

**INDIGENOUS METHODOLOGIES IN LINGUISTICS: A CASE STUDY OF
NUU-WEE-YA' LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION**

by

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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Title: Indigenous Methodologies In Linguistics: A Case Study Of Nuu-Wee-Ya'
Language Revitalization

Doing linguistic research for the purpose of language revitalization, academic inclusion, and social justice fundamentally changes the perspective, questions, and goals of the work. Framing this research in a traditional linguistic model does not best convey the point and the beauty of findings for community members. This is partly due to the 'lack' associated with archival work: because the archival data is limited and there are no (or limited) speakers to confer with, findings are often incomplete, even minimal, and rarely sufficient to justify a rigorous linguistic analysis.

Indigenous knowledge is the idea of relationality, that everything is related (Wilson, 2008). This concept is central to being indigenous and shifts the focus of research from advancing the understanding of science through focus on the abstraction of patterns to advancing understandings of how to support all of creation. Indigenous knowledge is, by itself, a valid and complete way of perceiving and learning about the

world. This can be evidenced through the close relationships indigenous people have with the environment and through the rich complexity of ceremonies.

Using an indigenous model, I focus on the relationship between the research and community needs and knowledge. I incorporate indigenous intellectual models to investigate language revitalization, yielding a complex research model that approaches linguistic analysis with a mind to the priority of different components of language revitalization. In this model, the central components are **planning, processing, analysis,** and **use**. Within this model, the focus shifts from what is missing to the wealth of the knowledge that is.

This dissertation links the linguistic work done to an indigenous framed research model and illustrates how this approach shifts the perceived ‘lack’ of knowledge to perceived riches. This Language Revitalization approach carries and honors our indigeneity and supports social justice for all indigenous people, including my own ancestors.

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Haleem
Sre-ghud-laa-ne

1942-2013

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Presenting My Perspective.....	2
1.2 Defining My Communities	6
1.2.1 Nuu-Wee-Ya' Learner-Speakers	7
1.2.2 The Language Revitalization Practitioners.....	9
1.2.3 Linguists.....	10
1.3 The Structure of the Dissertation	11
II. A BACKGROUND TO NUU-WEE-YA'	15
2.1 Defining Nuu-Wee-Ya'	16
2.1.1 Definition of Nuu-Wee-Ya'	16
2.1.2 Nuu-Wee-Ya' Language Relations.....	19
2.1.3 Nuu-Wee-Ya' Internal Classification: Dialects and Varieties.....	24
2.2 History of Attempted Genocide	26
2.3 A Language Legacy – Archival Materials and Grammatical Descriptions	28
2.3.1 Collections Not Consulted	29
2.3.2 Substantial Written Collections Within the Corpus.....	31

Chapter	Page
2.3.2 Grammatical Work Published on Nuu-Wee-Ya’	38
2.4 Language Revitalization – A Global Experience from a Nuu-Wee-Ya’ Perspective	39
2.4.1 Defining Language Revitalization	39
2.4.2 Archive-Based Research for Revitalization.....	42
2.4.3 Nuu-Wee-Ya’ Language Revitalization	43
III. INDIGENOUS AND ARCHIVAL-BASED METHODOLOGIES	46
3.1 Indigenous Methodology	46
3.1.1 Indigenous Knowledge	46
3.1.2 The Value of Indigenous Methodologies.....	52
3.2 The Act of Reclaiming and the Lost Generation	53
3.2.1 Reclaiming Indigeneity	54
3.2.2 Learning Indigeneity from the Lost Generation	55
3.3 Indigenous Methodologies in My Work.....	60
3.3.1 Research for the Community	61
3.3.2 Ceremony in My Work	66
3.3.3 Incorporating Indigenous Epistemology – The Four Directions	67

Chapter	Page
3.4 Archival-Based Methodologies	70
3.4.1 Native American Philology.....	70
3.4.2 Factors in Archive-Based Research for Revitalization.....	71
3.4.3 Methodological Approaches to Archive-Based Research for Revitalization	75
IV. METHODS AND COLLABORATIONS	84
4.1 Relationships Provide Inspiration and Purpose	84
4.2 Collaborating on a Digital Database.....	85
4.2.1 Gathering Materials	87
4.2.2 Transcribing, Transliterating and Uploading to ILDA	88
4.3 Interpreting Variation.....	90
4.3.1 Determining a Dataset.....	92
4.3.2 Stages of Processing and Analysis.....	93
4.3.3 Determining Variation	95
4.4 Grammatical Analysis.....	97
4.5 Creating Materials.....	100
V. ORTHOGRAPHIC VARIATION	103
5.1 The Challenge Of Variation.....	103

Chapter	Page
5.2 Findings.....	104
5.2.1 Sound Correspondences.....	104
5.2.2 Interpreting Dorsey’s Graphemes for Modern Orthography	115
5.3 Reflections	117
5.3.1 Reflection on Contributions to the Field of Linguistics.....	117
5.3.2 Supporting Nuu-Wee-Ya’ Learners.....	119
VI. LEXICAL VARIATION	122
6.1 What Is Lexical Variation.....	122
6.2 Findings.....	124
6.3 Reflections	127
VII. A LEARNER-SPEAKERS’ GUIDE TO NUU-WEE-YA’ GRAMMAR.....	132
7.1 Linguist-Speaker Communication	133
7.1.1 Describing the Problem.....	133
7.1.2 An Approach to Providing Linguistic Information.....	136
7.2 A Background to Grammar.....	137
7.3 Some Topics of Grammar.....	138
7.3.1 Parts of Speech.....	139

Chapter	Page
7.3.2 A Start on Clause Structure.....	139
7.3.3 How Verbs Make Meaning.....	140
7.4 What to Keep in Mind in Nuu-Wee-Ya' Grammar	140
7.4.1 Structure.....	141
7.4.2 Meaning	144
7.5 A Note on Examples	149
7.5.1 Format of Examples.....	149
7.5.2 Orthographies and Sources	152
7.5.3 Glossing and Abbreviations.....	153
7.5.4 Other Issues.....	153
VIII. VERBS.....	155
8.1 Verb Structure.....	155
8.2 Verb Stem	158
8.3 Person: Subject, Object, Plural	161
8.3.1 Subject.....	162
8.3.2 Object.....	165
8.3.3 Third Person Subject and Object	167

Chapter	Page
8.3.4 Plural/Dual	169
8.4 Voice: Indefinite, Reflexive, Reciprocal, Passive, Transitives (Classifier).....	172
8.4.1 Indefinite	173
8.4.2 Passive.....	175
8.4.3 Reflexive and Reciprocal.....	175
8.4.4 Classifiers.....	177
8.5 Aspect	181
8.5.1 Imperfective	182
8.5.2 Perfective	183
8.5.3 Progressive.....	190
8.5.4 Optative.....	191
8.6 Descriptors	193
8.6.1 Directional Prefixes	193
8.6.2 Aktionsart.....	213
8.6.3 Qualifiers.....	218
IX. ENCLITIC PARTICLES.....	223
9.1 Tense.....	224

Chapter	Page
9.1.1 =La ‘Past Tense’	224
9.1.2 =Te ‘Future’	226
9.2 Mood.....	228
9.2.1 ‘Imperative’ =Le	228
9.2.2 ‘Hearsay’ =Ts’a	230
9.2.3 =Nn ‘Wish’	231
9.2.2 =De ‘If’	233
9.2.3 ‘Question Marker’ Ha / La.....	234
9.3 Focus.....	237
9.3.1 ‘Focus’ =Du’	237
9.3.2 =T’i Focus-Like Discourse Function.....	239
9.4 Relativizer And Nominalizers.....	241
9.4.1 Relativizer =I	241
9.4.2 Relativizing And Nominalizing =Ne	245
9.4.3 Nominalizing =Yu	247
9.5 Other Derivational.....	248
9.5.1 Adverbializing =Xu	248

Chapter	Page
9.5.2 Location Or Time =Dvn	249
9.5.3 Directional =T'a.....	251
X. NOUNS.....	253
10.1 Noun Stems.....	254
10.2 Possessing Nouns.....	257
10.3 Making Nouns From Other Words	262
10.3.1 Modified Noun Stem.....	262
10.3.2 Combination of Noun Stems.....	263
10.3.3 Simple Verb	263
10.3.4 Verb With Certain Prefixes.....	264
10.3.5 Verb With Enclitic Particle.....	266
XI. MODIFIERS AND DESCRIPTIVE VERBS.....	270
11.1 Modifiers.....	270
11.1.1 Quality Modifiers.....	271
11.1.2 Time Modifiers	288
11.1.3 Modifiers About Inherent Timing of Verb	293
11.1.4 Quantity Modifiers.....	295

Chapter	Page
11.2 Descriptive Verbs.....	303
11.2.1 Lh- ‘Physical’.....	303
11.2.2 N- ‘Dimension’	304
11.2.3 Di- ‘Prominent’	307
11.2.4 S- ‘Stative’	309
11.3 The Special Case Of Chu ‘Big, Also’	310
11.3.1 Verbal Cha	310
11.3.2 Modifier Cha, Chu	311
11.3.3 Chu ‘Also’	312
XII. POSTPOSITIONS AND DIRECTIONALS	314
12.1 Postpositions	314
12.1.1 Trvn ‘Towards’	315
12.1.2 Xwv ‘For’.....	317
12.1.3 Ghan ‘From’.....	318
12.1.4 Cha ‘Away’	320
12.1.5 Xwa-Ghe ‘Through’.....	321
12.1.6 Nu ‘Through’	322

Chapter	Page
12.1.7 Me / Me'n 'In'	322
12.1.8 Tr'vt 'Out'	324
12.1.9 Dv-K'e / K'we 'Over'	325
12.1.10 Kw'vt 'On Top'	326
12.1.11 Kw'an 'Out Of Water'	327
12.1.12 Yaa-Ghe 'Under'	328
12.1.13 Led 'Tip'	329
12.1.14 Get 'Next To'	330
12.1.15 Gvn 'About'	333
12.1.16 A 'For'	334
12.1.17 Wvn 'For'.....	336
12.1.18 K'e 'Following' and 'Like'	337
12.1.19 Mvlh 'With'	338
12.1.20 La 'With'	339
12.2 Directionals	340
12.2.1 Cardinal Directions	341
12.2.2 River-Based Directions	349

Chapter	Page
12.2.3 Relationally Based Directions.....	356
XIII. SOME ADDITIONAL FUNCTION WORDS	359
13.1 Interjections.....	359
13.2 Questions.....	362
13.3 Irrealis	367
13.4 Conjunctions	370
13.5 Waa ‘For’ and Its Many Variations	377
XIV. ANNOTATED TEXTS	380
14.1 Text Annotation	382
14.1.1 Sentence 1	382
14.1.2 Sentence 2	384
14.1.3 Sentence 3	384
14.1.4 Sentence 4	385
14.1.5 Sentence 5	386
14.1.6 Sentence 6	386
14.1.7 Sentence 7	387
14.1.8 Sentence 8	388

Chapter	Page
14.1.9 Sentence 9	388
14.1.10 Sentence 10	389
14.1.11 Sentence 11	389
14.1.12 Sentence 12	390
14.1.13 Sentence 13	391
14.1.14 Sentence 14	392
14.1.15 Sentence 15	392
14.1.16 Sentence 16	393
14.2 Discussion	394
XV. HOW VERBS CONVEY MEANING	396
15.1 Introduction.....	396
15.2 Verb Structure and Verb Themes	396
15.3 How Prefixes and Stems Contribute Meaning.....	398
15.4 Types of Contributing Prefixes.....	399
XVI. A FOCUSED LOOK AT CONTRIBUTING PREFIXES	406
16.1 Frequency Of Prefix Forms	407
16.2 Contributing Prefix Na-: Typically Pluractional.....	408

Chapter	Page
16.2.1 Na- ‘Pluractional’.....	410
16.2.2 Na- Achieving a State (‘Inchoative’).....	428
16.2.3 Undetermined Na-.....	430
16.2.4 Summarizing the Use of Na-.....	431
16.3 Contributing Prefix Ni-: Typically Completive.....	431
16.3.1 ‘Completive/Perfective’ Ni-.....	432
16.3.2 ‘Reversative’ Na-Ni- Sequence	435
16.3.3 ‘Locative’ Ni-.....	436
16.3.4 ‘Stative’ Ni-	436
16.3.5 Prefix-Conditioned Ni- Aspect Marker	440
16.3.6 Undetermined Ni-	447
16.3.7 Summarizing Ni-.....	448
16.4 Contributing Prefix Nu-: Typically Locative or Optative.....	448
16.4.1 Locative Use of Nu-.....	449
16.4.2 Optative Use of Nu-.....	450
16.4.3 Undetermined Use of Nu-	451
16.4.4 Summarizing Use of Nu-	455

Chapter	Page
16.5 Contributing Prefix Ne-: Typically Confusing	455
16.5.1 Probably Variation of a Different Form.....	457
16.5.2 Alternating Ne-	460
16.5.3 Possibly Thematic	464
16.5.4 Summarizing Use of Ne-	465
16.6 Contributing Prefix Nv-: Typically Something Else	466
16.7 What a Detailed Description Can Provide	471
XVII. A FOCUSED LOOK AT HOW VERB STEMS AND PREFIXES WORK TOGETHER	472
17.1 ‘A ‘Handle’	473
17.1.1 Having A Round Object.....	473
17.1.2 Give A Round Object.....	478
17.1.3 A Round Object Is Put Or Is Located	480
17.1.4 Extension From A Round Object.....	484
17.2 ‘A ‘Talk’	487
17.3 ‘A ‘Think’	488
XVIII. PRESENCING THROUGH LANGUAGE USE.....	495
18.1 Presencing Language Use for a Different Future	496

Chapter	Page
18.2 Ways to Use Language	499
18.2.1 Domains	500
18.2.2 Creating – Songs, Stories, Art and Learning Materials	502
18.2.3 Engaging With Archival Materials	503
18.2.4 Exploring Language Patterns and Linguistic Analysis	504
18.2.5 Make and Maintain Relationships With Other Learner-Speakers	505
XIX. CREATING LANGUAGE LEARNING MATERIALS.....	506
19.1 Archival Resources Support Creating Materials.....	506
19.2 Language Materials Showcase.....	507
19.2.1 Description of Sounds for Learners	507
19.2.2 Camp Ta Nae Booklet.....	514
19.2.3 Go Fish – Nash-‘Vsh Nush-‘Vsh.....	518
19.2.5 ABC Book.....	520
19.3 Implications for Creating Materials	523
XX. TRANSLATING INTO NUU-WEE-YA’	524
20.1 Translating Materials for Community Engagement	524
20.2 Translation of ‘We Will Survive’	526

Chapter	Page
20.3 Translation of ‘Summertime’	528
20.4 Translation of ‘Face Rock’	529
20.5 Reflections on Translations.....	541
XXI. MY LANGUAGE LIVES	543
21.1 Language on My Breath.....	543
21.1.1 Through Research	545
21.1.2 Among Community	545
21.1.3 As Song.....	547
21.1.4 In Ceremony.....	551
21.1.5 With My Children	552
21.2 Challenges to Speaking.....	555
21.3 Approaching and Managing Challenges.....	557
XXII. CONCLUSION	559
22.1 Summary of Scholarship.....	559
22.1.1 Planning and Design	559
22.1.2 Processing Variation	560
22.1.3 Grammatical Research.....	561

Chapter	Page
22.1.4 Supporting Language Use.....	563
22.2 Implications.....	564
22.2.1 For Nuu-Wee-Ya' Learner-Speakers	564
22.2.2 For Language Revitalization Practitioners.....	566
22.2.3 For Linguists	567
22.3 Future Research Directions.....	568
22.4 Gratitude and Respect.....	570
APPENDICES	571
A. CAMP TA NAE BROCHURE.....	571
B. DATA FROM ORTHOGRAPHIC VARIATION.....	585
REFERENCES CITED.....	588

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. The Dene Language Family (Mithun, 2001)	20
2. Map of Nuu-wee-ya' dialects.....	25
3. Excerpt from Dorsey's Coquille Schedule (NAA MS 375)	32
4. Jacobs' elicitation.....	36
5. Jacobs' collected texts.....	36
6. Excerpt from Jacobs grammatical notebook (Jacobs, 110).	36
7. The symbol of the four directions	47
8. The four directions of archival based language revitalization	68
9. Expected route of sound change for voiced velar	106
10. Nuu-wee-ya' dialectology.....	117
11. Grouping Nuu-wee-ya' dialect by patterns of regular correspondence	118
12. Nuu-wee-ya' verb structure.	142
13. Types and meanings of Nuu-wee-ya' verb structure	145
14. Nuu-wee-ya' verb structure with examples.	156
15. Location of verb stem	158
16. Location of person marker	162

Figure	Page
17. Location of subject prefixes	162
18. Location of object markers	165
19. Object prefixes	165
20. Location of plural markers	169
21. Location of voice markers	173
22. Location of aspect prefixes	182
23. Location of descriptors	193
24. Number of tokens with forms	407
25. Excerpt 1 from Camp Ta Nae booklet	516
26. Excerpt 2 from Camp Ta Nae booklet	517
27. Nuu-wee-ya' 'Go Fish' cards.....	519
28. Excerpt from ABC book tr'	521
29. Excerpt from ABC book m.....	522
30. Giveaway handout for ceremony	552

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Varieties and authorities consulted by Dorsey.....	33
2. Compared varieties	93
3. Coding parameters used in initial analysis.....	94
4. Difference between regular and irregular correspondences.....	96
5. Sound correspondence distinctions per dialect and variety	105
6. Galice intervocalic elision and Dakubeh maintenance	106
7. Comparison of /k:x/ in Eastern varieties with Tututni.....	107
8. Word final elision of /t/.....	108
9. /n:d/ and /m:b/ correspondences between eastern varieties and Tututni.....	109
10. n:n and m:m correspondences between Eastern varieties and Tututni	109
11. Number and Percentage of alveolar nasal stop correspondences	110
12. Number and Percentage of labial nasal stop correspondences	111
13. Nasalization or nasal segments in eastern varieties: Galice and Dakubeh	111
14. Nasalization in Southern varieties: Tolowa and Chetco	112
15. Use of nasalization in second person subject markers.....	113
16. Mikwanu sibilant complexification	114

Table	Page
17. Pronunciation of Mikwanu in 1962 with Tututni Cognates.....	115
18. Variable graphemes in Dorsey and phoneme that each represent	116
19. Cognate stem pairs – Tututni and Coquille.....	123
20. Non-cognate stem in Tututni and Coquille.....	123
21. Partially cognate stem.....	123
22. Percentage of Nuu-wee-ya’ cognate stems and different stems	124
23. Terms unique to village varieties in Dorsey (1884).....	127
24. Glossing abbreviations.....	153
25. Stem forms for Singular ‘go’ based on aspect.....	159
26. Motion Stems that are Suppletive for Number	160
27. Classificatory Stems for ‘handle’.....	161
28. First and Second Person Subject Prefixes.....	163
29. Second person singular subject in Tolowa. (TDWD, 2021).....	165
30. Plural and Dual prefixes.....	169
31. Voice prefixes	173
32. Aspect prefixes.....	182
33. Verb Aktionsart prefixes.....	214
34. The three Qualifier prefixes	218

Table	Page
35. Enclitic Particles	224
36. Relativizing particles	241
37. Quality modifiers.....	271
38. Time modifiers.....	288
39. Modifiers about inherent timing of verb.....	294
40. Quantity modifiers	296
41. Postpositions	315
42. Interjections.....	359
43. Question words	362
44. Irrealis words	367
45. Conjunctions	370
46. Layers of the verbal word	399
47. Number of tokens and verb themes	408
48. Thematic prefixes co-occurring with ni-.....	440
49. How nasal vowels are written in the southern dialect.....	514
50. Topics in Camp booklet	515

CHAPTER I – INTRODUCTION

yaa-walh-ts'it, *wal-dvt-ni,* *nvn naa-ch'ii-ya,* *ja sta dv-ne*
know it, teach it, speak it, live it

chi 'uu-k'e *taa-xwii-dvn*
like this everyday

-- Gilbert Towner 2003

The purpose of this dissertation is two-fold. The fundamental purpose is to support the increased use of Nuu-wee-ya', a pacific coast Dene language. The second purpose is to describe indigenous methodologies and demonstrate how they can support language revitalization work, in particular to how they pertain to archive-based research for language revitalization. To accomplish these purposes, this dissertation is multi-faceted. Using the model of the four directions, I organize my topics into four components of support for language use: project planning, processing archival materials, grammatical analysis, and creating modern materials for language use. For the component of project planning, I describe how this project was planned and articulate particular traits that could be beneficial to other language revitalization projects. For the component of processing archival materials, I give the example of my analysis of the orthographic differences that are found in data from eight varieties collected by J.O Dorsey in the 1880s. For the component of grammatical analysis, I have compiled a (relatively) brief grammar sketch of sorts, neither a traditional reference grammar nor a typical pedagogical grammar. This grammar is developed to lay out some aspects of Nuu-wee-ya' that are challenging or confusing for learner-speakers whose primary language today is English. The grammar is a way to target the needs of the communities and to provide a foundation for future support of expanded language use. For the component on modern materials that support language use, I describe the ways I have used archival

research to create language materials and, ultimately, to use Nuu-wee-ya' myself, with my family and my larger community.

This chapter is organized into three sections. The first, 1.1, introduces my perspective to this research, providing information on who I am and why I have done this work in the ways that I have. As this topic arises from sensitive historical actions that have deeply impacted my communities and my family, it is necessary to provide a background so that the reader understands why I have made the choices I have in embarking on this non-traditional way of researching language. Section 1.2 addresses the three different communities this work is directed towards: the Nuu-wee-ya' learner-speakers, other language revitalization practitioners, and linguists. Section 1.3 describes the structure of this dissertation, with a brief introduction to the contents of each chapter.

1.1 Presenting my perspective

I am a descendant of people that spoke Nuu-wee-ya'. My relatives have been in northern California and southern Oregon for as long as we know. Even though my family was disconnected from our own language and culture, I was raised knowing this. As a child, I participated in the local Indian education program, and thus I was raised to think of myself as Native. Today I identify as a Native woman even though I do not know as much as I would like to about my culture.

This last statement is important because I am not the only one who misses the intergenerational cultural transmission that would have been possible if not for the traumatic events that happened to our communities. Also, it is important because there are many folks caught in the blood quantum paradigm that makes each generation less Native. I cannot understand how blood quantum says anything about a person's

experience or identity. Yet, due to this system, many indigenous descendants feel non-Native, or not as good as other Natives. I have met people with the same blood quantum as me who say, “oh my grandma was Native but I am not”. Yet, I say “my grandma was Native and so am I”. My identity as a Native woman does not come from my blood quantum, but from the experiences I have lived, experiences in culture class and at culture camp, being one of many children taught by elders who I respected, even though we were not of the same tribe. I was taught without reservation that I was Native, which meant I must have respect for all Natives, for my elders, for myself, and for the earth. Primarily, I identify as a Native woman because of the vision and choices of my father, who wanted a better future for his children. Through his actions, he brought the importance of our indigeneity to the forefront.

My family knows who we are descended from, yet there is confusion regarding what tribes those people belonged to. It took years for me to research which Native tribe(s) I am from, only to discover that the evidence is inconclusive, or rather that much of the evidence is contradictory. What I have been able to discover is that I claim heritage to the Klamath River, most likely as a Karuk or Klamath Native, and I claim heritage to the Rogue River as a Dene. Due to family stories, I can trace a connection to the Chasta Costa village at the conjunction of the Illinois river and the Rogue River. I was raised with a connection to this location, a connection forged from years of attending and loving the powwow that takes place at the last battle site in that region.

The first time I heard the Nuu-wee-ya’ language, I was 16 years old, riding in my father’s beat-up old white Honda civic. He kept a tape of old Nuu-wee-ya’ songs playing in the tape deck, and I would sometimes catch syllables amid the scratchy ancient

recordings. When I was 19 and in my first year of college, my father told me we had gotten a grant to fund our first year of a language camp with Gilbert Towner, at the time the last known speaker of Tututni, the northern dialect of Nuu-wee-ya'. I was excited to support him, but unsure what it would be like. Our first day of camp came the next day, just after the leaders of the camp tried and failed to record Gilbert and his uncle having a conversation. Fresh from that failure, Gilbert opened up the camp with this statement, which we recorded in video.

It is great that you are so interested in and trying to learn all you can about this language that was spoken here in the lower rogue River. And I think really that we've waited a little bit too long to try to revive it. Too many years have gone by the wayside...we were once speakers and now we are not speakers.... I have the name of a war chief that fought in this country. His name was Ensalsun. He was a Macanotin chief. How ashamed I feel that I can't come to this country and speak my own language and I know that some of you are expecting to leave here with two weeks of training speaking our language. What you are going to leave with is a bare knowledge, the beginning. ... We are giving thanks for this beautiful country we are giving thanks for the people that are here. I ask that you would put a burning desire in each heart that is here to try in every way we can to be able to speak our language once more. (Private unpublished recording, Agness, Oregon, 2002)

At that moment I realized that I could do something, I could learn this language as best as I can and share what I know with others. That first day of camp lit a fire inside me that has sustained me up to now and will sustain me as long as my mind and heart are functioning.

This passion compelled me to seek out linguistic analyses of Nuu-wee-ya', because I wanted to understand how to speak our language. Gilbert was unsure of how the grammar worked and encouraged us to not stray from the word lists he taught us. We met with Gilbert every summer for six years, each year all of us learning more and more words, but still unable to put the words together, to speak them in sentences. Seeing my

fascination with the grammar, Gilbert gave me permission to seek and study the language so as to help the people speak. This led me down a road into academia, into a master's program at the University of Arizona, which I finished just months before Gilbert crossed. Not having Gilbert to work with drove me deep into the archives to continue to try to understand how to speak and how to help other learner-speakers use our language. This dissertation describes my findings so far, the first results of my long journey into the archival materials.

Along the way, to be true to myself and to this research, I have had to navigate topics that are painful and emotional for me personally, as well as for many others whose lineages were impacted by the near cultural genocide of the peoples of Oregon and California.¹ To do this work, I have had to look deeply at the trauma that impacted my family and understand how my family's experiences are a part of historical events that impacted many families and communities. As a non-recognized Oregon Native, at times this has been especially challenging, due to the pain of my lineage being excluded from the modern tribes.² I found that I often downplayed the history of my own lineage, in favor of the better-known histories of the recognized tribes.

As I have looked more closely, I have found that indeed, the history of my indigenous lineage is sad. My great-great-great grandmother, as a young woman, watched her father being shot and killed in front of his home at Scotts Bar on the Klamath. She was stolen away and taken to Crescent City, where her future husband, a white miner, attained her. This history impacted my entire family. What surprised me as I went on

¹ And, indeed, all across Turtle Island (turtle island is an indigenous term for North America).

² I am not saying that it should be different, just acknowledging that the way things are is hard.

with this research was how much I needed to acknowledge how her history impacts me today, how it led to the loss of her connection to her indigenous community. At the root of it all, the traumatic events that occurred almost 200 years ago have not been healed, the trauma has been passed down through our generations and will continue to be passed down unless someone does something to heal. I believe that one reason I seek out my own indigeneity is because of the wounds I carry that come from my ancestor, and because I hope, ultimately, this work will help to heal the trauma still present in my lineage.

I mention this pain because I think my experiences are not entirely unique, that they are echoed by others. Each person has their own story, but there is still a shared legacy from the huge amount of trauma that our communities faced. Each community, family, and person healing from these traumas must navigate the delicate situation that has been created as we try to heal, both individually and socially. I express my pain because then it does not control me. I express my pain because maybe someone else can relate. I express my pain in support of the indigenous peoples of Oregon and California, to look past the limiting structures of membership in federally recognized tribes. I express my pain to support wider healing of our indigenous communities.

1.2 Defining my communities

My research is connected to three distinct modern communities, which are different but perhaps have some overlap, as some people, like me, might be connected to two or all three of these communities. The communities I name here are the community of modern learner-speakers of Nuu-wee-ya', the community of language revitalization practitioners, and the community of modern academic linguists. While I have written this

document keeping in mind an intended audience of each of these communities, not all of this dissertation is necessarily aimed equally at each audience.

1.2.1 Nuu-wee-ya' learner-speakers

My first community, the modern learner-speakers of Nuu-wee-ya', is comprised of people belonging to three different tribal entities, as well as a group of non-recognized Natives. These tribal entities are the Confederated Tribes of Siletz, Tolowa Dee-ni' Nation and the Coquille Indian Tribe.³ The community of non-recognized Natives are descendants of 9 women who stayed or moved to the Rogue valley after the Rogue Indian wars led to the removal of most of the original Native peoples of the region. Some of these women who relocated to the Rogue valley were children of women who had moved away for marriage, who then returned from northern California to their mothers' homeland.⁴

Most of the archival language resources were collected at Confederated Tribes of Siletz or at the Tolowa Dee-ni' Nation; for these communities, language materials are not only cultural artifacts, but wisdom that comes from people's relatives and community members. Because of this, the concerns of these two tribes regarding language are highly important, as these concerns pertain to their own flesh and blood. As a result, the methods implemented in my research must acknowledge the responsibility towards protecting the sensitive information about these communities contained in the archival materials.

³ There are also descendants of Nuu-wee-ya' speakers in the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde, Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs and the Elk Valley Rancheria.

⁴ This information comes to me from family stories told to me by my father, his sister, and his uncle.

However, the information that was given by members of these communities also pertains to people beyond these communities.

Now, I speak to this larger community, you learner-speakers of Nuu-wee-ya'. I acknowledge all of our knowledge bearers and elders who have hung onto and shared resources and knowledge. I am grateful to have had the opportunity to learn more about my heritage because of the work of these committed individuals. While I have done this research primarily for you, I acknowledge that much of this document might not be directed towards you. This is because of the requirements of a doctoral dissertation, the complexity of the Nuu-wee-ya' grammar, and my need to also acknowledge the other communities to whom this work pertains.

The work I do here for our Nuu-wee-ya' community is to gather the grammatical information that I could, in a way intended to support our language use. My primary obstacle to speaking our language has been understanding the grammatical complexities and being confident that I was speaking correctly. For this reason, I spend over half of this dissertation describing components of grammatical structure. My goal is to provide a resource that discusses the grammatical components found in a portion of our archival data. I try to explain the grammar in a detailed way, but also trying to avoid the abstract descriptions that I have found in previous linguistic work on Nuu-wee-ya'. These abstract descriptions might be useful for other linguists, but I could never figure out from them how to actually *use* our complex and highly irregular language.

While I do this work for the community of learner-speakers, I ask you to bear in mind that this is an initial product that is designed to be built upon in the years to come. One of my goals is that this work contributes to comparative work between all three of

our dialects. For this reason, I have isolated myself during the research, to allow this work to arise out of the analysis of the archival materials themselves, rather than from the knowledge of other learner-speakers. This is so I would know, when I approach the other researchers in our community, that I am aware of the source from which my understanding comes. Grammatical research might not be for you; it might even frustrate you to hear or see our language broken apart and described in such detail. If this is the case for you, the learner-speaker, I hope that you also consider the information I present about language use, to find or supplement your own way to use our language.

1.2.2 The Language revitalization practitioners

The community of language revitalization practitioners is the group of individuals who are concerned with the theoretical or methodological processes involved in language revitalization. Some of these people are tribal members working on their own languages, others are outside community members supporting language growth in their families and communities, and others are academics who see the need for social justice, and who fight to support language revitalization in the ways that they can.

Now, I speak to this community. I acknowledge the work you are doing. This work that we engage in contributes to addressing the wrongs created by historical and current social inequality. While I did this research primarily for my fellow Nuu-wee-ya' speakers, I would also like my work to contribute to our burgeoning discussions of what language revitalization is and how we can do it. That being said, this is not a study of language revitalization per se: I do not describe all the types and all the implications of language revitalization. Rather, I focus on discussing the particulars of revitalization of

languages that have fallen asleep, or nearly fallen asleep, whose revitalization work must depend heavily on archival materials.

In service to the community of language revitalization practitioners, I have included detailed descriptions of my methodological frameworks and specific research methods. My hope is that you may see something in my work that can inform or impact your own work, or that you may question my tactics. My particular hope is that as a community we can critique and improve approaches to language revitalization, so that we all experience more success. There is a large portion of this dissertation that discusses the grammatical particulars of my language, Nuu-wee-ya'. This section was not written for you, however, if applicable, feel free to use any of it as a model for your own work.

1.2.3 Linguists

Of these three communities, the community of academic linguistic scientists is the one I found myself joining last. Like any academic community, this community is varied and constantly growing, as academics continue to conduct and share their research with others. This community include several who focus on topics covered in this dissertation including Dene linguistics, semantics, typology, and morpho-syntax.

Now I speak to this community. I turned to you when I could not speak my language. Your curiosity, your wisdom, and your compassion has impacted my journey so incredibly. Without the generations of research done on Dene languages, and on linguistic theory in general, I would not have been able to accomplish this work.

As grateful as I am to you, this dissertation is not written for you. I hope and believe that within this document, there is information that can inform your research,

especially my discussion of the use of indigenous methodologies in linguistic analysis. But while there is a large amount of linguistic data, it is not exposed with your needs in mind, but rather with the needs of Nuu-wee-ya' learner-speakers in mind. That said, my approach could be informative and at the very least, my work contains newly organized data from an under-researched Pacific Coast Dene language. My hope is that this data can support historical and comparative analysis of the Dene language family.

1.3 The Structure of the dissertation

The remainder of this dissertation starts in chapter 2 with a background to Nuu-wee-ya'. This chapter describes the genetic classification and geographical location of Nuu-wee-ya', the history of language loss, a description of the archival materials encountered so far, and a brief description of current language revitalization efforts.

Following this chapter, the rest of the dissertation is divided into four parts, each with multiple chapters, which together describe the different types of scholarship that have fed into this dissertation. These four parts are classified and organized according to the indigenous epistemological tool 'the four directions'. This tool is used in indigenous academic writings to describe distinct aspects of a whole. In this case, the 'whole' is archive-based language revitalization and the different directions are planning, processing, analysis, and use.

The first part, South, discusses the planning needed to do this work in a responsible and effective way, especially taking into account the particular needs of language revitalization work. This part includes two chapters: Chapter 3 discusses the indigenous and archive-based methodologies used in this work. Chapter 4 discusses the particular methods used for the different research components of this dissertation.

The second part, West, discusses the processing needed for this work. Rather than talk about the workflow through all the processing tasks (most are discussed in the methods chapter), this part focuses on two research projects that look at how we understand the variation found in written materials. Chapter 5 explores orthographic variation and Chapter 6 explores lexical variation.

The third part, North, presents the grammatical analysis done for this dissertation. This is the largest part, with eleven chapters. Chapter 7 is an introduction to grammatical concepts and serves as a resource for community members to help interpret the grammatical descriptions in the subsequent chapters, which are results from analyzing a dataset of elicited words, phrases, and texts. Chapter 8 is the longest in the dissertation, describing the structure of verbs. Chapter 9 describes some of the enclitic particles and their common uses. Chapter 10 describes how nouns work, Chapter 11 describes modifiers and discusses the use of common modifiers, and Chapter 12 discusses postpositions and directionals, focusing on those that are frequently found in the texts. Chapter 13 discusses some function words that are important for making more complex sentences. Chapter 14 describes in more detail the grammatical structures of each line in one text, Pitch Woman, as told by Billy Metcalf to Elizabeth Jacobs. Then Chapter 15 discusses the ways that verb stems and a subset of verbal prefixes contribute meaning to the verb, Chapter 16 takes a close look at a subset of the contributing prefixes to describe and determine their use, and the last chapter of this section, Chapter 17, looks at the way one verb stem, 'a, changes meaning when combined with different contributing prefixes.

The fourth part, East, looks at how this research can be helpful in using the language. There are four chapters in this part: Chapter 18 discusses ways and techniques

to using a revitalized language, as well as why it is important and helpful to do. Chapter 19 discusses the creation of language materials from archival research, chapter 20 discusses the role of translation in language revitalization, and chapter 21 looks at how I have used language for myself and with my family.

Following these four parts, chapter 22 reflects on the implications of this work for each of my intended audiences, as well as laying out some future research directions. To wrap up the dissertation, there are three appendices. Appendix A includes the words discussed in chapter 5, on orthographic variation. Appendix B includes a portion of the texts glossed for this research; Appendix C gives some of the language materials discussed in chapter 19.

Due to the lack of cultural knowledge and the amount of separation from a full-blood Native in my lineage, I struggle with carrying authority of cultural ways. At the same time, thanks to circumstances and the actions of my father, I now find myself in a position where I can do this research and share this information about my language. As a Native woman I know it is my responsibility to tend to my people as best I can and with the unique gifts I am given, even though I sometimes wish others with a closer cultural connection had the responsibility I find myself with. For this reason, to tend to my people, I have researched and produced this document with good intentions. If there is anything in here that is offensive or hurtful, I beg forgiveness and acknowledge that I have proceeded with my work carefully, always considering the possible effects of my actions. That being said, I acknowledge that I lack cultural knowledge, which can mean that I am not aware or attuned to some things that could be hurtful to others. I also acknowledge that I feel a responsibility to share the little bit of knowledge that I have

acquired, and that this responsibility pushes me beyond the fears that I am not good enough, or not Native enough. I believe that what I do is healing to my communities and to this earth, and that the need for this healing takes precedence over my own self-doubt. Above all, I speak in gratitude to those that came before me and to those who will come after me.

sree-lhxvn-de naa-‘ash-i yushlh-ts ’it, an’ xwv-nish

‘and as long as we have love to give I know we will survive’

CHAPTER II – A BACKGROUND TO NUU-WEE-YA’

Nuu-wee-ya’ is a Pacific Coast Dene (Athabaskan) language traditionally from southern Oregon and Northern California. This chapter discusses Nuu-wee-ya’ classification and language relationships, the history of Nuu-wee-ya’ language loss and revitalization, and a description of the Nuu-wee-ya’ archival and grammatical materials. The word Nuu-wee-ya’ is a term used by the community to refer to all three broad dialect regions, as well as to the multiple varieties within each dialect. The communities that spoke Nuu-wee-ya’ survived an invasion and attempted genocide that fundamentally changed their reality (Whaley, 2002). These communities have endured generations of trauma and because of that, lost some of their knowledge. The language was severely minoritized; through the loss of first language speakers, Nuu-wee-ya’ became a sleeping language by 1990 (Golla, 2011).⁵

The attempted genocide of the Natives of western Oregon and southern California impacted many distinct cultural communities. It resulted in catastrophic loss of life, fractured communities and families, and interference with cultural transmission. Social inequality and boarding school experiences created a second wave of attempted cultural genocide, which was ultimately not successful due to the commitment of individuals and tribal entities that endeavored to preserve and pass on cultural traditions (Wilkinson, 2010).

We can see that this cultural genocide was not successful because today many people identify as an Oregon or California Native and practice their indigenous culture as

⁵ One family in the southern dialect has continued intergenerational language transmission through to the current time. The dedication and efforts of the Bommelyn family has profoundly impacted the revitalization efforts of Nuu-wee-ya’.

best they can. However, the language and culture were severely minoritized as the communities struggled for survival; they were minoritized to the point that nearly all families lost the ability to speak and teach their children their language. Now we are at a time in which the communities can and are turning towards cultural revival and language revitalization as a way to heal from the social atrocities that were committed in the past.

The first section (2.1) of this chapter offers a definition of the word Nuu-wee-ya' and an explanation for why it is used. This section also discusses the external relationship Nuu-wee-ya' has to other languages, as well as a description of the internal dialects and varieties. This chapter then goes on to provide a short history of the attempted genocide that led to the loss of Nuu-wee-ya' intergenerational transmission (2.2). This is followed by a short history of the creation of what is now a priceless archived language legacy memorialized through the efforts of honored speakers and interested researchers (2.3). Finally, this chapter describes the process of language revitalization, a global experience, from a Nuu-wee-ya' perspective (2.4). It is my hope that this chapter can provide insight and background so as to explain why this work is important and to whom it is important.

2.1 Defining Nuu-wee-ya'

This section describes the meaning of the name Nuu-wee-ya', the relationships Nuu-wee-ya' has to other languages, and the internal classification of the dialects of the language.

2.1.1 Definition of Nuu-wee-ya'

Nuu-wee-ya' is the language originally spoken by people who lived in Southwest Oregon and Northwest California, who made their homes in many villages located along the ocean and up the watersheds of the many rivers and creeks, including: Coquille River,

Sixes River, Elk River, Rogue River, Galice Creek, Applegate River, Illinois River, Pistol River, Chetco River, Winchuck River, Smith River, and Wilson Creek (Bommelyn, 2006). Each village, or general village region, had its own way of speaking, its own variety. These varieties can be grouped into dialect regions. The patterns of similarities and distinctions in these varieties are like a chain that reflect the geographic closeness between the original village locations (Golla, 2011).

This language has three main dialects, which have been considered two distinct yet closely related languages in previous linguistic research (Golla 2011, Spence 2013). Determination of languages versus dialects can be defined linguistically, based on the differences between varieties, or socially, based in the perceptions of speakers and community members. In my work I follow the socially-based decision that these three dialects constitute one language.

The word Nuu-wee-ya' means 'our language' and has been used by both modern and traditional community members to refer to all three dialect regions and the multiple varieties in each dialect.⁶ To consider these dialects as a single language is a decision that comes from the communities culturally connected to Nuu-wee-ya' and reflects the traditional viewpoints of the language as seen by comments made in the archival materials by elder-speakers (defined in chapter 3) as well as the modern community.

Different speakers, originally from different geographic regions and from different dialects are recorded talking about how all three dialects are the same language. J.P Harrington noted information from Hoxie Simmons, a Galice speaker: "Crescent City

⁶ In this sentence I use the word 'traditional' to refer to our elder speakers who have gone on.

[Tolowa], Chetco, Upper Coquille, and Galice in Hoxie's mother's people is one language with dialects" (Harrington, 28_40). Harrington also noted a statement from Chasta Costa speaker Wolverton Orton, "it was interesting to hear the older people talk, each a little different (dialect), and still understanding one another" (Harrington, 19_633). The remaining Tolowa elder-speaker describes all dialects as belonging to one language and all the villages as one people (Bommelyn, 2006: vi).

In the modern language revitalization context, many learner-speakers (defined in chapter 3) engage in learning both the southern and northern dialects and many would like to learn the eastern dialect as well.⁷ There are multiple reasons for learner-speakers to learn all dialects of Nuu-wee-ya', of which, I mention four here. The first reason is that it creates a larger speaker base -- when there are so few speakers to start with, limiting speaking to speakers of one's own dialect means that there are not many people to speak with. Opening up one's speaker base to all dialects allows there to be many more opportunities to speak. Another reason to learn about all dialects is that each dialect has grammatical components that are not yet understood; sometimes the answers can be found within the other dialects or through comparisons between the dialects. Learning each dialect helps grammatically-interested modern learner-speakers to sort out grammatical questions.

The third reason to focus on multiple dialects is to allow for it to be used as a badge of identity. Knowing the different dialects allows speakers to use a specific dialect as a badge of identity and still to be understood by others. This is not only a badge of

⁷ While there is a wealth of materials in the eastern dialect it remains the least processed and least available to modern learner-speakers.

identity but a way to acknowledge the different ways that people have learned Nuu-wee-ya'. This is described in a case study of how Tolowa Dee-ni' (dialect of Nuu-wee-ya') has been taught, in which a key strategy to supporting everyday speech is identified as “sharing the language to accommodate Tolowa sister varieties to be inclusive of how all folks learned to say things” (Underriner et al., 2021: 251). The fourth reason to work on multiple dialects is to reflect the traditions of the indigenous peoples of the west coast of the United States of America, who would usually know and speak multiple dialects and languages (Kroskrity, 2018: 133).

2.1.2 Nuu-wee-ya' Language relations

There are two ways that Nuu-wee-ya' is connected to other languages. The first is through genetic relationship and the second is through geographic relationship. Nuu-wee-ya' is a part of the Dene language family, a family with many languages, some of which are still spoken today by first language speakers. Dene was traditionally referred to as Athabaskan in linguistic literature, recent research has adopted a term reflective of the language (Krauss, 1987). Also, Nuu-wee-ya' was traditionally surrounded by languages from different language families. Language connections exist between communities that spoke different languages for multiple reasons, including cultural similarities between the communities, intermarriage traditions, and the normality of speaking multiple languages. Both types of language relations, through genetic language affiliation and through physical proximity, can inform the analysis and use of Nuu-wee-ya' today.

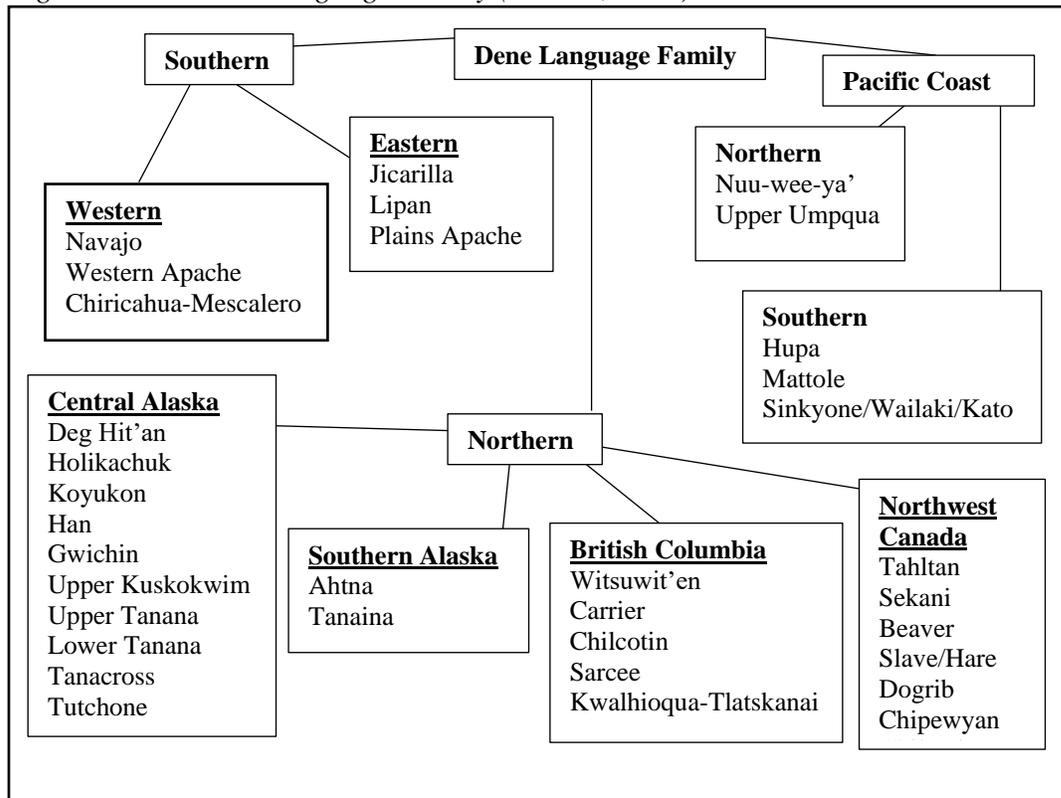
2.1.2.1 Dene language relations

Dene languages have three main branches: Northern, Southern and Pacific Coast (Mithun, 2001). The Pacific Coast branch of Dene languages is described as having two

distinct groups, usually referred to as the Oregon and California groups (Golla, 2011). I am using the terms Northern Pacific Coast Dene and Southern Pacific Coast Dene to avoid the confusion that comes with having an ‘Oregon’ dialect located in California, as is the case with Tolowa, spoken in the most southern dialect region of Nuu-wee-ya’.

Figure 1 shows the Dene family tree.

Figure 1. The Dene Language Family (Mithun, 2001).



There are two languages other than Nuu-wee-ya’ found in Oregon: Upper Umpqua and Kwalhioqua-Tlatskanai (Golla, 2011: 69-70).⁸ Each of these languages have minimal archival data.

⁸ Kwalhioqua-Tlatskanai are two varieties originally spoken in Oregon and Washington in villages located on each side of the Colombia river, Tlatskanai near the current town of Clatskanie, Oregon, and

In the Southern Pacific Coast Dene language family, there is one language, Hupa, that has maintained speakers, although it is severely endangered. Some of the other languages in this branch of the Dene language family are undergoing language revitalization efforts from archival materials, such as Wailaki (Begay, 2017; Begay, Spence & Tuttle, 2021).

The northern branch of the Dene family, located in Alaska and Canada, is the most prolific branch with at least 23 languages. The southern branch of the Dene language family has at least 6 languages (Mithun, 2001: 346). There are languages in both of these branches that still have speakers. Many of the languages in these two branches have received very detailed grammatical and phonological descriptions that have led to cross-Dene linguistic descriptions of language features that span the entire language family. Many languages of both branches have undergone community-based language revitalization efforts.

The Dene language family is one branch of the Na-Dene language family, which includes two other branches, each with only one language. These languages are Tlingit, with vibrant revitalization efforts and extensive grammatical analysis (Crippen, 2019) and Eyak with emerging revitalization programs (May, Smith, Holton, & Kaiser, 2019) and an extensive grammar published by the Na-Dene linguistic leader Michael Krauss before his death in 2019 (Krauss, 2015).

Kwalhioqwa across the river (Golla, 2011). While they were located in Oregon and across the river in Washington, they are classified as part of the British Columbia branch of the northern branch of Dene (Mithun, 2001).

Krauss's language research led efforts to reconstruct Proto-Dene and Proto-Na-Dene, research that has been continued by others (Leer, 1979; Kari, 2000). The reconstruction of the proto forms of Dene and Na-Dene are invaluable for determining forms and sounds in analysis to support language revitalization.

Recent work led by Vajda (2010) has linked the Na-Dene language family with Yeniseian language family in Siberia, providing researchers with the opportunity to explore the impact of thousands of years of language change through the comparison of all the languages.

2.1.2.2 Cultural neighbors and multi-cultural communities

The traditional territory of speakers of Nuu-wee-ya' was surrounded by the territories of peoples who spoke languages from completely different language families. In the traditional time, before people were removed from their homelands, there were lots of interactions between communities that spoke different languages. Many cultural aspects were similar, such as clothing styles and in some cases ceremony. This is especially pertinent because, following the tradition to marry outside of your village, people would seek potential mates from nearby villages regardless of the languages. This can be seen with the family of Coquille Thompson; Coquille, born before removal and one of the primary consultants for multiple researchers, grew up with his father and his father's two wives, one of whom was Upper Coquille and spoke a Dene dialect and one who was from further downriver and who spoke Hanis, a language in the Penutian language family (Seaburg, 2002: 3).

In the archival materials there are often overlaps in the data, with materials from different languages appearing in the notes. There are also words that are the same across

different languages, for example the word for ‘coyote’ in the northern dialect of Nuu-wee-ya’ is *sk’wii-tse* and the word for ‘coyote’ in Takelma (also of the Penutian language family), is *sgii-si* (Sapir, 1912) This is a close enough match that seems even closer with the common trend of ejective sounds (k’) to be pronounced as a voiced consonant (g) (Wright, Hargus & Davis, 2002).

These traditional connections have become more complex and important to language revitalization efforts since the creation of the reservations west of the Cascade Mountain Range in Oregon. The three main Oregon reservations in which Nuu-wee-ya’ speakers ended up, in Siletz, Grand Ronde and Coquille, also were the locations that many other tribes from around Oregon were sent. These tribes had different languages and cultures from Nuu-wee-ya’ speakers. The Confederated Tribes of Siletz was formed with speakers of at least 10 languages: Tillamook, Kalapuya, Chinook, Takelma, Klickitat, Molalla, Alsea, Siuslaw, Hanis/Miluk, Upper Umpqua and Nuu-wee-ya’ (Wilkinson, 2010). Coquille Indian Tribe was formed with speakers of primarily Nuu-wee-ya’ (upper Coquille) and Miluk, with Chinook Wawa spoken at this reservation as well. Grand Ronde was formed with speakers of at least 7 languages (with multiple dialects): Kalapuya, Chinook, Molalla, Umpqua, Takelma, Shasta, Klamath, and Nuu-wee-ya’. The trade language Chinook Wawa became a creole at Grand Ronde, as it became the first language of people on the reservation (Zenk & Johnson, 2010).

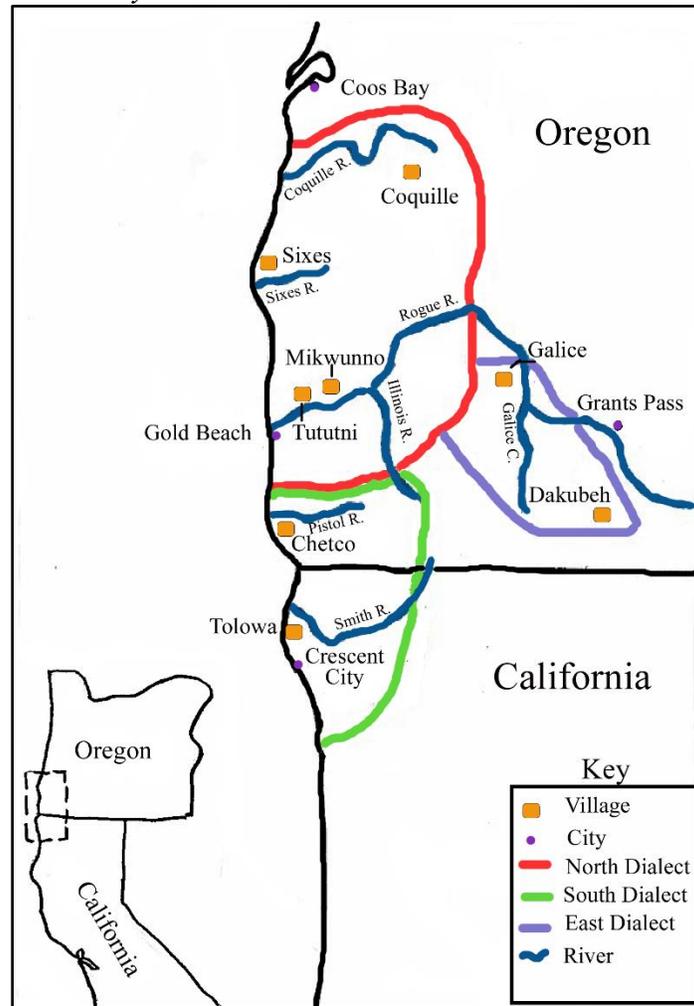
The interconnectedness of the languages across these Oregon tribes makes the relationships between Nuu-wee-ya’ and non-genetically related languages important because the modern community finds it to be pertinent. Comparing language similarities

between unrelated languages can indicate language borrowings, which can in turn inform cultural understandings that reflect the broader indigenous communities in Oregon.

2.1.3 Nuu-wee-ya' Internal Classification: Dialects and varieties

Within Nuu-wee-ya' there are three major dialect regions, these regions each containing multiple varieties. In the eastern dialect there are two major sub-varieties, Tashlhdalh (Galice) and Dakubeh (Applegate); minimal language material has been recorded of Dakubeh. Much has been recorded of Galice, but these materials have not been completely processed and analysis has not begun. In the southern dialect there are also two main sub-varieties, Tolowa and Chetco, however, as Chetco was relocated to Siletz with speakers of the northern and eastern dialects, the language went through some koineization processes that made it much more similar to the northern dialect (Spence, 2013: 18). In the north, there are two major subgroups, Upper Coquille and Lower Rogue River. Within the lower Rogue sub-dialect there are multiple varieties, some with unique characteristics. These varieties are named after the original villages and include (among other villages): Tututni, Joshua, Mikwanutni, Chasta Costa, Euchre Creek, Sixes, and Pistol River (Golla, 2011: 70). Only the first four listed were located on the Rogue River, the others located north and south of the Rogue along the ocean and along other watersheds. The locations of the three dialects are in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Map of Nuu-wee-ya' dialects.



The complexities of determining dialect distinctions are seen through the competing interpretations of Golla (2011: 70), that the North and East dialects are one language with the south dialect as a second language, in contrast to Spence's (2013: 266) determination through phylogenetic analysis that the North and the South are more similar, and the eastern dialect is more distinct. I do not dispute either claim except that I consider all three dialects to belong to one language. My label is based in social determination. Although the community might not agree with the decision that these dialects are different languages, Golla's and Spence's linguistic analyses help the

community to better understand the comparative differences between the dialects and varieties.

2.2 History of attempted genocide

There were multiple factors that contributed to the decline of the intergenerational transmission of Oregon indigenous culture and language. These factors span centuries and include disease, invasion, war, attempted genocide, forced removal, reservation trauma, boarding school experiences, tribal termination, and social inequality. These factors combine together to result in attempted and near cultural genocide, that is the death and loss of cultural knowledge and practices.

The decline of Nuu-wee-ya' began in social trauma that started through waves of sickness that wiped out a large portion of the population even before extended Euro-American presence with the region. Waves of sickness continued after contact, into the 1830s, with a malaria outbreak that further decimated the population (Cordes, 2021: 60; Whaley, 2002). At this time, many Euro-Americans were beginning to relocate to southern Oregon and northern California in search of furs and gold. Perhaps because of the attitude against Natives in the rest of the United States, the Euro-Americans treated the Natives in Oregon and California with hostility, even though initial encounters were friendly on the Natives' side (Whaley 2002) The friendliness of the Natives quickly turned to fear and mistrust as by the 1820s Natives and Euro-Americans began clashing with increasingly violent outcomes. In Oregon it came to all-out war from 1853-1855, and in California government policies of extermination resulted in near genocide (Whaley 2002).

How the violence played out in Oregon and California was different for the Nuu-wee-ya' speakers living in each region due to different leadership decisions made by the (Euro-American) leaders of Oregon and California. In California, the then governor decreed the capture and extermination of Natives, which was rewarded through payments for Native scalps (Madley, 2011: 183). In an attempt to eradicate the Natives, Tolowa villages were burned to the ground during ceremonial gatherings; many were removed from their homeland and moved to other locations, many stolen to be made slaves or servants. Those who survived and returned were granted a rancheria in 1906 now known as the Tolowa Dee-ni' Nation (Bommelyn, 1997: 5).

In Oregon, the Rogue River Indian Wars led to unratified treaties that forcibly removed the Natives by a 'trail of tears' with forced marches that led them hundreds of miles north away from their homeland. Many of the Nuu-wee-ya' speakers were taken to the Siletz and Grande Ronde Reservations, which were started in 1855 (Lewis & Kentta, 2010: 477).

Life at Siletz started out as 'prisoner of war' life due to the unratified nature of the treaties; conditions were so poor, and food was so scarce that many people died during the transition (Whaley, 2002). Siletz Reservation originally was formed in 1855 as the Coast reservation but was greatly reduced in size in 1875, when it began being referred to as Siletz Reservation. (Lewis & Kentta, 2010: 478-9).

Intergenerational transmission of Nuu-wee-ya' was further eroded for both Oregon and California speakers due to the US government policy of forcibly removing children from their families to attend boarding schools, where their language and culture was beat out of them. Further cultural inequality made it so that it was economically and

socially challenging to speak Nuu-wee-ya' anywhere but the reservation creating a loss of circumstances in which the use of Nuu-wee-ya' was accepted.

Back in the homeland in Oregon, some Natives remained, mainly woman who married miners and settled to raise their families. The descendants of such women, and others from the Coos Bay area, fought for and received tribal recognition as the Coquille Indian Tribe in 1929. Their efforts were led by George Bundy Wasson who lobbied Congress for 11 years (Wasson, 1994). Other Native women settled with their husbands in the Rogue valley and in doing so had to downplay their culture in such a way that cultural transmission stopped in these families much earlier than for the others on the reservation.⁹ The descendants of these women are trying to establish federal recognition through the non-profit Confederated Tribes of Lower Rogue.

Tribal termination in the 1950's further degraded any attempts to pass on culture and language, especially during the twenty years that passed before the tribes began to be federally recognized again. Siletz was recognized again in 1977, Grand Ronde in 1983 (Lewis & Kentta, 2010). The Coquille Indian Tribe gained recognition in 1989 (Younker, 2003).¹⁰

2.3 A language legacy – Archival materials and grammatical descriptions

Language materials on Nuu-wee-ya' varieties were recorded by various researchers at different times that spanned over one hundred years. These materials contain rich language and cultural information given by knowledgeable elder-speakers

⁹ My lineage comes from one of these women.

¹⁰ While most tribes have received federal status in the last thirty years, the Chinook Nation of Washington is still fighting to be acknowledged as an indigenous people (Johnson, 2017).

who worked closely with researchers collecting the data. There is a large body of handwritten notes, word lists and texts, as well as a body of recordings, some of which have a degraded audio signal that is hard to interpret. To refer to the total body of all the archival materials, I use the word *corpus*; to refer to particular groups of work done by an individual researcher I use the word *collection*. Within each collection are individual documents or recordings. Documents reflect particular notebooks or “schedules” with multiple pages and many individual tokens of language data, which are digitally stored as a single pdf document. Recordings reflect the contents of a particular wax record or tape and each has many individual tokens of language data stored digitally as .wav files.

I describe these archival materials in three sections. First, I briefly describe collections that I mostly did not consult (2.3.1), then I describe the substantial collections that were used in this research, either as sources for my primary datasets or for further reference (2.3.2). Third, I describe the published grammatical descriptions of Nuu-wee-ya’ varieties (2.3.3).

2.3.1 Collections not consulted

There are three types of collections I did not consult for this work. The first are small hand-written collections, the second is the body of audio materials and the third is the large collections on Galice and Tolowa.

There were some initial research forays in the 1850s that, while fascinating, do not contain answers to my larger grammatical questions because the data is less rich, or the interpretation of how the researchers wrote their language (their graphemes) is problematic. These collections include wordlists collected before removal by Kautz and Gibbs, as well as a schedule filled out by Everette (Kautz, 1855; Gibbs, 1851; Everette,

1882).¹¹ This is not to say that these collections do not contain valuable information; for example, they were key in Spence's (2013) work of picking apart the process of koineization that occurred at Siletz. However, the type of data they contain are not ideal for interpreting grammatical patterns as there are limited multiword or multiclausal examples.

I have not yet had the time or opportunity to extend my research into the audio recordings. These records can be hard to understand and take a lot of time to transcribe. I made the decision to exclude them in this research because I believe the work I am doing now can help myself or others who will analyze the audio files in the future. While these resources are rich and full of information, they are beyond the scope that I can manage at this time.

Additionally, I did not add the large collections of language from the southern or eastern dialects to my main data source. These include a large collection of stories provided by Hoxie Simmons of the eastern dialect and the Tolowa archival materials collected at Smith River. In a decision to limit the scope of my work, I decided to focus on one dialect region, the northern, as best I could. I also want to honor the work that is being done by members of the Tolowa Dee-ni' Nation by not duplicating it. I did consult the materials produced by the Tolowa Dee-ni' Nation to gain clarity when needed. My hope is that my work here can support future comparative collaborations.

¹¹ See section 2.3.2.1 for a description of a 'schedule'.

2.3.2 Substantial written collections within the corpus

The primary sources for my research were three substantial collections. I used two of the collections to create my primary datasets and referred to the third collection as needed to supplement my understanding. In this section I describe the two main collections I included in the datasets, collected by J. O. Dorsey and Elizabeth Jacobs, and I describe the third, a frequently-consulted collection, which was collected by JP Harrington.

2.3.2.1 The collection of J.O. Dorsey

At Siletz Reservation, James Owen Dorsey was the first to come and record substantive amounts of language materials on varieties from all three dialects (Seaburg, 1994). He used the “language schedule” designed by Powell (1880) as the basis of his elicitation. The schedule is contained in a hard bound book that includes over 70 pages of instructions on how to elicit language data as well as over 150 pages of semantically organized elicitation lists. These lists are called ‘schedules’ by Powell. Space is provided for the researcher to record the language authorities’ responses. A language authority is a person knowledgeable about their language that is provides information about their language.

In 1883, Dorsey filled in one of these books of schedules for 12 Nuu-wee-ya’ varieties, completing more of the lists for some varieties than for others (Dorsey, 1884a-n). Figure 3 shows an example of a page of the schedule Dorsey collected on the Tututni variety of Nuu-wee-ya’.

Figure 3. Excerpt from Dorsey's Coquille Schedule (NAA MS 375)

SCHEDULE 1.—PERSONS. (Carefully read § 1, Chapter II.)		77
ENGLISH		REMARKS.
1 Man	(1) <i>tu pne'</i> (2) <i>ta-ne' tci (s)</i>	
2 Woman	<i>toa-gé or to'a-gé (s)</i>	
3 Old man	<i>a'tca-yu (s), or a'tca-yea' né</i>	<i>he is getting old</i> / <i>ltis hós-stca</i>
4 Old woman	<i>tci-ckil-yu' né</i>	<i>she is getting old</i> / <i>tci-ckil-yu' né ltis hós-stca</i>
5 Young man	<i>nxai-wé-gé né</i>	
6 Young woman	<i>tci' sijn' né</i>	"girls ladies" or "young ladies."
7 Virgin	<i>tu gan-ti-né</i>	
8 Boy	<i>kés' e yá-sli</i>	<i>boy</i> / <i>kés' tci' é-é</i>
9 Girl	<i>tsa-gé tsé-gé</i>	<i>girl who has not had her catamenia, tu tsas' tén' né</i> (see preceding page)
10 Infant	<i>ka-yut' sük</i>	<i>infant</i> / <i>ka-yu</i>
11 Male infant	<i>tsé-gé yá-sli</i>	<i>tsé-gé yá-sli</i>
12 Female infant	<i>tsé-gé yá-sli</i>	<i>tsé-gé yá-sli</i>
13 Twins	<i>tci nas' yu ni-ni-la</i>	
14 Married man		
15 Married woman		
16 Widower	<i>kwán (a tutu);</i>	<i>tsa-ne' é-tait' his wife is dead.</i>
17 Widow	<i>tsa-si (" ")</i>	<i>tsi-né é-tait' her husband is dead</i>
18 Bachelor (old)	<i>tu wa-ti-né</i>	<i>né, relative pron. or classifier</i>
19 Maid (old)	<i>tu gan-ti-go-stca'</i>	
20 The old people		
21 The young people		
22 A great talker	<i>tu nu'-ac; ta'-gla-mi; or tla' yil-u-ci;</i>	<i>he talks all the time</i>
23 A silent person	<i>tu ná'a; or tu we-ya' go-li</i>	
24 Thief	<i>tsu-ksül' tsu-di; or qad'-ye'-é-ci.</i>	
newly married woman (sic)	<i>qa toa-gé (T)</i>	<i>in Shusha dialect, a middle aged woman</i>
girl alone (no mate)	<i>ti ná' xam-né</i>	<i>ti (alone); ná' xal' (walk); -né (she who)</i>
she has a child	<i>tsé' wí-ti'</i>	
I dwell there	<i>we-ha' toa-sta'</i>	

Dorsey worked with many people at Siletz and while he listed the names of the language authorities at the start of each schedule, he did not consistently say which authority provided information for which token. The varieties that were collected at Siletz by Dorsey are: Tututni, Joshua, Mikwanutni, Chasta Costa, Euchre Creek, Sixes, Upper Coquille, Dakubeh (Applegate), Tashlhdalh (Galice), Chetco, Naltunne, and Tolowa (Wang, 2014: 54). He also collected information on other languages spoken at Siletz,

including: Upper Umpqua (another Dene language), Yaquina, Alsea, Siuslaw, Lower Umpqua, Takelma, Shasta, and Klickitat.

Table 1. Varieties and authorities consulted by Dorsey.

Variety	folder	pg #	Authorities
Applegate	372	19	Rogue River John
Galice	373	53	Yacltun or Galice Creek Jim, Peter Muggin
Chasta Costa	374	26	Government George, Tatelatun or John, Jake Orton
Upper Coquille	375	112	Coquille Thompson Solomon
Chetco	376	87	Baldwin Fairchild
Mikwunu	377	44	William Simpson
Tututni /Joshua	378	375	Alex Catfish Chas Shellhead Dan Jordan E-na-ti Henry Clay Ki-sa or depot Charlie Jake Rooney Larkey Logan Norman Strong Alex Ross Shem Lafayette William Strong
Joshua (Mainly CW)	379	23	Henry Clay Alex Catfish
Yuki	386	31	James Warner Sr.
Sixes	387	49	Jake Rooney Jake Stuart
Naltunne	388	177	Alex Ross
Smith River	389	14	Smith River John

Table 1 indicates the Nuu-wee-ya' varieties that he worked on, the associated folder number for the document that contains the information on each variety, the length of the document, and which authorities gave information. Some of the authorities that provided information in Tututni also provided information in other varieties. The

schedule collected on Sixes does have some Dene words, but the majority of the entries are in Chinook Wawa, which is the local trade language that became a creole and is not a member of the Dene language family.

The sheer size of this collection is amazing, providing us with the broadest synchronic panorama of Nuu-wee-ya' varieties. However, Dorsey had trouble distinguishing some sounds, particularly the retroflex 'sr' so some of his words have to be compared with other collections for accuracy of interpretation.¹² Also, while there is a large amount of data, it is filled with duplicate grammatical and lexical information, as he asked the same questions to multiple speakers. While this provides with a great opportunity to compare these varieties, it does not add as much new information as one would hope based on the size. Also, Dorsey did his grammatical analysis prior to Sapir's and Boas's initial analysis of Dene languages and while he grasped some of the patterns, his interpretations might have led him to ask questions that did not illuminate the full extent of the grammar.

I used this collection for my analysis of cognate stems to help interpret the variation in the datasets, and target which variations reflect dialect differences (chapters 5-6). Cognate stems is when an authority of one variety gave the same word (with potential phonological or morphological distinctions) rather than an entirely different word.

¹² The sound *sr* is written here in the modern orthography, this sound corresponds to the IPA /ʂ/.

2.3.2.2 The Jacobs collection

Elizabeth Jacobs and her husband Melville Jacobs worked closely with Nuu-wee-ya' speakers at Siletz from 1935-1939 (Seaburg, 1982, 1994). This work is part of a much larger amount of research that Melville Jacobs did on many Northwest languages; this research is housed in the Jacobs collection at the University of Washington libraries in Seattle. This impressive collection contains valuable resources on many Oregon and California languages. The couple worked together collecting materials on Nuu-wee-ya'. Melville collected multiple notebooks of elicitations and stories in the eastern dialect, Tashlhdalh (Galice) from Hoxie Simmons and some Chasta Costa data (Seaburg, 1994).¹³ Elizabeth Jacobs recorded multiple notebooks full of English cultural notes written in English, predominantly from informant Coquille Thompson. She also recorded one notebook of texts told in Chetco by Billy Metcalf and two notebooks of elicitation provided by Ida Bensell. She additionally filled one notebook full of her grammatical understandings of the language (Jacobs, 72, 108, 109, 111). In Figure 4, we see an example from Jacobs' word and phrase elicitation notebook and in Figure 5, we see an example from Jacobs' text elicitation notebook. In Figure 6, we see an excerpt from her notebook dedicated to describing the grammar.

In this research I wanted to focus on the northern dialect, so I work from Elizabeth Jacobs' work, leaving Melville Jacobs's analysis on Tashlhdalh for a later time. Her notebooks are primarily in the northern dialect as, by this time, the Chetco dialect had shifted to sound more like the northern dialect, except in the case of specific lexical items (Spence 2013: 18). Therefore, even though her work contains materials on varieties

¹³ Melville also collected language information on other languages spoken at Siletz.

originally from the north and the south, the grammar and sounds more represent the northern dialect.

Figure 4 Jacobs' elicitation. (Jacobs, 108).

	3.
dawí xem i'la n'í'li	How old are you?
wá'ts'ón h'á'li	good looking
de'm s'uxi	ugly
nás,	tall
d'ím d'uk,	short
sá' d'ya,	slam oak
tas d'ól ma,	dipper (cup)
tan x'aldza,	wooden bowl
x'aldza,	bucket
mól me's	knife
te'í te'í'ón i'ya,	fork (held it down w/ it)
t'í' t'ea	(grass/water beaker)

Figure 5. Jacobs' collected texts. (Jacobs, 72).

Chaco Tr. 1
 Chaco Tr. 1
 Six x'at's l' d'ali
 "ya' n'wa' papa"
 They didn't know where they would take.
 d'ino' ya't d'ól ma kat du ya ye t' h'it
 dot x'un sa t' ^{ye t's'ia} ^{ye'le} they know what they are bringing
 kat Post Office kat x'omá's
 at, " " they got into boat
 ye sa g'it ma kat du kat
 that big boat
 ya Columbia ki ye gi' t's' took the
 kat du Ore. city x'wón kat ~~h'at~~
 yod. k. up to " it took the
 kat da wita' l' si kat de ja' x'a' la
 they stayed several months
 yet ádu jam tas t' e' l' ma' la
 now they started up this way
 kat du kat dji ná g'at
 they took came to stay
 kat nus mi' x' na' la
 they stay there
 kat adu du dot nu t's' n' i' t' na
 on ya na' t' am i' t' na now they live there

Figure 6. Excerpt from Jacobs grammatical notebook (Jacobs, 110).

4. Verbo classes

Stems with ~~no~~ no classifier i. e. zero class
 Verbs include ~~the largest~~ comprise the largest
 single class of verbs in Chaco Co. Co. Co.
 These group contains ~~the~~ the truly intransitive
 verbs and a few ^{transitive} transitive whose roots
 clearly indicate ~~the~~ the character
 either of the object or the instrument.

Examples of instrument (verbs)

ni' me. x'at's it he painted his face
 t' yim' g' sa he covered it (with dirt)
 i' sa cook it (in hot ashes)
 t' e' w' c g' e' t I'm speaking at it.
 x' e' g' e' t I poke it.
 co' s' g' w' a' t it's stinging me
 x' a' n' s' ta' t' s' i' g' o' c a boat is being pulled
 into the water
 na' t' a' c' x' a' t' e I'll pull it out for you (fish)

In her notebooks she noted over 3000 lines of elicited words and phrases from the Euchre and Sixes speaker Ida Bensell and over 1800 lines of text from the Chetco speaker Billy Metcalf. Elizabeth had a great ear, although she also had challenges interpreting the difference between the normal ‘s’ and the retroflex ‘sr’.¹⁴ She had a separate notebook in which she writes in detail about the grammatical findings on the Chasta Costa variety, which was collected by her husband. Her work is a substantive yet manageable amount of information that provides a great resource to explore and understand the grammatical structures of the northern dialect. I use Jacobs’ materials to describe the grammatical features of Nuu-wee-ya’.

2.3.2.3 The collection of J.P. Harrington

In 1942, J.P. Harrington who, is famous for writing over a million pages of handwritten notes about Native American languages, spent time at Siletz (Woodward & Macri, 2005). He worked with many authorities on Oregon Dene languages. A majority of these pages are elicited words or phrases, but there are also stories written in English and cultural information. Harrington worked with the following authorities at Siletz: Ada Collins (Tututni/Mikwanu), Miller Collins (Mikwanu) Lucy Smith (Tututni, Chasta Costa, Chetco, Tolowa), Wolverton Orton (Chasta Costa), Coquille Thompson (Upper Coquille) and Hoxie Simmons (Galice) (Mills, 1981: 72-3). He additionally worked with the following authorities at Smith River: Norman George, Jenny Scott, Ben White, Johnny [Lopez?] (Mills, 1981: 72). Altogether, on all three dialects of Nuu-wee-ya’ Harrington wrote nearly 3000 pages of hand-written notes. Harrington also sent his student, John Marr, to record stories and elicitation from many of these informants on

¹⁴ Modern orthography is discussed in chapters 7 and 19.

wax discs. These valuable recordings were poorly recorded, leaving sub-par results. However, recent digitization efforts done by the Smithsonian Institution has scanned the original discs with lasers, which produces a better (although still challenging) sound quality.

I consulted these materials when I had questions with regard to what I was seeing in the Jacobs dataset.

2.3.2 Grammatical work published on Nuu-wee-ya'

There have been three published documents about the grammar structures of Nuu-wee-ya' written by outsider researchers, and a substantial amount of grammatical information written by Tolowa speaker Loren Me'lashne Bommelyn.

In 1906, Edward Sapir stayed at Siletz Reservation to work on Takelma, a neighboring language unrelated to Nuu-wee-ya'. This research ended up in his dissertation and in multiple subsequent books (Sapir, 1912, 1914; Benedict, 1939). During this time, he lived with Wolverton Orton, a Chasta Costa speaker and "at odd moments Mr. Orton and the writer [Sapir] whiled away the time with Chasta Costa' (Sapir, 1914; 273). These odd moments led to a 72-page grammar of Chasta Costa that describes the phonology and morphology of the language.

In 1956, Hoijer was informed by Jacobs that Galice speaker Hoxie Simmons was still alive (Hoijer, 1973). Hoijer then made recordings which, along with Jacobs' texts collected in the 30s, informed a 10-page Galice grammar (Hoijer, 1966) and an article on Galice noun and verb stems (Hoijer, 1973).

Hojjer's student (and esteemed Dene scholar in his own right) Victor Golla has done substantive work on the California Dene language Hupa. He also worked with and recorded Ida Bensell in the mid-1960s (Golla, 1976; Spence 2013). He produced a companion Tututni grammar to Hoijjer's Galice Grammar that follows a similar format and is also 10 pages long.

Loren Me'lashne Bommelyn, in efforts to create materials for his community, has produced a dictionary (Bommelyn & Humphrey, 1989), a phrase book with two editions (1995; 2006) and grammatical descriptions in his thesis *Prolegomena to the Tolowa Athabaskan Grammar* (1999). After trials with Unifon and IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) alphabets, Bommelyn helped develop the modern speech orthography that has been adopted by most if not all learner-speakers. This alphabet is discussed in greater detail in chapter 5. Bommelyn continues to explore grammar, working with and teaching his family and community.

While, these previously published grammatical documents provide much information, as a learner myself, exploring them left many unanswered questions. These questions were part of my initial drive to do this work.

2.4 Language revitalization - a global experience from a Nuu-wee-ya' perspective

This section defines the process of language revitalization, its nature as a global experience and describes Nuu-wee-ya' language revitalization work.

2.4.1 Defining Language revitalization

Language revitalization is a process that includes all the steps of supporting community language growth (Hinton & Hale 2001). This process occurs when a

community sees a loss of language use in the community (either by certain generations or by everyone) and wants to reverse the loss of language use in some way (Hinton 2013). This process includes accessing archival materials, development of teaching methods and curriculum, language teaching, learning language, and of course, speaking language (Hinton 2011).

Today many traditional, indigenous and/or minority languages have become sleeping languages, sharing with extinct languages that they have stopped being spoken, but differing in that they have archival language materials (Leonard, 2011). Analysis and description of such archival materials can allow modern learner-speakers to learn how to speak their language. In North America, these archival materials were previously gathered by linguists, explorers, and researchers who traveled to reservations to elicit data. These archival materials are often hard to read and incomplete, but they are invaluable to communities awakening their language because they provide a link from long gone speakers to modern community members. They contain all the patterns and vocabulary from which modern speakers can learn. While the Bommelyn family has been one Nuu-wee-ya' family to continue intergenerational transmission, revitalization on Nuu-wee-ya' mostly relies on archival language materials.

The experiences of the communities revitalizing Nuu-wee-ya' are shared by communities across North America and around the world. The National Breath of Life Archival Institute for Indigenous Languages is a program that that provides training in archival research for language revitalization. Since 2011, the institute has provided training to 135 Community Researchers from 65 Native American language communities. Other Breath of Life workshops have also occurred at various archive repositories. The

initial Breath of Life workshop started in Berkeley, focusing on California languages; this workshop has been occurring every even-numbered year since 1996, each time bringing over 60 community members and 30 linguists to work together (Baldwin, Hinton, & Pérez Báez, 2018). The participation in Breath of Life institutes and workshops shows that many people are engaging with archival materials to learn their language, which in turn demonstrates the relevance of this work to a broader community than Nuu-wee-ya’.

When a language is sleeping or endangered, the process of supporting its use has been called language revitalization (Hinton & Hale, 2001; Hinton, 2003; Tsunoda, 2005; Fishman, 2006). Over the last few decades, there is a steadily growing movement in which communities are undertaking language revitalization; alongside this movement, researchers both contribute to and study this work (Hinton & Ahlers. 1999; Hinton, 2011; Campbell 2011, Olthuis, Kivalä & Skutnabb-Kangas, 2013; Zahir, 2019, Pérez Báez et al. 2019, Hinton et al. 2018, Olko & Sallabank, 2021).

One crucial element that has a major impact on the nature of language revitalization work is whether the community still has access to first language speakers. When a language has no speakers, it must be learned from analysis of archival materials, a process that recently gained its own name: ‘language reclamation’, particularly in work done in Australia (Amery, 2016). This term has been given a deeper meaning by some to include all components of a “larger effort” (Leonard, 2012) needed to support the rights to speak one’s own indigenous language after a point in time that it has been taken away (Leonard, 2007). There is a clear relationship between the two uses of this term, as the “larger effort” needed to undertake all the aspects of language reclamation requires archival research so that a particular community or speaker can learn and use their

language. Language reclamation is a sub-type of revitalization work (Pérez Báez et. al, 2019: 466). This process requires a great deal of linguistic analysis of the archival materials. Doing linguistics for the sake of language reclamation can differ from other forms of linguistic analysis because the questions, methodological process and findings are all driven by social justice and community goals of language acquisition rather than by theoretical interests. In this paper, I refer to this type of research as ‘archive-based research for revitalization’, a type of research in the field of ‘Native American philology’.¹⁵

2.4.2 Archive-based research for revitalization

Archival research has been a tried-and-true component of linguistic research for generations of linguists. This research has often focused on the reconstruction of an earlier form of a language, classification of languages into families, or on understanding the process of language change and grammaticalization. The application of archival analysis to support language revitalization is a newer phenomenon. The issues associated with archival-based language revitalization were introduced to the linguistic community by the work of Jessie little doe Baird (Baird, 2013) on her language Wampanoag and the efforts on Myaamia led by Daryl Baldwin and his family (Baldwin, et al. 2013) and supported by institutes such as Breath of Life. The focus of archival research in support of language revitalization is to reconstitute knowledge of a sleeping or highly endangered language so that people may learn to use it again (Evans, 2011). While the process of investigation is similar to traditional linguistic research, the social component of the

¹⁵ For more information in Native American philology please visit this model presented by the National Breath of Life. <https://www.miamioh.edu/myaamia-center/breath-of-life/about/philology-model/index.html>

research and the connection to language revitalization communities gives archival research a different character.

2.4.3 Nuu-wee-ya' language revitalization

Nuu-wee-ya' has been considered a sleeping language. Golla (2011: 74) states that each variety lost their last fully-fluent first language speakers before the 1990s. In reality, there has been an impressive level of inter-generational language transmission of Tolowa for some families and transmission of at least single lexemes in some families of the other two dialects. Loren Me'lashne Bommelyn, Tolowa speaker and cultural leader, is referred to as the last fluent speaker of Tolowa; a distinction seen and acknowledged by many community members. Golla (2011: 74) acknowledges Loren's success and refers to his success as creation of a "New Tolowa". Whether it is a 'new' Tolowa or a just language change, Bommelyn's vision and work have impacted his children, who are raising his grandchildren in Tolowa. This adds a level of complexity to understanding the status of Nuu-wee-ya', as for many community members, the language has indeed been sleeping while for one family in one variety, it has stayed awake. This awareness has profoundly impacted all learner-speakers of Nuu-wee-ya'.

Beginning in the 1980s, Tolowa Dee-ni' Nation community members, created a viable language revitalization process that has resulted in high school classes, as well as at-home language revitalization projects with children learning Tolowa as their first language (Bommelyn & Tuttle, 2018). The Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians, after working with Tribal elders and with the Tolowa Dee-ni' Nation in the late 1990s and early 2000s, now teach from materials based on that collaboration, and on archival materials collected from elders at Siletz (Wilkinson, 2010: 377). The longtime language

teacher at Siletz, Bud Lane, has created valuable programs and an online language resource that has supported language classes on the reservation as well as the tribal office in Eugene, Oregon. Gilbert Towner, my first language teacher, was a speaker from Siletz who had spoken his variety until he was 6. He began working independently of the Tribe in 2001 to teach Tututni to a group of willing learners, descendants of those who remained in southern Oregon and did not go to the reservation. This community is not federally recognized, but they are organized under the non-profit Confederated Tribes of Lower Rogue. In 2003, the Coquille Indian Tribe began to work with Gilbert Towner as well to start language revitalization efforts. Both communities, Coquille and Confederated Tribes of Lower Rogue, worked with Gilbert until his death in 2009. Today, there are classes and language projects occurring in four different communities: Confederated Tribes of Siletz, Coquille Indian Tribe, Tolowa Dee-ni' Nation, and Confederated Tribes of Lower Rogue. My family and several others are committed to awakening Nuu-wee-ya' by raising children in the language. We are becoming learner-speakers, that is, speakers who are learning as we go.

Part 1
South
Planning

CHAPTER III – INDIGENOUS AND ARCHIVAL-BASED METHODOLOGIES

This chapter describes the methodologies that impacted the research frame of this work. There are two types of contributing methodological frameworks. The first is Indigenous methodologies, an approach to research that prioritizes relationality, the needs of community, and incorporation of indigenous epistemological models. Inclusion of this type of methodology supports social justice, equality, representation of minoritized knowledge and an expansion in academia to welcome and acknowledge all human knowledge. The second type of methodology reflects the needs and characteristics of archive-based research for revitalization. This chapter first explores indigenous methodologies (3.1) and how I implemented them in my work (3.2). Then this chapter turns to archive-based methodologies by discussing the contributing factors to archival work (3.3) and approaches to these factors (3.4).

3.1 Indigenous methodology

Indigenous methodologies are research frameworks that incorporate indigenous worldviews and knowledge. This section first describes unique features of Indigenous knowledge. It then describes the development of the incorporation of Indigenous knowledge in academia. Finally, it describes how using indigenous methodologies, when applicable, can improve the presentation and interpretation of research as well as support social justice and provide representation.

3.1.1 Indigenous knowledge

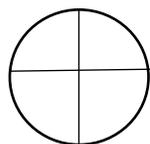
Indigenous knowledge is as diverse as the multitudes of sovereign communities from which the views originate. However, all have in common the centrality of

relationality, that is the belief that ‘everything is related’ (Wilson, 2008: 80). Indeed, Wilson (2001: 178) describes how the primary difference between western and indigenous perspectives of research comes from the indigenous perspectives of relationality. Brayboy et. al (2012) reiterates that relationality is the distinctive feature of indigenous research methods and describes three other characteristics that are wrapped up in the concept of relationality: respect, responsibility, and reciprocity. These four characteristics are interwoven components that reflect the indigenous worldview of the interconnectedness of all. The result of the belief that fundamentally everything is interconnected and the belief that respect, responsibility, and reciprocity fundamentally results in research directed towards the support of the collective rather than for individual advancement.

3.1.1.1 ‘All my relations’ and an indigenous epistemological device

A phrase used frequently across indigenous communities in North America is ‘all my relations’ (Whiteman, 2009: 103). This phrase reflects the belief of the interconnectedness of all things – not just human relatives but everything, including the four-leggeds (animals), the winged (birds), the one-leggeds (plants), the creepy-crawlies (bugs), the children of mother earth (rocks and stones), and the mysteries. This phrase is often connected to the symbol of the four directions, which is a round circle with a plus sign extending to or beyond the circle, as seen in Figure 7.

Figure 7. The symbol of the four directions



This symbol reflects the concept of interconnectedness and relationality. Each direction represents a different aspect that when combined together represents everything in creation. This symbol is used in ceremony, as a badge of indigenous identity, and is used frequently by indigenous writers as an intellectual model to convey information. Wilson (2001) uses this model in his work after first abstracting the model from the specific teaching of the four directions, which can vary from culture to culture. Wilson used the abstract concept of the four directions to represent the four components of the indigenous paradigm. He defines paradigm as “a label for a set of beliefs” (2001: 175) and describes the four components of the indigenous paradigm as: ontology, epistemology, axiology, and methodology (2001: 176). He points out that these four components are “inseparable and blend from one into the next” (2008: 70). Calliou (1995; 54) uses the four directions to illustrate a model of peacekeeping pedagogy. Roy (1998) uses the four directions as an education model and Absolon (2010) uses the four directions to describe indigenous social work practice. These examples are just drops in the bucket of indigenous academic work that incorporates the four directions.

This model has been so frequent that its validity has even been critically examined by indigenous scholars. Gone (2019 from a talk in 2014) pointed out that indigenous knowledge is so different from academic knowledge that by the time it is applied to academia it is so far transformed that it cannot retain indigeneity. He also brings up the concern that focus on the form (e.g. organizing materials into the four directions) is not to replace the actual research and his concern was that the desire to express indigeneity could “emphasize form more than findings” (2019: 47) His initial talk, described in this article, led to a response from Windchief et al. (2017) that

indigenous methodologies are “unique ways researchers use Indigenous positionality and perspective to perform research with and within Indigenous communities . . . [that] center and privilege the Indigenous community’s voice(s) in an effort to contribute to the community” (p. 533).” (Gone, 2019: 52). This response shifted Gone’s critical viewpoint to a viewpoint of indigenous methodologies that did not limit them to exist outside of academia.

In my experience, the four directions are a symbol used across ‘turtle island’ (indigenous term for North America) to express, claim, and celebrate indigeneity as well as a tool for introspection. One can find it on many ‘Native-themed’ shirts or hats, and is a common tattoo and art symbol. In some indigenous cultures the structure and form of ceremonies is based on the four directions, such as the inner circle of the Sundance, a circle with gates to each of the four directions. When entering a sweat lodge, many people will turn first to each direction before entering; I was taught this was to acknowledge all of creation and especially the spirits of the directions. My father taught me to use the four directions as a contemplation tool when needed, he taught me to face each direction and think about what I have been taught about that direction and think about my issue or question and consider how the lessons of that direction apply.

3.1.1.2 Research is ceremony – stepping with indigeneity

Another theme across indigenous academic writings is the sacred or ceremonial nature of research. I have heard similarly from people doing language revitalization, that the practice of learning their language is like a ceremony. To me, it seems that this sense of sacredness is due to the underlying notion of relationality, because if one is connected to everything, that includes the unknown and sacred just as much as anything else.

Wilson describes the connection of research and ceremony.

Something that has become apparent to me is that for indigenous people, research is a ceremony. In our cultures an integral part of any ceremony is setting the stage properly. When ceremonies take place, everyone who is participating needs to be ready to step beyond the everyday and to accept a raised state of consciousness. You could say that the specific rituals that make up the ceremony are designed to get the participants into a state of mind that will allow for the extraordinary to take place, as one Elder explained it to me: if it is possible to get every single person in a room thinking about the exact same thing for only two seconds, then a miracle will happen. It is fitting that we view research in the same way—as a means of raising our consciousness. (Wilson, 2008: 69)

The term ‘ceremony’ contains the concept of process or procedure, that is the steps needed to put a ceremony together. Wilson pointed this out with the sentence “an integral part of any ceremony is setting the stage properly”. A Native ceremony will often need different steps; for a particular ceremony wood will be needed to be gathered and processed for the fire, any altar elements will need to be gathered and constructed, ceremonial tools such as feathers, instruments, or herbs need to be ready and usually a feast and/or a giveaway need to be prepared. Then the people gather and the ceremony begins its journey through the ritual steps that carry it through to completion. Through undergoing this process, the people involved may receive insights or new understanding of themselves and the world.

In my experience, ceremony is a reflection of life. To me, ceremony is about committing to a walk of life that is expressed, celebrated and reflected through undergoing a ritual process. I see a research process as similar to a Sundance commitment, which is where an individual will make a commitment to dance for so many days over four years. People make Sundance commitments for many reasons, often for a personal or community-oriented prayer or expression of gratitude, which they actuate

through the process of preparing and undertaking the ceremony. Likewise, a researcher commits to a question and undergoes the process of learning, designing, analyzing, and presenting their findings.

3.1.1.3 Ceremony is research – sovereignty of indigenous science

The discussion of ceremony brings up a vital acknowledgement that ultimately, indigenous knowledge is sovereign and does not need academia. The complexity of knowledge needed to live as one with nature, the complexity of knowledge encased in ceremonies, songs and stories reflect a science, a knowledge system that is sovereign from colonial-framed knowledge. Indeed, there would be no need to try to weave these knowledges together if not for the social injustices that caused peoples to lose their knowledges, and so need to engage with academia to get their indigenous knowledge back. Academia, as it is now does not seem to *need* indigenous knowledge; if indigenous peoples decided to withdraw from society, academia would keep plugging away. However, academia would then not represent all of human knowledge so if that is a desired component of academia, then space must be made for the inclusion of indigenous knowledge.

One result of the colonization of indigenous communities is the subjugation of indigenous knowledge. Too many people, wise and knowledgeable, believe they are lesser than ‘educated folk’ because they do not understand academic society. My hope is that with continued inclusion of indigenous knowledge, our intelligent indigenous knowledge bearers can be acknowledged by community and by themselves for their wisdom. Additionally, it is my hope that the spark of indigenous intelligence is

recognized and incorporated into academia through the actions of indigenous knowledge bearers in academia.

The inclusion of indigenous knowledges is critical to Academia if it is to represent all human knowledge, rather than only colonial-framed knowledge. This supports all of humanity to further knowledge in an inclusive way. The inclusion of indigenous knowledge benefits academia in that diverse perspectives lead to new connections and new discoveries (Keane, Khupe, Seehawer, 2017). It also benefits academia because acknowledging and making space for indigenous voices addresses a darkness in the history of the institution that comes from the way that indigenous communities have been treated during research. For many indigenous communities, the word ‘research’ has become a bad word (Smith, 1999: 1). This is because of the academia-centric methodology behind generations of research which made indigenous peoples ‘subjects’ of research that didn’t benefit and often damaged a community. Thus, incorporating space for indigenous voices to speak authentically can address the prior abuse.

3.1.2 The value of Indigenous methodologies

Indigenous methodologies can deeply benefit research because they can help the researcher convey their research in an appropriate way. The use of these methodologies can apply whenever appropriate and can create a deeper synergy between the researcher and their audience.

From my perspective, attempting to make my findings fit into a more traditional academic model would make them unexciting and inconclusive. I believe this due to the experience of trying to explain my work through traditional linguistic methods and being

told by my teachers and advisors that they just do not understand my point. Indeed, the limited amount of available linguistic materials to support my claims made my analysis seem all the weaker in a traditional linguistic lens. When I shifted to the perspective that the underlying question is ‘how as learner-speakers do we access our linguistic knowledge from archives and use it’, then my findings made more sense, and at least to me became rather exciting.

Historical repair and social justice can be more likely prioritized under an Indigenous methodological approach because decolonization is front and center in Indigenous methodologies. Most importantly, Indigenous research acts as both social justice and as representation, so that the work being done now can open the way for our future indigenous scholars.

3.2 The act of reclaiming and the lost generation

Trauma and violence caused by colonization and nation-building occurred across turtle island, resulting in catastrophic impacts to the indigenous communities. It has become a common experience for a person to know they are indigenous, but that they have limited or no information on their culture. I speak to this, as it is my own experience and one I have commonly seen in my interactions with indigenous people across turtle island. There is one or more generations of people who are indigenous, know they are indigenous, and yet do not know about their culture. My father was one of these people. In seeing his experience and the experience of others like him, I have taken to calling my dad’s generation the ‘lost generation’.

The act of reclaiming indigeneity has been occurring in many ways. The types and methods are not my primary concern here, just the acknowledgment that this is a

process that has been ongoing in the United States of America for many decades, since at least the American Indian Movement (AIM) and the Freedom of Indigenous Religions Act. This section first discusses the importance of cultural reclamation and why it is important to our current discussion of indigenous knowledge. Then it explores how I came to learn about indigenous knowledge from my father, a member of the lost generation.

3.2.1 Reclaiming indigeneity

The word ‘reclaiming’ has been frequently used in regard to language revitalization. In Australian literature it has been used to signify learning language from archival materials (Amery, 2016). In the United States of America, this term has been used to refer to the act of taking back culture, and act that can include language but refers to all aspects of what it means to reassert and claims one’s indigeneity (Leonard, 2012). Even though this word has been used in multiple fashions, I use it here as the best way to express the action of someone taking back what belongs to them.

Fundamentally, the need to reclaim exists because something was wrongfully taken, such as language and cultural experiences were taken from children at boarding schools. In the case of indigenous cultures worldwide, it was cultural information that was taken. The act of taking back this culture has not stopped occurring. I honor the previous and current generations of indigenous peoples who fought to keep, learn, and share indigenous knowledge. Many Tribes have had now long-running programs that teach culture to their children. However, there has been an additional effort that has targeted all Native students, regardless of tribal affiliations. The Indian Education Act of 1972 and the Native American Languages Act of 1990 created a way for Native people to

educate their youth within the public school system and create a safe space to foster, teach and celebrate indigeneity (Sabzalian, 2019). This program has been integral for children to develop and maintain an indigenous identity even when separated from their own culture due to a lack of knowledge.

For some people who have grown up in, or at least participated in Indian Ed, there is deep knowing of one's indigeneity, but a lack of knowledge on the specifics of one's indigeneity. This lack of knowledge creates a situation in which a person must actively seek out information about their culture. This is, of course, not the experience of all participants of Indian ed., nor of the many families that have been able to continue transmitting cultural information across the generations, however it is my experience and a fundamental reason why I have undertaken this work.

3.2.2 Learning indigeneity from the lost generation

I present a self-examination of my role in this research because my experience has critically impacted how and why this research occurred. I come from a family in which intergenerational transmission of indigenous knowledge was stopped at least two generations before me. This brings up the question as to how and why I can talk about indigenous knowledge. This question is extremely pertinent, as the experience of a family losing intergenerational transmission is common. Yet intergenerational transmission can be regained through an individual or family choosing and seeking out indigeneity in their life. This is what happened in my family because of the choices of my father, who knew he was part Native and yet who, as a young man was discouraged by his part-Native father to seek out indigeneity. My father stayed away from indigenous culture until, years later, after becoming a father, he experienced indigenous culture at a local Powwow. It

created such a deep healing in him that he continued to seek it out for himself and his kids. This choice made by my father brought me into contact with indigenous culture my entire life and created experiences that have led me to have an inkling of indigenous knowledge and the passion to choose indigeneity in my life. This section describes the different phases of my father learning about indigeneity that ultimately led our family to learn our heritage language, Nuu-wee-ya'.

I acknowledge that there is an idealization of what it means to have indigenous knowledge. I would describe this ideal version of knowledge as what is created in a person growing up speaking their language, having experiential (real-life) knowledge of living in relationship with ecological environments, participating in ceremony or cultural rituals, and contemplation of the world from the perspective of these experiences. There are many people who match this description; they are precious, and I hope they are celebrated in their communities. However, due to the atrocities committed to indigenous communities, many, many, many, many families had the transmission of indigenous knowledge stopped. Even though many of these families still identify as indigenous. The wound of not knowing one's culture is deeply impactful and can be addressed through seeking out indigeneity, as my father did and as he taught me to do. Therefore, this creates an idealized form of knowledge that is not attainable to everyone. I say this to not confuse the point by claiming all indigenous knowledge, but rather to advocate for the inclusion and acknowledgment of the knowledges gained through experience.

I can't say when exactly cultural transmission was stopped in my family. I do know that in my family, my dad's generation was raised with no language or cultural teachings; my dad was even told by his father to stay away from Indian things because

they wouldn't help him build a good life. However, after my dad built a life and had a family he began to pursue and engage in discovering and practicing his indigeneity. My dad had 31 first cousins, of which he was the only one to actively pursue indigeneity. However, at the Hall family reunions I have heard many of these cousins talk with pride about being Native and talk with sorrow about not knowing anything about their Native heritage.

This next section describes how, through my father choosing to reclaim indigeneity with his children, I developed my indigenous identity and knowledge, which have been crucial to the inspiration and development of this research.

My father, though raised in the backwoods of Oregon near our family's homeland learning how to make a living harvesting from the woods, was raised with little indigenous cultural transmission by his non-Native mom and granddad. When he expressed interest in moving to the Siletz reservation to start a shingle company at age 18, his father, who was Native, told him that one day he would want a house and a family, and he wouldn't get that on the reservation. Due to that advice my dad went to the university, received a Ph.D. in Zoology and with a wife he met in school; together they had their first child (my older brother) before returning to Oregon. After returning, my father took my then 2-year-old brother to the University of Oregon Mother's Day Powwow. There happened to be a tiny-tots song, which is a powwow special that invites all children to dance and gives them all a prize afterwards. My dad put my brother on the dance floor and then, feeling insecure and uncomfortable, went to the top of the bleachers to watch. After the tiny-tots dance my brother ran up to my dad and said, "look I won a prize", which made my father think that his son won first place and must be a natural at

Native things and maybe he should try to learn more and provide more cultural opportunities. He of course realized later that all the children received a prize, but also realized that there was something important in creating opportunities for us to access indigeneity.

After I was born two years later, my father became very involved with the local title VI Indian Ed program. He was on the parent committee for the majority of my public-school career. He took us to culture class once a month and sent us to culture camp every summer. We volunteered at all the powwows in the area; I learned how to dance and sing and make frybread. I learned how to gather respectfully and celebrate indigeneity with other Natives. My experience at culture camp and culture class put me in contact with many Native people from all across turtle island. I was able to learn how to always be able to thread a needle, how to work with leather, and how to shoot an arrow. Above all, I learned how to be respectful to the earth, to my elders, to my community, and to myself. I developed an indigenous identity and, even though I have low blood quantum, I know, and I am proud that I am indigenous.

Through my dad's friendships he made participating in Indian Ed, he was invited to attend a Lakota Sundance that was held in southern Oregon. After four years of feeling drawn but also unsure if he should attend, my dad decided to attend the Sundance when I was 12. This experience fundamentally changed him. He described his first encounter of the dance as walking up the road from his car and over the ridge, to where he could see the ceremony for the first time. He was immediately hit with a wave of love and good feeling that pulled him in, opened him up, and began to heal his spirit. Around this time,

he also began to attend a local chapter of the Native American Church, providing him more opportunities to grow and heal through indigenous practices.

After four more years of supporting at Sundance, he began Sundancing himself and ended up dancing for almost 15 years. For the first 4 years he regularly went on vision quest, only to receive a message during one of his vision quests that he should put people on vision quest himself. He held a vision quest camp for over 7 years and helped many people connect to spirit.

I started attending Sundance at the age of 16, the first year my father danced, and I still attend to this day. The next year my dad built a sweat lodge on our property and began having regular sweats. Participating in these ceremonies and learning the songs created a vibration in me that has created healing and has urged me to respectfully learn and respectfully practice indigeneity. My father took me to my first Native American Church meeting when I was 22, bringing me to a deepening experience that has become a way of life for me and an integral component of my indigeneity.

My father's experience at the Lakota Sundance led him to look into our heritage language. Right away he saw the importance of the Lakota language to the ceremony, and indeed to the people participating in the ceremony. He saw how knowing the words in the songs and their meaning deepened a person's relationship to the ceremony and to creation. This made him curious about his own languages. My dad, while not around Native things much as a kid, knew that he had heard Indian words, especially from some of the older relatives that used to visit.

To support the recognition of our family through the Confederated Tribes of the Lower Rogue and to learn more about our own heritage, my dad attended the Northwest Indian Language Institute (NILI) summer institute in 2001. There he met Gilbert Towner, a rememberer of Tututni, and language revitalization program leaders John Medicine Horse Kelly and Wendy Campbell. Together through the Confederated Tribes of Lower Rogue non-profit, they wrote a grant proposal which succeeded in funding the first of six annual Tututni language camps taught by Gilbert Towner.

My father died in 2013, leaving a legacy of love and a resurgence of indigenous intergenerational transmission in our family. I recognize that through his efforts, my lineage has defied the attempted genocide of our people. I recognize the responsibility he gave me to continue to support indigeneity in my family and community.

It is with this background that I approach my research. It is with this richness of experience that I stand up for indigeneity through the inclusion of indigenous methodologies in my research. It is in honor of those who came before and in support of those who come after me that I dedicate my work and my life to help channel a resurgence of indigeneity that reflects our modern indigenous communities while respecting our honored ancestors.

3.3 Indigenous methodologies in my work

There are three main ways in which I have incorporated indigeneity in my research. These indigenous methodologies include prioritizing the community (3.3.1), engaging in ceremony (3.3.2), and incorporating the four directions as an intellectual model to approach, plan, and display my research (3.3.3). This section describes how I incorporate these three types of indigenous methodologies in my work.

3.3.1 Research for the community

There are three main ways in which I have designed my research to benefit the Nuu-wee-ya' community and the broader community of language revitalization practitioners. The first is to ask research questions and design findings with the community in mind. The second is to accept the responsibility to protect, yet provide access to, cultural knowledge found in the archival materials, and the third is to value and honor our cultural knowledge bearers, past and present.

3.3.1.1 Asking questions with the community in mind

My research questions for both Nuu-wee-ya' descriptions and revitalization methodologies arise out of engagement with my community. My questions about Nuu-wee-ya' come from trying to speak with others and from listening to their questions. While I have barely begun approaching all the questions I have had or I have heard from others had, I contemplated how to best address the questions I could with the time and resources I have. For this reason, I started the grammatical research component of this dissertation by investigating what appeared to me to be the topic that is hardest for learner-speakers, that is understanding how to manipulate the verbs – like in any Dene language, the verbs of Nuu-wee-ya' are very complex. I also maintained conversations with learner-speakers throughout this research to stay abreast of current questions and concerns.

3.3.1.2 Protect yet provide access to cultural knowledge

This research is possible because of a collaboratively created online database (described in chapter 4). To create this database, thousands of pages of handwritten material and many hours of recordings were compiled and digitized. Robert Kentta, Siletz

cultural historian, writes “When a history is going to be published, there is possibly an even greater requirement to take that responsibility seriously, because the work will exist for a very long time and be referenced and cited by others in their quest for understanding and writing about the same subjects” (Kentta, 2010: 474).

Preparation for this research was done with a team (see section 4.2). Our team acknowledged that in these archival documents we had a historical record that evokes a responsibility as described by Kentta. We have a continued responsibility to the community because these archival materials often contain sensitive materials. To tend to these materials, we have developed the non-profit Nuu-da’ Mv-ne, which functions to maintain and tend all the materials.

As part of our work, we are developing a protocol that accounts for the different ways that sensitive materials can be stored and used. The ultimate purpose of this protocol is to tend to Nuu-wee-ya’ archival cultural materials. Decisions on the creation of this protocol are designed to emphasize the importance of relationships and respect. Tending to archival materials demands a responsibility to the language, communities, and in particular to the speakers who gave information and to their families.

This purpose of this protocol is not to create a gate and gatekeepers, but rather to create an agreed-upon guideline for how to handle specific situations involving materials development, research, and publication, as well as to line out where each type of information is stored and the avenue to access it, when someone wants to. The responsibility inherent within this work is to protecting sensitive information, but also provide access to cultural materials that conveys knowledge of a community broader than

a tribe, even though that information was originally provided by members of a specific tribe.

As an outsider to the Siletz Tribe, yet from a culturally related community, I am in a challenging position. The success of grammatical descriptions critically relies on the analysis of the texts, as the texts are the only available archival resource of real connected speech. Many of our questions about the structure of phrases cannot be answered without lengthy engagement with the texts. The trouble herein is balancing the belief of text ownership and the responsibility of sharing the knowledge that I learned from these texts. The Siletz Tribe is protective of their cultural heritage, as they should be, and prior to my research they still had not decided how to manage or share the texts collected at their reservation. I did not know they were exploring and debating how to do this. These texts are publicly accessible, albeit challenging to access because one must travel to the repository, gain access and then laboriously digitize them through taking photos. Even the descendants of Billy Metcalf and Ida Bensell, who provided most of the data used in this research, might not have the ability to access them. In my naïveté, when I discovered the texts in the archive, I was overcome with the realization that we had the resources to better understand our language, conveyed through stories that gave cultural content and meaning beyond grammatical structures. I celebrated how my analysis could create accessibility to all who have interest in this culture, whether they were relatives of the original storytellers or not.

While stories were often shared across communities, I was never taught the traditions and protocol for this at Siletz. I am still not sure what the protocols for traditional texts are, only that there is a tradition that stories belonged to those who told

them. Thus, the action of myself, a non-Siletz tribal member, analyzing and providing access to texts collected at Siletz has, perhaps unfairly, pushed the Tribe to make a decision of how to handle their texts. I describe this here, not to critique myself or Siletz, but to illustrate the complexity of this research and how even well-intentioned actions can create issues.

In my concern that the Nuu-wee-ya' community has access to cultural materials regardless of their tribal affiliation I have continued to push for the availability of published glossed texts, so that the actual descendants of the speakers can have easy access and so that others who claim this culture can access cultural information through the texts. However, while I believe strongly in the texts being available, I also believe that the community from where the texts are from should have the option to say if a text is appropriate to share with people outside of the cultural community. For this reason, I am not publishing in this dissertation the fifteen texts that I glossed for this research. Instead, I am waiting to collaborate with the Siletz tribe on determining which texts contain sensitive materials before I decide how to best make these texts available in a way that is respectful to the tribal community.

The development of a sensitive information protocol is essential for situations like this. With a mind towards protection, I only include texts that are not biographical or sensitive (at least to my intuition). As developing a protocol for sensitive materials is currently a work in progress, I did the best I could and again, if I did offend, I can only ask for forgiveness and hope that my intuition of the value of sharing these texts is correct.

Sensitive information is information found in the archival materials that should be protected. There are four types of sensitive information in the Nuu-wee-ya' archival materials: personal stories, locations, cultural stories, and history. Each of these types have subtypes, of which some can be made more available than others due to having a less sensitive nature.

Personal stories can be sensitive because some of these stories contain information about personal or family trauma. Locations can be sensitive because some of these locations contain information regarding burial or ceremonial sites that need to be protected from grave-robbers. Stories can be sensitive because they contain epistemological understandings. History can be sensitive because it covers some violent, sensitive subjects that should be shared only with the permission of the community.

Of the different types of materials that are sensitive, e.g., personal stories, not all are sensitive. This is why there must be a system to assign degrees of sensitivity to materials. The protocol that is being developed indicates where the information can be stored, whether it is in a redacted archival file and on the hard drive of researchers or tribal members, or whether it can be readily available on the digital archive. The protocol also indicates different ways in which the information can be used, for example: 1. data can be used to inform structural understanding but can only be used in published examples if decontextualized; 2. data can be used in the context of community classes, 3. data can be used for academic and community research projects or materials development.

The development of this protocol has been a vital part of my research. As I am not a recognized tribal member of the confederated Tribes of Siletz, I want to be proactively

sensitive to their needs, while also ensuring that the sharable information in this data is accessible.

3.3.1.3 Respect for and celebration of speakers

Often in linguistic research, especially from the previous century, the speakers of the languages are minimized. In this work, I acknowledge the wisdom and intelligence of our traditional speakers, especially those who worked with linguists for long hours providing the precious information we now have on our language. To do this where I can, I acknowledge who providing language information. I am using the term *elder-speakers* to refer to any speaker who had (or has) a high amount of fluency. I use this term to refer to all the people who provided language data, as well as Loren Me'lashne Bommelyn, for the knowledge and experience that makes him a modern elder-speaker.

At the same time, I recognize the efforts and commitments by modern community members who are learning their language. As the term 'speaker' is troubling for people who don't feel confident of their speaking ability (including myself), I have started using the word learner-speaker to refer to any community member who is learning their language now. This puts less pressure on a speaker to be correct, as we are all learning, yet it recognizes the efforts and the reality that nearly all of our modern speakers are learner-speakers with different levels of ability.

3.3.2 Ceremony in my work

My PhD journey began when I did a ceremony with my father's Sundance Chanumpa to discover my role with this language.¹⁶ Four days later, I was asked to

¹⁶ A chanumpa is a type of pipe made from a stone and wooden stem, that is a sacred instrument of prayer used at Sundance; this is the Lakota word for this pipe.

become a PhD student, timing that to me indicated an answer to my question. During the PhD program, I have been supported by the knowledge that obtaining a PhD was the way creation wanted me to help my people. This knowledge helped me to persevere when things seemed too challenging. This knowledge has helped me to find authority in my voice to advocate for indigeneity even when I felt I wasn't good enough or I didn't know enough.

Throughout this journey I have viewed my PhD as a commitment to ceremony, as a sacrifice for the people so that the people may live better. Throughout the years I have continued to attend ceremony, finding that my continued connection to indigenous practices has supported my ability to do the analysis and also to advocate for indigeneity.

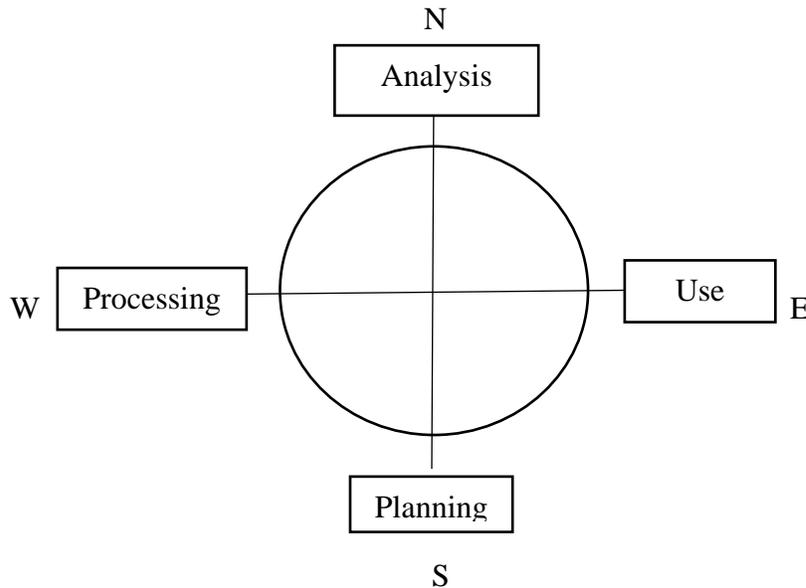
I have dedicated two Native American Church ceremonies to my language and the work I am doing to help maintain my indigenous connections and because I believe that these ceremonies can help through unseen ways. I will dedicate two more ceremonies to the continuation of this work after I complete this phase. I live my life through ceremony so that the work I do is not tainted by my own human shortcomings and so it stays focused on the community and on social justice. While the ceremonial aspect of my work may not be evident in this document, it underlies every page and thought, as my daily attention to ceremony in my life impacts all that I do.

3.3.3 Incorporating indigenous epistemology – the four directions

The presentation of my research uses the intellectual model of the four directions. I use this model to present aspects needed to do archival-based language revitalization. I present four aspects of the work: planning, processing, analysis, and use. These four

components line up with the four main sections of my dissertation. This are laid out in the model of the four directions in Figure 8.

Figure 8 The four directions of archival based language revitalization



The next sections describe how the work I have done pertains to these four directions.

3.3.3.1 South – Planning an indigenous approach

This aspect of archival-based language revitalization is the planning that is needed to do research work in a way that considers and incorporates the unique characteristics of language revitalization work. This is the part that includes considering the proper methodologies and methods needed to conduct the research. In this dissertation this direction is expressed in the first section, which includes this chapter on methodologies and the next chapter on methods.

3.3.3.2 West – Processing archival materials

This aspect of archival-based language revitalization is the processing that is needed to prepare archival materials for analysis. This includes but is not limited to gathering, digitizing, transcribing, transliterating, and interpreting the variation within the data. In this dissertation, the second section focuses on this topic in two chapters, one on interpreting grapheme variation and one on interpreting lexical variation. This is a crucial step in the analysis because it helps researchers interpret how different areas of an archive are similar or different and can inform the creation of datasets.

3.3.3.3 North – Analysis in support of learner-speakers

This aspect of archival-based language revitalization is the analysis of data. In my work I focus on grammatical analysis. The third section of this dissertation presents the grammatical analysis I have done for this research, including 11 chapters that describe parts of speech, how verb stems and verb prefixes conveys meaning and clause structure.

3.3.3.4 East – Creating and using language

This aspect of archival-based language revitalization is in support of using language through the creation of materials. The fourth section of this dissertation is dedicated to the support of language use and contains four chapters that describes ways to use language, the creation of learning materials, the benefit of translations, and how I use my language.

3.4 Archival-based methodologies

Now that we have looked deeply at indigenous methodologies we turn to archival-based methodologies.¹⁷ The purpose of this section is to explore some unique factors of archive-based research for revitalization and to discuss some ameliorating approaches to these factors. This section begins with a background to the field of Native American philology (3.4.1) and archive-based research for revitalization (3.4.2) to provide context for the description of the unique factors that impact such research. This is followed by a discussion of methodological approaches that accommodate these factors (3.4.3). I hope to facilitate a deeper communal understanding of the issues regarding this work, as well as to feed the discussion of best methodological practices.

3.4.1 Native American philology

This work constitutes philological work because it involves the examination of archival materials to reconstruct or reconstitute a language. Native American philology for the purpose of language reclamation is a burgeoning field, led by individuals and communities who have pioneered the process of extracting language information from archival materials in such a way that an individual or community may use them. This work has been led by the Baldwin family and David Costa on Myaamia (Baldwin, Baldwin, Baldwin & Baldwin 2013; Baldwin, Costa & Troy 2016; Baldwin & Costa 2018), Jesse Little Doe Baird (2013) on Wampanoag, Megan Lukaniec (2018) on Wendat and Kayla Begay (2017) on Wailaki. It has also been supported through events such as the Breath of Life workshops, mentioned in chapter 2. As the field has grown over the

¹⁷ The remainder of this chapter was drawn from a previously written paper, currently in the review process.

last 30 years, the focus has remained on producing language for learner-speakers, with little discussion of the methodological processes and particularities of doing philological research for the purpose of language reclamation. This lack of discussion reflects no lack of interest, but rather the urgent need to focus on producing materials that learner-speakers needed yesterday. The movement is growing large enough to support a critical analysis of how and why this work is done.

3.4.2 Factors in archive-based research for revitalization

Here I focus on four different, yet related factors associated with conducting archive-based research. The first is actually a conglomeration of factors related to the fact that this research is connected intimately with a particular community of people. The second factor is the challenge of learning and researching the structure of a language with no or limited L1 speakers available to answer questions. The third factor is the methodological challenge of working with the archival materials themselves; that is how to process, analyze and synthesize the materials as a prerequisite to disseminating information about the language, or internalizing and ultimately using the language. The fourth factor is the huge investment of time and energy to get the materials in an analyzable state.

While a community component is discussed in indigenous methodologies, the centrality of community to this work is pertinent to archival-based methodologies as well. There are multiple community-related factors that come with archive-based research for revitalization. I discuss several below.

The first — and primary — factor is that this type of work is around because of a community. It is inspired by the desire to support a community's use of language and,

indeed, the work would not exist without a need for it in the community. This is a multi-faceted factor that includes the residual impact of the historical inequality and oppression that occurred to communities now in need of reclamation. Inequality and oppression have led to social and personal trauma that can impact the ability of modern community members to learn and form a relationship with their language. As such, this work is a form of social justice and much consideration should be taken to align the work with respect to the community's beliefs and culture.

A component of this community-related factor is the researchers' own relationship with the community. Whether a person is from the community or not, this relationship provides inspiration and motivation to accomplish the work. An additional factor is the need to prioritize the community's linguistic needs in the research framework, designing research questions around the topics that are most challenging for learner-speakers.

Turning to the second factor, learning a language with no first-language speakers, it means, at least initially, there is no intergenerational transmission by a language authority and, crucially, that there are no language experts to consult with throughout the linguistic analysis process. In addition, there are few teachers or learning materials. To construct enough reliable resources, learner-speakers must turn to the archival source materials, painstakingly sifting through the bits of language that have been recorded to find linguistic patterns; any teaching materials must be developed, created, and produced by the very people learning the language. Additionally, usually descriptive work done on a language is designed to explain a linguistic phenomenon to other linguists, not to

inform how to use and talk in a language. In particular, descriptive linguistic work does not answer speakers' questions of how to use the structures to communicate accurately.

The third factor follows directly from the second factor: in the absence of speakers, the defining element of sleeping languages is that we have only archival materials from which to gain language knowledge. The challenge of working with archival data is really about having both too much and yet not enough data. This challenge is very similar to the challenge of any linguistic field work. The sheer amount of work it takes to digitize one handwritten note or one minute on a cassette means that it requires a deep investment of time and effort to even compile the resources so that you can begin looking for linguistic patterns: until you process the material, you cannot assess what it is that you have. Further, once you get it processed, the data is full of gaps, like partial paradigms and other incomplete patterns. Critically what makes this uniquely challenging from a traditional field linguistic scenario is that there is no one to go back to and ask to clarify the gaps. With no speakers left, this is all researchers and learner-speakers have to learn from. The gaps in the data can provide major issues in interpreting the data (Spence, 2018); we cannot ask a speaker to offer perspective on the overwhelming variation present in the data, leaving no straightforward way to determine whether variation represents reliable (but irregular) patterns, dialectal or idiolectal (that is, a difference due to individual speakers) variation by speakers, or even transcription errors by the linguist. Such unexplained variation is often too much for beginning learners, who are trying to make conscious sense of patterns, seeking explanations about why or how irregularity exists.

As language archival materials in North America were collected by quite a few researchers and explorers at the start of the 20th century (2.3 A language legacy – Archival materials and grammatical descriptions. Most of these individuals had distinct (from each other) ways to write down a language. Many languages have records from multiple dialects represented in archives. Additionally, the researchers who wrote these materials do not always distinguish all the meaningful sounds. Sometimes the materials contain too much information, giving non-contrastive sounds a symbol in their orthography. Other times crucial sounds that are hard for English speakers to distinguish are not included. Therefore, the records can either contain too much information, or too little. The differences in orthography, the differences in dialect and/or idiolect, plus any inconsistencies, idiosyncrasies, or mistakes as written by the linguist, create a massive amount of variation across and between any particular archival corpus of a language.

Of course, to be able to analyze archival materials, one must gain access to them. Access can be challenging in two major ways. It can be difficult to access the original materials in an archive in the first place, and then once a community has access, the process of digitization and data processing needed to gain information is overwhelming. While some repositories, such as American Philosophical Society (APS) and National Anthropological Archives (NAA) are very committed to helping communities access their materials, other repositories are not so willing to share their resources and it can be hard for a community member to gain entry and access.

It requires a lot of time and energy to find, sort, and digitize the archival materials, as well as to take any other steps needed to make the materials analyzable. For some communities this means someone going into the archives, taking photos of each

original handwritten page, then typing the numerous pages into digital files, while keeping track of the original location of each token in the archival materials. It is a huge hinderance to reclamation work that it requires such an enormous investment to take the first step.

3.4.3 Methodological approaches to archive-based research for revitalization

In this section I discuss six different methodological approaches that can help archive-based research for revitalization. Some of these approaches apply to multiple factors. The six approaches are: 1. design research with the community in mind, 2. prioritize digitizing materials, 3. address variation at early stages of the research 4. seek both the typicality and the reality in the data, 5. use episodic and cyclical research models, and 6. keep a positive attitude.

3.4.3.1 Designing research with the community in mind

While I discuss ways that community impacts indigenous methodologies, these approaches are tied to the nature of the archive. Just as there are multiple types of community-related factors that impact this research, there are multiple approaches to designing and implementing research with the community in mind. My purpose here is not to describe all the ways to do this, but rather it is to discuss two ways of approaching research that can be beneficial.

First, is for the researcher to consider their own relationship to the community and how that impacts their work. Whether or not they are of that community, any researcher working with a community both impacts and is impacted by the community. When the researcher reflects on these impacts, they can be more conscious of what types of synergy are actually occurring. While this type of reflection is not always necessary to report in

published materials, to a future speaker-learner, such reflection can help frame why a researcher makes a particular choice in their research design. Of course, there are researchers who have been doing this for a long time, it is just a point to say that it is at least important to ponder.

Second is for the researcher to explore epistemologies and research models meaningful to the community and when possible, to incorporate their features into the research. Every community has ways of interpreting information in their environment and determining what is important to consider when analyzing a situation. Previous studies on indigenous methods suggest a focus on respect to all involved, an awareness of the relationality of what the researcher brings, an acceptance of indigenous peoples' expanded models of knowledge systems, reciprocity, and support to the collective (Singh & Major, 2017: 9). Acknowledging and using the epistemological and research models of a community can help maintain respect for the culture as well as ease frustrations that are felt in some communities as a result of past linguistic work. It can also inform the research process by bringing different ways of looking at information. Fundamentally, it creates a more inclusive research style. I must point out that while this is important for all researchers to consider, the work of acknowledging the epistemological and research models of a community must be led by those of the community with awareness of indigenous research methods.

I am a member of a network of extended communities active in modern indigenous culture. I am part of this network because my father felt it important that I know about our indigenous culture. This was hard for my father to teach—he did not know our culture either because his father did not think it was important. I am the seventh

generation since the last fluent speaker in my family. My family is not certain which indigenous people we originally belong to. Due to family stories and archival materials, I now believe that we are descended both from Chasta Costa from the Rogue River in Oregon and Karuk from the Klamath river in California. However, because careful records were not kept, there is no way to know for certain.

What I do know is that people in my family spoke a Nuu-wee-ya' dialect. When I do language research, it impacts me because as I analyze the words, I feel a connection to my ancestors, a connection that I otherwise would not feel. When I see the words, I hear the voices of family members speaking in my mind, some of whom are gone now. This means that while I work, I am distracted by joy and sorrow. I started language work as a learner, a member of a community trying to bring back a language and use it together. I do this work while talking in Nuu-wee-ya' with my children, which impacts me because more than anything I want to be able to talk with them in our language. The desire for connection has been my greatest inspiration for research because the research is the only pathway to learning to say the things I want to say. This is why my work is centered around how to convey linguistic information to my community.

I explain this here to illustrate how community factors can impact research. None of these factors makes a clear physical difference, but, along with others, they affect the decisions I have made. I believe that my expressing this here helps you understand better my motivation for asking the questions I ask.

To incorporate indigenous research methods in my research I maintain awareness of the impact of our historical trauma on all aspects of modern indigenous life, I acknowledge the impact my experience has on my research, and I design my research and

results with the community's gain in mind, attempting to ensure reasonable understandability of even my most technical findings as I focus my efforts on topics that will help learners speak. Throughout my research I maintain respect for our ancestors, our departed speakers, as well our future generations. I also acknowledge that metaphysical clues can be a method to support understanding of a phenomenon (Deloria, 1997). Ultimately, I acknowledge that this research is a ceremony for me, my journey into the wilds, crying for a vision to bring to my people, so that they may live better.¹⁸

3.4.3.2 Initial prioritization of digitizing materials

While there are many initial steps needed, including accessing the materials, the most critical part to start analysis, is getting the materials digitized as soon as possible. This process is time-consuming and at times overwhelming yet requires priority of energy and funding because until digitized, materials are not really available for analysis and cannot be easily shared. While factors like funding and other responsibilities can impede this process, perseverance will provide resources that can be used by many. Additionally, for researchers learning their language, the process of digitizing materials allows them to gain more time and experience with the language, helping the learning process. I have found that the most valuable way to get through the mountain of digitization is with a team of like-minded interested people, passionate to create access to language materials.

The language materials used in this research were digitized through an NSF-DEL grant. This grant supported a team of two PIs and three transcribers to work for three

¹⁸ 'Crying for a vision' is referencing indigenous vision quest ceremonies. The Lakota word for vision quest is: *hayblec'eya* (Ingham, 2013: 262); literally, 'crying for a vision'.

years, allowing us to digitize and process a vast portion of the Nuu-wee-ya' language materials and enter them into a database in the Indigenous Language Digital Archive (ILDA).¹⁹ This ILDA database is searchable, and each digital record is linked with the original image from scanned field notes or the audio file from which it was transcribed (chapter 4.2.2 Transcribing, transliterating and uploading to ILDA).

3.4.3.3 Managing language variation in the archives

Before any linguistic interpretation can be done of the archival material, a researcher must be able to determine what variation is meaningful and what is non-meaningful. Meaningful variation is what makes dialects different. Non-meaningful variation comes from inconsistencies in the transcriptions, especially attention (whether excessive or insufficient) to detail and speaker idiolect. Such variation introduces complexity of form to the written record but does not change the meaning of a word or reflect a distinctive dialect.

In my research, I conducted a detailed analysis of the differences in how one linguist wrote cognate stems in nine varieties of our three dialects. That research revealed that some sound changes were consistent between dialects whereas others were not. This preliminary analysis identifies meaningful variation based on regular sound patterns and, at least initially, considers all other variation as a distraction, which can essentially be put out of the picture. This means, that while there may be relevant information in the other variation, it isn't particularly relevant yet. This step makes it possible to describe and

¹⁹NSF-DEL Award # 1562859, PI Janne Underriner and Scott DeLancey. This work would not have been possible without the tenacity, ingenuity and vision of my teammates, Jerome Viles and Carson Viles, and the guidance and support of our PIs Janne Underriner and Scott DeLancey. Without our team, we would not have this database. Shu' 'aa-shu'-la!

acknowledge the variation that belonged to the distinctive dialects but also draw a boundary around what variation can be managed now. Determining that some variation is relevant in this research and some not allows us to regularize inconsistent sound changes which don't reflect meaningful differences in the language. With the variation that is not meaningful removed, it is much easier to move on to grammatical analysis.

3.4.4 Identifying typicality versus reality

Second language teaching often focuses on explicitly teaching the regular patterns (typicality) before moving on to teach the irregularities (reality) of the patterns. The function of the distinction between 'typicality' and 'reality' is to distinguish uses that are straightforward from uses that are not clear. This is to provide learners with typical information as well as to frame future research questions on the reality of the data.

In this research I define 'typicality' as the intersection of the form-function correspondences that are most regular and most common. By *common*, I mean most frequent in the corpus, but of course, most sleeping languages (including Nuu-wee-ya') do not have the kinds of large corpora of naturalistic speech that would allow estimation of the true frequency of forms in use.²⁰ This forces us to make hypotheses about typicality based on frequency of occurrence in given datasets, hypotheses that can be tested and refined as further processing of the archival records builds up a fuller corpus. By *regular*, I mean being able to recognize combinations of forms and then to predict, or at least to understand, their meanings as resulting from combining the expected meanings of their parts (compositional semantics). I identify regularity in form-function

²⁰ Many vibrant languages also do not have this type of data as many of the world's languages do not have an extensive written record.

correspondences based on my reading of the linguistics literature (Sapir, 1917; Hoijer, 1966, Golla, 1976) and my own intuition as a learner-speaker. I define the ‘*reality*’ as including the typical data plus all the different uses of a form that appear weird or irregular, uses that do not conform with the typical patterns.

In philological language reclamation work, perceiving our data and findings in terms of typicality versus reality can be helpful. Since we cannot ask a speaker to offer perspective on the overwhelming variation present in the data, there is no straightforward way to determine whether variation represents reliable (but irregular) patterns, dialectal or idiolectal variation by speakers, or even transcription errors by the linguist. Such unexplained variation is often too much for beginning learners, who seek explanations about why or how irregularity exists. From this perspective, seeking typical patterns helps us to build an initial foundation, to which we can later add irregular patterns.

This is not to say that the reality of the data is too much to handle over time, just too much initially. The need to produce materials quickly for learner-speakers means that we must begin to articulate findings before all the data has been analyzed. Starting with typicality helps get what is currently understood out to the community, while labeling as reality the elements of the language that require more study.

3.4.3.4 Using an episodic and cyclical research model

To maintain a focus on the needs of learner-speakers, I recommend an episodic and cyclical approach in which research occurs in concentrated bursts with time in between to consult with communities of learner-speakers and linguists. Data and questions are revisited in a cyclical manner as research and understanding progresses. This approach addresses the needs of seeking typicality in the midst of the variability of

reality in a large corpus whose analysis is extremely time-consuming. Each episode of research can revisit the same questions while expanding questions via new findings, taking time between each episode to reflect on the findings and engage with learner-speakers. The cyclical approach is to revisit the same data and questions after new understandings are attained. In the current research, I focus on the verbal morphology of a single dialect, with the intention that the next episode of research will expand the scope to address other dialects as well.

3.4.3.5 Keeping a positive attitude

The nature of this work can be discouraging, so positive attitudes are necessary to be successful (Pasanen, 2021). In particular, this includes accepting gaps in the data and that you will sometimes have to unlearn and relearn, as new analyses lead to new understandings.²¹ It is important to celebrate the small steps and to recognize the work being done, to bear in mind that the possibility of bringing a language back to use after it has slipped to a state of slumber is miraculous. It is also important to keep the purpose focused on social justice and in support of the community's language needs and interests.

In my work I find the positive focus challenging at times, especially when managing the pressure of all the work still to do. I find my positive focus by reminding myself that every time I or my children speak in our language, it is more than would have been spoken if we were not doing this work. Positive attitudes are important “because any negativity impedes language learning” (Underriner et al., 2021: 251).

²¹ While field linguists have a similar process of learning and relearning, the impact is different because in this situation, it is the learner-speakers that are learning and relearning, however in a field linguistics scenario, it is only the researchers and not the speakers are not having to learn and relearn.

I have written here about these factors and methodologies and my approach to the research because, as a learner-speaker and a linguist in training, when I embarked on this research journey these are things nobody told me. This section has not been easy to write, in part because there are so few models for sharing the personal aspects of our research journeys. I turn now to the linguistic analysis that was enabled by the preparation of the database.

CHAPTER IV – METHODS AND COLLABORATIONS

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the methods used for the research components of this work. as this work is multi-faceted there are multiple types of methods that occurred. Central to this discussion is the fact that this work was not done in a void, and while this work is my own, it can only exist because of the relationships I have with others and the collaborations these relationships created (Chapter 3.1.1.1 ‘All my relations’ and an indigenous epistemological device). A critical component of my methods were these collaborations. Therefore, this chapter begins discussing the types of collaboration that impacted my research (4.1) and specifically how collaborations helped to create the Nuu-wee-ya’ digital archive (4.2). Following this I turn to the methods I used in the individual work that I did for this dissertation. I first describe the process of interpreting variation (4.3), then the process of grammatical analysis (4.4) and finally, I describe the research methods I used to support the creation of language learning materials (4.5).

4.1 Relationships provide inspiration and purpose

Relationships have been an integral part of my research. Fundamentally my passion to continue this work exists because I exist in relationship with others. The relationships I have with Nuu-wee-ya’ learner-speakers provide me with inspiration to discover more about our language. Seeing a spark of interest in a beginner speaker or seeing the flames of fascination in experienced speakers propels me to continue my work so that I may contribute knowledge and materials that can help others speak more. Hearing people speak, whether it is faltering first tries or orations that come from years of

experience, makes me want to speak more. As a community, we inspire and support the language growth of others.

The relationships I have with language revitalization practitioners has shown me that this work applies to more people than my local indigenous community. Through attending conferences, I began to meet people who were doing the same thing or a similar thing to what I was doing, for their own language. Early on in my journey, other practitioners were the symbol that this work was possible. As my work progressed, methodological discussions with language revitalization practitioners helped me to be realistic and check my work. Engagement with other linguists has helped me to balance linguistic rigor and grammatically pertinent questions with the realities of community needs.

Without my communities this work would not exist.

4.2 Collaborating on a digital database

A major component of my work indeed would not be possible if not for the collaboration with other Nuu-wee-ya' learner-speakers, language revitalization practitioners and linguists to create the digitized corpus on which I base my research. This archive originally came about because two fellow learner-speakers, Jerome Viles and Carson Viles, approached me to work together to create a digitally-accessible language archive. We recognized that in our community there was a lack in ability to access the archival materials; at that time, only a small portion of the archival materials were available unless someone went to the repositories (the Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archive, the Alaska Native Language Archive located at University of Alaska - Fairbanks, The Jacobs collection located at University of

Washington and the California Language Archive located at University of California – Berkeley) themselves and took pictures of the original hand-written notes.

Through attending National Breath of Life 2015 we were able to access and take photos of a large portion of our archival materials. We wrote and received the NSF Documenting Endangered Language (DEL) grant with co-PIs Scott Delancey and Janne Underriner in 2016 (Chapter 3.4.3.2 Initial prioritization of digitizing materials).²² Our first roadblock was finding a database system that could handle the archival data. We were approached by Gabriela Pérez Báez, then at Recovering Voices at the Smithsonian Institution, with the offer for us to pilot the Indigenous Language Digital Archive (ILDA), originally developed as the Miami-Illinois Digital Archive by the Myaamia Institute at Miami University (in Ohio) for the Myaamia Language. Over the course of our DEL grant we collaborated with a multi-person team at Myaamia and with Gabriela to put our archival materials into a database. Our work piloting this has helped the development and expansion of this database system to other communities working on their language through archival sources.

A critical component of my interactions with others came through the opportunity to collaborate with multiple people and entities to co-create the database for the Nuu-wee-ya' archival materials on the Nuu-da' Mv-ne ILDA digital instance.²³ This database model was originally developed for the Myaamia language (Miami-Illinois), a community that last had fluent speakers nearly a century ago and that has a large amount of archival data. The Myaamia center developed this database so that the individual

²² NSF DEL project # 1562859

²³ An instance is an occurrence of something, in this case of the ILDA database. The link to this digital instance is <https://mc.miamioh.edu/ilda-nuuweeya/>

archival tokens, that is, each word on each handwritten page, has its own entry linked to a digital surrogate of the archival source to ensure accuracy (Baldwin & Costa, 2018).

There were three main steps in the process of building the Nuu-da' Mv-ne ILDA database. The first was gathering materials, the second transcribing and transliterating materials (as appropriate) into a csv file and the third is to upload the digital surrogates (that is csv files, pdf files of handwritten notes and wav files of recordings) to the ILDA instance. All of these steps were accompanied by outreach and communication with Nuu-wee-ya' communities.

4.2.1 Gathering materials

To gather materials, we reached out to the main archives that house the original archival materials, that is the Smithsonian Institution in Washington DC and the university of Washington Libraries. While there are Nuu-wee-ya' materials in other archives, the main resources reside in these two archives., we went with National Breath of Life Archival Institute for Indigenous Languages into the archives at the Smithsonian Institution and took photographs of Dorsey's (see section 2.3.2.1) archived materials and secured copies of the housed audio files. Jerome and Carson Viles traveled to University of Washington in Seattle and took pictures of the contents of the Jacobs collection (see section 2.3.2.2). Since then, both of these collections have become partially digitized through their home institutions. The archival notes of JP Harrington (see section 2.3.2.3) were already available in pdf format. For hand-written files the result of this step was to have a pdf for each original document that contained pictures of each page in the document; for audio files, the result was a .wav file for each 20- to 60-minute-long recording.

4.2.2 Transcribing, transliterating and uploading to ILDA

Once we had our data, we then had to type both the hand-written and audio materials into the computer so that the data could become searchable. The hand-written material was in the original researcher's orthography. While these orthographies are not what is used today, they are important to preserve because they reflect the way the researchers interpreted the data and could contribute to future research on dialect, variation, and phonology. We transcribed these materials into excel spreadsheets saved as .csv files, creating an ID code for each entry based on the document, the page number, the line number, and the phrase number on that line. This ID code is essential to the interoperability of the .csv files.

To transcribe the original orthography, we used an IPA keyboard to type in the closest approximation of the original researcher's orthography. Once this was done, these materials could be uploaded, along with image files for each page. However, to be useful to the broader community, these materials must also be transliterated into the modern speech form. The transliteration process includes determining which of the researchers', who originally transcribed the materials, graphemes correspond to which in the modern speech form. As the original transcribers were not Native speakers, their interpretations of the language's sounds did not always reflect the phonemes as used by the modern community. In all cases the researcher would have more graphemes than needed in the modern speech form and so generally some the researcher's graphemes had to be merged. Linguistic analysis has evolved since the records were collected. So, the transcription reflects the original documentation, and the transliteration is intended to generate an orthographic representation in line with the improvements in the analysis of the language

to date to help our interpretations be as accurate as possible we investigated systematically how JP Harrington's orthography matched audio recordings of the same speakers and explored the systematicity of Dorsey's graphemes (discussed in chapter 5).

Audio files could be treated different, as there is no researcher's orthography to manage. To transcribe the audio files, we uploaded the files to ELAN, isolated the tokens and transcribed them straight into the modern speech form.

After a document was transcribed, the pdf files were labeled with the page number and line numbers to help with finding the sources on the page. These were uploaded to the ILDA Nuu-da' Mv-ne website.

For my own research I relied primarily on the .csv files to do detailed analyses of particular datasets. I have used the ILDA database mostly to supplement my analytical findings, and to find words and phrases for my creative work (see chapter 21).

At this stage of the project, we have processed over 4500 pages of hand-written notes and 13 hours of audio recordings, from multiple sources over nearly a century of time, yielding a current number of 45,781 tokens that they are now available for analysis. This step had to happen before the research described in the remainder of this dissertation could be done. It took our team more than 5100 hours over three years to create the online archival database of our materials. These hours included typing setting up the spreadsheets, determining how to preserve the original orthography, typing all pertinent details from the archival materials into a spreadsheet, uploading and managing the spreadsheets. It took us more time than anticipated to type everything in; however, that time was very valuable for giving us implicit interaction with the data. I found that the

mountain of data processing was very overwhelming, but with consistent work, between the concerted efforts of the entire team, we scaled the mountain and now have a wealth of analyzable data that wasn't available before we digitized and processed the materials.

4.3 Interpreting Variation

A major challenge of working with archival materials on sleeping languages is how to interpret written variation. Of the written materials collected on the various Nuu-wee-ya' varieties, it is difficult to ascertain the phonological system from the linguists' transcriptions (see chapter 5). This problem is complicated by the number of varieties, the different time periods materials were collected, and the effect of koineization on the varieties that were relocated to the Siletz Reservation in the 1850s (cf. Spence, 2013).

When working with materials collected by someone else, we are left guessing how closely the linguist was attuned to the phonetic and phonemic system of a language. Many people who collected materials on sleeping languages paid close attention to the phonetic structure of the words and used a range of different symbols for a diversity of phonetic realizations of a single phoneme. For example, Dorsey uses multiple ways to express what in IPA is /t/, including *çl*, *ql*, *sl*, *ç*, and *sçl* (see section 5.2.2). Close attention to what is different places a focus on distinguishing each speaker's idiolect, reflecting their own idiosyncratic (even though still normal) way of producing a phoneme. When it is not clear which token was collected from which speaker, it becomes more difficult to tease apart idiolectal variation from variation that characterizes different varieties, or even dialects.

Also, many of the early linguists, including Dorsey, had trouble hearing some of the sounds that are not found in English, such as ejective consonants, retroflex sibilants

and lateral fricatives. Sometimes, a linguist noted distinctions that are not contrastive, while at the same time missing distinctive sounds (especially those not found in English). Thus, while working with archival materials, variation within each linguist's transcriptions must be examined to determine which variation comes from dialect or variety differences, which from speaker idiolect, and which from inconsistencies introduced by linguists missing distinctive sounds or over-transcribing less relevant detail. Methodical analysis, as described in the next section, helps us to interpret Dorsey's graphemes.

This research was developed to address the problem of interpreting Dorsey's use of graphemes across the varieties of Nuu-wee-ya' and transliterating them into the modern orthography. Dorsey, unaccustomed to the sounds in Nuu-wee-ya', used different graphemes and grapheme combinations to express the sounds he was not accustomed to. We can see grapheme variation when he writes cognate stems in different ways. Sometimes these grapheme variations clearly reflect his attention to the phonetics of intra-speaker variation, and sometimes his graphemes represent differences in how the varieties or dialects spoke; however sometimes his graphemes represent mistakes of interpretation.

The underlying questions that drove this research were: "Which grapheme or grapheme combination differences between cognate stems reflect a difference between dialects or varieties?" and "between any two varieties what percentage of stems are cognate?". The first question addresses the problem of interpreting Dorsey's graphemes by showing which graphemes have regular correspondences and which do not. The graphemes without regular correspondences can then be assessed to see how they can

best be interpreted in the modern speech form. The second question provides insight into potential lexical differences between the varieties (see chapter 6).

4.3.1 Determining a dataset

As Dorsey collected information on 12 varieties of Nuu-wee-ya', the first step of this research was isolating a manageable dataset. I chose eight of the twelve varieties, making sure there were at least two varieties from each dialect region. These eight varieties are: Tututni, Upper Coquille, Sixes, and Mikwanu of the northern dialect, Tolowa and Chetco of the southern dialect, Dakube and Tashlhdalh (Galice) of the eastern dialect. The remaining four were not included, Joshua because it was primarily in Chinuk wawa, and the remaining three: Chasta Costa, Yuki, and Naltunne because the time it took to process and analyze meant that I couldn't get to all the varieties. I prioritized these eight varieties because they had larger sample sizes.

Dorsey's language records are organized in semantic word lists. This means all the words for people, like man and 'woman' are on one list, all the words for animals, plants, birds, and fish each have their own list. He used the same word list for each variety but did not fill all of them out. The structure of these lists, developed from Powell's schedules (1880) made it easy to compare cognate stems because all answers are organized in the same sequence (see section 2.3). To do the analysis, I first typed the data on the eight varieties from his handwritten notes into an excel file. In separate excel files I collated all the data for each pair of varieties. With 8 varieties in the dataset, that made 28 comparison documents. Table 2, lists all the variety combinations.

Table 2. Compared varieties.

Tututni – U. Coquille	U. Coquille – Sixes	Sixes – Tolowa	Mikwanu – Galice
Tututni – Sixes	U. Coquille – Mikwanu	Sixes – Chetco	Tolowa – Chetco
Tututni – Mikwanu	U. Coquille – Tolowa	Sixes – Dakubeh	Tolowa – Dakubeh
Tututni – Tolowa	U. Coquille – Chetco	Sixes – Galice	Tolowa – Galice
Tututni – Chetco	U. Coquille – Dakubeh	Mikwanu – Tolowa	Chetco – Dakubeh
Tututni – Dakubeh	U. Coquille – Galice	Mikwanu – Chetco	Chetco – Galice
Tututni – Galice	Sixes – Mikwanu	Mikwanu – Dakubeh	Dakubeh – Chetco

4.3.2 Stages of processing and analysis

I identify four stages to my methods for this research. Before beginning these steps, all 426 pages of the hand-written archival materials were typed into a digital file so that they could be sorted and searched on a computer. The four stages of my methods are as follows: 1. a short pilot analysis, 2. coding all stem pairs for multiple values, 3. determining which of these values answered the questions at hand and finally 4. the final investigation of the regularity of the grapheme changes used for the findings described in this chapter.

The pilot study was based on a single page of the one schedule that Dorsey used for each variety. Looking at the graphic differences on this page allowed me to take stock of the kind of data I had and allowed me to pinpoint preliminary ways to code the differences effectively.

In stage two of the work, I coded the various Nuu-wee-ya' forms for the matching English glosses found between each variety. For each pair of varieties, I found all the words listed in common between the two, then created a dataset of these matched forms, a response, yielding 36 different datasets.

Within each of these datasets I coded different parameters of the word pairs. The primary coding distinction was whether or not the stems were cognate. Of the stems that

were cognate, I further encoded the phonological and morphological differences between each stem that was being compared. Morphological differences were marked as making a different inflection, or a different word (derivation). They were also marked when one variety added an extra stem, which is a morphological difference. Ultimately this data wasn't used in this analysis.

Table 3. Coding parameters used in initial analysis.²⁴

Coding type	Tututni (Dorsey 1884g)	Coquille (Dorsey 1884c)	English
1. clearly cognate stem	çlût	tcût	Smoke
a. Phonologically:			
i. identical	<i>ni</i>	<i>ni</i>	Face
ii. with orthographic difference	<i>sa-kûtçl'</i>	<i>sa-kwũçl'</i>	Beaver
b. Morphologically:			
i. different inflection,	<i>rxê-šit-i</i> ²⁵	<i>rxit-ĩ</i>	we see
ii. different word	<i>tc'uc-qět</i>	<i>tc'uc-qě-ĩ</i> ²⁶	I buy / what I buy
iii. stem ²⁷ vs. compound	<i>wü-gün tün-ně'</i>	<i>tün-ně'</i>	Road
2. different stem/root	<i>mül-ts'u-wi</i>	<i>tül-ma</i>	Green

Table 3 shows the coding parameters used in the initial analysis of the data. The coding division is described as follows: (1) clearly cognate stem vs. (2) different stem/root. Then (1) has two parameters: (a) phonologically (i) identical or (ii) with orthographic change; (b) morphologically (i) different inflection, (ii) different word (derivation), or (iii) stand-alone stem vs. stem as part of compound. The relevant differences between the pairs are bolded. The first column indicates the type of coding.

²⁴ Dashes in examples are not to indicate stems or morphemes, rather they are the means used by both Dorsey and the modern orthography to indicate syllable breaks.

²⁵ Prefix *s-* is the perfective aspect marker (Golla 1976:224; see chapter 8).

²⁶ The suffix *-i* is an enclitic particle that forms relative clauses (Golla 1976:227; see chapter 9).

²⁷ The stem in Dene linguistics is distinct from the use of this word elsewhere. It is not referring to root plus derivational morphology because of the complexity of morphology in the verb (see chapter 15).

The second and third column shows examples of this type of coding in Tutuni (column 2) and Coquille (column 3). The fourth column gives the English translation. The differences between Tututni and Coquille that reflect each type of coding are indicating with boldface. As you can see, in most types of differences coded, only a portion of the word is different.

At this point in the research, I determined that analysis of orthographic differences could yield the most information about the dialectal differences in Nuu-wee-ya', so while a lot of information was coded, only the information on orthographic differences were analyzed. While not all of the coding pertains to this research, the coded data is now available to answer future research questions.

4.3.3 Determining variation

After I coded all the data, I focused on the word pairs that had a clearly cognate stem. I first determined which stems had cognate in other varieties, then I determined which of these cognate pairs had an orthographic difference (example 1.a.ii in table 3). I then listed all the environments in which the orthographic difference occurred and focused on the graphemes that had a regular correspondence.

To find patterns of correspondence, I looked for patterns in how a grapheme could be written differently in a paired variety. I determined if there were any regular patterns in how a specific grapheme was written in the compared varieties. A regular pattern of correspondence would be indicated if, in the majority of cases, a particular grapheme in one variety corresponded to a distinct grapheme in the compared variety. Additionally, that grapheme could not be found corresponding to itself, e.g., it could not appear in any cognate stems that had no graphical changes between the paired varieties.

I define a regular orthographic correspondence as happening in the majority of the cases, which indicates a high percentage of regular difference. There are some cases in which I found a clear correspondence pattern that was inconsistent a small portion of the time. In these cases, I looked at the percentage of cognate stems that had the same grapheme verses the percentage that had the grapheme difference. This became especially helpful with the denasalization pattern found in the eastern dialect (see section 5.2.1.4).

Grapheme distinctions indicate the differences in the ways that Dorsey wrote a cognate stem. meaning that one stem in one variety would use different graphemes than in a different variety. I compiled a list of each of the grapheme distinctions found between each pair of varieties. I then grouped each type of change by the type of sound, initially distinguishing between consonants and vowels. Within the consonants, I grouped grapheme distinctions by the place of articulation. I did this to have a starting point from which to look for patterns of correspondence.

There are some sounds represented in Dorsey’s orthography for which there are questions regarding their phonemic status. This paper does not address several phonemic questions, leaving them for future analysis. Questions not examined in this analysis include: how to determine which vowels are long and which are short, how to determine the presence of word final glottal stops, and how to determine which words contain a retroflex sibilant.

Table 4. Difference between regular and irregular correspondences.

Type of graphical correspondence	Example
Non -regular	$rx \rightarrow k/_V$ $rx \rightarrow rx/_V$
Regular	$a \rightarrow an$ $e \rightarrow en$

Table 4 shows one graphical difference between Tututni and Tolowa cognate stems that is not regular and one graphical difference that is regular. In the first row we can see that before vowels, the *rx* (ɣ in IPA) in Tututni can sometimes be written as a *k* before vowels in Tolowa and sometimes can be expressed with the same grapheme *rx* in the same environment. This is a graphical difference that is not regular because the *rx* grapheme in Tutuni is not consistently *k* in Tolowa. In the second row, we see a regular change, that is a consistency in that *a* and *e* were both followed by *n* suggesting/to represent nasalization in Tolowa.

4.4 Grammatical analysis

The challenges that different community members face as they learn the grammar of Nuu-wee-ya' are diverse because the grammar is complex. However, it is also complex because the needs of the community are varied, and some learner-speakers do not want any grammatical explanations whereas others desire an explanation for everything. Additionally, the problems with grammar are complex because there are different levels of understanding in the community and not enough opportunities to discuss and learn from each other. This is further complicated by the nature of the linguistic analysis that has been done. The grammatical description (Sapir 1914, Hoijer 1966, Golla 1976, Bommelyn, 1997) that is available is either focused on one dialect or so abstract (characteristic of linguistic analysis). The abstractness is evident in a lack of many examples to aid applying grammar rules to language use.

To address the problem of describing the complex grammar I had three research questions: The first is 'how do verbal prefixes impact the meaning of the verb?'; the second is 'what morphemes are identifiable in a dataset of elicitation and text sources, as

well as what part of speech are they and what do we know of their function?’ The third research question is ‘what is the syntactic structure of long sentences and multi sentence statements?’.

To answer these questions, I initially started with a dataset that consisted of the verbs found in Elizabeth Jacobs notebook 108, which consists primarily of elicited words. These verbs were primarily given to Elizabeth by Ida Bensell, a speaker of multiple northern varieties including Euchre, Sixes and Tututni. In this research foray I tried to answer my first research question. I targeted a subset of contributing prefixes to explain how they contribute meaning to the verb.

This subset of contributing prefixes was picked after I had analyzed all the prefixes and found that while I could assign ‘typical glosses’ to each thematic prefix, there were not many examples of most prefixes and there was no shortage of confusing counter-examples, making the task of explaining the ‘reality’ of all the prefixes rather daunting. A counter-example is an example that indicates a different use than the typical use.

After describing the many functions of the lexicalized prefixes, it became apparent that the idiosyncratic ways the prefixes worked, along with the limited data, did not provide me with clear evidence to describe these prefixes to a linguistic audience. This is because most prefixes had too many counter-examples to make it possible to describe all the semantic functions and explain the oddities. Thus, I narrowed my analysis to focus on a subset of similar forms that are challenging to gloss, but at least readily identified. These forms are challenging primarily because a form can have the function expected from other forms in the subset or it can have no apparent semantic function at

all. To describe the ‘reality’ of these prefixes I separated them by form [*ni-*, *na-*, *nu-*, *ne-*, and *nv*]. I then charted their semantic functions. Then I closely examined each use to determine the typical uses and separate them from the non-typical uses (see chapter 16).

After the research on the prefix subset was done, I turned to a body of texts that were in Elizabeth Jacobs notebook 72. They were given to Elizabeth by Billy Metcalf, who was Chetco. He was the generation in which Chetco speakers had grammar structure and sounds of the northern dialect but retained specific lexical items associated with the southern dialect (Spence, 2013: 18). There are 15 texts in this document with over 1800 lines all together. The last text in the notebook did not fit in the notebook, it is continued in Notebook 116 (Jacobs, 116).

To analyze the texts, I first processed and glossed the texts and then I sorted out the morphemes that were either used regularly or whose gloss was clear. I sorted these morphemes by their part of speech and then by the type of semantic function within each part of speech. I presented each morpheme with a description of what is known about the use and what is still not clear while providing examples of their use from the text dataset.

I used the texts to look again at how verbs make meaning by exploring the ways that the verb stem ‘*a* ‘handle a round object’ pairs with prefixes to create new verbs. I did this by looking at all the tokens of the stem and determining the different functions. I then explained the use of these verbs much like I defined the parts of speech, with a description of what is known about each type of way the stem pairs with prefixes (see chapter 17).

To address questions of how the sentences were structured I targeted a specific text. The text I chose was ‘Pitch Woman’ because it is short and I am familiar with it, as it is a story that I heard often while growing up, as told by Kalapuya elder Esther Stutzman. I wrote detailed explanations of the lexical and clause structure for each line of the text. This targeted examination allowed me to analyze and present phrase structure in a way that describes what we see in particular examples but does not make assumptions, yet, about use beyond the text. This type of analysis created an opportunity for me to think through and describe the way that each sentence is structured, this has the effect of immersing me in real language (see chapter 14). My hope is that reading though the descriptions can provide other learn-speakers with an immersive experience as well.

4.5 Creating materials

Creating materials for language use is only beneficial to community language revitalization if there is a community to receive the materials. The creation of materials, while an individual process, is deeply connected to relationships. As a descendant of an Oregon Native but not recognized as such, it was sometimes a challenge to find community to share my engagement with language. However, my continued relationship with the Coquille Tribe has given me an opportunity to provide materials and witness language growth within a federally recognized community.

Before my teacher Gilbert Towner died, he was working with the Coquille Tribe and teaching language at their cultural camp for children, Camp Ta Nea. I had the opportunity to attend and support Gilbert at Camp Ta Nea and after his death the Tribe maintained a relationship with me. I began leading language classes at Camp Ta Nea in 2013 and have attended every year, except when it was cancelled in 2020 due to the

coronavirus pandemic. My relationship with the children over the years has been a source of beauty and joy as I have witnessed them grow and learn more and more about their culture. My relationships with the adults have helped me see that the work I do is important and valued by the community. Over the years, the Coquille Tribe has asked me to work on various other creative projects which has supported me to create materials and allowed tribal members to have engagement with Nuu-wee-ya'. My relationship with the Tribe has provided me with inspiration, an audience for my creativity, and financial support which has helped me survive the challenge of grad school.

To create materials, I rely heavily on my knowledge of the language, the archival data, and inspiration. This is the area of my work where I try to be a vessel to allow language materials to come through.

Part 2
West
Processing Materials

CHAPTER V – ORTHOGRAPHIC VARIATION

This chapter examines the graphic variation found in written word lists collected on seven closely related varieties in 1884 by J. O. Dorsey, attempting to interpret what variation comes from dialectal differences and what this might say about the internal classification, or dialects, of Nuu-wee-ya'. The variation found in Dorsey's graphemes that does not represent dialect differences is interpreted into the modern speech form, creating a transliteration aid.

5.1 The challenge of variation

One of the greatest challenges with interpreting the Nuu-wee-ya' archival materials is handling the variation found within them (Chapter 4.3.3 Determining variation). This variation can reflect dialectal distinctions, linguistic error, or phonetic variation that is too fine-grained to be included in the modern orthography. To be clear, the purpose of determining variation is to understand when orthographic differences reflect dialectal variation and when they are due to differences in the orthographic representation. To make sense of the materials available, this variation must be better understood. While interpreting data can often be troubled by variation, it is especially challenging in situations where the original research and all speakers are gone as we cannot ask clarifying questions. Working with this data is limited to what was documented in the past, new questions or elicitations are not possible. This paper demonstrates, however, that useful information can be derived even from limited and inconsistent language materials.

5.2 Findings

The findings of this paper are based on the interpretation of whether or not correspondences between distinct graphemes in each two varieties form regular patterns. This section first identifies the grapheme correspondences that are regular, and thus are treated as distinct markers of a dialect or variety, then describes each of the correspondences in detail (5.1). The second part discusses how the remaining grapheme changes can be transliterated into the modern speech form (5.2). While this analysis is not intended to be focused on any particular dialect region, the eastern varieties are often highlighted, perhaps indicating that they are indeed more distinct from the northern and southern varieties, with which I am more familiar.

5.2.1 Sound Correspondences

My work has led me to identify that the graphemic variation supports the identification of six consistent sound patterns: (voiced and voiceless) velar stop lenition, word final alveolar stop elision, alveolar and bilabial denasalization, vowel nasalization, and sibilant fronting.

Five of the sound correspondences reflect regular phonological differences in how the three dialects are spoken. Additionally, one variety has one sound correspondence that is distinct from all other varieties in this study. Table 5 illustrates how these correspondences reflect the different speaking regions. The left side of the figure shows what I consider to be dialectal groupings and the right side shows all the varieties used in this research. The varieties match up with the dialect regions to which they belong. The columns between illustrate the different correspondences distributed between the dialects and varieties.

Columns 1-4 illustrate the four sound correspondences that distinguish the eastern dialect from the other two dialects. Column 1 shows that where /gh/ is used in the southern and northern dialect, the eastern dialect has two different sounds: /g/ in the Dakubeh variety and /Ø/ (this symbol means that there is nothing, the absence of a sound) in the Galice variety. Column 2 shows that the eastern dialect has a /k/ where an /x/ is used in the southern and northern dialect. Column 3 illustrates an elision of the word final /t/ that is found in southern and northern dialects. Column 4 illustrates that the nasal consonants in the northern and southern dialects often correspond to oral stops in the eastern dialect, presumably reflecting a process of denasalization. Column 5 illustrates the one sound correspondence that distinguishes eastern and southern dialects, which have nasal vowels where corresponding vowels are oral. Finally, Column 6 illustrates a correspondence between /th/ in Mikwanu to /s/ in every other variety, which presumably reflects the fronting of the Mikwanu sibilant. This innovation distinguishes Mikwanu this variety from all other varieties, with the possible exception of Chasta Costa (Sapir, 1914). The tendencies identified in this chart allow us to group the varieties into three dialects.

Table 5. Sound correspondence distinctions per dialect and variety.

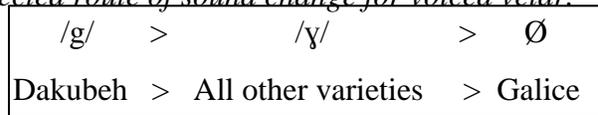
Dialect	Sound Correspondences						Variety
	1 /g:y:Ø/	2 /k:x/	3 /t#:Ø/	4 /d:n/ /b:m/	5 Nasal Vowel	6 /s:th/	
East	/g/	/k/	Ø	/d/ /b/	nasal	/s/	Dakubeh
	/Ø/						Galice
South	/y/	/x/	/t/	/n/ /m/	nasal	/s/	Tolowa
							Chetco
North	/y/	/x/	/t/	/n/ /m/	oral	/s/	Tututni
							Sixes
							Coquille
						/th/	Mikwanu

In the following sections, I describe each of the six correspondences in more detail. In the figures, the grapheme that demonstrates the correspondence is bolded and underlined.

5.2.1.1 Voiced velar stop lenition and elision - /g : ɣ : Ø/

The voiced velar stop correspondence pattern plays out differently for the two eastern varieties: where all the other varieties have an intervocalic velar fricative /ɣ/ (Dorsey’s rx or x, gh in modern orthography), Dakubeh has a velar stop and Galice has nothing. Following the expected pattern of sound change (Campbell 2013), an intervocalic voiced stop would weaken to a fricative, then elide altogether. As such, most likely Dakubeh maintains an older form of the sound, the non-Eastern varieties have lenited that stop to a voiced fricative, and Galice has then lenited that fricative completely. This proposed change is illustrated in Figure 9.

Figure 9. *Expected route of sound change for voiced velar.*



The evidence for this sound change from Dorsey’s materials is illustrated in Table 6. While only two clear cognates with this change are identifiable in Dakubeh and Galice, the complete absence of velar fricatives or intervocalic voiced velar stops in the Galice data set indicates that this is a more general sound change.

Table 6. *Galice intervocalic elision and Dakubeh maintenance.*

English	Tututni (Dorsey 1884g)	Galice (Dorsey 1884b)	Dakubeh (Dorsey 1884a)	Proto-Dene
eye	na- <u>rx</u> ě́	da- <u>Q</u> ě́	da- <u>g</u> e	nəɣ- ‘eye’ (Krauss and Leer 1981:199p)
ear	sû- <u>rx</u> ě́	sa- <u>Q</u> ě́	tsû- <u>g</u> ě́	

5.2.1.2 Voiceless velar stop lenition - *q > /k : x/

In Dorsey’s materials, there are some cognate stems in which the eastern varieties (Galice and Dakubeh) exhibit /k/ (Dorsey’s *k^h*) where all the other varieties exhibit /x/ (Dorsey’s *q*). These phonemes are likely reflexes of Proto-Dene *q, which merged with /k/ in the eastern varieties and merged with /x/ in all the other varieties (Spence 2013).

Table 7. Comparison of /k:x/ in Eastern varieties with Tututni.

English	Tututni (Dorsey 1884g)	Galice (Dorsey 1884b)	Dakubeh (Dorsey 1884a)	Proto Form
saliva	sě- <u>q</u> e	ṭa-cê- <u>k</u> 'e	ṭă tse- <u>k</u> ě	*shw- <u>q</u> 'spit' (Jetté and Jones 2000:724)
neck	<u>q</u> 'wūs	<u>k</u> 'wūs	<u>k</u> 'wūs	-----
foot	<u>q</u> wé'	<u>k</u> we'	-----	-----
otter	<u>q</u> açl-t'úc	<u>k</u> açl-t'ăc	-----	-----

Table 7 illustrates the correspondence between Tututni (which is the form found in the other varieties as well), Galice and Dakubeh. Line one illustrates a lexeme that has a traceable Proto-Dene form that displays this corresponding pattern across the varieties.

5.2.1.3 Word final alveolar stop elision - /t : Ø/

Galice and Dakubeh both exhibit elision of final /t/ on some words, as shown in Table 8, which illustrates two words with the loss of final /t/, alongside one word that retains final /t/. The word that retains final /t/ appears to derive from a different Proto-Dene form, *d, which might explain the difference. There are so few examples we cannot tell if this is a general rule however, is a salient enough difference that it is presented here as a possible distinguishing feature of the eastern dialect.

Table 8. Word final elision of /t/.

English	Tututni (Dorsey 1884g)	Galice (Dorsey 1884b)	Dakubeh (Dorsey 1884a)	Proto-Dene
knuckle	<i>qwû-la-kwüt</i>	<i>la-kwai</i> <u>Ø</u>	-----	*- <u>t</u> ‘knuckle’ (Jetté and Jones 2000:219)
belly	<i>müt</i>	<i>b’ai</i> <u>Ø</u> ²⁸	<i>băi</i> <u>Ø</u>	*w <u>át</u> ‘belly’ (Krauss and Leer 1981:16)
smoke	<i>çlüt</i>	<i>çlüt</i>	-----	*l <u>əd</u> ‘smoke’ (Krauss and Leer 1981:142)

5.2.1.4 Denasalization – /n : d/ and /m : b/

In the eastern varieties, Dakubeh and Galice, we find in almost all cases /d/ and /b/ where other varieties have /n/ and /m/. Krauss and Leer (1981) explain this as denasalization of nasal stops before oral vowels, however, this explanation does not work for every example.

Table 9 illustrates the correspondence between /n/ and /d/ as well as between /m/ and /b/. We see that the /n : d/ correspondences are potentially modern reflexes of two different Proto-Dene sounds *n and *ŋ, whereas the /m : b/ correspondence does not seem to be a reflex of a Proto-Dene nasal, instead possibly descending from *w or *z as illustrated below.

²⁸ The forms for ‘belly’ are not obviously cognate, but the sound correspondences are regular; *b : m* is addressed in the next section. Dorsey seems to use b’ and b interchangeably, with the backwards glottal mark indicating some kind of aspiration. Also, while vowels are not addressed in this paper because the correspondences are so messy, it is common to find a diphthong in Galice and Dakubeh where other varieties have a monophthong, of the same correspondence *û : ai* in the forms for ‘knuckle’.

Table 9. /n:d/ and /m:b/ correspondences between eastern varieties and Tututni.

English	Tututni (Dorsey 1884g)	Galice (Dorsey 1884b)	Dakubeh (Dorsey 1884a)	Proto-Dene
eye	<u>n</u> a-rxě́	<u>d</u> a-ě́	<u>d</u> a-ge	nəχ- ‘eye’ (Krauss and Leer 1981:199p)
body	<u>n</u> úst-’ě	<u>d</u> ast-’e’	<u>d</u> ǎst-’ě	*-nəs-t’e’ ‘body’ (Krauss and Leer 1981:199)
back	mi- <u>n</u> ě	mi- <u>d</u> ě	mi- <u>d</u> ě	*-yən- ‘spine, back’ (Krauss and Leer 1981:200)
belly	<u>m</u> ût	<u>b</u> ’ai	<u>b</u> ǎi	*wát• ‘stomach’ (Krauss and Leer 1981:16)
bladder	<u>m</u> ûl-kûl-lě	<u>b</u> ûl-tcûl-lě	-----	*z-l ‘bladder’ (Jetté and Jones 2000:389)

Table 10 illustrates counterexamples, words in which the correspondences are /n : n/ and /m : m/. All of these precede an oral vowel, which is the conditioning environment posited by Krauss and Leer for Galice and Dakubeh’s denasalized stops.

Table 10. n:n and m:m correspondences between Eastern varieties and Tututni.

English	Tututni (Dorsey 1884g)	Galice (Dorsey 1884b)	Dakubeh (Dorsey 1884a)	Proto-Dene
face	<u>n</u> i	<u>n</u> ’i	<u>n</u> ’i’	*-(nə-) ne•n ‘face’ (Krauss and Leer 1981:21)
arm	kwa- <u>n</u> ě	kwa- <u>n</u> ě	kwa ⁿ -ǎ- <u>d</u> ě	*-gá•-nó’ ‘arm’ (Krauss and Leer 1981:196)
nose	<u>m</u> íc’	<u>m</u> i-sûs	<u>m</u> i-tsûs	-----
back	<u>m</u> i-ně	<u>m</u> i-dě	<u>m</u> i-dě	-----

The /n : n/ correspondence is a reflex of Proto-Dene *n but it is unclear what Proto-Dene form is the source of the /m : m/ correspondence. It could be tied into the

third person possessive forms, as *m-* is one form of the third person possession marker found on inalienably possessed body parts (Golla 1976:220).

While nasal stops in the northern and southern varieties can correspond to nasal stops (Table 10) in the eastern varieties, most cognate stems correspond to denasalized stops (Table 9). The percentages of correspondences with nasal and denasalized stops in Dorsey’s materials are given in Table 11 (for alveolar stops) and Table 12 (for labial stops), based on the number of lexical pairs that either cognate contains a nasal reflex.

Table 11 shows us that for alveolar nasals, in Galice, the number of denasalized and nasal reflexes is almost equal, whereas in Dakubeh there are almost three times as many denasalized reflexes as nasal.

Table 11. Number and Percentage of alveolar nasal stop correspondences.

	n:n	n:d	d:n		n:n	n:d	d:n
Tututni:Galice	6	5	0	Tututni:Dakubeh	1	1	0
Mikwanu:Galice	3	5	0	Mikwanu:Dakubeh	0	6	0
Sixes:Galice	2	3	0	Sixes:Dakubeh	1	1	0
Coquille:Galice	4	3	0	Coquille:Dakubeh	1	6	0
Chetco:Galice	4	4	0	Chetco:Dakubeh	2	2	0
Tolowa:Galice	1	1	0	Tolowa:Dakubeh	1	1	0
Total:	20	21	0	Total:	6	17	0
Percentage:	49%	51%	0%	Percentage:	23%	73%	0%

In Table 12, for bilabial nasals, we see that in Galice, there are over three times as many denasalized reflexes as nasal and half again as many in Dakubeh. Note that there are no examples where a southern or northern variety denasalizes while an eastern variety maintains the nasal – this is seen in the third column of each correspondence set, which shows no attested pair where a nasal in either Galice or Dakubeh corresponds to a denasalized form in any other variety.

Table 12. Number and Percentage of labial nasal stop correspondences.

	m:m	m:b	b:m		m:m	m:b	b:m
Tututni:Galice	0	3	0	Tututni:Dakubeh	0	1	0
Mikwanu:Galice	1	1	0	Mikwanu:Dakubeh	2	2	0
Sixes:Galice	0	1	0	Sixes:Dakubeh	0	0	0
Coquille:Galice	1	3	0	Coquille:Dakubeh	0	1	0
Chetco:Galice	1	2	0	Chetco:Dakubeh	2	1	0
Tolowa:Galice	0	0	0	Tolowa:Dakubeh	0	1	0
Total:	3	10	0	Total:	4	6	0
Percentage:	23%	77%	0%	Percentage:	40%	60%	0%

5.2.1.5 Vowel Nasalization – V : \tilde{V}

Vowel nasalization is a feature found in many but not all Dene languages (Krauss and Leer 1981). It is attested in several Nuu-wee-ya' Oregon varieties: Tolowa, Chetco, Dakubeh and Galice. In these varieties, a nasalized vowel is likely a result of an older /n/ that has been assimilated into the vowel, while in the other varieties the older /n/ has been completely dropped.

Table 13. Nasalization or nasal segments in eastern varieties: Galice and Dakubeh.

English	Tututni (Dorsey 1884g)	Galice (Dorsey 1884b)	Dakubeh (Dorsey 1884a)	Proto-Dene
shoulder-blade	<i>qy-k'w\underline{a}-sk\underline{u}l l\check{e}</i>	<i>kwan\underline{c}-k\underline{u}l-\check{e}</i>	<i>kwan\underline{t}s-k\underline{u}l-e</i>	-----
otter	<i>qa\underline{c}l-t'\acute{u}c</i>	<i>kan\underline{c}l-t'\acute{a}c</i>	-----	-----
horse ²⁹	<i>t\check{c}i-\underline{i}-tcu</i>	<i>t\check{c}li-\underline{i}tc\check{u}</i>	-----	lin ; 'dog' (Krauss and Leer 1981:192)

²⁹ The word for 'horse' is made of the stem 'dog' /hi/, *t \check{c} i* in Dorsey, followed by the stem 'large' /t \check{f} u/, *tcu* in Dorsey.

In Table 13 we can see cognate stems of Dakubeh and Galice compared with Tututni and in Table 14 we can see Tolowa and Chetco compared with Tututni. The other varieties pattern with Tututni in having no vowel nasalization.

In Table 13, we see that one of the vowels in Galice or Dakubeh is either nasalized or followed by a nasal; these vowels correspond to a simple oral vowel in Tututni and the other varieties. In Dorsey’s data, the northern varieties exhibit neither nasalization nor the morpheme *n-* to indicate second person subjects, as seen in the Tututni examples in Table 13, rows 1 and 2. These all seem to be reflexes of a vowel-nasal sequence or a simple nasal in Proto-Dene.

In Table 14, the only Tolowa example in Dorsey’s schedules with nasalization corresponds to a non-nasalized vowel in both Tututni and Chetco. However, the Chetco term appears to have an extra morpheme after the vowel that might have interfered with the nasalization process. Chetco has two other examples in which there is nasalization. One of these, ‘rib’, has a cognate in the Modern Tolowa dictionary (“TDWD” 2018) that indeed has a corresponding nasalized vowel. The other Chetco examples do not have cognates in the modern Tolowa dictionary.

Table 14. Nasalization in Southern varieties: Tolowa and Chetco.

English	Tututni (Dorsey 1884g)	Chetco (Dorsey 1884e)	Tolowa (Dorsey 1884n)	Modern Tolowa ("TDWD" 2018)	Proto- Dene
rib	<i>qwa-k'ě</i>	<i>rxī-qwaⁿ-k'qi</i>	-----	<i>xwaa~ⁿ-k'e'</i>	----
panther	<i>īⁿ-tⁿcu</i>	<i>īⁿ-tⁿcu</i>	-----	-----	----
kidney	<i>qwū-tcaⁿs-ūⁿ-lē</i>	<i>rxī-tcāⁿt'-sa-wāⁿ-lē</i>	<i>tcaⁿ-wēⁿ-lē</i>	-----	----

An example of a grammatical morpheme that centers around this sound sheds more light on the nasal correspondence in Nuu-wee-ya'. The second person subject marker in Tolowa, is indicated through nasalization of the first vowel to the left of the (word-final) verb stem, or by a *n-* or *m-* following the first vowel to the left of the verb stem (Bommelyn, 2006). In the northern dialects there is never an *n-* or nasalized vowel to indicate second person subject. Dorsey recorded few verbs in the eastern dialects, yet the ones recorded had either a nasalized vowel or a nasal consonant for the second person subject marker. The second person subject marker correspondence between all three dialects is shown in Table 15. Both Modern Tolowa and Galice exhibit a nasal property where Tututni has an oral vowel.

Table 15. Use of nasalization in second person subject markers.

English	Tututni (Dorsey 1884g)	Galice (Dorsey 1884b)	Modern Tolowa (“TDWD” 2018)	Proto-Dene
s2 know	<u>ū</u> çl'-ts'it	<u>u</u> çl'-ts'it	'v <u>ml</u> h-ts'it	* <u>ñ</u> ə- 2.sg. subj., (Krauss and Leer 1981:199)
s2 go	te- <u>ʃi</u> 'yă	te- <u>ʃin</u> 'ya	tee-saa <u>~</u> -ya	* <u>ñ</u> ə - 2.sg. subj., (Krauss and Leer 1981:199)
s2 sit down	<u>si</u> 't'a	-----	daa-sin-da	* <u>ñ</u> ə - 2.sg. subj., (Krauss and Leer 1981:199)

Nasalized vowels are not extremely prevalent in any of Dorsey's materials for these southern and eastern varieties. This might be because the varieties that have nasalization are the ones with the least amount of material collected, and in particular, very few verbs were collected. Given that much of the modern nasalization in Tolowa is

attested in the second person subject forms of verbs, since Dorsey collected very few of these, it is not surprising that so few nasalized vowels appear in his schedules.

5.2.1.6 Sibilant Complexification – /s : ʃs/

None of the northern varieties (including Coquille) had distinguishing phonological characteristics, except for one feature in Mikwanu. This feature exhibits as a complexification (or perhaps affrication) of initial sibilants. Dorsey records this with the grapheme *ç*, which in the Bureau of American Ethnology alphabet as used by Dorsey usually signifies /θ/ (Spence 2013:22). However, in the materials collected by Dorsey at Siletz he uses this symbol as part of a digraph to indicate /ʃ/ (see Table 18). Table 16 illustrates some examples of this correspondence in Dorsey’s collection of Mikwanu, Tututni and Coquille. Lines one through four show that the initial sibilant *s* in Tututni and Coquille is found in Mikwanu as *çs*; line five shows one example for which the phrase-medial *s* is found as *tc*’ (/ch’/). Line six shows where the phrase-medial *s* is found in all three varieties.

Table 16. Mikwanu sibilant complexification.

English	Mikwanu (Dorsey 1884f)	Tututni (Dorsey 1884g)	Coquille (Dorsey 1884c)	Proto-Dene
head	<i>çse</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>si</i>	-----
hair	<i>çsũ-gǎ</i>	<i>sũ-gǎ</i>	<i>sũ-ga-ě</i>	-----
ear	<i>çsũ-rxě</i>	<i>sũ-rxě</i>	<i>sũ-xe</i>	-----
saliva	<i>çsê-rxě</i>	<i>sa-rxě</i>	<i>sê-k’qě</i>	* sh w-q’ ‘spit’ (Jetté and Jones 2000:724)
eyelash	<i>nũ-rxût-tc’ũ- pũ-lě</i>	<i>na-rxě sũ-pũl- lě</i>	<i>na-xût-sũ-pũ-lě</i>	-----
cheek	<i>ni-i-sũn</i>	<i>ni-i-sũn</i>	<i>ni-sũn</i>	-wǎš ‘cheek’ (Krauss and Leer 1981:197)

Chasta Costa is also thought to have this sound. Sapir (1914), includes /θ/ in his description of Chasta Costa, however in Dorsey’s limited materials on Chasta Costa, there is no use of /çs/ (/θ/) as found in Mikwanu.

Later recordings of a Mikwanu speaker seems to suggest that this sound is indeed a /θ/. In 1962, Miller Collins, a speaker of the Mikwanu variety, was recorded by Pierce (1962c). These recordings contain some cognate words with Tututni that exhibit an /s : θ/ correspondence (Table 17). Although Collins’ /θ/ does not confirm Dorsey’s affricate transcription, it is the case that Collins’ also gives a s:s correspondence, (as seen in the final row of (Table 16), a finding consistent with Dorsey’s data (as seen on ‘cheek’ row 7 of Table 16).

Table 17 Pronunciation of Mikwanu in 1962 with Tututni Cognates.³⁰

English	Mikwanu (Pierce, 1962c)	Tututni (Pierce 1962a-b)	Proto-Dene
ocean	th ih-xan (Miller Collins)	s ih-xan (Ida Bensell)	-----
potato	gu th (Miller Collins)	gu s (Carrie Streets)	*chw- s /Indian potato/ (Jetté and Jones 2000:642)
man	dis-ne (Miller Collins)	dis-ne (Ida Bensell)	-----

5.2.2 Interpreting Dorsey’s graphemes for modern orthography

While six correspondences were regular in Dorsey’s data, all other differences represent variation in how Dorsey interpreted a phoneme. Many inconsistencies in the transcription appear to represent acceptable variations in pronunciation of a single phoneme, either as the result of idiolect or overly close phonetic transcription (details that

³⁰ Recordings can be heard at nuuweeya.org.

speakers do not consider distinctive). Acceptable variation reflects the wide range used by different speakers of a language to produce a particular phoneme. It appears that Dorsey resorted to close phonetic transcription in response to sounds that are hard to perceive, especially sounds not found in English, like *lh* [ɬ] and *gh* [ɣ]; these phonemes are written in many different ways.

Table 18. Variable graphemes in Dorsey and phoneme that each represent.

Dorsey Graphemes	Associated Phoneme (IPA)	In modern orthography
<i>k, kq, kkq</i>	/k ^h /	<i>k</i> ³¹
<i>kw, kqw</i>	/k ^h w/	<i>kw</i>
<i>kq', k'q, k'</i>	/k'/	<i>k'</i>
<i>k'w, k'qw</i>	/k'w/	<i>k'w</i>
<i>^kq, q</i>	/x/	<i>x</i>
<i>^kqw, qw, q'w</i>	/xw/	<i>xw</i>
<i>r, x, rx, xr, 'x, x'</i>	/ɣ/	<i>gh</i>
<i>çl, ql, sl, ç, sçl, sl?, c-cl', c-çl', cl, çs?, lç</i>	/ɬ/	<i>lh</i>
<i>(ç)lt, tç, tl, c-lt, tçl, tçlk, ctl, 'q, 'k</i>	/tɬ/	<i>tlh</i> ³²
<i>k'ç, t'ç, t'çl, t'ç, çts', t'ql</i>	/tɬ'/	<i>tl'</i> (proposed)
<i>t, t', t'h, t'r, t^{rx}</i>	/t ^h /	<i>t</i>
<i>s, s'</i>	/s/	<i>s</i>
<i>n', n,</i>	/n/	<i>n</i>
<i>tç</i>	/dʒ/	<i>j</i> (proposed)

This variation must be interpreted in the modern orthography to be analyzed and available for others to use. Table 18 presents Dorsey's graphemes that did not participate in a documented correspondence pattern. The first column groups Dorsey's graphemes

³¹ While the /k/ (aspirated, unvoiced velar stop) is part of the modern Tolowa orthography, is not considered to be part of the modern phoneme system. It is probably an allophone of /k'/ (ejective, unvoiced, velar stop) but is included in the modern orthography for borrowed English words such as *ken-di* 'candy' (Bommelyn, 2006: 21).

³² In modern orthography this is often considered to be two separate graphemes *t* and *lh*.

into categories that correspond to a single phoneme. The second and third columns indicate their value in IPA and in the modern orthography respectively.

5.3 Reflections

I close this chapter with reflections on three topics. The first is a reflection on how this research contributes to the field of linguistics. The second reflection is how this information can be further used by the Nuu-wee-ya' language revitalization communities. The third reflection is how this information contributes to the broader methods for language revitalization.

5.3.1 Reflection on contributions to the field of linguistics

This work sheds further light on the internal classification of Nuu-wee-ya'. The sound correspondences between the varieties of Nuu-wee-ya' allow us to group the varieties into three different dialect regions, which correspond to the geographic regions of the homeland. Figure 10 shows which varieties are placed in which dialect region.

Figure 10. Nuu-wee-ya' dialectology

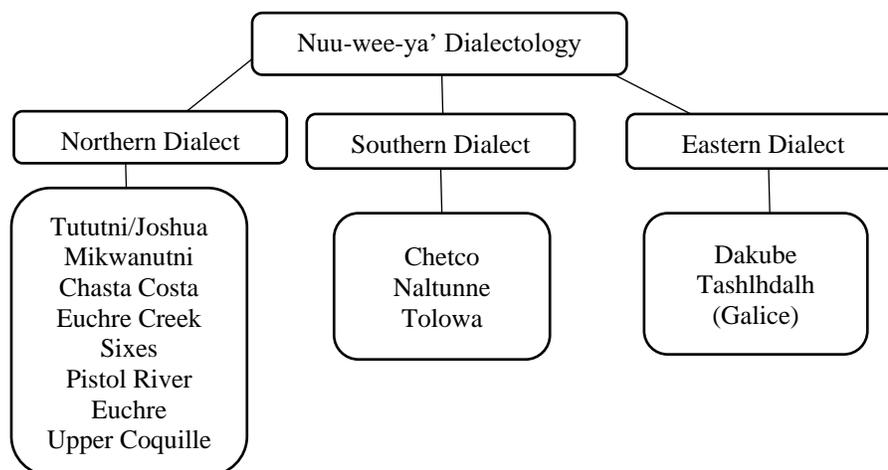
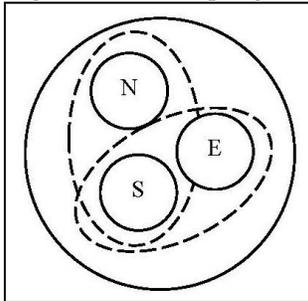


Figure 10 illustrates a three-way split, indicating that not one dialect is more similar to any other one dialect. The findings do show that there are more sound correspondences shared between the northern and southern dialects than between any other two of the three dialects (cf. Table 5). This might even lead us to believe that the internal classification of Nuu-wee-ya' should be double branching with northern and southern on one branch and eastern on another. However, nasal vowels are found in both the southern and eastern dialects and not in the northern. As the data in Dorsey's materials does not show any cognate stems between eastern and southern dialects that have the same nasal vowel (due to small sample size available), we don't know if they developed this together or both developed it separately. Also, the historical frequent contact between all three dialect regions would have caused much cross-pollination of the dialects.

Figure 11. Grouping Nuu-wee-ya' dialect by patterns of regular correspondence



The current understanding of similarities between the dialects are illustrated in **Error! Reference source not found.** The small circles 'N', 'S', and 'E' represents the northern, southern and eastern dialects respectively. The large solid circle around all the dialects indicates that there are similarities between all three dialects, making them one language. The dotted lines around both the northern and southern dialects indicate there are shared features between the northern and southern dialects that the eastern dialect

does not have. The dotted line around the southern and eastern dialects indicates that there is a shared feature between them that the northern dialect does not share. Note that there is no sound correspondence that is shared by only the eastern and northern dialect.

While this research does not inform us completely how distinct these dialects were from one another, it does refine our ability to characterize how they are distinct. This knowledge can feed into the understanding of sound change across the Dene family. For example, comparing dialect differences in other Dene languages might give us more information of how certain sounds developed (such as nasal vowels).

5.3.2 Supporting Nuu-wee-ya' learners

One important aspect of this work for the Nuu-wee-ya' language community is it provides updated information on the needs of the modern orthography. The modern orthography was developed for the southern dialect, so some additions are needed to adapt it to the other dialects and varieties. One of these additions needed would be the addition of the phoneme /θ/ in IPA; this could be represented as *th* in the modern orthography, following the pattern of digraphs and, conveniently, using the digraph that represents English /θ/. This digraph would be needed for Mikwanu, as well as Chasta Costa as described by Sapir in his materials of Chasta Costa, a variety located just upriver from Mikwanu (Sapir, 1914).

Another possible addition is the ejective lateral affricate /tʰ'/.³³ This sound is found in both Dorsey's materials and in published phonemic charts for Tututni, Chasta

³³ Some of the distinction between */lh*, *tl*, and *t'l* are associated with a prefix position in the verb, called a classifier in Dene research. In Dorsey's materials there was variation between these sounds in this verbal position but there was not enough verbal data across the varieties to come to any conclusions. Further analysis of the more modern materials will hopefully unveil more on this topic.

Costa and Galice (Sapir, 1914; Golla, 1976; Hoijer, 1966). Since this phoneme is not in the phonemic description found in the Tolowa phonemic chart, it currently has no grapheme designated for it in the modern orthography. If written in the pattern of the modern orthography, it might be written either as /tlh'/ or, if the digraph system is upheld, as /tɬ'/.

Finally, there is another phoneme included in the phonemic charts of the various dialects (Figure 1) that is not found in the Modern orthography. This sound, written as *dʒ* by Hoijer and as *ɬç* by Dorsey, apparently indicates a voiceless unaspirated /tʃ/.³⁴ Language revitalization workers in the northern region have come across this sound and have been writing it as a *j*. It is found in some highly used lexemes such as *jii-la* 'hello'. While further analysis is needed to determine whether this is a distinct phoneme, it is certainly a distinct sound found in some dialects that cannot be distinguished in the modern orthography.

Another important aspect for the community is knowing what distinct sounds typify the different dialects. Language is an important part of identity; uncertainty about how different dialects sound can make learners unsure how they should talk if they want to reflect their dialect in speech. Knowing and using distinctive sounds give speakers a badge of identity that can be recognized across the learning community.

Knowing the common correspondences can also allow learners to interpret language materials from other varieties. This can allow materials from one dialect to be

³⁴ Dorsey's use of the 'plus' diacritic under the consonant is used to indicate voicelessness and unaspiratedness as distinct from *tc* (/tʃ^h/ in IPA) (Powell 1880). Dorsey actually writes this as an 'x' under the grapheme, which is a convention not supported by modern Orthographic keyboards.

more accessible to learners of another dialect. This can aid with more learning opportunities as well as supporting, more cohesion for all the speakers of Nuu-wee-ya' in general as learners of one dialect learn about the characteristics of the other dialects. Additionally, having a more detailed list of how to transliterate Dorsey helps future language learners interpret Dorsey's data for themselves.

CHAPTER VI – LEXICAL VARIATION

This chapter is a continuation of variation exploration described in chapter 5. This chapter does not focus on the difference in graphemes but explores the percentage of cognate stems between each variety. This means I am measuring how many words recorded in the semantic elicitation lists for each variety by Dorsey are cognate – meaning that an authority of one variety gave the same word (with potential phonological or morphological distinctions) rather than an entirely different word.

These findings are based on very small sample sizes, thus cannot be statistically significant. Also, we cannot be sure that the absence of a cognate stem in a word list means that that word is not used in that variety. However, statistically significant findings are not needed to gain value from this particular research. The value of this research is to demonstrate the tendencies of cognate lexemes between varieties that can highlight different words that can be used as ‘badges of identity’. ‘Badges of identity’ are elements of one’s speech (dialect or word choice) that indicates where someone is from.

6.1 What is lexical variation

To better understand how many of the word-pairs between varieties are cognate or not, I compared the percentage of word pairs between village-varieties that have cognate stems, partially cognate stems and non-cognate stems. Cognate stems are where a word pair between the varieties has a clearly cognate stem; in some cases, words in the pairs might be exactly the same or they could have orthographic or non-derivational morphological differences. These three types of cognate stems are illustrated in Table 19.

Table 19. Cognate stem pairs – Tututni and Coquille

English	Tututni (Dorsey 1884g)	Coquille (Dorsey 1884c)	Type of cognate stem
Face	ni	ni	Exactly the same
Mat	mûk-tc'í	mût-tc'í	With orthographic shift
We (2) see	rxê-şit-i	rxit-ĩ	With morphological shift

A non-cognate stem pair is where the stems are clearly not cognate between the dialect-varieties. A non-cognate stem pair is illustrated in Table 20.

Table 20. Non-cognate stem in Tututni and Coquille

English	Tututni (Dorsey 1884g)	Coquille (Dorsey 1884c)
Green	mûl-ts' u-wi	tûl-ma

A word pair marked as non-cognate does not indicate if the two stems are exclusive to each variety or allowed in both. They could be multiple stems for the same form that are found across varieties. Looking at the percent of these non-cognate stems, informs us a little of how lexically different speakers from different villages might have sounded.

A partial cognate stem refers to a word pair that is a compound of two stems in one variety and in the other variety a single stem that is cognate to one of the stems in the first variety. Table 21 illustrates this. In this example, the Tututni word for 'rump' glossed as 'butt' or 'buttocks' and is cognate with the Coquille stem. The second syllable in Tututni is the word for 'meat' or 'flesh'.

Table 21. Partially cognate stem

English	Tututni (Dorsey 1884g)	Coquille (Dorsey 1884c)
Rump	t'ça-sûn	t'çla'

6.2 Findings

Across the village-varieties, all words pairs either have a cognate stem, a different stem, or a lack of a stem. In this analysis I compare the percentage stems that are fully cognate, partially cognate, or non-cognate. These findings are illustrated in Table 22. The number in parentheses indicates the number of cognate stems between the two varieties.

Table 22. Percentage of Nuu-wee-ya' cognate stems and different stems.

		Percentage of Cognate stem – Percentage of partial cognate stem									
		Tututni	Mikwanu	Sixes	Coquille	Chetco	Tolowa	Galice	Dakube		
Percentage of non-cognate stem	Tututni		77% (124) 4% (6)	79% (82) 8% (8)	66% (188) 4% (12)	73% (148) 6% (13)	64% (19) 7% (2)	52% (12) 6% (14)	60% (52) 2% (2)	Northern Dialects	
	Mikwanu	19% (31)		87% (34) 0% (0)	63% (90) 5% (7)	73% (88) 1% (1)	53% (9) 0% (0)	58% (74) 2% (2)	54% (54) 2% (2)		
	Sixes	14% (14)	13% (5)		56% (37) 15% (10)	62% (38) 3% (2)	54% (7) 0% (0)	38% (12) 0% (0)	69% (11) 0% (0)		
	Coquille	31% (87)	32% (46)	29% (19)		60% (101) 7% (11)	63% (10) 0% (0)	55% (97) 15% (26)	57% (51) 0% (0)		
	Chetco	22% (43)	26% (31)	35% (21)	34% (58)		50% (10) 0% (0)	46% (66) 4% (5)	52% (28) 4% (2)	Southern Dialects	
	Tolowa	30% (9)	47% (8)	46% (6)	38% (6)	50% (10)		53% (10) 0% (0)	64% (7) 0% (0)		
	Galice	42% (98)	41% (52)	63% (20)	31% (55)	50% (71)	47% (9)			67% (59) 6% (5)	Eastern Dialects
	Dakube	38% (33)	45% (45)	31% (5)	43% (38)	45% (24)	36% (4)	27% (24)			
		Northern Dialects				Southern Dialects		Eastern Dialects			

For each dialect pairing the top right half shows the percentage of cognate stems as well as the percentage of partially-cognate stems. The bottom left shows the percentage of non-cognate stems. The northern village dialects (Tututni, Mikwanu, and

Sixes and Coquille) are placed on the left and top portion of the chart followed by the southern dialects (Tolowa and Chetco). The eastern dialects (Galice and Dakube) are on the right and bottom part of the chart. Each square within the chart represents percentage of cognate stems in the top corner and different stems in the bottom corner of each village dialect pairs.

If you only look at the cognate stems, excluding the partially cognate stems it appears that all of the northern dialects have a very high percentage of cognate stems, except for Coquille. Tututni and Mikwanu have 77% cognate stems, Tututni and Sixes have 79% cognate stems and Mikwanu and Sixes has 87% cognate stems. Coquille has 66% cognate stems with Tututni, 63% with Sixes and 56% with Mikwanu. Initially, this implies that Coquille appears to be lexically diverse from the other northern varieties. However, if you add the partially cognate stems to this percentage, Coquille seems to be a lot more cognate to the other northern varieties. With the combination of cognate and partially cognate stems, Coquille is 70% cognate with Tututni, 68% cognate with Mikwanu and 71% cognate with Sixes (the closest village variety geographically). Regardless, Coquille does have less cognate forms with the other northern varieties.

When comparing the northern varieties to the other dialect groups Tututni and Mikwanu appear to have high numbers of cognates with Chetco as both are 73% cognate (79% cognate with Tututni and 74% cognate with Mikwanu if partially cognate stems are added). Sixes and Coquille have fewer cognate stems with Chetco. Sixes has 62% cognate stems (65% with partial cognates), and Coquille has 60% cognate stems (67% with partial cognates).

The northern varieties have less cognates with Tolowa than with Chetco with 53%-64% cognate stems. The northern varieties seem to have fewer cognate stems with Galice with 38%-58% cognate stems and more cognate stems with Dakubeh with 54%-69% cognate stems. Notably, Dakubeh is 69% cognate with Sixes whereas Galice is 38% cognate with Sixes. This is an unexpected finding, given the phonological differences and geography between these two dialects. That is, the geographic location of Galice is closer than Dakubeh is to the northern dialect. This difference might be due to the limited number of word-pairs found for these dialects.

Chetco, as mentioned, shares many cognate stems with the northern varieties, however it is only 50% cognate with the other southern dialect Tolowa. Chetco has a lower number of cognate stems with Galice (46%) and Dakubeh (52%) than Tolowa has with Galice (53%) and (64%). The difference between Tolowa and Chetco is possibly due to koineization effects as Chetco speakers were relocated to the Siletz reservation with the other northern dialects. The findings also could be the result of the small amount of Tolowa data available, while there is much information on Tolowa, the archival information on Tolowa collected by Dorsey is relatively small and could not provide many cognate stems. A future comparison between more modern materials could indicate the accuracy of this analysis of cognate stems. It is intriguing that Tolowa has the most cognate stems with Tututni (northern) and Dakubeh both with 64% cognate stems. If partial cognate stems are included Tolowa is still 64% cognate with Dakubeh but 71% cognate with Tututni.

The eastern varieties Galice and Dakubeh are 67% cognate (73% with partial cognates included). They have different percentages of cognates with the other varieties, most notably as mentioned earlier Galice has 38% cognate stems with Sixes whereas Dakubeh has 69% cognate stems with Sixes.

The word pairs that are non-cognate between village varieties are examples of terms that can be used as badges of identity. Table 23 illustrates some terms that were unique to a single village-variety in Dorsey.

Table 23. Terms unique to village varieties in Dorsey (1884).

Village variety	Term	English Gloss
Tututni (Dorsey, 1884g)	<i>sa-ta'-k'wĩ-li</i>	blackbird
Mikwanu (Dorsey, 1884f)	<i>ca-kwũt</i>	hip
Sixes (Dorsey, 1884l)	<i>tã-ku-lec-li</i>	otter
Coquille (Dorsey, 1884c)	<i>tũl-ma</i>	Green
Tolowa (Dorsey, 1884n)	<i>te-çlãt'</i>	shell-fish (an ocean sp.)
Chetco (Dorsey, 1884e)	<i>ta-ni-sê-ni</i>	Otter, land
Galice (Dorsey, 1884b)	<i>qwũn-ci-k'u</i>	soot
Dakubeh (Dorsey, 1884a)	<i>mi-tcã-dě</i>	hip

6.3 Reflections

This research shows us some different phonemic characteristics of the different dialects and village-varieties that supports the division in dialects into southern, eastern and northern regions. This research does not fully determine if Upper Coquille should indeed be in its own dialect grouping or not.

In this data, Coquille has only 60% cognate stems with all the other dialects but is not phonemically distinct from the of the Lower Rogue village dialects (except for the minor differences found in Mikwanu). This corroborates Golla's findings that their

distinctiveness is mainly reliant on distinct vocabulary (Golla 2011). This also suggests that based on lexical differences it could be determined as a distinct dialect but based on phonological differences it is aligned with the northern dialect. What is unclear is whether the Coquille vocabulary is distinct, or just the favored way of speaking by the Coquille informant or the Coquille community.

Tolowa has distinct sound changes as well as only 60% cognate stems with all other dialects. This suggests that it is perhaps the most distinct of the village-varieties. This might be due to the dialect contact and koineization that occurred at Siletz in which Tolowa did not participate in. These findings push a little at the assumption that Chetco-Tolowa is one homogenous grouping, since Chetco is similar to both Tututni and Tolowa. We cannot be sure if the differences are due to the impact of dialect convergence on the reservation. Since this Tolowa data comes from one speaker and indeed one village-variety of Tolowa, Xaa-wvn'-k'wvt, perhaps further analysis of the other village-varieties of Tolowa would shed light on this.

Current Upper Coquille Language revitalization work is based on Lower Rogue data as a result of teaching done at Coquille from 2003-2008 by Gilbert Towner, a rememberer of Mikwanu and Tututni village dialects. It makes sense that the Coquille Indian Tribe would like to learn their dialect, Upper Coquille, but the data has not been readily available. Knowing that the Coquille sounds are the same as the other northern varieties, it is advisable that they continue learning the Lower Rogue data that is more available and as the dialect material becomes more available include this vocabulary. This allows them to stay current and be able to communicate with other language

revitalization projects, while maintaining some individuality through their unique vocabulary.

Tolowa has a well-developed language revitalization program, which is continuing analysis to better understand the language. Continuing to explore the differences and similarities between Tolowa and of the northern and eastern dialect forms will provide more linguistic material from which the nature and structure of Nuu-wee-ya' can be studied.

Tolowa language revitalization is extremely valuable to other language revitalization groups because they have been implementing conversation and speaking for many years. Learners of the northern dialect have learned and can continue to learn an incredible amount from Tolowa. By knowing what makes a dialect distinct from Tolowa, a learner can apply what they have learned to their own dialect. This work and future work on dialect differences and similarities will greatly aid to this process.

Learners and descendants of village-varieties and dialects in which there is no tribally sponsored program, such as the eastern dialects and some of the lower Rogue dialects, this work provides information so that they may use material from the other dialects but also learn vocabulary and the particular sound changes that represent their own variety. Due to the variety of the dialects in Nuu-wee-ya', it is recommended that any learner of any dialect be as aware the other dialects to better understand and interpret the materials they are learning.

For the continued organizational analysis of Nuu-wee-ya' dialects this work helps to better interpret the differences seen within the Dorsey orthography. This helps as we develop how the data will be spelled in the modern orthography as well as ensure that grammatical analysis will not be confused by sound changes.

Part 3
North
Grammatical Analysis

CHAPTER VII – A LEARNER-SPEAKERS’ GUIDE TO NUU-WEE-YA’ GRAMMAR

The main purpose of this chapter is to provide learner-speakers with some background to Nuu-wee-ya’ grammar. This purpose comes in reaction to the challenge of writing linguistic analysis in a way that is understandable and useable by the community. This problem exists due to both the complexity of linguistics and the impact of a legacy of research that has objectified and used the language data of communities without supporting the community. While many linguists now are eager to support communities, the generations of miscommunication have created barriers to the ability of researchers to convey information, and also to the communities' interest in and capability to receive information.

This chapter starts with a description of the challenge in communication between linguists and community members (7.1). This is followed by a discussion of what grammar is, what the point of talking about grammar is, and who is interested in grammar (7.2). Next is a description of the topics Nuu-we-ya’ speakers need to keep in mind while speaking (7.3). With this background, the next section describes the 10 chapters of this dissertation dedicated to Nuu-wee-ya’ grammar and describes how they can support the use of Nuu-wee-ya’ (7.4). The final section of this chapter (7.5) provides comments on the nature of the examples, including an explanation of the structure of the many examples included in these grammar chapters, a table of abbreviations used, and a discussion of some issues that might come up while reading the examples.

7.1 Linguist-speaker communication

This section is aimed at all audiences, to provide a common groundwork of understanding as to why I take the time to speak directly to my community. This section continues with a description of the problem (7.1.1) and a discussion on my approach (7.1.2).

7.1.1 Describing the problem

The challenge of communication between linguists and communities is an inherited problem that stems from societal perspectives and interactions that have occurred over the past centuries. The treatment of indigenous peoples and languages as objects of study has created a situation where information from indigenous cultures is used for academic advancement without serving the people from whom the information was taken. There are two main problems. The first is that the data collected on indigenous people often doesn't include the questions these people might have wanted to answer. This is a particular issue for revitalization efforts today that are based on archival linguistic data, as the questions that produced the data were not asked with either the community or indeed future learners in mind (Spence, 2018). The data collected by someone who doesn't fully understand the culture is inevitably interpreted through a foreign lens, and thus is potentially inaccurate and misleading. The second problem is that this pattern further reinforces larger societal patterns of inequality and racism — in fact, there are pervasive instances in colonial-framed culture and in academia where indigenous people have been looked down upon and their intelligence questioned.

While the problem of inequality has been articulated and discussed through Native studies, and while there have been important changes in the dynamics between

modern linguists and communities, this dynamic has caused additional problems based on lack of trust on the communities' part (Smith, 1999; Sabzalian, 2019). Smith describes an example of this as “what may have begun as early fanciful, ill-informed opinions or explanations of indigenous life and customs quickly entered the language and became ways of representing and relating to indigenous peoples” (Smith, 1999: 79). She continues to say “they [the opinions] continue to frame the discourses on indigenous issue of a particular society and account in part for the very specific use of language, including terms of abuse” (Smith, 1999: 79).

Deloria, fed up with the way academia has taken knowledge without supporting the indigenous peoples provides a specific historical context in which academics may have been able to create positive change for indigenous peoples.

Compilation of useless knowledge “for knowledge’s sake” should be utterly rejected by the Indian people. We should not be objects of observation for those who do nothing to help us. During the crucial days of 1954, when the Senate was pushing for termination of all Indian rights, not one single scholar, anthropologist, sociologist, historian, or economist came forward to support the tribes against the detrimental policy. How much had scholars learned about Indians from 1492 to 1954 that would have placed termination in a more rational light? Why didn’t the academic community march to the side of the tribes? (Deloria 1988: 94)

Early American linguistic research may have had valiant reasons for undertaking research and the legacy of this research is beyond valuable to many communities who have lost many or all of their speakers. The belief that indigenous peoples were less capable, or that they needed to be saved, or that the languages were doomed, created a pervasive research dynamic that was not in the best interest of the communities – even though it provided the wealth of archival resources that exist today.

These problems do not fall individually on our linguistic forefathers, rather on the societal system they fit into. The social dynamic that was occurring worldwide, which elevated the value of ‘civilized’ cultures over indigenous cultures, wound its way into many intercultural interactions. That dynamic still has an impact on the way that these cultures interact now. The most profound impact is that there is still a lack of expertise about how to share knowledge respectfully across the cultures. The lack of knowledge is especially challenging when trying to share linguistic revelations to the community the language comes from. Sharing information with the community can trigger old wounds and can create discord. For me, it is an issue because I do not know the best way to ensure that my own research is understandable to my community.

Part of the problem in linguistics is, fundamentally, that linguists have written for linguists. There is an understanding in the field about the limitations of linguistic research that is not always known by the community members. As community members, it can be frustrating to read an article about your language, and either not be able to understand it or feel that there are huge holes in the work that aren’t necessarily acknowledged. Of course, they are not acknowledged because it is understood in linguistics that the work you do is only the work you do, an understanding taught through years of graduate work, an understanding that is not always known to those outside of academia. Again, I have no ready answer for this, I just feel that to figure out how to communicate successfully, it is important to understand the dynamics of the challenge of communication.

The problem of linguist-speaker communication has been a concern of the group Natives4Linguistics formed to broaden native participation in the field of linguistics.³⁵ This group has hosted conversations and presentations at LSA 2019 and online working meetings since then. Their purpose and commitment are leading the way to support understanding and inclusion. My opportunity to participate in some of the conversations was one of the primary reasons I decided to present my research from an indigenous perspective.

7.1.2 An approach to providing linguistic information

When I started my research of Nuu-wee-ya' as an undergraduate student, I discovered that the complex topics conveyed in linguistics rely on assumptions one learns while being trained, which made it challenging to communicate linguistic topics to community members who had no linguistic training. I spent many hours talking with the others learning from Gilbert Towner in an attempt to convey linguistic topics. I discovered that with metaphor and real-life examples, I could describe the grammatical structures of Nuu-we-ya'. Importantly though, this involved many one-on-one hours of conversation, in which I could react to the needs of each person.

When I began this research, I intended to write a learner's grammar but realized that writing the grammatical structure and describing what someone needs to know to understand the grammar was too much to do. The advice given to me was to just not worry about the community members and just do the research for now and find a way to share the information after my dissertation was done. As much as I tried to do that, focus

³⁵ <https://natives4linguistics.wordpress.com/>

only on linguistics took away from the community focus in trying to do just linguistics, I was not letting the true value of my findings shine.

Thus, I broke my own expectation that this grammar could look like any other grammar, and I started working on providing the information I could in as clear a way as I could. When I finished writing the grammar and folding it into indigenous frameworks, there remained the need to help those without linguistics training to interpret my grammatical descriptions. I see this grammar not as a description of abstract patterns, nor a sequenced planned approach to teach grammar, but rather as a grammar that focuses on providing access to linguistic knowledge. My hope is that this grammatical description be *accessible*.

This chapter is my attempt to bridge the communication gap between linguistics and my community. By both describing the issue and by describing the things that a speaker needs to keep in mind while speaking Nuu-wee-ya', my hope is that this dissertation can provide a background for and a model of how to communicate. We await to see if this is a successful model.

7.2 A background to grammar

Now that we have discussed the need for communication, I address what grammar is, what the point of grammar is, and who is interested in grammar.

Grammar is a description of the structures and patterns (sometimes called “rules”) of a language. Grammar also describes what types of structure and information are effectively communicate to other speakers. Grammatical information describes the types of words in a language, the structure of these words, and the types of meanings conveyed

by each type of word. Grammar is the guidelines of how a language is used. For languages that have few speakers, grammar is an essential way to gain the knowledge of how to speak.

While grammar is essential to speaker and understanding, explicit knowledge about grammar is not essential — most speakers of English could not tell you much about the grammar of English. The explicit study of grammar is for those who are interested in grammar, regardless of their background. There are many types of language learners: some are fascinated by the ‘how’ behind linguistic structures, other learners just want to talk and don’t particularly want to know why they talk the way they do. However, there is no one who grammar is not for. What I am trying to say is that if someone is intrigued by grammar, then that is who grammar is for — you do not have to be highly scholarized to be interested in grammatical structures. I say this in encouragement of any Nuu-wee-ya’ learner-speakers who finds this type of work interesting. Whatever portion of your language you are interested in, whether it is vocabulary, grammatical structure, or both, please explore and don’t feel that you aren’t allowed to enjoy grammar.

Grammar is specifically helpful for those who are creating language materials for others to learn. Much of the information contained in this book will not be helpful to all learners, but it I hope it can be used as a resource when questions come up.

7.3 Some topics of grammar

In this section, I introduce some components of the grammatical portion of this dissertation, things to come in chapters 8-17. These chapters came about because I was trying to answer three specific questions, which seem to show up in various ways when addressing issues that have gotten in the way of my language use, and what I have heard

from other learner-speakers. This is not to say that I have addressed all of the questions, but this is what I could get to.

The three main questions I have tried to begin to answer are:

1. what are the different types of words (or parts of speech) in Nuu-wee-ya', and how are they used in the texts analyzed for this research?
2. What are the ways that long sentences are put together?
3. How do verb stems and verb prefixes work together to make meaning in the verb?

7.3.1 Parts of speech

There are six chapters dedicated to the question of the different parts of speech of Nuu-wee-ya' words. The first is Chapter 8, on verbs, which describes the structure of the verb word, the types of prefixes found in verbs and an explanation of how each prefix type is used, providing examples from the describable examples found in the data. Chapter 9 describes the different enclitic particles, and how they are used to contribute meaning to other parts of speech and to the sentence (the clause). Chapter 10 is all about nouns, briefly describing how they are formed, how they are modified and how they are possessed. Chapter 11 describes the modifiers found in the dataset, including both adjectives, which modify nouns, and adverbs, which modify verbs. Chapter 12 explores positionals and directionals. Chapter 13 looks at the function words that contribute meaning to the entire sentence or clause, words like 'and then' or 'because'.

7.3.2 A start on clause structure

The first think when studying clause structure is to understand what a clause is. A clause is an utterance made from multiple words that contain a subject and a predicate

(verb). One clause can be a complete sentence, however within a sentence can be multiple clauses. A detailed survey of all clause types could not fit into the scope of this work. However, my own need to understand how clauses fit together in sentences pushed me towards an initial exploration of clause structure. To illustrate my work in progress, Chapter 14 focuses on all the structures found in one particular text, which I have annotated. This means that for each line of the text I describe in detail the grammatical components of both the words and clauses. While this is not a conclusive or all-encompassing study, it provides insight into the different types of clauses and how clauses are strung together.

7.3.3 How verbs make meaning

The last three chapters of the grammar description explore how the meaning of verbs is expressed. The formation of Dene verbs and the mapping between meaning and structure is complex and usually irregular. This causes issues for learner-speakers trying to navigate the verbs themselves. There are a few chapters that discuss how verbs make meaning in this dissertation. Chapter 15 discusses how verb meaning has been described in prior Dene literature, introducing the perspectives that linguists have taken on verb structure in related languages. Chapter 16 looks at the ways that a few very similar-looking prefixes can be separated based on how they impact the meaning of the verb. Finally, Chapter 17 looks in more detail at the way that one particular verb stem combines with different prefixes to yield different meanings.

7.4 What to keep in mind in Nuu-wee-ya' grammar

There are two general areas of knowledge that learner-speakers need to keep in mind when using Nuu-wee-ya'. The first is the structure of the language and the second

are the types of information conveyed in the structures. The structure of the language refers to the types of words and how those words are formed. The types of information indicate the types of topics a person needs to think about when they talk.

7.4.1 Structure

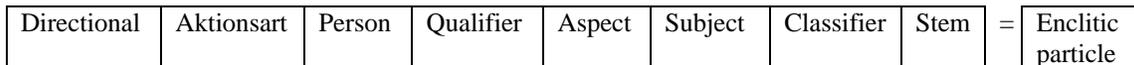
One can look at language structure in many different ways. Here I focus on describing the types of words and how they are formed. I also briefly discuss sentence structure. There are six main types of words that I discuss in this dissertation, and each has a chapter dedicated to it: verbs, enclitic particles, nouns, modifiers, postpositions and other directional words, and other function words. This section discusses the basic properties of each of these parts of speech and section 7.4.2 discusses the types of information conveyed in each structure.

7.4.1.1 Verbs

The verbs are the most structurally complex type of word in Nuu-wee-ya', something that is characteristic of Dene languages. The verbs are structured based on a word-final stem preceded by multiple kinds of prefixes, each containing different types of information. A verb stem in Dene languages is a unit that conveys broad information of the type of action occurring. The prefixes are units that attach to the front of the stem. The prefixes come in a fixed order, but there are a lot of possible prefixes, not all categories are present in each word. The critical point regarding the structure of verbs is that there is always a specific certain order to the prefixes that occur in a particular verb. Figure 12 shows the main categories of prefixes found in the Nuu-wee-ya' verb. There are 7 categories of prefixes listed. Some Dene languages have many more categories of prefixes described in their grammar, e.g. Slave (Rice, 2000) and Witsuwit'en (Hargus,

2011). While the categories described here could maybe be split into more categories, as seen in Slave and other languages, we are not yet at the stage to break down the relative order of the prefix categories any more than shown. Indubitably, future research will be able to say more about the fine details of the ordering of verbal prefixes. However, my goal here is to provide a general framework to the structure of the verb.

Figure 12. *Nuu-wee-ya'* verb structure.



In Figure 12, we see the categories of the verbal prefixes and the order they are in. As we can see, the verb stem is on the right end of the word. The verb stem is a syllable that conveys the root meaning of the action. Left of this are the 7 prefix categories. For a particular word, there might be a prefix from each of these categories, from only some of these categories, or in a few cases, from none of these categories. Additionally, enclitic particles can be added after the verb stem. These are separate words in their own right that are bound to other words, such as the verb. They are discussed in the next section, but because of their close ties to the verbs I mention them here to show where they are found. I discuss verbs in more detail in Chapters 8, 15, 16, and 17.

7.4.1.2 Enclitic particles

As just mentioned, enclitic particles are grammatical words that attach to the end of other words. This is much like English contractions, e.g. *can't*, in which the word *not* attaches to the end of the word *can* in a shortened form. In English, all the contractions are reductions of a full word. In *Nuu-wee-ya'* it is possible that some of the enclitics are a shortened version, but we do not have completed analyses that can determine this.

However, all the enclitic particles attach to the end of a word and sound connected to that

word as if they were a suffix. In Nuu-wee-ya', enclitic particles are only one syllable long and are found on multiple types of words, including verbs and nouns. There might be examples of them attached to modifiers and directionals, but the written archive doesn't always make it clear where word boundaries are. I discuss enclitic particles in more detail in Chapter 9.

7.4.1.3 Nouns, Modifiers, Positionals, Function words

I group the remaining four types of words together in this description, because their structure is all similar. Nouns, modifiers, Positionals, and clausal words all are much simpler in structure than verbs. They are made with either a single stem, from compound stems (like two words put together), or with simple affix added to a stem.

Nouns are often made from single stems or a combination of stems. Some nouns have enclitic particles that help to signify different meanings. Nouns can also be possessed with possession prefixes and/or a possession suffix. I discuss nouns in more detail in Chapter 10.

Many modifiers originate from nouns and thus have a similar structure, although some modifiers are verbs and so have a verb-like structure. Noun-like modifiers do not take possession markers. I discuss modifiers in more detail in Chapter 11.

Many postpositionals also seem to originate from nouns. They do not take possession markers, but they are required to either have a noun phrase immediately before the positional or a person prefix that indicates what the position is in reference to. Some of these person markers are the same as the prefixes that indicate who is possessing

a noun, but positionals have can also have other person markers, such as the reciprocal or reflexive, to indicate the reference. I discuss postpositionals in more detail in Chapter 12.

Function words originate, for the most part, from adverb modifiers. Many of the frequently used function words are compound forms containing words such as ‘that’ and ‘then’. I discuss function words in more detail in Chapter 13.

7.4.1.4 Basic clause structure

The basic order of Nuu-wee-ya’ clauses is subject, then object, then verb. This order is found in the majority of phrases, although in some cases the object or the subject is found after the verb, either as a result of focusing an argument, or perhaps as a result of influence from English.

7.4.2 Meaning

Now that we have discussed the structure of words let us turn our heads to the kinds of information each type of word can convey. The point of this discussion is to help our learner-speakers have a list of the topics that must be kept in mind when producing knowledge.

7.4.2.1 Verbs

The structure of verbs is complex, so it is not surprising that the meanings conveyed in verbs are more complex in than any other type of Nuu-wee-ya’ word. This section will go into more detail than sections on the other parts of speech to help ease us into this complexity. There are many different kinds of information that a learner-speaker has to keep straight. This includes: the action or state (Chapter 8.2 Verb stem; the participants, people or things involved (Chapter 8.3.1 Subject, 8.3.2 Object); other

information about the participants, like the shape or number of the people or things (Chapter 8.2 Verb stem 8.3.4 Plural/dual; the inherent timing of the action, Aktionsart (Chapter 8.6.2 Aktionsart); the completeness of the action, Aspect (Chapter 8.5 Aspect), other general characteristics of the action (Chapter 8.6.3 Qualifiers), and the relative position of the action to the referents (Chapter 8.6.1 Directional prefixes). In this section I discuss each category of morpheme found in verbs and discuss the types of meanings that are conveyed by that category of meaning. Remember prefix categories are grouped by their location in the verb, so some types of meanings are found in multiple categories and some categories have multiple types of meanings.

In Figure 13, we see an expanded version of the structure of the verb already presented in Figure 12, listing the kinds of meanings expressed in each category. I leave enclitic particles out of this table, as they are discussed in the next section.

Figure 13. Types and meanings of Nuu-wee-ya' verb structure

Directional	Aktionsart	Person	Qualifier	Aspect	Subject	Classifier	Stem
relationship of the position of the action and the nouns involved	descriptive information about inherent qualities of verb	third person subject object dual plural passive reflexive reciprocal	round stick-like areal	imperfective perfective progressive stative	first and second person subject	valence voice	core meaning of the verb

Starting at the right side of this table, the last form in the Nuu-wee-ya' verb is the verb stem. Verb stems are used to indicate the core meaning of the verb, such as 'handle' or 'go' or 'carry'. These are usually generic actions, which get refined into more precise verbal meanings by the addition of one or more prefixes. Some verb stems change form

depending on the number or shape of the subject or object (discussed in chapters 8 and 17).

Closest to the verb stem is three categories of “inner prefixes”, each of which has a meaningful zero. This means that the lack of a prefix in that slot actually conveys information. For the other prefix categories, if there is no form in their slot, it just means the kind of information in that category is not expressed. Of the inner prefixes, the closest to the verb is the category of *Classifier* prefixes (see section 8.4.4). These are really old forms, and sometimes it is not clear how (or even if) a classifier prefix changes the meaning of the resulting verb. When a classifier prefix does provide information, it sometimes indicates the *valence*, that is how many participants are involved in the action, or the *voice*, such as whether the verb is passive or not. The next inner prefix category contains prefixes that express person of the *subject* (see section 8.3.1), either first person (‘I’, ‘we’) or second person (‘you’, ‘you-all’), or (with no prefix) third person (‘she/he/it’, ‘they’). The next prefix category is called *aspect* (see section 8.5) and it contains prefixes that express whether or not the action is completed. To be more specific, these forms give information like whether the verb is *progressive* (ongoing or continuing action), *imperfective* (action that is not complete), *perfective* (action that is complete) or *optative* (action that the speaker desires to happen in the future).

The first category of “outer” prefixes is a small group of qualifiers (see section 8.6.3). These seem to be remnants of older forms and do not have much individual semantic meaning but particular ones may combine with the verb stem to derive a new meaning for the overall verb (see chapters 8, 15, and 16 for more detail and examples). When there is clear meaning, qualifiers convey information about the shape or area of the

action. The next category is another *person* category with many different types of meanings (see sections 8.3.2 and 8.4), all regarding person and/or number of the subject and/or the object of the verb. In this category we see one particular prefix used when both the subject and the object are third person, all the object prefixes, prefixes that convey that the subject or object is plural or dual, and sometimes other voice information, such as passive, reflexive, reciprocal, and indefinite subject or object.

Continuing to the left of this large person prefix category, there is a category of *adverbial* prefixes (see section 8.6.2). Some of these convey information about the inherent timing of the verb (in linguistics, called *Aktionsart*), like if it is just starting or if it is a repetitive action. This category can also provide information about something that is involved in the action described by the verb (see section 8.6.1); for instance, verbs talking about movement of water often have the prefix *ta-* ‘water’. The leftmost category discusses the position of the action in relation to the subject or object of the verb. I call these ‘postpositions’, because these prefixes act like postpositions in that they either have to be preceded by a noun or they take a person prefix (identical to possessive prefixes) that indicates who or what the position is in relation to.

With such complex verbs, a learner-speaker must keep many types of information in mind, as the Nuu-wee-ya’ verb includes many kinds of information that English speakers would put into separate words, and so it takes time to learn to keep all this information in mind while thinking, speaking, and listening.

7.4.2.2 Enclitic particles

Enclitic particles are function words that attach at the ends of multiple types of words to convey a wide range of meanings. Enclitic particles are especially common on

verbs, where they can be found conveying past tense, imperatives, questions, size, and location, and can even be used to change one part of speech to another through enclitics that function as nominalizers and adverbializers. While they can be found on multiple parts of speech, all enclitic particles are found mainly on verbs and some enclitic particles (such as the imperative) so far are only found on verbs.

7.4.2.3 Nouns

Nouns convey the people, places, things, and states of being that people want to talk about. They are what do or receive the action designated by a verb. In another indication of the centrality of verbs in this language, many noun meanings are expressed by verbs. I describe nouns in more detail in Chapter 10.

7.4.2.4 Modifiers

Modifiers provide additional information about nouns and verbs. In English, words that modify nouns are called adjectives and words that modify verbs are called adverbs. There are a lot of differences in grammar between English and Nuu-wee-ya', and until we have more focused analysis on this topic, I refer to all words that modify either nouns or verbs as simply modifiers. I describe modifiers in more detail in Chapter 11.

7.4.2.5 Positionals and directionals

Positionals, also called postpositions, indicate the location of a participant or an action in relationship to a subject or object. These meanings are expressed in English via prepositions, which come before their objects. For example, in *the dog jumped over me*, the word *over* is a preposition that indicates where the action took place in relationship to its object, *me*. Postpositions in Nu-wee-ya' have similar meanings, but they come after

their objects. Directionals are similar to positionals in that they indicate direction, but they do not necessarily have an object like postpositions. Directionals refer to cardinal directions such as ‘north’ as well as river-based directions, such as ‘upriver’. I discuss positionals and directionals in more detail in Chapter 12.

7.4.2.6 Function words

Function words are a mix of words that do grammatical work, like connecting clauses, or indicating the start of a phrase or the transition between clauses. Words like this in English include: ‘and then’, ‘therefore’, ‘indeed’, and ‘because’. There are many other kinds of function words in Nuu-wee-ya’, as described in more detail in Chapter 13.

7.5 A note on examples

Before we embark on the remainder of the grammatical part of this dissertation, I want to take the time to talk through the structure and characteristics of how I present examples from this data set of the Nuu-wee-ya’ language. I have included many examples, more than 800 in the descriptive part of the dissertation. I include them because as much as I can, I want to provide concrete examples trying to avoid the kind of abstraction about linguistic structures that you usually see in work by linguists. The rest of this section is meant to be a guide to help learner-speakers interpret what is being conveyed in all these examples. I first discuss the format of the examples, then describe the different orthographies used, and then describe the abbreviation conventions.

7.5.1 Format of examples

The examples in the grammar part of this dissertation are all numbered, and each number starts with the number of the chapter where it is found. The first example in this

chapter (chapter 7), is below, numbered (7.1). After the number, each example has the same four different lines of information.

- The first line is the word or phrase in the modern speech form. In this line a dash (-) comes at every syllable boundary, which is how we write the modern speech form. Enclitic particles are just written as part of the word they attach to, and all words are written next each other, with just one space between them, so learner-speakers can read the example in the most natural way.
- The second line is the morphological analysis line, where I break up the Nuu-wee-ya' words and phrases into their different component morphemes, marking the boundaries between every prefix, stem, and enclitic in every word. In the analysis line, the dashes no longer mark syllable boundaries, but instead they mark what they usually mark in linguistic work, which is morpheme boundaries inside each word (e.g., between each prefix and each stem). We use the double dash, known in math as the equal sign (=) to mark when enclitic particles are attached to the ends of words. In the analysis line, each word is separated by a tab, so that the morphological analysis of each word is kept clearly separate from the analyses of the words before and the words after. This also makes it easier to see how the pieces of the next line (the gloss line) relate to the pieces of the analysis line.
- The third line is called the gloss line — it lists the meaning of each morpheme that is separated out in the second line, starting from the beginning of the word and going to the end of the word. I put a tab after each word in this line, too, so that each word starts at the same place in both the analysis line and the

gloss line. Ideally each gloss would be exactly underneath its form, but usually the Nuu-wee-ya' forms and their glosses are of different lengths, so this does not always work out. To be absolutely sure which gloss goes with which form, you need to count from the front or the back of the word in both the analysis and the gloss lines, which will allow you to connect each form with its meaning.

- For longer examples, all the words don't fit in a single line, so in these cases, once I have filled up one pair of analysis and gloss lines, I continue the example with another pair of analysis and gloss lines. You can see a case like this in Example 7.1.
- The last line contains the free translation given by the original language authority, inside single quote marks, as well as the source of the example (including page numbers, where possible). The free translation is our only direct information about what the speaker intended the Nuu-wee-ya' word or phrase to mean, but it is sometimes clear that there is a richer meaning hiding behind these free translations, and when I can identify such a meaning, I add a "literal translation". The literal translation should mean roughly the same thing as the free translation given, but it also has extra information that I have figured out as a part of my ongoing analysis of the Nuu-wee-ya' language.

All of these elements are shown in example 7.1.

7. 1 *hii-du mee-wi srvsr t'a-t'i naa-ghaa-la*

hii=du *meewi* *srvsr* *t'a=t'i*
3s=foc every day every=copula

naa-ghaa=la
plu-go=past

‘He always went every day’ EJ 72:95:6:

7.5.2 Orthographies and sources

In this this dissertation the top line of all glossed examples is always written in the modern speech form. The original transcription comes from older works, written by different linguists, and so to make every example consistent and usable for learner-speakers, my collaborators and I have converted every original transcription to modern speech form. However, morphological analysis line is written in three different orthographies. In Chapters 8-13 and Chapter 18, the analysis line is also written in the modern speech form, except that hyphens mark morpheme boundaries instead of syllable boundaries. In Chapter 14, the analysis line uses an Americanist orthography. The texts in appendix 1 also have the analysis line in the Americanist orthography.

While most sources come from Elizabeth Jacobs, some come from other resources in the Nuu-wee-ya’ corpus. The letter and numeric code that comes at the end of each free translation line indicates the source (and location within the source) of the example. The letters ‘EJ’ stand for Elizabeth Jacobs. Many examples are provided by Ida Bensell, written down in Elizabeth Jacobs’ notebooks 108 and 109, or by Billy Metcalf, written down in notebooks 72 and 116. The letters ‘IB’ for Ida Bensell, ‘BM’ for Billy Metcalf, ‘MC’ for Miller Collins, and ‘LS’ for Lucy Smith. Some words and phrases come from the Tolowa online dictionary (TDWD, 2021).

7.5.3 Glossing and abbreviations

Glossing is the act of labeling all the bits of language that combine to convey meaning. These technical labels help with the analysis process and help us to understand what is happening in a word or clause. Many glosses are written in an abbreviated form, to save space in writing out examples. The list of abbreviations that I use in this dissertation is given in Table 24.

Table 24. *Glossing abbreviations*

Glossing abbreviations					
1	first person	NEG	negative	Q	question
2	second person	NOM	nominalizer	SP	stative perfective
3	third person	OBJ	object	REC	reciprocal
3O3	third on third	OPT	optative	REF	reflexive
ADVL	adverbializer	P	plural	REP	repetitive
AREAL	areal-situational	PEG	peg-element	S	singular
AUG	augmentative	PERT	pertaining to	STAT	stative
CL	classifier	PFV	perfective	SUB	subject
COMP	completive	PL	plural	TEL	telic
DET	determiner	PLU	pluractional	TH	theme
FUT	future	POSS	possessive	?	unknown
INC	inceptive	PROH	prohibitive		
IMPF	imperfective	PROG	progressive		
INDF	indefinite	PROM	prominence		
LOC	locative	PST	past		

7.5.4 Other Issues

There are three types of other issues I would like to mention here.

First, due to the nature of the archive, there are inconsistencies in the examples that come from both the original transcription and the transliteration process, when we converted the original transcription to modern speech form. When reading through, you might see the same morpheme sometimes written with one vowel and sometimes with

two vowels, glottal stops are not consistent, and I know I have not corrected every spelling and glossing mistake.

Second, I return to the question of the free translations. The free translations of the examples are exactly as provided by Elizabeth Jacobs, with minor editing here and there for clarity. These are based on what the speaker at the time said that an utterance meant. Sometimes there are words in the translation that are not reflected in the Nuu-wee-ya' part of the example and sometimes there are elements we can see in the Nuu-wee-ya' sentence that are not reflected in the English translation. Where I can, I have noted a possible literal translation that more richly (or accurately) expresses the meaning I see in the Nuu-wee-ya' example.

Third, there are other things I am still learning about that I don't really talk much about in this dissertation. For example, in Nuu-wee-ya', third person ('he, she, it, they, them') is not usually marked with prefixes on the verb and often nouns aren't used to indicate who the third person characters are. In the texts however, I see a rich, complex system that expresses third-person through pronouns, postpositional phrases, reciprocal and reflexive markers, and adverbs. This system is so varied that I wasn't able to address it this phase of my research, but everything is connected in grammar, there are times when I have to explain portions of this system as though they were independent. This might lead to confusion, which I warn the reader ahead of time could be a potential issue with understanding.

CHAPTER VIII – VERBS

Like verbs in all Dene languages, Nuu-wee-ya' verbs are complex semantically and structurally. Indeed, Dene verbs have long been a focus of fascination and study for linguistic researchers. In this chapter we first look at the basic structure and order of verbal morphology (8.1), then at the nature of verb stems (8.2). From there, we turn to the many different types of prefixes, grouped together by the type of semantic information they convey person, voice, aspect, and descriptors. Each of these types have multiple subtypes. We start by looking at the person markers, prefixes that index subject, object, and plural (8.3). Then we look at prefixes that contribute to the voice profile of the verb, specifically reflexive, reciprocal, indefinite, and passive, as well as a type of prefix characteristic of Dene, referred to as a classifier, which sometimes conveys information regarding transitivity (8.4). Next, we look at the prefixes that convey aspect, or the completeness of the situation described by the verb (8.5). Finally, we examine the many prefixes that I call descriptors, which indicate other characteristics of the situation described by the verb, such as directionals, Aktionsart, and qualifiers. (8.6).

It is important to note that prefixes grouped together semantically do not necessarily share a consistent structure or location *vis-à-vis* the verb stem and the other prefixes. Therefore, we consider first the overall structure of the verb.

8.1 Verb structure

Dene verbs are composed of a stem that can combine with multitudes of prefixes. The stem is (nearly always) a single syllable located at the end of the verb and prefixes convey a rich diversity of information, such as who did an action, who it was done to, how many were involved, how they were positioned, if the action was completed, and

even information about the nature of the timing of the action, (e.g. repetitive action).

Figure 14 revisits the structure of the verb as described in chapter 7. This table shows examples of the verb stem and each type of prefix category. Some prefix categories have a small number of possible prefixes. These are the classifier, subject, aspect, and qualifier. The remainder of the prefix categories (marked with ‘e.g.’ at the start of the column), include some examples of prefixes in that category, but not an exhaustive list. While this table shows the relative ordering of the types of prefixes, not all verbs use all the prefixes. A person can’t make a verb from just combining prefixes and the verb stem as each stem can take only certain prefixes. Thus, this is a model to understand the structure – not a tool to create verbs. To truly know how to use a particular word one must learn which prefixes can be used with that verb.

Figure 14. *Nuu-wee-ya’ verb structure with examples*

Directional	Aktionsart	Person	Qualifier	Aspect	Subject	Classifier	Stem
e.g. <i>kwe-</i> <i>lh-</i> <i>ya-</i>	e.g. <i>na-</i> <i>ch’i-</i> <i>te-</i>	e.g. <i>sh-</i> <i>de-</i> <i>ch’v-</i> <i>lh-</i>	<i>ne-</i> <i>di-</i> <i>xwv-</i>	<i>ghi-</i> <i>ghv-</i> <i>ni-</i> <i>s-</i> <i>u-</i>	<i>sh-</i> <i>ii-</i> <i>d-</i> <i>u’-</i>	<i>d-</i> <i>l-</i> <i>lh</i>	e.g. <i>’a</i> <i>ya</i> <i>’i</i> <i>ch’vd</i>

Most verbs have at least one prefix along with the verbal stem, although there are a few commonly used verbal words that consist of a single syllable, e.g. *ghalh* ‘he goes’ and *cha* ‘eat!’. These examples are deceptive in that they consist of a stem that starts with *y* and combines with a prefix, respectively *ghii-yalh* ‘he goes’ and *chaa-ya* ‘eat!’. In these frequently-used words, the stem and its prefix have reduced down to a single syllable.

Some prefixes have a very abstract meaning that is difficult to figure out without knowing the rest of the word they occur in. They are remnants of older ways that the people used to express certain grammatical features; when new ways of expression

develop, these old forms are preserved in the verbal word. Some of these prefixes are hard to define, and indeed this nature of holding onto old features is why the verbal word is so complex and irregular — they come from a process of language change and, in a way, they encode a reflection of the social history of the Dene people. Other prefixes convey a very concrete meaning, but even these can be difficult to describe because the concrete meaning can change depending on the context and the forms of the prefixes can change as well (as seen already in the examples above).

In addition to being particular forms with particular meanings, prefixes fall into a certain order relative to each other and to the stem. The closer to the stem the prefixes are located, the easier it is to see this order, and the tighter they are attached to this order, by which we deduce that the prefixes located closer to the stem are older in nature. Also consistent with this deduction is that inner prefixes are much more irregular than the prefixes located farther away. They have had time to interact with nearby prefixes and then become set in their ways. We can't know for certain the relative order of some of the prefixes unless we find them in the same verb, and while this is a large archive, it is still not comprehensive and not all allowable forms of verbs were elicited. In particular, prefixes farther from the stem are not so consistently present in our data.

In Dene linguistics, verbal prefixes are often organized into two general structural regions called inner and outer, or disjunct and conjunct (Golla, 1976, Rice, 2000). These categories reflect their location in the verb rather than their type of meaning, with the inner/conjunct prefixes located closer to the verbal stem and the outer/disjunct located closer to the start of the word. The inner group is mostly made up of the older prefixes mentioned above, and they often clump together with their neighbors and create

irregularity in verb forms, meaning that prefixes can look or sound different depending on the nearby sounds.

Linguists often look at prefixes this structural way in order to focus on, for instance, the ways that prefixes can change form. In this work, keeping the needs of learner-speakers in mind, I prefer to focus instead on the semantic groupings. Speakers need to know how to find words that say what they mean, but they don't necessarily need to be able to describe the various forms of prefixes and how they combine. I feel that it has helped me more as a speaker-learner to think first about verb prefixes based on what meanings can be conveyed, and only secondarily to attend to their irregularities.

Additional information about the verb can be conveyed through enclitic particles, which follow the verb stem. These particles are grammatical elements that are not words by themselves, but can attach to more than one type of word (e.g. verb, noun, number, etc.) to modify their meaning in a consistent way. We defer discussion of enclitic particles and their roles until Chapter 9.

8.2 Verb stem

Verb stems are located at the end of the verbal word, usually consisting of the final syllable of the verb. When it is not the final syllable it is because there are enclitic particles after the verb stem (discussed in chapter 9). Figure 15, shows where in the verb structure the stem is located.

Figure 15. Location of verb stem.

Directional	Aktionsart	Person	Qualifier	Aspect	Subject	Classifier	Stem
							e.g. <i>'a</i>

A particular stem can have different forms depending on verbal aspect and also on characteristics of the participants (subject/object) in the situation being described by the

verb. Sometimes the different forms look similar, like a single basic stem has been modified for different meanings, and other times the forms look completely different, like the same meaning with a plural subject just uses a different stem than when the subject is singular. When this happens, linguists call the different forms ‘suppletive’ stems. In the remainder of this section, we separate three kinds of stem variation.

First, we consider how stems can be different depending on the *aspect* of the verb. Aspect refers to the state of completion (or lack of completion) of the situation described by the verb. This variation is said to result from ancient aspectual suffixes that melded with the verb (Leer, 1979). However, in the modern language, aspect variation in the stem is not regular or productive, and a form that you might have seen in one stem reflecting one aspect sometimes is used with another stem to describe situations that are clearly not that aspect. This means that for some verbs a particular aspectual stem form does not have the expected meaning and for other verbs there is reduced or no stem variation regardless of aspect. In other words, these forms have just become the way you say things, and their irregularity just must be learned.

In Table 25, you can see the stem forms of singular ‘go’, with different stems indicating Imperfective, Perfective, Optative and Future/Progressive. There are two forms of the Perfective stem, for a total of five different stems.

Table 25. Stem forms for Singular ‘go’ based on aspect.

Stem form	Aspectual meaning
<i>yvsh</i>	Imperfective
<i>ya / gha</i>	Perfective
<i>ya’</i>	Optative
<i>yalh</i>	Future/Progressive

Aside from the aspectual variation, verb stems may also have different forms depending on characteristics of participants. A set of verbs that convey motion have different forms based on the number of subjects in motion, as we can see in Table 26, in which the verb stems are completely different depending on whether the subject is singular (one participant), dual (two participants), or plural (three or more participants). Table 26 shows the stems found for ‘go’, ‘swim’, ‘sit’, ‘run’ and ‘lie down’. Note that most of these verbs also have more than one aspectual form in the singular and plural, and some have aspectual variation in all three columns.

Table 26. Motion Stems that are Suppletive for Number

Stems	Singular Subject	Dual Subject	Plural Subject	Aspect
‘go’	<i>yvsh</i>	<i>dvlh</i>	<i>tl’vd</i>	Imperfective
	<i>ya / gha</i>	<i>de’lh</i>	<i>tl’id</i>	Perfective
	<i>ya’</i>	—	<i>tl’id</i>	Optative
	<i>yalh</i>	<i>dvlh</i>	<i>tl’vlh</i>	Future/Progressive
‘swim’	<i>-t’uh</i>	<i>-’elh</i>	<i>-xvd</i>	Imperfective
	<i>-t’u’</i>	<i>-’elh</i>	<i>-xvd</i>	Perfective
			<i>-xvd</i>	Optative
				Future/Progressive
‘sit’	<i>-da</i>	<i>-tsi’</i>	<i>-xa</i>	Imperfective
	<i>-da</i>	<i>-tsi’</i>	<i>-xa’</i>	Perfective
	<i>-da’</i>			Optative
				Future/Progressive
‘run’	<i>-dvsh</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>-xvd</i>	Imperfective
	<i>-dvlh</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>-xa / -xad</i>	Perfective
	<i>-da’</i>	<i>-na’</i>		Optative
		<i>-nvsh</i>		Future
		<i>-nalh</i>	<i>-xalh</i>	Progressive
‘lie down’	<i>-tesh</i>	<i>-tesr</i>	<i>-chvs</i>	Imperfective
	<i>-ti</i>		<i>-chus</i>	Perfective
	<i>-te?</i>	<i>-te’sr</i>	<i>-chus</i>	Optative
	<i>-tvsh</i>	<i>-tesr / te’sr</i>	<i>-chvs</i>	Future/Progressive
			<i>-chvs</i>	Imperative

The other set of variable stems conveys the handling or placement of a participant. The different forms are based on differences in the qualities or characteristics

of the participant being handled or placed, as seen in Table 27. The use of one of these stems, ‘*a* / ‘*vsh* ‘handle round object’, is further described in chapter 17.

Table 27. *Classificatory Stems for ‘handle’*

Perfective	Imperfective	Type of object
<i>‘a</i>	<i>‘vsh</i>	‘round object’
<i>te</i>	<i>tish</i>	‘stick-like object’
-	<i>lhchvs</i>	‘fabric-like object’
-	<i>lhe</i>	‘liquid object’
<i>lhte</i>	<i>lhtesh</i>	‘living object’
-	<i>nvlh</i>	‘piled object’
-	<i>lesh</i>	‘twined object’
-	<i>srvsr</i>	‘bundled object’
-	<i>lhdash</i>	‘burning object’

This concludes the introduction to verb stem variation. A full treatment of verb stem variation would require a dictionary, and in fact verb stems are just a small portion of what make the verb; prefixes can convey many different kinds of information. How this information works together to make the verbal word is discussed in chapter 15. The next section describes the different types of verbal prefixes.

8.3 Person: subject, object, plural

Person prefixes include prefixes that convey who or what is doing the verb (subject), who or what is affected by the verb (object), and if the subject or object is dual (two people or things) or plural (three or more people or things). The subject and object markers are found in different regions of the verb; some of the forms are the same but some are different. Plural and dual markers are located closer to the object prefixes.

Figure 16 shows the areas of the verbs where person markers are found. Here there are two columns designated for person. One, closer to the end of the verb is labeled ‘subject’

because only subject markers are located here. The other column is labeled person because there are multiple types of person prefixes that are located here, including object, plurality, reflexivity, indefiniteness and reciprocity.

Figure 16. Location of person markers.

Directional	Aktionsart	Person	Qualifier	Aspect	Subject	Classifier	Stem
		e.g. <i>sh- de- ch'v- lh-</i>			<i>sh- ii- d- u'-</i>		

8.3.1 Subject

The subject of the verb is the person or thing that is doing the verb. The subject prefixes are positioned two prefix slots from the verb stem, however sometimes no prefix is present between the subject prefix and the stem, so the subject prefix can occur next to (before) the verb. The location of the subject prefixes can be seen in Figure 17.

Figure 17. Location of subject prefixes.

Directional	Aktionsart	Person	Qualifier	Aspect	Subject	Classifier	Stem
					<i>sh- ii- d- u'-</i>		

In this prefix category, there are only first-person ('I', 'we') and second-person ('you') subject prefixes. When there is no subject position, this means the subject is third-person ('he/she/it', 'them'). Indefinite subjects ('someone') also have no subject marker here, having a different prefix in a different part of the verb (discussed in 8.4).

Table 28 shows the different subject prefixes found in this part of the verb. Following the table are examples of each type of subject prefix.

Table 28 First and Second Person Subject Prefixes

Person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>sh-</i>	<i>d-</i>
2	<i>ii-</i>	<i>u'-</i>

In (8.1), we see *sh-* ‘first person singular/I’ in the verb made with the stem *ne* ‘strong’. It is the second prefix left of the verb stem.

8. 1 *nashlh-ne*

 na-sh-lh-ne
 plu-1s-lh.CL-be strong

 ‘I am strong’ EJ 108:204:9:1

In some situations, the *sh-* changes to sound more like other sounds in its environment (Golla, 1976: 222). In (8.2), first person singular is expressed with *s-* rather than *sh-* because it comes before the retroflex *sr*, which begins the verb stem *sre'* ‘cry’, a sound that always changes *sh-* to *s-*. The peg element is discussed in section 8.5.1

8. 2 *vs-sre'*

 v-s-sre'
 peg-s-cry

 ‘I’m crying’ EJ 108:197:1:1

To express first person plural ‘we’ a *d-* is used. It is found in the same location as the *sh-* prefix. In (8.3), we see the *d-* prefix next to the verb stem.

8. 3 *yvd-sre*

 yv-d-sre
 3o3-1p-cry

 ‘We cry’ EJ 108:370:5:1

The prefix *d-* ‘we’ can combine with the classifier prefix *lh-*, which occurs between it and the stem. The combination of *d-* and *lh-* becomes just *l-*, as we can see in (8.4). In this example, both verbs have (the same) first person plural subject. The first word has the prefix *d-* as expected. The second verb, ‘want’, normally has the *lh-* classifier between the subject and stem (c.f. ‘*ushlh-te* ‘I want’), however here with the *d-* ‘first person plural’ the two combine to *l-*.

8. 4 *tid-'elh 'il-te*
- ti-d-'elh 'i-l-te*
 down-1p-sleep.3 peg- 1.pl.d.cl-want
- ‘We want to sleep’ EJ 108:260:9:1

There are two second person prefixes, *ii-* for second person singular ‘you’ and *u’-* for second person plural ‘you all’. In (8.5), ‘you eat’ exhibits *ii-* ‘you’, whereas (8.6) exhibits *u’-* ‘you all’.

8. 5 *ch'ii-ya*
- ch'-ii-ya*
 rep-2s-eat
- ‘You eat’ EJ 108:354:6:1

8. 6 *yaa-chu-ya*
- yaa-ch'-u-ya*
 pl-rep-2p-go.1
- ‘You (pl) eat’ EJ 108:354:7:1

One important dialectal difference to note is that the southern dialect of Nuu-wee-ya’, Tolowa, (usually) expresses second person singular with an *n-* or by nasalizing the vowel before the subject marker. This is seen in Table 29, which shows the first and

second forms for two verbs: ‘eat’ uses nasalization to indicate second person, whereas ‘sleep’ uses *n-*.

Table 29. Second person singular subject in Tolowa. (TDWD, 2021)

Verb	First person singular	Second person singular
‘eat’	<i>ch'ee-sha~</i>	<i>ch'aa~-ya~</i>
‘sleep’	<i>tvsh-lalh</i>	<i>tin-lalh</i>

8.3.2 Object

The object of the verb is what receives the action, or what the action is done to. Not all verbs have an object, for example ‘I sleep’ has no object. Some of the object prefixes are similar in form to the subject prefixes. However, these prefixes are located in the outer region of the verb, often at the start of the word. Figure 18 shows in which region the objects are found.

Figure 18. Location of object markers.

Directional	Aktionsart	Person	Qualifier	Aspect	Subject	Classifier	Stem
		e.g. <i>sh-</i> , <i>n-</i> , <i>nuu-</i>					

Third person objects are also unmarked in most scenarios, only being expressed in the scenario discussed in 8.3.3. In Figure 19, you can see the forms of the first- and second-person object prefixes.

Figure 19. Object prefixes

person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>sh-</i>	<i>nuu-</i>
2	<i>nn-</i>	<i>nuu-</i>

In (8.7), the first-person singular object *sh-* ‘me’ is found at the start of the word, and in (8.8), second singular *nn-* ‘you’ is also word initial.

8. 7 *shghilh-'a*

sh-ghi-lh-'a
1s-pfv-lh.CL-send

'He sent me' EJ 108:334:1:1

8. 8 *nn-ghilh-'a*

nn-ghi-lh-'a
2s-pfv-lh.CL-send

'He sent you' EJ 108:334:2:1

We can contrast these with (8.9), where the object is expressed with the noun *dis-ne* 'man' and there is no third person prefix.

8. 9 *dis-ne ghilh-'a*

disne ghi-lh-'a
man pfv-lh.CL-send

'He sent him' EJ 108:334:3:1

In (8.10), we see that first person plural object is expressed with *nuu-* 'us' at the start of the word. In (8.11), we can see that the same prefix for first person plural, *nuu-* is also used for 'second person plural'. However, even for second person, an object prefix is not always required: in (8.12), the object of the same verb is second person plural 'you-all', but instead of a prefix, the word *tv-xwi* 'all' precedes the verb.

8. 10 *nuu-ghilh-'a*

nuu-ghi-lh-'a
1p-pfv-lh.CL-send

'He sent us' EJ 108:334:4:1

8. 11 *lhchaa-de' dv-wa nuu-nu'-'elh*
 lhchaa=de' dvwa nuu-nu'-'elh
 rain=if maybe 2p-th-wet

‘If it rains, we (2) will get wet’ EJ 108:286:4:1

8. 12 *t'v-xwi ghilh-'a*
 t'vxwi ghi-lh-'a
 every pfv-lh.CL-send

‘He sent you (pl)’ EJ 108:334:5:1

8.3.3 Third person subject and object

Third person is not expressed in either the subject or the object paradigms like second and first person, so you might say that it is usually absence of a marker that expresses third person. There is a complex system to convey third person through the use of determiners, words and prefixes, that I see in the data but do not yet (discussed in chapter 8). However, one easily recognizable way to express third person exists, although it too is not yet completely understood. This only occurs if the subject and object are both third person. This prefix occurs in the same position as the object prefix found in the last section.

If a verb has both a third person subject and a third person object, the verb takes the prefix *yi-*, which indicates that any third person, singular or plural ‘he/she/it/ they’ are doing the action indicated in the verb to another third person, singular or plural

‘him/her/it/them’. In (8.13), the verb stem *sri* ‘make’ has the subject noun *dis-ne* ‘man’, the object noun *srtaa* ‘food’, and the third acting on third prefix *yi-* ‘3 acting on 3’.³⁶

8. 13 *dis-ne srtaa yvlh-sri*

 disne srtaa yv-lh-sri
 man food 3o3-lh.CL-make

 ‘He will cook’ EJ 108:210:8:1

Compare with (8.14), where there the subject is second person acting on third rather than third person acting on third, and instead of *y-* ‘3.on.3’, we see the second person subject prefix *i-* ‘you’.

8. 14 *nvn srtaa 'ilh-sri*

 nvn srtaa 'i-lh-sri
 2s food 2s-lh.CL-make

 ‘You will cook’ EJ 108:210:10:1

Third person can also be indicated through a prefix that conveys the argument of a postpositional prefix (discussed in chapter 12). In (8.15), where a first person subject acts on a third person object, the verb begins with the third person plural prefix *m-* ‘them’ and also contains the first person subject prefix *sh-* ‘I’, whereas in (8.16), with a third-person subject acting on a third person object, the verb begins with *y-* ‘3.on.3’. This is a continuation of the obviate use mentioned above, and a salient (and confusing) characteristic of some words.

³⁶ This prefix appears to be cognate to Navaho Obviate *y-*, which does pertain to more than a third person acting on another third person (Willie:1993). In Nuu-wee-ya, what is happening here seems rather different than what is understood about its use in Navaho. There is a lot more to say about this, that is tied up with the issue of understanding the system of how third person is referenced.

8. 15 *mashlh-nish jii*

m-a-sh-lh-nish *jii*
 3.obj-for-1s-l.CL³⁷-work this

‘I remember that’ EJ 108:337:1:1

8. 16 *yal-nish jii*

y-a-l-nish *jii*
 3o3-for-1.CL-remember this

‘He remembers that’ EJ 108:337:3:1

Third person is often indicated through nouns, as seen in (8.13-14), or pronouns, as seen in (8.15-16), but the nouns and pronouns not required. Pronouns are a word that takes the place of a nouns, such as ‘she’ or ‘this’.

8.3.4 Plural/dual

Often (but not always) if there are two (dual) or three or more (plural) subjects or objects, this is conveyed with a dual or plural prefix. These prefixes are located in the outer prefix region as we can see in Figure 20.

Figure 20. Location of plural markers.

Directional	Aktionsart	Person	Qualifier	Aspect	Subject	Classifier	Stem
		ya-, gha-, xe-					

Table 30 shows the plural and dual prefixes. Following the table are examples of these prefixes.

Table 30. Plural and Dual prefixes.

	Prefix forms
Dual	<i>xa-, xe-</i>
Plural	<i>ya-, gha-</i>

³⁷ This classifier is listed as an l classifier even though its form is *lh-* because *l-* classifiers turn to *lh-* after the stative *s-* or the first person *sh-* (Golla, 1976: 222)

The second verb in (8.17) has the ‘dual’ *xee-*. The second verb in (8.18) has the plural *yaa-*. The first verb is the same in both examples and means ‘help’.

8. 17 *xuu-waa-tr'uu-ne xee-yulh-te*

xuu-waa-tr'uu-ne xee-yu-lh-te
areal-for-pass-help dual-3o3-lh.CL-want

‘They (2) want to help’ EJ 108:277:6:1

8. 18 *xuu-waa-tr'uu-ne yaa-yulh-te*

xuu-waa-tr'uu-ne yaa-yu-lh-te
areal-for-pass-help pl-3o3-lh.CL-want

‘They (pl) want to help’ EJ 108:277:7:1

There is another prefix that is the same form as *yaa* ‘plural’, but in (8.19) we can see it means ‘up’, whereas the plural is indicated by *gha-* ‘plural’.

8. 19 *yaa-ghas-t'a*

yaa-gha-s-t'a
up-pl-stat-fly

‘They fly’ EJ 108:370:8:1

In (8.20), we can see the dual *xee-* located after the *ya* ‘up’.

8. 20 *yaa-xaa-ghii-t'a*

yaa-xa-ghi-t'a
up-dual-prog-fly

‘Two flying’ EJ 108:370:9:1

One more minimal pair shows the difference between plural *gha-* and dual *xa-*: in (8.21), the verb ‘think about’ (literally, ‘handle heart’) takes *xaa-* ‘dual’, whereas in (8.22) we see the *gha-* ‘plural’.

8. 21 *wvn nee-xaa-srit-'aa-te*
 wvn nee-xaa-sri-t-'aa=te
 for th-dual-heart-d.CL-handle.round=fut
 ‘They (2) will think about it’ EJ 108:230:16:1

8. 22 *ghaa-nee-ghaa-srit-'aa-te*
 ghaa-nee-ghaa-sri-t-'aa=te
 pl-th-pl-heart-d.CL-handle.round=fut
 ‘They (pl) will think about it’ EJ 108:230:17:1

I wanted to determine what happens when there is a third person subject and a third person object. However, there is not enough clear examples to make a judgment of the ways that this is expressed yet. However, in (8.23) we can see an example with a third person plural subject and a third person plural object. This verb has the *yi-* ‘3.on.3’ as expected, as well as *ya-* ‘plural’. It does not take a second plural marker, this perhaps is conveyed through context.

8. 23 *yaa-yulh-te*
 yaa-y-u-lh-te
 pl-3o3-for-lh.CL-want
 ‘They will love them always’ EJ 109: 29: 13: 1

However, in (8.24), there is third person plural subject acting on a third person plural object, and both the *gha-* ‘plural’ and *ya-* ‘plural’ prefixes occur. If both subject and object are plural, it appears that sometimes there can be two plural markers, although there were very limited examples of this.

8. 24 *dee dv-wa waa-ghaa-ya'-vsh-i*

dee *dvwa* *waa-ghaa-ya'-vsh=i*
thing maybe for-pl-pl-give=rel

‘They should give them some’ EJ 108:326:6:1

This concludes our description of the prefixes that provide information about the referents of the verb, indexing who or what is involved with the situation described by the verb. We turn now to prefixes that provide information about the referents, but rather than indexing who these prefixes indicate a different phenomenon, voice.

8.4 Voice: Indefinite, reflexive, reciprocal, passive, transitives (classifier)

This category of prefixes conveys information about the participants beyond who is doing the action in the verb. **Indefinite** prefixes indicate that the speaker doesn’t know for sure who or what the speaker or object is, like ‘someone’ or ‘something’ in English. In some contexts, it signifies a generic subject, like ‘one does’. A **reflexive** prefix indicates that the subject is doing the action to themselves, whereas a **reciprocal** prefix indicates that plural subjects are doing the action to each other. A **passive** prefix is used to indicate that the subject is not the one who does the verb, but instead is receiving the action, as in English ‘it got broken’. In Dene, **classifiers** (transitivity markers) are a special class on their own. They do not always have a precise meaning, which probably reflects a grammatical structure that is very old. However, in some cases, the use of these forms can make a salient difference in the meaning about transitivity (the number of participants), including the concepts of passivity and reflexivity.

This group of prefixes is grouped together by meaning, but they are located in different parts of the verb. The classifiers are the innermost of the inner prefixes and the

others are found in the start or more towards middle of the verb. The location of these prefixes are in Figure 21

Figure 21. Location of voice markers.

Directional	Aktionsart	Person e.g. <i>ch'v-</i> , <i>de-</i> , <i>lh-</i> , <i>ts'e-</i>	Qualifier	Aspect	Subject	Classifier d-, l-, lh-	Stem
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In Table 31 we can see the different voice prefixes. In this section, each type of prefixes are discussed followed by examples of each prefix in use.

Table 31. Voice prefixes.

Type	Prefix	Type	Prefix
indefinite	<i>ch'v-</i>	Reflexive	<i>de-</i>
Passive	<i>tr'v-</i> , <i>ch'e-</i>	Reciprocal	<i>lh-</i>
Classifiers	<i>lh-, d-, l-, 0-</i>		

8.4.1 Indefinite

The indefinite prefix is often used with transitive verbs when the subject or object is some unknown third person. In (8.25) we can see *ch'v-* ‘indefinite’ used to indicate an indefinite subject, which puts the focus on the noun that is present, *gus* ‘potato’, and the reading that the potatoes are burning, without saying who is doing the action that led to them getting burnt. Without the preceding object, the verb alone could indicate that an indefinite subject is undergoing the event with nobody causing it, like ‘something is burning’. Since the noun is present, the same prefix *ch'v-* is understood as marking that the subject of the verb is indefinite.

8. 25 *gus taa-ch'v-ghii-le*
 gus taa-ch'v-ghii-le
 potato adv-indf-pfv-gamble

‘The potatoes are burning’ EJ 108:269:4:1

In (8.26), the subject of the verb is first person, as indicated by the prefix *sh-* ‘1s’, so here the prefix *ch'v-* ‘indefinite’ indicates an indefinite object for the verb ‘cut (wood)’, like ‘I cut (something).’

8. 26 *ch'v-k'ashlh-t'a*
 ch'v-k'a-sh-lh-t'a
 indf-apart-1s-lh.CL-cut

‘I cut wood’ EJ 108:261:1:1

We see in (8.27) that the same prefix, *ch'v-* ‘indefinite’, can also indicate an indefinite possessor with nouns. It is used when an inalienable noun (discussed in 10.2) does not have a specified (or even identifiable) possessor. A more literal translation of (8.27) might be ‘my hands (have) something’s fat (on them).’

8. 27 *shla' ch'v-k'a*
 sh-la' ch'v-k'a
 1s-hand indf-fat

‘I have grease on my hands’ EJ 108:318:4:1

We turn next to the passive prefix, which has a form similar to the indefinite and in some cases seems to have a similar function of conveying a situation with an unknown (or at least unspecified) third person subject.

8.4.2 Passive

Passive voice prefix *tr'v-* occurs when something usually referred to as the object, e.g. ‘you’ in ‘I hear you’, becomes the subject of the verb, e.g. ‘you’ in ‘you are heard’.

This is seen in (8.28).

8. 28 *yaa-tr'v-ghes-'ii-la*

yaa-tr'v-ghe-s-'ii=la
pl-indf-th-stat-see=pst

‘They are being seen’ EJ 108:221:11:1

In some cases, phrases containing this prefix get translated as indefinite subjects rather than passive voice, as in (8.29), ‘someone is looking at them’. I cannot be sure if the translation is incorrect and should be replaced with ‘they are being looked at’, or if this prefix is also used for indefinite subjects. This is similar to the function of a passive. Indeed, indefinite subject constructions have been typologically grouped as a passive (Givon, 2001; Siewierska, 2013).

8. 29 *nee-xuu-tr'v-lh-'i*

nee-xuu-tr'v-lh-'i
th-pl-pass-lh.CL-see

‘Someone is looking at them’ EJ 108:221:12:1

8.4.3 Reflexive and Reciprocal

The reflexive prefix is used when the subject is doing to themselves the action described by the verb, as in ‘he shaved himself’. We can see this in the difference between (8.30) and (8.31). In (8.30), the last word of the sentence *shnulh-'elh* ‘I get wet’ is caused by the rain, so there is no reflexive prefix. In (8.31), *shnuu-delh-'elh* ‘I get

myself wet’, there is a reflexive marker, no first-person subject marker but there is a first-person object marker. A more literal translation of this would be ‘rain wets me’.

8. 30 *lhchaa-de' dv-wa shnulh-'elh*

lh-chaa=de' dvwa sh-nu-lh-'elh
lh.CL-rain=if maybe 1s-th-lh.CL-wet

‘If it rains I'll get wet’ EJ 108:286:1:1

8. 31 *shnuu-delh-'elh*

sh-nuu-de-lh-'elh
1s-th-ref-lh.CL-wet

‘I am getting myself wet’ EJ 108:286:10:1

Reciprocal prefixes are used when the subject is plural, meaning more than one participant are doing the verb to each other, e.g. ‘they hug each other’. In (8.32), the *lh-* is used with the stem *nish* ‘remember’ to mean ‘remember each other’.

8. 32 *an-ha lhal-nish*

an=ha lha-l-nish
now=Q rec-1.CL-remember

‘Do you (2) remember each other’ EJ 109: 38: 16: 1

In (8.33), the verb stem *li* ‘be’ combines with the inceptive prefix *te-* and the reciprocal prefix *lh-*. In this case, the reciprocal marker is referring to the objects that the subject is bringing ‘together’.

8. 33 *lhtee-ghii-li*

lh-tee-ghii-li
rec-inc-pfv-be

‘He put it together’ EJ 108:307:3:1

A fun contrast is seen between (8.34) without and (8.35) with the reciprocal. In (8.34), ‘she wants to marry him’ lacks the reciprocal *lh-* for either ‘want’ or ‘marry’, whereas in (8.35), ‘we are married’ (more literally, probably ‘we married each other’) has the prefix *lh-* ‘reciprocal’.

8. 34 *xvn yil-'i yulh-te*

<i>xvn</i>	<i>yi-l-'i</i>	<i>yu-lh-te</i>
married	3o3-l.CL-marry	3o3-lh.CL-want

‘She wants to marry him’ EJ 109: 54: 3: 1

8. 35 ‘*at lhil-'i*

‘ <i>at</i>	<i>lhi-l-'i</i>
wife	rec-l.CL-marry

‘We are married’ EJ 109: 54: 4: 1

All of the voice prefixes discussed to this point are located in the outer prefix region. The next section considers the classifier prefixes, voice prefixes which are located in the inner prefix region. Their use is sometimes conditioned by the outer voice prefixes.

8.4.4 Classifiers

The category of prefixes called **classifiers** has long been noted in Dene linguistics, originating with work by early Deneologists (Krauss, 1969). The classifiers consist of four possible prefix forms that can be present directly to the left of the verb stem: *lh-*, *d-*, *l-*, and $\emptyset-$, which means the absence of any of the three explicit prefix forms. The name ‘classifier’ is a little confusing for some linguists because the usual meaning of the term ‘classifier’ is to indicate a grammatical structure that categorizes words by inherent qualities of referents (e.g. ‘long thin things’, ‘round things’). In the Dene verbs however, the ‘classifier’ prefix often does not appear to add any information

to the meaning of the verb; they are really old prefixes and have often been semantically bleached.

However, in the cases that these prefixes actually reflect a meaning change in the verbs, the change is due to transitivity (number of participants) or to differences in the voice that are already marked by the voice prefixes described above. For novice learner-speakers, it is best to just learn them as part of the verb, or verb stem. For grammatically curious learner-speakers, we expect the intricacies of the classifier system to be unfolding for a long time to come, and I hope you will also contribute to the communal understanding of how and why to use the classifiers.

It is probably most common for a verb to be found with no classifier, that is the zero-classifier, as seen in all the verbs in (8.36). The first verb, whisper, the second, ‘talk’ and the third ‘go’ are all intransitive; note that none of them has a classifier prefix.

8. 36 *nuu-yexw na'-'a nii-galh*
- | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|
| <i>nuu-yexw</i> | <i>na'-'a</i> | <i>nii-galh</i> |
| th-whisper | Plu-talk | comp-go.1 |
- ‘He came whispering’ EJ 108:305:6:1

The second most common is the *lh-* classifier, which is often used in transitive sentences, where someone does the action described by the verb to something or someone else. In (8.37), the third person subject ‘he’ does the action ‘break’ to the object ‘rope’ — neither subject nor object is indicated by explicit nouns, pronouns, or prefixes, but the verb does bear the classifier prefix *lh-* ‘lh.CL’.

8. 37 *k'we nilh-ch'vlh*
 k'we ni-lh-ch'vlh
 over comp-lh.CL-break

‘He broke it, rope’ EJ 108:287:19:1

In (8.38), the verb ‘bake’ inherently evokes the product, the thing that gets baked. Here is a command asking someone to ‘bake’, and again the object is not explicitly indicated, but the *lh-* classifier is present.

8. 38 *ilh-t'es*
 i-lh-t'es
 th-lh.CL-bake

‘Bake’ EJ 108:210:4:1

In (8.39), we see a neat example in which the verb stem *li* ‘be’, which is typically found without a classifier, has the *lh-* classifier prefix. The result is a transitive verb meaning ‘make be’, in this case literally ‘he made (it) be gravel/small pieces’.

8. 39 *sv-ghe naslh-li*
 svghe na-s-lh-li
 gravel plu-stat-lh.CL-be

‘He broke it in small pieces’ EJ 108:291:2:1

The remaining two classifier prefixes are *l-* and *d-*. I have not analyzed these classifiers enough to have definitive description of how they are used in Nuu-wee-ya’, but Dene literature points to the possibility of them conveying reflexivity, reciprocity, or passivity (Givon, 2000: 124-127, Bommelyn, 1997). Two typical examples of the *l-* prefix occur in (8.40) and (8.41), but I am not sure what conditions it.

8. 40 *mvn'-ne 'ee-ghal-'vs*

mvn'=e 'ee-gha-l-'vs
house=poss for-th-1.CL-run

‘He ran around the house’ EJ 108:286:20:1

8. 41 *k'ee 'ul-'i*

k'ee 'u-l-'i
like for-1.CL-see

‘Looks like’ EJ 108:287:10:1

Similarly, in (8.42) and (8.43) the *d-* classifier is used, and if there is a specific contribution to the meaning of the verb, it is not clear.

8. 42 *shet-ne*

sh-e-t-ne
1s-2s-d.CL-bite

‘You bite me’ EJ 108:354:3:1

8. 43 *ghvt-lu*

ghv-t-lu
prog-d.CL-laugh

‘He's laughing now’ EJ 108:219:7:1

One of the uses of the *d-* prefix is to assist in making more noun-like concepts. In (8.44), the verb stem *xa* ‘fight’ is found with no classifier.

8. 44 *lhv naa-xwii-xa*

lhv naa-xwii-xa
neg plu-areal-fight

‘Don't fight! (or stop fighting!)’ EJ 109: 43: 4: 1

However, in (8.45), the stem *xa* ‘fight’ is used with the *d*- classifier to mean ‘war’.

8. 45 *naa-xwvt-xa*

 naa-xwv-t-xa
 plu-areal-d.CL-fight

 ‘War’ EJ 108:235:3:1

This concludes the section on voice prefixes, which are not as frequently used as other prefixes. In contrast, the aspect prefixes discussed in the next section are an integral and frequently used element of the verb.

8.5 Aspect

Aspect expresses the state of completion of an action. Aspect is present in English as is tense; tense conveys relative time, that the verb happened in the past, present or future. We can see aspect distinction in English between ‘I went’ and ‘I was going’. Both of these sentences are in the past tense, but the in the first, the action of ‘going’ was complete, which is typical of **perfective** aspect, whereas in the second the action of ‘going’ is not complete, which is typical of **imperfective** aspect. But usually, English grammar does not mark the aspect clearly.

Nuu-wee-ya’ puts more importance on aspect instead of tense. Indeed, in a Handbook for Alaskan teachers, Thompson (1983) describes that children from Dene speaking families often have a hard time with tense in their English classrooms because they are used to using aspect to organize presentation of timelines in their language.

In Nuu-wee-ya’, there are four different types of aspect: Perfective, Imperfective, Progressive and Optative. Progressive and Optative aspect are each marked with a single

prefix, Imperfective is expressed by the absence of any aspectual prefixes, and Perfective is expressed by choosing one of three different prefixes, which convey different nuances of completed action. The location of these prefixes in the verb are shown in Figure 22.

Figure 22. Location of aspect prefixes.

Directional	Aktionsart	Person	Qualifier	Aspect	Subject	Classifier	Stem
				<i>ghi-</i> <i>ghv-</i> <i>ni-</i> <i>s-</i> <i>u'-</i>			

These aspect prefixes are in the inner group of prefixes, which means the system is old; as is common in old systems, it is not always clear what meaning is associated with choosing one perfective prefix over another. Table 32 lists the aspect prefixes; in the following subsections I provide examples of each prefix in use.

Table 32. Aspect prefixes

Prefix	Type	Prefix	Type
<i>gh-</i>		<i>0-</i>	IMPERFECTIVE
<i>n-</i>	PERFECTIVE	<i>gh-</i>	PROGRESSIVE
<i>s-</i>		<i>u-</i>	OPTATIVE

8.5.1 Imperfective

We start with the imperfective, which is the interpretation when there is no aspectual prefix, as in (8.46). The verb has only the stem *sre* ‘cry’, with the first person subject prefix *s-* ‘1s’ and the preceding vowel *v-*, which is called a ‘peg element’ in Dene literature. The peg is said to have no meaning but is present when there are just classifier and/or subject prefixes on the verb. When verbs take only a classifier and/or a subject prefix, then there is no aspect marker, which indicates that the aspect of this verb is imperfective. Since the peg element only occurs in the absence of other aspect markers,

that is, which the verb form is imperfective, in a way the peg element does convey the imperfective meaning.³⁸ However, since some imperfective verbs do not include the peg element because they have other prefixes, we still need the analysis that the absence of an aspect marker indicates imperfective aspect (see example 8.42).

8. 46 *vs-sre'*

 v-s-sre'
 peg-1s-cry

 'I'm crying' EJ 108:197:1:1

In (8.47), the same verb stem and first-person subject prefix occur, but this time with an aspectual marker *-ghi*, glossed here as 'perfective'. Note, though, that this aspect marker could be either perfective or progressive, as these two forms are similar as they both start with *gh* and both can be found with different vowels. The English translation 'I've been crying' could be interpreted as either perfective ('I've been crying, but I'm finished now') or progressive ('I've been crying and I'm still not finished').

8. 47 *ghis-sre'*

 ghi-s-sre'
 pfv-1s-cry

 'I've been crying' EJ 108:197:2:1

8.5.2 Perfective

Opposed to the unmarked imperfective, the perfective is marked via three different prefixes, *gh-* 'perfective', *n-* 'completive', and *s-* 'stative'. While I give each of these prefixes a distinct translation, in reality their use is more complicated. For example,

³⁸ This was pointed out to me by Loren and Pyuwa Bommelyn.

some modifying prefixes require a specific perfective prefix no matter the aspect of the verb (Golla, 1970: 125). This is discussed further in Chapter 19.

In (8.48), we see the prefix *gh-* ‘perfective’; the translation is consistent with a perfective interpretation, indicating a simple completion of the action ‘go’.

8. 48 *tii-t'a 'ee-ghii-ya*
 tiit'a 'ee-ghii-ya
 forest th-pfv-go.1
 ‘He went hunting’ EJ 108:292:9:1

We can begin to see the differences of use with the perfective prefixes by looking at the use of *ni-* ‘completive’ in (8.49). In this sentence the speaker is not simply saying that ‘he went’, as in he completed his departure, but that he also ‘arrived at a particular spot’, e.g. that he completed his planned journey. This is consistent with claims from previous descriptions of the language that *ni-* is defined as ‘completive’ (Sapir, 1914) or ‘terminative’ (Li, 1930).

8. 49 *hii-wvn-du' ja lha-k'e nii-yaa-la*
 hii-wvn=du' ja lha=k'e nii-yaa=la
 3s-for=foc here one=towards comp-go.1=pst
 ‘Then again he went to that one’ EJ 72:32:4:1

In (8.50), we see the use of *ni-* ‘completive’ when indicating a complete change of state, that is, from being asleep to being (completely) awake.

8. 50 *tr'ee-nii-svt*

tr'ee-nii-svt
out-comp-awake

'I woke up' EJ 108:236:7:1

The third perfective form, *s-* 'stative' is supposed to describe a perfective state. I give multiple examples here, not because I understand them all, but because this prefix remains confusing, and it should be examined further in future research. In (8.51), it is used to signify that someone is in the state of 'being all grown up', in (8.52) that something is 'achieving a state', and in (8.53), that someone is 'causing a state'.

8. 51 *t'v-xwi mvn-nes-ya*

t'vxwi mvn-ne-s-ya
every th-th-stat-grown

'All grown up' EJ 108:293:5:1

8. 52 *lhee-deslh-mas*

lhee-de-s-lh-mas
together-ref-stat-lh.CL-roll

'It coiled itself up' EJ 108:315:1:1

In (8.53), we see the use of *s-* with a verb that is translated as 'broke', which is a change of state. The translation is probably not exactly accurate and probably would be better as 'the boat was broken'.

8. 53 *xv-nvs s-ch'ilh*

xvnvs s-ch'ilh
canoe stat-break

'He broke it, boat' EJ 108:287:13:1

For some verbs, the *s-* is always used, as in *da* ‘sit’ (8.54). Sometimes we see *s-* when referring to a particular attempt that was successful, as in (8.55), where it is used with the verb *ya* ‘go’.

8. 54 *shmvn-d'i das-da*

sh *mvn=d'i* *da-s-da*
 1s opposite=dir on-stat-sit.1

‘He sits opposite me’ EJ 108:313:4:1

8. 55 *tat-dvn dvn-svt ch'ee-sii-ya*

tat=dvn *dvnsvt* *ch'ee-sii-ya*
 three=loc across across-stat-go.1

‘The 3rd time he got across’ EJ 108:296:4:1

In some examples there seems to be a perfective-stative combination, mentioned by Golla (1976; 223). We can see this combination in (8.56) with the word ‘the canoe leaked’.

8. 56 *xv-nvs waa-ghas-li*

xvnvs *waa* *gha-s-li*
 canoe for pfv-stat-leak

‘The canoe leaked’ EJ 108:293:1:1

To better illustrate some of the differences in use between these three perfective prefixes, we look more closely at how they are used with the copular stem *li* ‘be’. In (8.57-8.58), *gh-* is used to describe situations that were true long ago but are not true now. Without enough data to know for sure, it looks like it functions as a past progressive. In (8.57), we can see it used to denote something that used to belong to someone, in (8.58) that someone used to follow a certain spiritual path (the next line, not

given here, states that now he is not), and in (8.59), the copula refers to when the person was (used to be) a child, indicating that they are not young now.

8. 57 *hii-chish-'e ghii-li-i*

hii-chish'e *ghii-li=i*
3s-dress pfv-be=rel

‘It used to be her dress’ EJ 108:297:4:1

8. 58 *daa-t'i dis-nee-chu Shaker ghii-li*

daat'i *disnee=chu* *shaker* *ghii-li*
long.ago man=aug shaker pfv-be

‘Long ago he used to [be a Shaker]’ EJ 108:373:5:1

8. 59 *sxee-xe ghii-li da lhti nn-svslh-te*

sxeexe *ghii-li* *da* *lhti*
children pfv-be again very

nn-sv-s-lh-te
2s-stat-stat-lh.CL-want

‘When you were young you were loved greatly’ EJ 109: 29: 21: 1

The prefix *n-* is used with *li* ‘be’ to indicate a quality someone currently has, or something that is attempted to be had. In (8.60), the *n-* is used with the *li* ‘be’ to mean ‘I am (something) now’.

8. 60 *duu-wi dii-nvn nvsh-li*

duuwi *dii-nvn* *nv-sh-li*
indeed prom-sing comp-1s-be

‘Indeed, I am a doctor!’ EJ 108:299:2:1

In the next three examples, *ni-* ‘completive’ is used with *li* ‘be’ in a question, a command, and an irrealis structure (describing a situation that is not actually true or has

not actually happened). In (8.61), *ni-* is used when asking how old someone is (how many years are completed), in (8.62) when commanding or asking someone to treat one well, and in (8.63), as the ‘if’ part of an ‘if, then’ clause. In the first part of the sentence the quality *wvs-xe* ‘good’ is followed by *nii-li* ‘completive-be’, followed by the enclitic particle *de* ‘if’ (enclitic particles are discussed in Chapter 9). Of course, when you tell someone ‘if you are good’, there is no completed action or state, but instead it describes a (still) unrealized situation, followed by the rest of the sentence, which tells what will happen if a person is ‘good’.

8. 61 *daa-wii-xin-nii-la nii-li?*

daawii *xinnii=la* *nii-li*
 how.many year=Q comp-be

‘How old are you?’ EJ 108:206:1:1

8. 62 *sh-tr'vn wvs-xe nii-li*

sh-tr'vn *wvsxe* *nii-li*
 1s-towards good comp-be

‘Be good to me!’ EJ 109: 35: 16: 1

8. 63 *wvs-xe nii-lii-de sdv-k'e shnaa-lhi*

wvsxe *nii-li=de* *s-dvk'e* *sh-naa-lhi*
 good comp-be=if stat-over 1s-plu-go

‘If you are good your heart goes to heaven EJ 108:233:15:1

When *s-* ‘Stative’ is used with the copula, it indicates that the situation holds true at a particular state in time. In (8.64) we can see the phrase translated as ‘you are no longer rich’. The copula was the stem *li* ‘be’ with the stative *s-* and the inceptive *te-*; this

word is accompanied by the adverb *duu-de* ‘nothing’. This line is literally saying ‘you have started into the state of being nothing’.

8. 64 *duu-de tee-sish-li*

duude tee-sish-li
none inc-stat-be

‘You are no longer rich’ EJ 108:317:8:1

In (8.65), the copula is simply the stative *s-* and the stem *li*, accompanied by the quality *tr’ii-de* ‘sick’.

8. 65 *tr’ii-de sli*

tr’iide s-li
hurt stat-be

‘I am sick’ EJ 108:260:1:1

In these last two examples the translation indicates that they are indicating a current state, in (8.66) we see the *s-* also used to indicate a prior state; it comes from the flood creation story. Therefore, while the speaker and listener both know the situation was true in the past, it is told as though it were a present state. Note, that is story is referring to an occurrence from before the formation of the tribal entities in Oregon, in this story, the characters became the separate tribes that now exist. This is not therefore a change of state, and maybe would be better translated as ‘they all were the different tribes’.

8. 66 *hii-wvn xwilh-ch’at dv-ne sli*

<i>hii-wvn</i>	<i>xwilhch’at</i>	<i>dvne</i>	<i>s-li</i>
3s-for	different	people	stat-be

‘They all became different tribes’ EJ 72:94:7:1

In contrast with the perfective prefixes, we can see in (8.67) an example of the copula *li* ‘be’ with no aspectual prefixes, indicating that it is imperfective. This phrase has the copula *li* ‘be’ with only the person prefix *yi-* ‘3.on.3’. In this phrase it indicates that the subject is keeping the paint in a current state.

8. 67 *lhch'v-ts'ilh wv-sxe yii-li*
 lh-ch'v-ts'ilh wvsxe yii-li
 with-indf-paint good 3o3-be
 ‘He keeps the paint smooth’ EJ 108:312:6:1

This concludes the illustration of the three perfective prefixes. Next, we turn to the Progressive prefix.

8.5.3 Progressive

Progressive, is an aspect that marks continual action in progress. This prefix is challenging to recognize because of its similarity to *gh* ‘perfective’. These two aspectual prefixes come historically from different forms, originally with two different vowels that changed over time to have merged, so that two different prefixes now look the same. In (8.68), we see a clear example of *ghi-* ‘progressive’, used to describe how a canoe is in the process of being put into the water.

8. 68 *xv-nvs taa-tr'v-ghii-ta*
 xvnvs taa-tr'v-ghii-ta
 canoe water-indf-prog-handle.long
 ‘A boat is being put in the H²O’ EJ 108:213:8:1

In (8.69), *ghi* ‘progressive’ is used to describe the (ongoing, not completed) process of sinking. A more literal translation of this phrase would be ‘downwards I float’.

8. 69 *tee-un-t'e ghish-lat*

teeun=t'e ghi-sh-lat
down=dir pfv-1s-float

‘I am sinking in the water’ EJ 108:365:1:1

Contrast this with (8.70), in which *ni-* ‘completive’ is used with the same stem *lat* ‘float’, but here it means ‘drown’. This phrase is literally saying ‘in an area downwards I completed floating (e.g., I stopped floating, I sank)’

8. 70 *xuu-t'ee-nish-lat*

xuu-t'ee-ni-sh-lat
areal-down-comp-1s-float

‘I drown’ EJ 108:365:3:1

In the next section we turn to the final aspectual prefix, *uu-* ‘Optative’.

8.5.4 Optative

The last type of aspect found in Nuu-wee-ya’ is the Optative aspect, which is used to express soft commands or wishes, translatable as something like ‘May X happen’.³⁹ Obviously, a wish or a command must describe a situation that has not yet happened, which sometimes extends in general to actions that occur in the future.

In (8.71), we see our third different aspect prefix used with *lat* ‘float’; in addition to *uu-* ‘Optative’, the verb also bears *tee-* ‘Inceptive’ (or ‘down’), so that it expresses literally ‘May you float down (drown)’. This translates pretty well into English as ‘I hope

³⁹ While this optative prefix is labeled here as ‘aspect’, however, it isn’t really aspect but is included here because it is located in this position category and can replace the other aspect prefixes in the verb.

you drown’, although speaker-learners should be clear that in the Nuu-wee-ya’ example, there is no subject ‘I’ or verb ‘hope’.

8. 71 *tee-nuu-lat*

tee-n-uu-lat
inc-2s-opt-float

‘I hope you drown’ EJ 108:387:12:1

In (8.72), the *u-* is found with the stem *yalh* ‘go’ as well as the phrase *shii-sha* ‘I alone’ to mean ‘leave me alone’, or more literally ‘may I go, I alone’ (e.g., ‘let me go’).

8. 72 *shii-sha ghush-yalh*

shi *sha* *gh-u-sh-yalh*
1.s alone th-opt-1s.go.1

‘Let me go’ EJ 108:300:7:1

In (8.73), the optative *u-* is found in a command and in (8.74), when someone is talking about something they intend to do but haven’t yet.

8. 73 *shii-sha ghush-yalh*

shii *sha* *gh-u-sh-yalh*
1.s alone pfv-opt-1s-go.1

‘Let me go’ EJ 108:300:7:1

8. 74 *xwi 'ushlh-tr'it-te*

xwi *'u-sh-lh-tr'it-te*
all opt-1s-lh.CL-die=fut

‘I’ll kill everybody’ EJ 72:75:4:1

There is much more to understand about aspect prefixes and how they modify and convey the meanings of the verbs, but this is the end of this section of this particular

description. Now we turn to the many descriptor prefixes that provide extra information on how, in what direction, or in what position a verb occurs.

8.6 Descriptors

There are three main semantic types of descriptor prefixes covered in this section:

1. Directional prefixes, which convey information on the direction or position of an action or state (8.6.1), 2. Timing prefixes, which convey information about the inherent timing of an action (8.6.2), and 3. Qualifier prefixes, which are the remnants of nominal classifiers and encode semantically broad information (8.6.3). The location of these are shown in Figure 23.

Figure 23. Location of descriptors.

Directional	Aktionsart	Person	Qualifier	Aspect	Subject	Classifier	Stem
e.g. <i>kwe-lh-ya-</i>	e.g. <i>na-ch'i-te-</i>		<i>ne-di-xwv-</i>				

8.6.1 Directional prefixes

Directional prefixes (12.2 Directionals) indicate information about the direction or position of the verb. This is a very large group of prefixes, from which I here select nine that clearly convey a directional meaning. I am sure that more will be found with further analysis of the corpus.

8.6.1.1 Directional *ch'a-* ‘across’

This prefix is found as both *ch'a-* and *ch'e-* — *ch'a-* is more frequent in the dataset and *ch'e-* is more frequent in comparative sources (see below). The prefix *ch'a-* signifies movement or placement ‘across’, and it is found with multiple stems that convey motion information, such as the stems *ya* ‘go’ in (8.75), *delh* ‘two people go’ in (8.76), and *t'u* ‘swim’ in (8.77) (this last one uses the less common form *ch'e-*).

8. 75 *tat-dvn dvn-svt ch'ee-sii-ya*

tat=dvn dvnsvt ch'ee-sii-ya
 three=loc across across-stat-go.1

‘The 3rd time he got across’ EJ 108:296:4:1

8. 76 *nat-maa-ne ch'as-delh-la*

nat maane ch'a-s-delh=la
 two across across-stat-go.2=pst

‘Then they got across the river’ EJ 72:76:7:1

8. 77 *xv-ne maa-ne ch'ee-sis-t'u*

xvne maane ch'ee-si-s-t'u
 river across across-stat-1s-swim

‘I swim across stream’ EJ 108:365:8:1

The form *ch'e* is also found with the motion stem *xe* ‘paddle’ in (8.78). Contrast the directional *ch'e* with the same stem in (8.79), where it takes the prefix *na-* ‘pluractional’ (8.6.2.1) to derive the meaning ‘paddle the canoe around’ rather than ‘across’.

8. 78 *xv-nvs mvlh ch'e-sish-xe*

xvnvs mvlh ch'e-si-sh-xe
 canoe with across-STAT-1S-paddle

‘I go across in boat’ (EJ 108 172:9:1)

8. 79 *naa-sish-xe*

naa-si-sh-xe
 plu-stat-1s-paddle

‘I paddle the canoe’ EJ 108:368:10:1

Sapir (1914: 287) describes *ch'ee* (*tc!e* in Sapir’s orthography) as ‘across the water’, listing it cognate with Hupa *tc!e-*, “down to the beach, out of the house, to Kato

tc'e-; and Chipewyan *ts'e-* "to a body of water". Indeed, in this dataset, the prefix *ch'e-* with the meaning 'across' could be all about 'crossing water'. However, some phrases are ambiguous about what one is crossing. We still can't answer the question of whether this prefix could be used with 'crossing the road'.

There are times in which this prefix form is used, but there is no obvious meaning of 'across'. Some of these might be variants of the *ch'i-* 'repetitive' prefix, or we might need to be a bit more imaginative in our interpretation. For example, we can see *ch'ee-* in (8.80) with the stem *xat* 'open'. It is possible that *ch'ee-* 'across' is used because the verb is talking about opening a door, which could be considered a crosswise motion.

8. 80 *hat-du' hat lh'vn-chu t'is-dit ch'ee-nilh-xat-la yu naa-ghvt-gvsh-'e*

<i>hat=du'</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>lh'vnchu</i>	<i>t'isdit</i>
there=foc	there	indeed	little

<i>ch'ee-ni-lh-xat=la</i>	<i>yu-naa-ghv-t-gvsh='e</i>
across- comp-lh.CL-open=pst	det-plu-pfv-d.CL-pull=rel

'Then at last he peeped in (opened) just a little, he pulled (door) a little to side' EJ 72:110:5:1

The clearest cases of *ch'ee-* 'across' are limited to motion verbs, frequently motion verbs when the motion is occurring on water. It would make sense to extend this use to driving, as traditionally, the rivers were our roads and much motion occurred on the water.

8.6.1.2 Directional *da-* 'in, on'

The prefix *da-* seems to convey either 'in' or 'on', depending on the semantic nature of the verb stem. With motion verbs it means 'in'/'into', for stative verbs that express location of a referent, it means 'on'.

Starting with motion verbs, a simple use is given in (8.81), where *da-* ‘in’ is used with the classificatory verb stem *ch’vs* ‘handle fabric’ to mean ‘bring/carry something in’. Similarly, in (8.82) the verb stem *ja* ‘return’ combines with *da-* ‘into’ to mean ‘go back into the house’. For contrast, in (8.83) the same verb stem *ja* ‘return’ combines with ‘pluractional’ *na-* to mean simply ‘return’ rather than ‘return inside’.

8. 81 *dalh-ch’vs*

da-lh-ch’vs
in-lh.CL-handle.fabric

‘You bring it in (skin)’ EJ 109:12:15:1

8. 82 *hii-wvn-du’ hat mvn-me’n dan-jaa-la*

hii-wvn=du’ hat mvn me’n da-n-jaa=la
3s-for=foc there house in in-th-return=pst

‘Then he went back in the house’ EJ 72 :123 :8 :1

8. 83 *hat-du’ s’aa-dvn hat nv-n-jaa-la tr’aa-xe*

hat=du’ s’aa=dvn hat nv-n-jaa=la tr’aaxe
there=foc long=loc there plu-comp-return=pst woman

‘Then in not very long time she came back that woman’ EJ 72:24:3:1

A less clear case can be seen in a pair of lines from a text, given in (8.84) and (8.85), both with the same verb *dal-t’vm* ‘jump’, but in 8.84 meaning ‘jumped out’ and in (8.85) meaning ‘jumped back in’. It seems that the meaning here is less about arriving inside than it is about going through an entryway, which would make sense, as *da* is also the word for ‘door’ and ‘mouth’.

8. 84 *hi hat-du' ja tr'ee-tr'vn dal-t'vm*

hi *hat=du'* *ja* *tr'ee-tr'vn* *da-l-t'vm*
 3s there=foc here out-towards on-1.CL-jump

‘He jumped out again’ EJ 72:111:10:1

8. 85 *hi hat-du' ja mvn-men-svt dal-t'vm*

hi *hat=du'* *ja* *mvn* *men* *svt* *da-l-t'vm*
 3s there=foc here house in back on-1.CL-jump

‘Then he jump back in home again’ EJ 72:112:1:1

With verbs that express where something is located. *da-* is used to convey ‘on’, described by Sapir (1914: 302) as “sitting or lying on something above ground”. It is not surprising that this prefix is found with all verbs for ‘sit’ as seen in (8.86-8.87). In (8.88), the prefix *da-* ‘on’ combines with the verb stem *sti* ‘lie’ to make the combined meaning ‘lie on’.

8. 86 *hat das-da-la*

hat *da-s-da=la*
 there on-stat-sit.1=pst

‘He sat there’ EJ 72:58:4:1

8. 87 *hat-du' ji dvt-nn sis-xan maa-xu daa-delh-ts'e*

hat=du' *ji* *dvt=nn* *sisxan* *maa=xu*
 there=foc this when=irrealis ocean along=advl

daa-de-lh-ts'e
 ref-ref-lh.CL-sit.2

‘When old folks sat on ocean back’ EJ 72:139:8:1

8. 88 *k'wvt daa-sti*

k'wvt *daa-s-ti*
on.top ref-stat-lie

‘It was lying on it’ EJ 108:380:6:1

The postposition *kw'vt* ‘on top’ is frequently combined with *da-* ‘on’, as also seen in (8.89). In (8.89-8.90) both *kw'vt* ‘on top’ and *da-* ‘on’ are found with different classificatory handle verbs indicating where the item being ‘handled’ is sitting, *ch'us* for ‘on paper’ and *lhe* for ‘on water’.

8. 89 *kw'vt-das-ch'us*

kw'vt-da-s-ch'us
on-on-stat-handle.cloth

‘It was lying on it if paper’ EJ 108:380:7:1

8. 90 *k'wvt-dast-lhe*

k'wvt-da-s-t-lhe
on.top-on-stat-d.CL-handle.water

‘It was lying on it if dish has water in it’ EJ 108:380:9:1

The last example in this section is a caused motion verb, *dasl-na* ‘put on’ (8.91). While *da-* with regular motion verbs gives a meaning of ‘into’, in this caused motion example it means ‘on’ instead.

8. 91 *gaa-saa-me dasl-na*

gaasaa *me* *da-s-l-na*
dish in on-stat-l.CL-put

‘Put articles (dishes) on the top shelf’ EJ 108:371:6:1

8.6.1.3 Directional *kw'e-* ‘off, over’

The prefix *kw'e-* ‘over, off’ has a range of meanings that signify movement. Golla, (1976: 225) cites the prefix *O-k'e* to mean ‘out of, off of’. In Tolowa, the prefix *k'we-* is defined as ‘over / above / hover / up over’ (TDWD, 2021). Both of these meanings are seen in our data. Sometimes it signifies an action that causes something to split or break ‘off’. We can see this in (8.92), where the prefix combines with the verb stem *t'as* ‘cut’ to mean ‘cut it off’.

8. 92 *k'wee-nish-t'as*

 k'wee-ni-sh-t'as
 off-comp-1s-cut

 ‘I cut it off’ EJ 108:252:7:1

In (8.93) and (8.94), the same prefix occurs with two different verbs for ‘break’, *sas* and *ts'vt*. In both examples it is not clear what the prefix adds to the ‘break’ meaning — it could be read as ‘off’ depending on the social view of what ‘break’ means, or it could be more a sense of ‘up’, as in breaking into more than one piece.

8. 93 *chvn mvlh k'wee-nilh-sas-la*

 chvn mvlh k'wee-ni-lh-sas=la
 tree with off-comp-lh.CL-broke=pst

 ‘He broke it with a club’ EJ 108:263:8:1

8. 94 *ts'v-ne' k'wee-nii-ts'vt*

 ts'vne' k'wee-nii-ts'vt
 leg off-comp-break

 ‘He broke it (a dogs leg)’ EJ 109: 14: 6: 1

In (8.95), *kw'e-* ‘off’ combines with stem *vk* ‘throw’ to mean ‘throw off’.

8. 95 *mvlh-t'i st'e 'ee-ghe k'wee-ghii-'vk-la*

<i>mvlh=t'i</i>	<i>st'e</i>	<i>'ee-ghe</i>	<i>k'wee-ghii-'vk=la</i>
with=copula	blanket	off	off-pfv-throw=pst

‘With that he threw the blanket off himself’ EJ 72:160:3:1

In contrast, in (8.96) we see the meaning of ‘over’: the stem *xat* ‘cover’ combines with the prefix *kw'e-* ‘over’ meaning to ‘cover’ someone over with something. This example and the previous one show that the same prefix combined with different stems can create seemingly opposite readings.

8. 96 *hii-wvn k'wee-nus-nilh-xat*

<i>hii-wvn</i>	<i>k'wee-nu-s-ni-lh-xat</i>
3s-for	off-th-stat-comp-lh.CL-cover

‘That's why they covered her’ EJ 72:132:9:1

For a less clear example, in (8.97) the stem *gvsh* ‘pull’ combines with *k'we-*, as well as the postposition *tee-'vn*, which indicates a ‘downward’ direction, to mean ‘pull downward’. In this case the person being pulled is swimming in the ocean. I think what the *k'we-* adds is to indicate information about the swimmer being pulled ‘out’ or ‘off’ of his place on top of the water.

8. 97 *hat ja tee-'vn k'wii-dee-gvsh-la*

<i>hat</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>tee'vn</i>	<i>k'wii-dee-gvsh=la</i>
there	here	down	off-ref-pull=pst

‘Then it drug him down again’ EJ 72:143:3:1

8.6.1.4 Directional *se-* ‘to shore, up’

The different uses of *se-* can all be described as movement in a direction. Golla (1976: 225) defines *se-* as ‘uphill, to shore’. In phrases pertaining to traveling on water, *se-* means ‘toward shore’. In (8.98), *se-* is found with *ya* ‘go’ to mean come ashore; the direction to which they come ashore is indicated with the directional phrase *v-nee-t’a* ‘to south’. In (8.99), we can see *se-* used with *lat* ‘float’ to mean ‘float’ to shore’.

8. 98 *v-nee-t'a see-ghii-ya*

v-nee=t'a *see-ghii-ya*
south=dir up-pfv-go.1

‘He came ashore on the south side’ EJ 108:289:4:1

8. 99 *hat-du' sis-xan maa-me xun-delh see-ghii-lat-la*

hat=du' *sisxan maame* *xun* *delh*
there=foc ocean across straight go.2

see-ghii-lat=la
up-pfv-float=pst

‘Then it floated clear across the ocean (to shore)’ EJ 72:169:2:1

In (8.100), there is a beautiful example that contrasts the combination of *se-* with the stem *delh* ‘2 go’ with another verb with the same stem in the same phrase. This phrase repeats *see-ghii-delh* ‘got out of boat’ (lit ‘to shore go’) and then has a verb with the stem *delh* that is combined with the prefixes *na-* ‘pluractional’ and *te-* ‘inceptive’. This last verb means ‘start out and walk around to the house’, the phrase ‘to the house’ is marked with the postpositional phrase prior to this verb.

8. 100 *hat-du' hat see-ghii-delh-la hat saa-ghvt-delh-la mvn-tr'vn naa-tes-delh-la*

hat=du' hat see-ghii-delh=la hat
 there=foc there up-pfv-go.2=pst there

saa-ghv-t-delh=la mvn tr'vn
 ashore-pfv-d.CL-go.2=pst house towards

naa-te-s-delh=la
 plu-inc-stat-go.2=pst

‘Then they both got out of boat they walked up to house they went in’
 EJ 72:148:3:1

In (8.101), the *se-* occurs with a non-motion verb, ‘i ‘see’, to add both a sense of motion and a direction: ‘they saw something moving to shore’. How cool is that.

8. 101 *hat-du' hat see-ghes-'ii-la xwii-hun wvt daa-ghii-yaa-la jii-ch'i tee-la tr'ee-t'as-te-wvn*

hat=du' hat see-ghes-'ii=la xwii hun wvt
 there=foc there up-th-stat-see=pst all that ?

daa-ghii-yaa=la jii-ch'i teela tr'ee-t'as=te=wvn
 ref-pfv-go.1=pst because whale pass-cut=fut=for

‘Then they saw whale coming to shore they all ready to cut whale’
 EJ 72:169:3:1

In phrases not referring to water, the prefix *se-* indicates ‘upward or sideways movement’. The actual direction or location information is usually expressed with an additional lexeme or postpositional phrase. This can be seen in (8.102), where *se-* combines with the stem *mas* ‘roll’ to indicate ‘roll to the side’. The *se-* is expressing general motion and the meaning of ‘to the side’ is expressed with the lexeme *k'wvs-se* ‘side’.

8. 102 *k'wvs-se see-ghii-mas*

k'wvse *see-ghii-mas*
side up-pfv-roll

‘It rolled to one side’ EJ 108:291:12:1

The prefix *se-* is also used to indicate ‘in’. In (8.103) *se-* combines with ‘a ‘handle something round’ to mean ‘put somewhere’. It is combined with the postpositional phrase *ch'v-svs-kw'vt* ‘on skin’ that indicates where the object will be placed.

8. 103 *ch'v-svs-kw'vt see-ghii-'a*

ch'v-svs *kw'vt* *see-ghii-'a*
indf-skin atop up-pfv-handle.round

‘He put it in a skin’ EJ 108:308:8:2

However, in (8.104) *se-* seems to have the simple meaning ‘up’, as in *see-ghish'a* ‘put up’. The same verb as in (8.103) is used, but without the postpositional phrase, the nominal lexeme that is present (‘the knife’) is the object being placed rather than the location where an object is placed.

8. 104 *nvl-me nes see-ghish'a ghii-let*

nvlme nes *see-ghi-sh-'a* *ghii-let*
knife tall up-pfv-1s-handle.round 3s-tip

‘I put a long knife (on the top shelf)’ EJ 108:371:7:1

In (8.105), *se-* is found with the stem *delh* ‘handle something twined’ to mean ‘throw up (the rope)’. In this phrase, the direction ‘up’ is only indicated with *se-*. The postposition *tr'vn* ‘towards’ does not provide specific direction information, although one might deduce that a rope going ‘towards the treetop’ would be going up.

8. 105 *chvn-let tr'vn dvs-si see-ghishlh-delh*

chvn=let *tr'vn* *dvs* *see-ghi-sh-lh-delh*
tree=tip towards rope up-pfv-1s-lh.CL-go.2

‘I threw a rope up in the treetop’ EJ 108:244:8:1

(8.106) and (8.107) show two more examples where *se-* is indicating general location, the particulars of which are indicated with the postpositional phrase proceeding the verb. Again, while it is possible that the motion of the ‘putting’ is upwards, this is not explicit in the translations given.

8. 106 *tr'vn-t'i see-ghish-'a*

tr'vn =*t'i* *see-ghi-sh-'a*
towards=dir up-pfv-1s-handle.round

‘I put it close to something’ EJ 108:280:11:1

8. 107 *dv-k'e-gwe see-ghilh-xat-la*

dvk'e *gwe* *see-ghi-lh-xat=la*
shoulder on up-pfv-lh.CL-put.on=pst

‘He put it around his shoulders’ EJ 72 :129 :5 :1

This last example, (8.108), has a prefix *se-* also seems to mean ‘out’, in this case to mean picking a ‘wife out’. It is used with the stem *te* ‘handle living objects’ for the phrase ‘pick out a wife for someone’.

8. 108 *hii-wvn-du' hii-naa-t'a see-nishlh-ti*

hii-wvn=du' *hii* *naa-t-'a*
3s-for=foc 3s plu-d.CL-handle.round

see-ni-sh-lh-ti
up-comp-1s-lh.CL-handle.living

‘That why I picked her out for you’ EJ 72:66:1:1

8.6.1.5 Directional *ta-* ‘(in) water’

The prefix *ta-* ‘in water’ is used to reference actions related to, in, or directed toward water, consistent with Sapir’s (1914: 302) analysis of *ta-* as ‘referring to water’. In (8.109), the prefix *taa-* ‘water’ is combined with *ta* ‘handle long object’ to mean ‘put a boat in the water’, whereas in (8.110), *ta-* is put with *gvsh* ‘pull’ to mean ‘pull a boat out of the water’.

8. 109 *xv-nvs taa-tr’v-ghii-ta*

 xvnvs taa-tr’v-ghii-ta
 canoe water-indf-prog-handle.long

 ‘A boat is being put in the H²O’ EJ 108:213:8:1

8. 110 *xv-nvs taa-tr’v-ghii-gvsh*

 xvnvs taa-tr’v-ghii-gvsh
 canoe water-indf-prog-pull

 ‘A boat is being pulled from the H²O’ EJ 108:213:9:1

The non-motion verbs *k’as* ‘fish’ and *na* ‘drink’ both take *ta-* ‘water’, as fishing occurs in water (8.111) and water is often the thing one drinks (8.112).

8. 111 *talh-k’as*

 ta-lh-k’as
 water-lh.CL-fish

 ‘He goes fishing’ EJ 108:316:7:1

8. 112 *tad-na*

 ta-d-na
 water-d.CL-drink

 ‘You drink water’ EJ 108:385:3:1

In (8.113-8.115), we see the contrast between *ta-* ‘(towards) water’ in (8.113) and two other directional prefixes, *te-* ‘down’ in (8.114) and *ya-* ‘up’ (see section 8.6.1.9) in (8.115).

8. 113 *see taa-ghilh-selh*

 see taa-ghi-lh-selh
 pitch water-pfv-lh.CL-throw.rock

 ‘I threw a rock [in] water’ EJ 108:244:11:1

8. 114 *te'-vn tee-ghish-selh*

 te'vn tee-ghi-sh-selh
 down down-pfv-1s-throw.rock

 ‘I throw a rock down’ EJ 108:244:12:1

8. 115 *yaa-ghish-'elh*

 yaa-ghi-sh-'elh
 up-pfv-1s-sleep.3

 ‘I toss rock up’ EJ 108:244:13:1

8.6.1.6 Directional *te-* ‘down’

Distinguishing between *ta-* and *te-* can be confusing because *te-* can seem like it is dealing with water. As mentioned above, Sapir (1914: 302) lists *ta-* as ‘referring to water’, whereas he lists *te-* as ‘in the water’ and ‘down to water’ (Sapir 1914). In contrast, Golla (1976: 225) lists *ta-* as ‘(into) the water’ and *te-* as ‘into the ground’. None of these glosses match all of the uses of *te-* in the data considered here. Since all the cases of *te-* that pertain to water seem to involve something moving in a downward direction until it hits the water, I think of *te-* as meaning ‘down’, regardless of whether the moving thing ends up in the earth or in water. It is likely a grammaticalization of the postposition *te-vn* ‘down’, which is seen in (8.116).

8. 116 *chvn te'-'vn 'v-ghishlh-galh*

chvn te'vn 'v-ghi-sh-lh-galh
stick down peg- pfv- 1s- lh.CL- go.1

‘I throw a long stick down’ EJ 108:244:16:1

In (8.117), *te-* is with the stem ‘a ‘handle round object’ to mean put in the water. This is reinforced by the postposition *tuu-me* ‘in the water’, meaning the prefix *te-* could just be indicating that the direction of the putting is ‘down’ to the water.

8. 117 *tuu-me tee-ghii-'a*

tuu-me tee-ghii-'a
water-in water-pfv-handle.round

‘He put it in the water’ EJ 108:358:4:1

However, even without the postposition *tuu-me* ‘in the water’, in (8.118) the information of ‘(down) into the water’ appears to be conveyed with only the prefix *te-* ‘(down) into water’. Here *te-* is combined with the stem *t'a* ‘handle long object’ to mean ‘throw stick (or any long object) into the water’. Similar to *ta-*, in (8.119) *te-* occurs with the verb stem *shish* ‘drink’, which could indicate that the direction of movement when drinking is ‘down’, or it could indicate that the verb involves water, like *tad-na* ‘drink water’ (8.112).

8. 118 *tee-ghii-t'a*

tee-ghii-t'a
water-pfv-handle.stick

‘He put it in the water if stick’ EJ 108:358:5:1

8. 119 *lh̄ta tee-shish-te*

lh̄ta *tee-shish=te*
some down-drink=fut

‘He will drink some’ EJ 109: 25: 18: 1

Similarly, in (8.120) something grabs a person and *tee-ch’v-tv-ghvl-tee-la* ‘pulled him (down) into the water’, where the stem *tii* ‘handle living being’ combines with *te-*, which could mean ‘down’ or it could be the thing that means into the water.

8. 120 *de jii-xwvsh dilh-ch’ut tee-ch’v-tv-ghvl-tii-la*

de *jii-xwvsh* *di-lh-ch’ut*
thing maybe prom- lh.CL- grab

tee-ch’v-tv-ghv-l-tii=la
down-ind-inc-pfv-1.CL-handle.living=pst

‘We don’t know what caught him and pulled him into the water’
EJ 72:142:5:1

With the examples so far, one could imagine that *te-* is just a variant of *ta-*, however there are also examples where *te-* seems to mean only ‘down’, with no water involved. In (8.121), *te-* occurs with the stem *dvt* ‘run’ to mean ‘run (down) into (the ground)’, and in (8.122), it combines with the stem *gwvt* ‘poke’ to indicate ‘poking down’, with the ‘in the ground’ specified.

8. 121 *t’ii-dvt haa-t’i tee-’v-lh-dvt-la*

t’iidvt *haa* *t’i* *tee-’v-lh-dvt=la*
anywhere here cop down-peg-lh.CL-run=pst

‘Just anywhere he could run into the ground’ EJ 72:102:6:1

8. 122 *hat-du' t'ii-nvn-'e-me'n tee-yilh-gwvt*

hat=du' t'ii-nvn'e me'n tee-yi-lh-gwvt
there=foc th-earth in down-3o3-lh.CL-poke

‘Then he just down in ground poked it’ EJ 72:155:1:1

8.6.1.7 Directional *tr'e-* ‘out’

The prefix *tr'e-* means ‘out’, or as defined in Golla (1976: 225) ‘out, away’. In (8.123), the prefix is with *ya* ‘one goes’ to mean ‘go out’, and in (8.124), *tr'e-* is with *yish* ‘come’ meaning ‘come out’.

8. 123 *mat-k'wvsh-nu' tr'ee-nii-ya*

matk'wvsh nu' tr'ee-nii-ya
door through out-comp-go.1

‘He went through the door’ EJ 108:308:2:1

8. 124 *shut nuu-yuu-dvt-xet-de tl'aa-tr'vn tr'ee-nii-yish-te*

shut nuu-yuu-dv-t-xet=de tl'aa tr'vn
only 1p-det-ref-d.CL-call=if proh towards

tr'ee-nii-yish=te
out-comp-call=fut

‘If she calls you don't go out to her’ EJ 72:16:7:1

The same prefix is found in (8.125), with *li* ‘flow’ to mean ‘cry out tears’.

8. 125 *dv-nv-ts'aa-la naa-t'u t'ree-ghii-lii-la*

dv-nv-ts'aa=la naat'u t'ree-ghii-lii=la
ref-2s-cry=pst tear out-pfv-be=pst

‘His tears were running out’ EJ 72:58:8:1

This verb stem and prefix is also found for ‘bleeding’ as seen in the Tolowa example (8.126).

8. 126 *mi~sr dee-le' tree-ghii~li~*

mi~sr deei=e tre-ghi-li~
nose blood=poss out-pfv-flow

‘Nosebleed’ (lit. ‘nose blood flows out’) (TDWD, 2021)

Finally, in (8.127) the prefix *tre-* ‘out’ is also used with the stem *ts'it* ‘wake up’, perhaps an idiom for ‘coming out of sleep’; it seems to be lexicalized to mean ‘wake up’.

8. 127 *gay-yu tr'ee-nishlh-ts'it*

gayyu tr'ee-ni-sh-lh-ts'it
baby out-comp-1s-lh.CL-know

‘I (already) woke up the baby’ EJ 108:236:6:1

8.6.1.8 Directional *xa-* ‘up’

The last two prefixes that we examine here both seem to indicate ‘up’. In this section we look at the prefix *xa-* ‘up’, which has not (to my knowledge) been mentioned in previous grammatical description. We begin with the simplest example, as in (8.128), where *xa-* ‘up’ is combined with the stem *'vs* ‘run’ to mean ‘run up’.

8. 128 *lhvn xastlh-'vs-la*

lhvn xa-s-t-lh-'vs=la
up up-stat-d.CL-lh.CL-run=pst

‘He ran up’ EJ 72:90:2:1

Verbs bearing the prefix *xa-* ‘up’ frequently combine with postpositional phrases, as in (8.129-8.130). In (8.129), we can see *xa-* ‘up’ with the stem *ja* ‘return’ to mean ‘returning up’ with the sense ‘to the house’ expressed via the postpositional phrase *mvn-tr'vn* ‘house toward’. In (8.130), with a different verb for run, *'es* ‘run’, and a different postpositional phrase, the same prefix occurs as part of the meaning ‘run to the stern of the boat’.

8. 129 *naa-tv-ghv-t'uu-dvn hat-tr'it tge xast-jaa-la mvn-tr'vn*

naa-tv-ghv-t'uu=dvn *hat* *tr'it* *tge*
 plu-down-prog-swim =loc there towards above

xa-s-t-ja=la *mvn* *tr'vn*
 up-stat-d.CL-return=pst house towards

‘After his bathing then he ran back up to the house’ EJ 72:113:10:1

8. 130 *hat-du' xv-nvs tl'a 'vn hun shut xaslh-'es-la*

hat=du' *xvnvs* *tl'a* *'vn* *hun* *shut*
 there=foc canoe stern towards that only

xa-s-lh-'es=la
 up-stat-lh.CL-run=pst

‘Then to stern of boat he ran’ EJ 72:160:4:1

In (8.131), *xa-* ‘up’, the stative aspect *s-*, and verb stem *ya* ‘one person goes’ combine to make the verb word, preceded by the postpositional phrase ‘tree top’ and to mean ‘he is up in the tree’. Because of *s-* ‘stative’, this does not mean ‘he goes to the top of the tree’, but rather ‘he is in the state of already having gone to the top of the tree’. Finally, in (8.132), *xa-* ‘up’ is with *gwvt* ‘pop’ to mean ‘pop (him) up out of the water’.

8. 131 *chvn-let xas-ya*

chvn *let* *xa-s-ya*
 tree tip up-stat-go.1

‘He is in the top of the tree’ EJ 108:244:1:1

8. 132 *hat-du' t'ii-dvt hat ja xalh-gwvt-la tuu-me'n-di*

hat=du' *t'iidvt* *hat* *ja* *xa-lh-gwvt=la*
 there=foc again there here up-lh.CL-pop=pst

tuu=me'n=di
 water=in=dir

‘Then at certain place he popped him up out of the water’ EJ 72:142:6:1

8.6.1.9 Directional *ya-* ‘up’

The second prefix for ‘up’ is *ya-*: Sapir (1914: 301) glosses *ya-* as ‘up (in the air)’ and Golla (1976: 225) glosses *ya-* as ‘upward’. The most basic use is to indicate the path of something that moves, as in (8.133), where *ya-* ‘up’ combines with *t’a* ‘fly’ when the referent ‘flies up’.

8. 133 *yaa-ghii-t'a*

yaa-ghii-t'a
up-pfv-fly

‘It flies’ EJ 108:363:3:1

In (8.134-8.136), *ya-* ‘up’ is combined with various verbs of caused motion, such as with *srvs* ‘handle a mass’ to mean ‘lift a mass high up’ (8.134), with *k’vs* ‘throw’ to mean throw an object such that it loses contact with the earth (8.135), and with *yulh* ‘blow’ to describe the wind ‘blowing something away’ (8.136).

8. 134 *yaa-srvsr*

yaa-srvsr
up-handle.mass

‘You lift it high up (mass)’ EJ 108:355:8:1

8. 135 *srv-ghvlh yaa-ghishlh-k'vs*

srvghvlh *yaa-ghi-sh-lh-k'vs*
ball up-pfv-1s-lh.CL-throw

‘I threw it’ EJ 108:363:2:1

8. 136 *lhtr'ii yaa-ghilh-yulh*

lh-tr'ii *yaa-ghi-lh-yulh*
lh.CL-wind.blow up-pfv-lh.CL-blow

‘The wind blows it away’ EJ 108:268:3:1

A more idiomatic use is in (8.137), where *ya-* ‘up’ is used with *xwi-* ‘vomit’; of course, when vomiting the contents of the stomach travel upwards, which is also captured by English ‘throw up’ meaning ‘vomit’.

8. 137 *yaa-ghvsht-xwi*

yaa-ghv-sh-t-xwi
up-pfv-1s-d.CL-vomit

‘I vomit’ EJ 108:384:4:1

This concludes the tour of the directional prefixes. In the next section, we look at the descriptors that convey information about the inherent timing of a verb, which linguists call Aktionsart.

8.6.2 Aktionsart

Aktionsart is a term (always capitalized because it comes from a German term) used to refer to aspectual characteristics of a verb that convey information about the timing inherent to the situation described by the verb (Axelrod, 1993). For instance, Aktionsart could mark a repetitive action, as for having hiccups, a punctual action, as for a single sneeze, or an activity without a natural endpoint, as in walking around. The label Aktionsart has been applied to a certain set of prefixes in Dene verbs that convey information about the inherent timing of the verb (Axelrod, 1993). In this section, I present three Aktionsart prefixes found in Nuu-wee-ya’ texts, as seen in Table 33, although there could be more that haven’t been distinguished yet.

Table 33. Verb Aktionsart prefixes.

Prefix	Meaning
<i>na-</i>	around/about (Iterative, Pluractional)
<i>te-</i>	starting out (Inceptive)
<i>ch'i-</i>	over and over (Repetitive)

These prefixes sometimes can take turns modifying a verb stem, so that the same stem sometimes takes one prefix and sometimes another prefix, with the expected change in meaning. However, sometimes a particular verb meaning comes when you combine a particular Aktionsart prefix with a particular verb stem, so that when you change to another prefix, the meaning changes as though it were creating an entirely new verb (this process is discussed in greater detail in chapter 15). Sometimes more than one Aktionsart prefix can be found on the same verb at the same time. The rest of this section does a quick survey of these prefixes one by one.

8.6.2.1 *na-* ‘Around, Pluractional’

The Aktionsart prefix *na-* ‘around’ is very frequently used both in Nuu-wee-ya’ and in other Dene languages as well (c.f. section 16.2). Its many uses all relate to a repetitive motion over an area, usually non-directed, as in ‘going around and about’. It also marks a ‘customary’ action, or an action that involves repetition. Sometimes it is used though to mean ‘return’, which is a directed motion that is not connected to a particular direction but to knowing where a motion started from. This prefix has so many functions that in some Dene languages, it has been glossed with different labels within the description of one language. In this work, I discuss this prefix in greater detail in chapter 19, so here I only present a few examples of the broadest most typical uses.

In (8.138), *na-* is used with the stem *ya* ‘go’ to mean ‘going round and about’; the concept ‘sneak’ is conveyed with the word *nuu-se* ‘sneaking’ before the verb.

8. 138 *buu-srinuu-se naa-yaa-'a*

<i>buusri</i>	<i>nuuse</i>		<i>naa-yaa='a</i>
cat	sneaking		plu-go.1='a.enc

‘The cat sneaks around’ EJ 108:357:3:1

In (8.139), the same verb stem *ya* ‘go’ is with *na-*, here indicating a customary action, as in this person is accustomed to, or ‘used to’ going ‘by foot’, or ‘walking’.

8. 139 *shvlh-k'we nash-ya shxe' mvlh*

<i>shv-lh</i>	<i>k'we</i>	<i>na-sh-ya</i>	<i>sh-xe'</i>	<i>mvlh</i>
1s-with	following	plu-1s-go.1	1s-foot	with

‘I’m used to walking’ EJ 108:350:5:1

In (8.140), the ‘reversative’ or ‘returning’ meaning of *na-* comes out when used along with the stem *dish* ‘come’, giving the meaning ‘come back’.

8. 140 *ja naa-nish-dish-te*

<i>ja</i>	<i>naa-ni-sh-dish=te</i>
here	plu-comp-1s-come=fut

‘I will come back’ EJ 109: 24: 10: 1

In (8.141), we have our third example with the stem *ya* ‘go’, this time with both *na-*, which seems to be used instead of noting going in a particular direction, and also with the next Aktionsart prefix, *te-* ‘Inceptive’, to mean ‘to start out’.

8. 141 *naa-tee-svs-ya*
 naa-tee-sv-s-ya
 plu-inc-stat-1s-go.1
 ‘I am going to go now’ EJ 108:270:1:1

8.6.2.2 *te-* ‘Inceptive’

As seen in the previous example, the prefix *te-* ‘Inceptive’ is used to indicate that an action is just starting out. In (8.142), we see *te-* ‘inceptive’ used by itself with *ya* ‘go’ to mean ‘start out’.

8. 142 *lha' tee-sii-ya*
 lha' te-si-ya
 one inc-stat-go.1
 ‘Another started’ EJ 108:246:5:1

In (8.143), *te-* ‘Inceptive’ is used in a question about where someone is about to head out for, and then in (8.144) we see an answer to this question, in which the person is starting to go ‘nowhere’.

8. 143 *t'v-xwvn-la tee-sii-ya?*
 t'vxwvnla tee-sii-ya
 where inc-stat-go.1
 ‘Where you going?’ EJ 108:347:6:1

8. 144 *duu-dee-xwvn tes-yish*
 duudee xwvn te-s-yish
 none there inc-stat-go.1
 ‘No where (I'm going)’ EJ 108:347:7:11

8.6.2.3 *ch'i* ‘Repetitive’

The last Aktionsart prefix, *ch'i-*, indicates that the action is repetitive. This is different from *na-* because does not refer to a repetitive action that occurs over an area. This prefix is often seen with verbs of ingesting, reflecting the repetitive motion of our mouths and jaws when we chew and swallow. For example, in (8.145), *ch'i-* ‘repetitive’ is found with *ya* ‘eat’, and in (8.146) with *t'u* ‘suck’ to indicate indicate the repetitive (and ingesting) nature of how a baby nurses. For contrast, in (8.147) the same stem *t'u* ‘suck’ occurs without *ch'i* ‘repetitive’, and it just means ‘to suck on something’.

8. 145 *ch'ii-ya*

ch'-ii-ya
rep-2s-eat

‘You eat’ EJ 108:354:6:1

8. 146 *ch'ishlh-t'u*

ch'i-sh-lh-t'u
rep-1s-lh.CL-suck

‘Baby nursing’ EJ 108:383:8:1

8. 147 *vshlh-t'u*

v-sh-lh-t'u
peg-1s-lh.CL-suck

‘To suck on something’ EJ 108:383:8:2

In another clear example, the first word in (8.148) is a noun made from a verb (discussed in chapter 10). The word ‘hammer’ is made from the verb stem *t'ish* ‘pound’,

the *l-* classifier, *ch'i-* ‘repetitive’ and *lh-* ‘instrumental’, meaning literally ‘pound with it over and over’, which is the action you do when you use a hammer.

8. 148 *lhch'il-t'ish yislh-sri*
 lh-ch'i-l-t'ish *yi-s-lh-sri*
 with-rep-l.CL-hit 3o3-stat-lh.CL-make
 ‘He made a hammer of it’ EJ 108:305:3:1

While there are not many of these prefixes, they are used often and there is surely much more work ahead to describe them more fully. We turn now to the final category of descriptors, the qualifier prefixes.

8.6.3 Qualifiers

There are three Qualifier prefixes that seem to be remnants of nominal classifiers, which are now mainly used as thematic prefixes, which means their meaning is bleached and not always understood.⁴⁰ These three forms have been reconstructed as conveying that a referent is ‘round’, ‘straight’, or ‘over an area’. That said, in Nuu-wee-ya’, prefixes with these forms do not always (in fact, hardly ever) convey the meanings ‘round’ or ‘straight’, but the meaning of ‘over an area’ is still widely used.

Table 34 shows the forms of these three prefixes, the meaning associated with the ancient classifiers, and how the form seems to be used in Nuu-wee-ya’, then the remaining subsections treat the prefixes one by one.

Table 34. *The three qualifier prefixes*

Form	In Nuu-wee-ya’	In Na-Dene
<i>ne-</i>	telic	round
<i>di-</i>	upright/prominent	straight
<i>xuu-</i>	areal	areal

⁴⁰ These qualifiers have cognates not just to Proto-Dene, but all the way back to the common ancestor of the Dene languages and the Siberian Yeniseian languages (Vajda, 2010)

8.6.3.1 *ne-* ‘Telic’

The prefix *ne-* ‘Telic’ is very difficult to interpret. In the theories that link this to Yeniseian, it indicates a round referent, but different modern Dene languages seem to have represented this ‘roundness’ in different metaphorical senses. Thus, the meaning it conveys is very abstract and is not necessarily well represented in translation. Golla (1976:225) lists it as an inner ‘completive’ adverb, demonstrating it with ‘go to bed’. This prefix is discussed in great detail in chapter 16, where I also define the term ‘Telic’. For now, consider one illustration in (8.149), where we see *ne-* (in the form *nv-*) with ‘go to bed’.

8. 149 *nvsh-tvsh-te*

 nv-sh-tvsh=te
 comp-1s-go.bed=fut

 ‘I go to bed’ EJ 108:378:7:1

8.6.3.2 *di-* ‘Upright, prominent’

Cognates for the prefix *di-* has been described in other Dene languages to represent a long object (Rice, 2000; Kari, 1990) In Nuu-wee-ya’ this is a reasonable origin for the idea of ‘upright’. We can see this in (8.150), where *di-* is used with *talh* ‘stand’ to mean ‘stand upright’ and in (8.151), with the *dv-* form, for ‘stand it (up) on edge’.

8. 150 *nuu-dii-talh*

 nuu-dii-talh
 th-prom-stand

 ‘Stand up’ EJ 108:360:3:1

8. 151 *nee-dv-ghilh-gvt bul-daa-xu*

nee-dv-ghi-lh-gvt *buldaa=xu*
th-ref-pfv-lh.CL-stand.it narrow=adv1

‘Stand it on edge’ EJ 108:348:1:1

Some words in Nuu-wee-ya’ that convey prominent sensations use the *di-* as well. This use has been considered to derive from the classifier for referents positioned ‘straight’ (Rice, 2000) it makes sense for the idea of ‘straightness’ or ‘directness’ to be related to strong sensations. In (8.152), *di-* ‘prominent’ is used with *tr’i* ‘bitter’ and in (8.153) with *k’us* ‘sour’, both prominent or strong tastes. In (8.154), the word for ‘whistle’ is made of two words, *yuu-wisr* ‘whistle’ and *dvlh-ni* ‘make (prominent) noise’, which combines the prefix *dv-* (a form of *di-*) ‘prominent’ with the stem *ni* ‘make noise’.

8. 152 *dii-tr’i*

dii-tr’i
prom-bitter

‘It is bitter’ JPH 891:3:1

8. 153 *dii-k’us*

dii-k’us
prom-sour

‘It is sour’ JPH 3059:1:1

8. 154 *yuu-wisr dvlh-ni*

yuuwisr *dv-lh-ni*
whistle prom-lh.CL-make noise

‘He whistles’ EJ 108:370:4:1

8.6.3.3 *xuu-* ‘Areal’

The last of the qualifiers, *xuu-* can come in different forms that all start with an *x*. This form indicates areal features in other Dene languages (Rice, 2000) that is situations that happen over an area or space. In (8.155), *xuu-* is used with the stem *ni* ‘have’ to indicate there is grease located in a certain area.

8. 155 *ghin ch'v-k'a xuu-ni*

 ghin *ch'v-k'a* *xuu-ni*
 there ind-fat areal-have

‘There's some grease over there’ EJ 108:318:5:1

In (8.156), the stem *yvs* ‘fall’ is combined with the positional *ya* ‘up’ to mean ‘trip and fall’; and there is no qualifier prefix. In (8.157), a different stem *talh* ‘step/stand’ is combined with both the prominence prefix *di-* and the areal *xuu-* (*xaa-* here) and to mean ‘slip and fall’. Indeed, the action of ‘slipping’ entails the foot moving across an area, whereas ‘tripping’ happens at a single point in space.

8. 156 *yaa-ghvd-yvs*

 yaa-ghv-d-yvs
 up-pfv-d.CL-fall

 ‘He tripped and fell’ EJ 108:214:1:1

8. 157 *xaa-dilh-talh*

 xaa-di-lh-talh
 areal-prom-lh.CL-slip

‘He slipped fell’ EJ 108:214:2:1

In (8.158), we can see *xuu-* used with *selh* to mean ‘hot’ as in ‘the weather is hot’, which holds true over an area. In contrast, in (8.159), without the areal prefix, the situation is a particular individual ‘getting hot’.

8. 158 *xuu-svlh*

xuu-svlh
areal-hot

‘Hot’ EJ 108:237:13:1

8. 159 *naa-yit-selh*

naa-yi-t-selh
plu-3o3-d.CL-hot

‘He got warm’ EJ 108:267:8:1

Finally, the areal prefix is used in the word *xuu-cha* ‘areal-fine’, which is often used to refer to sacred or holy qualities, but here in (8.160), we see it used to refer to good weather.

8. 160 *jii-sres lhti' xuu-cha*

<i>jii-sres</i>	<i>lhti'</i>	<i>xuu-cha</i>
det-day	very	areal-fine

‘Fine day’ EJ 108:216:10:1

This brings us to the end of the chapter of this thesis that contains the most detailed linguistic analysis. There are many more prefixes and stems than are mentioned here, but even so, this serves as a stop along the way in the Nuu-wee-ya learner-speaker’s process of learning and using the Nuu-wee-ya’ verb.

CHAPTER IX - ENCLITIC PARTICLES

This chapter looks at Nuu-wee-ya' enclitic particles. 'Enclitic particle' is a term used to refer to a kind of word that does not stand alone as its own word, but rather attaches to the end of other words. However, they are still a 'word' albeit a grammatical word. For example, in English the reduced form of *not* is the contraction =*n't*, which belongs to the category of enclitic particle because it carries its own meaning, 'negation', and it always comes attached to a different word, e.g., *do=n't*, *is=n't*, *have=n't*, *has=n't*, etc. Similarly, some auxiliaries in English become enclitic particles on preceding pronouns, e.g. *is*, *are*, and *would* reduce to =*'s*, =*'re* and =*'d* in words like *he='s*, *she='s*, *we='re*, *you='re*, *he='d*, *she='d*, *we='d*, *you='d*, etc.

In Nuu-wee-ya', there are at least 15 different enclitic particles that are (for the most part) not found as their own lexical item, that is, most do not have a form like English *not*, but only a form like English =*n't*. While English enclitic particles are all contractions, this is not the case in Nuu-wee-ya.⁴¹ All enclitic particles come at the end of a word, usually a verb or noun, and a word can have more than one enclitic particle (like English *he='d='ve* 'he would have'). The enclitic particles convey a wide range of information and are a valuable part of the grammar to understand and use. Those found in the texts I have analyzed so far are shown in Table 35. These enclitic particles have six different types of semantic jobs: conveying tense, mood, irrealis, providing focus, relativizing, and changing parts of speech, listed in the table as "other derivational"

⁴¹ There are no attestations of a free form of these particles – they are always encliticized.

processes. The remaining sections of this chapter give examples of the use of each enclitic particle.

Table 35. Enclitic Particles

Tense (9.1)		Focus (9.3)	
past	= <i>la</i>	Focus	= <i>du'</i>
future	= <i>te</i>	Discourse marker	= <i>t'i</i>
Mood (9.2)		Nominalizer (9.4)	
wish	= <i>nn</i>	Nominalizer	= <i>i</i>
if	= <i>de</i>	Nominalizer	= <i>ne</i>
question	= <i>ha</i> / <i>=la</i>	Nominalizer	= <i>yu</i>
imperative	= <i>le</i>	Other derivation (9.5)	
evidential	= <i>ts'a</i>	adverbializer	= <i>xu</i>
		location/time	= <i>dvn</i>
		direction	= <i>t'a</i>

9.1 Tense

Tense refers to the time that an event occurs in relation to now, that is, past, present, and future. In Nuu-we-ya' Present tense is not marked, but the lack of tense marking does not necessarily mean an event is occurring 'now'. This is because aspect is used as much or more than tense to convey the timeline of the action. There are enclitic particles that convey both Past and Future tense, but they are not always needed to convey past or future time. However, if a speaker wants to be clear about the timing, they are very helpful.

9.1.1 =*la* 'past tense'

Past tense encodes what has already occurred before now and is marked with the enclitic particle =*la*. In the texts, =*la* is a very frequently used morpheme, found in nearly all sentences. So, while I can't say for sure how often this particle was used in regular

conversation, I believe that it was common when telling stories. In (9.1) you can see the =*la* in the last word, the verb.

9. 1 *hat-du' mvn-tr'vn nee-nilh-tii-la*
- hat=du' mvn tr'vn nee-ni-lh-tii =la*
 there=foc house towards th-comp-lh.CL-handle living=past
- ‘Then he took him home’ EJ 72:14:3:1

In (9.2) you can see that =*la* does not always occur on every verb of the sentence. The first verb is made with the stem *ya* ‘go.1’ and the prefixes *na-* ‘pluractional’, (chapter 8.6.2.1 *na-* ‘Around, Pluractional’, thematic *nu-* (chapter 16.4.3 Undetermined use of *nu-*, and the *l-* classifier (chapter 8.4.4 Classifiers. This verb means ‘achieving a state of wellness’. The second verb is made of the stem *delh* ‘go.2’ and the ‘repetitive’ *ch'i-*, the thematic *t'a-* and the *lh* classifier. This verb is referring to the action of returning to the state of ‘wellness’ conveyed by the first verb. Only this second verb has the past tense =*la* enclitic particle. This shows us that the enclitic particle only goes on the main verb of a clause.

9. 2 *haa-t'i nuu-nal-ya ch'i-t'alh-delh-la*
- haa=t'i nuu-na-l-ya ch'i-t'a-lh-delh=la*
 here=cop th-plu-1.CL-go.1 rep-th-lh.CL-go.2=past
- ‘Then they slacked up their fighting’ EJ 72:104:1:1

This particle, at least in the stories, does seem to mark the main verbs of a clause. In (9.3), we have another example with two verbs in the phrase, and *la* is only found on one of them; the verb stem *sri* ‘make’ is the main verb of the sentence and combines with

yi- ‘3.on.3’, *s-* ‘Stative’, and *lh-* ‘classifier’ along with the *=la* enclitic particle. The other verb ‘come to self’ does not have the *la*.

9. 3 *haa-du' waa-t'i nuu-nvl-gha yislh-srii-la*

haa-du' *waa=t'i* *nuu-nv-l-gha*
 here=foc for=cop th-comp-1.CL-go.1

yi-s-lh-srii=la
 3o3- stat-lh.CL-make=past

‘that made him come to himself’ EJ 72:14:5:1

In (9.4), there are two verbs, and each has the *la* particle. This is because this phrase has two clauses that are joined with the conjunction *hat-t'i* ‘then’. The first clause has the verb *nii-la* ‘accept’ followed by the ‘past tense’ *=la* and the second clause has the verb *tee-ghes-i* ‘begin to see’ with the past tense *=la*. The verb *nii-la* means ‘accept’ but uses a verb stem that is hard to define as it is used in many different situations. I have glossed it as ‘action’; to interpret this stem one must have the other prefixes and ideally a translation.

9. 4 *hat-du' hii-de nii-laa-la hat-i mvlh t'ii-ts'vt tee-ghes-ii-la*

hat=du' *hii-de* *nii-laa=la* *hat='i*
 there=foc 3s-thing comp-action=past there=rel

mvlh t'ii-ts'vt tee-ghe-s-ii=la
 with th-gamble inc-th-stat-see=past

‘As soon as he accepted it then he could see’ EJ 72:8:7:1

9.1.2 *=te* ‘future’

The other enclitic particle that encodes tense is *=te* ‘future tense’. In (9.5) we see it on the verb *ilh-ch'ut* ‘get/grab’, the final verb in a clause with three verbs. The first verb has the stem *te* ‘want’, which is the same form as the enclitic particle. The speaker is

saying what he wants at the time he says the phrase. The next verb is a copula, indicating the existence of someone or something. This verb follows the noun *xvsh* ‘man’ and *mee-dvn* ‘when’ to make the phrase ‘when you are a man’. Then with the last verb, describing what the speakers wants to have happen, e.g., for the other person to marry a particular woman, the future =*te* is used.

9. 5 *hat-du' hii-sha naa ushllh-te mee-dvn xwvsh sii-li tr'aa-xe ilh-ch'ut-te*

<i>hat=du'</i>	<i>hii=sha</i>	<i>n-aa</i>	<i>u-sh-lh-te</i>
there=foc	3s=only	2s-for	for-1s-lh.CL-want

<i>mee</i>	<i>dvn</i>	<i>xwvsh</i>	<i>sii-li</i>	<i>tr'aa-xe</i>	<i>i-lh-ch'ut=te</i>
in	loc	man	stat-be	woman	th-lh.CL-get=fut

‘That's one I like for you to have when you are old enough you get a woman’ EJ 72:65:10:1

In (9.6), there are also three verbs, the first, ‘she said’, taking the past tense and the last two both taking *te* ‘future’. The first of these is saying ‘as long as you (will) live’, with the stem *nish* ‘live’ taking the plural *ya-*, areal *xu-* and the adverb *t'ii-daa-s'aa-ti* ‘as long as’. The third verb is made with the verb stem *'i* ‘see’, the thematic *ghu-* and the plural *xu-* as well as the future =*te* to mean ‘will always see’.

9. 6 *hat hu hat xii-daa-tr'vn nas-'aa-la t'ii-daa-s'aa-ti yaa-xuu-nish-te hi*
lee-tr'vn-t'i xuu-ghuu-'ii-te shii-sv-sxee-xe

<i>hat</i>	<i>hu</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>xii-daa-tr'vn</i>	<i>na-s-'aa=la</i>
there	about	there	det-ref-towards	plu-stat-handle.round =past

<i>t'ii-daa-s'aa=ti</i>	<i>yaa-xuu-nish=te</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>lee-tr'vn=t'i</i>
th-ref-long-=dir	pl-areal-live=fut	3s	th-towards=cop

<i>xuu-ghuu-'ii=te</i>	<i>shiisv</i>	<i>sxee-xe</i>
pl-gh.th-see=fut	1s	child(ren)

‘Then she talked to them as long as you live as long as that you will see my children’ EJ 72:138:5:1

In (9.7), the future is on a pseudo verb made from the adverb *daa-'e* plus the form *la* (which is either past tense, or a verb stem that is used with various verbs of action) and the *=te* ‘future’. This example shows us that, while we primarily see enclitic particles on verbs, perhaps at least *=te* is able to go on other parts of speech.

9. 7 *hat-du' hat 'aa-xwvl-'ii-la daa-'ee-laa-te*
 hat=du' hat 'aa-xwvl-l-'ii=la daa'eelaa=te
 there=foc there very-areal-1.CL-think=past how=fut
 ‘Then he thought “how will it be”’ EJ 72 :125 :9 :1

The next group of enclitic particles, the mood enclitics, are also used primarily with the verb.

9.2 Mood

In linguistics the term ‘mood’ can indicate different uses of verbs other than tense or aspect. Different languages can express different grammatical moods. Two moods that are conveyed by enclitic particles in Nuu-wee-ya’ are ‘imperative’ *le* and evidential *ts'a*.

9.2.1 ‘Imperative’ =*le*

The imperative mood is used for commands, as well as for expressing how someone wants things to happen.

In (9.8), *=le* ‘imperative’ is found on the verb at the end of the sentence, creating a simple command, instructing the person being addressed to ‘put the basket on their head’

9. 8 *hii-wvn-du' ji mesh-xa hin-t'i daa-ghil-xvlh-le*

hii-wvn=du' ji meshxahi n-t'i
3s-for=foc this salmon.net th-copula

daa-ghi-l-xvlh=le
ref-pfv-1.CL-put on=imperative

‘Put this salmon net over your head (put it over it)’ EJ 72:100:5:1

In (9.9), the *le* is not used in a command. In this text this line is spoken by a woman alone who just speaks out loud that people living nearby could come and find her. In this case, this is not a command, rather an expression of how she wanted to have things happen. This is an optative function.

9. 9 *aa-taa-ghii-'a me'n-di sxas ghuu-yalh-le*

aa-taaghii'a me'n=di s-xas
for-point of land in=dir stat-sit.3

gh-uu-yalh=le
pfv-for-go.1=imperative

“Let those people from that point come after me every time”

EJ 72:130:8:1

The use of *le* is not exactly a command in (9.10) as well. In this example, a wife is telling her husband who starved her that he deserves staying in the dark part of the forest. She is not exactly commanding, rather suggesting. This translation is literally ‘it-for always in-areal-you-should-be into the darkest forest’.

9. 10 *waa-t'i xwii-t'i hu nii-lii-le chvn salh-ghee-lee-mee-ta*

waa=t'i *xwii-t'i* *hu* *n-ii-lii=le* *chvn*
for=cop every-copula area comp-3s-cop=imp tree

salhgheele *mee=ta*
darkest.part in=dir

‘You belong, you stay in the darkest part of the timber’ EJ 72:100:4:1

9.2.2 ‘Hearsay’ =*ts'a*

Evidentiality indicates how a person got the information that they are saying. In some languages there are complex systems of evidentiality, marking things like direct (visual) evidence, hearsay, inference (circumstantial evidence), direct experience (especially for feelings), etc. In Nuu-wee-ya’ there is one enclitic particle =*ts'a* ‘hearsay’ that appears to derive from the verb stem *ts'a* ‘hear’; it can be translated as ‘so I hear’ or ‘they say’. However, there are very few examples of its use in the data used in this dissertation. Golla, (1976: 227) lists this form as an evidential.

In (9.11) there are two enclitic particles on the verb made from the stem *tr'it* ‘lie’ and thematic prefix *ghu-*. The first enclitic particle is =*la* ‘past tense’ and the second is =*ts'a* ‘hearsay’, here in the form =*ts'vn*.

9. 11 *wv-tr'it-laa-ts'vn*

wv-tr'it=laa=ts'vn
th-lie=past=hearsay

‘They say he lies’ EJ 109: 3: 6: 1

In (9.12) we can see =*ts'a* after the verb stem *'a* ‘talk’. Elizabeth Jacobs translated this line as ‘someone is saying bad words’ but the structure suggests that the

translation would be better as ‘someone talks badly, apparently’, in which ‘apparently’ is equivalent to ‘so they say’.

9. 12 *vn srvn-xuu na'-'aa-ts'a*
- | | | |
|-----------|-----------------|---------------------|
| <i>vn</i> | <i>srvn=xuu</i> | <i>na'-'aa=ts'a</i> |
| someone | bad=advl | plu-talk=hearsay |
- ‘Someone is saying bad words’ EJ 108:225:11:1

To see the contrast between *ts'a* ‘hear’ and *=ts'a* hearsay, consider (9.13), in which the person ‘hears’ bad words, compared to (9.12), where the *=ts'a* ‘hearsay’ enclitic particle follows the verb *'a* ‘talk’.

9. 13 *uu-selh-ts'a srvn-xuu na'-'a*
- | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| <i>uu-se-lh-ts'a</i> | <i>srvn=xuu</i> | <i>na'-'a</i> |
| for-1s-lh.CL-hear | bad=advl | plu-talk |
- ‘I hear bad words’ EJ 108:225:12:1

The next four enclitic particles all help express that an event is irrealis, meaning the sentence is about something that has not happened (yet). Irrealis markers are typically used to express moods like desiderative (wishes), conditional (the *if* part of *if X, then Y*), counterfactual (something that would/could have happened, but did not), and interrogative (questions).

9.2.3 =*nn* ‘wish’

The enclitic particle *=nn* is used to convey a counterfactual desire, or ‘wishing’ the action or event encoded by the verb were true when it is not (yet). In (9.14), *=nn* is put at the end of a verb that is made with the prefix *ghii-* ‘perfective’ on the stem *tl'vl* ‘plural go’, to indicate that the people will ‘wish (we) had gone’ (but we didn’t).

9. 14 *nee-ch'u hii-du' xwvvn-de ghii-tl'vl-nn*

<i>nee=ch'u</i>	<i>hii=du'</i>	<i>xwvnde</i>	<i>ghii-tl'vl=nn</i>
1p=aug	3s=foc	tomorrow	pfv-go.3=irrealis

‘Tomorrow we will wish we had gone’ EJ 108:333:6:1

In (9.15), the =nn (in the form = 'vn) is at the end of the verb made with the stem *yvn* ‘sing’ to get ‘(I) wish (I) could sing’. Note that this does not express the simple desire to sing, as ‘I want to sing’, but it implies that the desire is impossible (at least at the moment).

9. 15 *hii-du' dush-yvn-'vn*

<i>hii=du'</i>	<i>d-u-sh-yvn='vn</i>
3s=foc	th-opt-1s-sing=wish

‘I wish I could sing’ EJ 108:270:8:1

In (9.16), the translation does not include ‘wish’. In this clause the =nn is with the verb stem *shish* ‘drink’. It is made into a question with the words *duu-wa* ‘maybe’ and *lhata* ‘some’. This could be translated as ‘maybe some you wish to drink?’

9. 16 *duu-wa lhata tuu-shish-nn*

<i>duu-wa</i>	<i>lhata</i>	<i>tuu-shish=nn</i>
maybe	some	water-drink=irrealis

‘Will you drink some’ EJ 109: 25: 17: 1

In (9.17), we have an example of the use of this form in which it is not clear why the =nn is used or if it is used in an irrealis function as it could be indicating a relative clause. I include this even though I don’t have an explanation or story for why the =nn is used, to honestly reflect my uncertainty and curiosity of the use of this form. This example is here to show the future work needed on this form.

9. 17 *hat-du' hat hi dan-de naa-tvt-dish-nn hat-du' hat dee-dv-ghvlh-'a yv-lii-la*

hat=du' *hat* *hi* *dande* *naa-tv-t-dish=nn*
there=foc there 3s when plu-inc-d.CL-track=irrealis

hat=du' *hat* *dee-dv-ghv-lh-'a*
there=foc there th-ref-pfv-lh.CL-handle.round

yv-lii=la
3o3-cop=past

‘Then when come back down he sat down her lap again (she have to hold him again)’ EJ 72:72:12:1 EJ 72:73:1:1

9.2.2 =de ‘if’

The enclitic particle =de ‘if’ marks the conditional.⁴² It is put on the end of a verb that marks the condition that would allow something else to happen — since the condition has not happened yet, it is a kind of irrealis. In (9.18), it attaches to the verb stem *tsvlh* ‘lose’. The second part of the sentence, which indicates the consequence (with will happen), is marked first with the adverb *hat* ‘then’ and then has a verb based on the stem *i* ‘quit’.

9. 18 *xu ch'aa-ts'vlh-de-dvn hat hu yaa-yil-'i*

xu *ch'aa-ts'vlh=de=dvn* *hat* *hu* *yaa-yi-l-'i*
about adv-loose=if=loc there about pl-3o3-1.CL-quit

‘if they lose enough then they quit’ EJ 72:4:8:1

In (9.19), the condition is marked with =de ‘if’ on the end of the first verb stem *xet* ‘call’. The second verb clause, there is no ‘then’ and the last verb has the future *te*.

⁴² I recognize ‘if’ is not perfect translation but technical terminology but I chose this gloss to facilitate the understanding of non-linguists, in particular learner-speakers.

9. 19 *shut nuu-yuu-dvt-xet-de tl'aa-tr'vn tr'ee-nii-yish-te*

shut *nuu-yuu-dv-t-xet=de* *tl'aa* *tr'vn*
only 1p-det-ref-d.CL-call=if proh towards

tr'ee-n-ii-yish=te
out-comp-2s-go.1=fut

‘If she calls you don't go out to her’ EJ 72:16:7:1

In (9.20), both verbs have enclitic particles, and this first verb has two. The first verb stem, *nvk* ‘forget’, has both =*nn* ‘wish’ and =*de* ‘if’; the second verb stem *lu* ‘laugh’ also has =*nn* ‘wish’. Notice that this form, following a vowel final stem has the form =*vn* rather than =*nn*

9. 20 *yaa-xwil-nvk-nn-de wvt-lu-'vn xwvsh*

yaa-xwi-l-nvk=nn=de *wvt-lu='vn* *xwvsh*
pl-areal-1.CL-tell=irr=if th-d.CL-laugh =to maybe

‘If they had told him they would have laughed’ EJ 109: 50: 4: 1

These first two irrealis particles have been found mainly on verbs; the remaining particles are found on other parts of speech as well.

9.2.3 ‘Question marker’ *ha* / *la*

The next two particles both encode a question. The first is used when asking a yes/no question. In (9.21), it is on the end of the verb *mee-dit-nish* ‘you feel it’ to ask the question of whether or not you feel it.

9. 21 *mee-dit-nish-ha*

m-ee-di-t-nish=ha
3s-for-prom-d.CL-feel=Q

‘Do you feel it (or feel him doctoring)’ EJ 109: 46: 2: 1

In (9.22), it is on the noun phrase *lhdi-nee* ‘related’. This puts the focus of the question onto the word ‘related’ rather than the copula verb ‘be’.

9. 22 *lhdi-nee-ha nut-li*

<i>lh-diinee=ha</i>	<i>nu-t-li</i>
rec-people=Q	th-d.CL-be

‘You are related to him?’ EJ 109: 39: 2: 1

In (9.23), it is on the adverb *an* ‘now’, indicating that question is not about remembering, but whether the remembering is occurring ‘now’.

9. 23 *an-ha lhal-nish*

<i>an=ha</i>	<i>lha-l-nish</i>
now=Q	rec-l.CL-remember

‘Do you (dual) remember each other’ EJ 109: 38: 16: 1

The question particle can be found on the end of a verb phrase that already has another enclitic particle. In (9.24) the first word is the verb *wuu-tr’it-ii* ‘lie’, followed by the locative enclitic particle =*dan*, followed by =*ha* ‘question’. This locative is used to indicate both ‘when’ and ‘where’, in this case it indicates ‘when’. This construction puts the focus of the question on whether it was when the lie occurred that the person got hit.

9. 24 *wuu-tr’it-ii-dan-ha taa-nuu-ts’uslh-ch’vs*

<i>wuu-tr’it-ii=dan=ha</i>	<i>taa-nuu-ts’u-s-lh-ch’vs</i>
th-lie=rel=loc =Q	adv-1p-pass-stat-lh.CL-hit

‘When you (2) lied did they hit you?’ EJ 109: 5: 5: 1

Questions such as ‘what’, ‘where’, and ‘why’ are marked with the particle =*la* ‘question’, usually on the question word, but sometimes on a verb if there is a question

word earlier in the statement. In (9.25), =*la* ‘question’ is on the word *de* ‘it’ to mean ‘why’, whereas the same sequence in (9.26) is translated to mean ‘what’.

9. 25 *dee-la wvn naa-dii-t'u*

dee=la *wvn* *naa-dii-t'u*
 it=Q for plu-prom-swim

‘Why are you swimming?’ EJ 116:1:10:1

9. 26 *jii-du' nn-dee-la 'vn-t'e*

jii=du' *nn-dee=la* *'v-n-t'e*
 det=foc th-it=Q peg-th-be

‘What can this be’ EJ 72:172:16:1

In (9.27), the question *la* is on the verb; there is a word before the verb made from *de* ‘it’ and the focus particle =*du*’ that is translated as ‘what kind’. I think this construction might be better thought of as ‘which’.

9. 27 *dee-du' 'ulh-tee-la*

dee=du' *'u-lh-tee=la*
 it=foc for-lh.CL-want=Q

‘What kind do you want?’ EJ 72:8:3:1

In (9.28), it appears that the *la* is on the verb and there is no other word, however, the prefix *dalh-* might be a form of the word *daa-* ‘e’ ‘how’. This same construction is seen in (9.29) with the verb *lhsan* ‘be far’.

9. 28 *daa-'alh-cha-la?*

dalh-chaa=la
 how-big=Q

‘How big is it?’ EJ 108:282:6:1

9. 29 *dalh lhsan-la?*

dalh lh-san=la
 how lh.CL-far=Q

‘How far away is it’ EJ 108:282:5:1

These question words are the first enclitic particles that do not combine mostly with verbs. The next section looks focus particles, which put emphasis on different words, rarely (if ever) on verbs.

9.3 Focus

Focus particles put attention on a certain word. There are two main forms that put attention on a certain form, =*du*’ and =*t’i*. These words are both very frequent, but I have not yet ascertained a full accounting of why and how they are used. This section is intended to just point out they exist and cover some preliminary thoughts on their use.

9.3.1 ‘Focus’ =*du*’

The enclitic particle =*du*’ ‘focus’ is used to provide focus on a particular element of the sentence, the second is to create clausal words (explained in more detail in Chapter 14). I can also be used with non-verbal predicates (see 10.4). The first three examples show the focus function.

In (9.30), =*du*’ is attached to the word *xwvn-de*’ ‘tomorrow’ putting focus on ‘tomorrow’ as when person wanted. In (9.31), the =*du* is found on the word *nat-ne* ‘two people’ to put focus on the idea that ‘both’ (as opposed to only one) got pregnant. This particle is probably helpful to make things clear, as third person is not coded on the verb. Finally, in (9.32) we see =*du*’ ‘focus’ attached to the clausal word *lh’vn-chu* ‘indeed’, not to form a new clausal word, but to emphasize the clausal word.

9. 30 *xwvn-de'-du' ghvsh-yel-'vn*

xwvnde' =du' *ghv-sh-yelh = 'vn*
tomorrow=foc pfv-1s-go=to

‘Tomorrow I will wish I had gone’ EJ 108:333:3:1

9. 31 *yu tr'aa-xe nat-nii-du' haa-t'i yaa-ghelh-ch'a tuu-me*

yu-tr'aa-xe *nat=nii=du'* *haa-t'i*
det-woman two=person=foc here-copula

yaa-ghe-lh-ch'a *tuu me*
pl-th-lh.CL-big water in

‘Those girls both got pregnant in the water’ EJ 72:154:2:1

9. 32 *lh'vn-chuu-du' ch'v-t'a ne-ti ghilh-tii-la*

lh'vnchu=du' *ch'vt'a ne=ti* *ghi-lh-tii=la*
indeed=foc woods in=dir pfv-lh.CL-handle.living=past

‘Then indeed he went away in the woods’ EJ 72:49:7:1

For the function of creating a clausal word, there are actually two examples in (9.33), *hat-du'* ‘then’, created by combining *hat* ‘there’ with *=du'* ‘focus’, and *aa-du'* ‘now’, made by combining *aa* with *=du'* ‘focus’. I am not sure what the *aa* is from, perhaps from the postposition *aa* ‘for’.

9. 33 *hat-du' hat aa-du' mvlh-shuu-dvn shaa-dvn aa-wii-shee-nii-'a*

hat=du' *hat* *aa=du'* *mvlh* *shuu=dvn*
there=foc there for=foc with good=loc

shaa=dvn *aa-wii-sh-ee-nii-'a*
only=loc for-th-1s-for-comp-handle.round

‘Then he thought this enough it's all I can carry’ EJ 72:60:1:1

9.3.2 =*t'i* focus-like discourse function

The enclitic particle =*t'i* ‘discourse marker’ also can be found providing focus in a clause. This particle is very common and looks like it comes from the copula *t'e* ‘be’. Even though it is frequently used, why it is used is not entirely clear. It could be that like =*du*, =*t'i* is also used for emphasis, but it behaves a little more like a copula. Indeed it seems to be used as a discourse marker to indicate referents. In (9.34), it is attached to *lhaa-srvsr* ‘all day’. If it is acting as a focus element, originating from a copula would make sense, a copula on ‘all day’ would mean ‘it is all day’ which also provides focus on that element.

9. 34 *shdu' lhaa srvsr-t'i ghit-xa*
 shdu' lhaa srvsr=t'i ghi-t-xa
 almost all day=foc pfv-1p-be.at
 ‘We stayed almost all day’ EJ 109: 11: 21: 1

Again in (9.35), the *t'i* is on the object, however this time the object is not a clear noun. Here the object is indicated with the ‘third person singular *hi* and the morpheme *chu* ‘big/also’. It seems that the *t'i* is relativizing the object here and could be making ‘and them’ into a noun phrase. With the copula reading this would make the object mean ‘all them that are them’.

9. 35 *hat-du' hii-chuu-t'i xwii-lhxaa-ghii-laa-la*
 hat=du' hii=chuu=t'i
 there=foc 3s=aug=foc
 xwii-lh-xaa-ghii-la=la
 every-lh.CL-areal-pfv-action=past
 ‘Then all of them too he won’ EJ 72:12:6:1

In (9.36), it is again on the noun that is the object, perhaps distinguishing from the other noun that is the subject. The translation of this sentence does not reflect its grammar, perhaps it would be better as ‘rock-it-was door was’.

9. 36 *see-t'i mat-gwvsh yii-lii-la*
- | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| <i>see=t'i</i> | <i>matgwvsh</i> | <i>yii-lii=la</i> |
| rock=foc | door | 3o3-copula=past |
- ‘She had a rock for the door’ EJ 72:25:10:1

In (9.37), the *t'i* is attached to an indefinite pronoun, which is representing the object of the sentence. This seems to be making a prefix into a pronoun with the addition of =*t'i*.

9. 37 *xwv-t'i yvsh-le*
- | | |
|----------------|----------------|
| <i>xwv=t'i</i> | <i>yvsh=le</i> |
| 3s=cop | go=imperative |
- ‘Go get it!’ EJ 108:304:2:1

In (9.38), the *t'i* is attached to the casual word *hat-du* ‘and then’ making the clausal word act like the object of the sentence.

9. 38 *hat-du'-t'i dilh-chut-la*
- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|
| <i>hat=du'=t'i</i> | <i>di-lh-chut=la</i> |
| there=foc=cop | prom-lh.CL-grab=past |
- ‘Then he grabbed her’ EJ 72:170:11:1

It is unclear if the role of *t'i* is used for focus or for relativizing the object of the verb. The next set of prefixes are clearly relativizer and nominalizers.

9.4 Relativizer and nominalizers

Nominalizers are used to make something into a noun and can also be used as a relativizer, which can make a clause into a subject or object of a verb. In Nuu-wee-ya', the relativizing enclitic particles are also used to make nouns from verbs or adverbs. Table 36 shows the three relativizer/nominalizer particles, after which each is explored in its own section. While these three forms all have similar functions of creating nominalizations, their use is different. I have not determined why one is used over another. This section is not trying to explain all of the ways they are used, rather point out that they exist. I do not yet know the distinguishing features between these enclitic particles, yet it is unlikely that they indicate exactly the same thing. In this table, they are all labeled as nominalizer.

Table 36. Relativizing particles.

Type	Enclitic form
Nominalizer	= <i>i</i>
Nominalizer	= <i>ne</i>
Nominalizer	= <i>yu</i>

9.4.1 Relativizer =*i*

This particle has three forms, =*i*, ='*i*, and ='*e*, and is found making nouns. Sometimes, they are found relativizing the subject; sometimes they relativize the object. They also create nouns from other parts of speech. We look at each type of use in turn.

In (9.39), ='*i* 'nominalizer' attaches to a number, and in (9.40), =*i* attaches to an adverb, in each example creating a noun that serves as the subject of the main clause. In (9.39), ='*i* changes *lha* 'one' from a number to a noun (which happens in English without any marking, as in the translation 'one of them'), and in (9.40), the subject is made from

the adverb *jaa-chu* ‘again’, which takes =*i* to become ‘another’ (literally, ‘one who is again’).

9. 39 *hat-du' lhaa-'i xun tes-yaa-la dv-ne taa-'vn*

hat=du' lhaa='i xun te-s-yaa=la
 there=foc one=rel there inc-stat-go.1=past

dvne taa 'vn
 people there towards

‘Then one of them went there’ EJ 72:66:3:1

9. 40 *hii-hat-du' jaa-chu-i xaa-tes-'i chvn baa-'a*

hii-hat=du' jaa=chu=i xaa-te-s-'i chvn baa'a
 3s-there=foc here=aug=rel areal-inc-stat-see tree hallow

‘Then he another one looked for a tree with hole’ EJ 72:32:3:1

The next four examples show the enclitic particle creating a relative clause. In (9.41), the word *de* ‘it’ and the verb *yulh-tee* ‘want’ add =*i* to make the relative clause ‘what she wanted’ (literally ‘it that she wanted’?).⁴³ In (9.42), the verb *ch'v-ghaa-t'uu* ‘someone swims’ takes =*e* ‘relativizer’ to make the relative clause ‘the one (who is) swimming’.

⁴³ Shibatani (2018: 1) explains that relative clauses in many languages are uses of nominalizations and not a separate structure. These relative clauses in Nuu-wee-ya’ seem to be no different from nominalizations. More research on clause structure in Nuu-wee-ya’ is needed to understand this better.

9. 41 *hat-du' de yulh-tee-i xwii-de k'aa-telh-ghelh-la*

hat=du' de yu-lh-tee=i xwiide
there=foc it 3o3-lh.CL-want=rel everything

k'aa-te-lh-ghelh=la
on-inc-lh.CL-pack=past

‘What she wanted she bundled up’ EJ 72:44:2:1

9. 42 *hat-du' yuu-taa-nin 'ee-ghe ch'v-ghaa-t'uu-'e ch'v-dil-ch'ut-la*

hat=du' yuu-taanin 'eeghe ch'v-ghaa-t'uu='e
there=foc det-ocean off ind-th-swim=rel

ch'v-di-l-ch'ut=la
ind-prom-l.CL-grab=past

‘Then, the one swimming outside got caught (by something)’

EJ 72:142:4:1

In (9.43), the =’e form of the relativizer shows up twice, once as part of the clausal word *daa='e* ‘how’ and the other time on *'vn-t'e* ‘he was’, making a complicated relative clause something like ‘how it is that he was’. In this case the relative clause comes after the main verb, so we have now seen relativized clauses both before and after the main verb.

9. 43 *hat-du' yuu-ch'v-le du yulh-ts'it hi daa-'e 'vn-t'e-'e*

hat=du' yuu-ch'vle du y-u-lh-ts'it
there=foc det-little.brother Neg 3o3-for-lh.CL-know

hi daa='e 'v-n-t'e ='e
3s how=rel peg-th-be=rel

‘But that younger brother didn't know what kind of person he was’

EJ 72:102:4:1

In (9.44), the only verb in the clause has the relativizer in its = 'e form. It is found on the phrase made from the first-person plural pronoun *nu* followed by the postposition *taa-tvn* 'among', then verb *naa-gha* 'go', which combine to mean '(he) goes among us'. This statement is saying that what is relativized is *du shu* 'not good'. This use is more like a complement clause because, unlike a relative clause, this construction does not identify the bad thing as someone 'who is among us'; rather, it says 'It is not right that he (who we have already identified) is among us'.

9. 44 *lha' du shu hi nu taa-tvn naa-ghaa-'e*

<i>lha'</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>shu</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>taa-tvn</i>	<i>naa-ghaa='e</i>
proh	Negative	good	3s	1p	among	plu-go=rel

'It not right for him to be among us' EJ 72 :128 :1 :1

In some cases, the *i* seems to just make a noun out of some other word. In (9.45), the relativizer is attached to *lh'un* 'true', turning the quality into the noun *lh'vn=i* 'truth'. In (9.46), we can find the = 'e form on the verb *daa-yvsh-t'ee* 'I have it' (?) to create the meaning 'tight pinch', or 'trouble'. Finally, in (9.47) it is found on the borrowed Chinuk Wawa word *mawich* 'deer', so it appears that this enclitic can also make borrowed nouns sound more appropriate in the language, making them more truly a part of *nuu-wee-ya*'.

9. 45 *lh'vn-'i nee-ghushlh-nvk*

<i>lh'vn='i</i>	<i>nee-ghu-sh-lh-nvk</i>
true=rel	th-th-1s-lh.CL-tell

'I am telling the truth' EJ 108:302:7:1

9. 46 *daa-'e daa-yvs-t'ee-'e hi yaa-lalh-la*

daa='e *daa-yv-s-t'ee='e* *hi* *yaa-lalh=la*
how=rel ref-3o3-stat-be=rel 3s pl-dream=past

‘how to get away from a tight pinch’ EJ 72:106:9:1

9. 47 *hat-du' maa-wich-i daa-tl'a taa-ghvl-t'vm-la*

hat=du' *maawich=i* *daatl'a* *taa-ghv-l-t'vm=la*
there=foc deer=rel unknown adv-pfv-1.CL-jump=past

‘Then deer jumped in water’ EJ 72:18:2:1

9.4.2 Relativizing and nominalizing =ne

The next relativizing particle, =ne, is also used to relativize clauses and to make nouns. When used to make nouns, =ne usually derives a noun referring to people or animals, meaning ‘the one who does something’. When used as a relativizing particle, though, it can refer to more than people and animals.

We begin with two examples of the particle =ne used to relativize a clause. In (9.48), =ne ‘relativizer’ follows the verb *yes-da* ‘sit there’ to mean ‘the one who sits there’. A more literal translation would be ‘Then the person who sat there, he began to peck.’ In (9.49), in its form =ni, =ne marks the verb *ghilh-srasr* ‘throw’ to make the relative clause ‘the stick that he threw’, which the rest of the sentence then tells us is the thing that looks nice.

9. 48 *hii-wvn-du' ji yes-daa-ni hi chaa-ghii-get-la*

hii *wvn=du'* *ji* *ye-s-daa=ni* *hi*
3s for=foc this 3o3-stat-sit.1=rel 3s

chaa-ghii-get=la
adv-pfv-peck=past

‘then that one began to peck right where he sat’ EJ 116:6:5:1

9. 49 *jii-du' tvs sv-li ghilh-srasr-ni hat-chu 'ushlh-'i jii-ch'ii*

jii=du' *tvs* *sv-li* *ghi-lh-srasr=ni*
det=foc stick stat-be pfv-lh.CL-throw=rel

hat *chu* *'u-s-lh-'i* *jii* *ch'ii*
there big for-stat-lh.CL-see determiner this

‘Now that stick after he threw it behind had made it look nice’

EJ 72:161:9:1

The last two examples in this section show us =*ne* used to turn other parts of speech into nouns. In (9.50), =*ne* goes on the adverb *duu-dv-ti* ‘nowhere’ to mean ‘one who is nowhere’, making a sentence that reads literally something like ‘She saw him (as) one who was nowhere.’ In (9.51), =*ne* goes on the number *nat* ‘two’ to mean something like ‘(people) that were two’. In this second example, the usual way of saying ‘two’, *naa-k'i*, reduces to *nat* ‘two’ before the enclitic =*ne*. It is pretty common to put this particle on a reduced form of a number to mean the number of people doing an action, and it is also common for numbers to appear in a reduced form before other particles. This enclitic particle is put on a number stem, which is sometimes reduced, when counting people. Numbers can take a different enclitic particle as seen in 9.5.2.

9. 50 *dee-du-t'e duu-dvt-ne ghes-t'ii-la*

deedut'e *duudvt=ne* *ghe-s-t-'ii=la*
but nowhere=person th-stat-d.CL-see=past

‘But she couldn't see him anywhere’ EJ 72:24:8:1

9. 51 *lhaa-dvn dv-ne nat-ne naa-t'uu-la lhaa-shu nuu-del-ti-la*

lhaa=dvn dvne nat=ne naa-t'uu=la
one=loc people two=person plu-swim=past

lhaa shu nuu-de-l-ti =la
one only th-ref-l.CL-handle.living=past

‘Two men swimming one got caught’ EJ 72:142:1:1

9.4.3 Nominalizing =yu

The last relativizer/nominalizer particle is =yu ‘relativizer/nominalizer’, which is not as frequent as =ne and seems to be more making nouns than relative clauses. This particle is similar to the other relativizing/nominalizing particles described in the previous sections, as it makes a noun out of a verb that describes a quality, to mean ‘one that has the quality.’ For example, in (9.52) we can see it on the word *xas-xe* ‘rich’ creating *xas-xe-yu* ‘rich person’. In (9.53), =yu appears on the word *ch'aa-yee* ‘grandchildren’, perhaps providing emphasis, something like ‘those that were grandchildren’. The grandchildren referred to here are whales and the story is saying that it is those grandchildren (the whales) that fed the people.

9. 52 *lhtii xas-xe-yu*

lhtii xasxe=yu
very rich=rel

‘Rich man’ EJ 108:346:9:1

9. 53 *jii-ch'ii-xu ch'aa-yee-yu xii dalh-ch'et-wvn*

jii-ch'ii=xu ch'aayee-=yu xii da-lh-ch'et=wvn
det-this=adv grandchildren=rel well on-lh.CL-feed=for

‘those grandchildren fed them’ EJ 72:139:7:1

The one example of =*yu* functioning as a relativizer is in (9.54), where =*yu* is on the verb *a'alh-ts'vn-la* ‘they told’ to derive a relative clause; a more literal translation of the example might be ‘Then what they told this woman (is) “(your) husband will not live long.”’

9. 54 *hat-du' 'alh-ts'vn-la-yu tr'aa-xe dii-svn-'e du xwv-nish-te*

<i>hat=du'</i>	<i>'a-lh-ts'vn=la=yu</i>	<i>tr'aaxe</i>
there=foc	very-lh.CL-tell=past=rel	woman

<i>diisvn'e</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>xwv-nish=te</i>
husband	Negative	areal-live=fut

‘Then they told her this woman (in her dream) your husband not going to live long’ EJ 72:83:4:1 EJ 72:83:5:1

This concludes the section of relativizing and nominalizing particles.

9.5 Other derivationals

The final section of this chapter discusses three more particles that change the part of speech, but from nouns or verbs into adverbs or locative words. These particles are =*xu* ‘adverbializer’, =*dvn* ‘location/time’, and =*ts'a* ‘in the direction of’.

9.5.1 Adverbializing =*xu*

The first particle, =*xu* ‘adverbializer’ is used to make a verb or a noun into an adverb. It is put on a word and then the following verb has the quality of the adverbialized word. In (9.55), =*xu* attaches to the adjectival verb (discussed in chapter 14) *nn-tl'us* ‘hard’ to make a word that tells the quality one feels with the main verb *mee-dvsh-nish* ‘it feels’. In (9.56), =*xu* is on the word *shusl-'ee* ‘slow’ to make the adverb *shusl-'ee-xu* ‘slowly’, which then modifies the main verb *yaa-ch'id-ya* ‘we eat’.

times' (9.60). Note that the number in this last example is made of two words, *naa-k'i* 'two' and *xwee-se* 'ten'. In this case, =*dvn* is added to both words, and *naa-k'i* 'two' reduces to *naa* before the enclitic particle (similar to example (9.51), where *naa-k'i* 'two' reduces to *nat* 'two' before =*ne* 'relativizer').

9. 58 *hat-du' xvlh-ts'ii-dvn-ch'u taa-naa-dvsh-t'u*

hat=du' *xvlhtr'ii=dvn=ch'u* *taa-naa-dv-sh-t'u*
 there=foc evening=loc=aug adv-plu-ref-1s-swim

'Then every evening I bathe too' EJ 116:2:1:1

9. 59 *lhaa-dvn yuu-ch'v-le alh-nvn-la v-tr'it-te xwii-de naa-'aa-te tr'vt*

lhaa=dvn *yuu-ch'vle* *a-lh-nvn=la*
 one=loc det-little.brother for-lh.CL-say=past

v-tr'it=te *xwii* *de* *naa-'aa=te* *tr'vt*
 peg-die=fut every thing plu-handle.round=fut money

'Once he told his younger brother when I'm dead you keep all the money'
 EJ 72:101:1:1

9. 60 *hi hat ja tr'el-t'vm da ha nat-dvn xwee-se-dvn yaa-dv-tvlh*

hi *hat* *ja* *tr'e-l-t'vm* *da* *ha*
 3s there here adv-1.CL-jump again there

nat=dvn *xweese =dvn* *yaa-dv-tvlh*
 two=loc ten=loc pl-ref-step

'He jumped out again then he stepped twenty times' EJ 72:112:8:1

In (9.61), =*dvn* is on the verb *sdaa* 'sit/be/live' to mean 'location where someone lives'.

9. 61 *hat-du' xwvt hat nii-tl'it-la ghii-hi sdaa-dvn ch'v-t'aa-ta tr'aa-xe sdaa-dvn*

<i>hat=du'</i>	<i>xwvt</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>nii-tl'it=la</i>			
there=foc	there	there	comp-go.3.perf=past			
<i>ghii</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>s-daa=dvn</i>	<i>ch'vt'aata</i>	<i>tr'aa-xe</i>	<i>s-daa=dvn</i>	
det	3s	stat-sit.1=loc	timber	woman	stat-sit.1=loc	

‘Then they go there where that place where [woman] lived’ EJ 72:20:6:1

The last two examples of =*dvn* mark an adverbial clause function, locating the marked event as occurring earlier in time than the events that come in the rest of the sentence. In (9.62), =*dvn* marks the verb *vs-tr'it* ‘I die’ to mean ‘when/after I die’, locating the event of the speaker dying as before the next event, ‘it will be yours’. In (9.63), =*dvn* is on the verb *naa-tv-ghv-t'uu* ‘they are swimming’, to locate the swimming event in time before the event of him running back up to the house.

9. 62 *vs-tr'it-dvn hat ja tr'vt nvn dee-te*

<i>v-s-tr'it=dvn</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>tr'vt</i>	<i>nvn</i>	<i>dee=te</i>
peg-1s-die=loc	there	here	money	2s	it=fut

“When I'm dead then it will be yours” EJ 72:101:6:1

9. 63 *naa-tv-ghv-t'uu-dvn hat-tr'it tge xast-jaa-la mvn-tr'vn*

<i>naa-tv-ghv-t'uu=dvn</i>		<i>hat-</i>	<i>tr'it</i>	<i>tge</i>
plu-down-pfv-swim=loc	there	towards	up	
<i>xa-s-t-jaa=la</i>	<i>mvn</i>	<i>tr'vn</i>		
up-stat-d.CL-return=past	house	towards		

‘After his bathing then he ran back up to the house’ EJ 72:113:10:1

9.5.3 Directional =*t'a*

The enclitic particle =*t'a* is used to indicate the direction someone or something is going. It attaches mainly to nouns or adverbs that represent directions. In (9.64), we see it

attached to the direction *aa-ne* ‘south’ to form *v-nee-t’a* ‘southwards’, or ‘towards the south’, and in (9.65) it changes the adverb *t’ee* ‘down’ into *t’ee-t’a* ‘downwards’, or ‘in the direction down’.

9. 64 *v-nee-t’a see-ghii-ya*

vnee=t’a *see-ghii-ya*
south=dir ashore-pfv-go.1

‘He came ashore on the south side’ EJ 108:289:4:1

9. 65 *hi hat-du' ja t’ee-t’a*

hi *hat=du'* *ja* *t’ee=t’a*
3s there=foc here down=dir

‘Then he go down again’ EJ 72:153:5:1

While this chapter has described most of the enclitic particles, there are others that are not yet understood and perhaps there are uses of the particles described here that we do not know. My hope is the description here is helpful and can be added to as this work progresses.

CHAPTER X - NOUNS

Nouns are words that refer, usually to entities, such as people, places, things, or states, but also sometimes to properties or actions. Nouns are the parts of language that refer to something. Nouns can be made from other parts of speech when something is being referred to (Croft 2011). As nouns can refer to typical and non-typical uses, a linguistic definition of a noun is based on the structure and dispersal of the nouns, and not on the simple description of ‘people, place and thing’ taught in grammar classes.

Nouns usually refer to the participants who do the actions described by verbs, or which have the actions described by verbs done to them. While many Nuu-wee-ya’ nouns are single morphemes, meaning they are from one stem, many are comprised from multiple morphemes. Some of the nouns with multiple morphemes are made with a combination of two noun stems, creating a compound noun. Some are made with modifying enclitic particles, and some are expressed with a verb that might carry nominalizing morphology. Indeed, many nouns originally come from a verb; this is because the name of a thing comes from an attribute of its action or purpose. For example, the word for ‘table’ literally means ‘what is eaten on’ (see 10.37). You can tell when a verb gets used as a noun through both the location of the word in relation to the main verb or the sentence and by looking at verbal morphology and/or enclitic particles.

Nouns are marked for possession in two different ways. Some nouns can’t be said without possession markers and are referred to as *inalienable* nouns. These are called *alienable* nouns.

This chapter starts out with a section that looks at some basic noun stems and where they are located in a clause (10.1). The next section (10.2) looks at how alienable and inalienable nouns are grammatically possessed. The third section (10.3) looks at the ways nouns are made with more than one stem (compound nouns, nouns with enclitic particles and verbal nouns).

10.1 Noun stems

Many nouns are simple one stem words. This means their meaning cannot be broken down into different contributing parts. In (10.1), we see *xv-nvs* ‘canoe’ and in (10.2) *dv-si* ‘rope’, both a single morpheme or stem.

10. 1 *xv-nvs*

xvnvs
canoe

‘Canoe’ EJ 108:226:12:1

10. 2 *dvs-si*

dvs
rope

‘Rope’ EJ 108:226:13:1

Some nouns are borrowed from other languages (such as English) as we can see in (10.3) where *buu-si* comes from ‘pussycat’.

10. 3 *buu-si*

buusi
cat

‘Cat’ EJ 108:344:11:1

When indicating or distinguishing a noun, the verb is not always needed. This is a non-verbal predicate, in which the existence of an entity is conveyed without a verb, as is needed in English. In (10.4), the phrase ‘this is salmon’ is expressed with the determiner *jii-du* ‘this’ followed by the noun *lhuu-k’e* ‘salmon’.

10. 4 *jii-du lhuu-k’e*

<i>jii=du</i>	<i>lhuuk’e</i>
det=foc	salmon

‘This is salmon’ EJ 108:301:3:1

Often, nouns are found in phrases with verbs. Usually, they come before the verb as you can see in (10.5) where *tr’aa-xe* ‘woman’ precedes the verb *’il-ch’e* ‘be angry’ (discussion of clauses are in chapter 7).

10. 5 *tr’aa-xe ’il-ch’e*

<i>tr’aaxe</i>	<i>’i-l-ch’e</i>
woman	peg-1.CL-angry

‘She got mad’ EJ 108:253:12:1

Nouns can have different morphology added to them. They can have morphology that indicates who owns the noun, as we see in the difference between (10.6), in which *mvn’* ‘house’ has no added morphology but in (10.7), there is both the prefix *sh-* that indicates ‘my’ and the possessing suffix *-’e*, which tells you that an alienable noun is possessed (discussed in section 10.2).

10. 6 *mvn’*

<i>mvn’</i>
house

‘House’ EJ 108:203:2:1

10. 7 *shmv-ne'*

sh-mvn='e
1shouse=poss

'My house' EJ 108:215:10:1

Nouns can take other types of information such as locative markers, as in (10.8) with *mvn'-dvn* 'at home' and question markers, as in (10.9) with *buu-sri-ha?* 'was it the cat?'.

10. 8 *mvn'-dvn sv-s-da*

mvn'='dvn sv-s-da
house loc stat-1s-sit.1

'I'm at home' EJ 108:215:11:1

10. 9 *buu-sri-ha nn-ghii-sru*

buusri='ha nn-ghii-sru
cat=Q 2.s-pfv-scratch

'The cat scratched you' EJ 109: 15: 12: 1

New nouns can be made with the addition of an enclitic particle that conveys a quality of the noun. The enclitic particle =*chu* is often used to make new nouns. This can be seen in (10.10) with *-chu* 'big'. in this example, while *tl'v-gvsh* means 'snake', *tl'v-ghush-chu* does not mean 'big snake' rather 'the kind of snake that is big'. Thus, this use is creating a new word.

10. 10 *tl'v-ghvsh-chu*

tl'vghvsh='chu
snake=big

'Snake (big)' EJ 108:233:4:1

In comparison, to describe a noun as big, a verb, with verbal morphology is used, as we see in (10.11) with the verb *nn-cha* ‘it is big’. How nouns are modified are discussed in more detail in chapter 11.

10. 11 *t'aa-t'a ghii-'e mvn-e' nn-cha*

<i>t'aa-t'a</i>	<i>ghii='e</i>	<i>mvn=e'</i>	<i>nn-cha</i>
unknown	3s=rel	house=poss	th-be.big

‘She had the biggest house of all’ EJ 108:293:8:1

10.2 Possessing nouns

There are two types of nouns, *inalienable* nouns, which requires possession morphology, and *alienable* nouns, which do not. Any possessed noun is marked with one from a set of possessive prefixes, which are the same as the ones used in the verbal object position (chapter 8). Inalienable nouns always take one of these prefixes and don’t need any extra marking. Alienable nouns are often not possessed, but when they are possessed, they have to take both a possessive prefix and an extra suffix, -’e ‘possession’.

Inalienable nouns are grammatically defined, but they have some common core meanings. They are the nouns that in the culture are considered always to be a part of a whole, such as family members and body parts. Some examples of inalienable nouns are *sh-nv-ghe* ‘my eye’ (10.12), *nn-ta* ‘your father’ and *nngaa-gaa* ‘your mother’ (10.13).

10. 12 *shnv-ghe dii-tr'at*

<i>sh-nvghe</i>	<i>dii-tr'at</i>
1s-eye	prom-hurt

‘my eye sore’ EJ 108:377:5:1

10. 13 *nnta nngaa-gaa-ch'u yaa-sra*

<i>nn-ta</i>	<i>nn-gaagaa=ch'u</i>	<i>yaa-sra</i>
2s-father	2s-mom=aug	pl-cry

‘Your father and mother too cry’ EJ 72:39:5:1

When an inalienable noun is possessed by third person singular it may not have any markings, as third person is usually marked via the absence of a prefix. For example, in (10.14) *nii-pash* ‘her cheek’ has no possessive morphology.

10. 14 *nii-pash lhsrik-'i galh*

<i>nii-pash</i>	<i>lh-srik='i</i>	<i>galh</i>
cheek	lh.CL-red=rel	go.1

‘The red cheeked girl is coming’ EJ 108:310:4:1

In words that start with a velar consonant (*g, k', gh, x*), third person is indicated via labialization of the consonant (e.g., they become *gw, kw', ghw, xw*). In (10.15) we can see the word *k'a* ‘fat/grease’ with the indefinite possessive pronoun (someone’s fat). However, in (10.16) we see the phrase for bacon, which is the phrase *guu-shu* ‘pig’ and *kw'ah* ‘its fat’. The change from *k'a* fat’ to *kw'a* ‘its fat’ is what we mean by the term labialization (use of the *w*).

10. 15 *ch'v-k'a 'ushlh-te*

<i>ch'v-k'a</i>	<i>'u-sh-lh-te</i>
indf-fat	for-1s-lh.CL-want

‘I want some grease’ EJ 108:318:3:1

10. 16 *de ghuu-shu k'wah*

de ghuushu k'wah
 thing pig it's fat

‘He had bacon’ EJ 72:80:4:1

If a body part is separated from the whole, it technically no longer has a possessor, but it is an inalienable noun, it needs special grammar to appear without a possessor. This special grammar is the indefinite prefix *ch'v-*, as seen in (10.17).

10. 17 *ch'vs-svn' wvs-xe*

ch'v-svn' wvsxe
 indf-meat good

‘It keeps the meat’ EJ 108:312:7:1

Alienable nouns take the person pronouns when they are possessed plus the possessing suffix *-e'*. Since third person is often just not marked, this suffix is sometimes the only thing that tells you when an alienable noun is possessed. The next five examples show different possessors with the noun *tr'vt* ‘money’ with its possessing suffix *-e'*. In (10.18), it is possessed by the preceding third person noun, *dv-ne* ‘people’, creating ‘the people’s money’, or in other words, dentalium. In (10.19), the same noun is possessed by the first person singular *sh-*. The first-person plural pronoun is *nee-nu-*, as seen in (10.20); the second person plural pronoun is *nu'-nee-nu-*, as seen in (10.21). The third person plural is a combination of the third person pronoun *hi* plus the areal prefix *xu-*, as seen in (10.22).

10. 18 *dv-ne tr'vt-de'*
 dvne tr'vt=e'
 people money=poss
 ‘Indian money’ EJ 108:220:3:1
10. 19 *shis-tr'v-de'*
 shis-tr'vd=e'
 1s-money=poss
 ‘My money’ EJ 108:285:1:1
10. 20 *nee-nuu-tr'v-de'*
 neenuu-tr'vd=e'
 1p-money=poss
 ‘Our money’ EJ 108:285:4:1
10. 21 *nu'-nee-nuu-tr'v-de'*
 nu'neenuu-tr'vd=e'
 2p-money=poss
 ‘Your (plural) money’ EJ 108:285:5:1
10. 22 *hii-xuu-tr'v-de'*
 hii-xuu-tr'vd=e'
 3p-pl-money=poss
 ‘Their money’ EJ 108:285:6:1

The suffix often impacts the sound of the end of the noun, sometimes making sounds change. In (10.23), We see the word *t'aa-mish* ‘hat’ with the suffix *-e* to mean ‘his hat’.

10. 23 *t'aa-mish-she' nee-ghvt-ts'ilh*
 t'aamish=e' nee-ghv-t-ts'ilh
 hat=poss th-pfv-d.CL-paint

'He greased his hat' EJ 108:312:4:1

The word *lhi* 'dog' changes quite a bit when possessed, to *lii-ch'e* 'dog possessed' (10.24). It looks like this possessed version has the standard possessing suffix -'e, but the stem for the possessed version of 'dog' is different, *liich*.

10. 24 *dv-ne lii-ch'e*
 dvne liich='e
 people dog=poss

'Indian dog' EJ 108:290:9:1

In (10.25), *sran* 'feces' is possessed only with the -'e, but where the translation says it is possessed by the first person singular 'my poop', which normally would be indicated with the prefix *sh-*, here there is no prefix. The lack of the *sh-* might be because the word starts with a similar sound, or it might be because it is Coyote speaking and he might be sounding silly. Regardless, this is an interesting example because Coyote is talking to his huckleberry sisters, who live in his poop. This is a common story detail in texts across the region (Lopez, 1977: 12).

10. 25 *hat-du' daa-'ee-tee-la sran-'e naa-yuu-dvl-xvt*
 hat=du' daa'eeteela sran='e naa-yuu-dv-l-xvt
 there=foc what feces=poss plu-th-ref-l.CL-ask

' "What shall I do, my turd?" he asked' EJ 72:156:2:1

Sometimes possessive phrases look like compound nouns. In (10.26), the suffix is found on *mvn* 'house', which looks like it is possessed by *ch'ash* 'bird', but instead of meaning literally 'the bird's house', it means 'nest'.

10. 26 *ch'ash-mv-ne'*

<i>ch'ash</i>	<i>mvn</i>	= <i>e'</i>
bird	house	=poss

'Nest' EJ 108:244:2:1

Making nouns from other words or combinations of words is very frequent, as discussed in the next section.

10.3 Making nouns from other words

Until now, most of the nouns we have looked at are simple, composed of a single stem that refer to an entity. However, nouns can become much more complex. In addition to consisting of a single noun stem, nouns can be a modified noun stem (10.3.1), a combination of noun stems (11.3.2), a simple verb (11.3.3), a verb with particular nominalizing prefixes (11.3.4), and a verb with enclitic particles (11.3.5).

10.3.1 Modified noun stem

A modified noun stem is a noun that is made from the combination of a noun plus an enclitic particle, with the combination creating a new noun. In (10.27), you can see the noun *lhi* 'dog'; in (10.28) is the word for 'horse', made from *lhi* 'dog' and *chu* 'big'.

10. 27 *lhi'*

lhi'
dog

'Dog' EJ 108:290:8:1

10. 28 *lhii-chu sishlh-talh*

lhii=chu *si-sh-lh-talh*
dog=big stat-1s-lh.CL-kick

‘A horse kicked me’ EJ 109: 15: 25: 1

10.3.2 Combination of noun stems

While the Jacobs dataset provides no examples of nouns made from two compounded noun stems, there are some in the language, as we can see in (10.29) with an example provided by Ida Bensell.

10. 29 *la'-mish-we'*

la *mish=e*
hand nose=pos

‘Thumb’ IB (Pierce 1962)

10.3.3 Simple verb

Some nouns are just normal verbs without any extra grammar to tell you that they are nouns. For example, in (10.30) the word for ‘woodpecker’ is *chaa-xii-ni*, which is a verb that could be translated as ‘(he) repetitively-in an area-makes noise’. Similarly, in (10.31), the word *taa-ghii-'a* ‘point of land’ is actually a verb that means ‘water-progressively-extends out’, and in (10.32), the word *nv-ghalh-tvm* ‘grasshopper’ shares the same stem as *til-tvm* ‘jump’ but is found with different prefixes

10. 30 *hat ch'aa-xii-ni hii lha dvt-ni des-ts'aa-la*

hat *ch'aa-xii-ni* *hii* *lha* *dvt-ni* *de-s-ts'aa=la*
there rep-area-noise 3s one noise ref-stat-hear=past

‘Then woodpecker he heard one making noise’ EJ 116:6:1:1

10. 31 *lhaa-dvn ch'v-sii-ne taa-ghii-'a k'wvt hat das-daa-la*
- lhaa=dvn* *ch'vsiine* *taa-ghii-'a* *k'wvt hat*
 one=loc young.woman water-prog-extend on.top there
- da-s-daa=la*
 on-stat-sit.1=past
- ‘Once a young girl she sat on a little point out in the ocean’ EJ 72:130:2:1

10. 32 *nv-ghalh-tvm*
- nv-gha-lh-tvm*
 th-th-lh.CL-jump
- ‘Grasshopper’ EJ 108:228:13:1

10.3.4 Verb with certain prefixes

Some nouns that are made from verbs have some extra grammar to indicate that they are functioning as nouns. For example, some use the postpositional prefix *lh-* ‘with’ to describe a tool, as in (10.33): the word *lhch'il-t'ish* ‘hammer’ is made with the stem *t'ish* ‘pound’, the *l-* ‘classifier’, *ch'i-* ‘repetitive’ and *lh-* ‘instrumental’, giving a literal translation ‘with it repeatedly pound’.

10. 33 *lhch'il-t'ish yislh-sri*
- lh-ch'i-l-t'ish* *yi-s-lh-sri*
 inst-rep-1.CL-pound 3.on.3-stat-lh.CL-make
- ‘He made a hammer of it’ EJ 108:305:3:1

In (10.34), the word *ch'v-ghvl-sri* ‘moon’ is actually made from the stem *sri* ‘make’, the *l-* ‘classifier’, *ghv-* ‘perfective’ and *ch'v-* ‘indefinite’, which gives a literal translation of ‘something is made’, referring to the changing nature of the moon. The same word is also used to mean ‘month’, as we can see in (10.35).

10. 34 *ch'v-ghvl-sri*

ch'vghvlsri
moon

‘Moon’ EJ 108:235:10:1

10. 35 *ji-'e du' taa-ghi ch'v-ghvl-sri mv-see-ghaa-ghvlh*

ji='e du' taa-ghi ch'vghvlsri mv-see-ghaa-ghvlh
det=rel pert three month 3s-up-pl-be sick

‘This one for three months will make you sick’ EJ 72:41:2:1

In (10.36), we can see the word for ‘spider’ is made from the stem *dash* ‘dance’ and the ‘areal’ *xwv-*, this could be translated as ‘it dances in an area’. This prefix is used to create nouns that are expressed through a particular action (such as dancing) occurring over an area.

10. 36 *xwv-dash*

xwv-dash
area-dance

‘Spider’ EJ 72:17:9:1

In (10.37), the word for ‘table’ is expressed with the verb *ch'ii-ya* ‘eat repeatedly’ with the addition of the postposition *k'wv-* ‘on’, meaning literally ‘repeatedly eat on it’

10. 37 *kw'v-ch'i-ya*

kw'v-ch'i-ya
on-rep-eat

‘Table’ EJ 108:305:1:2

Some verbs seem to need a bit more grammar to be used as a noun, requiring additional enclitic particles, as discussed next.

10.3.5 Verb with enclitic particle.

Some nouns are made from verbs with nominalizing enclitic particles, as discussed in more detail in Chapter 9. In this section, we focus on verbs plus enclitic particles that have conventionalized into standard nouns. In (10.38), the word for ‘young woman’ or ‘maiden’ is *ch’v-sii-ne*. With evidence from Dorsey, we know that this word originates from the metaphorical use of *ch’v-sri* ‘make something’ to mean ‘laugh’ (Dorsey, 1884j). By adding the nominalizing enclitic =*ne* ‘one who’ (section 9.4.2), we see that the literal meaning of the word is ‘one who laughs’.

10. 38 *ch’v-sii-ne*

 ch’v-sii=ne
 indf-make=rel

 ‘Unmarried girl’ EJ 108:340:5:2

In (10.39), we see the word for ‘necklace’. It is made with the verb stem *dvlh* ‘go’ plus *na-* ‘pluractional’ (in its function showing movement over an area) and the enclitic particle, =*yu* ‘nominalizer’. The example shows that the stem is *dvl*, which is an expected variation of *dvlh*. This is an interesting example to me because I remember Gilbert Towner explaining that the word necklace described the action of the beads going around the neck. This example is also interesting because it can also appear with a different aspect prefix, as in (10.40), which describes the state of ‘falling in love’ occurring because of a necklace. Here, the word *naa-ghas-del-yu* ‘necklace’ also has the perfective-stative prefix combination *ghas-* (*ghvs-*) (see chapter 8).

10. 39 *naa-dvl-yu*
naa-dvl=yu
 plu-go.2=nominalizer
 ‘Necklace’ (lit. ‘One that goes around’) EJ 72:52:12:1

10. 40 *hat-du' wv-dvn hi lhus-tee-la yu jii-ch'i naa-ghas-del-yu*
hat=du' wv=dvn hi lh-u-s-tee-=la yu
 there=foc for=loc 3s rec-for-stat-want=past det

jiich'i naa-gha-s-del=yu
 because plu-th-stat-go.2=rel
 ‘Then they began to love each other on account those beads’ EJ 72:67:1:1

In (10.41) can see that a noun made from a verb, can also hold the enclitic particle that makes a relative clause (see chapter 9).

10. 41 *hat-du' hii hii-des-yaa-la tr'vt nee-del-yuu-ni hi si yii-ghii-nvlh-la*
hat=du' hii hii-de-s-yaa=la tr'vt
 there=foc 3s 3s-ref-stat-go.1=past money

needelyuu=ni hi sii yii ghii-nvlh=la
 necklace=rel 3s head over pfv-put=past
 ‘When he met her, his beads he took off his neck and put over her head’
 EJ 72:66:5:1

In (10.42), we see the word *cha* ‘old’ followed by three enclitic particles: first the nominalizer =*ne*, then the nominalizer =*yu*, then the nominalizer =*ne* again, which should literally mean something like ‘one who is one who is one who is old’. The word *cha* ‘old’ is found in the dataset without the enclitic particles as well.

10. 42 *chaa-nee-yuu-ne tvlh-ch'ish 'ee-ghii-ya*

<i>chaa=nee=yuu=ne</i>	<i>tv-lh-ch'ish</i>	<i>'ee-ghii-ya</i>
old=nom=nom=nom	inc-lh.CL-sweat	th-pfv-go.1

‘The old man went to sweat’ EJ 108:290:7:1

Some nouns seem to have come about by a complex sequence of processes. In (10.43) we see the word *yaa-mee-sha-dvn* ‘noon’. This word starts with the word *ya* ‘sky’ followed by the postposition *me* ‘in’, a combination that is often used to mean ‘sky’, followed by the postposition *-sha* ‘only’ and the locative enclitic *=dvn*, meaning literally ‘only in the sky’, alluding to the time when sun is at its zenith.

10. 43 *lha ch'v-gvs-uu-le tash-la lee-'ush-te yaa-mee-sha-dvn*

<i>lha</i>	<i>ch'v-gv-suu</i>	<i>=le</i>	<i>ta-sh-la</i>
proh	ind-th-make.noise=imp		adv-1s-action

<i>lee-'u-sh-te</i>	<i>yaa</i>	<i>mee</i>	<i>sha=dvn</i>
le-for-s-want	sky	in	only=loc

‘Don't make noise I want to sleep till noon.’ EJ 108:204:6:1

In (10.44), we see a similar construction, yet rather than a nominizing enclitic particle we see a postposition. In this example, the word *xwv-nee-nvl-dee-me* ‘wash pan’ is made by following the verb *xwv-nee-nvl-de* ‘wash’ with the postposition *-me* ‘in’. In this sentence, you can also see the word *tvl-xvt* ‘water’ is made from the verb stem *xvt* ‘swallow’, the *l-* ‘classifier’ and the adverb *tv* ‘water’, meaning literally ‘water to swallow’.

10. 44 *xwv-nee-nvl-dee-me tvl-xvt yee-ghilh-jit*

xwv-nee-nv-l-de *me* *tvlxvt* *yee-ghi-lh-jit*
area-th-th-1.CL-wash in water 3.on.3-pfv-lh.CL-spill

‘He spills water in wash pan’ EJ 108:313:3:1

I find the nouns made from verbs to be a great way to imagine and explore the mindset of our speakers from generations past. I love the practical way to describe the world through the actions that occur.

CHAPTER XI – MODIFIERS AND DESCRIPTIVE VERBS

Modifiers and descriptive verbs are words that provide descriptive information about participants (nouns) or actions (verbs). In English, adverbs are words that modify verbs and adjectives are words that modify nouns. In Nuu-wee-ya' there is not a clear distinction, as in English, between adverbs and adjectives. There are two structural types of modifying words, noun-like (modifiers) and verb-like (descriptive verbs).

Modifiers are formed with a single stem or a compound of stems. Some of the modifiers are only found modifying verbs, some are only found modifying nouns and some are found modifying both. From this limited dataset, we cannot know for sure if any of the noun-like modifiers are indeed restricted for use with only nouns or only verbs as further research in the archive new information. **Descriptive verbs** have a stem that means 'be a quality', such as 'be fat' or 'be red'. These verbs can take only a small subset of verbal prefixes. They are found modifying their subject. This chapter looks at the different semantic types of modifiers (section 11.1) and the different structural types of descriptive verbs (section 11.2), before concluding with a look at the special case of *chu/cha* 'big, also' (section 11.3)

11.1 Modifiers

Modifiers are distinct from the descriptor prefixes found on the verb (8.5) because they are a separate word from the verb, not attached. There are four different semantic types of adverbs: quality (11.1.1), location in time (11.1.2), inherent timing of an action (11.1.3), and quantity (11.1.4). While this section shows modifiers in each of these categories, it does not give a complete listing of all modifiers in Nuu-wee-ya', just examples of some words used enough to have some understanding about what they mean.

11.1.1 Quality Modifiers

One of the ways that modifiers can convey meaning about a verb is to express information about a quality of the verb, describing some attribute of the action. Table 37, shows the ‘quality’ modifiers described in this section.

Table 37. *Quality modifiers.*

Quality	
<i>xa</i>	‘fast’
<i>k’ash</i>	‘easy’
<i>ch’v-di</i>	‘different’
<i>ch’v-nn-ghe</i>	‘hidden’
<i>lhti</i>	‘really’
<i>shu</i>	‘good’
<i>shut</i>	‘emphasis’
<i>xuu-cha</i>	‘fine’
<i>xwvs-xe/ wvs-xe</i>	‘good’, ‘rich’, ‘healthy’
<i>chii-u</i>	different
<i>xaa-ni</i>	new
<i>dvl-man</i>	full

11.1.1.1 *xa* ‘fast’

The modifier *xa* ‘fast’ indicates that the action of the verb is done ‘at high speed’. In (11.1), it is located right before the verb, signifying that the boy ran ‘fast’. In (11.2), the word *xa* ‘fast’ is preceded by *du* ‘negative’ to mean ‘not fast’, or ‘slow’. This is a fun example because the translation says ‘she comes behind’; she comes behind because she is ‘slow’.

11. 1 *dis-ne sxee-xe xa xv-naa-wit*
- dis-ne sxee xe xa xv-naa-wit*
 man child fast area-plu-run
- ‘The boy ran fast’ EJ 108:241:7:1

11. 2 *du xa ha-tvsh-ni*

du *xa* *ha-tvsh=ni*
Neg fast th-go=nom

‘She comes behind’ EJ 72:146:8:1

11.1.1.2 *k’ash* ‘easy’

The modifier *k’ash* means ‘easy’ or ‘gradually’. It is only found with the adverbial enclitic =*xu* in this dataset, which one could interpret to mean that the =*xu* is required to make *k’ash* ‘easy’ into an modifier, like English ‘easy’ changes to ‘easily’. However, it is possible it could be found elsewhere in the archive without the *xu* indicating that the adverbializer is optional.

In (11.3), it is used in front of the verb ‘push’ to mean ‘easy to push’. The best example showing the ‘gradually’ meaning of *k’ash-xu* is in (11.4), in which the modifier adds the meaning of ‘gradually’ to the verb *naa-yit-selh-la* ‘get warm’.

11. 3 *k’ash-xu yii-tee-ch’vs-la*

k’ash=xu *yii-tee- ch’vs=la*
easy=advl 3.on.3-inc-push=past

‘He pushed it easy’ EJ 108:265:10:1

11. 4 *k’ash-xu naa-yit-selh-la*

k’ash=xu *naa-yi- t-selh =la*
easy=advl plu-3.on.3-d.CL-get.warm=past

‘He gradually got warm’ EJ 108:267:9:1

Another example of the ‘gradually’ meaning is in (11.5), where *k’ash-nu* ‘easy’ is before the verb *nes-lee-la* ‘burn’ with the combination translated as ‘burn slowly’ (e.g.,

‘burn gradually’). We can contrast this with (11.6), in which the modifier *xa'* ‘fast’ gives the opposite meaning, ‘burn fast’.

11. 5 *k'ash-xu nes-lee-la*

k'ash=xu *ne-s-le=la*
 easy=advl th-stat-burn=past

‘It burns slowly’ EJ 108:267:4:1

11. 6 *xa' nes-lee-la*

xa' *ne-s-le=la*
 quickly th-stat-burn=past

‘It burned fast’ EJ 108:267:5:1

Some modifiers seem to also apply to nouns, I don’t know if this one could apply to a noun, but if it could, it might mean ‘slow’, or perhaps ‘gentle’.

11.1.1.3 *ch'v-di* ‘different’

The modifier *ch'v-di* indicates the verb is done ‘differently’. In (11.7), it is used with the verb ‘*es-'a* ‘be located’. This verb stem means ‘handle a round object’, but when combined with the *s-* ‘stative’ it means ‘(a round object) is located’. In this example, *ch'v-di* ‘different’ indicates that the stone is lying in a different way than before. In (11.8), *ch'v-di* is used with the verb ‘*aa-nit-ja* ‘become’ to mean ‘become different’ or ‘changed’ as in the translation.

11. 7 *du ch'i se xat ch'v-di 'es-'a*

du *ch'i* *se* *xat* *ch'vdi* *'e-s-'a*
 neg there rock there different for-stat-handle.round

“The rock is lying a different way” EJ 72:98:15:1

11. 8 *ch'v-di 'aa-nit-ja*

ch'vdi *'aa-ni-t-ja*
different very-comp-d.CL-become

‘You seem changed’ EJ 108:236:3:1

In (11.9), the modifier *ch'v-di* also has the =*'e* form of the enclitic particle =*i* ‘relativizer/nominalizer’. In this case it makes the modifier more noun-like, saying literally ‘one that is different’, which is used to indicate a ‘different way’, in this example a ‘different way to make children’ (which is to for the woman to pick lice off of a man and break the nits in her teeth).

11. 9 *hat-du' hii-ch'u ch'v-di-'e ch'vn-tee-ghii-daa-la*

hat=du' *hii* *ch'u* *ch'vdi='e*
there=foc 3s little different=rel

ch'vn-tee-ghii-daa=la
th-inc-pfv-sit.1=past

‘He had a different way to get a child’ EJ 72:136:1:1

11.1.1.4 *ch'v-nn-ghe* ‘hidden’

The modifier *ch'v-nn-ghe* ‘hidden’ is only found with the verbs ‘be’ and ‘make’. In (11.10), ‘I or you hid it’, is made from the word *ch'v-nn-ghe* ‘hidden’ followed by the verb *'ii-li* ‘it is’. This is an interesting verb form as it is in the third person. In this case the ‘hiding’ has already happened. So, the literal translation is probably ‘it is hidden’, which would be accurate if either ‘you’ or ‘I’ already hid it.

11. 10 *ch'vn'-nn-ghe' 'ii-li*

ch'vn'nghe' 'ii-li
hidden 2s-be

‘I hid it, you hid it’ EJ 108:360:7:1

In (11.11), a slightly different form, *chvn-ghe* ‘hidden’ is before the verb *'vshlh-sri* ‘I make it’, and in this case the ‘hiding’ hasn’t happened yet. This second form of ‘hidden’ looks similar to the word *chv-nv-ghe* ‘someone’s eye’.

11. 11 *ghee ghvsh-'alh-te chvn-ghe 'vshlh-sri*

ghee ghv-sh-'alh=te chvnghe
away pfv-1s-handle.round=fut hidden

'v-sh-lh-sri
peg-1s-lh.CL-make

‘I’ll take it away and hide it’ EJ 108:360:8:1

11.1.1.5 *lhti* ‘really’

The modifier *lhti* can be translated as ‘really’; it is used to emphasize the verbal action. In (11.12), the literal translation is probably ‘wind is really blowing hard today’.

11. 12 *jii-sres lhti' lhtr'ii*

jii-sres lhti' lh-tr'ii
det-day very lh.CL-wind.blow

‘Wind blow hard today’ EJ 108:231:17:1

In (11.13), it is used to describe the intensity of how parents feel over a missing child. Notice here, that the modifier has the form *lhtin*. This is a feature of the southern dialect, which is not surprising given that these texts are in the variety Chetco, which contains features of both the southern and northern dialects (discussed in chapter 2).

11. 13 *hat hat 'aa-dvlh-nvn-la nn-gaa-ga nn-taa-ch'u lhtin lvn see-lha*

hat hat 'aa-dv-lh-nvn=la
there there very-ref-lh.CL-ask=past

nn- gaaga nn-taa=ch'u lhtin lvnseelha
2s mother th-handle.long=aug very feel.bad⁴⁴

‘Then he told her your mother and father feel very bad over you’
EJ 72:39:9:1

11.1.1.6 *shu* ‘good’

The modifier *shu* ‘good’ is very frequent and is used in different ways.⁴⁵ Here we see examples of *shu* alone, examples of it with an enclitic particle afterwards and examples where it looks like an enclitic particle itself.

In (11.14), it is used to indicate successful plant growth, *shu* ‘good’ comes before the verb *mvn-naa-t'alh* ‘they grow’. You can notice that the subject, what is growing, is before the modifier, indicating that the modifier is located closer to the verb than the subject is, in other words the modifier is in between the subject and the verb.

11. 14 *tv-xwi-de shu' mvn-naa-t'alh*

tvxwi de shu' mvn-naa-t'alh
all thing good th-plu-grow

‘Everything is growing good’ EJ 108:297:2:1

In (11.15), *shu* ‘good’ is modifying ‘what was thought’, or maybe ‘how it was thought’. This is a situation in which the *shu* is acting as a non-verbal predicate.

⁴⁴ I am unclear of etymology of this word.

⁴⁵ In the English dialect of most of the learner-speakers ‘good’ is used as an adverb, which is why this is defined as ‘good’ rather than ‘well’.

11. 15 *hat-du' shu ch'i-xwvn-gheshl-'ii-la*

hat=du' shu ch'i-xwvn-ghe-s-lh-'ii=la
there=foc good th-th-th-stat-lh.CL-think=past

‘Then he thought that was all right’ EJ 72:66:2:1

In (11.16), the word *de* ‘thing’ comes between *shu* and the verb. This is interesting because it seems to be saying ‘good thing’. To me this is an interesting phrase to put with the verb *ghvl-ts'ee-la* ‘two sit/are’. A literal translation would be ‘then, forever, good thing they two are/sit’. This makes *shu de* ‘good thing’ feel like a location (‘in a good place’) or a state (‘in a good way’). In (11.17), we also see *shu de* ‘good thing’, but here with a more literal meaning of the ‘good thing’ that is wished for.

11. 16 *hat-du' t'ii-daa-s'aa-di shu de ghvl-ts'ee-la*

hat=du' t'iidaas'aadi shu de ghv-l-ts'ee=la
there =foc forever good thing pfv-l.CL-be.2=past

‘That's why forever (as long as live) they stay good’ EJ 72:78:6:1

11. 17 *shu de wv-nee-ghaa-sii-t'a*

shu de wv-nee-ghaa-sii-t'a
good thing th-th-pl-stat-d.CL-wish

‘We're wishing something good’ EJ 109: 32: 22: 1

In (11.18), we see *shu* modifying the verb in a relative clause made up of three words: *dv-ne* ‘people’, *shu* ‘good’, and *naa-wvt-sha* ‘run’ ‘the ones who run well’. Notice that the modifier is in between the subject and verb again.

11. 18 *hii-wvn-du' dv-ne shu naa-wvt-sha xwii-yislh-srii-la*

hii *wvn=du'* *dvne* *shu* *naa-wvt=sha*
3s for=foc people good plu-run=only

xwii *yi-s-lh-srii=la*
every 3.on.3-stat-lh.CL-make=past

‘Then he got all the good runners’ EJ 72:108:3:1

In (11.19), we see *shu* used in what is apparently an idiom for ‘live together’. This phrase is made with *shu* ‘good’ followed by the determiner *ji* ‘this’ and the verb *net-dvlh* ‘two people go’ making this idiom mean something like ‘two walk good’.

11. 19 *hat-du' lh'vn-chu shu ji net-dvlh yelh-nvn-la yu tr'aa-xe*

hat *=du'* *lh'vnchu* *shu* *ji* *ne-t-dvlh*
there =foc indeed good this th-d.CL-go

ye-lh-nvn=la *yu* *tr'aaxe*
3.on.3-lh.CL-ask=past det woman

‘Then indeed "let's live together" he told that woman’ EJ 72:92:3:1

In (11.20), it is not clear if *shu* is its own word, or if it is a prefix. The verb *shuu-dv-ghvn-xal-ni* is a way to say ‘be careful’ that is longer than how I originally learned it, *shu'en-hal-ni*. The differences are the addition of ‘reflexive’ *dv-* and ‘thematic’ *ghvn* and the pronunciation of the *h* as an *x*. Further examination might pinpoint the difference between the two forms, to guide us in knowing which might be used where.

11. 20 *shuu-dv-ghvn-xal-ni nn-ts'ulh-ts'it-le*

shuu-dv-ghvn-xa-l-ni *nn-ts'u-lh-tr'it=le*
good-ref-th-up-l.CL-take.care th-pass-lh.CL- kill=imp

‘Be careful, you will be killed’ EJ 109: 18: 1: 1

In (11.21), *shu* is combined with a longer phrase to convey ‘trust’, in a line that can be translated as ‘good towards-you they-look’. This is made into a question by attaching the question particle =*ha* to *shu*. The location of the question marker means that they are questioning ‘the goodness’, which clarifies that the question is not about something else in the sentence, like questioning whether ‘you see’.

11. 21 *shuu-ha nn-tr'vn yaa-'ul-'i*

<i>shuu=ha</i>	<i>nn-tr'vn</i>	<i>yaa-'u-l-'i</i>
good=ques	2s-towards	pl-for-1.CL-see

‘Don't you trust them?’ EJ 109: 28: 18: 1

In (11.22), *wvn* ‘for’ and *shu* ‘good’ are followed by the postpositional phrase *nuu-tr'vn* ‘towards them’. This entire phrase seems to translate to the English concept of ‘accept’. I feel that this part of the phrase could be better translated as ‘towards them, good for them’. The next part of the sentence has the classificatory verb stem ‘*a* ‘handle round object’ with the ‘completive *ni-* to mean ‘take’ or ‘have’. I believe this is the action of ‘accepting’, or ‘having’. What they are ‘accepting’ or ‘having’ is expressed with a verb phrase following the verb. This seems like a relative clause, but it is not marked in any grammatical way to indicate that (perhaps it’s marked by intonation but because it is a written text we do not know).

11. 22 *hat-du' wvn-shu nuu-tr'vn nii-'aa-la tr'vt dii-yilh xaa-wii-xet*

<i>hat=du'</i>	<i>wvn</i>	<i>shu</i>	<i>nuu-tr'vn</i>
there=foc	for	good	1p-towards
<i>nii-'aa=la</i>	<i>tr'vt</i>	<i>dii-yilh</i>	<i>xaa-wii-xet</i>
comp-handle.round=past	money ref-with		area-th-buy

‘Then they accepted the money he gave to buy her’ EJ 72:69:7:1

A similar form with the question marker on *shu* is in (11.23). In this line, the verb stem *te* ‘handle a living being’ is used along with *na-* ‘pluractional’ and the classifier *lh-* ‘transitive’ to indicate ‘treat (her) well’.

11. 23 *shuu-ha nalh-te*
 shuu=ha na-lh-te
 good=ques plu-lh.CL-handle.living
 ‘Do you treat her well EJ 109: 35: 9: 1’

In (11.24), we see *shu* followed by the locative enclitic =*dvn* to mean ‘a good time’. I think the literal translation of this is ‘now she thought “this is a good time”’.

11. 24 *hi hat aa-du' shuu-dvn xvn gheslh-'ii-la*
 hi hat aadu' shu=dvn xvn
 3s there and.so good=loc sweet
 ghe-s-lh-'ii=la
 th-stat-lh.CL-think=past
 ‘Now she thot time (to go in)’ EJ 72:45:6:1

In (11.25), it seems like *shu* has the verbal past tense enclitic particle =*la*. It comes after the words *du* ‘not’ and *mvlh* ‘with’; together these probably make the phrase ‘was not good with it’, meaning ‘unsatisfied’ or, alternatively, the part of the sentence that refers to being ‘made fun of’ (which someone surely would ‘not be good with’).

11. 25 *hat-du' hat du melh shu-la xwii-dvn-t'i wvn ch'vt-sri*

hat=du' hat du melh shu=la
there=foc there neg with good=past

xwii=dvn=t'i wvn ch'v-t-sri
every=loc=cop for ind-d.CL-make

‘Then he wasn’t satisfied with him because they made fun of him’

EJ 72 :123 :5 :1

11.1.1.7 *shut* ‘emphasis’

The modifier *shut* ‘emphasis’ seems to be emphasizing the action or providing focus on the action. While *shut* ‘emphasis’ could be an extension of *shu* ‘good’, none of these examples in this section indicate ‘good’ in the original free translation to English. While some examples seem to have a positive meaning, it is never quite clear.

In (11.26), *shut* ‘emphasis’ comes after *xwii-t'a* ‘every’ to mean ‘everywhere’. The word ‘look’ is expressed with the verb *tee-ghii-*‘i and ‘everywhere’ comes from the word *xwii-t'a* ‘all directions’. In (11.27), *shut* is used in the command ‘open yourself’. In both examples, it seems like the meaning of the sentence would be the same without *shut*, however, it probably means ‘really hard’ as in ‘look really hard everywhere’ and ‘really open yourself’.

11. 26 *xwii-t'a shut tee-ghii-'ii-la*

xwiit'a shut tee-ghii-'ii=la
every emph inc-pfv-see=past

‘He looks around everywhere’ EJ 72:82:7:1

11. 27 *hat lhch'al-dat shut yilh-nvn-la*

hat *lh-ch'a-l-dat* *shut* *yi-lh-nvn=la*
there rec-across-1.CL-open emph 3.on.3-lh.CL-say=past

‘open yourself he said’ EJ 116:5:8:1

In (11.28), *shut* ‘emphasis’ is before the verb *yal-t'vm=la* ‘he jumped’. In this case, the subsequent jumping led to him hitting his head and dying, which makes it unlikely that *shut* means ‘good’ here. In this case, it would make more sense that this means he ‘really’ jumped, supporting the analysis of *shut* as ‘emphasis’.

11. 28 *ja dvt-nn hat shut yal-t'vm-la tee-vn-di silh-ch'a kwvt waa-t'i duu des-lii-la*

ja *dvt=nn* *hat* *shut* *ya-l-t'vm=la*
here when=irr there emph up-1.CL-jump=past

teevn=di *si-lh-ch'a* *kwvt* *waa-t'i* *duu*
below=dir stat-lh.CL-big on.top for-copula neg

de-s-lii=la
ref-stat-cop=past

‘Every once in a while he'd jump again bumping against the board
bumping his head against the board slowly he died’ EJ 72:121:6:1

In (11.29), *shut* is used before *nuu-yuu-dvt-xet-d* ‘if she calls out’, as a warning to tell someone not to go out to in response to someone else’s shout. As *shut* is before ‘call’ I suggest it means to ‘really call out’ putting emphasis/focus on that action. In (11.30), *shut* ‘emphasis’ comes between *lha srvsr-t'i* ‘all day’ and *ch'v-k'es-yaa-la* ‘he was eating’. Here I assume that *shut* emphasizes the following verb, saying ‘really eating’, rather than saying ‘really all day’.

11. 29 *shut nuu-yuu-dvt-xet-de tl'a tr'vn tr'ee-nii-yish-te*

shut *nuu-yuu-dv-t-xet=de*
emph 1p-det-ref-d.CL-call=if

tl'aa *tr'vn* *tr'ee-nii-yish=te*
proh towards out-comp-call=fut

‘If she calls you don't go out to her’ EJ 72:16:7:1

11. 30 *lha srvsr-t'i shut ch'v-k'es-yaa-la*

lha *srvsr=t'i* *shut* *ch'v-k'e-s-yaa=la*
one day=cop emph ind-th-stat-go.1=past

‘All day he kept eating’ EJ 116:8:13:1

However, there are a couple of examples that seem to show that *shut* ‘emphasis’ could come from *shu* ‘good’, because the form *shu* seems to have the same emphatic use as *shut*. In (11.31), we see *shu yut-xa* ‘closer’, as in ‘really close’ (maybe ‘good and close’), so that *shu* is indicating ‘more’ of the quality of closeness. In (11.32), *shu* comes before *yilh-nvn-la* ‘go behind’ to make it mean ‘go very far (way) behind’. Again, this seems to translate better as ‘really go behind’, which could also be said in English with ‘good/well’, as in ‘go well behind’.

11. 31 *hat-du' ja shu yut-xa yilh-nvn-la*

hat=du' *ja* *shu* *yutxa* *yi-lh-nvn=la*
there=foc here good closer 3.on.3-lh.CL-say=past

‘Then again come a little closer he said’ EJ 72:162:9:1

11. 32 *hat-du' hat t'aa-xvsh-ni shu xwv-tl'aa-ye*

hat=du' *hat* *t'aa-xvsh=ni* *shu* *xwv- tl'aa-ye*
there=foc there water-paddle=nom good area-behind-go

‘She is coming way behind’ EJ 72:146:10:1

11.1.1.8 *xuu-cha* ‘fine’

The modifier *xuu-cha* ‘fine’ is heard a lot today around ceremony or cultural events to mean ‘sacred’, however, this use is not found in the Jacobs corpus. We do see in (11.33) that it contributes the meaning ‘fine’ in ‘fine weather’ and in (11.34) the meaning ‘happy’ in ‘happy life’. While I am not sure if this word can be broken into smaller parts, I believe it can and that it is made from the stem *cha* (discussed in 11.3) and the areal *xuu-*.

11. 33 *jii-sres* *lhti' xuu-cha*

 jii-sres *lhti' xuu-cha*
 det-day very area-fine

‘Fine day’ EJ 108:216:10:1

11. 34 *xuu-chaa xuu-nvsh-yaa-le*

 xuu-chaa *xuunvsh* *yaale*
 area-fine life let.it.be

‘I want a happy life’ JPH 1776:2:1

11.1.1.9 *xwvs-xe* ‘good, rich, chief’

The form *xwvs-xe* is found to mean ‘good’, ‘rich’, and ‘chief/headman’; the shortened form *wvs-xe* also is found meaning ‘good’. In (11.35), the form *wvs-xe* is used as the predicate, to say ‘my dog (is) good’ and in (11.36), *du xwvs-xe* is the predicate ‘not rich’. In (11.37), we can see that *wvs-xe* means ‘health’ and in (11.38) that *xwvs-xe* means ‘chief’. I would have a hard time believing that all the meanings of this form are not related in some way.

11. 35 *shish lii-ch'e' wvs-xe'*
shish lii=ch'e' wvsxe'
 1s.pos dog=poss good
 'My dog is good' JPH 452:9:1

11. 36 *du xwvs-xe nii-li*
du xwvsxee nii-li
 Neg rich 2s-be
 'You are not rich' EJ 108:317:7:1

11. 37 *shu' wvs-xe*
shu' wvsxe
good health
 'Health' JPH:300:1:1

11. 38 *hii-wvn-du' xwii-xvs-xe ts'uslh-srii-la*
hii wvn=du' xwii xvsxe
 3s for=foc all headman
ts'u-s-lh-srii=la
 pass-stat-lh.CL-make=past
 'Then they make him head man' EJ 72:55:4:1

In (11.39), we see another example of *xwvs-xe* to mean 'rich', this time with the future copula *yan-lii-te* 'they get rich'.

11. 39 *xwvs-xe yan-lii-te wvn waa-naa-ghaa-t'u das-'a jii-xwvsh wa
naa-ghas-t'u-la*

xwvsxe *ya-n-li=te* *wvn* *waa-naa-ghaa-t'u*
rich pl-th-cop=fut for for-plu-pl-swim

da-s-'a *jii-xwvsh* *wa* *naa-gha-s-t'u-=la*
on-stat-handle.round maybe for plu-pl-stat-swim=past

‘In order to get rich that long they always swam that’s why they always swim like that’ EJ 72:142:2:1

In (11.40) we see *xwvs-xe* nominalized with the =’*i* particle to mean ‘the good part’, or ‘(the side) that is good’. In (11.41), the adjective is describing the noun *xvsh-ni* ‘man’ and has the enclitic particle =*yu* ‘nominalizer’, meaning literally ‘man that is rich’.

11. 40 *xwvs-xee-'i ch'v-k'es-ya*

xwvsxee='i *ch'v-k'e-s-ya*
good=rel indf-th-stat-go.1

‘He ate the good side’ EJ 108:245:5:1

11. 41 *xaa-k'we ta xvsh-ni xvs-xaa-yu sii-'e hi sma'-nn silh-tii-te*

xaa-k'we *ta* *xvsh=ni* *xvs-xaa=yu*
area-following water man=people rich=rel

sii-'e *hi* *s-ma'nn* *si-lh-tii=te*
daughter 3s 1s-place stat-lh.CL-handle.living=fut

‘She goes out after the others rich man’s daughter in my place take’

EJ 72:146:4:1

11.1.1.10 *ch'ii-u* different

The adjective *ch'ii-u* is used with determiner to indicate that it is ‘different’. In (11.42), it is before the determiner *hi* ‘third person singular’.

11. 42 *hat ja ch'ii-u hi yilh tr'e-lvs-la*

hat *ja* *ch'iiu* *hi* *yi-lh* *tr'e-lvs=la*
there here different 3s 3.on.3-with out-run=past

‘Then a different one ran with it’ EJ 72:114:9:1

11.1.1.11 *xaa-ni* ‘new’

In (11.43), we see the modifier *xaa-ni* located after *xv-nvs* ‘canoe’ to mean ‘new canoe’.

11. 43 *hat-du' aa-xwvn gheslh-'ii-la xv-nvs xaa-ni mvlh tash-xvsh-k'e-shu*

hat=du' *aaxwvn* *ghe-s-lh-'ii=la* *xvnvs*
there=foc begin th-stat-lh.CL-decide=past canoe

xaani *mvlh* *ta-sh-xvsh=k'e=shu*
new with water-1s-paddle=like=good

‘Then he made up his mind to go out with a good new boat.’
EJ 72:144:4:1

11.1.1.12 *dvl-man* ‘full’

The adjective *dvl-man* ‘full’ is shown in (11.44). I am grouping this here but I am not sure if it is best described as an adjective, noun or verb.

11. 44 *dvl-mvn*

dvlmvm
full

‘To be full for basket or dish’ EJ 109: 40: 8: 1

In (11.45), *dvl-man* is found after the noun *chvn baa-* ‘a ‘tree-hollow’ to mean that the ‘hollow’ was ‘full’. In this example we see the postposition *k'e* ‘following’ after ‘full’ This is used to mean ‘full-like’.

11. 45 *hii hat-du' tr'it ch'vn baa-'a dvl-mvn-k'ee nii-yaa-la*

hii *hat=du'* *tr'it* *ch'vn* *baa'a* *dvlmvn=k'e*
 3s there=foc money tree hole full=like

nii-ya=la
 pfv-go.1=past

‘Then money tree full of money when he got there’ EJ 72:33:1:1

11.1.2 Time modifiers

Modifiers that express time are important in Nuw-wee-ya’, as the verb does not always express tense. Thus, words from this short list (see Table 38) can be very helpful to clarify when a statement is referring to. The first six of these are maybe more like nouns, the ones that indicate the day or time of day an action happens. We look briefly at each of them before moving on the other three modifiers that express time.

Table 38. Time modifiers.

Location in Time	
<i>k'vn-da</i>	yesterday
<i>ch'ii-srvsr</i>	today
<i>xwvn-de</i>	tomorrow
<i>ch'ii-srvsr</i>	today
<i>aa-xwv-ni</i>	next day
<i>xash-mvlh-dvn</i>	morning
<i>s'a</i>	long time ago
<i>t'ii-daa-s'aa-t'i</i>	forever
<i>t'ii-hii-t'i</i>	right away

11.1.2.1 k'vn-da ‘yesterday’

In 11.46, *k'vn-da* means ‘yesterday’.

11. 46 *k'vn-da lhghee-sit-'i*

k'vn-da *lh-ghee-si-t-'i*
yesterday rec-th-stat-1p-see

‘We saw each other yesterday’ EJ 109: 39: 7: 1

11.1.2.2 *jii-srvsr* ‘today’

In (11.47), we see the word *jii-sres* ‘today’. This word is made from the determiner *ji* ‘this’ and the stem *srvsr* ‘day’, meaning literally ‘this day’.

11. 47 *jii-sres lhti' lht'r'ii*

jii-sres *lhti'* *lh-tr'ii*
det-day very lh.CL-wind blow

‘Wind blow hard today’ EJ 108:231:17:1

11.1.2.3 *xwvn-de* ‘tomorrow’

In (11.48), we see *xwvn-de* ‘means ‘tomorrow’.

11. 48 *xwvn-de'* *ja'* *naa-nish-dvsh-te*

xwvnde' *ja'* *naa-ni-sh-dvsh=te*
tomorrow here plu-comp-1s-go=fut

‘I will come back tomorrow’ EJ 108:295:5:1

11.1.2.4 *aa-xwvn-ni* ‘next day’

In (11.49), we see the modifier ‘*aa-xwv-ni* is used to indicate the ‘next day’.

11. 49 *hii hat-du' ja 'aa-xwv-ni ja hun tes-yaa-la*

hii *hat=du'* *ja* *'aaxwvni* *ja* *hun*
3s there=foc here next.day here that

te-s-yaa-=la
inc-stat-go.1=past

‘Then again the next day he went to that same one’ EJ 72:32:5:1

In (11.50), we see *aa-xwv-ni* is after the word *xwv-n-de* ‘tomorrow’ to mean ‘the day after tomorrow’ (literally ‘tomorrow’s next day’).

11. 50 *hii-wvn-du' t'ii-xwv-n-de 'aa-xwv-ni naa-ghvshlh-telh-te*

hii-wvn=du' *t'ii-xwvnde* *'aaxwvni*
3s-for=foc pert-tomorrow next.day

naa-ghv-sh-lh-telh=te
plu-pfv-1s-lh.CL-handle.living=fut

‘I’ll get her day after tomorrow’ EJ 72:70:5:1

11.1.2.5 *xash-mvlh-dvn* ‘morning’

In the dataset here, primarily northern, with southern influences, the word *xash-malh-dvn* means ‘morning’, as we see in (11.51).

11. 51 *xas-mvlh-dvn*

xas-mvlh=dvn
light-with=loc

‘Morning’ EJ 108:204:1:1

Sometimes the word *xash-malh* is also used for ‘morning’ as in (11.52), where we see the combination *xwv-n-de* ‘tomorrow’ and *xas-mvlh* ‘morning’ to mean ‘tomorrow morning’.

11. 52 *xwvvn-de xas-mvlh-du' 'v-tr'it-te*

<i>xwvvn-de</i>	<i>xas-mvlh=du'</i>	<i>'v-tr'it-te</i>
tomorrow	morning=foc	peg-die-=fut

‘Tomorrow a.m. he'll die’ EJ 72:85:2:1

In the Tolowa Online dictionary, *xash-mvlh-dvn* and *xustlh-'in* are both listed as ‘morning’, with *xash-mvlh* as ‘tomorrow’. Even though one of the translations in Tolowa is ‘morning’, I have noticed that using *xash-mvlh-dvn* as ‘morning’, has caused confusion with Tolowa speakers. This is not to say that either dialect is right or wrong, rather to point out a tangible example of how dialect difference can be confusing and can be overcome with knowledge. When the people I use the word *xash-mvlh* with know that it might mean ‘morning’ and when I know that the use of that word could create potential confusion, it makes our ability communicate all the easier.

11.1.2.6 *s'aa* ‘long’

Next, we look at the time modifiers that don’t refer to a specific day or time of day, beginning with *s'a* ‘long ago’, as in (11.53). In (11.54), we see *s'a* mean ‘for a long time’, so not necessarily occurring a ‘long time ago’, and in (11.55), we see that the use of *s'a* also extends to a ‘long distance’.

11. 53 *hat-du' s'aa waa-ghii-te-la*

<i>hat=du'</i>	<i>s'aa</i>	<i>waa-ghii-te=la</i>
there=foc	long.time	for-pfv-live=past

‘Then he lived there a long time’ EJ 72 :124 :1 :1

11. 54 *hii-wvn-du' s'aa t'ii-ghii-daa-la nat-nee-svt nuu-nilh-tii-la gaa-yu*

hii-wvn=du' s'aa t'ii-ghii-daa=la
3s-for=foc long.time th-pfv-sit.1=past

nat=nee svt nuu-ni-lh-tii=la gaayu
two=nom back 1p-comp-lh.CL-handle.live=past baby

‘That’s why she stay there a long while she had two children’
EJ 72:135:11:1

11. 55 *hi hat-du' waa-t'i daa-nii-yaa-la nvn-'e s-'a*

hi hat=du' waa t'i daa-nii-ya=la nvn'e s'a
3s there=foc for cop in-comp-go.1=past earth far

‘Then he kept on going around the world.’ EJ 72 :127 :2 :1

One modifier made from *s'aa* is *t'ii-daa-s'aa-t'i* ‘forever’, as we see in (11.56). I did not parse this word, even though I can see the *s'aa* in it, because I am not sure what is happening in the rest of the word.

11. 56 *hat-du' t'ii-daa-s'aa-t'i waa-xwa ch'aa-t'is-daa-te*

hat=du' t'iidaas'aat'i waa=xwa ch'aa-t'i-s-daa=te
there=foc forever for=adverb touch-th-stat-sit.1=fut

‘Forever he was to stay away from the people’ EJ 72:55:8:1

11.1.2.7 *t'ii-hii-t'i* ‘right away’

The last modifier discussed in this section is *t'ii-hii-t'i*, also seen as *'ii-t'i* ‘right away’. In (11.57) we see *t'ii-hii-t'i* ‘right away’ used before the verb *ch'aa-ghii-yaa-la* ‘he began to eat’ to indicate ‘eating right away’.

11. 57 *hat-du' xv-nvs yee-ghii-yaa-la t'ii-hii-t'i ch'aa-ghii-yaa-la*

hat=du' xvnvs yee-ghii-yaa=la t'ii-hii-t'i
there=foc canoe 3.on.3-pfv-go.1=past right.away

ch'aa-ghii-yaa=la
rep-pfv-eat=past

‘then soon as he got into boat right away he began to eat’ EJ 72:158:8:1

In (11.58), we see *ii-t'i* also meaning ‘right away’. Although this is a different form, it is recognizable as a shortening of *t'ii-hii-t'i*. This shortened form is followed by the word *shut* ‘emphasis’, and while it is possible that *shut* is the reason that *ii-t'i* is shorter in this example, that might just be allowable variation.

11. 58 *hat ii-t'i shut tr'ee-yee-nee-nii-yut-la*

hat ii-t'i shut tr'ee-yee-nee-nii-yut=la
there right.away emph out-3.on.3-th-comp-close=past

‘then right away she ran after him (to catch him)’ EJ 72:24:7:1

The next section also deals with time, but instead of anchoring when the action happened in time, these modifiers are more about the relative internal timing of the action.

11.1.3 Modifiers about inherent timing of verb

Aspect talks about the state of the timing of a verb, for example, ‘finished’, ‘nearing completion’, ‘repeating’, and ‘sporadic’. Aspect is marked in verb prefixes (chapter 8) and verbal enclitic particles (chapter 9), and there is also a series of modifiers that convey aspectual information about the verb clause. This section starts with Table 39, which lists the aspectual modifiers, followed by a section of description and examples for each aspectual modifier word.

Table 39. Modifiers about inherent timing of verb.

Timing of action	
<i>t'ii-ii-dvn</i>	once in a while
<i>ja</i>	again
<i>da'</i>	already
<i>shdu'</i>	almost

11.1.3.1 *t'ii-dv-t'vn* ‘once in a while’

The modifier *t'ii-dv-t'vn* indicates ‘once in a while’, as seen in (11.59).

11. 59 *t'ii-dv-t'vn hat shghaa-nv-ghvs*

t'iidvt'vn *hat* *sh-ghaa-nv-ghvs*
 once.in.a.while there 1s-pl-th-come.up

‘Once in a while she visits me’ EJ 109: 41: 11: 1

11.1.3.2 *ja* ‘again’

The meanings ‘already’ and ‘again’ are conveyed with *ja*. In (11. 60), we see *ja* to mean ‘again’ in ‘get married again’ and in (11. 61) to mean ‘come back (again)’.

11. 60 *ja xvn aa-ghv-t'i*

ja *xvn* *aa-ghv-t'i*
 again married for-prog-cop

‘She got married again’ EJ 109: 54: 9: 1

11. 61 *ja' naa-nish-dvsh-te*

ja' *naa-ni-sh-dvsh=te*
 here plu-comp-1s-go=fut

‘I will come back’ EJ 108:295:4:1

11.1.3.3 *da* ‘already’

In (11.62-11.63), we see the modifier *da* used to mean ‘already’.

11. 62 *shii-du da 'vs-tr'it*

shii=du da 'v-s-tr'it
 1.s=focalready peg-1s-die

‘I’m already dead’ EJ 72:146:5:1

11. 63 *da' nuu-tee-sil-ts'it*

da' nuu-tee-s-i-l-ts'it
 already 1p-inc-stat-2s-1.CL-know

‘You have already learned it’ EJ 109: 30: 19: 1

11.1.3.4 *shdu'* almost

The modifier *shdu'* is used to mean ‘almost’, modifying the word that follows, as we see in *shdu' shu* ‘almost good’ in (11.64) and *shdu' lhaa-srvsr* ‘almost all day’ in (11.65).

11. 64 *shdu' shu dv-ghv-nut-shi*

shdu' shu dv-ghv-nu-t-shi
 almost good ref-prog-th-d.CL-name

‘He pronounced your language almost right’ EJ 109: 48: 12: 1

11. 65 *shdu' lhaa-srvsr ghish-t'a*

shdu' lhaa-srvsr ghi-sh-t'a
 almost all-day pfv-1s-stay

‘I stayed almost all day’ EJ 109: 11: 18: 1

11.1.4 Quantity modifiers

These modifiers are the ones that are most like adjectives, referring to the number or amount of a noun the action occurs on. While it might behoove this section to be combined with the adjective section, there is a close relationship between quantity words and the verb, as often a quantity word represents the subject or object of the verb, which

might not be expressed in any other way than the modifier (as in 11. 66). Table 40 lists the quantity modifiers discovered so far.

Table 40. *Quantity modifiers.*

Quantity	
<i>tv-xwi</i>	all
<i>tv-xwii-de</i>	all
<i>tv-xwii-dvn</i>	everything
<i>lha</i>	all/lots
<i>mee-dvn</i>	enough
<i>duu-de</i>	none
<i>lhta</i>	some
<i>t'i</i>	just
<i>sha</i>	only, just

11.1.4.1 *t'v-xwi* ‘every’

The modifier *tv-xwi* ‘all’ is frequently used and is often found with the noun *de* ‘thing’ to mean ‘everything’, with the locative enclitic particle =*dvn* ‘LOC’ to mean ‘always’, and with the directional enclitic particle =*ta* ‘DIR’ to mean ‘all around’. In some examples we only see *xwi* ‘all’, without the first syllable — this is reflective of the southern dialect.

In (11.66), we see *tv-xwi* ‘all’ used as the object of the verb, ‘he wants them all to lie’.

11. 66 *tuu-xwi daa-wii-ts'it*

tuuxwi daa-wii-ts'it

 all ref-ghu-lie

‘He wants them to lie’ EJ 109: 4: 12: 1

In (11.67), we see the addition of *de* ‘thing’ to mean ‘everything’. In this example, *tv-xwi-de* is modifying the following word *sta* ‘food’, indicating ‘all the food’. In (11.68-

11.69), the form is only *xwii* ‘all’ without the initial *tv-*, which is reflective of the southern dialect. In both examples, *xwii-de* means ‘everything’.

11. 67 *tv-xwii-de sta hii xaa-naa-ghaa-la*

tvxwii de sta hii xaa-naa-ghaa=la
 all thing food 3s area-plu-go=past

‘All kinds of grubs he went for (to gather)’ EJ 116:10:5:1

11. 68 *hat-du' xwii-de-t'i hat nuu-nee-nii-'a*

hat=du' xwiide=t'i hat
 there=foc everything=cop there

nuu-nee-nii-'a
 th-th-comp-handle.round

‘He gathered everything together (put)’ EJ 116:8:7:1

11. 69 *hii wvn=du' t'ii-hi xwii-dee shu nuu-nii-'aa-la ji yee-tl'uuchu*

hii wvn=du' t'ii-hi xwiidee shu
 3s for=foc pert-3s everything good

nuu-nii-'aa=la ji yee=tl'uuchu
 th.-comp-handle.round=past this 3.on.3-basket

‘Then at once she put every away (she piled them) her basket’
 EJ 72:132:1:1

With the addition of the enclitic particle =*dvn* ‘locative’, *tv-xwi* ‘all’ can also mean ‘everything’ as we see in (11.70) or ‘always’ as we see in (11.71).

11. 70 *tv-xwii-dvn nvlh-xwvl-nvk*

tvxwii=dvn nv-lh-xwv-l-nvk
 all=loc 2s-rec-area-1.CL-tell

‘He tells you everything’ EJ 108:369:9:1

11. 71 *tv-xwii-dvn-t'i min-dee-nish-laa-te*

tvxwii= dvn=t'i min-dee-ni-sh-laa=te
 all=loc=cop th-ref-comp-1s-action=fut

‘I will love him always’ EJ 109: 29: 9: 1

In (11.72), we see the directional =*t'a* used with *tv-xwi* to mean ‘in all directions’.

11. 72 *tv-xwii-t'a taa-'i*

tvxwii=t'a taa-'i
 all=dir th-see

‘He looks around’ EJ 108:375:2:1

In (11.73), we see just the *xwi* ‘all’ with the copula *t'i* to mean ‘everybody’.

11. 73 *nv'n-'e yuu-dan-ti t'aa-ghii-yalh-te hat shii-du' nan-di t'aa-ghvsh-yalh-te*
xwii-t'i 'ilh-tr'it-te dv-ne

nv'n='e yuu dan=ti t'aa-ghii-yalh=te
 2s=rel det there=dir th-pfv-go.1=fut

hat shii=du' nan=di t'aa-ghv-sh-yalh=te
 there 1.s pro=foc here=dir th-pfv-1s-go.1=fut

xwii-t'i 'i-lh-tr'it=te dvne
 all-cop peg-lh.CL-die=fut people

‘You go other end I'll come this way (we'll meet) you kill every person’
 EJ 72:75:2:1

One last example, (11.74), uses *xwi* twice to convey ‘all intermarry’. The first use is *xwii-'at* ‘all wives’ and the second comes before the verb, meaning ‘all’.

11. 74 *hi xwii-'at xwi 'alh-naa-ghalh-gheshl-'ilh-'a*

hi xwii *'at* *xwi*
3s all wife all

'alh-naa-gha-lh-ghe-s-lh-'ilh='a
th-plu-pl-lh.CL-th-stat-lh.CL-see=ep

‘They all inter married’ EJ 72:94:5:1

11.1.4.2 *lha* ‘all’

The modifier *lha* is used to mean ‘all’ or ‘lots’. In (11.75) we see *lha* used before *srvsr* ‘day’ to mean ‘all day’.

11. 75 *aa-du' lha srvsr-ti sheshl-'e xwvt daa-ghii-daa-la*

aadu' lha *srvsr=ti* *sheshl'e* *xwvt da-ghii-da=la*
then all day=dir sweathouse on.top on-pfv-sit.1=past

‘Then all day he sat on top of sweathouse’ EJ 72:116:11:1

In the remaining examples, *lha* follows the noun it modifies, and it has the meaning ‘lots’ instead of ‘all’. In (11.76), *tr'vt lha* means ‘lots of money’, in (11.77) *dv-ne lha* means ‘lots of people’, and in (11.78) *dee-hla* means ‘lots of things’.

11. 76 *hii-wvn-du' tr'vt lha xaa-xii-ghii-laa-la*

hii-wvn=du' *tr'vt lha* *xaa-xii-ghii-laa=la*
3s-for=foc money lots area-dual-pfv- action=past

‘That's how they earned lots of money’ EJ 72:104:5:1

11. 77 *yun-ghe hun-du' dv-ne lha s-da*

zunghe *hun=du'* *dvne lha* *s-da*
upriver there=foc people lots stative-sit.1

‘Lots of people up the river lived’ EJ 72:65:4:1

11. 78 *dee-lha selh-ghee-la*

dee *lha* *se-lh-ghee=la*
thing lots stat-lh.CL-kill=past

‘He killed many things (animals)’ EJ 109: 42: 11: 1

11.1.4.3 *du-mee-dvn* ‘not enough’

This modifier is seen in two different forms in this dataset, but it always means ‘not enough’ and it is always functions as the predicate of a clause with no verb, *du mee-dvn* ‘not enough’ in (11.79) and *duu-mee-wi* in (11.80). In both these examples, the ‘not’ in ‘not enough’ is conveyed with the negative morpheme *du*.

11. 79 *nat-ne du mee-dvn*

nat=ne *du* *meedvn*
two=person neg enough

‘Two people are not enough’ EJ 108:299:5:1

11. 80 *hat-du' daa-t'i duu-mee-wi*

hat=du' *daa=t'i* *du* *meewi*
there=foc here=dir neg enough

‘Then "still not enough"' EJ 72:59:6:1

While we might expect the forms *mee-dvn* and *mee-wi* to be used without the negative prefix to mean ‘enough’, this is not attested in the dataset. In (11.81), we see that ‘enough’ is expressed simply with *shu* ‘good’.

11. 81 *din-ch'v-ne xat xwvsh shu*

dinch'e=ne xat xwvsh shu
four=person there maybe good

‘It takes at least 4 (maybe 4 be enough)’ EJ 108:299:7:1

11.1.4.4 *duu-de* ‘none, nothing’

This form clearly comes from the sequence *duu-* ‘not’ and *de* ‘thing’, like English ‘no-thing’. (11.82), the modifier *duu-de* is used to indicate that there is no *ts'e* ‘wood’.

This modifier can be found in a clause in which the noun it is modifying is not expressed, as we see in (11.83).

11. 82 *ts'ee duu-de*

ts'ee duude
wood none

‘no wood’ EJ 108:208:13:1

11. 83 *duu-de mes-'aa-xu*

duude me-s-'aa=xu
none in-stat-handle.round=advl

‘Nothing in (the basket)’ EJ 72:27:7:1

11.1.4.5 *sha* ‘only’

The modifier *sha* ‘only’ emphasizes that the speaker restricts one of the phrases to being about one thing and no other. In (11.84), we see it used to indicate that they should stay together ‘only’ at night. In (11.85), it comes after (and is apparently attached to) *nn-ee* ‘earth’, indicating ‘nothing but ground’, and in (11.86) between *lha'-dvn* ‘at one’ and *lha' ch'v-ghvl-sri* ‘one month’, referring to ‘only once a month’.

11. 84 *tl'at-dvn-t'a sha lhelh-mel-ghvlh*

tl'at=dvn=t'a sha
 night=loc=dir only

lhe-lh-m-e-l-ghvlh
 rec-with-3.obj-for-1.CL-stay.night

‘Always just stay nite with each other’ EJ 72:68:10:1

11. 85 *nn-'ee-sha s'aa-la*

nn'ee sha s'aa=la
 earth alone long=past

‘Nothing but ground’ EJ 72:90:9:1

11. 86 *lha'-dvn shaa lha' ch'v-ghvl-sri*

lha'=dvn shaa lha' ch'vghvlsri
 one=loc only one month

‘Once a month’ EJ 108:318:7:1

In (11.87), the subject, Coyote, forgets to put his anus back, as expressed with *sv'-le shaa-du* ‘only his anus’.

11. 87 *xwvldvn sv'-le shaa du yii-naa-ghii-ta*

xwvldvn sv'le shaa du yii-naa-ghii-ta
 this.way anus only neg 3.on.3- plu-pfv-handle.long

‘It happened that only his anus he had not put back’ EJ 116:9:2:1

The next section of modifiers talks specifically about the time during which an action occurs.

11.2 Descriptive verbs

Descriptive verbs describe a quality or state of the subject of the verb.

Descriptive verbs have different types of grammatical structures that are used with different semantic types of qualities. There are four main verb constructions that are used to convey adjectival meanings, each of which uses a different prefix and conveys a different semantic type of adjective: the prefix *lh-* is seen with physical characteristics and colors (11.2.1), the prefix *n-* is seen with dimensions (11.2.2), the prefix *di-* is seen with prominent sensations (11.2.3), and the prefix *s-* is seen with states (11.2.4).

11.2.1 *lh-* ‘physical’

Verbs use the *lh-* construction to convey properties that have to do with physical characteristics and colors. Beginning with colors, in (11.88), we can see that both *lhsrik* ‘red’ and *lhk'i* ‘white’ have the *lh-* prefix, as does *lhshvn* ‘black’ in (11.89).

11. 88 *hat-du' see naa-ghaa-tuu-ne svs-'e hi hat-du' ch'vn-t'i lhsrik ch'vn-t'i lhk'i*

<i>hat=du'</i>	<i>see</i>	<i>naaghaatuune</i>	<i>svs='e</i>	<i>hi</i>
there=foc	first	beaver	skin=rel	3s

<i>hat=du'</i>	<i>ch'vnt'i</i>	<i>lh-srik</i>	<i>ch'vnt'i</i>	<i>lh-k'i</i>
there=foc	flint	lh.CL-red	flint	lh.CL-white

‘Then first beaver skin then red flint white flint’ EJ 72:31:6:1

11. 89 *lhshvn*

lh-shvn
lh.CL-black

‘Black’ EJ 108:345:11:1

In (11.90), we see that *lhxvn-du* ‘sweet’ takes the same *lh-*. In this example it also has the particle =*du* ‘pertaining’ that makes it into more of a noun. In (11.91), the word *sre* ‘heart’ attaches to *lhxvn* ‘sweet’ to mean ‘happy’ or ‘glad’, literally ‘sweet-hearted’.

11. 90 *lhxvn-du'*

 lh-xvn=du'
 lh.CL-sweet=foc

 ‘Sweet’ EJ 109: 37: 1: 1

11. 91 *sre'-lhxvn*

 sre' lh-xvn
 heart lh.CL-sweet

 ‘I am glad’ EJ 109: 37: 2: 1

In (11.92), we see the *lh-* in *lh-ts'aa* ‘dry’, which is located after the noun it modifies, just like the other adjectives.

11. 92 *hat haa-dvt-sha lhuu-k'e lh-ts'aa yaa-la*

 hat haadvtsha lhuuk'e lh-ts'aa yaa=la
 there only salmon lh.CL-dry eat=past

 ‘She the only one to eat dry fish’ EJ 116:11

11.2.2 *n-* ‘dimension’

Verbs with the *n-* prefix convey information about dimension, surface quality or shape of the noun they modify. In (11.93), the verb *telh* has the *n-* prefix to mean ‘wide’ and in (11.94) it is with *dv-t'a* ‘thick’.

11. 93 *nn-telh*

nn-telh
th-wide

‘Wide’ EJ 108:348:4:1

11. 94 *nn-dvt-t'a*

nn-dvt-t'a
th-thick

‘Thick’ EJ 108:348:5:1

One adjectival verb that describes a human dimension, *nes* ‘tall’, also inflects for person. In (11.95), *nes* ‘tall’ takes *sh-* ‘first person singular’ and in (11.96), *ii-* ‘second person singular’. As expected, for third person there is no person prefix, so in (11.97) ‘he is tall’, we just see *nes*, with the *n-* prefix melded with the first letter of the stem.

11. 95 *nish-nes*

ni-sh-nes
comp-1s-tall

‘I am tall’ EJ 108:263:1:1

11. 96 *nii-nes*

n-ii-nes
comp-2s-tall

‘You are tall’ EJ 108:263:2:1

11. 97 *dis-ne nes*

disne nes
man tall

‘He is tall’ EJ 108:263:3:1

In (11.98), *nn-dukw* ‘short’ and in (11.99) *nn-cha* ‘big’ both illustrate the same prefixation.

11. 98 *nal-mi-t'i nn-dukw hi yilh ch'v-ch'a-ghii-yaa-la*

nalmi=t'i nn-dukw hi yi-lh
 knife=foc th-short 3s 3.on.3-with

ch'v-ch'a-ghii-yaa=la
 indf-th-pfv-eat=past

‘A short (small) knife he began to eat with that’ EJ 72:158:9:1

11. 99 *t'aa-t'a ghii-'e mvn-ne' nn-cha*

t'aat'a ghii='e mvn=e' nn-cha
 ? 3s=rel house=poss n.th-big

‘She had the biggest house of all’ EJ 108:293:8:1

This next example does not fit into exactly to the semantic category I assigned the *n-* adjectival verbs. While the majority have to do with surface dimension and shape, in (11.100), we see the form *nn-srvn* ‘bad’.

11. 100 *lhi' lhti' nn-srvn*

lhi' lhti' nn-srvn
 dog very n.th-bad

‘He's a bad dog!’ EJ 108:346:10:1

Finally, in (11.101-11.103), we have *nn-ts'an* ‘far’, which is found always with the *nn-* marker. However, as this word is only found modifying verbs, it seems to indicate that some of the descriptive verbs could only modify other verbs.

11. 101 *du nn-ts'an dii-ghvsh-yalh*

<i>du</i>	<i>nn-ts'an</i>	<i>dii-ghv-sh-yalh</i>
Negative	th-far	prom-pfv-1s-answer

‘Not very far he answered’ EJ 116:9:12:1

11. 102 *hat nn-ts'an nii-yaa-la*

<i>hat</i>	<i>nn-ts'an</i>	<i>nii-ya=la</i>
there	th-far	comp-go.1=past

‘He walked a long ways’ EJ 72:91:5:1

11. 103 *hat-du' nn-ts'an delh-ch'v-nii-t'uu-la*

<i>hat=du'</i>	<i>nn-ts'an</i>	<i>de-lh-ch'v-nii-t'u=la</i>
there=foc	th-far	ref-with-indf-comp-swim=past

‘Then long way he swam with him’ EJ 72:18:5:1

11.2.3 *di-* ‘prominent’

Adjectival verbs that use *di-* seem to all convey a ‘prominent’ sensation. I believe this prefix comes from an old nominal classifier that denotes ‘long’ and has grammatically extended to prominent sensations. This is also discussed in chapter 9 with more examples such as ‘bitter’ ‘sour’ and ‘make noise’. In (11.104), we see it used in the word *dii-tr'at* ‘hurt’ and in (11.105) in *dii-mi* ‘sharp’.

11. 104 *'ushlh-ts'it jii dii-tr'at*

<i>'u-sh-lh-ts'it</i>	<i>jii</i>	<i>dii-tr'at</i>
for-1s-lh.CL-know	this	prom-pain

‘I know it hurts’ EJ 108:319:11:1

11. 105 *nvl-mi dii-mi mv-naa-ts'aa-'a*
nvlmi diimi mv-naa-ts'aa-'a
knife sharp 3s-plu-out-handle.round

‘Sharp knife he carried’ EJ 72:147:6:1

Just a note that there is a prefix used in color words that is similar to the ‘prominent’ *di* in form and opposite in meaning. It is found as *dv-* and is always used when indicating a color that is faded. This has the same consonant but has a reduced vowel. There are enough inconsistencies in vowels in this dataset that I cannot be sure from just the form if this is a different prefix from prominent or not. I am inclined to believe from the form that this is related to the *di-* ‘prominent’. However, it seems to have the opposite sense of ‘faded’. I could buy that this prefix is connected to the ‘prominent’ *di-* because in some ways something ‘faded’ could stand out. Thus, I am not sure about this form, but I think there is a case to claim it as being derived from the prominent form. In color verbs, the form *dv-* means ‘faded’ or ‘partially-colored’ as we can see with ‘red’ ‘white’ and ‘black in (11.106), (11.107), and (11.108).

11. 106 *dvl-srik*
dv-l-srik
faded 1.CL red
‘Near red’ EJ 72:174:10:1

11. 107 *dv-gi*
dv-gi
faded white
‘Near white’ EJ 72:174:11:1

11. 108 *xa dv-shvn*

xa dv-shvn
near faded black

‘Near black’ EJ 72:174:14:1

11.2.4 s- ‘stative’

Adjectival verbs made with an *s* indicate a state-of-being. In (11.109) it is used in *xus-k'es* to mean ‘it is cold (like the weather)’. In (11.110), it is found with the verb *svs-dv-li* to mean ‘person is cold’. While this acts like a verb, it is hard to break down any further than this, but I assume that the *sv-* is a stative. In (11.111), the *s-* is found in *st'e* ‘to be ripe’.

11. 109 *xwvt-tvn-dvn xus-k'es*

xwvtvn=dvn xu-s-k'es
frozen=loc area-stat-cold

‘Cold’ EJ 108:237:14:1

11. 110 *svs-dv-lii-la*

svs-dvlii=la
stat-be.cold=past

‘He got cold’ EJ 108:243:7:1

11. 111 *hu' st'e*

hu' st'e
about ripe

‘It is getting ripe’ EJ 109: 19: 2: 1

11.3 The special case of *chu* ‘big, also’

The form *chu/cha* originates from ‘big’. We can see it as a verbal adjective (11.3.1), as a modifying enclitic particle on nouns (11.3.2) and to mean ‘also’ (11.3.3).

11.3.1 verbal *cha*

When *cha* is used as a verbal adjective, it generally takes the prefix *nn-* ‘dimension’. In (11.112) it indicates ‘biggest’ and in (11.113-11.115) it means ‘fat’. In (11.114), we see it can take the *s-* stative marker.

11. 112 *shu-ch'e k'ee-lhe hi n-ch'a*

 shu-ch'e k'eelhe hi n-ch'a
 good-? boy 3s th-big

‘The biggest boy’ EJ 108:293:6:1

11. 113 *nvs-t'e nn-cha*

 nvst'e nn-cha
 body th-big

‘She is fat’ EJ 108:301:6:1

11. 114 *nvs-ch'a*

 nv-s-ch'a
 comp-stat-big

‘she is fat’ EJ 108:301:7:1

11. 115 *nvs-t'e nn-cha ghaa-lelh*

 nvst'e nn-cha ghaa-lelh
 body th-big th-become

‘She's becoming fat’ EJ 108:301:8:1

This verb can also be inflected for subject as we see in (11.116), where it takes *s*-‘first-person singular’.

11. 116 *lhti' nis-cha*
 lhti' ni-s-cha
 very comp-1s-big
 ‘I’m too big’ EJ 108:358:1:1

In a Coyote story, we see an extension of ‘be big’ to mean ‘be pregnant’. In (11.117), Coyote looks back to see them all pregnant. This is made with the stem *cha* ‘big’, the progressive *gh* and the *lh* classifier, often used in transitive situations.

11. 117 *hat-du' xwii ghelh-cha xwi xu naa-mas-i ghes-'ii-la*
 hat=du' xwii ghe-lh-cha xwi=xu
 there=foc all th-lh.CL-big all=advl

 naa-mas=ii ghe-s-'ii=la
 plu-roll=nom th-stat-see=past
 ‘Then they all roll around with big belly he saw’ EJ 72:150:13:1

11.3.2 Modifier *cha, chu*

The two examples of adjectival *cha* ‘big’, both acting almost like a suffix on the noun. In (11.118), we see *mvt-cha* ‘big stomach’ and in (11.119) *chvn-ch'u* ‘fir tree’. (11.118) is a fun example because not only is *cha* being used as an enclitic particle to mean ‘big’, but it is also used as the verb stem for ‘be pregnant’. (11.119) interesting because instead of *chvn-ch'u* meaning ‘big tree’, an entirely new word is conveyed. This kind of process is very common with nouns made from other nouns.

11. 118 *xwi mvt-cha sli hat lhta wv-ni xwi ghelh-cha*

xwi mvt=cha s-li hat lhta wvni
all stomach=big stat-be there some because

xwi ghe-lh-cha
all th-lh.CL-big

‘All big belly they had, fat, pregnant’ EJ 72:151:3:1

11. 119 *dee-wvt chvn-ch'u lhk'e dasd-naa-la*

deewvt chvn=ch'u lh-k'e da-s-d-na=la
pile tree=big rec-after on-stat-d.CL-put=past

‘Piled trees along the creek he went along atop the pile’ EJ 72:7:1:1

11.3.3 *chu* ‘also’

In my own language learning, I associate *chu* ‘also’ with *chu* ‘big’. I do not have conclusive evidence of a connection but, regardless if the history is not understood, as a speaker-learner I have found it helpful to group this with ‘big’ through the idea of augmentation. For example, if someone was to say *hi ‘ushlh-te* ‘I want it’, one could respond with *shii-chu* ‘me also’. If two people want it, there is more that is wanted, and perhaps more wanting as well, in either case there is ‘more’ conveying a sense of bigger. In (11.120), we see *tr’aa-xe’=ch’u* to mean that the ‘woman also’ did the action.

11. 120 *hat-du' ghi tr'aa-xee-ch'u naa-del-yu k'vs-me sii-nvl-yaa-la*

hat=du' ghi tr'aaxee=ch'u naadelyu k'vs me
there=foc det woman=aug necklace neck in

si nv-l-yaa=la
head th-l.CL-go.1=past

‘Then that woman too took hers off her neck and put it over his head’
EJ 72:66:6:1

In (11.121), =*chu* ‘also’ is found on the third person singular pronoun *hi* to mean ‘them, too’. This example is interesting as the pronoun additionally takes the =*t’i* ‘focus’ enclitic particle.

11. 121 *hat-du' hii-chuu-t'i xwii-lhxaa-ghii-laa-la*

<i>hat=du'</i>	<i>hii=chu=t'i</i>	<i>xwii-lh</i>	<i>xaa-ghii-la=la</i>
there=foc	3s=aug=foc	every-with	area-pfv-action=past

‘Then all of them too he won’ EJ 72:12:6:1

Modifiers and descriptive verbs are powerful tools in being more detailed with one’s speech. My hope is that this description of different ways to modify nouns and verbs will help learner-speakers.

CHAPTER XII – POSTPOSITIONS AND DIRECTIONALS

This chapter discusses words that indicate the positions of the referents of the verb; these words are divided in two different categories, postpositions and directionals. Postpositions are a large set of words that convey the relative relationship between two entities. These are always marked on a noun phrase, however because third-person is not often marked by a noun phrase, there can be times that it can be unclear what is a postposition and what is not. Directions indicate the direction or location of a referent, and they seem to never require a noun phrase, they act more like a noun phrase, but they aren't found with postpositions, indicating their distinction as their own class of words. They also take certain set of enclitic particles, marking them distinct from adverbs. In this chapter, we first explore the postpositions found in this dataset, then we explore the directionals.

12.1 Postpositions

Postpositions require a noun phrase that indicates the second referent in a positional relationship, the first referent being the subject or object of the verb. Thus, the postposition is saying the position the action is occurring in relationship to the subject or object. In Nuu-wee-ya', the postpositional noun phrase is located before the postposition. In fact, the term 'postposition' comes from being located 'after' or 'post'. In English, the words that express this same concept are called prepositions as they come before the noun phrase, as in 'go around the rock'.

However, in Nuu-wee-ya' as mentioned above, the third person is often not marked, so sometimes we see postpositions without a noun phrase, but this is only in the case of third person (he, she, it, they). While postpositional noun phrases are often full

word nouns, they are also often expressed with prefixes just like the ones we see in verb objects and noun possession prefixes. Third-person can be indicated with other prefixes, such as the *de* ‘reflexive’. While I discuss this here, much more work will be needed before we understand the intricacies of what can be used to represent third person referents. In this section, I discuss 27 different prefixes, listed in Table 41; in some cases, such as ‘through’ there are multiple words that convey a particular meaning.

Table 41. Postpositions

Nuu-wee-ya’	English	Nuu-wee-ya’	English
<i>tr’vn</i>	‘towards’	<i>kw’an</i>	‘out of’
<i>xwv</i>	‘to’	<i>yaa-ghe</i>	‘under’
<i>ghan</i>	‘from’	<i>tee-’vn</i>	‘down’
<i>cha</i>	‘away’	<i>led</i>	‘tip’
<i>ghvl-get</i>	‘straight’	<i>gat-get</i>	‘beside’
<i>hun</i>	‘straight’	<i>gvn</i>	‘about’
<i>kelh-gha</i>	‘backwards’	<i>hu</i>	‘about’
<i>xwaa-ghe</i>	‘through’	<i>maa-ne</i>	‘across’
<i>nu</i>	‘through’	<i>ma</i>	‘along’
<i>me</i>	‘in’	<i>ma/wa</i>	‘for’
<i>tr’vt</i>	‘out’	<i>wvn</i>	‘for’
<i>dv-k’e</i>	‘over’	<i>k’e</i>	‘following’ / ‘like’
<i>kw’vt</i>	‘on top’	<i>mvlh</i>	‘with’
		<i>la</i>	‘with’

12.1.1 *trvn* ‘towards’

This postposition, *tr’vn* is frequently used to mean ‘towards something’. In (12.1) we see *tr’vn* with the *lh-* ‘reciprocal’ person prefix. The use of this postposition is to indicate that the action, ‘talk’ happened ‘toward’ each other.

12. 1 *hat-du' hi lhtr'vn naa-test-'aa-la*

hat=du' *hi* *lh-tr'vn*
there=foc 3s with-towards

naa-te-s-t-'aa=la
plu-inc-stat-d.CL-talk=past

‘Then they began to talk to each other’ EJ 72:91:11:1

In (12.2), the noun phrase is the prefix *tr'e* ‘out’, meaning that the subject went ‘towards the out’. This is a really interesting example where the postpositional noun phrase is expressed with a positional prefix, indicating the close relationship between nouns and postpositionals.

12. 2 *hi hat-du' ja tr'e-tr'vn xwe-see-sxwv-laa-ch'aa-taa-dvn yaa-dv-tvlh*

hi *hat=du'* *ja* *tr'e-tr'vn*
3s there=foc here out-towards

xweseesxwvlaach'aataa=dvn *yaa-dv-tvlh*
fifteen=loc pl-ref-step

‘Then he went out again and took fifteen steps’ EJ 72:112:6:1

In (12.3), the word *ha* ‘there’ is used as the postpositional noun phrase to mean ‘towards there’. This word is probably just a shortened version of *hat* ‘there (discussed in chapter 11)

12. 3 *haa-tr'vn ii-hat-t'i dv-nee-du' haa-dvt hun melh-ghelh-'e*

haa-tr'vn *iihatt'i* *dvne=du'* *haa=dvt* *hun*
here towards sometimes people=foc here=loc there

me-lh-ghelh='e
in-lh.CL-pack=relativizer

‘Sometimes he went there and stay overnight’ EJ 72:65:7:1

The next example, (12.4), is interesting because the noun phrase used with the postposition is *da* ‘in’.

12. 4 *hi hat-du' t'a'-t'ii lha daa-tr'vn daa-nii-yaa-la*

<i>hi</i>	<i>hat=du'</i>	<i>t'a't'ii</i>	<i>lha</i>
3s	there=foc	someone	one

<i>daa-tr'vn</i>	<i>daa-nii-ya=la</i>
in-towards	in-comp-go.1=past

‘One person got in there’ EJ 72:72:2:1

In (12.5), we see *tr'vn* with a third person referent that is not marked in any way. This illustrates the challenge of determining what is a postposition and what is an adverb, as the texts are predominantly in third person.

12. 5 *tr'vn wvs-xe nii-li*

<i>tr'vn</i>	<i>wvsxe</i>	<i>nii-li</i>
towards	good	comp-be

‘Be good to him!’ EJ 109: 35: 17: 1

12.1.2 *xwv* ‘for’

The postposition *xwv* is used to mean ‘towards’ or ‘for’. In (12.6) it is used to ask someone to go ‘for wood’ and in (12.7) it is used to ask to go ‘for water’.

12. 6 *haa-t'i milh nes-ti yaa-nii-yash-te ts'ee-xwv*

<i>haa</i>	<i>t'i</i>	<i>milh</i>	<i>nes=ti</i>	<i>yaa-nii-yash=te</i>	<i>ts'ee</i>	<i>xwv</i>
here	copula	with	long=dir	pl- ⁴⁶ comp-go=fut	wood	to

‘Then you go that same way to get wood’ EJ 72:135:5:1

⁴⁶ This could be glossed as ‘up’ as well. The plural would be referring to the wood – the ‘up’ would be referring to going away to get the wood.

In (12.10), the noun phrase with the postposition is *lhan* ‘lots’, indicating the speaker wants ‘lots (of money) from the object of the sentence.

12. 10 *an-du' ta hat lhan ghvn 'ushlh-te ts'vt*

<i>andu'=ta</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>lhan</i>	<i>ghvn</i>	<i>'u-sh-lh-te</i>	<i>ts'vt</i>
now=dir	there	alot	from	for-1s-lh.CL-want	money

‘I want a lot of money from you’ EJ 72:59:3:1

This next is an example of how broad the noun phrase can be. In (12.11), the noun phrase used with *ghan* is *dvt-xwa* ‘where’. This word might be better translated as ‘what location’.

12. 11 *haa-du' hat alh-tr'vn-la dvt-xwa ghan ghii-yalh*

<i>haa=du'</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>alh-tr'vn=la</i>	<i>dvtxwa</i>
here=foc	there	th-toward=Q	where

<i>ghan</i>	<i>ghii-yalh</i>
from	pfv-go.1

‘Then they asked him where you come from’ EJ 116:9:11:1

In (12.12), we see *ghan* used for the opposite of ‘from’, here it is translated as ‘towards’, however, it is not clear that the noun phrase with the postposition is referring to ‘them’ (where the subject is going towards) as it is a general areal marker, this could very well mean ‘he came from there with the baby’. This is a text about Coyote, in the previous line it describes the ‘them’ in this line as ‘a group of women digging camas’.

12. 12 *hat-du' hat xwa ghan sxe ghaa-ghelh-la*

<i>hat=du'</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>xwa-ghan</i>	<i>sxe</i>	<i>ghaa-ghelh=la</i>
there=foc	there	areal-from	child	pl-pack=past

‘He towards them was packing baby’ EJ 72:149:10:1

The next two examples show *dv-xwvn* and *xwvn'* used to mean 'from'. In (12.13), *dv-xwvn*, the *dv* is a question word, meaning 'thing' or 'what'. The verb used here is *ghii-yalh* 'you go' with the relativizing =*i* to ask 'where you from?'

12. 13 *dv-xwvn'* *ghii-yal-'i*
 dv *xwvn'* *ghii-yal='i*
 it from pfv-go.1=relativiser
 'Where you from?' EJ 108:216:11:1

In the answer to this question, the location where someone is from replaces the *de*, as seen in (12.14) in which someone says there are from 'Coos Bay'.

12. 14 *Coos Bay* *xwvn'* *ghis-yal-'i*
 Coos Bay *xwvn'* *ghi-s-yal='i*
 Coos Bay from pfv-stat-go.1=relativiser
 'I come from Coos Bay' EJ 108:216:12:1

12.1.4 *cha* 'away'

The postposition *cha* or *chan* indicates movement 'away'. In (12.15), we see it with *mvn* to mean 'away from the house'.

12. 15 *mvn'-chan 'ee-ghii-ya*
 mvn' *chan* *'ee-ghii-ya*
 house away th-pfv-go.1

'He walked away from the house' EJ 108:357:7:1

In (12.16), it is found with the reflexive *de* to mean away from another, reflexive prefixes are one of the ways used to code third person.

12. 16 *hat-du' hat dee-cha yaa-ghii-t'a*

hat=du' hat dee-cha yaa-ghii-t'a
there=foc there ref-away up-pfv-fly

‘Then he flew away from him’ EJ 116:7:6:1

12.1.5 *xwa-ghe* ‘through’

This next postposition is *xwa-ghe* and is used to express going ‘through a particular route’. In (12.17), we see it found with the det *ji*, to mean go through ‘this’.

12. 17 *hat-du' ji xwaa-ghe yvlh-nvn-la*

hat=du' ji xwaa-ghe yv-lh-nvn=la
there=foc this through 3.on.3-lh.CL-ask=past

‘Then you go thru that way he said’ EJ 72:157:8:1

This next example, (12.18), makes it questionable if indeed this is a postposition, as the noun phrase seems to be *jaa-chu* ‘again’.

12. 18 *hii-wvn-du' jaa-chu xwaa-ghetes-'ii-la*

hii wvn=du' jaa=chu xwaa-ghe te-s-'ii=la
3s for=foc here=aug through inc-stat-see=past

‘Every little while he would look that way’ EJ 72:28:9:1

This last example, (12.19), seems to have *taa-nin* ‘ocean’ as the noun phrase, meaning ‘go in the direction of the ocean.’

12. 19 *hat du' hat yuu-selh-ts'aa-la t'ii-taa-nin xwv-ghe tv-ghvlh-telh-la*

hat=du' *hat* *yuu-se-lh-ts'aa=la* *t'ii-taanin*
there=foc there det-stat-lh.CL-hear=past pert-ocean

xwvghe *tv-ghv-lh-telh=la*
through down-pfv-lh.CL-handle.living=past

‘He heard him talking st. out to ocean he was being taken in that direction
EJ 72:143:6:1

12.1.6 *nu* ‘through’

This postposition, *nu* is used to mean go through an enclosed space. In (12.20), it is used with *mvn* ‘house’ to mean ‘through the house.’

12. 20 *se mvn'-nu' see-nishlh-k'vs*

se *mvn'* *nu'* *see-ni-sh-lh-k'vs*
rock house through up-comp-1s-lh.CL-throw

‘Through house throw out’ EJ 108:356:10:1

In (12.21), it is found with *mat-k'wvsh* ‘through the door’.

12. 21 *mat-k'wvsh-nu' tr'ee-nii-ya*

matk'wvsh *nu'* *tr'ee-nii-ya*
door through out-comp-go.1

‘He went through the door’ EJ 108:308:2:1

12.1.7 *me* / *me'n* ‘in’

The postposition *me* is used to mean ‘in’. In (12.22), it has the noun *xuu-ne* ‘river’.

12. 22 *xvn-'ee-me' na'-t'u*

xvn'ee me' na'-t'u
river in Plu-swim

‘It was swimming in the water’ EJ 108:289:12:1

This next example, (12.23), is fun because, while it is translated as ‘he only took his knife, it is actually saying ‘only-knife in-his-hand he-had’. The postposition *me* is found with the noun *la* ‘hand’.

12. 23 *nal-mii-sha laa-me yishl-'a*

nalmii sha laa me yi-s-lh-'a
knife alone hand in 3.on.3-stat-lh.CL-handle.round

‘He took only his knife’ EJ 72:166:7:1

In (12.24), we see the form *me'n* used for ‘in’. This form is just as if not more frequent than *me*. I am not sure what conditions cause which form to be used. In this example, *me'n* is used with the noun *mvt* ‘belly’ to say that he (Coyote) is in the whale’s stomach.

12. 24 *tee-la mvt-me'n nee-svt-la*

teela mvt me'n nee-svt=la
whale stomache in th-sit=past

‘He settled down in the whale's belly’ EJ 72:166:8:1

In (12.25), we see *me'n* with a pronoun as its noun. This sentence starts with Coyote finding a hollow tree (to escape from folks angry at him). The sentence continues to say he went in ‘it’ by using the third person singular pronoun *hi* before the postposition *me'n*.

12. 25 *nul-ghelh-dvn hat chvn-baa-'a k'ee-nii-yaa-la hat hii-me'n daa-nii-yaa-la*

nu-l-ghelh=dvn hat chvn baa'a k'ee-nii-yaa=la
th-1.CL-get dark=loc there tree hallow on-comp-go.1=past

hat hii-me'n daa-nii-yaa=la
there 3s-in in-comp-go.1=past

‘After dark he found a hollow tree then he went inside’
EJ 116:5:3:1 EJ 116:5:4:1

12.1.8 *tr'vt* ‘out’

The next postposition, *tr'vt* is used to mean ‘out’ as in ‘out of an enclosure’. In (12.26) the postposition is found with the det *ji*. It is interesting that along with the postpositional word, the verb ‘dance’ also has the *tr'v* ‘out’ prefix.

12. 26 *hat-du' hat xwv-taa-ghii-yaa-la ji tr'et nee-tr'v-dash*

hat=du' hat xwv-taa-ghii-yaa=la ji
there=foc there areal-adv-pfv-go.1=past this

tr'et nee-tr'v-dash
outside th-indf-dance

‘Then he joined the dancers (went among) he dances outside too’
EJ 72:51:1:1

In (12.27), we see a shortened form of *tr'vt*, *tr'e'* with the adverbializer *xu*. This actually seems to make a noun here; the word is followed by the postpositional phrase *dvlh* ‘with himself’.

The concept ‘over’ is also conveyed with the word *k’wee*, which is possible a shortened form of *dv-k’e* or alternatively, *dv-k’e* is an augmented version of *k’we*. In (12.30) it is used with third person pronoun *hi* to mean ‘put something over her’.

12. 30 *haa-ghvl-get hii-k’we nus-nilh-xat-la*

<i>haa-ghv-l-get</i>	<i>hii-k’we</i>	<i>nu-s-ni-lh-xat=la</i>
over-pfv-1.CL-poke	3s-over	th-stat-comp-lh.CL-put on=past

‘They put over her they covered her up’ EJ 72:132:7:1

In (12.31), the noun phrase that is used with *kw’e* is a nominalized postposition made with *m’en* ‘in’ and the copular *t’i*. The *kw’e* indicates that the people ‘she was sitting **over** (the place they came)’.

12. 31 *hat-du’ waa-t’i ji das-da hi nii-m’en-t’i k’we ghii-xi*

<i>hat=du’</i>	<i>waa</i>	<i>t’i</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>da-s-da</i>	<i>hi</i>
there=foc	for	copula	this	on-stat-sit.1	3s

<i>ni-m’en=t’i</i>	<i>k’we-ghii-xi</i>
th-in=cop	over-pfv-paddle

‘Then they came right underneath where she was sitting’ EJ 72:131:7:1

12.1.10 *kw’vt* ‘on top’

The postposition *kw’vt* is used to mean ‘on top’. In (12.32), it is used with the noun *chvn* ‘tree’ to mean ‘on top of the tree’.

12. 32 *hat-du' ghylh-dalh-ni haa-tv-ghvs-'ii-la sii-na ch'vn-kwvt das-da*

hat=du' *ghv-lh-dalh=ni*
there=foc pfv-lh.CL-run=rel

haa-tv-ghv-s-'ii=la *siina ch'vn kwvt*
over-down-pfv-stat-see=past high tree on.top

da-s-da
on-stat-sit.1

‘While running she saw him up high sitting on the limb of tree’

EJ 72:22:4:1

In (12.33), we see this postposition found with the noun *naa-ts'vn* ‘earth’ to mean ‘on top of the mountain’.

12. 33 *hii-hat naa-ts'vn k'wvt xas-ja*

hii-hat *naats'vn* *k'wvt* *xa-s-ja*
3s-there mountain on.top up-stat-return

‘She got out on top mountain’ EJ 72:44:7:1

12.1.11 *kw'an* ‘out of water’

This postposition is not found very frequently in this dataset; it seems to mean ‘out of water’. In (12.34), it is used with the pronoun *hi*, which is referring to a rock in the middle of the ocean; in this line the people in the boat are making him ‘get out of boat on the water’.

12. 34 *hii-wvn-du' hat see-tee-s'a hii-k'wan tr'ee-ghii-ya seslh-sri-la*

hii *wvn=du'* *hat* *see-tee-s-'a*
3s for=foc there up-inc-stat-handle.round

hii-k'wan *tr'ee-ghii-ya* *se-s-lh-sri=la*
3s-out out-pfv-go.1 stat-1s-lh.CL-make=past

‘Then on top of that rock they made him get out’ EJ 72 :128 :4 :1

In (12.35), this postposition is found with the noun phrase *ji nv-nee-s'a* meaning ‘this earth’ in contrast to the earth on the other side of the ocean. This is referring to a whale washing ashore.

12. 35 *hat-du' ja jii-nvn-nee-s'aa k'wan tee-la saa-ghvt-lat*

<i>hat=du'</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>jii</i>	<i>nvnnee</i>	<i>s'aa</i>	<i>k'wan</i>
there=foc	here	det	earth	long.time	out

teela saa-ghv-t-lat
whale ashore-pfv-d.CL-float

‘Then it came ashore this side of ocean’ EJ 72:169:8:1

12.1.12 *yaa-ghe* ‘under’

The postposition *yaa-ghe* is used to mean ‘under’. In (12.36), it is used with *nvn-e* to mean ‘under the earth’. In this example, the copula *t'i* is attached directly after the postposition.

12. 36 *hat-du' yuu-dis-ne t'ii-dee-la nvn-e yaa-ghee-t'i nalh-daa-la*

<i>hat=du'</i>	<i>yuu-disne</i>	<i>t'iidee=la</i>	<i>nvn'e</i>
there=foc	det-man	dangerous=past	earth

<i>yaaghee=t'i</i>	<i>na-lh-daa=la</i>
under=cop	plu-lh.CL-run=past

‘Then the man dangerous could run under the ground’ EJ 72:102:3:1

In (12.37), is is seen with *ch'vt* ‘brush’. In this example, there is also the addition to *ghe* after the postposition, perhaps indicating ‘under-through’.

12. 37 *hat-du' hat ch'vt-yv-ghee-ghe ghvl-dalh-ni*

hat=du' hat ch'vt yvghee ghe
 there=foc there empty under away

ghvl-da-lh-ni
 th-on-lh.CL-wiggle

‘She was going thru underbrush’ EJ 72:21:7:1

In (12.38), we see a different form, that is similar that also means ‘under’. this word was only seen in the elicitations, so it is hard to determine if it is different or related to *yaa-ghe*.

12. 38 *ye'-'vn 'uu-nish-'a*

ye'vn 'uu-ni-sh-'a
 under towards-comp-1s-handle.round

‘I put it under’ EJ 108:280:4:1

12.1.13 *led* ‘tip’

The next postposition *led* means ‘at the tip’ or ‘on top’. In (12.39), it is found with *chvn* ‘tree’ to mean ‘at the top of the tree’

12. 39 *chvn-let sil-gus-je daa-sda*

chvn let silgusje daa-s-da
 tree tip squirrel on-stat-sit.1

‘There's a squirrel in the tree top’ EJ 108:244:6:1

In (12.40), we see it compounded with another postposition *k'a* and the noun *si* ‘head’ to mean ‘on the top of the head’.

12. 40 *hat-du' k'aa-xvs tee-vn-da naa-ghvt-jvs-dvn hii hat sii-kaa-let
ch'aa-ghvt-jvs-la waa-dvn*

hat=du' *k'aa-xvs* *teevn da*
there=foc arrow down directional

naa-ghv-t-jvs=dvn *hii hat si kaa-let*
plu-pfv-d.CL-come=loc 3s there head on- tip

ch'aa-ghv-t-jvs=la *waa=dvn*
adv-pfv-d.CL-come=past for=locative

‘That arrow coming down coming back down right on top of head it landed’ EJ 72 :122 :6 :1

In (12.41), we can see it used with the third person pronoun *ghi* to mean ‘put something on top’.

12. 41 *ghii-let see-ghishlh-ch'us*

ghii-let *see-ghi-sh-lhch'us*
3s-tip up-pfv-1s-handle.cloth

‘I put the skin (on the top shelf)’ EJ 108:371:9:1

12.1.14 *get* ‘next to’

There are a few different di-syllabic postpositions in which the second syllable is *get* and the first varies, yet all indicate a positional relationship that is close or nearby. Here we see *svs-k'vt* ‘next to’, *nn-k'vt* ‘near’ and *ghat-get* ‘behind’. A note on the first sound of the second syllable is seen to vary, as we see here between *k'*, *g*, and *gh*, in other words as well.

In (12.42), we see *svs-k'vt* to mean ‘next’. Here the third person noun phrase is not marked.

12. 42 *svs-k'vt see-ghish-'a*

svsk'vt *see-ghi-sh-'a*
beside up-pfv-1s-handle.round

‘I put it next’ EJ 108:280:6:1

In (12.43), we see a slightly different spelling, probably as a result of phonetic variation that has not yet been regularized. Again, here we do not see the third person postpositional referent marked.

12. 43 *sv-ghvt nuu-nish-'a*

svghvt nuu-ni-sh-'a
near 1p-comp-1s-handle.round

‘I put it near it’ EJ 108:280:10:1

In (12.44), we see *svs-k'et* with the noun *xv-nvs* ‘canoe’ to mean ‘next to the canoe’.

12. 44 *hat-du' lh'vn-ch'u jii xv-nvs svs-k'et hat haa-tv-ghvt tee-ghes-la*

hat=du' *lh'vnch'u* *jii* *xvnvs* *svsk'et* *hat* *haa* *tvghvt*
there=foc indeed this canoe close there here next

tee-ghe-s-la
inc-pfv-stat-action

‘Then indeed right next to the boat he came up’ EJ 72:162:10:1

In (12.45), we *gat-get* ‘behind’ with the first-person pronoun *sh-* used to mean ‘behind me’.

12. 45 *shgat-get das-da*

sh-gatget da-s-da
 1s-behind on-stat-sit.1

‘He sits behind me’ EJ 108:313:5:1

In (12.46), *gat-get* ‘behind’ is found with the second person pronoun *nn-* used to mean ‘behind you’.

12. 46 *k'v-lu hi nn-gat-get sxaa-i*

k'vlu hi nn-gatget s-xaa=i
 small.basket 3s 2s-beside stat-lay=rel

‘[This basket] behind you where I can't see it’ EJ 108:339:6:1

In (12.47), we see *nn-k'vt* ‘near’ with no third person marked.

12. 47 *hat aa-xwvn-gheslh-'ii-la 'vn-kit xwvs-la xwvn gheslh-'ii-la*

hat aa-xwvn-ghe-s-lh-'ii=la
 there for-th-th-stat-lh.CL-see=past

'vnkit xwvs-la xwvn ghe-s-lh-'ii=la
 close perhaps best th-stat-lh.CL-see=past

‘Then she that just a little ways (from home) it must be’ EJ 72:41:7:1

In (12.48), we see a complex structure with the referent of the postposition *nn-k'vt* coming from a combination of the third person singular *hi* the phrase meaning (sometimes) ‘right there’ *hat-du* and the past enclitic particle. This enclitic particle is also found on the postposition, perhaps acting as a copula in this clause that has no verbs.

12. 48 *hi hat-du' la nn-k'it-la*

<i>hi</i>	<i>hat=du'=la</i>	<i>nnk'it=la</i>
3s	there=foc=past	close=past

‘Just right there it was’ EJ 72:45:2:1

12.1.15 *gvn* ‘about’

This postposition is seen with two forms *gvn* and *xwvn* and is used to mean ‘about’, as in what someone talks or thinks about. In (12.49), is used with the *hi* third person pronoun to mean ‘tell about him’. It is interesting that the ‘him’ that is talked about is expressed through a focused noun phrase that is found after the verb. The structure of this sentence is something like ‘then that him-about he reciprocally-spoke, that night-walker’.

12. 49 *hat-du' hat hii-gvn lhes-'aa-la yu tl'e' naa-gha*

<i>hat=du'</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>hii-gvn</i>	<i>lhe-s-'aa=la</i>
there=foc	there	3s-about	rec-stat-talk=past

<i>yu</i>	<i>tl'e'</i>	<i>naa-gha</i>
det	night	plu-go.1

‘Then he told about that nite man’ EJ 72:107:12:1

In (12.50), we see this postposition in the form *xwvn* and the postpositional referent (it’s noun) is expressed with the verb *sislh-xvsh* ‘what I shot’. this is super interesting because one, it is a verb and two it has the first-person prefix ‘I’, even though in the translation it is all in third person. This phrase is structured like: ‘then what I-shot about he-thought’.

12. 50 *hat-du' dee-t'saa-la sislh-xvsh xwvvn ghest-ii-la*

hat=du' dee-t'saa=la si-s-lh-xvsh
there=foc ref-hear=past stat-stat-lh.CL-paddle

xwvvn ghe-s-t-ii=la
about th-stat-d.CL-think=past

‘Then he wondered what it could have been he had shot’ EJ 72:82:8:1

12.1.16 *a* ‘for’

The postposition *a* changes form. The forms *wa* or *ma* is most frequent in the dataset, these are used when the recipient is third person; if the recipient is first person it is *sha*. While this word is glossed here as ‘for’ it can have a bit broader meaning as in (12.51), we see *wa* used like *ghvn* above to mean ‘talk about’.

12. 51 *hat-du' hii-t'i wa naa-test-'aa-la*

hat=du' hii=t'i wa naa-te-s-t-'aa=la
there=foc 3s=cop for plu-inc-stat-d.CL-talk=past

‘Then they talking (wondered) about it’ EJ 72 :122 :10 :1

In (12.52), *waa* is used to indicate what was dreamed ‘about’.

12. 52 *waa nn-tes-lalh-la*

waa nn-te-s-lalh=la
for th-inc-stat-dream=past

‘That's what they dreamed’ EJ 72:106:8:1

In (12.53), we see *waa* used to mean ‘bring food for’.

12. 53 *mvs-'e hii-du'-la waa daa-ghv-tee-ghelh-la*

mvs'e hii=du'=la waa daa-ghv-tee-ghelh=la
uncle 3s=foc=past for ref-prog-inc-pack=past

‘His uncle it was his own uncle who brought food to him’ EJ 72:47:5:1

In (12.54), we see *ma* to say someone had two children ‘for him’.

12. 54 *hat nat-nee-ti dis-ne maa nuu-nilh-tii-la*

hat natne ti disne m-aa
there two copula man 3.obj for

nuu-ni-lh-tii=la
1p-comp-lh.CL-handle.living=past

‘Then she got two boys for him’ EJ 72:137:4:1

In (12.55), we see *ma* used with the third person pronoun to mean sent it ‘by him’, another example in which the meaning is not strictly the English concept of ‘for’.

12. 55 *hii-ma nal-ghelh-'e*

hii-ma na-l-ghelh='e
3s-for plu-l.CL-send=rel

‘Send it by him’ EJ 109: 24: 22: 2

However, in (12.56), we do see *maa* used to mean ‘cook for him’.

12. 56 *ma sta' il-sri*

ma sta' i-l-sri
for food 2s-l.CL-make

‘Cook something for him!’ EJ 109: 52: 11: 1

And in (12.57), we see it with a plural person marker, to mean ‘work for them’.

12. 60 *hii-wvn xwii-xwaa-nish*

hii-wvn *xwii-xwaa-nish*
3s-for every-areal-save

‘That’s why they all safe’ EJ 72:89:7:1

In (12.61), *wvn* is found after *ch’v-ghvl-sri* ‘moon, month’ to mean something would happen ‘for a month’.

12. 61 *hat-du' hii-daa-me xwvl-yaa-telh-sri jii-chu lhaa ch'v-ghvl-sri wvn*
saa-ghvlh

hat=du' *hii* *daame* *xwv-l-yaa-te-lh-sri*
there =foc 3s sick areal-rec-pl-inc-lh.CL-make

jii=chu *lhaa* *ch'vghvlsri* *wvn* *saa-ghvlh*
det=aug one moon for up-spend.night

‘Then he show her this one would make you sick one month’ EJ 72:40:8:1

12.1.18 *k'e* ‘following’ and ‘like’

The postposition *k'e* is used for two meanings, ‘following’ and ‘like’. I am assuming that the meaning ‘like’ comes from the meaning ‘following’ as when something appears ‘like’ something it must be coming ‘after’. In (12.62) we see the ‘following’ meaning made with the postposition and the prefix *nn* ‘second person’ to mean ‘follow you’.

12. 62 *nn-k'e ghvsh-yalh-te*

nn-k'e *ghv-sh-yalh=te*
2s-following pfv-1s-go.1=fut

‘I’ll follow you’ EJ 108:256:3:1

In (12.66), we see the postposition in the form *yilh* along with *si* ‘head’ to mean ‘point with the head’. The *y-* also means third person. I am not sure on the significance of the different uses of *mvlh* and *yilh*.

12. 66 *sii-yilh nii-tv-t'vsh*

<i>sii</i>	<i>yilh</i>	<i>nii-tv-t'vsh</i>
head	with	comp-down-motion (point)

‘He motioned (pointed) with his head’ EJ 108:383:4:1

12.1.20 *la* ‘with’

This last postposition, *la* also means ‘with’. In (12.67), we see it is used with the first-person pronoun *sh-* to mean ‘come with me’.

12. 67 *shii-la ghii-ghelh*

<i>shii-la</i>	<i>ghii-ghelh</i>
1.s-with	pfv-come

‘You come with me’ EJ 108:254:3:1

In the next two examples we can see some contrast between the third person pronouns attached to the postposition. In (12.68), second person is subject, and third person is the referent of the postposition, yielding a *m-* prefix, whereas in (12.69) the subject and object are third person, yielding the third person acting on third *y-* pronoun.

12. 68 *mii-la ghii-ghelh-le'*

<i>mii-la</i>	<i>ghii-ghelh=le'</i>
3s-with	pfv-go=imperative

‘You go with him’ EJ 108:254:4:1

12. 69 *hii-wvn-du' yee-la tes-yaa-la*

hii-wvn=du' *yee-la* *te-s-yaa=la*
3sfor=foc 3o3-with inc-stat-go.1=past

‘Then she went with him’ EJ 72:136:3:1

12.2 Directionals

Directionals are words that indicate the location or direction of movement (8.6.1 Directional prefixes). These are distinct from postpositions because they do not require a noun phrase, which means they act like adverbs. Like adverbs and nouns, they can have enclitic particles and importantly, like noun phrases they can be the object of the postpositional phrase. One characteristic of directionals is that they are frequently, but not always, found with the directional enclitic particle *t'a* or the copula marker *t'i*. In this section I organize these directions in four types. The first type are cardinal directions, the second type are river-based directions, the third type are locative-based directions, and the fourth type are relationally-based directions.

As this dissertation is organized around directions, I feel the extra need to discuss them. Although, I feel the need to discuss them more due to the amount of variation in the cardinal and river-based directions. I believe this indicates a freedom in direction interpretation, that reflects traditional mindset that focus on a relationship to the environment. Also, the literal meaning of the directions can be rooted in cultural knowledge. Thus, culturally directional words provide a wealth of information. They are additionally a set of useful tools that learner-speakers can use daily to talk about directions of their reality, but because of different options available, they can function as a badge of identity or make allowances for creative expression.

12.2.1 Cardinal directions

Cardinal directions indicate the directions South, West, North, and East. The importance of the cardinal directions was different than English concepts of them, partly because the importance of the rivers and the availability of the river-based directions. I think this is one of the reasons why there are many different words for both the cardinal directions and the river-based directions. The Jacobs dataset had only examples for North and South, and these directions did not match the directions I was taught, so I looked a little further in the corpus, thus this section, has more inclusions from sources outside of Jacobs than any other section.

12.2.1.1 South

The direction south is found expressed by two main ways, one of these ways has multiple forms that appear to be related, the other is a cultural metaphor. The first form is based around *an*. In (12.70) we see *aa-ne'*, which is perhaps the original form, or perhaps the original form is *an* and the *e* is acting as the =*i* relativizer.

12. 70 *aa-ne'* *yaa-ghee-sit-cha*

 aane' *yaa-ghee-si-t-cha*
 south pl-th-stat-d.CL-big

‘South way we ate our lunch’ EJ 108:338:1:1

In (12.71), we see how Ida Bensell said ‘south’ by itself with the first vowel reduced to *v*.

12. 71 *vn-'e*

 vn'e
 south
 ‘South’ IB 187

In (12.72), we see *aa-ne* with the first vowel reduced to *v* and with the addition of the directional enclitic particle *t'a*.

12. 72 *v-nee-t'a see-ghii-ya*

 vnee=t'a see-ghii-ya
 south=dir ashore-pfv-go.1

‘He came ashore on the south side’ EJ 108:289:4:1

In Tolowa, ‘south’ is listed as *yan'*, as we see in (12.73) and ‘southward’ as *yan-t'a*, as we see in (12.74). This is a similarity to the northern dialects *aa-ne* and *aa-nee-t'a*.

12. 73 *yan'*

 yan'
 south

‘South’ (TDWD, 2021)

12. 74 *yan'-t'a'*

 yan'=t'a'
 south=dir

‘Southward’ (TDWD, 2021)

In (12.75), we see the *an* again, but this time followed by *di* and then by the directional enclitic particle *t'a*. I do not know if the *di* is also a directional or copula or something else altogether.

12. 75 *mee-wvt-dvn hat-du' ja dvt-dvn an-dii-t'a dee-t'v-t'a hat da alh-nvn-la*

meewvt=dvn hat=du' ja dvt-dvn
every=locative there=foc here when

andii=t'a dee t'v-t'a hat da a-lh-nvn=la
south=dir it inc-fly there again for-lh.CL-say=past

‘Then anytime a bird flew from the south she told them’ EJ 72:130:11:1

The second way ‘south’ is expressed is based on a story of how North America is shaped. In this story the land is a being, with the head to the South and the tail to the North. In (12.76), we see South listed as the combination of the nouns *nvn-* ‘e and *si* ‘earth’s head’ along with the postposition *tr’vn* ‘towards’ meaning ‘towards the earth’s head’.

12. 76 *nvn-'ee-sii-tr'vn'*

nvn'ee sii tr'vn'
earth head towards

‘The south’ (JPH 1942)

12.2.1.2 West

The direction ‘west’ is found expressed five different ways, two are based on the same concept but use different words; I am not sure the meaning of the other three forms.

There are two forms based on the phrase ‘towards the ocean’. In (12.77) we see from Harrington the phrase made from *taa-ni'*, one of the words for ‘ocean’ and the directional *t'a*.

12. 77 *taa-ni'-t'a'*

 taani'=t'a'
 west=dir
 ‘West’ (JPH 1942)

In Tolowa, the word for ‘ocean’ and ‘west’ is the same, as seen in (12.78).

12. 78 *taa-nin'*

 ‘West / face of the sea / deep sea’ (TDWD, 2021)

Ida Bensell is recorded saying two different terms for ‘west’. One is also based on the word for ocean, although, this is a different word. In (12.79) we see that Ida refers to ‘west’ with a phrase made from *sis-xvn* ‘ocean’, *tr'vn* ‘towards’ and the directional enclitic particle *da*.

12. 79 *sis-xan-tr'vn'-t'a*

 sixsan *tr'vn'=t'a*
 ocean towards=dir
 ‘West’ IB (Pierce, 1962)

In (12.80) we see that she also used the word *s-'e* to mean ‘west’. I am unsure of the origin or significance of this term.

12. 80 *s-'e*

 s'e
 west

 ‘West’ IB (Pierce, 1962)

The next term for ‘west’ was recorded from Miller Collins, this was the term I originally learned, although I do not know what the first part means. In (12.81) we see the phrase *shaa-tee-’esh* with the postposition *tr’vn*.

12. 81 *shaa-tee-’e-shtr’vn’*

 shatee’esh tr’vn
 west towards

‘West’ MC (Pierce 1964)

The last term for ‘west’ was provided by Coquille Thompson. In (12.82) you can see the form *yaa-maa-ne*. While I am not sure of the origin of this term it could have something to do with the term ‘sky’ *yaa-me*.

12. 82 *yaa-maa-ne*

 yaame=ne
 sky=rel

‘West’ (JPH 1942)

12.2.1.3 North

The direction ‘north’ is similar to the word for ‘south’ in that it is conveyed in two different ways and the forms are similar. Like the south, one of these ways is simple but with a few different form variants and the other is metaphorical. The way that has the most variation is found in (12.83). Here we see the word Ida Bensell gave for just ‘north’.

12. 83 *de-’e*

 de’e
 north

‘North’ EJ 108:289:3:1

In (12.84), we see this same form used with a noun to mean ‘go north’.

12. 84 *de'-i naa-sii-tl'it*
- de'i naa-sii-tl'it*
north plu-stat-go.3.perf
‘We went north’ EJ 108:277:8:1

In (12.85), we see the same form (with an ejective *t'* rather than a *d*, which is a normal sound variation) with the addition of the directional *t'a*.

12. 85 *hii-wvn-du' hat t'ee-ee-t'a xuu-tes-yaa-la*
- hii-wvn=du' hat t'ee=t'a*
3s-for=foc there north=dir
- xuu-te-s-yaa=la*
pl-inc-stat- go.1=past
- ‘Then he walked north’ EJ 72:91:4:1

In (12.86), we see another version, *tee-t'a* made into ‘northerner’ with the addition of the word ‘man’ *xvsh* and the relativizing *i*.

12. 86 *t'ee-t'e'-xvsh-'e'*
- t'et'e xvsh='e'*
north man=rel
- ‘Northerner’ JPH 1905:2:1

In (12.87), we see a slightly different form *dan* with the copula *t'i* and the directional *t'a*.

12. 87 *dan'-t'ii-t'a see-ghii-ya*

dan'=t'ii=t'a see-ghii-ya
north=cop=dir up-pfv-go.1

‘He came ashore on the north side’ EJ 108:289:5:1

This last form, found in the northern dialect, matches the word used in Tolowa *dan*, as we see in (12.88).

12. 88 *dan'*

dan'
north

‘North’ (TDWD, 2021)

In (12.89), we see *dan* with the directional *t'a*.

12. 89 *dan'-t'a'*

dan'=t'a'
north=towards

‘Northward’ (TDWD, 2021)

The second way to say north, which is the way I was taught, matches the way to say south that comes from a story about the shape of North America. In (12.90), we see again *nvñ*-‘e ‘earth’, but this time with *chii-la* ‘tail’. The postposition *tr'vn'* is added to these nouns to make the phrase ‘towards the earth’s tail’.

12. 90 *nvñ-'ee-chii-laa-tr'vn'*

nvñ'e chiila tr'vn'
earth tail towards

‘The north’ (JPH 1942)

Miller Collins is recorded saying the above word with the addition of the *da* directional enclitic particle, as we see in (12.91).

12. 91 *nv-nee-chii-laa-tr'vn-da*

 nvn'e chiila tr'vn'=da
 earth tail towards=dir

'To the north' MC (Pierce, 1964)

In (12.92). this word is seen without the postposition *tr'vn* 'towards' to mean 'Alaska'.

12. 92 *nvn-'ee-chii-la'*

 nvn'e chiila
 earth tail

 'Alaska' JPH (1942)

12.2.1.4 East

The direction 'east' is expressed with two different forms as well. The first is simple and has a few form variations and the second is a description of the direction. The first form is *nn-'i* 'east' as we see in (12.93).

12. 93 *nn-'i*

 nni
 east

'East' (JPH 1942)

In (12.94), this is also found with the directional enclitic particle *t'a*.

12. 94 *nn-'ii-t'a'*

nni=t'a

east=dir

'In the east' (JPH 1942)

In the south, in Tolowa, the word for east is 'in', as seen in (12.95).

12. 95 *'in'*

'in'

east

'East' (TDWD, 2021)

The other way to say east is the way I was taught is referring to the sun rising.

The direction, as seen in (12.96), could be made from the phrase 'with the sun' *yvlh-xa* is made from the verb 'sun rise', along with the postposition *tr'vn* 'towards' and the directional enclitic particle *t'a*.

12. 96 *yvlh-xaa-tr'vn-t'a*

yv-lh-xa

3.on.3-lh.CL-sun.rise

tr'vn=t'a

towards=dir

'East' MC (Pierce, 1964)

12.2.2 River-based directions

This section discusses directions that are based on the flow of the river. The directions covered here are both 'upriver' and 'downriver', as well as words to the relationship with the river (and other natural features): 'across', 'along', and 'this side'. Like the cardinal directions there are more than one way to say 'upriver' and 'downriver'.

12.2.2.1 Upriver

There are three main ways to say upriver. The first we see in (12.97) is *nn-ge*.

12. 97 *hat nn-ge maa-ni dis-ne lha yii-ghes-'ii-la*

hat nnge maani disne lha
there upriver across man one

yii-ghe-s-'ii=la
3.on.3- th-stat- see=past

‘Upriver and across river he saw a man’ EJ 72:28:11:1

In (12.98), we see *nn-ge* with the directional enclitic particle *t'a*.

12. 98 *xv-nvs nn-gee-t'a ghv-xelh*

xvnvs nngee=t'a ghv-xelh
canoe upriver=dir prog-paddle

‘A boat is going upriver’ EJ 108:276:3:1

In (12.99), we see *nn-ge* with the copula *t'i*.

12. 99 *hii-wvn-du' hat naa-tes-delh-la nn-gee-t'i delh-ts'ii-'vn*

hii wvn=du' hat naa-te-s-delh=la
3s for=foc there Plu-inc-stat-go.2=past

nngee=t'i de-lh-ts'ii='vn
upriver=dir ref-lh.CL-sit.2=to

‘So then they went back up river to where they lived’ EJ 72:84:6:1

In (12.100), *nn-ghe* becomes an adverb with the addition of the adverbializer particle *xu*.

12. 100 *dalh-ts'an nn-gee-xu'*
da-lh-ts'an nngee=xu'
on-lh.CL-far upriver=adverbializer

‘So far up river he went’ EJ 116:12:1:1

In Tolowa, it is seen in two forms, *naa-k'vt* as seen in (12.101) is probably related to the northern *nn-ge*.

12. 101 *naa-k'vt*

‘Upriver / above’ (TDWD, 2021)

In (12.102), we see that Tolowa also used the term *k'ee-nii~-li* also to mean ‘upriver’. This looks like the verb *nii~-li* ‘water flows’ plus the adverb *k'e* ‘over’.

12. 102 *k'ee-nii~-li*

‘Upriver / up stream’ (TDWD, 2021)

The third way, (12.103), is found to express ‘upriver’ is *dan-t'i*, which is also found meaning ‘north’. A note here is that we are not sure the meaning of these words outside of how they are translated or used in the texts, so that they ‘mean’ two different things in English, does not necessarily mean that they mean two different things in Nuu-wee-ya’.

12. 103 *dan'-t'ii ghvl-xelh*

dan'=t'ii ghv-l-xelh
here=dir pfv-l.CL-paddle

‘[A canoe is] coming upriver’ EJ 108:276:5:1

12.2.2.2 Downriver

There are four ways to say ‘downriver’. In (12.104), we see *mee-ghē* with the directional *t'e* used for ‘downriver’.

12. 104 *mee-ghv-t'e yaa-ch'es-xii-la*
- meeghv=t'e* *yaa-ch'e-s-xii=la*
down.river=dir up-rep-stat-paddle=past
- ‘Down the river they paddled’ EJ 72:17:5:1

In (12.105), we see this in the form *mee-k'e* (again variation from *k'e* to *gh* is not unheard of) with the copula *t'i*.

12. 105 *hat-du' mee-k'e-t'i lhaa-naa-tes-jash-'aa-la*
- hat=du'* *mee-k'e=t'i*
there=foc down river=dir
- lhaa-naa-te-s-yash='aa=la*
together-plu-inc-stat- go.1=th=past
- ‘He walked down creek he going back’ EJ 72:10:3:1

In (12.106), we see the second form of ‘downriver’, *dee-'ee* with the *t'a* directional particle. This (like a word for ‘upriver’) is also used to mean ‘north’.

12. 106 *dee-'ee-t'a ghaa-xelh*
- dee'ee=t'a* *ghaa-xelh*
downriver=dir th-paddle
- ‘[A canoe is] going downriver’ EJ 108:276:4:1

In (12.107), we can also see this form used with ‘roads’. As rivers were the major transportation ways traditionally, it makes sense that river-direction terminology would also extend to roads.

12. 107 *dee-'ee-t'a lhtaa ghvt-tl'vlh*

de'ee=t'a lhtaa ghv-t-tl'vlh
down=dir some pfv-d.CL-go.3

‘They are coming down [the] road EJ 108:276:7:1

We see our third way to say ‘downriver’ in (12.108). This is a phrase constructed from the word *tu* ‘water’, *maa* ‘along’, and ‘towards’.

12. 108 *t'ii-du' hat tv-maa-'vn*

t'ii=du ' hat ta maa'vn
copula=foc there water downriver

‘He went down river’ EJ 72:16:8:1

In (12.109), we see in Tolowa another way to say downriver that matches the ‘upriver’ word based on the verb ‘water flows’. Here this word has the stem *flow*, the progressive *ghi-*, and the adverb *ya-* ‘up’.

12. 109 *yaa-ghii~-li~*

‘Downriver’ (TDWD, 2021)

12.2.2.3 Across *maa-ne*

This postposition, *maa-ne* is used to mean ‘across’, in (12.110) we see it meaning ‘across the river’.

12. 110 *hat nn-ge maa-ni dis-ne lha yii-ghes-'ii-la*

hat nnge maani disne lha
there upriver across man one

yii-ghe-s-'ii=la
3.on.3-th-stat-see=past

‘Up river and across river he saw a man’ EJ 72:28:11:1

In (12.111), we can see that it is used for ‘across’ features other than ‘water’, such as ‘fire’ here.

12. 111 *hat-du' naa-nee-stii-la hii-du' maa-ne waa-t'i stii-la*

hat=du' naa-nee-s-ti=la
there=foc plu-th-stat-handle.living=past

hii=du' maane waa=t'i s-tii =la
3s=foc across for=cop stat-lie.down=past

‘Then she went lay down she still lay down across fire’ EJ 72:5:1

12.2.2.4 This side

There is one example of the use of ‘this side’, as we see in (12.112). It is made from *jin* plus the copula *t'i* and directional *t'a*.

12. 112 *jin-dii-t'a see-ghii-ya*

jindii=t'a see-ghii-ya
this.side=dir up-pfv-go.1

‘He came ashore this side’ EJ 108:289:6:1

12.2.2.5 Along

The word *maa* is used to refer to the location of along the side of natural features, this includes rivers, oceans, and mountain sides. In (12.113), we see in with the locative *dvn* to mean ‘on the edge’ and in (12.114) we see it with the postposition *tr'vn* to mean ‘towards the edge’.

12. 113 *maa-dvn*

maa=dvn
along=loc

‘On edge’ EJ 108:290:5:2

12. 114 *hat-du' ja maa-tr'vn nuu-ts'v-nii-xii-la*

hat=du' ja maa tr'vn
there=foc here along towards

nuu-ts'v-nii-xii=la
1p-indf-comp-paddle =past

‘Then they brot [brought] boat up against it (rock)’ EJ 72:118:4:1

In (12.115), we see *ma* with *tr'vn* ‘towards’ following the word *sis-xan* ‘ocean’.

The word for ‘ocean’ together with *ma* is used for the word for ‘beach’.

12. 115 *sis-xan maa-tr'vn xuu-yaa-ch'ii-ya*

sisxan maa tr'vn xuu-yaa-ch'ii-ya
ocean along towards pl-pl-rep-eat

‘Ocean down on beach were eating’ EJ 108:338:3:1

In (12.116), the word ‘beach’ *sis-xan-ma* is found with the adverbializer *xu*.

12. 116 *hat-du' ji dvt-nn sis-xan maa-xu daa-delh-ts'e*

hat=du' ji dvt=nn sisxan maa=xu
there=foc this when=irrealis ocean along=adv

daa-de-lh-ts'e
ref-ref-lh.CL-sit.2

‘When old folks sat on ocean back’ EJ 72:139:8:1

In (12.117), we see that *ma* can be extended past referring to ‘water’. In this line, the subject falls ‘by or alongside’ the fire.

12. 117 *hat-du' xwvvn-ma xwv-ghee-t'i nul-tii-la*

hat=du' *xwvvn* *ma* *xwvvgheet'i*
there=foc fire along right.by

nu-l-tii=la
th-1.CL-handle.living=past

‘He fell right by the fire he lay there’ EJ 72:30:8:1

When referring to the side of a river, *ma* can be found with the *ta* ‘water’ and *xu* adverbializer, as we see in (12.118).

12. 118 *hat-du' t'v-maa-xu nn-ge shulh-'e xul-'ii-la*

hat=du' *t'v* *maa=xu* *nngē* *shu-lh='e*
there=foc water along=advl upriver good-with=rel

xu-l-'ii=la
areal-1.CL-see=past

‘Up along the river it was pretty good (easy to see)’ EJ 72:28:8:1

12.2.3 Relationally based directions

There are three relationally based directions in this section. They are relationally based because the direction depends on the perspective of the speaker. These words might be best described as adverbs but because of their relatedness to this topic I included them here. This section looks at directions that are based on the relative relationship between items. The words covered here are used for ‘right’, ‘left’ and ‘down’.

12.2.3.1 Right

The word for ‘right’ is *tr'vn-'e* as we can see in (12.119).

12. 119 *tr'vn-'e shla*

tr'vn'e sh-la
right 1s-hand

‘Right hand’ EJ 108:313:11:1

In (12.120), we see this word possessed with the first-person pronoun *sh-*.

12. 120 *str'vn'-i-ne das-da*

s-tr'vn'ine da-s-da
1sright on-stat-sit.1

‘He sits on my right’ EJ 108:313:7:1

12.2.3.2 Left

In the data, ‘left’ was only found possessed with the first-person subject marker.

In (12.121), we can see *tl'en-ne* ‘left’.

12. 121 *sh-tl'en-ne das-da*

sh-tl'ene da-s-da
1s-left on-stat-sit.1

‘He sits on my left’ EJ 108:313:8:1

12.2.3.3 Down

The direction ‘down’ *te* seems to always be found with either the postposition *vn* ‘towards’ or the directional *t'a*. In (12.122), we see it used with *vn*’.

12. 122 *hat ja tee-'vn k'wii-dee-gvsh-la*

hat ja tee'vn k'wii-dee-gvsh=la
there here down off-ref-pull=past

‘Then it drug him down again’ EJ 72:143:3:1

In (12.123) we see *te* with both *vn* ‘towards’ and the directional *da*.

12. 123 *hat-du' k'aa-xvs tee-vn-da naa-ghvt-jvs-dvn hii hat sii-kaa-let
ch'aa-ghvt-jvs-la waa-dvn*

hat=du' k'aa-xvs tee-vn=da
there=foc arrow down=dir

naa-ghvt-jvs=dvn hii hat sii kaa let
plu-pfv-d.CL-come=loc 3s there head on tip

ch'aa-ghvt-jvs=la waa=dvn
adv-pfv-d.CL-come=past for=locative

‘That arrow coming down coming back down right on top of head it
landed’ EJ 72 :122 :6 :1

In (12.124), we see *te* with just the directional *t'a*.

12. 124 *hi hat-du' ja t'ee-t'a*

hi hat=du' ja t'ee=t'a
3s there=foc here down=dir

‘Then he go down again’ EJ 72:153:5:1

Postpositions and directionals enrichen a learner-speakers vocabulary and allows
for more complex clauses.

CHAPTER XIII - SOME ADDITIONAL FUNCTION WORDS

There are several other function words that are used to weave and knit phrases and sentences together, to add color or to start or transition clauses. While I do not cover all function words in this section, I do describe most of the function words found in this dataset. I divide them into five types of function words: interjections, questions, irrealis, conjunctions, and one word that seems to be based on the postposition *waa* ‘for’.

13.1 Interjections

Interjections are words that are added to a sentence to add color or bring extra meaning, such as emotion or feeling. The four interjections are listed in Table 42.

Table 42. Interjections

Nuu-wee-ya’	English
<i>ii</i>	‘yes’
<i>du</i>	‘no’
<i>shu-ch’i</i>	‘all right’
<i>aa-gii-ya</i>	‘ouch’

The first interjection we discuss is *i* ‘yes’. In (13.1) we see it in the phrase ‘he said yes’ and the same in (13.2) for ‘his woman said yes’.

13. 1 *ii yelh-nvn-la*

ii *y-e-lh-nvn=la*
yes 3.on.3- for-lh.CL-ask=past

‘Yes (he answered)’ EJ 72:8:5:1

13. 2 *hat-du' yuu-tr'aa-xe ii jvn-la*

hat=du' *yuu-tr'aa-xe* *ii* *jvn=la*
there=pert det-woman yes say=past

‘then his woman "yes" she say’ EJ 72:98:14:1

However, when Coyote says ‘yes’ it comes out a little different. In (13.3), we see Coyote says *oo* instead. In his work on neighboring language Takelma, Sapir 1912) noted that in stories both the characters Bear and Coyote have features of their speech that made them sound different. This example suggests that the same process happens in Nuu-wee-ya’.

13. 3 *oo dvlh-nvn-la*

oo *dv-lh-nvn=la*
 yes reflexive-lh.CL-ask=past

‘yes he said’ EJ 116:2:4:1

The opposite of ‘yes’, that is, ‘no’, is expressed with *du*. This word is found much more frequently in the dataset due to its frequent role in negating or expressing the opposite of a trait. In (13.4), we see it used to negate the verbal predicate, indicating the subject is not doing the verb (which is ‘to know the man’). In (13.5), *du* is used to indicate the lack of a noun, in a clause that would translate literally as ‘there is no water’. *Du* is also used in clauses without verbs, as we see in (13.6), in this example the negation is referring to the previous line in the text, which is expressing Coyote’s hopes.

13. 4 *hat-du' du yulh-ts'it de-'i dis-nee-'i*

hat=du' *du* *y-u-lh-ts'it* *de='i*
 there=pert neg 3.on.3-for-lh.CL-know thing=rel

disnee='i
 man=rel

‘She didn’t know what kind of man was taking her’ EJ 72:72:8:1

13. 5 *tel-xvt du des-lii-la*
telxvt du de-s-lii=la
 water neg ref-stat-copula=past
 ‘water was all gone’ EJ 72:89:10:1

13. 6 *hii-hat-du' lh'vn-chu du'*
 hii- hat=du' lh'vnchu du'
 3s there=pert indeed neg
 ‘then indeed no’ EJ 72:160:11:1

In (13.7), we see *du* used with an adjective to mean the opposite of that adjective. Here *du* is followed by *shu* ‘good’ to mean ‘not good’ or ‘bad’. I note this here because, while there is a word *srvn* ‘bad’, this is used mainly with a ‘bad smell’ and *du shu* is the go-to for expressing the general concept ‘bad’.

13. 7 *duu-shu mee-des-xes-ya-la hat-du' hii-xwvn sre-lhas-lhii-la*
duu shu mee-de-s-xe-s-ya=la
 neg good in-ref-stat-area-stat-go.1=past
hat=du' hii-xwvn sre lhaslh=ii=la
 there=pert 3s-because heart bad.feel=rel=past
 ‘Because not good words they spoke to him because of that he felt badly’
 EJ 72:26:6:1

The next two words have limited examples, but they are really useful in speaking, so I bring them forward. The first is *shu'-chi'* ‘all right’, as we see in (13.8).

13. 8 *shu'-chi'*
shu'chi'
 all right
 ‘all right, very well’ EJ 108:350:4:1

The second word, in (13.9), is something you say when you get hurt or are disappointed. This word *aa-k'ii-ya* could be translated as ‘ouch’ or ‘oh no!’

13. 9 *aa-gii-ya*

aagiiya
ouch

‘ouch’ JPH 1563:2:1

13.2 Questions

The second type of clausal words are question words. in Nuu-wee-ya’, a simple yes/no question is indicated by adding the enclitic particle =*ha* to the sentence, as discussed in chapter 9 (section 9.2.3). Information questions, asking when, where, why, what, and how, are expressed with a particular word and sometimes also the enclitic particle *la*, also discussed in chapter 9 (section 9.2.3). In this section I discuss the eight words listed in Table 43. These eight words are translated as only six words in English, meaning that there are multiple ways to ask some questions. Notice that each of these words starts with the letter *d* and has the enclitic particle =*la* ‘QUESTION’.

Table 43. Question words

Nuu-wee-ya	English	Nuu-wee-ya	English
<i>dee-la</i>	what	<i>dvt-xun-la</i>	where
<i>daa-ee-dvn-la</i>	why	<i>dvt-la</i>	when
<i>dee-wvn-la</i>	why	<i>dvt-dvn-la</i>	when
<i>dee-'ee-la</i>	how	<i>daa-wii-la</i>	how much

The question ‘what’ is asked with the word, *dee-la*. I believe that this word is a combination of the word *de* ‘it’ and =*la* ‘question’. In (13.10) we see the variant *daa-la*

used to ask what someone is crying for. Perhaps this is similar to the English in which ‘what for’ means ‘why’.

13. 10 *hat-du' hat alh-tr'vn-la dai-la wvn 'aa-sre*

hat=du' hat alh-tr'vn=la daa=la
 there=foc there th-towards=past it=ques

wvn 'aa-sre
 for very-cry

‘then they asked him what is he crying for’ EJ 72:150:3:1

In (13.11), we see *dee-la* used to refer to a referent rather than to ask a question — it is used to indicate the instrument someone uses to smoke with.

13. 11 *dee-la-yilh tee-chv-lvsh*

deela yi-lh-tee-chv-lvsh
 what 3o3-with-inceptive-indefinite-smoke

‘what he smokes with’ EJ 108:376:5:1

The question ‘where’ is expressed with the form *dvt-xun-la*. In (13.12), we see *dvt-xun-la* ‘where’ used to ask where someone has gone to.

13. 12 *ji-la sch'v-maa-ghe sxee-xe dvt-xun-la sh-ghvn naa-tl'it*

jila s-ch'vmaaghe sxee-xe dvtxunla sh-ghvn
 hello 1s-dead.bro's.wife children where 1s-away

naa-tl'it
 plur-go.3.perf

“hello wife of my dead brother, where are all my children” EJ 72:157:1:1

In (13.13), we see a different word with some of the same morphology, *t'v-xwvvn-la* used for ‘where someone goes’. Both of these words have the *xwvvn* and question

marker =*la*; the first syllable is different, and I am not sure what the difference is. Perhaps *dvt-xun-la* in (13.12) represents the meaning “at where” and *t’v-xwvvn-la* in (13.13) represents the meaning “to where”

13. 13 *t’v-xwvvn-la tee-sii-ya?*

t’v-xwvvn=la *tee-sii-ya*
 where=Q inc-stat-go.1

‘where you going?’ EJ 108:347:6:1

In (13.14), we see that *dvt-xun* without the *-la* becomes a referent for where something is.

13. 14 *dvt-xun daa-tes-yaa-'e duu yulh-ts'it dvt-xun daa-telh-tii-'e*

dvtxun daa-te-s-yaa='e *duu*
 where ref-inc-stative-go.1=rel Negative

y-u-lh-ts'it *dvtxun*
 3o3-for-lh.CL-know where

daa-te-lh-tii='e
 ref-inc-lh.CL-handle.living=relativizer

‘she didn't know which way he was taking her’ EJ 72:72:5:1

In the Jacobs dataset, there were no questions asking ‘when’. However, in the other data available currently on ILDA, there are four distinct words translated as ‘when’: *dvt-la*, *dvn-la*, *dvt-dvn-la*, and *dvt-nn-la*. In (13.15), we see *dvt-la* ‘when’ used with ‘when did you come?’ in (13.16) *dvt-nn-la* ‘when’ used with ‘when did she come?’, in (13.17), *dvn-la* ‘when’ used with ‘when will we sleep?’, and in (13.18) *dvt-dvn-la* ‘when’ used with ‘when do we eat?’ All four end with *-la*, both *dvt* and *dvn* are locative words, and it is not clear what, if anything, is changed in the meaning when the two are

combined, or when *dvt* is followed by the prefix *nn-*. All four forms are translated as if they were equivalent, with no indications of differences, even regarding whether one form should be used in a particular circumstance rather than another.

13. 15 *dvt-la nii-ya?*

dvt=la *ni-ya*
where=ques comp-go.1

‘when did you come’ IB 1652

13. 16 *dvt-nn-la nii-ya?*

dvtnn=la *ni-ya*
where=ques comp-go.1

‘when did she come’ IB 1659

13. 17 *dvn-la 'ii-ghi nn-tit-lalh-te*

dvn=la *'ii-ghi* *nn-ti-t-lalh=te*
when=Q peg-be.fut th-inc-3p-sleep=past

‘when will we sleep’ MC 22

13. 18 *dvt-dvn-la ch'it-yaa-te*

dvt-dvn=la *ch'i-d-ya=te*
when=ques rep-1p-eat=future

‘when do we eat?’ LS 118

The question ‘why’ is asked two different ways. In (13.19), we see it asked as *da'* - ‘*ee-dvn-la* ‘why’ whereas in (13.20) we see it asked as *dee-wvn-la* ‘why’.

13. 19 *da'-'ee-dvn-la duu lhtaa waa-nii-laa-ha?*

da'ee=dvn=la duu lhtaa waa nii-laa=ha
why=loc=ques neg some for comp-action=question

‘why didn't you give them some?’ EJ 108:326:1:1

13. 20 *dee-wvn-la naa-ch'ii-'a*

dee wvn=la na-ch'i-'a
it for=ques plur-rep-talk

‘why do you talk’ IB 2121

The question ‘how’ is expressed with the word *daa-'ee-la*. In (13.21), we see it used to ask how the listener cares for themselves. In (13.22), we can see that without the question particle =*la*, the word *daa-'e* means ‘how’; that is not a question, rather it encodes ‘how’ in a statement, much like in the English phrase ‘that’s how it is’.

13. 21 *daa-'ee-la naa-dit-'a*

daa'ee=la naa-di-t-'a
what=rel=ques plur-prom-d.CL-handle.round

‘how do you take care of yourself’ EJ 116:1:14:1

13. 22 *hat-du' yuu-ch'v-le du yulh-ts'it hi daa-'e 'vn-t'e-'e*

hat=du' yuu-ch'v-le du y-u-lh-ts'it
there =foc det-little.brother neg 3o3- for-lh.CL-know

hi daa='e 'v-n-t'e='e
3s how=rel peg-th-be=rel

‘but that younger brother didn't know what kind of person he was’
EJ 72:102:4:1

The question ‘how much’ is expressed with the word *daa-wii-la*, as we can see in (13.23).

13. 23 *daa-wii-la na'-'a tr'vt ?*

daawiila *na'-'a* *tr'vt*
 how.much plu-handle.round money

‘how much money have you?’ EJ 108:322:1:1

13.3 Irrealis

Irrealis words indicate things that have not occurred: these are the ‘perhaps’, ‘maybes’ and ‘shoulds’ of the language. The irrealis words discussed in this section are listed in Table 44

Table 44. Irrealis words

Nuu-wee-ya’	English	Nuu-wee-ya’	English
<i>dv-wa</i>	‘maybe’	<i>taa-ji</i>	‘should’
<i>ch'ii-xwvsh</i>	‘perhaps’	<i>lah</i>	‘don’t’

The word ‘maybe’ is expressed with the word *dv-wa* as seen in (13.24). This phrase starts out with a verb ‘lie’ that has the enclitic particle *de* ‘if’ creating the phrase ‘if you lie’. This phrase is followed by *dv-wa* ‘maybe’, which introduces the the verb that expresses what will follow, in this case ‘killing’.

13. 24 *wii-ts'it-de dv-wa nn-ts'vlh-ts'it*

wii-ts'it=de *dvwa* *nn-ts'v-lh-ts'it*
 th-lie=if maybe th-ind-lh.CL-kill

‘If you lie they may kill you’ EJ 109: 4: 14: 1

In (13.25), we see *dv-wa* in its form *duu-waa*, used before the verb *ghii-'ii-te* ‘you will see him’.

13. 25 *duu-waa ghii-'ii-te*

duuwaa *gh-ii-'ii=te*
maybe perf-2s-see=future

‘maybe you’ll see him’ EJ 108:377:12:1

‘Perhaps’ is conveyed with the word *ch'ii-xwvsh* ‘perhaps’, with a variant *jii-xwvsh*. This meaning is very similar to that of *dv-wa* ‘maybe’, but different in that the translations suggest a counterfactual, ‘I would have burned it (but I didn’t)’ and ‘you would have gotten wet (but you didn’t)’. In (13.26), *ch'ii-xwvsh* ‘perhaps’ is before the verb *'ushlh-ne* ‘I burn it’, but in (13.27), it comes after *nuu-ch'u ee-lvn* ‘you would have gotten wet’.

13. 26 *da' chi'-xwvsh 'ushlh-ne dv-wa nash-ghilh-'ii-'vn-de'*

da' *chi'xwvsh* *'u-sh-lh-ne* *dvwa*
already perhaps for-1s-lh.CL-burn maybe

na-sh-ghi-lh-'ii *'vn=de'*
plur-1s-perf-lh.CL-stop towards=if

‘I would have burned it if she hadn’t stopped me’ EJ 108:269:2:1

13. 27 *nuu-ch'u ee-lvn ji-xwvsh tee-sii-yaa-'vn-de*

nuu=ch'u *ee-lvn* *jixwvsh*
2s=aug for-wet perhaps

tee-sii-yaa- *'vn=de*
inc-stative-go.1 towards=if

‘you would have gotten wet if you had gone’ EJ 108:288:2:1

The sense of ‘should’ is expressed with the word *taa-ji* ‘should’ following the verb. In (13.28) it follows *waa-ts'ush-ne* ‘I help’ to indicate ‘I should help’, and in (13.29) it follows *dii-yvn* ‘sing’ to make the literal meaning ‘you should sing’.

13. 28 *waa-ts'ush-ne taa-jii*

waa-ts'u-sh-ne *taajii*
for-pass-1s-help should

‘I ought to help him’ EJ 108:325:6:1

13. 29 *dii-yvn taa-jii*

dii-yvn *taajii*
prom-sing should

‘why don't you sing?’ EJ 108:356:7:1

To convey the meaning ‘don’t (do something)’ the word *lha* is found right before the imperative verb. In (13.30), we see *lha* used before *ch'v-gvs-uu-le* ‘make noise’ to say ‘don’t wake me’. In (13.31), it is used by a husband to tell his wife what not to do.

13. 30 *lha ch'v-gvs-uu-le tash-la lee-'ush-te yaa-mee-sha-dvn*

lha *ch'v-gv-suu=le* *ta-sh-la*
proh ind-th-make.noise=imp adv-1s-action

lee-'u-sh-te *yaameeshadvn*
th-for-1s-want noon

‘don't make noise I want to sleep till noon’ EJ 108:204:6:1

13. 31 *hat-du' tr'aa-ne xwii-dvn-t'i alh-nvn-la jii-se xat lha' ch'a-dil-svt-te*

hat=du' *tr'aane* *xwii* *dvn* *t'i*
there=foc wife every loc copula

a-lh-nvn=la *jii-se* *xat* *lha'*
for-lh.CL-say=past det-rock there proh

ch'a-di-l-svt=te
adv-prom-1.CL-select=future

‘then he always tell his wife never to touch this rock’ EJ 72:95:4:1

13.4 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are words that tie clauses together, such as ‘and’ and ‘but’ in English. In this section, I talk about 11 words with 10 meanings that are used to start and transition clauses. These words are listed in Table 45.

Table 45. Conjunctions

Nuu-wee-ya’	English	Nuu-wee-ya’	English
<i>aa-t’i</i>	‘but’	<i>hii-wvn-du’</i>	‘and so then’
<i>aa-du</i>	‘now’	<i>jii-ch’i</i>	‘because’
<i>hat-du’</i>	‘and so’	<i>ii-dan</i>	‘because’
<i>hat-dvn</i>	‘and then’	<i>hii-wvn</i>	‘because’
<i>duu-wi</i>	‘indeed’	<i>wee-ni</i>	‘because’
<i>lh’vn-chu</i>	‘indeed’		

There is not one word in Nuu-wee-ya’ that corresponds to ‘but’ as a contrastive marker. However, there are a few examples of two words that are seen to fulfill the purpose of indicating contrasting clauses. One of these words is *haa-t’i* as seen in (13.32) and the other is *a’-du* as seen in (13.33).

13. 32 *haa-t’i ghvn naa-dit-ch’vs-la*

haa-t’i *ghvn* *naa-di-t-ch’vs=la*
 here-copula away plu-prom-d.CL-run.away=past

‘but he ran away from her’ EJ 72:25:6:1

13. 33 *a’-du t’v-xwii-taa-chu jii dv-ghaylh-xat-du’ duu-dvt ta’ k’vn-jaa-la*

a’du *t’vxwiitaa=chu* *jii* *dv-ghay-lh-xat=du’*
 but all =aug det ref-th-lh.CL-find=foc

duudvt ta’ *k’vn-* *jaa* *=la*
 where father th- go =past

‘but could find no trace of his father’ LS 2142

The word *aa-du’* is actually seen frequently in this dataset with many different meanings. Indeed, when I asked Gilbert if he knew a word for ‘and’ he supplied *aa-du’*.

The word *aa-du* ' is always before the verb, and is translated variously as 'but', 'and', 'then' and now'. In (13.34), it is used to start the clause, translated as 'then'; however, in (13.35), the function of *aa-du* ' it is not clear.

13. 34 *aa-du* ' *aa-xwv-ni tl'e'-du* ' *hat daa-tr'e dil-tii-la*
aadu ' *aaxwvni* *tl'e'=du* ' *hat* *daa* *tr'e*
then next day night=foc there smokestack outside

di-l-tii=la
prom-1.CL-handle.living=past

'then next nite (3rd) something took her out (thru smoke stack)'
EJ 72:71:4:1

13. 35 *hat-du* ' *aa-du* ' *dis-chu tv-ghvl-t'vm-la*

hat=du ' *aadu* ' *dischu ta-ghv-l-t'vm=la*
there=foc now elk water-perf-1.CL-jump=past

'then elk he jumped in water' EJ 72:18:8:1

Another word that is often used to start sentences is *hat-du* ', which I translate as 'and so'. However, this is just one reading that could be given this phrase in English. To reiterate how frequent this word is, in the texts over half of the sentences start with this word. Other ways to interpret this word might be 'and then' or just 'then'. This word seems to be made of the word *hat* 'there' and the enclitic particle *=du* 'pertaining', which could be translated as 'what is there'. To illustrate the high frequency, from (13.36) to (13.43) is a selection of eight sequential sentences from a text, all but one of which starts with *hat-du* ' (and the other one with *aa-du*, which we just saw). For each use, *hat-du* ' marks the start of the next sentence or thought.

13. 36 *hat-du' hi k'an-t'see-ghvl-t'vm-la*
- hat=du' hi k'an-t'see-ghv-l-t'vm=la*
there=foc 3s th-away-perf-1.CL-jump=past
- ‘then he jumped on deer's back’ EJ 72:18:4:1
13. 37 *hat-du' nn-ts'an delh-ch'v-nii-t'uu-la*
- hat=du' nn-ts'an de-lh-ch'v-nii-t'uu=la*
there=foc th-far ref- with-ind-comp-swim=past
- ‘then long way he swam with him’ EJ 72:18:5:1
13. 38 *hat-du' jaa-chu-i tee-ghvl-t'vm-la*
- hat=du' jaa=chu=i tee-ghv-l-t'vm=la*
there=foc here=aug=rel inc-perf-1.CL-jump=past
- ‘then another one jumped in river’ EJ 72:18:6:1
13. 39 *hat-du' hat ja chii-'uu-k'e nn-ts'a ghvt-ts'aa-la*
- hat=du' hat ja chii-'uu-k'e*
there=foc there here rep-like.that-towards
- nn-ts'a ghv-t-ts'aa=la*
th-far perf-d.CL-hear=past
- ‘then he jumped on that one's back (and go long ways)’ EJ 72:18:7:1
13. 40 *hat-du' 'aa-du' dis-chu tv-ghvl-t'vm-la*
- hat=du' 'aadu' dischu ta-ghv-l-t'vm=la*
there=foc now elk water-perf-1.CL-jump=past
- ‘then elk he jumped in water’ EJ 72:18:8:1
13. 41 *aa-du' hii-k'an ts'aa-ghvt-jaa-la*
- aadu' hii-k'an ts'aa-ghv-t-jaa=la*
now 3s-on out-perf-d.CL-return=past
- ‘then he rode on him too’ EJ 72:18:9:1

13. 42 *hat-du' sis-xan dv-lhv-gha nii-t'uu-la*

hat=du' *sisxan dvlhvgha* *nii-t'uu=la*
there=foc ocean out comp-swim=past

‘he swam out to ocean with him’ EJ 72:19:1:1

13. 43 *hat-du' ghii-t'aa-nii-se dvlh nas-t'uu-la*

hat=du' *ghiiit'aaniise* *dv-lh* *na-s-t'uu=la*
there=foc breakers ref-with plur-stative-swim=past

‘among breakers he swam around’ EJ 72:19:2:1

The next word, *hat-dvn*, is also frequently used in the texts to start a sentence, as well as occurring within a sentence. Like *hat-du'*, how this word should be translated into English changes depending on the circumstances. This word is made up of the word *hat* ‘there’ and the locative =*dvn*. I believe it is giving a similar sense as *hat-du'* but I am not sure of the semantic differences in their use. In (13.44), we can see a sentence start off with *hat-dvn*, and in (13.45), it is the third word in the sentence, following *hat-du'*.

13. 44 *hat-dvn lhta ghaa-xelh ghes-'ii-la*

hat=dvn *lhta* *ghaa-xelh* *ghe-s-'ii-=la*
there=loc some th-paddle th-stative-see=past

‘she saw some people paddling’ EJ 72:131:5:1

13. 45 *hat-du' ji hat-dvn hat xast-jaa-la*

hat=du' *ji* *hat=dvn* *hat*
there=foc this thereloc there

xa-s-t-jaa=la
up-stative-d.CL-return=past

‘then he at last he came back’ EJ 72:113:9:1

Another word used at the start of clauses is *hii-wvn-du*, which I have been glossing as ‘and so then’. This word seems to encode a more of a cause-and-effect scenario, which makes sense as it is made from *hii-wvn* ‘because’ plus the particle =*du* ‘pertaining’, meaning something like ‘because of it’. In (13.45), we see *hii-wvn-du* used in a way that reflects ‘because’, linking to the previous sentence to explain the reason the woman ate only acorn.

13. 45 *hii-wvn-du' yuu-tr'aa-xe saa-ch'vn-sha shut ch'vlh-ts'ee-la*

<i>hii</i>	<i>wvn=du'</i>	<i>yuu-tr'aaxe</i>	<i>saach'vn</i>	<i>sha</i>	<i>shut</i>
3s	for=foc	det-woman	acorn	alone	only

ch'v-lh-ts'ee=la
indef-lh.CL-dry=past

‘that's why that woman ate only acorn’ EJ 72:96:3:1

In (13.46), we can see that ‘because’ is not the only use of *hii-wvn-du*. In this line it is used to simply start the phrase, contrasting it sequentially with what occurred previously. In (13.47), we see *hii-wvn-du* nestled in the middle of the sentence connecting two main clauses, again giving sequential order of actions.

13. 46 *hii-wvn-du' hat mvn-me'n dan-jaa-la*

<i>hii-</i>	<i>wvn=du'</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>mvn</i>	<i>me'n</i>	<i>da-n-jaa=la</i>
3s	for=foc	there	house	in	in-th-return=past

‘then he went back in the house’ EJ 72 :123 :8 :1

13. 47 *hat-du' yu dis-ne sxee-xe naa-ghv-telh-tii-la hii-wvn-du' nat-delh-la*

hat=du' *yu* *disne* *sxeexe*
there=foc det man children

naa-ghv-te-lh-tii=la *hii-wvn-=du'*
plu-prog-inc-lh.CL-handle living=past 3s-for=foc

na-t-delh=la
plu-d.CL-go.2=past

‘this young man took him back home then they got back’ EJ 72:68:1:1

The way I originally learned to say ‘because’ was *hii-wvn*; predominantly in the dataset this is used as *hii-wv-ni*, this is the form I learned with the relativizer =*i* added. We can see *hii-wv-ni* in (13.48) translated as ‘that’s why’ (literally ‘because of that’).

13. 48 *hii-wv-ni mee-wi xash-mvlh-dvn-t'i naa-des-t'u*

hii *wvni* *meewi xashmvlh=dvn=t'i*
3s because every morning=loc=copula

naa- *de-* *s-* *t'u*
plur- reflexive stative swim

‘that's why every morning (early) I swim’ EJ 116:1:12:1

Another way to say ‘because’ is *jii-ch'i*. In (13.49), we see it in the start of the second clause to indicate why she paddled quick.

13. 49 *hii-wvn-du' t'ii-hi naa-tes-xee-la jii-ch'ii dii-nel-jit wv-ni*

hii-wvn=du' *t'ii-hi* *naa-te-s-xee=la*
3s-for=foc cop-3s plu-inc-stative-paddle=past

jii-ch'ii *dii-ne-l-jit* *wvni*
because prom-th-l.CL-afraid because

‘then she paddled just that quick because she was afraid of him’
EJ 72:147:8:1

Another way to express ‘because’ is with *wv-ni*, a form I have heard used by other speaker-learners. One thing that is interesting is that *wv-ni* ‘because’ seems to be a shortened version of *hii-wv-ni* ‘because’. In (13.50), we see two ‘because’ words: the first clause starts with *jii-ch'i* ‘because’ lists the reason for the action described in the second clause; the second clause then begins with *wv-ni* and lists the thing that resulted. I think a good way to translate *wv-ni* here is as ‘that’s why’. The translation of the sentence would then be ‘because he wasn’t a person’s child, that’s why they made fun of him’.

13. 50 *ji ch'ii du dv-ne mv-sxe wv-ni wvn ch'vt-sri*

<i>jich'ii</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>dvne</i>	<i>mv-sxe</i>	<i>wvni</i>	<i>wvn</i>
because	neg	people	3s-child	because	for

ch'v-t-sri
indef-d.CL-make

‘because he wasn't a person's child they made fun of him for that’
EJ 72 :123 :6 :1

There are two words translated as ‘indeed’. In (13.51), we see *lh'vn-chu* ‘indeed’. This word is made of the noun *lh'vn* ‘truth’ and the augmentative =*chu*. In (13.52), we see *lh'vn-chu* also bearing the focus particle =*du*.

13. 51 *hat lh'vn-chu mv-nas-yaa-la yuu-ch'vl'-e*

<i>hat</i>	<i>lh'vnchu</i>	<i>mv-na-s-yaa=la</i>
there	indeed	3s-plur-stative-grow=past

yuu-ch'vl'e
det younger brother

‘then indeed he grew up that younger brother’ EJ 72:101:3:1

13. 52 *ha-du' lh'vn-ch'u-du' s'aa dvn-t'i yaa-yilh-tr'it*

ha=du' lh'vnch'u=du' s'aa=dvn=t'i
there=foc indeed=foc long.time=loc=copula

yaa-yi-lh-tr'it
plural-3o3-lh.CL-die

‘then indeed not very long he killed both’ EJ 72:50:2:1

In (13.53), we see the second word, *duu-wi* ‘indeed’, and in (13.54), the same word is translated as ‘certainly’ but indeed, conveys the same general meaning as the previous example.

13. 53 *duu-wi dii-nvn nvsh-li*

duuwi dii-nvn nv-sh-li
indeed prom-sing comp-1s-be

‘Indeed I am a doctor!’⁴⁷ EJ 108:299:2:1

13. 54 *duu-wi ghee-sish-'ii-la*

duuwi ghee-si-sh-'ii=la
indeed th-stative-1s-see=past

‘I certainly saw it’ EJ 108:299:4:1

13.5 *waa* ‘for’ and its many variations

This section is about one word that is used in many different constructions and ways. The role of *waa* in nuu-wee-ya is foundational and yet because of the deep use, it is hard to strictly define. I believe it is connected to the postposition *aa* ‘for’ (discussed in chapter 12), which requires a person prefix. The third person form of *aa* is either *maa* or *waa*.

⁴⁷ In this phrase the word for ‘doctor’ is expressed as ‘singer’

In the examples here, we see that *waa* is found alone and with enclitic particles. In (13.55), we see it used to represent how someone dreams and in (13.56), the way someone sings.

13. 55 *waa maa-ghvsh-lvlh dvlh-nvn-la*

waa *m-aa-ghv-sh-lvlh* *dv-lh-nvn=la*
for *3.obj-for-perf-1s-dream* *ref-lh.CL-ask=past*

‘that’s way I dreamed it he told them’ EJ 72:70:2:1

13. 56 *waa dv-tes-yvn-la*

waa *dv-te-s-yvn=la*
for *ref-inc-stative-sing=past*

‘that’s how he began singing’ EJ 72:164:1:1

In (13.57), we see *waa* with the adverbializer =*xu* to mean ‘because’.

13. 57 *hii-wvn-t'i waa-xu ghii-l-ii-la du-ja dvt-nn xvn-dii-xa me naa-xwvt-xaa-te*

hii-wvn=t'i *waa=xu* *ghii-l-ii=la*
3s-for=foc *for=adv* *perf-1.CL-quit=past*

du *ja* *dvt=nn* *xvn-dii-xa* *me*
Neg *again* *when=irrealis* *th-prom-fight* *in*

naa-xwv-t-xaa=te
plur-areal-d.CL-fight=future

‘that’s why they simply stopped anymore they won’t fight with them’
 EJ 72:106:1:1

In (13.58), it is followed by the adverb *xwi* ‘all’.

13. 58 *waa-xwi deslh-sri-la*

waa-xwi *de-s-lh-sri=la*
for-all ref-stative-lh.CL-make=past

‘everything made’ EJ 72 :125 :3 :1

In (13.59), we see the use of *waa* with the past enclitic particle =*la* when referring to an action in the past. This line is interesting because there is no verb. The *waa* seems to be taking the place of the verb, as the ‘way it was’ is stated by a verbal phrase in the line prior in the text.

13. 59 *hii-wvn-du' s'a waa-la mee-wvt-dvn*

hii-wvn=du' *s'a* *waa=la* *meewvt=dvn*
3s-for=foc long.time for=past every=loc

‘that way it was for a long time’ EJ 72:96:4:1

In (13.60), we can see *waa* with the adverb *-ja* ‘again’ to convey the meaning ‘like that always’. Like the previous example, the ‘way’ is described in the prior lines of the text.

13. 60 *hii waa-ja 'uu-nil-'ii-te*

hii *waa* *ja* *'uu-* *ni-l-'ii=te*
3s for here towards-comp-l.CL-see=future

“now you ought to look like that always” EJ 72:162:5:1

This lexeme deserves detailed analysis to better understand the multiple roles that it can take in the construction of Nuu-wee-ya’ sentences.

CHAPTER XIV – ANNOTATED TEXTS

This chapter describes the grammatical structures as seen in the 16-sentence text ‘Pitch Woman’ from Elizabeth’s Jacob’s notebook 72. This text was given by Billy Metcalf, a Chetco Native of the Confederated Tribes of Siletz. This chapter describes the grammatical structure of each line in this text. I do this for two reasons, one is to provide information about how sentences are formed and the other is to provide opportunity to explore and understand the language through the process of describing how the structure is expressed.

There are many forms of ‘Pitch Woman’ stories in the Pacific Northwest. As I grew up, I had many opportunities to hear Esther Stutzman, a Kalapuya and Coos elder, tell a different story about Pitch women. There are four other Pitch Woman stories in Seaburg (2007) book on stories told by Coquille Thompson, an Upper Coquille Native. This story is different from Esther’s and Coquilles version, it seems like it is a different episode of the cultural character, Pitch Woman, a dark entity of the forest who steals kids by sticking them on her pitch covered apron. In Esther’s version, the children are out alone in the woods and get taken. In this tale, the adults leave the children alone while they harvest a whale, and the children begin to dance. In both cases, Pitch woman is a cautionary tale, in this one I believe it is working to caution both the parents and the children, the parents to not leave the children and the children to not do a dance ceremony in an improper way.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Thanks to Nick Viles for this comment on the children being cautioned to be safe with cultural activities.

In this chapter, I detail the grammatical structure of each sentence of the text, both what is known and what is not known or where questions arise that can direct future research. In this text, I use ‘sentence’ to refer for each entire line that I am describing. ‘Phrase’ refers to a type of word, e.g. ‘verb’, or ‘noun’, plus the words that go with that word. For example, a noun phrase could include the noun, modifying words, possession words and determiners, a postpositional phrase would include the postposition and the noun or nominal prefix with which it is positioned. The word ‘clause’ refers to a complete verb phrase, a verb and the nouns or pronouns that indicate its subject and object. In this text we see up to three clauses in a sentence.

Texts, such as this one, are incredibly valuable in the process of analyzing language because, with no speakers or even with limited speakers, the texts demonstrate how language works together in long chunks, such as sentences and more. Syntax is the study of clause structure and having knowledge of this is integral to speaking. Without full sentence examples we can’t learn how to speak in full sentences.

While I would love to have a full account of all the types of clauses and ways that sentences are formed, that was beyond the scope of this work. However, I feel that this description allows people to take in a sample of clause types and I feel this work is an important foundation for a future description of clauses and a method to immerse oneself in the archival texts.

In this section, to discuss this text I split it into 16 lines, which for the most part each represent a sentence. I refer to them as sentences and look at each (1-16) in turn. For each sentence, I start with an introductory paragraph that describes the clausal structure of the sentence. Next, I display the sentence in an interlinear glossed format. In this

format, the first line is the sentence in the modern speech form with the dash (-) indicating syllable boundary. The second line is in the Americanist orthography and the dashes indicate the morpheme boundary. The third line is the gloss (or meaning) of each morpheme and the fourth line is the free translation given by Elizabeth Jacobs in Notebook 72, as well as the location of the line in her notebook. Following the interlinearized example I describe the structure of each phrase or word in the sentence.

14.1 Text annotation

14.1.1 Sentence 1

These text starts with the adverbial phrase, *lhaa-dvn*. This word is made with the numeral *lha* ‘one’ and the locative *dvn* ‘time/place’, together they mean ‘one time’. The sentence has two main clauses, the first of which is the primary main clause of the sentence. The first main clause has a noun, two postpositional phrases and a verb. This clause transitions to the second main clause with the clausal word *ji* ‘because’. The second main clause has a complex postpositional phrase, in which the noun phrase within the postpositional phrase is a (unmarked) relative clause containing a verb. This postpositional phrase is followed by a verb.

14. 1 *lhaa-dvn sxee-xe mvn-me nuu-tr'vn nilh-naa-la ji tee-la ghii-li hii-tr'vn tes-tl'it-la*

<i>la:=tən</i>	<i>sxee:xe</i>	<i>mən-me</i>	<i>nu:-t'ən</i>	<i>ni-l-na:=la</i>
one=loc	child	house-in	1pl-towards	compl-clis-put=pst
<i>či</i>	<i>t^he:la</i>	<i>yi:-li</i>	<i>hi:-t'ən</i>	<i>t^he-s-λ'it=la</i>
because	whale	pfv-be	3sg-towards	inc-stat-go.pl:pfv=pst

‘One time they left in one house all the children because a whale was they're all going to get whale meat’ EJ 72:86:2:1

Turning our attention back to the first clause we can see that the word immediately following the adverbial story starter *lhaa-dvn*, is the noun *sxee-xe* ‘child’ which represents the object of the sentence. This noun is followed by two postpositional phrases. The postpositional phrases are indicating where the subject (‘they’ which is not overtly marked) ‘put’ the object (‘the children’). The first of the postpositional phrases is made with the noun *mvn* ‘house’ and the postposition *me* ‘in’. The second postpositional phrase is made with the pronoun *nu-* and the postposition *tr’vn* ‘towards’. The pronoun used here is usually seen to mean either ‘plural first person’ or ‘plural second person’. I am not sure why it is used here, perhaps this is indicative that the postpositions take possessive pronominals. However, this structure is similar yet different from a postposition used in sentence (3). Refer below for a discussion of the similarities, differences, and possible explanations. The verb in the first clause has the stem *na* ‘put’. This is combined with the prefixes *ni-* ‘completive’ and the *lh-* classifier, as well as the enclitic particle *la* ‘past tense’.

The second main clause starts with a relativized noun phrase made from the noun *tee-la* ‘whale’ and a verb made with the copula stem *li* ‘be’ and the aspect prefix *ghii-*, which can express perfective or progressive. This is followed by the postposition made with the third person singular pronoun *hi-* and *tr’vn* ‘towards’. The clause is finished with the verb made with the stem *tl’id* ‘plural go’ and the prefixes *te-* ‘inceptive’ and *s-* ‘stative’. This clause translates to ‘the went to (where) the whale is’.

14.1.2 Sentence 2

This sentence is made of one clause and starts with the clausal word *hat-du* ‘and then’. It is made from the adverb *hat* ‘there’ and the enclitic particle that I am glossing as ‘pertaining’. This line is a repetition of one of the verb phrases in sentence 1.

14.2 *hat-du tes-tl'it-la*

hat=tu? *t^he-s-λ'it=la*
there=foc inc-stat-go.pl:pfv=pst

‘Then they all went’ EJ 72:86:3:1

The verb phrase is the same as the last verb in line 1. The verb is made of the stem *tl'it* ‘three of more go’, the inceptive *te-* and the stative *s-*.

14.1.3 Sentence 3

In the third sentence there is only one clause however, it is complex with two postpositional phrases. Also, this is one of the rare sentences that does not start with a clausal word.

14.3 *sxee-xe lha mvn-men sha daa-tr'vn nilh-naa-la*

sxee:xe la *mən-men* *ša* *ta:-t^r'ən* *ni-l-na:=la*
child all house-in only refl-towards compl-cls-put=pst

‘The children were put all together in one house’ EJ 72:86:4:1

The verb of the sentence is made from the stem *na* ‘put’, the *lh* ‘classifier’ that usually indicates transitivity. It also contains the *ni-* ‘completive perfective’ and the ‘past-tense’ enclitic particle *la*.

The first word, *sxee-xe* ‘child’ is the object of the verb. This is followed by the first postpositional phrase, which indicates where the children are being put, that is ‘in’

men ‘one house’ *lhaa mvn*. This noun phrase, *lha mvn* is confusing because there is not always a difference between *lha* ‘one’ or *lha* ‘many’. This postpositional phrase is followed by the adverb *sha* ‘only’ indicating that they were only in the one house or possible only the children were in the house.

The next postpositional phrase is made from the postposition *tr’vn* ‘towards’. The postpositional noun phrase is expressed with the prefix *da-*, which could either be the ‘reflexive’ as in ‘they were all stuck in there together’ or it is relating the meaning ‘inside’. The form *da* is found meaning, ‘mouth’, ‘door’, and ‘inside’, among other meanings.

14.1.4 Sentence 4

This sentence has one clause and starts with the frequently used clausal word *hat-du* ‘and then’.

14. 4 *hat-du’ hat yu sxee-xe yan-tes-dash-la*

<i>hat=tu?</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>sxee:xe</i>	<i>yan-t^he-s-taš=la</i>
there=focaining	there	det	child	thm-inc-stat-dance=pst

‘Then these children all began to dance’ EJ 72:86:5:1

This sentence has one verb ‘dance’ *dash*. Usually when I see ‘dance’ it has the form *nee-dash* and uses the *ghi* ‘perfective’. This form has the *s-* ‘perfective’ and uses a different prefix, the *te-* ‘inceptive’, which is indicating that the action of ‘dancing’ is just starting out. The first syllable of this verb is unclear, the form *yan-* is not frequent in the lexicon found only here. In this case, it could have adverbial information that we have not previously encountered. It could also be a combination of the *ya-* ‘plural’ and the *n-* prefix that is usually associated with ‘dance’.

In this sentence, the noun *sxee-xe* ‘child’ is the subject. The noun phrase also contains the ‘determiner’ *yu* as well as the locative adverb *hat*. I would translate this line as ‘and-then there those children all-began-to-dance.’

14.1.5 Sentence 5

This next sentence also has one clause. This one starts out with the adverb *hat* that is found in the frequently used *hat-du*. Without the *du* it means ‘there’.

14. 5 *hat hii-xwvt xaa-ghii-lat-la*

<i>hat</i>	<i>hi:-x^wət</i>	<i>xa:-yi:-lat=la</i>
there	3sg-there	areal-pfv-float=pst

‘She got among them’ EJ 72:86:6:1

The verb in this sentence is made with the stem *lat*, which is used for ‘float’ and also for ‘women entering the dance floor’. Here it is found with the areal prefix *xa-* and the *gh* ‘perfective’ as well as the ‘past tense’ enclitic particle *la*. It is unclear whether the combination of *xa-lat* is a morphological idiom that refers to a kind of floating movement and should be determined as a verb theme or if *xa-* is referring to the direction of the floating movement and could be also used with other directional prefixes.

The word *hii-xwvt* ‘among them’ is made of the postposition *xwvt* ‘there’ and the third person pronoun *hi-*.

14.1.6 Sentence 6

In this sentence there is one clause, and it has no verb. This could be considered part of the previous sentence as it is focusing on clarifying who the subject of the previous sentence is. I am treating it as a separate sentence because I think it is a

complete thought, an indication of the existence of Pitch Woman that does not require a copula or verb to indicate her existence.

14. 6 *tl'e' see-chu tr'aa-xe*

ʃ'eʔ se:=ču t'a:xe
night pitch=aug woman

‘That pitch woman’ EJ 72:86:7:1

Essentially, this sentence is just the name for the woman that came in the house with the children. There is no morphology that expressed the translation ‘that’ as indicated in the translation, as if just saying her name is enough. The name is known in English as Pitch Woman, she is a character in stories that steals children. Her name is made with the word ‘night’ *tl'e'* followed by *see-chu* ‘big pitch’ and lastly with the word *traa-xe* ‘woman’.

14.1.7 Sentence 7

In the next sentence, there is one clause.

14. 7 *hii-t'i tvlh-men lh-ch'aa-ghii-nilh*

hi:-t'i tʰəl-men l-č'a:-yi:-nil
3sg-cop basket-in rec-thm-pfv-put

‘She put them all in the basket’ EJ 72:86:8:1

The verb is made with the stem *nilh* ‘put’ combined with reciprocal object *lh-*, indicating ‘all together’ in this use. This verb has the prefix *ch'a-* which could be the ‘repetitive’ prefix, however there are other uses of this form; It is used in verbs that incorporate touch but has also been seen indicating the direction ‘across’ and ‘repetitive motion’, (which usually has a different vowel).

The subject of this phrase is reflected with the word *hii-t'i* which is made with the third person pronoun *hii* and the copula *t'i*, meaning ‘the one who is her’.

14.1.8 Sentence 8

This sentence has one clause as well and starts with the clausal word *hat-du'*.

14. 8 *hat-du' yilh tr'el- 'vs-la*

<i>hat=tu?</i>	<i>yi-l t'e-l-ʔas=la</i>
there=focaining	obv-with-out-cls-run=pst

‘then she ran out with them’ EJ 72:86:9:1

The verb of this sentence is made with the stem ‘*vs* ‘run’, and the ‘*l*’ classifier, as well as the directional adverb *tr'e* ‘out’. It is preceded by postposition *lh* ‘with’ and it’s noun phrase, *yi-*, which indicates third person acting on third person.

14.1.9 Sentence 9

This sentence has one clause and does not have any of the clausal words at the start of the sentence.

14. 9 *lee-saa-ghe mvn tee-sv-ghi*

<i>le:sa:ye</i>	<i>mən</i>	<i>t'e:-sə-yi</i>
cave	house	inc-stat-carry

‘She took them to her home’ EJ 72:86:10:1

The verb is made with the stem *ghi* ‘carry’. This form also has the ‘inceptive’ *te-* and the ‘stative’ *sv-*. Both the subject and object are third person and not noted in this sentence. The location she is carrying them (an oblique in English) has no distinctive morphology indicating it as an oblique argument as it is in the position previous to the

verb. This location is translated as her home but the two words indicating this are ‘cave’ *lee-saa-ghe* and *mvn* ‘house’.

14.1.10 Sentence 10

This sentence has one clause, although there seems to be a secondary clause that has no verb. This sentence begins with the word *hii-wvn-du* ‘when’. It is made with three morphemes, the ‘third person singular’ *hi*, *wvn* ‘for’ and *du* ‘pertaining’.

14. 10 *hii-wvn-du* *hat* *naa-xwit-tl'i-la* *dv-ne* *sxee-xe* *duu-de*

<i>hi:-wəŋ-tu'</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>na:-xʷi-t-λ'i=la</i>	<i>təne</i>	<i>sxee:xe</i>	<i>tu:te</i>
3sg-for-pert	there	iter-areal-cls-go.pl.ipfv=pst	people	child	none

‘Then when they all got back no children there’ EJ 72:86:11:1

This sentence has one verb and unlike most phrases, the verb is not at the end of the phrase. The words after the verb seem to make a second, non-verbal, clause. The verb has stem *tl'i* ‘plural go’ and has the ‘iterative (pluractional, reversative)’ prefix *na* along with the ‘areal’ *xwi-* and the *d-* ‘classifier’. It also has the ‘past tense’ enclitic particle =*la*.

Where they are going is conveyed by the word *hat* ‘there’. After the verb is the non-verbal clause that indicates what they found when they got ‘there’. This clause contains the words ‘people’ *dv-ne* and ‘child’ *sxee-xe* followed by adverb *duu-de* meaning ‘none’ This non-verbal clause is indicating that there were no children when they returned.

14.1.11 Sentence 11

This sentence has one clause and does not have any clausal words to start it off.

14. 11 *t'v-xwi k'waa-nes-ghii-taa-la*

t'əx^{wi} kw'aa-nes-yi:-t^ha:=la
every on-thm-pfv-handle long-pst

‘Then they all missed them’ EJ 72:87:1:1

This sentence has two words, the first *tv-xwi* ‘everything’ reflects the subject ‘all the people’. I am not sure about how this verb is parsed as it is likely an idiom reflecting ‘miss’. The stem is *ta* which probably means ‘handle.living’ but could be a form of ‘cut’. It has the ‘perfective’ prefix *ghi-* and the ‘past tense’ enclitic particle *=la*. This verb also has two prefixes that aren’t clear, again probably because it is an idiom. The prefix *kw'aa-* is probably a postposition meaning ‘on’ and I am unsure what *nes-* means yet. I even wonder if *kw'aa-nes* is a separate verb indicating ‘something long on’ the people. I have seen that the way to say that you lost a child is to say ‘lost a finger’. This is why I am wondering if the stem is ‘cut’. I think *k'waa-nes*, whether it is of the same verb as *ta* or not might be referencing a heavy or large feeling.

14.1.12 Sentence 12

This sentence has two clauses, a main clause, and a relative clause of the object of the main clause’s verb.

14. 12 *du sulh-ts'it dvt-xun daa-'a ghas-ja-'e*

<i>du</i>	<i>su-l-c'it</i>	<i>tət-xun</i>	<i>ta:ʔa</i>	<i>ya-s-ča=ʔe</i>
neg	thm-cls-know	where	how	pl-stat-return=rel

‘They didn’t know what had become of them’ EJ 72:87:2:1

The sentence starts with the word *du* ‘no’ that works to negate the verb which follows. This verb is made with the stem *ts’it*, the transitive *lh* classifier, and the prefix *su-*; I do not know why this prefix is used or what it could mean.

The relative clause starts after the verb with the word *dvt-xun* ‘where’ followed by *daa-a* ‘how’ and then the verb of the relative clause. This verb is made from the stem *ja* ‘return’, the stative prefix *s-* and the plural marker *gha-*. The relative clause is indicated with the relativizer *i*.

14.1.13 Sentence 13

This sentence has one clause and starts with the clausal word *hii-wvn*, meaning something like ‘and so’ or ‘therefore’. This word is made from the third person personal pronoun *hi* and the postposition *wvn* ‘for’.

14. 13 *hii-wvn xwa-tr’vn tee-tes-tee-la*

<i>hi:-wənx^wa-t^rən</i>	<i>t^he:-t^he-s-t^he:=la</i>
3sg-for	thm-towards down-inc-stat-handle.living=pst

‘Then they began to search for them’ EJ 72:87:3:1

The verb in this sentence has the stem *te* ‘handle.living’ and the ‘stative’ aspect *s*, as well as two prefixes that have the same form. I am assuming that the first *te-* indicates the direction ‘down’ for tracking the kids and the second is the ‘inceptive’ *te-*.

The verb phrase includes a postpositional phrase made from *tr’vn* ‘towards’ and the areal marker is used as the referent of the postposition, meaning that they looked in a direction that was over a broad area.

14.1.14 Sentence 14

This sentence has one clause.

14. 14 *du dvt-xun dee-ghaa-tr'in-jaa-la*

<i>tu</i>	<i>tət-xun</i>	<i>te:-ya:-t'i-n-ča:=la</i>
neg	where	refl-thm-thm-thm-return=pst

‘They got no trace of them’ EJ 72:87:4:1

This sentence starts out with two words that indicate ‘nowhere’ with *du* ‘no’ and *dvt-xun* ‘where’. This is followed by a verb made with the stem *ja*. The phrase is concluded with a verb that I don’t understand yet. This is the same as in the verb in sentence 12 in which it was classed as return. This stem, I think, is originally from the stem *ya*, combined with the *d* classifier. Here, I am not sure that the stem is referring to ‘return’ but I think it is still based on the *ya* ‘go’ stem.’. This verb has the past tense enclitic particle *la* and a series of prefixes that are unclear at this time. Starting closest to the stem, the form *tr'in-* could reflect two prefixes in which the *n-* indicates perfective and *tr'i* indicates some passive voice, or *tr'in* could be a morpheme that I haven’t encountered yet. The *ghaa-* is probably plural but could be a thematic prefix indicating location. The *de-* could be reflexive, although this reading is not clear from this translation. It could also be some other type of person marker such as from the *yi-*, *di-*, *mi-*, *bi-* paradigm that indicates closeness to the object. Understanding these prefixes would better let us interpret the use of *ja* here and if it means ‘return’ or ‘go’.

14.1.15 Sentence 15

In this sentence there is only one clause, although the English translation has two. The translation ‘they found out’ is conveyed simply with the words *hi* ‘third person

singular’ and *xwvsh-la* ‘perhaps’. The first word of the phrase, *hat-du* ‘and then’ is formed by the locative adverb *hat* ‘there’ and the ‘pertaining to’ enclitic particle *du*’.

14. 15 *hat-du’ hii xwvsh-la yaa-xee-di-ghilh-naa-la tl’e’ see-chu*

<i>hat=tuʔ</i>	<i>hi:</i>	<i>xʷəʂla</i>	<i>ya:-xe:-ti-yi-l-na:=la</i>	<i>ʂ’eʔ</i>
there=foc	3sg	maybe	pl-areal-prom-pfv-cls-put=pst	night

se:=ču
pitch=aug

‘they found out that pitch woman had taken them’ EJ 72:87:5:1

The verb stem is *na* ‘put’ and has the ‘past tense’ =*la*. This verb has five different prefixes, starting next to the stem is the *lh* ‘transitive’ classifier, then the *ghi-* ‘perfective’. There is the *di-* prefix that seems to convey a sense of ‘prominence’ or ‘linear extension’, as well as the *xe-* ‘areal’ prefix. There is also the plural *ya*.

Following after the verb is the name pitch woman, *tl’e’ see-chu* (without the word ‘women’ here), who is whom they think took the children. The word-by-word translation of this phrase perhaps should be: ‘and then, her, perhaps put-all-them-in an area-away (due to the extension prefix *di-*), pitch woman.

14.1.16 Sentence 16

This last sentence has only one clause and begins with the word *hii-wvn-du* ‘when’. It is made with three morphemes, the ‘third person singular’ *hi*, *wvn* ‘for’ and *du* ‘pertaining’.

14. 16 *hii-wvn-du’ t’i saa-sha waa-nuu-xwit-xaa-la*

<i>hi:-wəʌn=tuʔ</i>	<i>t’i</i>	<i>sa:-ša</i>	<i>wa:-nu:-xʷi-t-xa:=la</i>
3sg-for=focaining	all	cry-only	for-thm-areal-cls-be.3=pst

‘Then they all cry over their children’ EJ 72:87:6:1

The second word of the sentence, *t'i* 'all' is referencing the subject of the verb. The third word is an adverbial phrase made of the stem *sa* 'cry' and the adverbial phrase 'only' or 'alone'. This is describing in what manner the people were doing the final verb in the sentence, which has the stem *xa* 'plural be/sit'. This stem is joined with the *d*-classifier. the 'areal prefix' *xwi-*, as well as the prefixes *nu-* and *wa-*. The *nu-* is a thematic prefix that can convey multiple meanings, this could mean 'completely'. The first prefix in the verbal word *waa-* means 'for' as in this case there are sitting and crying for their children. The verb also has the 'past tense' *la*.

14.2 Discussion

The text description in this chapter informs of how the language is structured as evidenced in this one text. This description also indicates some of the questions that we still have.

We can see that the word order is subject, object, verb, but sometimes the subject or object can be moved after the verb for emphasis. Postpositions and adverbs are found between the object and verb.

I have questions about the different systems that are used to convey who or what is involved with the verb. There is a system of pronouns, determiners, numerals, and adverbs that are used to convey the actors of the verb. With third person conveyed through a lack of prefixes, this complex system seems to support the clarification of who is doing what. I also think there needs to be a systematic analysis of when and why the perfective prefixes are used and what that means.

Hopefully, this annotated description of the texts can serve as a form of both declarative and procedural learning. My hope is that learner-speakers can read through the description, learn about the grammar and also, through reading, get procedural input.

CHAPTER XV - HOW VERBS CONVEY MEANING

15.1 Introduction

Now that we have dived deeply into a text, we turn our attention to a discussion on how the verb stem and prefixes combine together to create different verbs. Many questions are raised when closely examining the structures in the texts. One of these questions that piqued my interest for a long time is the question, how does the prefixes convey meaning and what happens when a prefix is changed. I approached the question of how the verb conveys meaning by consulting Dene literature (presented in this chapter), analyzing a subset of similar prefixes to determine how they contribute meaning (chapter 16) and analyzing the different ways prefixes contribute meaning to the frequently used verb stem 'a (chapter 17).

This chapter provides a background to the Dene verb structure, and verb formation, first looking at the structure (15.1), then how the pieces (the stem and the prefixes) contribute meaning (15.2) and then ways prefixes lexicalize with verb stems (15.3).

15.2 Verb structure and verb themes

A common theme in the literature across the Dene language family is a description of a fascinating a complex system, along with the acknowledgment that there is much more to understand (Sapir, 1914, Hoijer 1945; Golla, 1976; Kari, 2000). This theme has led to decades of deep analysis on the system of verb word formation. To untangle this complex process, we first look at the structure of the verb (for a more detailed account see 8.4.2.6).

Across the Dene family, verbs are comprised of a word-final stem with a variable number of prefixes (Mithun, 2001: 361). Enclitic particles convey functions such as nominalization, location, and past and future tense. Dene verbal prefixes can be organized into distinct function categories that can be described by a position template chart. Golla (1976: 221) presents the order of the Tututni prefixes from left to right as: outer adverb or postposition (sometimes with and argument prefix); object, deictic subject, plural, inner adverb; aspect marker; first- and second-person subject markers; classifier; stem.⁴⁹ This first template leaves some room for future finer-grained ordering, which would require deeper analysis than has been done so far on Nuu-wee-ya’.

There are two major categories of verb prefixes. I define these categories not based on the functions of the prefix, but rather on how they contribute meaning to the verb. The defining feature of the first category is the ability to co-lexicalize with the stem and contribute to the lexical meaning of the verb. I call this category ‘contributing prefixes’. Prefixes in this category express a range of semantic functions, including adverbial information about the direction or position of the verbal situation as well as aktionsart, non-inflecting aspectual information about the underlying timing of the verb, such as inceptive or repetitive action (Axelrod, 1993: 33). The second category of prefixes provide information about the arguments and the aspect, mode, and tense system of the verb. I refer to these as the ‘inflecting prefixes’.

The verb stem form can also contribute meaning in two different ways. One way is by sometimes lexicalized aspect-conditioned change to the stem form; thought to be

⁴⁹ While the use of the term postposition on a morpheme on the left edge of a word might seem incorrect to those unfamiliar with Dene linguistics, this term is accurate as the postposition is found with its argument preceding it either as a prefix or a separate lexical item.

the result of old aspectual enclitic particles that have gotten lexicalized on the verb stem (Leer, 1979). The second way is two systems in which the verb stem changes depending on the shape or amount of the referents (subject, object) of the verb. One of these systems is seen across the Dene family and is called classificatory verbs. The other system is not seen in all Dene languages, this is where the verb stem is different depending on the number of referents doing the actions. This is not found in Hupa, another Pacific Coast Dene language (Golla, 1976: 226). The features of verb stems are introduced in more detail in (8.4.2.6).

15.3 How prefixes and stems contribute meaning

Cook & Rice (1989: 34) describes layers of Dene verb structure and associated meaning. These layers of the verbal word are: 1. the verb stem alone, 2. the verb theme, and 3. the verbal word (defined morphologically). The verb theme “is equivalent to the basic lexical entry – it includes all the material that must be present no matter what derivational and inflectional morphology is preformed” (Rice, 2000: 15). The term ‘verbal word’ refers to a complete form that contains all the morphemes needed to use the verb in speech (Cook & Rice, 1989: 34). This is a handy way to conceptualize the difference between contributing and inflecting prefixes: contributing prefixes belong to the verb theme, whereas inflecting prefixes are added to the verb theme to make a verbal word. Table 46 illustrates this layering of prefixes in the verbal word *naa-dv-ghvsh-t'u* ‘I already bathed’.

Table 46. Layers of the verbal word

			<i>t'u</i> bathe	Verb Stem
<i>naa-</i> ITERATIVE-	<i>dv-</i> REFLEXIVE		<i>t'u</i> bathe	Verb Theme
<i>naa-</i> na-	<i>dv-</i> də-	<i>ghvsh-</i> γə-	<i>t'u</i> t'u bathe	Verbal Word
ITER-	REF-	PFV- 1S.SUB-		
'I already bathed' (EJ 108 281:9:1)				

Dene languages are unusual in that inflecting and contributing prefixes are interspersed, meaning that contributing prefixes are found in all regions of the prefix template with inflecting prefixes in between different contributing prefixes and the stem. This means that morphemes that contribute to the verb meaning, the elements of the verb theme are not necessarily adjacent. Holden (2013:447) aptly describes the verb stem as a “lattice”, which would include the word final stem and contributing prefixes, upon which other “grammatical features” can be “interlaced”. For more information on the lexicalization process of Dene verbs refer to Kari (1989, 1992) and Rice (2000). Contributing prefixes are not uniform in how they contribute meaning. The next part of this section discusses the three main ways contributing prefixes relate meaning to the verb.

15.4 Types of contributing prefixes

Contributing prefixes are the prefixes that co-occur with the verb stem to convey a particular verbal meaning. I find there to be three main ways that a contributing prefix can be connected with a verb to create meaning, in other words, three ways that prefixes contribute to the verb theme: 1. alternating and 2. idiomatic and 3. thematic. These three categories are defined by the type of semantic contribution they provide to the verb

theme. Crucially, the designation of the type of a contributing prefix is not based only on the prefix but how the prefix and stem combine together and what happens to the meaning if a different prefix is combined with the stem. This means that as the type of contributing prefix is determined by the combination of stem and prefix, a particular prefix form can have an alternating, idiomatic, or thematic use depending on the verb theme in which it is used.

In a best-cased scenario, there would be speakers to guide me on the range of use of lexical morphemes who could provide me a perspective of the range of use. However, in the case of this archive-based research, that is not possible. Thus, categorizing morphemes into these three types must be done by analyzing the behavior of each prefix within the archival data in comparison as well as how the meanings change when the prefix is changed out for a different prefix. I categorize each type of lexical morpheme by examining if a particular prefix does or does not provide semantic detail to the verb as evidenced in the translations (thematic); if they do provide semantic information, I examine whether they consistently provide the same information (idiomatic) or if they provide different information depending on which verb stem they are paired (alternating).

The thematic category has become a bit of an ‘other’ category; until all the archival sources are analyzed we don’t know if there are examples of a ‘thematic’ prefix providing semantic information, at this stage in the research, thematic prefixes are the category of, ‘I don’t understand why this prefix is in this verb theme’. That being said, there are indeed cases of prefixes acting thematically in Nuu-wee-ya’ and other Dene languages (Kari, 1989; Thompson, 1993) and over time I hope this will be less of a category of ‘I don’t know’ and more the category of ‘thematic’. The category of ‘I don’t

know' can become thematic if, after consulting all the archive, there are no other uses of the form, then we can assume that those are 'thematic'.

The ways contributing prefixes can be part of the verb meaning, 'alternating' and 'idiomatic', denote how the use of a prefix in a verb theme changes the overall meaning of the verbal word. This is indicated by looking at what happens when different prefixes are combined with the same stem. With 'alternating' lexical prefixes, the verb theme keeps its general meaning, but the semantic meaning changes somewhat. The semantic difference might convey timing or direction of the same verb, such as 'toss up' or 'toss down' in English. With 'idiomatic' lexical prefixes the use of the contributing prefix changes the underlying meaning of the verb, such as how the use of 'up' in English when combined with the word 'throw' creates an entirely new meaning in the phrase 'throw up' that is distinct (although possibly idiomatically traceable) to the word 'throw' meaning 'to toss something in the air with one's hand.

As a learner, a major challenge in my process of learning to speak Nuu-wee-ya' has been understanding how the contributing prefixes work; the desire to know when a prefix is functioning in an idiomatic or alternating way or functioning in a thematic or unknown way is my primary reason for undertaking this particular research question because as a learner, not understanding this has been a major impediment to my speaking ability.

When a prefix has an alternating use in a verb theme, it can be replaced by other contributing prefixes without changing the overall verb meaning. For example, both (15.1) and (15.2) have the stem *ya* which means 'one person/animal goes', as well as the

completive prefix *ni*.⁵⁰ However, (15.1) has *da-* ‘movement in inwards direction’, whereas (15.2) has *tr’e-* ‘movement out through’. The prefixes *da-* and *tr’e-* have the same type of function, indicating direction of movement. Neither *da-* nor *tr’e-* changes the overall meaning from ‘go’. Rather, each just adds a piece of information that can be swapped for another piece of information to create a semantic difference.

15. 1 *daa-nii-ya*

 da-ni-ya
 in-COMP-go.1

 ‘He came in’ [EJ 171:9:1]

15. 2 *mat-k'wvsh-nu' tr'ee-nii-ya*

 matk'wvshnu' *tr'e-ni-ya*
 door out-COMP-go.1

 ‘He went through the door’ [EJ 306:2:1]

In contrast, when a prefix has an idiomatic use, the overall meaning of the verb stem is different. In (15.3), the inceptive prefix *te-* and the optative *nu-* combine with the same verb stem as in (15.2-15.3), *ya* but now the combined verb theme is translated as ‘be tired’ by Jacobs.

15. 3 *dis-ne tee-nul-ya*

 disne te-nu-l-ya
 man INC-OPT-I.CL-be.tired

 ‘He is tired’ [EJ 259:7:1]

⁵⁰ Thanks to a reviewer’s suggestion, I am clarifying the use of the term ‘completive’; it is not meant to mean ‘momentaneous’ as used by Li (1930).

In (15.3) the stem *ya* is glossed in as ‘be tired’ and not as ‘go’ as it was in (15.1) and (15.2) because it is combined with the contributing prefixes *te-*, *nu-*, and *l-*, creating a distinct verb theme with a distinct meaning. We do not know if the form in ‘go’ or the form in ‘be tired’ originated as the same stem and then drifted apart (possibly due to metaphorical extension) or if they originated as two separate stems that, by phonological merger, ended up with the same form. Future comparative work might uncover if stems of the same form originated from the same source or not, but for the problem at hand it is helpful to think of this type of prefix as derivational without placing importance on the origin of the stem(s). If these do originate from the same source, the verb theme for ‘tired’ could be as a morphological idiom, that is when there is an idiom made up my morphemes that is somewhat clear to speakers (Holden 2013). Without speakers or more archival evidence I do not want to label anything as a morphological idiom, yet; I await for future analysis to fill in holes and only then will be able to determine if it will be possible to interpret what is an morphological idiom and what is not.

To reiterate, the term ‘alternating’ refers to the relationship that a set of contributing prefixes can have to a given verb stem with a relatively consistent meaning, whereas ‘idiomatic’ refers to the relationship between contributing prefixes and a verb stem to create verb themes with unpredictably different meanings. If a prefix use creates an ‘alternating’ meaning difference, the prefixes can be swapped out to provide a specific range of adverbial or aspectual information about the verb. If a prefix use creates ‘idiomatic’ meaning, then the use of that prefix (or set of prefixes results in an entirely different verb meaning that is not necessarily expected.

The third type of contributing prefixes, possibly ‘thematic’ prefixes, include instances in which a particular verb stem is found with only one lexical prefix (or particular set of thematic prefixes). Due to lack of first-language speakers, we cannot be sure whether a stem is truly thematic or whether it could take other prefixes that just were not recorded. We also don’t know whether there were other prefixes, if would they create an idiomatic or alternating relationship with the verb stem. Thus, I am using the term ‘possibly’ because our understanding of the use of prefixes with these verb themes might develop as research continues. Since the entire corpus is not yet analyzed, we might yet find examples to prove that a given prefix is not thematic, e.g., the only one allowed with a specific stem. In a way the use of this term is to simply flag the instances in which a particular verb stem has no instances of verb themes made with different contributing prefixes.

In (15.4) we see the stem *svt* ‘wake up’ with the directional *tr’e-* meaning ‘out’ and the completive prefix *ni-*. The prefix *tr’e-* is found with all four examples of *svt* ‘wake up’ in the dataset. In (15.5) the stem *yvxw* ‘whisper’ combines with the form *nuu-*, whose meaning is at this time undetermined. This is the only example of *yvxw* ‘whisper’ in the whole dataset. Therefore, the prefix *tr’e-* in both examples are possibly thematic.

15. 4 *tr'ee-nii-svt*
 tr'e-ni-svt
 out-COMP-wake.up
 ‘I woke up’ [EJ 236:7:1]

15. 5 *nuu-yvxxw*

nu-yvxxw
nu.TH-whisper

‘Whispering [EJ 112:6:2]

Dene verb prefixes can be organized into categories of meanings that follow a specific template. Sometimes a prefix form can represent two different prefix categories and template positions. This means that when describing the semantic functions of prefixes, I have to assume that when there are multiple functions of a particular form, they could be representing distinct morphemes, rather than being different functions of the same morpheme. Likewise, different verbs are found in the data set with the same stem but different attributed meanings. For both prefix and stem, I use the term ‘form’ to refer to a certain sequence of sounds and the term ‘prefix’ or ‘stem’ when referring to a specific morpheme.

CHAPTER XVI - A FOCUSED LOOK AT CONTRIBUTING PREFIXES

Now that we have explored how the verb conveys meaning, we turn to applying these understandings to a set of forms that are hard to distinguish and gloss due to the similarity of their sound, the tendency to change sound, and grammaticalization processes that have resulted in multiple meaning or uses of each form.

Here, I describe the semantic functions of the forms [*na-*, *ni-*, *nu-*, *ne-*, and *nv-*]. The purpose of this section is to provide a detailed account of the complex and varied use of these forms and discuss how to determine the meaning of prefix forms. Here, I report the number of tokens and types of each form (16.1.1). Then, I describe each prefix form in turn, discussing first how they have been defined for Nuu-wee-ya' and presenting cognate findings and then I discuss my analysis on the findings in the dataset from Notebook 108 (Jacobs, 108).

The prefix of *na-* (16.2) seems to fit the broad aspectual category of PLURACTIONAL (as defined in Mattiola 2019). In contrast, both *ni-* (16.3) and *nu-* (16.4) have multiple meanings that are more difficult to combine into a single abstract category. The form *ni-* is found indicating completive action, states, and the position 'inside'; also, its use is obligatory with a particular set of adverbial prefixes. In some examples, the form *nu-* clearly indicates placement of an argument of the verb in a physical location, and in others, optativity, but in an equal number of examples, it is not clear what contribution *nu-* makes to the meaning of the verb. The prefix *ne-* (16.5) remains confusing, but there are a few examples where semantic contrasts suggest a value of telicity and possibly agentivity. Finally, it is not clear if the form *nv-* (16.6) is actually a distinct morpheme, as in all but one example it is possible to consider it an allomorph of

one of the other four prefix forms. I close with a discussion of what this teaches us about how verbs convey meaning (16.7).

For each prefix, after I present how it has been discussed previously, I present examples of the typical uses. I divide typical uses into the categories of alternating, idiomatic, and possible thematic. At the end of each section, I discuss and summarize the use of the undetermined examples, are the elements of the data that do not fit in to the typical analysis and still await explanation. These summaries provide a basis for future research.

16.1 Frequency of prefix forms

The subset of prefixes analyzed in this paper is found in nearly a third (33%) of the entire verb dataset (Figure 24). Of all the verbs in the dataset, the form *na-* was found in 13%, *ni-* in 8%, *ne-* in 7%, *nv-* in 3%, and *nu-* in 2%.

Figure 24. Number of tokens with forms.

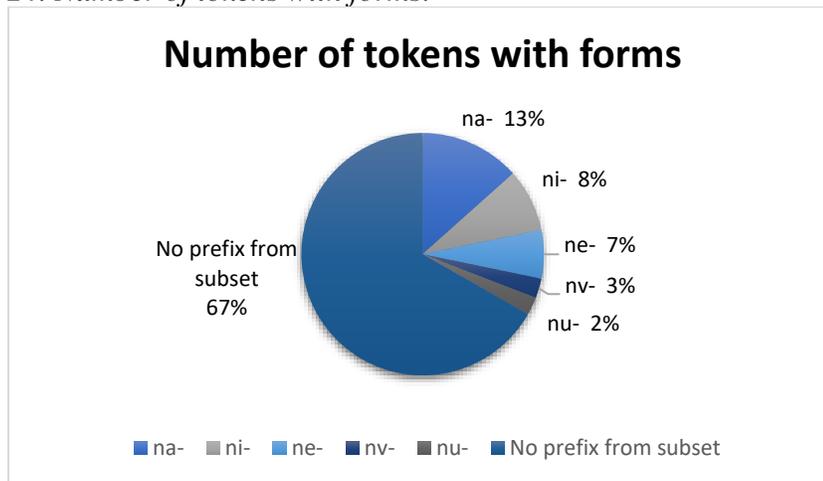


Table 47 indicates the number of tokens and distinct verb themes in which each prefix form is found. Recall that a 'verb theme' is a combination of stem and contributing prefix(es) that yields a particular meaning (see 6.1).

Table 47. Number of tokens and verb themes

Prefix	Number of tokens	Number of verb themes
<i>na-</i>	162	47
<i>ni-</i>	101	48
<i>nu-</i>	78	20
<i>ne-</i>	28	15
<i>nv-</i>	32	20
Total in dataset	1217	623

This dataset has 1217 tokens of verb words, each containing 623 verb themes.

The prefix form *na-* (line 1) is found in 162 different verbal tokens and with 47 distinct verb themes. The prefix form *ni-* (line 2) is found in 101 different verbal tokens, with 48 distinct verb themes. In line 3, the prefix form *ne-* is found in 78 different verbal tokens and with 20 distinct verb themes. The prefix form *nu-* (line 4) is found in 28 different tokens and with 15 distinct verb themes. The prefix form *nv-* was found in 32 different tokens with 20 distinct verb themes.

16.2 Contributing prefix *na-*: typically pluractional

Of the prefixes considered in this paper, the prefix form *na-* is the most frequently used, occurring in 162 examples with 44 stems. This finding is parallel to what Bommelyn (1997: 22) finds for the southern dialect, when he states that the prefix *na-* is found with many different verb stems, particularly ‘movement’ verbs. Golla (1976: 225) defines two meanings for *na-*, ‘iterative/thematic’ and ‘motion/direction action’. Sapir (1914: 303) refers to *na-* as indicating ‘indefinite movement on ground and water’ and ‘back’. Jacobs (110) lists 4 different meanings: ‘iterative’ (p. 79), ‘motion’(p. 83), ‘movement down or up’ (p. 84), and ‘back’ (p. 85).

In other Dene languages, this form is always found with iterative meaning, sometimes in combination with other meanings. In Wailaki (Begay 2017: 202), *na-* has been described as ‘iterative’, ‘repetition of action’ and ‘reversal’. In Hupa (Golla, 1970), it is analyzed as ‘inversion’ (p. 124), ‘down’ (p. 125), ‘around in a circle’ (p. 125), ‘drawing along a line’ (p. 134), and ‘thematic non-directional motion’ (p. 134). In Slave (Rice, 1989: 432), it is analyzed as ‘continuative’ and ‘customary’. In Witsuwit’en (Hargus, 2007: 438), there is a prefix described as ‘iterative’, with the *ne-* form. In Mattole (Li, 1930: 58), *na-* is defined as ‘indefinite or continuous movement’, ‘down to the ground’, ‘again’, ‘iterative’, ‘referring to the eye’, and ‘reaching out’.

Given the range of glosses that *na-* has received, it is important to note that it is challenging to determine the particular use of this prefix form. One task in this section is to determine which of these glosses might be combined into a single more abstract category, that is, whether they are indeed different glosses or if there is one gloss that could envelop all the different uses described. When it comes down to setting glosses, this is a question as to whether it is better to be a splitter or a lumper. While splitting the hairs of glosses can be helpful for linguistic analysis, any chance to lump can be helpful for second language learners. The two justifications for giving multiple glosses for the same form would be either that different meanings correlate with the form occurring in different positions or that the meanings are just too semantically different to lump together. In recent work, Mattiola (2019) identifies a large, more abstract category of pluractional that has, among the typically attested core meanings, iterative and spatial distributive, the latter a clear label for the motion over land and water that has been

described as a second function of *na-*. We first look at the pluractional examples and then at the state examples.

16.2.1 *na-* ‘pluractional’

In this section we begin with examples in which the use of *na-* appears to be alternating, such that a verb stem with *na-* has a pluractional meaning that is absent without *na-*. Then we look at examples where the use of *na-* seems to be have a idiomatic use, creating an entirely different verb. Finally, we consider examples in which the stem is only attested with *na-*. Such examples are potentially thematic, meaning that the prefix form is required for the meaning of the verb to be conveyed.

We begin with examples that illustrate the alternating aspectual use of *na-* to indicate simple repetitiveness of action, which is traditionally glossed as iterative. In examples (16.1-2), the stem *srvd* ‘touch’ without *na-* indicates a single act of touching.

16. 1 *ch'aa-dv-ghvshlh-srvd*

 ch'a-dv-ghv-sh-lh-srvd
 rep-ref-pfv-1.sub-lh.cl-touch

 ‘I touched it’ [EJ 143:13:1]

16. 2 *ch'aa-dv-ghvl-srvd*

 ch'a-dv-ghv-l-srvd
 rep-ref-pfv-l.cl-touch

 ‘He touched it’ [EJ 143:14:1]

In (16.3), the same stem found in (16.1) and (16.2) with *na-* indicates continuous or repetitive touching by a first-person subject.

16. 3 *ch'aa-naa-dvshlh-srvd*
 ch'a-na-dv-sh-lh-srvd
 REP-PLU-REF-1.SUB-lh.CL-touch
 ‘I keep touching it’ [EJ 143:15:1]

Note, however, that in (16.4), with a third person subject, *na-* does not occur even though the translation indicates the same continuative/iterative semantics.

16. 4 *jaa-chu chaa-dvl-srvd*
 ja=chu cha-dv-l-srvd
 here=AUG REP-REF-1.CL-touch
 ‘He keeps touching it’ [EJ 143:17:1]

A more prototypical pluractional function can be seen in (16.5-16.7) with the stem *xwi* ‘vomit’. Vomiting fits Mattiola’s (2019: 33) definition of an EVENT-INTERNAL PLURAL: “a situation which is internally plural because it is composed of several repetitive sub-situations that are reciprocally intertwined (not discrete) and, thus, difficult to distinguish from each other.” In the next few examples, we can see this in examples with different aspect. In (16.5) the reading is imperative.

16. 5 *lhaa naa-ghat-xwi'*
 lha na-gha-d-xwi'
 PROH PLU-PFV-d.CL-vomit
 ‘Don't vomit [EJ 249:8:1]

However, in (16.6) we see a completed action. Presumably both examples are involving internal iterations. The use of *na-* here is not changing regardless if the action is completed or not.

16. 6 *naa-ghaa-svst-xwi*
 na-gha-sv-s-d-xwi
 PLU-PFV-STAT-1S.SUB-d.CL-vomit
 ‘I vomited’ [EJ 385:5:1]

In contrast, the progressive form in (16.7) contains the thematic prefix *ya-* ‘up’, highlighting the pathway of caused motion rather than the repetitive nature of the event.⁵¹

16. 7 *yaa-ghvsht-xwi*
 ya-ghv-sh- d-xwi
 up-PFV-1.S.SUB- d.CL-vomit
 ‘I vomit’ [EJ 385:4:1]

In (16.8-9), we see the stem *k'wasr* ‘fall’ in (16.8) with the prefix *ee-*. This prefix has a wide semantic meaning that seems to indicate direction towards referent specified in a noun phrase. Golla (1970: 132) defines this form in Hupa ‘as (nominal phrase) is or does’. In (16.8) the noun phrase is the bank, indicating a single directional act of falling in the direction of the bank.

16. 8 *k'wee-yuu-s'e 'ee-ghii-k'wa'sr*
 k'weyus'i 'e-ghi-k'wa'sr
 bank PEG- PFV-fall

‘He fell down bank’ [EJ 276:11:1]

In contrast, in (15) with *na-*, it means to ‘fall on ice’, an action which has lots of iteration (and movement in space).

⁵¹ As you can see, the stem *xwi* changes form, found as *xwi'* in (11) and *xwi* in (12-13). This is a result of a semi-productive stem form variation that reflects aspectual differences. The irregularity of this system has not yet been explored greatly in Nuu-wee-ya' and therefore is not indicated in the glosses. There can also be stem variations that do not seem to reflect aspect. Stem form variation is not the focus of this paper, but readers should be aware that stem variation is normal, if not understood.

16. 9 *xwvt-tvn k'wvt naa-ghvt-k'wasr*

xwvtvn *k'wvt* *na-ghv-d-k'wasr*
ice on PLU-PFV-d.CL-fall

'He fell on the ice!' [EJ 292:4:1]

In (16.10-12) the stem *ts'ilh* 'grease' usually takes a direct object to indicate the item that ends up covered in grease (16.10-11).

16. 10 *xv-nvs ch'v-k'aa-ghii-ts'ilh*

xvnvs *ch'v-k'a-ghi-ts'ilh*
canoe INDF-on-PFV-grease

'He greased his canoe' [EJ 312:5:1]

16. 11 *ch'v-xa mee ch'v-ghii-ts'ilh*

ch'v-xa *me* *ch'v-ghi-ts'ilh*
INDF-dish in INDF-PFV-grease

'He greased the dish' [EJ 312:2:1]

In contrast, in (16.12) there is no object specified and the prefix *na-* emphasizes the repetitive nature of the action rather than the item that is affected by that motion.

16. 12 *ch'v-k'aa-naa-yislh-ts'ilh*

ch'v-k'a-na-yi-s-lh-ts'ilh
INDF-on-PLU-3O3-STAT-lh.CL-grease

'He greased it' [EJ 312:1:1]

Examples (16.13-15) show a similar distinction with three of the four attested stems for 'throw', *nelh*, *selh*, and *galh*. In (16.13) the directional prefix *ta-* 'into' combines with *selh* 'throw' to indicate that the rock is being thrown into the water and in

(16.14) the directional prefix *ya-* ‘up’ combines with *galh* ‘throw’ to indicate that the stick is being thrown upwards.

16. 13 *chvn yaa-ghishlh-galh*

<i>chvn</i>	<i>ya-ghi-sh-lh-galh</i>
stick	up-PROG-1S.SUB-lh.CL-throw

‘I throw a long stick up’ [EJ 244:14:1]

16. 14 *see taa-ghilh-selh*

<i>se</i>	<i>ta-ghi-lh-selh</i>
rock	water-PFV-lh.CL-throw

‘I threw a rock [in] water’ [EJ 244:11:1]

In contrast to these verbs, which profile a specific direction of caused motion, in (16.15) the addition of *na-* to the stem *nelh* ‘throw’ emphasizes the repetitiveness of the action, e.g., that something is being thrown ‘around’. Note that ‘around’ is also compatible with a possible directional reading of *na-*, in which the action is spatially distributed.

16. 15 *duu-waa naa-yee-nelh*

<i>duwa</i>	<i>na-ye-nelh</i>
maybe	PLU-3O3-throw

‘Is he throwing something around?’ [EJ 368:8:1]

Note that (16.15) is also our only example of the stem *nelh* ‘throw’, which would ordinarily cause this use of *na-* to be considered possibly thematic. However, as a group, these stems seem to show the same kinds of patterns as the stems we have just seen, so it seems reasonable to assume that each could occur with a similar range of prefixes.

With the stem *nvk* ‘tell’, *na-* is used for telling a story (16.16), which definitely has event-internal plurality.

16. 16 *tr'vs-da shvlh-nas-xwil-nvk*
- tr'vsda shv-lh-na-s-xwi-l-nvk*
 story 1S.OBJ-with-PLU-STAT-AREAL-1.CL-tell
- ‘tell a story’ [EJ 252:13:1]

In (16.17) *na-* is used for telling something indefinite, perhaps suggesting that something be repetitive or have internal plurality.

16. 17 *de shilh-naa-xwil-nvk*
- de shi-lh-na-xwi-l-nvk*
 something 1S.OBJ-with-PLU-AREAL-1.CL-tell
- ‘Tell something’ [EJ 252:12:1]

In (16.18), without *na-*, the verb indicates a specific direction of speech, towards the addressee ‘you’. Once again, with *na-* the emphasis is on the internal complexity of the event with no specification of a particular direction.

16. 18 *tv-xwii-dvn nvlh-xwvl-nvk*
- tvxwi=dvn nv-lh-xwv-l-nvk*
 every=LOC 2S.OBJ-with-AREAL-1.CL-tell
- ‘He tells you everything’ [EJ 369:9:1]

In (16.19-26), we look at examples of the stem *sri* ‘make, cook’. Obviously, it is possible to describe cooking as an activity with many iterative internal sub-events, but this is not the only way to conceptualize it, so it is not surprising that this stem occurs

with an alternating use of *na-*. In (16.19-20), with first person singular and plural subjects, *na-* is used to talk about future cooking (note that only (20) has the future-tense marker *-te* following the stem).

16. 19 *srtaa nashlh-sri*

srtā *na-sh-lh-sri*
 food PLU-1S.SUB-lh.CL-make

‘I will cook’ [EJ 210:7:1]

16. 20 *nee srtaa naa-ghil-srii-te*

ne *srtā* *na-ghi-lh-sri=te*
 1P.PRO food PLU-PROG-lh.CL-make=FUT

‘We will cook’ [EJ 210:11:1]

Even though it has the same future translation as (16.20), (16.21), with a second-person subject, has no *na-*; this might be more of a command, e.g. to begin cooking.

16. 21 *nvñ srtaa 'ilh-sri*

nvñ *srtā* *'i-lh-sri*
 you food IMPF-lh.CL-make

‘You will cook’ [EJ 210:10:1]

In (16.22) the simple form ‘cook’ takes the indefinite subject prefix *tr'v-* and does not profile the multiple actions of cooking.

16. 22 *srtaa tr'vlh-sri*

srtā *tr'v-lh-sri*
 food INDF-lh.CL-make

‘Cook’ [EJ 210:2:1]

In (16.23), the combination of *na-* and *sri* translates as an old word for telling a story, and here the use of *na-* is parallel to its use with *nvk* ‘tell’ storytelling.

16. 23 *shvlh-naa-silh-sri*

shv-lh-na-si-lh-sri
1S.SUB-with-PLU-STAT-lh.CL-make

‘Old word for telling story’ [EJ 369:3:1]

Turning to the reading of *sri* as ‘make’, in (16.24) *na-* occurs with ‘making shoes’, which could indicate that repetitive actions are involved in making shoes or could indicate another core semantic value associated with the pluractional, that of PARTICIPANT PLURALITY (Mattiola, 2019: 26), used here because the outcome of the act of making is a plural object.

16. 24 *xe naa-yis-xa*

xe na-yi-s-xa
shoe PLU-3O3-STAT-make

‘He made shoes of it’ [EJ 204:8:1]

In contrast, there is no *na-* in ‘making a face’ (16.25), an action that is both more punctual and sent in a specific direction, both meanings that have already seen conditioning the absence of *na-*.

16. 25 *ni'-srvn yeslh-sri*

ni' srvn ye-s-lh-sri
face stink 3O3-STAT-lh.CL-make

‘He made a face at me’ [EJ 251:13:1]

The absence of *na-* in (16.26) could be because the object, ‘hammer’, is singular, or it could suggest the hypothesis that making a hammer is an inherently less iterative activity than making shoes.

16. 26 *lhch'il-t'ish yish-sri*
 lh-ch'i-l-t'ish *yi-s-lh-sri*
 with-REP-1.CL-hit 3O3-STAT-lh.CL-make
 ‘He made a hammer of it’ [EJ 305:3:1]

We turn now to verbs of movement, which most clearly represent the ‘motion’ gloss identified by previous researchers. Like many verbs of motion in Dene, *t'u* ‘swim.sg’ (16.27-28) and *tl'it* ‘go.pl’ (16.19-16.20) have suppletive stem forms depending on both number of the subject and aspect of the verb, and both have the option of occurring with *na-*. In (16.27) *t'u* occurs with *na-* and the reading does not specify a direction of movement, just the iterative activity of bathing or swimming.

16. 27 *naa-dvsh-t'u*
 na-dv-sh-t'u
 PLU-REF-1S.SUB-swim
 ‘I swim or bathe’ [EJ 384:2:1]

In (16.28), the prefix *ch'e-* ‘across’ specifies a direction of motion and imposes a telic endpoint on the activity.

16. 28 *ch'e-xv-ne maa-ne ch'ee-sis-t'u*
 ch'e-xvne *mane* *ch'e-si-s-t'u*
 INDF-stream across across-STAT-1S.SUB-swim
 ‘I swim across stream’ [EJ 365:8:1]

In (16.29), *tl'it* occurs with *na-* and, even though the direction of movement is specified as being to the north, there is no endpoint imposed on the movement.

16. 29 *de'-i naa-sii-tl'it*

 de'i na-si-tl'it
 north PLU-STAT-go.3

‘We went north’ [EJ 277:8:1]

In (16.30), the translation suggests only the initiation of movement, which has no internal complexity and so no reason to expect *na-* (or a more specific directional). While one might consider these uses of *na-* as more adverbial, in that they seem to be in contrast to directionals rather than to iterative aspect, they do not seem very different from any of the examples above.

16. 30 *tii-tl'vt*

 ti-tl'vt
 INC-go.3

‘We're all going (starting out)’ [EJ 344:2:1]

However, in (16.31-38) we see clear examples of *na-* indicating spatial distribution. In (16.31) *na-* combines with the adverb to indicate ‘everywhere’.

16. 31 *t'v-xwii-t'aa-t'i naa-gha*

 tvxwita=t'i na-gha
 everywhere=COP PLU-go.1

‘everywhere he went’ [EJ 344:3:1]

In (16.32) the quality ‘naked’ is expressed idiomatically as ‘his blanket-place walks around’, in which only *na-* indicates ‘going around’.

16. 32 *st'e'-'ee-dvn naa-gha*
 st'e='e=dvn *na-gha*
 blanket=POSS=LOC PLU-go.1
 ‘He was naked’ [EJ 309:8:1]

The stem *mas* ‘roll’ can be used both for simple and caused motion, with which *na-* might be construed as more directional than aspectual. However, in (16.33), the single example with *na-*, the direction suggested in the translation is ‘down’, which is the only direction in which a rolling item could continue to roll without help from an external agent. That makes a pluractional aspectual reading seem quite plausible.

16. 33 *naa-ghvt-mas*
 na-ghv-d-mas
 PLU-PFV-d.CL-roll
 ‘It rolled down’ [EJ 252:5:1]

Examples (16.34-45) show that *mas* ‘roll’ is identical to the other stems in this section in excluding *na-* when an adverbial prefix specifies a telic goal of motion. In (16.34), the location is ‘in the middle’.

16. 34 *tv-ne lhelh-saa-xwe nii-mas*
 tvne *lhelhsaxwe* *ni-mas*
 road middle COMP-roll
 ‘It rolled in the middle of the road’ [EJ 291:14:1]

In (16.35), the referent is rolling off the road and the directional *ch'a-* is used instead of *na-*.

16. 35 *tv-ne ch'aa-nii-mas*

tvne ch'a-ni-mas
road off-COMP-roll

‘It rolled off the road’ [EJ 291:13:1]

In (16.36), the reciprocal *lh-* is used to indicate the thread is rolling up together and in (16.37) the prefix *se-* is used to indicate direction towards ‘the side’.

16. 36 *dv-si lheshlh-mvs*

dvti lhe-sh-lh-mvs
rope REC-1S.SUB-lh.CL-roll

‘I’m rolling up the thread’ [EJ 361:3:1]

16. 37 *k'wvs-se see-ghii-mas*

k'wvse se-ghi-mas
side up-PFV-roll

‘It rolled to one side’ [EJ 291:12:1]

In (16.38) there is no *na-* because the combination of the inceptive *te-* and the stative *s-* creates the meaning ‘it entered a state of rolling.’

16. 38 *tes-mas*

te-s-mas
INC-STAT-roll

‘It rolled’ [EJ 252:6:1]

In (16.39) the translation ‘it rolled’ would make one think that it should take the *na-* prefix. The translation seems especially incongruent with a completive gloss for *ni-*. It is for examples like this that the prior knowledge of the speaker-learner can be

especially important — in fact, based on my intuition, a better translation might be ‘it completed an episode of rolling’, in which the item did not roll to any given endpoint, but merely stopped rolling, such that the period of rolling has an endpoint that makes it perfective.

16. 39 *nii-mas*

 ni-mas
 COMP-roll

 ‘It rolled along’ [EJ 291:11:1]

Examples (16.38-9) illustrate the challenge of working with recorded translations of a piece of language where you cannot ask for clarification; the given translations are surely correct as far as they go, but equally surely they are not the only possible translations. These are the examples that force us to bear in mind that language analysis is not algebraic equations with a single correct answer, that there will be inconsistencies that will have to be interpreted using whatever base of experience one has.

There are 10 verb themes where a given stem is only attested in combination with *na-*, which could represent cases where *na-* is thematic, because the stem does not occur without *na-*, or it is an alternating prefix for which we simply lack examples of the stem without *na-*. In most of these examples, the meaning is consistent with the pluractional reading, so I suspect most are alternating in nature.

The first example is *xa* ‘fight’, which is only attested in combination with *na-* (16.40-41). The meaning ‘fight’ is one of the alternating cases of event-internal plurality,

which in some languages is always explicitly marked with a pluractional. In (16.40), we see a stative verb in the past tense, he already completed the action of fighting.

16. 40 *naa-xus-xaa-laa*

 na-xu-s-xa=la
 PLU-AREAL-STAT-fight=PST

 ‘he fought’ [EJ 316:9:1]

In (16.47), we see a somewhat nominalized form of ‘fight’ indicating ‘war’. This is still a verb but the addition of the *d* classifier is reads as the concept of ‘war’.

16. 41 *naa-xwvt-xa*

 na-xwv-t-xa
 PLU-AREAL-d.CL-fight

 ‘War’ [EJ 235:3:1]

However, as seen in (16.42), a different stem with apparently the same meaning, *ne* ‘fight’ does not use the *na-*. As the stem *ne* is also ‘bite’, the nature of the fighting might be different, perhaps with less internal-complex action or the verb stem might not work with the prefix *na-* in the same way as the prefix *xa-* due to historical use of the verb stem.

16. 42 *lhe-daa-ghil-ne*

 lhe-da-ghi-l-ne
 REC-in-PFVl.CL-bite

 ‘We fought’ [EJ 316:11:1]

Examples (16.43-51) show the remaining verbs in this dataset that only occur with *na-* (‘paddle’ is found with *ne-*, which appears to be an allomorph of *na-*, cf. section

9.4.5). None of these verbs has a precise direction. It is assumed that if one wanted to use these verbs in a particular direction, they might be able to be used with different prefixes.

That said, some might actually be thematic. In (16.43) we have the verb ‘to work’.

16. 43 *naa-dvshlh-nish*

 na-dv-sh-lh-nish
 PLU-REF-1S.SUB-lh.CL-work

 ‘I work’ [EJ 368:7:1]

In (16.44), we see the word for washing. In this example, we also see another example of the challenge of interpreting the translations. The phrase was translated by Elizabeth Jacobs as ‘you washing’ where the phrase obviously has the noun hand in it, indicating that ‘you are washing hands’. As there are other examples of wash without ‘hand’ but with *na-* we can assume that the noun ‘hand’ is not just part of the word for ‘wash’.

16. 44 *laa naa-chilh-de*

 la na-chi-lh-da
 hand PLU-REP-lh,CL-wash

 ‘You washing’[EJ 369:1:1]

Example (16.45) is the verb ‘play, whereas (16.46) is divide meat. Assumedly someone playing will be moving in various directions or doing multiple actions. Also, the action of dividing meat into piles or distributing it out (as it is not clear which meaning is meant in this example) also requires multiple actions over space.

16. 45 *naa-xwvshlh-ye*
 na-xwv-sh-lh-ye
 PLU-AREAL-1S.SUB-lh.CL-play
 ‘I’m playing’ [EJ 368:6:1]

16. 46 *ch'vs-svn' naa-yus-nish*
 ch'vsvn *na-yu-s-nish*
 meat PLU-303-1S.SUB-divide
 ‘He divided the meat’ [EJ 321:2:1]

Both (16.47) and (16.48) contain words involved with communication. In (16.47), ‘write’ requires both movement of the hand over space and repetitive motion, whereas (16.48) requires the repetitive motion over time; both actions that need to be done multiple times for the action to be completed.

16. 47 *nashlh-tl'u*
 na- sh- lh- tl'u
 PLU 1S.SUB lh.CL- mark
 ‘I write’ [EJ 368:9:1]

16. 48 *dis-ne na'-a*
 disne *na'-a*
 man PLU-talk
 ‘He is talking’ [EJ 257:1:1]

In (16.49), we see the verb for ‘gamble, an activity that requires multiple actions over time as well.

16. 49 *naa-tr'vl-ye*
 na-tr'v-l-ye
 PLU-INDF-1.CL-play
 ‘He gambles’ [EJ 309:4:1]

The next two examples are not as clear, although ‘rest’ (16.50) does require time to occur and ‘calling’ (16.51) could indicate a repetitive kind of call, as in repeating to get one’s attention.

16. 50 *naa-shvl-yish*
 na-sh-l-yish
 PLU-1S.SUB-1.CL-rest
 ‘I’ll rest’ [EJ 204:8:1]

16. 51 *shtaa xwaa-naa-xv-nisht-yish*
 sh-ta *xwa-na-xv-ni-sh-d-yish*
 1S.POSS-father AREAL-PLU-?-COMP-1S.SUB-d.CL-call
 ‘I am calling father’ [EJ 329:1:1]

In some examples, the use of *na-* seems to create a different verb altogether, rather than specifying the iterative nature of the action. In (16.52-16.56), we see various ways that the stem ‘*a*’ is used. This stem usually means ‘handling a round object’. In (16.52) the *na-* is referring to habitual or generalized imperfective nature of possession. If you have something it is not just for a moment and its gone, it is yours for as long as it is yours.

16. 52 *daa-wii-la na'-'a tr'vt?*

<i>dawila</i>	<i>na'-'a</i>	<i>tr'vt</i>
how much	PLU-handle.ROUND	money

‘How much money have you?’ [EJ 322:1:1]

In (16.53) we see the addition of the *s-* stative aspect to this phrase to indicate ‘pick it up’. Perhaps this means to ‘put in a state of having’.

16. 53 *naa-sish-'a*

<i>na-si-sh-'a</i>
PLU-STAT-1S.SUB-handle.ROUND

‘I pick it up’ [EJ 252:8:1]

In (16.54) we see the same form as in (16.53), but in this case, it is ‘talk’.

16. 54 *dis-ne na'-'a*

<i>disne</i>	<i>na'-'a</i>
man	PLU-handle.ROUND
‘he is talking’	[EJ 257:1:1]

The next two examples show how the verbs look without the *na-*. In (16.55), *se-* indicates placement in the upward direction.

16. 55 *hat see-ghish-'a*

<i>hat</i>	<i>se-ghi-sh-'a</i>
there	up-PFV-1S.SUB-handle.ROUND

‘I put it on top’ [EJ 280:3:1]

In (16.56) the *ghi-* is progressive aspect as the referent stayed in the state of handling the hat.

16. 56 *t'aa-mish ghilh-'a*

t'amish *ghi-lh-'a*
hat PFV-lh.CL-handle.ROUND

'He kept the hat' [EJ 319:1:1]

In (16.57-58) we see the word 'to know someone' both without (16.57) and with (16.58) a thematic prefix. In (16.57), *ts'it* 'to know does not take the iterative *na-*.

16. 57 *'ushlh-ts'it*

'u-sh-lh-ts'it
towards-1S.SUB-lh.CL-know

'I know him' [EJ 316:5:1]

However, in (16.58), when the *na-* is added the word changes to 'recognize someone'. While this might not be iterative per se, to 'recognize' someone implies prior 'knowledge' or more than one time of 'knowing'.

16. 58 *naa-'ushlh-ts'it*

na-'u-sh-lh-ts'it
PLU-towards-1S.SUB-lh.CL-know

'I recognized him' [EJ 316:4:1]

16.2.2 *na-* achieving a state ('inchoative')

There are some uses in which the *na-* seems to indicate the achievement of a state. In (16.59) it is used with 'be strong'.

16. 59 *nashlh-ne*

na-sh-lh-ne
INCH-1S.SUB-lh.CL-strong

'I am strong' [EJ 204:9:1]

In (16.60-61), it is used with 'feel better' and 'not sick anymore' respectively.

16. 60 *naa-svst-li*

na-sv-s-d-li
INCH-STAT-1S.SUB-d.CL-be

'I feel better' [EJ 204:10:1]

16. 61 *duu-ja tr'ii-de nad-li*

du- ja tsride na-d-li
NEG here sick INCH-d.CL-sick

'I'm not sick any longer' [EJ 317:6:1]

In (16.62) the *na-* is used to indicate 'getting warm'.

16. 62 *naa-yit-selh*

na-yi-d-selh
INCH-3O3-d.CL-warm

'He got warm' [EJ 267:8:1]

In (16.63) 'he broke it in small pieces' the verb does not mean break, rather 'make to be'. The first word means 'gravel' so this means 'make to be the state of gravel'.

16. 63 *sv-ghe naslh-li*

svghe na-s-lh-li
gravel PLU-1S.SUB-lh.CL-be

'he broke it in small pieces' [EJ 291:2:1]

16.2.3 Undetermined *na-*

The stem ‘*vn* ‘stop someone’ occurs both with (16.64-65) and without (16.66) the prefix *na-*, with no clear distinction in meaning that can be attributed to the presence vs. absence of *na-*. In these cases, I continue to gloss the *na-* as ‘pluractional’. In (16.64) the example appears to be imperative.

16. 64 *na-nvsh-’vn*

 na-nv-sh-’vn
 na.TH-COMP-1S.SUB-stop

 ‘stop them’⁵² [EJ 379:04:01]

In (16.65), it appears to be a failed attempt of ‘stopping him’

16. 65 *nan-ghish-’vn*

 na-n-ghi-sh-’vn
 na.TH-COMP-PFV-1S.SUB-stop

 ‘I tried to stop him’ [EJ 379:05:01]

However, in (16.66) the action of ‘stopping’ was successful.

16. 66 ‘*un-ghisht-’vn*

 ‘*un-ghi-sh-d-’vn*
 towards-PFV-1S.SUB-d.CL-stop

 ‘I stop him’ [EJ 379:03:01]

Perhaps if we had context for (16.64-16.66) we would know if there was more to the story. Perhaps the *na-* is not needed in (16.66) because it only took one time to stop

⁵² This example is cited in the document as coming from Sapir.

him and therefore was not iterative or repetitive, or perhaps it is not needed because the action was successful.

16.2.4 Summarizing the use of *na-*

In this section, we have seen that *na-* has two main functions, the first to indicate a range of pluractional meanings and the second to indicate inchoative or entering into a state. If we construe this second function as achieving something via pluractional event, then the two functions might be considered subtypes of a single function.

16.3 Contributing prefix *ni-*: typically completive

The prefix form *ni-* is found quite frequently in the Nuu-wee-ya' dataset (101 tokens and 48 verb themes). Golla (1976: 223) defines *ni-* as 'perfective' and 'completive' aspect. Sapir (1914: 310) lists two allomorphs, *ni-* and *n-*, and defines them as 'cessative'. In the eastern dialect, Hoiyer (1966: 326) defines a set of four allomorphs: *ni-*, *n-*, *di-*, *d-* as 'perfective'.⁵³ Jacobs (110) finds *ni-* and *n-* to mean 'completion', 'terminative action' and 'duration' (p. 72); 'adjective-making' (p. 98), and the direction/position 'in' (p. 113).

This form is found in Hupa (Golla 1970) to signify 'approaching' (p. 124), 'surface, tactile qualities' (p. 138) and the form *nin-* is found as 'perfective' (p. 61). In Wailaki (Begay 2017), *nin-* also signifies 'perfective' (p. 178) and *ni-* 'approaching' (p. 189) and 'tactile description' (p. 191). In Slave (Rice, 1989) *ni-* is defined as 'terminative' and 'to a point'; *ni-* is also seen with extension verbs, such as 'off, out' or 'up' (p. 724). In Mattole (Li 1930), *ni-* is defined as 'terminative' (p. 65) as well as

⁵³ As laid out in chapter 5, denasalization of *n* to *d* is one characteristic of Eastern dialect Galice; denasalization is not found in the Northern dialect, the one analyzed in this paper.

momentaneous/completive, perfective and imperfective (p. 66). It is also defined as ‘at’ (p. 54 and 59), ‘adjectival’ and associated with verb ‘to think’ (p. 59).

In this dataset, most of the *ni-* forms seem to mark completive/perfective, some to mark state, and a few to mark the direction/position ‘in’. It is important again to note that these findings are hard to interpret as the meanings can be rather vague or opaque. These findings represent the clearest understanding of this lexeme form at this point.

16.3.1 ‘Completive/perfective’ *ni-*

Of the examples in which *ni-* conveys completive/perfective, there are two examples where the stem is only attested with *ni-* (possibly thematic), a few where *ni-* appears to be alternating, and one where the meaning is unpredictable (idiomatic).

In some examples, *ni-* appears to alternate with other aspect markers, indicating completeness of an event or stable presence in a state resulting from an event. For example, in (16.67) the stem *svt* ‘wake’ does not have *ni-* and the subject has not yet awoken, meaning the action is not completed.

16. 67 *‘an-du’ tr’ee-svt-te*

 ‘an=du’ tr’e-svt=te
 still=PERT out-wake.up=FUT

 ‘He will wake up later’ [EJ 236:9:1]

In contrast, when *ni-* co-occurs with *svt*, the predicate describes the subject having completed the event of waking up (16.68) or being in the state that results from having already woken up (16.69).

16. 68 *da' tr'ee-nii-svt*

da' *tr'e-ni-svt*
 already out-COMP-wake up

'He's awake' [EJ 236:10:1]

16. 69 *tr'ee-nii-svt*

tr'e-ni-svt
 out-COMP-wake up

'I woke up' [EJ 236:7:1]

Although the stems are not the same, (16.70-16.71) show that for a completed act of giving something away, *ni-* is used (16.70), whereas it is absent when the act is still in progress (16.71).

16. 70 *da' xwaa-nish-ya*

da' *xwa-ni-sh-ya*
 already AREAL-COMP-1S.SUB-go

'I gave it away' [EJ 242:10:1]

16. 71 *xwvsh-'vsh*

xwv-sh-'vsh
 AREAL-1S.SUB-handle.ROUND

'I am giving it away' [EJ 242:12:1]

A final illustrative set of alternating examples is with the stem *ch'vs* 'push', where the contrast between (16.72-74) suggests that *ni-* indicates the completed action (16.72), whereas the stem without *ni-* has a progressive reading (16.73).

16. 72 *yii-nilh-ch'vs-la*
 yi-ni-lh-ch'vs=la
 3O3-COMP-lh.CL-push=PST
 ‘He pushed it’ [EJ 265:6:1]

16. 73 *xv-nvs mii-taa-tr'v-ghilh-ch'vs*
 xvnvs mi-ta-tr'v-ghi-lh-ch'vs
 canoe in-water-INDF-PROG-lh.CL-push
 ‘A boat is being pushed into the H²O’ [EJ 213:10:1]

Interestingly, in (16.74) the verb does not contain *ni-* but the gloss indicates that the action is complete. Looking more closely at the verb phrase, we see the preceding adverbial phrase *tvs-xu* ‘hard-like’ and the inceptive prefix *te-*. Either a more accurate gloss would be ‘he began pushing it hard’ or the completive reading could come from the combination of the adverbial phrase and inceptive marker.

16. 74 *tvs-xu yii-tee-ch'vs-la*
 tvs=xu yi- te-ch'vs=la
 hard=ADVL 3O3-INCEP-push=PST
 ‘He pushed it hard’ [EJ 265:9:1]

In one case in the dataset, the addition of *ni-* to a stem changes the entire meaning of the word in a way that is not predictable but is consistent with a completive/perfective reading. In (16.75), the stem *lat* ‘sink’ takes a different aspectual prefix, *gh-* ‘progressive’.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Nuu-wee-ya’ has two aspectual prefixes that start with *gh*. One, indicates PERFECTIVE and the other PROGRESSIVE, leading to some confusion in glossing and reliance on the translation. This is why in some examples you will see the form labeled as PERFECTIVE and in others the same form as PROGRESSIVE.

16. 75 *xuu-tee-ghish-lat*

xu-te-ghi-sh-lat
AREAL-water-PROG-1S.SUB-float

‘I am sinking in the water’ [EJ 365:2:1]

Compare this to (16.76), where the same stem in combination with *ni-* yields the translation ‘drown’, a natural outcome if a person were to sink “completely”.

16. 76 *xuu-tee-nish-lat*

xu-te-ni-sh-lat
AREAL-water-COMP-1S.SUB-float

‘I drown’ [EJ 365:3:1]

16.3.2 ‘Reversative’ *na-ni-* sequence

In a few examples, the *ni-* is found combined with the ‘pluractional’ *na-*. This only occurs when it is indicating a reversal of action as seen in (16.77).

16. 77 *ja' naa-nish-dvsh-te*

ja' na-ni-sh-dvsh=te
here PLU-COMP-1S.SUB-come=FUT

‘I will come back’ [EJ 295:4:1]

16.3.3 ‘Locative’ *ni-*

A third use of the prefix *ni-* is to indicate ‘movement/location inside’ as seen in examples (16.78-80). It is clear that the locative prefix is distinct from the completive prefix of the same form because in two of these examples (16.78-79), the two co-occur. The locative *ni-* often co-occurs preceded by the postposition *me-/men* ‘in’, present in all three of these examples.

16. 78 *xwen' mee-nii-nii-ya*

xwvn' *me-ni-ni-ya*
 fire in-in-COMP-go.1

'He put it in the fire' [EJ 359:1:1]

16. 79 *mee-nii-nii-'a*

me-ni-ni-'a
 in-in-COMP-handle.ROUND

'To put inside' [EJ 308:9:1]

In (16.80) the single *ni-* is the completive, which is conditioned by the directional prefix '*uu* 'towards'', showing that the postposition does not condition the locative *ni-*.

16. 80 *men' 'uu-nish-'a*

men' *'u-ni-sh-'a*
 in towards-COMP-1S.SUB -handle.ROUND

'I put it inside' [EJ 280:7:1]

16.3.4 'Stative' *ni-*

A fourth common *ni-* prefix is with stative verbs that indicate dimension, feelings, or possession. It has an allomorph *nn-*, which the other *ni-* prefixes do not show, which indicates that this could be a separate morpheme and not just a semantic extension of the completive/perfective. Beginning with dimensions, examples (87-89) show the prefix *ni-* 'stative perfective', all immediately followed by the first-person subject marker *sh-*. In (16.81) it is used with 'big' and in (16.82) with 'tall'

16. 81 *lhti' nish-cha*

 lhti' *ni-sh-cha*
 very SP-1S.SUB-big

 ‘I’m too big’ [EJ 358:1:1]

16. 82 *nish-nes*

 ni-sh-nes
 SP-1S.SUB-tall

 ‘I am tall’ [EJ 263:1:1]

In (16.83) we see it with ‘short’, again with the first person *sh-* prefix.

16. 83 *nish-tukw*

 ni-sh-tukw
 SP -1S.SUB-short

 ‘Short’ [EJ 360:2:1]

In (16.84) we see ‘short’ but this time without the first person prefix *sh-*. This example shows the *nn-* form with no subsequent person marker.

16. 84 *dii-nn-dvkw*

 di-n-dvkw
 PROM-SP -short

 ‘Short’ [EJ 206:5:1]

We can see in (16.85) that a different dimension verb ‘wide’ is also seen in the *nn-* form when there is no first person prefix.

16. 85 *nn-telh*

n-telh
SP-wide

‘Wide’ [EJ 348:4:1]

The use of the *n-* prefix in ‘short’ and ‘wide’ could potentially be related to a gender/noun class indicating ‘round’ (Rice 2000: 326, Kari 1990:285). However, if this was the case, the other dimensional prefixes, such as ‘tall’ (16.82) or ‘big’ (16.81) don’t seem to indicate ‘round’ (although it is possible with ‘big’). While there is not conclusive evidence in this dataset, my experience as a learner is that ‘big’ in the third person is *nn-cha* and ‘tall’ is *nes*. This is a distinction that will require further study in the archival data.

In (16.86) we see another dimension verb taking the *nn-* form.

16. 86 *nn-dvt-t'a*

n-dvt'a
SP-thick

‘Thick’[EJ 348:5:1]

However, we do see *ni-* also occurring with non-dimensional states, such as ‘be’, ‘smell/bad’ and ‘have’. In (16.87), *ni-* ‘SP’ occurs with first person subject as seen above with the verb stem *t'e* ‘to be’.

16. 87 *'uu-'e jii 'aa-nish-t'e*

<i>'u'e</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>'a-ni-sh-t'e</i>
this way	this	for-SP-1S.SUB-be

‘That's the way I am’ [EJ 357:1:1]

In (16.88), it is seen with the verb stem *srvn* ‘to smell’, when this verb is indicating the state of something. This verb stem can also be seen in constructions that are transitive, ‘to smell something’ without the *ni-*.

16. 88 *shu' aa'-nishlh-srvn*

shu' *'a'-ni-sh-lh-srvn*
 good for-SP-1S.SUB-lh.CL-smell

‘I smell good’ [EJ 355:9:1]

In (16.89) we see *ni-* occurring with second person subject for the copula *li* ‘to be’. In (16.90), it is occurring with a state of having at item with the stem *ch'ilh*.

16. 89 *du xwvs xee-nii-li*

du *xwvs* *xee-ni-li*
 NEG cough AREAL-COMP-be

‘You are not sick’ [EJ 317:7:1]

16. 90 *dvt-je daa-wii-la ch'aa-nilh-ch'ilh*

dvche *dawila* *ch'a-ni-lh-ch'ilh*
 berry how.many REP-SP-lh.CL-have

‘How much berries have you?’ [EJ 323:4:1]

Finally, in (16.91), the *nn-* ‘stative perfective’ takes the allomorph *nn-* with the only third person subject.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ I am encouraged with this analysis because I have seen *nii-li* ‘to be’, shown in line 1, as *nn-li* in other areas of the corpus not included in this dataset.

16. 91 *lhi' lhti' nn-srvn*

lhi' lhti' nn-srvn
 dog very SP-bad

‘He’s a bad dog!’ [EJ 346:10:1]

16.3.5 Prefix-conditioned *ni-* aspect marker

In addition to the semantically motivated uses of the aspectual prefix *ni-*, the dataset also contains verbs that only sometimes take *ni-*, but without necessarily indicating a semantic value of completive/perfective. In Golla’s Hupa grammar (1970: 121-128), certain ‘adverbial’ prefixes condition which of the three perfective prefixes can occur on the verb: some require *gh-* ‘perfective’, some *ni-* ‘perfective’, and some *s-* ‘perfective’. The adverbial prefixes only select which perfective marker the verb will use, as they can be found with the other markers, like *gh-* ‘progressive’⁵⁶ and ‘*u-* ‘optative’. In Nuu-wee-ya’, seven prefixes are found conditioning the *ni-* perfective in the absence of the semantic value of perfective/completive; five of these are clearly cognates to adverbial prefixes that condition the *ni-* perfective in Hupa. Table 48 lists the thematic prefixes that always co-occur with *ni-* in this dataset, as well as their glosses.

Table 48. Thematic prefixes co-occurring with *ni-*.

Nuu-wee-ya’		Hupa (Golla, 1970)	
Prefix	gloss	Prefix	gloss
<i>da-</i>	‘in’	<i>da-</i>	‘inside’ (125)
<i>k’e/k’we-</i> ⁵⁷	‘off’	<i>k’ya-</i>	‘separating from’ (p128)
<i>t’re/t’se-</i> ⁵⁸	‘towards/out ,	<i>č’e-</i>	‘out of an enclosure’ (p128)
<i>uu-</i>	‘towards’	--	--

⁵⁶ It is just the nature of this language that verbs can use the same sound to indicate both perfective and progressive (Golla, 1976: 223-224). Probably the prefixes originally had distinct vowels that have morphed to many different vowel forms, so it is hard to determine by the form if it is perfective or progressive.

⁵⁷ This variation is conditioned by the referents.

⁵⁸ It is not clear whether this is a real difference or just a transcription variant.

I now illustrate each of these prefixes individually. First, consider example (16.92), where the dual stem for ‘go’, *delh*, does not take any adverbial prefixes, only *gh-* ‘progressive’.

16. 92 *ghit-dvlh*

 ghi-d-dvlh
 PROG-d.CL-go.2

‘We (2) are going you and I’ [EJ 249:1:1]

In contrast, in (16.93-16.95) the three suppletive stems for ‘go’, *ya* ‘go.SG’, *delh* ‘go.DUAL’ and *tl’ilh* ‘go.PL’, all take the sequence *da-ni-*. In (16.93) we see it with the dual stem *delh*.

16. 93 *daa-nit-delh*

 da-ni-d-delh
 in-COMP-d.CL-go.2

‘When we (2) come in’ [EJ 271:11:1]

In (16.94), we see it with the plural stem *tl’ilh*.

16. 94 *daa-nilh-tl’ilh*

 da-ni-lh-tl’ilh
 in-COMP-d.CL-go.3

‘When they (pl) come in’ [EJ 271:13:1]

Finally, we see in (16.95) this prefix series used in the singular form of ‘go’ *ya*.

16. 95 *daa-nii-ya*

 da-ni-ya
 PROG-d.CL-GO.1

‘When he comes in’ [EJ 271:9:1]

There is nothing in the morphology of the verbs in these three examples (99-101) to suggest an adverbial phrase, so the presence of ‘when’ in the translations is unexplained. However, it is true that right when someone enters, an action is completed. These examples suggest that the prefix *da-* ‘in’ adds a telic endpoint to an action, which is then consistent with the completive prefix *ni-*.

A similar pattern emerges with the prefix *k’e-/k’we-* ‘off’, which also conditions *ni-*. In this case, we have four pairs of verb, one with *k’e/k’we* and one without; although there is not always an aspectual difference, every instance of *k’e/k’we* is immediately followed by *ni-* and in three of the examples, the readings appear to be more telic.

In (16.96) we see the stem *t’a*, ‘cut’ using the adverb *k’a* ‘in two’ and it does not take the *ni-* morpheme and the reading does not seem to be completive.

16. 96 *ch’v-k’ashlh-t’a*
 ch’v-k’a-sh-lh-t’a
 INDF.OBJ-in.two-1S.SUB-lh.CL-cut
 ‘I cut wood’ [EJ 261:1:1]

In (16.97) we see the suppletive form of ‘cut’ *t’as* with a different adverb *k’we* ‘off. I this example it does have the *ni-* and it does seem to have a completive reading.

16. 97 *k’wee-nish-t’as*
 k’we-ni-sh-t’as
 off-COMP-1S.SUB-cut
 ‘I cut it off’ [EJ 252:7:1]

In (16.98) the stem *gvsh* ‘cover’ is nominalized to refer to a tablecloth (lit. ‘something that covers’), whereas in (16.99) the same stem plus *k’we-ni-* refers to a completive act of attaching a skin cover to something.

16. 98 *k’wvt dash-gvsh*

k’wvt *da-sh-gvsh*
on REF-1.S.SUB-cover

‘Something thrown over table’ [EJ 380:5:1]

16. 99 *ch’v-srvsr k’we-ni nii-gvsh*

ch’v-srvsr *k’weni* *nii-gvsh*
INDF-skin over COMP-cover

‘He covered it with skin’ [EJ 307:5:1]

Now in (16.100), we have a perfective form of ‘bite’ that uses the stative perfective, indicating that it is completed.

16. 100 *yislh-k’u*

yi-s-lh-k’u
3O3-STAT-lh.CL-bite

‘He bit it’ [EJ 363:7:1]

However, in (16.101), when the adverb *k’e* ‘in two’ is used, the prefix *ni-* is used also with a completive meaning.

16. 101 *k’ee-nilh-k’u*

k’e-ni-lh-k’u
in.two-COMP-lh.CL-bite

‘He bit it in two’ [EJ 363:6:1]

Finally, in (16.102-103), two different stems for ‘break’, *ch’vlh* and *srvt*, have the same translation ‘he broke it’, leaving us unable to determine the contribution of the *k’we-ni-* present in (16.103) but absent in (16.102). However we do see that that again with the use of *k’we* adverb, (16.103) the ‘completive’ *ni-* is used, whereas is (16.102) without this adverb, the ‘stative’ *s-* is used. Both ‘completive’ *ni-* and ‘stative’ *s-* are considered perfective markers (Golla 1976: 224-225),

16. 102 *dis-ne yislh-ch’vlh*

disne *yi-s-lh-ch’vlh*
 man 3O3-STAT-lh.CL-break

‘He broke it’ [EJ 225:5:1]

16. 103 *k’wee-nii-srvt-la*

k’we-ni-srvt=la
 off-COMP-break=PST

‘He broke it’ [EJ 264:5:1]

In (16.104) the stem ‘*vs*’ ‘run’ describes the activity of running around the house, whereas in (16.105) the same stem plus *tr’e-ni-* describes having completed the act of starting to run.⁵⁹

16. 104 *mvn’-ne svslh-’vs*

mvn’=’e *sv-s-lh-’vs*
 house=POSS STAT-1S.SUB-lh.CL-run

‘I ran around the house’ [EJ 286:19:1]

⁵⁹ It is not entirely clear whether *ts’e-* in (111) is a variant of *tr’e-*, a mis-transcription of *tr’e-*, or a distinct morpheme with a very similar shape and meaning.

16. 105 *tr'ee-nishlh-'vs*

tr'e-ni-sh-'vs
out-COMP-1S.SUB-run

‘[I run] If I have already started’ [EJ 374:8:1]

In (16.106), the stem *ya* ‘go’ with its other morphology expresses the activity of going through the woods.

16. 106 *ch'v-t'v-ghe 'ee-ghii-ya*

ch'vt'eghe *'e-ghi ya*
woods PEG-PFV-go.1

‘He went through the woods’ [EJ 308:4:1]

In (16.107) the same stem with *tr'e-ni-* ‘out-completive’ refers to a completed telic act of stepping through a door.

16. 107 *mat-k'wvsh-nu' tr'ee-nii-ya*

matk'wvshnu' *tr'e-ni-ya*
door out-COMP-go.1

‘He went through the door’ [EJ 308:2:1]

Although Golla (1970) does not report this prefix in Hupa, in (16.108-111) we see two verbs with the prefix *uu-* ‘towards’ conditioning a subsequent *ni-* perfective. In both examples, the *uu-* is preceded by the prefix *y-*, indicating a third person subject acting on a third person object, and in both examples with *uu-* ‘towards’, the object is the goal towards which the subject aims something, a rock in (16.109) and a shot in (16.111).

In (16.108), the adverb is *te-* ‘down’ and the aspect is marked with the *gh-* ‘progressive’. In (16.109) the aspect is *uu-* ‘towards and has the *ni-* perfective.

16. 108 *te-'vn tee-ghish-selh*

te'vn *te-ghi-sh-selh*
 down down-PROG-1S.SUB-throw

‘I throw [a rock] down’ [EJ 244:12:1]

16. 109 *see mvlh yuu-nii-selh*

se *mv-lh* *y-u-ni-selh*
 rock 3.OBJ-with 3O3-towards-COMP-throw

‘he threw a rock at him’ [EJ 251:1:1]

In (16.110), the adverb is *se-* ‘up’, with no aspect marked; the translation could read as perfective or imperfective.

16. 110 *ch'ash dee-ti selh-ghi*

ch'ash *deti* *se-lh-ghi*
 bird small up-lh.CL-shoot

‘He shot many small birds’ [EJ 292:11:1]

However, in (16.111), with the *ni-* ‘completive’ is used again with the *uu-* adverb ‘towards’. The reading of this translation is also ambiguous if it is perfective or imperfective.

16. 111 *yuu-nii-lha*

y-u-ni-lha
 3O3-towards-COMP-shoot

‘He shot at her’ [EJ 251:4:1]

While the last examples show a pattern of specific adverbials co-occurring with specific aspectual markers, lack of speakers to inform us of the actual adverbial state

curtails this analysis to know if the *ni-* ‘completive’ is present when there the verb is not perfective.

16.3.6 Undetermined *ni-*

Examples (16.112-16.117), all illustrate the category of ‘possibly thematic’ in that these stems are not attested without this prefix although the semantic value of completive/perfective does not characterize the verb. In these examples I still gloss the *ni-* as ‘completive’ due to a lack of a better term.

In these examples, the stems *yish* ‘call’ and *dash* ‘dance’ are only attested with the prefix *ni-*. While they are only attested with this prefix, you can see that (16.112-113) are progressive.

16. 112 *taa-ha xwaa-xv-nii-yish*
 ta=ha *xwa-xv-ni-yish*
 father=Q AREAL-?-PFV-call
 ‘You are calling father’ [EJ 329:3:1]

16. 113 *sh-taa xwaa-naa-xv-nisht-yish*
 sh-ta *xwa-na-xv-ni-sh-d-yish*
 1S.POSS-father AREAL-PLU-?-COMP-1S.SUB-d.CL-call
 ‘I am calling father’ [EJ 329:1:1]

In (16.114) you can see the same prefix in a future sense.

16. 114 *jii-xvlh-tr'i xwaa-naa-xv-nish-yish*
 ji-xvlhtr'i *xwa-na-xv-ni-sh-yish*
 DET-night AREAL-PLU-?-COMP-1S.SUB-call
 ‘I will call him tonight’ [EJ 329:6:1]

Similarly, *nii-dash* (16.115) is the normal form in the northern dialect for ‘dance’ (pronounced *nee-dash* in the southern dialect).

16. 115 *nii-dash*

ni-dash
COMP-dance

‘He dances’ [EJ 381:3:1]

16.3.7 Summarizing *ni-*

In this body of data, there appear to be three different prefixes with the form *ni-*. The most common prefix is the perfective/completive aspect marker. While the semantics are not completely understood, it is likely that the prefixes that condition *ni-* change the verbs so that they are more telic, and thus more compatible with completive aspect. The second *ni-* is a locative or locative prefix meaning ‘inside’. The third *ni-* is used to indicate states of being and has the allomorph *nn-* with third person subjects.

16.4 Contributing prefix *nu-*: typically locative or optative

The prefix *nu-* is much less discussed, described only by Jacobs (110) as meaning ‘terminative’ (p. 73), ‘completion’ (p. 85), and ‘at’ (p. 85). Without the initial nasal, the prefix *u-* has been described by Golla (1976: 224), Sapir (1914: 310), and Jacobs (110: 81) as indicating ‘optative’ mood, and by Bommelyn (1997: 19) as meaning ‘conative’ aspect. In this case, optative and conative are both irrealis in that the action has not yet succeeded, referring to the situation of saying ‘let it be’, ‘may he V successfully’ or ‘try to V’. Golla (1970: 124) lists *no-* as ‘to completion’ in Hupa. In Mattole (Li, 1930) it is defined as ‘down’ and ‘to the limit’ (p. 59).

In this particular dataset, we see clear uses of *nu-* as a locative (9.4.4.1), some uses in optative examples where the prefix appears to be *nu-* rather than the expected *u-* ‘optative’ (9.4.4.2), and some stems in which the semantic value of *nu-* is not clear (9.4.4.3).

16.4.1 Locative use of *nu-*

In examples (16.116-120), *nu-* occurs consistently with the stems *'a* ‘put’, *ash* ‘put’, and *talh* ‘stand’. In (16.116-118), the verb is identical *nuu-nish-'a* ‘I put it at X’, with the location specified in the preceding word. In this case, it appears that *nu-* is indicating ‘general location’ or perhaps ‘towards’

16. 116 *mvn'-e nuu-nish-'a*
- | | |
|----------------|------------------------------|
| <i>mvn'='e</i> | <i>nu-ni-sh-'a</i> |
| house=POSS | LOC-COMP-1S.SUB-handle.ROUND |
- ‘I put it behind’ [EJ 280:8:1]
16. 117 *naa-svt nuu-nish-'a*
- | | |
|--------------|------------------------------|
| <i>nasvt</i> | <i>nu-ni-sh-'a</i> |
| in front | LOC-COMP-1S.SUB-handle.ROUND |
- ‘I put it in front of’ [EJ 280:9:1]

Other locative prefixes can be used instead of *nu-* as seen in (16.118) in which *se-* is used to indicate an ‘upward placement’.

16. 118 *hat see-ghish-'a*
- | | |
|------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>hat</i> | <i>se- ghi-sh-'a</i> |
| near | up.LOC-PRF-1S.SUB-handle.ROUND |
- ‘I put it on top’ [EJ 280:3:1]

In (16.119), the verb lacks *ni-* and the reading changes to ‘make’. The stem for ‘handle a round object’ is in a supplet form. I think the reading of this could be ‘putting (handling) a house in a location’.

16. 119 *mvn' nush-'ash*

 mvn' *nu-sh-'ash*
 house LOC-1S.SUB-handle.ROUND.IMPF

 ‘I am making a house’ [EJ 253:8:1]

In (16.120), the *nu-* could be locative or it could be the optative, which would be consistent with a mild imperative reading.

16. 120 *nuu-di-talh*

 nu-di-talh
 LOC-PROM-stand

 ‘Stand up’ [EJ 360:3:1]

16.4.2 Optative use of *nu-*

Optativity is expressed with *u-*. This form is never found word initial, but only in combination with the consonant of the prior prefix, which is often *n-* ‘completive’ as seen in (16.121) ‘I hope you drown’. The optative *u-* combines with the ‘completive’ *n-* to indicate the desire for someone to drown.

16. 121 *tee-nuu-lat*

 te-n-u-lat
 INC-COMP-OPT-sink

 ‘I hope you drown’ [EJ 387:12:1]

Whereas, in (16.122) we see the contrast in ‘you drown’ without the *u-* ‘optative’. It is important to note that the translation is not clear in (116.122) that it is perfective or not. This could be an example in which the completed outcome is impacting the use of the *ni-* ‘completive’ prefix.

16. 122 *tee-nii-lat*

 te-ni-lat
 INC-COMP-sink

 ‘You drown’ [EJ 373:2:1]

16.4.3 Undetermined use of *nu-*

There are about as many examples in which the use of *nu-* is just not clear as there are of the two clear meanings just described. Unlike the previous two sections, rather than using one of the glosses available for this form, I gloss the undetermined uses as ‘nu.TH’.

There is one example that is challenging on many levels that seems to have a *u-* optative alongside the *gh-* ‘perfective’, as well as a *nu-*, in example (16.123). There is nothing in the translation that would make us expect the ‘locative’ interpretation of *nu-* so we have to assume that this *nu* is connected to optativity or perhaps something else unknown yet. In (16.123) the action is about to happen but has not yet.

16. 123 *xu' nuu-ghush-dalh*

 xu' *nu-gh-u-sh-dalh*
 about nu.TH-PFV-OPT-1S.SUB-go.2

 ‘I'll go now’ [EJ 320:8:1]

However, in (16.124) the action is still in the future. It is interesting that both examples have a first-person subject marker, yet both have the ‘2 people go’ stem *dalh*. While it might be related to optativity, the meaning of *nu-* in (16.123) is unclear.

16. 124 *xu' naa-ghvsh-dalh-te*
xu' na-ghv-sh-dalh=te
 about PLU-PFV-1S.SUB-go.2=FUT
 'I'm about to leave' [EJ 270:3:1]

Both 'whisper' (16.125) and 'understand just a little' (16.126) could be interpreted as conative, indicating less success at carrying out the action.

16. 125 *nuu-yvxxw*
nu-yvxxw
 nu.TH-whisper
 'Whispering' [EJ 305:6:2]

16. 126 *dis-tit yashl-'e nushlh-ts'it*
distit yashl'e nu-sh-lh-ts'it
 only little nu.TH-1S.SUB-lh.CL-know
 'I understand just a little' [EJ 272:2:1]

In fact, stretching this idea just a little farther, talking 'too much' (16.127) could also be interpreted as conative if the behavior leads to less successful communication. However, this translation is unexpected due to the presence of the negative marker. The translation might better be 'do not let him talk', with the emphasis on 'let', if the *nu-* in this example indicates the optative.

16. 127 *du nuu-'ash*
du nu-'ash
 NEG nu.TH-talk.IMPF
 'Talks too much' [EJ 272:9:1]

However, I see no way to explain the *nu-* found with ‘be tired’ (16.128). Perhaps this is a thematic form originally based on the optative.

16. 128 *shtee-nul-ya*

 sh-te-nu-l-ya
 1S.OBJ-INC-nu.TH -I.CL-tired

 ‘I am tired’ [EJ 259:6:1]

The consistent use of *nu-* with *t’alh* and *te*, both meaning ‘go to bed’ (16.129-131), could be locative, optative, or thematic. It is possible that the stem forms could be aspectual forms of the same stem, but without any clear semantic contrast in the examples we cannot be sure. Note that (16.129-131) all have the same translation. We can see that in (13.129-130) there is the *talh* form along with *d-* ‘reflexive’ and *u-* ‘optative’.

16. 129 *nuu-dush-t’alh*

 nu-d-u-sh-t’alh
 nu.TH-REF-OPT-1S.SUB-go.to.bed

 ‘I go to bed’ [EJ 364:2:1]

While (16.129-31) all have the same translation, n only (13.130) and (13.131) is the prefix *da-* meaning ‘in’.

16. 130 *daa-nuu-dush-t’alh*

 da-nu-d-u-sh-t’alh
 in-nu.TH-REF-OPT-1S.SUB-go.to.bed

 ‘I go to bed’ [EJ 364:3:1]

16. 131 *daa-nush-te*
 da-nu-sh-te
 in-nu.TH-1S.SUB-go.to.bed
 ‘I go to bed’ [EJ 364:1:1]

A final use of *nu-* is found with the stem ‘*elh* ‘be wet’, in both cases correlating with the inchoative meaning ‘get wet’ (16.132-134). In (16.132-133) both examples have the translation ‘get wet’ and have the prefix *nu’-*.

16. 132 *shnu'-ghilh-'elh*
 sh-nu’-ghi-lh-'elh
 1S-nu’.TH-PFV-lh.CL-wet
 ‘I got wet’ [EJ 262:8:1]

16. 133 *nu'-yaslh-'elh*
 nu’-ya s-lh-'elh
 nu’.TH-PL-STAT-lh.CL-wet
 ‘They got wet’ [EJ 262:14:1]

However, in (16.134) without *nu’*, the meaning in ‘be wet’. As the examples in (16.132-133) also have a glottal stop (*nu’-* rather than *nu-*) It is likely that the meaning is distinct, perhaps representing a different prefix that talks about the completeness of an action.

16. 134 *daa-ghaa-ni ghii-'elh*
 daghani *ghi-'elh*
 clothes PFV-wet
 ‘His clothes were wet’ [EJ 243:5:1]

16.4.4 Summarizing use of *nu-*

This data set shows less clarity regarding the prefix *nu-*. In a few examples it clearly indicates placement of an item, in a few others optative mood, but quite a few examples do not fit into either of these categories. This form, while troublesome to completely describe, I believe gives us insight into the deeper tangle of grammar that is beyond the scope of this work. By describing what I can and marking the uncertainties with a clear gloss (*nu.TH* and *nu'.TH*), I signal the need to return to these questions in future research.

16.5 Contributing prefix *ne-*: typically confusing

A prefix *ne-* was not mentioned by Golla, Hoijer, or Bommelyn in their grammatical analyses. It was described by Sapir (1914: 304) as an ‘unknown’ prefix found with verbs like *nelh-* ‘i’ ‘to watch’. Golla (1976: 225) lists examples using the form *ne-*, but he analyzes them as allomorphs of *nv-* completive. Jacobs (110: 92-97) describes some uses of *ne-* along with her struggles in defining its meaning. She begins by saying that *ne-* is used as both a completive and a continuative. She is unhappy with this apparent contradiction, although she cites (p. 92) this same finding in Carrier by Morice (1932: 337), who uses *ne-* for both ‘completive’ and ‘continuative action’. She writes that her best attempt at glossing this prefix would be as ‘indefinite plurality of action’ (p. 92), then she also describes its use as ‘down’ (p. 96). Because Nuu-wee-ya’ vowels readily change form, to determine the functions of *ne-*, we must first weed out examples where *ne-* is an allomorph of a different prefix form, such as the *na-*, *ni-*, or *nu-* described in the preceding sections. As a practical matter, we can only be sure we are seeing an example

of *ne-* when the stem is found with the other prefixes and this is associated with a semantic difference.

This prefix has been described many ways in other languages as well. Notably, in Slave, Rice (1989: 432) describes it as a thematic prefix with little semantic content and as ‘imperfective’; In Witsuwit’en, Hargus (2007: 387) describes it as ‘qualifier of round objects’ and as a ‘thematic’ prefix (p. 442). In Witsuwit’en, this form is also found describing: ‘distributive/inanimate plurals’ (p. 423), ‘iterative/cyclic’ (p. 438), and ‘inchoative’ (p. 592), all functions found with *na-* in Nuu-wee-ya’. In Mattole (Li, 1930) *ne-* is defined as ‘back to the original place or condition’ (p. 58) and ‘on the ground’ (p. 59).

The use of the form *ne-* is very unclear; perhaps best exemplifying the challenge of interpreting the use of this set of prefixes. To grapple with the range of meaning found in the data I divide examples of *ne-* into three different categories: probably thematic, possibly allomorphic, and meaningful. ‘Possibly allomorphic’ examples occur when the stem is found with *ne-* in some forms and a different ‘n’ prefix (*ni-*, *na-*, *nu-*) in other forms. Unless these different prefix forms correspond to different semantic uses, they are most likely allomorphs of a single morpheme. ‘Meaningful examples’ are when stems with *ne-* are in semantic contrast with other prefix constructions. These are the examples that can inform us as to the semantic value of *ne-*. ‘Probably thematic’ examples are those for which *ne-* is the only prefix found with a stem; further analysis in the corpus may reveal other prefixes in opposition with these uses of *ne-*, which could in turn allow us to identify the semantic contribution made by *ne-*. For determining a typical value of *ne-*, we must base our analysis only on the ‘meaningful’ category. The following sections

prefix, it is clear that a more literal translation of this verb should be ‘I fear you’ rather than ‘you scare me’.

16. 137 *nii-nee-sislh-jit*
 ni-ne-si-s-lh-jit
 2S.OBJ-n.TH-STAT-1S.SUB-lh.CL-afraid
 ‘You scare me’⁶⁰ [EJ 299:8:1]

We see the third person object marker *yi-* in (16.138) as well. Making this read ‘he was afraid of it’

16. 138 *yii-nel-jit-'i*
 yi-ne-l-jit=i
 3O3-n.TH -l.CL-afraid=NOM
 ‘He was afraid of it’ [EJ 288:15:1]

In (16.139-140) we see two examples of *lvs* ‘run’, one without (16.139) and one with (16.140) a *ne-* form. In (16.139), the referent is running to the door. It uses the *gh-* ‘perfective’ and the *ya-* adverb meaning ‘upwards’

16. 139 *maa'-gwe-tr'vn yaa-ghv-lvs*
 ma'gwe *tr'vn* *ya-ghv-lvs*
 door towards up-PFV-run
 ‘She ran to door’ [EJ 292:8:1]

Whereas (16.140) has the postposition *me* ‘in (the river)’, which Jacobs (110: 115) states is always found with the *ni-* locative prefix (discussed in 9.4.1.3). Based on this, I analyzed *ne-* in (16.140) as an allomorph of *ni-* ‘locative’. Notice that there is also

⁶⁰ This translation would be more accurate as ‘I am scared of him’, in which the object is a direct object rather than indicated with a prepositional phrase.

the *gh-* ‘perfective’ in this example so we would not expect the *ne-* to also indicate perfective

16. 140 *xu-ne-me nee-yv-ghv-lvs*

 xune me ne-yv-ghv-lvs
 river in LOC-up-PFV-run

 ‘He ran in the river’ [EJ 289:8:1]

In (16.141-143), we can see *ne-* in alternation with *na-* for the stem *ts’ilh* ‘grease, paint’ and in (16.144-155) with *xe* ‘paddle’. In (16.141), there is no thematic prefix, only the perfective marker *ghi-*.

16. 141 *xv-nvs ch’v-k’a ghii-ts’ilh*

 xvnvs ch’v-k’a ghi-ts’ilh
 canoe INDF-on PFV-grease

 ‘He greased his canoe’ [EJ 312:5:1]

The alternation in question is seen in the next three examples, with (16.142) using *na-* ‘pluractional’ (cf. section 4.2.1).

16. 142 *ch’v-k’a naa-yislh-ts’ilh*

 ch’v-k’a na-yi-s-lh-ts’ilh
 INDF-on PLU-3O3-STAT-lh.CL-grease

 ‘He greased it’ [EJ 312:1:1]

However, it appears that (16.143-144) use *ne-* for what is apparently the same function.

16. 143 *t'aa-mish-she' nee-ghvt-ts'ilh*
 t'amish=e' ne-ghv-d-ts'ilh
 hat=POSS PLU-PFV-d.CL-grease
 'He greased his hat' [EJ 312:4:1]

16. 144 *ni' nee-ghvt-ts'ilh*
 ni' ne-ghv-d-ts'ilh
 face PLU-PFV-d.CL-grease
 'he painted his face!' [EJ 292:1:1]

(16.145-16.146) are examples of the stem *xe* 'paddle a canoe', with (16.145) illustrating the typical situation, where *na-* marks the iterative nature of paddling, whereas in (16.146) the prefix *ne-* appears with apparently the same function. Due to prevalence of this verb with *na-* I assume that this use of *ne-* is an allomorph of *na-*.

16. 145 *naa-xe*
 na-xe
 PLU-paddle
 'You paddle' [EJ 386:1:1]

16. 146 *nee-ghet-xe*
 ne-ghe-d-xe
 PLU-PL-1P.SUB-paddle
 'We paddle' [EJ 261:10:1]

16.5.2 Alternating *ne-*

Having cleared away the allomorphic *ne-*, we arrive at examples in which we can see a semantic contrast with other prefixes. In (16.147-149), we see three examples of the stem *'i-* 'look'. With *ghv-* 'progressive' the verb is glossed 'see' (16.147) and with the lexical postposition *k'e* 'as, like'.

16. 147 *ch'ash ghvsh-'i*

ch'ash *ghv-sh-'i*
bird prog-1s.SUB-see

'I see a bird' [EJ 287:4:1]

In (16.148) the verb means 'look like', using the postposition *k'e* 'similar/like' and the adverb *u-* 'towards' to create a meaning that reads 'look towards/as similarity of referent'. The referent here that the subject looks like is not marked as it is third person. Often third person postposition referents are unmarked.

16. 148 *k'ee 'ul-'i*

k'e *'u-l-'i*
like towards-l.CL-see

'Looks like' [EJ 287:1:1]

With *ne-* it means 'look at' (16.149), which is both less telic than 'see' and more agentive than either 'see' or 'look like'. This switches out with the *u-* to create a different meaning of 'see'. Without a more conclusive evidence I am simply glossing this form of *ne-* as 'at'.

16. 149 *nel-'i*

ne-l-'i
at-l.CL-see

'You (s) look at him' [EJ 215:2:1]

In (16.150-151) we see two examples of *tsi* 'sit.dual'. In (16.150), the stem takes the prefix *ne-* and the phrase indicates a transitive, telic action with a clear agent subject, in which 'they sit him down'.

16. 150 *xv-nvs-me-tr'vn ts'v-nelh-ts'vt*

xvnvs me tr'vn ts'v-ne-lh-ts'vt
 canoe in towards INDF-CAUS-lh.CL-sit.2.PRF

‘They sit him down in end of canoe’ [EJ 290:3:1]

In contrast, (16.151) is the standard intransitive activity, and it is marked with *da-*, the prefix that is found in all other examples of ‘sit’.

16. 151 *t'v-xwii-dvn tr'e' daa-delh-ts'i*

t'vxwi=dvn tr'e' da-de-lh-ts'i
 all=LOC outdoors on-REF-lh.CL-sit.2.IMPF

‘They're usually sitting outdoors’ [EJ 316:6:1]

In examples (16.152-155), we see *ne-* used with the intransitive non-agentive stem *le* ‘burn’. The three examples with *ne-* (16.152-154) all have a telic reading. In (16.152) the verb indicates the fire ‘burned down’

16. 152 *nes-lee-la*

ne-s-le=la
 TEL-STAT-burn=PST

‘It burned down’ [EJ 267:3:1]

In (16.153), the same verb as in (16.152), with the addition of the adverb *xa* ‘fast’ indicates the fire ‘burned fast’.

16. 153 *xa' nes-lee-la*

xa' ne-s-le=la
 fast TEL-STAT-burn=PST

‘It burned fast’ [EJ 267:5:1]

In (16.154), with the same verb with the phrase ‘only part’ indicates the fire burned ‘part way down’.

16. 154 *tl'uu-sha nes-lee-la*

tl'u *sha* *ne-s-le=la*
part only TEL-STAT-burn=PST

‘It partly burned down’ [EJ 267:6:1]

The single example without the *ne-* in 16.155 is not telic.

16. 155 *gus taa-ch'v-ghii-le*

gus *taa-ch'v-ghii-le*
potato ta.TH-INDF-PROG-burn

‘The potatoes are burning’ [EJ 269:4:1]

In (16.156-157) we see that *ne-* is used with a telic sense, although there is no clear example that provides us with a semantic contrast.

16. 156 *dis-ne nee-ghilh-se'-la*

disne *nee-ghi-lh-se'=la*
man TEL-PFV-lh.CL-dry=PST

‘He dried it’ [EJ 265:1:1]

16. 157 *lhtr'ii nee-ghilh-se'-la*

lhtr'i *nee-ghi-lh-se'=la*
wind TEL-PFV-lh.CL-dry=PST

‘The wind dried it’ [EJ 265:3:1]

In contrast, there is only one example each of the verbs in (16.160-161), so while they are still in the possible thematic category, their status is more unclear.

16. 160 *lhaa-nel-ye*

lha-ne-l-ye
REC-ne.TH-1.CL-put

‘It put itself together’ [EJ 307:2:1]

16. 161 *xwvn' nee-svs-ha*

xwvn' *nee-svs=ha*
fire ne.TH-fire.out=Q

‘The fire went out’ [EJ 322:5:1]

16.5.4 Summarizing use of *ne-*

Considering the many examples where *ne-* is actually an allomorph of another prefix, plus the examples where it is not clear what component *ne-* contributes to the meaning of an attested word, the few contrastive examples that suggest *ne-* is a telic, causative, or agentive marker look rather unhelpful. On the one hand, the number of examples is not large enough for us to be definitive that this is the best gloss, and on the other hand, if our goal is to benefit learners, it seems rather unhelpful to assign a contingent gloss that most likely will change as the analysis grows beyond this dataset. That said, simply labeling it as ‘unknown’ seems unhelpful, too, if we think we know what it but we just do not know what to call it. Since this is an issue that can face any element of analysis, it seems pertinent to have a system in place to handle these semantic uncertainties until they can be understood. The system I used was to provide an

informative gloss for each example that indicates a semantic contrast and to just use ‘ne.TH’ when the semantics are unknown.

As an interesting side note, Vajda (2010: 54) suggests that one form of Dene *ne-* is cognate with the *ne-* classifier for round objects in Siberian Khet of the Yeniseian language family. If this is accurate, then the form is exceedingly old, and the amount of time available for its meaning to shift idiosyncratically in combination with each different verb stem might explain why it is so hard to describe a consistent modern meaning.

16.6 Contributing prefix *nv-*: typically something else

This is the final prefix discussed in these findings, as it is the least amenable to analysis. In fact, from the examples in this data set, it is not clear that *nv-* is a prefix by itself, as opposed to being an allomorph of the other prefixes. As it is a reduced vowel (v), this is a likely hypothesis. The only previous accounting of this prefix is by Golla (1976: 225) who glosses it as completive. Since *ni-* is, in particular, also a completive prefix, this gives initial credibility to the suggestion that *nv-* is an allomorph of *ni-*, but there are also examples that link *na-* and *nv-* and *ne-* and *nv-*. In fact, there is only one example in which the use of *nv-* clearly carries a distinctive meaning, an example we turn to at the end of this section.

There are some examples in the data (16.162-163) In which *nv-* is the form *ni-* ‘completive’ occurring before the first-person subject marker *sh-*.

16. 162 *daa-nvsh-tesh*

 da-nv-sh-tesh
 in-COMP-1S.SUB-go to bed

 ‘I go to bed’ [EJ 378:8:1]

16. 163 *daa-nii-tesh*
 da-ni-tesh
 in-COMP-go.to.bed
 ‘Go to bed’ [EJ 385:8:2]

Looking at the dataset, there are also some uses of *nv-* in which, to me, it is clear that it is a variant of *nn-* ‘stative’. Consider the stem *li* ‘be’, which combines with the second person subject prefix to produce *ni-* (16.164), and then with first person to produce *nv-* (16.165).

16. 164 *du xwvs xee-nii-li*
 du *xwvs* *xe-n-i-li*
 NEG cough AREAL-STAT-2S.SUB-be
 ‘You are not sick’ [EJ 317:7:1]

16. 165 *duu-wi dii-nvn nvsh-li*
 duwi *dinvn* *nv-sh-li*
 indeed doctor STAT-1S.SUB-be
 ‘Indeed I am a doctor!’ [EJ 299:2:1]

I recognize that this is a situation in which it requires a leap of faith to conclude that this form is indeed the *nn-* ‘stative’. It might be better to not even try to account for these examples, waiting till more data is found, but my analysis is based not only on this data but on 19 years (and counting) of experience as a learner-speaker. Thus, I know independently that the stem *li* is found with *nn-* and that *nv-* is an allowable alternant when found before the first-person subject marker.

Also, there are two examples in which it appears as the *nv-* is a variant of *na-*, with *de* ‘wash’ and with *nish* ‘work’, both of which are inherently pluractional activities. In (16.166-67), the forms *na-* and *nv-* appear to be used interchangeably with *de* ‘wash’.

16. 166 *nv-ghaa-dil-de*

 nv-gha-di-l-de
 PLU-PL-1P.SUB-1.CL-wash

 ‘We wash ourselves’ [EJ 386:3:1]

16. 167 *laa naa-chilh-de*

 la *na-ch'i-lh-de*
 hand PLU-REP-lh.CL-wash

 ‘You are washing’ [EJ 369:1:1]

This can be seen also in (16.168-170) with *nish* ‘work’. This is another situation where my familiarity with the language informs me that *nv-* is an alternate pronunciation of *na-*. (16.168) has *nv-*.

16. 168 *dis-ne nv-ghaa-dvl-nish*

 disne *nv-gha-dv-l-nish*
 man PLU-?-REF-1.CL-work

 ‘The man is working’ [EJ 258:1:1]

Whereas, (16.169-170) has *na-* in the same position. There is no distinction of meaning but there is the unknown prefix *gha-* in (16.168) that is either impacting the phonology of the preceding prefix, and/or impacting the semantics of the verb in a way we do not yet understand.

16. 169 *naa-dvshlh-nish*

na-dv-sh-lh-nish
PLU-REF-1S.SUB-lh.CL-work

'I work' [EJ 368:7:1]

16. 170 *shaa naa-dvl-nish*

sh-a na-dv-l-nish
1S.SUB-for PLU-REF-1.CL-work

'He is working for me' [EJ 324:1:1]

Finally, the verb stem *ya* 'grab' appears to always have *ne-* (16.171-173), except in example (180), where the prefix *nv-* appears in its place. In both (16.171-172) we see the telic *ne-*.

16. 171 *tr'aa-xe dee-nelh-ya*

tr'axe de-ne-lh-ya
woman REF-TEL-lh.CL-grab

'She grabbed him' [EJ 314:7:1]

16. 172 *lhee-nel-ya*

lhe-ne-l-ya
REC-TEL-1.CL-grab

'They grabbed each other' [EJ 314:5:1]

In (16.173), we see the telic *ne-* again. In this example we also see *nu-* in its inflecting role of a first-person plural marker.

16. 173 *nuu-xwee-nelh-ya*

nu-xwe-ne-lh-ya
1P.OBJ-AREAL-TEL-lh.CL-grab

'They grabbed us' [EJ 314:8:1]

However, in (16.174), we see the *nv-* in the same position the *ne-* ‘telic’ is in (16.171-173). In (16.174) the only difference is there are no other prefixes occurring before the *nv-*; this location is perhaps what is conditioning the change from *ne-* to *nv-*.

16. 174 *xuu-me nv-sil-ya*
 xu-me *ne-si-l-ya*
 3PL-in TEL-STAT-I.CL-grab
 ‘We grabbed them’ [EJ 314:9:1]

As described above and seen in (16.175), the stem *se* ‘be dry’ can occur with *ne-*, and in each case the situation described is a telic change of state caused by an agentive subject, ‘to dry something’.

16. 175 *lhr'ii mvlh nee-ghilh-se'-la*
 lhr'i *mvlh* *ne-ghi-lh-se'=la*
 wind with TEL-PFV-lh.CL-dry=PST
 ‘He dried it in the wind’ [EJ 265:4:1]

In a single example (16.176), the prefix is *nv-* and the meaning is stative ‘I am dry’. This would apparently indicate that *nv-* is contrastive indicating a state rather than agentive change of state. However, knowledge I have from attending community language classes informs me that the translation of (16.176) is also ‘I am thirsty’. Also, this is an example in which no person marking is found. Normally, to indicate thirst I would expect the subject to be indicated with a possession marker on the noun *si* ‘head’.

16. 176 *si' nv-ghvl-se*

si' *nv-ghv-l-se*
 head ne.TH-PFV-1.CL-dry

'I am dry' [EJ 210:13:1]

Due to this second semantic meaning 'to be thirsty', I believe that the difference between *ne-* in (16.175) and *nv-* in (16.176) is not about the distinguishing a telic change of state from a state, rather that it is a result of semantic spread and frequent use.

Therefore, we reach the end of our examples of *nv-* without having enough evidence to say that *nv-* is a morpheme separate from the other prefixes examined here. While at this time there is not enough data to set up definitive environment rules to explain how the different prefixes end up as *nv-*, we can say that it is common to see this form when a prefix starting with an *n-* precedes the *sh-* first person subject marker.

16.7 What a detailed description can provide

This chapter provides detailed information that indicates the complexity of the issue of how verbs convey meaning. We can see that understanding how specific prefix forms contribute meanings takes time and detailed analysis and even then, a form is not always understood. This section is aimed mainly at linguists and advanced learner-speakers as it struggles with difficult grammatical interpretations. This chapter provides language revitalizationists with a model of approaching complex and inconsistent data.

CHAPTER XVII - A FOCUSED LOOK AT HOW VERB STEMS AND PREFIXES

WORK TOGETHER

This chapter examines how verbs with the ‘*a*’ verb stem combines with prefixes to convey different meanings. The purpose of this section is to demonstrate the complex ways that meanings can be expressed, and ultimately how widely used one verb stem form can be.

There are three general meanings for the verb stem ‘*a*’: ‘handle a round object’, ‘talk’ and ‘think’. The second two meanings, ‘talk’ and ‘think’ are undoubtedly connected. Speakers connect ‘talk’ as coming from ‘handle a round object. Loren Me’lashne Bommelyn told me in personal conversation (2017) that ‘talk’ came from the classificatory verb ‘handle something round’ and he said this is true because the classificatory verb stem *tesh* ‘handle straight stick-like object’ is used for ‘have a conversation’ because the way of talking in a conversation is straight between the speakers. I could not find an example in this dataset where *tesh* meant ‘talk’.

As a classificatory verb stem (see chapter 8), ‘*a*’ and its imperfective counterpart ‘*vsh*’, are more common than any of the other stem forms. These forms are the generic forms, that is they are used when someone is not sure the shape of the object. The use of classificatory verbs creates extensive idiomatic uses and metaphor as shown in Navaho with the use of the ‘mushy’ stem to refer to an ‘obstinate boy’ (Fernald & Willie, 2001).

In this section, I look separately at examples of ‘*a*’ used to mean ‘handle something round’ (17.1), ‘talk’ (17.2) and ‘think’ (17.3) and explain how the stem combines with the contributing prefixes to create verbal words.

17.1 ‘a ‘handle’

The gloss of ‘handle something round’ can cover a lot of semantic meanings. Indeed, the use of ‘a can convey a wide range of actions regarding a round object, including, ‘pick up’, ‘have’, ‘give’, ‘put’ and more. This section looks at different examples of the use of ‘a to mean ‘handle an object’. I am grouping these examples into four types: having, giving, locating, and idiomatic extensions.

17.1.1 Having a round object

There are a few ways verbs express ‘having a round object. This stem can combine to mean simple possession, as in ‘have’. In (17.1), ‘a is combined only with *na-* ‘pluractional’ and this gives the sense of ‘have’.

17. 1 *daa-wii-la na'-'a tr'vt?*

<i>daawiila</i>	<i>na'-'a</i>	<i>tr'vt?</i>
how.many	plu-handle.round	money

‘How much money have you?’ EJ 108:59:8:1

In (17.2), ‘a is also found with just *na-*, as in the previous example, only this example has the ‘future’ enclitic particle *te*. In this sentence this word as translated as ‘keep’ but is not talking about putting something away for safe-keeping, rather it is talking about ‘having’ something for the future.

17. 2 *lhaa-dvn yuu-ch'v-le alh-nvn-la v-ts'it-te xwii-de naa-'aa-te tr'vt*

<i>lhaa=dvn</i>	<i>yuu-ch'v-le</i>	<i>a-lh-nvn=la</i>
one=loc	det-little.brother	forlh.CL-say=past

<i>v-ts'it=te</i>	<i>xwii</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>naa-'aa=te</i>	<i>tr'vt</i>
peg-die=fut	every	thing	plu-handle.round=fut	money

‘Once he told his younger brother when I’m dead you keep all the money’
EJ 72:101:1:1

In contrast, (17.3) is also translated as ‘keep’ but in this one ‘a is with the ‘progressive’ *ghi-* and the ‘transitive’ *lh-*. the key difference between these two sentences is the relative time the ‘keeping’ occurs. The progressive here is indicating that the ‘having’ occurs progressively, indicating the meaning ‘keep’.

17. 3 *t'aa-mish ghilh-'a*

t'aamish *ghi-lh-'a*
 hat PROG-lh.CL-handle.round

‘He kept the hat’ (EJ 108 126:1:1)

In (17.4), there is the ‘a- stem and the ‘progressive’ *ghi-* and the ‘transitive’ *lh-*, like in (17.3), however in addition, there is the ‘first person object’ *sh-*. With the addition of the object, this verb means ‘send’. Notice that I am still using the stem ‘handle.round’. We can see that in this case the handling isn’t necessarily of a ‘round’ object. This is because this stem is the generic stem and can be used for shapes other than round.

17. 4 *shghilh-'a*

sh-ghi-lh-'a
 1S-PROG-lh.CL-handle.round

‘He sent me’ EJ 108 141:1:1

In (17.5), the verb means ‘pick up’ as in ‘to start to have it’. Here the stem ‘a is with the ‘pluractional’ *na-* that we see in section 16.2 with the addition of the ‘stative’ *s-*. It appears that the direct translation of this phrase would be ‘I enter the state of having’. This means that this is an example where the *s-* perfective is not acting as an inflecting aspect marker but is lexicalizing and contributing to the verb theme.

17. 5 *naa-sish- 'a*
 naa-si-sh- 'a
 PLU-STAT-1S-handle.round
 ‘I pick it up’ EJ 108 59:8:1

‘Pick up’ is also seen in (17.6), where the ‘*a* is with the *s-* ‘stative’ as before, but this example has *ne-* instead of *na-*. It is most likely that this is an allomorph of *na-*.

17. 6 *hat-du' hi nes-'aa-la*
 hat=du' hi ne-s-'aa=la
 there=foc 3s th-stat-handle.round=past
 ‘She picked it up’ EJ 72:96:7:1

This stem is also used to express ‘put away’. In (17.7), ‘*a* is combined with thematic *nu-* and *ni-* ‘completive’.

17. 7 *hii-wvn-du' t'ii-hi xwii-dee-shu nuu-nii-'aa-la ji yee-tl'uu-chu*
 hii-wvn=du' t'ii-hi xwiidee shu
 3s-for=foc pert-3s everything good
 nuu-nii-'aa-=la ji yeet'uuchu
 th-comp-handle.round=past this basket
 ‘Then at once she put every away (she piled them) her basket’
 EJ 72:132:1:1

A different version of this is in (17.8). Here, ‘*a* is combined with three of the *n* prefixes, *nu-* ‘completely’, *ni-* ‘completive’, and *ne-*. Here *ne-* is likely providing a telic meaning. This is a good example to demonstrate the difficulty of determining what a prefix means.

The next two examples come from a coyote story. Coyote often got into inappropriate situations. In (17.11), the stem 'a is with the *lh-* 'transitive' classifier and the *ghv-* 'perfective' as well as the *tv-* 'inceptive'. Additionally, there are *de* 'it' and *dv-* 'reflexive'. I am unsure if *de* is a separate or a prefix indicating the object. This verb is used to describe women carrying a part of coyote around. This is a verb in which sexual behavior is suggested but not explicitly mentioned.

17. 11 *hat-du' hat xwii-hii de dv-tv-ghvlh-'aa-la*

<i>hat=du'</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>xwii-hii</i>	<i>de</i>
there=foc	there	all-3s	it

dv-tv-ghv-lh-'aa=la
 ref-inc-pfv-lh.CL-handle.round=past

'Then they all took turns packing him' EJ 72:150:5

In (17.12), we continue Coyote's encounter with the women, and we can see the same verb in a slightly different structure. There is the stem 'a and the same *dee-dv* 'it-reflexive'. However, this verb has a *d* classifier. This classifier has different purposes and is not always productive. Since it is in alternation with the *lh-* classifier in (17.11), I assume that it is productive here. The *d-* classifier often has a reflexive sense to it. This example also does not have the *tv-* inceptive in as the previous example and the *ghv-* from above is replaced by *ghe-s-*. It is likely that the *ghe-* in (17.12) is the perfective of above, with the addition of the *s-* 'stative'. The difference between these two examples is that in the first one the action is starting, and this example below is a few lines later when the action is completed.

17. 12 *hat-du' lh'vn-chu xwii-hi dee-dv-ghesd-'aa-la*

<i>hat=du'</i>	<i>lh'vnchu</i>	<i>xwii-hi</i>	<i>de</i>
there=foc	indeed	all-3s	it

dv-ghe-s-d-'aa=la
ref-th-stat-d.CL-handle.round=past

‘Then indeed everybody held it’ EJ 72:150:9:1

These examples so far have all been transitive. This transitivity has been expressed in different ways. Most had no classifier (which sometimes marks transitivity). For some verb stems the lack of a classifier indicates intransitivity. However, most of these also have a word that indicates the object, located either before or after the stem. One example, 17.8, did not have any classifier nor an object lexeme and both subject and object marked on the verb by the lack of and person prefixes.

17.1.2 Give a round object

‘Give’ is different from the concept of ‘have’ in that it is ‘ditransitive’, meaning there are three referents associated with the verb, the ‘giver’, the ‘recipient’ and the ‘thing being given’. You can see that many of these examples do not have all three referents marked. In (17.13), the verb stem ‘*a*’ has the *ni-* ‘completive perfective’ marker. It has no transitive classifier, and the subject and object (giver and givee) are in third person so we would not expect to see prefixes for them. What makes this form different from the transitive examples above is the inclusion of the postpositional prefix, ‘*e-* ‘for’. When postpositions are prefixes, they have an obligatory prefix preceding it, indicating the nominal phrase. The set of prefixes that go here include the same forms that are found as subject and object prefixes, the reflexive and reciprocal as well as a set of prefixes, *m-*, *gh/w-*, *d-*, *b-* that are not yet understood. They are used with third person and indicate

information about the relationship between the subject and that entity. In (17.13), we can see this postposition *e-* is found with *w-*. This verb also has the *la* enclitic particle that indicates that this is past tense. This is often used when telling stories.

17. 13 *hat wee-nii-'aa-la*
 hat wee-nii-'aa=la
 there th-comp-handle.round=past
 ‘He gave it to him’ EJ 72:116:2:1

In (17.14), both words are based on the ‘*a* stem. The verb has the stem form ‘*vsh*, which is the imperfect form of ‘*a*. This example has *na-* ‘pluractional/reversative’; it also has the syllable *gha-*, this is similar or the same (one being an allomorph of the other) as the *wee-* above. Both *a-* and *e-* are found indicating a ‘for a recipient’ and *w-* is found in variation to *gh-*. The other word in (17.14) is acting as a referent (the object) of the phrase. It is made with the verb stem ‘*a* along with the ‘pluractional’ *na-* and the ‘first person subject’ marker *sh-*. This word can be translated as ‘I have’ and is formed the same as the examples in (17.15) with the addition of the relativizer. This verb is made into a noun that means ‘my property’ with the relativizing enclitic particle *nu*. This word could be translated more directly as ‘what I have’.

17. 14 *nash-'aa-nu ghaa-naa-'vsh*
 na-sh-'aa=nu
 plu-1s-handle.round=rel

 ghaa-naa-'vsh
 pl-plu-handle.round
 ‘Give me back my property’ EJ 72:117:1:1

In (17.15), there are also two words based on the ‘*a* stem. The second word in the phrase is made with the ‘*a* stem, has the ‘completive’ *ni-*, and then two syllables *shaa-*

specific location. In some cases, the verb stem indicates the simple location of the object. There are a few extensions based on this way of using 'a.

In (17.17), 'a is with 'locative' *nu-* to mean 'put ___'. Where the item is being put is expressed with the locative adverb *svs-k'et* 'near to'. This verb also has the inflectional prefixes *ni-* perfective and *sh-* first person singular.

17. 17 *svs-k'vt nuu-nish-'a*

 svsk'vt nuu-ni-sh-'a
 near on-PFV-1S-handle.round

 'I put it near it' (EJ 108 87:10:1)

In (17.18), the translation is not very different from the translation in (17.17). However, a different locative prefix *se-* is used instead, causing a different aspect to be used, that is *ghi-* 'perfective' (discussed in chapter 16). We don't yet know enough about what conditions the use of *nu-* and *se-*.

17. 18 *svs-k'vt see-ghish-'a*

 svsk'vt see-ghi-sh-'a
 near on-PFV-1S-handle.round

 'I put it next' (EJ 108 87:6:1)

This stem is also used with directions. In (17.19), the imperfective form 'vsh is with *da-* 'in'. to indicate for someone to bring the item inside.

17. 19 *daa-'vsh*

 daa-'vsh
 in-handle.round.IMPERF

 'You bring it in' (EJ 108 163:1:2)

In (17.20), we someone put an object in the fire with the 'a stem and *ni* 'in' locative prefix. What it is being placed inside of is expressed with a postpositional phrase.

17. 20 *xwvn' -kw'vt nii-nii-'a*
 xwvn' kw'vt nii-nii-'a
 fire on.top in-PFV-handle.round
 'He put in in a fire' (EJ 108 115:6:2)

However, in (17.21), translated as 'put in' does not have any positional prefix indicating 'in'. Instead, the stem is found with the *ghi-* progressive and the 'third person acting on three' *yi-*.

17. 21 *ji ch'i xwii-de yii-ghii-'aa-la sta-chu*
 ji ch'i xwii de yii-ghii-'aa =la
 this there every thing 3.on.3-pfv-handle.round=past
 sta=chu
 food=augmentative
 'Everything he put in (including food)' EJ 72:144:9:1

In (17.22), the imperfective stem 'vsh is with the prefix *k'e-* to mean 'put on'.

17. 22 *shla' k'ee-'vsh*
 sh-la k'ee-'vsh
 1S. -hand on-handle.round.IMPERF
 'Put it on my hand!' (EJ 108 116:11:1)

The next few examples seem like extensions of the locating use of 'a. In (17.23), the expression divide is expressed with the 'a verb stem with *ch'v-* 'indefinite' and *lh-* 'reciprocal' marker. This translate could be more accurate as 'put things apart'.

17. 23 *tr'it lh-ch'v-nii-'a*

tr'it *lh-ch'v-nii-'a*
money rec-indf-pfv- handle.round

‘He divided the money’ (EJ 108 128:1:1)

In (17.24), the verb means ‘cover’. It uses the ‘a stem with *nv-*, which could be one of a few prefixes (see chapter 16), as well as the ‘third person acting on third’ *yi-*. I am not sure of the explanation of this form other than ‘cover’, however it seems likely that it might be an idiom based on ‘put’.

17. 24 *q'we-tl'ilh yii-nv-ghis-'a*

q'wetl'i *lh* *yii-nv-ghi-s-'a*
dirt with 3o3-comp-pfv-stat-handle.round

‘He covered it with dirt’ (EJ 108 114:6:1)

The example in (17.25) is another extension has a complex grouping of verbs that is not clear why they are used. The prefix *da-* could be a reflexive or it could be the postposition ‘for’. The next prefix is either *na-* ‘pluractional’ or *ni-* ‘perfective’. The next two prefixes are likely *ghv-* perfective and *s* ‘stative’, a feature that has been noted in other verbs.

17. 25 *nat-xe daa-nv-ghii-selh-'a*

natxe *daa-nv-ghii-se-lh-'a*
paddle th-comp-pfv-stat-lh.CL-handle.round

‘He lost a paddle’ (EJ 108 48:10:1)

The next example, (17.26), does not express motion of an object, rather the position of the object. Here, the ‘a is found simply with the *s-* ‘stative’ marker. The location where the object is positioned is expressed with a separate adverbial lexeme.

17. 26 *haa-t'i s'a*

haa=t'i *s-'a*
there=cop stat-handle.round

‘It stays (if inanimate object)’ (EJ 108 185:10:1)

In (17.27), the verb is similar to the verb in 17.26 in that the ‘*a* stem is found with *s-* ‘stative’. However, this verb also has the *lh-* ‘transitive’ classifier. We can see in these two examples that the addition of this classifier here changes the meaning from ‘be positioned here’ to the transitive ‘leave here’.

17. 27 *tr'vt jaa-t'ii shaa silh-'a*

tr'vt *jaa=t'ii* *sh-aa-si-lh-'a*
money here=dir 1s-for-stat-lh.CL-handle.round

‘Leave the money here for me’ EJ 72:24:6:1

17.1.4 Extension from a round object

Some phrases using the ‘*a* stem, seemed to be an idiomatic extension but why prefixes express these isn’t always clear. In (17.28), there is the same form as in (17.17), which meant ‘put something ___’. Here it means ‘build a house’. The phrase ‘put something’ is being used to refer to ‘putting a house down somewhere’.

17. 28 *hat-du' hi nuu-nii-'aa-la*

hat=du' *hi* *nuu-nii-'aa=la*
there=foc 3s th-comp-handle.round=past

‘Then he built a house’ EJ 72:92:7:1

In (17.29) and (17.30), these phrases use the ‘*a* stem to mean ‘point’ at someone. The key bit of information is the thing is poison that kills the person through being pointed. In both of these examples, the prefix *te-* ‘inceptive’ is used, perhaps a storytelling device to indicate the suddenness of her action.

17. 32 *wvn-k'e ghes-t'a shuu-nuu-ts'v-nii-'a*

wvn *k'e* *ghe-s-t-'a*
for like away-stat-d.CL-handle.round

shuu-nuu-ts'v-nii-'a
good-th-indf-comp-handle.round

‘They accepted it, they took it for good’ EJ 72:69:8:1

Example (17.33) explains how a couple fell in love because they traded necklaces and then the last word says that they are now engaged. This word for ‘engaged’ has the stem ‘*a* along with *nu-* and *nv-* it is not clear which meaning these forms are expressing so as to mean ‘engaged to be married’.

17. 33 *hat-du' wv-dvn hi lhus-tee-la yu jii-ch'i naa-ghas-del-yu dvlh-ghaa-xi*
nvl-yaa-la aa-du' hii-mvlh lhvn nuu-nvt-'a

hat=du' *wv* *dvn* *hi* *lh-u-s-tee=la*
there=foc for loc 3s rec-for-stat-want=past

yu *jiich'i* *naaghasdelyu* *dv-lh-ghaa-xi*
det because necklace ref-rec-pl-trade

nv-l-yaa=la *aadu' hi* *mvlh* *lh-vn*
comp-l.CL-go.1=past now 3s with rec-towards

nuu-nv-t-'a
1p-th-d.CL-handle.round

‘Then they began to love each other on account those beads they had traded now they were engaged with that’ EJ 72:67:1:1 - EJ 72:67:2:1

In (17.34), the stem ‘*a* is used to express ‘having children’. The stem ‘*a* is combined with ‘stative’ *s-*, ‘telic’ *ne-* and *walh-* which is probably a form of the *lh-* postpositional prefix that is using *wa-* as the person marker. Again, is not clear how these pieces add up to mean ‘have children’.

17. 34 *ji hi dan walh-nes-'a*

ji hi dan wa-lh-ne-s-'a
 this 3s there for-rec-th-stat-handle.round

‘They increase family’ EJ 72:93:9:1

17.2 ‘a ‘talk’

The stem ‘a is also used to mean ‘talk’. In (17.35), we can see that the word for ‘talk is not that different from the word for ‘have’ back in (17.1). That is, it consists of the stem and the pluractional *na-*. However, notice that this pluractional *na-* ends in a glottal stop (‘).

17. 35 *dis-ne na'-'a*

disne na'-'a
 man PLU-talk

‘He is talking’ (EJ 108 143:3:1)

In the second person form of ‘talk’, as seen in (17.36), there is the ‘repetitive’ *ch'i*. It appears that this *ch'i-* reduces to just the glottal in other forms, but as this pattern does not normally happen with the ‘repetitive’ marker, it is uncertain what exactly this is.

17. 36 *tr'vn naa-ch'ii-ya hat nii-ya*

tr'vn naa-ch'ii-ya hat nii-ya
 towards plu-rep-talk there comp-go.1

‘Were you talking to him when she came’ EJ 109: 49: 13: 1

While most examples of ‘talk’ come with the *na-*, some examples used other prefixes instead. In (17.37), ‘a is with the *s-* stative, as with other *na-* ‘talk’ examples, but instead of *na-* there is the *lh-* ‘reciprocal’. This is signifying that the subject is in conversation ‘with’ someone.

17. 37 *hat-du' hat hii-gvn lhes-'aa-la yu tl'e' naa-gha*

hat=du' hat hii-gvn lhe-s-'aa=la
there=foc there 3s-about rec-stat-talk=past

yu tl'e' naa-gha
det night plu-go.1

‘Then he told about that nite man’ EJ 72:107:12:1

In (17.38), the stem ‘*a* is expressing ‘make loud noise’. This is accomplished with using the *nu*’- thematic adverb, perhaps indicating that the sound is filling the air.

17. 38 *hat-du' aa-xwv-ni ch'ash-chu nu'-nii-'aa-la*

hat=du' aaxwvni ch'ash=chu nu'-nii-'aa=la
there=foc next day bird=aug th-comp-talk=past

‘Then next morning, birds began to sing (make noise)’ EJ 116:5:7:1

In (17.39), the stem ‘*a* is used to express ‘tell a lie’, a meaning usually expressed with the stem *ts'it*. This is the only example in the ‘*a* section that has the *d*- classifier.

17. 39 *hat-du' hat lhaa-'i lhuu-k'e daa-nat-li waa-mee-xa' dv-nee-ghvt-'aa-la*

hat=du' hat lhaa='i lhuuk'e
there=foc there one=rel salmon

daa-na-t-li waa-mee-xa' dv-nee-ghv-t-'aa=la
ref-plu-d.CL-be for-in-come ref-th-pfv-d.CL-talk=past

‘Then the first fish coming back (to season) they lied to him’
EJ 116:10:6:1

17.3 ‘a ‘think’

In this section we look at how ‘think’ is expressed with the stem ‘*a*. All of these examples have the *d*- classifier, like ‘lie’ in 17.39. However, there are a few ways other prefixes combine with the *d*- classifier and ‘*a* stem. One way is to have *ne*- and *sri*-. In these cases, I am not sure what the *ne*- is signifying. I believe that *sri*-, a prefix not seen

in other verb themes, is the noun ‘heart’ incorporated in the verb theme. It is a common feature of other languages in the Pacific Northwest, such as Chinuk Wawa, to use the ‘heart’ to talk about mental and emotional process. Indeed, many Nuu-wee-ya’ emotions include the word *sri* ‘heart’.

In (17.40), the stem ‘*a*’ is found with just the *ne-*, *sri-* ‘heart’, *d-* ‘classifier’ to mean ‘think’. I think this could mean ‘talk with one’s own heart’. The reflexive nature of the *d-* classifier could be. The concept ‘about’ is expressed with the lexeme *wvn*, seen used to convey ‘about’, ‘because’ and ‘for’. This phrase has the ‘future’ *te* enclitic particle.

17. 40 *wvn nee-srit-'aa-te*

wvn *nee-sri-t-'aa=te*
 about COMP-heart-d.CL-think=FUT

‘He will think about it’ (EJ 108 37:11:1)

In (17.41), we have another word that means think about. This, instead of being in the future, is imperfective. Notice that the stem is not in the ‘*vsh*’ form used with the imperfective form of ‘handle a round object’. This is further evidence that this form of ‘*a*’ is indeed different from ‘handle a round object’ because it has a different construction pattern when conveying aspect. In (17.41), *ne-*, *sri-* and *d-* are used as in (17.42). However, instead of the lexeme *wvn* to mean ‘about’ this word is using the postpositional prefix *u-* ‘for’ with its person marker *gh-*, as well as the lexeme *de-* ‘it’. This phrase is using *de* to indicate the object that the subject is thinking about.

17. 41 *dee ghuu-nee-srit-'a*

de *gh-uu-nee-sri-t-'a*
thing 3S-for-COMP-heart-d.CL-think

‘He is thinking about something’ (EJ 108 25:9:1)

(17.42) is formed like (17.41) with *ne-*, *sri-*, and *d-*; the other prefix in (17.41), *ghu-* is reduced to *wv-*. In this example, the object is not included. The remainder of the phrase indicates when the ‘thinking’ happened, ‘all morning’. The question marker *ha* is located on the word ‘morning’. Meaning that this phrase is not asking if someone is ‘thinking about him’ but if it was ‘morning’ when they thought.

17. 42 *lha xas-mvlh-ha wv-nee-srit-'a*

lha *xasmvlh=ha* *wv-nee-sri-t-'a*
all morning=ques for-th-heart-d.CL-wish

‘All morning did you think about him?’ EJ 109: 33: 2: 1

In (17.43), we again see the *ghv-* ‘for’, *ne-* theme (reduced to *nv-*), and *sri-* ‘heart’. This word also has *xaa-* ‘areal’. This example comes from a point in a story where a woman is captured and is thinking about how far away home is. I think this areal feature is indicating that she is thinking about a spatial distance. This phrase also has the combination if *ghe-* a thematic prefix, possibly the adverbial *gh-* that is perfective or progressive, and *s-* stative. The aspect of the translation is unclear as it seems to be inceptive. It seems likely that the *ghe-*, *s-* combination is expressing the starting, or entering a state of ‘thinking’.

17. 43 *hii-wvn ghv-nv-xaa-srii-ghest-'aa-la*

hii- wvn ghv-nv-xaa-srii-ghe-s-t-'aa=la
3s- for for-th-areal-heart-th-stat-d.CL-think=past

‘Then she began to think about it’ EJ 72:41:8:1

In (17.44), which expresses the meaning ‘wish’, the form for ‘think about’ is found. That is the *wv-* as a reduced form of *ghu-*, the thematic *ne-*, *sri-* ‘heart’ and the *d-* classifier. This is combined with the lexemes *shu* ‘good’ and *de* ‘thing’. These words, combined with the word ‘think about’ expresses wish as in ‘I am thinking about something good’.

17. 44 *shu de wv-nee-srisht-'a*

shu de wv-nee-sri-sh-t-'a
good thing th-th-heart-1s-d.CL-wish

‘I’m wishing something good’ EJ 109: 32: 19: 1

In (17.45), we see what could be a link between ‘think’ and ‘talk’. The stem ‘*a*’ is found with the *d* classifier, like the other ‘think’ words, but does not have the other prefixes we have seen with ‘think’ so far. This word has the *na-* ‘pluractional’, *te-* ‘inceptive’ and *s-* ‘stative’. The translation of this example is ‘to talk about/wonder about’.

17. 45 *hat-du' hii-t'i wa naa-test-'aa-la*

hat=du' hii-t'i wa naa-te-s-t-'aa=la
there=foc 3s-cop for plu-inc-stat-d.CL-talk=past

‘Then they talking (wondered) about it’ EJ 72 :122 :10 :1

In (17.46), the word for ‘hold council’ uses the ‘*a*’ stem and the *d-* classifier along with the *gha-* thematic prefix and the *s-* ‘stative’. In the translation there is added information that ‘to hold council’ means to ‘all make up one mind’. Since we are not sure

the meaning of *gha-* we can't be sure what is exactly happening, although we see in the sentence that the previous word, *ghvn-lha*, contains the numeral *lha* 'one' along with the locative *ghvn* 'there'. I think this phrase might be conveying the meaning of something like 'they talked/wondered themselves into one spot'.

17. 46 *hat-du' ghvn-lha ghasd-'aa-la*

hat=du' *ghvn* *lha* *gha-s-d-'aa=la*
 there=foc there one pl-stat-d.CL-handle.round=past

'Then they held council (they all make up one mind)' EJ 72:20:2:1

In (17.47), the phrase is not about 'thinking', but 'understanding'. This is a different from 'think about' in that the 'thinking' is done and what was thought about is 'understood. This verb has the *d-* classifier like the other words for 'think', as well as the *yi-* 'obviative' and the *s-* 'stative'. In this reading it could mean 'in the state of understanding it'. It is possible that the *si-* is actually *sri-* as Elizabeth Jacobs did not distinguish these sounds.

17. 47 *hat hii-wvn yii-sii-t'aa-la dee-waa-yuu-shii-'e*

hat *hii* *wvn* *yii-sii-t'aa=la*
 there 3s for 3.on.3-stat-d.CL-think=past

dee *waa* *yuu-shii='e*
 why for det-1.s=rel

'Then he understood what he meant what he called that way'
 EJ 72:29:10:1

In (17.48), we see the same verb as (17.49) along with *wa-* 'for' and *de-* 'reflexive'.

17. 48 *hat-du' hat waa-dee-yii-sit-'aa-la lhaa lhta' dushd-'vs haa-ts'vt tl'uu-t'a*

hat=du' hat waa-dee-yii-si-t-'aa=la
there=foc there for-ref-3.on.3-stat-d.CL-think=past

lhaa lhta' du-sh-d-'vs haa-ts'vt tl'uu-t'a
one some th-1s-d.CL-cut here-out piece-cut

‘Then he made up his mind to cut himself into pieces a piece at a time’
EJ 116:7:10:1

17.4 What we learn from looking at stems and prefixes

This section is aimed primarily at learner-speakers to indicate the range that a stem can be used. My hope is this can provide information on how varied forms can be, as well as providing an opportunity to engage with language. This provides linguistics with a discussion on the actuality of lexicalization in a subset of materials. This is a model for language revitalizationists for how to approach varied uses of a particular verb.

Part 4

East - Using Language

CHAPTER XVIII – PRESENCING THROUGH LANGUAGE USE

“You may not have control of why you lost your language, but you have control of whether you learn your language. You become a Language Hunter” (Bommelyn & Tuttle, 2018: 121)

This chapter discusses ways to use an endangered language other than classroom or master-apprentice scenarios. This chapter is focused on the use of languages when there are no speakers or no access to speakers. The use of language is at its core, a way to reverse language loss. Planned commitment to growing language use supports the creation of a different future with more speakers and more opportunities to speak. Planned action and the conscious choosing of present actions, or ‘presencing’ through the increased use of language can have a profound impact on the status of the language and the vitality of communities. While increased use of language is a desired outcome, simply teaching about a language does not necessarily create opportunities for language use. In languages with few to no speakers, it is even more challenging to find opportunities than for more common language learning scenarios such as learning Spanish or French.

This chapter discusses some of the different ways one can approach language use. These are different ways that learner-speakers can contribute to language revitalization through the increased use of their language. This chapter starts out by discussing the importance of presencing as a component of language revitalization and the positive implications of learning about one’s language and culture (18.1). This chapter then discusses five ways to use language including, domain-reclaim, creating in the language, engaging with archival materials, exploring grammar, and making and maintaining relationships with other learner-speakers (18.2). This is not to say that these methods are

the only ways to learn language nor that they work for everyone. These methods are discussed because they are the methods that impacted my own language learning.

18.1 Presencing language use for a different future

‘Presencing’ is a term used to refer to making a conscious choice in the present to contribute to a different future. Anishinaabe researcher Simpson (2017) centers her discussion of indigenous radical resistance around the concept of presence. “Our presence is our weapon ... every time we embody indigenous life” (Simpson, 2017: 2).

“Presencing the present” is a “strategic, thoughtful process in the present as an agent of change” and “a recognition of the complexity and multidimensionality that generates a particular kind of emergence that is resurgence” (Simpson, 2017: 6). Conscious agentive choice to use an endangered language is a prime example of presencing. The capability to use a language that is endangered requires the decision to learn and a commitment to use what is learned. “Learning your language is a life choice” (Bommelyn & Tuttle, 2018: 210).

There are many modern indigenous communities who have made conscious decisions to learn and share indigenous knowledge, through culture classes and camps, through research and resurgence, through ceremony and language. These are all examples of presencing. My father’s decision to explore our Native heritage is another example of presencing. His decisions and actions to provide his children with access to cultural knowledge impacted us. My brother and I are Native by blood and also by experience. However, if not for my father’s decisions to seek indigeneity, we would not have had a Native experience.

Presenting through language use, that is acting on the choice to increase language use, can have many profound impacts individually and socially. For an individual, it can create a closer connection to one's self and history; the choice can be hard and challenging, yet the rewards inspiring and joyous (Bommelyn & Tuttle, 2018: 121). There can be many impacts socially as well, such as social justice that can support healing for the communities. Another impact is the reminder to non-Natives that we are still here, that attempted genocide and cultural erasure ultimately failed.

The historical trauma that accompanied attempted genocide has had a profound impact on the wellbeing of indigenous communities. Around the world, indigenous communities are seen to have higher health challenges than surrounding communities. While there are many reasons for this, a consistent contributor to the challenged health is the historical and social traumas that contributed to language loss. "Maintenance and revitalization of Indigenous languages is ... one salient means of recovering from social trauma" (Whaley et al., 2016 :2).

Language revitalization as a means to wellness has been expressed through testimony of practitioners. This has been shown through individual testimony. The following quote shows how seeking and learning my language has created wellness in my life.

I made a commitment for four years to not drink because I wanted to be a good language learner. I wanted to be able to look at my elder and speak to him and not feel ashamed of myself. I'm thirty- three now and I haven't drunk since I was twenty. I think that's a pretty big sign of wellness. I use language every day and this is still part of the reason that makes me not want to drink, so that I can maintain integrity, so that I can be able to be open to hear the spirits. I have to figure out our language from old notes because now I don't have any living fluent speakers to ask. I have to understand what the notes mean and sometimes that understanding comes

from intuition. So what I've come to, is that I have to be clean. I seek out balance with the conscious thought that I am working on this language and that I have this responsibility and if I treat myself badly then I'm treating this language badly. If I treat myself badly then the spirits might know and maybe they won't talk to me. Maybe they won't give me their advice. (Taff, et al., 2018: 867) [Jaeci Hall]

This next quote shows us the depth of connection language learning has for people.

When it comes to adults experiencing relearning their language, it's a connection that is so deep-rooted and touches their core that they become very emotional; it's unbelievable the immense emotion I have witnessed when one is able to reconnect and speak their mother tongue. It's like our bodies, our blood memory remembers. Sometimes it opens the gates for dreams. It opens the gates for emotions, like generations all bottled up inside of people that sometimes just cannot describe why they're so emotional, so grateful and overwhelmed with the relearning of their mother tongue. I think that when we're spiritually in balance, when we're in balance with Creation, we might not always see it scientifically, but OUR SPIRIT can feel it. The more well we are for ourselves, the more we exemplify wellness and it radiates into other people's spaces and our families, our clan families. If one can relearn their language and begin to clean out the generations of trauma, it can create a ripple effect within our bodies, within our communities, within our Nations. (Taff, et al., 2018: 868) [Kawennyóhstha Nicole Martin]

Language revitalization as a means to wellness has been studied in recent qualitative research that has looked at the correlation between language knowledge and increased wellbeing. Hallet et al. (2007) found that in communities where at least 50% of the community spoke the traditional language there was a one sixth reduction in suicide rates compared to nearby communities with fewer Native speakers. Hodge and Nandy (2011: 197) show that those who speak their language and more likely to be classified as part of a group with "good wellness".

In my own experience, learning about my indigenous culture, through dance, ceremony, and geographic location, has provided me with a deeper knowledge of myself.

However, learning my language has impacted me more deeply than any other experience, if simply because the use of language applies to all areas of my indigenous life. The strength and self-assurance I have from the ability to talk to creator in my own language supports me during my challenging times. I do believe that without the ability to access and learn about my culture I would not have had opportunities to deeply heal my body, mind and spirit from the impact of the generational trauma in my family. Presenting my actions by choosing indigeneity has led to this healing and, I believe, more in the future.

18.2 Ways to use language

To learn a language, one must accumulate a certain frequency of exposure to a language (Bybee, 2007). In standard language learning scenarios, like learning as a child at home, or learning a second language with majority status through a university class or through study abroad, there are many ways to access the frequency of language exposure needed to learn the language. In language revitalization scenarios this is not always the case without a deep commitment to creating opportunities to access language exposure.

There is no one way and no right way to create language exposure or use a language for the purpose of revitalization. However, if one does not know how to break through the challenging and/or demoralizing aspects of starting and continuing to use a language it can seem impossible. This section discusses five different ways that a learner might use a language. These are not an exhaustive list of ways to use your language; it is a list of impactful ways that one can use language when working with archival materials or when there are few to no speakers.

18.2.1 Domains

The first type of language use that I describe is the use of targeting domains to reclaim in your language. I was taught this method from Zalmi Zahir, a speaker of the Lushootseed language who has helped many others learn how to use Lushootseed on a regular basis. The basic principle of domain reclaim is to pick a specific place or topic in which to decide to use your Native language (Zahir, 2018). He refers to the place where you use your language as a **language nest**. “Language nests are a physical location where language can live and breathe” (Zahir, 2018: 156). With Zahir’s method the language nest becomes the space in which a person commits to only using the targeted language, in Zahir’s words “They are a place that necessitates language use by requiring participants to speaker the target language on a regular basis. (2018: 156) With Zahir’s method, one would choose a location in one’s house, like the kitchen or an entry way and make it a “no English” zone.

Another of Zahir’s methods is **domain reclamation**. This is to target the activities done in the target nest regularly. “When we decide to do these activities only in the language, we call this process reclaiming domains” (Zahir, 2018: 161). If the language nest is in the bathroom, this could be self-narrating your actions while you brush your teeth or wash your hands. If the language nest is in the kitchen this could include making coffee or doing the dishes. If the language nest is the entrance way, the domain could be greeting and goodbyes. Zahir has found that if he is being “more prescriptive with his work” then “learners have better success” (Underriner et.al, 2021: 247). The key to domain reclaim is that it is a planned action that can increase language use as a speaker increases domains in which to use their language. Zahir suggests that writing a script,

making labels, posting names around the language nest, can be a visual learning tip (Underriner et. al, 2021).

The success of converting a location to ‘no English’ or the ability to do self-narration of activities relies on the ability to know what to say. This ability can come through research and compilation of word lists needed for the location or action and the daily practice of saying the words.

I believe that this is one of the most effective ways to increase language use, however as a mother of young children and a Ph.D. student I have had little success with this method. Initially, I thought I just wasn’t good enough until I realized that the cognitive load needed to accomplish the domain reclaim is beyond me at this point in my life. When I stopped criticizing myself for not being successful, I realized that it was folly to think I would be successful when I didn’t have the resources to be successful. I then considered how in my situation I could use the concept of reclaiming my language.

This led me to consider the value of **word reclaim**, that is the decision to pick particular words and consistently use them in language. While not as effective as staying in language for a certain amount of time, it has created a continuity of language use that helps my children create a foundation and relationship with their language, a foundation that I can build on in the future when my resources and cognitive ability will allow me to move more fully into the art of domain reclaim.

Tolowa elder-speaker Loren Melashne’ Bommelyn actively sought out opportunities to learn his language through apprenticing himself to the knowledgeable people in his community (Underriner et. al, 2021: 248). He also would replace in his

mind the English name of objects that he saw, a method much like the concept of word reclaim.

One of the learning strategies Me-lash-ne' used while walking to school, or to family and friends' homes, or to anywhere really, was that when looking at an object, he would replace the English word for the Tolowa Dee-ni' word, and over time he saw his environment through Tolowa Dee-ni' eyes. (Underriner et. al, 2021: 251)

The takeaway from language nests and reclaim, is that at its core it is all about using your language on a regular basis. If you have the resources to stick to it, I believe that language nests, with domain reclaim, is one of the quickest ways to becoming conversational. I also believe that word reclaim can help a person build up to language nest and domain reclaim. The remaining types of language use described below are more secondary in how they help a learner-speaker use their language because they don't promote the same level of real everyday language use.

18.2.2 Creating – Songs, stories, art and learning materials

In situations where there are not many speakers, creating new materials can have multiple impacts on the use of language. The process of creating in a language can include creating songs, making stories, incorporating language into art and the design of language learning materials. These processes have a double impact on the use of language.

The first impact is on the creator of the language materials themselves. The process of making something in language means that the person making it has to think, research, design and explore in the language. Every time a speaker writes, says, thinks in their language during the creation of the materials is an act of language use.

The second impact of created material is for anyone who engages with said language materials. The increase of the creation of language materials provides valuable opportunities for individuals, families and communities to engage in a shared language experience.

The challenge with creating new materials is it puts a burden on the language creator to correctly use the language. Without an understanding of the grammar of a language, misuse of a language is easy to do. This is not to say that a person should not create if they don't know enough. Rather this is to encourage anyone to create at the level they are at, for example one can make things with single words and not have to worry about grammar. Also, if a creator is open to learning from their grammatical mistakes, creating and then being willing to hear criticism can greatly increase a person's knowledge of the language and their ability to use it.

18.2.3 Engaging with archival materials

Archival resources are so incredibly valuable because with them we know the grammar is correct. One of the best ways to gain language exposure is to read, listen to, or process archival materials. Even reading a noun list can provide a speaker with increased experience with that list of nouns. Looking at archives for confusing or unfamiliar elements of the language can let a learner discover what they need still to learn.

Archival resources also act as a valuable bridge to the older generations. They are a way to commune and feel close to those who have gone on. They often can contain valuable cultural knowledge that can allow learner-speakers to understand the language in relationship to the culture.

18.2.4 Exploring language patterns and linguistic analysis

As a community member, I have heard many people who believe that the process of exploring language patterns and doing linguistic analysis can get in the way of just using the language. I think for many people that is true, as there are many types of learners. I do believe that for grammatically inquisitive individuals, exploring grammar structures is extremely valuable.

Looking for patterns, talking about patterns with other learners and trying to find out why provides a different way to create exposure to language than talking, reading or creating materials. This can be done through setting up datasets to find patterns, through comparing the differences between dialects, and through engaging in grammatical findings of others (through reading or conversation).

As a PhD student and a community member I have been frequently asked by others if taking the time to dive deep into linguistics actually helped me with using my language. For the first four years of this seven-year journey I wasn't sure if it did help my language, mainly because I had to be distracted by things like class requirements that took my focus away from my language. However, after I completed that part of my studies and dove into my own research, I spent hours upon hours looking at language data and exploring what I could discover. After three years of this and after writing the majority of this dissertation I have discovered that my own language knowing has gotten to such a deep place that I know without a doubt that I have already become a better speaker than I ever thought I could be. This does not mean that I am comfortable talking all the time or even that I know what to say all the time. What it means is that I now know I have a valuable grammatical foundation that I can rely on when I try to talk. I can

confidently say that yes, putting up with the distractions of a PhD has helped me tremendously with my language, as I believe it would help anyone called to do such intense rigorous work.

18.2.5 Make and maintain relationships with other learner-speakers

Language is ultimately a communal experience; this is why I close my discussion on how to use a language with the suggestion and reminder to tend to the relationships with other learner-speakers. While I am happy to think about and use my language alone, it does not compare with the joy and inspiration I receive from engaging with other speakers. I think a very critical component to language use success centers around finding and maintaining relationships with fellow learner-speakers.

CHAPTER XIX – CREATING LANGUAGE LEARNING MATERIALS

In language revitalization scenarios, there is not a wealth of materials, as there is for other language learning scenarios (like learning Spanish). Any materials for learner-speakers to engage with must be created by the language revitalization practitioners themselves (Hinton, 2011). This chapter discusses how archival research supports the creation of language learning materials (19.1), presents a showcase of language materials I created for Nuu-wee-ya' during this PhD process (19.2) and shares implications for creating materials (19.3).

19.1 Archival resources support creating materials

When there are few or no fluent speakers of a language, there is a close connection between archival language materials and the creation of new language materials. The archives are a massive resource that can show how and what language to use in different situations. However, there are limitations: limitations of archival materials and limitations of knowledge in how to use the archival materials.

The process of creating materials from archival research involves different steps. The first is to come up with some sort of a vision of what one is trying to design. The next step is extensive searching and gathering of terms and grammatical structures. Once a list of terms and structures is compiled then a person can use the found items to create in their language.

While the limitations in the archival materials can be hard to manage, they can also be an opportunity. A person can rise to the challenge of expressing what they want within the framework of the limitations put on their knowledge and access to materials.

The next section describes four different types of language learning materials that I have developed over the last five years.

19.2 Language materials showcase

This section showcases most of the language learning materials I created during the course of working on my PhD. These projects were, for the most part, a way I could provide materials for the Coquille Tribe and help support myself through the financially strict time as a graduate student. Included here are 4 different materials designed to support language learning and engagement. I present each material by describing its purpose, design, how the design supports the purpose, a description of the creation process, and examples of the materials.

19.2.1 Description of sounds for learners

This description of sounds is a resource that was originally written for a community language class offered by the Coquille Tribe to its members at their Winter Gathering in January of 2021. It is a resource that describes the way that each sound is made. This was done at the request of Coquille community members who struggle with reading Nuu-wee-ya' and knowing how to make the corresponding sounds. This section includes an introduction to sounds, a close examination of each sound, and a brief description of the vowel characteristics. The description of these sounds are aimed to inform individuals who speak English and have little to no background in linguistics.

19.2.1.1 Introduction to challenging sounds

This section introduces two types of sounds that are very distinct from English. The first type of sounds are glottalized, or ejective consonants. The second are unvoiced, and unaspirated consonant stops.

Glottalized or ejective consonants are said, much like a regular consonant, only on the onset of the sound the glottis (where the vocal cords are located) are restricted and then quickly released to make a popping sound. There are six ejective consonants in Nuu-wee-ya', *ch'*, *k'*, *tl'*, *t'*, *ts'*, and *tr'*. Some contrast with the corresponding non-ejective consonant meaning that using the non-ejective in place of the ejective makes a different word.

Unvoiced, unaspirated stops are uncharacteristic of English but very characteristic of languages along the northwest coast. In English, there is a contrast between, [d] and [t^h]. The difference is twofold, the first that the [d] is said with the vocal folds vibrating and the [t^h] is not and secondly the [b] does not have aspiration (a puff of air released along with the consonant) but [p^h] does. In Nuu-wee-ya' we write both /d/ and /t/. The /t/ is just like the English [t^h] but the /d/ is not like the English /d/. The Nuu-wee-ya' /d/ is actually unvoiced and unaspirated (written [t] in IPA). Some dialects of English say this types of sound at the end of a word, such as 'dad'. However, this sound can be very challenging for English to produce properly.

19.2.1.2 Description of how to make each sound:

This section looks at each sound in the modern spelling system and describes how to make each sound. Additionally, there are hyperlinks to the ILDA archive where there are recordings of speakers making these sounds in different words. The speakers linked here are Coquille Thompson (CT) and Ida Bensell (IB)

The modern spelling system was developed for the southern Dialect by the Tolowa Dee-ni' Nation (Bommelyn, 2006). As the northern dialect has a few differences, the spelling system described here reflects the northern dialect; these two systems are

compatible and nearly identical, except there are some sounds in the south not found in the north and likewise some in the north that are not found in the south. This spelling system was developed to be easy to use on the English keyboard, therefore sounds not in English use a combination of two letters. Also, the dashes mark the syllables.

In this section, we look closely at what sound each grapheme represents of the modern orthography. Each sound is in a table that includes the sound, a description of how to say it and two examples.

a	This vowel <i>a</i> is the same as in ‘father’. In IPA ⁶² : [ɑ]
aa-naa-gvl-le ‘grasshopper’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT	
an-nalh-du’ ‘the wind has changed’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT	

b	This consonant is not quite the same as the first ‘b’ in ‘babe’. It is more like the second ‘b’ in ‘babe’. Word-final ‘b’ in English is usually unreleased (the sound doesn’t completely come out) and sounds like the Nuu-wee-ya ‘b’. Using the English ‘b’ is fine when starting out. In IPA: [p]
srwaa-le’-bvlh-shvn ‘black snail’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT	
bee-be ‘fern’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB	

ch	This consonant is the same as in ‘chicken’. In IPA: [tʃ]
chvn-ti’ ‘flint’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT	
chii-la ‘tail’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB	

ch’	This consonant starts out like the ‘ch’ in ‘chicken’ but as soon as the ‘ch’ is uttered, there is a brief hold and then release of air before going on to the vowel. In IPA: / [tʃ̚]
ch’ash ‘bird’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB	
ch’v-gul-sri ‘moon’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT	

d	This consonant is not quite the same as the first ‘d’ in ‘dad’. It is more like the second ‘d’ in ‘dad’. Word-final ‘d’ in English is usually unreleased and sounds like the Nuu-wee-ya ‘d’. Using the English ‘d’ is fine when starting out. In IPA: [t̚]
duu-de ‘none’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT	
dv-ne ‘person’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB	

⁶² International Phonetic Alphabet

e	The vowel is the same as the ‘ay’ in ‘may’. In some syllables it can sound like the ‘e’ in ‘met’. In IPA: [e, ε]
	ee-ghii-‘i ‘you are looking out’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB sree ‘pitch’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT

g	This consonant is not quite the same as the first ‘g’ in ‘gig’. It is more like the second ‘g’ in ‘gig’. Word-final ‘g’ in English is usually unreleased and sounds like the Nuu-wee-ya ‘g’. Using the normal English ‘g’ is fine when starting. In IPA: [k]
	gay-yu ‘baby’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT gis-ch’e ‘blue jay’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB

gh	make this sound by bringing the back of your tongue towards the roof of your mouth without quite touching it and blowing through that space all the while vibrating your vocal cords. In IPA: [ɣ]
	ghvshlh-ch’u ‘I pound’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT ghvl-svk ‘tide is going out’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB

h	This consonant is the same as in ‘hello’. In IPA: [h]
	hii-du’ gwvl-suu-ch’u ‘it’s a skunk’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT hep-mu’ ‘dove’ ILDA (miamioh.edu)

i	This vowel is the same as ‘ee’ in ‘see’. In some syllables, usually when following by a consonant in the same syllable, it sounds like the ‘i’ in ‘sit’. In IPA: [i, ɪ]
	ilh-chut ‘grab it’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT ii ‘an-dii-nvs-sri ‘yes I am still hungry’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB

j	This consonant is close to the ‘j’ in ‘jump’. This sound is not found in the southern dialect. [dʒ]
	jii-du’ srtaa ‘Now it is cooked’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT jii-‘e ‘this one’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB

k’	This consonant starts out like the ‘k’ in ‘kite’ but as soon as the ‘k’ is uttered, there air is briefly stopped at the vocal folds, then released before going on to the vowel. In IPA: [k’]
	k’a’-tl’a’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT chvsh-k’i ‘butterfly’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB

l	This consonant is the same as in ‘loon’. In IPA: [l]
	k’v-lu ‘flat basket’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT
	la’ ‘hand’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB

lh	This consonant is not in English. It is made by touching the back of the front teeth with the tip of the tongue, while blowing out the sides of the teeth. In IPA: [ɬ]
	lha’-sha ‘one’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT
	lhi’ ‘dog’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB

m	This consonant is the same as in ‘moon’. In IPA: [m]
	mus-mu ‘cow’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT
	mvt ‘belly’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB

m’	This consonant is only found at the end of words. In starts like the ‘m’ in ‘um’ but it is stopped really suddenly. In IPA: [mʔ]
	yal-tvm’ ‘jump’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB

n	This consonant is the same as in ‘night’. In IPA: [n]
	ni’ ‘face’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT
	nn-nes ‘long’ ILDA (miamioh.edu)

n’	This consonant is only found at the end of words. In starts like the ‘n’ in ‘in’ but it is stopped really suddenly. In IPA: [nʔ]
	ch’v-svn’ ‘meat’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT
	mvn’ ‘house’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB

p	This consonant is the same as in ‘picnic’. This sound is not used very often. In IPA: [p ^h]
	nii-pash ‘cheek’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB

s	This consonant is the same as in ‘saw’. In IPA: [s]
	saa-chvn ‘oak tree’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT
	svlh ‘hot’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB

sh	This consonant is the same as in ‘show’. In IPA: [ʃ]
	shi ‘me’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT
	shin ‘song’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB

sr	This consonant is made like the ‘s’ in ‘saw’ except that the tip of the tongue is tilted toward the back of the mouth. In IPA: [ʂ]
sres-dvn ‘daytime’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT	
sre’ ‘heart’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB	

t	This consonant is the same as in ‘time’. In IPA: [t ^h]
taa-k’e ‘three’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT	
ta’ ‘father’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB	

t’	This consonant starts out like the ‘t’ in ‘time’ but as soon as the ‘t’ is uttered, there is a brief hold and then release of air before going on to the vowel. In IPA: [t’]
t’v-xwin-t’a’ ‘towards it’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT	
t’a’ ‘feather’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB	

tl’	This consonant is made by putting your tongue in the same place as churping for a horse, only blow out. This sound also has a small hold of air after making the ‘tl’ sound followed by a release. This sound is not in the southern dialect. In IPA: [tl’]
tl’e’ ‘night’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT	
tl’v-ghvsh ‘snake’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB	

tr’	This consonant is made like the ‘ts’ described below, only the tip of the tongue is curved a tiny bit towards the back of the mouth. In IPA: [tʂ’]
tr’aa-xe ‘woman’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT	
dii-tr’i ‘bitter’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB	

ts’	This consonant is made like the ‘ts’ in ‘cats’. In English we can have this sound only at the end of words but in Nuu-wee-ya’ it is often in the start. This sound also has a small hold of air after making the ‘ts’ sound followed by a release. In IPA: [ts’]
ts’vs-na ‘yellowjacket’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT	
ts’vn-telh ‘turtle’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB	

u	This vowel is the same as the ‘oo’ in ‘zoo’. In IPA: [u]
uu-k’e ‘like that’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT	
uu-na ‘gopher’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB	

v	This vowel is the same as the ‘uh’ in ‘uh-oh’. Note that it does not have the same sound as the ‘v’ in English! In IPA: [ə, ʌ]
vs-chu ‘bowl shaped basket’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT	
lhsrvlh ‘wet’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB	

w	This consonant is the same as in ‘wind’. In IPA: [w]
	wuu-lalh ‘with his teeth’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT
	wat ‘wife’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB

x	This consonant is not in English but is the same as the ‘ch’ the Scottish English ‘loch’ or the German ‘ich’. You make this sound by bringing the back of your tongue towards the roof of your mouth without quite touching it and blowing through that space. In IPA: [x]
	xwvvlh-xalh ‘flea’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB
	xvsr-xe ‘chief’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT

y	This consonant is the same as in ‘yellow’. In IPA: [j]
	yaa-me ‘in the sky’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT
	ya'-tr'ii-ya ‘feast’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB

'	This consonant is not written in English, although we use it in English. It is called the ‘glottal stop’ is the same as the sound in the middle of ‘uh-oh’, that is the sound (or lack of sound) between the ‘uh’ and the ‘oh’. In IPA: [ʔ]
	beni sii-'e ‘benny’s daughter’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) IB
	ch'a'-‘at ‘doe’ ILDA (miamioh.edu) CT

19.2.1.3 A note on vowels

Nuu-wee-ya’ vowels can be said at different lengths. This is written in the spelling system with one vowel (e.g. ‘e’) for short vowels and two vowels (e.g. ‘ee’) for long vowels. Also, some vowels are said super short, with the ‘ ‘glottal stop’ after it, i.e e’.

In the southern dialect, vowels are often nasalized, this is written with a tilde following the vowel as seen in the chart. They sound like you are saying the vowel followed by a ‘n’, however you do not fully make an ‘n’. The vowel that is written with ‘v’ is never nasalized. This is shown in Table 49.

Table 49. How nasal vowels are written in the southern dialect.

oral vowel	nasal vowel
a	a~
e	e~
i	i~
u	u~

Knowing and producing the sounds of your language that is unique from the dominant language can be a rewarding way to connect with your language. For me, when I first made some of the non-English sounds, I felt a connection to my ancestors as I felt feelings in my mouth and throat which were the same as the feelings my ancestors would have felt when they spoke this language. I felt a connection to the land, the rocks and the trees, who all existed and heard the sounds made by my ancestors.

19.2.2 Camp Ta Nae booklet

This booklet was designed as a language learning tool for the Coquille Kids camp, Camp Ta Nae 2019. The camp structures the language class so that I see each child only one or two times. At this camp I would have one or two cabins of kids at a time, that would be 6-15 students. There are always a few students interested in language, but many have a hard time listening or staying focused. My goals with this product were to create something that the kids could keep to look at later and that would hold their interest, at least somewhat during our scheduled class time.

To keep their interest, I developed a bilingual camp guidebook that is also a coloring book. I used a bee as a spokesperson character to talk through different components of the camp because the bee has been associated with Gilbert Towner, my teacher and elder, as well as the first language teacher at this camp. In this booklet there are 11 pages, each dedicated to different topics. Table 50 shows the topic for each page.

As at that time, there was not much opportunity to teach language outside of the camp, I chose to make the booklet entirely bilingual so that people could engage with the language with little background.

Table 50. Topics in Camp booklet.

1	Welcome and arrival to camp
2	Camp map
3	Morning exercise and meal blessing
4	Mealtime traditions
5	Alphabet
6	Cultural activity classes (Making smudge sticks and necklaces)
7	Hiking and swimming, features of motion verbs
8	plants and animals
9	drumming, dancing and campfire
10	going to bed
11	giveaway and going home

My intentions were to provide the students with opportunity to engage with language in a way that relates to their current experiences. While the entire booklet is in appendix 3, I talk through the design of two of the pages. The first example I talk about is shown in Figure 25 and is the sixth page in the booklet. This page shows two panels. The top panel shows two hands, one holding some cedar and the other wrapping thread around it to make a smudge stick. Below the hands on a table is a pile of loose cedar and to the side is an abalone shell with smudge burning in it. The abalone and cedar are labeled in Nuu-wee-ya' and English. The hand is labeled with the word 'grab' in Nuu-wee-ya and English. The spokesperson bee says 'they make smudge sticks'. I didn't know the word for smudge stick, so I translated it as *tl'uu-chvn* 'grass-stick'.

Figure 25. Excerpt 1 from Camp Ta Nae booklet.

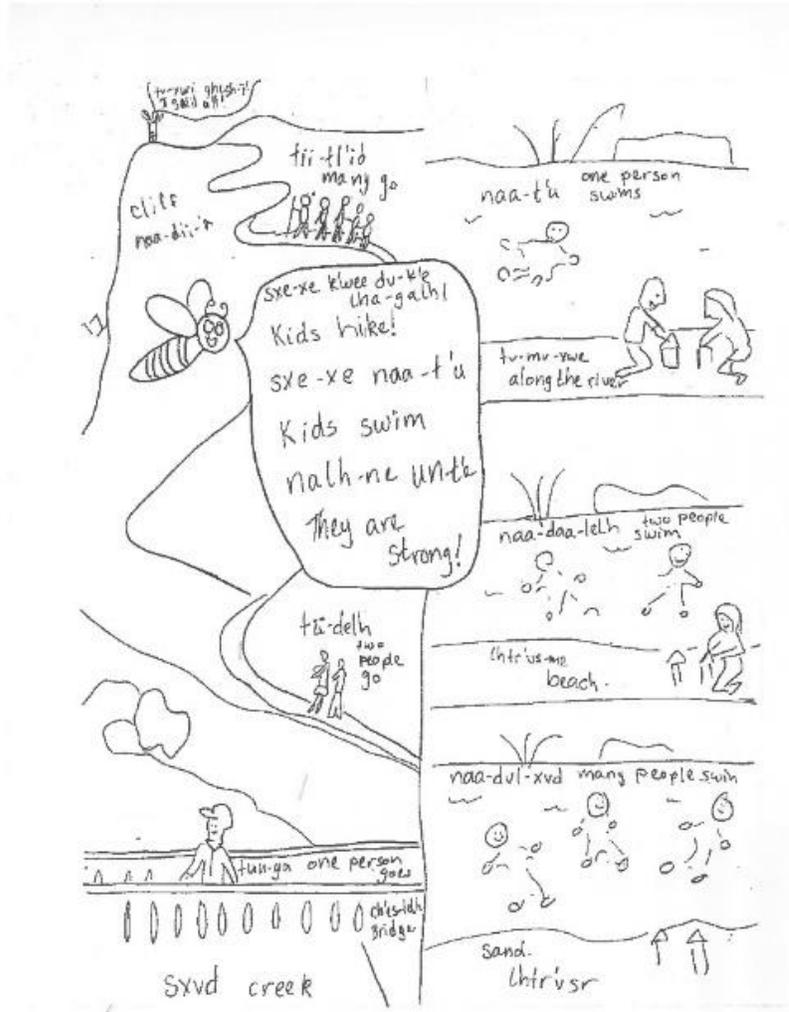


The second panel also shows two hands over a table. On the table is a work cloth with beads and dentalium, which are both labeled. To the side is a spool of imitation sinew, labeled in both languages. In one hand is a needle, labeled. This hand is labeled with the verb 'I string it'. The other hand, holding the end of the string is labeled with the word for

'hand' *la*. The spokesperson bee says 'they make necklaces too.'

I wanted to include 'making smudge sticks' and 'making necklaces' in this booklet because both activities are usually offered at camp and they are an important part of the camp potlatch ('giveaway') that occurs at the end of the camp. I thought that this page could be helpful to the teachers and students in these activities as they both have a small, targeted group of words that could be incorporated into the activities.

Figure 26. Excerpt 2 from Camp Ta Nae booklet



The second example is page 7 of the booklet, which contains images of hiking and swimming activities and incorporates features of motion verbs. This is shown in Figure 26. This page also has two panels, one to the right and one to the left. Each panel illustrates two of the most enjoyed activities at Camp Ta Nae, the

first being a hike to the top of the ridge and the other, swimming in the swimming hole. Both the words 'go' and 'swim' have a unique feature in Nuw-wee-ya'. The verbs have different verb stems depending on if there is one, two, or three or more people doing the action. Thus, on the left panel dedicated to hiking there are three groups of people. There is one person at the bottom of the hill crossing the bridge labeled 'one person goes' *tush-ga*. There are two people on the lower part of the trail labeled 'two people go' *tii-delh* and there are five people near the top of the hill labeled 'many people go' *tii-tl'id*. On this

panel there are also labels for ‘creek’ ‘bridge’, and ‘cliff’ and the person on top is saying ‘I can see everything!’.

The second panel, on the left is broken into three sub-panels. The top one has one person swimming, the middle has two people swimming and the bottom has three people swimming, each labeled with the proper verb form. Also, the beach is labeled with three different words that can refer to the beach, that is ‘along the water’, ‘beach’ and ‘sand’. The spokesperson bee narrates both activities with ‘kids hike, kids swim, they are strong’

My intention with this page was to not only commemorate a favored part of camp but provide implicit exposure to how the verb changes depending on the number of people doing the action expressed by the verb. I also wanted to encourage the kids and recognize the effort it takes to do the climb, which is why I included the statement ‘they are strong’ in the bee’s narration.

I found that this booklet held the students’ interest for the one class I had with them, primarily because it was fun, familiar, and I had crayons available for them to color with while we went through our activities. The kids all got to take their booklet home and my hope is that it can become a tool used for multiple years.

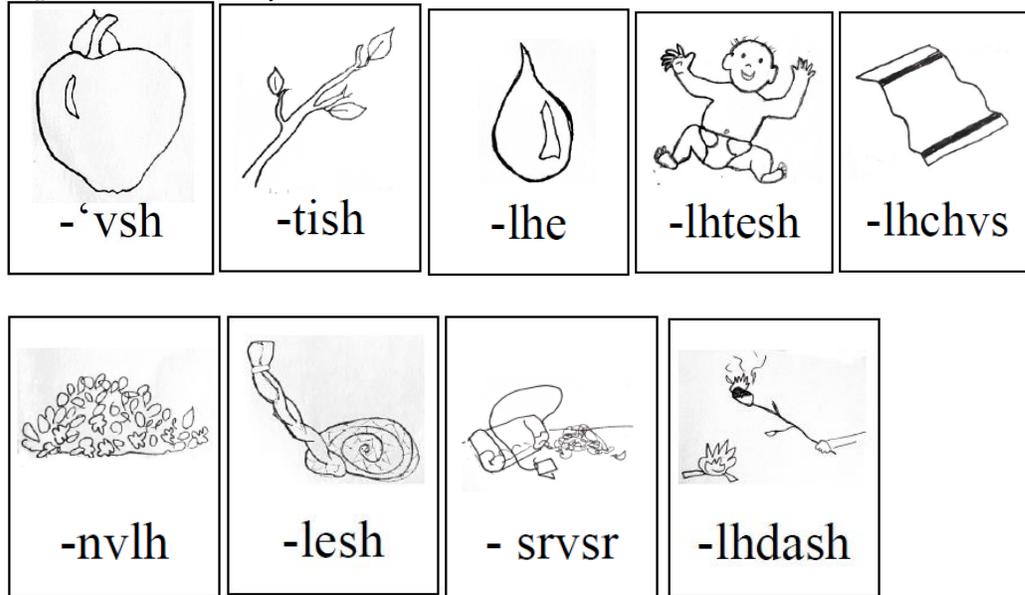
19.2.3 Go Fish – Nash-‘vsh nush-‘vsh

The next language material I showcase is a version of the ‘Go fish’ card game, also designed for class at Camp Ta Nae. This game is designed to give the students experience with another unique feature of Dene languages, the classificatory verb stem system. In this system, verbs that deal with the handling or location of objects, e.g. ‘handle’. ‘give’, ‘pick up’, ‘put down’, and ‘be at’, will change the verbs stem depending

on the shape of the object being handled. In this system, how the object is handled is conveyed by adverbial or positional prefixes at the start of the word and the shape of the stem (at the end of the verb) indicates the type of object.

The cards for this ‘go fish’ game are designed with a picture of the type of object and the verb stem form that goes with that object. Each person was given a script that shows which prefixes to use to say ‘have’ (*naa-*) as in ‘do you have’ or ‘I have’, what prefixes to use to say, ‘I give you’ (*nn-ghash-*), and what prefix to say ‘I put down’ (*nush-*). The students would take turns asking others for the cards that matched their hand, and to ask they had to match the right stem form with the right prefix. Figure 27 shows the nine different cards that represent the nine different stem forms.

Figure 27. *Nuu-wee-ya* ‘Go Fish’ cards



This game is a valuable tool for teaching grammatical components through explicit description, which was part of the instructions, as well as through the implicit experience of playing the game. This game was challenging for the younger kids but

some of the groups really enjoyed and got into the game. I feel this resource is another that can be used many times.

19.2.4 ABC book

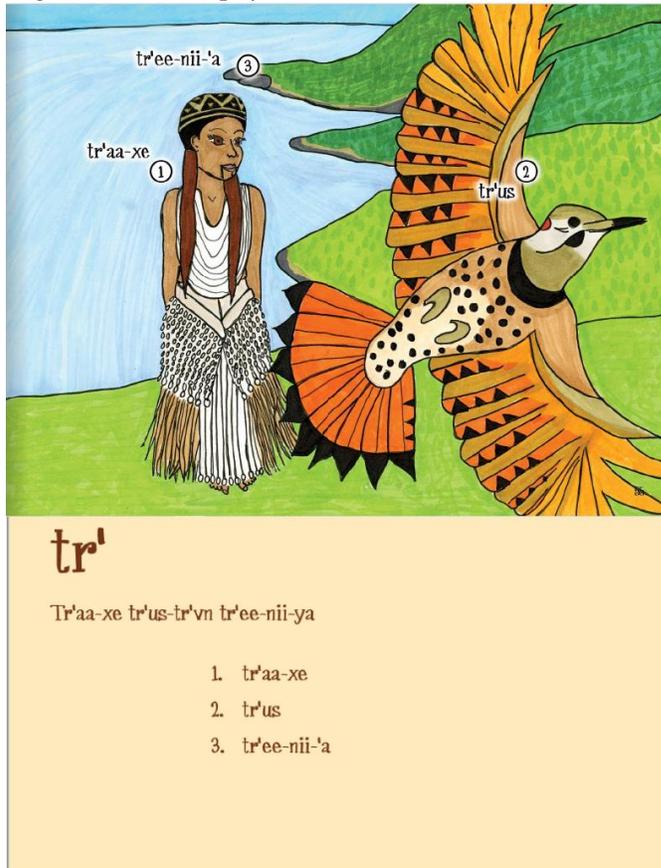
The last language material that I describe is an ABC book commissioned by the Coquille Tribe. Their vision was to publish a real book on language and provide it to all their tribal members in celebration of the thirty-year anniversary of being reinstated as a federally-recognized Tribe.⁶³ They gave me free reins on the design, and I wanted to create something that could facilitate Nuu-wee-ya' only language interactions while remaining approachable to those with little or no experience with the language.

My final design resulted in three sections. The first is an introduction that describes the history of the language, impact of language loss, the sounds, and how to use the book. The second section is the main body of the book, with a dedicated page to each letter in the alphabet. For each letter I wrote a sentence or two that had as many words that began with that sound as I could. I also created a list of additional words that began with that word that could be incorporated into the illustration. Each sentence was then illustrated to reflect the sentence and to incorporate the additional items. In this second section there is no English, the illustration acts as a picture dictionary to help those who don't know the words to interpret what is happening. The third section is a translation of each sentence and a glossary of each word that notes what page the word is located on. The Coquille Tribe hired eight illustrators to assist me with the illustrations. I illustrated

⁶³ Coquille tribe like all tribes west of the Cascades in Oregon were terminated in 1954 (Younker, 2003). The Coquille tribe was restored on June 28th, 1989.

half of the pages and the eight Coquille tribal members illustrated the remainder of the pages.

Figure 28. Excerpt from ABC book *tr'*.



I include two examples here. Figure 28 provides an example from the pages dedicated to the letter '*tr*'. The book is designed to have the illustration on the right page and the sentence on the left page, but to conserve space I have combined the two pages. The sentence that accompanies this picture is 'the woman goes close to the flicker'. The words for woman and flicker are labeled in the

picture as well as the word for 'point of land'. This picture is representative of the traditional dress and appearance, including a basket hat, dentalium necklaces, a bark skirt and chin tattoos. This picture also reflects the traditional geographic location; it is designed to look like cliffs along the coast of Oregon. The flicker is a culturally important bird. The illustration is designed to provide a representation of Oregon Indigenous culture.

Figure 29. Excerpt from ABC book *m*.

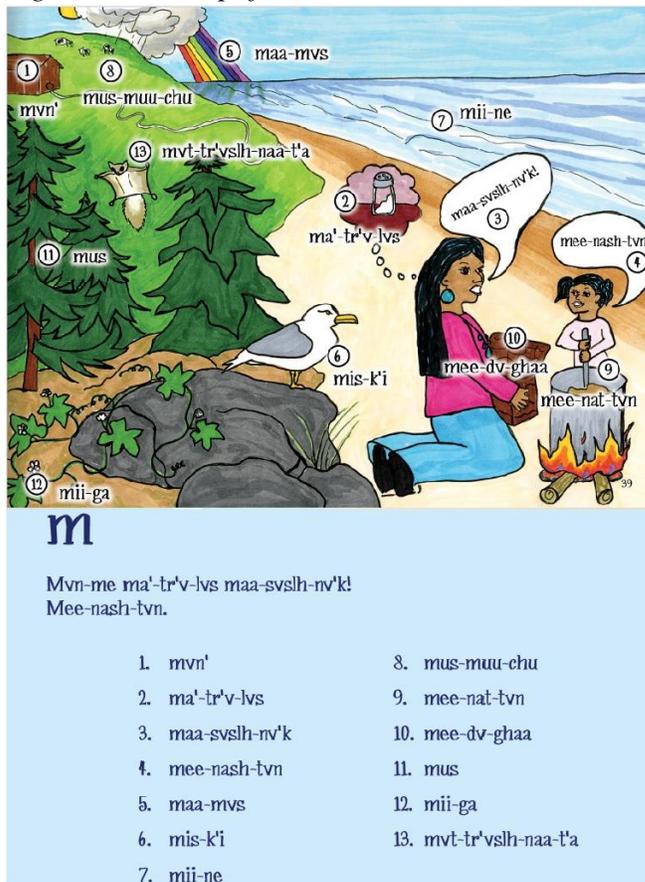


Figure 29 is dedicated to the letter *m* and is much busier than the *tr'* page, primarily due to the higher frequency of *m* words in the archive than *tr'* words. The sentence for this page is intended to be two statements, the first from the mom who just realized she left the salt in the house and the other from the little girl who is

proud she is stirring. The mom is saying “I forgot the salt” and the girl is saying “I am stirring”. Additionally, there are 10 other *m* words woven into the drawing including: house, rainbow, seagull, wave, cow, stir stick, picnic basket, cedar, wild cucumber, and flying squirrel. With this illustration I was wanting to represent modern culture and so the mother and daughter are in modern clothing while they are making food on the beach.

I did not realize until this book was published and printed how profound it would feel and how emotional I would be by simply being able to hold a real book written in my language. My level of emotion was surprising to me because it did not stem from pride or relief, rather it stemmed from simply seeing our words in print. I feel that this project has

provided a long-term resource that can help Nuu-we-ya' speakers engage in language and have the opportunity to see their language represented in literature.

19.3 Implications for creating materials

Creating materials for language learning is extremely important in providing people with a chance to interact with the language. I feel that it is great to have both detailed and finished products, such as the ABC book, as well as rough, unfinished products such as the Camp booklet. I felt that the booklet is a model that shows that language materials can be useful even when the creator is hurried and doesn't have much capacity to create sophisticated art. When creating language materials, ultimately what matters is enjoying the process of creation and using the materials.

CHAPTER XX – TRANSLATING INTO NUU-WEE-YA’

Translation is a valuable tool for language revitalization. There are multiple benefits of translating materials into a language being revitalized. This chapter first discusses how translated materials can support community engagement and connection (20.1) and then describes three different translations I completed during this research and their potential for supporting language revitalization. For each example I first provide the translation and then discuss the use of the translation for language revitalization. The first translation is of Gloria Gaynor’s song ‘I Will Survive’, retitled ‘We will Survive’ in the translation (20.2). The second translation is of the lullaby ‘Summertime’ from Porgy & Bess by Gershwin (20.3) and the third translation is the story ‘Face Rock’ from the Coquille Indians, which was originally in Miluk; at the request of the Tribe, I translated this story from their English version into Nuu-wee-ya’ (20.4).

20.1 Translating materials for community engagement

When writing about the benefits of translating into endangered languages Belmar (2017) describes translation into a minority language as an element that can shape the literature and mold society. He claims, “this understanding of translation...does not turn it into some type of tool to be used by the dominant power at whim...it gives the people the power as a tool to break certain dynamics” (p. 37). Belmar refers to translation into languages, such as Basque, that have more speakers than a severely endangered language such as Nuu-wee-ya’. Implications of translations into a minoritized language can support equalization in the power paradigm of majority and minority languages. For languages that are severely endangered, with few speakers, there are some additional benefits.

While the primary benefit of translations is to have more materials available in the language, there are three other benefits that I would like to describe and model through the presentation of these three translations. The first benefit is especially relevant in the translation of songs. One challenge to sharing language materials is that it can be exclusionary to those who have not learned the language. When a song that has a familiar melody is translated into a minority language, such as Nuu-wee-ya', it can allow people who don't speak the language to relate and connect to the song. I talk about this benefit with the translation of "We Will Survive" The second benefit revolves around transforming a song or text to reflect culturally significant topics. I talk about this benefit with the translation of 'Summertime'. The third benefit is when a multi-cultural community translates texts from one culture into the language of the other culture, it creates opportunity for the community to grow closer together. I talk about the community-building impact with the translation of "Face Rock".

When translating into a severely endangered language there are both linguistic and cultural challenges and opportunities. The primary linguistic challenge is completing the translation without a fluent speaker's knowledge. I find that it is challenging to feel sure about my grammatical choices and just as challenging to leave a translation alone after I have learned more. It is also particularly challenging when translating songs to be sure that the language fits into the original melody. Translating becomes an opportunity to focus on or showcase unique features of a grammar, such as classificatory verbs and aspect in Nuu-wee-ya' as well as word order.

On the other hand, translating into a severely endangered language can lead to the question of cultural appropriateness. There might be differences of opinion in regard to

what kind of language can be used where, for example. So, some might feel it is not appropriate for a song translated from English to be sung in a ceremony, where as others may think any song sung with an open heart is great. Often the appropriateness will depend on the kind of ceremony and the type of song.

20.2 Translation of ‘We will Survive’

The translation of the song “We will survive” came about for me in two stages. The first stage involved creating a Native American Church song in English based on “I will survive”.⁶⁴ The topic of the original song as performed by Gloria Gaynor is not ideal for a ceremony, however, I have discovered that this song is one that many people like and many people sing along to. After many encounters singing this song with friends, I had the idea to change the words to honor those in my life who have failed but kept going and to make a prayer song out of it.

For over a decade, I sang this song in ceremony, sometimes to the joy of others and sometimes to the frustration of others. What I discovered by singing the English version is that people attending the ceremony, maybe for the first time, didn’t know the native songs. These people really connected to “We Will Survive” because it was something they were familiar with. Finally, in 2018, while singing in a ceremony, I had a flash of inspiration that I could and really should translate this song into Nuu-wee-ya’. Three months later the song was translated, and I was able to sing it in ceremony. When I sing it, I purposefully sing it through two times, first in English so that the people know what I am saying and then in Nuu-wee-ya’. Where I sing this song, there are often not

⁶⁴ Written by Freddie Perren and Dino Fekaris.

many other people who can understand Nuu-wee-ya'. A benefit of singing it through in English and Nuu-we-ya' is that by the end of the song, listeners know what I am saying and have been able to listen to Nuu-wee-ya' with the meaning in their minds, even if they are not parsing word by word, I feel that it is an aspect of language communication that can be done when people do not know a language, and it also is implicit exposure for those who want to learn.

The lines of the song with their translation are in (20.1-20.9) below.

20. 1 *lha-dvn nel-jid, hat-dvn lhtii nel-jid*
 first-time afraid.1p then very afraid.1p
 'At first, we were afraid, we were petrified'
20. 2 *du wee-yaa-mvlh xwv-nish duu-wa nee-srud-'a*
 no language-with live maybe think.1p
 'thinking we could live without our languages by our side'
20. 3 *hii-chu lhtii tlet-dvn sid-xa du shu' de nee-srud-'a*
 and many nights sit.1p no good thing think.1p
 'and we spent so many nights just thinking how it all went wrong'
20. 4 *yaa-tid-tr'it aa-du' yun-telh-ts'it nuu-ned-ja*
 become weak.1p but learn.1p get along.1p
 'we grew weak but then we learned how to get along'
20. 5 *hii-chu jii-tr'vn ch'v-da-dvn-ghe naa-nid-tl'id*
 and here-towards other-place-from we come.1p
 'and now we are back from that other place'
20. 6 *nuu-sre-lhxn-mvlh daa-ghid-xa nuu-ghesh-'i xwvs-xe*
 happy-with sit.1pl see 1p.1s is good
 'It is so good to see you here with that glad look upon your face'
20. 7 *de nuu-xwv-nish-me 'udlh-te-i shu' 'aa-shii-la dv-k'e nash-'a*
 thing our life-in need.1p-nom thanks pray.1s
 'and I am giving thanks that what we need is just exactly in our life'
20. 8 *sree-lhxn-de naa-'ash-i yushlh-ts'it an' xwv-nish*
 happy-things give-nom know.1s still live
 'and as long as we have love to give I know we will survive'

20. 9 *an' xwv-nish*
 still live
 we will survive

The song “We Will Survive” uses familiar melodies to create understanding between Nuu-wee-ya’ speakers and Nuu-wee-ya’ non-speakers. Using familiar songs can allow people to access meanings and engage even with very little language knowledge.

20.3 Translation of ‘Summertime’

I developed this next translation as a lullaby for my youngest. The original song “Summertime” written by George Gershwin for his opera *Porgy and Bess*, has always been one of my favorite songs to sing to my children.⁶⁵ After my youngest was born I wanted more Nuu-wee-ya’ songs to sing to him at night. While I developed quite a few new songs, I could not hold onto or remember many of them. The song “Summertime” was easier to remember because I did not have to remember the melody. The translated version only has the first verse.

This song became an opportunity to take the meaning of the song and reflect it in more culturally appropriate terms. For example, in the original version the second line is “catfish are jumping, and the cotton is high”. The terms ‘catfish’ and ‘cotton’ as descriptions of the local environment does not apply to me or my family as we are located in the Pacific Northwest. I wanted the song to have concepts that my children would be more familiar. Thus, in the translation that line is ‘salmon are jumping, and the camas is high’.

⁶⁵ Lyrics by DuBose Heyward and Ira Gershwin

I also considered this song as an opportunity to create a positive prayer for the people, thus the second to last line “your daddy’s rich and your mama’s good looking” I changed to “your people are healthy and strong too”. These lines are in (20.10-20.13)

20. 10 *shin-dvn hii-chu xwv-nish xwvs-xe*
 ‘Summertime and life is good’
20. 49 *lhuu-k’e til-t’vm hii-chu dvne gu-se nes*
 ‘Salmon are jumping, and the camas is high’
20. 12 *nn-dv-ne xwvs-xwe nalh-ne chu*
 ‘Your people are healthy and strong too’
20. 13 *hii-wvn sh-gay-yu lha il-sre*
 ‘So because of this my baby, don’t cry’

Like ‘We Will Survive’, this song translation relies on a familiar tune, this time to lower the mental burden of remembering new songs. This song has become an opportunity to express local culture and ideals. It has been well received from my children and others who have heard it because of the familiarity, and because of the amazing tune that Gershwin wrote.

20.4 Translation of ‘Face rock’

The third translation is different from the other two because it is a translation of a text, commissioned by the Coquille Indian Tribe and it is a translation of a text that was originally in a language other than English. The Coquille Tribe is made of people from multiple language groups; their traditional languages are Nuu-wee-ya’, Miluk, and Chinuk Wawa, however it has been a while since there have been Coquille speakers of these languages. This translation is of a story originally told in Miluk and then provided to the Coquille cultural department in English by Beverly Ward. This story has become a favorite at Coquille gatherings; I personally have heard this story many times as told by Coquille tribal elder Denni Hockema. I was asked to translate the text in Nuu-wee-ya’,

even though it is originally from Miluk because Coquille is trying to do equal work on their multiple languages, and it is in the spirit of the interwoven cultural nature of this Tribe to celebrate their culture in all their languages.

The annotated version of this story describes the Nuu-wee-ya' elements used to translate each phrase. This is intended to serve as a clear explanation of how I translated this story, as I acknowledge that my skills as a speaker are limited and there might be mistakes and better ways to say the lines. With a clear explanation of why and how I translated this, future me or someone else could someday translate better versions. The other reason I do this is as a pedagogical tool. My hope is that an interested person could read through how I translated the lines and gain some familiarity with the structure of the language.

20. 14 *Lhaa-dvn, dvn-chi sis-xvn-mee-xu xwvs-xe sis-xvn-maa-xu-dvn*
naa-xwvt-tr'vl-ch'vd.
'She told that one time four coast chiefs held a potlatch on the beach.'

In (20.14), I omitted the words 'she told', to make the story begin like other Nuu-wee-ya' stories. This line has two noun phrases and a verb phrase. I used the phrase *lhaa-dvn*, literally 'one-time'. Following this word is the noun phrase that is signifying the subject of the sentence, 'four coast chiefs', which I translated with *dvn-chi* 'four', *sis-xan-maa-xu* 'coastal' and *xwvs-xe* 'chief'. The word for coastal is made from the noun *sis-xan* 'ocean' and the postposition *maa-xu* 'alongside'; this word is also used to mean 'beach'. Following this noun phrase is a postpositional phrase that means 'on the beach'. A postpositional phrase is the same as a prepositional phrase in English; they are words or phrases that describe positions or locations of the action in the verb. This phrase is made from *sis-xvn-maa-xu*, this time meaning 'beach' followed by the locative suffix -

dvn, creating the phrase ‘on the beach’. Following this postpositional phrase is the verb, *naa-xwvt-tr’vl-ch’vd*, which is a word for ‘feast’. This verb is made of the stem *ch’vd* ‘feed’, along with the prefixes *naa-* ‘around’, *xwv-* ‘areal’, *tr’v-* ‘passive’ and *l-* ‘classifier’. There are two words for feast. This is the word that I remember Gilbert Towner using for ‘formal feast’. The other word for feast is *yaa-ch’ii-ya* ‘they (plural) eat.’. The one used in this sentence could be translated to mean something like ‘around and about over an area people are fed.’

I am unsure on the accuracy of this word with indicating the chiefs as the subject because of the passive prefix in the word for feast. It may be that this is a noun and needs to be in a different form to take the subject. However, this is the word that we have available in the archive and so I use it.

20. 15 *Hii-wvn-du’ lhaa naa-ts’in-dvn xwvs-xe Sis-k’v-yu yalh-dv-ghii-nvn.*
Hii-du’, *Hii sii-’e*, ‘*Ee-waa-na*, *hi lii-ch’e*, *hii nii-kwast-li dvl-mvn mvlh*
sdaa-ii-chu dee-nilh-tee-la.
 ‘They invited Siskiyou, a great mountain chief, and he brought his daughter Ewauna, and her pets – a dog and a basket of raccoons.’

In (20.15) is translated into two sentences rather than one. In the first sentence, the phrase starts with a sentence beginner word that is very frequent in stories. This one, *hii-wvn-du’* translates roughly to ‘and so’. In this sentence there is one noun phrase and one verb phrase. The noun phrase is *lhaa naa-ts’in-dvn xwvs-xe Sis-k’v-yu* and is made from the numeral *lhaa* ‘one’, the postpositional phrase *naa-ts’in-dvn*, and the noun plus proper name *xwvs-xe Sis-k’v-yu*, ‘Chief Siskiyou’. The postpositional phrase is made from the noun *naa-ts’in* ‘mountain’ and the locative *-dvn*, meaning in this use ‘mountain-from chief’. This noun phrase is the object of the sentence.

The verb phrase *yalh-dv-ghii-nvn* was found in the archive to mean ‘invite’. The stem *nvn* is found with verbs like ‘say’ and ‘talk’. The prefixes are *ghi* ‘perfective’ and *dv-* ‘reflexive’, as well as *yalh-*, which is some way of saying ‘with’; the *ya-* is conveying something about third person subject acting on third person object. The subject is conveyed through a lack of subject prefixes and through this *y-*.

The second sentence in this line starts with the phrase *hii-du*, a word that is saying ‘the one who is him (referring to Siskiyou)’. This word is followed by a list of three noun phrases; the first is *hii sii-’e*, ‘*Ee-waa-na*, made from the determiner *hi* ‘his’ and the noun *sii-’e* ‘daughter’ followed by his daughter’s name, Ewauna. This next noun phrase is *hi* ‘her’ and *lii-ch’e* ‘her dog’; the word for dog is the possessed form. On some words, adding the possessive marker ‘-e (meaning that the noun is owned by something) changes a sound in the noun. In this case, the word *lhii* ‘dog’ changes to *liich’* when the ‘e is added. The third noun phrase starts with *hii* ‘her’, followed by ‘raccoon’ *nii-kwast-li* and ‘basket’ *dvl-mvn* ‘full’. This noun is followed by the postposition *mvlh* ‘with’ (‘in’ in this sense) and the verb *sdaa*. This verb is made from the stem *da* ‘sit/be’ and has two enclitic particles. The first, *-ii* is a relativizing particle that makes the previous verb and its referents into a noun. The second is *-chu*, which translates to ‘and’. This noun phrase translates to ‘and her basket-full of raccoons’. These nouns are all the object of the sentence. The verb *dee-nilh-tee-la*, is made with the verb stem *te-* ‘handle a living object’ and has the past tense enclitic *la*. Also, this verb has the reflexive *de-* and the perfective *ni-*. This verb roughly translates to ‘he brought them with him’.

20. 16 *See-’at-k’u duu-shu’ xwvs-xe vn-t’e, sis-xvn sda. Xv-nvs,*
chuu-luu-nee-chu ghvllh-xvt jii-ch’i xuu-dii-ne nil-jid.
 ‘The coast people feared Seatco, the evil spirit of the sea, for he
 swallowed up canoes and fisherman,’

In (20.16) I translated this line into two sentences and left out the reason why (‘for he swallowed up canoes and fisherman’) leaving that for future work. The first sentence is stating who Seatco is; it has three noun phrases and two verb phrases. The first noun phrase is simply *See-‘at-k’u* ‘Seatco’, the subject of the verb. The second noun phrase is essentially the object of the verb, describing what Seatco is. This noun phrase is made of the adverb *‘du-shu’*, literally ‘not-good’ and the word *xwvs-xe* ‘power’. This word is also used to mean ‘chief’, as seen in the first line, but, it is found in the archives to mean ‘power’ as well. The first verb goes with these two noun phrases: it is *vn-t’e* and means ‘it is’. The third noun phrase is the object of the second verb, it is describing the location where Seatco (the subject) lives. This noun is *sis-xan* ‘ocean’. The verb *sda* is made from the *s-* ‘stative’ aspect and the stem *da*. This stem is used for ‘sit’, ‘be’, and ‘live at’.

20. 17 *‘Ee-waa-na shu’ mvlh-dii-nvn aa-t’i duu-de sis-xvn ghee-sii wee-ni du nel-jid-la.*
 ‘They warned Ewauna but she had never seen the ocean and wasn’t afraid.’

The line in (20.17) has three verb phrases and two clauses. The first clause has one verb phrase and one noun phrase, which is just *‘Ee-waa-na* ‘Ewauna’. The verb has the stem *nvn* ‘say/tell’ with the *di-* thematic prefix that originates in the ancient nominal classifier system, meaning ‘stick-like’. Here it is probably indicating the straightness in the way the ‘telling’ happened to the other person, like a way to say ‘talking to’. This verb also has the prefix *mvlh-* ‘with’, as well as the adverbial lexeme ‘good’ *shu*. This is a verb meaning ‘warn’ found in the archive. It could be translated as something like ‘they told her good’. This clause is connected to the next main clause with the word *aa-t’i* ‘but’.

The second clause has a main verb phrase and a verb in a relative clause. The main verb of this clause has the verb stem *jid* ‘afraid’, the thematic prefix *ne-* and *l-* classifier to mean ‘afraid’, but then it is negated by *du* ‘no’ to mean not afraid. What she is not afraid of is in the relative clause, which relative clause comes before the main verb. It is made with a noun phrase and a verb phrase. The noun phrase is the word *sis-xan* ‘ocean. The adverb *duu-de* ‘never’ comes before the noun. The verb is made from the stem ‘*i* ‘see’, along with the thematic prefix *ghe-*. This verb phrase is made into a relative clause with the addition of the word *wee-ni* ‘because’.

20. 18 *Hat-dvn' sis-xvn maa-xwe-dvn, lii-ch'e, nii-kw'ast-lii-chu lhvlh*
 nv-ghaa-xwvl-ye.
 ‘She played on the beach with her dog and raccoons.’

In (20.18), this line has three noun phrases, two of which are part of the postpositional phrase. There is one verb phrase. The sentence starts with a word frequently used to start clauses, *hat-dvn* ‘and then’. The first noun phrase is *sis-xvn maa-xwe* ‘beach’, To indicate that this is where the verb occurs, there is the locative *-dvn*. The next two noun phrases are *lii-ch'e*, ‘her dog’, and *nii-kw'ast-li* ‘raccoon’. The suffix *-chu* means ‘and’. These noun phrases are part of the propositional phrase *lhvlh* headed by ‘with’; this postposition used the reciprocal person marker as the object prefix. This means that they all played together. The verb ‘play’ is made with the stem *ye*, the *l-* classifier, the thematic *nv-*, *gha-* ‘plural’ and *xwv-* ‘areal’.

20. 19 *Hii-wvn-du' ji dvn-chi xwvs-xe, taa-chu ii-ghee-i, Sis-k'ii-yu ghee-'i*
 hat-du' lhti' lhxn alh-dv-nvn-la.
 ‘The four chiefs dressed in their ceremonial robes, welcomed their guests
 and praised the great Chief Siskiyou.’

In (20.19), this sentence begins with *hii-wvn-du* ‘and so’. This is followed by a relative clause that is representing the subject of the sentence. This relative clause starts

with the noun phrase *ji dvn-chi xwvvs-xe* made from *ji* ‘those’, *dvn-chi* ‘four’ and *xwvvs-xe* ‘chief’. This is followed by a second noun phrase *taa-chu* ‘big-feathers’. I am using this instead of ‘ceremonial robes’ as I could not find anything in the archives that would indicate the ceremonial aspect of the robes. I used ‘feathers’ because I know there were part of ceremonial regalia. The verb in the relative clause is *ii-ghe* ‘wear’. Following this relative clause there is the object of the sentence, Siskiyou. This is followed by *ghee-i* ‘see’. The second clause starts with the phrase *hat-du* ‘and then’, which is followed by *lhti* ‘very’, and *lhxvn* ‘sweet’. To close out this sentence is the verb made with the stem *nvvn* ‘say’, the ‘straight’ nominal classifier’ and the postposition *alh-* ‘with’.

20. 20 *Hat-dvn tv-xwi naa-xwvt-tr’vl-chud hii-wvn-du’ sis-xvn-mv-xwe-dvn
tid-’elh.*
 ‘They had a great feast and went to sleep in the beach’

In (20.20) the line begins with a frequently used clause starter, *hat-dvn* ‘and then’ this is followed by the word *tv-xwi* ‘everyone’ and the verb for formal feast (discussed earlier). The next word, *hii-wvn-du* ‘and so’ is followed by the word for ‘beach’ (discussed earlier) with the ‘locative’ enclitic particle =*dvn* and a verb with the stem ‘*elh* (plural sleep), the *d-* classifier and the ‘inceptive’ *ti-*.

20. 21 *Tv-xwi tr’v-mvt-dvn, ‘Ee-waa-na, lii-ch’e hii-nii-kw’ast-lii-chu naa-vsh
hii-wvn tii-tl’id-la.*
 ‘When all was quiet, Ewana took her pets and slipped away.’

This sentence in (20.21) starts with the word *tv-xwi* ‘everything’ and *tr’v-mvt* ‘quiet’, which was the locative enclitic particle *dvn* to mean ‘when’; together these words translate to ‘when all was quiet’. The sentence then continues with a list of noun phrases, the subject *Euwana*, and the objects, her dog and raccoon. This is followed by the verb ‘take’ expressed with ‘*vsh* ‘handle a round object’ and the ‘pluractional’ *na-*. This is

followed by the conjugation *hii-wvvn* ‘and then’. The sentence ends with a verb that has the stem *tl'id* ‘plural go’, the *d-* ‘classifier’ and the ‘inceptive *ti-*’.

20. 21 *Sis-xan maa-xu-dvn nii-dash-la, nal- 'vs-la*
 ‘She ran and danced on the beach.’

This line in (20.21) starts with the postpositional phrase *sis-xan maa-xu-dvn*, meaning ‘on the beach’. This is followed by two verbs. The first verb has the stem *dash* ‘dance’ with the ‘perfective’ *ni-* and the past tense enclitic particle *la*. The last verb has the stem ‘vs ‘run’ with the ‘pluractional’ *na-* and the *l-* classifier.

20. 22 *Tv-le naa-ghii-nvlh. "Shish nii-k'wast-li-'i shu k'wee-'ii-le" lii-ch'e mvlh*
 aa-jvn-la.
 ‘She dropped her basket and told her dog to watch the raccoons.’

This line in (20.22) is translated into two sentences. The first has a noun phrase and verb phrase. The noun phrase is the possessed form of ‘basket’, *tvlh*. The form *tv-le* occurs when the possessive ‘i is added. The verb is *naa-ghii-nvlh* with the stem *nlvh* ‘drop’, the pluractional *na-* and the perfective *ghi-*. The second sentence starts with Ewauna talking to her dog; what she says has one verb phrase and one noun phrase. The noun phrase is made from the first person possession pronoun *shish* ‘my’; this is followed by the possessed form of ‘raccoon’ *nii-k'wast-li-'i*, which is ‘raccoon’ plus the possessive suffix *-i*. The verb means to ‘watch over’ and is used to mean ‘babysit’. It is made from the stem ‘i ‘see’ and the adverbial prefix *kwe-* ‘over’. This verb also has the ‘imperative’ enclitic particle that makes this into a command. Additionally, the adverb *shu* ‘good’ is prior to the verb, making the sense ‘watch over them good’. The rest of this sentence indicates who she said this to with the postpositional phrase *lii-ch'e mvlh*; in this phrase, *lii-ch'e* is the possessed form of ‘dog’ and *mvlh* means ‘with’. The verb is *aa-jvn* and means ‘said’. It has the past tense enclitic particle *la*.

20. 23 *Hat-dvn sis-xan-tr'vn nal- 'vs hii-wvn ch'aa-ghvl-sri- 'vn naa-t'uu-la*
 'Then she ran in the ocean and swam towards the moon.'

In (20.23), this line has two clauses both with a postpositional phrase and a verb. The sentence starts with the word *hat-dvn* 'and then'. This is followed by the postpositional phrase of the first clause, made of *sis-xan* 'ocean' and *tr'vn* 'towards', and the verb made of the stem *'vs* 'run', the 'pluractional' *na-*, and *l-* 'classifier'. This clause transitions to the next clause with the word *hii-wvn* 'and then'. This clause starts with the postpositional phrase made of *ch'aa-ghvl-sri* 'moon' and the postposition *'vn* 'towards'. The verb in this clause has the stem *t'u* 'swim (one person)', the 'pluractional prefix' *na-* and the 'past tense' enclitic particle.

20. 24 *Hat-dvn See- 'at-k'u sis-xvn men-di xaa-dvsh hii-wvn-du' ch'v-sii-ne*
 yilh-ch'ut-la.
 'Seatco rose from the sea and seized the girl.'

In (20.24) , the line has two clauses and starts with *hat-dvn* 'and then'. The subject of the phrase *See- 'at-k'u* 'Seatco' comes first, then the postpositional phrase made from the noun *sis-xvn* 'ocean' and the postposition *men-di* 'out of'. The verb is made from *dvsh* 'rise' and the prefix *xa* 'up'. This clause transitions to the next clause with *hii-wvn-du* 'and so'. The second clause has the noun *ch'v-sii-ne* 'maiden' and a verb made from the stem *ch'ut* 'grab', the prefix *yi-* 'third person acting on third person' and the *lh-* classifier; the verb also has the past tense enclitic particle *la*.

20. 25 *Hat-dvn ji lii-ch'e xa tee-ghii-yaa-la, hi ghal-tr'u-ne 'ulh-te hii-wvn-du'*
 lhii See- 'at-k'u yee-ghvt-ne.
 'The dog ran to rescue her and dropped the basket of raccoons and sank his teeth in to the demon.'

This line, in (20.25) has three clauses and four verbs. It starts with *hat-dvn* 'and then'. The first clause starts with the noun phrase *lii-ch'e* 'her dog' and a verb made from

the stem *ya* ‘one goes’, the ‘perfective’ prefix *ghi-* and the ‘inceptive’ prefix *te-*. This verb also has the ‘past tense’ enclitic particle *la*, as well as the adverbial word *xa* ‘fast’. There is no conjunction to transition to the second clause. This clause has two verbs; it starts with the ‘third person’ pronoun *hi*. This pronoun is referring to the dog who is the subject of the sentence. The first verb is made from the stem *ne* ‘help’, the prefixes *tr’u-* ‘passive’ and the thematic *ghal-* and means ‘help’; this verb is secondary to the last verb in the clause, made from the stem *te* and the prefixes *u-* ‘for’ and the classifier *lh-*. These verbs together mean ‘want to help’. The last clause is started with *hii-wvn-du* ‘and so’. This is followed by the subject, *lhii* ‘dog’, the object, *See-’at-k’u* ‘Seatco’, and the verb made from the stem *ne* ‘bite’ and the prefixes *ye* ‘third acting on third’, *ghv-* ‘perfective’ and *d-* classifier.

20. 26 *Hat-dvn, See-’at-k’u hii-dii-tr’at hii-wvn nii-ghii-shvlh. Hii-wvn-du’
See-’at-k’u lhii nii-kw’ast-lii-chu yilh-chut hii-wvn tuu-min’ talh-gvlh.
‘Roaring with pain, Seatco grabbed the dog and the basket of raccoons,
and hurled them into the sea.’*

This next line, in (20.26) was translated into two sentences. The first sentence has two clauses and two verbs. This sentence starts with *hat-dvn* ‘and then’. The first clause contains the subject *See-’at-k’u* ‘Seatco’, and the verb is *dii-tr’at* ‘hurt’. This is one of the few verbs (usually emotion verbs) that don’t conjugate or have extensive morphology, subject is indicated with a prior pronoun or noun. The transition to the second clause occurs with the word *hii-wvn* ‘and so’. The second clause is simply the verb with the stem *shvlh* ‘yell’ and the prefixes *ni-* ‘completive’ and *ghi-* ‘perfective’.

The second sentence starts with *hii-wvn-du* ‘and so then’. This sentence has two clauses, the first starts with the subject *See-’at-k’u*, ‘Seatco’ followed by the two objects *lhii* ‘dog’ and *nii-kw’ast-lii* ‘raccoon’. The enclitic particle *-chu* is on ‘raccoon’ to mean

‘and’. The verb of this clause is made of stem *chut* ‘grab’ as well as prefixes *yi-* ‘third acting on third’ and the *lh-* classifier. The next clause starts with *hii-wvn* ‘then’. This is followed by the postpositional phrase made from *tuu* ‘water’ and the postposition *min* ‘in’. The verb is made from *gvlh* ‘throw’ and the prefixes *ta-* ‘into water’ and the *lh-* classifier.

20. 27 *Hat-dvn ch'v-sii-ne yilh-chut hii-wvn-du' nv-ghe-tr'vn ne-'i 'aa-'ulh-te.*
 ‘He grabbed the girl and tried to make her look into his eyes.’

This line, in (20.27) has two clauses and three verbs. The first clause starts with *hat-dvn* ‘and then’. Following is the object of the clause, *ch'v-sii-ne* ‘maiden’ and the verb made from the stem *chut* ‘grab’ and the prefixes *yi-* ‘third acting on third’ and the *lh-* classifier. The transition to the second clause is with *hii-wvn-du'*. This clause has two verbs and a postpositional phrase. It starts with the postpositional phrase, made from *nv-ghe* ‘eye’ and *tr'vn* ‘towards’. This is followed by the verb made with the stem *i* ‘see’ and the thematic *ne-* prefix. The second verb is the main verb of the clause; it is made with the stem *te* ‘want’ and the prefixes *aa-* ‘very’, *u-* ‘for’ and the *lh-* classifier. This clause means ‘his eyes towards, she looks, he wanted.’

20. 28 *Aa-du' 'Ee-waa-na na'lh-ne hii-nv-ghe-me sda-i yulh-ts'it hii-wvn*
chaa-ghvl-sri-'vn nel-'i.
 ‘But Ewauna knew his power was in his eyes, so she turned her head and looked at the moon.’

This line (20.28) starts with *aa-du'* ‘but’; this word sometimes means ‘and’ as well. This line has two clauses and three verbs. The first clause starts with the subject ‘*Ee-waa-na* ‘Ewauna’, which is followed by the object (which is what Ewauna knew). This object is made with a noun phrase that contains a noun, postpositional phrase and a relativized verb. The noun is *na'lh-ne* ‘power’. The postpositional phrase is made from

the third person possession marker *hii* and the noun *nv-ghe* ‘eye’, followed by *-me* ‘in’.

The verb is made from the stem *da* ‘sit/be’ and the ‘stative’ *s-*. This verb has the relativizing enclitic particle *i*, and is followed by the main verb of the clause, made from the stem *ts’it* ‘know’ and the prefixes *y* ‘third on third’, *u-* ‘for’ and the *lh-* classifier.

The second clause starts with the word *hii-wvn* ‘and so’. This clause has a postpositional phrase and a verb. The postpositional phrase is made from the noun *chaa-ghvl-sri* ‘moon’ and the postposition *vn* ‘toward’. The verb is made with the stem *i* ‘see’ and the thematic prefix *ne-* and the classifier *l-*.

20. 29 *Hat-dvn, aa-xwv-ni, ji xwvs-xe hii-sii-’e du ghee-’i, hii-wvn tv-xwi sis-xan maa-xu-tr’vn te-ghii-tl’id.*
 ‘The next morning the chief missed his daughter, and everybody rushed to the beach.’

This line (20.29) starts with *hat-dvn* ‘and so’ and has two clauses and two verbs.

The first clause starts with the adverb *aa-xwv-ni* ‘next morning’ followed by the subject made from the determiner *ji* ‘this’ and the noun *xwvs-xe* ‘chief’, which is followed by the object made from the third person possessive prefix *hi* and the noun *sii-’e* ‘daughter’.

This is followed by the word *du* ‘no’ and the verb made from *i* ‘see’ and thematic prefix *ghe-*. The next clause starts with *hii-wvn* ‘and then’, then by the subject indicated by the word *tv-xwi* ‘everyone’. This is followed by the postpositional phrase made from the noun *sis-xan maa-xu* ‘beach’ and the postpositional phrase *tr’vn* ‘towards’. This is followed by the verb made with the stem *tl’id* ‘plural go’ and the prefixes *te-* ‘inceptive’ and *ghi-* ‘perfective’.

20. 30 *slh-ts’a*
 ‘The tide was out.’

This line (20.30) is translated with just one word, the verb made with the stem *ts'a* ‘tide goes out and the prefixes *s-* ‘stative and *lh-* ‘classifier’.

20. 31 *Ch'v-sii-ne lhtr'vs-k'a sti, hii-ni yaa-vn yaa-ghee-'ii-la.*
 ‘The girl was lying on the sand, her beautiful face was looking up at the sky.’

This line (20.31) has two clauses. The first clause starts with the noun *ch'v-sii-ne* ‘maiden’; this is followed by a postpositional phrase made with *lhtr'vs* ‘sand’ and the postposition *k'a* ‘on’. The verb is made with the stem *ti-* ‘lay’ and the stative’ *s-*. The next clause starts with the subject expressed with the noun phrase made with the third person possessive marker *hi-* and the noun *ni* ‘face’. This is followed by the postpositional phrase made of noun *ya* ‘sky’ and postposition ‘*vn* ‘towards’. The verb is made of the stem ‘*i* ‘see’ along with the prefixes *ya-* ‘upwards’ and *ghe-* a thematic prefix. It also has the past tense *la*.

20. 32 *Hii-lii-ch'e, hii-nii-k'wast-li, dv-le-chu taa-ghee-ghvt-nvlh-la. Tv-xwi see vn-t'e.*
 ‘Her dog and the raccoons and the basket were scattered around nearby, and all were turned to stone.’

This line (20.32) is translated in two sentences. The first sentence starts with *hii-lee-ch'e* ‘her dog’, *hii-nii-k'wast-li* ‘her raccoon’ and *dv-le* ‘her basket’; ‘basket’ is followed by *chu* ‘and’. This list is followed by the verb made from the stem *nvlh* and the thematic prefix *ta-*, the ‘plural’ *ghe-*, the ‘perfective’ *ghv-* and the *d-* classifier.

The second sentence starts with *tv-xwi* ‘all’. This is followed by the noun *se* ‘rock’ and the verb *vn-t'e*, which means ‘to be’.

20.5 Reflections on translations

Translations are an important component to creating materials for people to use to engage with language with. Translation of familiar songs can create a deeper ability to

communicate for those without Nuu-wee-ya' language skills. Translations can allow speaker-learners to claim their culture through changing terms into more culturally relevant concepts. Translations can be a tool to bring together different members of a multi-cultural community and create greater community cohesion.

CHAPTER XXI – MY LANGUAGE LIVES

My grandpa heard Nuu-wee-ya' from his great-grandma and my father heard Chinuk Wawa from his great-uncle, but I heard only English and Spanish as a child. Yet now my kids are hearing (and sometimes speaking) Nuu-wee-ya' and Chinuk Wawa from me and from a small community of learner-speakers. This shows that, in my lineage, a language that slumbered for generations before my time is awake and living.

This chapter first looks at the primary ways I use language in my life (21.1); these are the ways that language is found on my breath: during research, with community, as song, in ceremony and with my children. This chapter then explores some of the primary challenges I have encountered (21.2) and ways that I have approached or managed these challenges (21.3). The purpose of these descriptions is to contribute to the burgeoning field of language revitalization methods.

21.1 Language on my breath

When I started learning Nuu-wee-ya', I naively looked at language revitalization as needing to look like achieving full fluency. I would compare my progress with the success of other families and would judge my perceived lack of progress harshly. It wasn't until I really thought of the length of time language has been gone in my family that I began seeing the importance of celebrating each step in the revitalization process. I began to see every 'success' as a real action that helps counteract the historical and social trauma that has come from not knowing my language. I thought about the true amount of trauma that has been incurred and realized that because of length of time it took to lose language, it would take a relationally equivalent amount of time to bring the language back.

The realization fundamentally changed my perspective on language learning; I started to celebrate each act of language use as a miracle and stopped criticizing my own actions because they could not compare with other's stories. I found myself focusing on the aspects that are working and not apologizing for what was not – even if what didn't work for me was working for other people. In this even though I am not fully fluent I began to see the numerous ways that my language is alive. I now recognize that Nuu-wee-ya' lives in me and in my family, as it does with many other individuals and families – each of us using and learning the language as best we can.

This section celebrates the miracle that Nuu-wee-ya' is in my life by describing how and when I use it and why this has worked for me and my family. This is not to say that my way is the only way, and in fact I now know – from trying and failing at others' ways – that my way is just one way of many to engage with and use one's language. However, I want my example to act as encouragement for others. I discovered that through celebrating the miracle of language use, my dialogue changed from 'I am not good enough' to 'we are experiencing a miraculous transformation of healing through language use'. I discuss this to support others in recognizing their own miracles and to deepen discussions of Language revitalization methods.

I first talk about how research itself has provided an opportunity to use language, then the ways that I use language with community. Next, I talk about my use of songs and then about using language in ceremony. The final part of this section explores the ways I use language with my children.

21.1.1 Through research

Over the years, research has been one of the primary ways that I engage with and use language. However, I believe that the potential value of this aspect of language use is often not seen. I myself did not initially plan to discuss this because I didn't think of it as language use, but it is, so I begin my discussion of language on my breath with a description of how research can be language use and the value it can bring.

Language research is language use for me, simply because I constantly use language while I am researching. I say the words aloud or in my head, I think of similar words and say them, think about the patterns over and over and try saying language in different ways. I cannot say that everyone who researches a language is using that language, but I can say that because of my desire to become a speaker my approach has always been to see how I could use whatever I discover.

A learner does not need to be in a graduate program or have degrees to do research. Language materials are becoming more available to communities, through technology like ILDA. It has become possible for community members to engage with the materials. Combing through archival materials for things that are interesting is a valid and fun way to use language, plus it can contribute to the asking of questions, the creation of language materials, or to simply knowing more vocabulary.

21.1.2 Among community

The small community of Nuu-wee-ya' learner-speakers is gradually increasing, with more access to archival materials and community classes. There are four main ways that I use Nuu-wee-ya' with the community of Nuu-wee-ya' learner-speakers. The first is

through just hanging out, the second through organized conversation groups, the third through text and email and the fourth through dedicated Facebook groups.

Through making relationships with other Nuu-wee-ya' speakers, I am able to have unplanned conversations in language. These unplanned conversations usually start off as greetings or a form of a pre-scripted dialogue, then it moves to unscripted exploration. Due to speakers having different experiences and background in language (e.g. which dialect they speak), this unscripted free flowing conversation is challenging, yet it is also rewarding. For now, when I have been so busy with PhD work, this type of interaction has not occurred for me often enough. Even so although the groundwork is laid in a few relationships, so I know that my continued relationships with these people will lead to further unfolding of impromptu language speaking.

The second way I engage in language with other learner-speakers is through conversation groups led by Siletz language teacher Nick Viles. These sessions, described by Nick as 'not a class', are a place where people can learn conversation scripts and practice them together. This conversation group started at the Siletz tribal center in Eugene and went to Zoom for the Coronavirus pandemic. For these sessions, Nick focuses on a topic unit for weeks. In each session, he gives us a short conversation based on a topic and then we go into the zoom breakout rooms and talk to each other. The main topics have been: 'how are you?', 'what are you eating for dinner?', and 'what do we need to buy?'. These topics are great because they are things that anyone can talk about and they are also topics that people talk about over and over. A conversation that asks everyday 'how are you?' is still fresh and new after many days.

The third way I have engaged in language use with community members is through writing texts and emails. I do this primarily in texts, although I use Nuu-wee-ya' some in emails, mainly just greetings. Texts are great because there is a written record that can help the reader parse out what is being said. There is no particular time frame in which responses must be made and unclear words can be researched or asked about. Because of the loose time frame and the ability to research what was said, texting has become a primary way that I learn words from other speakers.

The fourth way that I have used Nuu-wee-ya' with community is through different Facebook groups that support the use and celebration of Nuu-wee-ya' language and culture. These pages are run by different people in different communities and have a valuable way of unifying the dispersed community while providing a place for input, language use and questions.

I have also had the pleasure of being in community with language revitalizationists working on different languages. With many of these individuals, we have learned each other's greetings and salutations. This type of community has providing me with more opportunities to use my language, even if just in greeting.

21.1.3 As song

Since I first started learning Nuu-wee-ya', making and singing songs has been one of the primarily ways I have learned, remembered and used language. In the beginning, it seemed impossible to have conversations because there was so much we didn't know. To express ourselves, my older brother and I began developing songs and singing them at powwow and sweat lodge ceremonies. We realized that creating songs helped us to learn new words and the songs became a device to remember words. To this day, there are

some words that I struggle with to recall, but I can access them when I sing. While it is not ideal to have to stop in the middle of conversation to sing a few lines to remember a word, it is possible, and I have done it. We realized that through singing and sharing these songs, we were giving the language life, as before we could speak, we could sing.

Since beginning this PhD journey, my songs have been something that grounds me and keeps me in my culture, even when lost in the world of academia. I have made many songs, although I don't always remember them. Songs have been the way I link my culture to my academic presentations, as singing a song in Nuu-wee-ya' can provide an experience that can help my listeners understand more deeply my connection to my language.

I had always been convinced that sharing songs is a great way to make language use easier. It wasn't until I started speaking with groups of Nuu-wee-ya' speakers from Siletz and Tolowa Dee-ni' Nation that I discovered the cultural teaching that songs, at least some songs, belonged only to those who made them. This means that it wouldn't be appropriate for people to sing publicly the hours of recorded songs in the collections. This has made me begin to classify my songs into three main categories. The first category I sing in ceremony or to feel better; these I consider to be my own power songs. The second category are songs I use while teaching. I am developing for myself a third category, songs that aren't for teaching per se, and maybe aren't appropriate for ceremony. I am considering that these songs are for the people, songs to share and enjoy and experiment musically with. As I know so little about cultural understanding and the roles of songs in my people's ceremonies, I understand that I probably do things a little different. For a long time, this difference made me insecure, as I felt my lack of

knowledge meant I should not make songs. I am now standing in the authenticity of my own experience and allowing my songs to take the journey they are meant to. While I have many power songs, I do not discuss them here, rather I describe a teaching song and a song to share.

The teaching song is a short little song that teaches greetings. It has a simple melody and just two stanzas. The first stanza is acting out a conversation between two people greeting each other and the second is a conversation when someone is leaving. It came to me a few years ago when preparing for the Coquille kids camp, and after I taught it there for a few years, it has been used in recent community classes. The words and translation of this song are in 21.1.

21. 1 *Jii-la! jii-la!*
hello! hello!
daa-k'ii-la 'aa-nii-da?
how are you?
Shi shu', nvn chu?
I'm good, and you?
Shi shu' chu.
I'm good too.

Hvm-chi! hvm-chi!
bye! bye!
Naa-dee-dish-da!
I'm off but I'll be back!
alh-du'! alh-du'!
Later! Later!
shu' en-hal-ni!
Be well!

The next song I want to describe came about one night when I listened to two owls hoot to each other in the graveyard near where I live. As I listened, I began to think about how nature of the motion verbs could allow for a cool grammatical metaphor and thus the song was born. In this song, the owl is talking to a mouse, as we can see in 21.2.

21. 2 *Lhoo-me*

Mouse

da- 'ee-la nvn-du' nel-jid?

why are you scared?

tii-delh-dvn, du ulh-ts 'it-le

when these 2 come you won't even know

sis-dv-li-chu

I'm really cold (also word for owl)

yaa-ee-ne sii-selh

inside its warm

In this song, the owl calls out to mouse and asks why they are scared. Then comes the grammatical metaphor *tii-delh* means 'two start out', in this song it is referring to the owl's two claws. There is an additional play on words in the second part as the word for 'owl' also means 'cold'. This line could be saying 'its cold so come inside the owl' (to warm up) or simply saying 'it is warm inside the owl'.

This song is fun and it has a great rhythm and a funny encouraging message. To me it means don't worry about what might happen – because it might have already happened before you realize it. However, it is not appropriate to sing at ceremony because there are a lot of communities with taboos around owls.⁶⁶ Therefore, this song has been relegated to the realm of fun songs to share with community at the appropriate times. While this song is currently sung with a rattle or drum, I am exploring the use of guitar or other instrumentation. My hope is this song and others can help fill out this third type of song, if the community feels this type is helpful, so that there are more non-strict, non-ceremony songs that can be shared.

⁶⁶ While there are associations in Nuu-wee-ya' with owls and death so that many avoid the topic of owls, my own experiences lead me to love and celebrate owls. My father worked for the BLM hooting for owls when I was a child and many times, I was blessed with close encounters of the owl kind.

21.1.4 In ceremony

Ceremony has become a space in which I use language that to me is deeply meaningful and encouraging. Ceremony has become a place that, when it is my turn to sing our pray, I do so in Nuu-wee-ya'. There have been two main impacts that come from this use: the first is I have a space where I am finally just speaking – I am not concerned with who can understand me as long as I can understand me. This is because I am not speaking to other speakers but to creation itself. The second impact is from the reactions from the communities with whom I pray. While many if not most of these people do not speak Nuu-wee-ya', they have a shared experience with me and witnessing my ceremonial language acts impacts them. Feeling that my language impact others, even when they do not understand, helps me to see the life in my language.

More than giving me a place to speak, ceremony provides me with teachings and experiences that help me stay disciplined in my work and grateful for my opportunities. A ceremony started my PhD career, ceremonies have accompanied me throughout and I will do ceremonies to close my PhD work and transition to the next phase of my life. Memories from the ceremonies have nourished me during challenging times and when I have challenging times, I also compare them to the rigor and sacrifice required of many Native ceremonies. Ceremony has given the underpinnings of my ability to plan, execute, and describe my work.

In a recent Native American Church ceremony that I had for this language and for this dissertation process, I prepared as a give-away, a handout with a drawing from my ABC book, a commemoration statement and a word list of Nuu-wee-ya' of words that pertain to the ceremony. The handout is shown in Figure 30.

Figure 30. Giveaway handout for ceremony

Shu' 'aa-shu'-la!
dv-ne lhte-tl'id
tii-bii-me
Nuu-wee-ya' Nee-naa-ch'ii-'a-le-maa
ii-ghii-le' wee-ni

Thank you all
 for the tipi meeting
 for our language
 so that we may speak it

July 4th 2020



<i>mus</i>	cedar	<i>shu nem- i</i>	look closely
<i>mee-da</i>	drum	<i>ghesh-'i</i>	I see
<i>tvl-xvt</i>	water	<i>tee-ch'v-ghvlh-ya</i>	You smoke
<i>xaa-ts'a</i>	bucket	<i>tee-ch'v-ghvshlh-ya</i>	I smoke
<i>xwvn'</i>	fire	<i>Shu' 'aa-shii-la</i>	Thank you
<i>ts'e</i>	firewood	<i>'an' dv-k'e nash-'a</i>	I am still praying
<i>selh-yu</i>	tobacco	<i>nuu-tes-ja</i>	I am getting well
<i>ch'v-ta</i>	feathers	<i>Shu' waa-nilh-'a</i>	pay attention!
<i>st'e</i>	blanket	<i>shu' mel-'i</i>	Be careful
<i>ch'ash-ya</i>	I eat	<i>hi lhtii xwv-nash-'a</i>	I respect it
<i>ch'aa-ya</i>	you eat	<i>xuu-cha xv-nish yaa-le</i>	I want a good life
<i>tashd-na</i>	I drink	<i>nuu-chu hii-tr'vn nuu-sre-lhukw</i>	We smiled at it
<i>tad-na</i>	you drink	<i>shu' yvt-kaa-dvn</i>	Good morning!
<i>daa-sii-da</i>	sit down!	<i>shu' xvs-tv-le</i>	Good morning!
<i>daa-sish-da</i>	I sit down	<i>xash-malh-dvn</i>	Good morning!
<i>nuu-dii-t'alh</i>	stand up	<i>shu' 'aa-shii-la</i>	Thank you!

21.1.5 With my children

The component of my language use that is the most important to me – and the most challenging – is using language with my children. I have three children, I gave birth to two of them, and my relationship around language is very different with each one. I met my oldest, my step-child, when they were 6; now nearly 21, Hazel's inquisitive interest has made intergenerational transmission real. I have used Nuw-wee-ya' with Hazel since they were 6, although not so much in our early years together. As they became fascinated with linguistics, and I was in the linguistics program, we began to

share deeply in the grammatical fascinations of Nuu-wee-ya'. Their interest drove me to ask them to teach with me at camp and we have shared much in the way of language development and teaching together. Their interest and fascination helped me through times in which I doubted whether I should even work on language. Whatever they end up doing, their interest in grammar excites me for future collaboration and discussions.

My first born, Tahhili, is currently 11 years old. When I was pregnant with them, I dreamed of raising them fully fluent. Of course, reality hit when they were born, and I realized I didn't know enough myself to even start getting them fluent. However, I tried up until they were almost two to use Nuu-wee-ya' as much as I could. The result was that I didn't talk with them as much as I wanted, neither in English nor Nuu-wee-ya'. In an effort to use less English, I sang to them in words and in vocables. Now as they sing opera and write songs on the guitar, I am happy with the musical experience I gave them. When they were two, I hit a wall with language and gave up for a while talking to them in it. A few years later, I started using words and phrases as I learned them, however, as I was just starting a degree, my responsibilities took me away from them and I always felt they resented language because it took me away from them. So, I never pushed them, I want their experience to be precious and chosen, not forced. Now that they are eleven and they have experienced me speaking with my youngest I know that they know a lot of words. I realize that it isn't about how many words they know, it is about laying a foundation, an awareness of their language, that they will have for the rest of their life, so that if they choose too, they can build their knowledge on that foundation. I know that this foundation is a connection they will always have with me, just as the foundation my father laid in me always connects me with him, even though he has gone on.

When I became pregnant with my little boy Tenaho, now three years old, I was writing one of the two qualifying papers needed to advance to candidacy. I felt like my son was a new opportunity to raise a child in Nuu-wee-ya'. However, the needs of this dissertation process created huge challenges for me to be able to keep up with language. I had to continue as a student immediately after he was born but had the blessing to do an independent study focused on learning and using language with him. Through these dedicated 10 weeks I developed a foundation of words, phrases and songs to use with him, focused on filling out the semantic category of 'what is said to a baby'

I remained very successful with using language with him until about his first birthday when the responsibilities of school made it more challenging for me to keep up. As none of the other care providers used Nuu-wee-ya' consistently with him he wasn't getting enough language to counteract all the English he was also getting. Over the next two years, he has been getting less and less language from me. As I see him figure out which words are in Nuu-wee-ya' and which in English, then choose the words in English, sometimes he will get mad at me for using Nuu-wee-ya'.

Now at the age of three, while he is not fluent and while he sometimes fights using it, I see that this language is deep in him, something that can always be there for him to build upon. There are some words that we have maintained in Nuu-wee-ya', specifically plant names such as *baa-k'ut* 'pine tree' and *baa-ba* 'sword fern'. Also, there are word books in which I always say all the animal and plants in Nuu-wee-ya'; he likes to say those with me. I believe that when this dissertation is complete, I will have the mental capacity to use more and more language with him and I am hopeful that it will continue to grow and flourish within our family. His presence has made a big impact on

the language learning of my first-born, as now they are relearning some words through their little brother and also discovering that they have known many words all along.

Not too long ago, I felt that I had failed my children because they didn't know as much as I wanted them to. I got through this belief by seeing how deep their relationship is, even if their knowledge is still beginning. This gives me hope for the time when this phase of the work is done and I can turn to my family, offering them language in a way that will work for us all.

21.2 Challenges to speaking

In the process of this work, I have discovered that the biggest challenges are not the ones that result from processing or accessing materials and resources, but they are the challenges that come from within. The five greatest challenges that I found are: 1. a lack of knowledge, 2. feelings of inadequacy, 3. questioning authenticity, 4 struggling with having authority and 5. taming the English mind. These challenges can be related to the lack of resources, but at heart they are about how a person feels about the lack.

The first challenge, a lack of knowledge, is indeed deeply correlated with a lack of resources, coming fundamentally from the lack of intergenerational transmission of knowledge. While this challenge can be remedied with research and listening to elders, the extent of the cultural near-genocide has caused a terrifying lack of knowledge about our own culture. To me it is terrifying because I don't know if I can ever know enough to be proficient or know enough to understand why and how. I don't even know if what I am doing is the right thing all the time.

This first challenge naturally leads to the second challenge, feeling inadequate. Lacking so much of the knowledge makes it hard to stand up the little bit of knowledge that I find. I battle feelings of inadequacy because I was not raised in our ways. I feel inadequate because while I was raised around indigenous culture, it wasn't my indigenous culture. Now I now don't know if my intuitions come from Nuu-wee-ya' teachings or from other indigenous cultural teachings that I learned over the years. Feelings of inadequacy makes it hard to do the work that I know is needed, because they feed my doubts that I can accomplish it.

The third challenge comes from the first and second challenges: questioning authenticity. When feeling inadequate because of a lack of knowledge, it is hard to know if I am being authentic. Authenticity is deeply desired, by me and by our communities, because of what has been lost and the desire to do things right. This is has become a particular challenge to me as I discovered how much more other Nuu-wee-ya' learner-speakers know about their communities and culture.

These three challenges lead to the fourth challenge, struggling with authority. As a young adult, it is hard for me to teach or tell those older than me anything. However, my responsibility to the language means I have made a commitment to sharing my knowledge. To do that respectfully, I need to stand in my authority and no one else's and speak what I hold to be true.

The fifth challenge is the all-pervasive result of living in an English-speaking country and being raised with English as my first language. The overwhelming amount of English surrounding me and inside of me makes it hard to carve out Nuu-wee-ya' space.

This is especially hard for my children because there is no you tube or media in Nuu-wee-ya' that interests them.

21.3 Approaching and managing challenges

I have managed or approached all five of these challenges in multiple ways. There are four main ways that I discuss in this section. The first is to work on my inner posture, that is, the way I mentally and emotionally approach my work. I take time to reflect on what I do and how I react to triggers. This helps me to uncover and heal blocks that have contributed to my feelings of inadequacy and helps me to feel authentic and respect the authority I am responsible for. This helps me to acknowledge non-judgmentally that I am where I am – I don't have to be perfect, just authentically me.

The second way is to look for the miracles in language use. This helps me to turn from my lack and instead to celebrate what is. Up until now, this has meant persevering, doing the work, being patient, and noting any language use. My hope is that when this dissertation is complete, I will have the knowledge and authority to claim my language and use it much more. I want to be loud and proud and create songs and books that help others be loud and proud as well. I want to help carve a niche into the English world in which Nuu-wee-ya' can flourish.

My third way is to turn to the teachings of indigenous responsibility. I was always taught that to be indigenous was to find my role and weave it in with the community. Simpson elegantly describes this process “People were expected to figure out their gifts and their responsibilities through ceremony and reflection and self-actualization, and that process was really the most important governing process on an individual level” (2017: 4). Her description exactly matched my experience of discovery through reflection and

ceremony, which helped me realize I could profoundly help my people through my language work.

I was reminded that in indigenous culture, authority or knowledge is not about power. In an interview Elses Washines said “In western Culture they talk about knowledge is power. In our Yakima culture, knowledge is responsibility. If you have knowledge ... it’s not a power, it’s a responsibility” (Ayer, 2021). This reminds me that authority is about sharing your knowledge in a way that benefits others.

Through my research I have seen one Nuu-wee-ya’ word have four different meanings. While it is common for a word to have multiple unrelated meanings, I think that the meanings of this word are all related, and all have to do with responsibility. This word is *xwvʷs-xe* (or *wvʷs-xe*) and I have seen it translated as ‘good’, ‘healthy’, ‘wealthy’, and ‘chief’. To me this is indicating that there is a sense of responsibility (e.g. chief) that comes with having things good, having good health and being wealthy. Thinking about this word and its many meanings has helped me have a deeper connection to this indigenous sense of responsibility and look to how I can best share the knowledge I have acquired on this journey.

CHAPTER XXII – CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize the research and reflect on the implications of this work. This chapter begins with a summary of the scholarship presented in the dissertation (22.1). Then there is a discussion of implications for each targeted audience (22.2). This is followed by an explanation of future research directions (22.3) and then closes in gratitude and respect (22.4).

22.1 Summary of scholarship

This dissertation has explored four areas of scholarship that supports archival-based language revitalization: planning and design of community-benefiting research, processing variation, grammatical research, and support for growing language use. These four areas are presented as a unified entity through the indigenous intellectual model ‘the four directions’.

22.1.1 Planning and design

To plan and design research that could support the use of Nuu-wee-ya’, I have described indigenous and archive-based methodologies. In my own research, I realized that important implications of my work would be lost if I framed my linguistic research in standard linguistic methodologies. This is because the questions I was asking were different than the kinds of questions linguists ask about topics such as typology or historical linguistics. If I were to present my work as if it were typology or historical linguistics, key features of my findings would not be accurately represented, nor would they be useful to learner-speakers. Presenting my work with indigenous methodologies has kept the research in alignment with my actions — the indigenous thinking and mindsets that I learned through my own experiences in community and in ceremony were

part of my daily routine with this research. These methodologies have allowed my work to focus on the applied action of supporting the use of language through focus on relationality. The use of these methodologies is also a valuable instance of representation of indigenous knowledge in Academia. Representation is important, as it supports the acceptance of future indigenous scholars into the world of academia, acknowledging that academia could and indeed should recognize and include indigenous knowledge systems as a part of human knowledge.

My research on archive-based methodologies describes the key elements that impact archive-based research for language revitalization and suggests ways to approach these impactful elements. These elements include the needs of the community, the nature of the corpus, and attitudes towards the research. Archive-based research can be designed to systematically process and analyze data in a way that engages closely with the questions and needs of the modern learner-speakers, especially via an episodic research model that engages with learner-speakers as it cycles through topics.

22.1.2 Processing variation

An initial stage of analysis in this research began with seeking to understand the type and extent of variation found in the written records. By systematically charting the orthographic differences in cognate stems, we can see that some differences are based on the dialect or variety of the language, which can be reflected through consistent orthographic change. Knowing the consistent changes allows researchers to interpret the remainder of orthographic variation as being less meaningful than dialect differences, thus allowing them to be standardized into transliterations in the modern speech form.

Lexical variation is very intriguing, as it can be used as another badge of identity for members of different communities. We see in the records that some word forms are found only in a particular dialect. This might be indicative of lexical differences between dialects, but we cannot be sure simply from the archives, as the absence of a word in an archival collection does not prove that the word was not used in that particular dialect, just that it was not provided to the researcher by a speaker of that particular dialect.

22.1.3 Grammatical research

The grammar part of the dissertation is the most substantive in length, which is a fair reflection of the amount of time I dedicated to it. This is because my own personal drive in this research was to uncover and describe as much as I could of the grammar structures found in the archival data. This was so critically important to me because the published research on Nuu-wee-ya' could not provide the answers to my questions so that I would be able to talk. From the beginning, I have framed this research prioritizing my own questions as a learner-speaker, along with the questions I hear from other learner-speakers. While this is not a complete grammatical description of Nuu-wee-ya', it prioritizes general topics that I hope can support current learner-speakers, as well as provide a basis for many years of research to come.

The grammatical analysis part of this dissertation has three different components: a description of parts of speech, an annotated text, and a discussion of how verbs make their meaning through the combined components of the verb stem and the contributing verbal prefixes.

22.1.3.1 Description of parts of speech

This part of grammatical analysis is presented in six chapters, each covering one part of speech: verbs, enclitic particles, nouns, modifiers, postpositions and directionals, and other function words. The verb chapter discusses the types of prefixes found in the verb and describes the uses of the types of prefixes. The enclitic particle chapter discusses the way enclitic particles impact the meaning of the verb, noun or clause they attach to. The noun chapter discusses noun morphology and how nouns are made. Each of the remaining part of speech chapters describes key features of the particular part of speech as well as discusses with examples the words of each part of speech found in the dataset.

The purpose of these chapters is to act as a reference for the types of words found in the language, not giving an exhaustive list of the uses, but providing the information that can be determined from the dataset.

22.1.3.2 Annotated text

This part contains one chapter and is focused on providing an opportunity to immerse in language, through the reading of the way, in one particular text, the language combines words to make sentences. The purpose of this is to provide a sense of how clauses work without having to analyze every clause in detail. This is a description that does not make abstract claims about the nature of clauses, but rather shows a sample of how clauses can be formed in Nuu-wee-ya'. My hope is that this model can extend to other texts and provide a resource and point of discussion for grammatically-interested learner-speakers.

22.1.3.3 How verbs convey meaning

This part is the result of research into the primary question I asked have myself for years, which is the same question I have heard from other learner-speakers: how do the pieces of verbs work together to form words that convey particular meanings. Three chapters are dedicated to this topic. The first describes how verbal formation has been studied in Dene linguistics, providing a description in related languages of the elements that contribute meaning and how they contribute meaning. The second chapter looks closely at typical and non-typical uses of a small subset of contributing prefixes. This chapter looks at the role of prefixes and investigates how their use changes the meaning of a verb stem, as well as looking at how we can interpret the complex level of irregularities and inconsistencies that confuse the ability to understand which prefix is being used in a particular word and what it contributes to the overall meaning of that word. The third chapter looks at the problem from a different direction, examining the use of the verb stem *'a* and how different contributing prefixes impact the meaning of the resulting word.

22.1.4 Supporting Language use

To support language use, this dissertation discusses some of the ways that a person can use language, including domains of use, creation of language materials, explorations of archival resources and grammar, and exploration and engagement with community. Making language materials can be beneficial for the creator and for others who gain access to the materials. This dissertation describes the design and use of four different kinds of language materials that arose during the process of this PhD research. Translation of materials into a language that is being revitalized can support engagement

among community members who are not as familiar with the language, and it can provide cross-engagement in multicultural communities. In this part I discuss my own language use journey, focusing on the primary ways I use language, my main challenges, and how I have approached these challenges.

My goal in this part is to convert intellectual scholarship in linguistics into things that that can support learner-speakers and deepen their understanding of how these amazing, complex words convey amazing, complex meanings.

22.2 Implications

In this section, I discuss the implications of my scholarship for the three different main audiences of this research: community members, language revitalization practitioners, and Dene linguists. I understand that a particular person might represent multiple audiences, as I myself am a member of all three audiences.

22.2.1 For Nuu-wee-ya' learner-speakers

To you, my community of Nuu-wee-ya' learner-speakers, I speak in celebration for the activities and growth of language that I have been witness to. In my time of learning this language I have seen more and more learners and heard more and more language. I see now that our language, once asleep, is awakening and has been for years. However, there is still much we do not know and much we can do to tend to, support and strengthen our language.

There are four implications that I would like to discuss with you, four things that come to mind as I finish this work and look to the future. The first and primary implication is the value and importance of this community to us. This is a community that

spans modern political entities, a community unified in support of all the dialects of our language. Without you and your interest in Nuu-wee-ya', there would have been no reason to compile this work. Without our belief in the commonality of our people, we could not honor all the ways we once spoke by supporting learning and using all of these dialects now.

The second implication is that this is not required reading – a learner of Nuu-wee-ya' does not need to understand or even care about a description of the complexities of our grammar. Maybe you just want to speak the language without talking about all the moving parts of the grammatical system. Thus, even though this work is done for you, you might not personally find it useful, or it might bring up even more questions than you had before. My hope is that this is fine. I believe that this work is for all the people because it can be used in future research and in the creation of materials that would interest every individual.

This leads me to the third implication, which is that there is a lot more data on our language, so many resources that have not yet been consulted. This means that our communal understanding of this language will continue to evolve and develop, supported by this work and the precious knowledge and insights of our elder-speakers, some that are still living, like Loren Me'lashne Bommelyn and Bud Lane, and others who have gone on, leaving their wisdom for us in our precious archival resources.

The last implication I have for you is that there is no wrong way to use our language. Don't misunderstand me, it definitely can be spoken incorrectly. What I mean is that the way you activate language in your life is right, the way you give your own breath to your language is correct, whether that is in prayer, or by giving commands to

your dog. You could use language to self-narrate your day, or to dream about the future, or to play games with your children. This is language life, finding ways for each of us to acknowledge and support our own living language.

22.2.2 For language revitalization practitioners

For the community of language revitalization practitioners, I have four main implications to leave you with.

The first is that when you focus on and plan for Language revitalization goals right from the beginning, it can help tailor a research project to the needs of your community. This means that you must first give much thought about the needs and desires of the community, so that an appropriate plan of action can be developed.

The second implication is the value of sorting out variation before diving deep into grammatical research. Once you understand your corpus and you separate the types of variation it contains, this can help you to interpret everything.

The third implication is that research for language revitalization does not have to look like other linguistic research because ultimately it is different from other linguistic research. I only discovered this after years of trying to pretend my work was strictly linguistic. My concern for supporting language use kept pulling me away from the linguistic descriptions, and this started to make my work less clear. Recognizing that linguistic work can look different depending on its purpose, that it can look how we need it to look, is important and ultimately will support the growth of language revitalization.

My fourth implication for you is that including the development of language learning materials into the research paradigm allows for multiple types of resources to

come out of your work — you don't need to wait until you understand everything! For me, I built and created language materials as I did research. This meant that sometimes the language learning materials had to be fixed after I learned something new, but it also meant that even while I was still doing my work, there were multiple resources coming out for the purposes of language reclamation. Keeping this in mind during the development of the project can allow it to happen easier and sooner.

22.2.3 For linguists

For this community I also have four implications to discuss.

The first is that my perspectives and methodologies can inform your perspectives. In particular my explanation and discussion of indigenous methodologies could inform how you work with indigenous communities.

My second implication is that although this work is not about linguistics, what linguistics provides to this research is invaluable. This is work that I was able to do because of what the community of linguists taught me. In my work, I reframe linguistics as the tool rather than the topic, which might be one reflection of the relationship between linguistic theory and applied linguistics.

My third implication is that making space for indigenous knowledge is important for those who are yet to come. It took me a long time, years of linguistic research, to recognize that my unique perspective is valuable. This was, in part, due to a series of discouraging encounters with linguists who told me that this type of work was impossible, pointless, or wasn't really linguistics. One reason that it took me so long to see how my voice can contribute to the expansion of what analysis is, and how this

analysis can be methodologically framed, was because I had very few people upon which to model my work. It is important for scholars that are still to come that linguistics allows for alternative methodologies and incorporation of minoritized knowledges, that we provide representation and models for how things can be done differently.

My fourth implication for you is how different perspectives on linguistics can support one another. In this dissertation, I have described some very cool aspects of a very complex grammar. I am only able to do this work because of the commitment and intelligence of many Dene linguists that come before me. While this work is not done to answer intriguing linguistic questions about the nature of Dene languages, I hope that it still contributes to the description of grammatical complexity, and that it can be used in the future by those interested in comparing and better understanding Dene languages.

22.3 Future research directions

As this research has been multifaceted, I dream of multi-faceted research to come. In alignment with planning, I would like to explore and learn more about how indigenous methodologies have and could be incorporated into linguistic analysis to support language revitalization.

To support processing, I would like to continue analysis of the variation present in other parts of the Nuu-wee-ya' corpus, particularly in the large body of J. P. Harrington's notes and the large body of Galice texts given by Hoxie Simmons to Melville Jacobs. I would also like to explore how sections of the corpus compare to one another, for example what is different between the written records and the audio records.

To support grammatical analysis there are a few different research projects I would like to see happen. One of these is to continue to explore the use of specific verbal prefixes, particularly the use of aspect prefixes and classifiers in verbs, as well as the different ways dual and plural person are indicated and when which way is used.

Another way to support grammatical analysis is to look at lexical features. When examining the texts, I could see that there are multiple ways that third person is expressed, sometimes with different lexical choices and other times with different types of person prefixes. An examination of the ways third person is expressed would be both interesting and informative. Another exploration would be the types and features of clauses and what lexical items or phrase structure are used to convey these clauses.

A key component to future grammatical analysis will be the systematic parsing and analysis of the Hoxie Simmons Galice Texts. This is a primary goal for my future research. This would support a long-term goal of comparing grammatical findings from all three dialects, and support Nuu-wee-ya' speakers in understanding the grammars that underlie all the dialects of our language.

To support the use of Nuu-wee-ya', I would like to research and describe learner-speaker pedagogy that focuses on describing the types of information a learner-speaker needs to keep in mind when using verbs or making sentences, e.g. features of referents, lexical aspect, grammatical aspect of action, and transitivity. Also, I would like to continue to explore how archival resources can be shared with learner-speakers in culturally appropriate ways, especially in creating materials that can be beneficial to all Nuu-wee-ya' learner-speakers.

22.4 Gratitude and respect

I conclude this dissertation in gratitude for all speakers of Nuu-wee-ya', traditional, modern, and future. I am grateful for the support of traditional ways that can be a valuable tool for our modern research and learning. I am standing in respect of all who fight for indigenous ways and minoritized languages.

I am grateful to contribute to the evidence that the genocide that was attempted on my Native people did not succeed. I look forward to witnessing the continued growth of our language and seeing our communities work on healing and living in joy.

I remember all those who we have lost and look to those who come next to help carry our light forward and stand for social justice.

APPENDIX A

CAMP TA NAE BROCHURE

Nuu-wee-ya'nast/ta

Jii-la! Hello!
 Shi guu-she Saa-mi! My name is Sammy!
 Ts'vs-na nish-li. I am a Bee.
 Tii-taa-me I live in the
 shish-da! woods.

↑ ↑
 Camp Dv-ne wvn I want to tell
 nun nvt-wvsh-nvk you about
 ush'lh-te! Camp Ta Nae!
 Jii-dvn, Sxe-xe Here, children
 dv-nee-sre come to
 yvn-telh-tsit. learn culture.

Tv-xwi Everyone is
 srii-lhxvn. happy here.

Lhaa-ni, shu' dv-ne
 'Camp' yilh-sri!
 shu' nalth-i! Sxe
 naa-t'v'lh-dvn
 ghuu-ghee-i. Lots of awesome people
 run Camp!
 Look! They wait
 as the bus
 arrives.

Camp Language Book

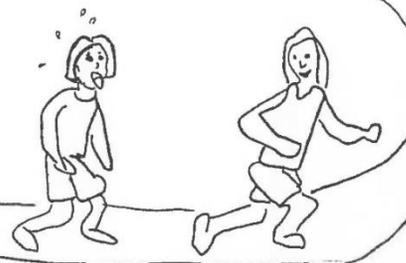
JAN 7 2019

Camp Du-ne shu' 'ul-i.
 Camp Ta nae is beautiful!
 Jii-dun nastliu-dun sda.
 Here is a map of some
 of the camp.





Tv-xwi srvsr lhti yvlh-sri
 Days are really busy
 Xaa-ghii-ya-dvn xuu-tii-ll'vlh
 Starting early they go go go!
 Lhta xa, lhta du, xa
 Some fast, Some slow



Du 'an' chaa-ya-dun mvn-shjn
 xuu-dii-yvn
 Before every meal cabin cheers are
 sung.

'Shu'aa-shii-la' du-k'e naa-'a
 and 'thanks' is given



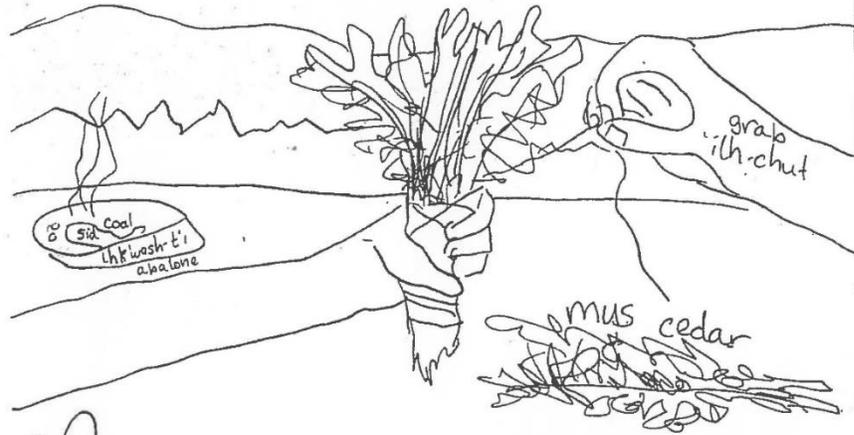
shu'aa-shii-la
 du-k'e nash-ka
 I am giving
 thanks!





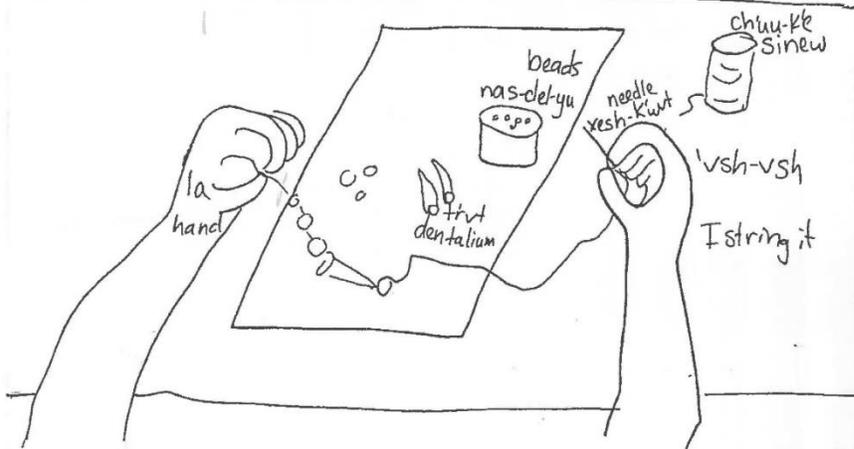
Nuu wee-ya 'an'-du teth-ts'it!
They learn our language!

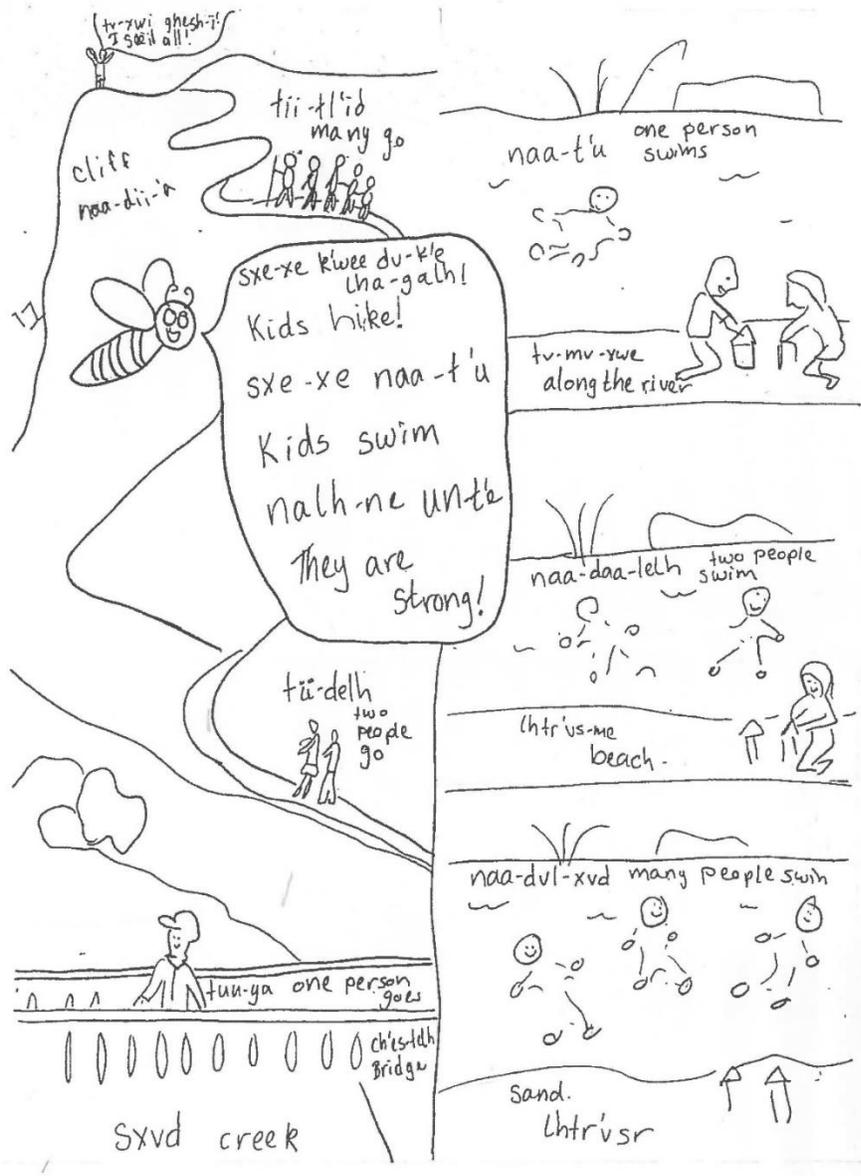
a aa-bv-lus apple	b bv-le shell	ch chvn Tree	ch' ch'ash bird	d dv-je berry	e 'ee-ghii-ya sunset
g gay-yu baby	gh ghii-trat basket car	h hep-mu dove	i 'ilh-sri make it	j jii-la hello	k' k'aa-lki boy
kw kwvt-li mud	l la' hand	lh lhvu-k'e salmon	m mus cedar	n naa-tsun mountain	p pii-ch'is peaches
s See rock	sh shu' good	sr sre heart	t toa-lhi girl	t' taa-mish hat	tl' tl'e' night
tr' tr'us flicker	ts' ts'vs-na bee	u 'uu-ng mole	v 'vs-chu eel basket	w wvs-xe good	x xvnvs canoe
y ya' sky	lhaa-sha 1	naa-k'i 2	taa-k'o 3	dvu-chi 4	shwaa-la 5
k'wus-taa-ni 6	stv-de 7	nau-xvn-du 8	han-du 9	wee-the 10	dun-de 0



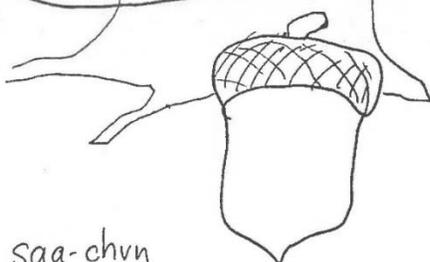
Tl'uu-chvn yilh-sri... They make smudgesticks...

nas-del-yu-chu yilh-sri! and necklaces too!

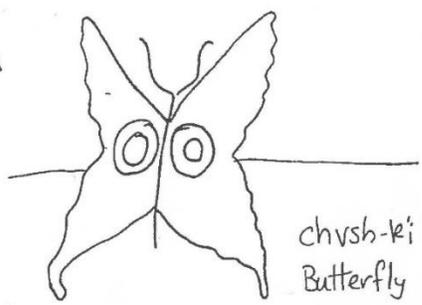




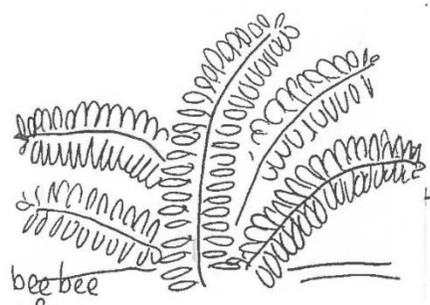
Chv-ne, naa-gaa-nee-chu xuu-ghee-i!
They see plants and animals!



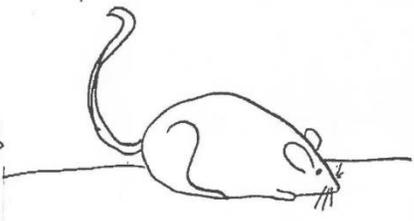
saa-chvn
acorn



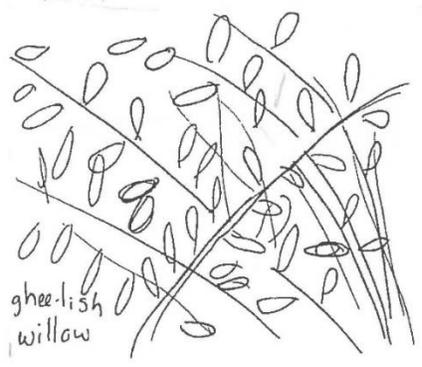
chvsh-ki
Butterfly



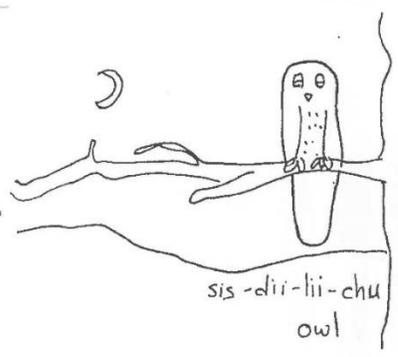
bee-bee
fern



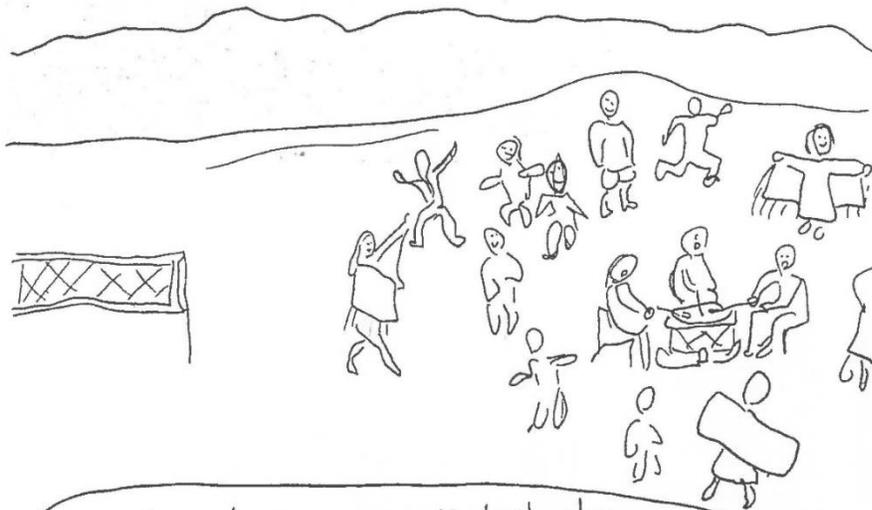
lhuu-me
mouse



ghee-ish
willow



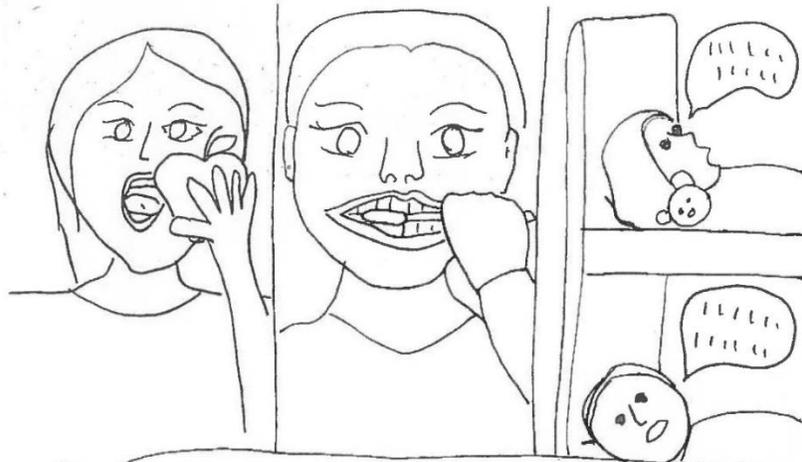
sis-dii-lii-chu
owl



Tle'-dvn dii-yvn, yaa-nii-dash-chy.
At night they sing and dance.



Hat-dvn
Xwvn-dvn dii-yvn
Then they sing
at camp fire.
k'e: like:
nee'a baa-naa-nvsh lhte-tl'id
Bananas of the world unite!
sv-sith baa-naa-nvsh! peel Bananas!
ghilmish baa-naa-nvsh! Shake Bananas!
til-t'vm baa-naa-nvsh! Jump Bananas
tuu-tl'id baa-naa-nvsh!
Go Bananas!

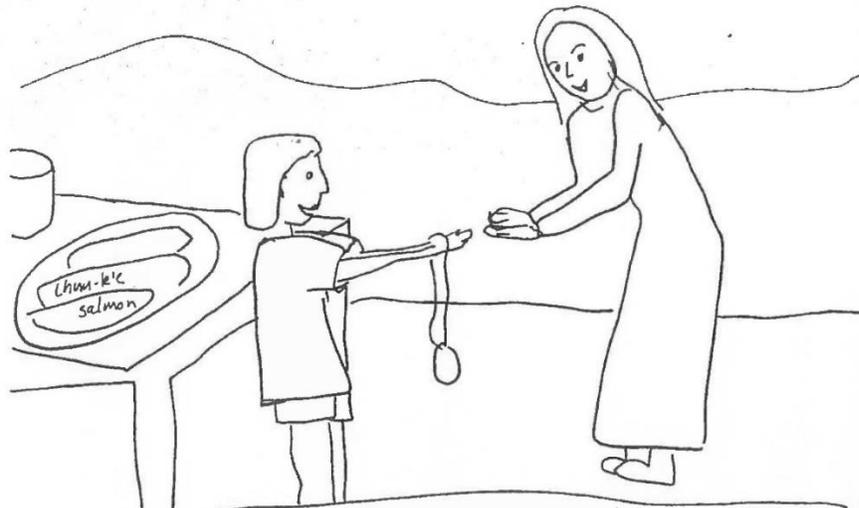



 sxe chaa-ya, xu-wu shu'yilhsri daa-nn-dvsh-chu.
 Kids eat a snack, brush their teeth, and go to bed.

Tv-xwi tle' t'aamish-lhshvn shu'ghee-'i !
 all night black caps keep watch !
 shu'nn-tii-lah!
 Sleep well !  ch'u-ghul-sri
 moon



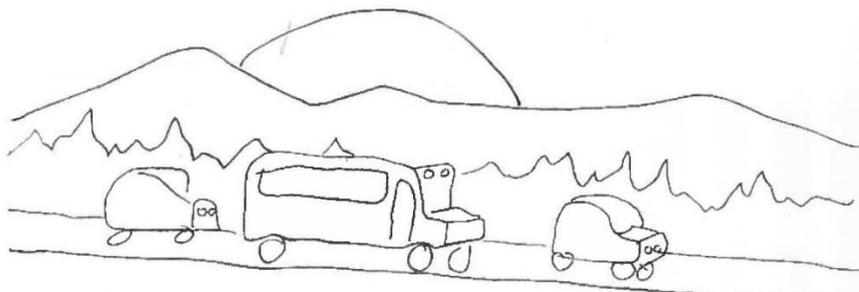
10



Shum-ya-kwe, nuu-ghwaa-tol-ne yaa chii-ya-chu!
At the end, there is a giveaway and feast!



Srii-lhrun, xwvs-xe-chu mu-nee-ghr naa-tlid
Happy and healthy they return home til next year



5	gay-yu	baby	
5	ghii-tr'at	basket-cap	
5	hep-mu	dove	
5	ilh-sri	make it	
5	jii-la	hello	
5	k'aa-lhi	boy	
5	k'wvt-li	mud	
5	la'	hamd	
5	lhuu-k'e	salmon	
5	mus	cedar	
5	naa-tr'vn	mountain	
5	pii-ch'vs	peaches	
5	see	rock	
5	shu'	good	
5	sre	heart	
5	taa-lhi	girl	
5	t'aa-mish	hat	
5	tl'e'	night	
5	tr'us	flicker	
5	ts'vs-na	bee	
5	uu-na	mole	
5	vs-chu	ell basket	
5	wvs-xe	good	
5	xv-nvs	canoe	
5	ya	sky	
5	lhaa-sha		1
5	naa-k'i		2
5	taa-k'e		3
5	dvn-chi		4
5	shwaa=la		5
5	k'wvs-taa-ni		6
5	stv-de		7
5	na-xvn-du		8
5	lhan-du		9
5	wee-lhe		10
5	duu-de		0
6	Tl'u-chvni yilh-sri	They make smudge sticks	
6	Nas-del-yu-chu yilh-sri	and necklaces too!	
6	lhk'wash-t'i	abalone	
6	mus	cedar	
6	ilh-chut	grab	
6	la	hand	
6	tr'vt	dentalium	
6	nas-del-yu	bead	
6	xesh-k'wvt	needle	
6	ch'uu-k'e	sinew	
6	vsh-'vsh	I string it	
7	sxe-xe k'wee dv-k'e lha' galh	Kids hike	
7	sxe-xe naa-t'u	Kids swim	
7	nalh-ne un-t'e	They are strong	
7	Tv-xwi gheshe-i	I see it all	

pg	Nuu-wee-ya'	English
1	Jii-la!	Hello!
1	Shi'guu-she Saa-mi!	My name is Sammy!
1	Ts'vs-na nish-li	I am a bee.
1	Tii-taa-me shish-da	I live in the woods!
1	Camp Dv-ne-wvn nvn nvtwvsh-nvk uslh-te!	I want to tell you about Camp Ta Nea!
1	Jii-dvn sxe-xe dv-nee-sre yvn-telh-ts'it	Children come to learn culture
1	Tv-xwi sri-lhxvn.	Everyone is happy here!
1	Lhaa-ni shu' dv-ne Camp yilh-sri.	Lots of awesome people run camp Ta nae.
1	shu' naa-lhi, sre na-tl'vlh-dvn ghuu-ghee-'i.	Look, they are waiting while the children arrive.
2	Camp dv-ne shu' 'ul-'i!	Camp Ta Nae is beautiful
2	Jii-dvn nas-tl'udvn nii-li	Here is a map of some of camp.
2	mvn'	cabins
2	sra-mv-ne	bathroom
2	tu	water
2	tl'u	field
2	k'wvt-ch'vt-ya	table
2	chvn	tree
2	dv-mvs-'i k'wvt-ch'vt-ya	round table
2	mvlh-naa-dvt-tvl-ts'vt	swing
2	ch'v-k'v's-i	bell
2	xwil	tire
2	tv-ne	road
2	tv-ne	path
2	tii-ta	forest
2	mvn'	house
2	naa-tl'id-dvn	meeting place
2	tv-nee-tr'vn	to trail
2	xwvn'-dvn	firepit
2	chaa-ya-dvn	dinning hall
2	sxvd	creek
2	naa-t'u-dvn	swimming hole
3	Tv-xwi srvsr lhti yilh-sri	Days are real busy
3	Xaa-ghii-ya-dvn xuu-tii-tl'vlh.	starting early they go, go, go!
3	Lhta xa, lhta du xa!	Some fast, some slow!
3	Du 'an' chaa-yaa-dvn mvn-shii-ne xuu-did-yvn.	Before every meal cabin cheers are sung
3	Shu' 'aa-shii-la dv-k'e naa-'a.	Thanks is given.
3	Shu' 'aa-shii-la dv-k'e nash'a	I am giving thanks.
4	Tv-xwi srvsr, taa-k'ee-dvn chaa-ya shu' un-t'e	There are three good meals a day here
4	Tii-duu-'e 'vn dii-yvn!	Sometimes someone sings!
4	xaa-ts'a	bowl
4	aa-sa	plate
4	mee-tad-na	cup
4	maa-tr'v-lvs	salt
5	Nuu-wee-ya an-du-telh-ts'it!	They learn our language!
5	aa-bv-lvs	apple
5	bv-le	shell
5	chvn	tree
5	ch'ash	bird
5	dv-je	berry
5	ee-ghii-ya	sunset

7	naa-dii-'a	cliff
7	tii-tl'id	many people go
7	tii-delh	two people go
7	tuu-ya	one person goes
7	ch'es-telh	bridge
7	sxvd	creek
7	naa-t'u	one person swims
7	naa-daa-lelh	two people swim
7	naa-dvi-xvd	three people swim
7	tv-mv-xwe	along the river
7	lhtr'vs-me	sand
7	lhtr'vsr	beach
8	Chv-ne, naa-ghaa-ne-chu xuu-ghee-'i	They see plants and animals
8	saa-chvn	oak
8	chvsh-k'i	butterfly
8	bee-be	fern
8	lhuu-me	mouse
8	ghee-lish	willow
8	sis-dii-lii-chu	owl
9	Tl'ee-dvn yaa-nii-dash.	at night, they sing and dance
9	Hat-dvn xwvn'-dvn yaa-dii-yvn.	then they sing at campfire
9	k'e	like
9	nee-'a baa-naa-nvsh lhte-tl'id	Bananas of the world unite
9	sv-sitlh-gi baa-naa-nvsh	peel bananas
9	ghil-mish baa-naa-nvsh	shake bananas
9	til-t'vm baa-naa-nvsh	jump bananas
9	tuu-tl'id baa-naa-nvsh	go bananas
10	sxe chaa-ya, xuu-wu shu'-yilhsri daa-nuu-dvsh-chu	kids eat a snack, brush their teeth and go to bed
10	tv-xwi tl'e' t'aa-mish lhshvn shu' ghee-'i	all night black caps keep watch
10	shu' nn-tii-lalh!	sleep well!
10	ch'v-ghvsh	snore
10	nii-k'wast-li	raccoon
11	Shvm-ya-gwe, nuu-ghaa-tol-ne yaa-ch'i-i-ya-chu	at the end there is a giveaway and feast
11	sri-lhxn, xwvs-xee-chu, mv-nee-ghe naa-tl'id	Happy and healthy they return til next year.

APPENDIX B

DATA FROM ORTHOGRAPHIC VARIATION

Figure	Example	IPA	Modern spelling	Variety	Gloss
8, 9	<i>băi</i>	bai	<i>bay'</i>	Dakubeh	belly
8, 9	<i>b'ai</i>	bai	<i>bay'</i>	Galice	belly
9	<i>bûl'tcûl-lě</i>	bəltʃəle	<i>bvl-chv-le</i>	Galice	bladder
4, 8	<i>çlût</i>	lət	<i>lhvt</i>	Tututni	smoke
8	<i>çlût</i>	lət	<i>lhvt</i>	Galice	smoke
16	<i>çse</i>	θe	<i>the</i>	Mikwanu	head
16	<i>çsé-rxě</i>	θeyə	<i>the-ghe</i>	Mikwanu	saliva
16	<i>çsũ-gă</i>	θuga	<i>thu-ga</i>	Mikwanu	hair
16	<i>çsû-rxě'</i>	θuyə	<i>thu-ghe</i>	Mikwanu	ear
6, 9	<i>da-ě</i>	daʔe	<i>da-'e</i>	Galice	eye
6, 9	<i>da-ge</i>	dage	<i>da-ge</i>	Dakubeh	eye
15	<i>daa-sin-da</i>	dasinda	<i>daa-sin-da</i>	Tolowa (modern)	s2 sit down
9	<i>dăst-'ě</i>	dastʔe	<i>dast-'e</i>	Dakubeh	body
9	<i>dast-'e'</i>	dastʔe	<i>dast-'e</i>	Galice	body
17	<i>dis-ne</i>	disne	<i>dis-ne</i>	Tututni (1962)	man
17	<i>dis-ne</i>	disne	<i>dis-ne</i>	Mikwanu (1962)	man
17	<i>gus</i>	gus	<i>gus</i>	Tututni (1962)	potato
17	<i>guth</i>	guθ	<i>guth</i>	Mikwanu (1962)	potato
7, 13	<i>kançl-t'ăc</i>	kanłt'af	<i>ka~lh-t'ash</i>	Galice	otter
10	<i>kwaⁿ-ă-dě</i>	kwãʔade	<i>kwa~-a-de</i>	Dakubeh	arm
13	<i>kwanc-kûl-ě</i>	kwãʃkəle	<i>gwa~sh-kv-le</i>	Galice	shoulder- blade
10	<i>kwa-ně</i>	kwane	<i>gwa-ne</i>	Galice	arm
10	<i>kwa-ně</i>	kwane	<i>gwa-ne</i>	Tututni	arm
13	<i>kwants-kûl-e</i>	kwãtskəle	<i>gwa~ts-kv-le</i>	Dakubeh	shoulder- blade
7	<i>kwe'</i>	kweʔ	<i>kwe'</i>	Galice	foot
7	<i>k'wûs</i>	k'wəs	<i>k'wvs</i>	Galice	neck
7	<i>k'wûs</i>	k'wəs	<i>k'wvs</i>	Dakubeh	neck
8	<i>la-kwai'</i>	lakwai	<i>la-kway</i>	Galice	knuckle
10	<i>mîç'</i>	miʃ	<i>mish</i>	Tututni	nose
9, 10	<i>mi-dě</i>	mide	<i>mii-de</i>	Dakubeh	back
9, 10	<i>mi-dě</i>	mide	<i>mii-de</i>	Galice	back

9, 10	<i>mi-ně</i>	mine	<i>mii-ne</i>	Tututni	back
10	<i>mi-sūs</i>	misəs	<i>mi-svs</i>	Galice	nose
10	<i>mi-tsūs</i>	mitsəs	<i>mi-tsvs</i>	Dakubeh	nose
9	<i>mûl-kûl-lě</i>	məlkəle	<i>mvl-kv-le</i>	Tututni	bladder
4	<i>mûl-ts'u-wi</i>	məłts'uwi	<i>mvl-ts'uu-wi</i>	Tutuni	green
8, 9	<i>mût</i>	mət	<i>mvt</i>	Tututni	belly
9	<i>na-rxě'</i>	nayə	<i>naa-ghe</i>	Tututni	eye
16	<i>na-rxě' sū-pûl-lě'</i>	nayə səpəle	<i>naa-ghe sv-pv-le</i>	Tututni	eyelash
16	<i>na-xût-sû-pû-lě'</i>	nayət səpəle	<i>naa-ghvt sv-pv-le</i>	Coquille	eyelash
4, 10	<i>ni</i>	ni	<i>nii</i>	Tututni	face
4	<i>ni</i>	ni	<i>nii</i>	Coquille	face
10	<i>n'i</i>	ni	<i>nii</i>	Galice	face
10	<i>n'i'</i>	ni	<i>nii</i>	Dakubeh	face
16	<i>ni-i-sûn</i>	niisən	<i>nii-svn</i>	Tututni	cheek
16	<i>ni-i-sûn</i>	niisən	<i>nii-svn</i>	Mikwanu	cheek
16	<i>ni-sûn</i>	nisən	<i>nii-svn</i>	Coquille	cheek
16	<i>nû-rxût-tc'û-pû-lě'</i>	nəyətʃ'əpəle	<i>nv-ghvt ch'v-pv-le</i>	Mikwanu	eyelash
9	<i>nûst-ě</i>	nəste	<i>nvst-'e</i>	Tututni	body
13	<i>qaçl-t'ûc</i>	xəłt'əʃ	<i>xalh-t'vsh</i>	Tututni	otter
13	<i>qu-k'wa-skûl-lě'</i>	xuk'waskəle	<i>xu-k'wa-sku-le</i>	Tututni	shoulder-blade
13	<i>qwa-k'ě</i>	xwak'e	<i>xwa-k'e</i>	Tutuni	rib
4	<i>qwě'</i>	xwe	<i>xwe</i>	Tututni	foot
8	<i>qwû-la-kwüt</i>	xwəlakwut	<i>xwv-la-kwvt</i>	Tututni	knuckle
7	<i>q'wûs</i>	xwəs	<i>xwvs</i>	Tututni	neck
13	<i>qwû-tcas-û-le</i>	qwətʃasule	<i>xwu-cha-sule</i>	Tututni	kidney
4	<i>rxě-şît-i</i>	yəsit ^h i	<i>ghe-sit-'i</i>	Tutuni	1d see
13	<i>rxî-qwaⁿ-k'qi</i>	yixwāk'i	<i>ghii-xaa~-k'i</i>	Chetco	rib
13	<i>rxî-tcāt-sa-wă-lě'</i>	yitʃatsawale	<i>ghii-chat-sa-wa-le</i>	Chetco	kidney
4	<i>rxît-î</i>	yiti	<i>ghit-'i</i>	Coquille	1d see
6	<i>sa-ě</i>	saʔe	<i>saa-'e</i>	Galice	ear
4	<i>sa-kütçl'</i>	sakətʃ	<i>saa-kvtlh</i>	Tutuni	beaver
4	<i>sa-kwüçl'</i>	sakwətʃ	<i>saa-kwvlh</i>	Coquille	beaver
16	<i>sa-rxě</i>	sayə	<i>saa-ghe</i>	Tututni	saliva
16	<i>sê-k'qě</i>	sek'e	<i>see-k'e</i>	Coquille	saliva
7	<i>sě-xe</i>	sayə	<i>see-ghe</i>	Tututni	saliva
16	<i>si</i>	si	<i>sii</i>	Tututni	head

16	<i>si'</i>	su	<i>sii</i>	Coquille	head
15	<i>si-t'a</i>	sita	<i>sii-da</i>	Tututni	s2 sit down
17	<i>sis-xan</i>	sisxan	<i>sis-xan</i>	Tututni (1964)	ocean
16	<i>sû-gă</i>	səga	<i>sv-ga</i>	Tututni	hair
16	<i>sũ-ga-ě</i>	sugaʔe	<i>sv-gaa-'e</i>	Coquille	hair
6, 16	<i>sû-rxě'</i>	səʔe	<i>sv-ghe</i>	Tututni	ear
16	<i>sû-xe'</i>	səʔe	<i>sv-ghe</i>	Coquille	ear
7	<i>tă tse-kě</i>	ta tseke	<i>da tsee-ke</i>	Dakubeh	saliva
7	<i>ta-cê-k'e</i>	tafek'e	<i>da shee-ke</i>	Galice	saliva
13	<i>tcaⁿ-wě-lě</i>	tʃāwele	<i>cha~-wee-le</i>	Tolowa	kidney
13	<i>tçi-i-tcu</i>	tçitʃu	<i>tlhii-chu</i>	Tututni	horse
13	<i>tçli'iⁿtcũ</i>	tliitʃu	<i>tlhii~-chu</i>	Galice	horse
4	<i>tçût</i>	tłət	<i>tlhvt</i>	Coquille	smoke
15	<i>te-şin-ya</i>	tesīya	<i>tee-sii~ya</i>	Galice	s2 go
15	<i>te-şi-yă</i>	tesiya	<i>tee-sii-ya</i>	Tututni	s2 go
17	<i>thith-xan</i>	θiθxan	<i>thith-xan</i>	Mikwanu (1962)	ocean
13	<i>tī-i-tcu</i>	titʃu	<i>dii-chu</i>	Tututni	panther
13	<i>tīⁿ-tcu</i>	tītʃu	<i>dii-chu</i>	Chetco	panther
6	<i>tsû-gě</i>	tsəge	<i>tsv-ge</i>	Dakubeh	ear
4	<i>tûl-ma</i>	təlma	<i>tvl-ma</i>	Coquille	green
15	<i>uçl-ts'it</i>	ułts'it	<i>ulh-ts'it</i>	Tututni	s2 know
15	<i>uⁿçl-ts'it</i>	ũłts'it	<i>u~lh-ts'it</i>	Galice	s2 know
7	<i>xaçl-t'ûc</i>	ʔałt'əʃ	<i>ghalh-tvsh</i>	Tututni	otter
13	<i>xwaa~-k'e'</i>	xwāāk'eʔ	<i>xwaa~-k'e'</i>	Tolowa (modern)	rib

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