Míshkin isapátwata sínwit, How Will One Mix Words:

A Topic Discourse Analysis of Ichishkíin Language in Virginia Beavert's

Ttnúwit Átawish Nch'inch'imamí

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A Thesis

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FACULTY APPROVAL

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the placement of 3rd person subject and object referents in the Ichishkíin text in Dr. Virginia Beavert's 2017 book, *Ttnúwit Átawish Nch'inch'imamí: The Gift of Knowledge.* It explores already published material about Yakima Ichishkíin word order, as well as grammatical considerations that would affect ergative and accusative noun phrase (NP) placement. This study conducted considerable direct translation, resulting in 805 clauses to be analyzed using Givón's (1983) topic discourse methodology to identify referents' referential distance and topic persistence. The subject referents are most commonly found in pre-verbal NPs, while objects are found as NPs post-verbally. Subjects are also most commonly found to persist solely through verbal morphology, while objects are still commonly included through post-verbal NPs.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Míshkin isapátwata sínwit, How Will One Mix Words:

A Topic Discourse Analysis of Ichishkíin Language in Virginia Beavert's

Ttnúwit Átawish Nch'inch'imamí

Introduction

One particular barrier to the learning of Yakima Ichishkíin for many heritage language

learners is the grammar of the language. The language (referred to as simply Ichishkíin starting

here) does not follow many of the morphology and syntax patterns of many Indo-European

languages, which can create some philosophical and conceptual difficulties for the learner when

coming to the heritage language with English as a first/primary language. There is more fluidity

and creativity built into the structures of Ichishkíin, as it is labelled a free word order language.

The complexities hidden in discourse and text from fluent Ichishkíin first-language speakers can

be hard to tease out when analyzing text.

Linguistic Context of Ichishkíin

Yakima Ichishkíin belongs within language families alongside other Pacific Northwest

indigenous languages. While most linguists know the language as "Sahaptin," I will be referring

to the language by its name in the language itself, "Ichishkíin." The more immediate Sahaptin

family today includes both Warm Springs and Umatilla dialects, making them mutually

intelligible with different orthography systems. These are languages that all reside around

Nch'íwana (the Columbia River) between Oregon and Washington. Under the slightly larger

Sahaptian umbrella, Nez Perce falls in as a more distant, but still related, cousin of sorts. The

overall Plateau Penutian language family includes both NW neighbors Klamath and Molalla.

Languages that are neighboring to the Ichishkíin areas but have no proven relations at this time

include Salish, Chinook Wawa, and Cayuse (Jansen, 2010).

The Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Nation includes 14 tribes and bands, each historically with their own dialect. After the signing of the Treaty of 1855, these tribes and bands were condensed onto the single Yakama reservation in south-central Washington. As time went on, these languages were used less frequently in daily life in large part due to the stigma attached to them by the horrific treatment of Indian youth during the Indian Boarding School era, both on the Yakama Reservation and in the Pacific Northwest. Currently, one of the more prominent Yakama elders, Tux̱ámshish (Dr. Virginia Beavert), identifies the dialect that she speaks, teaches, and has written as the "Yakima" dialect, while other elders may identify it as another, more specific dialect. Her particular use and form of the language informs this study in both my understanding of the language as well as the primary source material for this analysis. In this study, "Yakima" will refer to the specific dialect of Ichishkíin that Tux̱ámshish speaks, while "Yakama" will refer to the Yakama Nation. This decision follows Jansen (2010) and others, as the origins within the Ichishkíin dialects and language do not point to a single clear precursor for the "Yakama" name (Beavert & Hargus, 2009). Tribal community and enrolled members generally use both interchangeably.

The Current Study

In 2012, Tux̱ámshish completed her Ph.D. in Linguistics at the University of Oregon with her dissertation, "Wántwint Inmí Tíinawit: A Reflection of What I Have Learned". This dissertation included significant sections that were written in both Yakima Ichishkíin and English, making it a bilingual work. In 2017, the dissertation was published as a book, *Ttnúwit Átawish Nch'inch'imamí, The Gift of Knowledge: Reflections on Sahaptin Ways*. This has become one of the first and best possible resources for learning more about the language and one of the many cultures within the history of the Yakama Nation. Access to fluent Ichishkíin elders

is becoming more and more difficult each day, so having a printed resource that allows readers to still engage with a pure form of the language is an incredible forward step for language reclamation efforts.

The intent of this study is to look at the ordering of words in her book to try to analyze for patterns in her discourse. The review of literature in the next chapter will show that significant analysis has occurred on the phonetics and the morphology of Yakima Ichishkíin, but, due to a lack of fluent resources, a syntactic and discourse analysis has not been conducted yet. I hope to be able to identify general patterns about placements of subjects, objects, verbs, and/or other clause-important pieces through several measures described in the methodology chapter. A better understanding of the internal syntax mechanics can help sapsikw'aɫáma (teachers), many of whom are still language learners themselves, figure out how to teach our current and next generations our language in our efforts to reclaim this language in our lives.

This study also helps me better understand the language. I myself am a descendent of the Yakama Nation, and started learning to speak, read, and write the language in January 2018. With my growing knowledge base in linguistics, I have wanted to help provide resources to others to better understand our language and how we can and should be working with it. The direct translation that I completed for this project continues to help me spend more time working with and learning the language. Many of my intuitions and decisions about translation come directly from what I have learned from my own Ichishkíin classes at Heritage University and the Northwest Indian Languages Institute's Summer Institute at the University of Oregon. There are also teachings that I have learned from other learners and various speakers who I have been able to connect with around this work. I approach this work as a member of the burgeoning language community.

This study focuses primarily on written discourse compared to oral discourse, which does currently limit the application of the findings. While this language has been primarily spoken historically, the modern context has brought into a written form with its own practical alphabet. Many of the letters resemble English characters, but some are modified or combined with additional characters, such as our "back x" (x̲), "barred l" (ł), and "soft t-s" (ts). Focusing on written discourse allows for study to be repeated and made more static but does remove the spontaneity that fluent speakers utilize when in spoken discourse. The possibility of easily editing written language can provide for a clearer picture of how the language can be formed, but may lose more in-the-moment patterns that fluent speakers intuitively know to use. Further study of spoken discourse would be needed to more fully understand the true patterns in the syntax of the language.

Review of Literature

Introduction

To best support this study, there are two main trails of thought that benefit from supporting research: intensive Ichishkíin grammar documentation, to support translation efforts and better understand the relationships among the different syntactic components of clauses; and modes of word-order analysis, including both the theoretical underpinnings of different styles of analysis (topic discourse versus intonation groupings) and sample case study applications of those modes of analysis, with accompanying grammar documents to better understand the findings in other languages.

Ichishkíin Grammar & Clause Construction

Linguists have studied the Ichishkíin/Sahaptin language family to analyze its complex morphology and structure for many years. Most of the previous study has focused on the internal

construction of meaning, specifically with verbal and nominal morphology. Summaries of basic

tense and aspect conjugation can be found in Appendices A and B. The syntax rules of the

Yakama dialect have been phrased as serving "pragmatic-discourse function[s]" (Rigsby &

Rude, 1996, p. 673) or being "subject to pattern preferences" (Jacobs, 1931, p. 269), being a

"free-word-order language" (Rigsby & Rude, 1996, p. 673) that does not rely on order to

determine the subject, object, and verb. There are specific grammar pieces that need to be in

specific places, such as the various person markers and specific types of grammar construction

markers (e.g. interrogative and negation markers), examples of which can be found in Appendix

D. In my own language study of Yakama Ichishkíin, I was taught to put the most

important/relevant element of the sentence first or as close to the front as possible. This makes

the construction of sentences highly contextual to the discourse around it.

A basic clause in Ichishkíin can take on a drastically different form than a clause in

English. All of the necessary information, including the pronouns, verb stem, and tense/aspect

markers can be included in and on a single word through morphological means. Some

pronominal morphemes are prefixes that are directly attached to the verb, but some are enclitics

that attach to the end of the first word in the sentence, sometimes in a shortened form. These

enclitics mark all speech act participants (SAPs) in all intransitive and some transitive clauses,

including: 1st person singular (*nash*) and plural (hearer-inclusive *na* and hearer-exclusive

natash), and 2nd person singular (*nam*) and plural (*pam*). This specific placement is one of the

only specific placement rules that exist in Ichishkíin, as everything else can be moved around

almost as needed to suit the speaker's intended meaning and conveyance. These rules can make

the assignment of labels indicating the order of specific parts of speech (e.g. SVO, VSO, OSV,

etc.) difficult, as these SAP enclitics always need to be in a specific place in the sentence, if

present. However, the rules may be more flexible with spoken speech, however, as suggested by Hargus and Beavert (2018). 3rd person marking will always exist on the verb as a prefix, but may also be accompanied by a noun phrase (NP), with the appropriate noun case suffix if needed for context. Singular 3rd person subjects are marked with the *i-* and plural with the *pa-* prefix morphemes on the front of the verb stem unit. More basic sentence conjugation and formation information can be found in the appendices.

There are several different kinds of clause construction models, each based around the nature of the verb, be it transitive or intransitive. Transitive verbs require both a subject and object in order to tell the full story. The verb *ḵ'ínu-* (see) is a prime example of this model: two parties, both a "seeing" person and a "seen" person, are needed to understand the action being depicted.

2.1   ḵ'ínushamash
        ḵ'ínu-sha   =mash
        see-IMPV   =1SG>2SG
        "I see you"

Sentence 2.1 includes both the 1st person singular subject and 2nd person singular object in the enclitic mash, which attaches to the end of the verb after the aspect marker *-sha*. Some transitive constructions will have both the subject and object in the same modified enclitic or affix, but many cases require two different pieces in order to represent the parties at play in the clause. With 3rd person referents, both subjects and objects, there are affixes placed onto the verbs to show transitive relations in addition to specific noun suffixes that should be placed onto optional NP-formed referents. These include, but are not limited to, the *-nɨm* (3rd person subject acting towards a SAP object) and *-nan* (singular 3rd person object). These NP cases have no grammatically designated position within the clause. More information about the different

transitive constructions can be found in Appendix C. There are additional complications as one moves into cases of ditransitivity with three topic referents with additional combinations of marking to indicate their relationships (Jansen, 2012).

Transitive markers also help provide the relevant information in many cases of external possession and genitive clauses. While Yakima Ichishkíin does have independent personal pronouns, they do not occur as frequently as English speakers would use pronouns like "his," "yours," and "my." These acts of possession seem to be more often arranged morphologically, usually a corresponding marker derived from the transitivity set to indicate the identity of the possessor of the object.

> 2.2 Áwayx̱tiya pshɨt
> Á-wayx̱ti-ya   pshɨt
> 3O-ran-PST   father
> "Her father ran"

Sentence 2.2 uses the *á-* prefix to morphologically code the possessive "her" onto the father expressed in the sentence, rather than use the corresponding independent personal possessive pronoun. There may also be cases where the possessive constructions are placed onto the copular *wa*, to more clearly express the possession, as demonstrated in sentence 2.3.

> 2.3 Íkwnak áwacha ɨshchɨt wiyanintpamá
> Íkwnak á-wacha   ɨshchɨt wiyanin-t-pamá
> that.LOC   3O-COP.PST   path   walk-NZL-thing.for
> "There was their walking path"

> 2.4 Pchánannash áḵ'inunaniya
> Pchá-nan   =nash   á-ḵ'inu-nani-ya
> mother.OBJ   =1SG   3O-see-APPL-PST
> "I saw her mother"

Sentence 2.4 inserts the *-ani* suffix to indicate that external possession in relation to the transitive

markers present in the sentence, towards the third person object á- prefix marker. More examples

of different possessors can be found in the appendices with greater delineation of the specific

morphology.

       Only a subject is needed for an intransitive verb; *wáasha-* (dance traditionally) requires

only the dancing party, and no other pronominal information to be a complete sentence.

> 2.5   wáashataam
>
>   wáasha-ta   =(n)am
>
>   dance-FUT   =2SG
>
>   "You will dance"

Sentence 2.5 contains all of the basic intransitive information, with the tense added onto the verb

before the inclusion of the enclitic in a reduced form due to the phonological combining of

similar "short a" sounds. (Examples of these shortened versions of these enclitics can be found in

Appendix A.) When a clause focuses on a 3rd person referent, only the marking prefix is required

within the sentence; the NP may be included either pre- or post-verbally, but there is no specific

suffix marker to indicate that it is the subject of the transitive clause. The copular *wa* behaves

similarly to intransitive verbs, in that it requires only a subject and whatever the copular is

bridging towards. There are some verbs that are optionally transitive, where they might take on a

slightly different meaning if they have transitive markers attached or around them in the clause.

These are determined on a case by case basis. Beavert and Jansen (2011) also explore a complex

structure of bipartite verbs that provide different combinations of stems and morphemes that can

change the behavior of these stems when it comes to their transitive and intransitive status.

       Two specific sentence construction cases jump out when considering basic word

ordering, especially for language learners like myself: questions and cases involving negation

and negatives. When asking a question, it is important to start with the question marker word, so the listener knows what type of answer that the asker is looking for. These question words may take the form of *mish* ("how", yes/no marker), *minán* ("where at"), *miník* ("where from"), *shin* ("who"-subject), and many more. Some of these are combined with various forms of the different noun case markers to indicate specific version of the intended question: "where at" versus "where from". Versions like this exist for "who", "what", "where", and some versions of the "how" questions. These forms can be used in other parts of the clause to indicate a more nominalized version of the question word, so the placement of the word can be important to the meaning of the sentence/clause. The other basic construction with more specific word placement is the case of negation, with the inclusion of chaw, usually at the beginning of the sentence, as seen in Sentence 2.6.

> 2.6 Cháwnash ákuna íkuuk
> Cháw =nash á-ku-na íkuuk
> NEG =1SG 3O-do-PST today
> "I did not do it today"

This negation is usually important enough to clarify at the beginning. There are cases where the negative marker is not in 1st position in the sentence, e.g. such as in Sentence 2.7.

> 2.7 Awkúnam chaw pnúta
> Awkú =nam chaw pnú-ta
> then =2Sg NEG sleep-FUT
> "Then you will not sleep"

Here, the negative *chaw* is displaced by a specific conjunction or sentence starter like *awkú* (then). These connectors can have a drastic impact on the order of words in subordinate and further connected clauses.

Topic Discourse Analysis

The foundation for this study's linguistic method comes from Givón (1983), which focuses primarily on several qualities of the topics covered. These topics may include subjects and objects, if the latter are included in the particular clause or discourse. Topics can be referred to as "definite," meaning that the listener can easily identify the referent from recent or common memory, or "indefinite," meaning that the referent is often new to the discourse and/or needing specific notation to help the listener store it properly for future reference. The accessibility of a topic is described via several different measures. The primary is the referential distance of a topic, measuring the number of clauses to the left direction (typically in a standard, left-to-right word order language) towards the last full grammatical-coded instance of the particular topic. A higher clause-count in this measure would suggest a particular referent topic is more continuous within the discourse. Another helpful quality is a topic's level of persistence, which measures how many clauses a referent continues (to the right) as an uninterrupted presence in the discourse as a semantic argument. A higher number of clauses here marks a more continuous referent. These two measures are easiest to identify, and can help begin to identify patterns and the most important topics in the reference discourse. There is another measure for many indefinite referents, a topic's potential interference, as they only exist for a few clauses to fit the flow and nature of the narrative or discourse that it exists within. This requires that the interfering referent be grammatically coded in a similar or exact manner to the original referent. This measure requires a more thorough examination of the discourse and how the different referents are playing together around other continuous topics.

Givón (1983) also starts to define how definiteness and continuity can influence relative placement of referents within the clause. More continuous topics are generally more likely to be

found in noun phrases located to the right of the verb, while more discontinuous topics are more often found in to the left of the verb. There can also be significance found in whether the reference is a full noun-phrase or if it manifests through bound or independent pronouns in the clause. Givón (1983) finally identifies the order of importance of reference: when considering both a topic and a comment about that topic, they recommend "attending to the most urgent task first" (p. 20). This particular methodology permits the examination of the functions of different syntactic entities within a discourse or section, and the viewing of multiple possible correlations between them.

Another style of linguistic word order analysis is demonstrated by Hale (1992) through the study of different word government factors, including clausal focus and tonal intonation groupings. The study focuses on Papago and Warlpiri, each utilizing a different mode of analysis. The examination of Papago looks at the groupings of similar tonal intonation by seeing what the particular noun phrases were paired with tonally within the phrase. They found there are a variety of extraction and grouping rules based on which portion of the clause "controls" the target noun phrase, either in- or out-of-focus. Hale's (1992) study of Warlpiri looks in a direction more similar to the topic discourse method described above and that will be used in this current study, by comparing nominal constructions with the pronominal verbal morphology. The author found that, for both languages, subjects are placed in a maximally prominent position within the clause to provide greatest command over the stated objects, no matter how definite and continuous that object may be.

Analogous Word Order Analyses & Grammar Study

Several studies using Givón's (1983) method have already been conducted on Penutian languages, providing analogous samples to better understand the procedure and to glimpse

possible results to better prepare this study. Rude (1992) looked at the pragmatic context of the narratives within Archie Phinney's (1934) Nez Percé Texts and makes comments about the general behaviors of referents in the discourse based on the referent's degree of definiteness within the narrative. Sundberg Meyer (1992) looks at several Klamath traditional myths and other ethnographic texts to look at their respective noun phrases with respect to placement relative to the verb of the clause. In both of these studies, the authors found correlations suggesting that more discontinuous and/or indefinite referents are more likely to be placed pre-verbally, while more continuous referents are placed post-verbally more often. While neither study claimed to predict literal order of the words within an individual clause, these observations help pave the way for a greater understanding of how this language family aims to converse and discuss topics in the discourse space. Both of these studies noted that their observations were focused primarily on narrative forms rather than conversational discourse, which would be a probable topic of future study with its own patterns and norms in these languages.

There has been significant research already on the foundation of syntactic constructions in Nez Perce. Verbs can alternatively be transitive or intransitive depending on the presence of some major morphological changes to the subject and object of the clause (Deal, 2008). A verb's antipassive status determines the identity of these verbs. It also changes the affix markers attached to the verb stem, mostly switching between the subject, object, or combined markers when interacting with or between 3rd person referents (Deal, 2015). There are some complications with the ergative case in Nez Perce that create more flexibility with the ordering and meaning created within the sentence (Deal, 2010). These studies provide some context to the Nez Perce findings referenced above in Rude (1992), and also provide many ideas about possible future topics of inquiry into Yakima Ichishkíin syntactics.

Summary & Hypothesis

Yakima Ichishkíin has a somewhat flexible system to signify person-marking as it creates clauses with its free-word-order structure. There are few rules about specific words or types of words that need to be placed into specific positions within the clausal structure. 3rd person referents require verbal affix morphology to indicate presence, but can also accommodate inclusion by noun phrase with the appropriate case markings to indicate subject or object status. Transitive clauses use slightly different or modified markings from intransitive clauses to represent these relationships.

Topic discourse analysis allows for the greatest consideration of longitudinal consideration of relevance and relative importance of referents throughout a section of discourse. Referential distance and topic persistence are the two primary measures that can helpfully identify a referent's qualities of relevance and sense of continuity within the discourse. There are other modes of analysis for free-word-order languages, depending on the different phonetic, morphologic, and syntactic qualities of the language.

Based on this research on relevant grammar and case examples of analogous language study, this study hypothesizes that more discontinuous and/or indefinite topics will be placed to the left of the verb as a noun phrase, while more continuous and/or definite topics will be placed as a noun phrase to the right of the verb, or else be included via required verbal agreement morphology with no noun phrase present.

<div align="center">Methodology</div>

Introduction

This thesis project serves as an exercise in Ichishkíin-to-English translation in addition to the study of topic discourse in this particular written memoir/nonfiction text. Extensive time was

spent translating more directly the Ichishkíin text in Tux̱ámshish's book as well as glossing that

translation using linguistic abbreviations found in Jansen (2010) among other texts cited in this

study. After this process, subjects and objects were more easily identified, allowing a smoother

counting and analysis of their positioning in the discourse relative to other instances of the

referents.

Materials & Resources

This study examines the structures of clauses and sentences found within Tux̱ámshish's

(Virginia Beavert's) book, *Ttnúwit Átawish Nch'inch'imamí: The Gift of Knowledge*. Many

portions are presented in Ichishkíin with a stylized translation in Shyaputímpt (English). The

basis of this study will be the Ichishkíin language in the first three chapters of the book. Many

resources were consulted to assist in the translation efforts: the Beavert and Hargus (2009)

dictionary volume provided invaluable vocabulary support; Rigsby and Rude (1996) and Jansen

(2010) helped clarify higher functions of language and specific, more advanced-usage

morphemes and their corresponding coding; and Rude (1997) and Rude (2009) provided

additional information on noun case suffix usage and transitive respectively.

Direct Translation

The order of words was preserved during the translation. Throughout the translation,

individual clauses were identified by dividing sentences into parts at specific connective

conjunctions, or at some more-English presenting punctuation (commas, etc.). The solidifying

criteria for each clause was to have one conjugated verb with appropriate pronominal affixes or

enclitics present in the clause. During the direct translation, morphemes were also identified

within each word, to aid in the oncoming linguistic glossing efforts. Once the selected chapters

of the book were fully translated, everything was typed up and arranged into the four layers: full

Ichishkíin text; individual Ichishkíin words with component morphemes identified; linguistic gloss and definitions; and appropriate stylized English translation provided.

Discourse Analysis

After the clauses have been translated and arranged as described, the content will be examined within the frame of reference and topic discourse. Within the larger structure of each thematic section, major 3rd person referents will be identified and highlighted. This methodology is derived from Givón (1983). Analysis to identify each referent's continuity as a major topic will be conducted, by measuring the distance in the number of clauses where it is referenced and counting whether it was included by pre- or post-verbal case-marked noun phrase or by pronominal affix/enclitic corresponding to the verb of the sentence. This measure will help determine a topic's persistence in the discourse. If the referent is mentioned already in the section of discourse and/or considered definite, then the number of clauses since its last mention and the placement of its re-introduction instance relative to the verb.

<div align="center">

Results

</div>

After the translation and glossing efforts, there are approximately 805 separate clauses that have been used to look at subject and object referents in *Ttnúwit Átawish Nch'inch'imamí*. These translations have been included in the appendices for reference, along with a key for understanding the gloss abbreviations and terminology.

Referential Distance (RD)

Of the 465 referents identified as stand-alone or at the beginning of a topic chain, the majority (84.5%) occurred as an identifiable noun phrase (NP) placed before or after the verb of the clause. Table 1 shows a summary of the RD measurements for the total set of all definite and indefinite referents in the analyzed chapters. For Intransitive and Transitive clauses, their

subjects more commonly were placed as NPs before the verb (56.11% and 66.26% respectively).

Transitive objects, however, were more commonly found placed as a NP after the verb (67.68%).

These referent chains were least commonly introduced via verbal agreement morphology.

		Noun Phrase Placement						
		Pre-Verb		Post-Verb		Agreement		
		N	%	N	%	N	%	Total
Intransitive	Subject	124	56.11%	62	28.05%	35	15.84%	221
Transitive	Subject	53	66.25%	11	13.75%	16	20.00%	80
	Object	32	19.51%	111	67.68%	21	12.80%	164
Total		209	44.95%	184	39.57%	72	15.48%	465

Indefinite referents.

Examining first-time referent introductions yields a similarly proportioned picture to the "all referents" category. Table 2 shows a summary of the verb-relative placements. Indefinite referents appeared primarily as NPs placed before or after the verb (45.56% and 42.50% respectively), with less than 12% of these referents appearing via verbal morphology agreement. Subject referents were placed before the verb most commonly for both intransitive (54.80%) and transitive (70.91%) clauses. Transitive object referents were primarily placed after the verb (69.53%), compared to their 21.88% existence before the verb and their 8.59% occurrence as simple morphology agreement.

Table 2

RD counts and % for all indefinite (first-time) referents, grouped by type and placement relative to the clause's verb.'

		Noun Phrase Placement						
		Pre-Verb		Post-Verb		Agreement		
		N	%	N	%	N	%	Total
Intransitive	Subject	97	54.80%	55	31.07%	25	14.12%	177
Transitive	Subject	39	70.91%	9	16.36%	7	12.73%	55
	Object	28	21.88%	89	69.53%	11	8.59%	128
Total		164	45.56%	153	42.50%	43	11.94%	360

Definite referents.

References that have already been introduced in its respective section of discourse follow a similar overall placement pattern to the total set of references in addition to the indefinite set. Table 3 shows the relative placement proportions for all three types of participant referents. Both sets of subjects appeared most commonly as NPs on the pre-verbal side (61.36% intransitive and 56% transitive), while the transitive object set appeared most commonly after the verb as a NP (61.11%).

Table 3

RD placement counts and % for all chain-initial definite (repeat) referents

		Noun Phrase Placement						
		Pre-Verb		Post-Verb		Agreement		
		N	%	N	%	N	%	Total
Intransitive	Subject	27	61.36%	7	15.91%	10	22.73%	44
Transitive	Subject	14	56.00%	2	8.00%	9	36.00%	25
	Object	4	11.11%	22	61.11%	10	27.78%	36
Total		45	42.86%	31	29.52%	29	27.62%	105

Looking at the distances that these definite referents are crossing, there are some possible correlations between the distance and the frequency of occurrence. The agreement morphology placement categories had the shortest average RDs of the three placement positions. Definite intransitive subject NP referents placed in the pre-verbal position had both the greatest number of instances and the longest RD between instances, with an average of 10.96 clauses over 27 instances. Definite transitive subjects in this same NP position, however, had a slightly lower average RD than the longest average for the type of referent (7.86 compared to 12.50). Transitive objects had roughly similar, but slightly closer, averages for the pre- and post-verbal positions, with 10.00 and 8.59 clauses respectively.

Table 4

Average RD length (in clauses) for each type of definite referents and consequent placement position/form in the clause.

		Noun Phrase Placement					
		Pre-Verb		Post-Verb		Agreement	
		N	AVG	N	AVG	N	AVG
Intransitive	Subject	27	10.96	7	9.43	10	4.00
Transitive	Subject	14	7.86	2	12.50	9	4.44
	Object	4	10.00	22	8.59	10	2.60

Topic Persistence (TP)

498 third-person subject and object referents were found to be unique within their section of the discourse, occurring a total of 786 individual instances. The raw average persistence of each referent is short at 1.58 clauses. Table 5 shows that each category can be examined closely to conjecture about the behavior of different referents based upon how frequently they have occurred in each position, proportional to the others. Intransitive Subject referents were least commonly found (17.97%) positioned after the verb and are almost equally likely to be either

included as a noun phrase placed before the verb (40.00%) or included in the clause via verbal

morphological agreement (42.03%). Transitive Subject referents were more commonly found

(64.62%) attached to the verb via agreement. Object referents were found post-verbally as noun

phrases (47.6%), but also somewhat frequently simply by morphological agreement (38.43%).

Table 5

Individual counts and percentages for each subtype of referent tracked in each possible position relative to the verb of the identified clause.

		Noun Phrase Placement						
		Pre-Verb		Post-Verb		Agreement		
		N	%	N	%	N	%	Total
Intransitive	Subject	138	40.00%	62	17.97%	145	42.03%	345
Transitive	Subject	62	29.25%	13	6.13%	137	64.62%	212
	Object	32	13.97%	109	47.60%	88	38.43%	229
Total		232	29.52%	184	23.41%	370	47.07%	786

There is more specific data to be seen, however, when looking at referents continuing in

the discourse longer than a single instance. When comparing this set of counts with the set

containing all referents mentioned in the text, we can see that approximately 347 instances were

mentioned only once in the discourse. After these are eliminated, 439 (~56% of the total

instances) were left for analysis regarding the position of the referent in continuous trails in the

discourse, being comprised of 151 referents unique within their respective section of discourse.

While there may not be as many instances of referents that exist in consecutive chains

longer than one occurrence, a more visible pattern begins to emerge. For all of the three types of

referents (Intransitive Subject, Transitive Subject, and Transitive Object), they were most

commonly found present through verbal agreement morphology in these chains. Table 6 shows

they were present in agreement in 58.38%, 79.31%, and 60.82% of the instances, respectively,

and 65.83% of the instances overall. Even though these positions are somewhat rivaled by the pre-verbal NP position for both Subject sets and the post-verbal for the Transitive Object set, the ratio of occurrences for agreement is almost at least twice for those other positions, making them stand out more.

Table 6

Individual counts and percentages for the placement (relative to the verb) each subtype of referent which had more than one consecutive occurrence.

		Noun Phrase Placement						
		Pre-Verb		Post-Verb		Agreement		
		N	%	N	%	N	%	Total
Intransitive	Subject	66	33.50%	16	8.12%	115	58.38%	197
Transitive	Subject	28	19.31%	2	1.38%	115	79.31%	145
	Object	8	8.25%	30	30.93%	59	60.82%	97
Total		102	23.23%	48	10.93%	289	65.83%	439

Conclusion

Introduction

This study hypothesizes that more discontinuous and/or indefinite topics will be placed to the left of the verb as a noun phrase, while more continuous and/or definite topics will be placed as a noun phrase to the right of the verb, or else be included via required verbal agreement morphology with no noun phrase present. With this analysis, it bears repeating that this sample examines the speech patterns of a single fluent, first-language Ichishkíin speaking Elder in a manner that includes both verbal and written composition and editing. These conclusions do not necessarily try to generalize onto all Yakima Ichishkíin word order and discourse patterns.

Discussion

Looking at the language in the first three chapters of this book, it becomes clear that there are many referenced topics present in the text that help examine many different aspects and areas of Yakama cultural life, as experienced by Tux̱ámshish. This affects how often new referents are brought into the discourse in addition to how often they switch as the topic theme changes. These considerations will be referenced below in both discussions of the Referential Distance and Topic Persistence analyses.

Referential distance.

There are patterns that can be generalized by examining when all referents are introduced, but there are additional patterns that are suggested depending on if one is looking at first-time introductions of referents (indefinite) or if it has already been introduced in that section's discourse (definite). Looking at all referents together in one set, they are most commonly found as NPs placed either before or after the verb, not through verbal agreement morphology. Noun phrases are better for introducing new referents to provide information about their identity/nature and their relation to the rest of the sentence with the proper case morphology. Subjects are most likely to be introduced or re-introduced into the discourse in the pre-verbal position as NPs. Table 1 shows that both transitive and intransitive subjects have at least 56% of all referents placed before the verb in the clause. This suggests that, no matter the referents identity in the discourse, subjects are likely to be put earlier in the clause or sentence to help the audience determine who is the primary actor and focus of the sentence. Third person subjects often switch in discourse quickly, perhaps requiring the speaker to foreground the actor even before the action. The majority of identified objects, however, are generally placed after the verb, suggesting that they may not be as important to establish earlier in the clause. The

behaviors of these referents may differ slightly depending on their definite or indefinite identity. The following sections describe the differences between these different, specific sets.

Indefinite Referents.

Patterns with these newer-to-discourse referents generally follow the patterns established for all of the identified referents; namely, that indefinite referents are most likely to be introduced as NPs rather than simply through morphology agreement. Because these are new(er) referents, they must be named in order for the audience to be able to incorporate them into their schema for the given discourse. Subjects are more commonly found in the pre-verbal position, while objects are most often found post-verbal. The placement of both these sets of subjects agrees with the initial hypothesis of this study, as the less continuous subject referents are put earlier into the clause to allow for maximum reference and recognition; the placement of the objects, however, suggests that less continuous object referents may be placed after the verb to preserve the importance of the subject referents that are in play.

Intransitive subjects may be more flexible with their placement depending on the type of syntactic construction. While transitive subjects are overwhelmingly (70.91%) found pre-verbally, their intransitive counterparts are mostly (54.80%) found there. Their next most common placement was post-verbal, with almost a third (31.07%) in that position. This may be due to the inclusion of clauses with copular constructions, which can focus primarily on including descriptors or locative NPs before the subject is introduced. Sentence 5.1 includes an example of such a construction.

5.1　Íkush íkw'ak áwacha miimá sápsikw'at tiinmamí. (*TAN* 3.3.2.12)

　　　Íkush　íkw'ak　á-wacha　　　miimá　　sápsikw'a-t　tiin-ma-mí

　　　thus　　that　　3O-COP-PST　long.ago　teach-NZR　　Indian.person-Pl-GEN

　　　"That is how the old ways of the People were passed on."

In this case, the description, *íkush* [thus, this way], seems like the primary information in the clause, while the subject of the copular clause, *sápsikw'at* [teachings] is referenced as a NP in the discourse. Further research would want to look at the specifics of the different types of constructions (transitive, intransitive genitive, intransitive copular, etc.) to determine if there are major syntactic or differences in word order between them.

Definite Referents.

Referents which are repeated within their section of discourse also follow the referential distance pattern suggested by both the sets of all and indefinite referents, with all subjects most likely to be pre-verbal NPs and objects to be post-verbal NPs. Table 3 shows this to be the general pattern. Looking at the average distances these referents cross provides a better picture to understand how more continuous referents are formulated into the clause. Table 4 shows that the more continuous referents, with the smallest distance (overall average of 3.7 clauses between instances), are included in the clause via verbal agreement morphology, while the more discontinuous referents covering larger distances, between 2-3 times larger than the shortest, rely on NPs to re-introduce the referent back into the discourse (after an overall average of 9.6 clauses). This suggests that the continuous third-person referents are most likely to be placed not before or after the verb, but onto the verb itself, providing just enough marking to help the audience follow the topic through the discourse. This point nuances the realized hypothesis of this study, as it suggests a third option (verbal agreement) not fully considered by other research on similar languages. This style of placement, however, does seem to somewhat mimic English's standard SVO order, which suggest influence or syntactic "contamination" of Ichishkíin word orders as speakers were using English more and more frequently.

Topic Persistence.

The overall selection suggests that the topic changes relatively quickly from clause to clause, based on the short average number of clausal instances per referent (1.58 clauses). Although this length is relatively short, the average length of all 26 sections translated is approximately 31 clauses, with a median length of 22.5 clauses. These numbers can be easily reconciled with the understanding of this piece's content: covering many different aspects of Tux̱ámshish's traditional upbringing, thus requiring broad coverage of topics.

Looking at the placements of all instances of referents together, the verbal agreement morphology category seems to be utilized prominently for each type of referent, if not the most utilized. Both types of Subject referents were most commonly present via agreement morphology, if not closely followed by a NP placement, in the case of intransitive subjects, as seen in Table 5. The transitive objects type, however, does not seem to overall favor the agreement placement, rather relying primarily on the post-verbal NP for inclusion. The morphological placement is still prominent for this last Object referent case, as more than a third (38.43%) of its instances are in this last placement category. This potentially interferes with a clear statement on where referents are often placed when they are more continuous.

This current analysis, however, includes referents whose mentions last for only a single instance in addition to those who have longer chains of instances when mentioned. In looking at persistence, continued presence allows for greater indication of preferred position. By focusing primarily on those longer chains of instances, the average clausal persistence distance per third-person referent to increase from 1.58 clauses to 2.91, approximately an 83% increase in average

24

persistence. This helps reflect that there may be some referents that can be seen as more key to the discourse than others, as they are present longer and can interact with more pieces (other referents, locative NPs, description, etc.) during their chain of persistence.

These referents are overwhelmingly most commonly found simply through the agreement morphology in the clause (approximately 66% of the overall instances, as seen in Table 6), suggesting this is where more continuous topics should be placed in discourse. This morphological inclusion provides sufficient marking to allow the audience to still follow the discourse's content while keeping track of the subject and object topics at play. This finding supports the conclusion started by the Referential Distance finding based on definite referents, namely that topics with greater continuity are more commonly marked via morphology rather than consistently including NPs to help mark referents in the discourse.

Recommendations

One flaw in the methodology to reach these conclusions lies in the nature of this work: because it serves as both nonfiction and a sort of memoir, there are 1st and 2nd person referent enclitics included that may create more clausal space between these instances. This analysis only looks at 3rd person referents, and does not currently attempt to examine the interactions between the SAP and 3rd person topics, as they are coded in drastically different ways. Almost all SAP topics are included as enclitics placed in the 2nd position in the order of words, attached to the 1st position word. This required positioning may alter how a speaker imagines the order of the words in their clause or sentence, but conjecturing to those ends would require a more focused look at a variety of clausal types and structures. This research would also benefit language instruction to help *sapsikw'aláma* [teachers] and learners to better understand how these need to function in their speech patterns. In addition to not analyzing the existence of these enclitics, the

usage of independent personal pronouns (including nominative, accusative, and genitive forms) was not tracked, due to their infrequent use, but their placement might have some strategic intended meanings on the parts of more fluent speakers.

When examining subject and object referents, this analysis only looked at explicit NPs and verbal agreement morphology. There is a distinction when looking at 3rd person morphology between animate and inanimate referents made, in that inanimate 3rd person subjects most often use the 3rd person singular prefix *i-* for their agreement morphology, even if there are multiple instances of the topic (e.g. three trees, etc.). Further research could examine cases of language like this to see if animate subjects and objects are more likely to be put in a particular position if they are more continuous/discontinuous, and the same for inanimate referents.

This study also only examines subject and object referents, while there are a whole host of other categories of sub-phrases that should also be explored. There are locative NPs that provide direction or knowledge of spatial placement that exist in many clauses in this work. These include constructions with locative (*-pa*), allative (*-kan*), ablative (*-knik*), and some dative (*-yaw*) phrases. It would require additional examination to see if there are any patterns in the placement of these phrases in discourse. The same demand goes for analysis of the placement of more descriptive phrases. These would perhaps include adjectives and adverbs in addition to instrumental (*-ki*), genitive (*-mi*), benefactive (*-ay*), and some additional forms of dative (*-yaw*) phrases.

Another topic for examination is the use and impact of various conjunctions and subordinators when joining clauses together into longer phrases and sentences. This analysis would be helpful to elaborate on the usage and intended meaning of several options, particularly the subordinator *ana-* [so, that]. The usage of these around the 2nd position enclitics would also

be of particular interest, as the conjunction and enclitic would take up the primary positions of the clause in which other topic referents or grammatical elements would have normally been placed. This may be difficult to research more with the colonial language introduction of English structures into the minds of all speakers and learners, as it may have altered how speakers foundationally construct their sentences, but only further research would be able to conjecture about those impacts.

A final thought to consider in this project is in the spirit of the true purpose of this research: how to put this type of knowledge to work to support the language community itself. While these are still preliminary results, further research would allow to better understand the theory and provide teaching tips and tools to sapsikw'ałáma [teachers] to be able to teach language learners more effectively. There are no major recommendations towards this goal at this time, but it is still necessary to acknowledge this academic responsibility. This ultimate goal is absolutely necessary to keep in view of research with this language and many others.

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Gloss	Full Enclitic	Other forms	Examples	Notes
1Sg	=nash	=ash =ish =sh	• tkwátasha**ash** • kw'ałáni**ish** wa • ku**sh** wa íchna • cháw**nash** tkwátasha	
1Pl.EXCL	=natash	=atash =tash	• tkwátasha**atash** • cháw**natash** tkwátasha	Does not include hearer
1Pl.INCL	=na	N/A	• cháw**na** tkwátasha	Does include hearer
2Sg	=nam	=am	• tkwátasha**am** • cháw**nam** tkwátasha	
2Pl	=pam	N/A	• tkwátasha**pam** • cháw**pam** tkwátasha	

- All of these enclitics above should be placed in the second position of the sentence, with few exceptions.

- Other forms starting with "a" exist when attached to the end of a stem/word ending with the short "a" letter.

- The 1Sg enclitic *nash* has multiple other forms: the standard *=ash*; the shortened *=ish,* if following a word ending in the short "i" letter; and the hyper-shortened *=sh*, so far only documented to consistently be put onto the conjunction *ku* [and].

Gloss	Affix on Verb	Examples
3Sg	i-	• **i**tkwátasha • chaw **i**tkwátasha
3Pl	pa-	• **pa**tkwátasha • chaw **pa**tkwátasha

APPENDIX B: Verb Tense/Aspect Marking Affixes

Tense/Aspect/ Other	Gloss	Affix on Verb	Other forms	Example	Notes
Present Progressive	IMPV	-sha		itkwáta**sha**	
Habitual	HAB	-x̱a		itkwáta**x̱a**	
Simple Past	PST	-a	-na -ya -chá	iwánp**a** itkwáta**na** iní**ya** iwa**chá**	Usage is based on the final orthographic letter of the stem
Past Progressive	IMPV-PST	-shana		itkwáta**shana**	While this is a combination of two different affixes listed here, its frequent usage justifies its presence on this list
Past Habitual	HAB-PST	-x̱ana		itkwáta**x̱ana**	While this is a combination of two different affixes listed here, its frequent usage justifies its presence on this list
Future	FUT	-ta		itkwáta**ta**	
Imperative	IMP	-k (Sg) -tk (Pl)		tkwáta**k** tkwáta**tk**	Usage is based on how many individuals are being addressed with the command
Conditional	COND	-tax̱nay		itkwáta**tax̱nay**	
Perfective	PPF	-sh -Ø		iwánp**sh** itkwáta	Usage is based on the final orthographic letter of the stem

33

APPENDIX C: Verb Transitivity Marking

Subject	Object	2nd Position Enclitic	Affix on Verb	Example
1Sg	2Sg	=mash		• shápnitamash • cháwmash shápnita
1Sg	2Pl	=matash		• shápnitamatash • cháwmatash shápnita
1Sg	3Sg	=nash	á-	• áshapnitaash • cháwnash áshapnita
1Sg	3Pl	=nash	á-	• áshapnitaash • cháwnash áshapnita
1Pl	2Sg	=matash		• shápnitamatash • cháwmatash shápnita
1Pl	2Pl	=matash		• shápnitamatash • cháwmatash shápnita
1Pl	3Sg	=natash	á-	• áshapnitaatash • cháwnatash áshapnita
1Pl	3Pl	=natash	á-	• áshapnitaatash • cháwnatash áshapnita
2Sg	1Sg	=nam	pá-	• páshapnitaam • cháwnam páshapnita
2Sg	1Pl	=nam		• shápnitaam • cháwnam shápnita
2Sg	3Sg	=nam	á-	• áshapnitaam • cháwnam áshapnita
2Sg	3Pl	=nam	á-	• áshapnitaam • cháwnam áshapnita
2Pl	1Sg	=pam		• shápnitapam • cháwpam shápnita
2Pl	1Pl	=pam		• shápnitapam • cháwpam shápnita
2Pl	3Sg	=pam	á-	• áshapnitapam • cháwpam áshapnita
2Pl	3Pl	=pam	á-	• áshapnitapam • cháwpam áshapnita

3Sg	1Sg	=nash	i-	- ishápnitaash - cháwnash ishápnita
3Sg	1Pl	=natash	i-	- ishápnitaatash - cháwnatash ishápnita
3Sg	2Sg	=nam	i-	- ishápnitaam - cháwpam ishápnita
3Sg	2Pl	=pam	i-	- ishápnitapam - cháwpam ishápnita
3Sg	3Sg (direct)		i-	- ishápnita - chaw ishápnita
3Sg	3Sg (inverse)		pá-	- páshapnita - chaw páshapnita
3Sg	3Pl		i-	- ishápnita - chaw ishápnita
3Pl	1Sg	=nash	pa-	- pashápnitaash - cháwnash pashápnita
3Pl	1Pl	=natash	pa-	- pashápnitaatash - cháwnatash pashápnita
3Pl	2Sg	=nam	pa-	- pashápnitaam - cháwnam pashápnita
3Pl	2Pl	=pam	pa-	- pashápnitapam - cháwpam pashápnita
3Pl	3Sg/Pl	=pat	á-	- áshapnitapat - cháwpat áshapnita

APPENDIX D: Noun Case Markers

The following suffixes are the most common markers used to identify a word's function within the free-word-order clause/sentence. Some of them have more flexible meaning than the approximate English would suggest (particularly the Benefactive and Dative), and require additional linguistic study. Some of them also have additional forms depending on the orthographic letters immediately preceding the suffix.

Case	Gloss	Base Suffix	Approximate English	Example
Ablative	ABL	-knik	"from"	2.1.5
Allative	ALL	-kan	"towards"	2.20.1
Associative	ASSOC	-in	"with"	2.19.1
Benefactive	BEN	-ay	"for"	2.12.3
Dative	DAT	-yaw	"for", "into"	2.7
Genitive	GEN	-mí	"__'s"	2.5.2
Instrumental	INST	-ki	"by means of", "about"	1.3.5
Locative	LOC	-pa	"in", "on", "at"	1.1.1

The following are noun suffixes to help identify the roles of 3rd person subjects and objects in transitive clauses.

Gloss	Role	Suffix	Example
OBJ	3rd person object	-nan (Sg) -inan (Du) -maman (Pl)	2.6 (Sg) 3.1.3 (Pl)
3>3.ERG	3rd person subject when acting on 3rd person object, optional	-in	2.19.2
3>SAP.ERG	3rd person subject when acting on SAP	-nɨm	2.9

APPENDIX E: Gloss Key with Identified Examples

This is a mostly complete, but not necessarily expert list of the different morphemes present in the translated text in this thesis project. Some of the morphemes still have question marks for either their gloss or function, as there may have not been enough research and/or documentation on its use yet.

Gloss	Function	Morpheme	Example
=1?>2?	Transitive enclitic	=matash	3.5.5.66
=1Pl.EXCL	Enclitic	=tash	1.2.1
=1Pl.EXCL	Enclitic	=atash	3.7.2.5
=1Pl.INCL	Enclitic	=na	1.1.1
=1Sg	Enclitic	=sh	1.1.2
=1Sg	Enclitic	=nash	1.4.1
=1Sg	Enclitic	=ash	3.4.1.7.1
=1Sg	Enclitic	=ish	3.5.5.64
=1Sg>2Sg	Transitive enclitic	=mash	1.5
=2Pl	Enclitic	=pam	3.5.5.33
=2Sg	Enclitic	=nam	2.8.2
=3Pl>3	Transitive enclitic	=pat	3.3.2.1.2
?	Currently unknown	-nank	2.20.1
1Sg.GEN	Genitive	ín-	3.7.2.28.3
3>3.ERG	Ergative towards 3rd person	-in	2.19.2
3>SAP.ERG	Ergative towards SAP	-nɨm	2.9
3O	Object marker	á-	1.2.1
3O	Object marker	áw-	3.6.18.2
3Pl.S	Subject prefix	pa-	1.1.2
3Sg.S	Subject prefix	i-	1.2.4
ABL	Ablative	-knik	2.1.5
ABS	Absolutive	N/A	N/A

ACC	Accusative	N/A	N/A
again	Noun suffix	-ch'ax̱i	3.1.5
AGT	Agentive noun suffix	-łá	3.1.1.1
ALL	Allative case marker	-kan	2.20.1
APPL	Applicative	-núu	2.6
APPL	Applicative	-ani	2.19.1
APPL	Applicative	-yúu	3.5.2.1.1
APPL	Applicative	-yani	3.5.5.29.2
APPL	Applicative	-nani	3.5.5.31
APPL	Applicative	-úu	3.7.5.8.3
ASSOC	Associative	-in	2.19.1
ASSOC	Associative case marker	-yin	3.5.5.35.2
ASSOC	Associative	-twíi	3.5.5.50.2
BEN	Benefactive case marker	-ay	2.12.3
BEN	Benefactive case marker	-yay	3.7.3.7
CAUS	Causative	shapá-	3.1.1.3
CAUS	Causative	sapá-	3.5.4.9
COND	Causative	-tax̱nay	2.8.2
COP	Copular	wa	1.1.1
COP.FUT	Copular	wáta	3.3.2.9.3
COP.PST	Copular	wachá	1.2.2
CSL	Cislocative	-m	3.1.4
CSL	Cislocative	-im	3.5.5.15.1
CSL	Cislocative	-shamsh	3.5.6.7.1
CSL	Cislocative	-nɨm	3.6.3.3
DAT	Dative	-yaw	2.7
DAT	Dative	-yúuk	3.4.3.34
DES	Desirative	-yát'a	3.7.4.2.13.1
DST	Distributive	wi-	3.4.1.7.1

finish	Verb morpheme	-naḵ'i	3.5.4.1.1
first	modal	=x̱ush	3.5.5.15.2
FUT	Future	-ta	1.2.4
GEN	Genitive case marker	-mí	2.5.2
go?	Verb prefix	wíi-	3.6.3.1
HAB	Habitual	-x̱a	1.3.1
HAB	Habitual	-nx̱a	1.4.2
HAB	Habitual	-inx̱a	3.5.3.28
hearsay	Suffix	-akut	3.3.2.3.2
hearsay	Suffix	-yakut	3.5.3.13.1
IMPV	Progressive	-sha	1.1.2
INST	Instrumental	-nínk	3.6.21.1
INST	Instrumental case marker	-ki	1.3.5
intensifier	Noun suffix	-k'a	2.11.2
INV	Transitive affix	pá-	2.19.2
little.bit?	modifier	mayk-	3.5.6.30
LOC	Locative case marker	-pa	1.1.1
LOC.EMPH	Locative case marker	-páynk	2.18
Mo	Mother	N/A	2.17
must	Noun suffix	-sá	3.5.5.51
must?	modal	=x̱it	2.6
NEG	Negation	chaw	1.2.4
NOM	Nominal	N/A	N/A
NZR	Nominalizer	-t	1.1.1
NZR?	Nominalizer	-ásh	3.5.5.2
OBJ.Pl	3rd person Object marker	-maman	3.1.3
OBJ.Sg	3rd person Object marker	-nan	2.6
only	Noun suffix	-sim	3.5.5.31
phonetic.space	Spacer?	-aan	3.5.2.8

Pl (Human)	Plural	-ma	1.4.3
PPF	Perfective	-sh	2.1.2
PPF	Perfective	(null)	2.23.1
PST	Past	-na	1.3.5
PST	Past	-a	2.8.1
PST	Past	-ya	3.1.1.2
Q	Question	mish	1.2.2
rather/actually	Noun suffix	-tya	3.4.1.10.1
rather/actually	Noun suffix	-ch'a	3.4.1.11.3
RECP	Reciprocal	pápa-	3.4.2.5.3
REFL.Pl	Reflexive	pimá-	3.4.3.11.1
REFL.Sg	Reflexive	piná-	3.1.6.2
Same/Very	modal	=x̱i	1.3.4
STAT	Stative	-ni	1.3.6
STAT	Stative	-i	2.5.1
STAT	Stative	-yi	3.5.5.44.1
suddenly	Verb prefix	ḵá-	3.5.6.21.2
SUP	Superlative	-tx̱aw	3.5.4.10.1
thing.for	Noun suffix	-pamá	2.1.2
while	Verb prefix	wyá-	3.5.4.7.2

APPENDIX F: *Ttnúwit Átawish Nch'inch'imamí* Translation & Gloss

Chapter/Section	Title	Appendix Page #	Ttnuwit Page #
1	Inmí tiinwít wapíitat	43	3
2	Np'íwit nch'íwanapa	46	26
3.1	Wyá'uyt wak̲'íshwit	52	31
3.2	Waníkt	54	36
3.3	Tnunak̲'itpamá sápsikw'at	55	39
3.3.1	Shíx̲wit wápsikw'at	55	40
3.3.2	Tmáywit tilíwalit	57	41
3.4	Pápawawshtaymat	60	43
3.4.1	Pápawawshtaymat	60	43
3.4.2	Pápashix̲anit myánash	64	45
3.4.3	Pápawawshtaymat	66	45
3.4.4	Sáp'awit	75	50
3.5	Tł'yáwit	78	61
3.5.1	Tł'yáwit	78	61
3.5.2	X̲ítwayma tł'yáwit	78	63
3.5.3	Náktkwanint	82	66
3.5.4	Sahpátatpaasit	89	68
3.5.5	Pápawinpanit ipáp	93	69
3.5.6	Palasíks pá'anit	107	74
3.5.7	?	117	80
3.6	Piná'itł'yawit	118	80
3.7	X̲wyach	128	83
3.7.1	X̲wyakt myánashknik	128	83
3.7.2	Sípa niimí x̲wyakáwaas	136	85
3.7.3	Tamánwit x̲wyachpamá	144	88
3.7.4	X̲wyachpamá	146	90
3.7.4.1	X̲wyachpamá	146	90

3.7.4.2	X̱wyachpamá	150	91
3.7.5	Pina'its'wáykt asht x̱wyáchpa	153	93
3.7.6	Ayatmamí tx̱ánat	162	96
3.7.6.1	Ayatmamí tx̱ánat	162	96
3.7.6.2	Ayatmamí tx̱ánat	163	97

Chapter 1: Inmí Tiinwít Wapíitat

1.1.1	Iɫt'úkna wa tamánwit niimípa tiináwitpa				
	Iɫt'úk=na	wa	tamánwi-t	niimí-pa	tiináwit-pa
	strict=1Pl.INCL	COP	make.rule-NZR	1Pl.GEN.PN-LOC	Indian.way-LOC
	"There are strict laws in our Indian way of life,				

1.1.2	Ku ttuush íchi íkuuk ikks ttáwax̱t kush pa'atɫ'áwisha,						
	Ku	ttuush	íchi	íkuuk	ikks	ttáwax̱-t	Ku=sh	pa-atɫ'áwi-sha
	and	some	this.Sg.ABS	today	little.Pl	grow-NZR	and=1Sg	3Pl.S-request-IMPV
	"and now some of the younger generation are requesting of me						

1.2.1	"Atḵ'ix̱shax̱itash awkú namách'a íchi shúkwat				
	A-tḵ'ix̱-sha=x̱i=tash		awkú	namák-ch'a	íchi	shúkwaa-t
	3O-want-IMPV-same=1Pl.EXCL		then	1Pl.ACC.PN-also	this.Sg.ABS	know-NZR
	"'We too want to know our old ways				

1.2.2	Mish iwachá míimi tx̱ánat íchi tiináwit,				
	Mish	i-wachá	míimi	tx̱ána-t	íchi	tiináwit
	Q	3Sg-COP.PST	long.ago	happen-NZR	this.Sg.ABS	Indian.way
	"to learn how things were long ago				

1.2.3	Átḵ'ix̱shaatash shúkwat	
	Á-tḵ'ix̱-sha=atash	shúkwa-t
	3O-want-IMPV=1Pl	know-NZR
	"we want to know,	

1.2.4	áwnatash ku chaw shinɨm isápsikw'ata.				
	áw=natash	ku	chaw	shinɨm	i-sápsikw'a-ta
	now=1Pl	and	NEG	who.ERG	3Sg-teach-FUT
	"because nobody taught us.'				

1.3.1	Ku chawnash awkú pa'ínx̱a			
	Ku	chaw=nash	awkú	pa-ín-x̱a
	and	NEG=1Sg	then	3Pl-tell-HAB
	"But they do not tell me			

1.3.2	Mish awkú pamíta kwɨnkínk			
	Mish	awkú	pa-mí-ta	kwɨnkínk
	Q	then	3Pl-do-FUT	that.INST
	"what they are going to do with that knowledge			

1.3.3	Ashkú aw nch'íwisha inmí ttáwax̱t				
	ana=nash-kú	aw	nch'íwi-sha	inmí	ttáwax̱-t
	SUB=1Sg-and	now	grow.old-IMPV	1Sg.GEN.PN	grow-NZR
	"and now that I am growing older				

1.3.4	Kush íkushx̱i ink wachá				
	Ku=sh	íkush=x̱i	ink	wachá	
	and=1Sg	this.way=same	1Sg.NOM.PN	COP.PST	
	"I see that I used to be like that				

1.3.5	Chawnash mun px̱wípx̱wishana túkin íkw'ak tiináwitki					
	Chaw=nash	mun	px̱wípx̱wi-sha-na	túkin	íkw'ak	tiináwit-ki
	NEG=1Sg	when	worry-IMPV-PST	what.INST	this.ABS.Sg	Indian.way-INST
	"I never worried about our way of life					

1.3.6	Ashkú shapáttawax̱ni tx̱ánana miimawítki.			
	ana=nash-kú	shapá-ttawax̱-ni	tx̱ána-na	miimawít-ki
	SUB=1Sg-and	CAUS-grow-STAT	happen-PST	old.way-INST
	"because I was raised with that knowledge, in the old way.			

1.4.1	Iksíksniknash ttáwax̱tknik sɨ́nwix̱a Íchishkiin			
	Iksíks-nik=nash	ttáwax̱-t-knik	sɨ́nwi-x̱a	Íchishkiin
	young-INST=1Sg	grow-NZR-INST	speak-HAB	Ichishkiin
	"I spoke Ichishkiin all the time			

1.4.2	Kush ák'inunx̱ana	
	Ku=sh	á-k̲'inu-nx̱a-na
	and=1Sg	3O-see-HAB-PST
	"and I witnessed	

1.4.3	íkush pakúsha tíinma	
	íkush	pa-kú-sha	tíin-ma
	thus	3Pl-do-IMPV	Indian.person-Pl
	"what the people were doing	

1.4.4	Kush chaw wa tłʼaax̱w túpan wapsúx̱					
	Ku=sh	chaw	wa	tłʼaax̱w	túpan	wapsúx̱
	and=1Sg	NEG	COP	all	what.LOC	intelligent
	"but I am not knowledgeable about everything,					

1.4.5	**Chaw,** awkłáwnash aw áshukwasha kwʼɨnk			
	awkłáw=nash	aw	á-shukwa-sha	kwʼɨnk
	enough=1Sg	now	3O-know-IMPV	that.aforementioned
	"I only know			

1.4.6	Ash kwʼɨnk wachá sápsikwʼani.			
	ana=ash	kwʼɨnk	wachá	sápsikwʼa-ni
	SUB=1Sg	that.aforementioned	COP.PST	teach-STAT
	"what I was taught.			

1.5	Ikwʼaksimmash awkú tíix̱wta íchna tímashpa.				
	Ikwʼak-sim=mash	awkú	tíix̱w-ta	íchna	tímash-pa
	that.ABS.Sg-only=1Sg>2Sg	then	inform-FUT	this.LOC	paper.LOC
	"That is what I have included in this writing."				

Chapter 2: Inmí Ttáwax̱t

2.1.1	Wúux̱miki ashkú wɨshúwax̱ana skúulitat			
	Wúux̱mi-ki	ana=nash-kú	wɨshúwa-x̱a-na	skúuli-ta-t
	springtime.INST	SUB=1Sg-and	get.ready-HAB-PST	go.to.school-PURP-NZR
	"In the springtime when I was getting ready to go to school,"			

2.1.2	Kush ák̓inunx̱ana Na'íłas aw ishapáts'ɨmksh shuwatpamá x̱apiłmí				
	Ku=sh	a-k̓inu-nx̱a-na	Na'íłas	aw	i-shapá-ts'ɨmk-sh
	and=1Sg	3O-see-HAB-PST	my.mother	now	3Sg.S-CAUS-sharpen-PPF

shuwa-t-pamá	x̱apiłmí
butcher-NZR-thing.for	knife
"I saw my mother sharpening her butcher knives"	

2.1.3	Ku ínpimx̱ itámaatsha niimí wíx̱wɨlx̱wiɨl wax̱wnaykí					
	Ku	ín-pimx̱	i-támaat-sha	niimí	wíx̱wɨlx̱wiɨl	wax̱wnaykí
	and	my.stepfather	3Sg.S-take.out-IMPV	1Pl.GEN.PN	canvas	tent
	"and I saw my steptfather taking our canvas army tent out of storage"					

2.1.4	Kush áshukwaana	
	Ku=sh	a-́shukwaa-na
	and=1Sg	3O-know-PST
	"I knew"	

2.1.5	ts'atsímkaash panátta skúulitknik	
	ts'atsímka=ash	pa-nát-ta	skúuli-t-knik
	soon=1Sg	3Pl.S-remove-FUT	go.to.school-NZR-ABL
	"soon they would take me out of school."	

2.2.1	Ínpats Rudy iwachá íx̱wi iksíks			
	Ínpats Rudy	i-wachá	íx̱wi	iksíks
	my.Yo.Bro Rudy	3Sg.S-COP.PST	still	little
	"My younger brother Rudy was a little child"			

2.2.2	Kush ánatkwaninxana,	
	Ku=sh	á-natkwanin-xa-na
	and=1Sg	3O-take.care.of-HAB-PST
	"and I looked after him,"	

2.2.3	Íkw'aknash wachá inmí kútkut			
	Íkw'ak=nash	wachá	inmí	kútkut
	that.Sg.NOM=1Sg	COP.PST	1Sg.GEN.PN	work-NZR
	"it was my job."			

2.3	Na'íłas ikkanáywixana apísh aníxana.			
	Na'íłas	i-kkanáywi-xa-na	apísh	aní-xana
	my.Mo	3Sg.S-be.busy-HAB-PST	stored.food	make-HAB-PST
	"Mother was busy taking care of our [food] cache"			

2.4.1	Ílaxyawixana tkwínat	
	Ílaxyawi-xa-na	tkwínat
	dry-HAB-PST	Chinook.salmon
	"She dried the salmon"	

2.4.2	Ku aníxana ch'lay		
	Ku	aní-xana	ch'lay
	and	make-HAB-PST	ch'lay
	"and she made ch'lay."		

2.5.1	Ínpimx inp'íwixana ɨmaawípa waníki Sk'in				
	Ínpimx	i-np'íwi-xa-na	ɨmaawi-pa	waník-i	Sk'in
	my.stepfather	3Sg.S-fish.dipnet-HAB-PST	island-LOC	name-STAT	Baby.Board
	"My stepfather fished on the island called Baby Board"				

2.5.2	Anakwnak kaasmí wáxwaykɨ iwayáwayksha Nch'I Wánapa				
	Ana-kwnak	kaas-mí	wáxwaykɨ	i-wayáwayk-sha	Nch'i Wána-pa
	SUB-there.LOC	train-GEN	bridge	3Sg.S-run.over-IMPV	Columbia.River-LOC
	"where the railroad bridge extends across the Columbia River."				

2.7	Inmíyaw X̱ápaawish Siláylupa iwachá anakúsh tun wáḵ'ish tiin					
	Inmí-yaw	X̱ápaawish	Siláylu-pa	i-wachá	anakúsh	tun
	1Sg.GEN.PN-DAT	waterfalls	Celilo-LOC	3Sg.S-COP.PST	like	what

wáḵ'ish	tiin
alive	Indian.person
"To me, the falls were alive like a live human being."	

2.8.1	Atashkú wisháchikx̱ayka Wánayaw		
	ana=atash-kú	wisháchikx̱ayk-a	Wána-yaw
	SUB=1Pl.EXCL-and	arrive-PST	river-DAT
	"When we used to arrive at the Columbia River"		

2.8.2	Kúuknam áyktax̱nay x̱ápaawishnan		
	Kúuk=nam	á-yk-tax̱nay	x̱ápaawish-nan
	then=2Sg	3O-listen-COND	waterfalls-OBJ
	"you could hear the sound of the waterfalls."		

2.9	T'áalknam ix̱átamatł'umx̱tax̱nay ínɨmtnɨm x̱ápaawishmínɨm.			
	T'áalk=nam	i-x̱átamatł'umx̱-tax̱nay	ínɨmt-nɨm	x̱ápaawish-mí-nɨm
	deafening=2Sg	3Sg.S-envelop-COND	roar-3>SAP.ERG	waterfalls-GEN-3>SAP.ERG
	"The sound of the falls would envelop you and you would become deaf."			

2.10	Anakúshnam ɨmítyaw i'ashanta wáwnakshash ínɨmtnɨm.				
	Anakúsh=nam	ɨmít-yaw	i-ashan-ta	wáwnakshash	ínɨmt-nɨm
	like=2Sg	entire-DAT	3Sg.S-permeate-FUT	body	roar-3>SAP.ERG
	"It's like the sound permeates your entire body."				

2.11.1	Úytnam nax̱sh łkw'í ku sts'át chaw pnúta					
	Úyt=nam	nax̱sh	łkw'í	sts'át	chaw	pnú-ta
	first=2Sg	one	day	night	NEG	sleep-FUT
	"At first, the first day and night you won't be able to sleep"					

2.11.2	Ku níiptipa ɬkw'ípa chawk'a áykta				
	Ku	níipt-ipa	ɬkw'í-pa	chaw-k'a	á-yk-ta
	and	two-LOC	day-LOC	not-INTNS	3O-listen-FUT
	"and on the second day you will no longer pay attention to the sound."				

2.12.1	íkush iwachá Siláylu		
	íkush	i-wachá	Siláylu
	thus	3Sg.S-COP.PST	Celilo
	"That's how it used to be at Celilo falls"		

2.12.2	anakwnák tíinma panp'íwix̱ana		
	ana-kwnák	tíin-ma	pa-np'íwi-x̱a-na
	SUB-that.LOC	Indian.person-Pl	3Pl.S-fish.dipnet-HAB-PST
	"where the Indians fished for salmon"		

2.12.3	pa'aníx̱ana tkwátat anwíktay.		
	pa-aní-x̱a-na	tkwáta-t	anwík-t-ay
	3Pl.S-make-HAB-PST	eat-NZR	spend.winter-NZR-BEN
	"to put away for winter survival."		

2.13	**Ambrose Whitefoot ku niimi,** Íkw'aknash ikwɬ áp'ix̱sha.		
	Íkw'ak=nash	ikwɬ	á-p'ix̱-sha
	that.Sg.S=1Sg	that.much	3O-remember-IMPV
	"that I remember".		

2.14	Tɬ'áax̱wma panisháatuna miimawít.		
	Tɬ'áax̱w-ma	pa-nisháatun-a	miimawít
	all-Pl	3Pl.S-live-PST	old.way
	"We all lived the old way."		

2.15	Walím ílkwshki pakúukix̱ana áyatma.			
	Walím	ílkwsh-ki	pa-kúuki-x̱a-na	áyat-ma
	ordinary	fire-INST	3Pl.S-cook-HAB-PST	woman-Pl
	"The women cooked on an open fire;"			

2.16.1	Pnúnx̱anaatash tiichámpa,	
	Pnú-nx̱a-na=atash	tiichám-pa
	sleep-HAB-PST=1Pl	land-LOC
	"we slept on the ground,"	

2.16.2	Kuutash winaníix̱ana wanapamá chíishki.			
	Kuu=tash	winaníi-x̱a-na	wana-pamá	chíish-ki
	and=1Pl	bathe-HAB-PST	river-thing.for	water-INST
	"and bathed in river water."			

2.17	Awkłáw Na'iłas aníx̱ana saplíl pax̱aapí tawtawliinmípa pax̱aapáwaaspa.						
	Awkłáw	Na'iłas	aní-x̱a-na	saplíl	pax̱aapí	tawtawliin-mí-pa	pax̱aapáwaas-pa
	enough	my.Mo	make-HAB-PST	bread	baked	tin.can-GEN-LOC	oven-LOC
	"Except my mother baked biscuits in a tin-can oven"						

2.18	Ḵ'ínupa anakushpáynk páshtɨnma paníchx̱ana sapíl.				
	Ḵ'ínu-pa	anakush-páynk	páshtɨn-ma	pa-ních-x̱a-na	saplíl
	see-LOC	like-LOC.EMPH	white.person-Pl	3Pl.S-store-HAB-PST	bread
	"that resembled the kind the white women stored their bread in."				

2.19.1	Páyshx̱it nakáłasin mɨnán pá'iyaxanya			
	Páysh-x̱it	nakáłas-in	mɨnán	pa-iyax-ani-a
	maybe-?	my.Mo.Mo-ASSOC	where	3Pl.S-find-APPL-PST
	"My grandmother probably found it somewhere,"			

2.19.2	Uu paysh pɨstɨpłáyin pá'anyanya.			
	Uu	paysh	pɨstɨpłáy-in	pá-ani-ani-a
	or	maybe	blacksmith-3>3.ERG	INV-make-APPL-PST
	"or the blacksmith made it."			

2.20.1	Íkushnank x̱átash myánashma ax̱aashúux̱ana, wínat Siláylukan wúux̱miki.				
	Íkush-nank	x̱átash	myánash-ma	a-x̱aashúu-x̱a-na	wína-t
	Thus-?	I.wonder	child-Pl	3O-concerned.about-HAB-PST	go-NZR

Siláylu-kan	wúux̱mi-ki
Celilo-ALL	springtime-INST
"That was what the children looked forward to, a trip to Celilo in the springtime."	

2.20.2	Úytnam wiyánawiikta	
	Úyt=nam	wiyánawiik-ta
	first=2Sg	arrive?-FUT
	"When you arrive,"	

2.21.1	Kunam áykta	
	Ku=nam	á-yk-ta
	and=2Sg	3O-hear-FUT
	"you hear"	

2.21.2	íkwłkin ínɨmsha wána.		
	íkwłkin	ínɨm-sha	wána
	noisily	roaring-IMPV	river
	"the river roaring."		

2.22	Chawtúyay tuun yíktay t'aalk.			
	Chaw-túyay	tuun	yík-t-ay	t'aalk
	NEG-what.BEN	what.OBJ	listen-NZR-BEN	deafening
	"The sound is deafening"			

2.23.1	Chiish iẋápaawi pshwápshwapa		
	Chiish	i-ẋápaawi	pshwápshwa-pa
	water	3Sg.S-fall.down-PERF	rocks-LOC
	"as several separate waterways have water plunging over giant rocks"		

2.23.2	Ku iwíit'iishksha.	
	Ku	i-wíit'iishk-sha
	and	3Sg.S-splatter-IMPV
	"and splashing down below."	

Chapter 3: Wyá'uyt Waḵ'íshwit

Section 3.1

3.1.1.1	Anakú Tamanwiłá itmíyuna íchinki tiichámki				
	Ana-kú	Tamanwi-łá	i-tmíyu-na	íchin-ki	tiichám-ki
	SUB-and	create-AGT	3Sg.S-plan-PST	this.DAT-INST	land.INST
	"When the creator made plans for this world,"				

3.1.1.2	ku itamánwiya tíinnan ku tł'aaxw tuun kákyanan						
	ku	i-tamánwi-ya	tíin-nan	ku	tł'aaxw	tuun	kákya-nan
	and	3Sg.S-create-PST	Indian.person-OBJ	and	all	what.OBJ	animal-OBJ
	"he created all the people and creatures"						

3.1.1.3	ku páshapatkw'anatiya paníipt, ɨwínsh ku áyat; aytúks ku taláyi.						
	ku	pá-shapa-tkw'anati-ya	paníipt	ɨwínsh	ku	áyat	aytúks
	and	INV-CAUS-walk-PST	together	man	and	woman	male.animal

ku	taláyi
and	female.animal
"and he made them walk together, man and woman, female and male animal."	

3.1.2.1	Kúshxi pátamanwiya pít'xanuknan		
	Kúshxi	pá-tamanwi-ya	pít'xanuk-nan
	as.well.as	INV-create-PST	mountain-OBJ
	"And He created the mountains"		

3.1.2.2	kwnak pánicha tł'áaxwnan tuun			
	kwnak	pá-nich-a	tł'áaxw-nan	tuun
	that.LOC	INV-store-PST	all-OBJ	thing.OBJ
	"where he placed all different kinds of beings"			

3.1.2.3	ku pániya wáḵ'ishwit		
	ku	pá-ni-ya	wáḵ'ishwit
	and	INV-give-PST	life
	"and gave them life"		

3.1.2.4	kúshx̱i páshapattawax̱na panápu.		
	kúshx̱i	pá-shapa-ttawax̱-na	panápu
	as.well.as	INV-CAUS-grow-PST	together
	"and he made them walk together."		

3.1.3	Ánach'ax̱i pá'aniya hawláak wayinwayinłámaman ku tiichampamánan wáḵ'ishwit.				
	Ánach'a-x̱i	pá-ani-ya	hawláak	wayinwayin-łá-maman	ku
	again-same	INV-make-PST	empty	fly.around-AGT-OBJ.Pl	and

tiicham-pamá-nan	wáḵ'ishwit
land-thing.for-OBJ	life
"Then he made the winged ones and the ground people and gave them life."	

3.1.4	Chiishpamánan páshapawinama wanapáynk atáchiishknik íkwɨn ishíchyaw.			
	Chiish-pama-́nan	pá-shapa-wina-m-a	wana-páynk	atáchiish-knik
	water-thing.for-OBJ	INV-CAUS-go-CSL-PST	river-LOC.EMPH	ocean-ABL

íkwɨn	ishích-yaw
that.DAT	nest-DAT
"He made the water people and placed them in the water, fro mthe ocean to the nest."	

3.1.5	Piimách'ax̱i pawá panápu.		
	Piimának-ch'ax̱i	pa-wá	panápu
	3Pl.ACC.PN-again	3Pl.S-COP	together
	"They, too, were paired."		

3.1.6.1	Íkushat áwa pɨnmínk náwtmyush		
	Íkush-at	á-wa	pɨnmínk	náwtmyush
	thus-?	3O-COP	3Sg.GEN.PN	plan
	"That was how he planned it;"		

3.1.6.2	Kwɨnkínk tł'aax̱w tuun watáa piná'ishax̱ta tmíinwa.				
	Kwɨnkínk	tł'aax̱w	tuun	piná-ishax̱-ta	tmíinwa
	that.INST	all	thing.OBJ	REFL.Sg-add-FUT	always
	"this is how life is to continue to replenish itself."				

3.1.7	Ának íkwɨn íshaxa sínwit			
	Ának	íkwɨn	ísha-xa	sínwi-t
	later	that.DAT	add-HAB	speak-NZR
	"After she said that, she added,"			

3.1.8.1	Páyshnayat chaw kúunak tamánwitnan átmaakta				
	Páyshnayat	chaw	kúunak	tamánwi-t-nan	á-tmaak-ta
	?	NEG	that.ALL	create-NZR-OBJ	3O-respect-FUT
	"When we do not follow and respect his law,"				

3.1.8.2	kuna íxwi wáta shapáshuyni.			
	ku=na	íxwi	wá-ta	shapá-shuy-ni
	and=1Pl.INCL	still	COP.FUT	CAUS-suffer-STAT.
	"then we will suffer."			

Section 3.2

3.2.1.1	Txánat iwá lahaháamyaw ititámani pakwíɬksim tɬ'aaxw tuumíyaw				
	Txána-t	i-wá	lahaháam-yaw	ititáma-ni	pakwíɬksim
	happen-NZR	3Sg.S-COP	eternal-DAT	count-STAT	equal.parts

tɬ'aaxw	tuumí-yaw
all	what.GEN-DAT
"Existence is the eternal form of life since immemorial. It is equal to all living things with spirit."	

3.2.1.2	anakw'ínk iwá wak'íshwityii nch'iinmí tamanwitmí naknúyii alitlak'itmíknik tɬ'yawitnmíyaw.				
	ana-kw'ínk	i-wá	wak'íshwi-t-yii	nch'ii-nmí	tamanwi-t-mí
	SUB-that.aforementioned	3Sg.S-COP	live-NZR-STAT?	big-GEN	create-NZR-GEN

naknú-yii	alitlak'it-mí-knik	tɬ'yawi-t-nmí-yaw
take.care-STAT	infant-GEN-ABL	die-NZR-GEN-DAT
"The invisible power looks after all from the determined time of birth to the time of death."		

Section 3.3

Passage 3.3.1

3.3.1.1.1	Tiin ttáwaxt iwachá átaw			
	Tiin	ttáwax-t	i-wachá	átaw
	Indian.person	grow-NZR	3Sg.S-COP.PST	loved
	"Indian heritage was prized"			

3.3.1.1.2	anakú íkushknik watwáa panaknúwiya tananútɨm				
	ana-kú	íkush-knik	watwáa	pa-naknúwi-ya	tananútɨm
	SUB-and	thus-ABL	carefully	3Pl.S-care.for-PST	religion
	"when it kept the culture and religion intact"				

3.3.1.1.3	ku mykwáanik pápats'aka piimínk pimáshukt mɨts'ay.					
	ku	mykwáanik	pá-pats'ak-a	piimínk	pimá-shuk-t	mɨts'ay
	and	continuously	INV-lengthen-PST	3Pl.GEN.PN	REFL.Pl-know-NZR	aged.plant
	"and held the family structure together."					

3.3.1.2	Anakw'ɨnk íkuuk shuyaputímtki áwanikxa "heritage"				
	Ana-kw'ɨnk	íkuuk	shuyaputímt-ki	á-wanik-xa	"heritage"
	SUB-that.aforementioned	today	English-INST	3O-name-HAB	"heritage"
	"This is what white people call heritage."				

3.3.1.3.1	Íkw'ak kushkínk nch'ínch'ima myánashnan psápkitwanxa				
	Íkw'ak	kushkínk	nch'ínch'i-ma	myánash-nan	pa-sápkitwa-nxa
	that.1Sg.S	thus-INST	elder-Pl	child-OBJ	3Pl.S-care.for-HAB
	"That was the reason the elders were teaching the youth"				

3.3.1.3.2	pashapáttawaxɨnxa pináshuki.	
	pa-shapá-ttawax-ɨnxa	piná-shuk-i
	3Pl.S-CAUS-grow-HAB	REFL.Sg-know-STAT
	"nurturing them gradually to acknowledge their identity."	

3.3.1.4	Iksíks áswan iwachá sápsikw'ani tuun áwata pɨnmínk kútkut íchna tiichámpa.					
	Iksíks	áswan	i-wachá	sápsikw'a-ni	tuun	á-wata
	little.Sg	boy	3Sg.S-COP.PST	teach-STAT	what.OBJ	3O-COP.FUT

pɨnmínk	kútkut	íchna	tiichám-pa
3Sg.GEN.PN	work	this.LOC	land-LOC
"A young man was taught what his responsibilities were when he became an adult"			

3.3.1.5	Míshkin kw'ɨnk ináktkwaninta nisháykt áyat ku pɨnmínk myánashma.					
	Mísh-kin	kw'ɨnk	i-náktkwanin-ta	nisháyk-t	áyat	ku
	Q-INST	that.aforementioned	3Sg.S-be.responsible.for-FUT	reside-NZR	woman	and

pɨnmínk	myánash-ma
3Sg.GEN.PN	child-Pl
"how to care for his home, wife, and children."	

3.3.1.6	Kúshx̱i pt'íniks iwachá sápsikw'ani.			
	Kúshx̱i	pt'íniks	i-wachá	sápsikw'a-ni
	as.well.as	girl	3Sg.S-COP.PST	teach-STAT
	"The girl was taught her responsibilities"			

3.3.1.7.1	Anakú itx̱ánata áyat		
	Ana-kú	i-tx̱ána-ta	áyat
	SUB-and	3Sg.S-happen-FU	woman
	"as an adult"		

3.3.1.7.2	Mish pɨnk pinánaktkwaninta ku kúshx̱i pɨnmínk nishákt, ɨwínsh, myánash.				
	Mish	pɨnk	piná-naktkwanin-ta	ku	kúshx̱i
	Q	3Sg.S.PN	REFL.Sg-be.responsible.for-FUT	and	as.well.as

pɨnmínk	nisháyk-t	ɨwínsh	myánash
3Sg.GEN.PN	reside-NZR	man	child
"to care for her home, husband, and children."			

3.3.1.8.1	Anakú patax̱núnak'ita	
	Ana-kú	pa-tax̱núnak'i-ta
	SUB-and	3Pl.S-grow.up-FUT
	"When young people become adults"	

3.3.1.8.2	kuuk átxanaxa tiináwit tamánwit twánat.				
	kuuk	á-txana-xa	tiináwit	tamánwi-t	twána-t
	then	3O-happen-HAB	Indian.way	create-NZR	follow-NZR
	"they must follow the spiritual teachings."				

3.3.1.9	Chaw piimínk tmiyútay, awkłáw nch'inch'imamí míshkin kw'ínk iwáta náktwanini.				
	Chaw	piimínk	tmiyú-t-ay	awkłáw	nch'inch'i-ma-mí
	NEG	3Pl.GEN.PN	plan-NZR-BEN	enough	elder-Pl-GEN

mísh-kin	kw'ínk	i-wáta	náktwani-ni
Q-INST	that.aforementioned	3Sg.S-COP.FUT	maintain-STAT
"Not their own, only what the Elders or spiritual people have passed to them."			

Passage 3.3.2

3.3.2.1.1	Míimi, anakú uyt myánash pt'íniks itaxnúnax'ixana,					
	Míimi	ana-kú	uyt	myánash	pt'íniks	i-taxnúnax'i-xa-na
	long.ago	SUB-and	first	child	girl	3Sg.S-grow.up-HAB-PST
	"A long time ago, when a girl had her first menses,"					

3.3.2.1.2	ánichxanapat wíyat nisháyktknik tamátł'umxi iłíitiliitpa.				
	á-nich-xa-na=pat	wíyat	nisháyk-t-knik	tamátł'umx-i	iłíitiliit-pa
	3O-store-HAB-PST=3Pl>3	far	live-NZR-ABL	cover-STAT	little.house-LOC
	"they put her far away from other people in a little hut."				

3.3.2.2	Kwnak naxsh áyatin pánaktwaninxana.			
	Kwnak	naxsh	áyat-in	pá-naktwanin-xa-na
	that.LOC	one	woman-ASSOC	INV-care.for-HAB-PST
	"There was a woman there to take care of her."			

3.3.2.3.1	Anakú itilíwalixana uyt,		
	Ana-kú	i-tilíwali-xa-na	uyt
	SUB-and	3Sg.S-menstruate-HAB-PST	first
	"When her blood flowed,"		

3.3.2.3.2	chawakut pináwapashata pɨnmipáynk wáwnakshashpa.			
	chaw-akut	piná-wapasha-ta	pɨnmi-páynk	wáwnakshash-pa
	NEG-?	REFL.Sg-touch-FUT	3Sg.GEN.PN-LOC.EMPH	body-LOC
	"she was not allowed to touch herself on any part of her body."			

3.3.2.4.1	Chaw pinátwampta	
	chaw	piná-twamp-ta
	NEG	REFL.Sg-comb-FUT
	"She was not to comb her hair"	

3.3.2.4.2	uu pina'ayata.	
	uu	pina'-aya-ta
	or	REFL.Sg-touch-FUT
	"or scratch herself."	

3.3.2.5	Kushnáyk'ay áyatin pánaktwaninx̱a pt'íniksnan,			
	Kush-náyk'-ay	áyat-in	pá-naktwanin-x̱a	pt'íniks-nan
	?	woman-ASSOC	INV-care.for-HAB	girl-OBJ
	"That was why the woman helper was there--to counsel the girl"			

3.3.2.6	"Awnam tx̱ána áyat.		
	Aw=nam	tx̱ána	áyat
	Now=2Sg	become-PPF	woman
	"'You are now a woman."		

3.3.2.7	Chawk'aam wa myánash.		
	Chaw-k'a=am	wa	myánash
	NEG-actually=2Sg	COP	child
	"You are no longer a child."		

3.3.2.8.1	chawk'aam łk̲'iwisimɨta,	
	chaw-k'a=am	łk̲'iwi-simɨ-ta
	NEG-actually=2Sg	play-only-FUT
	"You will not just play,"	

3.3.2.8.2	Awnam pinásapsikw'ata náktwanint nisháykt."			
	Aw=nam	piná-sapsikw'a-ta	náktwanin-t	nisháyk-t
	now=2Sg	REFL.Sg-teach-FUT	care.for-NZR	live-NZR
	"now you are going to learn how to take care of a home.'"			

3.3.2.9.1	Awkú áyatin pániẋa sínwit		
	Awkú	áyat-in	pá-ni-ẋa	sínwi-t
	then	woman-ASSOC	INV-give-HAB	speak-NZR
	"The woman would advise her"			

3.3.2.9.2	anakú itẋánata ɨwínshyi		
	ana-kú	i-tẋána-ta	ɨwínsh-yi
	SUB-and	3Sg.S-become-FUT	man-?
	"about married life,"		

3.3.2.9.3	mish áwata tẋánat, kúshẋi miyánash anít, ku náktwanint tsɨmti myálashnan.					
	mish	á-wata	tẋána-t	kúshẋi	miyánash	aní-t
	Q	3O-COP.FUT	become-NZR	as.well.as	child	make-NZR

ku	náktwanin-t	tsɨmti	myálash-nan
and	care.for-NZR	new	baby-OBJ
"sex, pregnancy, and how to care for an infant."			

3.3.2.10.1	Anakú i'átɨmta kwnink ɨlíitɨliitknik		
	Ana-kú	i-átɨm-ta	kwnink	ɨlíitɨliit-knik
	SUB-and	3Sg.S-come.out-FUT	that.ABL	little.house-ABL
	"When she comes out of that hut,"			

3.3.2.10.2	laak iwáta skukwínsh tł'aaẋw íkw'ak wapsúẋwit taẋnunak'itpamá.				
	laak	i-wáta	skukwínsh	tł'aaẋw	íkw'ak
	perhaps	3Sg.S-COP.FUT	expert	all	that

wapsúẋwit	taẋnunak'i-t-pamá
training	grow.up-NZR-thing.for
"she will have all that knowledge."	

3.3.2.11	Kuuk awkú iwá ts'aa ámanitay.				
	Kuuk	awkú	i-wá	ts'aa	ámani-t-ay
	then	then	3Sg.S-COP	near	get.married-NZR-BEN
	"That is when she is responsible enough for married life."				

3.3.2.12	Íkush íkw'ak áwacha miimá sápsikw'at tiinmamí.				
	Íkush	íkw'ak	á-wacha	miimá	sápsikw'a-t	tiin-ma-mí
	thus	that	3O-COP-PST	long.ago	teach-NZR	Indian.person-Pl-GEN
	"That is how the old ways of the People were passed on."					

Section 3.4

Passage 3.4.1

3.4.1.1.1	Chaw shin ishukwaásha		
	Chaw	shin	i-shukwaá-sha
	NEG	who	3Sg.S-know-IMPV
	"No one knows"		

3.4.1.1.2	mun iwiyá'uyna pápawawshtaymat, awkłáw Ititámat Naknuwiłama,					
	mun	i-wiyá'uy-na	pá-pawawshtayma-t	awkłáw	Ititáma-t	Naknuwi-łá-ma
	when	3Sg.S-start-PST	come.together-NZR	enough	count-NZR	care.for-AGT-Pl
	"when the Coming Together ceremony originated, except for the Time Ball Keepers"					

3.4.1.1.3	anakwmák tł'aax̱w pá'ikwtɨmix̱ana átaw tx̱ánat.				
	ana-kwmák	tł'aax̱w	pá-ikwtɨmi-x̱a-na	átaw	tx̱ána-t
	SUB-that.S.Pl	all	INV-arrange-HAB-PST	important	happen-NZR
	"who recorded important happenings."				

3.4.1.2.1	Átway Miimamamí ɨtɨtámat áwacha Ich'íi				
	Átway	Miima-ma-mí	ɨtɨtáma-t	á-wacha	Ich'íi
	deceased	ancestors-Pl-GEN	count-NZR	3O-COP.PST	big?
	"The now-deceased ancestors' Time Balls were as large"				

3.4.1.2.2	anakwɨł wa niimí łamtíx̱.			
	ana-kwɨł	wa	niimí	łamtíx̱
	SUB-?	COP	1Pl.GEN.PN	head
	"as human heads."			

3.4.1.3.1	Pawíshtka átaw łkw'i, txánat, tł'yáwit, myálas anítpíitł'yawit, páwanikt, pápatkw'akyut				
	Pa-wíshtk-a	átaw	łkw'i	txána-t	tł'yáwi-t
	3PL.S-tie-PST	important	day	happen-NZR	die-NZR

myálas	aní-t	píi-tł'yawi-t	pá-wanik-t	pá-patkw'akyut
child	make-NZR	?-die-NZR	INV-name-NZR	INV-?
"They recorded the special daily events, deaths, births, wars, name-givings"				

3.4.1.3.2	anatún átaw txánat piimyúuk tiináwityaw.			
	ana-tún	átaw	txána-t	piimank-yúuk	tiináwit-yaw
	SUB-what	important	happen-NZR	3?.GEN.PN-DAT	Indian.way-DAT
	"any important happenings for the Time Ball Keeper's people of traditional values."			

3.4.1.4.1	Chawnam paysh áwyaxtaxnay mɨnán ikushnanák tupán museumpa					
	Chaw=nam	paysh	áw-iyax-taxnay	mɨnán	ikush-nanák	tupán	museum-pa
	NEG=2Sg	maybe	3O-locate-COND	where.LOC	thus-?	something	museum-LOC
	"You probably won't find those kinds of Time Balls in a museum,"					

3.4.1.4.2	Awkłáw tun iksíks anakw'ɨnk kpaylimá tiin aníya.					
	Awkłáw	tun	iksíks	ana-kw'ɨnk	kpaylimá	tiin	aní-ya
	enough	what	little	SUB-that.aforementioned	recent	Indian.person	make-PST
	"except for modern versions that people attempted to start."					

3.4.1.5.1	Kwnamánk miimá tɨmnanaxtknik tiin ishukwáana				
	Kwnamánk	miimá	tɨmnanax-t-knik	tiin	i-shukwáa-na
	that.LOC.ABL	long.ago	tell.story-NZR-ABL	Indian.person	3Sg.S-know-PST
	"From these ancient recordings on the hemp ball called 'the count,' the people knew"				

3.4.1.5.2	mɨnán áwacha ishchɨt wiyánintpama.			
	mɨnán	á-wacha	ishchɨt	wiyánin-t-pama
	where.LOC	3O-COP.PST	trail	walk-NZR-thing.for
	"which paths were for traveling where."			

3.4.1.6.1	Lahaháam Winaatshapamamíknik áx̱miknik wíihaykt wanapáynk				
	Lahaháam	Winaatshapam-ma-mí-knik	áx̱mi-knik	wíihayk-t	wana-páynk
	distant	Wenatchee-Pl-GEN-ABL	water-ABL	flow.down-NZR	river-LOC.EMPH
	"They traveled from far distances for important gatherings."				

3.4.1.6.2	ku úyknik ɨshchɨ́t íkuuk akwíitamsh kpaylíma íchɨn támiwnat x̱wał̓x̱waypammamíyaw tiichámyaw.			
	ku	úy-knik	ɨshchɨ́t	íkuuk	a-kwíita-m-sh
	and	start-ABL	trail	today	3O-walk.down-CSL-PERF

kpaylíma	íchɨn	támiwnat	x̱wał̓x̱waypam-ma-mí-yaw	tiichám-yaw
recent	this.DAT	over	Klickatat-Pl-GEN-DAT	land-DAT
"From up the Columbia River far away from as Wenatchee country they came down the Columbia and over the mountain into Klikatat country."				

3.4.1.7.1	Kpáylk ashkú áwishapnix̱ana Nch'ínch'imaman			
	Kpáylk	ana=ash-kú	á-wi-shapni-x̱a-na	Nch'ínch'i-maman
	recent	SUB=1Sg-and	3O-DST-ask-HAB-PST	Elder-OBJ.Pl
	"Recently I asked Elders about these stories"			

3.4.1.7.2	kush ttushma pa'ínx̱ana		
	ku=sh	ttush-ma	pa-ín-x̱a-na
	and=1Sg	some.people-Pl	3Pl.S-tell-HAB-PST
	"and they told me"		

3.4.1.8.1	Chawnash ínch'a áshukwaasha		
	Chaw=nash	ínk-ch'a	á-shukwaa-sha
	NEG=1Sg	1Sg.S.Pn-also	3O-know-IMPV
	"I don't know about those things"		

3.4.1.8.2	ashkú wíyat panánana tímani tiichámknik			
	ana=ash-kú	wíyat	pa-nána-na	tíma-ni	tiichám-knik
	SUB=1Sg-and	far	3Pl.S-carry-PST	write-STAT	land-ABL
	"because they took me away from the reservation"			

3.4.1.8.3	kush chaw shínɨm tamúna íkw'ak.				
	ku=sh	chaw	shínɨm	tamún-a	íkw'ak
	and=1Sg	NEG	who.ERG	inform-PST	that.Sg.S
	"and no one told me those stories."				

3.4.1.9	Ku ḵaaw nch'ínch'i chaw itḵ'íx̱na átaw tiináwit isíkw'at.							
	Ku	ḵaaw	nch'ínch'i	chaw	i-tḵ'íx̱-na	átaw	tiináwit	isíkw'a-t
	and	separately	Elder	NEG	3Sg.S-want-PST	important	Indian.way	show-NZR
	"And separately, Elders did not want to reveal important traditions."							

3.4.1.10.1	Kútya ttuush patɨmnáx̱na		
	Kú-tya	ttuush	pa-tɨmnáx̱-na
	and-actually	some.people	3Pl.S-tell.story-PST
	"However, a few shared"		

3.4.1.11.2	Anakú pawachá iksíks ttáwax̱t,			
	Ana-kú	pa-wachá	iksíks	ttáwax̱-t
	SUB-and	3Pl.S-COP.PST	little	grow-NZR
	"that when they were still children,"			

3.4.1.11.3	piimanách'apat wiyánch'ima kwnax̱i ánanana			
	piimaná-ch'a=pat	wiyánch'i-ma	kwnak=x̱i	á-nana-na
	3Pl.OBJ.PN-also=3Pl>3	chief-Pl	that.LOC=also	3O-carry-PST
	"their parents took them along"			

3.4.1.11.4	Anakú piimínk pyap uu pat ánaniinya pápawshtamatkan.					
	Ana-kú	piimínk	pyap	uu	pat	á-naniini-ya
	SUB-and	3Pl.GEN.PN	older.brother	or	older.sister	3O-take.along.PST

pápawshtamat-kan
gathering.together-ABL
"when they took an older brother or sister to the Páwshtaymat."

Passage 3.4.2

3.4.2.1.1	Anakúx̲it mun anwíktpa, paysh tyamík̲'ityamix̲'ipa				
	Ana-kú=x̲it	mun	anwíkt-pa	paysh	tyamík̲'ityamix̲'i-pa
	SUB-and=?	when	year-LOC	maybe	springtime?-LOC
	"At a certain time of year, probably springtime,"				

3.4.2.1.2	anakú tiin iwshtux̲inx̲ana		
	ana-kú	tiin	i-wshtux̲-inx̲a-na
	SUB-and	Indian.person	3Sg.S-?-HAB-PST
	"the people gathered together,"		

3.4.2.1.3	anaminík pawɨsháchikx̲ana tkwátat wak̲'ítanat				
	ana-miník	pa-wɨsháchik-x̲a-na		tkwáta-t	wak̲'ítanat
	SUB-where.ABL	3Pl.S-move.in-HAB-PST		eat-NZR	?
	"bringing food,"				

3.4.2.1.4	kuuk pa'aníx̲ana páwyak̲'ukt ímatalampa.			
	kuuk	pa-aní-x̲a-na	páwyak̲'uk-t	ímatalam-pa
	then	3Pl.S-make-HAB-PST	gather-NZR	Umatilla-LOC
	"and they built a large longhouse at Umatilla"			

3.4.2.2	Nch'i káatnam pápatukɨnx̲ana pápawawshtaymatay.			
	Nch'i	káatnam	pá-patuk-ɨnx̲a-na	pápawawshtaymat-ay
	big	longhouse	INV-construct-HAB-PST	gathering.together-BEN
	"for the Meeting of Two People dance ceremony."			

3.4.2.3.1	Íkw'ak iwaníksha íkush		
	Íkw'ak	i-waník-sha	íkush
	that.Sg.S	3Sg.S-name-IMPV	thus
	"It is called that"		

3.4.2.3.2	anakú panákpnita tmay,		
	ana-kú	pa-nákpni-ta	tmay
	SUB-and	3Pl.S-bring.out-FUT	umarried.girl
	"because when the girl is brought out,"		

3.4.2.3.3	ku ináawiin páwyawshtayma		
	ku	ináawi-in	pá-wyawshtaym-a
	and	unmarried.boy-ASSOC	INV-meet-PST
	"the boy goes out to meet her,"		

3.4.2.3.4	ku paysh chaw pápawyanata íkw'ak				
	ku	paysh	chaw	pá-pawyana-ta	íkw'ak
	and	maybe	NEG	INV-push.away-FUT	that.Sg.S
	"but if she turns away, he has to find somone else"				

3.4.2.4	awkú patx̱ánata pawaláḵ'iki.		
	awkú	pa-tx̱ána-ta	pawaláḵ'ik-i
	then	3Pl.S-happen-FUT	bind-STAT
	"and if he is approved, she lets him stay."		

3.4.2.5.1	Mayk íx̱wi kwnínk awkú kuuk átx̱anata nɨmnawíit pápshx̱wiit					
	Mayk	íx̱wi	kwnínk	awkú	kuuk	á-tx̱ana-ta
	little.bit	later	that.LOC.ABL	then	then.LOC	3O-happen-FUT

nɨmnawíit	pápshx̱wiit
a.lot	wedding.trade
"After the engagement, the family has the Indian Wedding Trade."	

3.4.2.5.2	anakú pápuuchnik, ɨwínshknik ku áyatknik, pápawyakuta					
	ana-kú	pápuuchnik	ɨwínsh-knik	ku	áyat-knik	pá-pawyaku-ta
	SUB-and	both.sides	man-ABL	and	woman-ABL	INV-gather-FUT
	"Man and woman sides trade with each other;"					

3.4.2.5.3	pápatx̱taymata inawíksh tmayíkshyaw.		
	pápa-tx̱tayma-ta	inawíksh	tmayíksh-yaw
	RECP-trade-FUT	male.dowry	female.dowry-DAT
	"male dowry is traded for female dowry."		

Passage 3.4.3

3.4.3.1.1	Náx̱shk'a áwacha tx̱ánat		
	Náx̱sh-k'a	á-wacha	tx̱ána-t
	one-again	3O-COP.PST	happen-NZR
	"There was another ceremony"		

3.4.3.1.2	anakú myánash atax̱núunak'ix̱ana myálasknik myánashyaw				
	ana-kú	myánash	a-tax̱núunak'i-x̱a-na	myálas-knik	myánash-yaw
	SUB-and	child	3O-grow.up-HAB-PST	infant-ABL	child-DAT
	"when the first child came of age,"				

3.4.3.1.3	kuuk tíinma pa'aníx̱ana ayáyat wanapaýnk.				
	kuuk	tíin-ma	pa-aní-x̱a-na	ayáyat	wana-paýnk
	then.LOC	Indian.person-PL	3Pl.S-make-HAB-PST	beautiful	river-LOC.EMPH
	"and the Sahaptin People held this ceremony along the Columbia River territory."				

3.4.3.2.1	Papátukx̱ana nch'ii káatnam		
	Pa-pátuk-x̱a-na	nch'ii	káatnam
	3Pl.S-construct-HAB-PST	big	longhouse
	"they set up a large longhouse,"		

3.4.3.2.2	ku pawɨsháchikx̱ana ts'áax̱wknik mɨník íkwɨn.				
	ku	pa-wɨsháchik-x̱a-na	ts'áax̱w-knik	mɨník	íkwɨn
	and	3Pl.S-move.into.camp-HAB-PST	nearby-ABL	where.ABL	that.DAT
	"and they camped there."				

3.4.3.3	Panáchikx̱a myánashma.	
	Pa-náchik-x̱a	myánash-ma
	3Pl.S-bring-HAB	child-Pl
	"They brought their oldest child."	

3.4.3.4	Áwacha kwtɨnpamánksim walptáykt, chaw wíyat anakúshx̱i waashatpamá, awkɬáw kuts'k mayk túnx̱.					
	Á-wacha	kwtɨnpamánk-sim	walptáyk-t	chaw	wíyat	anakúsh=x̱i
	3O-COP	ceremony.things-only	sing-NZR	NEG	far	like=also

waasha-t-pamá	awkɫáw	kuts'k	mayk	túnx̱
dance-NZR-thing.for	enough	small.parts	little.bit	different
"The songs were special for this ceremony, they resembled the longhouse songs, but slightly different."				

3.4.3.5	Íkuuk kwtɨnpamánk pa'itwásha waashatpamáyaw.			
	Íkuuk	kwtɨnpamánk	pa-itwá-sha	waasha-t-pamá-yaw
	today	ceremony.things-only	3Pl.S-mix-IMPV	dance-NZR-thing.for-DAT
	"Nowadays the songs are mixed together."			

3.4.3.6.1	Awkú papátukx̱ana káatnam íkwna wanapaýnk				
	Awkú	pa-pátuk-x̱a-na	káatnam	íkwna	wana-paýnk
	then	3Pl.S-construct-HAB-PST	longhouse	that.LOC	river.LOC-EMPH
	"They would set up the longhouse there along the Columbia River"				

3.4.3.6.2	anakwnák iksíks tawn iwá			
	ana-kwnák	iksíks	tawn	i-wá
	SUB-that.LOC	little	town	3Sg.S-COP
	"where there is a small town"			

3.4.3.6.3	iwaníksha Arlington.	
	i-waník-sha	Arlington
	3Sg.S-name-IMPV	Arlington
	"called Arlington."	

3.4.3.7.1	Paysh áwa tiin waníkt			
	Paysh	á-wa	tiin	waník-t
	maybe	3O-COP	Indian.person	name-NZR
	"It has an Indian name"			

3.4.3.7.2	kush chaw áshukwaanisha.		
	ku=sh	chaw	á-shukwa-ani-sha
	and=1Sg	NEG	3O-know-APPL-IMPV
	"I cannot remember."		

3.4.3.8.1	Aw tł'áax̱wkan miin pawánpix̱ana tíinmaman				
	Aw	tł'áax̱w-kan	miin	pa-wánpi-x̱a-na	tíin-maman
	now	all-ABL	where-ABL	3Pl.S-invite-HAB-PST	Indian.person-OBJ.Pl
	"They notified all tribes"				

3.4.3.8.2	anakuumínk áwa kúshx̱i tiináwit.			
	ana-kuumínk	á-wa	kúshx̱i	tiináwit
	SUB-that.Pl.GEN	3O-COP	as.well.as	Indian.way
	"who practice the same tradition."			

3.4.3.9.1	Ku pawɨshachikx̱ana	
	Ku	pa-wɨshachik-x̱a-na
	and	3Pl.S-come.to.camp-HAB-PST
	"They came"	

3.4.3.9.2	ku yakút ɨníit pawipatúkx̱ana kwnak.				
	ku	yakút	ɨníit	pa-wi-patúk-x̱a-na	kwnak
	and	?	house	3Pl.S-DST-construct-HAB-PST	that.LOC
	"and set up their camp there."				

3.4.3.10.1	Anakú pawíi'uynx̱ana walptaykłáma		
	Ana-kú	pa-wíi'uy-nx̱a-na	walptayk-łá-ma
	SUB-and	3Pl.S-start-HAB-PST	sing-AGT-Pl
	"When they started the activity,"		

3.4.3.10.2	pawát'ax̱ana kiwkíwlaas	
	pa-wát'a-x̱a-na	kiwkíwlaas
	3Pl.S-hit-HAB-PST	drum
	"the drummers would signal with the drum,"	

3.4.3.10.3	kuuk panáshx̱ana myánash.		
	kuuk	pa-násh-x̱a-na	myánash
	then.LOC	3Pl.S-take.inside-HAB-PST	child
	"and people would bring their child."		

3.4.3.11.1	Tináynaktknik walptaykłáma pimá'ikwstimixana		
	Tináynak-t-knik	walptayk-łá-ma	pimá-ikwstimi-xa-na
	sun.rise-NZR-ABL	sing-AGT-Pl	REFL.Pl-position-HAB-PST
	"The singers positioned themselves in the west side"		

3.4.3.11.2	pa'áwxanaykxana kiwkíwlaas píkshani		
	pa-áwxanayk-xa-na	kiwkíwlaas	píksha-ni
	3Pl.S-line.up-HAB-PST	drum	?-STAT
	"they stood in a straight line, side by side, holding their round drum"		

3.4.3.11.3	ku wát'uychnik túskaas ttmayíma waayk wáashpa pa'áwxanaykxana.						
	ku	wát'uy-chnik	túskaas	ttmayíma	waayk	wáash-pa	pa-áwxanayk-xa-na
	and	beginning-ABL	seven	unmarried.girls	across	waash-LOC	3Pl.S-line.up-HAB-PST
	"and, the maidens stood in front, across the floor, in a straight line, side by side."						

3.4.3.12	Anáshtiknik wapáwni amíishma patútixana its'wáyki anakúshxi ttmayíma waayk wáashpa.				
	Anáshti-knik	wapáwni	amíishma	pa-túti-xa-na	its'wáyki
	evening-ABL	dressed	boys	3Pl.S-stand-HAB-PST	straight

anakúsh=xi	ttmayíma	waayk	wáash-pa
like=also	girls	across	Waash-LOC
"On the east, the boys stood dressed in a straight line just like the girls, across the longhouse floor."			

3.4.3.13.1	Anakú tiin wáashat iwíi'uynxana		
	Ana-kú	tiin	wáasha-t	i-wíi'uy-nxa-na
	SUB-and	Indian.person	dance-NZR	3Sg.S-start-HAB-PST
	"When the dance started--first started--"			

3.4.3.13.2	tł'áaxwxi shin iwáashaxana.		
	tł'áaxw=xi	shin	i-wáasha-xa-na
	all=also	who	3Sg.S-dance-HAB-PST
	"--everyone danced."		

3.4.3.14.1	Ku mun chatikłá iwáwiinax̱ana kw'alálkw'alalki				
	Ku	mun	chatik-łá	i-wáwiina-x̱a-na	kw'alálkw'alal-ki
	and	when	ring.bell-AGT	3Sg.S-sing.once.verse-HAB-PST	bell-INST
	"When the Bell Ringer gave the signal"				

3.4.3.14.2	kuuk panákpnix̱ana myánash		
	kuuk	pa-nákpni-x̱a-na	myánash
	then.LOC	3Pl.S-bring.out-HAB-PST	child
	"that was when the Elder brought her child out"		

3.4.3.14.3	ku panákslikx̱ana wáashpa.		
	ku	pa-nákslik-x̱a-na	wáash-pa
	and	3Pl.S-lead.around-HAB-PST	Waash-LOC
	"and danced across the floor."		

3.4.3.15.1	Ttmayíma pawá ayáyat wapáwani tunx̱túnx̱ kála tł'píipii ku k'pɨtmi ɨwáywii wímshyakshi ku luts'aanmí ɨstíyaasi, lúxlux taalaanmí,				
	Ttmayíma	pa-wá	ayáyat	wapáwa-ni	tunx̱túnx̱
	girls	3Pl.S-COP	beautiful	wear-STAT	different

kála	tł'píipii	ku	k'pɨtmi	ɨwáywii	wímshyakshi	ku	luts'aanmí	ɨstíyaasi
color	dresses	and	beads	worn	earings	and	gold	bracelet

lúxlux	taalaanmí
shining	silver
"The maidens wore different-colored bright clothes decorated with beads, earrings of shell, gold and shimmering silver bracelets,"	

3.4.3.15.2	kkáatnam wápshaash áwa wáwumki nuksháyki.				
	kkáatnam	wápshaash	á-wa	wáwumki	nuksháyki
	longhouse	braids	3O-COP	skins	otter
	"long braids wrapped in otter skins."				

3.4.3.16	Kúshx̱i waayk wáashpa pawá ináwawma wilyakíyi tunxtunx̱ lalupaanmí táatpas ku pipshmí ɨwáywishyi k'pɨlmí shapáwaltawish tútanikpa papúuchnik tpɨshpa.					
	Kúshx̱i	waayk	wáash-pa	pa-wá	ináwaw-ma	wilyakíyi
	as.well.as	across	Waash-LOC	3Pl.S-COP	unmarried.boys	chaps

tunx̱tunx̱	lalupaanmí	táatpas	ku	pipshmí	ɨwáywishyi	k'pɨlmí
different	ribbon	shirts	and	bone	necklaces	beaded

shapáwaltawish	tútanik-pa	papúuchnik	tpɨ́sh-pa
hair ties	hair-LOC	on.both.sides	face-LOC

"The boys were dressed the same way, dressed in colorful chaps, wearing different-colored ribbon shirts, bone breast plates, beaded decorations in the hair hanging down each side of the face."

3.4.3.17	Íkush awkú pimáwapaawax̱ana patkwaycháshatpa.			
	Íkush	awkú	pimá-wapaawa-x̱a-na	patkwaycháshat-pa
	thus	then	REFL.Pl-dress-HAB-PST	engagement.dance-LOC
	"This was how they dressed at the Engagement Dance."			

3.4.3.18.1	Íkush áwa tx̱ánat wanałamamí			
	Íkush	á-wa	tx̱ána-t	wana-ła-ma-mí
	thus	3O-COP	happen-NZR	river-AGT-Pl-GEN
	"This was how the ceremony was performed by the people of the Columbia River,"			

3.4.3.18.2	anakwmák panisháykshana wanapáynk.		
	ana-kwmák	pa-nisháyk-sha-na	wana-páynk
	SUB-that.Pl.S	3Pl.S-live-IMPV-PST	river-LOC.EMPH
	"who lived along the river."		

3.4.3.19	Átaw iwá chiish tiinmamíyaw.			
	Átaw	i-wá	chiish	tiin-ma-mí-yaw
	important	3Sg.S-COP	water	Indian.person-Pl-GEN-DAT
	"Water is a vital part of Indian Life."			

3.4.3.20	Tł'aax̱wnan tuun inaknúwisha.		
	Tł'aax̱w-nan	tuun	i-naknúwi-sha
	all-OBJ.Sg	what.OBJ	3Sg.S-care.for-IMPV
	"It takes care of everything."		

3.4.3.21.1	I'íyatł'piẋa tamaníkshnan	
	I-íyatł'pi-ẋa	tamaníksh-nan
	3Sg.S-water-HAB	garden-OBJ
	"It waters the garden"	

3.4.3.21.2	anakw'ɨnk wa niimí ẋnit,			
	ana-kw'ɨnk	wa	niimí	ẋni-t
	SUB-that.aforementioned	COP	1Pl.GEN.PN	dig.root-NZR
	"where all the foods exist,"			

3.4.3.21.3	ku úyknik inísha waḵ'íshwit.			
	ku	úy-knik	i-ní-sha	waḵ'íshwit
	and	beginning-ABL	3Sg.S-give-IMPV	life
	"and it gives them life."			

3.4.3.22	Kwɨnkínk kw'ɨnk awkú piná'iwya'ishaẋsha.			
	Kwɨnkínk	kw'ɨnk	awkú	piná-iwya'ishaẋ-sha
	that.INST	that.aforementioned	then	REFL.Sg-going.to.add-IMPV
	"That was how they were able to replenish themselves."			

3.4.3.23	Tł'aaẋw tuun iwá pɨ́ts'aki.			
	Tł'aaẋw	tuun	i-wá	pɨ́ts'aki
	all	what.OBJ	3Sg.S-COP	?
	"Everything is connected,"			

3.4.3.24	Anakúsh íchi íkuuk átk'iẋsha tímani sɨ́nwitnan: "Sɨ́nwitnan, átk'iẋsha."					
	Anakúsh	íchi	íkuuk	á-tk'iẋ-sha	tíma-ni	sɨ́nwi-t-nan
	like	this.S	today	3O-want-IMPV	write-STAT	speak-NZR-OBJ

sɨ́nwitnan	átk'isha
"speaking"	"seeing it"
"like we see the written word: 'Sínwi-t-nan,' 'á-tk'i-sha.'"	

3.4.3.25	Kúshẋi tiinmamí myánash kw'ɨ́łẋi áwa páshwini.					
	Kúshẋi	tiin-ma-mí	myánash	kw'ɨ́łẋi	á-wa	páshwi-ni
	as.well.as	Indian.person-Pl-GEN	child	?	3O-COP	value-STAT
	"The parents put equal value on children."					

3.4.3.26	Pmách'axi wát'uychan sápkitwam pimá'ishaxasha.			
	Pmák-ch'axi	wát'uychan	sápkitwam	pimá-ishaxa-sha
	3Pl.?.PN-also	the.future	organized	REFL.Pl-add-IMPV
	"They are preserved to benefit the future."			

3.4.3.27	Kwinkínk pawachá sap'awyi shapátkw'alsht'xi.			
	Kwinkínk	pa-wachá	sap'awi-i	shapá-tkw'alsht'x-i
	that.INST	3Pl.S-COP.PST	select-STAT	CAUS-marry-STAT
	"That is the reason this Engagement ceremony is important."			

3.4.3.28.1	Chawtya shix k'ínupa awkłáw mish myánash iwachá sápsikw'ani							
	Chaw-tya	shix	k'ínu-pa	awkłáw	mish	myánash	i-wachá	sápsikw'a-ni
	not-actually	good	see-LOC	enough	Q	child	3Sg.S-COP.PST	teach-STAT
	"They are not judged for beauty; it depends on how they are raised,"							

3.4.3.28.2	ku mish kw'ink myánash pinátmaaksha				
	ku	mish	kw'ink	myánash	piná-tmaak-sha
	and	Q	that.aforementioned	child	REFL.Sg-respect-IMPV
	"and it depends on whether the child respects himself,"				

3.4.3.28.3	ku itmáaksha sápsikw'atnan ku pinmínk nch'ínch'ima.					
	ku	i-tmáak-sha	sápsikw'a-t-nan	ku	pinmínk	nch'ínch'i-ma
	and	3Sg.S-respect-IMPV	teach-NZR-OBJ	and	3Sg.GEN.PN	Elder-Pl
	"the ceremony, and his family."					

3.4.3.29	Íkush pawachá wáachii ikks ttáwaxtma, kúshxi piimínk wyánch'ima náxshpa nisháyaaspa.					
	Íkush	pa-wachá	wáachi-i	ikks	ttáwax-t-ma	kúshxi
	thus	3Pl.S-COP.PST	watch-STAT	little.Pl	grow-NZR-Pl	as.well.as

piimínk	wyánch'i-ma	náxsh-pa	nisháyaas-pa
3Pl.GEN.PN	chief-Pl	one-LOC	residence-LOC
They were closely observed, even when they stayed home with the grandparents in their home."			

3.4.3.30	cháwpam pxwíta	
	cháw=pam	pxwí-ta
	NEG=2Pl	think-FUT
	"Do not get the idea"	

3.4.3.31	tł'aaxw tiin itwánashana.		
	tł'aaxw	tiin	i-twána-sha-na
	all	Indian.person	3Sg.S-follow-IMPV-PST
	"that all people followed this tradition."		

3.4.3.32.1	Ttuush tiin ihananúynxana tiináwit twánat				
	Ttuush	tiin	i-hananúy-nxa-na	tiináwit	twána-t
	some.people	Indian.person	3Sg.S-waste.time-HAB-PST	Indian.way	follow-NZR
	"Some Indian people thought it was too much trouble,"				

3.4.3.32.2	ku pináwinkpxana túnxyaw txánatyaw.			
	ku	piná-winkp-xa-na	túnx-yaw	txána-t-yaw
	and	REFL.Sg.-?-HAB-PST	different-DAT	follow-NZR-DAT
	"and they preferred to adopt different cultures."			

3.4.3.33	Kushkínk áwacha naxsh sínwit pá'anixwatpa twakwstímii,					
	Kush-kínk	á-wacha	naxsh	sínwi-t	pá'anixwat-pa	twakwstími-i
	thus.INST	3O-COP-PST	one	speak-NZR	treaty-LOC	record-STAT
	"It was for that reason, the Sahaptin people declared this, in the treaty,"					

3.4.3.34	"Anakú inmí áyat myánash i ͨamanita kwimyúuk					
	Ana-kú	inmí	áyat	myánash	i-amani-ta	kwimínk-yúuk
	SUB-and	1Sg.GEN.PN	woman	child	3Sg.S-marry-FUT	?-DAT
	"'When my daughter marries'"					

3.4.3.35	anakw'inmínk áwa tunx ttáwaxt.			
	ana-kw'inmínk	á-wa	tunx	ttáwax-t
	SUB-that.Sg.GEN	3O-COP	different	grow-NZR
	"someone who is of a different race,'"			

3.4.3.36	Chawk'a awkú iwáta inmí myánash.				
	Chaw-k'a	awkú	i-wáta	inmí	myánash
	NEG-also	then	3Sg.S-COP.FUT	1Sg.GEN.PN	child
	"'she is no longer my child.'"				

3.4.3.37	Itwánata awkú kuunák iwínshnan."			
	I-twána-ta	awkú	kuunák	iwínsh-nan
	3Sg.S-follow-FUT	then	that.OBJ.Sg	man-OBJ
	"'She must go with the man.'"			

Passage 3.4.4

3.4.4.1	áwacha niipt támanwit ikksmíyaw.			
	á-wacha	niipt	támanwi-t	ikks-mí-yaw
	3O-COP.PST	two	create.rules-NZR	little.ones-GEN-DAT
	"There were two laws for the young people."			

3.4.4.2.1	anakú patxánaxa ts'aa pxwinútpa taxnúnak'it ku ts'aa sápsikw'ani				
	ana-kú	pa-txána-xa	ts'aa	pxwi-nút-pa	taxnúnak'i-t
	SUB-and	3Pl.S-happen-HAB	close	think-NEG?-LOC	grow.up-NZR

ku	ts'aa	sápsikw'a-ni
and	close	teach-STAT
"When young people are close to maturity and ready for teaching,"		

3.4.4.2.2	kuuk nch'ínch'ima mámknik nisháyaasknik áwa myánash ts'aa shapákyuut piimyúuk ttáwaxtyaw					
	kuuk	nch'ínch'i-ma	mámknik	nisháyaas-knik	á-wa	myánash
	at.that.time	Elder-Pl	what.kind.of	house-ABL	3O-COP	child

ts'aa	shapá-kyuu-t	piimink-yúuk	ttáwax-t-yaw
close	CAUS-sneak.up.on-NZR	3Pl.GEN.PN-DAT	grow-NZR-DAT
"the Elders searched for families they wanted to attach to"			

3.4.4.2.3	kw'inkínk úyknik myánashma áwata shúkii anakúsh náxshk'a míts'ay.			
	kw'inkínk	úy-knik	myánash-ma	á-wata	shúk-ii
	that.INST	start-ABL	child-Pl	3O-COP.FUT	remember-STAT

anakúsh	náx̲sh-k'a	míts'ay
like	one-?	aged.plant?
"and extend their heritage"		

3.4.4.3	Kuuk iwínshknik iwínanux̲ana tmay myánashyaw.				
	Kuuk	iwínsh-knik	i-wínanu-x̲a-na	tmay	myánash-yaw
	at.that.time	man-ABL	3Sg.S-go.to-HAB-PST	unmarried.girl	child-DAT
	"extend further with children."				

3.4.4.4.1	Páyshpat "ii" ákux̲ana		
	Páysh=pat	"ii"	á-ku-x̲a-na
	maybe=3Pl>3	"yes"	3O-do-HAB-PST
	"When they were approved,"		

3.4.4.4.2	ku awkú piimínk tíin patíix̲wax̲ana,				
	ku	awkú	piimínk	tíin	pa-tíix̲wa-x̲a-na
	and	then	3Pl.GEN.PN	Indian.person	3Pl.S-announce-HAB-PST
	"then the relatives announced to everyone,"				

3.4.4.5	"Áwna wishúwata átaw k̲k̲anáywitki"			
	Áw=na	wishúwa-ta	átaw	k̲k̲anáywi-t-ki
	now=1Pl.INCL	get.ready-FUT	important	be.busy-NZR-INST
	"'Now we must get ready for the big event that follows.'"			

3.4.4.6	Chimyanashyíima awkú panák-wishuwanx̲ana aswanmí inawawíksh				
	Chimyanashyíima	awkú	pa-nák-wishuwan-x̲a-na	aswan-mí	inawawíksh
	parents	then	3Pl.S-prepare.for-HAB-PST	boy-GEN	male.dowry
	"The parents, then, would get the male dowry ready to trade."				

3.4.4.7	Kúshx̲i pt'iniksmí wyánach'ima ának-wishuwanx̲ana pinmínk tmayíksh.					
	Kúshx̲i	pt'iniks-mí	wyánach'i-ma	á-nak-wishuwa-nx̲a-na	pinmínk	tmayíksh
	as.well.as	girl-GEN	leader-Pl	3O-care.for-HAB-PST	3Sg.GEN.PN	female.dowry
	"At the same time, the girl's Elders were getting the female dowry ready."					

3.4.4.8.1	Papúuchnik ɨwínshknik ku áyatknik pápawyakyuuta				
	Papúuchnik	ɨwínsh-knik	ku	áyat-knik	pá-pawyakyuu-ta
	on.both.sides	man-ABL	and	woman-ABL	INV-gather-FUT
	"The man and woman sides trade with each other;"				

3.4.4.8.2	pápatx̱taymata inawawíksh tmayíkshyaw.		
	pa-patx̱tayma-ta	inawawíksh	tmayíksh-yaw
	INV-wedding.trade-FUT	male.dowry	female.dowry-DAT
	"male dowry is traded for female dowry."		

3.4.4.9	Íkush awkú iwachá anakú.			
	Íkush	awkú	i-wachá	ana-kú
	thus	then	3Sg.S-COP.PST	SUB-and
	"That is the way it was long ago."			

3.4.4.10.1	Íkushkink k̲'tɨt áwacha tiin ttáwax̱t				
	Íkush-kink	k̲'tɨt	a-wacha	tiin	ttáwax̱-t
	thus-INST	hard	3O-COP.PST	Indian.person	grow-NZR
	"That was how the Indian heritage remained strong, as long as they were meticulous"				

3.4.4.10.2	anamáal íkush sáp'awii panaknúwiya piimínk mɨts'áy					
	ana-máal	íkush	sáp'awi-i	pa-naknúwi-ya	piimínk	mɨts'áy
	SUB-how.long	thus	choose-STAT	3Pl.S-care.of-PST	3Pl.GEN.PN	aged.plant
	"managed to keep their roots"					

3.4.4.10.3	anakuumínk áwacha kkúshsim tiináwit.			
	ana-kuumínk	á-wacha	kkúsh-sim	tiináwit
	SUB-that.GEN	3O-COP.PST	same?	Indian.culture
	"within the same culture."			

3.4.4.11	Ának awkú pápatx̱taymax̱ana chɨmyanashyíima.			
	Ának	awkú	pá-patx̱tayma-x̱a-na	chɨmyanashyíima
	later	then	INV-wedding.trade-HAB-PST	parents
	"Afterward, the parents exchanged gifts."			

3.4.4.12	Íx̱wimash isíkw'ata.	
	Íx̱wi=mash	isíkw'a-ta
	later=1Sg>2Sg	show-FUT
	"[Dowry items are included in the glossary.]"	

Section 3.5

Passage 3.5.1

3.5.1.1	Íchi awkłáw iwíi'uysha káatnam k̲k̲anáywit miimawít náktkwanint tł'yáwit.				
	Íchi	awkłáw	i-wíi'uy-sha	káatnam	k̲k̲anáywi-t
	this	enough	3Sg.S-start-IMPV	longhouse	be.busy-NZR

miimawít	náktkwanin-t	tł'yáwi-t
traditional	take.care.of-NZR	die-NZR
"This is the beginning of a long tradition regarding death."		

3.5.1.2	Kúshx̱i náktkwanint imínk átawish anamkú iwyáalakwta.					
	Kúshx̱i	náktkwanin-t	imínk	átawish	ana=nam-kú	i-wyáalakw-ta
	as.well.as	take.care.of-NZR	2Sg.GEN.PN	loved.one	SUB=2Sg-and	3Sg.S-abandon-FUT
	"Each portion was historically meaningful and an important part of tradition."					

Passage 3.5.2

3.5.2.1.1	Anakú iksíks ttáwax̱tma patł'yawiyuux̱a			
	Ana-kú	iksíks	ttáwax̱-t-ma	pa-tł'yawi-yuu-x̱a
	SUB-and	little.Sg	grow-NZR-Pl	3Pl.S-die-APPL-HAB
	"When someone dies in a young family,"			

3.5.2.1.2	anakú chaw tuun pashúkwaasha tiináwit			
	ana-kú	chaw	tuun	pa-shúkwaa-sha	tiináwit
	SUB-and	NEG	what.OBJ	3Pl.S-know-IMPV	Indian.culture
	"and they have not learned the old ways,"			

3.5.2.1.3	ku pawápnaminta,	
	ku	pa-wápnamin-ta
	and	3Pl.S-feel.around-FUT
	"they do not know what to do:"	

3.5.2.2	"Míshna míta?"	
	Mísh=na	mí-ta
	Q=1Pl.INCL	do-FUT
	"What do we do?"	

3.5.2.3.1	Kwɨnkínknash íchi tímashpa kwɨts'k wapíitat áwyaalakwanisha ttuush nch'i ttáwaxt					
	Kwɨnkínk=nash	íchi	tímash-pa	kwɨts'k	wapíita-t	á-wyaalakw-ani-sha
	that.INST=1Sg	this.Sg.S	paper-LOC	?	help-NZR	3O-abandon-APPL-IMPV

ttuush	nch'i	ttáwax-t
some	big	grow-NZR
"The reason I am writing is"		

3.5.2.3.2	míimi laak inícha patún pɨnmílayk'ay				
	míimi	laak	i-ních-a	patún	pɨnmí-layk'ay
	already	perhaps	3Sg.S-put.away-PST	belonging	3Sg.GEN.PN-?
	"perhaps the person put away things for herself or himself"				

3.5.2.3.3	anakú tiichámyaw iwínata.		
	ana-kú	tiichám-yaw	i-wína-ta
	SUB-and	land-DAT	3Sg.S-go-FUT
	"for when she or he would go to Mother Earth,"		

3.5.2.4	Anakúsh na'íłas ikúya.		
	Anakúsh	na'íłas	i-kú-ya
	like	my.mother	3Sg.S-do-PST
	"like my mom did."		

3.5.2.5	Kúxash íłamayka.	
	Kú=xash	íłamayk-a
	and=I.wonder	3Sg.S-hide-PST
	"She hid her things"	

3.5.2.6	Miskillikitash awyáx̱aniya.	
	Miskilliki=tash	aw-yáx̱-ani-ya
	barely=1Pl.EXCL	3O-find-APPL-PST
	"and we had a hard time finding them."	

3.5.2.7	Apat ku lísx̱aam íkwtɨnk ápax̱wiya.				
	A=pat	ku	lísx̱aam	íkwtɨnk	á-pax̱wi-ya
	?=3Pl>3	and	one.time	that.kind	3O-stole-PST
	"Because at one time things were stolen."				

3.5.2.8	Na'iłasaanmí áwacha palaláay patún trunkpa káakɨm pshátani tł'yáwitpayay.					
	Na'iłas-aan-mí	á-wacha	palaláay	patún	trunk-pa	káakɨm
	my.mother-?-GEN	3O-COP.PST	many	belonging	trunk-LOC	full

psháta-ni	tł'yáwi-t-pa-yay
store-STAT	die-NZR-LOC-BEN
"My mom had a lot of things packed full in her trunk."	

3.5.2.9	Pɨnminkmíyaw átaw patún.		
	Pɨnmink-mí-yaw	átaw	patún
	3Sg.GEN.PN-GEN-DAT	imporatnt	belonging
	"Those that were most important to her."		

3.5.2.10	Wáawk'a ɨláx̱ áwacha.		
	Wáawk'a	ɨláx̱	á-wacha
	too.much	grime	3O-COP.PST
	"She had too much."		

3.5.2.11	Kwɨnkínk awkłáw mɨłaa ánakpa inícha.				
	Kwɨnkínk	awkłáw	mɨłaa	ának-pa	i-ních-a
	that.INST	enough	few	later-LOC	3Sg.S-store-PST
	"For her last bundle, she only had a few things."				

3.5.2.12	Uytknik átx̱anax̱a niipt nch'ínch'i k̲'ɨx̱lí.				
	Úyt-knik	a-txana-x̱a	niipt	nch'ínch'i	k̲'ɨx̱lí
	beginning-ABL	3O-happen-HAB	two	elder	tule.mat
	"They must have two large tule mats."				

3.5.2.13	Tł'aax̱w tuun áwata chɨmtí.			
	Tł'aax̱w	tuun	á-wata	chɨmtí
	all	what.OBJ	3O-COP.FUT	new
	"Everything must be unused."			

3.5.2.14.1	Paysh áyatma pawáta cháchani,			
	Paysh	áyat-ma	pa-wáta	cháchani
	maybe	woman-Pl	3Pl.S-COP.FUT	leader?
	"If the woman was a longhouse leader,"			

3.5.2.14.2	awkú panánata piimínk kw'alálkw'alal.			
	awkú	pa-nána-ta	piimínk	kw'alálkw'alal
	then	3Pl.S-bring-FUT	3Pl.GEN.PN	bell
	"she will take her bell."			

3.5.2.15.1	Paysh ɨwínsh iwachá twáti			
	Paysh	ɨwínsh	i-wachá	twáti
	maybe	man	3Sg.S-COP.PST	Indian.doctor
	"And when he was an Indian doctor"			

3.5.2.15.2	ku inánata pɨnmínk pátash.			
	ku	i-nána-ta	pɨnmínk	pátash
	and	3Sg.S-bring-FUT	3Sg.GEN.PN	head.decoration
	"the man his fetish."			

3.5.2.16	Chaw tł'aax̱w walptáykt tł'yawitpamá iwá kúsksim.					
	Chaw	tł'aax̱w	walptáyk-t	tł'yawi-t-pamá	i-wá	kúsksim
	NEG	all	sing.traditional-NZR	die-NZR-thing.for	3Sg.S-COP	similar
	"Funeral songs are"					

3.5.2.17.1	Túnx̱tunx̱ iwá nák'wat'uyt		
	Túnx̱tunx̱	i-wá	nák'wat'uy-t
	different	3Sg.S-COP	officiate-NZR
	"not all the same."		

3.5.2.17.2	anakúsh áwa sápsikw'at mɨník náx̱shknik káatnamknik.					
	anakúsh	á-wa	sápsikw'a-t	mɨník	náx̱sh-knik	káatnam-knik
	like	3O-COP	teach-NZR	where.ABL	one-ABL	longhouse-ABL
	"They are learned through experiences at different longhouses by the leaders who sing at funerals."					

Passage 3.5.3

3.5.3.1.1	Áwnash íchi sínwisha tł'yáwitnan náktkwanintki,			
	Áw=nash	íchi	sínwi-sha	tł'yáwi-t-nan	náktkwanin-t-ki
	now=1Sg	this.Sg.S	speak-IMPV	die-NZR-OBJ	care.for-NZR-INST
	"I am going to talk about taking care of a corpse,"			

3.5.3.1.2	anakúsh iwá miimawítki náktkwanint.			
	anakúsh	i-wá	miimawít-ki	náktkwanin-t
	like	3Sg.S-COP	traditional.way-INST	care.for-NZR
	"in a traditional manner."			

3.5.3.2.1	Íkuuk tł'yáwii tíinnan panánax̱a tł'yawitpamáyaw				
	Íkuuk	tł'yáwi-i	tíin-nan	pa-nána-x̱a	tł'yawi-t-pamá-yaw
	today	die-STAT	Indian.person-OBJ	3Pl.S-bring-HAB	die-NZR-thing.for-DAT
	"Nowadays a body is taken to the mortuary"				

3.5.3.2.2	pashtɨnwít panáktkwaninta.	
	pashtɨnwít	pa-náktkwanin-ta
	white.person.way	3Pl.S-care.for-FUT
	"and they take care of it in the white person's way."	

3.5.3.3.1	Kpaylíma iwá tamánwit pashtɨnmí,			
	Kpaylí-ma	i-wá	tamánwi-t	pashtɨn-mí
	modern	3Sg.S-COP	create.rules-NZR	white.person-GEN
	"This is a modern way"			

3.5.3.3.2	haaynam íkush kúta.		
	haay=nam	íkush	kú-ta
	must=2Sg	thus	do-FUT
	"and the regulations require it."		

3.5.3.4	Ku míimi tíinma chaw íkush pakúx̱ana.					
	Ku	míimi	tíin-ma	chaw	íkush	pa-kú-x̱a-na
	and	long.ago	Indian.person-Pl	NEG	thus	3Pl.S-do-HAB-PST
	"A long time ago the Indian people did not do this."					

3.5.3.5	Áwtya paníchx̱ana tł'aax̱w tł'yawitmí tun awkuníik wápwnakshashpa.				
	Áw-tya	pa-ních-x̱a-na	tł'aax̱w	tł'yawi-t-mí	tun
	now-?	3Pl.S-bring-HAB-PST	all	die-NZR-GEN	thing

awkuníik	wáwnakshash-pa
remaining	body-LOC
"They buried their dead"	

3.5.3.6	Chaw tun patamáatanix̱ana.		
	Chaw	tun	pa-tamáat-ani-x̱a-na
	NEG	thing	3Pl.S-remove-APPL-HAB-PST
	"with all body parts left whole."		

3.5.3.7	Niimípa tímanii tiichámpa páshtinma naktkwaninłáma patmáakinx̱a tíinmaman.				
	Niimí-pa	tímani-i	tiichám-pa	páshtin-ma	naktkwanin-łá-ma
	1Pl.GEN.PN-LOC	write-STAT	land-LOC	white.person-Pl	care.for-AGT-Pl

pa-tmáak-inx̱a	tíin-maman
3Pl.S-respect-HAB	Indian.person-OBJ.Pl
"On our Indian reservations the morticians respect the Indians."	

3.5.3.8.2	anakúsh tíinmapat áwatł'awita.		
	anakúsh	tíin-ma=pat	áw-atł'awi-ta
	like	Indian.person-Pl=3Pl>3	3O-request.of-FUT
	"the way the Indian family instructs them to do it."		

3.5.3.9	Kútya íchi tiinwítki iwá páyu awtnii kútkut.						
	Kútya	íchi	tiinwít-ki	i-wá	páyu	awtnii	kútkut
	but	this.Sg.S	way-INST	3Sg.S-COP	very	holy	work.NZR
	"But the Indian traditional way is very complicated."						

3.5.3.10	Háaynam wáta wápsux̱ ikushpáynk sápsikw'ani nch'inch'imamíki.				
	Háay=nam	wá-ta	wápsux̱	ikush-páynk	sápsikw'a-ni
	must=2Sg	COP-FUT	trained	thus-LOC.EMPH	teach-STAT

nch'inch'i-ma-mí-ki
elder-Pl-GEN-INST
"The person who handles the body must be tutored by the ancient people."

3.5.3.11	Anakú áwa it'úk sápsikw'at. Wíyat'ish.				
	Anakú	áwa	it'úk	sápsikw'at	Wíyat'ish
	"Because the teaching is tedious and long."				

3.5.3.12	Anakú páwiyaalakwta waḵ'ishwitin tíinnan			
	Ana-kú	pá-wiyaalakw-ta	waḵ'ishwit-in	tíin-nan
	SUB-and	INV-abandon=FUT	heath-ASSOC	Indian.person-OBJ
	"When life ceases"			

3.5.3.13.1	anakú tł'aax̱w háashwit ku tɨmná áx̱awshta íx̱wiyakut waḵ'íshwit							
	ana-kú	tł'aax̱w	háashwit	ku	tɨmná	á-x̱awsh-ta	íx̱wi-yakut	waḵ'íshwit
	SUB-and	all	breathing	and	heart	3O-stop-FUT	still-?	health
	"and the person's breath and heartbeat stops,"							

3.5.3.13.2	awkuníik átx̱anax̱a mɨtáat łkw'íyaw.			
	awkuníik	á-tx̱ana-x̱a	mɨtáat	łkw'í-yaw
	remaining	3O-happen-HAB	three	day-DAT
	"the Elders say that the Spirit continues to exist for three days."			

3.5.3.14	Kushkínk pasápsikw'anx̱a wapatwinłáan wáwnakshashnan,			
	Kush-kínk	pa-sápsikw'a-nx̱a	wapatwin-łá-an	wáwnakshash-nan
	thus-INST	3Pl.S-teach-HAB	touch-AGT-?	body-OBJ
	"That is the reason the Indian Body Handler must be careful."			

3.5.3.15.1	"Pina'atł'awyáshataam
	Pina-atł'awyá-sha-ta=am
	REFL.Sg-request-IMPV-FUT=2Sg
	"'Ask for protection from the Creator"

3.5.3.15.2	kunam kpaylk áwapatwinta wáwnakshashnan			
	ku=nam	kpaylk	á-wapatwin-ta	wáwnakshash-nan
	and=2Sg	recently	3O-touch-FUT	body-OBJ
	"before you touch the deceased body."			

3.5.3.15.3	kunam íkw'ak itmáakta.		
	ku=nam	íkw'ak	i-tmáak-ta
	and=2sg	that.Sg.S	3Sg.S-respect-FUT
	"Then the Spirit will respect you.'"		

3.5.3.16.1	Payshnam yalmílk áwapatwinta		
	Paysh=nam	yalmílk	á-wapatwin-ta
	maybe=2Sg	disorganized	3O-touch-FUT
	"But when you are careless"		

3.5.3.16.2	Láaknam ímktya wiyáwkta.		
	Láak=nam	ímk-tya	wiyáwk-ta
	maybe=2Sg	2Sg.S.PN-only	endanger.?-FUT
	"you will endanger yourself."		

3.5.3.17	Naxshk'a tnúwit iwá nch'inch'imamíknik.			
	Naxsh-k'a	tnúwit	i-wá	nch'inch'i-ma-mí-knik
	one-?	warning?	3Sg.S-COP	elder-Pl-GEN-ABL
	"There is another warning from the Elders."			

3.5.3.18.1	Chawnam wáypshaninta tkwátat yamílk st'átpa				
	Chaw=nam	wáypshanin-ta	tkwátat	yamílk	st'áat-pa
	NEG=2Sg	?-FUT	food	disorganized	night-LOC
	"Do not walk around juggling food at night"				

3.5.3.18.2	anakú tł'yawii ilá'ɨshata ts'aápa.			
	ana-kú	tł'yawi-i	i-lá'i-sha-ta	ts'aa-pa
	SUB-and	die=STAT	3Sg.S-lie.down-IMPV-FUT	near-LOC
	"when there is a corpse lying closely nearby."			

3.5.3.19	Láaknam x̱áwapawx̱ita kúts'k tiichámyaw.			
	Láak=nam	x̱áwapawx̱i-ta	kúts'k	tiichám-yaw
	maybe=2Sg	accidentally.drop.?-FUT	piece?	ground-DAT
	"You might accidentally drop a piece of food on the ground."			

3.5.3.20.1	Chawnam tḵáwɨmpta	
	Chaw=nam	tḵáwɨmp-ta
	NEG=2Sg	hand.grab-FUT
	"Do not grab it"	

3.5.3.20.2	ku shapáynakta	
	ku	shapáynak-ta
	and	put.into.mouth-FUT
	"and put it into your mouth,"	

3.5.3.20.3	anakú tł'yáwit míimi iwɨnpa kuunák.				
	ana-kú	tł'yáwi-t	míimi	i-wɨnp-a	kuunák
	SUB-and	die-NZR	already	3Sg.S-grab-PST	that.OBJ.Sg
	"because the dead person already took it."				

3.5.3.21.1	Anamkú ánuḵ'ta íkushnananak,		
	Ana=nam-kú	á-nuḵ'-ta	íkushnananak
	SUB=2Sg-and	3O-swallow-FUT	that.type.of.thing.OBJ
	"When you swallow that kind of food,"		

3.5.3.21.2	Payúwitaam.
	Payúwi-ta=am
	be.sick-FUT=2Sg
	"you will get sick."

3.5.3.22	Úyknik iwá sápsikw'at.		
	Úy-knik	i-wá	sápsikw'a-t
	start-ABL	3Sg.S-COP	teach-NZR
	"The lesson continues further."		

3.5.3.23.1	Áwntaam myánashmaman,	
	Áw-in-ta=am	myánash-maman
	3O-tell-FUT=2Sg	child-OBJ.Pl
	"Tell the children,"	

3.5.3.23.2	Chaw pałḵ'íwita ámchnik sts'átpa,			
	Chaw	pa-łḵ'íwi-ta	ámchnik	sts'át-pa
	NEG	3Pl.S-play-FUT	outside	night-LOC
	"do not play outside at night,"			

3.5.3.23.3	anakú kwmak lawiishḵ'íshishma pawyáninx̱a sts'átpa				
	ana-kú	kwmak	lawiishḵ'íshish-ma	pa-wyánin-x̱a	sts'át-pa
	SUB-and	that.S.Pl	shadow-Pl	3Pl.S-walk.around-HAB	night-LOC
	"because those black shadows are wandering around at night"				

3.5.3.23.4	pawaḵ'ítsha wáwnakshash páx̱witay		
	pa-waḵ'ít-sha	wáwnakshash	páx̱wi-t-ay
	3Pl.S-look.for-IMPV	body	steal-NZR-BEN
	"looking for a body to steal"		

3.5.3.23.5	anakú myánashma pawá ts'i'íix̱ íkushyuk.				
	ana-kú	myánash-ma	pa-wá	ts'i'íix̱	íkush-yuk
	SUB-and	child-Pl	3Pl.S-COP	cheap	thus-DAT.?
	"and children are easy to possess."				

3.5.3.24	Lawiishḵ'íshishx̱i iwínpx̱a nch'ínch'imí wáwnakshash.			
	Lawiishḵ'íshish-x̱i	i-wínp-x̱a	nch'ínch'i-mí	wáwnakshash
	shadows-also	3Sg.S-grab-HAB	elder-GEN	body
	"The shadow will also take a mature body."			

3.5.3.25.1	paysh palaláay itx̱ánata túkin láamki				
	paysh	palaláay	i-tx̱ána-ta	túkin	láam-ki
	maybe	many	3Sg.S-happen-FUT	thing.INST	alcohol-INST
	"Maybe he becomes unconscious from drinking alcohol"				

3.5.3.25.2	ku laak ixátamawshpta táa'am łamtíx.				
	ku	laak	i-xátamawshp-ta	táa'am	łamtíx
	and	perhaps	3Sg.S-fall.on.head-FUT	stormy	head
	"or else he falls down and temporarily blacks out."				

3.5.3.26.1	anakú pawínpanita wáwnakshash,		
	ana-kú	pa-wínp-ani-ta	wáwnakshash
	SUB-and	3Pl.S-grab-APPL-FUT	body
	"When they take possession of the body,"		

3.5.3.26.2	kw'ink tiin itáxshita túnxk'a.			
	kw'ink	tiin	i-táxshi-ta	túnx-k'a
	that.aforementioned	Indian.person	3Sg.S-wake.up-FUT	different-?
	"that person wakes up different."			

3.5.3.27.1	awkú itxánata anakúsh lawiishk'íshish			
	awkú	i-txána-ta	anakúsh	lawiishk'íshish
	then	3Sg.S-happen-FUT	like	shadow
	"Then he becomes like the shadow"			

3.5.3.27.2	anakú iwachá wak'ísh.		
	ana-kú	i-wachá	wak'ísh
	SUB-and	3Sg.S-COP.PST	alive
	"when it was alive."		

3.5.3.28	áykinxaash tíinmaman táymuntyaw shinmíkin			
	á-yik-inxa=ash	tíin-maman	táymun-t-yaw	shin-mí-kin
	3O-hear-HAB=1Sg	Indian.person-OBJ.Pl	tell.news-NZR-DAT	someone-GEN-INST
	"I hear people talkingabout someone,"			

3.5.3.29.1	"anakú itaxshiya	
	ana-kú	i-taxshi-ya
	SUB-and	3Sg.S-wake.up-PST
	"'When he woke up,'"	

3.5.3.29.2	kuumánk iwá anakúsh tunx̱ tiin.				
	kuumánk	i-wá	anakúsh	tunx̱	tiin
	that.S.Pl	3Sg.S-COP	like	different	Indian.person
	"'since then he is like a different person.'"				

Passage 3.5.4

3.5.4.1	ttuush tiin pápanichx̱a tunx̱.			
	ttuush	tiin	pápa-nich-x̱a	tunx̱
	some	Indian.person	RECP-bury-HAB	different
	"Peuple bury their dead in different ways."			

3.5.4.2.1	náx̱shpa laak łamtix̱ tł'yáwiinmí áwata tináynaktkan					
	náx̱sh-pa	laak	łamtix̱	tł'yáwi-i-nmí	á-wata	tináynakt-kan
	one-LOC	maybe	head	die-STAT-GEN	3O-COP.FUT	west-ALL
	"Some people bury the body facing toward the west,"					

3.5.4.2.2	ku tł'aax̱ náx̱shpa anáttkan.			
	ku	tł'aax̱	náx̱sh-pa	anátt-kan
	and	on.other.hand	one-LOC	east-ALL
	"and others to the east."			

3.5.4.3	Páyu átaw iwá íkwak.			
	Páyu	átaw	i-wá	íkwak
	very	important	3Sg.S-COP	that.S.Sg
	"This is important."			

3.5.4.4	Anakú áwtni tax̱shiłá ináchikx̱ana isíkw'at,				
	Ana-kú	áwtni	tax̱shi-łá	i-náchik-x̱a-na	isíkw'a-t
	SUB-and	sacred	wake.up-AGT	3Sg.S-bring-HAB-PST	show-NZR
	"As the Prophet told them,"				

3.5.4.5.1	"íkushpam kúta	
	íkush=pam	kú-ta
	thus=2Pl	do-FUT
	"'The dead will be prepared in this way"	

89

3.5.4.5.2	Anakú Tamanwiłá iwiyánawita		
	Ana-kú	Tamanwi-łá	i-wiyánawi-ta
	SUB-and	create.rule-AGT	3Sg.S-arrive-FUT
	"when he comes."		

3.5.4.5.3	Kupam kuuk áwshtaymata.		
	Ku=pam	kuuk	á-wshtayma-ta
	and=2Pl	at.that.time	3O-meet-FUT
	"to receive him."		

3.5.4.6	Kwmak tináynatknik patútita.		
	Kwmak	tináynat-knik	pa-túti-ta
	those	west-ABL	3Pl.S-stand-FUT
	"Those facing the east will rise up."		

3.5.4.7.1	Kwmak anáttknik pimásapawiisklikta		
	Kwmak	anátt-knik	pimá-sapawiisklik-ta
	those	east-ABL	REFL.Pl-twist-FUT
	"Those facing west will turn counterclockwise"		

3.5.4.7.2	Ku pawiyáwshtaymata."	
	Ku	pa-wiyá-wshtayma-ta
	and	3Pl.S-wya?-meet-FUT
	"and meet him.'"	

3.5.4.8.1	Awkú úyknik iwá yáwatashki sínwit.				
	Awkú	úy-knik	i-wá	yáwatash-ki	sínwi-t
	then	start-ABL	3Sg.S-COP	graveyard-INST	speak-NZR
	"Further teaching involves				

N/A	Walptáyktki nicht tiichámyaw,		
	Walptáyk-t-ki	nich-t	tiichám-yaw
	sing-NZR-INST	bury-NZR	land-DAT
	[no direct translation provided]		

N/A	Ku sapátkwlikt łúmki,		
	Ku	sapátkwlik-t	łúm-ki
	and	roll.up-NZR	tule.mat-INST
	[no direct translation provided]		

N/A	Ku nit łalx̱.		
	Ku	ni-t	łalx̱
	and	give-NZR	?
	[no direct translation provided]		

3.5.4.9	Áwa ayatmí sápsikw'at myánashmaman túkin pasapátaatpasita. Plash limíslimɨs tł'aax̱w táatpas, łḵ'am ku nyach.					
	Á-wa	ayat-mí	sápsikw'a-t	myánash-maman	túkin	pa-sapá-taatpasi-ta
	3O-COP	woman-GEN	teach-NZR	child-OBJ.Pl	what.INST	3Pl.S-CAUS-dress-FUT
	"It is the woman's responsibility to teach the family how to dress the body. White bucksin for all clothing, moccasins, and pants or leggings."					

3.5.4.9	Áwa ayatmí sápsikw'at myánashmaman túkin pasapátaatpasita. Plash limíslimɨs tł'aax̱w táatpas, łḵ'am ku nyach.				
	Á-wa	ayat-mí	sápsikw'a-t	myánash-maman	túkin
	3O-COP	woman-GEN	teach-NZR	child-OBJ.Pl	what.INST

pa-sapá-taatpasi-ta	plash	limislimis	tł'aaxw	taatpas	łk'am	ku	nyach
3Pl.S-CAUS-dress-FUT	white	buckskin	all	shirt	moccasins	and	pants
"It is the woman's responsibility to teach the family how to dress the body. White bucksin for all clothing, moccasins, and pants or leggings."							

N/A	Chaw tun kwnak chalútimat.			
	Chaw	tun	kwnak	chalútima-t
	NEG	what	that.LOC	decorate-NZR
	"No beadwork."			

N/A	Ɨpápa nɨwítknik laxs x̱wayamanmí wáptas.				
	Ɨpáp-pa	nɨwít-knik	laxs	x̱wayama-nmí	wáptas
	hand-LOC	right-ABL	one	golden.eagle-GEN	feather
	"On the right hand, one golden eagle tail feather."				

N/A	Pinmínk ikks patún kw'alálkw'alal uu pátash sapk'ukt ayatmamí.							
	Pinmínk	ikks	patún	kw'alálkw'alal	uu	pátash	sapk'ukt	ayat-ma-mí
	3Sg.GEN.PN	little.Pl	belonging	bell	or	fetish	bag	woman-Pl-GEN
	"You may include incidental things like a brass bell, fetish, or a bag for the woman."							

3.5.4.10.1	Iwkł iwá wát'uytx̱aw patún,			
	Iwkł	i-wá	wát'uy-tx̱aw	patún
	that.many	3Sg.S-COP	important-?	belonging
	"Those are most important,"			

3.5.4.10.2	Ku ánaknam áshapatkw'likta shátayki kúshx̱i áyatnan.					
	Ku	ának-nam	á-shapa-tkw'lik-ta	shátay-ki	kúshx̱i	áyat-nan
	and	last=2Sg	3O-CAUS-roll.up-FUT	blanket-INST	as.well.as	woman-OBJ
	"then you may include the buckskin wraps or blankets for the woman."					

3.5.4.11	Páyshnam apx̱winúusha íchi iwá áwtik'a. Chaw.					
	Páysh=nam	a-px̱wi-núu-sha	íchi	i-wá	áwtik'a	
	maybe=2Sg	3O-think-APPL-IMPV	this.Sg.S	3Sg.S-COP	unimportant	
	"You might think this information is trivial,"					

3.5.4.12	Íkuuk pashtɨnwítin páshapalaaksha átaw tiináwit ttúushmaman tíinmaman.					
	Íkuuk	pashtɨnwít-in	pá-shapa-laak-sha	átaw	tiináwit	
	today	White.way-ASSOC	INV-CAUS-forget-IMPV	important	Indian.way	

ttúush-maman	tíin-maman
some-OBJ.Pl	Indian.person-OBJ.Pl
"however you do not know how much modern life has caused changes in lifestyle for many Indian people."	

3.5.4.13	Íkuuk tł'aax̱w mish iwá shapyáwit.				
	Íkuuk	tł'aax̱w	mish	i-wá	shapyáwit
	today	all	Q	3Sg.S-COP	problem
	"Today there are all kinds of problems."				

3.5.4.14.1	Chawnam náx̱tita,	
	Chaw=nam	náx̱ti-ta
	NEG=2Sg	cry-FUT
	"Do not cry"	

3.5.4.14.2	Haay ix̱átamaynakta wáwnakshash tiichámyaw.			
	Haay	i-x̱átamaynak-ta	wáwnakshash	tiichám-yaw
	must	3Sg.S-fall.into-FUT	body	land-DAT
	"until after the body is interred."			

3.5.4.15.1	Náx̱titaam
	Náx̱ti-ta=am
	cry-FUT=2Sg
	"You cry"

3.5.4.15.2	Anamkú áshta káatnamyaw nichtnak̲'ítpa.			
	Ana=nam-kú	ásh-ta	káatnam-yaw	nich-t-nak̲'ít-pa
	SUB=2Sg-and	enter-FUT	longhouse-dat	bury-NZR-finished-LOC
	"when you go back to the longhouse after the burial."			

Passage 3.5.5

3.5.5.1.1	Anakú paníchtnak̲'ix̱a tł'yáwitnan,		
	Ana-kú	Pa-nícht-nak̲'i-x̱a	tł'yáwi-t-nan
	SUB-and	3Pl.S-bury-finish-HAB	die-NZR-OBJ
	"After the funeral,"		

3.5.5.1.2	Tł'aax̱w shin itúx̱ta káatnamyaw.			
	Tł'aax̱w	shin	i-túx̱-ta	káatnam-yaw
	all	who	3Sg.S-return-FUT	longhouse-DAT
	"everyone returns to the longhouse."			

3.5.5.2	Awkłáw tł'yawyáshanima papaiwáx̱ita ámchnik.			
	Awkłáw	tł'yawy-ásh-ani-ma	Papa-iwáx̱i-ta	ámchnik
	enough	die-?-APPL-Pl	RECP-wait-FUT	outside
	"The immediate family waits outside"			

3.5.5.3	Haay tł'aaẋw chɨmyanashyíima pawyánawita yáwatashknik.				
	Haay	tł'aaẋw	Chɨmyanashyíi-ma	pa-wyánawi-ta	yáwatash-knik
	must	all	parent-Pl	3Pl.S-arrive-FUT	cemetary-ABL
	"until their whole family has arrived from the cemetary."				

3.5.5.4.1	Wishtaymałá pawaníksha,	
	Wishtayma-łá	pa-waník-sha
	meet-AGT	3Pl.S-name-IMPV
	"Are called receivers,"	

3.5.5.4.2	Anakwmák pa'iwáẋisha tł'yawyáshanimaman asht káatnampa.				
	Ana-kwmák	pa-iwáẋi-sha	tł'yawy-ásh-ani-maman	asht	káatnam-pa
	SUB-those	3Pl.S-wait-IMPV	dead-?-APPL-OBJ.Pl	inside	longhouse-LOC
	"those people waiting inside the longhouse."				

3.5.5.5.1	pima'its'wáykta,
	pima-its'wáyk-ta
	REFL.Pl-correct-FUT
	"They will prepare themselves"

3.5.5.5.2	Pa'áwẋanaykta kkúuksim náakni.		
	Pa-áwẋanayk-ta	kkúuk-sim	náakni
	3Pl.S-line.up-FUT	then-only	in.a.circle
	"by lining up on both sides."		

3.5.5.6	Awínshma niwítknik ku áyatma waḵatsálknik.				
	Awínsh-ma	niwít-knik	ku	áyat-ma	waḵatsál-knik
	man-Pl	right-ABL	and	woman-Pl	left-ABL
	"Men on the right side of the longhouse, and women on the left."				

3.5.5.7	Yats'áam pa'iwáẋita.	
	Yats'áam	pa-iwáẋi-ta
	softly	3Pl.S-wait-FUT
	"They stay quiet while waiting."	

3.5.5.8.1	Chaw shin ityátyata,		
	Chaw	shin	i-tyá-tya-ta
	NEG	who	3Sg.S-laugh-laugh-FUT
	"No one will joke around"		

3.5.5.8.2	Uu ináx̱tita.	
	Uu	i-náx̱ti-ta
	or	3Sg.S-cry-FUT
	"or cry."	

3.5.5.9	Awkłáwnam shíx̱ki px̱wítki awiwáx̱ita.			
	Awkłáw=nam	shíx̱-ki	px̱wí-t-ki	aw-iwáx̱i-ta
	enough=2Sg	good-INST	think-NZR-INST	3O-wait-FUT
	"You will wait in reverence."			

3.5.5.10	Tł'yawyáshanima pimá'ikwstɨmita íkush.		
	Tł'yawy-ásh-ani-ma	pimá-ikwstɨmi-ta	íkush
	die-?-APPL-Pl	REFL.Pl-arrange-FUT	thus
	"The immediate family prepares in this way."		

3.5.5.11	Awínshma pima'its'wákta.	
	Awínsh-ma	pima-its'wák-ta
	man-Pl	REFL.Pl-correct-FUT
	"Men will arrange themselves in a proper way."	

3.5.5.12	Wyánch'i iwyáwat'uyta.	
	Wyánch'i	i-wyá-wat'uy-ta
	chief	3Sg.S-?-start-FUT
	"An Elder will lead, walking in front of the line."	

3.5.5.13	Pátwanata palax̱síksiin ku ának myánashma.				
	Pá-twana-ta	palax̱síksi-in	ku	ának	myánash-ma
	INV-follow-FUT	each.one-ASSOC	and	later	child-Pl
	"The younger ones will follow the widow(er), and the children are last. It is the same way with women."				

3.5.5.14	Iwyáwat'uyta wyánchi, ku palaxsíks, ku myánashma.					
	I-wyá-wat'uy-ta	wyánchi	ku	palaxsiks	ku	myanash-ma
	3Sg.S-going-start-FUT	leader	and	widow	and	child-Pl
	[no direct translation provided.]					

3.5.5.15.1	Anakú pa'áshɨmta	
	Ana-kú	pa-ásh-im-ta
	SUB-and	3Pl.S-enter-CSL-FUT
	"When the family of the deceased enters,"	

3.5.5.15.2	Pawyánknikɨmta awinshmamíknikx̱ush.	
	Pa-wyánknik-ɨm-ta	awinsh-ma-mí-knik=x̱ush
	3Pl.S-walk.around-CSL-FUT	man-Pl-GEN-ABL=first
	"they will circle the longhouse beginning on the man's side first."	

3.5.5.16.1	Tkwápchayktaam ɨpáp,	
	Tkwáp-chayk-ta=am	ɨpáp
	hand-extend-fut=2Sg	hand
	"You will extend your hand, and shake hands."	

3.5.5.16.2	Kunam shapálak'itita kwnak imínk átawish pɨnmyúuk.					
	Ku=nam	shapá-lak'iti-ta	kwnak	imínk	átawish	pɨnm-yúuk
	and=2Sg	CAUS-cross-FUT	that.LOC	2Sg.GEN.PN	gift	3Sg.GEN.PN-DAT
	"Through the handshake is how you are sending yourlove across to them,"					

3.5.5.17	Wapíitatnam ánisha pimyúuk.		
	Wapíita-t=nam	á-ni-sha	pim-yúuk
	help-NZR=2Sg	3O-give-IMPV	3Pl.GEN.PN-DAT
	"and your sympathy to them."		

3.5.5.18.1	Anam áwɨnpanita ɨpáp,		
	Ana=nam	á-wɨnp-ani-ta	ɨpáp
	SUB=2Sg	3O-grab-APPL	hand
	When you shake hands with those who were left behind at the funeral,"		

3.5.5.18.2	Chawnam naxtita x̱wíimichnik pinmipáynk.			
	Chaw=nam	naxti-ta	x̱wíimichnik	pinmi-páynk
	NEG=2Sg	cry-FUT	over	3Sg.GEN.PN-LOC.EMPH
	"you will not cry over him or her."			

3.5.5.19	Chaw íkw'ak iwá tiináwit.			
	Chaw	íkw'ak	i-wá	tiináwit
	NEG	that.Sg.ABS	3Sg.S-COP	Indian.way
	"That is not the Indian way."			

3.5.5.20.1	Íkuuknash átk'inx̱a ttuush tiin			
	Íkuuk=nash	á-tk'i-nx̱a	ttuush	tiin
	today=1Sg	3O-see-HAB	some	Indian.person
	"Nowadays I see some people"			

3.5.5.20.2	Awkú pawáx̱pwax̱psha	
	Awkú	pa-wáx̱pwax̱p-sha
	then	3Pl.S-hug-IMPV
	"hugging and hanging on,"	

3.5.5.20.3	Ku panáx̱tisha x̱wíimichnik tł'yawyashanimamípa.		
	Ku	pa-náx̱ti-sha	x̱wíimichnik
	and	3Pl.S-cry-IMPV	above
	"and they cry over the mourners."		

3.5.5.21	Cháwnam áwax̱pta.	
	Cháw=nam	á-wax̱p-ta
	NEG=2Sg	3O-hug-FUT
	"[no direct translation provided]"	

3.5.5.22	Íkw'aknam awkú wáa'aw payú áshapapx̱wisha.				
	Íkw'ak=nam	awkú	wáa'aw	payú	á-shapa-px̱wi-sha
	that.Sg.ABS	then	too.much	sad	3O-CAUS-think-IMPV
	"This gives them more grief."				

3.5.5.23	Kúshx̱i palax̱síks iwá cháwx̱i ímałaki.				
	Kúshx̱i	palax̱síks	i-wá	cháw=x̱i	ímałak-i
	as.well.as	widow	3Sg.S-COP	NEG=very	clean-STAT
	"Also, the widow(er) is not yet cleansed."				

3.5.5.24	Tł'yawiinmí íx̱wi áwach'aksha iłúy wáwnakshashpa palaxsiksmípa.					
	Tł'yawi-in-mí	íx̱wi	á-wach'ak-sha	iłúy	wáwnakshash-pa	palaxsiks-mí-pa
	die-ASSOC-GEN	still	3O-attach.to-IMPV	grime	body-LOC	widow-GEN-LOC
	"The deceased still has the physical attachment on the body of the widow(er)."					

3.5.5.25	Míima áwacha sápsikw'at,		
	Míima	á-wacha	sápsikw'a-t
	long.ago	3O-COP.PST	teach-NZR
	"There is a traditional rule for the widow(er),"		

3.5.5.26	"Piná'awtnanitaam wak̲'íshwit ku wáwnakshash, imk palaxsíks;					
	Piná-awtn-ani-ta=am	wak̲'íshwit	ku	wáwnakshash	imk	palaxsíks
	REFL.Sg-respect-APPL-FUT=2Sg	life	and	body	2Sg.NOM.PN	widow
	"Respect your life and your soul;"					

3.5.5.27.1	Chawnam átkwatata piłx̱ú nikwítnan mitáat álx̱ayx̱					
	Chaw=nam	á-tkwata-ta	piłx̱ú	nikwít-nan	mitáat	álx̱ayx̱
	NEG=2Sg	3O-eat-FUT	raw	meat-OBJ	three	moon
	"do not eat raw meet for three months"					

3.5.5.27.2	Anamkú tx̱ánata tł'yawyáshani."		
	Ana=nam-kú	tx̱ána-ta	tł'yawy-ásh-ani
	SUB=2Sg-and	become-FUT	die-?-APPL
	"after your spouse dies."		

3.5.5.28	K'áawpam ayíkta.	
	K'áaw=pam	ayík-ta
	together=2Pl	sit-FUT
	"You sit together,"	

98

3.5.5.29.1	Kupam anats'íx̱wata	
	Ku=pam	a-nats'íx̱wa-ta
	and=2Pl	3O-pay.attention.to-FUT
	"and listen to the Crier announce"	

3.5.5.29.2	Anakwiiník pánakpniyanita táatpastaatpas kapú, ku łk'am uu k̲aylí.					
	Ana-kwiiník	pá-nakpni-yani-ta	táatpastaatpas	kapú	ku	łk'am
	SUB-that.ERG	INV-bring.out-APPL-FUT	clothing	coat	and	moccasins

uu	k̲aylí
or	shoes
"and show the deceased's old clothing, coat, moccasins, and shoes."	

3.5.5.30	Ku sɨnwiłá isínwita,	
	Ku	sɨnwi-łá	i-sínwi-ta
	and	speak-AGT	3Sg.S-speak-FUT
	"The Crier says,"	

3.5.5.31	"Íchipam tł'aax̱wsimk'a áyknanita wánikt			
	Íchi=pam	tł'aax̱w-sim-k'a	á-yk-nani-ta	wánik-t
	this.Sg.ABS=2Sg	all-only-?	3O-hear-APPL-FUT	name-NZR
	"'This is the last time we will speak their name"			

3.5.5.32	ku ák̲'inanita patún."	
	ku	á-k̲'in-ani-ta	patún
	and	3O-see-APPL-FUT	belonging
	"and see their clothes.'"	

3.5.5.33	Kúukpam náx̱tita.	
	Kúuk=pam	náx̱ti-ta
	then=2Pl	cry-FUT
	"This is when you cry."	

3.5.5.34.1	Tiix̱wałá ichapkwta walákw'iki patún táatpas, kapú, ták̲maał,				
	Tiix̱wa-łá	i-chapkw-ta	walákw'i-ki	patún	táatpas
	announce-AGT	3Sg.S-untie.open-FUT	?-INST	belonging	clothing

kapú	tákmaał
coat	hat
"The Crier opens a bundle of clothes often worn by the dead,"	

3.5.5.34.2	Anam íkwɨn áshuukxana táatpasityaw.			
	Ana=nam	íkwɨn	á-shuuk-xa-na	táatpasi-t-yaw
	SUB=2Sg	this.DAT	3O-know-HAB-PST	dress-NZR-DAT
	"perhaps ones from when you met or visited with him or her."			

3.5.5.35.1	Páchawiluukanita laxsláxs patún		
	Pá-chawiluuk-ani-ta	laxsláxs	patún
	INV-raise-APPL-FUT	one.another?	thing
	"The Crier talks about the deceased's personality and occupation."		

3.5.5.35.2	Ku tiixwałáyin pa'ititámanita tł'yáwitnan wyanínt ku shíxki tɨmnáki pa'xtwayt.				
	Ku	tiixwa-łá-yin	pa-ititám-ani-ta	tł'yáwi-t-nan	wyanín-t
	and	announce-AGT-ASSOC	3Pl.S-count-APPL-FUT	die-NZR-OBJ	going-NZR

ku	shíx-ki	tɨmná-ki	pá-xtway-t
and	good-INST	heart-INST	INV-be.friendly-NZR
?			

3.5.5.36	Ának íkwɨn nch'iki inatxánata,			
	Ának	íkwɨn	nch'iki	i-natxána-ta
	later	this.DAT	loudly	3Sg.S-say-FUT
	"Then he loudly announces"			

3.5.5.37.1	"Áwna tł'aaxwk'a sínwisha p̄nmikínk,			
	Áw=na	tł'aaxw-k'a	sínwi-sha	pɨnmi-kínk
	now=1Pl.INCL	all-?	speak-IMPV	3Sg.GEN.PN-ABL
	"declares this is the last time"			

3.5.5.37.2	Áyknanisha piinák waníkt.		
	Á-yk-nani-sha	piinák	waník-t
	3O-hear-APPL-IMPV	3Sg.ACC.PN	name-NZR
	"you will hear this name"		

3.5.5.38	Aw iwá cháawk'a tmíinwa."			
	Aw	i-wá	cháaw-k'a	tmíinwa
	now	3Sg.S-COP	dead-?	forever
	"the person is gone forever."			

3.5.5.39.1	Kúuknam imínk páyupx̱wit shapá'atta			
	Kúuk=nam	imínk	páyupx̱wit	shapá-at-ta
	then=2Sg	2Sg.GEN.PN	sadness	CAUS-release-FUT
	"You let out your sorrows"			

3.5.5.39.2	Kunam náx̱tita.	
	Ku=nam	náx̱ti-ta
	and=2Sg	cry-FUT
	"when you cry."	

3.5.5.40	Chawnam tɨmnanch'íwita.	
	Chaw=nam	tɨmnanch'íwi-ta
	NEG=2Sg	hold.emotion-FUT
	"Do not hold in your emotions."	

3.5.5.41.1	Páyshnam chaw náx̱tita		
	Páysh=nam	chaw	náx̱ti-ta
	if=2Sg	NEG	cry-FUT
	"If you do not cry,"		

3.5.5.41.2	Íkw'aknam ímktya pinánita shapyáwit.			
	Íkw'ak=nam	ímk-tya	piná-ni-ta	shapyáwit
	that.Sg.ABS=2SG	2Sg.NOM.PN-only	REFL.Sg-give-FUT	problem
	"you will cause trouble for yourself."			

3.5.5.42.1	Awnam awkú nax̱titwyáninta		
	Aw=nam	awkú	nax̱ti-t-wyánin-ta
	now=2Sg	then	cry-NZR-walk.around-FUT
	"You must cry and release,"		

3.5.5.42.2	Kunam payúwita.	
	Ku=nam	payúwi-ta
	and=2Sg	be.sick-FUT
	"or you will become sick."	

3.5.5.43	Kúshx̱inam awkú ix̱aashyúuta tł'yáwitnɨm.			
	Kúshx̱i=nam	awkú	i-x̱aash-yúu-ta	tł'yáwi-t-nɨm
	as.well.as=2Sg	then	3Sg.S-be.greedy-APPL-FUT	die-NZR-ERG.OBV?
	"And the dead one will want to keep you near."			

3.5.5.44.1	Íkw'akat iwá nch'íyi, tawtnúk imyúuk,				
	Íkw'ak-at	i-wá	nch'í-yi	tawtnúk	im-yúuk
	that.Sg.ABS-?	3Sg.S-COP	big-STAT	medicine	2Sg.GEN.PN-DAT
	"This is big medicine"				

3.5.5.44.2	Anamkú tł'aax̱w shapá'atta payú px̱wít kuuk.					
	Ana=nam-kú	tł'aax̱w	shapá-at-ta	payú	px̱wí-t	kuuk
	SUB=2SG-and	all	CAUS-release-FUT	very	sad	then
	"when you allow yourself to express your grief at that time."					

3.5.5.45	Payshnam tɨmnanch'íwita	
	Paysh=nam	tɨmnanch'íwi-ta
	maybe=2SG	hold.emotion-FUT
	"When you hold back your grief,"	

3.5.5.46	Íkw'aknam ímktya piná'aniyanita shapyáwit.			
	Íkw'ak=nam	ímk-tya	piná-ani-yani-ta	shapyáwit
	that.SG.ABS=2Sg	2Sg.NOM.PN-actually	REFL.Sg-make-APPL-FUT	trouble
	"then you are harming yourself."			

3.5.5.47.1	Awnam awkú nax̱titwyáninta		
	Aw=nam	awkú	nax̱ti-t-wyánin-ta
	now=2SG	then	cry-NZR-walk.around-FUT
	"When you go around grieving here and there,"		

3.5.5.47.2	Kunam payúwita tł'áaxwki tukin.			
	Ku=nam	payúwi-ta	tł'áaxw-ki	tukin
	and=2Sg	be.sick-FUT	all-INST	what.INST
	"soon you'll suffer with all kinds of sickness."			

3.5.5.48.1	Anakú ixáwshxta náxtit,		
	Ana-kú	i-xáwshx-ta	náxti-t
	SUB-and	3Sg.S-stop-FUT	cry-NZR
	"When everyone stops crying,"		

3.5.5.48.2	Tł'áaxwshin ishmát'ata.	
	Tł'áaxw-shin	i-shmát'a-ta
	all-who	3Sg.S-wash.face-FUT
	"they wash their faces."	

3.5.5.49	Ának papatúkta tkwátat.		
	Ának	pa-patúk-ta	tkwátat
	later	3Pl.S-set.up-FUT	food
	"The food is set for the dinner."		

3.5.5.50.1	Ḵaaw palaxsíks itkwátata,		
	Ḵaaw	palaxsíks	i-tkwáta-ta
	separate	widow	3Sg.S-eat-FUT
	"The widow(er)s must eat"		

3.5.5.50.2	Chaw itkwatatwíita tíinmaman.		
	Chaw	i-tkwata-twíi-ta	tíin-maman
	NEG	3Sg.S-eat-ASSOC-FUT	Indian.person-OBJ.Pl
	"far away from the others."		

3.5.5.51	Pɨlksá wíyat itkwátata áchaash chák'ɨnki.				
	Pɨ-lksá	wíyat	i-tkwáta-ta	áchaash	chák'ɨnk-i
	3Sg.NOM.PN-must?	far	3Sg.S-eat-FUT	eyes	close-STAT
	"They must cover their eyes"				

3.5.5.52	Chaw itk'itk'i yamílk.		
	Chaw	i-tk'i-tk'i-?	yamílk
	NEG	3Sg.S-look-look-PERF?	haphazard
	"and not look around."		

3.5.5.53.1	Chaw itkwáta płx̱u tilíwalyi tkwátat,				
	Chaw	i-tkwáta-?	płx̱u	tilíwaly-i	tkwátat
	NEG	3Sg.S-eat-PERF	fresh	menstruate-STAT	food
	"They should not eat fresh meat for at least three months"				

3.5.5.53.2	Anamáal wáwnakshash áwata tł'yawitmí płx̱u.				
	Ana-máal	wáwnakshash	á-wata	tł'yawi-t-mí	płx̱u
	SUB-how.far	body	3O-COP.FUT	die-NZR-GEN	fresh
	"as long as the body in the ground is fresh."				

3.5.5.54.1	Tmáatktapam wak̲'íshwit,	
	Tmáatkta=pam	wak̲'íshwit
	respect-FUT=2Pl	life
	"Respect your life."	

3.5.5.54.2	Átaw iwá.	
	Átaw	i-wá
	important	3Sg.S-COP
	"It is valuable."	

3.5.5.55	Shix̱nam imínk átawitma náktwaninta.			
	Shix̱=nam	imínk	átawit-ma	náktwanin-ta
	good=2Sg	2Sg.GEN.PN	loved.one-Pl	care.for-FUT
	"Take care of your loved ones,"			

3.5.5.56	Pápa'atawitapam.
	Pápa-atawi-ta=pam
	RECP-love-FUT=2Pl
	"love one another."

3.5.5.57.1	Awkłáwna lísxaam wa níyii niimí wak'íshwit,					
	Awkłáw=na	lísxaam	wa	ní-yii	niimí	wak'íshwit
	enough=1Pl.INCL	one.time	COP	give-STAT	1Pl.GEN.PN	life
	"We are given life only once."					

3.5.5.57.2	Chawna tł'yáwita	
	Chaw=na	tł'yáwi-ta
	NEG=1Pl.INCL	die-FUT
	"We cannot die"	

3.5.5.57.3	Kuna kw'áxi táxshita, chaw.		
	Ku=na	kw'áxi	táxshi-ta
	and=1Pl.INCL	back	wake.up-FUT
	"and come back to life again, no."		

3.5.5.58	Tamánwitkina wa íchna tiichám, chaw áwtimk'a.					
	Tamánwit-ki=na	wa	íchna	tiichám	chaw	áwtimk'a
	rules-INST=1Pl.INCL	COP	this.LOC	land	NEG	useless
	"We were created and put here on this land for a reason."					

3.5.5.59	Wáshna níyii kútkut náktwanint tł'áaxwnan tuun wak'íshwitnan.						
	Wásh=na	ní-yii	kútkut	náktwanin-t	tł'áaxw-nan	tuun	wak'íshwit-nan
	COP=1Pl.INCL	give-STAT	work	care.for-NZR	all-OBJ	what.OBJ	life-OBJ
	"We were given life to dwell here and take care of everything that has life."						

3.5.5.60	Ttúushma panátxanaxana,	
	Ttúush-ma	pa-nátxana-xa-na
	some-Pl	3Pl.S-say-HAB-PST
	"Some people used to say,"	

3.5.5.61.1	"Páyshna piná'ishnawayta wáawk'a		
	Páysh=na	piná-ishnaway-ta	wáawk'a
	maybe=1Pl.INCL	REFL.Sg-feel.sorry-FUT	too.much
	"'If you grieve and feel sorry for yourself,'"		

3.5.5.61.2	Kunam áshapapx̲wipx̲wita tł'yawyinan,		
	Ku=nam	á-shapa-px̲wipx̲wi-ta	tł'yawy-i-nan
	and=2Sg	3O-CAUS-worry-FUT	die-STAT-OBJ
	"'the spirit will hold back from its journey'"		

3.5.5.61.3	Kunam ix̲aashyúuta.	
	Ku=nam	i-x̲aash-yúu-ta
	and=2Sg	3Sg.S-greedy-APPL-FUT
	"and haunt you.'"	

3.5.5.62	Tł'áax̲wnam tun lapaalakwá átanshkanita.			
	Tł'áax̲w=nam	tun	lapaalakwá	á-tanshk-ani-ta
	all=2Sg	what	old.clothes	3O-light.fire-APPL-FUT
	"Burn all of the used clothing."			

3.5.5.63	Kunam áwimałakanita pinmínk iłúy nisháyktpa.				
	Ku=nam	áw-imałak-ani-ta	pinmínk	iłúy	nisháyk-t-pa
	and=2Sg	3O-clean-APPL-FUT	3Sg.GEN.PN	grime	reside-NZR-LOC
	"Clean and wash all fingerprints off in the house."				

3.5.5.64	Íchiish kuts'k ínch'a íkksmaman ttáwax̲tmaman áwiyalaakwanita.				
	Íchi=ish	kuts'k	ín-ch'a	íkks-maman	ttáwax̲t-maman
	this.Sg.ABS=1Sg	little.piece	1Sg.NOM.PN-?	little-OBJ.Pl	growth-OBJ.Pl

á-wiyalaakw-ani-ta
3O-abandon-APPL-FUT
"These are a few bits of information I leave for the young generation."

3.5.5.65	Chawpam px̲wíta	
	Chaw=pam	px̲wí-ta
	NEG=2Pl	think-FUT
	"I do not want you to think"	

3.5.5.66	Tx̲nawtyúushamatash.
	Tx̲nawt-yúu-sha=matash
	lecturing-APPL-IMPV=1Sg>2Pl
	"that I am preaching to you."

3.5.5.67.1	Áwtyamatash kuts'k tukin tíix̱washa,			
	Áw-tya=matash	kuts'k	tukin	tíix̱wa-sha
	now-only=1Sg>2Pl	little.piece	what.INST	inform-IMPV
	"I am only sharing information"			

3.5.5.67.2	Ash tun inách'a na'íłasaanɨm isápsikw'ana, ku ttúush sapúukasit Nch'ínch'imaman				
	Ana=ash	tun	inák-ch'a	na'íłas-aa-nɨm	i-sápsikw'a-na
	SUB=1Sg	what	1Sg.ACC.PN-?	my.mother-?-ERG	3Sg.S-teach-PST

Ku	ttúush	sapúukasi-t	Nch'ínch'i-maman
and	some	repeat-NZR	elder-OBJ.Pl
"that my mother taught me, and in addition the Old People used to say"			

3.5.5.67.4	Ash kush áykɨnx̱ana.		
	Ana=ash	ku=sh	a-yk-inx̱a-na
	SUB=1Sg	and=1Sg	3O-hear-HAB-PST
	"what I heard"		

Passage 3.5.6

3.5.6.1.1	Łwínsh itł'yáwiya	
	Łwínsh	i-tł'yáwi-ya
	man	3Sg.S-die-PST
	"A man long ago died"	

3.5.6.1.2	Ku mɨtáatipa łkw'ípa itáx̱shiya.		
	Ku	mɨtáat-ipa	łkw'í-pa	i-táx̱shi-ya
	and	three-LOC	day-LOC	3Sg.S-wake.up-PST
	"and three days later awoke."		

3.5.6.2	Pápashapatux̱ma tíix̱watay tíinmaman.		
	Pápa-shapa-tux̱-m-a	tíix̱wa-t-ay	tíin-maman
	RECP-CAUS-return.home-CSL-PST	inform-NZR-BEN	Indian.person-OBJ.Pl
	"He brought back a message for the people"		

3.5.6.3	Íkush Nch'ínch'ima panatx̱anax̱a:		
	Íkush	Nch'ínch'i-ma	pa-nátx̱ana-x̱a
	thus	elder-Pl	3Pl.S-say-HAB
	"and this is the message:"		

3.5.6.4.1	"Nch'ii iwámssh shapyáwit tiinmamíyaw			
	Nch'ii	i-wáms-sh	shapyáwi-t	tiin-ma-mí-yaw
	big	3Sg.S-owe-PERF	create.trouble-NZR	Indian.person-Pl-GEN-DAT
	"Be aware, much trouble is coming to you."			

3.5.6.4.2	Ku shix̱pam papanaknúwita		
	Ku	shix̱=pam	papá-naknuwi-ta
	and	good=2Pl	RECP-care.for-FUT
	"Take care of each other;"		

3.5.6.4.3	Pápa'atawitapam.
	Pápa-atawi-ta=pam
	RECP-love-FUT=2Pl
	"love each other"

3.5.6.5.1	Átmaaktapam tł'aax̱wnan tuun íchna tiichámpa				
	Á-tmaak-ta=pam	tł'aax̱w-nan	tuun	íchna	tiichám-pa
	3O-respect-FUT=2Pl	all-OBJ	what.OBJ	this.LOC	land-LOC
	"and respect what is here on Earth,"				

3.5.6.5.2	Anakw'ínk iwá tamánwiyii imik'alay shíx̱witay.				
	Ana-kw'ínk	i-wá	tamánwi-yii	imik'al-ay	shíx̱wit-ay
	SUB-that.aforementioned	3Sg.S-COP	create.rule-STAT	?	good.way-BEN
	"put here for your benefit."				

3.5.6.6.1	Naknúwitapam tiináwit,	
	Naknúwi-ta=pam	tiináwit
	care.for-FUT=2Pl	Indian.way
	"Respect your traditions"	

3.5.6.6.2	Nichta tɨmnápa.	
	Nich-ta	tɨmná-pa
	put.into-FUT	heart-LOC
	"and keep them in your heart."	

3.5.6.7.1	Kwɨnkínk tiin itwánaniinishamsh kuumánk			
	Kwɨnkínk	tiin	i-twánaniini-shamsh	kuumánk
	that.INST	Indian.person	3Sg.S-follow-?-CSL?	then.ABL
	"This is the reason the Indian people"			

3.5.6.7.2	Ku ináktwaninxa pɨnmínk tiináwit,			
	Ku	i-náktwanin-xa	pɨnmínk	tiináwit
	and	3Sg.S-care.for-HAB	3Sg.GEN.PN	Indian.way
	"carry on their traditional ways."			

3.5.6.7.3	Íchi anakwínknam átk'ixsha shúkwaat.			
	Íchi	ana-kwínk=nam	á-tk'ix-sha	shúkwaa-t
	this.Sg.ABS	SUB-those=2Sg	3O-want-IMPV	know-NZR
	"to do it the proper way,"			

3.5.6.8	Kwyaam ɨt'úk iwá.		
	Kwyaam	ɨt'úk	i-wá
	true	difficult	3Sg.S-COP
	"true, it is difficult."		

3.5.6.9	Iksíks ttáwaxt ipxwinúusha íkush.			
	Iksíks	ttáwax-t	i-pxwi-núu-sha	íkush
	little	grow-NZR	3Sg.S-think-APPL-IMPV	thus
	"for the new generation to do it."			

3.5.6.10.1	Ashkú ínch'axi chaw wa kuumánk				
	Ana=ash-kú	ínk-ch'axi	chaw	wa	kuumánk
	SUB=1Sg-and	1Sg.NOM.Pn-also	NEG	COP	then.ABL
	"I, too, am not from the old era"				

3.5.6.10.2	Kush pamípamish ásapuukasiyanita tɨmnanáx̱t.			
	Ku=sh	pamípamish	á-sapuukasi-yani-ta	tɨmnanáx̱t
	and=1Sg	politely	3O-recite.history-APPL-FUT	stories
	"but I will do my best to translate from the old way."			

3.5.6.11.1	Anakú ɨwínsh uu áyat itx̱ánata palaxsíks,					
	Ana-kú	ɨwínsh	uu	áyat	i-tx̱ána-ta	palaxsíks
	SUB-and	man	or	woman	3Sg.S-become-FUT	widow
	When a man or woman became widowed"					

3.5.6.11.2	Anakwmák pawachá ḵw'iit shúkii			
	Ana-kwmák	pa-wachá	ḵw'iit	shúk-ii
	SUB-that.Pl.ABS	3Pl.S-COP.PST	well.known	know-STAT
	"and they were known by everyone"			

3.5.6.11.3	wíyat'ish panishátuna.	
	wíyat'ish	pa-nishátu-na
	for.long.time	3Pl.S-reside-PST
	"to have been married, to have established a home"	

3.5.6.11.4	Ku áwacha myánashma		
	Ku	a-́wacha	myánash-ma
	and	3O-COP.PST	child-Pl
	"and had children,"		

3.5.6.12	Anakw'ɨnk itł'yáwiya	
	Ana-kw'ɨnk	i-tł'yáwi-ya
	SUB-those.aforementioned	3Sg.S-die-PST
	"of the person who died"	

3.5.6.13	Kwɨnmínk x̱ɨ́twaymapat áwanita palaxsíks wyáalakwiinan.				
	Kwɨnmínk	x̱ɨ́tway-ma=pat	áw-ani-ta	palaxsíks	wyáalakw-ii-nan
	that.GEN.INST	family-Pl=3Pl>3	3O-make-FUT	widow	abandon-STAT-OBJ
	"then the family came to the home to the widow-making ceremony."				

3.5.6.14	Úytpat áwimałakanita ɨníit.		
	Úyt=pat	áw-imałak-ani-ta	ɨníit
	first=3Pl>3	3O-clean-APPL-FUT	house
	"First they come and clean the house."		

3.5.6.15.1	Tł'aax̱w tun ɨluylimápat átanshkanita táatpas, smáas, sapakw'stikáwaas,				
	Tł'aax̱w	tun	ɨluy-limá=pat	á-tanshk-ani-ta	táatpas
	all	what	?=3Pl>3	3O-burn-APPL-FUT	shirt

smáas	sapakw'stikáwaas
bedding	towells
"They will gather all the clothes and material things, clothes, bedding, and towels;"	

3.5.6.15.2	Anatún napwák pakúx̱ana.		
	Ana-tún	napwák	pa-kú-x̱a-na
	SUB-what	both.people	3Pl.S-do-HAB-PST
	"everything the deceased touched around the home was burned."		

3.5.6.16	Anakw'ɨnk áwa kuukitpamápa lawaax̱tpamápa áwa níchii mɨnán íx̱wiyay shapanaknúwityay.				
	Ana-kw'ɨnk	á-wa	kuuki-t-pamá-pa	lawaax̱tpamá-pa	á-wa
	SUB-that.aforementioned	3O-COP	cook-NZR-thing.for-PST	living.room-LOC	3O-COP

ních-ii	mɨnán	íx̱wi-yay	shapa-naknúwi-t-yay
store-STAT	where.LOC	later-BEN	CAUS-care.for-NZR-BEN
"The things in the kitchen and living room are stored to give away later."			

3.5.6.17	Ák'aatnanitapat pnupamá.	
	Á-k'aat-nani-ta=pat	pnu-pamá
	3O-discard-APPL-FUT=3Pl>3	sleep-thing.for
	"They will remove the old bed and bedding,"	

3.5.6.18	Pátun áykawaas tkwatatpamá ánichanita íx̱wiyay wíinityay.					
	Pátun	áykawaas	tkwatat-pamá	á-nich-ani-ta	íx̱wi-yay	wíini-t-yay
	belonging	chair	food-thing.for	3O-store-APPL-FUT	later-BEN	give.gift-NZR-BEN
	"and store the rest of the furniture."					

3.5.6.19	Ánitapat tsmíti pnupamá ku chmaakw íitpaas ku smaas.							
	Áni-ta=pat	tsmíti	pnu-pamá	ku	chmaakw	íitpaas	ku	smaas
	make-FUT=3Pl>3	new	sleep-thing.for	and	gray	blanket	and	bedding
	"They replace the bed with new, dark-colored sheets and blankets."							

3.5.6.20.1	Palaxsíksnanpat ánita chmuk achaashpamá			
	Palaxsíks-nan=pat	á-ni-ta	chmuk	achaash-pamá
	widow-OBJ=3Pl>3	3O-give-FUT	black	eyes-thing.for
	"They will give the widow(er) dark glasses"			

3.5.6.20.2	Ttúushmapat áchak'ɨnkanita áchaash chmuk chátł'umx̱shki.				
	Ttúush-ma=pat	á-chak'ɨnk-ani-ta	áchaash	chmuk	chátł'umx̱sh-ki
	some.people-Pl=3Pl>3	3O-close-APPL-FUT	eyes	black	bandana-INST
	"or some people will tie a black bandana over their eyes"				

3.5.6.21.1	Chaw yamílk itk'itk'ita		
	Chaw	yamílk	i-tk'i-tk'i-ta
	NEG	carelessly	3Sg.S-look-look-FUT
	"so that he or she does not carelessly look upon people"		

3.5.6.21.2	Anakú wáwnakshash iḵátamaynakshata tiichámpa.				
	Ana-kú	wáwnakshash	i-ḵá-tamaynak-sha-ta		tiichám-pa
	SUB-and	body	3Sg.S-suddenly-bury-IMPV-FUT		land-LOC
	"since the body of the spouse is now in the ground."				

3.5.6.22.1	Anakú tł'aax̱w tuun áwata ímałaki				
	Ana-kú	tł'aax̱w	tuun	á-wata	ímałak-i
	SUB-and	all	what.OBJ	3O-COP.FUT	clean-STAT
	"After the home is cleaned,"				

3.5.6.22.2	Kuuk Nch'ínch'ima tł'yawyinmí áwinamta ɨníityaw				
	Kuuk	Nch'ínch'i-ma	tł'yawy-in-mí	á-wina-m-ta	ɨníit-yaw
	then	elder	die-ASSOC-GEN	3O-go-CSL-FUT	home-DAT
	"the Elder relatives of the deceased's in-laws"				

3.5.6.22.3	Kupat awítma áshapa'aykta páchupa			
	Ku=pat	awít-ma	á-shapa-ayk-ta	páchu-pa
	and=3Pl>3	sibling.in.law-Pl	3O-CAUS-sit-FUT	middle-LOC
	"will have the widow(er) sit in the center"			

3.5.6.22.4	ku patwáwata.	
	ku	pa-twáwa-ta
	and	3Pl.S-wail-FUT
	"and they all keen."	

3.5.6.23.1	Anakú panawnak'itpa	
	Ana-kú	pa-nawnak'i-t-pa
	SUB-and	3Pl.S-finish-NZR-LOC
	"After they finish keening,"	

3.5.6.23.2	Kuukpat palaxsíksnan áshaxtł'kanita tútanik			
	Kuuk=pat	palaxsíks-nan	á-shaxtł'k-ani-ta	tútanik
	then=3Pl>3	widow-OBJ	3O-cut-APPL-FUT	hair
	"one Elder will cut the hair."			

3.5.6.23.3	Ku áshapataatpasita chmuk táatpas			
	Ku	á-shapa-taatpasi-ta	chmuk	táatpas
	and	3O-CAUS-get.dressed-FUT	black	clothes
	"Then they will dress him or her in black clothing"			

3.5.6.23.4	Ku áchak'inkanita áchaash.		
	Ku	a-chak'ink-ani-ta	áchaash
	and	3O-close-APPL-FUT	eyes
	"and partially cover the eyes with a bandana."		

3.5.6.24	Ának kuuk nch'ínch'ima pápapshxwiita.			
	Ának	kuuk	nch'ínch'i-ma	pápa-pshxwii-ta
	later	then	elder-Pl	RECP-trade-FUT
	"After, the elders will have a small trade,"			

3.5.6.25.1	Áwtya kwlaa pátun chaw anakúsh pakúya,					
	Áw-tya	kwlaa	pátun	chaw	anakúsh	pa-kú-ya
	just	slight	belonging	NEG	like	3Pl.S-do-PST
	"but just a few things,"					

3.5.6.25.2	Papshx̱wíita.
	Pa-pshx̱wíi-ta
	3Pl.S-trade-FUT
	"they trade, to show that the home of the deceased was known by everyone and it was an honorable marriage."

3.5.6.26	Patkwáta.
	Pa-tkwáta
	3Pl.S-eat?-PERF
	"[no direct translation provided]"

3.5.6.27.1	Ánitapat palaxsíksnan ḵaaw tikáy			
	Á-ni-ta=pat	palaxsíks-nan	ḵaaw	tikáy
	3O-give-FUT=3Pl>3	widow-OBJ	separate	plate
	"[no direct translation provided]"			

3.5.6.27.2	Ku ápatukanita wíyat tíinaknik.			
	Ku	á-patuk-ani-ta	wíyat	tíina-knik
	and	3O-set.up-APPL-FUT	far	Indian.person-ABL
	"[no direct translation provided]"			

3.5.6.28	Anamáal íkush iwáta.		
	Ana-máal	íkush	i-wáta
	SUB-far	thus	3Sg.S-COP.PST
	"[no direct translation provided]"		

3.5.6.29.1	Anakú lulukłá myálas ánut'atwita,			
	Ana-kú	luluk-łá	myálas	ánut'atwi-ta
	SUB-and	breast.feed-AGT	baby	become.orphan-FUT
	"When an infant becomes orphaned,"			

3.5.6.29.2	Ánichtapat naxsh ayatmíyaw		
	Á-nich-ta=pat	naxsh	ayat-mí-yaw
	3O-store-FUT=3Pl>3	one	woman-GEN-DAT
	"he or she is fostered out to a woman"		

3.5.6.29.3	Anakw'ínk ishapáluluksha pɨnmínk myálas			
	Ana-kw'ínk	i-shapá-luluk-sha	pɨnmínk	myálas
	SUB-that.aforementioned	3Sg.S-CAUS-breast.feed-IMPV	3Sg.GEN.PN	baby
	"suckling her own child."			

3.5.6.29.4	Kwiiník panaknúwita naxsh anwíkt.			
	Kwiiník	pa-naknúwi-ta	naxsh	anwíkt
	that.ERG.OBV	3Pl.S-care.for-FUT	one	year
	"This woman will look after the baby for one year."			

3.5.6.30	Kúshxi mayknch'i myánashma pawínata xitwatmamíyay.				
	Kúshxi	mayk-nch'i	myánash-ma	pa-wína-ta	xitwa-t-ma-mí-yay
	as.well.as	little-big	child-Pl	3Pl.S-go-FUT	be.familiar-Pl-GEN-BEN
	"The older children will go to close relatives to live."				

3.5.6.31.1	Anakú ának'ita piná'iwyatt anwíkt,			
	Ana-kú	á-nak'i-ta	piná-iwyat-t	anwíkt
	SUB-and	3O-finish-FUT	REFL.Sg-be.secluded-NZR	year
	"When the year of confinement is complete,"			

3.5.6.31.2	Pnáchmapat áwixwch'kta chmuk táatpas, útpaas ku pátun,			
	Pnách-ma=pat	á-wixwch'k-ta	chmuk	táatpas
	woman's.inlaw-Pl=3Pl>3	3O-take.off-FUT	black	clothing

útpaas	ku	pátun
blanket	and	belonging
"the in-laws come again to remove the black clothes, bedding, and household items"		

3.5.6.32	Kupat átxtaymaniita káyxkayxki patúkin.			
	Ku=pat	á-txtaymanii-ta	káyxkayx-ki	patú-kin
	and=3Pl>3	3O-trade-FUT	bright-INST	things-INST
	"and replace them with light-colored ones."			

3.5.6.33	Chmaakw patúnpat átawsaypanita wyanawiłamíyaw náktuxtay.			
	Chmaakw	patún=pat	á-tawsayp-ani-ta	wyanawi-ła-mí-yaw
	gray	belonging=3Pl>3	3O-distribute-APPL-FUT	arrive-AGT-GEN-DAT

náktux-t-ay
come.home-NZR-BEN
"The other dark-colored items are distributed to the people who come to witness this happy occasion."

3.5.6.34.1	Íkw'ak áwa wyának'it palaxsíks,			
	Íkw'ak	á-wa	wyá-nak'i-t	palaxsíks
	that.Sg.ABS	3O-COP	going-finish-NZR	widow
	"It is a day of celebration, the end of grieving,"			

3.5.6.34.3	Wának'itpa áwiyatł'xa.	
	Wának'it-pa	áw-iyatł'-xa
	Monday-LOC	3O-begin-HAB
	"and a new beginning on a Monday."	

3.5.6.35.1	Paysh nch'ínch'ima patmíyuta,		
	Paysh	nch'ínch'i-ma	pa-tmíyu-ta
	maybe	elder-Pl	3Pl.S-inform-FUT
	"When the Elders decide,"		

3.5.6.35.2	Kúutpat áshapa'aykanita awít.		
	Kúut=pat	á-shapa-ayk-ani-ta	awít
	then=3Pl>3	3O-CAUS-sit-APPL-FUT	in.laws
	"they bring a substitute for the deceased,"		

3.5.6.36	Kwiiník awkú panaknúuwita.		
	Kwiiník	awkú	pa-naknúuwi-ta
	that.ERG.OBV	then	3Pl.S-care.for-FUT
	"to take care of the family"		

3.5.6.37	Miyánashma páshapattawax̱anita.	
	Miyánash-ma	pá-shapa-ttawax̱-ani-ta
	child-Pl	INV-grow-APPL-FUT
	"and take up the overall responsibilities."	

3.5.6.38.1	Kúshx̱i ínpalaxsika awkú i'átawita,			
	Kúshx̱i	ín-palaxsika	awkú	i-átawi-ta
	as.well.as	1Sg.GEN-widow	then	3Sg.S-love-FUT
	"The ex-widow(er) must not reject them but must love"			

3.5.6.38.2	Chaw ishapáwaynata.	
	Chaw	i-shapa-́wayna-ta
	NEG	3Sg.S-CAUS-fly.off-FUT
	"and respect the new spouse."	

3.5.6.39	Íkush iwachá míimi naknúwit nisháykt ku tamánwit tiinmamí.							
	Íkush	i-wachá	míimi	naknúwit	nisháykt	ku	tamánwit	tiin-ma-mí
	thus	3Sg.S-COP.PST	long.ago	caring	resident	and	creation	Indian.person-Pl-GEN
	"That's how the Indian people kept the home and old ways together."							

Passage 3.5.7

3.5.7.1.1	Átaw iwá	
	Átaw	i-wá
	important	3Sg.S-COP
	"[no direct translation provided]"	

3.5.7.1.2	Anamkú wapawx̱ita imínk átaw am, ásham. Tł'yáwityaw.						
	Ana=nam-kú	wapawx̱i-ta	imínk	átaw	am	ásham	Tł'yáwi-t-yaw
	SUB=2Sg-and	release-FUT	2Sg.GEN.PN	loved	husband	wife	die-NZR-DAT
	"When you let go of your beloved, your husband, wife, to death."						

3.5.7.2	Chaw túyay iwá sap'ináwitay imink ɨshnawáy px̱wít.						
	Chaw	túyay	i-wá	sap'ináwi-t-ay	imink	ɨshnawáy	px̱wí-t
	NEG	what.BEN	3Sg.S-COP	measure-NZR-BEN	2Sg.GEN.PN	suffering	think-NZR
	"there is no way to measure your grief."						

3.5.7.3.1	Tiinmamí áwa ḵ'tɨt tamánwit			
	Tiin-ma-mí	á-wa	ḵ'tɨt	tamánwit
	Indian.person-Pl-GEN	3O-COP	solid	rule
	"The people have a strong belief"			

3.5.7.3.2	Amashkú imínk ásham uu am tł'yáwita.					
	Ana=mash-kú	imínk	ásham	uu	am	tł'yáwi-ta
	SUB=1Sg>2Sg-and	2Sg.GEN.PN	wife	or	husband	die-FUT
	"about death when a wife or husband dies."					

3.5.7.4.1	Palaxsíksnam tx̱ánata,	
	Palaxsíks=nam	tx̱ána-ta
	widow=2SG	become-FUT
	"You will become a widow."	

3.5.7.4.2	Kuuknam imínk waḵ'íshwit watwáa naknúwita.				
	Kuuk=nam	imínk	waḵ'íshwit	watwáa	naknúwi-ta
	then=2SG	2Sg.GEN.PN	life	carefully	care.for-FUT
	"you must carefully take care of yourself."				

3.5.7.5	Ímktyaam pinátmaakta chaw ánach'ax̱i túkin.				
	Ímk-tya=am	piná-tmaak-ta	chaw	ánach'ax̱i	túkin
	2Sg.NOM.PN-only=2Sg	REFL.Sg-respect-FUT	NEG	again	what.INST
	"It is the respect for self--not anything else."				

3.5.7.6	Kuuknam piná'iwyaatta tiinmamíknik.		
	Kuuk=nam	piná-iwyaat-ta	tiin-ma-mí-knik
	then=2Sg	REFL.Sg-isolate-FUT	Indian.person-Pl-GEN-ABL
	"That is when you isolate yourself away from the people."		

Section 3.6

3.6.1.1	Íkuuk iwá px̱wítpx̱wit tímaniipa tichámpa				
	Íkuuk	i-wá	px̱wítpx̱wit	tíma-nii-pa	tichám-pa
	today	3Sg.S-COP	worry	write-STAT-LOC	land-LOC
	"There is concern on Indian reservations"				

3.6.1.2	Anakú myánashma pimá'itł'yawisha.		
	Ana-kú	myánash-ma	pimá-itł'yawi-sha
	SUB-and	child-Pl	REFL.Pl-kill-IMPV
	"about the young people committing suicide."		

3.6.2	Anakúsh mish "Pina'anákwsha".		
	Anakúsh	mish	pina-anákw-sha
	like	Q	REFL.Sg-abandon-IMPV
	"They 'throw themselves away.'"		

3.6.3.1	Chaw pawíipx̲wisha,
	Chaw	pa-wíi-px̲wi-sha
	NEG	3Pl.S-?-think-IMPV
	"They do not realize"

3.6.3.2	Íkw'ak ísatsim awkú patł'yáwita			
	Íkw'ak	ísat-sim	awkú	pa-tł'yáwi-ta
	that.ABS.Sg	one.side	then	3Pl.S-die-FUT
	"that when they die,"			

3.6.3.3	Ku chaw míshkin kw'áx̲i patúx̲nɨmta.				
	Ku	chaw	mísh-kin	kw'áx̲i	pa-túx̲-nɨm-ta
	and	NEG	Q-INST	back.right.away	3Pl.S-return-CSL-FUT
	"they will not return."				

3.6.4.1	Tł'ápx̲i tun áwtik'a tx̲ánat --			
	Tł'ápx̲i	tun	áwtik'a	tx̲ána-t
	at.least	what	useless	become-NZR
	"It might be a simple thing that happens at home--"			

3.6.4.2	Ku pasx̲íx̲sha kwɨnkínk		
	Ku	pa-sx̲íx̲-sha	kwɨnkínk
	and	3Pl.S-be.angry-IMPV	that.INST
	"and they are angry about that"		

3.6.4.3	Ku pimá'itł'yawisha.	
	Ku	pimá-itł'yawi-sha
	and	REFL.Pl-kill-IMPV
	"so they kill themselves, to retaliate."	

3.6.5	Chaw wípx̱wini ánach'a túkin uu shinmíkin --					
	Chaw	wí-px̱wi-ni	ánach'a	túkin	uu	shinmíkin
	NEG	?-think-STAT	again	what.INST	or	who.GEN.INST
	"Again, they are not thinking about anything else or anyone else--"					

3.6.6	Laak piimínk myánashma uu túuman átawitma páyu ashapapx̱wisha íkushkink kútki.						
	Laak	piimínk	myánash-ma	uu	túuman	átawit-ma	páyu
	maybe	3Pl.GEN.PN	child-Pl	or	what.Pl	loved.one-Pl	very

a-shapa-px̱wi-sha
3O-CAUS-think-IMPV
"--about perhaps their children, or whomever they hurt [their loved ones]."

3.6.7	Chaw ipx̱wísha,	
	Chaw	i-px̱wí-sha
	NEG	3Sg.S-think-IMPV
	"They don't think,"	

3.6.8	"laaknash ɨshnawáy ákusha inmí átawitmaman."				
	laak=nash	ɨshnawáy	á-ku-sha	inmí	átawit-maman
	maybe=1Sg	pitiful	3O-do-IMPV	1Sg.GEN.PN	loved.one-OBJ.Pl
	"'I will hurt those I love.'"				

3.6.9.1	Anamkú piná'itł'yawita	
	Ana=nam-kú	piná-itł'yawi-ta
	SUB=2Sg-and	REFL.Sg-kill-FUT
	"to kill yourself"	

3.6.9.2	Ikw'akatakut iwá chilwítit.		
	Ikw'ak-atakut	i-wá	chilwítit
	that.ABS.Sg-?	3Sg.S-COP	evil
	"They say it is a sin"		

3.6.10	Nch'ínch'ima patx̱náwɨtax̱ana íkush.		
	Nch'ínch'i-ma	pa-tx̱náwɨta-x̱a-na	íkush
	Elder-Pl	3Pl.S-preach-HAB-PST	thus
	"This is what the Elders would preach."		

3.6.11.1	Míimi anakú íkush shin ikúx̱ana,				
	Míimi	ana-kú	íkush	shin	i-kú-x̱a-na
	long.ago	SUB-and	thus	who	3Sg.S-do-HAB-PST
	"A long time ago, when someone committed suicide,"				

3.6.11.2	Chaw iwachá níchii walptáyktki.			
	Chaw	i-wachá	ních-ii	walptáyk-t-ki
	NEG	3Sg.S-COP.PST	bury-STAT	sing-NZR-INST
	"he or she was not put away with ceremony."			

3.6.12.1	Awkłáwpat x̱ítwayma átamaynakx̱ana tíichamyaw awkushyúuk, chaw sapátaatpasiyi.				
	Awkłáw=pat	x̱ítway-ma	á-tamaynak-x̱a-na	tíicham-yaw	awkush-yúuk
	enough=3Pl>3	family-Pl	3O-bury-HAB-PST	land-DAT	?-DAT

chaw	sapá-taatpasi-yi
NEG	CAUS-dress-STAT
"Only the parents or relatives put the body into the ground, dressed in the clothes the person wore at the time it happened."	

3.6.12.2	Chawakút paníchx̱ana wáashatki.		
	Chaw-akút	pa-ních-x̱a-na	wáashat-ki
	NEG-?	3Pl.S-bury-HAB-PST	wáashat-INST
	"They wouldn't bury them in the longhouse way."		

3.6.13.1	Awkłáw pashapátkw'likpana lapaalakwá shátayki,		
	Awkłáw	pa-shapátkw'lik-x̱a-na	lapaalakwá
	enough	3Pl.S-roll.up-HAB-pST	old.clothing
	"They would roll them up in an old blanket,"		

3.6.13.2	Ku lapaalakwá k̠'ix̱líki pashapách'ɨmnikpana.			
	Ku	lapaalakwá	k̠'ix̱lí-ki	pa-shapách'ɨmnik-x̱a-na
	and	old.clothing	tule.mat	3Pl.S-bundle-HAB-PST
	"and wrap them in an old tule mat."			

3.6.14	Ku wyátpa x̱ɨtwaymamíknik paníchx̱ana yáwatashpa.				
	Ku	wyát-pa	x̱ɨtway-ma-mí-knik	pa-ních-x̱a-na	yáwatash-pa
	and	far-LOC	family-Pl-GEN-ABL	3Pl.S-bury-HAB-PST	cemetary-LOC
	"And they would bury them separate from relatives at the graveyard."				

3.6.15	Chaw pawaltaykúux̱ana.	
	Chaw	pa-waltayk-úu-x̱a-na
	NEG	3Pl.S-sing-APPL-HAB-PST
	"They would not sing for them. They would not keen."	

3.6.16	Chawpat tíinma áwyanawiyuux̱ana.		
	Chaw=pat	tíin-ma	á-wyanawi-yuu-x̱a-na
	NEG=3Pl>3	Indian.person-Pl	3O-arrive-APPL-HAB-PST
	"Nobody came to grive for that person,"		

3.6.17	Awkłáw pmaksá chɨmmyanashyíima uu x̱ɨtwaymapat ánichx̱ana.					
	Awkłáw	pmak-sá	chɨmmyanashyíi-ma	uu	x̱ɨtway-ma=pat	á-nich-x̱a-na
	enough	they-only	parents-Pl	or	family-Pl=3Pl>3	3O-bury-HAB-PST
	"only the immediate family was involved."					

3.6.18.1	Páyu ɨt'úk iwá		
	Páyu	ɨt'úk	i-wá
	very	hard	3Sg.S-COP
	"It is very difficult"		

3.6.18.2	Anamkú áwatawisha kuunák tł'yáwiinan,			
	Ana=nam-kú	áw-atawi-sha	kuunák	tł'yáwi-i-nan
	SUB=2Sg-and	3O-love-IMPV	that.Sg.ACC	die-STAT-OBJ
	"when you love the person who did himself in,"			

3.6.18.3	Kunam íkush ákuta,		
	Ku=nam	íkush	á-ku-ta
	and=2Sg	thus	3O-do-FUT
	"when you have to treat him this way"		

3.6.18.4	Anakúshnam awkú áwałata imínk átawit.				
	Anakúsh=nam	awkú	á-wała-ta	imínk	átawit
	like=2Sg	then	3O-refuse-FUT	2Sg.GEN.PN	loved.one
	"and it seems like you do not care"				

3.6.19	Anakúyat iwá tamánwit.		
	Ana-kú=yat	i-wá	tamánwit
	SUB-and-?	3Sg.S-COP	rule
	"Because that is the law."		

3.6.20.1	Tamanwiłánɨmna iníya wak'íshwit		
	Tamanwi-łá-nɨm=na	i-ní-ya	wak'íshwit
	create-AGT-ERG?=1Pl.INCL	3Sg.S-give-PST	life
	"The Creator gave us life,"		

3.6.20.2	Ku awkłáw pɨlksánɨmna iwának'yanita			
	Ku	awkłáw	pɨlk-sá-nɨm=na	i-wának'i-yani-ta
	and	enough	3Sg.NOM.PN-only-ERG=1Pl.INCL	3Sg.S-start-APPL-FUT
	"and only he decides"			

3.6.20.3	Anakú niimí kútkut wiyátł'uxta.			
	Ana-kú	niimí	kútkut	wiyátł'ux-ta
	SUB-and	1Pl.GEN.PN	work	end?-FUT
	"when our work and life are finished on this earth."			

3.6.21.1	Nch'i iwá wiyákwshtikt		
	Nch'i	i-wá	wiyákwshtik-t
	big	3Sg.S-COP	commit.sin-NZR
	"It is a sin"		

3.6.21.2	Anamkú imknínk áwanak'ita		
	Ana=nam-kú	imk-nínk	á-wanak'i-ta
	SUB=2Sg-and	2Sg.NOM.PN-INST	3O-start-FUT
	"when you decide"		

3.6.21.3	kunam piná'itł'yawita.	
	ku=nam	piná-itł'yawi-ta
	and=2Sg	REFL.Sg-kill-FUT
	"to end your life and commit suicide"	

3.6.22.1	Chawmash awkú muun miin wínata imínk wak'íshwit,						
	Chaw=mash	awkú	muun	miin	wína-ta	imínk	wak'íshwit
	NEG=1Sg>2Sg	then	when	where.ALL	go-FUT	2Sg.GEN.PN	life
	"Your spirit will remain here on Earth"						

3.6.22.2	Awkwnákmash íchna tiichámpa wiyáninta sts'áatpa.				
	Aw-kwnák=mash	íchna	tiichám-pa	wiyánin-ta	sts'áat-pa
	now-that.LOC=1Sg>2Sg	this.LOC	land.LOC	run.around-FUT	night-LOC
	"and wander in the dark."				

3.6.23	Nch'ích'ima panátx̱anax̱ana káatnampa pachwáywitpa,			
	Nch'ích'i-ma	pa-nátx̱ana-x̱a-na	káatnam-pa	pachwáywit-pa
	Elder-Pl	3Pl.S-say-HAB-PST	longhouse-LOC	Holy.Day-LOC
	"The Elders used to talk in the longhouse during Sunday service,"			

3.6.24.1	"Íkw'ak iwá nch'itx̱aw wiyákwshtikt			
	Íkw'ak	i-wá	nch'i-tx̱aw	wiyákwshtikt
	that.ABS.Sg	3Sg.S-COP	big-SUP	sin
	"'When you take your own life, it's one of the worst sins, breaking God's law"			

3.6.24.2	Anamkú (imknínk) piná'itł'yawita."		
	Ana=nam-kú	imk-nínk	piná-itł'yawi-ta
	SUB=2Sg-and	2Sg.NOM.PN-INST	REFL.Sg-kill-FUT
	"by committing suicide"		

3.6.25	Íkushnash nakáłasaan áykin̲xana sínwityaw.			
	Íkush=nash	nakáłas-aan	á-yk-in̲xa-na	sínwi-t-yaw
	thus=1Sg	my.Mo.Mo-OBJ?	3O-hear-HAB-PST	speak-NZR-DAT
	"That is also what I heard my grandmother say."			

3.6.26.1	Tamanwiłánɨmna iníya wak̲'íshwit		
	Tamanwi-łá-nɨm=na	i-ní-ya	wak̲'íshwit
	create.rule-ABG-ERG=1Pl.INCL	3Sg.S-give-PST	life
	"The Creator gave us life,"		

3.6.26.2	Ku awkłáw pɨlksánɨmna iwának̲'yanita			
	Ku	awkłáw	pɨlk-sá-nɨm=na	i-wának̲'i-ani-ta
	and	enough	3Sg.NOM.PN-only-ERG=1Pl.INCL	3Sg.S-start-APPL-FUT
	"and only he decides"			

3.6.26.3	Anakú niimí kútkut wiyátł'ux̲ta.			
	Ana-kú	niimí	kútkut	wiyátł'ux̲-ta
	SUB-and	1Pl.GEN.PN	work	end?-FUT
	"when our work and life are finished on this earth and life is taken away."			

3.6.27.1	Nch'i iwá wiyákwshtikt		
	Nch'i	i-wá	wiyákwshtik-t
	big	3Sg.S-COP	commit.sin-NZR
	"It is a sin"		

3.6.27.2	Anamkú imknínk áwanak̲'ita		
	Ana=nam-kú	imk-nínk	á-wanak̲'i-ta
	SUB=2Sg-and	2Sg.NOM.PN-INST	3O-start-FUT
	"when you decide"		

3.6.27.3	Kunam piná'itł'yawita.	
	Ku=nam	piná-itł'yawi-ta
	and=2Sg	REFL.SG-kill-FUT
	"to end your life and commit suicide."	

3.6.28.1	Chawmash awkú miin wínata imínk wak̲'íshwit,					
	Chaw=mash	awkú	miin	wína-ta	imínk	wak̲'íshwit
	NEG=1Sg>2Sg	then	where.ALL	go-FUT	2Sg.GEN.PN	life
	"Your spirit will remain here on Earth"					

3.6.28.2	Awkwnákmash íchna tiichámpa wiyáninta sts'áatpa.				
	Aw-kwnák=mash	íchna	tiichám-pa	wiyánin-ta	sts'áat-pa
	now-that.LOC=1Sg>2Sg	this.LOC	land-LOC	run.around-FUT	night-LOC
	"and wander in the dark."				

3.6.29	Nch'ínch'ima panátx̲anax̲a:	
	Nch'ínch'i-ma	pa-nátx̲ana-x̲a
	Elder-Pl	3Pl.S-say-HAB
	"The Elders say:"	

3.6.30.1	"Awmash awkú awkúnak íchna tiichámpa,				
	Aw=mash	awkú	aw-kúnak	íchna	tiichám-pa
	now=1Sg>2Sg	then	now-that.LOC	this.LOC	land-LOC
	"Your spirit will remain here on Earth"				

3.6.30.2	Wyáninta imínk wak̲'íshwit.		
	Wyánin-ta	imínk	wak̲'íshwit
	run.around-FUT	2Sg.GEN.PN	life
	"your soul will remain here forever."		

3.6.31	Awkuníik awkú wáta shapyáwii.			
	Awkuníik	awkú	wáta	shapyáwi-i
	remaining	then	COP.FUT	trouble-STAT
	"It does not solve your problem."			

3.6.32.1	Aw míshkin pxwít íkush,			
	aw	mísh-kin	pxwí-t	íkush
	now	Q-INST	think-NZR	thus
	"If there were some way for this pattern of thought"			

3.6.32.2	Iwátaxnay tixtaymaní.	
	i-wátaxnay	tixtayma-ní
	3Sg.S-COP.COND	exchange-STAT
	"to be changed:"	

3.6.33.1	Míshkin íkksma ttáwaxtma pacháxilptaxnay piimínk mishyú ku timná,					
	Mísh-kin	íkks-ma	ttáwax-t-ma	pa-cháxilp-taxnay	piimínk	mishyú
	Q-INST	little.Pl-Pl	grow-NZR-Pl	3Pl.S-close-COND	3Pl.GEN.PN	ear

ku	timná
and	heart
"the yonger generation would listen"	

3.6.33.2	Ku mts'íxwataxnay míimanan sápsikw'atnan.			
	Ku	mts'íxwa-taxnay	míima-nan	sápsikw'a-t-nan
	and	pay.attention-COND	long.ago-OBJ	teach-NZR-OBJ
	"and absorb the old teachings that made its ancestors strong and able to survive for generations."			

3.6.34.1	Amashkú wak'íshwit wiyátł'uxta,		
	Ana=mash-kú	wak'íshwit	wiyá-tł'ux-ta
	SUB=1Sg>2Sg-and	life	wyá-end-FUT
	"When your life ends"		

3.6.34.2	Chawnam awkú míshkin wiyátł'uxta.			
	Chaw=nam	awkú	mísh-kin	wiyá-tł'ux-ta
	NEG=2Sg	then	Q-INST	wyá-end-FUT
	"there is no way for it to return."			

Section 3.7

Passage 3.7.1

3.7.1.1.1	Áwx̱ashat shapátwaani tíix̱wat anísha chɨník				
	Áw-x̱ashat	shapátwaa-ni	tíix̱wa-t	aní-sha	chɨník
	now-I.wonder	mix-STAT	announce-NZR	make-IMPV	this.ABL
	"I guess I will be mixing languages in this writing,"				

3.7.1.1.2	Anaku᷄ paláamsha Ichishkíin sɨnwiłáma.			
	Ana-ku	pa-láam-sha	Ichishkíin	sɨnwi-łá-ma
	SUB-and	3Pl.S-disappear-IMPV	Ichishkiin	speak-AGT-Pl
	"because Ichishkiin speakers are disappearing."			

3.7.1.2.1	Awkłáw paysh mɨłman pawíwanikta inmí tímash íx̱wi,						
	Awkłáw	paysh	mɨł-man	pa-wíwanik-ta	inmí	tíma-sh	íx̱wi
	enough	maybe	how.many-Pl	3Pl.S-read-FUT	1Sg.GEN.PN	write-PERF	still
	"perhaps someone will read my writing later,"						

3.7.1.2.2	Ku laak tun átx̱atamaynakta tɨmnáyaw tiináwit px̱wit						
	Ku	laak	tun	á-tx̱atamaynak-ta	tɨmná-yaw	tiináwit	px̱wi-t
	and	perhaps	what	3O-bring.into?-FUT	heart-DAT	Indian.way	think-NZR
	"and he or she will learn something valuable about our Indian values and language,"						

3.7.1.2.3	Kuna niimanách'a pap'íx̱ta.		
	Ku=na	niimanák-ch'a	pa-p'íx̱-ta
	and=1Pl.INCL	1Pl.ACC.PN	3Pl.S-remember-FUT
	"and will remember us Elders."		

3.7.1.3.1	Ashkú wachá iksíks ttáwax̱t			
	Ana=ash-kú	wachá	iksíks	ttáwax̱-t
	SUB=1Sg-and	COP.PST	little	grow-NZR
	"When I was a little girl,"			

3.7.1.3.2	Kush nakáłasnɨm ishapáłḵ'iwix̱ana ámchnik.			
	Ku=sh	nakáłas-nɨm	i-shapá-łḵ'iwi-x̱a-na	ámchnik
	and=1Sg	my.Mo.Mo-ERG	3Sg.S-CAUS-play-HAB-PST	outside
	"my grandmother's mother, X̱ax̱ísh, would let me play outside."			

3.7.1.4.1	Kush pamún isapakw'stikxana yátł'pit síilki				
	Ku=sh	pamún	i-sapakw'stik-xa-na	yátł'pi-t	síil-ki
	and=1Sg	occasionally	3Sg.S-wipe.off-HAB-PST	wet-NZR	cloth-INST
	"And then she would bring me inside and clean me with a wet cloth"				

3.7.1.4.2	Kush małáa isapátaatpasixana.		
	Ku=sh	małáa	i-sapá-taatpasi-xa-na
	and=1Sg	clean	3Sg.S-CAUS-dress-HAB-PST
	"and put a clean dress on me."		

3.7.1.5	Íkushnash wachá maal,		
	Íkush=nash	wachá	maal
	thus=1SG	COP.PST	how.long
	"This lasted for a while"		

3.7.1.6	Chawnash awkú shúkwaasha mił anwíkt.				
	Chaw=nash	awkú	shúkwaa-sha	mił	anwíkt
	NEG=1SG	then	know-IMPV	how.many	year
	"I do not remember how old I was that time."				

3.7.1.7.1	Kush awkú na'iłasnim inásha xwyáchyaw				
	Ku=sh	awkú	na'iłas-nim	i-násh-a	xwyách-yaw
	and=1SG	then	my.Mo-ERG	3Sg.S-take.inside-PST	sweathouse-DAT
	"until my mother took me to the sweatlodge."				

3.7.1.7.2	Kush itwáawkanina.	
	Ku=sh	i-twáawk-ani-na
	and=1Sg	3Sg.S-scrub-APPL-PST
	"to scrub"	

3.7.1.7.3	Isapakw'stikaniya iłúy.	
	I-sapakw'stik-ani-ya	iłúy
	3Sg.S-wipe.off-APPL-PST	grime
	"the dirt off me"	

3.7.1.8.1	Ishapáx̱wtɨtx̱wtɨtnash wáwnakshashpa	
	I-shapá-x̱wtɨt-x̱wtɨt-na=sh	wáwnakshash-pa
	3Sg.S-CAUS-rub?-PST=1SG	body-LOC
	"rubbed my body vigorously"	

3.7.1.8.2	Kush ɨna,	
	Ku=sh	ɨn-a
	and=1Sg	tell-PST
	"while she was telling me,"	

3.7.1.9	"Íkushnam aw chínik ɬkw'íknik piná'imaɬakta x̱wyáchpa.					
	Íkush=nam	aw	chínik	ɬkw'í-knik	piná-imaɬak-ta	x̱wyách-pa
	thus=2Sg	now	this.ABL	day-ABL	REFL.Sg-clean-FUT	sweathouse-LOC
	"This is the way"					

3.7.1.10	Táaminwanam maɬáa pinanaknúwita."		
	Táaminwa=nam	maɬáa	pina-naknúwi-ta
	always=2Sg	clean	REFL.Sg-care.for-FUT
	"you must keep yourself clean."		

3.7.1.11.1	Ashkú uyt na'íɬasnɨm ináx̱wayka,			
	Ana=ash-kú	uyt	na'íɬas-nɨm	i-nákx̱wayk-a
	SUB=1Sg-and	first	my.Mo-ERG	3Sg.S-sweat.with?-PST
	"When my mother first took me into the sweat,"			

3.7.1.11.2	Wacháx̱ashx̱ashat mɨtɬ'ítɬ'ksim ɬk̲'iwitpamáknik ku ɨlúysim.				
	Wachá=x̱ash=x̱ashat	mɨtɬ'ítɬ'k-sim	ɬk̲'iwi-t-pamá-knik	ku	ɨlúy-sim
	COP.PST=I.must=I.wonder	mud-only	play-NZR-thing.for-ABL	and	grime-only
	"I must have been all dirty and muddy from playing close to the water."				

3.7.1.12.1	Anakú iláx̱uyx̱na x̱wyach,		
	Ana-kú	i-láx̱uyx̱-na	x̱wyach
	SUB-and	3Sg.S-get.hot-PST	sweathouse
	"When the air heated up inside the sweat lodge,"		

3.7.1.12.2	Kush wáwnakshash láatlana,	
	Ku=sh	wáwnakshash	láatla-na
	and=1Sg	body	sweat-PST
	"my body began to sweat;"	

3.7.1.12.3	Kuuknash itwá'awkanina	
	Kuuk=nash	i-twá'awk-ani-na
	then=1Sg	3Sg.S-roll.around?-APPL-PST
	"she rolled me around"	

3.7.1.12.4	Kush ishápx̱wtitkaniya ɨlúy ɨpáx̱knik.			
	Ku=sh	i-shápx̱wtitk-ani-ya	ɨlúy	ɨpáx̱-knik
	and=1Sg	3Sg.S-rub.off-APPL-PST	grime	skin-ABL
	"and rubbed the grime from my skin."			

3.7.1.13.1	Náx̱sh x̱wiimichnikpamá ɨlúy ináwnak'ix̱ana			
	Náx̱sh	x̱wiimichnik-pamá	ɨlúy	i-náwnak'i-x̱a-na
	one	top-thing.for	grime	3Sg.S-finish-HAB-PST
	"Once the topmost layer was finished,"			

3.7.1.13.2	Kush ishapápux̱pux̱ɨnx̱ana,	
	Ku=sh	i-shapá-pux̱pux̱-inx̱a-na
	and=1Sg	3Sg.S-CAUS-blow.on-HAB-PST
	"then she blew on me"	

3.7.1.13.3	Anakwnák ɨlúy iwíik'ukinx̱a wáwnakshashpa; k'upkw'p, k'áshinu, k̲'ux̱l, ku wɨx̱ápa.					
	Ana-kwnák	ɨlúy	i-wíik'uk-inx̱a	wáwnakshash-pa	k'upkw'p	k'áshinu
	SUB-that.LOC	grime	3Sg.S-pile.quickly-HAB	body-LOC	back	elbow

k̲'ux̱l	ku	wɨx̱á-pa
knee	and	leg-LOC
"where the dirt was layered on my body: on my back, elbows, neck, knees, and feet."		

3.7.1.14.1	Kush ánach'ax̱i ishapáx̱wɨtitkanix̱ana ɨlúy,			
	Ku=sh	ánach'ax̱i	i-shapáx̱wɨtitk-ani-x̱a-na	ɨlúy
	and=1Sg	again	3Sg.S-rub.off-APPL-HAB-PST	grime
	"Then she rubbed more grime off again,"			

3.7.1.14.2	Iwyáshapapuxsha.
	I-wyá-shapapux-sha
	3Sg.S-going-blow.on-IMPV
	"as she blew on me."

3.7.1.15.1	Háaynash tł'áaxw ínawnak'ixana		
	Háay=nash	tł'áaxw	í-nawnak'i-xa-na
	must=1Sg	all	3Sg.S-finish-HAB-PST
	"When she had finished,"		

3.7.1.15.2	Kush awkú átxana		
	Ku=sh	awkú	á-txana
	and=1Sg	then	3O-happen-PERF
	"I went out of the sweathouse"		

3.7.1.15.3	Kush xatik'aliixana tł'aap k'pɨs chíishyaw. Małáak'a!					
	Ku=sh	xatik'alii-xa-na	tł'aap	k'pɨs	chíish-yaw	Małáa-k'a
	and=1Sg	belly.flop-HAB-PST	shallow	cold	water-DAT	clean-?
	"and jumped into the shallow clean water. Clean!"					

3.7.1.16.1	Winaniitpamá watámtash winátshama wináattknik			
	Winanii-t-pamá	watám=tash	winát-sha-m-a	wináat-t-knik
	swim-NZR-thing.for	lake=1Pl.EXCL	flow.out-IMPV-CSL-PST	flow.out-NZR-ABL
	"Our swimming lake came from the spring"			

3.7.1.16.2	Ku iwachá páyu k'pɨs.			
	Ku	i-wachá	páyu	k'pɨs
	and	3Sg.S-COP.PST	very	cold
	"and it was very cold."			

3.7.1.17	Ilát'ɨlkxana ánmiki.	
	I-lát'ɨlk-xa-na	ánmiki
	3Sg.S-smoke-HAB-PST	in.winter
	"It steamed in winter."	

3.7.1.18	Małáa iwachá chiish.		
	Małáa	i-wachá	chiish
	clean	3Sg.S-COP.PST	water
	"The water was pure."		

3.7.1.19.1	Amíismaman, náx̱shpa anwíktpa, anmíki anakú iwitx̱uupshana ámchnik,				
	Amíis-maman	náx̱sh-pa	anwíkt-pa	anmíki	ana-kú
	boys-OBJ.Pl	one-LOC	year-LOC	in.winter	SUB-and

i-witx̱uup-sha-na	ámchnik
3Sg.S-blow.snow-IMPV-PST	outside
"One year, in winter when there was a blizzard,"	

3.7.1.19.2	Kupat wawyałánɨm ishapáx̱atiḵ'aliina chíishyaw.			
	Ku=pat	wawya-łá-nɨm	i-shapá-x̱atiḵ'alii-na	chíish-yaw
	and=3Pl>3	whip-AGT-ERG	3Sg.S-CAUS-belly.flop-PST	water-DAT
	"the Whipman cut a hole in the ice and made the boys jump into the icy water."			

3.7.1.20	Íkw'ak tawnáapak'a pa'ániyanitax̱nay ḵw'ɨłtɨp wáwnakshash ku waḵ'íshwit.						
	Íkw'ak	tawnáapak'a	pa-áni-yani-tax̱nay	ḵw'ɨłtɨp	wáwnakshash	ku	waḵ'íshwit
	that.ABS.Sg	admittedly	3Pl.S-make-APPL-could	strong	body	and	spirit
	"This would supposedly make their bodies and spirit strong."						

3.7.1.21	Íkush ttuush tíinma pakúx̱ana.			
	Íkush	ttuush	tíin-ma	pa-kú-x̱a-na
	thus	some	Indian.person-Pl	3Pl.S-do-HAB-PST
	"This is how some people would do this."			

3.7.1.22	Ínch'ax̱iish lɨsx̱áam íkush pakúya.			
	Ínk-ch'ax̱i=ish	lɨsx̱áam	íkush	pa-kú-ya
	1Sg.NOM.PN-also=1Sg	one.time	thus	3Pl.S-do-PST
	"Once this was done to me too."			

3.7.1.23.1	Nakáłasiin páyu pasx̱ɨx̱núuna		
	Nakáłas-iin	páyu	pa-sx̱ɨx̱-núu-na
	my.Mo.Mo-ASSOC	very	3Pl.S-be.angry-APPL-PST
	"My mother's mother became very angry with them,"		

3.7.1.23.2	Kush cháwk'a íkush pakúya.			
	Ku=sh	cháw-k'a	íkush	pa-kú-ya
	and=1Sg	NEG-actually	thus	3Pl.S-do-PST
	"and they did not do that anymore."			

3.7.1.24.1	Ká'awtyaash awkú winaníiẋana k'pɨ́ski chíishki kpáyliyaw,					
	Ká'aw-tya=ash	awkú	winaníi-ẋa-na	k'pɨ́s-ki	chíish-ki	kpáyli-yaw
	although-just=1Sg	then	bathe-HAB-PST	cold-INST	water-INST	?-DAT
	"But I always bathed with cold water anyway,"					

3.7.1.24.2	Kush táktanɨm ishapáẋawshẋa,		
	Ku=sh	tákta-nɨm	i-shapá-ẋawsh-ẋa
	and=1Sg	doctor-ERG	3Sg.S-CAUS-stop-HAB
	"until the doctor made me stop,"		

3.7.1.24.3	Ashkú tɨmnáki wíi'uyna payúya.			
	Ana=ash-kú	tɨmná-ki	wíi'uy-na	payú-ya
	SUB=1Sg-and	heart-INST	start-PST	sick-PST
	"when I developed heart trouble."			

3.7.1.25	Íkw'ak áwacha miimawít tẋánat íkush.				
	Íkw'ak	á-wacha	miimawít	tẋána-t	íkush
	that.Sg.ABS	3O-COP.PST	old.way	happen-NZR	thus
	"That describes the traditional way to sweat,"				

3.7.1.26	Ku aw páshɨnma pa'aniyúusha tamánwit ikushyúukk'a.				
	Ku	páshtɨn-ma	pa-ani-yúu-sha	tamánwi-t	ikush-yúuk-k'a
	and	white.person-Pl	3Pl.S-make-APPL-IMPV	create.rule-NZR	thus-DAT-?
	"but the white people have a law even for that."				

3.7.1.27	K'ttáaspa tíinmaman pá'wyalɨlkaniya ẋwyach.			
	K'ttáas-pa	tíin-maman	pá-wyalɨlk-ani-ya	ẋwyach
	Kititas	Indian.person-OBJ.Pl	INV-destroy?-APPL-PST	sweathouse
	"At Kittitas County [at Ellensburg], the police destroyed the Indian sweat lodges"			

3.7.1.28.1	Taawnáapak'a tkwálanan ku pátatnan wánapaynk pa'ichayshana					
	Taawnáapak'a	tkwála-nan	ku	pátat-nan	wána-paynk	pa-ichay-sha-na
	evidently	fish-OBJ	and	tree-OBJ	river-LOC.EMPH	3Pl.S-spoil-IMPV-PST
	"because they claimed taking sweat baths spoiled the fish and trees along the river,"					

3.7.1.28.2	Ku wásku iláx̱yawishana.		
	Ku	wásku	i-láx̱yawi-sha-na
	and	grass	3Sg.S-dry.up-IMPV-PST
	"and dried up the grasses."		

3.7.1.29.1	Ku tíknik'a tł'aax̱w shimín kwnak íkuuk íshaat, iwsh, ku chílwit tawtnúk ipawíitwasha wánayaw,					
	Ku	tíknik'a	tł'aax̱w	shimín	kwnak	íkuuk	íshaat
	and	instead	all	who.GEN	that.LOC	today	feces

iwsh	ku	chílwit	tawtnúk	i-pawíitwa-sha	wána-yaw
urine	and	evil	medicine	3Sg.S-mix-IMPV	river-DAT
"and there, in contrast, everyone's feces, urine, and bad chemicals mix into the rivers,"					

3.7.1.29.2	Ku íchaysha chíishnan ku túx̱inan.				
	Ku	íchay-sha	chíish-nan	ku	túx̱in-an
	and	spoil-IMPV	water-OBJ	and	sky-OBJ
	"and merge with water and the air."				

3.7.1.30	Kwɨnkínkna awkú íkuuk payúwisha.			
	Kwɨnkínk=na	awkú	íkuuk	payúwi-sha
	that.INST=1PL.INCL	then	today	be.sick-IMPV
	"This is why we get sick today."			

3.7.1.31.1	Íkuuk músmustsɨn itináx̱yawksha chiitpamánan wínattnan pít'x̱anukpa				
	Íkuuk	músmustsɨn	i-tináx̱yawk-sha	chii-t-pamá-nan	wínat-t-nan
	today	cattle	3Sg.S-tromp?-IMPV	drink-NZR-thing.for-OBJ	flow.out-NZR-OBJ

pít'x̱anuk-pa
mountains-LOC
"Now the cattle in the mountains are tomping the springs"

135

3.7.1.31.2	Pa'íx̱yawksha chiitpamá chiish.		
	Pa-íx̱yawk-sha	chii-t-pamá	chiish
	3Pl.S-dry?-IMPV	drink-NZR-thing.for	water
	"and drying up the drinking water."		

Passage 3.7.2

3.7.2.1.1	Tł'áax̱wpa, wanapáynk, uu anaminán iwá chiish,					
	Tł'áax̱w-pa	wana-páynk	uu	ana-minán	i-wá	chiish
	all-LOC	river-LOC.EMPH	or	SUB-where.LOC	3Sg.S-COP	water
	"All along our waterways, or where there was water,'					

3.7.2.1.2	Tiinmamí áwacha x̱wyach.		
	Tiin-ma-mí	á-wacha	x̱wyach
	Indian.person-Pl-GEN	3O-COP.PST	sweathouse
	"the Indians had a sweat lodge."		

3.7.2.2	Kwnák patk̲'íx̱na tímani tiichám pasáp'awiya, tł'ápx̲i chaw pashwini túyay tamaníktay.					
	Kwnák	pa-tk̲'íx̲-na	tíma-ni	tiichám	pa-sáp'awi-ya	tł'ápx̲i
	that.LOC	3Pl.S-want-PST	write-STAT	land	3Pl.S-select-PST	even

chaw	pashwi-ni	túyay	tamaník-t-ay
NEG	worth-STAT	what.BEN	grow-NZR-BEN
"That was the reason most of the Yakama Indians selected land near the river for their allotment, although it was not good for farming."			

3.7.2.3	Sípatash wachá niimi nisháykt.		
	Sí-pa=tash	wachá	niimi	nisháyk-t
	Sih-LOC=1Pl.EXCL	COP.PST	1Pl.GEN.PN	reside-NZR
	"Our homeside was at Sih'."		

3.7.2.4	Tł'áax̱wnatash wachá tun kwnak.		
	Tł'áax̱w=natash	wachá	tun	kwnak
	all=1Pl.EXCL	COP.PST	what	that.LOC
	"We had everything there."		

3.7.2.5	Wacháatash tkwátat tamaniksh ku tmaanít: ápiłs, chílish, paas, plams, píchish ku ápiłkats.					
	Wachá=atash	tkwáta-t	tamanik-sh	ku	tmaanít	ápiłs
	COP.PST=1Pl.EXCL	eat-NZR	grow-PERF	and	fruit	apples

chilish	paas	plams	pichish	ku	apilkats
cherries	pears	plums	peaches	and	apricots
"We had a garden and fruit: apples, cherries, pears, plums, peaches, and apricots."					

3.7.2.6	Nakáłas itamaníkxana skwáasis ku st'ixswáakuł.				
	Nakáłas	i-tamaník-xa-na	skwáasis	ku	st'ixswáakuł
	my.Mo.Mo	3Sg.S-grow-HAB-PST	squash	and	corn
	"My grandmother planted squash and corn."				

3.7.2.7	Úyknik ittáwaxshana tiin tkwátat; tmish, pínush, chcháya, tł'aaxw tun tmaanít. Chaw míshkin tł'aaxw wíwaniktay.					
	Úy-knik	i-ttáwax-sha-na	tiin	tkwátat	tmish	pínush
	beginning-ABL	3Sg.S-grow-IMPV-PST	Indian.person	food	chokecherries	currant

chcháya	tł'aaxw	tun	tmaanít	Chaw	mísh-kin	tł'aaxw	wíwanik-t-ay
serviceberry	all	what	berries	NEG	Q-INST	all	read-NZR-BEN
"To supplement that we had Indian food: chokecherries, currants, serviceberry, all kinds of fruits. Too many to name."							

3.7.2.8	Ksksátash wachá átaw.		
	Ksksá=tash	wachá	átaw
	elephant.ears=1Pl.EXCL	COP.PST	important
	"We prized mushrooms."		

3.7.2.9	Nakáłas ítwaxana wáptuki twáshani k'úpkw'p mit'ulaanmíyaw ánmiki. Páyu shix!				
	Nakáłas	ítwa-xa-na	wáptu-ki	twásha-ni	k'úpkw'p
	my.Mo.Mo	3Sg.S-mix.in-HAB-PST	potato-INST	boil-STAT	back

mit'ulaan-mí-yaw	ánmiki	Páyu	shix
chum.salmon-GEN-DAT	in.winter	very	good
"My grandmother would mix them in with boiled potatoes and the dried spine of chum salmon in the winter. It was delicious."			

3.7.2.10	Kwnak iwachá k'pɨs winátt.			
	Kwnak	i-wachá	k'pɨs	winát-t
	that.LOC	3Sg.S-COP	cold	flow.out-NZR
	"There was a cold spring there."			

3.7.2.11	Iwachá áwtni.	
	I-wachá	áwtni
	3Sg.S-COP	sacred.
	"It was sacred."	

3.7.2.12.1	Iwiip'inkshayka x̱wɨshyaw	
	I-wiip'inkshayk-a	x̱wɨsh-yaw
	3Sg.S-?-PST	canyon-DAT
	"It flowed out into a canyon"	

3.7.2.12.2	Ku kwnáktash wachá x̱wyach, álaytpa				
	Ku	kwnák=tash	wachá	x̱wyach	álayt-pa
	and	that.LOC=1Pl.EXCL	COP.PST	sweathouse	creek-LOC
	"and this is where we had our sweathouse,"				

3.7.2.12.3	anakwnák iwíikkɨmshayka watámyaw.		
	ana-kwnák	i-wíikkɨmshayk-a	watám-yaw
	SUB-that.LOC	3Sg.S-fill.up-PST	lake-DAT
	"where the creek flowed down into a lake."		

3.7.2.13.1	Iwachá hawláak kwnak,		
	I-wachá	hawláak	kwnak
	3Sg.S-COP.PST	empty	that.LOC
	"It was holy there,"		

3.7.2.13.2	Anakúshnam íchi íkuuk áshta tálx̱yaw nch'i tanamutɨmpamáyaw.						
	Anakúsh=nam	íchi	íkuuk	ásh-ta	tálx̱-yaw	nch'i	tanamutɨm-pamá-yaw
	like=2Sg	this.Sg.ABS	today	go-FUT	empty-DAT	big	pray-thing.for-DAT
	"just like when you go inside a cavernous cathedral."						

3.7.2.14	Kwnáknash łḵ'íwiẍana ilksá.		
	Kwnák=nash	łḵ'íwi-ẍa-na	ink-sá
	that.LOC=1Sg	play-HAB-PST	1Sg.NOM.PN-only
	"I played there by myself."		

3.7.2.15	Wacháash mɨtáat waachitłáma k'usík'usima; Yáka, Káysa, ku Shap.			
	Wachá=ash	mɨtáat	waachit-łá-ma	k'usík'usi-ma
	COP.PST=1Sg	three	watch-AGT-Pl	dog-Pl
	"I had three caretaker dogs: Yáka, Kaiser, and Shep."			

3.7.2.16	Lch'íilch'i pawachá.	
	Lch'íilch'i	pa-wachá
	big	3Pl.S-COP.PST
	"They were large dogs."	

6.7.2.17.1	Chawnash áshukwaasha	
	Chaw=nash	á-shukwaa-sha
	NEG=1Sg	3O-know-IMPV
	"I do not know"	

3.7.2.17.2	Mɨnán Nakáłas iw̃npa íkwmak.			
	Mɨnán	Nakáłas	i-wínp-a	íkwmak
	where.LOC	my.Mo.Mo	3Sg.S-grab-PST	that.LOC
	"where my grandmother got those pets,"			

3.7.2.18.1	Anakú Ẍaẍísh itł'yáwiya,		
	Ana-kú	Ẍaẍísh	i-tł'yáwi-ya
	SUB-and	Ẍaẍísh	3Sg.S-die-PST
	"but when she died,"		

3.7.2.18.2	Tł'aaẍw pa'itł'yawiya,	
	Tł'aaẍw	pa-itł'yawi-ya
	ALL	3Pl.S-kill-PST
	"they all died too."	

3.7.2.18.3	Pat átwanana.	
	=pat	á-twana-na
	=3Pl>3	3O-follow-PST
	"It wsa just like they followed my grandmother."	

3.7.2.19.1	Lísx̲aamnash x̲átamanliina watámyaw,		
	Lísx̲aam=nash	x̲átamanliin-a	watám-yaw
	one.time=1Sg	fall.into.water-PST	lake-DAT
	"Once I fell into the lake,"		

3.7.2.19.2	Kush chaw áshukwaashana shɨmnátit.			
	Ku=sh	chaw	á-shukwaa-sha-na	shɨmnáti-t
	and=1Sg	NEG	3O-know-IMPV-PST	swim-NZR
	"and I did not know how to swim."			

3.7.2.20.1	Ashkú yáwinaynaka ɨmítichan,		
	Ana=ash-kú	yáwinaynak-a	ɨmítichan
	SUB=1Sg-and	sink.into-PST	to.bottom
	"And when I went under water,"		

3.7.2.20.2	K'usík'usima patł'úpwilachaliina	
	K'usík'usi-ma	pa-tł'úpwilachalii-na
	dog-Pl	3Pl.S-jump.into.water-PST
	"the dogs jumped in"	

3.7.2.20.3	Kush tł'áax̲wma pacháwinata,		
	Ku=sh	tł'áax̲w-ma	pa-cháwina-ta
	and=1Sg	all-Pl	3Pl.S-get.out-FUT
	"and they pulled me out,"		

3.7.2.20.4	Kush pachápyuka.	
	Ku=sh	pa-chápyuk-a
	and=1Sg	3Pl.S-pull.out-PST
	"they pulled me out of the water."	

3.7.2.21.1	Nakáłasnɨmnash kw'áx̱i ɨyáx̱na,		
	Nakáłas-nɨm=nash	kw'áx̱i	ɨyáx̱-na
	my.Mo.Mo-ERG=1Sg	right.away	find-PST
	"My grandmother found me."		

3.7.2.21.2	Lá'ɨsha nash paláay ts'aa x̱wyáchpa,				
	Lá'ɨ-sha	=nash	paláay	ts'aa	x̱wyách-pa
	lie.down-IMPV	=1Sg	very	close	sweathouse-LOC
	"I was lying unconscious by the sweathouse,"				

3.7.2.21.3	Ash kwnak k'usík'usima pawɨx̱ína.			
	Ana=ash	kwnak	k'usík'usi-ma	pa-wɨx̱í-na
	SUB=1Sg	that.LOC	dog-Pl	3Pl.S-put-PST
	"where the dogs had put me."			

3.7.2.22	Ilátk'ishanayakut íkwɨn.	
	I-látk'i-sha-na-yakut	íkwɨn
	3Sg.S-see-IMPV-PST-?	this.DAT
	"She wsa watching that."	

3.7.2.23	Kúumank áwacha átaw k'úłima.			
	Kúumank	á-wacha	átaw	k'úłi-ma
	3Pl.ACC.PN	3O-COP	important	beloved-Pl
	"After that, those were highly regarded dogs."			

3.7.2.24	Chawnam mun áwawk'iinitax̱nay.		
	Chaw=nam	mun	á-wawk'iini-tax̱nay
	NEG=2Sg	when	3O-chastise-COND
	"You could never chastise them."		

3.7.2.25	Íkuuk tł'aax̱w tun ix̱yáwsha kwnak Sípa.					
	Íkuuk	tł'aax̱w	tun	i-x̱yáw-sha	kwnak	Sí-pa
	today	all	what	3Sg.S-dry.up-IMPV	that.LOC	Sih-LOC
	"Now everything is drying up at Sih'."					

3.7.2.26.1	Cháwk'a iwá wínatt,		
	Cháw-k'a	i-wá	wínat-t
	NEG-?	3Sg.S-COP	flow.out-NZR
	"There is no spring,"		

3.7.2.26.2	Ku anakwnák iwachá watám,			
	Ku	ana-kwnák	i-wachá	watám
	and	SUB-that.LOC	3Sg.S-COP.PST	lake
	"and where there was a lake"			

3.7.2.26.3	Iwá káakɨm chak̠chák̠t ku k̠wɨtk̠wít.				
	I-wá	káakɨm	chak̠chák̠t	ku	k̠wɨtk̠wít
	3Sg.S-COP	full	rosebush?	and	bramble?
	"is now full of rosebushes and brambles."				

3.7.2.27	Inmí páshtɨn wamshiłá ishakw'ɨtka tł'aax̱w nisháyaasnan;					
	Inmí	páshtɨn	wamshi-łá	i-shakw'ɨtk-a	tł'aax̱w	nisháyaas-nan
	1Sg.GEN.PN	non.Native	rent-AGT	3Sg.S-plow-PST	all	home-OBJ
	"My non-Native renter plowed up where we used to live;"					

3.7.2.28.1	Ku tawnúkyiki chíishki ishapawananúusha tamaníksh,				
	Ku	tawnúkyi-ki	chíish-ki	i-shapa-wana-núu-sha	tamaník-sh
	and	medicine-INST	water-INST	3Sg.S-CAUS-flow-APPL-IMPV	grow-PERF
	"then he sprayed the plants with weedkiller."				

3.7.2.28.2	Ku aw íkuuk tł'aax̱w tun tkwátat iłamáya wanapáynk							
	Ku	aw	íkuuk	tł'aax̱w	tun	tkwátat	iłamáy-a	wana-páynk
	and	now	today	all	what	food	be.missing-PST	river-LOC.EMPH
	"Now, everything that was edible there has disappeared,"							

3.7.2.28.3	Anakwnák ínx̱twayma patmáanix̱ana.		
	Ana-kwnák	ín-x̱tway-ma	pa-tmáani-x̱a-na
	SUB-that.LOC	my-family-Pl	3Pl.S-pick-HAB-PST
	"where our relatives would come to gather the wild fruits."		

3.7.2.29.1	Wacháatash niẋanásh wánapa,		
	Wacha=́atash	niẋanásh	wána-pa
	COP.PST=1Pl.EXCL	fish.weir	river-LOC
	"We had a fish weir at the [Yakima] river,"		

3.7.2.29.2	Kwnink patáwsaypẋana núsuẋ.		
	Kwnink	pa-táwsayp-ẋa-na	núsuẋ
	that.ABL	3Pl.S-distribute-HAB-PST	salmon
	"where we caught salmon."		

3.7.2.30	Kútash wachá tɬ'aaẋw tun tunẋtúnẋ tkwalá;					
	Kú=tash	wachá	tɬ'aaẋw	tun	tunẋ-túnẋ	tkwalá
	and=1Pl.EXCL	COP.PST	all	what	different-different	fish
	"We had all kinds of fish;"					

3.7.2.31	Kwɨnkínknatash wyá'anwikẋana.	
	Kwɨnkínk=natash	wyá'anwik-ẋa-na
	that.INST=1Pl.EXCL	spend.winter-HAB-PST
	"that is how we wintered over."	

3.7.2.32.1	Táaminwa nch'ínch'ima paẋáashwishana tkwátatyaw,			
	Táaminwa	nch'ínch'i-ma	pa-ẋáashwi-sha-na	tkwátat-yaw
	always	elder-Pl	3Pl.S-be.aggressive-IMPV-PST	food-DAT
	"The Elders always asked for food,"			

3.7.2.32.2	Kúshẋi áwacha tɬ'i'íish kumyúuk			
	Kúshẋi	á-wacha	tɬ'i'íish	kumink-yúuk
	as.well.as	3O-COP.PST	generous	that.Pl.GEN-DAT
	"and it was generously given to them,"			

3.7.2.32.3	Anakwmák pawachá shapyáwyi piimipáynk nisháyktpa.				
	Ana-kwmák	pa-wachá	shapyáwi-i	piimi-páynk	nisháyk-t-pa
	SUB-that.LOC	3Pl.S-COP.PST	problem-STAT	3Pl.GEN.PN-LOC.EMPH	reside-NZR-LOC
	"those that were disabled and did not have those foods vailable at their homes."				

3.7.3.1	Iwá napwinanmí ayatmamí ku awinshmamí txánat xwyáchpa.				
	I-wá	napwinanmí	ayat-ma-mí	ku	awinsh-ma-mí
	3Sg.S-COP	1Pl.GEN.PN	woman-Pl-GEN	and	man-Pl-GEN

txána-t	xwyách-pa
happen-NZR	sweathouse-LOC
"There are different ways practiced by the Indian women and men in the sweathouse."	

3.7.3.2	Iwá walím ímałakt wáwnakshash,			
	I-wá	walím	ímałak-t	wáwnakshash
	3Sg.S-cop	ordinary	clean-NZR	body
	"One is simply cleaning the body;"			

3.7.3.3	Ku naxsh iwá láxpit;			
	Ku	naxsh	i-wá	láxpit
	and	one	3Sg.S-COP	touch-heal-NZR
	"and one is healing;"			

3.7.3.4.1	Ku naxsh iwá piná'imałakt			
	Ku	naxsh	i-wá	piná-imałak-t
	and	one	3Sg.S-COP	REFL.Sg-clean-NZR
	"and one is cleansiting yourself"			

3.7.3.4.2	Anamkú wa tł'yawyashani;		
	Ana=nam-kú	wa	tł'yawi-ash-ani
	SUB=2Sg-and	COP	die-?-APPL
	"after a death in your family or before you do something important;"		

3.7.3.5	Ku naxsh iwá sápsikw'at myánashnan.			
	Ku	naxsh	i-wá	sápsikw'a-t	myánash-nan
	and	one	3Sg.S-COP	teach-NZR	child-OBJ
	"and one is to teach the children."			

3.7.3.6.1	Áwa átaw tawtnúk		
	Á-wa	átaw	tawtnúk
	3O-COP	important	medicine
	"The sweat where you use sacred medicine,"		

3.7.3.6.2	anakw'ɨnk áwa chcháanwii.		
	ana-kw'ɨnk	á-wa	chcháanwi-i
	SUB-that.aforementioned	3O-COP	keep.secret-STAT
	"that kind is kept secret."		

3.7.3.7	Ikw'ak iwá páshwini átawyay túyaay txánatay.					
	Ikw'ak	i-wá	páshwi-ni	átaw-yay	túyaay	txána-t-ay
	that.Sg.ABS	3Sg.S-COP	worth-STAT	important-BEN	what.BEN	happen-NZR-BEN
	"It is treasured for use for important things, in important ways."					

3.7.3.8	Palaláay tun pápa'iyushinxa íkwɨn.			
	Palaláay	tun	pápa-iyush-inxa	íkwɨn
	very.many	what	REFL.pay-HAB	that.DAT
	"They pay a lot for this teaching"			

3.7.3.9.1	Íkw'ak awkú kuuk pawánpxa uu pasapúukasixa					
	Íkw'ak	awkú	kuuk	pa-wánp-xa	uu	pa-sapúukasi-xa
	that.Sg.ABS	then	then	3Pl.S-sing-HAB	or	3Pl.S-recite.oral.history-HAB
	[on how to identify, gather, prepare, and use these medicines]."					

3.7.3.9.2	Anatúnpat ásapsikw'ana, wyánch'ima.		
	Ana-tún=pat	á-sapsikw'a-na	wyánch'i-ma
	SUB-what=3Pl>3	3O-teach-HAB	leader-Pl
	"That is what the Elder teaches them."		

3.7.3.10.1	Xwyáchpa iwá áwtni wapíitat			
	Xwyách-pa	i-wá	áwtni	wapíita-t
	sweathouse-LOC	3Sg.S-COP	sacred	help-NZR
	"In the sweathouse there is valued help"			

3.7.3.10.2	Anamkú ímktya pinátmaakta		
	Ana=nam-kú	ímk-tya	piná-tmaak-ta
	SUB=2Sg-and	2Sg.NOM.PN-actually	REFL.Sg-respect-FUT
	"when you respect yourself"		

3.7.3.10.3	Kunam aníta laxs pxwít,			
	Ku=nam	aní-ta	laxs	pxwí-t
	and=2Sg	make-FUT	one	think-NZR
	"and you make one mind,"			

3.7.3.10.4	Kuuknam iyáxta wapíitat.		
	Kuuk=nam	iyáx-ta	wapíita-t
	then=2Sg	find-FUT	help-NZR
	"then you will find help."		

Passage 3.7.4

Sub-Passage 3.7.4.1

3.7.4.1.1.1	Áykinxanaash nch'ínch'i áyatmaman sínwityaw ikwinkínk,				
	Á-yk-inxa-na=ash	nch'ínch'i	áyat-maman	sínwi-t-yaw	ikwin-kínk
	3O-hear-HAB-PST=1Sg	elder	woman-OBJ.Pl	speak-NZR-DAT	that.DAT-INST
	"I heard the Elder women talk about it,"				

3.7.4.1.1.2	Panátxanaxa,
	Pa-nátxana-xa
	3Pl.S-say-HAB
	"and they say,"

3.7.4.1.2	"Chawnam yalmílk ásapsikw'ata.		
	Chaw=nam	yalmílk	á-sapsikw'a-ta
	NEG=2Sg	careless	3O-teach-FUT
	"'Do not be careless about teaching this.'"		

3.7.4.1.3.1	Ttuush áyatma pawá kiłáa,			
	Ttuush	áyat-ma	pa-wá	kiłáa
	some	woman-Pl	3Pl.S-COP	messy
	"'Some women are not careful,'"			

3.7.4.1.3.2	Awnam awkú pá'ichaychaynanita tawtnúk,			
	Aw=nam	awkú	pá-ichaychay-nani-ta	tawtnúk
	now=2Sg	then	INV-spoil-APPL-FUT	medicine
	"'and you will ruin the use of your medicine,'"			

3.7.4.1.3.3	Chaw patmáakta."	
	Chaw	pa-tmáak-ta
	NEG	3Pl.S-respect-FUT
	"since they will not respect it.'"	

3.7.4.1.4	Pina'iixtpamá iwachá tamḵ'ikshúla, suup.			
	Pina-iix-t-pamá	i-wachá	tamḵ'ikshúla	suup
	REFL.Sg-clean-NZR-thing.for	3Sg.S-COP.PST	tamḵ'ikshúla	"soap"
	"*Tamḵ'ikshúla*, soap, is for cleaning yourself."			

3.7.4.1.5.1	Iwáltawixana pátatpa ts'aa wíinattyaw uu wánapa,					
	I-wáltawi-xa-na	pátat-pa	ts'aa	wíinat-t-yaw	uu	wána-pa
	3Sg.S-hang.down-HAB-PST	tree-LOC	close	flow.out-NZR-DAT	or	river-LOC
	"It hangs down from the trees by the river or spring,"					

3.7.4.1.5.2	Anakwnák iwachá mɨtíit tiichám.			
	Ana-kwnák	i-wachá	mɨtíit	tiichám
	SUB-that.LOC	3Sg.S-COP.PST	damp	land
	"where there is damp ground."			

3.7.4.1.6.1	Íkuuk aw cháwk'a iwá			
	Íkuuk	aw	cháw-k'a	i-wá
	today	now	NEG-?	3Sg.S-COP
	"[no direct translation provided]"			

3.7.4.1.6.2	Anakú chawk'a tun iwá winátt.				
	Ana-kú	chaw-k'a	tun	i-wá	winát-t
	SUB-and	NEG-?	what	3Sg.S-COP	flow.out-NZR
	"[no direct translation provided]"				

3.7.4.1.7.1	Ix̱yáawna kwnak,	
	I-x̱yáaw-na	kwnak
	3Sg.S-dry.up-PST	that.LOC
	"It dried up there"	

3.7.4.1.7.2	Ashkwnák ink ttáwax̱na Sípa.			
	Ana=ash-kwnák	ink	ttáwax̱-na	Sí-pa
	SUB=1Sg-that.LOC	1Sg.NOM.PN	grow-PST	Sih'-LOC
	"where I grew up, at Sih'."			

3.7.4.1.8.1	Awkłáwnash nakáłasn̓im isiḵkw'ana tiinamamí pina'imałaktpamá wawnakshashpamá			
	Awkłáw=nash	nakáłas-n̓im	isíkw'a-na	tiina-ma-mí
	enough=1Sg	my.Mo.Mo-ERG	show-PST	Indian.person-Pl-GEN

pina-imałak-t-pamá	wawnakshash-pamá
REFL-clean-NZR-thing.for	body-thing.for
"All my grandmother showed me was about the Indian way of washing our bodies,"	

3.7.4.1.8.2	Anakw'ink pashtɨnwít sɨ́nwitki pawaníkɨnx̱a "soap."				
	Ana-kw'ink	pashtɨnwít	sɨ́nwi-t-ki	pa-waník-ɨnx̱a	"soap"
	SUB-that.aforementioned	White.culture	speak-NZR-INST	3Pl.S-name-HAB	"soap"
	"that is what is called *soap* in English."				

3.7.4.1.9	Átawnash wachá tamḵ'ikshúla.		
	Átaw=nash	wachá	tamḵ'ikshúla
	important=1Sg	COP.PST	soap
	"I liked that herb called soap vine."		

3.7.4.1.10.1	Anamkú áwap'ikta,	
	Ana=nam-kú	á-wap'ik-ta
	SUB=2Sg-and	3O-wash.laundry-FUT
	"When you crush it in your hand,"	

3.7.4.1.10.2	Awkú iwíip'ushɨmita.	
	Awkú	i-wíi-p'ushɨmi-ta
	then	3Sg.S-go-foam.up-FUT
	"it foams up."	

3.7.4.1.11.1	Ɨwít itíwasha,	
	Ɨwít	i-tíwa-sha
	smell	3Sg.S-have.scent-IMPV
	"It smells good,"	

3.7.4.1.11.2	Ku itx̱ánax̱a mɨx̱íshpyat.	
	Ku	i-tx̱ána-x̱a	mɨx̱íshpyat
	and	3Sg.s-happen-HAB	green
	"and the color turns green."		

3.7.4.1.12.1	Tɬ'áax̱wpanam túpan piná'iix̱ta,	
	Tɬ'áax̱w-pa=nam	túpan	piná-iix̱-ta
	all-LOC=2Pl	what.LOC	REFL.Sg-wash-FUT
	"Wash yourself all over your bodywith the foam soap,"		

3.7.4.1.12.2	Kunam pinayax̱ikáshata tamaashúki	
	Ku=nam	pina-yax̱iká-sha-ta	tamaashú-ki
	and=2Sg	REFL.Sg-pour.over-FUT	rose.hip.water-INST
	"then douse yourself with rose hip water,"		

3.7.4.1.12.3	Kunam kw'áx̱i áshta x̱wyáchyaw.	
	Ku=nam	kw'áx̱i	ásh-ta	x̱wyách-yaw
	and=2Sg	right.away	go.out-FUT	sweathouse-DAT
	"and go back into the sweatlodge."			

3.7.4.1.13	Íkushnam kúta mɨtáam.	
	Íkush=nam	kú-ta	mɨtáam
	thus=2Sg	do-FUT	three.times
	"Do this three times."		

3.7.4.1.14	Chaw iwá túyay ɨwínshay.	
	Chaw	i-wá	túyay	ɨwínsh-ay
	NEG	3Sg.S-COP	what.BEN	man-BEN
	"That is not man medicine."			

3.7.4.1.15	Awtyá iwá iḵwikt imínk wáwnakshashyay.				
	Aw-tyá	i-wá	iḵwik-t	imínk	wáwnakshash-yay
	now-just	3Sg.S-COP	perfume-NZR	2Sg.GEN.PN	body-BEN
	"It is to perfume your body."				

Sub-Passgae 3.7.4.2

3.7.4.2.1	Íkushx̱itash pasápsikw'ana iix̱t ɨtɨt táx̱shki.				
	Íkush=x̱i=tash	pa-sápsikw'a-na	iix̱-t	ɨtɨt	táx̱sh-ki
	thus=?=1Pl.EXCL	3Pl.S-teach-PST	wash-NZR	tooth	willow-INST
	"This is how the elders instructed us to brush our teeth."				

3.7.4.2.2	Anakúshna íix̱inx̱a "toothbrushki" íkuuk.			
	Anakúsh=na	íix̱-inx̱a	toothbrush-ki	íkuuk
	like=1Pl.INCL	wash-HAB	toothbrush-INST	today
	"It is like we brush our teeth with a toothbrush,"			

3.7.4.2.3	Tɨ́knik'anaam tax̱shnmí psáki íkush kútya.				
	Tɨ́knik'ana=am	tax̱sh-nmí	psá-ki	íkush	kútya
	in.contrast=2Sg	willow-GEN	bark-INST	thus	but
	"except we used willow bark."				

3.7.4.2.4	Íkw'aktyaatash pt'ilímaman pasápsikwashana.		
	Íkw'ak-tya=atash	pt'ilí-maman	pa-sápsikw'a-sha-na
	that.Sg.ABS-just=1Pl.EXCL	girl-OBJ.Pl	3Pl.S-teach-IMPV-PST
	"Those were lessons for girls only."		

3.7.4.2.5	Kútya ayatmamí áwa nɨmnɨwíit úyknik shukwáat tawtnúknan.						
	Kútya	ayat-ma-mí	á-wa	nɨmnɨwíit	úy-knik	shukwáa-t	tawtnúk-nan
	but	woman-Pl-GEN	3O-COP	really	beginning-ABL	know-NZR	medicine-OBJ
	"The women had far advanced knowledge about herbal medicines."						

3.7.4.2.6	Tawtnúkx̱i iwá tamsháashu.		
	Tawtnúk=x̱i	i-wá	tamsháashu
	medicine=?	3Sg.S-COP	rose.bush
	"Rosebush is also a medicine,"		

3.7.4.2.7	Íx̱wi pimáyax̱ikáshax̱a x̱wyachpa kunkínk.			
	Íx̱wi	pimá-yax̱ikásha-x̱a	x̱wyach-pa	kunkínk
	later	REFL.Pl-pour.water.over-HAB	sweathouse-LOC	that.INST
	"still used to wash yourself in the sweathouse."			

3.7.4.2.8	Úyknik áwacha shúkwaani;		
	Úy-knik	á-wacha	shúkwaa-ni
	beginning-INST	3O-COP.PST	know-STAT
	"They had some other medicines,"		

3.7.4.2.9	Kush chaw áshukwaasha kúunak tunx̱túnx̱ tawtnúknan.					
	Ku=sh	chaw	á-shukwaa-sha	kúunak	tunx̱-túnx̱	tawtnúk-nan
	and=1Sg	NEG	3O-know-IMPV	that.Sg.ACC	different-different	medicine-OBJ
	"and I do not know about them, there are so many."					

3.7.4.2.10.1	Tamsháashu iwá tawtnúk,		
	Tamsháashu	i-wá	tawtnúk
	rose	3Sg.S-COP	medicine
	"Rose was always recognized as a medicine."		

3.7.4.2.10.2	Shix̱nam inaknúyanita ɨpáx̱ ku wáwnakshash.				
	Shix̱=nam	i-naknú-yani-ta	ɨpáx̱	ku	wáwnakshash
	good=2Sg	3Sg.S-care.for-APPL-FUT	skin	and	body
	"It will take good care of your skin and your body."				

3.7.4.2.11.1	Anamkú wáta tł'yawyáshani,		
	Ana=nam-kú	wáta	tł'yawi-ásh-ani
	SUB=2Sg-and	COP.FUT	die-?-APPL
	"If you become widowed,"		

3.7.4.2.11.2	Kwnímknam ímałakanita wáwnakshash		
	Kwnímk=nam	ímałak-ani-ta	wáwnakshash
	that.ERG=2Sg	clean-APPL-FUT	body
	"it will wash your body clean,"		

3.7.4.2.11.3	Kunam chaw wáta shapyáwii			
	Ku=nam	chaw	wáta	shapyáwi-i
	and=2Sg	NEG	COP.FUT	trouble-STAT
	"and you will not be bothered,"			

3.7.4.2.11.4	Ku chawnam íhananuykta tł'yáwiinɨm.			
	Ku	chaw=nam	í-hananuyk-ta	tł'yáwi-i-nɨm
	and	NEG=2Sg	3Sg.S-bother-FUT	die-STAT-ERG
	"the spirit of your loved one will not trouble you."			

3.7.4.2.12	Chawnash nímnɨwit ínch'a átḵ'ixna shúkwaat ayatmamíki płáx̱ki.				
	Chaw=nash	nímnɨwit	ínk-ch'a	á-tḵ'ix-na	shúkwaa-t
	NEG=1Sg	really	1Sg.NOM.PN-also?	3O-want-PST	know-NZR

ayat-ma-mí-ki	płáx̱-ki
woman-Pl-GEN-INST	?-INST
"I was not interested in learning about herbs used to get a man."	

3.7.4.2.13.1	Tł'ápx̱iish pasapsikw'ayát'ana,	
	Tł'ápx̱i=ish	pa-sapsikw'a-yát'a-na
	?=?=1Sg	3Pl.S-teach-DES-PST
	"Although many times my Elders wanted to teach me that culture,"	

3.7.4.2.13.2	Kush áwna,	
	Ku=sh	áw-ɨn-a
	and=1Sg	3O-tell-PST
	"and I"	

3.7.4.2.14	chawnash átḵ'ixsha íkuunak skúkwaat.			
	chaw=nash	á-tḵ'ix-sha	íkuunak	skúkwaa-t
	NEG=1Sg	3O-want-IMPV	that.Sg.ACC	know-NZR
	"refused to learn it."			

3.7.4.2.15	Kush Na'íłaasaanɨm ína,		
	Ku=sh	Na'íłaas-aa-nɨm	ín-a
	and=1Sg	my.Mo-?-ERG	tell-PST
	"My mother was worried about it, and she told me,"		

3.7.4.2.16	"ii, ánam áwku imksá łmamáwita, chaw tun ɨwínsh."							
	ii	ána=nam	áwku	imk-sá	łmamáwi-ta	chaw	tun	ɨwínsh
	yes	SUB=2Sg	then	2Sg.NOM.PN-only	grow.old-FUT	NEG	what	man
	"'You will grow old without a man.'"							

3.7.4.2.17	Kush íkwɨn áwna,		
	Ku=sh	íkwɨn	áw-ɨn-a
	and=1Sg	that.DAT	3O-tell-PST
	"I told her,"		

3.7.4.2.18	"Áwx̱ashat awkúsh wáta."		
	Áw=x̱ashat	awkúsh	wáta
	now=I.wonder	?	COP.FUT
	"'If that's the way it has to be, okay.'"		

Passage 3.7.5

3.7.5.1.1	Íkuuk anakú wyátunx̱isha tiinmamí px̱wít,				
	Íkuuk	ana-kú	wyá-tunx̱i-sha	tiin-ma-mí	px̱wí-t
	today	SUB-and	go-change-IMPV	Indian.person-Pl-GEN	think-NZR
	"Now that the majority of the living Indian people's lifestyle is changing,"				

3.7.5.1.2	Cháwk'ana apx̱winúusha	
	Cháw-k'a=na	a-px̱wi-núu-sha
	NEG-?=1Pl.INCL	3O-think-APPL-IMPV
	"they tend to forget the ancient belief"	

3.7.5.1.3	Wak̲'íshwityi iwá tł'aax̱w tun íchna tiichámpa.					
	Wak̲'íshwit-yi	i-wá	tł'aax̱w	tun	íchna	tiichám-pa
	life-?	3Sg.S-COP	all	what	this.LOC	land-LOC
	"that other things on this land have life."					

3.7.5.2.1	Paláayna apx̱winúusha	
	Paláay=na	a-px̱wi-núu-sha
	?=1Pl.INCL	3O-think-APPL-IMPV
	"We no longer pay attention to"	

153

3.7.5.2.2	Anatúun áḵ'inusha.	
	Ana-túun	á-ḵ'inu-sha
	SUB-what.OBJ	3O-see-IMPV
	"what we see."	

3.7.5.3.1	Tiináwitki áchaashki iwá námunt tł'áaxwnan tuun					
	Tiináwit-ki	áchaash-ki	i-wá	námun-t	tł'áaxw-nan	tuun
	Indian.way-INST	eyes-INST	3Sg.S-COP	greet-NZR	all-OBJ	what.OBJ
	"The Indian eyes see life in everything"					

3.7.5.3.2	Anatún iwá hawlaak tamánwiyi íchna tiichámpa.					
	Ana-tún	i-wá	hawlaak	tamánwi-yi	íchna	tiichám-pa
	SUB-what	3Sg.S-COP	empty	create.rule-STAT	this.LOC	land.LOC
	"on this earth that has life and claim them as relatives."					

3.7.5.4.1	Kwɨnkínk xwyách iwá anakúsh naxshpak'a tiichámpa					
	Kwɨnkínk	xwyách	i-wá	anakúsh	naxsh-pa-k'a	tiichám-pa
	that.INST	sweathouse	3Sg.S-COP	like	one-LOC-?	land-LOC
	"To illustrate this tought--the sweathouse is a different land,"					

3.7.5.4.2	Ku kwnáknam pa'ashtwíita imínk xɨtwayma,					
	Ku	kwnák=nam	pa-ash-twíi-ta	imínk	xɨtway-ma
	and	that.LOC=2Sg	3Pl.S-go.out-ASSOC-FUT	2Sg.GEN.PN	family-Pl
	"and when you enter the sweat,"					

3.7.5.4.3	Anakuumínk áwyaninxa waḵ'íshwit.		
	Ana-kuumínk	á-wyanin-xa	waḵ'íshwit
	SUB-that.Pl.GEN	3O-walk.around-HAB	life
	"the spirit of our relatives, who walk this earth, goes inside with you."		

3.7.5.5.1	Pa'áshtwanashaam
	Pa-ásh-twana-sha=am
	3Pl.S-go.out-follow-IMPV=2Sg
	"They come"

3.7.5.5.2	Kunam pimanách'axi áwatł'awiyaxa wapíitatyaw.			
	Ku=nam	pimanák-ch'axi	áw-atł'awiya-xa	wapíita-t-yaw
	and=2Sg	3Pl.ACC.PN-again	3O-request-HAB	help-NZR-DAT
	"to assist you when you ask."			

3.7.5.6	Íkwłnam pawapíitaxa ímxtwayma.		
	Íkwł=nam	pa-wapíita-xa	ím-xtway-ma
	so.many=2Sg	3Pl.S-help-HAB	your-family-Pl
	"That is how your relatives help you."		

3.7.5.7.1	Chawnam áwap'aalakta	
	Chaw=nam	á-wap'aalak-ta
	NEG=2Sg	3O-argue.with-FUT
	"Do not challenge the leader in the sweat,"	

3.7.5.7.2	Anakú nakwat'uyłá iwánpita	
	Ana-kú	nakwat'uy-łá	i-wánpi-ta
	SUB-and	lead-AGT	3Sg.S-invite-FUT
	"when he sings"		

3.7.5.7.3	Ku iwíwanikta.	
	Ku	i-wíwanik-ta
	and	3Sg.S-read-FUT
	"and calls the spirit animals to come inside the sweat lodge."	

3.7.5.8.1	Kwyaam paysh, chawnam tuun ák'inuta,				
	Kwyaam	paysh	chaw=nam	tuun	á-k'inu-ta
	true	maybe	NEG=2Sg	what.OBJ	3O-see-FUT
	"When the ceremony is carried out correctly, you may not see them,"				

3.7.5.8.2	Kútya wak'íshwit áwata hawláak			
	Kútya	wak'íshwit	á-wata	hawláak
	but	life	3O-COP.FUT	empty
	"because spirits are invisible,"			

3.7.5.8.3	Kupam pa'áshuuta.	
	Ku=pam	pa-ásh-uu-ta
	and=2Pl	3Pl.S-go.out-APPL-FUT
	"but they will come inside to you."	

3.7.5.9.1	Payshnam ákwyaamta,	
	Paysh=nam	á-kwyaam-ta
	maybe=2Sg	3O-believe-FUT
	"If you believe it,"	

3.7.5.9.2	Kunam áshukwaata.	
	Ku=nam	a-́shukwaa-ta
	and=2Sg	3O-know-FUT
	"you will know them."	

3.7.5.10	Sts'áatpa iwá asht x̱wyáchpa.			
	Sts'áat-pa	i-wá	asht	x̱wyách-pa
	night-LOC	3Sg.S-COP	inside	sweathouse-LOC
	"It is dark inside the sweathouse."			

3.7.5.11.1	Chawnam tuun áḵ'inuta,		
	Chaw=nam	tuun	a-́ḵ'inu-ta
	NEG=2Sg	what.OBJ	3O-see-FUT
	"You cannot see anything."		

3.7.5.11.2	Kunam lɨmḵ'íita.	
	Ku=nam	lɨmḵ'íi-ta
	and=2Sg	close.eyes-FUT
	"[No direct translation provided]"	

3.7.5.12	Chaw ttuush tiin itk'ítk'inx̱a asht x̱wyáchpa.					
	Chaw	ttuush	tiin	i-tk'í-tk'i-nx̱a	asht	x̱wyách-pa
	NEG	some	Indian.person	3Sg.S-look-look-HAB	inside	sweathouse-LOC
	"Some people do not close their eyes inside the sweat lodge."					

3.7.5.13	Íkushnash ink wachá sápsikw'ani.			
	Íkush=nash	ink	wachá	sápsikw'a-ni
	thus=1Sg	1Sg.NOM.PN	COP.PST	teach-STAT
	"I was taught"			

3.7.5.14	Lɨmḵ'íinam x̱wyákta.	
	Lɨmḵ'íi-nam	x̱wyák-ta
	closed.eyes=2Sg	sweat-FUT
	"to keep my eyes closed inside when I sweat."	

3.7.5.15.1	Tɬ'aax̱w iwá átaw		
	Tɬ'aax̱w	i-wá	átaw
	all	3Sg.S-COP	important
	"All is sacred"		

3.7.5.15.2	Payshnam ákwyaamsha tiinwítki pinánaktkwanint.			
	Paysh=nam	á-kwyaam-sha	tiinwít-ki	piná-naktkwanin-t
	maybe=2Sg	3O-believe-IMPV	culture-INST	REFL.Sg-caretake-NZR
	"if you believe the Indian way of caring for yourself."			

3.7.5.16	Íkushkink miimáma tíinma pa'iyáx̱ɨnx̱ana x̱túwit.				
	Íkush-kink	miimá-ma	tíin-ma	pa-iyáx̱-inx̱a-na	x̱túwit
	thus-INST	old-Pl	Indian.person-Pl	3Pl.S-find-HAB-PST	strength
	"This is the way the old people found strength to live."				

3.7.5.17	Małáaki wáwnakshashki ku px̱wítki pawaḵitatax̱ana shúkwaat.			
	Małáa-ki	wáwnakshash-ki	ku	px̱wí-t-ki
	clean-INST	body-INST	and	think-NZR-INST

pa-waḵit-ata-x̱a-na	shúkwaa-t
3Pl.S-search-PURP-HAB-PST	know-NZR
"With a clean body and mind they went to search for knowledge."	

3.7.5.18.1	Anatúyin pásamx̱ax̱ana	
	Ana-túyin	pá-samx̱a-x̱a-na
	SUB-what.ASSOC	INV-talk.to-HAB-PST
	"Whatever kind of Spirit responds to the power seeker,"	

3.7.5.18.2	Ku pánix̱ana kútkut íkw'ak			
	Ku	pá-ni-x̱a-na	kútkut	íkw'ak
	and	INV-give-HAB-PST	work	that.Sg.ABS
	"the individual become endowed with a specific task"			

3.7.5.18.3	Íkwɨnkink wapíitat awachá íchna tiichámpa.				
	Íkwɨn-kink	wapíita-t	a-wachá	íchna	tiichám-pa
	that.DAT-INST	help-NZR	3O-COP.PST	this.LOC	land-LOC
	"to help the people and the land."				

3.7.5.19.1	Íkuukna chaw shínɨm ikwyáamnanisha íkwt̄nk x̱túwit					
	Íkuuk=na	chaw	shínɨm	i-kwyáam-nani-sha	íkwtɨnk	x̱túwit
	today=1Pl.INCL	NEG	who.ERG	3Sg.S-believe-APPL-IMPV	that.kind	strength
	"Today nobody believes in that kind of power,"					

3.7.5.19.2	Anakú chawk'a shin iwá íkush.				
	Ana-kú	chaw-k'a	shin	i-wá	íkush
	SUB-and	NEG-?	who	3Sg.S-COP	thus
	"when there is no longer anyone left with that kind of endowment."				

3.7.5.20	Awkłáw tanamúnt̄mtkisim iwá wapíitat.			
	Awkłáw	tanamúntimt-ki-sim	i-wá	wapíita-t
	enough	Christianity-INST-only	3Sg.S-COP	help-NZR
	"Therefore many people depend upon Christianity for strength."			

3.7.5.21	Ka'áwtya awkú íkw'ak iwá átaw.				
	Ka'áw-tya	awkú	íkw'ak	i-wá	átaw
	?-just	then	that.Sg.ABS	3Sg.S-COP	important
	"Perhaps that is just as well for some people."				

3.7.5.22	Twátima pawachá tunx̱.		
	Twáti-ma	pa-wachá	tunx̱
	medicine.person-Pl	3Pl.S-COP.PST	different
	"Indian medicine doctors were different."		

3.7.5.23	Piimikínk iyax̱tpamáki payúwitnan panáttx̱ana.			
	Piimink-kínk	iyax̱-t-pamá-ki	payúwi-t-nan	pa-náttx̱a-na
	3Pl.GEN.PN-INST	find-NZR-thing.for-INST	be.sick-NZR-OBJ	3Pl.S-?-PST
	"They did their healing with the strength they found in the wild."			

3.7.5.24.1	Haay pinás̱inwiyanix̱ana	
	Haay	piná-s̱inwi-yani-x̱a-na
	must	REFL.Sg-speak-APPL-HAB-PST
	"It was necessary to call forth"	

3.7.5.24.2	Ku áwat̶inx̱ama x̱túwit,		
	Ku	áw-at-̶inx̱a-m-a	x̱túwit
	and	3O-go.out-HAB-CSL-PST	strength
	"the power"		

3.7.5.24.3	Anakwnák iyáx̱na.	
	Ana-kwnák	iyáx̱-na
	SUB-that.LOC	find-PST
	"from where he found it before he could continue the healing."	

3.7.5.25.1	Awkú iwínpx̱ana	
	Awkú	i-wínp-x̱a-na
	then	3Sg.S-grab-HAB-PST
	"Then he would take the sickness out of the body with his hand,"	

3.7.5.25.2	ku its'únx̱inx̱ana	
	ku	i-ts'únx̱-inx̱a-na
	and	3Sg.S-suck.it.out-HAB-PST
	"or he would suck it out."	

3.7.5.25.3	Ku inátx̱ana payúwitnan.		
	Ku	i-nátx̱ana	payúwi-t-nan
	and	3Sg.S-heal-PERF	be.sick-NZR-OBJ
	"[no direct translation provided]"		

3.7.5.26	Kúshx̱i itamáshwikinx̱ana	
	Kúshx̱i	i-tamáshwik-inx̱a-na
	as.well.as	3Sg.S-interpret-HAB-PST
	"The Indian doctor would interpret"	

3.7.5.27	Íkushx̱inam tx̱anana;	
	Íkush=x̱i=nam	tx̱ana-na
	thus=?=2Sg	happen-PST
	"what happened to you,"	

3.7.5.28.1	"íkush iwá ḵ'ínupa,		
	íkush	i-wá	ḵ'ínu-pa
	thus	3Sg.S-COP	see-LOC
	"'This is the way he looks,'"		

3.7.5.28.2	Kwnímknam íkush ipx̱winúuna."		
	Kwnímk=nam	íkush	i-px̱wi-núu-na
	?=2Sg	thus	3Sg.S-think-APPL-PST
	"'and that's how you acquired your sickness.'"		

3.7.5.29.1	Anakú x̱tu áwacha shúkwaat,			
	Ana-kú	x̱tu	á-wacha	shúkwaa-t
	SUB-and	strong	3O-COP.PST	know-NZR
	"When the Indian doctor had a strong power,"			

3.7.5.29.2	Pa'ítł'yawix̱ana px̱wítki,	
	Pa-ítł'yawi-x̱a-na	px̱wí-t-ki
	3Pl.S-kill-HAB-PST	think-NZR-INST
	"he could kill another person with it,"	

3.7.5.29.3	Ánam ku átawit páyupayu ákwiinita.				
	Ána=nam	ku	átawi-t	páyu-payu	á-kwiini-ta
	SUB=2Sg	and	love-NZR	very-very	3O-bother-FUT
	"if you injure someone he loves."				

3.7.5.30	Ttúushma twátima pawachá watwinłá wak'íshwitnan.				
	Ttúush-ma	twáti-ma	pa-wachá	watwin-łá	wak'íshwit-nan
	some-Pl	medicine.people-Pl	3Pl.S-COP.PST	track-AGT	life-OBJ
	"Some Indian medicine men were Spirit Trackers."				

3.7.5.31.1	Payshnam wiyáwka mɨnán,		
	Paysh=nam	wiyáwk-a	mɨnán
	maybe=2Sg	get.into?-PST	where.LOC
	"When you were in an accident,"		

3.7.5.31.2	Kumash wak'íshwit wiyápaana wáwnakshash,		
	Ku=mash	wak'íshwit	wiyápaa-na	wáwnakshash
	and=1Sg>2Sg	life	separate.from-PST	body
	"and your spirit separated from your body,"			

3.7.5.31.2	Kunam payúwiya kwɨnkínk.		
	Ku=nam	payúwi-ya	kwɨnkínk
	and=2Sg	be.sick-PST	that.INST
	"you became ill."		

3.7.5.32.1	Iwatwínanitaam twátinɨm,	
	I-watwín-ani-ta=am	twáti-nɨm
	3Sg.S-follow-APPL-FUT=2Sg	medicine.person-ERG
	"He would seek your spirit,"	

3.7.5.32.2	Kunam iyáx̱anita,	
	Ku=nam	iyáx̱-ani-ta
	and=2Sg	find-APPL-FUT
	"find it,"	

3.7.5.32.3	Kunam ítux̱ta imínk wyálamayki wak'íshwit imyúuk wáwnakshashyaw.				
	Ku=nam	ítux̱-ta	imínk	wyá-lamay-ki	wak'íshwit
	and=2Sg	return-FUT	2Sg.GEN.PN	go-missing-INST	life

imink-yúuk	wáwnakshash-yaw
2Sg.GEN.PN-DAT	body-DAT
"and return it to your body."	

3.7.5.33.1	Paysh íkwtɨnkmamannam awkú íkw'ak axwyaktwíixa				
	Paysh	íkwtɨnk-maman=nam	awkú	íkw'ak	a-xwyak-twíi-xa
	maybe	that.kind-OBJ.Pl=2Sg	then	that.Sg.ABS	3O-sweat-ASSOC-HAB
	"Those are the kind of people you might sit with"				

3.7.5.33.2	Anamkú áshta xwyáchyaw.		
	Ana=nam-kú	ásh-ta	xwyách-yaw
	SUB=2Sg-and	go.into-FUT	sweathouse-DAT
	"in the sweat lodge."		

3.7.5.34	Kushkínknam táaminwa pinanaknúwita.		
	Kush-kínk=nam	táaminwa	pina-naknúwi-ta
	thus-INST=2Sg	always	REFL.Sg-care.for-FUT
	"That is why it is important for you to be cautious around the people you sweat with."		

3.7.5.35	Chaw iwá ɬḵ'íwit tiináwit;			
	Chaw	i-wá	ɬḵ'íwi-t	tiináwit
	NEG	3Sg.S-COP	play-NZR	Indian.way
	"Indian tradition is not taken lightly by Indian people;"			

3.7.5.36	Iwá miimáknik tamánwit.		
	I-wá	miimá-knik	tamánwit
	3Sg.S-COP	old-ABL	rule
	"it is ancient law."		

Passage 3.7.6

Sub-Passage 3.7.6.2

3.7.6.1.1.1	Kútya úyknik áwa átaw tawtnúk				
	Ku-tya	Úy-knik	Á-wa	átaw	tawtnúk
	and-just	beginning-ABL	3O-COP	important	medicine
	"But the other sweat, where you use sacred medicine,"				

3.7.6.1.1.2	Anakw'ínk áwa chcháanwii.		
	Ana-kw'ínk	á-wa	chcháanwi-i
	SUB-that.aforementioned	3O-COP	keep.secret-STAT
	"that kind is kept secret."		

3.7.6.1.2	Íkw'ak iwá páshwini átawyay túyay txánatay.					
	Íkw'ak	i-wá	páshwi-ni	átaw-yay	túyay	txána-t-ay
	that.Sg.ABS	3Sg.S-COP	worth-STAT	important-BEN	what.BEN	happen-NZR-BEN
	"It is treasured for use for important things in important ways."					

3.7.6.1.3	Palaláay tun pápa'iyushinxa íkwin.			
	Palaláay	tun	pápa-iyush-inxa	íkwin
	many	what	REFL-pay-HAB	that.DAT
	"They pay a lot for this kind of teaching"			

3.7.6.1.4.1	Íkw'ak awkú kuuk pawánpxa			
	Íkw'ak	awkú	kuuk	pa-wánp-xa
	that.Sg.ABS	then	then	3Pl.S-sing-HAB
	"[how to identify, gather, prepare, and use these medicines]."			

3.7.6.1.4.2	Uu pasapúukasixa	
	Uu	pa-sapúukasi-xa
	or	3Pl.S-recite.history-HAB
	"[no direct translation provided]"	

3.7.6.1.4.3	Anatún pat ásapsikw'ana, wyánch'ima.			
	Ana-tún	=pat	á-sapsikw'a-na	wyánch'i-ma
	SUB-what	=3Pl>3	3O-teach-HAB	leader-Pl
	"That is what the Elder teaches them."			

Sub-Passage 3.7.6.2

3.7.6.2.1.1	Ashkú áshapniya na'iłasnan íkwinkink,			
	Ana=ash-kú	á-shapni-ya	na'iłas-nan	íkwinkink
	SUB=1Sg-and	3O-ask-PST	my.Mo-OBJ	that.INST
	"I wondered about what I saw, and I went to my mother and asked her about it."			

3.7.6.2.1.2	Kush i'ína,	
	Ku=sh	i-ín-a
	and=1Sg	3Sg.S-tell-PST
	"She said,"	

3.7.6.2.2.1	"tɬ'ápx̲inam áyatmasim wáta		
	tɬ'ápx̲i=nam	áyat-ma-sim	wáta
	at.least=2Sg	woman-Pl-only	COP.FUT
	"'Although there might only be naked women bathing together,'"		

3.7.6.2.2.2	Kunam táaminwa pinásapak'ɨlkta.		
	Ku=nam	táaminwa	piná-sapak'ɨlk-ta
	and=2Sg	always	REFL.Sg-cover.groin-FUT
	"'always hide your 'private' part."		

3.7.6.2.3	Chawnam shiin awisíkw'ata imínk páshwini."				
	Chaw=nam	shiin	aw-isíkw'a-ta	imínk	páshwi-ni
	NEG=2Sg	who	3O-show-FUT	2Sg.GEN.PN	worth-STAT
	"'Do not ever show your treasure to anyone.'"				