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NORTHWEST COAST TEXTS

Edited by
Barry F. Carlson

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Northwest Coast Texts:

Stealing Light

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The cover design for this issue was drawn by Patrick Amoss, a Hesquiat artist from Victoria, British Columbia.

PREFACE

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The following texts from four different Northwest coast languages have a common theme -- stealing light. The languages, two Salishan and two Wakashan, delineate a geographic area encompassing Seattle's Puget Sound, Lushootseed (Salishan); the south east coast of British Columbia's Vancouver Island, Halkomelem (Salishan); the west coast of Vancouver Island, Nitinaht (Wakashan); and the northern reaches of Vancouver Island, Kwaḱala (Wakashan). The texts show variations of a theme which is firmly rooted in the cultural traditions of people living throughout the Northwest coast, from Washington state to Southern Alaska.

The Lushootseed text, which is in the Upper Skagit dialect, was tape recorded by Leon V. Metcalf from Mr. Harry Moses in the early 1950's. Mr. Metcalf made a number of tapes from a variety of Lushootseed speaking elders at a time when the language was far more viable than it is now. He subsequently turned these over to the Burke Museum at the University of Washington where Mrs. Hilbert, a Skagit Indian and the Lushootseed language teacher at the University, has begun the long task of transcribing them with financial assistance from the Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs Research Fund, the Whatcom Museum of History and Art. For this text Mrs. Hilbert and Thom Hess collaborated on the translation and introductory grammatical notes.

The Nitinaht text was recorded and analyzed by Bernice Touchie. Mrs. Touchie, a Nitinaht Indian, has been working with her elders in an effort to record and transcribe the culture and history of the Nitinaht people. Her work is being supported by the Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs Research Fund. During the past year Mrs. Touchie has been aided by her uncle, John Thomas, a Nitinaht elder who speaks both Nitinaht and Nootka.

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Mrs. Touchie and Mr. Thomas are both graduates of a special linguistics program for native speakers of Northwest coast languages offered by the Department of Linguistics and the School of Education at the University of Victoria.

The Halkomelem text was provided by Ellen White, a well-respected narrator of traditional stories. Mrs. White, who is a Halkomelem language teacher from Nanaimo, British Columbia, collaborated with Ruby Peter, a native Indian from the same language area, and Thomas Hukari to prepare the analysis of the story and the introductory grammatical notes. Like Bernice Touchie and John Thomas, Ellen White and Ruby Peter are graduates of the University of Victoria's Native language program. The Halkomelem story is part of a large text collection being prepared by native linguists, with the assistance of Thomas Hukari.

The Kwakwala text was recorded and analyzed by Robert Levine, Assistant Curator of Linguistics, at the British Columbia Provincial Museum, Victoria. Dr. Levine, known also for his work with the Haida language, has worked extensively with Thomas and Emma Hunt to record and transcribe the vast knowledge of these respected Kwakwala elders.

This collection of texts could not have been prepared without the assistance of numerous individuals and organizations. As mentioned above, the Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs Research Fund, the Whatcom Museum of History and Art, Bellingham, Washington, has provided continuing support for the Nitinaht research of Bernice Touchie and the Lushootseed research of Vi Hilbert. The Canada Council and the First Citizens Fund of Canada have supported Halkomelem language work for a number of years and have made it possible for Halkomelem speaking people to engage in both teaching and research efforts dealing with their language. During this past year the British Columbia Ministry of Education supported Halkomelem, Nitinaht and Kwakwala language work through funds for the Native Indian Language Bilingual-Bicultural Curriculum Project, headed by Dr. William Zuk, of the University of Victoria.

Major portions of the Halkomelem and Nitinaht texts were prepared using computer technology. Peter Wilson, a research assistant in the Depart-

ment of Linguistics at the University of Victoria and Tom Allen, a computer

programmer at the University of Victoria made it possible to input, edit,

and print out these texts using facilities at the Computing Center, Univer-

sity of Victoria.

     The cover design is by Hesquiat artist Patrick Amoss, Victoria.

The illustrations within the volume were done by Vancouver Island artist

Robert McRae, a member of the Native Indian Language Bilingual-Bicultural

Curriculum Project. Special thanks must go to Anneliese Hlavac, head

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of Victoria, who carefully edited and typed materials for this volume.

LUSHOOTSEED

Vi Hilbert, Taqšəblu and Thom Hess

University of Washington and University of Victoria

The text is transcribed according to the orthographic conventions adopted by teachers of Lushootseed on several reservations and at the University of Washington. These include the use of parens to designate many phonologically conditioned alternations. Any segment within parentheses is not pronounced.

Stress is not marked for it is predictable falling on the first non-/ə/ vowel of the stem exclusive of prefixes (other than reduplications). If all vowels are /ə/, major stress is on the first (that is not in a prefix).

Capitalization is achieved by underlining the letter that represents the first consonant of the stem. Only proper names are capitalized and not, for example, the initial word in a sentence.

The basic descriptive unit in Lushootseed is the clause. Every clause has a predicate plus an *optional* surface representation of several types of complements which convey various case relations. When the predicate is clause initial (which is the usual and unmarked case), all complements but one are introduced by a small class of words analogous to English prepositions. In this text there are four of these: dxʷʔal *toward, until, in order to*; liɬʔal *by what route, by what means*; ʔal marking time or place in a very general way; and ʔə having a purely grammatical function. Complements so introduced are called oblique. The complement not having a preposition is termed direct.[1]

The structure of complements is simple. Typically a direct comple-

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[1] A small class of locative words corresponding to English locative adverbs are also to be considered oblique complements (and not direct) even though they are not introduced by prepositions.

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ment consists of a determiner plus head word corresponding in translation to

an English noun. In this text there are only four determiners: ti *the*

(definite); kʷi *remote, hypothetical* or *conjectured*; tiʔəʔ *this*; and

tiʔił *that*. Not infrequently the determiner is expanded by an adverb, most

often diʔəʔ *here*, for purely stylistic effect. Occasionally, the head word

has a modifier in addition to the determiner. Examples of these construc-

tions follow:

tiʔəʔ ləgʷəb	this youth
tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ ləgʷəb	this (here) youth
tiʔəʔ səsaʔliʔ ləgʷləgʷəb	these two youths

Compound complements also occur, *e.g.*, tiʔəʔ kaẃqs ʔi tiʔəʔ bibščəb *Raven*

and Mink of line 12. Oblique complements have the same structure as the

direct except for the introductory prepositions.

One word complements are not uncommon. Words such as tiʔəʔ *this*

and tiʔił *that* can function pronominally as well as being determiners. In

such cases they are the head and sole member of a direct complement. Indirect

complements often lack a determiner if the head word represents a person's

name; kaẃqs *Raven* and bibščəb *Little Mink* occur this way frequently in the

text.

The case relation of the direct complement is indicated by predi-

cate suffixes. The following are several examples:

predicate	complement		
tu-čaẃgʷa-d	ti	bəščəb.	Someone washed the mink.
past–wash–tr	the	mink	
tu-čaẃgʷa-cut	ti	bəščəb.	The mink washed itself.
past–wash–self	the	mink	
tu-čaẃgʷ-yi-d	ti	bəščəb.	Someone washed it for the mink.
past–wash–benef–tr	the	mink	

The case relation of oblique complements is for the most part

expressed by the preposition, but here too predicate suffixes play a rôle --

especially when the oblique complement is introduced by the semantically

empty ʔə:

	predicate	complement			

tu-ʔiX̌ʷi-t-əb   ʔə ti bi-bšč̌əb.   Little Mink threw it.
past-throw-tr-pass   the Little-Mink

tu-ʔiX̌ʷ-yi-d   ʔə ti bi-bšč̌əb.   Someone threw Little
past-throw-benef-tr   the Little-Mink   Mink to someone else.

The predicate is the only obligatory part of the clause surface
structure. It frequently has but one word which is usually translated by an
English verb or adjective. The predicate may, however, be expanded with
either of two classes of words or both. These are called adverbs which pre-
cede the predicate head and predicate particles which follow the head. When
both adverbs and particles occur in the same predicate, the particles follow
the adverb rather than the predicate head.[1]

lə-ʔuX̌ʷ.   [head only]   Someone is going.
series-go

X̌ʷul̓   lə-ʔuX̌ʷ.   [adverb+head]   Someone is just
merely series-go   going (along).

lə-ʔuX̌ʷ   uʔxʷ.   [head+particle]   Someone is still
series-go still/yet   going.

X̌ʷul̓   uʔxʷ   ləʔuX̌ʷ.   [adverb+particle+head] Someone is still
merely still/yet series-go   going (along).

Predicate particles convey various temporal and modal relations,
and most importantly, this class also includes person markers of the inde-
pendent clause type (discussed below). The large class of adverbs in
Lushootseed is represented by only nine words in this text: haʔkʷ *ago*,
haʔɫ *good*, ɫ̓al̓ *also*, ƛub *well*, tiləb *suddenly*, tuX̌ʷ *contrast*, X̌ʷul̓ *merely*,
yəX̌i *because*, and yəX̌i huy *because*. Some words that function as adverbs
can occur as predicate heads and complement heads. One such is haʔkʷ.

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[1]
 For special emphasis an adverb is sometimes uttered at the end of the clause
 as in line 71 instead of initially in the predicate phrase.

A few like haʔɬ can also modify complement heads as in the last line of
the text.

Several classes of words can serve as predicate heads. The
largest class in this function is that which can take aspectual prefixes.
These prefixes form a mutually exclusive set of five members, four of which
are found in this text. The four are ʔəs- ~ -as- *stative (st)*, lə- ~ -ə-
series (designating acts performed in a series but often translatable with
the English progressive), ʔu- ~ -u- *resultative (resul)*, and ləs- *continuous
state (cst)*.

A second set of five prefixes has a much wider distribution occur-
ring with adverbs, complement heads and predicate heads. Like a particle,
this set is also sometimes bound to whole phrases. To this omnipresent group
is given the name omniprefixes. Two of the five, tu- *past* and ɬu- *will* are
mutually exclusive. All others can coöccur. Except for bə- *anew, again*
their relative order is fixed: gʷə- *subjunctive (subj)* + ƛu- *habitual* +
tu-/ɬu- + bə-. This last, however, can precede the others as meaning dic-
tates. Compare the sequence in line 102 bəƛuɬaX̌ with the more frequently
heard ƛubəɬaX̌. The first stresses the reoccurrence of something at night
while the latter focuses on it being night again when something would happen.

Omniprefixes precede the aspectuals. If the predicate belongs to
either of the absolute clauses (See below.), the absolute prefixes occur
between them: omni + absolute + aspect + predicate head stem. No prefix,
however, is obligatory in independent or dependent clauses. (See below.)

There are four transitive suffixes in Lushootseed. These are -d
~ -t- (marked in the text by *tr*), -txʷ ~ -tu- *causative*, -dxʷ ~ -du- *lack
of full control (lc)*, and -c ~ -s *purposive (pur)*. The allomorphs of the
first three morphemes are phonologically conditioned, the second in each
case occurring non-finally; while the purposive allomorphs are morphologi-
cally conditioned. As their names imply, several of these suffixes mark
not only transitivity but also express to some extent the intention and
control an agent has over the outcome of an act. Compare the following:

šu-c	look at it	kʷəda-d	get/take it	ʔux̌ʷ-c	go after it
šu-dxʷ	see it	kʷəd-(d)xʷ	manage to get it	ʔux̌ʷ-txʷ	take

Suffixes marking person as patient (*me, us,* etc.) follow the transitives and distinguish first and second person, singular and plural. There is no overt designation of third person. (The suffix for *us,* -buɫ, is the only one in this text, line 28.) Also to this class belongs the reflexive suffix -sut ~ -but. Only the first of these morphologically conditioned allomorphs occurs in this text. The transitive suffix -t- forms with -sut the portmanteau -cut which is labeled simply *self* in the text and not analyzed into its two components.

The passive suffix -b (-əb after consonants) also follows the transitives filling the same slot that suffixes for person as patient do.

There are three suffixes (all having the same historical component i) which provide for a second patient (indirect object). They require the transitive suffix -d ~ -t-. One is -yi-, called *benefactive (benef)* for convenience although it is used with stems working to the patient's detriment as well as benefit. An example is found on lines 113 and 122, ʔix̌ʷ-yi-d *throw it to someone.* Compare ʔix̌ʷi-d *throw it.*

The second suffix of this group is -bi- called *indirect.* Compare ʔup̓-bi-d *put it in someone's lap* with ʔup̓u-d *put it in lap.*

The third, -i- ~ -bi-, is called *secondary.* It provides for the addition of the transitive suffix -d ~ -t- to stems that would not otherwise permit it. Thus, to saxʷəb *jump/run* may be added the causative suffix giving saxʷəb-txʷ *run (away) with it/cause it to run* but not -d ~ -t-. There is no word *saxʷəbəd. Instead, the secondary suffix is required, *e.g.,* saxʷəb-i-d *run after it.* This secondary morpheme also permits the addition of a second transitive to a formation already ending in -d ~ -t-. In line 84 is huyu-t̲-i-d̲ *make/do it with it.* (The -bi- allomorph of the secondary (not to be confused with the indirect suffix -bi-) is limited in this text to stems borrowed from English.)

The final suffix (in words of this text) is -əxʷ (-həxʷ following a vowel, -(h)axʷ when stressed) meaning *a change has been affected — the situation is different from what it just was.* For convenience it is labeled as *now.* Like the omniprefixes, -əxʷ has a very wide distribution. It can occur with each kind of predicate head, complement head, and adverb.

There are several classes of derivational affixes. One is a
group of seven different morphemes having reduplication allomorphs echoing
various parts of the root. Only two of these morphemes are found in this
text, an attenutive or diminutive of the shape C_1i- or C_1V_1- *little, dim*;
and a distributive or plural having the shape C_1VC_2- labeled *R*.

A second class of derivational suffixes is called lexical. There
are well over one hundred of these in Lushootseed belonging to various sub-
classes on the basis of semantics and morphology. Lexicals are somewhat like
the numeral classifiers of many languages except they are suffixed not only
to numbers but to several other word classes as well, especially to those
that are translated by verbs and adjectives in English. They are frequently
encountered in the stems of predicate heads. The eight different lexicals
in this text are labeled by their English glosses rather than by class
membership. Thus, -abac is given as *(solid) mass* rather than *lexical*.
Compare sax^{w}əb *jump/run* with s(a)x^{w}əbabac *jump over (an object having a)*
solid mass.

A small set of morphemes labeled *(fr)* forms a kind of link
between the root (or larger derivation) and lexical. In this text there
are three, -a-, -al-, and -y-. Sometimes they are automatically required
by the nature of the root; other times they limit or alter the meaning of
the lexical. Compare s-ʔil-g^{w}iɬ *shore* which has no linking morpheme with
s-ʔil-al-g^{w}iɬ *side of a canoe* which does.

The derivational suffixes -il *become* and -(ə)b *middle voice*
occur not only as highly productive morphemes but also, like the English
re- of *renown,* they abound in forms as unproductive historical elements
no longer separable from what were once free roots:

	productive		unproductive
čag^w-ači?-<u>b</u>	wash own hands	sax^w<u>əb</u>	jump/run
čag^w-ači?-d	wash his/her hands	s(a)x^w<u>əb</u>abac	jump over (solid) mass
ləX̌-<u>il</u>	become light	təlawi<u>l</u>	run
ləX̌-əd	light it		

These examples also show that, as productive suffixes, -(ə)b follows

lexicals. (Both -ačiʔ *hand* and -abac *(solid) mass* are lexicals.) The

same is true of -il.

A suffix -agʷ- *self propel* forms with -il a derivational con-

struction built upon roots that do not otherwise permit -il. Compare

šul-agʷ-il *get self beneath* with šulu-d *put it beneath* and šul-alikʷ

put (something) into oven. There are two examples in this text, lines

110 and 113.

When followed by the transitive suffix -s *purposive*, -il is

realized by -i- as in łč-i-s *arrive to* (i.e., *reach*) *him* in line 112.

(This is a morphologically conditioned change, for sequences of /-il-s/

are possible and frequent when /s/ represents other suffixes.)

There are three derivational prefixes in this text (in addition

to the reduplications). These are ʔabs- *have, possess,* and dxʷ- *somatic,*

and s- *absolute*. The somatic suffix has the effect of limiting the pos-

sible semantic range of a lexical suffix to a body part. It is also required

with many stems expressing various types of mental activity.

The absolute s- (labeled *abs* in the text) occurs not only as an[1]

inflectional prefix in absolute clauses but also with complement heads.

A very common example in the text is s-ləx̌il *day/daylight* formed from the

stem ləx̌-il *become/grow light*. On this derivational level, the absolute

prefix has the effect of "freezing" or rendering permanent a dynamic stem.

There are five types of clause, independent, dependent, s-abso-

lute, dəxʷ-absolute, and uninflected. Each of the first four types has

its own set of person markers.

	independent		dependent		s-absolute		dəxʷ-absolute	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
1 person	čəd	čəł	-əd	-əłi	d-	-čəł	cəxʷ-	-čəł
2 person	čəxʷ	čələp	-əxʷ	-ələp	ad-	-ləp	adəxʷ-	-ləp
3 person				-əs		-s		-s

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[1] It also, along with dəxʷ- and the omniprefixes can be an immediate consti-
tuent with entire phrases, *i.e.*, it is at times a particle. There are, how-
ever, no examples of this use in the text.

The first two are closely related morphologically as are the two absolutes. Third person receives no overt marking in the independent clause and no distinction is made between third person singular and plural in any clause type; however, such plurality can be indicated optionally by adding həlgʷəʔ *they, them, their* (a frequent word in this text) to all four clauses.[1] The first is the most neutral and statistically the most frequent. The other three express different types of subordinate concepts -- subordinate in context if not always within a single sentence. The dependent clause conveys ideas typically rendered in English by *contrary to the expected, if, when.* (In this text there is only one case, line 160.) The dəxʷ-absolute expresses *the means by which* and *the place where.* In the s-absolute all other subordinate concepts are developed.

The uninflected clause encompasses a heterogeneous collection of types all of which share one important feature: the predicate head cannot be inflected for aspect. The only suffix commonly occurring with these is -əxʷ *now* although most of them are occasionally heard with one or another omniprefix, especially tu- *past.*

In one important subclass of the uninflected clause there is usually only a single word and this cannot inflect for transitivity or person. Few words serve in this clause but they are frequent. In the text there are several: xʷiʔ *not,* diɬ *anaphoric,* and ʔəca *I am the one.* These are usually followed by one of the absolute clauses.

A second type of uninflected clause has a single word predication but may be expanded by a direct complement. The predicate head represents location in time or place, or simply existence, *e.g.,* ʔacəc *there,* ʔal *in/at, (when),* and ʔaʔ *there (exists).* Phrases with ʔal are syntactically ambiguous functioning either as oblique complement with ʔal the preposition and tuhaʔkʷ the complement (line 3); or as a clause with ʔal as the predicate head and kʷi tuhaʔkʷ the direct complement (line 1).

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[1] həlgʷəʔ occurs both as a predicate particle and as a modifier to a complement head (which it follows).

Although the predicate is usually first in the clause, a shift of focus to emphasize a complement affects a change in order whereby the complement precedes the predicate. In such cases, the predicate requires an introductory determiner. Lines 12-13 have an example.

Outside the clause are possible a number of particles serving as sentential conjunctions and adverbs. The most common of these in the text is g^wəl *and, but; then.* Another sort of conjunction links independent clauses. This is the element -a suffixed to the independent clause person markers. The resulting formation is the first word in the conjoined clause, *e.g.,* čəda *and I* (line 71).

List of Abbreviations

adv	adverb
benef	benefactive suffix
caus	causative suffix
classif	classificatory prefix
cst	continuous state prefix
dep 3	suffix marking a dependent clause involving third person "subject"
dim	diminutive/attenuative reduplicative prefix
fr	formative
impf	imperfective
lc	lack of control suffix
middle	middle voice suffix
obl	oblique clause
part	partitive prefix
pass	passive suffix
perf	perfective
poss	possessive
pr	pronoun
pur	purposive
R	reduplication for distributive

resul   resultative prefix

st   stative prefix

tr   transitive prefix

1 pl   first person plural

1 sg   first person singular

3   suffix for third person in either of the absolute clauses

How Daylight Was Stolen

as told by Harry Moses

1.   ?al   kʷi   tu-ha?kʷ   gʷəl   xʷi?
            in/at   remote   past-ago   and   not

       In the distant past there was no daylight.

2.   gʷə-tu-s-ləx̌-il.   ti?ə?   swatixʷtəd   gʷəl
       subj-past-abs-light-become.   this   world/land   and

                                        This land was dark in the

3.   t(u)-as-bəsad   ?al   kʷi   tu-ha?kʷ.
       past-st-dark   in/at   remote   past-ago.

       distant past.

4.   tu-dxʷ-(h)ad-had-əxʷ   ti?ə?   ?aciɬta[1]bixʷ.   "?əs-čal-əxʷ
       past-somatic-R-talk-now   this   person.   st-how-now

       The people talked it over.   *"How can we*

5.   kʷi   gʷə-dəxʷ-kʷəd-(d)xʷ-čəɬ   kʷi   s-ləx̌-il.
       remote   subj-means-get-1c-our/we   remote   abs-light-become.

       manage to obtain daylight?

6.   ?a?   kʷi   s-ləx̌-il   ?al   kʷi
       there   remote   abs-light-become in/at   remote

       Daylight is there in the upriver country but how can we manage

7. q̓xʷ-ul̓gʷədxʷ   gʷəl   ʔəs-čal   kʷi
    upriver-country   and   st-how   remote

    to get it?"

8. gʷə-dəxʷ-kʷəd-(d)xʷ-čəɫ."
    subj-means-get-1c-our/we.

9.   tu-huyu-cut-əxʷ   tiʔəʔ   [sə]saʔliʔ   ləgʷ-ləgʷəb.
                past-make-self-now   this   two (humans)   R-youth.

                These two youths prepared themselves.

10. tu-c̓agʷa-cut-əxʷ.   tu-huyu-cut   həlgʷəʔ   dxʷʔal
    past-wash-self-now.   past-make-self   they   toward

    [They] bathed.   *They prepared themselves in order to [be]*

11. s-xʷəxʷaʔxʷəʔ-s   gʷə-s-u-təlawil-s   (h)əlgʷəʔ.
    abs-light/swift-3   subj-abs-resul-run-3   their.

    swift when they run.

12. tiʔəʔ   kaw̓qs   ʔi   tiʔəʔ   bi-bščəb   kʷi
    this   Raven   and   this   Little-Mink   remote

    Raven and Little Mink prepared themselves.

13. tu-huyu-cut.   tu-ta̓d-al-gʷiɫ   (h)əlgʷəʔ.
    past-make-self.   past-line up-fr-canoe   they.

                They lined up the canoes.

14. tu-ʔaʔ   dᶻəɫ   ti   ƛ̓əlayʔ   gʷəl
    past-there   so it would seem   the   s-n-canoe   but

    There must have been some shovel-nose canoes but they could

15. tux̌ʷ   xʷiʔ   uʔxʷ
    adv marking contrasting clause   not   still

    not yet jump over them in their [training] to become

16. gʷə-s-ə-s(a)xʷəb-abac-s   ʔal   kʷi   s-xʷəʔaʔxʷ(əʔ)-il-s.
     subj-abs-serial-jump-mass-3   in   remote   abs-light/swift-become-3.

     swift.

17. lə-cəb-a-gʷiɫ-il   tiʔəʔ   ʔəs-x̌ək̓ʷ-txʷ
     series-two-fr-canoe-become   this   st-overturn-caus

     [*They progressed to the point that*] *they had two canoes*

18. (h)əlgʷəʔ   ƛ̓əlayʔ.   cəb-a-gʷiɫ-əxʷ   kʷi
     they   s-n-canoe.   two-fr-canoe-now   remote

     overturned.   *Two canoes now they were jumping*

19. ƛ̓u-də(xʷ)-s(a)xʷəb-abac-əd-s   (h)əlgʷəʔ.
     habitual-means-jump-mass-tr-3   they.

     over.

20. tu-haʔkʷ   tu-(u)-huyu-cut   həlgʷəʔ?   dxʷʔal   kʷi
     past-ago   past-resul-make-self   they   toward   remote

     For a long time they trained in order to become swift as they

21. gʷə-d(əxʷ)-xʷəʔaʔxʷ(əʔ)-il-s   lə-təlawil.
     subj-means-light/swift-become-3   series-run.

     run.

22. lə-ɫixʷ-al-gʷiɫ-il   tiʔəʔ   t(u)-as-x̌ək̓ʷ-txʷ
     series-three-fr-canoe-become   this   past-st-overturn-caus

     It came to where they had three canoes overturned which they

23. həlgʷəʔ?   ƛ̓əlayʔ   dəxʷ-ə-s(a)xʷəb-abac-s   (h)əlgʷəʔ.
     they   s-n canoe   means-series-jump-mass-3   they.

     were jumping.

24. ʔal-əxʷ   kʷi   tu-buus-al-gʷiɫ-il   kʷi
     in/at-now   remote   past-four-fr-canoe-become   remote

     When it became four overturned canoes and they jumped over these

25.   t(u)-as-x̌ək̓ʷ   ƛəlay?   gʷəl   tu-s(a)xʷəb-abac-əd
     past-st-overturn   s-n canoe   and   past-jump-mass-tr

     four, then it was there (i.e., they had reached their goal).

26.   ti?ə?   buus-al-gʷiɫ   ƛəlay?   gʷəl   tu-?ah-əxʷ.
     this   four-fr-canoe   s-n canoe   and   past-there-now.

27.   gʷəl   tu-dxʷ-cut-əb   həlgʷə?.   "?u·,   xʷi?-əxʷ
     then   past-somatic-say-middle   they   oh   not-now

     Then they thought, "Oh, now there is nothing that can manage to

28.   kʷi   ?ah-əxʷ   gʷə-čal-du-buɫ.   si?-əxʷ   čəɫ
     remote   there-now   subj-pursue-lc-us.   enough-now   we

     chase/catch us.   *We are good enough*

29.   ƛub-əxʷ   dxʷ?al   kʷi   gʷə-s-?ux̌ʷ-c-čəɫ
     well-now   toward   remote   subj-abs-go-pur-our/we

     to go after the daylight where it is."

30.   kʷi   s-ləx̌-il   ?al   kʷi   dəxʷ-?acəc."
     remote   abs-light-become   at   remote   means-specific
                                         location

31.   tu-?uluɫ-əxʷ   ti?ə?   di?ə?   bi-bščəb
          past-travel by water-now   this   here   Little-Mink

     Now Little Mink and Raven set out by canoe.

32.   ?i   ti?ə?   kawqs.   tu-gʷəč-əd-axʷ   (h)əlgʷə?
     and   this   Raven.   past-seek-tr-now   they

                         They sought for daylight in the

33.   kʷi   s-ləx̌-il   dxʷ?al   kʷi
     remote   abs-light-become   toward   remote

     land upstream.

34. dxʷ-q̓xʷ-ul̓gʷədxʷ.   x̌ʷul̓-əxʷ   (h)əlgʷəʔ?   tu-lə-č̓it-il
    toward-upriver-land.   as-now   they   past-series-near-
                                                              become

    As they drew near to this place of daylight,

35. dxʷʔal   tiʔəʔ   dəxʷ-ʔa(ʔ)   ʔə   kʷi   s-ləx̌-il
    toward   this   means-there   remote   abs-light-become

    light enveloped them.

36. ƛ̓u-ləx̌-il-ič-əxʷ   (h)əlgʷəʔ.   ƛ̓u-hagʷ-əxʷ
    habitual-light-become-cover-now   them.   habitual-ago-now

                                                          For a long time

37. kʷi   ƛ̓u-ləx̌-il-s   gʷəl   ƛ̓u-bə-lə-bəsad.
    remote   habitual-light-become-3   and   habitual-again-
                                                          series-dark
    it would be light then it would again be dark.

38. diɬ   tu-[dəxʷ-əs]-hay-dxʷ-[s]-əxʷ   (h)əlgʷəʔ,
    that   past-means-st-know-lc-3-now   they

    That is how they knew, "We are getting near."

39. "lə-č̓it-il-əxʷ   čəɬ."   gʷəl   tu-ɬagʷɬ
     series-near-become-now   we.   then   past-leave behind

                                                   Then they left their

40. (h)əlgʷəʔ   tiʔəʔ   q̓il̓-bid-s   gʷəl   tu-gʷax̌ʷ.
    they   this   ride-thing-3   and   past-walk.

    canoe and walked.

41. tu-gʷax̌ʷ-əxʷ   (h)əlgʷəʔ   gʷəl   tu-ɬč-il
    past-walk-now   they   and   past-arrive-become

    They walked now and they arrived at these people (who) dwelled

42. dxʷʔal   tiʔəʔ   diʔəʔ   ʔaciɬta[l]bixʷ   ʔəs-ɬaɬl-il
    toward   this   here   person   st-dwell-become

    at the place of light.

43. dəxʷ-ʔa(ʔ)   ʔə   tiʔəʔ   s-ləx̌-il.
    means-there   this   abs-light-become.

44.   ɬu-dxʷ-ʔiwəd-əxʷ   (h)əlgʷəʔ.   "gʷat-əxʷ
        will-somatic-decide-now   they.   who-now
        They will decide now,   *"Which of*

45. ʔə   dibəɬ   kʷi   ɬu-ʔux̌ʷ-txʷ   kʷi   s-ləx̌-il.
       us   remote   will-go-caus   remote   abs-light-
                                                  become.
us will take the light?

46. gʷ(ə)-əs-dukʷ   gʷə-bək̓ʷ-aɬi   gʷə-ʔux̌ʷ;   yəx̌i   čəɬ
    subj-st-bad   subj-all-we   subj-go   because   we
It would be bad if we all [e.g., both] were to go because we

47. gʷə-hay-du-b   lə-ʔux̌ʷ-c   čəɬ   tiʔəʔ
    subj-know-lc-pass   series-go-after it   we   this
would be known to be going after this light.

48. s-ləx̌-il.   ɬu-qada-bi-d   čəɬ   ʔal
    abs-light-become.   will-steal-secondary-tr   we   at
                        We will steal it from where it is."

49. kʷi   ɬu-dəxʷ-ʔacəc."   tu-cut-əxʷ   tiʔəʔ
    remote   will-means-specific location.   past-say-now   this
                                        Little Mink said,

50. diʔəʔ   b̲i-bščəb,   "ʔəca   kʷi
    here   Little-Mink   I am the one   remote
"I am the one who will go in.

51. ɬu-həd̓ʔiw̓-b.   kayiɬ   čəd   ɬu-lə-lu-luƛ̓
    will-enter building-middle.   pretend   I   will-series-dim-old
                    I will pretend to be old and grey,

52. ɫ(u)-as-qʷəlub-us,   ɫ(u)-as-x̌ʷal̕.   ɫ(u)-as-cḱusəd
    will-st-grey-hair   will-st-lack control.   will-st-cane
    and feeble.   *Using a cane,*

53. ɫu-həd?iw̕-b-əd.   ɫu-lə-?ux̌ʷ   čəd   dxʷ?al
    will-enter building-middle-I.   will-series-go   I   toward
    I will go in.   *I will be going toward the noble-*

54. kʷi   si?ab   ?ab(s)-s-ləx̌-il.   dəxʷ-?a?   kʷi
    remote   noble   have-abs-light-become.   means-there   remote
    man who possesses the daylight.   *There is where I*

55. ɫu-d-s-?a?."   cuu-c   ti?ə?   ḵaẃqs,
    will-I/my-abs-there.   say-pur   this   Raven
    will be."   *Raven said to him, "At this place I*

56. "ɫu-?al   ti?ə?   di?ə?   kʷi   ɫu-d-s-?acəc.
    will-in/at   this   here   remote   will-I/my-abs-specific
                                                       location.
    will be.

57. ɫ(u)-as-?aciɫ   čəd   dxʷ?al   kʷi   ɫ(u)-ad-s-?əƛ̕-txʷ.
    will-st-wait   I   toward   remote   will-you/your-abs-come
                                                          caus.
    I will wait for you to bring it.

58. si?   ƛub   ɫ(u)-ad-s-əs-ƛ̕ip-aɫ-əd
    enough   well   will-you/your-abs-st-encircle in one's grasp-
                                                         self interest-tr
    Just so will you be clutching it and you will arrive, and

59. čəxʷ-a   ɫ(u)-ɫč-il   dxʷ-di?ə?   gʷəl
    you-and   will-arrive-become   to-here   and
    I am the one who will take it anew."

60. ?əca-həxʷ   kʷi   ɫu-bə-kʷəda-d,
    I am the one-now   remote   will-again-get-tr

61. ɬu-kʷəd-(d)xʷ-axʷ."
    will-get-lc-now.

62.   tu-təlawil-əxʷ.   tu-ʔux̌ʷ-əxʷ   tiʔəʔ   bi-bščəb
          past-run-now.   past-go-now   this   Little-Mink

          He ran now.   *Little Mink went and came to the*

63. gʷəl   tu-ɬč-il   dxʷʔal   tiʔəʔ   diʔəʔ   siʔab
    and   past-arrive-become   toward   this   here   noble

    nobleman who possessed the daylight.

64. ʔab(s)-s-ləx̌-il.   lə-lu-luƛ   ʔəs-qʷəlub-us,
    have-abs-light-become.   series-dim-old   st-grey-hair

          He procedes pretending to be old and grey using

65. ləs-cᶄusəd.   šu-du-b   ʔə   tiʔəʔ   ʔaciɬta[l]bixʷ.
    cst-cane.   see-lc-pass   this   person.

    a cane.   *He is seen by these people.*

66. "ʔu·   d(ə)č-aʔkʷ-bixʷ   ʔaciɬtalbixʷ   tiʔəʔ
        oh   one-out of-group [= stranger]   person   this

    "Oh, a stranger has arrived."

67. ʔu-ɬč-il."   cut-əxʷ   bi-bščəb,   "ʔu·
    resul-arrive-become.   say-now   Little-Mink   oh

          Little Mink said, "Oh, I am poor.

68. s-ʔušəbabdxʷ   čəd.   xʷiʔ   kʷi   stab·
    abs-poor   I.   not   remote   thing

          There is nothing I can put in the mouth

69. gʷ(ə)-u-bəq̓-əd   čəd   gʷə-ʔəɬəd.   xʷiʔ-əxʷ
        subj-resul-put in mouth-tr   I   subj-eat.   not-now

        to eat.   *There is*

70. kʷi   gʷat-əxʷ   ʔal   cəxʷ-ʔaʔ
    remote   who-now   in/at   means for me-there

    no one where I am (who) treats me well, so I am coming, looking for

71. gʷə-ƛ(u)-as-huyu-c   haʔɬ,   čəd-a   lə-ʔəƛ
     subj-habitual-st-make-me   good   I-and   series-come

     the nobleman (who) possesses the daylight.

72. lə-gʷəč-alikʷ   dxʷʔal   kʷi   siʔab
     series-seek-patterned activity   toward   remote   noble

73. ʔab(s)-s-ləx̌-il.   ʔaʔ   kʷi   ɬu-d-s-əs-ɬaq̓
     have-abs-light-become.   there   remote   will-I/me-abs-st-
                                                       put down

                          There I will lie down and I will be

74. gʷəl   [ɬu]-haʔɬ   kʷi   gʷə-d-s-əs-huy."
     and   will-good   remote   subj-I/me-abs-st-make.

     treated well."

75. tu-kʷəda-t-əb-əxʷ   ʔə   tiʔəʔ   siʔab   tiʔəʔ   diʔəʔ
     past-get-tr-pass-now   this   noble   this   here

     The nobleman took the old fellow and said, "Over there at the back

76. luƛ   gʷəl   tu-cut-əb,   "ɬu-ʔal   tudi(ʔ)
     old   and   past-say-middle   will-in/at   over there

     you will go to bed, you will [have a] pallet."

77. ʔalq̓ʷ   kʷi   ɬ(u)-ad-s-əs-tədᶻil,
     back of room/   remote   will-you/your-abs-st-go to bed
     away from fire

78. ɬ(u)-ad-s-ɬagʷid."   tu-cut-əxʷ,   "xʷiʔ.
     will-you/your-abs-pallet.   past-say-now   not

                          He said, "No. I [need to] go

79. ƛ̓u-ši-šəd²al   čəd   ʔal   ti   ɬax̌.
    habitual-little-go outside   I   in/at   the   night.

    outside a bit during the night.

80. ƛ̓ub   ləq̓aɬ-ucid   kʷi   ɬu-d-s-ʔaʔ."
    well   on/in the way-door   remote   will-I/my-abs-there.

    It is better that I be by the door."

81. tu-huyu-t-əb-əxʷ   ʔə   ti?əʔ   dəxʷ-əs-ɬaq̓-s
    past-make-tr-pass-now   this   means-st-put down-3

    His place was made by the door.

82. ləq̓aɬ-ucid.
    on/in the way-door.

83.   ƛ̓u-ʔaʔ   x̌ʷuɬ   ƛ(u)-as-*watch*-bi-d   ti?iɬ
                 habitual-there   just   habitual-st-watch-   that
                                              secondary-tr

    He would be there just watching what was done with this

84. ƛ(u)-as-huyu-t-i-[d]   ti?əʔ   s-ləx̌-il.
    habitual-st-make-tr-secondary-tr   this   abs-light-become.

    daylight.

85. x̌ʷuɬ   ʔəs-*watch*-bi-d.   x̌ʷuɬ   ƛ̓u-lə-di?i?-il
    just   st-watch-secondary-tr.   as   habitual-series-opposite
                                                     side-become

    He just watches it.   *As that sun would move to the*

86. ti?iɬ   ɬukʷaɬ   gʷəl   ƛ̓u-lə-ƛ̓ip̓-us-i-t-əb
    that   sun   then   habitual-series-encircle in one's grasp
                                    face-secondary-tr-pass

    other side, then the daylight would gradually get its face squeezed

87. ti?ə?   s-ləx̌-il.   diɬ   s-ə-ɬáˑˑx̌-il.
    this   abs-light-become.   anaphoric   abs-series-night-
                                                             become

    shut.   *It (the daylight) gradually becomes*
                                              night.

88. x̌u-lə-x̌uč-us-i-t-əb.   diɬ
    habitual-series-close-face-secondary-tr-pass.   anaphoric

    It would gradually get its face tied (shut).   *It (the sun)*

89. bəsad-s.   ?əs-*watch*-bi-t-əb   ?ə   bi-bščəb.
    dark-3.   st-watch-secondary-tr-pass   Little-Mink.

    is dark.   *It is watched by Little Mink.*

90. ?al-əx̌ʷ   s-ɬix̌ʷ-əɬ-dat-cut-s   kʷi   s-?a?-s
    in/at-now   abs-three-ordinal-day-self-3   remote   abs-there-3

    When it turns into three days that Little Mink is there, then he

91. bi-bščəb   gʷəl   ?ux̌ʷ-c   ti?ə?   s-ləx̌-il.
    Little-Mink   then   go-pur   this   abs-light-become.

    goes after this daylight.

92. x̌ʷi?   u?x̌ʷ   gʷə-s-ɬa?   ?ə   ti?ə?
    not   still/yet   subj-abs-arrive-there   this

    His hand still cannot reach it.

93. čaləs-s.   x̌al   lil   gʷəl   ləx̌.   tiləb
    hand-his   also   far   and   light.   immediately

                    It is still far away when it lights up.   *Immediately*

94. ?u-saxʷəb   bi-bščəb   gʷəl   təd²il   ?al   ti?iɬ
    resul-jump   Little-Mink   and   go to bed   in/at   that

    Little Mink jumps (back) and gets in bed where he goes to bed.

95. dəxʷ-əs-tədᶻil-s.   ʔəs-tədᶻil-ič   ʔə   di?
     means-st-go to bed-3.   st-go to bed-cover   opposite side

     He goes to bed covered by fine ash powder.

96. q̓ʷaɬ-čup.   puʔu-d   tiʔə?   q̓ʷaɬ-čup   gʷəl
     fine powder-fire blow-tr   this   fine powder-fire   and

     He blows on this fine ash powder and is buried.

97. pəd-ič.   dəb   kʷədi?   ʔiɬ-lil-alʔtxʷ
     bury-cover.   contrastive pr   there remote   part-far-house

     The others at the far part of the house noticed it.

98. kʷi   ʔu-ƛaʔa-d.   ''b(ə)-u-ʔəx̌id-əxʷ
     remote   resul-notice-tr.   anew-resul-general interrogative-now

                 "Why is the daylight blinking?"

99. kʷi   ləx̌-il   kʷi   dəxʷ-wəq̓-wəq̓-s.''
     remote   light-become   remote   means-R-blink-3

100. ʔə(s)-šuu-c-əb   ʔə   ti   luƛ   ʔəs-bəč
     st-see-pur-pass   the   old fellow   st-lie

     The old fellow who is lying by the doorway covered with fine ash powder

101. ləq̓aɬ-ucid   ʔəs-pəd-pəd-ič   ʔə   ti   q̓ʷaɬ-čup.
     on/in the way-door   st-R-bury-cover   the   fine powder-
                                                                         fire
     watches it.

102.   ʔal   bə-ƛu-ɬax̌   gʷəl
               in/at   anew-habitual-night   and

     When it would again be night, Little Mink (would) again

103. bə-ʔux̌ʷ-c-əb   ʔə   bi-bščəb.   buus-əɬ-dat
     anew-go-pur-pass   Little-Mink.   four-ordinal-day

     go after it.   *Four days he goes*

104. kʷi   s-u-ʔux̌ʷ-c-s   tiʔəʔ   s-ləx̌-il
     remote   abs-resul-go-pur-3   this   abs-light-become

after the daylight, then (his) hand reached it and he managed to

105. gʷəl   tu-ɬaʔ-ačiʔ-bi-d   gʷəl   tu-kʷəd-(d)xʷ.
     then   past-arrive there-hand-indirect-tr   and   past-get-lc.

get it.

106. diɬ   tu- [s]-pəkʷib-i-d-s   tiʔəʔ
     anaphoric   past-[abs]-snatch-secondary-tr-3   this

He snatched this daylight and ran (off) with it.

107. s-ləx̌-il   gʷəl   tu-saxʷəb-txʷ.
     abs-light-become   and   past-jump/run-caus.

108.   tu-čala-t-əb   bi-bščəb.   tudiʔ
     past-pursue-tr-pass   Little-Mink.   over there

Little Mink was chased.   *Over there he is*

109. x̌u-lə-gʷəd-abac   ʔə   ti   qʷəɬ-qʷ(ə)ɬayʔ
     habitual-series-below-mass   the   R-log

continually below the logs he is going beneath.

110. tiʔiɬ   s-ə-šul-agʷ-il-s.   xʷiʔ   gʷə-s-u-čal-s
     that   abs-series-go beneath-self propel-become-3.   not   subj-abs-resul-pursue-3

He is not overtaken because

111. yəx̌i   huy   xʷəxʷaʔxʷəʔ.   [l]ə-s(a)xʷəb-abac
     because   then   light/swift.   series-jump-mass

he is swift.   *He is jumping over*

112. ʔə   tiʔəʔ   qʷ(ə)ɬayʔ   dxʷʔal   tiʔiɬ   s-ɬč-i-s-s
     this   log   toward   that   abs-arrive-become-at it-3

the log(s) until he arrives at his friend, Raven, and throws

113. ti?ə?   ?a?yəd-s   kaẃqs   gʷəl   tu-?iX̌ʷ-yi-d
     this   friend-3   Raven   and   past-throw-benef-tr

     him this daylight.

114. ?ə   ti?ə?   s-ləX̌-il.   kʷədá-t-əb   ?ə   kaẃqs.
             this   abs-light-become.   get-tr-pass   Raven.

                                    It is taken by Raven.

115. tudi?   liɫ-šəq   ti?iɫ   lə-čəl-čəlp   ?ə
     over there   via-high   that   series-R-twist

     Way up high Raven is twisting and turning.

116. kaẃqs.   "qʷa?!   qʷa?!   qʷa?!   qʷa?!"   xʷi?   kʷi
     Raven.   caw   caw   caw   caw   not   remote

              "Caw!, Caw!, Caw!, Caw!"   *There is no one*

117. gʷat   gʷ(ə)-u-kʷəd-(d)xʷ   yəX̌i   huy   xʷəxʷa?xʷə?.
     who   subj-resul-get-lc   because   then   light/swift.

     who can manage to catch him because he is swift.

118. qʷiq̓ʷ.   ti?ə?   liɫ-?al   ti?ə?   swatixʷtəd
     strong.   this   via-in/at   this   world/land

     He is   Here on the ground is where he (Mink) runs.
     strong.

119. ƛu-dəxʷ-u-saxʷəb-s.   tudi?   liɫ-šəq
     habitual-means-resul-jump/run-3.   over there   via-high

                                    Way up high is where he

120. dəxʷ-u-saq̓ʷ-s.   xʷi?   kʷi   gʷat   gʷə-lə-kʷəd-(d)xʷ
     means-resul-fly-3.   not   remote   who   subj-series-get-lc

     (Raven) flies.   *There is no one (who) can manage to catch*

121. ti?ə?   kaẃqs.   X̌ʷuɫ   ƛu-lə-q̓ʷəɫəb   gʷəl
     this   Raven.   As   habitual-series-tired   then

     Raven.   *When he would tire, he would throw it to*

122. lə-ʔix̌ʷ-yi-d   tiʔəʔ   ʔaʔyəd-s.
     series-throw-benef-tr this   friend-3.

     his friend.

123.   čala-t-əb   bi-bščəb.   tudiʔ   lil
              pursue-tr-pass   Little-Mink.   over there   far

              Little Mink is chased.   *He is way over there*

124. gʷəd-abac   ʔə   ti   qʷəɬ-qʷ(ə)ɬayʔ;   tudiʔ
     below-mass   the   R-log   over there

     beneath the logs;   he is way over there jumping over the high mass

125. lə-s(a)xʷəb-abac   ʔə   ti   š(ə)q-abac   tiʔiɬ
     series-jump-mass   the   high-mass   that

     (of logs) which is (where) Little Mink is running.

126. s-ə-təlawil   ʔə   bi-bščəb.   xʷiʔ   kʷi   stab
     abs-series-run   Little-Mink.   not   remote   thing

                                                There is nothing able

127. gʷə-lə-čal-dxʷ   tiʔəʔ   xʷəxʷaʔxʷəʔ   titčulbixʷ.
     subj-series-pursue-lc this   light/swift   small animal[1].

     to overtake this swift little animal.

128. s-tiqayuʔ,   s-wəwaʔ   tu-čala-d.   xʷiʔ   kʷi   gʷat
     abs-Wolf   abs-Cougar   past-pursue-tr.   not   remote   who

     Wolf and Cougar chased him.   *There is no one (who)*

---

[1] titčulbixʷ designates animals about the size of a wolf and smaller.
tatčulbixʷ *large animal* refers to deer, elk, horses, etc. Note
raconteur's shift in conceptualization from speaking of Little Mink
as an ʔaciɬtalbixʷ *human* to a tatčulbixʷ *little animal.*

129. gʷ(ə)-u-čal-dxʷ   ti   bi-bščəb   yəx̌i   huy
      subj-resul-pursue-cl   the   Little-Mink   because   then

can manage to overtake Little Mink because he is swift.

130. xʷəxʷaʔxʷəʔ.
      light/swift.

131.   dxʷʔal   tu-s-łč-il-s   (h)əlgʷəʔ
         toward   past-abs-arrive-become-3   they

[They ran on] until they arrived at their canoe

132. dxʷʔal   tiʔəʔ   q̓ił-bid-s   (h)əlgʷəʔ   gʷəl
      toward   this   ride-thing-3   their   and

and got in and set off.

133. tu-q̓il-agʷ-il   gʷəl   tu-ʔuluł.
      past-ride-self propel-become   and   past-travel by water.

134. x̌ʷuł-əxʷ   tu-ʔuluł   (h)əlgʷəʔ   gʷəl
      just as-now   past-travel by water   they   and

Just as [soon as] they had set out it became foggy.

135. tu-qʷ(ə)šab-əxʷ.   cut-əxʷ   ʔə   tiʔəʔ   bi-bščəb.
      past-fog-now.   say-now   this   Little-Mink,

Little Mink [had] said, "I have a spirit

136. "ʔaʔ   tiʔił   d-s-qəlalitut   łu-laʔ   čəd
       there   that   my-abs-spirit power   will-locate   I

power (which) I will locate and the world will be foggy."

137. gʷəl   łu-qʷ(ə)šab   tiʔəʔ   swatixʷtəd."   tu-qʷ(ə)šab-ič-əxʷ
      and   will-fog   this   world/land.   past-fog-cover-now

The fog covered them

138. (h)əlgʷə?   gʷəl   tu-x̌ʷil-x̌ʷil-əxʷ   ti?ə?   ?aciłta[l]bixʷ
      them   and   past-R-get lost-now   this   person

      and these people (who) were chasing them got lost.

139. tu-lə-čala-d   həlgʷə?.
      past-series-pursue-tr   they.

140.   gʷəl   tu-?ux̌ʷ-əxʷ;   tu-łukʷ-txʷ-əxʷ   ti?ə?
               and   past-go-now   past-go home-caus-now   this

      And (they) went; they took this daylight home.

141. s-ləx̌-il.   x̌ʷuł-əxʷ   (h)əlgʷə?   tu-lə-łč-il-dxʷ
      abs-light-become.   as-now   they   past-series-arrive-
                                                              become-1c

                     As they were managing to arrive with this,

142. ti?ə?,   tu-lə-čit-il   dxʷ?al   ti?ə?   swatixʷtəd
      this   past-series-near-become   toward   this   world/land

      were drawing near to this land they were from, sunshine would envelop

143. dəxʷ-tuł-?a?-s   (h)əlgʷə?   gʷəl   dił-əxʷ   kʷi
      means-from-there-3   they   and   anaphoric-now   remote

      the people.

144. x̌u-gʷəq-il-ič   ?ə   ti?ə?   ?aciłta[l]bixʷ.   tu-cut,
      habitual-sun shine-   this   person.   past-say
      become-cover
                                                                     They said,

145. "?u·,   ?u-?əƛ̓-axʷ   ti   stububš[1]   tu-gʷəč-əd
      oh   resul-come-now   the   man-R   past-seek-tr

      "Oh, the men have come (who) sought the daylight.

---
[1]
      The word for man, stubš, has an irregular reduplicative allomorph
      to represent the distributive morpheme. Instead of anticipating
      the first C_1VC_2 of the root, it echoes the VC_2. This results in
      an infix coming between the second and third consonants of the root.

146. ti?iɬ   s-ləx̌-il.   ?iɬ-čit-əx̌ʷ;   ləx̌-il-ič-əx̌ʷ
that   abs-light-become.   part-near-now   light-become-cover-now

(They) are nearer now; light is

147. čəɬ."   tu-?əƛ-txʷ   (h)əlgʷə?   ti?ə?
us.   past-come-caus   they   this

cover(ing) us."   They brought this daylight and arrived in

148. s-ləx̌-il   gʷəl   tu-ɬč-il   dx̌ʷ?al
abs-light-become   and   past-arrive-become   toward

the land (which) they were from.

149. ti?ə?   swatix̌ʷtəd   dəx̌ʷ-tuɬ-?a?-s   (h)əlgʷə?.
this   world/land   means-from-there-3   they.

150.   gʷəl   kaw̓qs   kʷi   d²ixʷ   tu-kʷəda-d
and   Raven   remote   first   past-get-tr

And Raven took this daylight first.

151. ti?ə?   s-ləx̌-il.   cədiɬ   kʷi
this   abs-light-become.   particular one   remote

He was the one (who) watched

152. t(u)-as-*watch*-bi-d.   da?xʷ   ƛu-lə-ɬax̌-il
past-st-watch-secondary-tr.   just now   habitual-series-night-become

(after) it [first].   *No sooner would it become night*

153. gʷəl   bə-ləx̌-il.   "?əs-?əx̌id-əx̌ʷ
and   again-light-become.   st-general interrogative-now

than again it becomes light.   *"Why are the people asleep?*

154. kʷi   ?aciɬta[1]bixʷ   gʷ(ə)-as-?itut-əs.   ƛaɬ
remote   person   subj-st-sleep-dep 3.   also

It has

155. u?xʷ   bə-ləx̌-il."   x̌ʷul̕   ?al̕.
      still/yet   again-light-become.   just   fast.

      become light again."   *(It is) too fast.*

156. ?ab-yi-t-əb   bi-bščəb   gʷəl   ha?kʷ   ti?il̕
      give-benef-tr-pass   Little-Mink   and   ago   that

      It is given to Little Mink and for a long time it would be night

157. ƛ̕u-lə-ɬax̌-ils   gʷəl   ƛ̕u-ləx̌-i··l
      habitual-series-night-become-3   and   habitual-light-become

      and grow light slowly.

158. ?ə   kʷi   ta?təbac.   huy   ?əs-(h)ay-dxʷ
            remote   slow.   then   st-know-lc

                                    Because he knows having observed

159. t(u)-a(s)-šəɬ-y-ači?-bi-d   ti?il̕   s-u-huyu-d-s.
      past-st-observe-fr-hand-indirect-tr   that   abs-resul-make-tr-3.

      how it is done with the hands.

160. gʷəl   kaw̕qs   gʷəl   x̌ʷul̕   ?al̕.   x̌ʷul̕   ?a?   ti?il̕
      but   Raven   and   just   fast.   just   there   that

      But Raven was too fast.   *Just then has it become*

161. s-ɬax̌-il-s   gʷəl   bə-ləx̌-il.   "?əs-?əx̌id-əxʷ
      abs-night-become-3   and   again-light-become.   st-general in-
                                                                 terrogative-now

      night and it has again become light.   *"Why are the*

162. kʷi   ?aciɬta[l]bixʷ   gʷ(ə)-as-təd²il-əs   gʷəl
      remote   person   subj-st-go to bed-dep 3   and

      people abed when again it has become light?"

163. ƛ̕al̕   u?xʷ   b(ə)-as-ləx̌-il."
      also   yet/still   again-st-light-become.

164.   šač-əxʷ   ti?ił   d-s-gʷəgʷadgʷəd.   d(ə)č̓u?
        finish-now   that   I/my-abs-talking.   one

        My talking is finished now.   *It is*

165.   ha?ł   s-yəyəhub.
       good   abs-myth.

       one good story.

HALKOMELEM

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Halkomelem is a Coast Salishan language spoken on the lower Frazer River in British Columbia, Canada, and the adjacent area of Vancouver Island. Vancouver Island Halkomelem, spoken by the narrator of *Seagull Steals the Sun*, exhibits some regional diversity, but may be considered one dialect. Hereafter, *Halkomelem* denotes Vancouver Island Halkomelem.

Basic word-order in Halkomelem consists of a predicate followed by optional complements signalling subject, object or other grammatical relations. Virtually any lexical item, excepting a few grammatical particles, may function as a predicate. Complements signalling subject or object are *direct complements*, while those signalling other grammatical relationships, such as instrument, passive agent or indirect object, are *oblique* and are introduced by the general preposition /ʔə/ (or /ʔəƛ̓/ with names). The order among complements seems to be variable, but the combination of both subject and object complements is rare and may even reflect English influence. Generally, the one direct complement occurring with a transitive verb is interpreted as the object (unless the object relation is already specified by a person marker).

Oblique complements, introduced by the preposition /ʔə/, may fulfill a variety of semantic relations, including roles corresponding to those of direct complements in other environments. Compare the following transitive and intransitive constructions.

ni? q̓ʷələtəs tᶿə sceeɫtən.   He/she barbecued the salmon. [transitive]

ni? q̓ʷələm ?ə tᶿə sceeɫtən.   He/she barbecued the salmon. [intransitive]

Many intransitive predicates, such as /q̓ʷələm/ *barbecue*, permit an oblique

complement which functions as a semantic object.

The basic structure of complements consists of an article followed

by a head, however a deictic article may function alone as a complement. A

modifier word may precede the head, while attributive clauses normally follow

the head.

t^θə sqʷəmey?   the dog

t^θə p̓əq̓ sqʷəmey?   the white dog

t^θə sqʷəmey? ni? ləmnəxʷən   the dog which I saw

The basic article system is as follows.

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

	Unmarked	Marked (feminine or diminutive)
visible	t^θə	θə
nonvisible	kʷθə	ɫə
hypothetical (or deceased)	k̓ʷ	kʷs

Various deictic articles are based on this system, with additional morpho-

logical material, including a component /ey?/, as in /t^θey?/ *that* or /kʷθey?/

that, nonvisible, and /n?a/, indicating proximity, as in /tən?a/ *this* (corre-

sponding to /t^θə/, with no /θ/).

In addition to predicates and complements, a sentence may con-

tain auxiliaries, auxiliary predicates and various particles. The auxilia-

ries /ni?/ *nonproximal* and /?i/ *proximal* usually occupy sentence-initial

position. Their use involves subtleties beyond the scope of this sketch,

but the proximal marker indicates that an event is temporally or spacially

immediate, while the nonproximal indicates less immediacy.

The predicates of motion /?mi/ *come* and /nem?/ *go* occur frequently

in this text as auxiliary predicates, preceding the main predicate. Auxili-

aries of a more adverbial nature (which never function as main predicates)

may occur sentence-initially. In the analyzed portion of the text, adver-

bials include /?nan/ *very, too much* and /yaθ/ *always*.

Various classes of particles occur in the text. /wəɬ/ *now/then,*
a marker of temporal change, occurs before the main predicate, as does gene-
rally /ƛ̕e?/ *too/also.* /?al?/ *just* occurs after the word it modifies and
could be thought of as a loosely bound suffix. Other particles are clitics,
occurring after the first full word in the sentence. These include the
subject markers (see below), /čə/ *quotative* (indicating information not
directly observed, often remote in the past) and /ce?/ *will* (future).

There are three frequent clause types: the independent clause
(unmarked), the dependent clause and the absolute clause. Independent clauses
are introduced by the hypothetical prefix /?əw?-/ and the subject is signalled
by special dependent clause subject forms (see below), as in the following
example from line (19).

     ... ?əw?miis ƛ̕pil.   (The sun was invited) to come down.

Absolute clauses are preceded by the absolute prefix /s-/ and the possessive
paradigm (see below) is used to signal the subject. Frequently the absolutive
construction occurs with the hypothetical prefix, indicating discourse con-
junction, as in line (19).

     səw?ne?nəčəw?txʷəm?s ...   And he used to visit ...
In such cases, the use of the absolute prefix seems to bear no relationship
to nominalization, although this prefix is a nominalizer at the lexical level.

?əɬtən	eat	s?əɬtən	food
t̕ᶿuum	gather berries	st̕ᶿuum	berry

Personal affixation in Halkomelem consists of two subject inflec-
tions, two object inflections and possessive affixes, which also function as
subject markers.

Subject markers are clitics, usually appearing as the second element
in a clause. The independent clause clitics, which form one set of subject
markers, contain a formative /c/, while the second set of subject markers, the
dependent clause clitics, are affixed to the preceding word.

Dependent Clause Subject Clitics

	Singular	Plural
first person	-ən ~ -en?	-ət
second person	-əxʷ	-ələp
third person	-əs	

Independent Clause Subject Clitics

	Singular	Plural
first person	cən	ct
second person	č̕ (< cxʷ)	ceep (< cələp)

Third person is unmarked in independent clauses, except for transitive predicates, which take a third person transitive subject suffix homophonous with the dependent clause suffix /-əs/, but occurring in fixed position on the transitive predicate rather than as a second position clitic.

Two object inflections occur, the active and the passive. The active object suffixes follow a transitive suffix and, if the subject is third person, precede the third person suffix /-əs/. The /s/ singular forms occur with the transitive /-t/ suffix (see below), combining with it to form /θ/.

Active Object Suffixes

	Singular	Plural
first person	-(s)am?š̕	-al?xʷ
second person	-(s)amə	-alə

The passive object inflection also occurs after a transitive suffix, but before the passive suffix /-m/ (given in the paradigm below). Again, /s/ appears in the first and second person singular forms after transitive /-t/.

Passive Object Suffixes

	Singular	Plural
first person	-(s)eləm	-aləm
second person	-(s)aam	-aləm
third person	-əm	

The possessive affixes include both prefixes and suffixes, which may signal possession or, for nominalized or absolute constructions (see below), the subject.

Possessive Affixes

	Singular	Plural
First person	nə-	-ct
Second person	ən?-	ən?-...-ələp
Third person	-əs	

Third person possession may include a complement following the possessive, as in the following example from line (8).

t^{θ}ə c̓əl?c̓s t^{θ}ə sceeɬtən   the scales of the salmon

If the possessive complement is a name, an alternate construction occurs, with the preposition /?əƛ̓/ and no possessive suffix, as in line (63).

t^{θ}ə leləm? ?əƛ̓ q^{w}əni   Raven's house

The syntactic and semantic relationships between complements or person markers and the predicate are determined in large part by the morphology of the predicate. There is a pervasive system of suffixes signalling such relations, including the transitive markers /-t/ *transitive*, /-n(əx^{w}) ~ -nex^{w}/ *limited control*, /-stəx^{w}/ *causative* and the non-productive suffixes /-š/ and /-nəs/ (the latter two being treated as allomorphs of /-t/ here). Also, there are the intransitive suffixes /-m/ *middle* (not to be confused with the passive) and /-els/ *activity*.

Transitive suffixes permit object inflection while the intransitive suffixes either permit the intransitive use of roots which do not occur alone (a fairly infrequent circumstance) or, particularly in the case of /-els/, they signal a subject/predicate relationship not inherent to the root alone. Consider the following examples based on the root /k̓^{w}əɬ/ *spill*.

ni? k̓^{w}əɬ t^{θ}ə qa?.   The water spilled. [root]

ni? k̓^{w}ɬetəs t^{θ}ə qa?.   He/she spilled the water. [transitive]

ni? k̓^{w}ɬels θə sɬeni?.   The woman poured. [activity]

The root in question takes a patient (or objective) subject, which corre-
sponds to the object of the transitive construction, while the activity
form takes an agent subject.

A number of categories akin to the notion of aspect involve
morphological processes, including various types of reduplication, ablaut
and other forms of internal change. These processes are discussed briefly
below, organized by morphological category.

The imperfective aspect indicates an ongoing action or process,
or a customary one in the past. It is frequently signalled by reduplication
of the first consonant and vowel of the predicate root, plus glottalization
of voiced sonorants, as in line (6).

k^wuk^wəyʔək^w be fishing

k^wuyək^w to fish

The resulting form need not be transparent, as in line (13), where the redup-
licated /n/ is devoiced to h, which elides (illustrated here by morphologi-
cally simpler forms).

hənʔwəš   putting it in

nəwʔəš   put it in

Stems beginning in a consonant cluster usually undergo resyllablification
(called *ablaut* in the text), as in line (5).

cəsətəmʔ   being told to

cset   be told to

The details concerning specific vowels are beyond the scope of this treat-
ment.

Resultative forms indicate a resultant state and consist of
the stative prefix /s-/ and, most frequently, a reduplicated stem. Roots
with shwa reduplicate with /e/ or /i/ in the root replacing shwa (or,
alternatively this may be considered Ce or Ci infixed reduplication).

stətes   be near

təs   get near

As in the imperfective, a variety of ablaut forms occur as well, although
none occur in the analyzed portion of the text.

Plurality is signalled either by the infix /-1?-/ or reduplica-
tion. The most frequent reduplication pattern is CVC reduplication.

       sqʷəmey?   dog

       sqʷəmqʷəmey?   dogs

Other patterns occur, such as Cə reduplication, resulting in the follow-
ing form from line (15).

       hələləm? (<lələləm?)   houses

       lələm?   house

Plurality is not an obligatory category in Halkomelem, but when it is
expressed, it may be signalled in the predicate or the complement (or
both).

Diminutiveness is also signalled by reduplication. Examples
do not occur in the analyzed portion of the text, but the most frequent
pattern in CV? reduplication.

       še?šɫ   little door, path

       šeɫ   door, path

As with plurality, the diminutive property of a participant may be
signalled by the predicate or the complement (or both).

List of Abbreviations

[A]	ablaut
abs	absolute
art	article
caus	causative
class	classifier prefix (indicates the involvement of an orifice)
compl	completive prefix (indicates arrival)
hyp	hypothetical
imperf	imperfective aspect
instr	instrumental suffix
loc	locative

nonprox	nonproximal auxiliary
obl	oblique preposition
pass	passive
pl	plural
poss	possessive
quot	quotative particle
[R]	reduplication
refl	reflexive (or inchoative)
result	resultative
ser	series (indicating temporal or spacial series, or motion through space)
stat	stative
tr	transitive

qenʔ tᶿə qʷəni ʔə tᶿə səmʔšaθət

Seagull Steals the Sun

1. sx̌ʷəyʔemʔ   tənʔa.   sqʷilʔqʷəl   čə   ʔə
   story   this.   was told

   s-x̌ʷəyʔemʔ   s-[R]-qʷəl   čə   ʔə
   abs-narrate   stat-pl result-speak quot   obl

   This is a legend.   *It was told a long time ago.*

2. k̓ʷənʔa   ʔnan   ʔəwʔwəɫ   hiθ.   stətesəɫ
   this remote   very   now   long ago.   near

                           ʔəwʔ-wəɫ   s-[R]-tes-əɫ
                           hyp-now   stat-result-near-past

                                                    The sun used to be

3. tᶿə   səmʔšaθət,   ʔəwə   cakʷəs   tᶿə   šniʔs.
   the   sun   not   far   the   his place.

                                  cakʷ-əs   š(xʷ)-niʔ-s
                                  far-3   loc-nonprox-3 poss

   close, his place was not far away.

4. səw?ne?nəċəw?txʷəm?s   ?ə   t⁰ə   siye?yəs.
   and he visited   the   his friends/relatives.

   s-(?)əw-[R]-neċ-əw?txʷ-m-s   ?ə   s-[R]-ye?yə-s
   abs-hyp-imperf-other-house   obl   abs-pl-friend/relative-
   middle-3 poss   3 poss

   And he used to visit his friends.

5. cəsətəm?   ċə   t⁰əw?ne?əlɨ
   being told to   those

   [A]-cse-t-m   ċə   t⁰ə-?əw?-ni/1?/ɨ
   imperf-tell-tr-pass   quot   art-hyp-/pl (infix)/ be that one

   The Creator told the people, "You people fish, always fish and take

6. məstiməxʷ   ?ə   t⁰ə   x̌eel?s,   "k̓ʷuk̓ʷəy?əkʷ   ceep,
   person   by   the   changer   be fishing   you pl

                                                [R]-k̓ʷuyəkʷ
                                                imperf-fish

   the salmon scales off.

7. yaθ   ceep   ?əw?k̓ʷuk̓ʷəy?əkʷ   ən?səw?qəƛəm?šələp
   always   you pl   be fishing   and you pl be taking off

                          ?əw?-[R]-k̓ʷuyəkʷ   ə(n?)-s-(?)əw?-[A]-qƛ-m-š-ələp
                          hyp-imperf-fish   2 poss-abs-hyp-imperf-come
                                                   off-middle-tr-2 poss pl

8. t⁰ə   ċəl?ċs   t⁰ə   sceeɨtən.   niɨ   ce?
   the   its scale   the   fish.   be that one   will

              ċəl?ċ-s
              fish scale-3 poss

                                                     These will be your

9. ?ən?ləmx̌ətən,   le?ləm?ətəm?   ce?
   your lookout   be looking after   will

   ?ən?-lem-x̌ən-tən   [R]-lem-t-m
   2 poss-see-parimeter-instr   imperf-see-tr-pass

   guard, they will guard your house."

10. t⁰ə   ən?leləm?."   səw?k̓ʷuk̓ʷəy?əkʷs   ċə
    your house.   and be fishing

    ən?-leləm?   s-(?)əw?-[R]-k̓ʷuyəkʷ-s   ċə
    2 poss-house   abs-hyp-imperf-fish-3 poss

                                  And so they would fish, arrive home and take

11. t⁰əw?ne?əlɨ,   səw?hən?əməts   səw?mi-i-i?s
    those ones   get home   and they

                           s-(?)əw?-hən(?)-?əmət-s   s-(?)əw?-ni?-s
                           abs-hyp-compl-sit-3 poss   abs-hyp-nonprox-3 poss

    the salmon scales off.

12. me?šəm   t^θə   čəl?čs   t^θə   sceeɫtən.
    be taken off   the   its scale   the   fish.
    me?-š-m
    take off-tr-pass

13. səw?yəx^wən?wəšəm?s   ?ə   t^θə   ni?
    and being put into
    s-(?)əw?-yə-x^w-[R]-nəw?-š-m-s   ni?
    abs-hyp-ser-class-imperf-tr-   nonprox
    pass-3 poss

    And they were put into containers -- like buckets.

14. yəšx^wən?wəšs,   ste   ?əw?niis
    where it is being put into   be like
    yə-š(x^w)-x^w-(R)ə-nəw?-š-s   ?əw?-ni-əs
    ser-loc-class-imperf-in-tr-3 poss   hyp-nonprox-3

15. sk^wa?wəs.   mə-ə-ək^w   čə   t^θə   hələləm?   ni?
    bucket.   all   the   houses
    s-k^wa?wəs   [R]-leləm?   ni?
    abs-bucket   pl-house   nonprox

    All the houses had these buckets by their doors.

16. ni?stəx^w   t^θey?   sk^wa?wəss   ni?   ?ə
    placed   that   their bucket   at
    ni?-stəx^w   s-k^wa?wəs-s   ni?   ?ə
    nonprox-caus   abs-bucket-3 poss   nonprox   obl

17. t^θə   šeɫ.   ni?   səl?lič   ?ə   t^θey?
    the   door.   they were full   of   that
                  ni?   s-[R]-ləč   ?ə
                  nonprox stat-result   obl
                           pl-full

    They were full of salmon scales.

18. čəl?čs   t^θey?   sceeɫtən.   səw?ƛe?əšətəm?s   t^θə
    its scale   that   fish.   and was invited   the
                              s-?əw?-[A]-ƛešən-t-m-s
                              abs-hyp-stat-invite-tr-
                              pass-3 poss

    And the sun was invited to

19. səm?ša̱θət   ?əw?miis   ƛpil.   ?əwə   k^ws
    sun   to come   go down.   not
                ?əw?-?mi-əs   ƛp-il   k^ws
                hyp-come-3   deep-change   hyp art

    come down.   *He never faced*

20. nem?s   ?əw?yənə?as   ?ə   t^θə   šeł
     go   facing toward   the   door

     (s-)nem?-s   ?əw?-yə-nə?-as   ?ə
     abs-go-3 poss   hyp-ser-locative-face   obl

     the door as he went in.

21. ?ə   k^ws   nem?s   ləw?iləm.   ni?
         as   he went   go in.

     ?ə   k^ws   (s-)nem?-s   nəw?-il-m
     obl   hyp art   abs-go-3 poss   in-change-middle

                                   He would

22. c̓ə   ƛe?   x̌əl?c̓θət   səs   nem?
       too   turn around   and he   go

             x̌əl?c̓-θat   s-(ni?)-s
             turn-refl   abs-nonprox-3 poss

     turn around and go in backward.

23. ?əw?yəhəy?əθət.   nił   k^wə?eł   k^ws
     going backward.   that is   of course

     ?əw?-yə-[R]-ya?-θat   k^ws
     hyp-ser-imperf-back up-refl   hyp art

                   Before he went inside, he would

24. x^wəw?es   nem?əs   ləw?iləm   ?i?   ni?   wəł
     before   he went   go in   and   then

     x^wə-?əwə-əs   nem?-əs   nəw?-il-m
     become-not-3   go-3   in-change-middle

     sprinkle himself with salmon scales.

25. pənəsθət   ?ə   t^θey?   c̓əl?c̓s   t^θə   sceełtən.
     sprinkle self   with   that   its scale   the   salmon

26. ni?   x^wəstəl?i?tiyam?   t^θey?,   ste   ?əw?niis
         they were stuck on   that   be like
     The little things would stick on, just like a garment.

27. x^wəs?it^θəms.   səw?əwəs   yəq^wəs   t^θə   leləm?   nem?
     become his   and not   burn   the   house   go
     garment
             So the house he went into would not burn.

28. šx^wən?nəw?s.   ?əwə   c̓ə   ƛe?   k^ws   ?nans   ?əw?yəx̌ən?eq̓t.
     which he entered   not   either   really   go with eyes
                                                 open
           He never kept his eyes all the way open.

29. ni?   ?əw?ste   ?əw?niis   təw?yət^θit^θəpnəx^w   t^θə   səm?šaθət.
       be like   sort of keeping   the   sun
                            eyes shut
     The sun went along with his eyes half shut.

30. hay   ʔalʔ q̓əl, q̓əl čə tᶿə qələmʔs.   ḣa niʔ x̌ᵊlimʔ
    only just bad   bad   the his eye   if   really
    His eyes were very bad.   *If he really*

31. ʔəwʔleməᶿaam   ʔə kʷs ʔəwəs niis x̌ᵊlimʔ ʔəwʔsᶿəᶿiʔ,
    you are looked at   when not   really well
    looked at you when he was not very well, when he was angry,

32. kʷs   niʔs təwʔtetiyəq̓, ʔiʔ x̌ʷəm č yəqʷ.   ni-i-iʔ
    when   sort of angry then will you burn
    then you would burn up.   *When*

33. yəqʷ tᶿə ni niʔ, ʔiʔ x̌ᵊlimʔ niʔ ʔəwʔtxʷʔəxʷinʔ
    burn the   there and really   be little left
    things did burn, there was hardly anything left.

34. ʔalʔ. niʔ xʷəcq̓iʔq̓x̌ k̓ʷ ənʔsᵻeᵻəq̓ ʔə tᶿə təmaxʷ,
    just   become   your lying on the ground
                little black
    You would be just black little ashes lying on the ground,

35. k̓ʷ ənʔsx̌ᵊlimʔ ʔəwʔyəqʷ. səwʔlaʔləmʔəᶿəts tᶿəwʔniᵻ səmʔšaᶿət
         your very burn   and looking after that   sun
                                  self
    very burnt.   *So the sun took care that he never*

36. ʔəwə scekʷəlʔəs ʔiʔ x̌ᵊlimʔ ʔəwʔlemətəs tᶿə siyeʔyəs
    not   how (ever) and very   he looks at the his
                                                       friends
    really looked at his friends.

37.   ni-i-iʔ ste   ʔə tᶿeyʔ ʔiʔ ʔəwə kʷs
                     be like   that   and not
    This was how things were, and he was never called by Sea-

38. ʔaatəms ʔəx̌ᵻ qʷəni. x̌ətə tᶿə qʷəni, "sx̌ax̌əmʔ
    be called by seagull saying the seagull fitting
    gull.   *The seagull would say "I should be*

39. ʔəwʔənᶿees šstᶿetᶿək̓ʷs tᶿə skʷeyəl.   ḣay cən ʔalʔ
    if it were I light giver the sky/day   only I   just
    the light of the world.   *I am good, I can*

40. ʔəwʔəyʔ, x̌ʷəm cən x̌ᵻeʔ ʔəwʔsᵗᶿetək̓ʷstəxʷ tᶿə skʷeyəl kʷə
    good   can   I   also make light   the sky/day as
    also light the world because I am so bright.

41. nəsʔnan ʔəwʔpəq̓.   niᵻ ṗeʔ ʔəwʔnəmen tᶿeyʔ.
    my very white/bright   he is indeed my father that
                             He is my father.

42. niᵻ ʔəwʔnəmen tᶿə səmʔšaᶿət. niʔ kʷəʔeᵻ wəᵻ x̌ᵊam
    he is my father the sun   of   now   enough
    The sun is my father.   *It is time he left.*

43. kʷs nemʔs həyeʔ tᶿəwʔniᵻ.   ʔiʔ ʔəwʔxʷəʔeenʔᶿə
         his going depart that one and become I
                                     And then I will take over

44. xʷəsᵗᶿetᶿək̓ʷstəxʷ tᶿə skʷeyəl." ʔəwə čə kʷs xʷtəlqətəms
    make light   the sky/day   not   being
                                                       answered
    lighting the world."   *When Seagull spoke angrily*

45. t^θəw?niɬ   ?ə   t^θə   siye?yəs   k^ws   x̌ətəs   ?ə   t^θey?,
    that one   by   the   his friends   as   saying   that
    like this his friends never answered him anymore.

46. tetiyəq̓s,   t^θəw?niɬ   q^wəni.   ƛe?   cə   wəɬ   x̌i?x̌ɬem?,   ƛe?
    being   that one   seagull   also   then   watching   also
    angry
                                              He watched when the sun would go

47. wəɬ   yəhənəm?   t^θə   səm?šaθət   ?ə   t^θə   necəw?tx^w,   x̌ɬastəm.
    then   going   the   sun   to   the   another   be fed
    to another house to be fed.   house

48.   ha-a-ay   səl?əθəts   t^θəw?ne?əlɬ   k^ws   ?əw?k̓^wuƛ^wəy?ək^ws.
          only   doing what   those ones   being fishing
    All the people did was fish.

49. səl?ic̓   t^θə   sənix^wəɬ   ?ə   t^θə   st^θaq^wi?.   ni?   t^θey?
    filled   the   their   with   the   spring   that
                   canoes   salmon
    Their canoes were filled with spring salmon.   *The women*

50. stənɬeni?   ?i?   t^θə   sx̌əl?iqəɬ   həm?əšəs   t^θə   cəl?cs,
    women   and   the   children   taking off   the   its scale
    and the children took the scales off, putting them into containers.

51. ni?   t^θey?   yəšx^wən?wəšs.   nem?   cə   t^θəw?niɬ   q^wəni,
    there   that   into which they   go   that one   seagull
                   put them
                            The seagull went and took some

52. səw?k^wən?əms   ?ə   t^θey?   sceeɬtən.   ƛe?   səw?k^wən?əm   ?ə
    and he took   of   that   salmon   also   and took   of
    of the salmon.   *He also took some of the*

53. t^θey?   cəl?c̓.   neməstx^wəs   ?ə   t^θə   šeɬs.   səw?štewən?s   t^θə
    that   scale   he put it   by   the   his   and thought   the
                                        door
    scales.   *He put them by his door.*   *And the people*

54. məstiməx^w,   "?a-a-a,   ƛe?əšən?   yəx^w,   ƛe?əšətəm?   yəx^w
    people   get   wonder   be invited   wonder
                      invited
    wondered, "Is he going to invite the sun?"

55. t^θə   səm?šaθət."   ni?   cə   wəɬ   q̓^waləm   t^θəw?niɬ   q^wəni
    the   sun   then   barbecue   that one   seagull
    Then the seagull proceeded to cook the big

56. ?ə   t^θə   θi   st^θaq^wi?.   wəɬ   ƛe?əšətəm?   t^θə   səm?šaθət.
    of   the   big   spring   then   be invited   the   sun
              salmon
    spring salmon.   *Then he invited the sun.*

57. "?əy?   k̓^w   ən?s?mi   ?ewə   ?ə   tə?i,   si?em?   nəmen.
    good   your   come   to   this   sir   my father
           coming   here
    "You had better come over here, my father.

58. ?e?ət   wəɬ   sq̓^wəq̓^wil?   t^θə   nəsq̓^waləm,   nəsx̌ɬasθam."
    here   now   barbecued   the   my barbecue   my feeding you
   *My barbecue is cooked, what I am to feed you."*

59. "ʔa-a, waʔlə ʔəyʔəs," x̌ətə.   səwʔštewənʔs   čə
    maybe good   saying   and ne thought
    "Oh, alright," he said.   And the sun thought,

60. t^θəwʔnił səmʔšaθət, "ʔəwə q̓ə   nəmənʔees."
    that one sun   not   indeed my son
    "he is not my son."

61. səwʔnemʔs təs ʔə t^θə šeł səwʔnənəsθət ʔə   t^θə
    his coming get to the door sprinkling with tne
          near   self
    When he came to the door, he sprinkled himself with the scales.

62. čəlʔč̓.   sis ne-e-em? ʔəwʔyəhəyʔəθət k^wəs wəł
    scale   go   going backward as then
    Then he went backward into Seagull's house.

63. ləwʔiləm ʔə t^θə leləm? ʔəx̌ q^wəni.
    go in   to the house of seagull

64. səwʔx^wəsənʔiwʔs   ʔəwʔnem? ʔəwʔyonəʔas ʔə t^θə šeł
    his having entered go   facing to tne door
    When he entered, he kept his face to the door, as he entered

65. k^wəs nem? yənəyʔəθət.   "ʔewə č ʔə təʔi, ʔewə
    as   go   going backward   come you to this come
                                    nere   here
    backward.   *"Come over here, come over here.*

66. č ʔə təʔi. ʔeʔət t^θə q̓əlštən, ʔənʔšłeʔx̌nəctən."
    you to this here the mat   for your sitting on
    Here is a mat for you to sit on."

67. səwʔx^włeʔx̌nəcəms t^θəwʔnił. x̌lim? ʔəwʔniʔ ʔə t^θə
    and he sits   that one very on   the
    And he sat down.   *He was right on the ground*

68. təməx^ws t^θə leləm?. ʔi ʔəwʔspk̓^wastəm? θəł ʔə
    its ground the house   be sprinkled truely with
    of the house.   *But it was also sprinkled with*

69. t^θə čəlʔč̓. x^włəq̓qentam ʔəx̌ q^wəni ʔə
    the scale   put in front by seagull
    scales.   *And the seagull put a mat in front of him.*

70. t^θə q̓əlʔštən   słewən. "ʔi ce? ʔə təʔi, ʔi
    the food/sitting mat   here will to this here
    "It will be here, it will be here,"

71. ce? ʔə təʔi," x̌ətə. "nił čə ce? ʔənʔšceʔt k̓^w
    will to this saying be   will wnere you the
                            this   put
    he said.   *"This is where you will put your*

72. ənʔsʔəłtən."   ʔi wəł q̓^wəq̓^wələm?, wəł stətestəm ʔə
    your food   then barbecuing then be put near to
    food."   *He was already barbecuing, he had already got*

73. t^θə həyʔq^w t^θə sq̓^wələms.   ni? wəł yəq̓^waq̓^wəlʔ
    the fire   the his harbecue   then barbecued
    the barbecue close to the fire.   *As soon as it was cooked,*

74. tᶿey?, səs   ?mi   ?əw?yə?e?wəstəm?.   yoɬeɬəqətəm?,
    that   and he come being brought here   being laid down
    he took it there.   *He laid it down,*

75. xʷɬəq̓qentəm tᶿə səm?šatᶿət.   ?əw?ste-e ?al? tᶿəw?niɬ
    be laid in   the sun   be like   just that one
    front of
    laid it in front of the sun.   *He still had his eyes half*

76. ?əw?təw?t̓ᶿit̓ᶿit̓ᶿəp̓nəxʷ.
    half closing eyes
    closed.

77.   səw?ᶿəts   tᶿə səm?šaᶿət, "ni? ?əncə kʷᶿə
       and he says the sun   where the
       And the sun said, "where is the flavouring you add to

78. təw?q̓əqa?təxʷ ?ə tə?inəɬ, təw?ən?šƛ̓ɬemt   tə?i s?əɬtən."
    what you add   to this   with which you this food
    salt
    this, you salt the food with?"

79. "?a-a-a, ni? sən?iw? kʷᶿə q̓ʷaᶇʷəqʷ ?ə tᶿə x̌ᶿəm,
             inside the   bladder   of the box
                                   wrack
    "Oh, the bladder wrack is in the box, over there.

80. na?ət ni? ?ə təni?.   ?i cən ?nan ?əw?titiya?x̌ʷ.
    there   I   very busy
    I am very busy.

81. ?e?ət sməl?mal?xʷ tᶿə nəcəlceləš.   nem? č   kʷənət,
    here   greasy   the my hands   go   you get it
    My hands are greasy.   *Go get it, sir, go."*

82. si?em?, nem? č."
    sir   go   you

83.   səw?nem?s   tᶿə səm?šaᶿət, tsəᶿət ?ə tᶿey? x̌ᶿəm,
       And he went the sun   approach that box
       So the sun went to the box and looked.

84. səw?leməts.   "?a-a, na?ət ƛ̓iƛ̓əp."
    and he looked   there deep
                   "Oh, it is way down in the bottom."

85. ƛ̓əl?ələc̓   cə ᶿə celəšs tᶿəw?niɬ səm?šaᶿət, ?əwə
    short (pl.)   the his hand that one sun   not
    The sun's hands were short, they were not long.

86. ƛ̓e?ləqtəs.
    long (pl.)

87. "?a-a-a, sk̓ʷey k̓ʷə nəskʷənnəxʷ, si?em?." "?a-a-a,
             cannot   my getting   sir
                          it
    "Oh, I cannot get it, sir."   *"Oh, I*

88. ?i cən p̓e?   ?nan ?əw?titiya?x̌ʷ, si?em?.   ?əw?t̓a?ᶿət
    I   indeed very busy   sir   try
    am very busy, sir.   *You try*

89.   č   kʷənət."   səs ne-e-em? ?əw?sƛe   ?əw?nem?əs x̣̌lim?
       you take it   go   as though he goes   right
       and get it."   So the sun went right into the box.

90.   ?əw?ləw?iləm tᶿə səm?šaθət ?ə tᶿə x̣̌θəm.   ?i yəxʷ
       go in   the sun   to the box   evidently
                                        The seagull

91.   cə wəɫ ?mi yəstətes tᶿə qʷəni.   štes   ?al?
         then come near   the seagull   as though just
       must have been right behind.   *As soon as he*

92.   kʷs xʷəsən?iw?s,   ni? ?əw?wəɫ kʷənnəxʷəs tᶿə q̇ʷaqʷəqʷ --
       he was inside   then   he got   the   bladder
       got in, he had the bladder wrack -- to salt and flavour the

93.   niɫ ce? ni? šx̣̌ɫəmts   niɫ šxʷ?i?eləqəps tᶿə
       be   will   with which   be   which flavours the
       that   to salt   that
       food.

94.   s?əɫtəns.   ?i? wəɫ   ?mi tecəl   kʷθə qʷəni   səs
       his food   and then come arrive the   seagull   and
       Then the seagull got there and closed the box.

95.   nem? ?əw?xʷqpeqətəm tᶿə x̣̌θəms.   səs ?əw?xʷəsən?iw?.
       go   be closed   the his box   and he was inside
                                         And he was inside.

96.   ni-i-i? cə təw?ṫəta?θət x̣əx̣ənəqt tᶿəw?niɫ ?i? skʷey.
                was sort of   opening   that one but cannot
                trying   eyes
       He tried to open his eyes but he could not.

97.   ni-i-i? x̣̌lim? ?əw?šθəl?wiɫstəm? tᶿə x̣̌θəm ?ə   tᶿə
            very   be lined   the box   with the
       The box was completely lined with the salmon scales.

98.   cəl?cs   tᶿə sceeɫtən.   sƛe   ?əw?niis x̣̌lim?
       its scale the salmon   be like   very
       It was as though the box was

99.   ?əw?xʷəsxʷəl?akʷ   tᶿə x̣̌θəm.   sis ?əw?əmət ?al?.
       enveloped   the box   sit   just
       completely enveloped.   *So he just sat down.*

100.   ?a-a-ay? məstiməxʷ tᶿəw?niɫ səm?šaθət.   ?əwə sx̣̌i?səs
        good   person   that one sun   not   his desire
       The sun was a kind person.   *He did not*

101.   kʷs yəqʷts θə leləm?s   tᶿə sye?yəs.   səs ?əw?ni?
         his   the his house the his
         burning   friend
       want to burn his friend's house.   *He just*

102.   ?al? sən?iw?, tᶿiṫθəpnəxʷ, sən?iw? ?ə tᶿə x̣̌θəm.
        just be in   having eyes be in   the box
                     closed
       stayed in the box with his eyes closed.

103.   ni-i-i? ?al?məcən? tᶿə məstiməxʷ.   "?mi   ce?
                  wait   the person   come will
       The people waited.   "It should*

R MACRAE
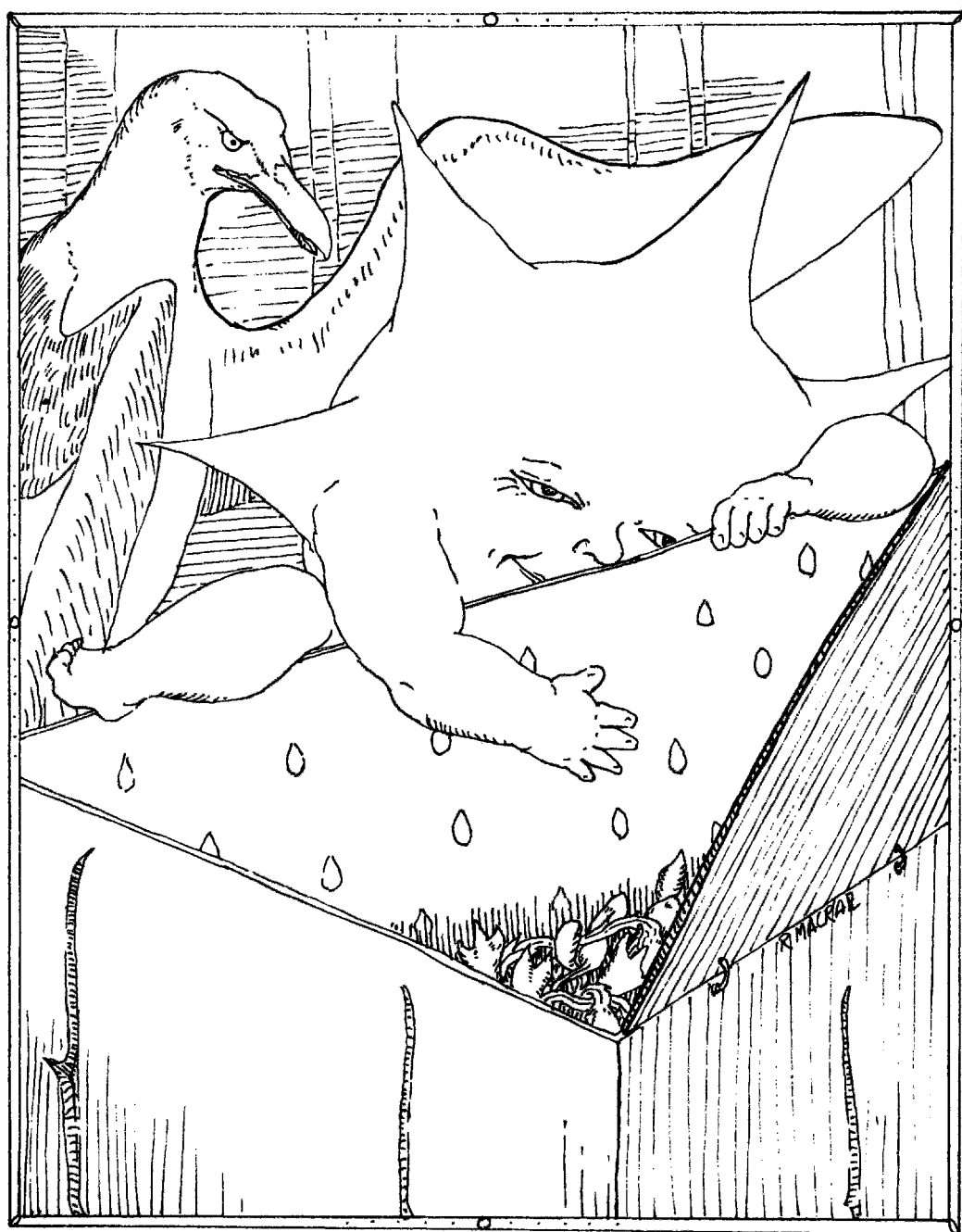
104. woł t^θek̓ʷəl.   ʔəwʔniʔ woł x̌̓limʔ ʔəwʔste   ʔəwʔniis
      now be daylight   now very   as though
      be daylight.   *It is like it is always dark."*

105. xʷəłec.   ʔiʔ na̓ʔ sənʔiwʔ kʷs   nemʔs sx̌̓eʔəšən
      become   and when be in   when   go   get invited
      dark
              When the sun is invited in, the door is never shut.

106. t^θə səmʔšaθət, ʔiʔ ʔəwə kʷs xʷtqetəns t^θə šeł.
      the sun   then not   be shut   the door

107. ʔəwʔnəʔas ʔə t^θə šeł kʷs nemʔs
      be facing to the door as   his going
      He always faces the door when he goes in.

108. yəc̓ək̓ʷəlʔas kʷs ləwʔiləms.   ʔəwʔyənəʔas ʔə t^θə
      facing away as   his going in   facing   to the
              When he faces the door,

109. šeł ʔiʔ ʔəwə kʷs x̌̓limʔs ʔəwʔxʷəłec k̓ʷi sʔeʔx̌̓q.
      door and not   really   get dark   outside
      it never gets dark outside.

110.   səwʔšt̓ewənʔs t^θə məstiməxʷ, "niʔ yəxʷ   xʷtəqtəmʔ
          and they   the people   perhaps being
          thought   closed
          And the people thought, "the door must have been closed.

111. kʷθə šeł. ʔna-a-an ʔəwʔłec."   yəqʷts t^θə məstiməxʷ
      the   door very   dark   their   the people
                                          burning
      It is so dark."   *The people burned*

112. t^θeyʔ x̌̓eʔləqt sc̓ešt -- ni-i-iʔ ste   ʔəwʔniis
      that   long(pl.) stick   he like
      torches -- like lanterns shining where they were going.

113. skʷənšətəns   kʷs nemʔ yoʔiʔməš niʔ yəst^θet^θək̓ʷ
      their lantern   go   walking   shining along

114. t^θə yəšłənʔes.
      the where they were going

115.   ʔa-a-a, ʔeʔət ʔəwʔšxʷəyʔix̌ʷ t^θə šeł ʔəx̌̓ qʷəni.
              here   be open   the door of   seagull
          The seagull's door was open.

116. ʔi ʔəwʔəwəteʔ ʔə t^θə səmʔšaθət.   səwʔse-e-ewʔqtəmʔ.
      there is   the sun   he was sought
      not
      And the sun was nowhere.   *And they looked for him.*

117. x̌eem t^θə sx̌̓əlʔiqəł, x̌eem t^θə słənłeniʔ, x̌eemətəm t^θə
      cry   the children   cry   the women   be cried   the
      The children cried, the women cried, cried for the sun.

118. səmʔšaθət.   ʔəwʔniis ctamət, niʔ yəxʷ   čə q̓ay.
      sun   what   happened perhaps   die
                    happened
              What happened, did he die?

119. ste ʔə tᶿeyʔ, ʔiʔ niʔ ʔəwʔste ʔəwʔniis smelʔq̓ ʔalʔ
be that and be like get just
like forgotten
It was like that for a while, as though he were forgotten by the

120. ʔə tᶿə məstiməxʷ. məkʷ snet ʔiʔ ʔəwʔkʷʌkʷiʔəkʷ.
by the person every night and be fishing
people. *Every night they fished.*

121. ʔəwʔniɫ tᶿeyʔ həyʔqʷ niɫ x̣̓limʔ niʔ ʔəwʔxʷəhaʔkʷ
be that that fire be really be come to be
that used
It was the torches they now used to light where they were going.

122. šst̓ᶿet̓ᶿəkʷs tᶿə šxʷənəmʔs. ɫakʷ tᶿə qʷəni ɫakʷ,
for lighting the where they fly the seagull fly
were going
The seagull tried to fly,

123. ʔiʔ ʔəwʔtitəq̓ʷ x̣̓eʔ ʔalʔ. skʷey kʷs ləmnəxʷs tᶿə
but bumping into too just cannot his seeing the
but he just kept hitting things. *He could not see his way.*

124. šxʷənənʔs. niʔ ʔəwʔwəɫ kʷeʔtəm ʔalʔ tᶿə st̓ᶿaqʷiʔ.
where he was now be let just the spring
going go salmon
Now they just let the salmon go.

125. txʷay tᶿeyʔ ʔəwʔtowʔhəlʔiq ʔalʔ kʷs kʷənnəxʷs tᶿəwʔne̓ʔəlɫ
only that sort of easy just their getting those ones
Only the fish that were easy to get right close to the rocks did they

126. sceeɫtən niʔ ʔəwʔstətes ʔə tᶿə sməŋment ʔəwʔhay niʔ
salmon near to the rocks only
get.

127. kʷəkʷanʔ məkʷ stem slaʔθəts ʔiʔ ʔəwʔkʷənʔetəs tᶿeyʔ
what were all what what they and they carry that
taken did
Everything they did, they carried fire.

128. həyʔqʷ. ʔiməš tᶿə sx̣̓əlʔiqəɫ ʔiʔ niʔ ste ʔəwʔniis
fire walk the children and be like
When the children walked they were half crawling.

129. yəcə̓təmʔ. niʔ yəcəliʔcə̓te-e-emʔ yəkʷənʔelʔs ʔə tᶿə
be they (dim.) were holding along to the
crawling crawling
The little ones were crawling along holding on to the

130. təməxʷ kʷs ɫecs. niiwʔaʔləmʔ ʔiʔ titəq̓ʷtəlʔ.
earth as being playing and bumping into
dark each other
earth because it was dark. *When they were playing, they would*
bump into one another.

131. ni-i-iʔ cə̓ wəɫ xʷənəlʔenʔc̓ tᶿə qələmʔs
now become different the their eye
The eyes of the newborn children were different now.

132. tᶿə qaʔes sx̣̓əlʔiqəɫ. ste ʔəwʔniis t̓ᶿit̓ᶿəpnəxʷ.
the new children be like keeping eyes
shut
It was just like they were half shut.

133. xʷəm?əmən?ɬ   θə   qələm?s   kʷs   titək̓ʷəts   t^θə   šxʷənəm?s.
      become small   the   their   from   their   the   where they
                            eye   squinting   are going
      Their eyes were small from squinting at where they were going.

134. wəɬ   qəl?qəl?əl   t^θə   qələm?s   t^θə   təw?s?əl?eləxʷ.
      now   spoiled   the   their   the   elders
                               eye
      The old people's eyes were spoiled.

135. yaθ   ?əw?ni?   t^θey?   spaƛəm.   yaθ   ?əw?yəw?en?   t^θe
      always there   that   smoke   always   in front   the
      The smoke was always there.   *The smoke was always in front*

136. spaƛəm   kʷs   yə?i?məšs   kʷəs   yəkʷən?etəs   t^θey?   həy?qʷ
      smoke   as   their walking as   they hold   that   burning
      of them as they walked because they held the burning wood.

137. syaɬ.   yaθ   ?əw?sew?q̓təs   t^θəw?ne?əlɬ   t^θey?   k̓ʷi?xʷ   syaɬ.
      wood   always they sought   those ones   that   pitch   wood
      They always looked for the pitch wood.

138.   ni-i-i?   q̓apθət   t^θəw?ne?əlɬ   kʷsəɬ   ?itəts   t^θə
                     gather   those ones   while   their sleeping   the
      They gathered when the children went to sleep.

139. sƛəl?iqəɬ.   ?i?   ni?   nan?əm   t^θəw?ne?əlɬ.   ?nan   ?əw?wəɬ
      children   and   talk   those ones   very   now
      And they talked.   *They were*

140. hay   ?al?   x̌ɬəlcɬ.   nan?əm.   "?əy?   kʷs   ƛlim?ct
      only just   feel bad   talk   good   our really
      feeling very bad.   *They talked.* *"We should look again*

141. qəl?et   səw?q̓t   kʷθə   sye?yəct,   ?əy?   kʷs   ta?θətct
      again   seek   the   our friend good   our trying
      for our friend, we should try to look for him.

142. təw?səw?q̓t.   təw?cawəθət   ct,   ?nan   ?əw?wəɬ   xʷətsas."
      sort of   sort of help   we   very   now   become
      find him   self   pitiful
      We help ourselves, we are so pitiful."

143. "na?ət   wəɬ   cəlel   ?i?   ?əw?k̓ʷ   t^θə   ən?šxʷəw?weli?ələp,"
       there   now   almost and   gone   the   you-people's elders
      "Your old people are almost gone," said one.

144. x̌ətə   cə   t^θə   na?nəca?.   "txʷc̓ətəm?   ?al?   t^θə
      saying   the   one person   left   just   the
                                    crawling
                        "Your children just crawl.

145. ən?me?mən?ə.   ?əwə   kʷs   ƛe?s   ?iməšnamət.   ?əwə   kʷ   ən?sƛe?
      your   not   too   manage to   not   your
      children   walk   also
      They cannot walk anymore.   *You cannot raise*

146. k̓ʷəmnəxʷ.   na?ət   wəɬ   xʷəne?ləc̓   θə   qələm?s   t^θə   qə?es
      raise them   there   now   become   the   their   the   new
                             different   eye
      them anymore.   *The newborn children's eyes are different now."*

147. sƛəl?iqəɬ."
      children

148.   səwʔna-a-anʔəmʔs.   səwʔθəts tᶿeyʔ naʔnəcaʔ -- spaalʔ
        and they talk   and he   that   one   raven
                          says   person
        So they talked.   *One said -- it was the raven who said,*

149. tᶿə   θət,   "štewənʔ cən, niʔ cən ʔəwʔstalʔstəxʷ
      the   one who think   I,   ni?   I   know
           said
           "I think I know where your friend is.

150. ʔəwʔniis ʔəncə kʷθə ənʔseʔyəʔaləṇ.   ṇemʔ cəṇ ceʔ
            where the   you-people's   go   I   will
                   friend
                                    I will go look.

151. səwʔq̓t.   nemʔ cən ceʔ ccəwtenəm ʔə   kʷθə nəsiyeʔyə.
      seek him   go   I   will get ṇelp   from tṇe   my friends
      I will go get help from my friends.

152. niʔ cən ʔəwʔštatəlʔstəxʷ kʷθə nəsiyeʔyə.   niʔ
          I   know   the   my friends
      I know my friends.   *They whisper*

153. ʔəwʔtəwʔɫeɫəqəθeʔləmʔ, ʔiʔ ʔəwə cən niinʔ xʷʔiyənʔenʔ.
      I am wṇispered to   but   not   I   listen
      to me, but I have not listened.

154. niʔ cəṇ kʷəʔeɫ štewənʔ ʔəyʔ k̓ʷə nəsnemʔ.   nemʔ cən
          I   perṇaps think   good   my going   ɢo   I
      I think I should go.   *I will go*

155. ccəwtenəm."
      get ṇelp
      get help."

156.   "ʔa-a-a, siʔemʔ, ʔa-a-a," x̌ətəstəmʔ cə tᶿəwʔniɫ
                sir   being told   that one
        "Ah, my dear, ah," they said to the raven.

157. spaalʔ.   "ʔəyʔ k̓ʷ ənʔstᶿx̌ʷimət tᶿə ənʔmeʔmənʔə,
      raven   good   your having   the   your cṇildren
                    pity on
        "Have pity on your children, your nieces and nephews,

158. ənʔstətiwən, ənʔsiyeʔyə, ənʔsəlʔsiʔlə.   ʔəyʔ kʷə
      your nieces   your friends   your grand-   good
      and nephews   parents
      your friends, your grandparents.   *Have pity.*

159. ənʔstᶿx̌ʷimət.   ʔnan ʔəwʔwəɫ tsasθət tənʔa xʷəštəʔect."
      your having   very now   get   this   tṇe way we
      pity   pitiful   have become
      The way we are now is so pitiful."

160.   səwʔhəyeʔs tak̓ʷ tᶿə spaalʔ.   səwʔaats tᶿə
        and he   home the raven   and he   the
        departs   calls
        And so the raven went home.   *And he called*

161. siyeʔyəs.   niʔ yaθ   ʔəwʔx̌ətəstəs tᶿəwʔniɫ tᶿeyʔ
      his friends   always he is feeding that one   that
      his friends. He always fed his friends.

162. təw?siye?yəs. ?əwəte? šnem?s t^θə c̓əm?c̓əyi ?əw?hay
his friends   not there   where   the   ant   only
                they go
The ants did not have any place to go, they only

163. t^θey? ?əw?stətes ?ə t^θə həl?em? ?əw?wəł sk̓^wey k^ws
that be near   to   the   little   now   cannot
                houses
stayed near the little houses, because they could not see where they

164. ləmnəx^ws t^θə šx^wənəm?s.   səw?x̣̓łasts t^θəw?nił spaal?.
their   the   where they   and he   that one   raven
seeing   are going   feeds them
were going.   *And the raven fed them.*

165. ne-e-m? łəq̓ətəm t^θey? sceełtən, ?eet ?i? t^θə tq̓as --
go   be laid   that   salmon   cod   and   the   rock cod
      down
He laid down the fish, cod and rockcod -- every little thing, sea

166. mək̓^w ?al? təw?stəl?em?, x̌ix^wə. ?əwəte? ƛ̓e? st^θaq^wi?.
all   just   what (pl.)   sea   not   too   spring
                urchin   there   salmon
urchin.   *There was no more spring salmon.*

167. sk̓^wey k^ws nem?s ƛ̓e? təsnamət ?ə tnanəł cəw?cəw?.
cannot   their   too   get to   to   over   out in the
        going   go near   there   middle
They could not go out far anymore.

168.   "?a-a-a, si?em? nəšx^w?a?ləq̓^wa?," θət t^θə spaal?,
           honorable   my relatives/   say   the   raven
                   friends
   "Oh, my dear friends," the raven said, "you see us.

169. "ni? č ?əw?le?ləm?ətal?x^w.   ni? ct ?əw?tx^wc̓ətəm?
    you be looking at us   we   left crawling
                  We just crawl, we cannot

170. ?al?, sk̓^wey k^ws sƛ̓e?ct ?iməšnamət. ?nan ?əw?nəsƛ̓i?
just   cannot   our too   manage to   very   my desire
                   walk
walk anymore.   *I would really*

171. k̓^w ən?sc̓ewət tən?a ən?siye?yə.   ?əy? k^ws
   your helping   this   your friends   good
appreciate it if you would help your friends.   *Let's help,*

172. c̓ewətct, ?əy? k^ws ṭa?θətct səw?q̓t k^wθə sye?yəctəł,
our helping   good   our trying   seek   the   our friend
let's try to look for our friend, the sun.

173. səm?ša̱θət. ?nan cən ?əw?t^θiṭ^θəx^wəθətnamət k^ws ?əy?
sun   very   I   be pleading   good
I am pleading for you people to try and help,

174. k̓^w ən?sṭa?θət c̓ewət, c̓ewətal?x^w."
   your trying   help   help us
help us."

175.   "?a-a-a, wa?lə ?əy?əs, ni? ct ?əw?x̌ect," θət
           maybe   good   we   be pondering   said
                     on it
   "Oh, alright, we are pondering on it," said the ant.

176. tᶿə cəm̓cʼəyi. "niʔ ct ʔəwʔx̣ect.   niʔ ct štewənʔ niʔ ct
     the ant   we be   we think   we
                        pondering
                        on it
              "We are pondering on it. We think we know.

177. ʔəwʔštalʔstəxʷ.   niʔ ct xʷiyənʔeʔmət kʷθə ənʔsyeʔyəʔələp,
     know   we hear him   the you-people's
                                                      friend
              We heard your friend, our friend.

178. syeʔyəct.   nemʔ ct həyeʔ, ʔmi ct ceʔ ƛeʔ ʔəwʔxʷəʔi."
     our friend   go   we depart come we will too get here
              We will go now, but we will be back."

179. səwʔhəyeʔs tᶿə cəm̓cʼəyi.   ne-e-emʔs ctem tᶿəwʔneʔəɬ
     and they   the ant   their   crawl those ones
     depart   going
     So the ants left.   And they crawled into Seagull's

180. ləwʔiləm ʔə tᶿeyʔ leləmʔ ʔəx̣ qʷəni.   niʔ yəx̣əliʔx̌akʷθət
     go in   to that house   of seagull   squeeze selves
                                                     through (dim.)
     house.   They squeezed them-

181. tᶿəwʔne-e-eʔəɬ.   niʔ cə niʔ   tᶿə niʔ ƛimʔ
     those ones   there the very
     selves through little cracks.   Some of them could not manage

182. niʔ ʔəwʔskʷey kʷs hənʔnəwʔnam...ts.   səwʔwəɬ ʔm-i-i-i-i
           cannot   their managing   and then come
                           to get in
     to get in.   So they chewed and

183. qikʷətəm,   qikʷətəm cətcʼətqʼʷtəm tᶿə liʔləmʔ ʔəx̣ qʷəni.
     be chewed   be gnawed   the little   of seagull.
                                              house
     chewed and gnawed at Raven's house.

184. x̌ətə ʔiʔ niʔ ʔəwʔwəɬ nemʔ yəcəliʔcəɬəqʷθət tᶿəwʔnənʔəɬ
     doing and then   go   they are getting   those little
                                     through (dim.)   ones
     Pretty soon the ants were getting through.

185. ni-i-i-iʔ cə niʔ   tᶿə ƛimʔ niʔ ʔəwʔxʷəsʔaʔt̓.
                there the very   become stretched
     Some of them were really stretched.

186. cələl ʔiʔ xʷt̓qʷiwən kʷəs nemʔ ʔaʔtəθət.   niʔ   tᶿeyʔ
     almost and body pops from go   be   there that
                 in two   stretching
     They were almost popped in two from stretching.   Some of them

187. ƛimʔ niʔ ʔəwʔxʷəskʷey kʷs nemʔs ʔiməš.   ƛimʔ niʔ
     very   become   their walk   very
                unable   going
     could not even walk anymore.   They were

188. ʔəwʔxʷəste   ʔəwʔniis xʷəštqʼʷiʔwənʔ.   hənʔnəwʔ səs
     became like   body popped in two got in
     almost cut in half.   They sneaked in.

189. ʔəwʔƛi-i-icʼətəm.   stəti-i-i-inʔ tᶿəwʔneʔəɬ.   ʔəwə kʷs
     be sneaked up on   lined up   those ones   not
              They lined up.   The seagull

190. ləmnəms ʔəƛ̓ qʷəni niɫ kʷəs ƛ̓lim? ʔəwʔcq̓əli?q̓x̌
    be seen by seagull be as very they are black
               that   (dim.)
    could not see the ants because they were such black little things.

191. t^θəwʔneʔəlɫ cəm?c̓əyi. ʔe-e-et qʷilʔqʷəlʔθət t^θə qʷəni,
    those ones ant   talking to self the seagull
    The seagull was talking to himself,

192. "hay cən ʔəwʔsθəθi?, hay ʔəwʔst^θet^θəƛ̓ʷ tən?a nəšxʷ?i
    only I be alright only light   this where I am
    "I am alright, where I am is light because I am so bright.

193. k̓ʷə nəs?nan ʔəwʔp̓əq̓.
    as my very white/bright

194. ʔəwʔeenθə ni? ʔəwʔt^θat^θəƛ̓ʷəθət ʔə t^θə nəšxʷənəm?. ʔəwə
    be I   giving self   to the where I am   not
             light   going
    I am the one that lights my way.   I

195. cən s̓teen? ʔə tən?aɫtən. ʔəwʔhay kʷs ʔəwʔkʷən?ets
    I be like   these ones   only   their carrying
    am not like those people.   *They always carry the wood,*

196. t^θə syaɫ, ʔəwʔhay kʷs ʔəwʔkʷən?ets t^θey? həy?qʷ.
    the wood only   their carrying that fire
    always carry the burning wood.

197. hay cən ʔəwʔəwə. ni? ʔə č xʷʔiyən?em?," x̌ət̓ə c̓ə
    only I not   you be   saying
                   listening
    But I don't.   *Are you listening," the seagull said.*

198. t^θə qʷəni. ni-i-i? ʔəwʔx̌iʔx̌ɫe?mətəm ʔə t^θə cəm?c̓əyi.
    the seagull   being watched   by the ant
    The ants were watching him.

199. ƛ̓e? c̓ə wəɫ nə?əmnəsəm ʔəƛ̓ qʷəni t^θə x̌θəm. "ni?
    too   then be approached by seagull the box.   "Are
    And the seagull went to the box again.   *"Are*

200. ʔə č xʷʔiyən?em? ʔə me?. ʔəwəte? ƛ̓e? ʔal? ən?šxʷha?kʷ
    you listening   dad   not   too just your use
                                there
    you listening, Dad?   *You won't be used anymore, you*

201. ʔəwʔsən?iw? č ʔal? ʔə tey?. niɫ ce? ʔəwʔš̓tes
    be in   you just to that   be that will   the way
    will just be in there.   *That is the way the people*

202. ʔal? tən?a məstiməxʷ kʷs ʔəwʔc̓ətəm?s"
    just this person   as their crawling
    will always be, crawling."

203. "ʔa-a-a, stə?e," səwʔθəts t^θə c̓ələm?c̓əyi. "ni?
             be like say the ants   "He
    "Oh, that is the way it is," said the ants.

204. ʔəwʔsən?iw? ʔə t^θey? x̌θəm." ne-e-e-em?s
    inside   of that box"   And they go
    is in that box."   *They slid down*

205. ʔəwʔɫasəθət   tᶿəwʔneʔəlɫ, nemʔ   xʷəʔali-i-imʔ   ƛ̓eʔ   wəɫ
      slide down   those ones   go   return   too   now
      and went back through the little holes.

206. x̌k̓ʷaθət   ʔə   tᶿeyʔ   šq̓ʷəliʔq̓ʷəgᵂe.   ni-i-i-iʔ   niʔ
      squeeze   that   little holes   there
      through
                                    It was better this

207. ʔəwʔtəwʔxᵂəsθəθiʔ.   niʔ   wəɫ   ste   ʔəwʔniis   xᵂəsθəgek̓ᵂ
      became alright   now   be   become
                                    like   stretched
      time.   *Their little bodies were already stretched.*

208. tᶿə   sməlʔenʔstiʔməxᵂs.   cɫaqᵂ   səs   ne-e-emʔ   c̓tem
      the   their little bodies   get   and   go   crawl
                                       through
                                       The little ones got through and

209. tᶿəwʔnənʔəɫ   nəwʔiləm   ʔə   tᶿə   leləmʔ   ʔəƛ̓   spaalʔ.
      those little   go in   to   the   house   of   raven
      ones
      crept into Raven's house.

210. niʔ   x̌-ə-ə-otk̓ᵂθət.   "ʔa,   ʔəwʔwəɫ   teʔləcəlʔ,"   x̌ətə
            gnaw   now   they arrive   saying
      They made gnawing sounds.   *"Ah, they have arrived," the raven said.*

211. tᶿə   spaalʔ.   nemʔ   t̓ᶿek̓ᵂətəm   wəɫ   ʔmi-i-i-i   hənʔnəwʔ
      the   raven   go   a light   then   come   arrive in
                                 was shined
                         He shined a light on them and they came in.

212. tᶿəwʔneʔəlɫ.   yəciʔk̓ᵂəlʔa-a-a-ti-i-ilʔ   xᵂəstətinʔ.
      those ones   following one another   become lined up
                         They were following one another and they lined up.

213. "niʔ   ct   ləmnəxᵂ   k̓ᵂθə   syeʔyəct   niʔ   ʔəwʔsənʔiwʔ?
             we   see   the   our friend   inside
      "We saw our friend, who is in the box.

214. ʔə   k̓ᵂθə   x̌θəm.   niʔ   ʔəwʔxᵂyəx̌ᵂətəm   ʔəƛ̓   q̓ᵂəni.
      of   the   box   be opened   by   seagull
                          Seagull opened it.

215. ʔəxᵂi-i-inʔ   ʔalʔ   k̓ᵂəs   x̌ᵂyəx̌ᵂətəm,   k̓ᵂəs   sewʔq̓təs
      little   just   be opened   as   he is seeking
      He opened it just a little bit when he was looking for what he was

216. k̓ᵂθə   niʔ   sewʔq̓təs   sʔəɫtəns   sənʔiwʔ?   ʔə   ɫə
      the   he is   his food   inside   of   the
              seeking
      seeking for his food in his house.

217. liʔləmʔs.   ʔi   ʔmi   ʔəwʔtəwʔx̌ənəq̓t   k̓ᵂθə   ənʔsyeʔyə,
      his little   come   open eyes a   the   your friend
      house   little
                    Your friend opened his eyes a little ways, he is

218. niʔ   ʔəwʔxᵂənʔsθəθiʔ."
            still alright
      still alright."

219.   "ʔa-a-a hay ceep q̓ə, hay ceep q̓ə.   haʔ   ct
                                                      when   we
           "Oh, thank you, thank you.   When we get

220. ceʔ   kʷənnəxʷ   ʔiʔ   niʔ   ct   ceʔ   ste   ʔəwʔniit   həli.
      will get it   and   we   will be   alive
                                                  like
      him it will be as though we live again.

221. laʔləmʔəθət   ceen   kʷəʔeɫ,   yaθ   ceep
      looking   you   of course always   you
      at/after self   people   people
      Look after yourselves, always shade your eyes.

222. ʔəwʔtəwʔštətənʔaʔləs.   haʔ   ʔmi   x̌ʷəm   kʷš   ʔmis   ceʔ
      keep eyes shaded   if   come   fast   his   will
                                                              coming
                        If your friend opens his eyes all of a

223. x̌ənəq̓t   kʷθə   syeʔyəct   ʔiʔ   x̌ʷəm   ct   xʷəƛ̓eʔləc̓."
      open   the   our friend and   will   we   go blind
      eyes
      sudden we will go blind."

224. "ʔa-a-a, ʔəyʔ.   leʔləmʔət   ct   ceʔ   tθə   ənʔstəlʔiʔtwən,"
               good   looking   we   will   the   your little
                         at/after   nieces/nephews
           "Oh, fine.   We will look after your little nieces and

225. θət   c̓ə   tθə   c̓əmʔc̓əyi.   ni-i-iʔs   ʔəwʔste   ʔəwʔniis
      say   the ant   be like
      nephews," the ant said.   So it was just like their eyes

226. təwʔxʷəšƛ̓xʷaʔləs   tθəwʔneʔəlɫ.   ʔiʔ   haʔ   ʔmi   x̌ʷəm
      eyes become half   those ones   and   if   come fast
      covered
      were half covered.   And if the sun opened his

227. kʷs   ʔmis   x̌ənəq̓t   kʷθə   səmʔšaθət   ʔiʔ   ƛ̓limʔ   č
      his   open   the   sun   very   you
      coming   eyes   then
      eyes quickly you would go blind, and you might burn.

228. ʔəwʔxʷəƛ̓eʔləc̓,   ʔiʔ   x̌ʷəm   ʔiʔ   yəqʷ.   həliyeʔ
      become blind   and   might   burn   they depart
                                                      The ants

229. tθəwʔneʔəlɫ   c̓aləmʔc̓əyi   ƛ̓ak̓ʷ.   səwʔəƛqəls   tθə
      those ones   ants   go   and he   the
                                  home   goes out
      went home.   And the raven went

230. spaalʔ.   ne-e-e-emʔs   ƛ̓axʷ   səwʔxʷəɫx̌iʔləšs   niʔ   ʔə
      raven   and he goes   go to and he comes to   there at
                                        beach be standing
      out.   He went to the beach and stood there, near the water,

231. tθeyʔ,   stətes   ʔə   tθə   qaʔ   nəʔas   ʔə   k̓ʷi   ƛ̓iƛəp.
      that   near   to   the   water facing   to   the   deep
      looking at the deep.

232. səwʔta-a-ams,   "ʔa-a-a,   nəsyeʔyə,   si-i-ʔemʔ   nəšxʷʔaq̓ʷaʔ,
      and he calls   my friend   honorable   my sister
      And he called, "Oh, my dear friend, my sister, sea urchin, I am

233. x̌ixʷə, ʔi cən tθitθəxʷəθət k̓ʷ ənʔsc̓ewətalʔxʷ.   ʔiʔ
      sea   I   be pleading   your helping us   but
      urchin
      pleading for your help.

234. ʔi cən θəɬ   ʔnan ƛ̓eʔ ʔəwʔwəɬ k̓ʷey   ʔəƛ̓ nəwə
      I   truely very too   now   hungry for you
      I am also very hungry for you.

235. ʔi cən ʔiʔeɬ yəxʷƛ̓iimʔɬneʔnəmʔ.   ʔiʔ nəsƛ̓iʔ   θəɬ
      I   here   asking for food   but my desire   truely
      Here I am again, asking for food.   *But I also want you to*

236. k̓ʷ ənʔsc̓ewətalʔxʷ."
      help us.
      help us.

237.   ste-e-e ʔiʔ wəɬ   ʔmi   wiɬʔ   x̌ixʷə.   ʔmi
           be like and then come   appear sea   come
                                              urchin
      And then the sea urchin appeared.   *She*

238. ʔiməš cam   ʔmi-i-i q̓ʷim   ʔə tə qaʔ.
      walk   go   come   get out   the   water
             up   of Water
      came walking up out of the water.

239. "ʔa-a-a siʔem,"   x̌ətəstəmʔ   cə tθə snaalʔ.   "ʔnan,
              honorable being said   the raven   very
                         to
      "Oh, my dear," she said to the raven.   "I

240. č   ʔəwʔnəsƛ̓i," θət tθə spaalʔ.   "ʔi cən ʔnan
      you my desire   say the raven   I   very
      really want you," the raven said.   "I am very hungry

241. ʔəwʔk̓ʷekʷiʔ ʔəƛ̓ nəwə.   haʔ cən ceʔ wəɬ   ɬəyx̌θamə
      hungry   for you   when I   will then eat you
      for you.   *When I eat you, beat me up.*

242. ʔi   x̌əyʔx̌əyʔəθamʔš č.   x̌əyʔx̌əyʔət č   tθə
      then beat me up   you   beat up   you the
                                   Beat my belly when you are

243. nək̓ʷəlʔə, ʔəwʔniixʷ wəɬ   xʷəsənʔiwʔ.   ʔiʔ nemʔ
      my belly   when you   then get inside   then go
      inside.   *Then I will*

244. cən ceʔ ɬeqət tθə ənʔƛ̓təq̓ʷ   ʔə tθə šeɬ   ʔəƛ̓ q̓ʷəni
      I   will lay   the your half   at the door of   seagull
      lay half of you (of your shell) at the seagull's door, the one who

245. tθə niʔ k̓ʷənʔet kʷθə syeʔyəct   niʔ šxʷənʔiwʔstəmʔ
      the   have   the   our friend   be kept inside
      has our friend inside a box, our friend the sun, so it is always

246. ʔə kʷθə x̌θəm, kʷə syeʔyəct   səmʔšaθət, ʔə šis ʔnan
      of the   box   the our friend sun   so very
      dark.

247. ʔəwʔɬec.   ste ʔə tθeyʔ ʔiʔ ʔmi cən təwʔxʷəʔewəstəxʷ
      dark.   be   that   and come I   put here
                  like
      And then I will put your other half on this side.

248. ʔə təʔi tᶿə ən̓ʔɬtəq̓ʷ.   ʔiʔ ʔi kʷəʔeɬ wəɬ xʷəsayʔ
     this the your half   when of   then become
                                        course   finished
                        And when everything is done, you beat

249. ceʔ kʷᶿeyʔ ʔiʔ x̌əyʔət č   tᶿə nək̓ʷəlʔə.   ni-i-iʔ
     will that   then beat up you the my belly
     up my belly.   *When you*

250. ceep   kʷintəl, ʔiʔ ʔmi ceʔ ʔəƛ̓qəl kʷᶿəwʔniɬ
     you   fight   then come will go out that one
     people
     fight, the seagull will come out, he will."

251. qʷəni,   ʔmi ceʔ."
     seagull come will

252.   səwʔəɬtəns.   x̌ətə cə θə x̌ixʷə,   "ʔnan ·
          and he ate   saying the sea urchin   very
          And he ate her. *The sea urchin said,*   *"Your*

253. ʔəwʔtəstəsas kʷᶿə ən̓ʔstəliʔtwən.   ni-i-iʔ
     they are poor the   your little
                          nieces/nephews
          little nieces and nephews are so poor.   *They are just*

254. ʔəwʔtxʷtitəq̓ʷtəlʔ ʔalʔ, səmʔó̓ʷəyiʔəs ʔalʔ.   ʔnan
     left bumping into   just   piled up   just   very
     one another
          bumping into one another, all piled up.   *Many of*

255. ʔəwʔwəɬ qəx̌ niʔ x̌ʷay ʔə tᶿə ən̓ʔsiyeʔyə. ʔnan ʔəwʔhay
     now   many   they of the your friends very   only
                        die
     your friends have died.   *It is too*

256. ʔalʔ ɬec k̓ʷən̓a ƛ̓iƛ̓əp. skʷey k̓ʷ ən̓ʔsləmnəxʷ k̓ʷ
     just dark this   deep   cannot   your seeing
     dark down there.   *You cannot see anything.*

257. stem. ʔəyʔ kʷəʔeɬ šqʷaləwənct kʷs c̓ewətaləct." x̌ətə
     what   good   indeed our thoughts   our helping   saying
                                            you people
          We are very happy to help you people," said the sea urchin.

258. θə x̌ixʷə.
     the sea urchin

259.   səwʔəɬtən   tᶿəwʔniɬ spaalʔ.   səwʔhays
          and he eats   that one raven   when he is through
          And Raven ate her.   *When he was through*

260. səwʔpqʷatəm.   niʔ wəɬ šəq   ʔə θə x̌ixʷə.
     be broken   now finished with the sea urchin
     he broke it in half. *He was finished with the sea urchin.*

261. neməstəm tᶿə ɬsəq̓ ʔə tᶿə šeɬs   tᶿə qʷəni   ʔiʔ
     be put   the half at the his door the seagull and
     He put half at the seagull's door and put the other half on this

262. təwʔxʷəʔewəstəm   tθə   nəċaʔ.
      be put here   the   other
      side (away from the door.)

263. səwʔɬaqəθəts   tθəwʔniɬ   spaalʔ   ʔə   tθə   təwʔstətes   ʔə
      and he lies   that one   raven   at   the   sort of near   to
      down
      And Raven lay down close to Seagull's house.

264. tθə   leləmʔs   tθə   qʷəni.   ʔo-o-o,   wəɬ   kʷintəl   k̓ʷi
      the   his house   the   seagull   then   fight   this
                                        Oh, the fight started in his

265. sənʔiwʔ   ʔə   tθə   k̓ʷik̓ʷleʔs.   ƛ̓limʔ   niʔ   ʔəwʔqʷeyʔx̌əm?
      inside   of   the   his little   very   moving
                         belly
      little stomach.   *The raven's stomach was just*

266. tθə   k̓ʷəlʔə   ʔəƛ̓   spaalʔ.   ƛ̓limʔ   ċə   niʔ   ʔəwʔsəseʔ   kʷəs
      the   belly   of   raven   very   get lifted   as
      moving.   *He was lifted right up because*

267. ƛ̓limʔ   ʔəwʔkʷik̓ʷənʔtəlʔ   kʷəʔi   sənʔiwʔ.
      very   fighting   this   inside
      of the fighting going on inside.

268.   wəɬ   kʷecəm,   kʷecəm   tθə   spaalʔ,   "ʔa-a-a-a-a
             now   scream   the   raven
             Raven screamed, "Help me, somebody help me.

269. ċewəθamʔš,   ɬwetəs   k̓ʷ   ċewəθamʔš.   ʔnan   cən   ʔəwʔwəɬ
      help me   someone   help me   very   I   now
                                               I am suffering."

270. x̌ɬiləws."
      suffering

271. ʔəƛ̓qəls   tθə   qʷəni.   təwʔxʷyəx̌ʷətəm   tθə   šel   niʔ
      he goes   the   seagull be opened a   the   door
      out
      The seagull came out.   little
                                    He opened the door a little and

272. ċə   təwʔxʷəstθet̓θək̓ʷ.   "ʔi   č   ʔaʔlə   ctamət."
           come to shine   you   what
           a little   happened
      the light shone out a little.   *"What is the matter with you?"*

273. "ʔnan   cən   ʔəwʔwəɬ   x̌ɬiləws.   lemət   tθə   nək̓ʷəlʔə."
       very   I   now   suffering   look at the   my belly
      "I am suffering.   *Look at my belly."*

274. ʔi   ċ   θəɬ   ƛ̓limʔ   ʔəwʔšpəpa   tθə   k̓ʷəlʔəs.   ƛ̓limʔ   niʔ
           truely   very   bloated   the   his belly   very
      His belly was indeed very bloated.   *What was*

275. niʔ   ʔəwʔxʷθiqən   kʷsəs   kʷik̓ʷənʔtəlʔ   tθə   sənʔiwʔ.   "ʔnan
      loud   as   fighting   the   inside   very
      inside made loud noises as it fought.   *"I am*

276. cən   ʔəwʔwəɬ   x̌ɬiləws,"   θət   tθə   spaalʔ.
      I   now   suffering   say   the   raven
      really suffering," the raven said.

277.   səw?he?k̓ʷs   t^θəw?niɬ   qʷəni   yaθ   ?əw?c̓ecəw?ətəm?
    and he is   that one   seagull   always   being helped
    remembering
    And the seagull remembered that the raven helped him with all kinds

278.   ?əƛ̓   spaal?   ?ə   t^θə   təw?məkʷ   ?al?   təw?stem.   ?əy?   kʷs
    by   raven   with   the   sort of   just   what   good
                         all
    of things.   *He should*

279.   c̓ewəts.   nem? ?əw?ƛ̓pil.   nem? ?iməš ?əƛ̓qəl.   ?i?
    his helping   go   go down   go   walk   go out   and
    him
    help him.   *He went down.*   *He walked out.*   *And*

280.   ta-a-axʷ   ?əw?cəq̓ʷšen.   taxʷ ?əw?xʷəscəšin? ?ə t^θə
             get sliver in   stepped on   the
             foot
    he got a sliver.   *He stepped on something sharp, the*

281.   ?əya?θ,   s?aya?θs   θə   x̌ix̌ʷə.   kʷecəms.   kʷecəm
    sharp   its sharp the   sea   his   scream
             thing   urchin   screaming
    spines of the sea urchin.   *He screamed.*   *He screamed*

282.   nem?   ?əw?cƛ̓əm? ?i? ni? ƛ̓e? wəɬ təs   ?ə t^θə nəca?.
    go   jump   but   too   then get   to   the   other
                                near
    and jumped but he landed on the other one.

283.   ni?   ?əw?wəɬ xʷəyəse?lə t^θə sx̌ən?əs kʷəs qəx̌ t^θey?
        now   became two   the   his foot   all   that
    Both of his feet were covered with slivers.

284.   sc̓əc̓aq̓ʷ   ?ə t^θey? sx̌ən?əs.
    covered   that   his foot
    with slivers

285.   kʷe-e-ecəm c̓ə θə   qʷəni.   "?i č   ?a?lə ctamət,"
    scream   the   seagull   you   what
                                       happened
    The seagull screamed.   *"What is the matter with you?"*

286.   θət t^θə spaal?.   "?i č   ?a?lə cəstam?š. na?ət wəɬ
    say the raven.   you   do what
                              to me
    said the raven.   *"What did you do to me?*   *My little*

287.   cəlel ?i? qəƛ̓qəƛ̓əm θə   nəsx̌əx̌ən?ə.   lemət.   c̓ewəθam?š
    almost   they fall the   my little   look   help me
               off   feet
    feet are almost off.   *Look.*   *Help me*

288.   kʷə?eɬ,   c̓ewəθam?š. tən?a qəl ən?syays," θət t^θə qʷəni.
    indeed   help me   this   bad   your work   says the seagull
    now, help me.   *What you did is bad," said the seagull.*

289.   ?əməts t^θə spaal? ?i? ni? ?əw?təw?xʷk̓ʷastəm t^θə
    he sits   the raven   and   be dragged   the
    up
    The raven sat up and dragged the seagull close to the door.

290. qʷəni tsətəm ʔə tᶿə šeɫ. "kʷənət kʷθə ən?šəptən?
   seagull be brought to the door take the your knife
        close

"Take your knife, do you

291. ʔi ʔə č ʔəwʔkʷən?em? ʔə kʷθə ən?šəptən?," θəts tᶿə
     you have   the your knife says the
 have your knife?" said the seagull.

292. qʷəni.
   seagull

293.   "ʔa-a-a, ʔi cən." kʷənəts tᶿə šəptən?s sis nem?
         I   his   the his knife and go
               taking
   "Oh, I have."   *He took his knife and pried the little*

294. təwʔyəweʔwətᶿətəm? tᶿey? ni? təwʔscəliʔcəcaqʷ ʔə tᶿə
   being pried out that   little slivers from the
 slivers out of his feet.

295. sx̌ən?əs. ni? wəɫ nem? ʔəɫəpcəs tᶿə spaal?.
   his foot   now go hand slip the raven
      Then the raven's hand slipped.

296. kʷe-e-ecəms tᶿə qʷəni, "ʔi-i-i č wəɫ ɫicəθam?š."
   his   the seagull   you now cut me
   screaming
 The seagull screamed, "You cut me."

297.   "ʔa-a-a ʔnan p̓e ʔəwʔɫec. ʔnan ʔəwʔɫec kʷə
       too indeed dark   too dark
   "Oh, it is too dark.   *It is too dark for*

298. nəsləmnəxʷ kʷθə ni? ən?scəq̓ʷšen." səwʔxʷk̓ʷastəms
   my seeing the what pierced   and he is dragged
          the foot
 me to see the slivers."   *So he dragged the Sea-*

299. nəwʔəšəm tᶿə qʷəni təwʔtsətəm ʔə tᶿey? ni?
   be put in the seagull be put close to that
 gull inside close to the side of the box with a little opening in it.

300. təwʔšsəʔex̌ən?s tᶿə x̌θəm. ƛ̓e? wəɫ nem? tik̓ʷətəs,
   lifted a little the box too then go he squints
   on one side   at it
         He went to squint at it.

301. tik̓ʷətəs. ləmətəs.   skʷey kʷs ləmnəxʷs.
      He looks at it cannot his seeing
     He looked at it. *He could not see it.*

302. x̌ətə kʷs skʷeys kʷs ləmnəxʷs k̓ʷə ni? scəq̓ʷšen?s
   saying cannot his seeing the what pierced
              the foot
 He said that he could not see the slivers.

303. "təwʔqəl?et p̓e xʷseʔəx̌ət tᶿə x̌θəm," θət tᶿə qʷəni
   again   indeed lift lid the box say the seagull
 "Well, open the box a little bit more," the seagull said.

   nem?s tᶿə spaal? ni? səwʔtəwʔxʷseʔəx̌ətəms
   he comes the raven   and the lid is lifted
 The raven went and lifted the lid a little more and opened

305. təw?qəl?et   xʷyəx̌ʷətəm   tθə   x̌θəm.   ƛ̓e?   wəɬ   nem?
     again   be opened   the   box   too   then go
     the box a little bit more.   *Again he went and*

306. kʷənətəm   tθə   sx̌ən?ə   ?ə̓ƛ   qʷəni.   ƛ̓e?   wəɬ   ?mi-i-i
     be grabbed   the   foot   of   seagull   too   then come
     grabbed the seagull's foot.   *Then he took the*

307. me?šəm   tθey?   ni?   sc̓əq̓ʷšen?s.   ƛ̓e?   wəɬ   ?əɬəpcəs.
     be taken that   what pierced   too   then hand slip
     off   the foot
     slivers out again.   *Again his hand slipped.*

308.   "?o-o-o   ?nan   p̓e   ?əw?sk̓ʷey   k̓ʷə   nəsləmnəx̌ʷ.   ?nan
               very   indeed cannot   my seeing it   very
         "Oh, I just cannot see.   *It is*

309. ?əw?ɬec.   sk̓ʷey   k̓ʷə   nəsləmnəx̌ʷ,"   x̌ətə   c̓ə   tθə   spaal?.
     dark   cannot   my seeing   saying   the   raven
     too dark.   *I cannot see," the raven said.*

310. ?i?   titək̓ʷətəs.   "?nan   ?əw?ɬec.   sk̓ʷey   k̓ʷə
     and   he is squinting   very   dark   cannot
           at it
     He squinted at it.   *"It is too dark.*   *I cannot see your*

311. nəsləmnəx̌ʷ   tθə   ən?sc̓əq̓ʷšen?."
     my seeing   the   what pierced
                          your foot
     slivers."

312.   kʷək̓ʷce-e-em?   tθə   qʷəni,   "?i   cən   wəɬ   cəlel   ?i?
          screaming   the   seagull   I   now   almost and
          The seagull screamed, "I will soon be dead, I am almost dead.

313. q̓ay,   wəɬ   cəlel   cən   ?i?   q̓ay.   nem?   ɬə   təw?xʷyəx̌ʷət
     dead   now   almost I   and   dead   go   open
     dead   *Go open the box."*
                                               Go open the box."

314. tθə   x̌θəm."
     the   box

315.   nem?s   tθə   spaal?   stəw?qəl?ets   xʷyəx̌ʷətəm   tθə   x̌θəm.
          his   the   raven   and it again   be opened   the   box
          going   a little
          So the raven went and opened the box a little bit more.

316. ƛ̓e?s   wəɬ   nə?əmnəsəm,   ƛ̓e?s   wəɬ   ?mi   ɬik̓ʷətəm.
     and he   then be approached   and he   now   come be pried
     too   too
     And he went to him again and pried again.

317. me?šəm   tθey?   sc̓əq̓ʷšen?s.   kʷecəm.   ƛ̓e?   wəɬ
     be taken that   what pierced   scream   too   then
     He took the slivers out.   *He screamed.*   *He screamed,*

318. kʷecəm,   "?o-o-o   ni?   č   wəɬ   ɬic̓əθam?š."   "?o-o-o,
     scream   you   now   cut me
          "Oh, you are cutting me."   *"Oh, my*

319. ʔnan pe ʔəwʔtsas tᶿə nəqələmʔ. niʔ ʔnan
     very poor the my eye very
     eyes are so poor. *It is too bright now,*

320. ʔəwʔxʷəstᶿetᶿəkʷ, nəsniʔ ʔnan ʔəwʔskʷey kʷə nəsqəlʔet
     become light why I very cannot my again
     that is why I cannot see."

321. ləmnəxʷ."
     see

322.   nemʔs nəʔəmnəsəm tᶿə x̌ᶿəm. x̌ətə kʷs ƛeʔs
        and he be approached the box saying too
        goes
        And he went to the box. *He said he would*

323. wəɬ xʷqpeqətəs. təs ʔə tᶿə x̌ᶿəm səs
     then cover it get to the box and
     near
     close it a little bit. *He got there and he opened it.*

324. ʔəwʔxʷkʷaʔqətəm.
     be opened

325.   "heyʔ, siʔemʔ, heyʔ, siʔemʔ nəsyeʔyə. niɬ
        sir dear my friend be that
        "O.K., sir, O.K., my dear friend. *Now*

326. ʔənʔsəwʔəx̌qəl," θət tᶿə spaalʔ. niʔ cewətəm tᶿə
     your getting out say the raven be helped the
     get out," the raven said. *He helped the sun,*

327. səmʔšaθət, niʔ c θəɬ wəɬ xʷameenʔ tᶿəwʔniɬ.
     sun truely then become that one
     weak
     who was very weak.

328. štewənʔ tᶿəwʔniɬ spaalʔ, "haʔ cən q̓ay ʔiʔ ʔəwʔq̓ay
     think that one raven if I die then die
     The raven thought, "If I die then I die, if I burn."

329. cən, ʔəwʔniinʔ yəqʷ." kʷənətəs tᶿə səmʔšaθət səs
     I if I burn he takes the sun and
     He took the sun and he flew through

330. nemʔ ʔəwʔɬakʷ nemʔ cɬaqʷθət ʔə tənanəɬ šqʷəqʷe
     go fly go go through that hole
     over there
     the hole way up where the smoke goes.

331. šxʷənəmʔs tᶿə sx̌eyəqəm. niɬ snemʔs ʔəwʔhənʔəx̌qnəxʷəs
     where it the smoke be his he got him out
     is going that going
     When he got through he told him,

332. səwʔcsets, "nemʔ č həyeʔ, nemʔ č ƛlimʔ ʔəwʔkʷi
     and he go you depart go you very go up
     tells him
     "You go away, you go way up there.

333. ʔə   tənanəɬ.   ʔəwə   č   ʔmiəxʷ ƛ̓eʔ states, ʔəwə   č
      to   that over   not   you come   too near   not   you
            there   you
                   Do not stay close anymore, do not keep coming here.

334. ʔmiəxʷ ƛ̓eʔ   ʔeʔwə.   ʔnan   ct   ʔəwʔtsas   ʔə   k̓ʷ   ənʔsʔəwə
      come   too   coming   very   we   pitifuɬ   when you
      you   here   are not
                   We are so pitiful when you are not there,

335. niʔəxʷ niʔ   ʔə   tθey?,   stθetθək̓ʷstəxʷ   tθə   sk̓ʷeyəl."
              there at   that   lighting   the   sky/day
      lighting the sky."

336. "ʔa-a-a, siʔem?, ʔa-a-a,"   x̌ətə   tθə   səmʔšaθət.
                sir   saying the   sun
            "Alright, sir, alright," the sun said.

337. "hay č q̓ʷ, hay č q̓ə.   ʔəwʔstəʔe cən   ceʔ   k̓ʷəʔeɬ,
                                    be like   I   will indeed
      "Thank you, thank you.   *I will do that, I will stay way up*

338. ʔəwʔniʔ cən   ceʔ   ʔə   tənanəɬ.   laʔləmʔəθət   ceep,
      there   I   will   over   looking at/   you
                                 there   after self   people
      there.   *Look after yourselves,*

339. laʔləmʔəθət ceep."   səwʔhəyeʔs tθə   səmʔšaθət.
                                and he   the   sun
                                departs
      look after yourselves." *Then the sun went away.*

340. k̓ʷiʔ.   niʔ   xʷəstθetθək̓ʷ   tθə   məstiməxʷ.   xʷəstθetθək̓ʷ
      go up   become lit   the   people   become lit
      He went up. The people had light.   *The world*

341. tθə   sk̓ʷeyəl.   ni-i-i-iʔ   c   θəɬ   wəɬ   šqp̓aʔləstəm?
      the   sky/day   truely then eyes be shaded
      had light.   *The children's eyes were shaded.*

342. tθə   sƛ̓əlʔiqəɬ.   q̓e-e-e-eq̓əlʔ   ʔalʔ   šəs   ʔmi   swiʔwəlʔ,
      the   children   almost   just   come showing
                   There was just a little bit showing, they

343. q̓e-e-eq̓əlʔ ʔalʔ   šəs   leʔləm?.   ni-i-i-iʔ   k̓ʷin
      almost   just   seeing   how many
      could only see just a little bit.   *How many days, it*

344. sk̓ʷeyəl scek̓ʷələʔs   k̓ʷs   hiθs   ʔiʔ   yeɬ   sis   ne-e-em?
      day   how/what   the   its   and   finally   go
                                    length
      was a while before they started to remove the eye shades, so they would

345. təwʔyəhəmʔəšəm?   tθə   niʔ   šqp̓aʔləss,   sis   ʔəwʔəwə   niis
      being removed   the   eye shade   so   not
      not get the light too quickly.

346. ʔnan   ʔəwʔX̌ʷəm   k̓ʷsis   ʔmi   t̓θek̓ʷəl.
      very   fast   as   come get light

347. niɬ   k̓ʷəʔeɬ   sx̌ʷiʔem?   tθey?.   ʔəwʔstətesəɬ.
      be   indeed   legend   that   was close
      that
      That is a legend.   *He was very close.*

348.   ʔəwʔƛ́imʔ   ʔəwʔsyeʔyəs   tᶿəwʔneʔəlɬ   tᶿə   səmʔšaθət.
       very   their friend   those ones   the   sun
       The sun was a very close friend of the people.

349.   ʔiʔ   niʔ   wəɬ   x̌teʔ   ʔə   tᶿeyʔ,   téyəq̓   tᶿə   qʷəni   kʷs
       and   then   do   that   get   the   seagull
                                                    mad
       And then the seagull got mad and did that, saying that he was so

350.   x̌ətəs   kʷs   ƛ́eʔs   ʔəwʔp̓əq̓.   sƛ́iʔs   kʷs   ʔəwʔniɬ
       his   too   white/   his   be that
       saying   bright   desire
       bright.   *He wanted to be the light of the*

351.   šsƛ́əᶿetᶿ̓ək̓ʷs   tᶿə   skʷeyəl.
                      the   world
       world.

352.   niʔ   hay.
                                       finish
                                It is done.

NITINAHT

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Nitinaht, like all Wakashan languages, displays a high degree of polysynthesis. Words are built from basically short roots which are extended by a large number of suffixes, several reduplication patterns, and a small number of infixes. Vowel length changes also play a role in the development of a word.

The language has not been exhaustively studied and there is no comprehensive grammatical description. The best introduction to Nitinaht can be found in the short, but thoroughly analyzed text by Mary Haas and Morris Swadesh (Haas (Swadesh), Mary, and Morris Swadesh. 1932. A visit to the other world, a Nitinat text. IJAL 7.195-208.)

The story of *Stealing Daylight* was told in 1977 by Charlie Jones Sr., KʷiˑstuX̌, (Age 101) of Pt. Renfrew, British Columbia. It is not possible to present here a full linguistic analysis of this rather lengthy story (Approx. narration time: 40 min). Instead, the first four pages are presented in detail with an interlinear translation and a morpheme-by-morpheme analysis of each word. Preceding these pages are structural comments which give the reader a general view of the language; references are made here to appropriate examples located in the text. Starting with page 5 the story continues in Nitinaht with an interlinear translation. A free English translation follows the native text.

Nitinaht Structure

Nitinaht orthography makes use of the following characters:
a aˑ b c c̓ č č̓ d e eˑ h (ḥ) i iˑ k k̓ kʷ k̓ʷ 1 ɫ ƛ ƛ̓ (m) (n) o oˑ p p̓
q (q̓) qʷ (q̓ʷ) s š t t̓ u uˑ w w̓ x X̌ xʷ X̌ʷ y y̓ ʕ ʔ . Those letters enclosed in parentheses are infrequent.

Phonological processes include vowel insertion and loss; vowel quality changes due to assimilation; and vowel contraction. Consonant processes include loss; changes in rounding (for velars); hardening (glottalization); and softening (change of fricatives to glides). These last two processes are caused by special classes of suffixes.

A root, or a root extended by lexical suffixes forms the core of a Nitinaht word. In line 1 wist *none* is followed by the lexical suffix -ʕaˑyuk *daylight*. Line 3 shows -iˑyip *find* following the locative root hida.

Aspect plays a very important part in the derivation of a Nitinaht word. A number of different aspects are indicated, but the most important distinction is momentaneous (M) versus durative (D). The root buˑɫ *rise in sea level* occurs with a durative suffix as buˑɫuk *high tide* (line 2), and with a momentaneous suffix as buˑɫšiλ *tide comes up* (line 6). Durative aspect refers to an activity or state in process or in existence. Momentaneous aspect indicates the transition to a state or into an activity. There are also inceptive suffixes like -iˑwiλ *get to be* as shown in dašiˑwiλλ *get to be strong* (line 53: daš *strong*). Inceptive aspect is very similar to momentaneous, but there is more emphasis on development. A length morpheme, [L] *doing/in process*, which lengthens a root vowel, often accompanies a momentaneous or inceptive suffix: λuˑbuqšiλλquyuw *would begin drumming* (line 185; λubuq *drum*). Some suffixes require accompanying root vowel length. The lexical -iˑɫ [L] *do/make* is such a suffix, as shown in čaˑpaciˑɫ *make a canoe* (čapac *canoe*).

Reduplication is used to indicate aspectual differences. λaˑpχaλaˑpχ *flapping* (line 50; λaˑpχ *flap*) is reduplicated to show repeating activity. There is also a distributive plural reduplication pattern that may utilize a -t- *plural* infix: dataˑdaˑši *each one strong* (line 38; daš *strong*). Certain derivational suffixes require accompanying root reduplication. -qtiš [R] [L] *going by/measuring* is such a suffix, as in yaˑyaˑqtšaˑwquy *what to use as navigational guide* (line 10).

Inflectional endings follow derivational ones, adding tense, voice, mood, and person information. The tense suffixes are -ubit *past*, -iˑk/-eˑk *future*, and -iˑλ *future*.

There are numerous modal suffixes. wistʕeˑkubtuw *it was dark*
(line 1) shows a derived stem followed by -ubit *past* and the third person
singular form (3S) of the quotative mode suffix -uw *it was said*. This
modal ending occurs frequently in narratives like *Stealing Daylight* because
the storyteller was not present when the event being described took place.
baqšiɫaˑwkid *what can we do?* (line 3) has a stem, baq-šiɫ *what-do*, comple-
ted by -aˑw *should*, the question word interrogative modal ending -(q)ik,
and -id, the first plural person marker. A paradigm for this mode follows.

-(q)iks	I	-(q)ikid	we
-(q)ik	you	-(q)iksuw	you plural
-(q)iˑ	he, she, it	-(q)iɫ	they

Other modals found in the text are subordinate, as in ʔuduˑλ dašukqa
because it is strong (line 23; -qa is the 3S form); conditional, as in
x̌ayaˑλquy *when far away* (line 10; -quy is the 3S form); nominal, as in
yaʕi *it was [said]* (line 11; -ʔi is the 3S form); interrogative, as in
wiˑkaˑdax̌aˑ *is it all right?* (line 147; -aˑ is the 3S form); indicative,
as in ʔuykasuw *you are [used] for* (line 76; -ʔasuw is the 2P form);
definite, or definite article -ʔaq, as in waˑʔaqs *what I say* (line 4;
-s is *I*); and imperative, as in daˑčiˑɫička *you watch!* (line 76;
-ʔič(ka) is the 2P form, -ʔi(ka) is the 2S form.)

Nitinaht has suffix combinations which show subject and object;
yaʔaksicx̌ *I like/love you* (-sicx̌ *I-you*). There are a number of combina-
tions which require a passive construction. When there is a third person
subject and a first or second person object the passive suffix -ʔit is used
with the subject marker suffix for first or second person.
yacaˑseyiktquˑsuw *so you can be stepped on* (line 77) shows a derived stem
followed by the passive suffix (which has lost its vowel and glottalized
the preceding k) and the second person plural conditional mode ending -quˑsuw.
The passive is also used when the subject and object are both in the third
person.

A Nitinaht word has potential predicative force and so can stand
as a complete utterance. qoˑʔasak? *Are you an Indian?* (qoˑʔas *Indian,*

-ak interrog 2S); buwača *it's a deer* (buwač *deer*, -ʔa indic 3S); pisatkšiλ! *Run!* (pisatkšiλ *run*, -ʔi imper 3S); ka·batps *I know* (ka·batp *know*, -s indic 1S); čuqʷšiλts *he hit me* (čuqʷšiλ *hit/punch*, -ʔit passive, -s 1S).

  Predicates may be followed by other words which serve to enrich the clause. hide·yičadiλλ q̓ʷe·ti *then Mink got on the roof* (then-got-on-the-roof Mink L. 145. The predicate here is in the absolute or ∅ mode). ʔayči·λuw yaca· *for many days they walked* (many-days-it-was-said walked L. 39); da·čukša·λe·dicx̌ yaλtaqšλuwis wi·qse·ʔaq *let us go look for where the wind must come from* (let-us-go-look-for where-it-must come-from the-wind L. 14); "λaλa·dx̌ika," wa·λ ʔu·yuq ciqi·te·kaq tabu·k̓ʷ *"Keep still," he said to his interpreter Kingfisher* (keep-still said to his-interpreter Kingfisher L. 212). One of the functions of ʔu·yuq (ʔu *it, he, she* -yuq [L] *relative to/to*) is to identify the object in a sentence, as above. It can serve as a predicate as well, ʔu·yuqs *I'm referring to/ I mean* (-s indic 1S).

  ʔu *it, he, she* is a root of anaphoric reference. A following word often clarifies that reference. ʔo·yips qaʔawc *I found the basket* (-i·yip *find*, -s indic 1S, qaʔawc *basket*). The root hit/hida is very much like ʔu, but with a locative force. hide·yuqs *I'm going after/ seeking* (-yuq [L] *relative to/to*, -s indic 1S; compare ʔu·yuqs *I refer to/ I mean*). Like ʔu, the reference of hit/hida is often clarified by a following word. hide·yp yaλtaqšλuwis wi·qse·ʔaq ... *find where the wind is [blowing] from* (find where-it-is-from the-wind L. 3-4).

<center>List of Abbreviations</center>

caus	causative
cond	conditional mode
D	durative aspect
def	definite mode
indef	indefinite mode

interrog	interrogative mode
iter	iterative aspect
[L]	length
loc	locative
M	momentaneous aspect
nom	nominal mode
pass	passive
past	past tense
quot	quotative mode
[R]	reduplication
sub	subordinate mode
3S	third person singular,
2P	second person plural etc.

Stealing Daylight

as told by Charlie Jones Sr.,
Kʷiˑstux̌

1. wistˤeˑkubtuw   sac̉iˑyaʔk.   wik̉eˑt
    it was dark   completely   no

    wist-ˤaˑyuk-ubit-uw   sac̉-ʔiˑaʔk   wik-ʔeˑt
    none–day/light–past–quot   carry through–D–having/ not-existing
                                  continuous

2. ƛu·bˤaˑt   wik̉eˑt   c̉iˑdax̌kʷ   ʔiš   buˑɬuk.
    sun   no   low tide   and   high tide

    ƛuˑb-ˤaˑt   c̉iˑdax̌-uk   buˑɬ-uk
    hot–moving down   low tide–D   high tide–D

3. baqsiɬaˑwkid   hideˑyp   yaɬtaqšʌuwis
    what can we do   find   where it is from

    baq-siɬ-aˑw-(q)ik-id   hida-iˑyip   yaɬ-taqšiʌ-uwis
    what–do–should–interrog–we loc–find   that place–from–indef

4. wi·qse·ʔaq.   ʔax̌ci   qʷa·btuw   wa·ʔaqs
    the wind   that   was the way it was   what I say

    wi·qsi·-ʔaq   qʷa·-bit-uw   wa·-ʔaq-s
    wind-def   way-past-quot 3S   say-def-I

5. wike·tuw   ƛisʕa·k   saċcax̌ta·kuw
    there was no   daylight   it was continual

    wik-ʔe·t-uw   ƛis-ʕa·yuk   saċ-cax̌ta·k-uw
    not-existing-quot 3S   light color of-day/light carry through-
                                                        direct to-quot 3S

6. wi·qsi·   ʔadči·ɫaq   wike·t   bu·ɫši ƛ
    wind   as many days as   no   high tide
               there were

               ʔad-či·ɫ-ʔaq   wik-ʔe·t   bu·ɫ-ši ƛ
               thus much-days-def   not-existing   high tide-M

7. či·dax̌šλ.   ɫaka·w   dubisa·ʔtx̌aq
    low tide   in poor state   all who lived there

    či·dax̌-ši λ   ɫak-a·w   dubi-saʔtax̌-ʔaq
    low tide-M   poor/miserable-has character of   all-live-def

8. ha·ʔuba·tx̌a·λquy   haya·ʔak   ʔu·yuq
    where they are hunting   not knowing   not knowing

    ha·ʔub-a·tax̌-ʔa·λ-quy   haya·-ʔak   ʔu-yuq[L]
    food/eat-go after-then-cond   not know-D   it-relative to

9. yaɫte·ypa·wquy   ʔudu·λ   wikx̌qʔa
    where they could find   because   they are not

    yaɫt-i·yip-a·w-quy   ʔu-du·λ   wik-x̌-qʔa
    that place-find-should/   it-because of   not-being-sub 3S
    do for-cond

10. ta·quws   dači·ɫ   x̌aya·λquy   ya·ya·qtša·wquy
    sure   seeing   when far away   what to use as
                                                    (navigational) guide

    ta·q-uws   dač-i·ɫ   x̌aya·-ʔa·λ-quy   ya·ya·-qtiš-a·w-quy
    exact-   see-iter   far-then-cond 3S   that-going by/measuring
    indef   [R] [L]-should/do for-
                                                    cond 3S

11. yaɫ?iquy   ha·?ubatax̌e·s.   yaʕi
    where one should go   going to get fish   it was [said]

    yaɫ-?i-quy   ha·?ub-a·tax̌-?e·s   yaq-?i
    that place-go-cond 3S   food/fish-go after-going   what which-nom

12. qi·čiλ   qʷa·   ťapatšiλ̇λ   du·duba·čx̌
    long time   that way   know   all did

    qi·-čiλ   ťapat-šiλ-?a·λ   du·du·b-ač-x̌
    long time-M   know-M-then   all [R]-be in state of-
                                                        while/being

13. ?adux̌sa·tax̌quy.   "hišu,   hiyo?a·λ̇e·dicx̌
    as many as lived there   all right   let us stop being

    ?ad-ux̌-sa·?tax̌-quy   hiyo-?a·λ-?e·dicx̌
    thus much-large-lived-cond 3S   finish-now-let us

14. qʷa·   da·čukša·λ̇e·dicx̌   yaɫtaqšλuwis
    that for   let us go look for   where it must come from

                 da·č-uk-šiλ-?a·λ-?e·dicx̌   yaɫ-taqšiλ-uwis
                 see-D-M-now-let us   that place-from-indef 3S

15. wi·qse·?aq   yaqx̌i·ťaqad
    the wind   that which causes us

    wi·qsi·?aq   yaq-x̌-?i·t-?aq-ad
    wind-def   that which-being-existing-def-we/us

16. ɫa·kʷi·ɫi·t   yubɫa·bt
    to suffer   preventing [us] from

    ɫa·kʷ-i·ɫ-?i·t   yub-uɫ-a·b-?it
    poor/miserable-make [L]-existing   unable-D-caus-pass

17. hida·čλ   ha·?uba·tx̌.   yaqx̌aqad
    going to sea   to catch fish   we should

    hida-a·čiλ   ha·?ub-a·tax̌   yaq-x̌-?aq-ad
    loc-go out to sea/   food/fish-go after   that which-being-def-we
    extend on water

18. čawadukšλa·w   ?ade·?aqad   dubisa·tx̌aqad
     all get together   as many as we number   all who live here

     čawa-iduk-šiλ-a·w   ?adi·-?aq-ad   dubi-sa·?tax̌-?aq-ad
     one-together-M-should   thus much/thus many-   all-live-def-we
                               def-we

19. ba·duk\u{w}iλquyid   hi·dasiyix̌   yaɫtaqšλuwis
     if we could try   to reach   where comes from

     ba·d-uk-iλ-quy-id   hida-as-ix̌   yaɫ-taqšiλ-uwis
     try-D-M-cond-we   loc-reach-trying-   that place-from-indef 3S
                               to get [L]

20. wi·qse·?aq   yaqictaqad   ɫa·kq\u{w}adk."
     the wind   reason for our   be in poor condition

                   yaq-ict-?aq-ad   ɫa·k\u{w}-q\u{w}adk
                   that which-reason for-   poor/miserable-condition
                   def-us/we

21. ?ayibitšλuw   ca·widukšλ   ?u·cida·qk   yuwa·λ
     many times   got together   talking about that   then

22. cawa·wiλλ   tata·pt,   "nišu,   ya·čš?aλe·dicx̌."   yubɫ?aq
     one began   to think   all   let us go   it is
                              right   impossible
                                                           to

23. čabeyuq   ?udu·λ   dašukqa   wi·qsi·   ?a·dsas   čabuɫ
     go by   because   is strong   wind   only   possible
     canoe

24. λi·?akquy.   "du·be·   dubisa·tx̌i·k   du·bi·λasuwič   ya·čšiλ
     if one   all of   all you who   you will all   start
     walks   you   live here   walking

25. ?u·?a·patuɫ   du·bquyid   hidasλ   yaɫtaqšλuwis   wi·qse·?aq."
     the best way if we all   reach   where it is   the wind
                                         from

26. ša?a·yaša·k\u{w}iλλ   dubisa·tx̌   ?u·yuq,   "?ux̌i·λas
     began saying the   all the   to   you will
     names   people

27. ya·čšiλ   ?ux̌i·λas   ya·čšiλ,"   wa·.   ša?a·yaša·λquy
     go   you will   go   saying   would be
                                                  saying the name

28. yaqx̌quy   šaši   ʔa·disa·dax̌aq   ḥuktu·p,   ʔa·disa·dax̌aq
    whomever   was   all the kinds   ducks   all the kinds
                named   of   of

29. ḥaʔub   hidʔa·se·ƛ̓aq   ḥaʔub.   qʷiyuwis
    fish   ocean   fish   the time when

30. ʔuyubtuw   ʔax̌ci   quʔas   dubisa·tx̌aq   čabuɫ
    it was at   that   the   all who   able
    that time   Indians   lived there

31. ciciqatsatɫ̓   c̓awa·ʔakk̓ʷ   ʔu·šaba·c̓eyk.
    to talk to   had one   for talking

32. hawɫiyaqšiƛ̓ƛ̓   kabatšiƛ̓ƛ̓   qʷiyi·ƛ̓quyaɫ   ya·čšiƛ̓
    got ready   now knew   when they would   go

33. hidasiƛ̓ƛ̓   yač·šiƛ̓.   ʔux̌a·ƛ̓   ya·čšiƛ̓   ḥaɫi·ɫiʔt
    now reached   walked   was he   walked   invited
                               who

34. tiɫu·p   bila·š   ʔiš   ʔiʔi·x̌ʔaq   ḥuktu·p
    Octopus   Skate   and   the big   ducks

35. ʔawati·daq   dašk̓ʷa·badx̌aqaɫ   du·ba·ƛ̓   ya·čšiƛ̓.
    the Eagle   those that are   all   going
                     strong

36. qʷini·,   ʔux̌uw   ɫaɫak̓ʷadiʔt   daʔu·kquy   daʔu·k̓   we·t.
    Seagull   it was   invited   should   come   told
              who   come   them

37. ʔiʔi·x̌aq   data·dašiyaq   saktup   bucubux̌q
    the big   strong   birds   Bear

38. c̓uc̓uwax̌sɫ   wadax̌c   ʔa·disa·dax̌aq   saktup   data·da·ši
    Wolf   Cougar   all the   animals   each one
                             kinds of

39. du·ba·ƛ̓   ya·čšiƛ̓   ʔayči·ɫuw   yaca·,   hidasƛ̓uw
    all   left   for many   walking   it reached
                            days

40. c̓awaqabɫabitk   da·k.   sa·c̓ca·kuw   ʔi·niwc̓išč
    probably one   moon   continued   getting less
                       month

41. ƛ̓e·kubtaq   hitʔi·ƛ̓   yubuɫšƛ̓   ḥitkidkʷ   dašk̓ʷaq
    those who   got   unable   fight   the strong
    were   beaten   to   against
    walking

42. wi·qsi· ?u·yuq.   ?atuwiš hit?i·ƛqa   ?i?i·x̌?aq   ṅuktup
    wind   and yet it will   the big   birds
                                 be beaten

43. ?awati·daq.   ƛaƛa·dx̌ʷ   qʷini·   wi·kuw   hit?i·ƛ
    the Eagle   stay still   Seagull   did not   get beaten

44. dašuk   ?u?ukʷidkʷ   wi·qse·?aq.   sacca·kuw   wi·k̇itšƛ
    strong   doing with   the wind   continuously   disappeared
             or against

45. ƛe·kubˀaq   bucubux̌q   wadaxc   data·da·šiyaq.   wik
    those who   the Bear   Cougar   the strong   not
    had been   are
    walking

46. qi·čiƛ   qaqaci·wiƛƛ   q̇ʷe·ti   bila·š   tiƛu·p   ?iš   qʷine·.
    long   become   Mink   Skate   Octopus   and   Seagull
                four

47. qo?e·čƛuw   qʷini·.   hidasƛuw   qʷi·ba·tquyaƛ   dačo?ƛa·ƛ
    became a   Seagull   had   where they   now saw
    person   reached   had reached

48. ya·ƛqac   ƛisˤe·wkʷ   qʷi·ca·kaqaƛ   wi·qse·?aq   yaƛtaqšƛaq
    that   light   in the   the wind   where came
    there   direction they   from
                            were going

49. wi·qse·?aq.   čačabax̌uw   qʷine·   ƛa·wa·ča·suw   ṅukʷata·
    the wind   was proper   Seagull   low near the   flying
                                           ground

50. c̣ic̣i   wikuw   ƛa·px̌aƛa·px̌   c̣iyux̌a·w.   ?atuwiš   ?u·qoƛsid
    glide   was   flapping   glide/   and yet   we saw
            not   soar

51. wik̇itƛqa   qʷisiƛx̌u·tiš   qʷadu·ƛx̌uwisi   wik̇itšƛ
    that he   I wonder what   why he had   disappeared
    was gone   he did

52. haya·w   k̇ʷačiƛ(t)quy   p̣aya·ƛ.   ?adideysa·ƛ   q̇ʷe·ti
    he may   broken his   wing   only left   Mink
    have

53. bila·š   tiƛu·p   qaqac̣   daši·wiƛƛ   qaqac̣aq   waya·qƛ
    Skate   Octopus   three   became   the   having the
                                     strong   three   desire

54. hidasi·kqaƛ.   du·buwaƛ   ?u·kʷis   sa?eyk.   ƛawa·dƛuw
    that they   they all   were   weapon   they got
    will reach   carrying   near

55. kʷiscačiƛquyuwaƚ ƚi·ʔu·qsƛ ʔu·yuq yaƚtaqšƛaq wi·qsi·
    if they should go   different to   where   the
    another way   direction/   came from   wind
                        course

56. yaƚa·ƛquyuw   qʷi·qʷidʔaƚsas   dašuk   wi·qsi·
    here would come just same (strong) as strong   wind

57. ʔatquyaƚ   ƚi·ƚiʔataqšiƛƛ.   qʷaʔu·kʷatƛuwša
    even though they get out of path   that is how he
                                        managed to

58. ƚapatšiƛ   qʷe·ti   wa·ƛ,   "ƛawa·ča·sa·ƛe·ʔicš
    think   Mink   saying let us go near the ground

59. ƛa·wa·ča·sa·ƛe·ʔicš   hiƚasi·kid   wiki·ƛid
    let us go near the ground   we will reach we will not

60. hixʷaƚuws.   ƛawa·di·kid   ya·ƚʔaqac   ƛisʕe·ykʷ
    rush   we will get   to that   light

61. dačoʔƚe·kquyid   qʷabu·bši·tuwiskid   ƚa·kʷiƚiʔt
    when we see   that which causes us   being cruel

62. wi·qsi·."   qi·čiƛquyuwa·ƛ   ƛawa·didƛ,   "šu,
    wind   for a long time   got near   all right

63. ʔuʔu·bšičiƛƛid da·či·ƚa·ƛid." ye·ƚuwi   baʔas   ku·ƛa·s
    we have gone   we see   over there house   open
    far enough   was

64. yaƚtaqšƛaq   wi·qse·ʔaq.   ya·ƚuwi   ʔuksaʔti
    from where came   the wind   here was   on the porch

65. ʔaƛ   tuška·wš   ka·wašp.   ku·ƛa·sa·ƛ   ƚaše·ʔaq
    two   codfish   mouth   now open   the
                        wide open   doorway

66. bačʔiƚspa·   ƚaše·ʔaq ʔu·yuq   yaƚʔaq tuška·wšaq   hitksaʔti
    the fish   on the   on both   sides   the codfish on the
    are   porch   porch   porch

67. waksicsa·ti   tuškawš.   ƚapatšiƛ,   "šu,   ka·baƚps
    on both   codfish   then   all   I know
    sides   thought   right

68. qʷisa·wpšaqs wiki·ƛas bačidƛ   nitksaʔte·ʔisƛas ƚaše·ʔaq
    what I will   you will   enter   you will be   the
    do   not   outside on the   path
                                       porch

69. ʔuʔuɫtʔasƛas,"   wa·ƛ   ʔu·yuq   tiɫu·p,   "ʔuх̌i·ƛas
    be in front of me   said   to   Octopus   you will

70. ƛawas, bila·š.   х̌i·ʔukʷƛidaɫ   q̓ʷe·ti   ʔuʔuɫt."
    follow Skate   we will crawl   Mink   first
                        on the ground

71. wikitsa·bх̌   wi·qse·ʔaq   wike·tši·ƙa ʔaƛƙi.
    so as to be rid of   the wind be no more   there will   here
                                                    be no more

72. "yaqi·ƛi·ksuwič   da·či·ɫ   ye·ɫʔaqa   ya·daqk
    you will   watch   where lies   the child

73. ƙu·baɫpiʔɫ sukʷi·ks hidi·kisƛid waɫšiƛ."   ye·ɫuwi
    in swing   I will   we will take home   here sat
                take the
                child

74. ʔi·čib   xa·daʔk   či·ƛči·yuw ʔu·yuq   t̓aх̌acu·b   ʔu·yuq
    an old   lady   she was   cradle
                         pulling   board

75. či·ƛčiy   ƙu·baɫpiʔɫeyƙaq.   "šu,"   wa·ƛ   q̓ʷe·ti,
    pulling   the swing   all right   said   Mink

76. "da·či·ɫička   ʔušх̌iʔtqus   ƛawasiʔt.   ʔuyƙasuw
    you watch   if someone   follow   you are for
                     should me

77. ʔaƛ̌k   ʔiyaх̌a·s   yaca·seyiƙtqu·suw   waх̌i·ƛqa
    here   to lie   so you can be stepped on   he will fall

78. ʔudu·ƛ   ƛaƛask.   yuqʷa·ƛas   х̌a   qʷa·   bila·š."
    because slippery   you will also that   Skate

79. saccaх̌takt̓a   bila·š   qade·   hitksa·bɫi·taq
    has on way   Skate   and uh   that on top/
                                                the scales

80. ƙučiƛ   yaqadu·ƛaq   q̓ʷe·ti   kʷicaх̌tʔi·ta·p.
    hooks   that is why   Mink   turned him around

81. sukʷiƛƛ   q̓ʷe·ti   ʕu·ya·ƙaq   sukʷiƛ   hitaksitadu·ƛ,
    took   Mink   his medicine took   put inside

82. ƛawa·diƛƛ   q̓ʷe·ti ɫaše·ʔaq   ƙa·waх̌p̓aq
    got near   Mink   doorway   that which had mouth open

83. tuška·wх̌   ʔiʔi·х̌   waksicsa·ƛ,   sukʷiƛ
    fish   big   both sides   took

84. ʕuˑyaˑḱaq   c̓ickiyuqstuˑƛ   ƛaʔoƛ
     his medicine   threw into the mouth   again

85. c̓ickiyuqstuˑƛ.   bakidukšiƛƛ   tuška·wx̌aq
     threw in mouth   clamped together   the fish

86. hitksaʔtʔiˑbƚaq   tuška·wx̌.   ƚax̌aˑƛ
     that which was in the entrance   fish   now

87. ʔackacšiƛ   q̓ʷeˑti   bačiˑdƛ   pisatšiƛ
     jumped   Mink   left inside   ran

88. ʔuwiyaˑƛ   yaƚʔaq   ʔadḱaq   yaƚtaqšƛaq
     went to   where   the fire   where came

89. wiˑqsiˑʔaq.   c̓icx̌iyaˑduˑbƛ   ʕuˑya·kquy
     the wind   threw in fire   his medicine

90. ʔukʷaqiƚḱʷaq   ʕuˑy   "waʕiˑw"   ʔukʷaqiƚḱʷaq
     that which   medicine   was called
     was called

91. ʕuˑy   hitax̌iyaˑduˑp   ʔuˑyuq   ʔadḱaq   wiƛaqsaˑp.
     medicine   put in fire   to   the fire   put fire out

92. yuwaˑƛ   wikitšiƛ   puˑxʷaˑbƚaq   wiˑqsiˑ·.
     then   no longer   that which   wind
                   there   was blowing

93. sukʷiƛƛ   q̓ʷeˑti   yaˑdaqḱaq   ḱuˑbaƚpiʔƚ.
     took   Mink   the child   swinging

94. t̓aqčeˑyakpuw   t̓ax̌acuˑb   sukʷiƛ
     left in whole cradle   cradleboard   took it

95. hidiˑksiˑyaˑs.   pisacšƛ,   pisacšiƛ   waƛaqšƛ
     took outside   ran   ran   turned back

96. bilaˑš   tiƚuˑp   ʔukʷabaqƛabiˑsaˑƛ   ʔuˑyuq
     Skate   Octopus   following   he who

97. yaˑdaqiˑksaq   q̓ʷeˑti   ʔux̌   hidiˑks
     the one carrying the child   Mink   the one   carrying

98. yaˑdaqḱaq.   yaˑčšiƛ   qaqac̓aq   waˑƚšiƛšiƛƛx̌
     the child   left   the three   while on way home

99. qeˑyuˑk   kaˑbatsaˑƛ   qiˑyukeyiƛqa   hidiˑksiƛ
     for a long time   knowing   will be long time   taking

R MACRAE
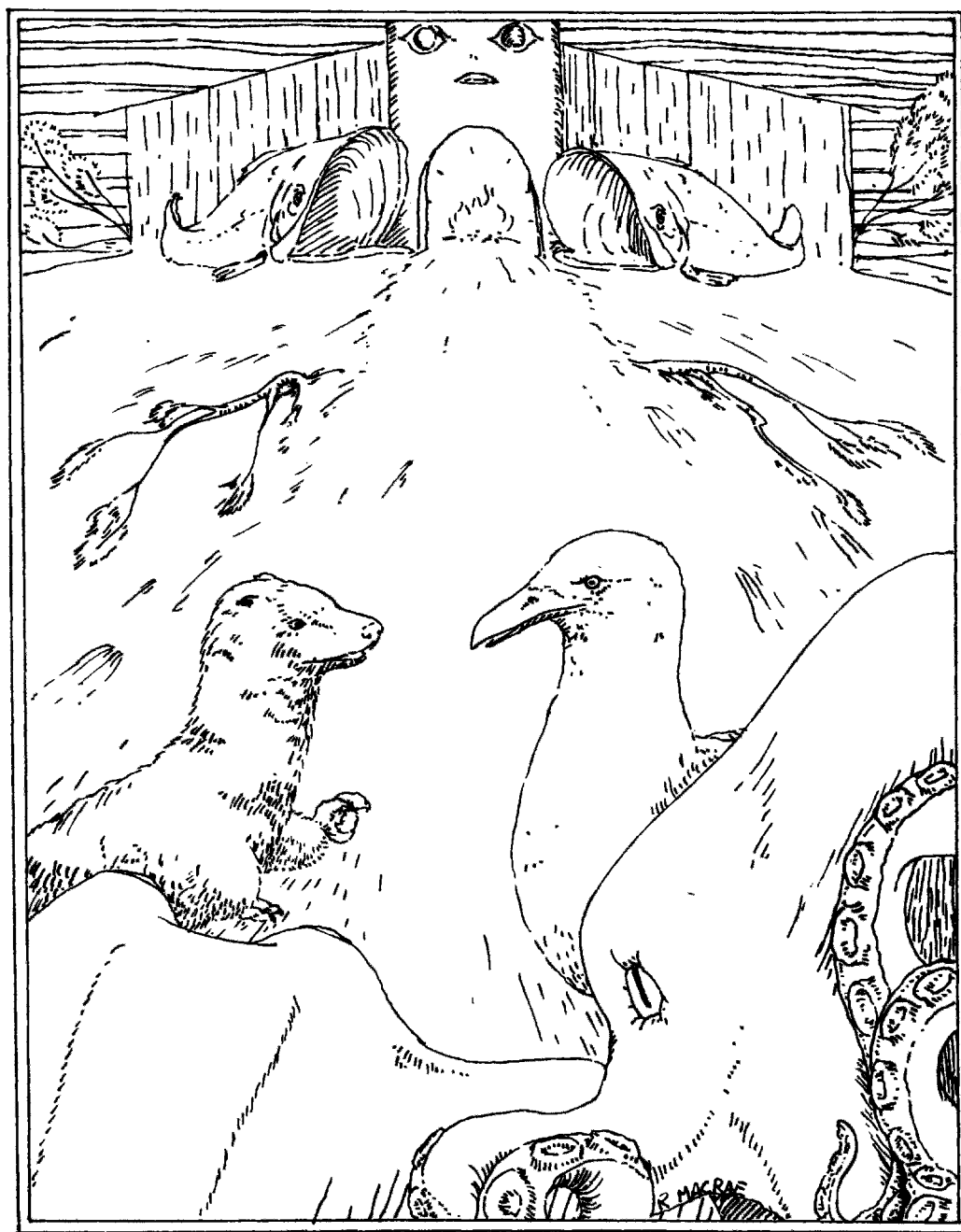
100. ya·daqakk̓ʷaq   q̓ʷe·ti.   ya·ɬuwi   kʷi·sa·dax̌a·ƛ
    his child   Mink   here was   now different

101. ƛisʕa·wk   ƛisʕe·yukƛ   wikubȼaq   qʷa·
    daylight   now daylight   which was   that way

102. wistʕe·yuktq?a   qʷiya·ƛ   ya·čšiƛ.   wa·ƛaqšiƛx̌a·ƛ
    it was dark   when   they left   trying to go back

103. q̓ʷe·ti   kaba·tsa·ƛ   kʷi·sa·dax̌a·ƛqa   ƛisʕa·k   ƛisʕe·yukšiƛƛ.
    Mink   now knew   it was different   day   became daylight

104. ya·ca·ƛuwaɬ   yuwa·ƛ   hidasiƛ   yaɬax̌a·wquy
    they walked   then   reached   where should

105. ?uwiy   waɬšiƛ   bila·š   wik   x̌aye·y?iy
    go   home   Skate   not   far away

106. yuqʷa·ƛ   waɬšiƛ   tiɬu·p.   ȼawa·čidukšiƛ   q̓ʷe·ti
    also   went home   Octopus   by himself   Mink

107. hidi·ks   ya·daqakk̓ʷaq   ka·bu·kt.   k̓apšiƛ
    carrying   the child   that stolen (kidnapped)   stole

108. ya·daqk   ?u·yuq   ?udu·ƛ   ho·ce·abx̌aɬ
    the child   because   they are trying to put back

109. ?u·yuq   ƛisʕa·k   wiki·tšiƛƛ   wistʕe·wkubȼaq.   nidasƛ
              daylight   no longer   that which was dark   reaching

110. q̓ʷe·ti   ye·tax̌quy   bačidu·p   ho·siƛa·p   qʷa·btquy
    Mink   his home   put inside   put back the same   way was

111. ya·daqk̓aq   qʷiyquy   ku·waɬ   q̓ʷe·ti   k̓u·baɬpi·ƛa·ƛuw
    the child   when   stole   Mink   swinging

112. ya·daqk̓aq.   ?ux̌a·ƛ   q̓ʷe·tisaq   ?ab?e·qs   či·ƛčiy.   yuwa·ƛ
    the child   was she   Mink   mother   pulling   then

113. ɬiɬibi·wiya·ƛ   ȼaše·kquy   ?udu·ƛ   ka·batpqa   ha·cs?iqa.
    made tight/   the path/   because   he knew   because
    secure   entrance   was coming

114. haya·wqa   ?ayčidukquy   da·čuk̓t   ?u·dx̌i?t   q̓ʷe·ti
    did not   could be a   looking   looking   Mink
    know   large group   for him   for

115. haya·wqa   qax̌sa·btquy   ?udu·ƛ   ?ukʷaqɬe·čiƛ
    maybe   they might kill him   because   now named as

116. ku·wał   ya·daqk.   ha·wɫiyaqsapši⅄   q̓ʷe·ti
      stealing   child   got ready   Mink

117. ye·tax̌quy   łiłibi·wa⅄kʷ   t̓aše·ʔaq.   yuwa·⅄
      his home   made tight/secure   path/entrance   then

118. ḣawɫiyaqši⅄   wa·ksu·wadł   ʔadux̌aq   qade·ʔaq
      got ready   both sides   the size it was   the uh

119. ye·tax̌quy   waksicsa·⅄   ḣawɫiyaqši⅄   ⅄ubqʷiyk
      where he lived   on both sides   got ready   drums

120. ʔuʔukʷi·c̓ax̌e·sa·⅄ ⅄ubqʷiyk.   ⅄u·⅄u·bq   ʔax̌k q̓ʷaʔap
      to be done by   drums   drumming this   like   doing

121. ʔu·t̓e·qɫa·⅄ ʔa·yu·sat̓e·qɫ   ʔatquy   ʔa·du·sa·⅄
      pretending   pretend of a   although   only in house
                   crowd in house

122. q̓ʷe·ti.   so·⅄   yadaqak̓aq.   hawɫiyaqš⅄uw   ba·saq
      Mink   holding   the child   got ready   the house

123. c̓i·pic̓i·pši⅄⅄   q̓ʷe·ti   ʔade·ʔaq
      closed up (patched)   Mink   as many as were

124. ⅄uc̓qsiwi·   wike·tx̌abax̌sa·bt   dač̓ši⅄.   wik
      knotholes   not wanting anyone to   to see   not

125. ʔayč̓iɫšč̓⅄   q̓ʷa· hawɫiyaqʷiyat⅄.   c̓abeya·⅄   ʔayi·q
      many days   that got ready   came by canoe   many

126. c̓apac   ʔaʔayist.   ʔax̌c   ʔuya·⅄uw   q̓ʷe·ti
      canoes   many in each   then   when   Mink

127. hide·yic̓adi⅄⅄   yuwa·⅄   či·či·ʔi·c̓aqk̓ʷaq   či·ʔi⅄   yuwa·⅄.
      got on the   then   his mechanism for   pulled   then
      roof   drumming

128. ʔa·di·sɫa·⅄   či·ʔi⅄   ⅄ubqa⅄ubqši⅄⅄   ⅄ubqʷiykaq
      he had only   pulled   began beating   that which he
      just   of drums   had for drumming

129. wiwik̓i·cx̌   wike·t   qoʔas   ʔa·du·sas   q̓ʷe·ti
      doing by itself no   person   only one in room Mink

130. ʔiš ʔabʔe·qisquy   ʔiš ya·daqk̓aq   k̓a·bu   ʔuʔukukši⅄⅄
      and his mother   and the child   kidnapped appeared that

131. ʔayu·squy. yuwa·⅄ hidasi⅄⅄   qade   ya·   ya·daqi·dx̌aq
      was many   then   reached   uh   that the one looking
                                                   for child
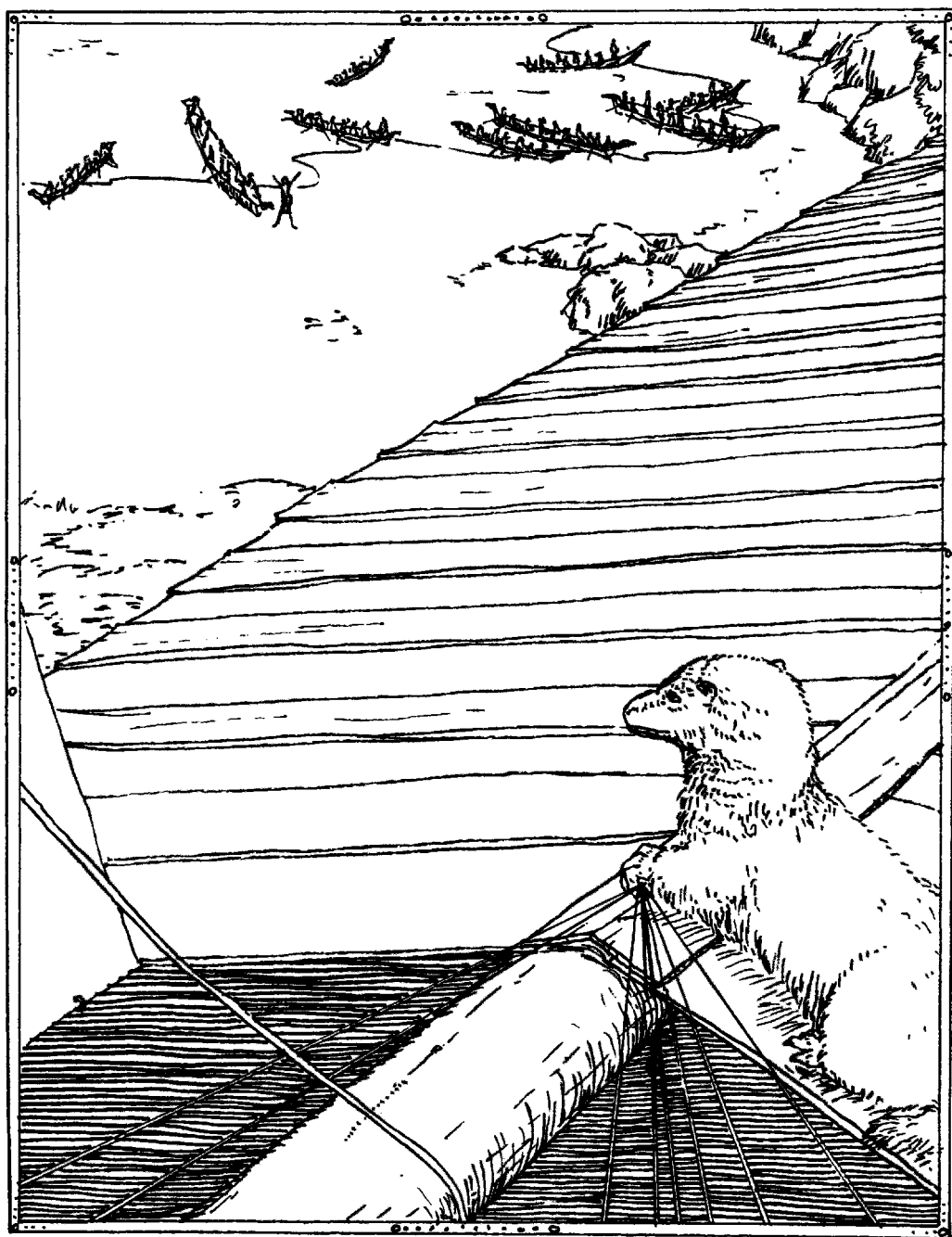
132. ʔudu·x̣　haš́iyadabitku　　　　　　　　q̓ʷe·ti　ʔux̣qa　ku·wał
　　　because　news probably got around　Mink　was he　stole

133. ya·daqk.　qe·x̣　da·čuk,　"wa·s̓ʔiyi·　ya·daqk"　qi·čix̣
　　　child　long　looking　where did　child　for a long
　　　　　　time　　　　　go　　　　　　　　　time

134. yaqadu·x̣aq　hawłiyaquya·x̣　　　　　　　yadi·x̌qa
　　　that was reason　was prepared when they arrived　right away

135. ba·ba·dkx̣quyquy.　dačoʔł　　na·c̓ʔiyaq
　　　practice　　　　see　　　when one is coming

136. ča·puk　hidasix̣x̣uw　　ya　　ʔayeʔaq
　　　in canoe　then arrived　that　the many

137. ča·puk　　ʔuwiya·x̣　　hidax̌uwisk̓ʷaq
　　　canoes　　went　　　beach in front of house

138. q̓ʷe·ti.　x̣ix̌six̣uw　　　　yuwa·x̣　　x̣ada·six̣
　　　Mink　　land canoe bow on shore　then　　remain on

139. wikx̣　hidiłt.　yuwa·x̣　hide·yičadix̣x̣　q̓ʷe·ti　yuwa·x̣
　　　not　getting out　then　got on roof　Mink　then

140. "hu···, hu···, hu···,"　wa·x̣　bači·łaq　ʔuʔukukx̣　ʔayu·squy
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　said　inside　there　　　might be
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　appeared　many people

141. yuwa·x̣.　wikabax̌sa·x̣　ya　čabeyk̓ʷaq　ba·dukx̣　x̣awe·ʔi
　　　then　　not wanting　they　those coming　try　　come near
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　by canoe

142. wi·dačx̣.　ʔadi·siłax̣tquyuw　ʔax̌k　hiyuw　x̣ubqʷa·
　　　afraid　　they had just　　　this　finish　drumming

143. k̓atšix̣quyuw　ya　ʔabʔe·qsaq　ʔu·yuq　yadaqk̓aq　k̓eʔitqsa·p.
　　　would pinch　that　the mother　to　　the child　make it cry

144. k̓eʔitqšix̣quy　ʔuya·x̣quyuw　ya·wix̣t　hi·da·dł
　　　when it screamed　that is when　began to ache　the feeling
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　of

145. ʔabʔe·qsaq　duwaqsaq.　hide·yičadix̣x̣　q̓ʷe·ti,　"o···　o···
　　　mother　　father　　got on the roof　Mink　　oh　　oh

146. ča·bat̓e·　o···　o···　ča·bat̓e·　huʔaye·dicx̌　ya·daqk.
　　　chief　　oh　　oh　　chief　　give us back　child

147. ʔudx̌idicx̌   haši·čx̌id   ʔux̌i·suk sukʷix̌. wi·ka·dax̌a·ʔ
     we are looking   we heard you   it was   took   is it all
     for you   right   right

148. wi·ka·dax̌a·   ya·daqkaqʔ huʔaye·ʔadicx̌   ʔuʔape·sid
     is it all right   child   give it back to us that is what we

149. hacse·ʔi.   ʔux̌i·x̌as   ciqšix̌   qʷi·ʔatkuwisk
     came for   you will   speak   whatever you want

150. ʔu·yax̌ukidicx̌ qʷi·ʔatkuwisk hidi·x̌idicx̌,"   wa·x̌
     tell me   what you want we will give it to you   said

151. ciqi·te·ʔaq.   ciqšix̌   čabeykʷaq
     the speaker/the interpreter   now spoke he coming by canoe

152. ča·bataq,   "ʔux̌a·kid   ti·čx̌a·m   x̌isʕa·k
     the chief   we have   for staying alive the daylight

153. hu·pksi·tu·widitqa   da·k. ʔadči·taq   hitaksita·
     rising of   moon   as many days sunrise everyday

154. ʔatx̌ičx̌   wistʕe·yukšx̌   x̌aʔu   ʔa·bayi·wx̌   hu·ʔa·bi
     became night became dark   again   became the   the same
                                            next day

155. x̌isʕe·yukšx̌ wistʕeyukšx̌. ʔax̌c   ʔu·ʔatukqu·suk   ʔu·yax̌ukidicx̌
     becoming   becoming   that   if that is what   tell us
     daylight   dark   you want

156. qʷiʔatkuwisk. hidi·x̌idicx̌   ʔuʔape·sid."   he·   hide·yicadix̌x̌uw
     what you   I will give   we came for   hey   then got on the
     desire   that reason   roof

157. q̓ʷe·ti.   ʔux̌a·kuw   ciqi·ti   tabu·kʷ   q̓ʷe·ti
     Mink   he had   for translator   Kingfisher   Mink

158. ʔu·yax̌ukx̌   we·   he·   ciqšix̌   tabu·kʷ   "wik   wa···
     he told   tell   hey   spoke   Kingfisher   not   say

159. ʔadiwsiwa···,   ti·ki· ti·ki·, waʔo·."   yadi·x̌uw   q̓ʷe·ti
     only says   says   right away   Mink

160. wa·   hiti·   ʔu·yuq   ʔadak   ʔu·ʔataktqa.   ciqšix̌
     said   remember   that   fire   he wanted   to talk

161. ča·bataq x̌aʔu   čabeykʷaq   ʔu·yax̌ukx̌   bu·tačši·ditqʔa
     the chief again   the canoe man told him   tide comes up

162. cidax̌ši·ditqa   wi·qsiči·ditqʔa   waksax̌ta·k   wik
     tide goes up   becomes windy   both ways   not

163. saccax̌ta·k̓   wik̓itši⅄   saccax̌ta̓q   wi·qsi·.   "c̓i·dax̌si·⅄qa
     same   no longer   same   wind   because it
     direction   direction   became low
                                                         tide

164. bu·⅂ši⅄   c̆ab⅂e·k̓kaš   ʔuʔa·tx̌   qʷaqe·tx̌abax̌sa·qu·suk
     tide came up   then you   to hunt   whatever you wish
                    will be able   to hunt

165. qʷi·qapa⅂qu·suk."   hi·de·yic̓   ciqši⅄   ⅄aʔu   q̓ʷe·ti   hide·⅄
     whatever your   on the roof spoke   again Mink   gave
     taste desires

166. ciqi·tek̓aq,   "wik   wa···   ʔadiwsuwa···   ʔadiwsuwa···,   ti·ki
     his   not   way   only says   only says
     interpreter

167. ti·k̓i,   waʔo···."   hayaʔak̓⅄   c̆a·bataq   wa·x̌uwis,   ti·k̓i
           says   not knowing   the chief   what he
                                                  says

168. ti·k̓i   ti·k̓i   ti·k̓i   wa·⅄   wik⅄   ka·batp   yaqc̆aq   ya·daqk̓.
                                said   not   knowing   he who   the
                                                         owned   child

169. ciqši̓⅄⅄   ⅄aʔu   ti·c̆x̌a·b   bu·qab⅂   da·k,   bu·qab⅂   da·k,
     spoke   again   ransom   four   months   four   months

170. bu·qab⅂,   bu·qab⅂,   ʔa⅄ayu·kqab⅂   da·k   du·ba·⅄   ʔuda·k
     four   four   twelve   months   all   had

171. qʷe·y̓akquy   ʔa·disa·dax̌ak   ʔu·c̓aq   ʔiš   haʔu·baq   hida·qax̌s.
     that used   all kinds   their   and   food   in the
     for   forests

172. "hidi·yidicx̌   ʔuyax̌ukidicx̌   qʷiya⅂kuwisk   tic̓a·bx̌
       give us   tell us   what you desire   so can let
                                                      live

173. ya·daqakk̓ʷaqad   hidi·⅄idicx̌   huʔaye·s   bu·qaba⅂e·s
     our child   we will   give back   was to be four

174. da·k   wi·qpa⅂   bu·qaba⅂e·s   da·k   ⅄upe·c̆x̌   ⅄aʔu
     months   winter   going to be four   months   summer   again

175. bu·qab⅂   da·k   ha·ʔuba·tax̌pa·⅂."   ciqši⅄quy
     four   months   season of fishing   would speak

176. ciqi·te·ʔaq   t̓abu·k̓ʷ.   "wik wa···   wik wa···   c̆a·bataq
     the interpreter   Kingfisher not say   not say   the
                                                             chief

177. ?adi·wsawa··· ?adi·wsawa···, ti·ki ti·ki, wa?o·,"
only says   only says   says

178. ?u·?aɫkuw wa·.   he· ƛa?u ciqši̓ƛ ča·baɫaq
he wants he said   hey again spoke   the chief

179. ša?a·yaša·kʷiƛƛuw ča·baɫaq. "?aх̌k qʷa·ƛaq
began naming   the chief this   the way it will be

180. ƛisʕa·k wi·qpaɫ kʷisa·ƛqa biƛaƛqa wiki·t
daylight winter it is now snowing raining no persons

181. ɫa·kkʷadqu·ws.   ?ayi·qi·ƛqa   ?iyaх̌ ća·ća·k̓aq
in poor state   there will be many   at   the rivers

182. ća·?ak yaɫ?iyi·ƛaq ha?u·baq hi·da·duw.   ?aх̌c
the   where will go the fish coming in from sea   that
water

183. ?u?u·ks?e·k̓asuwič ?uх̌a·ks ?aх̌k ti·čх̌a·b ya·daqkх̌aqad
you people will eat I have here ransom the child

184. tiča·bх̌."   wi·k   hide·yićadƛ   ƛubuqšiƛƛquy
try to   not   going on   would drum
keep alive   the roof

185. ?ayu·saq, wiƛe·ɫaq ?at qo?as, ƛu·buqšiƛƛquyuw.
the "crowd" there although people they would begin
         were no   drumming

186. ciqši̓ƛ ciqi·ɫe·?aq ɫabu·kʷ, "wik wa··· wik wa·w"
spoke the interpreter Kingfisher not say   not say

187. ?adi·wsuwa··· ?adi·wsuwa··· ti·ki ti·ki ti·ki wa?o·
only says   only says   says

188. ča·baɫaq," wa·ɫkubaqƛa·ƛquy. ɫapatšiƛquy yaqćaq
the chief he would say after would think he who owned

189. ya·daqk. ?ayči·šƛuw qʷa· ɫapatšiƛх̌u·tiš ?uх̌a·ƛ
the child for many days that thought an idea he

190. yaqćaq ya·daqk. ɫapatšiƛх̌u·tiš ?uх̌q?a ?a?apwe?ik
he who the child he realized it is the barn bird
owned   that

191. ?i?inxʷišćaq ćak̓adu·b, "haɫa·čiƛe?icх̌," ?a?a·tuwqo·,
the small bird   let us ask   he asked

192. "ʔačqa·ɫi·   ʔiyax̌   ʔax̌ki   haʔhapuwe·ʔik   wa·x̌quy
     who   at   here   the wise person   he may say

193. ka·baƚp wax̌quy   haya·kid wa·x̌uwis ti·ki ti·ki ti·ki
    know   he may say we do not what is
                     know

194. wa·. sukʷiƛe·dicx̌ ʔa·ʔapwi·k   ʔux̌ite·ʔicx̌ ʔu·yax̌ukt
    says let us go get the barn bird he will us   tell us

195. wa·x̌uwisi q̇ʷe·ti."   he·, ya·čšiƛ   waƚe·k ʔix̌ʔaq
    what is   Mink   hey   began to leave went   the big
    saying

196. qoʔas da·čukšiƛƛ   ye·tx̌uwis ʔa·puwi·k, ʔiʔinxʷišča
    man   went to look   where lived barn wren it is a small

197. čakadu·b.   wik qi·kʷa·ɫ   hitaqeyiƛ hidi·ksa·ƛ
    bird   not   gone very long came   taking now

198. he· sukaƛt   hitqsu·bƛ čapacaq.   ciqšiƛ   yaqcaq
    hey took him put into   the canoe   spoke   owner of

199. ya·daqk, "wikid   hide·yp wa·x̌aq   ti·čx̌a·bakaqaɫ ʔax̌c
    child   we did find not what was our ransom   that
                         meant to
                         be said

200. ʔu·yuqid haya·k qubuk·bx̌uwis ʔukʷaqɫ ti·ki ti·ki ti·ki
    we   do not what is is   called
            know

201. ba·wquwx̌i   ʔu·yuqid   haya·k wa·x̌uwisi·."   "ʔo šu,"
    what does   it is that do not what he is   oh all
    he mean by it we   know   trying to say

202. ciqšiƛƛ   ƛaʔu   ča·baƚaq   ƛayatšiƛƛ   wa·ƛquy
    spoke   again   the chief   add on to   what he will say

203. ƛisʕa·kaq.   ciqšiƛ q̇ʷe·ti ciqi·te·kaq   ƚabu·kʷ.
    the daylight spoke   Mink   his interpreter Kingfisher

204. "wik   wa·   wik   wa· ʔadiwsiwa· ʔadiwsiwa· ti·ki
    not   say   not   say only says   only says

205. ti·ki   ti·ki   waʔo· ča·baƚaq."   "ʔo· ka·batsa·ƛs,"
                    says   the chief   oh   now I know

206. wa·ƛ ʔa·ʔapwaʔe·k, "kabatso·ƛs wax̌ax̌. ʔux̌ʔa ʔukʷaqɫ
    said the wise bird I know   what he it is called
        the wise man   is trying
                         to say

207. ʔuˑkʷiˑɬaq   ʔadak   siʔiɬ.   ʔux̌ʔa   ʔax̌c
     for making   fire   fire sticks   it is that   that

208. qʷaqʷeyad   tiˑki tiˑki tiˑki waˑ. ʔax̌c   ʔuˑʔaɬka
     making sound   says that   is what
                                                       he wants

209. ʔuyeˑƛuˑsuk   ʔax̌ci.   heˑ   ƛuˑbuqšiƛquyuw   qʷaˑƛquyuw
     you are to   that   hey   began drumming   it would be
     give him

210. qʷaʔaq   ʔuˑx̌saˑƛquyuw   qʷaˑʔaqiyik   ʔayuˑsx̌aq
     the way when it is they   the way   when there is
                                 it is   many in the house

211. ƛuˑbuqšiˑdɬ   ʔat   wikeˑtx̌aq.   heˑtaksta   qʷeˑti.
     keep drumming although   there is   going down   Mink
                               nobody   from roof

212. "ƛaƛaˑdx̌ika," waˑƛ ʔuˑyuq ciqiˑteˑkaq   ṫabuˑkʷ   sukʷiƛ
      keep still   said to   his   Kingfisher   took
                                  interpreter

213. qʷeˑti   yaˑdaqk̇aq   hideˑyibƛqa   ʔaˑdisaˑdax̌aq. "ʔax̌keˑƛa
     Mink   his child   because he   all the kinds   here is now
                          found

214. yaˑdaqk̇aq.   ʔusibid   tiˑki   tiˑki   tiˑki   waʔaq
     the child   we need   that says

215. ʔuyeʔadicx̌   hacseˑʔiyaˑƛ   hideˑʔax̌s."   yuwaˑƛquyuw
     let us give   come here   give it to me   then
     it to him

216. k̇atšiƛ   k̇eʔetqšiƛ   yaˑdaqk̇aq.   "hacseˑƛ   sukaƛ."
     pinch   would yell   the child   come here   take

217. hiˑx̌ʷaɬaˑwiƛƛ   yaqċaq   yaˑdaqk hideˑƛ qʷeˑti yuwaˑƛ
     became strange/ that which child   gave   Mink   then
     burdened   was his

218. hideˑƛ   duˑbayeʔaƛt   ʔaˑdisaˑdax̌aˑkquy tiˑčx̌aˑb   sukʷiƛ
 .   gave   gave all to him   all the kinds   ransom   took

219. yaˑdaqk̇aq.   ʔudaˑkšiƛ   qʷeˑti   ʔadak wikitšiƛeˑsaˑƛ
     the child   now had in   Mink   fire   going to be no more

220. wiˑqsiˑ   buyasaˑdax̌eˑs   wiˑqsiˑ.   ša ʔayašaˑkʷiƛƛ   ya
     wind   going to be   wind   began to name   that
              four kinds of

221. yaqcaq   ya·daqk   hide·ƛ   q̓ʷe·ti   su·kʷiƛ   buyasa·dax̌e·sa·ƛ
     owner   child   now gave   Mink   took   now going to be
     of   four kinds of

222. wi·qsi·   ti·čx̌a·b   ʔudu·ƛ   hide·ƛqa   q̓ʷe·ti   ya·daqk̓aq.
     winds   ransom   because   now has given   Mink   the child

223. ʔu·yuq   qʷisiƚa·bƛqa   q̓ʷe·ti   qʷisiƚa·btquy   nup̓e·   ʔu·yuq
               has done for   Mink   that he did   helped

224. dubisaʔtx̌   hide·yibƛ   ʔadk̓aq,   hide·yibƛ   da·k̓aq
     all inhabitants   found   the fire   found   the mouths/
                                                                 moons

225. hide·yibƛ   haʔub.   ʔa·ƛisa·dax̌i·ƛqa   da·k   c̓awawsx̌a
     found   fish   there will be   moon, sun   one would
                           two kinds

226. hu·px̌iƚa·   c̓awa·k̓ƛ   hupksiƚa   ʔatx̌iyi·c̓aq   da·k.   ʔax̌c
     horizontal   and one   already   that which   moon   that
     movement   set up   belongs to
     of sun   the night

227. ʔudu·ƛuw   qʷa·ƛ   ʔudu·ƛ   ʔux̌qa   q̓ʷe·ti   hi·dač
     is why   that way   because   it is he   Mink   asking

228. kʷisa·siƚa·pabax̌sa·   ʔu·yuq   ʔax̌ki   ʔadu·x̌uwis   disiʔba·k
     wanting to change   this   however large   country

229. dubisa·tx̌aq.   ʔukʷaqƚuw   wi·qsi·,   hix̌at.   ʔo·yibƛ
     where all live   it is called   wind   N.E.   found
                                                      wind

230. q̓ʷe·ti   ("ʔuda·ksa·bektqas")   bu·yasa·dax̌   wi·qsi·   yo·tiʔ,
     Mink   he will let me have   four kinds   wind   north

231. hačƚi,   qʷa·ci·di,   tuči?.   yaqadu·ƛi   ʔax̌ki   qʷa·ƛ
     west   southwest   east   that is why   this   that
                                                                    way

232. wi·qsi·ʔaq   ʔudu·ƛ   ʔux̌qa   q̓ʷe·ti   hi·dač   yaqc̓aq
     the wind   because it was he   Mink   asking   which he owns

233. ya·daqk   ʔuʔalux̌ubtq̓ʔa·.   sukʷiƛ   ya·daqk̓aq   hide·yibx̌
     child   it was his intent   to take   the child   to try get

234. ʔu·yuq   ƛisʕa·k   du·be·ya·x̌   qʷaʔukta·wa·kuwiskid   du·b
               daylight   all kinds   what means we might have   all

235. ʔuda·k   ƛuƚcabs   ƛisʕa·kʷiƛƛquy.   ʔuwiy   qʷiʔiyabax̌sa·quyid
     having   good   when it becomes   go   wherever we want
                things   to go

236. ʔuʔa·tx̌ ʔu·dux̌   qʷiʔiksax̌kid   haʔuk.   ʔax̌c   ʔux̌i·tuwid
     hunting looking   what we could   eat   that   it was he
              for   who did to
                                                            us

237. q̓ʷe·ti   ʔuda·ksa·t   c̓i·dax̌kʷ,   bu·ɬuk.
     Mink   gave us   low tide   high tide

                        Stealing Daylight

       There was continual darkness, no sun, no tides. "How should we

find where the wind comes from?" That's the way it was, continuous wind,

no tides. The people were in a miserable state when trying to fish, not

knowing any navigational guides when fishing far out at sea. For many

years it was that way until all the inhabitants decided, "All right, let

us stop being that way, let's find where the wind comes from, that which

causes us suffering, prevents us from going out to fish. We should all

get together, all who live here, and try to reach the source of that wind

that causes us suffering." Many times they met to discuss it, then all

began to agree, "All right, let's start walking." It was impossible to

go by canoe because the wind was so strong, it was only possible to walk.

"Everyone, all you inhabitants, you will all begin walking, the best way

being if we all reach the source of the wind." They began naming the persons

who would go. Among those mentioned were all the types of ducks and fish of

the sea. At that time all were able to speak to each other using one language.

The plans were settled and decided when they should leave. The ones chosen

to go were Octopus, Skate, the big ducks, and Eagle, all those that were

strong all set out walking. It was Seagull who decided who should come. He

invited all the strong animals; Bear, Wolf, and Cougar all set out. They

walked for many days, for as long as a month. The numbers walking continu-

ally diminished because most were unable to fight the strong wind. Even

the big birds such as Eagle were beaten. Seagull remained, as he was power-

ful against the wind. Those walking, such as strong Bear and Cougar, gave

up. It was not long when there became only four: Mink, Skate, Octopus,
and Seagull. It was said Seagull became a person. They reached their
destination and saw that there was daylight where the wind came from.
Seagull flew, probably flying close to the ground, gliding and soaring,
not flapping his wings. And yet Seagull disappeared, possibly he broke
his wing. Only three were left: Mink, Skate, and Octopus. The three
became stronger, desiring that they reach their destination. They all
carried weapons. They got near and wondered if they should change course
from the wind source, but they found the wind was just as strong when they
got out of its path. That is how Mink got the idea, "Let us fly low, we
will not rush. We will get near the light, we will see whatever it is
that causes our suffering." After a long time they got near, then said,
"All right, that's far enough, we can now see." Here there was a house
with the doors open where the wind came from. On the porch there were
two codfish with their mouths wide open. The doorway was open on the
inside of the codfish which were on both sides. Then he thought, "All
right, I know now how I will arrange this, you will not go in, you will
be on the front path, you will be in front of me, he said to Octopus, you
will follow, Skate. We will crawl, Mink will be first." They were trying
to get rid of the wind so there will be no more. "You (both) will watch
that child swinging, I will take it and we will bring it home." Here
there was an old lady pulling the cradleboard. "All right," said Mink,
"you watch in case somebody follows me. Your purpose for lying here on
the ground is so it will be slippery, if you are stepped on. You will be
that way too, Skate." The top of Skate has scales going one way which is
why Mink turned him about. Mink got near the big codfish that were on
either side, took his medicine and threw it in one mouth, then again in
the other. Then the codfish clamped their mouths together. Now Mink
jumped inside, now he ran to the fire from whence the wind blew. He
threw this medicine in the fire, a medicine called <u>waʕiw</u>. It put the
fire out then there was no more blowing. Mink then took the child that
was swinging. He carried the child, cradleboard and all, outside. Skate
and Octopus began running back, following on the beach Mink who was carry-

ing the child. The three started out home knowing it would be a long trip

carrying Mink's child. Here the day was different, it was not daylight,

there was darkness when they first left. Attempting to go back, Mink

realized the day was different, it was now daylight. They walked, reaching

Skate's home and a little later to Octopus' home. Mink was by himself,

carrying the stolen child. He stole the child because they were trying to

restore daylight, the darkness was now gone. Mink reached his home and put

the child in the jumper cradleboard, the child now swinging again as he had

found it. It was Mink's mother who pulled (the string to rock the child).

He then made secure his entrance because he knew someone was coming. It

was possible that many persons could be looking for Mink and possibly would

kill him because he was now known as the child kidnapper. Mink readied his

home, made it tight, secure. He then fixed both sides of his home with drums.

The drums were to beat on their own making it appear that there was a large

number of people in the house, although only Mink was there. He still had

the child. The house was prepared, all the knot holes plugged so that no

person could watch him. It wasn't many days when they came, Mink already

prepared, got ready to meet his visitors. They came in many canoes, each

with a full load. It was then that Mink got on the roof and began pulling

the string rigged up for his make-believe drummers. He had only to pull

and many drums sounded, making it appear that many people were there, al-

though only Mink, his mother, and the stolen child were there. The person

looking for the child got there because news probably got around that it

was Mink who stole the child. For a long time he looked asking, "Where

is the child?", that is why Mink was able to be ready, he had immediately

begun testing his scheme. He saw the party of canoes coming now, they

arrived landing at Mink's beach front. Their bows landed on the beach but

they remained in their canoes. Mink then got on his roof, then indoors one

could hear the sounds hooooooooooooooooo, hooooooooooooooooo, hoooooooooooooo,

accompanied with drum beating; it appeared that a large crowd was there.

The canoe travellers were afraid to approach. When the drumming was through

Mink's mother would pinch the child causing it to cry. The feelings of the

parents would be extremely hurt. Then Mink would get on the roof. "Oh, oh,

Chief, oh, oh, Chief, give us back our child. We are looking for you, we heard that you took him. Is he all right? Is he all right? Give him back, we have come to get him. You will say whatever it is you desire, you will tell us what you want, we will give it to you," said the speaker. The chief from the canoes then spoke, "We have for sustenance the daylight because of the rising of the sun or moon. As many days as it rises it becomes night again, therefore another day the same as the last, becoming light, then dark. If that is what you desire, tell us. We have come to give it to you." Again Mink got on the roof. Kingfisher who was his translator spoke, "He says only ti·ki, ti·ki." Mink said this keeping in mind that he wanted fire. The chief who came by canoe told him that the tide would come up and go down, that it would be windy in both directions, no longer blowing in one direction. "Because the tides change you will be able to hunt whatever you please." Mink got on the roof again, gave the interpreter that which he wished, said, "He only says ti·ki, ti·ki." The chief did not know what he meant by ti·ki, ti·ki, ti·ki, ti·ki. Then he spoke again offering another ransom, four months three times to make twelve months, each with their particular purpose in supplying food, even in the forests. "Give us our child, I will give you back four months of winter, four months of summer and four months of fishing." Then Kingfisher would speak. "He only says ti·ki, ti·ki, that is what he wants." Hey, the chief would speak again, naming the way it would be. "It will be daylight, winter, snowing, and raining, no persons will be poor. There will be plenty of fish in the rivers coming from the sea. That is what you will eat, that is my ransom in order that our child could live." Still he did not appear on the roof, only the sound of many drums was heard. Kingfisher spoke, "He only said ti·ki, ti·ki, ti·ki, the chief." The parents of the child would then ponder deeply. This went on for many days, then the father had an idea. He asked, "Who is a wise person here, who can say what is meant by ti·ki, ti·ki, ti·ki? Let us get the barn bird, he will tell us what Mink is trying to say." Off went the big man to look for Barn Wren, a small bird. He wasn't gone long when he came carrying the bird and placing it in the canoe. The child's parent spoke saying, "We haven't discovered what is wanted for the ransom, we do

not know what is meant by ti·ki, ti·ki, ti·ki." "Oh, all right," (said

the wren), so the chief spoke again and offered in addition the daylight.

Then Mink's interpreter, Kingfisher, spoke. "He only says ti·ki, ti·ki,

ti·ki, the chief." "Oh, now I know what he is trying to say. One makes

that noise when making fire, when using sticks. It is that which makes a

noise like ti·ki, ti·ki, ti·ki. That is what he wishes that you give him."

The drums began drumming, just as one would hear if the house were full.

Mink went down the roof. Telling his interpreter to stay put he took the

child because he was already promised many things. "Here is your child,

now give us that which goes ti·ki, ti·ki, ti·ki." He then pinched the

child and made it scream. The child's father, overwrought with anxiety,

gave Mink all he had promised after he received the child. Mink was now

to have fire, there was no longer a continuous wind, but four different kinds.

The child's father began naming the winds and all that which he gave as

ransom for his child. That being done for Mink provided all the inhabitants

with fire, the months, and fish for food. There would be two kinds of suns,

one would go horizontal and the other would set, the night moon. It is that

way because Mink who asked for it, wanting to change the country and its

people. It is called the wind, northeast wind.[1] Mink founded four kinds

of winds: yo·ti? -- the north, hač̓ɬi -- the west, qʷa·ci·di -- the south-

east, tuc̓i? -- the east. That is why the wind is that way, because Mink

asked the person owning the child. He took the child in order to get day-

light that all would have the good things which daylight brings. We can go

wherever we want to hunt food. It is said it was Mink who brought us the

tides.

---

[1] The original wind, the one they have been trying to change, was the north-
east wind.

KWAK'WALA

Robert D. Levine

British Columbia Provincial Museum

The material for the following text was gathered during autumn
and winter of 1976 and late spring of 1977. The story is the property of
Mr. Thomas Hunt (N̓əged^{Z}i yak̓əwa) of Fort Rupert, B.C., and came into his
family's possession through a Tlingit great-grandmother. It is part of the
great Raven cycle of the northern NW Coast, but has been recast, not only
in the language of the Kwaguł but in their mythic tradition as well.[1]

The text as given here represents a 'composite' of material given
by Mr. Hunt and by his wife, Mrs. Emma Hunt (Max̌ʷəla?oǧʷa). Lines [2-8]
represent material supplied by Mrs. Hunt, who described this material as an
essential part of the story. It would appear that Mr. Hunt perhaps assumed
knowledge of the setting on my part and hence omitted the explanatory mate-
rial offered by Mrs. Hunt.

I wish to express here my gratitude to the Hunts for the cheerful-
ness and patience with which they approached both the problems posed by the
analysis of this text in particular, and our linguistic collaboration in
general. Both of them have, at one time or another, expressed the desire
that my presentation of the analyzed story should be as accurate and careful
as possible before being published, and to that end devoted a great deal of
time to assisting me with the continual revision of the analysis.

I am also indebted to the work of Franz Boas and George Hunt.
The results of their collaboration (in which the part of Hunt has not,

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[1] Refer to Boas on the Southern vs. the Northern tradition of the demiurge
in the introduction to Memoirs of the American Folklore Society, volume 6,
1898.

I suspect, ever been fully recognized) was what seems to me the most bril-

liant analysis in the history of Amerindian studies in the years before the

Second World war. In particular, Boas' 1911 sketch[1] seems to me to over-

shadow most of the other material in the Handbook, .and even granting the

difficult format in which the analysis is presented, making it hard to use

for those without some firsthand experience of Kwakʼwala, it is a masterful

work. I owe thanks to Stephen Anderson for making available to me a copy

of Boas' unpublished Kwakʼwala dictionary, edited by Helen Boas Yampolsky,

now in the American Philosophical Library Boas collection.

Kwakʼwala: a brief sketch.

        Strictly speaking, the name Kwakʼwala refers to the speech of the

Native community at Ft. Rupert, B.C. It has, however, become much more

widely applicable within the past several generations, replacing fellow

dialects on the Southern Coast. At present no well-documented figures

exist for the Kwakʼwala speakership.

        Kwakʼwala is a member of the Wakashan family, and displays typi-

cally Wakashan grammatical features. Words are assignable to two major

classes: particles, with extremely limited inflectional possibilities,

and roots, which permit extensive inflectional and derivational suffixation.

Within any given sentence-like structure, a stem is given predicative status

through the use of certain inflectional paradigms; the other words are rela-

ted to the meaning of the predicate through the use of inflectional suffixa-

tion and particles. Predicates are generally the leftmost element in senten-

ces, immediately followed by those words which are shown to be their subjects

by correlative deictic suffixation.

(1) we, ləʔəm mayaxəlida ǧaǧəmp x̌is c̓ux̌ʷʌəma
     Well, now the grandfather respects his grandson.   (Lines 39-41)

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[1] Boas, Franz. 1911c. Kwakiutl. Handbook of American Indian Languages
    (BAE-B 40) 1.423-557.

Full words can be formally described as composed of a single root
followed, either optionally or obligatory (depending on the root) by one or
more suffixes. Apart from reduplication, suffixation is the only active
morphological process in Kwakwala. The suffixes correspond to what, in Sali-
shan languages, are called lexical suffixes, but such a label seems inadequate
for a language like Kwakwala. There is nothing particularly well-defined
about these suffixes as a set *vis-a-vis* other sets. In terms of meaning they
range from the extremely circumscribed to the most elusively general and
abstract; some are highly productive, some are very widely distributed with-
out being particularly productive; still others are restricted in their
occurrence. While general differences exist between inflectional and non-
inflectional sets, the difference is one of degree and a spectrum exists
between the poles. Thus, between personal/deictic suffixes and tense suf-
fixes, which are extremely productive, and certain idiosyncratic forms which
are highly limited in their distribution (e.g. -mp in g̃ag̃əmp *grandfather*),
one finds subsets of the vast group of suffixes outlining spatial definition
which are almost as productive as the tense forms, and, conversely, a certain
lack of predictability in the distribution of the aspect suffixes -x̌ʔid and
-l. The latter suffixes, though widely distributed, cannot be said for cer-
tain to form a single position class, unlike the spatial markers -iɫ *in the
house*, -is *on the beach* and -ʔs *up the bush*. In general, the more produc-
tive, inflectional-type suffixes appear to cluster in classes in the rightward
portion of the word, but at present this formulation cannot be made more
detailed.

Within the personal inflectional suffixes an elaborate deictic
subcategorization exists, based -- at least in theory -- on considerations
of visibility and of proximity to the participants in the speech situation.
There are three degrees of proximity -- nearness to the speaker, to the
hearer and to someone outside the speech situation -- and a possible visible
or invisible value to each (although not in all paradigms):

(2) c̓əwənʎasək x̌a bəgʷanəm
     I give it (near me, visible to me) to the man.

(3)   čəwənλasga x̌a bəg^wanəm

I give it (near me, invisible to me) to the man.

This subcategorization applies, with some modification, throughout the prono-
minal suffix system and also, in a more limited way, to the particles which
fuse specifications for constituent marking, deixis and possessive functions,
though rarely all three simultaneously. In practice, most of the distinctions
possible are overlooked in ordinary conversation; thus 2nd person proximate/
visible forms are used habitually to refer to most things going on near the
conversation, regardless of relative proximity to speaker or hearer.

        A second important type of distinction in the inflectional suffixes
is that between indicative and possessive suffixes, to use traditional terms —
terms which are probably not the best for Kwakwala. It is true that certain
suffixes are employed in the assertion of possession, but these suffixes are
also used to form subordinate constructions which have full sentential status;
they are not nominalizations. Thus, *your father's sick* would be čəx̣ǧus
ʔɔmpaqus if your father were present in the speech situation and visible. The
stem čəx-ǧ receives possessive inflection -us with a corresponding deictic
and possessive inflection of ʔo-mp *father* by suffixation of -q-us. Note how-
ever the form ḷiλaqus *you are going to go*, or, in line 13, the complement
construction qa ḷeλəs... *for that, will ...*; in both cases a possessive suf-
fix confers some kind of subordinate status on the predication. It also appears
that possessive suffixes contribute some sense of agency in cases where they
produce nominal translations, as in

(4)   məxʔicəwas   *what he hit*
(5)   məxʔicəwi   *he was hit*

in which the first is marked with the 3rd person invisible possessive suffixes
which appears on syntactically nominal forms.

        It has been mentioned previously that non-predicates are grammatically
linked to the predicate through the use of suffixes in the predicate or through
the use of particles. Such non-predicates (which may be referred to as nomi-
nals, so long as this label is understood to indentify syntactic status in a
particular sentence) fill one of four possible functions: subject, object,

oblique and complement. The latter function may also be filled by a sentence-
like construction, which is not true of the first three. Subjects are indi-
cated by an apparent clustering of suffixes within the predicate: -ga-da
for proximity to the speaker, -uX̌ʷ-da for proximity to the hearer and -i-da
for proximity to a third person. A series of particles with initial segment
X̌- marks the object construction:

(6) doqʷəlaxdi X̌a bəgʷanəm *He saw the, a man.*

while another series, based on s-, marks the oblique:

(7) n̓əp̓iƛənƛa sa t̓isəm   *I will throw the rock.*
(8) ƛaxʷəla sis ǧaǧəmp   *He's loved by his grandfather.*   (lines 38-39)

The oblique series appears to create a special connection between the nomi-
nal it marks and the predicate, indicating an attenuated but still important
role for the former in the situation delimited by the predicate. It is
significant that when a goal-focus suffix appears in the predicate, the nomi-
nal which would have been the subject of the unmarked predicate appears pre-
ceded by the oblique particle

(9) m̓əx̌ʔidida gənanəma X̌a gəldas   *The child punched the box.*
(10) m̓əx̌ʔicəwida gəldasa sa gənanəm   *The box was punched by the child.*

sa is also used to form genitive constructions:

    ʔog̓ʷəmayas sa gukʷ   *the front of the house.*

        There are, as well, several series of purely pronominal suffixes
which enable the roles of subject, object and oblique to be filled completely
within the predicate. Significantly, that for the instrumental has the shape
-s. Without going into details, it is sufficient to note that much of what
appears to be suffixation in Kwak̓wala, particularly in the paradigm specify-
ing the status of the nominal immediately following the predicate, actually
seems to be the result of the encliticization of a series of particles.
        There are two suffixes in Kwak̓wala whose function is to allow
constituents which, in the absence of this suffix, would be marked as objec-

tive or oblique to appear as the subject of the predicate. The suffix -su

applies to a predicate to permit an objective nominal to function as the sub-

ject; as in example (10). The suffix -(a)yu ~ -yə fulfills the same function

for nominals which would otherwise be marked as oblique.

(11) c̓əwida bəgʷanəma sa gəldas *The man gives the box.*
but
(12) c̓oyəwida gəldasa bəgʷanəm *The box is given by the man.*

There is some reason to suppose that -su and -(a)yu perform a function ana-

logous to nominalization. The negative form kiyose generally translates

there's no... and must be followed by forms containing -su or (a)yu, or

containing one of a set of nominal endings, the name of some object, or some

uninflected form of the predicate. Furthermore, -ayu functions extremely pro-

ductively to create names applied to various instruments or utensils: m̓əxa

strike, m̓ənayu *drum* (with x softened to n) and so on.

There are a number of predicates which may be conveniently labelled

auxiliaries. Most of these have fairly limited derivational possibilities:

ʔo- *undirected*, ƛu- *intensive*, k̓iʔs- *not*. The root 1-, which means *go*, is

also used as an auxiliary indicating that the clause in which it appears iden-

tifies a new or changed state of affairs from what went on previously. This

sense is no doubt associated with the transitional element which also emerges

in the use of this form to indicate *go* and, in a somewhat less obvious fashion,

as the basis for the *indirect* series:

(13) lanaxʷaʔi ci laX̌a q̓uɬusto *She sometimes goes to dip water from a spring.*

(lines 10-11)

where *from the-*, as well as *to the-*, *on the-* and other such relations are

expressed by an apparent compounding of 1- with the objective X̌- series.

While I have supplied the glosses *now* and *go* for, respectively, the auxiliary

and non auxiliary uses of 1-, it should be understood that they are the same

form.

In addition to the auxiliary predicates there are a number of forms

in Kwak̓wala which have deictic significance. yu- and hi- seem to be generally

used for reference to situations respectively proximate to and distal with

respect to the speech situation. hi- is also used in a much more abstract

fashion as a general demonstrative and, in the ǧucala dialect at least, as a

sort of co-ordinate form in discourse.

        Subordinate forms occur in Kwakwala and present many difficulties.

In 3rd person forms a common indication of subordination is the appearance

of -a- following the stem and preceding the 3rd person invisible demonstrative

suffix -i. However, this construction often occurs in predicates whose

subordinate status is not evident (c.f. the sentence which begins with

ləma?i in line 8.) I have therefore made a distinction in the gloss

between *subordinate* and *narrative* for this -a-. In Skidegate Haida narra-

tives are frequently composed of long strings of dependent (i.e., subordi-

nate) clauses, and the same may be true of Kwakwala, but the situation is

not so clear for the latter. Another difficulty concerns the status of

the -i suffix which in first person (subordinate?) constructions seems to

be associated with the possessive suffix:

(14)   ləmigən pusq̓ək   *I'm hungry*.

Boas (1911) distinguishes this -i from another, which he characterizes as

a nominal ending: ǧʷigili *what is done*, ?oǧʷəmi *front* and so on. This

analysis seems to be well motivated, but Boas further chooses to regard the

-i which precedes the tense suffix in forms such as

(15)   ləmiλaqus *You will go*.

as the same nominal ending, appearing to the left of the inflectional suf-

fixes. However, the future form of predicates containing the -i-gən

sequence is illustrated by the sentence

(16)   ləmiλgən pusq̓ək. *I will be hungry*.

Boas describes the -i in this type of construction as a postnominal demon-

strative; it is somewhat curious, then, that a postnominal precedes a tense

suffix, as -i precedes -λ in (16). Moreover, (16) is parallel to (15)

and to liλəs *he will go* for the third person. Boas, however, identified

i with the overt postnominal -i which appears as the correlate of first

person possessive suffixes in predicates subject to a somewhat different

subordinate inflection. The gaps in both subordinate paradigms are parallel:

where -i does not appear postnominally in one paradigm it does not appear

within the predicate in the other. The appearance of a postnominal to the

left of a tense suffix is not accounted for, however: as far as I am aware

elements which appear both postnominally and as pronominal forms always

appear to the right of the tense suffix. On the other hand, the identifi-

cation of -i in the sequences -i-λ-aqus, -i-λ-s as the nominal ending is

not certain. I have therefore glossed -i generally as *subordinate* in the

text, deferring more precise differentiation until the data are clearer.

It should be noted that discourse in Kwak̓wala texts is conside-

rably more cryptic than what one encounters in ordinary discourse, insofar

as inflectional suffixation is concerned. In particular, tense and 3rd

person demonstrative forms are frequently omitted. There is also a tendency

to omit the postpredicate subject, which context will make clear. In general,

myths in Kwak̓wala represent a highly specialized style of speaking, charac-

terized by the omissions here noted, but also by great lexical richness.

Raven Steals the Sun

1. ləm̓əns   n̓usʔiλ   n̓uyəma sa   λingət x̌a

    now we   will tell   story   of   Tlingit about

    l-a-ʔəm-əns   n̓us-xʔid-λ   n̓us-əm sa   λingət x̌a

    now-word-OI-[1]   tell-transit-   tell-   Tlingit objective
    inclusive   ion-future   source oblique

2. g̓ʷaw̓ina.   lə̓ʔoɬa   ʔal q̓ala   x̌a   n̓əmukʷ

    Raven   had   he   hear about   the   one

    g̓ʷax̌ʷ-ina   l-uɬ-a   ʔal q̓al-a   x̌a   n̓əm-ukʷ

    raven-form   now-remote   3p   hear of-word objective one-human
                    past-word

---
[1] old information.

3. gigǝmayi   laǧa   n̓ǝm   ?ǝẃinagʷis   laǧa   gʷeńakʷ

   chief   in   one   village   in the   north

   giq-ǧǝmi   l-a-ǧa   n̓ǝm   ?o-ina-kʷ-is   l-a-ǧa   gʷe-ńakʷ

   chief-fore-   go-word-   one   locative-form-   go-word-   north/down-
   most   objective   zone-beach/ocean objective   river-?

4. yǝǧs   ?aǧanugʷada?as   ƛisʊla

   the   has   sun

   yǝǧ-(ǧ-) s   ?aǧ-a-nukʷ-ad-a sa   ƛis-l-a

   apposition-   things-word-has-has-   shine/heat-
   (subordinate-) 3p subordinate ending,   continuous-word
   3p possessive oblique

5. ǧʷix?ida?as   ńax?idam̓asa   ǧʷa   ?ǝẃinagʷisiǧ

   the doing   make lit up   the   world

   ǧʷi-x?id-a-?as   ńax-x?id-am̓as   ǧʷa   ?o-ina-kʷ-is-iǧ

   identity-transit-   light up-transition- hearer proxim- locative-form-
   ion-word-nominal   causative   ate objective   zone-beach/oc-
   ending   ean-postnominal

6. we   lǝ?ǝm   laƛa?ax?id   laǧa   ?ǝẃinagʷis.

   well   now   travels   to the   village

   we   l-a-?ǝm   l-a-ƛa?a-x?id   l-a-ǧa   ?o-ina-kʷ-is

   narrative   now-word-   go-word-destin-   go-word-   locative-form-
   interjection OI   ation-transiton   objective   zone-beach/ocean

7. lǝ?ǝm   q̓ala   qis   kidiɬnukʷa?ida

   now   hear about that   has a princess

   l-a-?ǝm   q̓al-a   qis   k̓id-iɬ-nukʷ-a-i-da

   now-word-OI   hear of-word complement princess-in house-has-
                                          3p subordinate ending-
                                          3p invisible-prenominal

8. gigǝmayi.   lǝma?i   q̓iq̓a?iqǝla   qa?s

   chief   now   worries   about

   giq-ǧǝmi   l-a-?ǝm-a-i   q̓a-iq-l-a   qa?s

   chief-foremost now-word-OI- aware-goal in   complement
                 narrative-3p in- mind-continuous-
                 visible   word

9. doqʷaɬa   laga   qa?s   ǧʷix?ida?as

   figure out   must   about   what to do

   doqʷ-aɬ-a   l-a-ga   qa?s   ǧʷi-x?id-a-?as

   see-?stative- now-word- complement identity-transition-
   word   imperative   word-nominal ending

10. x̌a   ƙidiɫ   lanax̌ʷa?i   ci   lax̌a

     to   princess   She sometimes goes   dip   in

     x̌a   ƙid-iɫ   1-a-nax̌ʷ-a-i   ci   1-a-x̌a

     to   princess-in house   go-word-sometimes-narrative dip   go-word-
                                 3p invisible   objective

11. ƙuɫusto.   we,   ləmida   ǧʷaẃina

     spring   well   now   Raven

     ƙuɫ-gusto   we   1-a-?əm-i-da   ǧʷax̌ʷ-ina

     bubble-upward   narrative   now-word-OI-3p   raven-form
                      interjection   invisible-prenominal

12. sƏngƏ?a   qis   leλa   cixiɫcis

     realizes   that   she'll go   dip her

     sƏn-gƏ?-a   qis   1-a-i-λ-a   ci-x?id-λ sis

     think-focus on- complement   go-subordinate ending- dip-transition-
     word   subordinate-future-word future, 3p oblique
                                                              possessive

13. cayaƈi   lax̌a   wap   qa   leλƏs

     pail   in   water   for that   will

     ci-aƈi   1-a-x̌a   . wa-p   qa   1-a-i-λ-s

     dip-volume   go-word-   water-?still complement now-subordinate end-
                      objective   ing-subordinate-fut-
                                                           ure-3p possessive

14. ƙʷƏpstaλida   ḱamuma,   ḱamuma

     will fall into the water needles   (see preceding word)

     ƙʷƏp-?sta-λ-i-da   ḱa-m-?oma

     fall-water-future-   loose object/stick-
     3p invisible-prenominal plural-class

15. sa   ƙʷax?as.   ẃisẃƏɫtuɱƏnixʷ   ĺa.

     of   hemlock   narrow   now

     sa   ƙʷax̌-?as   ẃisẃƏɫ-tu-mƏnixʷ   ĺ-a

     oblique hemlock-?place narrow-lots-small (plural) now-word

16. ĺƏ?Əm   ńax̌?idida   gƏnanƏmǧas,

     now   drinks the   child

     1-a-?əm   ńaq-x?id-i-da   gƏn-anƏm-ǧas

     now-word-OI   drink-transition-3p   child-person-female
                    invisible-prenominal

17. x̌a   k̓idiⱡ.   ciʔstaṁaẃisλa   sis

     the   princess   first dips in waⱱer   her

     x̌a   k̓id-iⱡ   ci-ʔsta-ʔəm-a-ẃis-λa   sis

     objective   princess-in house   dip-water-OI-word-   3p oblique
                                         hence-discrepency   possessive

18. cayači   lax̌a   wap   qaʔs   ṅax̌ʔidiq.

     pail   in the   water   to   drink it

     ci-ači   1-a-x̌a   wa-p   qaʔs   ṅaq-xˇʔid-iq

     dip-volume   go-word-   water-ʔstill   complement   drink-transition-
                 objective   3p proximate visible
                                                     object

19. 1ə̓ʔəm   cixʔid   qaʔs   laʔi   dalaq

     now   dip   so   she   carry it

     1-a-ʔəm   ci-xʔid   qaʔs   1-a-i   da-1-a-q

     now-word-OI   dip-trans-   complement   now-subordinate   hold-continu-
                 ition   ending-3p invisible   ous-word-3p
                                                           promimate invis-
                                                          ible object

20. x̌a   wap.   ǧəyuⱡamaʔi   q̓oλəlida

     the   water   from way back   knows, the

     x̌a   wa-p   ǧəy-uⱡ-ʔəm-a-i   q̓oλ-1-i-da

     objective   water-ʔstill   long ago-remote   know-sense-3p in-
                                 past-OI-narrative-   visible-prenominal
                                 3p invisible

21. ẃəq̓es   laʔi   ṅiⱡəla   x̌a   ǧʷaẃina

     frog   he   tell   the   Raven

     ẃəq̓-es   1-a-i   ṅiⱡ-1-a   x̌a   ǧʷax̌ʷ-ina

     frog-nominal   now-narrative-   tell-contin-   objective   raven-form
     ending   3p invisible   uous-word

22. sa   gax̌ṁeλi.   we,   1ə̓ʔəm

     that   she will come   well   now

     sa   gax-ʔəm-a-i-ⱡ-i   we   1-a-ʔəm

     oblique   come-OI-subordinate end-   narrative   now-word-OI
            ing-subordinate-future-   interjection
            3p invisible

23. ṅeṅakʷ.   "ya,   λuṁa   la   ʔoǧʷəqaⱡən

     go home   hey   really   now   different I

     ṅe(-)ṅakʷ   ya   λu-ʔəm-a   1-a   ʔoǧʷəq-aⱡ-ən

     go home   hey   intensive-OI-   now-word   different-ʔstative-
                     word   speaker

24. ğʷigd^Zas   yawixələn   təkix̌."

feeling   moving around my   stomach

ğʷi-gs-ʔas   yawix-1-ən   təki-x̌

identitiy-cond-   move-continuous-   stomach-hearer
ition-nominal end-   non-speaker prox-   proximate postnominal
ing   imate speaker pos-
                sessive

25. lə?əm   q̓ayax̌uləm   lagiɫas   bəwixʷ?id

now   wonder   why   is pregnant

1-a-?əm   q̓ayax̌-uləm   1-a-giɫ-as   bu-(i)kʷ-x?id

now-word-OI   wonder-source/   now-word-reason-   pregnant-condition-
           plural   3p possessive   transition

26. k̓iyose   bəgʷanəm   laq.   k̓i?s   ğeɫa

there was no   man   there   not   long

k̓iyose   bək̓ʷ-anəm   1-a-q   k̓i?s   ğəy-aɫ-a

not any   man-person   go-word-3p   not   long-?stative-
                     visible object   word

27. bəwikʷ .   lə?əm   mayuɫ?id

pregnant   now   is born

bu-(i)kʷ   1-a-?əm   mayuɫ-x?id

pregnant-condition   now-word-OI   born-transition

28. walad^Zilbad^Zəy̓is   x̌ʷənukʷix̌.   walad^Zi.

has big nose   child   big

walas-iɫba-d^Zi-is   xʷənukʷ-ix̌   walas-d^Zi

big-point-big-his   child-hearer prox-   big-big
                  imate postnominal

29. lə?əm   n̓iksu   qa?s   k̓ilax?idsəwi

now   is told   so that   it's to be killed

1-a-?əm   n̓ik-su   qa?s   k̓ila-x?id-su-i

now-word-OI   tell-goal focus   complement   kill by stabbing-trans-
                                   ition-goal focus-nomin-
                                   al ending

30. k̓isa?i   ?iksta?akʷis   bək̓ʷənayi   ?əwuxʷsid^Zi

not he   look right his   body   really big feet

k̓is-a-i   ?ik-sta?akʷ-is   bək̓ʷ-ina-i   ?əwu (replacing
                                   ?o)-xsis-i

not-narrative-   good-appear-his   man-form-nom-   locative (indic-
3p invisible   inal ending   ating great magnitude)-
                                     feet-nominal ending

31. yə$\check{x}$gada   bebi. $?$əwux^{w}sid^{z}i.

this   baby   (see line 30)

yə$\check{x}$-ga-da   bebi

apposition-speaker   English vocab-
proximate-prenominal   ulary item

32. walasida   xənd^{z}as. $\overset{\text{o}}{k}$i$?$s   hi$\frac{1}{+}$$\dot{q}$ala

big is   nose   not   want

walas-i-da   xəns-$?$as $\overset{\text{o}}{k}$i$?$s   hi$\frac{1}{+}$-$\dot{q}$a-1-a

big-3p invisib-   breath through   not   right-feel-contin-
le prenominal   nose-$?$place   uous word

33. $\overset{\text{o}}{m}$umasicəwis   mayuλəm   qa$?$s   1ə$\overset{\text{o}}{m}$a$?$i

be hurt her   child   because   now she

$\overset{\text{o}}{m}$umas-x$?$id-su-is   mayuλ-əm   qa$?$s   1-a-$?$əm-a-i

destroy-transition-goal   be born-source   complement   now-word-OI-
focus-3p possessive   subordinate-
                                                 3p invisible

34. $\frac{1}{+}$ax^{w}əlanux^w$?$ic, $\check{x}$a $\overset{\text{o}}{k}$idi$\frac{1}{+}$. $\overset{\text{o}}{k}$i$?$s   hi$\frac{1}{+}$$\dot{q}$ala

love him   the   princess   not   want

$\frac{1}{+}$ax^w-1-a-nuk^w-x$?$id sa $\check{x}$a $\overset{\text{o}}{k}$id-i$\frac{1}{+}$ $\overset{\text{o}}{k}$i$?$s   hi$\frac{1}{+}$-$\dot{q}$a-1-a

serious-continuous-word-   objective   princess-in   not   right-feel-
have-transition, oblique   the house   continuous-
                                                 word

35. $\overset{\text{o}}{m}$umasicəwi   1ə$\overset{\text{o}}{m}$a$?$i $\dot{q}$aya$\check{x}$uləm $\overset{\text{o}}{k}$i$?$s$\overset{\text{o}}{t}$a$?$ak^{w}a$?$i

he be killed   now   causes surprise   he doesn't look

$\overset{\text{o}}{m}$umas-x$?$id-su-i   1-a-$?$əm-a-i $\dot{q}$aya$\check{x}$-uləm $\overset{\text{o}}{k}$i$?$s-s$\overset{\text{o}}{t}$a$?$ak^w-a-i

destroy-transit-   now-word-OI-nar-   wonder-source   not-appear-narra-
ion-goal focus-3p   ative-3p invisible   tive-3p invisible
invisible

36. $?$ikis $\breve{g}^w$igd^{z}as $?$əwud^{z}i

good his   being   really big

$?$ik-is $\breve{g}^w$i-gs-$?$as $?$əwu (replac-
                                      ing $?$o)-d^{z}i

good-3p pos-   identity-condi-   locative (indic-
sessive   tion-nominal ending   ating great magnitude)-
                                          big

37. xənd^zas   ʔəwux^wsis   lɔʔəm

    nose   big feet   now

    xʋns-ʔas   ʔəwu (replac-   l-a-ʔəm
               ing ʔo)-xsis
    breath through   now-word-OI
    nose-ʔplace   locative (indicat-
                 ing great magnitude)-
                 feet

38. haɫagustʋwida   gənanəm.   ɫax^wəla   sis

    grows fast the   child   loved   by his

    haɫa-gusto-i-da   gən-anəm   ɫax^w-l-a   sis

    rapidly-upward-3p   serious-con-   3p oblique
    invisible-prenominal   child-person   tinuous-word   possessive

39. ǧaǧəmp,   ɫax^wʋla sis ǧaǧəmp   haɫagusto.   we,

    grandfather   (see preceding line for   grow fast   well
                 gloss.)
    ǧaǧ-mp   haɫa-gusto   we

    grandparent-re-   rapidly-up-   narrative
    lationship   ward   interjection

40. lɔʔəm   mayaxəlida   ǧaǧəmp   x̌is

    now   respects   grandfather   his

    l-a-ʔəm   mayax-l-i-da   ǧaǧ-mp   x̌is

    now-word-OI   respect-continuous-   grandparent-   3p objective-
                3p invisible-prenominal   relationship   possessive

41. čux^wƛəma.   lɔʔəm   q̓^was,   q̓^was.   laňax^waňaʔas

    grandson   now   cries   cries   now sometimes

    čuk^w-ƛəma   l-a-ʔəm   q̓^was   q̓^was   l-a-ňax^wa-ʔəm-a-as

    grandchild-ʔ   now-word-OI   cries   cries   now-word-sometimes-OI-
                                           ʔnarrative-3p posses-
                                           ive

42. ʔalaq   y̓axʔid.   weƛiňasʔid   qaʔis

    nearly   dies   get weak   from

    ʔalaq   y̓ag-xʔid   weƛ-ʔimas-xʔid   qa-is

    nearly   bad-transition   weak-class-   complement-3p
                        transition   possessive

43. q̓^wačinayi.   q̓^was.   ňikis   ʔax̌ʔix̌sdaʔa

    crying   cries   say   want

    q̓^was-ina-i   q̓^was   ňik-is   ʔax̌-ʔix̌sd-a-a

    cry-form-nomin-   cries   say-3p pos-   things-want-word-
    al ending   sessive   possessive postnominal

44. x̌a   tigʷił   gəldas.   we   lə?əm

     the   hanging   box   well,   now

     x̌a   tigʷ-ił   gəldas   we   1-a-?əm

     objective   hang-in the box   narrative   now-word-OI
                  house   interjection

45. ċowi   ǧaǧəmpas   qa?s   mayaxəla

     gives   his grandfather   because   respect

     ċo-i   ǧaǧ-mp-as   qa?s   mayax-1-a

     give-3p   grandparent-rela-   complement   respect-con-
     possessive   tionship-3p posses-   tinuous-word
                  sive postnominal

46. x̌is   ċuxλəma.   lə?əm   doxʷwaλəla

     his   grandson   now   suddenly sees

     x̌is   ċux-λəma   1-a-?əm   doqʷ-aλəl-a

     3p object-   grandchild-   now-word-OI see-suddenly-word
     ive possessive ?

47. x̌ʷa   tutux̌ʷ   giċo   lax̌a

     the   stars   inside   the

     x̌ʷa   tutu-x̌   gi-ċo   1-a-x̌a

     objective   star-hearer   situated-inside go-word-ob-
                  proximate post-   jective
                  nominal

48. gəldas.   lə?əm   k̓ami?stalaq.   k̓ak̓agustola.

     box   now   throws them around.   keeps tos-
                                                      ing them up

     gəlt-?as   1-a-?əm   k̓a-m-i?sta-1-a-q   k̓a-redup-gusto-
                                                      1-a
     long-nominal now-word-OI throw granular mater-
     ending   ial-plura-motion-con- throw granular
                               tinuous-word-3p object material-re-
                                                      peatedly-upward-
                                                      continuous-word

49. ?amłas   k̓ak̓agustola, k̓ak̓agustola   ləm̓a?i

     plays with them (see preceding line for gloss.)   now

     ?amł-a sa   1-a-?əm-
                                                         a-i
     play-word, oblique
                                                         now-word-OI
                                                         narrative

50. k̓agsudəs   laǎa   kʷanas.   lɔʔəm

    throws them through   the   smokehole   now

    k̓a-gsu-d sa   1-a-ǎa   kʷax-ʔas   1-a-ʔəm

    throw granular   go-word-ob-   smoke-place   go-word-OI
    material-through,   jective
    oblique

51. ʔik̓iʔsta   ẏum̓is   la   l̓uǧʷda

    go into the   hence are   now   are
    sky   here
                                          1-a   l̓-uǧʷ-da
    ʔik̓-iʔst-a   ẏu-ʔəm-w̓is
                                          now-word   now-3p visible-
    above-motion-   here-OI-hence   prenominal
    word

52. t̓ut̓uǧʷ.   we,   lɔʔəm   k̓iʔs   n̓axʔidam̓as

    stars   well   now   not   make daylight

    t̓ut̓u-ǧ   we   1-a-ʔəm   k̓iʔs   n̓ak-xʔid-a-m̓as

    star-hearer   narrative   now-word-OI   not   light up-transition-
    proximate   interjection   transition-word-
    postnominal   causative

53. ǧɔns   n̓alaǎ   ʔom̓a

    our   daylight   just

    ǧɔns   n̓a-1-a-ǎ   ʔo-ʔəm-a

    inclusive object-   daylight-continu- undirected-OI-
    ive possessive   ous-hearer proximate word
                         postnominal

54. la   q̓inəmdᶻikasida   t̓ut̓u   laǧʷa

    now   really lots of   stars   in the

    1-a   q̓i-nəm-dᶻi-kas-i-da   t̓ut̓u   1-a-ǧʷa

    now-word   plural-object class-   star   go-word-proxim-
                         big-intensive-3p in-   ate objective
                         visible-prenominal

55. ʔik̓iǧ.   wa,   ləm̓aʔi

    sky   well   now

    ʔik̓-i-ǧ   wa   1-a-ʔəm-a-i

    above-nominal end-   narrative   now-word-OI-nar-
    ing-hearer proximate interjection   rative-3p invisible
    postnominal

56. ʔit̓id   q̓ʷas,   q̓ʷas.   ləʔəm   mayaxəla   x̌is

    again   cries   cries   now   respect   his

    ʔit-x̓id   q̓ʷas   q̓ʷas   1-a-ʔəm   mayax-1-a   x̌is

    again-trans- cries   cries   now-word- respect-contin-   3p object-
    ition   OI   uous-word   ive posses-
                                                                    ive

57. c̓uxʷλəmas.   k̓iʔs   n̓ik   wa   qaʔs

    grandson   not   want   to

    c̓uxʷ-λəm-as   k̓iʔs   n̓ik   qaʔs

    grandchild-ʔ-3p   not   want/say   complement
    possessive post-
    nominal

58. c̓əweʔs.   q̓ʷasagiɬcix̌s   tigʷiɬaʔida

    give it   that's why he   hangs the
                                cries for it

    c̓o-a-i sa   q̓ʷas-a-giɬ-s-x̌s   tikʷ-iɬ-a-i-da

    give-subordinate-   cry-word-reason-   hang-in the house-
    nominal ending,   on-oblique-subordin- narrative-3p invis-
    oblique   ate   ible-prenominal

59. gəldas.   m̓aʔɬm̓ida   gəldas.   la

    box   there's two   box   now

    gəlt-ʔas   m̓aʔɬ-ʔəm-i-da   gəlt-ʔas   1-a

    long-ʔnominal two-OI-3p invis- long-ʔnominal now-word
    ending   ible-prenominal ending

60. tigʷiɬ.   "coʔdᶻoga,   c̓ox̌ʷ   ləm̓igən

    hanging   go ahead   give   because I
                   and give

    tikʷʔiɬ   c̓o-ʔdᶻo-ga   c̓o-x̌   1-a-ʔəm-i-gən

    hang-in the   give-exhort-   give-imper- now-word-OI-sub-
    house   ative-imperative ative   ordinate-speaker
                                                   proximate speaker
                                                   possessive

61. mayaxəlaqʷ."   lan̓axʷam̓a   ʔalaq   w̓ik̓əx̌ʔidida

    respect him   now sometimes   almost   suffocates

    mayax-1-a-qʷ   1-a-n̓axʷa-ʔʋm-a   ʔalaq   w̓ik̓əx̌-x̓id-i-da

    respect-continuous- now-word-some-   almost   suffocate-trans-
    word-3p visible ob- times-OI-narrative   ition-3p invis-
    ject   ible-prenominal

62.
gʋnanʋma	sis	q̓ʷačinayi.	walas	q̓ʷas.	we,
child	from	crying	lots of	cry	well
gʋn-anʋm-a	sis	q̓ʷas-ina-i	walas	q̓ʷas	we
child-person-postnominal	3p oblique possessive	cry-form-nominal ending	big	cry	narrative interjection

63.
lʋʔʋm	c̓os	laq.	lʋʔʋm
now	give it	to him	now
1-a-ʔəm	c̓o sa	1-a-q	1-a-ʔəm
now-word-OI	give oblique	go-word-3p object	now-word-OI

64.
ʔamɬic	gada	m̓ʋkʷəlak.	lʋʔʋm
plays with it	the	moon	now
ʔamɬ-xʔid sa	ga-da	m̓ʋkʷ-1-k	1-a-ʔəm
play-transition, oblique	speaker proximate-prenominal	round-continuous-postnominal	now-word-OI

65.
n̓an̓apustola	sa	lʋʔʋm	n̓əpustudəs
throw up and down	it	now	throws it up
n̓əp-redup-gusto-1-a	sa	1-a-ʔʋm	n̓əp-gusto-d sa
throw (solid)-repeatedly-upwards-continuous-word	oblique	now-word-OI	throw-upwards-once, oblique

66.
laX̌a	kʷanasa	sa	gukʷ.	lə ʔəm
to the	smokehole	of	house	now
1-a-X̌a	kʷax-ʔas	sa	gukʷ	1-a-ʔəm
go-word-objective	smoke-place	oblique	house	now-word-OI

67.
higustola.	lə ʔəm	ɬagso.	lə ʔəm
goes up	now	goes through	now
hi-gusto-1-a	ɬ-a-ʔəm	ɬ-a-gso	ɬ-a-ʔəm
direct-upward-continuous-word	now-word-OI	go-word-through	now-word-OI

68.
hin̓akʷʋla	laX̌a	ʔiki	yum̓isəns
going	to the	sky	why is here our
hi-n̓akʷəl-a	1-a-X̌a	ʔik̓-i	yu-ʔʋm-w̓is-əns
direct-becoming-word	go-word-objective	above-nominal ending	here-OI-hence-inclusive

69. la   m̓əǩʷəlux̌ʷ.   ḱiʔs   n̓axʔidam̓as   x̌əns
    now   it's the moon   not   make be daylight our

    1-a   m̓əǩʷ-1-ux̌ʷ   ḱiʔs   n̓ak-xʔid-am̓as   x̌əns
    now-word   round-continu-   not   light up-trans-   inclusive
                ous-3p visible   ition-causative   objective
                                                            possessive

70. n̓alax̌.   ḱiʔs hiła.   lɔʔəm
    day   not   enough   now

    n̓a-1-a-x̌   ḱiʔs hił-a   1-a-ʔəm
    daylight-continuous-   not   right-word now-word-OI
    word-hearer proximate
    postnominal

71. ʔit̓idida   gənanəm   q̓ʷas. walas q̓ʷas.
    again is the   child   cry   really cry

    ʔit-xʔid-i-da   gən-anəm   q̓ʷas   walas q̓ʷas
    again-transition-3p   child-person   cry   big   cry
    invisible-prenominal

72. n̓ikix̌s   ʔax̌ʔix̌sda   x̌a   gɔldas
    he says   want   that   box

    n̓ik-i-x̌s   ʔax̌-ʔix̌sd-a   x̌a   gɔlt-ʔas
    say-3p invisib-   things-want-word objective long-ʔnomin-
    le-subordinate   al ending

73. lɔʔəmx̌aʔa   lan̓ax̌ʷaʔəm   ʔalaq   yaxal̓ił.   n̓əm,
    now again   sometimes   nearly dies   one

    1-a-ʔəm-xa?-a   1-a-n̓ax̌ʷa-ʔəm   ʔalaq   yag-gɔł-ił   n̓əm
    now-word-OI-   now-word-some-   nearly bad-extension- one
    once more-word   times-OI   in the house

74. n̓əmʔəmxdux̌ʷ   la.   "łax̌ʷəlux̌ʷ.   ʔiʔsən
    there was one   now   it's loved   not I

    n̓əm-ʔəm-xd-ux̌ʷ   la   łax̌ʷ-1-ux̌ʷ   ʔiʔs-ən
    one-OI-past-   now   serious-continu- not-speaker
    3p visible   ous-3p visible

75. hiłq̓ala   ʔangʷi   bəgʷanəm
    allow   any   man

    hił-q̓a-1-a   ʔangʷ-i   bəǩʷ-anəm
    right-feel-contin-   indefinite-   man-person
    uous-word   nominal ending

76. yawixaqʷ   ńikida   ğağəmp   "wiga

     touch it   say the   grandfather   go on

     yawix-a-qʷ   ńik-i-da   ğağ-mp   wi-ga

     move-word-   say-3p invis- grandparent-   imperative-
     3p visible object ible-prenominal relationship   imperative

77. čo   sux̌ʷ   laqʷ   ləmigən   mayaxəla

     give   it   to him   because I   respect

     čo   sux̌ʷ   1-a-qʷ   1-a-ʔəm-i-gən   mayax-1-a

     give proximate go-word-3p now-word-OI-sub-   repect-con-
           oblique   visible object ordinate-speaker tinuous-word
                                   proximate speaker
                                   possessive

78. x̌ən   čuxʷʌəmax."   1əʔəm   ʔax̌studəq.

     my   grandchild   now   open it

     x̌ən   čux-ʌəma-x   1-a-ʔəm   ʔax̌-ʔstu-d-q

     my   grandchild-ʔ-   now-word-OI do-opening-once-
           speaker proximate   3p object
           postnominal

79. ləʔəm   ʔisała   qaʔs   higagaliɫida

     now   waiting   for   left alone in the house is

     1-a-ʔəm   ʔis-ał-a   qaʔs   higa-gəɫ-iɫ-i-da

     now-word-OI   wait-stat- complement alone-extension-in the house
                     ive-word   3p invisible-prenominal

80. ğʷawina.   ləʔəm   ʌayučud   sis

     Raven   now   changes clothes   for his

     ğʷax̌ʷ-ina   1-a-ʔəm   ʌayu-ču-d   sis

     raven-form   now-word-OI change-clothes-once 3p oblique pos-
                                                     sessive

81. ğʷax̌ʷəmɫ.   1əʔəm   p̓ip̓aʌumasida.   1əʔəm

     Raven face   now   is a bird   now

     ğʷax̌ʷ-gəmɫ   1-a-ʔəm   p̓əʌ-ʔomas-i-da   1-a-ʔəm

     raven-mask   now-word-OI fly-class-3p in-   now-word-OI
                                visible-prenominal

82. kəʌənusəla   x̌is   gəldas   qaʔs

     holds under his arm   his   box   so he

     kəʌ-nus-1-a   x̌is   gəlt-ʔas   qaʔs

     hold-side-contin-   3p objective long-ʔnominal complement
     uous-word   possessive   ending

83. la?i   p̓ałco   lax̌ʷa   kʷanasix̌.

     now   fly through   at the   smokehole

     1-a-i   p̓ɔλ-gso   1-a-x̌ʷa   kʷax-?as-ix̌

     now-subordin-   fly-through   go-word-hearer   smoke-place-
     ate-3p invisible   proximate object- postnominal
                                       ive

84. he?əmḷawis   lagiłcux̌ʷ

     that they say is why   the reason of

     he-?əm-ḷa-wis   1-a-gił sux̌ʷ

     distal-OI-quotative-hence   now-word-reason,
                                  hearer proximate
                                  3p oblique possessive

85. c̓ułcɔmux̌ʷda   ǧʷaẃina.   la?i   ?ax̌əla

     black is   Raven   now he   touches

     c̓uł-sǧɔm-ux̌ʷ-da   ǧʷax̌ʷ-ina   1-a-i   ?ax̌-1-a

     black-around-3p   raven-form   now-narrative-   contact-contin-
     visible-prenominal   3p invisible   uous-word

86. lax̌a   c̓ułni   sa   q̓inəm   ?ax̌ała

     that   soot   from   lots   adhering

     1-a-x̌a   c̓uł-ni   sa   q̓i-nəm   ?ax̌-ał-a

     go-word-   black-?   ob-   lots-object   contact-stat-
     objective   lique   class   ive-word

87. lax̌a   kʷanas.   lɔ?əm   łax̌ʷəmala

     at the   smokehole   now   hard time

     1-a-x̌a   kʷax-?as   1-a-?əm   łax̌ʷ-mal-a

     go-word-ob-   smoke-place   now-word-OI   serious-?effort-
     jective   word

88. qa?s   lagsɔwi.   la   təkəla?i.

     to   go through   now   pushes

     qa?s   1-a-gso-i   1-a   tək-1-a-i

     complement   go-word-through- now-word   push-continuous-
                    nominal ending   ?subordinate-3p
                                                      invisible

89. lɔ?əm   ǧʷaẃina.   la   wa.   lɔ?əm

     now   Raven   now   stop   now

     1-a-?ɔm   ǧʷax̌ʷ-ina   1-a   wa   1-a-?əm

     now-word-OI   raven-form   now-word stop   now-word-OI

90. dox̌ʷ̌waƛʌla   x̌a   bibəgʷanəm.   ʔó

suddenly see   the   people   just

doqʷ-aƛəl-a   x̌a   bəǩʷ-redup-anəm ʔo

see-sudden-   objective   man-distributive- undirected
ly-word   person

91. ƛayučud   ʔit̓id   qaʔs

change   again   to be

ƛayu-ču-d   ʔid-x̌ʔid   qaʔs

change-clothes- again-transition complement
once

92. bəgʷanəmx̌ʔidaʔi.   k̓iʔs   la   g̓ʷax̌ʷəmala.

man now   not   now   Raven-face

bəgʷ-anəm-x̌ʔid-a-i   k̓iʔs   l-a   g̓ʷax̌ʷ-əm-(ʔ)1-a

man-person-transit-   not   now-word raven-face-con
ion-subordinate-3p   tinuous-word
invisible

93. bəgʷanəm   la.   "laʔd̓ᶻo   waʔx̌

man   now   go ahead   please

bəǩʷ-anəm   1-a   1-a-ʔd̓ᶻo   waʔx̌

man-person   now-word now-word-ex- please
                        hortative

94. taʔodən   lax̌a   ʔapsud"   ńik   x̌a

take me   to the   far side   say to   the

taʔod-ən   1-a-x̌a   ʔaps-ud   ńik   x̌a

deliver-   go-word-   next to-side say/want objective
speaker   objective

95. bibəgʷanəm.   k̓iʔs   ńik   qaʔs   laʔi

meń   not   want   to   now

bəǩʷ-redup-anəm k̓iʔs   ńik   qaʔs   1-a-i

man-distributive- not   say/want complement now-subordin-
plural   ate-3p invis-
                                               ible

96. taʔodaẃiƛas.   "hoƛela."   k̓iʔs   ńik

take him over   "listen!"   not   want

taʔod-a-ẃiƛ sa   hoƛ-el-a   k̓iʔs   ńik

deliver-word-   listen-ʔ-word not   say/want
across, oblique

97. qa?s   la?i   sɔxʷc̓a   qa?s

    to   now   be prompt   to

    qa?s   l-a-i   sɔxʷč-a   qa?s

    complement   now-subordinate- prompt-word   complement
                  3p invisible

98. la?i   ta?odaw̓iɫaq.   "k̓i?sigɔn   ?a?omsa."

    now   take him over   I'm not   ordinary

    l-a-i   ta?od-a-w̓iɫ-q   k̓i?s-i-gɔn   ?a?oms-a

    now-subordinate-   deliver-word-   not-subordin-   ordinary-
    3p invisible   across-3p invis- ate-speaker   nominal
                       ible object   ending

99. lɔ?ɔm   ?ax̌stud   x̌is   gɔldas.

    now   open   his   box

    l-a-?ɔm   ?ax̌-?stu-d   x̌is   gɔlt-?as

    now-word-OI   do-opening- 3p objective long-?nom-
                    once   possessive   inal ending

100. "ləm̓ən   loƛ   x̌ʷa   n̓axn̓akam̓as

     I   got   the   stuff to light up

     l-a-?ɔm-ən   loƛ   x̌ʷa   n̓ak-dup-am̓as

     now-word-OI-   possess   hearer proxim- light up-iterative-
     speaker   ate objective causative

101. x̌ɔns   n̓alax̌."   k̓i?s

     our   day   not

     x̌əns   n̓a-l-a-x̌   k̓i?s

     inclusive ob-   daylight-continuous not
     jective possessive word-hearer proxim-
                       ate postnominal

102. ?oq̓ʷəsida   bibəgʷanəm   yɔx̌   la?i

     believe   the men   those   now

     ?oq̓ʷɔs-i-da   bək̓ʷ-redup-anɔm yɔx̌   l-a-i

     believe-3p invis- man-distribut- apposition   now-narra-
     ible-prenominal   ive-person   tive-3p in-
                                                     visible

103. hilasɔwas   qa   la   law̓iɫaq.

     hired   to   now   take him over

     hila-su-as   qa   l-a   l-a-w̓iɫ-q

     hire-goal focus- complement   now-word   now-word-across-
     3p possessive   3p object

104. lə?əm   ?ax̌stu   x̌a   gəldas.   gax̌?əm

now   open   the   box   come

1-a-?əm   ?ax̌-?stu   x̌a   gəlt-?as   gax̌-?əm

now-word-OI   do-opening   objective   long-?nomin-   come-OI
                                                                   al ending

105. n̓ił?idida   ƛisəla.   n̓ax̌widəns

out is the   sun   lights up our

n̓ił-x?id-i-da   ƛis-1-a   n̓ax̌ʷ-x?id-əns

present-transition-3p   shine/heat-con-   light up-transition-
invisible-prenominal   tinuous-word   inclusive possessive

106. n̓alax̌.   lə?əm   x̌ənyas?idida

day   now   surprised are

n̓a-1-a-x̌   1-a-?əm   x̌ənyas-x?id-i-da

daylight-continuous-   now-word-OI   surprised-transit-
word-hearer proximate   ion-3p invisible-
postnominal   prenominal

107. bibəgʷanəm.   lə?əm   kəł?ida

people   now   scared are

bək̓ʷ-redup-anəm   1-a-?əm   kəł-x?id-a

man-distributive-   now-word-OI   scared-transition-
person   word.

108. lə?əm   ?aƛi?stida   q̓ox̌ʷəmc̓o

now   go up the bush the   dressed

1-a-?əm   ?aƛ-i?st-i-da   q̓ox̌ʷ-m-c̓o

now-word-OI   up the bush-motion-3p   dress-plural-clothes
                               invisible-prenominal

109. lax̌   q̓ox̌ʷəmc̓oyas   sa   gəlgə?omas:

in   garments   of   animals

1-a-x̌a   q̓ox̌ʷ-m-c̓o-i-as   sa   gəl-?omas

go-word-ob-   dress-plural-clothes-   oblique   crawl along-
jective   nominal ending-3p pos-   class
                 sessive

110. ǧiwas,   mayus--   naxʷa   qa?s   ǧʷigdᶻas

deer   raccoon   all   of   kind

ǧiwas   mayus   naxʷ-a   qa?s   ǧʷi-gs-?as

deer   raccoon   every-word   complement   identity-condit-
                                                      ion-nominal end-
                                                      ing

111.   ha?ipumas.   1a   gəlgə?omasida   ?oħa.

      furs   now   are animals   just like that

      hʉp-?omas   1-a   gəl-?omas-i-da   ?o-?əm-a

      fur-class   now-word   crawl along-class-3p   undirected-OI-
                             invisible-prenominal   word

112.   lə?əm   p̓ipaƛumas?id   gada   1a

      now   are all kinds   these   now
                   of birds

      1-a-?əm   p̓əƛ-?omas-x?id   ga-da   1-a

      now-word-OI   speaker proxim-   now-word
            fly-class-   ate-prenominal
            transition

113.   q̓oX̌ʷəmc̓ola   X̌uX̌ʷ   gayuɬi

      wearing   that   come from

      q̓oX̌ʷ-m-c̓u-1-a   X̌uX̌ʷ   gi-uɬ-i

      dress-plural-clothes-   hearer proxim-   situated-remote
      continuous-word   ate objective   past-nominal ending

114.   laX̌ʷa   p̓ipaƛumasiX̌.   p̓əƛmi?stala

      the   birds   flying all over

      1-a-X̌ʷa   p̓əƛ-?omas-X̌   p̓əƛ-m-i?st-1-a

      go-word-hearer   fly-class-post-   fly-plural-motion-
      proximate ob-   nominal   continuous-word
      jective

115.   lə?əm   ħax?id.   la?i   ħiɬ?id

      now   light   1-a-i   appear

      1-a-?əm   ħa-x?id   now-narrative-   ħiɬ-x?id
                           3p invisible

      now-word-OI   light-trans-   present-trans-
                ition   ition

116.   sis   ƛisəla.   1a   p̓əƛəmi?stala

      his   sun   now   flying around

      sis   ƛis-1-a   1-a   (see line 117
                                        for analysis.)

      3p oblique   shine/heat-con-   now-word
      possessive   tinuous-word

117.   lagada   lilqʷəlaƛixdəx.   k̓i?s   1a

      the   former people   not   now

      1-a-ga-da   lilqʷəlaƛi-xd-x   k̓i?s   1-a

      now-word-speaker   tribe-past-postnominal   not   now-word
      proximate-prenom-
      inal

118. | bibəgʷanəm. | laɬasa | gayuɬ | laX̌a |
|---|---|---|---|
| people | As for | come from | from |
| bək̓ʷ-redup-anəm | 1-ɬa?s-a | gi-uɬ | 1-a-X̌a |
| man-distributive-person | now-also-word | situated-remote past | go-word-objective |

119. | dəmsx?i | la | m̓ami?stala. | k̓iyos | ?is |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ocean | now | swim around | not any | lack |
| dəm-sx?i | 1-a | m̓a-m-i?st-1-a | k̓iyos | ?is |
| salt-? | now-word | swim-plural-motion-continuous-word | not any | lack |

120. | laX̌ | ğʷigd^Zas: | k̓ulud, |
|---|---|---|
| of | kind | black porpoise |
| 1-a-X̌ | ğʷi-gs-?as | k̓ulud |
| go-word-objective | identity-condition-nominal ending | black porpoise |

121. | qʷiqʷəlikən, | X̌ʷəlğʷəm-- | k̓iyos | ?is | ɬaX̌ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| white striped porpoise | dogfish | not any | lack | of |
| qʷiqʷəlikən | X̌ʷəlqʷ-əm | k̓iyos | ?is | 1-a-X̌ |
| white striped porpoise | rough-nominal ending | not any | lack | go-word-objective |

122. | ğʷigd^Zas | gada | ?aX̌əx. |
|---|---|---|
| kinds | this | stuff |
| ğʷi-gs-?as | ga-da | ?aX̌-x |
| identity-condition-nominal ending | speaker proximate prenominal | things-post-nominal |

123. | lilqʷəlaƛixdəx. | lə?əm | kəɬ?idayu |
|---|---|---|
| people before | now | feared |
| lilqʷəlaƛi-xd-x | 1-a-?əm | kəɬ-x?id-ayu |
| tribe-past-speaker proximate postnominal | now-word-OI | feared-transition-goal focus |

124. | gada | ğʷaẃinax. | ləm̓i |
|---|---|---|
| is the | Raven | now he |
| ga-da | ğʷaX̌ʷ-ina-x | 1-a-?əm-i |
| speaker proxmimate-prenominal | raven-form-post-nominal | now-word-OI-3p invisible |

125. ĺoλ   ẍa   ʔikilağaxλi.   ẘilida

     has   that   great power   ended is

     ĺoλ   ẍa   ʔik-ila-ğaxλi   ẘil-i-da

     possess   objective good-do-word-name   full-3p invis-
                                               ible-prenominal

126. ňuyəm.   yuʔəm   ňuyəm   sa   λingət

     story   here   story   of   Tlingit

     ňus-əm   yu-ʔəm   ňus-əm   sa   λingət

     tell-source   proximate-OI   tell-source   oblique   Tlingit

127. qaʔida   ğʷaẘina.   ləm̌əns

     it's for   Raven   now we

     qa-i-da   ğʷaẍ̌ʷ-ina   l-a-ʔəm-əns

     complement-3p in- raven-form   now-word-in-
     visible-prenominal   clusive

128. q̇oλaλəla   him̌axuλ--   hiłatusəla

     suddenly realize what we didn't   adjust going north
                       know before
     q̇oλ-aλəl-a   hił-a-tusəla
                       hi-ʔəm-a-ẍ̌uλ
     know-suddenly-word   adjust-word-go north
                       distal-OI-word-
                       discover

129. sa   gʷeňakʷ   yum̌uẍ̌ʷ.   ləʔəm

     of   northland   it's him   now

     sa   gʷe-ňakʷ   yu-ʔəm-uẍ̌ʷ   l-a-ʔəm

     oblique   north/downriver-   proximate-OI-   now-word-OI
                 direction   3p visible

130. ẘila.   wa.

     done   stop

     ẘil-a   wa

     full-word   stop

Raven Steals the Sun

        Now we're going to tell the Tlingit's story about Raven. He'd

heard about a great chief in one village in the North, the owner of the

sun that could light up the world. Well, he travels to the village. He

hears that the chief has a daughter. He worries that he has to figure

out what to do about the princess. She sometimes goes to dip [water

bucket] in a spring. Well, Raven realizes that she'd go dip her pail in

the water; just for that, lots of narrow hemlock needles will fall into

the water now. The child -- the princess -- drinks; before doing any-

thing else, she dips her pail in the water to drink. Then she dips her

bucket for water to bring home. Frog had known all this from way back --

it was he who had told Raven she would come. She goes home. "Hey -- I

feel really strange -- my stomach's moving around." It makes everyone

wonder why she's become pregnant -- there'd been no men around. She's

not pregnant long. The child is born. He has a big nose, very big.

She's told that he has to be killed. He lookes distorted -- really big

feet he has, this child, huge feet. His nose is large. She doesn't

want him to be hurt, because she loves him. She doesn't want him to

be killed. He's surprising -- he doesn't look right. Really big feet

and a big nose. The child grows fast. His grandfather really loves

him. He grows up quickly. Well -- now the grandfather respects his

grandson. He cries and cries; sometimes he almost dies from crying.

He goes weak from crying. He says he wants the hanging box. Well, his

grandfather gives it to him because he respects his grandson. The child

notices the stars inside the box. He tosses them around. He keeps

tossing them around. He plays with them, tossing them up and down

again and again. Finally he throws them through the smoke hole. They

go into sky; that's why now there are stars. But they didn't make

there be daylight -- there were just a lot of stars in the sky. He

starts crying again. The chief respects his grandson, but he doesn't

want to give any more -- that's why the child cries for it. The boxes

hang on the wall -- there are two of them. "All right, you best give it
to him, because I respect him." Sometimes the child almost suffocates
from crying. He cries a lot. Finally they give it to him. He plays
with the moon. He throws it up and down -- then throws it up to the
smoke hole. It goes straight up and goes through, up into the sky.
That's why we have the moon. But it didn't make there be daylight --
it isn't enough. Again the child cries, really cries. He says he wants
that box. Again he almost dies from crying. There was just one box now.
"I really love it -- I don't allow anyone to touch it," says the grand-
father. "Go on, give it to him, because I respect my grandchild." He
opens it. Raven waits till he's left alone in the house. He changes
into his Raven persona. He's a bird now. He holds the box under his
arm to fly through the smoke hole. They say that's why Raven's black:
he touched some of the soot from all that was around the smoke hole. He
has a hard time getting through. He pushes his way through. He's Raven
now. He stops -- he notices people. He changes again into a man -- he's
not Raven anymore. "You'd best take me across to the far side, please,"
he says to the men. They don't want to take him over. "Listen to me."
They're in no hurry to take him over. "I'm a spirit man." He opens
his box. "I've got the stuff to light up our day." The people don't
believe him, those hired to take him over. He opens the box; the sun
comes out and lights up our day. The people are astounded. They get
scared -- the ones dressed in animal clothing hide up in the bush:
deer, raccoon -- all kinds of creatures. They *are* animals, now; it just
happened. Those wearing bird garments became all kinds of birds, fly-
ing all over. It's light now; his sun is visible. The ones who used to
be people are flying around -- they aren't people anymore. And further-
more, those who came from the ocean are all swimming around -- there's
no lack of variety: black porpoise, white striped porpoise, dogfish --
no lack of different kinds. They were people before. Now everyone fears
Raven. He has that great power. This is the end of the Tlingit story
about Raven -- and now we know what we didn't know originally: he is
the Great Adjuster of the world -- he's it. That's the end.