (of boat)! *L,* **qa’ Ga:’** come out! *L,* **’AdiX Ga:’** come in! (in house) *L, 18.36L,* **’iya’ ’AdiX Ga:’** go ahead, go in! *L,* **ya:nu’ Ga:’** dive in! *L,* **lah Ga:’** turn around (360° +/-)! *L,* **’u:ch’ Ga:’** go there! *L,* **tse’X Ga:’** go down! (to bottom of hill) *L,* **tsa’ Ga:’** go downhill! (not necessarily toward water)' *L,* **’i:ntsa’da’ Ga:’** move up to the bow! *L,* **lAG Ga:’** come on up from beach!; go to church! *M,* **’i:na:Xda:d Ga:’** go up on hill! *L,* **lu: Ga:’** turn around (180°)! *L,* **ya’d Ga:’** get out of it (boat, car)! *L,* **dit’a’ ne:tl’ Ga:’** stop (walking) for a while! *L,* **’uta:s Ga:’** walk over it (ditch)! *L,* **qi’ sAdahLda’ Ga:’** go where she's sitting! *L, Anonymous* Утака 'Поди прочь' ('go away') **’u:da’ Ga:’** go over there! *or* **’uda’ Ga:’** come to him!, **sida’ Ga:’** come right up to me! *L,* **sida:da’ Ga:’** move, come close to me! *L,* **sitsi:n’da’ Ga:’** go down to below me! *L,* **’i:ndzi’da’ lahdz Ga:’** go forward to the bow! *L,* **’Aw t’uhLga’ da: yahddAlah Ga:’** go around those three houses! *L,* **’itl’a:na:X tsa’ Ga:’** come down mountainside! *L,* **’itl’a:na:Xda:d Ga:’** go up mountainside! *L,* **sidahd Ga:’** come closer to me! *M,* **’uyAq’ li’ Ga:’** go inside of hollow thing! *M,* **qa:qa’X Ga:’** go between us! *L,* **qAmAXch’LdA’e’ q’AGi:ya:G** watch out for soft spots/holes in ice! *L,* **k’uyAda’X q’AlAGi:da:G** watch where you go, not to stray into the clutches of a dangerous beast! *L, Active imperative: Rezanov* Утака-а 'fort!, weg!' **’u:dik’ah ’a:’** leave!, **’a:nch’a:ch’ ’a:’**

come over here! *L, Rezanov* Хашляхъ-аа 'komm näher' **XAshlAX ’a:’** come closer to me! *L,* **qa:ka’ ’a:’** accompany us! *L,* **sika’ ’a:’** come with me! *L,* **si’e’k’ah ’a:** get out of my way! *L, Rezanov* Сыетекагъ-а 'Посторонись ('to step aside') ausweichen, aus dem Weg gehen (Imperat.)' **si’e’dAk’ah ’a:(’)** (*or* **Ga:’**) get out of my way! *L,* **si’e’k’ahX ’a:’** get out of my way (place where I'm working)! *L,* **sidAwa:k’ah ’a:** get out of my way! *L,* **qa:qa’k’ah ’a:’** go away from between us! *L,* **’u:dik’ah ’a:’** get out of there! *L,* **neh sidALyAXAk’ah ’a:** now get out of my way! *L,* **qa:qa’ ’a:’** join us! *(not as good as Ga:') L, Inceptive imperfective: 3.14M, 10.232, 11.53, 91, 92, 112A, 18.70, 81, 19.13, 21a.22L, 21b.18, 74, 20, 23.21, 27b.49, 32.7, 15, 15, 16, 25, 23, 24, 26, 33, 36.11, 37b.79, 49.90, 51.79, 80, 85, 86A, 58.2L, 61.10, 16, 29, 35A, 63.19(?)G,* **k’e:d xu: ’uda’ qa’ qu’xah** how shall I get up to her? *2b.4L,* **k’Ade:dah lAGe’X ’ika’ qu’xahG** there's no way for me to go up from shore with you *10.252A, Rezanov* Хуаткооха 'Домой nach Hause' **xu:** [***’anh** ?] **qu’xah**, **qu’xah** I'll go *M,* **qu’yiyah** you'll go *M,* **qi’yiyah** you'll walk *M,* **qu’winhinh** he'll go, walk *(not *qa'yinhinh) M,* **qu’wah** it (dog) will go *M,* **q’ahduh qu’xah** I'm going now < by now I'll go, I'll finally go *L,* **ya’Xu: ne:tl’ qu’yiyah** don't go yet! *L,* **’anhshuwdug qu’wah** will he go too? *L,* **’a’q’(Ach’) qu’xah** I'll go out *LM,* **’a’q’ qi’yiyah** you'll go out *M,* **’a’q’sh qi’yiyah** will you go out? *M,* **’a’q’ qu’winhinh** he'll go out *M,* **qa’ qu’wah** it (bear) will go out (of hole) *L,* **ya’Xu: qa’ qu’yiyah di[:]yAX GAxsi:nLG da:X** don't leave before I die *L,* **ya:qa’ qu’xah** I'll go away *L,* **qa:qa’ qu’winhinh** he'll join us (meeting) *L,* **qid qu’yiyah** you'll walk off edge *L,* **Xe’X qu’xah** I'll go out(-doors) *L (= 'a'q' qu'xah),* **Xe’X ’a’q’ qu’xah** I'll go outside *L,* **dik’ ’u:la’xLga:G qi’dAX (qu’xah)** I don't know the way (I'll go) *L,* **’Adjih ’a:nda’ qu’wah** 'Adjih (q.v.) will come here *L,* **q’i:dah wAX ’u’xLilinhinh ’u:da’ qu’winhinh** I *know* he'll go there *L,* **dik’ ’u:la’xLga:G ’ida: ’a:nda’ qu’wah** I don't know whether he's coming *L,* **ya:n’ ’ixitehL da:X ’u:da’ qi’yiyah** I'll be lying down when you get there *M,* **ya:n’ ’ixitehL da:X ’u:da’ qi’yiyah** I'll be lying down when you get there *M,* **’u:ch’sh qu’yiyah** will you go there? *L,* **’u:ch’ qu’winhinh** he'll go there *L,* **’u:ch’a’ qu’xah** I'll go over there *L,* **neh XAyA’u:ch’ gu:La:n’ ’u:dAX ’Ash qu’xah** stand out of my way!, I'm going by *L, Galushia Nelson* lu·tc qi·ya 'she is going after beach food' *BSdL 560* **lu:ch’ qi’yiyah** you'll go beachcombing, **lahq’Ach’ qu’xah** I'll go to town *M,* **’Aya:ch’ qu’xah** I'm going to so-and-so *L,* **dAda:dAXyu:ch’ qu’xah** I'll go anywhere *L,* **dik’ dAda:ch’ qu’xahG** I won't go anyplace *M,* **’uch’ Xa’dihch’ qu’xinhinh GAsinhLGdALyAX** I'll go visit him before he dies *M,* **’ida:da’ qu’xah** I'll come closer to you *L,* **’ika’ qu’xah** I'll go with you *L,* **’iqi:dla:GA’e’X qu’xah** I'll follow your track *L,* **’i’ihX qu’xah** I'll follow you *L,* **k’u:xishehXa’X qu’xah** I'll go hunting *L,* **’i: k’uXi:yaht’a’X qu’xah** I'll go while you eat *L,* **’u:d ’i’a:n’ qu’xah** I'll (go to) meet you there *L,* **’i:na:d qu’winhinh** he'll go up on hill *L,* **si’u’X qu’yiyah** you won't reach me *L,* **q’e’ qu’xdah** I'll go home *L,* **q’e’ qi’yidah** you'll go home *M,* **’Ad’e’ch’sh q’e’ qu’yidah** will you go home? *M,* **dik’sh ’Ad’e’ch’ q’e’ qi’yida:G** won't you go home? *M,* **’Ad’e’da’shunh q’e’ qa’dah** will he come home? *M,* **dik’ ’u:la’xLga:G dAXk’i(h)Xa’d q’e’ ’anh qu’xdah** I don't know what time I'm coming home again *L,* **’a’q’ q’e’ qu’xdah** I'll go out again *M,* **ya’Xu: side:leh q’e’ qu’yidah** don't come around me anymore *L,* **’a:nch’ q’e’ qu’yidah** will you come back here? *M,* **’idehdah dAXunhyu:ga’ tsin’dAGAxleh da:X ’a:nch’ahd ya:qa’ q’e’ qu’xdah** when I get to talking Eyak pretty well I'll leave here *L,* **dA’a: ’i:lihXa:n’ k’uGALa’yah da:X ’a:nda’ q’e’ qa’dinhinh** he'll get over it and come back *L,* **’AlAshgahX ya’Xu: ’a:nda’ q’e’ qu’yidah** I hope you don't come back *L,* **siq’Ayanhch’ q’e’ ya:qa’ qu’xdah** I'll go back away to my homeland *L,* **q’e:ya:qa’ qu’xdah** I'll go back away *L, Inceptive perfective: 3.4M, 9.93, 10.64, 11.43, 62, 62, 93, 135, 151, 152A, 18.4, 13, 37, 19.18L, 21b.11, 23.107, 25.75, 27b.2, 13, 28.30, 31, 42, 32.21A, 45b.1, 47b.25M, 47c.32L, 43.6M, 49.45, 45, 46A, 57.16G, 58.1, 8L, 61.22A,* **k’Ade:däh ’ika’ GAxa:LG** I can't go with you *10.251A,* **k’uGa:L** someone is walking *L,* **’a’q’Ach’ GAxa:L**, **’a’q’Ach’ Guxa:L** I'm going out *M,* **’a’q’Ach’ Gi:ya:L** you're going out *LM,* **’a’q’Ach’ Ga:Linh** he's going out(side) *LM,* **’Awya’d qa:nch’ Ga:L** it's getting out of it *L,* **’Awya’d qa:nch’ Ga:Linh** he's getting out of canoe *L,* **qa:nch’ Ga:L** it (bear) is coming out (of hole) *L,* **Xe’X Ga:Linh** he's going outside *L,* **Xe’X ’a’q’Ach’ Ga:Linh** he's going outside *L,* **’AdiXich’**

Ga:Linh he's coming in *L,* **'a:nch' Ga:L da:X GAxw'inhinh**, **GAxw'inhinh 'a:nch' Ga:L da:X** I see him coming *L,* **dla:'anhch' Ga:L** it's going into den *L,* **GAt'e'q'L da:X Ga:Linh** he's walking in straight line *M,* **k'utsinh da:X Ga:Linh** he's going singing *M, Anonymous* Анчкатль 'Идѣтъ' **'a:nch' Ga:L** he's coming here, Тыканцкуак 'Нейдю̀тъ' **dik' 'a:nch' Ga:LG** *(Inceptive perfective) or* **k'u'a:(g)G** *(Active imperfective? repetitive?)* he's not coming here *or* nobody comes here(?), **'u:ch' Ga:Linh** he's going there *L,* **lu:di:'X Ga:Linh** he's walking along beach *L,* **XAshlAX Ga:Linh** he's coming closer *L,* **'u:dAX Ga:Linh** he's walking (in that place) there *L,* **'Aya: 'anh 'u:dAX Ga:L** well, what do you know, he's coming *L,* **silAXa:n'dAX Gi:ya:L** you're walking across from me (e.g. on opposite bank of river) *L,* **Xi:dAX Ga:Linh** he's walking (in that place) there *L,* **'Aw 'AdLAXa'tl'L di'wAX Ga:L** clock is still going *L,* **tsa' GAxa:L** I'm going deeper into water *L,* **tsa' Ga:Linh** he's going down to shore *L,* **li'ch' Ga:Linh** he's walking downriver *L,* **li'X qich' Ga:L** he's going (from front side over and) down the back side (of hill) *L,* **dAGe'X Ga:L** it's going upriver *L,* **dAGe'X Ga:Linh** he's going upriver *M,* **tse'X Ga:Linh** he's going down to shore (to bottom of hill) *L,* **lAG GAxa:L** I'm coming out of the water towards the beach *L,* **lAGe'X Ga:Linh** he's going toward back (e.g. of house) *M,* **lAGAch' Ga:Linh** he's going toward back (e.g. of house) *M,* **silAGAch' Ga:Linh** he's coming down to meet me at shore *L,* **dAGAch' Ga:Linh** he's going upriver *M,* **t'its'da:q'd yahd Ga:Linh** he's going out on ice *L,* **sich' Ga:Linh** he's coming to me *M,* he's walking to me *L,* **sich'ahd Ga:Linh** he's walking away from me *L,* **qu:ndAXa'ch' Ga:Linh** he's going toward the fireside *L,* **XahdLdAch' Ga:Linh** he's walking towards the car *L,* **tAGLAlAch'** (*or* **tAGL'a:na'ch'**) **Ga:L** it (fly) is walking towards the hammer *L,* **'itl'a:nch'a:ch' Ga:Linh** he's going towards mountain *M,* **'anhch' Xa'dihch' Guxa:L** I'm going to visit her *M,* **siXahd Ga:Linh** he's going away from me *M,* **sida'ch' GAda:Linh** he's coming towards me *L,* **sida'ch' Ga:Linh** he's coming towards me *L,* **'i:ndzi'ch' lahdz Ga:Linh** he's going up to front (of boat) *L,* **'i:ntsa'ch' Ga:Linh** he's moving toward the bow *L,* **tla:Xunh 'Aw qi'ch' Ga:L** where's the place he's going to? *L,* **sika' Ga:Linh** he's walking with me (same direction) *L,* **sika' Ga:Linh** he's coming with me *L,* **'iqi:dla:GA'e'X GAxa:L** I'm following your track *L,* **'uhs XAda:q' Ga:Linh** he's walking along riverbank *L,* **ta:guna'q' Ga:Linh**(?) he's walking on top of the water *L,* **ta:lAwa'Lq' Ga:Linh** he's walking along (the edge of) the road *L,* **'a:ngu:na'q' Ga:Linh** he's walking on top of surface of river *L,* **gutl'a'q'Ach' Ga:Linh** he's moving toward stern *L,* **'itl'a:na'q'Ach' Ga:L** he's going up to top of mountain *M,* **'AwlisdAyAq'Ach' Ga:L** it's going into hollow, prone spruce *L,* **sidAXa:na'q'Ach' Ga:Linh** he's climbing up on my back *L,* **ta:XAdAXa:XAch' Gi:ya:L** you're going off the road *L,* **sidALyAX Ga:Linh** he's walking in front of me (same direction) *L,* **si'ihch' Ga:Linh** he's coming to behind me *L,* **si'ihX Ga:Linh** he's walking behind me (same direction) *L,* **sida:X Ga:Linh** he's walking beside me (same direction) *L,* **si:na'q'da'd Ga:L** it (bug) is walking upwards on my face *L,* **sha:XAlAGlu'qa: Ga:Linh** he's going after sugar *L,* **sili'dahd Ga:Linh** he's leaving in a huff at me *M,* **'Awdahd Ga:Linh** he's up against it (already touching, trying to push farther) *L,* **sidahd Ga:Linh** he's up against me (already touching, trying to push farther) *L,* **dzanhddAya' Ga:Linh** he's walking on snowshoes *L,* **'Awya'ch' Ga:L** it's going into it (container) *L,* **'Awya'ch' Ga:Linh** he's getting into canoe *L,* **k'utsi:nlya'X Ga:Linh** he's walking along singing *L,* **ki:nXAya'X Ga:Linh** he's walking along crying *L,* **dA'a:t'ya'X Ga:Linh** he's walking along bawling *L,* **k'usinhX Ga:Linh** he's going (along?) behind something *L,* **qa:qa'ch' Ga:Linh** he's coming between, amongst us, he's joining us *L,* **qa:qa'X Ga:Linh** he's walking between us *L,* **sidAGd Ga:Linh** he's walking along a trail higher up than I'm on *M,* **dit'a'ch' Ga:Linh** he's slowing down *L,* **tanhXAdli:lAG GAxa:L** I'm walking along by the waves (in Raven's beachcombing song) *L,* **tanhXAdli:lAG Ga:L** he's walking along (inside, ashore from) by the waves *L,* **'ulahch' Ga:L** he's going into his hole (animal) *M,* **k'u:y lu: Ga:L** wind is reversing direction *L,* **yAX dALAqahG[X]da:X Ga:Linh** he's walking along stumbling *M,* **'idAGi:ya:LXa'k'a' qe'lile'** watch your step! *L,* [**'idAGAxa:L**] **'uXa'X qe'qe'xle'** I'll watch my step *L,* **q'e' GAxda:L** I'm going home *L,* **q'e' Gi:da:L** you're going home *L,* **q'e' Gi:da:LGdAwa:** (do it) before you go home *L,* **'a'q'Ach'**

q'e' GAda:Linh he's going out again *M,* **Xu' q'e' GAda:Linh** he's walking right again *L,* **'Ad'e'ch' q'e' GAxda:L** I'm going home *M,* **'Ad'e'ch'sh q'e' Gi:da:L** are you going home? *M,* **dik'sh 'Ad'e'ch' q'e' Gi:da:LG** aren't you going home? *M,* **'i:li:X q'unh q'e' GAda:L** he's trying to get home *L, Inceptive optative:* **dAXunhkihshgahX si'a:n' Gi:ya:** I wish some nice person would come upon me *10.218A,* **dA'u:dAXyi:nkihshgahX 'u'a:n' Gi:yah** I wish someone would come upon it *11.185A,* **dA'u:d 'u:ch' Gi:nyinhinh** let him go there *L,* **'AlAshgahX 'a:nda' Gi:yah** I hope you come *L,* **'AlAshgahX 'a:nda' q'e' Gi:dah** I hope you come back *L, Active perfective: 1b.2, 4, 5, 5M, 2a.7, 17, 24M, 2b.7L, 3.3, 5, 4.1, 8, 16M, 6.12M, 7.6, 9, [25], [27], 29, 8.1, 2, 9.5, 9, 59, 59, 60, 113, 128, 143, 147, 149, 165, 166, 10.64, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 68, 70, 121, 152, 152, 153, 160, 161, 173, 174, 191, 191, 192, 192, 196, 197, 214, 221, 244, 245, 246, 247, 254, 262, 262, 11.1, 2, 3, 19, 43, 43, 75, 76, 77, 78, 78, 94, 95, 96, 96, [97], [102], 126, 126, 127, 129, 133, 134, 136, 137A, 16.5, 5, 10, 16, 15, 17, 31M, 18.15, 26, 29, 31, 41, 42, 57, 58, 86, 19.4, 5, 30L, 20.47, 61, 89A, 21a.3, 3, 5, 25L, 21b.10, 25, 23.6, 7, 8, 9, 22, 26, 35, 47, 55, 76, 77, 99, 105, 106, 109, 110, 121, 156, 25.3, 44, 74, 77, 82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 91, 104, 127A, 26.9, 27a.2, 10, 18, 19, 19, 23, 26, 37, 40, 43, 44L, 27b.17, 22, 44, 51, 52, 56, 28.4, 6, 11, 29, 29fn, 31, 42, 46, 47, 29.4, 44, 47, 53, 55, 56A, 30.2, 2, 31.2, 6, 16L, 32.5A, 32.9, 9fn, 10, 12, 13, 14, 20, 22, 29, 32, 36, 49, 33.42, 54, 71, 83A, 34a.5M, 34b.18, 27, 35, 22L, 34c.48, 52, 57M, 36.23, 47A, 37b.2, 50, 53a, 84, 81, 85A, 40.6, 9, 44.5, 45a.10L, 45b.10, 46.7, 25, 47b.23, 35, 42, 44, 47M, 47c.29, 33, 45, 51, 53L, 50.15A, 43.4, 6, 16M, 48.1L, 49.48, 78, 80, 96, 130, 150, 150A, 50.21, 23, 37, 53, 66, 51.54, 82, 82, 88, 90, 92A, 52.1, 53.26, 27, 55.4, 6, 10, 11, 23L, 58.4, 7L, 60.13, 15, 19, 29, 30, 32, 61.34, 43, 44, 51, 53A, 63.4, 6, 64.3G, 71.11LM,* **'Aw giyahya' qi' sahLch'ahd 'AdAX dik'** not however from where she had gone into the water *25.63A,* **siyahL** I went, I walked *M,* **sahLsh** did you go? *M,* **sahLinh** he went *M,* **'anh sahL'ihd** after he left *L,* **lAxLqa:ginh dA'Awtl' sahLinh** I tried to stop him but he went anyway *M,* **'a'q' siyahL** I went out *M,* **'a'q' sahL** you went out *M,* **'a'q' sahLinh** he went out *LM,* he came out of the house *L,* **t'a'q'ich' sahLinh** he went backwards *M,* **Le't'ya'd qa' sahL** it got out of box *L,* **'Awya'd qa' sahLinh** he got out of canoe *L,* **Le't'yAq' qa' sahL** it got out of box *L,* **k'udALts'AlihyAq' qa' sahL** egg hatched *M,* **'Awya' qa' sahLinh** he got in canoe *L,* **ta'd qa' sahLinh** he came out of water *L,* **qa' sahL** it (bear) went out (of hole) *L,* **sidAwa: qa' sahL** it (seal) came up right in front of me *L,* **ya:q' qa' sahLinh** he went up in the sky *L,* **ga'ts'gLX 'u:na'q' qa' sahLinh** he went up the ladder *L,* **ga'ts'gLX 'u:na'q' qid sahLinh** he went down the ladder *L,* **ya:qa' sahL** he went out in boat *L,* **siXda:d ya:qa' sahLinh** he went away without me *L,* **'a:nch'ahd ya:qa' sahLinh** he went away from here (for good?) *L,* **'u'li'xLgah da:X 'a:nch'ahd ya:qa' sahL** just as I was getting to know him, he left here *L,* **'idehdah dAXunhyu:ga' tsin'di'xleh** (*or* **tsin'da:xleh**) **da:X 'a:nch'ahd ya:qa' siyahL** I was just getting to talk Eyak well, when I had to leave *L,* **Xe'X sahLinh** he went outside (the house) *L,* **Xe'X sahL** he "went" ["to the John"] *L,* **Xi:ch' Xe'X sahLinh** he "went" over there *L,* **Xe'X 'a'q' sahLinh** he went outside *L,* **'AdiX sahLinh** he went in the house *L,* **k'e:d 'AdiX sahL** how'd you get in? *M,* **'uXa:n' sahL** he walked all the way to the end of it, whole length of it (road) *L,* **'a:nch' sahLinh** (= **'a:nch'a:ch' sahLinh**) he went in this direction *L,* **di'dA'a:nda' siyahL da:X k'ushiyah 'ula'X dAsa'yahL** as soon as I came he got mad *L,* **'a:nda' sahL 'ixtsi:ndz** I dreamt you came *L,* **'a:nda' sahLinh** she arrived here *L,* **q'a:lkih 'a:nda' sahLinh** he just came *M,* **dik' 'Awda:da'** ['A]**sahLGinh**, **'Awda:da' dik'** ['A]**sahLGinh** he didn't get to it (near to it) *L,* **XAyuh 'a:nda' sahL** suddenly/already he came *L,* **dla:'anh sahL** it (bear) went into its hole, den *L,* **dla:'anhd qa' sahL** it came out of its den *L,* **dla:da:n' sahL** it (rodent) went into its hole *L,* **dla:sinh sahL** it (bear) went in cave *L,* **dAsinh sahL**, **k'usinh sahL** he went behind something *L,* **ya:nu' sahLinh** he dove in, went underwater *L,* **ya:nu' sahLinh** he went down to bottom (of lake) *L,* **ya' sahLinh** he returned unexpectedly *A,* **djig 'u:da' siyahL da:X sAsinhLinh** just as I got there, he died *L,* **'u:da' siyahLdAwa: sAsinhL** he died as I got there *(not possible to tell e.g. whether I had a chance talk to him) L,* **di'wAX ditsi'd q'Aw 'u:da' siyahL** I went there for nothing (gratis, or on wild-goose-chase) *L,* **'u:da' sahLinh** she arrived there; he got there *L,* **k'a:dah 'u:da' sahL** well! (surprise), you got there! *L,*

si'ihd 'u:da' sahLinh he got there after me *L,* **si'ihda' sahL** he came to my place right after I left *L,* **sidALyAX 'u:da' sahLinh** he got there before me *L,* **'iXuw 'u:da' sahLinh** he got there simultaneously with me *L,* **djig siXuw 'u:da' sahLinh** he got there same time I did *L,* **'u:da' sahLinh dAwa: q'Aw wAX sAliL**, **'u:da' sahLinh, dA'AwdAwa: wAX sAliL** when he went there, it happened *L,* **lah siyahL** I went in a circle *M,* **lah sahLinh** he went in a circle *M,* **t'e'q'L da:X sahLinh** he went, walked in a straight line *M,* **'u:ch' sahLinh** (= **'u:ch'a:ch' sahLinh**) he went in that direction *L,* **'u:ch' sahL da:X dik' 'a:nda' q'e' 'AsdahLGinh** he went there but didn't return *L,* **'uch'a: sahL** you went right close to it (but didn't see it, e.g. got "hit") *L,* **… 'u:dAX da:X siyahL** I made it (over narrow place, or wading in water) *L,* **dik' 'u:dAX da:X 'AxwsahLG** I didn't make it (over narrow place, or wading in water) *L,* **Xi:ch'a:ch' sahLinh** he went over there in that direction *L,* **Xi:ch' sahLinh** (= **Xi:ch'a:ch' sahLinh**) he went over there in that direction *L,* **'u:ch'a:ch' sahLinh** he went in that direction *L,* **'a:nch'ahd sahLinh** he left here *L,* **'u:ch'ahd sahLinh** she left there *L,* **ya:q'Ach'ahd ya:n' sahL** it came down from the sky *L,* **Xi:da' sahLinh** she arrived there; he went there *L,* **tse'X sahLinh** he went down below, to the water *L,* **Xu' siyahL** I walked straight *L, Rezanov* Яхосалькучику 'Дѣвочка kleines Mädchen' **ya'X Xu' sahLkuts'gkih** small girl just grown up *L,* **'usa' sahL** it got caught in it (trap) *L,* **dAsa' sahL** it fell into trap *M,* **dik' 'idahda:d 'a:nda'** ['A]**sahLG** he came at a bad time *L,* **yAq' siyahL** I waded ashore *L,* **ta'ch' sahL** he went towards the water *L,* **ta' sahL** he went into the water *L,* **da'd sahL** he went up on hill, he got out of boat (into water or onto land) *L,* **da:X sahL** he went across street, creek, ice *L,* **'Awda:q' da:X sahL** he went across on it (board) *L,* **'u:d 'As sahL** (< **'Ash s-**) it went by over there *L,* **'a:nd 'As sahL** (< **'Ash s-**) it went by over here *L,* **dAGe'X sahL** it went upriver *L,* **dAG sahLinh** he walked, came up the river *M,* **lahq'Ach' sahLinh** he went to town *M,* **XAlah sahL** he came around corner or point *L,* **dAXAlah sahL** he came around point *L,* **dAlu' sahLinh** he went through (ice); it went through it (board) *L,* **lu: sahL**(**inh**) he turned around *L,* **lu:ch' sahLinh** he went to beach for clams *L,* **yahd sahLinh** he went outside (Seattle, etc.) *L,* **XAlA'u:da' sahL** it went way back into it (cavity) *L,* **ya'd sahL** he got out (of boat) *L,* **dit'a' sahL** it (clock) went slow *L,* **dit'a' sahLinh** he slowed down *L,* **sich'ahd sahLinh** he went in direction away from me *M, BSdL 264, 559* t'cílàcìa qi' ɢútcɢàlàq ɒa' xa'ɒi' ɒasatł 'Where Old Raven went visiting the eagle' **Ch'i:lehshiyah qi' gu:djgAlAGda' Xa'dihda' sahL**, **da:ch' sahL** where did you go? *L,* **da:d sahL** (= **da:ch' sahL**) where did you go? *L,* **siXahd sahLinh** he left without me *M,* **'uda' sahL** went to her, him *M, 19.10, 25M,* **yida: 'uXa' 'uda' sahLinh** shaman's power comes to him as he goes into clairvoyant trance *L,* **sida' sahL** you came to me *L,* **XAda:q'(A)da' sahLinh** he went to flats, beach, etc. *L,* **sida'X sdiyahLinh** (*or* **sida'X sahLinh**) he came towards me (we encountered) *L,* **sida:X 'Ash sahLinh** he went right by, past me *L,* **sida:da' sahLinh** he walked right up to me *L,* **XAwa: 'u:d 'uda' sahLinh** a dog went to him there *L,* **sika' sahLinh** he came with me *L,* **dAka'** (*or* **k'uka'**) **'u:ch' sahL** he went with someone towards there *L,* **siqi:dla:GA'e' sahLinh** he (person) followed my trail *L,* **'i'e'da' siyahL** I went to your place but you weren't there *L,* **si'e'da' sahLinh** he came to my home *L,* **siwa:LX sahL** you went like I did, followed me *L,* **sik'ah sahLinh** he walked away from me *L,* he left me for good, quit me *M,* **sik'ah sahL** it, he went away from me (temporarily or permanently) *L,* **dAda:q'Ach' sahL** he went on top of house, boat *L,* **siyAda:dAX sahL** it went right by my hand *L,* **sida:dAX sahL** it went right by me (near, at my side) *L,* **dAdahd** (*or* **k'udahd**) **sahL** he came up against something *L,* **siX sahL** it brushed by me *L,* **'Aw XahdLdAlah sahL** came around car *L,* **'ude:lehshuh sahL** did you come close to it? *L,* **'ide:lehshunh sahL** did he come to see you? *L,* **qa'ni:Xa'X sahL** he went looking for fight *L,* **te'ya'Xa' sahL** he went after fish *L,* **te'ya'lu'qa: sahL** he went after fish *L,* **sili'dahd sahLinh** he left me in a huff, mad at me *M,* **lAxLqa:ginh dA'Awtl' sili'dahd sahLinh** I tried to stop him, but he left (in a huff) anyway *M,* **sili'dAX sahL** he went right by behind me *L,* **sili'dAX 'Ash sahL** he went right by behind me *L,* **silahsdAX sahL** he went right by in front of me *L,* **silahsdAX 'Ash sahL** he went right by in front of me *L,* **k'Ali'd sahL** it went behind something *L,* **'uyAq' li' sahLinh** he went into hollow thing *M,* **'AwyAq' 'Ash sahL** it went through *L,*

'AwyAq' qa' sahL it came out of it *L,* **we'L 'ugAlAXAdAyAq' sahL** it got caught in a snare *L,* **'AXAya'ch' sahLinh** he got into boat *L,* **'Awya' sahLinh** he went into it (e.g. car) *L,* **'uya' sahLinh** he got in canoe *L,* **'Awya'd sahL** he got out of it (e.g. car) *L,* **siyahd sahL** it got away from me *L,* **sitsi:nX sahL** he walked downhill below me *L,* **qa:tsi:nch' sahLinh** he went from anywhere (except from water) to down below us *L,* **'usinh sahL** it went (hiding) behind it *L,* **k'usinhch' sahLinh** he went behind something *L,* **k'usinh sahL** it went (walking) behind something *L,* **k'usinhda' sahL** it went (walking) behind something *L,* **siqi:dAqa'X 'As sahL** it (dog) went through between my feet *L,* **qa:qa'X 'As sahL** he walked (through) between us *L ("doesn't sound very good" L),* **qa:qa' sahLinh** he came between us (and stayed) *L,* **dAqa' sahLinh** he got involved with, joined some people *L,* **sich'a:q' sahLinh** he encountered me *L,* **djig 'uch'a:q' siyahLinh** I ran into him unexpectedly *L,* **'u'a:n' siyahL** I found it (whether I was looking for it or not) *M,* **si'a:n' sahLinh** he came upon me (while he was) walking *L,* **si'a:n** *(apparently not si'a:n')* **sahLinh** he found me *L,* **qa:'u'X sahLinh** he didn't reach us (came less far than we are) *L,* **lAG sahLinh** he went up the shore (to higher ground) *L,* **silAG sahLinh** he came down to meet me (at shore) *L,* **sidAlAG sahL** you came down (to shore) to meet me *L,* **sidAlAG k'usahL** something came down to shore to meet me *L,* **silAX sahLinh** he went farther than I *L,* **q'e' sdiyahLinhshuh** did he go home? *L,* **qi' dAdA'ehdg'a:n' q'Aw q'e' sdiyahL** where it was being dried is what he (Raven) came upon again *9.123A,* **q'e' sdiyahL** you went home; he went away (he came back) *L,* **q'e' xsdiyahL** I went home *L,* **'anh q'e' xsdiyahL** I came home *L,* **'Ad'e'ch' q'e' xsdiyahL** I went home *M,* **'Ad'e'ch'sh q'e' sdiyahL** did you go home? *LM,* **dik'sh 'Ad'e'ch' q'e' 'AsdahLG** didn't you go home? *LM,* **'Ad'e'ch' q'e' sdiyahLinh** he went home *M,* **q'e' 'anh sdiyahL**, **'anh q'e' sdiyahL** he came back home *L,* **Ge:t'L q'e' 'anh sdiyahLinh** he's his very image come back here, he's come back here (re)incarnate *L,* **ts'u:dALah q'i:dah Ge:t'L q'e' 'anh sdiyahLinh** he's the very reincarnation of ts'u:dALah < ts'u:dALah *(woman's name)* has come back home reincarnate *L,* **'a'q' q'e' sdiyahLinh** he went out again *M,* **'AdiX q'e' sdiyahLinh** he came back in *L,* **q'e' lAG sdiyahLinh** he came back from water (shore) *L,* **t'its'dAlu' q'e' qa' sdiyahL** it came back up through ice *L,* **ya:nu'ch'ahd q'e' qa' sdiyahLinh** he came back up from bottom (of lake) *L,* **ya' q'e' sdiyahL** he came back unexpectedly *L,* **'a:nda' q'e' sdiyahLinh, la:** he came back! *L,* **'u'lixiLgah ('idA)'a:nda' q'e' sdiyahL** I know he came back *L,* **ts'idwAX 'idA'a:nda' q'e' sdiyahL sitl' dAlinhinh** he only told me he came back here *L,* **sidAXahd q'e' sdiyahL** you left me and went home right as I was talking *L, Neuter perfective:* **ch'i:lehkuts'gshiyah q'Aw lu: 'i:yahL** Little Old Raven was beachcombing *1a.1M,* **dAtli: XAsha:nda' 'i:yahL** he's come close already *L, Active optative: 23.40A,* **tla: qi'ch'ahd dAXunh si'a:n' 'i:yahk'a'** would that from somewhere a person would come upon me *10.219A,* **dA'u:dAXyi:nkih 'u'a:n' 'i:yah** let someone come upon it *11.186A,* **k'a:di'da:sh 'u:dAX 'ika' 'AdiX 'ixiyah** may I never go in there with you? *23.43A,* **'a'q'e:k', 'AwgAlAt'a'X li' 'i:yah** she (cust) tries to go in behind it (waterfalls) *25.79A,* **'a'q'Ach' 'ixiyah** let me go out *L,* **'a'q'Ach' 'i:yah** let you go out *L,* **'a'q'Ach' 'i:yinhinh** let him go out *L, Rezanov* Ачітке їя 'komm zuruck' **'a:nch'k'ä' 'i:yah** (be sure to, please do, by all means) come here!, **dA'u:d 'u:ch' 'i:yinhinh** let him go there *L,* **'u:ch'k'a' 'i:yah** (be sure to, please do, by all means) go there! *M,* **dAXu' yAXk'a' 'u:ch' 'i:yah** be sure to go there *M,* **… 'u:dAX da:X 'ixiyah** … that I make it (over narrow place, or wading in water) *L,* **'a'd k'a:di'da: sida' 'i:yinhinh** he never comes to me *L,* **q'e' 'ixdiyah** OK if I go home *L,* **q'e' 'idiyah** you may go home *L,* **q'e' 'idiyinhinh** let him go home *L,* **ya'Xu: k'uqu'Xi[:]yah qi' 'anh q'e' 'idiyahch'** don't eat til he leaves *L,* **'a'd k'a:di'da: 'a:nch' q'e' 'ixdiyah** I'll never come back here *M, Inceptive conditional:* **qAlahqa'ga'da'X 'AdiXd lah GAxah da:X** when I've walked around inside four times *19.16L,* **Lich' qe'L 'AdiX Gah da:Xk'a' 'u'e'ch'ahd ya' gu:Liya:nk'inh** every time a woman comes in, stand up (cust) to make place for her *L,* **'uch' 'Aw qu'di:xLinhinh 'a:nda' Gah da:X** I'll give them to him when he comes *M,* **dik' 'a:nda' Gi:ya:G da:X …** if you don't come … *L,* **dik' 'a:nda' Ga:G da:X** if he doesn't come… *LM,* **dA'Alga'kih Gah da:X ga'ginh** when he goes just a little ways, he gets tired

L, **dA'Alga'kih Gah da:X** when he goes just this short way *L,* **'itl' qu'xXah 'a:nch'ahd Gah da:X** I'll tell you when he leaves *L, Active conditional:* **'a:nch'ahd 'ixah da:X** I was just leaving, when … *L,* **'a:nch'ahd 'iyah da:X** he was just leaving, when … *L,* **'uta:s 'ixah da:X yAX 'Ake:gk'** just as I start to walk across it, it (cust) breaks *L,* **'Awta:s 'iyah da:X yAX 'Ake:gk'** just as he starts to walk across it, it (cust) breaks *L, Active desiderative:* **q'e' 'ixda:X 'ixleh** I want to go home *L,* **q'e' 'i:da:X 'i:leh** you want to go home *L, Inceptive desiderative:* **'a:nda' GAxa:X sitl' dAlinhinh** he told me to come here *L,* **'u:da' GAxa:X sitl' da:lAXleh** you pl. told me to go there *L, hortatory desiderative:* **wAX 'utl' dAGAli:n'inh shich' 'iya:X** say thus to him that he should come to me *18.11L,* **dA'wAX 'utl' dAGAli:n'inh 'a:nch' 'a'q' Ga:X** just say to her that she must come out here *23.39A, customary:* **Lich' 'Axa:k'** I (cust) go away and never come back again *L,* **dik' sida' 'a:k'Ginh** he (cust) never comes to me *L,* **de:lehd dik' sida' 'i:ya:k'G** why don't you (cust) come visit me? *L,* **de:lehddunh dik' sida' 'a:k'G** why doesn't he (cust) come visit me? *L,* **dik' siya:tl' 'a'q' 'a:k'Ginh** I don't allow her (cust) to go out *M,* **lAXi'xLAxahs da:X qi' gah k'u:Lehda' 'Axa:k'** just as I am getting scared, I came out into daylight *L,* **'Aw qAmAXch'LdA'e' 'a:k'ya:X** (he's walking carefully) lest he walk into a hole in the ice *L,* **q'e' xda:k'** I (cust) go home *L,* **dik' 'uya:tl' ch'i:leh 'ude:leh q'e' 'Ada:k'G** Raven was not permitted by them to come around them anymore *9.50A,* **dik'ude:dah qe'yiLtehyAq' q'e' qa' 'Ada:k'G** he's got no way to get back up out of the whale *11.188A,* **dik' qe'LGAyu:de:leh q'e' 'Ada:k'G** he (cust) stays away from (doesn't come near) women (abstaining for hunt) *L, with perambulative: imperatives:* **yAX 'Ade:** go for a walk!, take a walk! *L,* **'uda:q' yAX 'Ade:** walk around on it (surface of ice, table, floor)! *L,* **'u:nAX yAX 'Adinhinh** walk angrily around in front of him! *L,* **q'e:yAX GAda:'** go back! *48.17L, Inceptive imperfective: 10.233A, 17.9M, 49.105A,* **k'uqa'shehXa'X yAX qu'xdah** I'll go around hunting *9.16A,* **yAX qu'wAdinhinh**, **yAX qa'dinhinh** he'll go for a walk *L,* **dAda:dAXyu:d yAX qu'xda:** I'll walk around anywhere *L,* **ya'Xu: qi' GAli:LqAtl'da:X yAX qu'yidah** don't walk about in area where the ground is slippery! *L,* **ya'Xu: 'a'q'Ach' yAX qu'yidah** don't keep running in and out of the house! *L,* **'u:nAX yAX qu'xdinhinh** I'll walk around in front of him (angrily) *L, Inceptive perfective:* **yAX GAda:Lidunh** he's walking around (all the time already!) *L,* **si:nAX yAX Ga:L** it (bug) is walking down along on my face *L, Active imperfective: 11.113, 18.50, 23.19, 25.144A, 27a.19, 30.1, 31.1, 37a.2L, 37b.1A, 47b.21M, 37b.2A, 43.3M, 45a.1, 2L, 60.58A,* **yAX xda:X da:X k'uxtsinh** I'm walking about and singing *L,* **'a'q'Ach' yAX xda:X** I keep walking (in and) out of the house *M, Furuhjelm* Iahtahi 'to run' **yAX da:Xinh** he's walking around *L,* **tsu'd siXa' yAX xda:X**, **tsu'd yAq' yAX xda:X** I'm walking in my sleep *L,* **yAX q'e' da:Xinh** he's taking a walk again *(not 'he's turning back') LM,* **q'e:yAX da:Xinh** he's taking a walk again; he's turning back *LM,* **dAtsin'q' yAX da:X** he's going around naked *M,* **qihda:q' yAX da:X** he's walking around in meadow *L,* **qAwda:q'**(?) **yAX da:X** he's walking around in open place on mountainside *L,* **gugsg 'u:na'q' yAX da:Xinh** a louse is walking around on his head *L,* **XAdli:na'q' yAX da:Xinh** he's walking along riverbank *L,* **'ulAwa'Lq' yAX da:Xinh** he's walking on the edge (of anything) *L,* **sidAXa:na'q'dAX yAX da:X** it (fly) is walking around on my back *L,* **'AdiXdAX yAX da:Xinh** he's walking around inside (house) *L,* **lu:di:'dAX yAX da:Xinh** he's walking along beach *L,* **XAtsiya'dAX yAX da:Xinh** he's walking along track *L,* **'i:na:'dAX yAX da:X** he's walking around on mountainside *L,* **XAli'dAX yAX da:X** he's walking around at innermost end of it, downstream *L,* **qa:'ihdAX yAX da:Xinh** he's walking around behind, following us *L,* **yahdda:q'(dAX) yAX da:X** he's walking around on roof *L,* **yahddAq'a'da:q'dAX yAX da:X** he's walking about on the corner of the roof *L,* **'AwyAq'dAX yAX da:X** it's moving around inside it *L,* **yAq'dAX yAX da:X** it's walking around on shore *L,* **ta'dAX yAX da:X**, **ta'd yAX da:X**, **ta'X yAX da:X** he's walking around in water *L,* **'AwdAda'dAX yAX da:X**, **'AwdAda'X yAX da:X** it (fly) is walking around on cover, lid of it *L,* **Xi:ch'a:X yAX da:X** he's moving around across (bay) there *L,* **Xe'X yAX xda:X** I have the "trots" (diarrhea) *L,* **'i'e'X yAX xda:X** I went to your place (on a walk, and you weren't there) *L,* **si'e'X yAX da:Xinh** he came to my house (but I wasn't there) *L,* **siXa'X yAX da:X** it

(e.g. spider) is walking around on me *L,* **li'X yAX da:X** he's walking around downriver *L,* **lu:di:'X yAX da:Xinh** he's walking along beach *L,* **'i:na:'X yAX k'uda:X** someone is walking around on a hillside *L,* **yAna:'X yAX k'uda:X** someone is walking around down below *L,* **k'utsi:nl(A)ya'X yAX da:Xinh** he's going around singing *M,* **ki:nXAya'X yAX da:Xinh** he's going around crying *M,* **si:nAX yAX da:Xinh** he's walking around angrily, won't talk or recognize me *L,* **si:nah yAX da:Xinh** he's walking around me *("sounds like 'he's walking around my head'") L, Active perfective: 18.27L,* **yAX sdiyahLinh** he walked around *L,* **q'e:yAX sdiyahLinh** he took a walk again; he turned back *LM,* **yAX q'e' sdiyahLinh** he took another walk (not he turned back) *LM,* **'u:na'q' yAX xsdiyahL** -- **'Aw 'itl'** I walked on top -- (of) that mountain *L, Active optative:* **k'a:di'da: 'Aw q'AdjXda:d 'iXa' yAX 'idiyah** it'd never do for you to go around without your ribbon *23.51A,* **yAX 'ixdiyah** let me walk around *L,* **yAX 'idiyah** let him walk around *L,* **yAXk'a' 'idiyah** do take a walk *L,* **di'wAX k'ut'e'ts'Gk'a' yAX 'idiyah** walk about by hanging onto things! *(to a weak convalescent) L, customary: 33.12A,* **Lich' gahXAdAqa'ga' 'u:ch' yAX 'ida:k'inh** every single day she would take a walk over there *47c.27L,* **yAX 'ida:k'inh** he (cust) walks around *L,* **'Alga' GAlAGa'yah da:X 'a:ndAX yAX 'ida:k'inh** he (cust) walks by here this time every day *L,* **yAX GAda:k'** (cust) take a walk! *L,* **diLich' Li:dAwa: yAX GAda:k' qa:Lyi:n'inh 'itl' dAleh** doctor says to you to take a walk each morning *L, in indirect reciprocal constructions: imperatives:* **'iLya' yAX 'Ade:** walk back and forth! *M, Inceptive imperfective:* **'iLya' yAX qa'dinhinh** he'll walk back and forth *M, Active imperfective:* **'iLya' yAX da:Xinh** he's walking back and forth *M,* **'iLya' yAX xda:X** I'm walking back and forth *LM,* **'iLya' yAX sdiyahLinh** he walked back and forth *M, customary:* **'iLya' yAX 'ida:k'inh** he (cust) walks back and forth *M; with anatomical marks:* **k'uqi:dAsahL** "a track goes by there" < someone's feet went *M. Transitive (causative):* **'a'q'Ach' 'iLi:n'inh** make him go out!, walk him out! *M,* **'a'q'Ach' 'iqe'xLah** I'll make you go out, I'll walk you out *M.*

2a. *With qa'(~qa:nch') 'up out',* sg. climb: *Inceptive imperative:* **'a:nd siq'Ach' qa' Ga:'** climb up onto me here *27a.24L, Inceptive imperfective:* **ha:n'anh 'uch' qa' qu'xinhinu:** OK now I'll climb out to them *18.70L, Inceptive perfective:* **qa:nch' Ga:L** it (bear) is climbing (tree) *L, Active perfective:* **tsa:dli:na'q'Ach' qa' sahL** she climbed up onto a skerry *20.47A,* **'anhq'Ach' qa' sahL** he climbed up onto him *27a.26L,* **ku:nLda'ts'q'Ach' qa' sahLinh** he climbed up onto a stump *30.2L,* **ts'Atl'qa'GAdi:'X qa' sahL** he climbed out the smokehole *19.30L,* **'u:dAX qa' sahLinh** he climbed out there *28.29A.*

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2b. *With 'AlAk'ah(ch') 'up out of bed',* sg. get up (out of bed): *Inceptive imperative:* **'AlAk'ah Ga:'** get out of bed! *LM, 21b.57A, Inceptive imperfective:* **'AlAk'ah qu'xah** I'll get out of bed *M,* **'AlAk'ah qi'yiyah** you'll get out of bed *M, 23.21A,* **'AlAk'ah qu'wah** it'll get up out of bed *M,* **'AlAk'ah qu'winhinh** he'll get out of bed *M,* **'AlAk'ahch' Guxa:L** I'm getting up (out of bed) *M,* **'AlAk'ahch' GAxa:L** I'm getting out of bed *M, Active perfective: 18.32L, 23.25, 25.8, 50.36, 51.54, 61.94A,* **'AlAk'ah siyahL** I got out of bed *M (cf. ya:' for customary), with perambulative: Active imperfective:* **'anh LinhGih k'u:dzkih dAtli:dAwa: Lich' 'AlAk'ahch' yAX da:X** one of her brothers used to (get up) out of bed early every morning (and) go around *18.50L. Transitive (causative):* **'AlAk'ah 'iqe'xLah** I'll get you out of bed *M,* **'AlAk'ah qu'xLinhinh** I'll get him out of bed *M,* **'AlAk'ah siLahLinh** I got him out of bed *M,* **'AlAk'ah da: 'i:Linhinh** let's get him out of bed *L.*

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2c. *With o-ya'(ch') 'in(to) a frenzy, trance',* sg. dance frenziedly: **ya'ch' qu'xah** I'll raise "whoopee" *M,* **ya'ch' Ga:Linh** he's dancing frenziedly *L,* **ya' sahLinh** he went into a trance (dance) *L.*

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2d. *With o-ch'a:X 'helping o',* sg. help o: *Inceptive imperative:* **sich'a:X Ga:'** help me! *M, Inceptive imperfective:* **'uch'a:X 'Awa: qi'yiyinhinu:** you'll help them with/in/at it *20.70A,* **'ich'a:X qu'xah** I'll help you *3.11M, Active perfective:* **'anhch'a:X sahL** he helped him *10.212A, repetitive:* **k'ude:dah 'Awch'a:X 'Axa:gG** I can't help it *L, 43.25M,* **k'ude:dah 'Awch'a:X 'a:gGinh** he can't help it *L,* **k'ude:dahshuh 'Awch'a:X 'AlAXa:gG** can't you (pl.) help it? *L, perambulative:* **sich'a:X yAX da:X** he's guarding (protecting) me *L; with deleted reflexive o in indirect reflexive construction,* sg. help self, control self, have control over situation, can "help it": *customary:* **k'ude:dah ch'a:X 'Axda:k'G** I can't help it *L.*

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2e. *With o-lah 'around o' and perambulative,* sg. take care of o: **'ulah yAX 'Adi:nhinh** take care of him!, nurse him! *L,* **'ulah yAX qu'xdinhinh** I'll take care of him, I'll nurse him *L,* **'ilah yAX qu'xdah** I'll take care of you, nurse you *L,* **'ulah yAX da:X** he's taking care of it *M.*

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2f. *With o-yAq' 'in(to) (relatively enclosed) o',* o become pregnant with S: **sAqe:ts'Akih q'Aw 'uyAq' sahL** she became with child *24.17A.*

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3. *In constructions requiring -L- classifier*: *with k'uqu'wAshe:ch'L 'to hunt':* **k'uqu'wAshe:ch'L 'iLa'** go hunting! *M,* **k'ushe:ch'LX qu'xLah** I'll go hunting *L,* **'Aw tse:le:Xquh k'uqu'wAshe:ch'L sALahL** the octopus had gone hunting *20.47A,* **k'uqu'wAshe:ch'L sALahLinh** he went hunting *M,* **Lich' k'uqu'wAshe:ch'L yAX La:Xinh** he was always going around hunting *19.2L; with o-ya:X 'avoiding o':* **'uya:X** *(not *'Awa:X)* **GALi:n'inh** avoid him! *L,* **siya:X 'u:ch'ahd sahLinh** he left there, avoiding me *L,* **siya:X sALahLinh** he avoided me *L,* **'uya:X siLahLinh** I avoided him *L; with o-'e:X 'in search of o': 10.91, 104, 23.108A,* **'anh'e:X sALahL** she went to find him *49.153A,* **'AXAkihwahya:'e:X qu'xLah** I'll go after materials for making a canoe *L; with o-qi:y-ga:gb-X 'on tiptoe':* **'iqi:yAga:gX yAX 'ALe:** *M,* **'iqi:yAga:gX yAX 'ALeh** walk on tiptoe! *L,* **siqi:yAga:gX yAX xLa:X** I'm walking on tiptoe *M; miscellaneous instances:* **yAX 'ixe:t'LX qu'xLah** I'll go shooting *L,* **dALgu:nAX Xe'X yAX xLa:X** I have a bloody stool < I'm walking about close to my house with blood *L.*

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4. *In constructions requiring -LA- classifier*: *with qAyuh 'belligerently': Inceptive imperfective:* **'uch' qAyuh qu'xLah** I'll go fight him, go fighting mad at him *L,* **'ich' lu: qAyuh qa'Lah** she'll turn belligerently about toward you *36.15, 20A, Active perfective:* **'Aw lixah lahdz qAyuh sLiyahL** the grizzly-bear went forward to fight *18.66L,* **'anhda' qAyuh sLiyahL** she attacked him *47c.55L,* **qAyuh sLiyahLinh** he went for a fight *L, with perambulative: Active imperfective:* **Lich' yAX qAyuh La:Xinh** he is, goes around fighting mad all the time *L.*

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'isa:l *(gerund)* walking *LM ("qe'sa:l sounds better than 'isa:l" M, qe'sa:l < qa' 'isa:l 'walking (up out)'*: **qe'sa:l xuGALga'L** I'm getting tired of walking *M,* **'isa:l xusALga'L**, **qe'sa:l xusALga'L** I'm tired of walking *M,* **qe'sa:lch' 'i:lihsAliLinh** he suddenly recovered his ability to walk around *L.*

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ya'a:k' *(personal name)* 1. *Lena's brother LA (M has heard, "dances"; from ya'-a:-k' 'dance (cust)' L, 'come unexpectedly' A). Active imperfective customary of -a 2c.,* < he (cust) dances himself into a frenzy.

2. *Katalla man's name S.*

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3. Yaak, *man at Wingham Island, Seton-Karr 1887.*

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ya'X Xu' sahLi'luw *(personal name) Mary Nelson, wife of Gus Nelson* < "walked, grew straight up big" *LM,* **ya'X Xu' sahL'i'luw** *"narrow hips, broad shoulders"(?) L, BSdL* ya'x̣'sa'tłe'lu.

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ya'Xu'sahLinh *(personal name) Mrs. Gus Nelson's daughter(?) So XIX.25 (partly confused with preceding?).*

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XAlah yAXa:nk' *LM* (*variants:* **XAlah yAXa:k'** *M,* **XAlah yAX 'a:nk'**, **XAlah Xa'ya:k'** *L*) *(personal name) Scar Stevens, BSdL* xəlaix̣aq, xə́láix̣àq. *Form confused; cf. grammar.*

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yAX 'isa:X *(gerund, with perambulative)* walking about: **dAga' q'Aw yAX 'isa:X** enough of that going around *11.53A,* **yAX 'isa:X xusALga'L** I'm tired of walking *L.*

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yAX 'isa:Xch'iya' *(noun)* great walker < master of walking about *L.*

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d-a sg. go astray, get lost (on foot): *Active perfective:* **shi'we:shGAkih siXa' dAsahL** my grandchild is lost to me *32.43A,* **disiyahL** I'm lost, I got lost *M,* **dAsahL** he got lost *M, 27a.18L,* **'u:d disiyahL** I got lost there (e.g. in woods) *L.*

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l-dA-a sg. get lost, go amiss, get stuck somewhere: *Inceptive imperfective:* **'u:d qu'li:xdah** I'll get lost there *M, Active perfective:* **'u:d 'i:nxsdiyahL** I got lost there (didn't know which way to go, in a big city) *L,* **'u:d 'i:nsdiyahLinh** he got lost there *M,* **'i'e' 'i:nxsdiyahL** I went to your house (but you weren't there) *L,* **ta' 'i:nsdiyahLinh** he got unexpectedly into deep water *L,* **qi' qa' k'Ayi:nliL'e' 'i:nsdiyahLinh** he got stuck in a ditch *L,* **tsa'qa' 'i:nsdiyahLinh** he got stuck in a deep spot *L,* **ts'inhGqa' 'i:nsdiyahLinh** he got entangled in alders *L,* **lisqa'd 'i:nsdiyahLinh** he got entangled in the trees *L,* **k'uyAda'X 'i:nxsdiyahL** I fell into into the clutches of a grizzly *L.*

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o-**ka:X**(**Ach'**) **'i-'-d-a** sg. catch up with, gain on o walking: *imperative:* **'uka:X 'i'dAGi:n'inh** catch up with him! *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **'ika:X 'i'qe'di:xah** I'll catch up with you *L,* **dik' sika:X 'i'qe'di:ya:G** you won't catch up with me *L, Inceptive perfective:* **'ika:XAch' 'i'dAGAxa:L** I'm catching up with you *L,* **sika:XAch' 'i'dAGa:Linh** he's catching up with me *L,* **qa:ka:XAch' 'i'dAGa:L** it's catching up with us *L, Active perfective:* **sika:X 'i'dAsahLinh** he caught up with me *L,* **'Aw XAwa: 'anhka:X 'i'dAsahL** that dog caught up with me *L,* **'Aw XAwa: 'uka:X 'i'dAsahLinh** that dog caught up with him *L,* **'Aw XAwa: 'ahnu:ka:X 'i'dAsahL** that dog caught up with them *L,* **'Aw XAwa: 'uka:X 'i'dAsahLinu:** that dog caught up with them *L, repetitive:* **'ika:XAch' 'i'di:xa:g** I try to catch up with you *L.*

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k'u-'-Xdl-dA-a sg. stagger: *Inceptive imperfective:* **yAX k'u'qu'XAdli:dah** *(not -*k'u'qe'-)* you'll stagger *M, Inceptive perfective:* **k'u'XAdla:GAxda:L** I'm walking very feebly (old age) *L, Active imperfective:* **yAX k'u'XAdli:dah** he's staggering *M.*

a2 *(e: in Active imperative, -w-a- in third person Inceptive imperfective, probably regular; probably related to Giyah and/or perhaps to XAwa:)*

O-**X-a** *(often with k'u-indefinite O apparently thematized or partly thematized, 'S eat (something)', and treated sometimes even with definite O as intransitive, with dA-classifier with preverb q'e' 'again, some more')* S eat O: *Active imperative: Rezanov* Ханне 'ѣшъ essen

(Imperat.)' **Xa:ne:** eat it! *LM,* **Xa:ni:nhinh** eat him! *M,* **Xa:ni:nhinu:** eat them (people)! *M,* **Xa:ne:huh** *(preferred to Xa:ne:'uh)* eat it! *L,* **Xa:ne: q'ah** eat it (finally)! *L,* **k'uya'ch'ahd Xa:ne:** eat if off of something (e.g. plate)! *L, Rezanov* Кыятаане 'Потчивать bewirthen' *perhaps to be read* **Giyah Xa:ne:** eat food! *L,* **dAq'Aw 'iXa' Xa:ne:** eat your lunch! *L, Rezanov* Кухонне 'ѣсть essen' **k'uXa:ne:** eat!, eat something! *L,* **q'Ale' 'i: ne:tl' 'Awa: k'uXa:ne:** *you* eat some first! *L,* **Xa:lAXe:**, **Xa:nlAXe:** pl. eat it! *L,* **Xa:nlAXi:nhinu:** pl. eat them (people)! *M, with class-marks for O:* **'Aw la'mahd-lAXAqa:' XAlAXa:ne:** eat some (not all) of those berries! *L,* **'i:nLxi:shk' XAli:ye:** eat a red abalone! *L,* **'Aw t'ahL XAti:li:ye:** eat those leaves! *L,* **tl'ihX guXAdi:ye:** eat grass! *L, with perambulative:* **yAX Xa:de:**, **yAX Xa:da:** go around eating!, eat here and there! *M, Inceptive imperative, with Xa:n' 'to completion':* **Xa:n' k'uXAGa:'** finish eating! *LM, cautionary negative Inceptive imperative:* **'Aw q'AXAGa:Ginh** be careful he doesn't eat it! *L,* **ya' lAXi:Lts'iya'ts'L q'AXAGi:ya:G** be careful not to eat badly spoiled fruit! *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **qu'Xi:xah** I'll eat it *L,* **dik' 'Aw qu'Xi:xahG** (*or* **-Xa:G**) I won't eat it *L, Rezanov* Кагохойхоа 'Обѣдать zu Mittag essen' **k'uqu'Xi:xwah**, **k'uqu'Xi:xah** I'll eat, I'll eat something *LM, 25.114A,* **dik' k'uqu'Xi:xa:G** I won't eat it *L,* **qi' la:xditehch' k'uqu'Xi:xah** I'll eat till I'm full *L,* **'iqe'Xi:xah** I'll eat you *M, with ya:X 'destruction, consumption':* **ya:X lAXiqe'Xi:xah** I'll eat you pl. all up *M, with q'e' (and irregular dA-classifier, prefixes as with non-vocalic classifier):* **q'e' qu'Xi:xdah** I'll eat it again *M,* **k'uqu'Xi:yahsh** will you eat?, will you eat anything, something? *LM, 25.111A,* **ya'Xu: qu'Xi:yah** don't eat it *L,* **ya'Xu: k'uqu'Xi:yah** don't eat *L,* **'i:gishuh 'Awa: k'uqu'Xi:yah** will you eat any of it? *41.7L,* **dAk'uqu'Xi:yah da:XdAg** also even when you're going to eat *61.23A,* **'Aw qu'Xi:wah** it'll eat it *L,* they'll eat it *M,* **'Aw qu'qAXi:wah** they'll eat it *M,* **ya'Xu: dAde:d 'Aw qu'Xi:wah** let nothing eat it *18.71, 80L,* **k'uqu'Xi:wah** it'll eat something *L,* **k'uqu'Xi:yinhinh** *M (probably incorrect),* **k'uqu'Xi:winhinh** he'll eat (something) *LM,* **k'uqu'Xi:winhinu:** they're going to eat *18.44L,* **dik' q'a:lgah k'uqu'Xi:wa:G** she won't eat anything today *25.113A,* **te'ya' da: qu'Xi:yah**, **te'ya' da: qu'Xi:wah** *(former probably incorrect)* we'll eat fish *M,* **ya'Xu: te'ya' da: qu'Xi:wah** let's not eat fish *L,* **'Aw da: qu'Xi:wah** we'll eat that *L,* **dAtli: da: k'uqu'Xi:wah** we're about to eat *L,* **da: 'iqe'Xi:wah** we'll eat you *M, with q'e' (and irregular dA-classifier):* **da: q'e' qu'Xi:dah** we'll eat it again *M,* **k'uqu'XAlAXa:sh** will you pl. eat something? *L, Inceptive imperfective customary:* **te'ya'sh Lich' da: qu'Xi:wa:k'** shall we (cust) always eat fish? *L,* **ya'Xu: te'ya' qu'Xi:ya:k'** don't (cust) eat fish *L, with q'e' (and dA-classifier):* **dik' te'ya' da: q'e' qu'Xi:da:k'G** we (cust) won't eat fish anymore *LM, Active imperfective (often used with force of customary):* **XAxwah** I've been eating it "all the time" *41.8L,* **sALts'ahsL XAxah** I'm eating semi-dry fish *L,* **XAxinhinh** I'm eating him *M,* **k'uXuxah** I'm eating (something) *LM,* **dik' q'u:l k'uXAxahG** I'm not eating now *L,* **dik' te'ya' XAxahG** I don't "(cust)" eat fish *M,* **k'ude:dah k'uXAxahG** I can't eat anything *26.8L,* **'i:li:X q'Aw XAxdah** I'm making a pretense at eating it *L (irregular dA-classifier), with q'e' (and irregular dA-classifier):* **q'e' XAxdah** I'm eating it again *M,* **Xi:yah** you're eating it *LM,* **dAde:d 'u:ch' Xi:yah** whatever you eat there *11.162A,* **te'ya'sh Xi:yah** are you eating fish? *M,* **dik'sh 'Aw te'ya' Xi:yahG** aren't you eating the fish? *M,* **k'uXi:yah** you're eating, you (cust) eat (something) *L, 23.17A,* **'i: k'uXi:yaht'a'X qu'xah** I'll go while you're eating *L,* **k'uXi:ya:sh** *L,* **k'uXi:yahsh** are you eating (something)? *M, with q'e' (and irregular dA-classifier):* **q'e' Xi:dah** you're eating it again *M,* **XAwa: 'Aw Xah** a dog is eating it *M,* **'Aw qAXah** they're eating it *M,* **dik'shunh 'Aw te'ya' XahG** *M,* **dik'shunh 'Aw te'ya' Xa:G** isn't he eating the fish *L,* **GAlAXAlAXah Xinhinh** he's eating tadpoles *L, (attested also with GAsu', gudAsu' 'dry fish') L,* **dAde:dunh dik' XahG** there's nothing he doesn't eat *L, O Xah, Xinhinh, Xinhinu: 'S be eating O, S "(cust)" eat O": 10.136, 20.32, 39, 23.94, 95, 24.9, 10, 11, 79, 28.4, 33.24, 26A, 41.61, 51.92, 92, 92A,* **dAde:dunhnu: Xah** whatever they eat *29.24A,* **k'uXinhinh** he's eating (something) *LM,* **k'uXah** it's eating something *L,* he "(cust)" eats *23.19A,* he was eating *61.19A,* **dAtli: k'uXinhinh** he's already eating *L,* **k'e:'wAXdunh 'Awga' k'uXanh** what does he eat like that, so much? *L,* **(o-ga') k'uXunhinu:** they're eating something (like o) *25.30, 30A,* **dA'AyAGAga' k'uXah** they "(cust)" eat their own style *25.34A,*

dik' S O **XahG** S doesn't "(cust)" eat O *24.56, 58, 59, 60, 33.25A, 41.1, 11L,* **dik' k'uXahGinh** she doesn't eat anything, fasts *49.42A,* **dik' xa'Lq' k'uXa:Ginh** he's not eating much (on a diet) *L, with o-tl' 'with o':* **'anhtl' k'uXinhinh** he's eating with her *L, with o-Xa' 'with o, "on" o':* **siXa' k'uXinhinh** he's eating with me *L,* **'Aw 'iXa' Xah** has been eating up your stuff "on" you *10.84A, with ya:nu'ch'ahd 'from below surface':* **ya:nu'ch'ahd k'uXah** it (duck) is dipping its head under (not diving) for food *L, with class-marks for O:* **'i:nLxi:shk' XAlinhinh** he's eating red abalone *L,* **XAti:lah** it (deer) is eating it (seaweed sp.) *L,* **t'ahL XAti:liyinhinh** (*or* **XAti:lAyinhinh**) *M (probably incorrect),* **k'uLt'ahL XAti:linhinh** he's eating leaves *L,* **XAqi:lAyinhinh** he's eating rope *M (probably to be corrected to XAqi:linhinh),* **XAlAXinhinh** he's eating berries *L,* **Ge:ts' guXinhinh** he's eating spruceroots *LM,* **sa' guXinhinh** he's eating dried bast *LM,* **tl'ihX XAgAdinhinh**, **tl'ihX gAXAdinhinh, tl'ihX guXAdah**, **tl'ihX XAgAdah** *L,* **tl'ihX guXAdinhinh** he's eating grass *L,* **k'udALts'Aq' guXAdah** it's eating young grass *L,* **sa' guXAdinhinh** he's eating dried bast *M, frequently nominalized:* **'Al dAXunhyu: Xah** this which people *"(cust)"* eat, humans' food *23.93A,* **'Al dAXunhyu: Xahyu:ga'** like these (things) which people eat, humans' food *25.30A,* **ts'id 'Al dALAxwe:gyu: Xah Xinhinh** he eats only groundhog-food (this which groundhogs eat) *23.94A,* **qa: Xinhinu:** cannibals, those who eat us, humans *38.2, 2, 20LM,* **qa: Xinhinu: dAXunhyu:** cannibals, people who eat us, people *38.1LM,* **na:XAgyu: 'Aw Xah** geese eat it *(perhaps name of plant species, tl'e:kus) A, with q'e' (and irregular dA-classifier):* **q'e' XAdinhinh** he's eating it again *M,* **dik'** O **q'e' XAdahG** doesn't *" (cust)"* eat O anymore *(also interpretable as passive, 'O is "(cust)" no longer eaten') 23.93, 24.80, 81A, with perambulative:* **yAX k'uXAda:X** it's going around eating (something) *M, with indeterminate O:* **yAX 'iXAda:X** it's going around eating, eating stuff here and there *L,* **da: Xah** we're eating it *M,* **dik' 'Awa: da: XahG** but we don't *"(cust)"* eat them *24.61A,* **da: k'uXah** we're eating (something) *M,* **k'uXAlAXa:sh** are you pl. eating (something)? *L, Active imperfective customary:* **XAxa:k'** I (cust) eat it *LM,* **dik' te'ya' XAxa:k'G** I don't (cust) eat fish *M,* **k'e:'wAXduh 'Awga' xan'Lq' k'uXAxa:k'** why do I (cust) eat so much? *M,* **Xi:ya:k'** you (cust) eat it *L,* **te'ya' Xi:ya:k'** you (cust) eat fish *M,* **k'uXi:ya:k'** you (cust) eat *23.11, 12A,* **te'ya' Xa:k'inh** he (cust) eats fish, used to eat fish *M,* **'Aw Xa:k'** (cust) eats it *21a.24L, 28.26, 29.25A,* **dik' 'Aw Xa:k'Ginh** (cust) doesn't eat it *23.96A, 41.1fnL,* **k'e:'wAXdunh 'Awga' xan'Lq' k'uXa:k'** why does he (cust) eat so much? *M,* **dA'a: k'uXa:k'inh** he (cust) feeds (eats by) himself *L,* **siXa' k'uXa:k'inh** he (cust) eats with me *L,* **siXAw k'uXa:k'inh** he (cust) eats same time I do *L,* **djig ge:lA'a:gXAw k'uXa:k'inh** he (cust) eats at noon sharp *L, indirect reciprocal:* **'iLXAw k'uXAda:k'inu:** they (cust) eat at the same time as one another *L,* **da: Xa:k'** we (cust) eat it *L, 65.69A,* **dik' k'utse' da: Xa:k'G** we (cust) don't eat meat *L, with lX-class-mark for O:* **'Aw XAlAXa:k'inh** he (cust) eats them (berries) *29.23A, Active perfective:* **XAsiyahL** I ate it *LM,* **'anhdAxwah XAsiyahL** he made me eat it < I ate it at his command *L,* **k'uXAsiyahL** I ate (something) *L,* **XAsahLshuh**, **XAsahLshuw** did you eat it? *M,* **dik'sh XAsahLG** didn't you eat it? *M,* **'iGAx'eh de:d XAsahL** I saw what you ate *L,* **k'uXAsahL** you ate something *L,* **XAsahLinh** he ate it *M, 41.10L, 51.92A,* **dik' dAde:dunh XAsahLGinh** she didn't eat anything *49.41A,* **k'uXAsahL** it ate something *L,* **dik' k'uXAsahLG** didn't eat *23.23A,* **di'dAk'uXAsahL la'q' sAqAts'Linh** *L,* **'ida: xan'Lq' k'uXAsahL la'q' sAqAts'Linh** he ate so much he burst *15.27M, with Xa:n' 'to completion':* **'Aw Xa:n' XAsahL** he finished eating it *51.93A,* **Xa:n' k'uXAsahLinh** he finished eating *L, 18.45L,* **da: XAsahL** we ate it *M,* **dik'sh XAlAXsahLG** didn't you pl. eat it? *M,* **k'uXAlAXsahLshunh** did you pl. eat (something)? *L, Inceptive perfective:* **'ida'ya:lAX k'uXAGAxa:L** I eat too much *L,* **'ida'ya:lAX k'uXAGi:ya:L** you eat too much *L,* **Lich' 'Adya:dAke:sk' k'uXAGi:ya:LGdAwa:** always wash your hands before you eat! *L,* **'Aw XAGa:LGdAwa:** before he eats it *L, with lX-class-mark for O:* **GAlAXAsAXe:ts' XAlAXAGa:Linh** he keeps eating big blueberries (all day long) *L, Active optative:* **shAlAG Xa:nxiyahwahd** so that I might eat clams *3.12M,* **'ulAX siga'L k'uXa:xiyah** I'm too tired to eat < I'm more tired than it, that I might eat something *L,* **k'uXa:nxiyah** let me eat *L,* **'AlAshgahX siXa' k'uXa:nliyah** would that you might eat with me *1.12M,* **Xa:nliyah** let

it eat it *L,* **qAXa:nliyah** let them eat it *L,* **'Aw Xa:nliyahwahd** so that he might eat it *1b.17, 18M,* **'ahnu:tl' k'uXa:nliyahwahd** so that they might eat with them *53.2L,* **SshgahX siXa' k'uXa:nliyah** would that S might eat with me *1b.14M,* **Xa:n'shgahX k'uXa:nliyinhinh** I wish he were done eating *M,* **tsa: XAdla:yiwahwahd** *(probably incorrect),* **tsa: XAdla:yiyahwahd** in order that he might eat stones *M, nominalized, see also passives:* **XAliyah** food *10.267fnA,* **Xa:nliyah'e:X** in search of something to eat (that which he might eat) *5.1L,* **da: Xa:nliyah** let's eat it *L,* **Xa:'d da: k'uXa:liyah** let's eat outside *L,* **Xa:nlAXiyah** you pl. may eat *M, Active optative customary:* **'AlAshgahX te'ya' Xa:nxiya:k'** I wish I could (cust) eat fish *L,* **te'ya' da: Xa:nliya:k'** let's (cust) eat fish *M, Inceptive optative:* **Xa:n'shgahX k'uXAGi:yinhinh** I wish he'd finish eating *M, Active conditional:* **'Aw Xa:xah da:X** just as I'm starting to eat it *L,* **k'uXa:xah da:X** just as I was starting to eat *L,* **dik' Xa:nliyahG da:X** if you don't eat it *L,* **'Aw Xa:nah da:X** just as he begins to eat it *L, Inceptive conditional:* **XAGAxah da:X** if I eat it *L,* **XAGi:yah da:X** if you eat it *L,* **dik' XAGi:yahG da:X** if you don't eat it *L,* **k'udAX XAGi:yahG da:X** if you can't eat it *L,* **Xa:n' k'uXAGi:yah da:X** when you're done eating *L, Active subjunctive:* **'Aw Xa:xa:X** (*or* **Xa:nxa:X**, *but not *Xa:xiya:X or *Xa:nlixa:X)* **sitl' dAlinhinh** he told me to (that I should) eat it *L,* **te'ya' Lich' Xa:nxa:X** that I should always eat fish *L,* **dik' 'Aw Xa:xa:XG sitl' dAlinhinh** he told me not to eat it *L,* **'Aw Xa:nxa:X 'ixleh** I want to eat it *L,* **'Aw Xa:nliya:X** (*or* **Xi:ya:X**) **'itl' dAlinhinh** he told you to eat it *L,* **'Aw Xa:na:X 'utl' dAxlinhinh** I told him to eat it *L,* **'Aw Xa:na:X** *(not *Xa:nliya:X)* **'ileh** he wants to eat it *L,* **'Aw da: Xa:liya:X** (*or* **Xi:ya:X**) **qa:tl' dAlinhinh** he told us to eat it *L (both probably to be corrected to Xa:na:X), Inceptive subjunctive:* **'Aw Xa:nGAxa:X sitl' dAlinhinh** he told me to eat it *L,* **XAGAxa:X 'ixleh** I want to eat it *L,* **'Aw XAGi:ya:X 'itl' dAlinhinh** he told you to eat it *L,* **'Aw da: XAGa:X qa:tl' dAlinhinh** he told us to eat it *L; passive: Active imperfective (often in sense of customary) 'O be eaten, be edible, be food)':* **XAdah** they were eaten *24.78A,* **t'e:Gda:X XAlAXAdah** they (carrots) are eaten raw *L (perhaps also nominalized as lX-class-noun 'carrots'),* **dik' XAdahG** are not eaten *24.55A,* **dik' q'e' XAdahG, XAda:G** are no longer eaten *24.80, 81A (perhaps to be interpreted as non-passive 'no longer eats them'),* **k'ude: XAdahG** there is nothing to eat *41.4L, nominalized with -yu: 'plural':* **XAdahyu:** 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:dahwahya:** food, foodstuff *25.31, 148A,* **qu'Xi:diya:yu:** things to eat *63.39G (incorrect, blend of qu'Xi:dahwahya:, ya:yu: 'things', and following), Active optative:* **k'ushiyah sALe'L, Xa:ndiyahlAX sAliL** 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:* **Xa:ndiyahlu'qa:** to get food (that which might be eaten) *43.14M, with -yu: 'plural':* **Xa:ndiyahyu:** food *M, Active perfective:* **XAsdiyahL** it's been eaten *L, Active imperfective customary:* **dAXa:k'** are (cust) eaten *63.32G (to be corrected to XAda:k').*

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'utl' k'uXAdah *(noun)* pepper *M. Nominalized passive Active imperfective,* < something is eaten with it.

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'uda:q'Ach'ahd k'uXAdah *(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).

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-ah *(gerundive) (inflection uncertain)* eating: **xusALga'L 'Awah** (< 'u-ah *or* 'Aw-ah) **'Awa:** I'm tired of eating it *L.*

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k'uwah *(gerundive) (< k'u-ah, with k'u-indefinite O)* eating, meal, feast: *Furuhjelm* Kuvva 'eat', **k'uwah 'iqe'di:leh** there'll be a feast *L,* **k'uwah xuGALga'L** I'm tired of eating < eating has

tired me *L,* **k'uwahwahd** for a meal, to eat *59.8 Galushia Nelson,* **k'uwahch' 'i:lihsAliLinh** he recovered his appetite (e.g. after illness) *L,* **k'uwahch'iya'** big, good, hearty, eater < eating-master *L, Rezanov* Съэилькоа 'Ужинать zu Abend essen' **se:Lk'Awah** evening meal, dinner, supper *L.*

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k'uwa:ch'L *(gerundive adverb, including o-ch' 'to o', cf. k'uqu'wAshe:ch'L under she, requiring L-classifier with verbs of motion)* to eat: **k'uwa:ch'L 'AdiX shAL'a'ch'L** they went in to eat *2a.35M.*

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'uX k'uXAdah fork < by means of it something is eaten: *Anonymous* Ухкухута 'Вилка'.

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o-**d** O-**X-L-a** *(causative of transitive O-X-a, with intermediate object as o of o-d)* S feed o to O, give o O to eat: **'Al 'ud Xa:Le:huh** feed this to it! *L, Rezanov* Уткохотле 'Потчуй bewirthen (Imperat.)' *perhaps to be read* **'ud k'uXa:Le:** feed it something! *L or* **'ud k'uXa:Linhinh** feed him! *L or (Active imperfective)* **'ud k'uXALinhinh** he's feeding him, it, **'ud k'uXa:nlAXLi:nhinu:** pl. feed them something! *29.64A, Inceptive imperative customary:* **'ud k'uXAGALa:k'inh** (cust) feed him! *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **'id k'uqu'Xi:xwLah** I'll feed you *10.265A,* **'id q'e' k'uqu'Xi:xLah** I'll feed you again *L,* **q'Ama: 'id qu'XAlAXi:xLah** I'll feed you roe *40.8L, Inceptive imperfective customary:* **'ud k'uqu'Xi:xLa:k'inh** I'll (cust) feed him *L, Active imperfective (see also Rezanov form above):* **'id k'uXAxLah** I'm feeding you *L,* **sid k'uXALinhinh** he's feeding me *L,* **'ahnu:ya' k'usahd q'unh 'anhd XALah** it's their livers he's been feeding her *42.23L,* **du:dunh 'ud k'uXALah** who's been feeding him? *L, Active imperfective customary:* **'ud k'uXAxLa:k'** I (cust) feed it *L,* **sid k'uXALa:k'inh** he (cust) feeds me *L,* **dik' sid k'uXALa:k'Ginh** he (cust) never feeds me *L, Active perfective:* **'ud k'uXAsiLahL** I fed it *L,* O **'ahnu:d XAsALahL** fed them O *29.65A,* **la'mahd 'ahnu:d XAlAXAsALahL** fed them berries *18.45A,* **q'Ama: 'anhd XAlAXAsALahL** fed him roe *40.10L,* **sid q'e' k'uXAsALahLinh** he fed me again *L, Active optative:* **'id k'uXa:nxiLah** let me feed you *L, Active optative customary:* **'id k'uXa:xiLa:k'** that I might (cust) feed you *L,* **'id k'uXa:liLa:k'** that he might (cust) feed you *L; passive: Active imperfective customary:* **k'udzu:dah sid k'uXAda:k'** I (cust) get fed well *L, Active perfective:* **k'udzu:dah sid k'uXAsLiyahL** I got fed well (once) *L.*

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o-**d k'uXa:l** *(gerundive of o-d O-X-L-a with k'u-indefinite O)* feeding o (something): **'id k'uXa:l xusALga'L** I'm tired of feeding you < feeding you has tired me *L.*

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GAlAXAlAXah *(perhaps < O-X-a 'S eat O' with Gl-thematic 'ground' for O and lX-class-mark 'granular' for S)* tadpole, *see separate entry GAlAXAlAXah.*

'a *(Active imperative sometimes 'e:; marginally confused with 'a'~'a', see especially 'i-d-'a; certain nominalizations and deverbalizations listed under 'a'~'a' may contain stems to be identified as instances of 'a; perhaps related also to at least some instances of 'ah1, and/or 'ah2)*

-**'a** 1. S (sg., not in container) be, get in position *(for discussion of nature of S see -ta, and "Noun-classificatory systems in the Athapaskan, Eyak, Tlingit, and Haida verb", IJAL 34.3:194-203 (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 -'a 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 -'a) attested mainly in elicitations of the form S 'u:d -sA'ahL 'S be (have gotten into position) there' (Active perfective used with force of Neuter): *with unclassified S (rare, almost always -ta but see also 2. below):* **lAGAdAq'a'L 'u:d sA'ahL** an axe *(also l-class)* is there *L,* **GAyAG 'u:d sA'ahL** (*or* **-tahL**) a quoit is there *L,* **XAt'a: 'u:d sA'ahL** (*or* **-tahL**) an adze is there *L, with d-class S (use of -ta slightly predominant):* **tsa'L 'u:d dAsA'ahL** a knife is there *L, also attested with k'udA'uhdg 'egg', gahG 'piece of spruce-pitch', yahd 'house', dide'L 'lamp', ya:n'dA'a'L '(finger-)ring', t'its' 'piece of ice', XahdL 'sled, car', ts'a' 'piece of mud', Ge'q'L 'bracelet', tsidl 'board', k'ulAqah 'head', k'ugAtl'ah 'tail', tsi:n 'mussel', ye:t' 'piece of wild celery', la:xga: 'store', 'u'tl' 'piece of driftwood', shiL 'spoon', shgu:na: 'schooner', lis 'spruce', shdu:lihG 'table',* **gu:dAg te'ya'gutl'ah 'u:d q'e' disdi'ahL** again another fishtail was there *46.20M, with dl-class S (-'a much predominant over -ta):* **tsa: 'u:d dla:sA'ahL** a stone is there *LM, also attested with tAGL 'hammer', dla:XA'i:nd 'button', we:gshg 'ulu', tAwi:s 'stone axe', dla:LXe:djg 'quartz', gu:nAtsa: 'gold nugget', Gits'AX 'copper nugget', djahGL 'needle', kihshL 'dipnet', dzAwAL 'net', tsi:n 'branch', with ti:l-class S (rare, almost always -ta):* **dza:nt' 'u:d ti:nsA'ahL** *(but* **-tahL** *preferred)* a skunk-cabbage-leaf is there *L, with g-class S (-ta predominating):* **k'u't' 'u:d gusA'ahL** a vein, tendon is there *L, with gd-class S (mixed):* **tl'ihX 'u:d gAdAsAtahL** a piece of grass is there *L, attested also with ma: 'lake', with gl-class S (mixed):* **ma:sdla: 'u:d gu:nsA'ahL** a piece of butter is there *L, attested also with di:ya' 'chunk of salt', with Xd-class S (-ta predominating):* **Le:sk' 'u:d XAdAsA'ahL** a log is there *L, attested also with La'g 'firewood', sinhX 'resin', with Xdl-class S:* **'uhs 'u:d XAdla:sA'ahL** a riverbank is there *L, with qi:dl-class S:* **duh 'u:d qi:dla:sA'ahL** a piece of kelp (Nereocystis) is there *L, with l-class S (-'a predominating):* **k'u'uGL 'u:d lAsA'ahL** a heart is there *L,* **tAGL 'u:d 'i:nsA'ahL** a hammer is there *L, also attested ('i:nsA'ahL) with 'i:ndit'u:ch' 'black abalone', 'i:nLxi:shg 'red abalone', lAGAdAq'a'L, 'axe', mAdjiduhg 'herring-roe(-sac)', q'Ama: 'roe(-sac)', k'uq'AX 'piece of fat', k'usha:w 'head', tl'A'a:G 'basket', ch'iyahd 'hat', kAwAsgL 'paddle', XuhLg(L) 'shovel', with lX-class S (-'a almost always, except where S is not intact):* **la'mahd 'u:d lAXAsA'ahL** a berry is there *LM, attested also with 'ball', 'a:bAls 'apples', gahG 'bullet', 'a:ndj 'orange', ya:n' 'pill', shug 'strawberry', with lXd-class S (mixed):* **sanh 'u:d lAXAdAsA'ahL** a piece of fluff is there *L, attested also with k'uhdL 'piece of moss', xitl' lAXAdAq' 'snowball', with qi:l-class S:* **k'uXehL 'u:d qi:nsA'ahL** a piece of rope is there *L, with anatomical marks used as class-marks:* **ge:Lta:gk'ahsh 'u:d qi:dAsA'ahL** a seal-flipper is there *L,* **k'uXu:nLAyah 'u:d Xu:nsA'ahL** a tooth is there *L, Neuter perfective* **k'udA'uhdg di:'ahL** an egg is in position *L, Active imperfective (used in customary or ethical sense):* **'u:dshAw lA'ah** is that where it (hat) belongs? *L,* **dik' 'u:d lA'ahG** it (hat) doesn't belong there *L,* **'Aw qi' lA'ah** that's its (hat's) place *L.*

2. *Of certain (postmeridianal) positions or movements of the sun (see also LA-'a, yAX ('i-)LA-'a, 'u:nahd 'iLA'ah)*: *with yAX 'downward': Rezanov* Ихкаатль 'Захожденїе солнца Sonnenuntergang' **yAX GA'a:L** sun is setting *L,* **yAX sA'ahL** sun went down (set, went down out of sight, behind horizon, mountain) *LM, Rezanov* Ехсаалъту 'Заря вечерная Abenddämmerung' **yAX sA'ahLduh** sun has set! *L,* **siq' yAX sA'ahL** sun set on me *L,* **yAX qa'ah**, **yAX qu'wA'ah** sun will set *L,* **yAX 'A'a:k'** sun (cust) sets *L; with ya:n'-ch' '(continuous movement) down, further down':* **ya:n'ch' GA'a:L** the sun is on its way down (from high point) *L.*

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O-(**L-**)**'a** *(irregular causative of -'a, L-classifier in Active and Neuter perfectives only, but see also dAXunhyu: dAL'ah)* S position, move, carry, leave, take, put sg. O (not in container, usually classified) 1a. *with no preverbs or postpositional phrases*: **li:'a'** put it (hammer) in place!, take it (hammer)! *M,* **lAXi:'a'** put it (ball, apple) in place! *M.*

1b. *Idiomatically,* S own, run O (establishment, enterprise), *with d-class-mark for O 'building' perhaps thematized*: **la:xga: dAsAL'ahLinh** he owns, runs a store *L,* ***cannery*** **dAsAL'ahLinh** he owns, runs a *cannery L.*

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2. *With locative demonstratives*: *Active imperfective in customary or ethical sense:* **'a:nd q'Al 'Aw ch'iyahd siXa' lAx'ah** here's where I (ordinarily) keep my hat *L; passive:* **'u:d sLi'ahL**, **'u:d sdi'ahL** it (axe) has been put, left there *L.*

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3. *With ya' 'completely, to a state of rest'*: **ya' di:'e:** set it (egg) in place! *L.*

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4. *With q'e' 'back, again',* S find, recover O: **q'e' dla:siL'ahL** I found it (stone) *L,* **q'e' lAXAsiL'ahL** I found it (apple) *L.*

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5. *With 'a'q' 'out (of house)'*: **'a'q' dAGA'a'** put it (d-class O) out of the house! *M.*

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6. *With perambulative,* S carry O about: **yAX 'AdA'a:** carry it around! *L,* **yAX la:dA'e:** carry it (hammer) around! *M,* **yAX dla:dA'a:X** he's carrying it (stone) around *M,* **yAX xsdi'ahL** *(or* **xsLi-**, *but former preferred)* I carried it around *L,* **da: yAX la:di'ah** let's carry it (hammer) around *M.*

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7. *With ya'X 'up'*: **ya'X GA'a'** lift it, pick it up (axe, adze)! *L,* **ya'X 'i'a'**, **ya'X 'A'a'** lift it, pick it up (axe, adze) *(less imperious that ya'X GA'a') L,* **ya'X ti:li:'a'**, **ya'X ti:lAGA'a'** *(former preferred)* pick it (skin) up! *L,* **ya'X dAGA'a'** pick it (knife) up! *L,* **ya'X lAXAGA'a'** pick it (apple) up! *L,* **ya'X dla:GA'a'** pick it (stone, hoop, net) up! *L,* **ya'X qu'x'ah** I'll lift it *L,* **dik' ya'X qu'x'ahG** (*or, perhaps,* **-'a:G**) I won't lift it *L,* **ya'X qu'di:x'ah** I'd lift it (table) *M,* **ya'X lAXAsiL'ahL** I picked it (apple) up *L,* **'Aw lAXAGA'a:X 'utl' dAxlinhinh** I told him to pick it (apple) up *L.*

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8. *With qa' 'up out' (see also 18c.)*: **qa' dla:GA'a'** pull it (net) up! *A.*

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9. *With ya:n' 'down'*: **ya:n' dAGA'a'** set it (knife) down! *L,* **ya:n' dla:GA'a'** set it (rock, hoop, net) down! *L,* **lAGAdAq'a'L ya:n' siL'ahL** I set an axe down *L,* **ya:n' disiL'ahL** I set it (piece of money, knife) down *L,* **ya:n' dla:siL'ahL** I set it (rock) down *L.*

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10. *With la'q' 'thickness, collapse' and lX-anatomical 'eye'*: **la'q' lAXAGA'a'** take its eyeball out! *L (perhaps incorrect, later rejected by L).*

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11. *With q'e:yAX (q'e'~q'e:- 'back, again' and yAX 'reversal of motion') and d-class-mark for O 'money', perhaps partly thematized, see also 12., 13., 14.,* S pay O back: **q'e:yAX dAGA'a'** pay it back! *L,* **dAtli: 'ich' 'Aw q'e:yAX disiL'ahL** I paid you back already *L.*

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12. *With yAqa' 'piling up, accumulation', k'u-indefinite O, and d-class-mark for O, perhaps partly thematized, see also 11., 13., 14.,* S collect money in church: **yAqa' k'udisiL'ahL** I collected money (something d-class) in church *M.*

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13. *With o-y-Xa' 'in o's control' ('by, in intimate relation with o's hand'), k'u-indefinite O, and d-class-mark for O, perhaps partly thematized, see also 11., 12., 14.,* S lend o O (money): **du:yAXa'duw k'udAsAL'ahL** to whom did you lend it (something d-class)? *M.*

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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 preverbially,* S invest money, share cost with o, *elicited on unrelated occasions*: **da:na: siqa' dAGAL'a'** *(probably to be corrected to dAGA'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.*

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15. *With o-ya' 'into o (with broad opening at top)'*: o-**ya' 'Aw dAsAL'ahLinu:** they put it (whale-head) in o *29.6, 6A.*

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16. *With o-ch' 'to, toward o',* S bring, give O to o *(elicited for a large variety of O, see also -'a 1.)*: *with unclassified O (rare):* **lAGAdAq'a'L sich' GA'a'**, **lAGAdAq'a'L sich' 'A'a'** give me an axe!, *attested also ('A'a') with XAt'a: 'adze', wiL '(iron) wedge', GAGAG 'quoit', with d-class O:* **tsa'L sich' di:'a'** give me a knife! *L, attested also with ya:n'dA'a'L 'ring', da:na: '(piece of) money', t'ik'L 'arrow', tsi:n 'mussel', 'iLAdzanh 'gas boat', disdiLidg 'piece of dry wood', tsAdl 'board', k'udALts'Alih '(egg-)shell', gehgL 'fish-spear', Ge'q' 'bracelet, hoop', tl'e'tl'G 'salmonberry sprout', ye:t' 'piece of wild celery', 'u'tl' 'piece of driftwood', 'udAq'As 'one of a pair of them (snowshoes)', da:na:shu:wu: 'half-dollar', ka:ta: 'quarter-dollar', wAGda:na: siXa' 'my eyeglasses', shdu:lihG 'table', t'its' 'ice', k'ahG 'porcupine quill', dAq'a:gda:tl' 'AX 'steamship', k'ulAqah 'head', gahG 'piece of spruce-pitch', k'ugAtl'ah 'tail', lis 'spruce',* **XahdL sich' dAsAL'ahL** he brought me a sled *L,* **tsa'LdAkih 'anhch' dAsAL'ahL** gave her a small knife *38.14LM, with dl-class O:* **(tsa:) sich' dla:GA'a'** *M,* **(tsa:) sich' dla:'a'** give me it (stone)! *LM, attested also (dli:'a:') with dla:XA'i:nd 'button', kihshL 'dipnet', we:gshg 'ulu', djahGL 'needle', tsi:n 'branch',* **'ich' qu'dli:x'ah** I'll give you it (stone) *M,* **sich' dla:GA'a:Linh** he's giving me it (stone) *M,* **'ich' dla:sAL'ahLinh** he gave you it (stone) *M,* **'uch' da: dla:yi'inhinh** let's give him it (stone) *M, with ti:l-class O:* **tsa'k' sich' ti:li:'a'** give me a glove! *L, attested also with (k'uL-)t'ahL 'leaf, feather', k'utah 'skin', 'i:nLxAwah 'piece of ribbon seaweed', ti:lAkinhsh 'piece of rhubarb', with g-class O:* **la:X sich' gu:'a'** give me a piece of string! *L, attested also with Ge:ts' 'spruceroot', k'u't' 'piece of sinew thread', sa' 'piece of dried hemlock bast',* **k'Ayi:ny guka: sich' gu:'a'** give me a different one (spruceroot)! *L, with gd-class O:* **tl'ihX sich' gAdi:'a'** give me a piece of grass! *L, with gl-class O:* **ma:sdla: sich' gAli:'a'** give me a piece of butter! *L, attested also with Xe: 'piece of grease', with gdl-class O:* **k'utsin' sich' gAdli:'a'** give me a neck! *L, with qi:l-class O:* **sich' qi:li:'a'** give me a piece (of rope)! *L, with qi:dl-class O:* **duh sich' qi:dli:'a'** give me a piece of kelp (Nereocystis)! *L, with qi:d-class O (qi:d-anatomical):* **k'uk'ahsh sich' qi:di:'a'** give me a foot! *L, with Xd-class O:* **tl'i: sich' XAdi:'a'** give me a bear-spear! *L, attested also with Le:sk' 'log', da:XAdidja'g 'match', ts'isa:XAdALte' 'mast', with Xu:l-class O (Xu:l-anatomical):* **k'uXu:nLAyah sich' Xu:li:'a'** give me a tooth! *L, with l-class O:* **tAGL sich' li:'a'** give me a hammer! *L, attested also with kAwusgL 'paddle', XuhLgL 'shovel', lAGAdAq'a'L 'axe', wiL '(iron) wedge', tl'A'a:G 'basket', ts'a:gL 'bailer', te'ya'sha:w 'fishhead', 'i:nLch'iya'k' 'rotten fishhead', 'i:ndit'u:ch' 'black abalone', 'i:nLxi:shg 'red abalone', ch'iyahd 'hat', k'u'uGL 'heart', k'uq'AX 'piece of fat', q'Ama: 'roe(-sac)',* **k'Ayi:ny 'a:na: sich' li:'a'** give me a different one (hammer)! *L,* **'Al si'uGL 'ich' qu'li:x'ah, 'idA'ilah qe'xleh** I'd give you this heart of mine, I love you so *L, with lX-class O:* **sich' lAXAGA'a'**, **sich' lAXa:n'a'**, **sich' lAXi:'a'** give me it (e.g. berry, apple)! *L,* **gahG lAXa:'a'** give me a bullet! *L, attested also with k'ula:X 'an eye',* **LinhG lAXa: sich' lAXa:'a'** give me one (berry)! *L,* **k'Ayi:ny lAXAqa:' sich' lAXa:'a'** bring me another kind (fruit, berry)! *L,* **q'Ama: 'Awa: 'ich' qu'lAXi:x'ah** I'll give you its roe *10.111A, with lXd-class O:* **sanh lAXAdi:'a'** give me a piece of fluff! *L, attested also with k'uhdL 'piece of moss', xitl'lAXAdAq' 'snowball'.*

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17. *Indirect reflexive with o-sa' 'in o's mouth'*: **sa' xsdi'ahL** I put it in my mouth *L (see sa' dA'ah, sa' lAXAdA'ah below).*

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18. *Forms with o-la'-X '(movement) hanging over o', or o-la'-d '(at rest) hanging over o',* a. S name o O: **wAsheh 'ula'X qu'x'inhinh** I'll name him, give him a name < I'll hang a name on over him *L,* **wAsheh 'ula'X siL'ahL** (*or* **-tahL**) I named him *L,* X **'ula'X siL'ahL** I named him X *L,* X **'ula'X qu'x'ah** I'll name him X *L; indirect reflexive:* **de:wAshehd la'X 'iLi'ahL** what's your name? *L,* X **la'X 'ixLi'ahL** my name is X *L (Neuter perfectives),* X **la'X qu'LA'inhinh** *(-LA- probably analogical, to be corrected to -dA-)* he'll be named X *L.*

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18b. *Indirect reflexive with o-la'-X, and partly optional (?) l-class-mark for O 'hat'*: **la'X GAdA'a'** *L,* **la'X lAGAdA'a'** put a hat on! *M,* **dza:nt' ch'iyahd la'X 'iLi'ahLinh** he had a skunk-cabbage-leaf-hat on *52.28L,* **ch'iyahd la'X lixLi'ahL** I have a hat on *M,* **la'X 'ixLi'ahL** I'm wearing it (not a hat) on my head *M,* **la'X 'ixLi'ahL**, **la'X 'ixdi'ahL** *(former preferred)* I have it (a hat) on, I'm wearing a hat *L (Neuter perfectives),* **la'X xsLi'ahL**, **la'X xsdi'ahL** I put a hat on *L.*

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18c. *Indirect reflexive with o-la'-d, qa' 'up out' see also 8., and l-class-mark for O*: **la'd qa' lAGAdA'a'** take it (your hat) off! *M.*

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18d. *With o-XA-la'-X 'hanging on o (as peg, nail)', and li' 'from open front end toward closed back end'*: **dAXAla'X li' ti:lAGA'a'** hang it (skin) up (on indeterminate o, peg or nail on wall)! *L.*

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18e. *With o-y-XA-la'-X 'hanging on o's hand (finger, as peg)', usually with li' as above, and d-class-mark for O*: **siyAXAla'X dAGA'a'**, **siyAXAla'X li' dAGA'a'** put it (ring) on my finger! *L,* **'iyAXAla'X qu'di:x'ah**, **'iyAXAla'X li' qu'di:x'ah** I'll put it (ring) on your finger *L; indirect reflexive:* **ya:n'dA'a'L yAXAla'X li' dixLi'ahL** (*or* **-xdi-**) I'm wearing a ring on my finger *L; incorrect forms:* **'iyAXAla'X li' dAGAdA'a:Linh** he's putting it (ring) on your finger *L (to be corrected to dAGA'a:Linh, or to yAXAla'X 'he's putting a ring on his (own) finger'),* **'iyAXAla'X li' disLi'ahLinh** he put it (ring) on your finger *L (to be corrected to dAsAL'ahLinh, or to yAXAla'X 'he put a ring on his (own) finger'),* **ya:n'dA'a'L 'uyAXAla'X li' diLi'ahLinh** he's wearing a ring *L (to be corrected to yAXAla'X),* **ya:n'dA'a'L 'iyAXAla'X li' dAGAdi'ah** you may put a ring on *L (to be corrected to yAXAla'X),* **dik' 'uyAXAla'X q'e:li' da'LA'ahLGinh** he's not wearing a ring anymore *L (to be corrected to yAXAla'X),* **'uyAXAla'd li' di:'ahLinh** he's wearing a ring *L (to be corrected to yAXAla'd li' diLi'ahLinh).*

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18f. *With o-y-XA-la'-d '(from a position at rest) on o's hand (finger, as peg)', qa' 'up out', and d-class-mark for O*: **siyAXAla'd qa' dAGA'a'** take it (ring) off my finger! *L.*

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18g. *With o-la'-X and yAX 'downward', and d-class-mark for O (see also yAX O-(L-)'a)*: **'Awla'X yAX dAGA'a'** put it (ring) on it! *L.*

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19. *With yAX as in 18g., li' as in 17d., 17e., but probably interpreted as o-li' '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*: **yAX li' dAGAdA'a:'** put it (ring) on your finger *L (perhaps for yAXAla'X li' dAGAdA'a').*

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sa' dA'ah *(noun, unclassified)* leaf tobacco in ball (such as "Black Bull", sometimes mixed with ashes) kept in cheek for chewing *LM, Galushia Nelson* sá'tá'ə̀ 'tobacco' *BSdL 548. Nominalized passive Active perfective, with preverb sa' 'in the mouth' or indirect reciprocal with o-sa' 'in o's mouth',* < it is put, kept, in the (one's own) mouth, *see O-(L-)'a 17.*

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sa' lAXAdA'ah *(noun, perhaps lX-class)* candy *M (rejected by L). As preceding, with lX-class-mark for O 'small round, berrylike'.*

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dAXunhyu: dAL'ah *(noun, d-class)* old-fashioned native grease-lamp *L. Probably nominalized Active imperfective of otherwise unattested O-L-'a (cf. O-(L-)'a 1b., 2.), with d-class-mark for O,* < people keep it (lamp, fire), *cf. also dAXAyAXd yAX XAdA'a'L under 'a ′~'a'.*

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yAX O-(**L-**)**'a** *(with yAX 'downward', L-classifier in Neuter perfective and Active perfective only (an once, analogically, in Active customary, cf. O-l-(L-)'a 1.); used for all O, stem never -ta)* S roast O on spit, stick, barbecue O < S impale O downward *(see also O-(L-)'a 18g., 19.)*: **yAX GA'a'** roast it on spit! *L,* **yAX qu'x'ah** I'll roast it on spit *L,* **'Aw yAX GA'a:Linh** he's setting it up to roast (fish, on stick by fire) *L,* **yAX sAL'ahL** set it up to roast by fire *1a.11, 13M,* **yAX k'usiL'ahL** I set something to roast on spit over open fire *L,* **yAX k'uxiL'ahL** I'm roasting something *M (Neuter perfective),* **'Aw yAX L'a:k'inh** he (cust) roasts them *33.28A (L-classifier probably analogical, blend with O-L-ya:').*

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tl'ihX O-(**L-**)**'a** *(with tl'ihX 'start of making', L-classifier in Neuter perfective and Active perfective only, used for all O, stem never -ta)* S start (to make) O: **'iya: tl'ihX qu'x'ah** I'll start it for you (basket, belt, fire, any O) *L,* **'iya: tl'ihX k'uGAx'a:L** I'm starting something (e.g. basket) for you *L,* **ta:sGALah tl'ihX GA'a:Linh** he's starting a belt *M,* **('iya:) tl'ihX siL'ahL** I started it (for you) *L,* **ta:sGALah tl'ihX siL'ahL** I started a belt *M,* **dAq'a:g tl'ihX sAL'ahLinh** he started a fire *34.69M,* **k'ushiyah q'unhAw dAtli: tl'ihX sAL'ahL** he's already started trouble (evil) *L.*

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qid O-**gdl-**(**L-**)**'a** *(with qid 'down off' and gdl-class-mark or anatomical 'neck' partly thematized, stem presumably never -ta)* S decapitate O: **qid qu'gAdli:x'ah** I'll chop its head off *L,* **qid gAdla:siL'ahL** I beheaded it *L.*

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LA-'a *(lacking expected l-class-mark for S where 'moon'; see also -'a 2., yAX ('i-)LA-'a)* 1. S (sun, moon) move: **GAdAgiL GALA'a:L** the sun is moving *L,* **qAXah GALA'a:L** the moon is moving *L,* **ya'X GALA'a:L** sun is getting higher *L,* **Xahd qa:nch' GALA'a:L** sun is coming up (over hill, obstruction) *L,* **'Aw 'itl'a:nsinh sLi'ahL** it (sun) went behind that mountain *L,* **ne:tl' ge:lA'a:gda' qu'LA'ah** soon it will be (sun will reach) noon *L,* **GAdAq'Ayi:nytl' ('iLqa:X) sLi'ahL** sun dispersed fog < the sun moved with the fog (along, scattering it all about) *L,* **q'ahsXAda:tl' 'iLqa:X sLi'ahL** the sun scattered the clouds *L; Neuter perfectives (see also yAX ('i-)LA'a):* **'u:da' 'iLi'ahL** sun reached there *L,* **qehsq' 'iLi'ahL** moon is shining *L (see qehsq').*

2. S (moon) go through complete cycle: **qAXah q'e' sLi'ahL** the moon, just a rim, has started to increase again *L,* **dAXk'a:na: qAXah sLi'ahL** how many new moons have passed? *L, Neuter perfective (see also yAX ('i-)LA-'a), indirect reciprocal with 'iL-ya' 'inside each other'?:* **'iLya' 'iLi'ahL** the moon is full *M (L rejects).*

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'u:nahd 'iLA'ah *(month-name) some summer(?) month* < "sunshine month" *L. Nominalized Active imperfective of LA-'a. ('i-prefix required with 'u:nahd 'in its month'.)*

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yAX ('i-)LA-'a *(with yAX of uncertain identification, 'downward', perambulative, or perhaps otherwise unattested reduced form of ya'X '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., LA-'a) S (sun) rise, be up, shining: **yAX 'iqe'LA'ah** sun will rise *L,* **dik' yAX 'iqe'LA'a:G** sun won't rise *L,* **yAX 'iGALA'a:L** sun is rising *L,* **yAX 'isLi'ahL** sun rose *L,* **'AlAshgahX yAX 'iGALi'ah**, **'AlAshgahX yAX 'i:Li'ah** I hope the sun rises *L,* **yAX 'iGALA'ah da:X** if, when the sun shines *65.14A, Neuter perfective: Anonymous* Игитлаеатлъ 'Ясный день' ('bright day(light)') **yAX 'iLi'ahL** *(not *'i:nLi'ahL or *'i:Li'ahL)* the sun is up, shining *L, 51.51A, 57.29G, 65.52A.*

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'i-'a *(with unidentified 'i- prefix, see yAX ('i-)LA-'a, 'i-d-'a, 'i-d-('-)L-'a´, yAX 'i-gdl-L-'a´; alternating, wherever tested, with 'i-d-'a)* 1. S (fog) move: **GAdAq'Ayi:ny 'a:nch' 'iGA'a:L** fog is coming hither *L,* **GAdAq'Ayi:ny ya'X 'iGA'a:L** fog is clearing (going up) *L,* **GAdAq'Ayi:ny ya'X 'iqe'ah** fog will lift *L,* **GAdAq'Ayi:ny ya'X 'isA'ahL** fog left *L.*

2. S (sun) move, *doubtful, Rezanov and M only*: *Rezanov* Хатъ-канчекаатль 'Восхожденïе солнца Sonnenaufgang' **Xahd q'a:nch' 'iGA'a:L** the sun is coming up (over hill, obstruction) *(see LA-'a 1.),* **yAX 'iGA'a:L** sun is getting *M (see yAX ('i-)LA-'a).*

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3. *With irregular Xd-class-mark for S 'cloud', here of 'smoke', perhaps incorrect, also interpretable as instance of 'i-d-'a*: **Lanhd 'AdiXd 'iXAdAGA'a:L** (cloud of?) smoke is hovering inside (house) *L.*

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'i-d-'a *(with 'i- as in 'i-'a, d-thematic perhaps as in 'i-d-le, 'i-d-('-)L-'a´)* S (fog, cloud, smoke) move: 1. S (fog) move *(see also 'i-'a)*: **GAdAq'Ayi:ny 'a:nch' 'idAGA'a:L** fog is moving hither *L,* **GAdAq'Ayi:ny ya'X 'idAGA'a:L** fog is clearing (going up) *L,* **GAdAq'Ayi:ny 'a:nda' 'idAsA'ahL** fog came here *L,* **GAdAq'Ayi:ny ya'X 'idAsA'ahL** fog lifted *L, 34.124L,* **GAdAq'Ayi:ny ya:n' 'idAsA'ahL** fog descended *L,* **'AlAshgahX GAdAq'Ayi:ny 'u:dik'ah 'ida:li'ah** I wish fog would go away *L, Galushia Nelson* q'ə́tə́q'ən·ì ínàⁿ·ẋ lì'ìẋàqàtɬt'à'ɒà·ẋ 'fog on-the-side hanging-halfway-down', 'when the fog is hanging half way down (the mountain)' *BSdL 264, 558 probably to be read* **GAdAq'Ayi:ny 'i:na:'X (li') yAX 'iGAdA'ah da:X** when the fog is hanging down the mountainside *L (li' 'from open front end toward closed back end, deeply in, downriver' inexplicable).*

2. S (cloud) move *(Xd-class-mark lacking, see also 'i-'a 3.)*: **q'ahsh 'idAGA'a:L** clouds are moving *L,* **shi:da'ch' 'idAGA'a:L** they (clouds) are moving northeast (up the creeks).

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3. S (smoke) move *(see also 'i-d-('-)L-'a´ under 'a´~'a')*: **Lanhd 'idAGA'a:L** smoke is moving *L,* **Lanhd ya'X 'idAGA'a:L** smoke is rising *L,* **Lanhd ya'X 'iqe'di:'ah** smoke will rise *L,* **Lanhd ya'X 'idAsA'ahL** smoke rose *L,* **Lanhd ya'X 'idAGi:'ah** let smoke rise *L,* **Lanhd 'a'q'Ach' 'idAGA'a:L** smoke is going out (of house) *L,* **Li'q' 'a'q' 'idAsA'ahL** it (smoke) all went out *L,* **'AdiX 'iqe'di:'ah** it (smoke) will come in (house) *L,* **'AdiXich' 'idAGA'a:L** it (smoke) is coming in *L, with perambulative:* **Lanhd yAX 'idAdA'a:X** smoke is moving around *L.*

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'i-L-'a *(problematical form, perhaps with indeterminate O and L-classifier throughout, cf. gdl-L-'a) attested only in* ***'a:nch' 'iGAL'a:L*** big flood from ice-jam will come hither *L* (< it is starting to push indeterminate O hither?).

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'iLt'a' 'i-'a *(problematical form, indirect reciprocal with 'iL-t'a' 'behind each other, together', perhaps intransitive, belonging under 'i-'a, but, if intransitive, classifier vocalized to dA- expected with indirect reciprocal) attested only in* **k'ushiyah 'uXa' 'uyAq'd 'iLt'a' 'isA'ahLinh** 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 'i:nsAL'ahL, see O-l-(L-)'a).*

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l-dA-'a *(intransitive only, for transitive see O-l-(L-)'a)* 1. *(with l-thematic 'misfortune'?)* S wane away, pass, (supply) run out, all die off, disappear, become extinct, come to an end *(so that there is little or nothing left)*: **'udA'u:G 'Awa: qu'lAdA'ah** his life-breath is about to run out *61.103A,* **lAGAdA'a:L** it (supply of something) is running out *L,* **xah lAGAdA'a:L** summer is passing *43.32M,* **lAGAdA'a:Linu:** they're becoming extinct *68.70A,* **da: lAGAdA'a:L** we're all dying off *L,* **Li'q' qAlAGAdA'a:L** they're all dying off *L, often with o-Xa' 'in relation with o':* **siXa' lAGAdA'a:L** I'm running out of it *L,* **sha:XAlAG siXa' lAGAdA'a:L** I'm running out of sugar < my sugar's running out, running out on me *L,* **'i:nsdi'ahL** it's all used up, all gone *L,* **lisdi'ahLinu:** *68.69A,* **'i:nsdi'ahLinu:** they've died off, become extinct *70.2A,* **dAdu'X Li'q' lisdi'ahL** they've almost all died off *69.1A,* **siXa' 'i:nsdi'ahLinu:** they've passed away from, died out on me *70.10A,* **'udA'u:G 'i:nsdi'ahL** he expired, his life-breath ran out *61.110A,* **la'dih XAla:g 'uch'ahd 'i:nsdi'ahL** two winters passed after that *L,* **sha:XAlAG qa:Xa' 'i:nsdi'ahL** we're out of sugar *L,* **qa:Xa' 'i:ndi'ahLlu'qa: 'iya'** go to get what we're out of *L (nominalized Neuter perfective), with ta' 'into water':* **tä' 'i:nsdi'ahL** they dispersed, disappeared into the water *50.62, 62A, with class-marks for S:* **gah XAdla:GAdA'a:L** day (Xd-class) is waning *L,* **Li'q' dla:sdi'ahL** it (money, d-class) is all gone, spent *L,* **gu:nsdi'ahL** it (liquid, gl-class) is all gone, drunk up *L.*

2. *With l-thematic as above, with tl'a'q' ('on end'?) as preverb,* S get hurt, come to grief, have misfortune: **tl'a'q' 'i:nxsdi'ahL** I got badly hurt *L.*

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O-**l-(L-)'a** *(transitives with L-classifier in Active and Neuter perfectives only, as in O-(L-)'a (and once, analogically, in Active customary, cf. yAX O-(L-)'a))* 1. S spend, use up, exterminate, annihilate, massacre, kill off, kill many, take, make off with, pillage, collocate all O *(referring to action, often reckless, upon a large number of objects or proportion thereof, leaving little or nothing; causative of l-dA-'a 1.)*: *with no locative or directional preverbs or postpositional phrases:* **qu'li:x'ah** *L,* **qu'li:x'inhinu:** I'll kill them all off *M,* **lAXiqe'li:x'ah** I'll kill you all off *M,* **'Aw sha:XAlAG qu'li:x'ah** I'll use up all that sugar *L,* **'u:d XAla: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,* **'Aw lAGA'a:L** it's killing them all off *L,* he's bringing a haul of it in *49.110A,* **lAGA'a:Linh** he's killing them all off *M,* **Li'q' lisiL'ahL** *L,* **'i:nsiL'ahLinu:** I killed them all off *M,* O **'i:nsAL'ahL** 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,* **XAla:g 'i:nsAL'ahLinh** she spent the winter *18.48L, Galushia Nelson* Dəx̣ɔ́ⁿ qi' Ǧəɬését'ɬ íⁿsətɬàtɬⁿ 'Where a man killed lots of land-otters' *BSdL 286, 559* **dAXunh qi' GALAtsitl' 'i:nsAL'ahLinh**, **'Aw la:yi'ahwahd** in order to make off with it all *11.10A,* **'Aw li:L'a:k'** he (cust) makes off with it *9.140A (L-classifier probably analogical, blend with O-l-L-ya:'), with class-marks for O:* **'u:d gah XAdla:siL'ahL** I spent the day (Xd-class) there *L,* **'u:d Li'q' da:na: siXa' dla:siL'ahL** I spent all my money (d-class) there *L, with 'iLt'a' 'together':* **'iLt'a' qu'li:x'ah** I'll gather them up *L,* O **'iLt'a' 'i:nsAL'ahL** gathered, assembled O together *7.11, 12, 11.7, 8, 28A, with 'iLt'a'd 'hanging (one part at rest behind the other, draped over something)':* **'iLt'a'd qu'li:x'ah** I'll hand it (all) up *A,* **'Aw 'iLt'a'd 'i:nsAL'ahLinu:** they hung them (fish) all up *21b.40A, with 'a'q' 'out (of building)':* **'a'q' 'i:nsAL'ahL** pillaged it out *9.124, 132, 133, 11.11, 12A,* **dik' ta:ya'X 'Aw 'a'q' lAsL'ahLG** he didn't pillage it out through the doorway *11.13A, with lAG 'up ashore, up from shore, upland':* **'Aw lAG 'i:nsAL'ahL** he made off with it up *9.125, 11.202A, with 'u:dik'ah 'away from there':* **'u:dik'ah 'Aw 'i:nsAL'ahL** he made off with it away from there *9.106, 10.44, 52, 53, 11.33A,* **'u:dik'ahch' 'Aw lAGA'a:L** he's taking it all away from there *10.48A, with qa' 'up out' (see also 3b.):* **'Aw qä' 'i:nsAL'ahL** he pillaged it

all up out (through smokehole) *11.15A, with other locatives and directionals:* **sida' k'ulAGi:'ah da:X** if you bring me a haul (of something) *9.22A,* **'itl'AlAt'a'ch' 'Aw 'i:nsAL'ahL** he made off with it to behind a mountain *9.110A,* **'a:nch' lAGA'a:L** is pillaging, bringing a haul of it hither *9.159, 160, 162A,* **Li'q' ya:yu: 'uXa' 'Awa: lAGAx'ah da:X** when I pillage all their things from them *11.60A,* **'Awqa:' 'i:nsAL'ahL** knocked everything down *28.45A; passive:* **qa: lAGAdA'a:L** we're all getting killed off *L,* **'i:nsdi'ahLinu:** they got wiped out, annihilated *28.133, 140, 142A, partly homophonous with l-dA-'a 'S all die out, go extinct', see Eyak Texts 68.69-70fn.*

2. *(Causative of l-dA-'a 2.) with tl'a'q' ('on end'?) as preverb,* S spoil, break, ruin (functioning?) O: **tl'a'q' qu'li:'ah** you'll ruin it! *L,* **tl'a'q' 'i:nsiL'ahL** I ruined, hurt, spoiled, broke it (e.g. pet, machine, tool, but not cake, house) *L.*

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3. *(With l-anatomical 'head', see also l-ta, tsin'(l)-LA-'a, l-L-ya:')* a. *with ta'X '(movement) in water' and yAX 'downward',* S baptize O < S put O's head down in water *(see also qa: ta'X yAX 'i:nLyi:n'inh under ya:')*: **ta'X yAX xu:nsAL'ahLinh** he baptized me *L.*

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3b. *With qa' 'up out',* S please, surprise O pleasantly (< S lift up O's head?): **qa' 'iqe'li:x'ah** I'll bring you a nice surprise, please you *L,* **qa' xu:nsAL'ahLinh** he brought me a nice surprise, pleased me *L.*

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ta'X yAX 'i:ndi'ahLinu: *(noun)* baptized people *L. Nominalization of passive Neuter perfective of O-l-(L-)'a 3a. above.*

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tsin'(l)-(dA-)'a *(with tsin'(l)-thematic 'disorder', basic form uncertain: dA-classifier perhaps basic, but all attested forms are indirect reciprocal requiring vocalization of classifier from zero to dA-, and also perhaps interpretable as passives of O-tsin'(l)-(L-)'a)* S be, get in disorder: *with 'iL-qa' 'amongst each other':* **'iLqa' qu'tsin'dA'ah** they'll get mixed up *L,* **'iLqa' tsin'lidi'ahL**, **'iLqa' tsin'di'ahL** they (e.g. flour, sugar) are mixed up together *L (Neuter perfective); with 'iL-qa:X 'scattered (through amongst each other)':* **'iLqa:X tsin'lidi'ahL**, **'iLqa:X tsin'di'ahL** they (e.g. flowers) are scattered, spread around *L.*

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O-**tsin'(l)-(L-)'a** *(causative of tsin'(l)-(dA-)'a, -l- sometimes omitted in Active perfective, L-classifier in Active perfective and Neuter perfective only)* S jumble, scatter O: **Li'q' ya:yu: tsin'lixiL'ahL** I've got the stuff all jumbled together *L (Neuter perfective), with 'iL-lah 'around each other':* **'iLah tsin'lAGA'a'** mix them up! *M, with 'iL-qa' 'amongst each other':* **'iLqa' tsin'lAGA'a'** mix them up! *M,* **'iLqa' qu'tsin'li:x'ah** I'll mix them (e.g. sugar and flour) together *M,* **'iLqa:nch' tsin'lAGAx'a:L** I'm mixing them together *M,* **'iLqa' tsin'lisiL'ahL**, **'iLqa' tsin'siL'ahL** I mixed them (dry things only) together *L, with 'iL-qa:X 'scattered (through amongst each other)':* **'u:d 'iLqa:X tsin'li:'a'** spread it (e.g. sand) all over there! *L,* **'u:d 'iLqa:X qu'tsin'li:x'ah** I'll spread, scatter it (e.g. sand, ashes, flour) all over there *L,* **'iLqa:X tsin'lAGA'a'Linh**, **'iLqa:XAch' tsin'lAGAdA'a:Linh** he's spreading, scattering them all over *L (both forms to be corrected to tsin'lAGA'a:Linh), with lX-class-mark for O:* **'iLqa:X 'Aw tsin'lAXAGA'a'Linh** he's spreading them (berries) around *L (to be corrected to tsin'lAXAGA'a:Linh).*

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ya:n' tsin'(l)-LA-'a *(with tsin'(l)-anatomical 'head, neck', with l- preceding GA- prefix, attested only with ya:n' 'down', see also l-ta, O-l-(L-)'a 3.)* S put head down, bow head (toward chest): **ya:n' tsin'lAGALA'a'** put your head down! *L,* **ya:n' qu'tsin'xLA'ah** I'll bow

my head *L,* **ya:n' tsin'xsLi'ahL** I bowed my head *L. Transitive (causative):* **ya:n' tsin'lAGAL'in'inh** put his head down! *L.*

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O-**'-dl-(L-)'a** *(semitransitive with dl-thematic, L-classifier in Active perfective and Neuter perfective only)* S turn O (vessel) over: *with yAX 'downward':* **yAX 'u'dla:GA'a'** turn it (cup) over! *L,* **yAX 'u'qu'dli:x'ah** I'll turn it (boat, plate) over *L,* **yAX 'u'dla:siL'ahL** I turned it (boat, plate) over *L,* **'AXAkih ('anhXa') 'anhq'Ach' yAX 'u'dla:siL'ahLinh** she turned (his) canoe over on top of him *47b.20M, 47c.24L,* **siq'Ach' (ya:n'ch') yAX 'u'dla:yi'ah** you should turn it (canoe) over (down) on top of me *47b.11, 17M, 47c.9L, with o-q' ya:nahd 'down on o covering some surface':* **'AXAkih siq' ya:nahd 'u'dla:GA'a'** turn it (canoe) over on me *47a.3L; passive, Neuter perfective* **yAX 'u'dla:di'ahL** it's turned over *L.*

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O-**'-gdl-(L-)'a** *(semitransitive with gdl-thematic perhaps gd-anatomical 'rump' and l-thematic, cf. O-'-(l-)(L-)ta, L-classifier in Active perfective and Neuter perfective only)* 1. *with 'iLya' 'inside each other' and perambulative, yAX 'reversal of motion', 'back and forth',* S bend O back and forth until it break: **'iLya' yAX 'u'gAdla:dA'e:** bend it back and forth until it breaks! *L,* **'iLya' yAX 'u'gAdla:xdA'a:X** I'm bending it back and forth until it breaks *L,* **'iLya' yAX 'u'gAdla:siL'ahL** I bent it back and forth until it broke *L.*

2. *Reflexive (cf. 'Ad-'-gdl-LA-ta, 'Ad-'-gdl-LA-ya:')* a. *with o-X 'in contact with o',* S cling tight, hang onto o: **'Awgutl'ahda:X 'Adu'GAdla:Li'ahL** *M (-G- probably incorrect),* **'Awgutl'ahda:X 'Adu'gAdla:Li'ahL** he hung onto its tail *23.33A (Neuter perfective).*

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2b. *With 'iLt'a'X 'one part behind the other' and qa' 'up out',* S curl, bend, fold self, double self over with knees raised close to chest (knee-chest position): **'iLt'a'X qa' 'Adu'gudla:Li'ahL** he has his knees raised to his chest *L.*

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gdl-L-'a *(problematical form, attested in Inceptive perfective only, perhaps nominalized, stem consistently -'a:-L, therefore, -'a, not -'a´, with gl-class-mark for S (or O?), d-thematic probably 'accumulation', L-classifier irregular unless underlying basic theme is to be interpreted as transitive, but transitives with L-classifier in Inceptive perfective are regular with stem -'a´ only, not with -'a, see also 'i-L-'a)* S (small puddle of water) form: **'u:d gAdla:GAL'a:L** a small puddle is forming there *LM,* **da:d ya: giyahdAL 'a:nd gAdla:GAL'a:L** where's this water from that's forming a small puddle here? *L,* **giyah qi' gAdla:GAL'a:Lya' q'unh sahL** right into where water's formed a puddle he walked *L,* **giyah qi' gAdla:GAL'a:Lya'd q'Aw sahx k'u:Leh** where water has formed puddles is where there are cockles *L.*

a´1 *(perhaps to be identified with a´2, but semantic connection obscure; perhaps partly confused with -da 9. under da)*

dA-a´ 1. S be, become of certain size, bulk, *attested with adverb 'idah 'nicely, fine, okay', and with postpositional phrases o-ga' 'like o', o-lAX 'more than, past o', o-'u'X '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, see also (???) under 2., with o-Xa' 'in relation with o':* **'idah siXa' 'idiyah** it fits me well *M,* **dik' 'idah siXa' 'Ada:G** (*to be corrected to* 'a'da:G) it doesn't fit me well *M,* **'idah siXa' q'e' 'idiyah** it fits me well again *M,* **dik' 'idah siXa' q'e' 'Ada:G** (*to be corrected to* **'a'da:G**) it doesn't fit me well anymore *M,* **dik' 'idah la'dahG** (*or* **-da:G**) it (hat) doesn't fit me *L,* **lisga' 'idiyinhinh** he was the size of a tree *37b.51, 56A,* **'uyAku:nch'ga' 'idiyah** it was the size of his thumb *37b.37A,* **de:ga'duw 'idiya:, 'Aw La'g, dA'Awgwa' q'Aw dAq'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:dAga' 'idiyah** it fits (there) *M,* **'Awga' 'idiyah** it's that size, the proper size, it's big enough *L,* **dA'Alga'kih 'idiyah** little things *(derisive)* < those which are just like this little in size *L,* **dik' 'Awga' q'e' 'a'da:G** it doesn't fit anymore *L,* **siyAga' 'idiyah** it's a size I can handle (like my hand in size) *L,* **dA'uyAgä' 'idiyahkih** a little one just the right size for her to handle *25.25A,* **siyAXAga' 'idiyah djiL qu'xtsah** I'll buy a bed large enough for (under) me *L,* **siqi:dAga' 'idiyah** it fits my foot *L,* **siyAga' ti:ndiyah** it (glove) fits my hand *L,* **sila'ga' 'i:ndiyah** (*or* **lidiyah**) it (hat) fits (over) my head *L, indirect reciprocal:* **dA'iLga' 'idiyah** they're just the same size *M,* **dik' dA'iLga' 'a'dahG** they're not the same size *L,* **dik' 'AwyAq'Aga' qi:da'yida:G** your foot's not big enough for (inside) it *L (correction for qi:di:da:G M, which would be Active imperfective),* **siqi:dAlAX 'idiyah** it's too big for (bigger than) my foot *L,* **siyAlAX ti:ndiyah** it (glove) is too big for my hand *L,* **sila'lAX lidiyah** (*or* **'i:ndiyah**) it (hat) is too big for (over) my head *L,* **'ida'ya:'u'X 'idiyinhinh** she's too little *9.25A,* **'i'u'X 'idiyinhinh** he who's smaller than you *9.44A,* **'Aw'u'Xkih 'idiyah Lu:ndiyahs** the little lesser-sized mouse < the mouse which is of size smaller than that little one *37b.26A,* **siqi:dA'u'X 'idiyah** they're too small for my feet *L,* **sila'u'X 'idiyah** it's too small for (over) my head *L,* **silA'u'X 'i:ndiyah** it (hat) is too small for my head *L,* **siyA'u'X ti:ndiyah** they (gloves) are too small for my hands *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **'idah qa'dah** it'll fit *L,* **ne:tl' 'Awga' qa'dah** pretty soon it'll be big enough *L,* **'idah q'e' qu'dAdah** it'll fit again *L (incorrect, theme treated as -da with dA- classifier duplicated), Active imperfective:* **qa:yAku:nch'ga' dinhinu:** they're the size of our thumb (of a human thumb) *37a.9L (perhaps incorrect, see also dik' 'AwyAq'Aga' qi:da:da:G M above), Inceptive perfective (especially in negative, frequently with -'- prefix, analogical with that of negative Neuter imperfective, cf. certain themes under 'a´~'a'):* **'idah GAda'L** it's starting to fit well *L,* **dAtli: dA'a: 'Ad-la:Lixa:gga' 'a'GAda'L** he's getting big enough to take care of himself *L,* **dAtli:shuh 'Awga' 'a'GAxda:L** (*to be corrected to* **-da'L**) am I big, old enough yet? *M,* **di:yAX q'Aw 'Awga' GAda:LG** *M (to be corrected to following),* **di:yAX q'Aw 'Awga' 'a'GAda'LG** it's not big, old enough yet *LM,* **di:yAX q'Aw 'Awga' 'a:Gi:da:LG** *M (to be corrected to following),* **di:yAX q'Aw 'Awga' 'a'Gi:da'LG** (*or* **Gi:da'LG**) you're not big, old enough yet *L,* **'ila'u'X la'GAda'L** it (hat) is getting too small for (over) your head *L, Active perfective:* **'idah sdiya'L** it fit, became right size *L,* **q'ahdAq'Aw 'Awga' sdiya'L** it finally is (got) big enough *L,* **dAtli: q'Aw 'Awga' qAsdiya'L** they're already old (big) enough *M,* **sila'ga' q'e' sdiya'L** it fits my head again (became big enough for over me) *L,* **'Aw'u'X sdiya'L** it is (got) too small *L, Neuter optative:* **qi' 'Awga'kih 'a'diyahch'** until she's big enough (big like that little bit) *9.27A,* **'ixi'ehga' 'a'diyahch'** till she's big enough that I might marry her *9.27A,* **'idahshgahX la'yidah** *(Neuter),* **'idahshgahX lAGi:dah** *(Inceptive),* **'idahshgahX la:yidah** *(Active),* I hope it (hat) is the right size *L (optatives with theme treated as if l-da, as -da 9. under da, to be corrected to la'diyah, lAGAdiyah, la:diyah respectively), Inceptive conditional:* **te'ya' wAX 'Ale:lga' GAxdah da:X** when I get old (big) enough for commercial fishing *L; with preverb la'q' 'thickness':* **'utah 'Awa: 'idah la'q' 'idiyah** its skin is really thick *65.9A,* **'a'd 'iLga' la'q' GAdah da:X** when they're quite uniformly thick (like each other) *65.5A; with 'ida:kih 'such a little bit':* **ts'idwAX 'ida:kih lAXAdiyah q'Ama:** just a small-sized amount of roe *10.118A. Transitive (causative):* **'idah GALdiya'** make it fit! *L (incorrect, stem treated as -diya´, to be corrected to GALa').*

2. *Nominalized Neuter imperfective, with dA-* 'ipse': *Rezanov* Тыитъ-атея 'Цѣльной ('whole') ganz' *perhaps to be read* **dA'idiyah** just what it is in size, *or, perhaps* **di'dah 'idiyah** it's the right size; *as o of o-ga':* **di'idiyahga'** *(used as adverb)* in one piece, intact, whole *L.*

a´2 *(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´1 but semantic relation too obscure; perhaps related to La'2)*

o-**li' 'i-d-L-a´** *(with o-li' 'from open front end into closed back end of o, in behind o', d-thematic, and 'i- prefix, perhaps originally indeterminate O, cf. 'i-d-le, also di:)* S hate, detest, dislike, be angry, mad, peeved at o: *Neuter imperfective: 11.46, 50, 50A,* o-**li' 'idi:Lah** you hate o *51.33, 35, 35A,* **'uli' 'idixiLah** I hate it, used to hate it *M,* **'uli' 'idixiLinhinh** I dislike, hate him *L,* **'ili' 'idixiLah** I hate you, I'm mad at you *L,* **dik' 'uli' 'ida'xLa:Ginh** I don't mind, dislike, am not mad at him *L,* **dik' 'ili' 'ida'xLa:G** I don't dislike you *M,* **'uli'shuw 'idi:Lah** do you hate it? *M,* **de:wahd 'ili' 'idi:Lah**, **de:'wAXd sili' 'idi:Lah** why do you dislike me? *M,* **'Awli' 'idi:Linhinh** he hates it *M,* **'anhli' 'idi:Linhinh** he hates him *L,* **sili' 'idi:Linhinh** he hates, dislikes me *L,* **sili' k'u'di:Lah** someone hates me *M,* **'ili' dä: 'idi:Lah** we hate you *L, indirect reciprocal:* **'iLli' 'idiLiyinhinu:** they hate, dislike each other *LM,* **dik' 'iLli' 'ida'La:Ginu:** they don't dislike each other *LM, Inceptive imperfective:* **'uli' 'iqe'di:xLah** I'll hate it *M,* **dik' 'uli' 'iqe'di:xLahGinh** (*or* **-a:Ginh**) I won't dislike him *L,* **dik' 'ili' 'iqe'di:LahGinh** he won't be mad at you *L,* **'iLli' 'iqe'di:Linhinu:**, **'iLi' 'iqe'dALAyinhinu:** *(M prefers former, L no preference)* they'll dislike each other *LM (-Linh- < -LA-a´-in- in former treated as stem with non-vocalic classifier, probably incorrect, in latter treated as stem with vocalic classifier, perhaps correctly, in which case form should be -dALinhinu: but here probably incorrectly with stem analogically -ya-),* **dik' 'iLi' 'iqe'dALAya:Ginu:** they won't dislike each other *L (probably incorrect, see preceding, to be corrected to 'iqe'dALa:Ginu: or 'iqe'di:La:Ginu:), Inceptive perfective:* **'iLi' 'idAGAxLa'L** I'm getting to hate you *L,* **'uli' 'idAGAxLa'Linh** I'm getting to dislike him *L, Active perfective:* **'ili' 'idisiLa'L** I've gotten to hate you, I got mad at you *L,* **'uli' 'idisiLa'Linh** I got to dislike him *L, Active optative:* **'idah 'i:t'eh dA'u:d sili' 'ida:yiLinhinh** that's alright, let him hate me *M, Active imperfective customary:* **'ili' 'idAxLa:k'** I (cust) hate you *M, negative Neuter conditional:* **dik' dAXunhyu:li' 'ida'yiLa:G da:X** if you don't hate people *51.84A.*

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o-**li' 'Ad-d-LA-a´** *(reflexive causative derived from preceding, perhaps irregularly or incorrectly, as if preceding were o-li' d-L-a´)* S pretend to hate, detest, dislike, be angry, mad, peeved at o: **'uli' 'AdixLiyinhinh** I'm pretending I don't like him *L (Neuter imperfective),* **'i:li:X q'unhAw 'Awli' 'Adqe'di:xLah** (*or* **'Adqu'di:xLah**) I'll pretend to dislike him *L (apparently uncertain).*

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qe'-dl-LA-a´ *(< qa' 'i-dl-LA-a´, with qa' 'up out' inseparably fused with verb proper, dl-thematic, perhaps derived from *qa' O-dl-L-a´ 'S please O' detransitivized with indeterminate O and vocalic classifier, or perhaps basic mediopassive, cf. o-li' 'i-d-L-a´ and qe'-le' (< qa' 'i-le') under le(')~li)* S be, become very pretty, beautiful, elegant (in appearance): *Neuter imperfective:* **he'eh qe'dla:Liyinhinh** my she's pretty! *10.126A,* **'Ana:shah qe'dla:Liyah** flower is pretty, beautiful *L,* **dik' qe:dla'La:G** it's not pretty *L (form here treated according to pattern in Neuter imperfective of semitransitives O-'-Ci-Li-stem, negative O-:-Ca-'-LA-stem-G), Inceptive imperfective:* **ne:tl' qe'qe'dli:Lah** pretty soon it'll be pretty *L, Inceptive perfective:* **qe'dla:GALa'L** it's getting pretty *L, Active perfective:* **qe'dla:sLiya'L** it got pretty *L.*

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qe'-O-**dl-L-a´** *(transitive irregularly derived from preceding, or perhaps basic O-dl-L-a´ with qa' fused to verb proper and umlauted by analogy with preceding)* S think O be pretty, nice, S like, highly esteem O: **qe'dla:xiLinhinh** I think she's very nice *L,* **qe'dla:siLa'Linh** I got to think she's pretty, nice *L,* **'AlAshgahX qe'dla:Gi:Linhinh**, **'AlAshgahX qe'dla:yiLinhinh** I hope you like her *L.*

'a´~'a' *(invariable 'a' in themes with L-classifier with comparative postpositional phrases o-ga' 'like o', o-lAX 'more than, past o'; in one theme, perhaps under*

analogical influence of the preceding, 'a' in Neuter imperfective alternating with 'a ´ in other mode-aspects; and in all other themes regular 'a´, but in a few Active perfectives -'ah-L and Inceptive perfectives -'a:-L, especially in forms from M, certainly in error, by analogy with 'a, to be corrected to -'a'-L; 'e: frequent in Neuter imperative; themes with 'a´~'a' are not often difficult to distinguish from those with 'a largely because of the frequent occurrence of the Neuter imperfective with 'a´~'a', which is rare or doubtful with 'a; the main confusion between the two stems is in the themes 'i-d-'a and 'i-d-('-)L-'a´, 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 -'a- sometimes occurs in position immediately preceding the -G- or -s- of the perfective prefix, probably arising from anticipation of the phonological form of the stem -'a'-, especially frequent in the theme 'i-d-('-)L-'a´, cf. also e.g. Inceptive perfective of dA-a´ under a´1; stem perhaps related to 'ah1 and/or 'ah2, and/or to 'a:w1; in the case of a number of nominalized Active imperfectives, and of some deverbalizations with -L-instrumental of the form -'a'-L, there is some uncertainty as to whether the stem should be assigned to 'a´~'a' or to 'a; themes with stem -'a´ and nominalizations and deverbalizations thereof are listed first, then themes with stem 'a', last 'a'~'a´)

-'a´ *(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) extend', 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 Xd-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) flow'; for extension of S of irregular shape or of indefinite or changing length see wus~wAs)* 1. *With no locative or directional postpositional phrases or preverbs, attested only with gl-class-mark for S 'liquid'*: *Rezanov* Кулле-а 'Сулой ('surf, breakers') Brandung' **guli:'ah** it (water, liquid) is flowing, extends in stream, **gusi:kih gAli:'ah** it (water) is trickling a bit *M,* **dik' gAla'ahG** it (water) isn't running *M,* **giyah gAli:'ah** water is running, flowing *LM,* **qu'gAli:'ah** it'll leak *L,* **gAlAGA'a:L** (*to be corrected to* **-'a'L**) it (water) is starting to flow *M,* **'Al 'a:n guli:'ah da:X** as this river starts to run *21b.71A (after spring breakup of ice?, probably Active conditional).*

2. *With qa' 'up out' (see also q'a:k'qa'ah, LanhdAyAq' qa' 'ah, qa' 'AdXALA'ah, 'utl' dAlu' qa' k'u'a'L)*: **qa' 'i:'ah** it's sticking out, protruding *L,* **dik' qa' 'a'ahG** it's not sticking out *M,* **k'ut'u' 'uch'a:d 'Awa: qa' 'i:'ah** fish are running < their many dorsal fins are protruding (from water) *L,* **guGALte' 'u:dAX qa' 'i:'ah** a handle protrudes there *L,* **Lanhd qi' qa' 'i:'ahlAX 'isAL'anhL** she saw a place where (a column of) smoke was rising *47b.31M,* **'u:dAX qa' 'i:'ah** it's sticking out (along) there *L, 28.14A (see 13.),* **'u:dAX qa' qa'ah** it'll stick out there *L,* **'u:dAX qa' gAli:'ah** water's coming out there *L,* **'u:dAX qa' gu:nsA'a'L** water squirted out of there *L,* **'u:dAX qa' di:'ah** it (board) is sticking out there *M,* **'u:dAX qa' dAGA'a:L** (*to be corrected to* **dAGA'a'L**) 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' GA'a'L** it's starting to stick up out of the water *L,* **ta'd qa' sA'a'L** 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 qä' 'i:'inhinh** his tongue is hanging out *M,* **dik' 'ula't' 'usa'd qa' 'a'a:Ginh** 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 qä' 'i:'ah** it's sticking out of your pocket *LM,* **sit'a'd qa' GA'a'L** it's starting to show out of my pocket *L, with o-Xahd '(out of sight) behind o' (see 6a.):* **'AwXahd qa' 'i:'inhinh** he's sticking his head (extending) upon over it (fence, wall) *L,* **'AwXahd qa:nch' GA'a'L** it's starting to stick upwards from behind it *L, with Xahd 'out of sight (behind something)':* **Xahd qa' 'i:'ah** it's sticking up into sight from behind something *L, with o-Xa:n' 'the whole length of o' (see 3.):* **siXa:n' qä' 'i:'ah** it (e.g. stick) stands alongside me (up to my head) *L, with o-Xa'-X '(movement in area) by, alongside o' (see 3., 25.):* **siXa'X qa' 'i:'ah** it extends up along my side *M, with o-yAq' 'inside o' (see 3., 5., 11., 13., LanhdAyAq' qa' 'ah):* **'ula't' 'uyAq' qa' 'i:'inhinh** his tongue is hanging out *L,* **Lanhd 'uyAq' qa' 'i:'ah** smoke rises from (in) it *3.5M,* **t'its'dAyAq' qa' 'i:'ah** they're sticking up out of the ice *45.11L,* **'uyAq' qa' gAli:'inhinh** (liquids) spew up out of him *23.20A (cf. gl-'ya 2.). Transitive (causative):* **'Aw qa' 'a'L'e:** make it stick out! *L (Neuter imperative), with o-ch' 'toward o' and lahdz 'forward' (see 7., 11.):* **'ula't' sich' lahdz qä' 'i:L'inhinh** he's sticking his tongue out at me *L, with o-tl' 'with o' and dA-lu' 'through (hole in) indeterminate o' (see 17.):* **'utl' dAlu' qa' k'uqu'x'ah** (*to be corrected to* **k'uqu'xL'ah**) I'll pin it (to it) with a safety pin (cause it to extend through something with it) *L,* **'utl' dAlu' qa' k'usiL'a'L** I pinned it (to it) with a safety pin *L.* **'iLtl' dAlu' qa' k'usiL'a'L** I pinned them together with a safety pin *L (see 'utl' dAlu' qa' k'u'a'L).*

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3. *With yAX 'downward' (see also yAX XAdAdA'ah, yAX XAdi:'ah, dAXAyAXd yAX XAdA'a'L, 'i-d-(')L-'a', yAX 'i-gdl-L-'a')*: **yAX gAlA'a:gk'** it (liquid) (cust) keeps running down *M,* **shi: yAX gAli:'ah** waterfalls < creek extends downward *M,* **yAX k'uXAdi:'ah** something (Xd-class, a stripe) extends down *M,* **Xi:d qi' 'itl' yAX li:'ahda:d** at the foot of the mountain over there < yonder at where mountain extends down *L,* **yAX qi:li:'ah** it (rope) is hanging down (to speaker) *L, with 'u:dAX '(movement within area along) there' (see 13.):* **'u:dAX yAX qi:li:'ah** rope (of definite length) is hanging down there *LM,* **'u:dAX yAX qi:dli:'ah** (garden-)hose is hanging down there *M, with o-Xa:n' 'the whole length of o' (see also passives, 2.):* **'uXa:n' yAX 'i:'ah** it hangs way down on it *L,* **'uXa:n' yAX k'uXAdi:'ah** something (Xd-class, a stripe) extends all the way down it *L,* **'uXa:n' yAX gu:'inhinh** it (g-class, her hair) hangs all the way down on her *L,* **'iXa:n' yAX k'ugu:'ah** your slip is showing < (something g-anatomical) extends all the way down on you *M,* **dik' siXa:n' yAX k'ugu:'a:G** (*or* **-'ahG**) my slip isn't showing *M,* **'iXa:n' yAX k'uqu'gu:'ah** your slip will show *M,* **dik' siXa:n' yAX k'uqu'gu:'ahG** (*or* **-'a:G**) my slip won't show *M, with o-lXd-'e'-d '(from state of rest) in place of o's eye':* **silAXAde:'d yAX gAli:'ah** my eyes are watering *M, with o-t'a:X 'behind, under shelter of o, inside o's clothing':* **'Awt'a:X yAX 'i:'ah** it's hanging (visibly further) down (from) behind it *L,* **'it'a:X yAX 'i:'ah** it's showing down behind you *L,* **'it'a:X yAX k'ugu:'ah** your slip (something g-anatomical) is showing *L, with o-l-X 'in contact with o's head, face' (see 12.):* **'i:nAX yAX gu:'ah** it (your hair) is hanging down in your face *L,* **'u:nAX 'Aw yAX gu:'inhinh** it (his hair) is hanging down in his face *L,* **giyah si:nAX yAX gAli:'ah** water is running down my face *L,* **Gu' si:nAX yAX gAli:'ah** sweat is running down my face *L,* **Gu' si:nAX yAX gAlAGA'a'L** sweat is starting to run down my face *L,* **ki:nX 'u:nAX yAX gAli:'ah** a tear is running down his face *L,* **ki:nX 'u:nAX yAX gAla'GA'a'Linh** a tear is starting to run down his cheek *L, with o-Xa'-X '(movement in area) by, along o' (see 2., 25.):* **'uXa'X yAX k'uXAdi:'ah** something (stripe) extends down along it *L, with o-yAq' 'in o' (see 2.):* **'uni:k'yAq' yAX gAli:'inhinh** it (clotted blood) extends down from (in) his nose *L, with o-da' 'to, arrival at o' (see 14.):* **'a:nda' yAX qi:li:'ah** it (rope) hangs down to here *L, with o-ch' 'to o' (see 11.):* **ya:n'ch' yAX gu:nsA'a'L**, **yAna:'ch' yAX gu:nsA'a'L** it (spilt water) ran down to the floor *L. Transitive (causative):* **'Awt'a:X yAX 'a'L'eh** put it down behind it (hanging cloth)! *L; passive:* **qi' 'Aw shahG 'Awa: Li'q' 'uXa:n' gAla:di'ahch'** until their slime all runs (has been made to run) (all the way) down off them *65.42A,* **'AwXa:n' yAX gulAGAdA'ah da:X** when it (slime) has (been made to) run down off it *65.43A, Rezanov* Утехтетеа 'Столбъ ('post (pole)') Pfahl' *perhaps to be*

read **'u:d yAX didi'ah** it (d-class, stake, board, tree?) has been made to extend down there *(nominalized? Neuter imperfective, but see also ya' d-'a´), see also yAX XAdAdA'ah.*

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4. *With perambulative (see also 'i-d-(')L-'a´)*: *Neuter imperfective:* **yAX 'idi'ah** it (e.g. sugar spilt all over) extends in various directions *M,* **yAX gAlidi'ah** water is flowing (in streams) in various directions, all over *M,* **dik' yAX gAla'dA'a:G** water isn't running all over *M,* **'a:wAyu: yAX XAdidi'ah** irregular lines, stripes extend in many directions *L,* **dA'Aw 'a:n 'ida: yAX gu:di'ah 'Awa:LX** following the twists and turns of the river < that very river, the way it flows about, according to that *68.4A, Active imperfective:* **yAX gAlAdA'a'X** water is flowing all about, in various streams *L, Active optative:* **yAX gAla:di'ah** let it (liquid) run all about *M.*

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5. *With li' 'from open front end toward closed back end, downstream' (see also li' gAli:'ah, 'i-d-(')L-'a´ 2.): a.*: *Rezanov* Акъэтъхлюкъ-ули-а *(ъэ uncertain, ъ- superscript insert, read Акэтхлюкъ-ули-а by Radlov)* 'Рѣка Fluss' **'a:n qi'dAX li' guli:'ah** place along where a river runs downstream, **'a:ndAX li' gAli:'ah** a stream runs (down) along here *L (see 13.),* **giyah qi' li' gAli:'ahch'ahd** from where water runs down, from a creek, stream *21b.8A.*

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5b. *With li'-X '(motion within area) downstream'*: **li'X gAli:'ah** tide is going out *L, cf. 9.*

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5c. *Transitive (causative), reflexive, with y-anatomical (cf. 21.), indirect reflexive with o-djAX-yAq' 'in o's ears' (see 2., xut'LyAq' li' di:'ah, Gdl-'a´ 2.) and li'*: **djAXAyAq' 'AdyiLi'inhinh** he's got his fingers in his ears (to shut out noise) *L; see also xut'LyAq' li' di:'ah.*

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6. *With qid 'down off, past edge':* a.: **qid XAdi:'ah** it (log) extends down, extends past edge *L,* **qid qi:li:'ah** it (rope) hangs down (past speaker's level), off edge *L,* **qid gAla'GA'a'L** it (spilt liquid) is starting to run off edge *L,* **'a:ngulAya'ch' qid gAli:'ah** it (water) is running down into the river *(see 11.), with o-Xahd 'out of concealment from behind o' (see 2.):* **'AwXahd qid GA'a'L** it's starting to protrude (beyond edge) from behind it *L.*

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6b. *With qid 'pointing, aimed in certain direction', and o-ch' 'toward o' (see 11.)*: **'Aw 'ich' qid 'i:'ah** it's pointing at you *L,* **Lich'a:ch' qid di:'ah** it (tree) is standing aslant *L; indirect reciprocal with o-k'ah-ch' 'toward away from o':* **'iLk'ahch' qid didi'ah** they (d-class S?, d-thematic ??? with qid?) point away from each other *L. Transitive (causative):* **'Aw 'ich' qid 'ixiL'ah** I'm pointing it at you *L, with ya'X 'upward' (see 'i-d-(')L-'a´ 1.):* **ya'X qid XAda'L'e:** point it (pole) upward! *L (Neuter imperative); passive:* **tl'i: qa:ch' ya'X qid XAdidi'ah** bear-spears have been pointed upwards at us *34.111L.*

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6c. *Problematical instance*: **ts'i:n qidda' GA'a'L** it (clock hand) is starting to point toward six *L, perhaps to be corrected to* **ts'i:n qi'da' GA'a'L** it's starting to extend to where it's six *L (see 14.) or perhaps* **qid da'GA'a'L** *variation of dAGA'a'L with optional d-thematic with qid.*

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7. *With 'u:dAX 'along there' and lahdz 'forward' (see 2., 13.)*: **'u:dAX lahdz 'i:'ah** it juts forward along there *L,* **'u:dAX lahdz GA'a:L** (*to be corrected to* **GA'a'L**) it's starting to show (emerge forward along there) *M.*

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8. *With lAG 'up ashore, up from shore'*: **lAG 'i:'ah** it (canoe) lay ashore *47.34M.*

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9. *With dAG-'e'-X '(motion) upstream, upland'*: **dAGe'X gAli'ah** tide is coming back in *L (cf. 5b., lisyAq' dAG gAli:'ah).*

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10. *With tl'a'q' 'on end' (?, see XAtl'a'q' dla:GA'ah, also -'a:w 3. under 'a:w1),* S (season, process, event) last, take a long time: **XAla:g tl'a'q' 'i:'ah** winter is long *L,* **xah tl'a'q' 'i:'ah** summer is long *L,* **XAla:g tl'a'q' qa'ah** winter will be long *L,* **dik' (sahdX) tl'a'q' qa'ahG** it won't take long *L,* **XAla:g tl'a'q' GA'a'L** winter is getting to be long *L,* **XAla:g tl'a'q' sA'a'L** winter was long *L,* **xah dik' tl'a'q' 'As'a'LG** summer wasn't long *L; L rejects *gah tl'a'q' sA'a'L 'day was long'.*

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11. *With o-ch' 'to o' (see 3., 6., 25., 'i-d-(')L-'a´*: **ta: 'u:ch' 'i:'ah** a road goes there (extends thither) *L,* **'a:nch' gAla'GA'a'L** it (spilled liquid) is starting to flow hither *L,* **Lich'a:ch' di:'ah** it (tree) leans to one side *(see also 6b., ya' d-'a'),* **'itl'la:X ya:n'ch' gAlAGA'ah da:X** when water runs down along the mountains *34.64M (see 3., 12.). Transitive (causative):* **giyah 'uya'ch' gula'L'e:** make water flow into it (o with broad opening at top, body of water)! *L (Neuter imperative).*

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12. *With o-X 'in (punctual) contact with o' (see also 3., 11., 'iLX didi'ah, 'iLX 'ulu' k'udA'ah)*: **'Aw 'AwX di:'ah** it (board) extends to (a point on) that (→|) *L,* **di-'wAX ts'a:' 'uXA' 'uX di:'ah** its (baby seal's) umbilical cord is still on it *L,* **'AwX qu'di:'ah** it (board) will extend to (a point on) that *L,* **ya:'a:gd 'AwX di:'ah** it extends perpendicular to the middle of it (in contact with it at the middle) *L,* **'Aw XAdi:'ah** it (log, pole) extends (to a point) on that (→| *or* →–) *L; indirect reciprocal:* **'iLX 'idi'ah** they're end to end *L,* **'iLX didi'ah** they (boards) are end to end *M (see also nominalizations),* **'iLX dAGAdA'a:L** (*to be corrected to* **dAGAdA'a'L**) they (ends of board bridge) are coming together *M,* **'iLX disdi'a'L** they (two ends of boards) touched *L,* **'iLX XAdAdA'ah** they (logs, matchsticks) are end to end *L. Transitive (causative):* **'iLX 'a'L'e:** set them end to end! *L (Neuter imperative),* **'iLX qu'xL'ah** I'll set them end to end *L,* **'iLX 'ixiL'ah** I've got them end to end *L,* **'AwX qu'di:xL'ah** I'll set it (board) so it touches that (at a point) *L,* **'AwX disiL'a'L** I set it (board) so it touches that (at a point) *L,* **'iLX disiL'a'L** I set them (boards) end to end *L,* **'AwX dAGAxL'a'L** I'm making it (board) extend to that *L.*

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13. *With o-dAX '(movement with)in area of o' (see also 1., 2., 3., 5a.)*: **ta: 'u:dAX sA'a'L** a road goes by there *L,* **XAsha:ndAX gAli:'ah** it (water) flows along nearby (speaker) *L (see 'i-d-(')L-'a´ 1.),* **'AwyAXdAX XAdi:'ah** it (log, line) extends along underneath that *L (see 23.),* **'AwyAq'dAX gAli:'ah** it (water) flows along through (in) it (pipe) *L (see 2.). Transitive (causative):* **'u:dAX qu'gAli:xL'ah** I'll make it (water) flow along there *L.*

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14. *With o-da' 'to, arrival at o' (see also 2., 6a., 'i-d-(')L-'a´ 2., L-'a')*: **'a:nda' sA'ahL** (*to be corrected to* **sA'a'L**) it reached to here *M,* **ta: 'a:nda' sA'a'L** a road reaches here *L,* **dik' 'a:nda' qi:lA'a:G** (*to be corrected to* **qi:la'a:G**) it (rope) doesn't reach to here *M,* **'u:da' qu'qi:li:'ah** it (rope) will reach there *L,* **dik' 'u:da' qu'qi:li:'ahG** it (rope) won't reach there *L.*

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15. *With o-ga' 'like o' or o-lAX 'more than, beyond o' (see also L-'a')*: **'Alga' 'i:'ah** it's this long *M,* **'Al 'Awga' 'i:'ah** this is as long as that *(same as 'Al 'Awga' 'i:L'a') L,* **'Alga' qa'ah** it (road) will be this long *M,* **'Alga' qi:li:'ah** it (rope) is this long *M,* **'Al 'AwlAX 'i:'ah** this is longer than that *(same as 'Al 'AwlAX 'i:L'a') L, indirect reciprocal:* **'iLga' 'idi'ah** they're the same length *(same as 'iLga' 'idisid, 'iLga' 'iLi'a') L,* **'iLga' XAdidi'ah** they (logs) are the same length *(same as 'iLga' XAdiLi'a') L.*

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16. *With o-ta:s 'over, across o' (see also 'i-d-(')L-'a´ 2.)*: **k'uta:s 'i:'ah** it extends across something (specific) *L,* **dAta:s 'i:'ah** it extends across (indeterminate o) *L,* **'uta:s di:'ah** it (board) extends across it *L,* **'Awta:s XAdi:'ah** it (log) extends over, across it *L; indirect reciprocal:* **'iLta:s 'idi'ah** they cross, they extend in opposite directions the length of each other

(*** (!) or *** (!)) *L,* **’iLta:s XAdidi’ah** they (logs) cross, they (matchsticks) lie in opposite directions the length of each other *L,* **’iLta:s qi:li’di’ah** *(perhaps to be corrected to qi:lidi'ah)* they (ropes) cross, extend in opposite directions the length of each other *L.*

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17. *With o-lu' 'through (hole in) o' (see also 2., 'iLX 'ulu' k'udA'ah, 'utl' dAlu' qa' k'u'a'L)*: **’Awlu’ ’i:’ah ’Ash ’a:nd ’idishe’gL** it (which) extends through it here has been bent past (as hook in eye) *L,* **t’ik’L ’ulu’ ’Ash di:’inhinh** an arrow is sticking clear through him *L (see also 22.), most frequently attested with gl-class-mark for S:* **’Awlu’ gAli:’ah** it leaks < a stream of water extends through it *L,* **’Awlu’ qu’gAli:’ah** it'll leak, water will come through it *L,* **dik’ ’Awlu’ qu’gAli:’ahG** water won't leak through it *L,* **’Awlu’ gAlAsA’ahL**, **’Awlu’ gu:sA’ahL** (*both to be corrected to* **-’a’L**), **’Awlu’ gu:sA’a’L** water leaked through it *L,* **’Awlu’ gAlAGA’a’L** water is starting to go through it *L, repetitive:* **dAqa:yu: ’Awlu’ gulA’a’g** water sometimes gets through it *L. Transitive (causative):* **’Awlu’ qu’gAli:xL’ah** I'll make water go through it, make it leak *L.*

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18. *Indirect reciprocal, with 'iL-ka' 'along with, in same direction as each other'*: **’iLka’ ’idi’ah** they're parallel *L,* **’iLka’ XAdAdA’ah** they (matchsticks) extend parallel in same direction *L.*

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19. *Transitive (causative), with o-sa' 'in o's mouth' (see also 2.)*: **sisa’ ’a’Le:** (*to be corrected to* **’a’L’e:**) stick it (e.g. thermometer) in my mouth! *L (Neuter imperative).*

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20. *With o-t'a' '(stuck, obstructed) behind o' (see also 2.)*: **’Awta’ gu:sA’a’L** it (liquid) flowed to (and got stopped by) that *L.*

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21. *Transitive (causative), with o-qa'-X '(motion) between o, through interstice in o'*: **’idAq’Ats’dAqa’X dla:GAL’a’** button your collar! < extend it (button) through your collar-interstice! *L,* **dla:XA’i:d ’iXa’ dAqa’X dla:GAL’a’** button your buttons! < extend your buttons through indeterminate o! *L; reflexive, with y-anatomical (cf. 5c.), indirect reciprocal:* **’iLqa’X ’AdyiLi’inhinh** he's got his hands clasped, folded, fingers interlaced *L,* **’iLqa’X ’AdyixsLi’a’L** I clasped, folded my hands < I extended my hands through interstices in each other *L.*

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22. *With o-q' 'on o' and 'Ash '(completely) past' (see also 17.)*: **’Awq’ ’Ash XAdi:’ah** it (log) lies over (on and across) that *L.*

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23. *With o-yAX 'under o' (see also 13., qidga' k'uyAX 'ah, dAXAyAXd yAX XAdA'a'L)*: **’ini:sq’yAX k’ugAli:’ah** your nose is running < something liquid extends under your nostrils *L,* **XAd ’uni:sq’yAX qi:li:’inhinh** it (dried snot) hangs ropelike under her nostrils *72.40M (poetic, in song, XAd word fragment, thematized class-mark 'line, streak').*

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24. *With o-ch'ahd 'away from o' (see also 'i-d-(’-)L-'a´ 2.)*: **ta: ’a:nch’ahd sA’a’L** a road extends from here *L,* **’a:nch’ahd XAdi:’ah** a log, line extends from here *L,* **’a:nch’ahd qi:li:’ah** a rope extends from here *L.*

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25. *Indirect reciprocal with 'iL-Xa'-X 'alongside (movement nearby) each other' (see also 2., 3.)*: **’iLXa’X ’idi’ah** they extend parallel and touch each other *L.*

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26. *Indirect reciprocal with 'iL-q'As-d 'opposite, facing in opposite directions, from each other'*: **’iLq’Asd XAdidi’ah** they (logs, lines) extend parallel to and in opposite directions from each other (*** (!)) *L.*

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27. *Indirect reciprocal, with 'iL-da:-X '(movement with)in area near each other' (see also 'iLda:X qi:gAdla:di'ah)*: **'iLda:X 'idi'ah** they're close and parallel *LM.*

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28. *Indirect reciprocal, with 'iL-da:-d '(rest) in area near each other' (see also qa:da:d'ah)*: **'iLda:d GAdA'a'L** they (parallel) are getting close to each other *L,* **'iLda:d XAdidi'ah** they (logs, lines) are close to each other *L.*

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29. *With yahd 'out to sea'*: *Anonymous* Ятхатѣа 'Мысъ' ('point of land') **yahd XAdi:'ah** it sticks way out (to sea) *M 6/96.*

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qi:yi:'ah *(noun, unclassified)* king crab (Paralithodes camtschaticus) *L. Nominalized Neuter imperfective with qi:y-anatomical,* < its toes (claws?) extend.

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yahd 'i:'ah *(noun, unclassified)* cape, promontory, point of land jutting out to sea *L, 42.4L. Nominalized Neuter imperfective.*

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ya:ta:s 'i:'ah *(place-name) Point Manby* < it extends across a thing *A XIV.41, A XV.1.*

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yahd 'i:'ahta:' *(personal name) Paul Alec A (unknown to L)* < father of that which juts out to sea.

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la'da'X 'i:'ah *(noun)* two-pronged fish-spear *L, Galushia Nelson* lá'ɒá'ẋi·yà' *or* lá'ɒáẋi'à *BSdL 549. Nominalized Neuter imperfective,* < it extends twice, doubly.

,

li' gAli:'ah *(noun, gl-class)* brook, stream, creek, tributary *L, 25.57A, Galushia Nelson* lí'ɢə́lɛ̀iyà' *or* lí'ɢə́lɛ̀iyà 'brook' *BSdL 537. Nominalized Neuter imperfective, see -'a´ 5a.*

,

lisyAq' dAG gAli:'ah *(place-name) on Eyak River above 'itl'a:ndi:(')ya'd L. Nominalized Neuter imperfective,* < it (water) runs upstream into a tree, inside (through) a tree, *see -'a´ 2., 9..*

,

xut'LyAq' li' di:'ah *(noun, d-class)* ramrod for rifle *L, Rezanov* Хотлехалитея 'Пышъ Flinten-Pfropfen'. *Nominalized Neuter imperfective,* < it (d-class) extends deeply into a riffle, *see -'a´ 2., 5.*

,

dAga'q'L di:'ah *(noun, unclassified) attested in Rezanov only, probable reading of* Такахльтеа 'Чапля' *(not in Radlov, 'heron', corresponding Tlingit entry тльляка, probably łáẋ' 'heron'), name or epithet for 'Sandhill crane' or 'great blue heron'. Nominalized Neuter imperfective,* < neck (d-class) extends'.

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LAkush'i:'ah *see LAkush'i:'ah (separate entry).*

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ta' li:'ah *(place-name) exact location not remembered, above Alaganik A, around Eyak River L. Nominalized Neuter imperfective,* < it (l-class) extends into the water.

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'iLX 'ulu' k'udA'ah *(noun)* dovetail joint *M,* two pieces end-to-end joined with pin *L, Rezanov* Ильехолюката 'Рубецъ въ шитьѣ 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.*

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'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.*

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qidga' 'i:'ah *(noun, unclassified)* end (of extent): **ta: qidga' 'i:'ah** end of the road *L. Nominalized Neuter imperfective, probably also qi'dg(w)a', qi'g(w)a', see qid, qi', gwa'~ga',* < as far as it goes, *see following..*

,

qidg(w)a' k'uyAX 'ah *(place-name) "place as far as you go, next river after ta:tl'ish", i.e. Tashalich River, i.e. Seal or Midtimber River S, qi'gwa' k'uyAX 'ah, first transcribed qe:gwa'k'AyAXA'ah. Nominalized Active imperfective,* < as far as it extends (from) under something, the end of its extent under something, *see -'a´ 23., qidga' 'i:'ah.*

,

'iLda:X qi:gAdla:di'ah *(noun)* a certain edible part inside a porcupine, ("like two ropes together") *L. Nominalized Neuter imperfective, indirect reciprocal with 'iL-da:-X '(movement with)in area near each other',* < they (ropelike) extend (over wetness?) parallel and near each other, *see -'a´ 27., shAwe:na:ch' qi:gAdla:'ah, gdl-L-'a'.*

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shAwe:na:ch' qi:gAdla:'ah *(noun, probably qi:d-class)* anchor-chain *L. Nominalized Active imperfective, with qi:l-class-mark for S, gdl-thematic 'extend over water',* < it (rope-like) extends (over water) to anchor*, see -'a´ 11., 'iLda:X qi:gAdla:di'ah, gdl-L-'a'.*

,

q'a:k'qa'ah *(< q'a:k'qa' 'ah or q'a:k' qa' 'ah, nominalized Active imperfective), see q'a:k', -'a´ 2.*

,

LanhdAyAq'qa'ah *(noun)* chimney, smokehole, stovepipe, *Rezanov* Тлянтеехкага 'Трува Schornstein', *Old Man Dude* tɬáⁿtɪ'íqá'à *BSdL 545. < Lanhd 'uyAq' qa' 'ah* smoke extends up out from in it, *nominalized Active imperfective, see -'a´ 2., Lanhd.*

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qa'AdXALA'ah *(noun, unclassified)* horseclam (Schizothaera nuttalli?) *LM, 10.230, 247A*: **qe'L qa'AdXALA'ahdAXunhyu:** female horseclam-people, spirits *10.247A,* **qa'AdXALA'ahwAlahyu:** horseclam-people, spirits *10.63A. Nominalizeed Active imperfective of reflexive causative, qa' 'Ad-X-LA-'a´, with qa' 'up out' (see -'a´ 2.) and X-thematic, perhaps 'plural',* < they make themselves (their siphons) stick up out.

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qa:da:d'ah *(personal name)* 1. *Barney Henniger from Katalla, run over by train in Cordova, Lena's father's nephew* < "right near us" *L, Elaine Ramos (qa:-da:d 'near us', if Eyak, -'ah not clearly identified (see -'a´ 28.); S and Tlingit-speakers unable to etymologize; cf. Yupik qʁaatata 'that which raises, keeps something off the ground').*

2. *Tlingit man S.*

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3. *man on Kayak Island in 1884,* Katata, *in H. W. Seton-Karr* Shores and Alps of Alaska, *London, 1887, p. 158.*

,

XAtl’a’q’ dla:GA’ah *(noun)* 1. bay *L, Rezanov* Хатляктляка 'Губа Landzunge' *(??? in Radlov, 'bay'), Old Man Dude* xàt’łát’łàqà’à 'lagoon or bay' *BSdL 537. L unable to etymologize, analysis uncertain: XA-tl'a'-q' 'on back end of area' (see -'a´ 10.), verb with dl-class- or thematic mark, GA- prefix thematized, form perhaps Inceptive conditional, apparently* < any dl-class S that might extend into the back end of it (area).

2. *(place-name) (first transcribed **XAdla:q’ qa’ GA’a’**) bay on south shore of Eyak Lake at Mile 5 L.*

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yAX XAdAdA’ah *(noun, Xd-class)* candle *L, usually actualized yAXAdAdA'ah, and sometimes incorrectly segmented yAX 'AdAdA'ah L. Nominalized passive Active imperfective,* < it (Xd-class) is caused to extend downward (set in socket), *cf. yAX XAdisditsu:xL 'they (candles) are set (thrust down) in their sockets)', dAXAyAXd yAX XAdA'a'L, yAX XAdi:'ah, and -'a´ 3.*

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yAX XAdi:’ah *(noun, Xd-class)* candle *L. As above, non-passive, perhaps incorrect,* < it (Xd-class) extends down.

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dAXAyAXd yAX XAdA’a’L *(noun, perhaps unclassified, or d-class)* lantern *L, Rezanov* Тахагуюхъиходеатль 'Фонарь Laterne'. *-L- instrumental deverbalization,* < it (Xd-class, instrumentalized) is put down (extended down into socket) under area of indeterminate o, *see also -'a´ 3., 23., yAX XAdAdA'ah, and dAXunhyu: dAL'ah under 'a.*

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-g-’a’-L *(noun, unclassified) (with g-thematic or anatomical 'hip', and -L-instrumental, perhaps deverbalization)* hip, haunch, pelvis *(protrusion of pelvis at hip)*: *Rezanov* Какоатль 'Спина ('back (anat.)') Rücken', Кагохъ-ооль 'Подолъ' *(not in Radlov, 'skirt, hem') perhaps to be read* **qa:gu’a’L** our hip, human hips, **sigu’a’L** my hips *M,* **sigu’a’L** (*or* **sigA’a’L**) **siya: sAga’L** my haunches, hipbones are tired *L.*

,

ya:n’dA’a’L *(noun, d-class) (probably with ya:n' 'down', d-thematic or d-class-mark for O of passive theme deverbalized with -L-instrumental)* ring (for finger) *L*: *Rezanov* Ентаатль 'Кольцо Fingerring', *Anonymous* Етатль 'Кольца', **ya:n’dA’a’Lda’luw** big ring *M,* **ya:n’dA’a’L sich’ di:’a’** give me a ring! *L.*

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dAga’q’LdAlah ’a’L *(noun, unclassified?)* necklace *A,* ribbon around neck *L. -L-instrumental deverbalization,* < it extends (is extended) around throat.

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’utl’ dAlu’ qa’ k’u’a’L *(noun, unclassified?)* safety-pin *L. -L-instrumental deverbalization of passive with indefinite O of -'a´, (see -'a´ 2., 17.)* < something is extended up out through hole in indeterminate o with it.

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’iLXa’X ’idi’ah xut’L *(noun)* double-barrelled shotgun < rifle (the parts of) which extend alongside each other *L, see 'a´ 25.*

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o-**d** (**d**)-**’a´** *(with d-thematic perhaps optional with o-d 'from o', perhaps partly thematized d-class-mark for S)*: **’Aw ’Awd di:’ah** it extends from (a point) on that *L,* **Le’t’d k’udi:’ah** it

extends handle-like from a box *L (see 'ud k'udi:'ah below), indirect reciprocal:* **'iLd 'idi'ah** they extend away from each other *(as ← →) L.*

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'ud k'udi:'ah *(noun, probably unclassified)* pot, saucepan with straight handle *L. Nominalized Neuter imperfective of preceding,* < something d-class(?) extends from it.

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ya' d-'a´ *(with d-thematic with ya' 'completely, to a state of rest, vertical' (see also Gdl-'a´ 1., Gdl-L-'a' 2., 'u:dAXyu:ga' ya' -'a´~-'a'))* S extend vertically, stand straight up: **ya' di:'ah** it's standing *L,* **dAkinh ya' di:'ah** a stick (unclassified) is standing straight up *L,* **Lich'a:ch' ya' di:'ah** it (tree, d-class) is standing aslant (to one side) *L (see also -'a´ 11.), with Xd-class-mark for S:* **ya' XAdi:'ah** it (log) is standing upright, it (a line, stripe) goes straight up, is vertical *L. Transitive (causative):* **ya' da'L'e:** *(Neuter imperative),* **ya' di:L'a'** *(Active imperative),* **ya' dAGAL'a'** *(Inceptive imperative)* stand it (e.g. bottle, unclassified) up! *L,* **ya' qu'di:xL'ah** I'll stand it up *L,* **ya' disiL'a'L** I stood it (e.g. stick) up *L,* **ya' k'a' da'liL'ah** you should stand it (e.g. bottle) up *L (Neuter optative),* **ya' XAda'L'e:** stand it (log) up! *L,* **da: ya' XAdAGAL'a'L** we're standing it (log) on end *L,* **ya' k'a' XAda:liL'ah** you should stand it (log) up L *(Active optative); passive: Rezanov* Утехтетеа 'Столбъ ('post (pole)') Pfahl' *perhaps to be read* **'u:d ya' XAdidi'ah** it (pole, log) is being caused to stand vertically there (as stake) *(see also -'a´ 3., last entry).*

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ya:Xtl'Aqa' gd-'a´ *(with gd-anatomical 'rump' partly thematized with ya:Xtl'Aqa' 'upside-down')* S be, become upside-down: **ya:Xtl'Aqa' gAdi:'ah** it (e.g. table) is upside-down *L,* **ya:Xtl'Aqa' gAdAsA'a'L** it got, was upside-down for a while *L. Transitive (causative), reflexive:* **ya:Xtl'Aqa'd gAdiLi'inhinh** *(thus transcribed, probably to be corrected to ya:Xtl'Aqa' 'AdgAdiLi'inhinh)* he (baby) is on all fours, rump up, looking backwards between his legs *L;* **chi'shdAg Xa:'d Lich' ya:Xtl'Aqa'd gAdiLi'ahL** my it's always arse-end up outside *(of persistent bad weather) 72.35L (stem perhaps 'a, or, more likely, to be corrected to ya:Xtl'Aqa' 'AdgAdiLi'ah, Neuter imperfective, or, less likely, 'AdgAdiLi'a'L, Neuter perfective).*

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Gdl-'a´ *(with Gdl-thematic, perhaps including Gl-thematic 'earth, ground', but see also Gd-'a ´ below, rare and uncertain without preverb ya')* 1. *With ya' 'completely, to a state of rest, vertical' (see also ya' d-'a´, Gdl-L-'a', and GAdla:'a:w 3. under 'a:w1),* S be, become high, tall, steep: *Rezanov* Якаттли-а 'Кровла ('roof') Dach', *Galushia Nelson* yà'qə̀t'ɬéiyà' *or* yàqə̀tɬí·yà 'high' *BSdL 554* **ya' GAdli:'ah** it's high, tall, steep (place, pot) *LM,* **'a'd qi' ya' GAdli:'ah** very steep, high place *34.60M,* **'Alga' ya' GAdli:'a'** it's this high *M (incorrect, see Gdl-L-'a'),* **ya' qu'GAdli:'ah** it'll get high *LM,* **dik' ya' qu'GAdli:'ahG** it won't get high *M,* **ya' GAdla:GA'a'L** it's getting high *LM,* **ya' GAdla:sA'a'L** it got high *L. Transitive (causative):* **ya' GAdli:L'a'** *M,* **ya' GAdla:GAL'a'** make it high! *LM,* **'Awga' ya' GAdla:L'a:'**, **'Awga' ya' GAdla:L'eh** *(latter almost certainly incorrect)* make it as long (high?) as that! *L,* **ya' GAdla:GAxL'a'L** I'm making it high *L,* **ya' GAdla:siL'a'L** I made it high *L,* **ya' da: GAdla:yiL'ah** let's make it high *M.*

2. *With o-yAq'-d 'inside o (not with broad opening at top)' (nominalized as S?) and li' 'deeply inside, from open front end to closed back end' (see also -'a´ 5c.)*: **'uyAq'd li' GAdli:'ah** it's deep inside *(of anything) L.*

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Gd-'a´ *(with Gd-thematic 'place', see also preceding, following)* S (high place) be (dangerously) steep: **GAdAsA'a'L** 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-tl' 'with o':* **sitl' GAdi:'a'L** I'm trapped, stuck on steep slope, can't come down or go up *L (Neuter perfective, 'it's steep with me').*

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Gd-’(i)-dA-’a´ *(as above, but with dA-classifier and unidentified morphophonemic -'i- or -'- prefix, not used freely, cf. also d-dA-'a´, 'i-d-('-)L-'a´, d-('i-)LA-'u'G)* S (high place) be (dangerously) steep: **GAdi’di’ah** steep place *L (nominalized imperfective).*

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d-dA-’a´ S (high place) be (dangerously) steep: **dAGAdA’a’L** steep place *L (nominalized Inceptive perfective, conceivably arising from metathesis of *GAdAdA'a'L, underlying theme Gd-d-'a´ similar to preceding).*

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’i-d-(’-)L-’a´ *(with 'i- prefix of uncertain identification and d-thematic, see 'i-d-le, 'i-'a, yAX 'i-gdl-L-'a´, and especially 'i-d-'a, with which it is sometimes blended, with optional -'- preceding -G- or -s- of perfective prefixes, in origin probably anticipatory of stem -'a'-, resulting 'ida'- sequence probably identified with that of indeterminate object of semi-transitive)* 1. S (smoke) move in certain direction: *Neuter perfective:* **Lanhd ya’X ’idi:L’ah** smoke is rising (extending up) *L (see -'a´ 6b.),* **Lanhd ya’X ’iqAdi:L’ah** pl. smoke is rising (from pl. fires) *L,* **Lanhd ’a:nch’ ’idi:L’ah** smoke is coming hither *L (see -'a´ 11.), Inceptive imperfective:* **Lanhd XAshlAX ’iqe’di:L’ah** smoke will come closer *L (see -'a´ 13.),* **’AdiX ’iqe’di:L’ah** it (smoke) will come in (house) *L,* **Lanhd ’a:nch’ ’iqe’di:L’ah** smoke will come hither *L, Inceptive perfective:* **Lanhd ’a’q’Ach’ ’idAGAL’a’L** smoke is going out (of house) *L,* **’AdiXich’ ’idAGAL’a’L** it (smoke) is starting to come in (house) *L,* **XAyA’u:ch’ ’ida’GAL’a’L** it (smoke) is starting to go way over towards there *L, blend with 'i-d-'a:* **XAyA’u:Lch’a:ch’ ’idAGAL’a:L** it (smoke) is going further away (in the direction of way over there) *L, Active perfective:* **Li’q’ ’a’q’ ’idAsAL’a’L** it (smoke) all went out (of house) *L, blend with 'i-d-'a:* **’AdiX ’idAsAL’ahL** it (smoke) came in (house) *L, Active imperfective, with perambulative (see -'a´ 4.), blend with 'i-d-'a:* **Lanhd yAX ’idALA’a:X** smoke is moving around *L.*

2. S (wind, perhaps d-class) move in certain direction, change: *Neuter imperfective:* **XAlah yAX ’idi:L’ah** it (wind) is coming down (from mountain) *LM (see -'a´ 3.),* **XAlahsdAch’ahd ’idi:L’ah** it (wind) is coming from off ocean *L (see -'a´ 24.),* **Xa: li’ ’idi:L’ah** northwind is coming down(stream, from north) *M (see -'a´ 5a.), Inceptive imperfective:* **Xa: li’ ’iqe’di:L’ah** northwind will come down *L,* **k’u:y lu: ’iqe’di:L’ah** wind will change (180° turn) *L, Inceptive perfective:* **k’u:y ’ida’GAL’a:L** *(blend with 'i-d-'a),* **’ida’GAL’a’L** it (wind) is starting to change, changing *57.14a, 25, 64.8G,* **Xa: li’ ’idAGAL’a’L**, **Xa: li’ ’ida’GAL’a’L** northwind is starting to come down *L,* **XAlahsdAch’ahd ’ida’GAL’a’L** it (wind) is starting to come off ocean *L,* **shi:da’ ’ida’GAL’a:L** it (wind) is changing to westerly (to up creeks) *L (see -'a´ 14., blend with 'i-d-'a), Active perfective:* **k’u:y lu: ’ida’sAL’a’L**, **k’u:y lu: ’idAsAL’a’L** *(latter preferred)* wind changed (ca. 180°); *with perambulative (see -'a´ 4.):* **dAk’e:dAwyu: yAX ’idiLi’ah** it (wind) is blowing every which way *L (Neuter imperfective), Inceptive imperative (?):* **k’u:y ’a:nda’ ’ida’GAL’a’** wind change, blow hither! *57.20fnG, indirect reciprocal with 'iL-ta:s 'over, across each other' (see -'a´ 16.):* **’iLta:s ’idiLi’ah** winds are crossed *L (Neuter imperfective),* **’iLta:s ’ida’GALA’a:L** winds are starting to cross *L (Inceptive perfective, blend with 'i-d-'a).*

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yAX ’i-gdl-L-’a´ *(with unidentified 'i- prefix, see 'i-d-('-)L-'a´ and various themes under 'a, d-thematic perhaps 'free fall', gl-class-mark for S, and yAX 'downward' (see -'a´ 3.))* S (water) fall (as in cascade, waterfalls): **yAX ’igAdli:L’ah** water is falling *L (Neuter imperfective), frequently nominalized,* waterfalls *L, 25.55, 58, 78A,* **giyah (qi’) yAX ’igAdli:L’ah** (place where) water falls *25.55, 57, 80A, 38.21LM, Inceptive perfective:* **yAX ’igAdla:GAL’a’L** water is starting to fall (like waterfall) *L.*

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Xu' O-**'-d-L-'a´** *(with Xu' 'finished, right, straight', semi-transitive with d-thematic, perhaps causative of Xu' 'u-'-d-'a´ below)* S decide, plan, agree on, settle O, prevail in argument concerning, have own way concerning O: **'idAGAleh Xu' 'u'dAGAL'a'** make up your mind! *L,* **yAqe:X Xu' 'u'qu'di:xL'ah** (*or* **qu'di:xL'ah**) I'll settle, decide on it tomorrow *L,* **tli:XAtl' q'Aw Xu' 'u'disiL'a'L** yesterday I decided it *L,* **Xu' 'u'disiL'a'L** I settled it (argument) *L,* **da: Xu' 'u'dAsAL'a'L** we've got it planned *L,* **da: Xu' 'u'dAGAL'a'L** we're planning it *L,* **dAtli: Xu' 'u'dixiL'a'L** I've already got it planned *L (Neuter perfective).*

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Xu' 'u-'-d-'a´ *(as preceding, intransitive with thematized third-person O prefix of semi-transitive, perhaps derived from preceding)* S be, become agreed, decided upon, settled: **Xu' 'u'dAsA'a'L** it's decided, it (was) is settled, over *L,* **Xu' 'u'dAGA'a'L** agreement is being reached *L,* **ne:tl'kihga' Xu' 'u'qu'di:'ah** it'll be settled, agreed on pretty soon *L,* **dik' q'a:lgah Xu' 'u'qu'di:'a:G** it won't be settled today *L,* **k'a:di'da: Xu' 'u'da:li'ah** agreement will never reached, it'll never be settled *L.*

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L-'a' *(with comparative postpositional phrases, see -'a´ 15., Gdl-'a´ 1.)* S extend a certain length relative to another thing: *with o-ga' 'like o':* **'Alga' 'i:L'a'** it's this long (extends as much as this) *M, 51.45A,* **dik' 'Alga' 'a'L'a'G** it's not this long *M,* **'Al 'Awga' 'i:L'a'** this is as long as that *L,* **de:ga'dunh 'i:L'a'** how tall is he? *M,* **la'dih k'uk'ahshga' 'i:L'a'** it's two feet long *M,* **'Alga' qa'L'a'**, **'Alga' qu'wAL'a'** it'll be this long *M,* **'Alga' sAL'a'L** it got this long *M, with o-lAX 'more than, past o': Rezanov* Ауляхкегоэтля 'Длинно lang' **'AwlAX q'Aw 'i:L'a'** it's longer than that *L,* **'Al 'AwlAX 'i:L'a'** this is taller, longer than that *LM,* **'ilAX 'ixiL'a'** I'm taller than you *M,* **silAX 'i:L'a'** you're taller than I *M,* **'ulAX da: qi:L'in'inu:** we're taller than they *M,* **'a'd xan'Lq' silAX 'i:L'inhinh** he's very much taller than I *M,* **ts'iyuhXu'lAX 'uXu' 'Awä: 'i:L'a'** its fur is longer than blackbear-fur *28.79A,* **silAX qu'yiL'a'** you'll be taller than I *L, with class-marks for O:* **dik' 'Alga' da'L'a'G** it (table) isn't this long *M,* **'Alga' qi:li:L'a'** it (rope) is this long *M,* **dik' 'Alga' qi:la'L'a'G** it (rope) isn't this long *M,* **de:ga'duw qi:li'L'a'** how long is it (rope)? *L,* **'Awga' qu'qi:li:L'a'** it (rope) will be long enough, the right length, as long as that *L; with o-da' 'to, arriving at o' (probably incorrect, see -'a´ 14.):* **dik' 'a:nda' qi:la'L'a'G** it (rope) doesn't reach to here *M; indirect reciprocal:* **'iLga' XAdiLi'ah** they (logs, prone or upright) are the same length *L. Transitive (causative):* **'Alga' GAL'a'** make it this long! *M.*

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Gl-L-'a' *(with Gl-thematic 'passage of time', attested from G only, perhaps not acceptable to other informants)* S (time) pass relative to another thing: *with o-ya' 'like o':* **de:ga'duw GAli:L'a'** how much time has elapsed *54.12G,* **'a:ga' GAli:L'a'ch' 'u'lixiLgah** I know it that far (to where time extends that much) *54.17G.*

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Gdl-L-'a' *(with Gdl-thematic 'distance overland', probably containing Gl-thematic 'ground, earth', see also GAdla:'a:w under 'a:w1)* 1. S extend certain distance overland with respect to another thing: *with o-lAX 'more than, past o': Rezanov* Ауляхкатлитля 'Далѣе weit (Comparativ.)' **'AwlAX GAdli:L'a'** it's longer, further (overland) than that, it's too long *L, with o-ga' 'like o':* **guts'de: *mile*ga' GAdli:L'a'** it's nine miles long, far (overland) *L; nominalized (cf. 'a:w):* **'ida'ya:lAX GAdli:L'a'ch'** too far, for, toward too great a distance *A.*

2. *With ya' 'completely, to a state of rest, vertical' (see ya' d-'a'),* S extend a certain height up with respect to another thing: *with o-ga' 'like o':* **'Alga' ya' GAdli:L'a'** it's this high *M,* **'AlAshgahX 'Al 'Awga' ya' GAdla:yiL'a'** I hope this is as high as that *L, with o-lAX 'more than, past o':* **'AwlAX ya' GAdli:L'a'** it's higher than that, too high *L,* **'a'd k'u'luw qe'yiLtehlAX ya' GAdli:L'a'** it's taller than a very big whale *28.76A; indirect reciprocal:* **'iLga' ya' GAdla:Li'a'** they're the same height *L,* **'AlAshgahX 'iLga' GAdla:GALi'a'** I hope they're

the same height *L. Transitive (causative):* **'Al 'Awga' ya' GAdla:L'a'**, **'Al 'Awga' ya' GAdla:GAL'a'** make this as high as that! *L,* **'Al 'Awga' ya' qu'GAdli:xL'a'** I'll make this as high as that *L.*

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gdl-L-'a' *(with gdl-thematic 'aquatic distance', containing thematized gl-class-mark 'liquid', see also gudla:'a:w under 'a:w1)* S extend a certain distance over water with respect to another thing: *with o-ga' 'like o':* ***nine miles*****, 'Awga' gAdli:L'a'** nine miles, it's that far (out to sea) *12.8G,* ***ti:dih*****gwa' q'A'Aw gAdli:L'a'** *thirty* (miles) it is out (to sea) *62.27G,* **guts'de:** ***mile*****ga' giyahgu:na'q' gAdli:L'a'** it extends nine miles over the water *L.*

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'u:dAXyu:ga' ya' -'a'~-'a´ *(with 'u:dAXyu: '(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' L-'a', -'a´ in other mode-aspects)* S lie scattered all about, every which way, helter-skelter: **dAkinh 'u:dAXyu:ga' ya' 'i:'ah** sticks lie extended every which way *L,* **le:L 'u:dAXyu:ga' ya' gu:'a'** hairs lie scattered all about *L,* **'u:dAXyu:ga' ya' qa'ah** they (sticks) will lie scattered all about *L. Transitive (causative):* **'u:dAXyu:ga' ya' 'i:L'in'inh** he's got them (sticks) lying extended every which way, helter-skelter *L.*

(')a: *(attested with zero initial after si- '1s', 'i- '2s', 'u- 'third person', k'u- 'indefinite', and lAX- '2p' as o, latter with no epenthetic sonorant. 'uwa: routinely spelled 'Awa:, see grammar (morphophonemics))*

o-(')a: *(postposition)* 1a. part of o (anatomical): (1) *With possessed nouns:* **sik'ahsh siya:** my feet *18.19L,* **sidAGAleh siya:** my mind *70.9, 10A,* **silAqah siya: 'ALya:n'** cure my head *10.205A,* **ya'Xu: sitse' siya: dAde:d 'Aw qu'Xi:wah** that nothing shall eat my flesh *18.71L,* **sidAGAleh siya: k'ushiyah 'u'li:LXah** I feel guilty < it's making my mind bad *L,* **siGuhd siya: GALAch'a:nGL** my knees are getting weak' *L,* **siGuhd siya: GAlisdi'a:nG** my knees got weak *L,* **siGuhd siya: sALdAtl'L** my knee got hurt, I hurt my knee *L,* **siGuhd siya: da:q' sALqAtl'L** I skinned my knee *L,* **sigu'a'L siya: sAga'L** my haunch is tired, sore *L,* **sidAGAleh siya: yik'a'd** I'm sorry, I'm worried < my mind hurts *L,* **silAqahyAq'd siya: lah xuLg** (the inside of) my head is spinning (from drunkenness) *M,* **sitah siya: GAdAXAt'L** my skin is peeling *L,* **silAGa:nsh siya: GAXAwa'sL** my mouth and nose region itches *L,* **sila't' siya: lah sdimAt'L** my tongue got all puckered up (from e.g. sour berries) *L,* **sitsin' siya: gudAsALdAtl'Linh** he hurt my neck *L,* **siyAtl'e:q'd siya: sAts'i'k'Linh** he pinched the palm of my hand *L,* **siXu:nLAyah siya: Xu:ndla:xLAsit'g** my teeth are chattering *L,* **siGu:dzLqa'd siya: yik'a'd** my joints ache *L,* **siqe:sgu:nLGAmAdL siya: yAX sLiduxL** my ankle turned *L,* **siqe:sguya'd siya: lah 'i:nsdiGAmAdL** my ankle twisted *L,* **sisa'd siya: sdiGAmAt'L** my mouth puckered (from eating sour fruit) *L,* **si:nda:' siya: ya' GAq'u'tl'L** my face is getting chapped *L,* **sila:X siya: LAwehsg** my (upper) eyelid quivers (repeatedly droops) *(omen that I'll see someone) L,* **sila:XyAXd siya: LAwehsg** my lower eyelid (undereye) quivers *(omen that I'll cry) L,* **sidAga'q'L siya: 'iLch' Ga'ya:L** my throat's getting hoarse *LA,* **sini:k' siya: qehX 'i:'yahL** my nose is stuffed up *L,* **sitsin' siya: gudAsALdAtl'Linh** he hurt my neck *L,* **'ila:X 'iya:** your eyes *3.13M,* **'iGe't' 'iya:** your body *36.19A,* **'isha:w 'iya: shLidlAGshgL** your hair got dirty *L,* **'idjehX 'iya: shLidlAGshgL** your ears got dirty *L,* **'idAkuhd 'iya: ya' qu'di:q'u'tl'** your lips will get chapped *L,* **'isa'GAdAlah 'iya: ya' qa'q'u'tl'** your lips will get chapped < it'll break up around your mouth *L,* **'iXu:nLAyah 'iya: GAdAq'a'L** your tooth is coming in wrong, crooked *L,* **'udAGAleh 'Awa:** his, her, their, its mind *18.85L, 20.69, 25.137, 138, 138, 139, 139, 29.38, 49.55, 57, 61.3, 70.8A,* **'ulAqah 'Awa:** his, its, their head(s) *10.202, 241, 61.123, 65.9, 39A,* **'ugAtl'ahdAg 'Awa:** its tail too *65.9A,* **'ugAlAXAde:L 'Awa:** its spine *65.10, 31A,* **'utah 'Awa:** its skin *65.9, 39A,* **'uni:k' 'Awa:** his nose, its beak *24.29, 30, 35A, 26.1, 7L,* **'uk'ahsh 'Awa:** his feet *23.139, 24.37, 48, 50, 53, 96A,* **'uXu' 'Awa:** its fur *28.90A,* **'uyAq'AGi'ya' 'Awa:** its

entrails *65.3, 28, 39A,* **'u:nda:' 'Awa:** their faces *10.229, 230, 11.63, 64, 64, 96A,* **'ulAqahdALts'Alih 'Awa:** their skulls *28.88A, Rezanov* Уталецалиуа 'Скорлупа Eierschale' **'udALts'Alih 'Awa:** its shell (of egg) *L,* **dAtli: q'unhAw 'udA'u:G 'Awa: qu'lAdA'ah** already her life's breath is running out *61.103A,* **'Al 'ugu:ndza'Lyu: 'Awa: ya:xwah dAle:k'** its kidneys are (cust) removed *65.3A,* **'utsin'da'ya' 'Awa:** about half of him *L,* S o-**a: d-dA-'yahG** S (part of o) ache o, O o-**a: d-L-'yahG** S make (part of o) ache o, **'uXu:nLAyah 'Awa: XAdiyinhinh** his teeth are sharp *L,* **'uni:k' 'Awa: qa' qi:sid** razor-clams < their noses extend up out *L,* **k'u'a:w 'uyAq'a'ts' 'Awa: qid dAsAkugL** the minute-hand (its long hand) broke off *L,* **'uLa:n' 'Awa: sALk'in'L** his legs (thighs) are skinny *L,* **'u:nda:' 'Awa: 'i:nLiqa't'gL** his face has ring-worm on it *L,* **Lich' 'udjehX 'Awa: GAxqa:Linh** I'm always biting his ear (harping at him, trying to make him obey) *72.2L,* **'AXa: 'udjehX 'Awa: k'u't'ga' 'i:t'inhinh** my how his ears are like tendon! *72.4L,* **'uk'ahsh 'Awa: lAshAq'AshL** its leg (of chair) is broken *L,* **qa:dAGAleh qa:'a:** our minds *70.5A.* (2) *With unpossessed anatomical nouns:* **q'Ama: siya: li:k'a'd** my kidneys hurt *L,* **q'As siya: lAXi:k'a'd** my tonsils hurt *L,* **dAL 'iya: gAlAts'u'ts'g** it's sucking your blood *L,* **q'Ama: 'Awa:** its roe *10.111, 117A,* **dA'e:dzg 'Awa:** its meat-slabs *65.4A,* **q'a:k'qa'ah 'Awa:** its spine-and-ribs *65.4, 75, 76A,* **'Aw shahG 'Awa:** their slime (of fish) *LM, 65.42A.* (3) *With various nominalized preverbals:* **'a:nd ya:n'ch' 'Awa: dALAxwe:g yiLinhinh** this here lower part of him was a groundhog < he was a groundhog toward the bottom *23.114A,* **siyAq'd siya: yik'a'd** my stomach hurts *L,* **siyAq'd siya: yAX k'u'LAqa'dX** my stomach is rumbling, grumbling, growling *LM,* **siyAq'd siya: k'usha:dah 'u'GAxgAwi'L** my stomach is beginning to feel bad *L,* **siya: k'a'd k'udAsLiqahGL** something got stuck in my throat, made me choke *L,* **'Awa:** *(first recorded* **'uya:**, *probably incorrect)* **k'a'd k'uqu'dALAqahG** he'll choke on something (food) *L,* **'uyAda' 'Awa: sALk'in'L** its arm is skinny *L.* (4) *With possessed (non-anatomical) part nouns:* **'utsin'da'd 'Awa: yAX sAkugL** the tip of it is broken off *L,* **'i:ntsa'd 'Awa: 'ALku:n'd** grab its bow! *L,* **k'utl'a'd 'Awa: 'ALku:n'd** grab its stern! *L,* **'Awtsin'da'd 'Awa: 'a'le'g** grab the end of it! *L.*

1b. *Itself nominalized as S or O*: **siya: sdit'u:ch'L** I got bruised < part of me (bruise) turned black *L,* **dik' 'Awa: 'Awa: 'a'k'a'dGinh** it doesn't hurt him however *36.35A,* **'uwa: GALts'in'tl'ginh** hit him! (any part of him) *L,* **'Awa: 'Alugginh** rub (aching) part of him! *LM.*

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1c. part, some of o (portion, one or more individuals of aggregate): **dik' 'Awa: k'ulAX 'isL'anhLG** he didn't see any *9.7A,* **'Awqa:' 'Awa:, Xi:d tse'X 'Aw sALahL** part of it (meat), they had taken yonder down to shore *9.105A,* **'Al la'dih 'Awa: lAXch' qu'xLah** I'll give you pl. these two of them *10.72A,* **'Aw dAsAL'ehdL 'Awa:** that of it which is dry *10.137A,* **k'ut'u'yu:, dik' 'Awa: da: XahG** lots of them, but we don't eat them *24.61A,* **'iya: 'Awa: k'uGAsheh** kill some for me! *25.149A,* **ts'idwAX 'Aw k'e'k'L 'Awa:, 'Aw Xinhinh** only the minks, he ate those *33.26A,* **'i:gishuw 'Awa: k'uqu'Xi:yah** will you too eat any of it? *41.7L,* **k'udi:q' 'ahnu:'a: k'ushAshehLinh** Aleuts killed some of them *49.31A,* **dik' 'Awa: xu: 'Awa: 'AwlA'e: tsin'duxle:G** *I*'m not the one, however, that speaks differently *68.115A,* **'Aw q'Aw 'AyAG 'Awa: q'uhnu: q'e:yAXAch' tsin'dAdAleh** that they were the ones who spoke backwards *68.119A,* **'Awa: k'u'a:n' q'e' 'ixsLi'anhLinu:** I came upon some more of them *68.124A,* **'Awa: k'u-'-tsa** S buy some (of o), **'Awa: k'uqu'xsiyuh** I'll kill some of them *(could also be interpreted 'I'll kill some things for them') L,* **'uqa'X ya:yu: 'Awa: yAX qAshichich'L** I broke some of them *(cf.* ***'uqa'X yi:nhinu: k'udAshAche'L*** *'some of them are hungry'),* **('uqa'X yi:nhinu:) 'Awa: k'ushdishehLinu:** some of them got killed *L,* **'Awa: k'ushishehL** I killed some of them *M,* **'Awa:shuh k'ushAshehL** did you kill any? *M,* **'Awa: yAX k'usAkugL** one of them is broken *L,* **'uqa'X ya:yu: 'Awa: yAX qAsAkugL** some of them are broken *L,* **'uqa'X ya:yu: 'Awa: yAX qi:kugL** some of them are broken *L,* **'Awa: k'u'q'e:'**, **'Awa: k'a'q'e:'** try one (of them)! *L,* **q'Ale' 'i: ne:tl' 'Awa: k'uXa:ne:** now then you eat some first! *L,* **'anh LinhGih 'Awa:** the other one of them *61.84A,* **du: 'Awa:d qa:'a:** which one of us? *L,* **de: 'Awa:duw qu'xsheh** which one (animal) shall I kill? *M,* **de:'Awa:duh 'AnahshAkih 'uXe'i:leh, na:w da:X gi:wa:** which do you

like better, whiskey or beer? *L,* **ch'id LinhGti:na: tsa'k', tla:X 'Aw ti:lAq'As 'Awa:** just one mitt, where's its mate? *L, Rezanov* Окаоа 'Пѣтухъ ('rooster') Hahn' **'uqa' 'Awa:** the husband of them, male of a pair *L,* **'u'ehd 'Awa:** the female (of a pair) *L,* **xusALga'L 'Awah 'Awa:** I'm tired of eating that *L,* **xusALga'L xdAlah 'Awa:** I'm tired of drinking that *L,* **q'ahdAq'Aw xusALga'L, 'ulah 'Awa:** I'm tired of drinking that *L,* **LinhGih lAXa:** one of you *L,* **du: lAXa:d** which one of you? *L,* **du: 'Awa:d lAXa: sika' leh** (*should probably be corrected to* **sika' 'ileh** *or* **sike'leh**) which one of you wants to come with me? *L,* **dik' 'ahnu:'a: qAla' k'uLi:Ginh** she didn't beat any of them up *49.28A, Rezanov* Коулягаya 'Больше gross (Comparativ.)' **k'u'lAw…'Awa:**, **k'u'luw 'Awa:** a big one of them *L,* **'Aw k'u'luw 'Awa:** the big one, biggest one of them *L,* **ch'i:leh 'Aw k'u'luw 'Awa: 'AnahshAkih 'uXe'leh** Raven wants the big piece *9.92A, Furuhjelm* Kutzuuva 'good', **k'udzu: 'Awa:** a good one of them *L,* **'Aw k'udzu: 'Awa:** the good one, the best one of them *L.*

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2. *In counting classified nouns,* of o, *preceded by class-mark (see grammar (morphophonemics, qualifiers) for anomalous -k- after gu-), numerals lacking -ih (see numerals in grammar), conventionally written separately from numeral because before being associated with (')a: partitive, this was thought to be a special "numeral classifier" particle*: **LinhGda: da:na:** one dollar *S,* **la'dda: lis** two spruce trees *M,* **la'dda: tsAdl** two boards *M,* **la'dda: dzanhd** two snowshoes *L,* **la'dda: k'udAdjehX** two corners *L,* **la'dda: te'ya'gutl'ah** two fish-tails *45a.11L, 45b.11M,* **la'da:** (< **la'dda:**) **xut'LyAq'd 'uX dAk'u:d** two cleaning-rods *L,* **t'uhLga'da: yahddAlah Ga:'** go around three houses! *L,* **dAXk'da: shdu:lihGd da'li:LXah** how many tables do you own? *L,* **dAXk'da:d da:na:** how much money? *L,* **la'ddli:na: dla:XA'i:nd** two buttons *M,* **la'dli:na:** (< **la'ddli:na:**) **tsi:n** two branches *L,* **LinhGti:na: k'uXah** one pelt *M,* **LinhGti:na: tsa'k'** one mitt *L,* **t'uhLga'ti:na: GALAtsAtl'tah** three land-otter skins *33.83A,* **LinhGa:na: qAXah** one month *M,* **LinhGa:na: 'itl'** one mountain *L,* **LinhGa:na: tAGL** one hammer *M,* **la'd'a:na: k'usha:w** two heads *M,* **la'da:na: qAXah** two months *M,* **la'da:na: 'itl'** two mountains *M,* **la'da:na: 'u:nAX t'a'q'e'ch' k'uGAdjgL** two oars *L,* **la'da:na: ch'iyahd sich' di:'yahL** I have two extra hats *L,* **la'dits'i:n 'a:na: qAXah** seven months *L,* **dAXk'a:na: qAXahd sLi'ahL**, **dAXk'a:na:d qAXah sLi'ahL** how many new moons (have passed)? *L,* **LinhGguka: le:L** one hair *LM,* **LinhGguka: la:X** one piece of string *L,* **LinhGguka: Ge:ts'** one strand of spruceroot *L,* **la'dgAka: Ge:ts'** two spruceroots *M,* **la'dgAka: k'u't'** two threads, sinews *M,* **la'dgAka: la:X** two strings *M,* **la'dguka:** two (filament-like objects) *L,* **dAXk'guka:dA'Aw** how many strands is that? *L,* **LinhGgAda: ma:** one lake *M,* **LinhGXAda: gah** one day *43.16, 45b.10, 46.7, 47b.23, 27M,* **LinhGXAda: gahwahd da: qa'qeh** we'll go (by boat) for one day *L,* **la'dXAda: gah** two days *M, 65.19A,* **t'uhLga'XAda: gah** three days *25.9, 65.19A,* **ch'a:n'XAda: da:X ts'i:nXAda: gah 'uX k'usALe'Lch'ahd yAX dALAk'a't'Xinh** five or six days after he was born he was able to fly around *2a.11M,* **q'Adits'i:nXAda: gah** for eight days *49.41A, 59.10fn Galushia Nelson,* **LinhGqi:da: k'uk'ahsh** one (anatomical) foot *LM,* **LinhGqi:na: k'uXehL** one piece of rope *M,* **la'dqi:na: la:X** two (heavy) cords *M,* **LinhGlAXa:** one (berry) *M,* **LinhGlAXa: sich' lAXa'a'** give me one (berry)! *L,* **LinhGlAXa: k'ula:XlAXa'luw** one big eye *L,* **la'dlAXa: lAXAdAtisg** two dice *L,* **dAXk'AlAXa:d la'mahd 'iXa'**, **dAXk'lAXa: la'mahdd 'iXa'** how many berries do you have? *L.*

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3. *Contrastive partitive,* **'Awa:** (< **'u-a:** 'of it'), however, though, on the other hand, as for o, in o's turn: **'anh k'utsa'kih 'Awa: dik' wAX 'ile:G, 'udAGe:' k'uch' 'i:Lteh** the older sister however isn't willing, to give away her younger sister *9.83A,* **Xi:d 'AdiXd 'Awa: dA'wAX qa:Xa'** yonder inside however is ours (humans' property) *9.91A,* **'AyAGAya' 'Awa: dA'u:d 'Aw sALahL** their own however remains right there *10.80A,* **'Aw ch'iya'tl'G 'Awa: dik' 'Aw 'u:la'Lga:G, 'Aw Xah** the frog however didn't know it, that he was eating it *10.136A,* **'anh 'u'ehd 'Awa: dA'u:d 'Ad'e'd ya' 'ALAda:k'inh** his wife however he keeps making stay at

home *10.167A,* **'Aw q'Aw ch'i:leh 'Awa:** but the Raven however *10.254A,* **'anh k'u'ehd 'Awa: 'AdAX, 'anhli' 'idi:Lah** his wife for her part however, she detests him *11.46A,* **'ahnu: k'utl' yi:nhinu: 'Awa: wAX dAleh** those companions though said thus *11.180A,* **'anh qe'L 'Awa:** that woman for her part *20.71A,* **'Aw 'uyAquhyu: 'Awa: k'u'luw qAsALe'L** those young of theirs however grew big *20.91A,* **'anh 'utl' yi:nhinh 'Awa: 'uXahd q'e' sdiyahL** his companion however had gone back without him *23.7A,* **'anh 'Awa: 'AdAX ch'idwAX 'Al 'uyAqa'ts' da:X 'Al 'uk'ahsh 'Awa: dAtli: dALAxwe:gyu:ga' 'i:t'inhinh** he however only his hands and feet were already like groundhogs' *23.139A (see 1a. above for latter),* **'Aw q'Aq' 'Awa: dik' wAX 'a't'u:G** the loons however aren't that way *24.70A,* **'a: 'Awa: 'AXAkihya'd tsu'dinh** she though was asleep in the canoe *25.2A,* **'a: 'Awa: XAtl' tsu:dk'inh** she however would sleep at night *25.28A,* **'ahnu: Gu:djihwAlahyu: 'Awa: 'AdAX** as for the wolf-people however *25.34A,* **'AyAG 'Awa:** they on their part *25.37, 68.111A,* **'a: 'Awa: 'AdAX dAq'a:gdAlu'X q'unh k'uLmahd** but she however cooked over a fire *25.38A,* **'a:nd 'Awa: ma: yiLeh** here though it forms a lake *25.56A,* **'a:nd 'uli'd 'Awa:** here in behind it however *25.58A,* **yAqe:X 'Awa:, yAqe:X tli:dAwa: 'Awa: k'uqu'Xi:xah** tomorrow though, tomorrow morning however I'll eat something *25.114A,* **dAXunhyu:lAXAde:'d 'Awa: 'idehdah Gu:djih yiLeh** in people's eyes though they were regular wolves *25.121A,* **'anh qe'L 'Awa: k'a:dih sALe'L** the woman however disappeared *28.9A,* **k'inhda:d 'Awa: sAlahLinh** though living in a different place *28.134A,* **'i: 'Awa: tsa'LdA'e:X siwahd yAX LAle'gXlehd q'Aw** because you however groped for a knife against me it was *32.22A,* **'Aw GALAtsitl' 'Awa:** the land-otters though *33.25A,* **'anh GAL'ihXlah 'Awa:, dik'** the younger one however, no *33.60A,* **dik' 'Awa: 'i:ndä:' 'iya: qa'k'in't'G** she won't scratch your face however *36.18A,* **dik' 'Awa: 'Awa: 'a'k'a'dGinh** it doesn't hurt him however *36.35A,* **dik' 'Awa: dAXunhyu:tl' q'e:dah 'Aw 'a'Xa:k'Ginh** he doesn't right away tell people of it however *36.45A,* **lisgä' 'Awä: 'idiyinhinh** he was the size of a tree though *37b.56A,* **'ahnu: k'uma:yu: 'u:d yahd 'i:'ah 'Awa: XAyA'u:d wAX 'i:t'eh** the parents however lived way over there a promontory jutting out there *42.4L,* **'u:dAX 'Awa: dAwa'd 'anh q'e' sdiqehLinh** that time however he quickly came back *47c.16L,* **'anh Lila:' 'Awa: 'AdAX** as for the boy however *49.38A,* **'uta:'shiyah 'Awa: 'uXa' sAsinhL** her old father however had died *49.77A,* **'Aw q'unhuw 'anh k'uyahshAshiyah 'Awa: gu:dig k'u'e' q'e' dAki:nX** then that kid though cried again for some more *49.133A,* **'a: 'Awa: 'AdAX dA'u:d q'unhuw ya' 'Ate:k'** he however would remain lying right there though *50.4A,* **'a: 'Awa:, dAtli: 'Aw qa' shAdja'Linh** he however, he had already pulled it out *50.27A,* **'udahd 'Awa: 'u'lAxta:k'** I would hear it though *60.38A,* **XAlahsdla:GAyu: 'Awa:** white people for their part *60.59, 60A,* **'a:ndAX** *airplane***ya' 'Awa: dik' gudla:'a:w 'ALe:G** by here in an *airplane* though it's not far *60.62A,* **ya'Xu: 'Awa:, dAXunhyu:tl' k'usha:dah qu'di:le:k'** do not however, say evil to people *61.14A,* **'anh qe'L 'Awa: dik' 'Awya'ch' q'e:dah 'Ast'u'LG** the woman however hasn't succumbed right away *61.120A,* **'Awya'ch' 'Awa: qa't'uhinh** she will succumb though *61.121A,* **'anh Lila:' 'Awa:** the man however *61.123, 68.102A,* **q'a:l 'Awa:** now(adays) though *62.10, 64.13G, 65.82, 82, 68.74A,* **sALXe'tl'L da:X q'unhAw 'AXAkihyAXd sAtehL, 'Aw tl'i:n 'Awa: 'uXa'** it had gotten dark and so he lay under the canoe, his spear though by him *63.2G,* **'Al te'ya'le: 'Awa:, k'u'luw yiLehlehd, dik' wAX dAle:G** these king-salmon however, because they are big, they are not treated thus *65.7A,* **GAdzu: da:X 'Awa:** if it's nice however *65.52A,* **ta:dz 'Awa: dik' 'a'd k'ut'u'G** long ago however not very much *65.80A,* **'itl'a:ndi:ya'ddig 'Awa:, k'ugu:nt'u' GALe'L da:X 'itl'a:ndi:ya'ch' 'Awa:** Mountain Slough too though, they were becoming populous and at Mountain Slough for its part *68.54A,* **dAGAyAqa:ga' 'Awa: tsin'dAleh da:X** they speak like ourselves though but *68.91A,* **'AyAG 'uXa' 'Awa: wAX 'Aw yiLinhinu:** for them for their part it is thus *68.95A,* **GAyAG 'Awa: --** we however -- *68.98A,* **'ahnu: qe'LGAyu: 'Awa: q'e' li' sdiqehL** those women though boated back down *68.105A,* **'utsi: 'Awa:** their daughter though *68.112A,* **dik' 'Awa: xu: 'Awa: 'AwlA'e: tsin'duxle:G** but I wasn't the one though that speak differently *68.115A,* **'Aw q'Aw 'AyAG 'Awa:**

it was they though *69.119, 119A,* **GAyAqa:Xa' lAX yiLeh 'Awa:** for us it's this way though *68.129A,* **da:X Li'q' ya:yu: 'Awa: q'Aw** but everything though *70.3A.*

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4. **dA'a:** because, for (*car*), *not associated with '3 self' because of clear difference in meaning; initial ' irregular*: **dA'a: 'Aw kAna's k'uqu'wAshe:ch'L 'idehdah Lideh** because wolverine really knew how to hunt *15.3M,* **dA'a: k'udzu: qe'LGAyu:** for they were nice(-looking) woman *31.5L,* **dA'a: xitl'X 'Aw ch'i:leh 'i:nsALts'AXL** because you threw snow at the raven *43.11M,* **dA'a: 'i:nsALyahLlehd** because he was old *51.17A,* **dik' 'uyAXd q'e' 'iqe'LAq'a:G dA'a: 'ida'ya:lAX Lanhd qa'Le'lehd** you won't keep any more fire burning under them because it would be too smoky *65.57A,* **'a'q' silAGL, dA'a: k'ushiyah yiLeh XAwa:** I threw it out, because it's a bad dog *L,* **dA'a: k'ushiyah yiLinhinh** because he's no good *M,* **dA'a: wAX 'i:t'eh** because it's that way *M,* **dA'a: 'Awa: xdAxa:gLlehd** because I work for him *L,* **yAX dAxuLX da: 'u'li:'eh dA'a: yAX 'idAxe:Lk'** we call it a barrel because it (cust) rolls (about) *M.*

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5. for o: **siya:** for me, on my behalf *L,* **'iya:** for you *L,* **'Awa:** for him *LM,* **qa:'a:** for us *LM,* **lAXa:** for you pl. *LM,* **'anh'a:** for him *LM,* **'ahnu:'a:** for them *LM,* **Xi:Xinh'a:** for that guy *L,* **siya:n'a:** for my mother *L,* **sitinh'a:** for my uncle (father's bother) *L,* **si'we:shGAshiyah'a:** for my grandfather (mother's father) *L,* **siya: 'iya'** go for me! *9.3A,* **siya: 'Awa: k'uGAsheh** kill some for me! *25.149A,* **'Awch'a:q'dk'a' siya: 'u'la:yiLXah** aim them at it for me *27a.4L,* **siya: 'ulAXa:n' Gi:le:X 'iXe'xleh** I want you to avenge them for me *34.74M,* **siya: qu'dAts'a:nG** it (skin) will be tanned for me *L,* **'Aw siya: ya' 'a:tl'ginh** she's chewing it (food) up for me (baby) *L,* **dik' siya: 'Adu'sdAde'LGinh** he didn't save any (liquor) for me *L,* **'Al siya: 'AdjahGL** sew this for me! *M,* **dAxu: siya: xLGu'g** I'm warming it up for myself *L,* **xu: 'iya: yAX qu'xdAqeh** I will boat around for you *9.15A,* **te'ya' 'iya: qu'xdzux** I'll spear fish for you *17.2M,* **'iya: 'iqe'xch'u'** I'll steal for you *17.12M,* **'anh, 'iya: k'uxLqa't'g siqa'kih** ah!, I'm boiling something for you my dear husband *27b.52A,* **'i: 'iya: q'Al 'a:nd da: 'AdGALAduxL** this is for you we're floating here *46.14M,* **'iya: yAX qu'xdah** I'll go around (hunting game) for you *49.105A,* **'iya: xLGu'g** I'm warming it up for you *L,* **'iya: 'iqe'xdAye's** I'll bring you food from a potlatch *L,* **te'ya' 'iya: siye'sL** I brought a fish for you (from a potlatch) *L,* **'iya: tl'ihX k'uGAx'a:L** I'm starting something for you (e.g. a basket, beginning the weaving at the center of the bottom) *L,* **'iya: 'Adu'yAxLAts'inhG** I'm marking my hand for you *(cheating at cards) L,* **'iya: ya' qu'xLla'G** I'll tenderize it (meat) for you *L,* **'i: giyahgAlAlu'qa: 'Awa: 'iyin'inh** you go get water for him! *19.26L,* **'uch'a:X 'Awa: qi'yiyinhinu:** you'll help them with, at, in it *20.70A,* **k'uch'iya' 'Awa: yiLinhinh** he's a good hunter for them *24.6A,* **'Awa: 'Aw lAG GAlAXLin'inh** bring those things up from shore for her! *25.185A,* **'ahnu: 'anhdAwa: 'Awä: 'i:t'inhinh** they were waiting for him *37b.44A,* **Li'q' Li:dAwa: La'g 'Awa: dALich' 'ALya:'k'inh** every morning he always (cust) brings wood (several trips) for it *M,* **'Awa: 'ALginhinh** make him dance for her *L,* **'Awa: 'ixginhinh** I'm dancing for her (spectator) *L,* **dA'a: 'Awa: xdAxa:gLlehd** because I work for him *L,* **ke:Lta:gXa' lAXa: q'e' qu'xdAqeh** I'll boat some more after seal for you *9.142A,* **'AnahshAkihshuh 'AwXe'lAXleh lAXa: 'ixdixa:gL** do you pl. want me to work for you? *L,* **'AX 'ahnu:'a: dAGida' dAsALahLinh** they filled some canoes for her *25.177A,* **'ahnu:'a: 'Aw Lmahd** it cooked it for them *28.35A,* **k'uwa:** *(not *k'uya:)* **wAX xLih** I'm making it for somebody *L,* **dAxu: 'Ad'a: qu'lAxLAxa:ginh** I'll raise her for myself *9.27A,* **'Ad'a: qu'lAXAdla:xLA'eh** I'll hide them (berries) for myself *L,* **du'a:d dAxa:gL** whom are you working for? *M,* (O) o-**a: 'i-dA-Li** S knit O for o, **siXAwAX'a: k'uxtsinh** I'm singing to my older brother (man speaking) *L,* **'uga:g'a:** for their uncle *M,* **qe'LGAyu:lu'qa: dAXunhyu:'a: tsa' la:yiLya:'k'** you made off with them down for people in order to get women *10.187A,* **ch'i:leh q'Aw 'u:dik'ah 'Aw sALahL, Ge:ts'gAXAq"a:** it was Raven that had taken it away from there, for the Magpie *9.108A,* **'uyahshAshiyah'a: 'Aw t'a' sdits'AXL** she had jammed it (fat) in her pocket for her kid (brat) *49.131A.*

’a:1 *(see also dA'a: under a:~'a:)*

’a: *(independent personal pronoun)* he, she, it *(third person singular)*: *rare in isolation without proclitics, enclitics, adverbs, or postpositional phrases: 50.44A;* **ts’id ’a:** only he, just him *M,* **ts’id ’a: wAX ’Aw Lih** only he does that (does thus to it) *M,* **Li’q’ ts’id ’a: qi:yiLAchanh sALwut’Linh** it was all only spiders he vomited *40.14L (uncertain, perhaps with reference to non-human O, or perhaps to be read as 'a:2),* **’a: ’Awa:** 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', -sh interrogative, and -dAg~ 'also, too':* **’a:gidugshunh** he/him/she/her too? *L,* **’a:gidug** *L, 21a.19, 48.9L,* **’a:gidig** he/she/him/her too, also *10.161, 20.90, 23.85, 161, 24.43, 49.153, 61.116A, with proclitic dlAGA- '(all) alone':* **dlAGA’a:** 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 dA-* 'ipse'*:* **dA’a:** 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* Тоаохельни 'Виноватъ ('guilty') schuldig' **dA’a: wAX ’iLinhinh** he himself does thus to you, **dA’a: wAX sAliL** it did that itself *M,* **dA’a: wAX sAliLinh** he did that himself *L,* **dA’a: ’u:d qu’LAtug** it'll swell up by itself *L,* **dA’a: dla:sdita’k’L** it (net) got untangled by itself *L,* **dik’ dA’a:G** not he himself *61.54A, emphasizing S and reflexive O: 50.1, 61.4, 40A,* **dA’a: ’Adi:nsLixahLinh** he (himself) raised himself *L,* **dA’a: ’Ad-la:Lixa:gga’ ’a’GAda’L** he's getting big enough to take care of himself *L,* **dA’a: ’AddAkahL** coyote < it barks at itself *L,* **dA’a: ’AdLa’na’t’g** 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,* **dA’a: ’Adtl’ tsin’dAlinhinh** he's talking to himself *L,* **dA’a: ’Ad-lAXAde:’d dAXunh sdiLe’L** in his own eyes he's become a person *L,* **dA’a: ’Adtl’ li’X lAdAle:ginh** he gets laughing spells (with himself) *L, emphasizing o of postposition in non-reflexive clauses:* **dA’a: ’uga’ ch’i:leh** a raven like himself *10.164A,* **dA’a: q’Aw ’uch’ ya’ si’yahL** I have the habit < I'm used to precisely that *L,* **dA’a: ’uya’ XAwa:** his own dog *LM,* **dA’a: sitl’ ’ida’Xinhinh** he's telling me about himself *L (probably to be corrected to dA'a: 'Ad-lah 'ida'dAXinhinh, or glossed 'he himself is telling me about him (another)'*; *as o of postposition o-ga' 'like, as far as, as much as o', probably incorrect, from G only:* **’a:gwa’ GAli:L’a’ch’ ’u’lixiLgwah** I know it as far as that (point in time) *54.17G,* **LinhGih *ta:wsAn*, ’a:gwa’ da:na:** one *thousand*, that many dollars *64.5G; note also dA'a: under a:~'a:.*

’a:2

’a: *(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 'a'- are probably also to be so identified, e.g. 36.11, 37b.37A; perhaps with dA-* 'ipse'*:* **dA’a:** *28.48A.*

’a:dna:’ *(loan from Athna ’aad-na’, -na’ 'river', or English, origin and meaning of ’aad- unknown)*

’a:dna:’ *(place-name) upper Copper River, "up the (railroad) line" L, Galushia Nelson* át’nà· 'Copper River' *BSdL 545.*

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’a:dna:’ La’ *(place-name) Childs Glacier and Miles Glacier combined M (5/4/01).*

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’a:dna:’guda’d *(place-name) Copper River flats* < Copper River mouth *G (Harrington), M (1995).*

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’a:dna:’ya’dAlahGAyu: Ahtna Indians < inhabitants of Copper River *L.*

’a:da:g *(loan from Chugach aatak 'furseal', not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

’a:da:g *(noun, unclassified)* furseal (Callorhinus alascanus) *L (L has never seen one)*: *Rezanov* Атакъ 'Котъ морской Seebär' **’a:da:gyAquh** furseal-pup, **’a:da:gch’iyahd** furseal(-skin)-hat *L.*

’a:t’ *(perhaps expanded form of unattested 'a't')*

d-dA-’a:t’ *(with d-thematic, perhaps 'oral, noise')* 1. S be, become scarce, rare, hard to get: **disdi’a:t’L** it's (become) hard to get, scarce *L,* **Giyah dAGAdA’a:t’L** food is getting quite scarce *L.*

2. S cry, bawl, wail, howl, clammer, squall: **qu’dAdA’a:t’inh** he'll cry and bawl *L,* **’uma:’e:X dAdA’a:t’** he's crying for (in search of) his mother *L,* **’uma:’e’ dAdA’a:t’inh** he's crying for his (absent) mother *L, 20.17A,* **dAdA’a:t’, giyahgAlA’e’** was crying water *19.24L,* **qAdAdA’a:t’inu:** they're crying, squalling *24.24, 25A,* **qAdAdA’a:t’** they (dogs in pain) howled *60.29A,* **’uma:’ihX dAdA’a:t’** he's crying for (along after, following behind) his mother, crying after his (leaving) mother *L,* **’idAdA’a:t’ q’e:dah Lshe’k’inh** *(haplological for **’idAdAdA’a:t’)*** he's bawling so (hard) he's simply gasping *L,* **’uma:’ihX dAsA’a:t’Linh** *(haplological),* **’uma:’ihX disdi’a:t’Linh** he went after his mother crying *L,* **’uma:’e:X disdi’a:t’Linh** he looked for his mother crying *L,* **’uma:’e’ disdi’a:t’Linh** he cried for his (absent) mother *L,* **da:di’a:t’wahd** so that they bowl *60.26A, repetitive:* **’uma:’e:X qu’dA’a:t’ginh** *(haplological for **qu’dAdA’a:t’ginh**)* he'll keep crying for (in search of) his mother *L. Transitive (causative):* **qu’di:L’a:t’inh** he'll make him cry *L.*

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dA’a:t’ *(deverbalization, with d-thematic)* crying, bawling, howling (etc.): *as o of o-ya'X '(movement with)in o (with broad opening at top)':* **dA’a:t’ya’X Ga:Linh** he's walking along bawling *L, as head of compound:* **’Aw XAwa:yu:dA’a:t’dahd ’u’li:tah** it hears the sound of the dogs' howling *60.31A.*

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o-**X ’i:lih-LA-’a:t’** *(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 dA-classifier to LA-)* S be, become enamoured of, crazy about, "stuck on", fall in love with, fall for o: o-**X ’i:lihsLi’a:t’Linh** he became enamoured of o *11.67, 68, 23.28A,* **q’e:dah ’anhX ’i:lihsLi’a:t’L** he's simply gone crazy about her *23.48A,* **’uX ’i:lihxsLi’a:t’L** I fell for her *L,* **’iX ’i:lihxsLi’a:t’L** I'm stuck on you *L,* **’AwX ’i:lihsLi’a:t’L** he fell for it (in love with it: thing, person) *L,* **qe’LX ’i:lihsLi’a:t’Linh** he went crazy for a woman *L,* **siX ’i:lihGALA’a:t’L** she's falling for me *L,* **’anhX ’i:lihLA’a:t’** he's crazy about her *11.99, 100A,* **’uX ’i:lihLA’a:t’** you're stuck on her *11.92A.*

a:L *(analysis uncertain, perhaps a:, Xa:L, or Xa:)*

o-**lX-a:L** *(postposition, here analyzed as stem -a:L with lX-anatomical 'eyes', though alternate possibilities are -lX-a:-L with unidentified -L-suffix, or, with l-anatomical 'head, face', -l-Xa:L, -l-Xa:-L, but cf. Navaho o-ˊná·ɬ, Chipewyan o-nàɬɛ́ 'in the presence of o', < probably -*naχ(ə’)-(ə)ɬ 'with eyes')* in the presence, view of o: **silAXa:L q’Aw wAX le:** it happened in my presence, view, before my very eyes *L.*

’a:L

’a:L *(noun, unclassified)* bough, limb, branch (of conifer, especially spruce) *L*: *Anonymous* Атль 'Древесныя ветви' ('tree branches'), **’a:L’a’luw** big spruce-boughs *L,* **’a:L’At’u’** lots of spruce-boughs *M,* **lisya’ ’a:L** boughs of spruce *A, 68.12A, Harrington* lIsyə’aał 'spruce bough' *G.*

’a:g

o-**’a:g** *(postposition) (attested with zero, -d, -dAX, -ch' finals, or compounded as o of o-ga', o-da', o-da:-d)* 1a. middle, center of o: *with -d final 'at rest in, nominalization of': Rezanov* Уактъ 'Середина Mitte' **’u’a:gd** (in) the middle of it *M, with classified nouns as o:* **shdu:lihGdA’a:gd** mid-table *M,* **qu’ta’LdA’a:gd** mid-floor *M,* **k’udA’a:gd** the middle (of something d-class) *M, see also 2. below.*

1b. o's waist: **si’a:g(d)** my waist *L.*

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2. *In* o-((’)**i**-)**l-’a:g**(**-d**) *(with -'i- or perhaps umlaut, perhaps connective, l-thematic or perhaps class-mark)* mid-o: *used only in* **ge:lA’a:g**(**-d**), **ge:li’a:g**(**-d**) noon, **XAtl’lA’a:g**(**-d**) midnight, **xahlA’a:g**(**-d**) midsummer, *and* **XAla:g’ilA’a:g**(**-d**) midwinter *(not *XAla:g(lA)'a:g(d) L), see gah~ge:, Xe'tl'~XAtl', xwa´~, XAla:g.*

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3. *With ya: 'something, a thing' as o:* **ya:’a:g**(-) half-way, mid-way, center: *with zero final:* **ya:’a:g lAsAliL**, **ya:’a:g ’i:nsAliL** moon is half-full *L,* **Lich’a:ch’ ya:’a:g lAsAliL** moon is getting back to half-full (to one side) *L,* **LinhGihch’ahd ya:’a:g** half-past (from) one (o'clock) *L,* **dAGa:q’ch’ahd ya:’a:g** 10:30 o'clock *L, with XAla:g 'winter' used adverbially:* **XAla:g ya:’a:g GAlAsa’yahL** it became midwinter < time passed half-way in winter *49.115A, with -d final:* **xah ya:’a:gd** in midsummer *L,* **XAla:g ya:’a:gd** in midwinter *L, Rezanov* Яактъ 'Пополамъ getheilt, zur Hälfte' **ya:’a:gd** in the middle, half, **ya:’a:gd ’AwX di:’ah** it (board) touches (extends touching at) the middle of it *L,* **’Aw ya:’a:gd ya: sich’ ’Ata’** give me the one in the middle! *L, with -dAX final:* **ya:’a:gdAX ’iLd ’Aw sALahLinu:** they divided it (fabric, food) in half *L,* **ya:’a:gdAX ’ich’ qu’di:xLah** I'll give you half (of my money) *L,* **djig ya:’a:gdAX yAX sAkugL** it broke exactly in half, precisely down the middle *L,* **ya:’a:gdAX ’iLihd ’Aw sAxihsLinh** he ripped it in half (through the middle) *50.59A, with -ch' final:* **ya:’a:gAch’ lAGAle:L** moon is getting towards half-full *L; compounded as o of o-ga' 'like, same as, resembling o (in quality, quantity)':* **ya:’a:gAga’** (about) half, in half, half-way, mid *M, 10.229, 11.64, 23.111, 112, 28.67, 68A,* **ya:’a:gAga’ qAXah** half-moon *M,* **ya:’a:gAga’** O-**L-q’a’k’** S split O (longitudinally) half-way through, **ya:’a:gAga’ ’Awa: sich’ ’Ata’** give me half of it! *L; compounded as o of o-da:-d 'near o':* **ya:’a:gda:d lAdAda’ts’g** (*or* **-da:ts’g**) it is decorated at the middle *(name of BSdL Basket Pattern 4.) L; with Gl-thematic 'ground':* **ya:GAlA’a:gd sAdahL** sits on the ground in the middle, at mid-ground *30.3, 5L; in compound with form of partly uncertain analysis:* **ya:’a:gAGAda:lAya’** middle finger, *see under ya'~Aya'.*

’a:gah *(loan from English 'orca')*

’a:gah 1. *(place-name) Orca, New England Cannery L.*

2. *dog's name L.*

,

’a:gahda:d *(place-name) area of Orca cannery L.*

’a:xAna:sih *(loan from Russian Афанасий)*

’a:xAna:sih *(personal name)* 1. *Lena's brother LM, BSdL* aχɔnasɛ.

2. *Lena's son Alfred LM.*

’a:G1

-’a:G *(element of unknown origin, meaning and morphological classification, occurring only with tl'A-, probably reduced form of tl'a- 'back end') in* **tl’A’a:G** *(noun, l-class, especially in elicitations, but in text frequently unclassified)* basket *LM*: *18.5, 34.103, 66.6, 7L, Galushia Nelson* t’ła’aq *BSdL 546,* **’Aw tl’A’a:Gyu: wAX Li:k’inh** she (cust) makes thoses baskets *10.168A, Galushia Nelson* la’mat’wat’ɒətła’aq *or* la’matwatɒtła’aq 'berry basket' *BSdL 546* **la’mahdwahd tl’A’a:G** < basket for berries *L,* **tl’A’a:G’a:’nuw** big basket *L,* **tl’A’a:G sich’ li:ta’** *(or* **-’a’**, *latter perhaps preferred)* give me a basket! *L,* **tl’A’a:G ’u:d ’i:nsAtahL** *(or* **-’ahL**, *latter perhaps preferred)* a basket is there *L,* **tl’A’a:G ’iXa’ li:q’a:’shg** straighten your basket out (it's crooked, lopsided)! *L,* **tl’A’a:G ’i:nsAGAGshgL** basket is flared out, bent out of shape, lopsided *L,* **tl’A’a:GLqehXd** bottom of basket *M.*

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kihshLga’ ’i:t’eh tl’A’a:G bucket with holes in bottom (for draining) < basket which is like a dipnet *L.*

’a:G2 *(conceivably 'a-G with thematic G-negative)*

o-**ch’ d-’a:G** *(with o-ch' 'to o' and d-thematic 'oral, noise', all other proposed themes rejected by L)* S be, become tired of o (food): **dik’ ’uch’ qu’di:x’a:GG** I won't get tired of it (food) *L,* **’uch’ dAGAx’a:GL** I'm getting tired of it (food) *L,* **’uch’ disi’a:GL** I am, got tired of it (food) *L.*

’a:XdAlih *(loan from Chugach, possibly awartuli 'has many whales')*

’a:XdAlih *(place-name) Cordova Bay; Okalee Spit L.*

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’a:XdAlihya’d *(place-name) Rude River L.*

’a:Xa:ŋihG *(loan from Eskimo, Chugach aʀaŋkiluk, Nunivak ʌ·ʀaŋᴇ·q 'oldsquaw', not used in Yakutat Tlingit, Sampson Harry)*

’a:Xa:ŋihG *(noun, unclassified)* duck species, first bird that comes in the spring, a saltwater duck, arrived in flocks, stays out in bay by cod-fish spawn, not present late in summer, has pretty call *L, probably 'oldsquaw (Clangula hiemalis)'.*

’a:bAls *(loan from English 'apples' /ǽhpɨlz/ or perhaps /áhpɨlz/)*

’a:bAls *(noun, lX-class)* apple *L*: **’a:bAlsyu:** apples *51.77A.*

’a:w1 *(perhaps related to 'a´~'a', cf. alternations 'luw~'li´~'lu', and/or to be identified with 'a:w2; earlier probably 'a:wa…, as implied twice by Rezanov -aya; Anonymous implies -aYa)*

-’a:w *(adjective)* long, tall 1. *independent or relativized:* a. *not in association with classified nouns*: **k’u’a:w** tall, long, a tall, long thing *LM, 11.88, 24.29, 35, 28.77A, Rezanov* Куаya 'Долго large, adv. temp.' *(gloss probably incorrect)* **k’u’a:wa…**, *or perhaps* **k’u’a:w ’Awa:** the long(est) one of them, **dik’ ’Aw *tail* ’Awa: k’u’a:wG** its *tail* isn't long *24.63A, Rezanov* Коауэтле 'Высоко ('high') hoch' **k’u’a:w yiLeh** it's long *L, 10.230, 11.64A,* **q’AXa: k’u’a:w** my how long it is! *M,* **’AXa: k’u’a:w ’AX** my what a long boat! *L,* **’uXu’ ’Awa: k’u’a:w** its fur is long *M,* **k’u’a:w k’uwahdjL** long (carpentry-) nail *L,* **k’u’a:w ’uyAq’a’ts’ ’Awa:** its long hand, minute-hand (of time-piece) *L,* **k’u’a:w ’uq’ ’isda’L** bench < long chair *L,* **tl’ihst’ k’u’a:w** devilclub is long *M.*

1b. *With class-marks (in association with classified nouns)*: *Galushia Nelson* k'ʊta'au 'high (used for tree)' *BSdL 554* **k'udA'a:w** long (board), tall (tree) *L,* **k'uXAdA'a:w** long (logs, streaks, lines, stripes) *L,* **gah k'uXAdA'a:w** day is long *L,* **k'uqi:lA'a:w** long (rope), (rope is) long *LM,* **k'uqi:lA'a:w k'uXehL** long rope *L,* **k'ulA'a:w** long (paddle, hat, head) *L,* **k'uti:lA'a:w guLt'ahL** long feather *L,* **k'ugA'a:w k'u't'** long thread *L,* **k'ugAlAXA'a:w** long backbone *LM.*

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2. *Dependent, as suffix:* a. *not with classified nouns*: **ta:hA'a:w** long trail *L,* **'uk'ahsh'a:w** its long legs *L,* **k'uch'AX'a:w** long wings *M, attested also with k'uch'Alih 'arm, sleeve', k'uyALXahdzL 'claws', k'uyAXa:w 'shadow', k'uXu' 'fur', k'ula't' 'tongue', k'u'lahs 'intestines',* **'Aw dAkinh'a:wyu:** *(not -'a:wAyu:)* those long sticks pl. *L; in epithets, suffixed to possessed nouns lacking possessive prefix:* **yALtsAq'sgL'a:w** long-fingers *(octopus) 20.11A,* **ch'Alih'a:w** long-sleeves *L, Rezanov* Люкашъ-аya 'Свинья ('pig') Schwein' **lAGa:nsh'a:wa…** long-snout.

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2b. *Suffixed to classified nouns*: **shdu:lihGdA'a:w** long table *L,* **yahddA'a:w** long house, cannery *L,* **yahddA'a:wdAyAq'd** in a cannery *L,* **k'uLt'ahLti:lA'a:w** long leaf *M,* **dzAwuLdla:'a:w** long net *L,* **k'u'lahsqi:dla:'a:w** long intestines *L,* **chi:shglAXA'a:w** long sandbank *M,* **kihdzqi:lA'a:w** long packing-twine *M,* **Ge:ts'gu'a:w** long spruceroot *L,* **le:Lgu'a:w** long hair, long-haired person *L,* **'AXa: le:Lgu'a:w da'li:LXinhinh** my what long hair she has *L,* **gudALidggudA'a:w** long braid *L,* **ya:djilahXAdA'a:w** long rainbow *L,* **lAGAshk'LXAdA'a:w** long pole *M,* **gahXAdA'a:w** long day *L, also, adverbially,* all day long *L,* **gahXAdA'a:w sAquhLinu:** they've been sitting (staying put) all day long *L; in epithet, suffixed to possessed noun lacking possessive prefix:* **gutl'ahdA'a:w** long-tail *L,* **xwi'ts'dA'a:w** long-legged snipe < long-shins *L.*

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2c. *With anatomical or class-like anatomical or thematic marks*: **tsin'gAdla:'a:w** long-neck *L,* **ga'ts'gLXu:lA'a:w** long (-toothed, -runged) ladder *L (uncertain); in epithets, with reduced form of anatomical noun, classified, as anatomical mark, lacking possessive prefix:* **ch'a:ndA'a:w** long-arms *L,* **djAXAdla:'a:w** long-ears *L,* **k'ushdA'a:w** long-legs; snipe, deer, *also personal name of woman (see k'ahsh~k'ush) L.*

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3. *With preverb tl'a'q'2 (q.v., see also -'a´ 10. under 'a´~'a', apparently Active imperfective of otherwise unattested verb-theme)*: *used only in* **XAla:g tl'a'q' 'a:w** long winter *L,* **xah tl'a'q' 'a:w** long summer *L.*

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GAdla:'a:w *(with Gdl-thematic 'distance overland', probably originally Active imperfective of otherwise unattested verb-theme, see Gdl-L-'a' under 'a´~'a', now usually used as locative)* 1. far away, distant, in the distance *M*: *23.159A, 31.16L, 60.34, 61, 64A, Anonymous* Катлага 'Далеко' *(implying GAdla:'a:YA), Khromchenko* Катлаау *(in Ahtna column)* / Катлявао *(in Eyak column)* 'Далеко', *Rezanov* Котляауту 'Далеко weit' **GAdla:'a:wduh** it's far!, *Furuhjelm* Tikhkhatliaaulekh 'near' **dik' GAdla:'a:w ['A]Le:G** it's not far, **dik' GAdla:'a:wG** not far *LM,* **dik' GAdla:'a:wdG** (at rest) not far *LM, 31.9L,* **GAdla:'a:wch'** towards the distance, further away, (motion) far *25.7, 28.63, 60.34A,* **dik' GAdla:'a:wch'G sahLinh** he didn't go far *L,* **di:yAX GAdla:'a:wda' Ga:LG** he hadn't yet gotten far (arrived at a distant point) *28.42A.*

2. *Probably incorrect* a long time *(see Gl-L-'a' under 'a´~'a')*: *attested only in* **GAdla:'a:w 'u:dAX 'a:nd da: wAX 'i:t'eh** a long time then we've lived here *62.11G.*

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3. *With ya' 'completely, to a state of rest, vertical' (see Gdl-'a´ under 'a´~'a'), used as adjective 'high, tall'*: **gu:nehG ya' GAdla:'a:w** high horse *L,* **shdu:lihG ya' GAdla:'a:w** high table *L.*

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gudla:'a:w *(with gdl-thematic 'aquatic distance', see preceding and gdl-L-'a' under 'a´~'a')* far over the water, far out to sea: *60.61A, 64.7G,* **dik' gudla:'a:w 'ALe:G** it's not far (over water) *60.62A.*

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'i-G-'a:w *(with 'i-G-thematic, cf. 'i-G-'li´, at least usually with o-yAq' 'in o (not with broad opening at top)' and li' 'deeply in cavity (from open front end to closed back end')* long, deep (of horizontal cavity): *Neuter imperfective:* **'uyAq' li' 'iGi'a:w** *(perhaps to be corrected to 'iGi:'a:w)* it (cavity) is deep inside *LM,* **dik' 'uyAq' 'iGa'a:wG** it's not long inside *L (awkward L), Active perfective:* **'uyAq' li' 'iGAsA'a:wL** it got long inside *L (awkward L); used, perhaps incorrectly, as C:* **XAla:g 'iGi'a:w GALe'L** winter's getting long *L.*

'a:w2 *(perhaps to be identified with 'a:w1, but semantic connection obscure, and not so identified by L)*

'a:wAyu: *(adverb) (probably stem 'a:w- with -yu: 'pl. etc.', cf. 'u:dAX-yu:)* impolite, inconsiderate, barbaric, boorish, reckless, strange, disorderly, indiscriminate, bad, nasty, peculiar, queer, weird, eerie: **'a:wAyu: dAXunhyu:** barbaric, boorish, ill-mannered people *L,* **'a:wAyu: dAXunh yiLinhinu:**, **'a:wAyu: dAXunh qi:Linhinu:** they're bad people *L,* **'a:wAyu: 'i:t'inhinh** he's a bad person *L (not *'a:w 'i:t'inhinh L),* **'a:wAyu:** (*or, with dA-* 'ipse', **dA'a:wAyu:**) **'i:nsAxahLinhshiyah q'A'anh** he's a poorly brought-up ill-mannered wretch *L,* **Lich' 'a:wAyu: xu'li:'inhinh** he always calls me insulting names *L,* **Lich' 'a:wAyu: 'ida'li:'inhinh** he always calls people insulting names *L,* **Lidah 'a:wAyu: 'Aw 'u'lAGA'a:nL** he continually keeps calling it impolite names *10.96A,* **dA'wAX 'a:wAyu: 'Awtl' dAGAle:Llehd** because he was keeping on saying nasty things to it *10.108A; with verbs with perambulative:* **'a:wAyu: yAX 'ida'dAde'LXinh** he bosses people around impolitely, indiscriminately *L,* **t'ik'Lda:X 'a:wAyu: yAX 'iLAt'ik'X** he goes around shooting at things indiscriminately with arrows *L,* **dA'a:wAyu: yAX 'iLAt'ik'X** he goes around shooting recklessly at things (with bow-and-arrow) *L,* **'a:wAyu: yAX xAdidi'ah** a line, streak extends about crazily in several directions *L,* **'a:wAyu: yAX XAdAxdAdja'X** I'm drawing a jerky line *L,* **'a:wAyu: yAX XAdishdidja'L** a funny jerky line is drawn *L,* **'a:wAyu: yAX XAdAxdAXahdX** I'm drawing a zigzag line *L,* **'a:wAyu: yAX 'ixdAtsi:ndzk'** I (cust) have eerie, scary dreams *L,* **'a:wAyu: 'udahd 'u'lidita:** it makes a strange peculiar noise < its weird noise is heard *21b.30A.*

'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.*

'a:lihgAG *(loan from Chugach, cf. aalukaq 'namesake')*

'a:lihgAG(ya'd) *(place-name) just below tsu:x on Eyak River ("good blueberries there") L (< 'a:lihgAG as o of o-ya' 'into o with broad opening at top, as body of water').*

'a:li'LX *(unanalyzable, segmentable, perhaps 'a:li'-L-X, 'a:-li'-L-X, 'a:-li'L-X, 'a:l-i'-L-X, 'a:- or 'a:l- perhaps related to 'a:n1 'river', -i'- perhaps to 'e'~, or -li'- to li', for -L-X cf. especially wa:L-X, original meaning perhaps '(motion within area) at upper(?) end of river'; L rejects proposed *ma:li'LX)*

'a:li'LX *(locational, probably postpositional phrase)* at headwaters, upper end of creek or in lake, spawning ground, *attested only in* ***'a:li'LX 'i:lahL*** 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 dA'Aw 'a:n 'ida: yAX gu:ndi'ah, 'Awa:LX q'uhnu: yAX dAqe:X 'the way that river itself flowed about, following along that they boated about' 68.4A.

a:~ya: *(original basic form probably a:, related to a:n~ma:~mah, cf. Athapaskan *-a(n)(~-A(n))-q'ə'-yə(/-ən) 'maternal aunt' (probably < 'that which, she who is in stead of mother', modern Eyak form now generalized ya:, except following prefix 'u-, k'u-, where -wa: is acceptable variant)*

-ya:q'e'~-wa:q'e' *(kinship noun, ascending) (for analysis see above and q'e'2)* (maternal) aunt: **siya:q'e'** my mother's sister *LM, 69.9, 21A,* **'iya:q'e'** your mother's sister *L,* **'uya:q'e'** *LM,* **'uwa:q'e'** his mother's sister *LM (M prefers latter, L once former, once latter),* **'anh k'uwa:q'e'** the aunt *L,* **qa:ya:q'e'** our aunt *L,* **'anhya:q'e'** his aunt *L,* yaqɛ'yac 'mother's older sister's son (woman speaking)', 'mother's older sister's daughter (woman speaking)' *BSdL 566A* **-ya:q'e'yahsh** mother's sister's child *(either sex possessor), with affixed -G-yu: 'personal, plural':* **siya:q'e'GAyu:** my mother's sisters, my mother's sister(s) etc. *70.10, 10A, with suffixed adjective -shiyah (here without clear meaning):* **siya:q'e'shiyah** my mother's sister *(sams as siya:q'e') L,* yaqɛ'caɛyac 'mother's younger sister's son (woman speaking)', 'mother's younger sister's daughter (woman speaking)' *BSdL 566, 567A* **-ya:q'e'shiyahyahsh** mother's sister's child *(either sex possessor); vocative* **ya:q'e'** *LM,* **ya:q'e'shah** *L,* **ya:q'e'shiyah** (maternal) aunt! *L,* yaqɛ' 'mother's older sister' *BSdL 565A,* yaqɛ'cia 'mother's younger sister' *BSdL 565A.*

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ya:q'e'kih *(personal name) wife of Sock Stevens* < auntie! *L (M has heard) (< ya:q'e' '(maternal) aunt (vocative)' with suffixed -kih 'diminutive, affectionate').*

'a:ya:ya:y

'a:ya:ya:y *(conventional noise) meaningless refrain in song 72.40M.*

'a:yah *(perhaps variant of 'Ayanh)*

'a:yah *(exclamation)* poor thing! *L (expression of pity, regret, commiseration).*

'ah1 *(stem, of uncertain meaning, perhaps to be identified with Active imperfective stem of themes with 'a, 'a'~'a', or with 'ah2)*

LA'ah *(noun, unclassified)* slave *L: 2b.6, 7L, 11.120, 19.26L, 49.83, 88, 95, 141, 153A. Anonymous* Тлага 'Слуга, работникъ' ('servant, worker'), *Galushia Nelson* tłá'à' *or* łá'à *BSdL 543,* **'i: LA'ah 'i'qe'li:xLXah** I'll keep you as a slave, make a slave of you *L,* **dA'u:d 'ahnu: sALtuxLinu:, LA'ahwahd** they kept him right there, for a slave *38.13LM,* **LA'ahshiyah** old slave *(pejorative) 49.83, 88, 115A.* **LA'ahGAyu:** slaves *11.109, 109, 110, 129, 129, 132A,* **'ita:'ya' LA'ahGAyu:** your father's slaves *11.129A. Probably nominalized Active imperfective of theme with LA-classifier, not inflectable or possessible (e.g. not *xLA'ah L), except as in k'uLA'ah below. Informants unable to etymologize, but cf. Hupa O-ł-'a~-'a', Navaho O-ł-'á~-'à', Sarsi O-ł-'ą́~-'ą̀', Chipewyan O-ł-'à~-'á 'S command O, send O on errand', Navaho nà·l'à'í 'servant, slave' (< *na-łə-'a'-ən 'he who is ordered about').*

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k'uLA'ah *(noun, unclassified)* muskrat *LM, 67.6G. Muskrat is so called because it is "slave to beaver" LM; see LA'ah above; k'u-indefinite prefix perhaps serving as possessor,* < something's slave, *or perhaps O of old verb-theme,* < *'something is commanded'.*

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k’uLA’ahya’ ma: *(place-name) "Muskrat Lake", on Ibek Creek?, just beyond Mile 7 <* muskrat's lake *L.*

’ah2 *(element, probably stem, in various forms of uncertain analysis, perhaps of more than one origin, and perhaps to be identified with 'ah1 and/or related to 'a, 'a ´~'a', and/or 'ah~'a:)*

’AwA’ah- *(nominal form of uncertain classification and analysis; -AwA- probably related to 'Aw~'u- demonstrative 'that', never *-'Aw'ah-, no *'AlA'ah- L)* thank you, *not clearly attested in isolation*: *with -dah adverbializer: Galushia Nelson* aua’ta’ *or* au’a’ta’ 'thanks' *BSdL 555* **’AwA’ahdah** thank you *LM,* **’AwA’ahdah ’a:nda’ sahL** thank you for coming < thank you you came here *S, with suffixed adjective -'luw 'big': Rezanov* Агуалягата 'Спасибо danke', *Anonymous* Ваалагата 'Благодарю' ('I give thanks') **’AYA’ahlAYAdah** big thanks *(but L later qualifies: "not good Eyak, only 'Tlingits', e.g. S, would say this"; M (8/96) rejects for 'AwA'ahdahlAw);* **’AwA’ahluwdah**, **’AwA’ahluw** many thanks *L, other forms, in which 'AwA'ah- can be construed as occurring unbound:* **’AwA’ahle:GAshiyah** ingrate *L (< 'AwA'ah le:Ginh-shiyah 'he-pejorative who does not act thankfully'),* **’AwA’ahla:** thank you *(but flippant, not as good as 'AwA'ahdah) L (perhaps with -'la: suffix, see 'lah~'la:, or la:, both exclamatory).*

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dAqu:lAXA’ah *(noun, unclassified)* fierce, tough person *L,* mean *M*: *Furuhjelm* Takhulhaa 'warrior', **dAqu:lAXA’ahlAw** big fierce man *L,* **dAqu:lAXA’ahch’iya’** tough guy *L.*

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dAqu:lAXA’ah XAwa: *(noun)* bulldog < fierce-looking dog *L.*

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’AnA’ah *S,* **’AnA’a:** *L (personal name) name of Cordova Eyak man S; see 'a:, cf. 'AwA'ah-, 'AnAshih, 'Anik'eh~'AnAk'eh~'Anik'ih~'AnAk'ih, 'Al. Probably of Eyak origin, Eyak, Tlingit, and Eskimo informants unable to etymologize.*

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la:sA’ah *(noun, unclassified)* pot, large pot *L, 7.36A*: *Anonymous* Лацаа 'Бочька большая, бочюлокъ малый' ('barrel, cask'). *Informants unable to identify, see la:, sA, cf. la:Ltah.*

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qa:da:dA’ah *??? from 'a´~'a'*

’ahd *(probably loan from Tlingit ’àd 'father's sister', cf. Eyak -ga:g, Tlingit kág 'mother's brother')*

-’ahd *(kinship noun, ascending)* (paternal) aunt: siat 'father's older sister's daughter, mother's older brother's daughter (man speaking)' *BSdL 566A (glossed probably incorrect)* **si’ahd** my father's sister *(not vocative) L, 51.8A,* **siqa’ahd** *(not *siqa'lA'ahd)* my husband's father's sister *L,* **si’ahdGAyu:** my father's sisters *L,* **si’ahdAshiyah** my father's sister *(not necessarily pejorative) L; vocative:* at 'father's older sister (man speaking)', atcia 'father's younger sister (man speaking)', **’ahd** *LM,* **’ahdAshiyah, ’ahdshah** *(not *'A'ahd, *'ahdshiyah, twice verified)* (paternal) aunt! *L.*

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’ahdAkih *(personal name) "Minnie Stevens called Lena that"* < little aunt (father's sister) *M (9/19/98).*

’a’d *(perhaps related to 'AdA)*

’a’d *(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, 72.71,* **’a’d dita:dz** very long ago *1b.1, 2a.1M, 18.1L, 43.1, 2, 47b.1M,* **’a’d xan’Lq’** very very much *(see xan'Lq'),* **’a’d k’a:di’da:** never ever *(see k'a:),* **’a’d ’idah** very well, quite really *11.125, 36.7, 65.23A, Rezanov* Адетадлякоми 'Сладко süss' **’a’d ’idah LAgAmih** it tastes very good, sweet *M,* **’a’d ’idehdah** real(ly) very *65.20A,* **’a’d ’idehdah tsa’ yiLeh** it's extremely deep *M,* **’a’d k’udzu:dah** very well *24.11, 51.15A, Rezanov* Атеяцыцъ 'Тонѣе dünn (Comparativ)' **’a’d ya:tsidz[g]** very thin, Атъ уяхакейкучкъ 'Уже eng, schmal (Comparativ)' **’a’d ’uyAq’AGi’kuch’g** it's inside is very small, Аттуату 'Скоряе schnell (Comparativ)' **’a’d dAwa’dduh** very fast!, Атетаалькоа 'Тише langsam, still, sachte (Comparativ)' **’a’d da:n’Lgwa’** very slowly, Атесыттле 'Озавъ fror' **’a’d sAtl’e’L** it got very cold, Атыгахту 'Мѣль Untiefe' **’a’d yiwa’q’duh** it's very shallow!, Атхошешеиль 'Прибить кого ('to knock one down') Jemanded schlagen' **’a’d xushAshehL** you/it really killed, hurt me *L, Rezanov* Аткольгетеэтлеиту 'Бѣдной ('poor') arm' **’a’d k’ulAX ’i:t’inhinh yiLinhinhduh** he's very rich, powerful, quite a chief! *L,* **’a’d ya’Xu:** don't ever! *M, 49.129A, 'a'd o-ga' 'very much like, just like, exactly as': 32.45, 37b.37, 65.5A, frequent in expressive idioms: 72.14, 15, 16L,* **XAwa: k’u:Leh, ’a’d ’AwlAX q’uhnu: ’i:t’eh** people are awful these days < one is a dog, they're much more so than that *72.7L,* **k’uge:Gk’, ’a’d ’AwlAX q’unh ge:Gk’** he's a terrible liar < one (cust) lies, he (cust) lies much more than that, **’a’d ki:nXinh** he's crying hard *L,* **q’AXa: ’a’d wAX ’i:t’inhinh** my how he sure is very much thus! *L,* **’a’d Lda:sg**, **’a’d yiLda:s** it's real heavy *L,* **’a’d xuGALtAsgL** it's making me very shaky, nervous *L,* **’a’d yAX xuLAt’a’Xinh**, **’a’d xusALt’a’Linh** he sure ties me down (with responsability) *L,* **’a’d xu:Ldje:djL** I'm very proud, surprised *L,* **’a’d ’u:d sdiq’a’ts’L** there are lots of salmonberry bushes there *L,* **’a’d ’iyAX ’Adu’xLileh** I sure envy you *L,* **’a’d** o-**’uqL’a:na’tl’ ’i-d-le** o's heart is touched very deeply, **’a’d ’u’ihch’ da: yAGa’ya:L** we're falling further and further behind it *L, in certain negative constructions:* **dik’ ’a’d[…G?]** hardly *L,* **’uqa’X yi:nhinu:, dik’ ’a’d Li’q’[G?]** some of them, by no means(?) all *69.3A,* **’Aw gusi:kih, dik’ ’a’d dAGAL’ehdGda:X** when it's a bit, not very, dry *65.36A,* **dik’ ’a’d k’ut’u’G** not very many *65.80A,* **dik’ ’a’d dAk’e:dah ’Ad-la’LAt’u:G** there's no sign of pain or anger on his face < he's not grimacing in any way at all *L; modifying noun:* **’a’d dAXunhyu:** genuine, true, real (not fake) people *L (cf. 'AdA); L rejects proposed form with dA-* 'ipse' **dA'a'd.*

’a’tl’ *(perhaps related to 'itl'2)*

O-**’a’tl’** 1. S chew O: **’A’a’tl’** chew it! *M, Rezanov* Куатле 'Жевать kauen' **k’u’a’tl’inh** he's chewing something, **k’ux’a’tl’** I'm chewing something *M,* **dik’ k’ux’a’tl’G** I'm not chewing anything *M,* **x’a’tl’** I'm chewing it *M,* **k’utse’kih ’a’tl’inh** he's chewing a bit of meat *M,* **qu’x’a’tl’** I'll chew it *M, Rezanov* Кыятль 'Табакъ ('tobacco') Tabak', *Furuhjelm* Khaiatl 'tobacco' **Gi:’a’tl’L** you're (in the process of) chewing it (all day long) *L,* **sa’dA’ah Gi:’a’tl’L** you're chewing tobacco *L,* **si’a’tl’L** I chewed it *M,* **Lich’ k’u’a:tl’k’** he's always (cust) chewing something *L, with perambulative:* **yAX LA’a’tl’X** it's chewing around, going around chewing it *M (probably to be corrected to dA'a'tl'X), with class-marks for O:* **Ge:ts’ gu’a’tl’inh** he's chewing spruceroots *M,* **di:’a’tl’** you chew it (spruce-pitch, d-class) *51.25, 25, 25fnA,* **da: ’a:tl’k’** we (cust) chew it *51.31fnA,* **dA’a:tl’k’inh** he (cust) chews (it, spruce-pitch?) *L.*

2. *With qehX 'closed',* S (beaver) dam up O (body of water) *(see 'itl'2)*: **qehX ’Aw sA’a’tl’L** they (beavers) dammed it up *L.*

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’a’tl’ *(deverbalization)* bite, *used as o of o-y-'e' 'in place of o's (absent) hand, o's handiwork'*: **’a’tl’yA’e’d yiLeh** it's a toothmark from fighting (on flayed pelt) *L.*

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-d-'a'tl' *(deverbalization, with d-class-mark for O)* chewing O (d-class): **gahGdA'a'tl' xuGALga'L** I'm getting tired of chewing gum < chewing gum is tiring me *L.*

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ya' O-**(d-)'a'tl'** *(with d-thematic optional and ya' 'completely')* 1. S chew O up: a.: **ya' 'A'a'tl'** chew it up! *M.*

1b. *With expanded stem and ya'*: (1) **XAwa:shiyah siXa' Li'q' ya:yu: siXa' ya' sA'a:tl'L** my no-good mutt chewed up all my stuff *L;* (2) *repetitive, with o-a: 'for o':* **'Aw siya: ya' 'a:tl'ginh** she's chewing it (food) up for (baby) *L (not freely used).*

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2. *With qA- 'plural' perhaps thematized*: **XAwa:shiyah siXa' Lich' gahXye'X 'Aw si:nL siXa' ya' qAdAsA'a'tl'** (*or* **qAsA'a'tl'**) my no-good mutt chewed up my shoe all day long *L.*

'a'ch'

-'a'ch' 1a. pl. go, walk *(cf. a1 for sg. S)*: *imperatives:* **Li'q' sikä' 'ilAX'a'ch'** all of you come with me! *9.114A,* **'iya', Li'q' dAXunhyu:qa'ch' 'ilAX'a'ch'** come on, all of you go to amongst people! *13.12A,* **sidALyAX 'ilAX'a'ch'** walk in front of me! *31.10L,* **'ilAX'a'ch'** pl. go away! *M, Inceptive imperfective: 13.13L, 16.29M, 18.9, 33, 58L, 20.74, 75, 24.40, 29.19, 65.83A, 71.8, 13LM,* **ya:qa' da: qa'a'ch'** we'll move (*déménagerons*) *L,* **k'ula:GAyu: q'ahnu: qa:'e' qa'a'ch'** others will take our place (change shifts) *L,* **dALich' 'a:ndAk'ah da: qa'a'ch'** we'll move away for good *L,* **'a'q' da: qa'a'ch'** we'll go out *M,* **da: q'e' qu'dA'a'ch'** we'll go home *L, Inceptive perfective: 15.20M, 18.3, 15, 34, 60, 31.7, 8, 9L, 34.73M, 47c.47L, 49.144A, 56.28L,* **di:yAX 'ahnu: dAXunhyu: 'u:da' q'e' GAdA'a'ch'LG da:X** before the people had gotten back there *9.106A,* **ta:(XAdA)tsin'da'ch' da: GA'a'ch'L** we're coming to road's end *L,* **qa'nu:Xa'X GA'a'ch'Linu:duh** they're getting into a fight! *L,* **'iyah cha:nnwa:nngu:t'u' 'a:nch' GA'a'ch'L** wow there's sure a lot of Chinamen coming here! *L,* **'i:na:q'Ach' da: GA'a'ch'L** we're going up on hill *L,* **'itl'a:na'q'Ach' da: GA'a'ch'L** we're going up on hill *L,* **'a'q'Ach'sh GAlAX'a'ch'** are you pl. going out? *L,* **'a'q'Ach' da: GA'a'ch'L** we're going out *L,* **dAtli: 'anhch' da: q'e' GAdA'a'ch'L** we're coming back close to home again already *L,* **q'e' GAdA'a'ch'L** they're going back *L, Inceptive optative:* **dA'u:dAXyi:nhinu:shgahX 'Aw'a:n' Gi'a'ch'** I wish that some people would come upon it (whale) *11.173A, Active imperfective usitative:* **Ge:ts'guXa' da: 'a'ch'** we go for spruceroots *L,* **la'mahd-lAXAXa' da: 'a'ch'** we go for berries *L,* **dAkinhXa' da: 'a'ch'** we go for wood (sticks) *L,* **lisdAXa' da: 'a'ch'** we go for spruce *L, Active perfective: 2a.5, 31M, 5.10L, 6.8, 10M, 9.43, 115, 116, 159, 10.22, 23, 28, 51, 109, 109, 113, 11.[175], 176, 176, 184, 189, 201, 15.4A, 16.7, 19M, 18.1, 35, 46, 66, 85L, 20.1, 77, 80, 93, 94, 97, 101, 102, 21b.41, 25.5, 119, 123, 129, 186, 28.51, 69, 29.6, 6[L], 40, 57, 33, 37, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47[L], 48, 49, 63, 66A, 31.3, 11L, 32.30A, 38.25LM, 49.72, 149, 51.37, 51.73A, 52.17, 22, 53.3L, 59.7, 11 Galushia Nelson, 61.86, 93A, 71.10LM,* **dik' qi'ch' shA'a'ch'L 'uXa' 'Aw 'u:la'**[**dAga:G**] it wasn't known where they went to *20.103A,* **dAXk'ih Gu:djihduw 'Aw 'anhq' tsa' shA'a'ch'L** a number of wolves descended on the village *25.122A,* **ta:(XAdA)tsin'da' sA'a'ch'L** we came to road's end *L,* **'a'q' da: shA'a'ch'L** we went out *M,* **qa:'a:n' sA'a'ch'Linu:** they came upon us (while they were) walking *L,* **'utl' tsin'di'xleh da:X sidAXahd shA'a'ch'Linu:, 'Aw tsin'da:xleh da:X sidAXahd shA'a'ch'Linu:** I was just getting started talking to them and they walked out on me *L,* **dik'sh 'Ad'e'ch' q'e' 'AlAXs(h)dA'a'ch'LG** didn't you pl. go home? *M,* **k'ugu:nt'u'inu: 'u:da' q'e' sdi'a'ch'L** some more people arrived there *L,* **dik' q'e' 'anh 'AshdA'a'ch'Linu:** they didn't get home again *L, Active optative: 18.83L, 29.5A,* **da: 'i:'a'ch'** let's go *M,* **q'Ale' da: 'i:'a'ch'** now let's go *L,* **'u'qah da: 'i:'a'ch'** OK let's go (I'm willing, alright) *M,* o-**Xa' da: 'i:'a'ch'** let's go get some o *(whether we know where to get it or not) LM,* **'uXahd da: 'i:'a'ch'** let's get away from him *L,* **'anh qi' shishehLch' da: 'i:'a'ch'** let's go to the place where I killed him *L,* **'anh shishehLinhch' da 'i:'a'ch'** let's go to that guy I killed *L,* **tla: qi'ch' da: 'i:'a'ch'** let's go (at least) someplace *L,* o-**lu'qa: da: 'i:'a'ch'** let's go get some o

(whether we know where to get it or not) LM, **'a'q'Ach' da: 'i:'a'ch'** let's go out *L,* **si'e'ch' da: 'i:'a'ch'** let's go to my home *L,* **lu:ch' da: 'i:'a'ch'** let's dig clams *(low tide activity) L,* **da: q'e' 'idi'a'ch' q'ah** let's go home already! *L,* **da: q'e' 'idi'a'ch' la:** let's go home, now *L,* **'a'q'Ach' 'ilAXi'a'ch'** let you pl. go out *L, Neuter perfective:* **qa:qi:dla:GA'e' 'i:'a'ch'Linu:** they're following our track *L, Inceptive conditional:* **lAX'a:n' da: GA'a'ch' da:X** whenever we come upon you *13.13L, Active conditional:* **qi'dAX 'AnahshAkihya'X da: 'i'a'ch' da:X** as soon as we get going having a good time *30.9A, customary:* **Lila:'GAyu: 'a'q' 'a'a:ch'k'** the menfolk would go out *25.17A,* **'uda' 'Aw 'a'a:ch'k'** they (people) would come to her *25.158A, hortatory desiderative:* **wAX 'utl' dAGAli:n'inu:, 'ahnu: sikuwa'na:GAyu:, 'a:nda' silu'qa: GA'a'ch'X** say thus to them, my relatives, that they should come here to get me *25.92A, with perambulative: Inceptive imperfective:* **yAX qu'dA'a'ch'inu:** they'll go for a walk *L, Active imperfective: 10.83, 23.132, 133, 29.1, 2A, 42.18L,* **da: yAX dA'a'ch'X**, **yAX da: dA'a'ch'X** *(no preference)* we're walking around *L,* **yAX dA'a'ch'Xinu:** they're on a walk *L,* **la'dnu: yAX dA'a'ch'X** two people are walking around *M, Active perfective:* **ta:XAdAtsin'da'ch'ahd da: q'e:yAX sdi'a'ch'L** we got to road's end and turned back *L,* **q'e:yAX shdi'a'ch'Linu:** they turned back *38.26LM, Active optative:* **da: yAX 'idi'a'ch'** *31.5L,* **yAX da: 'idi'a'ch'** let's take a walk *L,* **da: yAX 'idi'a'ch'sh 'i:leh** do you want to take a walk? *L,* **Xa:'dAX da: yAX 'idi'a'ch'** let's take a walk outside *L,* **Xi:dAXyu: da: yAX 'idi'a'ch'** let's walk around in yonder place *L,* **'u:dAXyu: da: yAX 'idi'a'ch'** let's walk around there *L,* **'a:ndAXyu: da: yAX 'idi'a'ch'** let's walk around here *L,* **q'e:yAX da: 'idi'a'ch'**, **da: q'e:yAX 'idi'a'ch'** let's turn back; let's take a walk again *L,* **yAX da: q'e' 'idi'a'ch'** let's take a walk again *(not 'let's turn back') L,* **da: yAX q'e' 'idi'a'ch'** let's turn back; let's take a walk again *L, customary: 25.203, 60.56, 57A,* **si:na'q' yAX 'ilAXdA'a:ch'k'** you pl. (cust) walk all over me *50.64A,* **da: yAX 'idi'a:ch'k'** let's (cust) take walks *L, in indirect reciprocal constructions: Inceptive perfective:* **'iLlAXa:n'd GAdA'a'ch'Linu:** they're walking, going (not specifically running) along, competing *L,* **'iLka' GAdA'a'ch'Linu:** they're walking (side by side) in same direction, **'iL'ihX GAdA'a'ch'Linu:** they're walking single file in same direction *L, Active imperfective:* **'iLya' yAX dA'a'ch'X** they're walking back and forth *L,* **'iLka' yAX dA'a'ch'Xinu:** they're going around together *M, Active perfective:* **'iLXAw 'u:da' da: shdi'a'ch'L** we got there same time *L,* **'iLch'ahd q'e:yAX sdi'a'ch'Linu:** they went away from each other again *L,* **'iLda'X sdi'a'ch'Linu:** they went toward each other →← *L,* **'iLta:s sdi'a'ch'Linu:** they went past each other *L. Transitive (causative): 11.203, 29.60, 62A,* (**Li'q' 'Aw**) **XAwa: 'AdiX GAlAXL'a'ch'** make (all) the dogs come in! *60.24, 25A,* **'ahnu: dAXunhyu: 'Aw'e:X q'e' shLi'a'ch'L** those people went back looking for it *10.49A.*

1b. *Comitative, with o-tl' 'with o',* sg. S go, walk with o, take o along: *imperative:* **sitl' 'i:'a'ch'** take me along! *L, Inceptive imperfective:* **Xi:ch' 'itl' qu'x'a'ch'** I'll go over there with you *51.63A, Inceptive perfective: 25.7, 28.42A, 31.6L,* **sitl' GA'a'ch'L** he's abducting me *L, Active perfective: 18.23, 47L, 20.25, 26, 23.91, 92, 122, 126, 128, 25.75, 101A, 27a.27, 29L, 27b.36, 39, 47, 48, 28.10, 11, 40, 41, 28.48, 29.47, 33.85A, 34c.72M, 38.10, 11LM, 40.11, 52.14, 55.9L,* **'anhtl' 'u:da' shA'a'ch'L** he went there with her *M,* **XAwa:tl' 'u:da' shA'a'ch'L** he went there with a dog *M, Active optative:* **k'uqu'wAshe:ch'L 'anhtl' yAX 'idi'a'ch'wahd** so that he might go around hunting with him *15.2M, Inceptive conditional:* **'Aw ka:wAyu: 'iXa' 'anh 'utl' Gi:'a'ch' da:X** when you get home with those *cow*s of yours *51.77A,* **'Al ka:wAyu:tl' 'iXä' 'idah q'e' GAdA'a'ch' da:X, 'idah 'anh Gi:L'a'ch' da:X** when you get all the way back home with these cows of yours, when you get them all the way home *(second clause still in comitative, even though no o-tl' is present) 51.79A, customary:* **'Awtl' q'unh 'a'a:ch'k'** he's been going off with them *10.144A, with perambulative:* **'Awyu:qa'X 'utl' yAX k'ushdi'a'ch'Lch'ahd q'unh** after someone took him around amongst those things *51.77A, in indirect reciprocal construction: Neuter perfective:* **'utl' 'iLlAXa:n' 'ixdi'a'ch'Linh** I'm racing him (specifically running) *L.*

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2a. *With qa'(~qa:nch') 'up out',* (1) pl. climb: **qa' k'ushA'a'ch'L** some climbed up *25.129A,* **Li'q' 'udAya' da: qa' shA'a'ch'L** we all climbed up on board it *59.11 Galushia Nelson.* (2) *Comitative, with o-tl' 'with o',* sg. climb with o: **'u:dAX 'anhtl' qa' shA'a'ch'L** he had climbed out there with her *28.40, 41A.*

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2b. *With 'AlAk'ah 'up out of bed',* pl. get up (out of bed): *Inceptive imperfective:* **'AlAk'ah qa'a'ch'** they were going to get up *29.19A,* **'AlAk'ah da: qa'a'ch'** we'll get up out of bed *M,* **'AlAk'ahsh qu'lAX'a'ch'** will you pl. get out of bed? *M, Inceptive perfective:* **'AlAk'ahch' da: GA'a'ch'L** we're getting out of bed *M, Active perfective: 21b.60, 61A,* **yAqe:X q'uhnu: 'AlAk'ah shA'a'ch'L** on the morrow they got up *50.25A, customary:* **tli:dAwa: 'AlAk'ah 'a'a:ch'k'inu:** they would get up early in the morning *50.2A. Transitive (causative):* **'AlAk'ah da: 'i:L'a'ch'** let's get them out of bed *L.*

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2c. *With ya'(ch') 'in(to) a frenzy, trance',* pl. dance frenziedly: *Inceptive imperfective:* **ya'ch' k'uqa'a'ch'** they'll really whoop it up *M,* **ya'ch' qa'a'ch'inu:** they'll dance frenziedly *M, Inceptive perfective:* **ya'ch' GA'a'ch'Linu:** they're dancing frenziedly *M.*

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2d. *With o-ch'a:X 'helping o',* pl. help o: *imperatives:* **sich'a:X GAlAX'a'ch'** pl. help me! *10.112A,* **'uch'a:X GAlAX'a'ch'inh** pl. go help her! *25.185A, Inceptive imperfective:* **dik' 'ich'a:X da: q'e' qu'dA'a'ch'G** we won't help you pl. anymore *10.60A,* **'uch'a:X da: qa'a'ch'inu:, dAde:wahdd** we'll help them, with anything whatever *25.165A, Active perfective:* **'ahnu: 'uch'a:X shA'a'ch'Linu:** those who had helped him *10.58A,* **dA'Awtl' q'Aw 'ahnu:ch'a:X shA'a'ch'L** nevertheless they helped him *10.119A,* **'Awlehd dik' 'ahnu:ch'a:X 'Ash'a'ch'LGinu:** therefore they didn't help him *53.35L, customary:* **dA'wAXyu: q'**[**A**]**'ahnu: 'uch'a:X 'a:ch'k'dAwa: q'unhAw** in just those ways they kept helping them and then *25.210A, Inceptive conditional:* **'uch'a:X GAlAX'a'ch' da:X** if you pl. help him *53.34L. Transitive (causative): with deleted reflexive o: Active perfective:* **ch'a:X sLi'a'ch'L** he made them help him *10.45A, Neuter perfective:* **ch'a:X 'iLi'a'ch'L** he had them helping him *10.48A.*

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2e. *With o-lah 'around o' and perambulative,* pl. take care of o: **dik' 'iLlah yAX dA'a'ch'Ginu:** they don't take care of each other *L.*

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2f. *With 'iLk'ah 'away from each other',* (maritally) separate: *Active perfective:* **'iLk'ah shdi'a'ch'Linu:** (married couple) separated *L.*

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2g. *With 'iLq' 'on top of each other' and qa' 'up out',* mate: *Neuter perfective:* **'iLq' qä'** (*or* **qa'**) **'idi'a'ch'L** they're mating *M.*

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2h. *With 'iLlAXa:n' 'in competition with each other',* gamble: *Neuter perfective:* **'iLlAXa:n' 'idi'a'ch'L** they're gambling *M.*

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3. *In constructions requiring -L- classifier*: **dAXunhyu: k'uwa:ch'L 'AdiX shAL'a'ch'L** the people went in to eat *2a.35M,* **k'uqu'wAshe:ch'L sAL'a'ch'Linu:** they went hunting *15.4A,* **k'uqu'wAshe:ch'L da: 'i:L'a'ch'** let's go hunting *L,* **k'u'wAtsa:gL da: yAX LA'a'ch'**[**X**] we're going shopping *L,* **'iLya:X yAX LA'a'ch'Xinu:** they're avoiding each other *L.*

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4. *In constructions requiring -LA- classifier:* a. *with qAyuh 'belligerently'*: **'iLch' qAyuh GALA'a'ch'Linu:** they're going at each other fighting mad *L,* **'AwXa' q'uhnu: 'iLq' qAyuh shLi'a'ch'L** they went to fight with each other over it *28.103A.*

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4b. *Comitative, with o-tl' 'with o'*: **xut'Ltl' 'u:ch' qAyuh sLi'a'ch'Linh** with a rifle he came there ready to fight *52.9L.*

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qa:nch' 'a:ch' *(noun)* spring (season) < they (animals) persistently come out, emerge *L. Nominalized persistive.*

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sitl'a:ch'inh *(noun)* my would-be seducer < **sitl' 'a:ch'inh** he who would persistently "go with me", *i.e. persistently says "come with me" with quotation itself in persistive (spoken with irritation and derision) M.*

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'uya'ch' yAX k'udA'a'ch'X *(noun)* urine-pot < pl. "go" [about] into it *L. Perambulative.*

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qi'ch' yAX k'udA'a'ch'X *(noun)* toilet < place to which pl. go [about] *L. Perambulative.*

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yAX dA'a'ch'Xyu: *(noun)* dangerous animals < they walk about, roam: **yAX dA'a'ch'Xyu:Xa'k'a' 'u'yAla:ditah** watch out for (expect) dangerous animals! *L. Relativized Active imperfective, with -yu: 'plural'.*

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k'uqu'wAshe:ch'L yAX dA'a'ch'Xinu: *(noun)* hunters *16.29M.*

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'udAch' k'uqAXA'a'ch' *(personal name)* 1. *Agripina, maternal grandmother of Marie, born ca. 1864, died 1900, mother of Sofiia q'AnAGAma: and Nadezhda (Minnie) gu:gah (RO Church records, see my letter to M 9/26/98).*

2. *Marie Smith-Jones (born Cordova, May 14, 1918; died Anchorage, January 21, 2008)* < people plurally come to the sound of her *M ("like a movie star" M). Originally perhaps a reference to the amount of baby's vocalization and/or amount of attention required.*

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g-LA-'a'ch' 1a. pl. stand (come to standing position) *(for sg. see g-LA-a:n')*: *Inceptive perfective:* **guGALA'a'ch'Linu:** they're standing *L,* **dik' guGALA'a'ch'LGinu:** they're not standing *L, Active perfective:* **k'ut'u' mAgAG 'ulah gushLi'a'ch'Linh** many checkers stood around (surrounded) him *44.5L,* **gusLi'a'ch'Linu:** they stood up *L,* **lah gushLi'a'ch'Linu:** they're standing in a circle *M, Active optative:* **lu: gu:Li'a'ch'inu:** that they may face about, turn around (standing) *70.8A, customary:* **Xa:'d da: guLA'a:ch'k', 'a'q' da: gu:LA'[a:ch'k']** we (cust) would stand outside, we'd go stand outside *51.9A, perambulative:* **'ich'a:d GAt'e'q'L da:X yAX guLA'a'ch'Xinu:** they're standing about in a straight line toward you *M (semantically problematical), indirect reciprocal:* **'iLdahd guLi'a'ch'Linu:** they're standing, leaning against each other *L,* **'iLXa'X qa' guLi'a'ch'Linu:** they're standing, leaning against each other *L.*

1b. *With ya' 'to or remaining in a state of rest'*: *Inceptive imperative:* **ya' guGAlAXLA'a'ch'** pl. stand up! *L, Active optative:* **da: ya' gu:Li'a'ch'** let's stand up *L, Neuter perfective:* **ya' guLi'a'ch'Linu:** they're standing *L,* **dik' ya' ga'LA'a'ch'LGinu:** they're not standing *L.*

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2. *With class-mark for subject*: *Active perfective:* **ya' gu'sLi'a'ch'L** (*to be corrected to* **gusLi'a'chL**) its hair bristled up *L.*

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d-’a’ch’ 1a. pl. go astray, get lost (on foot): **’Aw q’Aw ’Aw ka:w q’Aw ’uXa’ dAshA’a’ch’Linh** then those *cows* strayed on him *51.42A,* **dAshA’a’ch’Linu:** they got lost *L.*

1b. *Comitative, with o-tl' 'with o',* sg. take o away and get o lost: **mAgAG ’itl’ qu’di:’a’ch’** the checkers will go (away) with you *44.3L,* **’itl’ qu’di:x’a’ch’** I'll take you away, get you lost *M,* **’itl’ dAshA’a’ch’Linh** he took me and got me lost *L.*

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l-dA-’a’ch’ pl. get lost, go amiss, get stuck somewhere: **’i:nshdi’a’ch’Linu:** they got lost *L.*

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o-**ka:X(Ach’) ’i-’-d-’a’ch’** pl. catch up with, gain on o walking: **sika:X ’i’dAGA’a’ch’Linu:** they're catching up with me *M,* **sika:X ’i’dAsA’a’ch’Linu:** they caught up with me *M,* **sika:X ’i’shA’a’ch’Linu:** *(without d-),* **sika:X ’i’dAshA’a’ch’Linu:** they caught up with me *L.*

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k’u’-Xdl-dA-’a’ch’ pl. stagger: **yAX k’u’XAdla:dA’a’ch’Xinu:** they're staggering drunkenly around *L.*

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(q’e’) gdl-(dA-)’a’ch’ pl. go (back) crying: **q’e’ gudla:shdi’a’ch’L** she went back crying *33.86A. (Form should be q'e' gudla:sdiyahL, with stem referring to singular S, but influenced by 33.85A, o-tl' (q'e' dA-)'a'ch' 'sg. or pl. go (back) with o'.)*

’a’q’1 *(L first 'a:q', later rejected for 'a'q', though forms with 'a:q' perhaps acceptable as expanded stem; perhaps to be identified with 'a'q'2, basic meaning 'outdoor exposure')*

-’a’q’ S be, become sunburned, suntanned: **si’a:q’L** (*changed to* **si’a’q’L**) I got sunburned *L, with anatomical marks:* **’i:nsi’a:q’L** (*changed to* **’i:nsi’a’q’L**), **lisi’a’q’L** my face got sunburned *L,* **yAGAx’a:q’L** (*changed to* **yAGAx’a’q’L**) my arms are getting sunburned *L,* **qu’gAdi:’a:q’** (*changed to* **qu’gAdi:’a’q’**) his rump will get sunburned *L. All forms proposed with L- or LA- classifier rejected by L.*

’a’q’2 *(perhaps to be identified with 'a'q'1)*

’a’q’ *(preverb) (attested with zero and -ch' finals)* out, outside 1. *(motion from inside of dwelling out, usually through door)*: *with zero final: with theme -a 'sg. S go': 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 -'a'ch' 'pl. S go': 2a.31M, 23.126, 128, 132, 25.18A,* **’a’q’ da: qa’a’ch’** we'll go out *M,* **’a’q’ da: shA’a’ch’L** we went out *M, with Xdl-'ya 'sg. S run': 19.27, 48.13L, frequent also in paradigmatic elicitation with Xdl-'ya, with 'Ad-dl-LA-'e 'S sneak': 9.66, 67A, 55.5L, see further O-dl-L-'e 1. (reflexive), with O-l-L-'a 'S pillage O': 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 O-g-L-da, O-L-ts'AX, O-sha'tl', O-(L-)gu'k', LA-q'e's, O-lAG (reflexive), 'i-d-'a 3., 'i-d-(')L-'a´,* **’a’q’ xusALta’tl’Linh** he kicked me out of the house *L,* **’a’q’ dla:GALwe’ch’** entice him out! *L, in combination with Xe'X 'out of (but not far from) dwelling' (often, to urinate, defecate):* **Xe’X ’a’q’ sahLinh** he went out *L,* **Xe’X ’a’q’ qu’xah** I'll go out *L, with q'e'~q'e:- 'back, again, some more':* **q’e:’a’q’** *55.5L,* **q’e’ ’a’q’** *7.29A,* **’a’q’ q’e’** *11.15A, 55.4L,* **’a’q’ k’e:’shunh q’e’ sdiyahL** she probably went out and back home *23.105A, 'a'q' q'e' frequent also in paradigmatic elicitations of Xdl-'ya, -a; with -ch' final, 'a'q'Ach' '(continuous or repeated motion) out of dwelling':* **’a’q’Ach’ XAdla:GAxya:L** I'm running out *M,* **’a’q’Ach’ XAdla:Ga’ya:Linh** he's running out *M,* **’a’q’Ach’ da: GA’a’ch’L** we're going out *M,* **’a’q’Ach’ Ga:Linh** he's going out *LM, and further elicitations of -a,* **’a’q’Ach’ ’iqe’xLah** I'll walk you out, make you go out *M,* **’a’q’Ach’**

’iLi:n’inh walk him out! *M, with q'e'~q'e:-:* **’a’q’Ach’ q’e’ GAda:Linh** he's going out again *M, with perambulative:* **’a’q’Ach’ yAX xda:X** I keep going out (and back in) *M, with Xe'X:* **Xe’X ’a’q’Ach’ Ga:Linh** he's going out (but not far) *L.*

2. (at rest) outside *(with zero final only, relatively rare, perhaps often misused for Xa:'d)*: **’a’q’ diLidehL** a light is shining outside *L,* **’a’q’ sLiqa:’L** S (already outside) hollered outside *41.11L,* **’a’q’ da: gu:LA’a:ch’k’** we (cust) stand outside *51.9A,* **’a’q’ qi’ yAX ’iLi’ahda:X** at where it's sunshiny outside *65.52A.*

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3. *Miscellaneous instances, in reference to motion clearly not through door, or not out of a dwelling, perhaps all incorrect*: **q’e:’a’q’ sALtehL** pulled him back out (through the ice) *16.6M,* **’a’q’ sALahL** let them loose *2a.34M (sun and moon, through smokehole?),* **’a’q’ XAsa’yahL** they flew out *L.*

’a:n1 *(perhaps related to 'a:li'LX)*

’a:n *(noun, gl-class)* river *LM*: *21b.71, 68.4A, Wrangell* Яа 'Meer' *perhaps misprint for Aa, or, more probably, for Ma (see ma:~ma:'), Galushia Nelson* ’aⁿ, *Old Man Dude* âⁿ· *BSdL 537, Rezanov* Акъэтъхлюкъ-ули-а 'Рѣка Fluss' *(with ъ- superscript insert)* **’a:n qi’dAX li’ guli:’ah** place along where a river runs down *(see 'a'~'a', sid, wus~wAs for verb-themes referring to the flowing and course of rivers and streams),* **’a:ngAlAyu:** rivers *34.64, 68M,* **LinhG gu:na: ’a:n** one river *M, Tarkhanov* Икалаки *almost certainly for* Акалаки **’a:ngAlAkih** small river *(see General Introduction), Rezanov* Аколеке 'Ручей ('stream') Bach' **’a:ngulAkih** creek, little river *L, Anonymous* Акуликуцкъ 'Река малая' **’a:ngulAkuts’g** little river, Акунътлыга 'Река большая' **’a:ngu:n’lAYA**, **’a:ngu:’nuw** big river *LM, Rezanov* Аккуляхантъ 'Зарѣкою jenseits (des Flusses)' **’a:ngulAXa:n’d** (at rest) on the opposite side of the river *M,* **’a:ngu:na’q’** on (the surface of) the river *L, 48.15L,* **’a:ngAlAyAX** under the river *10.54A,* **’a:ngAlA’a:n’** coming upon a river *25.14A,* **’a:ngAlAta:s** across the river *25.47A,* **’a:ngulah** (*to be corrected to* **’a:ngu:lah**) around a river *34.16M,* **’a:ngu:nya’ch’** into a river *45b.10M,* **’a:ngulAya’ch’ qid gAli:’ah** stream flows down into the river *L,* **’a:ngulAya’X da: GAqe:L** we're boating along in the river *L,* **’a:ngulAya’ GAts’AX** throw it in the river! *L,* **’a:ngu:nda:q’d** riverside *LM,* **’a:ngu:nda:q’** on the riverside *45b.6M,* **’a:ngu:nda:X Ga:L** was walking along the riverside *45b.1M,* **’a:ngulAch’iya’sAqe:G** river-chief's-son *29.52A,* ɢətɬəkəlɛɬtsʊ̀’aⁿ *BSdL 273,* ɢòtɬəkɬəlɛ̀t tsʊ̀’an 'Creek where we feel better' *BSdL 559* **k’udAGAlehdzu: ’a:n** < good-mood river *(cf. Tlingit 'Amusement Creek' in Swanton* Tlingit Myths and Texts, *302, 312), declassified:* **’Aw ’a:n lAX qi’yile’g** you'll seize the river this way *11.89A,* **’Aw ’a:n ’Awa: sdit’its’L** that river had frozen *57.8G, as o of o-ya' 'in o (with broad opening at top)':* **’a:nya’d q’e’ qa’ siLtahL** he fished it back up out of the river *L,* **’a:nya’d ’i:LAwahdg** it (free end of branch) bobs and flaps in flowing river *L,* **’a:nya’d t’its’** (in-)river ice *57.27G, as o of o-tl'ahd 'head of o (body of water)':* **’a:ntl’ahd** head, source of the river *67.10G, as o of o-g-da' 'mouth of o (body of water)', perhaps originally g-class:* **’a:nguda’d** mouth, outlet of river *M, 68.48A,* **’a:nguda’ch’** to the rivermouth, delta *68.48A.*

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k’udAGAlehdzu: ’a:n *(place-name) mythical creek* < good (frame of) mind river *L. (See also Swanton Tlingit Myths and Texts 302, 312 "Amusement Creek".)*

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qe’LGAyu:ya’ ’a:n 1. *(place-name) Lost River (near Yakutat) LA XV.1.*

2. *(place-name) Old Woman River, near hangar at Cordova* < women's river *L (confused with following?).*

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yahGAyu:ya' 'a:n *(place-name) small creek near old [seaplane?] hangar at Cordova, on Eyak Lake* < menarcheal girls' river *L.*

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'a:ngu:'nuw *(place-name) Copper River* < big river *LM, 68.3A*: Konno 'Eyak Lake' *in A. Woldt (ed.)* Capitain [Johan A.] Jacobsen's Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerikas*, Leipzig 1884, p. 386, perhaps to be read* [**'a:n**]**gu:'nuw**.

'a:n2

'a:n *(exclamation, utterance initial)* yes *LM*: *Anderson* Aa 'Yes, or Aye' *Rezanov* Aa 'Да ja', *Furuhjelm* Ee, **'a:n dAlinhinh** he says yes *M (i.e., in response to a question, positive or negative, 'delete the interrogative 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': 1b.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^n 'is it you? (greeting) -- yes (answer to greeting)' *BSdL 554* **'i:shuh -- 'a:n** hello -- hello < is it you (sg.)? -- yes *L,* **dAq'e:dahshuw te'ya' 'iXa' -- 'a:n, dAq'e:dah q'Aw** is that all the fish you have? -- yes, that's all *L,* **yik'a'dishunh -- 'a:n, yik'a'dinh** is he sick? -- yes, he's sick *L,* **k'a'dshunh ya' sa'yahL -- 'a:n, k'a'd q'unh ya' sa'yahL** did he go crazy? -- yes, he did *L,* **dAche:lyAXa'shunh sa'yahL -- 'a:n, dAche:lyAXa' q'unh sa'yahL** did he starve? -- yes, he did *L, to a negative question 'no, that is not so':* **dik'shunh 'a'k'a'dGinh -- 'a:n, dik' 'a'k'a'dGinh** isn't he sick?, he isn't sick, is he? -- no, he's not sick *L, to a position statement 'yes, that's true, you are right':* **la'mahd 'u'GAdA'eh q'Aw -- 'a:n, la'mahd q'A'Aw** it looks like a berry -- yes, it's a berry *43.25M,* **'anh, siqa'kih, 'a:nda' q'e' sdiyahL -- 'a:n, 'a:nda' q'e' xsdiyahL, 'a:n 'iqa'kih 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* k'a'Le:G -- 'a:n, dAXu'ya:X *Santa Claus* k'u:Leh** there is no Santa Claus -- yes, there is indeed a Santa Claus *L, to a wish, command, a prohibition 'I'll comply':* **ya'Xu: xuqa'she: k'a' 'utl' da:yileh -- 'a:n, wAX 'utl' qu'di:xlinhinu:** you should tell them not to kill me -- yes, I'll tell them thus *20.68-70A,* **dAXunhyu:qa'ch' 'ilAX'a'ch' -- 'a:n, 'a:n, dAXunhyu:qa'ch' da: qa'a'ch'** pl. go amongst humans! -- yes, yes, we'll go to amongst humans *13.12-13L,* **wAX 'utl' dAGAli:n'inu: -- 'a:n, wAX 'utl' qu'di:xlinhinu:** say thus to them! -- yes, I'll say thus to them *25.164-174A,* **ya'Xu: 'uk'ah qu'li:ta:, wAX 'utl' da:yileh -- 'a:n, dik' 'uk'ah qu'li:xta:G** 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.*

'a:ndj *(loan from English 'orange')*

'a:ndj *(noun, lX-class)* orange (fruit) *L*: **'a:ndj 'u:d lAXAsA'ahL** an (intact) orange is there *L,* **'a:ndj 'u:d lAXAsA'ahL** an orange (split or cut) is there *L,* **'a:ndjyu:** oranges *51.77A.*

'a:nke:we: *(loan from Tlingit 'àn k^{w}éyi 'flag' < 'land-mark')*

'a:nke:we: *(noun, unclassified)* flag, banner *L*: **'a:nke:we:luw** big flag *LM,* **'a:nke:we: lah da'ya:X** flag is flapping (in the breeze) *L.*

'a:nG *(conceivably 'an-G with thematic G-negative, cf. 'a:G2, ch'a:nG, ts'an', 'e~'an)*

Gl-dA-'a:nG *(with Gl-thematic 'passage of time')* S be, become weak, feeble (with old age, disease): **qu'GAlAxdA'a:nG** I'll get old and feeble *L,* **Ga:nxsdi'a:nGL** I got weak, feeble with age *L,* **siya: Ga:nsdi'a:nGL** it (part of me) got weak, paralyzed (e.g. arm with struck funnybone)

L, **siGuhd siya: GAlisdi'a:nGL** my knees got weak *L,* **siGuhd siya: GAlAGAdA'a:nGL** my knees are getting weak *LM,* **GAlAGAxdA'a:nGL** I'm getting old and feeble *L, Neuter perfective:* **Ga:ndi'a:nGL** he's real weak (from old age or sickness) *L. Transitive (causative):* **xuGa:nsAL'a:nGL** it (medicine) made me weak *L.*

'a:nya:n *(articulated 'a:n(ñ)ya:n)*

'a:nya:n *(exclamation) expression of anger, disgust or impatience at someone L, with suffixed adjective -shiyah 'bad'*: **'a:nya:nshiyah** *expression of anger at someone L.*

a:n~ya:n~ma:~mah *(original basic form a:n, variant ma: regular following prefix 'u-, k'u-, < *-u-wa:n < *-u-a:n, but now generalized, preferred to a:n except with prefix si-, 'i-, where form is preferably ya:n, usually articulated ñya:n, which is also generalized, but less widely or frequently than ma:, to other contexts; mah variant in vocative only; probably related to a:~ya:, perhaps also to danh)*

-a:n~-ya:n~-ma:~-mah *(kinship noun, ascending)* mother: **siya:n** *LA, 18.41L, 49.127A,* **sima:** my mother *M (L considers "childish"),* **siya:n'a:** for my mother *L,* **'iya:n** your mother *LM, 42.17L, Galushia Nelson* inyaⁿ·ẋá'tsi 'your mother has a rotten vagina (curse)' *BSdL 555* **'iya:nXa' Lsi'** 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, 94, 97A, 40.2, 5, 42.23L, 43.10M, 43.10M, 49.12, 17, 30, 30a, 61.49A,* ɑⁿ nʸa *or* ɑⁿma 'his mother' *BSdL 557* **'anhya:n** *L,* **'anhma:** his mother *LM (L prefers latter),* **qa:ma:** *M,* **qa:ya:n** our mother *L,* qɛiyɪ'qa· ma· *BSdL 557* **GAyAqa:ma:** *our* mother, ləẋɛi·laẋ ma· *or* (-nʸa·) 'your (pl.) mother' **lAXi: lAXma:** (*or* **-ya:n**) *your (pl.)* mother *BSdL 557,* **lAXma:** *LM,* **lAXya:n** your (pl.) mother *L,* ɑⁿnu· ma· *BSdL 557,* ɑⁿ'nu ma· 'their mother' *BSdL 558* **'ahnu:ma:** *M,* **'anh k'uma:** the mother *18.43L, 34.65, 43.8, 16M, 49.41, 46, 78, 139A,* siaⁿyɪtɬʰ'iⁿ 'step-father' *BSdL 568A* **siya:n yiLinhinh** my step-mother < she who is, functions as my mother, **'ita:'ma:** your father's mother! *(curse) L,* **'ita:'ma:ga'** like your father's mother! *(curse) L, 72.36fnL,* **'ita:'ma:yAku:nch'** your father's mother's thumb! *(curse) L,* **'anh qe'L'Akihma:** the girl's mother *34.73M, with suffixed adjective -shiyah 'bad':* **'uma:shiyah** her old mother (pejorative) *49.76, 78A, with suffixed -yu: 'pl., etc.':* **'uma:yu:** their mothers *L,* her mother etc. *38.9LM,* her parents *42.11L,* **'ahnu: k'uma:yu:** those mothers *10.26A,* those parents *42.2L,* **siya:nyu:** my mother's people *42.12L, with -G- 'personal':* a'nu maqɛiyu 'their mothers' *BSdL 558* **'ahnu:ma:GAyu:**, **'uma:GAyu:** their mothers *60.7A, frequent in Eyak women's names:* **tAnAGAma:** *name of Sophie Fields, M's sister M (probably same as following),* **tAngAma:** *name of G's wife Mary or Annie S (Tlingit tɑngʊƛ́á, mother of tɑngʷ, boy's name 'fish jumping'),* **tsa'k'ma:** *name of Jenny Charles LS (Tlingit cak'ƛ́á 'glove-mother'),* **tsa'k'AlALma:** *name of Eyak woman, not same as preceding L (-AlAL- not identified),* **shAshi:ma:** *name of Eyak woman L ('mother of shAshi:', first element probably Tlingit),* **shgAna:nma:** *name of Tlingit woman, Mrs. Caldwell LM, name of sister of ts'u:dALah A, name of Eyak woman S ('mother of shgAna:n', first element probably Tlingit),* **du:shma:** *Nellie(?) Thomas A,* **du:shAma:** *woman's name L, Louise Peterson of Yakutat (from Elaine Ramos) (Tlingit dušƛ́á 'cat's mother') (cf. du:sh),* **sila'Xma:** *name of Eyak woman, mother of tsa'k'ma: LA ('mother of hanging-on-me'),* q'ənaqəma *in BSdL genealogical table, M's sister Sophie and another sister (probably here confused with tAnAGAma:) and of M's mother's sister,* **q'AnAqAma:**, **q'AnqAma:** *name of Eyak woman LM,* **q'AlAqAma:** *A,* **q'AnAXAma:** *S,* **q'e:dahdma:** *name of Eyak woman M ('mother of q'e:dah'),* **'idAxa:gma:** *name of Eyak woman L ('mother of growing thing'),* aⁿt'axʊt'qma *in BSdL genealogical table, name of Minnie Stevens' paternal aunt (perhaps also A's maternal grandmother) and of two of Minnie Stevens' daughters,* **'a:nda'xut'gma:** Minnie Stevens' mother *A,* **'a:ndAxut'ma:** *LM (first element probably Eyak, but not clearly analyzable); vocative: Rezanov* Амма 'Мать Mutter', *Anonymous and Baranov* Амма 'Мать', *Khromchenko* Амма *(in Ahtna column)* / Ама *(in Eyak column)* 'Мать', *Wrangell*

Амма 'Mutter', ama’ 'mother' *BSdL 565A* **’Amah** mother! *LA,* **’Amah wAX sitl’ ’a’Xah** 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.*

’a:nAsdAshu:~’a:nAsdAshu:w *(loan from English *'honest-and-?to-sure', see also 61.124A)*

’a:nAsdAshu:~’a:nAsdAshu:w *(exclamation)* honest!, sure as fate! *L (Eyaks often said).*

’a:nah

’a:nah *(personal name) Russian name of Anna Nelson Harry LM.*

’anh1

’anh *(noun, dl-class and unclassified)* earth, (dry) land, ground, region, area, country, territory, (real) property, yard, habitation, village *LM*: *54.3, 67.3G, Rezanov* Анъ 'Земля Erde Land', *Anonymous* А 'Земля', Анъ 'Жило или селеніе' ('habitation or village'), *Baranov* Анъ 'Земля', *Wrangell* Aa 'Erde, Lande', *Galushia Nelson* ɔⁿ· *or* ’αⁿ’ '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 postposition and as first element of compounds, but generally unclassified as S or O); as S or O, unclassified:* **’anh ’u:dAX sAqAts’L** the earth split along there *L,* **’anh lah da’ya:X** the earth is quaking *S,* **’anh lah qu’da’yah** the earth will quake *L, Galushia Nelson* t’cílàcia qiənχ ɔⁿ sətɬtɬ 'Where Old Raven made the earth' *BSdL 257, 559* **Ch’i:lehshiyah qi’ ’anh Xa:n’ sALiL** *L, as first element of compounds:* **’anhdla:Xu:ch’** earth-thorns *34.112L, Rezanov* Антляхуакъ 'Илей Reiffrost' **’anhdla:xwa:g**, **’anhdla:xa:g** mist < ground-steam *L,* **’anhdla:yahsh**, **’anhAyahsh** tidal debris < earth's child *L, with suffixed adjective:* **’anhdli:’nuw** big plot of land, property *L, 49.21A, as o of postposition:* **’anhlah** around the earth *34.42L,* **’anhdla:yAq’** in the earth, ground *36.11A, 39.5L,* **’anhyAq’Ach’ahd** from in the earth, out of the ground *M, as o of postposition:* o-**q’** 'on o' *(here the distinctions of class and meaning appear to correlate consistently): classified,* 'land, ground': *see 'anhdli:na'q' t'ahL and 'anhdli:na'q' 'Ana:shah below, unclassified* 'habitation, country, inhabited place' *(cf. lah 1a. under la~na1): Anonymous* Ак-къ 'Земля' **’anhq’** on land, **’anhq’ tsa’ shA’a’ch’L** (wolves) descended on the village, habitation *25.119, 122A,* **k’Ayi:ny ’anhq’dAlahGAyu:** *28.104A,* **k’Ayi:ny ’anhq’ sAlahLinu:** *28.134A,* **k’Ayi:ny ’anhq’ yi:nhinu:** inhabitants of another land, country *28.133A,* **k’Ayi:ny ’anhq’Ach’** to a different land, country *10.166, 32.16, 25A,* **dAXk’ih ’anhq’Ach’ahddAw ’isA’ehL** how many places have you taken wives from? *10.181A,* **’anhq’ ya:n’ sahL** it (thunderbird, thunder and lightning) came down to earth (?, crashed to earth?, crashed on habitation?) *60.13, 15A;* **dji:shqe:di:ya’ ’anh** dji:shqe:di:-clan's territory *67.1G,* **’i:ya:Gya’ ’anh** Eyak village (at Mile 6) < territory of Eyak village *L.*

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’AdA’anh *(noun, unclassified, perhaps also dl-class, with prefix 'AdA- 'genuine,* par excellence*')* mainland *L, 14.3L.*

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’anhdli:na’q’ t’ahL *(noun, unclassified?)* various land plant species < leaves on the ground *L.*

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’anhdli:na’q’ ’Ana:shah *(noun, unclassified)* various flower species that grow on the ground < flower on ground *L.*

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’anh *(preverb)* (arrival) home, to habitation *(cf. lah (preverb) under la~na1)*: **’anh ’utl’ Gi:’a’ch’ da:X** when you get home with them *51.77A,* **’idah ’anh Gi:L’a’ch’ da:X** when you get them safely home *51.79A,* **’anh da: shA’a’ch’L** we came home *61.93A,* **te’ya’ ’anhch’ Lya:k’inh** he (cust) brings fish home *21a.2L, in combination with q'e'~q'e:- 'back, again, back home':* **q’e:’anh** *19.3, 5L, 25.81A, 38.9LM, 53.26, 27L,* **q’e’ ’anh** *21a.31, 28.42, 33.55, 73, 49.125A, 51.14L, 61.86A, less frequently* **’anh q’e’** *47c.16L,* **q’e:’anh qu’xdAqeh** I'll get back home (boating) *L,* **dik’ q’e’ ’anh ’AshdA’a’ch’Linu:** they didn't get back home *L,* **q’e’ ’anh sdiyahLinh** he came back home *L,* **’anh q’e’ xsdiyahL** I came back home *L,* **dAtli:, ’anhch’ da: q’e’ GAdA’a’ch’L** we're getting back close to home already *L, often difficult to distinguish from 'anh 'he, she, him, her': e.g. 33.73, 37b.79A, 53.25L; perhaps with meaning 'back to earth, human habitation' in* **ts’u:dALah q’e:dah Ge:t’L q’e’ ’anh sdiyahLinh** ts'u:dALah has quite come back in reincarnation, she's the very reincarnation of ts'u:dALah (resembles deceased ancestor) *L,* **Ge:t’L q’e’ ’anh sdiyahLinh** he's come back in reincarnation *L.*

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dla:’anh *(locative, with dl-thematic, cf. dla:da:n')* into den, lair, hole, burrow *(of animal, in rock, earth, under stump)*: **dla:’anh ’anhtl’ shA’a’ch’Linh** he went with her into his den *18.47L,* **dla:’anh ’Awtl’ shA’a’ch’L** they went into its hole with it *28.12A,* **dla:’anh sahL** it went into its hole, den *L,* **dla:’anhch’ XAdla:Ga’ya:L** she was running into her hole *23.32A,* **dla:’anhch’ Ga:L** it's going into its den *L,* **dla:’anhd sAdahL** it's sitting, staying in its hole *L,* **dla:’anhd qa’ sahL** it came out of its den *L.*

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dla:’anhd *(noun, probably d-class) (nominalization of dla:'anh)* den, lair, hole, burrow (of bear, rodent, in rock, earth, under stump), cave *LM*: **dla:’anhddAGi’luw** big den *M (perhaps to be corrected to dla:'anhdAGi'luw).*

’anh2

’anh *(exclamation, uttered with fairly high pitch, utterance initial)* ah! *(expression of surprise, especially at the arrival of someone unexpected) L*: **’anh, silAXsh yAX ’iLA’a:nX** 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:* **’anh, dA’i:shuh ’a:nda’ q’e’ sdiyahL** ah!, is that actually you came back here? *25.104A,* **’anh, siqa’kih ’a:nda’ q’e’ sdiyahL** ah!, my dear husband you've come back here *27a.43L,* **’anh, ’iya: k’uxLqa’t’g, siqa’kih** ah!, I was just cooking something for you, my dear husband *27b.52A; see also 24.19fn.*

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yA’anh *(exclamation, uncertain)* shush! < don't let out the secret!, *attested only in 11.180A, see fn.; perhaps beginning of ya'Xu:, yAXuh or ya' plus 'anh2.*

’anhan’

’anhan’ *(exclamation)* hey! look! *(expression for calling attention) L*: *1b.6M, 71.3LM, Galushia Nelson* á^{n}hà^{n} *or* *** 'hey! (polite mode of addressing a non-relative)' *BSdL 153, 554* **’Ama:, ’Ama:, ’anhan’, te’ya’ ’a:nda’ siLahL** mother, mother, look! I brought some fish here *46.23M,* **’anhan’, ’AXAkih** hey look! a canoe! *71.1LM,* **’anhan’ ’Alch’ ’i:nL’an’** hey, look at this! *M,* **’anhan’, sidahd ’u’la:te:** hey, listen to me! *M, with d-emphatic: Furuhjelm* Aukhaatu 'to see' *perhaps to be read* **’anhan’duh** look! *L, see also 'e~'an3.*

a:n’

g-LA-a:n’ sg. S stand *(for pl. S see g-LA-'a'ch')*: *Active imperative: Rezanov* Кутлянъ 'Встать aufstehen, stehen' **gu’La:n’**, **gu:nLa:n’** stand!, **’a:nd gu’La:n’** stand here! *11.83, 85A,* **dA’u:d**

gu'La:n' stand right there! *L, Rezanov* Туутнетлькотлянъ 'Постой bleib stehn!' **dA'u:d ne:tl' gu'La:n'** stand right there a while! *L, Rezanov* Иттакутлянъ 'Прямо стой steh gerade!' **'idah gu'La:n'** stand properly!, stand up straight! *L, Rezanov* Кыльтыхахкоутлянъ 'Пятиться ('*reculer*, move back') zurückweichen' **GALdALyAX**(?) **gu:nLa:n'** stand foremost (in series)! (?), **XAshlAX gu:nLa:n'** stand closer! *L,* **neh XAyA'u:ch' gu:nLa:n'** now stand back! *L, with ya' 'completely, to a state of rest, vertical':* **ya' gu'La:n'**, **ya' gu:nLa:n'** *(former preferred)* stand up! *L,* **ya' ne:tl' gu:nLa:n'**, **ya' ne:tl' gu'La:n'** *(no preferrence)* stand up for a while! *L, Inceptive imperative:* **guGALa:n'** stand!, stand up! *L,* **ya' q'e' guGALa:n'** stand up again! *L,* **'udahd guGALa:n'** stand, lean against it! *L, Inceptive imperfective: Furuhjelm* Khukuvaliaa 'to stand' **qu'gu:La:n'** you(?) will stand, **qu'gu:xLa:n'** I'll stand *L,* **'a:nd qu'gu:xLa:n'** *M,* **'a:nd qu'guxLa:n'** I'll stand here *(irregularly treated as with vocalic classifier retained) L,* **'udahd qu'gu:xLa:n'** *M,* **'Awdahd qu'guxLa:n'** I'll lean against it *(irregularly treated as with vocalic classifier retained) L,* **ya' qu'gu:xLa:n'** I'll stand up *L (three times), Inceptive perfective:* **guGALa:n'L** is standing *25.59A, also personal name (see entry below),* **sidALyAX guGALa:n'Linh** he's standing in front of me *M,* **silahsd guGALa:n'Linh** he's standing in front of (forward of) me *L,* **'uhsXAda:q' guGALa:n'Linh** he's standing on the riverbank *L,* **sida'ch' guGALa:n'Linh** he's standing facing me *L,* **'a:nd guGAxLa:n'L** I'm standing here *L, Active perfective:* **'u:d gusLiya:n'L** stood there *34.96L,* **'u:d gAsLiya:n'Linh** he stood there *M,* **'u:d gAxsLiya:n'L** I stood there *L,* **dik' 'u:d guxsLa:n'LG** I didn't stand there *M,* **'Awdahd gusLiya:n'Linh** he leaned against it *L,* **ya' guxsLiya:n'L** I stood up *L,* **ya' gusLiya:n'L** stood up *30.8L, Neuter perfective:* **'udahd gALiya:n'Linh** he's leaning against it *L,* **dik' 'Awdahd ga'xLa:n'LG** I'm not leaning against it *L, with o-Xa'X 'alongside o' and qa' 'up out':* **'anh LinhGih 'anhXa'X qa' guLiya:n'L** that one (person) is leaning against him *L, Active optative:* **sida:d k'a' gu:nLiya:n'** you should stand near me *M, Inceptive conditional:* **'AXAya'd ya' guGALa:n' da:X** when you stand up in a boat *21b.69A, customary:* **'u:d gu:La:k'inh** (cust) stood there *34.84L,* **ya' gu'La:nk'** he (cust) stands up *L (Active imperfective),* **ya' gu:liLa:k'** (cust) stand up! *L (Active imperative),* **ya' guGALa:nk'** (cust) stand up! *L (Inceptive imperative),* **Lich' qe'L 'AdiX Gah da:X k'a' 'u'e'ch'ahd ya' gu:Liya:k'inh** when a woman comes in you should (cust) stand up to make room for her (out of her place) *L (Active optative), with perambulative, 'sg. S stand about, move about in standing position' (and sometimes apparently without perambulative force 'S stand'):* **yAX guLa:n'Xinh** she was standing about, moving about in standing position (e.g. picking berries) *L, 20.3A,* **'u:d yAX guLa:n'Xinh** he's standing there *L,* **yAX gu:nLa:n'** stay standing! *L,* **dA'u:d yAX gu:nLa:n'** stand right there! *M,* **yAX qu'gu:xLa:n'** I'll stand *M, repetitive, 'sg. S do slow dance': Galushia Nelson* gʊ̀łáⁿ·gɛ̀ or kə̀łáⁿ·gì 'slow dance' *BSdL 552* **guLa:n'ginh** he's doing a slow dance *L. Transitive (causative):* **ya' gusiLa:n'Linh** I made him stand up *L; passive:* **ya' xusdiya:n'L** I was made to stand up *L.*

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guGALa:n'L *(personal name) Johnny Stevens* < is standing *LM, G (Harrington), BSdL* kɔqətłaⁿtł.

'a:n' *(perhaps related to 'e:1 and/or 'e~'an3)*

o-**'a:n'** *(postposition) (with zero and -ch' finals)* 1. coming upon, happening upon, finding, encountering o *(whether deliberately searching for o or not)*: *with zero final:* o-**'a:n' -qe** S boating come upon o *33.40A, 35.2L, 47b.6M, 47c.3L, 49.30, 61, 68.5A, and elicitations,* o-**'a:n' 'i-L-'e~'an** S travelling, looking, come upon, find o *11.62, 32.4A, 34.25L, 38.4LM, 53.20L, 61.80, 68.124A,* **'u'a:n' 'isiL'anhLinh** I found him *L,* o-**'a:n' -'a'ch'** 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,* **k'Adzu:dah qa:ta:'a:n' shA'a'ch'Linu:** those who have gone to heaven (have nicely met Our Father) *51.73A,* **qa:'a:n' shA'a'ch'Linu:** they (walking) came upon us *L,* o-**'a:n' -a** sg. S going, walking, come upon, find o *1b.2, 5, 3.5M, 9.9, 9, 144, 149, 10.218, 218, 245, 247,*

11.92, 97, 112, 172, 172, 185, 186A, 18.571, 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-**'a:n' q'e' dA-a** S returning, going some more, come upon o, S come upon another o, come next upon o, come upon o again *9.123, 10.66, 67, 246, 247, 11.43, 43, 96, 37b.65A, 43.6M,* **si'a:n' sahLinh** he (walking, going) came upon, met, encountered, found me *L,* **'u'a:n' siyahL** I found it *(whether looking for it or not) L,* **'u:d 'i'a:n' qu'xah** I'll meet you there *L,* **'u'a:n' qu'yiyah** you'll encounter it; you'll find out *L,* **dik' k'u'a:n' q'e' 'AdAqahG** they don't come around people (come upon one) anymore *L, 25.35, 211A,* **k'u'a:n' q'e' 'AdAqah** they frequent people again *L,* **k'u'a:n' 'Aqah** they come around people *L,* **ge:li'a:g ya:'a:n' Ga:nsa'yahL** it became noon *L,* **'u'a:n' Ga:nsa'yahL** it became time for it, time came to do it *L,* o-**'a:n' 'Ad-'i:lih-LA-'ya** S thinking, hit upon o, o occur to S, S think (deliberately or by chance) of o *(see 'Ad-'i:lih-LA-'ya 1.),* **'a:ngAlA'a:n' 'ahnu: sALXe'dzL** they, carrying it on their shoulders, came to, upon a river *25.14A,* **k'udAX 'Aw'a:n' 'Asle'gLGinh** he, groping, couldn't find it *4.4M,* **'u'a:n' k'usAliL** someone touched, happened upon him *61.4aA,* **te'ya'le: qi' 'AdGALAduxL'a:n' k'u'dishLiyAq'shgL** he, going along opening mussels, came upon where a king salmon was floating *1a.4M, with gd-anatomical:* **sigudA'a:n'** coming upon my rump *L; with -ch' final:* **tsi:ndA'a:n'ch' 'a:k'** (cust) comes upon mussels *1a.2M,* **'u'a:n'ch' 'Adi:lihGAxLa'ya:L** it's coming to me, I, thinking, am hitting upon it *L,* **'u'a:n'ch' GAlAGa'ya:L** 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'a:n' qi'yiyah** you'll meet your undoing *L (also, 'you'll come upon it, you'll find out'),* **'Aw Xa:'d 'i'a:n', qa'xuL qi'ya:da:X, 'i:gidig** the world will turn on you (against you), sometime, you too *72.19L.*

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2b. *With idiomatic meaning related to above,* physical ailment, health disturbance for o *(attested only with -ch' final, normal with Inceptive perfective and customary, probably occurring also with zero final)*: **si'a:n'ch' Ga'ya:L** I'm catching it (e.g. cold) < it's coming upon me *L,* **si'a:n'ch' la'ya:k'** my heart (cust) beats hard, palpitates < l-class S (heart) (cust) moves upon me *LA.*

'uh1

'uh *(kinship noun, ascending)* (paternal) grandfather, (paternal) grandfather's brother: siu 'father's father's older brother (man or woman speaking)' *BSdL 566A,* **si'uh** my father's father *L; with suffixed -shiyah (here without any clear meaning, perhaps respectful):* **si'uhshiyah** 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* **'uhshah** grandfather! *L.*

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-'uh-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* **si'uhkih** my grandson *(son's child, man speaking, also used in direct address) LA.*

'uh2

'uh *(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 -shiyah 'bad':* **'uhshiyah** *(as preceding) LM.*

'uhd

-d-’uhd-g *(noun, d-class) (with d-thematic, perhaps thematized class-mark for O of deverbalization of (O-?)d-dA-'uhd-g 'S lay eggs', with thematized -g-repetitive except in Rezanov)* egg (of bird): *Rezanov* Котаутъ 'Яицо Ei' *Anonymous* Катауткъ 'Яйцо' **k’AdA’uhdg**, *Baranov* Котауткъ 'Яйцо' **k’udA’uhdg**, *Furuhjelm* Kvatautk 'egg' **kw’AdA’uhdg**, **k’udA’uhdg** egg(s) *LMAS, 24.18, 19, 68.5, 6, 6, 8A,* **’Al k’udA’uhdgyu:** these eggs *68.52A,* **k’udA’uhdgda’luw** big egg *M,* **la’d da: k’udA’uhdg** two eggs *M,* **k’udA’uhdg ’u:d dAsA’ahL** an egg is there *L,* **dAt’e:G k’udA’uhdg** raw eggs *L,* **k’udA’uhdgdALts’Alih** eggshell *M,* **’udA’uhdgda:q’ sAdahL** it (bird) is sitting on (incubating) its eggs *L;* **GehGdA’uhdg** 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 GehG).*

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Xe:ya’ disLiyahL k’udA’uhdg *(deverbalization)* eggs preserved in sealoil for winter *L. Active perfective relativized.*

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(O-?)**d-dA-’uhd-g** *(perhaps transitive, with d-thematic, perhaps thematized d-class-mark for O, and thematized -g-repetitive)* S lay egg < S lay O (egg)?: **da:dA’uhdg** lay an egg! *L,* **qu’dAdA’uhdg** it'll lay eggs *L,* **dAGAdA’uhdgL** it's laying eggs *L,* **disdi’uhdgL** it laid an egg *L.*

’uhdz

L-’uhdz-g *(with -g-repetitive thematized in all forms except customary; L rejects all proposed forms with zero-classifier)* S be, become slightly intoxicated, numb, experience tingling sensation: **siL’uhdzgL** 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:disiL’uhdzgL** my foot went to sleep, is asleep, has "pins and needles" in it *LMA,* **qu’qi:di:xL’uhdzg** my foot will go to sleep *L,* **qu’yi:xL’uhdzg** my hand will go to sleep *L,* **qi:yisiL’uhdzgL** my toes fell asleep *L,* **qi:dAL’u:dzk’inh** his foot (cust) goes to sleep *L, with expanded stem, non-customary:* **gahXye’X qi:dAxL’u:dzg** my foot's been asleep all day long *L ("guess you could say that"). Transitive (causative):* **GAL’uhdzginh** get him slightly drunk! *L.*

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’uhdzgL *(deverbalization, perhaps -L-gerundive)* tingling sensation: **’uhdzgL siXa:n’ wAX yAX sAliL** I got shivers all up and down me < tingling sensation occurred thus downward the entire length of me *L.*

’uhs *(A once 'uhdz, rejected by L)*

’uhs *(noun, Xd- or Xdl-class)* riverbank (with or without vegetation), flat place along riverbank, mudbank *L,* mudlike stuff on riverbank *M,* grassy bank of creek *S*: **’uhdz** riverbank *A (L rejects),* **’uhs ’u:d XAdla:sA’ahL** riverbank is there *L,* **’uhsXAdli:’nuw** big mudbank *L,* **’uhsXAda:q’d k’iya’ GAqe’** land on the riverbank! *L,* **’uhsXAda:q’ Ga:Linh** he's walking along (on) the riverbank *L,* **’uhsXAda:q’ guGALa:n’Linh** he's standing on the riverbank *L.*

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’uhsXAdi:q’d *(place-name) somewhere on mouth of Copper River between Cordova and Katalla* < area on riverbank *L.*

’u’tl’

’u’tl’ *(noun)* 1. *(d-class)* driftwood, dead log devoid of branches and bark (not necessarily near water) *LMA, 11.71, 75A,* snag (in water) *M*: **’u’tl’dAda:d** near a piece of driftwood

51.50A, **k'udAt'u' 'u'tl'** lots of driftwood *M,* **'u'tl'da'luw** big piece of driftwood *M,* **'u'tl' sich' di:'a'** give me a piece of driftwood! *L,* **'u'tl' 'u:d dAsAtahL** (*or* **-'ahL**) a piece of driftwood is there *L,* **'u'tl' qi'da' di:LquhL** good camping place < place to which driftwood has drifted *L; declassified:* **'u'tl' 'u:d sAtahL** a piece of driftwood (all broken up, or of very gnarled complex shape) is there *L.*

2. *(unclassified, uncertain and unverified)* snake *M.*

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'u'tl'dAqe'L, 'u'tl'qe'L, 'u'tl'wAlahqe'L driftwood-woman *(mythical personage) 11.71, 76, 85A.*

'u'G *(perhaps related to 'uG)*

'Ad-LA-'u'G *(reflexive of O-L-'u'G, perhaps basic transitive rather than causative below)* S rest (self): *frequently with expanded stem:* **'AdALA'u:G** take a rest! *M,* **'Ada:LA'u:G** take a rest!, take repeated rests! *L,* **dA'Alga'kih 'Ada:LA'u:G** take a short little rest like this! *L,* **'AdGALA'u'G** take a rest!, take a single rest! *L, Rezanov* Эткохлиюо̂къ 'Отдохнуть ausruhen' **'Adqu'xLA'u:G** I'll take a rest *LM,* **sidAxah 'Adqu'LA'u:G** I'll make you rest < you'll rest by my command *M,* **'AdxsLi'u:GL** I rested *M, with y-anatomical:* **'Adya:nLA'u'G** rest your hand! *L. Transitive (causative, or perhaps basic form, authenticity uncertain, not verified):* **'AL'u:G** make it rest! *L. Form from Rezanov, not completely identifiable:* Юо̂нтлюо̂укъ 'Отдохни ausruhen (Imperat.)' **…LA'u…G**.

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d-('i-)LA-'u'G *(with d-thematic 'oral, noise', and inexplicable morphophonemic -'i- usually occurring in most mode-aspects, cf. 'i-d-('-)L-'a´, Gd-'(i)-dA-'a´, d-LA-Ga'; stem frequently expanded)* 1. S breathe: **di'LA'u:G** *M,* **da:LA'u:G**, **da:nLA'u'G**, **di'GALA'u'G** breathe! *L, Anonymous* Татлеяукъ 'Вздыхаетъ' ('he's sighing') **dALA'u'G** he's taking breaths *(or dALAXu'G 'he's yelling'),* **di'LA'u:Ginh** *M,* **dALA'u:Ginh**, **di'LA'u'Ginh** he's breathing *L,* **dik' di'LA'u:GGinh** he's not breathing *L,* **'idehdah dALA'u:G** it's panting, really breathing hard *M,* **q'e' di'GALA'u'GL** he's starting to breathe again *L, with lahdz 'forward':* **lahdz di'GALA'u'G** exhale! *L, with qa' 'up out':* **qa' di'sLi'u'GL** he just took a breath (once) *L,* **dAqa: qa:nch' di'LA'u:G** take a deep breath now and then! *L, repetitive:* **XAli'ch'ahd qa:nch' di'LA'u'Gginh** he keeps sighing < he keeps taking a (single) breath repeatedly up out from way back from front of area *L; indirect reflexive: with li'-X '(movement from closed back end toward open front of o (own cavity)':* **li'X di'GALA'u:G** take a deep breath! *L, with ch'a' 'toward self':* **ch'a' di'GALA'u'G** take a deep breath! *L.*

2. S be, remain alive, live: **sahdX qu'di'xLA'u'G** I'll live a long time *L,* **dik' sahdX qu'di'xLA'u:GG** I won't live long *L,* **sahdX di'sLi'u'GLinh** he lived a long time *L,* **dik' sahdX di'sLA'u'GLGinh** he didn't live long *L,* **'AlAshgahX sahdX di'GALi'u'G** would that you live long *L.*

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-d-'u:G *(noun, unclassified, perhaps also Xd-class)* breath, life-breath: *Galushia Nelson* ɢɔ́tú'ʊ̀q 'breath' *BSdL 541* **k'udA'u:G**, **GAL'ihd ya: sidA'u:G q'Al dAtli:** my last life-breath this is already *L, 20.22A,* **di-'wAX sidA'u:G k'u:Leh** I'm still alive and breathing < my breath still exists *L,* **sidA'u:Gxah siliL, xuku:sAgu'k'L da:X** he knocked the wind out of me, when he punched me in the belly *L,* **'udA'u:G 'Awä: 'i:nsdi'ahL** she expired < her life-breath was spent *61.110A,* **'udA'u:G 'Awa: qu'lAdA'ah** she's going to expire *61.103A,* **'idA'u:G li' XAdi:Xahd** take a deep breath! < draw your breath in *L (-d-'u:G here perhaps Xd-class, see Xd-Xahd 2.).*

'u'X *(perhaps related to du'X, conceivably to be analyzed 'u'-X with -X final; cf. Navaho -'òh 'to fall short of' < *-'u'ẋ or *-'vẋ, Chipewyan -'ų́ (postposition) 'short*

*of' < *-'un'(x), conceivably also related to semitransitive prefix, o-X 'in contact with o', o-'u'-X 'short of contact with o')*

o-**'u'X** *(postposition) (with zero final only, comparative, cf. o-ga', o-lAX)* short of, less than, more (small, short) than, too small for o: **'i'u'X 'idiyinhinh** he's smaller than you *9.44M,* **siqi:dA'u'X 'idiyah** they're too small for my feet *L,* **siyA'u'X ti:ndiyah** they (gloves) are too small for my hands *L,* **silA'u'X 'i:ndiyah** it (hat) is too small for my head *L,* **'ila'u'X la'GAda'L** it (hat) is getting too small for your head (for over you) *L,* **sila'u'X 'idiyah** it's too small for my head *L,* **'i'u'X Giyah da'lixiLXah** I have less food than you *L, with comparative adjectival verbs:* **'Aw'u'X 'i:Ldik'** it's shorter than that, too short *L,* **'Aw'u'X li:Ldik'** it (oar) is shorter than that *L,* **'Al 'Aw'u'X 'i:Ldik'** this is shorter than that *L, Rezanov* Ауухелькучка 'Маленькой klein' **'Aw'u'X 'i:Lkuch'g…**, **'Aw'u'X 'i:Lkuts'g** it's smaller than that *L,* **'i'u'X 'ixiLkuts'g** I'm smaller than you *L,* **'iL'u'X 'iLikuts'g** one is smaller than the other *L, with verbs of motion:* **'u'u'X 'AdsdilAGLinh** he jumped short (of it) *L,* **qa:'u'X sahLinh** 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 Lu:ndiyahs** 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 'iLitsa'** it's too shallow *L,* **'ida'ya:'u'X 'idiyinhinh** she's too small *9.25A.*

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'dla:Liyinhinh** my she's pretty! *10.126A,* **he'eh siga'L** gee I'm tired! *L,* **he'eh q'e:dah lä 'i:nxsdiGAmAt'L** my it (sour fruit) sure made my tongue pucker! *L.*

hanh

hanh *(exclamation) (utterance-initial)* goodness! what! gee! *(expression of surprise, displeasure, frustration, indignation) L*: **hanh, q'a:l dik' dA'u:dAXya:kih qa:Xa' 'AstahLG** goodness, now we've nothing left (he's taken it all)! *11.32A,* **hanh, k'e:chid da: qa'- …** goodness (now that you've let out our secret) how are we ever going to … ? *11.182A,* **hanh, ya'Xu: wAX qu'di:leh** what! don't you say that (how dare you accuse me of that)! *24.31A.*

ha:n'anh

ha:n'anh *(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*: **ha:n'anh ya:n' GAte'** so *now* (that I've made the bed) lie down! *18.30L,* **ha:n'anh 'uch' qa' qu'xinhinu:** okay, *now* I'll climb out to them *18.70L,* **ha:n'anh tla:X 'Aw 'AdiX shidja'L, ya' qu'di: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,* **ha:n'anh ta' GALa'** 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: **dAwa'd q'Aw 'itl' dAxwleh, dik' sidAXa'X qe'yile:G. ha:n'anh dik' 'idAwa: qu'xtu:G** I told you to hurry. You didn't heed me. So there! now I won't wait for you *15.23-25M,* **ha:n'anh ts'idwAX 'iXu:nLAyah q'Aw 'uX wAX k'udAleh 'iXa' qa'Le'** so there! now you'll have only your teeth for tools *16.24M.*

hu:l *(earlier transcribed Xu:l, probably in error, all corrected to hu:l by L; loan from Tlingit hùn~hún~hún 'to sell')*

hu:l *(noun, unclassified)* sale, object for sale *L*: **hu:l'a'luw** big sale *L, as O of transitive of theme 'i-d-le 'S (event) take place': Rezanov* Хультатеиль 'Мѣнать tauschen' *probably to be read* **hu:l da:** [**'i**]**dAL**[**ih**], **hu:l da: 'idALih** we're having a sale, selling things *LM,* **hu:l da: 'iqe'di:Lih** we'll have a sale *L, as C in S C -Le(') 'S be, become C':* **Li'q' hu:l sALe'L** it's all sold *L, as C in S C O-'-l-L-Xa´ 'S cause O to be C':* **hu:lshuh qu'li:LXah** are you going to sell it? *L,* **hu:l qu'li:xLXah** I'll sell it *M,* **dik' hu:l da'qe'li:xLXahG** (*or* **-Xa:G**) I won't sell it *L (to be corrected to qu'li:xLXahG or glossed 'I won't own, obtain a sale, sold item'),* **XahdL 'uXa' hu:l 'u'dla:sALXa'Linh** he sold his car *L,* **hu:l 'u'lAXAsiLXa'L** I sold them (berries) *L.*

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hu:l 'Adu'LAXinhinh *(noun, unclassified)* prostitute < she who sells herself *L (in attempt to identify Galushia Nelson* x̣u·l 'vagina' *BSdL 542, which, however, L concludes, probably correctly, is hu:l from English 'hole').*

hu'uX *(cf. Tlingit hú 'ouch!' W. Soboleff)*

hu'uX *(exclamation) (utterance-initial)* ouch! that hurts! *(expression of sudden pain) L.*