Three Gitksan texts

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Abstract: This paper presents three stories told in Gitksan by three speakers from different villages. These are Barbara Sennott’s Gitxsan Barbie’s Scandinavian Series, Vince Gogag’s Kitwancool Reserve Surveyed, and Hector Hill’s Betl’a Betl’. It is one of the first published collections of Gitksan texts with accompanying full interlinear gloss, and allows for comparison of some dialect differences. Texts are presented first in Gitksan and English. The interlinear gloss includes 1) a line of unbroken orthography, 2) a line of morpheme-broken orthography with morphophonological processes undone, 3) a phonemic line, 4) a line of morpheme gloss, and 5) a free translation. These stories are a small sample of the text-collection work done by the UBC Gitksan Lab since 2010.

Keywords: Gitksan, Tsimshianic, texts, narratives

1 Introduction

One of the major undertakings of the UBC Gitksan Research Laboratory since its inception in 2010 has been the transcription, translation, and analysis of textual material. The reason is simple: though many Gitksan recordings have been made over the years, there is little fully transcribed material currently available in the language, and almost none of it has been analyzed. A corpus of transcribed,

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1 Active academic members of the UBC Gitksan Lab include Jason Brown (University of Auckland), Henry Davis, Mark Egelhoff, Gabrielle Guerrier, Lisa Matthewson, and Michael David Schwan (UBC), Clarissa Forbes (University of Toronto), Catherine Dworak and Kyrа Fortier (University of Victoria), Katie Bicevskis, Colin Brown, Kevin Liang, and Aidan Pine (unaffiliated).

2 We employ the term ‘Gitksan’ for the entire dialect continuum from Kispiox in the east to Gitanyow in the west (excluding Nisga’a). For community members as well as linguists, this appears to be the least contentious cover term for the language, and does not preclude the use of local pronunciations and alternative language names (e.g., Gyaanimx for the language spoken at Gitanyow). In the headings for the Gitksan versions of the stories, we have retained the speakers’ preferred pronunciations/names for their own dialects.

analyzed texts is important for linguistic, cultural, and pedagogical reasons. For linguistic analysis, it serves not only as a spontaneously generated database which can be used to check on hypotheses based on directly elicited examples, but also as a source of new and unexpected lexical items and grammatical structures. For Gitksan culture, it serves to preserve an oral heritage which includes not only traditional narratives and their meanings (adaaw̓k̓), but history, genealogy, and protocol (ayook̓). And for language pedagogy, which is becoming an increasingly important component of work on Gitksan as the language transitions from a first to a second language, texts serve as an indispensable resource for curriculum development.

We have recorded a substantial number of texts over the last several years, including historical narratives and personal recollections as well as fairly extensive conversational data, both with our consultants in Vancouver and those in Gitksan territory in northern British Columbia. The process of transcription and analysis is a lengthy one, however, not least because as yet there is no widely accepted, conventionalized procedure for morpheme breakdown, but also because of questions that inevitably arise when we are dealing with a language whose surface phonetics is relatively distant from the underlying forms of its component morphemes.

We have chosen to publish these three stories as a kind of trial balloon for a larger text collection, precisely in order to test our working assumptions about transcription and analysis. We give each story in three parts: a Gitksan-only version using a variant of the Hindle-Rigsby orthography in widespread (though not necessarily uniform) use across Gitksan territory; an English translation; and an interlinearized gloss. The three-part presentation (modeled on the format employed in e.g., Callahan et al. 2016) seeks to address the needs of three overlapping readerships: the Gitksan-only text is designed for speakers and students of Gitksan, the English-only text for casual (non-Gitksan speaking) readers, and the fully interlinearized text for linguists, curriculum developers, and others interested in the fine structure of the language.

For the interlinear sections, we have adopted a five-line format. The first line matches the Gitksan orthographic representation in the Gitksan-only section. (For a conversion chart from the Hindle-Rigsby orthography to the APA, see Appendix A.) The second line is a partially analyzed orthographic representation which includes morpheme boundaries and undoes boundary-sensitive phonological rules. For example, an epenthized schwa – realized variably as i, a, or u in the orthography – is phonetically present between a stem-final consonant and a following resonant-initial suffix: the latter includes several very common inflectional morphemes, most notably the Series II pronouns -’y ‘1st person singular’, -n ‘2nd person singular’, and -’m ‘1st person plural’. There is also a non-epenthetic schwa (glossed TR for ‘transitive’) which is present in a subset of the

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3 The main difference between our version and the original system as employed in e.g., Hindle and Rigsby (1973) is that (following common practice in Gitksan territory) we write prevelar stops before back vowels with a y: thus we write gyat/gyet as opposed to gat/get for ‘man, person’. See also Appendix A.
epenthesis environments – namely, in independent clauses and object-centred relative clauses between the stem and the Series II pronoun. However, this underlying TR schwa also shows up between a stem-final consonant and a non-resonant pronominal suffix (e.g. -t, ‘3rd person Series II’), where epenthesis is not triggered. Sorting out these phonetically identical but morphologically distinct schwas is very tricky for e.g., a language learner, but comparing lines 1 and 2 of the interlinear gloss provides the relevant information: the epenthetic schwa is present in the first line, but not the second.\(^4\)

In inserting morpheme boundaries, we have assumed a conventional three-way distinction between affixes (marked by a dash -), clitics (marked by an equals sign =), and reduplicants (marked by a tilde ~). This is almost certainly an oversimplification, since even within the class of clitics, Gitksan shows a wide diversity of morphophonological behavior. For example, the common noun connective clitic =hl is unselective as to host, but systematic in its phonological behavior, invariably attaching to the prosodic word immediately to its left. In contrast, the proper noun clitic t is ‘ambidirectional’ – as a stray consonant, it needs a host, but it can either encliticize (usually) or procliticize (occasionally) to any available host. When we look further afield to other elements that have been termed ‘clitics’ in the Tsimshianic literature, the problem becomes even more acute: for example, we have so far been unable to find a consistent way to represent the relation between the elements known as ‘preverbal’ and ‘prenominal’ in the literature and the stems to which they attach, probably because they do not act as a uniform class, either syntactically or semantically. More work is obviously needed in this area.

The third line is a full phonemic representation, employing the ‘northwestern’ version of the Americanist Phonetic Alphabet (APA) in standard use by linguists working on languages of the region (including Rigsby 1986 and Tarpent 1987 in their grammars of Gitksan and Nisga’a, respectively).\(^5\) Allophonic rules whose output is reflected in the Gitksan orthography, such as the pervasive process of prevocalic stop voicing, are fully undone in the phonemic representation, whereas in the second (orthographic) line they are only resolved where an alternation surfaces.

The fourth line is a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss: see Appendix B for abbreviations. By and large, we have based our glossing conventions on those in Rigsby (1986), though sometimes we adopt those of Tarpent (1987) (e.g., we follow her use of ‘T’ for the mysterious ‘big T’ morpheme which shows up on certain transitive verbs, and has allomorphs [t], [d], and [ʃ]). In addition, some of our glosses reflect our own recent analyses of e.g., extraction morphology (Davis and Brown 2011), tense and aspect (Matthewson 2013), and the connective system (Davis and Forbes 2015), as well as ongoing work on discourse particles, agreement, and other areas of the grammar.

\(^4\) It is notable in this respect that fluent, literate speakers often waver between writing e.g., wili’y and wil’y for ‘I do’.

\(^5\) However, we employ the IPA symbol [χ] for the voiceless uvular fricative, as opposed to [χ], as used by Rigsby and Tarpent; we find the underdot in the latter is rather too easily lost in retranscription and copying.
Of course, a glossing system always embodies a set of working hypotheses about a language, and as such is inevitably provisional. Though the system used here builds on an increasingly rich descriptive and theoretical literature on Tsimshianic, and embodies our current thinking about Gitksan grammar, there are certainly areas where further revision will be necessary. For example, we have followed Rigsby (1986) in glossing the valency suffix -txw as ‘passive’, but there are clearly cases where that label is inadequate, since -txw yields an active transitive verb. A case in point is in line 18 of Vince Gogag’s story: the verb sga-sgi-txw-i'n'm, which we have glossed block.way-<lie-PASS-TR-1PL.11 is clearly transitive, as evidenced by the ‘transitive’ schwa and the following Series II first person plural suffix, which marks a transitive subject in an independent clause. ‘Passive’ is therefore clearly an inadequate label in this case, and more generally, our understanding of valency-marking is in obvious need of an overhaul.

The three stories follow, each preceded by brief biographical notes about the speaker, together with details of when, where, and by whom the story was recorded.

2 Gitxsan Barbie’s Scandinavian Series, by Barbara Sennott (Harris)

This story tells about an incident that happened to Barbara while she was traveling in Sweden when she was younger. It was elicited January 16, 2012 at UBC, by Clarissa Forbes, Michael Schwan, Andrei Angelescu, and Jesse Lawrence. Editors include Clarissa Forbes and Henry Davis.

Barbara was raised in Ansbayaxw (Kispiox) by her grandparents. Her dialect is representative of the Eastern variety described by Hindle and Rigsby (1973), particularly with regard to the vowel space. Some consonants are more lenis compared to the other speakers in this paper, with some former plain dorsal stops having shifted to fricatives (e.g. kw to xw), and some former glottalized dorsal stops debuuccalizing (e.g. k' reducing to a simple glottal stop).

2.1 Gitxsanimx

'Nakwhl hlidaa 'wihl wili'y goohl wagayt andoosda wil jokhl amksiwaa. Ii na'wahl anhahla'lst goohl Stockholm sawatdiit. Ii hahla'lsi'y goohl IBM.

Ii hlaa k'i'ylh k'uuhl ii na sdihl ansiip'insxwi'y ganhl nakst goohl wagayt Spain 'wayi'm. Ii hlaa guxws luu yaltxu'm ii basa'xuxu'm goohl Denmark. Ii na yuxwhl train loo'y ii ye'e'y goohl Stockholm. Ii hlaa bagu'm goohl Stockholm ii ha'wii'y. Ii 'nakwhl 'wihl wili'm, gwila'lh hl ganuutxw, gan wihi needii lax'nixsiwii'y goohl Gigeenix.

Ii ye'e'y goohl anhahla'lsi'y. Ap yukwhl ha'nisgwaaytxw. Ii needii naa dim 'witxwitt. Ii ye'e'y loot nii dokhl mail'y. Ii hлагook dim ha'wii'y ii ky'aa isxwi'y goohl wilp xsee.

Ii daayimaahl wili'y gan wina sgat'akwhl aats'i'p. Ii hlaa yukwhl dim xsawi'y ii needii 'nim k'akhl aats'ip. Ii xsi hlguxwxsxwi'y ii lip ligi agwhil baga'y ii ap neet.

Ii k'aa 'nii giihli'y lax ha'niiwan. Akhl ligi 'wihl he'y.
Ii 'nii yatshl pipe—nii gya'a wil sgihl pipe aloohl ha'niiyo'oxsxw. Nii xhlii guut iin yatshl pole loot, upja ligi 'wihl wihl ligit naa. Ii neediit naa ji 'witxwit. Agwiyumkkhl ha'niiisgwaaytxwhl gan wihl neediit naa ji hahla'iljit.

Ii hehl t'ilxoottxwi'yi. "Dim aam dim wili'y, yukwhl baxhl aks. Ii aks ligi 'wihl baasxi'y goosun." Ii giihli'y, ii si'ix woksi'y. Ii ap neet, gan wina guuhl hlgu pipe gi nii yatshl aats'ip loot. Ii hlaa aamhl ga'nagwit iin gya'ahl gadaaxhl wilp xseek. Nii japhl 'wii luu no'o dim xsi yuwi'y, ii 'nithl wili'y. Hlaa xsa'akxwi'y 'nii gayoo ts'imil t'aahlihl jabi'y goohl ts'im wilp xseek.

Hlaa yukwhl hahla'lsdi'm ii ha'niiigoodi'i ywil ii'uxwt ganwila 'nii yuxwdiithl office'y. Ii hediit, “Oo, 'nit Canadanska flika tun ant kw'asinhl wilp xseek.”

2.2 English

A long time ago, I lived overseas where the white people lived. And I found work in Stockholm, that’s what they call it. And I worked for IBM.

After one year, my friend and her husband and I traveled all the way to Spain. And on the way back we separated in Denmark. And I took the train and I went to Stockholm. And we arrived in Stockholm and I went home. And we were away a long time, three weeks, and that’s why I didn’t hear from Gigeenix.6

And I went to my work, but it was Sunday, and no one would be there.

And I went there and I got my mail. And before I went home I had a short pee in the bathroom.

And I don’t know why I locked the door. And I was going to go out but the door didn’t want to open. And I couldn’t get out, and I tried everything but I couldn’t get out.

And I laid on the floor for a while. I didn’t know what to think.

And I hit the pipe—I saw there was a pipe on the sink. And I took it apart, and I hit the pole with the pipe in case anybody was around. But no one came. Because it was Sunday, no one was at work.

And my thoughts said, “I will be alright because there is running water. And there is nothing for me to fear here.” And I laid down, and tried to sleep. But it wasn’t to be. That’s why I took the little pipe and I hit the door with it. And after a while I was able to see the outside of the bathroom. I made a big hole to go through, and that’s what I did. When I made it out, then I put the evidence of what I had done back in the bathroom.

We went back to work and I wondered why the men kept coming into my office. And they said, “Oh, this is the Canadanska flika who broke the toilet.”

6 Gigeenix ‘upstream, east’ references the Kispiox area, or “back home”.

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2.3 Interlinear gloss

(1) 'Nakwhl hlidaa 'wihl wili'y goohl
\[\text{long=CN PART-SPT around- LVB-1SG.II LOC[-3.II]=CN}\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wagayt} & \text{andoosda wil jokhl amxsiwaa.} \\
\text{wagayt} & \text{an-doosda wil jokhl amxsiwaa} \\
\text{waqayt} & \text{ʔə-to:sta wəl cuq=ɬ} \\
\text{completely NMLZ-across COMP live[-3.II]=CN white.person} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘A long time ago, I lived overseas where the white people lived.’

(2) \(\text{Ii na 'wahl anhahla'lst goohl Stockholm}\)
\(\text{ii n= 'wa=hl an-hahla'lst go=hl Stockholm}\)
\(\text{ʔi: n= wa=ɬ ʔən-hələst qo:=ɬ Stockholm}\)
\(\text{CCNJ 1.I= find[-3.II]=CN NMLZ-work LOC[-3.II]=CN Stockholm}\)
\(\text{sawatdiit.} \quad \text{si-wa-t-diit}\)
\(\text{sə-wa-t-ti:t} \quad \text{CAUS1-name-T-3PL.II}\)
‘And I found work in Stockholm, that’s what they call it.’

(3) \(\text{Ii hahla'lstə'y goohl } IBM.\)
\(\text{ii hahla'lstə'y go=hl } IBM\)
\(\text{ʔi: həla'lstə'y qo:=ɬ } IBM\)
\(\text{CCNJ work-1SG.II LOC[-3.II]=CN IBM}\)
‘And I worked for IBM.’

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7 This is a headless relative clause focusing the oblique ‘specified complement’, *Stockholm* (Tarpent 1987: 283).
After one year, my friend and her husband and I traveled all the way to Spain. ‘And on the way back we separated in Denmark.’

And I took the train and I went to Stockholm. ‘And I took the train and I went to Stockholm.’

'After one year, my friend and her husband and I traveled all the way to Spain.'

And on the way back we separated in Denmark.
‘And we arrived in Stockholm and I went home.’

‘And we were away a long time, three weeks, and that’s why I didn’t hear from Gigeenix.’

‘And I went to my work.’

‘But it was Sunday.’

‘And no one would be there.’
(12) Ii yee’y loot nii dokhl mail’y.
   ii yee’-y loo-t n=ii dok=hl mail
   ?i: ye:-y lo:-t n=?i: tuq=I mail
   CCNJ go-1SG.II OBL-3.II 1.I=CCNJ take.PL[-3.II]=CN mail
   ‘And I went there and I got my mail.’

(13) Ii hlagook dim ha’wi’y ii
   ii hla-gook dim ha’w-’y ii
   ?i: la-qo:q to= təm haw-’y ?i:
   CCNJ PART-first PROSP go.home-1SG.II CCNJ
   ky’aa isxwi’y goohl wilp xseek.
   ky’aa- isxw-’y goo=hl wilp- xseek
   ka:- ?isxʷ-’y qo:= l wilp- xse:q
   short.prepare- pee-1SG.II LOC[-3.II]=CN house- go.out.PL
   ‘And before I went home I had a short pee in the bathroom.’

(14) Ii daayimaahl wili’y gan wina
   ii daa=ima=hl wil-’y gan wil=ni
   ?i: ta:=ama:=l wil-’y qən wa=ni
   CCNJ SPT=EPIS=CN LVB-1SG.II REAS COMP=1.I
   sgat’akwhl aats’ip.
   sga-t’akw=hl aats’ip
   sqə-takʷ= l a:cəp
   block.way-turn[-3.II]=CN door
   ‘And I don’t know why I locked the door.’

(15) Ii hlaa yukwhl dim xsawi’y
   ii hlaa yukw=hl dim xsaxw-’y
   ?i: la: yukʷ= l to= xsaxʷ-’y
   CCNJ INCEP IFVF=CN PROSP go.out-1SG.II
   ii needii ’nim k’akhir aats’ip.
   ii nee=di= nim- k’ak=hl aats’ip
   ?i: ne=ti: ṅəm- qaq=I a:cəp
   CCNJ NEG=FOC DES- open[-3.II]=CN door
   ‘And I was going to go out but the door didn’t want to open.’
(16) Ii xsi hlguwxswi’y
   ii xsi hlguwxsw-xw-’y
   ?i: xsɬ kʷuxʷs-xʷ-ɬ-y

CCNJ out unable.to-PASS-1SG.II
   ii lip ligi agwihl baga’y
   ii lip ligi agwi=hl ba=k-a’-y
   ?i: ləp likə ?əkʷi=l paq-a-ɬ-y

CCNJ SELF DWID what=CN try-TR-1SG.II
   ii ap neet.
   ii ap nee-t
   ?i: ?əp nee-t

CCNJ VER not.so-3.II

‘And I couldn’t get out, and whatever I tried I couldn’t get out.’

(17) Ii k’aal ’ni’i giuhli’y lax ha’ni’iwan.
   ii k’aal ’ni’i- giuhl-’y lax- ha’-ni’i-wan
   ?i: qa: ní:- ki:l-ɬ yə- ha-ni-:wan

CCNJ short.time on- lay-1SG.II on- INS-on-sit.PL

‘And I laid on the floor for a while.’

(18) Akhl ligi ’wihl he’y.
    ak=hl ligi ’wihl- he’-y
    ?aq=ɬ likə wəl- hi-ɬ-y

lack=CN DWID around- say-1SG.II

‘I didn’t know what to think.’

(19) Ii ’ni’i yatshl pipe, nii gya’a wil
   ii ’ni’i- yats=hl pipe n=ii gya’a wil
   ?i: ni:- yac=ɬ pipe n=?i: ka? wəl

CCNJ on- hit[-3.II]=CN pipe 1.I=CCNJ see COMP
   sgi=hl pipe a-loo=hl ha’niyi’oxs=xw.
   sgi=hl pipe a-loo=hl ha’ni’yo’oxs-xw
   ski=ɬ pipe ?ə-lo=ɬ ha-ni:-yu?xs-xw

lie.on[-3.II]=CN pipe PREP-OBL[-3.II]=CN INS-on-wash-PASS

‘And I hit the pipe – I saw there was a pipe on the sink.’
(20) Nii  xhlii  guut
n=ii  xhlii-  guu-t
n=?i:  xlii-  kʷu:-t

1.1=CCNJ  all.the.way-  take[-T]-3.II

ii= n  yatshl  pole  loot,
ii= n  yats=hl  pole  loo-t
?i:=n  yac=1  pole  loc:-t

CCNJ=1.I  hit[-3.II]=CN  pole  OBL-3.II

upja  ligi  'wihl  wihl  ligit  naa.
up-ji  ligi  'wihl-  wil=hl  ligi=t  naa
?up-cə  likə  wəl-  wil=1  likə=t  na:
in.case-IRR  DWID  around-  LVB[-3.II]=CN  DWID=DM  who

‘And I took it apart, and I hit the pole with it in case anybody was around.’

(21) Ii  neediit  naa  ji  'witxwit.
ii  nee=diːt  naa  ji  'witx-w-it
?i:  neː=tiː=t  naː  cə  wət-x-w-it

CCNJ  NEG=FOC=DM  who  IRR  come-SX

‘But no one came.’

(22) Agwiyumkwhl  ha'niiśgwaaj'txwhl  gan  wihl
agwiyumk=hl  ha'-nii-sgwaa'ytxw=hl  gan  wil=hl
?skʷiyukʷ=1  ha-niː-skʷaytxʷ=1  qon  wəl=1

because=CN  INS-on-rest=CN  REAS  COMP=CN

neediit  naa  ji  hahla'ljit.
nee=diːt  naa  ji  hahla'lst-it8
neː=tiː=t  naː  cə  hahla'st-at

NEG=FOC=DM  who  IRR  work-SX

‘Because it was Sunday, no one was at work.’

(23) Ii  hehl  t'ilxootxwi'y,  “Dim  aam
ii  he=hl  t'ilxoo-txw'-y  dim  aam
?i:  hi=l  təlqo:-txʷ'-y  tam  ?a:m

CCNJ  say[-3.II]=CN  thought-PASS-1SG.II  PROSP  good
dim  will'y,  yukwhl  baxhl  aks.”
dim  wil'-y  yukw=hl  bax=hl  aks
tam  wil'y  yukʷ=ɬ  pəχ=ɬ  ?aks

PROSP  LVB-1SG.II  IPFV=CN  run[-3.II]=CN  water

‘And my thoughts said, “I will be alright because there is running water.”’

8 The root hahla'lst ‘work’ undergoes metathesis of the last two consonants /st/ in this word hahla'ljit. This requires further investigation. As a preliminary generalization, it seems to happen after suffixed underlying vowels but not epenthized vowels (e.g. before -it 'SX', cf. hahla'ljit, but not -y '1SG.II', cf. hahla'lsdi'y).
(24) “Ii akhl ligi 'wihl baasxi'y

ii ak=hl ligi 'wihl- baasx-i'y

ʔi:ʔaq=ɬ likə wəl- pa:xs-ə-y

CCNJ lack[-3.II]=CN DWID around fear-TR-1SG.II

goosun."

goo=s=xwin
qo:=s=xən

LOC[-3.II]=PN=DEM.PROX

‘And there is nothing for me to fear here.’

(25) Ii giilhi'y, ii si'ix woksi'y.

ii giilh'-y ii si'ix- wok-s'-y

ʔi: ki:l-yʔi: siy̓x- wuq-s'-y

CCNJ lay-1SG.II CCNJ try- sleep-PASS-1SG.II

‘And I laid down, and tried to sleep.’

(26) Ii ap neet, gan wina guụhl

ii ap nee-t gan wil=na guu=hl

ʔi:ʔæp ne:t qən wəl=no kʷu:=ɬ

CCNJ VER not.so-3.II REAS COMP=1.I take[-T-3.II]=CN

hlgú pipe gi nii yatshl aats'ip loot.

hlgú- pipe gi n=ii yats=hl aats'ip loo-t

lkʷu- pipe kə n=ʔi: yac=l ʔaːcəp lo:t

small- pipe PR.EVID 1.I=CCNJ hit[-3.II]=CN door OBL-3.II

‘But no, that’s why I took the little pipe and I hit the door with it.’

(27) Ii hlaa aamhl ga'nagwit

ii hlaa aam=hl ga-'nakw-it

ʔi: ʔaːm=l qə-nakʷ-ət

CCNJ INCEP good[-3.II]=CN DISTR-long-SX

iin gya'ahl gadaax̱hl aats'ip wilp xseek.

ii=n gya'a=hl gadaax=hl wilp- xseek

ʔi=n kaʔ=ɬ qaːda:x=ɬ wilp- xsq

CCNJ=1.I see[-3.II]=CN perimeter[-3.II]=CN hoụse go.out.PL

‘And after a while I was able to see the outside of the bathroom.’

(28) Nii japhl 'wii luu no'o dim xsi

n=ii jap=hl 'wii- luu- no'o dim xsi-

n=ʔi: cap=l wii:- lu:- nuʔ təm xsə-

1.I=CCNJ make[-3.II]=CN big- in hole PROSP out-

yuwi'y, ii nithl willi'y.

yuxw-i'-y ii nii=hl wil'-y

yuxʷ-ə-yʔi: nii=ɬ wil-y

follow-TR-1SG.II CCNJ 3.III=CN LVB-1SG.II

‘I made a big hole to go through, and that’s what I did.’
(29) Hlaa xsa’akxwi’y ’nii gayoo ts’imil
inha xsi-akxw'-y n=ii gay-hoo ts’imil-
l’a: xso?-aqwxʷ-ý n=?i: qyy-ho: ṣamwil-

INCEP out-able-1SG.II 1.I=CNJ CNTR-again inside-
t’aahlhl jabi’y goohl
t’aahl-i=hl jap-i’ý goo=hl
ta:l-ə=ɬ cap-ə-ý qo=ɬ
ts’im wilp xseek.
ts’im- wilp xseek
c’əm- wilp xse:q
in- house go.out.PL
‘When I made it out, then I put what I had done (the rubble) back in the bathroom.’

(30) Hlaa yukwhl hahla’lsdi’m ii ha’niiigodı’y wi.hl
inha yukw=hl hahla’lstr-’m ii ha’nii-goot’-y wil=hl
l’a: yukʷ=ɬ hahla’lstr-’m ?i: ha-ñi:qo:t-’y wiɬ=ɬ
INCEP IPFV=CN work-1PL.II CNNJ INS-on-heart-1SG.II COMP=CN
ii’uxwt ɬa:nwilat ’nii yuxwdiithl office’y.
ii’uxwt ɬa’nki-wila=t ’nii- yuxw-diit=hl office’-y
ʔi:wxt qona-wala=t ɬi: ɬa:n yiuxʷ- ti=t=ɬ office’-y
man.PL continually-MANR=3.I on- follow-3PL.II=CN office-1SG.II
‘We went back to work and I wondered why the men kept coming into my office.’

(31) Il hedit, “Oo, ’nit Canadanska flika tun
ii he-diit oo ’nit canadanska flika t=xwín
ʔi: hi-ti:t ʔo: ɬi: ɬa:n canadanska flika t=xʷən
CCNJ say-3PL.II oh 3.III Canadian girl DM=DEM.PROX
ant kw’asinhl wilp xseek.”
an=t kw’as-im=hl wilp- xseek
ʔən=t kw’as-ən=ɬ wilp- xse:q
‘And they said, “Oh, this is the Canadian girl who broke the toilet.”’

3 Kitwancool Reserve Surveyed, by Vincent Gogag

This story is about the time when the current Kitwancool (Gitanyow) reserve was marked out, and the resistance that the surveyors met from the inhabitants of the village. Vince notes that people who know this story laughingly call Kitwancool ‘The Oakalla Reserve’, after the prison of the same name (now closed) where many villagers were imprisoned as a result of their resistance. The story was recorded at UBC on January 29, 2014 by Aidan Pine. Editors include Aidan Pine, Clarissa Forbes, and Henry Davis.

Vince was born and raised in Gitanyow. His dialect is considered Western, and shares occasional properties with the language of the Nass region. While
vowels in this dialect are somewhat shifted from those of the East region, this is most prominent with long back vowels. A shift between short a and e is present, but less pronounced in careful speech, where it remains more a-like.

3.1 Gyaanimx

Dim mehldi’y wila wilhl win ksi hogwin bakwhl mismaaxwsxum gyet go’ohl ts’ebi’m Gitwinhlguu’l gik’uuhl.

Ha’ondii ‘nakw hliada bakwhl gyet dipun, ii sagaytgoodindiithl hli gyedihl Gitwinhlguu’l. Hasåkdiit dim mehldiit win hlaa dim sii ha’nijokt go’ohl win t’aahl galts’ephl Gitwinhlguu’l. ‘Nit sagootxwihl government siwedtiit, ii dim ’nii wenhl dim jokhl aluugigyet go’ohl lax reserve siwedtiit.

Ii sagaytgoodihl hli gyedihl Gitwinhlguu’l ii na’x’niiditiit win dim wihl ligi… needimdiit aam dim wila wil ji gi’namihi – hasåkhl k’amksiwaa dim gi’namiidiithl – ii laxyip ehl Gitwinhlguu’l.

“Gu ganwilt,” diyehl hli gyedihl Gitwinhlguu’l, “ehl ‘nii jogo’m go’ohl laxyibi’m go’osun.”

Ii na’x’niiditiit win dim bakwhl siwedtiit ehl surveyors. Way dimdii depdiithl ga’ngawihl ‘naayeja’a dim win daa’wihl reserve siwetxwist.9 Ii aam win ky’ax gehl Gitwinhlguu’l dim ‘wiit’is, dim wagayt jogo daa’whl go’ohl k’i’yhl sga’nist, dim ii lok’on daa’wihl go’ohl k’i’yhl aks, go’ohl Ksen, ‘nii ga’wayit k’ali daa’wihl go’ohl Meji’aadin. ‘Nitl hasåkdiithl reserve.

Way ii needii hehl Indian Agent-ima’a, siwetxwit ehl Indian Agent, ent sagaytgoodinhl gyet, sagaytwendiit. Ii ‘nii win hehl hli gyedihl Gitwinhlguu’l, “Jidaa neeja wils’im, way ii needimdiit hasaga’m ehl k’am hlguts’iusxhl laxyiphl dim ksi jebisi’im.”

Way ts’ax wildiithl hehl Gitwinhlguu’l ii needii hasåkdiit ehl reserve. “Needii hasaga’m dim dip suwii gi’namhl laxyibi’m,” dida. Ii hediitgat ehl Indian Agent dimt ha’widinhl surveyors, dim suwii huudindiithl surveyors.

Way, ts’ax wildiithl hehl Gitwinhlguu’l ii needii hasåkdiithl reserve, ii hets’imox bakwtgathl surveyors. Ii sit’aa’mam depdiithl hliadaaxhl hlgu lax ha’nijok. Ii al’algatgathl gyet hlis hediit ehl surveyors, “Neemdii hogyax dim wils’im jidaa sit’aa’masi’im.”

Ii k’ap ganiwila yukwhl surveyors.

Way ii sagaytgoodinhl ky’ulhl sim’oogit hli gyedihl Gitwinhlguu’l, ii hediit, “Dim sargasitxu’m, dim suwii huudini’m ‘nidiit. Ii hasaga’m dim hogwin litxwihl k’ay limxsim gyet dim ent hlimoo’m.”


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9 Vince notes that the boundary perimeter was called ‘naayeja’a gadaax (plural: ‘naahisyeya’a gadaax) and that it describes the way the surveyors blazed trees around the perimeter of the reserve.

10 Vince notes: “Tk’esxw [plural seen in text: hap] is to approach with great aggression. When a grizzly bear approaches you to kill you, we call that tk’esxw. Just the approaching, not the actual violence.”
Needii 'nakwt ii bakwhl police. Gididokiithl naahl gay ha'niiigootdiit hukxswit ehl win sim kwhlii gatgoodindiithl anooya'ahl surveyors. Iit luuwendindiit.

Hlist disekshl policehl gyet ent sim kwhlii hisyetshl anooya'ahl surveyors, ii gani 'nihl hehl hli gyedihl Gitwinhlguu'il. “K'ap dim sgasgitxu’m.” Ii luuwenhl ligi gwilunima'ahl simigiyet g'oohl Oakalla Prison siwetxwist. Ligi t'imasimahl k'uuhl luuwendiit.

Way ii yukwhl luuwenhl simigiyet dipun, ii hets'imox bakwhl surveyors. Way ii sim dit'e'lt iiit depdiithl hlguts'uuuxhl lax ha'niiiyip gi'namlh Indian Agent tun ehl hli gyedihl Gitwinhlguu'il. “One mile by one mile,” diphiida 'nuu'm.

Gasgoohl la'bits'iixwhl surveyors, ii k'ap 'nihl ganwihl hehl Gitwinhlguu'il gyu'un, needii sgidimdii k'uuhl t'aadihl surveyor's reserve. Needii gu ji t'amdiit, diyelh het.

'Nihl gabit.

3.2 English

I will tell about when the white men first came to Kitwancool long ago.

Not long after these people arrived, they gathered together the people of Kitwancool. They wanted to tell about the new place where the village of Kitwancool is to be. The plan of the so-called government was that they will have Indian people live on a so-called reserve.

The people of Kitwancool gathered, and they immediately heard that this will not be a good plan for the villagers, if the white people gave what they wanted to give – which was the Kitwancool’s own land.

“Why?” the people of Kitwancool asked. “We live on our land, here.”

They heard that the workers – called surveyors – were coming. They would measure out the distance/length and circumference of what is called the reserve. The people agreed that they wanted a big reserve which would encompass mountains starting from the Skeena all the way up to Meji'aadin. They wanted that for a reserve.

The Indian Agent disagreed, the so-called Indian Agent who gathered the people together for the meeting. And the people of the village Kitwancool said, “If you don’t do that, then we don’t want you to carve out a very small reserve.”

And now even though the people of Kitwancool said they did not want the little reserve – “We don’t want to give away our land,” they said. And they told the Indian Agent to stop the surveyors, they will chase away the surveyors.

Even though Kitwancool said they did not want the reserve, the surveyors apparently came back. They started measuring out the little settlement. So they stood by and watched after they told the surveyors, “It will not not be right that you start.”

The surveyors continued.

One chief gathered together some people of the village, and they said, “We will oppose them and we will chase them away. We will want young men to help us.”
And that’s what they did. They mobbed the surveyors. They took the measuring tape. They took the surveyors’ other equipment. And they completely chopped it up with axes. And they chased away the surveyors.

Not long after, the police came. They arrested people who they thought were around there when they destroyed the surveyors’ tools. And they jailed them.

After the police took away the men who destroyed the surveyors’ tools the Kitwancool people still objected. “We will absolutely oppose it.” And there were maybe three chiefs who were jailed at what was known as Oakalla Prison. It wasn’t recorded how many years they were incarcerated.

While these chiefs were in prison, the surveyors returned. They hurriedly measured out the tiny reserve that the Indian Agent gave Kitwancool. It's one mile by one mile, we said.

Because the surveyors were so afraid, the villagers say today that they should not have made a surveyor’s reserve. They never signed anything, they said.

That’s it.

3.3 Interlinear

(1) Dim mehl'di’y wila wilhl win ksi
dim mehl-d-i’y wila wil=hl win ksi-
təm mel-t-ə-Ɂ wəla wil=Ɂ wən kə-
PROSP tell-T-TR-1SG.II MANR LVB[-3.II]=CN COMP in-
hogwin bakwhl mismaaxwsum gyet
hogwin- bakw=hl mis-maaxwswx-m gyet
hukʷən- pakʷ=Ɂ məs-məksəxʷ- ket
toward- come.PL[-3.II]=CN PL-white-ATTR person

go'ohl ts'ebi'm GitwinhlguuɁ gik'uuhl.
go'o=hl ts'ep'-m gitwinhlguuɁ gik'uuhl
quʔ=Ɂ ŋep-Ɂ kətwənlkʷuɁ kakʷu:Ɂ
LOC[-3.II]=CN inhabitants-1PL.II Kitwancool long.ago

‘I will tell about when the white men first came to Kitwancool long ago.’

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11 Vince emphasizes that the people who were taken away were those who were alleged to have taken part in destroying the tools.
12 Oakalla Prison, located in Burnaby, was closed in 1991.
‘Not long after these people arrived, they gathered together the people of Kitwancool.’

‘They wanted to tell about the new place where the village of Kitwancool is to be.’
(4) 'Nit sagootxwhl  government siwetdiit,
  'nit sa-goot-xw=hl  government si-we-t-diit
  nit sə-qo:t=xʷ= t government sə-we-t-ti:t
3.III CAUS1-heart-PASS[-3.II]=CN government CAUS1-name-T-3PL.II
  ii dim 'nii wenhl  dim jokhl
  ii dim 'nii- wen=hl  dim jok=hl
  ?i:  təm ní:-  wen=1  təm cuq=1
  aaluugigyet  go'ohl  lax  reserve
  aalu-gi~gyet  go'o=hl  lax- reserve
  ?əlu:-kə~ket  qu?=1  ləχ- reserve
plainly-PL~person LOC[-3.II]=CN on- reserve
  siwetdiit.
  si-we-t-diit
  sə-we-t-ti:t
CAUS1-name-T-3PL.II
'The plan of the so-called government was that they will have Indian
people live on a so-called reserve.'

(5) Ii sagaytgoodihl  hli gyedihl
  sagayt-goot-i=hl  hli gyet-i=hl
  ?i:  səqəyt-qo:t=ə=1  ɬə  ket-ə=1
CCNJ together-heart-T[-3.II]=CN PART person-T=CN
  Gitwinhlguul i naχ'ni:diit win dim
  gitwinhlguul i naχ'ni-diit win dim
  katwənl'k'u:1 i:  naχ'ni-ti:t  wən təm
Kitwancool CCNJ hear-3PL.II COMP PROSP
  wihl  ligi... needimdii aam dim
  wil=hl  ligi  nee=dim=diı aam dim
  wil=1  likə  ne:=təm=ti:  ?ə:m təm
LVB[-3.II]=CN DWID NEG=PROSP=FOC good PROSP
  wila  wil  ji  gi'namihl  hasakłh
  wila  wil  ji  gi'nam-i=hl  hasakłh
  wəla  wil  cə  kənəm-ə=1  hasaq=1
  kəamksiwaa  dim  gi'namdiirth – ii
  kəamksiwaa  dim  gi'nam-diit=hl  ii
  qəmksəwa:  təm  kənəm-ti:t=1  ?i:
white.person PROSP give-3PL.II=CN CCNJ
  laxyip  ehl  Gitwinhlguul.1
  laxyip  e=hl  gitwinhlguul
  laxyip  ?ə=1  katwənl'k'u:1
land PREP[-3.II]=CN Kitwancool
'The people of Kitwancool gathered, and they heard that this will not be a
good plan (for the villagers), if the white people gave what they wanted to
give – which was the Kitwancool’s own land.'
“Gu ganwilt,” diyehl hli gyedihl
gu gan-wil-t diye=hl hli gyet-i=hl
kʷi qən-wil-t təye=ł lə ket-ə=ł
what REAS-LVB-3.II QUOT.3SG=CN PART- person-T=CN
Gitwinhlguul “ehl ’nii jolog’m
gitwinhlguul e=hl ’nii- jok’m
ktwanlkʷu:l ?ə=ł ə:- cuq-m
Kitwancool PREP[-3.II]=CN on- live-1PL.II
go’ohl laxyibi’m go’osun.”
go’o=hl laxyip-’m go’o=s=xwin
qu?=ł laxyip-ı qu?=s=xʷin
LOC[-3.II]=CN land-1PL.II LOC[-3.II]=PN=DEM.PROX
“Why?” the people of Kitwancool asked. “We live on our land, here.”

Ii naχ‘nidiit win dim bakwhl siwetdiit
iι naχ‘ni-diit win dim bakw=hl si-we-t-diit
ʔi: naχ’ni-ti:t wən əm bakʷ=ł sə-wo-t-ti:t
CCNJ hear-3PL.II COMP PROSP come.PL=CN CAUS1-name-T-3PL.II
ehl surveyors.
e=hl surveyors
ʔə=ł surveyors
PREP[-3.II]=CN surveyors
‘They heard that what they call surveyors were coming.’

Way dimdii depdiithl ga’nagwihl
way dim=di dep-diit=hl ga’-nakw-it=hl
way əm=ti: tep-ti:=ł qə-ŋakʷ-ət=ł
so PROSP=FOC measure[-TR]-3PL.II=CN DISTR-long-SX=CN
’nəaayeja’a13 dim win dəa’wihl reserve
’nəa-yets-a’ a dim win dəa’wihl=hl reserve
nə:-yec-aʔ əm wən ta:wəl=ł reserve
perimeter PROSP COMP leave=CN reserve
siwtxwist.
si-we-txw=ist
sa-we-txʷ=əst
CAUS1-name-PASS=QUDD
‘They will measure out the length of the perimeter of what is called the reserve.’

13 Glottal stops in Gitksan are typically followed by an ‘echo vowel’ of similar or reduced quality to the vowel preceding the stop. In Vince and Hector’s dialects, these echo vowels tend to surface as devoiced in word-final position where not followed by a glottal-initial word. Similarly, preglottalized sonorants at the end of words (such as the /m/ in ’nuu’m) are rarely voiced after the glottal closure; they are ‘swallowed’.
The people agreed that they wanted a big reserve which would encompass mountains starting from the Skeena all the way up to Meji'aadin. They wanted that for a reserve.

The Indian Agent disagreed, the so-called Indian Agent who gathered the people together for the meeting.

The Indian Agent disagreed, the so-called Indian Agent who gathered the people together for the meeting.
(11) Ii 'nii win\textsuperscript{14} hehl hli gyedihl
ii 'nii win he=hl hli gyet-i=hl
\textsuperscript{?i} 'nii wən hi=l la ket-tə=l
CCNJ on COMP say[-3.II]=CN PART person-T=CN
Gitwinhlguu'l, “Jidaa neeja wils'i=m, way ii
gitwinhlguu'l ji=daa nee=ji wil-si'm way ii
"Kutwənk\textsuperscript{u}l cə=ta: ne=cnə wil-səm way \textsuperscript{?i}:
Kitwancool IRR=SPT NEG=IRR LVB-2PL.II so CCNJ
needimdii hasaga'm ehl k'əm
nee=dim=di hasak'-m e=hl k'am
\textsuperscript{ne}=?əm=ti: hasaq=m ?ə=l ʔəm
NEG=PROSP=FOC want-[1PL.II] PREP=CN only
hlguts'uuxhl laxyiphl dim ksi
hlgu-ts'uuxs=hl laxyip=hl dim ksi-
lk\textsuperscript{u}-cw:lx=\textsuperscript{l} laxyip=\textsuperscript{l} təm kəə-
small-little=CN land=CN PROSP in-
\textsuperscript{je}bisi'ım.”
jep-i-sı'iən
cep-ə=səm
make-TR-2PL.II
‘And the people of the village Kitwancool said, “If you don't do that, then we don't want you to carve out a very small reserve.”’

(12) Way ts'ax̌ wildiihl hehl Gitwinhlguu'l
way ts'ax̌ wil-t-i=hl he=hl gitwinhlguu'l
way čəx̌ wil-t-i=l hi=l kwənk\textsuperscript{u}l
so though LVB-3.II-like=CN say[-3.II]=CN Kitwancool
\textsuperscript{ii} needii hasaka'dit ehl reserve.
\textsuperscript{ii} nee=di hasak-diit e=hl reserve
\textsuperscript{?i}: ne=ti: hasaq-ti:t ?ə=l reserve
CCNJ NEG=FOC want-[3PL.II] PREP[-3.II]=CN reserve
\textsuperscript{“Needii hasaɡag'əm dim dip suwii
nee=di hasak'-m dim dip suwii-
ne=ti: hasaq=m təm təp suwi:-
NEG=FOC want-[1PL.II] PROSP 1PL.I away-
gi'namhl laxyibi'm,” dihiida.
gi'nam=hl laxyip'-m dihiida
kənəm=ɬ laxyip=ɬ təhə:ta
give[-3.II]=CN territory-1PL.II QUOT.3PL
‘And now even though the people of Kitwancool said they did not want the little reserve; “We don't want to give away our land,” they said.’

\textsuperscript{14} The construction 'nii win ‘thus, thereupon’, literally involving a preverb meaning ‘on’, is used in discourse by both Vince and Hector.
Ii hediihtat ehl  Indian Agent
ii he-dii=gt e=hl  Indian Agent
?i: hi-ti:t=qʔt ʔo=l  Indian Agent

CCNJ say-3PL.ii=REPORT  PREP[-3.II]=CN  Indian Agent
  dimt  ha'widinhl  surveyors,  dim  suwii
  dim=t  ha'wit-in=hl  surveyors  dim  suwii-
  təm=t  haʔt-ən=ɬ  surveyors  təm  suwii:-

PROSP=3.I  stop-CAUS2[-3.II]=CN  surveyors  PROSP  away-
  huudindiithl  surveyors.
  huut-in-diit=hl  surveyors
  hu:t-ən-ti:t=ɬ  surveyors

‘And they told the Indian Agent to stop the surveyors; they will chase away
the surveyors.’

Way,  ts'a̱x  wilddiihl  hehl  Gitwinhlguul'
way  ts'a̱x  wil-t-ii=hl  he=hl  gitwinhlguul'
way  ɬəχ  wil-t-i:ɬ  hi=ɬ  kətwən̓kʷə:l
so though  LVB-3.II-like=CN  say[-3.II]=CN  Kitwancool
  ii  needii  hasəkdiithl  reserve,
  ii  nee=diii  hasək-diit=ɬ  reserve
?i:  ne=ti:  hasəq-ti:t=ɬ  reserve

CCNJ  NEG=FOC  want-3PL.ii=CN  reserve
  ii  hets’imox  bakwəgtathl  surveyors.
  ii  hets’im-hox  bakw=t=gt=hl  surveyors
?i:  hec̓om-huχ  pakʷ=t=qʔt=ɬ  surveyors

CCNJ  just=again  come.PL-3.II=REPORT=CN  surveyors

‘Even though Kitwancool said they did not want the reserve, the surveyors
(apparently) came back.’

Ii  sit’aa’mam  depdiithl
ii  si-t’a̱a-mama  dep-dii=ɬ
?i:  sə-t’a-ma-m  tep-ti:t=ɬ

CCNJ  CAUS1-sit-DETR-ATTR  measure-3PL.ii=CN
  hlidaaxhl  hlgu  łəχ  ha’niːjok.
  hlidaax=ɬ  hlgu-  łəχ-  ha’niːjok
  łətə:x=ɬ  łkʷu-  łəχ-  ha-niː-cuq

circumference[-3.II]=CN  little- on-  INS-on-live

‘They started measuring out the little settlement.’
(16) Ii al'algalgtgatlh  gyet  hlis  he-diit
   ii al'-algal-t-gat=hl   gyet  hlis  he-diit
   ?i: ?ol~?alqal-t=qat=1   ket  lis  hi-tit

CCNJ  PL~watch-3.II=REPORT=CN  person  PFV  say-3PL.II

- ehl  surveyors,  “Neemdiid  hogyax  dim
- e=hl  surveyors  nee=m=diid  hogyax  dim
- ?ol=1  surveyors  nee=m=ti:  hukəx  təm

PREP[-3.II]=CN  surveyors  NEG=2.1=FOC  right  PROSP
-wil:si'm  jidaa  si'taa'masi'ım.'
-wil-səm  cə=ta:  sə-ta':-ma-səm

LVB-2PL.II  IRR=SPT CAUS1-sit-DETR-2PL.II

“So they stood by and watched after they told the surveyors, “It will not be right that you start.”

(17) Ii  k'ap  ganiwila  yukwhl  surveyors.
   ii  k'ap  gani-wila  yukw=hl  surveyors
   ?i:  qəp  qəni-wəla  yukʷ=ɬ  surveyors

CCNJ  VER  continually-MANR  do[-3.II]=CN  surveyors

‘But the surveyors continued.’

(18) Way ii sagatygoodinhl  ky'uulhl
   way ii sagayt-goot-in=hl  ky'uul=hl
   way ?i: saq̓əyt-qo:t-ən=ɬ  kul=hl

so CCNJ  together-heart-CAUS2[-3.II]=CN  one,HUM[-3.II]=CN

sim'oogit  hli  gyedihl  Gitwinhlguu'il,
sim'oogit  hli  gyet-i=hl  gitwinhlguu'l
səm?o:kit  lə  ket-ə=ɬ  kətwənlkʷu:l
chief  PART  person-T=CN  Kitwancool

ii  hedit,  “Dim sgasgitux'm,
ii  he-diit  dim  sɡa-sgi-txw-i'-m
?i:  hi-tit  tam  sqə-ski-txʷ-ə-m

CCNJ  say-3PL.II  PROSP  block.way-lie-PASS-TR-1PL.II

- dim suwii  huudini'm  'nidiit.’
- dim suwii-  huit-in'-m  'nidiit
- tam suwi:-  huit-ən-ɬ  ʰi:it

PROSP  away-  run.away-CAUS2[-TR]-1PL.II  3PL.III

‘One chief gathered together some people of the village, and they said “We will oppose (them) and we will chase them away.”’
“We will want the support of young men to help us.”

They mobbed the surveyors.’

‘They took the measuring tape (what we call tape in English).’

‘They took the tools, surveyors’ equipment, what the surveyors’ tools were called.’
(24) Iit sim kwhlii hisyetsdiit
   ii=t sim- kwhlii- his-yets-diit
   ?i:=t som- k³li- həs-yec-ti:t
CCNJ=3.I truly- all.Over - PL-chop-3PL.II
   ehl luuhi glyootxw.
   e=hl luu-hli-gyoo-txw
   ?ə=l lu-ɬə-ko-txw
   PREP[-3.II]=CN axe
   ‘And they completely chopped it up with axes.’

(25) Iit huudindiithl surveyors.
   ii=t huut-in-diit=hl surveyors
   ?i:=t hu:tni-ti:t=hl surveyors
CCNJ=3.I run.away-CAUS-3-3PL.II=CN surveyors
   ‘And they chased away the surveyors.’

(26) Needii 'nakwt ii bakwhl police.
    nee=di 'nakw-t ii bakw=hl police
    ne:ti 'nakw-t ?i: pak³=1 police
NEG=FOC long-3.II CCNJ come.PL[-3.II]=CN police
   ‘Not long after, the police came.’

(27) Gididokdiithl naahl gay ha'niigootdiit
    gidi-dok-diit=hl naa=hl gay ha'niigoot-diit
    kiti-tuq-ti:t=ɬ qəy ha:nitqo:ti:t
stop.in.motion-take.PL[-TR]-3PL.II=CN who=CN CNTR thought-3PL.II
    gəksəwit ehl win sim kwhlii
    huksəwit ehl win sim- kwhlii-
    huk-səx⁻at ?ə=ɬ wən sam- k³li-
accompany-ANTIP-SX PREP[-3.II]=CN COMP truly- all.Over-
    gətgaʊgəndiithl anooyəaḥl
    gət~gəo-din-diit=hl aŋ-hoaxəa=həl
    qətqo:tni-ti:t=ɬ ?ən-ho:x-aʔ=ɬ
PL~empty-CAUS2-3PL.II=CN NMLZ-use-DETR[-3.II]=CN
    surveyors.
surveyors
    surveyors
    surveyors
   ‘They arrested people who they thought were around there when they
    destroyed the surveyors’ tools.’

(28) Iit luuwendindiit.
   ii=t luu-wen-din-diit
   ?i:=t lu:-wen-tan-ti:t
CCNJ=3.I in-sit.PL-CAUS2-3PL.II
   ‘And they jailed them.’
(29) Hlist disekshl policehl gyet ent
hlis=t di-seks=hl police=hl gyet en=t
lis=t tə-seks=l police=l ket ?ən=t
PFV=3.I COM-leave.PL[-3.II]=CN police=CN people AX=3.1
sim kwhlii hisyetshl anooya\'ahl
sim kwhlii- his\~yets=hl an-hoox-a\'=hl
səm- k\*lii- has\~yec=l ?ən-ho:x-a?=l
surveyors, ii gani 'n\~h\~l hehl
surveyors ii gani 'nit=hl he=hl
surveyors ?i: qəni nit=l hi=l
surveyors CCNJ continually 3.II=CN SAY[-3.II]= CN
hli gyeduhl Gitwinhlguu\'l.
hli gyet-i=hl gitwinhlguu\l
lə ket-ə=l kətwanik\*u:l
PART person-T=CN Kitwancool

‘After the police took away the men who destroyed the surveyors’ tools, the Kitwancool people still objected.’

(30) “K'ap dim s'gasgitu'x\~m.'"
k'ap dim s'ga-sgi-txw-i\~m
qəp təm sqə-ski-tx\~ə-m
VER PROSP block-lie.on-PASS-TR-1PL.II

‘We will absolutely oppose it.’"

(31) Ii luuwenhl ligi gwilunima\'ahl
ii luu-wen=hl ligi gwilun=ima\'a=hl
?i: lu:-wen=l likə kwilun=əma?=l
CCNJ in-sit.PL[-3.II]=CN DWID three.HUM=EPIS=CN
simgigyet go\'ohl Oakalla Prison
simgigyet go\'o=hl Oakalla Prison
səm-kə~ket qu?=l Oakalla Prison
true-PL~person LOC[-3.II]=CN Oakalla Prison
siwetxwist.
si-we-txw=ist
sə-we-txʷ=əst
CAUS1-name-PASS=QUDD

‘And there were maybe three chiefs who were jailed at what was known as Oakalla Prison.’
(32) Ligi  t'imisima'hl  k'uuhl  luuwendiit.
ligi  t'am-is=ima'=hl15  k'uuhl  luu-wen-diit
likə  tam-is=əma?=l  kʷuːl  lu:-wen-ti:t
DWID  write=EPIS=CN  year  in-sit.PL-3PL.II
'It wasn’t recorded how many years they were incarcerated.’

(33) Way  ii  yukwhl  luuwenhl  simgigyet
way  ii  yukw=hl  luu-wen=hl  sim-gi~gyet
way  ?i:  yuks'=l  lu:-wen=l  sam-ki~ket
so  CCNJ  IPFV=CN  in-sit.PL-3.II=CN  true-PL~person
dipun,  ii  hets'imo=x
dip=xwin  ii  hets'im-hox
tap=x'in  ?i:  hecəm-huʔ
ASSOC=DEM.PROX  CCNJ  just=again
bakwhl  surveyors.
bakw=hl  surveyors
pakʷ=ɬ  surveyors
come.PL-3.II=CN  surveyors
‘While these chiefs were in prison, the surveyors returned.’

(34) Way  ii  sim  dit'e'l-t  iit
way  ii  sim-  di-t'e'l-t  ii=t
way  ?i:  sam-  tə-tel-t  ?i=t
so  CCNJ  truly= DUR-hurry-3.II  CCNJ=3.I
depdiitl  hlgu-t's潇h=xh  ləx  ha'niiyip
dep-diit=hl  hlgu-t's潇h=hl  ləx-  ha-'nii-yip
tep-ti:t=l  lkʷu-ču:sx=ɬ  ləχ-  ho-ńi:-yip
measure-3PL.II=CN  small-little=CN  on-INS-on-earth
gi'namihl  Indian  Agent  tun
gi'nam-i=hl  Indian  Agent  t=xwin
koʔam-i=ɬ  Indian  Agent  t=xʷin
give-TR-3.II=CN  Indian  Agent  DM=DEM.PROX
ehl  hli  gyedihl  Gitwinhlgu'u:l.
e=hl  hli  gyet-i=hl  gitwinhlgu'u'l
?ə=ɬ  lə  ket-ə=ɬ  kətwənlikʷuːl
PREP-3.II=CN  PART  person-T=CN  Kitwancool
‘They hurriedly measured out the tiny reserve that the Indian Agent gave Kitwancool.’

15 The word t'imis ‘write’ is one of the few instances where an affix -is (precise meaning unknown) attracts stress away from the root. Here, the vowel in the root t'am /t̓am/ undergoes vowel reduction in unstressed position, shifting to [tim].
4 Betl'a Betl' (The Name Story), by Hector Hill

This story is about Hector’s youth, and how he received the name Betl’a Betl’. It was recorded on March 9, 2012 by Michael Schwan and Clarissa Forbes. Editors include Mark Egelhoff, Clarissa Forbes, and Henry Davis.

Hector was born and raised in Gitsegukla. His father was from the west, where Coast Tsimshian (Sm’algyax) is spoken. His dialect is considered Western, and has the most dramatic vowel shift difference from the variety discussed by Hindle and Rigsby (1973); the a~e vowel is notably e-like. More dorsal stops are
4.1 Gitxsenimx

K'ay yukwhl guts'uusgi'y, k'ay guts'uusgi'y dis wihl hogwin kw'itxwhl hla gu'm aloohl ga'ahl Gijgyukwhla'a. K'ay yukwhl jogo'm ga'ahl ts'ìm wilps noxo'm gan nígwoodi'm. Ii hogwin kw'itxws Manhl wat, Man, hogwin kw'itxw Jacob Brown. Ii hasakt dímt mehlhil wila wílt win yukwhl silinasxwt.

Ii hlaa yukw dim sáa yeet, iit dökhl walk'a' níthl gabîihl dim hoojit, dim wila da'akhlxw silinasxwt. Ii hasakt dímt mehlhil loo'm wila wílt. Iit wendí'm, t'aatdít 'nuu'm, 'nii'y gânhl gasdík'eekwsi'y. Ii 'nii win hét, “Dim mehldi’y tun loon.

“Yukwhl yee'y dim silinasxwi'y, ií t'aahl bisde'y, mga t'aahl bisde'y,” diye 'nít. “Ií ná gya'ahl xádaa. Yukwhl hasaga'y dim an t'xooganhł gâltsebi'y. Ií jída hluentxwi'y,” diya, “dim ii gipaykwhl bisde'y dim ii huuthl xádaa hasaga'y.”

Ii 'nii win needíi xsbeltxws Man. Disim t'aa' nít… gya'at 'nuu'm… gya'at wila jepdí'm… gya'at wila wíl'íy.

Iin dip gidax guhl wílt. “Guhl gay guxwin, bisde'y ji ligi xádaa?”

Ii 'nii win t'aat, ií hét: “Jída na guxw bisde'y… jída na guxw bisde'y, mi k'am ky'ilh' níiy dim yookxwit. Ií jída gibe'esxwi'y waayt dim an suwi yeehl bisde'y, dim iín da'akhlxw dim hogwin yée ga'ahl, ts'uusgim hogwin dulbinsxwi'y ga'ahl xádaa. Dim iín da'akhlxw dim an guxwt dim ii t'xoogxwhl walk'a' nílhy gyet.”

Ii 'nii win hílsxwt mehlit loo'm ií daa'whl ha'wt. Ii hlaa gibil sa hlisit saa daa'whlít dis wihl na heksímox gya'at. Ii hogwin baça'y go'ot ií 'nii win he'y loot, “Neema da'akhlxw dima mehlhil wíla wíl'íy bisde'y gi’?“

Ii 'nii win hét, “Dim hogwin kw'itxw 'nii'y ga'ahl wilps noxon dim iín mehlít loon.”

Ií gukws ha'wi'y ií na gibe'esxwi'y loot ít mehla wíla wíl'í bisde'y. Ií yukwt mehlit ií 'nii win hét, “Yukwhl silinasxwi'y ií hasaga'm aloohl xádaa. Ií hasaga'm dim t'xoogan 'walk'a' nílhy gyet ií mga t'aahl bisde'y. Ií jída hluentxwi'y dim ii gipaykwhl bisde'y.” Ii 'nii win hes Man, “betl'a betl'a betl'a betl’,” diya, dim wíla gipaykwhl bisde'y.

“Sim 'nii win hluentxwi’y,” diya, “sim 'nii win hluentxwi'y kw'esini'yhl gan. Ií ts'eekxwhl windiit liipaykwhl bisde'y, ií 'nii win gipaykowski't iíma xa'nít – betl'a betl'a betl'a betl'” gi. Ií needíi hasaga'y dim an hluentxwi'y dim wíla huuthl xádaa, silinasxwi'y, win mga t'aahl bisde'y.”

Wína k'uxw gya'as Man, Jacob Brown, ií na hox gidaxt, “Neem da'akhlxw dima mehlhil wíla wíl'íy betl'a betl' loomaa?” Ií 'nii win sit'aa'mam siwetdí'yt Man Betl'a Betl'. 'Níi gan wíl'íy we'y gyuun' as Betl'a Betl'.

Gabîihl he'y.

4.2 English

When I was young our relative came over that lives in Gitsegyukla. I was still living at my mom and dad’s house. And Man came over, he was called Man. Jacob Brown came over. He wanted to tell the story of when he was hunting.
Before he went, he gathered everything to use so he could catch what he was hunting. And he wanted to tell us how he would do it. And he made us sit down, he sat us down, me and my brothers and sisters. And then he said, “I will tell you this.

“I was going hunting, and a grouse was there, a grouse was in the way,” he said. “And I saw the moose. I wanted to feed my village. And if I moved,” he said, “the grouse would fly away, and the moose that I wanted would run away.”

And Man didn’t make a sound. He sat still, he looked at us, he looked at what we were doing, he looked at how we were.

And we asked what he did. “What did you shoot, a grouse or a moose?”

And then he sat down, and he said “If I shot the grouse... If I shot the grouse, I would be the only one to eat. And if I waited until the grouse walked away, then I would be able to walk real close to the moose. And then I would be able to shoot it and then all the people would eat.”

After he finished telling us, he went home. And then after two days I seen him again. And I ran toward him and I said to him, “Can you tell what happened about the grouse?”

And then he said, “I will be over at your mom’s house and I will tell you.”

And I went home and waited for him and then he told me about the grouse. And when he was telling it, he said, “I was hunting and we wanted to get the moose. And we wanted to feed all the people but the grouse was in the way. If I moved, the grouse would fly.” Man said that the grouse started to fly and made the sound betl'a betl'a betl'a betl'a betl'.

“As soon as I moved,” he said, “as soon as I moved, I broke a stick. It’s noisy when the grouse flies, and you can hear them when they fly – betl'a betl'a betl'a betl'a betl'. So I didn't want to move, so that the moose would not run away because of the grouse.”

Every time I saw Man I asked him to tell us the story about betl'a betl'. This was when Man named me Betl'a Betl'. That’s why I am named Betl'a Betl' now.17

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16 There are some issues with the translation in this portion; plural marking on the Gitksan verb suggests that Hector is talking generally about animals fleeing when they hear a noise, but the use of the English the in the translation indicates the specific grouse and moose that Man was confronted with.

17 Gitksan is a morphologically tenseless language. The tense of this English translation has been made consistently past for ease of reading. Hector’s original translation, which is often in the present tense, is preserved below in the interlinear gloss.
4.3 Interlinear

(1) K’ay yukwhl guts'uusgi’y, k’ay guts'uusgi’y
k’ay yukw=hl hlgu-ts'uusk’y k’ay hlgu-ts'uusk’y
q̓ə yuκw=sł lkgu-ču:sk-ý q̓ə yuκw=hl hlgu-ču:sk-ý
still IPFV=CN small-little-1SG.II still small-little-1SG.II
dis wihl hogwin kw’itxwhl hla gu’m
dis wil=hl hogwin- kw’itxw=hl hli gu’m
tas wa=ł huk*on- k*itxw=ł tə k*um

4.3 Interlinear

(2) K’ay Yukwhl jəg̓əłm ga’ahl ts’im
k’ay yukw=hl jok’-m ga’ə=hl ts’im-
q̓ə yukw=sł cuq-ıə qa?=ł ʔə-
still IPFV=CN live-1PL.II LOC[-3.II]=CN in-

wilps noxə’m ga’ə=hl ga’ə=hl
wilp=s nox’-m ga’ə=hl ga’ə=hl
wilp=s nu’-sə qa=ł nək*ə:t-łə

house[-3.II]=PN mother-1SG.II PCNJ father-1SG.II

(3) Ii hogwin kw’itxws Manhl wat, Man,
i hogwin- kw’itxw=sl Man=hl wa-t Man
ʔi: huk*on- k*itxw=sl Man=ł wa-t Man
CCNJ toward- come[-3.II]=PN Man=CN name-3.II Man

hogwin kw’itxw Jacob Brown.
hogwin- kw’itxw Jacob Brown
huk*on- k*itxw Jacob Brown
toward- arrive Jacob Brown

(4) Ii hasak’t dimt mehlıhl wila wilt
ii hasak-t dim=t mehl-i=hl wila wilt-t
ʔi: hasaq-t tam=t mel-ə=ł wala wilt-t

win yukwhl silinasxwlt.
win yukw=hl silin-asxw-t
wən yukw=sł silin-asxw-t
COMP IPFV=CN hunt-ANTIP-3.II

‘He wants to tell the story of when he was hunting.’

‘When I was young our relative came over that lives in Gitsegyukla.’

We were still living at our mom and dad’s house.’

‘And Man came over, he was called “Man”. Jacob Brown came over.’

‘He wants to tell the story of when he was hunting.’
(5) Ii hlaa yukw dim saa yeet.
ii hlaa yukw dim saa yee-t
ʔi: ła: yukʷ təm sa: ye:-t
CCNJ INCEP IPFV PROSP away go-3.II
‘And before he goes,’

(6) Iit dokhl walk'a 'nithl gabiihl dim
ii=t dok=hl walk'a 'nit=hl gabi=hl dim
ʔi:t tuq=ɬ waɬqə nət=ɬ qəbi:=ɬ təm
CCNJ=3.I take.PL[-3.II]=CN all 3.III=CN CNT.AMT=CN PROSP
hooyit, dim wila da'akhlxw silinaxsxwt.
hoox-i-t dim wila da'akhlxw silin-asxw-t
ho:x-ə-t təm wəla təʔaqlxʷ səlin-asxʷ-t
use-TR-3.II PROSP MANR CIRC.PSBL hunt-ANTIP-3.II
‘And he gathers everything to use so he can catch (what he’s hunting).’

(7) Ii hasakt dimt mehlit loo'm
ii hasak-t dim=t mehl-i-t loo'-m
ʔi: həsaq-t təm=t mel-ə-t lo:-m
CCNJ want-3.II PROSP=3.I tell-T-3.II OBL-1PL.II
wila wilt.
wila wil-t
wəla wil-t
MANR LVB-3.II
‘And he wants to tell us how he would do it.’

(8) Iit wendi'm, t'aatdit 'nuu'm, 'nni'y ganhl
ii=t wen-di'-m t'aa-t-i- 18 'nuu'm 'nni'y gan=hl
ʔi:t wen-tə-m ta:-t-ə-t ni:m ni:i:y qən=ɬ
CCNJ=3.I sit.PL-T-1PL.II sit-T-TR-3.II 1PL.III 1SG.III PCNJ=CN
gasdik'eekwsi'y.
 ga-sidak'eekw-s'-y
PL-sibling-PASS-1SG.II
qə-stake:kʷ-s'-y
‘And he made us sit down, he sat us down, me and my brothers and sisters.’

18 The morpheme glossed as T has the peculiar property of surfacing as an onset /t/~[d] in independent clauses, but also epenthesizing a second [t] when suffixed to a vowel-final stem with no existing coda. This is seen in forms like t'aatdit above, and siwaitdit, guudit, etc.
(9) Ii 'nii win het, “Dim mehldi’y tun
  ii 'nii win he-t dim meh-l-d-i’-y t=xwin
?i:  nii waŋ hi-t tam mel-t-ə-y  t=xʷin
CCNJ on COMP say-3.II PROSP tell-T-TR-1SG.II DM=DEM.PROX
loon.”
loo-n
lo:-n
OBL-2SG.II
‘And then he said, “I will tell you this.”’

(10) “Yukwhl yee’y dim silinasxwi’y, ii
  yu̱kʷ=ɬ yee’-y dim silin-asxw’-y ii
  IPFV=CN go-1SG.II PROSP hunt-ANTIP-1SG.II
CCNJ
t’aahl bisde’y, sɡa t’aahl bisde’y,”
t’aa=ɬl bisde’y sɡa- t’aa=ɬl bisde’y
  ta:=ɬ pastey sq̲ə- ta:=ɬ pastey
sit[-3.II]=CN grous block.way- sit=CN grous
diyе  ’nit.
diyе  ’nit
toye  ’nit
QUOT.3SG 3.III
“I’m going to hunt, and a grouse was there, a grouse was in the way,” he said.

(11) “Ii na gya’ahl χadaa.”
  ii  n= gya’a=ɬl  χadaa
?i:  n= kaʔ=l  χ̓a:da:
CCNJ 1.1= see[-3.II]=CN moose
“And I saw the moose.”

(12) “Yukwhl hasaga’y dim an t xooganhl
  yu̱kʷ=ɬ hasaq-ɬy tam =n t̓ xo:q-an=l
  IPFV=CN want-1SG.II PROSP =1.I eat-CAUS2[-3.II]=CN
galts’ebi’y.”
gal-ts’ep’-ɬy
qal-ɬep-ɬy
cont a in-village.people-1SG.II
“I want to feed my village.”

(13) “Ii jida hlentxwi’y,” diya,
  ii ji-da hlen-txw’-y diya
?i:  c=tə len-txʷ-ɬy təya
CCNJ IRR-SPT move-PASS-1SG.II QUOT.3SG
“And if I move,” he said,’
(14) “Dim ii gipaykw=hl bisde'y dim ii huuthl
dim ii gipaykw=hl bisde'y dim ii huut=hl
tom ?i: kʰapʰaykʷ=ɬ pəste'y tom ?i: hυt=t=

xədəa hasaɡa'y.

xədəa hasakʷy'19
γəta: hasaq-ɣ
moose want-1SG.II

“The grouse will fly away, and the moose that I want will run away.”

(15) Ii 'nii win needi=x̲sdeltxws
i=ii 'nii win nee=dii x̲s-del-txws=s
ʔi: nii: won ne:=ti: γs-tel-txws=s
CCNJ on COMP NEG=FOC SUPER-make.noise-PASS[-3.II]=PN

Man.
Man
Man
Man

‘And Man didn’t make a sound.’

(16) Disim t'aas 'nit... gya'at 'nuu'm... gya'at wila
disim- t'aas 'nīt gya'a-t 'nuu'm gya'a-t wila
tisom- ñat kaʔ-t nu:mì kaʔ-t wala
keep.on- sit 3.III see[-TR]-3.II 1PL.III see[-TR]-3.II MANR
jepdi'm... gya'at wila wili'y.
jep-t-i'm gya'a-t wila wil'-y
cep-t-ə-m kaʔ-t wala wil'-y
make-T-TR-1PL.II see[-TR]-3.II MANR LVB-1SG.II

‘He had to sit still, he looked at us, he looked at what we were doing, he
looked at how we were.’

(17) In dip gidax guhl wilt.
i=ii dip gidax gu=hl wil-t
ʔi:=n təp kidaɣ kʷu=ɬ wil-t
CCNJ=1.I 1PL.I ask what=CN LVB-3.II

‘And we asked what he did.’

(18) “Guhl gay guxwin, bisde'y ji ligi xədəa?”
gu=hl gay guxw-i-n bisde'y ji ligi xədəa
kʷu=ɬ qoɣ kʷuxʷ-ə-n pəste'y cohə ləki: γəta:
what=CN CONTR shoot-TR-2SG.II grouse IRR DWID moose

“What did you shoot, a grouse or a moose?”

19 In contrast to the translation, which involves an object-centered relative clause, the
construction xədəa hasaɡa'y is based on the noun hasak ‘desire’, making ‘the moose of my
wanting’ a more literal translation.
(19) Ii 'nii win t'aat,
    ii 'nii win t'aa-t
ʔi:  ni: wən ta:-t
CCNJ on COMP sit-3.II
    'And then he sat down.'

(20) Ii het: “Jida na guxw bisde'y,”
    ii he-t ji-da n= guxw bisde'y
ʔi:  hi-t cə-ta n= kʷuxʷ pəesture
CCNJ say-3.II IRR-SPT 1.I= shoot[-3.II] grouse
    ‘And he said “If I shoot the grouse,”’

(21) “Jida na guxw bisde'y dim ii k'am
    ji-da n= guxw bisde'y dim ii k'am
    cə-ta n= kʷuxʷ pəesture dom ᵢ:  q̓əm
IRR-SPT 1.I= shoot[-3.II=CN] grouse PROSP CCNJ only
    ky'ul 'nii'y dim yookxwit.”
    ky'ul 'nii'y dim yook-xw-it
    kəl n̓i:y təm yə:q-xʷ-ət
    one,HUM 1SG.III PROSP eat-PASS-SX
    “‘If I shoot the grouse, I will be the only one to eat.’”

(22) “Ii jida gibee'esxwi'y waayt dim an
    ii ji-da gibe'-esxw'-y wagayt dim an
ʔi:  cə-ta gəbə-ʔsxʷ'-y wagəyt təm ᵢ:an
CCNJ IRR-SPT wait-ANTIP-1SG.II completely PROSP NMLZ
    suwi yeehl bisde'y,”
    suwi- yee=hl bisde'y
    suwi- ye:=l pəesture
    away- go[-3.II]=CN grouse
    “‘And if I wait until the grouse walks away,’”

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²⁰ This marker an in is most likely a nominalizer; this suggests the interpretation of this line is most literally ‘And if I wait until the going away of the grouse…”
“Dim in da’akhlw dim hogwin yee ga’ahl,
dim ii=n da’akhlw dim hogwin- yee ga’a=hl
tom ?i=n to?aqlxw tom huk*on- ye: qa?=l
PROSP CCNJ=1.1 CIRC.PSBL PROSP toward- go LOC[-3.II]=CN
ts’uusgim hogwin dubinsxwi’y ga’ahl
ts’uusk-m hogwin- dup-in-sxw-’y ga’a=hl
cu:sk-m huk*on- tulp-on-sxw-’y qa?=l
little-ATTR toward- close-CAUS2-ANTIP-1SG.II LOC[-3.II]=CN
xadaa.”

"Then I’ll be able to walk right to, to get real close to the moose."

"I’ll be able to walk right to, to get real close to the moose."

(24) “Dim in da’akhlw dim an guxwt dim
dim ii=n da’akhlw dim =n guxw-t dim
tom ?i=n to?aqlxw tom =n k*ux*?-t tom
PROSP CCNJ=1.1 CIRC.PSBL PROSP =1.1 shoot-3.II PROSP
ii txookxwhl walk’a ’nihl gyet.”
i txook-xw=hl walk’a ’ni=hl gyet
?i: tkoq-x*=l walqo nat=k ket
CCNJ eat.PL-PASS[-3.II]=CN all 3.III=CN people
"And then I will be able to shoot it and then all the people will eat."

(25) Ii ’nii win hlisxwt mehlit loo’m
ii ’nii win hlis-xw-t mehl-i-t loo’-m
?i: ni: wən lis-x*-t mel-a-t lo:=-m
CCNJ on COMP finish-PASS-3.II tell-T-3.II OBL-1PL.II
ii daa’whl ha’wt.
ii daa’whl ha’w-t
?i: ta:wl haw-t
CCNJ leave go.home-3.II
‘After he finished telling (it to) us, he went home.’

(26) Ii hlaa gibil sa hlisit saa daa’whlit dis
ii hlaa gibil sa hlis-it saa- daa’whl-it dis
?i: la: kilpəl sa lis-ət sa:- ta:wl-ət təs
CCNJ INCEP two day finish-SX away- leave-SX time
wihl na heksimox gya’at.
wəl=hl n= heksim-hox gya’a-t
wəl=ɬ n= heksım-huʃ kaʔ-t
COMP=CN 1.1= just-again see-3.II
‘And then after two days (had passed) I seen him again.’
(27) Ii hogwin baxa’y go’ot ii ’nii win he’y
     ii hugwin- bax’-y go’o-t ii ’nii win he’-y
     ?i: huk*on- pay̲-y quʔ?-t ?i: ni: wən hi-ʔ
     CCNJ toward- run-1SG.II LOC-3.II CCNJ on COMP say-1SG.II
     loot: 
     loo-t
     loc-t
     OBL-3.II
     ‘And I ran toward him and I said to him:’

(28) “Neema da’akhlxw dima mehlīhl wila
Kyle =ma da’akhlxw dim=ma mehl-i=hl wila
neg=2.I CIRC.PSBL PROSP=2.I tell-T[-3.II]=CN MANR
     wihl  bisde’y gi?”
     wil=hl bisde’y =gi
     wil=l paste’y =ki
     LVBl[-3.II]=CN grouse =PR.EVID
     “Can you tell what happened about the grouse?”

(29) Ii ’nii win het: “Dim hogwin kw’įtxw ’nii’y
     ii ’nii win he-t dim hogwin- kw’įtxw ’nii’y
     ?i: ni: wən hi-t əm huk*on- kʷitxʷ niːʔ
     CCNJ on COMP say-3.II PROSP toward- arrive 1SG.III
     ga’ahl wilps noxən dim ii=n
     ga’=hl wilps= nox-n dim ii=n
     qa?=l wilp=s nox-n əm ?iː=ni
     mehlīt loon.”
     mehl-i-t loo-n
     mehl-i-t loc-n
     tell-T-3.II OBL-3.II
     ‘And then he said: “I will be over at your mom’s house and I will tell
     you.”’
‘And I went home and waited for him and then he told me about the grouse.’

‘And when he was telling it (the story), and then he says:’

‘I was hunting and we wanted to get the moose.’

21. The appearance of na in this sentence, if it is indeed a Series I 1SG marker, is unexpected, as it results in anomalous doubling of Series I and II morphemes for a first person (na gibe'esxwi'y). An alternate possibility is that it is an aspectual marker more characteristic of Coast Tsimshian (cf. na(h) ‘PAST’). Hector comments that it emphasizes the fact that he actually waited.
(33) “Ii hasaga’m dim t’xoogan’  ’walk’a  ’nǐẖl
  ii hasak’-m dim t’xoök’-in  ’walk’a  ’nįt=hl
  ?i:  hasaq-ii tam t’xo:q-an  wąlq̓ə  n̓at=ł

CCNJ  want-1PL.II  PROSP  eat-CAUS2[-3.II=CN]  all  3.III=CN

gyet  ii  sga  t’aahl  bisde’y.”

CCNJ  PROSP  CCNJ  fly[-3.I=CN]
gyet  ii  sga-  t’aa=hl  bisde’y

people  CCNJ  block.way-  sit[-3.II]=CN  grouse

people  CCNJ  block.way-  sit[-3.II]=CN  grouse

“And we wanted to feed all the people but the grouse was in the way.””

(34) “Ii jida hlentxwi’y  dim ii  gipaykw
  ji-da hlen-txw’-y  dim ii  gipaykw
  ?i:  ca-ta  len-txʷ’-y  tam  ?i:  kəpaykw’

CCNJ  on  COMP  say[-3.II]=PN  Man  flap  flap  flap

betl’,”  diya,  dim  wila  gipaykwəhl  bisde’y.

betl’  diya  dim  wila  gipaykw=hl  bisde’y

flap  QŪOT.3SG  PROSP  MANR  fly[-3.II]=CN  grouse

‘Man said that the grouse started to fly and made the sound betl’a betl’a betl’a betl’a betl’."

(35) Ii  ‘nii win  hes  Man,  “Betl’a  betl’a  betl’a
  ‘nii win  he=s  Man  betl’a  betl’a  betl’
  ?i:  n̓i:  wən  hi=s  Man  pəl̓a  pəl̓a  pəl̓a

CCNJ  on  COMP  say[-3.II]=PN  Man  flap  flap  flap

betl’,”  diya,  dim  wila  gipaykwəhl  bisde’y.

betl’  diya  dim  wila  gipaykw=hl  bisde’y

flap  QŪOT.3SG  PROSP  MANR  fly[-3.II]=CN  grouse

‘Man said that the grouse started to fly and made the sound betl’a betl’a betl’a betl’a betl’."

  sim  ‘nii win  hlen-txw’-y  diya  sim  ‘nii
  n̓i:  wən  len-txʷ’-y  təya  sam  n̓i:
true  on  COMP  move-PASS-1SG.II  QŪOT.3SG  true  on

win  hlentxwi’y  kw’esini’y̱l  gan.”

win  hlen-txw’-y  kw’es-in’-y=hl  gan

wən  len-txʷ’-y  kʷes-ən’-y=ł  qən

COMP  move-PASS-1SG.II  break-CAUS2-1SG.II=CN  stick

“As soon as I moved,” he said, “as soon as I moved, I broke a stick.””

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22 The lower clause in this sentence is missing its subject; this is unusual in Gitksan, which generally lacks subject control constructions. Further investigation is warranted.
(37) “Ii ts’ee̱kʷxwhl windiit liipaykwhl bisde’y,
ii ts’ee̱kʷxw=hl win=dii=t[^23] liipaykw=hl bisde’y
ʔi: če:qxʷ=ł won=ti:=t li:phaykʷ=ł pəste’y
ii ‘nii win gipaykw=hti iima ʔa’nit –
iι ‘nii win gipaykw=hti ii=ma ʔa’nî-t
ʔi: ni: wən kəphaykʷ-ṭi:t ʔi:==mə ʔənî-t
CCNJ on COMP fly-3PL.II CCNJ=2.I hear-3.II
betl’a betl’a betl’a betl’a betl’ gi.”
betl’a betl’a betl’a betl’a betl’ =gi
peʔa peʔa peʔa peʔa peʔa =kə
flap flap flap flap flap =PR.EVID

“‘It’s noisy when the grouse flies, and you can hear them when they fly –
betl’a betl’a betl’a betl’a betl.’”

(38) “Ii needii hasaga’y dim an hlentxwî’y
ii nee=dii hasaʔ’y dim an- hlen-txʷ’y
CCNJ NEG=FOC want-1SG.II PROSP NMLZ- move-PASS-1SG.II
dim wila huuthl xadaa, silinasxwi’y,
dim wila huut=hl xadaa silin-asxʷ’y
təm wala hutz=ł ɬəta: salin-asxʷ-ʔy
PROSP MANR flee.PL-[3.II]=CN moose hunt-ANTIP-1SG.II
win sga t’aahł bisde’y.”
win sga- t’aa=hl bisde’y
wan sq̓ =ł iə:ł pəste’y
COMP block.way- sit[-3.II]=CN grouse

“So I didn’t want to move, so that the moose, (my game,) will not run away because of the grouse being there.”

[^23]: There are two possible interpretations of the form windiit – as above, with the complementizer win, focal =dii and Series I clitic =t, or one where it is broken as win-dii, based on the light verb wil with Series II third plural suffix -diit. Both analyses are somewhat anomalous: the first version has an ergative clitic appearing in an intransitive clause, where one would not be expected. Under the second hypothesis, the light verb would be expected to surface as wildiit – win typically only appears as the Western dialect variant of the complementizer. Furthermore, the stress pattern recorded here for this combination is characteristic of preverbal material, not a main verb.
(39) Wina k'uxw gya'as Man, Jacob Brown, ii na
win=na k'uxw gya'a=s Man Jacob Brown, ii n=
wən=na k'uxw ka?=s Man Jacob Brown ?i: n=
COMP=1.1 HAB see[-3.II]=PN Man Jacob Brown CCNJ 1.1=
hoχ gidaxt, “Neem da'a<klxw dima mehlhih
hoχ gidax-t nee=m da'a<klxw dima mehl-i=hl
huc kitay-t ne:=m to?aqlxʷ təm=ma mehl-ə=I
again ask-3.II NEG=2.I CIRC:PSBL PROSP=2.1 tell-[T[-3.II]=CN
wila wihl betl'a betl' loo'maa?”
wila wil=hl betl'a betl! loo'=m=aa
wəla wil=I pełka pełka lo:-m=ə:a:
MANR LVB[-3.II]=CN flap flap OBL-IPL.1I=Q
‘Every time I see Man I ask him, “Will you tell us the story about betl'a betl’”?’

(40) Ii 'nii win sit'aa'mam siwetdi'yt
ii 'nii win si'-t'a-'ma-m si-we-t-i-'y=t
?i: n̓i: wən sə-la:-ma-m sə-we-t-a-y=t
CCNJ on COMP CAUS1-sit-DETR-ATTR CAUS1-name-T-TR-1SG.1I=DM
Man Betl'a Betl'.
Man betl'a betl'
Man pełka pełka
Man Betl'a Betl'
‘This is when Man named me Betl'a Betl’.’

(41) 'Nii gan wihl we'y gyuu'n as
'nni gan wil=hl we'-y gyuu'n a=s
n̓i: qən wəl=I we-ə ku:n ?ə=s
on REAS COMP=CN name-1SG.1I now PREP[-3.II]=PN
Betl'a Betl'.
Betl'a Betl'
pełka pełka
Betl'a Betl'
‘That’s why I am named Betl'a Betl' now.’

(42) Gabiihl he'y.
gabii=hl he'-y
qəpi:=l hi'-y
CNT.AMT=CN say-1SG.1I
‘That’s as much as I have to say.’

References

Appendix A: Orthography

In the following table we present a key to our phonemic representation in the Americanist Phonetic Alphabet, linked to our variant of Hindle and Rigsby’s (1973) orthography. A third column presents an IPA version of those symbols where the APA and IPA do not match. Note that, following Rigsby (1986), the phonemes /kʸ/ & /xʸ/ in the APA have been simplified in notation to /k/ and /x/, respectively.

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Table 1: Key to orthographic and phonemic representations
Appendix B: Abbreviations

The linguistic abbreviations used in the interlinearization are as follows:

1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, I = Series I pronoun, II = Series II pronoun, III = Series III pronoun, AMT = amount, ANTIP = antipassive, ASSOC = associative, ATTR = attributive, AX = agent (A) extraction, CAUS = causative, CCNJ = clausal conjunction, CIRC = circumstantial, CN = common noun (connective), CNT = count, CNTR = contrastive, COM = comitative, COMP = complementizer, DEM = demonstrative, DES = desiderative, DETR = de transitivizer, DIST = distal, DISTR = distributive, DM = determinate noun (connective), DUR = durative, DWID = domain widener, EPIS = epistemic modal, HAB = habitual, HUM = human, INCEP = inceptive, INS = instrument, IPFV = imperfective, IRR = irrealis, LOC = locative, LVB = light verb, MANR = manner, MS = mass, NECESS = necessity, NMLZ = nominalizer, OBL = oblique, PART = partitive, PASS = passive, PCNJ = phrasal conjunction, PFV = perfective, PL = plural, PN = proper noun (connective), PR.EVID = prior evidence, PREP = preposition, PROSP = prospective, PROX = proximal, PSBL = possibility, Q = yes/no question, QUDD = question under discussion down date, QUOT = quotative, REAS = reason, REPORT = reportative, SG = singular, SPT = spatiotemporal, SUPER = superlative, SX = subject (S) extraction, T = ‘big T’, TR = transitive, VER = verum focus, WH = WH-word