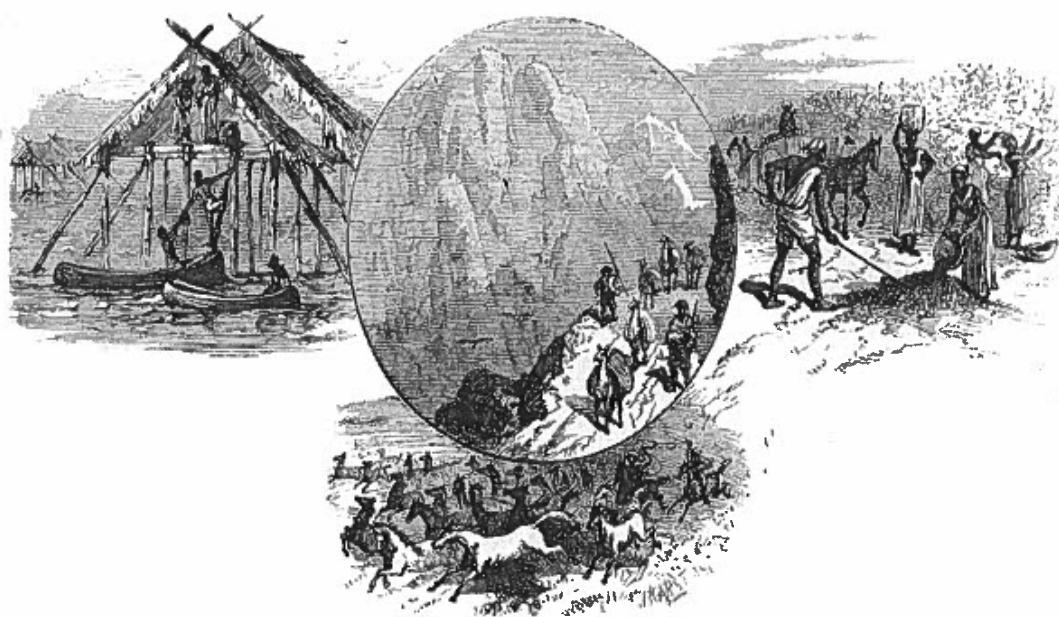


# *INTRODUCTION TO LUMMI LANGUAGE*

*BY AL CHARLES*



Introduction to the Lummi Language\*

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\* This work was supported in part by a grant from the Center for Applied Linguistics. The C.A.L. funding was in turn the result of a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities (CAL/NEH Indian Language Assistance Project, 1977). The financial support of the Office of the Vice-President for Research of the University of Arizona is also hereby gratefully acknowledged. We would like to thank Dorothy Shank for her typing assistance and editorial help.

Dedication

This book is dedicated to Mr. Al Charles. In the most important ways Mr. Charles is the author of this book. The book is an outgrowth of the course on Lummi that Mr. Charles taught in the Lummi community, and the facts presented are part of what we learned in the hundreds of hours that we have spent with Mr. Charles. Mr. Charles is an ideal teacher. He is patient, thorough, and has an obvious love for his language and his people. We hope that the readers of this book will come to appreciate the beauty, subtlety, and the expressive power of the language that Mr. Charles has taught us.

Elizabeth Bowman

Richard Demers

Foreword

These materials are intended for use by people wishing to learn some basic grammatical features of the Lummi language. Lummi is a complex language with the ability to express anything that can be expressed in any other language. One of the stories that one hears about the Lummi language is that Lummi only has a few hundred (or even a couple of thousand) words. This is false! Lummi has tens of thousands of words, and combined with the Lummi speaker's ability to create new words based on already existing Lummi words, the Lummi vocabulary is enormous.

Another statement that one hears about Lummi is that it is a concrete language, and is therefore more suited for expressing simple day-to-day items than abstract ideas. Again, this is false! The most subtle and abstract ideas are perfectly capable of being expressed in Lummi. It is true that Lummi does not have readily available a vocabulary to express the items common to our technical world. But neither did English, originally. Just as words were added to English to handle items such as television, or automobile, Lummi is capable of doing the same. It would be an interesting exercise, in fact, to see how an English speaker who is not familiar with fishing would describe all the parts of a complicated Lummi reef net. To a Lummi speaker, the English descriptions might seem primitive and simple.

The following introductory text and description of the Lummi language is written at a moderately advanced level, although it can be used as a basis for creating more basic teaching materials on the Lummi language. The individual teacher may want to emphasize certain points and add additional material. There is, however, a blunt fact which must be faced from the beginning: The Lummi language for someone who knows only English is extremely difficult. The sounds are quite different from the sounds of English, and Lummi grammar is also very complicated to an English speaker. Lummi grammar has its own logic, but it differs in radical ways from English. This will become clear as one reads and works through the chapters of this book.

Lummi is a member of the Salish language family, the largest group of languages in the Northwest. The Salish family extends geographically from the Bella Coolas in British Columbia to the Tillamooks in Oregon. Salish Languages are also found in Alberta, Canada and also in Idaho and Montana in the United States. The languages located east of the Cascade Mountains are referred to as Interior Salish languages, and those west of the Cascades are labelled Coast Salish. Most of the Native American languages in northern and western Washington belong to the Salish family.

Lummi can be subclassified as a dialect of Straits Coast Salish, a family which includes Clallam, Samish, Songish, Saanich, Sooke and Semiahmoo. Persons speaking the Straits languages can all easily talk to each other.

The attempt has been made to use a non-technical vocabulary in describing the properties of Lummi grammar. However, Lummi is so complex that an honest description must reveal some of this complexity. An attempt will be made therefore to describe Lummi in straightforward terms.

The alphabet used in this description will be foreign to most readers. At the time of the writing of this introduction, the Lummi Tribal Council had not yet decided on what alphabet to use. The alphabet used in this description is based on the alphabet developed by Terry and Larry Thompson. What ever alphabet is ultimately chosen, the one used in this description can be easily converted. Once the alphabet used in this description is mastered, the Lummi vocabulary in any article written about Lummi in the most recent linguistic journals can be read.

## C O N T E N T S

## Chapter 1

The Sounds of Lummi

0. The sounds of Lummi are very similar to those sounds found in other Native American languages in the Northwest. Linguists have noted that languages which are unrelated may nevertheless share many features of sounds and grammar if they are located in the same geographical area. In Europe, for example, the Finnish and Hungarian languages bear no known relationship to English, German, or French, although the sound systems of these languages are relatively similar. Likewise, many of the sounds of Lummi, a member of the Salishan language family, are similar to those sounds of the Quileute (a Chimakuan language) or the Makah (a Wakashan language). The Lummi, Quileute, and Makah languages have never been shown to be genetically related.

Although many of the sounds of the languages of the Native American languages of the Northwest are similar to each other, many of these sounds (especially the consonants) are very different from the sounds of the European languages. Thus, for someone who speaks English and who wishes to speak Lummi words correctly, a lot of practice will be necessary.

The sounds of Lummi are discussed below, and the best way to learn them is to practice them in the presence of a Lummi speaker. However, good approximations can be made from tapes and if you do not have easy access to someone who speaks Lummi, we recommend that you listen to some Lummi

which has been recorded.

There are two major types of sounds in the Lummi language, vowels and consonants. In general terms, the different vowels are made by the different shape of the open vocal tract when air is passing through. The consonant sounds are those produced by either a narrowing, constriction, or closure at one or more of the points along the vocal tract. The vocal tract is the region extending from the voice box (Adam's apple) to the lips.

1. Vowel Sounds. The vowel sounds are relatively easy, and we begin with examples using familiar consonants that are found in English.

1.1. The i-sound. This letter represents a sound that varies between an 'ee' sound as in English 'beet' and the sound in English 'say', although the vowel is more pure and steady than it is in English. Listen to your teacher pronounce these words.

Examples: ni 'there is, there are'  
his 'a long time ago'

1.2. The e-sound. This letter is usually pronounced like the vowel sound in English 'man', although it may be pronounced 'higher' like the vowel sound in 'get'. The Lummi word for 'father', which sounds like the English word 'man' is written men.

Examples: men 'father'

ten 'mother'

1.3. The e-sound. This letter (called schwa by linguists) represents the emphasized vowel in English 'sun', and also the sound in the unemphasized first vowel of 'about'.

Examples: téməs 'fur, velvet'

séłəs 'hand'

Note: The vowel that has the main emphasis will be noted with an accent mark. For example, in English, a cónvict is a man who goes to prison after he has been convicted of breaking a law.

1.4. The o-sound. The o is similar to the sound of the vowels in the English words 'bought' or 'caught'.

Examples: sósən 'mouth'

nos 'fat'

1.5. The u-sound. This letter represents a sound which varies between the vowel of English 'boot', and the lower sound of 'boat'. It is usually pronounced in its lower variety, although the example words are usually pronounced in their higher variety.

Examples: túwə 'early'

mús̥mus 'cow'

2. The consonants. Many of the consonants of Lummi are very different from those of English, and they will require

more work than the vowels for an English speaker who is trying to speak Lummi. Some of the sounds are very much like those found in English, and we begin our discussion with these.

2.1. The p-sound. The p-sound is like that of English. It is strongly aspirated (a strong puff of air is expelled when the p is released).

Examples: ləplét 'priest' (borrowing from French)  
snəp 'advice'

2.2. The t-sound. The t-sound is like that of English. Like the p-sound, it is strongly aspirated.

Examples: tíməst 'to do something vigorously'  
títisən 'up the river'

2.3. The s-sound. Pronounce the s-sound like English s.

Examples: sne 'name'  
swem 'horse clam'

2.4. The m, n, l and h sounds are either the same or very similar to their equivalent sounds in English. Words with these sounds have already been given in the earlier examples.

2.5. Sounds which occur in English but which use different symbols.

2.5.1. The ŋ. This symbol represents a sound which is found in English but is not represented in the English alphabet.

An m is like a b with the nasal passages open, and an n is like a d with the nasal passages open, and an ŋ (called engwa) is

like a g with the nasal passages open. This sound is usually written as ng in English. When one says the English word 'sing', the ng is actually just the single sound ŋ. It is not n plus g. The normal n-sound is made with the tip of the tongue touching the roof of the mouth. The ŋ-sound is made with the back of the tongue touching further back along the roof of the mouth. In English the ŋ-sound only appears at the end or in the middle of words. In Lummi ŋ can appear not only at the end or the middle of the words, it can also appear at the beginning of words.

Examples: son 'to go up (into the woods)'  
ténən 'evening, dusk (before it is dark)'  
ŋéna? 'child'

2.5.2. The š-sound. This letter stands for the sound usually written as sh in English.

Examples: stóməš 'warrior'  
šemət 'land that appears at low tide'

2.5.3. The č-sound. This symbol represents the sound usually represented by ch in English.

Examples: šənč 'harvest, catch'  
čénəs 'tooth'

2.5.4. The ?-sound. The symbol that looks like a question mark without the dot at the bottom is a symbol for a glottal stop. It is very common in Lummi. This sound is made by stopping the flow of air from your lungs in your throat. Try

exhaling and stopping the air without closing your mouth. When you've done this you've used your vocal cords (the elastic bands in your voice box) to stop the air. Every word in Lummi that sounds as if it begins with a vowel actually begins with a glottal stop (the same is true of English).

Examples: ?ənē? 'come'

si?ém 'sir' (Lummi term of respect, related to the word Sehome)

s?éməš 'Samish'

To say this last word, make the s-sound, stop the flow of air with your vocal cords (make the glottal stop) and then continue into the ?éməš part. Listen to your teacher do this a few times and you'll be able to do it.

## 2.6. Sounds not found in English.

2.6.1. The q-sound. The q-sound is similar to the k sound of English (Lummi has very few words with k), but the sound is made with the tongue touching further back along the roof of the mouth than the k in English 'car'.

Examples: qələs 'dull'

qen 'steal'

qénqən 'thief'

2.6.2. The x-sound. The x-sound is similar to the q-sound, with the main difference being that the flow of air is not stopped. There is a distinct scraping sound as the tongue constricts the flow of air past this point along the roof of the mouth.

Examples: sxéna 'leg'

?ex-n̩ 'to say'

2.6.3. The c-sound. This sound is similar to a ts sequence of sounds, although it is actually a single sound. It is like the č-sound, only instead of being made with the area just in back of the tip of the tongue, the c-sound is made with the tip of the tongue. This sound is found in only a few Lummi words, although it occurs in one of the most common words: cə 'the, a'

2.6.4. The l̩-sound. The l̩-sound, also called a voiceless l, is called a lateral fricative by linguists. It carries the label lateral because when the tongue tip is touching just behind the teeth, the air passes on both sides of the tongue. It is called a fricative because the tongue is constricted against the roof of the mouth so that noise (friction) is created. It is a very common sound in Lummi. To make this sound, make an l and then as the air is flowing, stop your vocal cords from vibrating (you can do this, don't worry) and raise the tongue closer to the roof of the mouth so that noise is created. With a little practice, this sound is relatively easy to make.

Examples: słeni? 'wife, woman'

słéməxʷ 'rain'

2.6.5. The sounds kʷ, qʷ, xʷ, and xʷ.

The sounds that these symbols represent are also very much like sounds already discussed. The raised w indicates that they are all accompanied by lip rounding. This feature of rounding of the lips is also called labialization by linguists. The kʷ sound is like the English qu in quick. The xʷ sound is a velar fricative, which means that air passing between the back of the tongue and the roof of the mouth is constricted and makes a scraping, whistling sound. It is similar to the sound one would make if one were imitating the blowing of the winter wind. The qʷ sound is very similar to the kʷ sound with the main difference being that the contact point of the tongue is even further back along the roof of the mouth. This sound therefore has a somewhat 'deeper' sound than the kʷ.

Examples:	<u>kʷ</u>	<u>kʷəčíl</u>	'early in the morning'
		<u>kʷənet</u>	'Take it!'
	<u>xʷ</u>	<u>xʷiʔləm</u>	'rope, thread'
		<u>xʷítən</u>	'jump'
	<u>qʷ</u>	<u>qʷəní</u>	'seagull'
		<u>qʷéʔən</u>	'mosquito'
	<u>xʷ</u>	<u>xʷon</u>	'to cry'
		<u>xʷéʔqʷəm</u>	'noisy, rushing water' (Lummi name for Bellingham (Whatcom).)

2.6.6. The glottalized sounds of Lummi: 'p', 't', 'č', 'č̥', 'kʷ', 'q̥', ('λ'). One of the most distinctive sets of sounds in Lummi

is the glottalized series. The term glottalization refers to the manner of articulation. In discussing the glottal stops earlier, we mentioned that fact that the vocal cords can be closed, stopping the air flow. The air stream from the lungs can also be stopped in the upper part of the vocal tract at the same time. Thus there can be two points of closure at the same time. A stop made in the upper part of the vocal tract (for example, all of the sounds listed at the beginning of this section) can be glottalized if the voice box (with closed vocal cords) is raised just before the stop is released. When the voice box is raised, the air pressure inside the vocal tract increases because the cavity is made smaller. When the upper stop is released, it does so under more pressure than is the case for the unglottalized stops, and a distinctive popping sound can be heard. Actually, the glottalization feature may be quite subtle, and much practice is required before this feature can always be identified.

<u>p</u> -sound	<u>péwi</u>	'flounder'
	<u>po?n</u>	'to swell up'
<u>t</u> '-sound	<u>t'éləw</u>	'arm'
	<u>st'éləŋəxʷ</u>	'medicine'
<u>c</u> -sound	<u>císten</u>	'antler'
	<u>lícət</u>	'to cut it'
<u>č</u> -sound	<u>čénəč</u>	'crowded, jammed'
	<u>čéməš</u>	'dried herring eggs'

<u>q</u> -sound	<u>qé?ni</u>	'teen-aged girl'
	<u>qəp</u>	'to gather'
<u>qʷ</u> -sound	<u>qʷélen</u>	'ear'
	<u>qʷəl</u>	'cooked, ripe'

2.6.7. The ł-sound. The 'glottalized lateral affricate' is one of the most important Lummi sounds. Many Native American languages of the Northwest have this sound. It is made by suddenly releasing the air along the sides of the tongue. Begin by making an l, and then stop the air from flowing by raising the tongue so that the air flow is blocked. Next, keeping the tongue tip temporarily on the roof of the mouth, release the air on both sides of the tongue making a 'popping sound'. Do not drop the sides of your tongue too far, since the effect you are striving for is the sound of the air passing along the sides of the tongue. The glottalization feature enhances the popping aspect of the sounds and helps contribute to its unique character. This sound will take lots of practice. Observe some Lummi speakers and try to imitate them.

Examples: łi? 'like, love'

łéxʷłéxʷ 'oyster'

## Chapter 2

Simple Lummi Sentences

1. In Lummi sentences the verb very often comes first.

- 1) xčít-sən cə swéy?qə? 'I know the man.'  
know-I the man
- 2) xčít-sxʷ sə sléni? 'You know the woman.'  
know-you the woman
- 3) xčít-s cə swi?qó?əl cə swéy?qə?  
'The boy knows the man.'
- 4) xčít-ɻ sə slenčó?əl 'We know the girl.'

NOTE 1): The word meaning 'I' in sentence (1) is -sən. It is attached to the verb xčít 'know' and forms a single unit of pronunciation. When 'you' is the subject add -sxʷ to the verb. When 'we' is the subject add -ɻ, and whenever the subject is third person (he, she, it, or they) add -s to the verb.

NOTE 2): The definite (or indefinite) article is usually cə in Lummi, although sə- will occur chiefly with feminine nouns (sə sléni? 'the woman').

NOTE 3): The forms swi?qó?əl and slenčó?əl are diminutive forms of the nouns swéy?qə? and sléni?, respectively. The term diminutive simply means 'a smaller version of'. Thus a boy is seen to be a smaller version of a man. The term slenčo?əl means 'little girl', whereas quéŋi? is a teen-aged girl.

2. Here are some additional simple Lummi sentences.

- 5) len-í-t-sən cə swéy?qə?  
     'I'm looking at the man.'
- 6) len-í-t-sxʷ cə ?éłəŋ  
     'You are looking at the house.'
- 7) lén-nəxʷ-sən sə sléni?  
     'I see (caught a glimpse of) the woman.'
- 8) lén-nəxʷ-ɬ cə scénəxʷ  
     'We see (caught a glimpse of) the salmon.'

NOTES: 'To look at' and 'to see' are both based on the same verb root len- 'see'. When -nəxʷ follows the verb, the idea of the verb is that the action is not under the control of the subject of the sentence. The addition of a t or -i-t indicates that the subject has some degree of control over the action. The term 'control' has, in fact, been given to the item 't' by the linguists Terry and Larry Thompson. Lummi is very logical in these constructions. When you look at something you consciously and willfully maintain your vision on it (len-í-t). When you catch a glimpse of something, or happen to see it, you do not do it willfully. If your eyes are open, you will see it (len-nəxʷ). Some additional sentences utilizing -nəxʷ and -t- will further demonstrate their use in Lummi.

- 9) cás-nəxʷ-sən     'I hit it (accidentally).'  
 10) čsé-t-sən      'I hit it (on purpose).'  
 11) xic-nəxʷ-sən   'I scratched it (accidentally).'  
 12) xic-t-sən      'I scratched it (on purpose).'

NOTES: 1) Sometimes the word čəs 'hit' will be pronounced čsə. For the time being learn to use čəs with nəxʷ and čsə with -t. 2) We will translate some of the Lummi sentences into present or past time (tense) in English. Tense is not as important in Lummi as in English.

3. Additional vocabulary.

- a. qé?ŋi? 'teenage girl'
- b. men 'father'
- c. ten 'mother'
- d. sqʷəməy? 'dog'
- e. píš 'cat' (domestic)
- f. ŋénə? 'child'
- g. sə?ey?čən 'younger brother, sister, or cousin'
- h. šeyəl 'older brother, sister, or cousin'
- i. péwi 'flounder'
- j. sxʷ?iɬən 'table'

4. Translation exercises. Translate the following Lummi sentences into English.

- a. leŋ-í-t-sən cə qé?ŋi?
- b. leŋ-nəxʷ-ɬ cə péwi
- c. leŋ-nə-s cə piš cə sqʷəməy? (Note: nəxʷ+s becomes nə-s in Lummi)
- d. leŋ-í-t-s cə sqʷəməy? cə piš
- e. χčit-sxʷ cə šeyəl
- f. χič-t-s cə piš cə ŋénə?

5. Translate the following English sentences into Lummi.
- a. The man caught a glimpse of the flounder (look at note in 4c).
  - b. The older brother is looking at the younger sister.
  - c. The child hit the cat (on purpose).
  - d. The mother hit the child (accidentally).
  - e. You are watching (looking at) the child.
  - f. We know the father and the mother (use ?i? for the word 'and').

## Chapter 3

Questions

1. How to ask a question in Lummi.

a) xčít-ə-sxʷ cə swéy?qə?

'Do you know the man?'

b) xčít-ə-sən sə sléni?

'Do I know the woman?'

c) ?ílən-ə-ɬ (ə) cə scénəxʷ

'Do we eat salmon?'

Questions that require a yes or no answer in Lummi can be made by inserting an -ə- element after the verb (and other sentence initial items as we will learn later), but before some of the subject pronouns. The third person pronoun, however, requires that the question particle appear to the right of a subject pronoun.

d) lén-nə-s-ə cə swéy?qə?

'Did he/they get a glimpse of the man?'

For the present, then, if the subject is first or second person (-sən, -sxʷ, -ɬ), the question particle will appear between the verb and the subject pronouns. If the subject is third person, the question particle will appear after the s.

2. Possessive Pronouns.

a) nə-mén 'my father'

b) ?ən-tén 'your mother'

c) nənə-s 'his child'

d) sqʷəməy?-ɬ 'our dog'

The possessive pronouns are attached to the noun they modify. We have been using a hyphen to indicate this attachment. The first person singular pronoun nə- and the second person pronoun ?ən- are attached to the front of (prefixed to) their noun. The first person pronoun -l, and the third person pronoun -s are attached to the end of (suffixed to) their noun.

### 3. Refinements of simple Lummi sentences.

- a) ?u? xčít-sən cə swáy?qə?  
'I know the man.'
- b) ?u? lén-nəxʷ-sxʷ sə sléni?  
'You caught a glimpse of the woman.'
- c) ?i? lení-t-sən cə swi?qó?əl  
'I am looking at the boy.'

The initial elements, ?u?, and ?i? are aspect markers in Lummi, and they are extremely difficult to assign English meanings to. The particle ?i?, which is identical in form to the Lummi word for 'and', may in fact be the same word. When used with sentences it may be indicating that the sentence is related 'simultaneously' to some other event. The ?i? may require that the following sentences be connected with some other event (either stated or unstated). For example, in the sentence ?i? lení-t-sən kʷ s-i-šət-ŋ-s 'I am looking at the man as he is walking by' the initial ?i? could well be indicating that the 'man walking by' is

connected with 'my seeing him'. The ?i? also appears to strengthen the force of a statement. The expression ?i? šət-ŋ means 'he's (really) walking (and not crawling)'. The šət-ŋ by itself simply means 'he's walking'.

The ?u? particle is much more difficult to understand although it appears very frequently in Lummi sentences. It also appears to have a linking function like ?i?. It may be used to indicate that there is a causal or temporal relation between two events. ?u? xčít-sən meaning 'I know it' may be implying 'I know it (for some reason)'. The actual meaning of this particle is an excellent topic for future investigation.

#### Additional Vocabulary

- a) sčénəxʷ 'salmon (or fish in general)'
- b) ?íŋəs 'grandchild'
- c) sílə 'grandparent'
- d) čó?məqʷ 'great grandparent, great grandchild'
- e) ?éłəŋ 'house'
- f) sče?čə 'friend, relative'
- g) kʷánət 'to take something'
- h) séłəs 'hand'
- i) sxénə 'leg, foot'
- j) t'éləw? 'arm'

The word čó?məqʷ is used for both great grandparent and great grandchild. It is common in languages to have terms meaning 'two generations, or three generations distant'. Note that

English uses the word grand- which expresses the relation 'two generations apart (and directly related)'.

4. Translate the following sentences into English.

- a) yéʔ-ə-sxʷ, nə-čóməqʷ?
- b) kʷán-ət-sən cə sčénəxʷ
- c) len-ít-sən cə ?ən-sílə (note that the particle appears with possessive pronoun in Lummi)
- d) xčít-s-ə cə sčéčə-s?
- e) kʷán-ət-ə-sxʷ cə nə-sqʷəməy?

5. Translate the following sentences into Lummi.

- a) I accidentally hit my hand.
- b) Do you know my younger brother?
- c) Are we taking the flounder?
- d) Are you looking at our house?
- e) I caught a glimpse of her leg.

## Chapter 4

Adjectives

## 1. Adjectives.

- a) həyí cə swéy?qə? 'The man is big.'  
big the man
- b) qəliləŋ cə snóčə-s 'His wife is old.'  
old wife-his
- c) məmímən cə swi?qó?əl 'The boy is small.'  
small the boy
- d) ?əy? sə sléni? 'The woman is good.'  
good the woman
- e) s̥xes cə nə-šəmén 'My enemy is bad.'  
bad the my enemy

Lummi adjectives frequently occur at the beginning of sentences. In this way (and other ways to be discussed below) they are acting like verbs. This order of words may appear odd to a speaker of English, but it must be remembered that this strangeness only results because of the difference from English. After you learn more Lummi, the sentences given above will begin to seem very natural to you.

These sentences also reflect the fact that Lummi, like many of the world's languages, does not use a verb meaning 'to be'.

The Lummi word for wife (snocə?) is related to the counting system. The word for 'one' is nəčə?, and one (or another) person is nočə?. Thus a wife is viewed as "the other one".

Counting in Lummi

<u>náce?</u>	'one'
<u>čáse</u>	'two'
<u>číwxʷ</u>	'three'
<u>čos</u>	'four'
<u>čqəčs</u>	'five'
<u>t'xəŋ</u>	'six'
<u>čo?kʷs</u>	'seven'
<u>te?ss</u>	'eight'
<u>təkʷxʷ</u>	'nine'
<u>?ópen</u>	'ten'

The Lummi numbers may seem complicated at first, but that is only because they use a lot of the sounds not found in English. With a little practice they will seem easier.

## 2. More on the use of pronouns.

We have already discussed the use of the pronouns sən, sxʷ, I and -s in the second chapter. There is a refinement in the use of the 3rd person pronoun which can be discussed now.

- a) len-í-t-sən cə swəy?qə? 'I see the man.'
- b) len-í-t-sxʷ cə swəy?qə? 'You see the man.'
- c) xčit-ł cə swəy?qə? 'We know the man.'
- d) kʷénət-s 'He is taking it.'
- e) len-í-t-s cə swəy?qə? 'He is looking at the man.'

Sentence (e) has the English translation 'He (or she or it) is looking at the man'. We stated earlier that the -s element was used whenever the subject was 3rd person. An example from the second chapter was xčit-s cə swi?qó?əl sə swəy?qə? 'The boy knows the man'.

3. Consider now the following sentences.

- f) ye?-sən 'I go.'
- g) ye?-sxʷ 'You go.'
- h) ye?-l 'We go.'
- i) ye? 'He/She/It goes.'
- j) ye? cə swəy?qə? 'The man is going.'

In sentences (i) and (j) although the subject is third person, no -s marking that the subject is third person occurs. In fact, it is not allowed to appear. A sentence such as \*ye?-s cə swəy?qə? sounds bad to a Lummi speaker much as \*he go sounds bad to a speaker of standard English.

The difference between the sentences (a-e) as opposed to (f-j) is that the verbs in the first group (a-e) are transitive and the verbs in the second group (f-j) are intransitive. A transitive verb is one which can have an object. In the case of 'see', one can see something. In the case of 'go', one cannot 'go' anything, and thus it is not possible to transfer the action of 'go' onto another object. (It is therefore 'Intransitive'.) Just remember, if the verb cannot take an object, then the

third person element s does not appear. For the most part, you can use your knowledge of English to help you here.

The verb meaning 'to come' is ?ənē?. The verb is intransitive, so to translate "The man is coming", you would write ?ənē? cə swəy?qə?.

4. Translate the following sentences into English.

- a) ye? cə həyí swi?qó?əl
- b) məmímən cə qʷóqʷsi? (young) s̥lenčó?əl
- c) ?əy? sə s̥leni? ?i? s̥xes cə swəy?qə?
- d) x̥čit-sən ?opən s̥čečə?
- e) čsé-t-ə-sxʷ cə məmímən qənə? ?

5. Translate the following sentences from English into Lummi.

- a) Are you coming?
- b) The old man and the young (see section 4) woman are going.
- c) He is taking the three salmon.
- d) He is old.
- e) We (accidentally) hit the small dog. (Later we will learn another way to say 'small dog' in chapter 15.)

## Chapter 5

Predicate Tenses

## 1. The past and future tenses.

- a) len-i-t-sən cə qe?ŋi?  
'I was looking at the girl.'
- b) len-i-t-sə-sən cə qe?ŋi?  
'I will look at the girl.'
- c) ?ey?-lə cə swəy?qə?  
'The man was good.'
- d) ?ey?-sə-sən  
'I will be good.'
- e) ?əne?-lə cə swəy?qə?  
'The man came.'

The past tense is indicated by the presence of the suffix -lə. It is attached onto the end of the verb, and appears before any subject pronouns. Many languages do not have a past tense marker (Chinese being an example). Lummi frequently will leave it out. Whether the sentence refers to the present or past will be determined by context. That is, if the speaker is talking about something that obviously happened in the past, the past tense marker is not necessary. The future tense with sə corresponds to English sentence which have the helping verb 'will'.

The suffix -lə also has another interesting use. When placed on a proper noun it indicates that the person is deceased. The phrase nə-men-lə means 'my late father'.

## 2. The numbers 11-20

11 is ?opənicənəčə?

- 12 is ?openicəčəsə  
 13 is ?openicəɬiwxʷ  
 14 is ?openicəŋos  
 15 is ?openicəɬdečs  
 16 is ?openicət'xəŋ  
 17 is ?openicəčo?kʷs  
 18 is ?openicəte?ss  
 19 is ?openicətəkʷxʷ  
 20 is cəxʷkʷés

The numbers 11-19 are transparent once one knows the numbers 1-10. The number '11' is rendered in Lummi by 'ten' and 'one'. The -ice- sequence is a combination of 'and' ?i? and 'the' cə. Lummi forms its numerals in a manner similar to the Spanish numerals 16-19. 'Sixteen' in Spanish is dies y seis which translated literally means ten (dies) and (y) six (seis). The word for twenty (cəxʷkʷés) appears to bear little relation to the word for two (čəsə).

### 3. The nominalizing prefix s-.

	Predicate	Noun
a)	<u>?ilən</u> 'to eat'	b) <u>s-?ilən</u> 'food'
c)	<u>nəp-t</u> 'to advise'	d) <u>s-nəp</u> 'advice'
e)	<u>xəl</u> 'be sick'	f) <u>s-xəl</u> 'sickness'

Many predicates can be turned into nouns by an s- prefix. The s- prefix corresponds in many ways to the English suffix -ing. A verb such as 'eat' can be turned into a noun by the addition of an -ing to form 'eating' as in 'the eating of the salmon'.

There is an important verb in Lummi which has the s- prefix.

g) nə-s-ƛ̥i? cə swéy?qə?

my-liking the man

'I like the man.'

h) s-ƛ̥i?-s sə słéni?

liking-his the woman

'He likes the woman.'

This predicate s-ƛ̥i? which means 'to like, love or want' has the form of a noun. When used as predicate, however, the s- prefix must be present, and requires that subject pronouns be realized as possessive pronouns. Thus to say 'I like' you have to use a form which appears to be 'my liking' (nə-s-ƛ̥i?). However, for a Lummi speaker the form nə-s-ƛ̥i? is natural and is best rendered as 'I like' (or 'I want', or 'I love', etc.).

#### Additional Vocabulary.

a) ?əltélnəxʷ 'people (native American)'

b) xʷənítəm 'white man'

c) swíw?ləs 'young boy'

d) sčəci?éł?l 'child'

e) ?ékʷiyəqʷ 'great-great grandparent, or great-great grandchild'

f) sqʷóni? 'head'

g) si?éten 'hair'

h) qé1ən 'eye'

- i) néqsən 'nose'  
j) sósən 'month'

4. Translate the following Lummi sentences into English.

- a) həyi-sə cə nə-ŋənə?  
b) ?əy?-sə cə ?ən-s-?iɬən  
c) s-ɬi?-ɬ cə s-nəp-s  
d) xčit-lə-sən cə ?ən-?ékʷiyəqʷ-łə  
e) xəɬ-łə cə cəxʷkʷás swíw?łəs

5. Translate the following English sentences into Lummi.

- 1) My late mother was good, and my offspring will be good.  
2) Fifteen boys came.  
3) He liked the native American people.  
4) Eighteen white people came.  
5) \*We will see the child.

\*Note the sequence sə-ł turns into łə-ł.

Chapter 6  
Verbal Objects

1. Pronominal objects.

- a) len-n-ōnəs-sən 'I caught a glimpse of you.'
- b) len-n-ōnəs-sx<sup>w</sup> 'You caught a glimpse of me.'
- c) lén-nəx<sup>w</sup>-sən 'I caught a glimpse of it.'
- d) len-t-í-s-sən 'I am looking at you.'
- e) len-t-í-s-sx<sup>w</sup> 'You are looking at me.'

The above sentences exhibit several new features of Lummi.

In sentence a), the n following the root len- is a shortened form of nəx<sup>w</sup>. The nəx<sup>w</sup> appears as n when ever it appears before certain suffixes, such as -onəs. The form -onəs itself can mean either 'you or me'. When the subject pronoun is sx<sup>w</sup> 'you', -onəs means 'me'. When the subject pronoun is -sən 'I' the -onəs translates as 'you'. For the meaning 'you see you', or 'you see yourself', Lummi uses a different form of the object pronoun called the reflexive. We will discuss this construction in a later chapter.

In sentence c) we observe that third person object pronouns are not expressed. Thus when a Lummi speaker says 'I see it' the 'it' does not appear in the Lummi sentence. It is understood. Sentence c) can mean then, 'I caught a glimpse of him', or 'I caught a glimpse of something'.

Sentences d) and e) exhibit a couple of complications. In Chapter 2, the verb len-í-t 'to look at' was introduced.

If we followed the rules used to form sentence a), we would expect \*len-i-t-onəs-sən to appear. However, whenever -i- and -onəs appear together, the -onəs is shortened to -s-. Also, the t and the i switch positions.

## 2. Adverbs.

- a) yos-sən ?u? nəp-t cə swəy?qə?  
'I always advise the man.'
- b) yos-ə-sxʷ ?u? nəp-t cə swəy?qə?  
'Are you always advising the man?'
- c) yos-l ?u? nəp-t cə swi?qó?əl  
'We are always advising the boy.'
- d) yos-lə ?u? nəp-t sə słéni?  
'He always advised the woman.'

Adverbs in Lummi sentences are usually in sentence initial position. Items in the first position in the sentence will have the question marker, the subject pronouns and tense markers (-lə and -sə) attached. We have already seen in Chapter 4, that adjectives which occur in sentence initial position will have subject pronouns and tense markers. It is a general feature of Lummi, then, that when elements such as verbs, adjectives, adverbs, or nouns are in sentence initial position any tense markers, or subject pronouns will be attached to this initial item. There is one important exception to this. The third person pronoun only appears on transitive verbs. Thus, it will not appear on nouns, adjectives, or adverbs. In sentence d) above,

then, the third person is understood if no other subject pronoun is present.

3. Additional Vocabulary.

- a) χel 'also, too' Adverb, patterns like yos-.
- b) si?itu 'really, extremely' Adverb
- c) tu 'still' Adverb (e.g. tu ?əmné-? 'They're still playing.')
- d) nəqíx 'black'
- e) pəq 'white'
- f) nəsəqʷ 'red'
- g) nəqʷéy 'yellow'
- h) nəχéχ 'green'
- i) čiyə?ółəs 'blue'

4. Translate the following Lummi sentences into English.

- a) xčit-ónəs-sən
- b) čsé-t-onəs-lə-sxʷ
- c) χel-sə-sən ?u? ye?
- d) yos ?u? ye? cə swəy?qə?
- e) len-nəxʷ-sən cə nəqíx sqʷəməy?
- f) pəq'-lə cə həyi piš

5. Translate the following English sentences into Lummi.

- a) I always catch a glimpse of the child.
- b) I'm going too!
- c) I looked at you. (-lə is inserted just before subject pronoun)

- d) Are you still eating?
- e) Is it red?
- f) Are you always looking at me?

stíkʷən: téčəl-sən, siʔéṁ, nə-séčs

sečs: siʔít-sən ?u? híləkʷ kʷ nə-s-lən-n-óñəs, nə-stíkʷən

stíkʷən: λéł-sən ?u? híləkʷ

sečs: ?əs-xʷən-é-ŋ cə ?ən-mén ?

stíkʷən: ?u? ?əsλóɬəm cə nə-men

sečs: ?u? híləkʷ-sən kʷ s-?əs-λóɬəm cə nə-mén

#### Translation

Nephew: I'm here, uncle.

Uncle: I'm truly happy to see you, my nephew.

Nephew: I'm happy too.

Uncle: How's your father?

Nephew: My father is well.

Uncle: I'm happy you're father is doing well.

NOTES: (a) The greeting tečəl-sən 'I've arrived' is a very common greeting in Lummi. The other may then answer tečəlsxʷ 'you've arrived'.

(b) The word siʔéṁ, a word indicating deep respect, is inserted often into Lummi sentences.

(c) The type of sentence used in the Uncle's first statement is discussed in the next section.

1. Sentences with kʷ-clauses.

a) xčit-sən kʷ ?ən-s-len-nəxʷ cə swəy?qə?

'I know that you caught a glimpse of the man.'

b) xčit-sxʷ kʷ s-xčit-l cə swəy?qə?

'You know that we know the man.'

c) xčit-sən kʷ s-ye? cə swəy?qə?

'I know that the man came.'

d) xčit sə słéni? kʷ nə-s-?ənē?

'The woman knows that I am coming.'

The sentences in (1) exhibit the most common type of subordinate structure in Lummi--the kʷ-clause. The kʷ-clause is very similar to the type of construction in English in which that precedes a sentence. For example, in sentence (1a) the sequence that you caught a glimpse of the man is a subordinate clause, and the that is a subordinator (or subordinating conjunction). Another feature of the Lummi subordinate clause is that normal subject pronouns such as -sən, sxʷ, etc., appear as possessive pronouns. The predicate also has an s- prefixed on it. Thus what would appear as len-nəxʷ-sən in a regular (non-subordinate sentence) becomes nə-s-len-nəxʷ, when subordinated. This type of construction may appear foreign to you at first, but English has a very similar construction. In the sentence My liking Mary surprised Bill, the sequence My liking

Mary is the subordinate for I like Mary. The verb like has -ing added to it (making it noun-like) and the subject is put into the possessive form, 'I' becomes 'my'. Thus Lummi shares some important structural features with English in regard to sentence subordination.

## 2. Numbers.

<u>cəxʷkʷəsicənəcə?</u>	'twentyone'
<u>lxʷlšé?</u>	'thirty'
<u>ŋəslšé</u>	'forty'
<u>lqčlšé?</u>	'fifty'
<u>t'xəmlšé?</u>	'sixty'
<u>cə?kʷlšé?</u>	'seventy'
<u>tə?słšé</u>	'eighty'
<u>təkʷxʷlšé?</u>	'ninety'
<u>nečəwəč</u>	'one hundred'

For the numbers twenty one to twenty nine, one uses a combination of numbers. We've already had twenty cəxʷkʷəs, and to this is added the sequence icənəcə, the latter meaning 'and one'. Thus the sequence cəxʷkʷəsicənəcə? means 'twenty and one'. The numbers 30 through 90 show a relationship to the numbers 3 through 9. All of the 'tens' from thirty to ninety end in -lšé. To make the number sixty six, combine 'sixty' t'xəmlšé? with icət'xən

'and six' giving t'xəmłšə?icət'xən.

3. Locative adverbs.

a) le? cə swəy?qə?

'The man is there.'

b) ?ełə? cə nə-tén

'My mother is here.'

4. Translate the following sentences from Lummi into English.

a) xčit-l kʷ ?ən-s-leŋ-nəxʷ cə swəy?qə?

b) si?ít-a-sxʷ ?u? hiləkʷ kʷ nə-s-?ełə? ?

c) ?əs-xʷən-é-ŋ-sxʷ, si?ém ?

d) le? cə həyí sčenəxʷ

e) ?əs-łółəm-ə cə nə-tén ?

5. Translate the following sentences from English into Lummi.

a) You've arrived, my nephew.

b) I am here, my uncle.

c) It is good that you are here. (Begin ?ay? kʷ...)

d) We are happy that you came.

e) Is it good that Sqʷto? (Raven) is happy?

Negative Sentences

Sq<sup>w</sup>to?: ?əstóŋət-sə-sx<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>éyələs, si?ém ?

Wis: yé?-sə-sən λə x<sup>w</sup>otqəm, si?ém

Sq<sup>w</sup>to?: hó?čtə-sə-sən ?i? ye? λel

Wis: ?əlqéłə-sə-sən ə k<sup>w</sup> nə-s?íłən

Sq<sup>w</sup>to?: hóyk<sup>w</sup>čə, si?ém

Wis: hóyk<sup>w</sup>

Translation

Sq<sup>w</sup>to?: What will you do tomorrow, sir?

Wis: I'm going to Bellingham.

Sq<sup>w</sup>to?: I might go too.

Wis: I'm going to buy my food.

Sq<sup>w</sup>to?: Goodbye, sir.

Wis: Goodbye.

The most common Lummi word for goodbye is hóyk<sup>w</sup>čə. One replies hóy<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>.

## 1. Negation.

a) ?əw?-sən k<sup>w</sup> s-leŋ-nəx<sup>w</sup> cə k<sup>w</sup>əlšén

b) ?əw?-sən leŋ-nəx<sup>w</sup> cə k<sup>w</sup>əlšén

c) ?əw? k<sup>w</sup> nə-s-leŋ-nəx<sup>w</sup> cə k<sup>w</sup>əlšén

The sentences a-c all mean 'I don't (or can't) see

Mt. Baker'. The most common type of negative sentence in Lummi is introduced with the element ?əw?. Sentence (1b) is a shortened version of sentence (1a). In other words, negative sentences in Lummi usually contain subordinate clauses. A rough English translation of (1a) would be: "It is not the case for me that (my) seeing Mt. Baker occurs". There is a subtle difference in meaning between (1a) and (1c). Sentence (1a) emphasizes that 'I' can't see the mountain. There may be a tree in the way, or I'm not in the right position. Sentence (1c) suggests that it is generally not the case that 'I' can't see the mountain. Maybe it is cloudy. Thus in sentence (1c) there is less emphasis on the role of the first person subject. Lummi has a lot of subtle things like this, and learning these points takes a lot of work.

There is another point which causes some confusion to beginning students of Lummi. Note the following pair of sentences.

- d) ?əw? sxčit-s sə sleni?  
'The woman doesn't know it.'
- e) ?əw? s-xčit sə sleni?  
'Someone doesn't know the woman.'
- f) ?əw? s-xčit-s cə swəy?qə? sə sleni?

In these negative sentences with 3rd person subjects,

if there is an s on the predicate, then the following noun is the subject. If there is no s, then the following noun is object. If there is an s, and two nouns follow, the noun immediately following the predicate is usually the subject. Lummi does allow some freedom of word order if the context is clear. Thus, sentence might also mean 'The woman doesn't know the man'.

The word kʷəlšén is interesting. Many people in Bellingham (including the United States Forest Service) think that kʷəlšén means 'great, white watcher'. The word is made up of two parts kʷéłəš and -en. kʷéłəš means to shoot or strike a sharp blow, and -en means 'a place'. Thus, the combination kʷəlšén means 'the place where a blow was struck. The name originated after Mt. Baker erupted in the middle of the 19th century. After a particularly severe thunderstorm, Mt. Baker was smoking, thus it appeared that lighting had struck the mountain, causing it to erupt.

## 2. Another negative construction.

- a) ?éwənə ?ən-sməčqən

'You're crazy!' (You don't have a brain.)

- b) ?éwənə spčo?

'There aren't any baskets.'

c) ?éwənə nə-sčenəxʷ

'I don't have any fish.'

The expression ?éwənə means 'There isn't or aren't any . . .'. Thus, a sentence such as (1c) would roughly translate as "There aren't any my fish", but the best English for it is 'I don't have any fish'.

### 3. Plurals.

Earlier we stated that Lummi does not normally overtly pluralize its nouns. Thus, cə swəy?qə? might mean 'the man' or 'the men'. When it is necessary to show plurality, Lummi nouns can undergo a process called reduplication. Reduplication simply means that the first part of the word is copied and added to the front of the word. Thus a word such as sile becomes silsílə?. The first i is reduced (becomes ə) so the plural of grandparent sile? is səlsílə?. Another way that plurality can be indicated is by inserting a -el- inside the word after the first consonant. Thus, čisten 'antler' becomes čəlistən. The process of plural formations is quite complicated. Some examples are listed below. Another way to form a plural is to insert an -i- after the first consonant in the word. An example of this is siwéy?qə 'men' from swəy?qə? 'man'. Words fall into various classes depending on which way they form their plural. This situation for plural formation

in Lummi is similar to the situation in English in that the word child must be pluralized as children, the word man becomes men, and goat becomes goats.

4. Translate the following Lummi sentences into English.

- a) ?əw? kʷ ?ən-s-len-i-t cə swi?qó?əl
- b) ?əwənə smečqən-s cə siwáy?qə?
- c) \*?əw?-l kʷ s?onət (give) cə swəy?qə? ə cə  
sčenəxʷ
- d) ?əw-lə-sən len-i-t
- e) ?əw? kʷ s-lenít cə swəy?qə?
- f) ?əw? kʷ s-lenít-s cə swəy?qə?

\*The part ə cə sčenəxʷ indicates the thing which is given.

5. Translate the following English sentences into Lummi.

- a) We didn't eat the sea urchins (*skʷíči*).
- b) We don't have any baskets.
- c) My grandparents aren't coming.
- d) The man doesn't see the woman.
- e) I don't want it.

## Chapter 9

The Passive Voice

1. ?inəs: téčəl-sən, si?ém, nə-silə, ?i? si?ít-sən  
?u? lčí?us
2. sílə?: ?oo?, híləkʷ-sən kʷ nə-s-lən-n-ónəs, nə-?inəs
3. ?inəs: ?əs-xʷən-é-ŋ-1ə kʷ s?əléləxʷ-1ə ?
4. sílə?: ?áy?-1ə ?əxʷílñəxʷ. ?əw-lə-s-kʷən-ŋ-í-t-ŋ  
ə kʷ wet
5. ?inəs: ?əstít-ŋ-1ə ?əl čey-s
6. sílə?: hó?-1ə čey? ?i? si?ít-1ə ?u? ?əstít-ŋ

Translation.

1. Grandchild: I have arrived, my grandfather, and I am really tired.
2. Grandfather: Oh, I'm happy to see you, my grandson.
3. Grandchild: What were the old people like?
4. Grandfather: The people were good. They were not helped by anybody.
5. Grandchild: Did they work hard?
6. Grandfather: Whenever they worked, they really worked hard.

## 1. Passives.

- a) len-t-i-ŋ ə cə swəy?qə?  
'The man saw it.'

b) ləŋ-t-i-n-sən ə cə swəy?qə?

'The man saw me.' or 'I was seen by the man.'

c) lén-n-n-sən ə cə swəy?qə?

'The man caught a glimpse of me.' or 'I was spotted by the man.'

The sentences in (1) are examples of a grammatical structure which corresponds closely to the English passive construction. The passive in English is a sentence such as 'I was hit by the man'. The term 'passive' is used because the subject will frequently have a 'passive' role in the action being described. The sentence 'The man hit me' expresses action on the part of the subject, 'the man'. Thus, the sentences 'I was hit by the man' and 'the man hit me' are semantically related in that both are descriptions of the same event. In English, every transitive sentence has a passive counter part, and vice-versa. This is not the case in Lummi. For some sentences, Lummi can only have the 'passive form'. Sentence (1a) is an example of this type. The hypothetical active counterpart of this sentence should be xčit cə swəy?qə? 'The man knows it' because the 3rd person object is never expressed. The sentence xčit cə swəy?qə? does not mean 'The man knows it'. It means 'know the man!', an imperative sentence where the subject is an understood 'you'. The only way to render 'The man knows it' in Lummi is with sentence (1a), which

is like 'It is known by the man'. Another way to say it then, is that when the object is a 3rd person pronoun, Lummi requires the passive-type construction.

The passive is formed by adding either t or nəxʷ (-n-) to the verb stem, followed by the suffix -q. The t and nəxʷ carry their usual meaning.

## 2. Prepositions.

a) síl-ŋ-lə ə cə sol

'He was standing on the road.'

b) ?əsnówəl-1ə ə cə ?elən

'He was in(side) the side.'

c) ?u? ye? sɬəqʷ

'He ran through it.'

d) ɬəčéłəwəl

'It's underneath.'

e) ?əscé?čə ə cə pi·t

'He's sitting (lying) on the bed.'

Lummi does not have prepositions of the type found in English. Many of the ideas conveyed by prepositions in English, are conveyed by full predicates in Lummi. In English one might say 'The rabbit ran through the fence', in Lummi one has to break this into two parts: ?i? kʷən-í-ŋ-t cə həpít, ye? ?u? sɬəqʷst ə qəléxən, 'As the rabbit was running, it went through the fence'. The

essential idea here is that Lummi prepositions usually act as predicates. The expression nəwəl 'in(side)' should be treated as a predicate meaning 'to be inside'.

The particle ə does function occasionally as a universal preposition. We saw it being used to mean 'by' in the passive construction discussed in the previous section. In sentence (2a), it is best translated as 'on'. In sentences (2b) it is rendered best by English 'in'.

### 3. More predicates.

- a) ləmxʷ 'It's raining.'
- b) čəmónəst-sən 'I'm getting wet.'
- c) čí?xʷ-ŋ-sə 'It will be cold.' (about weather)
- d) čó?l-ŋ-sən 'I'm cold.'
- e) čən-ŋ 'I'm shivering.'
- f) sexʷ-sxʷ 'You're lazy.'
- g) təl-n-ónət-sxʷ 'I understand it.'
- h) tóqʷ-ŋ-sən 'I'm coughing.' (used for 'I have a cold.'
- i) číčət 'Cut it.'
- j) qéy?ləs 'He is sad.'

### 4. Translate the following sentence from Lummi into English.

- a) xčt-í-ŋ-sən ə čə swəy?qə?
- b) číč-nəxʷ-lə-sən čə nə-séłəs
- c) təl-n-ónət-ə-sxʷ čə xʷlumičósən ? (xʷlumičósən = the Lummi language)

- d) ?əsčéčə?    e) cə    snəxʷɬ  
e) yos-sxʷ    ?u?    čoʔɬ-ŋ

5. Translate the following into Lummi.

- a) It's raining and I'm getting wet.  
b) We were seen by the enemy.  
c) He was sitting on the table (sxʷ?ilən).  
d) He came from (čə) Bellingham and I'm going to (čə) Bellingham.  
e) We saw it.

## Chapter 10

Interrogative Pronouns and nil-sentences

Wis: téčəl'sən, si?ém

Sqʷto?: téčəl-sxʷ, si?ém

Wis: t'ót'əst-sən kʷ nə-s-xəl-éls ə ti?ə xʷlumičósən

Sqʷto?: ?əsčəwéét-ə-sxʷ kʷ ?ən-s-təl-n-oṇət ə cə s-xəl-éls  
ə cə xʷlumičósən

Wis: ?u? təl-n-oṇət-sən ə cə s-xəl-els ə cə xʷlumičósən

Sqʷto?: ?əy?, si?ém. hoykʷčə

Wis: hóyəkʷ, si?ém

Translation.

Wis: I've arrived, sir.

Raven: You've arrived.

Wis: I'm learning to write the Lummi language.

Raven: Can you read (understand written) Lummi?

Wis: I can read (understand written) Lummi.

Raven: That's good, sir. Goodbye.

Wis: Goodbye.

## 1. Questions with interrogative pronouns.

a) wet kʷ len-nəxʷ cə swəy?qə? ?

'Who sees the man?'

b) wet kʷ len-n-əs cə swəy?qə? ?

'Who does the man see?'

- c) wet k<sup>w</sup> len-t-i-n ?  
     'Who am I looking at?'
- d) wet k<sup>w</sup> len-t-i-x<sup>w</sup> ?  
     'Who are you looking at?'
- e) wet k<sup>w</sup> len-t-i-s ?  
     'Who is he looking at?'
- f) sten k<sup>w</sup> ən-s-ɿi? ?  
     'What do you want?'

The Lummi word for 'who' is wet and for 'what' is sten. As is the case in English the question word comes first, but unlike English, the Lummi interrogatives have many of the features of predicates. For example, the 'rest' of the sentence that follows occurs is a subordinate clause introduced by the k<sup>w</sup> marker. The Lummi sentences with the interrogative markers wet and sten come closest to English sentences such as "Who is it such that he sees the man?". This translation would fit sentence (1a). The appearance of the 3rd person subject s marker follows the pattern found in subordinate clauses. If there is an -s on the verb, the following noun is the subject (cf. sentence 1b). If there is no -s on the verb, the following noun is the object (cf. sentence 1a).

The sentences (1c) and (1d) add a new wrinkle. Instead of the normal possessive pronoun markers nə- and ?ən-, the reduced forms -n (from -sən) and x<sup>w</sup> (from -sx<sup>w</sup>)

are used. These reduced pronouns occur in the suffix position where subject pronouns are normally found.

2. nił- sentences.

a) nił cə swéy?qə?

'That's the man.'

b) nił-lə sə słéni?

'That was the woman.'

c) nił-lə həyí s-čey?-s ə cə həyí qxʷəkʷl

'That was a big job on the big canoe.'

d) nił-lə kʷ nə-s-yē?

'Then I went.'

The nił sentences are among the most important structural types in Lummi, since they are used very frequently. In sentence (2d) one of the most frequently idiomatic uses of nił is demonstrated when nił introduces a subordinate clause (e.g. nił kʷ s-Verb...), the sequence nił kʷ s- is frequently translated into English as 'then'. A rough English translation of (2nd) is 'It was that I went'. This translation begins to get close to the meaning 'Then I went'.

3. Relative clauses.

a) nił ti?ə swéy?qə? kʷ len-i-t

'That's the man that sees it.'

- b) nił ti?ə swəy?qə? len-i-t-s  
     'That's the man that he sees.'
- c) nił ti?ə swəy?qə? len-t-i-n  
     'That's the man I saw.'
- d) xčit-sən cə swəy?qə? kʷ len-i-t  
     'I know the man that saw it.'
- e) xčit-sən cə swəy?qə? kʷ len-i-t-s  
     'I know the man that he knows.'
- f) tu hekʷ cə swəy?qə? kʷ nə-s-len-n-n  
     'He still remembers the man that saw me.'
- g) nił cə swəy?qə? xəč-n-ónəs  
     'That's the man that knows me.'

These sentences will give the reader a taste of the variety of possibilities for expression that are available in Lummi. They will also give the reader an indication of the structural complexity which can be found in Lummi. Sentences (3a-c) demonstrate how predicates next to nouns can be attributive in their function. The predicate len-i-t by itself means '(you) watch it', but when next to the noun ti?ə swəy?qə?, it means 'that sees it'. In this position it is a relative clause. The form that the subject pronouns take in these constructions is the reduced variety discussed in section 1 of this chapter.

Sentence (1d) is an example of another type of relative clause construction. This sentence has a kʷ (that)

present. As was the case with earlier  $k^w$  sentences, subject pronouns are found in their possessive form. An example of this is sentence (3f). Sentence (3f) is especially interesting because the subordinate sentence has a passive verb len-n-n 'to be seen'. Thus, another English translation could be 'that's the man I was seen by'. Thus the sequence len-n-n-sən becomes nə-s-len-n-n when it occurs in a subordinate clause.

Instead of the passive form, it is possible for the first person to appear as an object pronoun. This is demonstrated in (3g). Actually sentence (eg) is ambiguous and could mean 'that's the man that knows you'. The ambiguity in onəs may be why Lummi speakers prefer structures such as (3f) where the subject pronoun is unambiguous.

4. Translate the following sentences from Lummi into English.

- a) t'ót'əst-sən ə cə xʷlumičosən
- b) wet  $k^w$  len-nəxʷ-1
- c) sten  $k^w$  ?ən-s-iłən ?
- d) nil cə həyi swəy?qə?  $k^w$  nə-s-λi?
- e) nil-ə sə sleni?  $k^w$  ?ən-s-lén-t-n

5. Translate the following sentences from English into Lummi.

- a) That's the man who knows me.

- b) Are you learning to read the Lummi language?
- c) Who do you like?
- d) What do they want?
- e) That was a big salmon.

## Chapter 11

"How The Lummi People Came To Their Present Location  
And How They Got Their Name"

The following is a brief history of the Lummi people.

It combines a shortened version of the Sxəlōqst story with the story about the origin of the name 'Lummi'. The text also tells about the relationship of the Lummi language to surrounding native American languages.

1. le?<sup>1</sup> cə<sup>2</sup>      e cə swélex      cə swi?qóəl ?i?
1. There reportedly on Orcas Island (was) a young man and

<sup>1</sup>The pronunciation of this word is [læ?]. Our orthography is essentially phonemic and is consistent with the Straits Salish orthography used, by the Thompsons (Lawrence C. Thompson and M. Terry Thompson, "Clallam: A Preview", in Studies in American Indian Languages, ed. Jesse Sawyer, University of California Publications, no. 65 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971) pp. 251-94) and Efrat (Barbara Efrat, "A Grammar of Non-Particles in Sooke, a Dialect of Straits Coast Salish" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1969). The phoneme /e/ is usually pronounced [æ], /o/ is [ɔ], and /i/ varies between [i] and [e], but is usually the lower variant. Rounded consonants (e.g. qʷ, kʷ) and palatal consonants (e.g. y, č) have an effect on vowels, especially in unstressed position. We have ignored these effects in the phonemic transcription. For a discussion of the changes which have occurred in the pronunciation of Lummi see Thompsons and Efrat, "Some Phonological Developments in Straits Salish", IJAL 40.3 (1974), pp. 182-196.

<sup>2</sup>This particle will occur throughout the text and we leave it untranslated. It is used frequently in narratives and indicates that the speaker does not have firsthand knowledge of the matter being described. It corresponds to 'I heard tell that' and does not commit the speaker to the truth of the statement. An interesting property of Mr. Charles' speech is his tendency to raise unstressed final e to æ. Thus cə will frequently be heard as [cæ], ?e|ə will be [?ælæ?].

1. šit̄n cə qé?ŋi? ?el̄e ti?ə Sq̄el̄ex̄ən.
1. (he) desired a young lady here at S. . .
2. nil̄ s-u-məlyí-t-ŋ-s<sup>3</sup> cə xʷtółəm sə qé?ŋi?
2. Then got married Xʷ. to the young lady
2. ?i? ?íyəs məkʷ-wet ?u? ?íyəs kʷ s-kʷnótəl-s
2. and happy (was) everybody happy that was united
2. cə xʷtółəm ə sə qé?ŋi? čə sq̄el̄ex̄ən. 3. ?i?
2. Xʷ. with the girl from S. . . 3. And
3. ?əw<sup>4</sup> s-his kʷ s-?íyəs ?i? nil̄
3. (it was) not long that (they were) happy and then

<sup>3</sup> One of the most common structures in this narrative is the nil̄ kʷ s-u- verb sequence. nil̄ has a wide range of meaning including 'that one', 'that's it', 'it' and so forth. The kʷ is introducing a factual clause in the sense of Kuipers (Aert Kuipers, The Squamish Language, 1969, p. 183). The s- has been identified as a nominalizer in other Salish dialects (Efrat, p. 61, Kuipers, p. 66). The -u- which also appears in this text as ?u? has been identified as a particle meaning 'contemporaneous' in a dialect closely related to Lummi. (Efrat, p. 38) Mr. Charles usually translates the underlined sequence (nil̄ kʷ s-u-) as 'then'. We will follow his translation in this text. This nil̄-structure can appear as a nil̄ s-u- (sentence 8) or even shortened to as s-u- (sentences 5. and 19.). See footnote 8 for more details concerning nominalized verbs.

<sup>4</sup> A sentence negated with ?əw is usually followed by a subordinated form of the main clause. Thus we find that the embedded predicate will take a s- prefix (the nominalizer?). One also finds xʷ- or even sxʷ- prefixed in this position. The pronunciation of this sequence is [əws his], but the kʷ subordinator and other particles can appear between the ?əw and the s, thus demonstrating the true nature of this construction (See e.g. sentence 21. or 104.).

3. s-u-qéqələm-s . 4. qéqələm ?i? yos  
 3. quarreled-they. 4. (they) quarreled and (they) always  
 4. ?u? qéqələm<sup>5</sup> . 5. s-u-xən-é-t-ŋ-s<sup>6</sup> cə xʷtōləm ə sə  
 4. quarreled. 5. then was told xʷ. by  
 5. sléni?-s ?əy? wo?č kʷ ?ən-s-yé?<sup>7</sup> t'okʷ. 6. ye?-sxʷ  
 5. wife-his good if you went home . 6. go-you  
 6. xʷi?éłqən ye?. 7. le?-sə kʷ ?ən-s-?íłən  
 6. back . 7. there-will (be) your food  
 7. ti?ə sc?óčəm<sup>8</sup> ttósəlŋəxʷ. 8. ?i? nil čə s-u-xʷtčósən-s  
 7. those bony animals . 8. and then answered

<sup>5</sup>The third person subject pronoun is Ø for intransitives in main clauses. An '-s' can appear in subordinate clauses, however, as is demonstrated in the preceding sentence (s-u-qéqələm-s).

<sup>6</sup>Both t and n(exʷ) are suffixes which transitivize a verb. The Thompsons use the term 'control' for the 't' to indicate that the subject in some way influences the action of the verb. The nexʷ form is weaker with respect to the involvement of the agent or subject. Thus when t is added to the verb len, the sequence len-t means 'to watch' or 'look at'. The sequence t or n (n is an allomorphic variant of nexʷ) plus n, corresponds to the English passive. Important differences exist between this construction in Salish and the English passive, however. (Thom Hess, "Agent in a Cost Salish Language", IJAL 39.2 (1973), pp. 89-94.

<sup>7</sup>Certain types of subordinate sentences with pronominal subjects cliticize the possessive form of the pronoun onto the (nominalized) verb. Thus ?ən-s-ye? is 'your going'. The third possessive affix follows its head noun as opposed to the prefixal nature of the first and second person possessives.

<sup>8</sup>The word for bone is s?óčəm. In the text Mr. Charles uses something like sc?óčəm and translates this as bony or 'little-boned'. The form sc?óčəm may be then a diminutive formed by reduplication (/sc?-s?óčəm/).

8. cə xʷtóɬəm. 9. xən-é-t sə sléni?-s ?ey? wo?č  
 8. Xʷ. . 9. (he) told wife-his good I guess  
 9. kʷ nə-s-yé? t'okʷ ?i? ?u? ?eɬə-sxʷ ?ol . 10.  
 9. if I went home and stay here-you just. 10. (there  
 10. nən? tīʔə qiwx məqʷ-sən qiwx  
 10. are) lots (of) those steelhead fat-legged steelhead  
 10. kʷ ?ən-s-?íɬən-sə. 11. qiwx ?ol kʷ ?ən-s-?íɬən.<sup>9</sup>  
 10. that you eat will. 11. steelhead just that you eat.  
 12. niɬ cə s-u-yé?-s t'okʷ cə xʷtóɬəm. 13. ?i? ?u? qíɬəs  
 12. then went home Xʷ. . 13. but became  
 13. cə xʷtóɬəm. 14. s-u-xən-é-t-s s?éy?čən-s  
 13. lonesome Xʷ. . 14. then told-he younger brother-  
 14. yé?-sən-sə ye? len-t....?i? ne?-t-s sə sléni?-s  
 14. his go-I-will go (to) see.....and (he) named wife-his  
 14. ?i? ?əw-sən xčit kʷ s-ne?-s. 15. ?i? xən-ŋ  
 14. but not-I know what name-her (was). 15. and said  
 15. cə s?ey?čən-s yé?-sən-sə ?u? ?i? səwé.  
 15. younger brother-his go-I-will along.

<sup>9</sup>Mr. Charles says that these references to animals are veiled insults. "It's a way of swearing at one another." "I guess she had big legs."

16. *nił čə s-u-?óół*      e cə *snexʷł-s* ?i? ?ənē? len-t-s  
 16. then (he) go aboard      canoe-his and came (to) see
16. *sə sléni?-s.* 17. ?i?      toxʷ čə ?u? ?əsqéməł  
 16. wife-his . 17. and (it was) just      half
17. *st'ečñ.* 18. ?i? ?əw s-ye?      ?u? ləl ye?, ?i? šem.  
 17. tide . 18. and not went (they)      ashore , but went
18.      19. *s-u-xéñ-n-ŋ-s* cə xʷtółəm,  
 18. aground (on a bar). 19. then said      xʷ. ,
19. ?əw-sxʷ s-u-ənē? ləl . 20. hó?-sə  
 19. not-you come      ashore. 20. if (there)-will (be)
20. *skʷéleqʷ, kʷ* ?ənē?-s səq cə siwéy?qə?, ?i? ?əw  
 20. killing , when come      out the men , then not
20. *s-u-ənē? ləl* , ye?-sxʷ xʷi?éłqən. 21. ?əw čə  
 20. come      ashore, go-you      back . 21. not
21. *s-ye? ?u? təs* cə éłəñ-s      e sə sléni?-s, ?i? ?ənē?  
 21. (he) reached the house-her of      wife-his, and came
21. *səq su nil.*<sup>10</sup> 22. ?i? *nil* s-u-?ómət-s . 23. ?ómət  
 21. out she . 22. and then she sat down. 23. (they)

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<sup>10</sup>The expression su nil indicates a feminine referent.  
 The masculine equivalent is cu nil.

23.      ?i? niɬ s-u-qʷəl-nəkʷəl-s.<sup>11</sup> 24. his  
 23. sat and then (they) talked . 24. (it was a) long  
 24.      kʷ s-qʷəl-nəwəl-s ?i? ?əne? səq cə siwəy?qə?,  
 24. time that talked-they and came out the men ,  
 24. s?əlēy?čən-s      ?i? cə šéyəl-s , sə sɬəni?  
 24. younger brothers-her and older brothers-her, the wife  
 24. e xʷtōləm. 25. niɬ čə s-u-qʷčōt-ŋ-s cə xʷtōləm.  
 24. of xʷ. . 25. then murdered-they xʷ. .  
 26. qʷčot-ŋ . 27. s-u-yes xʷi?̄elən cə sxəlōqst.  
 26. (he) was killed. 27. then went back Sx. .  
 28. ye? t'okʷ      ?i? yəs-ōs-t-s cə səleləxʷ-s , skʷéłəqʷ-s  
 28. (he) went home and told-he parents-his, killed-they  
 28. kʷ      s-xʷtōləm, skʷéłəqʷ-s . 29. ?i? xʷən-é?-ŋ  
 28. the late xʷ. , killed-they. 29. and was like  
 29. λe?<sup>12</sup> cə xəč-ŋ-í-n e sxəlōqst. 30. yé?-sən-sə  
 29. this the mind of Sx. . 30. go-I-will

<sup>11</sup>The morpheme nəkʷəl signifies reciprocity of the action of the verb. This morpheme also appears in the next sentence (24) as nəwəl.

<sup>12</sup>The form λe? is a full pronominal form. There is an article λe which can indicate direction (to). This same type of full-reduced vocalic alternation is found in the definite article cə which can appear as ce? meaning 'this one' (See sentence 56.). We are not always certain whether the two forms cə and ce? are variants of a single form or whether two separate morphemes are involved.

30. *xʷiʔéłqən kʷ hóy-ən-sə<sup>13</sup> kʷ nə-s-kʷčóst.*  
 30. back when finished-I-will (with) my-training.
31. *kʷ nil čə s-u-kʷčós-t-s cə sxəlóqst.* 32. *soʔkʷ-ŋ.*<sup>14</sup>  
 31. then trained Sx. . 32. (he)bathed.
33. *məkʷ skʷáyəl kʷ (s-)soʔkʷ-ŋ-s.* 34. *ye? čóləqʷ*  
 33. (it was) every day that bathed (he) . 34. (he) went
34. *ye? e cə swíʔilč kʷ s-nəq-ŋ-s.* 35. *məkʷ-əxín*  
 34. back to the lake where dived-he . 35. every where
35. *s-xʷ-leʔ-s kʷ s-soʔkʷ-ŋ-s λlen e kʷ čey?tən-s*  
 35. (was the place that bathed-he looking for the weapon-his
35. *kʷ ?ənē?-s?ənē? , xʷtčost.* 36. *nil*  
 35. when comes-he back, (there will be) revenge. 36.
36. *čə s-u-nəq-ŋ-s le? xəm-xəm-ílc , ?i? ?ənē? λel*  
 36. dived-he there (at) Blakely Island, and came also
36. *e cə met'él̓s . 37. nəq-ŋ le? met'él̓s .*  
 36. to Point Lawrence. 37. (he) dove there (at) Point Lawrence.

<sup>13</sup>Lummi has reduced forms of the pronominal subject enclitics which appear in some types of subordinate constructions. The first person single -sən will be -ən as in this example.

<sup>14</sup>The Lummi were known to bathe in the bitterly cold waters around the San Juan Islands. Bathing was part of a ritual purification.

38. məkʷ swí?iɬč ?u? nəq-ŋ-s ye? soʔkʷ-ŋ-s ye?.  
 38. every lake dived-he went bathing.
39. s-u-yé?-s čə ?i? ye? ?i? ?u? təs ye? e sčónəs<sup>15</sup>  
 39. then went (he) and arrived at Deception Pass
39. ?i? le? kʷ s-nəq-ŋ-s. 40. ?ənē? λel t'okʷ  
 39. and there dived-he . 40. (he) came also home (and)
40. s-u-šíl-ŋ-s e cə swéləx . 41. ?i? le? kʷ  
 40. climbed (he) up on Mt. Constitution. 41. and there
41. s-nəq-ŋ-s . 42. nil s-u-?ənē? λel. 43. hoy-s kʷ  
 41. dived (he). 42. then (he) came ashore . 43. finished
43. s-nəq-ŋ-s , λel , ?i? qeqʷ-ŋ. 44. his  
 43. (he) diving-his, came ashore, and rested. 44. a long
44. čə kʷ s-qeqʷ-ŋ-s ?i? ?ətót-ŋ . 45. nil  
 44. time that rested (he) and (he) felt sleepy. 45. then
45. s-u-?it-t<sup>16</sup>. 46. ?it-t ?i? qəl-qəl-óṣən e  
 45. (he) fell asleep. 46. (he) slept and dreamed about
46. cə čéy?tən-s . 47. xʷən-é?-ŋ-sə λel kʷ ?ən-čéy?tən.  
 46. weapon-his. 47. like this-will (be) also your weapon.

<sup>15</sup>The word sčónəs means 'whirlpool'.

<sup>16</sup>These two final t's are both pronounced with aspiration. There is no intervening vowel.

48. čeč-t-sx<sup>w</sup> ! 49. nił-sə č?awə-sx<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup> kʷiwanτəlex<sup>w</sup>.<sup>17</sup>  
 48. make it-you! 49. it-will use-you when fighting .
50. stóməš-sə-sx<sup>w</sup> . 51. nək<sup>w</sup><sup>18</sup> cə stóməš ti?ə  
 50. warrior-will (be)-you. 51. you the warrior this
51. ?ən-s-x<sup>w</sup>-?éļə? . 52. nił čə s-u-xən-ŋ-i-kʷən-s cə  
 51. your-place here. 52. then thought
52. sxəlōqst ?əy? k<sup>w</sup> nə-s-ye? x<sup>w</sup>tčost ye? kʷsə  
 52. Sx. good I go to take revenge (on) those
52. siwāy?qə?. 53. nił čə s-u-?ənē?-s. 54. ?əs-net  
 52. men . 53. then came (he) . 54. it was night
54. k<sup>w</sup> s-?ənē?-s téčəl ?ənē? ə mó?mli. 55. nił  
 54. when (he) arrived at M. . 55. then
55. s-u-nəw?-í?-l-ŋ-s<sup>19</sup> ə cə ?éļəŋ ?i? čokʷ-t-s cə  
 55. went inside-he the house and used-he
55. cə čey?tən-s . 56. hoy ce? ?i? ye? təs ə cə  
 55. weapon-his. 56. finished he and arrived at the

<sup>17</sup>This form appears in the text, although Mr. Charles used kʷiwanτəlex<sup>w</sup> when we were double checking the text.

<sup>18</sup>The form nək<sup>w</sup> is the emphatic form for 'you'.

<sup>19</sup>This form is related to nəwəl which means 'to be inside'. The unstressed əw sequence becomes [u] in /nəw?-í?-l-ŋ/ = [nu(w)e?lɪŋ].

56. nəč̓ew?x<sup>w</sup><sup>20</sup> ?i? λel ?u? xən-ē-t-s.<sup>21</sup> 57. hoy ce?  
 56. next house and too did it-he. 57. finished he  
 57. ?i? ye? təs e cə nəč̓ew?x<sup>w</sup>. 58. ?i? ?ex-ŋ ē  
 57. and arrived at the next house. 58. and was doing this  
 58. ?i? tx<sup>w</sup>ey čə cə ?u? hoy ?u?.<sup>22</sup> 59. le? cə sewñən  
 58. until the last one. 59. there (at) the end  
 59. ?eləŋ ?əne? səq cə ?əs?élex<sup>w</sup> ?i? xən-ē-t-ŋ, ləsčən-ŋ-sx<sup>w</sup>,  
 59. house came out an old man and was told , help me,  
 59. ?əw s-u-č?əwəs cə ?ən-čəy?tən. 60. ho?-sə-sx<sup>w</sup>  
 59. don't use your-weapon. 60. if-will-you  
 60. s-x<sup>w</sup>-?əw-s, ?i? niɬ-sə<sup>23</sup> ?ən-təŋəx<sup>w</sup>, ti?ə  
 60. not , then this-will (be) your land, this

<sup>20</sup>The form nəč̓ew?x<sup>w</sup> is a compound consisting of nəč̓e 'one', or 'other' and the lexical affix -ew?x<sup>w</sup> 'house, building'. For a discussion of the lexical affix system in Salish, see Kuipers (p. 120).

<sup>21</sup>The form xən-ē-t-s could also mean 'he said it'. Context decides whether 'say' or 'do' is meant.

<sup>22</sup>Mr. Charles says the sequence ?u? hoy ?u? means 'the last one'.

<sup>23</sup>It is perfectly fine in Lummi to attach the future suffix -sə to the referential pronoun at the beginning of this sentence.

60. ?ən-skʷe?-sə ti?ə təŋəxʷ, ?ən-skʷe?-sə  
60. your possession will (be) this land , your possession-

60. ti?ə stólew?. 61. məkʷ-sə-sten ?u?  
60. will (be) this river . 61. every-will thing

61. ?ən-skʷe? . 62. s-u-xən-η-s čə cə sxəlōqst,  
61. (be your possession. 62. then said Sx. ,

62. ?o? ?ey?, xʷən-é?-η-sə . 63. yē?-sən-sə  
62. good, like this (it)-will (be). 63. go-I-will

63. t'okʷ ?i? yəs-ós-t-sən kʷ nə-?əs?əléləxʷ kʷ ?ən-sč?oŋəs  
63. home and tell-I my parents that you gave

63. e ti?ə ?ən-təŋəxʷ ?i? cə ?ən-stólew?.

63. (me) this your land and your river .

64. s-u-čəŋ-s cə sxəlōqst, ?i? yəs-ós-t cə  
64. then went home-he Sx. , and told

64. s?əléləxʷ-s, kʷ s-kʷe?-s ti?ə sqəléxən,  
64. parents-his, that possession-his S. ,

64. skʷe?-s cə stólew?, sqəléxən stólew?. 65. ?i?  
64. possession-his the river , S. river . 65. and

65. nil čə s-u-čəl cə s?əléləxʷ, ?i? xən-é-t-η  
65. then believed (him) the parents , and (they) told

65. cə s̥əlōqst, ?əy? wo?č kʷ s-ye?-ɬ len-i-t kʷ  
 65. Sx. , good we guess if went-we look at
65. s-?ən-téñəxʷ kʷ ?ən-stóləw?. 66. ?ənē?-la-s čə  
 65. your-land your-river . 66. came-they
66. ɬel ?ənē? ?o?, si?ít čə ?u? s̥əlōqst.  
 66. ashore oh , it truly (was) Sx. .
67. ?u? si?ít ?u? skʷe?-s ti?ə téñəxʷ ?i?  
 67. it truly (was) possession-his this land and
67. cə stóləw?. 68. nil čə s-u-ye? s-xʷi?élqən  
 67. the river . 68. then went (they) back
68. ?i? ye? λə swéłəx . 69. nil čə s-u-ye?-s  
 68. and went to Orcas Island. 69. then went-they
69. λə swéłəč ?i? ?ən?e? ?ənē?-t-ŋ<sup>24</sup> cə ?éłələŋ  
 69. to Lopez Island and were brought the houses
69. le? swéłəč. 70. ?əne?-t-ŋ  
 69. there (at) Lopez. 70. (they) brought (them) to
70. t'émxʷi?qsən . 71. le? kʷ čə kʷ s-če-t-ŋs  
 70. Gooseberry Point. 71. there that built-they

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<sup>24</sup>The verb ?əne? 'come' has been transitivized with a t suffix to mean 'bring'.

71. cə ?elələŋ , le? t'êmxʷi?qsən čsə swéłəč  
 71. houses-their, there at Gooseberry Point from Lopez
71. . 72. ?i? xʷən-é?-ŋ čə λe? ?éłələŋ,  
 71. Island. 72. and it's like this (about) the houses,
72. čénəč e cə xʷ-le?-s cə ?éłələŋ. 73. ?i? niɬ  
 72. crowded at the place (of) the houses . 73. and it
73. nə?ét-ŋ-s xʷlółəməs, xʷlółəməs. 74. xʷən-é?-ŋ čə?  
 73. was named Xʷl. , Xʷl. . 74. it was like
74. λe? cə ?éłələŋ-s. 75. ?i? ho? čə səq cə  
 74. this their houses . 75. and if came out the
75. ?əxʷíłŋəxʷ, ?i? lēŋ-n-əs cə ?əxʷíłŋəxʷ le? cə  
 75. people , then saw-they the people there (at) the
75. nəčéwxʷ<sup>25</sup> . 76. niɬ xʷ-čə-lé? cə s-ne?  
 75. other house. 76. that's from where (came) the name
76. kʷ s-nəxʷ-lémi-s, cə xʷlółəməs. 77. ?əw s-xʷ-lémi...  
 76. Lummi , Xʷl. . 77. not xʷ-lumi
77. .....nəxʷlółəməs cə ?éłələŋ. 78. niɬ  
 77. (but) xʷlółəməs (were) the houses . 78. that's

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<sup>25</sup>Mr. Charles translates xʷlółəməs as 'they faced each other' or even 'to be at right angles'. Mr. Charles explains that the two houses were at right angles to each other, instead of being in a straight line or parallel, as traditional.

78. s-neʔ-s cə ?éłələn, xʷlōləməs. 79. ?i? nił  
 78. the name of the village, xʷlōləməs. 79. and that's
79. kʷ čə s-u-ʔənē-t-ŋ-s cə nəxʷ-lāmi. 80. ?əw s-xʷ-lāmi  
 79. the provenience of Lummi . 80. not Lummi
80. léqəməš cə s-neʔ-s, léqəməš, cə xʷ-čəleʔ-s  
 80. léqəməš (is) their name , léqəməš, from where
80. cə s-wet<sup>26</sup> ?ənē?, xʷtōləm ?i? cə s?ey?cən-s  
 80. the persons come , Xʷ. and younger brother-his,
80. cə léqəməš. 81. nił kʷ čə s-xʷ-čə-leʔ məkʷ cə  
 80. the léqəməš. 81. that's from where all the
81. ?əxʷílñəxʷ , cə léqəməš ?i? cə s'éməš, swinəməš ,  
 81. people (come), the léqəməš and the Samish, Swinomish,
81. stiləgʷóməš , snəhóməš , duwáməs , səqʷóməš .<sup>27</sup>  
 81. Stillaguamish, Snohomish, Duawamish, Suquamish.
82. nił xʷ-čə-leʔ-s ?u? ?əsólənət-s cə ?əxʷílñəxʷ.  
 82. that's from where stemmed the people .
83. məkʷ ?u? čə-leʔ a cə xʷəlxʷéłəqʷ<sup>28</sup>  
 83. everyone (is) from the people who lived through

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<sup>26</sup> Here the interrogative pronoun wet has been nominalized to mean 'person, or people'.

<sup>27</sup> These are well-known native American groups and place names in Washington State.

<sup>28</sup> The word xʷəlxʷéłəqʷ cannot be further analyzed. Mr. Charles consistently translates it as 'the people who lived through the flood'.

83. sqəlēxən. 84. xʷən-é?-ŋ a λe? ,  
 83. the flood at Sqəlexən. 84. (it was) like this,
84. qéŋə 84. 84. covered with water the earth and there (were)
84. sc̓ewəx cə ?əxʷilŋəxʷ. 85. qéŋə 84. the raft-people . 85. was covered with water
85. ti?ə sčtəŋəxʷən ?i? niɬ kʷ čə s-u-čey-s a cə sc̓ewəx,  
 85. this earth and then made-they a raft ,
85. s-xʷ-həl-í-s a cə həyí sq̓emə. 86. qéŋəs  
 85. saving-they from the big tide . 86. (the ground was)
86. ?i? niɬ čə s-u-xéč-ŋ-s λel cə  
 86. covered with water and dried again the
86. sčtəŋəxʷən, ?i? niɬ s-u-né?-t-ŋ-s kʷ s-sc̓ewəx  
 86. earth , and then called-they the raft (place)
86. ce? . 87. ?u? kʷəl his wo?č sxʷəyém ti?ə,  
 86. this. 87. already long time probably story this,
87. sxʷəyém, ?əw s-čə-qéyəs . 88. niɬ wo?č ?u?  
 87. story , not today (it is so). 88. it's probably
88. čəlénən le? sxəlóqst cə ne?-t-s<sup>29</sup> cə  
 88. the ancestors there (of) Sx. who named the

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<sup>29</sup> Relative clauses are usually introduced by kʷ, although cə is not uncommon.

88. swí?iļč ?i? cə skʷəlkʷsé?. 89. ?əw s-čə-qéyəs cə  
 88. lakes and the islands . 89. not today the
89. snénəs ti?ə skʷse? , cə swí?iļč, snəlént ,  
 89. names (of) these islands, the lakes , the mountains,
89. xʷ-le? sxəlóqst ?əɬ kʷčóstəs . 90. si?ít cə  
 89. where Sx. (was) when trained-he. 90. truly
90. ?u? høyém stóməš , cə sxəlóqst. 91. məkʷ-wet ?u?  
 90. powerful warrior, Sx. . 91. everybody
91. xčit cə sxəlóqst, cə s-ne?-s sxəlóqst. 92. stóməš  
 91. knows Sx. , the name Sx. . 92. (he was a)
92. . 93. məkʷ-wet ?u? xčit cə sxəlóqst, kʷ  
 92. warrior. 93. everybody knows Sx. , that
93. s-stóməš , høyém stóməš . 94. s-kʷəl  
 93. (he was a) warrior, powerful warrior. 94. when
94. xéč-η-s cə sčtēñəxʷən, s-u-ye?-s λpix-η cə ?əxʷilñəxʷ.  
 94. dried the earth , then went scattered the people .
95. ?u? ne?-t-sən, né?-t-lə-sən cə ye?-s təl-tés ye?  
 95. I name , named-I those who went
95. wəqʷiləŋ<sup>30</sup>, ni? cə téyəl ye?. 96. ho?-sxʷ len-nəxʷ  
 95. south , some went north. 96. if-you see

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<sup>30</sup>The expression wəqʷiləŋ, here meaning 'south', can also mean downstream. Likewise, téyəl can mean 'north' or 'upstream'.

96. cə ?ən-sčečə ?i? niɬ s-u-xéñ-ñ-s, čə-le? -sən  
 96. your-friend and then say-he , from there
96. sɬʷəlxʷéłəqʷ niɬ  
 96. (am)-I the people who lived through the flood that's
96. nə-xʷ-čə-le? . 97. o?, si?éñ lél-sən ?u? čsə  
 96. where I'm from. 97. oh, sir also-I from
97. sɬʷəlxʷéłəqʷ , xən-ñ cə  
 97. the people who lived through the flood, says
97. ?ən-sčečə , ?əɬ̣ len-n-əxʷ<sup>31</sup> . 98. ye?-sxʷ ?i?  
 97. your-friend, when see (him)-you. 98. go-you and
98. ye? təs e duwóməš , səqʷóməš , ?i? niɬ s-u-xéñ-ñ-s  
 98. arrive at Duwamish, Suquamish, then says-he
98. čsə xʷəlxʷéłəqʷ-sən  
 98. from the people who lived through the flood (am)-I.
99. čsə ?éɬə ti?ə ?əxʷílñəxʷ, léqəməš.  
 99. from here (are) these people , the léqəməš.
100. niɬ xʷ-čə-le? -s . 101. ?i? xʷən-é?ñ  
 100. that's from where they (are). 101. and (it's) like

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<sup>31</sup>The -əxʷ is a truncated form of the second person subject enclitic pronoun. (see footnote 14)

101. e λe? , cə sqʷó-qʷəl-s ti?ə lēqəməš xʷən-é?ŋ-sə

101. this, the talk (of) the lēqəməš (it's) like-well

101. e λe? , sə-síl-ŋ-s cə spóλəŋ-s ti?ə ?ən-sčtəŋəxʷən.

101. (be) this, stand up-will smoke-their (in) your land .

102. məkʷ-sə-wet ?u? ho? λlos , ?i? nił-sə

102. everybody will when (they) look, and it will (be)

102. cə lēqəməš len-t-i-s, si?ém , si?ém

102. the lēqəməš (that) see-they, high class, high class

102. ?əxʷílŋəxʷ. 103. ?i? ?əw-txʷ , ?əw-txʷ s-u-čéq

102. people . 103. and don't let, don't let fall

103. cə ?ənspóλəŋ<sup>32</sup>. 104. ?əw-txʷ s-u-čéq cə ?ən-spóλəŋ.

103. your smoke . 104. don't let fall your smoke.

<sup>32</sup>Mr. Charles explains that this expression is symbolic.

1. Out on Orcas Island there lived a young man who desired a young lady here at Sq̄eléxən. 2. When Xʷtółəm got married to the young lady everyone was happy that he was united to the girl from Sq̄eléxən. 3. But they were not happy very long and they started to quarrel. 4. They quarreled and were always quarreling. 5. Then Xʷtółəm was told by his wife, "I guess it would be good if you went home. 6. Go back. 7. Out there all you'll have to eat are those bony little animals." 8. And Xʷtółəm answered. 9. He told his wife, "It just might be good if I did go home, you can just stay here. 10. There are lots of steelhead, fat-legged steelhead here that you're going to eat. 11. You only eat steelhead." 12. So Xʷtółəm went home. 13. But he became lonesome. 14. Then he told his younger brother, "I am going to go see"--and he named his wife, but I don't know what her name was. 15. And his younger brother said, "I'll go along." 16. He boarded his canoe and went to see his wife. 17. It was just half tide. 18. They didn't go ashore but went aground on a sandbar. 19. Then Xʷtółəm said, "Don't you come ashore. 20. If there is killing when the men come out, don't come ashore, go back." 21. He hadn't reached his wife's house when she came out. 22. And then she sat down. 23. They sat and talked. 24. They talked a long time, and then came the men, the younger and older brothers of Xʷtółəm's wife. 25. They murdered Xʷtółəm.

26. He was killed. 27. Then Sxəlōqst went back. 28. He went home and told his parents, "They killed Xʷtóɬem; they killed him." 29. The thoughts of Sxəlōqst were like this: 30. "I will go back when I am finished with my training." 31. Then Sxəlōqst trained. 32. He bathed. 33. He bathed every day. 34. He went back to the lake, where he dived. 35. He dived everywhere, looking for his weapon, so that when he came back, he would have revenge. 36. So he dived at Blakely Island and then went to Point Lawrence. 37. He dived there at Point Lawrence. 38. He dived and went bathing in every lake. 39. Then he arrived at Deception Pass, and he dived there. 40. He came home again, and he climbed up on Mt. Constitution. 41. And there he dived. 42. Then he came ashore. 43. When he finished his diving, he came ashore and rested. 44. He rested a long time, and he began to feel sleepy. 45. Then he fell asleep. 46. He slept and dreamed about his weapon. 47. "Your weapon is going to be like this. 48. Make it! 49. You will use it when fighting. 50. You will be a warrior. 51. The warrior of this place will be you." 52. Then Sxəlōqst thought, "It's good that I go to take revenge on those men." 53. So he went back. 54. It was night when he arrived at Mómli. 55. He went inside the house, and he used his weapon. 56. He finished, and he reached the next house, and he did the same thing. 57. He finished, and he reached the next house. 58. He was doing

this until the last one. 59. There, at the house at the end, an old man came out and said to him, "Spare me! Don't use your weapon! 60. If you don't, then this will be your land. Yours will be this land. Yours will be this river.

61. Everything will be yours." 62. Then Sxəlōqst said, "Good, it will be like this. 63. I will go home and tell my parents that you have given me your land and your river."

64. Then Sxəlōqst went home and told his parents that Sqələxən was his, and the river was his, the Sqələxən river.

65. His parents believed him, and they told Sxəlōqst, "We guess it would be good if we went and looked at your land and your river." 66. They came ashore, and oh, it truly was Sxəlōqst's. 67. It truly was his land and the river.

68. They went back to Orcas Island. 69. They went to Lopez Island and brought over the houses from Lopez Island.

70. They brought them to Gooseberry Point. 71. They set up their houses from Lopez Island at Gooseberry Point.

72. It's like this about the houses: they were crowded where they were. 73. It was name Xʷlóləməs. 74. The houses were like this: 75. If people came out, then they saw the people at the other house. 76. That's where the name Lummi comes from, from Xʷlóləməs. 77. The houses weren't 'Lummi' but Xʷlóləməs. 78. That's the name of the village, Xʷlóləməs. 79. That's where the name 'Lummi' comes from. 80. It's not Lummi but ɬéqəməš is the name,

Léqəməš, from where these persons come, Xʷtōləm and his younger brother. 81. Léqəməš is where all the people come from, the Samish, Swinomish, Stillaguamish, Snohomish, Duwamish, Suquamish. 82. That's the origin of the people. 83. Everybody is from the people who lived through the flood at Sqələxən. 84. It was like this: the earth was covered with water and there were the raft-people. 85. The earth was covered with water and they made a raft which saved them from the big tide. 86. The ground was covered with water, but then the earth dried again, so they called this the raft place. 87. This is a very old story, it is not of today. 88. It is probably the ancestors of Sxəlóqst who named the lakes and the islands. 89. The names of these islands, the lakes, the mountains where Sxəlóqst trained are not of today. 90. Truly Sxəlóqst was a powerful warrior. 91. Everybody knows the name of Sxəlóqst. 92. He was a warrior. 93. Everybody knows that Sxəlóqst was a warrior, a powerful warrior. 94. When the earth dried, then the people scattered. 95. I have named those who went south; some went north. 96. If you see your friend he will say, "I am from the people who lived through the flood, that's where I'm from. 97. "Oh, sir, I, too, am from the people who lived through the flood," says your friend, when you see him. 98. When you go to the Duwamish or Suquamish people, they will say, "I am from the people who lived through the

flood." 99. These people, the Léqəməš are from here.  
100. That's where they came from. 101. And the talk  
of the Léqəməš goes like this: "Their smoke will stand  
up in your land. 102. Everybody will look; and it will  
be the Léqəməš that they see, the high-class people.  
103. Don't let your smoke fall. 104. Don't let your  
smoke fall."