

A morphemically glossed Kwak'wala text from the Boas-Hunt corpus*

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Abstract: This paper provides a morphemically glossed excerpt from a Kwak'wala text. It is intended as an instructional tool for linguists and others who are interested in accessing and analyzing the narratives in the Boas-Hunt corpus.

Keywords: Kwak'wala, George Hunt, Franz Boas

1 Introduction

This publication reproduces a portion of a narrative from the Kwak'wala textual corpus assembled by Franz Boas and George Hunt,¹ along with a transcription into the orthography of the North American Phonetic Association, morphemic glosses, and an interlinear translation. It is meant to assist linguists and students of oral literature who are interested in accessing narratives from the Boas-Hunt corpus in their original language, but who may have difficulty interpreting the texts' morphological features or deciphering Boas's Kwak'wala orthography. The excerpt that I reproduce is the second half of a narrative that Boas titled "Star Story" (Boas 1935a:92–94, 1943:92–94), in which a sea otter drags several human hunters into the sky, where they are transformed into the Pleiades and the constellation Orion.

The provenance of "Star Story" is unclear. The tale focuses on a *Gusgiməx^w* (Koskimo) hunting party and mentions two *Gusgiməx^w* and *Gopinuχ^w* hunters by name.² This likely suggests that the story originated in the Quatsino Sound region of northwestern Vancouver Island, where the *Gusgiməx^w* and *Gopinuχ^w* tribes had their territories (Galois 1994:347–349). However, whereas most of the narratives published alongside "Star Story" are prefaced with introductory labels identifying the tribe to which each tale belongs, Boas does not provide this information for

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¹ For an introduction to the corpus and its history, consult Berman (1991:13–57 and 1992).

² Here, I have followed Boas's (1966:48) transcription (*G.ósg-iməx^w*) and analysis of this tribal name. However, in my morphemic analysis of "Star Story," I transcribe the name as *Gusgimux^w*, in accordance with how Boas transcribes it (*g.ósg-imux^w*) in his edition of the text. The initial consonant in *Gusgiməx^w* is uvular. The initial consonant in *Gopinuχ^w* is velar, but I capitalize the *G* at the beginning of this proper noun.

“Star Story.” He simply labels it as having been “Recorded by *George Hunt*.” The text also lacks the dialect-specific features (such as frequent use of the suffix *-kas*, special vocabulary, and certain phonological tendencies³) that appear in some of the narratives Hunt documented⁴ among the tribes of northwestern Vancouver Island.⁵ Hunt may have drawn “Star Story” from his own narrative repertoire without consulting a Gʷsgiməx^w or Gopinuχ^w narrator.⁶ I cannot determine how Hunt first became familiar with the tale or whether it originated in the Quatsino Sound region.

The etiological content of “Star Story” differs from depictions of the constellation Orion in other Kwak’wala texts (see Boas 1935*b*:126). Two other narratives (Boas and Hunt 1905:383–387, 127–128) associate Orion with a heavenly canoe bearing either nine or fourteen crewmen and a skipper. One of the skipper’s names, “Harpooneer-of-Heaven” (translation from Boas and Hunt 1905:383), is nearly identical to the name for Orion’s Belt that appears in “Star Story.” The skipper of the canoe gives supernatural gifts to the tales’ protagonists. In one of the narratives, the protagonist is a celestial ancestor figure who travels across the sky-world before descending to the earth and becoming the progenitor of a Gʷsgiməx^w *nəmima*.⁷ His encounter with “Harpooner-of-Heaven” occurs

³ E.g. spirantization of velar and uvular stops in word-final position (Boas 1947:295).

⁴ While a small fraction of the texts in the Boas/Hunt corpus were dictated directly to Boas by Kwak’wala speakers, Hunt documented most of the narratives, and he typically recomposed them in writing after they were told to him (Berman 1991:34, 1994:491). As Berman notes, “The narratives we have are *Hunt*’s tellings of the story, not the words of the Indian who told the story to Hunt and whose name Boas often appended to the text in the published version” (Berman 1991:34). Furthermore, Berman has adduced strong evidence to the effect that “Hunt altered the material...to conform to his *own* narrative style” (Berman 1983:21). Therefore, the dialect-specific features to which I refer reflect Hunt’s efforts to imitate the dialects of northwestern Vancouver Island. Boas made the following statement regarding a narrative cycle that exhibits these linguistic features: “Mr. Hunt has tried to record the following traditions in the Lálasiqʷala dialect. The language is, however, not quite consistent” (Boas and Hunt 1906:185).

⁵ Hunt did not always imitate regional dialects when recomposing narratives that originated among groups from northwestern Vancouver Island. Therefore, the fact that “Star Story” does not exhibit special dialectal features should not be taken as evidence against a northwestern provenance. However, the absence of these distinctive features leaves us without a firm basis on which to establish the geographic origins of the narrative, given that Boas did not supply an introductory label identifying the tribe to which the story belongs. For examples of texts that Hunt wrote in northwestern dialects, see Boas and Hunt (1905:393–397, 1906:185–224) and Boas (1910*a*:244–285, 296–352).

⁶ Professor Daisy Rosenblum made me aware of the fact that some of the narratives in the Boas-Hunt corpus originated this way. It should be noted that in the anthology containing Boas’s translation of “Star Story” (Boas 1935*a*), Boas frequently labels texts as having been “Recorded by George Hunt.” Normally, he does not italicize the name, “George Hunt.” However, when Boas identifies the narrators who told the stories in the anthology, he italicizes their Kwak’wala names. Interestingly, above his translation of “Star Story,” Boas prints the label, “Recorded by *George Hunt*,” with “*George Hunt*” in italics. This may indicate that Hunt was not only the documenter, but also the source, of “Star Story.”

⁷ For a definition and brief discussion of this type of social division, see Codere (1990:366–368).

while he is still in the sky. In another narrative, the personified constellation Orion is depicted as the owner of a “fog-box” (translation from Boas 1910a:165), which causes foggy weather when it is opened.⁸ None of these narratives gives the impression that the constellation Orion was once a human being or a group of human beings who lived on earth before being pulled into the sky and transformed into stars. Nevertheless, like “Star Story,” two of the other tales I have cited (Boas and Hunt 1905:383–387, 127–128) associate Orion with sea-mammal hunting.⁹

In the morphemic analysis that follows, seven separate tiers are used to represent each segment of the text. In the first tier, I reproduce the originally published text of “Star Story” in Boas’s orthography. The second tier contains a transcription of the text into the NAPA orthography.¹⁰ My transcriptions of vowels, particularly Boas’s *ē* and *e*, are extremely tentative. The next three tiers contain segmented morphemes, morphemic glosses, and a word-level translation. Then, I reproduce Boas’s sentence-level translation, followed by a modified version of his translation that more closely matches my morphemic analysis of the text.

An explanatory list of abbreviated morphemic glosses appears at the end of this paper. However, it is helpful to introduce in advance a particularly complex set of suffixes and the glosses I use to represent them.¹¹ Boas (1947:271–272, 284–285) analyzes a morphological pattern involving words that express spatial relationships and that are formed from the following three items, in order: (1) a postural or other root; (2) a locative suffix; and (3) either the suffix *-e?*, *-ala*, or *-d*.¹² The first of these three components (a postural or other root) denotes the figure in the spatial relationship that the word expresses, while the second of these three components (a locative suffix) denotes the ground. The third component (*-e?*, *-ala*, or *-d*) indicates whether the subject of the verb is the figure, the ground, or a separate entity. If *-e?* (which I gloss as LOC1) is used, then the root denotes

⁸ In his discussion focusing on depictions of the sky-world in Kwak’waka oral literature, Boas (1935b:126) has already assembled and compared each of the narratives I have reviewed, implicitly calling attention to the differences between how the constellation Orion is portrayed in “Star Story” and how it is depicted in the other tales. I rely on Boas’s identification of the figures depicted in these narratives as personifications of the constellation Orion (*ibid.*). Presumably, Boas relied, in turn, on information supplied by Hunt. Berman (1991:599) states this identification in more tentative terms, suggesting that the canoe and its crewmen “*seem to represent the constellation Orion*” (Berman 1991:599, emphasis added).

⁹ Incidentally, narratives paralleling “Star Story” have been documented among Inuit groups. In a discussion focusing on genres of Inuit oral literature, Boas (1904:4) summarizes one narrative as follows: “A number of bear-hunters, their sledge, and the bear which they were pursuing, rose to the sky and became the constellation Orion.” A fuller form of this narrative can be found in Boas (1901:174), “The Hunters transformed into a Constellation.” See, also, the examples cited in Boas (1901:360).

¹⁰ My transcription is guided by the table of Kwak’waka orthographies that has been produced by the School District 85 First Nations Education Council (2010:6).

¹¹ Throughout the discussion that follows, I merely reiterate Boas’s analysis of the paradigm in question (1947:271–272, 284–285).

¹² The form of the third suffix varies considerably depending on its phonetic environment (see Boas 1947:273, 365).

the subject, and the locative suffix denotes where the subject is. The resulting word means, roughly, “the [root] is at the [locative suffix].” If *-ala* (which I gloss as LOC2) is used, then the locative suffix denotes the subject or a spatially circumscribed part of the subject (such as a body-part, if the subject is animate), and the root denotes a primary object that the subject possesses at the location denoted by the locative suffix. The resulting word means something along the lines of, “the [subject] has the [root] at the [locative suffix].” Finally, if the suffix *-d* (which I gloss as LOC3) is used, then the verb describes the act of placing the item or entity denoted by the root at the location denoted by the locative suffix.¹³ The resulting word means, roughly, “to place the [root] at the [locative suffix].” For purposes of illustration, I now reproduce a set of examples cited by Boas (1947:272) in his discussion of this morphological paradigm. The words exhibiting the phenomenon and the segmented suffixes *-e?*, *-ala*, and *-d* are printed in bold:

- (1) wε laʔaʔi ɖumxɖumgiʔa
 wε la-ʔa=i ɖumx-ɖum-giʔa
 well AUX-QUOT=SBJ RED-wealth-MAKE (PN)
 nəxwənalaxida
 nəx^w-kən-**ala**=χida
 be.close-SURFACE.OF.LONG.BODY¹⁴-**LOC2**=OBJ1
 ɖiɖasasGəmi
 ɖi-ɖasa-sGəm=i
 RED-sea.otter-ROUND=DEM
 “to have blanket on body” (Boas 1947:272)

nəxwənaʔa.

nəx^w-kən-**e?**=a

be.close-SURFACE.OF.LONG.BODY-**LOC1**=DEM

“blanket” (Boas 1947:272) (i.e. nominalised form of ‘being close to surface of body’)

“Wealthy [PN] wore a marten blanket” (Boas and Hunt 1905:74).

- (2) wε laʔaʔi G^waʔa laʔi
 wε la-ʔ=i G^waʔ-a la=i
 well AUX-QUOT=SBJ finish-? AUX=SBJ

¹³ The suffix I gloss as ‘LOC3’ is homophonous with a more general transitive suffix (Boas 1947:273, 365) that I label ‘TRANS’. I believe LOC3 and TRANS are, in fact, the same morpheme. Boas (1947:273) has already implied that this is the case: in his discussion of the suffix I label ‘TRANS’, Boas provides several examples of words in which this suffix functions in the same manner as the suffix that I label ‘LOC3’. Nevertheless, I use the gloss ‘LOC3’ when the morpheme in question occurs in complementary distribution with LOC1 and LOC2.

¹⁴ Boas (1947:357).

ḡəxwənda
 ḡəx^w-kən-d-a
 be.close-SURFACE.OF.LONG.BODY-LOC3-?
 yəsis
 yə=s=is
 PRONOMINAL=OBJ2=3.POSS

“to put blanket on body” (Boas 1947:272)

ḡəxwənaʔi
 ḡəx^w-kən-eʔ=i
 be.close-SURFACE.OF.LONG.BODY-LOC1=DEM
 “blanket” (Boas 1947:272) (i.e. nominalised form of ‘being close to surface of body’)

“Then he finished, and put on his blanket” (Boas and Hunt 1905:65).

In sentence (1), we find a word that denotes *being* a blanket on the surface of a body (*ḡəxwəneʔ*, formed with *-eʔ*, ‘LOC1’) alongside of a word that denotes *having* a blanket on the surface of one’s own body (*ḡəxwənaʔa*, formed with *-aʔa* ‘LOC2’). In sentence (2), we find a word that denotes *putting* a blanket onto the surface of a body (*ḡəxwənda*, formed with *-d* ‘LOC3’).

2 Morphemic analysis of “Star Story”

Key

| |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. Kwak’wala text as it was first published (Boas 1943:93–94) in Boas’s orthography. |
| b. Kwak’wala text transcribed into the orthography of the North American Phonetic Association. |
| c. Morphemic segmentation. |
| d. Morphemic glossing. |
| e. Word-level translation. |
| f. Boas’s (1935a:93–94) sentence-level translation. |
| g. Modified version of Boas’s sentence-level translation. |

1.

| | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------|
| a. wā | la ^ε lāe | lents!es | lāxa |
| b. wε | la!əʔi | lənčis | laχa |
| c. wε | la-l'a=i | la-ənčis | la=χa |
| d. well ¹⁵ | SEQ-QUOT=SBJ | go-DOWN.TO.BEACH ¹⁶ | PREP=OBJ1 |
| e. Well, | then, it is said ¹⁷ | they went down-beach | to the |
| f. Then q ¹⁸ | they went down the | | |
| g. Well, then, it is said | that they went down to the ¹⁹ | | |

2.

| | |
|-----------------------|-----------|
| a. l!emáise | lax |
| b. χəmaʔisi | laχ |
| c. χəma-is=i | la=χ |
| d. beach-ON.BEACH=DEM | PREP=OBJ1 |
| e. beach | to |
| f. beach to | |
| g. beach to | |

3.

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. hã ^ε nédzasases |
| b. hənizasis |
| c. hən-is-as=as=is |
| d. hollow.object.is.located ²⁰ -ON.BEACH-PLACE=GEN=3.POSS |
| e. location on the beach of their |
| f. where |
| g. where their |

¹⁵ I follow Berman (1983:1; 1991:288–321) in glossing and translating wε as “well.”

¹⁶ Boas (1947:304). I have drawn extensively on lexicographic sources throughout. I generally provide citations to specific sources when I borrow unusual or multi-word glosses from them, especially (but not exclusively) when I reproduce these multi-word glosses verbatim.

¹⁷ I follow Boas (1947:245) in translating the suffix -l'a as “it is said.”

¹⁸ The letter q, short for “quotative,” is Boas’s representation of the suffix -l'a (see Berman 1991:357).

¹⁹ The first half of the text, which I have not reproduced, describes the hunters’ preparations for the expedition that follows.

²⁰ Cf. Boas (1948:90) and Lincoln and Rath (1981:383).

4.

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| a. ǎléwats!e | ɣwǎɣwagwema. |
| b. ʔəliwaçi | x ^w ax ^w agwəma. |
| c. ʔəlix ^w -açi | x ^w a-x ^w ak ^w -əm=a |
| d. sea.mammal.hunting ²¹ -HOLLOW.CONTAINER ²² | RED-canoe-DIM=DEM |
| e. container used for hunting sea mammals | little canoe. |
| f. the small hunting canoe was, | |
| g. little sea-mammal-hunting canoe was. | |

5.

| | |
|----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| a. wǎ, á ^ε Em ^ε lǎwise | há yaxstá liseleda |
| b. wε ʔoʔəmǎwisi | hayaɣstalisəlida |
| c. wε ʔo-m-ǎa-wis=i | hi-əɣsta-lis-əla=ida |
| d. well just-OI-QUOT-CONN=SBJ | go.straight-OPENING-BEACH-CONT=SBJ |
| e. Well and so, it is said, they just | went straight to the shore ²³ the |
| f. (See below) ²⁴ | |
| g. (See below) | |

6.

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| a. ǎlé ^ε winoxwe | qa ^ε s |
| b. ʔəliwinox ^w i | qaʔs |
| c. ʔəlix ^w -inox ^w =i | qaʔ=s |
| d. sea.mammal.hunting-PROF=DEM | PURP=3.POSS |
| e. sea-mammal hunters | in order to |
| f. and so q, the sea hunters went straight down to the shore and | |
| g. Well, and so, it is said, the sea-mammal hunters just went straight to the shore and | |

²¹ Cf. Boas (1948:12) and Lincoln and Rath (1981:400).

²² Cf. Berman (1990:13).

²³ A more literal translation would be, “went straight to the mouth of the beach.” I follow Boas (1935a:93), who gives the translation, “went straight down to the shore.”

²⁴ Owing to the differences between Kwak’wala and English syntax, it often makes sense to delay sentence-level English translations until after both the verb and the subject have appeared in the original Kwak’wala sentence.

7.

| | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| a. ϵ mógwa ^ε le ^ε sexes | dāákwe | lāxa |
| b. mŭgwafīʔsixis | dəʔak ^w i | la _χ a |
| c. mŭ ²⁵ -gaʔf-iʔ=s=x=is | da-k ^w =i | la= _χ a |
| d. load-ONTO ²⁶ -NMLZ=3.POSS=OBJ1=3.POSS | CARRY-PASS=DEM | PREP=OBJ1 |
| e. load their | things that were carried | onto the |
| f. put down what they carried at the | | |
| g. loaded what they were carrying at the | | |

8.

| | | |
|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------|
| a. māg·exsta ^ε lisasa | démsx·e. | wā, |
| b. magəχsta ^ε lisasa | dəmsxi. | wε |
| c. mak-əχsta-fis ²⁷ =asa | dəm-sxi | wε |
| d. next.to ²⁸ -OPENING-BEACH=GEN | salt ²⁹ -ʔ ³⁰ | well |
| e. shore of the | sea. | Well, |
| f. edge of the sea. | | |
| g. shore of the sea. | Well, | |

9.

| | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| a. g·āx ^ε lāe | χwēlax ^ε wesdes | lāxa |
| b. gaχlāʔi | x ^w ilaχwəsdis | la _χ a |
| c. gaχ-fa=i | x ^w if-aqa-wəsdis | la= _χ a |
| d. AUX-QUOT=SBJ | go.back-PAST-UP.FROM.BEACH ³¹ | PREP=OBJ1 |
| e. then, it is said | go back up-beach | from the |
| f. Then <i>q</i> they came up again on the | | |
| g. then, it is said that they went back up from the | | |

²⁵ Boas (1948:148) glosses *mawa* as “to move away, move a pile of things, to move with goods.” Lincoln and Rath (1981:88) gloss *mŭw-* as “to pile, load, transport.”

²⁶ See Boas (1947:246).

²⁷ See Boas (1947:239) and Rosenblum (2014) regarding the status of the *f* at the beginning of this suffix. (Cf. also Boas [1900:718] for an early interpretation of this phenomenon).

²⁸ Boas (1948:139).

²⁹ Lincoln and Rath (1981:91).

³⁰ I use question marks in the fourth tier to indicate that I am unable to determine the meaning of a morpheme.

³¹ Boas (1947:213).

10.

| | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| a. l!emǎise | qa ^ε s | lǎ ^ε |
| b. ǰəmaʔisi | qaʔs | leʔ |
| c. ǰəma-is=i | qaʔ=s | la=iʔ |
| d. beach-BEACH=DEM | PURP=3.POSS | go=NMLZ |
| e. beach | in order to | go |
| f. beach and | | |
| g. beach, and | | |

11.

| | |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| a. lélélbendxa | ɣwǎɣwagweme |
| b. ǰəlǰəlbəndɣa | x ^w ax ^w ag ^w əmi |
| c. ǰəl-ǰəl-ba-nd=ɣa | x ^w a-x ^w ak ^w -əm=i |
| d. RED-carry.canoe ³² -HORIZ.END-TRANS=OBJ1 | RED-canoe-DIM=DEM |
| e. carry the canoe by its ends the | little canoe |
| f. carried at each end the small canoe, | |
| g. they carried by its ends the little canoe, | |

12.

| | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. le ^ε wis | k!waxlǎ ^ε ye | bəgwanem |
| b. ləw ^{is} | k ^w ax ^{la} y ⁱ | bəg ^w anəm |
| c. luʔ=is | k ^w a-ɣ ^{la} -eʔ=i | bək ^w -anəm |
| d. with=3.POSS | sit-STERN-LOC1=DEM | human-ANIMATE ³³ |
| e. with their | sitting at the stern | man |
| f. with their spearsman, | | |
| g. with their spearsman, | | |

13.

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| a. qa ^ε s | lǎ ^ε | lelsténdes |
| b. qaʔs | leʔ | ǰəlstəndəs |
| c. qaʔ=s | la-iʔ | ǰəl-ʔsta-nd=s |
| d. PURP=3.POSS | go-NMLZ | carry.canoe-IN.LIQUID ³⁴ -TRANS=OBJ2 |
| e. in order to | go | carry the canoe into the water |
| f. and they launched it | | |
| g. and they carried it into the water | | |

³² Boas (1948:429).

³³ Boas (1910b:511).

³⁴ Rosenblum (2014).

14.

| | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| a. lax | l!asa ^ε lisas | ^ε me ^ε wédzasasa | g.wig.wälās. |
| b. la _χ | ḵasa ^f lisas | məwizasasa | G ^{wi} lG ^{wε} les. |
| c. la= _χ | ḵas- ^f lis=as | m̥u-is-as=asa | G ^{wi} lG ^{wε} la-as. |
| d. PREP=OBJ1 | seaside-BEACH=GEN (un)load-BEACH-PLACE=GEN | clothing-3.POSS | |
| e. at | area of the beach to | unloading place on the | belongings. ³⁵ |
| | the seaside of | beach of their | |
| f. outside of | where they had put down their | belongings. | |
| g. seaward from | where they had put down their | belongings on the beach. | |

15.

| | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| a. wä, | lá ^ε läe | ^ε mōxsaq | lāxes |
| b. wε | la ^f əʔi | m̥uxsaq | la _χ is |
| c. wε | la- ^f la=i | m̥u- _χ s=q | la= _χ =is |
| d. well | SEQ-QUOT=SBJ | load-IN.CANOE=OBJ1.PRON | PREP=OBJ1=3.POSS |
| e. Well, then, it is said | they loaded them [i.e. their | into their | |
| | belongings] into the canoe | | |
| f. Then <i>q</i> | they put them aboard their | | |
| g. Well, then, it is said | that they loaded [their belongings] into their | | |

16.

| | | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| a. xwā _χ wagweme. | wä, | lá ^ε läe | ^ε wí ^ε la | hóg.wexsa |
| b. x ^w ax ^w ag ^w əmi. | wε | la ^f əʔi | wí ^f la | huG ^w ə _χ sa |
| c. x ^w a-x ^w ak ^w -ə ^w m=i | wε | la- ^f la=i | wí ^f -a | huq ^w - _χ s-a |
| d. RED-canoe-DIM=DEM | well | SEQ-QUOT=SBJ | all-? | go.plural ³⁶ -IN.CANOE-? |
| e. little canoe. | Well, then, it is said | they all | went into canoes | |
| f. small canoes. (See below) | | | | |
| g. little canoes. (See below) | | | | |

17.

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| a. ēs ^ε āl ^ε é ^ε winoxwe | lāxes |
| b. ʔisʔəliwínu _χ ^{wi} | la _χ is |
| c. ʔis-ʔəlix ^w -inú _χ ^{w=i} | la= _χ =is |
| d. RED-sea.mammal.hunting-PROF=DEM | PREP=OBJ1=3.POSS |
| e. sea-mammal hunters | into their |
| f. Then <i>q</i> | all the hunters went aboard their |
| g. Well, then, it is said | that all the sea-mammal hunters went aboard their |

³⁵ I follow Boas (1935a:93) in translating this word as “belongings,” although elsewhere (1948:329), he indicates that “clothing” is a more literal translation.

³⁶ Boas (1948:108).

18.

| | |
|--------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. éǎléwats!e | xwáxwEXwagwema. |
| b. ʔiʔəliwaçi | x ^w ax ^w əx ^w ag ^w əma. |
| c. ʔi-ʔəlix ^w -açi | x ^w a-x ^w ə-x ^w ak ^w -əm=a |
| d. RED-sea.mammal.hunting-HOLLOW.CONTAINER | RED-RED-canoe-DIM=DEM |
| e. containers for hunting sea mammals | little canoes. |
| f. small hunting canoes | |
| g. little sea-mammal-hunting canoes. | |

19.

| | | | | |
|-----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| a. wǎ, | la ^é ém ^é lǎe | yūdEX ^u ts!âle | yǎqela | lE ^é wis |
| b. wε | laʔəmʔəʔi | yudəx ^w çoli | yaqila | ləw ^{is} |
| c. wε | la-m-ʔa=i | yudəx ^w -ço-Gola=i | ? ³⁷ | luʔ=i ^s |
| d. well | SEQ-OI-QUOT=DEM | three-IN-TOGETHER ³⁸ =SBJ | PN | with=3.POSS |
| e. Well | and then, it is said | they were three | Yaqila | and his |
| | | inside together | | |
| f. and <i>q</i> | there were three in one canoe, <i>Yaqela</i> and his | | | |
| g. Well, | and then it is said that there were three together inside [the canoe], Yaqila and his | | | |

20.

| | | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|------|----------------------------------|
| a. ma ^é lōkwe | lŌlE ^é le ^é yá. | wǎ | lǎ ^é laxǎe |
| b. maʔuk ^w i | luəʔli ^y a. | wε | laʔaxəʔi |
| c. maʔʔ-uk ^w =i | lu-luʔiʔ=a | wε | la-ʔa-xəʔə=i |
| d. two-HUMAN=DEM | RED-nephew=DEM | well | SEQ-QUOT-ALSO ³⁹ =SBJ |
| e. two | nephews. | Well | then, also, it is said |
| f. two nephews. | Then <i>q</i> there were also | | |
| g. two nephews. | Well, then, it is also said that | | |

³⁷ I use question marks in the third tier to indicate that I am unable to segment a sequence into its constituent morphemes.

³⁸ Boas (1947:361).

³⁹ Boas (1947:234).

21.

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| a. yúðɛx ^w ts!âle | yáyag.ɛxts!a | ɭɛ ^ɛ wís | ts!âts!a ^ɛ ya |
| b. yudəx ^w cole | yayaGəχça | λəwís | çaça ^ɛ ya |
| c. yudəx ^w -čo-Gola=i | ? | λuʔ=is | ça-ça ^ɛ ya |
| d. three-IN-TOGETHER=SBJ | PN | with=3.POSS | RED-younger.sibling |
| e. they were three inside together | YayaGəχça | with his | younger brothers |
| f. three in one canoe, <i>Yáyag.ɛxts!a</i> | and his younger brothers, | | |
| g. there were three together in [another canoe], <i>YayaGəχça</i> | and his younger brothers, | | |

22.

| | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|--------|
| a. yɛxs | ǎɭé ^ɛ winoxwæ | yáqela |
| b. yəχs | ʔəliwínuχ ^w əʔi | yaqila |
| c. yə=χs | ʔəlix ^w -ínuχ ^w =əʔi | ? |
| d. PRONOM=SUBORD | sea.mammal.hunting-PROF=DEM.SUBORD | PN |
| e. as that one | was a sea-mammal hunter | Yaqila |
| f. for <i>Yaqela</i> | was the sea hunter | |
| g. as that one, <i>Yaqila</i> , | was the sea-mammal hunter | |

23.

| | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| a. yɛs | ɛ ^{nɛ} mémutasá | naénsx·äsa |
| b. yəs | nəmimutasá | naʔənsxɛsa |
| c. yə=s | nəm-ima-ut=asa | na-nəs-sxɛ=sa |
| d. PRONOM=OBJ2 | one-CLASS ⁴⁰ -FELLOW ⁴¹ =GEN | RED ⁴² -rot-TOOTH=GEN |
| e. of | clan of the | Dirty-Teeth of the |
| f. of the numaym <i>Naénsx·a</i> | of the | |
| g. of the clan <i>Naʔənsxa</i> | of the | |

24.

| | | | |
|----------------------------------------|------|---------------------|------------------------------------------|
| a. g.ósg-imuxwe. | wä, | lá ^ɛ läe | ǎɭé ^ɛ winoxwe |
| b. Gusgimux ^w i. | wɛ | laʔəʔi | ʔəliwínuχ ^w |
| c. Gus-giməx ^{w43} =i | wɛ | la-ʔa=i | ʔəlix ^w -ínuχ ^w =i |
| d. ʔ-ʔ=DEM | well | SEQ-QUOT=SBJ | sea.mammal.hunting-PROF=SBJ |
| e. Gusgimux ^w | Well | then, it is said | was a sea-mammal hunter |
| f. Koskimo. (See below) | | | |
| g. Gusgimux ^w . (See below) | | | |

⁴⁰ Boas (1947:324).

⁴¹ Boas (1947:355).

⁴² See Boas (1947:248–249).

⁴³ See Boas (1966:42).

25.

| | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. yāyag.EXTS!asa | εnεmémutasá | q!áL!enoxwasa | g·áp!enox ^u . |
| b. yayaGəχčasa | nəmimutasá | qoχinuχ ^w asa | gopinuχ ^w . |
| c. ?=sa | nəm-ima-ut=asa | qoχ-inuχ ^w =asa | gop-inuχ ^w |
| d. PN=GEN | one-CLASS-FELLOW=GEN | ?-TRIBE=GEN | ?-TRIBE |
| e. YayaGəχčá of the | clan of the | Q'oχinuχ ^w of the | Gopinuχ ^w |
| f. <i>Yāyag.EXTS!a q</i> was the sea hunter of the numaym <i>Q!áL!ēnox^u</i> of the <i>G·áp!ēnox^u</i> | | | |
| g. Well, then, it is said that YayaGəχčá was the sea-mammal hunter of the clan Q'oχinuχ ^w of the Gopinuχ ^w . | | | |

26.

| | | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. wä, | la ^ε ém ^ε lāe | εnemáx· ^ε id | séx ^ε wida |
| b. wε | la?əmlə?i | nəmax?id | siχ ^w wida |
| c. wε | la-m-lā=i | nəm-a-x?id | siχ ^w -x?id-a |
| d. well | SEQ-OI-QUOT=SJB | one-?-MOM | paddle-MOM-? |
| e. Well | and then, it is said | simultaneously ⁴⁴ | started to paddle |
| f. and <i>q</i> they started paddling at the same time, | | | |
| g. Well, and then it is said that they started to paddle simultaneously, | | | |

27.

| | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| a. láqexs | hăyáqăax |
| b. laqixs | həyaqə?ax |
| c. la=q=iχs | hi-aqa=ə?iχ ⁴⁵ |
| d. PREP=OBJ1.PRON=SUBORD | straight-GO.PAST ⁴⁶ =SUBORD.DEM |
| e. when were more than | |
| f. as there were more than | |
| g. when there were more than | |

⁴⁴ Boas (1935a:94): “at the same time.”

⁴⁵ See the seventh entry in the chart of subordinate forms in Boas (1947:274).

⁴⁶ Boas (1947:237).

28.

| |
|-------------------------------------------|
| a. ma ^h tsémg·ustéwe |
| b. maʔtəmgustəwi |
| c. maʔt-sGəmgusto=i |
| d. two-MULTIPLE.OF.TEN ⁴⁷ =DEM |
| e. twenty |
| f. twenty |
| g. twenty |

29.

| |
|------------------------------------------------|
| a. éālélwats!ās |
| b. ʔiʔəliwačəs |
| c. ʔi-ʔəlix ^w -ači=as |
| d. RED-sea.mammal.hunting-HOLLOW.CONTAINER=GEN |
| e. containers for hunting sea mammals |
| f. small sea hunting |
| g. little sea-mammal-hunting |

30.

| | | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|---------------------|--------------|-----------|
| a. xwāxwəxwagwema | wä, | lā ^h lāe | lāg-āā | lax |
| b. x ^w ax ^w əx ^w ag ^w əma. | wε | laʔəʔi | lagəʔə | laχ |
| c. x ^w a-x ^w ə-x ^w ak ^w -əmə=a. | wε | la-ʔa=i | la-gəʔə | la=χ |
| d. RED-RED-canoes-DIM=DEM | well | SEQ-QUOT=SBJ | go-ARRIVE | PREP=OBJ1 |
| e. little canoes. | Well, | then, it is said | they arrived | at |
| f. canoes. Then they arrived at | | | | |
| g. canoes. Well, then, it is said that they arrived at | | | | |

31.

| | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------|------|---------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| a. kʔāwaq. | wä | lā ^h lāe | wāx· |
| b. kawaq. | wε | laʔəʔi | wax |
| c. ? | wε | la-ʔa=i | wax |
| d. GN. | well | SEQ-QUOT=SBJ | not.knowing.whether.successful ⁴⁸ |
| e. kawaq. | Well | then, it is said | they tried |
| f. K-āwaq. Then q they would | | | |
| g. K'awaq. Well, then, it is said that they tried to | | | |

⁴⁷ See Boas (1947:277).

⁴⁸ Boas (1948:65).

32.

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------|------------|----------------|----------------|
| a. álāx | q!ása | láxa | lāq. |
| b. ?alēχ | qasa | laχa | laq. |
| c. ?alē=χ | qasa | la=χa | la=q |
| d. search=OBJ1 | sea.otter | PREP=OBJ1 | PREP=OBJ1.PRON |
| e. search for | sea otters | at the [place] | at it. |
| f. search for sea otters that might be there, | | | |
| g. search for sea otters at that [place]. | | | |

33.

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| a. wā | k!eyás ^ε lat!a | q!áso ^ε s | lāq. | wā | lá ^ε lāe |
| b. wε | kiyos!afa | qasu?s | laq. | wε | la!ə?i |
| c. wε | kiyos-!a-!a | q̣a-su? ^ε =s | la=q | wε | la-!a=i |
| d. well | none-QUOT=OBJ1 | find-PASS=OBJ2 | PREP=OBJ1.PRON | well | SEQ-QUOT=OBJ1 |
| e. Well but none, | found by them | at it. | | Well then, it is said | |
| | it is said, | | | | |
| f. but <i>q</i> | none were found there. | Then <i>q</i> | | | |
| g. Well, it is said that none were found by them at that [place]. | | | | Well, then, it is said that | |

34.

| | | | | |
|--------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------|-----------------------------------------|
| a. séx ^ε wid | qa ^ε s | lā ^ε | lax | á ^ε yāāx·siwe ^ε . |
| b. siχ ^w wid | qa?s | le? | laχ | ?ayə?əxsiwe? |
| c. siχ ^w -x?id | qa? ^ε =s | la-i? | la=χ | ?-xsiu-e? |
| d. paddle-MOM | PURP=3.POSS | go-NMLZ | PREP=OBJ1 | ?-RIVERMOUTH-LOC1 |
| e. they started | in order to | go | to | ?ayə?əxsiwi? |
| | to paddle | | | |
| f. they started paddling and went to | A ^ε yaax·siwe ^ε | | | |
| g. they started paddling in order to go to | ?ayə?əxsiwe? | | | |

35.

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|---------------|-----------|
| a. wā, | la ^ε ém ^ε lāe | q!áxa | q!éneme | q!ása | lax |
| b. wε | la?əmlə?i | q̣aχa | q̣inəmi | q̣asa | laχ |
| c. wε | la-m̄-!a=i | q̣a=χa | q̣i-nəm=i | q̣asa | la=χ |
| d. well | SEQ-OI-QUOT=DEM | find=OBJ1 | many-NOM=DEM | sea.otter | PREP=OBJ1 |
| e. Well and then, it is said | they found | many | | sea otters at | |
| f. and now <i>q</i> | they found | many sea otters | | | |
| g. Well, then, it is said that they found | many sea otters in | | | | |

36.

| | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. āwí ^ε stāsa | εmek·āla. |
| b. ʔəwíʔstesa | məkola. |
| c. ʔu-siʔsta=asa | mək ^w -ola. |
| d. locative-AROUND=GEN | round.object.is.located ⁴⁹ -STATIONARY.ON.WATER ⁵⁰ |
| e. the environs of the | island. |
| f. all around the island. | |
| g. the area around the island. | |

37.

| | | | | |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| a. wā, | la ^ε Em ^ε lāe | q!āp!ex·sā | yāqela | lō ^ε |
| b. wε | laʔəmʔəʔi | qāpixε | yaqila | luʔ |
| c. wε | la-m̄-lā=i | qā-aʔ-i-xε | ? | luʔ |
| d. well | SEQ-OI-QUOT=DEM | be.situated ⁵¹ -MUTUAL ⁵² -ʔ-STILL | PN | with |
| e. Well, | and then, it is said | still remained together | Yaqila | with |
| f. And <i>q</i> | <i>Yaqela</i> and <i>Yāyag.exts!a</i> | kept together, | | |
| g. Well, | and then it is said that | Yaqila and YayaGəχca | stayed together. | |

38.

| | | | |
|------------------|------|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| a. yāyag.exts!a. | wā, | la ^ε Em ^ε lāwise | gwēla ^ε la ^ε yeda |
| b. yayaGəχca. | wε | laʔəmʔawisi | g ^w ilaʔχayida |
| c. ? | wε | la-m̄-lā-wis=i | g ^w il-aʔ-χiʔ=ida |
| d. PN | well | SEQ-OI-QUOT-CONN=SBJ | scatter-ʔ-AT.SEA ⁵³ =SBJ |
| e. YayaGəχca. | Well | and so, then, it is said | scattered at sea the |
| f. (See below) | | | |
| g. (See below) | | | |

39.

| | |
|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. éālēwats!e | χwāχwεχwagwεmsa |
| b. ʔiʔəliwaçi | x ^w ax ^w əx ^w ag ^w əmsa |
| c. ʔi-ʔəlix ^w -açi | x ^w a-x ^w ə-x ^w ak ^w -əmə=sa |
| d. RED-sea.mammal.hunting-HOLLOW.CONTAINER | RED-RED-canoe-DIM=GEN |
| e. hollow containers for hunting sea mammals | little canoes of the |
| f. (See below) | |
| g. (See below) | |

⁴⁹ Cf. Boas (1948:145).

⁵⁰ Boas (1947:239).

⁵¹ Lincoln and Rath (1981:371).

⁵² Boas (1947:245).

⁵³ Boas (1947:377).

40.

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| a. éṣʰālḗṣʰwinoxwe | lax |
| b. ʔisʔəliwínuχʷi | laχ |
| c. ʔis-ʔəlixʷ-inuχʷ=i | la=χ |
| d. RED-sea.mammal.hunting-PROFESSIONAL=DEM | PREP=OBJ1 |
| e. sea-mammal hunters | according to |
| f. and so <i>q</i> the small hunting canoes of the sea hunters were scattered in | |
| g. Well, and so then it is said that the little sea-mammal hunting canoes of the sea-mammal hunters scattered in accordance with | |

41.

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| a. g.wéḡg·ilasasa | q!áq!asāaxs |
| b. Gʷigilʰasasa | q̣ạq̣asəʔaχs |
| c. Gʷi ⁵⁴ -giʰa-as=asa | q̣a-q̣asa-a=χs |
| d. thus-GO.IN.DIRECTION ⁵⁵ -WAY.OF ⁵⁶ =GEN | RED-sea.otter-TRY.TO.GET ⁵⁷ =SUBORD |
| e. procedure of the | trying for [i.e. hunting for] sea otters when |
| f. the way it is done in sea otter hunting when | |
| g. the method of hunting for sea otters, when | |

42.

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| a. x·Eḡmeḡsténdāaxa | q!ása | qaḡs |
| b. xəḡmʰiʔstəndəʔaχa | q̣asa | qaʔs |
| c. xəḡmʰ-siʔsta-nd=əʔə=χa | q̣asa | qaʔ=s |
| d. snare-AROUND-LOC3=SUBORD.DEM=OBJ2 | sea.otter | PURP=3.POSS |
| e. they trap by encircling the | sea otters | and |
| f. they surround the sea otters | | |
| g. they surround the sea otters and | | |

⁵⁴ Here, I have followed Lincoln and Rath (1981:317) as opposed to Boas (1948:322).

⁵⁵ Boas (1947:354).

⁵⁶ Boas (1947:319).

⁵⁷ Boas (1947:309).

43.

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| a. hádzexstále ^ε | qa ^ε |
| b. hazəχstaleʔ | qaʔ |
| c. has-əχsta-əla-iʔ | qaʔ |
| d. make.loud.noise ⁵⁸ -VOICE ⁵⁹ -CONT-NMLZ | PURP |
| e. being noisy | so that |
| f. shouting in order to | |
| g. make noise so that | |

44.

| | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|----------------------------------------|
| a. wíbaliseme ^s | wā | la ^ε em ^ε lāwise |
| b. wibalisəmiʔs. | wε | laʔəmɪlawisi |
| c. wi-ba-lis-əm-iʔ=s | wε | la-m̐-l'a-wis=i |
| d. fail-HORIZ.END-BEACH-ʔ-NMLZ=3.POSS | well | SEQ-OI-QUOT-CONN=SBJ |
| e. fail to be on the shore. | Well | and then, it is said |
| f. drown them. And so <i>q</i> | | |
| g. [the sea otters] cannot get to the shore. Well, and then it is said that | | |

45.

| | | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. k!wāg-ila | la | dzāqwa. | la ^ε em ^ε lāe | q!eyōla |
| b. k̥wεʔgila la | la | zaq ^w a. | laʔəmɪəʔi | q̣əyuλa |
| c. k̥wāỵ-gila | la | zaq ^w -a | la-m̐-l'a=i | q̣əy-uλ-a |
| d. quite-GO.IN.DIRECTION ⁶⁰ then evening-ʔ ⁶¹ | | | SEQ-OI-QUOT=SBJ | many-OBTAIN-ʔ ⁶² |
| e. it was towards | then evening. | And then, | obtained many | it is said |
| f. it was towards evening and <i>q</i> | | | | |
| g. it was towards evening. And then it is said that | | | | |

⁵⁸ Boas (1947:89).

⁵⁹ Boas (1947:305).

⁶⁰ Boas (1947:354).

⁶¹ I do not know whether this terminal morpheme *-a/=a* is a demonstrative clitic of the type that often occurs at the end of sentence-final verbs (Boas 1947:257) or a “default verb ending” (Black and Greene 2010:6).

⁶² It is conceivable that this final morpheme is a form of the subject marker *=ida* (see Table IV in Boas [1947:253] and Paragraph 5 in Boas [1947:256]).

46.

| | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|-------------|
| a. wǎókwe | és̱álé̱winox ^u xa | q!ása. |
| b. wǎ?uk ^w i | ?is?ǎliwínuχ ^w χa | qása. |
| c. wǎ?uk ^w =i | ?is-?ǎlix ^w -inúχ ^w =χa | qása |
| d. other=DEM | RED-sea.mammal.hunting-PROFESSIONAL=OBJ1 | sea.otter |
| e. the other | sea-mammal hunters | sea otters. |
| f. the other hunters had caught many sea otters. | | |
| g. the other sea-mammal hunters caught many sea otters. | | |

47.

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------|
| a. wǎ | lǎ̱lǎe | k·leyás | yǎ̱ṉem̱lasa |
| b. wε | la?ǎ?i | kiyos | yanəm̱lasa |
| c. wε | la-!a=i | kiyos | ya-anəm̱-!a=asa |
| d. well | SEQ-QUOT=SBJ | none | act ⁶³ -OBTAINED-QUOT=OBJ2 |
| e. Well | then, it is said | there was nothing | caught, it is said, by the |
| f. Then <i>q</i> | there was no game now of the | | |
| g. Well, and then it is said that there was nothing caught by the | | | |

48.

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|--------|
| a. ma̱ts!áqe | χwǎχwεχwagwema, | yEX | yāqela |
| b. ma?ǎcaqi | x ^w ax ^w ǎx ^w ag ^w ǎma, | yǎχ | yaqila |
| c. ma?ǎ-caq=i | x ^w a-x ^w ǎ-x ^w ak ^w -ǎm=a | yǎ=χ | ? |
| d. two-LONG=DEM | RED-RED-canoes-DIM=DEM | PRONOM=OBJ1 | PN |
| e. two | little canoes | those ones | Yaqila |
| f. two small canoes (of) <i>Yaqela</i> | | | |
| g. two little canoes [belonging to] that Yaqila | | | |

49.

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|------|--------------------------|
| a. ḻō̱lǎe | yāyag.EXTS!a. | wǎ, | la̱̱em̱lǎwise |
| b. lu?ǎ?i | yayaGǎχ̱ca. | wε | la?ǎm̱lǎwisi |
| c. lu?ǎ-!a=i | ? | wε | la-m̱-!a-wis=i |
| d. with-QUOT=DEM | PN | well | SEQ-OI-QUOT-CONN=SBJ |
| e. with, it is said | YayaGǎχ̱ca. | Well | and so, then, it is said |
| f. and <i>Yāyag.EXTS!a</i> , and so <i>q</i> | | | |
| g. and, it is said, YayaGǎχ̱ca. Well, and so then it is said that | | | |

⁶³ Boas (1947:44).

50.

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|------------------|--------------------|
| a. g-álaba ^ε ye | yāqela | l̥ō ^ε | yāyag.EXTS!ases |
| b. galabayi | yaqila | lu? | yayaGəχčasis |
| c. gal-ba-e? ^ε =i | ? | lu? | ?=s=is |
| d. first-HORIZ.END-LOC1=SBJ | PN | and | PN=GEN=3.POSS |
| e. first at the end were | Yaqila | and | YayaGəχča of their |
| f. <i>Yaqela</i> and <i>Yāyag.EXTS!a</i> were the first among their | | | |
| g. <i>Yaqila</i> and <i>YayaGəχča</i> were first in front [of the hunting party] of their | | | |

51.

| | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|------|-------------------------------------|
| a. é ^s āl ^ε winox ^w utē. | wā, | la ^ε ēm ^ε lāe |
| b. ʔisʔəliwinuχ ^w wuti. | wε | laʔəm ^l əʔi |
| c. ʔis-ʔəlix ^w -inuχ ^w -wut=i | wε | la-m̐-lā=i |
| d. RED-sea.mammal.hunting-PROF-FELLOW=DEM | well | SEQ-OI-QUOT=SBJ |
| e. fellow sea-mammal hunters. | Well | and then, it is said |
| f. sea hunting fellows, and <i>q</i> | | |
| g. fellow sea-mammal hunters. Well, and then it is said that | | |

52.

| | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|------|---------------------|
| a. ālāq | p!EDEx- ^ε īda. | wā | lā ^ε lāe |
| b. ʔəlaq | ṗədəxʔida. | wε | la ^l əʔi |
| c. ʔəlaq | ṗəd-xʔid=a | wε | la-lā=i |
| d. almost | dark-MOM=DEM | well | SEQ-QUOT=SBJ |
| e. almost | it started to be dark. | Well | then, it is said |
| f. it began to be nearly dark. Then <i>q</i> | | | |
| g. it was almost getting to be dark. Well, then, it is said that | | | |

53.

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| a. yāqela | dóx ^ε walelaxa | εwālase | q!āsa |
| b. yaqila | doχwāχəlaχa | wālasi | qasa |
| c. ? | doq ^w -gəʔaχəla=χa | wālas=i | qasa |
| d. PN | see-SUDDENLY=OBJ1 | large=DEM | sea.otter |
| e. Yaqila | suddenly saw | large | sea otter |
| f. <i>Yaqela</i> saw a large sea otter | | | |
| g. <i>Yaqila</i> suddenly saw a large sea otter | | | |

54.

| | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|------------------|
| a. dzágwɛ́nákɥɛla. | wā | lá'lae |
| b. zag ^w ə́nak ^w əla. | wɛ | la'ə?i |
| c. zak ^w -nák ^w əla. | wɛ | la-í'a=i |
| d. spread.apart.with.hands ⁶⁴ -GRADUAL.MOTION ⁶⁵ | well | SEQ-QUOT=SBJ |
| e. swimming along. | Well | then, it is said |
| f. swimming along. | | |
| g. swimming along. Well, then, it is said that | | |

55.

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| a. ^ɛ mɛgwáp!alaxa | x·íxsemala. |
| b. m̃əgwáp̃alaxa | xiχsəməla. |
| c. m̃ək ^w -ap̃-ala=χa | xiq-sGəm-ala |
| d. round.object.is.located ⁶⁶ -NAPE.OF.NECK ⁶⁷ -LOC2=OBJ1 | blaze-ROUND-CONT |
| e. it had on the back of its neck | a round blazing object |
| f. On the nape of its neck <i>q</i> was a ball of fire. | |
| g. it had a round blazing object on the back of its neck. | |

56.

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| a. wä, lá ^ɛ läe | yäqela | SEX· ^ɛ ídeq. | wä, lá ^ɛ läe |
| b. wε laʼəʔi | yaqila | səxʔidəq. | wε laʼəʔi |
| c. wε la-ʼla=i | ? | sək-xʔid=q | wε la-ʼla=i |
| d. well | SEQ-QUOT=SBJ | PN | spear-MOM=OBJ1.PRON |
| well | SEQ-QUOT=SBJ | | |
| e. Well | then, it is said | Yaqila | threw a harpoon at it. |
| Well | then, it is said | | |
| f. Then <i>q</i> | <i>Yaqela</i> | speared it. | |
| g. Well, then, it is said that | Yaqila | speared it. | |
| Well, then, it is said that | | | |

57.

| | | | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------|---------------------|------------|-------|
| a. ógwaqa | SEX· ^ɛ íde | yáyag.EXTS!áxa | ^ɛ wálase | q!ása. | wā |
| b. ʔug ^w aq̃a | səx?idi | yayaGəχ̣c̣əχ̣a | ẉalasi | q̣asa. | wɛ |
| c. ʔug ^w aq̃a | sək-x?id=i | ?=χa | ẉalas=i | q̣asa | wɛ |
| d. also | spear-MOM=SBJ | PN=OBJ1 | large=DEM | sea.otter | well |
| e. also | threw a harpoon | YayaGəχ̣c̣a | large | sea otter. | Well, |
| | | at the | | | |
| f. <i>Yáyag.EXTS!a q</i> also speared the large sea otter, | | | | | |
| g. YayaGəχ̣c̣a also speared the large sea otter. Well, | | | | | |

⁶⁴ Boas (1948:193).

⁶⁵ Boas (1947:347).

⁶⁶ Boas (1948:145).

⁶⁷ Boas (1947:314).

58.

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------------|------|---------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| a. g.él ^ε em ^ε lāwise | la | εwɪ ^ε la | k. !EXSEMá ^ε ye |
| b. gəl?əm ^ε lāwisi | la | wɪ ^ε la | kəχsəmayi |
| c. gəl-m̄-lā-wis=i | la | wɪ ^ε l-a | kəq-sGəm-e? ^ε i |
| d. first-CONN-QUOT-CONN=SBJ | then | all-? | load.is.located ⁶⁸ -ROUND-LOC1=SBJ |
| e. and so as soon as | then | all | were on the surface of the round body ⁶⁹ |
| f. and so q as soon as | | | |
| g. and so it is said that as soon as all | | | |

59.

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|--------|
| a. l.Ēleg·ekwás | lāxa | q!āsa | lāe |
| b. λiλəgək ^w as | laχa | qasa | la?i |
| c. λi-λək-k ^w =as | la=χa | qasa | la=i |
| d. RED-notch ⁷⁰ -PASS=3.POSS | PREP=OBJ1 | sea.otter | then=? |
| e. their harpoon points ⁷¹ | in the | sea otter | then |
| f. their spears had hit the sea otter, | | | |
| g. their harpoon points were on the sea otter, then | | | |

60.

| | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-------------------|----------------------------------------|
| a. l. !āstox ^ε wideda | q!āsa | qa ^ε s | ék. !e ^ε ste ^ε |
| b. λastuxwidida | qasa | qa?s | ?i?i?stə? |
| c. λas-?stu-x?id=ida | qasa | qa?s | ?i?k-si?sta-i? |
| d. seaward-PATH ⁷² -MOM=SBJ | sea.otter | PURP=3.POSS | up-GO.IN.DIRECTION ⁷³ -NMLZ |
| e. started to go seaward the | sea otter | and | went up |
| f. the sea otter went out seaward and went up | | | |
| g. the sea otter began to go seaward and went upward | | | |

⁶⁸ Lincoln and Rath (1981:251).

⁶⁹ Here, I follow Boas (1947:343), one of whose glosses for -sGəm is “round surface.”

⁷⁰ Boas (1948:427).

⁷¹ Boas (1948:427).

⁷² Cf. Boas (1947:343).

⁷³ Boas (1947:343) glosses this suffix as “around,” but I believe that in some cases, it means ‘to go in a direction.’

61.

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|------|-------------------------------------|
| a. láxents | ɛnálaɣ. | wä, | la ^ɛ ém ^ɛ läe |
| b. laχənc | ḡálaɣ. | wɛ | laʔəm ^ɪ əʔi |
| c. la=χ=ənc | ḡa-əla=iχ | wɛ | la-n̄-l̄a=i |
| d. PREP=OBJ1=INCL.POSS | sky ⁷⁴ -CONT=DEM | well | SEQ-OI-QUOT=DEM |
| e. to our | sky. | Well | and then, it is said |
| f. toward our sky, and q | | | |
| g. to our sky. Well, and then it is said that | | | |

62.

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| a. qwélx·Elx ^ɪ álaɣa | ma ^ɛ ts ^ɪ áqe |
| b. q ^w əlxəlxálaɣa | maʔt̄caqi |
| c. q ^w əlx-əlx-la=χa | maʔt̄-čaq=i |
| d. gather.long.things ⁷⁵ -?-BEHIND-CONT=OBJ1 | two-LONG=DEM |
| e. it dragged behind the | two |
| f. it was dragging behind the two | |
| g. it dragged behind [itself] the two | |

63.

| | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|--------------------------|
| a. χwáχwəχwagwəmxs | lāe | ék·!o ^ɪ ela |
| b. x ^w ax ^w əx ^w ag ^w əmxs | laʔi | ʔiku ^ɪ təla |
| c. x ^w a-x ^w ə-x ^w ak ^w -əm=χs | la=əʔi | ʔik̄-u ^ɪ -əla |
| d. RED-RED-canoe-DIM=SUBORD then=SUBORD.DEM up-GO.IN.DIRECTION ⁷⁶ -CONT | | |
| e. little canoes when | then | it was going upward |
| f. small canoes as it was going upward | | |
| g. little canoes as it was going upward, | | |

64.

| | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| a. qa ^ɛ s | lä ^ɛ | k!wɛdɛdʒódxents |
| b. qaʔs | lɛʔ | k ^w ədəzudχənc |
| c. qaʔ=s | la-iʔ | k ^w ət-zu-ud=χ=ənc |
| d. PURP=3.POSS | go-NMLZ | stick.on ⁷⁷ -FLAT-TRANS=OBJ1=INCL.POSS |
| e. and | then | stuck onto the flat surface, our |
| f. and stuck on our | | |
| g. and then it stuck onto our | | |

⁷⁴ Lincoln and Rath (1981:131) list “firmament” among the meanings of this root.

⁷⁵ Boas (1948:342).

⁷⁶ Boas (1947:334).

⁷⁷ Boas (1948:304).

65.

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. $\epsilon^{\text{na}}\lambda\text{ax.}$ | wä, $\text{h}\epsilon^{\text{me}}$ | q!äsa x-deda | k!wä $\epsilon^{\text{ma}}\text{dzä}^{\text{ye}}$ |
| b. $\text{na}\lambda\text{x.}$ | w ϵ $\text{he}\dot{\text{m}}\text{i}$ | qasaxdida | k $^{\text{wa}}\text{ma}\text{?zo}\dot{\text{y}}\text{i.}$ |
| c. $\text{na-}\epsilon\lambda\text{a}=\text{i}\chi$ | w ϵ $\text{he-}\dot{\text{m}}=\text{i}$ | qasa-xdi=ida | k $^{\text{wa}}\text{-?}-\text{zu-e?}=\text{i}$ ⁷⁸ |
| d. sky-CONT=DEM | well that-OI=SBJ | sea.otter-PAST=SBJ | sit-?-FLAT-LOC1=DEM |
| e. sky. | Well and that | former sea otter | Pleiades. |
| | | was the | |
| f. sky. | That was the sea otter, the Pleiades, | | |
| g. sky. | Well, and that [constellation], the Pleiades, is the former sea otter. ⁷⁹ | | |

66.

| | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| a. wä, | $\text{h}\epsilon^{\text{em}}\epsilon^{\text{lawis}}$ | älëwadzä ϵ^{ya} |
| b. w ϵ | $\text{he?}\epsilon\text{m}\dot{\text{lawis}}$ | ?äliwazo $\dot{\text{y}}\text{a}$ |
| c. w ϵ | $\text{he-}\dot{\text{m}}\text{-}\dot{\text{la}}\text{-wis}$ | ?älix $^{\text{w}}\text{-zu-e?}=\text{a}$ |
| d. well | that-OI-QUOT-CONN | sea.mammal.hunting-FLAT-LOC1=DEM ⁸⁰ |
| e. Well | and so that is | Orion's Belt ⁸¹ |
| f. and so q | that is the hunter in the sky (Orion) | |
| g. Well, | and so it is said that that one, Yaqila, is Orion's Belt. | |

67.

| | | | |
|----------------|------------------|--------------|---------------------------------------|
| a. yEX | yäqela. | wä, | $\text{h}\epsilon^{\text{mis}}$ |
| b. yə χ | yaqila. | w ϵ | $\text{he}\dot{\text{m}}\text{is}$ |
| c. yə= χ | ? | w ϵ | $\text{he-}\dot{\text{m}}\text{-wis}$ |
| d. PRONOM=OBJ1 | PN | well | that-OI-CONN |
| e. that | Yaqila. | Well | and so that |
| f. Yaqela, | and | | |
| g. Well, | and so that one, | | |

⁷⁸ Boas (1948:306; 1947:324) provides examples of words beginning with the sequence $\text{k}^{\text{we}}\text{m-}$, formed from $\text{k}^{\text{wa-}}$, “to sit,” and $-\text{im}$, “nearby.” I do not know whether $\text{k}^{\text{wa}}\text{ma}\text{?zo}\dot{\text{y}}\text{i}$ can be interpreted as related to these forms.

⁷⁹ In assigning the Pleiades the role of subject and translating this as an “equative” sentence, I am following Littell (2012). I believe the same understanding of this sentence underlies Boas’s translation of it, but Boas tries to maintain the syntax of the original text, obscuring the sentence’s equative meaning.

⁸⁰ My morphemic break-down follows Boas (1947:212).

⁸¹ Here, I have followed Boas’s dictionary (1948:14), which glosses a similar form, $\text{?aluzo}\dot{\text{y}}\text{i}$, as Orion’s Belt, rather than Boas’s translation (1935a:94) of the form $\text{?äliwazo}\dot{\text{y}}\text{a}$ as “Orion.” This allows us to interpret the form $\text{?a?äliwi}\dot{\text{nosä}}\dot{\text{w}}\text{i}$ in the next sentence as Orion, in line with Boas’s dictionary (1948:14, citing the attestation of this word in “Star Story”), and in contrast to his ambiguous translation (1935a:94) of this form as “the hunter with him,” which does not seem to take into account the passive suffix $-\text{säw}$.

68.

| | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|--------|
| a. áǎlǎwǎnâsǎwǎ | yǎyag.EXTS!a | hǎt |
| b. ?a?ǎliwǎnosǎwi | yayaGǎxǎca. | het |
| c. ?a-?ǎlix ^w -inǎ-su?=i | ? | he-t |
| d. RED-sea.mammal.hunting-AT.PASSERBY ⁸² -PASS=SBJ | PN | that-? |
| e. Orion was | YayaGǎxǎca. | That |
| f. the hunter with him is Yǎyag.EXTS!a. And | | |
| g. YayaGǎxǎca, is Orion. The | | |

69.

| | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|----------------------------------------------|
| a. lǎg·ilas | q!ǎleda | ǎsǎǎlǎwǎnoxwaq |
| b. lagǎlas | qǎlida | ?is?ǎliwǎnuǎ ^w aq |
| c. la-gǎl=as | qǎ-ǎla=ida | ?is-?ǎlix ^w -inuǎ ^w =q |
| d. go-REASON=GEN | find-CONT=SBJ | RED-sea.mammal.hunting-PROF=OBJ1.PRON |
| e. reason | knew the | sea-mammal hunters it |
| f. therefore the hunters know about them, | | |
| g. reason why the sea-mammal hunters knew it [i.e. these events] | | |

70.

| | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. yEXS | ǎnǎxwaǎmǎe | dǎqwaǎlaqǎxs |
| b. yǎxǎs | ǎnǎx ^w amǎǎ?i | duq ^w ǎlaqǎixǎs |
| c. yǎ=xǎs | ǎnǎx ^w -a-mǎ=ǎ?i | duq ^w -ǎla=q=xǎs |
| d. PRONOM=SUBORD | all-?-OI=SUBORD.DEM | see-CONT=OBJ1.PRON=SUBORD |
| e. because | all | saw it when |
| f. for they all saw them | | |
| g. is because they all saw when | | |

71.

| | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| a. lǎe | ǎk·!ǎlǎla | qaǎs |
| b. la?i | ?ikǎlǎla | qa?ǎs |
| c. la=ǎ?i | ?ikǎ-utǎ-ǎla | qa?ǎ=s |
| d. then=SUBORD.DEM | up-GO.IN.DIRECTION-CONT | PURP=3.POSS |
| e. then | they were going up | and |
| f. going up and | | |
| g. they [i.e. the sea otter, Yaqǎla, and YayaGǎxǎca] went up and | | |

⁸² Boas (1947:239).

72.

| | | | | |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|------|-----------------------------------------|
| a. lã ^ε | k!wɛt!āLEla | lax | la | ǎx ^ε ātsa |
| b. lɛ? | kʷəfāχəla | laχ | la | ?əχ?aca |
| c. la-i? | kʷət-gə?aχəla | la=χ | la | ?əχ-as=sa |
| d. go-NMLZ | stick.on ⁸³ -SUDDENLY | PREP=OBJI | then | be.in.position ⁸⁴ -PLACE=GEN |
| e. then | suddenly stuck on | to | then | place of the |
| f. sticking | where the place is of | | | |
| g. then | suddenly stuck to the new place of | | | |

73.

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| a. ālēwadzâ ^ε ye | LE ^ε wá | k!wā ^ε ma ^ε dzâ ^ε ye |
| b. ?əliwazoŷi | ləwá | kʷama?zoŷi |
| c. ?əlix ^w -zu-e?=i | lu?=a | kʷa-?-zu-e?=i |
| d. sea.mammal.hunting-FLAT-LOC1=DEM | with=SBJ ⁸⁵ | sit-?-FLAT-LOC1=DEM |
| e. Orion's Belt | and the | Pleiades |
| f. Orion and of the Pleiades | | |
| g. Orion's belt and the Pleiades | | |

74.

| | | |
|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|------|
| a. LE ^ε wá | āālēwē ^ε nāSE ^ε we. | wā, |
| b. ləwá | ?a?əlix ^w inōsəwi. | wɛ |
| c. lu?=a | ?a-?əlix ^w -inō-su?=i | wɛ |
| d. with=SBJ | RED-sea.mammal.hunting-AT.PASSERBY-PASS=DEM | well |
| e. and the | Orion. | Well |
| f. and of the one who joins in sea hunting. | | |
| g. and Orion. | Well, | |

⁸³ Boas (1948:304).

⁸⁴ Boas (1948:11).

⁸⁵ See Paragraph 5 in Boas (1947:256).

75.

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|------|-----------------------------|
| a. hē ^ε mis | g·ág·ELElats | la | lēg.adedā |
| b. hemis | gegəʎəlac | la | liGadida |
| c. he-m̃-wis | gey ⁸⁶ -gəʎəla-as=s | la | liq-ad=ida |
| d. that-OI-CONN | come.from ⁸⁷ -MOTION ⁸⁸ -PLACE=GEN | then | name-HAVE=SBJ |
| e. and so that is | the origin of | then | had names the |
| f. And so, from this | | | |
| g. and so that is the origin of [the fact that] | | | then the stars had as names |

76.

| | | | |
|----------------------------------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------|
| a. t!ót!âses | lēLEg.EM | qaxs | lāc |
| b. tufosis | liʎəGə̃m | qaxs | laʔi |
| c. tufu=as=is | li-liq-ə̃m | qaʔ=χs | la=əʔi |
| d. star=OBJ2=3.POSS | RED-name-PASS | CAUSE=SUBORD | then=SUBORD.DEM |
| e. stars, their | names | because | then |
| f. these stars have their names, for | | | |
| g. their [current] names, because then | | | |

77.

| | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| a. ts!Ek·!âʔidedā | és̃ālēwinoxwaxa | g·ālā |
| b. c̣əkaʔidida | ʔisʔəliw̃inuχ ^w aχa | galē |
| c. c̣əkaʔ-xʔid=ida | ʔis-ʔəlix ^w -inuχ ^w =aχa | gal-a=i |
| d. tell.news ⁸⁹ -MOM=SBJ | RED-sea.mammal.hunting-PROF=OBJ1 | first-ʔ=DEM |
| e. told the news the | sea-mammal hunters the | first |
| f. the sea hunters told the first | | |
| g. the sea-mammal hunters told as news to the first | | |

⁸⁶ Although Boas (1947:351) analyzes *gegəʎəla* as a derivative of the root *gəy-*, “to be somewhere” (Boas 1948:246), I believe that the root *gey-*, “to move from a certain place, to come from” (Boas 1948:252) better fits the meaning of the word (which Boas [1947:351] translates as, “to come from”).

⁸⁷ Boas (1948:252).

⁸⁸ Cf. Boas’s (1947:242) gloss for this suffix: “country lying in a certain direction.”

⁸⁹ Boas (1948:210).

78.

| | | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------|
| a. g.ósg·imuxwa | YES | g.wéx·éidāasax | yáqela |
| b. Gusgimux ^w a | yəs | Gwixʔidəʔasaχ | yaqila |
| c. Gus-giməx ^w =a | yə=s | Gwi-xʔid-as=aχ | ? |
| d. ʔ-ʔ=DEM | PRONOM=OBJ2 | thus-MOM-WAY.OF ⁹⁰ =OBJ1 | PN |
| e. Gusgimux ^w | regarding that | matter | Yaqila |
| f. Koskimo | all that happened to <i>Yaqela</i> | | |
| g. Gusgimux ^w | regarding the matter of Yaqila | | |

79.

| | | | | |
|---------|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| a. ʌ̌ō̌ | yāyag.EXTS!a | ʌ̌ē̌wís | mókwe | lē̌elota. |
| b. ʌuʔ | yayaGəχ̣̣a | ʌ̌wís | muk ^w i | liʔə̌luta. ⁹¹ |
| c. ʌuʔ | ? | ʌuʔ=is | mu-uk ^w =i | lilut=a |
| d. with | PN | with=3.POSS | four-HUMAN=DEM | fellow.riding ⁹² =DEM |
| e. with | YayaGəχ̣̣a | with their | four | fellow passengers. |
| f. and | <i>Yāyag.EXTS!a</i> and the four men of their crew, | | | |
| g. and | YayaGəχ̣̣a and their four fellow passengers. | | | |

80.

| | | |
|-------------------------------------------|----------|---------------------------------------|
| a. wā, | ʌ̌ē̌m | lā̌ba. |
| b. wē | ʌ̌ə̌m | laba. |
| c. wē | ʌ̌-ṁ | ʌ̌-ba |
| d. well | then-OI | gō-HORIZ.END |
| e. Well | and then | it has gone to the end. ⁹³ |
| f. and that is the end. | | |
| g. Well, and then it has gone to the end. | | |

3 List of abbreviated suffixes

3.POSS: Third-person possessive (borrowed from Rosenblum 2013). See Boas (1947:254) and Anderson (1984:29–30).

⁹⁰ Boas (1947:318–319).

⁹¹ This word is a plural form exhibiting stem modification (see Boas 1947:248–249).

⁹² Here, I follow Boas (1948:402) in glossing this form as “fellow riding.” The word *lilut*, which is the singular form of *liʔə̌luta* (Boas 1948:402), may be derived via reduplication from *ʌ̌-*, “go” (following, roughly, the reduplication pattern described by Boas [1947:248–249] for words beginning with the sounds *m*, *n*, *l*, *t*, and *ʌ̌*) combined with the suffix *-ut*, “fellow.” The resulting word undergoes further reduplication to yield *liʔə̌luta*, the plural form that appears in “Star Story.”

⁹³ I have borrowed this translation (which I also use in my sentence-level translation tier) directly from Berman (1991:337).

CONN: Connective (borrowed from Rosenblum 2013). See Boas (1947:338) and Berman (1991:370–380).

CONT: Continuative aspect (borrowed from Rosenblum 2013). See Boas (1947:291, 306–307) and Black and Greene (2010).

DEM: Demonstrative (borrowed from Rosenblum 2013). See Boas (1947:527–528) and Nicolson and Werle (2009:25–30).

DIM: Diminutive (borrowed from Rosenblum 2013). See Boas (1947:301).

FLAT: This gloss labels the suffix *-zu*, which denotes flat surfaces (such as, in “Star Story,” the sky (Boas 1947:212)). See Boas (1947:345).

HORIZ.END: This gloss labels the suffix *-ba*, denoting the “end of a long horizontal object” (Boas 1947:336).

INCL.POSS: Inclusive possessive (both parts of this composite gloss are borrowed from Rosenblum 2013). This gloss labels forms indicating joint possession by both the speaker and addressee (Boas 1947:251).

GEN: Genitive (borrowed from Rosenblum 2013; see also Boas 1947:259).

GN: Geographic name.

LOC1, LOC2, LOC3: See Section 1 Introduction above.

LONG: This gloss is used to label the suffix *-čaq*, which normally functions as a classifier that attaches to numerals used to count “long” objects (Boas 1947:240, 346). Regarding Kwak’wala “numeral classifiers,” see Berman (1990:2–11).

MOM: Momentaneous aspect (borrowed from Rosenblum 2013). See Boas (1947:290–291) and Black and Greene (2010).

NMLZ: “Nominalizer” (borrowed from Rosenblum 2013). I have used this gloss to label the suffix *-iʔ*, which can turn a verbal form into a noun that means, roughly, “the act of [verb]ing” (Katie Sardinha and Patrick Littell, personal communications; see Boas (1947:274) with regard to the use of the nominalizing suffix *-iʔ* in verbs following the purposive *qaʔ-*).

NOM: Nominal. I have used this gloss to label the suffix *-nam*, which appears at the end of some nouns and which Boas (1947:347) describes as a “nominal formative suffix.” I do not know whether this suffix carries specific meaning beyond its function of turning roots into nouns.

OBJ1: “Primary object” (borrowed from Rosenblum 2013). OBJ1 is equivalent to what Boas describes as the “objective” case. See Boas (1947:284–286) and Rosenblum (2013:231–233).

OBJ2: “Secondary object” (borrowed from Rosenblum 2013). OBJ2 is equivalent to what Boas describes as the “instrumental” case. See Boas (1947:284–286) and Rosenblum (2013:231–233).

OI: “Old (known) information” (borrowed from Rosenblum 2013:253). See Boas (1947:335) and Berman (1991:374–380).

PASS: Passive (borrowed from Rosenblum 2013). See Boas (1947:241), Levine (1980), and Rosenblum (2013).

PAST: I have used this gloss to label the past-tense suffix *-xdi*, which denotes the “transition from present to past, from existence to non-existence,” or pluperfect tense (Boas 1947:367; see also Boas 1947:288, 290).

PN: Personal name.

PREP: Preposition. See Anderson (1984:25) and Rosenblum (2014). See, also, Boas’s comments regarding “indirect objects” (i.e. prepositional phrases) (Boas 1947:255, 285).

PROF: Professional. I have used this gloss to label the suffix *-inuχ^w*, which can mean, “a person who does an act habitually, professionally” (Boas 1947:326).

PRON: Pronoun. I add this gloss to OBJ1 and OBJ2 when the morpheme that is being identified is a pronoun, rather than a prenominal form. A prenominal form indicates the case and deictic proximity of the noun that follows; a pronoun stands in place of a noun, indicating case as well as, sometimes, deictic proximity and visibility (see the tables in Boas 1947:252–253; deictic/visibility-marking third-person pronouns are listed in Table IIa (1947:252), as well as in Boas’s introduction to the section entitled “Paradigms” (1947:260)). Regarding the distinction between prenominal forms and pronouns, see Boas (1947:281). See, also, Rosenblum (2013:231–232).

PRONOM: Pronominal. In contrast with PRON, which labels pronominal clitics, I use PRONOM to gloss word-initial elements that Boas (1947:257–258) terms “nominal or adjectival forms” of the “independent personal pronoun.”

PURP: Purposive (borrowed from Rosenblum 2013). See Boas (1947:274).

QUOT: Quotative (borrowed from Rosenblum 2013). See Boas (1910b:496, 1947:245, 377) and Berman (1991:357–369).

RED: Reduplication (borrowed from Rosenblum 2013). “Plurality, repetition, [and] distribution are expressed,” in many cases, via reduplication, but “Many suffixes require some form of reduplication or of stem expansion, not only those [suffixes] implying some kind of repetition” (Boas 1947:219). Regarding patterns of reduplication and other forms of stem modification, see Boas (1947:220–223,

232–234, 246–251). Regarding the expression of plurality in Kwak’wala, see Boas (1932, 1947:206, 291–294).

SEQ: Sequential (borrowed from Rosenblum 2013). I have used this gloss to label the auxiliaries *la-* and *gaχ-*. See Berman (1991:324–336).

SBJ: Subject (borrowed from Rosenblum 2013).

SUBORD: Subordination. I use this gloss to label the subordinating clitic =*χs* and associated demonstrative clitics (the latter are glossed as ‘SUBORD.DEM’). See Boas (1947:274–275).

TRANS: Transitivity. I have used this gloss to label the transitive suffix that takes the forms *-d*, *-nd*, and *-ud* depending on its phonetic environment (Boas 1947:273, 365).

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